

**GENOCIDE ACTS AGAINST THE TUTSI IN  
FORMER RWANDA TEA AUTHORITY (OCIR-  
THE) AND RWANDA COFFEE AUTHORITY  
(OCIR-CAFE).**

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## **ACRONYMS**

**BACAR:** Banque Continentale Africaine du Rwanda

**CDR:** Coalition pour la Décence de la République

**CNLG:** Commission Nationale de lutte Contre le Génocide

**CPPCG:** Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

**FARG:** Fond d'Assistance au Rescapes du Génocide

**FILDH:** Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de L'homme

**ICTR:** International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

**MDR:** Mouvement démocratique Républicain

**MRND:** Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement

**NAEB:** National Agricultural export Development Board

**NURC:** National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

**OCIR:** Office des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda

**OCIRU:** Office des cafés Indigènes du Rwanda-Urundi

**O.G:** Official gazette

**PL:** Parti Liberal

**PSD:** Parti Social Démocratique

**RHODA:** Rwanda Horticulture Development Authority

**RPA:** Rwandan Patriotic Army

**SORWATHE:** Société Rwandaise de Thé

**UNAR:** Union Nationale du Rwanda

## **EXECUTIVE SAMARY**

The genocide perpetrated against Tutsi was planned by Rwandans against other Rwandans. It became obvious that the state machinery was involved in the planning and execution of genocide. One of the strategies to prevent genocide is to highlight its evident features, the way it was perpetrated, the period of its perpetration and the whole truth around it. In this regard, NAEB planned the study to investigate how genocide was perpetrated in the former OCIR-Café, OCIR-Thé and their tea factories.

The crime of genocide is legally defined by the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide where its article II defines genocide as any act with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The crime of genocide is prepared for a long time. It stems from genocide ideology, then comes its propagation, the usage of state machinery, the segregation of the target group, the harassment of the target group, making available weapons that will be used to destroy the target group in secrecy. This goes hand in hand with simultaneously denying the genocide during its planning, execution and after its commission.

This research on the acts of genocide in former Rwanda coffee authority and Rwanda tea authority has been tasked with the following objectives:

1. To indicate the background of the NAEB (OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café) before the Genocide Against the Tutsi 1994;
2. To indicate the social wellbeing and relationship of employees of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café before 1990;

3. To indicate the social wellbeing and relationship of employees of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café during the liberation period (1990 -1994);
4. To indicate how Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994 was planned and implemented in former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café;
5. To indicate any “obliteration acts” of genocide against the Tutsi during the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994 in OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café;
6. To indicate the “acts of torture or inhuman treatment” that characterized the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;
7. To indicate the social relationship/togetherness of NAEB employees after the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;
8. Gathering of testimonies from survivors or orphans of the employees of NAEB (former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café) on the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;
9. To provide video evidence in regard to testimonies and other relevant information collected.

The study at hand was conducted at OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé Headquarters and at their 10 sub-branches before 1994 namely Mata, Kitabi, Gisovu, Gisakura, Shagasha, Nyabihu, Rubaya, Pfunda, SORWATHE and Mulindi. The data collection used archives, official reports, books and other available documents within those institutions. Finally, the in-depth interviews with the former personnel and direct observation are among other techniques of data collection.

The results of this study indicate that the history of NAEB started in colonial era in 1945 when OCIRU (Office des cafes indigenes du Rwanda-Urundi) was established. The latter became OCIR (Office des cultures industrielles du Rwanda) and was given mission to promote industrial products such as coffee, tea, pyrethrum and quinine. It was officially established after distinguishing missions of both institutions. Later on, OCIR-Thé and its sub-branches was given a mission to promote tea and OCIR-Café was given its own mission to promote coffee in 1987. The remaining industrial products namely pyrethrum and quinine were bestowed to special institutions. NAEB was established in 2011 and combined both OCIR missions and the mission of RHODA that had been established in 2008 with a mission to promote horticulture (Law 39/2010 of 25/11/2010 in O.G, No 4 of 24/01/2011).



Before 1990, the relationship between the personnel within OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and its sub-branches was good. However, they were aware that ethnic and regional segregation in public service was institutionalized. In 1973, staff within OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café and their sub-branches all over the country were dismissed and were not re-integrated after pacification. Some factories had leaders who were characterized by conspicuous segregation. To list few, there were Ndabarinze Juvenal, the Director of Mata Tea factory, Kamodoka Denys the Director of Kitabi Tea factory and Nsabimana Callixte, the Director of Shagasha Tea factory.

During the liberation war of 1990-1994, the aforesaid relationship changed and it was obvious that in OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café and their sub-branches, genocide was under preparation.

**Harassing and degrading Tutsi:** This includes arresting them as accomplices of RPF, even though a big number of staff were not victims of mistreatment as compared to other places across the country, allotting staff biased performance evaluation grades whereas before the liberation war they used to get unbiased evaluation, dismissing Tutsi staff without justified reasons, demoting them without reasons, preventing them from access to information related to their employment positions, etc.

**Creation of Interahamwe Militia Groups:** at the OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café Headquarters they started the selection of militiamen who had to get paramilitary trainings of killings in Gabiro and Gako barracks. Some others used to go to Kigali city to get evening trainings on how to manoeuvre the fire weapons. Whenever they returned, they said that they had been prepared to kill Tutsi because they received commando paramilitary drills to kill. In every factory, they often established a security group but in reality the latter were militiamen/Interahamwe who were being under reconnaissance of the areas in which they would perpetrate genocide. Their duties was to make census of the Tutsi, to harass them, and to permanently check on them. This happened in Mata, Kitabi, Gisovu and Shagasha factories.

**To help in the propagation of genocide ideology:** Ngeze Hassan, a chief editor of hatred newspaper “Kangura” had an editing office in OCIR-Thé . He used to hold meetings with the leaders of OCIR-Thé . Across the different factories in the countries, there was a propagation of

ideas indicating that Tutsi and Hutu could not live together and consequently the genocide was the only solution.

**Purchasing and stockpiling weapons for genocide perpetration:** In OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café, there was secret distribution of machetes among Interahamwe/militiamen even though this was evident to the remaining staff. The Directors at Headquarters and sub-branches used to move with fire weapons. There were weapons stockpiling in factories across the country. There were stores of weapons that were distributed when the genocide broke out in Rubaya, Nyabihu, Pfunda, Mata, Kitabi, Gisovu and Shagasha factories.

**The Directors and personnel involved in the genocide perpetration:** For instance, Bagaragaza Michel, the General Director of OCIR-Thé. He went to lead the genocide in the tea factories of Rubaya, Nyabihu and Pfunda through organizing the personnel that killed Tutsi who had taken refuge at Kesho hill and Nyundo Cathedral. Across factories, you find that Directors spearheaded killings in the areas of factory location. One can mention Ndabarinze Juvenal and the staff of Mata factory, Kamodoka Denys and the staff of Kitabi factory, Musema Alfred and the staff of Gisovu factory and Nsabimana Callixte and the staff of Shagasha factory.

**The authority of the directors of factories:** The directors of factories had exorbitant powers far beyond the normal service related powers. They were involved in genocide planning and perpetration in the areas where factories located. They were involved in meetings of genocide preparation, they used factories' personnel and vehicles to transport killers, and they used factories' money to buy beers for killers as a way of motivating them. Besides, during that time, staff who were involved in killings used to receive their salary as if it was in normal circumstances.

### **Disappearing evidences and acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading**

**Treatment:** people who were living in headquarters 'compound were killed and thrown out in the mass grave that was prepared in Gatenga cemetery. There were acts of rapes and physically aborting women who were in last terms of pregnancy in some places such as Shagasha and Gisovu. People who had been hidden in Gisakura, Shagasha, Mata and Kitabi tea plantations

were hunted down with dogs. In northern areas in Rubaya, Nyabihu and Pfunda people do not provide information on how genocide was committed. They say that have no information.

**Genocide commemoration & supporting the families of survivors:** NAEB exhorted the personnel to value the act of commemorating the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi. This effort started earlier in 2008 before its establishment where they used to organize visits to the genocide commemoration site till they took another further positive step to commemorate while being conscious about their staff survivors or families/orphans survivors victims. The commemoration site was constructed in 2016. NAEB helped orphans through house construction, cows' distribution to support them in everyday life. NAEB receives children of the former personnel, victims, it supports them through professional internship at the end of their academic programs and this is still continuing.

Many factories such as Mata, Kitabi, Gisovu, Gisakura, Shagasha commemorate genocide and they scripted the names of the victims former staff on memorial sites. In other factories the act of building memorial sites was not yet started and the commemoration per se did not yet take a significant step. They only help the survivors in generally but a special attention is not yet paid to survivors of former personnel. This research will provide testimonies of video records and photos as provided in testimonies to indicate how genocide was committed in OCIR-Thé, OCIR-Café s and throughout their sub-branches factories across the country.

### **Recommendations:**

All factories should carry out studies to discover information related to their former staff in particular casual labour staff or the staff members of tea cooperatives. Such information obtained will be a starting point to commemorate them and to build memorial sites in each factory.

Factories had a significant role in the planning and perpetration of genocide against their staff. This should be a fundamental reason for factories to have the responsibility to provide significant compensation to survivors or to members of family survivors belonging to the former both OCIRs and their factories.

## **I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

This general introduction presents the background of the study, its objectives, conceptual framework and methodology.

### **I.1. Background of the study**

From the early 1960's, the Rwandan leadership established a discriminatory system against Tutsi group. Throughout this period there were constant human rights abuse, citizen's rights violation with impunity, segregation law and policy, inequality of treatment, and differential access to basic public services. A quota system of 10% was applicable for Tutsi group in the administration and school at all levels, two categories of citizenship: first and second class and as a consequence many Rwandans left the country as refugees.

In the 1990's Rwanda saw a political instability, high level of poverty (77.4% poverty rate in 1994 (Year Book 2012) and fragile relations within the region. There were political oppositions, both within and outside of the country's borders; all this culminated in military clashes between the regime of President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA). Although there was the signing of the 1993 Arusha Peace Accord, on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1993, there was an escalation of violence, mass killing and finally there was the Genocide Against the Tutsi in 1994. While the world watched, over 1 million Tutsi were killed in just 3 months. The genocide was finally stopped in July 1994 by RPA Inkotanyi.

During the Genocide against the Tutsi, many Tutsis were killed by many and in many places especially in government institutions. One of the weapons to fight genocide is to preserve evidence of it, to document how, where and when it took place both as a record for the current and future generation globally but also as a way of establishing the truth. It is for this reason that the National Agricultural Export Development Board has hired a consultant to conduct research on genocide acts against the Tutsi of 1994 which was committed in the former Rwanda Tea authority (OCIR-Thé ) and Rwanda Coffee Authority (OCIR-Café ).

## **I.2. Objectives of the study**

The consultant has been tasked with the followings:

10. To indicate the background of the NAEB (OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café ) before the Genocide Against the Tutsi 1994;
11. To indicate the social wellbeing and relationship of employees of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-CAFÉ before 1990;
12. To indicate the social wellbeing and relationship of employees of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café during the liberation period (1990 -1994);
13. To indicate how Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994 was planned and implemented in former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café ;
14. To indicate any “obliteration acts” of genocide against the Tutsi during the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994 in OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café ;
15. To indicate the “acts of torture or inhuman treatment” that characterized the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;
16. To indicate the social relationship/togetherness of NAEB employees after the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;
17. Gathering of testimonies from survivors or orphans of the employees of NAEB (former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café ) on the Genocide Against the Tutsi of 1994;

To provide video evidence in regard to testimonies and other relevant information collected.

## **I.3. Understanding the concept of genocide**

This research requires the understanding of genocide concept, we must first look at the legal aspect of genocide and continues with the process of genocide.

### **I.3.1. Legal Concept**

According to Raphael Lemkin, in his book<sup>1</sup>, Genocide is “a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves”. Rafael continues by saying that “Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the other.”

While Rafael describes genocide as such, in response to the horrors of the Holocaust during World War II, the United Nations saw that there is a need to establish a convention that describes and punishes the crime of Genocide namely, the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Genocide <sup>2</sup>(CPPCG) 1948.

In its Article II, Genocide “...means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

The convention, in Article III, goes on to say that “the following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide;

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<sup>1</sup> Lemkin Raphael, Axis Rule in occupied Europe: Laws of occupation, Analysis of Government, proposal for Redress, Washington, 1944, p. 79

<sup>2</sup> UN, United Nations Convention of the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, New York, 1948

Article IV of the convention states that “Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.”

In regard to Rwanda, as established by the Rwanda Constitution, genocide is a punishable crime. Article 10 principle 1, Rwandan Constitution 2003 as revised in 2015 states that Rwanda is committed to “conform”, follow and ensure respect of certain principles, Principle 1 is “Prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, fighting against denial and revisionism of genocide as well as eradication of genocide ideology and all its manifestation”.

### **I.3.2. Process of Genocide**

As in the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, there has never been a genocide that is not planned in any part of the world. Genocide has a long and detailed process in that, first and foremost it is an ideological crime, meaning that divisionism and hate preaching is put in place (one side against another) to prepare the mental capacity of the will-be perpetrators. Genocide is a State Crime, meaning that it is planned and put in place by the government, it uses its military, institutions, police, factories and even churches and schools in case of Rwanda to both plan and implement Genocide.

The following are identifiable stages of genocide as identified by Gregory Stanton (Stanton G., 2013<sup>3</sup>):

**Classification:** The “so called enemy” must be identified, thus ID’s such as “indangamuntu” are given stating the person’s ethnicity (Hutu/Tutsi/Twa) this is usual done to make it easy to identify and also divide the population. Symbols to identify one group from another are used.

**Symbolization:** After classification and divisionism, targeted groups are given their own names to identify them and make them different from others. In Rwanda this was done by creating three

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<sup>3</sup> Stanton Gregory, the ten stages of genocide, Washington, 2013

different tribes, namely, Twa, Hutu and Tutsi. In Germany the Nazis made Jews wear a yellow star at all the time.

**Discrimination:** Creation of discriminatory laws, policies. Political power put in place measures to deny fundamental rights to certain groups. Quota system of 10% was established in Rwanda against Tutsi group.

**Dehumanization:** Dehumanization is also a part of process; the targeted group is given names that are not humane, this makes it easy to hate them. In Rwanda the Tutsi were called cockroaches, snakes and other names, by pretending that they are not humans, it psychologically makes it easy to kill them.

**Organization:** The genocide is always prepared. Mostly it is executed by states or government machinery. It is often executed using militiamen and this is the case of Rwanda where a militia group known as Interahamwe was given paramilitary trainings in military barracks.

**Polarization:** The genocide planners take this opportunity to target those who are not on either side such as the international community, they divide the society and create conflicts, this allows the government to say that one group cannot live with the other and that is why there is a conflict. This allows the government to commit genocide under the shadow of conflict (Germany/Rwanda).

**Preparation:** The planners of genocide must first prepare how it will be done and educate/brainwash those who will commit genocide, in Rwanda, Interahamwe were created, told how to get rid of their enemies. They were well prepared, both mentally, physically and armed with different kind of weapons.

**Persecution:** Across the country, lists of all Tutsi to kill was made. Weapons were purchased and distributed throughout the countries to enable killers to find them in locations during the genocide perpetration. An order to move with an identification card was passed to allow killers



to distinguish every time Hutu from Tutsi. There was a strategy of pushing in mass all Tutsi to go in common places planned for their decimation such as churches, schools, stadiums, etc.

**Extermination:** Extermination is planned and implement by the government using pre-arranged systems and resources (military, political and human resources). Certain tactics are usually put in place, such as forcing the target group to free to one particular place to make it easy to kill them (schools and church, in Rwanda, concentration camps in Germany).

**Denial:** Denial is the last step of genocide and is often planned (how to deny it) at the preparation stage. After genocide has taken place, denying genocide means calling it something else such as, “it never happened, it was double genocide, it was conflict not genocide, they also killed our people etc.” This is done to make the victims feel worthless and non-existent and also allows the perpetrators to get away from prosecution and punishment.

Genocide is a heinous crime and the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 was one of the worst genocide in history. Its consequences will continue to be felt by many for many years to come; both mentally, physically, socially, and economically. This research will identify and document the truth about genocide committed in the former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café so that the knowledge of what happened is not lost.

#### **I.4. Deliverables**

The consultant will provide the following to the CEO of NAEB:

1. Inception Report,
2. Draft report, and
3. Final Report

#### **I.5. Methodology**

The consultancy work process is undertaken in a logical flow of activities in a three phase process keeping in mind the ultimate objective. The three phases are:

### **I.5.1. Pre-planning phase**

In this phase, literature review will be carried out. Official documents of the company, annual reports, Human Resources Archives, business plan, any other relevant literature.

### **I.5.2. Collection of information phase**

Interview of staff from administration, key informants:

- Those who worked for former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé as well as for the factories at the time (survivors and perpetrators)
- Families members of those who worked there
- Those who have admitted guilt and are in prisons and or have been released
- Any other person/institution that may have relevant and reliable information in this regard.

### **I.5.3. Reporting phase**

The consultant has provided with inception report, draft report and final report.

## **II. GENOCIDE PERPETRATION AT HEADQUARTERS OF OCIR-THÉ AND OCIR-CAFÉ**

This section will concentrate on narrating how the act of genocide was perpetrated at the headquarters of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café from before 1990 till after the genocide when the service of both institutions were merged in NAEB. The introductory part highlights the historical background of institutions whose responsibility was to promote crop cash production from the beginning till the era of NAEB. It goes on to indicate how genocide against Tutsi was planned and executed within those institutions. It winds up while paying attention how the acts of genocide commemoration and supporting survivors of the families belonging to the former staff are organized.

### **II.1. the Historical Background of NAEB and OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café**

The NAEB historical genesis goes back to colonial period in 1945 since the creation of the “Office des Cafes Indigenes du Ruanda-Urundi” (OCIRU).

#### **II.1.1 OCIRU: Office des cafes indigenes in Rwanda-Urundi**

The OCIRU was created by ministerial law No 243/2/A.E (Foreign Affairs ministerial law) on 10/09/1945. The OCIRU working policy was under both the No 53/417 and No 53/417 ministerial law established respectively on 04/12/1948 and on 24 /05/1950. The OCIRU had a three-fold tasks: to encourage production, to improve trading conditions either locally or internationally by classifying the beans into standard types, and to stabilize the income of Rwandan and Burundian Arabica CAFÉ producers by setting up a reserve and stabilization fund. After the Rwanda and Burundi independence, the two countries kept the OCIRU with the law amendment. The OCIRU new working policy was under law No 115/R and No 116/B established on 22/06/1962. The new law had to enforce the missions of the OCIRU to improve trading conditions by respecting the international standards, which could be applied on the other agricultural products (Pyrethrum, Cinchona and Tea) that were involved in international trading.

However, at the beginning of 1962, the OCIRU's task of sensitizing and encouraging the farmers to increase the agricultural production was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Resources. The OCIRU tasks changed to the technical assistance services to farmers such as: Build and maintain the coffee pulping and washing centers, maintenance of the plantation, methods of cultivation, mulching, pruning, pest control, buying coffee seeds and be in charge of paying the agricultural monitors.

### **II.1.2. OCIR**

In the post-independence period, Burundi and Rwanda relationships were not in good terms. Hence, the agreement convention on 26/04/1964 establishing a new statute of OCIRU between both countries was not ratified by Rwanda. Besides, on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1964 Rwanda rejected any economic partnership between both countries. On 30<sup>th</sup> July 1964 Rwanda established OCIR (Office des cultures industrielles du Rwanda) taking over the mission of the former OCIRU. It went on to align to the tasks of extending, maintaining and trading all cash crops.

### **II.1.3. OCIR-CAFÉ and OCIR-THÉ**

In 1974, the presidential order No 48/12 of 1/1/1974 established the special department within OCIR in charge of tea plantation. Yet, the decree law no 27/78 of 5/9/1978 highlighted the difference of functions and duties between OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé. OCIR –Café in particular had a mission of sensitization and management of all duties related to coffee processing and trading and be responsible of other crops which the government could assign to its attention<sup>4</sup>.

In 1978, the law decree N<sup>o</sup> 27/78 of 5/9/1978 separated the OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and clarified their respective responsibilities. Furthermore, the aforesaid law decree established also the OPYRWA with special duties on Pyrethrum promotion.

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<sup>4</sup> OCIR-CAFE, OCIR-Café. 20 year in services. 1964-1984. p. 9-12.

The law decree N° 26/78 of 5/9/1978 established the Tea department whereas the presidential order N° 522/05 of 11/11/1983 established the “OCIR-Thé”’s mission and its functional structure. The tea department was in charge of monitoring the tea agricultural activities, tea factories and tea trading at national and international levels<sup>5</sup>. OCIR –Café in particular had a mission of sensitization and management of all duties related to coffee processing and trading and be responsible of other crops which the government could assign to its attention<sup>6</sup>.

#### **II.1.4. NAEB**

Since 2011, the commercialization of the farming products in Rwanda was bestowed to National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB)<sup>7</sup>. The latter coalesced the service of the former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café and the institute of horticulture promotion/RHODA<sup>8</sup>.

The vision of NAEB is to be a world class agriculture and livestock commodity export development enterprise through innovation.

The Mission of NAEB is to facilitate the growth of business, to diversify agricultural and livestock commodity export revenues.

The law establishing NAEB has been reviewed and replaced by Law No 13/2017 of 14/04/2017 establishing National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB) and determining its mission, organization and functioning<sup>9</sup>.

Article 2 establishes that “NAEB has legal personality and enjoys administrative and financial autonomy and is also managed in accordance with relevant laws”. Article 3 provides that: “NAEB falls within the category of commercial public institutions”. Article 5 determines the mission of NAEB as follows:

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<sup>5</sup> OCIR-The, Etude des schémas directeurs d’informatisation, 1993, p. 7

<sup>6</sup> OCIR-CAFE, OCIR-Café. 20 year in services. 1964-1984. p. 9-12.

<sup>7</sup> Itegeko N°39/2010 of 25/11/2010 rishyiraho ikigo cy’igihugugishinzwe guteza imbere iyoherezwa mu mahanga ry’ibikomoka ku buhinzi n’ubworozi (NAEB) kandi rikagena inshingano, imiterere n’imikorere byacyo in Official Gazette No 4 of 24/1/2011.

<sup>8</sup> Itegeko No 15/2008 ryo kw’itariki 9/6/2008 rishyiraho ikigo cy’igihugu gishinzwe guteza imbere ubuhinzi bw’imboga n’imbuto mu Rwanda kandi rigena inshingano, imiterere n’imikorere, muri Gazetti ya Leta No 19 yo kuw’itariki 1/10/2008.

<sup>9</sup> Itegeko N° 13/2017 of 14/04/2017 rishyiraho ikigo cy’igihugugishinzwe guteza imbere iyoherezwa mu mahanga ry’ibikomoka ku buhinzi n’ubworozi (NAEB) kandi rikagena inshingano, imiterere n’imikorere byacyo, in Official Gazette No 18 of 1/5/2017 rekuraho Itegeko N°39/2010 of 25/11/2010.

- 1° to advise on the development of policy and strategies for developing exports of agricultural and livestock products meeting international market requirements;
- 2° to implement policy and strategies for developing exports of agricultural and livestock products meeting international market requirements;
- 3° to work with stakeholders' networks and coordinate their activities in relation to the processing and export of agricultural and livestock products;
- 4° to provide timely and cost-effective support services required for enhanced international competitiveness of the private sector in agricultural and livestock exports;
- 5° to identify and diversify agricultural and livestock exports to sustain growth of foreign currency revenues;
- 6° to identify and support research activities on agricultural and livestock extension regarding exports of agricultural and livestock products;
- 7° to identify places for installation of factories and other activities meant for processing agricultural and livestock products for export;
- 8° to participate in the setting and checking of quality standards for agriculture and livestock export commodities in collaboration with other relevant institutions;
- 9° to issue certificates of authenticity and origin of agricultural and livestock export commodities;
- 10° to put in place strategies designed to provide support and train private operators and cooperatives involved in export of agricultural and livestock products;
- 11° to contribute to investments aimed at increasing production, industries and infrastructure for adding value to agricultural and livestock products for export;
- 12° to collect and to analyse information on national, regional and international markets and disseminate that information to the concerned stakeholders for use;
- 13° to participate in international negotiations and forums in order to ensure the protection and extension of agricultural and livestock products export market;
- 14° to participate in various national, regional and international trade fairs, in order to promote agricultural and livestock products for export;
- 15° to facilitate negotiations for setting and publishing minimum farm gate prices for agricultural and livestock export commodities in collaboration with stakeholders;

16° to establish relations and cooperation with regional and international organisations with the aim of improving operations and collaboration with regard to exports of agricultural and livestock products.

Article 10 provides that: “The Board of Directors is the supreme organ composed of seven (7) members appointed by a Presidential Order, including the Chairperson and the Deputy Chairperson.

Members of the Board of Directors are selected on the basis of their competence and expertise.

At least thirty per cent (30%) of members of the Board of Directors of NAEB must be females.

The term of office of members of the Board of Directors as well as modalities for their replacement are determined by a Presidential Order”.

Article 22 provides that the Executive Organ of NAEB is composed of the Chief Executive Officer of NAEB appointed by a Presidential Order. That Order may also appoint his/her deputies and determine their duties and powers. Other staff members of NAEB are recruited in accordance with the internal rules and regulations of NAEB.

Article 25 establishes the organisational structure and job description of NAEB which are adopted by the Board of Directors. However, within a period of five (5) years from the commencement of this Law, the organisational structure of NAEB is approved by the Board of Directors after consulting the Ministry in charge of public service and the Ministry in charge of finance.

## **II.2. Structure and Function within OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé before 1990**

### **II.2.1. Administration organigram/the functioning of OCIR-Café**

The administrative structure within OCIR-Café till 1994 was governed by the presidential order no 303/11 of 19/09/1978<sup>10</sup>. It is obvious that OCIR-Café authority was under the board of governors composed of 5 people spearheaded by the Chair. They were appointed and revoked by the President of the Republic under the advisory of the Minister of agriculture, forest and animal

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<sup>10</sup> OCIR-CAFÉ, Idem, p. 12

resources. They have a three years mandate period with possible renewal. The Board of Administration was entrusted the Director whose duty was the daily management of the institution. That Director is appointed or revoked by the President of the Republic. There is also a commissioner of the government whose duty is to control the functioning of the institute. Two commissioners are entrusted with the financial and patrimony assets<sup>11</sup>.

The administrative structure within OCIR –Café till 1994 is highlighted in the table below<sup>12</sup>.

**Table: Administrative structure**

<b>Services</b>	<b>Sections</b>	<b>Responsile of the post</b>
<b>Direction</b>	<b>General Director</b>	<b>Munyaneza Sylvestre</b>
	Studies and programs	Munyankera Pontien
	Central secretariat	Musabyimana Berthe
	Human Resources	Nshimiyimana Camille
Administrative and Financial Service	<b>Head of the Service</b>	<b>Nduhungirehe Jean Chrysostome</b>
	Management Procurement Service	Kamuzinzi Guillaume
Production Service	<b>Head of the Service</b>	<b>Sibomana Andre</b>

<sup>11</sup> OCIR-CAFÉ, Idem, p. 13

<sup>12</sup> OCIR-CAFÉ, Idem, p. 13



	Coffee production	Masabo Samson
Commercial Service	<b>Head of the Service</b>	<b>Kampayana Charles</b>
	Licence and Taxation	Turikunkiko Michel
	Import /export	Mukakarangwa Odette
	Propaganda	Nzindukiyimana Augustin

The full administrative structure is in appendices (appendix 1)

OCIR-Café had the agronomists deployed in zones of coffee high production. We remarked names of agronomist of 9 zones as appeared on the payment list of June 1993 (urutonde rw'abahembwa na OCIR-Café, Kamena 1993).

OCIR-Café was working closely with two factories belonging to private entrepreneurs. The coffee factory of RWANDEX (Rwanda Export Company) was located in Kigali city around 100 m from OCIR headquarters. It is said that OCIR had 49% of shares while the private investors from UK had 51% of shares. RWANDEX was fitted with internal management autonomy but OCIR-Café would help it to provide quality assurance and to get an export authorization on international market. There was an OCIR-Café permanent staff in the Board of Directors. Yet, the financial and human resources management was in the responsibility of the factory. RWANDEX had also implanted another factory to make agricultural equipment such as hoes, machetes, wheelbarrows and the like. It was called SHILLINGTON and located in Gatenga. Its management was exclusively private and there was no public shares.

There was ETIRU (Etablissement industriel de Ruhengeri) factory which was established by private investors for coffee export. It was working closely with OCIR-Café because the latter was delivering export authorization after checking the quality assurance of products. It is not

easy to get information related to genocide perpetration within these factories given that their management was exclusively private and since the genocide broke out, no staff resumed the job. In this study, information about this staff was not obtained. Besides the management of personnel, the legal status and the industrial relations of these two factories was far different from that of OCIR.

There were also two coffee factories under OCIR-Café responsibility. They were entrusted to process coffee from the harvest to export phase. One was located at Masaka in Kigali and another at Nkora in Gisenyi. The OCIR-Café used to deploy there very few staff to manage them because the majority of staff were casual labor staff who were recruited at the harvest period and they were involved in processing, washing and drying coffee. Because these factories were very far from the headquarters, we never identified any witness to tell us how the personal relationship was before and during the genocide; and how genocide was committed in those factories. There was a factory called RWACOF that was still under construction and the 1994 genocide broke out before it was inaugurated. After genocide, it was privatized.

### **II.2.2. OCIR-THE Headquarters office**

The organization, structure and functioning of OCIR-The are defined by the presidential law N<sup>o</sup> 522/05 of 11/11/1983 establishing the OCIR-The's organization, structure and functioning<sup>13</sup>. As it is described by the OCIR-The **organigram**<sup>14</sup>, the OCIR-The is administrated by the board of five directors among whom there is a chairperson. The chairperson of the board of directors is nominated by the president of Republic after consulting with the ministry of Agriculture. The board serves a three years term renewable. The daily activities of the board are bestowed to the director who is nominated or revoked by the President of the Republic. The director is backboned by the organs of general secretary, inspection service, and contentious service. However, the administration services has five departments with eleven sections as detailed in the table below.

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<sup>13</sup> OCIR-The, Ibidem, p. 13

<sup>14</sup> OCIR-The, Etudes des Schemas directeurs d'informatisation, 1993, p. 8

<b>Services</b>	<b>Sections</b>	<b>Responsibles before 1994</b>
<b>Direction</b>	<b>General Director</b>	<b>Bagaragaza Michel</b>
	central Secretariat	Nyamvura Perpetue
	Human resource unit	Mariane Mukamanzi
<b>Finance and accounting service</b>	<b>Head of Financial and accounting unit</b>	<b>Kamanzi Callixte</b>
	Finance and treasury	Niwemfura Candide
	General accounting	Papias Ndibeshye
<b>Technical services</b>	<b>Technical Service Director</b>	<b>Rukaka Assinapol</b>
	Production of green leaves	Niyonzima Vincent
	Management/Procurement unit	Gahirima Viateur
<b>Commercial services</b>	<b>Head of Commercial service</b>	<b>Manishimwe Foebe</b>
	Licence and conditioning	Muganza Stany
	Exportation	Munyakazi Valere
<b>Budget service</b>	<b>Head of Budget and Budget Control</b>	<b>Safari Theophile</b>
	Budget	Ruvugayimikore Celestin
	Budget Control	Uzabakiriho Jean Baptiste

For the entire organigram see Appendix 2

### **II.3. the livelihoods and the relationship between the personnel of OCIR-CAFÉ before 1990**

The regime of Kayibanda and PARMEHUTU used to oppress Tutsi publically in media naming them: Inyenzi (cockroache), inyangarwanda (enemies of Rwanda), gashakabuhake (the pro-slavery), abarunari (UNAR members), enemies of the country and other stereotyping names. The

aforementioned nicknames indicated that Tutsi were enemies of the countries to the extent that they could be harassed on job places or in normal life by whoever because the public was already prepared for that. In 1973, when the regime of Kayibanda was at its end, Tutsi were seriously oppressed since February till June. There was a move to chase away the Tutsi students or personnel across the country from public or private sector<sup>15</sup>. For instance in OCIR<sup>16</sup>, in early February 1973, the personnel reported to work in the morning as usual and surprisingly found a list of Tutsi published in announcement stating that: "whoever finds his or her names on this list is forbidden to show up in the institution". Further, to reinforce the decision, the announcement was put on the *Ficus toningii* tree at the entrance gate of OCIR office. The reason behind was that Tutsi were the majority in service while they were a minority ethnic group. In fact it was an alibi because they were not reduced to the required ethnic quota as it ought to be, but they were all sacked (interview with 60101).

Even before Tutsi did not enjoy their rights of freedom like any other personnel due to the stereotyping names such as snakes, enemies of Rwanda, cockroaches and others. This situation put the Tutsi in the context of perennial fear, and even when there was employment injustice, they could not complain. The personnel in OCIR who succumbed to the oppression include RUGAMBA Henry and KAGOYINYONGA Godelive. There were other people who were involved in oppressing Tuts like BUHAYI Thaddee, head of human resources service. The reason behind the oppression was on the ground that it was taken for granted that Tutsi did not have any right, even right to life. At work, they could be harassed anyhow. No personnel were physically assaulted except the stereotyping names and psychological harassment.

When Habyarimana Juvenal took the power over, in July 1973 he provided a pacifying message reading: "we categorically reject hatred among Rwandans. What we want is peace and unity of the country"<sup>17</sup>. Tutsi only enjoyed a short peaceful time because since 1975 the ethnic quota policy was implemented. The problem of ethnicity was no longer discussed because of initial speeches but in reality the problem was still there. Consequently, the war of liberation waged by RPF Inkotanyi exposed the entire reality to the public.

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<sup>15</sup>Mugesera Antoine, Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda mbere ya 1994, Kigali, 2010

<sup>16</sup>That time OCIR was one unit before restructuring into different units of coffee and tea.

<sup>17</sup>Communique yo mu gihe cya coup d'etat yo kuya 5 Nyakanga 1973 yanyuraga kuri radio Rwanda

#### **II.4. the livelihoods and the relationship between the personnel of OCIR-Café during the war of liberation (1990-1994)**

Since 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 after the war waged by RPF broke out, Tutsi were harassed on the ground that they attacked Rwanda. In the night of 4<sup>th</sup> towards the morning of 5<sup>th</sup> October, there happened a masacade game in Kigali. The soldiers of the government opened fire the whole nights and the following morning they declared the state of emergence prohibiting the people to go to the job. Then, it ensued the arbitrary arrest of Tutsi in Kigali and in other parts of the country on the ground that Inkotanyi rebels infiltrated in Kigali and that their accomplices had hidden them in their houses. This was an act to hunt down the accomplices in the Tutsi's homes. They were hunted down at service location. There were some Tutsi civil servants who were not arrested even though they were coming to their jobs daily. In fact there were no clear justifications why some were arrested and others not.

Since the 1st October 1990 when RPF Inkotanyi waged the liberation war, Tutsi started to be harassed. Some wrongdoers did it openly and others did it in hidden or in cunning way. At OCIR-The headquarters, the employees carried out their daily duties as usual. Only two people were presumed to have complicity with Inkotanyi and they were captured from their homes. These were Georges Ruterana who was a medical doctor in both OCIR-The and OCIR-Café and Etienne who was in charge of coffee tasting. They spent three months in a jail. After being released from the jail, they resumed their jobs in the OCIR and no one was dismissed. The authorities did not show any behavior of hatred nor persecution against Tutsi. However social interactions between workers conspicuously changed.

There were some of Bagaragaza's assistants who encouraged him to fire out the technical director, Rukaka Assinapol, because he was Tutsi. Bagaragaza strongly protected him saying that: "Leave my UMUTUTSI he perfectly accomplish his duties". Nevertheless, in 1994 Rukaka, his wife and their five children were killed inside the institution. He was badly killed by cutting into pieces the parts of his body progressively. All of these did not avoid that from October 1990,

Tutsi employees of OCIR-Café and OCIR-The were harassed, insulted and undignified in many and different ways.

#### **II.4.1. Harassment and human degrading**

At the end of 1990, Kayinganwa Helene, typewriter, was harassed and undignified at the work. Since that time her performance evaluation became average whereas before she used to get “very good” as performance evaluation grade and consequently a ¼ of her salary was cut off while she had not been given any letter requesting her for explanations or warning in accordance with legality. This was done by the Director of human resources and the Director of OCIR-Café who was approving the performance evaluation. The fact that the aforesaid Director did not inquire the reason behind such poor evaluation was an indicator that there was collusion. In 1991 he evaluated her poorly but that time one agronomist who was a relative to the Head of Human Resources asked him “why do you always harass a worker with sanctions ultra vires?” The Head of Human Resources service replied: “In fact, we are under threats of his relatives”. This insinuates that such harassment actions were carried out on the ground that RPF Inkotanyi waged war and that all Tutsi were accomplices. They were accused of being enemies of Rwanda.

A civil servant called NYANDEKWE Virginie was the Deputy to the Head of Procurement unit was given an evaluation note of “*satisfaction*” and ¼ of her salary was unforeseeably cut off because yet she used to be hailed of excellent performance. Consequently, she was moved to another job position even though she remained in the same unit. The purpose was to prevent her from access to money for fear that she could provide contributions to her relatives Inkotanyi. The lower marks evaluation was enough for a civil servant who poorly performed his duties. Adding salary deduction for the same fault was doubling punishment and it was illegal in public service theory. Besides, combining two punishments are heavier as they are classified in 3<sup>rd</sup> category prior to dismissal. This testifies injustices and harassment conducted against Tutsi during the war of liberation.

It was always common to associate a Tutsi civil servant with cunning. For instance, this happened when KAYIGANWA Helene and NYANDEKWE Virginie made deadly accident on 29/9/1990 while coming back from lunch around 2:00 pm near the OCIR-Café. Being seriously injured, they came back to OCIR-Cafe to see a medical agent as the institution had a dispensary. They were treated and given a month of medical leave. They came back end October after RPF Inkotanyi waged the war of liberation. They found a new socio-political climate full of suspicions and hatred. Whereas Helene found her office closed and she was almost dismissed, Virginie's position was changed. As a matter of fact, it was said that two civil servants pretended to have made accident while the truth was that they had gone to join RPF Inkotanyi's plots in collaboration with Kajeguhakwa who turned out to have joined RPF Inkotanyi. In addition to that, there were treated with harassing words that they were enemies of the country.

On 22 October 1990, a civil servant called MUKANTAGANIRA Immaculee was also a head of central secretariat office got a prompt letter ( N/Ref. 2345/NSH.C/B.K/XIII 16 dated 22/11/1990) changing her job position without prior notice. Notwithstanding, the Director put in place a new organ called "documentation and archives" operating within the central secretariat office of which she was assigned to head. This was in contradiction with public service law prohibiting the demotion of a civil servant to the position lower than the one he/she used to occupy. However, she remained in the service reporting to the person who newly replaced her. This was un-dignifying act.

MUKAGASANA Annonciata was a typewriter in the service of license and taxation. She used to come across the casual labor workers because of the nature of her job. The majority of some of these casual labor workers got militia training and they turned out to members of CDR (Coalition pour la Defence de la Republique). They used to insult her publicly that: "snakes, cockroaches, Inkotanyi, have you seen their cunnings, your relatives waged the war, you are prepared to get political power".

MAHINDA Augustin was an agronomist in the area of production service. He used to be harassed by authorities through service detachment in Cyangugu to serve there since 1992. They knew that many CDR partisans were from Cyangugu, Bucyana Martin's hometown, the President of the party. One year after his detachment he was attacked by non-identified people

and he was killed in 1993. It is said that he was killed by INTERAHAMWE from Cyangugu due to the hatred spread by people that he was linked to RPF Inkotanyi.

#### **II.4.2. Training of perpetrators of genocide**

OCIR-Café institution had many young men who got militia trainings. Some civil servants could abscond from a job in a period beyond one month after which they could come back to service without any problem. As a result, they had hatred to extreme against Tutsi. RWANGALINDI Theoneste was a driver who got training from Gabiro training center. After training he came back with injuries and he testified the successful accomplishment of trainings on how to eliminate the Tutsi enemies. He said: *“now we are commandos and we can eliminate you in a short period”*.

One woman called Beata who was his colleague asked him: “your sayings are dominated by killing slogans, if you kill me, what would be the cause of that?” Rwangalindi looking at her and replied: “I cannot kill you but I can look for someone to shoot at you” (testimonies of 60101). Being absconded in a period beyond one month and come back to their duties without any blame from the higher authority of the institution was an indicator that they were officially supported by the institution. They harassed their Tutsi line managers without any sanction. All in all, the Tutsi to live in the institution during the liberation war was full of constraints because they were mistreated by their workmates and their leaders.

There was one woman called NYIRAMAHIRWE Madeleine, typewriter, once in public she said: “I strongly hate Tutsi from my heart”. His colleagues asked her: “you are still young and you do not know the ex-Tutsi chiefs, why do you hate Tutsi? Even the people whom you are seating together with are Tutsi, do they disturb you?” She did not find any answer, however, nothing prevent hatred toward Tutsi from keeping on (testimonies of 60101).

Among master minders were the OCIR-Café Director himself, Neretse Fabien, who had a gun in his office. Before carrying out his duties, he placed his gun on his office desk. They were many Interahamwe such as RWANGALINDI, NSHIMIYIMANA Camille, CYANGABWOBA,



RUVUGWA Safari, BIZIMANA P. Celestin, ABAYIZIGIRA Gorethi, MAKUZA and etc, who attended the military trainings. They were many so that their leaders could not be retraced out because they were working in hidden and confidential places. In fact, The Interahamwe and CDR partisans were many in OCIR-Café and OCIR-The.

The institutions had many civil servants who obviously had influential power on their workmates without clear reasons but the institutions knew and supported it. In fact, there was what was qualified as ‘‘akazu k’Abakiga’’(influential leaders from the north) and they were ones to manage the OCIR-Café and OCIR-The during 1990-1994 period.

There was Bagaragaza Michel, the Director of OCIR-Thé from 1984 to 1994. He appeared to be the real Director of both OCIRs. All decisions related to genocide planning were made by him. There was also Neretse Fabien who was the Director of OCIR-Café till 1992 and he was replaced by Munyaneza Sylvestre.

#### **II.4.3. Immediate preparation of genocide and weapon supply**

Some civil servants appeared to hold machetes in the offices since early 1994. The machetes were brought in the office in high secret. The aim was to hide them from their Tutsi workmates. But some machetes were poorly hidden under shelves so that they could be seen. CDR partisan, Safari RUVUGWA, was spotted while he was putting his machete underneath the shelf, and he was asked why he bought the new machete and brought it at working place instead of taking it home. He answered: “leave it alone, its function will probably be defined”. They insisted on requesting him to take it home but he mocked at them and he kept quiet (testimonies n° 60101).

They were some confidential meetings which were conducted in OCIR to plan Genocide. Ex-Director of OCIR-The had a closed friendship with Ngeze Hassan, chief editor of “KANGURA” newspaper. The later used to come in early morning in the OCIR director office before other employees and he stayed there for the whole day and left the office after other employees. There were other meetings gathering both OCIR employees and external people which took place in the OCIR compound. The people who came across with him said that KANGURA newspaper was

edited in the OCIR. Sometimes Ngeze Hassan arrived in the OCIR and a day after some CDR announcements encouraging HUTU to hate and to get ready for the Tutsi genocide were broadcasted in media.

Many civil servants especially part-time employees had been Interahamwe and moreover it was obvious that they were ready for the Genocide perpetration. Normally, their duties were loading and unloading the coffee. However, whenever a Tutsi senior manager passed around them, they could scold and dishonest him as if he/she was a thief in these slogans: ‘‘they behave as if nothing happened whereas they are in the plot to decimate Hutu’’(Testimonies n° 60101 and n° 60102).

The Tutsi civil servant did not have any value in both OCIR-Cafe and OCIR-The institutions. He could not be respected for his job position. He had no rights and the perpetrators were ready to deprive him the fundamental rights to life. It is obvious that the majority of staff was aware of the plan of the genocide and they were prepared to play a significant role implementing the plan. (Testimonies n° 60101 and n° 60105).

## **II.5. How genocide against Tutsi was perpetrated in OCIR-CAFÉ and OCIR-THE**

When the airplane of the ex-president Habyarimana Juvenal was shot down in the night of 6<sup>th</sup> April towards 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994, the genocide perpetration ensued immediately. The following morning the people get overwhelmed by the situation asking themselves what could end the killings that had spread across the country. The job stopped and the employees who were living outside the OCIR-The compound were not reporting to job. Yet the employees who were living inside the compound started to be attacked by their workmates and militiamen of Gikondo spearheaded by the Councilor of the Sector.

Since 7<sup>th</sup> April OCIR-Café & OCIR-The institutions were surrounded by many soldiers to the extent that no Tutsi could get outside. Attacks of non-identified people started to be organized against Tutsi inside the compound. They were coming inside houses and checking up, requesting

for money and beating each and every Tutsi. However, they were sparing houses of non-Tutsi as they had friendship with them. For instance they were dialoguing quietly with Safari Theophile, Uzabakiriho Jean Baptiste, Papias and others (testimony n° 60104).

When the Tutsi remarked that attacks were intensified, they took refuge to the floor offices of the directors of both OCIR-Café & OCIR-The hoping that they could save their life. On the contrary, on 12/4/1994, they were attacked by many militiamen determined to decimate them. They arrived around 9h00 and met them in the house to the floor, dispersed them and they took different orientations as a way of rescuing themselves but in vain because militiamen were many and they knew very well their houses. The majority of perpetrators were casual labor employees. The same day, they harassed, beat them and took by force their property and went away. The following day on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1994, militiamen maintained their movement around but did not kill them. On 14<sup>th</sup> April 1994, many militiamen arrived around 8h00 am, got each and every one out of houses and rounded them in the field next to the main entrance gate of the OCIR Compound. Come NSHIMYUMUKIZA who was a cashier was taken to his office and was requested to give them money. After giving them money, they get him outside and killed him. Others were loaded in minibus of OCIR and after removing the seats, they made them sit down. In order load many people, they were ordered to sit down crossing legs each other and they brought them at Gatenga/Kicukiro cemetery and killed them.

In that cemetery, there was a mass grave that was dug by a machine and one could make out that it had been prepared as way getting rid of bodies killed in the genocide. They brought them there several times as the victims were many. After rounding them there, they started to kill them using all types of weapons. There were many soldiers and gendarmes shooting people. The staff that had been given machetes was using them to kill Tutsi. Other militiamen were killing using swords, spears, batons, machetes and the like.

There were barbaric acts of torture including physically aborting women who were in last terms of pregnancy. For instance Shyirahayo Augustin's wife called Nyirabagande Esperance was physically aborted and the perpetrators wanted to feed her the flesh of the baby aborted. There were small children whom they stabbed with swords and others were physically split from legs to the head. There were also acts of raping the women inside the compound before they brought

them to Gatenga cemetery. Two women and one lady were said to have been raped. One of them was brought to the cemetery unclothed. In the road, they ordered her raise up her arms or to cross them on the head. On the road, they asked the public to look on the nakedness of Tutsi women. After killing her, they came back praising themselves on how they put her in agony till she died (testimony n° 60104). After killing them, they were thrown in the mass grave that had been dug in the cemetery.

There were other staff who died in different parts in their homes or in places where they had taken refuge. Only 34 staff and their relatives were living in compounds of the factories and 51 were living outside the compound. In total were able to identify 85 people.

The OCIR-Café and OCIR-The administration as genocide master minder played a big role to implement the Tutsi- genocide in the factory as follows:

1. Plan meeting with famous people recognized for their role of master minding the plan and execution such as Ngeze Hassan who frequently conducted meetings and did his daily duties as chief editor of Kagura newspaper which sensitized and encourage Hutus to conduct Tutsi-Genocide
2. The OCIR-Café managers supported all Genocide activities. They did not even warn or warn the abnormal behavior that Interahamwe manifested during their daily activities. They were authorizing monthly leave to the personal to attending para-military trainings or CDR demonstrations.
3. The administration did not punish the Interahamwe's bad behavior (terrorism, insulting, possessing guns at the OCIR-Cafe offices, not respecting their line managers and so on ) that had become a culture at OCIR.
4. There were others who used to attend the evening trainings to operate guns and to use knives and other weapons. For instance, there was one person called Eustache who used to say that after work they had to meet soldiers for the gun operation trainings in which some high ranked political and military leaders came to over supervise. He said: "to be truthful, get ready to flee otherwise we will kill you" (testimonies n° 60105)

5. The management of factories never sanctioned the misconducts of militiamen such as insults, insubordination over their line managers, keeping weapons in offices, threatening other staff etc.

### **Special case of Bagaragaza Michel**

Bagaragaza Michel was the General Director of OCIR-The during the liberation war and the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsi. To make understand his role in genocide, one must understand the exorbitant powers he exercised in the position of administration<sup>18</sup>. Bagaragaza Michel was born in Bushiru in 1945, in Giciye Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. During the genocide, he was heading 10 tea factories with powers exercised over 55,000 employees. Factories were important as they were sources of foreign currencies. He was the vice President of Banque continentale Africaine in Rwanda (BACAR) in addition to being one of the members of prefectoral MRND committee in the Gisenyi Prefecture. The MRND committee established Interahamwe militia in that area. Bagaragaza was one of the members of the clique “Akazu”, the inner house members with exorbitant political powers with upper hands on the state resources on which the president Habyarimana and other people originating from Ubushiru, Gisenyi and Ruhengeri were enjoying.

Bagaragaza Michel surrendered himself to International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2005. He appeared to the court on the first time on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2009 and rejected all accusations. On 17/8/2009, he pleaded guilty and accepted to cooperate with the court<sup>19</sup>. The court verdict was passed against him on 17/11/2009 in relation to his being guilty of complicity in genocide. He was sentenced 8 years of imprisonment. On 1/12/2011, he was provisionally released. The case of Bagaragaza in Arusha confirmed that he had been involved in the genocide

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<sup>18</sup> ICTR, The Prosecutor versus Michel Bagaragaza. Case No. ICTR-05-86-S , 2009, p. 6

<sup>19</sup> ICTR, idem, p. 5. Joint Motion for Consideration of a Guilty Plea. Agreement between Michel Bagaragaza and the Office of the Prosecutor (confidential), filed on 14 April 2008. The decision act of pleading guilty and accepting to cooperate with the court came out on 17/8/2009.

perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994. Besides, he pleaded guilty of his decisions and acts that led to genocide in the Commune where he was living<sup>20</sup>.

On 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994, he attended a meeting chaired by the Bourgmestre and his deputy aiming to plan the decimation of Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Kesho hill, near the factories of Rubaya and Nyabihu and at Nyundo Cathedral near the factory of Pfunda. He confirmed that the Deputy Bourgmestre Kuradusenge Thomas was heading the acts of genocide perpetration.

He provided the cars and fuels from the factories to facilitate the transportation of the civil militia Interahamwe to perpetrate genocide. The majority of killers among the civil militia Interahamwe were employees from the factories. Though these employees continued to be involved in genocide, they were not removed from salary payment list.

He confirmed that, as it was on the request of the ex-chief of staff army Deogratias Nsabimana in 1993, that the factories of Nyabihu and Rubaya were arsenal of all types of weapons used in the genocide such machetes, firearms. He kept on supervising the massacres and he met several times with Kuradusenge between 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> April 1994. He requested him to offer a motivation fees to civil militia Interahamwe to continue the massacres in Gisenyi area. He turned out to have provided a huge amount of money to buy beer for them.

The factories of Rubaya, Nyabihu and Pfunda had a significant role in act of planning and executing the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi because its leading senior authorities were involved and they did this at regional level. The employees were involved to execute the program planned by their leading authorities.

In fact, in the OCIR-Café and OCIR-The the genocide perpetration was carried out publicly. People to be killed were taken live from the factory to the place they were tortured and killed. After killing them, their bodies were thrown in the organized mass grave. The OCIR-Cafe and OCIR-The's civil servants are the ones who killed their workmates or they made them be killed

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<sup>20</sup> ICTR, The prosecutor versus Michel Bagaragaza. Case No ICTR-05-86-S. judgement and sentence, 2009, p. 8

with accomplices with Interahamwe. Below is the table indicating a list of the most popular staff that spearheaded the genocide perpetration of their colleagues

1	RwangerindeTheonas	OCIR-Café Driver
2	Cyangabwoba J. Baptiste	He was an office messenger in OCIR-Cafe
3	Makuza	Cleaner in OCIR-Cafe
4	NdibeshyePapias	Accountant in OCIR-The
5	Safari Theophile	The head of service in OCIR-The
6	Safari Theophile's wife called Domithila	She was a Student at Mburabuturo in Law faculty during Genocide period
7	Uzabakiriho J. Baptiste	Inspection Officer in OCIR-THE
8	Cansilde's husband called GahirimaViateur who was a nurse	Procurement unit in OCIR-THE

The above listed people were popular due to their post occupations. They were other part-time workers who were strongly involved in Genocide but they are not known as no one had mentioned their names. The part time workers were many to carry out the activities related to the luggage loading and unloading which used to be needed in the

both OCIR-Café and OCIR-The. Since both institutions were closer, The OCIR-The director was strongly involved in Genocide perpetration in different places across the country and he would be considered among leaders who played a big role in Genocide perpetration in both institutions.

No employees were killed inside OCIR, from the OCIR-Thé they were transported in a big car to Gatenga cemetery where they had been killed. Except household keepers, no one else was killed inside institution.

## **II.6. Relationship and livelihood of the employees after genocide**

Few days after genocide perpetration and the establishment of Government of unity, OCIR-The and OCIR-Café directly resumed their activities as other services like elsewhere in the country. The available former employees came to make institutions operational. Among them, they were very few genocide survivors and other who had been involved in genocide but they were confident that no one will figure out what they had done during genocide. Some other civil servants were newly recruited from outside the OCIR.

In general, the livelihood of the employees was very difficult. The acquainted people knew from each other their behavior before genocide. They were some with INTERAHAMWE behavior before genocide. There were some news about their behavior which were traced progressively out. Whereas Tutsi considered Hutu as a murder, Hutu were afraid Tutsi's retaliation. In general, those individual prejudices are the ones that created suspicious climate between employees. Everyone was ready to receive any oral or offensive behavior from his/her workmate. There was no safety at job.

There were even some people who got trauma due to what they experienced during the genocide perpetration. Other quitted the job for good for fear to meet every day with people who knew that they had committed genocide. There were others who quitted job for good once they heard



people revealed their involvement in genocide perpetration. For instance, HATEGEKIMANA Faustin, chief of part time workers quitted the job for good. Many employees were not sure of their future. There were other newly recruited staffs who were busy enjoying the liberation victory and were not aware of what was going on the other side. However, there were others who decided to bear up and to ignore whatever had happened to them.

That period was very hard and characterized by accusing each other. Whenever perpetrators of genocide met with the victim survivors, the latter got angry as they wanted to get information about their involvement in the genocide perpetration. The reason behind was that a great deal number of the presumed guilty of genocide were not yet arrested and were occupying their previous posts. Some of them quitted their jobs for good. Given that this institution had many militiamen, those who disappeared from their jobs were many and some of them fled the country (testimonies n° 60101).

Progressively, the climate of mistrust disappeared till they had good relationship. In particular, after Gacaca people were trained about the culture of tolerance and to tell the truth in order to recover peaceful relationships. Even though these initiatives were conducted outside, they had positive spillover on the institution. The act of genocide commemoration had a significant role in restoring good relationship among people. This led to a situation where it was obvious that staff were on good terms, specifically between 2007 and 2008 when special organization of commemoration started in these institutions. People could invite each other and share almost everything: those who were sick could be visited at hospitals, those who gave birth could receive special social visits. For the time being, there is a good social relationship among the staff.

## **II.7. Genocide commemoration in OCIR-Café**

The act of genocide commemoration are highlighted in two ways: (1) to commemorate in the former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and (2) to commemorate in NAEB.

### **II.7.1. Commemoration in OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café**

The act of genocide Commemoration at the ex-OCIR-Café was collective at residential places. The act was institutionalized since 2008. Initially, the attendance of the civil servants was not high. Some had in their mind that they were not concerned thinking that it was only for genocide survivors. Others thought it was for Tutsi and the others joined as a whitewash act.

Progressively, as the act of commemoration was yearly carried out, there was a significant mindset change on the side of the civil servants. This was due to the effort of the administration made through sensitizing and explaining the significance of commemorating the genocide. It was re-dignifying them and blaming perpetrators while enforcing measures to prevent genocide perpetration.

The administration reserved one day for commemoration out of one hundred days of commemoration period. The administration invited all civil servants, and all organizations whose missions are commemoration such as Ibuka, FARG, CNLG, and guest speakers on genocide.

The following year in 2009, there was a night to commemorate the ex-civil servants of OCIR-Thé perished in the genocide and to narrate the history of barbaric acts in this institution. Besides, they carried out a fieldwork trip at Gisozi memorial site to experience how genocide perpetrated against Tutsi was executed with intensity of extreme sadism. The trip ended in collecting the support from staff and administration to the memorial site.

In 2010, there was an effective commemoration event because during the night of commemoration there were testimonies about genocide perpetration within OCIR-Café that were delivered by Jeannette Byukusenge, a child of SHYIRAHAYO Augustin an ex-civil servant who was living in the OCIR-Café compound. There was also an exhibition of photos of civil servants of ex-OCIR-Café. Before starting the commemoration event, the civil servants went at Nyanza/Kicukiro to pay tributes to the people buried in the genocide memorial site.

### **II.7.2. Commemoration in NAEB**

Since 2011 agriculture and commercialization of farm products are managed by National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB). The latter combined the missions of the former OCIR-Thé, OCIR-Café and the mission of the former RHODA<sup>21</sup>. Genocide commemoration is organized every year and it has a positive impact to value the victims of genocide, to support the survivors and the offspring of the victims.

In 2014, there was an important achievement of building the genocide memorial site in NAEB in the framework to commemorate the ex-civil servants of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café. It was inaugurated on 26/6/2014. All names of the former OCIR-Café, OCIR-Thé civil servants and other civil servants from different tea factories around the country were collected and written down.



**Photo: Public relations NAEB**

The commemoration activities of the former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé were maintained and both NAEB staff and administration were supporting the genocide survivors in general and the survivors from the ex-civil servant families in particular.

### **II.8. Achievement of NAEB in supporting the families of the former staff survivors of the genocide- former staff of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café**

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<sup>21</sup> Law N° 13/2017 of 14/04/2017 establishing National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB) and determining its mission, organisation and functioning in Official Gazette No 18 of 1/5/2017 repealing law N°39/2010 of 25/11/2010 establishing National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB) and determining its responsibilities, organisation and functioning in Official Gazette No 4 of 24/1/2011.

The activities of supporting the families of the OCIR-Café ex-civil servants, survivors of the genocide were carried out in different ways:

- In 2013 a house was given to two children namely Jeannette BYUKUSENGE and her young sister Grace MUSHIMIYIMANA. The children belonged to Augustin SHYIRAHAYO who was working in the unit of inspection. The house was built in a plot given by the government and it was inaugurated in 2013.
- In 2015, the house of a child called UWASE Alice daughter of NDOLI Vivens, an ex-driver in OCIR-Café was rehabilitated. The house was in bad conditions, was improved and equipped. They provided to her the cow shad and a pregnant cow of the improved race.



**Photo: Public relations NAEB**

- In 2016, a child called Grace MUSHIMIYIMANA was given a professional training as she had graduated from tertiary education as accountant. She has now a job contract with NAEB.
- In 2016, NAEB rehabilitated a house of Immaculee a daughter Uwineza Euphrasie, who was secretary in OCIR-Café. It was improved and put again into habitable conditions.

To enable the above activities achievement, there was a collaboration between staff and the institution in fund collection. This is to corroborate that NAEB as institution in collaboration with managers and employees showed love and sympathy towards orphans of its ex-civil servants through approaching them, soothing them and showing them a parenthood love. As a result, the orphans keep up with having a self-reliance for the future.

### III. GENOCIDE PERPETRATION IN TEA FACTORIES

This chapter set out by addressing the historical background of tea plantation and establishment of factories across the country, the structure and functioning of those factories, the staff relationship across the country before 1990, during the liberation war, during the genocide and genocide commemoration and the period afterwards.

#### III.1. Tea Plantation History in Rwanda

The tea plantation began in Rwanda in 1952. It started in high altitude mountains which varied between the elevation of 1900 and 2500 meters<sup>22</sup>. Nevertheless, the first tea factory was established in Rwanda in 1960 at Mulindi in Byumba Prefecture. Later on, the tea plantation was intensified and consequently it was planted in many high altitude mountains all over the country which were favourable for the tea plantations. Till 1994, there were 10 tea factories in Rwanda. The following table shows their respective year of establishment.

Tea Factory	Construct ion year	Location (District, Sector)	1991 <sup>23</sup> areas	1991 <sup>24</sup> Factory Personnel	The period of privatization <sup>25</sup>
1.Mulindi	1960	Gicumbi-Kaniga-	1,738 ha	163	<b>2012</b>
2.Shagasha	1963	Rusizi-Giheke	1,436 ha	80	<b>2012</b>
3.Gisakura	1965	Nyamasheke-Bushekeri	1,147 ha	73	<b>2010</b>
4.Pfunda	1965	Rubavu-	810 ha	72	<b>2004</b>

<sup>22</sup> NAEB website/tea sub-sector strategy/p. 1 consulted on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Office du Thé, Rapport annuel 1991, Kigali, 1991, p. 3-5

<sup>24</sup> Office du Thé, idem, p.18-19. These are permanent staff among which there were employees under public service statutes and under contract terms. There are also casual labour workers.

<sup>25</sup> NAEB website, tea sub-sector, in [www.naeb.gov.rw](http://www.naeb.gov.rw) consulted on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2017

		Nyundo-			
5.Sorwathe	1966	Rulindo-Kinihira	829 ha	84	<b>2003</b>
6.Kitabi	1968	Nyamagabe-Kitabi-	957 ha	75	<b>2009</b>
7.Mata	1973	Nyaruguru-Mata-	990 ha	54	2010
8.Rubaya	1974	Ngororero-Muhanda	966 ha	76	<b>2006</b>
9.Nyabihu	1974	Nyabihu-Karago	660 ha	82	<b>2006</b>
10.Gisovu	1977	Karongi-Twumba	1,149 ha	55	<b>2011</b>

Legally, since 1962 the tea agricultural and trading activities were under the Office des cafes indigenes du Rwanda-Urundi (OCIRU)<sup>26</sup> when both Rwanda and Burundi were governed by orders No115/R and 116/ B on 22/06 1962 stipulating the OCIRU working policy after the independence of Rwanda and Burundi.

The law reaffirmed and broadened the OCIRU responsibilities and was beyond the promotion of coffee plantation and trading but also was extended to other cash exportation products (Pyrethrum, Cinchona and Tea) that required special treatment for their intrinsic quality.

After the Rwanda – Burundi separation, all cash agricultural products, tea inclusive, were controlled by “Office des Cultures Industriellles du Rwanda (OCIR)” established under ordinary law of 30/07/1964.

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<sup>26</sup> NAEB website/tea sub-sector strategy/p. 1

<sup>2</sup> Office du Thé, Rapport annuel 1991, Kigali, 1991, p. 3-5

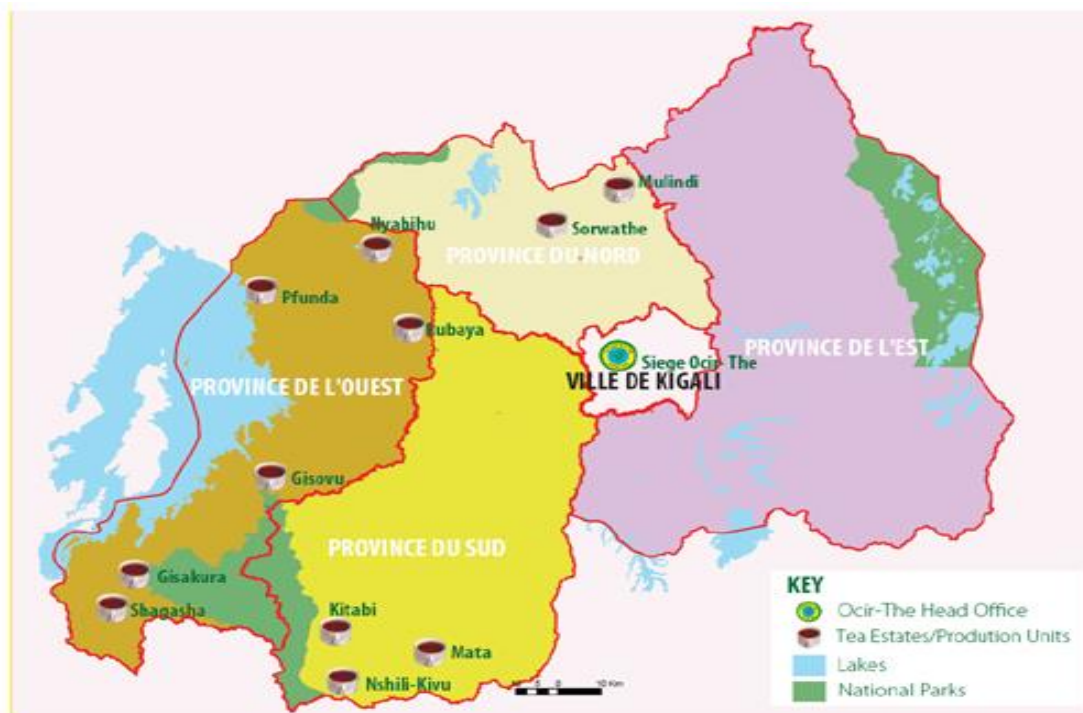
<sup>3</sup> Office du Thé, idem, p.18-19. These are permanent staff among which there employees under public service statutes and under contract terms. There are also casual labour workers.

In 1974, presidential order N° 48/12 of 1/1/1974 established within OCIR-Thé a special department in charge of the Tea.

In 1978, the law decree N° 27/78 of 5/9/1978 separated the OCIR-Cafe and OCIR-Thé and clarified their respective responsibilities. Furthermore, the aforesaid law decree established also the OPYRWA with special duties on Pyrethrum promotion.

The law decree N° 26/78 of 5/9/1978 established the Tea department whereas the presidential order N° 522/05 of 11/11/1983 established the “OCIR-Thé”'s mission and its functional structure. The tea department was in charge of monitoring the tea agricultural activities, tea factories and tea trading at national and international levels<sup>27</sup>.

Since 2011, the agricultural activities of tea, its production and commercialization are managed by NAEB<sup>28</sup>. This study on the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in tea factories will concentrate on 10 factories that had existed before 1994.



<sup>27</sup> OCIR-The, Etude des schémas directeurs d'informatisation, 1993, p. 7

<sup>28</sup> law N°39/2010 of 25/11/2010 establishing National Agricultural Export Development Board (NAEB) and determining its responsibilities, organisation and functioning in Official Gazette No 4 of 24/1/2011.

Figure 1: map of Rwanda showing location of tea factories.

If you consider meetings held in different periods you come to notice that directors of factories were appointed in positions as a strategy of planning the genocide. I refer to the meeting held on 29/5/1984, after the appointment of Bagaragaraza to manage OCIR-Thé, the meeting of 20/11/1990 along with the Directors in job positions in April 1994.

<b>The factory name</b>	<b>May 1984</b>	<b>November 1990</b>	<b>April 1994</b>
Mata	Mivumbi Jean	Mivumbi Jean	Ndabarinze Juvenal
Kitabi	Kamodoka Denys	Kamodoka Denys	Kamodoka Denys
Gisovu	Rutayisire Alphonse	Musema Alfred	Musema Alfred
Gisakura	Bazambanza J. B.	Mubiligi Anathole	Mubiligi Anathole
Shagasha	Mubiligi Anathole	Nsabimana Callixte	Nsabimana Callixte
Pfunda	Mukarage Celestin	Munyeshuri Innocent	Munyeshuri Innocent
Nyabihu	Rwambonera E.	Gasongero Justin	Gasongero Justin
Rubaya	Niyonzima Vincent	Ndabarinze Juvenal	Jaribu Anastase
SORWATHE	Gasongero Justin	Nyirinkwaya	–
Mulindi	Ndabarinze Juvenal	Jaribu Anastase	Mivumbi Jean Claude (1991-1993)

### **III.2. the structure and functioning of services within tea factories**

The structure and functioning of services within all factories were almost similar. In each factory, there were daily activities and their responsible agents. However, a factory could have



many or few employees depending on the size of tea plantation and the factory. Consequently, all factories had the same organigram but the number of employees differed as highlighted in the previous table showing the number of employees in 1991 in ten factories.

With regard to the daily activities in each factory: there was a Director of the factory appointed by the president of the Republic. The supporting services were central secretariat and the service of auditing and mediation unit. There were five subsidiary services namely: finance accounting unit in charge of finance and accounting, plantation unit in charge of tea agricultural activities related to tea plantation and harvesting and other agricultural equipment. Maintenance services were in charge of maintaining tea factory machinery and garage and other mechanical service. Tea making service was in charge of all tea processing activities in the factory, packaging and supplying tea to the market. Budget and budget control unit were in charge of preparing the budget and auditing<sup>29</sup>. The organigram is found in the table in appendix 2.

### **III.3. Genocide perpetration in Mata Factory**

This section will highlight the livelihoods and relationship among the personnel of Mata tea factory before 1990, during the liberation war, how genocide was committed along with genocide commemoration and supporting survivors of genocide and families victims of genocide.

#### **III.3.1. Livelihoods and relationship among the personnel of Mata tea factory before 1990**

Before 1990, there was good relationship among the staff of Mata tea factory. There was no signs nor ethnic segregation based climate in the factory. However, the testimonial tellers reminded that in 1973 there was violence and illegal dismissal of the civil servants in public administration and even in most institution of private sector across the country, the Mata tea factory inclusive.

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<sup>29</sup> OCIR-The, étude des schémas directeurs d'informatisation, p.10-20

Before 1990, no Tutsi civil servant was beaten nor harassed in public. However, Tutsi were obviously behaving prudently in different tea factories because they were aware that they did not have equal rights with their fellow Hutu workers. In some tea factories there were acts of harassing Tutsi, but this was done cunningly. This was relatively varying from a director to another.

For instance, in Mata tea factory there was usually an unclear ethnic segregation because no Tutsi could find a job without an informal supporter. There was a director general, MIVUMBI Jean Claude, from Cyangugu who was not ethnically oriented. Yet, his subordinates were ethnically oriented and they used to harass their fellow workers.

For instance, there was one person Ndayisaba Callixte (Alias NKUBA) who used to say that Tutsi were cunning and not trustful people. There were some directors who manifested always unjustified hatred against Tutsi. For instance, it was testified that an agronomist Murangira dismissed an employee called Mukandinda Cassilde on the ground that there was no more a job for Tutsi in Mata factory. He did it publically (Interview informant n° 60202)

### **III.3.2. Livelihoods and relationship among the staff during the liberation war (1990-1994).**

Since the RPA troops waged the war of liberation, Tutsi were harassed across the country. Some wrongdoers did it conspicuously and others did it in hidden or in cunning way. In different factories across the country, there were arrests of accomplices, insulting, beating, harassing and degrading Tutsi between 1990 and 1994.

In Mata tea factory located in Rwamiko/Gikongoro few Tutsi were jailed as a result of being accomplices. In the whole Gikongoro Prefecture very few Tutsi were jailed on the ground that they were accomplice. Nyabyenda Boniface, the former Gikongoro prefet was not supportive of the idea to jail Tutsi on the ground that it could expose the State responsibility for international wrongful acts. Nevertheless, he requested the government to establish a clear plan to solve Tutsi problems. In other words, he was requesting a permission from the government to decimate Tutsi.

The social interaction between employees in Mata tea factory changed since the liberation war. Director of the factory, Ndabarinze Juvenal brought 15 young men- some were retired soldiers and others civilians-, and he said that they were security agents. They were deployed at the entrance gate of the factory. They were in charge of checking all persons including tea employees before entering into the tea factory. They were checking Tutsi with great attention for fear that they could get in the factory with grenades.

That militia group was called Rugara. This was a group of Interahamwe militia that was being deployed across the country to identify the Tutsi to decimate during the genocide. This was corroborated by Rakia Omar and Alison Desforges that the regime of Habyarimana dispatched youth in different factories to guard the security but in reality it was a strategy of planning genocide through deploying the interahamwe militiamen across the country<sup>30</sup>.

They caused an ethnic segregation climate. While checking people tirelessly, they used to persecute Tutsi. Hutu and Tutsi started to separate from each other.

In canteen, while Hutu were engaged together talking, they could suddenly stop their discussions once they had realized a Tutsi approaching. Likewise, the Tutsi could do the same. In the factory, there was a common slogan saying that Tutsi waged the war which will reach nowhere, a speech that sowed worsened hatred between Tutsi and Hutu.

In 1992, Ndabarinze Juvenal dismissed a driver, Murangira John, saying that there was no job for Tutsi. Tutsi in the factory could not get job promotion as others. They stayed on their posts for long. Joseph Rurangwa, a deputy accountant, was harassed. Director used to prevent him from information related to his daily duties. He could sometimes miss the meetings because he was not informed. This was considered an act of un-dignifying a person in his career (testimonies n° 60206).

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<sup>30</sup> Human rights watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris , Karthala, 1999, p. 358. “Dans les mois qui précéderent le génocide, les commandants de la gendarmerie de Butare et de Gikongoro envoyèrent de petits détachements dans plusieurs lieux autour de la prefecture... Un autre détachement avait été envoyé à l’usine de thé de Mata dans la commune de Rwamiko et un autre, sous les ordres du Sous-Prefet à Munini.”

Rakia Omar, witness to genocide, 1999, issue No 10. She talks about the role played by Mata tea factory in the region of Sous-Prefecture Munini. She mentioned a militia group deployed in Mata tea factory called Rugara meant to guarantee security.

During the period of 1991-1994, the employees were encouraged to hate and persecute Tutsi. All Tutsi were collectively insulted in public by the Director Ndabarinze Juvenal, Ndayisaba Callixte, the Deputy Director and a group of security agents. Once they wanted to call a Tutsi, they could say “hey, come here Gatutsi”. They kept on insulting Tutsi in public and they were not punished. The security agents were using maces at patrol. They planned time for paramilitary trainings at tea factory football playground.

During the war of liberation there was acts of planning genocide and they consisted of separating Tutsi from Hutu in that they could not co-habit (polarization), to prepare list of the targeted people, to create and to train a militia that would be used in killings.

### **III.3.3. The commission of Genocide against Tutsi in Mata factory during 1994**

The genocide in the factory of Mata was written in studies of different researchers who in common concluded the role of the factory and its Director Ndabarinze Juvenal in organizing and implementing the plan of genocide<sup>31</sup>. Various researchers and academia conducted many researches on the acts of genocide in the Mata factory. The common results showed the role of the factory and its director Ndabarinze Juvenal in organizing and implementing the plan of genocide<sup>32</sup>.

Since the morning of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994 killings started in the region of Gikongoro where the factory is located. Rwamiko and Mudasomwa were some communes in which killings started at the prefecture level.

The book of HRW&FILDH reads the following testimonies: “*attacks in Gikongoro began on 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994 from three different centers. Two operations were carried out in the south,*

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<sup>31</sup> Human right watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris Kathala, 1999, p 355-400. African Rights, *witness to genocide*, 1999, issue 10. Urubanza rwa Colonel Simba Aloys Arusha. The Prosecutor versus Aloys Simba. Case No ICTR-01-76-T

<sup>32</sup> Human right watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris Kathala, 1999, p 355-400. African Rights, *witness to genocide*, 1999, issue 10. Urubanza rwa Colonel Simba Aloys Arusha. The Prosecutor versus Aloys Simba. Case No ICTR-01-76-T

*one in Rwamiko Commune, an area under the direct supervision of Biniga and another in the neighboring commune of Mudasmwa. The tea factories prevailed the political and economic life in the area. The Directors of both factories namely Denis Kamukoko, Kitabi tea Factory- Mudasmwa commune - and Juvenal Ndayariza, Mata tea Factory- Rwamiko commune- originated from the North. It is their employees whose majority were supporters of MRND and CDR who launched the first attacks with the support from local leaders<sup>33</sup>*

This area was dwelt by many Tutsi. The killings took place in many sites and the employees of the factories played a significant role in those killings. Meetings were held at factories' premises. Weapons that were used in killings were stored at factories' premises. Factories' cars were transporting killers in different places. Ndayariza Juvenal, the Director of the Factory was paying motivation fees to the killers in addition to supervising if the targeted people were all decimated. He had already established a list of Tutsi to identify those who were to be killed.

The spearheads in leading killings include Sous-Prefet Biniga who was collaborating closely with Muganyizi Silas, the Bourgmestre of Rwamiko and Ndayariza Juvenal, the Mata Tea Factory Director. In the morning of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994, Biniga arrived at Rwamiko in the factory of Mata escorted by many soldiers and gendarmes. He chaired the first meeting among many meetings that took place there whose aim was to organize the plan of genocide in the Munini Sous Prefecture<sup>34</sup>.

Immediately killings broke out. The survivors took refuge in different places including Kibeho and Cyahinda parishes, others went in Huye hills (ibizi bya Huye), others went at Runyinya Commune office in Karama. In every place, killers followed them there in different dates. Since 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994, factory services were suspended. Staff were busy in killings and Tutsi were being hunted down.

Many staff of the factory were killed in genocide. Other people from different places who had taken refuge there were killed in tea plantations fields and thrown out in the mass grave. To identify them is not easy because the killers do not provide testimonials. Killers were using all

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<sup>33</sup> Humanright watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris, Karthala, 1999, p.364

<sup>34</sup> African rights, witness to genocide, 1999, issue 10,

types of weapons including fire weapons, grenades and traditional weapons such as machetes, maces, small hoes, etc. There was a huge store of machetes in the factory. At the initial period of the genocide, leaders distributed them to militiamen Interahamwe to kill Tutsi. In that location, there are 244 people killed in genocide and they were scripted on genocide memorial site. Among them, 68 were former staff of the factory (see the list with names annexed).

### **The leaders of killings**

Even though their number is not identified, many staff were involved in genocide perpetration. The following is list highlights names of staff who spearheaded killings:

Ndabarinze Juvenal, was the Director of the Factory
Callixte Ndayisaba was Tea Maker
Nzayisenga was chief of tea plantation of the factory, he was jailed and later on released.
Bazakare was a civil servant in Mata factory
Bazakare Ildephonse is still in prison at Karubanda
Julien Butoya, was plumber and he is now in prison of Nyamagabe
Bunyogote, a civil servant from Mulindi Tea Factory
Kasha, a civil servant from Mulindi Tea Factory
Bwanashamba, a civil servant from Mulindi Tea Factory
Ngarambe, his whereabouts are not known but people think that he is in Congo
Gakumba, he died and had had a weapon
Nkurikiyinka Vianney, he lives in his native place in Mata
Munyaneza, he lives in Ruhango
Higiro, he is mechanic in Nyamagabe

Ngirente he was in the militia group known as Rugara, his whereabouts are not known
Mbarubucyeye alias Mayaya, his whereabouts are not known
Cendeli, his whereabouts are not known
Murangira he died
Munonga, he died
Butoyi Julien, he is in prison and he pleaded guilty,
Budara, he spent a long time in prison but Gacaca released him
Bakundukize in prison of Mpanga in Nyanza
Lumumba, he in prison at Karubanda

### **Meetings to plan killings**

The killings in Nyaruguru District was committed through the collaboration of different institutions among which the administration of Sous Prefet BINIGA Damien, the Director of Mata Tea factory, Ndabarize Juvenal, the Bourgmester of Rwamiko, Murengerangabo Silas and Gendarmerie and military leadership. In particular, the tea factory became a stronghold of genocide perpetration in that area. It was a place of meetings planning genocide

On 7<sup>th</sup> April at 7h00 am, there was a meeting chaired by Biniga, Ndabarinze and Mugerangabo. It was held on the ground of tea factory and the main message passed was that there were Tutsi who had sent children to join Inkotanyi and who had been holding secret meetings. These people had to be monitored tightly. Kamodoka Denys, the Director of Kitabi Tea Factory, Musema, the Director of Gisovu Tea Factory, Callixte, the Director of Shagasha Tea Factory held a meeting in which they said that the enemy was Tutsi because following the fall of Cyanika, Rusumo and Kagitumba borders in the hands of RPF they were not able to make tea product exportation in April 1994.

### **The Role of the Factory**

The role of Mata tea factory in preparing and executing the plan of genocide, in the area where the factory was located, was significant and direct. Ndabarinze Juvenal, the Director of the factory was providing cars of the factory to transport civil militia Interahamwe. The Director was giving motivation fees from the factory finances to the people who had accomplished the acts of killing. He ordered killers to present the parts of the body of a victim to ensure that he had died. Some could bring head of killed person as an evidence to convince him. Meetings were jointly held among the leaders of factories and other governmental institutions to organize the plan of genocide. He stored weapons that were used in genocide perpetration inside the factories. The factory staff spearheaded the killings in attacks that wiped out people in Kibeho, Munini, Huye hills known as Ibisi bya Huye, Cyahinda and Karama in Runyinya Commune. They were transported in vehicles of the factory and were paid as personnel on duties and they were aware that they had full support of their Director. He was rewarding them with beer after killing. Ndabarinze Juvenal used himself to go to Kitabi to request an intervention of the population killers from Mudasomwa on the ground that they were fearless.

### **Disappearing evidences and Acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment**

Many Tutsi after being killed were thrown out in the mass grave behind the factory. After the genocide, they were buried in dignity. Other people killed outside the factory and others killed in the tea factory plantations were also thrown in that mass grave.

They could sometimes present to the Director heads of targeted people killed as an evidence of act accomplishment. There was a man called Musoni Muvunyi who was not an employee of the factory but he was killed by tea factory employees. Among the employee killers we mention Ngarambe. They exploded grenade against him and he did not die immediately. They hit him with machete; he did not die immediately but his leg was cut off and finally they threw him in the toilet (testimonies 60206).



### **III.3.4. Genocide Commemoration and supporting the families of the ex-staff, survivors of the genocide**

The Mata Tea Factory has a specific day to commemorate victims of the genocide, ex-employees. They have a specific day agreed upon with district authorities on which people deliver their testimonies. All employees and local government authorities participate. They started to have a specific day for commemoration since 2012. The genocide memorial site was built in 2016. They especially commemorate Tutsi former employees who had been killed during the genocide. 244 names former employees of the factory and former tea plantation workers are scripted on the memorial site.



**Photo Clarisse**

The Mata tea factory constructed a house to Gahima Leonard, a former employee. It provides also a general support of houses construction to all survivors of genocide regardless whether they were ex-employees or their relatives. Employees are on good terms with each other and since 23 years ago, there is no genocide ideology identified within Mata tea factory.

### **III.4. Genocide Perpetration in Kitabi Tea Factory**

This section will emphasize on the livelihoods and relationship among the personnel of Kitabi tea factory before 1990, during the liberation war, how genocide was committed along with genocide commemoration and supporting survivors of genocide and families victims of genocide.

#### **III.4.1. Livelihoods and relationship among staff with Kitabi Tea Factory before 1990**

Like in any other parts of the country, in 1973 personnel of the Kitabi Tea Factory was dismissed and those dismissed were not re-integrated after pacification. Like any other places, there was ethnic segregation associated with regional sectarianism (those from Kiga and others from Nduga). In Kitabi tea factory there were a general director called KAMODOKA Denys who was at the same time ethnic segregation and region sectarianism monger. This director used to say: *“instead of having a Tutsi being my manager, I’d better resign and go back to my home village, Mutura/Gisenyi and cultivate banana”*. (Testimony n° 60308).

Referring to testimonies, he was segregation monger. He hired other civil servants from Gisenyi who used to harass Tutsi. While they were in the factory canteen they used to bring about dialogues related to ethnic segregations and sometimes ended up by almost fighting. In this regard, a person called Munyeshuli Innocent, deputy director slapped Kayinamura Bernard, Director of plantation, telling him that he did not like Tutsi. The testimony teller said that from that time all employees in plantation service started to disobey him till the general director assigned him other duties. It was obviously un-dignifying him because of ethnic segregation (Testimony n° 60309)

#### **III.4.2. Livelihoods and relationship among staff with Kitabi Tea Factory during the war of liberation (1990-1994)**

No tea factory employees were jailed because of being accomplices during the liberation war. Since October 1990 there were some workers who were shifted to Kitabi from Mulindi factory where Inkotanyi had strongholds. They were using insulting words against Tutsi and discriminating them. They were saying that they had left their former working places because of Tutsi only to meet them again at new working place. They said that there was no way to escape from Tutsi. Then insulting Tutsi started calling them: snake, enemy, accomplices spying people and cockroaches/Inyenzi, plotters and the like. There was a worker, Gakuru Francois, who said

“You do not know Tutsi, you will keep on trusting them and one day they will take away the factory. Tutsi are not trustful people”.

In the canteen, where the workers used to meet after the job, people could use hatred words against Tutsi.

### **Acts of degrading in service**

During this period, the direction changed the posts of some Tutsi workers. For instance the direction changed Kabasha Emmanuel's post, a driver of the general director and finally he became driver of truck transporting firewood and soils to maintain roads inside the tea factory. The Director said that he had known the wickedness of Tutsi and hence he feared that the stated driver could kill him using an alibi of accident. Another reason was to prevent him from going to Kigali to meet Inkotanyi. Ndamage Vincent was a head of the garage unit. Since the liberation war broke out, the director prevented him from his car maintenance and he assigned the duty to someone else called Rusine Ignace to avoid a possible accident that might be intentionally schemed by Ndamage Vincent (Testimonies n° 60308).

The director hired many new unskilled workers from Gisenyi. They started to confront with their head managers on the ground that they hated them because they were Hutu whereas them, i.e line managers were Tutsi. Tutsi workers living in tea factory compound started to be checked at their homes. In 1993, Mudasmwa district workers came to Mutsinzi vedaste, Ndamage Vincent and Kayihura Emmanuel to check the guns that they had hidden.

Kamodoka Denis, ex-Director, Hagumimana Cyprien ex-accountant, Hagumimana Marc ex-driver, Gakuru Francois and others who had come from Mulindi factory were among top people who were spearheading the acts of persecuting and trivializing Tutsi. During this time no Tutsi could be professionally promoted as it was a usual case for their co-workers in the factory as required by the law (Testimonies n° 60309).

### **III.4.3. How genocide against Tutsi was committed in Kitabi Tea Factory in 1994**

The case of Simba Aloys who spearheaded the genocide perpetration in Gikongoro and Butare revealed his close collaboration with other leaders such as Denys Kamodoka, the Director of Kitabi Tea Factory, and Juvenal Ndabarinzi, the Director of Mata Tea Factory in Gikongoro.<sup>35</sup>

His meeting on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994 to organize the plan of killing at Mwufe, Kibeho and Murambi was held at the Gasarenda Business Center in which attended many leaders in the area and some participants included Kamodoka Denys, the Director of Kitabi Tea Factory, and Juvenal Ndabarinze, the Director of Mata Tea Factory. The fact that the population from Mudasomwa had to provide interventions of killings at Kibeho and other places dwelt by many Tutsi<sup>36</sup>, were among decisions made in that meeting. However, since the place was remote, it was decided that cars including those of the Kitabi Tea Factory had to be used<sup>37</sup>.

In the factory killing Tutsi started on 9th April 1994. The attacks in the factory started on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994 at 9h00 pm. The first attack came from Mujuga, Birekana and Uwingugu was headed by Batete son of Ezechiel. The second attack was headed by Buregeya from Busenyi. The killers ordered all the people to go out of their houses. In the whole night, the killers kept eyes on them, guarded them to prevent them from escaping. In the early morning at 4h30 am they attacked at Muyovu's home where many people from the factory had taken refuge. They ordered Muyovu to separate himself from cockroach/inyenzi-he was a Hutu married to a Tutsi women- and he answered them: "we are in the same family, instead of killing them alone, start to kill by me". Around 5:00 a.m they opened a hand grenade against Muyovu and his people. The killing started. He fell down and they thought that he had died. They killed all the people who were there. After killing, they started to loot all houses around. 22 people were identified as staff and members of their families who are victims of the genocide as indicated on the list annexed.

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<sup>35</sup> ICTR, The prosecutor versus Aloys Simba. Case No ICTR-2001-76-T, p. 6

<sup>36</sup> Sous perefegitura of Munini was known to be dwelt by many Tutsi

<sup>37</sup> ICTR, Idem, p. 17

## The role of the factory employees and managers

To understand the role of Kitabi factory in genocide, it is important to remind the documents from the verdicts of cases in ICTR which testify the role of the Director Denys Kamodoka in planning and leading killings. In the case of Simba Aloys, it was indicated that people who collaborated with him in the plan and the leading of genocide perpetration included Kamodoka Denis who was the Director of Kitabi Tea Factory and Ndabarinze Juvenal who was the Director of Mata Tea Factory<sup>38</sup>. They went across the area holding meetings, distributing weapons and explaining how genocide was to be committed. The staff of Kitabi tea factory were among the main killers in the area. The leaders were taking them in different places to provide support of killing because they turned out to be famous killers and fearless. In the court case of Simba, it is said that Kamodoka Denys held a speech in Gasarenda along with him to explain the purpose of the meeting: to plan the killings in that area<sup>39</sup>.

## Leaders of the factory involved in killings

Kamodoka Denis, who was the Director
Hagumimana Marc who was the Driver was using the cars of the factories to dispatch the killers
Sebazungu Marc, a Driver, was transporting the killers
Kasa Janvier

<sup>38</sup> International criminal tribunal for Rwanda. Case No ICTR-2001-76-1. The prosecutor against Aloys Simba. No14:” In preparing and planning the massacres, which occurred in Gikongoro and Butare *préfectures* in April and May 1994, Aloys Simba acted in concert with: Faustin Seuhura, former gendarmerie captain, stationed in Gikongoro; Laurent Bucyibaruta, former *préfet* of Gikongoro; Damien Biniga, former *sous-préfet* of Munini *sous-préfecture*, Gikongoro; Denys Kamodoka, former Kitabi tea factory director, Gikongoro; Juvenal Ndabarinzi, former Mata tea factory director, Gikongoro; Lt. Col Augustin Rwamanya, former officer in charge of logistics for the ex-FAR; Joachim Hategekimana, former *sous-préfet* of Kaduha, *sous-préfecture* Gikongoro; Charles Munyaneza, former *bourgmestre* of Kinyamakara *commune*; and others not known to the Prosecution.

<sup>39</sup> Idem, No 25 :” The statement issued by Kamodoka to incite the killing of the Tutsi population explained the purpose of the meeting. On the afternoon of the same day, traditional weapons brought by Colonel Rwamanywa were distributed to the militia in the presence of Juvenal Ndabarinze”.

Turatsinze was collecting cows to feed the killers
Sebudagari was a driver
Nkurunziza
Ngoga Emmanuel was a driver

### **The places where Tutsi were killed**

The Tutsi of Kitabi factory were killed in different places. Initially they were killed inside the compound where they were living. There were houses for middle class staff known as “Kirundi” and others for high class leaders known “Roma”. It is in these houses where people were killed. The survivors wounded were moved to Mbuga and Kigeme hospitals and others to Murambi but killers followed them and finished them. Some died in tea plantations others died in far places from the factory. Tutsi were killed using all types of weapons including firearms, grenades, traditional arms like machetes, maces, small hoes, spears etc. The killers had all types of weapons.

### **Meetings planning killings**

- On 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994 Biniga chaired a meeting in Mata factory to start killings and the Director of Kitabi tea factory attended the meeting.
- On 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994 Simba chaired a meeting in Gasarenda to plan genocide at Kibeho, Murambi and Mwufe. In this meeting the Director was there and held a speech to explain the plan of genocide.
- The staff of the factory spearheaded killings in different locations. It is possible that they held meetings but witnesses did not have accurate information. After killings, there was a time of meeting to reward killers and buy them beers.

### **The role of the factory in organizing and implementing the plan of genocide**

The director played a role as he had already recruited the civil militia Interahamwe disguising them as security agents. They then started to organize counting of the targeted people to kill.-He attended meetings organizing the plan of the genocide in that area. He authorized employees of the factory to organize attacks aiming at decimating Tutsi in that area. He provided factory's cars to transport civil militia Interahamwe to perpetrate killings at Kibeho, Murambi, Munini, etc. He authorized factory's cars to move out factory killings' survivors to Murambi disguising that he was rescuing them while in reality he was coalescing them with a purpose to accomplish their decimation. He was providing money to buy cows to feed killers after killings. After killings, he was also motivating killers through buying them beers.

### **Disappearing evidences**

Tutsi were killed in the factory but their bodies were immediately taken to the unknown place. There some who were taken from Mubuga hospital before they had been killed but their bodies were not found. Likewise, the bodies of the people who were killed in Murambi were not identified to enable their burying in dignity.

### **Acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment**

Mutsinzi who had been a tea Maker was brought from the hospital where he had been admitted as consequences of injuries. They brought him back into the factory to show him where he was to take management position in case Inkotanyi would get victory and afterwards, they killed him.

### **III.4.4. Genocide Commemoration and supporting the families of the ex-staff, survivors of the genocide**

There are good climate of social interactions within employees of Kitabi Tea Factory. In this year 2017, the factory was able to construct genocide memorial site on which survivors of

genocide who were ex-employees and their relatives were scripted. Actually, there are 22 names of remembered victims. In this year the factory organized a night of commemoration in which people who had been there during the genocide were requested to provide testimonies of what they had witnessed during the genocide. Musabyimana Eugenie and Mukamuyango Madeleine who used to work there delivered their testimonies during that night of commemoration. Nyirimpunga Emmanuel who used to work in the factory and was not under threat of genocide provided testimonies as well. Many employees attended and joined other political leaders at local governments and central government levels in that event of commemoration.



**Photo Prof Masabo**

The commemoration usually follows the general guideline plan of the District. The ex-employees of the factory who survived the genocide are supported and this is for instance Musabyimana Eugenie who is in retirement and Sindayigaya. There is no genocide ideology within Kitabi factory tea. The employees are on good terms with each other in contrast with the time before the genocide when the Director Kamodoka Denis was heading the factory.

### **III.5. Genocide perpetration in Gisovu Tea Factory**

Testimony tellers did not provide information related to the period before 1990. What they heard was that like elsewhere in the country, staff from the factory were dismissed following the violence of 1973 and they were not re-integrated after pacification.



### **III.5.1 Livelihoods and relationship among the staff of Gisovu tea factory during the liberation period (1990-1994)**

Due to ethnic context, the social interaction among staff of the factory changed since October 1990. There were some employees who were jailed on the ground that they had been accomplices with their relatives Tutsi who had waged war against Rwanda: Those were for example Rwagapfizi, the head of tea plantation, Ndamage Jean Paul, the Electrician, Nzamurambaho, a driver and Ruhinda who was an accountant officer. They were arrested at the factory and were jailed for 1 week after which they were released and resumed their job.

In 1993, the factory authority dismissed some employees on the ground that “it had lost confidence in them” Those were Gatera Augustin, Head of Plantation unit and Nyarugwiza Joseph. The social interaction among staff deteriorated gradually till April 1994 when Tutsi genocide perpetration broke out. Progressively, Tutsi and Hutu started to separate from one another. The climate of suspicion went up. The expressions of mistreating Tutsi were given roots. For example there was an expression that it was not possible to trust Tutsi because they were bad people who could be ready any time to harm Hutu. Other sayings called them snakes, cockroaches, sadist people who could disguise and scheme plots to destroy anyone. Since the liberation war, there were a climate indicating that the co-habitation between Tutsi and Hutu was not possible.

### **III.5.2. How genocide against Tutsi was perpetrated in Gisovu Factory?**

Gisovu factory like any other many places was renowned for the acts of genocide perpetration in the area. Authorities and employees of the factory were involved in killings in that area. Cars and other property of the factory were used to in the commission of genocide. In order to understand the role of employees and authorities of the factory played in the commission of genocide, it is worthy referring to the case of Musema Alfred, the ex-Director of factory, held in ICTR-

Arusha<sup>40</sup>. Musema had a role in the genocide against Tutsi of Gisovu and Bisesero in the former Kibuye Prefecture. The genocide perpetration took three months and it had been exacerbated from April to July. It took lives of forty thousand (40,000) Tutsi. Musema was seen hand in hand with his employees in all attacks during the whole time of genocide perpetration: on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1994 in Muko Commune in Gikongoro neighboring with Gisovu in Kibuye Prefecture. On 26<sup>th</sup> April 1994 at the hill called Gitwa in Gisovu Commune. On 27<sup>th</sup> April and 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1994 at Rwirambo Hill. On 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> May at Muyira Hill, they attacked around 40,000 tutsi who had taken refuge and only 10,000 Tutsi survived. He was seen also in attacks of Mataba hill. End May 1994, he was involved in 300 Tutsi killings and they were eliminated in the Nyakavumu cave.

He fled the country in July and settled down in Switzerland end 1994. On 11<sup>th</sup> February 1995, he was arrested in Switzerland. On 20<sup>th</sup> May 1997, was transferred to ICTR-Arusha and imprisoned. He appeared in front of the court for the first time on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1997, on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1998, the 2<sup>nd</sup> time and on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1999 the 3<sup>rd</sup> time. His judgment was held on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1999. On 27<sup>th</sup> January 2000 he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He appealed the court verdict. On 16<sup>th</sup> November 2001 the appeal court chamber confirmed his being guilty of genocide crime and to decimate Tutsi as a crime against humanity.

The appeal court chamber made him innocent on crime of rape and reiterated the life imprisonment. On 9<sup>th</sup> December 2001, he was taken to Mali to accomplish there his punishment of life imprisonment<sup>41</sup>. Those who have got information about Musema Alfred's role in genocide confirmed that he was an important figure in planning and leading the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in the area where the Gisovu Factory was located due to the role he played. The Tutsi in Gisovu Factory were killed since 15<sup>th</sup> April 1994. Sixty former staff and their families were identified as people who lost lives in genocide as indicated the list annexed.

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<sup>40</sup> ICTR, The prosecution versus Musema. Case No ICTR-96-13-T. Judgement and sentence, Arusha, 2000

<sup>41</sup> ICTR, The prosecutor versus Alfred Musema. Case No ICTR-96-13-T. Judgement and sentence, Arusha, 2000

### **The staff of the factory involved in killings**

The leading person in genocide was Musema Alfred, the Director of the Factory. He appeared in almost all attacks in the area of Gisovu and Bisesero. There were some staff who appeared with uniforms of the factory in all attacks that happened at the hills of Gisovu and Bisesero. It was not easy to identify all names because they were many and the majority were the casual labor staff. Bayingana Aloys who was agronomist and Ndimbati Aloys are among other important figures involved in genocide. Others turned out to have fled the country after genocide. Many leaders such as Ndimbati, the Bourgmestre of Gisovu, Sikubwabo, the Bourgmestre of Gishyita, Kayishema Clement, Prefet of Kibuye, Ruzindana Obed, the businessman in Kibuye and Ntakirutimana Elphase, the Church Pastor in Mugonero were involved.

### **Places in which many people were killed and weapons used**

Gisovu was a hilly area of Bisesero. The hunted Tutsi went to hide in those hills and killers had found them there. Some employees were killed inside their houses. Few of them were killed in tea plantation fields. Killers were in different categories: soldiers with fire weapons such as grenades, guns of different types, civilians who were using traditional weapons such as machetes, maces, spears and the like. All weapons were used.

### **The role of the factory in killings**

The director of the factory was in the first category of people who prepared and executed the plan of genocide. He participated in different meetings to prepare genocide. He is said to have participated in the meeting chaired by Simba at Gasarenda on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994. He used to go in attacks in Gisovu and Bisesero along with employees of the factory with job uniforms on which it was written “Usine a Thé de Gisovu”. These employees continued to get salary as if they were on normal job. This to say that the money of the factory was used in genocide perpetration. The factory provided cars to transport killers in those hills. The factory provided drivers and fuels. The factory stocked weapons used in killings and the Director was distributing them to killers.

## **Disappearing evidences and acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment**

The Tutsi who were killed had been thrown out in the mass grave. All the people who were killed near the factory were thrown out in the mass grave that had prepared in the Gisovu commercial center. Others remained in the forest of the tea factory. A big number of others remained in the Bisesero hills where they had been killed. In case their colleagues did not bury them in dignity, they could remain there. The acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading included women rapes. They were done by some staff of the factory under orders of Alfred Musema, their director as he was always together with them in all attacks. The employees of the factory along with the director of the factory in the attack of Nyakavumu cave killed around 300 Tutsi. They enforced them in the cave and burnt them alive.

### **III.5.3. Genocide Commemoration and supporting members of families survivors of the genocide in Gisovu Tea Factory**

For the time being, the employees and managers of the factory are on good terms with each other and participate in the events of genocide commemoration. The factory was able to construct genocide memorial site on which survivors of genocide who were ex-employees and their relatives were scripted.



**Photo Gombaniro**

The dates of commemoration differ depending on the schedule agreed upon with the District. At the 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary, commemoration took place on 9/4/2017. The survivors of the genocide are

supported. In 2008, the factory constructed 5 houses in Bisesero for vulnerable survivors. In 2014, the employees of the factory provided 3 cows to the sector authority for the vulnerable survivors of the genocide. There is no genocide ideology nor ethnic segregation given that employees are always on good terms with each other.

### **III.6. Genocide perpetration in Gisakura Tea Factory**

There is no much information on the period preceding 1990. What testimony tellers commonly heard was that, like elsewhere in the country, staff were dismissed from the factory following the violence of 1973. The factory announced also a list of the names of dismissed Tutsi and emphasized that whoever was appearing on the list was forbidden to enter in the factory. Some of them had already got information and did not go to the factory to work till the job was resumed after pacification. Others fled the country like Karemera Gerard, agronomist who exiled into Burundi (Testimony n°60507).

#### **III.6.1 Livelihoods and relationship among the personnel in Gisakura Factory during the liberation war (1990-1994)**

During the liberation war period, 1990-1994, in Gisakura Tea factory started the problem of ethnic segregation. Even though no Tutsi workers were jailed, they were harassed and nicknamed different stereotype names such people with accomplices, snake, long nose people, rubbish people and the like. This harassment was done by some factory employees such as: Ngiruwonsanga Francois, a mechanic, Theoneste a head of maintenance service and Alphonse, a mechanic.

On 13/10/1990 few days after the liberation war was waged, Ngiruwonsanga and Barinda beat their colleague called Cyubahiro and the act took place near water tank which was in the factory. The justification was that Inyenzi-Inkotanyi waged a war against Rwanda and they had decimated people in Umutara.

The workers who were transferred to Gisakura from Mulindi Tea Factory were spreading the spirit of hatred. They told Rwiririza Athanase, Habineza Albert, Twagiramungu (they were foremen) and Cyubahiro Ntibiramira Innocent that the Tutsi colonialism will never end up. There was always an ethnic segregation climate because some workers were showing hatred against Tutsi. Except during the period of genocide perpetration per se, otherwise hatred against Tutsi was not institutionalized.

### **III.6.2. How genocide was perpetrated in Gisakura tea factory?**

The leaders of Gisakura Tea Factory did not play a role in genocide perpetration. Mubiligi Anathole, the factory's director originating from Gikongoro fled to his native area when genocide broke out on 12/4/1994. He came back to resume the job on 24/4/1994 when killings had been ended. He re-opened the services of the factory

Surprisingly, he said that he had fled to Musebeya Commune in Gatare where Simba Aloys had headquarters of the genocide planning that wiped out the entire region of Gikongoro. The factory suspended activities only 12 days i.e from 12/04/1994 to 24/04/1994 a time in which the Director had been absent.

#### **The locations where people were killed**

The killings of genocide broke out on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994. The first attack was launched around 15h00 pm under leadership of Sous Prefet Terebura along with Sewabeza, the Bourgmestre of Kagano, the Councilor of Gisakura and the gendarmes. They put together all employees who were living in the factory compound and other people who had taken refuge in the factory. The factory had many hostels for casual labour employees. They put all of them in the car of the factory and others in the car of sous prefet and moved them to the parish of Nyamasheke promising them to guard their security even though they killed them later on at that parish. The following day, killers came back to search more people who had taken refuge. They killed them at Gisakura health centre and at a place known as Moulin.

There were many other people who were killed in tea plantation fields. Killers included citizens from different sectors surrounding tea factory, soldiers, who were hunting them with dogs. Testimony tellers say that people still see skulls in the tea plantation fields. The number of staff who lost lives in genocide is 47. For further information see annex 5.

### **The role of factory leaders in killings**

A big number of staff who were involved in killings were not known. Few who were identified included Ngumire Didace, a tea maker among the staff who came from Mulindi Tea factory in 1993. He was convicted by Gacaca but was later on released. There were also Ngirowonsanga Francois, Alias Kerekere, who was a mechanic and Mbasharugamba Emmanuel who were both convicted by Gacaca but were then released. There was Nkurunziza Venuste who had been imprisoned but had been then released. There was Mbarushimana who was imprisoned but was then released. The Director Mubiligi Anatole was jailed but the court found him not guilty and released him (Testimony n°60508).

### **Means and materials used in killings**

The killings that wiped out the area of Gisakura factory tea used different weapons such as guns, grenades, maces, machetes, spears, etc. People were also hunted down with dogs. Meetings preparing the plan of genocide were convened outside the factory in so much as testimony tellers did not know their time.

### **Disappearing evidences**

The role of the factory in the preparation and execution of the plan of genocide in the area where the factory is located was not significant given that the Director of the Factory was not involved in genocide like other directors of tea factories across the country. Like elsewhere, there were acts of disappearing evidences such as burying bodies in mass graves, hiding information related to the factory's employees involved in killings. One of the reasons was that some staff cooperated with people from outside to commit genocide and the factory suspended service in 12 days after which service re-opened during genocide period. The former Director said that they had suspended service on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1994 and resumed service on 24<sup>th</sup> April 1994 when he came

back. But he did not want to say what he witnessed around him. He only confirmed that he never witnessed genocide where he was living.

### **Acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment**

Only little information was collected. A women called Mukarepuburika Jacqueline had been raped by Ngiruwonsanga Francois before he killed her.

### **III.6.3. Commemorating genocide and supporting families of former employees of the factory, survivors of genocide**

Since 24<sup>th</sup> April 1994 the factory resumed activities because its director came back to carry on service. The factory suspended activities when French troops withdrew from the area in August 1994 and they resumed activities in October 1994. Mubiligi Anatole remained the Director. A new director called Mhambara Innocent was sent by OCIR-Thé to rehabilitate the factory of Shagasha but was living in Gisakura Factory compound. He sowed segregation among staff and harassed the Director till he was arrested. He took over from him but continued to sow a seed of suspicion climate leading to segregation. He was calling some staff Interahamwe militia. His leadership did not last for long because he was replaced by Tito Ruramira who restored a good working environment among staff.

This Director initiated the act of collecting the bodies of victims of genocide that had been found in different places of the factory and in the mass grave near the factory and the place known as Moulin. He collected the found bones and they took them to the genocide memorial site of Nyamasheke. Another mass grave was found at health centre. They kept the bodies in the store of the factory and they were expecting to bury them in dignity later on. He was replaced by Gasarabwe Jean Damascene in 2002 who initiated the building of the genocide memorial site. Finally, they buried bodies in dignity in 2003.





**Photo : Prof Masabo**

This factory has a specific day to commemorate the victims of the genocide. The survivors of the genocide are in general supported. It used to provide cows to be distributed among the survivors of the genocide in need. The houses constructed at Shangi for survivors of the genocided were inaugurated on 25/6/2017. In the Gisakura Tea Factory there is no ethnic segregation nor genocide ideology among employees as they are on good terms with each other.

### **III.7. the acts of genocide perpetration in Shagasha Factory**

Witness tellers do not have enough information for the period that preceded 1990. What they heard was that staff were dismissed following the violence of 1973. The dismissed staff were not re-integrated after pacification.

#### **III.7.1. Livelihoods and relationship among the personnel during the liberation war (1990-1994).**

Like elsewhere across the country, after the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 the professional relations among employees in Shagasha Tea factory completely changed. Nsabimana Callixte the director of the tea factory had brought young people who were behaving as soldiers to keep the factory's

security<sup>42</sup>. Many of them they were solders. He increased the number of workers the majority of whom originating from Gisenyi with an accentuated hatred against Tutsi.

Tutsi workers started to be insulted that they were Inkotanyi's accomplices, wicked, cockroaches and other words stereotype names trivializing them. In 1992, the act of checking Tutsi started asking them their identity cards, and some time they were delayed while being checked (Testimony n°60606).

In the meeting held on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1990 between the Directors of factories and the OCIR-Thé General Director, the question of security within factories during the war was raised. They were told that whoever worried about the security must enforce it through recruiting security agents. When you consider how genocide was perpetrated in different factories such as Mata factory headed by Ndabarinze Juvenal, Kitabi Factory headed by Kamodoka Denys, Shagasha factory headed by Nsabimana Callixte, and Gisovu factory headed by Musema Alfred, you notice that such question had a hidden agenda of dispatching Interahamwe militia to recognize and master the areas given how the aforesaid leaders were involved in the execution of the plan of genocide as asserted by Human Rights watch:

*“Dispatching Interahamwe militia was done across the country to enable the execution of genocide plan. In particular, the factories had means to receive them and employ them as security agents to protect the existing huge property. Further, given farming activities, many machetes used in genocide reached populations across the country through factories”*<sup>43</sup>.

The Director Nsabimana Callixte issued to the staff a document to move with on which the entire identification including ethnic group were written. He instructed the security agents to harass Tutsi who were coming to work and advised them to prevent from entering any Tutsi who could cause a quarrel. The Director was hating Tutsi to the extreme and anyone could notice it. In addition to hating Tutsi, he was also hating Hutu who were not partisans of MRND. He used to

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<sup>42</sup> The act of deploying civil militiamen Interahamwe was carried out all over the country to enable the commission of genocide crime. Particularly, the factories had the powers to recruit them as agents of security to protect the huge property. Hence, because of agricultural activities, there were many machetes used that were given to the population through the tea factories in the commission of the genocide. Human rights watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris , Karthala, 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Human rights watch and FILDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris , Karthala, 1999.

send security agents to destroy flags of PL and MDR that were near the factory. He behaved like a leader of the entire region. He was hating Hutu affiliated with MDR. In 1993, he slapped Ndayambaje Reverien in public and he consequently detached him to work at Gisovu factory on the ground that no director else could manage him except Musema. He dismissed Nkaka Jean, a tea maker, on the ground of Tutsi's arrogance (Testimony n° 60606).

The people who were spearheading the acts of persecuting and trivializing Tutsi were Nsabimana Callixte, Sebudagari, Karekezi, Nzigihima, Gratien, Victor, Nkusi, Munyakazi nicknamed Gihenera, Donati and Ndagijimana. One may remark that between 1990 and 1994, the genocide was under planning in this factory of Shagasha.

### **III.7.2. How genocide was committed in Shagasha Tea Factory?**

The Director of Shagasha Tea Factory played a significant role in the preparation and execution of the plan of genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in the area where the factory was located. He established a militia group to make census of Tutsi, to collect weapons, to persecute Tutsi in view to show other staff that co-habiting with them was not possible (polarization). This ignominious acts were headed by Nsabimana Callixte whom the Testimony tellers assert that he was the cousin of the President Juvenal Habyarimana.

Killings in Shagasha tea factory broke out on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994. After the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana, Tutsi were immediately attacked in their home villages near the factory. Many people took refuge in the factory hoping to get security there. The Director provided a car and called for the intervention of militaries who had taken them and killed them at Mibirizi. The staff who had homes outside the factory lost their lives in different places. There are people who tried to hide themselves in tea factory plantations but killers hunted the down with dogs many days. They killed whoever was discovered. Currently, there are skulls which are still found in places where they had been killed. The number of staff who lost their lives in genocide is estimated to 47; their full names are annexed.

### **Factory's employees involved in genocide perpetration**

a great deal number of staff involved in killings but were not identified
Nsabimana Callixte
Donati,
Nzigihima
Karoli Rukimirana
Leonard Bamenyayundi
Nkusi,
Ntakiyimana Edouard
Habyarimana Elizafani who was accountant
Karekezi who was Agronomist
Munyakazi alias Gihenera
Nzigihima who died in prison
Habineza Victor was released from jail
Rukimirana Karoli
Gratien was imprisoned, pleaded guilty and got released

Among the people who spearheaded the killings, there was Nsabimana Callixte, the Director of the Factory, Bandetse Edouard, Bamenyayundi and Munyakazi Yusufu who was leading all attacks in the entire area of Cyangugu. There were also militaries who were coming to support civilians in killings.

### **Particular places where many Tutsi were killed.**

People who were living in the tea factory compound and other Tutsi neighbouring with the factory were transported by a car provided by the director to Mibilizi where they had been killed.

They were taken by soldiers who had come to support civilians in killings. Only one person was killed inside the factory. Many others were killed in tea plantations given that killers were using dogs to hunt them down. Sometimes they find skulls in the factory tea plantations. There is a mass grave located in a place called Mabanda. There is also a place called Nyarushishi where French soldiers had camped.

### **Weapons used in killings**

Different types of weapons were used including guns, grenades, machetes, maces, spears, etc. it must be noted that soldiers helped civilians significantly to kill Tutsi in the factory compound, tea factory plantations and elsewhere in the location.

### **Meetings preparing the genocide**

There were many meetings preparing the planning of the genocide in Shagasha tea factory but they were held secretly. The Director was convening his confident people to hold secret meetings in his office before 7:00 a.m. Other people who were not invited in the meeting could be falsely accused of being late and consequently be persecuted. The members of the aforesaid militia group could get instructions from Manuelli who had participated in the meeting chaired by the Director. They were telling them that the 1<sup>st</sup> enemy of the country was the Tutsi and that they had to be watchful to prevent him from intruding their affairs (Testimony no 60606).

The director used to hold meeting inside the factory with Prefet Bagambiki along with few confident staff and the businessman called Bimenyande Leonard originating from Gisenyi. There were public meetings chaired by Prefet Bagambiki. At the prefecture level, only senior leaders were participants. The Director of the factory was holding a meeting with security agents and was telling them that the only enemy was the Tutsi and if they got absent minded, he would exterminate them. He had already distributed the official forms on which were scripted names with ethnic belongingness of each staff. He instructed the security agents to inquire many information in case they saw the Tutsi and if the latter misbehaved, they had to refuse him to get in the factory.

### **The role of the factory in the preparation and execution of the plan of genocide**

The Director played a remarkable role in genocide. He taught genocide ideology and sowed the hatred between staff and was trying to convince Hutu that they could not co-habit with Tutsi. He persecuted Tutsi and un-dignified them in front of other staff. He created an Interhamawe militia group, equipped it with weapons and ordered it to persecute the Tutsi who had been working in the factory. He was leading killings and called soldiers to kill Tutsi who had taken refuge in the factory. He distributed factory's cars to transport killers. The factory piled a store of weapons to use in genocide. The money of the factory was used to reward killers. The factory became a junction of acts of preparing and executing the plan of genocide in the area of Cyangugu.

### **Disappearing evidences and Acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment**

The Tutsi were killed and thrown out in the mass graves in place called Mabanda and Nyarushishi. With regards to acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, it is said that they burnt down the Tutsi at Nyarushishi. A factory employee women called Mukakarisa Madeleine was plotted by the wife of the Director of the factory and she was killed after being raped. It is Segahutu who finally terminated her life.

### **III.7.3. Genocide Commemoration and Supporting families of ex-employees, survivors of the genocide**

The Shagasha Tea factory organizes every year a day to commemorate its former employees who had been killed during the genocide. The event joins all employees in collaboration with factory senior managers at all levels. A genocide memorial site on which names of former employees' victims of genocide are scripted was constructed.



**Photo Prof Masabo**

There is a plan to support in general survivors of the genocide. Some five survivors were given cows and others were given two houses. There is no ethnic segregation climate and employees are on good terms with each other in contrast with the period before the genocide.

### **III.8. The genocide Perpetration in the tea factory of Nyabihu**

Like elsewhere in the country before 1990, there was ethnic segregation and region sectarianism. The employment was basing on ethnic quota institutionalized across the country. People had been already familiar with being asked the ethnic belongingness before they were given service. The factory of Nyabihu started in 1974 after the President Juvenal Habyarimana had taken taken power. There were very few Tutsi staff.

#### **III.8.1. Livelihoods and Relationship among employees during the time of war liberation (1990-1994)**

The Nyabihu tea factory started to be operational in 1974, after Habyarimana Juvenal took power. Nyabihu was located in Karago-the Habyarimana Juvenal home village. It was the factory of the regime inner house. Consequently, there were few Tutsi workers. When the

liberation war started no one was jailed because of being accused of complicity with Inkotanyi. However, few Tutsi workers in the factory were insulted and harassed and were called cockroaches, snakes, accomplices, heartless etc, as their relatives waged the war against the country. Dakisi Silas, an agronomist and Mazimpaka were two workers who were extremely harassed. They were insulted by their colleagues wherever they met them especially in canteen where many people used to meet. They were insulted and trivialization.

In 1993, Dakisi was murdered by unknown people at his home place in the factory. Whereas Mazimpaka was fired out on the ground that he had had some accomplices with his relatives who waged the war. He went to look for a job in Bralirwa Gisenyi. Hategeka and Niyitegeka who were masons of the factory had been spearheading the acts of persecution as revealed by testimony n° 60803 a factory employee from the day the tea factory establishment until today.

### **III.8.2. How Genocide was perpetrated in Nyabihu Tea Factory?**

When you listen to the testimonies delivered on the implementation of plan of genocide against Tutsi in Nyabihu Tea Factory, you find that those testimonies hold little information but corroborate the ones provided in the case of Bagaragaza in ICTR Arusha (Testimony n° 60802) .

Killers started to decimate Tutsi in the morning of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994 in the area where the factory was located and specifically at Kesho hill on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994. The Tutsi of that area had already taken refuge at Kesho hill earlier in 1991. On their way to the church service, their neighbors always wanted to kill them but were able to fight against them and self-defended themselves.

When they got exhausted and overwhelmed, they constructed their own church at that hill on which killers found them and killed them in April 1994. One person who was killed and identified as a former employee of the factory was Ntsindagire. An employee called Dakisi Silas was mistakenly identified as Tutsi while in reality was the Hutu from Gikongoro had been killed in the compound of the factory in 1993.



### **Employees of the factory involved in killings**

Employees who spearheaded killings included the general director of the OCIR-Thé factory who had been gone to that area to lead killings, the director of Nyabihu tea factory, Gasongero Justin, and other many employees of the factory who had been transported by the cars of the factory. Specifically, the names of employees who were involved in genocide are:

Hategeka died
Niyitegeka died
Kimenyi was convicted and imprisoned
Senzijye was convicted and imprisoned
Sebatashya was convicted and imprisoned

### **Weapons used in killings**

Killings at Kesho hill used all types of weapons including guns, grenades, machetes, maces etc. There were many meetings that aimed to plan killings but the most famous one was the one quoted in the court case of Bagaragaza on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994 whose aim was to plan killings at Kesho hill and at the Nyumdo Cathedral. That meeting was attended by the directors of Rubaya and Nyabihu Tea Factory, the Bourgmestre and Deputy Bourgmestre of Karago Commune and others people whose names were not known.

### **The role of the factory in killings**

The role of the factory in the preparation and execution of the plan of genocide in the area where the factory was located was very significant. The factory was a store of guns and machetes used to kill Tutsi at Kesho hill. The cars of the factory were transporting people in killings at Kesho hill and at Nyundo Cathedral and elsewhere. Employees continued to receive salary while they were killing the Tutsi. Bagaraza provided money of the factory to buy beers as a way of rewarding killers.

### **Acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading Treatment and Disappearing evidences**

The killed people were thrown out in mass grave located at Kesho hill. Testimony tellers were not able to get information related to acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

### **III.8.3 commemorating genocide and supporting families of former employees, victims of the genocide.**

The factories of Nyabihu, Rubaya and Pfunda do not have a specific day to commemorate their former employees, victims of genocide. Yet, employees participate in commemoration events in villages where they live. There are no specific initiatives of supporting survivors of the genocide. There are no specific activities in which factories provide support to families of ex-employees survivors of the genocide or their relatives. Informants say that there were no Tutsi who lost their lives in the factory. Further, Tutsi who were working in the factory, had already quitted the factory before genocide. Constructing memorial site and commemorating genocide to pay tributes to staff victims would be irrelevant. Employees live friendly without ethnic segregation nor genocide ideology.

### **III.9. Genocide Perpetration in Rubaya Tea Factory**

Like elsewhere in the country before 1990, there was ethnic segregation and region sectarianism. The employment was basing on ethnic quota institutionalized across the country. People had been already familiar with being asked the ethnic belongingness before they were given service.

The factory of Rubaya started in 1974 after the President Juvenal Habyarimana had taken power. There were very few Tutsi staff.

### **III.9.1. Livelihoods and Relationships among staff during the liberation war (1990-1994)**

The social interactions of employees within Rubaya tea factory changed since the liberation war. A Tutsi was unwanted person and suspected for having hidden plots betraying the country. Consequently, he was harassed publically as if he was not a citizen who could be protected by the law. In 1991, a young man called Ndegeya Jonas, an ex-driver, was jailed as a result of accusations that he poisoned water used in the factory. He had been beaten publicly by his colleagues before he was jailed. There were very few Tutsi workers in Rubaya factory. Nevertheless, they were insulted in public that they were snakes, enemies of Rwanda and other names referring to devalue them. .

No Tutsi employee could get promotion like other workers. Bimenyimana, a head of a music troop within the factory was sensitizing other workers to hate and harass Tutsi. He was collaborating with his bandmates to sensitize the MRND's killing mission. They used to rehearse Bikindi's songs and other author's songs which were used to spread the hatred against Tutsi and prepare Hutu for Tutsi genocide commission. (Testimonies n° 60702). This was done publically and no authority deplored it. The employees noticed that the administration was behind that plan of spreading hatred and harassment against Tutsi.

According to the study conducted by CNLG:

*“Captain Pascal Simbikangwa was the coordinator of weapons’ distribution plan in commune Karago, Giciye and Gaseke. Informants say that Captain Pascal Simbikangwa was distributing weapons that were stored in Rubaya Factory. The latter was headed by Jaribu Anastase. The latter was working closely with Bagaragaza Michel, the General Director of OCIR-Thé in Rwanda. These weapons were given to the employees of the factory, agronomists and security agents within the factory. Captain Simbikangwa was monitoring the weapons distribution and the people who had received them” (I, 2013, & L, 2013).*

To train Interahamwe militia and weapon distribution in the area where the factory was located were done via the collaboration between military and local institutions headed by Bourgmestres,

Sector Councilors etc, in collaboration with the factory administration at regional and national levels.

### **III.9.2. How Genocide was Committed in Rubaya Tea Factory?**

The testimonies from Rubaya Tea factory in the perpetration of genocide crime against Tutsi did provide little information, however, the latter corroborated the information along with the judicial cases of Bagaragaza in ICTR in Arusha (testimonies n° 60701 and n° 60702).

Because killings against Tutsi in Gisenyi area already started in 1990, the Tutsi had already displaced and had been living at Kesho hill. *“They lived at Kesho Hill from 1990 to April 1994 the time they were seriously attacked by senior militaries with heavy fire weapons. At Kesho hill, the displaced people had already established an Adventist church as a result of living there for a long time. They did it as way of preventing from travelling for fear that they could be attacked and killed by Interahamwe militia group”*, (CNLG, 2016).

In the morning of 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994 they were attacked by Interahamwe. They defended themselves and pushed them away. In the morning of 9<sup>th</sup> April 1994, the attack made of Interahamwe militia, commune’s policemen, presidential guards militaries, employees from Rubaya tea factories encircled the Kesho hill and started to kill the Tutsi who had been fled there. Colonel Serubuga, Colonel Rusatira, Capitain Pascal Simbikangwa, etc were among the senior military officers who had been there. The identified staff who lost their lives in genocide were 14 as the list annexed indicates.

#### **Employees of the factory who played a role in genocide**

SAVIMBI lives in Congo, his country
Simbizi Eliphase
Nkubana Theophile
Kamari
Byakweri

Bimenyimana
Ndagiwenimana Silas
Murego
Sibomana Aimable
Jaribu Anastase, the Director of the Factory
Bagaragaza Michel, the General Director of OCIR-THE

### **The places where people were killed**

Many Tutsi were killed over the side of Kesho Hill. A person called Karasanyi who was working in the factory tried to flee in the factory along with his family but killers had killed them before they got in. Killers slew them with guns and machetes which were brought by leaders whose duties were to train citizens how to use weapons and to distribute to them for the purpose of genocide perpetration. Grenades, traditional weapons such as maces, machetes, spears etc are weapons that were used. Leaders who spearheaded killings included Bourgmestre and deputy bourgmestre of Giciye Commune.

### **The Role of the Factory**

A meeting chaired by directors of OCIR-THE, Rubaya and Nyabihu tea factories to plan the decimation of Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Kesho hill was held in the factory on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994. On the same date, directors of Rubaya, Nyabihu and Pfunda along with Bourgmestres of Giciye and Karago communes had a meeting to organize killings against the Tutsis who had fled at Kesho and in Nyundo Cathedral.

The factories of Rubaya had a significant role in act of planning and executing the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in its respective area. The factory preserved guns and machetes which were used in genocide commission. The Director of OCIR-Thé himself distributed the weapons to employees in order to kill Tutsi who had fled to Kesho hill.

The factory offered cars which transported killers to Nyundo Cathedral and in other places in the area. The employees of the factory continued to receive salary at the same time they were involved in killing activities. Bagaragaza Michel donated the money of the factory to encourage killers by buying them beer. The factory seems to be a stronghold to plan and implement genocide which took place in that area.

### **III.9.3. Genocide Commemoration**

The factories of Nyabihu, Rubaya and Pfunda do not have a specific day to commemorate their former employees, victims of genocide. Yet, employees participate in commemoration events in villages where they live. There are no specific initiatives of supporting survivors of the genocide. There are no specific activities in which factories provide support to families of ex-employees survivors of the genocide or their relatives. Employees live friendly without ethnic segregation nor genocide ideology.

### **III.10. How genocide was committed in Pfunda Tea Factory?**

Before 1990, there was no ethnic segregation in Pfunda Tea factory. The personnel were living in harmony because there had been no confrontation, harassment, unfair dismissal on the ground of ethnic reasons nor persecution that could lead to detention.

#### **III.10.1. Livelihoods and Relationship among the staff during the war of liberation (1990-1994)**

During the liberation war there was no Tutsi who was jailed in Pfunda factory even in Gisenyi Prefecture. There were no workers who were judged to have complicity with Inkotanyi nor jailed even though hatred against Tutsi was exacerbated. The administration started to use words denigrating Tutsi. The director Munyeshuri Innocent responded to an employee called Gasarabwe Jean Damascene, who was requesting him for professional promotion as provided by public service law, which he had to be happy of the position he was holding as Tutsi. (Testimonies n° 60902).

Therence, a Burundian agronomist, was encouraging workers to hate and harass Tutsi through hatred speeches that Tutsi are enemies for the country and their plan is to take power and eliminate all Hutu. These hatred words were said publicly in front of the workers. Consequently, persecuting Tutsi became a popular culture in so far as even people from outside the factory who used to come at canteen of the factory could insult Tutsi workers in public. For instance Muzungu and Ndanduro used to come to the factory and harass Tutsi workers such as Edguard (an accountant), Muberamfura ex-controller, Gasarabwe Jean Damascene ex-Deputy Tea maker and Ndahinyuka Emmanuel, ex-Electrician. Finally, Tutsi workers got tired of harassment. After being strongly harassed by his workmates in public that he was enemy, snake, cockroach, Gasarabwe decided to quit the job for good and joined Inkotanyi (Testimonies n° 60901).

### **III.10.2. How Genocide was Committed in Pfunda Tea Factory?**

OCIR-The directors played a significant role in planning and implementing genocide which took place in the district where the tea factory is located. Bagaragaza Michel held a meeting for Nyundo killing activities. With local tea factory directors 'collaboration, Bagaragaza Michel stockpiled weapons, guns and machetes which were used to commit genocide in the area.

At Nyundo, Pfunda workers were at the top of killers, Bagaragaza held a meeting on 8th April 1994 preparing killing activities at Nyundo. There were others meetings which were not known by the staff of the factory. The case of Bagaragaza in ICTR-Arusha confirmed that the employees of Pfunda Tea Factory went to kill at Nyundo. The tea factory's money was used to buy drinks for killers as a reward. The employees of the factory who used to go in killings continued to receive salary as if killings were their factory daily duties. This is proven by the payroll list of April, May and June 1994.

### **Disappearing evidences**

People who were killed at Nyundo had been thrown out in the mass grave before they were buried in their dignity. The factory does not have any single person who could provide testimonies narrating how genocide was committed in the factory.

### **III.10.3. Genocide Commemoration and Supporting Families of ex-staff who survived genocide**

The factories of Nyabihu, Rubaya and Pfunda do not have a specific day to commemorate their former employees, victims of genocide. Yet, employees participate in commemoration events in villages where they live. There are no specific initiatives of supporting survivors of the genocide. There are no specific activities in which factories provide support to families of ex-employees survivors of the genocide or their relatives. Employees live friendly without ethnic segregation nor genocide ideology.

### **III.11. How genocide was committed in SORWATHE and Mulindi Tea Factory?**

These factories are considered as factories in which genocide did not take place because they were the strongholds of RPA Inkotanyi during genocide. Both Mulindi and SORWATHE shut down in June 1992 and in August 1993 respectively. There were no acts of genocide within factories since April 1994.

#### **III.11.1. Livelihoods and relationship among the staff during the war of liberation (1990-1994)**

Acts of illegal arrests, beating, harassing and insulting Tutsis did not take place in the Mulindi tea factory because the factory was located in Byumba prefecture, commune Kinihira, Cyungo



sector in buffer zone “zone tempon” near the strongholds of Inyenzi Inkotanyi, Kinihira and Miyove.

Some workers were transferred to other tea factories and others were sucked because the Mulindi factory was near the strongholds of Inkotanyi. According to a report, 25 workers were transferred to other factories where they needed more employees whereas 115 workers were given job leave allowances and got sucked out. A letter on 14/9/1992 written by Mulindi tea factory director, MIVUMBI Jean Claude, to OCIR-The general director was explaining him that from 5/7/1992 the factory activities had suspended service. In addition, it explained that 25 workers had to be transferred to other factories as follows: Gisakura (5 workers ), Shagasha (4 workers ), Gisovu (4 workers ), Kitabi (4 workers ), Mata (2 workers ), Pfunda (2 workers), Nyabihu (3 workers).

Many people were not haunted by ethnical segregation behavior on the ground perhaps of being near the strongholds of Inkotanyi. The ethnical segregation was only noticed while fleeing. Tutsi workers were not transported like others. For instance Cosma, Munyabigwi and Karangwa Fabien were walking and on their way, they were blocked and killed by Interahamwe militia roadblock.

### **III.11.2. Genocide Commemoration and Supporting Families of ex-staff who survived genocide**

The act of genocide commemoration took place in Mulindi tea factory when it was still under the administration of OCIR-The. They used to have a specific day for genocide commemoration and for visiting genocide memorial sites across the country to witness themselves how Tutsi had been killed. Whenever they ended the visit tour, they were sharing experience from what they had seen with their colleagues who did not take part in the visit. When the factory was privatized, the act of genocide commemoration was stopped and moved to villages in which employees inhabited. Yet, there is no genocide memorial site that was constructed. In SORWATHE tea factory, they do the act of genocide commemoration which is ended up in collecting support to the survivors of the genocide in general. They started to commemorate since 2016 and this year they did it even though no memorial site was built. Employees live friendly without ethnic segregation nor genocide ideology.

## **IV.CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **IV.1. Conclusion**

The acts of genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in the former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and in its respective factories have a close linkage with what happened across the country. Through PARMEHUTU political party, Rwanda's leaderships were sowing ethnic divisions among Rwandans since 1960. The PARMEHUTU was teaching that Rwanda belonged to only Hutu and Tutsi were foreigners. This ideology aimed at excluding Tutsi from the State resources. In 1973 Tutsi were chased out from schools and from public service on the ground that they were simply Tutsi. The OCIR statement that was sacking Tutsi reads: "Whoever finds his name on this list is forbidden to enter in OCIR". The dismissed staff did not come back to resume their work.

The regime of Habyarimana's slogan was unity and peace among Rwandans. After a short time, it embarked on ethnic division and regional sectarianism. Tutsi were only given 10% quota in education and in public service across the country.

In former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and tea factories across the country, they practiced ethnic segregation politics. Tutsis felt that they had no equal right to Hutu in the Country. For instance, in Mata tea factory no Tutsi could find a job without a Hutu support's introduction. Ethnic segregation politics with harassment practically happened in former OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé. This exclusion was an outcome of the war of liberation that broke out on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 spearheaded by RPA Inkotanyi. Since the war broke out, the plan to destroy Tutsi was implemented in all over the country and OCIR-Café and OCIR-Thé and in its respective factories inclusive.

These institutions played a significant role in supporting genocide ideology by backing Ngeze Hassani, Kagura newspaper chief editor. Other acts included convincing Rwandans that the Hutu and the Tutsi could not live together and recruiting and training Interahamwe militiamen. Either at headquarters of OCIR-Thé or at its respective factories, training of Interahamwe militiamen

and deploying them in the factories to get familiar with the area before genocide perpetration had happened.

These militiamen could be found at Mata, Gisovu and Shagasha tea factories. All tea factory directors appeared as leaders of planning and implementing genocide in the areas in which they were living. This happened at Mata, Kitabi, Shagasha, Gisovu, Rubaya, Nyabihu and Pfunda factories. Another act was to store weapons and to distribute them during the time of genocide perpetration, to organize meetings planning killings and to make a list of targeted people. Such abominable acts happened across the country including OCIR-Café, OCIR-Thé and their respective branch factories.

After shooting down the airplane of Habyarimana, the genocide broke out. Either at the headquarters or at respective factories, the plan of genocide was immediately implemented. In different factories, it was the Directors who played a significant role in the implementation of the plan of genocide in their location of residence. The General Director of OCIR-Thé went in factories located in northern part of the country to supervise the acts of killing Tutsi using employees and cars of the factory. He helped to kill Tutsi that had taken refuge at Kesho Hill and he used employees and the resources of Rubaya and Nyabihu Tea factories. He used the Pfunda Tea Factory to kill the Tutsi who were at Nyundo Cathedral.

Mata tea factory played a significant role in killing Tutsi living in Nyaruguru district and the Director of the factory, Ndabarinze Juvenal, collaborated with sous prefet Biniga Damien in hunting down and killing the Tutsi in the area using tea factory employees and cars. Likewise in Kitabi, the Director of the factory Kamodoka Denis provided the car for carrying people to go to massacre the Tutsi located at Kibeho, Runyinya and Mudasobwa. The director was with famous genocide killings' planners in the area such as Simba Aloys, Prefet Bukirubaruta and Major Sebhura and all Bourgmestres of the District.

In Gisovu factory tea, Musema Alfred, the Director, was one of people who led killings in the area using tea factory employees who had been going to kill while dressing in factory uniforms.

Musema provided cars to transport killers and offered money to motivate people in killings. He worked closely with soldiers who intervened to kill in Gisovu and Bisesero. He collaborated closely with other prominent killings' leaders such as Kayishema Clement, Obed Ruzindana and Elzaphani. Musema Alfred was among the top leaders of killings in the areas of Gisovu and Bisesero.

The current research found out that 343 employees and their relatives were killed during genocide: 85 at OCIR-Thé Headquarters, 68 at Mata tea factory, 22 at Kitabi tea factory, 60 at Gisovu tea factory, 47 at Shagasha tea factory and finally 14 at Rubaya tea factory.

After the army of RPA stopped the genocide, the priority of rehabilitating the country and building the unity of Rwandans ensued. Commemorating the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi was one of the strategies to prevent the genocide. At the level of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café headquarters, they started to commemorate in 2008 and they continued to do it each year. The plan to commemorate genocide perpetrated against Tutsi was made a priority in different tea factories. At Mata, Kitabi, Gisovu, Gisakura, Shagasha they built memorial sites and planned genocide commemoration each year. Yet, there are other factories such as Rubaya, Nyabihu, Pfunda, Mulindi and SORWATHE that did not yet put in place a specific plan to commemorate the victims of genocide.

Employees in factories interweave friendly relationships without ethnic division as compared to the one that had prevailed in the period before the genocide. Those who were able to commemorate the victims of the genocide were also providing support to survivors of the genocide or to their family members. At the headquarters of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café which were merged into NAEB in 2011, they were able to help genocide orphans by building them houses and by providing them with cows. They provided internships to school/university graduands.

The former OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café were characterized by genocide ideology in that these institutions offered money for planning and implementing genocide through using their respective employees to train Interahamwe militiamen, through buying and making arsenal of weapons and through supervising the killings of genocide.

#### **IV.2. Recommendations**

- NAEB is recommended to encourage all the privatized factories to conduct research in order to know the exact number of OCIR-Thé former employees, especially casual labor employees and former employees who were working in tea cooperatives and to commemorate them.
- Each factory should have a genocide memorial site and an archival information of names of both employee categories: full time officers and part employees in order to honor and commemorate them as a strategy of joining other Rwandans to prevent genocide through upholding the slogan of ‘never again’ to the genocide.
- The factories played a significant role in planning and killing their respective employees during the genocide of Tutsi. Hence, this could be a reason of responsibility to the factories of recognizing and strongly helping the genocide survivors or relatives of factories former employees.

#### **V. CHALLENGES**

Some challenges have been barriers for the research methodology: In factories around the country, a list of employees who were working there before Genocide could not be traced. Likewise, at OCIR-Thé headquarter office, the list of employees who had been working as

managers could not be found. This is to mean that archives had not been managed carefully. Consequently the study was unnecessarily made long.

People whom we met in all factories across the country explained that they did not have enough information about acts of Genocide that had taken place in their respective factories. This made us to think about recommending each factory to have a genocide memorial site that has archival information of how genocide was committed in the area where the factory is located and to present the role that the factory had played.

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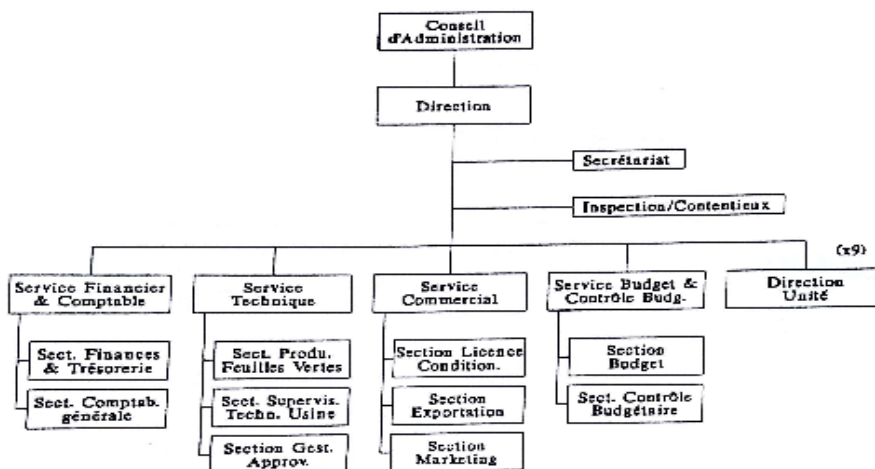
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## **APPENDICES**

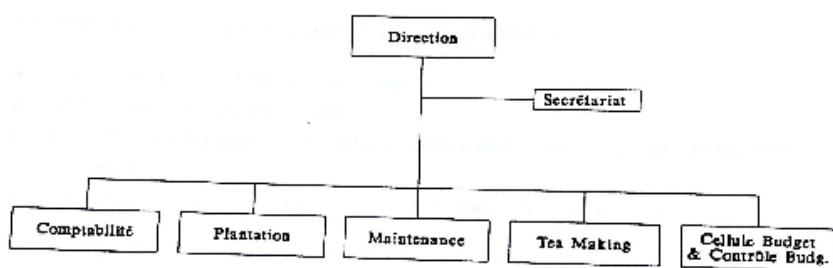
## Appendix 1: organigramme de l'OCIR-THE

### ORGANIGRAMME DE L'OFFICE



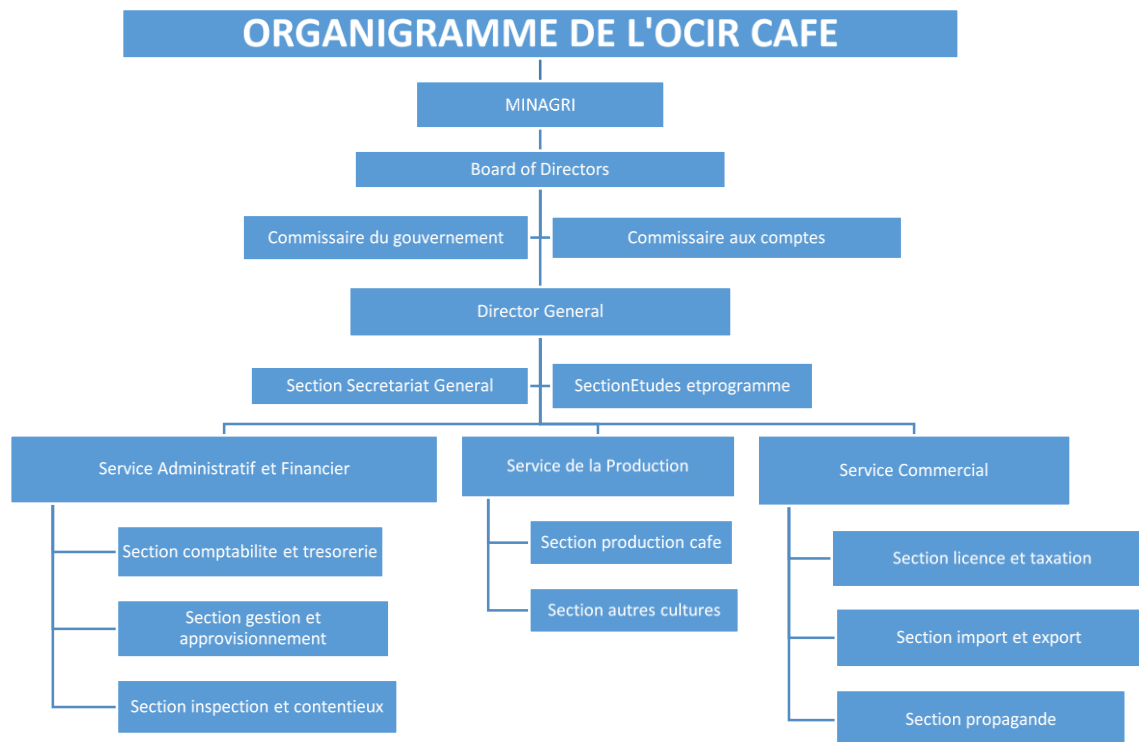
## Appendix 2: Organigramme d'une usine de the

### ORGANIGRAMME D'UNE USINE



Scanned by CamScanner

### Appendix 3; Organigramme de l'OCIR-Café.



**Appendix 4. The List of staff of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café killed in the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi**

**1. Those who were living the Compound of OCIR-Thé and OCIR-Café were buried in the genocide memorial of Nyanza of Kicukiro**

<b>NOMERO</b>	<b>AMAZINA</b>	<b>IKIGO</b>
1	GASASIRA Jean Baptiste	Ocir Cafe
2	GASASIRA Fils	Ocir Cafe
3	GASASIRA Arsene	Ocir Cafe
4	GASASIRE Josephine	Ocir Cafe
5	MUKAMANA Rachel	Ocir Cafe
6	NDORI Vivense	Ocir Cafe
7	NSHIMYUKIZA Come	Ocir Cafe
8	NSHIMYUMUKIZA Jaqueline	Ocir Cafe
9	NSHIMYUMUKIZA Gilbert	Ocir Cafe
10	NSHIMYUMUKIZA Robert	Ocir Cafe
11	RUDAHANWA Etienne	Ocir Cafe
12	RUDAHANWA ICYUSA Omella	Ocir Cafe
13	RUDAHANWA ITUZE Steve	Ocir Cafe
14	RUDAHANWA UWAMALIYA Christine	Ocir Cafe
15	RUTAYISIRE Alex	Ocir Cafe
16	SHYIRAMBERE Augustin	Ocir Cafe
17	SHYIRAHAYO NYIRABAGANDE Esperance	Ocir Cafe
18	SHYIRAHAYO INGABIRE Peace	Ocir Cafe
19	UWAMALIYA Alphonsine	Ocir Cafe
20	UWIZEYIMANA Jeanne	Ocir Cafe
21	RUKAKA Assinapol	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
22	RUKAKA SHINGIRO Didier	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>

23	RUKAKA UWAMALIYA Beata	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
24	RUKAKA NKUSI Yves	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
25	RUKAKA SHYAKA Hyacinthe	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
26	RUKAKA Angelo	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
27	RUKAKA Patrick	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
28	Marie (umukozi wa RUKAKA)	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
29	RUTEMBEKA Evariste	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
30	MUGANZA Stanislas	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
31	MUGANZA Claude	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
32	NIYONZIMA Vincent	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
33	NIYONZIMA TWISHIME Yves	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>
34	NIYONZIMA KANTENGWA Marie Claire	<b>OCIR-Thé</b>

## 2. OCIR staff who were killed outside the compound along with their members of families

1	BIMENYIMANA
2	BURUMA Gaston
3	GASANA Augustin
4	GASASIRA Theogene
5	JAENNETTE
6	KAMBANDA Deogratiace
7	KAMBANDA Fillette
8	KAMBANDA Fils
9	KAMBANDA Flora
10	KARARA Apolline
11	KAYITANKORE Francois xavier
12	KAYITESI Beatrice
13	MAHINDA Augustin
14	MAHINDA Augustin
15	MASABO Samson

16	MBANDA Canisius
17	Mme MBANDA
18	Abana ba MBANDA 3
21	MUGOREWERA Claudine (OCIR-The).
22	MUGOREWERA Fils
23	MUKAGASANA Annonciata
24	MUKANYONGA Annonciata
25	NDOLI Bertrand
26	NDOLI Denis
27	NDOLI Denise
28	NDOLI IRIBORI Marie Noel
29	NDOLI MPUHWE Aime
30	NDOLI MUKANDUTIYE Olive
31	NDOLI RWABAKIKA Olivier
32	NDOLI UMUBYEYI Vivine
33	NTEZIMANA Alain
34	NTEZIMANA Alice
35	NTEZIMANA Antoine
36	NTEZIMANA Clystere
37	NYANDEKWE Nadine
38	NYANDEKWE Nathalie
39	NYANDEKWE Pierre
40	NYANDEKWE Virginie
41	NYIMBUZI Aloys
42	NYIMBUZI NYIRIMANA Bibiane
43	NYIMBUZI YVES Chavale
44	NYIRARYAKA
45	NYIRINYONGA Irene
46	RUZIRABWOBA Thadee
47	RUZIRABWOBA UWONKUNDA Clarisse

48	RUZIRABWOBA UWONKUNDA Laissa
49	UMUTESI Chantal
50	UWIMANA Bibiane
51	UWINEZA Euphrasie

### **Kitabi.Tea Factory**

<b>no</b>	<b>Names</b>	<b>Posts occupied</b>
1	KABASHA Emmanuel	Chauffeur wa Direction
2	UWANYIRIGIRA Emma	Fille de KABASHA Emmanuel
3	GAKURU Eric	Fils de KABASHA Emmanuel
4	KAYIHURA Emmanuel	Agronome
5	KAYIHURA Basilisa	Madame KAYIHURA Emmanuel
6	KAYIHURA Clemence	Fille de KAYIHURA Emmanuel
7	KAYIHURA Louis	Fils de KAYIHURA Emmanuel
8	MUNYAKAZI Innocent Alias Gakondo	Soudeur
9	MUNYAKAZI Domina	Madame MUNYAKAZI Innocent
10	MUSONERA	Comptable
11	MUTSINZI Vedaste	Chef Tea Maker
12	MUTSINZI D'Amour	Fils de MUTSINZI Vedaste
13	MUTSINZI Gilbert	Fils de MUTSINZI Vedaste
14	MUGURWINKA Madeleine	Madame MUYOVU Andre (was not targeted )
15	MUGIRANEZA	Fils de Muyovu Andre (was not targeted)
16	MUKAMPIRWA Marthe	Madame Nyirimpunga Emmanuel (was not targeted)
17	NDAMAGE Vincent	Chef Garage (Mechanic)
18	SINDAYIGAYA Andre Alias RUVUSHA	Chauffeur
19	SINDAYIGAYA Fausta	Madame SINDAYIGAYA Andre



20	SINDAYIGAYA- NDATIMANA	Fils SINDAYIGAYA Andre
21	SINDAYIGAYA Florence Alias MATAMA	Fille de SINDAYIGAYA Andre
22	UWADEMOKARASI	Agronome

### Gisakura Tea Factory

No	Amazina	Position held
1	Bucyana Jean	Capita Alimentation
2	Gapyiri Viateur	M.O Plantation
3	Gasamunyiga	M.O Bois
4	Gashumba Naasson	Capita Chef Usine
5	Gatari	
6	Gatera Evariste	Agronome
7	Habineza Albert	M.O Alimentation
8	Kabera Jean Baptiste	Chauffeur
9	Kamenyero Elias	he was working in the factory (but his position was not identified)
10	Kanonika Aminadabu (along with his 5 children)	he was working in tea plantations
16	Karima Claude	he was pumping water
17	Kasiro Theodore	Clerc Plantation
18	Kigingi Eugene	
19	Malayika	
20	Mugayuhore Innocent	M.O Alimentation
21	Mukaboneza Drocella n.abana be 2	Clerc Plantation
24	Mukagahenda Noella n'abana be 3	Clerc Plantation
28	Mukamunana Josephine (n'abana be batatu)	Centre de Sante
32	Mukarepubulika Jackline	Secretary

33	Musoni	
34	Muvunyi Eugene	Agronome
35	Nabeza Thereza n'abana be 2	Clerc Usine
38	Ndori Eulade	M.O Bois
39	Nemeyukuri Emmanuel	M.O Emballage
40	Niyibizi Nicolas	
41	Nkeragutabara Bernard	Capita Usine
42	Ntaganzwa Alexandre	he was working in the factory (but his position was not identified)
43	Pierre	Driver
44	Twagirayezu Albert	
45	Ugiruwabo Pierre	M.O Usine
46	Ulinganiye Eurelien	
47	Uwariraye Pierre	Capita Usine

### Gisovu Tea Factory

no	Amazina	Umurimo yakoraga
1	GATERA Augustin	He was working in canteen
2	MUKADATA Dorothee	storekeeper
3	MUKAKAYIJO Beatrice	He was not working in the factory
4	MUKAMARARA Regina	He was not working in the factory
5	NDAMAGE Jean Paul +his wife+ 6 children	Electrician
13	NDOLI Edouard+wife+4 children	Cashier
19	NZAMURAMBAHO Jean+wife+3 children	Driver
24	RUHINDANA Edgard	Budget
25	RUTEMBESA Fidele +wife+ 3 children	Monagri
30	RWAGAPFIZI Alphonse +wife+ 5 children	Head of tea plantation
37	TWAGIRA KAYEGO Canisius +wife+ 5	Head of accountancy

	children+ guest	
45	SONGA Innocent	Monagri
46	SENYANGE Bertin + wife+ child	Arpenteur
49	UWAMARIYA Odette + husband + 3 children	Secretary
54	MUJAWAYEZU Annonciatte	Clerk
55	MURINDABIGWI Martin	Capita
56	NYIRANGIRUMWAMI Diane	Clerk
60	NAMAHUNGU Jean + wife + 2 children	Chauffeur

### Shagasha Tea Factory

No	Amazina	Icyo bakoraga
1	BAYINGANA Thacien	Secetaire
2	Beatrice	
3	BIRORI Francois	Agronome
4	BUZIZI Vedaste	
5	Cassien	
6	Claudien	
7	Damascene	
8	Felix	
9	GAHURANYI Damascene	
10	GASHEREBUKA Canisius	
11	Gratien	
12	HIGIRO Epaphrodite	
13	IYAMUREMYE Joseph	
14	Juvenal	
15	KAGANDA Claude	
16	KALIMA	
17	KAMUZINZI Casimir	
18	KANAMUGIRE Deo	

19	KARAMAGA Symphorien	Technicien
20	KAYIHURA Callixte	
21	KAYIHURA Vedaste	Technicien
22	KAYITANI	
23	KAYITARE Fabien	
24	MAJYAMBERE Laurien	Agronome
25	MANGERA	
26	MASABO	
27	MUHORANDI Phocas	Capita
28	MUJANDARUME Damascene	
29	MUJYAMBERE	
30	MUKAKARISA Melanie	
31	MUNYENGANGO Nicolas	
32	MURENZI Janvier	
33	NGARAMBE Antoine	
34	NKAKA Jean	
35	NKUSI Eugene	
36	NSENGIMANA Ildephonse	
37	NYAMWASA Emmanuel	
38	NYANGEZI Callixte	Secretary
39	NZARAMBA Evariste	
40	NZEYINGORO Reverien	
41	RUTAGARAMA Celestin	
42	RUTAYISIRE	
43	RUZINDANA Fidele	
44	RWAKAYINGAMBA Gerard	
45	RWAMWAGA Gustave	
46	SEMIGABO Phocas	
47	SERUBYOGO Evariste	

## Mata Tea Factory

### Employees of Mata Tea Factory killed in genocide Staff under statutes

	<b>Names</b>	<b>Position held</b>
1	KAYINAMURA Bernard	Agronome
2	KARENZI Anaclet	Agronome
3	GASIRABO Clet	Deputy Tea maker
4	Fils RUKARA	Deputy Tea maker
5	NKUSI Alexis	Chef de garage
6	SENYANGE	Monagri
7	MUKANDAMAGE Donatilla	Laboratory officer
8	Sylvie	Laboratory officer
9	NGABONZIMA Emmanuel	Foreman
10	KAYIGI Charles	Driver
11	MUTAGANDA Charles	Driver
12	CANDALI Josée	Clerc
13	MUKAMUGEMA Prisca	Clerc
14	KABUTURA James	Carpenter
15	RUKARA Etienne	Carpenter
16	MBARUSHIMANA Désire	Foreman of firewood
17	NZABAMWITA Jean	Chaudière

### **Casual Labour staff of Mata**

1. NDWANIYE Vénant
2. MURANGIRA
3. KAREMERA Vianney
4. GASHAGAZA RUSENGO
5. NYAMASWA Damascène
6. RWIKIMA
7. NZABANDORA
8. Victor
9. KABANZA Charles
10. MUNANA Domitien
11. MBABARIYE Faustin
12. NSHIMIYIMANA Israël
13. MADARIDARI Eugène
14. NTAKAVURO Narcisse
15. GATARE Bertin
16. NSHIMIYIMANA Bosco
17. RUSAGARA Innocent
18. NZEYIMANA Filmin
19. KAGERUKA Taurin
20. NAMBAZIMANA Frédéric

21. MUHASHYI Sylvin
22. GAKUBA Gervais
23. MIRIMBO
24. NYARWAYA Augustin
25. NDAGIJIMANA Baudouin
26. NYANTABANA
27. MUVUNYI Camille
28. GASARABWE
29. KANAMUGIRE
30. RUVUGAMADANDI
31. NDAYISABA
32. MUNGANYINKA Mathilde
33. KAYUMBA Vianney
34. RUNYANGE Ignace
35. NIYONAGIRA Vincent
36. KANAMUGIRE Innocent
37. TUYIZERE Jeanne
38. RUNOMBE
39. Anaclet
40. GAHAMANYI Juvénal
41. RUZINDANA Célestin
42. RWASUBUTARE
43. MUKARWEGO Clotilde

44. NYIRIMIGABO Donat
45 . KAGABA Damascène
46. NYAMWASA Alexis
47. KARANGWA Joseph
48. RWANYONGA Fredrick
49. NSHIMIYIMANA Israel
50. UWIMANA BEATA
51. TWAGIRUMUKIZA Justine

### **Rubaya Tea Factory**

1. BASEKE Immaculee	
2. CANISIUS	Plantation
3. GAHURU Jonas	Foreman
4. GASAMUNYIGA	Foreman
5. GATWAZA	Watchman
6. GISHONGORE	Foreman
7. HATEGEKA	
8. MBONIGABA	Plantation
9. MUKAGATERA Xavella	Foreman
10. MUKAZITONI	Plantation
11. NDEGEYA Jonas	Capita
12. NYIRABUPETI	Plantation
13. NYIRAKOBWA	Plantation
14. RUTAYISIRE	Chef M.O



**Appendix 5: Some Photos of staff killed in the genocide (Source: NAEB public relations)**



Uwimana Bibiane



Rutayisire Alexis



Nyandekwe Virginie &  
Ntezimana Antoine



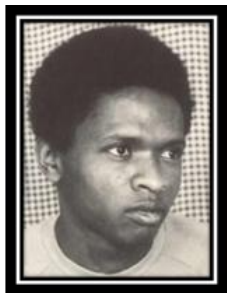
Ndori Vivens



Mukagasana Annonciate



Masabo Samson



Mahinda Augustin



Kayitesi Beatrice



Gasarasi Jean Baptiste

Karara Appolinaire



Rutembeka Evariste



Bimenyimana Innocent



Rukaka Assinapol

Along with his spouse wamariya Beata



Chilidren of Rukaka



Child of Rukaka



Etienne Rudahanwa



Nshimyumukiza Come



Kambanda



Euphrasie Kambanda



Children of Kambanda and Euphrasie



Uwamariya Alphonsine



Nyirabagande Esperance Madame

Shyirahayo Augustin



Shyirahayo Augustin



child of Rukaka yves



Umutesi Marie Chantal,



The child of Rukaka called  
Didier

The child of Mukagasana Annonciata



The child of Rukaka called Patrick



The child of Rukaka called Yves



The spouse of Rukaka, Uwamariya Beata



Ruzirabwoba, the husband of Immaculee Mukantaganira