

**RAKIYA OMAAR, CONSULTANT TO THE RWANDA
DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION COMMISSION**

**THE LEADERSHIP OF RWANDAN ARMED
GROUPS ABROAD WITH A FOCUS
ON THE FDLR AND RUD/URUNANA**

DECEMBER 2008

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY.....	6
PREFACE.....	8
INTRODUCTION.....	10
1. THE OBSTACLES TO REPATRIATION: THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF RETURNEES.....	17
THE INTERESTS OF LEADERS IN DISCOURAGING REPATRIATION.....	17
<i>Economic Self Interest.....</i>	17
<i>Fear of Justice.....</i>	20
THE IMPEDIMENTS FACED BY POTENTIAL RETURNEES.....	21
<i>The Lack of Information and the Power of Misinformation.....</i>	21
<i>False Information from Relatives in Rwanda.....</i>	23
<i>The Threat and Reality of Violent Reprisals.....</i>	24
<i>A Security Deterrent: The Long Distance to MONUC Stations.....</i>	27
2. WHO ARE THE LEADERS? THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING THEIR IDENTITY.....	29
IDENTITY AND BACKGROUND.....	29
<i>Reshuffle After Reshuffle</i>	29
<i>The Use of Cover Names.....</i>	29
<i>Life in Rwanda and in Exile: A Time-Consuming Process.....</i>	30
<i>The “Unofficial” Influence of Well-Known Genocide Suspects Who Are Kept Out of the Public Limelight.....</i>	31
WHO ARE THE MILITARY LEADERS?.....	31
WHO ARE THE CIVILIAN LEADERS?.....	33
WHO ARE THE REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD?.....	34
THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP.....	34
3. THE EX-FAR MILITARY STRUCTURE IN THE DRC: JULY 1994 – NOVEMBER 1994.....	35
BACKGROUND TO AN EXODUS.....	35
<i>How PALIR Came to Be.....</i>	38
<i>October-November 1996: The Destruction of the Camps.....</i>	39
<i>A Brief Stop in Tingi Tingi.....</i>	39
4. ALIR/PALIR: THE INSURGENCY OF 1997-1998.....	40
A NEW LEASE OF LIFE: THE 1998 WAR IN THE DRC.....	43
FEBRUARY 1999: THE FOUNDING OF THE FDLR.....	44
THE BWINDI MURDERS OF 1 MARCH 1999: A FIRST STEP IN THE TRANSFORMATION FROM ALIR TO THE FDLR	44
<i>Structure of PALIR.....</i>	45
<i>Structure of ALIR.....</i>	46

ENDURING LINKS: FROM ALIR TO THE FDLR/RUD.....	50
<i>Former ALIR Officers Currently Serving in the FDLR-FOCA in the DRC.....</i>	50
<i>Former PALIR Cadres Who Are Now Serving in the FDLR in the DRC.....</i>	51
<i>Former ALIR Fighters Who Joined the FDLR and Who Have Now Returned to Rwanda.....</i>	51
<i>Former ALIR Officers/PALIR Officials Who Joined FDLR/FOCA Who Have Died.....</i>	52
<i>Those Who Went from ALIR/PALIR to the FDLR Who Are Now Associated with the FDLR Outside of the DRC.....</i>	52
<i>From ALIR to FDLR to RUD.....</i>	53
5. THE FDLR TODAY.....	54
STATED GOALS OF THE FDLR.....	54
THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE FDLR TODAY.....	54
6. INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON FDLR LEADERS IN THE POLITICAL BRANCH.....	61
<i>Ignace Murwanashyaka.....</i>	61
<i>Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli.....</i>	63
<i>Brigadier-General Appolinaire Hakizimana, alias Amikwe Lepic/Poète</i>	65
<i>Col. Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo</i>	67
<i>Lieutenant Colonel Anthère Ntahomvukiye, alias Nsenga or Vénuste Kubwayo or Gagural... </i>	72
<i>Ignace Nkaka, alias Laforge Fils.....</i>	73
<i>Eugénie Niyotwizigiye.....</i>	75
<i>Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso.....</i>	76
<i>Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga.....</i>	78
<i>Damien Biniga, alias Kamukin.....</i>	79
<i>Other Civilians Associated with the Political Branch.....</i>	83
7. THE CURRENT MILITARY STRUCTURE OF FOCA.....	84
8. INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON FDLR/FOCA MILITARY LEADERS.....	101
NORTH KIVU.....	101
<i>General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Mupenzi Bernard.....</i>	101
<i>Brigadier-General Stanislas Nzeyimana, alias Bigaruka.....</i>	105
<i>Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi.....</i>	106
<i>Colonel Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega.....</i>	110
<i>Colonel Donat Habimana, alias Brazza Royal.....</i>	112
<i>Colonel Bonaventure Bunane, alias Busogo.....</i>	114
<i>Colonel Diogène Masengesho, alias Kwezi Ombriorex.....</i>	115
<i>Colonel Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Mugisha.....</i>	117
<i>Lt. Col. Evariste Kanzeguhera, alias Sadiki Soleil.....</i>	118
<i>Lt. Col. Lucien Nzabamwita, alias Kaluma André.....</i>	119
<i>Lt.Col. Patrice Kagabo, alias Shemeki Shabani.....</i>	121
<i>Lt.Col. Samuel Bisengimana, alias Sam Kunda-Mutima.....</i>	122
<i>Lt. Col. Samuel Rucogoza, alias Muhire Sam.....</i>	124
<i>Lt. Col. Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo.....</i>	125
<i>Lt.Col. Boniface Mugabonake, alias Josué Hagenimana/Bony.....</i>	128
<i>Lt.Col. Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb</i>	130
<i>Lt.Col. Ezéchiel Gakwerere, alias Sibó Stany or Julius Mokoko.....</i>	131
<i>Lt.Col. Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi-Mutunzi.....</i>	134

<i>Lt.Col. François Nsengiyumva, alias Matovu</i>	136
<i>Major Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, alias Mazizi</i>	137
<i>Major Alexis Magambo, alias Rugina Alain or Kamera Hamud</i>	140
<i>Major Jean de Dieu Nzabanita, alias Romel</i>	142
<i>Captain Jotham Hakizimana, alias Oscar Steven</i>	143
SOUTH KIVU	144
<i>Colonel Léopold Mujoyambere, alias Achille Musenyeri/Abraham</i>	144
<i>Lt. Col. Aloys Bizimana, alias Bashaka Idrissa</i>	146
<i>Lt.Col. Jeanne d’Arc Mukakinanira, alias Aminata, Esthère or Tiger</i>	148
<i>Lt.Col. Harelimana Hamada, alias Muramba Junior</i>	149
<i>Lt.Col. Félicien Nsanzubukire, alias Fred Irakiza or Ahamat</i>	151
<i>Lt.Col Ferdinand Nsengiyumva, alias Bemba Bahizi/Ferdinand Ayayo</i>	152
<i>Major Etienne Kanyandekwe, alias Zapy Schibel</i>	154
<i>Captain Eustache Kayumba, alias Bethos</i>	155
<i>Captain Anastase Musabireme, alias Dan Bolingo</i>	157
<i>Captain Juvénal Muhozi, alias Juvens Kajos</i>	158
9. THE CURRENT POLITICAL & MILITARY STRUCTURE OF RUD/RPR	160
POLITICAL LEADERS	160
<i>Political Representatives in North Kivu</i>	160
<i>Political Representatives Abroad</i>	161
HOW RUD/RPR DEFINES ITS POLITICAL OBJECTIVES	161
THE ARMED WING OF RUD	163
10. INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON RUD/RPR MILITARY LEADERS	166
<i>General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare</i>	166
<i>Colonel Ildephonse Nkiranuye, alias Moses Tumusifu or Clovis</i>	170
<i>Colonel Martin Ntizonda, alias Roshidi-Rizinjirabake</i>	172
<i>Lt.Col. Wenceslas Nizeyimana, alias Kit</i>	174
<i>Lt.Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto</i>	177
<i>Lt.Col. Juvénal Musabyimana, alias Africa Michel</i>	179
<i>Lt.Col. Norbert Twagirumukiza, alias Norrio Sabin</i>	181
<i>Major Bonaventure Bimenyimana, alias Cobra</i>	182
<i>Summaries on Other Individuals</i>	183
11. INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AND LINKS: THE FDLR	185
FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE	185
France	186
<i>Callixte Mbarushimana</i>	187
Summaries on Other Individuals	191
Belgium	191
<i>Lt.Col. Théophile Gakara</i>	193
<i>Colonel Athanase Gasake</i>	195
<i>Joseph Ngirabanzi, alias Ryamugogo</i>	195
AFRICA	196

Southern Africa	196
<i>Summaries on Individuals</i>	196
Zambia.....	196
<i>Colonel Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias Zinga Zinga</i>	197
<i>Lieutenant Colonel Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore</i>	199
<i>Captain Liberata Musabyemariya</i>	200
<i>Summaries on Other Individuals</i>	201
Malawi.....	201
<i>Major Aimable Ndayambaje, alias Limbana</i>	201
Congo-Brazzaville.....	203
Zimbabwe.....	203
<i>Colonel Protais Mpiranya, alias Yahya Muhamed</i>	203
WEST AFRICA.....	207
Cameroon.....	207
<i>Lieutenant Colonel Anselme Nkuriyekubona</i>	207
<i>Summaries on Other Individuals</i>	210
Bénin.....	210
<i>Colonel Francois-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko</i>	210
12. INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AND LINKS: RUD/RPR.....	215
THE UNITED STATES.....	215
<i>Dr. Jean Marie-Vianney Higiro</i>	215
<i>Félicien Kanyamibwa</i>	218
CANADA.....	219
<i>Augustin Dukuze</i>	220
EUROPE.....	220
France.....	220
<i>Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, alias Zigabe Pacifique</i>	220
<i>Marie-Goretti Abayizigira</i>	223
The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Scandinavia.....	224
<i>Summaries on Individuals</i>	225
Norway.....	225
<i>Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru</i>	225
AFRICA.....	227
Congo-Brazzaville.....	227
<i>Colonel Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo</i>	227
Sudan/Cameroon.....	231

<i>Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo, alias Agakatsi</i>	231
--	-----

13. GENOCIDE SUSPECTS AMONG RWANDAN ARMED GROUPS:

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS.....236

GENOCIDE SUSPECTS LINKED TO THE FDLR IN EASTERN DRC.....	237
<i>Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi</i>	237
<i>Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo</i>	240
<i>Lt.Col. Ezéchiel Gakwerere, alias Julius Mokoko or Sibo Stany</i>	244
<i>Lt.Col Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo</i>	247
<i>Major Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, alias Mazizi</i>	251
<i>Captain Louis de Gonzague Uwimana</i>	254
<i>Damien Biniga</i>	258
<i>Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso</i>	264
<i>Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga</i>	272

CASES IN EASTERN DRC WHICH WARRANT FURTHER INVESTIGATION.....	277
<i>Charles Kagabo</i>	277
<i>Martin Gatabazi, alias Enock Dusabe</i>	279
<i>Faustin Sekagina, alias Manzi</i>	280
<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sébastien Uwimbabazi, alias Gilbert Kimenyi or Nyembo</i>	281

FDLR GENOCIDE SUSPECTS LIVING ABROAD.....	282
<i>Lieutenant Colonel Anselme Nkuriyekubona in Cameroon</i>	282
<i>Dr. Augustin Cyimana in Zambia</i>	295
<i>Colonel François-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko, in Congo-Brazzaville or Bénin</i>	298

OTHER FDLR CASES THAT WARRANT FURTHER INVESTIGATION.....	302
<i>Callixte Mbarushimana in France</i>	302
<i>Colonel Protais Mpiranya, alias Yahya Muhamed, in Zimbabwe</i>	303
<i>Esdras Ntakirutimana in Zambia</i>	304

CASES LINKED TO RUD THAT WARRANT FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS.....	305
--	-----

OTHER GENOCIDE SUSPECTS ABROAD LINKED TO ARMED GROUPS.....	306
<i>Rafiki Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva, alias John Muhindo</i>	306
<i>Jean-Berchmans Turikubwigenge</i>	310
<i>Anastase Munyandekwe</i>	311

14. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION313

ANNEX

Annex One: Organigram of the Rwandese Armed Forces Dated 5 March 1994

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

ADFL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire
ALIR	Army for the Liberation of Rwanda
AU	African Union
CCR	Committee of Co-ordination for the Resistance
CDR	Committee for the Defence of the Republic
CNDP	National Congress for the Defence of the People
CRP	Circle of Progressive Republicans
DANK	Nshili-Kivu Agricultural Development
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Repatriation, Reintegration and Rehabilitation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EGENA	School for the National Gendarmerie
ESM	Senior Military Academy
ESO	Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers
FAC	Congolese Armed Forces
FAR	Rwandese Armed Forces
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (After 2003)
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FDU	Union of Democratic Forces
FOCA	Abacunguzi Fighting Forces (military wing of the FDLR)
GoDRC	Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
GoR	Government of Rwanda
GP	Presidential Guard
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IPJ	Judicial Police Inspector
MDR	Democratic Republican Movement
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MRND	National Republican Movement for Development (1975-1991) and National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (1991-1994)
OPS	Operational Sector
ORINFOR	Rwandese Office of Information
PALIR	Armed People for the Liberation of Rwanda
PARECO	Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Fighters
PL	Liberal Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party
RCD	Congolese Rally for Democracy
RDF	Rwanda Defence Forces
RDR	Republican Rally for Democracy in Rwanda
RPA	Rwandese Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandese Patriotic Front

RPR	<i>Rassemblement Populaire Rwandais</i> ¹
RTL	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
RUD/URUNANA	Rally for Unity and Democracy
SONOKI	Operational Sector of North Kivu
SOSUKI	Operational Sector of South Kivu
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Terms for Administrative Units and Their Corresponding Administrators

Rwanda's local administrative structure was overhauled between 2001-2006. However, many of the events and structures cited in this report relate to the positions that people occupied in the 1990s, or the events that unfolded at the time. Consequently, the names used for geographical locations, administrative units and their corresponding administrators, are those in use in 1994.

- Préfet (Governor), the head of a préfecture;
- Deputy-préfet (Sous-préfet). A deputy-préfet was either in charge of certain responsibilities within the office of the préfecture, or was the head of a number of communes grouped together in a sub-préfecture;
- Bourgmestre (Mayor), the head of a commune;
- Councillor, the head of a sector;
- Responsable*, in charge of a cellule.

According to the current administrative structure, there are five provinces. They have replaced the 11 préfectures which existed prior to 1994, as well as the préfecture of Umutara which was created later. These provinces are:

1. The Eastern Province which covers the former préfectures of Umutara, Kibungo and Kigali-rural;
2. Kigali City, which is the previous préfecture of Kigali City;
3. The Northern Province, namely the former préfectures of Byumba, a part of Kigali-rural and Ruhengeri;
4. The Southern Province, which has absorbed the former préfectures of Butare, Gikongoro and Gitarama;
5. The Western Province, formerly the préfectures of Cyangugu, Gisenyi and Kibuye.

The old communes, sectors and cellules have been changed to districts, of which there are 30; sectors, of which there are 418 and cellules, of which there are 9165.

¹ There is no official English title for this group.

PREFACE

On 1 May 2008, the Rwanda Demobilisation and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) published an advertisement for “Consultancy Services for Documenting Information on Individual Members of the FDLR Leadership.” The tender was awarded to Rakiya Omaar and the work began in July 2008.

The aim of the research was to document the evolution, nature, and command and control structure of the leadership of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), as well as the background, mindset and politics of the leaders and their relationship with the rank and file. The research was expanded to include the main splinter group, the Rally for Unity and Democracy (RUD/Urunana), allied with the *Rassemblement Populaire Rwandais-Inkeragutabara* (RPR). There are other very small groups, such as Rasta or Soki, but they are mostly involved in banditry and, unlike the FDLR and RUD, appear to have no political agenda.

The goal is to advance the disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation, reintegration and rehabilitation of Rwandese² armed groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as well as in other countries. A key objective in providing detailed information about individuals in the military and political hierarchy of the FDLR and RUD, is to analyse their motives and roles in delaying the disarmament, demobilisation and repatriation of the fighters in their ranks and to highlight what is at stake for them as individuals and as a movement. A deeper understanding of these different, but inter-related issues, will clarify the obstacles to repatriation and help the RDRC and its partners craft appropriate policies and strategies.

New and wide-ranging research capitalised on existing information and incorporated the findings and observations into a comprehensive report and database for use by the RDRC and its partners. The methodology consisted of interviews with key informants among former members of the FDLR and RUD who have repatriated; refugees who have returned from the DRC or other relevant countries; their relatives and neighbours and members of the local communities in which the leaders grew up, for example classmates, friends and colleagues, who are now living in Rwanda and who have known or interacted, in one capacity or another, with the leaders in question.

The information on the leaders, which is presented mainly in the format of individual profiles, sought to establish their current position in their respective groups, where they are located, their family and educational background, their professional and political career prior to April 1994, and their whereabouts and activities during the genocide and from July 1994 to the present. The research attempted to follow the trajectory of as many individuals as possible, which involved interviews with former residents of the refugee camps in the DRC and in some of the other countries in Africa where camps were set up

² Rwandan and Rwandese are used interchangeably throughout the report.

for Rwandese refugees, for example in the Republic of Congo; former fighters and cadres of the movement that led the 1997-1998 insurgency, the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR) and its political wing, Armed People for the Liberation of Rwanda (PALIR) and the officers known as ALIR2 who fought in the war in western DRC in 1998-2000.

Where there was insufficient information for a profile, the facts that emerged are reflected in the report in one form or another. In the course of five months it was not, of course, possible to cover the entire leadership either in the DRC or abroad. But the findings from 67 profiles, reinforced by the preliminary research on many others, provide rich insights from which future strategies will benefit enormously.

Where the research also indicated direct complicity in the planning and implementation of the 1994 genocide, prisoners, local residents of the areas where the atrocities are alleged to have taken place and survivors of those massacres and killings were interviewed. Because of the time-consuming nature of research on the genocide, it was only possible to follow up a limited number of cases for this report.

Those who have recently deserted the FDLR and RUD gave details about the groups' military and political structures, which are subject to constant shifts, making it necessary to update the information on a frequent basis. They were also a useful source of information about some of the representatives and supporters abroad of these movements. Discussions with those responsible for sensitizing armed combatants and their dependants to the benefits of repatriation, facilitators and other concerned parties, and exchanges in different focus groups, shed light on the broader context which shapes and constrains the repatriation of Rwandese combatants among the FDLR and RUD, and their families.

The Leadership of Rwandan Armed Groups Abroad with a Focus on the FDLR and RUD/Urunana concludes with recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of future action, addressed not only to the RDRC and its partners, but more broadly to the Government of Rwanda, the African Union, the United Nations Security Council, the European Union, the United Nations Mission in the DRC (MONUC) and foreign countries in Africa, Europe and North America where representatives of the FDLR and RUD are based.

INTRODUCTION

The Rwandan Demobilisation and Reintegration Commission (RDRC), the Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (MDRP)³ and the United Nations Mission in the DRC (MONUC), with the support of the donor community, have consistently engaged in a wide range of initiatives to encourage Rwandese armed groups in the DRC, as well as refugees, to opt for voluntary repatriation.

These efforts have certainly borne fruit, as shown by the steady trickle of people who, often braving danger and difficulties, turn up at MONUC bases or at the offices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), or who find their own way to the RDRC's Mutobo demobilisation camp set up close to Ruhengeri town for former combatants. However, despite the best efforts to develop and implement a compelling and comprehensive campaign of sensitization, the importance of which is acknowledged by former combatants, the pace of repatriation remains frustratingly slow, especially given the significant resources, time, and effort which have been invested in this process by so many institutions.

In this context, the main objective of the research was to shed light on the impediments to repatriation by asking:

- What, and more specifically who, is holding combatants and civilians back, and preventing them from laying down their arms and returning to their homes in Rwanda?
- What is the nature of the organizations or movements they have created, belong to or run?
- What are the beliefs, background and motives of those who are committed to ensure that repatriation fails?
- What strategies do they use to this end, and what is their ultimate goal?

Recognition of the central and destructive role of foreign armed groups in the politics of the DRC, especially in the eastern region, has been the impetus for a series of national, bilateral, regional and international initiatives aimed at advancing disarmament and repatriation. It is, in particular, the presence of Rwandese armed groups, especially the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), which has been widely perceived as the priority. Foreign governments, international and regional bodies have

³ The Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme is supported by a large number of donor countries and also involves several UN agencies as well as other organizations. Some of its funding comes from the World Bank. The stated aim of the MDRP is “to break the cycle of conflict” in the countries of the Great Lakes—the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda, as well as Angola and the Central African Republic.

repeatedly singled out the FDLR as the major impediment to lasting peace in the Great Lakes Region.

When the United States Government included Rwandese genocide suspects who had been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in its Rewards for Justice Programme in July 2002, it linked its decision to their membership of ALIR, the precursor of the FDLR, saying that “these indictees continue to play a destructive role and are fuelling the war that has gripped the Great Lakes region of Africa for over half a decade.”

In January 2005, the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AU), at a meeting in Libreville, Gabon, stated that the ex-FAR and interahamwe in the Kivus “threaten the peace and security of the DRC and Rwanda, heighten the tension between the two countries and undermine the peace and transition processes in the DRC.” It went on to say that “the problem posed by the continued presence of the ex-FAR and interahamwe and other armed groups in eastern DRC requires decisive action by the international community at large and Africa in particular, to effectively disarm and neutralize these armed groups.” It welcomed the declaration by President Joseph Kabila that the DRC would help in the forceful disarmament of these groups, and urged the Security Council to strengthen MONUC and to reinforce its mandate so that it could “contribute more effectively to the stabilization of the situation in eastern DRC, including in the disarmament and the neutralization of the ex-FAR and interahamwe.” On 4 October 2005, the UN Security Council called the failure of the FDLR to lay down its arms by 30 September 2005, as it had pledged in Rome on 31 March 2005, “a serious threat to stability.”

Many governments and institutions have worked hard over the last few years to set up various mechanisms which would, it was hoped, constitute a framework for generating the political will for the DRC and Rwanda, and the Great Lakes as a whole, to work collectively so that Rwandese armed groups are not a menace to the people of the Kivus and a threat to peace and stability in the region.

The Tripartite Agreement on Regional Security in the Great Lakes, which created the Tripartite Joint Commission, was signed by the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda in October 2004, with Burundi, the AU, the United Nations and the European Union as observers, and the United States as facilitator. (Burundi subsequently became a full member and the enlarged group became the Tripartite Plus Joint Commission). The Commission was created to build political confidence among the governments of the DRC, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi by providing opportunities for dialogue and action on shared security challenges.

The Commission’s primary objective was to implement the agreements that had been reached in order to end the fighting and instability in eastern DRC, as reflected in the Lusaka Cease-fire Agreement of 1999, the Pretoria Accord of 2002 and the Luanda Agreement of 2002, “specifically those provisions relating to the tracking down, disarming, demobilization, repatriation, rehabilitation, and resettlement of the armed

groups, with particular reference to the ex-FAR/interahamwe present on the territory of the DRC.” Normalizing the situation along common borders was identified as another key goal. The concerned countries also exchanged lists of wanted persons. The DRC’s inability, or unwillingness, to act against the ex-FAR and interahamwe diminished, and eventually evaporated, any hope that the Commission could be a constructive vehicle for tackling this problem.

In June 2007, the secretariat of the MDRP presented and published a seminal study, *Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament and Repatriation of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. The report analysed what their presence means for the people of the Kivus, the authority of the state in the DRC, the local and regional economies and peace and security in the region as a whole. It identified the FDLR as the foreign armed group with the most extensive and profound impact in the Kivus and reached this conclusion:

It [the FDLR] controls a large part of the Kivu provinces and in almost 50% of the territory it is the strongest and often the only military and political force. The FDLR systematically raises taxes, exploits minerals, controls trade, and politically dominates the local population. The FDLR has committed and continues to commit large-scale and systematic human rights abuses against the civilian population. The FDLR undermines the authority of the GoDRC in areas where it is present.

It went further and identified, as one of the fundamental constraints, what it called the genocidal mindset of its leadership.

A few months later, in November 2007, the Governments of Rwanda and the DRC signed the “Nairobi Communiqué on a Common Approach to End the Threat Posed to Peace and Stability in Both Countries and to the Great Lakes Region.” The Nairobi Communiqué, witnessed by the United States and the European Union and facilitated by the United Nations, was a watershed agreement as far as the FDLR, RUD/URUNANA and other Rwandese armed groups in the DRC were concerned, for the DRC committed itself to military action against them and agreed to co-operate with Rwanda in bringing those accused of genocide to justice.

The Amani conference in Goma, which sought to defuse the military, political, social and economic tensions which resulted from the clashes, in October 2007, between soldiers loyal to Kinshasa and those loyal to the rebel leader, Laurent Nkunda and his party, the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP). It also debated and discussed the nature and roots of the instability in the Kivus and its political fault lines. The conference consumed most of January 2008.

Given the deep-rooted history of many of these conflicts, it was necessary and important to address them. All the armed groups in both North and South Kivu were in attendance, together with civic groups, political movements, prominent political and religious figures and members of the Conference on Peace, Security and Development in North and South Kivu. But the wide-ranging discussions and the promising decisions did not lead to the complete disarmament or integration of all factions or groups into the national army as

was envisaged. Insisting on direct linkage between the Amani conference and the provisions of the Nairobi Communiqué regarding Rwandese armed groups, Nkunda argued that he was not bound by the Amani process as long as the government failed to implement the Communiqué.

The secretariat of the MDRP and the department in charge of Disarmament, Demobilisation, Repatriation, Reintegration and Rehabilitation of MONUC (DDRRR) devoted much of the year 2008 to intensifying the campaign of sensitization as a follow up to the Nairobi Communiqué, adding the GoDRC and the local government as new elements in the effort. But, according to the message which came back from those tasked with this responsibility, unless the problem of the leadership of the FDLR and of RUD/URUNANA was confronted, repatriation would remain hostage to the leadership, and the pace would continue as before, or increase only modestly to a small number of individuals, as opposed to organized and visible programmes that target substantial groups of potential returnees. They also pointed out that DDRRR, at its current rate, would not outrun recruitment, and it would not, therefore, amount to a “deadly drain” on the armed groups.

The stranglehold which the leadership, including those who are abroad, have on decisions made on the ground became particularly apparent in the negotiations initiated by the DRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs with RUD/URUNANA and the much smaller RPR-Inkeragutabara (Popular Rwandese Assembly), created by former RPA soldiers and allied with RUD. These negotiations began during the January 2008 Goma conference and continued for several months afterwards, with further meetings in Pisa and Rome, where a “roadmap to disarmament” was hammered out, and the talks were taken up again in Kisangani on 25 May 2008. Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva, known as Rafiki or John Muhindo, played a prominent role in the Kisangani talks because of his close personal relations with the DRC’s former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi, who is now the Minister of Decentralization. For sometime, Rafiki had been an advisor to Nyamwisi to help facilitate GoDRC involvement regarding the presence of Rwandese armed groups in the DRC.

Kisangani highlighted the critical importance of understanding the background of those who represent themselves, or are put forward by others, as central players, in order to grasp the direction in which they are pushing the negotiations, and the nature of the conditions and demands they make. Nsengiyumva, whose background is detailed in the profile included in this report, was the Minister of Public Works in the government responsible for the genocide. He was one of the most important organizers of the genocide in the town of Gisenyi and his name appears on the list, published in May 2006 by Rwanda’s Prosecutor-General, of the most wanted genocide suspects. The MDRP secretariat and the DDRRR, who were made aware of this background, passed the information to the DRC government through diplomatic and direct channels prior to the gathering in Kisangani. But it did not deter the government, largely on the insistence of Nyamwisi, from approving his participation and giving him a platform.

Also present in Kisangani on 25 May was Col. Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo, who was flown out to Kisangani as part of the GoDRC delegation, and whose profile is also featured in this report. In 1994, Nyamuhimba was head of the police force for the city of Kigali. He collaborated closely with the préfet (governor), Col. Tharcisse Renzaho—one of the founders of the FDLR—to plan and implement the genocide in Kigali. Based in Congo-Brazzaville, he was an active member of the FDLR cell there for a long time, but is now regarded, unofficially, as RUD's commissioner for defence.

On 26 May, an agreement was reached in Kisangani that the leadership of RUD/RPR would facilitate access to combatants, their dependants and refugees who are linked to them, to enable them to make a free choice about repatriation or temporary relocation inside the DRC but outside the Kivu provinces. A timetable for disarmament was also spelt out. Predictably, these efforts came to nothing, for a repatriation process shaped, in any form, by Rafiki and Nyamuhimba would not meet expectations and would have little chance of success.

More broadly, both MONUC and the secretariat of the MDRP found it difficult, without knowing exactly who they were dealing with and without information about the leadership of the group, to make sense of the positions taken by the participants and to be able to judge who actually can, or cannot, carry the discussions forward to a fruitful conclusion, in short to manage the process effectively.

Three subsequent joint missions by the national and international facilitation teams recorded no progress. Finally, RUD/URUNANA consented with the GoDRC to disarm and relocate, under conditions that were far from convincing. There were delays, but when the registration was finally carried out, 98% of ex-combatants with unclear status, and civilians, stated their wish to return home to Rwanda unconditionally.

This development underscores the findings of this consultancy, namely that the rank and file are overwhelmingly in favour of repatriation, according to interviews with returnees, and the stumbling block is pressure, misinformation, manipulation, threats and violence from the leadership. When eventually a visit to Rwanda was proposed, "Norrio Sabin" was included as a "representative" of the "refugee community at Kasiki camp." Norrio Sabin, who is in charge of Kasiki camp, is in fact Lt. Col. Norbert Twagiramukiza who is also the deputy commander of RUD's only battalion. He was formerly with the FDLR where he was known as Gaheza.

It is also evident, from discussions with ex-RUD officers that the leadership of RUD, which has an estimated combat strength of about 380 men, shares a political position that can only be described as extremely hard-line and inflexible. They emphasized that any attempts to identify certain individuals among the leaders as genuine believers in negotiations were misplaced. In this regard, they saw no difference between Col. Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare, the force commander; his deputy, Lt.Col. Wenceslas Nizeyimana, known as Kit, and any of the other men at the top.

With respect to the more significant FDLR, (which has a force of about 6,500 in eastern DRC), most of its military and civilian leaders were cited as political extremists committed to military struggle who were doing all they could to discourage and disrupt repatriation. These men include the head of the FOCA, the FDLR's armed wing, General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Mupenzi Bernard; the commander of the North Kivu division, Col. Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega and Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, known as Rumuli, the second vice-president.

The research was initially intended to concentrate on the military commanders and politicians in North and South Kivu. However, it became necessary, because of evidence about their substantial influence, to devote time to identifying the leaders based abroad, especially those in Europe for both the FDLR and RUD, although the US is also significant for RUD. Representatives and supporters in Africa are also important, especially for the FDLR.

In particular, the immense influence that the president of the FDLR, Ignace Murwanashyaka, yields was repeatedly brought up in interviews. In January 2008, arrangements were underway for a meeting to be held in Nyabiondo on the 16th between the FDLR and representatives of the Conference on Peace, Security and Development of the Provinces of North and South Kivu, namely Mgr Gamuhanya, rector of the Catholic University of Bukavu, Fr. Matteo Zuppi of the St.Egidio Community and Robert Seninga, a member of the North Kivu provincial parliament.

The aim was to learn more about the FDLR's position vis-à-vis the Nairobi Communiqué. The secretariat of the MDRP facilitated the get-together. The FDLR delegation included Jean Marie-Vianney Nyawenda, alias David Mukiza, head of Murwanashyaka's office in North Kivu. Agreements on where to meet and when were cancelled because of impossible demands from the FDLR in Europe, in particular Murwanashyaka, and the meeting almost did not take place.

Murwanashyaka issued an "official" statement from Berlin to the conference on 7 January in which he called, yet again, on Rwanda and on the international community to satisfy conditions that had long been rejected and were a recipe for a stalemate. When eventually the discussion commenced, the FDLR's position softened considerably in the course of the exchange, leading some of the participants to conclude that talks on the ground would have a much better chance of success if the politicians in Europe could be left out of the process and of the decisions.

Just how effective, and destructive, Murwanashyaka's instructions are became clear again when Rumuli and other FDLR leaders attended a summit in Nyabiondo in August 2008 with GoDRC officials, the St.Egidio community, with Mgr Kuye and MONUC's DDRRR.

The FDLR pledged to avail 1,000 combatants to "enter the process." Rumuli promised to send, within a week, the names of FDLR officers to travel to Kinshasa for discussions about the practical details and further consultations in South Africa and Rome. The offer

was withdrawn shortly afterwards, apparently because of Murwanashyaka's intervention. The spokesperson of FOCA contacted the MDRP secretariat to say that an eventual list of chosen officers for such a mission could only come from the president himself and their president did not want officers to travel without guarantees of security. He added that the president also expected to be paid a visit in Germany by the GoDRC special advisor to President Joseph Kabila on security matters to talk about funding. Murwanashyaka then sent a letter to Fr. Zuppi where he laid out 14 conditions which were impossible to fulfil, in effect ensuring that the operation could not take place.

Another leader abroad who appears to be well known among fighters, and who is seen as an asset, is Callixte Mbarushimana, the executive secretary of the FDLR, based in France. When returnees speak of Murwanashyaka and Mbarushimana as effective leaders, they cite their frequent interviews on influential international radio stations which are listened to by the FDLR, especially the BBC, VOA and RFI, representing, explaining and justifying the FDLR to the world. In addition, Murwanashyaka is appreciated by them for his visits to the field.

Given the extent to which the prospects for disarmament and repatriation depend on the leadership of the FDLR and RUD, the research sought to gather information about the evolution of the organizations from 1994 to the present, their current command and control structure and mechanisms, including the background of leaders in the military and political branches, as well as some of their representatives and supporters abroad.

THE OBSTACLES TO REPATRIATION

The Experiences and Perspectives of Returnees

The people who are best placed to speak about the obstacles faced by those who want to repatriate are the soldiers and civilians who fought alongside the FDLR and RUD and who then decided to come back to Rwanda. Interviews with senior and junior officers, some of who returned as late as December 2008, as well as civilians, revealed many issues, which emerged as a common thread throughout the interviews. These are summarised below, with excerpts from the testimonies. Pseudonyms have been used for the testimonies to protect the identity of witnesses.

The research revealed that the FDLR and RUD in eastern Congo can be divided into four categories, broadly speaking. The four categories, which of course overlap, consist of: those who are engaged in some form of profitable economic activity or who have gained a social standing they do not want to lose; people who have, or might have, participated in the genocide; individuals who have had no news of their families for more than a decade and, finally, those who were very young when they left Rwanda for the DRC.

This chapter looks at the motives, mindset, constraints and pressures that need to be understood in both a general sense and with particular regard to the different groups. It examines the interests leaders have in opposing repatriation, the strategies they use to achieve their ends and the impediments that would-be returnees face.

The Interests Leaders Have in Discouraging Repatriation

Economic Self Interest

The fact that leaders have soldiers under their command, who they can use to further their economic self-interest, was given as one of the most important reasons why those at the top are hesitant to return, or to let go of the fighters who in effect constitute a free workforce.

Aloys and Jean, two former colonels of FOCA speaking during a joint interview, explained that the system works “through the exploitation of minerals, the hunt for elephants, wood and barter trade.”

FDLR members will, for example, take gold to Walikale and they will be paid in dollars or Congolese francs. Or maybe in palm oil, which they will then sell to the Rwandese refugees or to the local population who live nearby. The senior people use their soldiers for selling merchandise because they are not the ones who are going to go to the market to barter.

Promotions make it possible for people to aspire towards the rank that will enable them to command a free labour force.

The fact that people get promoted has an influence. When you become a battalion commander, you have a lot of people working for you. Even a company commander has quite a few people at his disposal. They use these soldiers to make money for them. Others see that and aspire to those positions. They see that when you have manpower, it is a resource which works to make you rich. But in coming back to Rwanda, they worry about being unemployed. And they like to point to people who returned to Rwanda and who are not working. So all the time you hear people saying: 'I'd rather loot in Congo than be unemployed in Rwanda.'

But, they said, it is not always those who occupy the most senior positions in the hierarchy who make the most money. Some, especially company commanders who are in the field, loot during operations or engage in commerce.

It's not necessarily the leaders at the top who have all made money. Not all senior officers are well off and not all soldiers are poor.

They named some of the military officers within FOCA who are said to have become rich.

The people who have made big money include: Mudacumura [overall commander]; Mugaragu [chief of staff]; Samuel Rucogoza, the S4 of FOCA; André Kaluma [whose real name is Lt.Col. Lucien Nzabamwita, the commander of the reserve brigade]; Anaclet Hitimana [deputy commander of the reserve brigade]; Evode Ndahayo, the S1 of the reserve brigade; Kaleb [Lt.Col. Védaste Hatangumuremyi], the G2 of FOCA and almost all company commanders because they are on the ground far more than their senior leaders. Anaclet Hitimana especially has a reputation for having made a lot of money.

Asked what the money is used for, they gave this reply.

A key goal is to get to Europe. Take, for example, Hussein's men who have deserted.⁴ They're in Goma, looking for a way to get to Europe.

But having money is a good thing in itself, and for everybody, not just those who are dreaming of Europe. They also know they will not have money if and when they go back to Rwanda, so they want to accumulate what they can now to use later. Others, for example Mugaragu, have children who are studying abroad. Others, using their relatives, have invested their money in Bukavu, Goma and even in Rwanda, in property, trucks etc...

Assiel, who said he was kidnapped by the FLDR in 2004 when he had left his home in Gisenyi to work in North Kivu, explained why officers enjoy a comfortable position.

⁴ This is a reference to a commander, alias Hussein, who deserted with a group of his soldiers in August 2008.

They are making money without working. They send us to the mines in Congo to look for minerals. They sell the minerals and keep the money for themselves.

Laurien, who was in the army before 1994 and who went from ALIR to the FDLR, agrees that having junior staff at their disposal is a powerful incentive for senior officers to remain in the DRC and to keep others there.

They use their subordinates to run their business in minerals, animals and other merchandise. They do everything they can to stop them from leaving in order not to lose their services. An example is Mudacumura; he lives like a king because everyone has to bring him something.

Some FDLR leaders are respected “even though they never went to school,” commented Alphonse, who worked in the political branch of the FDLR in Masisi. This respect comes not only with a certain social standing, but also with economic privileges. Worries about being poor are therefore compounded by the fear of becoming “a nobody” in Rwanda.

They know that if they returned to Rwanda, they would not be as important, so they would rather stay in Congo where they have respect and their advantages.

But it is not only those who have become rich who have an economic incentive to remain in eastern DRC, or who worry about their livelihood in Rwanda, as Laurien noted.

The families of the FDLR cultivate very fertile soil, and so they never want for food. Many of them are afraid to leave for Rwanda where they are not certain of finding the same fertile land. Others are afraid of losing their military rank and being demobilised in Rwanda, and then becoming unemployed.

Alphonse also underlined the importance of fertile land in the DRC.

Some people live a better life than they would in Rwanda. In Congo, they work the very fertile land. Since they have large families, they’re afraid they will not be able to support them in Rwanda.

Oscar also mentioned the economic incentive for many to stay in Congo.

Other members of the FDLR were poor when they left Rwanda but became rich when they got to Congo because of agriculture and exploiting minerals. It’s not easy to convince them to return when they cannot continue doing their business in Rwanda.

Oscar, 23 at the time, was studying in Rwanda in 1994 before fleeing to the DRC. He became an insurgent with ALIR in 1997 and then continued with the FDLR. He enrolled in their training school for officers after which he became a platoon commander in North Kivu.

The comments above reflect interviews with returnees from North Kivu. Jacques, whose attempt to leave South Kivu is described below, spoke about the situation in that region.

In South Kivu, the FDLR, which is well represented there, is heavily involved in business. They get a lot of money from minerals and the harvest is excellent when it comes to farming. Only the Congolese government can put a brake on all this, but it's the Congolese government allows them to live there without any worries.

Fear of Justice

The 1994 genocide casts a major shadow over the politics of Rwandan armed groups, as pointed out over the years by a range of observers, none more important than those who have been in those movements themselves. While it is evidently true that not all soldiers and civilians in leadership positions are genocide suspects, it is also a fact, as the individual profiles illustrate, that many leaders were instrumental in the planning and execution of the genocide. The significant number of ex-FAR officers among those who have been indicted by the ICTR, and subsequently arrested and or tried, is an indication of how important a role the top echelons of the former army played in the massacres.⁵

The two colonels cited earlier spoke about how the issue of genocide justice “plays into the hands” of those worried about their past.

The fact that the ex-FAR, especially the officer class, are all regarded in general as génocidaires, and labelled as such, plays into the hands of those who know they are wanted for what they did. And they don't hesitate to use it. Even though many ex-FAR have been integrated into the army in Rwanda, or into civilian life, this generalisation has an impact. Those who committed crimes, whether they were senior officers in 1994 or low-ranking soldiers, take the others as hostages, and are always saying how terrible things are in Rwanda.

For some, they said, their participation in the killings is common knowledge because they make no effort to hide their past, including three officers whose profiles are detailed in this report.

Some individuals are known as génocidaires in the FDLR because they themselves speak openly about what they did, for example, Nzeyimana [who was at the Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers, ESO, in Butare]. He knows very well that no one is going to come and pluck him out of the forests of Congo. Gakwerere [who was also at ESO] doesn't hesitate to speak about his role in the genocide. Rutiganda, who was a bourgmestre in 1994 [of Murama in Gitarama], is also known as a génocidaire.

According to Oscar, some FDLR members are misinformed about the justice process in Rwanda and their lack of information is used to advantage by their superiors.

⁵ Senior figures among the ex-FAR who have been arrested at the request of the ICTR, and subsequently tried, or whose trial is pending, include: Augustin Bizimungu, chief of staff of the army; Augustin Ndindiliyimana, chief of staff of the national gendarmerie; Ildephonse Hategekimana, commander of Ngoma camp in Butare; Tharcisse Muvunyi, commander of ESO in Butare; Alphonse Nteziryayo, commanding officer of the military police, then préfet of Butare; François-Xavier Nzuwonemeye, commander of the reconnaissance battalion; Innocent Sagahutu, deputy commander of the reconnaissance battalion and Ephrem Setako, a lieutenant colonel.

Some members of the FDLR took part in the genocide. They are afraid of returning because they know they will be judged for what they did. The leaders increase their fears by saying they will get the death penalty and that they may even be killed without being judged.

Anicet was 23 when he joined the army in April 1994. In 1997, he was active in the ALIR insurgency and from there, he went to the FDLR. Rumours about the death penalty in Rwanda are, he said, used to keep people from deserting.

Many people in the FDLR participated in the genocide. So they're reluctant to come home and to take responsibility for their crimes. They're told they will be immediately condemned to death, without a trial.

High-ranking soldiers who committed heinous crimes want to retain a large number of people in the ranks and don't want to see them leave. And yet their own children have either come back to Rwanda or gone abroad to study.

"Those with the genocide on their conscience," said Alphonse "do everything in their power to stop others from returning."

The Impediments Faced by Potential Returnees

The Lack of Information and the Power of Misinformation

Lack of accurate information, most importantly about the fate and living conditions of their immediate families, but also about the security and political situation inside Rwanda, and about opportunities for education and employment, is a critical factor in discouraging desertion.

Oscar's parents had written to him in 2005, asking him to come home. But what he learned about life in Rwanda while in the FDLR held him back.

A major handicap is the false information circulated by FDLR leaders and their allies among combatants and civilian refugees. They told us that Hutus who make their way back to Rwanda are all assassinated, that the Rwandan government has a plan to exterminate all Hutus and that even your own relatives want you to go back and to get killed so they can take all your property.

Everything about Rwanda is interpreted in a negative manner to stop people from wanting to go back to their country. The military and civilian leaders of the FDLR want to keep the largest possible number of hostages so they don't remain alone in their refuge. For example, they told us that Vision 2020 is nothing but the Rwandan government's plan to exterminate all Hutus and to ensure that no Hutus are living in the country by that time. The FDLR combatants believe all this because they have no other sources of information to disprove what their leaders tell them.

It was Hutu men, he was told, who faced danger in Rwanda, so he decided to send his wife first to gauge the situation. Her visit was reassuring and, three years after his parents' letter, in August 2008, Oscar was ready to pack up.

Anicet said he remained in the FDLR because he believed what he had been told, namely that his entire family had been assassinated by the RPF. He eventually discovered that his relatives were in fact alive. When a former neighbour went back to Rwanda, she informed his family about his whereabouts.

They wrote to me. They also passed an announcement on Radio Rwanda, on the programme that sensitises FDLR soldiers to return to Rwanda. I finally believed they really were alive when I heard the announcement.

But he understands why others hesitate.

They don't have any news of their families and many of them think they are the only ones left alive in their families. They have been told that all Hutus were killed by the current government.

The relentless emphasis on the dangers that await any and all Hutus in Rwanda, and the dire picture painted by the leaders about security in the country, has a particularly strong impact on those who were very young when they left Rwanda. Those who were children in 1994, and especially those who lost their parents or who lost track of their families after they became separated between 1996-1998, are especially susceptible, as Jacques, who was 15 when he left Rwanda, observed.

Given the fact that they left Rwanda when they were small and don't know the country, they believe everything they are told. And what they are told is that Tutsis rule Rwanda and that they are very dangerous people.

Gilbert feels he did not have an alternative to the FDLR. He was 12 when he left Butare in 1994 for the DRC, together with his family. He and his family were on the move in 1998 when he got separated from them.

That's when I became a soldier. I don't know where my parents or the rest of my family are. I haven't heard about them since 1998. I had no choice but to join the FDLR since I didn't think I could return to Rwanda.

He thought even less about Rwanda once he was integrated into the FDLR.

The leaders constantly told us that people have no rights and that they are massacred because they are Hutu.

A telephone conversation with an acquaintance in Rwanda changed his perspective.

I thought Rwanda was like hell from what our leaders had told us. I didn't think there were any Hutus left in Rwanda. When I found out that young people my age, who I had gone to school with, had completed their university education, I felt as if I had wasted my

time for nothing. And yet my life was so bad. So I decided to return to Rwanda, especially after I heard on the radio that other members of the FDLR were going back without a problem.

The misinformation about Rwanda is closely tied, Laurien believes, to the interests of genocide suspects.

Those who had a role in the genocide told us that the news about abolition of capital punishment in Rwanda is an absolute lie. Instead, they said, the death penalty is still being exercised in the country and everybody who appears before gacaca will be killed. Former FDLR people in Rwanda who go on the radio to sensitise those still in the forests do so at gunpoint, they said, and are killed right after the broadcast.

The importance of radio programmes aimed at Rwandan armed groups is clear from Assiel's testimony.

We often had meetings with our superiors where they told us horrible things about what was happening in Rwanda and we believed them. They said Rwandan authorities were all Tutsis and that they were not only killing all the Hutus who went back to the country, but were also exterminating their families. I decided to return to Rwanda after I heard an announcement on Radio Rwanda saying those who had repatriated were safe and sound. I was surprised to find that my entire family was still alive.

Without access to independent sources of information, argued Christophe, whose journey from North Kivu to Rwanda is described below, "reality in Rwanda is what FDLR commanders tell them."

And what they tell them is that every FDLR person who reaches Rwanda is assassinated and that Hutus in general are routinely murdered. Because of this, when someone else tells them that actually there is peace in Rwanda, they are very sceptical. Those who know what is really happening in Rwanda are the ones who have mobiles and who live in places where they have network.

Inevitably, he added, the leaders exploit political problems in Rwanda.

When a political figure goes into exile, for whatever reason, the FDLR tries to convince them not to go back to Rwanda.

Alphonse recalled the tactics used to devalue the sensitisation programmes on the radio.

They insist that it's the same people saying the same thing all the time. For them this is proof that the programme must have been recorded before the person was shot. They ask why the same message should otherwise be rebroadcast when many people have gone back.

False Information from Relatives in Rwanda

A number of interviewees, including Jean and Aloys, pointed out that family members in Rwanda sometimes advise their relatives against repatriation.

They do so for selfish reasons. They have taken over their land and property during their long absence and don't want them to disturb this arrangement. So they tell them that security in Rwanda is not at all guaranteed, but this is out of self-interest.

Marc, who was with the FDLR in South Kivu until three years ago, added that it is often half-siblings, cousins and uncles, who have taken over their property, who mislead them.

If the Commission wants to use the combatants' families in Rwanda to help with repatriation, they should focus on mothers, wives and full brothers and sisters. The others often don't want them back because they don't want to share what they have appropriated.

The Threat and Reality of Violent Reprisals

The single most important factor, which was emphasized again and again, is fear, and the certainty of violent reprisals, if it becomes known that someone is planning to return to Rwanda. It is not the desire to leave the DRC that constitutes the problem, for many people are given permission to visit their families in Zambia or elsewhere, to seek medical care, or even to go for further studies. The need for secrecy arises when someone is planning to repatriate to Rwanda, as Anicet underlined.

It's not easy to leave the FDLR. The military and civilian leaders told us that anybody who left, if caught, would be either killed or imprisoned. When the other soldiers find out that you are trying to repatriate, they would rather kill you than let you go because you are considered a traitor to the FDLR.

The decision is even harder, he added, for those with families like himself.

It's easier to get caught then, and you can be shot with your family. This is one of the biggest obstacles because people are afraid to risk the lives of their entire families.

To minimize the risk of getting caught, Anicet separated from his family after making arrangements for them.

I gave \$20 to a Congolese man to escort my wife and four children from Butembo to Busorojye, but since there is a concentration of FDLR members in this area, I had to pay him an extra \$10 dollars to drive them to Hombo where I linked up with them. From Hombo, we headed to the UNHCR, and the officials there called MONUC to come and get us.

Several interviewees mentioned the case of a captain who was trapped and beaten so badly that he died from his injuries. Jean and Aloys gave details.

In January 2006, a certain Captain Sierra from Nyabihu was betrayed by one of his soldiers. He was caught, judged and killed. He was with a sub-lieutenant from Nyabihu who wasn't killed but given a serious beating.

There was also a Sub-Lt. Nibizi, the S4 in a battalion in South Kivu. It was in 2001. He went back for his wife who he had left behind. They didn't trust him and said he was bound to leave again, so he was judged, given the death sentence and shot.

They said many people escape first and then contact MONUC.

Generally people first desert and then start making their arrangements about contacting MONUC or whatever. Because if you stay, and they become aware that you have put out feelers to MONUC, then the situation becomes very dangerous. The FDLR has an active and effective intelligence service. And they won't hesitate to kill you if you are planning to come back to Rwanda.

Gilbert, who said "it requires a lot of manoeuvres to leave the FDLR," was understandably nervous once he had steeled himself to desert the FDLR.

I walked from the base and later took a motorbike to Kilumba market. I spent the night there and got a car to Goma the next morning. I didn't go directly to MONUC but first spent a few days at the home of a Rwandan I know in Goma. It took me about a month to get to Rwanda. I arrived here in mid November [2008].

Christophe, 36, is married and the father of two children. In 1994, he was a secondary school student. He returned to Rwanda in 1996, completed his secondary studies, and then went back to the DRC in 1998. He began his military training in 1999 in North Kivu and later became active in the FDLR. He said he first began to think about repatriation in 2006 after he spoke on the telephone with his mother, brothers and sisters in Rwanda who told him Rwanda was secure. At the end of 2007 he arranged to meet his mother in Goma, which sealed his decision. In May 2008, he transferred his wife and children to Goma in preparation for his plans to escape.

In July, he began the journey to join his family in Goma. But after leaving Katale, he was arrested in a place called Kako by the military police of the FARDC.

They knew me, as we had worked together in the forests. They asked me where I was going without an escort. I lied and said that I was on my way to Goma on a mission and that I was coming right back. But they didn't believe me. They contacted their battalion commander. They also took \$4,500 I had in my pocket. I was imprisoned in the 6th brigade in Kiwandja and spent the night there. The following day, the military police of Goma came and took me to Goma. I was detained for two weeks. I gave some money to a Congolese judicial police inspector to let my wife know that I had been imprisoned and he did contact her. My wife in turn informed MONUC.

MONUC intervened but were told that the investigation had not been completed. Christophe was eventually questioned by FARDC soldiers from Goma and told them of his wish to leave for Rwanda. They contacted MONUC who returned to collect him.

If MONUC had not become involved, the FARDC would not have released me. They said the FDLR would think they had repatriated me by force. They also kept asking me which FDLR officers had a lot of money.

This is my own personal experience, but everyone in the FDLR who wants to come home runs into all sorts of obstacles. When the FDLR finds out that someone is thinking about going to Rwanda, either he is imprisoned or given a thorough beating. A lieutenant known as Joker has been in detention since 2006. And Captain Sierra was caught, tried by the military tribunal and given 300 lashings with a stick. Those who had sentenced him had to go and explain to the High Command why they had not imposed the death penalty. He became sick, was imprisoned and died.

He spoke about the risks for families.

Relatives from Rwanda who come to persuade their people to leave the FDLR and come home have to be very cautious in case the FDLR thinks they are on a government mission. The situation is far more risky for the wives of serving FDLR members who come to Rwanda to test the waters because there is immediate suspicion that the family is thinking of deserting the movement.

Jacques was a youngster of 15 during the genocide. He and his family came back from the refugee camps to their home in Gisenyi in 1996, and were displaced again in 1998 during the ALIR insurgency. He was recruited and given military training by ALIR in 1998. He then went on to the FDLR and operated in South Kivu. He said he had had no contact with his family during the long period he spent with the FDLR and had little information about Rwanda. In 2006, he took advantage of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to send a letter to his father who replied a year later. They spoke by telephone.

He told me everyone in my family was alive, as were all the people who had been our neighbours, and that there was no reason I shouldn't come home. So I made up my mind to go home.

He sent his family ahead of him to Rwanda, and then discreetly began to make arrangements for himself. He was forced to act fast when he realized that the departure of his family had created suspicion in the minds of his colleagues.

If ever the FDLR finds out that someone is getting ready to quit, he will be mistreated, or even killed.

Jacques and two of his friends left together at night and headed towards the office of MONUC in a place called Mwenga. From there, MONUC transferred them to their office in Walungu where they were told of demonstrations in Bukavu against MONUC and the CNDP led by Laurent Nkunda.

We needed to get to Bukavu to reach Rwanda, but we had to spend a day waiting at Walungu. At 5:00 p.m., a MONUC driver told us to get in the car. We didn't understand his conversation with his bosses since we don't speak English. We set off, but there was no military escort, whereas normally FDLR people who are being taken back to Rwanda are accompanied by MONUC soldiers for their security.

At 7:00 p.m. Jacques said they stopped at the driver's home so he could drop off charcoal for his family.

Someone asked the driver who we were, and he told him we were Rwandese going back to their country. The man blew a whistle and straightaway our car was surrounded by people, the ones who had been involved in the protests. The driver ran away and we remained in the car. We were in a part of Bukavu called Nyawera. They made us get out of the car in a brutal manner, forcing us to come out through the windows. We were given a really good beating; each one of us was beaten by at least 50 people who took everything we had, even our clothes. The police were there and saw all this, but they didn't intervene.

I was bleeding through the mouth, ears and nose. Suddenly I heard gunfire. FARDC soldiers arrived and made us get in their jeep. They took us to their office and started to bombard us with questions. But we couldn't speak. They took us to MONUC where we were given medical care. The head of MONUC for the South Kivu region himself came to see us, and he had us transferred to a hospital which belongs to the Chinese in Bukavu for further medical treatment. We were in a critical condition. The following day, it was decided that we should be taken to a hospital in Rwanda. I suspect MONUC didn't want us to die while we were in their hands.

Jacques and his two companions were hospitalized in Gihundwe, Cyangugu. They were then taken to a hospital in Ntendezi where they were looked after by the RDRC. They arrived at Mutobo demobilisation centre on 11 November 2008. Their experiences, said Jacques, could only have a negative impact on those they had left behind who were also contemplating desertion, including a captain who should have been in their group but who had delayed.

We found out that he was arrested. His first name is Benjamin and he was in the reserve brigade.

But it is not only in the FDLR where deserters fear retribution. Boniface was a corporal in RUD when he made up his mind, in August 2007, that he no longer wanted to be a combatant. He had become a soldier at the beginning of the genocide, took part in ALIR and then progressed to the FDLR and to RUD.

I didn't want to risk my life, so I had to be very secretive. Musare will not allow any of his fighters to come back to Rwanda. It took me two days to walk to the nearest MONUC post in Kanyabayonga.

A Security Deterrent: The Long Distance to MONUC Stations

All returnees, including Anicet, spoke of the hazardous journey to reach the offices of MONUC.

When you successfully reach the offices of MONUC, you are safe from then on. The problem is getting there. A good number of FDLR members would like to return to Rwanda. But they're scared that they cannot safely get their families to MONUC.

Gilbert understands Anicet's anxieties.

MONUC offices are very far from FDLR bases, and the FDLR positions people along the way who are on the lookout for deserters. In addition to the insecurity, the journey is very long.

Alphonse knew he would have a difficult time leaving the FDLR, so he lied and said he was going to Europe to study. But once off the base he instead went to MONUC.

They're flexible when it means going to another country other than Rwanda. I wrote to Murwanashyaka asking him for permission to go and study and he responded positively. They even gave me permission to send my wife home since I could not leave her alone in the forests. They trusted me so much that it never occurred to them that I could escape and return to Rwanda. I then took my wife, children and my younger sister to UNHCR and then pretended that I was going to Bukavu to get a plane. I took a taxi and when I got to MONUC, I got out and alerted the MONUC authorities to the fact that I had left my family at UNHCR and they went to bring them.

Assiel said there is FDLR surveillance along the route to MONUC, making it a dangerous journey.

They are there on the pretext of protecting the security of the market near MONUC's office.

Oscar's journey home was complicated by the fact that he and his wife were travelling with a child of three and a child of four months.

My family lived about two hours from where I was. We were forced to walk during the night and hide during the day. This helped us to bypass FDLR posts without being noticed. It took us seven days to reach MONUC's office. The FDLR has units near every MONUC position, which makes things difficult for those trying to reach MONUC. But MONUC's offices are very far from FDLR bases, which increase the risk for deserters.

This risk is particularly noticeable for civilians in South Kivu, remarked Jacques.

Civilians in refugee camps are a long way away from the offices of MONU and the UNHCR, and they live surrounded by FDLR posts. To get to the nearest MONUC position, you have to walk 120 kilometres by foot. The FDLR goes to great lengths to ensure that civilians live far, telling them that it wants to protect them from the enemy.

In South Kivu, I can't see how MONUC staff can live where the FDLR are. I don't believe you can ask them to make such a sacrifice because they would have to put up with impossible conditions. And yet, the fact that their offices are such a long distance is a big handicap for anyone who wants to quit the FDLR.

The following chapter discusses who the military and civilian leaders are and the various steps, and difficulties, in establishing their identity.

WHO ARE THE LEADERS? The Process of Establishing Their Identity

This report has sought to be as comprehensive as possible, both in presentation of the facts, as far as structures, individual profiles and links to networks in foreign countries are concerned, as well as in analysing the background, outlook and goals of the FDLR and RUD. This chapter discusses how the research into these different aspects unfolded and the challenges that were encountered during this process.

Perhaps the most difficult, from the distance of Rwanda, is research about all the individuals who live across the world and who are linked, in one way or another, with the FDLR or RUD.

Identity and Background

Reshuffle After Reshuffle

The constant changes in the hierarchy make it nearly impossible to put together a structure that is 100% accurate at any particular point in time. The research on the structures was updated on a continuous basis, but even interviews with the most recent returnees is not a full-proof guarantee since further changes may have taken place during the days or weeks since they left eastern Congo. In the case of the FDLR, the fact that the military wing is spread out between North and South Kivu slows down the task of tracing the developments that might have taken place.

The Use of Cover Names

The systematic use of cover names, and the fact that the same individual may be using multiple aliases simultaneously, or changes them frequently, is an efficient smokescreen as it makes it difficult to know which one they are going by at any given time. Because their commanders and colleagues have been using cover names for more than a decade, combatants often did not know their real names. It is even less likely that a senior commander would be familiar with the names of the junior members of the battalions. There are no set rules for discovering an individual's true identity.

After establishing someone's current position in the FDLR or RUD, or obtaining information about their place of origin, or their post in Rwanda prior to exile, it was often necessary to go to their native sector or cellule to discover their real name, or to make contact with former colleagues and classmates. In some places, however, this was further complicated by the fact that the person in question was known in his place of origin by a

family nickname. Callixte Mbarushimana, the FDLR's Executive Secretary, for example, is known as Maneza in the area of Ruhengeri where he comes from. Apollinaire Hakizimana, alias Amiki Lepic or Poète, the commissioner of defence, is referred to as Bagenzi by relatives and neighbours in Karago, Gisenyi. Ignace Nkaka, the FDLR's acting spokesman, is Ruhumuliza to the people on his native hill in the same commune of Karago.

Life in Rwanda and in Exile: A Time-Consuming Process

Once the true identity of the commander or political figure has been confirmed, it then becomes necessary to establish some, or all of the following in order to build up a profile:

- Precise information about their place of birth and origin to facilitate contact with immediate family members, other relatives and also neighbours who can provide information about their families, the whereabouts of their relatives and about their education. This opens up the next stage of the research, to discover how their career developed and to find people who knew them at the various stages of their professional life;

Interviews with close relatives were revealing for a number of reasons, including the discrepancies between the date of birth or age given by relatives and what is recorded officially. Where there has been a long separation from the family, of a decade or more, they are often not aware of their history and the various positions they have held within one movement, or as they went from one armed movement to another. However, relatives frequently pass on information about the person's military history which they have learned from others, but which often turned out to be inaccurate;

- Their occupation, position and whereabouts during the genocide. This is especially difficult for military officers, given the fluidity of movement during the genocide when entire battalions were subjected to constant change in response to the war. It is especially difficult with regard to junior officers, unless they were particularly notorious for their participation in the killings, as is the case, for example, with Lt.Col. Ezéchiel Gakwerere, currently the deputy commander of the FDLR's division in North Kivu. In 1994, he was a lieutenant at the ESO in Butare;
- Detailed and corroborated evidence about allegations related to the genocide. The information will not be given either by their colleagues, or even neighbours, but most often by survivors or prisoners. Information relating to the genocide was much easier to gather with respect to those in the political branch, for many of those were local government officials, such as bourgmestres (mayors) or deputy préfets (deputy governors) who were well known in the areas under their jurisdiction.

Nor was it difficult to establish the record of senior military officers who were commanders of operational sectors, and who had exercised those functions for a certain period of time, such that they were known in the local area. The reality in 1994, however, is that these same military commanders were subjected to constant transfers, either because their area had fallen to the RPA or because they were needed as reinforcements elsewhere. It was virtually impossible, in a short time frame, to even find witnesses who knew the identities of the soldiers who had suddenly arrived in their sectors and communes.

- Their life in exile, from the refugee camps in the DRC (or Burundi or Tanzania), to the years after the camps were broken up in November 1996. Many military officers were on the move, between the DRC, Congo-Brazzaville and Zambia, or countries in West Africa.
- The evolution of their involvement in armed groups in the DRC.

The “Unofficial” Influence of Well-Known Genocide Suspects Who Are Kept Out of the Public Limelight

Despite the public insistence that genocide suspects have no place in their movements, contrary to the evidence (see Chapter 13), the FDLR has been careful to sideline, in terms of official positions and public profile, individuals who are well-known genocide suspects. Men like Callixte Nzabonimana (arrested earlier this year at the request of the ICTR), and more recently Col. Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo, are seen as a political liability. But this does not mean that they do not wield influence behind the scenes.

Who Are the Military Leaders?

The military leadership of the FDLR and RUD today can, broadly speaking, be divided into three categories:

1. Those who occupied mid-level positions in the FAR in 1994, that is majors and captains;
2. Those who were junior officers in 1994, with the rank of lieutenants, sub-lieutenants and corporals. Operational commanders today, many of whom are lieutenant colonels, were lieutenants and sub-lieutenants in 1994;
3. Those who joined the ex-FAR in exile and who underwent military training in the refugee camps, or in the training school set up during the ALIR insurgency in northern Rwanda or subsequently.

The report analyses the progression of the FAR from its position in Rwanda in 1994, to its re-organization and restructure in the refugee camps between July 1994 and November 1996, the insurgency led by ALIR/PALIR in 1997-1998, the temporary base set up in

Tingi Tingi, the 1998 war in the DRC and the founding of the FDLR and RUD. It traces the enduring links in the leadership and membership of these groups, pointing out the extent to which little, in reality, has changed as these groups metamorphosed from one acronym to another.

Virtually every man in the refugee camps in the DRC, who had been a soldier in Rwanda, joined the new military structure of the ex-FAR, with the aim of recapturing power in Rwanda, including the FDLR and RUD commanders of today who had been in the FAR in 1994. For example, General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Mupenzi Bernard, the commander of FOCA, was the deputy commander of a battalion in the 21st brigade in Mugunga camp. The S2-S3 of this battalion (responsible for military intelligence, as well as training, recruitment and operations) is FOCA's current chief of staff, Brigadier-General Léodomir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi. General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare, was the head of a platoon in a commando company in Mugunga camp; he was sent from the camps as an infiltrator to Rwanda. The large refugee population provided fertile ground for new recruits, and many who are now lieutenant colonels and majors were trained in those camps.

After the camps were dismantled in November 1996, it did not take long for the ex-FAR to regroup and re-emerge in eastern Congo in 1997 as the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR), with a political wing known as the Armed People for the Liberation of Rwanda (PALIR). From its basis in North Kivu, ALIR spearheaded an insurgency which gripped northern Rwanda for more than a year, feeling so confident that it set up a training school for its recruits and soldiers in one of the communes in Ruhengeri. Many of the men at the helm of RUD and the FDLR were in ALIR, including Musare, then a sub-lieutenant. Lt. Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto, the commander of RUD's only battalion, was the commander of the military police in ALIR.

The list is even longer with regard to the FDLR. To give only a few examples, Brigadier-General Stanislas Nzeyimana, alias Bigaruka, was the deputy commander of ALIR's operational sector known as L; Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli, was head of G5 (political department responsible for relations with civilians); Brigadier-General Apollinaire Hakizimana, alias Amiki Lepic or Poète, the commissioner of defence, was head of G2 (military intelligence) and Col. Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega, the head of the operational sector in North Kivu, was the deputy commander of the operational sector known as Bethlehem.

A number of senior officers in the FDLR and RUD, who had been sent abroad for training, were not in Rwanda during the genocide. They rejoined their families in the refugee camps, and took up military functions in the new structures in Goma and Bukavu. These men include Bigaruka, and Col. Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Mugisha, the G3 (training, recruitment and operations) of FOCA.

Who Are the Civilian Leaders?

Considerations that are outward looking, intended to influence and shape international opinion, and to attract diplomatic, political and practical support, have clearly played a decisive role in appointing senior civilian leaders.

Within the FDLR, the president, Ignace Murwanashyaka; the 1st vice president, Straton Musoni; the executive secretary, Callixte Mbarushimana and the commissioner for political affairs all live in Europe, while the deputy commissioner for foreign relations, Judith Mukamuvara, lives in Mozambique.

The president of RUD, Jean Marie-Vianney Higiroy and its executive secretary, Félicien Kanyamibwa, both live in the United States, and are US citizens. The spokesman, Augustin Dukuze, lives in Canada while the vice-president, Marie-Goretti Abayizigira, lives in France.

For the most part, and this too was an important criterion for selection, most of these individuals were not in Rwanda during the genocide, which means that they will not be distracted or undermined by accusations of complicity in the massacres.

In eastern DRC itself, RUD's civilian cadres are insignificant in terms of numbers. But the FDLR has an extensive network of civilians, comprised of those who work in Murwanashyaka's office in North Kivu, and in the office of the 2nd vice president, Rumuli, as well as the commissioners and staff of 10 technical commissions (on defence, finance, foreign relations, political affairs, legal affairs, propaganda and mobilization, security and documentation, gender promotion, information and social affairs) and other technical services like administration, medical and personnel.

Many of the civilians who have been entrusted with senior positions were important figures in local administration in Rwanda in 1994, including deputy préfets and bourgmestres. Faustin Sekagina, alias Manzi, for example, the deputy préfet of Rushashi in Kigali rural, is the deputy commissioner for gender. Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso, former bourgmestre of commune Runda in Gitarama, now works in Murwanashyaka's office in North Kivu.

Like their military counterparts in ALIR, a number of those who were in the upper echelons of PALIR later transferred their loyalties to the FDLR. Sekagina was the commissioner for social affairs in PALIR. Gabriel Kabanda, alias Mikekemo, the current commissioner for social affairs in the FDLR, was the commissioner for human rights in PALIR. Louise Turikumwenimana, regarded as one of the most energetic and effective representatives of the FDLR in Zambia, was PALIR's commissioner for reconciliation.

Who Are the Representatives Abroad?

Certain individuals who live abroad hold official positions in the hierarchy of the FDLR and RUD. But there are countless others, some of them very active, who do not, or do not wish, to have official posts. The fact that the presidents of both groups, as well as other pivotal leaders, live in Europe, North America and Africa, is necessarily an asset in recruiting members and supporters, attracting media attention, fundraising, lobbying politicians and diplomats, as well as nurturing contacts with NGOs and Churches. Given the fact that it has existed for much longer, and is a much larger organization than RUD, the FDLR has a more extensive network, particularly in Europe and Africa. However, RUD has gained considerable ground in this respect, and has drawn some major figures in Europe away from the FDLR. These individuals inevitably bring with them experience and contacts. A case in point is Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina in France. He rose to the rank of a brigadier-general with the FDLR, and was an advisor to the FDLR until he switched his allegiance to RUD where he is now said to be a central figure. Dr. Déo Twagirayezu used to be the representative of the FDLR in Europe, and he is now the representative of RUD in Europe.

In Europe, the most important countries for both the FDLR and RUD are France, Belgium, Norway and The Netherlands. Individual supporters, who may or not be the focal points for small cells, live in Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden, among other countries.

In North America, the US and Canada are both important for RUD.

In Africa, outside of the DRC, the FDLR is well established in southern Africa, especially Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi, and has representatives elsewhere. Congo-Brazzaville has long been important as have a number of countries in West Africa, for example Cameroon. Former high-ranking FDLR officers, now resident in Bénin, Togo and Senegal, are also thought to maintain their links with the FDLR. In East Africa, the FDLR maintains a presence in Kigoma, Tanzania.

The Position of Women in Leadership

Out of 67 profiles in this report, only two relate to women, a FOCA officer in South Kivu and one woman in the political wing of the FDLR in North Kivu. There are a few other women who live abroad, for example in Zambia and Mozambique, who are making a political contribution to the FDLR in different capacities. But apart from these isolated cases, the absence of women in the FDLR is striking. The situation is even more evident with RUD where, apart from the vice-president, there appear to be no women among its military or political leaders.

THE EX-FAR MILITARY STRUCTURE IN THE DRC

July 1994-November 1996

Background to an Exodus

From 7 April - 4 July 1994, Rwanda simultaneously experienced a genocide of the Tutsi minority and a war between the Rwandese Armed Forces (FAR) and the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA). The RPA was the military wing of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel group made up largely of Tutsi fighters whose families had been in exile in neighbouring countries, especially Uganda, the DRC and Burundi, since 1959 and the early 1960s. The war started after the RPA, based in Uganda, crossed the border into Rwanda on 1 October 1990. It lasted, on and off, until the signing of the Arusha Accords of August 1993. The agreement brought the fighting to an end and spelt out how the government, the RPF and the political opposition parties were to share power. It was also agreed that a 600-strong battalion of the RPA would be based in Kigali, with its headquarters at the National Council for Development (CND), the building that currently houses Rwanda's parliament. In the meantime, the ranks of the RPA swelled after 1990 with recruits from Rwanda and other countries in the region.

The implementation of the Accords met with one difficulty after another, even after the deployment, in December 1993, of a UN peacekeeping force, the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR), to oversee and police the agreement. UNAMIR continued to meet with enormous challenges on many fronts, but the most serious and sustained challenge came on the night of 6 April 1994 when the plane carrying President Juvénal Habyarimana, *en route* from Arusha⁶, crashed as it approached Kigali's international airport in Kanombe, killing all on board, including the President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira and Rwanda's chief of staff, Major-General Déogratias Nsabimana.

Within hours, roadblocks manned by the Presidential Guard (GP) were set up in Kigali. The official announcement of the President's death on radio early on 7 April, against a background of inflammatory statements which put the blame on the RPF and Tutsis, served as the signal for the start of the genocide of Tutsis and the elimination of Hutus seen as an obstacle to the success of the genocide, especially well-known politicians and senior civil servants. The RPA battalion in Kigali responded, later in the day on 7 April, by directly engaging the FAR in battle; other battalions were quickly mobilized from elsewhere. The war between the FAR and the RPA raged, alongside the genocide, until

⁶ The meeting in Arusha on 6 April 1994 had in fact been called to discuss the lack of progress in implementing the Arusha Accords.

July 1994. On 4 July 1994, Kigali fell; on 17 July the majority of senior FAR soldiers fled to the DRC through Goma and on 19 July the new government was installed. By mid-July, both the war and the genocide had been brought to an end although some Tutsis continued to be killed in the Zone Turquoise established by France in the préfectures of Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye.

Facing defeat, the FAR fled Rwanda in huge numbers, seeking exile principally in the DRC, but also in Burundi and Tanzania. The flight of both soldiers and civilians into Tanzania had in fact taken place at the end of April when much of the east fell to the RPA. But the most important exodus, both in terms of numbers and in terms of political and military significance, occurred in July, as almost the entire leadership of the FAR, along with hundreds of thousands of civilians they encouraged to leave, headed for the DRC. Some entered the DRC through Goma, the capital of North Kivu province, and settled in the civilian refugee camps of Mugunga, Kahindo, Katale, Kibumba and Lac Vert. Others crossed through the towns of Bukavu and Kamanyola in South Kivu, and became integrated, for the most part, in the refugee camps of Kashusha and Panzi.

Almost immediately, the ex-FAR, as it came to be known in exile, set in motion plans to recapture power in Rwanda. To this end, they reorganized the armed forces, who were well equipped, fusing the national gendarmerie with the army to form one structure. The high command of the new army, based in camp Mugunga, near Goma, was led by Major-General Augustin Bizimungu⁷ who became chief of staff and commander in chief of the army after 6 April. He was, until then, operations commander for the préfecture of Ruhengeri but was transferred to Kigali when the chief of staff died in the plane crash. The deputy chief of staff of the ex-FAR was Brigadier-General Gratién Kabiligi⁸, based in South Kivu. The officers who served the high command included Major Sylvestre Mudacumura, now the overall commander of FDLR/FOCA, and Major Faustin Ntirikina, who went on to become a brigadier-general in the FDLR and who is now associated with RUD.

The new restructure created two divisions, each with four brigades. The 1st division, in charge of South Kivu, was headed by Col. Aloys Ntiwirigabo and had its headquarters in camp Kashusha. The 2nd division, responsible for North Kivu and based in camp Mugunga, was led by Col. Tharcisse Renzaho⁹; in 1994 Renzaho was the préfet (governor) of Kigali city.

⁷ Major-General Augustin Bizimungu was arrested in Angola on 2 August 2002 on an international arrest warrant issued by the ICTR. His trial is in progress.

⁸ Brigadier-General Gratién Kabiligi was arrested on 18 July 1997 in Kenya at the request of the ICTR. He was tried jointly with three other senior military officers. On 18 December 2008, Kabiligi was acquitted while the other three defendants were given life sentences. The prosecution had alleged that Kabiligi participated in the distribution of weapons, meetings to plan the genocide as well as a number of specific crimes, many related to roadblocks in Kigali. It appears that he was acquitted because he had a successful alibi for most of this time period, and the prosecution was not able to prove that he had operational authority or that he targeted civilians. The prosecution filed for an extension of time in which to file an appeal.

⁹ Col. Tharcisse Renzaho was central to the planning, organization and implementation of the genocide in Kigali. For details, see *Col. Tharcisse Renzaho: A Soldier in the DRC?* October 2001, *African Rights*, Charge Sheet No. 6, 23 pages. He was arrested in the DRC on 29 September 2002 at the behest of the ICTR

The leadership of the ex-FAR, however, was well aware that in order to regain power in Rwanda, it was not sufficient to focus on the army. Creating a political organization which would have the capacity, and the credibility, to oversee the work on the diplomatic and media front was seen as an imperative by the military commanders. The “government in exile”, which had been at the forefront of the genocide, was regarded as a political liability, vis-à-vis the international community, in representing the interests of the refugees, including the military and political goals of the ex-FAR, which considered the imposition of an embargo by the international community as a major setback. This led to the establishment in Mugunga camp, on 3 April 1995, of the *Rassemblement pour le Retour des réfugiés et la Démocratie au Rwanda*, or the Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda (RDR).¹⁰ The following day, the ex-FAR publicly declared their full support in a statement. To pave the way for the RDR as the sole political representative, the high command gathered in Bukavu on 28-29 April 1995 and called on the “government in exile”, which they themselves had established, to resign in favour of the RDR.

Its military founders sought to present the RDR, which was very active in the camps and in foreign countries, as a humanitarian group. Through the offices it established in France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Canada it mobilized funds, political, diplomatic and media support as well as recruits, including Ignace Murwanashyaka, the current president of the FDLR who became its representative in Germany. Some of its leaders had been ministers, diplomats and high-ranking civil servants.

But many of its senior members were genocide suspects or hard-line ideologues whose politics had prepared the ground for the genocide. For example, one of its founders, and its commissioner for political affairs, Charles Ndereyehe Ntahontuye, was closely associated with the Circle of Progressive Republicans (CRP) who, notwithstanding their name, came together to define, refine and publicize the ideology that came to be known as Hutu extremism, which was central to the success of the genocide. The Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR), whose politicians and militia—the *impuzamugambi*—played a prominent role in the massacres, was a creation of the CRP. Ndereyehe, who was also a shareholder in RTL radio, is himself included on the list issued by Interpol in November 2007 of most wanted Rwandese genocide suspects. He now lives in The Netherlands where he continues to speak out and where he is regarded as an important advisor to individuals and groups associated with the politics of Rwandese armed groups.

Between mid-July 1994 until November 1996, when the camps were forcibly dismantled by Rwanda’s military, the camps served the ex-FAR well. The civilian population, estimated at two million, provided a huge potential pool of fighters and civilian

and subsequently detained at the ICTR’s detention facilities in Arusha. He was sentenced to 25 years on 29 August 2008, but the conviction and sentence were quashed by the Appeals Chamber, and he is to be retried on one count.

¹⁰ It changed its name in 2003 to the *Rassemblement Républicain pour la Démocratie au Rwanda* (RDR), or the Republican Rally for Democracy in Rwanda.

supporters, and many FDLR/RUD combatants were first trained in the camps. There was, in fact, no physical separation in the sense of separate camps for civilians and soldiers. They lived in the same camp and the theoretical part of the military training was taught in the camps; it was only the physical training that took place outside the camps.

Civilians also made financial contributions. The military training was accompanied by political education: the refugees were taught that an invasion of Rwanda and the overthrow of the government represented their only hope of returning home. The vast array of international aid agencies present in the camps meant a steady supply of provisions and medical care. Once the necessary structures were in place, military commanders organized expeditions into Rwanda, known as “operation insecticides”, to destabilize, distract and challenge the new government, and to show the population inside Rwanda, and the outside world, that it was incapable of protecting its citizens or rebuilding the country. The strategy was straightforward: to kill survivors of the genocide, to murder Hutus prepared to testify about the genocide or who were working with the new government, and to get the army bogged down in fighting the forces amassed across the border. Nor was there any ambiguity about the larger aim, namely to regain power in Rwanda as quickly as possible.

How PALIR Came to Be

The army’s decision to finance its operations through the sale of property brought over from Rwanda, and in particular to keep such information confidential, led to a rift between the army high command, in particular its commander, Major-General Bizimungu, and the RDR leadership.¹¹ Another movement, which senior officers thought could handle military affairs as well as maintain a high profile on the political and media front, was born in 1996 in Nairobi. At Bizimungu’s request, the late Colonel Juvénal Bahufite¹² and Major Aloys Ntabakuze¹³ travelled from Mugunga camp to Nairobi where they linked up with Major Emmanuel Neretse, the liaison officer between the RDR and the army command who lived in Nairobi. They met with leaders of the RDR and made it clear that they should, henceforth, confine themselves to being advocates for the right of the refugees to return home peacefully. At the same time, they established the movement that came to be known as the “Armed People for the Liberation of Rwanda”, PALIR. When the camps were disbanded in October/November 1996, RDR and PALIR co-existed, with PALIR regarded as a tool of the army and the RDR as a platform for the refugees. The army, however, continued to use the RDR to attract support from the international community. The armed branch of PALIR, “Army for the Liberation of Rwanda”, (ALIR) came to the fore later during the insurgency of 1997, as discussed in the subsequent chapter.

¹¹ For further details, see *A Welcome Expression of Intent*, p. 13.

¹² Col. Juvénal Bahufite was the G2 of the ex-FAR high command. In Rwanda, he was commander of OPS Byumba. He died in 1997 or thereabouts.

¹³ Major Aloys Ntabakuze, the G3 of the 2nd division in North Kivu, was head of the Para-Commando battalion in Rwanda. On 18 December 2008, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the ICTR.

The section below gives certain details about the control and command structure of the 2nd division of the ex-FAR in North Kivu. It mentions, where possible, the trajectory of individuals who later joined ALIR, which was behind the insurgency of 1997-1998, or the FDLR and later RUD. It was not possible, with the time constraints, to present a similar picture for the 1st division in South Kivu.

October-November 1996: The Destruction of the Camps

The plans of these military commanders, their officers and the rank and file—to seize back power in Rwanda from their operational bases in eastern Congo, namely the refugee camps in North and South Kivu—did not materialize. In September 1996, Rwanda, working with its allies, the Governments of Burundi, Uganda and the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL), headed by Laurent-Désiré Kabila, set out to forcibly dismantle the camps, part of a wider war against the government of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The camps in South Kivu were disbanded in October and those in North Kivu on 1 November. The ex-FAR, as an organized structure, was destroyed and its officers and soldiers scattered in different directions. The vast majority of the civilian refugees were repatriated. Some soldiers discarded their uniforms and returned to Rwanda as civilians. But by and large, the ex-FAR either joined forces with Mobutu and fought alongside his soldiers or they opted to remain in North Kivu and to focus their attention on taking the war to Rwanda itself, the start of an insurgency that is discussed in the next chapter. The overall commander, Major-General Augustin Bizimungu, was evacuated by helicopter to Kinshasa by the Congolese army.

A Brief Stop in Tingi Tingi

The ex-FAR fighting on Mobutu's side headed towards Tingi Tingi, which is between Walikale and Kisangani. They set up a temporary base there, led by Col. Aloys Ntiwirigabo, with Col Tharcisse Renzaho as his deputy. As detailed in the individual profiles, a number of the men who are now in the FDLR or RUD were part of the force in Tingi Tingi. They remained there for about three months but were defeated by the coalition of Rwanda, the ADFL and their allies. Some of the leaders left for Nairobi, airlifted by Sky Airways. Michel Habimana, the current spokesman of FOCA, worked for Sky Airways at the time and was involved in the airlifts. Others used trucks to reach Kisangani. But the majority walked as far as Bangui in the Central African Republic, and either stayed there, or used boats and other means of transport to reach Congo-Brazzaville or other countries in central and West Africa, including Cameroon, Togo, and Gabon. From these countries, others went further a field to France, Belgium and elsewhere.

ALIR/PALIR

The Insurgency of 1997-1998

Introduction

The infiltration raids into the interior of Rwanda, which had been a key feature of the ex-FAR in the camps, were replaced in May 1997 by a full fledged insurgency where regular and serious clashes with the army came close to the gates of Kigali. Initially, the rebellion concentrated on small-scale clandestine operations in search of information, or which were intended as acts of sabotage. They were carried out by handpicked individuals. However, in early May 1997 there was a massive infiltration of fighters into the northwest préfectures of Rwanda, primarily Ruhengeri and Gisenyi, but the préfectures of Greater Kigali, and certain communes of Kibuye and Gitarama, were also affected.

While most of the fighters entered Rwanda, about another 5,000 remained behind to man bases in Masisi and Rutchuru in North Kivu. Most of the combatants were ex-FAR, reinforced by militiamen and refugees they had recruited in the camps. From May 1997 onwards, groups of well-organized soldiers were behind daring attacks which were carried out in the open against government institutions, including commune offices and prisons, and which targeted specific groups and RPA positions with the goal of either toppling the government or weakening it to the point that it would have no option but to negotiate with the insurgents.¹⁴

As the structure of ALIR below illustrates, the leaders were all ex-FAR soldiers who had been in the upper echelons of the army in Rwanda before July 1994, as well as in the military structure that dominated life in the refugee camps. Lt.Col. Léonard Nkundiye and Lt.Col. Paul Rwarakabije were the most senior officers of the soldiers who had decided to remain in North Kivu. Lt.Col. Dr. Frodouald Mugemanyi joined them later in October 1997 from South Kivu. Mugemanyi became the overall commander of ALIR and the head of PALIR; a doctor by training he was the director of Kanombe military hospital in Kigali until July 1994. He was later appointed as the head of medical services for the 1st division of the ex-FAR based in Bukavu. Nkundiye was the deputy commander of ALIR. A former commander of the Presidential Guard, he was head of the Mutara operational sector in 1994; in Goma, he became the G4 of the 2nd division. Rwarakabije was in charge of training, recruitment and operations in the headquarters of the national gendarmerie in Rwanda in 1994. In North Kivu, he took charge of the 4th brigade of the 2nd division.

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of the 1997-98 insurgency, see *Rwanda: The Insurgency in the Northwest*, African Rights, September 1998, 426 pages.

One of the first initiatives taken by Nkundiye and Rwarakabije was to make contact with the ex-FAR units who were still in South Kivu, asking them to join and make common cause with them. As in any guerrilla warfare, certain factors hampered command and control of their forces. But they had a clearly defined military structure with a high command, operational sectors, companies and platoons.

Although the insurgency was planned, long before the closure of the camps, by the ex-FAR and the political leadership of the previous government, it was brought forward by their sudden defeat at the end of 1996. For the many genocide suspects in their ranks, this insurgency offered the best hope of eluding justice. The infiltrators, as they came to be known, established their bases in the volcanic forests that straddle the northwest and the Masisi region of North Kivu. There were obvious reasons for their choice, including the proximity to Rwanda, the fact that the area was inhabited by Congolese of Rwandese origin who spoke Kinyarwanda, as well as an abundance of food.

The success of the insurgency depended, to a large extent, on the support of the local people who helped to finance it, fed and sheltered the insurgents, acted as informants, messengers, advocates of their cause, and as reinforcements during large-scale attacks. They were also used as human shields when infiltrators fled the RPA.

The insurgents knew they could count on the backing of the northwest where many of the leaders and fighters came from and where their families and friends lived. The overwhelming majority of the population in the area was Hutu. Not only were Habyarimana and his influential in-laws from Gisenyi, but the northwest was also the political heartland and powerbase of his regime. He appointed northerners from Gisenyi, Ruhengeri and Byumba, and to a lesser extent Kigali rural, to senior positions in the army and civil service. Most of the men and women who crafted, disseminated and promoted the hard-line ideology known as Hutu extremism were from these same préfectures. Many of the residents had lived in the camps with the infiltrators and had come to believe what they were now being asked to bring about, namely a war to “liberate” Rwanda. While much of the support was voluntary, the extreme and cruel penalties imposed on those who refused to cooperate were also a significant persuasive factor.

The mass repatriation of the refugees immediately led to a deterioration of security in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri, and elsewhere, as infiltration missions and isolated incidents became increasingly common. The ground had been prepared in Rwanda by the presence of men like Captain Alexandre Shumbusho, Lt. Innocent Ndamyumugabe, alias Kazungu and Sub-Lt. Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare (the current commander of RUD).¹⁵

They had come either before the return of the refugees or had mingled with the refugees as they made their way back home. They were sent from the camps by their senior officers to gather intelligence about the RPA, to prepare the local population to receive other fighters who were planning to come and to launch a few sporadic attacks against small RPA patrol units as a way of testing their capacity to respond. Operations in the

¹⁵ Shumbusho and Kazungu were both killed during the insurgency.

south escalated after the arrival of high ranking officers like Major Modest Rwabukwisi in the south of Cyangugu, and a unit of infiltrators with Sub-Lt. Silas Rugira and a former militiaman known under the alias of Gahutu, in northern Cyangugu. But their activities in Cyangugu were brought to an end when both Gahutu and Rwabukwisi were killed by the RPA.

The rebellion began in earnest in May 1997 when thousands of ex-FAR left North Kivu for northern Rwanda. Confident of success, Nkundiye and Rwarakabije, accompanied by Major Gaston Iyamuremye, the head of ALIR's G5 (and now the 2nd vice-president of the FDLR), arrived in Rwanda a few months later, in July. By then, they had already sent other emissaries to meet up with the infiltrators who had been living quietly in Rwanda for some time. They also quickly realized that they needed a political branch to mobilize the civilian population. They decided to keep the name PALIR, but with a light modification regarding its significance. It was renamed *Peuple en action pour la libération du Rwanda*; instead of Armed People for the Liberation of Rwanda, it became People in Action for the Liberation of Rwanda. Initially, only the military wing, ALIR, was well structured, but with time, the politicians and cadres of PALIR were recruited among the local civilian population.

Relying on hit and run tactics against state institutions and the groups or individuals they sought to eliminate, the insurgents set out to exert political control over the northwest by force, as the point of departure for sowing fear and insecurity throughout the country in pursuit of their larger aim, a return to power.

Those who were regarded as an impediment to their domination of the region, and who were targeted for selective massacres, included the small Tutsi population of the northwest, comprised of survivors of the genocide, the Tutsi returnees whose families had left in 1959 and the early 1960s, and Congolese refugees of Tutsi origin who had come to Rwanda to escape the violence in the DRC. Hutus who did not embrace their agenda were also killed, especially local government officials.

The siege of communal offices, which lie at the heart of local government administration, was one of the most visible aspects of the insurgents' military tactics, a strategy intended to show off their military prowess. Using huge numbers of civilians to overpower the handful of RPA soldiers who guarded the commune offices, a secondary goal was to acquire arms and to liberate prisoners detained in the commune detention centres. Attacks against secondary schools, such as those in Nyange, commune Kivumu in Kibuye, and Muramba in Satinsyi commune, Gisenyi, where the insurgents sought to divide the students into ethnic blocks before killing the Tutsis, and indiscriminate killing of passengers in buses or in bars and restaurants, were intended to create panic, to heighten social tensions and to convince the Hutu population that only the insurgents could protect them.

In addition to the loss of human life and the climate of fear, the economic and social consequences of the insurgency were devastating. Afraid to venture out, peasants were unable to harvest their crops, there was a sharp decrease in trade, prices rose, schools

were badly affected and families became separated. Some areas in the northwest became deserted as residents fled, either with the infiltrators or to take shelter elsewhere. The establishment of a training school for non-commissioned officers in what was their last base, in Cyanika, commune Nyamutera in Ruhengeri, is a reflection of their confidence.

But the political fortunes of ALIR/PALIR changed in July 1998 when Nkundiye died on the 22nd; he is said to have killed himself after he fell into an RPA ambush. A few days later, on 2 August 1998, Mugemanyi died. Rwarakabije, the highest ranking officer who was still alive, took over the reins. But faced with large-scale operations carried out by the RPA, he gave the order for a general retreat to North Kivu on 10 October 1998.

A New Lease of Life: The 1998 War in the DRC

Within days of the death of Nkundiye and Mugemanyi, ALIR in the east and the ex-FAR in the west of the DRC and in countries neighbouring the DRC found themselves in a position of strength, vis-à-vis the government of President Laurent-Désiré Kabila. Faced, on 2 August 1998, with a declaration of war from Rwanda and its ally, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), Kabila made an urgent appeal to the ex-FAR to lend a hand to his government. In exchange, they requested weapons for ALIR in the east to undertake operations against Kigali, but finally accepted Kabila's argument that the defence of Kinshasa was the most urgent priority. (Weapons were eventually dispatched by Kabila to ALIR beginning September 1999).

The first Rwandese soldiers, numbering 800, reinforced by about 1,400 volunteers, came across the border from the refugee camps in Congo-Brazzaville. The brigade, led by Major Léodimir Mugaragu, the FDLR's current chief of staff, arrived in the DRC on 5 October. Shortly afterwards, 2200 men came from camp Lukolela, commanded by Col. Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, chief of the urban police force in Kigali in 1994, later a member of the FDLR committee in Congo-Brazzaville who is now associated with RUD, as illustrated in his profile below. The fighters who joined from the Central African Republic included the head of FOCA, Mudacumura, and Evariste Nyampame, who would rise to the rank of a major-general in the FDLR and its liaison officer in Congo-Brazzaville before he relocated to Sweden. One of the men who came from Cameroon was Major Protais Mpiranya, commander of the Presidential Guard during the genocide, who was later sent by the FDLR to Zimbabwe, where he lives, to establish links. They merged with the Congolese Armed Forces (FAC) and came to be known as ALIR 2.

Col. Aloys Ntiwirigabo and Col. Tharcisse Renzaho, who had been living in Sudan since 1997, arrived back in Kinshasa after Mugaragu and his men were at the front. They took over command of the troops fighting in the west, which numbered between 5000-6000, equivalent to the troop strength in the east. Ntiwirigabo settled in Kinshasa and Renzaho moved to Lubumbashi.

February 1999: The Founding of the FDLR

The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, or the FDLR, came out of the politics and power struggles of ALIR2. It first came to the attention of officers and politicians who had been associated with ALIR, and the ex-FAR more generally, when Renzaho called a meeting in Kinshasa in February 1999 and informed the group that he, Ntiwirigabo and Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, Minister of Public Works in the interim government, had set up this new group. Ntiwirigabo, in Kinshasa, was named as president and commander; Renzaho in Lubumbashi, was appointed the deputy commander and put in charge of operations; Mudacumura, in Pweto, was to be the chief of staff and, among other appointments, Ignace Murwanashyaka, until then known principally as the representative of the RDR in Germany, became the commissioner for external affairs.

The Bwindi Murders of 1 March 1999: A First Step in the Transformation from ALIR to the FDLR

On 1 March 1999, an ALIR company executed a group of western tourists in a park in the southwest of Uganda known as Bwindi. The tourists included both Anglophone and Francophone westerners, but only those from English-speaking countries, especially from the UK and the US, whose governments were accused of supporting Rwanda and Uganda, were murdered. The US responded by putting ALIR on the list of terrorist organizations which had immediate political consequences for it branded ALIR as an international outcast.

In October 2000, Rwarakabije sent two of his officers, Théophile Gakara and Evariste Murenzi, to Kinshasa to exchange views on common goals and strategies with ALIR2. The need to abandon the old name of ALIR/PALIR, in light of the action by the US, came up for discussion. Gakara and Murenzi took this message back to the east, and eventually convinced their colleagues there to agree to call themselves FDLR.

In 2003, three suspected ex-ALIR combatants were arrested and sent to the US for trial. However, in discussions with former RUD fighters in the course of this investigation, it became apparent that one of the men who was with the ALIR company which carried out the operation in Bwindi, is currently a lieutenant with RUD. His name is Lt. Emmanuel Nsengiyumva and he was then a first sergeant, the head of a platoon. His photo appears below. He comes from Kinigi, Gisenyi, and is responsible for the transmission of messages in RUD's battalion.



Lt. Emmanuel Nsengiyumva

The sections below shed light on the structure of PALIR and ALIR, which of course changed in the course of the insurgency. It is not possible to present a structure that was valid for the entire duration of the insurgency.

The Structure of PALIR

Presidents (After the Reorganization of 1999)

- President of PALIR: Lt.Col. Paul Rwarakabije;
- 1st Vice-President: Théophile Gakara;
- 2nd Vice-President: Jérôme Ngendahimana;
- 3rd Vice-President: -
- Executive Secretary: Prosper Nzabonimpa, now living in Mozambique.

The Commissions and Commissioners

- Commissioner for Political Affairs: “Hochimini”;
- Commissioner for Economic Affairs: Jean-Damascène Hategekimana, now living in Zimbabwe;
- Commissioner for Mobilization and Propaganda: Muyahudi;
- Commissioner for Social Affairs: Faustin Sekagina,
- Commissioner for Scientific Affairs: Innocent Nsekanabo;
- Commissioner for Information: Callixte Bizimungu, now living in Mozambique;
- Commissioner for Human Rights: Gabriel Kabanda, alias Mikekemo;
- Commissioner for Legal Affairs: Charles Rwanga, now living in Mozambique;
- Commissioner for Reconciliation: Louise Turikumwenimana;
- Commissioner for Gender: Judith Mukamuvara, currently living in Mozambique;
- Commissioner for Defence: Col. Phéneas Munyarugarama.

Committees for the Different Préfectures of Rwanda

- Kigali: Jean-Damascène Muhutu;
- Kigali rural: Gérard Musonera, deceased;
- Gitarama: Nyaminani;
- Butare: Pontien Bigirimana;
- Gikongoro: Edouard Rukeribuga, deceased;
- Kibuye : Jean-Baptiste Urayenzeza, alias César;
- Gisenyi: Nsabimana, deceased;
- Ruhengeri: Camille Sebahunde;
- Byumba: -
- Kibungo: Augustin Rugema;
- Cyangugu: -

The Structure of ALIR

Before July/August 1998

- Commander: Col. Dr. Flodouard Mugemanyi;
- Deputy Commander: Lt.Col. BEM Léonard Nkundiye;
- Commander of Operations: Lt.Col Paul Rwarakabije.

After July/August 1998

- Commander: Lt.Col. Paul Rwarakabije;
- Deputy Commander:
- Commander of Operations:

Officers

- G1: Maj. Théophile Gakara;
- G2: Maj Apollinaire Hakizimana;
- G3: Maj. David Turikunkiko;
- G4: Sub-Lt. Issa Uwimana, alias Omben;
- G5: Maj.Ir Gaston Iyamuremye;

G5 Officers: Maj. Jérôme Ngendahimana;
 Maj. Augustin Budura;
 Sub-Lt. Léonard Barayavuze, alias Gandhi.

Commander of the Military Police Company: Sub-Lt. Jonas Nteziyaremye alias Makoto.

THE OPERATIONAL SECTORS (OPS), 1997-1998

ALIR had four operational sectors which are detailed below. Instead of battalions, its structure consisted of operational sectors, companies and platoons.

A: The Operational Sector of M or Jerusalem

Deployment: Gisenyi

The operational sector of Jerusalem was deployed in some of the communes of Gisenyi, that is Rwerere; Rubavu; Mutura; Kanama and Nyamyumba.

Command Headquarters

- Commander: Capt Alfred Rusigi, deceased;
- Deputy commander: Capt. Evariste Murenzi;

Officers

- S1: Sub-Lt. Séraphin Bizimungu, alias Amani Mahoro, living in Rwanda;
- S2: Sub-Lt. Sébastien Nsabimana, alias Rubasha, who now lives in Zambia;
- S3: Sub-Lt. Charles Hatungimana, alias Terminator;
- S4: Sub-Lt. Balthazar Iyamuremye, living in Belgium;
- S5: Sub-Lt. Appolinaire Kwitonda, alias Mandela-Kavukire.

2.1.The Companies

- Cobra
 - Sub-Lt. Frédéric Itangishaka, alias Ninja, now with the RDF;
- Pentagon
 - Sub-Lt. David Riberakurora, alias Dadlov;
- Hirondelle
 - Sergeant Major Innocent Zirimwabagabo, alias Mazino, deceased;
- Hosiana
 - Sub-Lt. Faustin Ndemeye, alias Mardoche.

B. Operational Sector of Z or Nazareth

Deployment: Ruhengeri

The operational sector of Z, or Nazareth, was responsible for the following communes in Ruhengeri:

- Mukingo; Kinigi; Nyakinama; Kidaho; Nkumba; Butaro; Cyeru; Ndusu; Gatonde ; Nyamutera ; Nyarutovu (one part) ; Nyamugali; Cyabingo.

Command Headquarters

- Commander: Major Pierre-Claver Habimana, alias Jules Bemera;
- Deputy Commander: Major Claudien Karegeya, alias Ndege;
 - S1: Sub-Lt. Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi Mutunzi;
 - S2: Sub-Lt. Joseph Ndagijimana, alias Nyundo;
 - S3: Sub-Lt. Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare;
 - S4: Lt. Evariste Sebashyitsi, alias Karekezi;
 - Warrant Officer Joseph Karorero, alias Amazone;
 - S5: Sub-Lt. Mathias Burimwinyundo, deceased.

The Sub-Sectors (S/S)

- 1st S/S: The communes of Gatonde, Ndusu and Cyabingo
 - Commander: Capt. Marcel Kamanzi, alias Maranza, deceased;
- 2nd S/S: The communes of Nyamugali, Nyarutovu, Cyeru and Butaro
 - Commander: Lt. Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Ave Maria;
 - S4: Sub-Lt. Emmanuel Nsengiyumva, alias Dongo from Ruhengeri.
- 3rd S/S: The communes of Nyamutera, Mukingo, Nyakinama, Nkumba, Kidaho and Kinigi
 - Commander: Sub-Lt. Marc Habimana, alias Ndinzimihigo, from Ruhengeri.

The Commanders of the Companies in the Sub- Sectors:

- Sub-Lt. Jean-Damascène Muragijimana, alias Darius; now living in Rwanda;
- Sub-Lt. Aimable Ndayambaje, alias Limbana; now living in Malawi;
- Sub-Lt. Nsanzumuhire, alias Koronko, deceased.

C. The Operational Sector of C or Bethlehem

Deployment

The operational sector christened C or Bethlehem was responsible for a number of communes in Gisenyi, including Satinsyi and Ramba.

The Command Structure of Bethlehem

- Commander: Major Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore, resident in Zambia;
- Deputy commander: Capt. Denis Harerimana, alias Katcheur, deceased;

He was subsequently replaced as deputy commander by Lt. Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega.

Officers

- S1: Sub-Lt. Thaddée Nzeyimana, alias Simba, now in the RDF;
- S2: Sub-Lt. Jean Marie-Vianney Rwabikinga, alias Munzenze;
- S3: Sub-Lt. Joseph Mujoyakera, alias Mujos;
- S4: -
- S5: Sub-Lt Twagirimana, alias Zakayo; he has returned to Rwanda.

2.1. The Commanders of the Companies

- Sub-Lt. Joseph Munyarubuga, alias Hagaï, living in Douala, Cameroon;
- Sub-Lt. Bernard Ndagijimana, alias Lukodi;
- Sub-Lt. Célestin Sebigoli, alias Mabuye.

D. The Operational Sector of L

Deployment

The L operational sector was active in the communes of Giciye, Ramba and Gaseke in Gisenyi and in the Mukura forest area of Kibuye, which covered the communes of Rutsiro and Kivumu.

The Command Structure

- Commander: Lt. Stanislas Nzeyimana, alias Bigaruka Déogratias;
- Deputy commander: Sub-Lt. Dény Murego, alias Mbuyi;
 - S1: Warrant Officer alias “Sandowa”;
 - S2: Sub-Lt. Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb;

- S3: Sub-Lt. Dénys Murego, alias Mbuyi;¹⁶
- S4: Warrant Officer Mushimiyimana;
- S5: Warrant Officer Museruka, alias Bitihinda.

2.1. The Company Commanders

- Sub-Lt. Léonidas Ntegerejimana, deceased;
- Sub-Lt. Flodouard Ndayambaje, alias Maisha;
- Sub-Lt. Sindikubwabo.

Enduring Links: From ALIR to the FDLR/RUD

Former ALIR Officers Currently Serving in the FDLR-FOCA in the DRC

1. Brigadier-General Stanislas Nizeyimana, alias Bigaruka, deputy commander of FDLR-FOCA, was the head of Unit 3, otherwise known as OPS “L” in ALIR;
2. Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli, 2nd vice president of the FDLR, was the chief of G5 in ALIR;
3. Brigadier-General Apollinaire Hakizimana, alias Poète, commissioner in charge of defence in the FDLR, was head of the G2 service in ALIR;
4. Col. Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega, commander of Sonoki division in North Kivu, was the deputy commander of sector Bethlehem in ALIR. He was a member of the staff of G3;
5. Col. Léopold Mujyambere, commander of Sosuki division in South Kivu, was the G3 of ALIR;
6. Lt.Col. Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi Mutunzi, in charge of G1 in the operational sector of the FDLR in North Kivu, was responsible for S1 in the operational sector known as Nazareth or Z in ALIR;
7. Col. Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Mugisha, currently the G3 chief in FDLR-FOCA, was the commander of an operational sub sector in ALIR;
8. Lt.Col. Marc Habimana, alias Ndinzimihigo, commander of a battalion in FDLR-FOCA, was the commander of one of the sub sectors that made up ALIR;
9. Major Alexis Magambo, alias Kamere Hamud, deputy commander of the 3rd battalion of FOCA in South Kivu, was in ALIR/PALIR, deputy S2 in OPS L;

¹⁶ Sub-Lt. Dénys Murego was both the deputy commander and the S3.

10. Lt.Col. Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb, currently the G2 in FDLR-FOCA, was the S2 in unit 3 or OPS “L” in the ALIR;

11. Major Godelieve Mukamanzi worked in social affairs in OPS L;

It is difficult to specify the role of those who were, like the officers mentioned below, very junior at the time.

12. Captain Gervais Rukezangango, alias Ntare, S4 of the 1st battalion in South Kivu, served in ALIR, head of a platoon in OPS M;

13. Captain Emery Rukumba, alias Umulisa;

14. Captain Jean Marie-Vianney Bizimana, alias Katsuva, the S5 in the 1st battalion of FOCA in South Kivu, was also a soldier in ALIR/PALIR.

Former PALIR Cadres Who Are Now Serving in the FDLR in the DRC

1. Ignace Nkanka, alias Laforge Fils, worked as a civilian in G5 and is now the acting spokesperson for the FDLR;
2. Faustin Sekagina, PALIR’S Commissioner for Social Affairs, is the FDLR’s Deputy Commissioner for Gender;
3. Innocent Nsekanabo, alias Socofi, held the portfolio of Commissioner for Scientific Affairs in PALIR and is the current Deputy Commissioner for Political Affairs in the FDLR;
4. Gabriel Kabanda, alias Mikekemo, was the Commissioner for Human Rights in PALIR and is the Commissioner for Social Affairs in the FDLR.

Some of the Former ALIR Fighters Who Joined the FDLR and Who Have Returned to Rwanda

1. General Paul Rwarakabije, ALIR’s commander of operations, took over the reins in August 1998, after the deaths of Nkundiye and Mugemanyi. He was the overall commander of the FDLR before he returned to Rwanda in November 2003. He is now a commissioner with the Rwanda Demobilisation and Reintegration Commission;
2. Col. Jérôme Ngendahimana, a G5 officer, was at one time commander of the FDLR’s division in South Kivu. He is now in the RDF;
3. Col. Evariste Murenzi, integrated into the RDF, was a captain in ALIR, where he was known as Mwalimu and served as a deputy commander of the operational sector of Jerusalem;

4. Major Séraphin Bizimungu, alias Amani Mahoro, was a sub-lieutenant in ALIR and the S1 of the operational sector of Jerusalem. He was working at the presidency before he was recently arrested in connection with gacaca;
5. Col. Claudien Karegeya, was the deputy commander of OPS Nazareth, and was the G2 of FOCA, based in North Kivu;
6. Sub-Lt. Dénys Murego was the deputy commander and S3 of OPS L. He was commander of the reserve brigade of the FDLR;
7. Major David Turikunkiko was the G3 of ALIR and became a colonel in the FDLR;
8. Major Thaddée Nzeyimana, alias Simba, the S1 in OPS Bethlehem, became the *aide-de-camp* of FOCA commander, Rwarakabije.

Former ALIR Officers/PALIR Officials Who Joined FDLR/FOCA Who Have Died

1. Col. Phénias Munyarugarama was in charge of Gako military camp in Bugesera in 1994. He played a central role in organizing large-scale massacres throughout Bugesera, especially at the Parish of Nyamata and at the Parish of Ntarama. For his role in these massacres, and more generally in the genocide in Bugesera, Munyarugarama was indicted by the ICTR. When he left the front in Kivu towards the end of 2001, he was already ill. He died in 2002;
2. Brigadier-General Emmanuel Kanyandekwe, was the deputy commander of FOCA when he died in North Kivu in December 2007;
3. Col. Laurent Nubaha was the secretary to FOCA high command; he died in Belgium when he went as a defence witness to the trial of Bernard Ntaguhaya;
4. Col. Pierre-Célestin Haguma died in South Kivu while serving with the FDLR as a representative in Kilembwe.

Those Who Went from ALIR/PALIR to the FDLR Who Are Now Associated with the FDLR Outside of the DRC

In Zambia

1. Col. Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias Zinga Zinga or Double Z;
2. Major Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore;
3. Major Sébastien Nsabimana, alias Rubasha;
4. Captain Ndayambaje, alias Castro.

In Malawi

1. Major Aimable Ndayambaje, alias Limbana, was a company commander in the Zoulou OPS. Though his base is in Malawi, Limbana travels regularly to Tanzania, Zambia and other countries in the region.

In Belgium

1. Lt.Col. Théophile Gakara was the G1 of ALIR.

From ALIR to FDLR to RUD

1. General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje alias Musare, force commander of RUD/URUNANA, was the S3 in Zoulou operational sector of ALIR;
2. Lt.Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto, currently the commander of RUD's battalion, was head of the military police (PM) in ALIR;
3. Balthazar Iyamuremye was the S4 in the OPS known as Jerusalem and was a sub-lieutenant at the time. He became a major and went on to join the FDLR committee in Congo-Brazzaville and used his legal training to cover legal issues. He lives in Belgium;
4. Major Bonaventure Bimenyimana, alias Cobra, the S3 of RUD, was the chief of a commando platoon;
5. Lt. Samuel Bahemba, alias Fungaroho, the S4 of RUD, was a nurse in one of the operational sectors;
6. Captain Gabriel Kwizera, alias Bushegeri, head of the company known as Prague in RUD, was also in ALIR;
7. Captain Dusabirema, alias Django, the commander of a RUD company known as Manila, was a sergeant major in ALIR.

THE FDLR TODAY

The Stated Goals of the FDLR

It is unlikely that many in the FDLR believe they will recapture power in Rwanda by military force. But like RUD, their aim is to become a sufficiently strong force militarily that they must be taken into account not only by Kinshasa and Kigali, but by other governments in the region and by the international community.

In their writings, and in what they teach to their recruits, the FDLR describes itself as a political and military organization that exists to defend Rwanda. The stated goals of the FDLR are to, “liberate Rwanda, plead in favour of the oppressed and excluded, open a new era of peace, and bring back into the hands of citizens the planning and management of their lives.” The people the FDLR says it is fighting for are described as “the Hutu and Twa who remained, under terror and oppression, in Rwanda in 1994; the more than 200,000 prisoners who are dying a slow death in Rwanda dungeons and jails; repatriated Rwandans of 1994 who have been forced to live as refugees in their own country; forcibly repatriated refugees of 1996-1997 who have been deprived of rights and property; and Tutsi survivors of 1994.”

They state that their objectives are to establish peace in Rwanda and the region; institute democracy; work for reconciliation, reconstruction and social and economic development; promote equality and establish the truth on the Rwandan tragedy “in order to punish the culprits and to rehabilitate all victims without distinction.” The FDLR says a lasting solution to the “current crisis” will be based upon the fundamental principles put forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, emphasizing individual and collective freedoms and protection of rights.

The Political Structure of the FDLR

Unless otherwise stated, all the people listed below are based in North Kivu. Where only the cover name was known, this is indicated by the use of inverted commas.

I. The Presidency of the FDLR

- President of the FDLR: Dr. Ignace Murwanyashyaka from Mugusa Butare, resident in Mannheim, Germany, *see profile below*;
- 1st Vice President: Straton Musoni is thought to come from Mugambazi, Kigali rural, and is based either in France or Belgium;

- 2nd Vice President: Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli, *see profile below*;

Staff in the Office of 2nd Vice President

- Col. Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo, advisor to Iyamuremye; *see profile below and details in Chapter 13 for his extensive role in the genocide*;
- Lt. “Gloria Mbaga Mugaga”, aide to Iyamuremye.

II. The Executive Secretariat

- Executive Secretary: Callixte Mbarushimana; he lives in Paris, France, *see profile below*;
- Deputy Executive Secretary: Lt. Col. Laurent Ndagijimana, alias Wilson Irategeka.

III. Directorial Committee

• The Executive Commissions

○ **Commission for Political Affairs**

- Commissioner for Political Affairs: Djumatatu¹⁷, Europe;
- Deputy: Innocent Nsekanabo, alias Socofi, North Kivu, *see note below*.

○ **Commission for Propaganda and Mobilization**

- Commissioner for Propaganda and Mobilization: Martin Gatabazi, alias Enock Dusabe¹⁸;
- Deputy: Eugène Urinzwenimana, alias Emmanuel Kalisa;
- Responsible for Protocol: Damien Biniga, *see profile below and section in Chapter 13*;

○ **Commission for Finance**

- Commissioner for Finance: Gérard Rucira, alias Pepe Gilbert, from Kigarama in Kibungo. A graduate in economics, he used to work with the National Bank of Rwanda;
- There is no deputy commissioner.

¹⁷ There are conflicting reports about the identity of the commissioner for political affairs who lives in Europe, either in Belgium or in France. According to some sources, it is Emmanuel Ruzindana, alias Djumatatu. But according to other reports, it is Issa Djumatatu Gasana.

¹⁸ For comments about the involvement of Martin Gatabazi in the genocide, see Chapter 13.

○ **Commission for Documentation and Security**

- There is no commissioner;
- Deputy: Alphonse Buguzi, alias Alphonse Maboko, from Kibuye. He used to work at Remera Rukoma secondary school and was a part-time lecturer at the Nyakinama branch of the National University. He is said to be a graduate in psychology;
- Capt. Anastase Iyamuremye, alias Anastase Sibó, commission member;
- Lt. Pierre-Célestin Nkuriyigoma, alias Saddam, commission member.

○ **Commission for Defence**

- Commissioner for Defence: Brigadier Gen. Appolinaire Hakizimana, alias Amikwe Lepic or Poète, *see profile below*;
- Deputy: The post remains vacant.

Other Members of the Commission for Defence

First Office

- Sub Lt. Charles Nzabanita;

Second Office

- Lt. Col. Etienne Mbarushimana, alias Bantu or Mbaraga;
- Lt.Col. Anthère Ntahomvukiye, alias Nsenga or Vénuste Kubwayo or Gagural;
- Lt. Laurent Bucyekabiri, alias Mao;

Third Office

- Lt. Col. Joseph Habyarimana, alias Ortega;
- Major “Mussolini Binego”: he used to work in intelligence;
- Warrant Officer Pie Ruzuzura, alias Saoûl, responsible for administration and personnel.

○ **Commission for Foreign Affairs**

- Commissioner for Foreign Affairs: Ngirinshuti Ntambara;
- Deputy: Judith Mukamuvara from Kibuye who lives in Mozambique. She has a degree in English and is a former English teacher at the Groupe Scolaire for Boys in Rambura, Karago. She is the widow of the late Narcisse Karadani, a former headmaster of the school where she was

teaching. Karadani was the Executive Secretary of the FDLR; he died in September 2006 in the DRC.

○ **Commission for Gender**

- Commissioner for Gender: Eugénie Niyotwizigiye, *see profile below*;
- Deputy: Faustin Sekagina, alias Manzi, former deputy préfet of Rushashi, Kigali rural. He comes from Birenga in Kibungo¹⁹.

○ **Commission for Social Affairs**

- Commissioner for Social Affairs: Gabriel Kabanda, alias Mikekemo, from Gatonde, Ruhengeri. He is a former monk, and previously the director of a school in Kigali, APE Rugunga. After 1994, he was head of Mugunga camp in North Kivu, and also became the head of Amisi camp, near Tingi Tingi, in late 1996;
- Deputy: Augustin Twagiramungu, alias Omba Augustin, from Butare. He was a university student in Nyakinama, studying literature.

○ **Commission for Legal Affairs**

- Commissioner for Legal Affairs: The post is currently empty. The previous commissioner, Testament Basore, was a law student at the university in 1994. He deserted in 2007, apparently on the pretext that he was going to Goma to organize his marriage to a Rwandese refugee. Instead, he made his way to Kenya, but it is not clear if he remained in Kenya;
- Deputy: Vincent Hamana, alias Maccabé Miranzi from Gituza in Byumba. In 1994, he was a third year student studying law in Mburabuturo.

○ **Commission for Information**

- Commissioner: The post is vacant. The previous commissioner and spokesperson, Anastase Munyandekwe, was based in Brussels where he worked as a taximan. He was dismissed after he was accused of stealing a large sum of money from the FDLR, money which had been raised from supporters in Europe. Now a businessman, he commutes between Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi. *See note in Chapter 13*
- Acting commissioner and spokesperson: Ignace Nkaka, alias Laforge Fils, *see profile below*.

¹⁹ See Chapter 13 for a brief note about his political background.

- **Murwanashyaka’s Cabinet in Masisi**
 - Director: Jean Marie-Vianney Nyawenda, alias David Mukiza, from Rusatira in Butare. He is a lawyer by profession.
 - Deputy Director: The position remains unoccupied;
 - Other members include:
 - Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Sixbert Soso, former bourgmestre of commune Runda in Gitarama, *see profile below and section in Chapter 13*;
 - Mathias, alias Mulumba or Levite, from Nyaruhengeri in Butare. He was at a seminary in 1994;
 - Dr. Fabien Nsengiyumva, alias Yvan Tzangits or Vesna Bakari, from Cyabingo in Ruhengeri. He studied in the former USSR, used to work with Bralirwa and was also a professor of agriculture at the National University of Rwanda;
 - Augustin Maniragaba, alias Curé Ngoma, from Nyamutera, Ruhengeri. He graduated from the National University in Butare. In 1994, he was a teacher in sector Mataba, commune Ndusu in Ruhengeri.

- **TECHNICAL SERVICES**
 - **Administrative Secretariat**
 - Administrative secretary: The post is now vacant. The previous occupant was Jean-Claude Bahinyuza, alias Shakespeare, from Rugera, commune Nyamutera in Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was the headmaster of Meldas secondary school in Ndera;
 - Deputy: Capt. Théonèste Iyamuremye, alias Maisha Bora, from Mukarange in Byumba.
 - **Medical Services**
 - Deputy “Phylosophe”, originally from Kigali Rushashi.
 - **Personnel**

- Head of service: The post is vacant at the moment. Until recently, the position was occupied by Béatrice Kangabe from Mugusa, Butare, a graduate from the National University in Butare. She left for Congo-Brazzaville. Her brother, Brigadier General Stanislas Nzeyimana, is the deputy commander of FOCA. Her husband, Major Manukatu, is an officer in FOCA.
 - **Logistics**
 - In Charge: Félicien Hategekimana, alias Félicien Mugwaneza”, from Nyamutera in Ruhengeri.
 - **Chaplaincy**
 - Head of Service: Moïse Izabayoy, alias Moïse Architect, from Giciye in Gisenyi.
- **Regional Committees in the DRC**
 - **First Regional Committee:** Covers the region of Rutchuru from Mweso River to Katale.

In Charge of First Regional Committee

Harerimana, alias Santa Maria Haridi. He comes from Rushashi, Kigali rural and is an engineer by profession. He used to work for the Telcom station in Nyanza, Kicukiro.

- **Second Regional Committee:** Covers the region from Masisi to Bunyakili, starting at Mweso River to Hombo.

In Charge of the Second Regional Committee

Jean-Baptiste Niyonzima, alias Rwakana Issa, from Cyangugu. He was a student at the Nyakinama branch in Ruhengeri of the National University of Rwanda. He lives with his wife, who is a nurse, and four children.

- **Third Regional Committee:** This committee is responsible for the area from Hombo to Mwenge on River Elila.

In Charge of the Third Regional Committee

“Sacramento” from Byumba. He was a first year university student in Nyakimana.

- **Fourth Regional Committee:** Covers the region of Fizi from Mwenga on River Elila to Musisi.

In Charge of the Fourth Regional Committee

Théonèste Nizeyimana is in charge of this region. He has a degree in Economics from NUR in Butare.

Executive Secretary of the Fourth Regional Committee: Flodouard Havugimana, alias, Havuga, a former deputy préfet in Gikongoro. Havugimana is also responsible for intelligence in Mudacumura's office. *See profile below and section in Chapter 13.*

INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON FDLR LEADERS IN THE POLITICAL BRANCH

1. Ignace Murwanashyaka



Personal Details	<p>Ignace Murwanashyaka</p> <p>DOB: 1963</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Munyegera Sector: Munyegera Commune: Mugusa Préfecture: Butare</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Mathias Semwaga</i> <i>Mother's Name: Adèle Mukarutamu</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR	President of the FDLR, he is based in Mannheim, Germany.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Murwanashyaka was not in Rwanda in 1994.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, who is German, and his children live with him in Germany.</p> <p>Murwanashyaka's father died in 1996 in the DRC. His mother returned to Rwanda in 1996, and is said to have left again in</p>

	<p>2000 and is thought to be living in Kenya. The relatives of Murwanashyaka who still live in Munyegera include his older brother, Canisius Rushemeza, who lives there with his family. Rushemeza's wife, who died some time ago, is the older sister of Lt.Col. Michel Habimana, alias Edmond Ngarambe, the spokesman for FOCA. The family of Murwanashyaka's late paternal uncle, Claver Semandwa, whose wife, Daphrose Nyiramunanira, is still alive, also live in Munyegera.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He attended the first year of primary school in Munyegera, the second year in Bunuma in his commune of Mugusa, and from the 3rd to the 6th year in Nyamiyaga in commune Muyira, also in Butare. For his secondary education, he went to the Groupe Scolaire in Butare town. Then he spent some time with the Frères de la Charité in Butare. For his university education, he went to Kinshasa in the DRC where he graduated in economics, and then proceeded to Germany where he obtained a PH.D in economics.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>Murwanashyaka was living abroad during the genocide.</p>
<p>From the RDR to the FDLR</p>	<p>The road that would lead to Murwanashyaka's presidency of the FDLR began when he became the representative of RDR in Germany in the mid-1990s.</p> <p>He cemented his position with the ex-FAR when he criticized the RDR's decision, after the closure of the camps, to limit itself purely to political matters. The soldiers, who were fighting a war, were angry and felt undermined, and Murwanashyaka agreed with them.</p> <p>In 1999, when the FDLR was established by Ntiwirigabo and Renzaho, they appointed Murwanashyaka the</p>

	<p>commissioner for external affairs.</p> <p>Later that year, Murwanashyaka's name was put forward as vice-president of the FDLR, as Ntiwirigabo, associated with the genocide, had become a political embarrassment. Murwanashyaka's absence from Rwanda in 1994 was seen as a major asset.</p> <p>His position was confirmed by the congress of October 2000. In December 2001, he assumed the presidency.</p> <p>He returned to the DRC in 2001 to undergo military training.</p>
--	--

2. Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, alias Rumuli</p> <p>DOB: 1948</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Mubuga Sector: Muko Commune: Nyakinama Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Stanislas Muhatsi, alias Rusazi <i>Mother's Name:</i> Anastasia Mpongano</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Iyamuremye is the 2nd Vice President of the FDLR, and is based in Kibua, Masisi.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A major, he was the commander of a battalion responsible for vehicles, radios and other military equipment. One section of this battalion was in camp Kanombe and another section was in camp Kigali.</p>

Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, Josée, lives in Rulindo, where her family is from, and is a teacher. They have two daughters, Agnès and Léa, both of whom are students.</p> <p>In Iyamuremye's native Muko, only a younger sister, Claudette, who is known there as Odette, is living there. A nephew of Iyamuremye's, Eric Niyibizi, lives with Claudette. He is the son of a sister, Josephine Hanyemina, who died in 1998.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Iyamuremye attended the primary school of Kimonyi in Nyakinama. For his secondary education, he went to College St. André in Kigali. He then went to Belgium for further studies and graduated as an electrical mechanical engineer. He was part of the 13th intake of the ESM in Kigali where, while still a student, he gave courses in physical education. He continued giving courses there after he graduated from the ESM, but was then named as the head of a company in camp Kigali.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated.</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The ALIR/PALIR Insurgency of 1997-98</i></p>	<p>Iyamuremye settled in Mugunga camp, and became the deputy commander of the 5th brigade of the second division in Mugunga.</p> <p>He was the G5 of ALIR.</p>

3. Brigadier-General Appolinaire Hakizimana, alias Amikwe Lepic/Poète

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Brigadier-General Appolinaire Hakizimana, alias Amikwe Lepic/Poète</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> In his home area, he is known under the nickname of Bagenzi.</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rugogwe Sector: Mwiyanike Commune: Karago Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Enock Kalimunda <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirampozembizi</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Commissioner for Defence and Security.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>Prior to April 1994, he was a major in the national gendarmerie as commander of the 53rd battalion in Byumba OPS. But after April, he was brought back to Kigali to work as the G2 (military intelligence) at the headquarters of the national gendarmerie.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Musabyimana, lives in Gisenyi town together with their three children. She is a teacher at EST Gisenyi secondary school.</p> <p>His mother died in September 2008, but his elderly father lives in Mukamira, commune Nkuli in Ruhengeri. An older brother, Arafat Muhayimana, lives with his family on their hill in Rugogwe.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Hakizimana was a pupil at the primary school of Rambura. For his secondary education, he went to Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi and then to the College of Byimana in Gitarama. He was part of the 20th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali, after which he</p>

	was sent to Belgium and France for further training.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated, including his role in coordinating and encouraging the different militia groups in Kigali and distributing weapons to them at roadblocks.</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The Insurgency of 1997-98</i></p> <p><i>Mid-1998 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He lived in Mugunga camp in Goma, and became the S2 in the 3rd brigade of the second division.</p> <p>He was the G2 of ALIR.</p> <p>From 1998 until 2002, he was the deputy chief of staff of ALIR in Masisi. He then became the deputy commissioner for defence and security of the FDLR from 2002-2005 when he was appointed the commissioner for defence and security.</p>

4. Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo

<p>2</p> <p>Amazina ya nyirarwo Nom et prénoms du porteur Name and First names of bearer</p> <p>NIZEYIMANA Ildephonse</p> <p>Ubwene-gihugu Nationalité Nationality</p> <p>Umunyarwanda Rwandaise Rwandian</p>  <p>Uhawe uru rwandiko yiyemeje kujya arugarura mu biro bya Protocole uko avuye mu rugendo yaherukiragaho gutabwa visa. Le Soussigné s'engage à remettre le présent passeport au Service du Protocole dès la fin de chaque déplacement pour lequel un visa aura été délivré. The undersigned is bound to return the present passport to the Protocole Service after each trip for which a visa will have been issued.</p> <p>Umukono w'uruhawe Signature du titulaire Signature of bearer</p> 	<p>3</p> <p>IBIMURANGA — IDENTITE — IDENTITY</p> <p>Umwuga we Profession Occupation</p> <p>FONCTIONNAIRE (MINADEP)</p> <p>Aho yavukiye Lieu de naissance Place of birth</p> <p>Mutura - GISENYI</p> <p>Igihe yavukiye Date de naissance Date of birth</p> <p>05.10.1963</p> <p>Aho atuye Domicile Address</p> <p>Mutura - GISENYI</p> <p>Uwo yashatse Marié(e) à Married to</p> <p>MUTEZIMANA Donatha</p> <p>Ntarashyngirwa Célibataire Bachelor</p> <p>1</p> <p>Uko aremye Visage Face</p> <p>ovale</p> <p>Amaso Yeux Eyes</p> <p>bruns</p> <p>Indeshyo Taille Height</p> <p>1m75</p> <p>Ibimuranga yihariye Signes particuliers Distinguishing marks</p> <p>voir photo</p>
---	---

<p>Personal details:</p>	<p>Col. Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo</p> <p>DOB: 05/10/1963</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rukore Sector: Kora Commune: Mutura Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Athanase Masiha <i>Mother's Name:</i> Madeleine Mashavu</p>
--------------------------	--

<p>Current Position in the FDLR</p>	<p>A senior officer in the political branch of the FDLR, he is working in the cabinet of Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye, the 2nd vice-president of the FDLR.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>Deputy head of the Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) in Butare, he was the officer in charge of intelligence, training and operations, working under Lt. Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi. He had the rank of captain. While at ESO, he had a reputation for political extremism, arrogance, strong favouritism towards people from northern Rwanda and a marked bias against Tutsis.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family:</p>	<p>Nizeyimana is said to have two companions with him in Masisi, with whom he has had many children. The women, who are sisters, are the daughters of the President of the Interim Government, Théodore Sindikubwabo.</p> <p>His parents died of illness in 1994 in Kibumba camp.</p> <p>No immediate relatives are living in his home area. His sister-in-law, Emilienne Nyiranzabonimana, the wife of his older brother, Nitiriki, lives in Gisenyi town where she is a primary school teacher.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Nizeyimana attended primary school in Kora. The information about where he went for his secondary education is contradictory. According to certain sources, he studied first at Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi and then at the Musanze School of Sciences in Ruhengeri. But according to others, he went to Christ Roi College in Nyanza, Butare.</p> <p>He then went directly to the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali where he was part of its 24th intake. Before</p>

	<p>completing ESM he obtained a scholarship to study in Germany, and on his return, he went directly to work at ESO.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement During the Genocide:</p>	<p>While Nizeyimana worked in tandem with Muvunyi, he was such a strong presence at ESO that many soldiers at ESO testify that during the genocide he was the centre of power at ESO and took many initiatives independently of Muvunyi.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Formed special units of soldiers, composed especially of northerners like himself, who carried out massacres throughout the préfecture of Butare. One unit, known as the Military Police, targeted, in particular, Tutsi soldiers, including those at ESO; 2. Brought new recruits into ESO who came to be known as “new formula soldiers”, and who ravaged the town of Butare; 3. Ordered his soldiers, under the command of Lt. Ezéchiel Gakwerere, to set up a formidable network of roadblocks throughout the town of Butare, for example at the market in Rwabuye, outside Hotel Ibis, at the Groupe Scolaire and near the entrance to the university. Tutsis stopped at these roadblocks were routinely murdered. 4. Instructed his soldiers to arrange for the murder of Rosalie Gicanda, the last queen of Rwanda, for its symbolic importance, and of Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, the Tutsi préfet of Butare who had done everything in his power to keep the violence out of Butare.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none">5. Instigated and supervised the massacres at the University of Butare, the university hospital, the Groupe Scolaire and the business centre of commune Ngoma where the town of Butare is located. He himself visited the hospital on a regular basis to ensure that Tutsi patients and refugees were dealt with. He laid the groundwork for the killings on the periphery of commune Ngoma, for instance on Kabakobwa hill in sector Sahera on 21 April and at the primary school and health centre of Matyazo on 20-22 April;6. Took charge of the night-time slaughter of Tutsi professionals, mainly university lecturers and doctors, who lived in the residential district of Buye;7. Sent ESO teams to incite, organize and implement massacres in rural communes throughout the préfecture of Butare, including Gishamvu, Huye, Nyakizu, Runyinya, Muyaga, Ntyazo, Rusatira and Mugusa. For example, the group he sent to the Parish of Cyahinda in Nyakizu, led by Warrant Officer Paul Kanyeshyamba, who is also said to be in the FDLR, wiped out the Tutsi refugees there on 15-18 April;8. Helped to provide military training to civilians in Mata, Gikongoro, to be sent to the battlefield and as a back-up to the soldiers, gendarmes and interahamwe militia involved in the genocide.
--	---

<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1998-99</i></p>	<p>Nizeyimana lived in Kashusha camp in South Kivu where he became the G1 in the first division.</p> <p>He became the deputy commander of the training school set up by ALIR for officers (ESM) in Gikoma, and then the commander after the departure of Col. Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore.</p>
<p>Reference Documents</p>	<p>African Rights</p> <p><i>Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi, A Rwandese Genocide Commander in Britain. Witness to Genocide Issue 12, April 2000</i></p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe: Pages, 8 to 10, and 43 to 46</i></p>
<p>Current Status in Connection with International Wanted Lists</p>	<p>Nizeyimana is on the current:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ICTR Wanted List; 2. Interpol's Wanted List; 3. The US Rewards for Justice Programme List. <p>Nizeyimana is cited in the ICTR trial of his immediate commander, Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi</p> <p>See Chapter 13 for details about his role in the genocide.</p>
<p>Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Ezéchiél Gakwerere, <i>see profile below in Chapter 8</i> and Col. François-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko, <i>see profile in Chapter 11.</i></p>
<p>Additional Comments</p>	<p>Former colleagues describe him as very bright, but afraid of war, saying that during the 1990-94 war he often pretended to be suffering from heart problems which</p>

	were regarded as a pretext for avoiding going to the front.
--	---

5. Lieutenant Colonel Anthère Ntahomvukiye, alias Nsenga or Vénuste Kubwayo or Gagural

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Anthère Ntahomvukiye, alias Nsenga or Vénuste Kubwayo or Gagural</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rweza Sector: Rumuli Commune: Muhura Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Antoine Baziramwabo <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirabambari</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Responsible for intelligence in the Commission for Defence and Security, he is based in Kibua, Masisi.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was a sub-lieutenant and commanded the 3 rd company in the 17 th battalion, which formed part of Byumba OPS.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>He lives with his wife and their three children, a girl and two boys, in Masisi.</p> <p>His father has died, but his mother is alive. An older brother, Pierre Twahirwa, is director of the primary school in Rumuli where a younger brother, Dieudonné Nsabimana, is a teacher. His sister, Jeanne Uwera, is married and lives in Karengé in Muhura.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Ntahomvukiye went to the primary school of Muhura in Taba. For his secondary education, he went to the Junior Seminary of Rwesero. He was part of the 30 th intake

	of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1997 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He lived in Kibumba camp in North Kivu where he became the commander of the 4th company in the 3rd battalion of the 4th brigade in the second division.</p> <p>After the exodus out of the camps, he went to Tingi Tingi where he became the S1 of the battalion known as “F.” He then headed for Congo Brazzaville but was arrested by soldiers from the DRC. He was detained in Makala prison in Kinshasa and then in Likasi prison in Lubumbashi. He was released in 2000 and joined the ex-FAR in the west known as ALIR2. He became the commander of the Hironnelle battalion, the S3 of a brigade in Kilembwe, the commander of a battalion in Masisi and the G3 of FOCA’s 2nd division in South Kivu.</p>

6. Ignace Nkaka, alias Laforge Fils

Personal Details	<p>Ignace Nkaka, alias Laforge Fils</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> He is known in his native region of Gisenyi under the nickname of Ruhumuliza.</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Ruhigiro Sector: Nanga Commune: Karago Préfecture: Gisenyi</p>
------------------	--

	<p><i>Father's Name: Mzee Bazeyi</i> <i>Mother's Name: Nyirazikunze</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Spokesperson of the FDLR. He lives in Kibua, but moves between the two hills of Mahange and Kasopo where telephone reception is easier.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	In 1994, Nkaka was a student at Nyakinama University in Ruhengeri.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Photine Mukayisenga, is living in Rwanda. She is a teacher at the Ecole des Lettres in Gatovu, Ruhengeri. At the same time, she studies management at INES where she is in her second year. They have one child, a son. Nkaka does not have any siblings still living in Gisenyi.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He completed his primary school in Ruhigiro and came to Kigali for his secondary education, to the Groupe Scolaire St. André. He went to the Nyakinama campus of the national university and was there when the genocide began.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1997-98</i></p>	<p>He lived with his wife in the refugee camp at Kibumba, North Kivu.</p> <p>He returned to Rwanda and then left again in 1998 to join PALIR/ALIR as a civilian political cadre. His older brother, Lt.Col. Léonard Nkundiye, alias Kirenge, was the deputy chief of staff of ALIR and the co-ordinator of PALIR's activities until his death in battle in July 1998.</p>

7. Eugénie Niyotwizigiye

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Eugénie Niyotwizigiye</p> <p>DOB: 1965</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> Within her family, and in her local area, she is known under the nickname of Inyumba.</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Akingondo Sector: Kiziguro Commune: Murambi Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Pierre Saruhara <i>Mother's Name:</i> Thérèse Mukakarangwa</p>
<p>Current Position in the FDLR</p>	<p>The Commissioner for Gender.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>She returned to Rwanda from the former USSR at the end of 1993, and was looking for work when the genocide began.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>Her parents are living in their home in Akingondo. Her older brother, Bernard Higiyo, and two younger brothers, Jean Marie-Vianney Nshogoza and Tite Tuyisenge, also live in Akingondo. A younger sister, Immaculée Kandela, lives at the family home and another younger sister, Claudette Niyodusenga, lives in Rwamagana, Kibungo.</p> <p>She used to be married to an architectural engineer who is known by his pseudonym of Moïse Izabayo, and who is now the head of the FDLR's chaplaincy services in North Kivu.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>She attended primary school in Kiziguro, and first went to Rulindo in Kigali rural for her secondary education, which she</p>

	completed at the Ecole sociale in Byumba. She then taught at the secondary school of Nyagahanga between 1987-1988, after which she left for the former USSR to pursue her university education.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	She lived in Katale refugee camp to the north of Goma and was employed by MSF Holland until the camps were dismantled.

8. Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso

Personal Details	Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Gitwa Sector: Kinyambi Commune: Runda Préfecture: Gitarama
Current Position in the FDLR	Ndayambaje works in North Kivu in the office of the president of the FDLR, Murwanashyaka.
Position held in 1994	He was the bourgmestre of commune Runda in the préfecture of Gitarama.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Ndayambaje was a teacher before he was appointed the bourgmestre of Runda.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement During the Genocide	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provided militiamen with lists of Tutsis to be eliminated; 2. At the start of the genocide, Ndayambaje was present at his

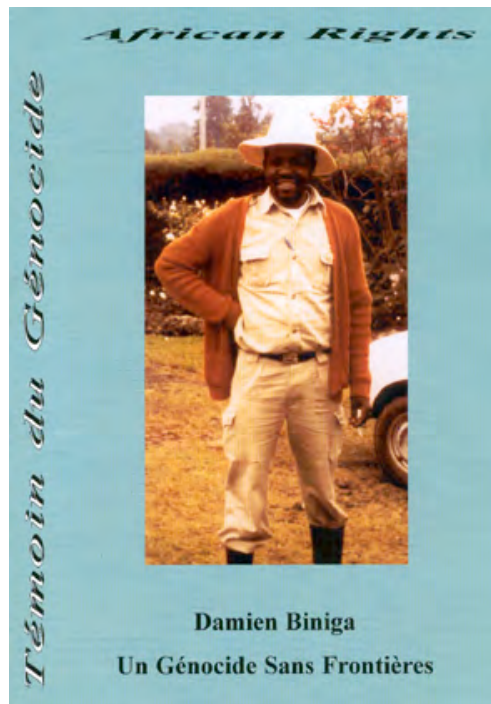
	<p>office, the commune office, when several Tutsi employees of the commune, including, Kayihura, the judicial police inspector, were murdered;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">3. Made radio broadcasts naming those who had been killed, and inciting Hutus to kill Tutsis;4. Identified his own Tutsi relatives, including children, to the militia, and they were subsequently murdered;5. Along with the interahamwe from Runda, he hunted and tracked down Tutsi residents who had fled his own commune and killed them wherever he found them in neighbouring communes;6. On 12 April, he held a meeting for the population which subsequently led to the deaths of Tutsis who had sought refuge in the local health centre;7. He regularly visited the Bishopric of Kabgayi in Gitarama, where a large number of Tutsis who had escaped the killings in Gitarama were sheltering, and selected Tutsis from Runda who were taken away and killed;8. He took part in the large-scale massacres at the Catholic Parish of Mugina, commune Mugina, where many thousands of Tutsis perished between 21-25 April.
--	---

9. Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga

Personal Details	<p>Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga</p> <p>DOB: 1948</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Murambi Sector: Remera Commune: Nyamagabe Préfecture: Gikongoro</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Gatwakazi <i>Mother's Name:</i> Mayira</p>
Current Position in the FDLR	<p>Havugimana is the Executive Secretary of one of the regions established by the FDLR, Region 4, which includes Mwenga and Fizi. He is also in charge of documentation in the office of the commander of FOCA, Mudacumura.</p>
Position / Rank Held in 1994	<p>Deputy-préfet in Gikongoro. Although he is referred to as a deputy-préfet, he did not hold this post in an official manner in 1994. He had been dismissed as deputy-préfet of Bugumya sub-préfecture in Cyangugu for disciplinary reasons. In early April 1994, he was in Nyanza, Butare, and was the secretary of a deputy-préfet in the region. He returned quickly to his native Gikongoro at the beginning of the genocide.</p>
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	
Educational, Professional and Political Background:	<p>Stalwart of the MRND and the CDR in Gikongoro;</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Leader of the interahamwe militia in his sector of origin, Remera; 2. Responsible, along with other militiamen, for a roadblock at Kabeza in cellule Murambi, Remera, at the entrance to a technical school under construction. Many Tutsis on their

	<p>way to seek refuge at the school were murdered at this roadblock and their bodies thrown at a nearby mass grave;</p> <p>3. He was deeply involved in the planning and execution of more than 50,000 Tutsis at the school in Murambi, located in Remera. Murambi is now one of the national genocide memorial sites.</p>
Reference Documents	<p style="text-align: center;">African Rights</p> <p><i>“Go. If You Die, Perhaps I Will Live” - A Collective Account of Genocide and Survival in Murambi, Gikongoro, April-July 1994. April 2007.</i></p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe: Pages, 42, 62 and 63.</i></p>

10. Damien Biniga, alias Kamukin



Personal Details	<p>Damien Biniga, alias Kamukin</p> <p>DOB: 1948</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Sector: Sovu Commune: Muko Préfecture: Gikongoro</p> <p>Nickname in Rwanda - <i>Biniga-Impinja</i>, meaning, “<i>A strangler of new-borns</i>”</p>
Current Position in the FDLR	Responsible for protocol in the political branch.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Deputy préfet of Munini sub-préfecture in Gikongoro, which consisted of the communes of Mubuga, Kivu, Nshili and Rwamiko.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	Since before the genocide, he has been separated from his wife who, along with their children, still resides in Rwanda.
Educational, Professional and Political background	<p>Son of Pierre Niyongira and Verediana Kamikazi.</p> <p>Attended primary school in Kaduha, and secondary school in Butare.</p> <p>An ardent supporter of the MRND, Biniga in the 1980s unsuccessfully campaigned for election to parliament for Gikongoro. He succeeded five years later and in 1990 was appointed deputy préfet of Munini.</p>

Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide

Working in close collaboration with the head of the gendarmerie in Munini, Second Lieutenant Anaclet Hitimana (now a lieutenant colonel in the FLDR, see Chapters 8 and 13), Biniga became one of the most active and best-known civilian leaders of the genocide. Not content to limit himself to the communes under his jurisdiction, he crossed over into other communes in Gikongoro in pursuit of Tutsis to kill, and into the neighbouring préfecture of Butare.

He also established strong links with the bourgmestres of the communes of Munini and their staff; with the directors of the tea factories in Mata (Juvénal Ndarabarize) and in Kitabi (Dénys Kamodoka); with businessmen, teachers and clergymen.

Within Munini, Biniga had already prepared the ground well, especially regarding the training of the interahamwe. With the death of President Habyarimana, he immediately set out to turn Hutus against Tutsis.

1. He gave incendiary propaganda speeches between 7-11 April, for example in Rwamiko on 7 April at the Mata tea factory and in Ruramba, and in Mubuga on the 11th. In all his meetings, he urged Hutus to burn down the homes of Tutsis and invented stories about Tutsis killing Hutus in order to heighten tension. As intended, tens of thousands of Tutsis left their homes and congregated in commune offices, in parishes, schools and in Biniga's own office. They died in a series of large-scale massacres, which were highly organized and well coordinated. They include the massacres at:

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. The Catholic Parish of Kibeho in Mubuga, 14-15 April; 3. The Parish of Muganza in Kivu, 12-15 April; 4. In his office in Mubuga, 16 April; 5. The Catholic Parish of Cyahinda in commune Nyakizu, Butare, 15- 18 April; 6. The Catholic Parish of Karama, commune Runyinya in Butare, 21 April; 7. The College of the Arts in Mubuga, 7 May.
Reference Documents	<p style="text-align: center;">African Rights</p> <p><i>Damien Biniga: A Genocide Without Borders</i>, Witness to Genocide, Issue 16, June 1999</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe</i>, December 2007, Pages, 23, 42 to 45</p> <p>For details about his role in the genocide, see Chapter 13</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ICTR</p> <p>There were numerous references to Biniga at the ICTR trial of Colonel Aloys Simba, particularly implicating him in the massacres at Murambi (trial day 23032005) and Kibeho (trial day 07072005).</p>

Current Status in Connection with International Wanted Lists	<p>He was originally a target of the ICTR, but his file was subsequently passed to the office of the Prosecutor General in Kigali;</p> <p>He was included in the Prosecutor-General's list of wanted genocide suspects of May 2006;</p> <p>Biniga is also on Interpol's wanted list of November 2007.</p>
Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report	Lt. Col. Anaclet Hitimana.

Other Civilians Associated with the Political Branch

- **Innocent Nsekanabo**

Innocent Nsekanabo, the son of Nicolas Bigibwami and Astérie Nyirarugwiro, comes from cellule Kibaga, sector Kibaga in commune Musange, Gikongoro. A civil engineer, he attended university in Germany. He worked in the Ministry of Planning before becoming bourgmestre of his commune of origin, Musange, for a short period. Afterwards, he returned to Kigali where he became a director in the Ministry of Public Works. He later set up his own construction company called Socofi, together with Alphonse Ntirivamunda, who was at the time director-general in charge of roads. Nsekanabo worked in Socofi until the genocide. In 1994, he was living in cellule Rukiri I, sector Remera in Kigali.

- **Cyrille Nsanzimihigo**

Cyrille Nsanzimihigo, known as Baleba in his home region, was the bourgmestre of commune Satinsyi in Gisenyi in 1994. His parents, Sekabogo and Nyirabarisesera, are both deceased. He is from cellule Kinzagara, sector Gitwa in Satinsyi. He is between 48 and 50 years old. He went to the primary school of Mulamba in Gishali, went to Butare for his secondary education and has a degree in economics from Butare university. He now lives in Masisi, where he teaches at the Matanda Catholic secondary school. His wife, Dorothy, lives with their four children in Nairobi, and their home in Satinsyi has been rented out.

THE CURRENT MILITARY STRUCTURE OF FOCA

This chapter reflects the hierarchy and structure of the FDLR's military wing, FOCA, with indications as to where the different battalions and companies are located. Given the frequency of reshuffles in the military as in the political branch, and the possibilities of desertion, there is every likelihood that some of the positions may, by the time the report goes to print, be occupied by new officers. Where it was not possible to ascertain the correct name of the individual in question, the code name is indicated with inverted commas.

I. FOCA COMMAND

I.1. High Command of FOCA

The headquarters of the FDLR/FOCA is stationed in Kalongi, near Katoyi in Masisi. This is where FOCA's overall commander, General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Bernard Mupenzi, is based and where the meetings of the high command take place.

- Overall commander of FOCA: Gen. Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Bernard Mupenzi; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Major Gen. Stanislas Nizeyimana, alias Bigaruka. He is also in Masisi, Kalongi; *see profile below*
- Secretary of FOCA's high command: Col. Eliezer Niyirora, alias Eli Hadji. He comes from Karaba in Gikongoro;
- Deputy secretary of FOCA's high command: Col. Joseph Habyarimana, alias Cokele;
- Secretary of FOCA high command: Captain Fabien Ntakiyimana, alias Militaire or Frère;
- Aide de camp of General Mudacumura: Lt. Straton Hitimana, alias Kolimba;
- Private secretary to Mudacumura: Lt. Gaspard Muragijimana;

I.2. Battalion Headquarters FOCA at Kalongi - Masisi

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Sébastien Uwimbabazi²⁰, alias Gilbert Kimenyi or Nyembo;
- Deputy commander: Major Landrin Gahamanyi, alias Bruce;
- *Officers*

²⁰ Lt.Col. Sébastien Uwimbabazi served as a gendarme in Kibungo in 1994. See Chapter 13 for a brief note on Uwimbabazi.

- S1: Warrant officer Rurangirwa, alias Tchev;
- S2: Captain Nzapfakumunsi, alias Aimé Irakiza;
- S3: Lt. Emmanuel Kubwimana, alias Jehovanis;
- S4: Warrant officer: Sosthène Komezza, alias Sulayman;
- S5: Captain Gashegu, alias Fontaine;
- Auditor²¹: Captain Olivier Rwego, alias Ave Maria Gonzaga Gonza;
- Judge: Captain Busokeye, alias Abudoni Busokeye, or Minyazuko;

1st Company: With Special Responsibility for Protection of FOCA’s High Command. This company is known as Mirador.

- Commander: Major Antoine Hakizimana, alias Jeva;
- Officer of Transmission (OTR): Lt. Adolphe;
- Officers: Lt. Kabasha and Warrant Officer “Abou Nidal”;

II. Military Headquarters

- Chief of staff: Brigadier General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi; *see profile below*
 - G1: Col. Donat Habimana, alias “Brazza Royal” or Aerien; *see profile below*;
 - *Officers:*
 - Major Rurenza Gérard, alias “Mambo”;
 - Captain Kinyata;
 - Lt. Michel Keramire;
 - Lt. Marc Nkundabagenzi (health service);
 - Col. Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias “Double Z” or “Zinga Zinga”; (He has been living in Zambia since May 2008 but has not been replaced). *See profile below*;
 - Major Niyikiza, alias Josué;
 - G2: Lt.Col. Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb; *see profile below*;
 - *Officers*
 - Lt.Col. JMV Bizumuremyi, alias Bizos;
 - Captain “Ho Chi Minh”;
 - Captain Jean Nkurikiyimana;
 - Sub-Lt. Pierre-Célestin Munyazikwiye, alias Peter Santos;
 - Warrant officer Segund Kamanutsi;
 - Lt. Hakizimana;

²¹ This person plays the role of a prosecutor and is responsible for discipline.

- Representatives known as Antennas
 - Antenna in North Kivu
 - Lt.Col. Amri Bizimana, alias Dimitri; (Kasua – Lubero);
 - Antenna in South Kivu
 - Captain Peter “Businge” (Rugete Murenge – Uvira);
 - Antenna in Kigoma, Tanzania -
- G3: Col. Cyprien Uزابakiriho, alias Mugisha; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - Major Irénée Gakirage, alias Gakinga;
- G4: Lt.Col. Samuel Rucogoza, alias Sam Muhire; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - Major Jonathan Gaterura;
 - Captain Minani, alias Kintu;
- G5: Lt.Col. Samuel Bisengimana alias Sam-Kunda-Mutima; *see profile below*

III. The Operational Sector of North Kivu (SONOKI)

The operational sector of North Kivu (SONOKI) was previously known as the 1st Division. Its command post is in Matembe.

- Commander: Col Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega Nzeli; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Lt.Col. Ezéchiél²² Gakwerere, alias Julius Mokoko ou Sibostany; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - G1: Lt.Col. Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi Mutunzi; *see profile below*
 - G2: Lt.Col. Ephrem Manirabaruta, alias Honoré Furaha or Sindyamahuri;
 - G3: Lt.Col. Pierre-Claver Mutambarungu, alias Cosnus;
 - G4: Captain Shadrack Sinaruhamagaye alias Shamamba;
 - G5: Major “Nouvel Silac”;
- Auditor: Lt.Col. Cômes Semugeshe, alias Ali Habib Francis²³;

²² Within the FDLR, his first name is presumed to be Jean-Baptiste, but the first name marked on his identity card, which is shown in his profile in Chapter 8, is Ezéchiél.

All these commanders are stationed in Pety near Pinga, Walikale

III.1. Battalion Headquarters for SONOKI: Stationed in Matembe

- Commander: Major Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, alias Mazizi; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Captain “Ben Salvator Rukura”;
- *Officers:*
 - S1 and S4: Lt. Jean-Pierre Abaza, alias Rado;
 - S2 and S3: Captain Narabagambye;
 - S5: Lt. “Socrate”;
- Auditor: Lt. “Socrate”;

Protection Company: Stationed in Matembe

- Commander: Captain Richard Ndatimana, alias De Gaulle;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Karege Tumusifu;

III.2. 1st Battalion Someka: Stationed in Busharingwa

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Elie Mutarambirwa alias “Martin Safari”;
- Deputy commander: Major “Rugas” alias Silas Rutaganda;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain “Juliano Staline”;
 - S2: Captain Léon Kirahinda, alias Mive;
 - S3: Captain Etienne Birasintare;
 - S4: Captain Gaheza;
 - S5: Captain “Noa Valium”;
- Auditor: None

EMS Company:

- Commander: Captain “Dragon Mwamba”;

1st Company: Located in Miliki

- Commander: Captain Déo Bayazane, alias Roger Shore;

²³ In 1994, Lt.Col. Cômes Semugeshe, alias Habib Francis, was a gendarme in Rwamagana, Kibungo. His wife, Félicitée Mukamazimpaka, is a student at the National University in Butare.

- Deputy commander: Captain “Bruce Memet”;

2nd Company: Located in Buleusa

- Commander: Captain Byiringiro, alias Boncoeur;
- Deputy commander: -

3rd Company: Located in Ngerere

- Commander: Captain “Fidèle Bimanos or Innocent Bimenyimana”;
- Deputy commander: “Lt. Mwendapori-Tumaine”;

III.3. 2nd Battalion Montana: Stationed at Kashebere

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Evariste Kanzeguhera, alias Sadiki Soleil;
see profile below
- Deputy commander: Major Oreste Uwikunda, alias Issa Pierre Oreste;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Gérard Mupenzi, alias Kaponda;
 - S2: Captain Fidèle Mustapha;
 - S3: Major Ndatimana, alias Mwenebantu;
 - S4: Captain François Dusabimana, alias Dubani;
 - S5: Major Maharangari, alias Sandoa Murura;
- Auditor: -

EMS²⁴ Company:

- Commander: Captain “Challenger”;

1st Company: Located in Kanyamitsindo

- Commander: Captain Iracyadukunda, alias Shukuru Kenes;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Gashirabake, alias Dibogo;

2nd Company: Located in Kinyana

- Commander: Captain Théophile, alias Abega;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Bahati”;

3rd Company: Located in Gasura

- Commander: Captain Marcel;

²⁴ The EMS company is in charge of administrative matters for the battalion.

- Deputy commander: Captain Emmanuel Habimana, alias Manudi;

III.4. 3rd Battalion Sabena: Stationed at Kiwanja

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Marc Habimana, alias Ndinzimihigo; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Major Jean-Paul Havugimana, alias Gustave Keshu/Bongo Emery;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain “Elissa”;
 - S2: Major Martin Kayumba;
 - S3: Major Ruvugayimikore, alias Zolo Midende Ruhinda;
 - S4: Captain “Diata”;
 - S5: Captain Léonard Sebahungu, alias Cedar;

EMS Company:

- Commander: Captain Alfred Benihirwe;
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Binja

- Commander: Captain Edmond Mudacogora;
- Deputy commander: Captain Evariste Nizeyimana, alias Gouverneur Kizito;

2nd Company: Located in Kirama

- Commander: Captain Chance Nsengiyumva, alias Mboma;
- Deputy commander: Captain Jean de Dieu, alias Jado;

3rd Company: Located in Nyamuragira

- Commander: Captain Mathias Niyitegeka, alias Eric Museme;
- Deputy commander: Captain Louis Uwimana;

III.5. 4th Battalion Bahamas: Located in Bishike, Walikale

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Bernard Rishirabake, alias Serge;
- Deputy commander: Major Gustave Kubwayo, alias Surcoff;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Major “Vumilia”;

- S2: Major Blaise, alias Asifiwe;
- S3: Major “Bermundo”;
- S4: Captain Dieudonné Kavamahanga, alias Lavekodo;
- S5: Lt. Célestin Bizeze, alias Hito Sibó;

EMS Company: Located in Kalembe

- Commander: Captain Niyonsaba, alias Ilungi;
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Kalembe

- Commander: Captain “Marius”;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Niyonzima, alias Team;

2nd Company: Located in Hura

- Commander: Captain Didier Noël Gato;
- Deputy commander: Lt. “Kohat Nsabimana”;

3rd Company: Located in Hembe

- Commander: Captain Anselme, alias David Safina;
- Deputy commander: Sub-Lt. Frodouald Kayinamura, alias Nemukane;

IV. The Operational Sector of South Kivu (SOSUKI)

- Division commander: Col. Léopold Mujiyambere, alias Musenyeri Achille, *see profile below*;
- Deputy commander: Lt.Col. Harerimana Hamada, alias Kas; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - G1: Lt.Col. Jeanne d’Arc Mukakinanira, alias Aminata/Tiger/Esther; *see profile below*
 - G2: Lt.Col. Tharcisse Uwimana, alias Jean Claude Mukubwa, or Jules Sharafu;
 - G3: Lt.Col. Boniface Mugabonake alias Josué Harelimana or Bony, *see profile below*;
 - G4: Lt.Col. Ferdinand Nsengiyumva, alias Bemba Bahizi or Ferdinand Ayayo, *see profile below*;
 - G5: Major Jean Marie-Vianney Ntahomvukiye, alias Milano Igiraneza, *see profile below*;
 - Auditor: Lt.Col. Ntahomvukiye, alias Nzita Arthur

IV.1. Battalion Headquarters for SOSUKI: Stationed in Gashindaba

- Battalion commander: Major Christophe Nyabyenda, alias Nabyen or Sibbo Chrysler;
- Deputy commander: Major “Catilina Seigneur Sergius”²⁵;
- *Officers*
 - S1 and S4: Lt. Jean-Pierre Munyaneza, alias Gédéon Coulisse²⁶;
 - S2 and S5: Lt. François Mugabo;
 - S3: Lt. Captain Mbarushimana, alias Mbarusha;
 - S5: S/Lt. John Habimana, alias Mapendo;
- Auditor: - Chief Warrant Officer “Mupenzi”
- *Antennas*
 - 1st Antenna: located in Minembwe
 - Chief: Captain Mutabazi, alias Salomon;
 - 2nd Antenna: located in Kankove
 - Chief: Lt. Bonaventure Sibomana, alias Methode Bona;
 - 3rd Antenna: located in Gahungwe
 - Chief: Captain Jean-Claude Karara, alias Benson;
 - Deputy: Corporal Hategekimana, alias Mazuru;

IV.2. 1st Battalion Zambeze: Stationed in Rusizi Valley

This battalion covers the Rusizi valley (Kamanyola, Sange, Uvira etc...). Its command post is in Kigushu, on a hill opposite Remera hospital.

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Félicien Nsanzubukire, alias Fred Irakiza, *see profile below*;
- Deputy commander: Major Jean-Baptiste Baranda, alias Smith Mongo;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Anastase Musabirema, alias Dani Bolingo; *see profile below*
 - S2: Captain Jean-Damascène Ndagijimana, alias Kidandari;
 - S3: Major Etienne Kanyandekwe, alias Zapy Schibel; *see profile below*
 - S4: Captain Gervais Rukezangango, alias Ntare;

²⁵ Major “Catilina Seigneur Sergius” comes from Ruhengeri.

²⁶ Lt. Jean-Pierre Munyaneza comes from commune Gishamvu in Butare.

- S5: Captain Donatien Tuyizere, alias Tchombe Sakalov;
- Auditor: Captain Jean Pierre Ntawurushimana, alias Safali Abel;

EMS Company:

- Commander: Captain Wellars Ngoga, alias “Romel”;
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Ndorera

- Commander: Captain Edouard Karemera, alias Kedo;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Munyembazi, alias Faziri;

2nd Company: Located in Lubanga

- Commander: Captain “Staline Uhirwa”;
- Deputy commander: -

3rd Company: Located in Rugeje

- Commander: Captain Christophe Ufitinema, alias Racine;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Castro”;

IV.3. 2nd Battalion Dakota: Located in Mpesi

This battalion covers the zones of Shabunda, Walungu etc... Its command post is based in Mpesi, zone Kabale.

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Aloys Bizimana, alias Idrissa Bashaka; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Major Aimable Kwihangana, alias Edel Kanga-Abisheyezu;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Hesron Munyazikwiye, alias Hesron Ngabo;
 - S2: Lt. “Mikangara”;
 - S3: Major Paulin Ndeshyo;
 - S4: Captain “Adéodatus Munguyiko”;
 - S5: Captain Joseph Rwandema;
- Auditor: Captain Joseph Rwandema (at the same time, the S5);

EMS Company: Located in Mpesi

- Commander: Captain Chrisologue Habineza, alias Hoshi Ngera;

1st Company: Located in Mirhanda

- Commander: Captain Théophile Baribeshya, alias Rukundo;
- Deputy commander: Captain Serge Nshuti;

2nd Company: Located in Bangwe

- Commander: Captain Jean-Luc Gasigwa;
- Deputy commander: “Captain Cedar”;

3rd Company: Located in Dunga

- Commander: Captain Ndayambaje, “Castro Rafiki”;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Zaphy Mapendo”;

IV.4. 3rd Battalion Nipido: Located in Kilembwe

This battalion covers Kilembwe in zone Fizi, Rulimba and Minembwe.

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Joseph Ntibisanganwa, alias Ilunga or Gilbert Kika Sisika;
- Deputy commander: Major Alexis Magambo, alias Kamera Hamud; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - S1: Lt. Augustin Nzabahimana;
 - S2: Captain “Darmant Dusingize”;
 - S3: Major Rugamba, alias Kikos Kinyongo;
 - S4: Captain Jean Marie, alias Naila Jasimine;
 - S5: Captain Juvénal Muhozi, alias Jovens Kajosi”; *see profile below*
- Auditor: Lt. “Gasaro”;

EMS Company: Located in Kilembwe

- Commander: -
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Lurimba

- Commander: Major Eliphaz Harelimana, alias Eliphaz Kambale/David Simplicite;

- Deputy commander: Captain “Magistrat”;

2nd Company: Located in Moscow

- Commander: Captain Jean-Pierre Ndayambaje, alias Hervé Baïkar²⁷;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Mustapha”;

3rd Company: Located in Kilembwe

- Commander: Captain Ntigurirwa, alias Takimayi Mugisho;
- Deputy commander: Captain Jean de Dieu Butera;

IV.5. 4th Battalion Belgaum: Located in Kilungutwe, Bushali

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Anastase Munyaneza, alias Job Rukundo;
- Deputy commander: Major Emmanuel Ndababonye, alias Elysée Mbandaka;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain “Mahoro”;
 - S2: Captain Marc Mudahizi, alias Fred Banike;
 - S3: Major Christian Kanyoni, alias Bismark Chrétien”;
 - S4: Captain Jojo Richard;
 - S5: Lt. Antoine Munyakaragwe, alias Roy;

EMS Company: Located in Kilunguwe

- Commander: Lt. Jean Marie-Vianney Hategekimana, alias Rainmaker;
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Ngando

- Commander: Major Bonheur Nizeyimana, alias Lukanga;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Dynamique”;

2nd Company: Located in Kigogo

- Commander: Captain Eustache Kayumba, alias Bethos, *see profile below*;
- Deputy commander: Captain “Makoro”;

3rd Company: Located in Nkambiye

²⁷ Ndayambaje died in Rwanda in December 2008. His widow, Lt.Col. Jeanne d’Arc Mukakinanira, alias Aminata, or Esthère or Tiger, is the G1 of the operational sector in South Kivu. See Chapter 8 for her profile.

- Commander: Captain “Mandela Milindi”;
- Deputy commander: Captain Jean-Claude Banzi.

Specialised Units of FDLR/FOCA

A. Spokesman of FOCA

- Spokesman: Lt.Col. Michel Habimana, alias Edmond Ngarambe;
- Deputy spokesman: Major Narcisse Musabyimana, alias Archevêque;

B. The Reserve Brigade: Stationed in Ngingu in Masisi near Kibua

- Brigade commander: Lt.Col. Lucien Nzabanita, alias André Kalume; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Lt.Col. Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo; *see profile below*
- *Officers*
 - S1: Major Célestin Nyirindekwe, alias Ndekwe;
 - S2: Lt. Col Désiré Habamungu, alias Adolphe Habmure, Kaduruvayo, or Bab Adam;
 - S3: Lt. Col François Nsengiyumva, alias Matovu; *see profile below*
 - S4: Major Jacques Nsabimana, alias Chotamakara;
 - S5: Major Joseph Ryangarirora, alias Assante Joseph Mboka;
- Auditor²⁸: -

B.1. 1st Battalion, known as Zodiaque: Stationed in Kaleta

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Nsengiyumva alias Cyrus Bapfiki;
- Deputy commander: Major Thacien Bugingo, alias Parfait Mahirwe;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Jean de Dieu Munyanganizi, alias Njemurume;
 - S2: Captain Maximilien Musabyimana, alias Max;
 - S3: Major Sabin Majoro, alias Djolo Sabin;
 - S4: Lt. Jean Nduwumukiza, alias Oba;

²⁸ A Captain Rudahunga, alias Rubega, used to hold this position but has retired. However, he apparently comes to help from time to time.

- S5: Captain Vénuste Gishuhe;

EMS Company: Located in Kaleta

- Commander: Captain Rwasibo;
- Deputy commander: -

1st Company: Located in Ramba, Zilaro

- Commander: Captain Donat Kayigamba;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Léonard Sebahungu, alias Senghor;

2nd Company: Located in Tusunguti, in Zilaro/Kalehe

- Commander: Captain Anselme Murabukirwa;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Jean Bosco Hampire, alias Bijigobyintare, or Dedeti;

3rd Company: Located in Kawele, near the market of Nkokwe

- Commander: Captain “Darius Njema”;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Kalenga;

B.2. 2nd Battalion Concorde: Stationed in Kashunga

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Jules Nsengimana, alias Blaise Cadence or Jules Rugwiro;
- Deputy commander: Major Barnabé Sinayobye, alias Merani;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Major Ildephonse Nkiko;
 - S2: Major Manassé, alias Bora;
 - S3: Major Donat Bazambanza, alias Cyitatre, or Chairman Ndekwe;
 - S4: Captain Gaston Gakuru, alias Furaha Musafiri;
 - S5: Captain Joseph Tuziyaremye, alias Gedeon;
- Auditor: Lt. Kamanzi;

EMS Company: Located in Kashunga

- Captain Munyagishali, alias Socrate

1st Company: Located in Kibabi/Masisi

- Commander: Captain “Iyamusimba”;
- Deputy commander: -

2nd Company: Located in Mashaki/Masisi – zone

- Commander: Captain Narcisse Gahamanyi, alias Gayana;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Bagirinkwano, alias Rapide;

3rd Company: Located in Gasheke/Katoyi

- Commander: Captain Déo Ndaruhutse, alias Kimya
- Deputy commander: -

B.3. 3RD Battalion Mirage: Stationed in Ekingi in Bunyakiri

- Battalion commander: Lt.Col. Déo Niyitegeka, alias Gérard Rutebuka or Rubura-Rugwa;
- Deputy commander: Major Justin, alias Oba Justin Théophile;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain “Kubwayo”;
 - S2: Lt. “Padiri”;
 - S3: Major Emile Terimbere;
 - S4: Captain Arthemon Niyonzima;
 - S5: Major Athanase Hategekimana, alias Quarante Neuf;
- Auditor: -

EMS Company: Located in Kashunga

- Commander: -
- Deputy Commander: -

1st Company: Located in Ramba

- Commander: Captain Pierre-Célestin Rurakabije, alias Simba Guillaume;
- Deputy commander: Lt. “Safari”;

2nd Company: Located in Chibiliro

- Commander Captain Juventus;
- Deputy commander: -

3rd Company: Located in Lukando

- Commander: Captain Jean-Bernard Harerimana, alias Barozi;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Bariyanga, alias Mandarine;

C: Training Schools: Stationed in Bugoyi, Mibaraka, near Kalongi

- Commander: Col. Bonaventure Bunani, alias Busogo; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Lt.Col. David Mberabahizi, alias Gicumba or Mbezi²⁹;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Théoneste Habiyambere, alias Jyambere;
 - S2: Lt. Uzziel Hakizimana, alias Akbar;
 - S3: Lt.Col. “Padiri Nikolas”;
 - S4: Lt.Col. Raphaël Habiyaremye, alias Mudimbe Yves Valentin;
 - S5: -

Command of the Senior Military Academy (ESM): Mibaraka-Bugoyi

- Commander: Lt.Col. “Mandevu Balame”, or “Gicumba”;
- Deputy commander: Major Célestin Gatabazi, alias Kathos;

Commander of Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO)

- Lt.Col. Patrice Kagabo, alias Shemeki Shabani; *See profile below*
- Deputy commander: -

Different Instructors

- Chief secretary: Sub-Lt. “Casamence”;
- Warrant officer: Musonera, alias Baraka;
- Warrant officer: Sinaruhamagaye, alias Kumbukumbu³⁰;
- Warrant officer: “Obed”;
- Sub-Lt. “Rafiki”;
- Auditor: Lt. Godelieve³¹;

C.1. Military Police Battalion: Stationed in Makohe, Masisi

²⁹ Lt.Col. David Mberabahizi used to be a paracomando. He lost a leg in 1992 due to a grenade. In 1994 he was working in administration at Kanombe military hospital. He took refuge in Gabon. He later rejoined ALIR in the DRC and then went on to the FDLR where he was, at one point, the deputy to the secretary general of the FOCA high command.

³⁰ Warrant Officer Sinaruhamagaye is also the S1 of ESO.

³¹ Lt.Godelieve is the sister of the deputy commander of FOCA, Bigaruka. Her husband, Major Josué Niyikiza, remains in Masisi but she is said to have left for Congo-Brazzaville.

- Commander: Lt.Col. Diogène Masengesho, alias Kwezi Ambriorex; *see profile below*
- Deputy commander: Major Jean de Dieu Nzabanita, alias Romel;
- *Officers*
 - S1: Captain Jotham Hakizimana, alias Oscar, *see profile below*;
 - S2: Major Tharcisse Ntashyo, alias Eric;
 - S3: Captain Eméry Rukumba, alias Umulisa;
 - S4: Lt. Gatabazi;
 - S5: Lt. Jean-Pierre Munyamahoro, alias Good;

EMS Company: Located in Makohe – Masisi

- Commander: Lt. Cyprien Sindikubwabo, alias Diallo;

1st Company: Located in Gikoma – Katoyi

- Commander: Captain Théophile Bigirimana;
- Deputy commander: Lt. “Assise”;

2nd Company: Located in Kibua

- Commander: Captain “Roger”;
- Deputy commander³²:

3rd Company: Located in Bwitsihire, Katoyi

- Commander: Captain Obed;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Nyembo;

Commando Platoon (CRAP): Located in Kinduru

- Commander: Lt. Gaspard;
- Deputy commander: Sub-Lt. Emmanuel;

EMS Company

- Commander: Lt. Dieudonné Bitwayiki, alias Bedos. He is stationed at Makohe near Katoyi.

³² This position was occupied by Lt. Emmanuel Turatsinze, but he returned to Rwanda in November 2008.

INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON FDLR/FOCA MILITARY LEADERS

This chapter contains 33 individual profiles of the FDLR's military leaders, particularly those in the upper echelons.

NORTH KIVU

1. General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Mupenzi Bernard



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>General Sylvestre Mudacumura, alias Mupenzi Bernard</p> <p>Within the FDLR he is known as Mudac, or Pharaoh, the code name he used for radio contact during the fighting in Pweto.</p> <p>DOB: 1954</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Ferege Sector: Gatumba Commune: Kibilira Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Mukanda <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nibagwire³³</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Overall commander of FOCA and president of FOCA's high command, he is based in Masisi.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>He was commander of the 31st battalion (Rutare battalion), which had its base in Rutare and was part of the operational sector of Byumba. After the fall of Byumba to the RPF, he is thought to have fought on Mont Jali before fleeing via Gisenyi.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Gorette Nyirabakunzi, returned to Rwanda in 1996 after the closure of the camps, along with Mudacumura's two younger sisters. She left for Europe after some years, at her husband's suggestion, at a time when she was working for an NGO. She is now living in France.</p> <p>Mudacumura's son, Bernardin, is studying at a university near Paris.</p> <p>His parents have died.</p>

³³ These are the names recorded officially, but in his home area the names by which his parents are known are Bernard Muhutu, alias Boyi, and Caritas Nyirarukundo.

<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He attended primary school in Gatumba and the Junior Seminary of Nyundo in Gisenyi for his secondary education. He was part of the 16th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) and graduated as a sub-lieutenant. He went to Germany for further studies and training and returned with the rank of captain. On his return to Rwanda, he was incorporated into the Presidential Guard and became one of the officers in charge of President Habyarimana's security and who accompanied the President. He later became the S3 (responsible for operations) in the Presidential Guard battalion.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p><i>To be investigated</i></p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>Together with his family and two younger sisters, Mudacumura settled in Mugunga camp near Goma. With the military re-organization of the ex-FAR, he was appointed G4 (logistics) of military headquarters based in Lac Vert, near Lake Kivu. He was responsible, above all, for buying weapons, ammunition and other military equipment. He was also a member of the committee in charge of the state properties that had been taken from Rwanda (money, vehicles, documents etc).</p> <p>Mudacumura is one of the officers who helped to create the Rally for the Return of the Refugees and of Democracy (RDR) set up in Mugunga camp.</p> <p>On 31 October 1996, shortly before the destruction of the camps, he participated in a critical meeting with senior officers and politicians, held in Sake. The meeting decided to let civilians and some soldiers return to Rwanda if they so wished, and</p>

for the others to retreat into the forests of Congo to begin an insurgency. The participants also agreed to burn documents, cars and whatever could not be transported.

At Tingi Tingi, Mudacumura was appointed commander of the Alpha battalion and then commander of the senior military cademy.

He subsequently left for Bangui in the Central African Republic (CAR) where he worked as a security guard in a supermarket. He was also a member of the committee set up by the Rwandese refugee community. He was detained in the CAR on suspicion of involvement in a coup plot and is said to have been released after intervention by officials from the DRC. He left in March 1999 for the DRC to join forces with Ntiwirigabo, Renzaho and other ex-FAR who were fighting on the side of President Kabila in the war that began in August 1998. He joined the FDLR from the outset and in February 2000, he moved to Pweto and became chief of staff of the new FDLR-ALIR2 structure.

After the fall of Pweto in July 2000, Mudacumura was evacuated to safety in Kabongo, and his troops fled to Kamina. He later joined them in Kamina. ALIR2 was restructured and Mudacumura retained the post of chief of staff. In February 2003, Mudacumura and ALIR2, as a whole, arrived in the Kivus to link up with their ALIR colleagues in the east.

Mudacumura was chosen as commander of the FDLR/FOCA after General Paul Rwarakabije returned voluntarily to Rwanda in November 2003.

Additional Comments	Former FDLR members unanimously describe Mudacumura as a hard-liner who is extremist in his political views.
Reference Documents	African Rights <i>A Welcome Expression of Intent: The Nairobi Communiqué and The Ex-Far/Interahamwe</i> , December 2007, pages 10, 11, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 32 and 33.

2. Brigadier-General Stanislas Nzeyimana

Personal Details	Major-General Stanislas Nzeyimana, alias Bigaruka or Izabayo Déo <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Sector: Commune: Mugusa Préfecture: Butare
Current Position in the FDLR	Deputy Commander of FOCA, based in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Nzeyimana was not in Rwanda during the genocide.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	Bigaruka's wife, Major Godelieve Mukamanzi, was part of the FDLR herself until she recently moved to Kigoma, Tanzania, where she is looking after their children. In 1994, she was a sub-lieutenant and was working at Kanombe airport. She comes from Karago in Gisenyi.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	At the beginning of the war in 1990, Nzeyimana was at the front with the Huye battalion, after which he was transferred to the Presidential Guard battalion. In 1993, he was sent to France for training. He returned after the defeat of the ex-FAR when the mass exodus to Zaire had begun. When he reached Goma, he settled in the Lac Vert camp and became the head of it.

<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p> <p>Activities Between July 1994-February 2008</p>	<p>Nzeyimana was not in Rwanda during the genocide.</p> <p>He was, however, a key figure in the insurgency in the northwest in 1997-1998, where he was responsible for the operational sector known as Delta, which covered the communes along the Nyabarongo River in Gisenyi (for example Ramba and Kibiliri), in Kibuye (Kivumu) and in Gitarama (Bulinga and Nyakabanda).</p> <p>After the insurrection was put down and the insurgents retreated into North Kivu, he was appointed G3 (training, recruitment and operations) of ALIR1. In the FDLR, he was transferred to South Kivu where he became head of the second division. He remained there until he became ill and went to Tanzania for medical care. In Tanzania, he established a base in Kigoma, from where he co-ordinated the FDLR antenna in Tanzania. He returned to Masisi after the last congress of the FDLR high command in February 2008 to replace Col. Emmanuel Kanyandekwe who died at the end of 2007.</p>

3. Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi</p> <p>DOB: 1953</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gaseke Sector: Rutenderi Commune: Tare</p>
-------------------------	--

	Préfecture: Kigali Rural
Current Position in the FDLR	Chief of Staff of FOCA, based in Masisi
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A major, he was commander of the 32 nd battalion based in camp Muhoza, Ruhengeri town.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>Mugaragu's wife, Adèle Niyonsenga, died in 1999. His four sons are studying at the University of Lubumbashi. They are: Patrick Nzita, alias Dadi, who is the oldest; Paulin Nkunzi, alias Papy; Pacifique Maniriho, alias Fils et Papias Myato, the youngest.</p> <p>Two sisters, Epiphanie Mukamugenga, and Godéberthe Uwamhoro, run businesses in Kinyali, Rushashi. Another sister, Régina Mukampunga, is a farmer in Joma, Tare.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He attended primary school in Mbogo, and went first to Rulindo and then to Kabgayi for his secondary education. He was in the 15th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali. He was then sent to Belgium for training in telecommunications. On his return to Rwanda, he was named as commander of the company in charge of transmissions at Kanombe camp.</p> <p>Prior to his transfer to Ruhengeri, where he was during the genocide, Mugaragu was head of the 17th battalion in the operational sector of Byumba.</p>

<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mobilized the Hutu population of Ruhengeri town to track down and kill Tutsis; 2. Travelled to nearby communes to recruit militiamen; 3. Assisted in the setting up of roadblocks in the town of Ruhengeri; 4. Personally visited the roadblocks on a regular basis, supplying the militiamen on guard with weapons from camp Muhoza; 5. Distributed guns and grenades to militiamen who were familiar with weapons; 6. Provided soldiers to give military training to untrained militiamen, either at Ruhengeri stadium or in Cabarare. Mugaragu personally gave instructions to the militiamen who were being trained, accompanied by Lt. Marcel Bivugabagabo, commander of operations for Ruhengeri sector; 7. Involved in organizing the massacres at the Court of Appeal in Ruhengeri and at the campus of Nyakinama University, Ruhengeri; 8. Personally gave instructions to the militiamen who were being trained, accompanied by Lt. Marcel Bivugabagabo. <p>See Chapter 13 for details about his role in the genocide.</p>
--	--

Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present

July 1994-November 1996

Mugaragu settled in Mugunga camp in North Kivu and was appointed as the S1-S3 of the 1st brigade in the 2nd division based in Mugunga. He, along with others, including Major Faustin Ntirikina (who later became a Brigadier-General with the FDLR), helped to re-organize and mobilize the ex-FAR. They provided military training to the interahamwe and prepared infiltrators who were sent to Rwanda to create a climate of insecurity and to kill genocide survivors and Hutus who were working alongside the new government.

1997

After the camps were forcibly closed, Mugaragu first went to Tingi Tingi where he commanded the Bravo battalion. He then went to Congo-Brazzaville and lived in camp Kinkele together with his four sons. His wife chose to return to Rwanda.

1998 to the Present

When the 1998 war began in the DRC, Mugaragu led the brigade which consisted of about 800 ex-FAR and about 1,400 Rwandese volunteers who crossed the border from Congo-Brazzaville into the DRC on 5 October to fight on behalf of President Laurent Kabila. Between 1998-2000 he was at the head of the 1st brigade established by the ex-FAR and operated in Pweto-Moba in the north of Katanga. He remained in Pweto but became the tactical chief of staff for ALIR2 and then went to their military base in Kamina. In 2005, he became the chief of staff of FOCA, the position he holds today.

4. Colonel Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Colonel Pacifique Ntawunguka, alias Omega</p> <p><i>Previous aliases:</i> Nzeri, Israel</p> <p><i>Nickname:</i> In his home region, he is known under the nickname of Mulefu</p> <p>DOB: 1964</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Kageshi Sector: Gasebeya Commune: Gaseke Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Balihenda <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirabalima</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Commander of FOCA's Sonoki operational sector in Masisi, North Kivu.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>In April 1994, Omega was commander of the 94th battalion, which was part of the operational sector of Mutara and was based in commune Muvumba. But as Muvumba fell to the RPF in the early days of the war, he and his soldiers made their</p>

	way to Kigali. He was injured in May 1994 and towards the end of the genocide, he was in camp Mukamira in commune Nkuli, Ruhengeri.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife lives in Gisenyi town. His parents have died.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Omega went to primary school first in Mbandali in commune Gaseke and then in Rwankeli, commune Nkuli in Ruhengeri. For his secondary education he studied at Christ Roi in Nyanza, Butare. ³⁴ He was part of the 25 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM). He was later sent to Egypt, Greece and France for aviation training as a pilot.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i> <i>The 1997-98 Insurgency of ALIR/PALIR</i>	He lived with his wife in Katale refugee camp in North Kivu. During the insurgency led by ALIR/PALIR, Omega was the deputy commander of the operational sector known as Bethlehem which covered the communes of Satinsyi, Gakenke and Ramba in Gisenyi.
Additional Comments	Omega is known as a hard-liner and as someone who is very tough and categorical, which creates permanent tension between him and Mudacumura. He recently refused a transfer that Mudacumura and his close collaborators had agreed upon. Mudacumura was reluctant to punish him for disobedience for fear that the fighters of Sonoki would

³⁴ According to some sources, he went to a junior seminary for his secondary schooling.

	<p>leave with him, as had happened with Musare.</p> <p>Omega has become a devout Catholic, and together with a spiritual medium by the name of Muzimangane, has established a “charismatic group” which is known for its devotion to prayers. It is co-ordinated by Muzimangane. Mudacumura is said to detest the existence of this group.</p> <p>As a result of his wounds in 1994, Omega has a disability in one leg.</p>
--	---

5. Col. Donat Habimana, alias Brazza Royal



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Col. Donat Habimana, alias Brazza Royal</p> <p>DOB: 1956</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Matyazo Sector: Byumba Commune: Kibali Préfecture: Byumba</p>
-------------------------	--

	<p><i>Father's Name: Gratién Baganda</i> <i>Mother's Name: Donatille Nyiraburanga</i></p>
Current Position in the FDLR	G1 of FOCA, in charge of personnel and administration, based in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A major, he was the S4 (logistics) of Mutara OPS.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, Véronique Sibomana, lives in Yaoundé, Cameroon, with their four children.</p> <p>His father has died, but his mother is alive.</p> <p>His sister, Ancille Mukantwali, works at Byumba hospital and lives in Byumba town. Another sister, Prudencienne Bugenimana, lives in Yaramba in Byumba.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Habimana went to primary school in Byumba and to the Junior Seminary of Rwesero for his secondary education. He was part of the 16 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali and was sent to Libya for a training course.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>After leaving Rwanda in July 1994, Habimana first passed by Goma, but almost immediately left for Cameroon before the refugee camps had opened. He joined the FDLR in 2001 in Kinshasa, passing through Brazzaville.</p>

Additional Comments	Habimana is known in the FDLR for being very close to Mudacumura, and also for a heavy dependency on alcohol.
---------------------	---

6. Colonel Bonaventure Bunane, alias Busogo

Personal Details	<p>Colonel Bonaventure Bunane, alias Busogo</p> <p>DOB: 1963</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Nkurura Sector: Gisoro Commune: Nyakinama Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Thaddée Byirembo <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirashyirakera</p>
Current Position in the FDLR /FOCA	Commander of FOCA's training schools (Junior Military Academy, ESO; Senior Military Academy, ESM and Continuous Training).
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A lieutenant, he was a gendarme in Gisenyi.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Appolonia Nyirakabanza, lives in Mukingo, Ruhengeri. She is a teacher in Busogo II primary school in Busogo and lives in her own house in Busogo. Their eldest son, Rémy, is in his second year at Janja Junior Seminary in Ruhengeri. Their daughter, Ariane, is in her second year of secondary school at Musanze College in Ruhengeri.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>His father, Thaddée Byirembo, is a former councillor of their native sector, Gisoro.</p> <p>Bunane went to Nkurura primary school and to Rulindo Junior Seminary for his secondary school.</p>

	He was in the 25 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM).
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	He lived with his family in Kibumba refugee camp in North Kivu. He was the S2-S3 in a brigade and trained soldiers in intelligence and strategy, especially to those who were part of the ex-FAR's 36 th intake and graduated in commune Nyamutera, Ruhengeri, where training schools were established during the insurgency.

7. Col. Diogene Masengesho, alias Kwezi Ombriorex

Personal Details	<p>Col. Diogène Masengesho, alias Kwezi Ombriorex</p> <p>DOB: 1964</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gisozi Sector: Kajwi Commune: Nyarutovu Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Gaspard Masengesho</i> <i>Mother's Name: Dévota Bakandarage</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of the Military Police Battalion for FOCA, he is based in Masisi.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A lieutenant, he was the S2-S3 of the gendarmerie in Kibuye.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	He lives in Masisi with his wife and three children. His wife is a former corporal.

<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Masengesho is the oldest in his family. His father, Gaspard Masengesho, was a school inspector for the préfecture of Ruhengeri before becoming a parliamentarian. He died in 1987. His mother, Dévota Bakandarage, lives with his younger brother, Théophile Nshuti, who is studying at ISAE, an institute for agriculture and livestock in Busogo, commune Mukingo in Ruhengeri.</p> <p>He went to primary school in Nemba after which he went for his secondary studies to the Junior Seminary of St.Jean in commune Nkumba, Ruhengeri. He then spent a preparatory year at the Grand Seminary of Rutongo.</p> <p>He was part of the 27th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali where he graduated as a sub-lieutenant gendarme.</p> <p>Prior to his transfer to Kibuye, Masengesho worked as a gendarme in Kigali, in the <i>Groupement Mobile</i>.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>He is accused of involvement in the massacres in Bisesero, Kibuye. According to former colleagues, he himself talks about his participation in the large-scale massacres in Bisesero.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p>	<p>He first lived in camp Kashusha in Bukavu.</p>
<p>Additional Comments</p>	<p>Masengesho is said to have done well financially when he was the G4 of the FDLR forces in South Kivu.</p> <p>He also has a reputation of being afraid of war and rarely participates in fighting.</p>

8. Colonel Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Mugisha

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Col. Cyprien Uzabakiriho, alias Mugisha</p> <p><i>Previous aliases:</i> Tedeum/Allélua Kolomboka</p> <p>DOB: 1967³⁵</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Bishikiri Sector: Murambi Commune: Murambi Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Muteyinkingi <i>Mother's Name:</i> Madeleine Nyirabapagasi</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>G3 (training, recruitment and operations) of FOCA, based in North Kivu.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A lieutenant, he was not in Rwanda during the genocide. He had been sent on a training course to France.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Eugénie Gasengayire, lives in Kigali with their two children, a son, Yves, and a daughter, Yvette. She works for an NGO based in Kibungo and also attends the Adventist Lay University of Kigali (UNILAK).</p> <p>The other members of his family live in Kiramuruzi in Murambi.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>His father, a prosperous farmer who is well known in their home area, is alive, but his mother has died.</p> <p>Uzabakiriho attended primary school in Murambi and then in Kiziguro.</p>

³⁵ While his official birth date is given as 1967, according to his family he was born in 1965.

	<p>He then went to Kimihurura in Kigali for part of his secondary education, which he completed in Rilima, Kigali rural.</p> <p>He entered the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali as part of its 25th intake. He then went to the Royal Military College in Belgium for one year, failed, returned to Rwanda and re-entered the ESM with the 26th intake.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	Uzabakiriho was not in Rwanda in 1994.
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The ALIR/PALIR Insurgency of 1997-1998</i></p>	<p>From Belgium, he joined his wife in camp Panzi in South Kivu, and they proceeded to camp Kashyushya, also in South Kivu.</p> <p>Uzabakiriho was integrated into the operational sector known as Z, or Nazareth, where he was the commander of the second sub-sector, which consisted of the communes of Nyamugali, Nyarutovu, Cyeru and Butaro in Ruhengeri.</p>

9. Lieutenant Colonel Evariste Kanzeguhera, alias Sadiki Soleil

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Evariste Kanzeguhera, alias Sadiki Soleil</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Maliba Sector: Birembo Commune: Giciye Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Daniel Mpakaniye <i>Mother's Name:</i> Stephania</p>
------------------	--

Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of the 2nd battalion, Montana, of OPS Sonoki (the former 1st division), he is based in North Kivu. Kanzeguhera is said to be involved in the DRC government's recent military operations against Nkunda in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Kanzeguhera was a sub-lieutenant in the gendarmerie in Gisenyi.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He attended primary school in Maliba and went to the Groupe Scolaire of Kansi in Butare for his secondary education. He then enrolled in the 30 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM).
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	He lived in the refugee camp of Katale to the north of Goma.

10. Lieutenant Colonel Lucien Nzabamwitz, alias Kaluma André

Personal Details	Lt.Col. Lucien Nzabamwita, alias Kaluma André DOB: 1966 <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Nyagitabire Sector: Ruvune Commune: Kinyami Préfecture: Byumba <i>Father's Name: Damien Munyagipimo</i>
------------------	---

	<i>Mother's Name:</i> Alivera Mukagasana
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of the Reserve Brigade (known as Zenith) in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A sub-lieutenant, he was a company commander in the 51 st battalion (known as Ababrankiko) in Nyagahanga, part of the operational sector of Byumba.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>In 2005, he married Thérèse Mukamusoni in Kilembwe, Fizi, in South Kivu. She lives in Kabare, Uganda, with their two children. Apparently she went to Kabare because her husband's relatives live there.</p> <p>His older brother, Augustin Nyarwasa, lives in their cellule of Nyagitabire with his wife, Vestine Nyiranzayirwanda, and their eight children. He is a farmer but also has a small business.</p> <p>Nzabamwita also has four married sisters who are all living in commune Kinyami. Donatille Mukanyarwaya, the oldest in the family; Patricie Mukagakwaya; Drocella Musengamana and Clementine Mukamuhgirwa.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>His father died in 1994 and his mother died in April 2000.</p> <p>Nzabamwita attended primary school in Ruhondo in Kinyami, and secondary school at the Lycée of Rugunga in Kigali.</p> <p>He is part of the 28th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>

<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1997 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He lived in one of the refugee camps in South Kivu.</p> <p>From Tingi Tingi, he travelled to Congo Brazzaville and settled in the refugee camp of Loukolela where he became one of the camp leaders.</p> <p>In November 1998, he returned to the DRC to fight on behalf of President Laurent Kabila.</p>

11. Lieutenant Colonel Patrice Kagabo, alias Shemeki Shabani

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Patrice Kagabo, alias Shemeki Shabani</p> <p>DOB: 1969</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rutuna Sector: Gishyita Commune: Gishyita Préfecture: Kibuye</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of the training school for non-commissioned officers located in Bugoyi, Masisi.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Kagabo was a sub-lieutenant in the gendarmerie. He was a deputy commander in a company that was part of the 5 th battalion in the <i>Groupement Mobile</i> of the gendarmerie in Kigali.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His brothers and sisters live in their native Rutuna.

Educational, Professional and Political Background	Kagabo attended primary school in Gishyita and secondary school at the College of St. André in Kigali. He then went to the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali as part of its 32 nd intake. He graduated as a sub-lieutenant in the gendarmerie.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	

12. Lt.Col. Samuel Bisengimana, alias Sam Kunda-Mutima

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Samuel Bisengimana, alias Sam Kunda-Mutima</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Murangara Sector: Murangara Commune: Gishyita Préfecture: Kibuye</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Abraham Sefuku <i>Mother's Name:</i> Asinath Nyirampeta</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	G5 (political department in charge of relations with civilians) at Military HQ in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Bisengimana was a company commander in the 41 st battalion in the operational sector of Ruhengeri.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>He lives in North Kivu with his second wife and their three children. She comes from Kigali rural and was a corporal in the gendarmerie in Kacyiru, Kigali.</p> <p>His first wife, Josée, comes from sector</p>

	<p>Mubuga in Gishyita. A graduate in management from Butare University, she now works for the Banque Populaire in Kigali. They had one daughter, Lisa, who lives with Josée.</p> <p>Bisengimana's father has died. His mother, a brother and two sisters still live in Mubuga. His older brother, Fabien Nsabimana, a farmer, lives with their mother and his wife and four children. One sister, Marthe Mukarukaka, lives in cellule Kaduha in Murangara. The other sister, Tabita, also lives in Murangara. The two sisters regularly visit their brother in the DRC and local officials are aware of this.</p> <p>Bisengimana and his family, like many people in their area, are Seventh Day Adventists.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Bisengimana attended the primary school of Kinama in Gishyita and the College of St. André in Kigali for his secondary education.</p> <p>He then taught for one year (1988-1989) at the primary school of Mpembe in Gishyita before enrolling at the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali where he was part of the 30th intake. While he was at the ESM, he obtained a scholarship to attend the Nyakinama faculty, in Ruhengeri, of the National University. He studied literature and African languages in the Department of Languages.</p> <p>He left the ESM as a sub-lieutenant.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p><i>To be investigated</i></p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p>	<p>Prior to his current appointment as G5, he had served for a long time as commander of the 2nd battalion of the second division in South Kivu based in Mpesi.</p>

--	--

13. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Rucogoza, alias Muhire Sam

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Samuel Rucogoza, alias Muhire Sam</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> He is referred to as Rucos within the FDLR</p> <p>DOB: 1966</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Mpanga Sector: Muhanda Commune: Gaseke Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Enéas Bahimba <i>Mother's Name:</i> Sarah Nyirantazi</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	G4 (logistics) of FOCA.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was a company commander in the 32 nd battalion in the operational sector of Ruhengeri.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Adeline Yabaragiye, who he married in Mugunga camp, lives in her house in commune Gaseke. She recently graduated from ISAE, an agricultural and veterinary school in Busogo, where she focused on veterinary studies.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Rucogoza's father is a retired Seventh Day Adventist pastor.</p> <p>He attended the Adventist primary school of Mbandali and went to Nyamasheke in Cyangugu for his secondary education. He</p>

	was part of the 30 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	He lived in Mugunga camp. In 2000, Rucogoza was the G4 of the ex-FAR forces fighting in Pweto when Mudacumura was the chief of staff.
Additional Comments	Rucogoza is apparently particularly close to Mudacumura.

14. Lieutenant Colonel Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo

Personal Details	Lt.Col. Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo DOB: Said to be aged about 38, but his exact DOB is not known. <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Sector: Nyabitekeri Commune: Gafunzo Préfecture: Cyangugu
Current Position in the FDLR	Deputy Commander of the Reserve Brigade in North Kivu, DRC.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Second Lieutenant in charge of the gendarmerie in the sub-préfecture of Munini, Gikongoro, which consisted of the communes of Mubuga, Rwamiko, Kivu and Nshili. The gendarmes for whom he was responsible were based in different sites, but their central camp was in commune Mubuga. Hitimana's unit took its orders from then Captain Faustin

	<p>Sebuhura, a colonel in the FDLR until he was recently repatriated by MONUC. He worked hand in hand with his civilian counterpart, Damien Biniga, the deputy préfet of Munini. Hitimana was also given strong support by his deputy, Corporal Nshimiyimana.</p>
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Although he was born in sector Nyabitekeri in Gafunzo, Hitimana's family shortly afterwards moved to sector Nyamirundi. He attended secondary school in Byimana.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement During the Genocide	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Together with Biniga, Hitimana led a campaign in which he urged Hutus to burn down the homes of Tutsis, forcing them to seek safety in numbers in various public buildings, which later facilitated the massacres in which they died; 2. He was instrumental, from the outset, in the planning and execution of the large-scale massacre of thousands of Tutsis at the Catholic Parish of Kibeho on 14 April 1994. He selected a group of officials and private individuals to prepare the Hutu population throughout Munini to take part in the killings in Kibeho. He himself led the gendarmes, militiamen and civilians he had mobilized and gave the order for the slaughter to begin. On 15 April, Hitimana's men continued the massacre until they had made holes in the walls of the church, which made it easier to burn the remaining refugees. 3. The Tutsi refugees at the office of Munini sub-préfecture were

	<p>prevented from leaving by Hitimana's gendarmes who patrolled the grounds. On 16 April, Hitimana, who had encouraged a large number of militiamen and civilians to surround the premises, arrived and told the refugees to sit on the floor. He then gave a speech in which he called for their extermination, saying he "did not want a single one of the enemy to survive." Most were shot or killed with traditional weapons.</p> <p>4. Gendarmes under Hitimana's command massacred over 80 Tutsi students of Marie Merci school in Kibeho on 7 May 1994. They were killed in the nearby College d'Art where the same gendarmes had assembled them.</p> <p>5. Hitimana played a key role in looting and destroying the property of Tutsis throughout Munini.</p> <p>For details about his role in the genocide, see Chapter 13.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-1996</i></p>	<p>Hitimana fled Rwanda in 1994 with his mother and sister Thaciana, (his father had died long before), and settled in camp Bwoza, on Idjwi Island in Zaire, close to Cyangugu.</p> <p>When the AFDL war began in 1996, he was in Bulongi, a military camp that the Congolese Government had made available to the ex-FAR for military training. He was asked to help evacuate some of the camp refugees to Idjwi Island. He then went to the interior of the DRC before making his way to Congo-</p>

	Brazzaville, from where he proceeded to the Central African Republic. He returned to the DRC when the second war began in 1998.
Reference Documents	African Rights <i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe: Pages, 27 and 46</i>
Cross-Reference With Other FLDR Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report	Damien Biniga

15. Lieutenant Colonel Boniface Mugabonake, alias Josué Hagenimana/Bony

Personal Details	Lt.Col. Boniface Mugabonake, alias Josué Hagenimana/Bony DOB: 1967 <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Murungu Sector: Rugera Commune: Nyamutera Préfecture: Ruhengeri <i>Father's Name: Phénias Munyarubuga</i> <i>Mother's Name: Marthe Kabagwira</i>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	G3 in Sosuki operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was a company commander in Rusumo battalion which was part of the operational sector of Byumba, but was physically based in Kibungo. He had the rank of a sub-lieutenant.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Patricia, is a nurse at Byumba hospital, close to her parents' home. She lives with their son.

	His parents have died.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Mugabonake attended primary school in Murungu and in Rugera, after which he went to the Groupe Scolaire of Zaza in Kibungo for his secondary education. He was part of the 30 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>From Tingi Tingi to the 1998 War</i></p>	<p>He lived in the refugee camp of Kibumba in North Kivu where he was part of 3rd battalion, in the 4th brigade of the 2nd division. Within the 3rd brigade, he was the head of a platoon responsible for supplies.</p> <p>He then joined the exodus to Tingi Tingi where he became the S1 in Bravo battalion. After Tingi Tingi, he made his way to Congo-Brazzaville where he settled in the refugee camp of Loukolela and became one of its leaders. He went back to the DRC during the war of 1998 to join the ex-FAR who were fighting on behalf of President Kabila. He became the S3 of Alpha brigade in Katanga led by Mugaragu, the current chief of staff of the FDLR, and later the commander of Foudre battalion, the S3 of a brigade in Kapona, and commander of Santiago battalion.</p>

16. Lieutenant Colonel Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Védaste Hatangumuremyi, alias Kaleb</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Shyira Sector: Rubona Commune: Giciye Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Adonie Ndumiwe <i>Mother's Name:</i> Perthe Mutambake</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>The G2 of FDLR/FOCA, he is based in Masisi.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A gendarme, he was serving in Cyangugu. Towards mid-May 1994, he was transferred to Ruhengeri.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Rosette Mukamukiye, is the director of a primary school in Ruhengeri town. She is also a student in the Gisenyi branch of the Free University of Kigali (ULK).</p> <p>A brother, Bosco Munyagishali, lives in Shyira, and a sister, Daphrose Mukaneza, lives in Kigali.</p> <p>His father has died, but his mother is still alive.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He went to primary school in Shyira, and to the Groupe Scolaire of Shyira for his secondary studies. He was part of the 30th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali, after which he became a gendarme in Rwamagana, Kibungo, with the rank of a sub-lieutenant.</p>

Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1997-98 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p>	<p>Hatangumuremyi lived in Mugunga camp in Goma and when the ex-FAR was re-organized militarily, he became the commander of the 4th company in the 4th battalion of the 4th brigade in the 2nd division.</p> <p>He was the S2 in ALIR's operational sector known as L.</p>

17. Lt.Col. Ezéchiel Gakwerere, alias Sibó Stany or Julius Mokoko

IBIMURANGA — IDENTITE — IDENTITY

Umwugaga we Profession Occupation *FONCTIONNAIRE (MINADEE)*

Aho yavukiye Lieu de naissance Place of birth *Rukara (KIBUNGO)*

Igihe yavukiye Date de naissance Date of birth *1964*

Aho atuye Domicile Address *Rukara - KIBUNGO*

Uwo yashatse Mari(e) à Married to */*

Ntarashyirwa Célibataire Bachelor

Uko aremye Visage Face *ovale*

Amaso Yeux Eyes *bruns* Indeshyo Taille Height *1m80*

Ibimuranga yihariye Signes particuliers Distinguishing marks *voir photo*

Umunyarwanda
Rwandais
Rwandian

GAKWERERE Ezéchiel

Umunyarwanda
Rwandais
Rwandian

we uru rwandiko yiyemeje kujya mu rugendo yaherukiragaho guhabwa visa.
Sousigné s'engage à remettre le présent passeport au Service du protocole dès la fin de chaque déplacement pour lequel un visa aura été pris.
undersigned is bound to return the present passport to the Protocole vice after each trip for which a visa will be have been issued.

ukono w'uruhawe
nature du titulaire
nature of bearer

Personal details	<p>Ezéchiél Gakwerere, alias Sibó Stany or Julius Mokoko</p> <p>DOB: 1964</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Commune: Rukara Préfecture: Kibungo</p>
Current Position in the FDLR	Deputy commander of the first division (D1) of FOCA in North Kivu.
Position / Rank held in 1994	Served as a lieutenant at the Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) in Butare, in S3, operations.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	
Educational, Professional and Political Background	
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in 1994	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heavily relied upon by Ildephonse Nizeyimana, the deputy commander of ESO responsible for intelligence, operations and training, who put him in charge of the new ESO recruits known as “New Formula”³⁶ who became prominent killers as they went on patrols or manned roadblocks. Together, with these young recruits, Gakwerere is widely regarded as having been given the green light by Nizeyimana to clear Butare town of Tutsis which he largely accomplished; 2. He was sent by Nizeyimana to kill Rosalie Gicanda, the former queen of Rwanda until the abolition of the

³⁶ ESO recruits were previously required to have two-three years of post-primary school education. But after 1991, ESO admitted students who had completed only primary school, and they became known as “New Formula.”

	<p>monarchy in September 1961;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. He is suspected of involvement in the arrest and subsequent assassination of the former préfet of Butare, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana; 4. He personally supervised the roadblocks which criss-crossed the town of Butare, and at which countless Tutsis lost their lives, such that he was rarely seen at ESO; 5. On 17 May, he led approximately 15 soldiers who killed the Tutsis hiding at the bursary of the Catholic Diocese of Butare and at the neighbouring convent of the Petites Soeurs de Jésus. <p>See Chapter 13 for details about his role in the genocide.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>Gakwerere settled in one of the refugee camps in North Kivu. He was appointed as head of the 2nd platoon in the 2nd company of the 2nd battalion of the 4th brigade in the 2nd division.</p>
<p>Additional comments</p>	<p>Gakwerere is described by former ESO colleagues as someone who is “without pity,” who killed “almost instinctively, without thinking.” They added that he had spent a long time at the front and believe this may have affected him. Former colleagues in the FDLR are also harsh in their judgements of him, describing him as someone who is merciless.</p>

Reference Documents	<p style="text-align: center;">African Rights</p> <p><i>Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi, A Rwandese Genocide Commander in Britain. Witness to Genocide Issue 12, April 2000</i></p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe: Pages, 9, 26 and 44 to 46</i></p>
Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders or Members Profiled in This Report	Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana

18. Lieutenant Colonel Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi-Mutunzi

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Bernard Hitimana, alias Manzi-Mutunzi</p> <p>DOB: 1965</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rubaka Sector: Nyabirehe Commune: Mukingo Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Joseph Butagwira</i> <i>Mother's Name: Asnath Nyirangendo</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	G1 (in charge of administration and personnel) in FOCA's Sonoki operational sector in Masisi.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was head of a company in the 3 rd battalion, known as Muvumba, of OPS Mutara.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Bernadette Nyirabaributsa, spent a year studying at the Kigali Institute of Health but was unable to continue because of financial problems. She is now living with her in-laws and working as a farmer. She lives with her daughter, Vestine

	<p>Mukashema, a 5th year pupil in primary school.</p> <p>His parents have died.</p> <p>An older brother, Alphonse Bikamenshi, is also in their native area where he lives with his wife and children.</p> <p>Hitimana has several sisters who live in Mukingo. One sister lives in Gitarama.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to primary school in Rwinzovu and to the Groupe Scolaire de la Salle in Byumba for his secondary education. He was a primary school teacher in Rwinzovu for six years before he entered the Senior Military Academy in Kigali as part of its 29th intake.</p> <p>He graduated as a sub-lieutenant, and became the deputy head of a company in the military police battalion. He was based in camp Kami, Kigali.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1997-98 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p>	<p>He settled in Kibumba camp near Goma where he worked for Caritas.</p> <p>Hitimana was the S1 of the OPS known as Zoulou or Nazareth.</p>

19. Lieutenant Colonel François Nsengiyumva, alias Matovu

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. François Nsengiyumva, alias Matovu</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> In his family, he is known as Bisetsa</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Kiyumba Sector: Runigi Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Esdras Karema <i>Mother's Name:</i> Esther Uwihoreye</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>S3 in the Reserve Brigade in Masisi.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A sub-lieutenant, he was the head of a platoon in the 63rd battalion and was based in camp Bigogwe, Gisenyi.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Christella Nyirandeze, and their two children, live in commune Mukingo. She is a teacher at the primary school of Busogo II, and is also a student at ISAE-Busogo.</p> <p>His parents have both died.</p> <p>His brothers live in Kibumba.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He went to the primary school of Rwankeli in Nkuli after which he attended the Adventist College of Rwankeli for his secondary studies. He first taught at the primary school of Rwankeli and then worked for the Banque Populaire in Nkuli. After that, he went to the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali as part of its 32nd intake.</p>

Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1997-98 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p>	<p>He lived in the refugee camp of Kibumba in North Kivu.</p> <p>He was head of a company in one of the battalions of the second division in North Kivu.</p> <p>Nsengiyumva led a company in Zoulou OPS.</p>

20. Major Jean-Damascene Rutiganda, alias Mazizi



Personal Details	<p>Major Jean-Damascene Rutiganda, alias Mazizi</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gatongati Sector: Mucubira Commune: Murama Préfecture: Gitarama</p>
Current Position in the FDLR	Commander of the battalion that protects the FOCA Headquarters in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Bourgmestre of Commune Murama.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	Rutiganda was not married when he left Rwanda in 1994, and it is not known if he got married while in exile.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Rutiganda studied for his secondary education at the Ecole normale technique in Rubengera, Kibuye, and then entered the Academy for Senior Officers (ESM) where he was part of the 25 th intake. He did not, however, complete his studies at the ESM. After he and other classmates were involved in the murder of a watchman, it was decided to send them, Rutiganda included, abroad to study, to avoid a scandal or the prospect of dismissing so many students. On his return, he worked in the Ministry of Planning, in the department of statistics until he became bourgmestre of his commune of origin, Murama, in 1993.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creating a militia force known as Ibigashari, which carried out massacres and other acts of genocide; 2. Inciting the local population to commit genocide, and threatening those who refused; 3. Killing the Tutsi refugees at Murama

	<p>commune office on 25 April;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Massacres of Tutsis at Buhanda commercial centre, at a place known as the “douane” and at Gitovu trading centre on 20 May. The victims in Gitovu were Adventist pastors and their families, more than 80 people in all, who had been transported from the Adventist headquarters in Gitwe. Rutiganda carried out these particular killings with gendarmes who had been sent from Nyanza in Butare by then Captain François-Xavier Birikunzira, who later also joined the FDLR; (See Chapter 12) 5. Raiding and ransacking houses in search of Tutsis, and ordering the killing of those that he found, often performing the final <i>coup de grace</i> to finish off the victims; 6. Personally taking part in the murder of dozens of people, including children, women, the elderly and the disabled. (In two gruesome cases, he used a knife to cut out the heart of the victim, and used a machete to decapitate a young woman, parading her head through the streets as a strategy of intimidation); 7. Encouraging militiamen to set fire to houses belonging to Tutsis; 8. Ordering the looting of homes, and distributing the plunder as a reward to those who participated in massacres. <p>See Chapter 13 for further details</p>
--	---

Reference Documents	African Rights <i>Jean-Damascene Rutiganda: A Free Man in Belgium?.</i> Witness to Genocide, Issue 16. June 2006. <i>A Welcome Expression of Intent: The Nairobi Communiqué And The Ex-Far/Interahamwe,</i> December 2007. (pages 48,63 and 64)
Current Status in Connection with International Wanted Lists	Rutiganda is on Interpol's Wanted List of November 2007.
Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders/Members Profiled in This Report	Col. François-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko.

21. Major Alexis Magambo, alias Rugina Alain or Kamera Hamud



Personal Details	Major Alexis Magambo, alias Rugina Alain/Kamera Hamud <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Kinyanja Sector: Mwiyanike Commune: Karago Préfecture: Gisenyi
------------------	--

	<p><i>Father's Name: Biramahire</i> <i>Mother's Name: Nyiranturu</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Deputy commander of the 3rd Battalion, second division, in Kilembwe.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He had left the army by 1994 and was the prefect of studies at the Groupe Scolaire for boys in sector Rambura, Karago.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife, Nyangoma, lives in their house in Rambura with their three children, two boys, the older of whom is called Alain, and a daughter, Aline. His mother and most of the rest of his immediate family are living in Rwanda. His younger brother, Théophile, is a teacher at the Ecole technique inférieure in Kinyanja.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He completed primary school in Kinyanja and secondary school at Musanze College in Ruhengeri. He entered the Senior Military Academy (ESM) as part of its 29 th intake, but was dismissed in his third year when he was a sergeant-student.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1997-1998</i></p>	<p>He lived in camp Katale.</p> <p>He joined PALIR/ALIR in 1997.</p>

22. Major Jean de Dieu Nzabanita, alias Romel

Personal Details	<p>Major Jean de Dieu Nzabanita, alias Romel</p> <p>DOB: 1968</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Kabatwa Sector: Karama Commune: Kinyamakara Préfecture: Gikongoro</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Gasarabwe</i> <i>Mother's Name:</i></p>
Current Position in the FDLR	Deputy Commander of the Military Police (PM) battalion, based in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife and three children had returned home to Kinyamakara. But his wife is said to have rejoined him in North Kivu, leaving her children in the care of her older sister in Rwanda.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Nzabanita completed his primary education in Mbogo, Kinyamakara, after which he went to Christ Roi College in Nyanza, Butare, for his secondary education. He then became a secondary school teacher in Mbuga, commune Mudasonwa in Gikongoro. Afterwards he went on to the Senior Military Academy in Kigali as part of its 35 th intake.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated.</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	

Additional Comments	Nzabanita has a reputation for being a great fighter, and his PM battalion is regarded, by far, as the best battalion in FOCA in military terms.
---------------------	--

23. Captain Jotham Hakizimana, alias Oscar Steven

Personal Details	<p>Captain Jotham Hakizimana, alias Oscar Steven</p> <p>DOB: 1961</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Runyanja Sector: Jenda Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Muhima <i>Mother's Name:</i> Marthe Kantarama</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	S1 in the military police battalion based in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was a warrant officer at the gendarmerie camp in Kacyiru, but was working in camp Kigali. There is conflicting information that he was working in the Ministry of Defence.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, Priscille Mukandekezi, and his three children live in Jenda.</p> <p>His father died a long time ago and his mother died in 2000.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Hakizimana went to the primary school of Gasizi, sector Kareba in Nkuli. For his secondary education, he went first to Goma and then to the College of Shyogwe in Gitarama.</p> <p>He graduated from the 15th class of the</p>

	Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) and then went to Belgium for training.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1997/1998 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p>	<p>Hakizimana lived with his family in camp Kibumba, North Kivu.</p> <p>He was the head of a platoon in one of the specialist units.</p> <p>Hakizimana joined the ALIR/PALIR insurgency. His family took refuge in Uganda and returned to Rwanda in 2000.</p>

SOUTH KIVU

1. Colonel Léopold Mujyambere, alias Achille Musenyeri/Abraham

Personal Details	<p>Col. Léopold Mujyambere, alias Achille Musenyeri or Abraham</p> <p>DOB: 1962</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Buhande Sector: Remera Commune: Tare Préfecture: Kigali rural</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Joseph Sebulimbwa</i> <i>Mother's Name: Thérèse Nyirangerageze</i></p>
------------------	--

Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of FOCA's operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Mujyambere was part of the advance party that travelled to Arusha, Tanzania, ahead of President Habyarimana's visit to Arusha on 6 April 1994. His claim that he never returned to Rwanda merits investigation.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>He lives with his wife, Rose, and their three children.</p> <p>His parents live in commune Tare.</p> <p>His older brother, Léonard Habimana, lives in Buhande, as do two of his sisters, Uwamariya and Pascasia Uwimana.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Mujyambere attended the primary school of Rulindo, and went to the Junior Seminary of Rulindo for his secondary schooling. He was part of the 24 th intake of the ESM in Kigali. He subsequently went to Libya for training as a commando. On his return to Rwanda, he became an instructor at the commando camp in Bigogwe, and later an instructor at the ESM. He was then appointed as the S2 in Presidential Guard battalion in camp Kimihurura, Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>Whether an investigation is merited will depend on first establishing whether he returned to Rwanda between 7 April and July 1994.</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	He lived in camp Kashusha in South Kivu and became the commander of the 3 rd battalion, 1 st brigade in the first division.

<p><i>The 1997-98 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p> <p><i>Evolution Within the FDLR</i></p>	<p>Mujambere was the G3 of ALIR.</p> <p>For a long time, Mujambere was the G3 of FDLR/FOCA. In February 2007 he became the commander of the South Kivu division.</p>
---	--

2. Lieutenant Colonel Aloys Bizimana, alias Bashaka Idrissa

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Aloys Bizimana, alias Bashaka Idrissa</p> <p>DOB: 1966</p> <p>Cellule: Rubona Sector: Nyanza Commune: Giti Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Evariste Uwihanganye <i>Mother's Name:</i> Gaudence Nyirabagenzi</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Commander of the 2nd battalion of the operational sector in South Kivu, he is based in Mpesi-Kasheshe.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>He was a sub-lieutenant, the commander of a company in the Light Anti-Aircraft battalion in camp Kanombe. (There is conflicting information, which needs to be verified, that he was a platoon commander).</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>A younger brother, Jean de Dieu Habimana, lives in Rwankuba, Murambi. His sister, Thérèse Mukademokabasi, who is ill, lives at home with their mother.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Bizimana's father died in 1995, but his mother is alive.</p> <p>He attended primary school first in his home sector of Nyanza, and then in</p>

	<p>Rwesero, Byumba. He went to Gahini in Kibungo for his secondary education and received his diploma in 1987. He then worked for two years in the Ministry of Health in Kigali. In 1989, he enrolled in the 31st intake of the Senior Military Academy in Kigali, graduating as a sub-lieutenant.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement/Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>In gacaca local residents have accused him of inciting genocide, but a thorough investigation needs to be carried out.</p>
<p>Activities Since Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>At Tingi Tingi</i></p> <p><i>June 1997-October 1998</i></p>	<p>He settled in Mugunga camp near Goma and worked for the American Rescue Committee. His wife worked for another NGO in Mugunga. At the same time, he was the commander of a company in the 1st battalion, 2nd brigade in the 2nd division in Mugunga camp.</p> <p>From November 1996-February 1997, he lived in Tingi Tingi together with his wife and two children. While at Tingi Tingi, he was the S2 of the Alpha battalion.</p> <p>He lived in a refugee camp in Kintere in Congo-Brazzaville after which he went back to the DRC to support President Kabila in the 1998 war. He was the S2-S3 of a battalion which fought in Pweto-Moba.</p> <p>He was, prior to his current post, the G5 of FOCA (political department responsible for relations with civilians).</p>

3. Lieutenant Colonel Jeanne d'Arc Mukakinanira, alias Aminata, Esthère or Tiger

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Jeanne d'Arc Mukakinanira, alias Aminata, Esthère or Tiger</p> <p>DOB: 1968</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Nyagihamba Sector: Ngoma Commune: Bwakira Préfecture: Kibuye</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Charles Gasasira <i>Mother's Name:</i> Marie-Agnès Mukafurere</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>GI (in charge of administration and personnel) of the operational sector in South Kivu.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>Mukakinanira was a gendarme in camp Kacyiru, Kigali.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>Both parents live in Ngoma. Her oldest son, Jean de Dieu Gapasi, who she had with her first husband, lives with his grandmother in Ngoma.</p> <p>Her brother, Godfroid Gasana, is a driver, and works and lives in Gitarama town. One sister, Godelieve Mukeshimana, a farmer, is married and lives in Ngoma. An older sister, Godeberthe Mukagasana, also lives in Ngoma.</p> <p>Mukakinanira has remarried and her husband, Captain Jean-Pierre Ndayambaje, alias Hervès Baïkar, was the deputy commander of a company in the 3rd battalion, the Rotor battalion until he died recently. Its headquarters are in Kilembwe; however, his company was based in Mwenga. They have two children together.</p>

Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Mukakinanira is the youngest in her family. Her father, who is retired, is a former bourgmestre of commune Kagangare, which later became commune Bwakira.</p> <p>She attended primary school in Ngoma and in Sanza, Bwakira. She attended her first year of secondary school in Nyamasheke, Cyangu. She completed the remainder of her secondary education at the Groupe Scolaire of Shyogwe, in Gitarama, where she obtained her diploma in 1989. She then enrolled at the Senior Military Academy (ESM) as part of its 30th intake. She graduated as a sub-lieutenant gendarme.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	She lived in camp Panzi in South Kivu.
Additional Comments	According to one of her sisters, most members of the family believed that Mukakinanira had died, despite the occasional rumour that she had been sighted. Her family disregarded this rumour, with the exception of her mother.

4. Lt. Col. Harelimana Hamada, alias Muramba Junior

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Harelimana Hamada, alias Muramba Junior</p> <p><i>Previous nickname:</i> Bora Aziz He is also known as Kas</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gacuba</p>
------------------	---

	<p>Sector: Rubavu Commune: Rubavu Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Omar Semiteja</i> <i>Mother's Name: Hadidja</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Deputy commander of the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was the commander of the first company of the 51 st battalion (known as Ababrankiko), which was part of the operational sector of Byumba.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	Hamada's wife, Zoulphate Marie Uwimana, lives in Gisenyi town with their children; Shelf who is 11 and Nadia, a daughter aged 9. His wife has now joined the Pentecostal Church.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He went to the primary school of Gacuba and to the College of Gihundwe in Cyangugu for his secondary education. He entered the 28 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>He lived in the refugee camp of Mugunga in North Kivu.</p> <p>In November 1996, he and his wife went to Tingi Tingi and then to Congo-Brazzaville. They first lived in the village of Boutunu, then transferred to the refugee camp of Loukolela and finally to the refugee camp of Kintele close to the town of Brazzaville. His family stayed in the city itself.</p> <p>In 1998 he returned to the DRC to join the</p>

	war on the side of President Kabila where he was named as commander of the Kas battalion. He also participated in the fighting at Pweto.
--	--

5. Lieutenant Colonel Félicien Nsanzubukire, alias Fred Irakiza or Ahamat

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Félicien Nsanzubukire, alias Fred Irakiza or Ahamat</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Murama Sector: Kinyinya Commune: Rubungo Préfecture: Kigali rural</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Léopold Rwamanywa <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirarubibi</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of the 1st battalion in the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was the head of a platoon in the 32 nd battalion, which was part of the operational sector of Ruhengeri.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, Immaculée, who works for the insurance company, SORAS, recently graduated from the Gisenyi branch of the Free University of Kigali (ULK). She has remarried a businessman in Gisenyi.</p> <p>A sister, Aurélie, lived in Murama while another sister, Vénantie Mukampabuka, lives in Kami, Kinyinya.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Nsanzukukire went to the primary school of Kinyinya, and to the Junior Seminary of Ndera for his secondary education. From 1988 to June 1991, he was a teacher at the

	primary school of Karama in Rubungo. He was part of the 33 rd intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1998-the Present</i></p> <p><i>Mid-1998 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He lived in Kibumba camp in North Kivu and became the leader of a platoon in a commando company known as Dragon. In Tingi Tingi he was a company commander in the Alpha battalion. He then sought exile in Bangui, Central African Republic.</p> <p>He was back in the DRC in October 1998 to take part in the war on Kabila's side. He became the commander of a company in the 1st battalion of the 2nd brigade in Equateur. In Pweto, he was appointed the G4 officer for Mugaragu who was, at the time, the tactical chief of staff. Nsanzubukire retained this position until 2004. Between 2004-2006, he was an officer in G4 in the 2nd division in South Kivu. In 2006, he was given his current position.</p>

6. Lieutenant Colonel Ferdinand Nsengiyumva, alias Bemba Bahizi/Ferdinand Ayayo

Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Ferdinand Nsengiyumva, alias Bemba Bahizi</p> <p><i>Previous alias: Ayayo Ferdinand</i></p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rugera Sector: Rugera</p>
------------------	--

	<p>Commune: Nyamutera Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Fred Ndamuzeye <i>Mother's Name:</i> Suzanne Nyirabahizi</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	G4 in the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A sub-lieutenant, he was the commander of the 3 rd company in the 83 rd battalion which was part of Byumba OPS.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>He has a Congolese wife, Micheline, and they have two children, a daughter and a son. His mother and younger brothers live in Rugera.</p> <p>His father has died, but his mother is alive.</p> <p>A younger brother, Aaron Ntamerekezo, a teacher, lives with his family on their native hill in Rugera. His sister, Rose Nyiramukiza, lives in Nyamutera.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He went to primary school in Nyakiliba, near Rugera. For secondary education, he attended the College of Inyemeramihigo in Gisenyi. He was part of the 30 th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>He lived in the refugee camp of Kibumba in North Kivu, and became a company commander in the 2nd battalion, 4th brigade in the second division.</p> <p>In Tingi Tingi, he was the S2 in a battalion from where he headed to Congo-Brazzaville, joining other Rwandese at</p>

	<p>Loukelela refugee camp. In 1998, he travelled to the DRC to take part in the war, fighting on Kabila's side in Equateur. He subsequently served as the S2-S3 in Kagoma battalion, Bravo brigade that was led by Mpiranya in Mbujimayi, and he later commanded the Hironnelle battalion near Kalemie.</p>
--	---

7. Major Etienne Kanyandekwe, alias Zapy Schibel



<p>Personal details</p>	<p>Major Etienne Kanyandekwe, alias Zapy Schibel</p> <p>DOB: 1972</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Guriro Sector: Gitwa Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>He is the S3 of the 1st battalion of the operational sector in South Kivu and is based in the Rusizi valley.</p>
<p>Position / Rank held in 1994</p>	<p>He was a teacher at the primary school of Rwankeli in commune Nkuli.</p>

Whereabouts of Immediate Family	He lives with his wife and two children. His older brother, Origène Rutayisire, is the mayor of Nyarugenge district in Kigali.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to primary school in Rwankeli. He started his secondary education in Rwankeli and completed it in Gitwe, Gitarama.</p> <p>He began his military training in Kibumba camp, North Kivu, in 1995-1996. In 1997, he was part of ALIR/PALIR's 36th intake at the senior military academy they set up in commune Nyamutera, Ruhengeri, during the insurgency.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>

8. Captain Eustache Kayumba, alias Bethos

Personal Details	<p>Captain Eustache Kayumba, alias Bethos</p> <p>DOB: 1976</p> <p>Kayumba was born at Gabiro military camp.</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gashyuha Sector: Rugarambiro Commune: Rutsiro Préfecture: Kibuye</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Jean-Bosco Kayumba</i> <i>Mother's Name: Thérèse Nyirabagarura</i></p>
------------------	---

Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	Commander of a company in the 4th battalion of the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Kayumba was a 5 th year student at the School of Law and Administration in Birambo, Kibuye.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His father died a natural death in 1998 in the DRC. His mother is alive and lives at home in Gashyuha.</p> <p>His wife, Médiatrice Umusamalirwa, and their two children, a boy and a girl, live in Gashyuha, close to Kayumba's mother. His wife and the children had returned from South Kivu about two months prior to the interviews, in October 2008, for this report.</p> <p>His sister, Honorine Kankindi, who is married and lives in Byumba, is in her final year of clinical psychology at the National University in Butare.</p> <p>Another sister, who is younger, Hélène Uwamariya, is a nurse at the health centre of Busanza in Kanombe, Kigali. There is another younger sister by the name of Yvonne. A younger brother, Pascal Kaneza, works in a hotel in Kigali.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He attended primary school for five years at Ngoma military camp in Butare, and completed his primary education in Rugote, Rutsiro. After that, he went to the School of Law and Administration of Birambo in Kibuye.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	
<i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	He lived in the refugee camp of Kashusha

	<p>in South Kivu with his father and one of his sisters.</p> <p>He later enrolled in the training school for officers set up by the ex-FAR in Masisi.</p>
--	---

9. Captain Anastase Musabireme, alias Dan Bolingo

Personal Details	<p>Captain Anastase Musabirema, alias Dan Bolingo</p> <p>DOB: 1972</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gafu Sector: Rukoko Commune: Kivumu Préfecture: Kibuye</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Désiré Rukebesha <i>Mother's Name:</i></p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	S1 (responsible for administration and personnel) in the 1st battalion of the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Musabirema was a 4 th year secondary school student in Save, Butare.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, who is Rwandese, lives with him in South Kivu.</p> <p>His mother died a long time ago, but his father is alive and lives in Kivumu along with his three married sisters, Agnès, Consolée and Dancille.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Musabirema attended primary school in Bitenga, sector Rukoko, and then went to Save, Butare, for his secondary education.</p> <p>He enrolled in the ex-FAR's Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Tchampfubu,</p>

	Pweto in the DRC where he was part of the 40 th intake.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>

10. Captain Juvénal Muhozi, alias Juvens Kajos



Personal Details	<p>Captain Juvénal Muhozi, alias Juvens Kajos</p> <p>DOB: 1974</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Nyarugati Sector: Kanazi Commune: Kanzenze Préfecture: Kigali rural</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Pierre Gashirabake <i>Mother's Name:</i> Antonia Kampire</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	S5 in the 3rd battalion of the operational sector in South Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He worked for the office of the sub-préfecture of Kanazi. (His older brother, Bernard Gatanazi, was the bourgmestre of commune Kanzenze).

Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife lives with him in South Kivu.</p> <p>His parents have died and his brother, Gatanazi, died in the DRC.</p> <p>Several siblings, all of them farmers, are living at home in Kanzenze, including Protais Karwana; Emmanuel Kalisa; Immaculée Kankindi; Léopold Nzaramba and Straton Karamage.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Muhozi was a pupil at the primary school of Kanazi and then went to the Lycée of Kigali in Rugunga for his secondary education.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1997 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He lived in camp Kashusha in South Kivu with his brother, Gatanazi.</p> <p>From Tingi Tingi, he took refuge in camp Lukolela in Congo Brazzaville. In 1998, he was one of the many Rwandese refugees living in Congo Brazzaville who went to the DRC to lend President Kabila a hand in the war. He underwent military training first in Equateur and subsequently in Kamina.</p>

THE CURRENT POLITICAL & MILITARY STRUCTURE OF RUD/RPR

Contrary to the FDLR, the military and political structure of RUD/RPR is simple, a reflection of its size compared to the FDLR. Politically, RUD is dominated by individuals who live abroad, in the US, Canada and Europe. This fact is rooted in the origins of RUD when its president, Jean Marie-Vianney Higiroy, and its executive secretary, Félicien Kanyamibwa, who were living in the US, split from the FDLR in September 2004 to form what is now RUD. Since then, Higiroy and Kanyamibwa have broadened the leadership of RUD, but with the exception of two representatives in North Kivu, the top political positions in RUD continue to be occupied by leaders who live in the west. They are:

Political Leaders

- President: Jean Marie-Vianney Higiroy; he lives in the US, *see profile in Chapter 12*;
- Vice President: Marie-Goretti Abayizigira, based in France, *see photos in Chapter 12*;
- Executive Secretary: Félicien Kanyamibwa; he lives in the US, *see profile in Chapter 12*;
- Spokesman: Augustin Dukuze; resident in Canada, *see photo in Chapter 12*;
- Commissioner for External Relations: Bonaventure Hakizimana, based in The Netherlands, *see note in Chapter 12*;
- Commissioner for Defence: Col. Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo. His position does not appear to be an official one. He had been living in Congo-Brazzaville for a long time, but is lately said to have joined his family in Cameroon. *See profile in Chapter 12*.

Political Representatives in North Kivu

The two people in North Kivu who are charged with responsibilities of a political nature are:

- Ngayaberuye, alias Milowo, who is now the G5; *see note below*;
- Augustin Habiyaemye, alias Shabade, based in Lubero where he serves as a link with Rwandese refugees and the Congolese population. *See note below*.

Political Representatives Abroad

- The Netherlands: Dr. Déo Twagirayezu, *see note below*;
- Switzerland: Oscar Nkezabera;
- Norway: Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru, *see profile below*;
- Scandinavian countries: Jean-Pierre Kamanzi

How RUD/RPR Defines Its Political Objectives

According to the political programme of RUD spelt out on its website, its members consist of “those who join forces to liberate themselves and liberate the country which has been captured by the tyrannical regime of the RPF.” It asks the people of Rwanda:

- “To put in place survival strategies based on solidarity between its members, without waiting for those who have positions in government who, it says, are only looking after their own interests;
- To support and finance, by making enormous sacrifices, common action to liberate Rwanda;
- To continue to feed and to console the innocent people who have been imprisoned by the RPF because they have refused to plead guilty” to participating in massacres, a crime which they did not commit;
- To pay attention to the theatrics that pass for justice in the gacaca jurisdictions and to distance themselves from the teachings of the state, which asks them to give false testimonies to the ICTR and other courts.”

RUD asks the international community to:

- Stigmatise the dictatorial regime of the RPF and put an end to all the aid which it has been getting;
- Force the government of Kigali and the Arusha Tribunal to arrest and judge the leaders of the RPF-Inkotanyi;

- Continue to assure the survival of Rwandese refugees in their host countries as long as there are political problems in their country that create insecurity.

Like the FDLR, RUD's aim is to exert sufficient military pressure to give it the necessary political leverage for negotiations with Kigali. Its literature and the speeches of its leaders concentrate on one central demand: political talks with Kigali with a view to power sharing.

On 31 July 2008, Félicien Kanyamibwa, the Executive Secretary of RUD, travelled to North Kivu and spoke in Kasiki in front of a large gathering of Congolese and international officials. They had come there for the first step towards implementation of the agreement RUD had signed earlier, on 26 May, to allow combatants and civilians to disarm and repatriate, if they so wished. He summed up the political thrust of what RUD is about in the following terms:

Here, in front of the international community, we make a solemn appeal, once more, to General Paul Kagame by simply telling him: "Mr. Kagame, open the door to Rwandese refugees across the world. As a former Rwandese refugee, you are aware of their daily suffering and as the President of the country, you are responsible for the terrible conditions in which they are currently living."

The only way to open this door is by engaging in dialogue. We are ready to meet the Rwandese government, directly or through independent objective mediators, in order to explore the practical modalities of this dialogue. The inter-Rwandese dialogue will unblock the impasse that our country, and especially the region, find themselves.

General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare, head of RUD's armed wing (see below), also spoke in Kasiki on 31 July. His speech mirrored Kanyamibwa's.

It's also the moment to express thanks to God who has protected us until today, the moment when the Kigali government had sworn to exterminate us with the support of its friends.

The region where we live is ravaged by endless wars which have their origin in Rwanda. It's no longer a secret. By opposing to have a dialogue with its opponents, the Kigali regime creates war and insecurity in the region.

We insist that the Congolese government and the international community force the government of Kigali to accept the inter-Rwandese dialogue, the sole means of bringing peace back to Rwanda in particular, and to the Great Lakes region as a whole. After that, all the Rwandese refugees will come back in dignity, at a time when many of us remember what we endured in Kamina in 2002.

... This process which we have begun calls for patience and sacrifice, which is why I am asking for an end to the terrorism used against combatants and political leaders.

... Rwandese officials must stop publishing list of suspects guilty of certain crimes in Rwanda for the only goal is to frighten and destabilise us. These lists are intended to make us lose our value so that we abandon our plan to come back in dignity.

RUD's leaders in North America and Europe have sought to carve an image of their organization as a much more "moderate" group which has nothing in common with the public perceptions of the FDLR. But the assessment of the military leadership by the combatants themselves tells a very different story. This former fighter expressed an opinion of Musare which was echoed again and again by others who have abandoned RUD.

Musare is someone who believes, and profoundly so, in the importance of the struggle they are waging against the government of Rwanda. So he's not against what the FDLR, as an organization stands for. Rather, what he opposed was what he saw as bad policies by some of the FDLR leaders which he feared could lead to defeat.

The Armed Wing of RUD

The military wing of RUD/URUNANA, estimated at a combat strength of about 380 men, is known as AN/Imboneza. But former fighters say they now refer to themselves as RUD and no longer invoke a separate identity as AN/Imboneza (AN stands for National Army). Allied to the armed wing of RUD is the RPR-Inkeragutabara³⁷, a small group comprised of former RPA soldiers from Rwanda who first went into exile in Uganda. The most senior and visible figure from the RPR is Major Emmanuel Rugema, alias Umupfu w'Ishyamba, who is a G3 officer. A certain Captain Eric is said to be the deputy commander of Manila company. But most of those who came to RUD as RPR subsequently deserted.

The headquarters of RUD's armed wing, which consists of one brigade known as Roquette, is in North Kivu, in *localité* Mashuta, *groupement* Kalehe, *collectivité* Banyanga, in zone Walikale. At the time of writing, the military structure of RUD stands as follows.

- Overall commander: Brigadier-General Jean Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare, *see profile below*;
- Deputy commander: Col. Wenceslas Nizeyimana, alias Kit, *see profile below*;

Officers

- G1: Lt.Col. Jean de la Croix Iraguha, alias Victor, *see note below*;
- G2: Col. Ildephonse Nkiranuye, alias Moses Tumusifu or Clovis, *see profile below*;
- G3: Col. Martin Nzitonda, alias Roshidi Rizinjirabake, *see profile below*;
 - Maj. Emmanuel Rugema, alias Umupfu w'Ishyamba (G3 officer);

³⁷ It is also known as Ingabo z'Umwami, the Army of the King.

- G4: Col. Juvénal Musabyimana, alias Michel Africa, who is also the spokesperson, *see profile below*;
- G5: Ngayaberuye, alias Milowo.

These officers are stationed in Mashuta in Lubero Zone

RUD/URUNANA has one battalion, the Monaco battalion, based in Mubinza, zone Rutchuru. Its commanders and officers are:

- Battalion commander: Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto, *see profile below*;
- Deputy commander: Lt. Col. Norbert Twagirimukiza, alias Norrio Sabin, *see profile below*;

Officers

- S1: Capt. Jean-Berchmans Gasirimu, alias Nsanzamahoro or Nsanza-Biteganya (or Nsanza-Bitaganya)³⁸;
- S2: Maj. Bénédict Barabwiliza, alias Thierry, *see photo below*;
- S3: Maj. Bonaventure Bimenyimana, alias Cobra, *see profile below*;
- S4: Lt. Samuel Bahembera, alias Fungaroho;
- S5: Capt. Epimaque Ntibategera, alias Kife Sepela, *see photo below*,³⁹
- EMS: Capt. Rebero of Kibungo.

Companies

Battalion Company

- Commander: Maj. Jean-Bosco Ndimukaga, alias Rambo Pele⁴⁰

1st Company: Jakarta, based in Ruhanga, Ruofu in Lubero

This company was previously known as Belgrade.

- Commander: Capt. Cyprien Mpiranya, alias Kagoma;⁴¹
- Deputy commander: Capt. Satellite;

³⁸ The nickname could be either Nsanza-Biteganya or Nsanza-Bitaganya, both of which have a meaning in Kinyarwanda.

³⁹ Captain Epimaque Ntibategera comes from Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was studying at ESO in Butare. He underwent further training at the ex-FAR's senior military academy as part of its 42nd intake.

⁴⁰ Major Jean-Bosco Ndimukaga, alias Rambo Pele, comes from cellule Nyarwayo, sector Bisate, commune Kinigi in Ruhengeri, close to Virunga National Park. In 1994, he was a chief warrant officer in the Presidential Guard in camp Kimihurura.

⁴¹ Captain Cyprien Mpiranya, born in 1970, comes from sector Ndago, commune Cyeru in Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was studying at ESO. Between July 1994 and November 1996, he lived in Katale camp in North Kivu. He joined the ex-FAR's 42nd intake at its senior military academy in Gikoma, Masisi.



Capt. Satellite

2nd Company: Prague, based in Binza, Lubero

- Commander: Capt. Gabriel Kwizera, alias Bushegeri;

Kwizera was part of the 26th intake of ESO where he graduated first in his class. He was sent abroad for training. He was a chief warrant officer in Rwanda, and later joined ALIR.

- Deputy commander: Capt. Redo

3rd Company: Manila, based in Kanyatsi, near Kiwanja in Rutchuru

- Commander: Capt. Dusabirema, alias Django;

Captain Dusabirema, alias Django, comes from sector Shingiro, commune Mukingo in Ruhengeri. In 1994 he was at ESO as part of the intake known as “New Formula.” He took part in the ALIR insurgency.

- Deputy commander: Capt. Daniel, alias Dani or Hugo.

A commando platoon in Nyabanira operates near the border with Uganda.

Below the companies are the platoons; each platoon in turn consists of three sections and each section has about 12 people.

INDIVIDUAL PROFILES ON RUD/URUNANA MILITARY LEADERS

1. General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare



Personal Details	<p>General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare⁴²</p> <p>DOB: 1968</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Kirerema Sector: Kanzenze Commune: Mutura Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Simaki Bazimenyera <i>Mother's Name:</i> Madeleine Nyirangendo</p>
Current Position in RUD	Overall military commander of RUD, Musare is based in North Kivu.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	A sub-lieutenant, he was the commander of the 4 th company of the 64 th battalion in the operational sector of Rulindo. Like

⁴² Ndibabaje has been known as Musare since the ALIR/PALIR insurgency of 1997.

	<p>other soldiers, Musare moved around the country in response to the progress of the war between the FAR and the RPA. Just before going into exile, he is said to have been the head of a platoon at a customs post in Kabuhanga, on the border with Goma.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His father has died, but his mother is alive and lives in Kirerema. A younger sister, Mathilde, lives with their mother, and an older sister, Agnès Ntamfura, lives in Mudende.</p> <p>He is not married.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Musare went to the primary school of Kanzenze. For his secondary education, he spent the first two years at the Groupe Scolaire of Nzige in Bicumbi, Kigali rural, and completed secondary school at the Lycée of Kigali in Rugunga. He was part of the 30th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali and was at ESM, as a student sergeant, when the war began in October 1990. In mid-October he, along with other students, was sent out to different parts of the country to train the large new wave of recruits into the army. Afterwards he was sent to the front, either to Ruhengeri or to Kibungo, and after further training became a sub-lieutenant.</p> <p>By May 1993, Musare was in the 64th battalion where he remained until the genocide. This battalion, commanded by a Captain Rusingiza, operated in the communes of Mbogo and Mugambazi in Kigali rural and a sector of commune Tumba in Byumba. Its command post was in Mugote, in a place called Remera y Abaforongo between Mbogo and Mugambazi. He initially served as the head of a platoon in the 4th company of this battalion, but became the head of the company after the death of his</p>

	<p>commander, Sub-Lt. Muvunandinda from Butare, who was killed by his men.⁴³</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>The 4th company of the 64th battalion, which was under Musare's direct command, has been accused of widespread killings in commune Mbogo, and Musare's name has been linked to these massacres. After taking the reins of this company, Musare is accused, for example, of killings in Ngabitsinze in Rulindo, Mbogo in collaboration with Captain Théodore Rusingiza, who was the commander of the 64th battalion, and with Major Pierre-Claver Habimana, who was based in commune Shyorongi, close to Mbogo.</p> <p>Musare and his company have also been implicated in massacres in Jali, commune Rubungo, also in Kigali rural, where they had been sent as a reinforcement.</p> <p>In mid-May, he and his men left Jali and were sent to Kanyoni in Mugambazi where he was wounded and had to be evacuated. He was replaced as company commander by a Sub-Lt. Nsengiyumva from Byumba.</p>
<p>Activities Since Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The ALIR/PALIR Insurgency of 1997-98</i></p>	<p>He settled in Mugunga camp in Goma and was named the head of a platoon in the 3rd company, a commando company that was part of the battalion known as Dragon. He was sent from the camps as an infiltrator to Rwanda.</p> <p>Musare was the S3 in the operational sector known as Zoulou.</p> <p>When the ALIR insurgents returned to the DRC in October 1998, he became the</p>

⁴³ It is not clear why he was assassinated.

<p><i>From 1998 to the Present</i></p>	<p>Deputy head of a brigade called Thorax. In 2001, he took over as commander of this brigade, which had changed its name to Roquette.</p> <p>In 2006, Musare split from the FDLR/FOCA and formed his own armed splinter group, AN-Imboneza, which aligned itself politically with RUD/URUNANA. The trigger appears to have been a quarrel with Mudacumura, which began in 2005, over payments to the rank and file, with Musare suggesting that ordinary soldiers should be paid more than Mudacumura had proposed. Musare was subsequently demoted from a brigade commander to being the head of a mere liaison post in Walikale between the FDLR and the Congolese Mayi Mayi militia. He refused and left the FDLR with his entire brigade. Efforts to patch up the quarrel by senior officers and politicians, including a visit by Murwanashyaka himself, failed, and attacks by Mudacumura's soldiers in June 2006 did not bring Musare back into the fold either.</p>
<p>Additional Comments</p>	<p>The men who have known Musare for a long time, including a number of those he led, say that having power and being in a position of command is extremely important to him. Saying he believes sincerely and profoundly in what the FDLR stands for, they regard his quarrel with the FDLR as an illustration of his attachment to power. They also describe him as an ultra-extremist, not only in ethnic terms but also in regional terms with regard to the politics of the north-south divide. Almost all the people in key positions in RUD are from Gisenyi or Ruhengeri, and there is virtually no one from the south who is represented in the upper echelons of RUD.</p>

2. Colonel Ildephonse Nkiranuye, alias Moses Tumusifu or Clovis



<p>Personal details</p>	<p>Colonel Ildephonse Nkiranuye, alias Moses Tumusifu/Clovis</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p>Cellule: Matyazo Sector: Kibali Commune: Kibali Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Gahilima</i> <i>Mother's Name: Ntilikwendera</i></p>
<p>Current Position in RUD</p>	<p>G2 (military intelligence).</p>
<p>Position / Rank held in 1994</p>	<p>He was a gendarme in Kibuye.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Prisca Mwiseneza, lives in Nkiranuye's native cellule of Matyazo with their son, Moïse.</p> <p>His parents are both alive and live in Matyazo.</p> <p>A younger brother, Charles Mugabuhamyé, is a businessman in Byumba town.</p>

<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Nkiranuye went to primary school in Byumba town and to the Groupe Scolaire de la Salle of Byumba for his secondary education. He was part of the 30th intake at the Senior Military Academy (ESM) and graduated as a sub-lieutenant gendarme.</p> <p>Prior to his transfer to Kibuye, he worked in the gendarmerie in Kacyiru, Kigali, where he was the commander of a company in the 5th battalion. The 5th battalion was a part of the gendarmerie in Kigali.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>He is suspected of involvement in the large-scale massacres in Bisesero, Kibuye, but the details of his involvement remain to be investigated.</p>
<p>Activities Since Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>1998 Onwards</i></p>	<p>He fled to North Kivu and lived in Kibumba refugee camp near Goma.</p> <p>While there, he was arrested as an “intimidator” by Congolese officials responsible for security. He was sent to Kinshasa where he was imprisoned for a year. On his release, he went to Bangui in the Central African Republic.</p> <p>He returned to the DRC during the 1998 war to fight on behalf of President Kabila. He was named a battalion commander in Mbujimayi, after which he became the commander of a specialist company known as CRAP, in Zone Fizi, northern Katanga. CRAP operated on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. While there, he was given responsibility for the shipment of material (weapons, ammunition, clothes etc...) intended for the FDLR that came through Lake Tanganyika from Africa and Europe. He was based in Kigoma.</p>

	<p>He came back to Rwanda in 2005 and returned to eastern DRC in 2007 via Uganda. Accusations that surfaced in gacaca about his involvement in the massacres in Bisesero are thought to have prompted his sudden departure for the DRC. On his return, he joined RUD.</p>
--	---

3. Colonel Martin Ntizonda, alias Roshidi-Rizinjirabake



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Col. Martin Ntizonda, alias Roshidi-Rizinjirabake</p> <p>DOB: 1972</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Hungiro Sector: Kintobo Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Appolinaire Nzitonda <i>Mother's Name:</i> Maryam Nyirabunori</p>
<p>Current Position in RUD</p>	<p>Nzitonda is the G3 (training, recruitment and operations) of RUD.</p>

Position / Rank Held in 1994	Roshidi, a sub-lieutenant, was the head of a platoon in Rutare, Byumba, in the operational sector of Byumba.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His father, Appolinaire Nzitonda, was a teacher in Nanga primary school before he went to work for the Ministry of Public Works in Gisenyi. He died in a car accident in 1985.</p> <p>His wife and two of his children are living with him. His oldest son, Ngabo, lives with his grandmother in their sector of Kintobo, Ruhengeri. Two sisters are living in Rwanda and his in-laws live in Bisate, commune Kinigi in Ruhengeri. A brother-in-law, married to Roshidi's wife's younger sister, Captain Ndayambaje, alias Rafiki Castro, is currently a commander in CRAP company in FOCA's second division.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He attended primary school in Kintobo and for secondary school, he studied humanities at the Junior Seminary of Rwesero in Byumba. He was part of the 33 rd intake at the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement/Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	He settled in Kibumba refugee camp in North Kivu. After the camps were destroyed, he remained in Masisi and joined ALIR/PALIR.

4. Lieutenant Colonel Wenceslas Nizeyimana, alias Kit

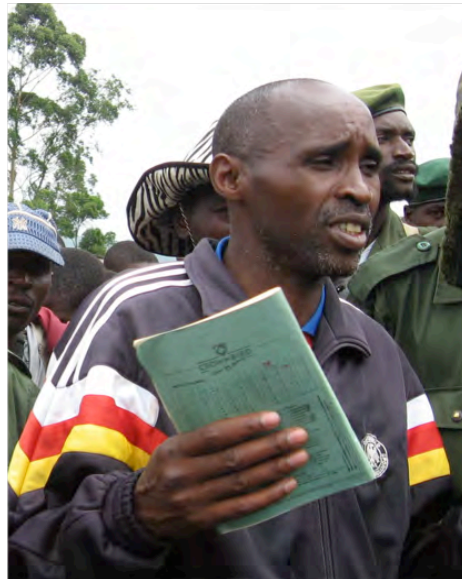


Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Wenceslas Nizeyimana, alias Kit</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Commune: Ruhondo Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p>
Current Position in RUD	Deputy Commander of RUD.
Position / Rank held in 1994	Sub-Lieutenant, in logistics (G4) at Military HQ in Kigali.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	He had a wife and a young son from whom he became separated in Sake.
Family, Educational and Political Background	For his secondary education, Nizeyimana opted for the section known as <i>normale primaire</i> , which trains primary school teachers. He then taught in a primary school in Ruhondo, after which he entered the Senior Military Academy (ESM) as part of the 30 th intake.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<p><i>To be investigated.</i></p> <p>A close ally at the time says that he's afraid of being implicated in the death of</p>

	<p>the Belgian UN soldiers killed in camp Kigali where he was based then.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>In July 1994, Nizeyimana went to live in Mugunga camp in North Kivu, and was immediately hired by the French NGO, Médecins du Monde.</p> <p>In late 1996, he made his way to the interior of the DRC, though not as a fighter. In 1997, he went to Congo-Brazzaville and lived in Lilanga refugee camp, but he did not join the other ex-FAR who fought to return the former president, Sassou Nguesso, to power.</p> <p>In 1999, he crossed over into the DRC to lend a hand to President Laurent Kabila, and was immediately appointed as the head of Mboka Battalion, which fought in the Equateur region, especially in Bokungu and Ikela. In 2001 his battalion was ordered to Kitona where they were confined for a year. They were then sent to Kamina where they linked up with other Rwandese battalions of ALIR 2. Still under the command of Nizeyimana, the battalion changed its name to Diondo.</p> <p>After the DRC distanced itself from ALIR 2, Nizeyimana and his men joined ALIR 1 in eastern Congo. Shortly afterwards, he was named the deputy commander of the brigade known as Roquette which was under the command of Musare. This brigade operated in North Kivu, especially in Rutchuru and Walikale.</p> <p>When, in September 2003, the FDLR president, Ignace Murwanashyaka, was due to visit the FDLR troops, soldiers under the command of Nizeyimana were</p>

	<p>sent to welcome him in Beni and to escort him back to North Kivu. At the end of this visit, soldiers, again led by Nizeyimana, took Murwanashyaka back to Beni. Nizeyimana was already familiar with Murwanashyaka as he had apparently been sent from Kamina on a mission to Germany to meet with him.</p> <p>Nizeyimana was subsequently named as a liaison officer based in Kampala, to liaise with both Murwanashyaka and the FDLR in North Kivu. He left North Kivu for Kampala in March 2004, with the rank of a major. While in Kampala, he earned a reputation for his political and diplomatic skills.</p> <p>He was later arrested in Uganda and went back to eastern Congo. Although previously close to Mudacumura, after the rupture between Mudacumura and Musare, Nizeyimana joined forces with Musare.</p>
Additional Comments	<p>From extensive interviews with former RUD officers and soldiers, Nizeyimana appears to be unanimously regarded as deeply unpopular with the rank and file. This stems from the perception that he is very focused on his own material comforts and indifferent to the fate of ordinary soldiers. In speaking about him, he was frequently compared unfavourably with Musare in terms of how they are regarded by their troops.</p>

5. Lt.Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto



Personal Details	<p>Lt.Col. Jonas Nteziyaremye, alias Makoto</p> <p>DOB: 1966</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gisasa Sector: Bisate Commune: Kinigi Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Abel Nyakana <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyiramahane</p>
Current Position in RUD	<p>Makoto is the commander of RUD's only battalion. He has a reputation for being an outstanding fighter.</p>
Position / Rank Held in 1994	<p>Head of a platoon in the 53rd battalion, Byumba operational sector.</p>
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>Makoto, who was not married, is said to have sent people to Rwanda in December 2007 to bring a woman out of the country in whom he was interested. She comes from Guliro, sector Rukoma in commune</p>

	<p>Nkuli and is the sister of an FDLR officer, Lt. Kanyeshyamba.</p> <p>Makoto's younger brother, Captain Pierre-Célestin Ntirenganya, alias Steven, was serving in the Protection Battalion of FOCA in Masisi. He is said to have been murdered earlier this year.⁴⁴ Captain Ntirenganya's wife, Nyiransengiyumva, is a primary school teacher and is living in Bisate, Kinigi.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to the Institute of Goma for his secondary education, and graduated with a diploma in commerce and accounting. He then entered the ESM in Kigali and was part of the 33rd intake, graduating as a sub-lieutenant.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	<p>He first lived in Kibumba refugee camp in North Kivu. In late 1996, he made his way to Tingi Tingi where he was named the S3 in Charlie battalion. He then returned to Rwanda to join PALIR/ALIR in Masisi. He subsequently became the commander of battalion Macakos in the first division of the FDLR in Masisi before joining RUD.</p>

⁴⁴ Some of the interviewees who spoke about his death suspect Mudacumura's hand in his murder.

6. Lt.Col. Juvénal Musabyimana, alias Africa Michel



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Juvénal Musabyimana, alias Africa Michel</p> <p>DOB: 1967</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Ryamwana Sector: Birembo Commune: Giciye Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Ntanyungura <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyarambundanyi</p>
<p>Current Position in RUD</p>	<p>Africa Michel is both the G4 and the spokesperson of RUD.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A sub-lieutenant, he was head of a platoon in the 64th battalion which was part of the operational sector of Ruhengeri.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>A younger brother is a teacher at the Groupe Scolaire of Kibisabo while an older brother, Laurent Mugabowindekwe, lives in Ryamwana. His sisters, Kamaliza,</p>

	<p>and Jane Nyirakamondo, live in Kibisabo in sector Gihira, also in Giciye.</p> <p>His father has died, but his mother is alive.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to primary school in Nyirandaba and to Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi for his secondary education. He was part of the 31st intake at the Senior Military Academy (EMS) in Kigali where he graduated as a sub-lieutenant.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>From Tingi Tingi to the 1998 War</i></p>	<p>He settled in Kibumba camp in North Kivu where he was named head of a platoon.</p> <p>After the camps were disbanded, Musabyimana went to Tingi Tingi and to Congo Brazzaville where he became one of the leaders of the Rwandese refugees in camp Loukolela. He went back to the DRC in 1998 to help Kabila. He was first appointed as the head of a platoon in a training school in Kinshasa and in Yakoma in the province of Equateur. He then became a commander in the 1st company of the 1st battalion in the 2nd brigade in Equateur, after which he became the S4 of the Foudre battalion in Kapona in north Katanga, then the S4 of the Samurai battalion a Luwama, also in Katanga, and then the S5 of a brigade in Kilembwe. After, he was the S5 of the 1st battalion of the FDLR's first division in Masisi before joining RUD.</p>

7. Lieutenant Colonel Norbert Twagirumukiza, alias Norrio Sabin



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Norbert Twagirumukiza, alias Norrio Sabin</p> <p><i>Previous alias when he was with the FDLR: Gaheza</i></p> <p>DOB: 1973</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Kora Sector: Bigogwe Commune: Mutura Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Nyunganira</i> <i>Mother's Name: Singirumukiza</i></p>
<p>Current Position in RUD</p>	<p>He is the deputy commander of RUD's only battalion, and he is also in charge of Camp Kasiki.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A 6th year secondary school student at ETO, Kibungo.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He attended Kora primary school and then went to ETO in Kibungo.</p>

	He entered the ex-FAR's Senior Military Academy as part of the 38 th intake in Kamina in the DRC.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated.</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	

8. Major Bonaventure Bimenyimana, alias Cobra



Personal Details	<p>Major Bonaventure Bimenyimana, alias Cobra</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rusanze Sector: Rutoyi Commune: Nyakinama Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Gatemberezi</i> <i>Mother's Name: Nyirantibibuka</i></p>
------------------	--

Current Position in RUD	S3 (training, recruitment and operations) in RUD's single battalion.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	There are conflicting reports that need to be verified. According to some sources, he was in the 32 nd battalion, operational sector of Ruhengeri, and according to others, he was a first sergeant at ESO in Butare.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	He lives with his wife and two children in the DRC. His mother lives in Rusanze.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Bimenyimana's older brother, Sub.Lt. Bonaventure Kanyamuhanda was, in 1994, in the Light Anti-Aircraft unit at Kanombe barracks in Kigali. He has since died. Bimenyimana completed his primary education in Nkurura in Nyakinama, and his secondary education in Goma, DRC. He was part of the 26 th intake at ESO in Butare where he graduated as a sergeant. He continued his military training in exile, and entered the 42 nd intake of the ex-FAR's senior academy in Kibua, Masisi.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	Bimenyimana joined the ALIR insurgency.

Summaries on Other Individuals

9. Lt.Col. Jean de la Croix, alias Victor

Lt.Col. Jean de la Croix, alias Victor, the G1 of RUD, comes from Ruhengeri, and more precisely cellule Rukore, sector Rugimbu in commune Cyabingo. He studied at the Junior

Seminary of Kabgayi in Gitarama. He was part of the 32nd intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali but was expelled when he was a sergeant. He then went to teach at the primary school of Rugimbu. In 1994, he was a student at the National University of Rwanda, at the Nyakinama campus in Ruhengeri.

10. Captain Epimaque Ntibategera, alias Kife Sepela



Captain Epimaque Ntibategera, alias Kife Sepela, comes from Mukingo in Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was a sergeant studying at ESO in Butare. He underwent further training at the ex-FAR's senior military academy as part of its 42nd intake.

11. Augustin Habiyaremye, alias Shabade

He enrolled in the 25th intake of the ESM and was implicated in the death of a watchman at the ESM in Kigali along with many fellow students. To minimize the fallout from the incident, the students who were involved were sent abroad to study. Habiyaremye went to the USSR and did not go back to the army on his return to Rwanda. In 1994, he was the director of a secondary school.



SHABADE

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AND LINKS

THE FDLR

Introduction

As the two previous chapters show, an extraordinary number of leaders in key official positions, in both the FDLR and RUD, live in Europe and North America. In addition, there are significant FDLR cells in a range of African countries. Scores of former FDLR military officers, politicians and civilian cadres who served in the DRC, and many others who did not, but who share their political goals, support and promote the FDLR or RUD in foreign countries without having official titles.

The fact that someone was active, either militarily or politically, in the FDLR or RUD, before relocating to Europe, Africa or North America is not, in and of itself, proof that they continue to lobby on its behalf. The information below focuses on a few cases where the preliminary research suggests a reasonable foundation for drawing a link.

From Africa to Europe

In an interview for this report, two former FDLR colonels talked at length about the importance of earning money for many of the leaders in eastern Congo. Asked what the money was used for, they replied that, “a key goal is to get to Europe.”

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of Europe for the men fighting in the bush in eastern Congo, and for those who are linked to them but who live in other African countries. The political fortunes of the movements themselves depend, to a large extent, on having representatives and advocates who can operate from Europe. This is far more relevant than the hopes or efforts of individuals who wish to settle in Europe, aspirations which they share with people from many different corners of the developing world.

A presence in Europe has numerous advantages, including access to first-world media, which helps to shape the international discourse, policies and interventions on the Great Lakes region. It is the gateway to contacts with European governments and Europe-wide institutions and inter-governmental agencies, influential Churches, academics and NGOs. These contacts help the FDLR and RUD get their message across to governments, diplomatic channels and to the public, to win over foreign supporters and to facilitate travel to Europe for some of their leaders in Africa or their families. The Rwandese

diaspora in Europe is another asset in terms of human resources, and as a potential source of financial contributions.

An important reinforcement is the fact that Europe is home to many other Rwandese groups who are ideologically compatible with the FDLR and RUD, including the Republican Rally for Democracy in Rwanda (RDR) and the Union of Democratic Forces (FDU). There is considerable overlap and mutual support between all these different groups, but it is not possible to know exactly how the FDLR or RUD interacts with them without considerable additional research.

Interviews with fighters and politicians who had returned to Rwanda in recent months highlight the extent to which the activities in Europe sustain the morale of combatants in the bush, and legitimize their commitment to arms. Their representatives in Europe consistently air their views and demands on the BBC, VOA and RFI, which are listened to attentively and regularly in the bush. This convinces both the leaders and the rank and file that they are “listened” to in Europe, and their demands will be conveyed to Kigali, or better still, imposed upon Kigali.

Europe is also a key source of negative information about Rwanda for the fighters in the bush. Developments that relate to problems between Rwanda and the DRC, or internal political tensions in the country, are immediately relayed to the Kivus, with various interpretations.

The primary focus of the research was on the leadership in eastern Congo. As a result, the information on the leaders living in Europe, Africa and North America is limited.

France

Given the close ties which Rwanda forged with France in the early nineties, it is not surprising that many ex-FAR, as well as civilians, have sought refuge in France. They include both official representatives of the FDLR and RUD and others who are known to be supporters.

The profile below is that of Callixte Mbarushimana, the Executive Secretary of the FDLR.



Callixte Mbarushimana

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Callixte Mbarushimana</p> <p>DOB: 24 July 1963</p> <p><i>Nicknames:</i> He is known in his home area under the nickname of Maneza</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Butambwe Sector: Kilinga Commune: Ndusu Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Sendogoro <i>Mother's Name:</i> Concessa Ruvugundi</p>
<p>Current Position in FDLR/FOCA</p>	<p>Executive Secretary of the FDLR, he is based in Paris.</p>
<p>Position/Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A computer technician with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Kigali, which he joined in 1992. After the evacuation of foreign staff, Mbarushimana appointed himself as Officer-in-Charge of the UNDP from 10 April-4 July 1994.</p>

Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>Mbarushimana’s father has died, but his mother is alive and lives in their native area. His older brother, Jean Nsekerabanzi, lives in Butambwe with his family. An older sister, Maria, and a younger sister, Génevieve Mukadusabe, live in Rusororo in Ndusu.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Mbarushimana attended two years of primary school in Mubuga and four in Janja. The first year of his secondary education was spent in Byumba, and five years in Rwesero. He attended university in Algeria, where he studied engineering, and he then went to France for further studies.</p> <p>In 1992, Mbarushimana settled in sector Nyakabanda, Kigali, and formed close ties with a group of extremists, including Stanislas Simbizi, a member of the national political bureau of the CDR and one of its best-known propagandists; Robert Kajuga, the president of the interahamwe militia; Georges Rutaganda, Kajuga’s second vice-president; Phéneas Ruhumuliza, Kajuga’s first vice-president and two prominent interahamwe leaders, Jean Marie-Vianney Mudahinyuka, alias Zuzu and François Nambajimana, alias Mucacu. The fact that Zuzu, Mucacu and Mbarushimana all lived in Nyakabanda reinforced their ties.</p> <p>Long before the genocide, Mbarushimana was already encouraging young Hutu men to join the interahamwe. His important network of contacts, and the fact that he was working for the UNDP, gave him standing and influence among his neighbours, which in turn made it easier for him to enlist militiamen.</p>

<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>Dressed in military fatigues, armed with a gun and carrying grenades in his belt during the genocide, Mbarushimana has been accused of a wide range of crimes in connection with the genocide, including:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Complicity in the deaths of Tutsis employed by the UNDP; 2. Participation in a massacre, on 9 April, of more than 20 people who were murdered at a roadblock near a medical clinic close to Zuzu's home. A number of the women were taken away to be raped, and some were subsequently murdered. Many of the corpses were dumped in a mass grave below the stadium in Nyamirambo; 3. Participation in the massacre, on 7 June, at the Monastery of the Josephite Brothers in Nyamirambo; 4. Providing UNDP vehicles and satellite phones to military personnel involved in the genocide; 5. Distributing weapons to militiamen manning road blocks, particularly the roadblock situated near Hotel Baobab in Nyakabanda; 6. In sector Biryogo, Mbarushimana acted as the right-hand man of Simbizi, one of the chief architects of the genocide in that area. The two men converted a house into a training ground for the pro-CDR militia known as <i>impuzamugambi</i>, who were active in the murder of Tutsis. Mbarushimana was a frequent visitor while soldiers provided them with military training, from 8 April to May 1994;
--	--

	<p>7. During the genocide, Mbarushimana also maintained good relations with the préfet of Kigali, Renzaho, and went regularly to the office of the préfecture to obtain petrol.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p>	<p>Mbarushimana continued to work for the UN after the genocide, in Angola and then in Kosovo, but was eventually forced to stand down after widespread publicity about his role during the genocide.</p>
<p>Reference Documents</p>	<p>African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe</i>, pages, 24, 35, 59, 60 and 74</p>
<p>Current Status in Connection with International Wanted Lists/Judicial Processes</p>	<p>The UN carried out an investigation in 2001, based on 24 witness statements and concluded that he was suspected of directing and participating in the murder of 32 people, including Tutsis who had worked for the UNDP.</p> <p>Based on this investigation, lawyers working for the ICTR concluded that he had a case to answer on charges of genocide and drew up the indictment. But the Prosecutor at the time decided to drop the case, arguing that he was not “a big fish.”</p> <p>In 2005, the UNDP asked the French government to initiate proceedings.</p> <p>Mbarushimana was arrested on 7 July 2008 at the airport of Frankfurt, Germany, on his way to Russia. He was detained on the basis of an international arrest warrant for genocide and crimes against humanity. Germany sought to extradite Mbarushimana to Rwanda. But he was</p>

	released on 4 November, along with another Rwandese genocide suspect ⁴⁵ , after Germany concluded that it would not be able to proceed with an extradition to Rwanda.
Cross-Reference With Other FDLR or RUD Leaders/Members Profiled in This Report	Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, formerly of the FDLR, but who is now associated with RUD, and who also lives in France (see following chapter).

Summaries on Other Individuals

Colonel Augustin Munyakyanza

Prior to his departure for France, Col. Augustin Munyakyanza was a member of the FDLR committee in Congo–Brazzaville. In 1994, he was a captain in the gendarmerie. He comes from commune Musebeya in Gikongoro.

Belgium

Belgium, which ruled Rwanda until it gained its independence on 1 July 1962, hosts the largest community of Rwandese living in Europe, or more generally in the west, a legacy of the ties that bind countries all over the world with former colonial powers. Among the educated class in Rwanda in 1994, a very significant percentage of those who had studied abroad, through government scholarships or through private means, or who had gone overseas for professional training courses, had studied and trained in Belgium. This applied to the army and national gendarmerie as much as it did to academics, the medical profession and other fields. Large numbers of Belgians lived in Rwanda in 1994 working in different capacities in the private sector, in NGOs, in the Church and in government institutions. The many decades during which Belgians and Rwandese interacted, both in Rwanda and in Belgium, created strong ties at both the professional and personal level.

When the ex-FAR crossed *en masse* into North and South Kivu in mid-July 1994, a number of senior officers spent only a very short time in the camps before Belgian friends and former colleagues, and perhaps also some Rwandese relatives living in Belgium, made the necessary arrangements for them to travel to Belgium where they have remained ever since. Some officers were studying in Belgium in April 1994 and either remained there, like Joseph Ngirabanzi (see below), or they joined their former colleagues in the refugee camps. Many more have made their way to Belgium since 1994, and there is now a substantial concentration of high-ranking ex-FAR officers who have

⁴⁵ The other suspect is Onésphore Rwabukombe who, in 1994, was the bourgmestre of commune Muvumba in Byumba.

settled in Belgium. Others, like Lt.Col. Théophile Gakara, profiled below, were combatants with the FDLR in eastern Congo. Others, like Major Balthazar Iyamuremye, worked with the FDLR in other countries before their arrival in Belgium. (Iyamuremye is now said to have joined RUD). These former officers form an integral part of the huge Rwandese community in Belgium, which also includes many prominent genocide suspects.

On 31 March 2005 the FDLR signed an agreement in Rome, facilitated by the St. Egidio Community, in which they agreed to lay down their arms. Until then, the FDLR had a clear structure in Belgium. Its members included Gilbert Nyatanyi, the spokesperson for the FDLR in Belgium; Anastase Munyandekwe, the FDLR commissioner for information and overall spokesman based in Belgium; Joseph Ngirabanzi, a former FAR officer who works as a civilian in the police force in Brussels, and Christophe Hakizabera. The Rome agreement divided the FDLR in Belgium. Those who supported the initiative were expelled from the movement by the followers of Murwanashyaka and Mudacumura. In a statement dated 16 August 2005, Anastase Munyandekwe made this announcement:

The committee of directors of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) wishes to let the international community, the public and the media know that the people whose names appear below have been definitively excluded from the FDLR because of high treason. They are:

1. Lt.Col. Christophe Hakizabera;
2. Major Séraphin Bizimungu, alias Amani Mahoro;
3. Mr Rafiki Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva, alias John Muhindo;
4. Mr Joseph Ngirabanzi, alias Rodolphe Bisangwa;
5. Mr Emmanuel Hakizimana.

The major referred to above is Séraphin Bizimungu, a FOCA officer who was in favour of the accord signed in Rome. In June 2005, he broke ranks with his colleagues in eastern Congo over their opposition to the agreement. He, together with two other officers, established what they called the Military Command for Change, CMC-FOCA. The others, who were also expelled in August 2005, built on Bizimungu's initiative to announce their adherence to FDLR-CMC, intended as the political arm of CMC-FOCA. A few months later, Bizimungu returned to Rwanda and his two fellow-officers in the DRC left for Zambia.

Since they could no longer count on the battalion under Bizimungu's command, the FDLR-CMC project came to nothing. Those who were behind it dispersed and each joined other political groups. Ngirabanzi, for example, is now associated with the Parténariat –Intwari.

Since the events of mid-2005, FDLR/FOCA does not appear to have an organized structure in Belgium, but it has known supporters, for example Lt.Col. Théophile Gakara and Col. Athanase Gasake, who collaborate as individuals. Both men are described as behind-the-scene advisors.

Lieutenant Colonel Théophile Gakara



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Théophile Gakara</p> <p>DOB: 1956</p> <p>Cellule: Kabele Sector: Nyankeke Commune: Kibali Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Munaga <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyiramakaca</p>
<p>Current Political Affiliation</p>	<p>Gakara is living in Belgium where he is said to be active in his support of the FDLR. He left the DRC in 2002 for Belgium to join his wife who was already living there.</p>
<p>Position/Rank Held at Time of Genocide</p>	<p>He was the head of the G1 department at the national gendarmerie headquarters.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife, Alvère Kamurezi, lives with him in Belgium.</p>

	<p>His parents have died. Two older brothers, Munyarukato, alias Kirimvi, and Elias Kanyengano, and two younger brothers, François Turingabo and Célestin Mutabaruka, live in Nyankeke. All are farmers. Two half sisters, Ntamuvurira and Nyiramagaga, also live in Nyankeke.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Gakara went to primary school in Kigogo. For his secondary education, he went to College de la Salle in Byumba. He was part of the 16th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali. When he graduated as a sub-lieutenant gendarme, he was sent to EGENA⁴⁶ in Ruhengeri for further training as a gendarme. He later went to the Royal Military School in Brussels and graduated as BEM.</p> <p>On his return to Rwanda, he worked for the criminology service in Kigali of the national gendarmerie. It was there, in the early 1990s, that Gakara earned a reputation for the torture of Tutsis who were suspected of being RPF accomplices. Wearing plain clothes, he and the gendarmes who worked with him combed Kigali to check out the homes of Tutsis. Those who were picked up were taken to Gakara's office for questioning and many are said to have been tortured.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p><i>To be investigated</i></p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>Gakara lived in Mugunga camp in Goma and was appointed the G1 of the ex-FAR's 2nd division in North Kivu.</p>

⁴⁶ The School for the National Gendarmerie.

<p><i>The ALIR/PALIR Insurgency of 1997-98</i></p>	<p>He was the GI of ALIR, in charge of administration and personnel.</p>
<p><i>Mid-1998 to the Present</i></p>	<p>He subsequently became the G1 of the FDLR/FOCA. He left Masisi in 2002 for Kinshasa. He continued on to Congo Brazzaville in order to proceed to Europe, and more specifically to Belgium, where his wife was living.</p>

Col. Athanase Gasake



By April 1994, Col. Athanase Gasake had already retired from the army. But as soon as the genocide began, he was appointed as the national co-ordinator of the civil defence force. In this capacity, he served in effect as a deputy to Bagosora. From there, he directed and supervised a group of senior retired officers who had been selected to lead the civil defence in their respective préfectures. They included Col. Aloys Simba in Gikongoro and Butare, Lt.Col. Bonaventure Ntibitura in Ruhengeri and Lt.Col. Pierre-Célestin Rwagafilita in Kibungo, all of whom made a significant contribution to the success of the genocide. The civil defence, intended as a nation-wide backup for the army and interahamwe, was essentially a mechanism for involving as much of the civilian population as possible in the genocide.

Joseph Ngirabanzi, alias Ryamugogo

Joseph Ngirabanzi, alias Ryamugogo, born on 18 July 1971 in Karago, Gisenyi, became a naturalized Belgian citizen in 2000. He had been sent to the Royal Military School prior to April 1994, and decided to remain in Belgium. He works in the police force, but in a civilian capacity. As the official letter of 16 August 2005 announcing his expulsion

makes clear, he was a member of the FDLR in Belgium until that date. From discussions with ex-FDLR officers, it is apparent that he remains in touch with the FDLR in eastern Congo, though it is not clear in what capacity. But what is evident from their conversations with him, and which appears to be the impression he has created in Belgium, is that he is in touch with many different groups. His status as a Belgian police officer has gained him a standing in the Rwandese milieu in which he moves; people believe, rightly or wrongly, that he can open doors for them in Belgium.

AFRICA

Southern Africa

Southern Africa, in particular Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique, and to a lesser extent South Africa, is an important political base for the FDLR. Many Rwandese, including members of the FDLR, have settled in these countries and have become successful as businessmen and professionals. They travel regularly, and at ease, between the three countries, as well as to and from the DRC.

President for southern Africa: Esdras Ntakirutimana, based in Zambia;

Vice-President for southern Africa: Major Alphonse Munyarugendo, alias Monaco, based in Mozambique.

Esdras Ntakirutimana

A lawyer by training, Ntakirutimana used to work as a defence investigator at the ICTR. Ntakirutimana comes from Mugonero in Kibuye. He was thought to have left the ICTR several years ago after Ibuka, the national organization that represents survivors of the genocide, leveled serious and sustained criticism at the ICTR over the number of defence investigators who Ibuka accused of complicity in the genocide, including Esdras Ntakirutimana. But according to FDLR officers who were in Zambia in the course of 2008, Ntakirutimana still does work for the ICTR from time to time, an allegation that needs to be verified independently.

Major Alphonse Munyarugendo, alias Monaco

In 1994, Munyarugendo was a sub-lieutenant and was working at Kanombe military camp in Kigali.

Zambia

Outside the DRC, Zambia is the most important base in Africa for the FDLR. A very large number of both military and civilian members, who make financial contributions on a regular basis, live in Lusaka and other urban centres, as well as in the refugee camp of

Maheba, about 1000 kilometres from Lusaka. Rwandans in Zambia have done very well economically, and many of the businessmen and professionals who have prospered and established strong connections in Zambia, are backers of the FDLR. Many officers in the DRC have wives and families living in Zambia, who they visit often. For example, Col. Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias Zinga Zinga or Double Z, the military prosecutor, left North Kivu in May to visit his wife, a well-to-do businesswoman in Zambia, and remains there. He has not been replaced. Zambia also serves as a point of departure for those in the FDLR whose ambition is to migrate to Europe. Frequently, it is the families who first make their way to Europe.

An FDLR fighter who returned to Rwanda through Zambia a few months ago commented: “Rwandans living in Zambia don’t want to return because they are successful business people with no security concerns.”

Below are the profiles of a few of the principal FDLR people in Zambia.

Colonel Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias Zinga Zinga or Double Z

Personal Details	<p>Col. Sylvestre Sebahinzi, alias Zinga Zinga/Double Z</p> <p>DOB: 1961</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gasiza Sector: Rambura Commune: Karago Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father’s Name:</i> Silas Basangira <i>Mother’s Name:</i> Marthe Ryarahoze</p>
Current Position in FDLR/FOCA	<p>He is the military prosecutor of FOCA, but since May 2008 he has been living in Zambia where he had gone to visit his wife. A replacement has not been announced.</p>
Position / Rank Held in 1994	<p>A major, he was a commander in the Reconnaissance battalion.</p>
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His wife, Anne-Marie, lives in Lusaka.</p> <p>His father, a retired teacher, lives in</p>

	<p>Gasiza. His mother has died.</p> <p>Several siblings live in Karago, including Dieudonne Mwanafunzi and Epimaque Karake, who both live in Luyege. Jérôme Nsengiyumva, who works for a microfinance company, lives in Kigali.</p>
Family, Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to primary school in Rambura and attended secondary school at Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi, and then at the College of Musanze in Ruhengeri. He was part of the 21st intake of the Senior Military Academy in Kigali, after which he was sent to Germany, France and Belgium for further training.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1997/1998 ALIR/PALIR Insurgency</i></p>	<p>He settled in Kashusha camp in Bukavu, South Kivu and became the G1 of the 1st division in South Kivu.</p> <p>Sebahinzi was in the Zoulou OPS.</p> <p>He later assumed several functions in the FDLR, most notably as prosecutor until his departure for Zambia.</p>
Additional Comments	<p>Sebahinzi's grandmother, Anisia Nyirakaje, was the younger sister of President Habyarimana's mother.</p>

Lieutenant Colonel Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Lt.Col. Laurent Rwagakinga, alias Kabore</p> <p>DOB: 1950</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Gikoro Sector: Bumba Commune: Tare Préfecture: Kigali rural</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Nziyumvira</i> <i>Mother's Name: Nyirabarenzi</i></p>
<p>Current Political Affiliation</p>	<p>Based in Lusaka, Zambia, he is an active supporter of the FDLR in Zambia.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>He was transferred from Cyangugu, where he was in the gendarmerie, to be head of road security in Kigali.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife left Rwanda in 2006 to join him in Zambia.</p> <p>His parents have died. One sister, Marie Maningira, lives in Nyamata, Kigali rural.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Rwagakinga first attended primary school in Byumba and then in Rwankuba. He went to the Junior Seminary of Rulindo for his secondary education.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p><i>To be investigated</i></p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>He lived in Mugunga camp with his wife and two daughters. After the ex-FAR reorganized itself, Rwagakinga became the commander of the 3rd battalion, 1st brigade</p>

<p><i>The 1997-98 Insurgency of ALIR/PALIR to the Present</i></p>	<p>in the second division in Mugunga.</p> <p>He was the commander of the Charlie OPS. After ALIR returned to Masisi in late 1998 until 2004, he was the G5.</p>
---	---

Captain Liberata Musabyemariya

<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Captain Liberata Musabyemariya</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Rukuraza Sector: Kindama Commune: Ngenda Préfecture: Kigali rural</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Vincent Barerura <i>Mother's Name:</i> Purchérie Mukandanga</p>
<p>Current Political Affiliation</p>	<p>Based in Zambia, Musabyemariya, together with her husband, Major Guerchôme Ngayaberura, is closely associated with the FDLR in Zambia.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>She was the S4 of the national gendarmerie in Kacyiru, Kigali.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>Her husband, Major Guerchôme Ngayaberura, and two daughters, Alice and Aline, are also living in Zambia. Her father has died, but her mother lives in Ruhuha, Ngenda, with two of her sons, Damascène Nyandwi and Innocent Minanai as well as a daughter, Béata Dusabemariya. Another brother, Vital Sindikubwabo, lives in Rweru, Gashora. And a sister, Collette Niyonsaba, lives in Kavumu, Ngenda.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Musabyemariya went to the primary school of Nyarugenge in Ngenda and to the Lycée Notre Dame Cîteaux in Kigali</p>

	for her secondary education. She then enrolled in the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present <i>July 1994-November 1996</i>	She lived in Kashusha camp in South Kivu with her family, from where she proceeded to Zambia.

Other Individuals Active in Zambia

In Zambia, the FDLR is able to count on the financial contributions and political backing of hundreds of active members, both military and civilians. And because so many of them have done well economically, their financial backing is significant. They include:

- Lt.Col. Noël Habiyaemye, alias Frank;
- Major Guerchôme Ngayaberura from Rusatira in Butare;
- Louise Turikumwenimana, regarded as highly motivated and effective. She was sent from North Kivu to mobilize in Zambia;
- Dr. Augustin Cyimana, a doctor at Lusaka University Hospital, has long been associated with the FDLR in Zambia where, at one point, he was the chairman. See Chapter 13 for details about Cyimana’s contribution to the genocide;
- Chrisostom Nsabimana, known as Kinshasa; he’s a businessman and travels between Malawi and Zambia.

Malawi

Major Aimable Ndayambaje, alias Limbana

Personal Details	Major Aimable Ndayambaje, alias Limbana DOB: 1968 <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Rega
------------------	--

	<p>Sector: Kanzenze Commune: Mutura Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Nathaniël Sabira <i>Mother's Name:</i> Marcianne Ayinkamiye</p>
Current Political Affiliation	Limbana lives in Malawi and is said to be active in the FDLR in Malawi.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	He was the head of a company in the 5 th battalion, based at the headquarters of the national gendarmerie in Kigali.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>His father died in 1992, but his mother lives in Gisenyi town together with Limbana's son, Borice. An older sister, Emilienne Nyaranzabonimana, also lives in Gisenyi town.</p> <p>His wife, Consolée Mujwamariya, was the deputy head of the medical company in Kanombe, Kigali.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He went to the primary school at camp Kigali, and then to the Groupe Scolaire Nzige in Bicumbi, Kigali rural, for his secondary education. He was part of the 31 st intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali. On graduation, he went to Gitarama as a sub-lieutenant gendarme, and was then named as a company commander in the 5 th battalion within the national gendarmerie in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	He and his wife lived in Katale refugee camp in North Kivu.

<p><i>The ALIR/PALIR Insurgency of 1997-98</i></p>	<p>Limbana was a company commander in the Zoulou operational sector.</p>
<p><i>1998 to the Present</i></p>	<p>Between the time ALIR retreated to Masisi and until 2006, he was a battalion commander in the 1st brigade known as Roquette, then the S3 in the 2nd brigade of the 1st division and then commander of the 2nd battalion in the same division. In 2006, he left for Malawi.</p>

Congo-Brazzaville

Congo-Brazzaville has been central to the movement of the ex-FAR ever since the camps in eastern Congo were demolished in late 1996. In addition to those who lived in the refugee camp, hundreds of others passed through Congo-Brazzaville as they traveled to other places, in particular to the DRC after the 1998 war began. The FDLR cell is said to be less active now than in the past, perhaps because many of its members have gone to Europe or other African countries, while at least one, Col. Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, has joined RUD. Those who remain include:

- Major Silas Gatayambyi;
- Major Anastase Uwimana;
- Major Jacques Ntamakuliro.

Zimbabwe

Colonel Protais Mpiranya, alias Yahya Muhamed



Personal Details	<p>Col. Protais Mpiranya, alias Yahya Muhamed</p> <p><i>Aliases:</i> He is believed to have several other aliases</p> <p>DOB: 1960</p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Commune: Giciye Préfecture: Gisenyi</p>
Links to the FDLR	Mpiranya has been based in Zimbabwe for several years. According to former senior FDLR commanders, he was sent to Zimbabwe by Mudacumura to establish business links for the movement in Zimbabwe.
Position / Rank Held During the Genocide:	A major, he was the commander of the Presidential Guard battalion, which was based in camp Kimihurura, Kigali.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife and children are living in the UK, although it is strongly suspected that his wife occasionally travels to Africa to meet with him.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Mpiranya went to the primary school of Shyira and for his secondary education to the College of Inyemeramihigo in Gisenyi and the College of Biyimana in Gitarama. He was part of the 20 th intake of the Senior Military Academy in Kigali, after which he was sent to France and Belgium for training.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	The Presidential Guard, under Mpiranya's orders, direction and supervision, played a central role in the massacres, especially in Kigali, but also elsewhere in the country. In his capacity as head of the Presidential Guard, Mpiranya was not only an executor of the genocide, but also a planner. The charges that have been leveled against him include, but are not limited to, the

	<p>following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Supervising the training of the militia prior to the genocide in the forests close to the camp; 2. Distributing weapons to militiamen and selected members of the population on the night of 6 April 1994; 3. Ordering the death of the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, on 7 April 1994, as well as the death of the 10 Belgian soldiers who were protecting her;⁴⁷ 4. Assassinating a significant number of prominent opposition politicians and senior civil servants on the first day of the genocide. Many of them lived in Kimihurura, close to Mpiranya's camp, and died alongside their families. They include Joseph Kavaruganda, President of the Constitutional Court; Faustin Rucogoza, the Minister of Information; Frédéric Nzamurambaho, the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock and president of the Social Democratic Party and amongst other, Landoald Ndasingwa, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs from the Liberal Party; 5. During the first days of the genocide in Kigali, the Presidential Guard, in addition to politicians, targeted wealthy businessmen associated with the political opposition, outspoken journalists
--	--

⁴⁷ As intended, the brutal murder of the 10 Belgian peacekeepers encouraged Belgium, the largest contributor to the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda, to withdraw most of its troops, with disastrous military and political consequences for the ability of the UN force to intervene effectively to stop the killings.

	<p>and members of human rights organizations;</p> <p>6. Targeting Tutsis throughout Kigali city, for example in sector Kigarama, commune Gikondo, in commune Kacyiru and in Remera, especially Amahoro stadium and at Gishushu;</p> <p>7. Perpetrating massacres throughout Rwanda.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p> <p><i>The 1998 War</i></p>	<p>He lived in Mugunga camp, Goma, for some time during which he was the G2 of the ex-FAR headquarters in Bulengo, near Lac Vert. In mid-1996 he and his family left for Yaoundé in Cameroon. From there, he would visit his former colleagues in the Loukolela refugee camp in Congo Brazzaville.</p> <p>In November or December 1998, Mpiranya arrived in Kinshasa and was named as the commanding officer of a unit fighting in Mbujimayi.</p>
<p>Current Status in Connection with International Wanted Lists/Judicial Processes</p>	<p>Mpiranya is on the ICTR's Wanted List. He is also on the November 2007 Wanted List of Interpol.</p> <p>For information about the ICTR indictment, see Chapter 13.</p>

Also living in Zimbabwe is Mpiranya's brother-in-law⁴⁸, Major Jean-Baptiste Ruhumuliza, who was a battalion commander in the reserve brigade of the FDLR before he left the DRC in 2005 or thereabouts.

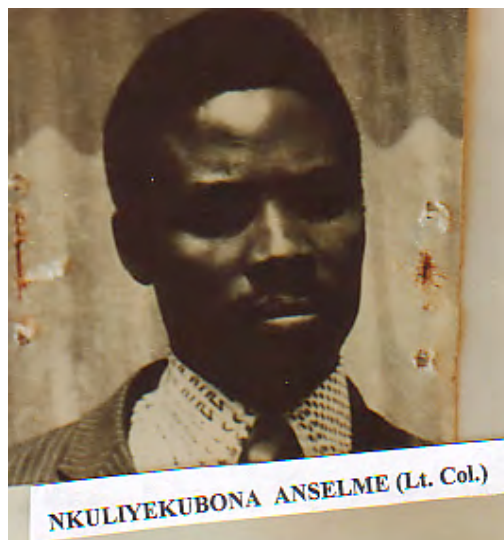
⁴⁸ Mpiranyas' wife and Ruhumuliza's wife are sisters.

West Africa

The large number of French-speaking countries in West Africa, including Cameroon, Mali, Bénin and Gabon, took in thousands of Rwandese refugees from 1994 onwards, an exodus which intensified after November 1996. There are prominent ex-FAR officers living in virtually every Francophone country in West Africa; some of them had spent years with the FDLR.

Cameroon

Lieutenant Colonel Anselme Nkuriyekubona



Personal Details	Lt. Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona DOB: 1944 Cellule: Vungu Sector: Gihinga Commune: Tumba Préfecture: Byumba <i>Father's Name:</i> Ladislas Makuza <i>Mothers' Name:</i> Anne-Marie Ntabuntu
------------------	---

<p>Current Whereabouts & Links to Armed Groups</p>	<p>Nkuriyekubona has long been involved with the FDLR committee in Cameroon. However, according to recent information, which needs to be verified, he now has contacts with RUD.</p>
<p>Position / Rank held in 1994</p>	<p>A lieutenant-colonel, he was the commander of Kibungo OPS based in camp Huye, Kibungo town.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>He is married to Thérèse Mujawamariya and they have four children.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Nkuriyekubona attended primary school in Rulindo. For his secondary education, he went first to the Junior Seminary in Rwesero and then to the Official College of Kigali (COK). He was part of the 9th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM) in Kigali.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commander of Huye military camp where the interahamwe and local government officials were given military training; 2. Mobilized military reservists to take part in the genocide; 3. Commander of soldiers who erected and manned roadblocks in and around Kibungo, sometimes alongside the interahamwe; 4. Worked closely with local government officials, militia leaders, military reservists and other leaders in planning and implementing massacres throughout Kibungo, and provided the necessary soldiers, ammunition and transport; 5. Commander of the soldiers involved in the massacre at

	<p>Kigarama commune office, 12 and 15 April 1994;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Was present, and participated along with soldiers and interahamwe, in the massacre at Birenga commune office Kibungo on 13 April; 7. Commander of the soldiers involved in the massacre at the Economat of the Bishopric of Kibungo, 14-15 April; 8. Commander of the soldiers who, on 18 April, eliminated the survivors of the earlier massacre at the Economat; 9. Commander of the soldiers who massacred Tutsis in a place known as “Chapelle” in commune Sake; 10. Throughout the killings, Nkuriyekubona worked closely with retired Col. Pierre-Célestin Rwagafilita, in charge of civil defence in Kibungo, and with the following bourgmestres: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Melchiade Tahimana, bourgmestre of commune Birenga, in exile in Tanzania; • Ernest Mutabaruka, bourgmestre of commune Sake, in exile in the DRC; • Emmanuel Mugiraneza, bourgmestre of commune Kigarama, in exile in Tanzania. <p>Kibungo fell to the RPF at the end of April. Towards the end of May, Nkuriyekubona was sent to Kivugiza in Kigali. His soldiers are said to have</p>
--	--

	exterminated many survivors in Kivugiza.
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>He spent a short time in a refugee camp in Mugunga and then left for Cameroon where he has remained ever since. He and his family are said to be involved in business between Yaounde and Douala, and sometimes also in Congo-Brazzaville and Lagos.</p>

Félicien Muberuka

At the beginning of the genocide, Félicien Muberuka was in charge of military operations in Kigali. His office was in camp Kigali.

Bénin

Colonel Francois-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko

Personal details	<p>François-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Commune: Nyamabuye Préfecture: Gitarama</p>
Current Position in the FDLR	<p>Birikunzira was, and may still be, a member of the FDLR committee in Congo-Brazzaville. However, he is recently said to have joined his wife who lives in Benin. If so, it is not known if he has joined the FDLR in Benin.</p>
Position / Rank held at time of Genocide	<p>A captain, in 1994 he was head of the gendarmerie for the sub-préfecture of Nyabisindu in Butare in 1994 which</p>

	<p>consisted of the communes of Nyabisindu, Muyira, Mugusa, Rusatira and Ntyazo. His base was the gendarmerie post in Nyanza, commune Nyabisindu. During the genocide, he was also given responsibility for policing certain areas in the préfecture of Gitarama, namely the communes of Tambwe, Ntongwe, Kigoma and Murama.</p>
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife and children live in Benin.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	Birikunzira was part of the 23 rd intake at the Senior Military Academy (ESM).
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In addition to the gendarmes at his disposal, Birikunzira recruited a strong and large force consisting of interahamwe, local government officials, professionals, businessmen, students from Byumba displaced by the 1990 war and Burundian refugees to incite hatred and fear of Tutsis. In particular, he worked in close collaboration with Gaëtan Kayitana, the deputy-préfet in charge of Nyabisindu sub-préfecture and Fr. Hormisdas Nsengimana, a Catholic priest who was the principal of Christ Roi secondary school in Nyanza. Whenever Birikunzira needed reinforcements, he obtained soldiers, weapons and ammunition from the ESO in nearby Butare town; 2. Birikunzira and his allies faced opposition to the genocide from the bourgmestre of commune Nyabisindu, Jean Marie-Vianney Gisagara. Threats and intimidation from Birikunzira and his associates forced Gisagara into hiding, but he was discovered on Thursday, 21 April. That day, Birikunzira drove in a car behind the van that

	<p>dragged Gisagara's body all around Nyanza, both as punishment for his stand and as a warning to Hutus who opposed the killing of Tutsis. Birikunzira was responsible for his death and the deaths of eleven members of Gisagara's family, including his parents, siblings and wife;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">3. The killings which began in Nyabisindu on Friday 22 April and spread to the neighbouring areas the following day, would claim the lives of thousands of Tutsi men, women and children;4. On 22 April, Birikunzira worked with others to set up roadblocks everywhere. He personally visited the roadblocks to encourage and instruct militiamen, and to receive reports about the number of Tutsis who were executed there;5. He himself gave the interahamwe permission to seek guns, grenades and fuel from the gendarmerie camp in Nyanza;6. He personally sent gendarmes from Nyanza to arrest the Tutsi bourgmestre of Ntyazo, Narcisse Nyagasaza, who was then killed;7. With the help of soldiers from ESO he crushed the resistance of Tutsis in commune Ntyazo after which virtually the entire Tutsi population of Ntyazo was wiped out;8. Birikunzira's gendarmes helped to kill about 5,000 Tutsis between 24-28 April at ISAR/Songa, an agricultural research station in Rusatira;
--	--

	<p>9. Birikunzira assisted in providing Charles Munyaneza, the bourgmestre of commune Kinyamakara in Gikongoro, with gendarmes, weapons and ammunition to kill the large number of Tutsis assembled on the hills of commune Ruhashya, Butare;</p> <p>10. On 20 May, Birikunzira's gendarmes helped the bourgmestre of Murama, Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, currently a battalion commander in the FDLR, and his militia, carry out three massacres in a single day. The first to die were several hundred women and children in the commercial centre of Bweramana, known as the "Douane." The next victims were 50 Tutsis cut down near a market in Buhanda. His gendarmes then left Buhanda for the headquarters of the Adventist Church in Gitwe, to organize the slaughter of Adventist pastors and their families, numbering about 80 people, who were transported to Gitovu where they perished.</p> <p>After leaving Rwanda in July 1994, Birikunzira made his way to Congo-Brazzaville. He and other ex-Far were instrumental in toppling the government of President Pascal Lisuba, who had threatened to send Rwandese refugees back to Rwanda. They returned his rival, the former president, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, to power and consolidated their presence in the country.</p>
Reference Documents	<p>African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far /</i></p>

	<p><i>Interahamwe: Pages, 16, 33, and 49 to 51</i></p> <p><i>Charles Munyaneza: Evading Justice in Britain, Witness to Genocide, Issue 15, January 2006</i></p> <p><i>Jean-Damascène Rutiganda: A Free Man in Belgium? Witness to Genocide, Issue 16, June 2006.</i></p> <p><i>Father Hormisdas Nsengimana: Accused of Genocide, Sheltered by the Church, Witness to Genocide, Issue 14, November 2001</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">ICTR</p> <p>The ICTR indictment against Father Hormisdas Nsengimana.</p>
<p>Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report</p>	<p>Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana</p>

INTERNATIONAL LINKS: RUD/RPR

In discussing the representatives of Rwandan armed groups abroad, particularly in Europe, former members of the FDLR repeatedly commented on the extent to which RUD has, in the words of one of them, “disorganized” the FDLR. It is, indeed, true that virtually all of the men who today defend and speak on behalf of RUD in Europe were previously representatives for, and advocates of, the FDLR. The most common explanation is that RUD is increasingly seen as more “authentic” in terms of its composition, which is drawn largely from people of the north. As noted in the profile on Musare, he is criticised for his regional bias, which has resulted in a military structure that is essentially a northern affair. While this development has certainly drawn criticism, it has also attracted recruits, especially senior people who bring a wealth of experience.

The United States

Dr. Jean Marie-Vianney Higirot



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Dr. Jean Marie-Vianney Higirot</p> <p>DOB: 1949⁴⁹</p> <p>Cellule: Nkamba Sector: Rushaki</p>
-------------------------	---

⁴⁹ According to his family, he is 63, but his official birth date is given as 1949.

	<p>Commune: Mukarange Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Tharcisse Mubiligi <i>Mother's Name:</i> Beline Bakimugiba</p>
Whereabouts and Current Position in RUD	President of RUD/URUNANA, Higiro is based in Massachusetts, USA, where he is a professor in the Department of Communications at Western New England College in Springfield.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	Higiro was appointed director of the Rwandan Office of Information (ORINFOR) on 31 July 1993. ORINFOR is responsible for Radio Rwanda, Rwanda TV and official media. He was evacuated from Rwanda to Kenya on 9 April 1994 by the US embassy ⁵⁰ and left for the US on 19 July 1994.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<p>Higiro has apparently recently separated from his second wife, Nyirabizeyimana, with whom he has one daughter.</p> <p>He has two children with his first wife, Laetitia Mutsindarwego. She is said to have recently left Kenya for the US.</p> <p>He has four sisters living in Rwanda: Céline Mukahigiro, who is the oldest in their family; Epiphanie Siyangu; Xavérine Mukayisenga and Vénerande Mukabutembe. Céline and Xavérine live in Byumba. Xavérine, together with her daughter, Grâce Amizero, a secondary school student, lives with the father and looks after him.</p> <p>Two sisters are living in the US: Béatrice</p>

⁵⁰ Higiro was included in the US evacuation because one of his children, born in the US, is a US citizen.

⁵¹ Béatrice Munyenyezi's husband, Shalom Ntabaholi is currently on trial at the ICTR for crimes connected to the genocide, together with his mother, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Gender and the Family in the interim government. Ntabaholi was a well-known militia leader in Butare town.

⁵² Prudence Kantengwa has been arrested in the US for false information, related to the genocide, given in various official documents.

	<p>Munyenzezi⁵¹ and Prudence Kantengwa.⁵² A third sister, Consolée Mukayigire, is married to a Kenyan and lives in Kenya.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>His father is alive, but is very old. His mother died in 1998.</p> <p>Higiro attended primary school in Rushaki, Byumba, and then went to the Junior Seminary of Rwesero, also in Byumba. He then proceeded to the Grand Seminary in Nyakbanda which trains future priests, but he left before he completed the course. He studied at the National University in Butare, and then went to the US for his post-graduate education. On his return to Rwanda, he worked at the National Institute of Pedagogy (IPN) in Butare.</p> <p>After the introduction of multipartyism, he joined the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR).</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>Higiro was not in Rwanda during the genocide.</p>
<p>Activities Since Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the present</p>	<p>Higiro was appointed as the 1st Vice-President of the FDLR at its congress of October 2000.</p> <p>On 12 September 2004, Higiro left the FDLR. Together with Félicien Kanyamibwa, the treasurer of the FDLR, they founded the Rally for Unity and Democracy (RUD) of which he became and remains the president.</p>
<p>Reference Documents</p>	<p>African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent: The Nairobi Communiqué and The Ex-Far/Interahamwe</i>, December 2007, pages, 7, 22 and 30.</p>

Félicien Kanyamibwa



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Félicien Kanyamibwa</p> <p>DOB: 1963</p> <p>Cellule: Kabatezi Sector: Jenda Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri</p> <p><i>Nickname:</i> In his family and his home area, he is known as Aaron</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Ruben Ntanshungu-Rubeba <i>Mother's Name:</i> Esthère Nyirabukacara</p>
<p>Whereabouts and Current Position in RUD</p>	<p>Executive Secretary of RUD/URUNANA, Kanyimbwa lives in New Jersey, USA.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>Kanyamibwa was not living in Rwanda in 1994.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His father died in January 2007, but his mother lives in Kabatezi. An older brother, Ebron Kayonga, lives with his wife, Thabéa Nyirandimubanzi, in Nsakira,</p>

	<p>Jenda.</p> <p>Another older brother, Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru (<i>see profile below</i>) is active with RUD in Norway.</p> <p>Kanyamibwa lives in the US with his wife who comes from Gihira in Karago, Gisenyi.</p>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He went to the primary school of Cyamabuye. For his secondary education, he went first to Kabgayi in Gitarama and then enrolled at the College of Musanze in Ruhengeri. Afterwards, he went to an institute in Mburabuturo, Kigali, called IAMSEA⁵³. Upon graduation, he went to work for the National Bank of Rwanda. In 1993, he obtained a scholarship for further specialization in the US.</p>
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<p>Kanyamibwa was living in the US during the genocide.</p>
Cross-Reference With Other RUD Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report	<p>Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru</p>

Canada

Augustin Dukuze, the spokesman of RUD, lives in Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. He travelled to Kisangani in May 2008, as one of the representatives of RUD during the negotiations for disarmament and repatriation.

⁵³ Institut africain et malgache de la statistique et economie appliqué.

Augustin Dukuze



EUROPE

France

Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, alias Zigabe Pacifique

Personal Details	<p>Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, alias Zigabe Pacifique</p> <p>DOB: 1957</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Hindiro Commune: Satinsyi Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Hagumagatsi <i>Mother's Name:</i> Nyirakaziga</p>
------------------	---

<p>Whereabouts and Current Political Affiliation</p>	<p>Ntirikina is based in Strasbourg, France⁵⁴, and is a key player in RUD. He rose to the rank of a brigadier-general in the FDLR and was an advisor to the FDLR after moving to France until he switched his allegiance to RUD. He is known to be particularly close to Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo; both are natives of commune Satinsyi in Gisenyi. Ntiwirigabo himself is now said to be leaning more towards RUD. (See profile on Ntiwirigabo).</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held in 1994</p>	<p>A major, he was an aide de camp to the Chief of Staff, Major-General Déogratias Nsabimana, who died in the plane crash of 6th April along with Habyarimana. Ntirikina was also a shareholder in RTLM.</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p><i>To be investigated</i></p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>He was part of the 17th intake of the Senior Military Academy (ESM);</p> <p>Highly rated as a fighter, Ntirikina spent three years in the early 1990s, virtually the entire duration of the war with the RPF, at the front in Umutara. His battalion came back to Kigali towards the end of 1993, in part to reinforce the security of Kigali. At first, it was based at camp Kigali and then towards the end of 1993, it moved to Mount Kigali, which is strategically located as it overlooks the city.</p> <p>He helped to train the interahamwe militia in Gabiro, Umutara, and ensured that they were well armed.</p> <p>Concerned about rumours that Tutsis in commune Rutongo, on the outskirts of Kigali, were assisting RPF infiltrations into the city, he ordered the setting up of roadblocks in several sectors of Rutongo.</p>

⁵⁴ According to one source, Ntirikina may have obtained French nationality, but this remains to be confirmed.

	<p>Among the Tutsis captured at these roadblocks, he himself selected the individuals who should be imprisoned, tortured and later executed.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>When the genocide began, Ntirikina was given responsibility for the 71st battalion, Huye battalion, whose primary mission was to support the interahamwe in eliminating the Tutsi residents of the three sectors of Nyamirambo, Nyakabanda and Kimisagara, all part of Nyarugenge commune. He kept a close watch on the three sectors to make sure that the policy of massacres was being followed through. He did this by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Giving military training to a large number of militiamen at the stadium in Nyamirambo, along with other officers; 2. Visiting roadblocks to receive reports about the progress of the killings and giving advice to the men who manned them; 3. Keeping his car stocked with weapons to give to militiamen, in particular in Nyakabanda, for example those at the roadblock below the Baobab Hotel, the roadblock close to the residence of the employees of the National Bank of Rwanda and also at a place known as Poids Lourds where many Tutsis died; 4. Ntirikina is implicated in the massacres at the Parish of Sainte Famille in sector Rugenge, and at the nearby Saint Paul's Centre.

<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>He served as the G3 of the high command established by the ex-FAR in Mugunga camp, North Kivu. He was wounded in Sake during the destruction of the camps but reached Tingi Tingi. From there, he went to Bangui in the Central African Republic and eventually made his way to Europe.</p>
<p>Reference Documents</p>	<p>African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe</i>, December 2007, pages, 27, 54 and 56 to 59.</p>
<p>Cross-Reference With Other FDLR Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report</p>	<p>Callixte Mbarushimana, Secretary-General of the FDLR, also played an important role in the genocide in sector Nyakabanda.</p>

Also living in France is Marie-Goretti Abayizigira, the vice-president of RUD. She was part of the RUD delegation that visited North Kivu in January 2008.



Marie-Goretti Abayizigira



In this photo, Marie-Goretti Abayizigira is with, from left to right, Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, alias John Muhindo, GoDRC facilitator; Gen. Musare, the commander of RUD and Col. Ildephonse Nkiranye, alias Moses Tumusifu/Clovis, the G2 of RUD, as final preparations were made for a speech to be given by Musare.

The Netherlands

Bonaventure Hakizimana

Bonaventure Hakizimana, who lives in The Netherlands, is the commissioner for external affairs. He comes from Busogo, commune Mukingo in Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was a student at the National University of Butare.

Dr. Twagirayezu Déogratias

Dr. Déogratias Twagirayezu used to represent the FDLR in Europe. He now represents RUD in Europe. In April 1994, he was the director of the National Programme for the Fight Against Tuberculosis (PNLT), in Kigali. Afterwards, he lived in Mugunga camp where he worked for an organization called MEMISA.

Belgium

Major Balthazar Iyamuremye

Major Balthazar Iyamuremye, a lawyer by training, was a sub-lieutenant in 1994 and worked in the legal affairs division of the Ministry of Defence. He joined the 1997-1998 ALIR insurgency and served as the S4 in the operational sector known as Jerusalem. When he moved to Congo-Brazzaville, he became a member of the FDLR committee and was responsible, among other tasks, for legal issues. But he has, apparently, transferred his political loyalties to RUD.

Switzerland

The representative of RUD in Switzerland is Oscar Nkezabera.

Scandinavia

Jean-Pierre Kamanzi, previously with the FDLR, now represents RUD throughout the Scandinavian countries. But the representative for Norway, who had previously also been with RUD, is Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru (see profile below).

Norway

Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru

Personal Details	Major Emmanuel Munyaruguru DOB: 1959 <i>Place of Birth/Origin</i> Cellule: Kabatezi Sector: Jenda Commune: Nkuli Préfecture: Ruhengeri <i>Father's Name:</i> Ruben Ntanshingu-Rubeba <i>Mother's Name:</i> Esthère Nyirabukacara
Whereabouts and Current Position in RUD	Munyaruguru lives in Norway. He works in Tromso municipality as an engineer, which is his profession. He is the older brother of Félicien Kanyamibwa, the executive secretary of

	RUD, and is known to be active in Norway on behalf of RUD. Before the split with the FDLR and the establishment of RUD, he was a strong supporter of the FDLR in Norway.
Position / Rank Held in 1994	In April 1994, he was working in the Ministry of Defence, in planning and training.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	Munyaruguru lives in Norway with his wife, Maberega, the daughter of Col. Bonaventure Ntiburura ⁵⁵ , also from Ruhengeri. His father died in January 2007, but his mother lives in Kabatezi. An older brother, Esron Kayonga, lives with his wife, Thabéa Nyirandimubanzi, in Nsakira, Jenda.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	He attended primary school in Cyamabuye. He went to Runyombyi for the first part of his secondary education, which he completed at the College of Musanze in Ruhengeri. He then went to the Ecole Royale Militaire in Belgium. On his return to Rwanda, he became an instructor at ESM in Kigali.
Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide	<i>To be investigated</i>
Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the Present	He was briefly in Mugunga camp in Goma before he left for Kenya, and from there he left for Norway.
Additional Comments	In addition to his job with Tromso municipality, Munyaruguru also has a private company which advertises business opportunities in Africa, including the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda. He is said to be involved in raising funds for RUD in Norway, and possibly more widely in

⁵⁵ Col. Bonaventure Ntiburura, a retired army officer, was appointed in April 1994 as the head of the civil defence force for Ruhengeri. He has been accused of playing a central role in the massacres in Ruhengeri.

	Europe. This year he traveled to eastern Congo with some Norwegian Church groups.
Cross-Reference With Other RUD Leaders/Members Who Are Profiled in This Report	Félicien Kanyamibwa

AFRICA

Congo-Brazzaville

Colonel Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo



Personal details	<p>Colonel Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo</p> <p>DOB: 1951</p> <p><i>Place of Birth and of Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Nyamirama Sector: Buhanga Commune: Bwisige Préfecture: Byumba</p> <p><i>Father's Name: Cléophas Ndukiye</i> <i>Mother's Name: Pascasia Mukarwego</i></p>
------------------	---

<p>Whereabouts and Current Political Affiliation</p>	<p>Nyamuhimba was, for a long time, a central and active member of the FDLR cell in Congo-Brazzaville. But he is now a member of RUD and is regarded as RUD's commissioner for defence, even though this title is not an official one.</p> <p>He is said to have travelled recently to Cameroon where his family lives. It's not clear if this is a short family visit or a permanent relocation.</p>
<p>Position / Rank held in 1994</p>	<p>A major, he was chief of the urban police force in the city of Kigali and worked in concert with the préfet, Lt. Col. Tharcisse Renzaho.⁵⁶</p>
<p>Whereabouts of Immediate Family</p>	<p>His wife and a son, Manzi, live in Yaoundé, Cameroon. He also has two grown up daughters who studied in Kenya; one of them, Delphine, is married. It is not clear where the daughters are living.</p> <p>After the destruction of the camps, his family returned to Rwanda and settled in their home area of Byumba. They later left and lived in Kenya. His wife then joined him in Kamina, with their son.</p> <p>His father died a long time ago. His mother is alive, but has become blind.</p> <p>Two younger brothers, Gratién Ruzindana and Jean-Bosco Karangwa, and two sisters, Xavéline Mukarusine and Espérance Mukagacinya, live in Rwanda.</p>
<p>Educational, Professional and Political Background</p>	<p>Nyamuhimba attended Nyagahanga primary school and went to the Groupe Scolaire de Salle in Byumba for his secondary education. He then went to the National Pedagogical Institute in Butare. He was part of the 16th intake of the Senior</p>

⁵⁶ Lt.Col. Tharcisse Renzaho was arrested on 29 September 2002 in the DRC on the basis of an indictment from the ICTR and taken into the custody of the ICTR on 30 September 2002. His trial is in progress.

	<p>Military Academy in Kigali where he graduated as a sub-lieutenant gendarme.</p> <p>In the course of his career, he worked in the prison service and at one time was head of the gendarmerie in Ngarama.</p> <p>In 1992-93, after the creation of the interahamwe militia force, he was active in the recruitment of militiamen and in training them at Gabiro in Umutara.</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<p>In 1994, Nyamuhimba worked as a close ally of the préfet, Renzaho, and served as the chief logistician for the interahamwe and soldiers who operated in Kigali.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He was a regular participant in the meetings to plan the genocide which took place at the office of the préfecture; 2. One of his first initiatives was to dismiss Tutsis from the police force under his command; most of them were subsequently killed; 3. He distributed weapons to the heads of the interahamwe, sector councillors and representatives of the MRND, MDR and CDR parties; 4. He sought to increase the number of militiamen familiar with guns and grenades by providing them with military training. For this purpose, he converted the premises of JOC, an organization of Young Catholic Workers, near the Parish of Sainte Famille in sector Rugenge, to a weapons training ground, and appointed policemen under his command as instructors; 5. He made alcoholic drinks available

	<p>to the militia in order to make it easier for them to kill Tutsis;</p> <p>6. He was responsible for a group of soldiers and militia leaders who worked in tandem to organize the massacres in the areas around the Catholic Parish of Sainte Famille in sector Rugenge. He accompanied Renzaho and the militia when they went to abduct Tutsis from Sainte Famille;</p> <p>7. He oversaw the looting of merchandise as well as vehicles, some of which were subsequently used by the interahamwe to hunt Tutsis.</p>
<p>Activities after leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the present</p> <p><i>July 1994-November 1996</i></p>	<p>Nyamuhimba settled in camp Kashushi in South Kivu. He made his way to Tingi Tingi after the camps were closed in 1996. After leaving the DRC, he settled in camp Lukolela in Congo-Brazzaville where he became one of the camp leaders and a teacher at the secondary school in the camp.</p> <p>During the 1998 war in the DRC, he commanded the force of ex-FAR and volunteers among the Rwandan refugees in camp Lukolela who intervened on behalf of President Laurent Kabila. He was later named one of the commanders in Equateur of the Rwandan forces fighting on Kabila's side. He led two battalions fighting in Kapona during the decisive battles at Pweto.⁵⁷ After the defeat at Pweto, he went to Kamina, then Kinshasa, finally making his way to Congo-Brazzaville in 2004.</p>

⁵⁷ His deputy at the time, Col. Aloys Mubiligi, is now living either in France or Belgium.

Reference Documents	<p style="text-align: center;">African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe</i>, December 2007, pages, 16, 33, 51 and 52;</p> <p><i>Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho: A Soldier in the DRC? Charge Sheet No.6</i>, October 2001.</p>
---------------------	---

Sudan/Cameroon

Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo, alias Agakatsi



Personal Details	<p>Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo, alias Agakatsi</p> <p><i>Previous Aliases: Vita/Ba Omaar</i></p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Hindiro Sector: Hindiro Commune: Satinsyi</p>
------------------	---

	<p>Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Mpitayaka <i>Mother's Name:</i> Kankera</p>
Current Political Affiliation & Whereabouts	<p>Although a founding member of the FDLR, Ntiwirigabo is now closer to RUD. He has not, to date, associated himself publicly and openly with RUD, but he is said to be in contact with them. The fact that Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, to whom Ntiwirigabo is close, is extremely active in RUD is undoubtedly relevant in this context.</p> <p>He was based in Sudan for some time, while also travelling to Congo-Brazzaville, Cameroon and France, where his wife lives. But it is possible, according to some sources, that he may have left Sudan since the deployment of Rwandese troops in Darfur and relocated to another Arab country, though this has yet to be established as a fact.</p>
Position / Rank held in 1994	A colonel, he was working in military intelligence (G2) at Military HQ.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	His wife is living in France with their two adoptive daughters.
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>He completed his primary education in Muramba and went to Christ Roi in Nyanza, Butare, for his secondary education. He then went to Belgium and France for military training and graduated as BEMS (<i>Breveté d'Etat Major Spécial</i>).</p> <p>Ntiwirigabo spent a long period in the gendarmerie as head of the <i>Groupement de Kigali</i>, which later became the operational sector of Kigali.</p>

<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in Genocide</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ntwirigabo was one of the key officers who supervised the genocide in Kigali, and was a frequent visitor to the office of the préfecture to hold discussions with the préfet, Col. Tharcisse Renzaho, whose office served as the nerve centre for the planning of the genocide in the city; 2. He called upon local officials in charge of the sectors in Kigali to tell Hutus they must consider Tutsis as their common enemy; 3. He gave permission to the heads of the interahamwe to use the police station in Nyamirambo for the execution of Tutsis. It was also used to torture the men who were brought there and to violate women sexually; 4. He ordered the killing of soldiers who did not want to co-operate with the militia and who demonstrated a willingness to intervene in order to save Tutsis. To this end, he had announcements made on RTL radio that some soldiers were working with the RPF and that the interahamwe should be on the lookout for soldiers who were not cooperating with the others in slaughtering the Tutsis. Through these messages, the interahamwe were also told to verify all the identity cards of the military, in order to pick out the Tutsis, who were to be executed on the spot.
--	---

Activities Since Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 to the present

July 1994-November 1996

Ntiwirigabo was the commander of the 1st division of the ex-FAR in South Kivu, based in camp Panzi, Bukavu.

After the camps were forcibly dismantled, he became commander of the ex-FAR in Tingi Tingi.

In 1997, Ntiwirigabo and Renzaho went to Sudan from where, despite the distance, they kept in close touch with the insurgency that ALIR was waging in Rwanda, especially in the northern prefectures. In 1999, they advised the movement to change its name after the US declared ALIR a terrorist organization, following the murders of western tourists in Bwindi Park in Uganda.

Ntiwirigabo and Renzaho arrived in the DRC from Sudan after the 1998 war began, and after ex-FAR troops and volunteers had already crossed over from Congo-Brazzaville under the command of Léodimir Mugaragu (now the FDLR's Chief of Staff, based in Masisi). They took command of the troops in western DRC, which came to be known as "ALIR 2", out of Mugaragu's hands. Ntiwirigabo remained in Kinshasa, eventually becoming overall military commander and head of logistics.

In 1999, Ntiwirigabo, Renzaho and Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, Minister of Public Works in the Interim government, set up the FDLR, with Ntiwirigabo becoming President; in 2001 Murwanashyaka replaced him as president.

Reference Documents	African Rights <i>A Welcome Expression of Intent: The Nairobi Communiqué and The Ex-Far/Interahamwe</i> , December 2007, pages, 2,11,13,15 to 20,30,40,41,56,57 and 79.
---------------------	--

GENOCIDE SUSPECTS AMONG RWANDAN ARMED GROUPS

Preliminary Findings

Introduction

As with every aspect of life inside Rwanda itself, the 1994 genocide casts a major shadow over the politics of Rwandese armed groups, whether they are in the DRC or elsewhere. In Chapter 1, former combatants identified fear of justice on the part of some of their leaders as one of the major stumbling blocks to repatriation. Chapter 2 discusses the efforts of the FDLR, for example, to sideline, sometimes only on a temporary basis, certain individuals who have become particularly notorious for their direct role in the massacres of 1994. It also mentions the fact that the choice of top leaders abroad, for both the FDLR and RUD, has been influenced by the desire to project a “clean” image, through the selection of men who were not in Rwanda during the killings. Additionally, it highlights the difficult and time-consuming process of investigating allegations of participation in the genocide. For this reason, the information in this chapter can only be described as preliminary in most of the cases under consideration, though not all.⁵⁸ It establishes a basis, and makes the argument, for additional and extensive research with regard to these particular individuals, and beyond, to complement the information reflected in this chapter and in the profiles above.

Concerning involvement in the genocide, in a significant number of cases, the individual profiles give indications which provide a direction for future research.

It has often been argued that while some of the senior leaders of the FDLR may have taken part in the genocide, by and large the rank and file were too young in 1994 to be implicated in the genocide. But the facts on the ground prove the contrary. Chapter 2, in looking at the background of the hierarchy of the FDLR/RUD, shows that most of the operational commanders today, who are lieutenant colonels or majors were, for the most part, lieutenants and sub-lieutenants in 1994. For example Musare, the military commander of RUD, with the rank of a general, was a sub-lieutenant.

In 1994, when the army was stretched extremely thin waging a genocide and fighting a war simultaneously, lieutenants and sub-lieutenants, and even corporals, had considerable latitude and influence to advance the genocide. Even more importantly, their superiors were committed to the genocide, with rare exceptions, and entrusted them with the responsibility to carry out the policies of the army. Between 7 April and mid-July 1994,

⁵⁸ Pseudonyms have been used throughout this chapter to protect witnesses. In a few instances, when the interviewee is a well-known genocide suspect who has spoken out publicly, real names have been used.

those policies consisted of defeating the RPF militarily and eliminating the Tutsi population in Rwanda.

A question which is often asked about the FDLR is the identity of those who served as interahamwe militiamen in 1994. As an illustration of how the interahamwe, who committed serious atrocities, have risen within the FDLR, this chapter includes details about the activities of Captain Louis de Gonzague Uwimana during the genocide.

Genocide Suspects Linked to the FDLR in Eastern DRC

Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu

Brigadier-General Léodimir Mugaragu, alias Léo Manzi, is the chief of staff of FDLR/FOCA. In April 1994, he had the rank of a major and was based in camp Muhoza in Ruhengeri town, commune Kigombe. He was the commander of the 32nd battalion, part of Ruhengeri operational sector. The commanding officer of Ruhengeri OPS, and a man who has been closely linked with Mugaragu during the genocide, was Lt.Col. Marcel Bivugabagabo.⁵⁹ Speaking of Mugaragu and Bivugabagabo, Isaac, a soldier at Muhoza camp, commented:

These two men did absolutely nothing to stop the massacre of Tutsis in Ruhengeri. And yet they had the power to do so, if they wanted to, because they were the top-ranking military officers in Ruhengeri town at the time.

Justin, who acknowledges that he took part in the killings in Ruhengeri town, sees Mugaragu as central to the success of the genocide there.

Mugaragu is among the first people who made it possible for us to succeed in exterminating the Tutsis by equipping us with material, technical and human support.

Mugaragu has been accused, among other crimes, of:

- Calling on the population of Ruhengeri town to track down and kill Tutsis;
- Travelling to nearby communes to recruit militiamen;
- Helping to set up roadblocks in the town;
- Distributing guns and grenades to militiamen who were familiar with weapons at the outset of the genocide to hunt and kill Tutsis;
- Making his soldiers available to give military training to untrained militiamen, either at Ruhengeri stadium or in Cabarare forest who were later armed for the purpose of killing Tutsis;
- Helping to organize the massacres at the court of appeals in Ruhengeri town.

⁵⁹ Lt.Col. Marcel Bivugabagabo was arrested in 2008 in France charged with involvement in the attacks on the Court of Appeals in Ruhengeri, and the Nyakinama campus massacres. He was released after a decision against extradition to Rwanda.

There was insufficient time, for this report, to conduct a thorough investigation of all these charges. This section focuses on Mugaragu's role in the training of militiamen and complicity in the massacre at the court of appeals.

Training Militiamen

One of the key features of the 1994 genocide was the extraordinary degree of popular participation, to an extent unprecedented in the world. A group of retired senior officers were asked to organise what came to be known as a civil defence force to reinforce the army and the interahamwe. They worked under the direction of Col. Athanase Gasake, cited earlier, who lives in Belgium. In Ruhengeri, Col. Bonaventure Ntubitura was in charge of civil defence, and he worked closely with Bivugabagabo and Mugaragu. They went to give instructions to the militiamen who were being trained.

During the genocide, Justin says he became a member of the *impuzamugambi*, the militia of the ultra-extremist political party, the CDR.

Shortly after the president's death, Col. Bonaventure Ntubitura, responsible for civil defence, held a meeting with the youth and asked them to come to a training camp geared towards teaching them how to use firearms. Other senior officers also took part in this meeting, for example Col. Marcel Bivugabagabo, Col. Ephrem Setako⁶⁰ and Major Léodomir Mugaragu.

When we were being shown how to use firearms, Mugaragu was there in person with the soldiers who were training us.

Mugaragu provided weapons and training to both soldiers and civilians, said Isaac, who had come to camp Muhoza in 1993.

When we were being trained in the use of firearms at the Gitarama stadium, Mugaragu was there in person with the soldiers who were training us. In brief, he is among the first people who made it possible for us to succeed in exterminating the Tutsi by equipping us with the materials and technical and human support.

Mugaragu also distributed 800 guns in my presence in camp Muhoza. Each cellule leader was given five guns, while the members of the cellule, along with the interahamwe, received others.

Isaac said he met Mugaragu on several occasions when he had come to urge Hutus to throw their collective weight behind the genocide.

One time, he came to see us in Nkumba and brought us Primus beer. He told us we hadn't done any work, and that even the battalion which had handicapped people had done a better job in the town of Ruhengeri, meaning they had been more successful in killing Tutsis. The beer was to congratulate us as we pushed back the RPF *inkotanyi*.

⁶⁰ Lt.Col. Ephrem Setako was arrested in The Netherlands in February 2004 on an arrest warrant issued by the ICTR. He remains in the custody of the ICTR where his trial is in progress.

Isaac described a subsequent encounter with Mugaragu at Kigombe commune office.

He told us: 'It's not impossible for ten Hutus to kill one Tutsi.' What he meant was Hutus should unite to kill Tutsis in case it was difficult for one person. Killing a Tutsi during this period was meaningless and easy, easier than killing a stray pet.

Massacre at the Court of Appeals

A massacre at the court of appeals in Ruhengeri town was carried out by interahamwe and soldiers from camp Muhoza, some of whom were under Mugaragu's command. Justin said he attended a meeting prior to the assault.

It was a very high profile meeting on security attended by the military and civilians. Around two o'clock, civilian authorities came to tell us about the plan to kill Tutsis who were at the court of appeals. These authorities were:

- Fabien Maniragaba, the bourgmestre of commune Kigombe;
- Dismas Nzanana, a deputy préfet;
- Alexandre Nzeyimana, the deputy bourgmestre of Kigombe commune.

To ensure a sufficient force, he said they went in search of additional manpower.

The bourgmestre distributed weapons, but I don't know where he got them from. We hijacked a car and went to Mukingo commune, with Kajelijeli⁶¹ at the head of the group, to look for interahamwe to assist us.

Bellancille, 16 at the time, had gone with her family to commune Gatonde for a cousin's wedding. They came under siege at her cousin's house on 7 April and took refuge at the office of the deputy-préfet of Busengo. More and more Tutsis arrived, and they did their best to defend themselves, using stones against the assailants. Before long, those seeking refuge were transferred out of Busengo.

Soldiers came and made us get into buses which took us to the court of appeals in Ruhengeri. When we got there, they told us to wait for the others so we could all be transported together to Zaire. They left gendarmes behind, saying they were there to protect us.

Bellancille got out just in time.

I had cooked for the gendarmes when we were still at the office of the deputy préfet in Busengo, so I knew some of them. One of the guards who had come along with us to the court of appeals told me we were going to be massacred there, and made me leave.

⁶¹ Juvénal Kajelijeli was the bourgmestre of commune Mukingo in Ruhengeri. He was arrested in Bénin on 5 June 1998 at the request of the ICTR. On 1 December 2003, he was sentenced to imprisonment for the remainder of his life. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to 45 years on 23 May 2005.

She went to the home of an acquaintance in Cyabarika, a hill very close to Ruhengeri town. But she had left her mother, grandparents and many other members of her family at the court and was anxious about their welfare.

The woman I was staying with had a son who had a moto taxi. He kept me informed about the situation at the court of appeals. I found out from him that it had come under attack by soldiers from camp Muhoza who were helped by local people and the interahamwe. He said the soldiers had firearms and the civilians were carrying machetes, clubs etc... From my hiding place, I myself could hear the voices of people talking about what was happening at the court.

Bellancille later found out that her mother and the child she was carrying on her back survived the attack, but that they were later killed elsewhere.

Mugaragu and the other officers who had trained and armed the militia were not physically present during the killings. But Mugaragu rewarded Justin and his companions for their contribution to the massacre. Justin gave details.

Mugaragu and the other soldiers came afterwards to make sure we had done a good job. They paid us 50,000 francs for a job well done. We divided it equally between the interahamwe and the soldiers.

Roadblocks

Isaac and Justin both mentioned Mugaragu's frequent visits to roadblocks, to encourage the militia to be vigilant in their hunt for Tutsis and to invite them to fetch weapons from camp Muhoza. Justin was stationed at a roadblock where he said Mugaragu was often present.

I operated the roadblock erected at the SGP petrol station, on the road to Kigali. Major Mugaragu often came to give us instructions, the most common of which was to pursue our enemy, the Tutsis.

Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo

Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana, alias Sebisogo, is well-known in the FDLR, for the extent to which he talks openly about how well he "worked" during the genocide. It is, therefore, not surprising that Nizeyimana has been indicted by the ICTR and is on the wanted list of the US Rewards for Justice Programme.

Nizeyimana works in North Kivu in the office of the 2nd vice-president of the FDLR, Brigadier-General Gaston Iyamuremye.

In 1994, he was a captain and was the deputy commander of the Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) in Ngoma, the urban commune of Butare, responsible for

intelligence and operations. The commander was Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi.⁶² Butare town was home to the National University of Rwanda, Rwanda's principal teaching hospital and a large number of schools.

The charges included in the ICTR indictment of Nizeyimana, published on 2 Feb. 2000, are as follows:

- On or about 7 April 1994 Nizeyimana attended a meeting where a decision was made that all Tutsis should be killed, and that Tutsi women should be raped before being killed.
- On 19 April Nizeyimana attended the swearing in of President Théodore Sindikubwabo, where Sindikubwabo made a speech calling for the massacre of Tutsis. At this meeting Nizeyimana, "gave a clear signal to the people that the massacres were condoned by the Military."
- On 20 April, Nizeyimana sent a group of soldiers led by 2nd Lieutenant Pierre Bizimana to the home of the Queen of Rwanda, Rosalie Gicanda, and ordered her execution, which was subsequently carried out;
- Nizeyimana had authority over the ESO soldiers and knew that massacres were being committed but failed to prevent, put an end to these acts, and punish the perpetrators;
- Nizeyimana ordered soldiers to execute whole families suspected of being Tutsi, such as the Ruhutinyanya family;
- Nizeyimana agreed to deploy his soldiers at roadblocks;
- Nizeyimana gave direct orders to soldiers and other militiamen to carry out the attacks and provided material backup such as transport and grenades;
- Nizeyimana provided a jeep for the abduction and murder of four civilians at Rwasave and assigned a pick-up truck used to a select group of cadets who were sent on secret missions to kill;
- Participated in the preparation of lists of people and/or identified people to eliminate. These lists were then given to the soldiers and militiamen who carried out the executions;
- Overall, charged with committing Genocide, Complicity in Genocide, Direct and Public Incitement to Commit Genocide, and Crimes Against Humanity.

⁶² In addition to being head of ESO, Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi was in charge of operations in the préfectures of Butare and Gikongoro. He was arrested in London on 5 February 2000 at the request of the ICTR and transferred to Arusha on 30 October 2000. On 12 September 2006, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison, which was quashed on appeal. He is to be retried on one count.

The testimonies in this section expand on some of the charges in the ICTR indictment.

Launching the Genocide in Butare

Butare was the only préfecture in 1994 with a Tutsi préfet, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana. He and a few of his officials did all they could to keep the population united and to secure peace, making Butare a comparative oasis of calm for the first two weeks after Habyarimana's death. But on 19 April, the president of the interim government, Théodore Sindikubwabo, himself a native of Butare, visited the region to urge the Hutu population to catch up with the rest of the country. On the evening of the 19th, Radio Rwanda announced Habyarimana's dismissal as préfet. The killings began in Butare in earnest on 20 April and it was ESO which would determine the speed, scale and success of the genocide. Although it was a training school for soldiers and gendarmes, with so much of the regular army committed to the war with the RPF, they were the most important force in Butare at the time. Classes were suspended and the ESO officers and cadets took on active duties. They could also count on help from soldiers and gendarmes at camp Ngoma, a nearby military camp, which also came under the supervision of ESO.

On the afternoon of 20 April, Muvunyi called a meeting for all officers to discuss deployment. After he left, Nizeyimana spoke; Félix was one of the participants.

Nizeyimana said the roadblocks were to be manned by ESO students under the command of Sub-Lt. Gakwerere. Nizeyimana remained in charge of the night patrols, and had the authority to select different soldiers from them on a daily basis. .

Nizeyimana, commented Thomas, another soldier who listened to his instructions, lost no time in selecting his targets.

Captain Nizeyimana began forming some units composed mainly of northerners, like himself. That captain was very actively involved in the genocide. He orchestrated the guidelines that came from Muvunyi and Sindikubwabo. These ESO units killed Tutsis at the following places; the University Hospital; the University; the Groupe Scolaire; Buye; Cyahinda in commune Nyakizu; the business district of Ngoma; Huye; Nyakibanda etc...

From 20 April onwards, ESO soldiers dominated Butare. Nizeyimana's first target, Rosalie Gicanda, the widow of Rwanda's last king, was chosen with deliberate care. Killing her was a symbolic gesture and made it clear that no Tutsi need be spared. As intended, it was followed by systematic killings throughout the town. By the 21st, people could hear the sound of gunfire at night in residential districts, starting with Buye, home to many university professors. David, a lecturer at the faculty of medicine, said "most of the Tutsis who died in Buye were killed at night by soldiers." One of them, he said, was Nizeyimana.

The killings began on 20 April. That evening they killed Sentama; Jérôme Ngarambe; Daniel Nzigiye and Frédéric Nkomeje. The soldiers shot them. Matabaro's family and the former sous-préfet's family were killed outside my house in Buye by soldiers from ESO. I recognised Captain Nizeyimana, but not the others.

Roadblocks: Exerting Control and Monitoring Movement

From the outset, a central feature of the orders given by Nizeyimana was the establishment of roadblocks. When Nizeyimana began to assign soldiers to specific missions on 20 April, said Nathaniel, then a sub-lieutenant at ESO, the importance he attached to roadblocks was apparent.

Some soldiers were told to control infiltration and to do so by working under Gakwerere. Their duties were checking the identity cards of the large number of Tutsis flocking into Butare from Kigali. Their job was to identify Tutsis at the roadblocks erected at different crossroads, especially at the junction on the road to Gikongoro, outside the Hotel Faucon, at ESO and at the University.

Louise, who was also at ESO, said there were “eight roadblocks at Taba alone.”

Nizeyimana would send Gakwerere and Second Lieutenant Gatsinzi on missions he called ‘defence against the *inkotanyi*.’ He used this pretext to put up roadblocks, at the market, at the Groupe Scolaire, near the university and Mukoni.

People arrested at roadblocks were sometimes brought to ESO and killed. Others were first detained at ESO and then murdered somewhere else.

Massacres in Butare Town

Massacres, which had the imprint of Muvunyi and Nizeyimana, took place throughout Butare town, for example at the university, the university hospital and a secondary school called Groupe Scolaire.

Tutsi students who remained on the premises of the university from the 19th onwards were vulnerable since ESO soldiers sealed it off with roadblocks. Extremist students worked alongside the soldiers to look for Tutsis and often beat and tortured them before taking them to the forest below the university, near the ESO barracks, to be shot by soldiers.

A contingent of soldiers was sent from ESO to the university hospital, which is nearby, under the pretence that they were guarding the patients. Instead, they killed Tutsi refugees and staff, and raped the women. Nizeyimana and a Sub-Lt. Pierre Bizimana worked closely with Muvunyi to oversee the massacres at the hospital and visited frequently.

Louise recalled Nizeyimana’s visits to the hospital.

Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana often came over and held discussions with Corporal Niyibizi and his unit, including Corporal Gatete. All the bodies of women and girls I saw at the hospital were naked; I think the soldiers raped them before killing them.

Olivier, an ESO soldier, was stationed at the hospital from May to July.

I used to see soldiers and militiamen come to take away sick people from the wards and go and kill them. They would come in the morning to identify Tutsis and return in the night to take them away. I saw many dead bodies in the forest below the hospital.

There were about 1300 refugees at the Groupe Scolaire, a secondary school in Butare town, many of them were orphans and employees of Kacyiru Red Cross in Kigali who had been evacuated to Butare in mid-April. On 29 April, about 100 Tutsis were murdered by soldiers from ESO and camp Ngoma. The victims included nearly 50 Red Cross orphans and employees.

Massacres in the Rural Communes of Butare

In the rural areas, Nizeyimana's task was to help mobilise and organise local people and to supply them with weapons and ammunition, as well as provide soldiers to lead them into massacres. The Tutsis who had gathered in large numbers on hills, in churches, commune offices, stadiums and schools throughout the communes of Butare died mainly at the hands of soldiers from ESO who worked in tandem with the gendarmerie, the interahamwe, local government officials, civilians and Burundian refugees. In virtually every commune in the préfecture —from Gishamvu, Nyakizu, Runyinya, Muyaga, Ntyazo, Rusatira, Kigembe, Ndora and, amongst others Mugusa, there were well-organized massacres. In 19 of these communes, the scale of the massacres, which often went on for several days, is beyond comprehension. They include the massacres at the following sites:

1. *The Parish of Cyahinda, Nyakizu, 15-18 April;*⁶³
2. *The commune office and CERAI, commune Kigembe, 19 April;*
3. *The Parish of Karama and commune office of Runyinya, 21 April;*
4. *Mt. Kabuye and other hilltops, Ndora, 23-27 April;*
5. *A football stadium in Mbazi, 25 April;*
6. *The commune office of Muyaga, 27 April;*
7. *An agricultural research institute (ISAR) in Rusatira, 28 April.*

One of the men Nizeyimana most relied upon was Lt. Col. Ezéchiel Gakwerere.

Lieutenant Colonel Ezéchiel Gakwerere, alias Julius Mokoko or Sibó Stany

Lieutenant Colonel Ezéchiel Gakwerere, alias Julius Mokoko or Sibó Stany, is deputy commander of the FDLR's operational sector in North Kivu. In 1994, as is clear from the section on Colonel Ildephonse Nizeyimana, Gakwerere, then a lieutenant, was at ESO where Nizeyimana entrusted him with the control of roadblocks. As additional manpower, Nizeyimana gave him the green light to recruit young ESO students known as "new formula", that is cadets who had gone to ESO without completing secondary education.⁶⁴ Many of them, according to Marcel, who was at ESO, were very young.

⁶³ The soldiers Nizeyimana sent to Nyakizu were led by Warrant Officer Paul Kanyeshyamba.

⁶⁴ This was a relatively new development at ESO.

Gakwerere involved very young people in the genocide, youth who had just completed their primary school, and some who did not even complete it. But ESO had started to enrol them since 1991.

Louise, who spoke earlier about Nizeyimana, said Gakwerere's involvement with these young soldiers during the genocide was a cause of concern to many of her female colleagues.

Gakwerere turned these children into terrible murderers in his quest to exterminate Tutsis. At night, I would hear my female colleagues say that Gakwerere was teaching children to kill.

At the end of April, when the large-scale massacres had been completed, Nizeyimana was transferred out of Butare town. It was, commented Nathaniel, Gakwerere who inherited many of his key responsibilities.

In addition to his mission to guard against infiltration at the roadblocks, he also took on Nizeyimana's duties, which included military operations and intelligence gathering. This means that he is responsible for whatever happened in Butare town after the 30th of April.

Supervision of Roadblocks

In Butare, as in much of the rest of the country, May and June were devoted essentially to combing operations since most of the massacres took place between 7-30 April. For this reason, Gakwerere is remembered by his colleagues, and by survivors, principally for his activities in April, which was to coordinate the soldiers who were guarding the roadblocks in town.

Louise, who also spoke of the close relations between Gakwerere and Nizeyimana, was struck, above all, by the extent to which Gakwerere seemed consumed by the genocide.

His new formula soldiers guarded the roadblocks day and night. They wouldn't even come back to eat. We, the women, were ordered to take them food at the different roadblocks every day.

The few times Gakwerere came back to ESO we could see that he had become like an animal. The rest of the time, he was supervising the roadblocks, one by one. He would even go to Gikongoro. In Nyanza, he was pitiless and gave orders to kill without thinking.

17 May: The Catholic Diocese of Butare & The Convent of the Petites Soeurs de Jésus

On the afternoon of 17 May, Gakwerere was among the soldiers who descended on the bursary of the Catholic Diocese of Butare. One of the people who was hiding there was Marius, a businessman who knew Gakwerere.

We were attacked by about 15 soldiers, including Lt. Gakwerere and Sub-Lt. Anselme. The public prosecutor was there too. A soldier entered the room I was in, searched me

and robbed me of everything I had. The soldier and Lt. Gakwerere took me to Sub-Lt. Anselme and to the public prosecutor. They accused me of listening to songs by Cécile Kayirebwa, a Rwandese musician exiled in Belgium. They called me an *inkotanyi* and said that I had a hand-gun. They ordered a soldier to kill me. He hit me and I ran away. He tried to shoot me and I stopped. Then they drove me in a little white Hilux van to ESO. The army chaplain, [Fr. Martin] Kabalira⁶⁵, was also in the van.

The soldiers, led by Gakwerere, then proceeded to the neighbouring convent of the Petites Soeurs de Jésus. An employee of the bursary, Gilbert, who had tried to escape by jumping over the wall into the convent, was the first to die. One of the nuns gave details.

There were 14 nuns there, and some people who were hiding, including Fr. Modeste Mungwarareba; Brother Cyriaque; Eugène, a businessman; René Kayijamahe; Alfred; several young girls and children. The soldiers fired at Cyriaque; René; Jeanne Uwingeri and her younger sister; Christine; Gilbert; Philomène and Henriette's daughter, Dianne. The young people tried to get away, and the soldiers fired on them. A soldier and an interahamwe found Gilbert. Three soldiers—Lt. Gakwerere, Ruhashya and Kazungu—killed Gilbert right there. They came into our convent in pursuit of him. The young girls were stoned to death. The soldiers made the excuse that someone had fired a shot from the convent, and told us to go and explain at ESO where we had obtained the bullets from. The Hutu nuns went there.

They killed six people that day, and then made the rest of the young girls lie on the ground, and lined the nuns along the wall. They said they would come back the next day.

Before leaving, the soldiers searched the convent for Fr. Modeste Mungwarareba, but failed to locate him.

Landrada was one of the Hutu nuns who were taken to ESO.

Lt. Gakwerere explained to the prosecutor, 'We went to look for Modeste, but instead we found the *Inyenzi* shooting at us. The same thing happened at the convent of Bizeramariya.' The prosecutor asked, 'Did they use the same sort of rifles?' I said, 'Should you believe in the rumours you have heard? You have killed some people and the rest of us are with the soldiers. Why don't you collect those rifles you accuse us of having?' Gakwerere looked at me maliciously and straightaway he put us in the truck with others, two soldiers and the driver who was also a soldier named Anselme Twagiramugabe. We were taken to ESO by the soldiers. Gakwerere was one of the soldiers who took us. The prosecutor was also there.

At ESO, Landrada was with Marius, Olive, who had been brought over from the cathedral and a cook from the cathedral. They had all been picked up the same day. Landrada spoke about their ordeal.

The cook had taken a beating and had been brought along to reveal the whereabouts of Fr. Modeste. When we got to ESO, two coaches full of soldiers for the front moved off immediately. Before the coaches left, Lt. Gakwerere accused us in front of three soldiers. They started beating up Marius: One of the three soldiers said, 'To prevent them escaping

⁶⁵ Fr. Martin Kabalira is now living in France.

from our clutches, why don't you leave them here with us so we can kill them at our ease?' With that, they stopped beating Marius. Afterwards, Fr. Martin Kabalira, the military chaplain, introduced himself.

Around 3:00 p.m., Lt. Gakwerere put us back in the car and told us our situation would be examined the next day. They took us to the police station.

Gakwerere took the nuns back to the convent, but once again he did not find Fr. Modeste.

Lieutenant Colonel Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo

Col. Anaclet Hitimana, alias Kabuyoya or Gasarasi Odilo, is deputy commander of the reserve brigade in North Kivu. See his profile in Chapter 8.

Some of the earliest, and most extensive massacres of the 1994 genocide, took place in the préfecture of Gikongoro which had a substantial Tutsi population. The gendarmerie post which covered the sub-préfecture of Munini, consisting of the communes of Mubuga, Rwamiko, Kivu and Nshili, was located in Mubuga. Second Lieutenant Anaclet Hitimana was in charge of the gendarmerie station in Mubuga and led a group of gendarmes based in a number of sites. His office was in the buildings of the Nshili-Kivu Agricultural Development, known as DANK. Hitimana was answerable to Captain Faustin Sebhura⁶⁶ in the town of Gikongoro. Hitimana and his deputy, Corporal Nshimiyimana worked closely with Damien Biniga (see below), the deputy préfet responsible for Munini. Although this chapter contains a separate section on Damien Biniga, such was their collaboration in 1994 that a discussion about 2nd Lt. Hitimana necessarily implicates Biniga.

Ignace, a communal policeman in Mubuga, was imprisoned in 1997 for his participation in the killings at the Parish of Kibeho.

I consider Lt. Anaclet among the leaders who exterminated the Tutsis in Kibeho. I knew him well because he used to come to supervise the gendarmes under his command whose camp was close to the commune office of Mubuga where I worked.

In the early stages of the genocide, witnesses say Hitimana called for Hutus to burn Tutsi homes, forcing the inhabitants to seek safety in numbers. As elsewhere, the gathering of large groups in one place made large massacres possible. Gaston, a former genocide prisoner who has confessed, spoke of the co-operation between Hitimana and Biniga in

⁶⁶ Captain Faustin Sebhura rose to the rank of a colonel in the FDLR where he was known as Marius Minani. He was repatriated by MONUC on 21 May 2008 after he became very ill. Although he was the deputy of the gendarmerie for the préfecture of Gikongoro in 1994, he was in effect in charge because his superior was too sick to function at the time. Though he has denied taking part in the genocide, including in an interview for this report, Sebhura is one of the undisputed masterminds of the killings throughout Gikongoro and even in Butare. There is substantial evidence, including testimonies from many of the officials he relied upon, linking him directly to the planning and implementation of all the large-scale massacres including at the Parish of Kibeho in Mubuga; Murambi in the town of Gikongoro; the Parish of Kaduha in Gikongoro; the Parish of Cyanika in commune Karama and, among other places, on the hilltops of commune Ruhashya in Butare.

their determination to expel Tutsis from their homes as a strategy of concentrating them in a few identifiable places.

Biniga and 2nd Lt. Anaclet began a propaganda campaign with the aim of driving Tutsis out of their houses. The two authorities went to the commercial centre of Gisizi, below the offices of the sub-préfecture of Munini and of DANK. I was there when Biniga and Anaclet challenged all Hutus to chase the *inyenzi* away from their properties and to burn their houses. From that day on, I began to see columns of smoke all over the hills surrounding Munini.

As intended, those who had fled their homes gathered *en masse* in public places such as schools, churches and government buildings.

14 – 16 April: Multiple Massacres

Survivors as well as perpetrators say that Hitimana is one of the men who gave the orders which led to several horrific massacres, including one at the Catholic Parish of Kibeho where thousands of Tutsis had assembled. By 14 April, the men, arms and transport necessary to ensure their death had been organized by Hitimana, Biniga and their allies.

Ignace said “the attack on Kibeho on 14 April” was one of the central points of the confession that led to his release from prison.

At around 10 o'clock on 14 April, Anaclet came to the commune office of Mubuga. He was in an all-terrain Toyota which belonged to DANK. Four gendarmes with guns and grenades came with him. The bourgmestre, [Charles] Nyiridandi, was in his office. They spoke together for nearly ten minutes.

After their talk, Nyiridandi told me to go with the gendarmes in their vehicle and to give support to the people who were killing Tutsis in Kibeho. Anaclet took the road to Kibeho. Nyiridandi accompanied us in his vehicle.

When he reached Kibeho, Anaclet stopped in the commercial area commonly known as *Ku Cyapa*. He asked me to join the militiamen led by [Innocent] Bakundukize [an agronomist at the commune office of Mubuga]. Anaclet, his subordinates and Nyiridandi continued on to Kibeho. They were going to co-ordinate the other militia forces which had come from other communes like Rwamiko, Kivu and Mudasomwa.

It was Hitimana, according to Ignace, who gave the order to start the killings.

When Anaclet gave the signal, we left the little hill called Sinai where we had been waiting. We began marching towards the church, under the instructions of Anaclet. The militia had already surrounded the area around Kibeho parish. Anaclet and his group then gave us the order to begin slaughtering them. We shot into the church. Some Tutsis came out to try and defend themselves, but they fell into the hands of our militiamen. The massacre continued until we had made holes in the walls of the church, which made it easier for us to burn the remaining refugees huddled close to the altar of the church.

It would be very difficult for me to describe the role Anaclet played from the beginning to the end of the massacres, which lasted nearly three days. But I regard him as the organiser of those killings.

The carnage of 14-15 April is forever etched on the minds of the few men, women and children who survived. One of them is Yolande, a mother of five who had come from commune Rwamiko.

There were a very many refugees, in the classrooms of the primary school, in the priests' rooms, in the offices of CERAI [Integrated Rural and Craft Centre], in the church, its courtyard, as well as the health centre. The killers, who had many guns and traditional weapons, included Biniga, the deputy-préfet. They started shooting and the men and the boys fought back with stones. It was an impossible and desperate fight.

When the refugees were annihilated, the people with traditional weapons rushed in with machetes and clubs. It was unbearable to watch: people felled by bullets and grenades, people with limbs cut off...The most frightening thing were the cries of the dying and of the children. I don't like to remember these events because they keep me awake.

They had not yet entered the church by 6:00 p.m. when it was beginning to get dark. True to their promise, they returned early the next day, the 15th, when they burnt the church down, with the refugees inside. Yves, a 14-year-old from sector Kibeho, is thought to be the only survivor from the fire of the 15th.

They came back at about 5:00 a.m. We had closed ourselves inside the church and we had put benches against all the doors. They threw a grenade which destroyed part of the roof. This was followed by a lot of tear gas, after which they lobbed another grenade. The roof caught fire. Then they brought branches of trees with dry leaves to burn down the doors of the church. Once the fire reached the doors, it spread to the benches and suddenly the whole church was on fire.

While the fire caught all sides of the church, the killers on the outside dug holes through which they pulled out people who were inside, and tortured them with spears, clubs and machetes. At the same time, grenades were being thrown through the roof and bullets shot through the holes in the walls of the church. There was nowhere to run because everywhere death awaited us. All we could hear were the cries when the burning rafters fell on someone or when someone was hit by a grenade. After killing about half the refugees in the church, they entered the church at about 6:00 p.m. with traditional weapons and began to finish off the dying and to eliminate those who were still alive. They used mostly machetes and bashed people's skulls with stones. This time around, they spent the entire night killing.

By the morning, said Yves, only five people, four children and a woman, were left alive.

We, the children, had climbed through the small windows at the top of the walls. The woman was killed there. We jumped through these windows and fell inside the bathrooms of the dormitories where the students who studied close to the church stayed. They caught us and lynched four children.

Yves had the foresight to cover himself with cypress leaves, the “uniform” of the interahamwe, and to pass himself off as one of them.

By 16 April, many Tutsis had fled to the offices of the sub-préfecture of Munini, Biniga’s office. Elias, a farmer from sector Gisizi in Mubuga, who answered Hitimana’s call to get rid of the refugees, described how Hitimana trapped the Tutsis.

I was among the first militiamen to arrive on the scene at Anaclet Hitimana’s invitation. He had first gone to the centre of Gisizi to make sure that his subordinates were drawing in as many Hutus as they could. Anaclet didn’t linger in the centre of town. He went up with the first group of militiamen. He stayed in the office to make sure that his gendarmes and the Hutus were keeping watch over the Tutsis who were not allowed to move.

When Anaclet was satisfied that he had enough manpower, his gendarmes advanced towards the refugees, said Elias.

Anaclet’s gendarmes had made the Tutsis sit on the grass. I witnessed how the well-armed gendarmes watched over the terrified Tutsis. Anaclet was there waiting for a sufficient number of Tutsis to gather. When he saw that the Tutsis were imprisoned within the human wall we had made, Anaclet gave the signal to begin the massacres.

The gendarmes opened with a volley of bullets to prevent the Tutsis from getting up to defend themselves. We used our machetes against those who tried to escape. We killed them until nightfall. I don’t know if Anaclet stayed at that place from the beginning to the end of the killings. What I know is that he gave the indications to start killing Tutsis.

Gaston acknowledges that some of the victims died at his hands.

Anaclet told us that none of the enemies we had encircled should elude us. After his speech, the gendarmes began shooting the Tutsis and we struck down those who thought of fleeing. I don’t know if Anaclet used his pistol to kill, but he’s one who gave the green light to start the massacre. We killed Tutsis until the end of the day.

Canisius, a farmer, was one of the civilians who were told by gendarmes, dispatched by Hitimana, to bury the victims on 17 April.

We dug a big pit in a coffee plantation which belonged to Ndakaza. They told us that Lt. Anaclet didn’t want dirt, meaning the bodies of the Tutsis, near a camp used by the gendarmes. Two vehicles were used; one belonged to DANK and the other to Rudandaza, a businessman who worked in the commercial district of Kamirabagenzi.

Plundering and Destroying Property

Hitimana is also accused of playing a key role in looting and destroying the property of Tutsis throughout Munini. Elias said he was in the commercial centre of Gisizi when Hitimana turned up.

Anaclet was carrying a gun and was accompanied by his escorts and two mechanics. He had just seized the parts from the Daihatsu lorry, which belonged to André Sekamana [a survivor who died recently]. He fired a shot in the dust and everyone fell to the ground. Then he addressed everyone, saying, “You lazy Hutus, don’t you know that there are Tutsi homes in the neighbourhood to be demolished? Get to work.” People immediately began to pull down the Tutsi stores in Gisizi.

Major Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, alias Mazizi

Major Jean-Damascène Rutiganda is so well-known as a génocidaire that virtually every former FDLR combatant and civilian interviewed for this report had heard of his extensive participation in the genocide. He himself, it appears, speaks openly about the fact that he “worked” in 1994. Rutiganda (see profile in Chapter 8), who is currently commander of the battalion headquarters for the operational sector in North Kivu, was bourgmestre of commune Murama in Gitarama. The evidence pointing to his incitement of genocide, and direct participation in murder, the burning down of homes and the looting of property throughout Murama is substantial, detailed and precise.

“Rutiganda Was Unstoppable”

In common with many bourgmestres in Gitarama, Rutiganda was not initially favorable towards the policy of massacres. His attitude began to change, from about 15 April, when there was a large influx of educated people from Kigali who challenged men like Rutiganda. He was, especially, influenced by Théodore Gakuba⁶⁷, a former soldier and the head of the MDR in Murama. Rutiganda quickly formed a militia known as *Ibigashari* whose sole objective was to track down the Tutsis of Murama and to carry out massacres and other acts of genocide at his command. He spoke at meetings which frequently led to the assassination of Tutsis.

Pierre is Gakuba’s cousin. He was present in many of the meetings and said that once Rutiganda had committed himself to genocide, he was “unstoppable.”

Rutiganda killed a lot of people, day and night. He used to say that the Tutsis in the country should be wiped out so those who had attacked Rwanda would not find a single survivor.

Meetings took place every evening in April in which I also took part. Rutiganda carried an R4 revolver and wore military uniform. After the first meeting, Ignace Rutayisire was executed with a machete by Naasson, Amiel Mudereva’s son. Rutayisire was Gakuba’s godfather, nevertheless Rutiganda handed him over.

Mutabaruka mentioned other murders committed by Rutiganda which he personally witnessed in Nyabinyenga.

Rutiganda shot someone in Nyabinyenga who had fled from Mucubira. The incident took place in Gakuba’s bar. I was there. The victim wanted to ask him for pardon because he

⁶⁷ Théodore Gakuba is said to be living in the DRC.

was carrying a Hutu identity card even though his brothers were Tutsis. Rutiganda shot him after confirming that he was a Tutsi from his area.

The Commune Office, 21 and 25 April

Because the violence started early in Gikongoro and Kibuye, many Tutsis who lived there came to Murama during the first week of the genocide. Others came from Masango in Gitarama. They stayed in Rutiganda's office, the commune office in sector Nkomero, and entrusted their security to him. Others camped in the primary school of Nkomero. Gradually, Tutsis from Murama started trekking to the commune office and the primary school.

On 21 April, Rutiganda suggested that the refugees, who numbered about 100, would be more secure in Nyanza, Butare, and at the Catholic Bishopric of Kabgayi in Gitarama. When they left, Rutiganda waited for them on the road above the football field. From there, he threw a grenade at them. Silas, a communal policeman who was escorting them, interpreted the gesture as a signal to the militia to kill the refugees. The refugees scattered and some returned to the commune office as there were few safe alternatives.

On the 25th, Rutiganda's militia, the *Ibigashari*, took about 80 of the refugees, some of whom had been recaptured, to a road below the commune office. Michel, a communal policeman, who witnessed the scene, attributes their death to Rutiganda.

The victims were killed by means of grenades, guns and traditional weapons. The militiamen all received their orders from Rutiganda. About 60 people died in all.

Vianney from sector Runyangando, agrees some people died at his hands, but says that "Rutiganda was involved in criminal acts, just as I was."

We led the Tutsis towards Rutiganda's position. He was about 200 metres from the roadblock. He was wearing ordinary trousers and a military jacket and had a black R4 revolver. He instructed us to take them into a nearby bush. We did so and encircled our prey. Some of the interahamwe had grenades, others had spears and clubs. I had a machete.

Rutiganda picked out the wounded and gave them the *coup de grâce* one by one. I saw this with my own eyes. It was about 9:30 a.m. He finished them off with his revolver.

20 May: Three Massacres in One Day

Rutiganda's capacity for organization and his energetic dedication to the genocide are apparent from his success in carrying out three separate massacres on 20 May in Murama.

In the morning, he visited the headquarters of the Adventist Church in Gitwe, known as the Field, where his men arrested a number of Adventist pastors, their families, and other refugees. He left behind gendarmes, who had been sent by Captain Birikunzira in Nyanza (see below) and militiamen to keep them under surveillance. He himself went to sector

Bweramana where a group of Tutsi women and children had assembled. His next stop was the commercial centre of Buhanda to deal with the Tutsis there. Towards the end of the day, he returned to the Field to transport the Adventist families and the other refugees to Gitovu trading centre where they were murdered.

The Murder of Women and Children at the Douane

On 20 May, about 150 women and children, from the communes of Murama, Kigoma and Masango in Gitarama, were living in an area known as the douane in sector Bweramana. They were all survivors of previous attacks in which their husbands and fathers had died, and their homes first emptied and then demolished. They were living in appalling conditions as they had no access to food or water. They were under constant harassment and feared for their lives. The only reason they were still alive was thanks to the support and vigilance of a former soldier who used his gun to threaten the militiamen who preyed on them. Rutiganda's interest in their fate changed the balance of power.

With eight gendarmes in tow, Rutiganda visited the women and children at about 11:00 a.m. on 20 May. He left his pick-up truck and walked towards the women. Some of the women applauded when he told them that he had come to take a census to help with the delivery of food. But others had become alarmed and tried to bolt. They were intercepted by the militia and brought back to the douane.

A sudden volley of gunshots alerted the waiting militia that it was time to begin the massacre. The gendarmes spared their bullets; the militia resorted to their machetes, clubs and hoes to finish the job. Rutiganda ordered the bodies to be thrown into pits behind houses and then bought beers for the militiamen.

The Commercial Centre of Buhanda

Rutiganda did not linger in Bweramana. Accompanied by the gendarmes from Nyanza, he went to the commercial centre of Buhanda, which straddles the communes of Masango and Murama. When he arrived, at about 3:00 p.m., he instructed the gendarmes to go from house to house looking for Tutsis. Laurent, a teacher, saw the action from his house.

Rutiganda was accompanied by gendarmes and interahamwe. When they reached the commercial centre of Buhanda, they invaded all the houses of Buhanda. They carried out a systematic search for Tutsis. They found about 50 people. I recognized Munanira's wife and her two daughters. They gathered them together near a petrol station in Buhanda market. They first shot them, finished them with *massues* and then left. Traders from Buhanda, including Shadrack and Ngiriyambonye, alias Bwenge, were told to bury them.

What was left, said Mathilde, was "a pool of blood." Her husband was one of the victims, but she herself was given shelter by a neighbour.

"Get to Work": The Adventist Pastors and Their Families in Gitovu

Rutiganda returned to the Field. By now it was after 4:00 p.m. He ordered refugees, numbering about 80, to board waiting vehicles, saying that he was “going to shelter them in Murama commune office.” Instead, their destination was Gitovu trading centre. There, they were made to sit on the ground while Rutiganda looked for peasants to kill them. One volunteer was Jonas.

Rutiganda told them to come with *massues* and clubs to eliminate the accomplices of the *inkotanyi* [RPF]. The peasants came in huge numbers. We surrounded the Tutsis. Rutiganda then took the floor and said, ‘Get to work.’

An interahamwe shot two of the victims. The others were then killed with sharpened sticks, machetes and clubs studded with nails.

Gratien saw the procession of vehicles drive by and later passed where the bodies lay.

It was awful. And standing nonchalantly in the middle of it all were Rutiganda, his interahamwe and the gendarmes.

Witnesses also attest to gruesome killings by Rutiganda, including the murder of a young boy with a rock and a *massue*, after which he carved out the boy’s heart with a machete and roasted it over a flame. In another incident, Rutiganda targeted a Hutu man married to a Tutsi. As punishment, Rutiganda insisted that he kill his wife by beheading her with a machete. When he refused, Rutiganda struck him with a bludgeon until he agreed to perform the deed. Rutiganda helped him to complete the task, and afterwards forced Innocent to carry the severed head his dead wife through town to present to his grandparents.

Rutiganda is on Interpol’s Wanted List of November 2007.

Captain Louis de Gonzague Uwimana

Nyanza in commune Nyabisindu, Butare, was home to a militia group known as the Dragons, which gained considerable notoriety during the genocide. Captain Louis de Gonzague Uwimana, the deputy commander of an FDLR company with the 3rd battalion in North Kivu, belonged to the Dragons, which operated as a death squad. His brother, Bosco, was also part of the same team. They worked in conjunction with soldiers, gendarmes, local government officials and civilians in Nyanza. They set up roadblocks to capture Tutsis and helped to put hundreds of Tutsis to death in Nyanza and elsewhere in Nyabisindu, as well as outside Nyabisindu, according to extensive testimony. A member was assigned to each sector of Nyabisindu.

Many of them were the sons of prominent individuals in Nyanza, including Louis himself whose father, Nyamulinda, was the headmaster of a school in Nyanza. Jean de Dieu Munyaneza, alias Jean Muitzig, was the son of Marc Munyaneza, a businessman. Gasore and Mugabo were the sons of Apollinaire Barihuta, alias Tubirimo, who had been the director for a long time of the government-owned iron foundry in Nyanza. Another

member was Zéphyrin, whose father, Dr Célestin Higiroy, was in charge of Nyanza hospital.

The reach, impact and confidence of the Dragons were due, in large part, to the social and political standing of their families and of their major sponsors from whom they took their directives and who also provided them with transport, weapons, ammunition and targets.

Their backers included Father Hormisdas Nsengimana⁶⁸, a Catholic priest who was the headmaster of Christ Roi, a secondary school in Nyanza. Fr. Hormisdas gave them access to one of the college vehicles and was often seen in their company. Other critical allies included Captain François-Xavier Birikunzira (see below), head of the gendarmerie post in Nyanza; Dr Callixte Mirasano, director of the dairy in Nyabisindu which was a parastatal; Faustin Mbereye, director of the Electrogaz station in Nyanza; Dr Célestin Higiroy, director of Nyanza hospital and head of the CDR party in Nyanza and Vincent Nzigiymfura, a businessman in Nyanza. In addition to Birikunzira's gendarmes, the Dragons also liaised with the soldiers who had been transferred to Nyanza from Kigali. After the interim government deserted Kigali, because of the war between the FAR and the RPF, they settled in Gitarama. Soldiers from the Senior Military Academy came with them and used Christ Roi and the *Ecole normale primaire* as their base. These soldiers feature prominently in the genocide in Nyanza.

The freedom he enjoyed during the genocide makes Eulade feel he can speak about the activities of Uwimana and his companions.

I didn't hide during the genocide. I saw everything. Hormisdas formed a group of militiamen which included Simon Kalinda; Egide and Phéneas, teachers at Christ Roi; Gasatsi, a watchman at Christ Roi; Jacques, a school inspector and the sons of Nyamulinda. Called the Dragons, they exterminated all the Tutsis of Nyabisindu commune. They had all sorts of weapons. They used the Christ Roi car, the car of the dairy in Nyabisindu and the vehicle which belonged to Electrogaz. After killing, these militiamen would meet at the home of either Hormisdas or Simon Kalinda to eat and drink.

Because he worked at the local parish, which is close to Christ Roi, Gilbert had many opportunities to observe their relationship with Fr. Hormisdas.

As I am Hutu, I could walk around and see what the militiamen were doing. I saw Hormisdas with a group of militiamen, including Jean de Dieu, alias 'Jean Muitzig'; Bosco and Louis, the sons of headmaster Nyamulinda; Simon Kalinda; Phéneas; the sons of Tubirimo; the employees of the Nyabisindu dairy and students from Byumba who were staying with Nyamulinda. This group of militiamen had guns, grenades, *massues* and machetes. They were a very well known group in Nyanza. Hormisdas used the car of Christ Roi, a blue Toyota, to transport them when they went to kill. They met in the morning at Christ Roi so they could leave together.

⁶⁸ Father Hormisdas Nsengimana was arrested in Cameroon in 2002 at the request of the ICTR and transferred to Arusha. His trial is currently underway. For details about the role of Fr. Nsengimana in the genocide, see *Fr. Hormisdas Nsengimana; Accused of Genocide, Sheltered by the Church*, African Rights, *Witness to Genocide*, Issue 14, 43 pages, November 2001.

Etienne, 19, lived in cellule Nyanza.

I was in Nyanza during the genocide. I know that Nyamulinda's sons, Louis and Bosco, along with Jean de Dieu Munyaneza, nicknamed Jean Muitzig, were all members of the Dragons death squad. They were always in the company of soldiers and high ranking gendarmes. They drove around in a vehicle which belonged to Nyabisindu dairy where Bosco worked. It was a white Daihatsu.

One of the victims in Nyanza is Immaculée's husband. The family lived in cellule Mugonzi. She attributes the success of the genocide there in part to the heavy presence of soldiers, but says the soldiers were effective because they were guided by men like Uwimana.

The soldiers went around escorted by a group of young men known as the Dragons death squad, for example:

- Louis de Gonzague Uwimana, Nyamulinda's son;
- His brother, Bosco;
- Gasore, Tubirimo's son;
- Mugabo, also Tubirimo's son;
- Jean de Dieu Munyaneza, alias Jean Muitzig, Munyaneza's son.

They pointed out the homes of Tutsis to soldiers.

Roadblocks

Eliezer, 24, lived with his family in sector Mugonzi in Nyanza. They had barely had time to register the start of the killings on Friday, 22 April when, he said, a large number of men burst into their home. He named them.

These men were:

- Simon Kalinda, a builder at Christ Roi;
- Phéneas, also at Christ Roi;
- Bosco, Nyamulinda's son;
- Louis, also Nyamulinda's son;
- Jean de Dieu Munyaneza alias Jean Muitzig, son of the businessman Marc Munyaneza;
- Jacques, now in prison in Mpanga;
- Zéphyrin, Dr Higirot's son, also in prison in Mpanga;
- Haridi;
- Juma, Nyamulinda's son in law. His wife was called Perpétue;
- Butera, deceased.

They came straight to the point, according to Eliezer.

They told us to establish a roadblock near our house. They erected two other roadblocks and told us to kill any Tutsi who passed through these checkpoints.

They monitored the roadblocks on a regular basis, he added.

They kept us under a watchful eye and came to see how we were accomplishing our work. They insulted us if they found out that no one had died at these roadblocks.

Individual Murders

Eliezer said he was leaving the roadblock he manned at about 9:00 a.m. one morning when he saw a woman he knew with her child.

It was Xavérine, the wife of Zacharie Kambanda. They were both teachers at Nyanza primary school. Simon came and Xavérine and her child started running to Nyamulinda's house. Louis and Bosco brought them out of the house and led them to the forest in Mugonzi, where I lived, and finished them off.

Etienne named Uwimana as one of the men who took him, along with other Tutsis, to a forest.

When they got to our house, they had already taken Muberuka's two daughters whom they had undressed. They put me in the same car together with a teacher from the Nyanza School of Sciences named Apollinaire Rutayisire. They took us to a forest where they wanted to shoot us.

Etienne said they found soldiers awaiting them in the forest.

The people who were there and who had brought us to the soldiers were:

- Louis de Gonzague Uwimana;
- Bosco, Louis' brother;
- Jean de Dieu Munyaneza, alias Jean Muitzig, who's in Holland;
- Jean de Dieu's older brother, who also lives in Holland;
- Gasore, Tubirimo's son, in Malawi;
- Mugabo, Gasore's younger brother, also in Malawi;
- Zéphyrin, Doctor Higirot's son;
- Haridi, and many others.

One of the many charges which have been brought against Fr. Hormisdas Nsengimana is complicity in the murder of a fellow-priest, Fr. Mathieu Ngirumpatse, from the Parish of Nyanza. Elderly and sick, he did not accompany the two other priests when they left for the orphanage and, instead, went to Christ Roi. Fr. Hormisdas refused to take him in and he returned to the parish. That same night, members of the Dragons left Christ Roi for the parish and assassinated Fr. Ngirumpatse.

Immaculée and her husband lived near Christ Roi. He was killed in early May.

The militia of the Dragons attacked us on the morning of 3 May. Those who came are the same people who I earlier said used to go around with the soldiers, like Jean Muitzig and Nyamulinda's sons, Bosco and Louis. This time there were also:

- Simon Kalinda who worked at Christ Roi and is now in Malawi;
- Phéneas, a teacher at Christ Roi;
- Shérif Nkurunziza, alias Shitani (Satan), in Muhanga prison;
- Karangwa, alias Kajisho, also in Muhanga ;
- Segema;
- Jacques Ntibirinda.

The people they murdered that day include:

- My husband;
- Célestin's pregnant wife and his two children;
- Garcan Kayigema, our neighbour;
- Kayigema's two daughters, one of whom was first raped;
- Amiel;
- Higiroy;
- Mwumvaneza;
- Murangamirwa, who was pregnant, and her two children;
- Thérèse, who was also first raped.

Damien Biniga

Damien Biniga is responsible for protocol in the FDLR in North Kivu. His name appears earlier in this chapter in connection with Lt.Col. Anaclet Hitimana and his profile is reflected in Chapter 6.

Biniga was a member of parliament for Gikongoro before he was appointed in 1990 as the deputy-préfet of one of its sub-regions, Munini, which covers, as noted above, consists of the communes of Mubuga, Rwamiko, Nshili and Kivu. He immediately devoted himself to the task of building support for the ruling party, the MRND, and forging alliances with local government officials, businessmen and other influential figures in Munini. He also recruited young men to train as interahamwe, sending some of them to Kigali; on their return to Munini, they passed on their new skills to others. Long before the death of Habyarimana, Biniga had created a chasm between Hutus and Tutsis in Munini, and he had built a loyal fighting force. When the time came, the interahamwe were well prepared and proved themselves capable of the most extreme brutality.

Alain, in prison for genocide crimes though he denies the charges, is a former friend of Biniga's. The need to forge unity among the Hutus, he said, was a preoccupation with Biniga.

Biniga was always complaining that there were too many Tutsis in Mubuga, and he saw them as the accomplices of the RPF. He thought Tutsis were evil and told me that we must find a way of exterminating them. He had a gun even before the President's death.

In the face of the ongoing war with the RPF, Biniga was able to persuade a number of his political opponents that Tutsis were the allies of the RPF and should therefore be regarded as the enemy.

Inciting Genocide

At 8:00 a.m. on 7 April, only two hours after the official announcement of Habyarimana's death, Biniga arrived at the Mata tea factory in Rwamiko commune. Accompanied by his policemen, he held a meeting. Cyprien lived near the factory. He saw some of the influential figures who attended and cited the director of the factory, Juvénal Ndabarizze; the bourgmestre of Rwamiko, Silas Mugirangabo and the head of the MDR, Ildephonse Hakizimana. Francis is also from Rwamiko. He said the meeting finished at 10:00 a.m. and was followed almost immediately by the burning of Tutsis' houses. Witnesses named several of the participants in Biniga's meeting as the men behind the violence. When the local authorities did not respond, the Tutsis realized they too were complicit in the attacks.

That same morning, around 11:00 a.m., Biniga called a public meeting in Ruramba, also in Rwamiko. Again the bourgmestre of Rwamiko and Ildephonse Hakizimana attended. Ephrem, 36, lived in sector Gisororo but was in Ruramba that day. He listened to Biniga's speech.

Biniga said, 'You Hutus, what are you waiting for? They have killed your President and you are standing there with your arms folded! Start working! Burn the Tutsis' houses and kill them.' Some people cheered and others were confused. I was afraid.

Two days later, the interahamwe took up arms against the refugees at Ruramba health centre, and visited Tutsis in their homes in order to kill them. Most of those who survived fled to the Parish of Kibeho.

Innocent Bakundukize was working as an agricultural officer at the commune office of Mubuga, and became the bourgmestre of that commune in May 1994. He was, as noted in the earlier section on Kibeho, one of the men who turned it into a graveyard. He has admitted as much, but he has also given detailed evidence of Biniga's involvement.

The genocide in this region is due, above all, to the awareness campaigns that Biniga conducted for the entire Hutu population of the area. These facilitated the massacres that took place in the region.

On 11 April, the bourgmestre of Mubuga, Charles Nyiridandi, invited a number of people, including Biniga, to what was called a security meeting. Biniga came looking scruffy and dirty. Déo is one of several witnesses who remembered him telling the crowd that the violence in Rwamiko began after a Tutsi man cut off the fingers of a young Hutu girl with a machete. He described how the father of the mutilated girl took revenge by killing the Tutsi responsible for the crime. He said the Tutsis were "cruel people" and suggested that the same thing could happen in Mubuga. He even said that he didn't "have time to wash myself and brush my hair because of the Tutsis."

To underscore the sense of urgency and the need for action, Biniga claimed that the Tutsis were killing all the Hutu members of the RPF in Kigali, and lied that his own wife and children had fallen victims to the RPF.

At this meeting in Mubuga, Biniga identified the Tutsis who worked at the DANK project as “collaborators of the RPF,” and singled out particular individuals as a way of delivering them to their deaths. They were subsequently all killed.

Biniga used the resources, the vehicles and the security forces of the sub-préfecture against the refugees. He used the authority of his position to persuade the local people to take part in the killing.

The Parish of Muganza, Kivu, 12-15 April

When, between 12-15 April, local militiamen assaulted the Tutsis at the Parish of Muganza in commune Kivu, Biniga pleaded helplessness and told the refugees, on the 13th, that he could do nothing for them. There were around 11,000 people seeking safety at the parish. He returned on the 15th and unleashed a massacre in which most of those refugees died. What struck Dieudonné about the people who assembled to kill them was their sheer strength in numbers. He was an elderly peasant in his late sixties then.

There were very many killers, as many people as you would see in the marketplace on a crowded day. Three of them had guns. But then the two communal policemen joined the killers. It was said that Biniga was coming with reinforcements, giving anyone who could get away the incentive to run.

Some of the survivors headed for the Parish of Cyahinda in the préfecture of Butare, only to find that even in Butare, Biniga awaited them.

The Parish of Kibeho, Mubuga, 14-15 April

By 11 April, there were many thousands of refugees at the Parish of Kibeho, perhaps as many as 30,000 according to survivors’ estimates. Biniga first disarmed them and then, on the 12th, he threatened them. Francis was there when Biniga spoke to them. “He said there were *inyenzi* amongst us and that we should either separate ourselves from them or die with them.” Biniga left six gendarmes behind; their principal task was to make escape impossible. He had barely left the premises when armed militiamen, in a test of resistance, clashed with the refugees who fought them off with sticks and stones. They suffered casualties, but forced into a retreat. On Wednesday the 13th, there was another attempt to subdue the refugees. Again, the refugees, despite the mounting casualties, held their ground. That day, Biniga made an appearance after the withdrawal of the assailants. He had brought more gendarmes and assured the refugees they would be secure.

But on 14 April, Biniga, Lt. Hitimana, gendarmes and a vast army of interahamwe and civilians surrounded the parish sometime between 11:00 a.m. and midday. Within two days, nearly all the refugees had been shot, torn apart by grenades and machetes or burnt to death.

“Blood was flowing”, said Bakundukize, “like the waters of a river.” He laid bare his own contribution, and disclosed that of Biniga.

Biniga asked us not to be afraid of killing the Tutsis since they had a plan to exterminate the Hutus. He told us he was going to help us with his gun. We surrounded the church and the primary school of Kibeho. Then Biniga, Mugirangabo, the gendarmes, the communal policemen and other militiamen who had guns and grenades began to shoot and to lob grenades. Initially, we killed the Tutsis who were in the primary school and those in the courtyard. Any Tutsi who tried to escape was hit by a machete. We really had no pity left. A Tutsi who was not killed by grenades or by gunshot was finished off with our *massues* and our machetes. I saw old people, young men and women, men and children who looked at us and who begged us to save them. I forgot that beforehand, many of them had been my friends.

There in Kibeho, I heard the explosion of grenades and guns, the sound of Tutsi children who were sobbing, and the great voice of Biniga who was telling us, 'Courage, continue to kill your enemies. You must not have pity for them.'

The wife and seven children of Christophe were among the dead in the primary school. He himself was among the men throwing stones in the courtyard, the group that was in the first and direct line of the bullets.

We tried to resist as we had done beforehand, but in vain. We were wiped out by firepower before we were cut up into pieces by traditional weapons wielded by civilians. There were bodies piled up in the courtyard of the church, in the priests' rooms and in the buildings of the primary school.

The burning down of the church on the 15th, with the refugees inside, is described in the section on Lt. Hitimana.

Biniga's Office, Mubuga, 16 April

The military preparations made by Lt. Anaclet Hitimana for the assault on the refugees at the office of the sub-préfecture, Biniga's office, is detailed above. Some of the Tutsis had been transported there by Biniga himself, promising to protect them, while others were brought by the militia. Once there, Hitimana's gendarmes, who patrolled the office, made sure that none of them could leave. On 16 April, they were massacred. Anthère gave a frank description of how they died.

On 16 April, between 10:00 and 11:00 a.m., I took my big club; others took machetes, grenades etc. We surrounded the office of the sub-préfecture. There were many of us, and some gendarmes as well. The gendarmes fired their guns; the militia threw some grenades in among the refugees. The local people threw stones and bricks at them. We killed the Tutsis in a brutal fashion. The women and children screamed a lot. It was terrible; no one took pity on them anymore. Many Tutsis were killed that day. None of them could escape.

We killed friends; people we had grown up with; women who had given us food and small children the same age as our own.

He said he met Biniga in a bar later in the evening.

Biniga said he ‘was very pleased that all the Tutsis had been exterminated,’ but he ‘wanted the militia to search the area and make sure that there were no survivors.’ A lot of women and children who had been hiding in Hutu households were killed.

The Parish of Cyahinda, Nyakizu, 15-18 April

The Parish of Cyahinda is in commune Nyakizu, Butare, just across the border from Mubuga in Gikongoro. On 15 April, Biniga arrived at the parish, his car full of gendarmes, and the shooting began. There were tens of thousands of people at the parish, and it took four days to wipe most of them out. The worst violence took place on the 18th when soldiers from ESO, gendarmes, military reservists, interahamwe, Burundian refugees and villagers from the surrounding areas and beyond gathered for a collective attack. The ground had been well-prepared by the bourgmestre of Nyakizu, Ladislas Ntaganzwa⁶⁹, who had visited ESO to ask for reinforcements. The head of ESO, Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi, requested his deputy, Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana (see above) to make the necessary arrangements. Nizeyimana sent a group of soldiers led by Warrant Officer Paul Kanyeshyamba.

Emile lost many members of his immediate family, and other relatives, at Cyahinda.

They set up a large gun in the commune offices and began shelling us. Afterwards many militiamen and soldiers came in cars and encircled us, killing all the Tutsis at the primary school and the church with grenades, *massues* and machetes. That day I saw Damien Biniga with the soldiers who were shooting at the Tutsis in the church. I ran but all my family was killed. As I ran I trod on the bodies.

The Parish of Karama, Runyinya, 21 April

One of the largest massacres of the 1994 genocide took place at the Catholic Parish of Karama in commune Runyinya, Butare. The remains of a reported 65,000 victims of the massacre of 21 April 1994 were reburied in 1995. The tens of thousands of Tutsis there had started to trickle into Runyinya from 7 April onwards. In addition to the Tutsis of Runyinya itself, they came from the communes of Butare and Gikongoro, including the communes under Biniga’s jurisdiction. Some were in fact survivors of the many massacres that had already taken place in Munini. Biniga ensured that militiamen from the four communes of Munini lent their support to the bourgmestre, Déo Hategekimana, and his officials, and to the soldiers from Camp Ngoma in Butare town who took up positions on the morning of Thursday, 21 April.

For Yolande, whose account of Kibeho is reflected in the section on Lt. Anaclet Hitimana, Karama was a repeat of Kibeho.

As in Kibeho, the murderers were soldiers and the general population and the killings followed the same pattern. The soldiers fired into the crowd of refugees and threw grenades until 3:00 p.m. when they said they had run out of ammunition. Some of the

⁶⁹ Ladislas Ntaganzwa, indicted by the ICTR, remains at large.

refugees were in the church, others in the yard, and still others in the primary school. Given our experience in Kibeho, we didn't wait until night to act. When the ammunition ran out, we left right away and arrived in Burundi on 22 April. Of course many of us were killed along the way.

And indeed the survivors of the violence in Gikongoro and Butare were ambushed by local militia. But some 4,000 did manage to reach the border on 22 April. There they had their final encounter with Biniga. He arrived as they were crossing into Burundi and told the Burundian soldiers to send the refugees back, claiming they were "fleeing from famine" and that he was now in a position to feed them. The soldiers, who were well aware of the situation in Rwanda, ignored him.

Massacre of 80 Students at the College of Arts, 7 May

On 7 May 1994, more than 80 Tutsi students, ranging in age from 12-20, were killed at the College of Arts in Kibeho, a few metres from the Parish of Kibeho. They were studying at the nearby Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci, but on 1 May they were separated from their Hutu colleagues and taken by gendarmes, on the orders of their director, Father Emmanuel Uwayezu, to the College of Arts. Most schools were closed for the Easter holidays, but the students at Marie Merci had remained to catch up on the lessons they had missed when they had gone on strike in February 1994.

Casimir is frank about his part in the murder of the youngsters, but points the finger at Biniga as one of the principal instigators.

I became involved in the massacre of the children after Biniga visited the commercial centre of Kibeho. After he had talked with some people who lived there, including Athanase Ndikuryayo and Innocent Hitimana⁷⁰, Biniga gave Charles Ndayisaba the mission of getting a large number of militiamen ready. That's how Charles came to call on me. When I got to Kibeho, around 9 a.m., Charles took us to the trading centre known as Gateko, which is behind the church of Kibeho. There we found about 100 militiamen listening to Biniga's instructions. Biniga had almost finished his speech. He ended with this phrase, 'I am entrusting you with the mission of killing these young *inyenzi!*'

After Biniga left, we walked under the command of Corporal Nshimiyimana. There were also about a dozen soldiers. We surrounded the school and blocked all the exits which would give the children a way out.

They received help, he said, from local residents and some of the children's fellow pupils.

The students tried to protect themselves by closing their doors. But the doors were broken down by guns, and the children were told to assemble on the basketball court. Some jumped through the windows and tried to force their way through the human wall we had created, but we chased them. The people who lived in the area pointed them out to us. Some of the Hutu students ran after them until they had put their hands on them.

⁷⁰ Athanase Ndikuryayo was a well-to-do businessman in Kibeho. His son, Innocent Hitimana, was a staff member of the College of Arts in Kibeho.

One of those who was caught is Gloriose who, like many of the victims, was praying in the dining room when she realized they had been encircled by the militia.

They had machetes, spears and *massues*. They invaded the dining room. Some students jumped out of the windows. They fell outside and were quickly killed. In the dining room, they killed mainly with *massues*. Every victim was undressed after their death.

I received two blows, one on the head and the other on the side. I fell down dead and they undressed me. By the grace of God, a Hutu student, Clément, told them not to touch me because I was Hutu. But it was already too late. I was stretched out on the ground. He was with the killers. He made me stand up, put on my clothes and get out of the dining room. Among the killers I saw, I recognized some teachers and also some students.

Gloriose was then gang-raped by more than a dozen gendarmes.

For the survivors of Munini, the genocide and its consequences are largely defined by the actions of Damien Biniga. “Biniga has caused me enormous grief”, said Dismas, 78, from Rwamiko.

He is responsible for the deaths of my entire family, including my wife and my seven children. He is responsible for the mutilation of my leg. Biniga took part in the genocide as an organiser and as an executor.

Maurice, also from Rwamiko, lost his wife and their five daughters in Kibeho. Many other close family members died in 1994.

In all, I lost 134 members of my family. Who killed all these people? The main person who is responsible is Damien Biniga.

Sixbert Ndayambaje, alias Soso

Sixbert Ndayambaje, who works in Murwanashyaka’s office in North Kivu, was the bourgmestre of commune Runda in Gitarama from 1991 until the end of the genocide. His background is reflected in his profile in Chapter 6. Prisoners who interacted with him in 1994, and survivors from Runda and other communes in Gitarama who knew him and saw him in action during the genocide, have little doubt about the significance of his contribution to the massacres in Runda and beyond.

Joseph Setiba, now in Kigali central prison, is one of the best-known interahamwe leaders of the genocide. His actions went beyond his native préfecture of Kigali rural and affected both Kigali and Gitarama. He acknowledges his participation in the killings, but also speaks about others who were at the helm, including Ndayambaje.

The first time I saw Sixbert during the genocide was 9 April 1994. I was the leader of the interahamwe of Giticyinyoni in the commune of Butamwa [Kigali rural]. Sixbert often stopped at Giticyinyoni on his way to Kigali, and it wasn’t just anyone who could easily get past the roadblock there. He had no problem moving around. I saw him twice in Gitarama, at the place where the interim government had set up its headquarters. Sixbert

was aware of all the killings that took place in his commune. I was leader of the interahamwe and I know all the authorities were aware of his involvement.

Ndayambaje's reputation preceded him, making it unnecessary for someone like Setiba to help supervise the killings in Runda.

His presence was sufficient; I didn't need to go there. I had to take care of other areas that needed reinforcements.

Préfets, bourgmestres and other local government officials who opposed the genocide were sidelined, forced to flee or they were killed. Setiba raised an important point about Ndayambaje's tenure right until the very end.

No one who kept the post of bourgmestre right to the end of the genocide can claim not to have participated in the planning and execution of the murders. It was the job of a bourgmestre to help in the killings. And that's why I consider him responsible for the massacres which took place in his commune.

The Power of the Radio

Radio broadcasts were an essential means of spreading the genocide quickly and effectively, for example by publicizing the names and details of Tutsis who were sought after and who had not yet been killed. Edith, 57, lived in sector Kinyambi in Runda. She said Ndayambaje used the radio not only to name specific individuals who had been eliminated, but to justify their deaths.

We heard bourgmestre Sixbert talking on Radio Rwanda. He said the accomplices of the *inkotanyi* had been killed. He named the Tutsi employees of the commune office who had been murdered, along with others. He also said Tutsis were the enemy and must be killed. I heard him myself on Radio Rwanda.

Like many Tutsis in Runda, Sébastien, who lived in sector Kigesi, welcomed Ndayambaje's stand when the killings began on 7 April. His decision to imprison troublemakers who wanted to turn Hutus against Tutsis consoled and encouraged Sébastien and other Tutsis. But it soon became clear that he had changed; Sébastien understood the difference when Ndayambaje stopped them from going on night patrols, their only form of self-defence. "He had become very different and supported the plan of those who were bent on genocide." Sébastien was not, therefore, surprised to hear what he had to say on the radio.

I heard him giving advice to the other bourgmestres, in an interview after a meeting of the country's leaders, including those at the commune level, which took place here in Gitarama. He also asked the population at large to make the *inyenzi* who had escaped go back to Runda, saying otherwise they could contaminate the population of other communes.

Manzi, who also lived in Kigese, recalled the impact of Ndayambaje's broadcasts.

I listened to him on the radio naming many Tutsis who had to be eliminated. Those who were still alive were subsequently hunted everywhere. After his speech, the entire Hutu population in our area began to actively participate in the massacres.

Charlotte, another resident of Kigese, agrees with Manzi's conclusion.

Ndayambaje stated, on Radio Rwanda, that they had killed the Tutsis who were taking food to the *inkotanyi*. He mentioned specific names, for example the son of Marcel, an assistant bourgmestre, and that of Léonie, Martin's daughter. It's after he spoke on the radio that the Tutsis of Runda were hunted everywhere.

12 April: Elusive Promises of Safety

Ndayambaje organized what he called a security meeting for the population on the morning of 12 April at the sector office in Kigese to discuss safety. But as Sébastien explained, he and the other Tutsis did not feel secure.

The Hutus had come with machetes and clubs, as if they were going to attack or wanted to defend themselves against a possible assault.

Ndayambaje left before the end, saying he had to intervene elsewhere. The security meeting had not calmed anyone's nerves; instead the Tutsis dispersed after Ndayambaje's departure, and some ran inside the health centre. They were killed with machetes and others were thrown into the Nyabarongo River. Simon ran in the direction of Kinyambi sector.

We went to the primary school there. The population in that sector protected us because they didn't yet know what was happening.

Ndayambaje's arrival changed the situation immediately.

Sixbert came and ordered the population to stop protecting us. He told them the target was the Tutsis.

Laurien, who was 19, was living with his parents in Bikamba, sector Kigese. The first Tutsi on their hill was killed early on the morning of 7 April. That same evening, he said, some of their Tutsi neighbours, who had been lured to the riverbank on the pretext of holding back the interahamwe, were thrown into the Nyabarongo River. "From 7 April onwards, no Tutsi on our hill spent the night at home. Some stayed in the bushes, but most, especially the women and children, gathered at the health centre."

Meetings began to take place at the home of Pélagi Uwimana, who was one of the leaders of the killers in Runda. On the morning of 12 April, two soldiers came to our sector with the bourgmestre, Sixbert Ndayambaje. People were demolishing the homes of Tutsis and looting. At the time, we thought Sixbert had brought the soldiers to make us believe that they were there for our security. But in reality, it was to stop us from fleeing.

It did not take long for the truth to emerge.

At a certain moment, we went to see the people who were destroying our homes. While we were still there, well-organized assailants with whistles began shouting. They threw a grenade, and we ran towards the health centre.

Some of those on the run were not content to stay in the compound of the health centre and went inside.

When they tried to shut the door with a lock and key, they realized the workers had confiscated the key. There were even Tutsis from commune Butamwa there.

Some of the refugees died at the health centre, some were thrown into the Nyabarongo River and others, like Laurien, escaped. Laurien first went to commune Mugina, then to Musambira and ended up at the Bishopric of Kabgayi.

Charlotte had been forced to move from her home in cellule Kirega in Kigese and ended up in Gashyushya in commune Musambira.

Sixbert came to address us. He made it clear that he wanted the people of Runda to go back to their commune. We had no choice but to go; we were told to go to a place in Runda called Biharabuge. When we got there, we found people armed to the teeth. Some even had guns and grenades. Sixbert had got there before us. A militiaman asked the Hutus to separate from the Tutsis. The Hutus went to one side, but I stayed since I was with my Tutsi husband and children.

The separation was the prelude to the massacre of the Tutsis.

They immediately started shooting into the crowd. The firing, accompanied by grenades, was intense. Anyone who tried to get away was struck by a machete. I was hit by grenade shrapnel and a bullet in the left arm. My husband and oldest son died in Biharabuge. I was carrying my youngest son on my back and had left my other three children with my brother. I pulled out another child from underneath the mass of cadavers; his father had been killed. A man I knew took us to his home.

But they did not stay there for long.

We spent one night there. The next day, Sixbert spoke at a meeting in Nkoto. Our host became afraid and told us that Sixbert, wearing military uniform, had said anyone who hid a Tutsi would be killed alongside them. So he chased us out.

Charlotte went to her brother's home, but he too made her, and her four children, leave. She continued on to the home of her sister in commune Taba.

We spent one night at my sister's home. In the morning, a crowd of people came. They nearly beat me to death and threw me in the banana plantation. They took my four children and dumped them in the Nyabarongo River.

Charlotte saw Ndayambaje again before the end of the genocide.

I saw him with my own eyes dressed in military fatigues and carrying a small gun. We were in Gihara and we were trying to escape the battles between the FAR and the *inkotanyi* who had already overrun a part of Runda.

The Catholic Parish of Mugina

When the genocide gained momentum in their commune, many Tutsis from Runda left for the nearby commune of Mugina, which was fortunate in having Callixte Ndagijimana as a bourgmestre. His efforts to promote security and unity in his commune attracted Tutsis throughout Gitarama and even from other préfectures. But facing strong opposition from powerful forces, his hold on Mugina became progressively more tenuous. This forced Tutsis from Mugina, and those from other communes, including Runda, to huddle in ever growing numbers at the large Catholic parish in Mugina.

Emmanuel left his home in sector Rugarika, Runda, after, he said, Ndayambaje put up a roadblock at the commercial centre in Kabuga and gave guns to the councillor and two other men. He and his companions went to Ngoma in cellule Seburunga, commune Mugina, on the border with Runda. Local residents welcomed them and, alerted by his officials, Ndagijimana came to see them, accompanied by some of his policemen.

The bourgmestre ordered all the locals to defend us and to help us fight against the assailants from Runda.

A few days later a soldier and a civilian arrived in Ngoma.

A local policeman asked them what they had come to do. They said they wanted to escort the residents of Runda back to their homes. The soldier tried to draw his gun on the policeman, but one of the policeman's colleagues shot him. He also took two grenades from the soldier.

The following day, it was Ndayambaje's turn to visit Ngoma.

Sixbert arrived with people armed with guns, grenades, machetes, clubs and other traditional weapons. They shot one of the refugees, a man named Serudonyoli. We ran once again, this time to the Parish of Mugina. I clearly saw Sixbert with those people; I knew him very well.

Daniel lived in Rutovu, sector Rugarika. Despite news about the death of Tutsis in neighbouring sectors, his family remained at home until they heard about a meeting in Rugarika, more precisely in Kiboga, cellule Kabarama. After that, they opted to leave for Ngoma in Mugina. He was there the day the refugee was gunned down.

I recognized two of the soldiers who accompanied Ndayambaje. They were Sibikino and Mudahunga, both natives of Runda. They shot a Tutsi by the name of Daniel Serudonyoli, but I didn't see which of them shot him. There were more than 1000 of us, and we scattered in all directions. As we ran, we could see the interahamwe grabbing the belongings we had brought with us. Many of us went to the Parish of Mugina. We felt

relieved and protected there because the bourgmestre was very kind. He rallied our spirits and gave us advice about how to stand up to the killers.

At the Parish of Mugina, Emmanuel said he saw Ndayambaje again; this time, he seemed to be surveying the building and the refugees. Two days later, Emmanuel understood the reason for the surveillance.

We spent two nights at the parish. The next day, a businessman from Runda, known as Gasatsi, rode into the parish on a motor bike with a soldier named Musonera on the back of the bike. Behind them were three vehicles, one of which was a truck with Sixbert inside it. Gasatsi and Musonera continued to where we were and stopped in front of the refugees. Without saying a word, they turned around and went back towards the truck. Musonera returned and asked where he could find the bourgmestre of Mugina. I don't know what happened exactly, but I saw the refugees beat the two men to death, after which the bourgmestre, Sixbert, left with the interahamwe.

Daniel was bewildered by the message passed on to them by an official from Mugina.

A man named Kanyanzira, an agronomist at the commune of Mugina, came and told us the following: "You, the inhabitants of Runda, you have to go home. Your bourgmestre was just here and he told us there was no reason to have left your homes in Runda."

He had spent two days at the parish when Gasatsi and Musonera made their presence felt.

Three vehicles came behind them, including a car which was carrying Sixbert Ndayambaje, the bourgmestre of our commune.

Gasatsi and Musonera came towards us. They stopped in front of the refugees without saying a word, and then went back to Sixbert's car. They spoke with Sixbert. Three of the refugees followed them so they could speak with Sixbert. These three refugees were Kayibanda, who worked at the commune office; Ngarambe, also employed by the commune office of Runda, and another man whose name escapes me. When they rejoined us, they told us that things were much worse than they had thought, that the bourgmestre had refused to speak with them, telling them only that he had nothing to say to them. Gasatsi and Musonera came back, and Musonera asked us the whereabouts of the bourgmestre of Mugina. The bourgmestre was with us. When Musonera wanted to shoot him, the refugees jumped on Gasatsi and Musonera and killed them. The three vehicles left immediately.

Unnerved by "the rising tension" and the "signs of an eminent massacre," Emmanuel took leave of Mugina and headed for the Bishopric of Kabgayi.

Simon, who was 23, said he left sector Kigese for Mugina because of the "constant meetings Ndayambaje held with armed Hutus in attendance and the subsequent violence against Tutsis." He recalled Ndayambaje's visit to the parish the day the two men were set upon by the refugees.

Ndayambaje went back without a word. We saw him clearly because he was in a windowless vehicle.

The fact that Ndayambaje had pursued them beyond the boundaries of Runda made Simon uneasy, and he too went to Kabgayi.

And indeed the massacres began at the parish on the afternoon of Thursday 21 April, immediately after bourgmestre Ndagijimana was murdered, and they continued until 25 April.

Daniel, however, had stayed put, and accuses Ndayambaje of taking part in the killings at the parish.

The bourgmestre of Runda came back with many killers, both civilians and soldiers. I don't remember the exact dates, but it was towards the third week of April. We saw Sixbert clearly, even if we didn't hear what he was saying. They began by mowing down the men, using guns and grenades. A lot of Tutsis perished, and many, who did not die instantly but had lost limbs etc... died an agonizing death.

That day, the first time I saw Sixbert in the massacres at Mugina, the women and children were in the nuns' houses.

We, the men who were outside the church, tried to make a getaway by running in all directions. Some dashed inside the church. I ran towards Kabgayi.

The victims, he said, included his relatives.

Among the people who died were:

- Léonidas Rudasingwa, my older brother;
- Twagirayezu;
- Ananie Rusagarira;
- Flodouard Rwasine;
- Charles Rwagatare, a teacher at the primary school;
- Téléphore;
- Canisius many others.

Tatien holds Ndayambaje responsible for the death of his wife and children, a daughter of four, a son of two and a son who was five months old. He was not with them, as they had become separated. He learnt about their fate from his neighbours just after the genocide.

The interahamwe in Mugina hunted them down and chased them back to Runda. They were murdered in May when the bourgmestre, Sixbert, led a meeting at which he demanded to know why the Hutus had not killed 'these Tutsi women.'

Kidnapping Survivors from the Bishopric of Kabgayi

Many of those in Gitarama who survived massacres, and the relentless pursuit of Tutsis by government officials, soldiers, gendarmes, the interahamwe or their own neighbours, went to the sprawling grounds of the Catholic Bishopric of Kabgayi in Gitarama. And

throughout the genocide, it became the hallmark of bourgmestres throughout Gitarama to visit the bishopric on a regular basis in order to “take back” the Tutsis from their commune. They came armed with lists of wanted people; the priority was men, especially educated men or those who had done well economically. Ndayambaje was no different. In almost all cases, these men and women were murdered, but it has often proved difficult to know where and how they died.

Domina, now 45, lost her five children and her husband in 1994. She was in Mugina at the beginning of the massacres but managed to reach Kabgayi. There, she linked up with others from Runda, including Emmanuel. They both stated that Ndayambaje followed the refugees to Kabgayi.

I saw bourgmestre Sixbert in Kabgayi many times. The first time was on 23 April when we were at the primary school. He was with a soldier named Gatabazi from Runda. They selected Tutsis from Runda. We don't know where they killed them. Every hour the murderers came to select Tutsis to kill. There was a female soldier at the entrance, when she gave the first whistle, this was the sign for the interahamwe to come in; the second whistle was a signal for them to leave with the Tutsis to be killed.

According to Manzi, Ndayambaje did not only seek to force survivors of Runda back from Kabgayi, but also from the communes of Taba and Musambira. Manzi stayed out of sight at Kabgayi, but said many others from Runda were not so fortunate.

After his visits to Kabgayi, many people were assassinated by the Runda interahamwe who came to look for them. Bourgmestre Sixbert was physically there with the interahamwe who came to Kabgayi to find Tutsis to kill.

The consequences, for Laurien, of Ndayambaje's arrival at Kabgayi at dawn almost proved fatal.

He came with two soldiers and a certain Masengesho. They made us come outside and the soldiers started beating us, asking why we had sought refuge. They were looking for a way to kill us and ordered us to go to Shyogwe. We left on foot. It was about 5:00 a.m. Sixbert didn't follow us. Night fell by the time we reached the gendarmerie post at Mbare. They told us to go back, and then suddenly they began firing their guns at us. We ran back to Kabgayi. I was lucky to get there because others lost their lives along the way.

The same soldiers who had come with Ndayambaje returned to Kabgayi the next day, according to Laurien.

None of the people who were taken ever returned. Sixbert came to Kabgayi almost every day, accompanied by Masengesho and a soldier by the name of Gatabazi who drove their bus. The Tutsis who were taken away were transported in this bus to be murdered far from Kabgayi.

One of the crimes widely attributed to Ndayambaje, which merits further investigation, concerns his responsibility for the death of his own staff from the commune office. They

died on 12 April. They included Célestin Ngaramabe, assistant bourgmestre in charge of economic affairs; Bonaventure Makambaza, assistant bourgmestre for social affairs and Kayihura, a judicial police inspector.

Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga

Frodouald Havugimana, alias Havuga, is Executive Secretary of the fourth regional committee in North Kivu, and he is also responsible for intelligence in Mudacumura's office.

In April 1994, Havugimana was a sous-préfet in Gikongoro. On 13 April, Laurent Bucyibaruta, the préfet of Gikongoro, issued two directives. The first was to local officials to establish a network of roadblocks, which would serve to monitor the movement of Tutsis, making escape impossible as well as providing a convenient site where those who were captured could be killed on the spot. The second was to the same officials who were told to encourage Tutsis to seek sanctuary in public buildings, such as churches, schools and commune offices, so that the largest number could be congregated in one place.

Frodouald Havugimana, along with other local bourgmestres, personnel from the military, gendarmerie, and police, as well as influential local businessmen and many others, would all play their part in ensuring that Bucyibaruta's directives were followed, which would ultimately result in the deaths, on 21 April, of 50,000 men, women and children at a technical school under construction in the cellule Murambi, commune Nyamagabe, just outside Gikongoro town.

Havugimana participated in all aspects of the massacre which was carried out at Murambi, from the setting up of roadblocks, close to and around the location, to the inhumane treatment of the refugees once gathered there, who were systematically denied medical assistance, food and water.

Prior to 21 April, some of the architects of the impending atrocity visited Murambi to search for and confiscate any weapons, assuring the people there that their security would be guaranteed.

Murambi Massacre

At 3:00 a.m. on the morning of 21 April, the massacre that would leave an estimated 50,000 Tutsis dead began.

According to the contributors to this account, all the major political figures in the préfecture, including Frodouald Havugimana, had a part to play in the tragedy of Murambi. In addition to Bucyibaruta, the others included Captain Faustin Sebhura, the deputy head of the gendarmerie in Gikongoro; Col. Aloys Simba, a retired army officer who became head of the civil defence force for Gikongoro and Butare during the

genocide and, amongst many others, Félicien Semakwavu, the bourgmestre of Nyamagabe.⁷¹

Gikongoro is one of the préfectures where the mass killing of Tutsis started almost immediately after news of President Habyarimana's death spread early on 7 April. From the communes of Mudasomwa, Kinyamakara, Karama and Nyamagabe, thousands of refugees embarked on a journey that would eventually end in Murambi. Many weary people set up a temporary home in the barrack-style rectangular buildings of the primary school of the Bishopric of Gikongoro. Although merely a stones-throw from the cathedral and the bishop's residence, it provided only limited protection. Triphonie from Mudasomwa, whose husband was not with her, had three children to look after. She stayed there for several days.

No one came to our aid to give us something to eat. But Bucyibaruta, Havugimana, Simba, dressed in military uniform, and a captain by the name of Sebhura came daily. They registered us by sector. When they saw there were a lot of us, they led us to Murambi.

Two roadblocks, leading directly to Murambi and controlled by militiamen and gendarmes, were regarded as particularly deadly. One was situated just below the SOS Gikongoro buildings in Kabeza, a small collection of shops barely one kilometre south of Murambi. The second was directly at the entrance to the school in Murambi.

One of the men who helped to construct the Kabeza roadblock is Samuel. He had gone to Kabeza on 11 April "to look for work and news." At about 10:00 a.m. David Karangwa, a clerk at the district court in Nyamagabe, and Havugimana, who both lived in Murambi cellule, arrived together with a gendarme corporal known as CDR who often acted as Sebhura's driver. The three men conferred together; an hour later, they emerged and addressed the people standing close to the shops and bars. They gave clear instructions, Samuel said.

They told us to set up a roadblock, saying that nobody should object because the order had come from higher up, meaning the bourgmestre and Sebhura. We immediately formed a group to stand guard.

We built the roadblock out of branches we cut in the forest just below the SOS building. We were ordered to make sure none of the refugees went back home through the roadblock.

By contrast, the door was wide open to anyone heading towards Murambi. Every day, all the roads leading to Murambi were packed with frightened Tutsis. Some of them had brought their belongings with them, including livestock.

⁷¹ Col. Aloys Simba was given a 25 year sentence by the ICTR in December 2005, in part for his role in Murambi. According to former civilians cadres of the FDLR, Félicien Semakwavu was with the FDLR in North Kivu until he died recently. Laurent Bucyibaruta was arrested in France in July 2007 in connection with the genocide and later released.

Meanwhile, every part of Gikongoro was now under siege. And we could see from the injuries of the passers-by that some evil acts were being perpetrated in the countryside. The Tutsis were completely trapped, since the roadblock at the entrance was being carefully guarded by the gendarmes, who were also patrolling amongst them.

Uzziel, a young man of 24 from Nyamagabe, was among the first people at Murambi.

In the first few days, Tutsis were not killed at the roadblock in Kabeza. Everything they had on them would be taken, and then they would proceed to Murambi.

After a while, there were so many of us that the killers expected resistance if the numbers were not checked. And so at one point, Tutsis were stopped from entering the school. Instead, they were executed at the Kabeza roadblock.

Samuel said that Karangwa and Havugimana came to Kabeza to announce this change in strategy, after discussions with Sebhura.

When Sebhura realized just how many Tutsis there were in Murambi, he met with Karangwa and Havugimana. I remember clearly that it was a Wednesday. Afterwards, Karangwa and Havugimana came to tell us that our task at the roadblock had now changed. They said the large number of Tutsis in Murambi could be harmful to the local Hutu population. They told us to start checking the identity cards of everyone who came through and to execute on the spot anyone whose card showed them to be Tutsi. That was when the phrase 'Take him to the councillor' was coined. What it really meant was 'go and kill this Tutsi.'

Over the next few days, Tutsis trying to reach Murambi were executed on the spot and in the open, even with foreign onlookers. When the French employee of Caritas, Madeleine Raffin, brought two of her workers from the Bishopric of Gikongoro, her car, said Samuel, was stopped at Kabeza. Havugimana was one of the men who decided the fate of her two passengers.

A gendarme accompanied them. When they reached our roadblock, this gendarme signalled to us that we should stop them. Karangwa and Havugimana were there. They gave us the order to seize the two Tutsis. The girl was killed right in front of the French woman's eyes by Aloys Nkuriza. Her brother tried to run away, but in vain. We caught him a few metres away. He was hit with a *massue* by Vénant Ngwije, who's in Gikongoro prison. The gendarme fired a shot in the air so Madeleine would believe he'd tried to save the two victims. But it was just for show.

Valens, 49, was working as a butcher in Kabeza and described the roadblock there as "fearsome."

By 14 April, Semakwavu began condemning the Tutsis to death and many didn't reach the camp. Armed with a megaphone, he used a van which belonged to Nyamagabe commune. He went through our cellule three times and told us to unite to fight the Tutsis. He went with David Karangwa, Frodouald Havugimana, Vincent de Paul Nsabiyeza, and a certain Félicien who lives in Kigali. I used to always see these four people in Kabeza, giving orders. Semakwavu and Sebhura visited them all the time. The roadblock at

Kabeza became impassable after these two officials told us to kill Tutsis on their way to the camp.

In addition to being hungry, Tutsis in Murambi, said Samuel, “were condemned to being thirsty.”

On the night of 13-14 April, Havugimana, David Karangwa and a man called Frédéric Mureramanzi, a driver who became councillor of Remera sector, damaged the pipe carrying water to Murambi camp. Electrogaz blocked the pipe completely rather than mending it.

Tharcisse was taking food to friends in Murambi when he came upon the three men.

I found Mureramanzi, Karangwa and Havugimana in deep conversation about how to cut the water pipe to Murambi. They were standing over a gutter which the water passed through. They took a tree trunk to break the pipe. Seeing that this didn't work, Karangwa tried with a big stone and damaged it. From that day on, the Tutsis no longer had anything to drink.

On 19 April, two days before the massacre, Bucyibaruta, Semakwavu and Captain Sebhura began to prepare what one militiaman called an “enlarged site for the carnage”, by relocating Hutu families in the vicinity to a school in town. Roger took his family to the home of a friend.

Havugimana, Mureramanzi and Karangwa spread the word. But as men were going to be incorporated into the militia, only women and their little children were moved.

Patricie, married to a Hutu, followed the instructions and left Kabeza for the ACEPER school with the other women and children.

Havugimana and Karangwa wrote a document claiming that the Tutsis in Murambi were plotting to do away with Hutus. They gave this to Sebhura. The same day, soldiers came to warn us that we would hear gunshots during the night when they would be getting rid of the Tutsis in Murambi. They told us not to be afraid and not to make a noise.

The call to come armed to Murambi reached militiamen across Nyamagabe and the bordering communes. However, despite the impressive contingent from Mudasomwa, the number of men who convened on the hills overlooking Murambi on the 19th was not sufficient to mount a successful offensive. Samuel was waiting at the roadblock in Kabeza.

The gendarmes told us to prepare to invade the camp, but made us wait for an army officer who was going to lead us. He was supposed to be coming from Butare and was a member of the Presidential Guard. Half an hour later, the man came. But he wasn't an army officer. He's called Kagaba and used to live in Kigali. He comes from sector Muganza in Karama and was a formidable interahamwe. The gendarmes were in cahoots with Karangwa and Havugimana.

On the evening of 20 April, Karangwa and Havugimana told Samuel “that the Tutsis’ end was nigh.” “This was confirmed,” said Samuel, “at about 2:00 a.m. on the morning of the 21st.” Standing guard at the Kabeza roadblock, he watched as armed men grouped around his post.

Interahamwe from various regions joined us at the roadblock to await the order to invade Murambi. By 3:00 a.m., Kabeza was swarming with interahamwe and more were arriving all the time. Then the gendarmes came with guns, grenades and other weapons I had never seen before.

Samuel was one of the men who responded to the call to “wake up.”

Sebuhura was with his subordinates, as well as Bucyibaruta, Semakwavu, Karangwa and Godefied Ndayizigiye, a vet. He spoke in a vehement tone, ‘All the men should wake up! We want their help to go and fight the Tutsis in Murambi!’ They arranged to meet us near the shops in Kabeza at 3:00 a.m. and then left.

We immediately began to prepare ourselves. Everyone took whatever traditional weapon he could find. We set off around 2:00 a.m. We shared the road with other militiamen from Mudasomwa, Karama and Kinyamakara. The ones from Mudasomwa were in Daihatsu vans which dropped them off at the Gatyazo roadblock below the bishopric. From there, they walked to Kabeza. There was a mass of interahamwe. Gendarmes from Gikongoro had come with firearms.

Valens said Havugimana was also present when Sebuhura spoke to them.

We obeyed their orders. We all had the same objective. We stopped off at Kabeza to give some of the men a chance to look for leaves to put on as a uniform.

Havugimana stayed in Murambi throughout the massacre and helped Simba, Bucyibaruta and Sebuhura oversee the task of ensuring that there were few survivors. One of those who made it out alive is Claudette. As soon as the firing started, she reacted instantaneously and took to running in a confused manner.

I had the impression that not a single Hutu had remained at home. The sound of gunshot made us all jump out of our skin. I immediately put my baby on my back and I ran. But where to? I didn’t know. Other refugees tried to stop me, but I refused to listen to them. I ran and ran, but I didn’t leave the school grounds. I had left one place and without realizing it, returned to the same spot.

Grenades and bullets were flying all around. I didn’t know how to steer clear of them. On one side it was someone’s head that got blown off and on the other, someone’s leg or arm. Everyone was on the move. It was total mayhem. With all this movement, I didn’t see who was dead from a grenade or a bullet, but I heard their cries for help.

Not a day goes by, said Claudette, “that I don’t think about my family, friends and the people who lived near us who didn’t make it.”

Those “who didn’t make it” include the husband and children of Illuminée. In contrast to Claudette, Illuminée was paralyzed by fear and sat “motionless in complete silence” in one of the school buildings.

My children, who were with me, were badly wounded by a grenade. I too was injured, but only lightly. I couldn’t do anything for them. Because of the bullets and grenades, moving was out of the question. I stayed beside my children as they lost a large amount of blood. I thought about their suffering before I saw each of them draw in their last breath in the morning.

Towards the end of May, Samuel and other militiamen were sent to Murambi by Havugimana and David Karangwa to kill Tutsis who had been taken there by other officials.

Towards the end of May, about 50 Tutsis were sent to Murambi and placed under police guard. They were all women and small children. We didn’t understand the position taken by the office of the préfecture. Since the Murambi massacre had been authorized by the authorities, we didn’t think they’d do anything to stop us. So we got together under the leadership of Karangwa and Havugimana to go after this little group. The police thwarted us, saying we had to have the préfet’s authorization. The préfet himself came to see us, telling us we didn’t need to worry about a few women. They’d brought them to Murambi to fool the international community into believing the Tutsis had been protected.

They remained under guard until the beginning of Operation Turquoise.

Cases in Eastern DRC Which Warrant Further Investigation

Charles Kagabo

Charles Kagabo was the bourgmestre of commune Ntongwe in Gitarama where the genocide started with lightning speed and where the killings were systematic and comprehensive. Burundian refugees played a major part in the massacres in Ntongwe. In addition, the genocide in Ntongwe is associated with widespread rape and sexual violence of women and young girls, as some of the testimonies below suggest. Kagabo did not limit himself to the confines of his commune. He dedicated effort and time to make certain that the neighbouring commune of Mugina did not lag far behind in the progress of the killings. His collaboration with others in the massacres at the Parish of Mugina is discussed below in the section on Dr Augustin Cyimana.

Kagabo, who lives in Walikale, is one of the former senior local government officials with the FDLR in North Kivu. He is said to have been, at one point, and may still be, an emissary to the Mai Mai.

One of the most significant massacres led by Kagabo in Ntongwe took place on 20 April at his office, the commune office. The preparations were spelt out at a meeting at his home on 19 April, according to Paulin, who does not deny that he helped Kagabo put his plans into action. Paulin, imprisoned in Gitarama, grew up in sector Kinazi in Ntongwe

where he earned his living as a farmer. He describes Kagabo as “a true pillar of the genocide in Ntongwe and Mugina.”

On 19 April, Kagabo formed a group of people, most of them businessmen and sector councillors, to discuss ways and means of eliminating Tutsis. Ideas were first exchanged in a gathering at Kagabo’s house. Subsequently, there was a public meeting in the commercial centre of Ntongwe. Kagabo and his entourage concluded that Hutus, especially businessmen and civil servants, should all make contributions to pay former soldiers and Burundian refugees to wipe out the Tutsis of Ntongwe. Many people made a contribution, but particularly large sums were given by Kagabo’s supporters, for example:

- Augustin Ndahimana, in Gitarama prison;
- Byumvuhore, I’ve heard he’s in Rilima prison;
- Damien, he worked for the secret service;
- Mizinga, in exile;
- Laurien, at liberty;
- Alexis, living abroad;
- Jacques, a teacher. He’s the one who went to negotiate the involvement of former soldiers;
- Paul Mudakemwa, councillor of Kinazi sector;
- Nzeyimana, councillor of Gitovu sector;
- Bernard Ndege, councillor of Nyakabungo sector;
- Rugira, councillor of Gisare sector.

It’s this team which really and truly ignited the genocide everywhere in Ntongwe. After the funds had been disbursed, former soldiers came from Bugesera and exterminated the Tutsi refugees at the office of the commune. Kagabo directed all the operations during this massacre.

Neighbours drove Rebecca, 32, out of her house in sector Shyira, where she and her husband, both farmers, lived with their children, and then burnt it down. Rebecca and her family went to the commune office on 18 April.

On the 20th, some interahamwe and Burundians from the refugee camps in Nyarurama, led by the bourgmestre, Kagabo, attacked us. Kagabo, driving his Toyota, brought the interahamwe who massacred a lot of Tutsis. We went out during the night into the bush.

Rebecca and her children went across the border to commune Muyaga in Butare. They turned back when they realized the interahamwe were just as active in Muyaga as in Ntongwe. Along the way, two militiamen ambushed them, and three of her children lost their lives.

They slashed my arms and thighs with a sword and a machete, and knocked one of my teeth out when they hit me on the mouth with a club. Then they raped me, one after the other, and killed my children. When they heard the sound of a motorbike, they ran towards it and I managed to leave that place.

Laetitia and her parents went to the commune office under the escort of two soldiers sent by Kagabo. They were living in sector Nyakabungo where fear and violence had dictated their decision, from 16 April onwards, to spend the nights in the bush.

After four days, Kagabo, the bourgmestre of Ntongwe, suggested that our neighbour take us to the commune office so the police could protect us. Our neighbour thought this was a good idea and he took us in his car. Kagabo provided two soldiers to accompany us. We spent the night there.

The following day, a crowd of interahamwe, policemen and soldiers began to shoot at the Tutsis. There were also people there with machetes, clubs and spears.

Like Rebecca, Laetitia went to Nyamure in Muyaga. The bourgmestre of Muyaga, Fidèle Nzamwita, asked Kagabo “to come and get the Tutsis from his commune.”

Kagabo arrived in his Toyota and told us to get in. When we got to Ruhango, he stopped and the interahamwe assassinated a lot of the Tutsis who were with me. Those who gave them money were killed at gunpoint. One of the interahamwe took me to Ruhango to be his wife. I stayed there for a week and was subjected to rape.

Justine, a farmer aged 56 and the mother of six children, also lived in sector Nyakabungo.

When we saw that things were getting ugly, my family and I fled to the commune office where we thought we would be out of harm’s way. We had only been there one night when they came and massacred a lot of people.

Justine and her two children found sanctuary with the *responsable* of a cellule in sector Ntongwe, but their respite did not last long.

A week later, the bourgmestre said he had to kill all Tutsis, even women and girls. Our host made us leave his house. We went to Ruhango, to the hill where I was born. Everyone from my family had been killed, so we were forced to stay in the bushes. We spent the night there. The next day, two men who I didn’t know discovered us and took it in turns to rape me.

An old family friend in Justine’s native village took pity on them and looked after them until the end of the genocide in that area.

Martin Gatabazi, alias Enock Dusabe

As the FDLR’s Commissioner for Propaganda and Mobilization, Martin Gatabazi, alias Enock Dusabe, occupies an important position in the political arena, for propaganda and mobilization are crucial to the success of the FDLR. When he was last in Rwanda, in 1994, he worked at the National University of Rwanda as a technician in the phytopathology department. Jacques, who worked with Gatabazi at the laboratory, said he worked to prepare civilians for the genocide.

Gatabazi lived in sector Tumba in the urban commune of Ngoma where the town of Butare is located. Witnesses in Tumba name Gatabazi, who they remember as always carrying a sword, as one of the men who killed local Tutsis and those who took refuge there. Gatabazi collaborated with Siméon Remera, a medical assistant and the head of the CDR in Tumba, local government officials and staff from the university who lived in Tumba, in particular Dr Sosthène Munyemana, a gynaecologist/obstetrician at the University Hospital of Butare. Two of the people who are said to have been killed by Gatabazi himself in Tumba are Nepomuscène Nkurikiyimfura, a lecturer at the university, and one of his sons. Gérard Simuhuga, known as Mambo, a cellule *responsable*, helped Gatabazi in pointing out the homes of Tutsi peasants.

In Tumba, the sector office was used to lock up many of the male Tutsis who had been captured. They were taken out under the cover of darkness and murdered. Gatabazi is said to be one of the men who dragged men and boys out at night and to dump their battered bodies in a pit which had been dug near the sector office.

Militiamen who manned some of the roadblocks in Tumba say that Gatabazi helped to set them up, for example those at Mukoni and the Café de Tumba, and visited them on a regular basis to give encouragement to the guards on duty.

Gatabazi also stands accused of killing a man by the name of Protais Nyangaze on 20 May 1994 within the grounds of the university itself, close to the Institute for Research on Science and Technology.

Faustin Sekagina, alias Manzi

Faustin Sekagina, alias Manzi, is the FDLR's deputy commissioner for gender. During the era of ALIR/PALIR, he was the commissioner for social affairs in PALIR. In 1994, he was a deputy préfet of Rushashi in Kigali rural. He had previously worked as a deputy-préfet of the sub-préfecture of Kanazi in Bugesera, also in Kigali rural, in the early 1990s when Emmanuel Bagambiki⁷² was the préfet. In 1992 Bugesera was the site of extensive and serious human rights abuses against Tutsis, many of whom were imprisoned, tortured and killed. Sekagina stood accused of orchestrating these atrocities together with Bagambiki and François Karera⁷³, the bourgmestre of commune Kanzenze.

The few interviews taken in Rushashi for this report suggest that he was at the heart of the genocide in Rushashi in 1994 in conjunction with Karera who had succeeded Bagambiki as the préfet of Kigali rural.

⁷² Emmanuel Bagambiki was arrested in Togo on 5 June 1998 at the request of the ICTR. The decision, taken on 25 February 2004, to acquit him of the charges, and confirmed on appeal on 8 February 2006, generated considerable controversy. One of the judges at the Trial Chamber issued a dissenting opinion.

⁷³ François Karera was arrested in Nairobi, Kenya, on 20 October 2001 based on an international arrest warrant issued by the ICTR. On 7 December 2007, he was sentenced by the ICTR to imprisonment for the remainder of his life. He has appealed against the sentence.

Lieutenant Colonel Sébastien Uwimbabazi, alias Gilbert Kimenyi or Nyembo

Lt. Col. Sébastien Uwimbabazi, alias Gilbert Kimenyi or Nyembo, is the commander of the FOCA battalion headquarters in North Kivu. In 1994, he was a gendarme in Rwamagana, Kibungo. As explained immediately below, in the section on Lt. Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona, the gendarmerie post in Rwamagana covered the entire préfecture of Kibungo and worked closely with the military.

It is difficult to exaggerate the role of the gendarmerie in perpetuating massacres throughout Rwanda between April and July 1994. Since the FAR was involved in a war with the RPF, which was re-ignited on 7 April, much of the responsibility for the execution of the genocide fell to the gendarmerie. They were especially prominent in killing large numbers of Tutsis who had been encouraged by the civilian and military authorities to congregate in public buildings. The interahamwe and local residents, armed with traditional weapons, formed human chains to pre-empt escape, and came in after the shooting to hack the wounded and survivors to death. But it was always the firepower of soldiers and gendarmes who felled the greatest number of victims.

The massacres in Kibungo were no different. The following discussion about Lt.Col. Nkuriyekubona, head of the military camp in Kibungo town, describes a series of massacres in which gendarmes from Rwamagana, particularly Lt. Mihigo and Lt. Maniriho, Uwimbabazi's colleagues, were at the helm. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Uwimbabazi himself, who was their senior, may have contributed to these massacres. Emmanuel Habimana, alias Cyasa (see below) helped Mihigo and Maniriho as they killed Tutsis in the thousands. Noting that "the gendarmes were responsible for much of the killings in Kibungo," he said Uwimbabazi's name often came up when talking to Mihigo and Maniriho.

I didn't know Sébastien physically, but I know that he came to Kibungo town and I often heard Mihigo and Maniraho speak about him, saying he was their superior and that they had to report to him. The head of the gendarmerie camp in Rwamagana was Major Havugiyaremye, but he had officers who supervised the operations on the ground, including Uwimbabazi. Mihigo and Maniriho are also in the FDLR in Congo.

After Kibungo fell to the RPF, Uwimbabazi went home to Nyanza in Butare and stayed there for a month before he went into exile. By the time he reached Nyanza, his younger brothers, Louis de Gonzague Uwimana and Bosco, had become active members of a militia group known as the Dragons which terrorized and murdered the Tutsis of Nyanza in the commune of Nyabisindu, as well as neighbouring districts in Gitarama. The belief, expressed by many in Nyanza, that Uwimbabazi helped to arm his brothers and others in this militia, merits scrutiny. Louis de Gonzague Uwimana is himself now a captain in the FDLR; see below.

FDLR Genocide Suspects Living Abroad

Lieutenant Colonel Anselme Nkuriyekubona in Cameroon

Lt.Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona was the commander of camp Huye in Kibungo during the genocide. The camp, home to several battalions, was located just outside the business district of Kibungo town, commune Birenga. Emmanuel Habimana, alias Cyasa, was a corporal at camp Huye until 1990, and afterwards continued to maintain contact with soldiers in the camp. “I don’t remember the exact date when Lt.Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona was nominated as the commander of Huye military camp, but I know he was there in 1993 and during the genocide in 1994. His predecessor was Lt.Col. Ndengeyinka.”

Cyasa is one of the best-known perpetrators of the genocide in Kibungo. He has also, without denying his own role, given substantial and precise information about how the genocide was planned and how it unfolded in that area, who was responsible and what the connections were between the various institutions, officers and individuals involved in the killings in Kibungo.

In Kibungo, the gendarmes were responsible for much of the killings. But they were working under the command of the soldiers at camp Huye. The head of this camp was Lt.Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona, supported by Col. Pierre-Célestin Rwagafilita, responsible for civil defence in Kibungo. During the genocide, soldiers and gendarmes wore the same military uniform, and it was difficult to tell them apart when they weren’t wearing their berets. Normally, there wasn’t a gendarmerie post in Kibungo town. The gendarmerie camp of Rwamagana was responsible for the whole of Kibungo. In 1993, a detachment of gendarmes from Rwamagana were deployed in Kibungo town and they stayed at Huye camp. In Kibungo town itself, another unit of gendarmes, under the command of Lt. Mujoyakera, were stationed in Nasho, and another group in Sake. The reports from all these detachments were submitted to Nkuriyekubona.

During the genocide in 1994, Lt. Mujoyakera was in Nasho, and Lt. Mihigo and Lt. Maniraho were in Kibungo. Mihigo and Maniraho organized and led the massacres at the Economat, the commune office of Birenga, in Kigarama commune, at the Parish of Kabarondo, in Rukira commune, in the commune of Sake, in Nyarubuye and other places. Of course they were taking orders from their superiors like Lt.Col. Nkuriyekubona. Mihigo and Maniraho are with the FDLR in the DRC.

Kibungo in the east was regarded as a strategic location in the war between the ex-FAR and the RPF. Since the RPF invasion of 1 October 1990, Tutsis living in Rwanda were regarded as a fifth column of the RPF and many were arrested, detained or tortured. Cyasa linked the increase to serious abuses in Kibungo to the period Nkuriyekubona was in charge.

During Nkuriyekubona’s leadership of Huye military camp, the persecution of Tutsis got worse, especially towards the end of 1993 when many Tutsis were physically tortured by soldiers.

In 1993, Liliane was working in a shop directly outside the main entrance to the camp and the main bus stop in Kibungo town. Because of the proximity, she said she got to know some of the soldiers stationed there.

There were always a lot of soldiers in town because of camp Huye where the commander was Lt. Col. Anselme Nkuriyekubona. I also knew some other soldiers who were stationed there like Sadiki Ntawumenyiryundi, Setako and a soldier called Mukiza.

Tension rose from August 1993, she added, because soldiers began to train the interahamwe who, together with their trainers, set up roadblocks.

Between January and April 1994, soldiers and interahamwe operated these roadblocks together. The soldiers were always in uniform and even at the time, the interahamwe had hand grenades hanging from their belts. Anyone who tried to get through these roadblocks, and who was not recognized as someone from Kibungo, was arrested and accused of being an RPF spy. Most of them were never seen again. I had to pass several of the roadblocks every day going to and from work, and I saw many people being taken away. By March there were many roadblocks in Kibungo town, and three were manned by only soldiers. One was at Musamuvu, one was close to the post office and the other one was between the parish and camp Huye.

But it was not necessarily safe, she said, even if you were from Kibungo.

Long before the genocide started, every Tutsi who approached a roadblock was always in danger of being arrested and taken away. They would beat up Tutsis as they tried to pass the barriers. When you approached one of the checkpoints, you had to show your ID papers as well as your resident's card.

I didn't see Anselme Nkuriyekubona at any of the roadblocks. But I often saw him as he was being driven about in a military vehicle passing the roadblocks.

April 1994: Mobilizing Reservists, Enlisting Interahamwe and Providing Weapons

Kibungo was one of the préfectures where the genocide started early. Cyasa said Nkuriyekubona invited him to camp Huye on the first day, 7 April.

Nkuriyekubona took me to his office and said he wanted me to organize the interahamwe militia in Kibungo under my leadership and to start the massacre of Tutsis. He gave me a vehicle, a Mazda pick-up belonging to Bralirwa.⁷⁴

He outlined three main tasks for me:

- To organize the interahamwe militiamen and make sure they were at the service of the soldiers of Huye military camp;
- To drive them to designated places;
- To identify all the reserve soldiers in the area and to sign them up so they could help kill Tutsis.

⁷⁴ Bralirwa was the national beverage factory.

Every morning I had to go to the camp to receive orders from Nkuriyekubona.

Within 24 hours, commented Cyasa, he had a large group of men to present to Nkuriyekubona.

The most important mobilization, for the purpose of killing Tutsis in Kibungo, took place on the morning of 8 April. I went to the camp for instructions. I had to assemble all the men in the commercial centre of Kibungo. Nkuriyekubona quickly joined us on foot, escorted by four soldiers.

Cyasa cited the names of some of the men he had rallied.

- Ndagije, imprisoned in Kibungo;
- Corporal Twagirayezu, a reservist. He lives in the DRC;
- Najua, he too lives in the DRC;
- Djuma, also in Congo;
- Abdulkarim Butera.

Nkuriyekubona, he said, then took the floor.

He spoke to the 100 people I had brought. He told them he only wanted to see interahamwe and soldiers in the town and added that the war against the enemy was about to start.

The next step was focused on military know-how.

Nkuriyekubona then separated those who could use a gun and grenade from those who could not. He told the latter to go immediately to the camp for training. The entire afternoon at Huye camp was dedicated to military training. The last lessons were given in a shooting field in Rwasaburo, cellule Karengé.

Nkuriyekubona had brought along others to strengthen Cyasa's hand.

Anselme also introduced me to two officers to help me with the massacres, namely Sub-Lt. Mihigo and Sub-Lt. Maniraho. Both of them are now apparently living in Congo. They were both gendarmes, but Anselme gave them the mission of supervising the killings in Kibungo town.

Cyasa said Nkuriyekubona had ties with prominent officials.

As usual, I went to Huye military camp on the morning of 9 April. I met Sylvain Mutabaruka, a Member of Parliament, and Ernest Rutayisire, the bourgmestre of Sake. They had come to ask Anselme for reinforcements against the Tutsis who had put up resistance against the interahamwe. Anselme left the camp immediately and came back with six big ONATRACOM buses packed with soldiers to help the Hutus of commune Sake kill the Tutsis. This time the Tutsis succumbed, faced with soldiers with mortars and guns.

10 April: A Trial Assault on the Bishopric of Kibungo

Early on 7 April, people everywhere flocked to local churches, including the Parish of Kibungo in Karengé cellule, sector Kibungo. Wherever large numbers of Tutsis gathered, military and civilian officials worried about the weapons they may have smuggled in and about their capacity for offensive and defensive action. Cyasa said he spoke with a messenger sent by Nkuriyekubona on the afternoon of Sunday, 10 April.

The messenger found me at the commercial centre of Kibungo. He said Nkuriyekubona wanted to see how the Tutsis, who had sought shelter at the Economat [the administrative offices] of the Bishopric of Kibungo, would respond if attacked. He had a gun and two grenades. Anselme wanted me to go with him. I was with Zowa, councillor of Kibungo sector, and Claver Nkurunziza, the *responsable* of Cyasemakamba cellule. They had been given military training along with the interahamwe.

By then, according to Cyasa, Nkuriyekubona was already worried that the RPF may have made incursions into Kibungo, for which reason he suggested that they first test to see if there were any Tutsis outside the bishopric buildings. They were blocked by a fence, so “we first fired a shot, followed by two grenades.”

The refugees who were hurt cried out, so we concluded that some of them were indeed outside the buildings. We went ahead and shot them. They responded with gunfire. I have no idea how they got those guns.

Cyasa and his companions alerted Nkuriyekubona about the guns and he immediately sought out the Bishop of Kibungo, Monsignor Frédéric Rubwejanga.

Anselme asked to see all the refugees. The parish was searched and four guns were found. He argued that the guns could have belonged to the infiltrators sent by the *inkotanyi*. All the refugees were told to go inside the parish.

Liliane and seven members of her family were among the refugees at the bishopric. She spoke about the exchange of fire which prompted Nkuriyekubona’s visit.

There were a lot of interahamwe outside the parish at about 3:00 p.m. A Tutsi inside the parish, who had a gun, fired at them and injured some of them. They ran away and the refugee with the gun left the parish.

About two hours later, a large number of soldiers, all of them armed, disembarked from a truck. Anselme Nkuriyekubona was with them, and it was obvious that he was in charge. The parish grounds are small and I watched as he came in to speak to the Bishop. I heard him telling the Bishop that someone inside the parish had a gun, had fired at “his men” and that everyone had to go outside to be searched. I then saw the Bishop signing something which had been given to him by Nkuriyekubona, but I didn’t see clearly what it was.

Assumpta, a mother of five children, had come from sector Kibungo with her husband who was a medical doctor, her children and many close relatives. Because there were so many people, she said they occupied the Economat in addition to the parish itself.

A soldier by the name of Sadiki, from camp Huye, had led the interahamwe when they first came. When Nkuriyekubona himself came with soldiers, Sadiki and his interahamwe who had assaulted us, were with him. My husband, a doctor, asked him to let the wounded be taken to hospital. Anselme replied, 'We are killing people and you want to save them?' In the end, he accepted. Anselme ordered us all to go inside the parish grounds. The old and the sick were told to go outside by the soldiers who beat them. The women and girls were grouped together and, separated from the men and boys, were taken to another place.

The fact that the soldiers had heard gunfire was used as an excuse to strip search and subject the women to sexual humiliation.

The soldiers made us take off our underwear and told us to put our underwear on our heads. They then made us lie on our backs, and they claimed to be looking for guns and grenades in our stomachs by putting their hands up our genitals. They did that to every woman, intentionally hurting us very badly. By the time they left, everyone was bleeding. They then demanded that we sit up, telling Monsignor Rubwejanga that his flock were hiding weapons and that he was not a good bishop.

Concessa, a 31-year-old teacher, also endured the intrusive and painful body search.

The soldiers beat the women and also sexually assaulted us. They placed their hands on our private parts and inserted their fingers, saying that we could be hiding things 'up there.' This was done to all the women, including myself. They also stole money and anything of value.

In addition to her own anguish, Concessa heard her brother cry out in distress. He had come from Kigali, along with three cousins, to help bury their father who died just before the genocide.

Soldiers led away my brother. I saw him, naked and spread out on a table in a room, and I could hear him screaming.

Concessa subsequently left the bishopric, but her brother and cousins stayed on and went to the Economat where they later died.

Liliane, who had also undergone the body search, recollected a conversation between Nkuriyekubona and one of the other soldiers which showed just who was in charge.

It was Anselme Nkuriyekubona who gave the order for us to be stripped.

When all of us were naked and had been searched, and no gun had been found, Sadiki ordered the soldiers to shoot us. Anselme Nkuriyekubona, who was still there, told Sadiki, that *he* was in charge, and that he would give the instructions. And he ordered that there would be no shooting. The Bishop then asked Nkuriyekubona to take some of the refugees to the Economat.

13 April: Massacre at Birenga Commune Office

On 13 April, Tutsis at the commune office of Birenga came under siege. Damien, head of the communal police force in Birenga, was convinced they were going to die.

We started seeing the first Tutsi refugees at Birenga commune office on 9 April. Since it had been said everywhere that Habyarimana's death had been planned by the Tutsis, we didn't bother taking care of them. Many spent the night outside, in the compound of the commune office, while some stayed inside vacant rooms. No one brought them anything to eat.

Nkuriyekubona had given Damien a message.

I knew very well that the refugees were going to die because Colonel Anselme had clearly stated as much on one of his visits to the commune office. What he did not specify was the date.

Cyasa was called to a meeting by Nkuriyekubona the night before the massacre.

The night of the 12th, Lt. Col. Anselme held a meeting to plan an attack on Birenga commune the next day. He led the meeting with Rwagafilita. I was there and so were Melchiade Tahimana, the bourgmestre of Birenga, in exile in Tanzania, and Jean-Chrysostome Senyabutembe, who worked at the commune office and who's in Nsinda prison.

Cyasa remembered some of the concerns which were voiced.

We knew there were many Tutsis at the commune office. Nkuriyekubona told us their whereabouts and explained that the little plastic huts the refugees had built around the office might make their total elimination difficult. As a solution, we decided to destroy the huts without telling them why. Melchiade was in charge of this assignment. My responsibility was to assemble the militia who would go with the soldiers.

Cyasa said he found about 100 militiamen and took them to Huye camp.

At about 3:30 p.m., the bourgmestre came to tell us that all the refugees had been congregated in one of the halls known as IGA⁷⁵ in the commune office. Anselme gave the order to go kill them immediately. A troop of soldiers escorted us.

The mission did not last long, and afterwards Nkuriyekubona arrived at the scene.

Since the refugees were together in one place, killing them was easy. We used guns and grenades. Anselme came to see the results at 6:00 p.m. When he saw they were all dead, he told Melchiade to clean up the mess.

⁷⁵ IGA, a Kinyarwanda acronym, is an adult literacy centre.

The “mess” included Liliane’s mother, brother, sister-in-law and aunt. After leaving the parish on the 10th, Liliane and her family had made their way to a house near Birenga commune office, but on the 12th they were told to move to the commune office.

Around 10:00 a.m., the bourgmestre of Birenga, Tahimana; the bourgmestre of Kigarama, Mugiraneza; Rwatoro, a lawyer, and other staff of the commune office visited all the houses close to the commune office which belonged to Tutsis, telling the residents that the houses were needed and that everyone had to go to the commune office. There were very, very many people there, thousands of them. Tahimana kept telling us that nobody was allowed to leave the commune office, but that we would be joined by others. I then heard him telling some policemen to go out and set up two roadblocks, one at the front and one at the back of the commune office. This was around about 2:00 p.m.

Not long afterwards, said Liliane, the commune office was surrounded.

When Tahimana was talking to us, I saw a bus passing the front of the commune office filled with interahamwe and soldiers. A few minutes later, about 15 soldiers turned up at the commune office in a truck. They were all armed and were in uniform. Sadiki, Setako and Mukiza were among the soldiers. As soon as Tahimana saw the soldiers, he left.

Suddenly there were explosions all around us. I saw soldiers, policemen and the interahamwe throwing grenades at us and shooting at us. People were killed everywhere. People tried to run out of the compound, but they were caught by the interahamwe and hacked with machetes.

Liliane and her daughter later hid in bushes and with neighbours.

Damien said he was away on other duties during the massacre, but that he and bourgmestre Tahimana stopped at Huye camp at about 5:30 p.m. because Tahimana wanted to speak with Nkuriyekubona.

Tahimana went in to see Col. Anselme. When he returned, he told me the refugees at the commune office had been killed, that what happened was normal, and that the soldiers and Cyasa’s interahamwe had simply done their job. The bourgmestre’s reaction to this event convinced me of his involvement with Anselme and that he had known the soldiers and militiamen would kill them.

14-15 April: Massacre at the Parish of Nyarubuye

Earlier, Cyasa stated that two gendarmes from Rwamagana, Lt. Mujoyakera and Lt. Mihigo, “taking their orders from their superiors like Lt.Col. Nkuriyekubona”, were responsible for the massacres at the Parish of Nyarubuye, commune Rusumo. The refugees at the parish included the Tutsis of Rusumo and commune Rukira.

Epimaque, a student who was home in Nyarubuye for the Easter holidays, was on his way to morning mass at 6:00 a.m. on the 14th when, he said, he saw houses on fire on the hill across from the parish, in Rukira. Mass was cancelled. Instead, the refugees prepared to defend themselves as they saw militiamen marching towards the parish.

After a short confrontation, they fled and we captured two of them. They were people from our home in Nyarubuye who had made common cause with invaders from Rukira. We tied their hands behind their back and took them with us. It was around 13:00 hours. We debated what to do with them. The older refugees forbade us from killing them. We were completely unaware that their companions had gone to alert the army.

It did not take long, said Epimaque, for the army to respond.

And around 2:30 p.m. we saw soldiers coming towards us; they had left their Daihatsu van below and had come on foot to take us by surprise. They immediately encircled us and forced us to sit on the ground. The two militiamen were still there, their hands tied behind their back. The first thing the soldiers did was to untie their hands and ask them to point out who had done this to them. One of them pointed to Vincent Hakizamungu. The soldiers brought him in front of us and shot him three times. We witnessed his slow death without being able to do anything for him.

The soldiers confiscated the bows and arrows, knives and other traditional weapons the refugees had brought with them. Epimaque said they also made the men take off their shirts.

And all the while the soldiers came closer and encircled us. One of the Hutus who was with us panicked and whispered something in the ear of one of the soldiers, maybe to say there were Hutus amongst us. The soldier then called out some names and we noticed all the names were of Hutus who were obviously going to be kept safe before the Tutsis were massacred.

This, commented Epimaque, was the moment that he and many others made a split second decision.

Convinced we were going to die, the young people, including myself, agreed among ourselves that we would stand up as one and run. We passed along the message from one person to the other and all at once we stood up and ran, threading our way through the soldiers and militiamen. They shot at us, but this didn't stop us from pushing forward towards the Akagera River on the border with Tanzania. I reached the river the next morning at around 5:00 a.m. and touched Tanzanian soil at about 5:00 in late afternoon.

“I was still a child”, remarked Scholastique who was 11, “but I remember all the details.”

On 14 April, the interahamwe had come alone and our men repulsed them with stones. Then, at about 2:00 p.m., we heard shots being fired. They had come back a second time, but this time with many soldiers and gendarmes. We could tell them apart by their berets and uniforms. Then they went inside and told us to divide into two groups, Hutus on one side and Tutsis on the other. Many people got up, Tutsis and Hutus all mixed together.

A young Tutsi boy, who had been standing in front of Scholastique, tried to pass himself off as a Hutu.

A soldier immediately threw a grenade at him. It tore him up, as well as those who were standing next to him. One of the soldiers said that when you want to kill snakes, you should break their heads.

The civilians then started killing us with machetes, clubs, spears, swords and all kinds of traditional weapons. They killed all day long; in the evening, when it got dark and they were tired, they went home only to come back the next day.

Scholastique emerged unharmed on the 14th, but she was not so fortunate on the 15th.

When they returned the next day, I didn't see any soldiers with them. The refugees were so completely annihilated that the civilians didn't need the help of soldiers or gendarmes to exterminate them. The interahamwe took children and threw them against the walls. I had hidden under some corpses. When I saw a child hit the wall I jumped up and the interahamwe saw me. They made me, and the others who were alive, get out from under the corpses. They stood us in front of the church and asked us where our relatives were, if they had left for the front with the *inkotanyi* and many other stupid questions.

The chief of the militiamen whose name was Antoine struck me in the back of the neck with a knife. And then he put my right hand on the floor and began to hit my fingers so hard they broke off from my hand. He also hit me in the head with a machete and I fainted. The rain woke me the next day and I crawled on all fours until I reached the church. When I arrived at the church two men from home came. They were Ndagijimana and Ntezimana. Ntezimana stood on my body and I stopped breathing for a moment, pretending to be dead. My ruse paid off.; they thought I was dead and left. I went to find drinking water at the nuns' convent. I stayed there watching how the dogs came to eat the Tutsi corpses.

After I was rescued, I had to spend seven months in the hospital.

15 April: A Return to the Bishopric

On the afternoon of 14 April, Cyasa was once again summoned to camp Huye. On this occasion, the task, he said, was to lay the groundwork for another assault on the Bishopric of Kibungo. The target, more specifically, was the Economat, the administrative centre of the church and where the Bishop had his residence, located within the Cathedral compound and not far from Kibungo parish. Local officials had transferred many Tutsis out of Kibungo parish and into the Economat.

Cyasa spoke of the encounter with Nkuriyekubona.

Anselme asked me to mobilize a big number of militiamen to attack the Economat. He was with the bourgmestre, Melchiade Tahimana, and Col. Rwagafilita. The three men had decided to get rid of everyone at the Economat, except the clergy, and a group of Hutus who had come from the Iwacu training centre [in Kabusunzu, Kigali].

Cyasa said he was told by Nkuriyekubona to find soldiers for the operation on the 15th.

I brought in about 10 soldiers to Huye camp around 2:30 p.m. Then Anselme sent me to Bralirwa to wait for the killers who had gone to Kigarama. He told me to respect Sub-Lt. Mihigo's programme because Mihigo was carrying out a massacre at the commune office there. Mihigo and his men joined me at 3:30 p.m. and said it was time to go into action at the Economat in Kibungo. I stayed with the militiamen while he went back to Huye camp to bring more soldiers and reservists. Fifteen minutes later I received the signal to take them to the Economat.

Mihigo came with 150 soldiers. We blocked all the roads leading to the Economat except for the one that went through the offices of Project Kibungo II. We planned to use it to replenish our munitions which were brought by Corporal Boniface Musabyimana in his red Hilux.

Didace worked as a tailor in the commercial hub of Kibungo town, close to camp Huye. When he looked out from his house on the morning of the 7th and saw that new roadblocks had been set up, he interpreted this as a measure to protect civilians. For the next few days, he followed the advice of Radio Rwanda and remained at home. But unsettled by the long queues of Tutsis he could see making their way to the Economat and fearful of the threats from his neighbours, he too made his way to the Economat.

There were people everywhere, thousands of men, women and children. There were soldiers all around. They let everyone in, but they didn't let anyone out.

The Bishop and the priests told us they had had meetings with Nkuriyekubona to ask him to try and protect us. But as time passed and nothing happened, we all knew we were going to be attacked. We decided to draw up a list of all the names. There were about 2500 names on the list.

About 3:00 p.m. on the 15th, we were besieged by soldiers. Suddenly there were explosions and gunfire all around us. A hand grenade exploded near me and I was thrown off my feet and knocked unconscious. When I woke up I was naked surrounded by bodies, some of which were piled on top of me. All the bodies were naked, and there were soldiers and interahamwe roaming around the Economat, looting from the dead and dying.

Didace linked up with other survivors and they remained there for three days.

15 April: Eliminating the Refugees at Kigarama Commune Office

In commune Kigarama, most Tutsis looked to the commune office for protection and assembled there in their hundreds. Amiel was a communal policeman who worked out of the commune office.

Soldiers started coming to the commune office as soon as Tutsis began to arrive. But they did not come to safeguard their security. They came to tell us that we should let them die of hunger. No Tutsi had the right to go out to look for something to eat or drink.

On 12 or 13 April, Lt.Col. Anselme sent about 11 soldiers to the commune office. They spent the whole day harassing the refugees. They did not leave in the evening. At about

10:00 p.m., they opened fire, causing panic. All the bullets were directed at the place where Musonera, the head of the communal police force was. We had already been told by the soldiers that Nkuriyekubona, who was worried that Musonera might organize the refugees, wanted him out of the way. There were suspicions that Musonera was a Tutsi. The shooting stopped after about 30 minutes. Shortly afterwards, the soldiers told us that Musonera was indeed dead, and we found his corpse in the morning.

With Musonera out of the way, the refugees were largely eliminated by Nkuriyekubona's men on 15 April. Amiel claims that he did not witness the massacre as he was just then leaving the commune office.

As noted earlier by Cyasa, Nkuriyekubona had planned two operations on 15 April, namely killing the refugees at Kigarama commune office and those at the bishopric. He spoke of his conversation with Nkuriyekubona as it related to Kigarama.

Anselme sent a troop of soldiers to Kigarama commune office. He had asked me to find some of the renowned killers to go with the soldiers. I brought in:

- Emmanuel Twagirayezu, in Congo
- Aloys Sekizeye, in exile;
- Kabera, alias Cyasamakamba; I don't know where he is.

They were reserve soldiers. They were assisted by policemen and other interahamwe who had come from Murambi, Byumba préfecture. Second Lieutenant Mihigo was in charge of Kigarama. I was supposed to go with them, but Anselme and Rwagafilita changed the plan at the last minute. Instead, they sent me to Mugesera commune office to bring in the reserve soldiers.

Bruno was also a communal policeman in Kigarama. He spoke of Musonera's fear of the soldiers.

Despite his rank as head of the communal police force, Musonera was afraid of the soldiers who had been patrolling the area. People thought he might be a Tutsi.

When I returned on the 13th I learned that Musonera had been killed by soldiers from Huye military camp.

By 15 April, the refugees had spent almost a week without food or water. The soldiers were well aware of just how weak they were because Lt. Col. Anselme regularly sent soldiers to test the refugees' levels of resistance.

On the morning of the 15th, at about 8:00 a.m., vehicles carrying both soldiers and interahamwe reached the commune office of Kigarama. The soldiers were well armed with guns, grenades and bayonets. They immediately surrounded the area. While one of them was still talking to me, his colleagues started shooting into the crowd of refugees. I left amidst the rumble of gunfire and grenade explosions, the work of the soldiers from camp Huye.

18 April: Finishing Off the Survivors at the Economat

On 18 April, Bishop Rubwejanga and Fr. Mudahinyuka visited Huye camp to plead for the surviving refugees at the bishopric who needed both medical care and food. Cyasa described Nkuriyekubona's reaction when he learned that some of the refugees were still alive.

Anselme called me to his office. He was very angry with me, shouting and demanding I tell him the truth about the Tutsi survivors. He ordered me to go and kill them immediately. I didn't go. Then he called me again to his office and this time sent five soldiers with me. I went there with the soldiers, put all the survivors in the vehicle and took them to the roadblock below Kibungo post office. This is where we had dumped the bodies of the victims of the previous killings.

Didace was in hiding when Cyasa and the soldiers made their presence felt on the 18th.

They killed some of the survivors who were too weak to put up any sort of resistance, and started loading some of the others onto trucks. I crawled through a hole in a wall which had been shattered from the earlier explosions.

He is unequivocal about who bears the responsibility for what happened in Kibungo.

Nkuriyekubona was behind the killings in Kibungo. His soldiers did nothing there without his knowledge or without his orders in the first place. I don't know where Nkuriyekubona is living now, but I hope he's brought to justice for what he did in Kibungo.

Throughout Kibungo

The massacres detailed above are not the only charges which have been levelled against Nkuriyekubona. He sent soldiers to communes throughout Kibungo with the sole aim of ensuring that Tutsis died in large numbers. On 7 April, for example, Tutsis at the Pentecostal church of Rukumberi, in cellule Maswa, commune Sake, held their ground against the militia led by a reservist, Jean-Paul Birindabagabo. Birindabagabo and Sylvain Mutabaruka, the parliamentarian referred to earlier, asked for backup from camp Huye. With the soldiers, guns and grenades which were sent, the fate of the refugees was sealed and most of them died.

Tutsis died elsewhere in Sake with the help of soldiers from camp Huye, including:

- In the small commercial centre of Funi; many of the victims were thrown into the Akagera River;
- In the home of a certain Nyagasaza where about 100 Tutsis are thought to have taken refuge;
- In an area known locally as la Chapelle where there was a Pentecostal church in Karengé;

- Throughout sector Rukumberi where the majority of Tutsis were concentrated.

Cyasa commented on the participation of soldiers in the widespread killings in Rukumberi.

The place where a very large number of soldiers killed in Kibungo is Rukumberi, commune Sake, which was inhabited by many Tutsis. Gendarmes and soldiers were taken there in eight buses for the sole purpose of exterminating the Tutsis of Rukumberi. The gendarmes were used since they did not have to go to the front.

They also died at the hands of Nkuriyekubona's soldiers at the Catholic Parish of Kabarondo in commune Kabarondo when, on 13 April, interahamwe from Kibungo town and local residents joined forces with the men from camp Huye.

Similar scenes unfolded at the Parish of Zaza in commune Mugesera. The refugees at the parish had come from many different communes, including Mugesera and Sake. The first massacre took place at the parish itself and was followed by even more large-scale killings at the Junior Seminary of Zaza.

By the third week of April, the fall of Kibungo to the RPF looked imminent. Cyasa said he last saw Nkuriyekubona on 26 April at Sake commune office from where, he added, Nkuriyekubona proceeded to Kigali at the head of a convoy. Cyasa summed up Nkuriyekubona's role in the genocide of Tutsis in Kibungo in the following words:

If Nkuriyekubona had not involved the army, more than half of the victims would have survived. The militiamen worked under Anselme's orders. He is the one who decided to train them in the military camp. And he sent soldiers wherever he thought the Tutsis might be stronger than the interahamwe, for example Zaza. The guns which were used came from camp Huye. It was the soldiers from this camp who distributed the weapons and who trained the civilians in how to manipulate guns.

When Nkuriyekubona reached Kigali, he was sent to lend a hand to the Huye battalion led by then Major Faustin Ntirikina (see below). Under Ntirikina's stewardship, the Huye battalion, based on Mont Kigali, was a central feature of the genocide in many districts of Kigali, as detailed in the profile on Ntirikina in Chapter 12. The assistance Nkuriyekubona is said to have given to Ntirikina in helping to cleanse parts of Kigali, including Kivugiza, of Tutsis merits further investigation.

Dr. Augustin Cyimana in Zambia

Whether he still occupies an official position in the hierarchy of the FDLR or not, Dr. Augustin Cyimana, who used to be the chairman of the FDLR in Zambia, is regarded as a key figure in Zambia. In 1994, Cyimana was working as a doctor at Kigali's main public hospital, the Centre Hospitalier de Kigali (CHK). He comes from Ntongwe in Gitarama. He is now a doctor at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka.

The CHK hospital in Kigali was itself the scene of numerous atrocities during the genocide. While Dr. Cyimana's role in what happened at the CHK remains, to date, unknown, his contribution to the genocide in commune Mugina, which neighbours Ntongwe, is well established. From the start of the genocide, Cyimana worked alongside Dr. Charles Kagabo, the bourgmestre of Ntongwe (see above); François Twagiramungu, a former bourgmestre of Mugina; Martin Ndamage, who became the bourgmestre of Mugina during the genocide and, amongst others, Chrisostom Budengeri, a medical assistant at a health centre in Mugina. Working in tandem with Major Pierre-Claver Karangwa⁷⁶, a native of Mugina, they co-ordinated the plans for a series of devastating massacres at the Catholic Parish of Mugina between 21-25 April. Together, these men created an effective militia force in the area, provided them with guns, grenades and ammunition, recruited Burundian refugees to lend them a hand, dealt with the obstacles which stood in the way, organized and participated in the massacres and encouraged the militia to search for survivors to the very end.

The most important obstacle was the bourgmestre of Mugina himself, Callixte Ndagijimana, who did all he could to keep the genocide at bay.⁷⁷ He sought to protect the Tutsis of Mugina and extended that protection to the Tutsis who, hearing of Ndagijimana's policies, came from the neighbouring communes of Runda and Ntongwe, but also from far, including Musambira and Nyamabuye in Gitarama, Kigali and Bugesera. He saw to their security, boosted their morale, gave them advice about how to stand up to the interahamwe and defend themselves, and he offered them as much material assistance as he could. Some of the refugees stayed at the commune office, but the overwhelming majority made their way to the parish.

There were numerous attempts to get rid of Ndagijimana, and on 21 April, he fell into an ambush and died. According to the testimonies of militiamen who have confessed, he was killed with the complicity of Dr. Augustin Cyimana, Charles Kagabo and Chrisostom Budengeri. Although the ambush took place near a camp for Burundian refugees, he was murdered near the residence of the parents of Dr. Cyimana. Even today, the remains of the body of his car are still in the cellule where Cyimana's parents had been living.

Paulin, cited earlier in connection with Kagabo, explained why he suspects Kagabo and Dr. Cyimana of colluding in Ndagijimana's death.

The day after the death of Callixte, I went to Kagabo's home. He had confidence in me, as I was one of the militiamen who carried out all the orders that we should murder the Tutsis. I arrived around 8:00 in the morning, and a few minutes later, I saw Cyimana approach Kagabo's home in a Red Cross vehicle, accompanied by four other people. He

⁷⁶ Major Pierre-Claver Karangwa was a liaison officer between the gendarmerie and the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) which had arrived in Rwanda in December 1993 to monitor the Arusha Accords which were signed in August 1993 to end the war between the government and the RPF. However, after the departure of most of the UNAMIR troops shortly after the genocide, Karangwa became an officer who could be deployed anywhere by the head of the gendarmerie.

⁷⁷ For details about the role of Callixte Ndagijimana in defying the genocide, see African Rights, *Tribute to Courage*, December 2002.

was transporting the corpse of Callixte, whose shoes had been removed. Kagabo was very happy to welcome Cyimana.

They parked the car in front of Kagabo's house and Dr. Cyimana got out of the vehicle. He seemed very pleased and hurried to go and meet the bourgmestre inside. Soon afterwards, the two of them came out together, hand in hand, with wide smiles on their faces. The doctor directed him towards the body of Callixte and said to him, 'Here is the body of our enemy.' They went back inside the house together and had a discussion there over a beer.

Thirty minutes later, Kagabo accompanied Dr. Cyimana to his vehicle. They separated after Kagabo said to him, 'Go and show the residents of Mugina that there are no more obstacles to eliminating the filth from our area.' Cyimana shook Kagabo's hand before climbing into his vehicle.

The attitude of Cyimana and Charles was a clear indication to me that they had planned Callixte's death in order to clear the way for them to pursue the Tutsis of Ntongwe who had gathered at the Parish of Mugina. Charles hadn't been able to launch the assault because Callixte was helping the refugees to defend themselves.

On hearing of Ndagijimana's death, the thousands of refugees at the parish knew their death was imminent. Some left immediately after they learned of his death. But most of them were too shocked and disoriented by the news to make new plans. There were, in any case, few potential avenues of escape. Some of those who left were intercepted and forced to return to the parish, and others were killed as they tried to cross the border into Burundi.

With the demise of Ndagijimana, Cyimana, Karangwa and their allies quickly mobilized a large enough force, including the much-feared Burundian refugees, to unleash the massacres that left most of the refugees dead within a period of five days, 21-25 April.

Kagabo was in a hurry, said Paulin.

The day after this discussion with Cyimana, Kagabo rallied the Burundian refugees to go and assist the militiamen of Mugina to massacre the Tutsis. Kagabo himself transported them and also provided them with machetes, guns and grenades.

Dévota's family, from Ngoma sector in Mugina, died on the evening of the 21st.

As soon as the killers heard Callixte was dead, they came in force to exterminate us on the evening of 21 April. The massacre went on all through the night and even the next day they continued their bloody task until all those who had remained were wiped out. Even those few who did survive, like myself, were slashed with machetes and left for dead. My husband and children were slaughtered on the spot and I was buried under a pile of corpses. The prisoners, who had been sent from the commune office to bury the bodies, realized I was still breathing and entrusted me to the Red Cross who, in turn, took me to Kabgayi for treatment.

Hélène, in her sixties at the time, was living in Mbatu sector in Mugina. Her children were friends of Ndagijimana's. Three of them died at the parish on Friday 22 April, leaving her, in her words, "widowed twice over."

After Callixte's death the interahamwe returned to the parish jubilant. They began firing at random. Ngiruwonsanga, alias "Gitaro", directed the operations. Some of them had guns and spears, others machetes and *massues*. The whole church was awash with blood and bodies were lying everywhere. I couldn't imagine the priests ever daring to say mass there again. The Tutsis of Mugina began by putting up a fight but the interahamwe were stronger. They took us outside the parish and put the men and boys on one side and the women on the other. They began to kill us with machetes, having first made everyone lie down on their stomachs. They slashed me with their machetes and left me for dead.

One of my sons, and his son, were slain by a machete wielding interahamwe, before my very eyes, at the entrance to the church. The child's blood dripped onto the front of my jumper and I kept it until his sisters, who survived, threw it away without my knowing. They couldn't bear to look at it.

My husband had died a year before the genocide and my sons had looked after me in his place. So now I feel as if I have been widowed twice over.

The relentless nature of the killings, reinforced by their intensity, meant that the refugees were almost worn out by the fourth day, as Prisca highlighted. Having a brother in the RPF had already brought Prisca's family unwelcome attention. So when they heard the news of Habyarimana's death confirmed by various radios on the 7th, there was no question in their minds of spending the night in their homes. For three nights they stayed in the bush, returning to their house in cellule Mataba, sector Kiyonza in Mugina, during the day. They eventually sneaked their way to the parish.

By day four, the men had no strength left and we couldn't find any more stones. Then a big group of killers came. Those who tried to fight back were immediately killed. It wasn't a war of spears or bows for they also had guns and other firearms. I hid in the old church. At the entrance were our strongest men. But they couldn't respond to the gunfire with spears. They were shot first, and then the killers began lobbing grenades and the inside of the church burst into flames. Every moment, somebody fell and with one scream they were dead.

We were all wounded. I had a wound on my thigh. There were ten of us left alive, and others who were almost dead. Everywhere people were asking the killers to come in and finish them off. In the evening, they went home, saying that they were tired and they'd have to come back the next day. Some stayed to loot the corpses. When I went outside, I saw corpses everywhere and people in agony.

By this time, Prisca and all the women and children who were still alive were in the old church. When the male refugees realized there was nothing they could do for them, they went inside the new church and closed the door. Viateur, who was a 22-year-old student, is one of the men who barricaded themselves in the new church.

We heard shots and grenade explosions as well as cries. After the massacre of those who were in the old church, the interahamwe left, leaving behind a group to guard us in the new church. We couldn't leave because they had surrounded us; we could see them from the trellises.

The next day it was the men's turn. Viateur made reference to their desperate measures to delay death.

They returned and started to destroy the church. We had rainwater in the seals and we used it to irk them so as to delay the church's destruction. They tried to break down the door but we intervened. Around 1:00 p.m. they used their guns and the door, in one instant, fell towards us. They told us, 'We don't want to kill anyone in this church, so get out, everyone with their hands in the air.' We put our hands in the air and left the church.

When asked if there were any Hutus among the refugees, Viateur said one woman got up and was freed. Tutsi women and girls in the group were also told to leave, but their respite was short-lived.

Afterwards, they were all raped and killed.

The men, he said, continued sitting on the floor, each under the watchful eye of a guard.

We were all naked. Suddenly, Célestin Hitayezu, a soldier, gave a whistle and said 'start.'

After this whistle, I remember only a swift blow when a machete hit me square on the head. Everything else that followed happened behind my back. I was unconscious. I woke up around midnight to a torrential downpour. I didn't even know I had machete wounds. I didn't know where I was. I got up to get out of the rain. I tried to support myself by putting my hands on my back because I had terrible pain. That's when I felt the large wound on my back. My back was cut in half. I stayed put, waiting to die.

I spent three days among the dead, and the fourth day, the same killers came back and they had a meeting next to the piles of bodies [to discuss how to bury them]. That night I realized that I too could be buried, so very early in the morning, I shimmied like a snake, and I crossed the road and reached a sorghum field.

In common with a number of other survivors from Mugina, Viateur ended up at the Bishopric of Kabgayi where he waited out the remainder of the genocide.

Colonel François-Xavier Birikunzira, alias Masumbuko, in Congo-Brazzaville or Bénin

Colonel François-Xavier Birikunzira, whose profile appears in Chapter 11, was with the FDLR in the DRC before he moved to Congo-Brazzaville where he became a member of the FDLR committee. At the time of writing, it is not clear if he is still in Congo-Brazzaville or whether he has gone to Bénin where his wife has been living.

Between April and July 1994, Birikunzira's name inspired terror among the Tutsi population of Butare and parts of Gitarama, and for good reason. A captain, he was head of the gendarmerie for the sub-préfecture of Nyabisindu in Butare which was made up of the communes of Nyabisindu, Muyira, Mugusa, Ntyazo and Rusatira. His headquarters was in Nyanza, Nyabisindu. In 1994, his jurisdiction extended to the communes of Tambwe, Ntongwe, Kigoma and Murama in Gitarama. Massacres on an unimaginable scale, many of which Birikunzira was directly involved, took place in all the communes which fell under his responsibility.

Commune Nyabisindu

Like much of Butare, Nyabisindu enjoyed relative calm for the first two weeks of the genocide. In addition to the efforts of the préfet himself, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, Nyabisindu was fortunate enough to have Jean Marie-Vianney Gisagara as bourgmestre. He did all he could to maintain unity and reinforce security. But he faced a determined foe in Birikunzira who, during those two weeks, created an alliance of the powerful to undo the work of Gisagara. The allies he made sure he could count on in Nyabisindu included:

- Gaëtan Kayitana, deputy-préfet for the sub-préfecture of Nyabisindu;
- Fr. Hormisdas Nsengimana, a Catholic priest, the Rector of Christ Roi secondary school in Nyanza;
- Faustin Mbereye, director of the Electrogaz station in Nyanza;
- Dr. Callixte Mirasano, director of the government-owned dairy in Nyabisindu;
- Dr. Célestin Higiuro, the director of Nyanza hospital and head of the CDR party in Nyanza;
- Vincent Nzigiymfura, a businessman;
- Pierre Ndimumakuba, advisor to the Court of Appeal in Nyanza;
- Ephron Nshimyumuremyi, a businessman in Nyanza;
- Chrisostom Nsabimana, known as Kinshasa, a businessman;
- Frédéric Rwagasore, the director of the Louis de Monfort secondary school of sciences in Nyanza.

Under Birikunzira's guidance, they combined their authority and influence to undermine Gisagara's message of peace and to marshal a formidable array of local government officials, professionals, businessmen, interahamwe, students and Burundian refugees who were willing and ready to begin the genocide. It was, however, first necessary to remove Gisagara who had proved a stubborn adversary, using the resources of his office, including his communal policemen, to counter Birikunzira's plans. The open threats from Birikunzira finally forced Gisagara into hiding. But Birikunzira was told of his hideout, and on Thursday 21 April he had Gisagara tied to the back of a van and dragged through the streets of Nyanza as a warning to other Hutus about the consequences of opposing the genocide. Birikunzira also had 11 members of Gisagara's immediate family, including his father and two brothers, murdered.

The next day, Friday 22 April, the genocide began in earnest in Nyabisindu and in the surrounding areas of Kigoma. Roadblocks, a death trap for Tutsis in 1994, were set up and the interahamwe who stood guard were told to stop, interrogate and capture anyone whose ID identified as a Tutsi. Anatole, a member of the committee that ran one of the cellules in Kavumu, Kigoma, made reference to a visit from Birikunzira and Vincent Nzigiymfura to the roadblock he was manning two days after the start of the massacres.

The two of them told us that anyone who led Hutus astray would be killed, just like bourgmestre Gisagara had been killed.

Claver was stationed at another roadblock in Kavumu.

Birikunzira, Vincent and Tubirimo [Appolinaire Barihuta was a former long-time director of the iron foundry in Nyanza] often passed by our roadblock to receive a report on the Tutsis. Whenever we told them that we had killed more than three, they were very happy, at the same time urging us to keep up our work.

In Nyanza itself, and more broadly in Nyabisindu, Birikunzira and his group used a militia force known as “the Dragons” to spearhead the killings. They armed them and provided them with transport, food, fuel and moral support.

One of the principal killing sites in Nyanza was the stadium. Tutsis were brought from different corners of Nyabisindu and from Gitarama and executed there. Some who had been killed elsewhere were thrown in bushes behind the stadium, where a memorial site to the victims now stands.

Commune Ntyazo

In the commune of Ntyazo in Butare, Birikunzira’s first task was to first send his gendarmes to arrest and then murder Narcisse Nyagasaza, the commune’s Tutsi bourgmestre. He then sought a way to overcome the strong resistance which the refugees on the hilltops of Ntyazo had put up, forcing his gendarmes and militia to beat a retreat. On two separate occasions, Birikunzira sent additional gendarmes. But the Tutsis in Ntyazo were a force to be reckoned. In addition to Ntyazo itself, they had come from the communes of Kigoma, Tambwe and Ntongwe in Gitarama, from the communes of Nyabisindu, Muyira and Rusatira in Butare and also from Gikongoro. Birikunzira then asked the Academy for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) in Butare town for help. He dispatched another 15-20 gendarmes from Nyanza and they, together with the soldiers from ESO, the interahamwe and Burundian refugees, crushed the refugees, killing almost all of them by end of April.

Commune Rusatira

Birikunzira’s men also turned the tide at ISAR/Songa, an agricultural research station in Rusatira, Butare. About 5,000 Tutsis are thought to have died there between 24-28 April after gendarmes from Nyanza intervened.

Like much of Butare, Rusatira had been spared genocidal violence the initial two weeks of the genocide. But with the dismissal of the préfet on the 19th, and the visit of the president of the interim government the same day, it was only a matter of time. For Rusatira, that time came on 22 April when gendarmes from Nyanza killed a group of Tutsis at a place known as Arrêté in the commercial centre of Gahana. The aim was to drive a wedge between local Hutus and Tutsis and embolden the interahamwe in driving Tutsis out of their homes.

The strategy was a success; more and more Tutsis poured into ISAR/Songa. Starting Monday 25 April, they fought running battles with the interahamwe, using stones and sticks as their principal means of defence. For three days, they were able to ward them off. But on Thursday, 28 April, Birikunzira sent gendarmes whose guns, positioned on the different hills overlooking ISAR, made defeat a foregone conclusion.

Esdras is one of the interahamwe who had tried to overcome the refugees using his machete. He met up with the gendarmes from Nyanza and found there was not much for him to do.

The gendarmes were shooting many rounds. We finished off some of them with traditional arms, but the carnage didn't last very long because most died instantaneously from the guns.

The weapons used by the gendarmes is what survivors like Pélagie also describe as decisive.

Because they bombarded our positions with their heavy arms, we had to disperse. There was chaos as we ran in all directions, wherever there was a hope of survival. The interahamwe took advantage of the confusion to bring out their machetes and other weapons, slaughtering us with knives and clubs. By nightfall, nearly all of us had been exterminated.

Some of the survivors tried to make a run for the border with Burundi, and many were killed before they crossed the Akanyaru river into Burundi.

Commune Ruhashya

One of the officials who facilitated the ISAR/Songa massacre is Charles Munyaneza, the bourgmestre of commune Kinyamakara in Gikongoro. Many Tutsis from Kinyamakara were among the refugees there. Others had left for Ruhashya, also in Butare, where they settled, together with refugees from Ruhashya, Nyabisindu and Rusatira on a range of hilltops in the sectors of Rwaniro and Gashoba. Munyaneza's efforts to dislodge them had failed. He appealed to Birikunzira who responded by sending gendarmes, weapons and ammunition. And the refugees, in the words of one survivor, "tumbled down like grasshoppers."

With their morale now boosted, the militia formed a second tier while the gendarmes used their guns. It was, said, Désiré, an effective partnership.

The gendarmes encircled the hill. We were a solid militia and we formed an unbreachable wall behind them. We followed the gendarmes who were advancing towards the top of the hill. Their advance made us confident that ultimately the refugees would be decimated. Our activity was limited to killing those who tried to get through our wall.

Unable to estimate the victims, he spoke of “very many.”

The massacre in Rubaba will always remain in my memory. I cannot even say how many victims there were. There were simply very many. I don't know if they were buried. For the people who had decided to plunge Tutsis into a state of anguish, what happened at Rubaba was their crowning achievement.

Rubaba was the summit of the hills in Gashoba. As the guns and grenades brought by the gendarmes pounded the foot of the hills, the refugees ran up to Rubaba. But it was not far enough, as Modeste from Kinyamakara knows only too well.

There were many of us, but there were so many, so many of them and they were armed to the teeth. We were no match for people with guns who were bolstered by a large group of interahamwe bearing traditional weapons. We couldn't count on the fact that there were a lot of us; the weapons at their disposal allowed them to devastate us, especially the guns and grenades. There was pandemonium as we all tried to find a way out, and many lives were lost.

Some of the best co-ordinated massacres in which Birikunzira is implicated took place in commune Murama, Gitarama, which are dealt with above in the section on Jean-Damascène Rutiganda, the bourgmestre of Murama.

Other FDLR Cases That Warrant Further Investigations

Callixte Mbarushimana in France

Callixte Mbarushimana, the Executive Secretary of the FDLR who lives in Paris, has long been dogged by serious and sustained accusations, coming from many quarters, concerning his active participation in the genocide. It was, in fact, the extensive publicity about these allegations, which included testimony from foreign colleagues who were in Rwanda at the time, which led to Mbarushimana's departure from the UN, which had continued to employ him. It also prompted an investigation by the UN, whose findings convinced lawyers at the ICTR that he should be indicted, and an indictment was prepared. There was no follow up at the ICTR because the Prosecutor concluded that he was not, in the language of the ICTR, a “big fish.”

But as the summary in his profile in Chapter 11 shows, the crimes Mbarushimana has so far been accused of, including taking part in wholesale massacres, call for an exhaustive inquiry. The ICTR itself has tried and convicted genocide suspects who would not, in the context of what happened in Rwanda in 1994, be considered, by any criteria, as “big fish” in so far as that term normally refers to key planners and executors. Whether he is, or is

not, an individual who should have been indicted by the ICTR, the fact remains that an investigation by the UN itself, for whom he was working in 1994, found evidence against him. Not only does Mbarushimana hold an important position in the FDLR. He's a vocal and tireless advocate who is visible internationally. This makes it all the more necessary and urgent to establish the facts in a conclusive manner.

His release by German authorities in November 2008 has no bearing on the weight of the evidence. He had not been living in Germany and was arrested there while in transit on an international arrest warrant. Furthermore, he was arrested for the purpose of extradition to Rwanda. Once a decision had been reached against extradition, for reasons that had nothing to do with the quality of the evidence, he was released and promptly left the country.

Colonel Protais Mpiranya, alias Yahya Muhamed, in Zimbabwe

The contribution of the Presidential Guard (GP) to the genocide, particularly in Kigali, was significant on a national scale, and was also evident. It is therefore not surprising that the man who guided and supervised their activities, Col. Protais Mpiranya, is on the ICTR's Wanted List. Mpiranya (see Chapter 11), who lives in Harare, Zimbabwe, was indicted by the ICTR on 25 September 2002.

The charges contained in the ICTR indictment against Mpiranya, reproduced verbatim below, are:

- Augustin Bizimungu, Protais Mpiranya, Innocent Sagahutu and others distributed weapons to the militiamen and certain carefully selected members of the civilian population with the intent to exterminate the Tutsi population and eliminate its "accomplices";
- On 7 April, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was tracked down, arrested, sexually assaulted and killed by Rwandan Army personnel, more specifically, by members of the Presidential Guard under the command of Major Protais Mpiranya. Members of the same units arrested, confined and killed important opposition leaders and prominent figures in the Tutsi community;
- The genocide had been planned and prepared for a long time by prominent civilian and military figures who shared the extremist Hutu ideology. They were carried out by militiamen, military personnel and gendarmes on the orders and directives of some of these authorities, including General Augustin Bizimungu, General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, Major Protais Mpiranya, Major François Xavier Nzuwonemeye and Captain Innocent Sagahutu;
- During the morning of 7 April, Major Protais Mpiranya, upon being told by his soldiers that the Minister of Information, Mr. Faustin Rucogoza, who, together with his wife, was detained at the Presidential Guard camp, asked his

soldiers why they were keeping them. Immediately after, the Minister of Information and his wife were assassinated by soldiers of the Presidential Guard;

- Commanders of the Presidential Guard, Major Protais Mpiranya, of the Para-Commando Battalion, Major Aloys Ntabakuze and of the Reconnaissance Battalion, Major François Xavier Nzuwonemeye, were in communication with Colonel Théoneste Bagosora sometimes using a separate radio network;
- From April to July 1994, by virtue of their position, their statements, the orders they gave and their acts, General Augustin Bizimungu, General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, Major Protais Mpiranya, Major François Xavier Nzuwonemeye and Captain Innocent Sagahutu exercised authority over members of the Forces Armées Rwandaises, their officers and militiamen. The military, gendarmes and militiamen, as from 6 April 1994, committed massacres of the Tutsi population and of moderate Hutu and other crimes such as rapes and sexual assaults and other crimes of a sexual nature, which extended throughout the territory of Rwanda with the knowledge of General Augustin Bizimungu, General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, Major Protais Mpiranya, Major François Xavier Nzuwonemeye and Captain Innocent Sagahutu.
- Major Protais Mpiranya conspired to commit genocide and was part of the original group who encouraged, organized, and participated in the massacres;
- Knowing the massacres were happening, the political and military authorities, including Protais Mpiranya, took no initiatives or any measures to stop them;
- Protais Mpiranya and others in their positions of authority, acting in concert with, notably Théoneste Bagosora, Gratién Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze, Augustin Bizimana, Anatole Nsengiyumva and Tharcisse Renzaho, participated in the planning, preparation or execution of a common scheme, strategy or plan, to commit the atrocities set forth above. The crimes were committed by them personally, by persons they assisted or by their subordinates, and with their knowledge or consent;
- Overall: Charged with Crimes Against Humanity, Complicity in Genocide, Genocide, and Conspiracy to Commit Genocide.

Esdras Ntakirutimana in Zambia

Esdras Ntakirutimana is the FDLR representative for Southern Africa and lives in Lusaka, Zambia. The allegations concerning his involvement in the massacres in his

native sector of Mugonero, Kibuye, which were brought to the attention of the ICTR when he worked there as a defence investigator⁷⁸, require attention.

Cases Linked to RUD That Warrant Further Investigations

General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare

As his profile in Chapter 10 indicates, the name of General Jean-Damascène Ndibabaje, alias Musare, the military commander of RUD, has been linked to killings and massacres in commune Mbogo, and also in Jali, commune Rubungo, both in the préfecture of Kigali rural.

Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina, alias Zigabe Pacifique

The preliminary findings, as they relate to the participation of Brigadier-General Faustin Ntirikina in the genocide in Kigali, contain a sufficient number of specific allegations to justify a more in-depth investigation. See his profile in Chapter 12. This is all the more important in light of the fact, touched upon in the profile, that Ntirikina, living in France, now wields considerable influence in RUD.

Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo, alias Agakatsi

The role of Major-General Aloys Ntiwirigabo in facilitating and supervising the genocide in Kigali, where he was working as an intelligence officer, calls for closer scrutiny. See his profile in Chapter 12.

Colonel Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, alias Martin Nteziryayo

Col. Emmanuel Nyamuhimba, who is either in Congo-Brazzaville or in Cameroon, has also become an important figure in RUD. His profile, in Chapter 12, reflects a long list of concerns about his complicity in the genocide in his capacity as the chief of the urban police in Kigali in 1994, and one of the right-hand men of the préfet, Lt.Col. Tharcisse Renzaho.

⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier in Chapter 11, according to interviews with FDLR deserters who passed through Zambia in 2008, Ntakirutimana still does some work for the ICTR, a claim that it was not possible to verify independently.

Other Genocide Suspects Abroad Linked to Armed Groups

Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, alias John Muhindo



<p>Personal Details</p>	<p>Rafiki Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva, alias John Muhindo</p> <p>In Rwanda, Rafiki was known under the nickname of Cyewusi</p> <p><i>Place of Birth/Origin</i></p> <p>Cellule: Sector: Muhira Commune: Rubavu Préfecture: Gisenyi</p> <p><i>Father's Name:</i> Athanase Benimana <i>Mother's Name:</i> Rosette</p>
<p>Current Political Position</p>	<p>Rafiki is one of the founding members of the FDLR. A close ally of the former DRC Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi, Rafiki has been a facilitator for the GoDRC in the negotiations with RUD. He lives in Kinshasa.</p>
<p>Position / Rank Held at Time of Genocide:</p>	<p>Minister of Public Works in the interim government, having previously been the</p>

	Director of Cabinet in the same Ministry.
Whereabouts of Immediate Family	<i>To be investigated</i>
Educational, Professional and Political Background	<p>Although the family is not originally from Gisenyi, they settled there when the children were still young. His brother, Nyarudindiri, has since died although his sister, Bazilete, still lives there. His parents separated when Nsengiyumva was young, and his mother later remarried.</p> <p>He completed primary school education in Sanzare and Kanama. His secondary education was at Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi and then at the School of Sciences of Musanze in Ruhengeri. He is thought to have spent some time at the National University of Rwanda before he went to the USSR for further studies.</p> <p>In the early 1990s when opposition parties were established, Nsengiyumva first joined the Liberal Party, and later transferred to the Social Democratic Party (PSD).</p> <p>After the October 1990 war began, Rafiki was prominent in trying to identify and to harass Tutsis regarded as RPF sympathizers in Gisenyi, especially those who lived in commune Kanama, close to Gishwati forest.</p> <p>He assembled a militia known as <i>Abakombozi</i>, composed of members of his PSD party and who were answerable to him. Intimidation by these militiamen forced a large number of Bagogwe Tutsis to seek refuge at Nyundo cathedral, Gisenyi town, where they were attacked in 1993, and some of them killed. In 1994, the <i>Abakombozi</i> became the most formidable and feared killers in Nyundo.</p> <p>When the PSD leader, Félicien Gatabazi,</p>

	<p>was assassinated in February 1994, President Habyarimana wooed Nsengiyumva and in March 1994 appointed him as Minister of Public Works, a position previously held by the late Gatabazi. Rafiki immediately adopted the language and political stance of extremist politicians. In a speech on Radio Rwanda in March 1994, he warned the RPF in the following terms:</p> <p>“The enemy is one, the RPF, that wants to take the fruit of the 1959 revolution away ... These people are at the origin of it all. Let them put their weapons down, talk to this government and see if the war does not end. Otherwise, if they carry on attacking, their people will be exterminated.”</p>
<p>Précis of Involvement / Suspected Involvement in the Genocide</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nsengiyumva has been widely accused of inciting the genocide of Tutsis in his native Gisenyi, especially in the urban commune of Rubavu, where Gisenyi town is located, and of mobilizing and arming militiamen; 2. On 9 April, many Tutsi refugees at Nyundo cathedral were killed by Rafiki’s <i>Abakombozi</i> militia and other interahamwe; 3. He addressed a meeting at Nyundo cathedral, calling on those present, who included local government officials, to accelerate the massacre of Tutsis, promising to provide them with the necessary weapons. The Kalashnikovs he later distributed were subsequently used in the killings at Nyundo cathedral; 4. Also in April, in Gisenyi, he addressed a meeting of youth members of his party, among

	<p>others, challenging them to finish their “work” (killing Tutsis). By way of incitement, he said that the work was already finished in Kigali. As proof, he claimed that he had provided machines to “dig out the corpses which litter the whole town.” He again promised weapons;</p> <p>5. He is directly implicated in the murder of 8 Tutsis who were hiding in a house close to the offices of the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic;</p> <p>6. Nsengiyumva’s militia took part in a large-scale massacre, again at Nyundo cathedral, on 1 May 1994.</p>
<p>Activities After Leaving Rwanda in July 1994 Until the Present</p>	<p>In 1998, after ALIR/PALIR were weakened by military defeat and inclusion on the US list of terrorist organizations, a new group, the Committee of Co-ordination for the Resistance (CCR), was set up to speak on behalf of the ex-FAR. Nsengiyumva was appointed as head of the Service for Documentation and Security of the CCR.</p> <p>In February 1999, he was one of the founders, along with Col. Tharcisse Renzaho and Col. Aloys Ntiwirigabo, of the FDLR.</p>
<p>Status With Regard to Wanted Lists</p>	<p>Rafiki was named in the May 2006 list of most wanted genocide suspects issued by the Prosecutor-General of Rwanda.</p> <p>In June or July 2008, the Prosecutor-General delivered an arrest warrant to MONUC, in the context of the Nairobi Communiqué, for the arrest of Nsengiyumva. But MONUC argued that it had no powers to arrest him since the request did not come from the host country</p>

	or from an international tribunal, such as the ICTR or the ICC.
Reference Documents	<p style="text-align: center;">African Rights</p> <p><i>A Welcome Expression of Intent: The Nairobi Communiqué and the Ex Far / Interahamwe</i>, December 2007, pages, 15, 17, 18 and 79.</p> <p><i>Death, Despair and Defiance.</i></p>

Father Jean-Berchmans Turikubwigenge



FATHER JEAN-BERCHMANS TURIKUBWIGENGE

Fr. Jean-Berchmans Turikubwigenge, who participated in a RUD meeting in February 2008 in the DRC, clad in the military uniform shown in this photograph, is known to be a close friend of Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki (see above), which may explain his visit.

In April 1994, he was a military chaplain in the operational sector of Byumba.

Turikubwigenge is the deputy director of the missionary office, and director of migrants in the Diocese of Lucca in Italy.

Fr. Turikubwigenge, born in 1963, comes from cellule Musenyi, sector Mushongo in commune Nyamugali, Ruhengeri. He is the son of Innocent Bitariho and Josepha Mukamsoni. He was ordained as a priest on 8 September 1990 by Pope Jean-Paul II. He first worked at the Parish of Muyanaza in Byumba, after which he was transferred to the

Cathedral of Byumba in Byumba town, commune Kibali. He came to serve in Byumba in 1990 and was appointed a military chaplain in 1993.

He went into exile after the genocide. In 2002, he obtained a PHD at the Gregorian Pontifical University of Rome.

Turikubwigenge arrived in Byumba at a time of war; it was on 1 October 1990 that the RPF, based in Uganda, which borders Byumba, invaded Rwanda. Because of its geographic location, Byumba became part of the war zone. Turikubwigenge's transformation from a priest to a soldier was, say his former parishioners, all too apparent from the time he was appointed military chaplain in 1993.

Augustin Bavakure, the bourgmestre of commune Kibali in 1994, said he got to know Turikubwigenge in 1990.

Back then we were friends; I went to meet with him from time to time at the parish as was common between local leaders and priests. Later on he became a military chaplain and he stopped living at the parish and moved to Ruyaga, to a house that belonged to the diocese. His stature changed altogether: he had a car, an open roof military jeep, and military escorts. His friends were soldiers like Major Kabera, Bahufite, the commander of the military camp in Byumba, and Major Ngira from Nyamugali.

The priest spent less and less time at the church, he added.

We only saw him on Sundays at the church, the rest of his time he spent with soldiers; his programmes were purely military, I don't know if he went to church on weekdays.

Gabriel, who was working in a development project in Byumba, argued that "Turikubwigenge was no longer a priest."

The picture I keep of him is that of a true soldier. He had adopted a militaristic attitude.

This close relationship with the army might help to explain the charges which have been made against him and which relate to the genocide, namely that he:

- Distributed weapons to the Hutu population;
- Helped the soldiers mobilize the population to create a civil defence force which, in 1994, was a cover for the militia;
- Was often seen at roadblocks, for example the roadblock near the primary school.

Anastase Munyandekwe

Anastase Munyandekwe was, until relatively recently, the spokesperson of the FDLR and was based in Brussels. He has been expelled by the FDLR from that position amidst allegations that he had used funds, which had been raised from FDLR supporters in Europe, for personal ends. He now travels between the DRC, Tanzania and Zambia as a

businessman. Although it is difficult to say, with certainty, what his relations might be with different wings of the FDLR in the field, or with individual commanders and politicians, it is too early to assume that the expulsion has ended his ties with the FDLR or write him out of a future position. It is for this reason that his name appears in this chapter.

Munyandekwe was active in the MDR party, serving as one of the party's representatives. He lived in Kigali where he held a management position at the Post Office of Rwanda. Many witnesses spoke of his strong anti-Tutsi attitudes prior to the genocide. Some former colleagues said he persecuted the Tutsis who worked under him at the Post Office. He had been sent to Senegal for a course just before the genocide and Munyandekwe claims that he never returned to Rwanda.⁷⁹ But this is disputed by colleagues who give precise details about their encounters with him in Rwanda, more specifically in Gisenyi in early June 1994, as well as in his native Gikongoro, during the three months of killing. Other witnesses also place him in Kibuye at some point during the genocide. There are conflicting reports about whether he was involved in the genocide in his commune of Kinyamakara, reports that need to be verified.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Munyandekwe's comments in an article entitled "Des tueurs parmi nous?" ("Killers in Our Midst") by François Janne d'Othée published in Belgium on 25 May 2007 in the magazine, *Le Vif l'Express*.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

To the Rwanda Demobilisation and Reintegration Commission

Sensitisation and Outreach

- Examine the effectiveness, to date, of the Commission's sensitization campaigns and strategies, in order to evaluate what worked best, why it worked and how such approaches might be expanded. Determine what did not work and establish the reasons why;
- Study in more depth how the families in Rwanda, whose husbands, fathers, sons and daughters are in the FDLR/RUD, can be more effectively brought on board to help encourage repatriation. Many of the close relatives asked to be much more involved. Care will need to be taken as to how such initiatives are put together, but there are many opportunities waiting to be taken;
- Consider commissioning documentaries, for example on Rwanda Television, to advance the Commission's goals. Through family, friends and the network of returnees, information will eventually reach the Kivus that fathers, mothers, wives or children are alive and are doing well in Rwanda, or that a particular elderly parent is anxious to see his or her child etc.
- Produce media programmes, on the radio, television or in written form, that are much more pro-active and aggressive in countering insidious propaganda and providing information about the conditions in Rwanda, in an effort to distance the rank and file from the leadership. For example, show how the wives and children of a substantial number of the senior officers/politicians are living in comfort and safety in Rwanda or abroad, studying, working and building a future in contrast to what they are asking of young combatants and cadres;
- Increase the weekly frequency of the programmes that are aimed at the FDLR. Leaders exploit repeats of the same programmes to argue that the interviewees were subsequently killed. Care should therefore be taken to avoid repetition and to offer as much variety as possible.
- Examine the feasibility of using ex-FDLR/RUD combatants in the work of sensitization. Many said they are willing to return to the DRC under the protection of MONUC.

- Explore the possibility of approaches to the large number of wives of FDLR officers living in Goma, most of them married to officers who are economically well off.

Collection, Preservation and Sharing of Information

- Equip the Mutobo demobilisation centre in Ruhengeri with an electronic database in order to collect and preserve the information which is provided by the constant flow of ex-combatants who pass through the centre;
- Establish clear internal guidelines concerning the use of this information, some of which will be of a sensitive nature, in regards to its dissemination between the relevant institutions in Rwanda and also what information can be made available to other concerned parties.

To the Government of Rwanda

Initiating, Supporting and Sustaining Domestic and International Action on Genocide Suspects Among the Leadership of Rwandan Armed Groups Abroad

- Investigate the numerous and serious allegations that some of the military and political leaders of the FDLR, RUD and individuals associated with other small Rwandan armed groups were involved in either planning and or implementing the genocide;
- Process and forward the identities of genocide suspects operating within the DRC, supported by strong evidence, to the relevant authorities in the Government of the DRC, in line with the Nairobi Communiqué of November 2007, accompanied by a request that the appropriate action be taken;
- Encourage other foreign governments to initiate investigations with regard to the representatives and supporters of the FDLR and RUD living in their countries who may be implicated in the genocide;
- Continue to facilitate and assist accordingly where appropriate, visits by, and requests for information from, foreign investigators and prosecutors;
- Establish a high level task force, with senior representatives from all the key government institutions, to facilitate the exchange of ideas and information so that communication becomes routine and institutionalized, which will not only help Rwanda address the multiple challenges it faces with regard to armed groups abroad, but will greatly assist visitors from foreign countries and institutions involved in the issues;
- Increase the staff and funding and overall strength of the Genocide Fugitive Tracking Unit with the introduction of experienced staff from other GoR

departments similarly tasked with the tracking of genocide fugitives, which will allow for a more structured and fluid approach to all enquiries generated by interested parties;

- Examine the possibility of direct appointment to the Tracking Unit of international investigators experienced in this type of work in order to reinforce the capacity of the Unit with respect to:
 - Gathering of evidence, including taking and documenting sworn witness statements;
 - Compilation of relevant charge sheets;
 - Assembly of prima facie cases;
 - Investigative and case-building expertise;
 - The ability to establish and recognise productive lines of enquiry;
 - Introduction of best practice in file management;
 - Training in gathering and presenting material for extradition purposes;
 - Preparation of well-researched and thoroughly prepared extradition requests.
- Develop and enhance the current programme in relation to the security and, where necessary, the protection of witnesses who have indicated a willingness to testify against any of the leaders implicated in the genocide.

To the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

- Make every effort to fulfil the obligations and commitments that relate to the DRC in relation to the 2007 Nairobi Communiqué. Failure to do so has had an extremely adverse impact on the people, security and economy of the Kivus, on the stability of the DRC and on the Great Lakes in general;
- With international assistance, aid, establish, equip, train and implement a multi functional task force for the purpose of robustly investigating and prosecuting all alleged acts of criminality committed by members of the known armed groups operating within the DRC;
- Appoint appropriate liaison officers between the relevant investigatory authorities of the GOR and the DRC for the purpose of exchanging relevant information in respect of all known armed groups and personnel operating within the DRC.

To Other Foreign Governments Where the Leaders of Rwandan Armed Groups Reside and Operate

- Encourage a proactive rather than a reactive approach in identifying who these leaders are, and establishing their current whereabouts in your respective countries;

- Share relevant information with other countries given the close collaboration between individuals living in neighbouring countries, or in the same sub-region;
- Where possible, inhibit or disrupt political and fund-raising activities, as well as travel, of known official representatives;
- Systematically pursue and prosecute genocide suspects and those who have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity against the people of the Kivus.

To the African Union

- Take strong and visible leadership internationally, and within Africa, in addressing the destructive security, political, economic and social impact of the presence of the FDLR and RUD in eastern DRC;
- Discourage African states from allowing Rwandan armed groups, particularly the FDLR which has active cells and representatives in many African countries, to use their countries to destabilise the DRC and Rwanda and by extension the Great Lakes region.

To the European Union

- Recognize, as a basis for concerted action, just how critically important Europe is to the FDLR and RUD. Europe is home to senior powerful leaders who consistently oppose and sabotage the repatriation of combatants from the DRC to Rwanda, as a source of diplomatic and political support and as a platform for access to an influential first-world media that helps to shape international debate about possible opportunities for action;
- As a matter of priority, and without delay, establish a European legal framework which allows the EU to tackle, in a productive and effective manner, the activities in Europe of persons associated with Rwandan armed groups, and within which, the relevant Ministries of Justice can take common action and collaborate across national borders;
- Provide member states with the mechanisms for exchanging information, formulating and developing strategies for action on a regular basis, given the extensive and tight networks maintained across Europe by representatives and supporters of Rwandan armed groups;
- Ensure that Member States use existing cooperation mechanisms such as Eurojust and the EU Network of contact points in respect of persons responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes to cooperate with each other in the investigation and potential prosecution of individuals living in Europe and

linked to Rwandan groups which suggest participation in the 1994 genocide or in crimes against humanity in the DRC;

- Enhance the effectiveness of EU efforts by encouraging and ensuring coordination of activities of relevant EU institutions, for example between the EU's Special Representative for the Great Lakes with the Justice and Home Affairs Council;
- Review Council Common Position 2008/369/CFSP concerning restrictive measures against the Democratic Republic of the Congo and update the list of persons listed in the Annex, in particular with regard to individuals who actively support the FDLR, RUD and other Rwandan armed groups from their base in European countries. If those individuals under scrutiny are added to the Annex, enact and enforce sanctions;
- Ensure that Member States take the necessary measures to comply with Council Common Position 2008/369/CFSP by placing restrictive measures on all non-governmental entities and individuals who meet the criteria detailed in Article 3, including, but not limited to, violation of the arms embargo and impeding disarmament and voluntary repatriation. Meet with relevant national authorities on a regular basis for exchange of information on the measures taken to enforce restrictive measures such as arms embargos, travel bans and asset freezes on the relevant individuals and non-governmental entities.

To European Countries

- Recognize, as a basis for concerted action, just how critically important Europe is to the FDLR and RUD. Europe is home to senior powerful leaders who consistently oppose and sabotage the repatriation of combatants from the DRC to Rwanda, as a source of diplomatic and political support and as a platform for access to an influential first-world media that helps to shape international debate about possible opportunities for action;
- Where necessary reform legislation, and take other administrative measures to make it difficult for FDLR and RUD leaders in Africa to take advantage of the right of refugees to family reunion and to settle in Europe as dependants of their spouses. The clear evidence that many of them send their families ahead of them to European countries, as a way of gaining admittance later, is a loophole that should be closed;
- Investigate allegations against individuals living in Europe and linked to Rwandan groups which suggest participation in the 1994 genocide or in crimes against humanity in the DRC and where appropriate prosecute or extradite to Rwanda;
- Discuss, on a regular basis, joint action on an EU level, for instance in the Article 36 Committee, to ensure that there is a common European response to the

presence of genocide suspects and other individuals linked to crimes against humanity in the DRC.

To the United States Government

- Broaden the US Rewards for Justice Programme, which has included Rwanda since July 2002 with regard to fugitives from the ICTR. A significant number of “big fish” were arrested in different African countries immediately it came into operation. The fugitives who were on the list from the outset, and who are still at large, include senior officers with the FDLR who are profiled in this report. The programme should be expanded to cover some of the other key figures whose names appear above, and publicized as widely as possible;

To the UN Security Council

- Place the FDLR, *as an organisation*, on a sanctions list that takes full account of its history and the enormous damage it continues to inflict on the people of eastern DRC, ensuring that any such sanctions are not be limited to a few individuals;
- Impress upon the UN that they should state, clearly, that the FDLR is not a legitimate political opposition, as claimed by its leaders, but, an armed group engaged in criminal activities, in many cases amounting to gross human rights violations, and that sanctioned activities should include membership in, and political leadership of, the FDLR;
- Enforce the meaning of the United Nations Convention against Genocide by undertaking a thorough examination of the serious and consistent accusations levelled against Callixte Mbarushimana, the current executive director of the FDLR, regarding his participation in the genocide;
- In 2001, the UN itself carried out an inquiry that concluded that he was suspected of directing and participating in the murder of 32 people, including employees of the UN. Following this investigation, the ICTR prepared an indictment, which ultimately they failed to act upon. Preliminary research for this report indicates that Mbarushimana took a lead role in the genocide while working for the UN in Kigali, utilising various resources of the UN to do so. The clear evidence that he was fully engaged in recruiting and training interahamwe militiamen long before the genocide, when he was a UN employee, demands answers as well as action. His success in evading justice stands as an indictment of the collective will of the international community, which the UN both reflects and represents.

To MONUC

- Provide, as a basis for international action, well-documented and up to date research on the human, economic, social, security and political consequences of

the presence, criminal activities and military operations of Rwandan armed groups in the DRC;

- Establish and substantiate any links that exist between the activities of these groups and their known leaders who live freely in the countries of Europe, Africa and North America;
- Allocate sufficient resources to develop, evaluate, and disseminate, full intelligence in relation to the activities of the FDLR and RUD, including personal profiles of leaders, detailed descriptions of economic activities and careful documentation of war crimes allegations, and gross human rights abuses;
- Assign appropriate resources towards an effective media strategy for the purpose of providing timely information and analysis to help to counter the efforts of the FDLR and RUD leadership who undermine the ongoing programme of repatriation of combatants to Rwanda;
- Cooperate fully with international efforts to investigate war crimes allegations made against the FDLR and RUD.