

WITNESS

TO GENOCIDE

DR SOSTHÈNE MUNYEMANA

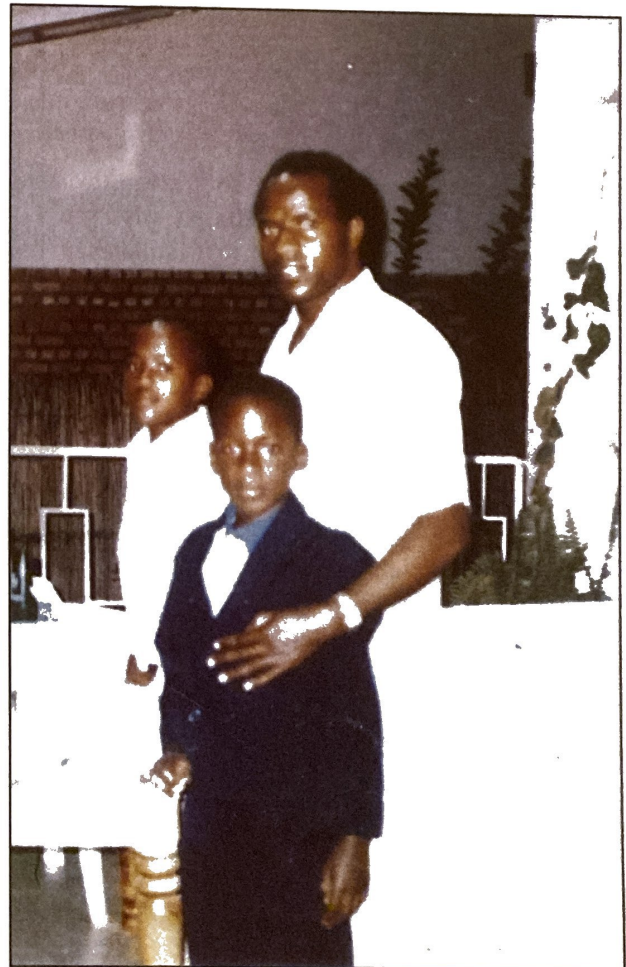
The Butcher of Tumba: At Liberty in France

INTRODUCTION

Dr Sosthène Munyemana was a gynaecologist at the University Hospital of Butare (HUNR), Rwanda's principal teaching hospital. He lived in Tumba, a residential district popular with university staff and other professionals. During the genocide, Dr Munyemana became one of the leading killers in Tumba, commune Ngoma in the préfecture of Butare. He killed people with his own hands and encouraged others to commit murder on a grand scale. He fled in late June 1994, shortly before the fall of Butare to the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). He obtained a fellowship from the French Ministry of Development Co-operation. In October 1994, he was hired by the University of Bordeaux II where he had been trained and where his wife works. One of his responsibilities was to coordinate the activities of a working group on AIDS in Rwanda. He settled in Talence.

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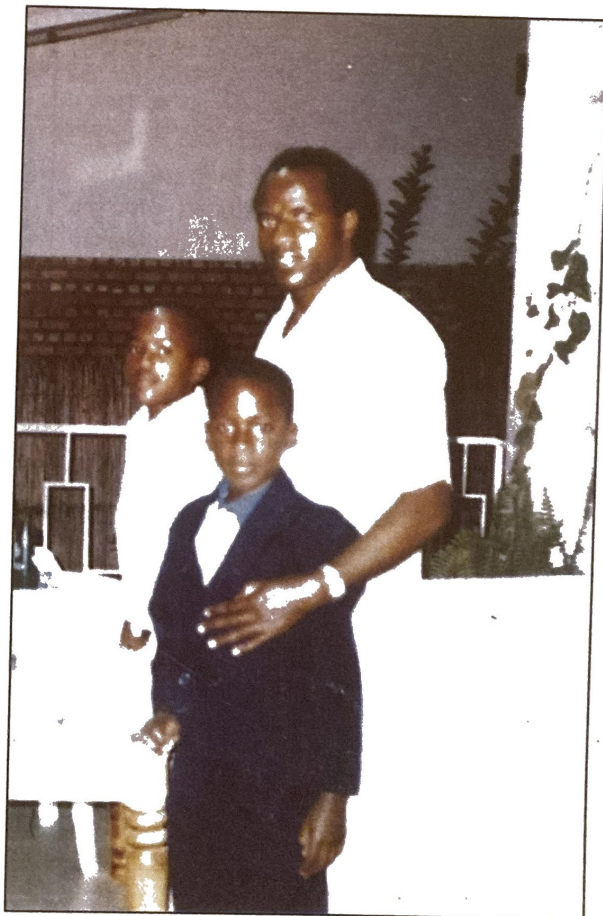
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A new publication of African Rights

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What is *Witness to Genocide*?

[N]o punishment can fit the crime, but to bring them to justice is symbolically necessary. My motto is, whoever was involved in operating the Holocaust has no right to die in peace. That is the part of the punishment that means something, and my job is to issue a warning to the murderers of today and tomorrow - they must know that they will never be allowed to live in peace if they commit crimes on the scale of the Nazis... If would-be Nazis of the future saw that the Nazis of today were not allowed to die in peace, even if it took 50 years to hunt them down, they might think twice about becoming Nazis; and perhaps by example when the need arises for someone like me again in the future, there won't be just one of me, but several - maybe 20, maybe 50, maybe just five - but at any rate people who won't accept that you can put a time limit on justice. And I go on even though some of the sentences handed down are a slap in the face to me.

Simon Wiesenthal¹

Simon Wiesenthal began to track down Nazi war criminals immediately after he was liberated from Mauthausen concentration camp in 1945. Fifty years later, he and many other people continue to be devoted to the same task. Their work has not only brought a number of mass murderers to justice and deprived thousands of others of the "right to die in peace." It has kept the memory of the Holocaust alive, and it has helped others who escaped in 1945, as well as future generations throughout the world, to learn the truth and to cherish the memory of those who perished.

This is the second edition of a new publication of African Rights devoted exclusively to the genocide in Rwanda. We hope that *Witness to Genocide* will, by

¹ Quoted in Anton Gill, *The Journey Back From Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors*, Harper Collins, London, 1994, p.225.

exposing Rwanda's mass murderers, make a modest contribution to African efforts to ensure that there is "no time limit on justice." In addition to documenting the genocide of 1994, as well as the human, social and political consequences of the genocide, *Witness to Genocide* will also monitor the efforts to bring the guilty to justice within Rwanda and abroad. Finally, we hope that this new publication will be a platform for the survivors of the genocide and will serve as an additional bridge between the survivors and all those concerned about the genocide.

Rakiya Omaar
London, February 1996.

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All photographs, except on cover, taken by African Rights.

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Confronted with the accusations, Dr Munyemana denied the charges. But his plea of innocence was found wanting. In a letter dated 13 July 1995, Claude Raynaud, director of research at the National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS) and head of the laboratory where Munyemana worked, asked him to suspend his services until the accusations had been settled in a court of law. Credit must be given to the University of Bordeaux II which has behaved in an exemplary fashion, unlike many other institutions in Europe employing or sheltering Rwandese citizens accused of active complicity in the genocide.

In October 1995, four French and Rwandese citizens living in France brought a lawsuit against Dr Munyemana in Bordeaux, charging him with "complicity in genocide, torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" and called for his detention. In November, the Collectif Girondin for Rwanda, a group set up in Bordeaux during the genocide by French and Rwandese citizens, held a press conference to denounce Munyemana and urged the authorities in Bordeaux to arrest Munyemana. A representative of the Collectif had visited Rwanda in the summer and gathered testimonies against Munyemana. As of late January, Munyemana had not been arrested and had not yet been convoked by the authorities. On or about 29 January, Munyemana in turn filed a lawsuit against the four individuals who had decided to take him to court.

Documenting the crimes committed by Dr Munyemana is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, hundreds of innocent people lost their lives; for this, Dr Munyemana must be prosecuted. Secondly, Munyemana's case highlights the extraordinary degree to which leading members of the medical profession were at the forefront of the genocide.²

² For details about the participation of medical staff in the genocide, see *Death, Despair and Defiance*, African Rights, expanded version, August 1995, pp. 931-992.

Historians have documented the key role played by Germany's medical profession in the Holocaust. One of the best-known writers on the fate of European Jewry, Raul Hilberg, wrote:

German physicians were highly Nazified, compared to other professions, in terms of party membership, and the prevalent thought that there was a doctor surplus facilitated the ejection of Jewish practitioners... "Medicalized" destruction was in essence a destruction of medicine. Only a handful of physicians... closed the doors to their offices to don an SS uniform and become killers par excellence. A somewhat larger number, however, became involved in such activities as "racial hygiene" clinics, sterilizations, euthanasia, medical experiments, selection, preparation of shootings and gas chambers. In addition, on the particular level of the victims were Jews or non-Jews, including Germans... Doctors served in a variety of offices and the conditions in which they were involved represent important developments in the process of destruction.³

In Rwanda, the percentage of doctors who became "killers par excellence" was very high. A huge number of the most qualified and experienced doctors in the country, men as well as women — including surgeons, physicians, paediatricians, gynaecologists, anaesthetists, public health specialists and hospital administrators — participated in the murder of their own Tutsi colleagues, patients, the wounded and terrified refugees who had sought shelter in their hospitals, as well as their neighbours and strangers. In a sector as small as Tumba, three doctors — Dr Sosthène Munyemana, Dr Jeanne Nduwamariya,⁴ a doctor at Groupe Scolaire Hospital and her husband, Dr Jean Chrisostome Ndindabahizi, the

³ Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1939-1945*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1993, pp. 66-71.

⁴ See *Not So Innocent: When Women Become Killers*, African Rights, 1995, pp. 229-236.

health director for Butare, played a central role in the killings.

The example set by a large number of the country's best-known doctors was eagerly copied by nurses and medical assistants throughout the country. Two of the most active assassins in Tumba were Siméon Remera, a medical assistant and his wife, Gema, a nurse.⁵

It was not soldiers and interahamwe militiamen alone who turned Rwanda's hospitals, maternity clinics and health centres into slaughterhouses. The responsibility lies squarely with the medical profession. Many of these medical personnel shot and macheted countless people with their own hands. Others, armed with lethal weapons, accompanied other professionals, soldiers, interahamwe and peasants when they attacked places of refuge, including their own hospitals. Or they prepared lists of people to be killed and ensured there was no let up in the murders by overseeing the distribution of weapons and ammunition and supervising roadblocks. They helped their partners in crime drag the sick, the wounded and the refugees out of hospital beds and rooms to be hacked to death. They provided lists of people hiding in their hospitals to the gendarmes, soldiers and militia. Many of them refused to treat wounded Tutsis, or withheld food and water from thousands of hungry men, women and children who had sought shelter in hospitals. Others went on tours to encourage people in hiding to return to their homes, the prelude to further rounds of killings. Some of them spoke on national and foreign radios to deny the genocide and to seek international recognition and support for a regime whose *raison d'être* was genocide. In a number of cases, these doctors, nurses and medical assistants were married couples. A number of them went on their killing sprees in the company of their children.

Many of these criminals are living abroad — in Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, France, Zaire, Burundi, Zambia, Tanzania,

Belgium, Bénin, Central African Republic and Cameroon, amongst other countries. A substantial number of them are employed by international humanitarian organisations working in refugee camps in Tanzania, Zaire and Burundi. Predictably, the more educated and privileged have used their foreign contacts to seek a more comfortable exile, providing them with an opportunity to escape justice, deny the genocide and to misinform the world about current developments in Rwanda. A number of them are still working in the medical field, both in Rwanda and abroad.

A SUMMARY OF THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DR SOSTHÈNE MUNYEMANA

According to the evidence gathered by Human Rights Watch, Dr Sosthène Munyemana has committed the following crimes:

- Killing a number of people with his own hands in Tumba;
- Compiling lists of Tutsis in Tumba to be eliminated;
- Pointing out the homes of Tutsi families in his region to the killers;
- Giving incendiary speeches with the aim of inciting the population in Tumba into killing Tutsis;
- Distributing ammunition in order to facilitate murder;
- Searching places of shelter in Tumba and neighbouring areas in pursuit of Tutsi refugees to expose to the killers;
- Leading interahamwe and soldiers who ravaged the areas of Tumba and Cyarwa;
- Imprisoning Tutsis in the Tumba sector office and allowing them to be taken out at night to be murdered;

⁵ Ibid, pp.236-238.

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⁵ Ibid, pp.236-238.

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- Working closely with all the leading killers in Tumba, and playing host to the prime minister of the interim regime during his visits to Butare;
- Visiting his commune of origin, Musambira, Gitarama, in order to encourage the genocide of the Tutsi community there.

BACKGROUND

Dr Sosthène Munyemana was born on 9 October 1955, and is from the hill of Mbare, commune Musambira in Gitarama. His father is Balthazar Kingabo and his mother is Charlotte Nyirahabimana. After completing his studies in the Faculty of Medicine at the National University of Rwanda (UNR), Butare campus, he studied gynaecology and obstetrics at the University of Bordeaux II in France. He returned to Rwanda and was hired by the University Hospital of Butare. In addition to practising as a gynaecologist/obstetrician, he taught and conducted research at the university. Until 1993, he was secretary of the Faculty of Medicine. He lived in the cellule of Gitwa in Tumba. Married to Fébronie Muhongayire, he is the father of three children, Lilianne, Gustave and Michaël. His wife was not in Rwanda during the genocide; she has been living in France for the last five years. Munyemana himself had taken official leave from 29 March - 9 May 1994, leaving him ample time to make a substantial contribution to the genocide in Butare.

Situated in the south-west of the country, the préfecture of Butare is home to Rwanda's second city, Butare. A pleasant, tree-lined town, Butare has long been regarded as Rwanda's intellectual centre; host to the principal campus of the university, it boasts some of Rwanda's oldest and best-known schools and seminaries. Until April 1994, the people of Butare spoke proudly of their culture of political tolerance and peaceful co-

existence between the country's different communities. After the introduction of multipartyism, the hard-line political parties, President Juvénal Habyarimana's National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) and the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR), had a poor following in this region. Rather, it was the Social Democratic Party (PSD) in particular and the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR) which had the most significant support.

When the killings began on 7 April, the préfecture of Butare remained relatively calm. Tutsis in certain communes in the countryside had their homes burnt and their livestock and other property stolen. But large-scale killings did not take place. Lured by its reputation as a safe haven in times of trouble, thousands of refugees from Gikongoro, Kigali and Greater Kigali fled to Butare. The préfet, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, welcomed the influx of refugees from other préfectures. Seen as an obstacle to the programme of genocide, Habyarimana was sacked on 19 April, and then murdered together with his wife and two children. He was replaced by two men whose loyalty could be counted upon, Sylvain Nsabimana, as préfet, and a military officer, Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi.

The slaughter began the following day. Over the next few weeks, the préfecture of Butare suffered some of the bloodiest scenes in the genocide. Not only was it the most heavily populated préfecture — counting 20 communes out of the national total of 145 — but the massive intake of refugees increased the number of people waiting to be butchered. To date, the highest death tolls have been registered in the massacres that took place in Butare.

Once the killings started, political distinctions made no difference. The absence of MRND and CDR was irrelevant. Many of the killings were carried out by members of PSD and those regarded as "moderates" in MDR, a fact that neither party has been willing to acknowledge. Leading members of the

interim government were the sons and daughters of Butare, including the president, Théodore Sindikubwabo, a paediatrician; the prime minister, Jean Kambanda; the minister for women and the family, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko and the minister of agriculture, Dr Straton Nsabumukunzi. All of them visited Butare during the genocide for the sole purpose of encouraging the educated and the illiterate alike to kill Tutsis.

The elevated number of highly educated people in Butare was to become a curse. The genocide in Rwanda was conceived, planned and executed by educated people. This cannot be repeated often enough: it was *not* the actions of uneducated peasants which set off the genocide. Compared to every other préfecture, an extraordinarily high number of doctors, nurses, university lecturers, students, teachers, priests and civil servants organised and led the murderous hunt for Tutsi victims in Butare. Dr Sosthène Munyemana was one of them.

SETTING THE STAGE: INCITING MURDER BY CREATING MISTRUST AND FEAR

As soon as news of Habyarimana's death was broadcast, the killings began, or plans were laid, in most regions of the country. The interim government made it clear that mass extermination of the Tutsi was its primary agenda. The men and women who supported this policy did not waste time in implementing the macabre plan. But the violence was slow to sweep the regions of Butare and Gitarama. As a result, members of the interim cabinet, army officers, journalists and various professionals who originated from these préfectures toured their communes in an effort to ignite the fire. Their strategy was to undermine any sense of communal solidarity by sowing mistrust among the Hutu and Tutsi communities. The Hutus who had not been coerced into killing their Tutsi relatives, friends and neighbours had to be

encouraged by making them believe that if they did not kill the Tutsi, they would become their victims.

On 17 April, the councillor of Tumba sector, François Bwanakeye, called a meeting of Tumba residents to discuss security. It was decided to set up a system of roadblocks in order to maintain peace in the sector. But Dr Munyemana did not want peace in Tumba. He wanted a war to wipe out the Tutsi community. To this end, he gave a fiery speech which immediately triggered a sustained mood of agitation and contributed significantly to the launch of the genocide in Tumba. Again and again, witnesses recalled how Munyemana's words galvanised the killers-in-waiting.

Vianney Benemungu, thirty-six, is a driver. He is married and lives in Rango cellule in Tumba.

I am originally from Tumba. That's where I was born [and] that's where I lived with my parents. I am a driver and drove taxi-buses before the genocide. So I know a lot of the Tumba residents.

With the death of Habyarimana, things didn't get out of hand immediately. By the second week of April, the neighbouring communes of Gishamvu, Maraba, Runyinya [and] Nyakizu had already been enflamed. And so tension started being [felt] in our commune.

Although the councillor, François Bwanakeye, was to become a major killer in Tumba from 21 April onwards, until the meeting of the 17th, he had tried to maintain peace. In this context, it should be pointed out that Jean Baptiste Habyarimana remained préfet until 19 April and had cowed local government officials into following his line — maintaining calm and protecting the vulnerable. With his removal, bourgmestres [heads of communes], councillors [heads of sectors] and *responsables* [heads of cellules] throughout the region changed overnight.

By 17 April, a system of night patrols aimed at containing all attacks from the

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neighbouring communes, especially Gishamvu, had already been set up. The objective of these patrols didn't last as ill-intentioned people, despite the fact that they were even the heads of teams, managed to break [them] up. Here, I'm talking about the so-called intellectuals who lived in Tumba, like the gynaecologist, Sosthène Munyemana, Joseph Hitimana, known as 'Ruganzu', Siméon Remera and François Bwanakeye. These intellectuals were part of a committee called 'The initiative committee (comité d'initiative).' It had been founded several years ago and intellectuals from all the ethnic groups were members. Before the genocide, we appreciated it as it was thanks to this committee that Tumba sector had developed a sector office, streets and public lights. During the genocide, [however], this committee became the mouthpiece of the extremists, excluding all Tutsi membership. I can't count the number of times this committee held meetings with Sosthène Munyemana, Siméon Remera and 'Ruganzu' in the lead with, of course, the councillor, François Bwanakeye. The Tutsis weren't invited. This happened after Habyarimana died.

When things got really bad in the neighbouring sector of Mubumbano where Tutsi houses were being burned and a large number already killed, our councillor, Bwanakeye, held a meeting with all the Tumba residents. Almost all the residents of Tumba attended this meeting — peasants and intellectuals alike. I was also there. It took place in the afternoon at about 4:00.

"As far as I'm concerned, Sosthène is the author of everything that happened in Tumba. Nothing makes him more guilty than his speech at the end of the meeting when he lied and made the Hutu peasants understand that the enemy was indirectly the Tutsi beside him."

In his short speech, the councillor spoke about safety. He said that his sector should safeguard its peace despite the troubles which were ravaging several of the neighbouring communes. Bwanakeye, who hadn't yet turned bad, said that according to national history, the sector of Tumba had never spilled the blood of its inhabitants and that they should continue in the same way. He added that what we were seeing in the communes bordering ours shouldn't let us succumb to violence. He told us that we should now [ensure] the security of our sector by reinforcing the roadblocks. A lot of people were for the councillor. When the meeting was about to close, Sosthène Munyemana spoke and threw powder onto the fire.

Vianney, like other residents of Tumba, had looked to a man of Munyemana's stature to calm fears and propose constructive solutions. He was to be bitterly disappointed.

He rose up and spoke. Everyone was very attentive. We were waiting [to hear] what was going to come out of the mouth of an intellectual, apparently wise [and] who had the respect of a lot of the residents, especially the women. He was a gynaecologist and knew how to resolve the problem of difficult deliveries. Sosthène said: 'What the councillor has just told you is not true. Our enemies should be pointed out. Our enemies are in our sector. Moreover, they are amongst us. Look beside you. And he dares tell us to keep the roadblocks. You know that I've just taken fifteen Hutu survivors from Kigembe commune into my house. They were fleeing the Hutu massacres led by RPF soldiers and their accomplices who attacked [them] on the way to Burundi. Do you want us to stay with our arms crossed? What you see in those communes are Hutus being ill treated. I don't see that these night rounds have any value. Rather, we should watch over ourselves, cellule by cellule, to better protect ourselves, to check [people] coming in and the intruders already amongst us.'

[This] speech caused anarchy. There was a brouhaha, and you could see groups forming here and there. We

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Tutsis stole away, one by one, and the meeting came to an abrupt close. It was at about 6:30 p.m. During [that] same night, we heard a grenade or a mine, I don't know what, exploding. [It] made a terrible noise in just about the whole of Butare. A lot of Tutsis spent that night outside. The sign for the send off had been given.

As far as I'm concerned, Sosthène is the author of everything that happened in Tumba. Nothing makes him more guilty than his speech at the end of the meeting when he lied and made the Hutu peasants understand that the enemy was indirectly the Tutsi beside him.

He spoke about fifteen Hutus from Kigembe who he had taken in and who had escaped the *Inkotanyi*. He used Kigembe commune in Butare because that was where his wife was from. This showed that he was really upset. When Sosthène said that it was necessary to go on patrols, cellule by cellule, it was to better locate the Tutsis and to better define their sphere of activity. And then, as you know, the Hutus from each cellule were occupied with the Tutsis who lived in the same cellule. In several sectors, a Hutu wasn't going to attack in a cellule that wasn't his. Except, of course for the big people who were supervising [the genocide].

Munyemana's speech had the desired effect. Vianney explained why:

The following day, people stayed at home all day. We were confused. On the Wednesday evening, the bourgmestre drove on all the streets in his commune, saying through a loudspeaker that no one should leave his house. [That] bourgmestre, Joseph Kanyabashi, has been arrested in Belgium.⁶ On Thursday the 21st, the genocide started in Butare. I hid the whole day. But as I knew Sosthène even from his voice, I heard

him saying that all the Tutsi should be eliminated.

When I saw him on the first day of the massacres, he was with [someone] called Gasana who had been employed at the University library before working for ARBEF [Rwandese Association for the Well-Being of the Family]. Gasana was from Gishamvu commune but lived in Tumba.⁷

Vincent Kageruka, forty, is the current deputy préfet for social and economic affairs in the préfecture of Butare. He also attended this meeting. Vincent lived in Tumba where he was born. He lost eleven members of his immediate family in the genocide. He and his wife were lucky to escape. In a long and detailed interview, Vincent described Munyemana's speech as the spark that set off a powder-keg in Tumba.

It stayed calm in our neighbourhood for a few days after Habyarimana's death. But we saw houses burning in the neighbouring communes of Huye and Runyinya. At about 3:00 p.m. on 17 April, the councillor of Tumba, François Bwanakeye, who was also a businessman, called an unusual meeting at Tumba sector office. The topic was security. A lot of people were there — intellectuals, businessmen, peasants — of all ethnic groups. Amongst the participants, Sosthène occupied a privileged place. He sat on the first bench.

Sosthène lived about fifty metres away from the Tumba sector office. The councillor was accompanied to this meeting by his close collaborators, notably Félicien Kubwimana, assistant councillor and former councillor of Tumba. In this meeting, the councillor said that in order to prevent what was happening in the neighbouring communes from happening to ours, we had to set up roadblocks so as to control all the roads of Tumba more efficiently. He added that [these roadblocks] were going to prevent and contain any kind of external invasion. He asked us to group

⁶ In January 1996, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda requested the Government of Belgium to hand over Joseph Kanyabashi, detained in Belgium, to the Tribunal, together with two other Rwandese accused of having organised the genocide in Butare.

⁷ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 29 December 1995.

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together according to the roads on which we lived [and] to elect leaders for each team that would man the roadblock.

Sosthène Munyemana was nominated as the leader of the road which comes from the neighbourhood commonly known as Amajyambere towards the Tumba office sector. There were at least ninety families on this road.

Munyemana's team consisted of a group that shared his political objectives. They included:

- * Joseph Hitimana, alias 'Ruganzu,' the head of agricultural services in Ngoma. 'Ruganzu' is from Gitarama and a member of MDR Power;
- * Siméon Remera, a medical assistant and president of CDR in Butare;
- * Mme Siméon Remera, a nurse in Rango;
- * Thierry, president of CDR in Tumba.

According to Vincent:

In short, it was a very dangerous road. These same people liked to meet up in Joseph Hitimana's bar, just opposite the Tumba sector office, to criticise opposition parties and the Arusha Accords. They made Sosthène their leader.

We lived on the same road. I was at the meeting. I was afraid. I was thinking that any moment now they would get rid of us, given that the same thing was happening in Kigali and elsewhere. That's why I preferred sitting near the window so that I could escape at the slightest movement.

There were a lot of Tutsis in Tumba sector and the proof of this is that today, at least three quarters of the houses were destroyed in the genocide.

It was clear from that meeting that preparations for the massacres were already underway.

Before the end of the meeting, we were able to ask questions. One of the Tutsi participants wanted to know why Viateur Gishoma, son of Maman Salum, was busy storing in his house the petrol he had brought from Kigali. Viateur

explained himself by saying it was for refuelling the military detachments [that were] in Butare. I should point out that just a few metres away from Tumba, there was a detachment of Presidential Guard which was guarding President Théodore Sindikubwabo and who roamed around the sector in order to better locate Tutsi families. Before Viateur finished his explanations, Dr Sosthène intervened. He said not to look for a problem where there wasn't one. He said that people fleeing the *Inkotanyi* had just arrived at his house and they had told him that the *Inkotanyi* had just taken control of Kanyaru [on the Rwanda-Burundi border]; that they were the ones who were busy burning the hills in Huye, especially in Musange and elsewhere in Huye commune, and that we had to be wary of their accomplices [Tutsis inside the country], the *ibiyitso*.

This was of course a lie. It was a strategy to foster hostility between the residents of Tumba.

This speech from Sosthène created tension between the participants of the meeting which finished inconclusively. And so the three keys of the sector office were given to three people: the councillor, his assistant and Sosthène. Nobody understood why Sosthène kept this key. It was only afterwards that we understood why.

From the end of the meeting, roadblocks were introduced in Tumba. It was really a total sealing off of the whole of Tumba sector since 17 April. Some naive Tutsis didn't realise the danger and thought that even if there was danger, it would be for the Tutsis involved in politics or others who had sent their children to join ranks with the *Inkotanyi*.⁸

Bosco Iyakaremye lives in Gitwa cellule in Tumba. He is eighteen years old and works as a taxi driver. He attended the meeting in which Munyemana urged the Hutu inhabitants of Tumba to "catch up" with the rest of the country.

⁸ Interviewed in Ngoma, Butare, 1 August 1995.

"People didn't know about Sosthène's wickedness before the genocide. They took him for a doctor of good will, calm and very committed to his work. Being a gynaecologist, the women really appreciated him. But then during the genocide, everyone realised that you shouldn't be deceived by appearances."

The genocide started on 21 April. However, a tense atmosphere had reigned since 19 April, especially [after] a meeting held by the Tumba councillor, François Bwanakeye. It was a meeting for all the Tumba inhabitants and the object was to reinforce the roadblocks to prevent outside invasion. That's at least the message the councillor gave the population. Just as the participants were leaving [the meeting], at about 6:00 p.m., Dr Sosthène Munyemana, a gynaecologist at HUNR, asked to speak. He said to be wary of the councillor's words as there were already about fifteen refugees at his home who had come from Kigembe, fleeing massacres by the *Inyenzi* who were attacking from Burundi. At the announcement of this lie, the Hutus [at the meeting] got up and the meeting came to an abrupt end.

After the 17th, the clouds began to gather.

On Wednesday, 20 April, I saw the so-called Tumba intellectuals head towards the sector office. I was curious to know what they were going to do there [but] access was forbidden as the surrounding area of the sector office was being guarded by peasants who held big sticks. I managed to see Dr Sosthène Munyemana, Siméon Remera, Joseph 'Ruganzu', François Bwanakeye, Félicien Kubwimana, Faustin and Gasana in the group. The following day, Thursday 21 April, the massacre of the Tutsis began. And what we had seen in Mubumbano, Tumba's neighbouring sector, [which is] situated in Gishamvu, came to our sector

— the systematic massacre of the Tutsis.⁹

François Rudahunga lives in Ubutamenwa cellule in Tumba. He also attended the meeting on 17 April.

I've known Sosthène and his family for a long time. For at least four years. Although I didn't live in the same cellule as him, if you look closely, you'll see that just a road separates our two cellules. The part above the road is called Gitwa where Sosthène lived and the part below is my cellule.

I also got to know Sosthène [through his] cousin, Asman, who lives in my cellule. [He] is from Gitarama, but as he lives in Butare, he rented a house from me.

People didn't know about Sosthène's wickedness before the genocide. They took him for a doctor of good will, calm and very committed to his work. Being a gynaecologist, the women really appreciated him. But then during the genocide, everyone realised that you shouldn't be deceived by appearances.

After Habyarimana died, our sector, like elsewhere in just about the whole of the urban commune of Ngoma, had at least two weeks of relative calm whilst in the other communes of Butare and Gikongoro, the infernal machine had already been put in motion. From the second week of April, Ngoma experienced an influx of Tutsi refugees from almost all the corners of the country. They thought that, as had been the case when discontent shook Rwanda in the past, Butare was going to escape.

In collaboration with the members of his cellule and *Nyumbakumi* [the administrative heads of ten houses], the councillor of Tumba sector, François Bwanakeye, set up a system of night and day controls intended to prevent the seizure of our sector by elements from the neighbouring communes like Huye, Nyaruhengeri, Mbazi, Gishamvu etc... This worked well at the beginning and, except for some foul language which is [always around] when there is a

⁹ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 29 December 1995.

gathering of a lot of individuals, the Hutus and Tutsis collaborated peacefully.

Each cellule had a team of young boys and men who went on the patrols. In each team, there was a *responsable* [someone in charge]. That's when Sosthène, [because] of his intellectual qualities and his physical aptitude - he was sporty — was appointed *responsable* of the night rounds for the whole of the region in which the sector office [was situated]. A lot of Tutsis lived in his zone. Today, it's just rubble and ruin.

A few days after mid-April, the Tumba councillor convened a meeting at Tumba sector office for all the inhabitants of his sector. All categories of people participated in this meeting — peasants, students, doctors, professionals etc... The agenda was maintenance of security in our sector. At least that was what was coming out of the councillor's mouth. Intellectuals like Dr Sosthène, 'Ruganzu', Siméon Remera [and] the one known as 'Maître' were at this meeting. The former Tumba councillor, Félicien Kubwimana and Gasana, who worked for ARBEF and [who is] the former head of the university library, were also there.

When the councillor closed the meeting, Sosthène Munyemana asked to speak. He and the people named earlier were in front, near the councillor, in a place of honour I'd say. [Sosthène] was quickly granted [permission] to speak. With a very convincing tone, he said that what the councillor had just said about maintaining security in our sector through the reinforcement of night patrols was not true. He continued, saying that the enemy was even at the meeting. He invited each participant to look at his neighbour and Sosthène said the terrible words which [triggered off] what happened in Tumba. He said that he had just taken in fifteen Hutus from Kigembe into his home, the only survivors from the *Inyenzi* massacre of the Hutus. He closed his speech by saying: 'So don't be mistaken about the identity of the enemy. [H]e is amongst us. The houses that you see burning on the hills are Hutu houses burned by the accomplices of the *Inyenzi*.' He said that the RPF had attacked [them] on their way to Burundi.

"He invited each participant to look at his neighbour and Sosthène said the terrible words which [triggered off] what happened in Tumba."

After his bloody speech, some of the Tutsis [started] disappearing, one by one. It was finished for them and the Hutus' heads were burning. They [started] preparing for the elimination of this enemy of the Hutus who had infiltrated their group. I was saved from this by going home and begging Sosthène's cousin to protect me as well as he could.

Tension shot up in Tumba immediately after the meeting of 17 April. Within days, Munyemana would realise just how "successful" his speech had been. François continued his account.

One or two days later, [it was] the start of the massacre of Tutsis in Tumba. Sosthène marched in front of the Presidential Guard who had come from Kigali and he showed them Tutsi families already eliminated. He had a long spear then but later had a gun and even distributed grenades to the militia. He kept the key to the sector office and he was the one who opened it to throw in captured Tutsis to eliminate in the night.

Sosthène really knew how to manipulate the militia. He even wore banana leaves like them. He did this on the day of Cardinal Etchegaray's visit.¹⁰ He had organised the militia from Tumba and Nyaruhengeri for a march in which they would carry their traditional weapons and [wear] banana leaves. It was to show that the nation was determined to contain the RPF [advance] He did the same thing when the French troops came for Operation Turquoise.¹¹

¹⁰ Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, the president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, visited Butare in late June.

¹¹ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 13 December 1995.

**THE GENOCIDE BEGINS: DR
SOSTHÈNE MUNYEMANA'S
CONTRIBUTION**



This memorial, situated behind the Tumba sector office, is dedicated to the victims who died in Tumba, many of them killed with the connivance of Munyemana or because of his encouragement. The memorial has been built on a site that used to be the home of François Karanganwa. After listing the names of the Karanganwa family who have been murdered, the inscription reads:

And we are not going to forget the other neighbours with whom you rest. May God grant you lasting peace.

The mass killing in the sector of Tumba began on 21 April. The first target was Tutsi intellectuals and wealthy businessmen. According to all the witnesses interviewed by African Rights, the first family to be killed in Tumba was that of François Karanganwa, a wealthy, elderly cattle breeder. Karanganwa came from Ngoma and had lived in Tumba for ten years. He had a large family; many of his children were successful in their own right. The family has been decimated. Apart from François himself, other members of Karanganwa's family who were killed include his wife, Cécile Kamaraba, and his children, amongst

them, D. Kanamugire; A. Gahongayire, an employee of the Diocese of Butare; M. Gasinzigwa; K. Kabatesi; A. Mukamana; Immaculée Mukashyaka, an employee of the University; E. Sibomana; C. Tuyishime; Nadine Kabeza and J. Ingabire.

Innocent Hategekimana, a thirty-eight-year-old assistant mason, considered Munyemana a friend who had secured work for him on several occasions. Because of his lack of education, murdering Innocent was not a priority for the killers during the first few days. He hid in Munyemana's house and watched as Munyemana and his troops went in search of educated and rich Tutsis.

On 21 April, at about 5:00 p.m., the criminals came to kill me. They'd found out where I was hiding. I ran and climbed into Sosthène's compound. Sosthène immediately came out with two soldiers. I clearly remember how, on seeing me, Sosthène told the criminals that [they] shouldn't be killing off illiterate people like me first. And the criminals left. I spent that night at Sosthène's, in a small room where he kept books.

The following day I left his house to go and hide somewhere else, for all through the night he had had a meeting with these soldiers. Sosthène was not only special advisor to [prime minister] Kambanda but also, and above all, to the soldiers and sector authorities. They elaborated the plans of the killings together.

Innocent was caught and beaten with a club studded with nails, a *masu*. The killers had gathered a group of victims and begun to tie them together, two by two. As Innocent did not have what he called a "partner," he managed to escape and fled to the bushes. Innocent never left his cellule between April and July. During his time in hiding, he heard the cries of other Tutsis as they were battered to death.

I hid in the sorghum fields and they did not find me. I stayed there a few days. But every day, I heard how the Tutsis were being captured and killed.

The Tumba Memorials: Burial Places for Some of Tumba's Victims



The other victims were led to their death, amongst others, by Munyemana.

Those who had been tied up were taken towards the communal grave at the home of Karanganwa, behind the Tumba sector office. Amongst the people who took [them] to the communal grave, I was able to recognise Emmanuel Twagirayezu who was a member of the cellule of Gitwa, Gérard Simpunga, alias 'Mambo,' also a *responsable* of Gitwa, Kabirigi, who was a carpenter at CUSP [University Centre for Public Health], Bosco and Rutaysire, both of them employees at CUSP. There was [also] Siméon Remera and Sosthène Munyemana.

The people that Munyemana and the other killers were leading to their death included Innocent's father, André Ntugugu. Others included:

Minani, the veterinarian; Philippe Nyagahakwa; Bodouin Kabengera; Athanase; [François] Karanganwa, his two sons, three daughters, wife, in short the whole family of Karanganwa.

Watching his father, neighbours and friends butchered left Innocent fearful for his own life.

Where I was, I could see very well that my death was inevitable. My preoccupation was to look for ways of dying without suffering too much. I did not want to be killed by the blows of the machete.¹²

"In this attack, which I saw with my own eyes, were men like the gynaecologist Sosthène Munyemana who had a long iron bar, like a pipe, in his hand."

Mukakarambizi, forty, is a peasant who lost her husband, Mariyatabu Habimana, and two of her five children, eleven-year-old Kayitesi in her third year of primary

school and Gatete, a son of five years. She lives in the cellule of Rango in Tumba.

The genocide left me in mourning. It all happened here in Tumba on 21 April when the systematic massacre of the Tutsis began. On that date, a wide scale attack led by intellectuals was directed at Tutsi houses. In this attack, which I saw with my own eyes, were men like the gynaecologist Sosthène Munyemana who had a long iron bar, like a pipe, in his hand. There were a lot of them. They proceeded to attack the Tutsis. That day, they killed a man called Karanganwa. [He] was a successful cattle breeder in the neighbourhood. He had a lot of cows. His children were also rich. They also attacked the Nyamushi family and killed a woman called Isabèle and all her children. She was the wife of a certain Juvénal. Sosthène was well and truly present during those attacks. [He] was not alone. He was with Joseph 'Ruganzu', Siméon Remera [and] the person nicknamed 'Mabombogoro.' Apart from holding the metal rod, I noticed that Sosthène had also folded up his trousers as if he was walking in mud. As for the others, [some] carried *masus* and others [carried] traditional weapons. They started saying 'Power, Power.' I asked myself what was actually happening, as the men who we had respected, the men who were our neighbours, had been haunted by I don't know what devil, into hunting down their Tutsi colleagues.

Mukakarambizi watched as Munyemana and other killers attacked and murdered neighbours in Tumba.

I saw Sosthène leading the attack before midday, at about 9:30 a.m. I definitely knew that they were going to meet Siméon and 'Ruganzu' either at the hospital or in our neighbourhood. He was also with [someone] called Silas who was a watchman at Huye stadium and who has now been arrested [and is detained] in Karubanda [Butare's central prison].

I'd say that the first day of the killings in Tumba was reserved for the massacre of well known Tutsis in the sector — professionals and traders.

¹² Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 5 August and 18 December 1995.

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I spent a few days in my house. But in the night the interahamwe came to abduct people to kill. The attack was led by Vénant 'Mabombogoro,' a leading interahamwe who was in the group of Munyemana, Thomas Kabundi — also an interahamwe — [and] Silas. It was at night. They forced my house door open and took my two children who were with me. The three others had fled with their father to the neighbouring sector of Nkubi. Their father was killed there but the children managed to escape. Although I didn't see Sosthène in this attack, it doesn't mean he was innocent. He was head of the group which did the night patrols. He was the one who had the list of people to kill in the night. He even had the key to Tumba sector office. In other words, families to be attacked in the night were pointed out by Sosthène, the head of the group.

After they took my children, I thought my end was near. I left my house and moved into the house of Bapfakurera, a Hutu in Sahera, also in Ngoma commune, where I stayed until the fall of Butare.

Sosthène's presence in the attack of the first day of the massacres in Tumba really shocked me, as usually he seemed to be sensible and very active in his job. But appearances are often deceiving. If today Sosthène returned to Tumba, he would have several questions to answer. I'll be pleased to hear that he's even in Rwanda. After all, I'm not the only person accusing him. They think they killed us all off but they failed: their macabre plan misfired. Sosthène, who just lived with his three children during the genocide, his wife being in France, fled just a few days before the fall of Butare. I don't know the exact date but it was in June.¹³

One of the educated Tutsi targeted in the first days by Munyemana and his partners in crime was Aloys Kamongi. His sister, Laurence Kanyire, spoke of his brutal death. Laurence lives in Gitwa cellule. She works for CURPHAMETRA, a pharmaceutical centre at the University. A native of Gishamvu, she has lived in

Gitwa with her family since 1987. In Gishamvu, the situation deteriorated shortly after Habyarimana's death, forcing most of Laurence's family to move to Tumba. But the tranquillity in Tumba did not last and Laurence lost all the members of her family except a brother who is a priest. Laurence holds Munyemana responsible for the abduction and subsequent death of Aloys.

It all started in Butare, in Tumba to be precise, on 21 April. At about 11:30 a.m. we heard of the death of Vénuste, an employee of the office of procurement [of the diocese of Butare] and Karanganwa. And then we all dispersed in different directions. There was a man who was a close friend of mine, even though he had killed people, called Oto Rusingizandekwe. He's the one who took me in that day, the 21st. He lived just beside the rented houses of the trader, François Rusanganwa, where a lot of married soldiers lived.

On 22 April, Munyemana, with a machete in hand, led a large group of killers as they hunted down intellectuals, in a house to house search, with lists of wanted people in hand. They abducted Laurence's brother, Kamongi, and threw him, alive, into a septic tank.

Very early in the morning of 22 April, a large attack was led by intellectuals like Sosthène Munyemana, Gasana of ARBEF, Gatabazi, who was a technician in the Faculty of Agronomy, Siméon Remera, Speratus Kabirigi and Walter, a peasant. All these people had machetes and *masus* in their hands. Dr Sosthène held a machete. I saw him. That's when they began the operation. As the list of Tutsi houses had already been made well in advance, they knew where to abduct people and went from house to house. The people they abducted were led to communal graves which were, mainly, the victims' toilets.

On that day, 22 April, they abducted and killed a lot of people, including Phillippe, who worked in the University of Butare library. My younger brother, Kamongi, was thrown alive into a septic tank at Phillippe's house. Kamongi was

¹³ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 29 December 1995.

abducted by the famous Sosthène who taught gynaecology in the first year of medicine. He knew Sosthène very well and knew that he and his group were the ones who threw him alive into the tank. That day of 22 April had been reserved for the hunting down of Tutsi intellectuals.

What I saw that day was Sosthène and the group hurriedly leading the groups of killers. He is responsible for the death of my younger brother, Aloys Kamongi. When I saw him he had a machete in his hand.¹⁴

Eric Nzabandora, from Gitwa cellule, lost his father and all his siblings in an attack in which Dr Munyemana took a lead role. Eric, twenty, is currently unemployed. He also witnessed other murders committed by Dr Munyemana.

It all started at about 9:00 a.m. on 21 April. A group of so-called intellectuals from Tumba gave the order to the Hutu peasants and interahamwe to kill all the Tutsis - from foetuses to old people. This group was made up of Sosthène Munyemana, a gynaecologist at HUNR in Butare; Siméon Remera; 'Ruganzu', [who worked] at the office of the préfecture; Bwanakeye, Tumba councillor during the genocide and Félicien Kubwimana, a former Tumba councillor.

Sosthène Munyemana spent the whole of 19 April with the famous Jean Kambanda. Kambanda had also spent the night at his house. The following day, on 20 April, this group held a meeting at the sector office. [It] was just for the interahamwe and their leaders. I clearly remember how my father wanted to attend the meeting that day and how he was thrown out, double-quick, by Sosthène Munyemana.

I know Sosthène Munyemana and he knows me too. Even before the genocide, I used to go and see his children — Lilianne, a student in her first year of secondary school; Gustave Ngabonsisa and Michaël, the youngest. And that's why I'm not going to put words in his mouth. What I'm going to

say is what I saw during the genocide with my own eyes.

The killings started here in our cellule of Gitwa on 21 April. The Toyota four-wheel drive of ONAPO [National Office of Family Planning] was being driven by Déo Nsekanabanga, the ONAPO driver. It stopped here, opposite the Tumba sector office and near the tap, at about 9:00 a.m. Some of the interahamwe, like Jean Chrisostome Ndindabahiza, who hurried along to join the group, were in this vehicle. Dr Munyemana and a few others were there too. Sosthène had a large piece of iron shaped like a pipe in his hand. All the killers got off and started attacking Tutsi houses. Sosthène had the list of Tutsi houses in the neighbourhood, as right at the beginning, after Habyarimana's death, we did night patrols until 19 April, and he was responsible for the houses on our street.

After these killers got out [of the car], they attacked the family of a certain Philippe Nyagahakwa who worked at the Butare campus of the National University of Rwanda (UNR) from Gitarama. They killed [the members of this family]. Sosthène got back into the vehicle and left. The other killers continued with their dirty work. They went from house to house. After a few minutes, the vehicle came back [full of] soldiers. They had come from Kigali town and Sosthène was the one who had gone to fetch them. He was in front, with his list, and the soldiers were behind. They joined the other killers at the home of a Tutsi called Athanase Rwabugiri who was an assistant driver for the trader, Martin Uwariraye.

When they arrived, the killers told them that Laurent Keberanya, a Tutsi known as 'Somalie,' had just fled towards Mukura forest in the valley below. Sosthène said he had to be found. Accompanied by soldiers and civilians like Mambo, who was a resident and a *responsable* of Gitwa cellule, Sosthène went on the hunt for this man. They found him in Mukura forest and killed him.

When they came back, they started identifying other houses to attack. As it was the first day, we didn't think all the houses would be attacked. We thought that it would possibly be just the houses

¹⁴ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 4 August 1995.

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of the rich and leading politicians. That's why I followed them closely, to find out their real aim.

Eric then discovered that their next target was his own home.

Suddenly, they said they should go to our house. When I heard this, I fled and ran off into the sorghum plantation [which was] between the homes of Sosthène and Léonidas Ngamiye, formerly of SORWAL (match factory).

When Eric's home was attacked, he lost all his immediate family members except his mother. The dead included his father, Floduard Seromba, a painter; Christine, an older sister who was a dressmaker; and four younger brothers, Murwanashyaka, Rwesa, Giheta and Rurinda.

They spared my mother, Marie Nyiraromba, who is Hutu. She dug a big hole under her bed. I hid in this hole during the day and in the night went and hid in the plantation. In fact, the strategy of the Tumba killers was to search out the bushes and the sorghum [plantations] during the day and to search the houses out at night. That's why I stayed in the house during the day and in the plantation at night.

Sosthène continued leading the massacres in our sector. He kept the keys to the sector office in order to imprison Tutsis [who were then] massacred at night. Towards the end of the genocide, he led the attack which killed Emmanuel Rugimbu, a mason, and his family. I think that was the last attack he led in Tumba before he left.

Sosthène Munyemana collaborated so closely with prime minister Kambanda that people thought he was going to be given a high ranking position in the genocidal government.

Eric described Munyemana's efforts to ensure that Tumba's peasants accorded a warm welcome for Operation Turquoise.

The day before the French soldiers from Operation Turquoise came, Sosthène trained the killers on how they were

going to welcome the French. He looked for a lot of French flags and he distributed the really small flags to the killers. They wore banana leaves, to symbolise I don't know what, and [carried] their traditional weapons.

The day the French came, Sosthène carried a large French flag and wore grass and banana leaves. They mobilised motorbikes and vehicles in a grandiose march to welcome [them]. The crowd of killers marched on foot behind the vehicles and the motorbikes which horned as if there was a marriage. That day, I breathed a bit [easier] because all the Tumba killers had gone to the welcome.

Eric survived by continuing to shelter in his alternative hiding places until Butare fell on 2 July.¹⁵

Marie Josée Mukankuranga, a teacher, lives in Rango, Gitwe's neighbouring cellule. She first came to know Dr Munyemana when he was a medical student at the University of Butare. She also used to teach his children.

I have been a teacher since 1980 and know a lot of people here in Butare. I knew Sosthène Munyemana well before [the genocide], when he was a student at UNR in Butare. At that time, he used to come and see his wife's younger sister who worked with me and we used to talk. We met again when I gave lessons to his children. They lived very close by, just a few steps from my house. A road separated our two cellules.

After Habyarimana's death, there was relative calm in our sector until 20 April. On 21 April, the genocide in Butare started, triggered off my soldiers, accompanied by criminals, intellectuals and peasants.

I would dare say that Sosthène organised the genocide in Butare. Right from the beginning of the outbreak of the killings in Butare, I ran to a Hutu family who hid me as I saw a group of soldiers making their way to Tutsi families with lists in hand. They went from house to house. Amongst the criminals I saw on

¹⁵ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 1 December 1995.

the first day, 21 April, were leading intellectuals like Dr Sosthène Munyemana, Siméon Remera and Claude Sibomana, a professor at UNR, Ruhengeri campus.

These people were leading this group but I didn't pay attention to the exact type of arms they had. But a lot of them had machetes. Seeing this attack, I ran to a Hutu family where there were two boys, including Pascal Niyonzima, who protected me. [Pascal] told me that Sosthène had asked him to go and kill the Tutsi enemy. He told me that he carried at that time a sword. Though this man didn't support this idea, he did not refuse for fear of being killed in the place of the Tutsis. But he just followed the killers.

[Pascal's] sister lived there after seeing her Tutsi husband killed in Kigali. Apart from this, I was also godmother to the child [of the family who hid me]. The same man told me many things about Sosthène; how dangerous he was and that he was in charge of the attacks against the Tutsis.

Sosthène fled as soon as the RPF arrived in the surroundings areas of Butare town. My mother was killed on 23 April, two days after the outbreak of the massacres in Tumba.¹⁶

A substantial number of other witnesses who had known Dr Munyemana before the genocide live in Tumba. One of them is Bosco Iyakaremye. He was saved because he was the cook for a leading interahamwe from Rango called Athanase, a taxi driver. This protective cover enabled him to circulate and to record Munyemana's activities, including his fatal attack against an employee of the university.

I was allowed to walk around and even to go to the market. It [was] enough to say that I worked at Athanase's so that the militias would keep out of my way.

I saw Munyemana in the attacks many times. I saw him when he came in an ONAPO vehicle with several soldiers who he had picked up from Butare town.

When they got to Tumba sector office, they got out of the vehicle and went towards the home of Martin, a veterinarian, where the interahamwe had gathered a huge number of captured Tutsis. [They] were all massacred under orders from Sosthène and the soldiers. Philippe Nyagahakwa was one of those people. [He] was from Gitarama and worked at the University. Sosthène approached him and I saw this man fall to the ground. I don't exactly know what had hit him but one thing is certain and that is that Sosthène had knocked into him. It was the first day of the Tumba massacres and the Tutsi boys my age hadn't yet been pursued. We would watch and ask ourselves what it was all about. Unfortunately, the children who were with me were killed in the days that followed.

Sosthène kept the sector office keys where a lot of people from different corners, fleeing [the killings] in the other sectors, had gone. [They] were imprisoned once they were caught at the Tumba roadblock. Vincent Kageruka, who is still alive, was one of the people Sosthène imprisoned. [He] is now the sous-préfet of Butare. He can tell you about it. [See below for Vincent's testimony].

I'd say Sosthène killed people like Alphonsine, daughter of Karanganwa and Gasirabo who had a bar in Rango. He was a very good friend of Jean Kambanda. I think that if the survivors today feel so hostile towards him, it's because of his regular meetings with Kambanda about the complete eradication of all the Tutsis in Tumba.

"I saw Dr Sosthène Munyemana in the group of attackers that came to my house. He carried a long sword, like a spear, and a gun."

At night, Munyemana led the night patrols and, as he was the head of the team, he went wherever he wanted to. A lot of abductions of Tutsis to kill took place at night. Munyemana encouraged the Batwa, whose neighbourhood isn't far from the Tumba sector office, to kill the Tutsis. The Batwa didn't live far from my parents' house but most of

¹⁶ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 5 August 1995.

them have now fled. My father, who was called François Habimana, died well before the genocide. But my mother and two older sisters were killed in the genocide [at the hands of] Sosthène and his group. I think Sosthène fled in June.¹⁷

Countless Hutus in Tumba have provided detailed testimonies about Munyemana's murderous activities. Some of these witnesses lost their loved ones in the attacks led by Munyemana and other killers. These women lost their husbands and children because they were Tutsi. The pain and grief that unfold in their stories are an eloquent testimony to the wasteland Munyemana left behind in Butare.

Aurélié Mukamuganga, fifty-four, is a peasant farmer who lives in Gitwa. She lost her husband, Marcel Kabega, fifty-eight, on the first day of the killings, 21 April. He was a painter at the university. Three days later, she also lost five of her eight children, Onésphore Ndagijimana, thirty, also a painter; Viateur Hategekimana, twenty-four, an assistant mason; Jean Marie-Vianney Nsengimana, a twenty eight-year-old mason who was married; Juvéнал Kabega, twenty, who had just completed his schooling at CERAI (Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré) and Louise Uwimana, a five-year-old adoptive daughter.

The leaders of the attack that caused me to grieve were Sosthène Munyemana, a doctor; Siméon Remera alias 'CDR'; 'Ruganzu'; the person nicknamed 'Maître'; Speratus Kabirigi; Gaspard Mambo, *responsable* of my cellule though he is originally from Muyira sector in Ndora commune; François Bwanakeye, councillor of Tumba and Joseph Kanyabashi, bourgmestre of Ngoma.

I saw Dr Sosthène Munyemana in the group of attackers that came to my house. He carried a long sword, like a spear, and a gun. He was with the terrible Kabirigi who also carried a gun and a bow and arrows. Sosthène's sword

was in its sheath which was covered with hair. They killed my family on 24 April. On the 29th, the same attackers, led by Sosthène, came back to exterminate those who were still alive.

After having killed my family members, bourgmestre Kanyabashi came by and watched the bodies of my family quivering on the road near my house. He saw, amongst them, faces he knew. And he knew me too, as I often danced in the communal festivities. He told the killers that those corpses shouldn't be exposed there, on the road, that he'd rather throw them far away from the road so that he wouldn't be found out.

After having eliminated the most well known Tutsis, Sosthène Munyemana was in the group which forced Hutus from Tumba to denounce Tutsis who were hiding amongst them. He was helped by Siméon, 'Ruganzu', Rutayisire of CUSP and Callixte of Electrogaz. They were, basically, the true intellectuals. They compiled a long list of Tutsis who weren't well known and they killed them.

Sosthène was an interahamwe through and through. He even wore banana leaves to motivate the peasants. He also had the keys of Tumba sector office where he imprisoned Tutsis before killing them at night. He liked to carry a long sword and [to wear] a black jacket with his hat. He was the one who organised it all. I was saved because I was Hutu. But I heard that on 5 July, we

"Sosthène was an interahamwe through and through. He even wore banana leaves to motivate the peasants. He also had the keys of Tumba sector office where he imprisoned Tutsis before killing them at night. He liked to carry a long sword and [to wear] a black jacket with his hat. He was the one who organised it all."

¹⁷ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 29 December 1995.

were going to cover up Habyarimana's body when it was buried.¹⁸

Sosthène organised several attacks, like [the ones] which killed Vénant Karekezi, a sixty year old tailor; Emmanuel Gakuba, a forty-four-year-old mechanic; Alphonse Musonera, a twenty-year-old unemployed man. He also led the attacks which killed the children of Claude Nyaminani. [They were] Monique Uwizeye, a cashier at a restaurant in town and Marc Musonera, a taxi driver. He organised groups of attackers that went into [the homes of] prominent Tutsi families and he put the peasants in front. When [these peasants] came out, Sosthène would ask if anyone survived before [they went] off to another Tutsi home.

I am now living with my three children I managed to find, including a daughter of eighteen years.¹⁹

Josephina Nyirangendo is a lonely woman grieving for her family. At the age of sixty, Josephina, a peasant who lives in the cellule of Butamenwa in Tumba, lost her elderly husband of seventy-five, Stanislas Sagisi, a peasant, her five children and most of her grandchildren.

I attribute the death of [my family] to the team of sponsors of the genocide in Tumba whose leaders were prominent intellectuals like Dr Sosthène Munyemana, Siméon Remera, alias 'CDR,' 'Ruganzu' and the person known as 'Maître.'

Right from the beginning, Sosthène Munyemana carried a long sword that looked like a spear. In the second week of the genocide in Butare, he led the group of attackers that came to my house. He had a gun then and was wearing a very long coat. He was with many peasants to whom he had given the green light to invade our house. He also

¹⁸ 5 July 1994 would have been the twenty-first anniversary of the military coup that brought Habyarimana to power. The killers used to say that Habyarimana would be buried that day and that the remaining Tutsis and Hutu women who had married Tutsis would be killed at the same time.

¹⁹ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 1 December 1995.

had with him a list of people to kill. [He] said the victims' houses shouldn't be destroyed; rather, they should be occupied.

Josephina accuses Munyemana of luring her children to their death by laying a trap for them.

Sometimes, Sosthène and his colleagues would lie. [They would say] that calm had been restored and that from then on, no one else would be killed. And when they heard this, some of the Hutus who had hidden Tutsis would let them out of hiding and these Tutsis were picked up and massacred. I lost my children because of Sosthène's lies. I had hidden them in the sorghum plantations and at the home of Hutu neighbours. When Sosthène said that calm had been restored and that they should go back home, that same night, he led an attack which abducted them all.

After the death of my children and my husband, Sosthène and his group started facing the problem of [what to do with] Hutu women who had married Tutsi men. Their solution was to kill us on 5 July so as to cover Habyarimana's grave.

"I lost my children because of Sosthène's lies... When Sosthène said that calm had been restored and that they should go back home, that same night, he led an attack which abducted them all."

Sosthène even wore banana leaves during the genocide. When the French troops came, Sosthène organised a group of interahamwe to go and welcome them. That day, almost all the Tumba Hutus went to meet and congratulate them. Some of them even had the *masus* and traditional arms which were used in the massacres. They also had French flags. These festivities started early in the morning. By the evening, they still had not returned.

The children Josephina lost are Laurent Dusabimana, a mason who was married;

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Françine Uwimana, married and killed together with her three children; Bernadette Niyonsaba, a single mother; Damascène Kamana, single, an employee of the match factory, SORWAL, and Thérèse Ngwiza, a single mother.²⁰

Consolée Kamugwera, forty-five, lost her husband, and then watched helplessly as Munyemana led groups of peasants to her home to abduct her children. Consolée, who is a peasant farmer, lives in Butamenwa cellule in Tumba. Her own brothers were amongst the killers mobilised by Munyemana to decimate her family.

My husband was called François Kimonyo. He was a farmer and was killed on 23 April, the same day as my oldest daughter, Régine Mukashyaka, twenty-five and a single mother. In the days that followed, they killed [my other children]. [They were] Vestine Mukandori, seventeen, a dressmaker; Mukamana, fourteen, who was in her final year of primary school; Alphonsine Mureramanzi, twelve, a student in the fifth year of primary school; Rukundo, in his third year of primary school; Nsengimana who was seven and the youngest, who was three. I now live all alone. I don't have a single child with me and my husband has also been killed. I know the authors of my misery. They were neighbours from our sector.

I saw Dr Sosthène Munyemana leading attacks many times. He was with other killers like Siméon Remera and his wife; 'Ruganzu', Kabirigi, and the person known as 'Maitre.' Munyemana distributed ammunition like grenades and guns. He was the friend of the soldiers and wore banana leaves during the genocide.

My children weren't all killed on the same day. They were abducted two by two. And there was a two week gap between two successive abductions. They came to my home four times. And every time they came, Sosthène Munyemana was there. He didn't come into the house; he stayed on the road and the peasants entered the house and took

whoever they wanted. I am Hutu and I was not targeted. But the killers often said that they were going to kill us on 5 July.

My brothers were part of the group of killers. I lost my parents well before [the genocide]. [Only] my brothers were left. During the genocide, I asked my brothers if they could at least hide one of their nieces. They didn't want to. Sosthène convened several meetings and told us that calm had been restored. He seemed to be saying that we should let our children come out [of hiding]. It was a big lie as they came and abducted them all during the night.

Sosthène kept the keys to the sector office where he put a lot of people in before killing them. He had a gun and sometimes went around with a spear.²¹

Jacqueline Uwimana, a twenty-five-year-old peasant, was able to walk around freely in Tumba on 21 April and in subsequent days. As a Hutu, she did not feel threatened, but had reason to fear for the life of her Tutsi husband, Gaspard Ntintangiragaba. Jacqueline lived in the compound of a businessman who had rented out several homes to soldiers. Her freedom gave her many opportunities to record Munyemana's close collaboration with soldiers.

I know Dr Sosthène very well. He had moved to Tumba after buying a house with a Tumba businessman called Semafaranga. After the first few days of Habyarimana's death, the Hutus and Tutsis stayed united. But in the neighbouring communes of Huye, Runyinya and Gishamvu, the peace didn't last. We saw the [houses] being burned from a distance.

Munyemana often came to see one of the soldiers called Niyibizi, alias 'Agronome', who lived in our compound. Siméon Remera, president of CDR, often came with him. [Because I am] a Hutu, I wasn't afraid of approaching them. I saw how busy they were elaborating lists of Tutsis to kill. I would dare say that the whole plan of putting Tutsis to eliminate

²⁰ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 1 December 1995.

²¹ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 1 December 1995.

on a list was conceived by Dr Sosthène, Siméon and Nyibizi, alias 'Agronome', here in Tumba, in our compound.

At about 10:00 a.m. on 21 April, Sosthène and Remera came into our compound. ['Agronome'] gave them a paper bag full of grenades. I saw all this with my own eyes and I don't think Sosthène can deny any of it. Just a few minutes after their departure, the drama started — gunshots, grenade explosions and the cries from Tutsis being savagely killed. It was really horrible. A gendarme called Anaclet lived in our compound. He was really kind. He was the one who hid my husband until the RPF came.

I roamed around and often [spoke with] leading killers like Kabirigi, Dr. Jeanne Nduwamariya's brother, to find out when the tragedy would finish. Just a few days [later], Sosthène came back to our compound. [He was] still distributing grenades and had a list of the Tutsis who had already been executed and those who were [still alive]. One of the Tutsis killed in Tumba was his colleague, a professor at UNR called Jean Népomscène whom they had searched for some days. They finally found him and executed him. [Sosthène's] wife was on a mission in France and Sosthène had all his time to carry out his evil [plans]. He had the key to the sector office and he was the one who opened it up for the imprisonment of Tutsis and their execution in the night.

He went on patrols in the night, even searching places he thought sheltered Tutsis. He was in charge of security in Tumba, whilst being the first to disrupt this peace by putting innocent Tutsis into prison. More often than not, Sosthène Munyemana accommodated Kambanda, the first minister d'*Abatabazi* [interim government].

As you can see our compounds are quite close. Each time Kambanda came to Tumba, he spent the night there. We knew his car.²²

Other Hutu neighbours of Munyemana's have no doubt his guilt either. One of them is Athanase Sibomana, eighteen, who lives in Munyemana's

cellule, Gitwa. He is without permanent employment but often acts as a moped driver.

"Sosthène took a bayonet from the trousers of a soldier next to him and drove it into the stomach of Philippe Nyagahakwa, an employee of the National University of Rwanda, Butare campus [killing him]."

I lived with my grandfather, Gaspard Ntamushobora, as I was an orphan. We lived near Sosthène. The house of an old man [called] Senkware was between our house and Sosthène's house. So Sosthène was basically our neighbour. [We] lived on the same side of the road leading to Tumba sector office. I didn't even hide during the genocide. So I'm an eyewitness to what I'm now about to tell you.

After the death of Habyarimana, I'd say that a lot of people from my sector didn't know what would follow. Both Hutus and Tutsis went on night rounds. However, there was a group of so-called intellectuals who were really hostile about the peace in Tumba. Being a young boy, I didn't participate in the meetings [that were held] about security. But one Wednesday afternoon, on 20 April, I saw Sosthène Munyemana pass by the front of our house. He had a sort of exercise book. But [it was] big, like a book. He was going to the sector office where Siméon Remera, Joseph 'Riganzu', François Bwanakeye, Félicien Kubwimana and Faustin — a young boy who studied at CEFOTEC [a technical training centre] — were waiting for him. Gasana of ARBEF was also there. No one else could go near. They had [organised] a system of local security to such an extent that even other Hutu peasants couldn't get in. They were being guarded by civilians who walked around the sector office with big sticks. That was the meeting I wanted to attend as I was really suspicious [about it]. Other meetings that were held before didn't really catch my attention. The meeting ended at about 6:30 p.m., and the following day the genocide started.

²² Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 5 August 1995.

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Sosthène, who carried a big metal rod that looked like a pipe, was accompanied by a lot of other killers — like Kabigiri who had a small axe, Siméon who had a sword and his son, Ritego, who carried an R4 gun and grenades. They started attacking Tutsi houses. They killed the people they found there and looted all [their] belongings before destroying [their] houses. After just a few minutes, Sosthène left in ONAPO's four wheel drive. He came back with some soldiers. They found a lot of Tutsis who had been captured and were grouped behind the sector office at the home of a Tutsi man, a veterinarian called Martin Minani. When he arrived, all those people were killed. Sosthène took a bayonet from the trousers of a soldier next to him and drove it into the stomach of Philippe Nyagahakwa, an employee of the National University of Rwanda, Butare campus from Gitarama, [killing him]. [Philippe] fell to the ground and a lot of people who hadn't been paying attention didn't know what had happened. They thought Sosthène had just roughed him up. I was there and I thought that the genocide was just going to involve highly placed Tutsi dignitaries.

Sosthène went all around Tumba and the town. When the French Operation Turquoise came, he wore banana leaves and was in a vehicle behind. A crowd of militia, armed to the teeth with their traditional weapons, surrounded the vehicle and very slowly marched in welcome to the French. Sosthène waved a large French flag.²³

When the genocide came to an end, Jeanne Mukabera lived briefly in Munyemana's house. Having seen him in "action" during the genocide, she was not surprised to discover that a pile of weapons had been abandoned in his home. Jeanne, who has worked at the University Centre for Public Health (CUSP) since 1978, lived in the cellule of Agasengasenge, sector Cyarwa, together with a man she describes as "an active genocidal killer," Athanase Nearamba, a

trader in Butare. She said that Nearamba saved her life, but organised many meetings in their home to plan the killing of other Tutsis.

I know a lot about the preparation and execution of the genocide in Tumba and above all at Cyarwa. For me, the genocide was sponsored by certain influential men here in Cyarwa and in Tumba, including my husband Athanase Nearamba. The group of criminals used to come and see my husband.

One of the men Jeanne mentioned is Dr Munyemana. She added:

During the genocide, and even before the beginning of the massacres in Tumba and Cyarwa, Kambanda used to come and see Dr Sosthène Munyemana and even to spend the night there.

When Cardinal Etchegaray came to Butare, Sosthène was amongst the thousands of genocidal killers who marched with their *masus*, swords and other arms, wearing even banana leaves.

He was at the roadblocks in Tumba and he was the one who was in charge. After the RPF took power, I lived in his house. [There were] traditional weapons — *masus*, swords, axes etc...²⁴

Dr Munyemana did not limit his killing sprees to Tumba. Providence Mukandoli is from Rango cellule and works in the maternity hospital. Like many others living in and around Gitwa, she knew Dr Munyemana. When the killings started in Tumba and the town of Butare on 21 April, Providence, like thousands of Tutsis, fled to a place called Kabakobwa in Nkubi sector. The refugees at Kabakobwa included residents from a number of communes in Butare — Ngoma, Gishamvu and Nyaruhengeri — as well as communes in Gikongoro, such as Mubuga.

I know Sosthène Munyemana. He was a gynaecologist at HUNR. He participated in the genocide. I saw him.

²³ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 29 December 1995.

²⁴ Interviewed in Ngoma, Butare, 29 July 1995.

My father was called James Bitira. He was a retired employee of the university of Butare laboratory. On 21 April, when the killings spread in the town and in Tumba, the Hutus in our cellule told us to flee towards a place called Kabakobwa in Nkubi sector.

We left, and indeed there were a lot of Tutsis there with their herds of cattle. There were very many of them, about ten thousand. At about 9:30 a.m. on 22 April, some soldiers of the Presidential Guard came to see us. They saw the state we were in and promised to bring us something to eat and left. A few minutes later, they returned in two buses full of soldiers and well-trained interahamwe. They started shooting into all these refugees.

Scared and disoriented, Providence and her father fled to the Nkubi sector office. But they did not find safety. Instead, they found another group of killers, some of them familiar faces, including Dr Munyemana.

I didn't know what to do. We ran here and there. I was with my father and we made our way to Nkubi sector office where we met civilian criminals armed with machetes, *masus*, axes and wearing banana leaves. There were other refugees there who had followed us. In this crowd of genocidal killers who were at the sector office, I managed to identify Dr Sosthène Munyemana, 'Maitre' and Martin who all knew my father. Martin asked my father to show him his ID card. My father replied, [saying] he was Tutsi. Martin left, telling him to go and die like the others.

Sosthène and his colleagues stayed there with their traditional weapons. All these Tutsi refugees from Kabakobwa were killed. As for us, we returned to our all hill and hid in different places. I went to the home of a man called Musayidire who had a Tutsi wife and my father left to I don't know where. He was finally discovered and killed. After Musayidire, I went to Egide's house until the end of the genocide. Sosthène organised the attacks. My parents, younger sisters and

brothers were all killed. I am left with my cousin.²⁵

THE TUMBA SECTOR OFFICE: DR MUNYEMANA'S PRIVATE PRISON

"Nobody understood why Sosthène kept this key [to the sector office]. It was only afterwards that we understood why."

One of the most consistent accusations levelled against Dr Sosthène Munyemana is that he locked up many of his would-be-victims in the Tumba sector office. They were taken out at night and butchered nearby. At the end of the famous meeting of 17 April, the councillor, François Bwanakeye, kept one of the three keys to the sector office. He handed one to his assistant and gave the third key to Dr Munyemana. Very few people imprisoned by Munyemana lived to describe their ordeal. One of them is Vincent Kageruka, the deputy préfet whose description of the 17 April meeting has been detailed above.

On the night of 20 April, we heard shooting. On 21 April, the detachment of Presidential Guard began the systematic elimination of all the Tutsis. They went from one house to another with lists [of wanted people] in hand. They even knew the number and the names of the Tutsis who were at such and such a roadblock on such and such a street. When I saw this, I hid in holes, forests, bushes and sorghum fields.

Determined to ensure that no one should escape them, the killers used a loudspeaker to inform Tutsis that the massacres had been halted and to encourage those in hiding to leave their shelters. All the refugees who came out of hiding were killed. Vincent stayed where he was, surfacing a few days later when he decided to return to his house. He was discovered by a man he knew; Vincent hoped that the man had come to help him.

²⁵ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 5 August 1995.

The Tumba Sector Office



Instead, Vincent believes that he informed the militia of his whereabouts. The interahamwe reported Vincent to Munyemana who locked him up in Tumba sector office.

On 23 April, from where I was hiding in the bushes, I heard a bus [full of] gendarmes which had a loud-speaker or megaphone calling out to the Tutsis who had hidden to come back. They said that calm had been restored in the neighbourhood. Once again, the naive Tutsis came out. They were all killed a few days later.

I stayed in my hiding-place. But, on Saturday 30 April, I came out of my hiding place to go back to my neighbourhood. I hid close to the rubble that was my house. I moved in the night and often hid in the sorghum fields. It was the rainy season and I saw that I was going to be finished off by this violent rain. That's when I went off to hide close to Tumba Pentecostal Church in order to shelter [from the rain]. This was on Friday, 13 May. Emmanuel Sinamenye discovered me on the following day, the 14th. He was in the church choir. I was also a member of this church. I wasn't frightened when I saw him as I thought he was really filled with the holy spirit - a Christian. This man called me and told me that he was going to show me where I could hide for a few days. He put me in his house which was being built, which was close to the Pentecostal church. He put me inside, gave me water to drink and left to get something for me to eat.

When he had gone, I started thinking to myself what a good man he was. I was left in this state of expectation, anticipating food after not having eaten cooked food for this long period. I was relieved. I waited in vain for the food. On the contrary, at about 2:00 p.m., he sent me three vicious assassins with well-sanded machetes. It was doubtless the so-called Christian who had sent them. They were people whom I knew and who knew me. They were Ruvumba; Vénant 'Mabombogoro'; I can't remember the name of the last one. They were pleased to find me. They laughed, saying, 'Ouf! You have finally been found.'

Nevertheless, 'Mabombogoro' asked if by any chance I had any money on me or at the house. I said I had hidden two hundred and fifty francs at the house and I could show them where it was. It was a lie. I just wanted a few [more] minutes of life. They made me climb towards where I lived. Many of the other assassins who were at the other roadblocks wanted to finish me off. The three killers, realising it wasn't working, decided to put me in the sector office where they were locking up Tutsis to kill in the night. They were actually planning on coming back in the night so that I could show them where I had buried the money.

When we got to Tumba sector office, they called on Sosthène to come and open up the sector office which had become a dungeon. He came. When he saw me, he was really satisfied. He said 'There, another *Inkotanyi*; come and die like your relatives.' He opened [the office] and put me inside. He continued his conversation, joking with the other killers 'See how very tough the intellectual *Inkotanyi* are.' I was the only one in the prison that evening. Sosthène and I knew each other. Besides, he [graduated] the same year, except that I did economics.

"When [Sosthène] saw me, he was really satisfied. He said 'There, another *Inkotanyi*; come and die like your relatives.'"

Vincent was not alone for long. That evening Munyemana locked up more victims, including Vincent's older brother.

At about 9:00 p.m., Sosthène came with other unfortunate Tutsis whom he threw into the dungeon. He had a big sword in one hand and the key in the other. He wore banana leaves [on top] of his clothes. He wore a very bright flash-light on his forehead, like a miner. And he wore a red and black MDR-Power hat. On that same night, he made four trips, always [returning] with Tutsis captured like me by their patrols. As there weren't any electric lights, they had put large solar lamps in different parts of the

street, [so that it was possible] to see even a little ant which crossed the road.

I clearly remember that the fourth time he came to throw people into the prison, he said he was tired, that he was going to rest but was afraid of the surviving Tutsis. This meant that he had also killed. At that time, there were eleven of us in the prison and doubtless the only ones left in the neighbourhood. Amongst the eleven, I can name my older brother, Innocent Ntidendereza; Damascène who sang in Cyarwa Pentecostal choir; Gasirabo, who was an orderly at the préfecture of Butare and Mugunga. There were just men.

Three days later, still locked up in the dungeon, Sosthène came back in the middle of the day. He was with the major sponsors of the genocide in Tumba, such as Siméon Remera; the councillor, François Bwankeye; the former councillor, Kubwimana, Hitimana etc... Dr Sosthène opened the sector office. He put us outside. He hit us, asking why we had dirtied the sector office. They forced us to clean it up immediately and [then] had a meeting to evaluate their work. That day I had another chance to see Sosthène face to face, with the red and black hat, long sword and banana leaves. At the end of the meeting, they put us back in the dungeon.

By mid-May, foreign journalists had photographed numerous massacre sites and thousands of corpses floating down the Akagera river. The world had become aware of the reality of the genocide. In an effort to deflect international criticism, the interim government decided to "slow down" the rate at which Tutsis were being butchered. It was, of course, too late for most Tutsis. But the need to stem international condemnation saved a few lives, at least temporarily.

On 19 May, the criminals moved us to the police station near the market. We were being saved for the international community. To show them that the bloody Kambanda government did not kill. I assure you we were completely finished — very thin, just skin and bones.

On 22 May, captain Nzeyimana, the deputy from the public prosecutor's office of Butare, came to the station. They put us outside and looked over us, to see if there was anyone important. But [they] just found us all invalids. We had just about starved to death.

On 25 May, at about 2:30 a.m., a military bus came by. The soldiers [in the bus] said that they had come to take us back. They had bayonets with them and told us to get onto the bus. They shoved us around a lot. Instead of getting onto the bus, I went out the first and slid on my stomach under the bus, between the wheels. The remaining ten [people], got on and the bus went off. I don't know what I was trying to do. But the good Lord didn't let the wheels crush me; nor did the lorry's headlights show me up.

The bus left. It was a really dark night. The police station was locked up and with a guard. I left the place and made my way to the EER (the Episcopal Church of Rwanda) where the other Tutsi refugees were. But I preferred to go to the bottom of the EER and into the large forest that was there. I stayed there until 27 June when a large number of interahamwe carried out a meticulous search of the bushes and the forests. They lined up and searched, centimetre by centimetre. They were accompanied by soldiers who were shooting wildly about. When I saw them, I left the forest from the other side, going into the Mamba cemetery, near Butare university campus, to hide. It was near the Butare-Akanyaru road. They wouldn't have thought there'd be a Tutsi hiding there.

However, the *Inkotanyi* arrived at Rubona and at Save. I heard their intense shooting. When the searches in this huge forest had come to an end and I saw the criminals returning, I shot across the road like an arrow. There was no-one on the road, nor in the neighbourhoods. They had all been mobilised to search the bush. I took advantage of the ghost town and hid in an avocado tree which is still at the police station, just above a shed. I got onto the wall of this shed and into the shade of this avocado tree. The leaves completely covered me. I was sustained by its unripe avocados. I will never forget this tree. Its leaves hid me and its fruit fed me. The *Inkotanyi* found me there.

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So, in short, I knew Sosthène. I saw him during the genocide. Firstly, in the meeting which was held on 17 April at the sector office and secondly, many times during my imprisonment at the sector office. He led and organised the massacres in Tumba. He marched in front of the Presidential Guard saying, in French, and I cite, 'To a friend's, to a dead enemy's.' To a friend's meant to a Hutu's [home] who shouldn't die and to an enemy's meant to a dead Tutsi's [home]. He did this during my stay at the sector office and the Presidential Guard to whom he was saying this were the ones who lived at the [home of the] president of CDR, Siméon Remera, and others from Kigali.

The same Presidential Guard from [the house of] Siméon had taken my ID card that they described as an *Inkotanyi* card as I was Tutsi. They said anything. They didn't think that one day we would be able to accuse them.

Innocent Hategekimana, whose testimony has been included earlier, made other accusations against Munyemana.

He kept the sector office key and all the people who were imprisoned [there] were killed in the night. A lot of Tutsis were imprisoned by him before being killed in the night. Sosthène often drove around the neighbourhood on the motorcycle of a man [Gasana] who worked in ARBEF, visiting the roadblocks in Tumba.

Many of the Hutu residents of Tumba have also accused Dr Munyemana of using the sector office as a holding centre for Tutsis condemned to death. Athanase Sibomana, the young man whose testimony appears above, commented:

Sosthène held the key for the sector office where a lot of people were imprisoned before being liquidated. Amongst the people who were imprisoned there before being finished off was Miss Alphonsine, daughter of Karanganwa; Innocent, who was a welder; Gasirabo, who sold beer at Rango; Sudi, a mechanic and the one known as 'Metero' because he was very thin.

According to Josepha Nyirangendo, whose description of the murder of her husband and children is included above:

Sosthène Munyemana kept the keys to Tumba sector office where he imprisoned Tutsis before killing them. Often, when the interahamwe caught Tutsis, they would come and see Sosthène, who was mainly responsible for the team of killers, to ask for the keys. And Sosthène would go with them and open the prison for those unfortunate people.

François Ngiriyeye, forty-four, comes from the cellule of Kigarama in Tumba. Ngiriyeye has worked as a researcher at the university since 1989. Several people from his cellule have accused him of having participated in the genocide. African Rights has not investigated these charges; but whether a fellow-killer or not, he spoke voluntarily about Munyemana.

Dr Sosthène Munyemana was my friend. Besides, he often asked me to find trees [for construction] as I had a large forest. He often repaired the house he had bought at Tumba and I brought him wood. Many times he even saw me at the university.

During the genocide, I only saw him once. Usually, it was forbidden to leave the cellule in order to work in another cellule. But one day, Gasana [the director] at CUSP died. A lot of people went to the assistance of his family. I was one of these people who went to support his family. On our return, we went towards Sosthène's cellule. On our way, we met two men called Tharcisse Ncagure and Augustin Rukinga. They were killers. They had captured two Tutsis from Vénant's house, a man from Butare who had a very well known bakery. They were Ephrem and Jean Bosco. The two killers took these victims to the sector office and we left together. When we got near Sosthène's house, they went and asked for the key and put the two victims in the sector office so as to be killed the next night.

So what I know about Sosthène is that he kept the key to the sector office where the interahamwe imprisoned

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people to execute in the night. It is Sosthène who opened it up to imprison and kill the victims.

In addition to that, we knew that he organised the genocide in his cellule [together with] Siméon Remera and Kabirigi, Jeanne Nduwamariya's brother.²⁶

LETHAL TIES: MUNYEMANA'S COLLUSION WITH JEAN KAMBANDA

"It would be better if Sosthène could explain to Rwanda the object of all those visits from Kambanda."

Every witness interviewed in Tumba spoke of the numerous meeting that Dr Munyemana held with the prime minister of the interim government, Jean Kambanda, during the genocide. Kambanda visited Butare on several occasions and stayed at Munyemana's home.

The ties between the two men dated back some years. After President Habyarimana was forced to introduce the principle of multipartyism in 1990, Munyemana wasted no time in lending his support to the hard-line faction of MDR. In Butare, the MDR was split between supporters of the former prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, murdered on 7 April 1994, and Jean Kambanda, the man who "succeeded" her in the interim regime. When Kambanda lost the MDR presidential seat in Butare to Agathe Uwilingiyimana, some of his supporters, including Munyemana, refused to accept the results. Munyemana became one of the leaders of a campaign of intimidation unleashed against the residents of the town of Butare. Raphaël Kamanzi has worked at HUNR since 1976. He is the current assistant director. He described Munyemana's long-standing support for Kambanda.

Kambanda's followers did not want to admit defeat and started using terror tactics in Butare. I'd say Sosthène was the leader. He criticised Faustin Twagiramungu and Agathe Uwilingiyimana a lot, describing them as accomplices of the RPF. He did not hide his support for the MDR Power faction of Kambanda at the hospital.

Together with members of the Kambanda faction, Munyemana organised a demonstration against the Uwilingiyimana wing of MDR. Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, the préfet of Butare, refused to allow Munyemana and his group to demonstrate. But this did not deter them. They proceeded with their protest, spreading tension in the town.

As the préfet had denied them permission, they [organised] their demonstration forcefully. All the same, the préfet did not allow them [to use] Huye stadium for a meeting after the demonstrations.

We saw them in procession — Kambanda, Sosthène and their members, here in Butare town, dressed in the red and black of the MDR flag.

A few days after their demonstrations, [you should have] seen the tension in Butare! The bourgmestre of Ngoma, in collaboration with the late préfet, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, organised a meeting at Huye stadium in Butare. It was a meeting with all the residents of the urban commune of Ngoma to discuss security. Sosthène was there too.

There were several contributions [made from the participants] including from Sosthène. He said that the préfet should not refuse them [to use] the stadium for the demonstrations, that it was unfair etc... He [told the préfet] that he was going to see and suffer the consequences of this refusal. When he had said this, all the extremists clapped, saying 'Power, Power.'

The préfet explained that he could not authorise illegal demonstrations. He even read out the section explaining the procedure for seeking permission for public demonstrations. Sosthène did not understand. You could tell he was really

²⁶ Interviewed in Tumba, Butare, 13 December 1995.

heated up and violent. That's when I realised how dangerous Sosthène was.²⁷

During the genocide, Dr Munyemana spent many hours conferring with the prime minister of a government dedicated to mass murder. A number of survivors and witnesses whose accounts have already been noted also spoke of Munyemana's friendship with Kambanda.

Innocent Hategekimana lived near Munyemana and even hid in his house when the killings started.

A few days before the outbreak of the killings, I saw the famous Jean Kambanda at Sosthène's. I saw him there on several occasions and he even spent the night. Even during the massacres of the Tutsis in Butare, each time Kambanda came to Butare, he'd spend the night at Sosthène's. They no doubt plotted together.

Mukakarabizi noted that:

[And then] Sosthène Munyemana was a close friend of Jean Kambanda, prime minister of the genocidal government. Kambanda visited him. He spent so many hours and hours [there] that you'd have thought he'd spent the night. It would be better if Sosthène could explain to Rwanda the object of all those visits from Kambanda.

Athanase Sibomana had no doubts about the object of those visits.

Sosthène was an intimate friend of Jean Kambanda, the prime minister of the genocidal [government]. [He] came several times to visit, escorted by the Presidential Guard. I'd say that the object of the visit was nothing other than [to organise] the radical extermination of all the Tutsis.

Sosthène was my neighbour. His children, Liliane, Gustave and Michaël were my friends. He actively participated in the genocide and I don't think he can deny it.

SETTING HIS HOME COMMUNE ON FIRE: DR MUNYEMANA IN MUSAMBIRA, GITARAMA

In November 1995, representatives of African Rights visited the communes of Musambira and Nyamabuye, Gitarama, on several occasions. We had not planned to conduct an investigation into the activities of Dr Munyemana in these places. But in the course of our research, we learned that Dr Munyemana, who comes from Musambira, had visited the commune between April and July to reinforce the campaign to exterminate the Tutsi community in Musambira.²⁸

Claudia Kanyemera was a secondary school student in Musambira and comes from the cellule of Cyambwe in sector Bimomwe. She took refuge at the Parish of Musambira, and then fled to the bush when the killers attacked the parish. Claudia currently works at a hospital in Kabgayi in Gitarama. Like many other survivors of Musambira, she identified the following men among the leading killers of their commune: Abdirahman Iyakaremye, the bourgmestre of Musambira; Cyrile Bizimana, the director of the Bank of Kigali and Charles Mporanyimigibo, the current director of an insurance company, SORAS. They held constant meetings to map out their murderous plans, which Dr Munyemana attended whenever he was in Musambira.

These meetings were also often held at the house of Charles Mporanyimigibo, the current director of SORAS. Also participating in these meetings were the former bourgmestre, Dominique Karani; the judge for the district of Musambira named Sekaziga, who has been arrested in Gitarama; Bernadette Mukagatare, who was an MRND member of parliament, and Dr Sosthène Munyemana, who was living in Butare,

²⁷ Interviewed in Ngoma, Butare, 1 August 1995.

²⁸ With rare exceptions, the educated people who organised and implemented the killings visited their home communes to ensure that "their" Tutsis were dying in sufficiently large numbers.

"[Sosthène Munyemana] also said that the bodies of the victims should be thrown very far away and not piled up in the Parish of Musambira."

but who often came to Musambira, the commune where he was born. One day, Sosthène Munyemana also came to give new orders. He came to say that there was no point in just destroying half of the Tutsis' houses. Instead, they should be completely destroyed. He even said that the plot of land should then be cultivated. He also said that the bodies of the victims should be thrown very far away and not piled up in the Parish of Musambira.

After this message from an intellectual, Dr Munyemana, the genocidal killers of Musambira dug out a communal grave in the forest of Gatikinkuba, behind the offices of the commune, so as to throw away the bodies of the Tutsi.²⁹

Jean de la Croix Sezisoni is from the cellule of Uwimana, sector Kivumu in Nyamabuye. He is thirty-two and unemployed. During the genocide, he too had sought protection at the Parish of Musambira.

During my stay at Musambira, I saw Sosthène Munyemana who often used to come to Musambira with Cyrile Bizimana, the director of the Bank of Kigali. These men, along with Mporanyimigabo of SORAS, used to sort of supervise the implementation of the massacres.³⁰

DR MUNYEMANA'S COUNTER-ATTACK: DENYING THE CHARGES AND PLEADING INNOCENCE

"Not only am I innocent, but also someone who helped people in danger and who almost paid with his life. I am a survivor, but apparently I did not moan enough."

The genocide came to an end shortly after Dr Munyemana left Butare. Immediately afterwards, a number of survivors came forward with information that implicated Dr Munyemana in the killings. One of the first people to accuse him publicly was Dr Claude-Emile Rwagacondo, a former student of Dr Munyemana and a doctor at the University Hospital of Butare. He spoke with Gert van Langendock of the Belgian newspaper, *De Morgen*, who visited Butare. Van Langendock's article was published on 8 August.³¹

Dr Munyemana was quick to respond to the charge. He threatened to sue Dr Rwagacondo as well as *De Morgen*. On 14 November, he sent a letter to Dr Rwagacondo. Despite the bluster, Munyemana failed to follow up his threat to sue either *De Morgen* or Dr Rwagacondo. Things were brought to a head in mid-July 1995, when the University of Bordeaux 11, unsettled by the seriousness of the accusations against Munyemana, asked him to suspend his services. In a letter dated 13 July, Dr Claude Raynaut wrote:

Information from different sources has reached me, casting doubt on the conduct you might have had in Butare, during the tragic events which overwhelmed Rwanda in April 1994...

One of the sources that Dr Raynaut referred to is a document he received from the Brussels-based Committee for the Respect of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda (CRDDR). Munyemana replied

²⁹ Interviewed in Nyamabuye, Gitarama, 16 November 1995.

³⁰ Interviewed in Musambira, Gitarama, 16 November 1995.

³¹ Gert van Langendock, "The guilty and the courageous doctors of Butare," *De Morgen*, 8 August 1994.

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to Dr Raynaut on 18 July. He denied the claims made by CRDDR which he described as a pro-RPF organisation.

When the horrors of the massacres reached their height in Butare, the University of Bordeaux gave me the honour of inviting me to its establishment to carry out research. This mark of confidence touched me very much and I sincerely thank the University of Bordeaux which trained me and which maintains co-operation with the National University of Rwanda.

I have currently learned that the rumours brought against my person are by the "Committee for the Respect of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda (CRDDR). This Committee is led by a group of pro-RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) Rwandese and has its seat in Brussels. I express my indignation and reject the defamatory remarks contained in the document that was given to you.

Indeed, my behaviour during this difficult period was one of absolute transparency. I was on official leave for 45 days starting 26 March ending 9 May 1995. My director, Professor Etienne Mbarutso, currently Director of the University Hospital, as well as my medical colleagues, can confirm this. At the end of my holiday, I worked for three weeks during which, with the help of the director, we confronted the young boys the soldiers had sent to find out how many were hiding in the maternity hospital.

The fact that Munyemana was on leave from 26 March to 9 May is not a matter of dispute. It does not, however, prove that he did not participate in the killings. On the contrary, all the witnesses in Tumba commented that his leave gave him the freedom to devote himself entirely to implementing the genocide.

Munyemana's description of his efforts to "save" people in Tumba is not, as detailed above, a view shared by his victims and neighbours.

On Tumba hill where I lived, I helped and saved as many people as I could with my limited capacity. When I left

Butare on 17 June 1994, these people were still alive. I sent a list of their names to my lawyer [so that he could] prepare a dossier for justice.

Munyemana has not revealed the name of this lawyer. Nor has he published a copy of this important correspondence.

Furthermore, two people currently in Bordeaux, who knew me during this whole period can testify to the dangers I submitted myself to whilst saving wanted people. They are:

1) Madame Bellancille Nziyumvira... who, from the start of the massacres at Kigali, had taken refuge at the home of one of my neighbours living in the same compound as me. She was still there when I left Butare for Bordeaux.

2) Dr Claude Sibomana, geography teacher at the National University of Rwanda, a neighbour (living about fifty metres between our houses) in Tumba.

African Rights is not aware of testimony that has been given by Bellancille Nziyumvira or Dr Claude Sibomana on behalf of Dr Munyemana. Furthermore, Dr Sibomana himself has been accused of direct implication in the genocide in Tumba. (See, for example, Marie Josée Mukankuranga's testimony above). Munyemana writes that he too was a wanted person.

As far as my stand against the killers goes, at the beginning of June I was in turn pursued by the interahamwe militia and soldiers. The director and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine granted me another holiday of two weeks during which I stayed hidden. I surfaced to organise my trip to respond to the invitation from the University of Bordeaux II.

Dr Munyemana did more than "surface" to accept an invitation from the University of Bordeaux in June 1994. Wearing banana leaves and armed to the teeth, he took a lead role in organising the peasants of Tumba to welcome Cardinal

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Roger Etchegaray, president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, and the impending arrival of French troops.

Munyemana's wife, Fébronie Nshongayire, has been outspoken in defence of her husband. She has claimed that he did not flee Rwanda because of his complicity in the genocide, but "partly under pressure from me."³² She has been living in France for the last five years, working as a researcher at the University of Bordeaux II. She is, therefore, not in a position to confirm or deny the accusations against her husband. But Munyemana has been assiduous in exploiting the fact that she is Tutsi, as if that were evidence of his innocence.³³ Like every other killer, Munyemana hopes that publicity about the existence of Tutsi in-laws will help to clear his name.

Regarding my own perception of the ethnic problem in Rwanda, I come from such a heterogeneous family that if one's ethnicity was the only criteria, I would have a problem in classifying myself. My wife herself is mixed, from parents of different ethnic groups. The Tutsi in-laws of my younger brother were totally decimated. Despite this personal misfortune, I have always tried to rise above blind partisanship.

The real problem is therefore political, for certain people would like to win me over to their thesis, but I shared neither the ideas of the former party of the assassinated President, nor of the RPF currently in power in Rwanda.

The internal opposition of which I have been a member since the advent of multipartyism in Rwanda saw itself as independent vis-à-vis these two political/military power blocks. On the contrary, each one of them considers it as a breeding ground where it can draw, as it wants, the people who are disposed towards it. Our vision of Rwandese political life is triangular, theirs is

³² Claire Gabillat, "Un médecin rwandais accusé", *Impact Médecin Hebdo*, No. 304, 15 December 1995.

³³ A substantial number of the best known killers had Tutsi wives.

bipolar. It is this bipolarisation that led to the Rwandese crisis.

Since June 1993, the Think-Tank of Intellectuals of Butare Belonging to MDR (Democratic Republican Movement) has not ceased in denouncing this dangerous development. Commentary from this Think-Tank on the political situation in Rwanda was regularly addressed to the United Nations Secretary General as well as to all the Ambassadors accredited in Kigali.

Regarding the Arusha Peace Accords, the Prime Minister, Dismas Nsengiyaremye and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Boniface Ngulinzira, who were leading architects belonged to the MDR party. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was killed by the presidential guard right at the beginning of the massacres, whilst the former Prime Minister was forced into exile.

Munyemana's attempt to whitewash MDR of its grave responsibility for the genocide of 1994, and for the ideology behind it, is more than economical with the truth. The murder of Ngulinzira and the exile of Nsengiyaremye notwithstanding, senior politicians and ideologues of MDR, including Munyemana's close friend, Kambanda, were the driving force behind the creation of the interim government and the policy of genocide. It was not MRND or CDR which killed in the préfectures of Butare, Gitarama, Cyangugu or Kibuye. It was MDR, including thousands of educated people who, before the genocide, had confessed membership of its "moderate" wing.³⁴

Once signed, these Accords became the national constitution. I therefore support these Accords, as long as their spirit is respected. Alas, the present government has emptied them of their substance, maintaining only a shell which it brandishes for the consumption of the international community.

As for the genocide committed in Rwanda, I have never contested it. [B]ut I am against the amalgam surrounding it.

³⁴ In the case of Butare, responsibility also lies with PSD.

For the RPF, the genocide is a real hotchpotch, one would be tempted to say an opportunity, where it puts every opponent, real or imaginary. That is how it speaks of the genocide of the Hutus against the Tutsis. This language is morally shocking and politically tactless. Shocking because numbers of Hutus died whilst saving Tutsi friends and neighbours; tactless because it hinders the reconciliation of the Rwandese people. One should honour all the victims of the massacres and beware of all generalisations. One must identify and pinpoint the guilty of genocide and not condemn a whole people. It's the moment to avoid falling back into the infernal cycles of inter-ethnic wars. The problem is too delicate.

Such are the facts... that I wanted to raise in order to deny the false information which has been sent to you. Not only am I innocent, but also someone who helped people in danger and who almost paid with his life. I am a survivor, but apparently I did not moan enough.

I would have of course preferred if the University of Bordeaux II had demanded proof from my detractors before taking measures against me which amount to a sanction. [B]ut I respect its decision.

As from now, I am beginning a lawsuit so that the whole affair can be cleared up.

Subsequently, Munyemana told a reporter from *Le Monde* that the accusations against him were a "plot." He added that a soldier had occupied his house and had fomented false accusations in order to continue occupying the house. He also pointed the finger at the government, which he claimed is disappointed in his lack of support for them.³⁵

³⁵ Nathaniel Herzberg, "Un Rwandais réfugié en France accusé d'avoir participé au génocide," *Le Monde*, 16 November 1995.

MUNYEMANA'S SUPPORTERS IN FRANCE

Two friends of Dr Munyemana in Bordeaux have created a committee in his defence. Dr Gaëtan Gilguy, a doctor in Bordeaux, is a former colleague of Munyemana, having previously spent two years in Rwanda. The other founding member of the committee is Denis Decourchelle, a researcher in ethnology at the University of Bordeaux II. Neither man was in Rwanda during the genocide, or has visited the country in the post-genocide period to conduct an independent investigation. But this has not prevented them from emphatically declaring Munyemana to be "innocent." According to a journalist with *Sud Ouest*, "Both of them say they are "persuaded" of his innocence and maintain that they will bring, when the time comes, "not only testimonies in his favour, but also about his conduct in Rwanda during the events of April 1994." Elsewhere, Dr Gilguy has described Munyemana as a man "known for his ultramodern opinions."³⁶ It is not clear what constitutes "ultramodern" opinions, or in what way expressing such views is proof that a man cannot have committed genocide. But Dr Gilguy and the witnesses against Munyemana do have one thing in common: the people of Tumba did not expect a man of Munyemana's background to turn into a butcher overnight either.

As would be expected, Munyemana's lawyer has spoken up in his defence. It is perhaps not surprising that Munyemana and Fr. Wenceslas Munyeshyaka share a lawyer, Yves Dupeux. Munyeshyaka is a Rwandese priest living in the Archdiocese Department of France. Numerous witnesses have accused him of facilitating the murder Tutsi refugees assembled in the St. Famille church in Kigali, as well as sexual abuse of female refugees.³⁷

³⁶ Claire Gabillat, "Un médecin rwandais accusé," *Impact Médecin Hebdo*, No. 304, 15 December 1995.

³⁷ For details see *Backwards and Forwards in the Struggle for Justice: Father Wenceslas*

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In an attempt to confuse the world and deflect attention from the wealth and detail of evidence that exists against Munyemana, Mr Dupeux has declared that:

It is very difficult to obtain exact information from Rwanda. The civil war which took place in the country from April to July 1994 was a war of proximity where neighbours, even families, killed each other.³⁸

If Mr Dupeux were to visit Tumba, he would have no trouble in obtaining "exact information," numerous testimonies that are detailed, compelling and corroborating.

Writers in medical journals are not normally expected to investigate and comment on complex political situations. Caution should therefore be a guiding principle, especially when dealing with accusations as grave as genocide. But in the rush to defend Munyemana, a writer in a French medical journal has shown a dangerous lack of care. Writing in *Impact Médecin Hebdo*, Claire Gabillat has tried to present Munyemana and Munyeshyaka as martyrs to their politics of moderation, claiming that both men had called for reconciliation and peace, which made them unacceptable to the new regime.

The gynaecologist [and] the priest come from mixed marriages between Tutsis and Hutus and are well-placed as the defenders of the two ethnic groups. Both of them belonged to the Rwandese elite and have formulated appeals for reconciliation and peace. So many details could explain that the new power in place, born of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) should be ill-disposed towards them.³⁹

The accusations against Munyemana and Munyeshyaka concern their activities

Munyeshyaka Arrested and Then Released in France, African Rights, *Witness to Genocide*, Issue No.1, October 1995.

³⁸ Claire Gabillat, "Un médecin rwandais accusé," *Impact Médecin Hebdo*, No. 304, 15 December 1995.

³⁹ Ibid.

during the period of the genocide. Between April-July 1994, there is no evidence, whatsoever, that either Munyemana or Munyeshyaka worked for peace and reconciliation. Ms Gabillat herself has provided no such evidence. Secondly, it is not members of the RPF who are accusing Munyemana of having killed their loved ones. The people who are ready to stand up in a court of law are civilians, Munyemana's former neighbours, friends and colleagues, Hutu as well as Tutsi. To dismiss their grief and their evidence as an RPF plot is inhuman and smacks of cheap politics.

CONCLUSION

The peasants who cram prisons in Rwanda are bitter towards the educated people men and women who encouraged them to kill. They have reason to be angry. The men and women whose words, deeds and example put the machetes and axes into the hands of the uneducated are living abroad, often in great comfort. The responsibility for making these criminals unwelcome and liable to prosecution lies with the citizens and governments of the countries harbouring them. But so far little has been done by governments, international human rights organisations, humanitarian agencies, churches, professional associations, universities and other institutions. This has left survivors of the genocide with bitter feelings. Not only did the world stand by during the genocide, not only have most resources earmarked for Rwanda been spent on the displaced and the refugees and not only has there been a rush to deny the genocide and re-write history. But the authors of their misery are being allowed to live in safety throughout the world.

This is a situation that should not be allowed to continue. Institutions and professional groups abroad have a responsibility to ensure that they do not hire, provide scholarships, shelter or in any manner protect an individual suspected of having played a role in the genocide in

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Rwanda. Given the extensive participation of professionals from all backgrounds in the killings, careful screening should be adopted as a matter of policy.

But there is a more fundamental responsibility than the need to avoid embarrassment and controversy. There is the imperative of justice and the need to show solidarity with the victims of the genocide. The medical profession must take the lead in making sure that doctors

like Sosthène Munyemana, nurses and medical assistants who assisted the killings are exposed and prosecuted. There is something profoundly obscene about a situation in which a huge number of medical personnel become mass murderers. To remain silent in the face of this affront is a betrayal of humanity and of the very principles that underlie commitment to medical ethics.