

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING (MINECOFIN)



UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN TWO FORMER MINISTRIES WITH AFFILIATED AGENCIES: MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND MINISTRY OF PLANNING

January, 2018

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING (MINECOFIN)



UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN TWO FORMER MINISTRIES WITH AFFILIATED AGENCIES: MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND MINISTRY OF PLANNING

January 2018

“We want their lives to be remembered for generations and generations so that those who will come after us know and understand what happened.”

Minister, Claver Gatete, 2015

Foreword

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN), in collaboration with the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, is delighted to have a study on the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in two former Rwanda's Ministries: Ministry of Planning and Ministry of Finance. First and foremost, I am grateful to the Government of Rwanda for having acknowledged that previous research on Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi has been generic in nature and has recommended that more focus of future research should be put on smaller geographic units and/or institutions that existed in Rwanda prior to the perpetration of the Genocide against the Tutsi. This will provide a strong foundation of knowing the truth about what happened during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Such a foundation is considered as a prerequisite for sustainable reconciliation and peace-building.

It is of paramount importance to stress that the planning and executing processes of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former ministries was not different from what actually happened in other parts of the country. We highly condemn the atrocities that were committed and promise to do our utmost best so that such evil deeds do not happen again in Rwanda. Like other Genocide victims across the country, the Genocide against the Tutsi left many survivors and their relatives in the said ministries traumatized, maimed and morally affected.

Therefore, MINECOFIN and the families of the Genocide victims as well as Rwandans in general should learn from the divisive past so as to build a better and sustainable country. It is in this regard that MINECOFIN staff, like other Rwandans, should invest their efforts in rebuilding the country through collective participation to consolidate peace, unity and harmony among Rwandans.

It is my wish that this research emboldens the readers of this study, our country men and women as well as Rwanda's development partners to work hand in hand in order to prevent the re-occurrence of such a tragedy in Rwanda or elsewhere in the world.



Acknowledgements

First of all, we wish to extend our sincere gratitude to the Government of Rwanda through the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) for having been at the forefront in promoting research on the history of Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in 1994.

We would also like to thank all research participants who were involved in this initiative. Without their passionate participation and input, this research could not have been successfully conducted.

We are also deeply indebted to various staff members in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, especially those who kindly facilitated the process of data collection for this research. Without their willingness and availability, this research would not have achieved its intended goals.

We hereby wish to extend our profound thanks to the research team that participated in the realization of this report - Prof. Rutayisire Paul and Mr. Musafiri Elly. Last but not least, we are highly indebted to various categories of people for their invaluable contribution especially those who kindly accepted to provide useful information for this report.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADF	African Development Fund
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AVEGA	Association des Veuves du Génocide Agahozo
BBL	Bank Bruxelles Lambert
BNP	Banque Nationale de Paris
BNR	Banque Nationale du Rwanda
BUNEP	Bureau National d'Etudes des Projets
CCM	Center for Conflict Management
CDR	Coalition pour la Défense de la République
CNLG	Commission Nationale de Lute contre le Génocide
CADTM	Committee for the Abolition of the Illegitimate Debt
EDPRS	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Paper
FAR	Forces Armées Rwandaises
FRW	Francs
GLR	Great Lakes Region
HIV	Human Immune Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IDA	International Development Association
IDA	International Development Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Lt.	Lieutenant
Lt. Col.	Lieutenant Colonel
MDR	Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
MIFOTRA	Ministry of Public Service and Labour

MINALOC	Ministry of Administration and Local Government
MINECOFIN	Ministry of economic Planning and Finance
MRND	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
Mr.	Mister
NIC	National Itorero Commission
NISR	National Institute of Statistics Rwanda
NUR	National University of Rwanda
NURC	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
PARMEHUTU	Parti du Mouvement de l’Emancipation Hutu
PDC	Parti Démocratique de Centriste
PFM	Public Finance Management
PINAS	Programme National d’Action Sociale
PL	Parti Libéral
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper
PSD	Parti Social Démocrate
PTSD	Trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
RANU	Alliance for National Unity
RDRC	Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
RPA	Rwanda Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
RRA	Rwanda Revenue Authority
RTL	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
UBP	Union Bancaire Privée
UN	United Nations
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USD United States Dollars

WB World Bank

Dedication

To all Victims of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi,

To all survivors, we wish to assure you that it will never happen again

Table of Content

Foreword	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	iv
Dedication	vii
List of Tables	xiv
List of Figures	xv
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Research problem	3
1.3. Research questions	3
1.4. Research Objectives	4
1.5. Research Scope	4
1.6. Justification of the study	5
1.7. Study limitations	6
1.8. Report Structure	6
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODS	7
2. 1. Research Paradigm	7
2. 2. Research Design and Methods	7
2.3. Data sources and tools of data collection	8
2.4. Study Population and Sample Size	8
2.5. Sampling Procedures	10
2.6. Categories of Participants/Respondents	10
2.7. Data Analysis and Interpretation	11
2.8. Research Ethics	12

CHAPTER THREE: A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA	13
3.1. First Republic: 1962-1973.....	13
3.2. Rwanda: Under the Second Republic (1973-1994).....	14
3.3. Effects of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.....	17
3.4. Post-Genocide Rwanda: Transforming the Divisive Past	18
CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE IN THE FORMER MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND MINISTRY OF PLANNING.....	20
4.1. Structure of the former Ministry of Finance (MINIFIN), Ministry of Planning (MINIPLAN) with their affiliated agencies prior to 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi....	20
4.1.1. Location of the Two Former Ministries and their Affiliated Agencies.....	20
4.1.1.1. Location of former ministries.....	20
4.1.1.2. Location of the former affiliated agencies	20
4.1.2. MINECOFIN’s origin and responsibilities	20
4.1.3. Former Ministries Managerial Structure	23
4.1.3.1. Ministry of Finance (MINIFIN).....	23
4.1.3.1.1. Tax and customs Reform Project	25
4.1.3.1.2. Public and Private Enterprises Restructuring Project	25
4.1.3.2. Ministry of Planning (MINIPLAN)	25
4.1.3.2.1. Bureau National d’Etudes des Projets (BUNEP)	26
4.1.3.2.2. Programme National d’Action Sociale (PINAS)	27
4.1.4. MINIFIN and MINIPLAN staff before October 1, 1990.....	28
4.1.5. MINIFIN and MINIPLAN staff between 1 st October 1990 and 7 th April 1994.....	29
4.2. Socio-ethnic relationships between employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies before October 1, 1990	31
4.2.1. Working environment from October 26, 1961 to July 4, 1973 – A typical genesis of hatred and segregation experienced by Tutsi employees	31
4.2.2. Working environment from July 5, 1973 to October 1, 1990	33
4.2.3. Inhuman treatment against Tutsi employees before 1 st October 1990	34

4.3. Tutsi employees’ welfare during the Liberation War (1990 – 1994)	35
4.3.1. Social relationships among Ministries’ employees between October 1, 1990 and April 6, 1994.....	35
4.3.2. Acts of torture against the Tutsi in the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning during the Liberation War	37
4.3.3. Crime period: names of victims and perpetrators and reasons of violence.....	39
4.4. Use of state treasure in buying arms to kill citizens	41
4.4.1. The Former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and <i>Banque Nationale du Rwanda</i> in funds misappropriation saga	42
4.4.2. Balance of payments and imports of military equipment	43
4.4.3. The freeze and reduction of some civil service salaries.....	43
4.4.4. Effects of using State funds in buying arms to kill citizens	44
4.5. Former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense dealings in the importation of military equipment	45
4.5.1. Complicity of the Former Ministry of Finance and the International Financial Institutions and Western Donors in arming the genocidal regime	48
4.5.2. Former Ministry of Finance in Illegal/Illegitimate debt dealings with the aim of arming the Genocide.....	48
4.5.3. Former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense dealings with French Banks and Rwanda’s former embassies in illegal funds for arms importation.....	50
4.5.3.1. Delivery of weapons: delivery routes and facilitators.....	52
4.5.3.2. Stealing currency reserves.....	54
4.6. Conspiracy by Habyarimana’s government with the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning	54
4.6.1. MINIFIN Ministers from 26 October 1960 to 14 July 1994.....	55
4.6.1.1. Cyimana Gaspard (October 26, 1960 – June 12, 1968)	55
4.6.1.2. Nzanana Fidèle (June 12, 1968 – February 21, 1972).....	57
4.6.1.3. Major Ntubitura Bonaventure (July 5, 1973 – August 1, 1973)	57
4.6.1.4. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome (August 1, 1973 – June 11, 1975).....	58
4.6.1.5. Ntirugirimbabazi Denys (June 11, 1975 – March 29, 1981).....	59

4.6.1.6. Hategikimana Jean-Damascene (March 29, 1981 – April 4, 1987)	60
4.6.1.7. Ruhamanya Vincent (April 9, 1987 - January 15, 1989)	61
4.6.1.8. Ntigurirwa Benoît (15th January 1989 – 31st December 1991)	62
4.6.1.9. Ruhigira Enoch (December 31, 1991 – April 16, 1992)	63
4.6.1.10. Rugenera Marc (April 16, 1992 –April 9, 1994).....	64
4.6.1.11. Ndindabahizi Emmanuel (April 9, 1994 to mid-July 1994).....	67
4.6.2. MINIPLAN Ministers from 1962-1994	70
4.6.2.1. Habameshi Callixte (May 18, 1962 – February 6, 1963).....	70
4.6.2.2. Bagaragaza Thaddée (February 16, 1963 – July 27, 1968).....	71
4.6.2.3. Hitayezu Emmanuel (July 27, 1968 – July 4, 1973)	71
4.6.2.4. Major Nsekaliye Aloys (July 5, 1973 – August 1, 1974).....	72
4.6.2.5. Mbonyumutwa Jean-Marie-Vianney (August 1, 1973 – June 11, 1975)	72
4.6.2.6. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome (June 11, 1975 – January 8, 1979)	72
4.6.2.7. Mulindangabo Ambroise (January 8, 1979 –January 15, 1989)	73
4.6.2.8. Nzabonimana Callixte (January 15, 1989 – July 9, 1990)	74
4.6.2.9. Ngirabatware Augustin (July 9, 1990 - January 5, 1994)	75
4.6.2.10. Ntagerura André (January 5, 1994 – April 9, 1994)	77
4.6.2.11. Ngirabatware Augustin (April 9, 1994 to mid-July 1994)	78
4.6.3. BUNEP former Director Generals	78
4.6.3.1. Hategikimana Jean-Damascene	78
4.6.3.2. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome	79
4.6.3.3. Barinda Jean-Bosco	80
4.6.3.4. Ruzindana Augustin	80
4.6.3.5. Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney	80
4.7. Genocide execution (April 7, 1994 to mid-July 1994)	81
4.7.1. How, when and where were the Tutsi subjected to being massacred?.....	81
4.7.2. Convicted and un-convicted perpetrators of Genocide in the former ministries	82

4.7.3. Tutsi Genocide Victims in the former Ministries under study.....	82
4.7.3.1. MINIFIN Tutsi Genocide Victims.	83
4.7.3.2. MINIPLAN Tutsi Genocide Victims	112
4.7.3.2.1. BUNEP Genocide Victims.....	123
4.7.3.2.2. PINAS Genocide Victims	124
4.7.4. Other Ministries’ Victims Killed During the Genocide.....	124
4.7.5. Locations where Tutsi employees were massacred.....	124
4.7.6. Weapons used in killing Tutsi employees.....	125
4.7.6.1. Classical and traditional weapons	125
4.7.6.2. Rape as a weapon: An institutional untold ordeal.....	125
4.7.7. Preparatory Meetings of the Genocide against Ministries’ Tutsi employees.....	126
4.8. Violent acts against the Tutsi employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning during the 1994 Genocide	127
4.9. Acts of destroying Genocide facts during the Genocide	128
4.10. Social group relations in post-Genocide period.....	130
4.10.1. Genocide commemoration in MINECOFIN	130
4.10.2. Supporting Genocide survivors	132
4.10.2.1. Support to <i>Imararungu</i> Association.....	133
4.10.2.2. Support to relatives of former Tutsi employees	133
4.11.3. Fighting Genocide ideology and denial	133
4.12. Testimonies from the survivors and/or victim relatives	135
CHAPTER FIVE: LESSONS LEARNT, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	139
5.1. Lessons Learnt.....	139
5.2. Summary of findings	142
5.3. Conclusion.....	144
5.4. Recommendations	145
5.4.1. To MINECOFIN	145
5.4.2. To Ministry of Health (MINISANTE).....	146

5.4.3. Ministry of Justice (MINIJUST)	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY	147
APPENDICES	149
Appendix I: Interview Guide.....	149
Appendix 2: Some of the MINIFIN Former Employees between 1 st October 1990 and 6 th April 1994	154
Appendix 3: Some of the MINIPLAN Former Employees Between 1 st October 1990 and 6 th April 1994	157
Appendix 4: Some of the BUNEP Former Employees Between 1 st October 1990 and 6 th April 1994.....	159
Appendix 5: MINIFIN Tutsi Genocide Victims	160
Appendix 6: MINIPLAN Tutsi Genocide Victims	163
Appendix 7: BUNEP Genocide Victims	164
Appendix 8: List of the two former ministries’ victims whose any single details were untraceable	165

List of Tables

Table 1: Krejcie and Morgan table method of choosing a sample size.....	9
Table 2: Categories of respondents	10
Table 3: Categories of respondents	14
Table 4: Institutional staff before 1st October 1990	29
Table 5: Institutional staff between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994.....	30
Table 6: Types of weapons bought by the former Ministry of Finance.....	46
Table 7: Companies and banks involved in buying arms used in the Tutsi massacre	47
Table 8: Convicted and non-convicted Genocide perpetrators in the former ministries.....	82
Table 9: Victims without contacts.....	122

List of Figures

Figure 1: Structure of the former Ministry of Finance	24
Figure 2: Structure of former Ministry of Planning	26
Figure 3: BUNEP Structure.....	27
Figure 4: PINAS Structure	28

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda decimated over one million people in less than three months. These inhumane massacres took place across the entire country in a State-sponsored and inspired Genocide, initiated by the First Republic and implemented by the Second Republic. The victims of this Genocide included people from all walks of life: children, adults, elders, intellectuals, students, civil servants, etc.¹ Prunier and Mugesera argue that the ultimate plan of the genocidal regime in Rwanda was to exterminate all the Tutsis on Rwandan soil through a well-planned political agenda with the involvement of as many perpetrators as possible. The latter included simple peasants, political and religious leaders, as well as security organs, among others.² The role of some members of the international community who directly or indirectly supported the killing of the Tutsi in different parts of the country was also noticeable.³ The massacres took place at village and institutional levels and were masterminded by the State.

Though the complexity of these genocidal killings has been at the center stage of research by various scholars who have endeavored to find out the reality of what happened, the focus of such studies has tended to be too generic. This is why the 13th National Dialogue Council that took place from December 21 to 22, 2015 recommended that research be conducted on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi by focusing on smaller geographical units and institutions that existed in Rwanda prior to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi so as to establish the naked truth of what happened at micro and mezzo levels.⁴

Knowing the truth is indispensable in enhancing true unity and reconciliation between Rwandans. However, available evidence indicates that some individuals, associations, organizations and institutions started collecting Genocide accounts from different parts of Rwanda. Organizations or institutions that have conducted research on Genocide at micro and mezzo levels

1. MINALOC, *Rwanda Five-Years Decentralization Implementation programme (2004-2008) Poverty Reduction and Empowerment through Entrenchment of Democratic Decentralization*. Kigali: MINALOC, 2004, p. 2.

² Prunier, G., *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2001, p. 56 & Mugesera, A., *Imibereho y'Abatutsi Kuri Repuburika ya Mbere n'lya Kabiri*. Kigali: CNLG, 2015, p. 5

³ Melvern, L., *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*. New York: Verso, 2006, p. 6.

⁴ See Resolution two of the 13th National Umushikirano Council that took place on December 21-22, 2015.

include the African Rights (1995, 1998), the Human Rights Watch (1999), IBUKA (1998), CNLG, and AVEGA who have taken the lead in collecting and commenting on Genocide testimonies. Nonetheless, individual researchers like Yolande Mukagasana (1999, 2004), Philip Gourevitch (1998), Esther Mujawayo (2006), Dukundane Family (2009), Aimable Kubana (2010), to mention but a few, have made invaluable contributions in this regard that cannot go unnoticed. The role played by the Gacaca courts to avail the truth during the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi is considered to be instrumental in safeguarding the Genocide memory among the Rwandans.⁵

Beyond the scope of testimonies, several other scholars and researchers like Kabwete, Kimonyo, Mironko, Hatzeft and Melvern deal with the root causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi as well as its conduct and consequences. Some of them provide a comparison with other Genocides which occurred in recent history. Genocide, being a complex phenomenon, requires a multidimensional approach to understand it not only at the macro level but also at the mezzo and micro levels, which is the ultimate focus of the current Government of National Unity.

The Government of Rwanda aims to transform the country's divisive past through the use of classical and homegrown mechanisms which are fundamental to long-term development and self-reliance. Some of the mechanisms include the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), the National Itorero Commission (NIC), the National Commission for Human Rights, and the *Ndi Umunyarwanda* program, to mention but a few. All these mechanisms operate at both macro and micro levels in their wake to address individual, societal, and national issues.

In this regard, the Government of Rwanda, through the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), supports the activities to document the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and encourages this initiative at all levels. Therefore, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) as one of the Rwanda's State institutions aims to undertake a study that explores how the Genocide against the Tutsi was carried out in two former ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning as well as their affiliated Agencies.

⁵ Center for Conflict Management, *Evaluation of Gacaca Courts in Rwanda*. Kigali: Pallotti Press, 2012.

Based on the national memory and history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of National Unity through CNLG encourages a decentralized approach to document the events that led to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.⁶ In fact, in its instructions of March 2016, CNLG requested the public, private and religious institutions and bodies to conduct research on how the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was perpetrated in various settings, as well as the efforts that have been made in the commemoration, social reinsertion and fight against the Genocide ideology. It is against this background that the present research on the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in two former ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning as well as their affiliated Agencies - was commissioned.

1.2. Research problem

Many studies on Rwanda's history and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi have been largely generic, that is to say focusing on the entire country as their geographical scope⁷. Minimal focus has been put on institutions or smaller geographical units that existed prior to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Studies that focus on smaller research units will enable Rwandans to comprehensively understand how the killings were planned and executed as this will contribute to providing a good foundation of memory healing, as well as establishing truth, justice and reconciliation for a sustainable future.

1.3. Research questions

The present study makes an attempt to answer the following epistemological questions:

1. What were the prevailing dynamics in the planning and execution of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former ministries - Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Planning as well as their affiliated Agencies?
2. Was the planning and execution of the Genocide in the two former institutions explicit or implicit vis-a-vis the the State genocidal ideology?

⁶ Resolution from the 2015 National *Umushikirano* Council in relation to documenting the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi by different regions and institutions.

⁷ Kimonyo, J. P., *Rwanda. Un génocide populaire*. Paris: Karthala, 2008, p. 34

3. What types of weapons were used to kill the Tutsi who worked in the two former ministries under study: Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated Agencies?
4. Who were the perpetrators of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?
5. How has the current working environment in MINECOFIN impacted the lives of the 1994 Genocide survivors?
6. How does MINECOFIN collectively engage its staff in promoting the programs and policies of national unity and reconciliation?

1.4. Research Objectives

The main objective of the present study was to document the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated Agencies. The specific objectives included:

- To safeguard the Genocide memory of all victims who worked in the two former ministries: Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated Agencies;
- To preserve a collective Genocide memory in the country;
- To analyze and understand the process of planning and executing the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former Ministries with their affiliated Agencies;
- To enhance social cohesion among Rwandans and MINECOFIN staff;
- To contribute to the healing process of the survivors within MINECOFIN and beyond;
- To contribute to unity, reconciliation and peace-building processes among MINECOFIN staff and other Rwandans.

1.5. Research Scope

The current Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) acquired different names in time with regard to its missions since independence in 1962 to date. During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, there were two ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning - which also operated some departments across the country. In the former Ministry of Finance, there were departments like: the Directorate of Taxes, the Directorate of Customs, the Directorate of Public Accounts and the Directorate of General Inspection of Finance. As for the former Ministry of Planning, it provided statistical services across the country at pre-

fectural level. It was only the former Ministry of Planning that had one affiliated agency called the *Bureau National d'Etudes des Projets* (BUNEP). It only operated at national level and was headquartered in Kiyovu.

The present study's temporal scope is restricted to particular periods when the ministries under study came into existence. In this regard, the above scope is from 1962 to 1994 and covers the entire post-Genocide period, to date. However, the study focuses on particular historical periods that were characterized by extreme violence in the country which also affected the Tutsi employees working in those ministries. These periods included 1962-1964, 1972-1973. The 1990-1994 period is included in order to understand the group social dynamics that prevailed between the so-called Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups under the regimes of President Grégoire Kayibanda and President Juvénal Habyarimana.

Last but not least, the scope of the literature review covers the entire genesis of the history of Genocide in Rwanda, that is to say, in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence regimes. Briefly, the literature on truth-telling and healing, commemoration, unity and reconciliation on Rwanda is analyzed to assess the status of transformation in comparison with Rwanda's divisive past.

1.6. Justification of the study

The present study on the history of 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former ministries: Ministry of Planning and Ministry of Finance with their affiliated Agencies is deemed pertinent due to its micro focus as opposed to the generic nature of previous studies. Therefore, this study does not only seek to contribute to this identified research gap but it also safeguards the national collective memory in remembering the Genocide against the Tutsi and enhances the spirit of unity and reconciliation in MINECOFIN.

At policy level, the research findings are deemed useful for various policy makers and stakeholders in the wake of fighting against the Genocide ideology and its denial as well as in building sustainable peace in post-Genocide Rwanda. In this regard, the study is not merely intent on coming up with definite solutions of preventing Genocide, but rather it seeks to provide a framework that guides, consolidates and upholds what has been achieved and perceived by all Rwandans as a collective memory to respond to the country's divisive past.

1.7. Study limitations

Although MINECOFIN - through MIFOTRA – granted permission to the researchers to access and review staff records/files in the Human Resource Department, it proved difficult to identify or trace some files unless someone knew the specific staff employment numbers. This is because the files in this ministry are classified according to how people are employed in all government institutions but not according to the arrangement criterion of their former institutions. Thus, it was impossible to know the exact number of employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies. Nonetheless, MIFOTRA is in the process of digitalizing all the data in the Human Resource Department – notably from 1962 – thus, the files that were accessed by the researchers are those that were already digitalized – given the fact that the list of Genocide victims was available. By searching a given name online, it was possible to know someone whose file has been digitalized.

In addition, there were 11 victims out of 106 whose personal profiles on how, when and where they were killed was impossible to obtain. In addition, some files in the Human Resource Department with individual profiles were untraceable in MIFOTRA due to the aforementioned factors. It was observed that some former employees in the two ministries did not have any leading clues to the victims. In addition, there were 15 Genocide victims whose details on how, when and where they were killed were not provided in their files in the MIFOTRA Human Resource Department while some files provided scanty or minimal data.

1.8. Report Structure

The research report is composed of four chapters. Chapter one gives the general introduction composed of the introduction, research gap, research objectives, research questions, scope, study limitations, justification of the study and the methodological approach. Chapter two gives a brief review of Rwanda's history of the Genocide against the Tutsi from the colonial period to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. In Chapter three the study findings are presented and analyzed while in Chapter four a summary of findings is made and conclusions and recommendations are made.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODS

A rigorous research process was followed, guided by clear sets of operations (methods) in data collection and analysis. This section highlights the study approach, design and methods, as well as the sources and tools of data collection. The study population and sample size including sampling procedures and categories of participants/respondents are highlighted. Finally, the data is analyzed and interpreted and ethical considerations taken into account.

2. 1. Research Paradigm

This study embraces a positivist paradigm to explore attitudes, behaviors and values of employees who worked in two former ministries – Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning. It seeks to understand why and how the employees in these ministries massacred their colleagues. The focus of this study is underpinned by historical, socio-political and socio-cultural perspectives which influenced the activities in these ministries. The process and historical context are instrumental in understanding the planning and execution of the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.

By exploring the historical perspectives, the researchers seek to generate qualitative explanations of how Genocide was planned and executed in the ministries under study. This exploration was done through a series of structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussions and a participatory observation of phenomena.

2. 2. Research Design and Methods

The research design adopted was qualitative since the problem under investigation is a socio-political and socio-historical one. Understanding such phenomena required generation in-depth information that explains how Genocide was perpetrated in the two former ministries.⁸ In the process of data generation and analysis, an attempt was made to identify the causal-effect relationships in the historical and socio-political contexts in which the two ministries operated. Hence, the causality theme was paramount in this research.

In addition structural explanations were relied upon to probe how the State functioned in the former two ministries and elsewhere across the country. Again, the historical dimension is

⁸ Gerring, J., *Social Science Methodology: Strategies for Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 12-14

coupled with an interpretive method to explain the process of Genocide was planned and executed.

2.3. Data sources and tools of data collection

Data was collected from primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was collected from existing research on Genocide, documentaries, magazines, newspapers and films whereas primary data was from interviews, focus group discussions and participatory observations. Individual interviews were carried out with knowledgeable respondents in order to maximize the process of information gathering.

In social sciences, this method is called qualitative interviewing and was thus judged to be a valuable research tool given that it offers the opportunity for interviewees to open up and provide confidential information. The advantage associated with this method is that the manner in which way words are spoken may be more revealing than the words themselves. This technique is characterized by extensive probing and open-ended questions and is conducted on one-by-one basis between the respondents and a highly skilled interviewer.⁹

Last but not least, the observation technique was also used in the data collection process, in which case observations were continuously recorded by the researcher so as to not miss any valuable information. Each data collector had a field diary where day-to-day observations were recorded. The key approaches to observation included: structured, unstructured, non-interactive techniques, careful observation of activities, holding conversations and other forms of communications with different respondents during the Genocide commemoration period which took place on June 2, 2017.

2.4. Study Population and Sample Size

Population is a total set of individual elements of any given phenomena under study.¹⁰ Therefore, the study's population was composed of employees in the former Ministry of Finance and the former Ministry of Planning. The victims' relatives were also part of the study popu-

⁹ Patton, M., *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. London: Sage, 1990, p. 59

¹⁰ Myers, J. L., & Well, A. D., *Research design and Statistical analysis*. London: Haper Collins Publishers, p. 4, 1991.

lation. A sample is sub-set of the total population consisting of only a portion of all the elements in the population.¹¹

In this regard, the sample size included survivors of the Genocide, the perpetrators, old case refugee returnees, new case refugee returnees and bystanders. In determining the sample size of this study, Krejcie and Morgan’s table was resorted to researchers to select the sample. The following table indicates how the sample size was calculated by focusing on the confidence level and interval.

Table 1: Krejcie and Morgan table method of choosing a sample size

Population size	Confidence level=95%
	Margin of error (or confidence interval)=5%
100	80
500	217
1000	278
10,000	370
100,000	383
500,000	384
1,000,000	384

Source: Krejcie and Morgan (1979)

Using the above table method, the Genocide victims in the current Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) are 100, therefore the number of respondents that constituted our sample size was 80. Since the study also touched on the post-Genocide context, the number of respondents increased to 115. In selecting the sample size, the margin of error or confidence interval was 95% and the confidence level was 0.5%. Thus, the confidence intervals and levels helped to inform the researchers to determine the size of a sample size and how to match the results with the entire population.

¹¹ Myers & Well., *Research design and Statistical analysis*, p. 23.

2.5. Sampling Procedures

A combination of snowball and purposive sampling procedures was used in selecting the respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents who lived and worked with the victims. As for snowball sampling, it was used to identify unknown respondents through a known chain of knowledgeable respondents by the researchers. The principle here was that only the first respondent was identified and the latter managed to inform the researchers about the chain of other respondents, given the information they possessed in the historical and analytical contexts.

The use of snowball sampling was privileged not least because the complexity of the information that emerged from them was more useful than their numbers. However, a possible number of knowledgeable respondents were interviewed so as to get relevant data on how Genocide was planned and executed in the two former ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies.

2.6. Categories of Participants/Respondents

Socio-demographic aspects were taken into consideration in order to identify the respondents. The sample was representative and inclusive of these categories. In this regard, by embracing purposive and snowball sampling procedures, selecting the respondents followed predetermined categories and characteristics such as the age, sex, level of education, the marital status. The following categories were included: Genocide survivors, former employees who were not targeted, a few former Gacaca judges, and current employees in MINECOFIN. The following table indicates the number of respondents who participated in the present research:

Table 2: Categories of respondents

Category of respondents	Former Ministry of Finance	Former Ministry of Planning
Former employees working in government institutions	7	5
Unemployed former employees	8	5
Former employees working in civil society	2	1
Former employees working in private sector	4	3

Category of respondents	Former Ministry of Finance	Former Ministry of Planning
Relatives of the Genocide victims	56	32
Current employees of MINECO-FIN	13	
Sub Total	90	46
Total Respondents	136	

Source: Primary data, 2017

The above table indicates the categories of respondents who participated in this study. The characteristics included the following variables: youth, men and women, less educated, elites, government representatives and private sector representatives were taken into consideration. Both rural and urban respondents made up our informants. Other categories that provided information included former Gacaca court judges and representatives of IBUKA. Although at the inception of this study, such categories were not included, later the researchers found that they could be potential respondents in one way or another.

2.7. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Primary data from interviews and observations was analyzed based on responses given by each respondent. This required data coding of information from various categories. In fact, data analysis from interviews and observations required some creativity to place the raw data into logical, meaningful categories, and to examine them in a holistic manner and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to other researchers. Primary information required both narrative and discourse analysis. Being qualitative in nature, the study resorted to the use of the hyper-soft software to analyse the data.

After processing the collected data, it was analyzed into coherent sets basing on responses given by respondents. This was done immediately, especially after transcribing data from interviews as well as checking whether all the issues were recorded, devoid of omissions and mistakes.

This is what de Vos calls “working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, discovering what is important and what is learned.”¹² This is about sketching

¹² As de Vos, *Research at Grass Roots*, 2nd edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 2002, p. 145

ideas, taking notes, summarizing field notes, getting feedback on ideas, working with words, displaying data, identifying codes, reducing information, counting frequency of codes, relating categories to analytic framework in literature and redesigning the study in its proper setting.

Secondary data analysis was done by reviewing different sources of literature on the history of Genocide and triangulating them with the primary data. Since the problem under study was situated in the historical context, therefore, grasping its wider social and historical import required a detailed description of the social setting in which Genocide against the Tutsi was carried out in the two former ministries. The context also looked at the social relationships and the time frame in which these relationships were forged – meaning that social relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi employees in the said Ministries were analyzed comprehensively through different periods that characterized Rwanda's history of Genocide.

2.8. Research Ethics

Research ethics were also taken into consideration as part of the methodological approach. Before every interview was administered, the interviewer first presented himself or herself to the respondent(s): telling them their names, explaining the genesis of the research, its aim and objectives, among others. Right after this introductory gesture, a research permit by MINECOFIN was presented to the interviewee for ethical considerations and to give an official touch to the study.

The respondents were assured of their information's confidentiality as required across all scientific standards. Scientific ethical principles were adhered to. They included: scientific merit, equitable selection of respondents (equal number of categories of respondents), confidentiality, prior acquisition of consent by the respondents concerned (either written or verbal), avoidance of coercion and deception of respondents at all costs and ensuring that sustained involvement of participants was maintained till the end of the study.

CHAPTER THREE: A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

This chapter discusses the general history of Genocide in Rwanda, beginning with the post-independence period. The section is deemed critical because for one to understand what took place in the former Ministry of Finance, and the former Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies, one has to first understand a national historical context in which the ministries identified were operating. Thus, it contextualizes the *modus operandi* in which these national institutions operated.

3.1. First Republic: 1962-1973

The first republic is sometimes referred to as the “Hutu Republic” which was under President the leadership of Grégoire Kayibanda; he came to power immediately when Rwanda gained its independence. He became the leader of “Hutu elites” who, with the help of Belgian authorities and some Catholic missionaries, contributed to the so called Hutu Revolution which started from 1959 to early 1962. The president and his allies were all members of the same party known as PARMEHUTU. The latter spearheaded the “Hutu revolution” that killed hundreds and hundreds of innocent Tutsi and political Hutu opposed to PARMEHUTU. The same party and same leadership style continued to persecute the Tutsi during the First Republic (1962-1973). The Tutsi were dehumanized by being referred to as them snakes, cockroaches and foreigners from Abyssinia, Ethiopia.¹³

The republic was based on the ideology of hate that sought to exterminate the Tutsi. The Tutsi were regarded as foreigners or invaders whose verdict was known - to be killed.¹⁴ In a bid to implement the hatred ideology against the Tutsi, they were massacred in 1959. Those who were killed at that time were few compared to the high number which was exterminated in 1994.¹⁵ The Tutsi survivors of the pre- and post-independence period continued to be tortured, excluded and denied all civil and political rights. Thus the number of refugees that fled the country started growing by leaps and bounds, time after time. For example, by the turn of 1964, the number of Rwandan refugees had soared to 336,000 (see the breakdown below).

¹³ Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴ Reference to false racial scholarship on Rwanda, Tutsi were traced to have come from Ethiopia.

¹⁵ Bizimana, J. D., *Inzira ya Jenoside Yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali: CNLG, 2014, pp.8-9.

Table 3: Categories of respondents

No	Country	No of refugees
1	Burundi	200,000
2	Uganda	78,000
3	Tanzania	36,000
4	Zaire	22,000
	Total	336,000

Source: Prunier, 2001, p. 56

Bizimana argues that the refugees who remained in Rwanda were denied the rights to education, freedom and employment, just to mention but a few. In addition, the officials in the First Republic grabbed land left behind by the refugees of 1959-1961 and distributed it among the Hutu elites. President Kayibanda believed that the Hutu and Tutsi were not supposed to co-exist; on the contrary, they were supposed to live in two separate republics.¹⁶ He even submitted a proposal to the UN and the Belgian government to establish Hutu and Tutsi territory in Rwanda. The Tutsi territory would be composed of Bugesera, Kibungo and Buganza while rest would be occupied by the Hutu.¹⁷

3.2. Rwanda: Under the Second Republic (1973-1994)

On July 5, 1973, Juvénal Habyarimana deposed President Kayibanda and his MDR- PAR-MEHUTU party in a military Coup. In 1975, a new ruling party MDR under the coup leader came emerged with the same discriminatory policies against the Tutsi. The regime also practiced favoritism, nepotism and regionalism. The residents from the north were mostly favored by the power that was. They also occupied and dominated high profile government posts, including the military and the police.¹⁸

¹⁶ Bizimana, *Inzira ya Jenocide Yakorewe Abatutsi*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Republic of Rwanda, *Unity and Reconciliation Process in Rwanda: 20 Years After the 1994 Genocide Perpetrated against Tutsi*. Kigali: NURC, 2014, p. 33.

¹⁸ Melvern, L., *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*. New York: Verso Books, 2004, pp. 23-5.

From 1986 to 1990, Rwanda faced an economic crisis that shattered the regime. This was caused by the fall in coffee prices and the gross mismanagement of the country's resources by the leaders in power. The financial scenario became characterized by fraud, corruption, abuse of human rights and discrimination. The state was governed under a tight surveillance system run by a one-party system. The *Préfets* (Mayors) and *Bourgmestres* were appointed by the President of the Republic. The administrative leaders of the sectors and cells were appointed by the *Bourgmestres*. Citizens did not participate in electing their leaders. Thus, the State became authoritarian in nature.¹⁹

Due to the discriminative policies and human rights violations against the Tutsi, the Rwandan refugees who were in neighboring countries set up a political formation called the Rwanda Alliance for National Unity (RANU). This was later transformed into the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) with the aim of returning back to their motherland through peaceful means and to press for democratic change in Rwanda. However, this did not work out as planned and RPF opted to use force. Consequently, a liberation war was launched on October 1, 1990.²⁰

President Habyarimana's regime responded by organizing more violence against innocent people and started preparing Genocide against the Tutsi. It was a total apocalypse as the planners called it. Genocide was preached in meetings, the media and in civil society associations. Even the Head of State took the lead in sensitizing citizens to kill the Tutsi. In his speech, former President Juvénal Habyarimana, in MRND Congress held on April, 28 1991, had this to say:

“The unity of ethnic groups is not possible without the unity of the majority. Just as we note that no Tutsi recognizes regional belonging, it is imperative the Hutu majority forge unity, so that they are able to wade off any attempt to return them into slavery.”

The Vice-President of the then ruling party MRND, Léon Mugesera, in CDR-MRND joint Meeting at Kabaya-Gisenyi, on November, 22 1992, publicly said:

“What about those accomplices here who are sending their children to RPF [...] we have to take responsibility in our own hands [...] the fatal mistake we made in 1959 was to let them [Tutsi] get out [...] they belong to Ethiopia and we are going to find them a short-

¹⁹ Des Forges, *Leave none to tell the story*, p. 256

²⁰ Adelman, H., & Suhrke, A., *The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire: The Path of a Genocide*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2000, p. 34

cut to get there by throwing them into the Nyabarongo River. We have to act. Wipe them all out”²¹

Gregory Stanton notes that these political incitements by top political leaders ignited civilians to attack the Tutsi across the country though the intensity of the killings varied in different parts of the country. He gives the following examples: in October 1990, Hutu militias killed 300 Tutsi civilians in Kibirira and again 500-1000 Tutsis were murdered in January 1991. In March 1992, over 300 Tutsis were slaughtered in Bugesera and 70 Tutsi were massacred in Kigali from 22-26 February 1994.²²

These killings were totally brutal compared to those that happened in 1959-1963, 1972-1973. Habyarimana’s regime intensified torture, violence and massacres against the Tutsi and other political opponents during the liberation war. These human rights violations were State-controlled. Citizens were ordered to implement the State’s agenda of eliminating the Tutsi from the Rwandan soil. Therefore, the common citizens had to obey the order in the name of protecting the majority “Hutu interests” through the propagation of “Hutu” ideology. This culture of obedience was critical in the planning and execution of the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.²³

The media became a channel of mobilizing the masses to attack, kill and exterminate the Tutsi. The prominent media outlets that taught the culture of violence were the *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), the national radio (Radio Rwanda) and Kangura, among others.²⁴

The role of political parties in inciting the citizens to carry out violence acts against the Tutsi was unquestionable. Though multi-partism was increasingly becoming visible from 1991, many party members were ethnically charged. The ruling party - MRND - divided them by creating Hutu extremist wings (MDR-Pawa, PL-Pawa, PSD-PAWA, etc.) and several youth militias (MRND-*Interahamwe*, and CDR-*Impuzamugambi*). Finally, each party was composed of both extremists and moderates, though extremists outnumbered the latter.²⁵

²¹ Melvern, *Conspiracy to Murder*, p. 47.

²² Stanton, G., “The Rwandan Genocide: Why Early Warning Failed”, in *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies*, 1:1 (2009), 6-26.

²³ Adelman, & Suhrke, *The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, 179

²⁴ Thompson, A., *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*. London: Pluto Press, 2007, p. 26

²⁵ Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide*, p. 67.

On 6 April 1994, the plane carrying the former President Juvenal Habyarimana which was coming from Arusha to attend peace talks was shot down. The death of the president became a trigger to openly start the Genocide against the Tutsi. In the hours that followed, the soldiers, police and citizens started manning roadblocks in Kigali targeting the Tutsis. The massacres later spread to other parts of the country.

Genocide was committed in the eyes of the international community, in the presence of United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and the members of the international community. In spite of various calls by different embassies in Rwanda and other reports to halt the Tutsi massacres, UNAMIR peacekeepers stood idle without any intervention.²⁶

France played a special role either in planning or executing the Genocide against the Tutsi. The French troops not only trained the ex-FAR (former government soldiers) but they also trained the *Interahamwe* militias who killed the Tutsi across the country. France again supplied weapons that were used in the Genocide. Other countries like China, Israel, Russia and Egypt supplied weapons and other ammunitions to the former government that committed the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.²⁷

Since the Arusha Peace Accord signed in August 1993 did not meet its expectations, RPF was obliged to fight the interim government that was killing the Tutsi. The Genocide was stopped on July 4, 1994 after the defeat of the genocidal forces and militias.

3.3. Effects of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

The 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi left the country devastated, with a society whose social fabric had been completely destroyed. Despite the loss of over one million Tutsis and some moderate Hutu, the country faced the problem of orphans, widows, destitute and maimed men, women and children were left at large to fend for themselves without any psycho-social care.²⁸

The physical and social infrastructure was destroyed and rebuilding it required starting from the scratch though this reconstruction has proved to be progressively impressive. The perpetrators used rape as a weapon to exterminate the Tutsi, alongside deliberate strategies to infect

²⁶ Mukamana, D., & Brysiewicz, P., "The lived experience of Genocide rape survivors in Rwanda". In *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 40 (4), 2008, 379-384.

²⁷ Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*, pp.167-80.

²⁸ Clark, P., "Bringing the Peasants Back in Again: State Power and Local Agency in Rwanda's Gacaca courts", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8:2, (2014): 193-213.

the Tutsi with HIV/AIDS; thus, the surviving victims were left wanting both physically and morally.²⁹

There is no doubt that the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi led to heavy losses of human capital, not only for Rwanda but also in the context of regional integration and the African continent at large. Therefore, the destruction of this social infrastructure rolled the country back for several years and decades in terms of development.³⁰

These destructive effects will continue to be felt by both the current or future generations to come in Rwanda and even beyond.³¹

3.4. Post-Genocide Rwanda: Transforming the Divisive Past

From July 1994 to 1999, the Government of National Unity was still undergoing emergency and reconstruction programs with support from various UN agencies and other International Non-Governmental Organizations. To transform the divisive past, the government of Rwanda established governance structures based on people's participation and inclusiveness and particularly in relation to development at the grassroots level. The government's view was that this approach would lead to peace building, State building, unity and reconciliation. The assumption was that "good governance and poverty reduction would help prevent future widespread violence".³²

In the context of rebuilding good social relationships and fostering national unity and reconciliation in 1999, the government established the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) to ensure that reconciliation would be mainstreamed throughout government institutions, civil society and the private sector. Indeed, the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP) and the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS I and II) were bent on unity and reconciliation, among other things, as the government priorities.

On the other hand, home-grown initiatives were brought on board. They won the hearts of many Rwandans in solving their socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural problems emanating from their divisive past. Through these initiatives, for example, the government re-established a program called *ubudehe* mandated to build social capital right from the grass-

²⁹ Clark, *Bringing the Peasants Back in Again*, op. cit.

³⁰ Clark, *Bringing the Peasants Back in Again*, op. cit.

³¹ Melvern, *Conspiracy to Murder*, 80

³² See Republic of Rwanda, *Rwanda's Vision 2020*. Kigali: MINECOFIN, pp. 1-2.

roots. It also empowered citizens through participation in local development initiatives and poverty reduction at the lowest administrative levels. Programs like *Itorero*³³, *Ndi Umunyarwanda* and *Gacaca* have taken the lead in transforming Rwanda's divisive past. These programs have yielded positive results.

To address the legacy of armed conflict, the government set up the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) to transform the lives of ex-combatants, former rebels and government armies. The aim was to reinvent the social, economic and political structures towards achieving a positive and sustainable future and moving away from the destructive past.³⁴ This integrative approach led to constructive social change for all Rwandans despite some of them having been involved either in the liberation struggle or even committing Genocide!

The government does prioritize zero-tolerance on corruption, good governance and leadership, justice, gender promotion, improving public infrastructure and service delivery as crucial to Rwanda's achievements. The majority of these endeavors are mainstreamed in all government policies and programs in order to achieve inclusive participation and development. The close cooperation of the government with the private sector, civil society and partners in the international community has helped in achieving the country's sustainable future.³⁵

Nonetheless, some challenges down the road have been noted in the process of transforming the country's past. Scholars like Phil Clark and Rutembesa cite the Genocide ideology and denial, resistance to mindset change and ignorance as big constraints that still hamper quick transformation of the Rwandan society.³⁶ Resistance to reconciliation by genocidal forces is to some extent identified as a challenge towards building sustainable peace.³⁷

³³ See NURC, *Itorero ry'igihugu—Policy note and strategic plan: Making national and community service work in Rwanda*. Kigali: NURC, May 2009, p. 1

³⁴ Republic of Rwanda, *Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda*, pp. 50-70.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-70

³⁶ Clark, P., "Bringing the Peasants Back in Again: State Power and Local Agency in Rwanda's Gacaca courts", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8:2, (2014): 193-213 & Rutembesa, *Genocide in Mugina Commune, op.cit.*

³⁷ Zorbas, E., "What Does Reconciliation After Genocide Mean" Public Transcripts and Hidden Transcripts in Post Genocide Rwanda". *Journal of Genocide Research*, 11:1, (2009): 127-147.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE IN THE FORMER MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND MINISTRY OF PLANNING

4.1. Structure of the former Ministry of Finance (MINIFIN), Ministry of Planning (MINIPLAN) with their affiliated agencies prior to 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

This sub-section highlights the two former ministries and their affiliated agencies' location, their origin and duties, their managerial structure and nature of employees before and during the Liberation War, that is to say, between October 1, 1990 and July 14, 1994.

4.1.1. Location of the Two Former Ministries and their Affiliated Agencies

This sub-section highlights the locations of the two former ministries and their affiliated agencies.

4.1.1.1. Location of former ministries

The former Ministry of Finance operated at the current MINECOFIN headquarters which is located in the heart of Kigali City where most of Rwanda's business activities are conducted; it is found in Nyarugenge Sector, Nyarugenge District.

The former Ministry of Planning was also located down-town in the heart of Kigali City. It was headquartered at the current building that hosts the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (NISR).

4.1.1.2. Location of the former affiliated agencies

MINIFIN had two projects, namely: the Tax Restructuring and Reform Project and the Public Enterprises Restructuring Project. They both operated within the ministry. MINIPLAN only had two affiliated agencies that were semi-autonomous in nature, called the *Bureau National d'Etudes des Projets* (BUNEP) and *Programme National d'Action Sociale* (PINAS). BUNEP's office was in Kiyovu while PINAS operated within the former MINIPLAN headquarters.

4.1.2. MINECOFIN's origin and responsibilities

The first Ministry of Finance was established on 26 October 1960 and planning was within the Ministry of Economic Affairs. On 26 October, 1961, the two ministries were merged to become the Ministry of Finance, Economy and Planning. After attaining independence in

1962, Rwanda's First Republic under President Grégoire Kayibanda created the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy on 26 October, 1963. The latter was in charge of planning. On 18 May, 1962, the above ministry was divided into two - Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Planning. On 6 January, 1964 the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs was changed into the Ministry of Finance and External Trade while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Planning was renamed as the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation.

On 12 June, 1968 the Ministry of Finance and External Trade changed its name again to become the Ministry of Finance, Planning and International Cooperation. When General Juvénal Habyarimana came to power on 5 July, 1973 the above ministry changed its name again to become the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry. The above ministry was responsible for State finances. It was also charged with promoting commerce and trade, managing mining activities, as well as promoting industry.

In the process of forming the first government under Habyarimana's regime on 1 August, 1973, what used to be the Ministry of Finance under Kayibanda's regime became the Ministry of Finance and Economy. As for the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, it assumed the name of Ministry of Planning and Natural Resources. On 11 June, 1975, the Ministry of Planning and Natural Resources changed its name and became the Ministry of Planning. However, the Ministry of Finance and Economy retained its name until 8 January, 1979. Hitherto up to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Ministry of Finance was separate from the Ministry of Planning.

Its functions were to manage State finances, promote a stable macro-economic environment, mobilize internal and external resources, etc. On 8 January 1979, it was renamed Ministry of Finance until the end of the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi. Generally, the two institutions were responsible for managing state finances, maintaining a stable macro-economic environment, managing State resources and conducting economic planning for the country, among other things.

Rwanda's current Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) was established in March 1997. This ministry was created by merging the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning to coordinate and improve the intertwined functions of finance and planning. MINECOFIN's mission is "to raise sustainable growth, economic opportuni-

ties, and the living standards of all Rwandans” while its vision is “to develop Rwanda into a country free of poverty”.³⁸ The ministry’s responsibilities are to:

- ✚ *Maintain a stable macroeconomic environment with low inflation, moderate budget deficits, and sustainable public debt;*
- ✚ *Foster greater evidence-based planning and performance-based budgeting;*
- ✚ *Mobilize internal and external resources (i.e., tax, social security contributions, grants, loans, etc.);*
- ✚ *Achieve the highest international standards in Public Finance Management (PFM) in order to ensure an accountable use of resources;*
- ✚ *Improve the delivery of public services and accountability through effective financial and fiscal decentralization;*
- ✚ *Contribute to increasing the productivity of the economy, employment opportunities, the investment climate, and the quality of public investments;*
- ✚ *Contribute to increasing living standards of the population and human development within a sustainable environment;*
- ✚ *Promote a dynamic, efficient and stable financial market accessible to all segments of the population;*
- ✚ *Contribute to promoting a fair and flexible labor market that rewards entrepreneurship and risk-taking behaviors for economic development;*
- ✚ *Ensure an efficient and equitable tax and benefit system with incentives to work, save and invest in the development of the country;*
- ✚ *Contribute to fostering deep regional integration through openness to change as well as mobility of goods.*³⁹

The above responsibilities are critical in the transformative process of Rwanda’s economy. During the ministerial re-structuring of February 1999, MINECOFIN took over the function of development cooperation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The merging of these two ministries came into existence to improve service delivery but most importantly to coordinate the functions of finance and planning that go hand in hand.⁴⁰

³⁸ <http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/index.php?id=37> – accessed on August 17, 2017.

³⁹ Ibid. accessed on August 17, 2017.

⁴⁰ Ibid. accessed on August 17, 2017.

4.1.3. Former Ministries Managerial Structure

This sub-section shows the structure of the two former ministries and their affiliated agencies, respectively.

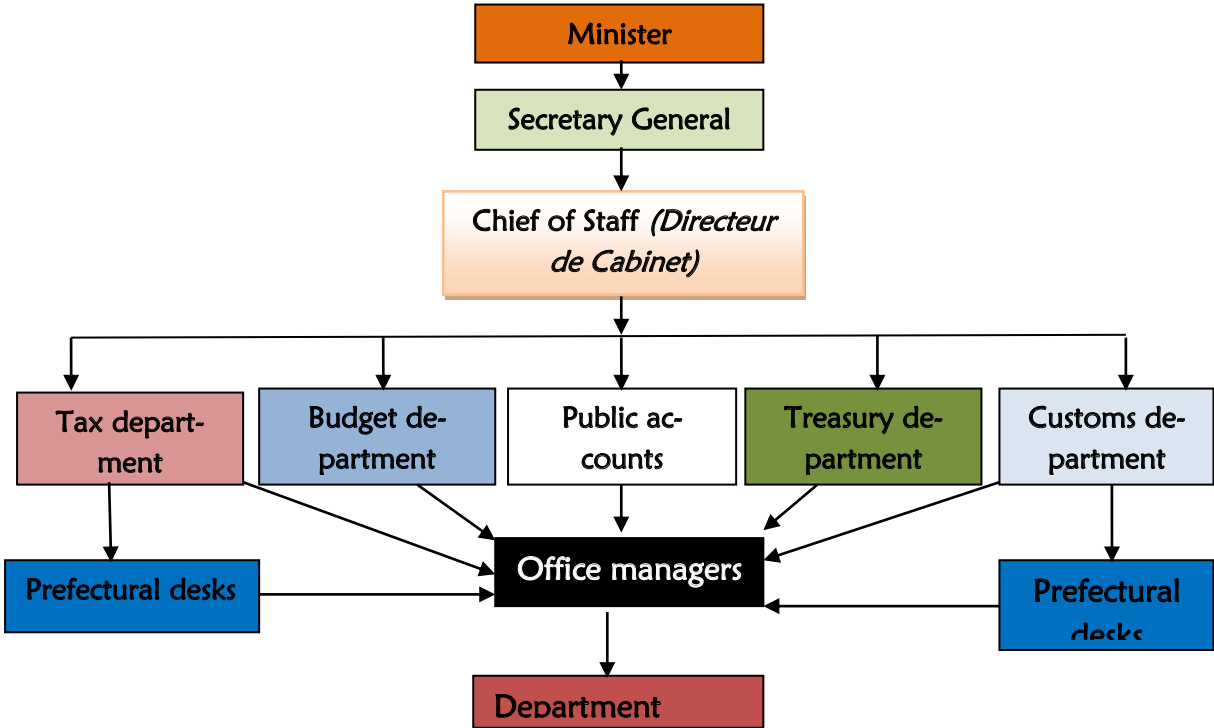
4.1.3.1. Ministry of Finance (MINIFIN)

The Ministry was headed by the Minister, below him/her was the Secretary General and under him/her there was the Chief of Staff (*Directeur de Cabinet*) who was in charge of day-to-day activities of the different departments. The general management was composed of different departments, namely: tax, customs, general finance inspection, general inspection of the budget and treasury. Under general management, there were different departments headed by department managers and below there were different divisions headed by division managers, alongside different office managers.

The tax and customs departments operated in different locations in Kigali but not at the Ministry headquarters. The tax department operated at Muhima near the former “*Imprimerie Nationale*” whereas the customs department was headquartered at Gikondo. As well, the ministry was composed of directorates and departments that operated across the country at prefectural level. Such directorates and departments were: the Directorate of Taxes, the Directorate of Customs, the Directorate of Public Accounts and the Directorate of General Inspection of Finance.

The ministry was headed by a Minister who oversaw all operations, under the support of Secretary General and implemented by various head of divisions. In 1992, what used to be the general management directorates became fully-fledged directorates to improve efficiency of the former ministry. The following was the ministry’s structure from 1992 until the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi:

Figure 1: Structure of the former Ministry of Finance



Source: Primary data, 2017

With reference to the above figure, the Ministry was headed by the Minister and supported by a technician who was referred to as the Secretary General. This employee was charged with overseeing the implementation of all activities at national level. Importantly, the Minister, Secretary General and heads of divisions were aligned to MRND political party. The same applied to the former Ministry of Planning.

By the time the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi broke out, the leadership team was as follows: the tax department was headed by Hagumagutuma Anastase from the former Gisenyi Prefecture, the customs department was headed by Basomingera Alberto who originated from Gitarama Prefecture, the treasury department was headed by Uwibanze Syvestre, the budget department headed by Nkiriyehe Meranne while the finance inspection was headed by Mukabideri Thèresse who originated from Kibuye Prefecture.

MINIFIN had two projects: the Tax and Customs Reform Project and the Public and Private Enterprises Restructuring Project.

4.1.3.1.1. Tax and customs Reform Project

The project started its business in late 1990 without any formal structure. It was just composed of eight Rwandan nationals and three experts. The three experts included two French nationals and one Senegalese who were appointed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to assist the former government with economic structural adjustments of the country. No Tutsi staff was included in the entire project team. It operated at the ministry headquarters. In the initial project establishment, it was headed by Ndahimana Théoneste who was the chairperson of CDR within the ministry. He was replaced by Hagumagutuma Anastase in 1992.

The project aimed at the restructuring, reforming and building capacity of the tax and customs departments in order to increase State revenue that was on the decline. The fiscal imbalances were a result of decreasing coffee prices and high loans that the State had acquired from IMF and World Bank. These loans were not demand-driven for, even the private sector was too weak to perform well on its own.

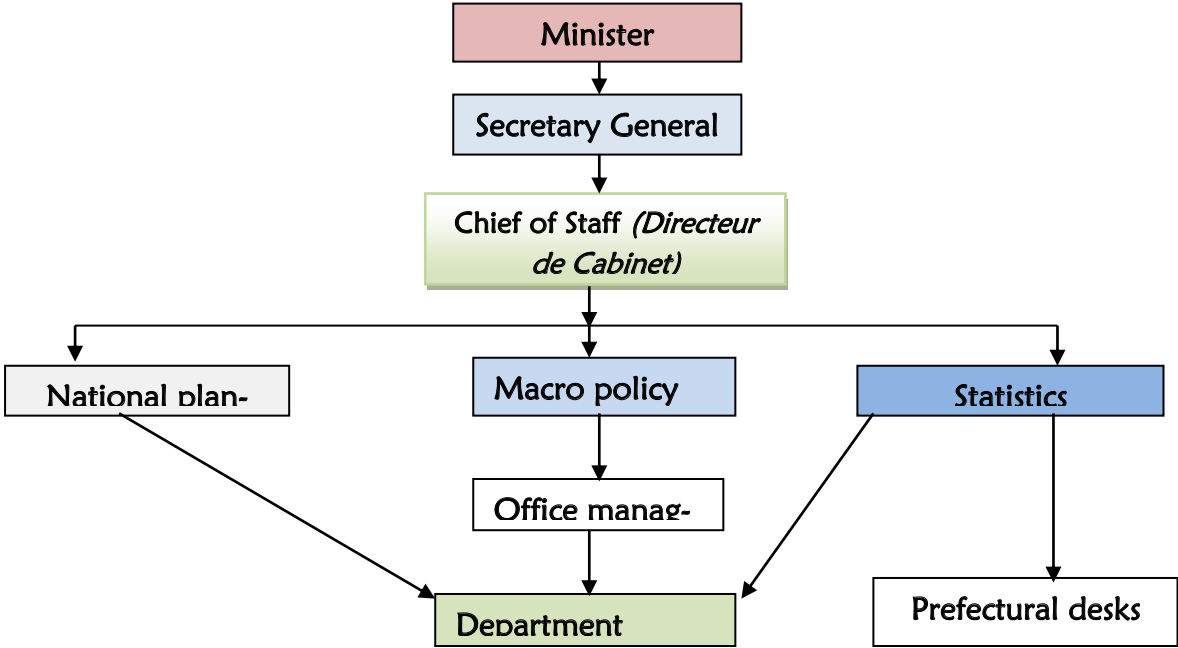
4.1.3.1.2. Public and Private Enterprises Restructuring Project

The project was launched in 1991 with the aim of restructuring public enterprises that operated across the entire country. It also had no formal structure in which it operated and was composed of six Rwandan nationals and one French national who was an expert. No Tutsi staff was employed in this project. It was responsible for structuring public and private enterprises so as to increase State revenues.

4.1.3.2. Ministry of Planning (MINIPLAN)

This ministry had different departments; it handled statistical services which were provided across the country, notably at Prefecture level. It was made up of three major divisions, namely: national planning, macro policy unit and statistics. The department of statistics operated at national and prefectural levels. The ministry operated in the current building that hosts NISR. The following was its structure:

Figure 2: Structure of former Ministry of Planning



Source: Primary data, 2017

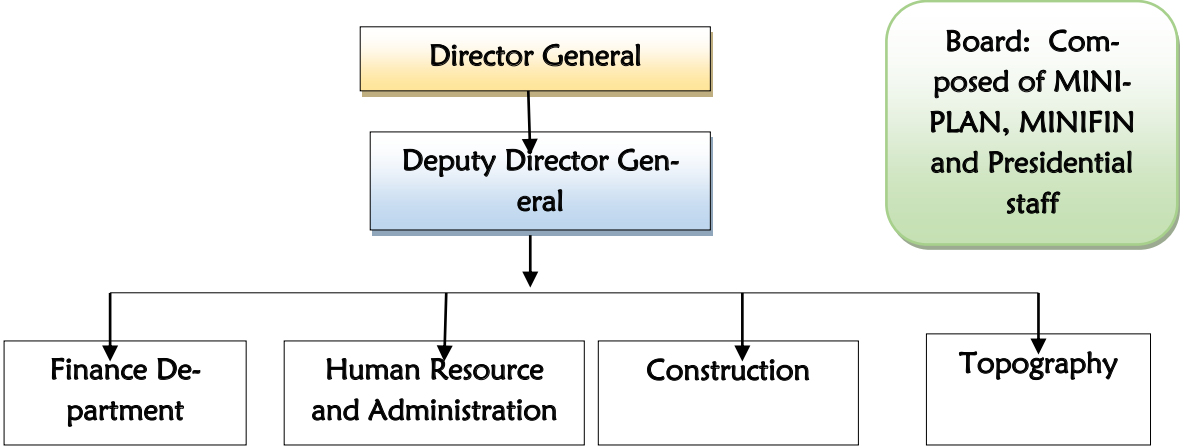
According to the above figure, the Ministry was headed by a minister who was supported by a Secretary General who oversaw the implementation of the institution’s activities. Under the Secretary General, there existed a post called *Directeur de Cabinet* which was largely a political post and the occupant was responsible for all activities and staff in general.

MINIPLAN had two affiliated agencies, namely: BUNEP and PINAS.

4.1.3.2.1. Bureau National d’Etudes des Projets (BUNEP)

The project was established on 5 September 1978 and had its headquarters in Kiyovu. Its role was to study all national projects that were beneficial to the nation’s development. It directly reported to the Minister of Planning on a monthly basis and was headed by the Director General and their deputies. It had four departments, namely: Finance, Human resource and Administration, Construction, and Topography, as shown in the following figure:

Figure 3: BUNEP Structure



Source: **Primary data, 2017**

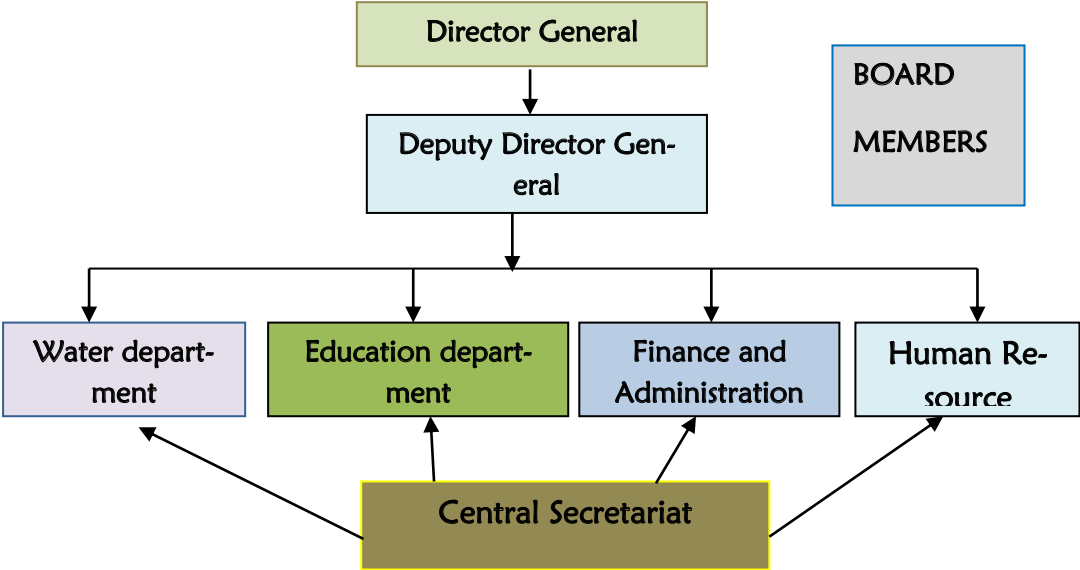
The project’s Director General and his Deputy were directly appointed by the Minister of Planning and approved by the board which was composed of MINIPLAN, MINIFIN and the Presidential staff. Upon appointment, they could serve for five years, with the possibility of renewing their contracts once they could be dismissed in case they acted contrary to the expectations, rules and regulations that governed the project.

The project was also managed on the basis of ethnicity and regional inclinations, where the former outweighed the later. For example, by 1 October 1990, out of sixty employees of the project, only five were Tutsi. In terms of regional considerations, people from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri region were favoured in terms of employment and promotions.

4.1.3.2.2. Programme National d’Action Sociale (PINAS)

The program was launched in the 1980s by the former Ministry of Planning. It was responsible for promoting the welfare of the citizens through socio-economic welfare programs. The citizens participated in implementing different projects, earning revenue from PINAS by providing manpower. Its structure was as follows:

Figure 4: PINAS Structure



Source: Primary data, 2017

The project was managed by the Director General as the overall supervisor and he/she had a deputy. It had four departments, namely: water, education, finance and administration and the human resource department. These departments were headed by different people who reported directly to the Director General, who in turn reported to the Minister of Planning.

4.1.4. MINIFIN and MINIPLAN staff before October 1, 1990

It was difficult to know the exact number of employees that the former ministries and their affiliated agencies had by October 1, 1990. This was due to two major challenges encountered during the study: firstly, the MINECOFIN human resources department does not have files of former employees in the Ministry archives, and secondly the classification system of these files in MIFOTRA is such that no file can be traced without knowing the staff’s employment number. This is because the files of former employees are classified according to how the latter were employed and not according to the criterion of their former institution.

Nonetheless, the researchers managed to trace at least two former employees in each former department who exactly knew the number of former employees in their respective departments/projects. Those who could not remember the exact number of the former staff made some estimates that were fruitful. In this regard, the researcher took the figure that most interviewees seemed to agree upon, as per the following table:

Table 4: Institutional staff before 1st October 1990

Former Institution /Agency	Number of Hutu employees	Number of Tutsi employees	Foreigners	Total
MINIFIN				
Ministry	350	90	0	440
Affiliated projects	-	-	-	-
Total	350	90	-	440
MINIPLAN				
Ministry	152	35	0	187
BUNEP	55	5	0	60
Total	207	40	0	247

Source: Primary data, 2017

The table highlights an estimated number of employees in the former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and their affiliated agencies. It is important to stress that the number of employees in the former BUNEP is real because all interviewees shared the same number while in the case of ministries they had differing ranges of employee numbers. There were more Hutu employees compared to Tutsi employees in the two former ministries with their affiliated agencies. Again here, the majority of employees in MINIFIN originated from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures.

The findings also indicated that, by 1994, MINIPLAN had one affiliated project (BUNEP) which was headed by a Tutsi (Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney) who was killed during the Genocide against the Tutsi. The project had sixty employees in total: 55 of whom were Hutu while 5 were Tutsi. In both MINIPLAN and BUNEP, the majority of the staff employed were from former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures.

4.1.5. MINIFIN and MINIPLAN staff between 1st October 1990 and 7th April 1994

As argued in the above section, the two ministries with their affiliated agencies found it difficult to trace their employees between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994 due to the aforementioned reasons. Comparing the institutional employees before October 1, 1990 and between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994, the number of employees reduced in the latter period.

There are two major explanations for this development. First, this was because some Tutsi employees who were suspected to be having links or financing RPF/A were expelled while

others were imprisoned and died of torture. In effect, some moderate Hutu employees were also suspended so that their salaries could finance the training of Interahamwe militias and buying of arms and ammunitions. The following table shows the figures of former institutional employees between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994:

Table 5: Institutional staff between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994

Former Institution/Agency	Number of Hutu employees	Number of Tutsi employees	Foreigners	Total
MINIFIN				
Ministry	300	87	0	387
Tax and customs Reform Project	8	0	3	11
Public and Private Enterprises Restructuring Project	6	0	1	7
Total	314	87	4	405
MINIPLAN				
Ministry	152	27	0	179
BUNEP	55	0	0	55
PINAS	35	0	3	38
Total	242	27	3	272

Source: Primary data, 2017

The above table shows ministerial employees as well as those in affiliated agencies between October 1, 1990 and April 7, 1994. In the same regard prior to October 1, 1990, the number of Hutu employees outweighed that of the Tutsi who were employed in the two former ministries with their affiliated agencies. The majority of the Hutu employees were from the former ministries and their affiliated agencies and the majority were Hutus who hailed from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures. In BUNEP, when the October 1, 1990 RPF attack was launched, all the five Tutsi employees stopped working in BUNEP and were transferred to the affiliated Ministry of Planning. Whereas, two of these agreed to the transfer, the other three refused and sought employment elsewhere. Those who agreed were Muteteri Denise and Nyagatare Antoine.

4.2. Socio-ethnic relationships between employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies before October 1, 1990

This section examines the employees' social relationships before October 1, 1990 and during the Liberation struggle. It explains how the Tutsi employees faced hatred, discrimination and segregation and dehumanization acts within the two former ministries with their affiliated agencies.

4.2.1. Working environment from October 26, 1961 to July 4, 1973 – A typical genesis of hatred and segregation experienced by Tutsi employees

The former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning were basically established on 26 October 1960, had undergone different nomenclature, roles and attributions. The relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi employees were characterized by ethnic division and exclusion, eventually leading to violence directed to Tutsi employees in. The genesis of the racial divide emanated from the 'Hutu Revolution' of 1959 whose root causes can be traced from the Belgian colonial rule. The ethnic divide was institutionalized in all State and private institutions up to the 1962 independence.

Consequently, the establishment of the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning in 1961 institutionalized ethnicity and hatred against Tutsi as well as nepotism based on regions; this was not only restricted to the above institutions but was extended to all the former State and private institutions. The institutionalization of ethnic differences was a national agenda to suppress the Tutsi, which is why the two former ministries and agencies were no exception.

In this regard, this political state of affairs characterized the working environment in the above institutions. The socio-ethnic relations between the Hutu and Tutsi employees were polarized on ethnic and regional grounds, promoted by the ministers in the former governments' hate ideology. Indeed, employment and appointment of institutional officials and employees was strategically based on an ethnic and regional divide. The discrimination of Tutsi employees was legitimized in no uncertain terms across the former ministries and their affiliated agencies.

Historically, especially, the work ethics in the above named institutions during the First Republic were based on the racist ideology of MDR- PARMEHUTU, the ruling party at that time. The then political structure and environment hand-twisted the Tutsi in all spheres of life,

including those who were employed in the Ministries under study. IGFIN who worked within the customs department of the former MINIFIN asserted that “*discrimination against the Tutsi employees was not an act of its own; it was policy that was practiced in all state and private institutions*”.⁴¹ JN who worked in the Statistics department added that:

“There was segregation and discrimination of employees based on ethnicity as well as regional based nepotism [...] people from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri were basically favored [...] but when it came to the Tutsi employees, the ethnic consideration was strong”.⁴²

It was not by accident that the Tutsi employees discriminated against. On the contrary, the discrimination was systematically designed by the State through a political agenda that was nurtured in various spheres. Meanwhile, the relatives of Tutsi employees and some other employees were subjected to killings, particularly in 1961, 1963, 1965 and 1973 due to the hatred against them. The discrimination and hatred acts against the Tutsi employees were not only practiced at the workplace; they were extended to their respective areas of residence and homes. This is because the hate ideology and discrimination against the Tutsi fell within a broader national political agenda aimed at eliminating all the Tutsi from Rwandan soil. A former BUNEP employee stated that:

“Tutsis were targeted everywhere; we were discriminated against either at the workplace or in our different places of residence [...] in fact, there was no safe zone for the Tutsi whether educated or not, employed or not [...] this is how it was across the country”.⁴³

Hatred against the Tutsi was promoted by the educated and elite as a component of MDR-Parmehutu’s political ideology. Thus, radicalization of Hutu employees in the former ministries was basically used as a channel through which the State planned to target the Tutsi employees. It became part of the working culture. XMCM recalled that “*every Friday in the afternoon, they had to be reminded of the MRND ideology which was ethnically charged with the intention of promoting ‘hutuism’*”.⁴⁴ A former employee in the Statistics department summarized the radicalization of the masses against the Tutsi in this way: “*If radicalizing the il-*

⁴¹ Interview with IGFIN in MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁴² Interview with JN at NISR headquarters, October 5, 2017.

⁴³ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁴⁴ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017.

*literate was done through convening meetings in their respective areas, then radicalizing the educated was automatically done at their respective work premises [...]*⁴⁵

This institutionalized radicalization was meant to legitimize systematic oppression of Tutsi employees by their fellow Hutu employees. Another victim argued that:

*“Meetings were held at work premises and sometimes the Tutsi were deliberately not informed [...] because in such circumstances those meetings aimed at harming them [...] right after [the] end of [such] meetings, we could be abused and sometimes our chairs forcefully taken from us”.*⁴⁶

This was masterminded by the ministers and other Hutu political intelligentsia that governed the State. Anti-Tutsi sentiments were rampant in the two ministries under study and were driven by the Hutu hatred that had its roots in the 1959 crisis and was carried on across the Second Republic.

4.2.2. Working environment from July 5, 1973 to October 1, 1990

This following section provides details of the socio-ethnic relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi employees in the institutions under study from July 5, 1974 to October 1, 1990. Similarly, during the Second Republic, the hatred, discrimination and dehumanization directed towards the Tutsi within the former two ministries and their affiliated agencies were noticeable. Unemployment of the Tutsi was also noticeable in many institutions. DMBU asserted that *“segregation and discrimination against the Tutsi employees was high and it was reflected in terms of their underemployment, abuse and the used of dehumanizing language against the Tutsi, physical assaults, etc.”*⁴⁷ This practice polarized the employees in these ministries along ethnic lines.

The working environment and experience described above persisted until the RPF-Inkotanyi attacked on October 1, 1990. The Tutsi employees had no option but to agree to cope with the above historical reality. XMCM argued that *“It was common practice for Tutsi employees to live under suspicion and persecution by the majority or some Hutu employees who perceived their Tutsi colleagues as ‘second class citizens’”*.⁴⁸ A victim who was subjected to the above

⁴⁵ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁴⁶ Interview with GMCH at downtown, November 6, 2017.

⁴⁷ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, Ibid.

⁴⁸ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, Ibid.

practice revealed that “*there was no way we could trust one another because we were perceived as enemies of the State*”.⁴⁹ On many occasions, all Tutsi employees were referred to as “cockroaches” or “snakes” by their Hutu colleagues. They were regarded as ‘second-class citizens’ or ‘non-indigenous’ to say the least.

Given the high levels of suspicion in which the aforementioned Ministries worked in, social relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi employees was at stake. The ministry leadership overtly condoned social exclusion of the Tutsi because the State lacked a ‘social contract’ that could bind all the Rwandans together.

The interviewees argued that during Habyarimana’s regime, the Tutsi employees in the two ministries increased compared to Kayibanda’s regime although this increase was strictly controlled by the institutionalized ‘quota system’. The Hutu employees resented Tutsis on daily basis yet no Minister or Ministry official was concerned with addressing this resentment. One respondent who used to work in the former Ministry of Finance affirmed that “*the hatred against the Tutsi was a systematic State agenda; therefore, no ministry official could reverse with it*”.⁵⁰ A former director of Macro policy unit in the former Ministry of Planning explained the relationship between the resentment and the hate ideology:

*“Resentment against Tutsi employees was a State-inspired policy that had to be implemented either directly or indirectly by the Hutu employees who were characterized by extreme hate ideology”.*⁵¹

Accordingly, the “*Tutsi employees were depicted as racial arch-enemies of the Hutu*”.⁵² The working and political environment created despair and fear amongst the Tutsi employees and their families. Without doubt, therefore, this constituted a dangerous prelude to the Genocide against the Tutsi because it was experienced by every Tutsi across the entire country.

4.2.3. Inhuman treatment against Tutsi employees before 1st October 1990

Before October 1, 1990, there were no physical inhumane acts against Tutsi employees at institutional level. On the contrary, psychological acts of inhumanity were prevalent. This was witnessed in the form of dehumanization across the country. The Tutsi were labeled as ‘cock-

⁴⁹ Interview with RU at RRA, September 18, 2017.

⁵⁰ Interview with ANINTERN at MINECOFIN, November 11, 2017.

⁵¹ Interview with GDA17 at Nyarugenge district, September 17, 2017.

⁵² Interview with VNH at NISR, September 17, 2017.

roaches’, ‘snakes’ or ‘enemies’ or ‘traitors’ of the country.⁵³ This was done during the MDR-PARMEHUTU regime and during Habyarimana’s government which were driven by ethnic and regional considerations.

It is important to note that before the Liberation struggle, regionalism and ethnicity were the two major issues practiced not only in the two former ministries but across the country. Whereas regionalism mostly favored the Hutu from Northern Rwanda, the Hutu employees from other regions resented this type of discrimination. As for the ethnic divide, it was exclusively directed against the Tutsi. Nonetheless, Tutsi segregation and discrimination based on ethnic identity outweighed any other institutional activities in the ministries under study.

In addition, some Tutsi employees were severely underemployed. In addition, those with the same level of education as Hutu employees were denied promotion. This kind of discrimination was inhumane because, according to existing racist theories, it is linked to ethnic identity.

4.3. Tutsi employees’ welfare during the Liberation War (1990 – 1994)

The situation of socio-ethnic relations between the Hutu and Tutsi employees deteriorated during the Liberation War, i.e. from October 1, 1990 to July 15, 1994. It encompasses different types of suffering endured by the Tutsi employees, it is important to note that during the Liberation struggle, violence intensified in the ministries.

4.3.1. Social relationships among Ministries’ employees between October 1, 1990 and April 6, 1994

Due to the institutionalization of ethnicity in the two ministries, socio-ethnic tension became apparent, severe and unbearable to the Tutsi employees, especially during the Liberation struggle. At the outset of the war, all Tutsi employees were immediately targeted as they were accused of being accomplices of RPF or enemies of the State. Violence against the Tutsi employees became increasingly unbearable and disgusting. Hatred and discord exacerbated and was also extended to some Hutu employees who never supported ethnic divisions.

As a result, the Hutu employees started forming small groups based on the political differences and ideologies. This became manifest during the restoration of multipartism in 1992.⁵⁴ Political party membership within the two ministries was either aligned to extremism or mod-

⁵³ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁵⁴ Interview with MRCHIC, downtown, December 29, 2019.

erate political thoughts. Those who were characterized by extremism subscribed to hatred and violence against the Tutsi employees.⁵⁵

The extremists employed political strategies of violence and insecurity against the Tutsi employees. One of the strategies used was carrying out arbitrary arrests of the Tutsi employees. One of the respondents, MRCHIC, asserted that *“some Tutsi employees were imprisoned and severely tortured to the extent that two of them died of torture instantly”*.⁵⁶ The wave of repressions against Tutsi employees was organized and overseen by the leadership in the ministries. Hutu extremists in the ministry recruited non-ministry staff to fan violence on a collective basis.⁵⁷

Another strategy used was to deny Tutsi employees access to their offices. One of the victims recalled that *“sometimes they could be denied entry to their offices”*.⁵⁸ This was accompanied by hostile verbal insults in which they were reminded that their Tutsi brothers (RPF-Inkotanyi) wanted to take over the country. The dynamics that led to massive violence against Tutsi employees were intrinsically aligned to the Genocide preparation that was being planned by the State. This is what the above same victim said:

“Some Hutu who listened to RTLM Radio were the most dangerous because after listening to it, they could sometimes unleash verbal attacks to Tutsi employees and this was later accompanied by physical violence”.⁵⁹

Generally, the conflict between RPF and the then government intensified from 1991 to 1994. This prompted the government to massacre some Tutsi in some parts of the country in Kibilira and Bugesera. The hate discourse witnessed was witnessed in all state institutions, including the two former ministries as well as in civil societies and the private sector. Thus, oppression, discrimination, hatred and dehumanization against Tutsi employees became the order of the day.

The hate ideology stated taking a new overt institutional turn alongside the Genocide ideology both of which legitimized violence against the Tutsi in both ministries. One former employee in the Customs department had this to say:

⁵⁵ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, Ibid.

⁵⁶ Interview with MRCHIC, Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁵⁹ Ibid

*“When we witnessed how some Tutsi employees were unlawfully imprisoned, we suspected that something bad was cooking [...] in most cases, one could find Hutu employees in group media reviews, especially in Kangura and RTLM radio and this also increased hatred against Tutsi employees”.*⁶⁰

During the 23rd annual commemoration event, one of the victims narrated her ordeal: *“It was a traumatic experience. We had no right to education, health or other rights simply because of our ethnic background,”*⁶¹ The state of unrest experienced by Tutsi employees created a permanent state of fear among Tutsi employees. This persecution was described by a former ministerial employee: *“Abusive verbal attacks based on ethnicity were truly scaring to every Tutsi employee [...] imagine experiencing such attacks both at work and home premises”.*⁶²

Throughout the two former ministries, Tutsi employees were targeted both at work and in their residences. From 1992 to April 6, 1994, some cliques of Hutu extremists aligned to CDR and MRND were formed to enhance radicalization of fellow Hutu employees. This took place after political parties were allowed to operate in 1992.

The Tutsi employees were also referred to as ‘the enemy within’ which term was used to justify hatred, discrimination and the justification to exterminate the Tutsi in general. Consequently, Hutu formed gangs within these ministries which unleashed violence and terrorized the Tutsi with radical rhetoric that assimilated ‘all Tutsi to be enemies of the country’ either within or outside the two ministries. This was translated into an act of treason, thus justifying “some Tutsi employees to be imprisoned and tortured”.⁶³

4.3.2. Acts of torture against the Tutsi in the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning during the Liberation War

From October 2, 1990 to April 6, 1994, the findings indicate that Tutsi employees faced a human-rights crisis through acts of torture. This resulted into psychological and physical trauma. The hate propaganda dehumanized Tutsi employees by assimilating them to 'snakes', 'cockroaches' and 'animals'.⁶⁴ On the other hand, physical torture in the prisons was done on daily basis. Some people were imprisoned unjustly in gazetted and non-gazetted areas; they

⁶⁰ Interview with PMSEN at Parliament building, September 15, 2017.

⁶¹ Statement by a Genocide survivor during the 23rd Annual Commemoration at MINECOFIN, June 2, 2017.

⁶² Interview with OMRA at RRA, September 20, 2017.

⁶³ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017.

⁶⁴ Interview with IBBU at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017.

were tortured and beaten with sticks or electrocuted and forced to drink or eat unhealthy materials.

Some Tutsi employees suffered continuous arbitrary arrests, abductions at work and some died due to poor conditions in detention centers. A former employee argued that *“in 1992, Karera Valere and Kagorora Thomas were abducted at work, imprisoned at Gikondo and later died of torture”*.⁶⁵ The two victims were employed in the former Ministry of Finance in the Customs department which was headquartered in Gikondo. The Hutu employees carried out serious abuses including deliberate and indiscriminate attacks on Tutsi employees either at work premises or outside of it. This was committed by Hutu extremist employees who believed that the Tutsi in general were justified to be killed because they had committed acts of treason against their country.

A respondent known as DMBU revealed that *“Tutsi employees had no security whatsoever, not only at working premises but even in their areas of residence”*.⁶⁶ As the fighting between RPF-Inkotanyi and the genocidal regime intensified, another respondent, OMRA, testified that *“Tutsi employees suffered arbitrary arrests and torture not only committed by their fellow Hutu employees but also by the local authorities or security organs where they resided”*.⁶⁷

In the two former ministries and indeed in the entire country, all Tutsi employees were under surveillance as a measure to deter them from financing or joining RPF. They were also subjected to ill-treatment and torture for all intents and purposes. It is important to note that even their relatives, especially the children and babies were also victims of this torture, hatred and disappearances. One intern in the ministry ascertained that *“even our children or relatives were subjected to torture and discrimination because they were simply Tutsi”*.⁶⁸ The Hate discourse on the media by RTLM and Kangura newspapers played a major role in inciting Hutu employees to hate their Tutsi colleagues. This is what DMBU revealed: *“Every morning in each department we made media reviews on RTLM radio and Kangura newspaper so as to know what action to take”*.⁶⁹ Consequently, Tutsi employees could be attacked with dehumanizing language and accusations that they had secret links RPF-Inkotanyi.

⁶⁵ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017.

⁶⁶ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁶⁷ Interview with OMRA at RRA, September 20, 2017.

⁶⁸ Interview with ANINTERN at MINECOFIN, November 11, 2017

⁶⁹ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017

Furthermore, the period of multiparty politics (1992 to 1994) escalated hatred against Tutsi employees since the majority of their ideology was based on ethnic divide. A former employee in the Ministry of Finance associated the violence against the Tutsi employees with political parties. He narrated that: “*the internal fighting between political parties’ supporters within the ministry was witnessed amongst the ministry staff*”.⁷⁰ As for IBBU, he added: “*Many people could fight during the demonstrations of political parties; even within our ministry this violence was noticed.*”⁷¹ Yet XMCM recalled that even before the birth of political parties, there used to be ethnic radicalization by the ruling party (MRND) at all institutional levels.

He argued that “every afternoon on Wednesday we had what was called ‘*Groupe Choc*’ not only in the former Ministry of Finance but in all public institutions.”⁷² The purpose of such meetings was to promote Hutu conscience and enhance the single-party-rule which was built on ethnic and regional foundations. Indeed, this was done across the whole country through what was termed as “*Cellule Spécialisée*”. This was ostensibly used as a way of promoting national consciousness and patriotism.

Furthermore, the relatives of Tutsi employees were also targeted for imprisonment and this happened on several occasions. While in detention, they also suffered systematic human rights abuses as they were denied their rights to food and/or medical assistance. These inhumane practices escalated to the extent that some former Tutsi employees were beaten either in detention or outside their workplaces and were left to die mercilessly. Those with wounds who happened to be taken to hospital were left untended to by medical staff. Others could be kidnapped and beaten to death or inflicted with injuries and wounds. In the section that follows, the names of the victims alluded to are highlighted.

4.3.3. Crime period: names of victims and perpetrators and reasons of violence

Ethnic discrimination and torture against Tutsi employees in the two former ministries was not different from what was taking place elsewhere nation-wide. The above acts took place within a national system that was responsible for planning the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The national system was bent on promoting “hutuism” an ideology that aimed at creating a “hutuland” country without the Tutsi. A part from the systematic dehumanization which characterized the modus operandi of the former ministries, there was also unjustifiable imprison-

⁷⁰ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017

⁷¹ Interview with IBBU at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017

⁷² Interview with the XMCM, September 20, 2017

ment of the Tutsi employees.⁷³ This happened during the civil war from October 1, 1990 and in 1994.

Those who were imprisoned from 1990 to 1992 in the former Ministry of Finance included: Ayabagabo Jean de Dieu, Karera Valere, Kagiraneza Deus, Bimenyimana Théoneste, Gasana François-Xavier, Ntamabyariro Faustin, and Kagorora Thomas while in the former Ministry of Planning were Gasana Hyacinthe, Rutazigwa Ignace, Mugabo Mwunvaneza Jean Claude, Ndarasi André, and Litararenga Godfroid.⁷⁴ After Karera Valère and Kagorora Thomas had been severely tortured during imprisonment, they lost their lives. Kagorora was imprisoned at Gikondo police station for six months in 1993 and he was killed there. Karera was imprisoned in 1991 for five months. He was severely tortured and later released. After one month out of prison he unfortunately died due to the wounds he sustained during the torture.

The perpetrators of these acts of violence were either their colleagues or other parties, notably the Security agencies and local leaders who were monitoring them in their areas of residence. In the former Ministry of Planning, the ring leader was the former Minister Augustin Ngirabatware. Incidentally, there were some two Burundians who worked in this ministry who were Genocide ideologists. On many occasions they mistreated or tortured Tutsi employees. One is remembered by his first name, Cyriaque. As for the Rwandan perpetrators, they included: Nshimiyumuremyi Adalbert and Uwimana Antoine, who are currently living in Belgium.⁷⁵ In BUNEP, Collette from the former Gisenyi Prefecture was the most notorious ringleader was identified by this study for torturing the Tutsi.⁷⁶

In the former Ministry of Finance, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi who was the former Minister was the ringleader who spearheaded the dehumanizing process and abuse of the Tutsi. Others were Rutarindwa Honoré who was the Head of the Tax department in 1994, Niyonteze who was the Head of the Customs department, Nderere Alphonse who was a driver in the Tax department, among others.

⁷³ Interview with CNH, August 18, 2017; Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, 27th September 2017; Interview with IBBU at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017 & Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017

⁷⁶ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017

4.4. Use of state treasure in buying arms to kill citizens

The former Ministry of Finance during the regime of President Habyarimana, in collaboration with the Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense planned and implemented the buying of weapons and arms that were used in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Surprisingly, part of the money used in buying these weapons was diverted from the development assistance that was given to Rwanda from 1991 to 1994.

On many occasions, the Minister of Finance diverted funds in favor of financing the military and civilian militia training. Public accounts were manipulated to satisfy the demands of the IMF and the World Bank, without the latter's knowledge. This was seen in a letter referenced 0122/01.1.5 of 25th January 1991, written by Minister of Finance to President Habyarimana, which, among other things, stressed that:

“Your Excellency will recall that the foreseen budget of the National Defense Ministry, settled by both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank during the month of February 1991 amounts to 9,385 million FRW, 2,887 million FRW for salaries and 6,498 million FRW for goods and services (both imports and local merchandise)”.

This shows how the donor community worked hand in hand with the Rwandan government in financing the Genocide through misappropriation of funds.⁷⁷ During the donor conference that was held in March 1991 in Paris, the World Bank was committed to disburse 120,3M USD out of 139,2M USD which was supposed to be disbursed in the same year. Surprisingly, the bank (WB) and other donors expressed their willingness that the money be spent as soon as possible. During the conference, the WB and UNDP representative expressed support of Rwanda and their willingness to financing Rwanda's balance of payments and of the State budget.

Bizimana Jean-Damascène said that the “former leaders of both ministries - as key institutions in the country's economic development - planned to exterminate the Tutsi ethnic race; even some money reserved for the country's development was used to buy weapons to be used for perpetrating Genocide”.⁷⁸ He added:

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Statement by Bizimana J. D., Executive Secretary of the National Commission for fight against Genocide (CNLG) during the 23rd Genocide commemoration at MINECOFIN, 2nd June 2017. Available at http://cnlg.gov.rw/newsdetails/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1782&cHash=2bc0fd4572ad19905e8c99e50399aafc

*“Commemorating Genocide requires thinking about the role of the national budget, used to buy weaponry to kill the Rwandan Tutsi instead of investing it in Rwanda’s development activities”.*⁷⁹

The former Minister of Finance, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, and the former Minister of Planning, Dr. Augustin Ndirabatware, both convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), were the big brains that facilitated the buying of weapons that killed the Tutsi, using government funds. Nonetheless, based on the UN resolution, the government of Rwanda was prohibited from procuring and buying any weapon as a solution to end the civil war and the UN was supposed to monitor its implementation.⁸⁰

With the State commitment to execute the Genocide against the Tutsi, the then government secretly violated the above aforementioned arms embargo. It wired the money to Rwandan embassies in Paris in France, Cairo in Egypt, Kinshasa in former Zaire and Nairobi in Kenya. This was ostensibly done to camouflage embassy activities. But in reality the money was instead used to buy weapons that were used to kill the Tutsi.

4.4.1. The Former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and *Banque Nationale du Rwanda* in funds misappropriation saga

Michel Chossydovsky and Pierre Galand argue that the files in Rwanda’s central bank (BNR) indicate that some of the imports between 1991 and 1994 were financed in violation of agreements signed with the donors. The BNR data shows that the genocidal regime imported goods amounting to 83,056,115USD and such imports were weapons, ammunition, military equipment, pyrotechnic supplies, explosives, etc.

It should be noted that many of these imports and deliveries were carried out by military planes without adhering to the required importation procedures or to government verification standards. This explains why equipment like vehicles and some materials that were given to civilian militias are not part of the 83 million USD. As well, some of the arms purchases were negotiated *“outside of the military aid protocol through go-betweens and arms traders”*.⁸¹

Meanwhile, in 1992, public servants were reduced but their salaries continued to appear on national budgets. This was done by the Minister of Finance under the guidelines of the Presi-

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Chossydovsky, M & Galand, P., *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide. The Use of Rwanda’s External Debt (1990-1994). The Responsibility of Donors and Creditors.* Global Research, April 09, 2014, p. 4.

dent of the Republic in order to save at least 14.5 billion which was used to finance militias in Kigali, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Byumba.⁸²

4.4.2. Balance of payments and imports of military equipment

In 1991, 51% of the State earnings went to military expenditures and operations which was 71% of the total expenditure of goods and services. Military expenditures amounted to 25.1 million USD in 1990 and 37.6 million USD in 1991. From 1992 to 1994, the importation of military material was increasingly becoming higher than any other services. Even some of the imported merchandise and fuel was used to generate counter-part funds to finance military and civilian militias.⁸³

With full knowledge of the donors, the latter sometimes covered the financial gap that inflated the military expenditure. Indeed, “96% of the Rwandan budget deficit was covered by foreign aid”. Due to fiscal imbalances, there is a time when “*Egypt supplied arms and in return Rwanda would export tea in exchange*”.⁸⁴ This culture by foreign donors alleviated the increase in the imbalance of payments due to uneconomic expenditures on arms and maintenance of civilian militias. Such donors that knowingly financed the military and civilian militias included France, Switzerland, Canada, Austria, FAD, Belgium and the United States.⁸⁵

4.4.3. The freeze and reduction of some civil service salaries

As mentioned above, public servants were reduced in 1992 but their salaries continued to appear on national budgets. According to Chossydvovsky and Galand “the government proposed to reduce the overall public service wage”.⁸⁶ The former Minister of Planning also advised government to fire some staff, those who were of less importance in all government institutions and projects so that the government could economize billions of francs for military expenditures and training of *Interahamwe* militias.⁸⁷ A former employee in the Ministry of Labor confirmed this assertion: “[...] from 1992 to 1994, MINIFIN ordered a reduction of employees but salaries continued to appear in the national budget but the essence was to use the freed amount to train the *Interahamwe* militias”.⁸⁸

⁸² Chossydvovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, 14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 14

⁸⁴ Interview with MRFM, down town, December 28, 2017

⁸⁵ Chossydvovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 8

⁸⁷ Interview with NYAT in Nyamirambo, November 13, 2017.

⁸⁸ Interview with UWIRMIF, Remera, November 13, 2017.

In addition, he revealed that:

*“It was not only about freezing their salaries but some employees were unlawfully suspended especially the Tutsi employees and some Hutu who did not support the political environment that was obtaining in the country”.*⁸⁹

Another former employee highlighted the actors that became involved in freezing the civil service salaries: the Ministries of Finance, Defense, Planning and Labor.⁹⁰ However, this kind of corruption was orchestrated by the *Habyarimana*'s government. The above regime through MINIFIN saved at least 14.5 billion which was used to finance the militias.⁹¹ The Finance Ministry appealed for a “*special advance of 14.5 billion FRW from BNR mainly to pay off the militia in Kigali, Ruhengeri-Byumba and technical expenditures of the National Defense Ministry*”.⁹²

4.4.4. Effects of using State funds in buying arms to kill citizens

The diversion of foreign aid led to the deterioration of several sectors: education, health, infrastructure, etc. It was not only the diversion of these funds but there were also expenditure-cuts by the former Ministry of Finance to finance the military and civilian militias. This resulted into the collapse of public services, shooting up unemployment rates and increasing famine across the country. Chossydvovsky and Galand indicate that “military expenditures brought about by the war contributed largely to the budget deficit. The expenditures went up from 3.4 billion FRW in 1989 to 7.9 billion FRW in 1990 and from 12.7 billion FRW in 1991, in other words, an increase of 132% and 274% respectively.”⁹³

Indeed, “the ratio of military goods and services on the total of goods and services went from 28% in 1989 to 60% in 1990 and 71 % in 1991. At the same time, civil goods and services went from 4.013 billion RWF in 1989 to 3,900 billion FRW, or dropped by 2.8% following a devaluation of 66.7%.”⁹⁴ On the other hand, in 1989, the ratio of total actual military expenditure went from 14% to 26% in 1990 and shot to 38% in 1991. By 1989, regular military expenditures was 14% of the total income, in 1990, it went to 37% in 1990 and 51% in 1991 of the total State income.

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Interview with NGABMIF, Gikondo, November 12, 2017.

⁹¹ Chossydvovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, 8.

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

4.5. Former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense dealings in the importation of military equipment

Though the genocidal regime was under an arms embargo, it imported a variety of military equipment through foreign support. It had 83mm missile launchers that were French or Belgian made. It also had light weapons from the Belgians and Germans, and automatic weapons such as kalachnikovs made in Egypt, China and South Africa. The regime had 12 armored AML-60 vehicles, and 16 M3 French-made vehicles. Countries that mainly supplied weapons from 1990 to 1994 were France, Belgium, South Africa, Egypt, and the People's Republic of China.⁹⁵

The genocidal government held various negotiations with donors to divert foreign aid into organizing the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. There is no doubt on this because as revealed in the following source:

*“The process of debt acquisition during the 1990-1994 period was an exception compared to previous debts. The debts of the former government (1990-1994) were mainly used to finance the armed forces and civilian militias”.*⁹⁶

The financial game was orchestrated by the former Finance Minister, Mr. Benoit Ntigurirwa and all his predecessors. Michel Chossyovsky and Pierre Galand argue that:

*“External funds enabled the regime to acquire military material to organize and supply the militia with equipment. Besides the purchase of weapons, these imports included a steady flow of agro-foodstuffs, clothing, fuel, alcoholic beverages, etc. destined for members of the Armed Forces, the militia and their families”.*⁹⁷

Through an Agreement protocol, Egypt granted a sum of six million dollars while China agreed to support the *Interahamwe* militias under an interest-free loan of 1,500,000 USD. The military equipment from Egypt was negotiated from the beginning of the civil war from October 24, 1990 to April 4, 1991 at the sum of \$10,861,000. From October 29, 1990 to May 29, 1991, South Africa provided arms equivalent to 29,999,531 USD and 26,236,685 USD which was done at a later date, thus, South African transfers amounted to 56,263,217 USD. The South African supplier was Nimrod International (Pty) Ltd. Transfers were made from the

⁹⁵ <https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-1994-rwandan-Genocide-the-use-of-rwandas-external-debt-1990-1994-the-responsibility-of-donors-and-creditors/5377229> - accessed September 25, 2017

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Chossyovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, 9.

former government to the *Belgolaise* Bank (Brussels) and to the *Banque Nationale de Paris* (BNP) to the Nimrod account, also to the Volkskas Bank Ltd. Pretoria. Transfers towards Belgium and France amounted to BF 96,986,711 and FF 47,887,804 (from October 29, 1990 to August 14, 1991).

Military supplies from China to the former genocidal government included mortars type-54, machine guns, multiple missile launchers 107mm type-63, mortar shells type-53, missiles type-63, shells and grenades. These purchases supplied by China were regulated under an agreement protocol signed in December 1989.⁹⁸ Below is the table from HRW summarising the types of weapons bought by the Ministry of Finance:

Table 6: Types of weapons bought by the former Ministry of Finance

No	Weapon type	Quantity	Amount	Source/Donor	Period
1	Kalashnikov	450	U.S.\$6 million	Egypt/France ⁹⁹	Mar-94
2	R-4 rifles	20,000	U.S.\$5.9 million	South Africa	19-Oct-92
3	Rocket-propelled grenades	2000	-	South Africa	
4	Hand grenades	20,000	-	South Africa	Oct-93
5	Mortar shells	16,000	-	Egypt/France	
6	Artillery shells	3,000	-	Egypt/France	

Source: Human Rights Watch, 1994

In brief, through its former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence, the State used national treasures to purchase weapons to kill its citizens. This was done in a few months with the aim quickly initiating the Genocide against the Tutsi. Without doubt, this explains how more than a million Tutsi were massacred in less than three months, indicating that the Genocide was planned for such a long period of time. The following table indicates companies and banks involved in the arms importation deal and the related costs:

⁹⁸ Chossydovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 10.

⁹⁹ French bank authorized the money to buy the weapons

Table 7: Companies and banks involved in buying arms used in the Tutsi massacre

No	Company involved	Bank	Amount (USD)	Period
1	British company MIL-TEC (London)	Banque Belgolaise	1,621,901 USD	
2	Dyl Invest (Switzerland)	Banque Internationale de Commerce	2,097,864 USD	
3	Oriental Machinery (China)	Banque Bruxelles Lambert	34,430,000 BEF	May 16 1994
4	Oriental Machinery (China)	BNR Citibank account	1,000,000 USD	
5	Alcatel France and GME International (Paris)	Banque de France and the Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP).	FRF 2,072,532,895	May and August 1994
6	Rwandan Embassy (of the exiled regime) in Kinshasa	General de Banque	157,864 USD	August 31 1994

Source: Chossydovsky and Galand, 2014, p. 16.

The above table shows the companies and banks that were involved in facilitating the genocidal regime in buying arms and ammunitions used in massacring the Tutsi civilians in 1994. The table also shows the amount of money that was involved. On the other hand, countries like Egypt, South Africa and China supplied a substantial quantity of light arms and ammunition through Rwanda's diplomatic missions in Pretoria, Cairo and Kinshasa. Nonetheless, Chossydovsky and Galand argue that:

“Following the imposed embargo, officials of the South African government, who were formerly arms delivery coordinators to Rwanda took part in organizing and forwarding the arms to the former Rwandan Armed Forces”.

In most cases, it was done through third parties, especially through Egypt, South Africa and former Zaire officials.¹⁰⁰ In 1991, Rwanda signed an agreement with Egypt where Rwanda was to supply tea while Egypt would supply arms in return to the then murderous regime. The agreement was in force until the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Chossydovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Interview with MR1217, down town, December 28, 2017

4.5.1. Complicity of the Former Ministry of Finance and the International Financial Institutions and Western Donors in arming the genocidal regime

Various international financial institutions and Western countries financed the buying of weapons to arm Rwandan ex-army and civilian militias – the *Interahamwe*. Financial facilities were granted in June 1991 by the International Development Association (IDA), the African Development Fund (ADF), The European Development Funds and other bilateral donors including, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, the United States, Belgium and Canada. These funds were provided under the guise of supporting civil economy.¹⁰²

The donors disbursed the money knowing fully well that it was meant for military material to counter RPF attack. However, it was wired as support to support Rwanda's balance of payments problems. Some funds were co-financed by IDA in agreement with the loans from Belgium and Switzerland intended for managing structural adjustments loans. These donors carried out five supervisory missions between June 1991 and October 1993, but in their reports they did not follow World Bank guidelines for Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) supervisory and follow-up framework. If these guidelines were to be followed, more disbursements could have been suspended due to massive importation of arms, ammunitions and machetes. Michel Chossyovsky and Pierre Galand believe that such decision would have led to the freezing of the special account at the *Bank Bruxelles Lambert* (BBL) which directly disbursed funds to buy arms that were used in genocidal killings and the massacres of April 1994.¹⁰³

Surprisingly, no independent audit was done between 1993 and 1994. This is because these donors knew exactly what the funds were being used for under the guise of supporting socio-economic development of the country. It is not surprising that the “amounts deposited before December 1993 in the Special Account at the *Banque Bruxelles Lambert* were nonetheless used by the regime until May 31, 1994”.¹⁰⁴

4.5.2. Former Ministry of Finance in Illegal/Illegitimate debt dealings with the aim of arming the Genocide

The Ministry participated in dubious debt dealings with the IMF and World Bank. These international financial institutions provided illegal debts to the then government of Rwanda

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 12

¹⁰³ Chossyovsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Chossyovsky and Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 15.

through its former Ministry of Finance which were used to finance the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Lemoine clarifies that:

*“Not many people know that one of the missions of Operation Turquoise was to get hold of all the documentation of Rwanda’s central bank in Kigali and transfer it all in a container to Goma in the DRC, to prevent the new authorities from getting access to written evidence revealing how strong France’s support for the genocidal regime of Juvénal Habyarimana had been”.*¹⁰⁶

Michel Chossudovsky argues that when Laurent-Désiré Kabila launched his offensive against Mobutu in 1996 from Eastern Congo, the current government in Rwanda was able to retrieve that container which was taken by the French soldiers to Goma and it was brought back to Kigali. Indeed, the Committee for the Abolition of the Illegitimate Debt (CADTM) which was headed by Michel Chossudovsky and Pierre Galand used the archives to uncover the role of France in facilitating the former government to get illegal debts that were used in arming the Genocide against the Tutsi as well as supporting the French soldiers in executing the Genocide.¹⁰⁷

In 1995, CADTM came to Rwanda to investigate the illegal debts and how they were used in arming the Genocide and the “*Opération Turquoise*”. The CADTM met with different current government officials especially those in BNR and the Ministry of Finance but the creditors were totally against the audit. Since the Government of National Unity was especially interested in knowing the truth, in early 1996, CADTM launched an audit which was headed by a Canadian, Michel Chossudovsky and a Belgian Pierre Galand.

While the current Government wanted transparency on what happened when the IMF and the World Bank gave to Rwanda illegal debts that were used in arming the Genocide, Benjamin Lemoine again argued that Washington and Paris, along with the World Bank and the IMF, all agreed, in essence that:

¹⁰⁵ Interview with former employee of *Banque Nationale du Rwanda*, Nyamirambo, November 13, 2017

¹⁰⁶ Benjamin L., History of the CADTM’s anti-debt Policies, Interview with Eric Toussaint on August 21, 2016, spokesperson and co-founder of the international network of the Committee for the Abolition of Illegitimate Debt (CADTM), 2016, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Chossudovsky, M. & Galand, P., *The Use of Rwanda’s External Debt (1990-1994). The Responsibility of Donors and Creditors. Preliminary Report.* Ottawa and Brussels, November 1996.

*“Don’t spill the beans! In exchange for your silence, we’ll reduce Rwanda’s debt by opening a maximum line of credit at the World Bank and the IMF. We’ll reduce the amount of the repayment, and we’ll pre-finance it with new loans.”*¹⁰⁸

The author argues that it was a very frustrating experience because the current government never wanted not only to repay illegal debts but at the same time, debts that were used to kill Rwandan citizens – while the creditors knew that the funds were being used to finance arms, ammunitions and training of Genocide forces. Michel Chossudovsky argues that “RPF decided to fully recognize the legitimacy of the "odious debts" of 1990-94”.¹⁰⁹

4.5.3. Former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense dealings with French Banks and Rwanda’s former embassies in illegal funds for arms importation

The government of former President Habyarimana through the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense dealt with different French banks to arm the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi. On the other hand, various Rwanda’s former diplomatic missions played a crucial role in facilitating the purchasing of these weapons either in some African or in Western countries. These embassies were in Paris, Kinshasa, Cairo and Nairobi. These dirty financial deals with French banks facilitated the buying of sophisticated weapons in France and other countries like Egypt, South Africa and Syschelles.

Finances were mainly withdrawn from special fund accounts in the *Banque de France* and the *Banque Nationale de Paris* (BNP). Later on, these funds were “transferred to various destinations for payments to two French companies: Alcatel France and GME International (Paris). In total, over two billion French Francs (FRF 2,072,532,895) were transferred or withdrawn from these accounts between May and August 1994.”¹¹⁰ Alcatel is an important arms manufacturer while GME International deals in arms trade.

On top of this, there were funds from other countries that were used to buy arms in France. For example, 1.3 million USD from a Swiss bank called *Union Bancaire Privée* (UBP) was deposited by a Rwandan diplomat in Switzerland.¹¹¹ According to Bizimana Jean-Damascène:

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Chossydovsky, *Economic Genocide in Rwanda: The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order*, Global Research, 2003, paperback [first edition 1997], 5.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 6.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 6.

*“the government used [...] embassies where they would send money under the guise of funding their operations and these would in turn wire the money to arms dealers [...] between April 20 and 25, 1994, the Rwandan embassy in Cairo issued cheques worth \$4,126,310, this was an unusual expenditure for an establishment like that”.*¹¹²

In addition, the former Ministry of Finance wired \$4.126.310 to Rwanda’s embassy in Cairo and the money was withdrawn by Jean Baptiste Zikamabahari who doubled as a Secretary and member of the ruling family. The money was then sent to buy weapons in the Seychelles and China.¹¹³ These deals took place from January to July 1994.¹¹⁴

On behalf of the former government of Rwanda, the arms deals were spearheaded by the former Minister of Finance Ndindabahizi Emmanuel, Col. Bagosora Théoneste (former Chief of Staff) from 1992 to 1994. On the French side, the deal was coordinated by Captain Paul Baril,¹¹⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Jean-Jacques Maurin¹¹⁶ and General Jacques Lanxade¹¹⁷, among others. Nonetheless, the embassies of Cairo and Paris played a leading role in buying the weapons. All of these illegitimate activities were coordinated by the President’s entourage or inner circle, which was commonly known as *Akazu*.¹¹⁸

These arms deals were negotiated outside the framework of government operations. The negotiations did not pass through government military aid agreements but through various intermediaries and private arms dealers. The money sent to Rwanda’s embassy in Egypt was sent to a South Africa’s Peter EHLERS to buy weapons. However, Rwanda bought weapons; they were loaded on Zairian planes which landed used to land in Goma town. Upon arrival,

¹¹²http://cnlg.gov.rw/newsdetails/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1782&cHash=2bc0fd4572ad19905e8c99e50399aafc – accessed on November 13, 2017.

113 Statement by Bizimana., op cit

114 Alusala, N., The Arming of Rwanda, and the Genocide. African Security Review 13 (2004): pp.3-7.

115 He was one that conducted an audit of ex-FAR. Under French authorities’ guidance, he became an adviser to President Habyarimana from 1990 up to 1994 Genocide. He also trained elite soldiers of the former regime and paid for the service.

116 He was the operations assistant to the Defense Attaché at the Embassy of France in Rwanda from 1992 to 1994 and Advisor to the Chief of Staff of Rwanda. He led the development of the daily battle plans of FAR and coordinated Tutsi killings in Kigali but especially in Kanombe commune.

117 From April 1989 to April 1991, he was the Special Chief of Staff under President Francois Mitterrand and also Army Chief of Staff from April 1991 to September 1995. Under the French president, the General played a leading role commanding French forces in Rwanda from 1990 to 1991 in planning and executing the Genocide. So many crimes against humanity were committed under his command. He also provided equipment, logistical and personnel for the training of French forces in Rwanda and ex FAR. In 1991, he visited Rwanda and held talks with French commanders and Rwandan authorities on how to execute their mandate in fighting Tutsi enemy.

118 Statement by Bizimana, op. cit.

the weapons were transported to the Congolese border with Rwanda and handed to Lt. Col. Anatole Nsengiyumva and his men of the former Ex-FAR. In total, South Africa received \$330,000 from this deal.¹¹⁹

4.5.3.1. Delivery of weapons: delivery routes and facilitators

Though the country was under an arms embargo, the genocidal regime - through the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense - imported arms and ammunitions via various countries and facilitators.¹²⁰ The principal facilitators were the French government and its soldiers, the former Zairian government and South Africa.

The French facilitators included a French soldier, Captain Paul Barril, and another French national called Dominique Yves Lemonier who brokered the illegal deal through Rwanda's former embassies in Egypt, Kenya, Zaire and South Africa. Between May and June 1994, the French government supplied five cargoes of arms to the former Rwandan regime according to the testimony of the Vice-Consul (honorary) of France to Goma, Mr. Jean-Claude Urbano. The deliveries were done via Goma airport and transported to Rwanda via Goma border with Gisenyi town on the Rwandan side.¹²¹

The arms were received by Col. Théoneste Bagosora and Lt. Col Anatole Nsengiyumva.¹²² Goma airport continued to be a transit center for the French's "*Opération Turquoise*". This was contrary to the 918 Resolution of the United Nations Security Council which prohibited the selling of arms to Rwanda even after the defeat of the genocidal regime.¹²³ However, the international community failed to take effective action to counter the supply of the weapons as the UN arms embargo was still in force.

Though the former Zairian government denied the arms supply and delivery via Goma airport, the Human Rights Watch Arms project indicates that from April 10-28, 1994, between "*ten and twelve plane-loads of arms were delivered from Bulgaria to Goma in a Russian Ilyushin cargo aircraft*" and this was confirmed by Robin Cook, the former United Kingdom (UK)

¹¹⁹ Statement by Bizimana, op cit.

¹²⁰ Chossydvosky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 18.

¹²¹ Chossydvosky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 20

¹²² Interview with a senior citizen, Remera, 11 November 2017 & http://cnlg.gov.rw/newsdetails/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1782&cHash=2bc0fd4572ad19905e8c99e50399aafc – accessed on November 13, 2017.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 18

Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs, who visited Goma on March 24, 1995.¹²⁴ According to the Amnesty International report, these arms supplies even continued to flow after the end of the Genocide in mid-May 1995. For example on April 4, 1995, three cargo planes loaded with arms and ammunitions landed at Goma airport. The plane used was an Ukranian-registered Antonov 124 which made fuel stop-overs in Cairo, Egypt and Jedda, Saudi Arabia. These arms were received by the former Prime Minister of Rwanda, Jean Kambanda, and a former leader of the *Interahamwe*, Jean-Baptiste Gatete.¹²⁵

In November 1994, four pilots employed by a UK company admitted publicly to having flown four large charter plane-loads of small arms, mainly hand grenades, rifles and ammunition of Chinese and Russian origin, from Israel and Albania to Goma during April 1994. A Nigerian-registered-and-owned aircraft and Ghanaian-registered Boeing 707 based in the United Kingdom were also used to transport 36.5 tons of arms and ammunition.¹²⁶

Before the arms delivery to Gisenyi, they were kept in arms caches which were established along the Zaire/Rwanda border between 5 and 7 kilometers inside the former Zaire. The most known arms cache was one in the *Parc National des Volcans* near the border with North West Rwanda. It contained French M60 medium machine guns, AK47 assault rifles and South African 7.62 ammunitions.¹²⁷

Even after the end of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, between July 1994 and December 1999, the soldiers of the former government and the *Interahamwe* militias continued to be armed by the French government. For example, the Human Rights Watch Arms Project shows that between 10 and 12 plane-loads of arms were delivered from Bulgaria to Goma in Russian Ilyushin cargo aircraft " on April 10, 1995 and this arms-supply continued until mid-May 1995, long after the Genocide had ended. For example, the coordination of the above arms traffic was done by Col. Bagosora Theoneste.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Human Rights Watch Arms Project, "Rwanda/Zaire: rearming with Impunity", Washington, May 1995.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 3.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1-5.

4.5.3.2. Stealing currency reserves

Chossyдовsky and Galand in their audit of how donor agencies and countries facilitated the then government in arming the Genocide against the Tutsi indicate how the former Ministry of Finance and BNR, together with the bid wings of ex-FAR stole most of the currency reserves in the national bank.¹²⁹ A former BNR employee revealed that:

*“Stealing currency reserves was obvious because they had to find ways of survival but most importantly, they had to continue financing their genocidal struggle with the hope that they had to recapture the country though they failed”.*¹³⁰

A former employee in MINIFIN agreed with the former BNR employee by arguing that:

*“If they had used State and donor financial resources to buy arms to kill the Tutsi; the stealing of currency reserves after their defeat cannot be ruled out [...] because they had to survive in exile”.*¹³¹

In addition, when the defeated genocidal government crossed to former Zaire, they conspired with embassies and embezzled money that was in foreign countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire and the Netherlands.¹³²

4.6. Conspiracy by Habyarimana’s government with the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning

The president’s political and family entourage was so influential in planning and executing the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. In this way, they used the former ministries by appointing ministers that could not let down their cause, notably the execution of the Genocide agenda. It was within this political framework that all Ministers that served under the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning were appointed specially till 1992.

Since the State was ruled on a one-party-system, all Ministers in the two ministries were supposed to be strong supporters of the ruling party - MRND. Thus, the functioning of the two ministries was characterized by MRND political ideology of racial divide and hatred against the Tutsi at Ministerial, divisional and departmental levels. Ministerial departments and units

¹²⁹ Chossyдовsky & Galand, *The 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, p. 15

¹³⁰ Interview with former employee of BNR, Nyamirambo, November 16, 2017

¹³¹ Interview with former MINIFIN employee, downtown, November 15, 2017

¹³² Ibid

were given to strong MRND die-hards, mainly from Northern Rwanda where the President hailed.

The President controlled leadership of both ministries and. The Ministerial leadership had to update the president and MRND Secretary-General on how MRND ideology was being implemented within these ministries, at least on a weekly-basis. This is because the presidency was the supreme organ of MRND.

In 1991, Rwanda's Constitution was amended and the country adopted the politics of multi-partism. It was during the same period that the ministries were apportioned to different parties. Consequently, in 1992, the Ministry of Finance was taken from MRND and handed to PSD while the Ministry of Planning was retained by MRND.

4.6.1. MINIFIN Ministers from 26 October 1960 to 14 July 1994

This section examines different Ministers that were charged with the management of the former Ministry of Finance from 1960 until the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

4.6.1.1. Cyimana Gaspard (October 26, 1960 – June 12, 1968)

Cyimana Gaspard hailed from former Gitarama Prefecture and was a strong supporter of the MDR-PARMEHUTU political party – which ruled the country on the basis of a one-party system under President Grégoire Kayibanda from 1962 to June 12, 1973. He was the Minister of Finance, Economy and Planning from October 26, 1961 to June 12, 1968. He died when he was reportedly married and had five children. One of his children is Thierry Kayitankore Cyimana – the former Managing Director of SOTRA Tours. He is in Mageregere prison on charges related to business malpractices. He was also a step-father to Rumanyika a Rwandan businessman.¹³³

During Cyimana Gaspard's tenure of office, the Ministry was run on the basis of regional and ethnic divisions which were core ideological components of MDR-PARMEHUTU. Nonetheless, the ethnic divide was the most apparent characteristic along which the institution was run. The ministry employees had to largely be aligned to MDR-PARMEHUTU. This was confirmed by one respondent whose relative worked in the ministry by then:

¹³³ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017.

*“By that time, the ministry was run according to MDR-PARMEHUTU ideological orientation which was based on ethnicity and regionalism. It largely excluded the Tutsi to be employed not only in the former ministry but also in all public institutions. It was even very hard for other Hutus from other regions to get employed – Those who were privileged were those from former Gitarama and Butare Prefectures”.*¹³⁴

For ethical reasons, a respondent abbreviated as GMCH confirmed the above statement that:

*“During Cyimana’s tenure of office, it was taboo to employ Tutsis despite the fact that some of them were more educated than their Hutu counterparts [...] bearing in mind the political crisis of 1959 which aimed at eliminating the Tutsi. MDR-PARMEHUTU which was behind this crisis carried on this same ideological orientation based on hatred against the Tutsi up to the post-independence period [...].”*¹³⁵

The above respondents show that “Tutsi employment was between 1% and 2%”. It was based on the hatred against the Tutsi whose working conditions and environment were characterized by distress, fear, despondence, intimidation and hatred. A respondent, whose father worked in this ministry, also described the working environment of the Tutsi as being characterized by *“humiliation and demonization against the Tutsi employees”* and that *“the Tutsi were just 2% of the total employees”*.¹³⁶

The ministry was not only characterized by systematic mistreatment of the Tutsi but also some Hutu employees whose origins were not from the central part. One of the respondents argued that *“even some Hutu employees were targeted based on region they came from, only those from the center were privileged”*. The ministry instilled a sense of suffering, harassment, fear and pain to the Tutsi employees and some Hutu who did not support the MDR-PARMEHUTU ideology.

¹³⁴ Interview with GMCH at downtown, November 6, 2017

¹³⁵ Interview with GMCH at downtown, November 6, 2017

¹³⁶ Ibid

4.6.1.2. Nzanana Fidèle (June 12, 1968 – February 21, 1972)



Nzanana Fidèle was born in the former Kivumu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture.¹³⁷ He became Minister of Finance on June 12, 1968, until February 12, 1972 under President Kayibanda's regime.¹³⁸ He was killed amongst other politicians between 1973 and 1976. These politicians were in Kayibanda's government and mainly came from Kibuye, Gikongoro and Butare.¹³⁹

Nzanana's term of office was also characterized by promoting ethnic division, segregation and regionalism within the institution. The ministry was strictly run on ethnic and regional considerations. During his tenure of office as minister, the Tutsi were strictly excluded from being employed whereas the Hutu from Gitarama and Butare were more favored in terms of granting employment and promotion opportunities within the former ministry.¹⁴⁰

4.6.1.3. Major Ntibitura Bonaventure (July 5, 1973 – August 1, 1973)



On July 5, 1973, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana came to power through a bloodless coup and formed the first government which was referred to as the "Committee for Peace and National Unity" (named Comrades of July 5). The coup leader appointed Major Ntibitura Bonaventure as the Minister of Commerce, Mines and Industry plus Finance from July 5, 1973 to August 1, 1973.¹⁴¹ Major Ntibitura currently lives in exile in Italy. He was a Hutu from the former Ruhengeri Prefecture.¹⁴²

He was one of the team members that overthrew President Kayibanda. He held the finance department for almost one month. Even after his replacement, he continued to monitor the institution indirectly. He also mistreated some few Tutsis who worked in the ministry and expelled some of them using the premise of the ethnic quota policy that was introduced in 1973. He also coordinated the killings of Tutsis in Kigali between 1973 and 1974.¹⁴³

¹³⁷<http://www.musabyimana.net/20111229-quelques-photos-des-membres-du-gouvernement-de-la-le-republique/> - accessed on December 1, 2017

¹³⁸ Rwanda's Parliament achieves, consulted December 1, 2017

¹³⁹ <https://umuvugizi.wordpress.com/2014/09/01/00002889176543/>

¹⁴⁰ Interview with HFRS, Remera sector, November 29, 2017

¹⁴¹ Rwanda's Parliament achieves, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁴² <http://igihe.com/amakuru/u-rwanda/article/colonel-fabien-gahimano-umwe-mu-bafashije-habyarimana-kujya-ku-butegetsy-yaguye> - accessed November 18, 2017

¹⁴³ Interview with HFRS, Remera sector, November 29, 2017

4.6.1.4. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome (August 1, 1973 – June 11, 1975)



Nduhungirihe Jean-Chrysostome was born in 1937 in Butare. His children are Janvier Jean Cyriaque Nduhungirehe, Solange Nduhungirehe, Chantal Nduhungirehe, Lyliose Nduhungirehe and Olivier - former Rwanda's diplomat in the United Nations who is currently Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The majority of the former Ministers' family members live in Belgium. He died in exile in Louvain, Belgium in 1996.

On August 1, 1973, the Committee for Peace and National Unity relinquished power to civilians but four soldiers remained in the Cabinet including former President Habyarimana Juvénal. Though the Committee for Peace and National Unity was dissolved, it functioned behind the curtains until MRND was formed, on July 5, 1975. During that transition, Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome became Minister of Finance and Economy from August 1, 1973 to June 11, 1975 when he became Minister of Planning.¹⁴⁴

As a Minister of Finance and Economy from August 1, 1973 to June 11, 1975, he ran the Ministry along MRND political party lines which were characterized by segregation and hatred against the Tutsi. The fact that Tutsi employees were below 1% showed how Tutsi were strictly marginalized in terms of employment within the former ministry. This was corroborated by one of the former employees in the ministry:

*“His tenure in office was characterized by ‘ethnic segregation’ and ‘hatred’ against the Tutsi employees either in the Ministry of Finance or in the Ministry of Planning that he also headed” [...] But no wonder, that was the country’s vision of promoting hatred against the Tutsi [...] they had no vision for development, they were pre-occupied with ethnicity and nothing else.*¹⁴⁵

Since the Ministry was one of the important State institutions, and being a Hutu from the South, President Habyarimana never trusted him like he trusted his regional-men from the North, especially from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures. Thus, he had to replace him with another Hutu from the same region where the President hailed from.

¹⁴⁴ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁴⁵ Interview with VNH, downtown, November 16, 2017.

4.6.1.5. Ntirugirimbabazi Denys (June 11, 1975 – March 29, 1981)



His parents were Mburanumwe Damien and Mpeka. He was born in former Nyamutera Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture.¹⁴⁶ He died on March 24, 2017 in Netherlands.¹⁴⁷ He was appointed as the Minister of Finance and Economy on June 11, 1975 and re-appointed on December 8, 1977. In the Ministerial reshuffle of January 8, 1979, he was reappointed and served until 29 March 1981 when Hategekimana Jean-Damascène took over.¹⁴⁸ He was also appointed Governor of BNR from 1991 to 1994.

The findings of the present study indicate that he also managed other State institutions (ONATRACOM, BNR) at different periods and he is accused of promoting ethnicity and regionalism across the institutions he led. In particular, while he headed the Ministry of Finance and Economy from 1973 to 1981, he was extremely against employing the Tutsi in his ministry. He did not favor employing Hutus who from other regions except those from Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures. One of the respondents who participated in this study commented this about him:

“He was obsessed with ethnicity; he hated the Tutsi to the extent that he was always against employing any of them in the ministry”. Another respondent confirmed the above statement by saying that: *“He was a Hutu extremist who never believed in co-existence between the Hutu and Tutsi”.*

The same interviewee added:

“During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, when he was the governor of BNR, he worked closely with Ndindabahizi Emmanuel (Finance Minister during the Genocide) and Col. Bagosora) to finance, arm and train civilian militias, gendarmerie and the army. These are the people who bought arms and ammunitions that were used in the 1994 massacre against Tutsi [...]”.

¹⁴⁶ <http://igihe.com/amakuru/u-rwanda/article/ntirugirimbabazi-wayoboye-bnr-wanashakishwaga-uruhare-muri-jenoside-yitabye> - accessed on November 29, 2017.

¹⁴⁷ <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://www.therwandan.com/ki/2017/03/24/denis-ntirugilimbabazi-yitabye-imana/&num=1&strip=1&vwsrc=0> – accessed on November 29, 2017

¹⁴⁸ Rwanda’s Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017.

During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, he also incited the Hutu to kill the Tutsi both in Kigali and his home area of Ruhengeri Prefecture. This is confirmed by the fact that he is also one of the people on the list of wanted perpetrators of Genocide and was indicted by the Rwandan government in 2009.¹⁴⁹

4.6.1.6. Hategikimana Jean-Damascene (March 29, 1981 – April 4, 1987)

Hategikimana Jean-Damascene became Minister of Finance on March 29, 1981 after the first presidential election under the Constitution of the Second Republic during President Habyarimana's regime. He was again reappointed on February 8, 1982 and served until April 9, 1987 when Ruhamanya Vincent replaced him.¹⁵⁰ He originated from Ruhengeri Prefecture. He died in 1995.¹⁵¹

Compared to his predecessors, he did not practice overt hatred against the Tutsi employees, though discrimination and segregation remained a characteristic of his working environment and his term of office. It is important to note that there were no open attacks against the Tutsi employees in his ministry compared to Cyimana's term of office. Nonetheless, he still practised covert systematic discrimination at the workplace. A respondent averred that:

*“Comparing the operation of the ministries during MDR-PARMEHUTU and MRND, the difference was manifest in terms of discriminating the Tutsi employees in MINIFIN. Though MRND was also characterized by practicing ethnicity and regionalism, it was less hostile compared to Kayibanda's presidency. As well, the rate of Tutsi employment in MINIFIN slightly increased but the ideological hatred against the Tutsi was generally latent”.*¹⁵²

Another former employee described the working environment somewhat differently:

The working environment in MINIFIN was relatively good; The Hutu and Tutsi employees had good working relations. I agree that there was a national system of hatred and discrimination against the Tutsi but one could not see it within the ministry. Rather, what was visible was that the majority of ministry employees

¹⁴⁹ <http://igihe.com/amakuru/u-rwanda/article/ntirugirimbabazi-wayoboye-bnr-wanashakishwaga-uruhare-muri-jenoside-yitabye> - accessed on November 29, 2017.

¹⁵⁰ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017.

¹⁵¹ Interview with VNH, downtown, November 16, 2017.

¹⁵² Interview with a relative of the former employee, Kabeza Cell, Kanombe sector, 18th November 2017

were Hutus from the North while the Tutsi were employed on the basis of a quota system [...].

Thus, discrimination against Tutsi employees was supported by policy. In practice, this policy was implemented on the basis of ethnic and regional considerations. In addition, staff promotions were not based on merit. They were based on where the employees came from and the ethnic race they belonged to. On the issue of regionalism, there is a respondent who affirmed that: “*The Abakiga were the most favored in terms of promotions and access to capacity building trainings*”¹⁵³ As for ethnicity, another respondent reported that: “*The Tutsi were discriminated in employment as well as other rights and benefits*”.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the Tutsi employees were mostly targeted and some other Hutu employees who did not come from the North, Gisenyi and Ruhengeri also complained about being discriminated against in terms of employment.

4.6.1.7. Ruhamanya Vincent (April 9, 1987 - January 15, 1989)

Ruhamanya Vincent was born in the former Gikongoro Prefecture. He currently lives in exile in the Netherlands.¹⁵⁵ He was appointed as Minister of Finance and Economy on April 9, 1987 to January 15, 1989 until he was replaced by Ntigurirwa Benoit.¹⁵⁶

During his tenure, the working environment in MINIFIN was no different from his predecessors – it was also characterized by ethnicity and regionalism. One of the former employees in the ministry summarized the employment situation as follows: “*The system of employment was strictly based on ethnic quotas, regionalism and technical-know-who rather than on merit criteria*”.¹⁵⁷ Though discrimination, demonization and hatred against the Tutsi employees was covert, it continued to have negative psychological effects on their working conditions.

The Hutu employees from the North continued to dominate amongst the ministerial employees. Most of the departments were strictly headed by the Hutu from the former Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures. A former employee gave the following testimony about the privileges of the Hutu from Northern Rwanda:

¹⁵³ Interview with MH, Muhanga district, November 19, 2017

¹⁵⁴ Interview with VNH, November 16, 2017

¹⁵⁵ Interview with former MINIFIN employee, downtown, November 15, 2017

¹⁵⁶ Rwanda’s Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

“The Hutu from the North were the most privileged in employment and promotion opportunities not only in MINIFIN but in all public institutions [...] it was a culture that had to be obeyed. In most cases, almost all posts were given to them and it was assumed to be normal”.

In this connection, most of the interviewees agree that discrimination, favoritism and ethnicity was a policy that was institutionalized and promoted by MRND. An interviewee noted that *“Ruhamanya Vincent is a strong critic of the current government as he is a friend of evil, given words he uses in opposition forums in Europe”*.¹⁵⁸

4.6.1.8. Ntigurirwa Benoît (15th January 1989 – 31st December 1991)

He originated from the former Buringa Commune, Gitarama Prefecture. He died of a natural death right after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.¹⁵⁹ Ntigurirwa Benoît became Minister of Finance in the Ministerial reshuffle of January 15, 1989 after the 3rd presidential elections where President Habyarimana was re-elected with 99.98% support. In the Ministerial reshuffle that took place on July 9, 1990, he was reappointed in the same capacity and reappointed on February 4, 1991 until December 31, 1991 when Ruhigira Enoch replaced him.¹⁶⁰

During his term of office, the working conditions for Tutsi employees became unbearable and hostile. Some Tutsi were imprisoned as RPF-Inkotanyi accomplices (Ibyitso). It is on record that ethnic discrimination, demonization and hatred against Tutsi doubled, even before the RPF attack. One of the respondents said this about his tenure of office: *“The Tutsi employees suffered stressful treatment during Ntigurirwa’s time in office”*. The Tutsi employees suffered from political repression and persecution. This was corroborated by a former employee who said: *“The movements of Tutsi employees were restricted because the ministry feared they could join RPF-Inkotanyi.”*¹⁶¹

The rate of surveillance of the Tutsi employees was high since the ministry suspected them to be financing the “enemies (RPF-Inkotanyi)”. In 1992, some Tutsi employees were abducted at work and imprisoned. Many of the some died of torture. A former employee described the situation during such arbitrary imprisonment:

¹⁵⁸ Interview with OMH, downtown, November 15, 2017

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Rwanda’s Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁶¹ Interview with former employee, Nyarugenge, November 14, 2017

“At the beginning of the unjust imprisonment, the Tutsi employees who openly opposed hatred and discrimination policies were the first to be handpicked for imprisonment. In the prisons they were seriously tortured in various ways to the extent that two of them died later. It was horrible experience. It was inhumane. Some Hutu extremists had really lost their sense of humanity [...].”¹⁶²

The descriptions given by most of the respondents shows that the working conditions under Ntigurirwa Bénédict were brutal and violent in nature. In that period, many Tutsi employees were expelled from their work.

4.6.1.9. Ruhigira Enoch (December 31, 1991 – April 16, 1992)



Ruhigira Enoch was appointed as Minister of Finance in the Ministerial reshuffle that was chaired on December 31, 1991 in the twelfth government after the Constitutional amendment that ushered in multi-partism and served until April 16, 1992 when Rugenera Marc replaced him.

In the early years of Rwanda’s Civil War between RPF and then government, he is remembered as a Minister who was a staunch supporter of MRND. He headed the persecution process of the Tutsi in the Ministry of Finance and beyond. This was corroborated by an employee who worked under him. He had this to say about the minister: *“He spearheaded the arrest and detention of many Tutsi employees in late 1990 to 1992”*.¹⁶³ Another respondent accused him of persecuting and instigating violence against the Tutsi:

“He incited violence against the Tutsi employees until when he left the ministry in 1992. He used to prepare meetings with Hutu extremists especially those who came from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. The meetings aimed at instilling hatred against the Tutsi. In fact, his persecution of the Tutsi employees went beyond the ministry [...].”¹⁶⁴

He was also at the forefront in building MRND structures in the Ministry of Finance. These structures promoted Hutu extremism, segregation and hatred against the Tutsi within the institution. During his term of office, he made sure that the majority of the departments were headed by Hutu extremists from the former Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures. This aimed at instilling the MRND ideology. This was confirmed by another respondent:

¹⁶² Interview with former employee, Nyarugenge, November 15, 2017

¹⁶³ Interview with UJD, downtown, November 14, 2017

¹⁶⁴ Interview with GM1217, downtown, November 15, 2017

*“Habyarimana appointed him to the head presidential staff to oversee the implementation of MRND ideology across the whole country. In fact, he coordinated all the massacres that happened in the country, especially those that took place in Kibirira and Bigogwe [...]”.*¹⁶⁵

He was also appointed as *Chef de Cabinet* from 1992 until when the president was assassinated on April 6, 1994. The findings of this study indicate that before he fled the country on April 22, 1994, Ruhigira Enoch planned, incited and supervised a Tutsi massacre in the former Kibuye Prefecture. He held various meetings with the *Prefect* of Kibuye and other *Communal* leaders in April 1994. He was flown out of Rwanda by Belgian soldiers on April 22, 1994 after the closure of the Belgian Embassy. He then went to New Zealand where he obtained citizenship on October 6, 2005.

On November 25, 2004, the government of Rwanda issued an international arrest warrant against Enoch Ruhigira. It was served to the New Zealand authorities. It reached New Zealand authorities on December 14, 2005. New Zealand did not immediately extradite him. Instead, they sent a verification officer to Kigali to conduct investigations with the office of the prosecutor general of the Republic of Rwanda.

He was later detained on July 20, 2016 at Frankfurt airport while he was in transit to Belgium. He was released on March 22, 2017 after failing to get convincing evidence of his role in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.¹⁶⁶

4.6.1.10. Rugenera Marc (April 16, 1992 –April 9, 1994)



Rugenera Marc was born on July 24, 1954 in Remera Rukoma, the former Taba Commune, and Gitarama Prefecture. He attended primary from 1967 to 1970 and from 1970 to 1974 he completed his ordinary level at College Officiel Mburabuturo. He holds an MBA in Business Engineering with a specialization in Insurance, Banking and Finance from the Brussels Management School from 1974 to 1980. He is married with three children.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Ibid

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.blogtalkradio.com/radioitahuka/2016/08/21/ubutaberaese-hari-impanvu-zatumye-enoch-ruhigira-atabwa-muri-yombi-na-interpol> - accessed on November 29, 2017

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Marc Rugenera, down town, December 28, 2017

From 1980 to 1989, he worked with the Rwanda Development Bank as a Project Analyst and Head of SME's Department. He was also in charge of Supervising the Assistance to Financed Enterprises. From 1989 to 1992, he worked as Managing Director of a Company called Industry and Trade in Africa (CITA).¹⁶⁸ Rugenera Marc became the Minister of Finance after consent from political parties for a government of cohabitation: protocol of agreement for the formation of the second interim government on 13th March 1992. He joined the Cabinet known as 'First multi-party government,' which took office on April 3, 1992 headed by Nsengiyaremye Dismas from April 16, 1992 to July 18, 1993 when the late Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana Agathe took over. It included 9 MRND Ministers, 4 MDR Ministers, 3 PL Ministers, 3 PSDs, 1 PDC.¹⁶⁹

Rugenera Marc was appointed as Minister of Finance from April 16, 1992 and reappointed on July 18, 1993 in Uwilingiyimana Agathe government and later reappointed on January 5, 1994 in the same Transitional Government which was based on Arusha Peace Accord. He was again reappointed on March 18, 1994 in the same transition government and was dropped on April 9, 1994 when Ndindabahizi Emmanuel replaced him during the "Government of Abat-abazi" under President Sindikubwabo Théodore.¹⁷⁰ Prior to his appointment, he was the Governor of *Banque Nationale du Rwanda (BNR)*. He was a member of the PSD political party and Vice-Chairman of the same political party. He and his party were not aware of the Genocide plan which overtly started in 1990 when RPA/RPF attacked the country. In 1993, when CDR came into existence, he was even targeted for killing. One of the respondents narrated how he narrowly escaped death:

[...] In 1993, CDR supporters came to MINIFIN, the Minister (Rugenera) was entering his car and CDR supporters attacked him, he was beaten but he tried to escape and went back to his office [...] he then called gendarmerie who took him to safety [...]"

Rugenera Marc did not support the regional and ethnic divide but he had no powers to fight it. Another respondent who was a former employee in the same ministry exonerated him from participating in Genocide plans:

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁷⁰ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

*“During his tenure, at least the ministry operated in a professional way [...] without mixing professional work and politics-based on divisionism and ethnicity [...] yes, it was there but to a lesser extent because he was not Genocide-oriented leader”.*¹⁷¹

Another former employee added:

“[...] Rugenera never supported Genocide plans against the Tutsi. He was moderate and an elite politician who never supported the Genocide ideology before or during the Genocide execution”.

Although Minister Rugenera was against the Genocide ideology and plans within MINIFIN, his Ministry continued to be characterized by racial discrimination and hatred against the Tutsi because the majority of the division/department heads under him were Hutu extremists. The Ministry had a small group of Hutu extremists (Hutu Power) in the top echelons of the ministry that supported the Tutsi extermination agenda in the ministry and beyond. The MRND ethnic hatred against the Tutsi had its roots from this group. This is why MRND die-hards perceived the Minister as non-collaborator in planning the Genocide. Thus, the MRND political leadership perceived him as non-partisan to the Genocide agenda and thus could not release money to purchase the weapons they needed. In this regard one respondent revealed MRND’s plan to circumvent him: *“They worked out a plan to leave him out of the loop by appointing someone else at the Ministry of Defense through whom the requisitions for arms were processed and went directly to BNR without Minister Rugenera’s knowledge.”*¹⁷²

The same argument was echoed by another former MINIFIN employee:

*“Because he was against the Genocidal plans, Habyarimana’s political and personal entourage did not trust him. He was a technical and professional worker who never liked divisive politics which was championed by the MRND regime [...] time came when he could not sign some important ministry documents and cheques – especially those that were linked to arms purchases [...]”.*¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Interview with his former employee in MINIFIN, Nyamirambo, November 11, 2017

¹⁷²

http://cnlg.gov.rw/newsdetails/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1782&cHash=2bc0fd4572ad19905e8c99e50399aafc – accessed on November 13, 2017

¹⁷³ Interview with his former colleague in MINIFIN, Kimihurura, November 12, 2017

One of the respondents reported that an Ex-FAR soldier who was charged with signing financial documents to buy arms used in the Genocide against the Tutsi secured funds through illegal means to train *Interahamwe* militias. He had this to say:

Ntare Simon was a soldier whose rank was unknown in the former ex-FAR army that perpetrated the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He was responsible for handling all financial documents that aimed at preparing the Genocide in the former Ministry of Finance. He took over the responsibilities of the former Cabinet Minister called Marc Rugenera who was opposed to the Genocide ideology.

According to the above testimony, the power-sharing deal that was reached during the Arusha Agreement between Habyarimana's government and those in the opposition was circumvented. The government in power embarked on using illegal means to implement the perpetration of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Due to his reluctance to support the Genocide plan, Rugenera Marc was replaced by Ndindabahizi Emmanuel on April 8, 1994. His replacement was meant to facilitate MINIFIN and MINADEF to withdraw money from BNR to buy arms that were to be used in the execution of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.¹⁷⁴

When the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi ended in mid-July 1994, Rugenera also served in the same portfolio from 1994 to 1997. Between 1997 and 2000, he was appointed as Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. In 2000, he left the government and worked in SORAS. From 2000 to 2012, he was the Managing Director of SORAS Assurances Generales LTD. He is currently a businessman operating an insurance company (Radiant) in Rwanda since 2013.¹⁷⁵

4.6.1.11. Ndindabahizi Emmanuel (April 9, 1994 to mid-July 1994)



Ndindabahizi Emmanuel was born in 1950 at Gasharu, in former Gitesi Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. He attended primary education at Kirambo and Nyagato in Gitesi Commune and completed it in 1964. He attended Shyogwe Secondary School in Gitarama Prefecture (1964 to 1967) and the Official College in Kigali (1967-1970). He joined the former University of Rwanda and

¹⁷⁴ Interview with his former colleague in MINIFIN, Nyamirambo, November 11, 2017

¹⁷⁵ Interview with MR1217, down town, December 28, 2017

obtained a Baccalauréat in Economics and Social Sciences in 1974 and a Degree in Management (Licencié en Sciences de la Gestion) in 1976.

From November 1976, he worked at Trafipro, as the head of the Finance Division until the end of 1981. He was then transferred to Electrogaz Company in Kigali where he headed the Administrative and Financial Departments. In 1985, he was transferred to the Ministry of Planning in Kigali to head the Internal Financing Section. In 1991, he left the civil service to work for Audico, a private consultancy and auditing firm, until 1992. He joined the Social Democratic Party/ Parti Social Démocrate (“PSD”), in 1992. In September 1992 he was appointed as the *Directeur de Cabinet* in the Ministry of Finance, and remained in that position until April 6, 1994. He was elected to the post of Executive Secretary of the PSD party in Kibuye in 1993. He was appointed as Minister of Finance in the Interim Government of April 9, 1994 until that government fled Rwanda in mid-July 1994. He was at the forefront in planning the Genocide against the Tutsi both within the former Ministry of Finance and at national level.

At Ministerial level, he spearheaded the planning and execution of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He organized and executed the financing and training of the army and civilian militias. Together with Col. Bagosora, they coordinated the buying of arms, ammunitions and armored vehicles which were used in the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi. A former employee in the ministry described his role and responsibilities in the Genocide against the Tutsi:

*“killing Tutsi employees in MINIFIN was left to his juniors, Ndindabahizi Emmanuel was largely pre-occupied by planning the Genocide at national level [...] he was tasked to buy weapons from different countries, he was in-charge of funds that were used to train the Interahamwe militias across the country. He was in-charge of diverting development funds to finance the Genocide [...]”*¹⁷⁶

Another former employee re-echoed his role in masterminding the Genocide against the Tutsi:

“[...] that man was a Genocide planner at national level. Tutsi employees in MINIFIN were not his problem because there were other Hutu extremists in the Ministry that were

¹⁷⁶ Interview with his former colleague in MINIFIN, Nyamirambo, November 11, 2017

charged with killing them. He dealt with Genocide planning at a higher level, especially in financial planning of the sinister project.”¹⁷⁷

In addition, each government official who supported the Genocide against the Tutsi was assigned a particular Commune/Prefecture to implement the execution of Genocide. Ndindabahizi was assigned the former Kibuye Prefecture where he coordinated Tutsi massacres as well as overseeing the supply of logistics used in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

When RPF stopped the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, he fled to former Zaire and later to Belgium. Ndindabahizi Emmanuel was arrested in Belgium on July 12, 2001 on the request of the former International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). He was transferred to the UN Detention Facility (UNDF) in Arusha on September 25, 2001.¹⁷⁸

His trial began on September 1, 2003. Ndindabahizi was indicted by ICTR with three counts including Genocide and crimes against humanity (extermination and murder). He ordered massacres against the Tutsi in the Gasharu cellule, Kibuye Prefecture during the 1994 Genocide. He was also charged of having ordered, organized, incited and supervised the Tutsi massacres, including making public announcements for the mass killings of the Tutsi in general and some individuals in particular. In this regard, he was a prominent organizer and implementer of the Tutsi massacres in his *prefecture* of origin - Kibuye. He had commanded authority and control over the soldiers, the *Interahamwe* Hutu militias, the gendarmes, the communal police, civilian militias and civilians who were involved in the massacres against the Tutsi.

His instructions were obeyed. During his case hearing, the Prosecutor argued that he was "liable for the rapes and indecent assaults committed by those under his effective control".¹⁷⁹ During his case, he pleaded not-guilty to all the five charges of Genocide and crimes against humanity before ICTR. The former Minister was charged with Genocide, direct and public incitement to commit Genocide, extermination, murder and rape as well as the crimes against humanity.

¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁷ Interview with his former colleague in MINIFIN, Nyamirambo, November 14, 2017

¹⁷⁸ <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/emmanuel-ndindabahizi/> - accessed on September 20, 2017

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*

He was convicted of all the charges on July 15, 2004 and was given a life sentence.¹⁸⁰ He later appealed against this verdict. However, the Appeals Chamber confirmed the life sentence on January 16, 2007. On June 27, 2009, he was transferred to Cotonou, Benin to serve his life sentence following a decision signed on May 18, 2009 by the former ICTR president, Dennis Byron. The crimes he was convicted of were not committed in his ministry but in his Prefecture.

4.6.2. MINIPLAN Ministers from 1962-1994

This section displays all the Ministers that served the former Ministry of Planning since May 18, 1962 to mid-July 1994 when the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was stopped.

4.6.2.1. Habameshi Callixte (May 18, 1962 – February 6, 1963)

Habameshi Callixte was born on September 1, 1932 in Butare. He became Minister of Foreign Affairs and Planning on May 18, 1962 to February 6, 1963 when he became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ministerial reshuffle of February 6, 1963 that also separated the Foreign Affairs from Planning and renamed Ministry of Planning, Cooperation and Technical Assistance.¹⁸¹

As the country was still facing the effects of the 1959-1960 political crises which ignited total hatred against the Tutsi, Habameshi Callixte gave the putsch the benefit of the doubt in uprooting hatred and segregation against the Tutsi who worked in the ministry. The few Tutsi employees who had craved for change, peace and stability saw more segregation and hatred within the former ministry of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Planning. The working environment became disappointing and dehumanizing because of some Hutu extremists who were employed in the ministry to implement the MDR-PARMEHUTU hate-ideology which had a vision of creating “*Hutu land*” in Rwanda.¹⁸²

Due to the brutal leadership displayed by Habameshi Callixte, the Tutsi remained defenceless in the wake of widespread hatred that dated back to the 1959 political crisis. One respondent

¹⁸⁰http://cnlg.gov.rw/newsdetails/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1782&cHash=2bc0fd4572ad19905e8c99e50399aafc - accessed on September 20, 2017

¹⁸¹ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁸² Interview with former employee, Gikondo, December 1, 2017

described his ministry as “*a house of hate, a house of retaliation, an environment of fear and hate instinct*”.¹⁸³

4.6.2.2. Bagaragaza Thaddée (February 16, 1963 – July 27, 1968)



Bagaragaza Thaddée was born in former Nyamugali Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture.¹⁸⁴ He became Minister of Planning, Cooperation and Technical Assistance on February 16, 1963. He was reappointed on January 6, 1964, then again on November 9, 1965 and on July 27, 1967 until June 12, 1968.¹⁸⁵

As a prominent MDR-PARMEHUTU elite and a Minister, he strongly resented the Tutsi monarchy. He used to say that “*having a Tutsi employee in his ministry was like having a Tutsi renaissance*”.¹⁸⁶ He was obsessed with ethnicity and hatred against the Tutsi, as he argued that “*Hutu have to get rid of Tutsi in public institutions because they will steal state secrets and take them to their relatives who had fled the country in 1959.*”¹⁸⁷

Within the ministry, he was fond of and notorious for spreading anti-Tutsi propaganda – making Tutsi employees permanent victims through constant victimization either at their workplace or in their respective areas of residence. However, the Tutsi employees had to cope with living under torture and persecution because they had to survive and earn a living.

4.6.2.3. Hitayezu Emmanuel (July 27, 1968 – July 4, 1973)



Hitayezu Emmanuel was born in former Gishamvu Commune, Butare Prefecture.¹⁸⁸ On July 27, 1968, the Ministry of Planning appointed him as Secretary of State in charge of Planning. He was reappointed for different posts during different Cabinet reshuffles: on October 21, 1969, on February 25, 1970 and on February 21, 1972 and served until July 4, 1973 when Major General Juvénal Habyarimana came to power in a coup d'état.

¹⁸³ Ibid

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.musabyimana.net/20111229-quelques-photos-des-membres-du-gouvernement-de-la-le-republique/>

¹⁸⁵ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

¹⁸⁶ Interview with former employee, Gikondo, December 1, 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.musabyimana.net/20111229-quelques-photos-des-membres-du-gouvernement-de-la-le-republique/> - accessed on December 1, 2017.

Hitayezu Emmanuel's administration was "savage" in nature because it was based on ethnic segregation and nepotism based on regions. His term of office was characterized by milestones of systemic hatred and violence against the Tutsi employees. This was testified by one respondent who asserted that: *"The working relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi employees was characterized by acrimony and hypocrisy because the leadership had nurtured hatred that started from the 1959 political crisis"*.

4.6.2.4. Major Nsekaliye Aloys (July 5, 1973 – August 1, 1974)



During the aftermath of the Habyarimana coup d'état, the High Command of the Army which was headed by General Habyarimana Juvénal who formed a Committee for Peace and National Unity, otherwise known as "the Comrades of July, 5" where Major Aloys Nsekaliye was appointed as supervisor of the National Plan for Development from July 5, 1973 to August 1, 1974.

Major Aloys Nsekaliye was also appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in the Ministerial reshuffle of June 11, 1975, reappointed on December 8, 1977 until January 8, 1979 when he became Minister of Youth and Sports. On March 29, 1981, he was also appointed as Minister in-charge of Primary and Secondary Education, and later reappointed on February 8, 1982 and in May 1987. He served in the same institution until January 15, 1989. He was retired at the rank of Colonel and died in 2009 in Belgium.

4.6.2.5. Mbonyumutwa Jean-Marie-Vianney (August 1, 1973 – June 11, 1975)

On August 1, 1973, the Committee for Peace and National Unity was changed to a civilian government with four soldiers. However, the Peace and National Unity committee was not dissolved. Instead, it remained without specific attributions until July 5, 1975 when MRND was created. The Ministerial team formed on August 1, 1973, where Mbonyumutwa Jean-Marie-Vianney was among them as a Minister of Planning and Natural Resources until June 11, 1975 when he was replaced by Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome.

4.6.2.6. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome (June 11, 1975 – January 8, 1979)



After serving as Minister of Finance and Economy from August 1, 1973 to June 10, 1975, Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome was also appointed as Minister of Planning in the Ministerial reshuffle of June 11, 1975. On December 8, 1977, he

was reappointed in the fourth government and served the ministry until January 8, 1979 when Mulindangabo Ambroise replaced him.

Like his predecessors, he was a Hutu extremist who under his term of office promoted segregation and hatred against the Tutsi employees. During his term, the Tutsi employees accounted for only 2% of the total employees. This is because he strictly restricted Tutsi employees below the quota system rate.

4.6.2.7. Mulindangabo Ambroise (January 8, 1979 –January 15, 1989)

Mulindangabo became a Minister of Planning in the fifth government after the first presidential elections under the Constitution of the Second Republic on January 8, 1979. He was reappointed in the Ministerial reshuffle on March 19, 1981 in the seventh government and was later reappointed in the Ministerial reshuffle in May 1987 where he served until January 15, 1989 during which time Nzabonimana Callixte was appointed to replace him. He a Gikongoro-born Tutsi and was in MRND political party.

He was the only Tutsi that was appointed to head the former Ministry of Planning since the 1962 independence from Belgium. As a Tutsi and member of MRND, he had no authority to deviate from the party's ideology that was centered on hatred and segregation against the Tutsi and that promoted regionalism that favored the Hutu from the former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures. A former employee in MINIPLAN described how his hands were tied while discharging his duties:

*“As a Tutsi, Mulindangabo had nothing to do because he had no power to fight what was happening in the Ministry [...]. However, as a professional, he did his job without discrimination against anybody; he fulfilled his duties diligently and professionally despite the system he operated in”.*¹⁸⁹

Another respondent affirmed that *“though he was in MRND, he never supported their ideological thoughts and orientation”*. On the other hand, another former MINIFIN employee criticized him for not doing enough to fight MRND injustice:

¹⁸⁹ Interview with former MINIPLAN employee, downtown, Nyarugenge district, November 16, 2017.

*“I know that Mulindangabo helped and supported some Tutsi to get employed in MINIPLAN but he did not at least fight against the segregation and hatred against his fellow Tutsi employees [...] rather he accepted the injustice practiced by MRND [...]”.*¹⁹⁰

Mulindangabo Ambroise and his family survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi by taking refuge in *Mille Collines Hotel*.¹⁹¹

4.6.2.8. Nzabonimana Callixte (January 15, 1989 – July 9, 1990)



Nzabonimana Callixte was born in 1853 in the former Nyabikenke Commune, Gitarama Prefecture. He was appointed as Minister of Planning on January 15, 1989 in the tenth government until July 9, 1990 when Ndirabatware Augustin replaced him. Callixte Nzabonimana was also appointed as Minister of Youth and Sports in the interim Government of Rwanda in 1994. He was regarded as an influential member of the *Mouvement Républicain National pour le Développement et la Démocratie* (MRND).¹⁹²

The Ministry of Planning was run along ethnic lines. The divide between the Hutu and Tutsi employees was clearly systemic and manifest in his ministry. Segregation and hatred against the Tutsi employees was part of the ministry’s line of action. This was affirmed by one respondent who stated that: *“His Ministerial administration was ethnically-oriented [...] whereby Tutsi employees were targeted”*. The same respondent added: *“Segregation against the Tutsi within his ministry was an agenda that every Minister had to comply with without compromise”*. On the other hand, another respondent accused him of segregation: *“He practiced hatred and segregation against the Tutsi employees in a covert manner”*.

Beyond the ministry, as a member of MRND and minister, he exercised his influence in Gitarama by sensitizing and inciting citizens to fight against RPP-Inkotanyi. He oversaw the training of civilian militias, prepared lists of Tutsi who were to be massacred and the distributed weapons to Hutu extremist who massacred the Tutsi in Gitarama and other *prefectures*, from April to July 1994.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with former MINIFIN employee, downtown, November 16, 2017

¹⁹¹ <https://www.radiyoyacuvoa.com/a/a-18-2005-05-10-voa2-93020849/1265016.html> - accessed on October 31, 2017

¹⁹² ICTR, Judgment and Sentence, February 25, 2004, Arusha: ICTR

He fled the country in July 1994 and was arrested on February 18, 2008 in Kigoma, Tanzania. The following day, he was taken to the United Nations Detention Facility in Arusha. He was accused of conspiracy to commit Genocide, complicity in Genocide, direct and public incitement to commit Genocide, murder and rape as a crimes against humanity, persecution on political, racial and religious grounds as a crime against humanity, inhumane acts as a crime against humanity, murder and violence to health or to the physical or mental well-being of civilians as part of an internal armed conflict and outrages upon personal dignity.

On February 20, 2008 during his initial appearance before ICTR, he did not plead guilty to all of the charges and on May 31, 2012. Nzabonimana was sentenced to life imprisonment. Though he appealed the judgment, on September 29, 2014, ICTR Appeals Chamber upheld the sentence. He is currently in ICTR custody pending the decision where he will serve his sentence.

4.6.2.9. Ngirabatware Augustin (July 9, 1990 - January 5, 1994)



He was born on January 12, 1957 in former Nyamyumba Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. He was a strong supporter of MRND and a member of the Gisenyi Provincial Committee for MRND. Ngirabatware is a PhD holder in Economics from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He taught in the former National University of Rwanda (UNR) from 1986 to 1994. Ngirabatware is also the son-

in-law of Félicien Kabuga who was highly allied to President Habyarimana Juvénal, the most wanted man in Rwanda for committing serious crimes in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

He was first appointed as Minister of Planning on July 9, 1990 in the tenth Cabinet and later reappointed on February 4, 1991 Ministerial reshuffle and on December 30, 1991 as a Minister of Planning and International Cooperation. In another Ministerial reshuffle of April 16, 1992 and July 18, 1993, he was reappointed until January 5, 1994. The role of Ngirabatware in planning and executing the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi can be analyzed both at ministerial and national levels. At ministerial level, he was at the forefront in supporting the government in planning and masterminding the Genocide against the Tutsi. As Minister and chairperson of MRND at ministerial level, he sensitized Hutu staff in the ministry on implementing the genocidal. This was corroborated by one of the former employees:

“Ngirabatware Augustin organised and held different meetings within the ministry that incited hatred against the Tutsi employees in the ministry and the Tutsi in

*general. He tabled the MRND genocidal ideology by informing the ministerial employees that they should prepare themselves to get rid of the enemy within the institution and their respective areas of residences”.*¹⁹³

Ngirabatware also coordinated the detention and imprisonment of Tutsi employees who were suspected of sharing information or financing RPF/RPA. Though other Hutu extremists in the Ministry were involved, he was one such leader who oversaw the implementation of the government’s sinister agenda in the institution. This was confirmed by one former employee: “Ngirabatware gave orders to his subordinates who later implemented the plan in conjunction with security operatives”.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, as the then-Minister in-charge of the country’s planning, he worked closely with the former Minister of Finance and the Minister of Defense to plan, arm and train paramilitary and civilian militias.¹⁹⁵ A former employee corroborated the above information:

*“Buying of arms and ammunitions that were used during the Genocide as well as training of Interahamwe could not have happened without proper planning, therefore, the involvement of MINIPLAN and its former head is a foregone conclusion. He was a key figure who was instrumental in the logistical planning of the Genocide at national level”.*¹⁹⁶

Ngirabatware was also a member of the Prefecture Committee of the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) in Gisenyi Prefecture, the National Committee of MRND, and the technical committee of Nyamyumba Commune. Thus, he also incited citizens in Gisenyi Prefecture to execute Tutsi civilians during the 1994 Genocide.

He fled into exile after the country was captured by RPF in mid-July 1994. In exile, he worked for different research institutes in France and Gabon and he was later arrested in Frankfurt, Germany on September 17, 2007.¹⁹⁷ He was transferred to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in October 2008. Ngirabatware’s trial started on September 23, 2009. He was found guilty of Genocide, direct and public incitement to commit Genocide and rape as a crime against humanity on December 20, 2012.

¹⁹³ Interview with GMCH at downtown, November 6, 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with NH, Kimironko, 18th November 18, 2017.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with GMCH at downtown, November 6, 2017

¹⁹⁷ <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/augustin-ngirabatware/> - accessed on September 20, 2017

The ICTR Prosecutor had requested for a life sentence for Ngirabatware due to his prominent role in executing the Genocide against the Tutsi. However, on December 20, 2012, the Trial Chamber handed him 35 years of imprisonment for Genocide, direct and public incitement to commit Genocide and rape as a crime against humanity. Ngirabatware appealed the ruling to the Appeals Chamber whereby he asked for nullification of all charges and therefore his acquittal. The chamber upheld the sentence but did nullify some charges.¹⁹⁸

4.6.2.10. Ntagerura André (January 5, 1994 – April 9, 1994)



Ntagerura André was born on January 2, 1950 in former Karengera Commune, Cyangugu Prefecture.¹⁹⁹ He became Minister of Planning and Cooperation in the transitional government established from January 5, 1994 to April 9, 1994 when he was replaced by Ngirabatware Augustin. However, he was instead appointed as Minister of Transport and Communications in the same Cabinet.²⁰⁰

Though Ntagerura headed the Ministry of Planning for a short time, his administration was also based on ethnic divide between the Hutu and Tutsi. This is shown by the fact that there was open violence against the Tutsi employees within the Ministry under his leadership which he never dared to put a stop to or punish those who were perpetrating such acts.

Besides his Ministerial attributions that were characterized by impunity, between January 1, 1994 and July 31, 1994, on many occasions, he held different meetings in Cyangugu that incited the Hutu to exterminate the Tutsi. When the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi ended in mid-July 1994, he escaped via Goma and went to Cameroon where he was arrested on March 27, 1996 based on the international warrant of arrest that was issued by Rwandan authorities. ICTR also requested that he continue to be remanded under ICTR court injunction that was issued on May 17, 1996, and then on August 9, 1996. The ICTR prosecutor issued a first bill of indictment. The same court issued another arrest warrant against him on August 10, 1996 and he was transferred on January 23, 1996 to the ICTR prison in Arusha, Tanzania.²⁰¹

Ntagerura was accused of Genocide crimes that include conspiracy to commit Genocide, complicity to commit Genocide, extermination as a crime against humanity as well as outrages on life, health, physical and mental well-being of person, and cruel treatment against the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹⁹ <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/andre-ntagerura/> - accessed on December 1, 2017

²⁰⁰ Rwanda's Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

²⁰¹ <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/andre-ntagerura/> - accessed on December 1, 2017

Tutsi. However, when he appeared before the ICTR court on February 20, 1997, he pleaded not guilty to all the six charges. On January 29, 1998, a modified bill of indictment was issued because there were other suspects who had similar crimes. ICTR allowed his prosecution on October 11, 1999 to be heard concurrently with that of Bagambiki Emmanuel and Imanishimwe Samuel.²⁰²

On September 18, 2000, his trial reopened before the Third ICTR Chamber and on February 25, 2004 Ntagerura was found not guilty of all the six crimes. Today, he is in a “safe house” in Arusha because he failed to find a host country.²⁰³

4.6.2.11. Ngirabatware Augustin (April 9, 1994 to mid-July 1994)

Under the “*Government of Abatabazi*” established on April 9, 1994, Ngirabatware Augustin was again appointed as Minister of Planning and served until mid-July 1994.²⁰⁴ Before this second appointment, Ngirabatware played a leading role in planning the Genocide against the Tutsi by working closely with the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Defense in purchasing arms and ammunitions that were used in massacring the Tutsi. He also worked closely with the two ministries in training the civilian militias (Interahamwe) as well as arming them across the country – which is why he was reappointed to the same post.

Beyond the ministry and being an influential member of MRND, he also sensitized the Hutu in Kigali and in his home area (Gisenyi) to exterminate the Tutsi because they were assumed to be enemies of the country. Thus, Ngirabatware Augustin was in charge of implementing the Genocide not only within the ministry but also in the entire country.

4.6.3. BUNEP former Director Generals

Since the creation of BUNEP in 1978 as an autonomous project in the former Ministry of Planning, it had different director generals: four Hutu and one Tutsi.

4.6.3.1. Hategekimana Jean-Damascene

Hategekimana Jean-Damascene was born in former Ruhengeri Prefecture and was the first Director General of BUNEP. He headed the project from 1978 to 1981. He left the project for another appointment as Minister of Finance from March 29, 1981 to May 1987.

²⁰² Ibid

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Rwanda’s Parliament archives, consulted December 1, 2017

He managed the project along ethnic lines of segregation and regionalism. Above all, segregation and hatred against the Tutsi employees outweighed other forms of segregation and regionalism that was practiced. During his tenure, some Hutu employees without strong support from MRND were discriminated against as well those Hutu employees who did not originate from former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri prefectures. One respondent affirmed the above information:

“During Hategekimana’s term of office, together with MRND extremists mainly from the Gisenyi and Ruhengeri, he championed hatred and discrimination against the Tutsi. He also favored people from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri in terms of promotions and having access to training for capacity building [...]”²⁰⁵

Another interviewee reacted in support of the previous statements:

“During his term of office, his project had only two Tutsi employees out of over 40 employees but they (Tutsi) suffered the wrath of his hatred ideology and segregation. The working environment for the two Tutsi employees was categorically painful and precarious”.²⁰⁶

Nonetheless, it should be noted that this was MRND’s ideological belief, policy and political orientation across the country. Regional bias that favored the Hutu from the Northern part of Rwanda was common practice in terms of getting employment and qualifying for capacity building seminars.

4.6.3.2. Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome

Nduhungirehe Jean-Chrysostome replaced Hategekimana Jean-Damascene in 1987. He was born in former Butare Prefecture and was also appointed as Minister of Planning from June 1, 1975, until on January 8, 1979. He became the Director General of BUNEP from 1981 to 1984.

Like his predecessor, his administration was based on ethnicity and regionalism, with a national inclination against the Tutsi and moderate Hutu. One of the respondents affirmed that:

²⁰⁵ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017

²⁰⁶ Ibid

*“There was no difference in their administration; they all promoted MRND hatred philosophy”.*²⁰⁷ Yet another former BUNEP employee retorted that:

*“The aim of the then MRND ruling political party was to stigmatize Tutsi employees in all ways of life because we were perceived as second-class citizens. Thus, Nduhungirehe could not do the contrary. He had to subscribe to the government’s hate ideology against the Tutsi [...]”.*²⁰⁸

Under his tenure, the project was marred by regionalism under the influence of the former President’s Office which promoted the principle of ‘majority employment of majority people’ from former Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures.

4.6.3.3. Barinda Jean-Bosco

Barinda Jean-Bosco originated from former Gisenyi Prefecture. He headed BUNEP from 1980 to 1984. The findings of the present study indicate that he did not change anything in fighting the vices of segregation, ethnicity and hatred against the Tutsi employees.

4.6.3.4. Ruzindana Augustin

Ruzindana Augustin was born in former Byumba Prefecture. He also became Governor of BNR from 1984-1989. The findings of this study indicate that he did not differ from his predecessors’ way of managing BUNEP. Rather, he continued with the same ideological orientation according to which Tutsi employees were viewed as enemies.

4.6.3.5. Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney

Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianey was born in 1940 in former Ruhashya Commune, Butare Prefecture. He headed the project from 1986 to 1990. His parents were Gakuba Déogratias and Kabarore Pascasie. Mbaguta was married to Sekarimbwa and they produced only one child called Yves Delphin Mbaguta, born on December 7, 1970. They lived near former Nyarugenge Prison, in Nyarugenge Commune, Kigali Ville. He was a bachelor’s degree holder in Economics from the University of Nancy, France.²⁰⁹

He became the Director General of BUNEP from 1986 until October 1, 1990 when the RPF/RPA launched its attack on the former Habyarimana’s government. He was the only

²⁰⁷ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 6, 2017

²⁰⁸ Interview with BIH near RDB building, November 20, 2017

²⁰⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

Tutsi who headed the project since its inception. Though he headed the project, he faced a lot of resistance from many Hutu employees, especially those who were MRND die-hards. A former project employee narrated that:

“There was too much hatred against the Tutsi employees [...] when RPF-Inkotanyi attacked on October 1, 1990, all of us Tutsi employees came back to work until when the 1994 Genocide ended. Even Mbaguta came back.”²¹⁰

However, the discriminatory environment against the Tutsi employees was different from the period before October 1, 1990 and the period from October 2, 1990 up to April 6, 1994.

4.7. Genocide execution (April 7, 1994 to mid-July 1994)

This section describes how and when the Tutsi employees started being massacred. It outlines the list of the Tutsi Ministry staff who were killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, showing the complementary details of the massacres. It also shows the list of the perpetrators, survivors and other victims killed in the Ministry premises.

4.7.1. How, when and where were the Tutsi subjected to being massacred?

The history of discrimination and dehumanization of the Tutsi employees within the former two ministries with their affiliated agencies dates as far back as 1962 when the Ministry of Finance was created. By then, planning was one of the divisions in that ministry. However, during the Liberation War, two Tutsi employees (Karera Valere and Kagorora Thomas) were the first to be killed, after being held in detention facilities without food, water or health services.

Other Tutsi employees were killed from 7th April 1994 and onwards. They were slaughtered, clobbered or shot. The findings of this study indicate that the majority of the Tutsi were killed in their respective areas of residence or and in various locations where they were hiding. Only two were killed while at their place of work. These included: Bimenyimana Théoneste who was killed at his office in Gikongoro and Ntamabyariro Faustin who was killed while on mission in Bugesera (see bio data in section 4.7.3).

²¹⁰ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, November 29, 2017

4.7.2. Convicted and un-convicted perpetrators of Genocide in the former ministries

Some former employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning did not report back to their respective jobs after the end of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The findings of this study indicate that the majority of the perpetrators live in exile due to the crimes they committed.

Table 8: Convicted and non-convicted Genocide perpetrators in the former ministries

No	Names	Former ministry	Location
1	Collette (Family name not remembered by respondents)	Deputy Director of BUNEP	Lives in Belgium
2	Ndahimana Théoneste	Ministry of Finance	Not known
3	Nderere Alphonse	Ministry of Finance (He was a driver)	In Mageregere prison
4	Ndindabahizi Emmanuel	Minister, Former Ministry of Finance from April 8, 1994 to mid-July 1994.	Serving his sentence in Cotonou, Benin
5	Ngirabatware Augustin	Minister, Former Ministry of Planning from September 9, 1990 to April 9, 1994	Serving court sentence in Cotonou, Benin
6	Nshimiyumuremyi Adalbert	Ministry of Planning	Lives in Belgium
7	Rutarindwa Honoré	Ministry of Finance	Not known
8	Uwimana Antoine	Ministry of Planning	Lives in Belgium

Source: Primary data, 2017

The above table shows the number of convicted and non-convicted Genocide perpetrators in the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning as well as their locations.

4.7.3. Tutsi Genocide Victims in the former Ministries under study

This section shows the victims of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of planning with their affiliated agencies. It shows the personal details for each victim, where they were killed, the date of death, their assailants, and the relatives of the victims who survived the Genocide. An attempt is made to say whether the victim

received decent burial or not and the bio data of the victims before the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The analysis is on institutional case-by-case basis.

4.7.3.1. MINIFIN Tutsi Genocide Victims.

This sub-section highlights the former Tutsi employees in the Ministry of Finance who were massacred during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

1. Ayabagabo Jean de Dieu



Ayabagabo was born in 1957 in Nyakinama, former Ruhengeri Prefecture. His father was Mfizi Thomas and his mother was Nyirazikwiye Rozaria. He was married to Niweburiza Beatrice with whom they produced two children. Their residence was in Nyakabanda in former Nyarugenge Commune. He attended secondary school at St. Paul seminary and did Latin and Sciences. His spouse and their two children survived the Genocide but one son died after the Genocide. The victim's spouse and their other son, Cyusa Jules Constant, are still alive.²¹¹

Ayabagabo worked in the treasury department as an Administrative Assistant from October 30, 1980 with No. 8460 as employment number. He was later promoted to the post of Office Manager in 1989 in the same department. Before the Genocide, he was imprisoned from October 26, 1990 to March 1991. His former ID in the Human Resource file indicates that he was a Hutu although he was a Tutsi.²¹²

He was killed on April 14, 1994 at Nyakabanda, Nyamirambo. The *Interahamwe* militias forcefully took him from his home and gunned him down about 150 meters alongside the tarmac road in Nyakabanda. His body was left on the roadside where a lorry that was transporting bodies of the massacred Tutsi picked him to be dumped in an unknown destination. To date, his family members have been unable to give his body a decently burial.²¹³ The victim is remembered by his relatives and friends as a social and very loving father to his children and the entire family.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Interview with his spouse, Niweburiza Beatrice, September 17, 2017

²¹² MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²¹³ Interview with his spouse, Niweburiza Beatrice, September 17, 2017

²¹⁴ Ibid

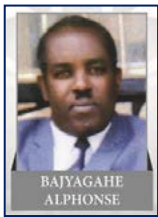
2. Bagirigomwa Christophe

He was born in 1955 in Nyange, in the former Mugesera Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. Bagirigomwa was the son of Nderezi Evariste and Nyirantashya Anastasie. He studied at St. Kizito Secondary School and majored in Latin language and humanities. He worked as a Secretary with Employment Registration No. 6198. He was married to Mukashyaka Anastasie with whom they produced one daughter called Munezero, born on July 9, 1985.²¹⁵

3. Bajeneza Etienne

He worked in the Tax Department at Muhima. He was married and was reported to have two children.

4. Bajyagahe Alphonse



He was born in 1945 in the former Kibirira Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture.²¹⁶ His parents were Masabo Nicodème and Nyiratango. He lived in Mumena, Nyamirambo, former Nyarugenge Commune. He studied at Nyundo Secondary School and later completed his Advanced Level Certificate at Collège Saint André. He did his University studies in Kinshasa, former Zaire.²¹⁷

He started working in the Tax Department in the former Ministry of Finance in 1967. He worked in various tax departments in the former Prefectures of Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba, Butare and Kigali. By 1994, he was the Head of the Tax Division at the Ministry headquarters, registered as Number 2045.²¹⁸

He was killed on April 14, 1994 at his home at Mumena, Nyamirambo, by the *Interahamwe* militias.²¹⁹ He was killed by Rukundakuvuga Joseph and other *Interahamwe* militias.²²⁰ His body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site. He was married to Mukabakun-

²¹⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

²¹⁶ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/73-bajyagahe-alphonse>

²¹⁷ Interview with her daughter, Kalishesha Diane, September 18, 2017

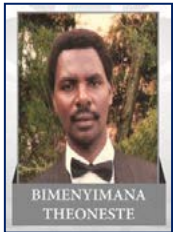
²¹⁸ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²¹⁹ Interview with her daughter, Ibid

²²⁰ Interview with former colleague, Nyarugenge district, September 20, 2017

da Pudentienne with whom they produced three children. His spouse and their three children survived the Genocide against the Tutsi. He loved sports during his free time.²²¹

5. Bimenyimana Théoneste

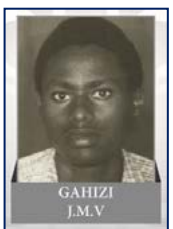


Bimenyimana was born in 1958²²² in Rwerere, Nyabihu. His father was Rwabusisi and his mother was Nyirakamagaza. His education qualification was A2. He was married to Mukabatsinda Anathalie with whom they produced three children, namely: Manzi Didier, Ingabire Clarisse and Ufitinema Pacifique. They lived in Gikongoro town.²²³

He worked as an accountant in the former Ministry of Finance in the Department of Public Accounts in former Gikongoro Prefecture with Employment Registration No. 9066.²²⁴ According to his file in the Human Resource Department, he had never been promoted until he was killed in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

He was killed before April 20, 1994 while discharging his official duties in Gasaka Sector, in former Gikongoro Prefecture. He was killed by the Interahamwe militias who used machetes and clubs. There were five assailants who killed him. One of them was Girukubonye Gallican who finished his 10 year sentence in former Nyarugenge prison. The other perpetrators currently live in exile. His remains were decently buried in Gasaka memorial site.²²⁵ His spouse survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi with three children.²²⁶

6. Gahizi Jean-Marie-Vianney



Gahizi was born in 1960 in Nyamirambo.²²⁷ His father was Sengati Chrysologue and his mother was Kankindi Collete. His residence was at Mumena, Nyarugenge. He was still single by the time of his death.²²⁸ He had completed Secondary School education at *Petit Séminaire Kabyayi*, Gitarama Prefecture. He worked in the former Ministry of Finance as a Finance controller with em-

²²¹ Interview with her daughter, Ibid.

²²² <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/156-bimenyimana-theoneste> - accessed December 17, 2017

²²³ Interview with his wife, MUKABATSINDA Anatholie, September 16, 2017

²²⁴ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²²⁵ Interview with his wife, Ibid

²²⁶ Interview with his wife, Ibid

²²⁷ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/74-gahizi-j-m-v> - accessed October 17, 2017

²²⁸ Interview with his relative, Mukasano Judith, September 18, 2017

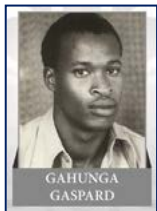
ployment Number 8614.²²⁹ He worked in the various Prefectures.²³⁰

He was killed on April 13, 1994 at College St. André, by the *Interahamwe* militias and soldiers. His assailants still remain at large. He was massacred and shot with bullets. Up to now, his body has never been traced for decent burial. He is remembered as a very humble man.²³¹

7. Gahongayire Marie-Claire

She was born in 1965 in the former Birenga Commune, Kibungo Prefecture. She was the daughter of Ntabana and Mukayiranga. She studied at Lycée Notre Dame de Citeaux- Kigali. Gahongayire was recruited on November 2, 1982 as secretary in the General Inspector of Finance Department at the ministry's headquarters with employment No. 10012.²³²

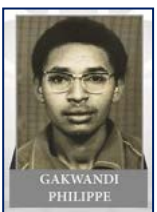
8. Gahunga Gaspard



He was born on March 1, 1957 in the former Gishamvu Commune, Butare Prefecture. He was the son of Ngirumpatse and Nyirangibwami. He studied at Karubanda Junior Seminary, Butare where he completed secondary school and majored in Latin and Language Sciences.

He worked in the Ministry of Finance with employment No. 8124. He started working as a Secretary in the Tax Department in Butare Prefecture and was later promoted to become an Administrative Assistant and later headed the the Tax Department in the same Prefecture.²³³

9. Gakwandi Philippe



He was born on November 29, 1958 in the former Karengera Commune, Cyangugu Prefecture. He was shot during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Gakwandi was the son of Gakwaya and Kampirwa. He worked in the Treasury Department with employment No. 8123.²³⁴

229 MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017
230 Ibidem

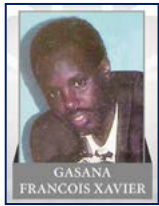
232 MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017
233 Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

10. Gakwandi Norbert

He was born in the former Ndora Commune, Butare Prefecture. Gakwandi was born on November 20, 1963. He was the son of Gashonga and Mukantagara. He studied at Kansi Secondary School where he graduated on June 30, 1984 in Economics. His employment No. was 11239. He was killed before he could receive promotion.²³⁵

11. Gasana François-Xavier



He was born in the former Gishoma Commune, Cyangugu Prefecture. He lived in Gikondo and was married to Kalimunda Yvonne with whom they produced two children: Gasana Arnauld and Gasana Jessica.²³⁶ He worked in the Tax Department in the former Ministry of Finance. He was also arrested and imprisoned many times as an “accomplice” of RPF.²³⁷

He was killed at St. Paul and his body was thrown in a nearby gully. His assailants were the Interahamwe militias and soldiers. His body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Centre. His spouse survived the Genocide against the Tutsi, along with their two children.²³⁸

12. Giramata Sophie



She was born in the former Muko Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture. Giramata Sophie was the daughter of Sagahutu Jean-Baptiste and Nyirantagorama Anastasie. She studied at *Groupe Scolaire de Rugunga* where she completed her studies in Commerce and Economics in 1989.

She worked as an accountant in the Tax Department in Kigali with employment No. 15378. According to her Human Resource file in MIFOTRA, she got promotion before she died. She was shot and killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

13. Habimana Joseph

Habimana Joseph was the son of Muhababo and Mukantagara. He was born in the former Cyimbogo Commune and lived in Ruganda village. He worked in the Customs Department as

²³⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

²³⁶ Interview with his sister-in-law, Murekeyisoni Benedicte, September 17, 2017

²³⁷ Interview with his sister-in-law, Ibid

²³⁸ Ibid

customs verification officer with employment No. 13587 and remained in his original role without promotion.²³⁹

14. Hakizimfura Canisius

Hakizimana Canisius was born in 1947 in the former Kamembe Commune, Cyangugu Prefecture. He was the son of Segihana and Kayabo. His ID indicated that he was Hutu. This study could not definitively confirm whether he was genuinely Hutu or not due to the failure to contact his relatives. However, according to MINECOFIN, he is recorded as one of the Tutsi Genocide victims. Hakizimfura studied at Christ-Roi College in Nyanza and majored in Greek and Latin. He resided in Nyarugenge Commune, Kiyovu.²⁴⁰

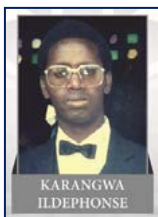
15. Iyamuremye Innocent

Iyamuremye Innocent was the son of Nzibonera Silas and Nyirabazungu Véronique. He was born in the former Mulinja village, Muyira Commune, Butare Prefecture, in 1956. He studied at *Collège Officiel* and majored in Commerce and Administration. He graduated on June 30, 1978.²⁴¹

His ID in the Human Resource department file shows that he was a Hutu; however, one of his former colleagues confirmed that he was a Tutsi. It should be noted that it was common for Tutsis to change their ethnic identity as way of accessing education and employment.

His Human Resource file indicates that he worked as a tax controller in the Tax Department in Kigali and was never promoted.²⁴²

16. Karangwa Ildephonse



He was born in 1957 in the former Musambira Commune, Gitarama Prefecture. Karangwa Ildephonse was the son of Mukandanga Godeberthe and Murengera David. He was married to Mujawamariya with whom they produced two children: Mutuyeyezu Justin who was born in 1988, and Mukashyaka Jeanne who was born in 1990.²⁴³

²³⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁴⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 4, 2017

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid

²⁴³ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/79-karangwa-ildephonse> - accessed on October 17, 2017

Karangwa studied at the School of Sciences, Byimana and graduated on July 4, 1977. He joined the National University of Rwanda (UNR). He served as head of tax controller in the Customs Department in the former MINIFIN in Kigali with employment No. 8635. His ID in MIFOTRA archives shows that he was a Hutu but the present study revealed that he had changed his ethnic identity (Tutsi) as was the case with some Tutsi before the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.²⁴⁴

He was killed on April 7, 1994. His spouse survived the Genocide with their two children.

17. Karera Anastase



He was born in 1956 at Nyagatovu, Mukarange, in the former Kayonza Commune. His father was Gakeri Alexandre and his mother was Nyiramadidagwa Thérèse. He was married to Kayitegeye Athanasie with whom they produced two daughters. His residence was in Nyakabanda, former Nyamirambo sector, Nyarugenge Commune. He studied at Zaza seminary and later joined the Major Seminary of Nyakibanda. In 1990, he lived in Remera and was on the list of RPF accomplices. After realizing that they wanted to arrest him, he later shifted to Nyamirambo.²⁴⁵

He worked in "*Comptabilite des matières*" in the former Ministry of Finance with employment No. 8120.

He was killed on April 9, 1994 near his home. He was forcefully taken from his home by civilian militias and killed at Nyakabanda, Nyamirambo. The assailants killed him by cutting off his head. His family suspects that his body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Center because all bodies in the place where he was killed were given a decent burial. His spouse survived the Genocide with their children: Mukayiranga Anita and Bamuyugire Benita.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 4, 2017

²⁴⁵ Interview with his spouse Kayitegeye Athanasie, September 17, 2017

²⁴⁶ Ibid

18. Karera Valère

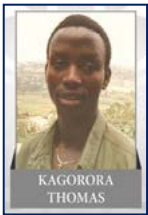


Karera was born in 1953 in Nyamasheke. His father was Mafaranga Innocent and his mother was Mukangwije Mamerca. He lived in Rwezamenyo, Nyamirambo. He was married to Utamuriza Marie-Rose with whom they produced two children. His wife survived the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and their two children: Karera Mahoro Nancy and Kampire Victoire.

He worked as customs controller in the Customs Department in the former Ministry of Finance with employment No. 8612. He occasionally worked at the borders of Gisenyi and Rusizi.²⁴⁷

During the Liberation struggle, he was imprisoned as an RPF accomplice. While in prison, he was tortured but was later released. However, he died shortly after due to the effects of torture in 1991. He was decently buried by his family members.²⁴⁸

19. Kagorora Thomas



Kagorora was born on January 31, 1965 in former Gaseke Commune, Kibungo Prefecture.²⁴⁹ His parents were Rwampeta Mathieu and Mukamazimpaka Césarie. He was married to Umurungi Médiatrice and together they produced two children: Kagorora Alain Maxime and Kagorora Lucky Yvan. They lived in Gatsata.

He attended and completed secondary school at St. Fidèle in Gisenyi. He worked in the Customs Verification Department in the former Ministry of Finance.

He was killed in February 1994 at Gikondo. His assailants are not known and he was killed while at work. His body has never been traced to be accorded a decent burial. His spouse and their two children survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.²⁵⁰

20. Kayijuka Callixte

Kayijuka Callixte was born in 1963 in the former Rwamatamu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. His parents were Simugomwa Silas and Nyiramwami Euphrasie. He was married to Muk-

²⁴⁷ Interview with his relative Nyiransengimana Jacqueline, September 17, 2017

²⁴⁸ Ibid

²⁴⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 4, 2017

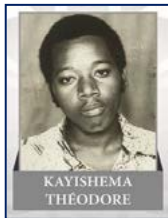
²⁵⁰ Interview with his spouse, September 24, 2017

abandora Donatien and together they produced two children. His residence was in Mahembe, Kibuye.

From 1988 to 1990, he studied at the *Institut Supérieur en Finances Publiques* in the option of Taxation and got a Diploma.²⁵¹ He served as an accountant in the Tax Department in the former Ministry of Finance.²⁵²

He was massacred on April 7, 1994. He was killed at Nyabugogo with clubs and machetes. His body has never been traced for a decent burial. His spouse survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi along with their two children: Rwika Salvator and Sylvie.²⁵³

21. Kayishema Théodore



He was born in 1961 in Rwabisindu, in the former Rwamatamu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. His parents were Charles and Nyirakanyenzi F. He studied at Byimana School of Sciences in the “Science option”.

Kayishema was recruited by the former MINEFINECO on December 23, 1980.²⁵⁴ He worked as tax controller in the Tax Department in Rwamagana, former Kibungo Prefecture with employment No. 8621. He was killed in Rwamagana and his body could have received a decent burial at Kigarama Genocide memorial site.²⁵⁵

22. Kayitesi Béatrice



She was born on July 5, 1963 in Rwamagana, in the former Rutonde Commune, Kibungo Prefecture. Kayitesi Beatrice was the daughter of Niwemwana and Gakwaya. He studied at Lycée Notre Dame de Citeaux and specialized in the field of Economics.

Kayitesi Béatrice was recruited on September 30, 1983 as a secretary in the General Inspection of Finance Department in the former MINIFINECO.²⁵⁶ She was gunned down during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

²⁵¹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁵² Interview with his former colleague, Kimihurura, September 20, 2017

²⁵³ MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 15, 2017

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

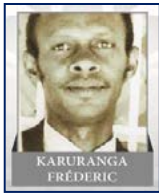
²⁵⁵ Interview with MPS, Parliament building, September 27, 2017

²⁵⁶ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

23. Karasira Innocent

He was born in 1960 at Gitondorero, in the former Muko Commune. Karasira Innocent was the son of Rwarinda and Nyirankwavu. He attended primary school at the *Ecole Normale Primaire St. Cyprien* in the option of *Normale Moyenne* and graduated in June 1980. He was recruited on September 1, 1980 in former MINIFINECO as a Secretary with Employment No. 13285.²⁵⁷

24. Karuranga Frédéric



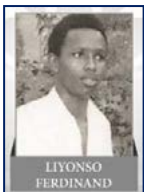
He was born in 1938 in Kiyovu, former Nyarugenge Commune. He resided in Nyamirambo. His parents were Zikuriza and Nyiranjangwe. He held a Diploma in Commerce. He was director in the Audit Department in the former Ministry of Finance with Employment No. 773.²⁵⁸ He was shot by the Interahamwe militias during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

25. Kanyabugande

Kanyabugande was the son of Karuganda and Mujawabahari. He was born in the former Nyabisindu Commune, Butare Prefecture in 1960.

He was a secondary school certificate holder in Biology and Chemistry from Nyanza School of Sciences. He graduated on June 23, 1988. He also attended the University of Rwanda in the Faculty of Sciences, Biology option, from 1988-1989 but did not complete his first year. He was an Assistant Writer in the former Ministry of Finance.²⁵⁹

26. Lionçon Ferdinand²⁶⁰



He was born in 1969 at Kawangire village, Rukara, in the former Kibungo Prefecture. Lionçon Ferdinand was the son of Sentama and Nyirahumure. He studied at St. Aloys Rwamagana School where he got an Ordinary Level Certificate in Economics and Commerce. He graduated on June 29, 1989.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 4, 2017

²⁶⁰ On MINECOFIN list of Genocide victims, the names appears as "LIYONSO" but MIFOTRA files shows Lionçon

²⁶¹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

He was killed at the Nemba border with Burundi in Bugesera where he worked in the customs department as customs verification officer with employment number 15606.²⁶² His body has not been traced for decent burial.

27. Mbayiha Eugène



Mbayiha Eugène was the son of Ngombwa Simon and Nyirabatware Théodore. He was born in the former Butambamo cell, Nzahaha Sector, Gishoma Commune, Cyangugu Prefecture. Mbayiha was born in 1961. He attended Mushaka Primary School and he did secondary education in Economics at *Ecole Economique et Sociale de Kansi* in Butare and graduated in 1982. He also graduated from the *Institut Supérieur des Finances Publiques* in Commerce and Accounting in 1990. He was still single by the time of his death and his residence was in Nyamirambo, former Nyarugenge Commune.

He worked as the tax inspector of Fiscal Tax in Gikongoro and Butare, with employment No. 10517.²⁶³ When the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi happened, Mbayiha was working at the Ministry of Finance headquarters in the Tax Department. He was a human rights advocate and used to belong to different human rights associations.²⁶⁴ At work, he was highly segregated and tortured by his Hutu extremist workmates who used to nick-name him “Kigeli I” because they perceived a resemblance.

He lived with his brother Mbanda Eustache, who was killed with him. Before they were killed, the Interahamwe told them that they were going to make them suffer. The assailants even looted their home materials until the house was empty. Later on, the Interahamwe set up a roadblock at the gate of their house to prevent them from moving. In the same building where they were living, there were also other Tutsis who were taken one-by-one to be killed and left behind but with an intention intention of showing the brothers that they could come back and kill them at any time.

They were killed on the evening of Saturday June 26, 1994. They were shot dead and dumped in a pit but they did not die immediately. Later, some Interahamwe militias came and found out that they were still alive and they immediately killed them using grenades. His body was

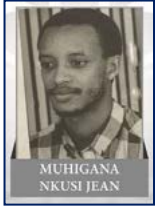
²⁶² Ibid

²⁶³ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁶⁴ Interview with his former colleague at work and university, Kimihurura, September 20, 2017

decently buried at Gisozi memorial site. He will always be remembered for his respected character.²⁶⁵

28. Muhigana Nkusi Jean



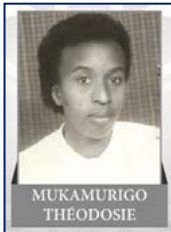
He was born on June 8, 1962 in Byahi, in the former Gisenyi Prefecture. Muhigana Nkusi Jean was the son of Muhigana Callixte and Mukamurara. His Employment No. was 14532. He studied at E.N.S.F.A.B in the option of Finance in Kinshasa, former Zaire.²⁶⁶

29. Mugwiza Vénant

Mugwiza Vénant was the son of Kazimbaya and Mukanyenga. He was born on November 14, 1966 in the former Rutongo Commune, Kigali Ville. He studied Economics and Commerce at St. Aloys Rwamagana School and graduated on June 24, 1988.

He worked in the former MINIFINECO with employment No. 13954. His Human Resource file shows that he was a Hutu though he was a Tutsi according to the present study's findings. He had changed his identity to become Hutu reportedly for reasons of survival.²⁶⁷

30. Mukamurigo Théodosie



She was born on May 13, 1966 in Rwamiko, in the former Kibayi Commune, Butare Prefecture. Her parents were Ntawuzibiramuka and Uzarama. She was an Assistant Secretary with employment No. 13922.

She completed secondary school at *Lycée Notre Dame de Citeaux* and graduated on June 24, 1988.²⁶⁸

31. Mukaramushi Pierre-Claver

Mukaramushi Pierre Claver was the son of Bugingo and Maseko. He was born in Rwimishinya, in the former Rukara Commune, Kibungo Prefecture in 1955. He was married.

He worked as an administrative assistant in the Tax Department at Muhima offices with employment No. 7076. His ID in the Human Resource file in MIFOTRA shows that he was a

²⁶⁵ Interview with his brother, Edmond, September 25, 2017

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁶⁸ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

Hutu but the study's findings indicate that he was a Tutsi. He held an Ordinary Level Certificate in Topography studies from Murambi School.²⁶⁹ He lived in Muhima, in former Nyarugenge Commune, Kigali Ville.

32. Mukaremera Immaculée



She was born in 1962 in Ngoma, in the former Butare Prefecture. She was murdered by the *Interahamwe* militias.

33. Mucyo Eustache

Mucyo Eustache was the son of Mucyowintore and Uzanyamaberuka. He was born on May 26, 1955 in the former Mbazi Commune, Butare Prefecture. He completed his secondary school in Bujumbura, Burundi, majoring in Latin and Sciences. He worked as administrative assistant in the former Ministry of Finance with employment No. 9077.²⁷⁰

34. Mukashema Anne-Marie



Mukashema Anne-Marie was born in 1965 in Ruvumbu Village, in the former Rwamatamu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture.²⁷¹ Her father was Kayijuka Aloys and her mother was called Mukangirumwami Agnès. Mukashema attended Muramba Nuns' school where she graduated and obtained a Secondary School Certificate in Economics and Commerce.²⁷² She was recruited as a Teller in the Tax Department within the former Ministry of Finance at the Ministry's headquarters in Kigali. She resided in Gatsata during her service. By the time the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi began, she was a single-mother with a son named Muhire Jean-Paul who survived the 1994 Genocide. She gave birth to the above son with Nsengimana Jean de Dieu – also a Tutsi Genocide victim who worked in the former Ministry of Finance.

Apart from being tortured at her work place together with fellow Tutsi colleagues, her parents' home was searched on the pretext that she collaborated with RPF-Inkotanyi. The Genocide against the Tutsi broke out when she was in Kibuye on a work mission and so she was

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

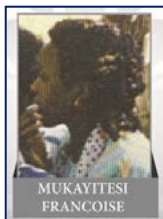
²⁷⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

²⁷¹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles?start=85> – accessed October 29, 2017

²⁷² MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

murdered in Nyange, former Kibuye Prefecture. Her body has never been found to be accorded a decent burial.²⁷³

35. Mukayitesi Françoise



She was born on July 1, 1967 in Nyagihunika in the former Kanzenze Commune, Nyamata. Mukayitesi Françoise was the daughter of Birota Léodomir and Kabagwiza Rosarie. Mukayitesi resided in Maranyundo.

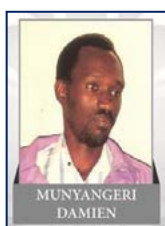
Mukayitesi studied at the *Ecole Normale Primaire of Zaza* and graduated on June 29, 1989. Mukayitesi Françoise was administrative assistant in Customs Department and had employment No. 16932.²⁷⁴ She was massacred in Nyamata church, Bugesera.²⁷⁵

36. Murasi Ignace

Murasi Ignace was the son of Kanyandekwe and Kamugwera, born in Shyorongi Commune, Kigali, in 1946. He studied at St. Paul Seminary School in Kigali and majored in Greek and Latin. He graduated on July 5, 1966.

He was married to Mukamugema with whom they produced four children: Murasi Prime who was born on June 21, 1973, Murasi Second who was born on May 13, 1975, Murasi Trine who was born on February 20, 1978 and Murasi Marine who was born on May 4, 1981. He worked as a store keeper in Customs Department and his employment No. was 2420.²⁷⁶

37. Munyangeri Damien



He was born in 1965. His father was Sebihobe and his mother was Nyirakinanira. His residence was in the former Gitarama Prefecture. He worked as tax controller in the Tax Department in the former Gitarama Prefecture.

He was killed in May 1994. He was first stabbed by metallic devices and later hit by a club on his head in Gitarama. His body was decently buried. His wife and their children plus three other relatives survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He will always be remembered for his reserved character.

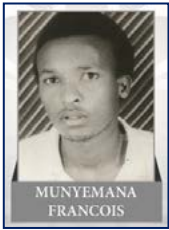
²⁷³ Interview with her young sister Mukasine Agathe, September 17 2017

²⁷⁴ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 4, 2017

²⁷⁵ MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 19, 2017

²⁷⁶ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

38. Munyemana François



He was born in Rusororo, Kabuga in 1966. Munyemana Francois was the son of Kimonyo and Madamu. He was a secondary school certificate holder and majored in Mathematics and Physics.

He was recruited in MINIFIN on March 12, 1990 as an Assistant Secretary with employment No. 15330.²⁷⁷ He was killed near the Muslim Cultural Centre in Nyamirambo where he was hiding.²⁷⁸

39. Murara Jean-Pierre



Murara Pierre was born in 1958 in Mutare, in the former Ngoma Commune. His father was Ngirabega Oswald and his mother was Harelimana Josée. He resided at Sahera, former Butare Prefecture. He worked in the Customs Department as a Customs Controller in the former Butare Prefecture. Murara studied at Karubanda Junior Seminary in Butare. He was married to Kayitesi Hycinthe.

He was stabbed to death in Mukura, Butare Prefecture, in May 1994. His body was thrown in a pit latrine. The body was exhumed and decently buried at Sahera Memorial Site. His spouse survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, along with his children and his three sisters.²⁷⁹

40. Murekezi Fidèle



Murekezi Fidèle was born in 1960 in Shingamuri Cell, Masoro Sector, former Rutongo Commune, in the current Rulindo District. His father was Ibambasi Jean and his mother was Musanganiye Véronique. He was married to Kanyamibwa Christine, and together, they produced two children: Murangira Kirezi Dominique Savio and Murekezi Cyizere Don-Bosco. He studied at Byimana School where he obtained his Ordinary Level School Certificate. He went for further studies in France where he obtained a Bachelor degree.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 20, 2017

²⁷⁹ Interview with his sister, September 14, 2017

²⁸⁰ Interview with his wife at Muhima, September 17, 2017

When he completed secondary school, he started working in the former Ministry of Finance in the Tax Department with Employment No. 9406.²⁸¹ He started the job at the Ministry headquarters in 1981 and was then transferred to Gisenyi where he worked until 1986 before returning to Kigali for a few years. In February 1990, he was transferred to Cyangugu as the Chief Tax Controller where he headed the Tax Department in former Cyangugu Prefecture.²⁸²

While in Cyangugu, Murekezi faced torture together with his wife Kanyamibwa Christine who was pregnant. They were beaten severely to the extent that they were unable to walk. They were also arrested and imprisoned. When they were released, the institutional car he had in Cyangugu was withdrawn from him without any official detail. He was also denied using his personal car without producing a "*Feuille de route*" under the pretext that he was a Tutsi.²⁸³

They were especially targeted by a soldier named Manishimwe Emmanuel who knew that Murekezi Fidèle's wife had refugee parents in former Zaire. Knowing her background, the soldier spread information amongst other Hutu extremists in Cyangugu that she was a Tutsi. As a result, Murekezi and his wife were condemned under the pretext that his wife came to spread RPF-Inkotanyi ideology in Rwanda.²⁸⁴

In 1993, RTLM broadcasted rumors that Murekezi had gone to Bukavu to meet the Inkotanyi. For a second time, RTLM broadcasted that "*Inyenzi called Murekezi who is a Tax Controller is chairing meeting of Inkotanyi in one of the hotels in Gisenyi*" but on that day, Murekezi was in Kibuye to attend a football match between Kibuye and Cyangugu Football Clubs. For the third time, on the eve of Easter, RTLM radio broadcasted that Murekezi was holding a meeting and that the participants were all Tutsi. The radio station also mentioned their names, yet this was not true. The radio station also faked the names of those who were attending the meeting, declaring that some of these were Tutsi who were planning to kill Hutu. Murekezi was ranked first on the list.²⁸⁵

In the morning of April, 6 a group of soldiers searched Murekezi's home, seemingly with an intention of killing him but instead they asked him for money. On April, 7, he and his family escaped. Murekezi headed for the Carmelita Nuns' Congregation which was close to his

²⁸¹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁸² MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

²⁸³ MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

²⁸⁴ MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

home. He left the place when one of the nuns had given information to the new prefect - Bagambiki Emmanuel - that Murekezi was hiding there. He joined his wife and other Tutsis at the residence of Bishop Ntihinyurwa Thaddée who refused to save him.

On April 16, a group of soldiers surrounded them with heavy weapons. Because of that, they headed for Cyangugu Cathedral and Bishop Ntihinyurwa and the soldiers tracked them until they reached Kamarampaka Stadium. There, *Prefect* Bagambiki Emmanuel, prosecutors, business men, the police and soldiers came with a list of Tutsis who were termed as “*Inkotanyi zikomeye*” literally meaning “strong Inkotanyi”. Murekezi was once again the first on the list.²⁸⁶

On April 16, 1994, Murekezi and his fellow Tutsi were killed with machetes by the Prefect, soldiers and the Interahamwe in Gatandara, Cyangugu. Before they were killed, they were taken to the gendarmerie office where they were imprisoned for some hours. They were killed and their bodies were thrown in a toilet belonging to one of the victims named Habimana François. Before throwing them in that toilet their hearts were removed and eaten fresh by the *Interahamwe* militias.²⁸⁷ Their beheaded bodies were taken around all corners of Nyakarenz, demonstrating to the Hutu that the great ‘*Inyenzi*’ who used to be heard on RTL and accused of preparing to kill Hutus, were now dead. Even the victims’ corpses were tortured; as the population that attended this exhibition was looking on and allowed to do whatever they wished to the bodies, including beating them.

His body was decently buried in Cyimbogo Sector. His spouse survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, alongside their two children.²⁸⁸ Murekezi will be remembered as a football, volleyball and basketball player. He was the Captain of the basketball team and Treasurer of Cyangugu Football Club. He had won many sports medals.²⁸⁹

41. Murenzi Augustin

Murenzi Augustin was born on March 29, 1941 in Rutare, in the former Byumba Prefecture. His parents were Mbonyi and Numugore. Murenzi was married to Mutwakazi who was born in Mwendo. He was a Secondary School Certificate holder and majored in Greek and Latin at

²⁸⁶MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

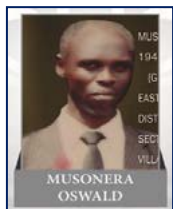
²⁸⁷MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

²⁸⁸ MIFOTRA archives, October 6, 2017

²⁸⁹ Interview with his wife at Muhima, September 17, 2017

Nyundo Junior Seminary. He was recruited on September 1, 1966 in MINIFIN as administrative assistant at former Byumba Prefecture with Employment No. 1614.²⁹⁰

42. Musonera Oswald



Musonera was born in 1944 in the former Kabarondo Commune, Kibungo Prefecture. His father was Kamangu Pierre and his mother was Mukankusi Rose. He attended Rwinkwavu Primary School where his father was a teacher and completed his secondary schooling at Zaza Junior Seminary. He was married to Kayisire Edisa who originated from the former Muhazi Commune in former Rwamagana Sous-Prefecture. They had seven children: Musonera Beata, Musonera Gilbert, Nyiratunga Consolée, Musemakweri Jean-Pierre, Ibambasi Patrice, Willy Brord Rudatsikira and Musanganire Georgette. He lived in Nyarugunga, in former Kanombe Commune.

Before joining the former Ministry of Finance, he worked at Rwinkwavu Mines for two years. Musonera served as an agent of Customs Services at various border posts including Kagitumba, Gatuna, and the then Kanombe Airport. When the Genocide against the Tutsi broke out, he was working at Gisenyi border. The Genocide started when he was on an annual leave at his home in Kigali- Kanombe.

Musonera and his wife were killed on April 7, 1994. He was slaughtered near his residence by the *Interahamwe* militias. They were attacked by soldiers and the *Interahamwe*. They took refuge in their house which was later burnt down. Their children decided to escape to the neighbors who chased them out, unfortunately. His wife was raped before she was killed. The children were bombed and cut with machetes except his elder daughter who was thrown alive into a pit. Musonera was killed at his home in Kanombe together with almost all his family members since they were all present to celebrate one of his children's baptism party. Musonera, his wife and the children received a decent burial in the Nyanza Genocide Memorial site, Kicukiro district.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁹¹ Interview with his son Gilbert Musonera held at Kagarama, Kicukiro district, September 18, 2017

43. Muterahajuru Jean-Baptiste



Muterahajuru Jean-Baptiste was born in 1955 in the former Huye Commune, Butare Prefecture. His parents were Nsabimana and Nyirahabineza. He was married to Mukamurara and they had four children: Nsengimana who was born on October 2, 1981; Nshimiye who was born on March 21, 1983; who was born on January 18, 1985 and Numutesi who was born on July 13, 1987.

He worked in the Tax Department from December 29, 1977 as an Assistant Secretary at Muhima offices with Employment No. 6902. His Human Resource file in MIFOTRA indicates that he was a Hutu.²⁹²

44. Mugabo Albert²⁹³

He was the Deputy Tax Controller in the former Cyangugu Prefecture. In Cyangugu, Mugabo faced torture together with his boss Murekezi who was also a Tutsi. He was even arrested in 1990 during the wave of imprisonment of the Tutsi who were accused of collaborating with RPF Inkotanyi. He and Murekezi were accused of collaborating with a man named Valerie who was the Director of the Customs Department and who was a Tutsi.

In 1993, some names of Tutsis who were considered as great traitors in Cyanangu were read on RTL M radio, and Mugabo's name was among those which were heard. When the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi began, Mugabo escaped to Cyangugu Cathedral where unfortunately on April 16, 1990 a group of soldiers came and surrounded them with heavy weapons and they were frog-marched to Kamarampaka Stadium where Préfect Bagambiki Emmanuel, the prosecutors, businessmen, police men and soldiers came with the list of Tutsis (strong Inkotanyi) to be killed.

Mugabo and his fellow Tutsis were killed in a place called Gatandara in Cyangugu. Before they were killed, they were taken to the Gendarmerie and imprisoned there for some time. They were later killed and their bodies thrown in a pit latrine of one of the victims named Habimana François. This was done after their hearts had been removed and eaten fresh by the

²⁹² MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

²⁹³ On MINECOFIN list of Genocide victims he appears as MUGABO Abel which was a mistake.

Interahamwe militants. Mugabo was buried at Cyimbogo Sector together with Murekezi Fidele.²⁹⁴

45. Mukeshimana Thadhée

Mukeshimana Thadhée was the son of Semafaranga and Uwambaye. He was born in 1965 in Biko village, in the former Gisovu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. He studied at the *Ecole Economique de Muramba* and majored in Economics and Commerce. He graduated on May 30, 1987. He worked as finance controller in the Customs Department in Kibuye and his Employment No. was 13287.²⁹⁵

46. Muyoboke Daniel

Muyoboke Daniel was the son of Secyondi Tharcisse and Nyiragukura Anastasie. He was born on March 18, 1945 in the former Nyaruhengeri Commune, Butare Prefecture. He worked as Office Messenger and his Employment No. was 2416.²⁹⁶

47. Mwumvaneza Juvénal

Mwumvaneza Juvénal was born in 1954 in Rwinyambo, in the Shyanda Commune, Butare Prefecture. He was the son of Rwanayagahene and Nyiramana. He worked as store keeper and his Employment number in the former Ministry of Finance was 9278.²⁹⁷

48. Ngabonziza Alexis



He was born in Gikondo in 1963 in the former Nyarugenege Commune. Ngabonziza Alexis started working in the former MINIFINECO on December 22, 1987 as an Assistant Secretary with Employment No. 1963.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Interview with a neighbor, August 19, 2017

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

49. Ndayambaje Léon

He was born in 1964. He worked in the Budget Department. He was killed on April 9, 1994.
299

50. Ndemezo Gonzague

He was born in 1966 in Nyamiyaga, in the former Muyira Commune, Butare Prefecture. His father was Buhozozo Vianney and his mother was called Ngenzi Veneranda. He was single and lived in Nyamirambo. He was the last born in his family. He studied at Byimana School of Sciences and majored in Mathematics and Physics. He graduated on June 30, 1989.

He had worked as customs controller in the Customs Department in the former Ministry of Finance in the former Nyarugenge Commune with Employment No. 17012.³⁰⁰ He was killed in May 1994 at Nyamirambo Police Station. He was tortured to death by the former Presidential Guards. His body was decently buried.³⁰¹

51. Nsabimana Téléspore

Nsabimana Téléspore was the son of Bakundufite and Nyiranshuti. He was born on December 31, 1955, in Kinkanga, in the former Rusatira Commune, Butare Prefecture.

By the time of his death, he had completed secondary school in Pedagogy in former Zaire. He was hired on December 4, 1981 as an assistant secretary with Employment No. 9488. Also his Human Resource file indicates that he was a Hutu.³⁰²

52. Ngendahimana Jaffet

Ngendahimana Jaffet was the son of Burasa and Mukandekezi, born in the former Murama Commune, Gitarama Prefecture. He studied at *Ecole Economique et Sociale de Kansi* in the former Butare Prefecture. He graduated on July 2, 1982. Ndahimana served in the former MINIFINECO with Employment No. 10021.³⁰³ In his secondary school education, he was nicknamed Saidi. He was a good footballer and played in the school's team.

²⁹⁹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles>

³⁰⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³⁰¹ Interview with his relative, September 19, 2017

³⁰² MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 7, 2017

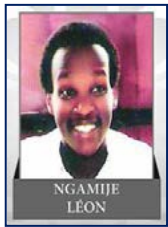
³⁰³ Ibid.

53. Ndengiyingoma Shirikisho Jean-Bosco³⁰⁴

He was born in 1964 in Gatsata. His parents were Ndengiyingoma Roger and Mukamihigo Juliette. He lived in Kicukiro. He had studied Automobile Mechanics. He was still single by the time of his death and lived with his family.³⁰⁵

He was a driver in the former Ministry of Finance in Magerwa. Like all other Tutsis, he was also tortured from 1990-1992 and accused of being RPF accomplice. He was killed in 1994 along the Nyabarongo River, which is where his body was thrown. He was massacred using machetes by his Hutu colleagues. His body has never been accorded a decent burial because he was thrown in the river.³⁰⁶

54. Ngamije Léon



He was born in 1964 in Ntarama, Bugesera. His father was Karari Charles and his mother, Nyankobwa Euphrasie. When he completed his primary school in Ntarama, he was denied the right to join secondary school. He opted to join a Seminary and passed the test of the Catholic Church, thus, becoming eligible for priesthood. He studied at Ndera Junior Seminary. He lived in the suburb of Gikondo. He worked in the Budget Department with Employment No. 12349.³⁰⁷ He was still single by the time of his death.

He worked at the Headquarters in the Budget Department. In 1990, after a long period of service, he asked his boss (Minister Cyubahiro) for assistance to start university studies. The Minister accepted his request, so he joined the *Institut Supérieur des Finances Publiques* at Mburabuturo where he graduated. The 1994 Genocide started a few months when Léon had just completed his studies.

He was probably killed by his fellow students with whom they studied on April 9, 1994 at Mburabuturo, Gikondo. He was buried alive in a landfill and then stoned to death using heavy metals and stones. His body was decently buried in Nyanza Genocide memorial site in Kicukiro district.

³⁰⁴ On MINECOFIN list of Genocide Victims, he appears as Shirikisho as the only name. The study found out his other names.

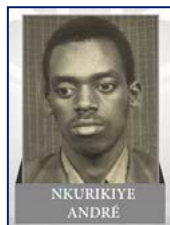
³⁰⁵ Interview with his sisters, Uwimpundu Ndengeyingoma & Uwamahoro Liliane, September 16, 2017

³⁰⁶ Ibid

³⁰⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

He will always be remembered for his dislike and resentment of any mistreatment and human rights abuse, which is why he was a member of numerous human rights associations.³⁰⁸

55. Nkulikiye André



He was born in 1954 in Nyaruguru, in the former Prefecture.³⁰⁹ His father was Rwakunda François and his mother, Mukamuzima Béatrice. He lived in Gatsata, in former Nyarugenge Commune. He studied in Nyakibanda Major Seminary.

He worked as an accountant in the Department of Public Accounting in the former Ministry of Finance and was jailed three times. On the morning of April 7, 1994, the Interahamwe Hutu militias and the Police surrounded his home. They ordered him to open the door as he and his families were still inside the house. They refused to open the door and so the attackers threw several grenades through the windows.³¹⁰

Shortly after, the leader of Gatsata Sector, Gahigi François, arrived, leading a group of armed *Interahamwe* who forcefully opened the door and took all his money that he had received as monthly salary the day before. The following day, the Interahamwe with the Sector leader came back and killed him using traditional weapons. He was killed on April 8, 1994 at his home in Gatsata. He was beaten, clobbered and stoned to death. The assailants were Kagerora, and Gahigi who is in Mageragere Prison.³¹¹

His wife and children escaped but later came back and managed to bury him. However, his remains were later taken to Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site.³¹² His children - Mugabo Aimable, Mukeshimana Benitha, Muhizi Lambert, Jacqueline and Mukandayambaje Symphrose - survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi by escaping to Burundi. The survived mother met her children one year later after the Genocide was halted.³¹³

³⁰⁸ Interview with his sister Udusabire Marie, September 15, 2017

³⁰⁹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/98-nkulikiye-andre>

³¹⁰ Interview with his wife Mukandayambaje Symphrose, Sept 13, 2017

³¹¹ Ibid

³¹² Ibid

³¹³ Interview with his wife Kanyamibwa Christine, September 14, 2017

56. Nkumbuye Juvéna1



Nkumbuye Juvéna1 was born in 1958 in the former Kigome Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture.³¹⁴ His parents were Munyangango Joseph and Kankindi Cansilde. He was married to Gasengayire Alice with whom they produced three children - Nkumbuye Olivier, Munyangango Audace and Ngaboyisonga Oreste.

They lived in Gikondo. Nkumbuye Juvéna1 worked as customs controller in the Customs Department in the former Ministry of Finance, at Kanombe Airport in the Civil Aviation Department.

He was killed on April 11, 1994 at ETO Kicukiro, Kigali. His body was decently buried. Fortunately, his spouse and three children survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He is remembered as a person who loved his family and other people in general. He was cheerful, humble and always smart. He loved to discharge and responsibilities on time.

57. Nkusi Jean-Paul



Nkusi Jean-Paul worked in the Customs Department at Muhima.

58. Nsengimana Jean de Dieu



Nsengimana was born in 1965 in the former Rwamatamu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. He was the son of Nyamusherengwa Sebastien and Majangwe Anastasie. He completed secondary school at Nyundo Minor Seminary. He continued to St. Fidèle University where he got a Diploma in Management and Accounting.

He was married to Nzasangamariya Christine who was also killed during the 1994 Genocide. His spouse was killed while pregnant as they were waiting to give birth to their first new-born. Nonetheless, he was blessed with a child he produced outside the wedlock with Mukashema Anne-Marie – also a Tutsi Genocide victim who worked in the former Ministry of Finance. Their son is called Muhire Jean-Paul who currently resides at Gikondo, Kicukiro District, Kigali City.

Nsengimana lived in Nyakabanda sector in the former Nyarugenge Commune, Kigali Ville. He started working in the former MINIFIN on June 11, 1986 as an Assistant Secretary with

³¹⁴ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/97-nkumbuye-juvenal>

Employment No. 12105.³¹⁵ He was killed in Nyakabanda together with his spouse. Their bodies were decently buried at Kigali Cenocide Memorial Centre.

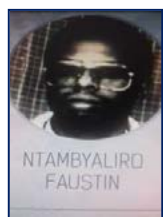
59. Nsengimana Gaspard



Nsengimana Gaspard was the son of Nzabarinda and Nyiramirimo. He was born in 1956 in the former Nyarutovu, Ruhengeri Prefecture. He was married to Kantarama with whom they produced three children - Numuhire, Mwizerwa and Ingabire Denise. He resided in Bwisha.

He held a Bachelor's degree in Chemistry from the National University of Rwanda. He graduated on October 6, 1982. His file in MIFOTRA indicates that he was employed as a Secretary with Employment No. 12157. His ID shows that he was a Hutu but the findings of this study show that he was a Tutsi.³¹⁶

60. Ntamabyariro Faustin



He was born in 1956 in the former Kibuye Prefecture. His parents were Mutunge and Nyirabahizi. By the time of his death, he had completed secondary school education. He was married to Mukandori Josephine with whom he had two children - Niyomugabo Eric and Niyonsaba. They lived at Nyakabanda, former Nyarugenge Commune. He was a driver in the former Ministry of Finance.

He was killed in April 1994 in Bugesera while on a work mission. His spouse and their son, Niyonsaba Justin survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³¹⁷

61. Nyiragapasi Jeanne



She was born in 1969 in the former Rwerere Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. She was the daughter of Ndukiyabo and Nyirahabineza.³¹⁸ She was married to Bizimana in 1984. They lived in Gitega Sector, Nyamirambo Commune, Kigali

³¹⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³¹⁶ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³¹⁷ Interview with his son, Niyonsaba Justin, September 19, 2017

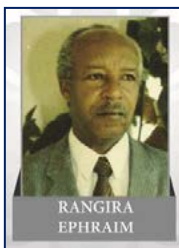
³¹⁸ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

Prefecture and they had three children - Mutabazi, Mutarushwa and Nshizirungu.³¹⁹

She studied commerce and administration in Kinshasa in former Zaire. She was employed in the former MINIFIN from 1983. She worked in the Procurement Department as procurement officer at the Ministry's headquarters with Employment No. 9833.³²⁰

She was killed at her home in Gitega with her husband by a perpetrator called Kayitani, who died in prison. Their bodies have never been traced for decent burial. However, all their children survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

62. Rangira Ephrem



He was born on March 23, 1929 in Miyove in the former Kinihira Commune, Byumba Prefecture.³²¹ His parents were Kayinamura and Elizabeth. He was the only son amongst five sisters. In 1952, he got married to Mukagafurama Cecile with whom they produced nine children - Rangira Arthur, Rangira Jeanne, Rangira Alphonsine, Rangira Momtfort, Rangira Eugène, Rangira Anne Marie, Rangira Madeleine, Rangira Félicité and Rangira Bernadette. Only six of these survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He also had 24 grandchildren. He lived in Ngoma, Butare town, in the former Butare Prefecture.³²²

He studied in the Major Seminary of Kabgayi where he wanted to become a priest but he was denied the chance because he was the only son in his family. He then continued with his education at *Groupe Officiel de Butare*, majoring in Management. He worked as a Financial Controller in the former Ministry of Finance in charge of former Butare, Gikongoro and Kibuye Prefectures. His Employment No. was 17815. When the Genocide against the Tutsi started in 1994, he was on retirement.

He was killed on July 27, 1994. He was forcefully taken from his home together with wife, Mukagafurama Cécile, their child and other guests who were at his home. They were killed after being tortured and taken around the whole town of Butare. They were killed in the 'Arboretum' forest of the former national University of Rwanda.

³¹⁹ MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 19, 2017

³²⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

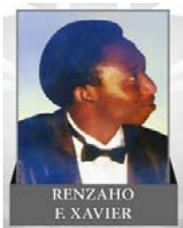
³²¹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/103-rangira-ephreme>

³²² Interview with his children Rangira Madeleine & Rangira Anne Marie, September 15, 2017

In 1997, his body was found and decently buried at his home. Later on, his body was exhumed and decently buried in the Genocide Memorial Site in Ngoma. His spouse was also killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The following children survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: Rangira Eugène, Rangira Madeleine, Rangira Bernadette, Mujawamariya Anne-Marie and Umurerwa Jeanne d’Arc.

Rangira Ephrem will be remembered as a person who loved helping vulnerable people, especially the elderly as shown by his contribution in constructing a home for the elderly in Tumba, Butare town.

63. Renzaho François-Xavier



He was born on October 8, 1965 in the former Sake Sector, Kibungo Prefecture. His parents were Shirimpaka and Nyirabahire. He held a Bachelor’s degree in Economics from the former National University of Rwanda (UNR). He was married to Umurungi Marie-Assumpta with one child. They lived in Kabeza, Remera.³²³

He studied at Zaza Junior Seminary and obtained an Ordinary Level School Certificate. He later continued with his studies at ISFP and got a Diploma in Accounting.³²⁴ By 1994, he was the Director in charge of Taxes in the former Ministry of Finance.

He was killed on April 10, 1994. He was gunned down by soldiers at Kabeza, Remera. His body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site. His spouse and one daughter, Iriza Gisèle Mugeni survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³²⁵ He is remembered as a staunch Christian who loved to pray every Sunday.

64. Rutagambwa Narcisse

Rutagambwa Narcisse was born in 1947 in the former Mwendo Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. His parents were Musoni and Nyirahame. Rutagambwa studied at Nyundo Minor seminary, specializing in Greek and Latin. He worked in the former MINIFINECO as a secretary in former Kibuye Prefecture from December 15, 1969 with Employment No. 2628.³²⁶

³²³ Interview with his spouse, Umurungi Marie-Assumpta, September 17, 2017

³²⁴ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³²⁵ Interview with his spouse, Ibid

³²⁶ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

65. Rwagasana Jean-Baptiste

Rwagasana Jean-Baptiste was the son of Makuba Mathias and Sasanduzi Madeleine. He was born in the former Rutongo Commune, Kigali Prefecture in 1961 and lived in Gatsata. He was married to Mugorewase and they produced two children: Icyimpaye and Niyigena Thierry.

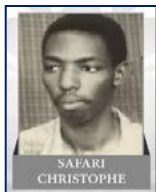
Rwagasana studied at CHM Byimana School and graduated on June 28, 1980 with a Secondary School Certificate. He was recruited on November 23, 1982 as administrative assistant with Employment No. 14801. His human resource file indicates that he was Hutu.³²⁷

66. Rwakayigamba Jean-Marie

Rwakayigamba Jean-Marie was the son of Sebahutu and Nyiraromba and was born in 1937 in the former Nyakizu Commune, Butare Prefecture. He was married to Mukarugira Emmerentiana and they had four children - Rwagasana who was born on December 30, 1962; Rwagasana Roger who was born on October 30, 1964; Rwagasana Rose who was born on October 3, 1965, and Rwagasana Rosalie who was born in 1968.

He served the former MINIFIN from January 1, 1973 and his Employment Number was 52270.³²⁸

67. Safari Christophe



He was born in 1968 in Rwamagana, in the former Kibungo Prefecture. He worked in the former MINIFIN with Employment Number 16479.³²⁹ He was shot dead at St. Paul by the Interahamwe militias. He is remembered as a sportsman who used to play basketball in ISFP/Imburabuturo.³³⁰

68. Sendakize Gaspard

Sendakize Gaspard was born on July 24, 1954 in Gafumba. He lived in Kidaho Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture. Sendakize was the son of Nshizirungu and Renzaho. He was a Second-

³²⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

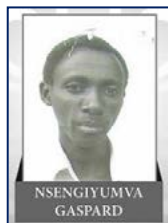
³²⁸ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³²⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³³⁰ MINRCOFIN archives, consulted on October 9, 2017

ary School Certificate holder in Humanities, Musanze. He worked as administrative assistant in the Customs Department in Ruhengeri with Employment Number 4265.³³¹

69. Sengiyumva Gaspard



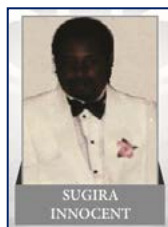
He was born 1957 in the former Commune Ndusu, Ruhengeri Prefecture.³³²

70. Semvubu Alphonse

Semvubu Alphonse was the son of Sakindi and Muhongayire. He was born in the former Nyruhengeri Commune, Butare Prefecture on December 12, 1962. He lived in Murambi Commune.

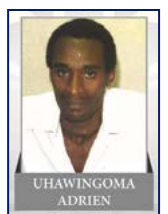
He completed his secondary school studies at Butare Minor Seminary in the option of Latin and Sciences. He started working in the former MINIFINECO on July 22, 1982 as an administrative assistant with Employment Number 9717.³³³

71. Sugira Innocent



Sugira Innocent was born in 1957 in the former Commune Giciye, Gisenyi Prefecture. He worked in the procurement department at the Ministry's headquarters. Sugira was shot dead during the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.³³⁴

72. Uhawingoma Adrien



He was born in 1961 in the former Satinshyi Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. Uhawingoma Adrien was the son of Nyamwigema Antoine and Kandırima Julienne. He lived in Kigali, Nyarugenge Commune. Uhawingoma studied in former Zaire, from 1974 to 1978 in Masisi. From 1978 to 1981 he joined St. Kizito

³³¹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³³² <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/124-nsengiyumva-gaspard>

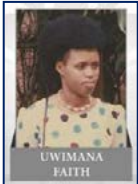
³³³ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³³⁴ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/106-sugira-innocent>

Institute at Mweso and majored in Pedagogy.

He worked as administrative assistant in MINIFINECO in former Gisenyi Prefecture from May 25, 1987 with Employment No. 12803.³³⁵ He was shot dead by the Interahamwe militias during the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.³³⁶

73. Uwimana Faith



She was born in 1964 in Remera sector, in the former Nyamagabe Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture in 1963. Her parents were Munyandamutsa and Kamuzima.

Uwimana studied at Kigeme School. She held a Secondary School Certificate in Pedagogy and graduated on July 1, 1982. She worked as customs inspector in the Customs Department in Gikongoro with Employment Number 13677.³³⁷

The former MINIFIN operated two projects – The Tax and Customs Reform Project and the Public and Private Enterprises Restructuring Project. However, no Tutsi worked there.

4.7.3.2. MINIPLAN Tutsi Genocide Victims

This sub-section shows the former Tutsi employees who worked in the former Ministry of Planning and who were massacred during the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.

1. Boy Suleyman

Boy Suleyman was born in 1945 in Nyanza, former Butare Prefecture.³³⁸ His father was Ndekezi Assouman and his mother was called Harima. He lived in Chahafi, former Nyarugenge Commune. He worked in the former Ministry of Planning.

He was killed on April 14, 1994 at Cyahafi, in the former Nyarugenge Commune. The *Interahamwe* militias massacred him with his brother who lived with him. His body has never been found for decent burial. His spouse and their two children survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³³⁹

³³⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³³⁶ MINCOFIN archives, consulted on October 9, 2017

³³⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³³⁸ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/115-boyi-suleyman>

³³⁹ MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 19, 2017

2. Gasana Hyacinthe

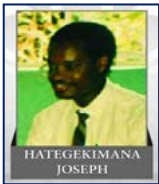


He was born in 1960 in Nyarugumba, in the former Gikongoro Prefecture. His father was Gasana Herbert and his mother, Mukarubayiza Julienne. He was married to Uwamariya Francine and produced three children - Kwizera David, Masezerano Daniel and Mahoro Marceline. He lived at Kabeza, in former Kanombe Commune. He worked in the Department of Statistics at Muhima with Employment Number 16872. As per his education background, he had A3.³⁴⁰

Before the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, he was one of the Tutsis who were tortured by his Hutu colleagues in Gisenyi and Bugesera. He was killed on April 15, 1994 by throwing him in a landfill alive at Kabeza. After three days, he was found alive and then slaughtered by the *Interahamwe* militias. His body was given a decent burial at Nyanza Genocide Memorial Site in Kicukiro district. His spouse and their three children survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³⁴¹

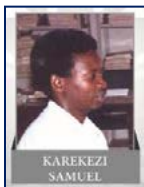
He was a staunch Christian. He was one of the leaders in the Assemblies of God at Kabeza.

3. Hategekimana Joseph



He was born in the former Kinyamakara Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture. Hategekimana was the son of Sekimonyo Francois and Kantamage Flora.³⁴² He was employed as Administrative Secretary in the Statistics Department with Employment Number 11066³⁴³ in Kigali. When the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi broke out in 1994, he was the Head of Division in the Statistics Department.³⁴⁴

4. Karekezi Samuel



He was born in the former Masango Commune, Gitarama Prefecture in 1952. He was slaughtered by the *Interahamwe* militias. He worked in the Statistics Department at Muhima headquarters. He was married and lived in Gisozi. His spouse survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Interview with her spouse, Uwamariya Francine, September 18, 2017

³⁴¹ Interview with her spouse, Ibid

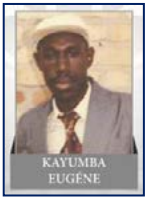
³⁴² MINECOFIN archives, consulted on September 19, 2017

³⁴³ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁴⁴ Interview with JN at NISR headquarters, October 5, 2017

³⁴⁵ Ibid

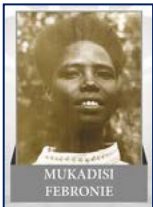
5. Kayumba Eugène



Kayumba Eugène was born in 1956 in Kimirehe Sector, in the former Rusatira Commune, Butare Prefecture. His parents were Médard Kagujye and Cécile Nyabibona. He was still single by the time he died.

He had a Secondary School School Certificate in Languages from the *Groupe Scolaire Indatwa*. He worked as a driver in the former Ministry of Planning, former Kibungo Prefecture. He was killed in Kigali by unknown *Interahamwe* militias and his body has never been traced to receive a decent burial.³⁴⁶

6. Mukadisi Fébronie



Mukadisi Fébronie was born in 1940 in Ruhondo village, in the former Mbogo Commune, Kigali-Ngali. She was the daughter of Rugerinyange Gregoire and Nyagahoze Bernadette.³⁴⁷

She completed three years of schooling in *Ecole de Monitrice*. She worked as a Secretary/ Copy-typist in the Statistics Department at Muhima. She lived in Kigali, in former Nyarugenge Commune.

She was killed in Kayumbu, Bugesera. Her two children survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi. The perpetrators were not identified and her body was not found to be given a decent burial. She loved dancing and music.³⁴⁸

7. Mukamurenzi Cacilde³⁴⁹

She worked in the Statistics Department in Kigali. She was married and had two children and lived in Nyamirambo.

8. Mwumvaneza Mugabo Jean-Claude



He was born in 1964 in Bugesera, Ntarama.³⁵⁰ His father was Nsengiyumva Cléophas and his mother, Bazirete Colette. Mugabo was single by the time he was killed. He lived in Kigali. He studied Mechanics and started working with

³⁴⁶ Interview with a relative, September 24, 2017

³⁴⁷ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁴⁸ Interview with her relative Justine, September 15, 2017

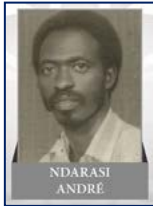
³⁴⁹ Not on MINECOFIN list of Genocide victims

³⁵⁰ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/95-mwumvaneza-mugabo-jean-claude>

MINIPLAN from 1990 to 1994. He served as driver at MINIPLAN headquarters.

During the Liberation War, he was jailed two times. When the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi started, he left Kigali and escaped to Butare where he was unfortunately killed on April 20, 1994 in Ngoma, Butare. His body has not been traced to receive a decent burial.³⁵¹

9. Ndarasi André

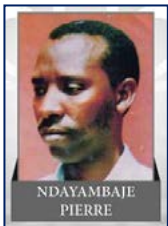


He was born in 1956 in the former Musange Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture. His father was Senkware Frédéric and his mother, Kankindi Cansilde. He lived at Karugira in Gikondo and was still single by the time he met death.

He attended primary school at Kaduha Primary School and joined Kabgayi Secondary School. He did not complete secondary studies because he was chased away in 1973, during which period the majority of the Tutsi students were expelled from schools in Rwanda. He later went to Burundi to continue with his studies. During vacation in Rwanda, he received a lot of threats from his neighbors, accusing him of being politically affiliated with Tutsis in exile. During the 1993 political party crisis, specifically on the day when Bucyana was killed—a member of CDR political party - the Interahamwe arrested him as an accomplice of RPF.

He worked in the Expropriation Division, Statistics Department at Muhima.³⁵² He was killed on April 7, 1994. He was killed at Karugira, Gikondo. The Interahamwe militias stabbed him to death by using a sword. His body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site.³⁵³

10. Ndayambaje Pierre



Ndayambaje Pierre was born in 1953 in the former Nyarugenge Commune, Kigali Ville. His father was Gapfizi Paul and his mother, Mukandekazi Euphrasie. He was married to Umuhiza Annonciata with whom they produced four children - Uwizera Solange, Ndayambaje Pierre, Uwambajimana Liliane and Uwitonze Diane. He and his family lived in Gitega, former Nyamirambo sector, Nyarugenge Commune.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ Interview with his sister, September 27, 2017

³⁵² Interview with his sister, Kimihurura, September 29, 2017

³⁵³ Interview with his sister, Kimihurura, September 29, 2017

³⁵⁴ Interview with his wife, Annonciata Umuhiza, September 15, 2017

He worked in the former Ministry of Planning as a driver. Sometimes, he could drive the Minister. When the 1990 Civil War started, he was prohibited from driving the Minister because of being Tutsi.

In 1990, he was arrested as an accomplice of RPF-Inkotanyi but was not jailed. He was betrayed by the Sector Head whose name was Ndayambaje Paul. When the Genocide began, he started he hid himself around his home and luckily a neighbor sheltered him.³⁵⁵

His rescuer, Emmanuel, later on was recruited in the ranks of the Interahamwe. He betrayed him and took him to the slaughter place. On arrival, the Interahamwe quarreled as to whether he should be killed or spared. On that day, they eventually let him free and he hid in his kitchen. The following, four Interahamwe militias came to search his dead body at his house because they were doubtful about his death. On arrival, they saw him and debated whether he should be killed or not. His generosity saved him, because the Interahamwe recognized it and decided to not kill him. This, because he used to give a ride to their patients to the hospital. Meanwhile, the Interahamwe militias who rescued him decided to take him to Emmanuel's mother, Verediana, who finally said, "Enough is enough, I cannot tolerate a Tutsi smelling inside my house." She decided to call the *Interahamwe* militias who took him again to the killing place where he was shot dead.³⁵⁶

His rescuer - Emmanuel - was also killed by Ndayambaje J. Claude and they are in serving a prison sentence in Mageragere prison. The parent of his rescuer - Verediana and Nikuze - who played a part in his death died in prison.

He was killed on April 28, 1994 in Gitega.³⁵⁷ He was shot with a bullet but did not die immediately. Later he was slaughtered and his body was dumped in landfill. His body was decently buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site. His spouse and four children survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.³⁵⁸

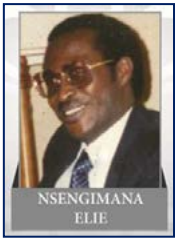
³⁵⁵ Ibid

³⁵⁶ Ibid

³⁵⁷ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles>

³⁵⁸ Interview with his wife, Annonciata Umuhoza, September 15, 2017

11. Nsengimana Elie

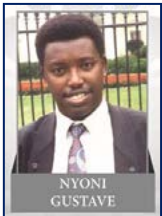


Nsengimana Elie was born in 1957 in the former Gikomero Commune.³⁵⁹ His parent was Mukagakire Bernadette. He lived at Musha, former Gikoro Commune. He was married to Uwimana Immaculée with whom they produced four children. He first worked as a driver in the Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Promotion of Investments in Tourism and Cooperatives.³⁶⁰ He was then moved to the Statistics Department, MINIPLAN in 1990 at Muhima.

He was killed on April 13, 1994. He was gunned down at Musha Catholic Church in former Gikoro Commune. Over 5000 Tutsi were killed in Musha Catholic Church. The perpetrators were the *Interahamwe*, gendarmerie and communal police.³⁶¹ At the church, there is a Memorial Genocide Site which hosts 20, 704 bodies of Tutsis killed during the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. The victims were killed in different former sectors of Bicumbi Commune - Rwamashogoshi, Cyimbazi, Runyinya, Gahengeri, Mwurire, Fumbwe and other places.³⁶²

The remains of Nsengimana Elie's body were decently buried at Musha Genocide Memorial Site. His wife survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and their two children - Ishimwe Elie-Ange and Izere Ange-Nicole.

12. Nyoni Gustave



Nyoni Gustave was born on August 20, 1963 in the former Butaro Commune (current Burera District), Ruhengeri Prefecture.³⁶³ He was the first born of Nyoni Innocent and Nyirababeruka Marie. He got married in 1990 to Uwanyirigira Christine; they produced two children - Kanyange Umuganwa Fidela and Rwema Honore Gustave. They lived in Rugenge, in former Nyarugenge Commune.³⁶⁴

Nyoni Gustave did his secondary school education at *Petit Séminaire de Kabyayi*. He was always ranked in the first position. Despite that, he was not considered for a scholarship due to the quota policy of ethnic balance. He later won a scholarship - after succeeding in an interna-

³⁵⁹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/100-nsengimana-elie>

³⁶⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³⁶¹ Interview with his wife, Annonciata Umuhiza, September 16, 2017

³⁶² Interview, Ibid

³⁶³ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁶⁴ Interview with his sisters, Umukabyagaju Adrienne & Mukatamuni Justine, September 17, 2017

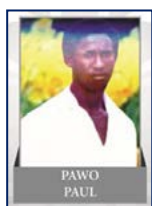
tional exam - to study at the *Institut Africain et Mauricien de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée* (IAMSEA). He majored in Statistical Works Engineering at IAMSEA.³⁶⁵

He started working in the former Ministry of Planning in 1983 with Employment No. 14331. He was frequently tortured at work by Hutu extremist colleagues especially after the attack by RPF on October 1, 1990. He was imprisoned many times together with his Tutsi colleagues who were accused of being accomplices of RPF.

On May 14, 1994 he was taken from his home by a group of militia sent by Nyirabagenzi Odette - former Conseiller of Rugenge - and taken in car and ever since, he did not return home. He was killed on May 24, 1994. His body has never been traced to be accorded a decent burial. His spouse and two children - Umuganwa Kanyange Fidèle and Rwema Nyoni Honoré Gustave - survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. His father - Nyoni Innocent – and his three brothers, Nyoni Jean Felix, Nyoni Marie Alexis and Migwenyero Egide José, one sister Umuhorakeye Marie Léontine were also killed during the Genocide. Only his mother, one brother and two sisters survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

He was an active member of the Kanyarwanda Association, a civil organization that abhorred injustice. He will be remembered as a humble and cheerful person who loved to play guitar and a fan of Kiyovu Sport Football Club. He was resilient in character.³⁶⁶

13. Pawo Paul



He was born in 1963 in Gifumba village, in the former Mushubati Commune, Gitarama Prefecture. Pawo was the son of Mukandera Mariane and Nakabwa Faustin. He did his ordinary secondary school education (Tronc Commun) at St. Joseph Kabgayi. He worked in the Statistics Department in the former Kigali-Ngali Prefecture and was hired on December 3, 1985 with Employment Number 11999.³⁶⁷ His date and place of death are not known.³⁶⁸

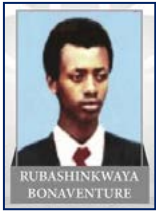
³⁶⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁶⁶ Ibid

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/102-pawo-paul>

14. Rubashinkwaya Bonaventure

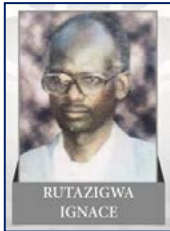


Rubashinkwaya Bonaventure was born on June 13, 1969 at Remera hill in the former Kigarama Commune, former Kibungo Prefecture. He was the son of Nsanzimana Martin and Kankindi Anastasie. He held a Diploma in Finance and started working in the former MINIPLAN on November 16, 1992.³⁶⁹ He was killed near *Sainte Famille* by General Laurent Munyakazi.³⁷⁰

15. Rugiraganwa Frederick

He was born in 1969 in Rusororo, Kabuga.

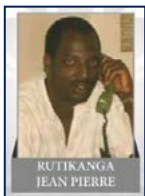
16. Rutazigwa Ignace



He was born in 1945 in Birenga, in the former Mugambazi Commune, Kigali Prefecture.³⁷¹ His parents were Muriza Jean and Nyiranturuturu Adèle. By the time of his death, he had completed secondary education and obtained a Diploma in Pedagogy. He was married to Harerimana Marie and produced seven children - Kayirangwa Clodette, Udahemuka Velentine, Uwineza Jean-Bosco, Umugwaneza Marie Claire, Rwema Aimable, Mwizerwa Viviane and Muhire Adrien. They resided in Rwabuye, Butare town, in former Butare Prefecture.³⁷²

He worked in the Statistics Department in Butare with Employment No. 2119. In 1993, he was arrested and tortured for a long period in Karubanda prison in Huye district. He was killed in 1994 in Rwabuye, Butare town and his body has never been traced to receive a decent burial.³⁷³

17. Rutikanga Jean-Pierre



He was born in 1957 in Rusagara Sector, in former Mbogo Commune, Kigali-Ngali Prefecture. His parents were Bucyisi Jean-Pierre and Mukamanzi Sorenne. He was married to Uwizeye Marie-Claire with whom they produced two children - Irebe Aurole and Niyonsaba Jean-Bosco. They lived in Gatenga, Kicu-

³⁶⁹ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁷⁰ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/112-rubashinkwaya-bonaventure>

³⁷¹ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/104-ritazigwa-ignace>

³⁷² Interview with his daughter Mwizerwa Vivine, Rwarutabura Cell, Nyamirambo Sector, September 19, 2017

³⁷³ Ibid

kiro.

He attended secondary school. The late was employed as a driver in the Ministry of Planning. He was killed on April 15, 1994 at Muhima near former Nyarugenge prison. He was gunned down by prison wardens. His body was buried at Gisozi Genocide Memorial Site. Only his spouse and their daughter - Irebe Aurore as well as his two sisters - survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. They currently live in Gatenga, Kicukiro District. He loved playing football and was a fan of Kiyovu Sports Club.³⁷⁴

18. Sefaranga Albert

He was born in 1957 in former Birenga Commune, Kibungo Prefecture. Sefaranga Albert was the son of Sefaranga Pasteur and Mukamunana Geramaine. He studied at St. Kizito Junior Seminary of Zaza. He later joined Nyakibanda Major Seminary where he studied for two years from 1976 to 1978.

He worked in the former Ministry of Planning at the Ministry's headquarters with Employment No. 7078. He worked in the Macro-Economic Department as an Economic Analyst, a position he held until he was killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³⁷⁵

19. Twagiramungu Issa

He was born on May 1, 1962 in Biryogo, Nyamirambo. His parents were Twagirayezu Déo Aboulkalim and Uwiremye Rehma. He lived in the former Kibuye Prefecture. He was a graduate from EAMUSEA University. By the time of his death, he was still single but had paid marriage dowry, two days before his death.³⁷⁶

He worked as a Data Collector in the Statistics Department in former Kibuye Prefecture. From the time he got employed, he never received any promotion or transfer to any other department.³⁷⁷

He was killed on May 20, 1994 by a grenade while he was on his escape route to former Zaire via Lake Kivu. His former Hutu employee had assisted him to escape but unfortunately the *Interahamwe* militias followed him and killed him using a grenade which they threw into the

³⁷⁴ Interview with spouse, September 25, 2017

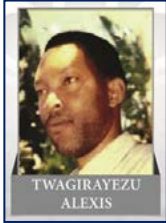
³⁷⁵ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 6, 2017

³⁷⁶ Interview with his two sisters, Biryogo, September 14, 2017

³⁷⁷ Interview with a former colleague, September 14, 2017

boat he was travelling in. His body drowned in Lake Kivu.³⁷⁸ He will always be missed for his gentle and cheerful character and a fan of football. He also loved everybody around him.

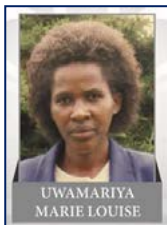
20. Twagirayezu Alexis



Twagirayezu Alexis was born on July 26, 1960 in Nyakabanda in the former Kigali Ville. His parents were Twagirayezu Aloys and Icyimpaye Marie-Rose. Their residence was in Kimicanga, Kacyiru. He did his primary school at Kabayayi and joined Kabgayi Major Seminary but he was discriminated against and tortured, which is why he suspend his education. He joined Ririma College and later EAMUSEA University. In 1991, he got married to Kagaba Chantal with whom they produced two children - Twagirayezu Vanessa and Twagirayezu Alexis.³⁷⁹ He worked in the Statistics Department as Director of Statistics in Kigali.³⁸⁰

He was killed on April 7, 1994 by the Presidential Guards at Hotel Méridien. He was shot. There is scanty information regarding where his body was thrown. His spouse was also killed during the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi but their children - Twagirayezu Vanessa and Twagirayezu Alexis - survived the 1994 horrific massacres.³⁸¹

21. Uwamariya Marie-Louise



Uwamariya Marie-Louise was born in 1965 in Gisagara, in former Butare Prefecture.³⁸² Her parents were Rubangura Joseph and Mukarutamu Alphonsine. She was the first daughter. In 1992, she got married to Mugabo Jean-Louis who was also employed by MINIPLAN. They had one child and lived in Nyamirambo.

She worked in the Statistics Department in the former Ministry of Planning at the Ministry's headquarters. She was amongst the Tutsi ministry staffs that were shortlisted for supporting RPF. She was at one time detained at Nyamirambo Stadium.

All of her family members were killed on April 7, 1994 at their home, formally known as 'Caisse Hypothécaire'. She was killed in Nyamirambo. She was shot dead and slaughtered

³⁷⁸ Ibid

³⁷⁹ Interview with her daughter, Twagirayezu Marie Louise, September 14, 2017

³⁸⁰ Ibid

³⁸¹ Ibid

³⁸² <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/108-uwamariya-m-louise>

with machetes and her assailants tied her neck with a belt. She will be remembered as God-loving person who was steadfast in prayer.³⁸³

22. Uwimbabazi Agnès



She was born in 1959 in Mabanza, in the former Kibuye Prefecture. Her parents were Karekezi Kabera and Kabazayire Régine. She completed eight years of primary education. They lived in Cyahafi, Kigali.³⁸⁴ She got married in 1983 and gave birth to one child called Akayezu Marie Noëlle.³⁸⁵ She was a Librarian in the former Ministry of Planning. During the 1990-1994 Civil War, she was imprisoned in former Nyarugenge on the accusation that she was an RPF-Inkotanyi accomplice.³⁸⁶

She was killed on April 10, 1994 with other Tutsis. She was slaughtered at Mpazi, Kimisagara. Her body has never been found to receive a decent burial. All her family members were massacred during the 1994 Genocide. Only her one child - Akayezu Marie Noëlle - survived the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.³⁸⁷ She will be remembered for her reserved character who was committed to prayer.³⁸⁸

Although there are some other Genocide victims on the MINECOFIN list of Genocide victims who worked in the former two ministries, their details could not be traced from their relatives or from MIFOTRA Human Resources Department. In this regard, the study was unable to trace the particular ministries they worked in. These include:

Table 9: Victims without contacts

No	Surname	Given name
01	No surname	Bernardin
02	No surname	Bosco
03	No surname	Damien

³⁸³ Interview with her brother, Kicukiro, September 17, 2017

³⁸⁴ <http://kwibuka.minecofin.gov.rw/kwibuka/index.php/profiles/109-uwimbabazi-agnes>

³⁸⁵ Interview with her daughter Akayezu Marie Noelle, September 17, 2017

³⁸⁶ Ibid

³⁸⁷ Ibid

³⁸⁸ Ibid

No	Surname	Given name
04	Hagama	Etienne
05	Kayisire	Lambert
06	Kayumba	Bosco
07	Mbonimana	Appolinaire
08	Mbonimpa	Alphonse
09	Ndahiro	Callixte
10	Ngirimana	Jean
11	Nkundabatenda	Felecien

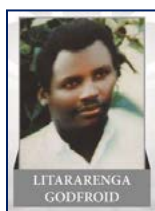
Source: Primary data, 2017

The above table shows the Genocide victims whose relatives could not be traced for interviews. Their files were untraceable in MIFOTRA.

4.7.3.2.1. BUNEP Genocide Victims

This project was affiliated to the former Ministry of Planning. It had five Tutsi employees two of whom were massacred during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. They included:

1. Litararenga Godfroid



He was born in 1957 in Bugesera. He was shot. He worked in the *Bureau National d' Etudes des Projets* in the Construction Department which was under the former Ministry of Planning. He served as an Accountant and maintained this position the initial date of his employment.

2. Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney³⁸⁹

Mbaguta was born in 1940 in Gatovu, in former Ruhashya Commune, Butare Prefecture. He was the son of Gakuba Déogratias and Kabarore Pascasie. He was married to Sekarimbwa and

³⁸⁹ On MINECOFIN list of Genocide victims, he appears as Mbaguta Jean-Marie but the study found out that he was called Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney

they had one child called Yves Delphine Mbaguta. He was born on December 7, 1970. He lived near former Nyarugenge Prison, former Nyarugenge Commune.

Mbaguta had a university Bachelor's degree in Economics from University of Nancy, France.³⁹⁰ He worked in the former BUNEP project with Employment No. 2163. He was first employed as the Head of the Planning Unit in 1983 and later become BUNEP's Director General in 1986.

4.7.3.2.2. PINAS Genocide Victims

The present study found that, since its inception, PINAS had no Tutsi employees. The reason was that the salaries in this project were very attractive compared to those in the ministry. No such salary and benefits were meant for Tutsi employees. Only Tutsis with particular skills and knowledge expertise - not possessed by any Hutu - were legible to be employed in lucrative project.

4.7.4. Other Ministries' Victims Killed During the Genocide

This section highlights Hutu victims of the 1994 Genocide who were killed because they were opposed to the perpetration of the Genocide against Tutsi. One name surfaced conspicuously and was mentioned by many respondents - Nsengiyumva Leonard aka Mukombozi. This person originated from Gikongoro. He was a Hutu employee in the former Ministry of Finance who was killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. He was killed because he had close relationships with the Tutsi and was partisan to PSD. He was killed in Kamembe, in former Cyangugu Prefecture.³⁹¹

4.7.5. Locations where Tutsi employees were massacred

The majority of the Tutsi employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning as well as BUNEP were killed in their respective areas of residence and/or homes or in surrounding environs, as well as in hideouts. On the other hand, three were killed while on work mission in former Butare, Bugesera and Gitarama Prefectures. Some Hutu employees were prevented from leaving their homes by the *Interahamwe* militias who operated within their zones across the country.

³⁹⁰ MIFOTRA archives, consulted on October 5, 2017

³⁹¹ Interview with a wife of his former colleague, August, 19, 2017

Other Tutsi employees - in the ministries - were killed while on the run for safety. Those who had taken refuge in schools and churches, were also killed there. During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, there was no safe place for hiding. Public places in Kigali where some Tutsi employees were killed included: St. André secondary school, *St. Famille*, Eto-Kicukiro vocational school and one who killed at Musha Catholic Church.

4.7.6. Weapons used in killing Tutsi employees

The weapons used to exterminate Tutsi employees in the two former ministries and BUNEP were of three categories - classical, traditional and rape as tool of perpetrating violence and Genocide.

4.7.6.1. Classical and traditional weapons

The weapons mainly used to Tutsi staff in the ministries were the same as those used across the country. Tutsi victims were killed with firearms bought by the State. Others were killed using traditional weapons which were either domestically owned by the perpetrators or supplied to them by the genocidal government. Classical weapons used in perpetrating violence were grenades, small arms and light weapons while traditional weapons included machetes, *impiri* (clubs), sticks, swords and knives. Some were also killed by drowning, arson (torching houses/property) or barehanded assault. However, the findings of this study show that the majority of the Genocide victims in the two former ministries were killed by the use of machetes.

The above finding is corroborated by government statistics according to which traditional weapons were largely used in massacring Tutsi in the entire country. Statistically, the most common means of murder were committed by using machetes (37.9%), clubs (16.8%), and firearms (14.8%).³⁹² Some of these traditional weapons were supplied to Hutu extremists slightly before and during the course of Genocide. These weapons were acquired from two main sources – a prominent businessman called Félicien Kabuga and other prominent business people in the country.

4.7.6.2. Rape as a weapon: An institutional untold ordeal

The findings of this study indicate that some of the former female employees, or the employees' daughters, were sexually abused or raped during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. This sexual violence was used with the intent of exterminating or destroying, in whole or in

³⁹² Rutayisire, *The History of Genocide*, chap. 4

part, the former ministerial employees and their relatives. A respondent tagged as MD1117 argued that, “*Women and girls who worked in the former Ministry of Finance and Planning suffered rape violence but they feared to testify their atrocity. I know it, it happened [...]*.”³⁹³ It was committed either by their former Hutu employees or other *Interahamwe* militias who were either known or not to the former Tutsi employees. The aim was not to further the extermination process of the Tutsi employees in particular, and the Tutsi ethnic group in general.

The act of Genocide rape done to the Tutsi employees was largely ignited by the media propaganda that incited the Hutu to hate Tutsi women in particular. This is attested by RUR1017 who said that, “*Violence against Tutsi women was first taught in the 10 Hutu Commandments against the Tutsi, therefore, raping Tutsi girls and women was a planned act.*”³⁹⁴ Violence against women was portrayed by the media through print and radio. The print media that incited violence against women was Kangura; RTLM broadcasted similar messages on radio. It was largely taught and diffused through the 10 Hutu commandments against the Tutsi. This media propaganda portrayed Tutsi women as untrustworthy – which is why Tutsi women employees in the former MINIFIN and MINIPLAN could not have escaped such sexual violence.

Generally, across the whole country, it is estimated that between 200,000 and 500,000 women faced sexual abuse during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.³⁹⁵ Thus, sexual abuse and rape were used as a tool to exterminate Tutsi. Like the women and girls who worked in the two former ministries with their affiliated agencies, the effects of this abuse were felt by all female victims. Some victims were infected with HIV/AIDS intentionally so that they would die gradually. Such victims did not only face the wrath of the disease but also the disease has had socio-psycho effects such as forced impregnation.

4.7.7. Preparatory Meetings of the Genocide against Ministries’ Tutsi employees

The section below explains the meetings that were organized in both ministries which aimed at planning the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. However, the aim of these meetings was twofold: (1) to buy weapons to be used in the Genocide and (2) to organize how to kill Tutsi employees. The meetings organized to buy weapons were highly sensitive and they took place

³⁹³ Interview with DM1117, at Kimihurura sector, September 16, 2017

³⁹⁴ Interview with RUR1017 at Rwanda Revenue Authority, October 15, 2017

³⁹⁵ Rutayisire P., & Byanafashe D., *History of Rwanda: From the Beginning to the End of the Twentieth Century*. Kigali: NURC, 2016, p. 634

in various locations – in BNR, former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and Ministry of Defense. A former employee who is also a public servant in the current government revealed the confidentiality of these meetings: “*Such meetings were highly confidential and no junior staff could be informed*”.³⁹⁶ Another respondent stressed the caliber of people who attended them: “*They were only attended by Ministers and the Governor of BNR ...*”³⁹⁷ Another respondent abbreviated as MG1217 also revealed: “*The meetings were supposed to be confidential because they aimed at using State treasure which was meant for development but which was being diverted to buy weapons to kill citizens*”,³⁹⁸.

On the other hand, there were some meetings that were held at both ministries with the aim of planning to execute the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Such meetings were organized by the ministries’ high ranking officials and sometimes by political party representatives in both ministries. A witness in the former Customs Department said that: “*Hutu extremists organized meetings to execute Genocide against the Tutsi, alongside their party affiliations.*”³⁹⁹ Another respondent from the former Ministry of Finance further revealed: “*Such meetings to execute the Genocide generally took place every Friday of the week.*”⁴⁰⁰ Yet another respondent in the former Tax Department at Muhima underscored: “*Those meetings not only aimed at planning the Genocide within institutions but they also went beyond ministry employees [...] but different areas [...] they were the think tanks for the illiterate people in their respective areas.*”⁴⁰¹

4.8. Violent acts against the Tutsi employees in the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning during the 1994 Genocide

The violent acts unleashed against the Tutsi employees and their relatives were not different from others that took place in other parts of the country. These acts were harsher to women employees or spouses of men employees as well as to children. As for men employees, some were brutally tortured for a short while before being killed, yet others were killed immediately though in a violent way. These acts included slaughtering victims and living them to die later.

Some women employees and spouses of men employees were subjected to sexual violence. This was a systematic act that was applied across the country. In fact, it was a tool that was

³⁹⁶ Interview with XMS at Kimihurura, September 16, 2017

³⁹⁷ Interview with NJH at NISR, September 29, 2017

³⁹⁸ Interview with GHF in Remera sector, September 26, 2017

³⁹⁹ Interview with NJH at NISR, September 29, 2017

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with VNH at NISR, September 16, 2017

⁴⁰¹ Interview with PMH at NISR, September 17, 2017

used to humiliate women and girls, their families and the Tutsi in general. In this study, it was difficult to generate the statistics of the number of women who worked in the former ministries who were victims of rape or those of their daughters but many confessions of rape against women were rampant.

The interviewees acknowledged that the rape effects were psychologically and emotionally damaging. This was more apparent to victims who were contaminated with HIV/AIDS. To them, it is psychological problem experienced on daily basis either directly or indirectly. It led to personal trauma that was hard to get rid of despite the nature of counseling services provided.

Two daughters of Tutsi employees in the Ministry of Finance and Planning who were raped gave birth to unwanted children of the perpetrators. This also created psychosocial issues to the victims resulting from the children born of rape. These psychological problems manifested themselves at personal, family and societal levels. In most cases, the children were perceived as the “children of perpetrators” on family and society levels which also created trauma to the children themselves.⁴⁰²

Deep cruelty against the children of Tutsi employees was witnessed during the Genocide against the Tutsi. These children were seen as future threats which are why they could not be spared, anyway. The violent acts included throwing children alive in pit latrines, banging them on house walls or leaving them to die of hunger after killing their parent(s).

In some cases, the children were slaughtered alongside their parent(s) or even at school. These acts were committed by the *Interahamwe* militias (men or women), local authorities and the Security personnel under State directives.

4.9. Acts of destroying Genocide facts during the Genocide

The Genocide perpetrators who massacred Tutsi employees in the former ministries and their affiliated agencies tried to erase Genocide facts in different areas where victims were massacred. It was a well-planned and coordinated strategy of wiping out Genocide facts with the intention of denying it at a later stage. Nonetheless, they forgot that distorting such Genocide evidence was completely impossible because it was executed in broad daylight. In fact, systematic erasing of facts or denying Genocide is the last stage of any Genocide. The perpetra-

⁴⁰² Interview with MADGV at Nyamirambo, September 18, 2017

tors had wished to achieve total extinction of Tutsi employees, distort their history and obliterate the memory of their survived relatives and/or the memory of the victims.

It is important to note that such historical distortion was not only directed to former Tutsi employees in the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Planning and their affiliated agencies but also to all the Tutsi in general. In this regard, the study findings indicate that the majority of the Genocide victims were dumped in landfills or in mass-graves as a way of erasing Genocide facts. One of the relatives of the Genocide victim testified the above fact:

*“When the Genocide started, the Interahamwe had dug different landfills across Kigali, so that wherever they could finish killing the Tutsi, their bodies were directly thrown in those landfills or put in vehicles and taken to different landfills designated for that purpose [...]”*⁴⁰³

In reference to the above testimony, there were some other bodies of Tutsis who were killed and their bodies were packed in tracks and taken to unknown destinations. The bodies were either dumped in distant landfills or were thrown in River Nyabarongo. Other bodies were beheaded and burned alive but such cases were largely minimal. Another witness underscored this point:

“[...] Many bodies that were loaded on tracks and taken to different destinations were either taken to be dumped in distant or unknown landfills or be thrown in River Nyabarongo. There was a time when these landfills came to their capacity and bodies were transported and thrown River Nyabarongo”.⁴⁰⁴

According to another respondent, one former Tutsi employee in MINIPLAN was killed while on duty and his body was drowned in Lake Kivu.⁴⁰⁵ As for other victims, their bodies were dumped in pit-latrines. A respondent who witnessed such acts being committed by the perpetrators, narrated the ordeal: *“Some bodies were also thrown in pit-latrines either in private or public places”*.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Interview with MADGV at Nyamirambo, September 18, 2017

⁴⁰⁴ Interview with MASGV at Kagugu, November 20, 2017

⁴⁰⁵ Interview with victim's relative, August 17, 2017

⁴⁰⁶ Interview with MJDGV at Kaciru, September 18, 2017

4.10. Social group relations in post-Genocide period

At the end of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the social relations between the Hutu and Tutsi employees became so fragile in both ministries under study. There was mistrust especially between Genocide victims and Hutu employees who were in Rwanda during the Genocide. The Tutsi survivors perceived fellow Hutu employees as killers, bad people, Tutsi haters, and so on. As for Hutu employees, they lived in persistent fear of Tutsi reprisal and revenge at any time, either at the workplace or outside it. Nobody could talk to each other. This state of affairs was witnessed especially from 1995 to 1999.⁴⁰⁷

Later on, as the government was preaching unity and reconciliation, establishing the rule of law and order and building state institutions, social cohesion and unity between the Hutu employees and Tutsi Genocide survivors started to improve gradually. Today, there is great improvement in employees' social relationships and social cohesion as narrated by Respondent XMCM:

“when you look at the social cohesion between the Hutu and Tutsi employees, by then, right after the 1994 Genocide in the former Ministry of Finance, there was total mistrust, hatred, fear and ethnic divisions but it is no longer the case today.”⁴⁰⁸

Within the current MINECOFIN, unity and social cohesion has drastically been restored and rebuilt on intra personal and inter-personal levels or even better than what it was before 1994. Today, there is unity and social cohesion amongst all institutional employees which is a result of the national policy of unity and reconciliation, spearheaded by the current Government of National Unity.

4.10.1. Genocide commemoration in MINECOFIN

MINECOFIN recognizes Genocide commemoration as a national responsibility for the institution that provides a platform for its staff to learn from the past and be able to build a better future. Like other State institutions, the event is done on annual basis. It brings together not only the Ministry's staff but also former employees of the two ministries under study as well as the relatives of the victims of Genocide who worked in those ministries. Through Genocide

⁴⁰⁷ General information from respondents who work in different state institutions that were previously under the former Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning – before the merger of the two state institutions.

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with XMCM at Kimihurura, September 27, 2017

commemoration, the ministry has enabled the former employees to remember their beloved ones. This event has helped to establish a critical process of healing survivors as well as enhancing the process of unity and reconciliation in the country.

According to the Ministry, the event of commemorating Genocide is not only about remembering the victims' lives but also their contribution to the country's development. It is worth recognizing that Genocide victims had worked for their nation but the latter turned against them and killed them through planning and sponsoring a State-sponsored Genocide. This was asserted by the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Claver Gatete, during the 23rd commemoration at MINECOFIN. He asserted: "We have to remember that those who lost their lives had contributed not only to our lives but to the country as well. To regain our dignity we have to give them dignity too".⁴⁰⁹

The commemoration of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi has also helped to heal the wounds through collective remembrance. As an event, it provides a platform for all Rwandans to rethink about their past and provide a sense of belonging to the victims. In this regard, commemorating the Genocide in MINECOFIN has provided an opportunity for the staff, relatives of the former ministry's employees in particular and other Rwandans in general to learn from the experts on Rwanda's history that led to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, its effects and prevention.

One ministry official stressed that "all Rwandans were affected by the Genocide and its effects have continued to manifest themselves as trans-generational." This is because a large number of victims are still live with wounded experiences and their children continue to be confronted with trans-generational trauma. Since 2011, MINECOFIN started Genocide commemoration and invited all the Genocide survivors as well as the relatives of the Genocide victims who worked in the former two institutions. From 2016, the commemoration activities started to be collectively organized by MINECOFIN, Genocide survivors and relatives of the Genocide victims.

The photo below shows the Genocide against the Tutsi (#Kwibuka23) was collectively commemorated:

⁴⁰⁹ Statement by Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Claver Gatete, during the 19 commemoration event at MINECOFIN, May 19, 2017



Courtesy Photo: MINECOFIN staff, survivors and relatives of Genocide victims who worked in the former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and their affiliated agencies commemorating the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi (#Kwibuka23) at the Ministry headquarters on June 2, 2017.

Lastly, understanding the history of Genocide has enabled the ministry staff and relatives of the former employees to prevent its reoccurrence. A ministry employee reassured the nation that: “*Genocide commemoration brings strengths by remembering the history of Genocide and ensures that the tragedy will never happen again.*”⁴¹⁰ Though the ministry cannot change the history of the country singlehandedly, Genocide commemoration has become a collective event through which the ministry staff learns to overcome past evil deeds and to forge for a new future.

4.10.2. Supporting Genocide survivors

The 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi devastated Rwanda’s social, political and economic fabric as well as the population, particularly, the Genocide survivors. As a result, the Government of National Unity established after 1994 embarked on different programs to support vulnerable families, including those of Genocide survivors. However, among the priorities of identified by government, there was need to rehabilitate and support the Genocide survivors who had undergone tremendous suffering. Not only had their families and bread-

⁴¹⁰ A Genocide survivor during the 23rd commemoration event at the MINECOFIN, Kigali, June 2, 2017.

winner been wiped out, but most of their properties had also been lost and destroyed, leaving the survivors vulnerable and needy.

The support by MINECOFIN is not based on its institutional budget rather on individual staff contributions under the guidance of the management. The contribution made is both financial and moral. It is extended to different categories of vulnerable survivors and the victim's relatives. This has been achieved as follows:

4.10.2.1. Support to *Imararungu* Association

In 2011, MINECOFIN staff tabled an idea of supporting vulnerable Genocide survivors to complement the support provided by the State. In the same year, based on consultations with FARG, a group of vulnerable Genocide survivors known as *Imararungu* Association in Kamonyi District was formed. It was made of children of Genocide survivors.

Through staff financial contributions, they managed to raise over 3 million Rwanda Francs. Since the majority of the children were in school and with limited capacity to use the money for other income generation activities, MINECOFIN agreed to buy cows for them. Consequently, 10 cows were bought and given to the association.

In 2013, MINECOFIN staff raised 5 million RwF for the same association. In consultation with the beneficiaries, it was agreed to start an income generation project. The project consisted of purchasing a public address system (PA) as well as chairs and tents to be used during important events organized frequently by the community.

4.10.2.2. Support to relatives of former Tutsi employees

On annual basis, MINECOFIN staff contributes towards moral support of vulnerable relatives of Genocide victims in the ministries under study. This support is done through get-together activities. At least, each year two vulnerable families of Genocide victims are visited by MINECOFIN staff and given a minimum of 200,000 RwF. Last but not least, from 2016, the ministry provides and facilitates children to do internship whose parents were killed while on service in the two former ministries.

4.11.3. Fighting Genocide ideology and denial

Genocide ideology in Rwanda is defined as *“an aggregate of thoughts characterized by conduct, speeches, documents and other acts aiming at exterminating or inciting others to exter-*

minate people basing on ethnic belonging, origin, nationality, region, color, physical appearance, sex, language, religion or political opinion and committed in normal periods or during war”.⁴¹¹ This ideology is characterized by the following:

- ✚ *Threatening, intimidating, degrading through defamatory speeches, documents or actions which aim at propounding wickedness or inciting hatred;*
- ✚ *Marginalizing, laughing at one’s misfortune, defaming, mocking, boasting, despising, degrading creating confusion aiming at negating the Genocide which occurred, stirring up ill feelings, taking revenge, altering testimony or evidence for the Genocide which occurred;*
- ✚ *Killing, planning to kill or attempting to kill someone for purposes of furthering Genocide ideology.*⁴¹²

Like any other Rwanda’s public institution, MINECOFIN adheres to fighting against the Genocide ideology and its denial within the institution and beyond. In addition, the ministry management is determined to fight divisionism and discrimination that characterized the former ministries and the country in general. A ministry employee argued gave the following reminder: “We came from far. We have to teach the young generation about the bad impacts of the Genocide ideology by urging people to co-exist with one another because we are one and let’s strive for self-reliance while developing our country,”⁴¹³

Another interviewee underscored:

*“Fighting against the Genocide ideology is not only about making sure that it does not re-occur but also being keen on exposing the truth on what happened during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi so that we can learn from our divisive past.”*⁴¹⁴

All the above was complemented by the relative of a Genocide victim: *“Fighting against the Genocide ideology has to do with correcting the past wrongs by eradicating ideologies that are akin to ethnicity [...] and I think that is what the government has focused on [...]”*⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ Law N°18/2008 Of 23/07/2008 Relating to the Punishment Of The Crime Of Genocide Ideology

⁴¹² Ibidem

⁴¹³ Dancille Mukandori, staff at MINECOFIN, during the 13th Genocide commemoration at MINECOFIN

⁴¹⁴ Interview with MINECOFIN staff, September 16, 2017

⁴¹⁵ Interview with Kalishesha Diane at Kaciru, September 18, 2017

Lastly, one of the officials in MINECOFIN gave expert advice:

*“To eradicate Genocide ideology should be through policy and education frameworks as well as enhancing research activities [...] research is crucial in building data banks that will teach the young and coming generations about what happened and making sure that what befell Rwanda does not re-occur anymore.”*⁴¹⁶

Thus, denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi by some Rwandans or foreigners is ridiculous and tantamount to harboring Genocide ideology.⁴¹⁷ One relative of the Genocide victim said that: “Genocide denial itself negatively affects Genocide survivors in one way or the other.”⁴¹⁸ Another one retorted, “It is imperative to fight Genocide denial so as to prevent its re-occurrence.”⁴¹⁹ A survivor of Genocide who currently works in MINECOFIN recommended that: “The government should legally or diplomatically deal with people (in exile) who use Genocide denial for the pursuit of their own political interests. This is because the severity of its consequences will continue to haunt survivors”⁴²⁰ in particular and Rwandans in general.

4.12. Testimonies from the survivors and/or victim relatives

The testimonies of the survivors or Genocide victim relatives deal with themes that range from socio-economic welfare, justice, politics, unity and reconciliation. These testimonies reflect various feelings from the past commemoration events and those collected from the field.

During the 21st commemoration event that was held in the ministry, one of the Genocide survivors noted that:

“We were hunted down and killed because of what and who we are. We lost our beloved ones but the God who protected us during Genocide against the Tutsi will always be with us. Today we have hope, we enjoy rights just like everyone else and our future is bright

⁴¹⁶ Interview with MINECOFIN staff, September 16, 2017

⁴¹⁷ Ibid

⁴¹⁸ Interview with a daughter of the Genocide victim in Kicukiro, October 5, 2017

⁴¹⁹ Interview with a daughter of the Genocide victim in Kicukiro, September 19, 2017

⁴²⁰ Interview with MINECOFIN staff, September 25, 2017

*thanks to the leadership that doesn't discriminate whatsoever. Only if those who departed could see this transformation [...]"*⁴²¹

Another Genocide survivor during the 23rd commemoration event narrated that: "My husband was killed when I was 8 months pregnant [...] but I managed to survive and life is going on well despite the tragedy past."

Yet another Genocide survivor and former employee in the ministry praised RPF and the government:

*"RPF-Inkotanyi⁴²² not only saved us but they have also given hope to life. The Government of National Unity has done everything possible to give us hope for tomorrow in various ways. We are given shelter, health care, access to education, and support of all kind that we need".*⁴²³

This was complemented by a survivor who currently works in MINECOFIN:

*"[...] there is hope that the past will never re-occur, considering the efforts made by the Government of National Unity in transforming the country which is free of discrimination and which is bent on uniting and reconciling Rwandans."*⁴²⁴

A relative of the former employee stressed how the genocidal regime had no respect for human rights:

*"During the genocidal regime, all categories of Rwandans had no right to survive, right to education, right to employment, etc but above all, they had no equal rights to nationality [...] today all Rwandans have equal access to all these rights which is an important step to our sustainable future [...]"*⁴²⁵.

A daughter of the Genocide victim stressed the question of equality as one of the ways for rebuilding the country:

⁴²¹ Alice Gasengayire, a representative of families of former MINECOFIN employees' statement during the 22 Genocide commemoration on June 13, 2015. Available at http://www.cnl.gov.rw/news-details/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=303&cHash=fale75928f7d757e287e79e96cd0775c

⁴²² Literally meaning the former forces that stopped the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, also known as RPF-Inkotanyi which had both a political and military wing during the liberation war

⁴²³ Interview with DMBU at MINECOFIN, September 29, 2017

⁴²⁴ Interview with Mukatamuni Justine, September 17, 2017

⁴²⁵ Interview with Mukatamuni Justine, September 17, 2017

*“The government is committed to rebuilding the nation through various development programs, reconciling Rwandans, enhancing justice, fighting corruption and others. This means building a country where all categories of Rwandans feel equal and safe”.*⁴²⁶

However, another respondent underscored the impact of Genocide denial:

*“[...] the government is doing all possible to rebuild our country but the genocidal forces or Genocide ideology is still within some peoples’ minds [...] look at the various forms of Genocide denial either in the country or outside it.”*⁴²⁷

In view of the above, the interviewed Genocide survivors and the Genocide victims’ relatives agree that Genocide ideology can be totally eradicated in the near future given the policies and mechanisms that government has put in place.

The above view was shared by another respondent who is a Genocide survivor. He narrated that: “Genocide ideology was taught to the Hutu for a long time, I think since late 1950s and came to explode in 1994 when the Tutsi were massacred by the State. Therefore, eradicating it cannot take a short period. You know in our Rwandan culture there is a saying that ‘*gusenya inzu biroroha kuruta kuyubaka*’ which literally means that ‘destroying a house is simpler than its construction.’ [...] It may take time to de-construct the ideology but we have hope that the Genocide ideology will be completely de-constructed.”⁴²⁸

In an attempt to eradicate the Genocide ideology at all levels, of Rwandans, one of the respondents (former employee’s relative) focused on the issue of those who have not faced justice:

*“The government has done well in apprehending Genocide criminals of all categories. We are grateful to government for this endeavor. The only problem is those Genocide fugitives living in various countries that have not yet faced justice”.*⁴²⁹

It should be noted that trauma has continued to be suffered by many Genocide survivors and Genocide victims’ relatives. Commenting on this issue, one respondent affirmed that “*Trauma is increasingly becoming unbearable especially to our young children.*” This was again asserted by a renowned Rwandan psychologist Professor Vincent Sezibera on 14 July 2017

⁴²⁶ Interview with Kalishesha Diane, September 18, 2017

⁴²⁷ Interview with Annonciata Umuhiza, September 15, 2017

⁴²⁸ Interview with Mukasano Judith, September 18, 2017

⁴²⁹ Interview with the former employee in MINIFIN, September 17, 2017

when he was moderating the Workshop on Trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in the post-Genocide Rwanda at Nobleza Hotel, Kigali. He commented that, “*23 year after the Genocide, the problems of Trauma and PTSD still persist amongst the Genocide survivors and continue to be transmitted from one generation to another*”.⁴³⁰

This trauma and depression are not only felt by Genocide survivors but also by the perpetrators to some extent. A few Genocide perpetrators tend to be traumatized for the killings and other crimes against humanity they committed. But when all is said and done, trauma affects the survivors most, their children and relatives.

⁴³⁰http://cnlg.gov.rw/news-details/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=2092&cHash=dbdbac0f2c3efa98217e9edca66685a9 – accessed on November 30, 2017

CHAPTER FIVE: LESSONS LEARNT, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Lessons Learnt

The Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi employees in the two former ministries - Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning with their affiliated agencies – would have been preventable if the principle of collective responsibility was applied. However, this was not the case for several reasons. First, the Genocide against the Tutsi was a State-sponsored Genocide, planned and entrenched in the structures of the former regimes since 1963. According to the findings of the present study, the State sanctioned and institutionalized hatred, dehumanization and demonization of the Tutsi ethnic group in all spheres of life. In other words, the crimes and atrocities perpetrated against the Tutsi were done with the involvement of various actors within the former ministries and beyond.

In this regard, the two former ministries and their affiliated agencies were simply implementing a State-sponsored ideology which sought to massacre all the Tutsi employees. The entire process began as a hate-ideology with roots from the ‘1959 Hutu Revolution’ that ignited the racial divide that separated Rwandans using terms like ‘us’ and ‘them’ to dehumanize the Tutsi as ‘cockroaches’, ‘snakes’ and/or ‘enemies’. It should be noted that no ministry official tried to prevent the implementation of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Some of the State agents were perpetrators while others became bystanders either in their respective institutions or their areas of residence and domiciles.

The conspiracy to unleash violence to and perpetrate Genocide against the former Tutsi employees in the two former ministries under study largely involved State and non-State institutions. What took place in the above institutions cannot be analyzed without considering the events that happened in the entire country. Since Rwanda was characterized by the culture of impunity, the former Cabinet ministers and other government officials felt that violence against the Tutsi employees was a normal act that manifested the State’s intent to erase the Tutsi from Rwandan soil. In this connection, the following lessons can be deduced from the 1994 Genocide that was perpetrated against the Tutsi:

Lesson #1: Never again to violence and divisive politics of all forms in Rwanda

The acts of violence and the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi employees in the two former ministries was a State-sponsored atrocity intended to eliminate the entire Tutsi ethnic

group, not only within the institutions they were working but in the entire country at large. The State inspired hate ideology succeeded in corrupting and manipulating the minds of some Hutu employees who dehumanized the Tutsi employees over a period of time. This took place while the Ministry officials and the State were keeping their watch.

For all intents and purposes, this racial divide was a systemic strategy planned against the Tutsi employees from the 1959 and 1963 political crises, during which period, the two ministries under study were created. Henceforth, MINECOFIN has learnt that violence and divisive politics of forms all have no place in this country.

Lesson #2: Preventing the Genocide is a collective responsibility

Another lesson carried by the present study on the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi - in the two former ministries under study - is that preventing the re-occurrence of Genocide is not only possible but it is also a collective responsibility of each and every citizen to protect people's rights against abuses and mass atrocities. Therefore, MINECOFIN staff have learnt that preventing Genocide was/is possible if each and every citizen played their role in breaking the divisive cycle of violence that characterized the two former institutions and the country in general.

Lesson #3: The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi employees left a permanent legacy as a crime against the entire mankind

At the entrance of MINECOFIN, there is a Genocide monument that depicts the permanency of the Genocide legacy. In addition, as shown in the literature provided in the present study, the procurement and supply of arms by the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning which conspired with the former Ministry of Defense and BNR, demonstrated that the above State institutions planned and implemented the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi both at ministerial and national levels. The testimonies by the former employees in the ministries under study elucidate this bitter fact. The crimes committed against the former Tutsi employees by their fellow Hutu employees and/or the *Interahamwe* militias was not only a crime against the Tutsi employees as an entity but a crime against all Rwandans and a crime against humanity as a whole – such a legacy left an indelible mark that will live and stay permanently in Rwanda and the world at large.

Lesson #4: Rwandans have a common destiny which lies in their own hands

The Tutsi employees in the former ministries were massacred and exterminated by some of their Hutu colleagues despite sharing with them similar norms and values: they shared the same language and culture and some employees were sheltered under the same offices. The Genocide atrocities committed by colleagues against fellow colleagues, neighbors against their neighbors and ministry officials planning and implementing decisions to kill citizens they were supposed to protect is something that continues to defy many people's understanding in modern history. The right to live and the right to citizenship are fundamentally natural and constitutional rights.

Lesson #5: Unity and social cohesion are paramount in achieving sustainable development

The Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in the former ministries and their agencies under study shows that no society or country characterized by hate ideology can succeed in its endeavors. The hate ideology is always bound to fail. This is why the promotion of unity and social cohesion amongst MINECOFIN staff and beyond are of paramount importance for present and future generations to achieve sustainable development.

Lesson #6: Only total justice for the Genocide victims can bring permanent peace

According to the findings of the present study, the Tutsi victims and survivors who were employed in the two former ministries and their agencies should be accorded justice for the crimes committed against them or their relatives. Despite Rwanda's socio-economic transformation, and despite the security enjoyed by the survivors and relatives of Genocide victims in the former institutions, it was established by this study that the healing process cannot take place without justice being done. This is because the majority of Genocide perpetrators - whether employed in the former ministries or not - currently live in exile as a result of the crimes they committed. Despite many efforts made by the Government of Rwanda to bring the perpetrators to book, some members of the international community have prevented justice from taking its normal course.

Lesson #7: Collective commemoration of Genocide is a prerequisite in preventing its re-occurrence

The findings of this study have shown that without the spirit of collective commemoration of Genocide, it is impossible to heal trauma among the victims and transform the country's divisive past. Thus, it can be deduced that resisting evil is a moral obligation that should be handled on collective basis. In other words, the collective commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi is one of the measures intended to prevent its re-occurrence. Hence, commemoration should go beyond focusing on Genocide survivors and should embrace each and every Rwandan.

5.2. Summary of findings

The Tutsi who worked in the former Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning and their affiliated agencies faced a number of violent acts, torture and discrimination of all forms, as did the State, private institutions, civil societies and the country as a whole. Institutional discrimination and segregation against the Tutsi employees before 1990 and up to the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi was not different from what took place in the entire country. The process of planning the Genocide was based on the State agenda of exterminating all the Tutsi community within the Rwandan territory.

Social relationships between the former Hutu and Tutsi employees before October 1, 1990 were based on ethnic differences from 1962 when the Ministry of Finance (planning was a department therein) was created. It was later endorsed by the Second Republic. This institutional ethnicization was characterised by Tutsi discrimination, dehumanization and hatred. The above injustices were headed by institutional leaders or Hutu extremists within the framework of their affiliated parties - MDR- PARMEHUTU - that governed the country in the First Republic and MRND in the Second Republic.

The discriminatory and hateful practices against the Tutsi employees were not only felt at work premises but also within their homes and areas of residence. Thus, it was a systematic oppression that Tutsi employees were subjected to in various aspects of life. During the First Republic, anti-Tutsi sentiments among employees became the order of the day to the extent that many employees started perceiving them as part of working culture. In the Second Republic, the contemporary patterns of discrimination, segregation and hatred against the Tutsi employees continued, alongside the injustice in the employment procedures.

During the Liberation struggle, social relationships became more tense and volatile. Open torture and inhumane treatment towards Tutsi employees by Hutu extremists increasingly doubled from prior to October 1, 1990. Abuse, dehumanization and unjust imprisonment of some Tutsi employees became violently persistent with various effects. Polarization and dehumanization of the Tutsi employees became manifest by labeling them as ‘cockroaches’, ‘snakes’. But most importantly, the perception as ‘enemies’ or ‘traitors’ of the country landed many Tutsis in prison, accusing them of being accomplices of RPF-Inkotanyi.

The findings of the present study indicate that the majority of the Tutsi employees were killed within their respective neighborhoods while others were massacred in different places where they had taken refuge. Three of the victim employees were killed while on work mission. The fact remains that the Genocide history of these employees dates as far back as 1962. Actual implementation of the Genocide began in 1992 when two Tutsi employees were imprisoned and killed. Effective and real massacre of the Tutsi employees began between April 7-8, 1994 and the last one was reportedly killed at the end of June 1994. The bodies of the Genocide victims were thrown into landfills and pit-latrines as a way of erasing Genocide facts. It is important to note that some bodies were loaded on trucks and taken to unknown destinations – such bodies could have been thrown either into landfills or in River Nyabarongo.

According to the relatives who got a chance to find out how their loved ones were killed, the common assertion was that they were either killed by machetes, grenades or guns. These weapons were owned by the Interahamwe civilian militias, the gendarmerie and the army. Similarly, on institutional level, the ministries under study, in collaboration with BNR played a leading role in buying arms and weapons that were used to kill not only their former employees, but also Rwandans in general. Though the country was not authorized to buy the aforementioned arms based on some provisions of UN resolutions, the government proceeded to do so notwithstanding. This was done through wiring State funds to its embassies in Egypt, France, South Africa, etc. to buy arms that were used to kill its citizens as well as Western companies that conspired with the government that was in such dirty deals to buy arms.

In the post-Genocide context, three dimensions have been analysed: Genocide commemoration, supporting Genocide survivors and fighting Genocide ideology within MINECOFIN. First, Genocide commemoration within the ministry is collectively owned and organised by the ministry staff, former Tutsi staff and relatives of the Genocide victims who worked in the former institutions. In summation, remembering the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi on an-

nual basis enables the actors to learn from the past and find solutions that are pertinent in transforming the country as well as healing the survivors. Secondly, MINECOFIN staff, in support with management through individual capacity, provides financial and moral support to the survivors of Genocide who worked in the former institutions and their relatives. Third, fighting the Genocide ideology - in the institution and beyond - is undisputable and is regarded as a collective endeavor by the institution.

Last but not least, the testimonies made by the survivors or relatives of the former employees who were killed during the Genocide against the Tutsi indicate that there is hope for life and a sustainable Rwanda. This is ascertained by their individual testimonies in various manifestations: unity and reconciliation, peace-building, justice, rule of law, governance and democracy, to mention a few. Their hope is based on the current government's initiatives to transform the past into a society of peaceful co-existence, free of Genocide against any people.

5.3. Conclusion

The Tutsi employees in the two former ministries – Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning - lived and worked in an environment that was characterized by discrimination, hatred and dehumanization both at their workplaces and their respective neighborhoods. The patterns of violence to which they were subjected varied from period to period. The mistreatment they underwent prior October 1, 1990 was totally different from what they went through during the Liberation struggle. The torture and inhumane treatment experienced during the Liberation War was tense, cruel and brutal in nature. This is because during the Liberation struggle the perpetrators of this violence became more active. The latter included Hutu extremists within the Ministries, civilian militias and state security operatives.

All in all, the violent nature in which the Tutsi employees were massacred during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was not different from what happened elsewhere in the entire country. Indeed, a mixture of weapons was used, such as guns, machetes and clubs as well as spears and arrows, which were more commonly used in rural areas. Many bodies were left in open space, others were dumped in toilets and pits and pit-latrines - either dead or alive - while some were potentially thrown into River Nyabarongo or Lake Kivu.

Despite this dark past for Rwanda, the survivors of the Genocide who were employees or are still employees of the current MINECOFIN - as well as their relatives - have continued to nurture hope for a peaceful future. This is in line with the current commitment by the Govern-

ment of National Unity that works tirelessly to address Rwanda's divisive past, fighting against the Genocide ideology and its denial as well as uniting and reconciling all Rwandans so that the Genocide tragedy does not re-occur.

5.4. Recommendations

Based on the present study's findings, the following recommendations are made and directed to MINECOFIN, MINISANTE and the Ministry of Justice.

5.4.1. To MINECOFIN

- The ministry should continuously build mutual social support with the employees - of the former MINIFIN, MINIPLAN and their affiliated agencies - who survived the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi as well as the relatives of the Genocide victims who worked in those institutions.
- The ministry should uphold the spirit of collective participation in organizing Genocide commemoration activities on annual basis, i.e. between MINECOFIN and the Genocide survivors as well as the relatives of the Genocide victims who worked in the former institutions.
- MINECOFIN should facilitate its staff (especially the ordinary ones) to access civic education programs like the directors and other top officials have done, as a preventive mechanism.
- Based on the findings of the present study as highlighted in Section 1.7, it is recommended that the database of all Genocide victims in MINECOFIN should be completed and updated, particularly with regard to the incomplete profiles of Genocide victims whose relatives were untraceable for interviews. In this connection, further research on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in government institutions should focus on the following topics:
 - *Digitalization of human resource files by MIFOTRA*
 - *Digitalization of Gacaca court files by the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide (CNLG).*
- In addition, future research on the Genocide against the Tutsi in the two former ministries should also access the former institutional employees' files in Rwanda Social Security Board (RSSB), National Bank of Rwanda (BNR) and the former *Institut Superi-*

eur de Finance Publique because it is expected that more information to complement the data base of Genocide victims is therein.

5.4.2. To Ministry of Health (MINISANTE)

- MINISANTE should develop sustainable support programs for Genocide survivors facing severe trauma.

5.4.3. Ministry of Justice (MINIJUST)

MINIJUST should track all Genocide perpetrators who worked in the former Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and their affiliated agencies - and who are currently living out of the country - to come back and face justice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alusala, Nelson, *The Arming of Rwanda, and the Genocide*. Cape Town: African Security Review. Vol. 13, No. 2, 2004.
- Arms Project, *Advance Search and Tips, Arming Rwanda - The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwandan War*, 2004. Retrieved July 20, 2017, from <http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/3ae6a7fc8.html>
- As de Vos, *Research at Grass Roots*. 2nd edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 2002.
- Bizimana, Jean-Damascene, *Inzira ya Jenocide Yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali: CNLG, 2014.
- Blaxter, Loraine, Hughes, Christina & Tight, Malcolm, *How to Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996.
- Burns, Robert, *Introduction to Research Method*. London: Sage, 2000.
- Clark, Phil, "Bringing the Peasants Back in Again: State Power and Local Agency in Rwanda's Gacaca courts", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8:2, pp. 193-213, 2014.
- Clark, Phil, "Telling the Truths: Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post-Conflict Societies". *Journal of Eastern Africa* 8:2, pp. 1-57, 2006.
- Clark, Phil, *The Gacaca Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and reconciliation in Rwanda: Justice without borders*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Marcel, D'Heltefelt, (1971) *Les Clans du Rwanda ancien: Elements d'ethnohistoire et d'ethnosociologie*, Terrvuren: MRAC; De Lager, Ruanda; Gatwa, Tharcisse, p. 10, 2005.
- Denscombe, Martyn, *Ground rules for Good Research: a 10 point guide for social researchers*. Philadelphia: Open University, 2002.
- Alison, Des Forges, *Leave none to tell the story. Genocide in Rwanda*, London: Human Rights Watch (HRW), 1999.
- Destexhe Alain, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. London: Pluto Press, 1995.
- Gatwa, Tharcisse, *The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the Rwandan Crises, 1990-1994*, Eugene Oregon: Regnum Books International, 2005.
- Gerring, John, *Social Science Methodology: Strategies for Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Gourevitch, Phillip, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998.
- Alex, Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'ethno histoire du Rwanda*, Butare: NUR, 1972.
- Jean-Paul, Kimonyo, *Rwanda. Un génocide populaire*, Paris : Karthala, 2008.

- Law n°18/2008 of 23/07/2008 relating to the punishment of the crime of Genocide ideology.
- Lemkin, R. *Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation - Analysis of Government - Proposals for Redress*. Washington D. C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 79-95, 1994.
- Melvern, Linda, *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*, New York: Verso, 2006.
- MINALOC, *Rwanda Five-Years Decentralization Implementation programme (2004-2008) Poverty Reduction and Empowerment through Entrenchment of Democratic Decentralization*. March, Kigali, 2004.
- Yolande, Mukagasana, *La mort ne veut pas de moi*, Fixot : Robert LAFFONT, 1997
- Donatilla, Mukamana, & Petra, Brysiewicz, *The lived experience of Genocide rape survivors in Rwanda*. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 40:4, 379-384, 2008.
- Ernest, Mutwarasibo, '18 Years of Writing the Genocide Perpetrated against Tutsi: Reflections and Positions on the Literature, in *Revue Dialogue*, No 197, Kigali, April 2012.
- Myers, L. Jerome & Well, D. Arnold, *Research design and Statistical analysis*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991.
- NURC, *Itorero ry'igihugu—Policy note and strategic plan: Making national and community service work in Rwanda*. Kigali: NURC, 2009.
- NURC, *The role of Women in Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Rwanda: Ten years after the Genocide (1994-2004)*, Kigali: NURC, 2005.
- Patton, Michael, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. London: Sage, 2003.
- Prunier, Gerald, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2001.
- Repuburika y'u Rwanda. Itegeko N° 09/2007 ryo ku wa 16/02/2007 rigena inshingano, imiterere n'imikorere bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide, In *Igazeti ya Repuburika y'u Rwanda*, 2007.
- Rutayisire Paul, et Byanafashe Deo, (Editeurs), *Histoire du Rwanda. Des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle*. Butare: NUR, 2011.
- Paul, Rutayisire, & Deo, Byanafashe, *History of Rwanda: From the Beginning to the End of the Twentieth Century*. Kigali: NURC, 2016.
- Faustin, Rutembesa, «Ruptures culturelles et génocide au Rwanda» in *Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits*, n°2, Butare, E.U.N.R, pp. 93-123, 2001.
- Faustin, Rutembesa, *Genocide in Mugina Commune*. Kigali: Pallotti Presse, 2009.
- Shyaka, Anastase, *The Rwandan Conflict: Origin, Development and Exit Strategies*. Kigali: SIDA, 2007.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide

1. Imiterere ya Minisiteri y’Imari, Ministeri y’Igenamigambi n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho mu 1994

- Aho izo Ministeri n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho byakoreraga (Intara, Akarere, Umurenge)
- Igihe izo minisiteri n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho byatangiriye imirimo n’inshingano zabyo
- Imiterere y’inzeho z’Ubuyobozi bw’Izo Ministeri n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho
- Abakozi izo Ministeri n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho bakoresheje mbere ya 1990 (*Amazina n’ inzego z’imirimo babarizwagamo*)
- Abakozi izo Ministeri n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho bakoresheje mu gihe cy’urugamba rwo Kwibohora: hagati ya 1990-1994 (*Amazina n’ inzego z’imirimo babarizwagamo*)

2. Imibereho n’imibanire y’abakozi mbere ya 1990 muri Minisiteri y’Imari na Ministeri y’Igenamigambi hamwe n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho

- Imibanire y’Abakozi mbere ya 1 Ukwakira 1990
- Ese hari ibikorwa bitandukanye byo guhohotera Abatutsi byagiye bigaragara mu muri Minisiteri y’Imari na Ministeri y’Igenamigambi hamwe n’ibigo byari bizishamikiyeho mbere ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Urugero rw’ibikorwa by’itoteza byakorewe Abatutsi:

a) Gutukwa

- Igihe n’aho byabereye
- Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (*Inama, Inyandiko,...*)
- Amazina y’abahohotewe
- Amazina y’abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo

b. Gukubitwa

- *Igihe n'aho byabereye*
- Amazina y'abahohotewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

c. Kwirukanwa mu kazi

- *Igihe byabereye*
- Amazina y'abahohotewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

d. Guhindurirwa akazi

- *Igihe byabereye*
- Amazina y'ababikorewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

e. Guteshwa agaciro ku mugaragaro

- *Igihe byabereye*
- *Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (Inama, Inyandiko,...)*
- Amazina y'ababikorewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

f. Gushishikariza kwanga no guhohotera Abatutsi

- *Igihe byabereye*
- *Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (Inama, Inyandiko,...)*
- Amazina y'ababikorewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.
- *Bindi*

3. Imibereho n'imibanire y'abakozi mbere mu gihe cy'urugamba rwo Kwibohora (1990-1994)

- Imibanire y'Abakozi hagati ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 n'ya 6 Mata 1994 yari imeze ite muri rusange.
- Ni ibihe bikorwa byo guhohotera Abatutsi byagiye bigaragara mu muri Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho mu gihe cy'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu
- Igihe ibyo bikorwa byabereye, amazina y'ababikorewe, amazina y'ababigizemo uruhare n'urwitwazo rwo kubahohotera. Urugero rw'ibikorwa by'itoteza byakorewe Abatutsi:

a. Gufungwa

- Igihe byabereye
- Amazina y'abafunzwe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga

Urwitwazo.

b. Gutukwa

- Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (Inama, Inyandiko,...),
- Igihe n'aho byabereye
- Amazina y'abahohotewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo

c. Gukubitwa

- Igihe n'aho byabereye
- Amazina y'abahohotewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

d. Kwirukanwa mu kazi

- Igihe n'aho byabereye
- Amazina y'abahohotewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

e. Guhindurirwa akazi

- Igihe byabereye
- Amazina y'ababikorewe
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

f. Guteshwa agaciro ku mugaragaro

- Igihe byabereye,
- Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (Inama, Inyandiko,...)
- Amazina y'ababikorewe,
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
- Urwitwazo.

g. Gushishikariza kwanga no guhohotera abatutsi

Igihe byabereye

- Uburyo bwakoreshejwe (Inama, Inyandiko,...)
- Amazina y'ababikorewe,
- Amazina y'abari ku isonga
 - Urwitwazo.
 - Ibindi

4. Uko Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 yashyizwe mu bikorwa muri Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho

- Uburyo n'igihe Abatutsi bakoraga muri Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho biciwe;
- Urutonde rw'abakozi ba Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho bishwe muri Jenocide
- Urutonde rw'abakozi bagize uruhare muri Jenocide n'aho baherereye
- Urutonde rw'abakozi bahamijwe icyaha mu Nkiko
- Amafoto y'abakozi bishwe muri Jenocide (amazina, igihe n'aho yavukiye, akazi yakoraga n'igihe yagatangiriye, bimwe mu byamuranze mu kazi, ...)
- Umubare n'amazina y'abantu bashobora kuba baraguye muri Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho, uburyo bwakoreshejwe n'abari ku isonga.
- Inama zitegura Jenocide zaba zabereye muri Minisiteri y'Imari na Minisiteri y'Igenamigambi no mu bigo byari bizishamikiyeho, n'abakozi bazitabiriye

5. Ibikorwa byo gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside mu gihe yakorwaga

Urugero:

- Kunaga imibiri y'Abatutsi bamaze kwicwa mu byobo,
- Kujanya imibir y'Abatutsi bamaze kwicwa ahandi hantu,
- Ibindi

6. Ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Urugero:

- Gukuraho ibice by'umubiri
- Kurya ibice by'imibiri
- Gutwikwa
- Gukorera ibya mfura mbi abagore n'abakobwa
 - Guhamba abakiri ba zima
 - Ibindi

7. Imibanire y'Abakozi nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri MINECOFIN

- Kugaragaza uburyo ibikorwa byo Kwibuka byitabirwa
- Kugaragaza uburyo ibikorwa byo gufasha abacitse ku icumu muri rusange n'imiryango y'abari abakozi b'Ikigo bishwe muri Jenoside byifashe
- Kugaragaza niba hari ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu Kigo n'ingamba zashyizweho zo kuyikumira.
- Kugaragaza uruhare rw'Ikigo mu nzira yo kwiyubaka no kubaka abandi
- Ibindi.

Appendix 2: Some of the MINIFIN Former Employees between 1st October 1990 and 6th April 1994

No	Names	Position	Place of work
Ministers and Secretary Generals			
1	Mukakayange Anne-Marrie	Secretary General	Kigali, HQ
2	Ndindabahizi Emmanuel	Minister	Kigali, HQ
3	Ntigurirwa Benoît	Minister	Kigali, HQ
4	Rugenera Marc	Minister	Kigali, HQ
5	Ruhigira Enoch	Minister	Kigali, HQ
Treasury Department			
1	Ayabagabo Jean-de-Dieu	Administrative assistant	Kigali, HQ
2	Gakwandi Philippe	N/A	Kigali, HQ
3	Uwibaje Sylvestre	Head of treasurer	Kigali, HQ
General Inspection of Finance			
1	Gahongayire Marie-Claire	Secretary	Kigali, HQ
2	Kayitesi Beatrice	N/A	Kigali, HQ
3	Mukakimenyi Veneranda	Secretary	Kigali, HQ
Procurement			
1	Nyiragapasi Jeanne	Procurement officer	Kigali, HQ
2	Sugira Innocent	Procurement officer	Kigali, HQ
Tax Department			
1	Bajeneza Etienne	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
2	Bajyagahe Alphonse	Head of the tax division	Muhima, Kigali
3	Bizimungu Casmil	N/A	N/A
4	Gahunga Gaspard	Head of the tax department	Butare
5	Gakwandi Norbert	N/A	N/A
6	Gasana François-Xavier	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
7	Gasasira Innocent	Tax officer	Muhima, Kigali
8	Giramata Sophie	Accountant	Muhima, Kigali
9	Hagumagutuma Anastase	Head of tax department	
10	Iyamuremye Innocent	Tax controller	Muhima, Kigali
11	Kayijuka Callixte	Accountant	Muhima, Kigali
12	Kayishema Théodore	Tax controller	Rwamagana
13	Mbayiha Eugène	Tax inspector	Muhima, Kigali
14	Mugabo Albert	Deputy tax controller	Cyangugu
15	Mukaramushi Pierre-Claver	Administrative assistant	Muhima, Kigali
16	Mukashema Anne-Marie	Teller	Muhima, Kigali
17	Munyangeri Damien	Tax controller	Gitarama
18	Murekezi Fidèle	Chief tax controller	Cyangugu
19	Muterahejuru Jean-Baptiste	Assistant secretary	Muhima, Kigali

No	Names	Position	Place of work
20	Mwumvaneza Juvénal	Store keeping	Muhima, Kigali
21	Ndayisaba Fidel	Head of tax department	Gikongoro
22	Nsabimana Téléphore	Assistant Secretary	Muhima, Kigali
23	Nsengimana Gaspard	Secretary	Kigali
24	Nsengiyaremye Christophe	N/A	N/A
25	Rangira Ephrem	Financial controller	Butare
26	Renzaho François-Xavier	Department director	Kigali
27	Rwagasana Jean-Baptiste	Administrative assistant	Muhima, Kigali
28	Semvubu Alphonse	Administrative assistant	Butare
Customs Department			
1	Basomingera Alberto	Head of customs department	Gikondo, Kigali
2	Gahizi Jean-Marie-Vianney	Finance controller	Gikondo, Kigali
3	Habimana Joseph	Customs verification	Gikondo, Kigali
4	Kagorora Thomas	Customs verification	Gikondo, Kigali
5	Karangwa Ildephonse	Head of tax controller	Muhima, Kigali
6	Karera Valère	Customs controller	Gisenyi
7	Lionçon Ferdinand	Customs verification	Bugesera
8	Mister Gilbert	Inspector of Finance	Gikondo, Kigali
9	Mugwiza Vénant	Customs controller	Rwamagana
10	Mukasikubwabo Odette	N/A	N/A
11	Mukayitesi Françoise	Administrative assistant	Gikondo, Kigali
12	Mukeshimana Thadhée	Finance controller	Kibuye
13	Murara Jean-Pierre	Customs controller	Butare
14	Murasi Ignace	Store keeper	Kigali
15	Murenzi Augustin	Administrative assistant	Byumba
16	Musonera Oswald	Agent of customs services	Gisenyi
17	Ndemezo Gonzague	Customs controller	Nyarugenge
18	Nkumbuye Juvénal	Customs controller	Kanombe Air- port
19	Nkusi Jean-Paul	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
20	Rutagambwa Narcisse	Secretary	Kibuye
21	Safari Christophe	Administrative assistant	Gikondo, Kigali
22	Sendakize Gaspard	Administrative assistant	Ruhengeri
23	Uhawingoma Adrien	Administrative assistant	Gisenyi
24	Uwimana Faith	Customs inspector	Gikongoro
Public Accounts Department			
1	Bimenyimana Théoneste	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
2	Mucyo Eustache	Administrative assistant	Kigali, H/Q

No	Names	Position	Place of work
3	Ndahimana Theoneste	Head of public accounts	Kigali, H/Q
4	Nkulikiye André	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
5	Rutarindwa Honoré	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
Central Secretariat			
1	Bagirigomwa Christophe	Secretary	Headquarter
2	Kanyabugande	Assistant Type Writer	Kigali, H/Q
3	Karasira Innocent	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
4	Mukamurigo Théodosie	Assistant secretary	Kigali, H/Q
5	Munyemana François	Assistant secretary	Kigali, H/Q
6	Muyoboke Daniel	Office messenger	Kigali, H/Q
Budget Department			
1	Mukabideri Theresse	Head of Finance Inspection	Kigali, H/Q
2	Ndayambaje Léon	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
3	Ngabonziza Alexis	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
4	Ngamije Leon	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
5	Nkiriyehe Merane	Head of Budget department	Kigali, H/Q
6	Ntirivamunda	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
7	Nyirasenkuye Veneranda	Budget Auditor	Kigali, H/Q
Accounting Department			
1	Karera Anastase	In charge of stores	Kigali/H/Q
Audit Department			
1	Karuranga Frédéric	Director	Kigali, H/Q
2	Rwakayigamba Jean Marie	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
Unknown Departments			
1	Hakizimfura Canisius	N/A	N/A
2	Muhigana Nkusi Jean	N/A	N/A
3	Mukandori Dancille	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
4	Mukaremera Immaculée	N/A	N/A
5	Ngendahimana Jaffet	N/A	N/A
6	Nsengiyumva Gaspard	N/A	N/A
Logistics			
1	Ndengyingoma Shirikisho Jean-Bosco	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
2	Nderere Alphonse	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
3	Ntamabyariro Faustin	Driver	Kigali, H/Q

Appendix 3: Some of the MINIPLAN Former Employees Between 1st October 1990 and 6th April 1994

No	Names	Position	Place of work
Ministers			
1	Ngirabatware Augustin	Minister	Kigali
2	Ntagerura André	Minister	Kigali
Statistics Department			
1	Boy Suleyman	N/A	N/A
2	Gasana Hyacinthe	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
3	Hategekimana Joseph	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
4	Ingabire Alice	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
5	Kambogo	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
6	Karekezi Samuel	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
7	Mukamurenzi Cacilde	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
8	Mukanyonga Pauline	Statistician	
9	Ndarasi André	In-charge of Expropriation division	Kigali, H/Q
10	Nkurunziza Vianney	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
11	Nsengimana Elie	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
12	Ntambara Juvenal	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
13	Nyoni Gustave	Statistical works engineering	Muhima, Kigali
14	Pawo Paul	Statistician	
15	Rutazigwa Ignace	Statistician	Butare
16	Twagiramungu Issa	Data collector	Kibuye
17	Twagirayezu Alexis	Director of Statistics	Kigali, H/Q
18	Uwamariya Marie-Louise	Statistician	Kigali, H/Q
Census Department			
1	Segahwenge Asilida	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
Macro department			
1	Muganga Joseph	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
2	Sefaranga Albert	Macro-economic Analyst	Kigali, H/Q
Central Secretariat			
1	Mukadisi Fébronie	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
Logistics			
1	Kayumba Eugène	Driver	Kibungo
2	Mwumvaneza Mugabo Jean-Claude	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
3	Ndayambaje Pierre	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
4	Rutikanga Jean-Pierre	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
Unknown departments			
1	Nshimiyumuremyi Adalbert	N/A	N/A

No	Names	Position	Place of work
2	Rubashinkwaya Bonaventure	N/A	N/A
3	Rugiraganwa Frederick	N/A	N/A
4	Uwimana Antoine	N/A	N/A
5	Uwimbabazi Agnès	N/A	N/A

Appendix 4: Some of the BUNEP Former Employees Between 1st October 1990 and 6th April 1994

No	Names	Position	Place of work
Top Management			
1	Collete	Deputy Director	Kigali
2	Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney	Director General	Kigali
Accounting Department			
1	Litararenga Godfroid	Accountant	Kigali
2	Nyagatare Antoine	Accountant	Kigali
Construction Department			
1	Gashumba Pierre Claver	Head of construction unit	Kigali
Central Secretariat			
1	Muteteri Denise	Secretary	Kigali

Appendix 5: MINIFIN Tutsi Genocide Victims

No	Names	Position	Place of work
Tax Department			
1	Bajyagahe Alphonse	Head of the tax division	Muhima, Kigali
2	Bajeneza Etienne	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
3	Gahunga Gaspard	Head of the tax department	Butare
4	Gakwandi Norbert	N/A	N/A
5	Gasana François-Xavier	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
6	Giramata Sophie	Accountant	Muhima, Kigali
7	Iyamuremye Innocent	Tax controller	Muhima, Kigali
8	Kayijuka Callixte	Accountant	Muhima, Kigali
9	Kayishema Théodore	Tax controller	Rwamagana
10	Mbayiha Eugène	Tax inspector	Muhima, Kigali
11	Mugabo Albert	Deputy tax controller	Cyangugu
12	Mukaramushi Pierre-Claver	Administrative assistant	Muhima, Kigali
13	Mukashema Anne-Marie	Teller	Muhima, Kigali
14	Munyangeri Damien	Tax controller	Gitarama
15	Murekezi Fidèle	Chief tax controller	Cyangugu
16	Muterahejuru Jean-Baptiste	Assistant secretary	Muhima, Kigali
17	Mwumvaneza Juvénal	Store keeper	Muhima, Kigali
18	Nsabimana Téléphore	Assistant Secretary	Muhima, Kigali
19	Nsengimana Gaspard	Secretary	Kigali
20	Rangira Ephrem	Financial controller	Butare
21	Renzaho François-Xavier	Department director	Kigali
22	Rwagasana Jean-Baptiste	Administrative assistant	Muhima, Kigali
23	Semvubu Alphonse	Administrative assistant	Butare
Customs Department			
1	Gahizi Jean-Marie-Vianney	Finance controller	Gikondo, Kigali
2	Habimana Joseph	Customs verification	Gikondo, Kigali
3	Kagorora Thomas	Customs verification	Gikondo, Kigali
4	Karera Valère	Customs controller	Gisenyi
5	Karangwa Ildephonse	Head of tax controller	Muhima, Kigali
6	Lionçon Ferdinand	Costoms verification	Bugesera
7	Mugwiza Vénant	Customs controller	Rwamagana
8	Mukayitesi Françoise	Administrative assistant	Gikondo, Kigali
9	Mukeshimana Thadhée	Finance controller	Kibuye
10	Murara Jean-Pierre	Customs controller	Butare
11	Murasi Ignace	Store keeper	Kigali

No	Names	Position	Place of work
12	Murenzi Augustin	Administrative assistant	Byumba
13	Musonera Oswald	Agent of customs services	Gisenyi
14	Ndemezo Gonzague	Customs controller	Nyarugenge
15	Nkumbuye Juvénal	Customs controller	Kanombe Airport
16	Nkusi Jean-Paul	N/A	Muhima, Kigali
17	Rutagambwa Narcisse	Secretary	Kibuye
18	Safari Christophe	Administrative assistant	Gikondo, Kigali
19	Sendakize Gaspard	Administrative assistant	Ruhengeri
20	Uhawingoma Adrien	Administrative assistant	Gisenyi
21	Uwimana Faith	Customs inspector	Gikongoro
Budget Department			
1	Ngabonziza Alexis	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
2	Ndayambaje Léon	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
3	Ngamije Léon	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
Public Accounts Department			
1	Bimenyimana Théoneste	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
2	Karera Anastase	In charge of store	Kigali, H/Q
3	Mucyo Eustache	Administrative assistant	Kigali, H/Q
4	Nkulikiye André	Accountant	Kigali, H/Q
Audit Department			
1	Karuranga Frédéric	Director	Kigali, H/Q
2	Rwakayigamba Jean Marie	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
Treasury Department			
1	Ayabagabo Jean-de-Dieu	Administrative assistant	Kigali, HQ
2	Gakwandi Philippe	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
Procurement Department			
1	Nyiragapasi Jeanne	Procurement officer	Kigali, H/Q
2	Sugira Innocent	Procurement officer	Kigali, H/Q
General Inspection of Finance			
1	Gahongayire Marie-Claire	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
2	Kayitesi Béatrice	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
Central Secretariat			
1	Bagirigomwa Christophe	Secretary	Headquarter
2	Kanyabugande	Assistant Type Writer	Kigali, H/Q
3	Karasira Innocent	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
4	Mukamurigo Théodosie	Assistant secretary	Kigali, H/Q
5	Munyemana François	Assistant secretary	Kigali, H/Q

No	Names	Position	Place of work
6	Muyoboke Daniel	Office messenger	Kigali, H/Q
Logistics			
1	Ndengiyingoma Shirikisho Jean-Bosco	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
2	Ntamabyariro Faustin	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
Unknown Departments			
1	Hakizimfura Canisius	N/A	N/A
2	Nsengiyumva Gaspard	N/A	N/A
3	Muhigana Nkusi Jean	N/A	N/A
4	Mukandori Dancille	N/A	Kigali, H/Q
5	Mukaremera Immaculée	N/A	N/A
6	Ngendahimana Jaffet	N/A	N/A

Appendix 6: MINIPLAN Tutsi Genocide Victims

No	Names	Position	Place of work
Statistics Department			
1	Boy Suleyman	N/A	N/A
2	Gasana Hyacinthe	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
3	Hategekimana Joseph	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
4	Karekezi Samuel	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
5	Mukamurenzi Cacilde	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
6	Ndarasi André	Head of expropriation division	Muhima, Kigali
7	Nsengimana Elie	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
8	Nyoni Gustave	Statistical works engineering	Muhima, Kigali
9	Pawo Paul	Statistician	Muhima, Kigali
10	Rutazigwa Ignace	Statistician	Butare
11	Twagiramungu Issa	Data collector	Kibuye
12	Twagirayezu Alexis	Director of Statistics	Kigali, H/Q
13	Uwamariya Marie-Louise	Statistician	Kigali, H/Q
Macro-economic department			
1	Sefaranga Albert	Macro-economic Analyst	Kigali, H/Q
Central Secretariat			
1	Mukadisi Fébronie	Secretary	Kigali, H/Q
Logistics			
1	Mwumvaneza Mugabo Jean-Claude	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
2	Rutikanga Jean-Pierre	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
3	Ndayambaje Pierre	Driver	Kigali, H/Q
4	Kayumba Eugène	Driver	Kibungo
Unknown Departments			
1	Rubashinkwaya Bonaventure	N/A	N/A
2	Rugiraganwa Frederick	N/A	N/A
3	Uwimbabazi Agnès	N/A	N/A

Appendix 7: BUNEP Genocide Victims

No	Names	Position	Place of Work
1	Litararenga Godfroid	Accountant	Kigali
2	Mbaguta Jean-Marie-Vianney	Director General	Kigali

Appendix 8: List of the two former ministries' victims whose any single details were untraceable

No	Surname	Given name
1	No surname	Bernardin
2	No surname	Bosco
3	No surname	Damien
4	Haguma	Etienne
5	Kayisire	Lambert
6	Kayumba	Bosco
7	Mbonimana	Appolinaire
8	Mbonimpa	Alphonse
9	Ndahiro	Callixte
10	Ngirimana	Jean
11	Nkundabatenda	Felecien



MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

P.O BOX 158
KIGALI - RWANDA
Tel: (+250) 252 577 581
E-mail:info@minecofin.gov.rw



MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

P.O BOX 158
KIGALI - RWANDA
Tel: (+250) 252 577 581
E-mail: info@minecofin.gov.rw