



kigali  
GENOCIDE MEMORIAL

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genocide


Kigali Memorial Centre

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Exhibition Project Director: James M. Smith  
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In memory of those  
we loved

And lost.

*Genocide*

Kigali Memorial Centre



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## Foreword

Kigali Memorial Centre was opened to mark the tenth anniversary commemoration of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The centre is situated in the district of Gisozi, the site chosen for mass burial of the 250,000 victims of genocide in Kigali.

The site is the final resting place and Memorial to all those who were murdered in Kigali. To the surviving family members it is the place they come to remember their loved ones. It is also a place of reflection and learning for the rest of Rwanda and its visitors.

The centre comprises three permanent exhibitions. The largest of these documents the genocide in 1994; there is also a children's' memorial, and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. Memorial gardens, the National Documentation Centre of the Genocide and the Kigali Memorial Centre education centre all contribute to a sincere meaningful tribute to the victims of the past and education of future generations.

This book presents the material from the Kigali Memorial Centre exhibition on the genocide in Rwanda in 1994.



# Our Rwanda

Rwanda is a country of hills, mountains, forests, lakes, laughing children, markets of busy people, drummers, dancers, artisans and craftsmen. We manage to squeeze thousands of hills and eight million people into our 26,338 square kilometres. Our land is rich and fertile, the climate pleasant. This has been our home for centuries. We are one people. We speak one language. We have one history.

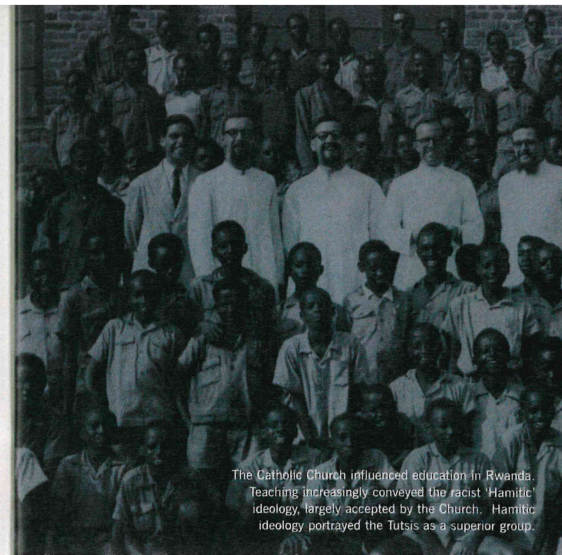
In recent times, though, genocide has cast a dark shadow over our lives and torn us apart. This chapter is a bitter part of our lives, but one we must remember for those we lost, and for the sake of the future.

This is about our past and our future;  
Our nightmares and dreams;  
Our fear and our hope;

Which is why we begin where we end...  
with the country we love.



Portraits of Rwanda



The Catholic Church influenced education in Rwanda. Teaching increasingly conveyed the racist 'Hamitic' ideology, largely accepted by the Church. Hamitic ideology portrayed the Tutsi as a superior group.

Belgium's King Baudouin welcomed by King Mutara III Rudahigwa (1931-1959) who worked in the beginning in close cooperation with the coloniser. His consecration of Rwanda to Christ enabled the Belgian authorities to reshape Rwandan society according to European and Church values.



Under the tutelage and patronage of Msgr. Perraudin, Gitera wrote the Ten Commandments of the Bahutu, which were precursors of the Ten Commandments of Hutu Power, produced by Kangura in December 1990.



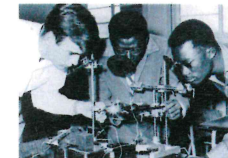
Major Declercq, Belgian military representative, hosted in 1919 with his family by King Yuhi V Musinga. King Musinga was forcibly removed for his resistance to colonial rule, and replaced by his son, Mutara III Rudahigwa, in 1931.



Priests from Kicukiro take a break from duties. The Catholic Church became the predominant religion during this time.



By 1957, while nearly all chiefs and sub-chiefs were Tutsi, only a minority of Tutsi actually derived direct benefit from an elevated status. It was generally they, and not Hutus, who were given privileged positions.



# Colonial Times

We did not choose to be colonised. The Germans arrived first (1895-1916). During World War One, the country was occupied by Belgian troops, who in 1923 were granted a mandate by the League of Nations to govern Rwanda-Urundi, which it ruled indirectly. They turned their mandate into a colonial occupation until our independence in 1962.

There were some benefits to their presence here. Christianity was integrated into society, schooling and medicine developed, as did the infrastructure. Useful export markets for our produce also opened up.

However, we did not share good times together. Initially, we did try to resist the influence of colonialism, fighting the first Germans in 1875. But the colonial powers were stronger and their influence greater.

The primary identity of all Rwandans was originally associated with eighteen different clans. The categories Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were socio-economic classifications within the clans, which could change with personal circumstances. Under colonial rule, the distinctions were made racial, particularly with the introduction of the identity card in 1932. In creating these distinctions, the colonial power identified anyone with ten cows in 1932 as a Tutsi and anyone with less than ten cows as Hutu, and this also applied to his descendants.

We had lived in peace for many centuries, but now the divide between us had begun...



The Belgian authorities introduced identity cards to Rwanda in 1932, indicating incorrectly 15 per cent as Tutsi, 84 per cent as Hutu and 1 per cent, Twa. An imposed identity began to determine an individual's opportunity in Belgium's reshaped Rwanda.

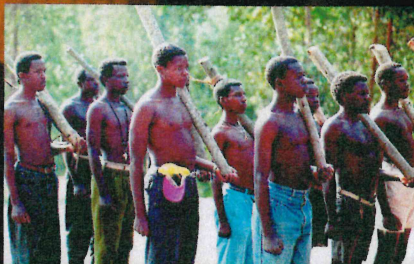
P.S.D.  
MORTS ou VIFS  
NOUS VINCRONS

Among the new political parties formed was the opposition party Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR). It had both extremist and moderate Hutu members, some of whom were later singled out for extreme violence. The Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR), was formed by Hutu radicals who linked with the death squads that had begun to carry out massacres of Tutsi civilians. The Parti Social Démocratique (PSD) was a moderate opposition party. During this demonstration, the placard reads: "P.S.D. Death or Life. We will triumph."



Aid reinforced division and persecution, and so international donors began demanding financial and democratic accountability. Following the La Baule Summit organised by François Mitterrand and pressure from the Rwanda Patriotic Front in 1990, Habyarimana declared the establishment of a multi-party system.

Most of the new political parties created later developed extremist wings.



Habyarimana's MRND was responsible for establishing the Interahamwe, a flamboyant and potentially dangerous Hutu youth militia that gained enormous popularity. Advocating Hutu Power and Hutuness at the expense of Tutsi lives, their message was reinforced and spread by an extremist media. By 1990 the genocidal ideology of Hutu Power had been perfected.



Grégoire Kayibanda. "The Hutu and the Tutsi communities are two nations in a single state. Two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were the inhabitants of different zones or planets."



Development aid from the West came in for ten years. Then, in 1986, coffee prices collapsed. As the economy deteriorated, the ruling Hutu elite - the Akazu - tightened its grip on available wealth and political power.

## Divided Society

In 1959 King Rudahigwa died. Thereafter massacres of Tutsi were organised.

Many thousands of Tutsi were killed, others fled to neighbouring states for refuge. In 1961 we held elections. The first government's Prime Minister was Grégoire Kayibanda, founder of the Parmehutu, a party for the emancipation of the Hutu.

A year later, Rwanda gained independence.

Rwanda became a highly centralised, repressive state with a single-party system.

The regime was characterised by the persecution and ethnic cleansing of Tutsi. In addition to ethnic divisions, the Kayibanda regime created regional divisions which contributed to the coup d'état by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana in 1973.



Juvénal Habyarimana refined and codified Kayibanda's fascist policies. The Mouvement Révolutionnaire et National pour le Développement (MRND) was the only party, and Habyarimana declared that all Rwandans were members.

# Path to a 'Final Solution'

Over 700,000 Tutsis were exiled from our country between 1959-1973 as a result of the ethnic cleansing encouraged by the Belgian colonialists.

The refugees were prevented from returning, despite many peaceful efforts to do so.

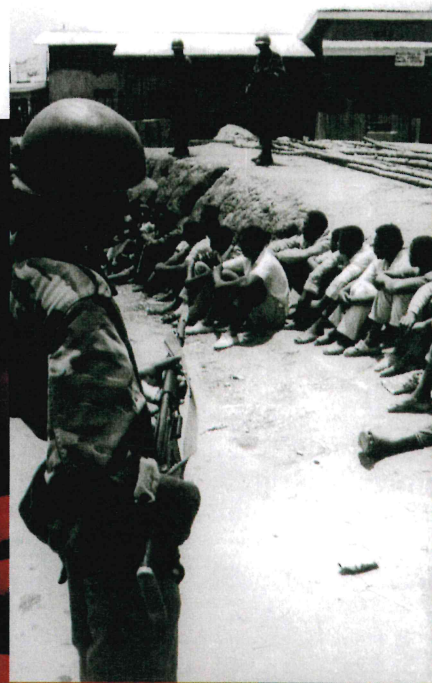
Some then joined the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) who, on 1 October 1990, invaded Rwanda.

Civil war followed, which resulted in the internal displacement of Rwandans, many of whom were held in internal refugees camps by the Government of Rwanda.

Times were tense.



Genocide was being rehearsed. Massacres of Tutsis were carried out in October 1990, January 1991, February 1991, March 1992, August 1992, January 1993, March 1993 and February 1994. None of the massacres constituted spontaneous outbreaks of violence. Despite knowing about these atrocities, the French Government continued to support the Habyrimana regime.



The RPF were intent on re-establishing equal rights and the rule of law, as well as the opportunity for refugees to return. Habyrimana used the tension to exploit divisions in the population, launching campaigns of persecution and fuelling fear among the people.

"We... say to the Inyenzi [cockroaches] that if they lift up their heads again, it will no longer be necessary to go fight the enemy in the bush. We will... start by eliminating the internal enemy... They will disappear."

Hassan Ngeze, Kangura, January 1994

As early as December 1990, Kangura had published the "Hutu Ten Commandments", which stated that any Hutu associating with or carrying out any business with Tutsi neighbours and friends was a traitor.



Ferdinand Nahimana (left), former director of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines. Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines was a hate radio station, initiated by members of the government to spread hate propaganda. It broadcast a highly inflammatory message.

## Propaganda

An intense propaganda campaign began, to persuade and compel the majority of the population as to why they should see their compatriots, their neighbours, even their own families, as enemies, and distrust them.

When the genocide was underway, Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines was used to incite hatred, to give instructions and justify the killings.

The population were being conditioned to accept and to join the plan to act before it was too late.



More than twenty newspapers and journals incited hatred of the Tutsis. Hassan Ngeze was editor of Kangura, one of the leading propaganda papers, which suggested that the Hutus needed to protect themselves as the Tutsis were planning a war that would 'leave no survivors'.

HABYARIMANA Juvénal	1,000,000 FRW
BASABOSE Pierre	600,000 FRW
KABUGA Félicien	500,000 FRW
MUSABE Pasteur	500,000 FRW
NZIRORERA Joseph	500,000 FRW
RWABUKUMBA Séraphin	500,000 FRW
KAMANA Claver	300,000 FRW
BAGOSORA Théoneste	250,000 FRW
MBONYE KOPE Gratién	200,000 FRW
MUNYANGANIZI Donat	200,000 FRW

Table of principal donors who helped to establish RTLM.



Participants negotiate the Accords in Arusha.

## Arusha Process

In August 1993, the Rwandan Government and RPF signed an agreement known as the Arusha Peace Accords.

Rwanda was to have a transitional government leading to a democratically elected government.

A neutral force was to be deployed. French troops were to leave and make way for UNAMIR. The RPF and Rwandan army were intended to integrate, demobilise and disarm. Refugees were to be allowed home and an RPF battalion was to be stationed in Kigali.

Habyarimana and his political allies did not want the Arusha Accords to work. The transitional government was not established. Habyarimana and his extremist allies saw it as surrender to the RPF.

Meanwhile, Habyarimana's regime entered the largest-ever Rwandan arms deal with a French company for \$12 million, with a loan guaranteed by the French government.

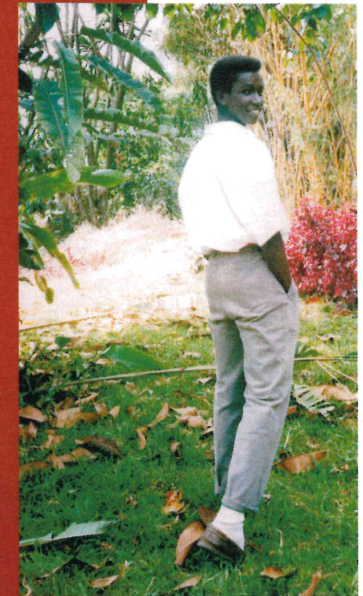


**"Human rights workers... were not fooled. We did not think that someone capable of organising massacres would suddenly turn into a democrat. We saw what was happening."**

Eric Gillet, Belgian lawyer

## Flight from Persecution

Apollon Kabahizi left in 1990



Rwandan Tutsi had been fleeing for more than a generation.

Tutsi in Rwanda began to suffer ever more intense waves of persecution from 1990. Tutsi men and women were jailed and tortured. Waves of massacres acted as a precursor to the genocide.

The persecution was so extreme that some Tutsi and Hutu moderates began to leave their homes and became refugees in neighbouring countries.

The persecution, though barely recognised by the outside world, was an early indication of what was to come.

Eugenie Musayidire left in 1973







# Cables to New York

Text of the January 11, 1994 Cable

94/422  
23:52  
1/2  
28 TBT  
REC'D  
11 JAN 1994

DATE: 11 JANUARY 1994

TO: BARI/DPKO/UNATIONS NEW YORK

FROM: DALLAIRE/UNAMIR/REGALI

FAX NO: MOST IMMEDIATE-CODE CABLE-212-963-9852

FAX NO: 011-250-84273

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR PROTECTION FOR INFORMANT

ATTN: MGEN BARI/ ROOM NO. 2052

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE: 2

1. FORCE COMMANDER PUT IN CONTACT WITH INFORMANT BY VERY VERY IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT POLITICIAN. INFORMANT IS A TOP LEVEL TRAINER IN THE CADRE OF INTERHAMWE-ARMED MILITIA OF MRND.
2. HE INFORMED US HE WAS IN CHARGE OF LAST SATURDAY'S DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH AIMS WERE TO TARGET DEPUTIES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES COMING TO CEREMONIES AND BELGIAN SOLDIERS. THEY HOPED TO PROVOKE THE RPF BN TO ENGAGE (BEING FIRED UPON) THE DEMONSTRATORS AND PROVOKE A CIVIL WAR. DEPUTIES WERE TO BE ASSASSINATED UPON ENTRY OR EXIT FROM PARLIAMENT. BELGIAN TROOPS WERE TO BE PROVIDED AND IF BELGIANS SOLDIERS RESORTED TO FORCE A NUMBER OF THEM WERE TO BE KILLED AND THUS GUARANTEE BELGIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM RWANDA.
3. INFORMANT CONFIRMED 48 RGF PARA CDO AND A FEW MEMBERS OF THE GENDARMERIE PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS IN PLAIN CLOTHES. ALSO AT LEAST ONE MINISTER OF THE MRND AND THE SUB-PREFECT OF KIGALI WERE IN THE DEMONSTRATION. RGF AND INTERHAMWE PROVIDED RADIO COMMUNICATIONS.
4. INFORMANT IS A FORMER SECURITY MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT. HE ALSO STATED HE IS PAID RF150,000 PER MONTH BY THE MRND PARTY TO TRAIN INTERHAMWE. DIRECT LINK IS TO CHIEF OF STAFF RGF AND PRESIDENT OF THE MRND FOR FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT.
5. INTERHAMWE HAS TRAINED 1700 MEN IN RGF MILITARY CAMPS OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL. THE 1700 ARE SCATTERED IN GROUPS OF 40 THROUGHOUT KIGALI. SINCE UNAMIR DEPLOYED HE HAS TRAINED 100 PERSONNEL IN THREE WEEK TRAINING SESSIONS AT RGF CAMPS. TRAINING

Dallaire's Fax

"No reconnaissance or other action, including response to request for protection, should be taken by UNAMIR until clear guidance is received from HQ."

Kofi Annan

Head of UNAMIR, Lt. General Roméo Dallaire, had expected the peacekeeping in Rwanda to be a relatively straightforward operation.

On 11 January 1994, Dallaire wrote a code-cable to New York to inform the Secretary-General's military adviser and members of the Peacekeeping Office of the presence of the informant and the information that he had.

The cable caused alarm, but mostly due to the arms seizure that Dallaire had proposed.

No action was taken in response to the fax.



In Arusha in January 1993, Théoneste Bagasora had declared that he was going home to plan 'an apocalypse'.

## 'Something Big'

Hassan Ngeze (CDR) wrote two articles in Kangura in March 1994, both predicting that President Habyarimana would die.

There was a lot of talk about "something very big" happening in both the intelligence community and in the national press and RTLM.

Then on 6 April 1994, President Juvenal Habyarimana and President Cyrien Ntaryamira of Burundi were flying into Kigali, when at 20:23 the plane was shot down on its approach to Kigali airport.

By 21:15 roadblocks had been constructed throughout Kigali and houses were being searched.

Shooting began to be heard within an hour.

...the death lists had been pre-prepared in advance...



The remains of Habyarimana's plane which crashed into his own compound on its descent into Kigali airport.

# 'Apocalypse'

## Genocide was instant.

Roadblocks sprang up right across the city with militia armed with one intent to identify and kill Tutsis.

At the same time interahamwe began house-to-house searches. The names on the death lists were the first to be visited and slaughtered in their own homes.

The perpetrators had promised an apocalypse and the operation which emerged was a devastating frenzy of violence, bloodshed and merciless killing.

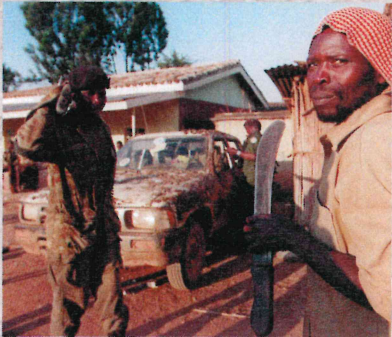
The murderers used machetes, clubs, guns, and any blunt tool they could find to inflict as much pain on their victims as possible.

It was genocide from the first day.

No Tutsi was exempt.

"If you knew me, and if you really knew yourself, then you would not have killed me."

Felicien Ntagengwa



Roadblocks were a principal tool of population control. Any Tutsi who tried to pass was humiliated, beaten, murdered, raped and dumped by the roadside.

Hutus who did not comply were threatened with death. A number of Hutus who did not subscribe to the genocidal ideology, as well as those who tried to protect Tutsis were persecuted and killed.



With the death of the president, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was the titular head of the country. However, she and her husband were executed on 7th April, before she was able to address the nation.



Jean Kambanda was appointed new prime minister of the 'interim government.' In his opening address he promised to 'restore understanding between the people of Rwanda' and to 'provide security'.



Killing in Ntarama. Genocide started in Kigali, but quickly spread. The efficient system of local government, and the chain of command from central government, worked effectively in carrying out instructions.

Women were beaten, raped, humiliated, abused and ultimately murdered, often in sight of their own families.

Children watched as their parents were tortured, beaten and killed in front of their eyes, before their small bodies were sliced, smashed, abused, pulverised and discarded.

The elderly, the pride of Rwandan society, were despised, and mercilessly murdered in cold blood.

Neighbours turned on neighbours, friends on friends... even family on their own family members.

Rwanda had turned into a nation of brutal, sadistic merciless killers and of innocent victims, overnight.

# Genocide

In 100 days more than 1,000,000 people were murdered.

But the genocidaires did not kill a million people. They killed one, then another, then another... day after day, hour after hour, minute by minute. Every minute of the day, someone, somewhere was being murdered, screaming for mercy.

Receiving none.

And the killing went on and on and on...

10,000 each day,

400 each hour,

7 each minute.

The genocide resulted in the deaths of over a million people.

But death was not its only outcome.

Tens of thousands of people had been tortured, mutilated and raped; tens of thousands more suffered machete cuts, bullet wounds, infection and starvation.

There was rampant lawlessness, looting and chaos. The infrastructure had been destroyed, the ability to govern dismantled. Homes had been demolished, belongings stolen.

There were over 300,000 orphans and over 85,000 children who were heads of their household, with younger siblings and/or relatives.

There were thousands of widows. Many had been the victims of rape and sexual abuse or had seen their own children murdered.

Many families had been totally wiped out, with no one to remember or document their deaths.

The streets were littered with corpses. Dogs were eating the rotting flesh of their owners.

The country smelt of the stench of death.

The genocidaires had been more successful in their evil aims than anyone would have dared to believe.

Rwanda was dead.

Nyamata, Bugesera:  
At Nyamata, around 10,000 people were murdered in the church and its surroundings. Women were systematically raped and abused in the church during the killing.



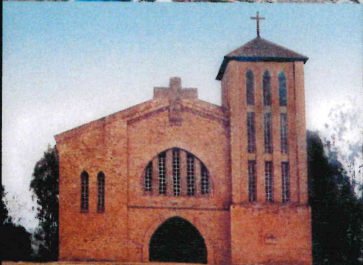
St Famille, Kigali:  
Fearful people crammed into the large church of St Famille and its precincts. Father Wenceslas was supposed to be a figure of protection, yet is known to have openly collaborated with militia groups. This was in contrast to Father Célestin Hakizimana who made valiant attempts to save as many as he could. Father Hakizimana presided over St Paul's Pastoral Centre in central Kigali, close to the parish of St Famille, and the centre became a refuge for around 2000 people.



Nyarubuye, Kibungo:  
The church, convent and school at Nyarubuye were turned into a killing centre where around 20,000 people were murdered.



Nyange: Two thousand congregants were sheltering in the church when Father Seromba gave the order to bulldoze the church building. He murdered his own congregants in his own church.



Ntarama, Bugesera:  
While able-bodied males attempted to stop the genocidaires, women, children and the elderly in Bugesera fled to the church. Hand grenades were thrown into the building. Stunned victims were hacked or shot to death. Thousands were murdered around the church.



# Execution of the Genocide

## Women and Children

Women and children were a direct target of the genocidaires for murder, rape and mutilation. The killers were determined to ensure that a new generation of Tutsis would never emerge.

Tutsi women were systematically raped and sexually mutilated as a weapon of genocide. This was often by known HIV-infected males. They were then either killed or spared to suffer on another occasion.

Hutu women in mixed marriages were raped as a punishment.

Women and children were not only victims of the genocide, but also perpetrators. Children were frequently forced to participate, often by killing their friends or neighbours.

Victims were sometimes forced to kill their loved ones just before they themselves were killed.

Hutu and Tutsi women were forced to kill their own Tutsi children.

## Places of Worship

People ran to churches for shelter in large numbers. But churches were not sanctuaries of safety. The genocidaires moved into the pews and altars and massacred thousands at a time. Believers ended their lives piled in the aisles in pools of blood.



## Torture

The genocidaires often mutilated their victims before killing them.

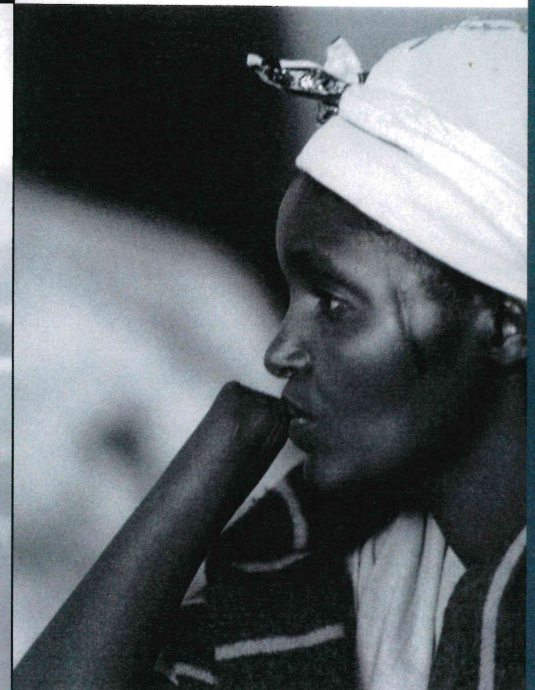
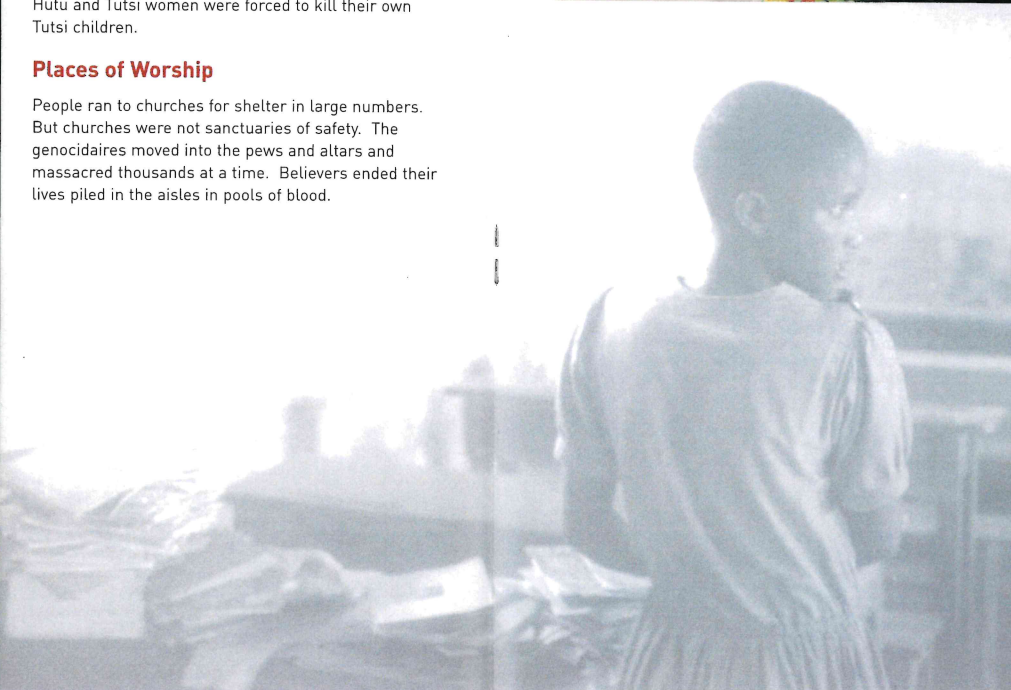
Victims had their tendons cut so they could not run away; they were tied and beaten. They were made to wait helplessly to be clubbed, raped or cut by machete.

Family members were made to watch on as their parents or children were tortured, beaten or raped in front of their eyes.

On occasion, victims were thrown alive down deep latrines and rocks were thrown in one at a time until their screams subsided into silence.

On other occasions, large numbers of victims were thrown down pit latrines. Victims trampled each other to death. The piles were sometimes ten bodies deep.

Death was made a painful, agonising, frightening, humiliating end.



The genocidaires had control of the country.

As the RPF began to move in on Kigali and engage the Rwandan army in an attempt to gain control and stop the genocide, the crisis was described as 'civil war' or 'ethnic strife' by commentators.

There was no ethnic war.

There was a civil war.

But the genocide happened and it was something different.

UN commander Lt. Gen. Dallaire estimated that as few as 5,000 troops with authority to enforce peace could stop the genocide.

Instead, the UN mission was recalled.



On 21 April, the UN Security Council passed a Resolution stating that it was 'appalled at the ensuing large scale of violence in Rwanda', which had resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children. The same meeting voted to reduce the UNAMIR force to 270 volunteer Ghanaian personnel and to limit its mandate.

## International Response



Kofi Annan and Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The senior staff at the UN realised that the decision to scale down forces had been the wrong one.

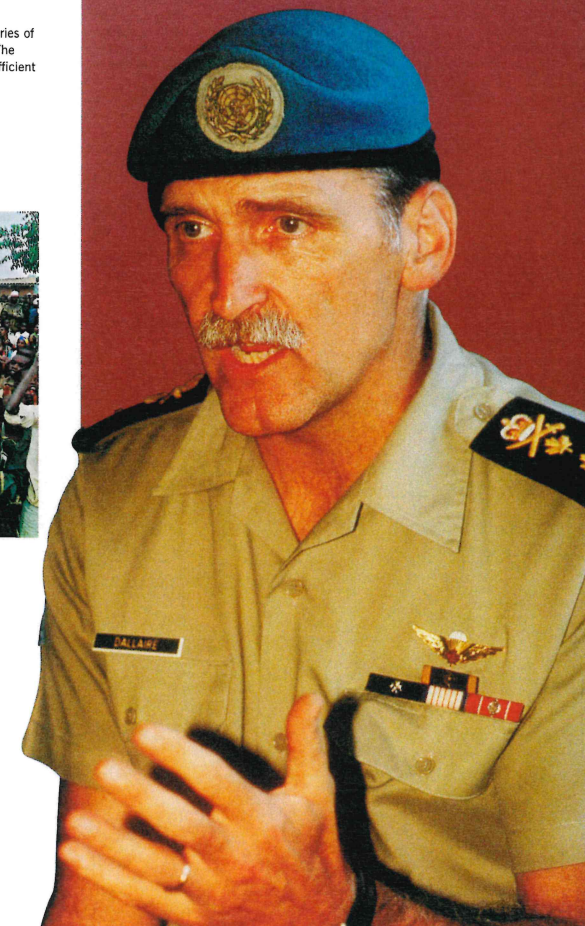


Diplomatic staff and foreign workers left the country. Many left their colleagues, employees and friends to the mercy of the killers. Dignitaries of the Habyarimana regime, authors of the genocide, were evacuated. The number of foreign troops used in the evacuation would have been sufficient to stop the genocide.



The only soldiers to arrive in Rwanda before the genocide ended were French military during 'Opération Turquoise', ostensibly to create a 'safe haven' in the south of the country between the 'conflicting' sides.

General Roméo Dallaire, head of the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). Dallaire cabled New York shortly after the President's plane crashed and stated, "Give me the means and I can do more."



Not one additional peacekeeper or armoured personnel carrier arrived in Rwanda before the RPF victory in July.

The world withdrew...

and watched as a million people were slaughtered.



On 17 May, the Security Council agreed to establish UNAMIR II with 5,500 men and the mandate to use force. The United States was to provide 50 armoured personnel carriers, but it took more than one month for them to arrive in Uganda.



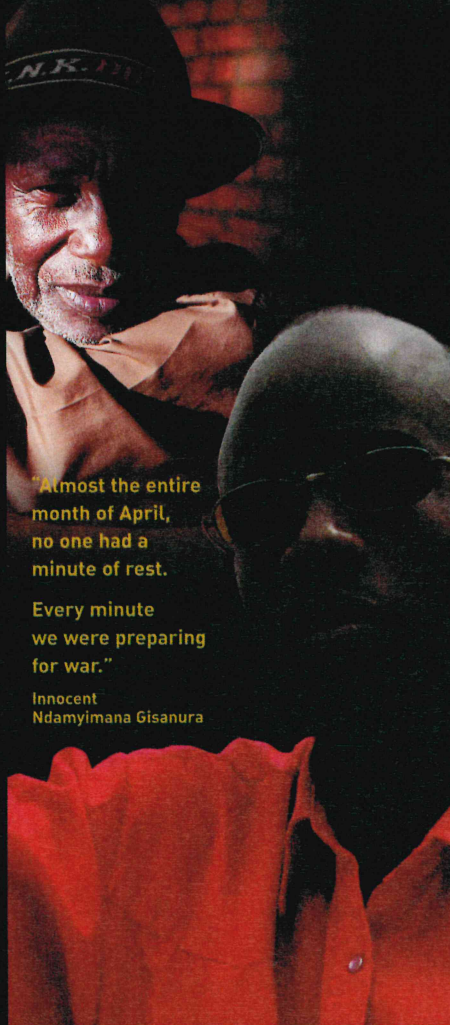
France had played an active role in arming and training the Rwandan armed forces during the civil war. Many Hutu militia saw the French as allies. 'Opération Turquoise' resulted in providing a safe zone for genocidaires fleeing the advancing RPF and an escape route into Zaire.



Most nongovernmental organisations left the country. Some stayed. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), both continued humanitarian operations. Two weeks into the conflict, the ICRC wrote in a press release, "The human tragedy in Rwanda is on a scale that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has rarely witnessed."

Source: ICRC Press release No. 1772 / 21 April 1994

Resistance to genocide took various forms. The RPF led the political and armed resistance to genocide. Members of the moderate wings of different political parties made passionate calls for resistance. Some of the victims organized resistance to the killings. A number of Hutus and others hid targeted victims sometime at the risk of their own lives.



"Almost the entire month of April, no one had a minute of rest.

Every minute we were preparing for war."

Innocent Ndamyimana Gisanura

# Resistance to Genocide

## Resistance in Bisesero

Tutsis at Bisesero came from across the region to fight back. Aminadabu Birara and Simeon Karamaga led a large force of men in the forested hills of Bisesero.

When there was an attack we'd make noise screaming, hitting drums and jerry-cans. After attacking us, in the evening they'd go back home and we'd regroup and assess how things were going. They brought heavy ammunition, grenade launchers, rockets, anti-tanks... we used stones and arrows... Their plan was to get us out of the mountains so that they could kill us easily.

We resisted for about a week, until in the end they sent a force of Presidential Guard from Kigali who defeated us. Fighting against armed men is a problem. We were weak.

Innocent Ndamyimana Gisanura

When French troops arrived there were still survivors in the hills. It is reported that they reassured the resisters that it was safe to come out of hiding, then left. Thinking it was safe, the weak survivors emerged to be slaughtered by the interahamwe.

Of an estimated 50,000 Tutsis who had taken refuge in the hills, only one thousand survived to tell the story of Bisesero.

## Resistance in Bugasera and Other Places

We fought against them. We were few, so we grouped ourselves and worked together. We fought with bows and arrows and stones. Then we heard the gunfire... We immediately took off and ran. Most of the people ran into the Ntarama church and to a banana plantation. [The killers] cut down the plantation and attacked the church. They almost all died.

Tharcisse Mukama

## Murambi

We fought against them using stones. Some people died during battle... We were using stones, they had guns. They left because they couldn't handle us... [Then], there came a truck full of militia and soldiers.

Emmanuel Mugenzire

## St. Andre

There were some of the older guys who had done military training. They fought back and killed interahamwe. Eventually they ran out of bullets. When they ran out of bullets, the interahamwe came with the Presidential Guard. They told us to go hide in the chapel... We spent about four days there.

Ernest Nsengiyumva

He should have protected his daughters, but he saved me.

Beatha Uwazaninka

## Yahaya Nsengiyumva

Nsengiyumva Yahaya was a Muslim living in Nyamirambo. During the genocide he is said to have saved the lives of over 30 people, who he protected or hid in his outhouse.

The interahamwe killer was chasing me down the alley. I was going to die any second. I banged on the door of the yard. It opened almost immediately. He took me by the hand and stood in his doorway and told the killer to leave. He said that the Koran says: "If you save one life, it is like saving the whole world." He did not know it is a Jewish text as well.

Beatha Uwazaninka

I said to the interahamwe: "If you want to die, go inside and the evil spirits will swallow you up."

Sula Karuhimbi

## Sula Karuhimbi

Sula Karuhimbi hid and protected 17 people on her own property and fed them from her field. She was a traditional healer from Musambo in Gitarama. She was a seventy-year-old widow when she hid seventeen Tutsis in a shelter she had made for her animals.

"I made a point of preparing lots of food for [the interahamwe]. When they had eaten their fill, they would go away without coming into the house."

Sula Karuhimbi

Sula used her reputation for being possessed by evil spirits to scare the interahamwe away from her home.

...she told them that if they entered the shrine, they would incur the wrath of Nyabingi... They were frightened... so our lives were saved for another day.

Hassan Habiyaakare, Ntongwe, Gitarama

I would rather die than shed the blood of innocent people.

Jean-Marie Gisagara

## Jean-Marie Vianney Gisagara

Gisagara did all he could to stop the massacres. He paid with his life... He was the only figure of authority here in Nyabisindu who discouraged people hating each other. He gave his life in the cause of peace.

African Rights 'Tribute to Courage'

Gisagara was the burgomaster of Nyabisindu. He refused to support Hutu extremist ideology so when militia from Gikongoro attacked Tutsis, he used the communal police force to defeat interahamwe.

Gisagara was killed along with eleven members of his family.

Gisagara called a meeting of the sector councillors, and told them not to be swayed by propaganda from the interahamwe extremists... He succeeded in winning over the councillors and stopping them from carrying out the genocide...

Eneas Muberuka

He told me he had dug a trench where he could hide me.

Emmanuel Twagirayezu

## Frodoald Karuhije

"Karuhije saved the lives of 14 Tutsis in Gitarama, protecting them for over a month. He hid refugees in trenches that he dug on his land. His sister cooked and his 12-year-old niece took the food disguised in a dustbin to the hiding Tutsis."

He dug a trench so he could hide from the RPF, [who he thought would be killing Hutus] but when the massacres of Tutsis began, he decided to use it to hide Tutsis.

Beatha Mukamurenzi

He put planks on top, then green banana leaves, and on top of the leaves he piled earth, and then planted sweet potatoes all along the top of the trench... No-one could have had any idea that people were hiding in there.

Thomas Ngirabakunzi

He was a true hero because even though he knew that he could have lost his own life protecting Tutsis, he stuck to his convictions.

Immaculée Mukarurangwe

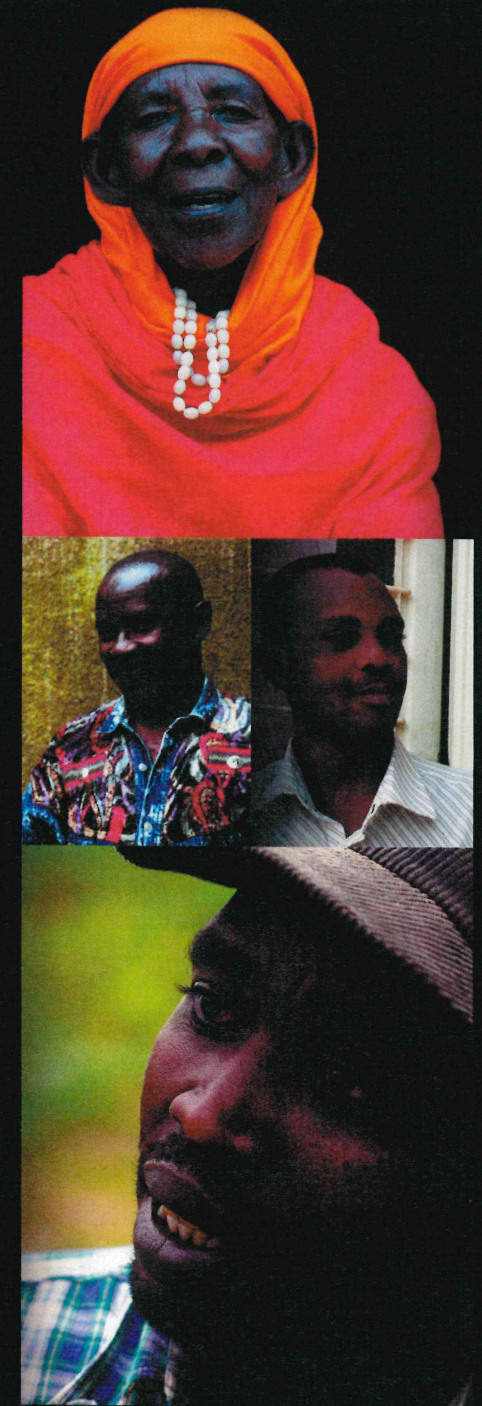
## Damas Mutezintare Gisimba

Damas Gisimba took close to 400 orphans, refugees and employees from April-June 1994 into his orphanage at Nyamirambo. He also rescued people who had been thrown into mass graves.

With help of the International Red Cross and Adventist Development and Relief Agency, Gisimba was able to evacuate the majority to Saint Michel Cathedral.

I can't find the exact words to express how I feel about Gisimba's actions. He protected more than 400 human lives. A love that sacrifices itself in that way, is beyond my comprehension... I don't know if you'd call it an act of heroism or an act of love.

Donatha Mukandayisenga







Refugees organised themselves in the camps along the Rwandan border according to their previous prefecture, commune and section. This was the same system which propagated violence during the genocide. MRND members retained control of the camps.



Red Cross at Goma, 1994. Many humanitarian aid agencies and news-gathering organisations mistook the refugee camps as being the only crisis. Survivors left behind in Rwanda were overlooked.



Political parties in the camps used persuasion and intimidation to prevent refugees from returning to their homes.



Massacre, 1997. The incursions over the border led to a fear of the re-perpetration of genocide.

# Refugee Crisis

As the genocide neared its end, chaos reigned across the country.

People were fleeing for different reasons.

Perpetrators were on the move to avoid capture by advancing RPF troops. Victims were on the move towards RPF-liberated zones. Large numbers of Hutus fled across Rwanda's borders in fear of revenge killings which RTLM had consistently claimed would happen; either that or they were held hostage by the leaders of the genocide.

As the Hutu population fled, returnees from Uganda a generation earlier were entering RPF zones. Millions were internally displaced due to the genocide and widespread insecurity.

Refugee camps were set up in Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. The number of refugees was over 2,000,000.

It was estimated that over two thirds of the population of Rwanda was displaced, fleeing out of guilt, fear or confusion, or held hostage.



Massacre, 1997. Border incursions of Interahamwe resulted in sporadic massacres until the late 1990s.



# Searching

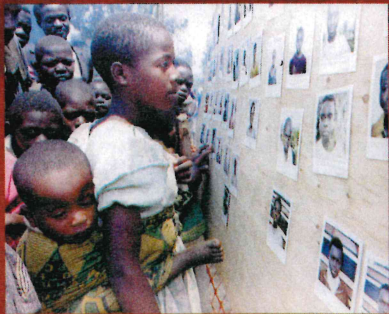
A large number of victims had been torn apart from their families and did not know whether family members were alive or dead. Some were the only survivors of their immediate family, and did not know if more distant relatives were still alive.

Children had lost their parents.

Parents separated from their children presumed they were dead, but hoped otherwise.

Most did not expect to find survivors.

Many did not.



Family search-boards like this one were erected for survivors and others to try to locate family and friends after the genocide.

By the end of 1994, 37,000 unaccompanied children had been registered by ICRC in cooperation with the UNHCR, UNICEF and non-governmental organizations.



## Widows

The genocidaires had intended to kill the whole of the Tutsi population. They failed.

After the genocide, it is estimated that Rwanda had around 100,000 widows and widowers of the genocide.

Five years after the genocide, over one third of all survivor households in the country were still headed by a female, with no male adult in it.

## Orphans

Many parents had been separated from children. Hundreds of thousands of children were orphaned.

Orphanages emerged quickly to cope with the huge number of vulnerable children who had just experienced the worst excesses of human behaviour.

Many survivors offered to take orphans into their homes on the grounds that they would have wanted someone to do the same if their own children had been orphaned.

It is not untypical to find homes with large numbers of young people living with distant relatives or complete strangers.

# Long Term Consequences

## AIDS/HIV

Many women were raped brutally and repeatedly, often by men who were known to be HIV+. This genocidal weapon has had devastating effects for many women who developed the disease.

There are at least 500,000 women who were victims of rape during the genocide and in the refugee camps, where Rwandans were trained by the genocidaires who had fled.

Female survivors have died from the effects of AIDS or live under its debilitating influence.

Anti-retroviral medication has not been made available in a timely or sufficient way to save lives. HIV+ planners of the genocide and perpetrators of rape have, however, had access to medication in Arusha.

Post-traumatic support has been minimal, considering the vast numbers of people who witnessed multiple deaths of close family members.

## Burying the dead in dignity

The cost of exhumation, identification and reburial was also out of the reach of many poor survivors living well below subsistence levels.

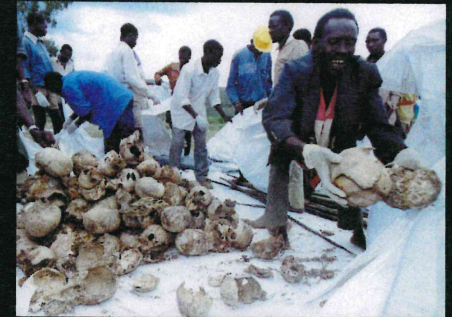
A decade after the genocide, mass graves are still being discovered daily, and public exhumations and burials carried out.

## Trauma

Many survivors are young and will carry the trauma of their childhood through the rest of their lives and probably the lives of their descendants.



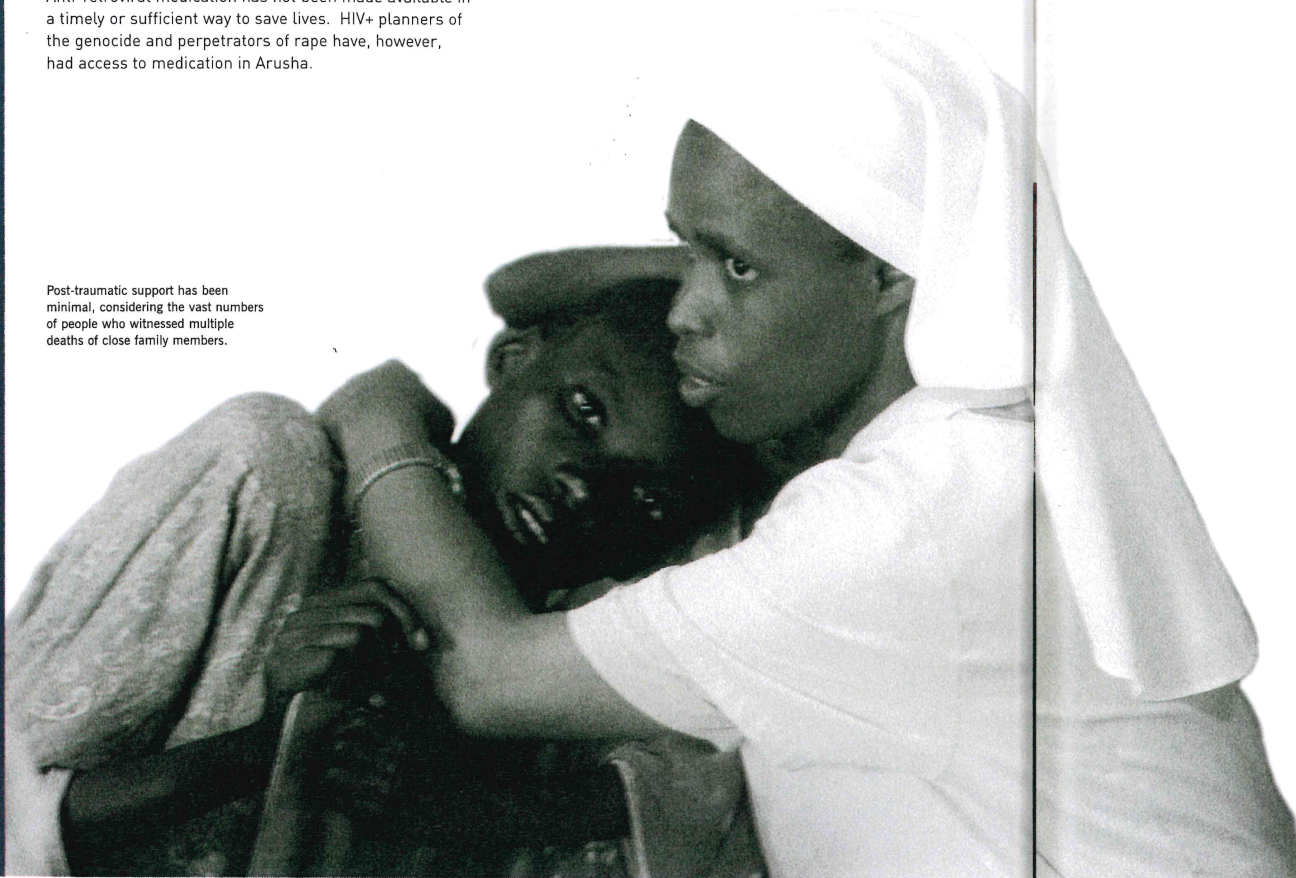
In many cases there were no surviving family members, no means of identification, and many mass graves remained undiscovered.



Large numbers of corpses were found in shallow mass graves, latrines and just lying in the open.



Sustaining psychological, physical and emotional support for the victims of trauma has been almost impossible to provide because of the numbers of survivors and the prioritisation of resources.





Jean Kambanda in the dock. The ICTR is judging the main architects of the Tutsi genocide.



Théoneste Bagasora in Arusha. Bagasora was Chief of Cabinet at the Ministry of Defence at the beginning of genocide. The alleged mastermind of the genocide, he provided weapons and coordinated the Interahamwe.



Judges at work. Gacaca was originally developed for settling community disputes and transgressions. Its adaptation to judging genocidaires makes it a unique experiment in post-genocide justice.

# Justice

## The International Crimes Tribunal For Rwanda

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established in November 1995, based in Arusha, Tanzania. After almost a decade of work, 81 indictments have been issued. Seventeen of the accused have been convicted. One person has been acquitted.

## Rwandan Tribunals

The bulk of indictments have been left to Rwanda's national legal system. In 1996, Rwanda passed a law specifically to punish the crimes of genocide. To do this, it first of all put an end to the reserve on crimes of genocide issued by Rwanda with the signature of the International Convention on Genocide. At the end of 2001, Rwandan courts have tried 7,331 indicted genocidaires, of whom 6,500 were convicted.

## Gacaca

Despite the above, it has become evident that the classical justice system would only be able to handle the number of cases within 100 years.

In order to resolve this impasse, the Government has resorted to the traditional Gacaca system, modernised to incorporate contemporary norms of jurisprudence.



On its completion it will have been the most thorough process ever in bringing the rank and file of genocide to justice. Over 100,000 inmates were indicted for crimes of genocide. They are expected to stand trial at Gacaca.

The local Gacaca courts meaning 'Justice on the Grass' combine traditional local justice with modern jurisprudence.



# Confronting the Past

## Memory

Almost every corner of Rwanda was touched by the genocide in some way.

In Kigali alone, there were thousands of mass graves and roadblocks.

Many families have someone who was either a victim, a perpetrator or a collaborator.

The genocidaires made sure that as many people as possible were implicated.

It is impossible for us to forget the past.

It is also extremely painful to remember.

We remember the victims of the past, because they were our family and friends,

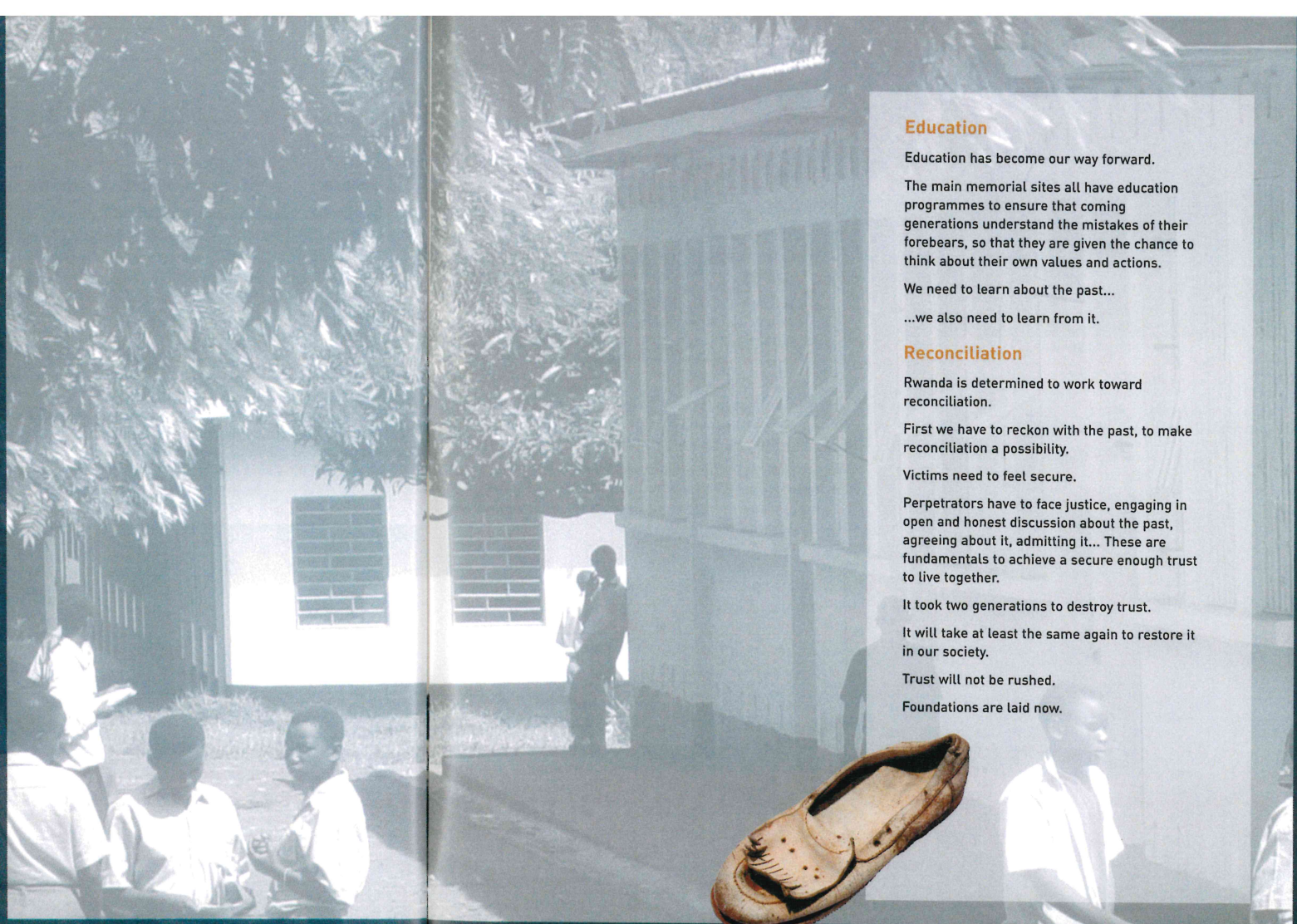
...they should still be here.

We also remember the events of the past,

...it is a terrible and unavoidable warning for our future if we do not take active steps to avoid it all over again.

**“There will be no humanity without forgiveness, there will be no forgiveness without justice, but justice will be impossible without humanity.”**

Yolande Mukagasana, survivor



## Education

Education has become our way forward.

The main memorial sites all have education programmes to ensure that coming generations understand the mistakes of their forebears, so that they are given the chance to think about their own values and actions.

We need to learn about the past...

...we also need to learn from it.

## Reconciliation

Rwanda is determined to work toward reconciliation.

First we have to reckon with the past, to make reconciliation a possibility.

Victims need to feel secure.

Perpetrators have to face justice, engaging in open and honest discussion about the past, agreeing about it, admitting it... These are fundamentals to achieve a secure enough trust to live together.

It took two generations to destroy trust.

It will take at least the same again to restore it in our society.

Trust will not be rushed.

Foundations are laid now.



At Murambi in Gikongoro, the genocide site where some 50,000 people were murdered also houses a genocide prevention centre, for training and research.



Memorial Days have become a part of the national annual calendar. During this time, there is a period of national mourning and reflection.



The Kigali Memorial Centre is a cemetery and place of remembrance of the dead. It is also a research and teaching centre.



# kigali

GENOCIDE MEMORIAL



Situated at the site chosen for mass burial of the 250,000 victims of Rwanda's genocide who were killed in Kigali, the Kigali Memorial Centre opened on 7 April 2004, the tenth anniversary of the start of the genocide.

For survivors and others whose families were murdered in 1994, the Centre is a place of dignified remembrance for loved ones lost. It is also a place of reflection and learning for the wider community, both in Rwanda and internationally.

The centre includes three permanent exhibitions, the largest of which documents the genocide in 1994. There is also a children's memorial, and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. The Education Centre, Memorial Gardens and National Documentation Centre of the Genocide all contribute to a meaningful tribute to those who perished, and form a powerful educational tool for the next generation.

## Mass Graves

The eight mass graves on the site were established shortly after the genocide, when it became apparent that there were hundreds of shallow mass graves around the city. Thousands of unidentified corpses were being discovered with no families to conduct dignified burials. Kigali City Council decided to create a single place of burial where victims could be laid to rest with dignity.

The graves consist of concrete crypts three metres deep, each filled from floor to ceiling with coffins. The coffins rarely contain the remains of an individual victim, and can contain the remains of up to 50 victims, because of the impossibility in many cases of ensuring that the remains of individuals are kept intact. Rather, the coffins are symbolic of the dignity that Kigali wishes to afford to its dead.



## Memorial Museum

A focal point of the centre is the permanent exhibition documenting the causes and consequences of the genocide. It graphically depicts the emergence of genocidal ideology, the impact of propaganda and the warnings of impending disaster.

It tells the terrible, disturbing and heart-breaking story of mass murder, of families torn apart, of women and children brutalised by neighbours-turned-killers.

It also documents the long and difficult road to recovery in a society where everyone is involved in either side of an almost impossible divide.

## Children's Memorial

The Children's Memorial is dedicated to the memory of the many thousands of children whose lives were cut short cruelly and intentionally. Each of fourteen windows details the life and death of a single child...

### Francine Murengezi Ingabire

- Age: 12
- Favourite sport: Swimming
- Favourite food: Eggs and chips
- Favourite drink: Milk and Fanta tropical
- Best friend: Her elder sister Claudette
- Cause of death: Hacked by machete

## Wasted Lives

During the Twentieth Century genocidal violence flared up on many occasions around the world. Wasted Lives details some of those atrocities. Human suffering should never be compared, its causes and consequences must be. Through this exhibition the causes and consequences of atrocities in Namibia, Armenia, Nazi Germany, Cambodia and the Balkans are explained and explored.

## Memorial Gardens

Finding a moment for peaceful reflection in turbulent times is sometimes difficult.

The memorial gardens are designed as a place for quiet and personal reflection. The wall of names details the names of victims from Kigali that have been recovered. The roses in the garden have been dedicated by surviving families of the genocide; a place of personal remembrance for their loved ones.

## National Documentation Centre

The National Genocide Documentation Centre houses a research library, archive, gacaca film archive, audio-visual testimony archive, GPS mapping project and a documentation team.

The centre is designed as a place for researching the genocide specifically as well as genocidal violence and human rights issues more generally. For an example of its ongoing work see [www.rwandagenocidemap.org](http://www.rwandagenocidemap.org)

## Education Facilities

One of the principle reasons for the centre's existence is to provide educational facilities for a younger generation of Rwandan children who do not remember the genocide, but whose lives are profoundly affected by it.

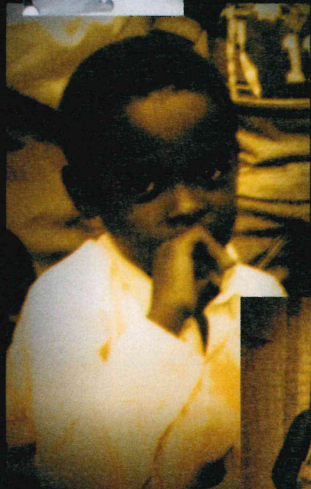
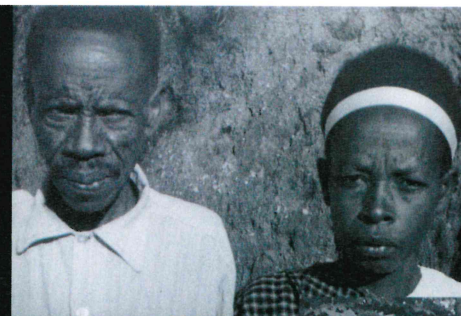
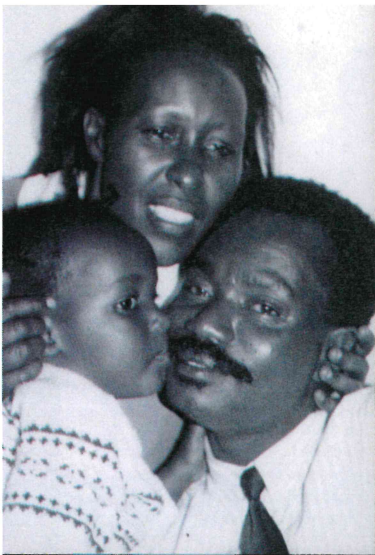
The centre provides all day programmes for school children to come to learn about and from the history of the genocide. The educational programme is based on the successful work that has been done in teaching about the Holocaust in other contexts.

Survivors of the genocide are trained as guides at the centre and in conjunction with the professional education staff, play an important role in telling the story in conjunction with the aims of the national curriculum.

## Partners

The Kigali Memorial Centre was instigated by Kigali City Council, who funded the establishment of the site and the buildings. Through generous donations from the Government of Belgium, the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA), the William Jefferson Clinton Foundation and Wasserman Foundation, the exhibitions, educational facilities, gardens and documentation centre were established.

The Kigali Memorial Centre's content, management and implementation has been developed by the Aegis Trust. Aegis is a UK-based genocide prevention organisation involved in research, museum and education projects including the Holocaust Centre in England.



Fidèle (9 years)  
Shot in the head



Chanelle (8 years)  
Hacked by machete



Ariane (4 years)  
Stabbed in the  
eyes and head



Bernardin (17 years)  
Hacked by machete at Nyamata Church



Thierry  
(9 months)  
Hacked by  
machete with  
his mum



Irène (6 years)  
Grenade thrown  
into shower

David (10 years) Tortured to death



Fabrice (15  
months) Killed in  
Muhoro Church



Yvonne (5 years) &  
Yves (3 years)  
Hacked by machete



Patrick  
(5 years) Hacked  
by machete



Hubert (2 years)  
Shot dead

Aurore (2 years)  
Burnt alive in  
Gikondo Chapel



Uwamwezi  
(7 years)  
Grenade thrown  
into shower



Ages refer to 1994,  
the year in which the  
children were killed.

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