

ANNEX TO LETTER FROM AFRICAN RIGHTS AND REDRESS

**SUMMARY OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO
AFRICAN RIGHTS ON RWANDESE GENOCIDE
SUSPECTS IN ZAMBIA**

**SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
ZAMBIA**

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Working for Justice

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Note: The summaries below come from interviews and related research carried out by *African Rights* throughout Rwanda from 1994 to 2010. Full witness statements exist for each individual interviewed and may be supplied to investigators subject to confidentiality considerations. Names have in most cases been changed to protect the identity of the persons being interviewed.

DR. ANTOINE KAMANZI

In April 1994, Dr. Antoine Kamanzi, a surgeon, was the medical director of Kilinda hospital located in Shyembe cellule¹, Bwakira commune, in the préfecture of Kibuye. He comes from Rubengera cellule in what was then sector Gihara, commune Mabanza, also in Kibuye.

Kamanzi has been repeatedly identified by perpetrators and survivors in Kilinda as one of the men who was instrumental in planning, facilitating and overseeing the massacres which took place in his hospital and at the nearby School of Nursing (ESI) on the evening of 14 April 1994. Many of those who took up arms in Kilinda say they did so under the instigation of a group of local leaders, including Kamanzi.

In Kilinda, as elsewhere, the killings have been attributed to the men—and some women—who were regarded as community leaders, for example doctors, teachers, clergymen, civilian and military officials, businessmen and other individuals who wielded influence and power. Following the death of President Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994, Kamanzi was often seen in the company of the men who commanded respect or obedience in Kilinda. This group included:

- Michel Twagirayesu², president of the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda, who used to live in Zambia himself but who is now resident in the United States;
- Marcellin Nsengiyumva, director of ESI, living in eastern DRC;
- Amani Nyiringabo, a businessman in Kilinda, in the DRC;
- Tharcisse Kabasha, bourgmestre of Bwakira, is also said to be living in the DRC;
- André Kagimbandabo, a former préfet (governor) of Cyangugu who comes from Kibuye and is related to Kabasha;
- Silas Kubwimana, a businessman from Taba, Gitarama, who is married to Twagirayesu's niece. He is also said to be in the DRC;
- Moïse Semirindi, a businessman, imprisoned in Rwanda;
- Anaclet Rudakubana, a deputy-préfet in Kibuye whose whereabouts are unknown.

¹ The structure of local administration in Rwanda was completely overhauled between 2001-2006. However, the names used in this report correspond to the system as it existed during the genocide.

² For further information about the allegations concerning the role of Michel Twagirayesu in the genocide, see *The Protestant Churches and the Genocide: An Appeal to the World Council of Churches' Meeting in Harare*, December 1998, African Rights.

Instead of harnessing their position in the community to promote peace, witnesses say that they combined their authority and resources to urge as many Hutus as possible to take up arms against their Tutsi neighbors, colleagues, friends and even relatives. Kamanzi is said to have participated in a number of meetings to plan the genocide which took place in Kilinda, specifically at Amahoro guesthouse and restaurant, ESI and the hospital. Claire³, a hospital worker, was troubled by these meetings and said she sought assurances from Dr. Kamanzi.

I asked Kamanzi if Tutsis were going to have problems. He told me: "No my sister. Don't worry. We're going to watch out for the security of Tutsis." I was quite insistent and asked him why he was meeting with Silas and Amani, who were known to be members of the CDR [Committee for the Defence of the Republic].⁴ His response was: "Don't be afraid; these are just meetings to see how to ensure your security."

In the week between 7-14 April, Kamanzi was said to have allowed militiamen to roam freely around the hospital. As tensions rose in the area from 7 April onwards, Kamanzi allegedly encouraged local Tutsis in search of refuge to come to the hospital, insisting that they would be safe there. Lured by these promises of protection, a number of them made to the hospital as their homes were looted and then burned down. They included employees of the hospital, for example two nurses, Gahima and Muremangingo, who went to the hospital with their wives and children. The refugees became increasingly anxious as Tutsis who had been wounded in their homes and hideouts were brought to the hospital, and told of the murderous campaigns underway in their villages.

On the afternoon of 14 April, a truck brought additional injured Tutsis from Bwakira town; they had been staying in an adult literacy center, known as IGA, close to the commune office.

Edourad, who has pleaded guilty to the crime of genocide in Kilinda, was in the town centre around 6:30 p.m. when a large group of militiamen descended on Kilinda. He remembers Kamanzi, armed with a Kalashnikov, coming to urge him to join the massacre of Tutsis at the hospital.

It is Antoine Kamanzi who invited me to take part in killing the Tutsis in the hospital.

He spoke of the measures taken by Kamanzi and Nyiringabo to mobilize an adequate force.

³ With rare exceptions, pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of interviewees.

⁴ The Committee for the Defence of the Republic (CDR) was known for its commitment to political extremism. Members of the CDR played a key role in the planning and execution of the genocide.

Before we began our work, Amani Nyiringabo and Antoine Kamanzi left the militiamen, who had arrived that afternoon, in front of the hospital. They then went to invite the residents of Kilinda who lived near the trading centre to come and assist the others. There were more than 100 militiamen.

Jacques denies the allegations that he aided and abetted the men at the hospital, but when questioned by a *gacaca*⁵ court on 15 February 2007 about how the massacre at the hospital had unfolded, he commented:

When I arrived at the hospital, I met the other hospital guards, Simon Habiyambare and Mbaraga. Simon informed me that Antoine, the director, had told him that a large group would come to attack the hospital. Simon and Mbaraga were in front of the hospital, near the commercial area and the shops. Militiamen came and started to sharpen their machetes on the cement. One of them, Charles Mugwaneza, had a large axe. I saw other militiamen between the ESI and the hospital.

At the hospital, the refugees had spread out over three rooms. Gahima and Muremangingo hid in a small office with their families; the wives and children of other refugees were at the back of the hospital, and the injured from Bwakira remained in one of the wards towards the front of the hospital. Kamanzi was seen advancing with the interahamwe towards the hospital carrying a gun. The killing began between 7:00-8:00 p.m. Most of the lights were switched off, and the assailants moved around with torches.

Once inside the hospital, Kamanzi, according to witnesses, opened the doors to the rooms where people were hiding, so the militia could enter and kill those inside. He has also been accused of providing weapons to the assailants at the hospital.

Gisèle, a survivor, also spoke at *gacaca* on 15 February 2007.

Antoine, the director of the hospital, was among the militiamen who came. It is Antoine who was opening up doors for the militiamen to enter the rooms and kill those inside.

The massacre, in which about 50 people died, did not take long. According to Edouard, one of the first men to enter the hospital, "it was not difficult for us to find the Tutsis" since the hospital guards served as guides. These are the same guards who, as noted earlier, said they had been told by Kamanzi to expect an attack.

The two guards knew precisely where all the Tutsis in the hospital were and revealed their hiding places.

⁵ Gacaca courts were set up specifically as community courts to hear and judge cases related to the 1994 genocide.

As the interahamwe moved towards the ESI, where the second massacre of the evening would take place between 9:00-10:00 p.m., witnesses, including Edouard, say they saw Kamanzi with Michel Twagirayesu and Marcellin Nsengiyumva, standing between the hospital and the school. Edouard gave the following details.

On our way towards ESI, we saw Twagirayesu, Antoine Kamanzi and Marcellin. They were between the school and the hospital, near Murenzi's garage.

When the killings ended, Kamanzi is said to have watched as cars were loaded with the corpses of the victims. The corpses were later thrown into the nearby Nyabarongo River. The wives of Gahima and Muremangingo, and one of their daughters, were thrown into the river alive. The girl drowned, but the older women climbed out, and were later pursued and murdered by militiamen.

Later that evening, Kamanzi, together with many of the leaders of the genocide in Kilinda, according to persons present, bought beers to congratulate the militia for their work at the hospital and at the ESI. Eric, aged 17 at the time, admits that he killed at both the hospital and the ESI.

Silas, Amani, Niyonzima, the directors of the ESI and the hospital, the pastors Léonidas Ntibimenya and Mphizi, and Semirindi, served us beer.

The following day, Kamanzi told workers at the hospital to clean up the blood and continue to work as normal.

Dr. Kamanzi fled Rwanda at the end of the genocide. He is now thought to be living in Zambia as a Zambian national and as a member of the Surgical Society of Zambia.

DR. AUGUSTIN CYIMANA, FRANÇOIS TWAGIRAMUNGU, CHRISOSTOM BUDENGERI AND MARTIN NDAMAGE

The genocide began in the commune of Mugina, in the préfecture of Gitarama, because of the determination of a group of men from the area, for the most part professionals, soldiers and serving and retired local government officials. Some of them apparently live in Zambia, others in neighbouring Malawi or DRC, while at least one key figure is resident in Europe. They were themselves either from Mugina, or from the bordering commune of Ntongwe.



Twagiramungu François

This team consisted of:

- Dr. Augustin Cyimana, who was working at Kigali's main public hospital, the Centre Hospitalier de Kigali (CHK) in April 1994. He comes from commune Ntongwe in Gitarama. As far as is known, he is currently a doctor at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka. Cyimana was, until recently, president of the FDLR in Zambia;
- Major Pierre-Claver Karangwa⁶, a military officer based in Kigali, but who travelled regularly between Kigali and Mugina, his home area. Karangwa currently lives in The Netherlands;
- François Twagiramungu, a businessman who had been bourgmestre of Mugina from 1986-90. He currently is believed to live in Zambia. ***François Twagiramungu is on Interpol's Wanted List.***
- Martin Ndamage, who became bourgmestre of Mugina during the genocide. He is believed to be living in Zambia;
- Chrisostom Budengeri, a medical assistant at Mugina health centre. He was responsible for a programme of vaccinations in both Mugina and Ntongwe. Budengeri became a close friend of Twagiramungu, and they are said to have owned a pharmacy together in Mugina. He was, and may still be, the 1st vice chairman of the FDLR in Zambia. He is said to own two shops in Zambia as well as a minibus.

⁶ Prior to the genocide, Major Karangwa was the liaison officer between the Ministry of Defence and the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) which had arrived in Rwanda in December 1993 to monitor the Arusha Accords. In April 1994, he was appointed as a special envoy at the disposal of the Chef d'État-Major.

- Charles Kagabo, bourgmestre of commune Ntongwe. Kagabo may have lived in Zambia at one time, but he is now said to be with the FDLR in Walikale, North Kivu, where he apparently serves as an emissary of the FDLR to the Mai Mai militia.

Together, these men and their allies are said to have incited and led the genocide in Mugina. They allegedly encouraged Hutus to turn against Tutsis, recruited the militia which operated in the area, distributed guns, grenades and ammunition to them, organized and led them during a series of massacres at the Catholic Parish of Mugina between 21-25 April 1994 and urged them to track down survivors until the very end.

Although these men, individually and collectively, participated in the genocide elsewhere in Rwanda, this section of the report focuses on the preparations for a series of massacres at the Parish of Mugina.

A Force to Be Reckoned With: Callixte Ndagijimana

In April 1994, the commune of Mugina in Gitarama was fortunate to have Callixte Ndagijimana as bourgmestre. Because of his leadership and tenacity, the people of Mugina united to insulate their commune from the anti-Tutsi violence taking place in neighbouring areas. The fact that he was himself a former soldier provided an additional measure of protection.

Drawn by news that the bourgmestre of Mugina was able to contain the genocide in his area, Tutsis poured into Mugina from Kigali city, Bugesera, Musambira and Nyamabuye in Gitarama, and in particular from the two neighboring communes of Runda and Ntongwe. The existence of a large camp for Burundian refugees meant that Tutsis were being hunted down in Ntongwe from the outset. Because Ndagijimana welcomed Tutsis and was attentive to their need for security, material assistance and moral encouragement, there was a constant influx of Tutsis into Mugina. Some stayed at the commune office, and others set up camp at the local Catholic parish.

As the refugees came, so did the interahamwe, especially those from Runda who followed the Tutsis into Mugina.

Laying the Groundwork: Distributing Weapons and Rallying the Militia

The position taken by Ndagijimana, commented Onésphore, a former soldier, “created conflict with educated Hutus from Mugina, including those who should have been loyal colleagues, like Martin Ndamage.”

Ever since Callixte had to release the militiamen who were spreading violence throughout Mugina, Ndamage had sided

with Major Karangwa and Major Ukurikiyeyezu. Once Ndamage came on the scene, the affairs of the commune were in fact organized and managed by a group who were already preparing for the genocide, whose leaders included François Twagiramungu et Ndamage were like that.

Ndamage and Twagiramungu began recruiting militiamen and preparing them for the killings. They were supported by an officer, Karangwa, who came from Kigali. All the militiamen had to learn how to use the weapons.

During the first week of the genocide, 7-14 April, Karangwa, Twagiramungu and their supporters in Mugina apparently worked hard to convince the Hutus of Mugina to regard any and all Tutsis as their enemies, a people who must be eliminated at all costs.

They apparently also, according to the testimony of Onésphore, sought financial support from local businessmen.

Karangwa and Ukurikiyeyezu got businessmen from Mugina to give financial contributions, and word spread about this in the trading centre. Callixte was not dead yet, but would be soon. Karangwa and Ukurikiyeyezu were, with the help of Ndamage and Twagiramungu, able to convince the businessmen to give their money towards supporting the interahamwe and the Burundian refugees at Ntongwe. These refugees were ready and willing to help kill the Tutsis. I was in the trading centre when all of this happened. Some of the others who had been invited to the meeting included Simon Sibomana, Karekezi and Gashugi Muzuka.

Eulade, then 22, imprisoned in Gitarama central prison, lived in sector Bibungo. He said he was one of the men who guarded a roadblock established by Twagiramungu and others near his home, where the road intersects Mukinga and Bibungo sectors. But because of the vigilance of the bourgmestre, he commented: "We didn't really amount to very much."

The bourgmestre, Callixte, had threatened to imprison us if we dared to kill the Tutsis.

But the situation changed, commented Eulade, after Karangwa stopped by the roadblock one morning and learned that the genocide of Tutsis had not yet been launched in Mugina.

Karangwa urged us not to be afraid to begin the hunt for Tutsis since no one had been given authority to impose order. He returned at about 5:00 p.m. He left promising us moral and material support.

To reign in the leading troublemakers, the bourgmestre arrested Barnabé Uwizeyimana, alias Batakanwa, a former soldier regarded as Karangwa's right-hand man in Mugina, and about a dozen other militiamen. Alerted by their families, Karangwa arrived in Mugina and angrily demanded that Ndagijimana release the men. Because they felt protected, the released detainees immediately went on the offensive in the sectors of Mugina where a lot of Tutsis lived, that is Cyeru, Kayonza and Mukingo.

On the morning of Monday, 11 April, Batakanwa and his men from sector Cyeru allegedly threw grenades at the home of a Tutsi shopkeeper named Cômes Sebucyangi located in cellule Munini, sector Kiyonza, close to the commercial centre of Kabuga. Hutus and Tutsis in Kiyonza joined forces to fight off the men from Cyeru. "Their solidarity", said Damien, "was a response to the appeals for unity from Ndagijimana." In the confrontation, one man from the joint Hutu/Tutsi force was killed, and another had his leg blown off by the grenades. Karangwa arrived towards evening. Instead of disarming the culprits, he apparently ordered everyone who had a weapon to load it in his vehicle, and then handed out a bag of grenades to the people of Cyeru. Many Tutsis in Mugina reached the same conclusion as Stanislas.

That's when it dawned on us that we couldn't afford to take things lightly, and to see that the hunt for Tutsis had begun in earnest.

Discouraged and demoralized, the Tutsis of Mugina began to seek refuge at the parish in ever greater numbers and joined the refugees who had come from other communes and regions.

By contrast, Karangwa's intervention bolstered the morale of the interahamwe of Mugina and of Ntongwe, as noted by Eulade.

By 12 April everything had completely changed. Twagiramungu and [Théogène] Nyandwi came to see us at the roadblock. They told me I was to stay there and that everyone who passed through there had to be interrogated down to the most minute details to see if they had a connection to the *inyenzi* [the RPF].

Eulade said he and other militiamen were told, as early as the 12th or the 13th, by Twagiramungu and a close associate, to make an attempt against the parish.

Twagiramungu and Nyandwi told us we had to attack the parish because most of the Tutsis were there. A group of interahamwe took us to the parish, but the Tutsis there were stronger than the militia from sectors Mukinga and Bibungo.

Despite four successive days of attacks, we still had not obtained our objective of eliminating the Tutsis. Callixte

Ndagijimana had helped the refugees to put up a solid defence. We were afraid of approaching them too directly because, although they used traditional weapons, there were a lot of rumours around saying that Callixte had given them guns.

An assault of 19 April, with Twagiramungu as one of the leaders, was particularly serious, as Théodore explained.

There were militiamen from Ntongwe and from Cyeru and Bibungo in Mugina. Twagiramungu led the men from Bibungo. We had to work very hard to push them back, but we managed, somehow.

An attempt on the life of the bourgmestre, as he was addressing the refugees at the parish, and rumours about meetings to prepare their demise, were deeply unsettling to the refugees.

On the morning of 21 April, Ndagijimana travelled to Gitarama town. On his way back to Mugina, he was ambushed, along with his driver and a friend, on the border of Mugina and Ntongwe, near a camp for Burundian refugees. Militiamen who have confessed say that he was killed with the complicity of Dr. Augustin Cyimana, Charles Kagabo and Chrisostom Budengeri.

The Next Step: The Assassination of Callixte Ndagijimana

Although Ndagijimana was trapped close to the camp for Burundian refugees, he was not killed there. He was murdered near the residence of the parents of Dr. Cyimana. At the time of African Rights' investigations in 2007, what was left of his car was still in the same spot, the cellule where Cyimana's parents had been living.

Thomas is a farmer from sector Kinazi in Ntongwe who was imprisoned in Gitarama. He admits that he himself was active in killing the Tutsis of Kinazi and accuses Dr Cyimana and Kagabo of collusion in the murder of the bourgmestre.

I wasn't there when he was actually executed, but I saw with my own eyes that Cyimana and the bourgmestre, Charles Kagabo, were jubilant after his murder.

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. A few minutes later, I saw Cyimana approach Kagabo's home in a Red Cross vehicle, accompanied by four other people. He was transporting the corpse of Callixte, whose shoes had been removed. Kagabo was very happy to welcome Cyimana.

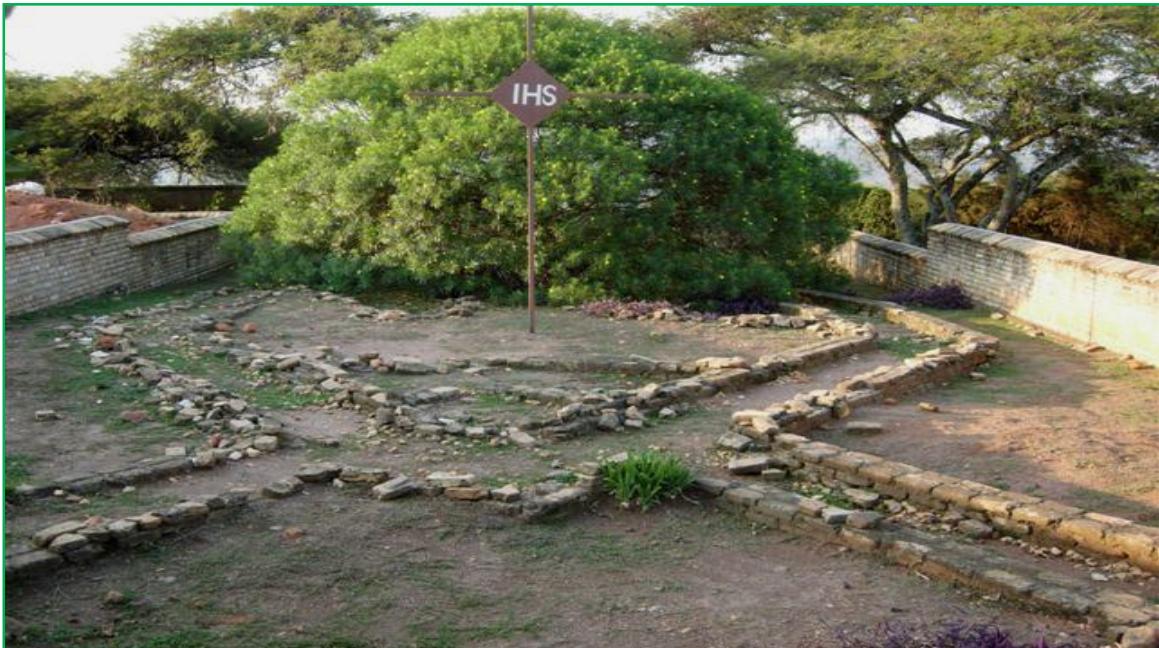
They parked the car in front of Kagabo's house and Dr. Cyimana got out of the vehicle. He seemed very pleased and hurried to go and meet the bourgmestre inside his house. Soon afterwards, the two of them came out together, hand in hand, with wide smiles on their faces. The doctor directed him towards the corpse of Callixte and said to Kagabo: "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 he climbed into his vehicle.

From his behaviour, Eulade is also convinced that Budengeri was involved in the assassination of the bourgmestre.

Budengeri shared a beer with Twagiramungu in Mugina's commercial center to show his pleasure. Militiamen who were wandering around the trading area were also treated to drinks. I have no doubt that Budengeri was involved in the death of Callixte. He went to Ntongwe just before Callixte died, and then reappeared in Mugina the same day, immediately after Callixte's murder. And afterwards, he and Twagiramungu began an aggressive campaign to recruit militiamen to massacre the Tutsis at the Parish of Mugina.

The news about Ndagijimana's murder "filled the refugees with fear", said Théodore. Many of them tried to leave, but found they were encircled by roadblocks. Some were obliged to return to the parish by militia men in the area, and others were murdered before they made it across to Burundi. The gendarmes who had been at the parish also left. We were, said Théodore, "completely abandoned." The massacres at the parish began the very day Ndagijimana was murdered, Thursday, 21 April, and the killing continued unabated until Monday, 25 April. But there was no let up in the hunt for survivors as Twagiramungu, Budengeri and other close associates put in place strategies to locate the whereabouts of Tutsis in Mugina and neighbouring communes.



A mass grave next to the Parish of Mugina contains the bodies of thousands of the victims, most of them killed during the massacre there.

Flushing Out the Survivors

Daniel, a former soldier who was imprisoned in connection with the genocide in Mugina, spoke of how Kagabo, Twagiramungu and Budengeri tried to lure Tutsis who were still alive out of their hideouts, and to entice Hutus to surrender the neighbours and friends they were sheltering. Daniel said he tried to save two young girls from Mugina, only to find himself a prisoner of Kagabo in Ntongwe.

The men who led the slaughter of the refugees at the parish, which cost the lives of thousands of Tutsis, suspected certain Hutus of hiding Tutsis in their homes. They initially found it hard to convince them to hand over these Tutsis. So, nearly a week after the Mugina massacres, they held a meeting at

Twagiramungu's house to find ways of getting their hands on these Tutsis.

Budengeri, Léonard Kabiligi, a judge, and Cyprien, the inspector of schools in Mugina, met and made up a story which was spread throughout the commune immediately after they had talked together in Twagiramungu's bar. They asked Hutus to bring the Tutsis out of their homes since peace had been re-established everywhere.

This was a lie because the militiamen from sector Bibungo had just been looking for Tutsis in all the bushes of Bibungo. And everyone knew that they operated under Twagiramungu's orders.

He said he found out about these plans because he wanted to take the two girls in his house to Burundi.

The girls were Rose Mukantaba and Spéciose Nyirtaba. Their dad was called Rwagatore and they lived in sector Ngoma.

On the 24th or 25th of April, the interahamwe from sector Mukinga, led by Bimenyimana, known as Bihanga, and Alphonse Karangwa, came to my house. They said the order to search for Tutsis had been given by Karangwa, Twagiramungu, Cyprien, Budengeri and the other leaders of the massacres. But because I was already aware of their plans, I had made sure they wouldn't discover the girls in my house. I had taken them to a bush outside, so they left empty handed.

He said he decided to take the girls to Burundi that very night, at about 2:00 a.m.

We reached Kinazi, Ntongwe, at dawn. I didn't know the militia patrolled the commercial hub of Kinazi throughout the night. We were arrested by about 30 men at the roadblock opposite the house where milk is collected for sale in Kinazi.

Next came an encounter with the bourgmestre himself.

Kagabo was there as head of the group. He was torturing six Tutsis who had been captured that night. He was wearing a military uniform and a big black hat and was carrying a Kalashnikov.

When he saw us, Kagabo ordered us to stay still. He told his assistants: "These *inyenzi* never stop coming!" He demanded our identity cards. When he saw that I was a Hutu, he exclaimed: "Here's a Hutu who's still turning a deaf ear! He separated me from the girls, saying he was going to take me to his house to punish me severely. He left the girls and the

other six Tutsis in the hands of his men. He said everyone must be dead by the time he returned.

According to Daniel, Kagabo told two men at his house to tie him up and started to beat him when Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi⁷ arrived.

Muvunyi had come to see Kagabo. Kagabo explained to him why I was being punished. Muvunyi asked that I be handed over to him so he could take me to Butare and give me the punishment reserved for accomplices of the *inkotanyi*. They took me back to where the two girls and the six Tutsis were. They ordered the militamen to kill them and to throw them into a mass grave on Samuel Mubiligi's land. Mubiligi, Kagabo's brother-in-law, is now in Gitarama central prison.

In Butare, he added that Muvunyi ordered his execution, but that he tricked a soldier to facilitate his escape, after which he went to live in commune Nyaruhengeri.

Eulade confirmed the meeting at Twagiramungu's home once the massacres at the parish had come to an end.

I saw Budengeri at Twagiramungu's house, in Bibungo sector, about a week after the Tutsis of Mugina had been wiped out. He met there with the other leaders of the genocide in Mugina, including:

- Kanyanzira, an agronomist; he's in Gitarama prison but hasn't confessed;
- Ruhara, also an agronomist;
- Marc, president of the district court. He's still in exile;
- Cyprien Birindabagabo, a teacher;
- Léonard Kabiligi, a judge. He is in prison, but has refused to confess;
- Cyprien, an inspector of schools.

They had a hard time convincing Hutus to reveal the identity of the Tutsis who were still alive. And so they made up lies and took advantage of the naïveté of people who were sheltering them. They assured them that no-one would harm these Tutsis and announced they had just declared peace. Their speeches led Hutus to bring out the women and

⁷ Lt. Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi was the most senior military officer responsible for security operations in Butare and Gikongoro during the genocide. He was also the officer in charge of the School for Non-Commissioned Officers (ESO) in Butare. He was based in Butare. He was arrested in London on 5 February 2000 and transferred to the ICTR in Arusha on 30 October 2000. On 12 September 2006, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison. For details about his activities in 1994, see African Rights' report, *Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi: A Rwandese Genocide Commander Living in Britain, Witness to Genocide*, No.12, April 2000.

children in their homes. That same day, Twagiramungu's militiamen eliminated all the people who emerged from their hiding places.

This didn't happen only in Bibungo. When they realized how successful their strategy was, the genocide leaders invited all the councillors to follow their example.

Berthilde was one the women the planners had in mind. A farmer, she was living in Ntongwe. Saying she was "disgusted with life" after all her family had been murdered, she decided to expose herself to danger.

I wanted to find someone to kill me. The Tutsis of Ntongwe and Mugina, including all my family, had already been massacred.

Very early in the morning, I came out of my hiding place, in my sector, and headed in the direction of Kinazi. I knew there I would find many militiamen under the control of the bourgmestre, Charles Kagabo, who couldn't let me escape.

I reached Kinazi at around 8:00 a.m. My first surprise was to see Budengeri at the roadblock with soldiers. When he saw me he exclaimed: "Oh look, here's a Tutsi who's still alive." There were five militiamen there, all carrying guns, including Budengeri. He asked me why I had come to meet them there. Instead of saying that I was looking for death, my head immediately started to ache and I told him that I wanted some medication. He replied there were no medicines available for Tutsis. The stocks, he said, were reserved exclusively for soldiers and Hutus.

One of the soldiers wanted to shoot her.

But another spoke with Budengeri and they let me continue, saying that Tutsi women who were still alive were being saved to make a bed for Habyarimana's body.⁸ I returned to my sector to look for somewhere to conceal myself. And this time, I had no intention of trying again to tempt death.

According to Thomas, Budengeri came often to Ntongwe during the genocide to "provide medical care to militiamen and soldiers." He said he met him again during the mass exodus out of Gitarama.

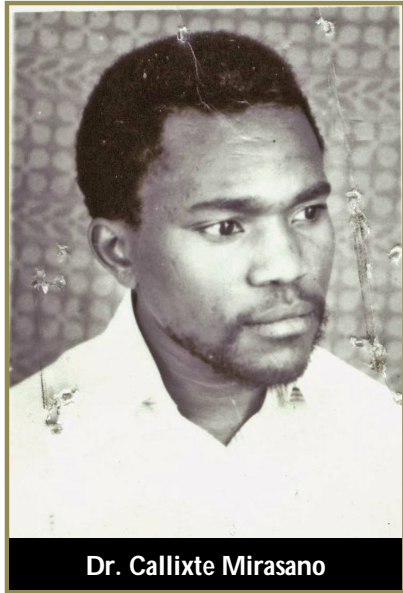
I also met Budengeri face to face when we were all fleeing the *inkotanyi* and we had reached Gitare in Nyamabuye

⁸ During the genocide, it was said that Habyarimana would be buried on 5 July, the anniversary of the day he came to power in 1973, and of the creation of his party, the MRND, in 1975.

commune. He was on a Suzuki T.F. motorcycle. This was around the end of May, as our commune had fallen into the hands of the *inkotanyi* on 26 May. As we were moving, he encouraged people to be vigilant in certifying that there were no Tutsis amongst us and gave orders to kill any who were discovered.

Most of the survivors of Mugina today consist of the few who got out just after Ndagijimana's murder and ran to the Bishopric of Kabgayi, some of the wounded who were evacuated there by the Red Cross or those who held out in the forests and bushes until the genocide was brought to an end in early July 1994.

DR. CALLIXTE MIRASANO



Dr. Callixte Mirasano

Nyanza, in Nyabisindu commune, Butare, was known for having a large concentration of Tutsi residents. The move to exterminate them therefore required accurate planning, extensive resources and significant motivation. Dr. Callixte Mirasano, a veterinarian who comes from Ruhengeri in the north,⁹ moved to Nyanza around 1987 to replace Dr. Augustin Iyamuremye as the manager of the government-owned Nyabisindu dairy. In the early 1990s, Mirasano distinguished himself as one of the founders and influential members of the Committee for the Defence of the Republic (CDR) in Nyanza. The CDR, which had fully embraced and propagated the ideology of “Hutuism” which formed such an important backdrop to the genocide, was the most extreme of the political parties. His close collaborator in this endeavor was the director of Nyanza Hospital, Dr. Célestin Higiroy, also from the north, who was imprisoned in Nyanza awaiting trial on charges of genocide during the investigations for this report.

In 1992, Mirasano; Gaëtan Kayitani, deputy préfet for the sous-préfecture of Nyabisindu, and Appolinaire Barihuta, known as Tubirimo, director of the Nyanza iron foundry, apparently established a militia. This militia was said to have been composed of men who came from the north, most of them employees of institutions under their control, for example the dairy and the foundry, or those controlled by their political allies, like Electrogaz. This militia became known as *Abakiga* and, from their behaviour, appeared to have the explicit aim of killing Tutsis and political opponents of the CDR.

Among their supposed victims, prior to 1994, was Narcisse Makuza, a teacher they apparently singled out as a Tutsi and supporter of the opposition Liberal Party (PL). During this period, their activities were circumscribed by the vigilance of the bourgmestre of Nyabisindu, Jean Marie-Vianney Gisagara, who took a determined stand against ethnic and political violence.

In 1994, Mirasano apparently joined a group of like-minded men in Nyanza who drew on their position and authority, and the financial, material and human resources

⁹ During the Habyarimana presidency, power, privilege and wealth was concentrated in the hands of people from the three northern préfectures of Ruhengeri, Byumba and especially Gisenyi, where Habyarimana himself came from.

available to them, to put in place all the necessary elements for a highly successful genocide in Nyanza. This group was composed of:

- Captain François-Xavier Birikunzira, known as Masumboko, head of the gendarmerie in Nyanza. Birikunzira is now living in Bénin and where he is a member of the FDLR regional resistance committee for West Africa;
- Gaëtan Kayitana; he is thought to be living in Europe;
- Jean-Damascène Mugenzi, secretary of the office of Nyabisindu sous-préfecture;
- Fr. Hormisdas Nsengimana, a Catholic priest who served as the principal of Christ Roi secondary school. He has been arrested and tried by the ICTR. He was acquitted by the Trial Chamber and his case is awaiting an appeal lodged by the Office of the Prosecutor;¹⁰
- Pierre Ndimumakuba, advisor to the Court of Appeals in Nyanza;
- Appolinaire Barihuta, alias Tubirimo;
- Faustin Mbereye, director of the Electrogaz station in Nyanza, imprisoned in Rwanda;
- Dr. Célestin Higiyo, director of Nyanza Hospital;
- Vincent Nzigiymfura¹¹, a businessman in Nyanza who lived in Malawi until recently. He has now relocated to the United States.

Gisagara faced a formidable challenge from 7 April onwards when the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana served as the trigger for the genocide of Tutsis throughout Rwanda. He intervened to restrain troublemakers and held public meetings to persuade residents to remain united. He worked hard, in particular, to convince the councillors, policemen and other officials accountable to him to maintain security and order. Because of his appeals for calm in Nyanza, Gisagara was perceived as the main source of opposition to genocide in Nyabisindu, and was therefore a principal target for the lead organizers. Between 7-21 April, Mirasano, Birikunzira, Fr. Hormisdas and amongst others, Kayitana, held planning meetings in the offices of Nyabisindu sous-préfecture and in various locations in Nyanza, including the home of Pierre Ndimumakuba.

Because of constant threats, Gisagara was eventually forced to go into hiding. On 21 April, his whereabouts were discovered. He was tied to the back of a van and

¹⁰ For details about the accusations against Fr. Nsengimana in the genocide, see African Rights, *Father Hormisdas Nsengimana: Accused of Genocide, Sheltered by the Church*, Witness to Genocide, Issue 14, November 2001, 43 pages.

¹¹ See African Rights' report of April 2009, Vincent Nzigiymfura in Malawi: A Pillar of the 1994 Genocide.

dragged through the streets of Nyanza, apparently both to torture him and as a warning to other Hutus who dared to resist the call for genocide. He was murdered with seven other close relatives, including his father and two of his brothers.

With the death of Gisagara, the genocide in Nyanza began in earnest on 22 April. Mirasano allegedly worked closely with Birikunzira to put up roadblocks around Nyanza town. He apparently unleashed the militia he had established with others and dispatched them to the roadblocks, telling them to execute any Tutsi in the area.

These interahamwe killed numerous Tutsis, particularly at the roadblock by the home of councillor Gervais, by the home of Anaclet Nkundimfura, who worked at the Nyanza Court of Appeal, and near Urukali centre. Mirasano himself came to the roadblocks to give instructions and was seen at the roadblock in front of Nyanza hospital distributing arms and whistles so that militiamen could alert each other when they discovered a Tutsi.

David, imprisoned in connection with the genocide, was then a secondary school student and lived close to the dairy.

Some roadblocks were directed by Mirasano's key allies. The roadblock near Urukali centre, for example, was under the direction of Mugenzi, the one across from the hospital was under the control of Augustin Twagirimana, known as Le Terrible. Most of the roadblocks were established from 22 April onwards. Until then, Gisagara had stood in the way of such actions.

On 23 April, David said that Mirasano and Birikunzira passed by the roadblock which he was manning and gave him and his colleagues the following instructions:

- Kill the Tutsis;
- Demolish their homes;
- Loot their property.

Anaclet, a prisoner who also accepts that he was an active perpetrator in Nyanza, highlighted Mirasano's role in the distribution of weapons.

Mirasano handed out some of the arms which were used to kill Tutsis. I witnessed this with my own eyes at the roadblock supervised by Augustin Twagirimana. The guns were given to Bushirira and Munyanziza.

Mirasano took advantage of the equipment and supplies available to him as director of the Nyabisindu dairy, and apparently used them to facilitate the elimination of Tutsis in the region. He is said to have motivated the militiamen in their hunt for "enemies" by offering them milk as an incentive. He was also said to have offered the vehicles of the dairy for the use of militiamen, to drive them to the

roadblocks, to take Tutsis to where they would be killed and then to collect their corpses. In particular, Mirasano allegedly transported Tutsis to Nyanza stadium where they were slaughtered in one of the largest massacres in Nyanza. Those who perished there were subsequently loaded into dairy vehicles and dumped into the Mwogo River.

Bonaventure, a driver, said he had many opportunities to see the vehicles of the dairy "at work" during the genocide.

I came to know more about the collaboration between Vincent Nzigiyimfura and the leaders of the genocide in Nyanza, men like Birikunzira and Mirasano, while I was driving the gendarmes who supervised the checkpoints and encouraged Hutus to hunt down Tutsis. Nzigiyimfura had put his truck at the disposal of the interahamwe to transport the bodies of Tutsis to Nyanza stadium. Some Tutsis were driven there alive and executed there. Many vehicles were used to do this dirty work. Mirasano had given all the vehicles of the dairy for the use of a group of mobile militiamen so they could move around. Tubirimo's son drove the vehicle of the ironworks factory for the same purpose.

In addition to encouraging indiscriminate murder, Mirasano apparently called for the deaths of certain individuals. He is said to have kept a list of Tutsis to be killed in his office at the dairy. Cyprien said he recognized some of these names.

I saw the employee payment list in Mirasano's office at the dairy where Mirasano had marked, with a red pen, the names of Tutsis who should be killed.

Mirasano has also been accused of collusion in the deaths of Jean Twagirayezu, the president of the Court of First Instance, and John Simugomwa, a businessman, in the days following Gisagara's death.

Dr Mirasano has been living in Zambia since the end of the genocide and apparently works in Livingstone.

Dr Callixte Mirasano is on Interpol's Wanted List.

JEAN MARIE-VIANNEY HABINEZA



Jean Marie Vianney Habineza

Jean-Mare Vianney Habineza, a teacher by profession, was the bourgmestre of Maraba commune in Butare in 1994, and is said to have been one of the main perpetrators of atrocities in the area. Prior to 1994, Habineza belonged to the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic.

Most of Butare remained an oasis of peace for the first two weeks of the genocide, thanks in large part to the fact that it was the only region in the country with a Tutsi préfet. So on 19 April, the president of the interim government responsible for the genocide, Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, himself a native of Butare, visited that préfecture. He urged the Hutus of Butare not to behave as if they were “unconcerned.” Sindikubwabo’s visit had the desired effect. On 20 April, the genocide was officially launched throughout Butare. But Maraba was one of the few communes in Butare where the genocide had already begun.

Much of the readiness and zeal in Maraba has been attributed to the encouragement and incitement of Habineza who was said to have been a central figure in the preparation and implementation of the genocide in his commune. He was often seen in the area wearing a military uniform and carrying two guns which, witnesses say, he used to shoot several people. He is said to have been the primary leader in establishing roadblocks and working with his communal policemen to take the genocide to all corners of his commune, and beyond.

Habineza has been accused of arming and mobilizing militiamen to kill thousands of Tutsis who had taken refuge at the Catholic Parish of Simbi, and then giving them the orders to attack. One of the young men who obeyed those orders is Esdras.

On Sunday, 17 April, at around 2:00 p.m., Habineza called a meeting in the bush near the convent of the nuns in Simbi. Earlier, soldiers in a red truck had gone around the area with a megaphone telling us where to meet. Habineza told us there weren’t enough of us to risk attacking the parish where all the Tutsi had taken refuge. He told us to come back the next day and that he would go to get reinforcements.

He delivered a different message to the refugees themselves, as Valentine testified.

At about 2:00 p.m. on 17 April, we saw the interhamwe wearing banana leaves and carrying weapons. We threw stones at them. Habineza fired in the air and spoke to the killers. He then told us refugees that he would try to protect us, but that none of us should leave the compound. I remember him saying: "I have 100 bullets to protect you." But he also said if he saw anyone near the edge of the compound he'd shoot because he would assume they were an attacker. He asked us to keep the women and children in the church and have the men come out to stand guard. Finally, he asked us to hand over whatever weapons we had. Many of the refugees who had a weapon handed it over.

When Esdras returned the following day, everything was in place for the killing to begin.

On Monday the 18th, we all knew to gather at Simbi in the morning. We were armed with traditional weapons. I had a *massue* [a club covered with nails]. We met a group of demobilized soldiers who had grenades. I knew two men in that group; one of them was Protais Ngendahayo.

Habineza showed up with some soldiers. They drove up in a red truck. Habineza got out and went to the church where the Tutsis had gathered. Before he left, the soldiers asked us if we were ready to kill these people. We said we were as long as they gave us what we needed to do the job.

Some of the Tutsi came out of the church when Habineza came to talk to them. Others did not and so Habineza said: "Come out, the Red Cross is coming for you." More came out. The soldiers started shooting with their guns and threw their grenades at the people in the courtyard. Many Tutsis tried to force their way out of the parish area. We also threw stones at the church to make them come out of the church, and then killed them with our weapons. Habineza left before the shooting started.

To get rid of the evidence of what had taken place at the parish, Habineza apparently seized the rice stored by Church authorities for the hungry, and offered a kilo to each person who agreed to bury the bodies in shallow graves outside the parish.

Habineza also allegedly targeted Hutus he believed were sympathetic to Tutsis, or used the genocide to settle personal accounts with certain Hutus.

Clarisse is herself a Tutsi, but her children are Hutu. This did not, however, protect them against Habineza. She said that her son, Mushumba, a student at Butare University, was first taken away by Habineza on 24 May 1994. He was led away again, on 30 June.

Communal policemen came for Mushumba at the house. They told him teachers at the university wanted to speak to him. Mushumba's two younger brothers went with him to the commune office. Habineza shot Mushumba at the commune office. His two brothers fled as soon as he was shot; his brothers said they saw Habineza shoot Mushumba.

Clarisse explained why she thought her son was singled out.

I believe Habineza killed my son because, while studying at the university, my son was also a teacher in Butare. And because he was studying administration, I think Habineza was afraid that my son could replace him as bourgmestre. So I think he killed my son, Mushumba, out of jealousy.

According to several witnesses, Habineza looted the local health centre and confiscated valuable goods stolen by ordinary people from Tutsi homes. Shortly after the Tutsis of his commune had been eliminated, he is said to have arranged for the redistribution of their land.

Habineza's actions were not limited to his commune. Taking his militia with him, he pursued the Tutsis of Maraba who had taken temporary refuge in Rungwe, commune Ruhashya, also in Butare. He was also responsible for the Cyizi roadblock in Ruhashya where he encouraged policemen to loot and kill anyone trying to pass through who might be a Tutsi.

Because he had been bourgmestre of Maraba for a long time, Bernadette said she had known Habineza for nearly a decade, and at one point, when he had lived in cellule Kibuhe, they had been neighbours. In April 1994, she left three of her children in Maraba while she looked after her husband at Butare University Hospital following an accident. The three children and their uncle died at the Parish of Simbi. She met Habineza, she said, in late May in Butare town, "when he came to the office of the préfecture looking for Tutsis."

Habineza apparently went as far as Gikongoro in his pursuit of Tutsis. Emile is a former employee of Mata tea factory in commune Mudasomwa. He has accused Habineza of complicity in the murder of three Hutu Grand Seminarists who were killed in Mudasomwa in Gikongoro in May 1994 because, he said, "they resembled Tutsis." The three men had come from Kabgayi in Gitarama. One of them, Emmanuel Musoda, was Emile's uncle. Informed by the director of the factory that the

seminarists planned to stop by Emile's house, he said he became anxious after they failed to show up.

I took a moto to find out what had happened to them. When I was a few metres from the tarmac road, I saw about 100 militiamen who were jumping around in the presence of Emmanuel Nteziryayo.¹² I got closer to find out what the dancing was all about. They told me they had just buried three seminarists who resembled Tutsis.

Later on, I found out the death of the three seminarists was the result of a plot organized by the bourgmestre of Maraba, Jean Marie-Vianney Habineza, who saw them as they came from commune Rwamiko where his in-laws lived. He was the one who apparently contacted Emmanuel Nteziryayo to give the green light to their murder. One of the victims was the brother of Sister Pierre. Siste. Pierre lived in Simbi in Maraba where she had had serious clashes with Habineza.

Throughout the genocide Habineza is said to have worked closely with other prominent génocidaires, for example with Col. Aloys Simba, a retired army officer who was appointed during the genocide as the head of civil defence for the préfectures of Butare and Gikongoro.¹³

Habineza settled in Zambia shortly after the genocide. He worked as a school teacher in Luapula province. It is not clear if he is still in Luapula, or if he is now living in Lusaka.

Jean Marie-Vianney Habineza is on Interpol's Wanted List.

¹² Emmanuel Nteziryayo, the bourgmestre of Mudasomwa, was arrested in the UK in December 2006 pending extradition hearings. He was released from detention in April 2009 after the Court of Appeal overturned the decision of the lower court that he, along with three other detainees, could be extradited to Rwanda.

¹³ In December 2005, Simba was convicted by the ICTR to 25 years in prison.

FRANÇOIS NDAYISENGA, ALIAS "CARREFOUR"

François Ndayisenga, a lecturer at the National University in Butare in 1994, was the undisputed leader of the genocide in his home area of sector Gatoki, commune Shyanda in the préfecture of Butare. He had been an assistant lecturer at the Nyakinama campus of the National University in Ruhengeri. But the campus relocated to Butare following the outbreak of war in October 1990 between government forces and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). He settled in Save and became an active member in Butare of MDR Power, the wing of the Democratic Republican Movement which had embraced the ideology of Hutu extremism. Ndayisenga did not hide his antipathy to Tutsis, telling Hutus to look upon them as the "enemies of Rwanda", urging them not to use their shops and bars but instead to get ready "to eliminate them." He himself was married to a Tutsi. In Butare, he became known under the nickname of "Carrefour", the name of the bar he established in Gatoki.

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

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

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

From 8 April 1994, Ndayisenga is said to have established contact with a number of senior civil servants to help him sensitize the people of Gatoki, in particular,

François Ndungutse, the director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture, and Gaspard Ndegejeho, from the Ministry of Information. Military officers who would, in time, provide him with the weapons and ammunition necessary to kill the Tutsis of Gatoki, apparently visited him regularly.

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

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

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

On the morning of 25 April, witnesses say Ndayisenga and a group of militiamen took the Tutsis of Gatoki, more than 60 people, to the trading centre in Karama. From there they were led to a well, known as the Duchamps well after the man who built it, where they were allegedly thrown in after they had been tortured. The victims included about 30 members of the Rwabutogo family; about 15 members of the Nyirinkindi family; 6 members of the Sentore family and more than 8 members of the Nocodème family. Afterwards, Ndayisenga apparently continued to discourage Hutus from hiding Tutsis. Those who were captured were handed over to him and were then also apparently dumped in the well. He is also said to have led assaults on the

Benebikira convent in search of Tutsis, forcing the nuns to abandon their convent. They came back, but apparently only after paying Ndayisenga off.

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

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

François Ndayisenga, who was, and may still be, an advisor to the FDLR, is said to own a truck operating business in Lusaka.

ESDRAS RUREMESHU

Esdras Ruremesha was one of the 18 genocide suspects detained by the Government of Zambia in 1995, 15 of whom were released after the ICTR, which had only just become operational, decided to initially press charges against only three of the 18.

Ruremesha worked as a topographical technician at the National Office for the Study of Projects (BUNEP). He lived in Kigali, cellule Munanira, sector Nyakabanda in the commune of Nyarugenge. He comes from Kibuye.

The residents of Nyakabanda remember Ruremesha as an active member of the interahamwe created by the ruling party, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND). Etienne, a resident of Munanira, said Ruremesha gained a reputation for fierce anti-Tutsi sentiments when he joined the interahamwe militia in 1992 or 1993.

He would say openly that the RPF and its Tutsi accomplices would suffer a severe punishment to show them the mistake they had made in invading the country of Hutu.

The general assembly of the *gacaca* jurisdiction in Ruremesha's area has placed him in the first category of genocide suspects, taking into consideration the numerous allegations that he and a certain Mbonyinshuti, alias Gérard, were leaders of the genocide in Munanira cellule and in much of sector Nyakabanda. These charges include evidence that Ruremesha distributed arms to militiamen in his cellule and promoted the massacre of Tutsis by encouraging the population to set up roadblocks to track them down. He himself apparently went to some roadblocks and led attacks against Tutsis.

One of the men who has provided damning evidence against Ruremesha is Grégoire Nyirimanzi. He became councillor of sector Nyakabanda a few days after the genocide was unleashed, and admits that he himself was a leading force in the massacres in Nyakabanda and beyond.

Nyirimanzi says he "collaborated with Esdras Ruremesha, particularly in distributing guns throughout the sector."

As Nyakabanda is a large sector, certain people were responsible in each zone for assuring the implementation of the genocide. Ruremesha and Gérard managed genocide activities in Munanira cellule, including supervising the roadblocks there.

He spoke of Ruremesha's connections with a senior officer which facilitated access to weapons.

To advance the genocide, Esdras would go to fetch guns from Major [Faustin] Ntirinkina, commander of a battalion based on Mount Kigali. During the first week, Ntirinkina accompanied Ruremesha to go and obtain the arms. They went in Ruremesha's Lada Niva vehicle.

A "crisis committee" was established in Nyakabanda. According to Nyirimanzi, Ruremesha participated in the committee from the end of May when the office of the sector, Nyirimanzi's office, moved to Munanira. From then on, Ruremesha came under his direction, giving the councillor more opportunities to interact with him.

During this period, Esdras was the leader of a band of militiamen from Munanira dedicated to getting rid of Tutsis and the accomplices of the *inkotanyi* [RPF] who were thought to be in hiding. This group included:

- Kagaba, in exile;
- Jean Berchmans Imananibishaka, alias Sukali, in Kigali prison.
- Kaboneye, a soldier, in exile;
- Kasongo, a Burundian.

They all carried guns and grenades which Esdras had given them. To motivate them, he and the soldiers brought them beer.

Siméon served as the *responsable*, that is the official in charge, of Munanira in April-July 1994. He described Ruremesha as the "mainstay" of the genocide in his cellule.

Working with a man nicknamed Gérant, Esdras formed a fearsome group of militiamen who implemented the genocide under his command. Very early on, Esdras brought them guns, keeping one for himself, which he used in his role as supervisor of the genocide.

He identified the same men as Ruremesha's closest allies and gave details about the checkpoints they set up "on the orders of Esdras."

- Downhill from the Kabusunzu Centre;
- Where the road leading towards the home of Mutwe intersects with the paved road;
- At the border between Kimisagara and Nyakabanda etc.

The most dangerous roadblocks were the one on the road to Mutwe's house and the one between Nyakabanda and Kimisagara, where Esdras would present himself everyday to select those who should be killed. He also had the habit of

going often to meet with the infamous Rose Karushara, councillor of Kimisagara, to speak with her about the genocide.

Siméon said Ruremesha maintained an office in what was known as the ARTES buildings which served as a meeting point for “the génocidaires who followed his lead.” The discussions became even more frequent when, at the end of May, these buildings also housed the Nyakabanda sector office.

Esdras used his office to communicate orders to his militiamen and as a centre for the distribution of guns and grenades. All the interahamwe who served as his key lieutenants were given guns by him. He also used the office to store cases of beer which he gave out as an encouragement to the interahamwe to go on killing.

Etienne said he saw Ruremesha on many occasions giving instructions at the roadblock near Mutwe’s home.

The ditch in which Ruremesha’s militiamen threw bodies was situated just down hill from his home. There was a kiosk near this well-known roadblock, which was transformed into a prison and was used by Ruremesha’s militiamen to torture Tutsis before killing them.

Esdras Ruremesha is reported to be living in Lusaka where he is known as a stronger supporter of the FDLR.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON A FEW ADDITIONAL CASES

We are including in this section short summaries about five individuals whose contribution to the genocide warrants, on the basis of our initial inquiries, further investigations and attention.

Esdras Ntakirutimana

Esdras Ntakirutimana, who studied in Russia, is a lawyer by profession, and is allegedly the FDLR representative for Southern Africa. He apparently lives in Lusaka. He comes from Mugonero in Kibuye, and the charges which have been leveled against him include inciting Hutus to massacre Tutsis in 1994. He later worked as a defence investigator for the ICTR in the case of a senior military officer, Laurent Kabiligi. But he left the ICTR after the national organization of genocide survivors, Ibuka, criticized the ICTR for hiring a number of people they named as genocide suspects, including Ntakirutimana, as defence investigators.

Cyprien Ngirabatware, alias “Gikongoro”

Cyprien Ngirabatware, alias Gikongoro, comes from the préfecture of Gitarama. But he lived in the town of Gitarama and worked there as a businessman. He has long been dogged by accusations that it was his vehicles which abducted Tutsis hiding at the Catholic Bishopric of Kabgayi to Gisenyi where they were killed. He was a close ally, in 1994, of two businessmen who were at the helm of the genocide in Gikongoro town, namely Thomas Kigufi, living in New Zealand, and Kigufi's brother, Dominique Mbonyumutwa, resident in Belgium. For many years, Ngirabatware lived in Lusaka and ran a transport truck business. He was at one time, and may still be, the treasurer of the FDLR in Zambia. According to very recent information, Ngirabatware may have left Zambia for Europe, but *African Rights* and REDRESS are not in a position to confirm this statement.

Protais Samvura

Protais Samvura is said to have prospered in Zambia. He lives in Lusaka where he apparently owns a wholesale shop and minibuses which operate in the city.

A native of Nyamasheke in Cyangugu, he worked as director of “CERAI Islamique” school in Bugarama. He is regarded in his home area as one of the planners and perpetrators of most of the attacks which took the lives of Tutsis in Bugarama sector, in alliance with John Yusufu Munyaiakazi, the best-known génocidaire in the region who is currently on trial at the ICTR. Samvura and Yusufu, for example, are accused of distributing the guns used to kill Tutsis at CIMERWA, the cement factory in Cyangugu.

Protais Samvura is on Interpol's Wanted List

Gaspard Twahirwa Mutabaruka

Another man who is said to have done well in Lusaka, where he owns a fleet of minibuses as well as a wholesale shop, is Gaspard Twahirwa Mutabaruka. He is from Kibilira in Gisenyi, but lived in Kicukiro, Kigali where he was a businessman. The charges against him, which merit further investigations, include incitement to commit genocide, involvement in massacres in Gisenyi and the distribution of guns and grenades.

Bantari Rypa

Bantari Rypa is believed to be the vice-president of the FDLR in Zambia. He comes from Kamembe in Cyangugu where he served as an agricultural officer and as the chairman of the ultra-extremist party, the Committee for the Defence of the Republic (CDR).