



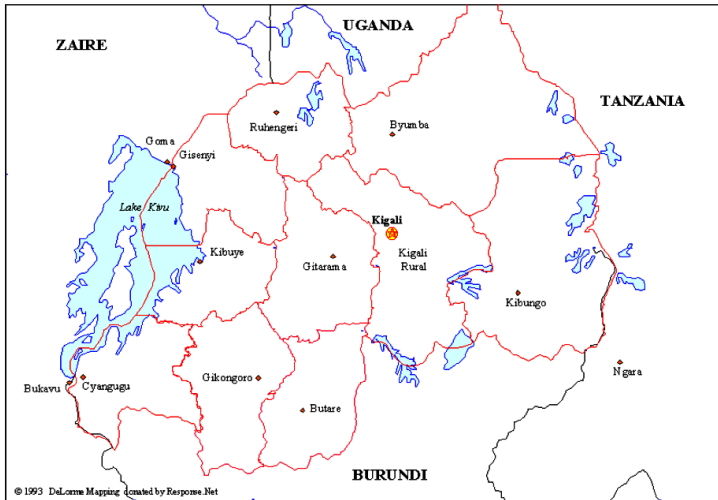
REPUBLIKA Y’U RWANDA
Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
Komisiyo y’Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside
-CNLG-



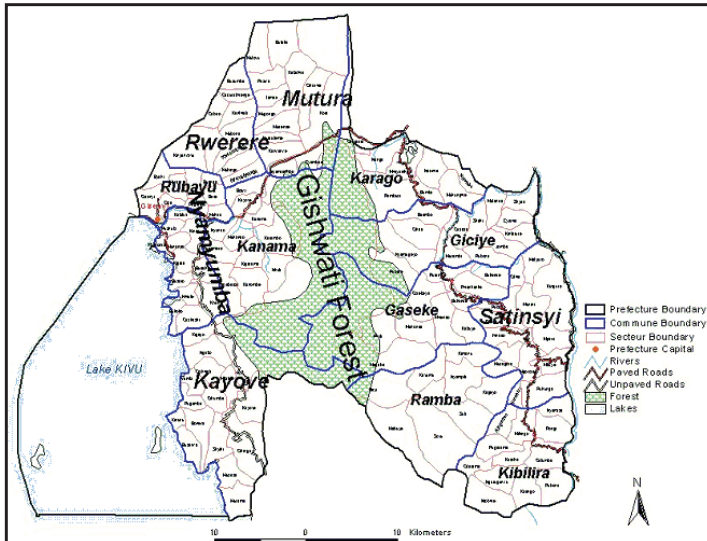
**ITEGURWA N’ISHYIRWA MU BIKORWA
RYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU
YAHENZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI**

Kigali, 2015

IKARITA Y'URWANDA MBERE YA 1994



IKARITA YA PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI



IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Ubushakashatsi kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi buri mu nshingano za Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide (CNLG), cyane cyane mu ngingo ya 2 y'Itegeko n° 09/2007 ryo ku wa 16/02/2007 rigena inshingano, imiterere n'imikorere bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide.

Ubushakashatsi CNLG yahisemo kwibandaho ku ikubitiro ni uburebana n'amateka ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi hagaragazwa itegurwa rya Jenocide, ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo n'ingaruka zayo ku gihugu muri rusange no ku bacitse ku icumu by'umwihariko.

Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 yateguwe n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa Leta, yifashisha inzego zayo zitandukanye: igisilikare, inzego z'ibanze (Perefegitura na Komini), itangazamakuru, amashyaka ya Politiki, amadini, uruburako...

Kugeza ubu, hari ubushakashatsi bwakozwe n'abantu batandukanye bwerekanye uko Jenocide yateguwe ku rwego rw'Igihugu, uruhare rw'amahanga muri Jenocide, ndetse habayeho n'imanza zitandukanye (TPIR, mu bindi bihugu no mu Rwanda) zagaragaje uko Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe ku rwego rw'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda bwariho hagati ya 1990 na 1994.

Ni muri urwo rwego, CNLG yahisemo gutangirira ubushakashatsi bwayo ku kindi gice cy'itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide, herekanwa uko Jenocide yagenze muri buri Perefegitura, kuko n'ubwo Jenocide yateguriwe ku rwego rw'Igihugu, hari umwihariko wa buri Perefegitura mu 10 zari zigize u Rwanda icyo gihe. Ubu bushakashatsi bwatangiriye ku yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi kubera impamvu nyinshi:

- Gisenyi ni Perefegitura yavukagamo uwari umukuru w'Igihugu, Jenerali Majoro Juvénal HABYARIMANA washyizeho politiki y'ivangurabwoko, n'ivangurakarere, imwe mu zoretse u Rwanda mu miyoborere mibi, mu karengane no muri Jenocide;
- Gisenyi yakomokagamo abategetsi benshi ba politiki biganjemo abateguye Jenocide kandi bagashishikariza ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo hose mu gihugu;
- Gisenyi niyo Perefegitura ya mbere yavukagamo abasilikare benshi bo ku rwego rwo hejuru, barimo abateguye Jenocide bakanayishyira mu bikorwa, barangajwe imbere na *Colonel Théoneste BAGOSORA*,
- Gisenyi niyo Perefegitura yabanje gukorerwamo ubwicanyi mu Kwakira 1990 hicwa Abatutsi i Kibilira muri Ngororero bazizwa igitero cya RPF-INKOTANYI yari itangije urugamba rwo

kubohora igihugu;

- Gisenyi yaranzwe n'ibindi bikorwa bibi nko gukomeza kwica no guhohotera Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1994.

Izo mpamvu zose zashingiweho na CNLG mu gutangira ubushakashatsi bwayo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Mu gukora ubushakashatsi, hifashishijwe inyandiko zitandukanye zavuye mu Karere ka Rubavu ahahoze hakorera Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, kandi habazwa abatangabuhama batandukanye babaye mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri. Izo nyandiko nazo CNLG izazitangaza mu buryo bwo kwerekana ibimenyetso by'itegurwa rya Jenocide no kubungabunga amateka yayo.

Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bigaragaza ko mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Abatutsi bagiye batotezwa, bicwa, babuzwa uburenganzira bwabo ku buryo bukabije guhera mu 1959. Habayeho inyigisho zishishikariza Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi, kubakorera ibikorwa by'urugomo, guha abasivili imyitozo igamije kubashora mu bwicanyi, kubaha imbunda, ku buryo mu 1994 imyiteguro yose yari yaramaze kunozwa hasigaye gusa gutanga amabwiriza y'itangizwa rya Jenocide.

Ntitwavuga ko ubu bushakashatsi bwuzuye, ariko

buragaragaza ibimenyetso byinshi bitari byarashyizwe ahagaragara kugeza ubu. CNLG izakomeza iyi nshingano mu bushobozi ifite. CNLG irashimira ubufatanye bw'abantu batandukanye bagize uruhare mu igenda neza ry'iki gikorwa, by'umwihariko ubuyobozi bw'Akarere ka Rubavu bworohereje abashakashatsi ba CNLG. CNLG irashimira kandi impuguke zafashije gutanga ibitekerezo kugira ngo ubu bushakashatsi bunozwe. Abo ni Prof.Senateri Nkusi Laurent, Hon.Mugesera Antoine, Hon.Kubwimana Chrysologue, Prof.Byanafashe Déo, Dr.Bideri Diogène na Padiri Tuyishime Innocent. Ubu bushakashatsi bwayobowe n'Ikigo cya CNLG gishinzwe Ubushakashatsi n'Ububikoshakiro kuri Jenoside. Ababukoze ni Madamu GAHONGAYIRE Liberata na Bwana MAFEZA Faustin.

Dr BIZIMANA Jean Damascène
Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa CNLG

INCAMAKE

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, abashakashatsi batandukanye banditse ku mateka yayo ahantu hanyuranye no mu buryo bunyuranye bitewe n'ibyo bazobereyemo. Ubu bushakashatsi kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, bwakozwe n'abashakashatsi ba CNLG. Intego nkuru yari ugusesengura uko Jenocide yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Dushingiye ku nyandiko zo muri Raporo ya Human Rights Watch n'igitabo cya Linda Melvern hagaragara umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi wakwirakwijwe mu nama zitandukanye zakorwaga hirya no hino, inyinshi muri zo zikaba zarakorewe mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi (Melven, 2004: 20). Ubu bushakashatsi bwari bushingiye ku ntego nkuru yo kugaragaza uko Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Kugira ngo tubashe kubona amakuru ajyanye n'intego z'ubu bushakashatsi, twagiranye ibiganiro byimbitse (In-Depth Interview) n'abatangabuhanya batandukanye, n'ibiganiro byo mu matsinda (Focus Group Discussion). Hifashishijwe na none zimwe mu nyandiko zo mu

buyobozi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana zari mu bubiko bw'impapuro bw'Akarere ka Rubavu. Hifashishijwe kandi inyandiko zo mu binyamakuru n'ibitabo bivuga kuri Jenoside. Twifashishije kandi imyanzuro y'imanza zaciwe n'urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR).

Ubushakashatsi bwagaragaje ko gucamo ibice Abanyarwanda no kubatandukanya byatangiyeye nyuma y'aho abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri bagereye mu gihugu cy'u Rwanda. Amacakubiri n'ivangura byashimangiwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Grégoire Kayibanda na Juvénal Habyarimana. Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwabo, habayeho guheza Abatutsi, kubambura ubumuntu, kubatoteza, kubamenesha, kubakenesha no kubica.

Abategetsi batandukanye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bakoreshaga inama zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi cyane cyane nyuma y'igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo ku ya mbere Ukwakira 1990. Inama zishishikariza urwango no kwica Abatutsi zakurikiwe n'ubwicanyi bunyuranye bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993 hafi mu makomini yose agize iyo Perefegitura.

Gutoza interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi byatangiyeye mu

mwaka wa 1992. Muri iyi Perefegitura, mu makomini yose ayigize, Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa ku itariki 7 Mata 1994. Kugeza ubu (2015), hamaze gushyingurwa mu cyubahiro imibiri y'abazize Jenocide igera hafi ku bihumbi mirongo irindwi (70.000) mu nzibutso zinyuranye. Muri iyi Perefegitura Jenocide yahagaritswe n'abahoze ari ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1994.

AMAGAMBO AHINNYE YAKORESHEJWE

APROSOMA:	Association pour la Promotion de la Masse
BRALIRWA:	Brasseries et Limonaderies du Rwanda
CDR:	Coalition pour la Défense de la République
CERAI:	Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré
CNLG:	Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
DRI-Ramba-Gaseke:	Developement Rural Intégré-Ramba-Gaseke
EAR:	Eglise Anglicane du Rwanda
FAR:	Forces Armées Rwandaises
GBK:	Projet Sliyvo-Pastoral dans les préfectures de Gisenyi, Butare et Kibuye
GP:	Garde Présidentielle
ISAR:	Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du <i>Rwanda</i>
MINITRAP:	Ministère des Travaux Publics
MRND:	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
ORTPN:	Office Rwandais du Tourisme et des Parcs Nationaux

PARMEHUTU:	Parti du Mouvement de l'Emmancipation Hutu
RADER:	Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais
REDEMI:	Régie d'Exploitation et de Développement des Mines
RPF:	Rwanda Patriotic Front
RTL:	Radio Télévision Libre de Milles Collines
UNAR:	Union Nationale Rwandaise
ICTR :	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
AMASASU:	Alliance des Militaires Agacés par les Séculaires Actes Sournois des Unaristes

ISHAKIRO

IJAMBO RY'IBANZE	5
INCAMAKE	9
AMAGAMBO AHINNYE YAKORESHEJWE	12
INTANGIRO	23
Intego zihariye z'ubushakashatsi	24
IGICE CYA I: IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA MBERE NO MU GIHE CY'UBUKORONI.....	29
1.1. Imibanire y'abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoroni	29
I.2. Imitere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoroni	30
I.3. Gucikamo ibice n'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959	46
I.3.1. Uruhare rw'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni mu gucamo ibice abanyarwanda	46
I.3.2. Ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959	49
IGICE CYA II : AMACAKUBIRI, ITOTENZA, IHEZWA, N'UBWICANYI BWAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU GIHE CY'UBUTEGETSI BWA PEREZIDA KAYIBANDA	57
2.1. Perefegitura ya Gisenyi muri Repubulika ya mbere	57
2.2. Itotezwa n'ihazwa ry'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda	58
2.3.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1963 na 1967	62

2.3.2. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini	
Kayove muri 1963	66
2.3.3. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1973	68
IGICE CYA III : UKO ABATUTSI BABAYEHO KUVA	
PEREZIDA HABYARIMANA AFATA	
UBUTEGETSI KUGEZA MU 1990	
73	
3.1. Coup d’Etat yo ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973,	
n’ agahenge k’igihe gito	73
3.2. Ivangura, ihezwa n’itotezwa ry’Abatutsi mu mashuri.....	75
3.3. Ihezwa ry’Abatutsi mu nzego z’ubutegetsu bwite	
bwa Leta	80
3.4. Irondakarere n’ itotezwa ry’Abatutsi mu buzima	
busanzwe	81
IGICE CYA IV: ITOTTEZWA N’ IBIKORWA	
BY’URUGOMO BYAKOREWE	
ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990-1993.....	
84	
4.1. Kujya guhamba umutumba igihe Fred Rwigema	
yicwaga ku rugamba	89
4.2. Ifunga ry’abo bitaga ibyitso by’Inkotanyi n’ubuzima	
babayemo	90
4.3. Ifungurwa ry’ibyitso muri Mata 1991	100
4.4. Guteshwa agaciro no kwamburwa uburenganzira	
bw’ibanze ku Batutsi	106

4.5. Kubuzwa uburenganzira bwo kugurisha ibyo batunze, gutembera hagati mu gihugu no hanze	107
4.6. Gukenesha Abatutsi mu buryo bwose	110
4.7. Guhohoterwa no kuregwa ibinyoma	113
4.8. Gushimuta Abatutsi binyuze muri gahunda yo gukora amarondo	115
4.9. Gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y'urwango ku Batutsi	118
4.10. Kubarura no gukora buri gihe urutonde rw'Abatutsi batuye muri segiteri	120
4.11. Guhohotera no kwica Abatutsi bitewe n'uko urugamba rwagenze hagati ya FAR na RPF- Inkotanyi ...	127
IGICE CYA V: ITEGURWA RYA JENOSIDE HAGATI YA 1990-1994 MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI	
5.1. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi	130
5.1.1. Gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi binyuze mu itangazamakuru	131
5.1.1.1. Uruhare rw'ikinyamakuru Kangura	131
5.1.1.2. Ibindi binyamakuru byandika byashishikarije kwica Abatutsi	134
5.1.1.3. Gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi binyuze kuri Radiyo Televiziyo ya Mille Colline (RTL) ..	136

5.1.2. Inama zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica	
Abatutsi	140
5.1.2.1. Zimwe mu nama zakoreshejwe n'abategetsi	
bakuru	143
5.1.2.1.1. Inama zakoreshejwe na Superefe Rukabukira	
Ildephonse	144
5.1.2.1.2. Inama zakoreshejwe na ba Burugumesitiri	
cyangwa Asisita Burugumesitiri	146
5.1.2.1.3. Inama zakoreshejwe n'abakuru b'amashyaka	
ya politiki	148
5.1.2.1.4. Inama zakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera	151
5.1.2.1.5. Inama yakoreshejwe na Colonel Théoneste	
Bagosora ku wa 21 Ugushyingo 1992	172
5.1.2.1.6. Inama zakoreshejwe n'Abakonseye	174
5.1.3. Abitabiraga inama zigamije kwica Abatutsi	175
5.2. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu	
baturage	177
5.2. 1. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda	
muri Komini Kibilira	180
5.2.2. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri	
Komini Ramba	182
5.2.3. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri	
Komini Satinsyi	184
5.2.4. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri	

Komini Karago	185
5.2.5. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Gaseke	187
5.2.6. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Giciye	188
5.2.7. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Mutura	189
5.2.8. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kanama	199
5.2.9. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kayove	200
5.2.10. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Nyamyumba	202
5.2.11. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Rubavu	203
5.2.12. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Rwerere	204
5.3. Bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi hagati ya 1990-1994	206
5.4. Umugambi wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana no kurwanya amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha	214
5.5. Bamwe mu bayobozi barwanyije umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi	220

IGICE CYA VI : UBWICANYI BWAKOREWE ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990-1993 N'INYITO BWAHAWA	222
6.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi	223
6.1.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira	223
6.1.1.1. Urutonde rw'Abatutsi bishwe muri Komini Kibilira mu Kwakira 1990	241
6.1.1.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira mu1992	255
6.1.2. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Satisyi	256
6.1.3. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba	263
6.1.4. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Gaseke	271
6.1.4.1. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu 1991	271
6.1.4.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu 1992	274
6.1.5. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Giciye	276

6.1.6. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini	
Karago	290
6.1.7. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini	
Mutura	295
6.1. 8. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini	
Kanama	307
6.1. 9. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini ya	
Kayove	310
6.1.10. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini	
Nyamyumba	318
6.2. Inyito zahawe ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi	
hagati y'imyaka ya 1990 na 1993	323
6.3. Kwivanaho uruhare kw'abicanyi rukitirirwa	
abakorewe ubwicanyi	324
6.4. Umuco wo kudahana watije umurindi abicanyi	328
IGICE CYA VII. ISHYIRWA MU BIKORWA RYA	
JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI	
MU 1994	
331	
7.1. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Ramba	332
7.2. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Kibilira	336
7.3. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Satinsyi	344

7.4. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Gaseke na Giciye	349
7.4.1. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka	
Kesho	349
7.4.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye kuri	
Diyoseze ya Shyira	356
7.5. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Karago	359
7.6. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Mutura na Rwerere	364
7.7. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Rubavu	369
7.8. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Kanama	380
7.9. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Nyamyumba	388
7.10. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini	
Kayove	393
7.11. Inzibutso zishyinguwemo imibiri y'abazize Jenoside	
yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya	
Gisenyi	397

IGICE CYA VIII. IYICARUBOZO RYAKOREWE	
ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI	
PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI	401
IGICE CYA IX. GUSIBANGANYA IBIMENYETSO	
BYA JENOSIDE NK'UBURYO BWO	
KUYIHAKANA	406
UMWANZURO	413
INYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJE	423
Ibitabo	423
Raporo	427
INYOBORA BIGANIRO (INTERVIEW GUIDE)	444

INTANGIRIRO

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatwaye ubuzima bw'inzirakarengane zirenga Miliyoni. Nyuma ya Jenoside, abashakashatsi batandukanye banditse ku mateka yayo, bagaragaza muri rusange uko yashyizwe mu bikorwa. Bumwe mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe, bwagiye bugaragaza umwihariko wa Jenoside mu duce dutandukanye tw'igihugu, aha twavuga nk'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe buvuga ku mateka ya Jenoside muri Nyarubuye, Mugina, Murambi, Kibuye n'ahandi.

Dushingiye kuri Raporo ya *Human Rights Watch* Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yabanje kugeragezwa mu duce twari dutuwemo n'abantu bibonaga mu butegetsi bwa Habyarimana ndetse n'ahari higanje abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Nk'uko iyo Raporo ivuga, mirongo inani ku ijana (80%) by'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993 bwabereye mu gace Habyarimana akomokamo ndetse nahakomoka abategetsi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisirikare na gisivile (Human Rights Watch, 1999:10).

Na none, nk'uko umushakashatsi Linda Melvern avuga, umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi wakwirakwijwe mu nama zitandukanye zakorwaga rwihishwa, akenshi

zikorerwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi (Melven, 2004: 20).

Dushingiye ko nta bushakashatsi bwihariye bwakozwe mu gace gakomokamo uwari Perezida w'igihugu, umufasha we n'abari abategetsi bakuru mu nzego za gisivile n'iza gisirikare, ubu bushakashatsi bugamije kureba uko Jenocide yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Ibibazo bine by'ingenzi byayoboye ibiganiro muri ubu bushakashatsi:

1. Imibanire y'abaturage bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi mu gihe cya repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri yari imeze ite?
2. Ni ibihe bikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi byabaye nyuma y'ukwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 kugeza 1993?
3. Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi?
4. Ni gute Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi?

Intego zihariye z'ubushakashatsi

Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bishingiye ku ntego zihariye zikurikira:

1. Kwerekana no gusobanura imibanire y'abaturage bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri .
2. Kugaragaza ibikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993.
3. Kwerekana uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.
4. Kwerekana uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gukora ubushakashatsi

Ubushakashatsi bujyanye n'uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe igashyirwa mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, bwakorewe mu turere tune aritwo: Ngororero, Nyabihu, Rubavu n'igice kimwe kigizwe n'imirenge itandatu yo mu Karere ka Rutsiro. Uturere tuvuzwe haruguru nitwo twasimbuye amakomine 12 yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Mbere y'uko hajyaho uturere, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi yari igizwe na Komini zikurikira: Kibilira, Ramba, Satinsi, Gaseke, Giciye, Karago, Mutura, Kanama, Rwerere, Nyamyumba, Rubavu na Kayove.

Amakuru yakusanyijwe muri ubu bushakashatsi, ahera

mbere ya 1959 mu rwego rwo gusobanura imvano y'amacakubiri n'ivangura byagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Ubu bushakashatsi bwakozwe hakurikijwe ibijyanye n'ubumenyi kuri Jenoside no kuyikumira.

Mu ikusanyamakuru, hakoreshejwe ibiganiro byimbitse (In-Depth Interview) n'abatangabuhamya bagera ku ijana na makumyabiri (120) bakomoka mu makomine 12 agize icyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Mu kuzuza amakuru no kuyemeza, hakoze ibiganiro byo mu matsinda (Focus Group Discussion) agizwe n'abantu bari hagati y'umunani n'icumi (8-10). Muri buri karere, hatoranijwe abatangabuhamya umunani (8). Bose hamwe bari mirongo itatu na babari (32).

Bimwe mu byashingiweho mu gutoranya abatangabuhamya ni ibi bikurikira:

- Kuba umutangabuhamya afite nibura imyaka 40 y'amavuko, ni ukuvuga ko mu 1990 nibura yari afite imyaka 18 y'amavuko, ku buryo ibyo yatangamo ubuhamya byahabwa agaciro ;
- Kuba umutangabuhamya nibura hagati ya 1990 na 1994 yari atuye muri iyo Komini;
- Umutangabuhamya twaganiraga ni umwe mu byiciro bikurikira : Uwacitse ku icumu, uwagize

uruhare muri Jenoside wemeye akirega ibyaha, uwarokoye uwacitse ku icumu, utarahigwaga, bamwe mu bari abategetsu mu nzego za Leta, abajandarume, abapolisi ba Komini, abihaye Imana, cyangwa undi muntu wese twabonaga ko ari inyangamugayo.

Kugira ngo tugere ku batangabuhamya twifuzaga, twabifashijwemo n'abakozi bahagarariye CNLG mu turere, abahagarariye IBUKA mu mirenge itandukanye igize uturere twa Ngororero, Nyabihu, Rubavu n'igice kimwe cy'Akarere ka Rutsiro.

Abandi badufashije kubona abashobora kuduha amakuru ni abanyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa b'imirenge n'abashinzwe imibereho myiza mu mirenge. Hari n'aho umutangabuhamya twagiranye nawe ikiganiro yaturangiraga undi yumva waduha amakuru yizewe.

Mu isesengura ry'amakuru, ubushakashatsi bwagendeye ku bitekerezo ngenga by'inzobere mu by'imibanire n'imibereho y'abantu mu mirongo migari yasobanuwe n'inzobere nka Emile Durkheim, Georges Guirvitch, Marcel Mauss n'abandi. Ibitekerezo byabo byafashije mu gusobanura imiterere y'imibanire n'imibereho y'abaturage bo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi n'inkomoko y'urwango hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubukoronu, Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

Ibitekerezo ngenga by'inzobere mu bya Jenoside nka

Raphael Lemkin, Gregory Stanton, Samuel Totten n'abandi, byifashishijwe mu gusobanura Jenoside icyo ari cyo, aho itandukaniye n'ibindi byaha byibasira inyoko muntu. Na none, byafashije mu kwerekana ibyiciro bya Jenoside no kubihuza n'amakuru y'abatangabuhamya ajyanye n'ubu bushakashatsi.

Isesengura ryagendeye kandi ku bisobanuro bigaragara mu masezerano mpuzamahanga yo ku itariki ya 9 Ukuboza 1948, ajyanye no gukumira no guhana icyaha cya Jenoside. Hifashishijwe na none amategeko yo mu Rwanda ahana icyaha cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'inyandiko zavuye mu bubikoshakiro bw'Akarere ka Rubavu. Kubera ubwinshi bwazo, izifashishijwe zakusanyirijwe mu gitabo cy'umugereka cyihariye kuri ubu bushakashatsi.

Umugereka ugaragara muri iki gitabo ni inyoborabiganiro. Ubu bushakashatsi bwatangiyeye gukorwa guhera muri 2013 burangira mu Gushyamba 2015.

IGICE CYA I: IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA MBERE NO MU GIHE CY'UBUKORONI

1.1. Imibanire y'abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoroni

Mbere y'ubukoroni, imibanire y'abanyarwanda yari myiza. N'ubwo hataburaga ibibazo, ntabwo higeze habaho ubushyamirane ndetse n'ubwicanyi hagati y'amoko yari atuye u Rwanda. Abanyarwanda bose bari basangiye umuco (imico, imihango, imigenzo, imiziririzo, ubugeni, ubukorikori, ubuvanganzo, imbyino, ubuvuzi bw'abantu n'ubw'amatungo), ururimi (ikinyarwanda) n'idini gakondo rya Ryangombe.¹

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwari bugizwe n'Abanyarwanda bose: Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Bose bari bagize icyo abakurambere bitaga "Rubanda rw'umwami". Bose kandi bari bazi ko ari Abanyarwanda, ko u Rwanda ari igihugu cyabo, ko ntawe ushobora kuvuga ko akirushaho abandi uburenganzira. N'ubwo bavugaga ko u Rwanda ari urw'umwami (Nyir'urwanda, Nyir'igihugu), bahamyaga ko umwami agirwa n'ingabo. Hari n'abandi Banyarwanda batari Abahutu ntabwo Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa nabo bibonaga

¹Idini rya Ryangombe: ni imyemerere cyangwa iyobokamana rishingiye ku kwemera Imana Gihanga, na Ryangombe nk'imandwa nkuru. Iri dini ryari rihuriweho n'Abanyarwanda bose, ni ukuvuga, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa.

nk'Abanyarwanda. Abo ni Abanyambo, Abahima, Abakiga b'i Ndorwa, Abashi n'abandi (Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 1999).

Abanyarwanda bose ari Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa, bari bahuriye ku moko 18. Ayo moko ni aya: Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abungura, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abaha, Abashingwe, Abanyakarama, Abasita, Abongera n'Abenengwe. Iyo babazaga umuntu ubwoko bwe, yahitaga asubiza atagingimiranyije ko ari Umusinga, Umuzigaba, Umusindi, Umwega, Umubanda, n'abandi. Ntabwo yatekerezagako ko bamubaza niba ari Umutwa, Umututsi cyangwa Umuhutu, ahubwo yasubizaga avuga ko ari umwe mu bwoko twavuze haruguru. Kimwe mu byahuzaga Abanyarwanda mu gufashanya, mu kugobokana ni ubwoko (nk'ubwoko bw'Abatsobe, Abungura, Abanyakarama, Abongera, n'ayandi). Umugenzi w'Umusinga (yaba Umuhutu, yaba Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa) yageraga mu bandi Basinga, akakirwa neza, akisanga (Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 1999).

I.2. Imitere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoroni

Umuzungu wa mbere wageze muri Gisenyi ni umudage witwaga *Lieutenant Comte Von Gotzen* wabonaniye n'umwami Kigeli Rwabugili i Kageyo muri Komini

Ramba ku wa 19-30 Gicurasi 1894. Abamukurikiye na bo b'Abadage bageze i Gisenyi mu mwaka wa 1901 baza gufata udusozi dutandukanye bahashinga inkambi ari nabwo bamwe mu bakuru b'ingabo zabo batangiye gutegeka. Teritwari ya Kisenyi yashyizweho n'Abadage mu mwaka wa 1907 (Nshunguyinka, 1988).

Imbibi z'u Rwanda ziriho ubu, zagiyeho nyuma y'amasezerano (*convention*) hagati y'Ubudage n'Ububiligi yabaye ku ya 14 Gicurasi igashyirwaho umukono ku ya 27 Nyakanga 1911. Iyo *convention* yashyizeho imbibi za Kongo belge n'iz'u Rwanda (Rwanda Net, 2001).

Ukurikije ibyanditswe muri raporo ya Rezida , n'ibiri ku rubuga rwa “ Rwanda net”, no mu gatabo kanditswe na Nshunguyinka Francois, Teritwari ya Kisenyi yari igizwe n'uturere tune: **u Bugoyi², u Bushiru³ Kingogo⁴ na Kanage⁵**. Bugoyi na Kanage bwageraga ku karere ka Bwishaza mu majyepfo (Kibuye), bugakomeza ku nkengero z'i Kivu kugera ku Birunga ku murongo ugabanya wa Kongo Nil. Naho Kingogo na Bushiru twari tugizwe n'imisozi miremire kandi hari hatuwe cyane cyane n'abakoraga ubuhinzi mu gihe abazungu bazaga mu Rwanda (*Résidence du Rwanda, 1956*).

² Ubugoyi bugizwe na Komini Rubavu, Rwerere, Mutura, Kanama na Nyamyumba (Nshunguyinka, 1988)

³ Ubushiru bugizwe na Komini Karago na Giciye (Idem)

⁴ Kingogo igizwe na Komini Gaseke, Satinsyi, Kibilira na Ramba (Idem)

⁵ Akanage kagizwe na Komini Kayove (Idem)

Sheferi ya Kingogo.

Sheferi ya Kingogo yategekwa na Rwamuningi Willybroad guhera mu mwaka wa 1936 kugeza muri 1959. Rwamuningi yasimbuye se witwaga Ruvuzandekwe Paul wategetse kugeza muri 1935. Dore urutonde rw'abashefu bahayoboye :

Lisiti y'Abashefu bayoboye Sheferi ya Kingogo

Amazina	Inkomoko ye
Ndabukiye	Umuhutu wo mu bwoko butazwi, yategetse mu gihe cy'umwami Gahindiro
Semisuniko	Umuhutu wo mu bwoko butazwi, yategetse mu gihe cy'umwami Rwogera
Seruteganya	Umututsi wo mu bwoko bw'Abatsobe, yategetse mu gihe cy'umwami Rwabugiri
Rutishereka	Umututsi wo mu bwoko bw'Abanyiginya yasimbuye uwitwaga Seruteganya

Ruhinankiko	Umutusi wo mu bwoko bw'Abega, musaza wa Nyirayuhi nyina wa Musinga
Rwangampuhwe	Umututsi wo mu bwoko bw'Abakono
Nyiriminega	Umututsi wo mu bwoko bw'Abega yashyizweho na Musinga
Ruvuzandekwe	Mwene Nyiriminega. Yamusimbuye mu wa 1919
Rwamuningi	Mwene Ruvuzandekwe, niwe wamusimbuye

Source: (Résidence du Rwanda, 1956).

Sheferi ya Bugoyi

Ahagana mu myaka ya 1920, u Bugoyi bwari bunini bugabanijemo ibice bine ari byo : Bigogwe, Bugoyi ya ruguru, Bugoyi yo hagati na Bugoyi y'amajyepfo. Mu wa 1938, u Bugoyi bwo hagati n'ubw'amajyaruguru bwashyizwe hamwe butegekwa na Kamuzinzi Godfroid wasimbuwe na Kayihura Michel mu wa 1954, nawe asimburwa na Ndangamira mu wa 1959 (Nshunguyinka, 1989).

Bigo-gwe	Bugoyi ya ruguru	Bugoyi yo hagati	Bugoyi y'amajyepfo
Gashi (1927-1938)	Gace (1930-1936) Umunyiginya	Kanyarubira (1932-1934) Umunyiginya	Mukimbiri (1932-1936) Umwega
	Nyirimbirima (1936-1938) Umunyiginya	Gasherebuka (1934-1938) Umugesera	Mbaraga (1936-) Umwega
Kamuzinzi (1938-1954) Umunyiginya			
Kayihura (1954- 1959) Umunyiginya			

Source : (*Résidence du Rwanda, 1956*)

Sheferi ya Bushiru

Abatuye mbere mu Bushiru bari abo mu bwoko bw'Abagesera bayoborwaga na Gasiga. Iyi sheferi yategekwe n'abo bitaga abahinza. Bayoboraga sheferi, kandi bakanakora indi mirimo ijyanye n'iyobokamana. Bari abavubiyi⁶ n'abahoryo⁷. Uduce bayoboraga natwo twemeraga umwami nk'umuyobozi mukuru w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda.

Lisiti y'abahinza bayoboze mu Bushiru

Izina	Andi mazina	Ubwoko
GASIGA	Ngwabije	
KIBOGORA I	Shyirambere	-
NYAMAKWA I	Mudenge	-
NYARWANGA	Ngumije	-
SENGANO	Burondwe	-
NYAMAKWA II	Bweramunda	-
NYAMAKWA III	Nditunze	Décédé en 1938

Source : (*Résidence du Rwanda, 1956*)

⁶ Umuvubiyi: umuntu utuma imvura igwa.

⁷ Umuhoryo: umuntu urinda umusaruro kugirango udukoko tutawangiza. Babaga bafite ububasha bwo kwica utwo dukoko twangiza.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoroni bw'Ababiligi, mu Bushiru hatangiye gutegekwa n'abashefu b'Abatutsi, basimbura abahinza. Umushefu wa mbere wahawe kuyobora u Bushiru yashyizweho na Yuhi wa III Musinga, yitwa Biganda, yari umusyeti. Abashiru ntibamuyobotse, ahubwo bayobotse umuhinza wabo witwaga Nyamakwa. Abashiru ntibemeraga Abatutsi byari bizwi, bityo bagombaga kuhigarurira. Abakomokaga kuri Musyeti, nibo batuye mu Bwanamwari. Uwari ahagarariye Biganda yitwaga Rwanyange nawe w'Umusyeti. Kubera kurwana kw'abashiru, hashyizwe ikigo cy'abapolisi ku musozi wa Birembo kihamara umwaka, ku va mu 1919 kugera 1920. Impamvu y'icyo kigo kwari ukurinda Biganda n'abari bamuhagarariye ngo Abashiru batazabagirira nabi. Biganda yasimbuwe n'umuhungu wabo Mutambuka, ariko yaje kunanirwa, arahunga. Nyamakwa yasubiranye ubutegetsu, kugeza avuyeho ahagana mu mpera za 1924 n'intangiriro ya za 1925 asimburwa na shefu Nyangezi. Nyamakwa yayoboye u Bushiru bwose bufatanye na Bwanamwari. Yabaye umutware w'ingabo n'uwubukenke ahabwa n'abagaragu bahoze ari aba Biganda. Yayoboye neza, gahoro gahoro agenda ahatuza Abatutsi kugirango bamufashe (R sidence du Rwanda, 1956).

Shefu Nyangezi yaje gusimburwa n'uwitwa Ndangamira w'Umwega. Yashyizweho bavuga ngo we azahashobora

ngo kuko ari Umukiga⁸. Yaje kuvaho nyuma y'amatora ya kamarampaka, nyuma aza guhungira muri Uganda (A, 2013) .

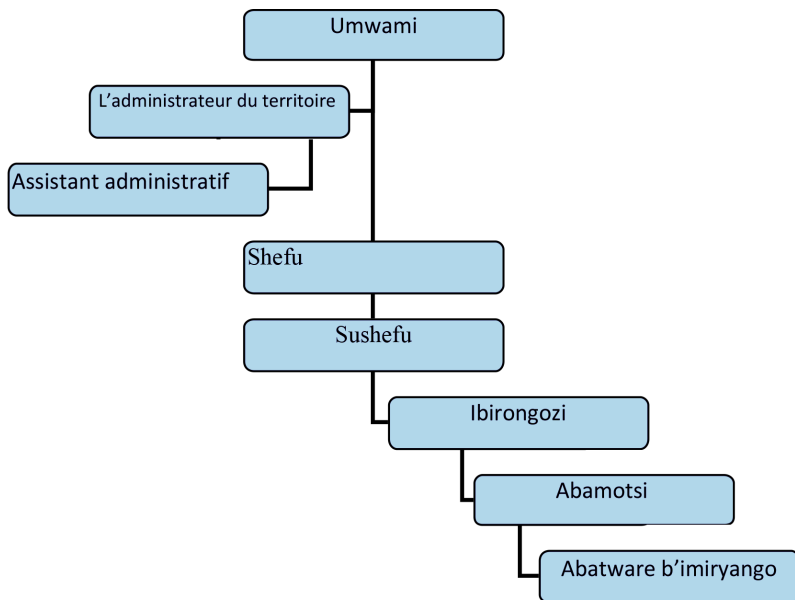
Sheferi ya Kanage

Iyi sheferi yari igizwe n'imisozi ikikije umugezi wa Koko mu majyaruguru yayo, yahoze muri sheferi ya Bugoyi. Mu 1932, hayoborwaga na shefu Mukimbiri. Mu wa 1936, u Bugoyi bw'amajyepfo bwabaye Akanage, butegekwa na shefu Mbaraga Dionizi kugeza mu wa 1959. Umusozi wa Gihango wa sheferi ya Bwishaza (Kibuye) nawo washyizwe muri sheferi ya Kanage (*Résidence du Rwanda, 1956*).

Imiterere y'ubutegetsi (structure) mu gihe cy'ubukoroni muri Teritwari ya Kisenyi

Mu gihe cy'ubukoroni, Umwami w'u Rwanda yategekanaga n'abakoroni bari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bitwa Administrateri ba Teritwari wari wungirijwe n'uwo bita Asisita Administrateri. Munsu yabo hagakurikiraho shefu, sushefu, ibirongozi, abamotsi n'abakuru b'imiryango. Dore uko umuntu yabishushanya:

⁸ Umukiga : umuntu uvuka mu rukiga, ahantu h'imisozi miremire



Aho byavuye: Byakozwe n’abashakashatsi bahereye ku makuru y’abatangabuhamya n’igitabo cy’amateka (*Résidence du Rwanda, 1956*)

Amabwiriza yaturukaga hejuru mu buyobozi, bakagenda bahana amakuru kugera ku bamotsi. Abamotsi⁹ nibo bagezaga ku baturage bose gahunda zihari, bakabahamagarira kujya ku kazi. Ibirongozi byo byategekaga nk’ibyo twakwita segiteri (ZO, 2013). Dore bamwe mu ba administrateur bayoboze teritwari ya Kisenyi.

⁹Abamotsi: ni abantu batangazaga gahunda z’ubutegetsi bakazimenyesha abaturage. Batangaga amatangazo bakoresheje ubuvanganzo nyamvugo (voie orale).

Urutonde rw'Abadministrateri ba Teritwari ya Kisenyi

Amazina	Urwego/ Ipeti	Igihe ya- tangiriye akazi	Igihe ya- kaviriyeho	Izina bamuhim- baga
André	Kapiteni	Kamena 1917	Nyakanga 1917	-
Ligniez	Suliyotena	-		-
Mortehan	Komanda	Kanama 1917	Mutarama 1918	Komanda
Criespiels	Komanda	Mutarama 1918	Mars 1918	Komanda
Van Becke- ford	Suzofisiye			Suzofisi
Eerdekens	Suzofisiye			Mafuta- mingi
Roland	Liyotena	Mata 1918	Octobre 1918	Kitena
Verhulst	Suzofisiye	Ugushyingo 1919	Gashyantare 1921	Suzofisi
Douce	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Werurwe 1921	Mai 1921	Dusi
Wera	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Kamena 1921	Ukuboza 1921	-

Macken	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Mutarama 1922	Ukuboza 1922	Kicwabun- ga
Fiolle	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Mutarama 1923	Avril 1923	Ruhara
Phillipart	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Gicurasi 1923	Ugushyingo 1923	Morisi
Brock	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Ugushyingo 1923	Ugushyingo 1924	Broki
Montenez	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Ukuboza 1924	Avril 1925	Kangakolo
Douce	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Gicurasi 1925	Gicurasi 1928	Dusi
Buisseret	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Kamena 1928	Kamena 1929	Bwiseri
Phillipart	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Nyakanga 1929	Mata 1932	Morisi

Bourgeois	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Mata 1932	Ukuboza 1932	Bugwa
Philibart	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	Ukuboza 1932	Ukuboza 1936	Morisi
Schmidt	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	1936	1939	Shimiti
Bourgeois	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	1939	1942	Burjwa
Labiau, M.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	14/04/1942	24/06/1942	Binyenyeri
Bourgeois	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	25/06/1942	06/10/1942	Burjwa
Labiau, M.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	06/10/1942	21/12/1942	Binyenyeri
Synave A.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	21/12/1942	10/05/1947	Inkanura

Decaux J.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari.	10/05/1947	12/06/1947	-
Gaupin	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	12/06/1947	05/04/1948	Ntamusho- bora
Vautier D.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari.	06/04/1948	04/03/1950	Gasunzu
De Jambline E.	Umukozi wa Te- ritwari	05/03/0950	1950	-
Preud' Homme A	Adm. wa Teritwari	1950	10/01/1952	-
Labiau, M.	Admi.wa Teritwari	11/01/1952	20/12/1952	Matemane
Weber A.	Adm. Te- ritwari	20/12/1952	7/1958	Ntamu- hanga
Adler	Adm. Te- ritwari	7/1958	10/1960	

Source : Résidence du Rwanda, 1956

Ku birebana n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda, abatangabuhamyu bavutse mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'umwami Yuhi V Musinga, bavuze ko mbere ya 1959

imibanire y'abanyarwanda yari myiza nubwo ibibazo bitaburaga hagati yabo, ariko nta ntambara yigeze ibaho hagati y'ibyaje kwitwa amoko, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. N'ubwo abakoroni bakimara kugeramu Rwanda bacyemo ibice Abanyarwanda, Umwami Yuhi V Musinga ndetse na Mutara wa III Rudahigwa wamusimbuye, bakomeje kubumbatira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Abahutu n'Abatutsi bari babanye neza, bari bafite imigenzo imwe ibafasha gushimangira umubano wabo nko kunywana¹⁰. Iki gikorwa cyari ikimenyetso cy'uko abanywanye batazigera bahemukirana. Uko byakorwaga, bacanaga imikebo muni y'umukondo, bakanywana, umwe akanywa amaraso y'undi, nk'ikimenyetso cy'uko babaye umwe kandi ko ntawe uzigera ahemukira undi (A, 2013).

Nk' uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhama wo muri Komini Rubavu, mbere ya 1959, abaturage bari babanye neza. Abahutu n'Abatutsi wasangaga batishishana, barasangiraga, bagashyingirana, nta kibazo cyari gihari. Abahutu n'Abatutsi bafatanyaga muri byose, ntabwo barebaga ngo uyu ni Umuhutu cyangwa uyu ni Umututsi. Abatutsi batunze bakundaga kugabira inka Abahutu babo, umubyeyi yaba yabyaye ku musozi abaturunze inka bese bagatura inzoga, bakishima, bagasabana (DG, 2013).

¹⁰Kunywana: ni ugucana indasago ku nda, buri wese akanywa amaraso ya mugenzi we nk'igihango ko atizigera amuhemukira. Abagiranye icyo gihango bakitwa abanywanyi.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu gitabo cya Gérard Prunier, imwe mu migenzo yari mu Banyarwanda, ni ubuhake. Ni uburyo bwagereranywa na “*contrat social*” mu rurimi rw’igifaransa, yari ifite agaciro mu mibanire no kuzamura ubukungu muri icyo gihe. Bwari uburyo bumwe bwakoreshwaga hagati y’abantu babiri (aba akenshi, babaga ari abagabo, kuko umugabo ni we waserukiraga umuryango). Umwe akitwa umugaragu (client) undi akitwa shebujya (patron). Amasezerano y’ubuhake ntiyabaga yanditse, ariko buri wese yabaga ayazi. Aya masezerano aha buri wese mu bayagiranye inshingano zisobanutse, umwe ku wundi. Uwitwa shebujya yahaga umugaragu inka, akanamurinda n’umuryango we. Muri icyo mikoranire, umugaragu na we yagombaga icyubahiro no gukorera umuhatse. Mu gihe cy’ubukoroni, ubu buryo bwo guhahirana no gufashanya bwahawe igisobanuro kibi ahagana mu 1950, bugaragara nk’ikandamizwa ry’Abagaragu bakorerwaga na ba shebujya kuko nibo bagiraga inka kandi cyari ikimenyetso cy’ubukungu kuko nta faranga ryakoraga icyo gihe mu bucuruzi (Prunier, 1997).

Ubutegetsi bwari buhari icyo gihe bwigishaga abaturage uko bagomba kubana, ndetse bugakemura ibibazo bihari ntawe baheje. Urugero ni uko hagati ya 1942-1944 habayeho inzara bitaga “Gahoro”¹¹. Icyo gihe

¹¹ Gahoro cyangwa Ruzagayura: ni inzara yabaye ahagana mu Ukwakira 1943. Yatewe n’amapfa yamaze imyaka ibiri. Ayo mapfa yatangiye muri Nzeri 1942, yongera kubaho nyuma gato y’itumba ryo mu 1943. Yagiye igira amazina anyuranye bitewe n’ubukana yagize mu

umwami ategeka ko bahinga ibikingi kugira ngo inzara igabanuke, aribyo bise Shiku¹². Iyo nzara yageze no muri 1944, yahereye mu Nduga i Gitarama iza kugera no mu Kingogo (SINGIZA, 2011).

Gahunda ya Shiku yatumye abaturage baticwa n'inzara. Uko shiku yakoraga, abagoronome babanzaga kurambagiza ibikingi, akaba ari bo bemeza ahazahingwa. Mu byo bahingaga harimo ibijumba, imyumbati, bikaba byaratumye inzara yitwa Gahoro ishira.

Shiku n'ubwo yatumye inzara ishira, yari ibangamiye abaturage, kuko wagombaga kureka kwikorera ukajya gukora akazi rusange, kandi wasangaga benshi bayinubira kuko byabasabaga kugenda urugendo rurerure kugira ngo bagere aho bakorera Shiku, ugasanga barataye ingo zabo.

Nyuma yo kubona ko abaturage batangiyeye kwinubira Shiku, umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa yaje gutegeka ko ikurwaho. Uhereye kuri icyo cyemezo, bigaragara ko umwami yumvaga ibyo abaturage bifuzaga kandi agakemura ibibazo byabo.

Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Kibilira nawe yagaragaje ko mbere ya 1959, imibanire hagati y'Abanyarwanda yari imeze neza. Abategetsi bategekaga

karere runaka. Muri kibuye n'uburengerazuba nibo bayitaga gahoro.

¹² imirimo y'agahato ku gihe cy'ubukoroni bw'ababiligi

neza, nta mvururu cyangwa inzangano byigeze bibaho hagati y'amoko yari ahari. Nk'uko akomeza avuga, mbere abategetsu ubwabo bashoboraga gusubiranamo hagati yabo, ariko nta kintu cy'ubwoko cyari gihari ngo habeho kuvuga ngo wowe uri Umuhutu, Umututsi, cyangwa ngo wumve ngo Abatutsi bishe Abahutu, cyangwa Abahutu bishe Abatutsi (D, 2013). Mu gihe cy'Umwami Mutara wa III Rudahigwa, iby'amoko byabagaho ariko nta muntu wahohoteraga undi, habagaho inkiko, ukoze icyaha agahanwa ntavangura ryari rihari, abantu bari babanye neza (CI, 2013).

I.3. Gucikamo ibice n'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959

I.3.1. Uruhare rw'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni mu gucama ibice abanyarwanda

Nk'uko byavuzwe n'abatangabuhamy batandukanye, gucikamo ibice mu Banyarwanda byatangiye ubwo abakoroni bageraga mu Rwanda. Abazungu b'abakoroni bamaze kugera mu Rwanda basanze Abanyarwanda babanye neza, bashaka uburyo babacamo ibice kugira ngo babone uko babategeka. Kubera ko hari inyigisho zavugaga ko abaturage batuye Afrika yo hagati badakomoka hamwe, ko Abatutsi baturutse muri Afrika ya ruguru naho Abahutu bakaba baraturutse muri Afrika yo hagati, ni zo zashingiweho zigaragaza ko badafite icyo

bahuriyeho.

Abakoroni bamaze kugera mu Rwanda batangiye gufata Abatutsi nk'abantu bafite ubwenge n'ubuhanga kurusha Abahutu n'Abatwa, batangira kubifashisha kugira ngo babone uko bakoroniza Abanyarwanda babaciyemo ibice. Abatutsi bamwe bagizwe aba shefu, abana babo babashyira mu mashuri meza. Abahutu n'Abatutsi baciye bugufi biga amashuri asanzwe harimo na za seminari. Abazungu bo babikora, bari bazi impamvu n'icyo bagamije kugeraho.

Ahagana mu myaka ya 1950, ubwo abategetsi b'ibihugu by'Afrika batangiraga gusaba ubwigenge cyangwa indepanzansi, umwami wari uhari ari we Mutara wa III Rudahigwa nawe yatangiye gusaba ubwigenge. Ku itariki ya 1 Mata 1954, umwami yashyizeho itegeko rikuraho shiku, akuraho n'ubuhake. Abagaragu bagabana inka na ba shebuja kandi umugaragu agafata inshuro ebyizi kuri shebuja (Rwanda Net, 2001). Ibyo rero byababaje abakoroni n' abamisiyoneri bituma batangira kureba uko bakwiyegereza bamwe mu Bahutu bari barize muri za seminari.

Inyigisho abapadiri bera batangaga, kwari ukubwira Abahutu ko Abatutsi ari abanyamahanga, kandi ko ari bake, bityo ko badakwiriye kubategeka kandi ari bo benshi. Abakoroni bashyigikiye Abahutu bari barize, bababwira ko bagiye kubafasha kugira ngo nabo bategeke (ZN, 2013).

Ku wa 24 Werurwe 1957, Abahutu bari barize babifashijwemo n’abakoronu ndetse n’abamisiyoneri basohoye inyandiko bise “*Manifeste des Bahutu*”¹³ (Overdulse, 1997: 98-111). Nyuma y’isohorwa ry’iyo nyandiko ni bwo ibyaje guhinduka amashyaka ya politiki yatangiye, aha twavugaga nka APROSOMA¹⁴ na PARMEHUTU¹⁵. Aya mashyaka yari afite umurongo wa politiki y’amacakubiri n’ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n’akarere. Ibijyanye no gutandukanya Abanyarwanda bigaragara no mu nyandiko ngufi ya Chanda yo ku wa 6 Mata, 2014 no mu gitabo cya Jean Pierre Chrétien na Kabanda Marcel (2013). Nk’uko bigaragara muri izo nyandiko, mbere y’ubukoronu, Abahutu n’Abatutsi bagaragaraga nk’ubwoko bumwe, bavugaga ururimi rumwe, imyemerere imwe, umuco umwe, amoko amwe (clans), n’amateka amwe kuva kera. Aho abakoronu bagereye mu Rwanda, Abadage nyuma Ababirigi, bashingiye ku mitekerereze ya Gobineau¹⁶ ku busumbane bw’amoko, batangiye kugaragaza ubusumbane hagati y’Abahutu n’Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda, bashyira imbere Abatutsi, bakabita abazungu birabura (les blancs noirs), bavugaga ko bafite ubwenge

¹³ Le *Manifeste des Bahutu* yashyizweho umukono na: Maximilien Niyonzima, Grégoire Kayibanda, Claver Ndahayo, Isidore Nzeyimana, Calliope Mulindahabi, Godefroid Sentama, Sylvestre Munyambona, Joseph Sibomana na Joseph Habyarimana alias Gitera.

¹⁴ APROSOMA yashinzwe ku wa 1 Ugushyamba 1957, nyuma ihinduka ishyamba rya Politike ku wa 11 Gashyantare 1959

¹⁵ PARMEHUTU yagizwe ishyamba rya politike ku wa 9 Ukwakira 1959

¹⁶ Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau ni umufaransa wakoraga umwuga w’ubusizi, yanditse igitabo cyitwa «An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races».

buruta ubw'Abahutu bagereranyaga n'abashoboye guhinga gusa. Ibyo rero bituma bamwe mu Batutsi bajya mu mashuri meza yariho icyo gihe, no mu mirimo inyuranye yashyirwagaho n'abakoroni (Chanda, 2014). Kugira ngo bashyireho itandukaniro hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, mu myaka ya 1933, abakoroni b'ababirigi bashyizeho indangamuntu, yandikwamo ubwoko bwa buri wese.

Muri make, twavugaga ko gucikamo ibice mu Banyarwanda byaturutse ku nyigisho zitandukanya Abanyarwanda zazanywe kandi zigashigikirwa n'abakoroni ndetse n'abamisiyoneri, ishyirwaho ry'indangamuntu yanditsemo ubwoko, inyangiko yasohotse yiswe « Manifeste de Bahutu » n'ishyingwa ry'amashyaka ya politiki, harimo APROSOMA na PARME HUTU. Ibi byakurikiwe n'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959, aho Abatutsi bameneshejwe, batwika amazu yabo ndetse na bamwe baricwa.

I.3.2. Ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1959 bwatewe n'amacakubiri yatangiye kugaragara nyuma y'ishyingwa ry'amashyaka ya politiki harimo PARMEHUTU na APROSOMA. Impamvu y'ivuka ry'aya mashyaka kwari ukuvanaho ubwami. Nk'uko bivugwa na Mugesera Antoine, ntabwo gukubita Mbonyumutwa byabaye tariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1959, aribyo byateje ubwicanyi

bwo muri 1959, kuko hari n'abandi ba sushefu bari barakubiswe mbere ye (Mugesera, 2004:29). Uruhurirane rw'ibibazo byari bihari icyo gihe, urwango n'amacakubiri yakongezwaga n'abadashyigikiye ubwami biri muri bimwe byateje ubwo bwicanyi.

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, ubwicanyi bwatangiye ku itariki ya 6 Ugushyingo 1959. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kayove, avuga ko ubwicanyi butangira, batwikiraga Abatutsi bavuga ko ari abantu bahemukiye umwami Rudahigwa bakaba banze n'Umwami Kigeli. Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU batwikiraga Abatutsi bavuga ngo bari kurwanira umwami, akaba bwari uburyo bakoreshaga kugira ngo bashishikarize Abahutu, banabone impamvu bitwaza yabashoye muri ibyo bikorwa bibi. Usibye abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU batwikiraga Abatutsi, abaturage b'Abahutu basanzwe bafatanyaga n'Abatutsi kwirukana aba PARMEHUTU bari bateye baturutse za Gitarama. Izo mvururu n'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959, byatumye Abatutsi benshi bahunga, abandi basigara mu gihugu (ZG, 2013).

Muri uwo murongo w'amakuru ajyanye n'imvururu zo mu 1959, umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Ramba,

avuga ko imvururu zatangiye ku itariki ya 6 Ugushyingo 1959 mu gace bari batuyemo. Imvururu zageze muri Ramba zari zaje ziturutse i Gitarama ahitwa ku Ndiza. Batwikiraga Abatutsi bahereye ku ngo z'abahoze ari aba shefu n'abasushefu bafatwaga nk'abakuriye Abatutsi bashinjwaga kwanga umwami no kumugambanira. Umutangabuhamyi akomeza avuga ko ubwo bazaga gutwika amazuy'Abatutsi, aba PARMEHUTU bagendaga bavuga ngo ni mutabare umwami KIGELI. Ibyo babikoze kugira ngo abaturage bahaguruke babafashe. Kuri iyo tariki batwikiye umu Sushefu witwaga Mberabahizi, barakomeza batwikira no kwa Sushefu Gasigwa no kwa Ruganzu wari utuye Kibirira (A, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamyi nawe uvuga ko uretse gutwika no gusahura, abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bicaga Abatutsi. Ibi byatumye abarokotse ubwo bwicanyi no gutwikirwa bamwe bahungira mu bihugu nka Kongo, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzaniya n'ahandi. Raporo ya UNAR, yerekana ko muri icyo gihe, gutwika byahereye ku Ndiza, bigakwira n'ahandi ahagana mu matariki ya 6 Ugushyingo 1959. (Index of Rwanda: Archives, 2007). Mu gace ka Kingogo (muri Komini Satinsyi), baratwitse, barasahura nta bantu bishe. Bitewe n'uko Abahutu bamwe bari batsimbaraye ku Batutsi badashaka kubica, abategetsyi ba PARMEHUTU barababwiye ngo noneho nibagende barye inka ntihagire n'imwe basiga, banabategeka

kubasahura no kubatwikira. Umutangabuhamywa wo mu gace ka Kingogo, nawe avuga ko gusahura no gutwika byakorwaga n'abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU, bagendaga babwira abaturage bose ko Abatutsi banze umwami. Izo mvururu zatumye Abatutsi batakaza ibintu byabo n'amazu, abenshi barameneshwa, barahunga (R,2013).

Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Satinsyi avuga ko icyo gihe batwikiye umwarimu w'Umututsi wabigishaga mu mwaka wa gatandatu w'amashuri abanza witwaga Karirima. Ubundi buhamya atanga ni uko yabonye Abatutsi benshi bahunga ingo zabo, bamwe bava i Nyankenke abandi bava za Vunga bose bahungira kuri Paruwasi ya Muramba. Nk'uko akomeza avuga, Abatutsi benshi bahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ya Muramba, bamwe bahageze bambaye ubusa, abakobwa bambaye utuntu imbere gusa. Avuga ko harimo n'abakobwa bafashwe ku ngufu n'Abahutu bavugaga ko bashaka kureba uko Abatutsikazi basa. Ibyo bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byamaze nk'icyumweru, abana bamara amezi atatu batiga. Ingabo za Kongo zivuye i Rumangabo nizo zaje zihosha imvururu (C, 2013).

Muri Gaseke ho, umutangabuhamywa avuga ko abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU na APROSOMA batwikaga, bagasahura ndetse bakamenesha Abatutsi babifashijwemo n'abakoroni ndetse n'abamisiyoneri.

Batangiye gutwikira Abatutsi ku itariki ya 6 Ugushyingo 1959 nko mu ma saa munani z'amanywa (M, 2013). Muri Komini Rwerere, indamage¹⁷ za PARMEHUTU zifataniye n'abarwanashyaka ba APROSOMA barazaga bakanyaga inka z'Abatutsi, bagakubita abize ngo bafatanyije na Kigeli cyangwa bagatwara inka zabo. Ntabwo abaturage basanzwe bari muri ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Rubavu, hari Abahutu bahunganye n'Abatutsi bajya muri Kongo, kugeza uyu muni ntabwo azi niba baragarutse (F, 2013). Batwikira Abatutsi mu 1959 na 1960, indege za kajugujugu zagendaga zijugunya mu baturage impapuro n'ibibiriti. Abasomye izo mpapuro bavugaga ko ibyanditsemo bijyanye n'amashyaka ya UNAR¹⁸, APROSOMA¹⁹ na PARMEHUTU²⁰ (DM, 2013).

Kuvuga ko Abatutsi banze umwami yari politiki y'abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bakoreshaga bashaka kwerekana ko Abatutsi batishimiye ibyakozwe n'umwami wari umaze kuvanaho shiku no guca ubuhake byakandamizaga Abahutu muri rusange, bityo Abatutsi bashaka kwica umwami. Ibyo rero byatumye babona ababafasha kwirukana Abatutsi ngo badakomeza kubangamira gahunda nziza zigamije kuzamura umuhutu

¹⁷ Indamage: abayoboke ba PARMEHUTU batwikaga, bakica, bakanasahura

¹⁸ UNAR : Union Nationale Rwandaise

¹⁹ APROSOMA: Association pour la Promotion de la Masse

²⁰ PARMEHUTU: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu aussi connu comme MDR Parmehutu qui signifie Mouvement démocratique républicain

(C, 2013).

Imvururu zo mu 1959, zizwi kandi ku izina rya « Muyaga ». Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bakunze kujya baririmba indirimbo ijyanye n'imvururu za 1959, itangizwa n'amagambo avuga ngo “*Tariki sisi z'ukwa novamburi²¹ ni bwo twabonye umuriro waka, umva iyo nkongi yo mu Bashondori*”²².

Nyuma y'izo mvururu, mu 1960 habayeho amatora, basimbura ba shefu na ba sushefu. Amatora yabaye Abatutsi benshi baramaze guhunga, kuko batangiye guhunga mu 1959 (DO, 2013).

Ibirebana n'amatora yabaye nyuma y'imvururu zo mu 1959 bigaragara mu gatabo kanditswe na Nshunguyinka François kitwa “Gisenyi irakwibwira”. Ku ipaji ya 25, avuga ko kuva ku wa 26 Kamena kugera ku wa 31 Nyakanga 1960, hatowe abajyanama ba Komini na ba Burugumesitiri b'agateganyo, basimbura aba shefu bariho. Ku wa 26 Ukwakira 1960, hashyizweho Abadepite b'agateganyo muri buri Teritwari, mu gihugu hashyirwaho na Guverinoma y'agateganyo iyobowe na Minisitiri w'Intebe Kayibanda Grégoire. Ku wa 28 Mutarama 1961, i Gitarama habereye kongere yahuje intumwa z'amashyaka ya politiki yifuzaga ko havanwaho

²¹ Tariki sisi z'ukwa novamburi: ni ururimi rw'igifaransa bashyize mu kinyarwanda. Tariki ya gatandatu y'Ugushyingo baririmbaga nibwo batangiye gutwikira Abatutsi..

²² Abashondori : ni inyito bahaga Abatutsi bo mu majyaruguru. Mu majyepfo bavugaga abashyondori. Iyo nyito yakoreshwaga n'Abahutu bashaka kwerekana ko Abatutsi ari ubundi bwoko bunyuranye na bo.

ubwami hakajyaho Repubulika. Muri icyo kongere hafatiwemo icyemezo cyo gukuraho ubutegetsu bushingiye ku ngoma ya cyami, hatorwa Mbonyumutwa Dominique nka Perezida w'agateganyo n'Abadepite (Nshunguyinka, 1988:26).

Nyuma yaho ni bwo haje kuba icyo bita Kamarampaka (referendumu), yabaye ku wa 25 Nzeli 1961. Iyo referendumu yari amatora. Aya matora yateguwe mu gihe mu gihugu harimo urugomo rwakorerwaga abayoboke b'ishyamba rya UNAR babashinje gushyigikira ubwami. Yabaye umwami Kigeli Ndahindurwa yarahunze. Igihe yashakaga kugaruka, Ababirigi bahita bamujyana i Burundi. Alexis Kagame avuga ko ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwari bwamaze guheza umwami mbere y'uko Kamarampaka irangira. Mu gitabo cyo, ku ipaji ya 326, aragira ati “ *Umutegetsu mukuru w'Ububirigi mu Rwanda (Résident spécial du Rwanda) yari yarashyizeho inzitizi zose zishoboka zo kubuza umwami gutaha mbere y'uko amatora ya kamarampaka arangira* (Kagame, 1975:326).

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Rubavu, avuga ko ubwobajyagagutoramuri Kamarampaka, abaribahagarariye amatora bamusabye gushishikariza umuryango we gutora PARMEHUTU, kugira ngo ntibagerweho n'ingaruka. Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko we n'umuryango we babikoze kugira ngo babone uko bakomeza kubaho, nyuma baje guhungira muri Kongo.

Ibyavuzwe n'umutangabuhamyanya biremezwa na *Colonel Guy Logiest*, aho mu gitabo cye cyitwa “*Ma mission au Rwanda, un blan dans la bagarre Tutsi-Hutu*” yavuze ko hari indorezezi zashishikarizaga abatoraga guhitamo Repubulika. Haranditse mu Gifaransa ngo “*En réalité ce délégué des partis contre UNAR disait aussi comment il fallait voter pour la République et pour la Démocratie et non pour la monarchie* (Logiest, 1988 :198). Ni muri urwo rwego ishyamba rya PARMEHUTU ryabashije gutsinda amatora, ribona abakandida benshi, harimo n'abadepite bituma Kayibanda atorerwa kuba Perezida (DO, 2013). Kayibanda yashyizweho n'abadepite mu nama yo ku wa 26 Ukwakira 1961.

Jean-Baptiste Hategeka avuga ko gutwika amazu bitigeze bibaho mu Rwanda rwo hambere, akerekana ko byaba byaratewe n'inyigisho z'urwango n'ubugambanyi byazanywe n'ubutegetsu bw'abakoroni. Bwana Dorsinville wari uhagarariye *ONU* mu 1961, yashyigikiye ibyakozwe mu gushyiraho referandumu. Ibyo bikorwa byo kuzamura rubanda nyamwinshi b'Abahutu byakozwe n'abakoroni b'Ababirigi, byanashyigikiwe na musenyeri wa Kabgayi kimwe n'abandi bamisiyoneri b'abanyamahanga babaga mu Rwanda. Musenyeri Bigirumwami wa diyoseze ya Nyundo, niwe wenyine wagerageje kubirwanya, afatwa nk'umwanzi w'Abahutu (Hategeka, 1994).

IGICE CYA II : AMACAKUBIRI, ITOTENZWA, IHEZWA, N'UBWICANYI BWA KOREWE ABATUTSI MU GIHE CY'UBUTEGETSI BWA PEREZIDA KAYIBANDA

2.1. Perefegitura ya Gisenyi muri Repubilika ya mbere

Gisenyi ni imwe muri za Perefegitura 10 zari zigize u Rwanda. Yari iri mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'Igihugu. Mu majyaruguru no mu burengerazuba yahanaga imbibi n'igihugu cyahozwe cyitwa Zayire, ubu ni Repubilika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo. Mu majyepfo yayo hari Perefegitura ya Kibuye. Iburasirazuba hari Perefegitura ya Gitarama n'ya Ruhengeri. Iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi yari ifite ubuso bwa Km² 1.634,11.

Iyi Perefegitura yashyizweho n'itegeko n° 02/72 ryo ku wa 7 Werurwe 1961, ikomeza kugira amakonini 22 yashyizweho by'agateganyo ku wa 25 Ukuboza 1959 kugera ku wa 15 Mata 1963. Itegeko ryo ku wa 15 Mata 1963 ryerekeye imiterere y'igihugu cya Repubilika y'u Rwanda ryahinduye imbibi z'amakomini rigabanya umubare wazo. Kuva icyo gihe, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi yasigaranye amakomini 12 ari yo: Rubavu, Rwerere,

Mutura, Kanama, Nyamyumba, Kayove, Karago, Giciye, Gaseke, Satinsyi, Kibilira na Ramba (Nshunguyinka, 1988).

Nyuma y'ubukoroni, hagiyeho ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri repubulika, buyoborwa na Perezida Grégoire Kayibanda. Ubutegetsi bwe bwaranzwe n'amacakubiri n'ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n'akarere. Kayibanda amaze kuba Perezida, yashyizeho abategetsi batandukanye, abenshi bakomokaga mu gace avukamo. Abakomokaga mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bari bake. Wasangaga nabo barahejwe mu nzego zitandukanye, icyakora abana babo benshi babashije kujya mu gisirikare.

2.2. Itotezwa n'ihuzwa ry'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda

Kayibanda amaze gufata ubutegetsi, yakomereje mu murongo w'amacakubiri wari watangijwe n'abakoroni. Abatutsi benshi barahunze, abandi batigeze bahunga babayeho nabi, baba mu buzima bwo gutotezwa.

Amacakubiri n'itotezwa ryakorwaga Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura mu magambo akurikira:

«Mu 1965, nibwo natangiye amashuri abanza. Ubwo

twabaga twiga, umwarimu yaravugaga ngo Abatutsi bahaguruke, tugahaguruka, nyuma twajya gukina, abana b'Abahutu bakadukubita. Uwashoboraga kwihangana yarakomezaga akiga. Abandi kubera gutotezwa, bahitagama kubireka, bakava mu ishuri. Mu ishuri bigishaga ko Abahutu babayeho nabi, bakigisha uburyo Kanjogera²³ yafataga inkota akayishinga mu mwana w'Umuhutu wabaga abyibushye kandi akabikora igihe cyose ashatse guhaguruka. Iyo bamaraga kutwigisha ayo mateka mu ishuri bavuga ububi bw'Abatutsi, twaratahaga twagera mu nzira abana b'Abahutu bakatureba ay'ingwe ndetse tugakubitwa. Nyuma y'izo nyigisho, abana b'Abahutu bagutegekaga kugenda uhete mu mugongo umunyeshuri mugenzi wawe w'Umuhutu, batubwira ngo tugomba kwishyura ibyo ba sogokuru bakoze» (ZN, 2013).

Abandi batangabuhamya bo muri Komini Ramba na Kanama, bavuga ko mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda, hariho ikintu cy'amacakubiri hagati y'amoko n'uturere
(ZE, 2013).

Iryo vangura n'irondekarere rivugwa na none n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura, uhamya

²³ Kanjogera : ni umwamikazi akaba nyina w'umwami Musinga Yuhi wa V

ko imibereho n'itotezwa ry'Abatutsi bagumye imbere mu gihugu byari bibi cyane. Nta Mututsi wabashaga kubona ishuri mu buryo bworoshye cyangwa ngo abe yabona akazi muri Leta. Ababonaga akazi muri Leta bwabaga ari uburyo bwo kujijisha kugira ngo bigaragare ko Abatutsi nabo bari mu nzego za Leta. Bake babashaga kwiga bararangizaga ntibabashe kubona akazi nk'abandi. Wasangaga abenshi bakora akazi k'ubwarimu. Ivangura n'ihuzwa byakorwaga ahantu hose. Mu mirimo isanzwe, abakomoka mu gace k'i Nduga ni bo bashyirwaga mu myanya y'ubutegets, ni bo babaga ba Minisitiri n'abategets bakuru (X, 2013).

Mu gihe cy'ubutegets bwa Kayibanda, hari higanje abategets b'Abahutu bakomoka mu Nduga. Ibi bigarukwaho n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kayove mu magambo akurikira:

« Mu nzego zitandukanye za Leta hari higanje abakomoka mu Nduga. Abo mu majyaruguru nta jambo nabo bari bafite n'ubwo bo batari bameze nk'Abatutsi. Abakiga n'Abashiru mu gihe cy'ubutegets bwa Kayibanda bari bagwiriye mu gisirikare. Urebye Kayibanda yumvaga ko ari nko kubaroha, kuko wasangaga umusirikare nta gaciro afite, nta n'ijambo afite nk'abandi bayobozi bo hejuru. Umusirikare yafatwaga nk'ushobora gupfa igihe icyaricyo cyose «(ZG, 2013).

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kanama asobanura

ivangura n'itotezwa mu magambo akurikira:

«Mu1973 nigaga mu mwaka wa kane w'amashuri abanza. Umwarimu watwigishaga yaraturubwiye ngo abana b'Abatutsi mushyire urutoki hejuru. Habuze n'umwe ushyira urutoki hejuru, arangije araza arambwira ngo ko ntashyize urutoki hejuru kandi ndi Umututsi, ndamusubiza ngo ntabyo nari nzi. Icyo gihe byarambabaje cyane, ndarira cyane, kuko nabonaga nsa nk'uwabaye ikibazo mu ishuri»(ZD, 2013).

Muri Komini Kanama kwibasira Abatutsi n'ibyabo byanaherekejwe no gufata ibikorwa bimwe rusange babyambura ababiyoboraga kubera ko ari Abatutsi, cyangwa bakanabisenya. Ibi bikorwa byatangiyeye mu mpera za 1972 ugana mu 1973. Urugero ni ishuri rya seminari ntoya ya Nyundo batwaye bashaka kuyigira Koleji. Hari n'ishuri ry'abakobwa ry'i Muramba ryayoborwaga n'ababikira basenye bavuga ngo n'iry'Abatutsi (ZR, 2013). Ihezwa, ivangura n'amacakubiri byaherekezwaga n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda.

2.3. Ubwicanyi butandukanye bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda

Hamwe n'ibikorwa by'ihezwa, ivangura n'amacakubiri byagaragaraga mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda, Abatutsi bakomeje kwicwa mu duce dutandukanye tw'igihugu, mu 1963, 1967 na 1973.

2.3.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1963 na 1967

Muri 1963 ubwo Inyenzi zateraga mu Bugesera, Abatutsi barishwe hirya no hino mu gihugu, na nyuma yaho bakomeje kwicwa urusorongo. Muri Komini Ramba, Abatutsi baho barishwe ndetse na nyuma yaho, bagendaga bicwa umwe umwe (A, 2013). Mu 1963, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Rwerere barishwe, baratwikirwa, abandi barafungwa bavuga ngo inyenzi zateye ziturutse mu Birunga kandi ari ukubeshya. Umutangabuhamya arasobanura uko byabagendekeye:

«Baraje baradutwikira, baradusenyerera, abandi barabica. Hari imodoka yazanaga Abahutu ikabageza mu dusisiro tw'Abatutsi bagatwika amazu yabo, bagatwara inka zabo n'amatungo magufi, bakamena ibisabo n'ibyansi. Twarahunze, nyuma y'igihe gito turagaruka, uwitwa Banzi Wellars wabayeye burugumesitiri wagateganyo muri Komini yacu ya

Rwerere yaje kuba na depite, adusabira umuganda ko batwubakira inzu z'ibyatsi, ubwo baratwubakiye turataha. Twakomeje gutotezwa twitwa inyenzi ntitwigeze twitwa abantu» (DL, 2013).

Uyu Banzi Wellars yabayeye umwe mu badepite 7 bakomoka muri Gisenyi bo mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere. Abandi bari kumwe ni depite Baganizi, Mberabahizi, Segatwa, Semasenge, Nzabonimpa na Zigiranyirazo Protais (Musabyimana, 2012).

Mu 1967, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Giciye barishwe, bajugunywa mu mugezi wa Mukungwa. Umutangabuhamya warokotse ubwo bwicanyi abisobanura muri aya magambo:

«Nyuma yo kugaruka mu matongo yacu, mu mwaka wa 1967 ubutegetsu bwa Kayibanda bwongeye kutumerera nabi. Bishe Abatutsi b'Abafarungu bari batuye hirya yacu, n'abo bita Abananira mu yahoze ari Bukonya, muri Komini Gatonde. Abishwe icyo gihe bajugunywe mu mugezi wa Mukungwa. Ubwo twe twajye guhungira kuri Paruwasi ya Shyira, hashize nk'icyumweru dusubira mu matongo yacu. Twasanze amazu barayatwitse, dutangira kugondagonda utururi. Mu 1973 nko mu kwezi kwa mbere, barongeye bagaruka kutwica no kudutwikira. Ubwo

twe twahise dusubira muri Uganda, abandi ba data wacu bahungira i Burundi (Z, 2013).

Muri Komini Mutura, Abatutsi baricwaga bakajugunywa mu ishyamba ry'ahitwa Kagohe. Umutangabuhamya abisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

“Muri za 1967, bakomeje kujya bica Abatutsi mu cyayenge. Hari ahantu mu bigogwe hari ishyamba, bahita Kagohe, bafataga Abatutsi bakajya kubicira muri iryo shyamba, bakabarooha mu cyobo bari barahacukuye» (H, 2013).

Kwica Abatutsi byakorwaga ku mugaragaro ndetse bigashyigikirwa n'ubutegetsi bwari buhari. Umututsi yafatwaga nk'umwanzi kuruta kumubonamo umuntu wagirira umuryango nyarwanda akamaro.

Abamisiyoneri bigishije urwango rw'Abatutsi banashyigikira ubutegetsi bwa Parmehutu. Muri bo twavuye De Vincke wo mu Cyanika, Gyssens w'i Kabgayi, Padiri Noti w'i Kanyanza, Daguerre w'i Rwaza. Byatumye Musenyeri Bigirumwami hamwe n'abandi bapadiri b'abanyarwanda basohora inyandiko yamagana ibikorwa byo kwigisha urwango by'aba bapadiri bera (Mehdi, 2005: 6).

Ibirebana n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1963,

abatangabuhamy batandukanye bavuga ko ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda bwari bushyigikiye ubwo ubwicanyi. Nko muri Komini Kanama, abategetsi bamereye nabi Musenyeri Bigirumwami Aloys wa diyosezi ya Nyundo kubera ko yakiriye impunzi z'Abatutsi kuri diyoseze akanazifasha, zimwe zaje guhungira muri Kongo. Bamuzizaga ko ari Umututsi n'abapadiri be benshi bababonagamo kuba Abatutsi kuruta kuba abapadiri (ZR, 2013).

Bamwe mu Batutsi bari bahahungiyeye, imodoka za gisirikare zazaga kubatwara zikabajyana kubicira ahantu hatazwi. Hari n'abandi Batutsi bavanwaga ku Gisenyi bose bakabatwara mu modoka za gisirikare bajya kubica. Mu bishwe icyo gihe harimo n'abakozi ba Diyoseze ya Nyundo. Ku Nyundo bari barahise "Camp Tutsi".

Umutangabuhamy wari umupadiri mu mwaka wa 1967, avuga ko mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda hari ikintu cyo kwanga Abatutsi n'ubwo wabakorera ibyiza. Bahoraga iteka bavuga ngo icyabaye cyose cyakozwe n'Abatutsi.

Nk'uko umutangabuhamy avuga, mu 1967 haje igitero cyo kwica Abatutsi. Abaturage bo mu gace ka Kanama bateye seminari ntoya yo ku Nyundo. Baza gutera, hari Umuhutu witwaga Matandaro wayoboraga seminari nkuru yarwanyeye ku Batutsi, akumira igitero kugeza ubwo bamuteye amabuye. Yakoze iby'ubutwari asubizayo icyo

gitero. Abaturage bo muri ako gace baramwemeraga, ni nayo mpamvu bamwumviye bagasubirayo.

Baza gutera Abatutsi mu 1967, Musenyeri Bigirumwami yari yaragiye mu butumwa bw'akazi muri Côte d'Ivoire. Batera icyo gihe hakomeretse umwana umwe w'Umututsi. Nyuma haje kuza abategetsi ariko ubona bavuga ibya nyirarureshwa kuko n'ubundi nibo babaga bari inyuma y'ubwo bwicanyi. icyabaga cyose, bavugaga ko inyenzi zateye, bakica Abatutsi badafite aho bahuriye n'ibitero by'inyenzi (ZR, 2013).

2.3.2. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kayove muri 1963

Muri Mutarama 1963, abasirikare bafatanije n'abategetsi bo muri Komini Kayove batwaye abagabo b'Abatutsi mu modoka za gisirikare bajya kubicira ahantu hatigeze hamenyekana. Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamya batandukanye, ba konseye nibo bazaga kubwira uwabaga ari kuri lisiti ngo burugumesitiri arabatumye ngo amwitabe kuri Komini. Abo bafataga babajyanaga kuri Komini ya Kayove, noneho imodoka za gisirikare zikabavana aho zibatwara ahandi hantu. Kugeza uyu muni ntabwo haramenyekana aho biciwe. Abatangabuhamya bamwe bavuga ko babajyanaga i Gisenyi bakicirwa mu ishyamba rya Gishwati, abandi bavuga ko baba bariciwe ahitwa i

Nyamagumba mu Ruhengeri²⁴. Mu batwawe icyo gihe, hagarutse umugabo umwe, na we wagarukiye i Gisenyi. Niwe watanze amakuru ko atigeze amenya aho batwaye bagenzi be. Icyo gihe batwara Abatutsi, bavugaga ko hari inyenzi zateye ahitwa Bweyeye muri Cyangugu (ZH, 2013). Muri Mutarama 1963 hishwe Abatutsi benshi bo muri Komini Kayove. Ababashije kumenyekana ni aba bakurikira:

Abo muri secteur ya Kinunu ni: Sebhuku Innocent, Kalisa Kaniziusi, Nuwase, Gaparara Paulin, Ndabukiye, Kayonga, Manjegeri, Ngwijabatware, Mugesera, Budandi, Kayitare, Kabera, Kayibanda, Munyanshongore, Nsanzumuhire, Gasarabwe, Mbonyinshuti Ladislas, Munyanganzo, Sekabwa Pascal, Kamwega, Gakwandi, Munyanshongore, Gasarabwe n'abandi. Abo muri secteur ya Murama ni: Rukara, Bazatoha, Rudonyori, Karake, Kabagema na Benumusoro n'abandi.. Abo muri Secteur Busanza ni: Mbonyinshuti Léonidas, Kalisa Kaniziyo, Ntamugurirwa, Hituhirwa, Gaparara, Ntambarubariro, Ndabukiye, Ngirabatware Laurent, n'abandi.

Mu bajanywe icyo gihe hagarutse umugabo umwe gusa bitaga Bwana Ndogo waje kwicwa muri Jenocide, ni na we watanze amakuru ko babashyize mu modoka za gisirikare babajyana ku Gisenyi, noneho haba nijoro bakabajyana mu bice bya za Bigogwe kubica, ahantu kugeza uyu muni

²⁴Nyamagumba: ni umusozi uri mu mugwi wa Rugengeri. Ni muri komine Kigombe yo muri Ruhengeri. Ubu ni Akarere ka Musanze.

hataramenyekana.

Muri ubu bwicanyi, ba Burugumesitiri n'abakonseye nibo bagize uruhare runini mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ba Kayove, kuko lisiti abapolisi bazaga bafite zari zarakozwe n'abakonseye, kandi ni nabo bajyaga imbere abo bapolisi babereka ingo z'Abatutsi. Ibi birashimangirwa n'umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Kayove muri aya magambo:

«Bijya gutangira, haje umupolisi wo kuri Komini azana na konseye witwa Habiyambere Simon. Bazaga mu rugo bagahita babwira umuntu wabaga ari kuri lisiti bari bakoze, ngo najye kuri Komini baramushaka. Uko niko bagiye babatoragura, bose babajyana kuri Komini. Bamaze kugwira, haje amamodoka ya gisirikare arabatwara. Babafataga babita Inyangarwanda. Ndibuka byageze n'aho imodoka y'abasirikare iza mu giturage gushakayo Abatutsi bari bihishye» (ZD, 2013).

Diogène Bideri avuga ko mu 1963, Abagogwe biciwe ahantu hatandukanye, harimo, ikigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, Bigogwe no ku musozi wa Nyamagumba, muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri (Bideri, 2009).

2.3.3. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1973

Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamywa batandukanye, ahagana mu kwezi kwa kabiri n'ukwa gatatu mu 1973,

habaye kwica Abatutsi, gutwika amazu yabo, gusahura no kubamenesha. Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Ramba avuga ko muri Komini yabo habayeho kwica, gusahura no gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi.

«Mu 1973, bafashe data na mama barabakubita, data bamujyana kumuta muri Nyabarongo, ku bw'amahirwe ntiyapfa. Nyuma yaho twaje guhungira kuri Komini Kibilira tuhamara icyumweru. Twaje gusubira ku matongo dusanga baratwitse amazu, ubwo ababyeyi banjye batangira kugondagonda inzu zo kubamo» (B, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Ramba avuga ko mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1973 babonye imyotsi irimo icumba hirya no hino, haza umugabo umwe avuga ko muri segiteri Kageyo ibintu bimeze nabi, ko bamaze gutwika amazu yo kwa Gasana Dyonizi ndetse bakaba batangiyeye kwica no kurya inka z'Abatutsi. Ubwo nabo batangira kwihisha. Bamwe mu Batutsi bo muri iyi Komini bahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo abandi bahungira Zayire. Abahungiyeye Muhororo baje gusubira ku matongo yabo, bagonda utuzu barongera baratura.

Abari ku isonga y'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1973 harimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba witwaga André Bategejo (B, 2013).

Muri Komini Kibilira, mu batutsi bishwe icyo gihe, harimo: Nyiramukamisha Noeme wari utuye muri secteur Kamashi, Yasimirera Dismas n'abagore be babiri n'abana batatu, Munyantwari, umugore we witwa Rose n'umwana. Bari batuye muri serire Kamasha. Hari n'abandi bishwe abatangabuhamyataacyibuka amazina yabo (A, 2013). Muri iyi Komini, Abatutsi bamwe bahungiyeye kwa Konseye witwaga Charles Ntibakunze, bamaze kuhagera nawe atuma umupolisi ngo aje kubaza Burugumesitiri Sylver Nkezabera niba ari we watanze itegeko ryo kwica abo Abatutsi. Aho kugira ngo wa mupolisi aje kwa Burugumesitiri, yageze mu nzira avuza akaruru atabaza avuga ngo Abatutsi bateye kwa Konseye ngo bagiye kumwica. Ubwo abaturage barahuruye bica Abatutsi bose bari bahungiyeye kwa Konseye, bamaze kubica babajugunya mu mugezi wa Satinsyi ahitwa mu Gitindagasani (A, 2013).

Muri Komini Kanama, mbere gato ya *coup d'état* ya Habyarimana mu 1973, batwitse amazu y'Abatutsi, barabasahura, banabarira inka (ZD, 2013).

Muri Komini Giciye naho bishe Abatutsi mu mezi abanza y'umwaka wa 1973 mbere y'uko Habyarimana akora *coup d'état*. Umutangabuhamyata waho, arabisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

«Ndibuka mu 1973 twakorewe ibikorwa by'urugomo

n'ubwicanyi hano mu yahoze ari Komini Giciye. icyo gihe ndabyibuka neza, nari ndagiye inka, noneho haza abantu baratubwira ngo imperuka yabaye. Ntabwo nasobanukiwe n'icyo bashaka kuvuga. Umwe muri bo arangije aranyereka ngo dore batangiye kubatwikira amazuru. Nagiye kureba nsanga koko bari gutwika amazuru, nitegereje mbona inzu yacu bayitwitse. Nageze mu rugo nsanga yamaze kuba umuyonga. Mbere yo kuyitwika babanjije gusahura batwara ibintu byose byari mu nzu, batwara ihene n'inka zacu zose. icyo gihe ntabwo hashwe Abatutsi benshi ugereraniye n'imyaka yakurikiyeho» (S, 2013).

Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mutura bishwe icyo gihe mu 1973 babajugunye mu cyobo bari baracukuye ahitwa Gatagara mu Bigogwe. Abatangabuhamya barokotse ubwo bwicanyi bavugaga ko mu Gatagara bari barahahimbye izina rya *LONI*. Iyi Gatagara ubu ni mu murenge wa Bigogwe, Akarere ka Nyabihu (ZC&ZP, 2013).

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, itotezwa n'ihazwa byagendanaga n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi mu bihe bitandukanye. Kubera umuco wo kudahana waranze ubutegetsu bwa Kayibanda, abagize uruhare mu bikorwa by'urugomo n' iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari batuye muri icyo Perefegitura, ntabwo bigeze bakurikiranwa. Uwasimbuye

Kayibanda ku butegezi, Perezida Habyarimana Juvenali, nawe yakomeje kugendera mu murongo w'ivangura n'amacakubiri ndetse ahitamo guheza Abatutsi mu mirimo ya Leta no mu buzima busanzwe. Abari barahunze nabo yanze ko bagaruka mu gihugu bafiteho uburenganzira.

IGICE CYA III : UKO ABATUTSI BABAYEHO KUVA PEREZIDA HABYARIMANA AFATA UBUTEGETSI KUGEZA MU 1990

3.1. Coup d'Etat yo ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, n' agahenge k'igihe gito

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Gaseke, mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda, abakiga ²⁵benshi bagiye mu gisirikare. Muri icyo gihe, wabonaga igisirikare nta gaciro gifite, babaga ari abantu bashinzwe kurinda igihugu ariko badafite aho bahuriye na politiki cyangwa ibyaberaga mu gihugu. Ntabwo igisirikare cyagiraga ijambo ku miyoborere y'igihugu. Habyarimana amaze kugirana ibibazo na Kayibanda nibwo yamukoreye *coup d'etat* ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973. Habyarimana yakoze *coup d'etat* abifashijwemo n'abasirikare bakuru bagenzi be, abo bita *les 11 camarades du 5 Juillet*. Aba *camarades* bari bagizwe na:

1. Habyarimana Juvenal,
2. Nsekarije Aloys,
3. Kanyarengwe Alexis,
4. Serubuga Laurent,
5. Ntubitura Bonaventure,
6. Gahimano Fabien,

²⁵ Abakiga: ni abantu baba mu misozi miremire , bagaragara cyane cyane mu majyaruguru y'Igihugu.

7. Munyandekwe Jean Nepomoscène,
 8. Ruhashya Epimaque,
 9. Benda Sabin,
 10. Buregeya Bonaventure na
 11. Simba Aloys
- (Guichaoua, 2000).

Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Karago asobanura ibyabanjirije *coup d'état* mu magambo akurikira:

Mbere y'uko Habyarimana akora *coup-d'état*, yazanye n'abasirikare bakuru mu Gasiza, muri Komini Karago aho avuka, noneho mu nama yakoranye n'abo, bagenzi be baramubwiye ngo kuki yemera gutegekwa n'umusivile kandi bo ari abasirikare bakuru ndetse batanagihabwa agaciro na Kayibanda, na none ngo kuki bakomeza kwemera gukandamizwa. Nyuma ni bwo Habyarimana yaje gukora *coup d'état* afatanije na bagenzi be (O, 2013).

Habyarimana amaze gukora *coup d'état*, habayeho agahenge k'igihe gito, kwica Abatutsi birahagarara. Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Kayove avuga ko Abatutsi batangiyeye kumubona nk'umutabazi, ndetse n'abantu bose batangira kuvuga ngo umutegetsu ni uyu. Nyuma y'igihe gito itotezwa n'ihuzwa byarakomeje. N'ubwo yagiyeho avuga ko ashaka amahoro n'ubumwe

mu Banyarwanda, yaherutse abivuga ubwo yakoraga *coup d'état*, ntabwo byigeze bibaho, kubera ko ivangura n'amacakubiri byarakomeje (DR, 2013).

3.2. Ivangura, ihezwa n'itotezwa ry'Abatutsi mu mashuri

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Abatutsi bakomeje guhezwa, gutotezwa no guteshwa agaciro. Ibirebana no guhezwa, umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura avuga ko Perezida Habyarimana yashyizeho politiki y'iringaniza (Quota Ethnique). Ni ukuvuga ko bagombaga kugendera ku ijanisha (*pourcentage*) ry'ubwoko, Abatutsi 9%, Abahutu 90%, umutwa 1%, gusa nabyo ntabwo byigeze byubahirizwa, kuko hari nk'aho wasangaga ku kigo cy'ishuri nta mwana w'Umututsi uhiga. Ipyinagaza n'ihazwa mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana ryari riteguye neza. Nko mu gisirikare, nta Mututsi wakinjiragamo kimwe n'indi mirimo ikomeye. Mu mirimo iciriritse ni ho wasangaga Abatutsi bake, kuko hari ubwo babahaga imirimo atari uko babashaka, gusa kubera ko bari bakeneye abakozi runaka (ZR, 2013).

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana, Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa mu buzima bwabo bwa buri muni. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kanama avuga ko

mu gace bari batuyemo, Abatutsi bakomeje guhutazwa no gutotezwa. Abisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

“Wabaga uvuye kubanjura²⁶ amata, wahura n’abaturage b’Abahutu bakakubwira ngo ayo mata arabanukira cyane. Waba uri mu ishuri bakakubwira ngo wisize amavuta y’inka ngo none urabanukira. Bakundaga kutwita abanutsi, cyangwa abatunnyetsi” (ZD, 2013).

Ikindi cyagaragazaga guteshya agaciro Umututsi ni umuco wo guhagurutsa abana mu mashuri bakurikije ubwoko bwabo, maze bagera ku Batutsi, umwarimu akongeraho ngo dore abo bita Abatutsi, akanongeraho ko bari barishe nabi ababyeyi babo b’Abahutu mu gihe cy’ubwami. Ibyo byateraga ipfunwe abana b’Abatutsi ndetse bamwe bagahitamo kuva mu ishuri (ZD, 2013). Nko muri Komini Ramba, umutangabuhamyi avuga ko iyo bajyaga mu ishuri bakabasaba guhaguruka, iyo bahagurukaga, abandi bana b’Abahutu barabasekaga, bataha bakumva bafite ikimwaro. Bumvaga badafite kwisanzura nk’abandi bana. Iyo umwana w’Umututsi yangaga guhaguruka, mwarimu yarazaga akamubaza ngo ese yabaye Umuhutu ryari (F, 2013).

Inyigisho z’urwango zigishwaga hose no mu mashuri. Bigishaga ko Abatutsi ari babi ko bakandamije Abahutu.

²⁶ Kubanjura : ni ukujya kuzana amata mu rwuri uyazana mu rugo aho utuye.

Izo nyigisho zashimangiraga urwango hagati yabo (ZD, 2013). Umutangabuhamy wo muri Komini Kanama avuga ko nyuma y'isomo rivuga uko Abatutsi bakandamije Abahutu bitari byoroshye gutaha hamwe na bagenzi babo b'Abahutu, kuko mu nzira, bagendaga bababwira ko bagomba kwishyura ibyo ba sekuru bakoze (ZE, 2013). Abatutsi bafatwaga nk'aho atari Abanyarwanda, babitaga andi mazina atesha agaciro ubumuntu. Babitaga abashondori, inyenzi, inzoka, abatunnyetsi, abanutsi n'andi mazina mabi (ZR, 2013).

Ivangu n'amacakubiri byakorerwaga abana b'Abatutsi mu ishuri byagiraga ingaruka mbi ku mibanire yabo na bagenzi babo b'Abahutu. Nk'uko umutangabuhamy wigaga ku ishuri ribanza ry'ahitwa Muramba muri Komini Satinsi asobanura, abarezi bakundaga kubahagurutsa igihe binjiraga mu ishuri bavuye gukina, bagatondeka Abatutsi ukwabo. Abarimu babiri kuri iryo shuri bakundaga guhagurutsa abana ni uwitwa Rwanzeguhera n'uwitwa Munyamparara ni bo bakundaga kubikora kenshi. Nk'uwitwa Rwanzeguhera yabwiraga abana ngo bazane ibiganza byabo akagereranya ikiganza cy'Umuhutu n'icy'umwana w'Umututsi, akereka abana ko bidasa. Ubwo yakurikizagaho kuvuga ko nta na hamwe Umuhutu asa n'Umututsi. Abana bagahera aho rero bahana akato, bamwe ntibemere gukina n'abandi umupira, cyane cyane

ku bahungu. Bangaga kubatora mu ikipe ngo Abatutsi ni babi ntibakina na bo (S, 2013).

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana ntibyari byoroshye ngo umwana w'Umututsi abone ishuri, cyane cyane ishuri ryisumbuye cyangwa Kaminuza. Uwemererwaga kujya mu ishuri ryisumbuye cyangwa kaminuza ni wa Mututsi iwabo babaga barashatse indangamuntu yanditsemo Umuhutu cyangwa harabaye kumwibeshyaho bamwitiranya n'Umuhutu. Kugira ngo wige uri Umututsi, byasabaga ko wiga muri za seminari cyangwa mu ishuri ryigenga aho Leta ya Habyarimana yabaga idafite ububasha busesuye bwo kwemerera cyangwa kwanga abana ushingiyeye ku bwoko.

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kibilira avuga, na mbere y'uko Inkotanyi zitera, Abatutsi bari babayeho nabi. Bari barahejwe ahantu hose, ntawabashaga kubona ishuri cyangwa akazi keza muri Leta. Kugira ngo wige uri Umututsi, kwari ukugurisha inka, mugashakisha ahandi nko mu ishuri ryigenga cyangwa ukajya gushakira hanze nko muri Kongo (M, 2013). Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kayove nawe avuga ko iyo umwana w'Umututsi yabaga yageze mu ishuri ribanza, byari bikomeye kugira ngo abone amanota amwimura mu ry'isumbuye. Abana b'Abatutsi

wasangaga abenshi batsindwa atari uko badashoboye, ahubwo kubera gutotezwa no kwimwa uburenganzira bwo kwiga nk'abandi (CC, 2013).

Ivangura mu mashuri, ryagaragaraga cyane cyane mu gihe wajyaga gu soucher²⁷. Habagaho icyo bita “fiche signalétique”²⁸, aho wagombaga kugaragaza ko uri Umuhutu cyangwa Umututsi. Ihezwa mu mashuri kubera ko ku ifishi handitseho Tutsi, birasobanurwa n’umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nyamyumba, mu magambo akurikira:

«Papa yantangiye amafanga ya ruswa ndangije umwaka wa munani (8) kugirango njye mu ayisumbuye, ayaha umuntu bakoranaga mu ruganda ayagejeje muri Minisiteri babonye ifishi yanjye yanditseho Tutsi, amafanga barayamusubiza, ifishi barayishwanyaguza, ni uko mperako njya kwigira muri Kongo» (CM, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kibilira avuga ko umunyeshuri w’Umututsi watsindaga mu ishuri, bamusimbuzaga Umuhutu. Icyo gihe gutsinda babyitaga kwemererwa kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye (CN, 2013). Iyo wabaga urangije amashuri yisumbuye, ntiwabashaga kubona akazi ka Leta. Ababonaga akazi wasangaga ari

Soucher: kuzuzwa umwirondoro kuri fise y’umunyeshuri bikorwa mbere y’ibizamini bibavana mu cyiciro runaka baja mu kindi

²⁸ Fiche singaletique : ni ifishi y’umwirondoro ikaba yaranerekanaga ubwoko n’aho ukomoka.

akazi kadahemba neza, nko kwigisha mu mashuri abanza. Ikintu Umututsi yabashaga gukora ni ubucuruzi, ni yo mpamvu wasangaga hari Abatutsi benshi bakora uwo mwuga kandi ukabahira. Mu yindi mirimo iciriritse muri Leta, hajyagamo Abatutsi bake bitewe n’uko hari igihe babaga bakeneye abakozi bafite ubumenyi runaka.

3.3. Ihezwa ry’Abatutsi mu nzego z’ubutegetsu bwite bwa Leta

Mu butegetsu bwite bwa Leta, Abatutsi bari barahajwe. Ntawashoboraga kuba konseye cyangwa ngo ayobore serire. Uwabaga ari umu serire cyangwa konseye wasangaga baramushyizeho ariko ntagire ijamba cyangwa ntatumirwe mu nama zatumijwe n’Abategetsu bo hejuru. Nyuma y’ukwezi k’Ukwakira 1990, ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana bwatangiyeye kuvuga ko Umututsi wese ari icyitso cy’Inkotanyi bityo babakura burundu mu buyobozi, kubera ko hari ibyemezo byafatirwaga Abatutsi batashakaga ko bimenyekana (CB, 2013).

Abatutsi benshi bahagaritswe mu mirimo bakoraga muri Leta bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso, abenshi muri bo barafungwa. Umutangabuhamywa wakoraga mu bunyamabanga bwa Komini Ramba, avuga ko yahagaritswe mu kazi kubera ko ari Umututsi. Nk’uko akomeza avuga, Burugumesitiri Karasira Léonard

yabwiye mugenzi we bakoranaga ko adashaka kongera kubona uyu mutangabuhamy mu bunyamabanga bwa Komini. Yamaze amezi agera kuri atandatu ahembwa ariko adashobora kugera mu bunyamabanga (sécrotariat). Nyuma yaje gusezererwa bamubwira ko nta mafaranga ahari yo guhamba umukozi ukora muri uwo mwanya (M, 2013).

Muri Komini Kayove, umutangabuhamy wari konseye w'imwe muri segiteri za Komini, avuga ko mu 1993 ubwo yashakaga umukozi ushoboye akazi k'ubu kontabule (comptable), yabwiye burugumesitiri Maburakindi ko hari umusore w'Umututsi w'umuhanga yifuza guha ako kazi. Burugumesitiri yamusubije amwihanangiriza k'utazigera akora ikosa ryo kuzana Umututsi mu mabanga ya segiteri. Akazi kahawe Umuhutu, kubera ko burugumesitiri atifuzaga ko muri segiteri hakoramo Umututsi (ZJ,2013).

3.4. Irondakarere n' itotezwa ry' Abatutsi mu buzima busanzwe

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana, igisirikare n'ubutegetsi byakundaga kwiharirwa n'abo bakomoka hamwe. Nk'uko umutangabuhamy wo muri Komini Kanama avuga, irondakarere ryaranzwe n'icyo yise *shifting*. Ubutegetsi bwavuye mu Nduga bujya i Bushiru. Hagati aho, Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa, bahezwa mu

nzego z'ubutegetsi, mu mashuri no mu gisirikare. Hari ivangura bitaga KIGA-NDUGA, ni ukuvuga ubutegetsi bwari buvuye mu Banyenduga aho Perezida Kayibanda akomoka, bujya KIGA aho Perezida Habyarimana n'abagize akazu bakomoka. Habyarimana amaze gufata ubutegetsi yihimuye ku bakomokaga mu Nduga, noneho imirimo ikomeye n'imyanya ikomeye mu gisirikare, mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta no muri politiki ayegurira abakomoka mu majyaruguru (NORD-OUEST).

Ibirebana n'itotezwa ry'Abatutsi mu buzima busanzwe, umutangabuhama wo muri Komini Mutura avuga ko guhera mu Kwakira 1990 batotezwaga igihe babaga bari kumwe n'abandi muri tagisi. Nk'uko akomeza avuga, iyo wajyaga muri taxi nk'abandi, wageraga hagati, bakayihagarika, bakavuga ngo Umututsi avemo, abandi bagakomeza. Ivangura yagiriwe ararisobanura muri aya magambo:

«Igihe kimwe nagiye i Kigali, nagezeyo bampagaritse inshuro zirenga icumi. Wagendaga bakureba, abo mwicaranye mu modoka bakavuga ngo umuntu uri kunuka amata ni uwuhe. Iyo wumvaga babivuze, waracecekaga ukareba hasi, ukabima amatwi. Bakagutuka we, bakajya bakubwira ngo kuki uceceka kandi ari wowe babwira. Ubwo nabimye amatwi, sinagira uwo nsubiza, sijye nabonye ngeze i Kigali»

(DC, 2013).

Ikindi cyari kibangamiye umudendezo w'Abatutsi ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana, ni uko yari yaranze ko Abatutsi bahunze batahuka mu gihugu cyabo. Yahoraga iteka ashiraho urwitwazo avuga ko u Rwanda ari ruto, batabona aho babatuza (ZD, 2013). Kuva 1959 kugeza 1990 Inkotanyi zitera, ntabwo Abatutsi bigeze bafatwa kimwe n'abandi baturage, baratotezwaga, bakicwa mu cyayenge ndetse bagahezwa muri byose.

**IGICE CYA IV: ITOTENZWA N' IBIKORWA
BY'URUGOMO BYAKOREWE
ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990-1993**

Nyuma yaho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu, mu Kwakira 1990, hirya no hino mu makomini atandukanye hatangiye ibikorwa by'urugomo, n'ubwicanyi byakororwaga Abatutsi.

Imbonerahamwe y'amakomini na segiteri zari zigize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi mu1990

N°	Komini	Amazina ya Burugumesitiri muri 1990	Umubare wa segiteri	Amazina ya Segiteri
1	Rubavu	Habiyaremye Jean de Dieu	9	Gisenyi, Byahi, Gisa, Murara, Rugerero, Basa, Murambi, Bulinda na Muhira

2	Rwerere	Butsingili Alphonse	10	Mukingo, Gabiro, Mubona, Kantwali, Busumba, Rwanzekuma, Nyarushyamba, Kinyanzovu, Muhanda na Gacurabwenge
3	Mutura	Ndabarinze Faustin	13	Mutovu, Rusiza, Tamira, Mugongo, Mudende, Nyaruteme, Nyamirango, Cyambara, Kora, Kabatwa, Butaka, Kanzenze na Gihorwe
4	Kanama	Nzabonimpa Marius Ananias	11	Bisizi, Kayove, Kanama, Karambo, Nkuli, Kigarama, Kanombe, Rugomero, Mukondo, Nyundo na Nyabirasi

5	Nyamyumba	Karemera Egide	12	Bushoko, Gashashi, Mwufe, Kivumu, Budaha, Busoro, Kiraga, Kinigi, Munanira, Rubona, Rushubi na Kabilizi
6	Kayove	Nzabonimpa Anselme	15	Kayove, Mushonyi, Gishwati, Ngabo, Kigeyo, Vumbi, Gihumba, Rugamba, Kinunu, Busanza, Syiki, Musasa, Murama, Gihinga na Boneza
7	Karago	Twagirayezu Louis	8	Nanga, Bumba, Mwiyanike, Rurembo, Ndorwa, Muhungwe, Rambura na Gakarara

8	Giciye	Bangamwabo Charles	13	Birembo, Rubare, Gihira, Rubona, Murambi, Nyamugeyo, Gasasa, Kintarure, Shyira, Jomba, Shaki, Mutanda na Cyarwa
9	Gaseke	Niyonsenga Felicien	10	Mwendo, Kabuye, Magaba, Rwili, Bukonde, Rwankeke, Bukende, Gisebeya, Muhanda na Rurambo
10	Satinsyi	Nsanzimihi-go Cyrille	14	Mpara, Murambi, Ruhunga, Ngororero, Mbuye, Kiziguro, Gitwa, Munini, Gitega, Matyazo, Rucano, Musagara, Gashonyi na Matyazo

11	Kibilira	Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste	12	Karehe, Kiren- go, Rubona, Ntobwe, Ngurugunzu, Gitarama, Rugarama, Ntaganzwa, Rongi, Nyam- isa, Gatumba na Mikingo
12	Ramba	Nzabanita Théogène	8	Bayi, Kavumu, Kimanu, Sovu, Nyampili, Kageyo, Mabuye na Suti
	Hose ham- we		135	

Source: *République Rwandaise, Préfecture de Gisenyi, Bref Aperçu Géographique sur l'Année 1990*

Nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Abatutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, baratotejwe, bakorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo, harimo gukubitwa ndetse no kwicwa. Kugira ngo kwica no gutoteza Abatutsi bigire imbaraga kandi byitabirwe na benshi, abaturage babwirwaga ko umwanzi wateye igihugu ari Umututsi waturutse Uganda, akaba akorana n'Umututsi uri imbere mu gihugu, kandi ko bashaka

kugarura ingoma ya cyami. Ni muri urwo rwego, Umuhutu wese aho ava akagera, yakangurirwaga kumenya umwanzi uwo ariwe, akamurwanya.

4.1. Kuja guhamba umutumba igihe Fred Rwigema yicwaga ku rugamba

Umunsi uwari Umuyobozi Mukuru w'ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi, Jenerali Majoro Fred Rwigema, agwa ku rugamba ku itariki ya 2/10/ 1990, mu makomini atandukanye yo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bafashe abaturage bajya mu gikorwa cyo guhamba imitumba bayitirira Rwigema. Mu masegiteri amwe n'amwe, abakonseye bafashe Abatutsi babikoreza imitumba babajyana aho igikorwa kijyanye no guhamba Rwigema cyagombaga kubera (ZD, 2013).

Mu buhamya bwanditse mu nyandiko ngufi ya Nsengiyumva Jean- Damascène²⁹ wo muri segiteri Rugamba, Komini Kayove, avuga ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Rwigema, ubuyobozi bwa Komini bwashishikarije abaturage bose kujya mu gikorwa bise icyo kumuhamba. Uyu mutangabuhamya avuga ko muri segiteri yari atuyemo, ubuyobozi bwa Komini bwohereje itangazo rigenewe konseye wa segiteri, Sinibagiwe Elias, rivuga

²⁹ Nsengiyumva Jean-Damascène yanditse ubu buhamya muri Gicurasi 2011 ubwo yarafungiyeye muri gereza ya Butare kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

ko Resiponsable w'ikigo cy'amashuri abanza ya Gitwa n'abarimu be baja mu gikorwa cyo guhamba Rwigema. Muri iyi segiteri, icyo gikorwa cyabereye ku mugezi wa Butana, gihagarariwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Komini bukuriwe n'abapolisi barimo Sibomana Edouard na Hategekimana Ildephonse. Ku rwego rwa segiteri, harimo ; konseye wa segiteri witwa Sinibagiwe Elias, na ba resiponsabule b'amaserire. Igikorwa cyahakorewe by'umuhango, kuko kwari ugucukura imyobo bagahambamo imitumba y'intoki yagereranywaga na Rwigema. Igikorwa kirangiye abari aho barashimwe, abantu bakuru banywa inzoga, abanyeshuri bahabwa ibisheke (Nsengiyumva, 2011). Ibyishimo n'umunezero by'uko Rwigema yapfuye byakurikiwe no gutoteza Abatutsi, babarega ibinyoma, gufungwa no kwamburwa uburenganzira bw'ibanze.

4.2. Ifunga ry'abo bitaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi n'ubuzima babayemo

Uhereye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, hirya no hino mu gihugu habayeho gufata Abatutsi, bamwe barafungwa abandi baricwa. Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Abatutsi batangiye gufatwa no gufungwa umunsi nyir'izina urugamba rwatangiriyeho. Abatutsi bifashije, abize, abari abakozi ndetse n'Umututsi wese wagaragaraga ko ajijutse, barafashwe baja gufungwa, ndetse abenshi

baranicwa. Muri ubwo buzima bwo gufungwa babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, barakubiswe, bakorerwa iyicarubozo mu buryo bwose bushoboka, haba iryo ku mubiri ndetse n'irigirira nabi ubwenge n'imitekerereze (Torture Psychologique). Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Rubavu, wafunzwe icyo gihe arabisobanura muri aya magambo:

«Intambara itangira mu 1990 mu kwezi kwa cumi, Leta ya Habyarimana yatangiye kuvuga ku maradiyo ko igihugu cyatewe n'umwanzi waturutse Uganda, akaba ari Umututsi, ariwe inyenzi. Ubwo hahise hakurikiraho gufata no gufunga abo bitaga ibyitso by'Inyenzi. Bafataga Umututsi wese babona ko ajijutse cyangwa ko yishoboye. Ubwo baradufunze, ndibuka badufashe mu kwezi kwa 11 mu 1990 bajya kudufungira muri gereza ya Gisenyi. Twafunzwe nabi, twahoraga duhagaze muri gereza, ntawabashaga kwicara, kandi niko badukubitaga, tukavuzza induru, abananirwaga guhagarara bikubitaga hasi, bamwe bagahita bapfa. Nkanjye barankubise ahantu hose. Baramfashe bamfungira ahantu ntashoboraga kwinyeganyeza noneho bakajya bankubita imigeri ahantu hose, bakanankubitisha ikibuno cy'imbunda. Abafunzwe nk'ibyitso icyo gihe twese twari tumerewe nabi, ntawabashaga kubwira mugenzi we ngo komera. Wabonaga abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi bazanye gufunga babambitse ubusa, abagabo bagatunguka badafite umwambaro kuko babaga babashwanyagurijeho

imyenda, yewe byari bimeze nabi. Iyo wabonaga inkoni zikurembeje, watangaga amafaranga mirongo itanu kugira ngo bagukande n'amamiminwa y'ibishyimbo. Ubwo bafataga ikigunira, ukaryama ugaramye, barangiza bakagukandisha ayo mazi y'amamiminwa» (ZZ, 2014).

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Rubavu wahafunguwe nawe avuga ko iyo babakubitaga babyitaga ko bagiye kubaha icyayi cya mugitondo. Muri gereza babakoreraga ibintu bibi. Bitumaga aho bafunguwe mu gitondo bakabategeka kuyora umwanda (amabyi) n'intoki. Abenshi mu bafunzwe icyo gihe barapfuye. Abataraguye muri gereza, baje kwicwa nyuma yaho (ZP, 2013).

Abatangabuhamya bo mu yandi makomine ya Gisenyi, bavuga ko Abatutsi bafatwaga nk'ibitso, babanzaga kubafungira muri za kasho ntoya zo kuri Komini bakomokamo nyuma bakabajyana muri gereza ya Gisenyi.

Ku itariki ya 7 Ukwakira 1990 nibwo bafashe ibitso muri Komini Ramba. Umutangabuhamya wo muri iyo Komini avuga uburyo yafatanywe n'umuhungu we witwa Kalisa n'abandi bari baturanye harimo, Martin, Gakumba Aloys, Rujabuka na Callixte, bafungirwa ku Kabaya. Aho bari bafunguwe barakubiswe cyane. Nk'uko

umutangabuhamy akomeza avuga, bakubitwaga inkoni ijana buri gitondo. Aho ku Kabaya bahasanze n'abandi Batutsi benshi baturutse hirya no hino, bahamara icyumweru, nyuma bose babamanura gufungirwa muri gereza ya Gisenyi. Abatarapfuye benshi bahavanye ubumuga. Hari n'abandi bavanyemo amaso, abandi barapfuye. Umutangabuhamy nawe yamugajwe n'inkoni yakubiswe icyo gihe. Abatangabuhamy batandukanye bavuga ko igihe abazungu bazaga kureba abafunzwe, barababimaga ngo batareba uko babagize (A, 2013).

Muri Komini Mutura, ku itariki ya 5 Ukwakira 1990, abasirikare bafashe Abatutsi bari batuye hafi y'ikigo cya Bigogwe babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Abafashwe icyo gihe ni Rutaganzwa, Sendegeya, Ngoboka, Muhikira, Rudodo, Barinda Emmanuel n'abandi. Sendegeya we yiciwe mu nzira ataragezwa kuri gereza (ZX, 2013).

Umutangabuhamyaw'umudamuwo muri Komini Mutura wafashwe icyo gihe, avuga ko babanje kubafungira mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe. Uyu mutangabuhamy avuga ko banakubise nyina umubyara bamuca akaboko. Yari afunganywe n'undi mukobwa mugenzi we. Aho yari afungiyeye bashatse no kumufata ku ngufu. Nyuma y'iminsi ibiri, abasirikare bashatse kumutandukanya na mugenzi we, kugira ngo babone uko babafata ku ngufu. Kubw'amahirwe hahise haza umusirikare mukuru

witwaga Bizimungu ahita atesha ba basirikare bashakaga kubasambanya ku ngufu, arabafungura basubira iwabo (W, 2013).

Muri iyi Komini, Abatutsi na none bongeye gufatwa, bafungwa muri Mutarama 1991. Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini barafashwe barafungwa bababeshyera gukorana n'Inkotanyi. Mu gihe babashyiraga mu modoka bagiye kubafunga, bamwe babaryamishije hasi, bakajya babakubita. Hari bamwe bapfiriye mu modoka bataragera kuri gereza ya Gisenyi. Abageze muri gereza ya Gisenyi bakomeje gukubitwa. Aho bari bafungiyeye babayeho nabi cyane, bamazemo amezi atatu, bafungurwa mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa kane 1991. Mu bapfiriye muri gereza harimo uwitwa Ngirabatware wo muri segiteri Mugongo. Abandi ni abitwa Ruzibukira na Sentoki bo muri Segiteri Nyaruteme, Komini Mutura (ZU, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura, avuga ko ifungwa ry'abo bitaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi ryahereye mu kwezi kwa 10/1990, abandi bafungwa ku itariki 5 Gashyantare 1991, babashinja gucumbikira inyenzi, mu gihe mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe baraye barasa amasasu menshi, bavuga ngo Inkotanyi zateye icyo kigo.

Ku itariki ya 5 Gashyantare 1991, Abatutsi bari batuye hafi y'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe barahunze, bajya ku

musozi wa Musongati, bajyana n'inka zabo. Abasirikare baturutse muri icyo kigo, babasanze kuri uwo musozi, bafata abagabo babajyana kwa Ntamaherezo wari ukuriye MRND, nawe abajyana kuri Komini ya Mutura. Bageze kuri Komini barakubiswe cyane, babapakira *bus* baja kubafungira muri gereza ya Gisenyi (V, 2013).

Iki gikorwa cyo kubashyikiriza umukuru wa MRND kirerekana imikoranire y'ishyaka n'ubutegetsi mu bijyanye n'ibikorwa abaturage b'igihugu. Ubu bufatanye bunagaragara mu nyandiko ya Ndahiro, aho yerekana imikoranire y'inzego muri Perefegitura mu bikorwa by'urugomo byakorerwaga Abatutsi (Ndahiro, 2014).

Muri Komini Rwerere, Abatutsi barafashwe bafungwa bashinjwa kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Abenshi bafunzwe igihe habaga ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi muri iyi Komini kuva ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare kugera ku ya 6 Gashyantare 1991.

Ibirebana n'ifungwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Rwerere biremezwa n'ibaruwa yo ku wa 5 Gashyantare 1991 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Rwerere, Butsingili Alphonse, yandikiye Komanda w'Ikigo cya Jandarumeri ya Gisenyi amugezaho lisiti y'abantu 58 bafashwe n'abaturage bavuga ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Mu bafunzwe icyo gihe harimo: Karasira Vincent, Kaliwabo Pierre Céléstin, Kamufozi Stanislas, Sekabende,

Nkunzurwanda Alias Tunga, Nyiragipfunsi, Nzabanita, Nyirandeze Mariya, Kayogi Erneas, Manishimwe Callixte, Sangwa Philbert, Ndutiyabo Gérard, Kanyamarenga Alias Kirinda n'abandi. Abafashwe bagafungirwa kuri Komini Rwerere ni 58, aboherejwe kuri Jandarumeri ya Gisenyi ni 12 (Butsingili Alphonse, 1991). Urutonde rwabo ruboneka mu gitabo cy'umugereka kuri ibu bushakashatsi.

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Satinsyi nawe yemeza ibyo kugirirwa nabi mu ifatwa ry'ibytso. Avuga ko bafatwaga bagakubitwa, ku buryo byamuviriyemo ubumuga kugeza uyu munsi:

«Icyo gihe ndabyibuka, Inkotanyi zitera hari ku cyumweru, nari umukozi ku ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya. Icyo gihe hasohotse itangazo rya *Colonel* Rusatira wari umunyamabanga muri Ministeri y'ingabo z'igihugu rivuga ko igihugu cyatewe, ko umwanzi yinjiriye mu Mutara, asaba Abanyarwanda kuticamo ibice, ko ingabo z'igihugu zimukubita inshuro byanze bikunze. Mu minsi yakurikiyeho batangiye gufata Abatutsi bavuga ngo ni ibytso. Abatutsi bajijutse ni bo bafataga bakabazana ku Kabaya ni ho hahoze Parike» (Ubushinjacyaha).

Abatutsi bo muri Komini Karago, Gaseke na Giciye bose bajyanwaga gufungirwa ku Kabaya nyuma bakoherezwa kuri gereza ya Gisenyi. Umutangabuhamya akomeza

abisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

«Kuri kasho ya Kabaya hari umugabo wari ushinzwe imfungwa wari umugome cyane. Iyo wabaga ugemuye uzaniye ibyo kurya abafashwe bafungwiye ku Kabaya, yafataga bya biryo ugemuye akabimenera mu maso yawe. Ubwo nanjye naje gufungwa, ngeze muri gereza nahaboneye ibibazo bikomeye cyane. Bafataga ingorofani bakayikuramo amaguru, akaba ariyo bankubitisha. Barankubise icyo gihe nenda gupfa. Badukubitaga mu mavi, mu mbavu no mu nkokora. Uko undeba ndi ikimuga mu mutwe, icyo gihe bankubise mu mutwe ndavirirana, amatwi yanjye ntabwo yumva neza kubera ingaruka zo gukubitwa igihe bafungaga ibyitso» (S, 2013).

Muri Komini Giciye, batangiye gufata Abatutsi no kubafunga ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, bavuga ko bacumbikiye inkotanyi, ndetse ngo bavugana na zo. Bamwe barafunzwe, banicwa ku mugaragaro, abandi baburirwa irengero. Mu bafashwe mu byitso muri Komini Giciye harimo; Gahuru Jonas, Saratiyeri Burasi, Serugigira, Rukereza, Ndegeya, Nyakarundi, Ndagijimana Silas, Munyamaraba, Rusagara, Mukezangango, Ruhongeka Antoine, Alfred wari umuganga ku bitaro bya Shyira n'abandi. Bamwe muri bo bahise bicwa, aha twavugaga nk'uwitwa Munyamaraba, Rusagara na Rukereza. Abafashwe babanje gufungirwa kuri Superefegitura ya

Kabaya, nyuma baza kujyanwa kuri gereza ya Gisenyi. Bafashwe mu Kwakira 1990, bafungurwa mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Mata 1991. Nyuma yo gufungurwa bakomeje kubakurikirana, kuko bamwe biciwe mu nzira bataragera mu ngo zabo (E, 2013).

Muri Komini Karago, Abatutsi batangiye gufatwa nk'ibitso by'Inkotanyi no gufungwa kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Muri iyi Komini, bafashe abagabo cyane cyane abo babonaga ko bajijutse, babatwara ku kibuga cy'umupira cyari hafi ya Komini, batangira kujonjora abagombaga gufungwa, abandi basubira imuhira. Hari bamwe bafashwe bavuga ngo bagiye kubafunga, nyuma baza kwicwa babajugunya mu mugezi wa Karago. Abandi bajyanwe kuri Komini, barabishe, babajugunya muri WC. Hari n'abandi bajanywe kwicirwa ahitwa i Nyaruhonga. Muri Segiteri ya Nanga, bafashe umusaza witwa Sembeba na Masuhuko babashinja kuba ibitso babajyana kubafungira muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. Mbere y'uko bajyanwa muri gereza, babanje kubakubitira kuri Komini Karago, babagira indembe. Baje gufungurwa nyuma, bagaruka barabaye ibimuga, bishwe muri Jenoside (U, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya wafunzwe mu byitso wo muri Komini Karago avuga ko bafunzwe ari nk'icumi,

bose bakomoka muri segiteri imwe. Muri bo harimo: Masuhuko, Rugemintwaza, Rwamucyo, Hitimana, Sembeba, etc.. (ZT, 2013).

Muri rusange, uburyo Abatutsi bafungwagamo bwari bubu cyane. Nta mwuka uhagije babonaga aho bafungiye ndetse bakorerwaga ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo. Umwe mu batangabuhamya bo muri Komini Mutura asobanura uko byari byifashe mu gihe bari bafungiwe muri gereza ya Gisenyi :

«Twafashwe ku itariki ya 7 Gashyantare 1991, tumara iminsi irindwi muri kasho ya Komini tutabona amazi yo kunywa cyangwa ibyo kurya, twaryaga igitaka. Ku muni wa munani nibwo batujyanye muri gereza ya Gisenyi badupakiye mu modoka. Twageze muri gereza tumenze nk'abapfu, ntawabashaga kuvuga. Muri gereza ya Gisenyi, twafunzwe nabi cyane. Bafataga nk'abantu batanu cyangwa batandatu, bakabahambira hamwe hagati y'inkingi aho utabasha kwinyeganyeza. Abari barebare bakubitwaga imigeri ngo bamanuke begere abandi, babone uko badukubita neza. Twararaga hagati y'izo nkingi, ku manywa bakirirwa badukubita» (AB, 2014).

Ukurikije ubuhamya butandukanye, Abatutsi bari batuye mu makomini y'iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi,

bamwe bagiye gufungirwa muri gereza ya Gisenyi, abandi bafungirwa muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. icyakora hari n'abandi Batutsi bakomoka mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Kibuye nabo bafungiwe muri gereza ya Gisenyi. Abafashwe nk'ibytso icyo gihe bari bafungiwe muri gereza ya Gisenyi bageraga ku gihumbi magana arindwi na mirongo itatu na babiri (1732) (ZZ,2013).

4.3. Ifungurwa ry'ibytso muri Mata 1991

Abatutsi bafunzwe nk'ibytso by'inyenzi Inkotanyi bamaze muri gereza ya Gisenyi igihe kingana n'amezi atandatu. Bafunguwe mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Kane 1991.

Ifungurwa ry'abari barafashwe bashinjwa kuba ibytso by'Inkotanyi ryabaye mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa kane, biremezwa n'ibaruwa N° G/090/D.15/PRORE yo kuwa 03 Mata 1991 ya Prokireri wa Repubulika, Anastase Mugemanshuro, yandikiye Perefefe wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, amwoherereza lisiti y'abantu barekuwe. Muri iyo baruwa Prokireri yagaragaje imbonerahamwe y'abantu bari bamaze gutaha kugeza tariki 3 Mata 1991 ku buryo bukurikira:

Abafunguwe mu byitso baturutse muri Gereza ya Gisenyi ku itariki ya 3 Mata 1991

Komini	Mutura	Rubavu	Kibilira	Kanama	Rwerere	Giciye	Ramba	Nyamyumba	Satinsi	Kayove	Karago	Gaseke
Umubare w'abafunguwe	96	50	97	8	37	3	7	3	26	36	13	6

Aho byavuye: yakozwe n'abashakashatsi bahereye kuri lisiti y'abafunguwe

Uyu mubare ni uw'abafunguwe ku itariki ya 3 Mata 1991. Muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, abari bamaze gufungurwa bose hamwe ni magana atatu na mirongo inani na babiri (382) (Mugemanshuro, 1991). Umubare nyawo w'Abatutsi bafashwe bitwa ibyitso by'Inkotanyi ntiwigeze umenyekana, kubera ko bamwe baguye muri gereza, abandi bicwa bataragera muri gereza, bicirwaga kuri za Komini no muri kasho.

Abatutsi bari barafashwe bashinjwa kuba ibyitso

by’Inyenzi-Inkotanyi bafunguwe biturutse ku mishyikirano yari yabaye hagati ya Leta ya Habyarimana na RPF-Inkotanyi, mu masezerano ya N’sélé (Zayire) yo ku wa 29 Mata 1991, aho RPF-Inkotanyi yari yasabye ko abantu bose bafunzwe bitwa ko ari ibyitso bafungurwa (Musabyimana, 2007). Gufungurwa kw’Abatutsi bitwaga ibyitso by’Inyenzi byaturutse na none ku gitutu cy’imiryango mpuzamahanga iharanira uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu yasabaga ko abafunzwe bazira akarengane bafungurwa.

N’ubwo habayeho gufungura ibyitso, abenshi muri bo barishwe, abandi bakomeza gutotezwa mu duce bari batuyemo (A, 2013).

Abatutsi bari bafungiwe muri gereza ya Gisenyi babanje kubogosha babamaraho umusatsi mbere yo kubafungura. Amabwiriza bahawe bajya gutaha, ni ugukurikira inzira imwe y’umuhanda munini uva Gisenyi uguna Ruhengeri. Bose basohotse muri gereza bakurikiranye batonze umurongo umwe, umuhanda wose wari ukikijwe n’abasirikare. Kubera ko bari babamazeho umusatsi, abababonaga bose barirukaga, bakabahunga.

Abatutsi bakomoka muri Komini Nkuli na Kinigi bo biciwe mu nzira bataragera iwabo. Abakomoka muri

Komini Ramba bageze ku Mukamira bahasanga imodoka yari iya Burugumesitiri Nzabanita wa Komini Ramba itwawe n'umushoferi bari baziranye, arabatwara abageza kuri Komini Ramba. Burugumesitiri yabasabye kujya kwiyereka abapolisi ba ho babasaba nabo kujya baza kwiyerekana rimwe mu cyumweru mu buyobozi (A, 2013).

Abafunguwe batashye bafite umunaniro uturuka ku mibereho mibi yo muri gereza. Batashye bambaye ubusa kuko utwenda twari twarabacikiyeho, twuzuyeho umwanda, ku buryo abababonaga barirukaga, batinya kubareba. Impamvu yo kubogosha n'urwembe bakamaraho umusatsi, bakeka ko bwari uburyo bwo kubashyiraho ikimenyetso kibatandukanya n'abandi basanze imuhira.

Abafunguwe bose bagombaga kujya kwiyereka ubuyobozi bwa polisi na parike ibegereye. Nyuma yo gufungurwa Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa baregwa ibinyoma no kubashimuta. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Satinsyi, arasobanura:

«nyuma yo gufungurwa, hagiye habaho kunyerezwa, rimwe ukumva ngo kanaka yarabuze kandi byakorwaga n'ubutegetsi bwari buhari. Marume witwa Kabori

n'uwitwa Mukansanga Jeanne, barishwe babajugunya muri Nyabarongo» (N, 2013).

Abatutsi benshi bafunguwe bakomeje gutotezwa no gufungwa bababeshyera ngo babasanganye imbunda n'amasasu. Abasirikare barazaga bakinjira mu nzu z'Abatutsi bavuga ko baje gusaka, bityo bagashyira amasasu cyangwa imyenda ya gisirikare mu mazu yabo, barangiza bagahamagara bene urugo basakaga, bakabereka ibikoresho bya gisirikare bavuga ngo babisanze mu nzu zabo. icyakurikiragaho, kwari ukubakubita, ndetse no kujya kubafunga. Umutangabuhamya wagiriwe ibyo muri Komini Rubavu arabisobanura ku buryo bukurikira:

«Nafunzwe mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 1990 mfungurwa ku itariki 3 Mata 1991. Nyuma yo gufungurwa, twakomeje gutotezwa. Barazaga bagatega amasasu mu rugo iwawe kugira ngo bavuge ko bayagusanganye bityo babone impamvu yo kugufunga no kukwica. Igihe kimwe abasirikare baraje bavuga ngo baje kudasaka, ubwo binjiye mu nzu, twe baradusohora, barangije basohokana amasasu 16 bavuga ngo bayabonye mu nzu yanjye. Umugore wanjye afite akaboko kadakora neza, kuko icyo gihe binjira mu nzu yacu, bafashe isasu rimwe barishyira mu muriro, ubwo basohokaga baratubwira ngo nitujye mu nzu

batwereke amasasu badusanganye, ubwo yinjiraga yakomerekejwe na rya sasu bari bashyize mu muriro. Kugeza uyu munsu akaboko ke karamugaye. Nyuma y'aho barongeye baramfunga bavuga ngo mfite amasasu n'imbunda by'inkotanyi. Nafunzwe andi mezi atanu nyuma yaho ndafungurwa, ariko nabwo ngeze mu rugo nkomeza gutotezwa. Ikindi na none, nyuma yo gufungurwa, naratambukaga ngiye mu misa gusenga, nagera mu nzira bakamvugiriza induru ngo dore inyenzi, bakantera amabuye. Ibyo byatumye ndeka kongera kujya mu misa, kugeza uyu munsu sinshobora kongera gusubira mu misa, kuko abantotezaga babaga ari abagiye gusenga. Nasanze ntacyo bimaze" (ZP, 2013).

Muri Komini Rubavu na none, umutangabuhamya avuga ko nyuma yo gufungurwa bamubujije kugira aho ajya, ntiyashoboraga kurenga aho atuye:

«Nyuma yo gufungurwa, ubuyobozi bwa Komini bwambujije kugira aho njya. Igihe kimwe umugore wanjye yakomeretse ijisho ariko kugira ngo mujyane kumuvuza i Kigali byabaye ikibazo gikomeye. Banyimye uburenganzira bwo kujya kumuvuriza i Kigali muri 1991» (ZZ, 2014).

Muri Komini Mutura na ho byari bimeze bityo, Abatutsi bafunguwe mu byitso n'abandi muri rusange ntibari

bakigera no mu isoko n'ahandi hantu hahurira abantu benshi. Umutangabuhamyaga agira ati: *Twasubiye mu ngo zacu, tugezeyo nabwo dukomeza gutotezwa, ntabwo twabashaga kujya mu isoko cyangwa ngo tube twajya kure y'aho dutuye* (W, 2013).

4.4. Guteshwa agaciro no kwamburwa uburenganzira bw'ibanze ku Batutsi

Nyuma y'Ukwakira mu 1990, Abatutsi barushijeho guteshwa agaciro ndetse bamburwa n'ubumuntu bwabo hakoreshejwe uburyo butandukanye nko kubita amazina y'udukoko, n'andi mazina mabi. Umutangabuhamyaga wo muri Komini Karago atanga ingero z'amazina babitaga yo kubatesha agaciro no kubambura ubumuntu nko kubita inyenzi, inzoka, abashyondori, abatunnyetsi, n'andi mazina mabi (ZB, 2013).

Uhereye ku buhamyaga bw'abantu batandukanye bo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, hari uburenganzira bw'ibanze Abatutsi bambuwe ku buryo n'ubutegetsi bwabigizemo uruhare rugaragara. Ntabwo bari bemerewe gutembera mu gihugu hagati ndetse no kuba bajya hanze yacyo, ntibari bemerewe kugurisha amatungo yabo, kujya mu kabare, n'ibindi.

4.5. Kubuzwa uburenganzira bwo kugurisha ibyo batunze, gutembera hagati mu gihugu no hanze

Iyo Umututsi yajyaga cyangwa akava ku isoko, bamenaga ibyo yikoreye bamushinja ko ashiriye Inkotanyi amasasu. Ntabwo bari bemerewe kugurisha amatungo yabo cyangwa imyaka bejeje. Ntawashoboraga kuba yagira aho ajya. Nta burenganzira bwo gutembera mu gihugu cyabo bari bafite hakiyongeraho no kwangirizwa imitungo yabo. Umutangabuhamba wo muri Komini Kanama arasobanura:

«Ndibuka ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 ubwo nari ngiye ku isoko, barampagaritse barambwira ngo ninzane ibyo mfite barebe niba nta masasu nshiriye inyenzi. Ubwo bafashe imyaka nari ntwaye bayisuka hasi, ntibagira icyo babona. Hari n'igihe nari mvuye kubanjura, bafata igiti bagishyira mu cyansi cy'amata ngo barebe niba nta masasu arimo. Ubwo urumva banyujijemo igiti, bangiza ya mata nahise nyabogora. Ibyo babikoze ku bantu benshi» (ZD, 2013).

Kugira aho ujya ku Mututsi byari ibintu bigoranye, uwabigeragezaga yahuraga n'ibibazo, kugera ubwo no kujya kugura inzoga mu kabari byari bigoranye. Umutangabuhamba wo muri Komini Mutura avuga ko igihe kimwe yagiye kugura inzoga mu kabari, batangira

kumwita inyenzi, arataha.Nk’uko avuga, iyo wabaga ushaka icyo kunywa waratumaga bakakuzanira mu rugo. Iyo wibeshyaga ukajya mu kabari, ukicara, washoboraga gukubitwa iz’akabwana³⁰ (V, 2013).

Muri Komini Karago kugira ngo usohoke muri iyi Komini ujya ahandi byasabaga icyangombwa gitangwa na Komini. Nta wavaga muri iyi Komini ngo agere muri Mutura n’ubwo zezeranye. Kuva aho utuye byasabaga icyemezo kibikwemerera gitangwa na Komini. Mu nzira hari harashizwe za bariyeri, aho uyisanze hose bakakubaza ibyangombwa ugenderaho, kandi wabaga ugomba no kwerekana irangamuntu yanditsemo “ubwoko”. Uretse impamvu ikomeye, nta wagiraga aho ajya, kuko n’ubundi mu nzira, Abatutsi bagiriragamo ibibazo bikomeye (ZB, 2013).

Ibi byakorwaga mu ma Komini hafi ya yose. Urundi rugero ni urwo umutangabuhamyawe wo muri Komini Karago, uvuga ko nta Mututsi wari wemerewe kuba yagurisha imyaka cyangwa itungo ku isoko. Nk’uko umutangabuhamyawe avuga, uwajyanaga imyaka ku isoko, abaturage bangaga kuyigira ngo harimo uburozi. Kugurisha amavuta y’inka ho cyari ikibazo

³⁰ Gukubitwa iz’akabwana : ni umugani mugufi uhinnye. Bavuga gukubita iz’akabwana kaneye mu rugo. Bisobanuye gukubitwa cyane kandi udashobora kwirwanaho. Bishushanyije nk’uko bakubitaga akabwana k’imbwa iyo kabaga kaneye mu rugo. Babaga bashaka ko katazabisubira. Kakajyana umwanda ku gasozi, mu bisambu.

gikomeye. Bavugaga ko Abatutsi bayashyizemo uburozi. Nta wabashaga kugurisha inzoga nk'abandi ngo abone amafaranga, kuko ntawashoboraga kuza kuzinywa, abazinywaga ni abo bahujije ubwoko, kandi bari bacye muri Komini Karago (ZB, 2013).

Usibye kubuza Abatutsi kugira aho baja, abari baravanywe mu byabo, ntibavurwaga kandi nta burenganzira bahabwaga bwo kuba baja kwivuriza ahandi hantu. Umutangabuhamya wari warahungiyeye ku ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) mu Ngororero, avuga ko mu 1993 mu kwezi kwa kabiri, Perezida Habyarimana yaje Ngororero gusura impunzi. icyo gihe yazanywe n'indege ya Kajugujugu igwa ahubatse *Centre d'Accueil*, ni ho hari icumbi rya Superefe. Yavuye mu ndege ari kumwe na Ndindiriyimana Augustin wari umuyobozi mukuru wa Jandarumeri. Yabajije impamvu bahungiyeye aho, baramusobanurira, abaza impunzi icyo zikeneye. Bamubwiye ibibazo cyo kutagira imiti ibavura kubera inkomere bari bafite, ndetse n'ikibazo cy'abarwayi benshi badashobora kuva aho bari ngo bajye kwivuza hanze ya Ngororero. Ari imiti cyangwa uburenganzira bwo kujya kwivuriza hanze ntibigeze babihabwa (N, 2013).

4.6. Gukenesha Abatutsi mu buryo bwose

Habayeho ibindi bikorwa byo gukenesha Abatutsi mu buryo bwose. Nko muri Komini Kanama, habaga umushinga bitaga *Projet GBK*³¹. Nyuma y’aho Inkotanyi zitereye, uwitwa Umututsi wese wabaga muri GBK ya Gishwati yarirukanywe. Hirukanywe abakozi batandukanye b’Abatutsi bakoraga muri uwo mushinga, harimo aba veterineri n’abandi bakozi bose, yewe n’Umututsi waragiraga inka z’abasirikare bakuru yarirukanywe. Kubera gukenesha Abatutsi nibo bari barabaye abashumba b’inka z’abasirikare bakuru ba Leta ya Habyarimana zabaga mu Gishwati (AC, 2014).

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Giciye avuga uko se umubyarawakoragamuri ONAPO nk’umukangurambaga yirukanywe ku kazi muri 1992 bitewe n’uko ku ifishi ye banditseho ngo ‘Nta mwete’, kandi yarakoraga akazi ke neza (ZF, 2013). Ku ifishi z’Abatutsi zuzuzwaga n’abategetsi hari ubwo konseye yashyiragaho ngo “Nta mwete”, ubwo icyo gihe niba wakoraga akazi runaka, hashira iminsi bakaguhagarika. Ni muri ubwo buryo Abatutsi benshi bagiye birukanwa mu mirimo bakora, cyane cyane iyo konseye yabaga atamushaka (E, 2013). Muri rusange, imibereho y’Abatutsi yabaye mibi

³¹ GBK : projet sylvo-pastoral GBK ni umushinga w’amashyamba n’ubworozi wakoreraga muri Gisenyi, Butare na Kibuye

cyane cyane hagati ya 1990-1994. Nko muri Komini Kayove, abatangabuhamya batandukanye bahuriza ku gikorwa cyasabwaga Abatutsi cyo gutanga amafaranga y’“umusangiro³²”, akaba yarabwaga insoresore zo mu ishyamba rya MRND, ari zo zaje kuba Interahamwe. Uwo musangiro watangwaga buri kwezi. N’ubwo yatangwaga, abayahabwaga nibwo bagarukaga kubatera bagatwara ibyo batunze, cyane cyane amatungo. Uwitwaga Umututsi wese yatangaga uwo « musangiro ». Hejuru y’uwo musangiro, iyo babaga bahishije inzoga, ntabwo babashaga kugurisha insoresore za MRND zitarafata inzoga yazo. Ikintu cyose cyiza gitanzwe n’Abatutsi bashoboraga kugitwara, kuko ntaho kuregera hari hahari (ZJ, 2013).

Umwe mu batangabuhamya wigeze kuba Konseye w’imwe muri segiteri zari zigize Komini Kayove ku bwa burugumesitiri Maburakindi, avugaga ko ubutegetsi bwari bushyigikiye itangwa ry’amafaranga y’umusangiro. Uyu mutangabuhamya akomeza avugaga ko muri 1993 Burugumesitiri Maburakindi yategetse ko Umututsi witwaga Kanyamugenga atanga umusangiro, kandi ubwo Kanyamugenga yari yamutabaje avugaga ko basenye inzu ye, bakanamurira inkanga. Aho kugira ngo Burugumesitiri yihanze cyangwa ahane abamuririyemo inkanga, yahise avugaga mu nama ko guhera uwo munsu Abatutsi bose bagomba

³² Umusangiro : ni amafaranga yatangwaga n’Abatutsi biguraga ngo babacungire umutekano. Bayatangaga mu buyobozi agahabwaga uruburuzi rwa MRND(interahamwe).

kujya batanga umusangiro. Iyo wabaga wahogoroye³³ inzoga uri Umututsi, umuntu wa mbere wagombaga kuyinywaho yari wa Muhutu muturanye, kandi byabaga ari itegeko. Umusangiro watangwaga n'Abatutsi gusa (AH, 2014).

Undi mutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Kayove nawe avuga ko abarwanashyaka ba MRND bahoraga barya inka zabo, kugeza ubwo batema intoki n'amakawa yabo kugira ngo babakeneshe. Iyo bajyaga kurega ku buyobozi, bavugaga ko ikirego batanze nta shingiro gifite. Uwo waregeraga yarakubwiraga ngo mbese none uragira ngo ngire nte, ngo niba ufite icyo utanga jya ugitanga kugira ngo ubeho, ubone uko uramuka (ZI, 2013).

Ku itariki ya 23 Gashyantare 1992 muri Komini Kayove, ubwo basenyaga, bakarya inka z'Abatutsi, Burugumesitiri Nzabonimpa Anselme yazanye abajandarume, bafata bamwe muri abo bagizi ba nabi, barabafunga, babohereza kuri parike. Hashize icyumweru kimwe barabarekura barataha.

Nzabonimpa Anselme, yaje kwegura ku mwanya wa Burugumesitiri kuko atari ashigikiye ubwicanyi, asimburwa n'uwitwa Maburakindi Isidori wagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini (AH, 2013).

³³ Guhogorora inzoga : ni uguhisha inzoga.

4.7. Guhohoterwa no kuregwa ibinyoma

Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'umwe mu bahoze ari abapolisi ba Komini Mutura, Abatutsi benshi baratotezwaga babashinja ibinyoma. Uyu mutangabuhamy a sobanura ibijyanye no gutoteza Abatutsi, ahereye ku mugore w'Umutsikazi bamuzaniye ngo amufunge, bamushinja kuba baramusanganye ifoto ya Rwigema ku kibero cye. Uyu mupolisi ngo yibajije ukuntu babonye ifoto ya Rwigema ku kibero cye biramuyobera, ariko asigarana wa mugore kuri Komini. Bamaze kugenda, yabajije wa mugore niba koko ibyo bavuga ari ukuri, amusubiza ko bamubeshyera. Umupolisi nawe ashishoje, arebye no ku kibero asanga nta foto ihashushanyije. Umugoroba ugeze, umugore yarafunguwe, arataha. Umupolisi kandi avuga ko Abatutsi bahoraga babeshyerwa ibintu binyuranye, bitari ukuri (AD, 2014).

Ikindi kimenyetso cyo kubeshyerwa ni uko abenshi mu Batutsi bari bishoboye bafunzwe babashinja kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umwe mu batangabuhamy wo muri Komini Kanama, iyo habonekaga umuturanyi w'Umuhutu ujya kukurega kandi wenda atari ikibazo kijyanye n'umutekano, abasirikare barazaga bakajya kugufunga. Ikindi na none iyo habonekaga umuntu uvuga ko ukorana n'Inkotanyi,

barakujyanaga utarinze kwisobanura kandi wenda ari uko uwakureze musanzwe mufitanye amakimbirane (AC, 2014).

Kugira ngo abasirikare ba Leta ya Habyarimana babone impamvu yo gutoteza Abatutsi no kubafunga, bashyiraga ibikoresho bya gisirikare (amasasu, imyenda, n'ibindi) mu nzu zabo. Ibyo byakorwaga iyo babaga baje gusaka, basohoka bakavuga ko babisanzemo. Babatwaraga babashinja gutunga ibikoresho bya gisirikari banavuga ko babihabwa n'Inkotanyi.

Abatangabuhamyaga batandukanye bavugaga uko byagendaga iwabo. Nko muri Komini Kanama, abasirikare bazanaga amasasu bakayahisha mu nzu z'Abatutsi, nyuma bakabahamagara ngo baze barebe ibyo basanze mu nzu zabo. Uwashinjwaga bene icyo cyaha, yajyanwaga gufungwa cyangwa kwicwa (ZD, 2013). Umwe mu batangabuhamyaga wo muri Komini Mutura avugaga uko byamugendekeye :

«Muri Komini Mutura, abasirikare baraje basaka inzu ya data wacu, ibintu byose barabinyanyagiza, barangije bajugunyamo umukandara wa gisirikare ngo babone uko bavugaga ko bamusanganye umukandara wa gisirikare w'Inyenzi. Nyuma rero baje kumufunga» (ZQ, 2013).

4.8. Gushimuta Abatutsi binyuze muri gahunda yo gukora amarondo

Kuva Inkotanyi zatera mu 1990 habayeho gukaza amarondo mu rwego rw'umutekano. Buri muturage wese yagombaga kujya ku irondo cyangwa agatanga amafaranga asimburira irondo. N'ubwo yari gahunda yagombaga gukorwa n'abaturage bose, ayo marondo wasangaga akorwa n'Abahutu gusa, kuko Umututsi wabaga yagiye gukora irondo yaricwaga, abenshi bahitagamo gutanga amafaranga y'ikirenga kugira ngo batajyayo. icyakora uwabaga atayafite akajyayo, ntabwo yagarukaga. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura arasobanura uko byakorwaga :

«Inkotanyi zimaze gutera mu Kwakira 1990, hatangijwe gahunda y'amarondo yakorwaga muri buri serire na za nyumbakumi³⁴. Umuyobozi wa serire « Responsable » yarazaga akakubwira ngo iri joro ni wowe uramukiwe gukora irondo, ubwo icyo wakoraga kwari ugushaka amafaranga ukigura ntujyeyo, kuko iyo wajyagayo, ntabwo wagarukaga, bakwiciragayo» (V, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri iyi Komini avuga ko kujyana Abatutsi gukora irondo bwari uburyo bwo kubashimuta. Agira ati :

³⁴ Nyumbakumi : ijamba ry'igishwahili, risobanura ingo icumi « les dix maisons ».

«Iyo bakubwiraga ngo ujye ku irondo wagombaga kumenya neza ko utari bugaruke. Ibyo kwica Abatutsi bagiye mu marondo byarabaye cyane, ino aha. Hari nk'umugabo uzwi witwaga Rutaganira bamujyanye ku irondo barangije bafata amasasu bayashyira mu mufuka we, barangije bavuzza induru ngo bamufatanye amasasu. Bahise bamujyana mu kigo cya Bigogwe baramwica» (AB, 2014).

Muri Komini Kanama ho, kuva Inkotanyi zatera, iyo bwiraga, bazaga gutwara uwitwaga umugabo wese ngo ajye ku irondo. Kugira ngo utajya ku irondo wariguraga ugatanga amafaranga menshi, kuko uwajyagayo bamwiciragayo ntagaruke (AA, 2014).

Muri Komini Karago na ho byarahabaye. Abatangabuhamya bavugaga ko habaye gushyiraho amabwiriza yo gukora amarondo. Abatutsi nabo bajyagayo kuko byari itegeko, ariko uwabaga yagiye ku irondo yarakubitwaga, abenshi bakicwa. Akenshi Abatutsi bahitagamo gutanga amafaranga mu cyimbo cyo kujya ku irondo kuko abajyagayo, bahahuriraga n'ibibazo cyangwa ntibanagaruke, bakazimira (U, 2013).

Muri Komini Rubavu ho kwica Abatutsi byakorwaga nijoro n'abasirikare. Kubera ko mu mugwi wa Gisenyi

habaga hari abanyamahanga benshi, cyane cyane abakora mu miryango irengera ikiremwa muntu n'indi itegamiye kuri Leta, kwica byakorwaga mu buryo buhishe bwo gushimuta cyangwa kunyereza.

Nk'uko umutangabuhamy aabisobanura, abasirikare ba Habyarimana ni bo bakoraga ibyo kunyereza³⁵ Abatutsi. Undi mutangabuhamy avuga ko muri 1993 igihe Ndadaye, Perezida w'u Burundi yari amaze kwicwa, muri Komini Rubavu hakoze umukwabo wo gufata Abatutsi. Iyo byageraga nijoro, abasirikare barazaga bakabajyana. Uwo babaga batwaye, ntabwo yagarukaga. Mbere ya 1994, kwica ku mugaragaro byakorwaga gusa mu nkengeri z'umugi wa Gisenyi, nko muri Rwerere, Mutura, Kanama, Kayove n'ahandi (ZP, 2013).

Muri rusange, gushimuta³⁶ Abatutsi, byakorwaga nijoro. Nk'uwitwa Semafaranga n'umugore we Sofiya bo muri segiteri ya Rugerero babashimuse mu 1993 kandi babatwaye nijoro. icyo gihe bishe uwitwa Joseph na mushiki we bari batuye mu Rugerero. Mu gitondo cyaho, konseye wa segiteri yatanze amakuru ko hari Abatutsi bishwe n'abagizi ba nabi, ko abo bantu batamenyekanye (ZQ, 2013).

³⁵ Kunyereza: ni ijambyo risobanura gutwara mu buryo butazwi umuntu akazimira, akenshi aba yarishwe, akazaboneka ari umurambo cyangwa se ntaboneke. Muri Gisenyi bakoresha ijamba Kunyuzza.

³⁶ Gushimuta: ni inshinga y'ikinyarwanda isobanura kwiba cyangwa gutwara rwihishwa umuntu cyangwa itungo

4.9. Gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y’urwango ku Batutsi

Nyuma y’igitero cya RPF-Inkotanyi mu 1990, mu makomini atandukanye y’iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi hakoze inama nyinshi zigamije gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y’urwango ku Batutsi. Inyinshi muri izo nama zakorerwaga mu masegiteri, aho wasangaga bavuga ko igihugu cyatewe n’umwanzu w’Umututsi, bityo ko abaturage bagomba kwirwanaho, bakamenya umwanzu n’ibikorwa bye. Abategetsi bagombaga kumenya aho Abatutsi baherereye hose, bakamenya abagize ingo zabo, lisiti iriho imyirondoro yabo igashyikirizwa ubutegetsi bubakuriye (ZY, 2013).

Nko muri Komini Ramba, inama zayoborwaga na ba konseye cyangwa undi muyobozi waje aturutse hejuru. Inama yabaga yahuje abaturage bose. Akenshi ubutumwa bwatangwaga, bwari ubwo kubwira Abahutu ngo babe maso, Inyenzizarateye, ko bagombagushishoza bakamenya neza abaturanye nabo, kubera ko ibyitso bishobora kubihishamo. Bahoraga bibutsa abaturage kuba maso bagashishoza neza, bakamenya abagambanira igihugu abo ari bo, cyane cyane bahereye ku bajijutse, abarimu n’abandi. Muri iyi Komini amabwiriza yarubahirijwe kuko bahise batoranya abarimu, barabandika, babashyira

ku rutonde rw'ibitso by'inyenzi. Mu ikubitiro muri iyi Komini hafashwe uwitwa Gasana Dyonizi wari utuye muri Segiteri ya Kageyo, Semutakirwa Bosco na Munyakayanza Isidori bo muri Segiteri ya Suti. Bashinjwaga ko baba bakorana inama n'inyenzi bakanajyana imisanzu y'inyenzi ku Mulindi. Munyakayanza we yaje kurekurwa kuko bavugaga ngo ni umusaza. Ikindi cyavugirwaga mu nama, babwiraga abaturage ko bagomba kwirwanaho, bakamenya umwanzi. Umututsi wabaga wagiye mu nama yahuraga n'ibibazo, kuko iyo bavugaga ayo magambo wasangaga ariwe bahanze amaso, akaba ari we inama iremeraho (B,2013).

Gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi byakorwaga mu buryo butandukanye. Uretse inama z'abaturage, byavugirwaga kuri radiyo no mu ndirimbo zamamaza urwango. Nko muri Komini Karago, haririmbwaga indirimbo zivuga ngo "tubatsembatsembe", bakazigisha abana babo. Umututsi wabaga atambutse, abana b'Abahutu batangiraga kuririmba ngo "tubatsembatsembe". Izindi ndirimbo z'urwango bakundaga kuririmba ni iza Bikindi (ZB, 2013).

Kugira ngo bumvishe abaturage ububi bw'Abatutsi, muri Kiriziya bavugaga ko bagomba kwirinda abapadiri b'Abatutsi, kuko bafite umugambi wo kujya bica Abahutu bakoresheje ukaristiya bashyizemo uburozi.

Umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Kayove, wabayeho koseye kugeza 1994 arabisobanura:

«Aho twajyaga mu nama hose bakundaga kuvuga ko padiri Rwigenza François abitse imbunda nyinshi cyane, ndetse ko n’iyo agiye gutanga ukaristiya ashyiramo uburozi bwo kwica Abahutu. Kubera iyo mpamvu abaturage b’Abahutu birindaga kongera kurya ukaristiya zitanzwe n’umupadiri w’Umututsi» (AH, 2014).

4.10. Kubarura no gukora buri gihe urutonde rw’Abatutsi batuye muri segiteri

Ibarura ry’abaturage muri rusange

Ibarura ry’abaturage ryakorwaga buri kwezi. Iryo barura ryakorwaga n’abakoseye, imibare ikoherezwa Burugumesitiri na we akohereza raporo kuri Perefegitura. Hari aho Burugumesitiri yohererezaga raporo Minisitiri w’ubutegetsi bw’Igihugu n’Amajyambere ya Komini, raporo ikanyuzwa kwa Perefefe (sous-couvert).

Mu 1990, ibarura ry’abaturage ryashyizwemo imbaraga, Minisitiri y’Ubutetegetsi bw’Igihugu itanga amabwiriza y’uburyo ibarura ry’abaturage rigomba gukorwa. Ibijyanye n’amabwiriza mashya, Ibaruwa n° 672/04.05.1 yo ku wa 5 Werurwe 1990 ya Minisitiri Mugemana Yohani Mariya Viyane yandikiye ba burugumestri bose

igaragaza uburyo ibarura rigomba gukorwa hifashishijwe imbonerahamwe yaboherereje bagomba gukurikiza. Hejuru ku mbonerahamwe, huzuzwaga Perefegitura, Komini, segiteri, serire n'inimero y'urugo. Bimwe mu bigaragara muri iyo mbonerahamwe, harimo, amazina, nimero y'ibimuranga, aho yatangiwe, ubwenegihugu, Ubwoko, Komini yaturutse n'ibindi (Mugemana, 1990).

Raporo y'ibarura muri Komini Giciye/Ukwakira n'Ugushyingo 1990

Komini	Umwaka	Igitsina		Bose	HUTU		TUTSI		TWA	
		M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
Giciye	Ukwakira 1990	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
	Abariho mu ntangiriro y'Ukwakira	31959	32151	64110	31601	31777	310	331	47	43
	Abiyandikishije	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Abavutse	25	35	60	25	35	0	0	0	0
	Abaje gutura	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
	Abapfuye	6	5	11	6	5	0	0	0	0
	Abimutse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Abiyongereye	20	32	52	20	32	0	0	0	0
	Abariho mu mpera z'Ukwakira	31979	32183	64162	31621	31809	310	331	47	43

Aho byavuye: ibarura ry'abaturage, Ukwakira 1990

Komini	Umwaka	Igitsina		Bose	HUTU		TUTSI		TWA	
		M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
Giciye	Ugushyirigoye 1990	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
	Abariho mu ntangiriro z'Ugushyirigoye	31979	32183	64162	31621	31809	310	331	47	43
	Abiyandikishije	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Abavutse	43	48	91	43	48	0	0	0	0
	Abaje gutura	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Abapfuye	9	8	17	8	8	1	0	0	0
	Abimutse	1	3	4	1	3	0	0	0	0
	Abiyongerereye	33	39	72	34		39	-1	0	0

Abariho mu mpera z'Ugushyingo	32012	32222	64234	31655	31848	309	331	47	43
-------------------------------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-----	-----	----	----

Raporo y'ibarura muri Komini Giciye Gashyantare/ Werurwe 1991

Komini	Umwaka	Igitsina		Bose	HUTU		TUTSI		TWA	
		M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
Giciye	Gashyantare 1991	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
	Abariho mu ntangiriro za Gashyantare	32084	32287	64371	31731	31915	309	331	43	41
	Abiyandikishije	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Abavutse	51	42	93	51	41	0	1	0	0
	Abaje gutura	6	3	9	6	3	0	0	0	0
	Abapfuye	10	3	13	8	3	2	0	0	0
	Abimutse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Abiyongereye	47	44	91	49	43	0	1	0	0
	Abariho mu mpera za Gashyantare	32131	32331	64462	31780	31958	307	332	43	41

Aho byavuye: raporo y'ibarura ry'abaturage y'ukwakira 1991.

Komini	Umwaka	Igitsina		Bose	HUTU		TUTSI		TWA	
		M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F
Giciye	Werurwe 1991									
	Abariho mu ntangiriro Werurwe	32131	32331	64462	31780	31958	307	332	43	41
	Abiyandikishije	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Abavutse	63	50	113	63	50	0	0	0	0
	Abaje gutura	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Abapfuye	11	5	16	5	5	6	0	0	0
	Abimutse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Abiyongereye	53	45	98	59	45	0	0	0	0
	Abariho mu mpera za Werurwe	32184	32376	64560	31839	32003	301	332	43	41

Source : Ibarura ry'abaturage/ Werurwe, 1991

Dushingiye kuri raporo z'ibarura ry'abaturage ryakorwaga buri kwezi mu makomini yose, ikigaragara ni uko nta na hamwe hagaragara raporo y'Abatutsi babaga muri ayo makomini bishwe cyangwa banyerejwe kuva muri 1990 kugeza 1994. Ugendeye kuri izi raporo z'ibarura, ikigaragara ni uko no mu gihe bagaragaje imibare y'Abatutsi bapfuye baterekana icyo bazize.

Ibi bitandukanye n'ibikubiye muri za raporo zitandukanye nk'ya *Commission Politico-Administrative* ku mvururu zabaye muri Perefegitura za Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye yari ikuriwe na Dr. Iyamuremye Augustin, n'ya *Commission Internationale d'Enquête sur les violations de droit de l'homme au Rwanda* yo muri 1993 n'izindi, zigaragaza ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu makomini atandukanye harimo na Giciye (Service du Premier Minisitiri, 1993). Izi raporo zo zerekana imibare y'abapfuye n'icyo bazize.

Muri rusange iyo hakorwaga ibarura ry'abaturage batuye muri buri Komini, umubare w'Abatutsi wahoraga ari muke hagendewe kuri politiki yari ihari ivuga ko Abatutsi ari icyenda ku ijana (9%, Abatwa 1% n'aho Abahutu 90%). Muri raporo zitandukanye zakorwaga na Komini, wasangaga umubare w'Abatutsi utiyongera cyangwa ngo ugabanuke ndetse n'igihe raporo z'imiryango ihananira uburenganzira bwa muntu zagaragazaga ko hari Abatutsi bishwe.

Gukora urutonde rw'Abatutsi muri buri segiteri

Nyuma yo gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi, ubutegetsu bwashyizeho na gahunda yo kubarura Abatutsi batuye muri buri segiteri. Ibi byafashaga Leta kumenya niba hari abagenda. Aho wajyaga hose, byitwaga ko wagiye mu Nkotanyi. Ikindi byafashaga ni ukumenya umubare nyawo w'Abatutsi bahari. Nko muri Komini Mutura, ubwicanyi bwagiye bukorerwa Abatutsi wasangaga ababikoze ari ibintu bari barateguye. Hari harabanje kubaho ibarura, babaruraga ingo z'Abatutsi bagakora lisiti uhereye hasi muri nyumbakumi. Ibi byabaye Inkotanyi zikimara gutera (ZY,2013).

Umutangabuhamywa wahoze ari mu bakonseye muri Komini Kayove avuga ko buri gihe basabwaga gukora lisiti z'Abatutsi batuye muri segiteri bayobora. Kuri iyo lisiti, hakagaragaraho imyirondoro ya buri wese uhereye ku mazina, imyaka bafite, icyo bakora no kumenya niba nta muntu wo muri urwo rugo wagiye mu Nkotanyi (ZJ, 2013).

Muri Komini Giciye naho, kuva Inkotanyi zatera mu 1990 kugeza 1994, hagiye habaho kubarura Abatutsi, kugira ngo bamenye niba hari abahunze cyangwa abagiye mu Nkotanyi. Hari igihe runaka bakoraga igenzura bakamenya niba ababaruwe bagihari. Imyirondoro yo kubarura yari imwe hose, kandi raporo yatangwaga buri kwezi kuri Komini, Komini nayo ikohereza izo raporo kuri Superefegitura na Perefegitura.

4.11. Guhohotera no kwica Abatutsi bitewe n’uko urugamba rwagenze hagati ya FAR na RPF-Inkotanyi

Buri gihe ibyaberaga ku rugamba byagiraga ingaruka mbi ku Batutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Iyo ku rugamba byabaga bitameze neza, abasirikare ndetse n’abategetsi bo mu nzego z’ibanze batotezaga Abatutsi mu buryo bukomeye ndetse no bubica. Nk’uko umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Karago avuga, nyuma y’urupfu rwa *Colonel* Rwendeye mu 1991, aguye ku rugamba, muri iyi Komini ndetse no mu tundi duce byegeranye, ishyano ryaraguye. Biraye mu Batutsi barabica. Uwari wungirije Burugumesitiri wa Komini Karago witwa Sebatashyi Bernard wavukanaga na Rwendeye yayoboye ibitero byica Abatutsi bazira Rwendeye waguye ku rugamba (ZU, 2013).

Ibi byabaga mu ma Komini anyuranye. Hari n’ubwo bavugaga amakuru yo kubeshya ngo umusirikare mukuru runaka yaguye ku rugamba, ari ukugira ngo bashyushye imitwe y’abaturage babone uko bica Abatutsi. Bene ayo makuru yazaga akura umutima imiryango y’abasirikare bari ku rugamba, na bo bakumva ko ibibazo bafite byaturutse ku Batutsi bateye igihugu, bikongera urwango bafitiye Abatutsi, bakabagirira nabi (R, 2013).

Muri Komini Kanama ho iyo Inkotanyi zabaga zasubijwe inyuma, abategetsu bazaga gufata Abatutsi bakabajyana kubyina intsinzi y'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Umutangabuhamya wa ho avuga ko gutsindwa kw'Inkotanyi, byabaga impamvu yo kubafata bakabajyana kubyina ikinyemera³⁷ mu buryo bwo kubashinyagurira. Babasabaga kubyina hamwe n'abandi baturage (ZD, 2013).

Dushinigiye ku nyandiko z'inzobere mu bumenyi bujyanye na Jenocide, ibikorwa byakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993 biri mu byiciro bibanziriza ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide. Ibyo bikorwa birimo guha abagomba kwicwa ibibaranga, kubambura ubumuntu no kubaheza (Stanton, 2008).

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Abatutsi biswe abanutsi, abatunnyetsi n'abashondori. Bavugaga ko barangwa n'ubugome, uburyarya, kandi ko bakunda ubuhake n'ibindi.

Ku birebana no kubambura ubumuntu, Abatutsi biswe inyenzi, inzoka n'ibindi. Kugereranywa n'udusimba cyangwa udukoko byatinyuye abicanyi kubera ko abicwa batafatwaga nk'ikiremwa muntu. Gukwiza urwango rwambura ubumuntu byanyujijwe mu itangazamakuru no mu nama zitandukanye.

Guheza Abatutsi byakorwaga mu buryo butandukanye, harimo kudahabwa amahirwe angana n'ay'abandi

³⁷ Ikinyemera: ni imbyino y'abantu bakora umwuga w'ubworozi, baririmba indirimbo zirimo guha agaciro inka umudihho nawo ukagaragaramo kwigana inka ukurikije uko ziteze.

baturage, nko kwiga, kujya mu gisirikari, kubona akazi mu nzego za Leta n'ibindi. Babayeho batotezwa mu mibereho yabo ya buri muni.

N'ubwo iki gice kibanze ku bikorwa byabaye hagati ya 1990 na 1993, guhohoterwa kw'Abatutsi, kubambura ubumuntu no kubaheza byatangiye mbere uhereye mu 1959.

IGICE CYA V: ITEGURWA RYA JENOSIDE HAGATI YA 1990-1994 MU YAHENZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI

Nk'uko bigaragara mu bice bibanza by'ubu bushakashatsi, ibikorwa by'itotezwa, ihezwa n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi guhera mu 1959 kugera kuri Jenoside yabakorewe mu 1994.

Iki gice kiribanda ku bikorwa by'itegurwa rya Jenoside byabaye hagati ya 1990 na 1994. Muri byo harimo gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, gutoza interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage n'abagize uruhare muri ibyo bikorwa by'itegura.

5.1. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi

Gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi byakorwaga mu buryo butandukanye. Hari ibyanyuzwaga ku maradiyo, cyangwa ibinyamakuru bitandukanye n'inama zakoreshejwe n'abategetsi. Nk'uko umutangabuhamya wabaye konseye kugeza 1994 akomeza avuga, abategetsi batandukanye babwiraga abaturage ko igihugu cyatewe n'Abatutsi bari barahunze muri 1959 kandi ko bakorana

n'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu. Ibyo rero abaturage babyuririragaho bavuga ngo ni Abatutsi bababujije amahoro.

5.1.1. Gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi binyuze mu itangazamakuru

Mbere no mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, itangazamakuru ryagize uruhare mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi.

5.1.1.1. Uruhare rw'ikinyamakuru Kangura

Ikinyamakuru Kangura cyatangijwe na Hassan Ngeze ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Rubavu, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, muri Gicurasi 1990. Iki kinyamakuru cyasohoye inyandiko zacyo kugera mu 1995 ubwo hasohokaga nimeru yacyo ya nyuma isohokera hanze y'u Rwanda (Prosecutor v. Nahimana et al, 2003, par.122).

Kangura yakwirakwije urwango, inakangurira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Nyuma y'amezi abiri RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu, Kangura yasohoye inyandiko yitwa **“Appel à la conscience des Bahutu”** igaragaramo amategeko icumi y'Abahutu. Iyi nyandiko itangira yerekana ko icyo Abatutsi bashaka

ari ukumena amaraso no gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Amategeko icumi avugwa muri iyi nyandiko akangurira Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi mu buryo bwose harimo kwirinda umubano bagirana nabo, kudashyingiranwa n'Abatutsikazi, kudakorana nabo cyangwa kugirana amasezerano ayo ariyo yose.

Nk'uko bigaragara muri aya mategeko icumi, imyanya ikomeye ifatirwamo ibyemezo igomba kuba iy'Abahutu gusa. Itegeko rya munani ribuzza Umuhutu wese kugirira imbabazi Umututsi, naho irya cyenda, Abahutu bose basabwe kuba maso bakamenya ko umwanzi bafite ari umwe, ari we Mututsi (Kangura n° 6, Ukuboza 1990).

Gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi byagaragaye na none muri iki kinyamakuru Kangura muri numero 54 yasohotse muri Mutarama 1991. Hassan Ngeze yanditse ko Inyenzi zigomba kwiyumvisha ibishobora gukurikiraho igihe cyose zakongera gukora ikosa ryo gushoza imirwano, ko Abatutsi bazahita batsembwa burundu, nta n'umwe usigaye, harimo n'ibitso byazo (Nahimana v. Prosecutor, 2007, par.771).

Mu Gushyingo 1991 Kangura yasohoye numero yayo ya 26, ku rupapuro rwayo rubanza handitse amagambo yegeeranye n'umupanga yo kwibaza intwara zakoreshwa

kugirango batsinde Inyenzi burundu. Hafi y'ayo magambo hariho n'ifoto ya Kayibanda wayoboze repubulika ya mbere, n'andi magambo avuga ko uwagarura revolisiyo ya 1959 y'Abahutu yaba imwe mu ngamba zafasha gutsinda Inyenzi-Ntutsi. Kuri iyi paji kandi hanagaragara ubundi buryo busanzwe buhari bwo kurwana bugaragaza imodoka y'intambara n'abasirikare ku rugamba.

Muri iyi nimeru, Hassan Ngeze yibukije Abahutu revolisiyo yo mu 1959, avuga ko imipanga n'izindi ntwaro arizo zakoreshejwe mu kwica Abatutsi. Muri iyi revolusiyo ya 1959, umwanditsi yita iy'Abahutu, yabaye iyo kwica no kumenesha Abatutsi. Kugarura iyi revolisiyo, ni ugukangurira Abahutu kongera kwica Abatutsi iyo bava bakagera hifashishijwe imipanga nk'uko byagenze muri 1959 (Kangura, n°26 Ugushyingo 1991, p.15).

Nimero 41 y'iki kinyamakuru yo muri Werurwe 1993 ivuga ko nta mpamvu abasirikare ba Leta bashobora kujya kurwanya umwanzi ku mupaka basize umwanzi uri imbere mu gihugu (Kangura n° 41, Werurwe 1993). Nyuma gato, muri numero ya 59 yasohotse muri Werurwe 1994, umwanditsi w'iki kinyamakuru avuga ko RPF-Inkotanyi niyongera kugaba ibitero, Abatutsi n'ibitso byabo bazicwa(Kangura n °59, Werurwe 1994). izi numero zombi zirakangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu n'undi wese udashigikiye umugambi

wo kubica.

Ku birebana no gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi bigaragara mu kinyamakuru Kangura, Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ruvuga ko ikinyamakuru Kangura cyagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenocide kuko cyashishikarizaga Abahutu bose ubwicanyi. Inyandiko zacyo zari zuzuyemo u Rwango ruvanze n'ubwoba, kuko cyabwiraga Abahutu ko nibadafata iya mbere mu kwica Abatutsi ari bo bazicwa.

5.1.1.2. Ibindi binyamakuru byandika byashishikarije kwica Abatutsi

Usibye Kangura, ibinyamakuru bitandukanye harimo Zirikana, Umurwanashyaka, Kamarampaka, Interahamwe n'ibindi byari bishyigikiye Leta ya Habyarimana byagize uruhare mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi.

Duhereye ku rugero rw'ikinyamakuru Zirikana cyari gishyigikiye ishyaka rya CDR n'Abahutu bose cyagize uruhare mu gukangurira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Nk'uko inyito yacyo ivuga, cyabwiraga Abahutu kuzirikana ububi bw'Abatutsi, bityo bakabarwanya bivuye inyuma.

Ikinyamakuru Zirikana cyasohokaga mu gihe cya buri mezi abiri. Cyasohoye nimeru yacyo ya mbere muri Nzeri 1992. Muri nimeru yacyo ya mbere, ku rupapuro rwa 7, cyasohoye itangazo ku wa 4 Nzeri 1992 risaba Abahutu bose kuba maso bakarwanya umwanzi n'ibitso bye. Iryo tangazo ryasabye minisiteri y'ingabo kwigisha Abahutu bose imbunda ngo kuko Abatutsi bo bazigishijwe n'Inkotanyi kandi bakaba banazitunze (Zirikana, Nzeri 1992).

Mu gufasha Abahutu kugira imyumvire imwe ku ijambo “umwanzi”, hashyizweho akanama kari gakuriwe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora bisabwe n'umukuru w'igihugu Juvénal Habyarimana mu nama yagiranye n'abasirikare bakuru ku wa 4 Ukuboza 1991 ku ishuri rya gisirikare E.S.M (Ecole Supérieure Militaire). Iyo nama yari igamije gusobanura umwanzi uwo ari we no gushyiraho ingamba zo kumutsinda. Igisobanuro cy'ijambo “umwanzi” cyatanzwe mu nyandiko y'umuyobozi mukuru wa gisirikare, Déogratias Nsabimana ku itariki ya 21 Nzeri 1992.

Nk'uko iyo nyandiko ibigaragaza, umwanzi agizwe n'ibice bibiri; umwanzi nyir'izina (ennemi principal) n'abafana b'umwanzi.

Umwanzu nyir'izina ni Umututsi w'imbere mu gihugu no

hanze yacyo ufite inyota y'ubutegetsi, utarigeze yemera impinduramatwara yo mu 1959, ushakisha kugaruka ku butegetsi akoresheje uburyo bwose harimo n'intwari. Umufana w'umwanzi (partisan de l'ennemi) ni umuntu wese ufasha umwanzi mu buryo ubwo aribwo bwose (Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consorts, Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 202).

Bitewe n'uko abaturage bose bari bamaze gusobanukirwa n'ijambo umwanzi, igihe cyose bahabwaga ubutumwa bwo kurwanya umwanzi, bahitaga birara mu Batutsi aho bari hose .

5.1.1.3. Gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi binyuze kuri Radiyo Televiziyo ya Mille Colline (RTL)

Radiyo Televiziyo ya Mille Colline yamenyekanye ku izina rya “Radiyo Rutwitsi” yatangiye kumvikana uherye ku itariki 8 Nyakanga 1993 kugera ku itariki 31 Nyakanga 1994. Yashinzwe na bamwe mu banyapolitiki bari bashyigikiye ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwariho, bagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Abari bagize komite yayitangiye (Comite d'initiative) ni: Felicien Kabuga (wari Perezida), Ignace Temahagari (umwanditsi). Abandi

ni Ferdinand Nahimana, Joseph Serugendo, Ephrem Nkezabera, Augustin Hatari, Charles Nzabagerageza, Jean Bosco Barayagwiza na Silas Mucumankiko.

RTLTM yatambutsaga ubutumwa n'ibiganiro bikangurira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Ibi byakozwe mbere ya Jenocide n'igihe yari irimbanije muri 1994.

Abanyamakuru bayoboraga ibiganiro nka Bemeriki Valérie, Habimana Kantano³⁸ ibiganiro byabo byakanguriraga Abahutu kwica Abatutsi n'undi muntu wese utari ushyigikiye ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Ibijyanye n'urugamba hagati y'Inkotanyi n'ingabo z'igihugu byavugwaga kuri radiyo RTLTM byabaga byuzuyemo urwango no kwambura ubumuntu abo mu mutwe wa RPF Inkotanyi. Ingero ni nk'aho bitaga Inkotanyi ko ari "Inyenzi imburagasani" zifite amatwi maremare n'imirizo (Chrétien, 1995).

Ku itariki ya 2 Ukuboza 1993, RTLTM yatambukije ikiganiro gikangurira Abahutu bose aho bari, mu Rwanda no mu bindi bihugu, ko Umututsi ari umunyamahanga waje mu Rwanda ashaka ubwatsi bw'inka ze, ariko kubera amayeri agira, akagera aho ateguka Abahutu yahasanze. Bityo ko nibamwemerera akagaruka mu Rwanda atari ho azategeka gusa, ahubwo ko azigarurira ibiyaga bigari (Chretien, 2007).

³⁸ RTLTM : Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille collines) bamwe bitaga radiyo rutwitsi.

RTLTM yatambutsaga ibiganiro byinshi byo kwerekana ko umwanzi (Umututsi) afite umugambi wo kurimbura Abahutu bose bityo bagahamagarirwa gufata iya mbere bakamurwanya.

Mu gihe Jenocide yari irimbaniye, RTLTM yarangiraga abicanyi aho Abatutsi bihishe cyangwa bahungiyeye ari benshi. Tariki 2 Nyakanga, 1994, RTLTM yatanze ubutumwa ku Bahutu bose bwo kunezerwa bakishima kuko Inkotanyi (ari we Mututsi) zashize (Prosecutor v. Nahimana et al, 2003, par.403).

Usibye RTLTM, Radiyo Rwanda nayo yagize uruhare mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Mbere yo kwica Abatutsi bo mu Bugesera, mu makomini ya Ngenda, Gashora na Kanzenze, tariki 3 Werurwe 1992, Radiyo Rwanda yacishijeho itangazo inshuro eshanu ribwira Abahutu bose ko Abatutsi bafite umugambi wo kwica abategetsu bakuru b'Abahutu. Ibi byatumye Abahutu bihutira kwica Abatutsi mu minsi yakurikiye iryo tangazo.

Ubu buryo bwo gukwirakwiza inkuru ko Abatutsi baba bagiye kwica Abahutu bwakoreshejwe inshuro nyinshi n'ubuyobozi, iyo habaga hari gahunda yo kwica Abatutsi. Ingero ni igihe bicaga Abatutsi bo muri komini Kibilira mu Kwakira 1990, Gashyantare 1991 muri Komine Mutura, Kanama na Rwerere.

Mu bumenyi bujyanye na Jenocide, uburyo bwo kurega

ugomba kwicwa ko ari we ufite umugambi wo kwica, mu rurimi rw'igifaransa babwita “ *accusation en miroire*”. Abategura Jenoside bitirira abagomba kwicwa imigambi yabo mibisha (Gordon, 2015).

Ibirebana na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu 1994, umutangabuhamya wo mu gitabo cyanditse na Dupaquier cyitwa “ *L'Agenda du génocide: Le témoignage de Richard Mugenzi ex-espion Rwandais*” avuga ko inshuro nyinshi *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva yamuzaniraga inkuru y'impimbano igamije kwerekana ko umwanzi afite umugambi wo kwica Abahutu kugira ngo ayikwirakwize mu nzego zitandukanye (Dupaquier 2010:83-85).

Amakuru y'amahimbano ni yo yatanzwe n'intagondwa z'Abahutu ziyobowe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora bavuga ko indege ya Habyarimana yarashwe n'abasirikare ba RPF-Inkotanyi. Umutangabuhamya Richard Mugenzi wakoraga nk'ushinzwe kuneka umwanzi akoresheje radiyo ya gisirikare, avuga ko *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva yamuzaniye urupapuro ruriho inkuru y'impimbano ivuga ko RPF-Inkotanyi ari yo yahanuye indege ya Habyarimana kugira ngo ayikwirakwize hose nk'umuntu wayumvise ku nyakira majwi zikoreshwa na RPF-Inkotanyi (Dupaquier, 2010, pp. 272-276). Kwandukura iyi nkuru byakozwe n'umutangabuhamya Richard Mugenzi mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7

Mata 1994 ubwo yari yasubiye mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Butotori gihereye muri Komini Nyamyumba, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Gukwirakwiza inkuru y'impimbano ivuga ko Perezida w'igihugu Habyarimana Juvénal yishwe n'Inkotanyi byashishikarizaga Abahutu kwihorera bica Abatutsi. Imvugo ku bicanyi mu gihugu hose yari imwe ngo bapfushije umubyeyi wabo wishwe n'Abatutsi.

Igikorwa cyo gushishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi kigaragara mu manza zitandukanye z'abakurikiranyweho icyaha cya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Mu rubanza ruregwamo Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean Bosco Barayagwiza na Hassan Ngeze, Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), urugereko rwa mbere, rwemeje ko, uko ari batatu bagize uruhare mu gushishikariza gukora Jenocide n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu (Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consorts, Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 202).

5.1.2. Inama zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi

Kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 hagiye habaho inama nyinshi zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Izo nama zakoreshwaga n'abakonseye,

ba Burugumesitiri, ba Superefe, Minisitiri n' abakuru b'amashyaka ya MRND na CDR. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umwe mu batangabuhamya wari utuye muri Komini Rubavu, gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi byatangiye umunsi Inkotanyi zatangizaga urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu.

«Inkotanyi zikimara gutera ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, hatangiye gukorwa inama, aho bakanguriraga abaturage kuba maso, bakamenya umwanzi uwariwe, bakamurwanya. Abategetsibakoreshaga inama babwira abaturage ko umwanzi wateye igihugu ari Umututsi waturutse Uganda, ko afite benewabo mu gihugu hagati kandi akaba akorana nabo. Bakundaga kuvuga ngo mube maso, murebe neza, mukure urumamfu mu ngano, n'andi magambo mabi yashishikarizaga Abahutu kwica Abatutsi» (ZQ, 2013).

Umutangabuhamya wabaye konseye w'imwe muri segiteri za Komini Kayove avuga ko Inkotanyi zikimara gutera, hatangijwe inama nyinshi zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwirwanaho, bakarwanya umwanzi.

«Inkotanyi zimaze gutera, twe nk'abakonseye, baduhamagazaga mu nama kenshi. Ibibazo twabaga turi buvugeho, byarebanaga n'umutekano.

Batubwiraga ko igihugu cyacu cyatewe, ko umwanzi muri rusange ari Umututsi. Batubwiraga ko abateye igihugu ari Abatutsi baturutse hanze, kandi ko bafitanye isano n'Abatutsi bari mu gihugu. Na none twagiye dukora amanama menshi n'abaturage. Mu nama nyinshi zakorwaga zabaga zigamije kwerekana ububi n'ubugome bw'Umututsi, ko ariwe mwanzi wateye igihugu cyacu, ko ashaka kugarura ingoma ya cyami no gupyinagaza Abahutu. Batubwiraga ko Abatutsi duturanye batanga imisanzu no kohereza abana babo mu Nkotanyi, ko tugomba kuba maso tukamenya ibyitso bitwihishemo» (AG, 2014).

Usibye inama zakorwaga ku mugaragaro zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, hari izindi nama zakoreshwaga n'abategetsi bo hejuru zikanakorera ahantu hizewe hatageraga abaturage. Umutangabuhamya wari utuye muri Komini Satinsyi asobanura uko zakorwaga:

«Inama nyinshi zakorerwaga mu rwihisho, zaberaga mu mazu y'abategetsi, inyinshi zakorerwaga mu biro byabo, aho wasangaga nka Superefe yahamagaje aba Burugumesitiri bagakorera inama mu biro bye. Iyo habaga habaye inama ku rwego rwa Komini, ba konseye bavanaga amabwiriza kuri Komini na bo bagakoresha inama abaserire, babagezaho ubutumwa

bahawe, n'ikigomba gukorwa. Urebye ba konseye nibo bashyiraga mu bikorwa umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi. Ba konseye rero wasangaga bafashwa n'interahamwe zabaga zaratojwe mu ma segiteri bayobora. Urugero nk' Uwitwa Tegera w'interahamwe wakoraga muri PNAP yakundaga kuza gukoresha inama zigamije kwica Abatutsi» (N, 2013)

5.1.2.1. Zimwe mu nama zakoreshejwe n'abategetsu bakuru

Abategetsu bo hejuru bagize uruhare runini mu gushishikariza abaturage b'Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Nk'uko abatangabuhama batandukanye bavuga, kwica Abatutsi byabaga ari amabwiriza yaturutse mu nzego zo hejuru. Abategetsu bo mu nzego zo hasi bashyiraga mu bikorwa ibyo babaga bategetswe no hejuru, bakabikora bafatanije n'abaturage bayobora. Ba konseye bahabwaga amabwiriza aturutse kwa Burugumesitiri, Burugumesitiri nawe yabaga yahawe amabwiriza na Superefe cyangwa Perefefu. icyakora mu yahoze ari Perefefitura ya Gisenyi, hakunze kuvugwa uwari Superefe wa Superefitura ya Ngororero witwa Rukabukira Ildephonse ko ariwe wakoresheje inama nyinshi zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi.

5.1.2. 1.1. Inama zakoreshejwe na Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse

Nk'uko bivugwa n' abatangabuhamya batandukanye, uwari superefe wa Ngororero Rukabukira Ildephonse yakoresheje inama igamije gukangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Ku itariki 24 Mutarama 1993 yakoresheje inama ku kibuga cy'umupira cy'ahitwa mu Rutindo, muri serire Kamashi, segiteri Kageyo, Komini Ramba. Umwe mu batangabuhamya bo muri Komini Ramba wabaye umunyamabanga w'iyo Komini kuva muri 1990 kugeza mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, asobanura uko inama yagenze:

«Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse akoresha inama hari ku itariki 24 Mutarama 1993 nka saa cyenda z'amanywa. Iyo nama yari irimo uwitwa Barakomera Michel wari Perezida w'interahamwe muri segiteri Kageyo, harimo n'uwitwa Ntungura Jean Berkimmas wari ukuriye MRND muri segiteri n'abandi. Muri icyo nama bibutsaga abaturage ibyavugiye mu nama y'umunsi wo ku wa 23 Mutarama 1993 yakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera. Babwiye abaturage ko mu myanzuro yafatiye muri icyo nama ko ari ukwirwanaho, bagatangatanga utwo tunyenzu, bamwe baturutse hepfo abandi haruguru, bavugaga ko akazacika kazatabwa mu mugezi wa Satinsyi» (M, 2013).

Nk'uko abatangabuhamyanya bakomeza bavuga, mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1993 nyuma y'iminsi mike ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bubaye muri Komini Ramba, na none Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse yakoresheje inama muri iyo Komini, abwira Burugumesitiri n'abakonseye ko bagomba kwihanangiriza abaturage, ko ikintu bagombye kwitaho atari ugusahura no kurya inka z'Abatutsi, bakagombye kumaraho umwanzi. Aya ni amwe mu magambo yavuze: « *Iyo uriye inka y'Umututsi ntacyo uba ukoze, Iyo usenyeye Umututsi ntacyo uba ukoze, usahuye cyangwa akarya ibye ariko we agasigara ntacyo uba ukoze* ». Muri iyo nama Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse yasabye abakonseye bose ko bagenda bagasenyanya ibisigazwa by'amazu y'Abatutsi bari baratwitse kugira ngo abanyamahanga batazaza bagafotora ibyo bisigazwa (M&F, 2013).

Umutangabuhamyanya wo muri iyo komini, avuga ko nyuma y'inama yayobowe na Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse, umunsi ukurikiyeho, ku wa 25 Mutarama 1993, Abatutsi batangiyeye kwicwa muri Komini Ramba harimo umuryango we wose (F, 2013).

5.1.2.1.2. Inama zakoreshejwe na ba Burugumesitiri cyangwa Asisita Burugumesitiri

Inamazishishikariza Abahutukwica Abatutsi zakoreshwaga na ba Burugumesitiri cyangwa ababungirije. Nk’uko bivugwa n’umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Giciye, mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1992, Asisita Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Kuradusenge Thomas, yakoresheje inama abaturage ba segiteri Murambi arangije arababwira ngo “*ndashaka kongera kubibutsa ko umwanzi turwana nawe ari Umututsi ko bitakiri ibanga*”. Ibyo yabivuze mu 1992 mu kwezi kwa kabiri, igihe habaga hari gahunda yo gutema ibihuru (S, 2013).

Mu kwezi kwa cyenda 1993 Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba Karasira Léonard yakoresheje inama yari yatumijemo abakonseye bose ba segiteri zigize Komini Ramba, abacuruzi bakomeye, interahamwe n’abayoboke ba CDR. Muri icyo nama yasabye abari bayitabiriye bose ko bagomba kuba maso bagashakisha ahantu hose umwanzi ari. Umwanzi bavugaga yari Umututsi. Nyuma y’icyo nama abaturage bagiye guhiga umwanzi mu ishyamba rya Gishwati, batangira kwica Abatutsi bari baturiyeye iryo shyamba (M, 2013).

Ibijyanye n’inama zakoreshwaga na ba Asisita

Burugumesitiri cyangwa ba Burugumesitiri, umutangabuhamywa wo muri Komini Giciye avuga ko hakorwa igeragezwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Giciye, Gaseke na Karago mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1992, hari habaye inama yahuje ba Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Gaseke na Karago ndetse n'abakonseye bose ba za segiteri z'ayo makomine. Muri iyo nama Superefe wa Kabaya yasabye ba Burugumesitiri n'abakonseye bose gukangurira abaturage igikorwa cyo gukora umuganda.

«Abatangabuhamywa bavuga ko mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa mbere 1991, Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Kabaya yasabye ba Burugumesitiri n'abakonseye gukangurira abaturage gahunda yo gukora umuganda, hagatemwa ahantu hose hari ibihuru kugira ngo Inyenzi zitazabona aho zihisha. Ibihuru bavugaga byaje guhinduka Abatutsi, ni bwo rero batwirayemo baratwica. Ku itariki 29 Mutarama 1991 uwari Asisita Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye witwa Rulinda Vedaste yaje abwira abaturage bose ngo bajye mu muganda wo gutema ibihuru. Nyuma yo guhabwa amabwiriza, abakonseye bose batwaye abaturage mu muganda. Umukonseye umwe wa segiteri Nyamugeyo witwa Bazera yabwiye abaturage bose, Abahutu n'Abatutsi ngo tujye gutema ibihuru n' ibyatsi, noneho uwo Asisita Burugumesitiri ahageze asanga abaturage twese dutema ibyatsi, ahita

amukubita urushyi, aramubwira ngo kuki atumva icyo bashatse kuvuga, ngo gutema ibihuru ntabwo ari imigina, ibihuru ni Abatutsi. icyakurikiyeho, uwo Asisita burugumesitiri yahise ahamagaza abandi ba konseye bumvise icyo gutema ibihuru bishatse kuvuga. Mu mwanya wakurikiyeho haje ibitero birimo abaturage benshi baza bitwaje amacumu, imipanga n'inkota, batangira kwica Abatutsi, no kubahiga aho bari bihise. Batangiriye ku batutsi bari batuye ahitwa ku Gakamba, bica uwitwa Karamira, Gashabuka, Bimenyimana, Nyiramasaka, Rutagaramba, Njori na Karani. Aba ni abo muri segiteri Nyamugeyo» (E, 2013).

5.1.2.1.3. Inama zakoreshejwe n'abakuru b'amashyaka ya politiki

Usibye inama zakoreshwaga na ba Burugumesitiri cyangwa Asisita Burugumesitiri, abari bakuriye amashyaka ya MRND na CDR na bo bakoresheje inama zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Ubutumwa bwatangwaga muri izo nama bwari ubwo gukangurira Abahutu kwica no kurimbura icyitwa Umututsi. Aya ni amwe mu magambo yavuzwe n'uwitwa Nyagasaza Mathias wari ukuriye MRND muri Komini Karago: « *Ujya kurandura igisura, akimarayo* ». Aca uyu mugani, yashakaga kuvuga ko igisura nk'ikintu kibi ari Umututsi,

ko Umututsi yagombye kurandurwa burundu kuburyo atazongera gushibuka. Amaze guca uwo mugani, yaravuze ngo « *Abo mbwira murumva* ». Iyo nama yari yabereye muri segiteri ya Gakarara, Komini Karago. Umunsi wakurikiyeho nibwo bishe umwarimu witwaga Sebarara. Hishwe n’abandi batutsi benshi nyuma y’iyo nama yakoreshejwe na Nyagasaza Mathias. Iyo Nyagasaza yavaga mu nama ku rwego rwa Perefegitura, yarazaga na we agakoresha inama ba konseye n’abaturage, akabaha amabwiriza yavuye hejuru (ZB, 2013).

Inama zakoreshejwe n’abayobozi b’amashyaka mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi zabaga zirimo abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR kuko ni yo mashyaka yari yiganje muri iyo Perefegitura. Andi mashyaka yari make cyane cyangwa nta n’abayoboze ahagira. Abakuriye amashyaka ya MRND na CDR ni bo bari mu nzego z’ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta.

Mu mpera z’umwaka wa 1992, Munyagishari Bernard ari kumwe na Pefe Bizimungu Kosima (cyangwa Côme) bakoresheje inama muri segiteri Rusiza, ubu ni mu murenge wa Bugeshi. Iyo nama yari iyo gukangurira Abahutu kwirwanaho bagahashya umwanzi. Nyuma y’iyo nama habayeho kubohozza imyaka n’imirima by’Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye muri Zayire ahitwa Cyeshero. Bavugaga ko abo Batutsi batahunze ko bagiye mu Nkotanyi (ZY,

2013).

Muri Komini Mutura, Barayagwiza Jean Bosco³⁹ ni umwe mu bakundaga gukoresha inama muri iyi Komini. Nk’umwe mu bashinze ishyamba rya CDR⁴⁰, akaba yaranagize uruhare mu gushyiraho Radiyo RTLM⁴¹ izwi ku izina rya “Radiyo Rutwitsi”, yagize uruhare mu gukangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko Barayagwiza yakoranaga inama n’abakonseye, nabo bakageza amabwiriza bahawe ku baturage. Nyuma y’izo nama ibintu by’ubugome byagendaga birushaho kwihembera (ZN, 2013).

Barayagwiza Jean Bosco yaburanishijwe n’Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, ahanishwa igifungo cy’imyaka mirongo itatu n’itanu (Case n°. ICTR-99-52-T. par.1107).

Abakuru b’amashyamba ku rwego rwa Komini bagiye bakoresha inama ahantu hanyuranye. Kabalira Télésphore wari umugenzuzi w’amashuri muri Komini Satinsyi, nyuma akaza kuba Perezida wa MRND muri iyi Komini, yari ashinzwe gutegura gahunda zose

³⁹ Barayagwiza yari Diregiteri Mukuru ushinze politiki muri Ministeri y’Ububanyi n’Amahanga. Yavuye muri MRND aba uwa CDR. Bucyana apfuye ni we wasigaye ayobora CDR. Avuka mu yahoze ari Komini Mutura, Segiteri ya Kanzenze, ubu ni mu murenge wa Kanzenze, Akarere ka Rubavu.

⁴⁰ CDR : Coalition pour la Defence de la Republique

⁴¹ RTLM : Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines

(organisateur) zijyanye n'inama zikangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Ku itariki ya 20 Mutarama 1993 ubwo imyigaragambyo y'ishyaka rya MRND yatangiraga, Kabalira yakoresheje inama yo gutsemba Abatutsi. Iyo nama yari irimo abakuru b'amashyaka ya MRND na CDR ku rwego rwa za segiteri, interahamwe n'impuzamugambi. Yabereye mu kabari kitwa « Notre Bar », ka Ndabitondeye. Ubu ni mu murenge wa Ngororero, Akarere ka Ngororero.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Rubavu, muri 1992, mu mugi wa Gisenyi habaye inama y'ishyaka rya MRND yayobowe na Ngirumpatse Matayo. Yasobanuye imikoraniye ya MRND na CDR. Mu magambo yabwiye abaturage, yavuze ko MRND imaze gukomera, kandi ko ifite ubushobozi. Ngirumpatse yakomeje avuga ko haje CDR, ikaba ari akana kayo. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko aya mashyaka yombi yakoranaga bya hafi, kandi igihe cyose CDR yabaga yakoresheje inama, Abatutsi barakubitwaga abandi bakicwa.

5.1.2.1.4. Inama zakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera

Léon Mugesera yari visi perezida wa MRND muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Yari umuntu wubashywe kandi avuga rikijyana nk'umuntu wabarizwaga mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka ryari ku butegetsu. Yakoresheje inama ebyiri z'ingenzi muri iyi Perefegitura.

Ku itariki ya 22 Ugushyingo 1992, Léon Mugesera yakoresheje inama ku Kabaya, muri Komini Gaseke, igamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Iyi nama yaje ikurikira i ya *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora yabaye ku wa 21 Ugushyingo 1992, mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Butotori, muri Komini Nyamyumba. Mugesera ni umwe mu bari bitabiriye iyi nama, wanavuze ko icyifuzo cya *Colonel* Bagosora cyo kwica Abatutsi azakigeza ku barwanashyaka ba MRND.

Umutangabuhamya wari resiponsabule wa serire Mubugu, segiteri Rurambo, Komini Gaseke witabiriye inama yakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera asobanura uko yagenze:

«Iyo nama yabereye ku kibuga cy’urusengeru rwa Kiliziya Gatorika kuri Migongo. Muri iyo nama harimo abategetsi bakuru, nka *Colonel* Serubuga, n’ abategetsi batandukanye baturutse mu makomini yose ya Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Iyo nama yari yitabiriwe cyane cyane n’interahamwe, abagore n’abagabo bambaye ibitenge bya MRND. Interahamwe zo zari zambaye amashara, amakoma n’amababi y’inturusu. Icyo gihe Mugesera yazamutse hejuru (podium) aho bari bategeniye, afata ijamba avuga ko yaje gutanga ubutumwa no kuganira n’abaturage ba Gisenyi, ni bwo yavugaga ko Abatutsi bagomba kunyuzwa inzira y’ubusamo ya Nyabarongo bagasubizwa iwabo muri

Etiopiya. Nyuma y'iyi nama hakurikiyeho kwibasira Abatutsi, kubakubita ndetse no kubica. Icyo gihe inama ikimara gusoza, bahise bafata Umututsi witwa Mélanie baramukubita bamusiga asambagurika. Mu minsi yakurikiyeho hishwe Abatutsi bo muri Komini Giciye, segiteri Shyira. Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa mbere 1993 mu gace twari dutuyemo hishwe umuryango wa Kanigiri, umugore n'abana umunani (8) (E, 2013).

Disikuru ya Léon Mugesera yavugiye muri mitingiro yo ku Kabaya ku wa 22 Ugushyamba 1992

1. Muvoma yacu, ramba...

Perezida Habyalimana, narambe...

Abarwanashyamba ba Muvoma turi hano twese, turambe

2. Abarwanashyamba ba Muvoma yacu, twese uko duteraniye hano, ngirango ijamba ndi buvuye muranyunva, ndababwira ibintu bine gusa : mu minsi ishize nababwiye ko twanse agasuzuguro, n'ubu turacyakanga ! ibyo ntabwo mbigarukaho !

3. Uko nitegereje imbaga nyamwinshi twese duteraniye hano, biragaragara ko icya mbere nari kuvuga nari nkwiye kukireka : kuko nari ngiye kubabwira ngo muwirinde umugeri wa MDR irimo gusamba !

Icyo ni icya mbere. Icyo kabiri ngirango tujyeho inama : twivogerwa ! haba hano turi, haba no mu gihugu; icyo ni icya kabiri.

Icyo gatatu ngira ngo mbabwire, na cyo ni ikintu gikomeye, ni ikuntu tugomba kwifata kugira ngo twirinde abagambanyi n'abashaka kutumerera nabi. Hanyuma rero icyo ndi busozerezeho nyine, ni uburyo tugomba kwifata.

4. Icyo mbere rero ngira ngo mbagezeho, icyo kintu gikomeye ndagira ngo mukimenye... Kuko imigiri MDR na PL, na FPR, hamwe na rya shyamba ryitwa PSD na PDC ndetse, bitera muri iki gihe, mumenye impamvu ritera imigiri Rikayitera rero rishyamba ko urwara rwagera kuri perezida wa repubulika bikanga, ari we perezida wa Muvoma yacu. Rikayitera ku barwanashyamba bacu... Mumenye impamvu iyo migiri irimo guterwa : burya ujya gupfa aba afite indwara !!!

Igisambo Twagiramungu yagiye kuri radiyo kuko ari perezida w'ishyamba, ariwe wayihamagariye ngo agiye kuhicira CDR, irahamutsinda ! Imaze kuhamutsinda, mu matagisi hose i Kigali, abarwanashyamba ba MDR, PSD n'ibyo byitso byinyenzi, barakonje pe ! benda guhwera na we ubwe ararigita, ntiyasubira no mu biro yakoreragamo, ndababwira ko uwo muntu, ishyamba rye ryataye isaro, bese

bagira ubwoba bahita bapfa ! Kubera rero ko iryo shyaka hamwe n'andi bafatanyije kuko ari ibyitso by'inzenzi, umugabo uririmo witwa Murego ageze i Kibungo afata ijambo aravuga ati : "Twe dukomoka ku Bahutu kandi turi Abahutu.." Bati : "Urakavuna umuheto ! shahu ibyo by'Abahutu urabivuga ubibwiwe na nde ? ". Bararakara ubwo barahwera !

Noneho minisiteri w'intebe witwa ngo niba ari Nsengashitani cyangwa iyaremye, simbizi afata inzira n'i Cyangu ngo agiye kubuza Abahutu kwirwanaho, Abatutsi babatega za mines, mwabyumvise kuri radiyo, maze bamuha urw'amenyo, namwe mwarabyiyunviye ata umutwe, n'abarwanashyaka be bose n'amashyaka bafatanyije.

Ubwo rero murumva abo bantu bimaze kugenda gutyo.... Mwiyumviye perezida w'ishyaka ryacu, nyakubahwa Jenerali-majoro Habyarimana Juvenal, ageze mu Ruhengeri, avuze, Ikinani kiragaragara, ba bandi bahita bajya mu mva, murumva rero umugeri w'abo bantu, ko bahwereye, bateye umugeri bumvise uRwanda rwose n'abo mu yandi mashyaka barimo kuyavamo, bagaruka mw'ishyaka ryacu, kubera ijambo ry'umukuru wacu.

Umugeri wabo rero urindwa umubi, icyakora uko tungana dutya ndabona turi benshi, nta n'aho bawunyuzaga barata

igihe.

Ibyo rero ni icya mbere, MDR n'amashyaka bifatanyije birimo gusamba, umugeri wabyo, muwirinde, ariko uko nabibonye n'urwara ntiruzabageraho !

5. Icyamba kabiri nagennye kubabwira ni ukutavogerwa. Muve aha rwose mujyanye iryo jambo rivuga KUTAVOGERWA. Mbe wa mugabo we, nawe wa mubyeyi we muri hano, harya umuntu azaza yicare mu rugo rwawe, ahannye, wongere wemere ko ahagaruka koko !? Uwo ni umurizo rwose .

Mumenye ko ikintu gikomeye cya mbere,...hano mwabonye abavandimwe bacu b'i Gitarama ; amabendera ni jye wayatanze nkora mu biro by'ishyamba ryacu, yose i Gitarama barayashinga, ariko iyo uturutse i Kigali ukaza ugatambuka, ukinjira muri Kibilira nta bendera rya MRND, rikihatamba barayamanuye!

byo aribyo byose namwe murabyumva abapadiri batwigishije byiza na Muvoma yacu ni muvoma y'amahoro, ariko bamenye ko natwe amahoro yacu nta kuntu umuntu ashobora kuyagira na we atirwanyeho.

Hari abaciye umugani ngo : "Ushaka amahoro ahora yiteguye intambara". Maze rero, muri perefigurata yose yacu ya Gisenyi, ni ubwa kane cyangwa ubwa gatanu mbivuga, ni bo babanje. Mu ivanjiri biranditse ngo' "Nibagukubita urushyi ku itama rimwe uzatege irindi bakubite ho". Njye

mbabwiye ko iyo vanjiri yahindutse muri muvoma yacu : Nibagukubita urushyi ku itama rimwe, uzabatere ebyiri ku rindi hanyuma biture hasi ubutazanzamuka.

Aha rero, nta kantu kitwa ibendera ryabo, nta cyitwa ingofero yabo, nta cyitwa n'umurwanashyaka wabo ugomba kwongera kuza ku butaka bwacu kuhavugira : ndavuga Gisenyi yose uko yakabaye !

6. Ngo : *“Kirya abandi bajya kukirya kikishaririza” ! Bamenye ko umugabo ari nk'undi, natwe urugo rwacu ntiruvogerwa. Kuvogerwa rero mumenye ko ari umuziro.*

Ikindi kintu ngira ngo mbabwire ku byerekeranye no kuvogerwa, mugomba kwanga, ni ibintu biteye ubwoba ; mukuru wacu, Munyandamutsa, amaze kubabwira uko byifashe. Ati : “Ba ensipegiteri bacu, ubu mu gihugu hose ni 59 birukanye”. Muri prefegitura yacu ya Gisenyi ni 8

Maze se mwa babyeyi mwe muteraniye hano, mwari mwabona niba akiri umutegarugori simbizi ariko mwari mwabona uwo mugore uyobora Minisiteri y' Uburezi ari we uza kumenya ko abana banyu bavuye mu ngo, bakajya kwiga cyangwa bagasubira mu ishuri ?. Ntimwumvise ko yavuze ndetse ngo ntihakagire uwongera no kwiga ? None rero yahutse no mu barezi ! Ndagira ngo mbamenyeshe ko

yabahamagaye i Kigali, akababwira ngo : “Ntihakagire umuntu n’umwe yumva ko ngo ensipegiteri, umurezi, wagiye mu ishyaka” !

Baramushubije bati : “Banza urivemo nawe kuko uri ministri kandi uri mu ishyaka, natwe tuzagukurikira” ! Aracyaririmo, kandi mwumvise no kuri radiyo ukuntu asigaye atuka na Perezida wacu. Hari umubyeyi wagiye gukorongwa ku gasozi !? Maze rero icyo ngira ngo mbabwireho, ni amanyakuri ntabwo ari ugukeka ngo byaba ari bibi, ngo hari ababa barakubaganye muri bo. Icyo bazira ni uko bari muri MRND ! None bazaza kutuvogera (des mots manquent) muri MRND, badukuremo abantu twemere ?.

7. Mbasabye ibikorwa bibiri bikomeye cyane : icya mbere ni uko mwakwandikira uwo mushizi w’isoni utukana riva no kuri radiyo yacu twese y’Abanyarwanda, mwamwandikira mukamumenyesha ko abo barezi bacu ari indakemwa mu mico no mu myifatire kandi badufatiye abana neza, ko abo barezi bakomeza kurera bana, ko yisubiraho. Icyo ni icya mbere mbasabye. Maze mwese mugasinya pe ! Impapuro ntabwo zizabura rwose ! Maze rero nimumara iminsi mikeya adashubije, nk’irindwi gusa, kuko ibaruwa muzayohereza ijyane umuntu ayigezeye, abimenye ko yayibonye, maze nihashira iminsi irindwi adashubije kandi akiha kugira ngo hagire undi muntu uza gusimbura ba ensipegiteri bari mu myanya icyo mugifate akibwira ko hari uza kumusimbura,

uwonguwo uzaza rero aho ministri akomoka ni ahantu bita i Nyaruhengeri ku nkengeri z'uBurundi i Butare muzabwire uwo muntu afate inzira yikorere impamba ye aje kuba ensipegiteri i Nyaruhengeri ! Bazakoranireyo bose abo azashyiraho bose bajye i Nyaruhengeri kurera abana be, naho abacu bazakomera barerwe n'abacu . icyo ni ikintu na none gikomeye tugomba gufatira ibyemezo : ni ukutavogerwa pe ! Ni umuziro !

*8. Ikindi cyitwa kutavogerwa mu gihugu murabizi : abantu bitwa inyenzi ntimukongere kuvuga inkotanyi : ni inyenzi pe ! Abantu bitwa inyenzi bafashe inzira baradutera. Jenerali-majoro Habyarimana Yuvenali afatanyije dore Serubuga, mwamubonye Colonel ari hano yari umwungiriza we mu ngabo icyo gihe duterwa barahaguruka barahagarara, inyenzi bazijugunya hanze y'umupaka zisubira iyo zaturutse ; maze rero reka mbasetse : reka hazaze babandi bifuje ubutegetsu, nibamara kubushyikira, bafate inzira bajye i Buruseri. Bamaze kugera i Buruseri, icyo ni ikiri MDR, PL na PSD, barasezerana ngo mpaka batanze prefegitura ya Byumba ! icyo ni icya mbere. Barasezerana mpaka ngo abasirikare bacu bagomba kubaka intege ! Mwumvise ibyo ministri w'intebe yivugiye ngo : **"BAGIYE GUSHOKA IBISHANGA KANDI URUGAMBA RUSHYUSHYE"** ! icyo gihe abari bafite umutima woroshye muri bo, bavuye mu birindiro inyenzi zirinjira mu by'ukuri zijya hariya i*

Byumba nabo baja gusahura amaduka, bacuza abacuruzi bacu b'i Byumba, Ruhengeri na Gisenyi, ubungubu ni na leta igomba kwishyura ibyo bintu kuko niyo yateye ibyo. Ntabwo ari umucuruzi wacu, nta n'umwenda askaka : umwenda w'iki se ? Maze rero abo bantu batuma tuvogerwa.

Igihanishwa abo bantu nta kindi rero : “Azahanishwa urupfu umuntu wese uzaca intege ingabo z'igihugu ku rugamba” biranditse mu mategeko. Kuki uwo batamwica ? Nsengiyaremye agomba gushyikirizwa ubucamanza agacirwa urubanza, amategeko arahari aranditse. Bakamucira urubanza rwo gupfa nk'uko byanditse. Ibyo ntibibakange ngo ni uko ari ministri w'intebe, mumaze iminsi mwumva ku maradiyo ko n'abaministri b'uBugarwanda basigaye bahamagarwa mu bucamanza ! “Azahanishwa urupfu mu gihe cy'intambara, umuntu uzatanga ubutaka bw'igihugu, n'agatanyu”. Twagiramungu yabivugiye kuri radiyo, na CDR imutsinda kuri Radiyo. Abarwanashyaka be bata umutwe, namwe mwiyumvire rero. Ndagira ngo mbamenyeshe ko uwo muntu watanze Byumba kuri radiyo twese twumva, n'Abanyarwanda n'amahanga bumva, yacirwa urubanza ; azahanishwa urupfu biranditse mubaze abacamanza babereke aho biri ntabwo mbabeshya, azahanishwa urupfu umuntu uzatanga n'agatanyu ku Rwanda. None uwo muntu aracyakora iki.

9. Kutavogerwa rero murabizi mwa babyeyi mwe, murabizi, muzi yuko hari inyenzi ziri mu gihugu, zafashe abana bazo zibohereza ku rugamba kujya gufatanya n'inkotanyi. Ibyo ni ibintu mwiyumvira, muzi. Ejo navuye muri Nshili ku Gikongoro ku mupaka w'uBurundi, nyura n'i Butare hose bagiye bambwira umubare w'abana bagiye, bakambwira bati : "Banyura hano n'ubajyana. Kuki badafatwa, n'iyi miryango" ? None rero mbabwire : biranditse mu mategeko ngo mu gitabo cyamategeko ahana ngo : "Azahanishwa urupfu umuntu wese uzafata abasirikare ashatse mu giturage hose ashaka abana abaha ingabo z'amahanga zitera Republika". Biranditse. Kuki abo babyeyi bohereje abana batabafata ngo babatsembe ? Kuki badafata abo babajyana na bo bose ngo babatsembe ? Ubu mutegereje ko bazaza kudutsemba koko ?!

10. Maze rero ndagira ngo mbabwire iki : ni uko ubu dusabye ko abo bantu bose babashyira kuri lisiti bakabashyira imbere y'ubucamanza, bakabacira urubanza tukabumva, nibaramuka biyangiye rero mu'itegeko-nshinga biranditsemu ngo "ubutabera bubera abaturage" Mu gifaransa biravuga ngo : "La justice est rendue au nom du peuple". Igihe rero ubucamanza butagikorera rubanda nk'uko byanditse mu'itegeko-nshinga ryacu twishyiriyeho, icyo gihe ni ukuvuga ko twebwe abaturage bwagombye gukorera tugomba kwikorera, izo ngegera tukazitsemba. Ibi

mbibabwiye mu manyakuri nk'uko byanditse mu ivanjiri : igihe muzemera ko inzoka iza kubarya mukayireka ikabagumamo, ni mwebwe muzashira.

11. Ndabamenyesha ko hashize umunsi umwe n'ijoro rimwe, sinzi ko rigezeho, i Kigali, agatsiko k'abantu bafite imbunda bagiye mu kabari, baravuga ngo : “amakarita muyerekane”. Aba MDR babashyira hariya. Aba PL murabizi, babashyira hariya. N'aba PDC, ba bandi biyise abakristu, bajya hariya. Uwa MRND agaragaje ikarita bahita bamurasa urufaya, simbabeshya barabibabwiye no kuri radiyo, barashe uwo muntu barigitira mu bishanga byi Kigali baratoroka, bamaze kuvuga ngo ni inkotanyi. None mumbwire rero abo bana baragenda bafite ikarita y'indangamuntu yacu, bakagaruka bafite imbunda ari inyenzi n'ibytso byazo, bakaza kuturasa. Ntabwo rero nemera ko tuzemera kuraswa.

Umuntu uhagarariye MDR hano uhavugira ntakongere kuba muri iyi komini no muri iyi perefegitura...kuko ni icyitso. Abahagarariye ariya mashyaka afatanya n'inyenzi, abahagarariye... ndabibabwiye simbabeshya, ni ukugirango... bashaka kudutsemba ! BASHAKA KUDUTSEMBA ! Nta kindi bagamije kandi tugomba kubabwiza ukuri ; ntabwo njye mbahisha rwose ! Icyo bagamije ni icyo. Ndagira ngo mbabwire rero ko abahagarariye ya mashyaka afatanya n'inyenzi ariyo MDR, PSD, PL, PDC n'utundi tw'intarutsi,

tugenda tuyegera, ayo mashyaka n'abayahagarariye bagomba kujya gutura i Kayenzi kwa Nsengiyaremye tukamenya abo turasana aho bari.

Bavandimwe, barwanashyaka ba Muvoma yacu, ibi mbabwira ntabwo ari imikino, ni ukubabwiza ukuri kugira ngo hatazagira uwumva bamurashye mukazatubwira ngo twe duhagarariye ishyaka ngo ntitwababwiye. Ubwo rero ndababwiye mubimenye, n'ufite umwana yohereje mu nyenzi, azisange n'umuryango we n'umugore we hakiri kare, kuko igihe kirageze ko natwe twirwanaho, kugirango... Ntabwo tuzemera gupfa amategeko yanze gukora !

12. Ndabamenyesha ko umunzi bakoze imyigaragambyo, kuwakane, bakubiseabantubacu, bagahungirano mukiriziya iri muni ya Rond Point, abo bantu ngo bitwa abakristu ba PDC nabo bakabirukaho bakajya kubakubitira mu kiriziya. Abandi bahungiyeye muri Centre culturel y'Abafransa rwose ! None ndagira ngo mbabwire ko batangiyeye kwica, nta kindi ni uko bimeze, batera mu ngo bakica ubu uwumviswe ko ari MRND bakica, bagakubita, ni uko bimeze. None rero ni uko, abo bahagarariye amashyaka muri perefegitura yacu nibafate inzira bajye gutura hamwe n'inyenzi ! Ntabwo dushaka abantu batubamo ngo bazaturase baturi impande.

13. Ikindi kintu gikomeye nagira ngo mbabwire kugira

ngo tudakomeza kuvogerwa : mwumva bavuga ngo imishyikirano ya Arusha ! Simbivugaho kuko...umwanya munini kuko ngira ngo uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa Muvoma araza kubivuga ku buryo burambuye. Ariko icyo nababwira ni uko intumva mwumva ngo ziri Arusha, ntabwo zihagarariye uRwanda. Ibyo bajya kuvuga Arusha mbabwije amanyakuri ! Intumva z'uRwanda zitwa iz'uRwanda ziyobowe n'inyenzi ! Ikagenda ikajya kuvugana n'inyenzi ! Nkuko babivuga mu ndirimbo mujya mwumva ngo "Ni Immana yavuye ku Mmana", nabo ni inyenzi yavuye ku nyenzi ivugira inyenzi ! Ibyo bajya kuvuga Arusha ni ibyo ibyo byitso by'inyenzi biri ino byagiye i Buruseri, bajya gukorera Arusha ngo byitirirwe uRwanda, nta na kimwe kitari icyi Buruseri gikorera aho ; n'ikivuye mu Rwanda, ntabwo ari ikiba kivuye muri guverinoma yacu : ni icyi Buruseri bagenda bikoreye bakajyana Arusha ! Ni inyenzi rero ivugana n'indi, ibyo bita imishyikirano ntitwanga gushyikirana ndagira ngo mbabwire ko atari iy'uRwanda : ni inyenzi zivugana n'inyenzi ! Mubimenye rwose ! Kandi ntabwo tuzemera ibyo bintu bizava ahongaho

14. Ikindi nababwiye rero ni uko tugomba kwirwanaho. Bimwe nabinyuzemo, ariko ndababwiye ngo : duhaguruke ! Banyongoreye mu kanya ngo ni ababyeyi bagomba guhaguruka hamwe n'abarimu kuri cya kibazo cy'aba ensipegiteri bacu. Ariko n'udafite umwana mu ishuri, nawe

yabashyigikira, kuko nawe ejo azamugira, cyangwa ejo bundi yaramwigeze. Maze twese duhagurukire icyarimwe dusinye pe !

15. Icy a kabiri nababwira ni ikingiki : ni uko dufite abaministri 9 muri iyi guverinoma. Uko bahagurutse ngo birukane aba ensipegiteri bacu bagendeye kuri ministeri yabo, bagahaguruka ngo birukane abarimu bigisha mu mashuri yisumbuye mumaze iminsi mwumva wa mugore azungumuka mu mashuri, nta kiba kimujyanye ni ukwirukana ba diregiteri n'abarimu bayarimo batari mw'ishyaka Iye. Mwumvise ibikorwa muri Minitrape : si ubujura gusa, n'abakozi bacu barabahagurukiye. Mwumvise ibikorwa kuri radiyo, n'ikiganiro banyonze cyi Byumba ; mwumvise uko byifashe. Ndagira ngo mbabwire rero dusabe abaministri bacu nabo, hari abakora mu mashyaka yabo bari muri Ministeri zacu. Mwumvise nk'umurwanashyaka ministri Ngirabatware utari hano kubera ko igihugu cyamutumye ahakomeye. Minisiteri ye rero nayigezemo kuwa kane harimo utuntu duke si uko nisuzugura ngo ndi muri MRND twa MRND, abarimo ni inyenzi nsa, bari muri PL na MDR ni bo bari muri minisiteri rwose y'imigambi ya Leta ! Murumva uwo muminisitiri avuze ati : "Nimukora ku ba ensipegiteri bacu namwe abanyu ndabakunkumura" byagenda gute ? Abaministri bacu nabo nibakunkumure isaho ingegera ziri iwabo zigende zijye muri minisiteri za bene wabo !

16. *Ikintu mbasabye gikomeye na none abantu bari ku mirimo bose bari muri MRND : ni ubufatanye. Uri ku kigega cy'amafaranga, nk'uko bayakoresha nawe nayazane tuyakoreshe. Uyafite ku giti cye ni uko MRND yayamuhaye imufasha imushyigikira, nawe akirwanaho kuko ari umugabo, kuko na we bateze kumukata ijosi, nayazane tubakate amajosi. Mwibuke Muvoma yacu ko ishingiyeye muri serire, Muvoma yacu igashingira muri segiteri no muri komini. Perezida yababwiye ko igiti gifite amashami kikagira amababi ntikigire imizi, giffa ! Imizi yacu ni aho ishingiyeye. Nimusubire hamwe nubwo nta mafaranga bakibahemba abaserire bacu nimujye hamwe . Uwinjiye muri serire mumubone, mumukande, niba ari icyitso, ye kuyisohokamo. YE KUYISOHOKAMO !!!*

17. *Mperutse kubwira umuntu wari unyiraseho ngo ni za PL. Ndamubwira nti : “ikosa twakoze muri 59, nubwo nari umwana, ni uko twabaretse mugasohoka”. Mubaza niba atarumvishe inkuru y’aba Falasha basubiye iwabo muri Israyeri bavuye muri Ethiopiya, ambwira ko atayizi, nti : “Ntabwo uzi kwumva no gusoma ? Jye ndakumenyesha ko iwanyu ari muri Etiopiya, ko tuzabanyuza muri Nyabarongo mukagera yo bwangu” !*

18. *Maze rero icyo mbabwiye cyo kugira ngo duhaguruke, tugomba guhaguruka koko. Icyo ngiye gusozerezaho rero. Icyo ngiye gusozerezaho ni ikintu gikomeye. Ejo nari muri Nshili. Mwumvise ko Abarundi batubeshyeye, nari nagiyeye kureba*

uko kuri. Mu kujya yo abantu barankanga ngo simvayo, ngo ndapfira yo. Ndavuga nti : “Nimpfa sinzaba mbaye igitambo cya mberé”. Maze rero muri Nshili bavanyeho burgumestiri wahozeho, ngo kuko ngo ashaje da! Ngo yatangiye muri za mirongo itandatu, n’ejo naramubonye aracyari umusore ! Ngo kuko ari MRND, avaho ! Bajya gushyiraho igisambo, nabyo biranga ! Hagiyeho umunyamurava, baramwanga ! Ubu iyo komini yitwa Nshili iyoborwa n’umukonseye na we byayobeye uko abigenza. Aho hantu rero muri Nshili dufiteyo ingabo z’igihugu zirinda umupaka.

Hari abantu bitwa aba JDR. Kubera ko ingabo zacu zitonda zitarasana cyane cyane ntizarasa Umunyarwanda kereka ari inyenzi, abasirikare ntibakamenye ko n’abantu bo muri MDR bose babaye inyenzi, ntibabimenye, barabagota badufatira abajandarume ku buryo umuturage utari uwo mw’ishyaka ryacu yanyibwiriye ati : “Icyo twifuza, uwazana amatora, tugatora burugumesitiri ; igihe ataraza, bakaba bashubijeho uwahozeho, kuko aho ibintu bigeze, n’uzaza ntazashobora kugarura abaturage mu nzira”.

19. Maze rero babyeyi, bavandimwe, nagira ngo mbabwire ikintu gikomeye . Amatora agomba kuza tugomba gutora pe ! Ubu uko duteraniye aha mbese, hari uwariye undi urwara ra ? Ngo umutekano!...Ngo ntitwatora!...Ntimujya mu misa ku cyumweru ra ? Ntimwaje hano muri mitingi ra ? Muri MRND ntimwatoye abayobozi b’inzego zose ra ? Abo babivuga se bo si ko babigenza ntibatoye ? Icyo

kintu bitwaza barabeshya nta mpamvu yatuma tudatora ngo kubera umutekano, kuko na bo ubwabo bagenda mu gihugu, n'imvururu ziriho ni bo bazikurura . icyo ni icya mbere nagira ngo mbabwire .Baratubeshya. Twese nk'aha turi dushobora no gutora.

Icyo kabiri. Bitwaza abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bari i Byumba. Ndagira ngo mbamenyeshe ko nta wagiye kubaza abo bantu ko badashaka gutora. Njye banyibwiriye ko bahoranye abakonseye bamwe baba abanebwe, ndetse ngo bamwe mu ba burugumesitiri babo babaye abanebwe. Kubera ko ya minisiteri ibajyanira ibiryo icungwa n'inkotanyi...nako inyenzi, Lando, yafashe abantu bitwa inyenzi n'ibytso ziri mu gihugu aba ari bo aha kujyanira ibiryo abo bantu, aho kubijyanayo rero bakabicuruza bikajya kugura amasasu bashyira za nyenzi ziturasa ! Ndagira ngo mbabwire rero yuko baravuze bati : “Namwe muratwo...turaraswa inyuma, mukaturasa n'imbere mutwoherereza izo ngegera kutuzanira ibiryo” ? Nabuze icyo mbabwira. Baravuga rero bati. “Icyo twifuzaga ni uko muri twe twakwitoreramo abayobozi, abakonseye, abaserire, burugumesitiri, tukamenya ko turi hamwe hano muri camp, akaturwanaho, akadushakira ibiryo”. Murumva ko icyo abo bagabo bambwiye n'abo bagore bahungiye mu bintu hirya iriya ibyo mujya mwumva, barifuzaga nabo amatora. Igihugu cyose kirifuzaga amatora, kugira ngo kiyoborwe n'intwari

nk'uko gisanzwe kiri. Umva rero natwe twese icyo twakora ni icyo , ni ugusaba ayo matora.

Maze rero kugira ngo nsoze, ndagira ngo mbibutse ibintu maze kubabwira bikomeye : icyimena, ni ukutavogerwa, kugira ngo n'abasamba batagira uwo bahitana muri mwe. Ntimugatinye. Mumenye ko uwo mutazakata ijosi ari we uzaribakata ! Nkababwira rero ko abo batangira kugenda hakiri kare, bakajya gutura muri bene wabo, bakajya no mu nyenzi, aho kuduturamo ngo babike imbunda, nidusinzira baturase ! Maze rero mubahambirize, bafate inzira bagende, ntihakagire n'ugaruka kuvugira aha, uzana n'ibyahi ngo ni amabendera.

20. Ikindi gikomeye ni uko tugomba guhaguruka, tugahaguruka icyarimwe, ukoze ku wacu tukaba umwe, akabura aho anyura ! Ba ensipegiteri bacu ntaho bazajya, abo bazashyiraho bazafata inzira bajye i Nyaruhengeri, iwabo wa ministiri Agatha kurera abana be ! Icyo mugifate !

Icyo nshojerejeho ni ikintu gikomeye : ni amatora. Maze ndabashimira kuba munteze amatwi, kandi nkaba mbashimiye ubutwari mufite mu maboko yanyu no mu mutima wanyu, nzi ko muri abagabo, mukaba n'inkumi n'ababyeyi batavogerwa, banga agasuzuguro, murakaramba.

Perezida Habyarimana, ramba !

MURAKARAMA (Rwanda94, nd).

Léon Mugesera yashishikajije abarwanashyaka ba MRND urwango, ubwicanyi bwo kuvanaho burundu uwo yita umwanzi, ari we Mututsi. Yabwiye abarwanashyaka ba MRND ko bugarijwe n'umwanzi, abaremamo ikintu cy'ubwoba, kugira ngo babashe gufata iya mbere bikiza umwanzi.

Disikuru ya Léon Mugesera yavuzwe igihe mu bice bitandukanye by'Igihugu cyane cyane mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi barimo bica Abatutsi. Ijambo yavuze ntabwo ryabaye iryo gushishikariza ubwicanyi gusa ahubwo ryanatumye abarwanashyaka ba MRND batinyuka kwica Abatutsi kuko bumvaga bashyigikiwe n'abayobozi bakuru b'ishyaka ryabo.

Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho n'inama y'abaministri yo ku wa 3 Gashyantare 1993 ku mvururu zabereye mu ma Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye, igaragaza ko inama yakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera ku Kabaya ku wa 22 Ugushyingo 1992 yabaye iyo gushishikariza abayoboze ba MRND na CDR bo muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi kwica Abatutsi (Commission

Politico-Administrative, 1993).

Ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1993 Léon Mugesera yakoresheje indi nama ahitwa mu Birembo ho muri segiteri ya Mabuye, Komini Ramba. Iyo nama yaje gukurikirwa n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini ku wa 25 Mutarama 1993.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya, Mugesera yakanguriye Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, akoresheje imvugo igira iti: *“Abatutsi ni bo banzi banyu”*. Yasabye abitabiriye inama gusubira mu magambo yababwiraga: *“twanze intati, twanze agasuzuguro,” “ugukubise urushyi mutere ebyiri”*, arakomeza ati: *«Nuko rero mwa Banyeramba mwe, muzi yuko mwihingira uturayi, ariko Abatutsi muri Kibilira aho mvuka, umunsi Inyenzi zitera, bose bari bahishije urwagwa, bajya guhaha uturayi twanyu ngo bakoreshe umunsi mukuru, biteguye kubica mwa bahutu mwe”*. Arangije arababwira ati: *“niba mutagize vuba ngo mubatange mubice, kababayeho. «Nk'uko baturutse muri Etiyopiya, bari bakwiye gusubirayo banyuze inzira yubusamo.»* Nyuma y'iyi nama bishe umugogwe witwa Mbendegezi»

5.1.2.1.5. Inama yakoreshejwe na Colonel Théoneste Bagosora ku wa 21 Ugushyingo 1992

Ku itariki ya 21 Ugushyingo 1992, *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora⁴² yakoresheje inama mu kigo cy’ imyitoto ya gisirikare kizwi ku izina rya Butotori⁴³ cyari gihereye muri Komini Nyamyumba, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Iyi nama yari yitabiriwe n’abayobozi bakuru batandukanye bo mu nzego za gisivili n’iza gisirikari. Mu basirikare bakuru harimo, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatoli Nsengiyumva wari ukuriye urwego rw’iperereza mu gisirikare (G2), *Colonel* Bahufite Juvénal wari ukuriye ingabo muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, *Colonel* Buregeya, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze n’abandi. Mu ba sivile, harimo Protais Zigiranyirazo, musaza w’umugore wa Perezida Habyarimana, wanabaye Perefefe wa Ruhengeri kuva 1974 kugera 1989, Kajelijeli Juvénal wari burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Léon Mugesera, Ferdinand Nahimana, Joseph Habyambere wakoraga muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Joseph Nzirorera, Robert Kajuga n’abandi.

42 Théoneste Bagosora yavutse ku wa 16 Kanama 1941 mu yahoze ari Komini Giciye, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Yahoze ari Koloneli mu ngabo za Leta ya Habyarimana zahoze zitwa “FAR”, akaba ari na mubyara w’umugore wa Perezida Habyarimana, Agata Kanziga.

43. Butotori cyari ikigo gikorwemo imyitoto ya gisirikare ijyanye no kurwanira mu mazi. Kugeza mu Ukwakira 1990, cyari gikuriwe n’Ababirigi, nyuma y’aho gihabwa Abafaransa aba aribo bakiyobora. Abafaransa ni bo batozaga basirikare ba FAR uburyo bwo kurwanira mu mazi

Iyo nama yari igamije kureba uko bakuraho burundu umwanzi ari we Umututsi. Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamy batandukanye, Bagosora yabwiye abari bitabiriye iyo nama ko umwanzi barwana ari FPR igizwe n'Abatutsi bavuye hanze bakaba bakorana n'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu kandi ko bose bafite umugambi umwe wo kurimbura Abahutu. Kubera iyo mpamvu, yasabye abari mu nama gukora ibishoboka byose bakikiza umwanzi mbere y'uko Abahutu bose bicwa (R.M, 2016).

Léon Mugesera nk'umwe mu bari mu nama yafashe ijambo ashimira *Colonel* Bagosora amwizeza ko icyo gitekerezo agiye kugisangiza bagenzi babo bahuriye mu itsinda rizwi ku izina rya «Amis de l'Alliance» (incuti z'igihango). Akomeza avuga ko biteguye gushyira mu bikorwa uwo mugambi (R.M, 2016).

Hassan Ngeze nawe yafashe ijambo avuga ko we yabibonye kuva mbere ndetse anabyandika mu kinyamakuru cya Kangura cyagaragaje ko Abatutsi bafite umugambi wo kurimbura Abahutu (Dupaquier 2010:197).

Inama nyinshi zijyanye no gutegura Jenocide zakunze kubera mu kigo cya Butotori kuko cyari kiri ahantu hizewe hatagerwa n'umuntu uwo ariwe wese.

Inama yayobowe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora igamije gutsemba Abatutsi igaragara mu buhamya bw'umutangabuhamya uzwi ku izina rya «DCH⁴⁴» mu rubanza ruregwamo Bagosora na bagenzi be. Umutangabuhamya yemeza ko ku itariki 21 Ugushyingo 1992 Bagosora yakoranye inama n'abategetsi bakuru batandukanye kandi ko icyari kigamijwe muri iyo nama kwari ukurebera hamwe uko bikiza umwanzi, ariwe Umututsi (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-TLE, Chambre IIIC; Dupaquier 2010: 197, footnote 21).

5.1.2.1.6. Inama zakoreshejwe n'Abakonseye

Nyuma y'inama zakoreshwaga na ba Burugumesitiri, abakonseye bakurikizagaho kujya gukoresha izabo kugirango bageze amabwiriza ku baturage muri segiteri bashinzwe.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamya hafi ya bose, abakonseye babwiraga abaturage bayobora ko umwanzi ari Umututsi, bababwira kandi ko ibibazo Abahutu bafite byose biterwa nabo. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya, Abahutu bakanguriwe kuba maso kandi babwirwa ko inyenzi zibarimo. Babwiwe ko mu gihe babyirengagiza, byatuma basubira ku buretwa

44

DCH, yari umushoferi wa ONATRACOM akaba n' interahamwe

bwariko ku ngoma ya cyami Abatutsi bashaka kugarura (AC, 2014).

Umutangabuhamyari wari Konseye w'imwe mu masegiteri ya Komini Kayove avugako bakoresheganye inama nyinshi zigamijegukangurira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Avugako basabwagagukoresheganye inama kenshi z'abaturage, babumvisha ububi bw'Abatutsi. Mu nama z'abakonseye hari ubwo hazagamo n'abategetsibakuru baturutse i Kigali. Umutangabuhamyari avugako hari inama bakoze irimo umudepite witwa Mporanyi na Banzi Wellars bakomokaga muri Gisenyi, n'abandi atibuka amazina yabo. Izo nama zabaye nyinshi cyane nyuma y'aho Maburakindi abereye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove. Mu nama bakundaga gushyiramo indirimbo za Bikindi n'izindi zihamagarira Abahutu gutsembatsemba Abatutsi (ZJ, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamyari, nawe avugako bene izi nama z'abakonseye zatumaga abaturage bataha bahinduye imyifatire kuko babaga babwiwe ko umwanzi ari Umututsi kandi ko nibatirwanaho azabatanga akabica. Abakonseye nibo bashyiraga amabwiriza mu bikorwa bafatakije n'abaturage bayobora (H & E, 2013).

5.1.3. Abitabiraga inama zigamijegwica Abatutsi

Mu nama zikangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi wasangaga

zitabiriwe n’abaturage b’Abahutu, cyane cyane abayoboke ba MRND na CDR. Mu nama zakorwaga, nta Mututsi wazijyagamo, n’uwabashaga kuzijyamo yarakubitwaga cyangwa akicwa iyo baramukaga bamumenye. Umwe mu Batutsi bo muri Komini Mutura arasobanura uko byabagendekeraga iyo babaga bagiye muri izo nama.

“Ibijyanye n’inama cyane cyane z’amashyaka, nta Mututsi wazijyagamo. Hari igihe batumiye inama ndetse n’Abatutsi barayitabira kuko yari yabereye ahitwa ku Gipangu, hafi y’aho twari dutuye. Twagezeye bashaka kudukubita, duhita twigendera. Ibyo byabaye mu kwezi k’Ukuboza 1992” (V, 2013). Umutangabuhamyanya akomeza avuga ko iyo wabaga ufite inshuti y’Umuhutu, yakubwiraga ibyavugiye muri iyo nama.

“Gusa iyo wabaga ufite nk’inshuti y’Umuhutu, iyo yavaga muri mitingi yarazaga akakubwira byose. Hari nk’uwari inshuti yanjye, igihe cyose iyo yabaga avuye muri mitingi, yarazaga akambwira ibyavugiwemo. Akenshi yakundaga kumbwira ngo twigengesere, kuko igihe cyose bashobora kutwica” (V, 2013).

Uwajyaga mu nama nyuma bakamenya ko ari Umututsi baramwicaga. Urugero ni urw’ umukonseye wa segiteri Bulinda yo muri Komini Rubavu witwaga Gategege waje

kwicwa nyuma y'aho bamenyeye ko ari Umututsi wajyaga mu nama hamwe nabo. Yishwe nyuma y'inama yari yahuje abaturage bo muri segiteri Bulinda na Murambi muri Gashyantare 1992. Nyuma yo kwamburwa igare yari yajeho, bamwicishije ibisongo. Inama irangiye hakurikiyeho kujya gutwika inzu ye ku manywa y'ihangu, barya n'ihene ze zose. icyo gihe batwitse n'andi mazu y'Abatutsi bari batuye hafi aho. Abo mu muryango we bahungiyeye kuri Komini Rubavu, bahamara ukwezi, nyuma basubira mu matongo yabo.

5.2. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage

Interahamwe wari umutwe witwaraga gisirikare watoranijwe mu bayoboze b'ishyamba rya MRND ukaba warashyizweho mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1991. Uhereye kuri serire kugera ku rwego rw'igihugu habaga hariho komite nyobozi y'interahamwe. Buri muyobozi yafashaga gutoranya abazajya mu nterahamwe kandi bagashyiraho n'ubuyobozi bwazo.

Komite y'interahamwe ku rwego rw'igihugu yari igizwe na Robert Kajuga (perezida), Phéneas Ruhumuriza (visi perezida wa mbere), George Rutaganda (visi perezida wa kabiri), Eugène Mbarushimana (umunyamabanga

mukuru) na Dieudonné Niyitegeka (Umubitsi mukuru).

Hari na none itsinda ry'abajyanama bakuriye za komisiyo zitandukanye. Iryo tsinda ryari rigizwe na Bernard Maniragaba (commission sociale et juridique), Joseph Serugendo (commission recherche et developpement), Jean-Pierre Sebanetsi (politique et propagande), Ephrem Nkezabera (commission economie et finance), J.M.V Mudahinyuka (commission suivi et evaluation) na Alphonse Kanimbe (commission relation exterieure et documentation) (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, p.159, footnote 503).

Interahamwe zabaga ziganjemo urubyiruko. Ababaga batoranijwe, bahabwaga imyitozo ya gisirikare, nko gukoresha imbunda n'izindi ntwaro, bakigishwa uburyo bwo kwica abantu benshi mu gihe gito (Melven, 2004: 26).

Igitekerezo cyo guha abaturage imyitozo ya gisirikare no kubaha imbunda cyazanywe bwa mbere n'uwari Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda muri Zayire ahagana mu wa 1989⁴⁵. Muri raporo yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Rwanda, yamumenyesheje ko hari abashaka gutera u Rwanda baturutse hanze yarwo, atanga icyifuzo cy'uko abaturage batozwa bityo bagahabwa

⁴⁵ Uwari ambassadeur icyo gihe ni Etienne Sengegera ukomoka muri Perefegitura ya GiKongoro. Mbere ye habaye Nyilinkindi Antoine ukomoka muri Perefegitura ya Cyangugu

imbunda kugira ngo bafashe ingabo z'igihugu mu kwirindira umutekano. Nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu mu 1990, icyifuzo cyo guha abasivile imyitozo ya gisirikare cyongeye kugaragazwa n'uwari Ministiri w'Ingabo *Lieutenant Colonel* Augustin Ndindiriyimana muri Nyakanga 1991. Minisitiri w'Ingabo yagiriye inama Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana ko mu makomini yose habaho gutoza abasivile bakigishwa imbunda.

Umugambi wo gutanga imbunda mu baturage watangiye witwa “*Defense Civile*”. Mu nama yari yahuje ba Perefese muri Nzeri 1991, *Lieutenant Colonel* Ndindiriyimana yamenyesheje ba Perefese uko umutekano wifashe mu majyaruguru y'igihugu mu makomine ahanye imbibi n'igihugu cya Uganda. Yavuze ko abapolisi ba Komini (Police Communale) bakeneye ababafasha cyane cyane abavuye mu gisirikare (*réservistes*) kugira ngo umutekano ugaruke (Melvern, 2004). Ni muri urwo rwego ba Perefese basabwe gushyiraho akanama kagomba kwiga uburyo gutoza abasivile no kubaha imbunda byakorwa.

Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yakozwe hagati ya tariki 7-21 Mutarama 1993 ku ihutazwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda uhereye tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ivuga ko interahamwe zakwirakwijwe mu gihugu

hose kuva muri Gashyantare 1992.

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, gutoza interahamwe byatangiye gukorwa ku mugaragaro mu 1992. Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko ahenshi byatangiye gukorwa ku mugaragaro uhereye muri Werurwe 1992. Abatozaga interahamwe babaga ari abasirikare ba Leta cyangwa abasirikare bari barasubijwe mu buzima busanzwe (réservistes), abapolisi ba Komini n’abasirikare b’Abafaransa. Perezida w’interahamwe mu yahoze ari perefegitura ya Gisenyi yari Munyagishari Bernard washyizweho na Ngirumpatse Matayo⁴⁶ mu ntangiriro y’umwaka wa 1992. *Colonel* Bahufite Juvénal na *Lieutenant* Bizumuremyi ni bamwe mu basirikare bakuru bari bashinzwe gutoza interahamwe muri iyi perefegitura.

5.2. 1. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kibilira

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Kibilira byatangiye mu 1992. Interahamwe zo hejuru zajyaga kwitwaza mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, abandi bakitwaza kuri Komini. Kuri Komini, batozwaga n’abapolisi ba Komini ndetse n’abavuye mu gisirikare (réservistes).

46 Ngirumpatse Matayo yari perezida w’ishyamba rya MRND

Gutanga imbunda muri iyi Komini byatangiye gukorwa ku mugaragaro uhereye mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Byakorwaga na Burugumesitiri afatanije na Brigadiye wa Komini. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Burugumesitiri witwa Rwirahira Vincent ari we watangaga imbunda aziha abakonseye. Imbunda zahabwaga abakonseye na bo bakaziha insoresore zabaga zaratoranijwe mu ma serire. Buri konseye wese nawe yabaga afite iye mbunda. Mu 1994 imbunda zanyanyagijwe mu baturage benshi, cyane cyane nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Habyarimana (K, 2013).

Uwari ukuriye interahamwe na MRND muri Komini Kibilira bafatanyaga na Burugumesitiri Rwirahira gutanga imbunda mu baturage. Urugero nk'uwari ukuriye MRND ku rwego rwa Komini witwa Teganya Innocent yagize uruhare runini mu gutanga imbunda aziha interahamwe (D, 2013).

Interahamwe zo muri iyo Komini zari zifite komite iziyobora uhereye kuri Komini ukageza muri serire. Urugero nko ku rwego rwa Komini uwari uzikuriye yitwaga Kabarira Viateur. Na ho muri segiteri Nyamisa, uwari uzikuriye yitwaga Nsengamihigo Jean Baptiste (Q, 2013) .

5.2.2. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Ramba

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Ramba byatangiyeye mu 1992. Interahamwe zatozwaga akenshi n'abavuye mu gisirikare (réservistes), aba polisi cyangwa abasirikare. Buri segiteri yoherezaga abasore bo kujya kwiga imbunda, noneho ababaga batoranijwe, bajyaga kwitworeza kuri Komini Ramba, cyangwa ahandi hantu habaga haratoranijwe. Interahamwe zitworezaga kuri Komini zatozwaga n'abapolisi ba Komini (A, 2013).

Usibye kuri Komini, interahamwe zitworezaga muri segiteri Kageyo, ahitwa Kumwina, izindi zikworeza ahitwa Mukore. Abatoza babaga ari abapolisi ba Komini. Muri bo hari uzwi ku izina rya Bwaricyera watworezaga muri Segiteri Kageyo (J, 2013).

Ibirebana no gutanga imbunda mu baturage, muri Komini Ramba byatangiyeye gukorwa ku mugaragararo muri 1993. Imbunda zatwanzwaga na Burugumesitiri Karasira Léonard afatanije na Brigadiye wa Komini. Imbunda zahabwaga abakonseye, na bo bakaziha ba resiponsabule. Aba ni bo bazihaga abaturage babaga baratoranijwe mu maserire. Wasanzwaga n'abacuruzi bakomeye na bo bafite imbunda. Interahamwe zimaze guhabwa imbunda

wasangaga ari zo zifite ijambo kurusha abategetsu bo mu nzego bwite za Leta (A, 2013).

Umwe mu batangabuhamyabaye umukozi wa Komini Ramba kuva 1989 kugeza 1993 avuga ko muri 1993 muri iyi Komini bari baracukuye icyobo gitabyemo imbunda, hari n'ibikarito byuzuyemo imipanga. Nk'uko uyu mutangabuhamyabaye akomeza avuga, mu ntangiriro w'umwaka wa 1994 wasangaga abaturage bose bafite imipanga, ubuhiri n'amacumu.

Muri Komini Ramba hari aho abantu bari bashinzwe gutyaza imipanga no kubaza ubuhiri. Mu nama zitandukanye abakonseye bakoranaga n'abaturage, bahoraga babakangurira kugura intwari bazakoresha barwanya umwanzi. Ba konseye babwiraga abaturage ko ufite umupanga agomba kuwutyaza, ufite ubuhiri akabutegura, utabufite abubajishe, kuko ngo bagiye kwikiza umwanzi (B, 2013).

Gahunda y'imitangire y'imbunda muri Komini Ramba inagaragara mu ibaruwa n° 0631/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13 Kamena 1994 ya Burugumesitiri Karasira Léonard itanga amabwiriza yo kubarura aba *réservistes* bo muri segiteri zose, abashobora guhugura mu byo gukoresha imbunda, kubarura abazifite, guhitamo neza abazahugurwa

n'abashobora kuzihabwa (Karasira, 1994).

5.2.3. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Satinsyi

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Satinsyi byatangiyeye muri 1992. Interahamwe zo muri iyi Komini zatozwaga n'abasirikare bacyuye igihe (Réservistes) cyangwa abajandarume. Izo nterahamwe zitorezaga ahantu hatandukanye. Hari izitorezaga mu ishyamba rya Kagogo ho muri segiteri Hindiro, izindi zikitoreza mu ishyamba ryo mu Gatongi, abandi bajyaga Mashiga na Ruhunga (H, 2013).

Muri rusange, buri segiteri yagiraga aho batoreza interahamwe. Abize imbunda bababwiraga ko bizabafasha kwica Inyenzi, bakirwanaho. Imbunda zavaga kuri Komini zigahabwa abakonseye na bo bakaziha ababaga barahuguwe mu by'imbunda (H, 2013). Muri Komini Satinsyi uwari ukuriye interahamwe witwaga Kabarira Télésphore yafatanyaga na burugumesitiri Nzanzimihigo Cyrille gutanga imbunda, baziha abakonseye (N, 2013).

5.2.4. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Karago

Mu mwaka w'i 1992 ni bwo ibikorwa byo gutoza interahamwe byatangiyeye muri Komini Karago. Muri uyu mwaka ni bwo interahamwe zatangiye kwigishwa uburyo bwo gukoresha imbunda na garenade. Interahamwe zitorezaga kuri Komini Karago, ariko inyinshi zatorejwe iwabo wa *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa mwene Ngiriyishyanga Petero na Regina. Hari muri serire Ringaniza (ubu ni mu kagari ka Rugamba, segiteri Rambura, Akarere ka Nyabihu) bagatozwa na murumuna we witwaga *Lieutenant* Mutangana. Kuva 1992 kugeza 1994, interahamwe zitorezaga aho ngaho. Hari n'izindi zitorezaga za Gishwati ahitwa i Gatindoli. *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa niwe wari ushinzwe kugenzura igikorwa cyo gutoza interahamwe zo muri Komini Karago, Giciye na Gaseke (T & U, 2013).

Imbunda zahabwaga Komini zashyikirizwaga Burugumesitiri w'iyi Komini witwaga Twagirayezu Louis, ariko akenshi izazaga zakirwaga na Asisita burugumestiri witwaga Sebatashyi (avukana na *Colonel* Rwendeye). Abakonseye ni bo bamufashaga mu gikorwa cyo kuzishyikiriza abaturage. Nko muri segiteri Rambura konseye witwaga Kamari afatanije na Asisita Burugumesitiri

nibo bahaye abaserire n'interahamwe imbunda. Na ho muri serire Rugamba ya kabiri, imbunda zakiriwe na resiponsabule witwa Munangu na we azishyikiriza abaturage bahuguwe ku mikoreshereze yazo.

Mu gihe cyo gutoza interahamwe, kuko zamaraga iminsi zidasubira mu ngo, ba konseye n'abaserire bagendaga basaba abaturage basanzwe harimo n'Abatutsi gutanga imyaka yabo cyangwa amafaranga yo kugura ibibatunga mu gihe bari muri iyo myitozo. Hari n'ubwo batwaraga inka z'Abatutsi zikabagirwa izo nterahamwe. Ku rwego rwa Komini Karago, Nyagasaza Mathias ni we wari ukuriye izo nterahamwe, yungirijwe na Sebatware Arcade, naho muri segiteri Nanga, yari Ntabareshya (T, 2013).

5.2.5. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Gaseke

Muri iyi Komini, gutoza interahamwe byatangiye mu mwaka wa 1992. Interahamwe zimwe zatorejwe iwabo wa *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa, izindi kuri Komini Gaseke.

Gutanga imbunda na byo byatangiye gukorwa ku mugaragaro guhera mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Uwari ushinze gutanga imbunda muri Komini Gaseke ni umusirikare witwa Kanimba, wari *Adjutant*, akenshi ni we wafatanyaga na Burugumesitiri mu gikorwa cyo gutanga imbunda baziha abakonseye. Ba konseye ni bo bazihaga interahamwe n'abaturage babaga barakoze imyitozo yo kurasa (I, 2013).

Nk'uko twavuze, *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa ni we wari umuhuzabikorwa (coordinateur) wa gahunda yo gutanga imbunda muri Komini Karago, Giciye na Gaseke. Abatangabuhamy batandukanye bavuga ko *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa ari we wazanaga imbunda muri Komini zikabikwa mu ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya. Uru ruganda rwayoborwaga n'uwitwa Jaribu Anastase. Uyu Jaribu yakoranaga bya hafi na Bagaragaza Michel wari ukuriye *OCIR Thé* ku rwego rw'Igihugu. Izi ntwaro zahabwaga abakozi b'icyayi, ba *agronome*

n'abashinzwe umutekano barindaga urwo ruganda. *Capitaine* Simbikangwa ni we wagenzuraga niba imbunda zaratanzwe no kumenya abazihawe (I, 2013, & L, 2013).

5.2.6. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Giciye

Ibikorwa byo gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Giciye byatangiye kugaragara mu 1992. Interahamwe muri Komini Giciye zitorezaga ahantu hatandukanye. Urugero, interahamwe zo muri segiteri Nyamugeyo na Muringa zajyaga kwitwaza ahitwa Kibisabo. Hari abandi batorezwaga ku kibuga cyo kuri segiteri Muringa. Interahamwe zigishwaga n'abahoze ari abasirikare (*réserviste*). Muri segiteri Shyira, interahamwe zitorezaga ahitwa Vunga, zatozwaga n'aba *réservistes* (S, 2013)

Ibirebana no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Giciye, byakorwaga n'ubutegetsi bwa Komini. Burugumesitiri cyangwa Asisita Burugumesitiri nibo batangaga imbunda baziha abakonseye, na bo bakaziha za nsoresore zabaga zaratojwe kurasa. Uwitwa Kuradusenge Thomas wari Asisita Burugumesitiri na Ruribikiye Charles bahimba Kajanja ni bo bari bashinzwe gutanga imbunda muri iyi Komini.

Abacuruzi bakomeye na bo bahabwaga imbunda. Nko muri segiteri Nyamugeyo, uwitwa Kanyeshuli, Bujogere na Nsangiranabo bari barahawe imbunda. Muri buri serire, habaga harimo imbunda enye cyangwa eshanu zo kunganira abaturage kurwanya Inyenzi. Izo mbunda zakoreshwaga mu marondo, zabaga zifitwe n'abantu babaga bari kuri za bariyeri (ZF, 2013).

Uwari ukuriye interahamwe muri Komini Giciye yitwaga Kuradusenge Thomas, naho CDR yari ikuriwe n'uwitwa Musengimana Siméon. Perezida wa MRND muri segiteri ya Shyira yitwaga Mvunabandi Ephrem, naho uwari ukuriye CDR ni Muvunandinda Claver, wari umucuruzi. Muvunandinda Claver afatanije n'uwitwa Nkusi Denis na Ngarukiye Vincent ni bo bari bashinzwe gutanga imbunda muri segiteri ya Shyira. Ku rwego rwa Komini, wasangaga perezida w'interahamwe ari we ufite ijamba kurusha Burugumesitiri (S, 2013).

5.2.7. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Mutura

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Mutura byatangiyeye mu 1992. Abategetsi b'interahamwe bajyaga gutorezwa ahitwa Nyakinama muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, bagatozwa n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa. Izindi nterahamwe ku rwego ruri muni y'abategetsi batorezwaga mu kigo

cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe.

Abatorejwe i Nyakinama, ni interahamwe nkuru zari zifite amashuri, kuko zagombaga gutoza izindi nyuma yo kurangiza imyitozo. Urugero ni nk'uwitwa Ntamaherezo wari ukuriye MRND ku rwego rwa Komini, yatorejwe i Nyakinama, nyuma akajya atoza izindi nterahamwe zo muri Komini Mutura. Hari izindi nterahamwe zitorezaga mu kibuga cy'umupira cy'ahitwa Ngando no mu ishyamba rya Gishwati (ZC, 2013).

Interahamwe zatoranywaga mu basore bafite imbaraga bavanaga mu masegiteri atandukanye. Buri serire yatoranyaga abasore b'Abahutu b'abasivile bizewe bakoherezwa kuri segiteri. Konseye ni we watangaga urutonde rw'abagomba kwiga ku babishinzwe (ZC, 2013).

Ibirebana no gutoranya abagomba kwiga imbunda, binagaragara mu ibaruwa yo kuwa 20 Kamena 1993 aho Konseye wa Segiteri Cyambara, Semigwegwe Mathias, ageza kuri Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura, Bakiye Jean Berchmans, lisiti y'amazina y'abagomba kwiga imbunda (Semigwegwe, Kamena, 1993).

Imyirondoro y'abagombaga kwiga imbunda muri Mutura

N°	AMAZINA	Serire	UMURIMO
1	Semigwegwe Mathias	Nyagafumberi	Konseye
2	Ndikubwimana	Nyagafumberi	Membre
3	Bitabwa	Nyagafumberi	Nyumbakumi
4	Nkuriye	Nyagafumberi	Nyumbakumi
5	Ndabahariye	Nyagafumberi	Nyumbakumi
6	Mutazihana	Nyagafumberi	Mwarimu
7	Nzitabakuze	Nyagafumberi	Mwarimu
8	Gasamunyiga	Gaturo	Responsable
9	Kanoti	Gaturo	Membre
10	Masumbuko	Gaturo	Membre
11	Mutizanya	Gaturo	Membre
12	Ntibimenya	Gaturo	Membre
13	Rwaburindi	Gaturo	Membre
14	Bangana	Rega	Responsable
15	Sebyatsi	Rega	Membre
16	Setako	Rega	Membre
17	Nsengiyumva	Rega	Nyumbakumi
18	Nsengiyumva II	Rega	Nyumbakumi
19	Nzajyibukamwa	Rega	Nyumbakumi
20	Uzaribara	Ngangare	Responsable
21	Bazimuziha	Ngangare	Membre
22	Hategekimana	Ngangare	Membre
23	Nzabarankize	Ngangare	Membre
24	Kaniziyo	Ngangare	Membre

25	Barayota	Ngamba	Responsable
26	Ntirizimira	Ngamba	Nyumbakumi
27	Kabeja	Ngamba	Nyumbakumi
28	Bizimana	Ngamba	Nyumbakumi
29	Bariyanga	Ngamba	Nyumbakumi
30	Rupfakuyubu	Ngamba	Nyumbakumi

Aho byavuye : Semigwegwe, Kamena, 1993).

Kubera ko aboherezwaga babaga ari abantu bazwi neza n'ubutegetsu, nta myirondoro myinshi bagaragazaga kuri lisiti, uretse izina na serire akomokamo, no kongeraho umurimo asanzwe akora. Indi myirondoro yabo yabaga iri muri Komini baturukamo, mu ishami ry'irangamimerere. Muri gahunda yo kwigisha abaturage imbunda, nta Mututsi washyirwaga ku rutonde rw'abemerewe kwigishwa imbunda. Ibi bi garagazwa n'ibaruwa yo ku wa 5 Werurwe 1993 yanditswe na Nyumbakumi witwa Ntizimira Mathias wo muri serire Ngambe, segiteri Cyambara, Komini Mutura yandikira burugumesitiri, aho yanditse asobanura, niba Umututsi babona yitwara neza na we ashobora kwiga imbunda. Muri iyo baruwa kuko yabonaga ko yari abajije ibintu akeka ko bitemewe, yasabye umuyobozi we kuzamugirira ibanga ku kibazo yamugejejeho. N'ubwo Abatutsi batari muri gahunda y'abigishwa imbunda, bavugaga ko gahunda yose igamije gufasha abaturage muri rusange kwirindira umutekano.

Uretse interahamwe zatojwe iby'imbunda, hari na bamwe mu barwanashyaka ba CDR « impuzamugambi » bahuguwe, bakoraga bimwe n'interahamwe ku buryo byari bigoye gutandukanya CDR na MRND (ZC, 2013). Imbunda zatangirwaga kuri Komini, bigakorwa na Burugumesitiri cyangwa ba *brigadiers* bo ku ma Komini. Hari n'abo bahaga imbunda mbere, bakazabahugura nyuma yo kuzihabwa (AD, 2014).

Itangwa ry'imbunda mu baturage mbere yo guhugurwa turisanga mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 1 Kamena 1993 ya Konseye wa segiteri Mudende, Zigiramahane Natanayeri, yandikiye abashinzwe umutekano muri segiteri ya Mudende bose, abatumira mu nama yo ku wa 18 Werurwe 1993 yo gutegura gahunda y'amarondo n'imyigire y'imbunda zahawe segiteri ayobora (Zigiramahame, Kamena 1993).

Imbunda zatanze ku mugaragaro muri Komini Mutura kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura wabaga ku Gisenyi, uwitwa Nyagasaza Mathias muramu wa *Colonel* Bagosora, yagize uruhare runini mu gukwirakwiza imbunda mu baturage. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko Nyagasaza Mathias uvuka muri Komini Karago, yari afite inzu ku Gisenyi mu mugwi, hafi ya hoteri yitwaga Tam Tam. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, akaba yarazanye

imbunda nyinshi iwe mu rugo harimo za gerenade imihoro n'amacumu. Umunsi yabizanyeho yasabye umuzamu we gushaka umufasha gupakurura kuko byari byinshi. Uyu muzamu we ni we watanze amakuru ku ntwaro zo kwa Nyagasaza, zaje guhabwa abaturage (AC, 2014).

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura avuga, abategetsi batandukanye bo muri Mutura babaga bafite imbunda, ndetse abenshi bagendanaga imbunda zo mu bwoko bwa masotera (*pistolet*). Umutangabuhamya avuga ko Munyagishari Bernard uvuka muri serire Kivugiza, segiteri Kanzenze, Komini Mutura yabaga afite masotera iyo yabaga yaje gukoresha inama.⁴⁷ Undi wagendanaga imbunda ni uwitwa Barayagwiza Jean Bosco uvuka kuri Nkamira, ubu ni mu murenge wa Kanzenze, Akarere ka Rubavu (ZC, 2013).

Abatangaga imbunda mu baturage bababwiraga ko zizabafasha kwirindira umutekano no guhashya umwanzi, ari we, Inyenzi-Inkotanyi. Aha twakwibutsa ko hari harasobanuwe mu nama zinyuranye ko umwanzi ari Umututsi aho ari hose. Umwihariko muri Komini Mutura, abahuguwe banigishijwe uburyo bwo gutera za gerenade nk'uburyo bwo kwica abantu benshi mu mwanya muto no gukoresha intwaro za gakondo (ZC, 2013).

⁴⁷ Munyagishari Bernard: mbere y'uko aba umuyobozi, yabaga i Gisenyi ari umusifuzi w'umupira w'amaguru. Ababyeyi be bari baragiye Zayire, we amaze kuba mukuru agaruka muri Mutura. Yari afite se wabo witwa Mutazihana Silas wari Brigadiye wa Komini Mutura.

Mu 1994, muri buri segiteri ya Komini Mutura hashyizweho komite zitandukanye zishinzwe nk’uko babyitaga “kugarura ubusugire bwa segiteri”. Iyo komite yari igizwe n’abantu batatu. Hari ushinzwe iperereza, ushinzwe imirwano n’ushinzwe ibikoresho.

Nko muri segiteri Kanzenze, mu nama yateranye ku wa 10 Kamena 1994 ihuje konseye w’iyo segiteri Barihuta Michel n’abaserire, batoye abashinzwe ubusugire bwa Segiteri, aribo: Bagaragaza wari waravuye mu gisirikare yatorewe gukurikirana ibijyanye n’iperereza; Bushakiro wari nyumbakumi wo muri serire Kivugiza, atorerwa ibijyanye n’imirwano; na ho Sembeba ashingwa ibikoresho. Konseye wa segiteri Kanzenze yasabye ko muri buri serire amarondo na bariyeri byavugururwa kurushaho, hakajyaho abize imbunda kandi ko nibura hashyirwaho imbunda ebyiri n’abazi kuzikoresha neza (Barihuta, Kamena 1994).

Muri Segiteri Gihorwe, abatowe ni: Rwamuningi François (ushinzwe iperereza) ; Nzabonimpa Daniel (ushinzwe imirwano) na Bwenge Claude (ku mwanya w’ushinzwe ibikoresho by’intambara). Nk’uko bigaragara mu nyandiko-mvugo y’inama yabaye ku itariki 10 Kamena 1994, abatorewe iyo mirimo bagombaga gukorana n’abaturage bose. Konseye yabaga ari umuhuzabikorwa wa gahunda zose (Segiteri Gihorwe, Kamena 1994).

Muri segiteri Mugongo, ushinzwe iperereza muri segiteri hatowe uwitwa Nsengiyumva; ushinzwe kwigisha imbunda hatorwa Semugeshi n’aho ushinzwe ibikoresho by’intambara hatorwa uwitwa Barakagira (Senyoni, Kamena 1994).

Muri segiteri cyambara, ushinzwe iperereza hatowe Sangana Emmanuel, ushinzwe kwigisha imbunda ni Uzaribara Théoneste, na ho umuhuzabikorwa akaba ari we konseye wa segiteri Semigwegwe Mathias. Hashingiwe ku nyandiko-mvugo y’inama yahuje abaserire n’aba nyumbakumi yateranye ku wa 12 Kamena 1994, hemejwe ko abize imbunda bakomeza akazi kabo, naho abashaka kwiga bagatoranywa mu maserire yose, raporo igashyikirizwa konseye wa segiteri bitarenze ku wa 13/6/1994 (Semigwegwe, Kamena, 1994).

Mu nyandiko-mvugo y’inama yo ku wa 12 Kamena 1994 yahuje abaserire na ba nyumbakumi bose ba segiteri Cyambara, konseye wa segiteri, Semigwegwe Mathias, yasabye abaserire gushishikariza abaturage bose kwiga imbunda, ababyifuza bakiyandikisha. Ni muri urwo rwego ku rwego rwa segiteri hatowe umwarimu ushinzwe kwigisha imbunda witwa Uzaribara Théoneste (Semigwegwe, Kamena, 1994).

Muri segiteri Kora, uwatowe ushinzwe iperereza ni

Munyensanga Sylvestre; ushinzwe intwaro Mundanikure Ezekiel, Commandant watowe akaba ari Adjudant Nzabakurikiza (Bahiniramuye, Kamena, 1994).

Muri segiteri Mutovu, ushinzwe kureba ibikorwa byo ku mapozisiyo, hatowe uwitwa Ntahorutaba; ushinzwe ibikoresho by'intambara hatorwa Senzara François; na ho ushinzwe iperereza hatorwa Bizimungu (Hakizimana, Kamena, 1994).

Muri segiteri Nyaruteme, ushinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikare hatowe uwitwa Bagirake Samuel, ushinzwe iperereza hatorwa Dusengimana Esdras, na ho ushinzwe ibikoresho bya gisirikare hatorwa Mburano Gaspard. Konseye wa Segiteri Nyaruteme, Sebu Joseph ni we wari ushinzwe guhuza ibikorwa bijyanye no kurwanya umwanzi muri segiteri ayobora (Sebu, Kamena, 1994).

Muri segiteri Butaka, ushinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikare, hatowe Habyarimana; ushinzwe ibikoresho bikenewe hatowe Sebutimbiri, naho ushinzwe iperereza hatorwa Nzirera. Umuhuzabikorwa ku rwego rwa segiteri yakomeje kuba konseye wa segiteri Butaka (Ntamabyariro, Kamena, 1994).

Muri segiteri Kabatwa, hatowe ushinzwe ibikoresho by'intambara witwa Nyakarera Edouard, ushinzwe kureba ibikorwa kuri za posisiyo aba Surwumwe Joseph, na ho

ushinzwe iperereza aba Ndagijimana Joseph.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko-mvugo y'inama yahuje abaserire n'abanyumbakumi yo kuwa 10 Kamena 1994, konseye wa segiteri Kabatwa, Mwitabangoma Jonathan yasabye aba resiponsabule bose kumugezaho lisiti y'abantu bize imbunda ndetse n'abashaka kuziga. Yasabye ba resiponsabule kubwira abaturage bayobora gushaka intwari za gakondo zo kurwanya umwanzi, ko imbunda bazahabwa ari izo kubunganira, kubera ko buri muturage wese atabona imbunda (Mwitabangoma, Kamena, 1994). Abatorerwaga imyanya y'abashinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikare, iperereza n'ibikoresho akenshi babaga ari abahoze mu gisirikare cyangwa abajandarume. Abo ni bo bagombaga gukorana hafi n'abaturage, babigisha imbunda, kugira ngo batsembe Abatutsi.

Ku birebana n'abarimu bahawe imbunda ariko bakaba badakora amarondo, umwanzuro w'inama yahuje abaserire ba segiteri Mugongo, yo kuwa 8/6/1994, hemejwe ko bajya bakora amarondo muri weekend no mu gihe cy'ikiruhuko (Sebu, Kamena, 1994).

5.2.8. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kanama

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Kanama byatangiyeye mu 1992 ariko byagaragaye cyane mu 1993. Interahamwe zatorezwaga ahantu hatandukanye. Inyinshi zatorejwe ahitwa Bihangara muri segiteri Rambura muri Komini Karago yahanaga imbibi na Komini Kanama. Bihangara iri muni y'umusozo wa Muhe. Kuri uyu musozo hariho Hotel ya ORTPN yitwaga *Mont Muhe*. Aho ni ho habaga abasirikare b'abafaransa. Bihangara yatorezwagaho abantu bavuye muri Komini Karago, Gaseke, Kanama n'ahandi. Imyitozo ya Bihangara yamaraga iminsi 15 kuri buri tsinda, nyuma bagasubira mu makomini yabo. Kubera iyo minsi bahamaraga, bakundaga kubita aba *Quinze*. Na none hari n'abahitoretzaga ari abasirikare bategurwa kuzajya ku rugamba. Bamwe mu batoza bari abasirikare b'abafaransa (AC, 2014).

Ibirebana no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kanama byakurikiye amahugurwa ku mikoreshereze y'imbunda. Gutanga imbunda kimwe no mu yandi makomini byakorwaga na Burugumesitiri afatanije na brigadiye wa Komini. Aba bombi ni bo bazihaga abakonseye na bo bakaziha abaturage babaga barahawe imyitozo ya

gisirikare (ZR, 2013).

Ku birebana na *organization* y'interahamwe, habaga hari komite y'interahamwe uhereye ku rwego rwa serire kugeza hejuru mu gihugu hose. Uwabaga akuriye interahamwe ku rwego rwa Komini ni we wafatanyaga na Burugumesitiri gutanga imbunda. Nibura muri buri serire hatangwagamo imbunda eshatu (ZE, 2013).

5.2.9. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kayove

Gutoza interahamwe muri Komini Kayove byatangiyeye gukorwa mu 1992. Umwe mu batangabuhamya wanabaye konseye w'imwe mu ma segiteri ya Komini Kayove avuga ko abakonseye ari bo bashishikarizaga abaturage cyane cyane uruburako kujya gukora imyitoto ya gisirikare. Abatoranijwe babaga bari mu ishyamba rya MRND cyangwa CDR. Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko n'abakonseye ubwabo bigishijwe iby'imikoreshereze y'imbunda. Abize imbunda muri iyi Komini babitaga ba « Rugara ». Bigishwaga n'abahoze ari abasirikare, abo bitaga aba *réservistes*. Mu masomo bahabwaga babwirwaga ko bizabafasha guhangana n'umwanzi w'Umututsi wateye igihugu cy'u Rwanda (AH, 2014).

Interahamwe nyinshi zitoreje ku kibuga cy'ahitwa i Bugabo. Hari izindi nterahamwe zatorejwe ku kibuga cyari muni ya Komini Kayove muri segiteri ya Kayove, ubu ni mu murenge wa Ruhango, Akarere ka Rutsiro (ZJ, 2013). Muri icyo Komini, abigaga imbunda akenshi batangiraga nka saa ine za mu gitondo bakageza nimugoroba. Bigaga bataha mu ngo zabo. Bigaga buri muni, uwabaga amaze kubimenya yarekeraga aho. Bigishwaga naba *réservistes* cyangwa abasirikare baturutse ku Gisenyi (AH, 2014).

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe mu nyandiko ngufi yanditswe na Nsengiyumva Jean-Damascène wo muri segiteri Rugamba, avuga ko aho yigaga muri CERAI muri 1992, burugumesitiri wa Komini, Maburakindi Isidori yakoresheje inama urubyiruko abashishikariza kwirwanaho. Yasabye urwo rubyiruko kwiga imyitozo ya gisirikare, bakigishwa uburyo bwo kugenzura kuri za bariyeri kugira ngo harobanurwe ubwoko bw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi hifashishijwe indangamuntu. Urwo rubyiruko rwagombaga kwigishwa n'abapolisi ba Komini (Nsenguyumva, 2011).

Ibirebana no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Kayove, byatangiyemuri 1992. Burugumesitiri witwa Maburakindi Isidori niwe wazitangaga. Abakonseye bajyaga kuzivana

kuri Komini na bo bakazishyira abatoranijwe, bize kuzikoresha. Buri konseye wese yabaga na we afite imbunda. Na none wasangaga nk'umucuruzi ukomeye na we yarahawe imbunda yo kwirinda akayihabwa na Burugumesitiri (ZJ, 2013).

Abaturage basanzwe bakangurirwaga kugura intwaro za gakondo zo kubafasha kurwanya umwanzi. Mu mpera z'umwaka w'i 1992, mu isoko ry'ahitwa mu Nkore bahagurishirizaga imipanga, amacumu, n'inkota, bikagurwa n'abaturage. Iryo soko ryatangiye kugurisha izo ntwaro muri uwo mwaka wa 1992 kuko ubutegetsi bwari bwabitanzeho itekego, kandi bazigurishaga ku manywa y'ihangu (ZK, 2013).

5.2.10. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Nyamyumba

Gahunda yo gutoza interahamwe yatangiye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992. Umutangabuhamya wabayeye umukozi wa BRALIRWA ku Gisenyi, avuga ko muri iyo Komini, habayeho gahunda yo kwigisha imbunda abakozi ba BRALIRWA, bigiraga ahitwa ku Nganji. Hari abandi bigiye ku Mashyuza. Batozwaga n'umuntu wahoze ari umusirikare witwaga Hitimana Damascène. Nk'uko umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga, gutanga

imbunda mu baturage byakozwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamyumba, Bagango Faustin, afatanije n’uwari brigadiye wa Komini (ZL, 213).

Ahandi hatorejwe interahamwe ni ahitwa Rungaji ku mashyuzwa segiteri ya Kiraga hafi ya BRALIRWA no mu Rusagara muri segiteri ya Rubona (AE, 2014). Ahitwa Butotori muri segiteri ya Rubona ho habaga Abafaransa batangaga imyitozo ya gisirikare ku nterahamwe zabaga zaratoranijwe.

5.2.11. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Rubavu

Gutoza Interahamwe muri Komini Rubavu byatangiyeye mu 1992. Zitorezaga mu Gishwati, izindi zikajya gutorezwa mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe. Aba *réservistes* ni bo batangaga amahugurwa y’imbunda ku baturage. Nka konseye wa segiteri Rugerero w’umu *réserviste* witwaga Sinibagiwe François, ni we wigishaga imbunda abatoranijwe ba Rugerero, bigiraga ahitwa ku Cyuzi ho muri segiteri ya Rugerero (ZS, 2013).

Ibirebana no gutanga imbunda mu baturage byatangiyeye mu 1993. Imbunda zahabwaga abakuru b’amaserire, interahamwe n’abandi bantu babaga barahuguwe, bakazifatira kuri Komini. OPJ⁴⁸ witwa Oscar wa Komini

⁴⁸ OPJ: Officier de la Police Judiciare

Rubavu ni umwe mu batangaga imbunda. Uyu OPJ yabaga afite lisiti iriho amazina y'abagomba guhabwa imbunda, yabaga yahawe na ba Konseye (ZS, 2013).

5.2.12. Gutoza Interahamwe no gutanga imbunda muri Komini Rwerere

Muri Komini Rwerere, gahunda yo gutoza interahamwe naho yatangiye mu 1992. Interahamwe zatorezwaga mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe abandi bagatorezwa mu ishyamba rya Gishwati. Gutanga imbunda mu baturage byatangiye gukorwa mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Wasangaga nibura muri serire harimo imbunda enye. Izo mbunda zakoreshwaga kuri za *barrieres* zari zarashyizwe ahantu hatandukanye (V, 2013).

Gutoza interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage bwari uburyo Leta ya Habyarimana yakoresheje kugira ngo mu gihe cyo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenocide, izakorwe mu gihe gito.

Hamwe n'inyigisho z'urwango n'izishishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi zigishijwe igihe kirekire, byatumye abaturage bitabira igikorwa cyo gutozwa ibya gisirikare kugira ngo babone uko barwanya umwanzi, ari we Mututsi. Usibye imbunda zatanze mu baturage, ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwahaye abaturage intwari za gakondo

harimo imipanga, ndetse bubakangurira kwishakira na bo izo bazakoresha mu kurwanya umwanzi. Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu 1994 abaturage barateguwe mu buryo bwose.

Mu bayobozi bakuru bo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bagize uruhare mu gutoza interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage harimo *Lieutenant Colonel Anatoli Nsengiyumva* wari ushinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri iyi Perefegitura. Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ruvuga ko yagize uruhare mu gutoza interahamwe no kuziha imbunda, akaba yarabikoze mbere ya 1994 (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par, 2152). Abandi bavugwa ni *Colonel Bahufite Juvénal*, *Colonel Théoneste Bagosora*, *Capitaine Pascal Simbikangwa* na *Lieutenant Bizumuremyi* (S, 2013).

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe na Bagaragaza Michel⁴⁹ ubwo yasabaga imbabazi ku bwo ibyaha yari akurikiranyweho n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), yavuze ko imbunda zatanzwe mu baturage zabaga zibitswe mu nzu y'uwahoze ari Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, mu gasiza, muri Komine Karago. Yakomeje avuga ko imbunda zatanzwe muri Komini Giciye, Karago, Mutura na Rwerere ku mabwiriza ya

49 Bagaragaza Michel yari umuyobozi mukuru wa OCIR-THE, akaba n'umwe mu bari bagize komite ya MRND ku rwego rwa perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Colonel Théoneste Bagorora (Affaire n ° ICTR-05-86-S, résumé de déclarations de Bagaragaza Michel devant le TPIR).

5.3. Bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi hagati ya 1990-1994

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe n'ubutegetsibwariho. Umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi wakwirakwijwe mu nama zitandukanye zakorwaga rwihishwa n'abategetsibakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare. Inyinshi zakorerwaga mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi (Melven, 2004: 20).

Nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangiye urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu mu Kwakira 1990, umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi watangiye gukwirakwizwa hirya no hino, bikozwe na bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili n'iza gisirikare bibumbiye mu dutsiko dutandukanye.

Umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi wahawe imbaraga nyinshi ubwo Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana yemeraga ishyirwaho ry'amashyamba menshi mu itegeko nshingiryo ryo ku wa 10 Kamena 1991, n'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yo ku wa 30 Ukwakira 1992

ajyanye n'igabana ry'ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (Gouvernement de Transition à Base Elargie) (R.M, 2016).

Isinywa ry'amasezerano yo kugabana ubutegetsi ryatumye udutsiko tugizwe n'abayobozi bakuru b'Abahutu b'intagondwa (extremists) mu nzego zinyuranye dutangira kubangamira ayo masezerano harimo kwica Abatutsi n'undi wese washaka kubangamira umugambi wabo wo kugumana ubutegetsi.

Ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi by' udutsiko tuzwi nka AMASASU, *Réseau Zéro*, *Escadron de la mort*, *Amis de l'Alliance* byatangiyeye kugaragara guhera mu mpera za 1992. Agatsiko kiswe "AMASASU" (Alliance des Militaires Agacés par les Séculaires Actes Sournois des Unaristes) kashinzwe n'abasirikare bakuru barwanyaga imishyikirano n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha. Ibikorwa by'aka gatsiko byari biziranyweho na banyirabyo hagati yabo. Nta *structure* yari iriho igaragaza imikorere yabo (R.M, 2016).

Inyandiko yo ku wa 20 Mutarama 1993 yanditswe n'umuntu wiyise "Tango Mike" yandikiye Perezida wa Repubulika amugezaho ishikiranaho ry'agatsiko "AMASASU" n'impamvu y'ako gatsiko yavuze ko intego

yabo ari ukuburizamo umugambi mubisha w'abayoboke ba UNAR⁵⁰ batahwemye kugirira nabi Abahutu kuva mu 1959. Umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko avuga ko indi mpamvu ari ukugira ngo babashe gukuraho burundu abanyapolitiki.....(umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko yashyizeho utudomo ntiyavuga abo banyepolitiki abo ari bo).

Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), ruvuga ko mu bari bagize aka gatsiko harimo abasirikare bakuru nka, *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze n'abandi (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par.549).

Umutangabuhamya muri uru rukiko, Alison Des Forges, yabwiye urukiko rwa ICTR ko n'ubwo umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko yiyise "TANGO MIKE", akeka ko uwayanditse yaba ari Bagosora cyangwa undi musirikare mukuru wakoranaga nawe bya hafi (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par.549).

Umutangabuhamya w'uru rukiko, Filip Reyntjens, impuguke mu mateka y'u Rwanda, yavuze ko *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora ari umwe mu basirikare bakuru bashyize umukono ku nyandiko y'agatsiko kiyise

“AMASASU”. Reyntjens avuga ko umwanditsi w’iyi nyandiko yarwanyaga amasezerano y’amahoro y’Arusha kuko atishimiraga kongera kubona Abatutsi mu butegezi bw’u Rwanda (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41- T, par.550).

Umushinjacyaha muri urwo rukiko, yavuze ko guhera mu Kwakira 1990, Abahutu b’abahezanguni bari mu buyobozi bukuru mu nzego za gisivile na gisirikare bashyizeho uburyo bubahuza hagamijwe gukanguririra Abahutu ubwicanyi. Akomeza avuga ko *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze na General Gratien Kabiligi ari bamwe mu bari bagize agatsiko AMASASU kandi ko intego y’aka gatsiko yari ugutegura Jenoside harimo no gutanga intwari ku basivile kugira ngo izabashe gushyirwa mu bikorwa (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par.544).

N’ubwo umwanditsi w’inyandiko yavuzwe haruguru avuga ko “AMASASU” agizwe n’abasirikare bose n’abajandarume, ikigaragara ni uko kari agatsiko k’abayobozi bakuru bari bafite umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi n’undi wese udashyigikiye umugambi wabo mubisha.

Umutangabuhamyi Richard Mugenzi avuga ko agatsiko “AMASASU” kakoranaga bya hafi n’abanyapolitiki bo mu ishyamba rya MRND nka Léon Mugesera, Jean

Bosco Barayagwiza, Protais Zigiranyirazo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Joseph Nzirorera n’abandi (R.M, 2016).

Akandi gatsiko kagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenoside kazwi ku izina rya *Réseau Zéro*. Mu ibaruwa ifunguye (une lettre ouverte) yanditswe na Christophe Mfizi ku wa 15 Kanama 1992 i Paris mu bufaransa, yandikiye Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Juvénal amugezaho icyemezo yafashe cyo gusezera mu ishyaka rya MRND. Muri iyo baruwa yavuze ko impamvu avuye mu ishyaka ari uko hari agatsiko “Réseau Zero” kagizwe n’abantu bake bo muri MRND bashaka kwikubira ibyiza byose by’igihugu kandi bakaba bashaka gutegeka inzego zose za Leta. Yavuze ko ako gatsiko kashyinzwe na Protais Zigiranyirazo, muramu wa Perezida Habyarimana, (Mfizi, 2006).

Umutangabuhamya Richard Mugenzi avuga ko abari bagize ako gatsiko ari bamwe mu bategetsi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare bafite ibyo bahuriyeho, batifuzaga ko habaho kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi (R.M, 2016).

Mu bari bagize aka gatsiko harimo, Protais Zigiranyirazo, *Colonel Elie Sagatwa*, *Colonel Théoneste Bagosora*, *Colonel Laurent Serubuga*, *Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva*, *Seraphin Rwabukumba*, *Dr Séraphin Bararengana* (umuvandimwe wa Habyarimana) n’abandi

(Duparquier, 2010 : 158, Mfizi, 2006)⁵¹.

Christophe Mfizi avuga ko “Réseau Zéro” itari ifite “structure” izwi. Avuga ko Protais Zigiranyirazo ari we wagenzuraga ibikorwa byayo afatanije na *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa. Amabwiriza yatangwaga igihe babaga bahuriye ahantu runaka nko mu birori byo kwizihiza isabukuru, ubukwe, akenshi byaberaga Karago, i Kanombe cyangwa ahandi hantu hizewe hatagerwaga n’umuntu uwo ariwe wese (Mfizi, 2006 :81).

Usibye *Réseau Zéro* hari akandi gatsiko kazwi ku izina rya “*Escadron de la mort*” kari kagizwe n’absirikare bakuru bayobowe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora.

Filip Reyntjens, impuguke mu mateka y’u Rwanda, ubwo yatangaga ubuhamya mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), yavuze ko abari bagize agatsiko “*Escadron de la mort*” ari bo bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwabaye mu Bugesera muri Werurwe 1992 no ku Kibuye muri Kanama 1992. Akomeza avuga ko *Colonel* Bagosora ari we watangaga amabwiriza mu bagize ako gatsiko kugira ngo bateze umutekano muke mu gihugu no kubangamira imishyikirano y’amahoro y’Arusha (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par.585).

51 Protais Zigiranyirazo, Elie Sagatwa na Séraphin Rwabukumba ni abavandimwe ba Agata Kanziga, umugore wa Perezida Habyarimana.

Abandi basirikare bakuru bari bagize ako gatsiko harimo, *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, *Colonel* Pierre Célestin Rwagafirita (wabaye umugaba w'ingabo w'ungirije wa jandarumeri kuva 1979 kugera 1992), *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze, *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, p.213, par.589).

Agatsiko *escadron de la mort* kari gafite itumanaho ryabo bwite. Ni ko katozaga abasirikare ibikorwa by'ubuhotozi n'iyicarubozo. Intego kwari ugukuraho Umututsi n'undi muntu wese ubangamiye umugambi wabo wo kuguma ku butegetsi (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, p.213, par.592).

Hari akandi gatsiko kitwaga “*Amis de l'Alliance*” na none kagizwe n'abayobozi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisirikare na gisivile batari bashyigikiye Perezida Habyarimana muri gahunda yo kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi no gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Nk'uko izina ryabo rivuga, biyitaga abantu bagiranye igihango batifuza kubona Umututsi mu butegetsi bw'u Rwanda (R.M,2016).

Abagize ako gatsiko bari baziranye hagati yabo, ni nabo bashakishaga uburyo bwose bwo guhirika Perezida Habyarimana ku butegetsi kuko babonaga ko amaherezo azemera hakabaho kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-

Inkotanyi.

Inshuro nyinshi abagize aka gatsiko bashatse kumuvanaho ku ngufu (coup d'état) ndetse ni nabo bagize uruhare mu ihanurwa ry'indege yari arimo ku wa 6 Mata 1994 (Dupaquier 2010).

Aka gatsiko kari kagizwe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora, *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze, Protais Zigiranyirazo n'abandi (R.M, 2016).

Abagize udutsiko AMASASU, *Réseau Zéro*, *Escadron de la mort*, *Amis de l'Alliance* wasangaga ari bamwe, bakorana n'ubwo inyito z'udutsiko zitandukanye. Urugero, nk'abari bagize agatsiko AMASASU wasangaga ari bo bagize *Escadron de la mort* cyangwa *Amis de l'Alliance*. Umugambi bari bahuriyeho wari umwe wo kuburizamo amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha, kwica Abatutsi n'undi muntu wese udashyigikiye uwo mugambi.

Nk'uko bigaragazwa n'inzobere mu bumenyi bwa Jenocide, Gregory Stanton, itegurwa rya Jenocide rikubiyemo ibikorwa bitandukanye birimo kwishyira hamwe kw'abicanyi, gutanya abagomba kwicwa n'abazabica, no kwitegura mu buryo butandukanye (Stanton, 2008).

Bimwe mu bikorwa bijyanye n'itegurwa rya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi

ni ibi bikurikira:

- Gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi binyuze mu itangazamakuru no mu nama zitandukanye zakorehwaga n'abayobozi bo mu nzego za gisivili na giririkare.

Inama z'ingenzi zakorewe muri Gisenyi, harimo iya *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora yo ku wa 21 Ugushyingo 1992 yabereye mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Butotori n'iya Léon Mugesera yo ku wa 22 Ugushyingo 1992 yabereye ku Kabaya muri Komini Gaseke. Izindi nama zakorwaga na ba superefe, burugumesitiri, asisita burugumesitiri na ba konseye.

Ibyavugirwaga mu nama byabaga ari ukugaragariza Abahutu ko umwanzi bafite ari Umututsi, bityo ko bagomba kuba maso bakamurwanya mu buryo bwose bushoboka.

5.4. Umugambi wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana no kurwanya amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha

Nyuma y'aho Perezida Habyarimana yemeye isinywa ry'amasezerano hagati ya Leta ayoboye na RPF-Inkotanyi mu rwego rwo kugabana ubutegetsu hashyirwaho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, intagondwa z'Abahutu cyane cyane abari bahuriye mu gatsiko kitwa "Amis de

l'Alliance", barwanije ayo masezerano, bashakisha uko bavanaho Habyarimana mu buryo bwose bushoboka (M, 2016).

Kwica Perezida Habyarimana byagombaga kujyana n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi kugira ngo Abahutu b'intagondwa bagume ku butegezi (Raporo Mutsinzi, 2009 :184).

Umwanditsi Duparquier avuga ko Kanziga afatanije n'abo bafitanye isano rya hafi bashatse kwica Habyarimana mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1992 nyuma yo kumenya ko Habyarimana yemeye isinywa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha yo ku wa 30 Ukwakira 1992, ajyanye no kugabana ubutegezi na RPF-Inkotanyi hashyirwaho guverinoma y'inziyacuho (Gouvernement de Transition à Base Elargie).

Agata Kanziga, Protais Zigiranyirazo, *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, na *Colonel* Bagosora bakoze inama igamije gukuraho Habyarimana, ibyo bigakorwa yishwe. Duparquier avuga ko ibyo kwica Habyarimana byagombaga kujyana n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi nyuma bagashyiraho undi muntu umusimbura (Duparquier, 2010, p.188, footnote 11).

Agata Kanziga na basaza be harimo *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa na Protais Zigiranyezo, bashakaga ko uwasimbura

Habyarimana yaba uwitwa Dr. Bararengana Seraphin (umuganga), umuvandimwe wa Habyarimana, akaba n'ntagondwa y'umuhutu w'umuhezanguni wangaga Abatutsi, naho *Colonel* Bagosora akifuza ko ari we waba Perezida (Duparquier, 2010, p.188, footnote 11). Ibyo rero byateje kutumvikana hagati yabo bituma umugambi wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana usubikwa.

Ibitekerezo bya Habyarimana byari bitandukanye n'iby'Abahutu b'ntagondwa kuko bo batashakaga kugabana ubutegetsu n'Abatutsi no gutakaza imyanya bari basanzwemo (R.M, 2016).

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya Richard Mugenzi avuga mu gitabo cyanditswe na Duparquier, nyuma y'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yo ku wa 30 Ukwakira 1992, intagondwa z' Abahutu zirimo *Colonel* Théonetse Bagosora, *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva na Zigiranyirazo Protais ntibari bagihuje umurongo wa politiki na Habyarimana (Duparquier 2010 : 189).

Nyuma yo kumenya ko hari agatsiko k'ntagondwa kadashyigikiye amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha ajanyeye no kugabana ubutegetsu, Habyarimana yavuze muri disikuru ye yo ku wa 15 Ugushyingo 1992 mu nama

yabereye mu Ruhengeri, ko amasezerano ya Arusha hagati ya Leta ayoboye na RPF ari nk'impapuro zidafite icyo zivuze (chiffon de papier) ko nta mpamvu yo kuyakurikiza. Perezida Habyarimana yabivuze ashaka kwereka agatsiko k'intagondwa zidashyigikiye amasezerano y'amahoro y' Arusha ko yifatanije nazo kugira ngo abagaruremo icyizere (Dupaquier 2010 : 191).

Abatangabuhamy batandukanye bavuga ko Abahutu b'intagondwa cyane cyane abo mu ishyamba rya CDR bavugaga ko Perezida Habyarimana ari we utinza umugambi wabo wo kurimbura Abatutsi, ko igihe Habyarimana azaba atagihari, umugambi wabo uzashyirwa mu bikorwa (AE &AG, 2014).

Ibyavuzwe n'abatangabuhamy biruzuzanya n'ibyavuzwe n'umwanditsi Dupaquier aho avuga ko mu nama yo kuwa 21 Ugushyingo 1992 yabereye ahitwa Butotori, Bagosora yavuze ko Habyarimana yabaye “*tolerant*” ko adashobora gukomeza kurebera. Yasabye abari baje mu nama kwitegura mu buryo bwose kugira ngo bikize umwanzi mbere y'uko bicwa (Dupaquier (2010 : 197, foot note 21).

Iminsi yakurikiyeho, tariki 8 Mutarama 1993 ubwo yari yagiye mu nama yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano

y'amahoro y'Arusha, *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora yasohotse mu nama ageze hanze avuga ko asubiye i Kigali gutegura imperuka ku Batutsi (Raporo Mutsinzi 2009: 12).

Umutangabuhamya *Lieutenant* Jean de Dieu Tuyisenge uvugwa muri Raporo Mutsinzi avuga ko umugambi wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana watangiye kumenyekana uhereye muri Gashyantare 1994 bikozwe na bamwe bari bagize agatsiko AMASASU kagizwe n' Abahutu b'abahezanguni barwanyaga imishyikirano n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha. Tuyisenge avuga ko yasabwe n'uwari umuyobozi we *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa kuneka (sondage) no kumenya ibitekerezo by'abasirikare bakuru mu gihe umugambi wo kwica Habyarimana washyirwa mu bikorwa, hakanafungwa bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru b'ingabo (Raporo Mutsinzi: 22).

Muri ubwo buhamya yanavuze ko nyuma yo kuneka yasanze hari abandi basirikare bakuru bafatanije na *Colonel* Sagatwa mu mugambi wo kwica Habyarimana (Raporo Mutsinzi: 22) .

Umugambi wo kwica Habyarimana wagiye uvugwa mu binyamakuru bitandukanye, nka Nyiramacibiri, RTLTM n'ibindi. Ikinyamakuru Nyiramacibiri mu nimeru yacyo

ya gatanu, cyavugaga ku ntambara irimo itutumba mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1994, ko nta muntu uzayirokoka (« *Qui survivra à la guerre de mars ? (...) Les masses vont se soulever avec l'aide de l'armée et le sang coulera librement* » (Raporo Mutsinzi: 21). Iki kinyamakuru cyavugaga ku iyicwa rya Habyarimana rizakurikirwa n'imivu y'amaraso. Umunyamakuru wa RTLM, Hitimana Noel nawe yavuze ko hagati y'itariki 3 n'ya 4 Mata 1994 hitezwe "akantu".

Mu buryo bweruye, *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora yavuze ko atazigera yemera ibikubiye mu masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha, kandi ko Habyarimana naramuka avuye mu gihugu, azapfa kubera ko indege izaraswa, anongera ho ko urupfu rwe rukazakurikirwa n'iyicwa ry' Abatutsi (Raporo Mutsinzi: 26).

Inama ijyanye n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yabereye Tanzaniya, Daressalamu, ku wa 6 Mata 1994 yitabirwa n'abakuru b'ibihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda wongeyeho uwa Kenya. Umukuru w'igihugu wa Zayire ntiyabonetse muri iyo nama. Mu ntangiriro y'inama, Perezida Habyarimana yavuze ko imbogamizi zoze zavuyeho zatumaga amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha adashyirwa mu bikorwa, ko ibikubiye muri ayo masezerano bizatangira gushyirwa mu bikorwa akimara kugera i Kigali (Raporo Mutsinzi, 2009: 38).

Mu mugoroba wo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 inama

irangiye, Perezida Habyarimana yagarutse i Kigali, indege yari arimo irasirwa mu kirere cyegereye ikibuga cy'indege cya Kigali.

Raporo yakozwe n'abacamanza b'abafaransa, Marc Trevidic na Nathalie Poux yemeza ko indege y'uwaru Perezida w'u Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana yarasiwe mu kirere cy'igwa cya gisirikare cya Kanombe, igwa mu busitani inyuma y'urugo rwe (Rapport d'expertise, 2012). Iki kigo cyagenzurwaga n'abasirikare b'aba parakomando bari bakuriwe na *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 61).

5.5. Bamwe mu bayobozi barwanyije umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi

N'ubwo abategetsi bo hejuru bakoreshaga inama zigamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, hari bamwe batari bashyigikiye uwo mugambi mubisha. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kayove asobanura uko uwari Minisitiri w'Intebe Uwiringiyimana Agata yaje mu yahoze ari Komini Kayove, aje gusura impunzi z'Abatutsi zari zarahungiyeye ahitwa Kongo Nil, ahageze abaza Burugumesitiri Maburakindi Isidori impamvu atahagaritse ubwicanyi cyangwa ngo atange raporo ku bwicanyi bwabereye muri

Komini ayobora. Burugumesitiri yaracecetse ntiyagira icyo amushubiza (AH, 2014).

Umwe mu batangabuhama wo muri Komini Kibilira wari Konseye wa Segiteri Rongi avuga ko akenshi babakoreshaga inama zo kwica Abatutsi ariko we akabyanga. Burugumesitiri yigeze kumwandikira ibaruwa amubwira ko Inyenzi zicumbitse muri segiteri ayobora ya Rongi asabwa no kubikurikirana. Konseye yagerageje gushaka izo Nyenzi arazibura. Bagiye gusaka cyane cyane amazu y'Abatutsi ariko nta kintu babonye (G, 2013).

Muri iyi Perefegitura, uretse uyu konseye wa Rongi, Ngirabatware Thadée, hari n'abandi bayobozi batari bashyigikiye umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi, ukurikije ubuhama bw'abantu banyuranye. Aha twavugaga nk'uwari Perefere wa Gisenyi Nshunguyinka François, burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove Nzabonimpa Anselme, burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura, Ndabarinze Faustin n'abandi.

IGICE CYA VI : UBWICANYI BWAKOREWE ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990-1993 N'INYITO BWAHAWE

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi ntabwo ryatangiyeye mu mwaka wa 1990 gusa. Nk'uko mu bice bibanza twabigaragaje, ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bwahereye mu mwaka wa 1959. Hagati ya 1990 na 1993, habayeho kwica Abatutsi hafi mu makomine yose agize iyi Perefegitura. Abagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ni abategetsi bakuru batandukanye kuva ku rwego rwa Perefegitura kugeza ku nzego zo hasi.

Abicanyi babwiwe ko umwanzi bagomba kurwanya ari Umututsi, wateye aturutse Uganda, akaba afite bene wabo bamufasha bari imbere mu gihugu (Commission Politico-Administrative, 1993: 1). Na none abategetsi basobanuriraga abaturage ko umwanzi ashaka kwigarurira ubutegetsi, ariko cyane cyane ko icyo agamije ari ukwica uwitwa Umuhutu wese (D, 2013).

Gusobanukirwa n'umwanzi w'igihugu byasobanuwe n'inyandiko yasohowe n'Umuyobozi Mukuru w'ingabo, Deogratias Nsabimana kuwa 21 Nzeri 1992, aho muri icyo nyandiko yakwirakwijwe ahantu hose, yatangaga ubisobanuro bugaragaza umwanzi uwo ari we, ko ari

Umututsi wo hagati mu gihugu ndetse no hanze yacyo (Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consorts, Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 198-206).

6.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi

6.1.1. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira

Komini Kibilira ni imwe mu makomine yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, ikaba yarabarizwaga muri Superefegitura ya Ngororero. Iyi Komini yari igizwe na segiteri 12, ari zo, Karehe, Kirengo, Rubona, Ntobwe, Ngurugunzu, Gitarama, Rugarama, Ntaganzwa, Rongi, Nyamisa, Gatumba na Mikingo. Iyi Komini ihana imbibi na Komini Satinsyi na Ramba (Amajyaruguru y'uburengerazuba). Mu burasirazuba, ihana imbibi na Komini Buringa na Nyakabanda zo muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Mu majyepfo, ihana imbibi na Komini ya Kivumu yo muri Perefegitura ya Kibuye. Igabanijwe kandi n'uruzi rwa Nyabarongo ruboneka iburasirazuba bwa Komini n'umugezi wa Kiniti uri mu majyepfo.

Komini Kibilira yagiyeho kuva 1960. Mu mwaka wa 2000 yahindutse Akarere ka Nyagisagara. Nyuma mu mwaka wa 2005, Akarere ka Nyagisagara kahindutse Ngororero.

Mu 1990, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira yitwaga Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste yaje gusimburwa n'uwitwa Sindibona Jean Marie Vianney watangiye imirimo ye kuwa 18 Ukwakira 1990. Uyu na we yaje gusimburwa n'uwitwa Rwirahira Vincent wayoboye kugeza muri 1994.

Kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ubwo RPF-Inkotanyi yatangizaga urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira batangiye gufatwa no gufungwa, babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Abategetsu babwiraga abaturage ko Abatutsi bahawe imbunda n'inkotanyi, kugira ngo bamareho Abahutu. Ni muri urwo rwego gahunda yo gusaka amazu y'Abatutsi yatangiye, cyane cyane mu ngo z'Abatutsi bishoboye, abarimu, abihaye Imana n'abapadiri bo muri Paruwasi ya Muhororo (D, 2013).

Mbere y'uko ubwicanyi butangira, tariki ya 8 Ukwakira 1990 hari habaye inama. Iyo nama yabereye mu rugo kwa Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira, Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste. Mu bategetsu bakomeye bari bitabiriye iyo nama harimo Léon Mugesera wari Vice-perezida wa M.R.N.D mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Teganya Innocent wari Perezida wa MRND muri Kibilira, Dusabeyezu Thomasi wari *Asisita* Burugumesitiri, na Superefe wa

Ngororero witwaga Niyitegeka Bernard. Muri iyo nama, basabye Burugumesitiri guhamagaza abakonseye kugira ngo bakaze umutekano, bashakisha aho umwanzi yihishe hose. Ni muri urwo rwego, ku itariki ya 9 Ukwakira 1990, Burugumesitiri Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste yahamagaje abakonseye bose abakoresha inama. Muri iyo nama Burugumesitiri yasabye abakonseye kuba maso no kugenzura neza segiteri bashinzwe, bashakisha umwanzi aho yihishe hose (D, 2013).

Mu rwego rwo gushishikariza abaturage b'Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, ba konseye bavugaga ko Inyenzi zamaze kwinjira muri segiteri batuyemo, izo Nyenzi zikaba zihishe ahantu hose, ndetse ko hari abo basanganye amasasu n'imbunda. Abategetsi b'inzego z'ibanze bagendaga babwira abaturage ko Inyenzi zihishe muri benewabo b'Abatutsi, bityo ko bagomba guhiga izo nyenzi aho ziri hose. Ikindi na na none, abategetsi bo mu nzego z'ibanze bagendaga bakwiza ibihuhwa bavuga ko abasirikare bakomoka muri ako gace baguye ku rugamba, bakaba bishwe n'Inkotanyi, aribo Batutsi. Bamwe mu basirikare bavugaga ko baguye ku rugamba harimo, *Colonel* Uwihoreye na Serubuga. Impamvu y'ibyo bihuha, kwari ukugira ngo abaturage bahite birara mu Batutsi babice, mu rwego rwo guhorera abana ba bo baguye ku rugamba (D, 2013). Umutangabuhamya avuga ko abakonseye bari bahawe

amabwiriza yo gufatanya n'abaturage bayobora gusaka no guhiga izo Nyenzi. Babwiraga abaturage ko bagomba kwirwanaho bagahiga umwanzi aho ari hose, kuko ngo batabikoze byatuma basubira ku ngoma y'igitugu, ingoma ya cyami. Inyigisho z'urwango, urebye ni zo zasemburaga Abahutu, na bo bakirara mu Batutsi babica (K, 2013).

Kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira byatangiye ku itariki ya 10 kugera ku ya 13 Ukwakira 1990. Muri Segiteri Mukingo, ubwicanyi bwatangiye ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990. Kuri iyo tariki haje igitero kinini kiyobowe na Rukimirana Boniface, wari umucamanza ku rukiko rwa kanto rwa Kibirira. Icyo gitero cyahereye ku muryango w'Umututsi witwa Munyambonwa Calpephore, waje kwicwa ari kumwe n'umuryango we wose. Umwe mu barokotse asobanura uko ubwicanyi bwagenze muri Komini Kibilira icyo gihe.

«ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990 nibwo bashyize mu bikorwa ibyo bigishwaga. Hano mu yahoze ari Komini Kibilira baraje barica, baratwika, barasahura, Abatutsi benshi barohwa muri Nyabarongo. Abatutsi barenga 400 barishwe. Njye nari ntuye muri segiteri Rongi, imwe muri segiteri Léon Mugesera avukamo, twari duturanye. Ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990 baza kutwica, naracitse ndahunga, mpungira ku musozi

uriya ureba. Ibyo nabonyeni agahomamunwa. Barazaga bagatwika amazu, bagafata Abatutsi bakabashorera, bakajya kubicira ku ruzi rwa Nyabarongo, ni hano hepfo gato» (K, 2013).

Uwayoboraga segiteri Rongi, Ngirabatware Thaddée, akaba mwene se wa Léon Mugesera, yarwanye ku Batutsi afatanije n'abaturage ba segiteri yayoboraga barwanya ibitero byazaga kwica Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya avuga uko byagenze:

«Ngirabatware yafashe abaturage bose ababwira ko nta mwicanyi ugomba kugera muri segiteri ayobora. Ababaga baje kurya inka z'Abatutsi, babirukankagaho. Ubwo nanjye naje kuva mu gihuru aho nari nihishe, jya mu rugo kwa konseye Ngirabatware, kuko hari n'abandi Batutsi bari bahahungiyeye. Ubwo twese yaradufashe atujyana kuri segiteri tuhamara iminsi itatu. Abicanyi barazaga tugafatanyaga n'abaturage b'iyi segiteri tugasubizayeho ibyombitero. Usibye iyi segiteri yacu, mu zindi segiteri ho barishe, barasahura, barya inka z'Abatutsi. Abicanyi barakomeje, basanga Abatutsi kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo aho bari bahungiyeye» (D, 2013).

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kibilira abivugaga, nyuma y'umunsi umwe ubwicanyi butangiye,

ku itariki ya 11 Ukwakira 1990, Superefe Niyitegeka Bernard yatumiye inama, ahamagaza ba Burugumesitiri n'abakonseye ba Komini Ramba, Kibilira na Satinsi. Kuri iyo tariki, Superefe Niyitegeka yeretse abo ba konseye imirambo y'abantu babiri bapfuye avuga ko ari iy'Abahutu bishwe n'Abatutsi, asaba abakonseye kujya kubwira abaturage ko bagomba kwikorera umutekano. Kuri uwo muni, nyuma ya saa sita, abakonseye bari bavuye mu nama ya superefe Ngororero, buri konseye na we yakoresheje inama y'abaserire kugira ngo abagezeho amabwiriza yahawe (G, 2013).

Konseye wa segiteri Rongi, imwe muri segiteri za Komini Kibilira avuga ko Superefe Niyitegeka Bernard na Burugumesitiri Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste ari bo bari ku isonga y'ubwo bwicanyi. Na none avuga ko umuntu wese utarashakaga gufatanya nabo muri uwo mugambi mubisha, na we yagombaga kwicwa cyangwa kugirirwa nabi. Uyu mutangabuhamya akomeza avuga uburyo Superefe yamuhamagaye akamubaza impamvu adashyira mu bikorwa ibyo basabye abakonseye gukora. Agira ati:

«Superefe Niyitegeka Bernard yarampamagaye ambaza niba nshyira mu bikorwa ibyo badusabye gukora. Namusubije ko nafatanyije n'abaturage ndetse na polisi, ko twasatse ahantu hose tukaba tutigeze tubona Inyenzi zihishe mu ngo z'Abatutsi. Ahubwo nahise musaba ubufasha mubwira ko muri

segiteri nyobora, ko abaturage batangiye kurya inka za bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi. Ubwo yahise ansubiza ngo ndabona ufite ikibazo. Uratabaza ngo Abahutu bariye inka z'Abatutsi boshye bariye inka za bene wabo b'Abahutu ? Yarongeye aravuga ati, ndabona wowe ufite ikibazo»(G, 2013).

Usibye aho muri segiteri Rongi, mu yandi masegiteri abakonseye bagiye gusaka mu ngo z'Abatutsi bashakisha aho inyenzi zihishe, biviramo kwica no gutwikira Abatutsi bavuga ngo basanze bahishe inyenzi .

Mu gihe ubwicanyi bwariho buba, Superefe yongeye guhamagaza abakonseye, buri wese amusaba gutanga raporo. Raporo yatangwaga yari igamije kureba uko bashyize mu bikorwa amabwiriza bahawe. Umutangabuhamya akomeza asobanura icyavugiwe mu yindi nama y'abakonseye yayobowe na superefe wa Ngororero muri icyo gihe cy'ubwicanyi:

«Ubwicanyi buriho buba, Superefe yaraduhamagaje, abakonseye twese tujya Ngororero kuri Superefegitura. Tugezeyo, yasabye buri wese ko atanga raporo ijyanye n'uko ubwicanyi bwagenze, ubwo buri konseye akavuga uko iwe byifashe, jye bangezeho, mbwira Superefe ko muri segiteri yanjye ko nta Mututsi

n'umwe wishwe, ko twarwanyije ibitero byashakaga kuza kwica Abatutsi, ndetse mubwira ko nafashe ababigizemo uruhare. Ubwo Superefe yahise arakara, abwira Burugumesitiri ngo kuki tubaha imirimo bamwe bakayikora abandi ntibayikore, ahita ambwira ngo kuki ntajya nkurikiza amabwiriza baba bampaye, akomeje kumbwira nabi, ndamusubiza ngo, kumbwira nabi si ubwa mbere ubikoze, aho bigeze sinzagaruka mu nama uzaba wayoboye. Njye nashakaga ko anyeguzza sinzongere kuza mu nama nk'izo zo kwica Abatutsi. Ubwo narakomeje ndamubwira nti, nyakubahwa muyobozi, natwe turi abantu, niba ntazi gutegeka segiteri, nshoboye gutegeka urugo rwanjye n'abana banjye, ntabwo numva ukuntu mutubwira ngo tugende dutangire kwica abantu, nta n'impamvu igaragara» (G, 2013).

Usibye Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Rongi bahungiyeye ku cyicaro cya segiteri yabo, Abatutsi bo mu yandi ma segiteri bahungiyeye ku biro bya Komini Kibilira, abandi bahungira kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo.

Ku itariki ya 12 Ukwakira 1990, Burugumesitiri Nteziryayo yatanze itegeko ryo gusohora hanze Abatutsi bari bahungiyeye kuri Komini Kibilira, avuga ko abahunze bose bajyanwa mu nzu y'umushinga wa IGA yari hafi

ya Komini. Ibyo Burugumesitiri yabikoze ashaka ko abahunze bicirwa muri iyo nzu aho kugira ngo bicirwe kuri Komini. Dore umwe mu Batutsi bari bahahungiyeye uko abisobanura:

«Aho twari twahungiyeye kuri Komini, badusohoyemo badutegeka kujya mu nzu ya IGA⁵². Twagiye muri iyo nzu, abashatse kujya hanze bakabangira. Impamvu nta yindi uretse umugambi wari wateguwe wo kudutwikira muri iyo nzu. Mu gihe igitero kigizwe n'abicanyi barenga magana abiri basatiraga inzu ya IGA bashaka kutwica, icyo gitero cyahise kibona imodoka ya Perefere Nshunguyinka François wari kumwe n'abajandarume, ubwo igitero gisubiraye. Perefere yahageze ku itariki 13 Ukwakira 1990. Ku bw'amahirwe umugambi w'uwo munsu upfuba utywe. Mu by'ukuri Perefere yarabatunguye kuko yaje adatabajwe na Burugumesitiri cyangwa Superefere» (D, 2013).

Kuva ku itariki ya 11 kugera ku ya 13 Ukwakira 1990, ni bwo ibitero byinshi byagabwe ahantu hatandukanye byica inzirakarengane z'Abatutsi. Bamwe bicishijwe ubuhiri, abandi babacocagura n'imipanga, abandi batwikirwa mu mazu hakoreshejwe lisansi abandi barohwa mu mazi.

⁵² IGA: cyari ikigo kigamije kwigisha abantu bakuru gusoma, kubara no kwandika. Isomero ryabaga muri buri serire. Abigaga muri ubwo buryo bitwaga imparanirakujjuka.

Abatutsi benshi bajyanwaga ku ruzi rwa Nyabarongo akaba ariho bicirwa cyangwa bakabarohamo, bakicwa n'amazi.

Nk'uko bigaragara muri raporo ya *Commission Internationale d'Enquête sur les Violations de droit de l'homme au Rwanda* yo muri 1993, Abatutsi bahungiyeye mu Kiriziya ya Muhororo, abishi babasanzeyo, babwira Padiri ko natabaha abo Batutsi batwika Kiriziya n'abantu. Padiri yatabaje Perefeye wa Gisenyi, kuri diyosezi ya Nyundo no ku bandi badiplomate baba i Kigali. Perefeye yaje nyuma y'iminsi 3 batewe, aza ari kumwe n'abajandarume 6 bahosha ubwicanyi. Superefeye yategetse rero Abatutsi gusubira iwabo, bavugaga ko hari amahoro. Utahasubiye bavugaga ko azafatwa nk'Inyenzi. Muri icyo raporo berekana ko nibura Abatutsi 348 bishwe, n'amazu hafi ya 550 yatwitswe, inka n'ibintu by'Abatutsi bikangizwa, ibindi bigasahurwa (Commission Internationale d'Enquête, 1993).

Ibirebana no kwica Abatutsi babaroha muri Nyabarongo, biremezwa n'ibaruwa n° 794/04.17.02 yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1990 yanditswe na Nyaminani Félicien, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Buringa, yari ihanye imbibi na Komini Kibilira, yandikiye Perefeye wa Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Muri iyi baruwa burugumesitiri yatanze

raporo y'umutekano, ivuga ko kuwa gatandatu ku itariki ya 13 Ukwakira 1990 amazu y'Abatutsi yiriwe ashya muri segiteri Rubona, Komini Kibilira. Muri iyo baruwa, Burugumesitiri akomeza avuga ko bicaga Abatutsi babaroha mu ruzi rwa Nyabarongo, ko ndetse n'uwo abaturage ba Komini Buringa bashakaga gutabara atarapfa, abicanyi babateraga amabuye (Nyaminani, 1990).

Raporo ya *Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les violations de droit de l'homme au Rwanda*, ivuga ko konseye wa segiteri Ntobwe witwa Jean Baptiste Ntwari yakurikiye abicanyi bahohoteraga Abatutsi, akabagaya avuga ko, batwika amazu, bakarya inka z'Abatutsi gusa, kandi yari ategereje ko bamwereka ibihanga by'Abatutsi bishe.

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira bwari bufite umurongo bukorwamo uteguye, n'ibigomba gukorwamo. Umwe mu bari mu bitero watanze ubuhamya muri iyi Komisiyo, avuga uburyo yajugunye Umututsi muri Nyabarongo, abonye adapfuye amuvanamo, aramwica, nyuma ajugunya umurambo aho muri Nyabarongo (Commission Internationale d'enquête, 1993). Uretse muri segiteri Rongi hatigeze hapfa Umututsi, mu masegiteri yandi yose Abatutsi

barishwe, amazu yabo aratwikwa, basahura ibyabo byose. Ubwicanyi bwabereye mu masegiteri ya Gatumba, Nyamisa, Mikingo, Ntaganzwa, Bugarama, Gitarama, Ntobwe, Ngurugunzu, Karehe, Kirengo na Rubona (D, 2013).

Ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi mu matariki 10-11-12-13 Ukwakira 1990 muri Komini Kibilira, bwatwaye abarenga 400, busiga inkomere nyinshi z'Abatutsi, amazu yabo aratwikwa nyuma yo gusahurwa, ndetse haribwa n'amatungo yabo.

Bica Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira, bakoresheje intwaro gakondo zirimo imipanga n' amacumu. Hari na lisansi yifashishwaga n'abicanyi mu gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi. Imodoka ya Burugumesitiri Nteziryayo yatwarwaga n'umushoferi witwa Bizuru, umuhungu wa Rwakana, niyo yagendaga itanga lisansi. Imipanga bakoreshe bica yatyarijwe kuri *centre* ya Gasumo ku mugabo witwa Rurihose (D, 2013).

Abategetsu batandukanye bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi hagati y'itariki 10 kugera ku ya 13 Ukwakira 1990. Muri abo bategetsu harimo, Niyitegeka Bernard wari Superefe wa Ngororero, Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira,

Dusabeyezu Thomas wari Asisita Burugumesitiri, Teganya Innocent wari ukuriye MRND muri Kibilira, Tegera Pierre wari umuyobozi w'umushyamba w'ibirayi (P.N.A.P) Ruhengeri, Ryanyirinka Jean Berchmans wari diregiteri w'amashuri abanza ya Kirengo, abarimu nka Ukizebaraza Pierre Damien na Kanamugire Luc, abakonseye n'abakuru b'amaserire nka Niwemuto Evariste na Mugeni Josephine. Abategetsi bo mu nzego z'ibanze bashyiraga mu bikorwa amabwiriza bahawe n'ababakuriye, bagafatanyaga n'abaturage.

Niyitegeka Bernard wari superefe wa Ngororero yagize uruhare rukomeye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira. Tariki 12 Ukwakira 1990 yakoresheje inama, atumiza ba Burugumesitiri na ba konseye bagize Komini Ramba, Satinsyi na Kibilira. Muri icyo nama yabazaga ba konseye niba amabwiriza bahawe yo gushyiraho umwanzu aho ari hose bayakurikiza. Ikindi na none, Superefe yatabajwe kenshi, ariko akavunira ibiti mu matwi. Na none imodoka ya Superefe gituraga ni yo yazengurukaga mu masegiteri yikoreye ingunguru za lisansi (D, 2013).

Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste wari Burugumesitiri icyo gihe na we yagize uruhare rukomeye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya, Burugumesitiri we ubwe, hari aho yageraga mu masegiteri,

yahura n'igitero akababwira ngo “ *kuki mutagira vuba!*” Mu modoka yari arimo, yari afite lisansi yahaga abicanyi batwika amazu y'Abatutsi. Kenshi yatabajwe n'Abatutsi bahohoterwaga ntabumve, akarebera gusa. Dusabeyezu Thomas wari Asisita burugumesitiri waje kugirwa umunyamabanga wa Perefegitura, afatanyije n'uwitwa Teganya Innocent wakoraga muri REDEMI⁵³ akaba yari n'umuhuzabikorwa wa MRND muri Kibilira, nibo bakoze plan (gahunda ngenderwaho) yo kwica Abatutsi (D, 2013).

Tegera Pierre wakoraga muri PNAP mu Ruhengeri nawe ari mu bantu bagize uruhare kuko kenshi yagiye ava mu Ruhengeri akaza gukwiza umwuka mubi abwira abaturage ngo Inkotanyi ziri hafi kugera i Kibilira kandi ngo zica Abahutu gusa! Hari ubwo yaje yambaye isengeri n'ikabutura, aravuga ngo mu nzira ahuye n'Inkotanyi zimusahura twose ngo ndetse n'imyenda yari yambaye! Ikindi kandi mbere yaho, yaje iwe i Kibilira maze abaturage buzura iwe bamwishyuzwa amafaranga n'inzoga ngo kuko ibyo yashakaga babikoze. Ngo ni nawe watanze imipanga yakoze ishyano. Yayiguze muri Trafipro⁵⁴(D, 2013).

Nko muri segiteri Rubona, ari na ho hapfuye Abatutsi

⁵³ REDEMI : Régie d'Exploitation et de Développement des Mines

⁵⁴ TRAFIPRO: Travail, Fidélité, Progrès, yari koperative y'ubucuruzi

benshi, abarenga ijana na makumyabiri (120), Teganya Innocent ari mu bateguye umugambi afatanyije n’uwitwa Ukizebaraza Pierre. Aba bombi ni bo barikoroje muri iyo segiteri.

Muri segiteri Kirengo, uwitwa Ryanyirinka Jean Berchmans, diregiteri wa *Centre Scolaire* ya Kirengo afatanyije n’uwitwa Baziruwaha Boniface wiyita “Gisida” ni bo barí bayoboye abishe aho i Kirengo. Uyu Ryanyirinka ubwe yishe mwishywa we w’Umututsi witwa Ndayisaba wari uhungiyeye mu rugo rwe, yica kandi abana 2 ba Hitimana abahamba mu kimoteri. Abandi bana b’uwo mugabo bicwa n’igitero yari ayoboye. Uyu Ryanyirinka yari yashinzwe n’uwitwa Bihimbyumuderi Céléstin kumuzanira ibihanga bya bamwe mu Batutsi bishwe aho i Kirengo.

Konseye wa Segiteri Kirengo nawe yagize uruhare kuko yabwiraga bamwe mu Batutsi ngo nibaze iwe abahungishe, bahagera bakahasanga ibitero byabategereje bagahita bicirwa aho. Hiciwe abagera kuri 20 barimo Bakokwe Appollinaire, Pélagie, Straton, Rwagasore n’abahungu b’uwitwa Rubayiza Paul n’abandi (D, 2013).

Muri segiteri Ntobwe, Ushizimpumu Thomas, umunyamabanga wa Komini, waje kugirwa

umuhuzabikorwa wa MRND muri iyi Segiteri, abatangabuhamyu bavuga ko ari we watangaga amabwiriza yo kwica muri iyo segiteri. Bavuga ko yafatanyaga n'uwitwa Ndayambaje wari ankadereri w'ishyirahamwe ryitwa "Abakurankota".

Muri segiteri Ngurugunzu, uwitwa Sinderu Alexis yari afite imbunda yahawe na mukuru we wari umusirikare muri *Camp Colonel* Mayuya witwa *Sergeant Major* Kimonyo François. Iyo mbunda niyo yakangishaga Abatutsi babaga bashaka guhunga. Muri iyi segiteri yari afatanije na Riberakurora André wakoraga muri REDEMI ya Bijyojyo muri Komini Kivumu muri Perefegitura ya Kibuye. Igitero Riberakurora yari ayoboye cyashatse kujya kwica i Bijyojyo ha Komini Kivumu ya Kibuye ariko Konseye waho n'abaturage baragikumira kigaruka muri Kibirira. Muri rusange ibitero byari biyobowe n'abo bagabo tumaze kuvuga ni byo byakoze ariya marorerwa. Iyo babaga bamaze gutsemba imbaga mu masegiteri yabo, bajyaga kurikoroza no mu yandi masegiteri (D, 2013).

Muri segiteri Rubona: Shyirambere Innocent, Konseye wa segiteri Rubona ashinjwa kuba yaricishije Abatutsi no gusahura ibyabo. Hari inyandiko zafashwe n'abaserire zerekanye ibarura ry'Abatutsi yakoraga bagombaga kwicwa. Abagize uruhare muri ubwo bwicanyi barafashwe

barafungwa, nyuma y'igihe gito bararekurwa, bagaruka mu ngo zabo.

Hari nk'uwitwa Ndayambaje wafashwe n'abajandarume baje guhosha intambara, baramubajije ngo yakoze iki, asubiza ubona ntacyo atinya, aravuga ngo yishe Abatutsi 40, akomeza avuga ko abategetsi bababwiye guhiga Inyenzi, bakazica aho ziri hose. Yarafashwe ajyanwa gufungwa, nyuma y'igihe gito arafungurwa (G, 2013).

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Kibilira muri 1990, barafashwe bafungwa by'igihe gito, hari nabatarigeze bafungwa. Mu bafunzwe, hafi ya bose bamaze muri gereza ibyumweru bitarenze bitatu. Igihano bahawe ntaho gihuriye n'ibyaha bari bakoze. Abenshi bafunguwe na parike, abandi bafungurwa n'urukiko. Kuba nta bushake bwo gukora anketi bwigeze bubaho, ndetse n'abafunzwe bagahita bafungurwa, bigaragaza neza uruhare abategetsi bari bafite muri ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi. Usibye Perefe wenyine wagerageje guhosha ubwo bwicanyi, abandi bategetsi bo mu nzego zo hejuru, abashinzwe umutekano, hafi ya bose bari bashyigikiye ko Abatutsi bicwa, hari na bamwe babigizemo uruhare (G, 2013).

Imibare y'Abatutsi bishwe muri Komini Kibilira muri 1990

Segiteri/	Ntobwe	Rubona	Kirengo	Ngurungunzu	Gatumba	Nyamisa	Mikingo	Rugarama	Ntaganzwa	Gitarama	Karehe	Abapfuye bose
Umubare w'abapfuye	52	120	55	33	29	10	16	5	10	2	6	372

Aho byavuye: Kanguka n ° 46 du 21 Octobre 1991

Iyi mibare itandukanye n'iyatanzwe na Superefefe wa Superefegitura ya Ngororero mu ibaruwa n° 435/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 14 Ugushyingo 1990 yandikiye Perefe wa Gisenyi agaragaza imbonerahamwe y'abantu bapfuye kubera “imvururu” (nk'uko abivuga) zabaye muri Superefegitura ya Ngororero, avuga ko abishwe muri Komini Kibilira ari 352 (Rukabukira, 1990).

Iyi raporo igaragaza ko Abatutsi bakomeretse ari 45; abahunze ari 3.365; amazu yahiye ari 423; ayangijwe akaba 124 ; Inka zariwe ni 387; andi matungo yariwe ni 173.

N'ubwo imibare yatanzwe n'ikinyamakuru Kanguka ibusanye gato n'iyatanzwe na Superefefe, ikigaragara ni uko Abatutsi bishwe muri Komini Kibilira bari hejuru ya 350.

6.1.1.1. Urutonde rw'Abatutsi bishwe muri Komini Kibilira mu Kwakira 1990

I. Segiteri Rubona (Ababashije kumenyekana)

1. Bakanyamibwa Catherine n'abana be 4
2. Béata (Madame Bazimya Théoneste)
3. Byamenywanamungu Emma (Madame Habiyambere)
4. Claude Mukamusoni Josephine (Madame Nyetera)
5. Delmas mwene Munyanshongore
6. Doroteya mwene Gasimba
7. Dusengimana mwene Mugemana
8. Gakeri Mathias mwene Kalibushi
9. Gaparayi
10. Gapyisi Appolinaire Gapyisi
11. Gasasira mwene Gapyisi
12. Gasengayire Eugénie mwene Mbuguje
13. Gasimba mwene Mayugi
14. Habarurema Jean mwene Nyetera Prudence
15. Habimana Andre mwene Nyetera Prudence
16. Hakizimana Isidore mwene Mutama Antoine
17. Harindintwari mwene Rukaburacumu
18. Hategekimana Clement mwene Hakizimana Isidore
19. Irakiza mwene Ntampaka Berchmans

20. Irivuzwenumugabo mwene Rutaza
21. Iyakaremye Gilbert mwene Iyakaremye
22. Janvière mwene Bazimya Theoneste
23. Kabuguzo Innocent mwene Gapyisi
24. Kagwa Andre mwene Gahuru Marc
25. Kankindi Eugenie mwene Bayingana
26. Kanyamibwa mwene Rukorera
27. Kanzayire Anne-Marie (Madame Habiyambere
2 eme Femme)
28. Karahamuheto Jean
29. Karekezi Léonidas mwene Kabutura
30. Karengera Pascal mwene Gapyisi
31. Kasine Adele (Madame Kavubi Joseph)
32. Kayiranga mwene Gahamanyi Edouard
33. Kayitani mwene Nyetera Prudence
34. Kayitesi mwene Nyirandenzi
35. Kigingi mwene Ntampaka Berchmans
36. Kimenyi mwene Ntampaka Berchmans
37. Mbuguje mwene Nyamuberwa
38. Mukabaziga (Madame Kabera)
39. Mukabideri Mathilde (Madame Ntampaka)
40. Mukagasana Clotilde mwene Habiyambere
41. Mukagatare Adele (Madame Muturage)
42. Mukagatare Vestine mwene Gahuru Marc
43. Mukakamari (Madame Gasimba)
44. Mukakarangwa Dedesi mwene Rukorera

45. Mukakibibi Claudette mwene Habiyambere
46. Mukakirezi mwene Gapyisi
47. Mukamfizi Marie (Madame Marembo)
48. Mukamutara Marie (Madame Twagiramungu)
49. Mukandori Dative mwene Mukanyarwaya
50. Mukangabiro Théodette mwene Twagiramungu
51. Mukankuranga Julienne mwene Rukorera
52. Mukankwiro Madeleine mwene Nshakabatenda
53. Mukantagara Clarisse mwene Habiyambere
54. Mukanyarwaya Judith mwene Nkezabera
55. Mukanyindo Genereuse (Madame Simbizi)
56. Mukanyindo Mado mwene Sebikware
57. Mukanzigiye Flonile mwene Gapyisi
58. Mukanzigiye Virginie (Madame Karekezi) mwene Ngabo
59. Mukarugaryi mwene Nyamuberwa
60. Mukarugina Cesarie mwene Simbizi
61. Mukarugomwa Liberata (Madame Bugingo)
62. Mukarusangiza mwene Habiyambere
63. Mukarusine Monique mwene Bugingo
64. Mukeshimana Jacques mwene Subukino
65. Munyansanga mwene Gaparayi
66. Murekatete Marie Goretti Mwene Twagiramungu
67. Mushimiyimana (umwuzukuru wa Habiyambere)
68. Mutabanzwa mwene Kinimba
69. Mwali mwene Rushirabwoba

70. Mwumvaneza mwene Kavubi
71. Naho Désiré mwene Gakeri Mathias
72. Nakabonye Eugénie mwene Subukino
73. Ndatsikira Rukorera
74. Niwemugeni Euranie mwene Simbizi
75. Niyonsenga Emmanuel mwene Hakizimana
Isidore
76. Nshimiyimana mwene Twagiramungu
77. Ntampaka Berchimas mwene Gakeri Mathias
78. Nyabugande mwene Nkezabera
79. Nyamuberwa mwene Nyamuberwa
80. Nyirabaributsa Xaverine (Madame Karahamuhe-
to)
81. Nyirabukera Dativa mwene Gapyisi
82. Nyiramarimari (Madame Rutaza)
83. Nyiramasikini Astere (Mme Rukorera)
84. Nyirandenzi Epiphanie mwene Marembo
85. Nyiranzuza (Madame Mbuguje)
86. Olive mwene Busingo
87. Rugigaba Alexis mwene Habiyambere
88. Rugimba mwene Ruciye
89. Rukaburacumu Marcel mwene Sebahura
90. Rukizangabo mwene Rutaza
91. Rukundo mwene Gahamanyi Edouard
92. Rumongi mwene Gakeri Mathias
93. Rusine Félix mwene Busingo

94. Rutaganira mwene Gaparayi
95. Rutaza Evariste mwene Mayugi
96. Rutegahabiga mwene Rukaburacumu
97. Ruterana mwene Mayugi
98. Ruvurajabo Siridio mwene Ruvurajabo
99. Rwabigwi mwene Mugemanyi
100. Sebukayire mwene Rutaza
101. Silas mwene Gahamanyi Edouard
102. Simbizi Aloys mwene Munyuzangabo
103. Subukino Theogene mwene Rushirabwoba
104. Tugenamariya umwana wa Niwemugeni
105. Tuyizere mwene Mugemana
106. Umwemezi Casimir mwene Muturage
107. Uwamahoro Alexis mwene Ntampaka Berchimas
108. Uwamahoro Drocelle mwene Simbizi
109. Uwamariya Béatrice mwene Bayingana
110. Uwamariya Petronile (Madame Mugemana)
111. Uwantege Dativa mwene Marembo
112. Uwayezu Mathilda mwene Nyirandenzi
113. Uwera mwene Munyanshongore
114. Uwimana Espérance (Madame Gahamanyi Edouard)
115. Uzaramba (solide) mwene Hakizimana Isidore

II. Segiteri Kirengo (Ababashije kumenyekana)

1. Binwangali (frère de Hitimana)
2. Byukusenge
3. Gasherebuka
4. Habarurema
5. Iyakaremye
6. Kabayiza
7. Kagiraneza
8. Kamonyo
9. Kamunazi
10. Karanguza
11. Karyango
12. Kashara
13. Kayitesi
14. Kubuhoro
15. Mbaraga
16. Mudacumura
17. Mukabayiro
18. Mukacyaka
19. Mukagihana
20. Mukamana
21. Mukamazimpaka
22. Mukampayana
23. Mukandagijimana
24. Mukandayisenga

25. Mukangira
26. Mukankindi
27. Mukankubana (Mme Hitimana)
28. Mukanvakaviro
29. Mukanyonga
30. Mukarwego
31. Munyabarambe
32. Munyabarenzi
33. Munyaneza
34. Munyankumburwa
35. Musabyimana mwene Hitimana
36. Mwiseneza
37. Mwiseneza
38. Ndayambaje mwene Hitimana
39. Ndayisaba
40. Ngirabe
41. Niyisaba
42. Niyonsenga mwene Hitimana
43. Nkurahije
44. Nyamulinda (Frere de Hitimana)
45. Nyirabutumwa (Sœur de Hitimana)
46. Nyirajyahe
47. Nyirajyambere
48. Nyiramanyenzi
49. Nyirampumbya
50. Nyirandutiye

51. Nyirangondo
52. Nyirankindi
53. Nyirankubana (mère de Hitimana)
54. Nyiransanzabaganwa
55. Nyiraromba
56. Nzanzintwari
57. Rugambwa
58. Ruhigira
59. Ruhumuriza
60. Ruhumuriza (frère de Hitimana)
61. Rukundo
62. Ruyonza
63. Rwanamiza
64. Rwanamiza (frère de Hitimana)
65. Sendabari
66. Seruntanga
67. Sezirahiga
68. Sibomana (frère de Hitimana)
69. Sinayobye mwene Hitimana
70. Ukizebaraza mwene Hitimana
71. Urimwabo
72. Uwahawe
73. Uwamahoro
74. Uwayisaba
75. Uwera
76. Uwera n'abane be 02

77. Uwimana
78. Uwimana
79. Uzamukunda

III. Segiteri Gatumba

1. Madame Gashugi n'abana be 04
2. Madame Sebaganji
3. Mukantagara
4. Ruyonza Eugene
5. Sebaganji
6. Umwuzukuru wa Sebaganji

IV. Segiteri Mukingo

1. Abuzukuru 02 ba Munyambonwa
2. Kayitesi Louise
3. Madame Munyambonwa
4. Munyambonwa
5. Rukomanya

V. Segiteri Ntaganzwa

1. Mushiki wa Gakumba Aloys

VI. Segiteri Ntobwe

1. Anastasie
2. Bajane
3. Baruna

4. Bizimungu
5. Busene
6. Buseruka
7. Businda
8. Bwanakeye n'abana be 02
9. Bwanjagire
10. Gaetan
11. Gakarane
12. Gakemba
13. Gasominari
14. Gatahe
15. Gatarina
16. Kabera
17. Kagabo
18. Karenzi
19. Kayangwe
20. Kayitana
21. Kayitesi Louise
22. Kayuki
23. Kigingi
24. Libona
25. Madame Munyambonwa
26. Makuza
27. Makuza
28. Mateke
29. Mbonabucya

30. Mbuguza
31. Mukanyonga
32. Munayaneza
33. Munyambonwa
34. Mushiki wa Gakumba Aloys
35. Nayino Gerard
36. Ndayisenga Estache
37. Ndibagiza
38. Ndikumuzima
39. Ndongozi
40. Nkeramihigo
41. Pese
42. Rubera
43. Ruboneka
44. Rudakubana
45. Rugogoza
46. Ruhanga
47. Rukomanya
48. Rusiku
49. Rusumbanya
50. Ruzagure
51. Rwabukamba
52. Sarapiyo
53. Sebahutu
54. Sebakatra
55. Sebarashonga

56. Seburikande
57. Sebuyange

VII. Segiteri Ngurugunzu (abishwe bamenyekanye ni 24)

1. Ananie
2. Bazirasa
3. Bijawari
4. Flora
5. Gasine
6. Gatera
7. Kagaba
8. Kalisa
9. Karuranga
10. Mbaraga
11. Mucunguramfizi
12. Mugemangango
13. Mujawabera
14. Murasira
15. Mutuyeyezu
16. Nsabimana
17. Nshunguyinka
18. Nyiramuhigirwa
19. Nyirantorege
20. Nzamwita

21. Oswald
22. Rutayisire
23. Sibomana
24. Uwimana

VIII.Segiteri Gitarama

1. Edouard
2. Umuhungu wa Buseruka

Aho byavuye: Kanguka n° 46 du 21 Octobre 1991

Imibare y'Abatutsi bishwe, abakomeretse, inka zariwe n'amazu yatwitswe muri Komini Kibilira mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 igenda itandukana.

Urugero, mu ibaruwa n° 730/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 15 Ukuboza 1990 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Kibilira Sindibona Jean Marie Vianney, yandikira Perezida wa «Comité Préfectoral de Crise» Perefefu wa Perefefitura ya Gisenyi, amugezaho umwanzuro w'iperereza ryerekeranye n'imvururu zabaye muri Komini Kibilira kuva tariki ya 11 kugeza tariki 15 Ukwakira 1990, yavuze ko hapfuye Abatutsi 345 n'Abahutu 7 (Sindibona, 1990).

Raporo yakozwe na Perefefitura ya Gisenyi yo mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1991, igaragaza ko muri Komini Kibilira hapfuye abantu 236, hakomereka 45, hahunga 3107. Iyo raporo ivuga ko abantu bagera ku 2.385 bahungiyeye kuri

Paruwasi ya Muhororo, abantu 701 bahungira Ngororero naho 21 bahungira muri Komini Bulinga, Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Na none raporo igaragaza ko amazu yahiye ari 617, haribwa inka z'Abatutsi 322 n'andi matungo magufi agera 163 (Perefegitura Gisenyi, 1990).

Raporo ya *Commission Internationale d'Enquête sur les Violations de droit de l'homme au Rwanda* yasohotse ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama 1993, ivuga ko nibura abantu 348 aribo bishwe mu masaha 48, ko inzu zirenga 550 zatwitswe, n'amatungo atandukanye agasahurwa (Commission Internationale d'enquête, 1993).

Ibivugwa muri raporo yakozwe na Perefegitura ya Gisenyi mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1990 itandukanye cyane na Raporo yatanzwe na Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira, aho mu ibaruwa ye n° 604/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13 Ukwakira 1990 yandikiye Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Ngororero amugezaho ibyangijwe muri Komini ayobora, ndetse n'ibyagaragajwe na Raporo mpuzamahanga (FDIH). Muri iyi baruwa, Nteziryayo avuga ko abantu bapfuye ari 26. Ntabwo Burugumesitiri agaragaza abantu bapfuye abo aribo, na none avuga ko byatewe n'imidugararo y'abaturage (Nteziryayo, 1990). Birumvikana ko Burugumesitiri Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste atagombaga kuvuga ukuri, kuko ni we wari ku isonga y'ubwo bwicanyi, kuko na we yaje gufatwa afungwa igihe

gito, nyuma ararekurwa ndetse ahindurirwa imirimo.

6.1.1.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira mu1992

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bwarakomeje na nyuma ya 1990. Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira bongeye kwicwa ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1992. Kuri iyi tariki, igitero kigizwe n'abicanyi bo muri Komini Satinsyi, Ramba na Kibilira bagiye gutera Komini Nyakabanda yo muri Gitarama bashaka kuyibohozza, bashaka na none kwica impunzi z'Abatutsi zari zarahungiyeye mu kigo cy'imfubyi cy'umupadiri witwa *Bourget* muri Komini Nyakabanda. Icyo gihe abicanyi b'abarwanashyaka ba MRND bajya gutera, bari bitwaje amacumu, ibihiri n'ibisuti, ubwo bageraga ku kiraro cyo kwa *Bourget* basanze abashinzwe umutekano bo muri Komini Nyakabanda babiteguye, barwanira kuri icyo kiraro n'ahitwa ku Cyome ho muri Komini Kibilira. Nyuma yo gutsindwa kwabo, bagarukanye umujinya, birara mu Batutsi bo muri Kibilira, bamwe baricwa, abandi bahungira na none kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo (Q, 2013).

Abatangabuhamyi bavuga ko tariki 8/02/1992 abarwanashyaka ba MRND bishe Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Nyamisa, bajya kubaroha mu ruzi rwa Nyabarongo, ababashije kurokoka bahungira kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo. Icyo gihe na none batwitse amazu y'Abatutsi

baranasahura. Amazu arenga 80 yaratwitswe, Abatutsi barenga 10 baricwa, abandi barakomereka.

6.1.2. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Satinsyi

Komini Satinsyi yari igizwe na segiteri 13 ari zo : Mpara, Murambi, Ruhunga, Ngororero, Mbuye, Kiziguro, Gitwa, Munini, Gitega, Matyazo, Rucano, Musagara na Gashonyi. Mu 1990, Burugumesitiri yitwaga Nsanzimihigo Cyrille.

Kimwe nk'ahandi mu makomine yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, kwica no gutoteza Abatutsi ntabwo byatangiyeye mu 1990. Mbere ya 1990, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi bari babayeho mu buzima bwo guhezwa, gutotezwa ndetse no gukorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo. Ubwo Inkotanyi zagabaga igitero ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, habayeho gufata, gufunga, gutoteza no kwica Abatutsi batuye muri iyo Komini. Kuva ku itariki ya 6 kugera ku ya 13 Ukwakira 1990, habayeho kwica ku mugaragaro Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Satinsyi, habaho gutwika no gusenya amazu yabo, kurya inka zabo n'andi matungo magufi, abarokotse bahungira ku ngoro ya MRND yari iri muri iyo Komini.

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 riremezwa n' ibaruwa n° 0880/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1990 yanditswe

na Burugumesitiri Nsanzimihigo Cyrille igaragaza imbonerahamwe y'imvururu zabaye ku wa 6 kugera ku wa 12 Ukwakira 1990, aho avuga ko abapfuye ari 11, abaroshywe mu mazi ari 9, abakomeretse bakaba 8, abiyahuye ari 2, amazu yahiye ari 6, amazu yasenywe ari 102, inka zariwe ari 115 naho abahunze ni 745 (Nsanzimihigo C., 1990)

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri iyo Komini bugaragara no muri raporo yakozwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Satinsyi, Nsanzimihigo Cyrille mu ibaruwa n° 0894/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 27 Ukwakira 1990 yandikiye Perefefe wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi amugezaho raporo y'imvururu zabaye muri Komini Satinsyi, kuva ku wa 7 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku wa 12/10/1990. Muri iyi baruwa, burugumesitiri avuga ko ku itariki ya 9 Ukwakira 1990 habaye amarorerwa (nk'uko abyita), hakaba hari abantu bapfuye, ababuze, abiyahuye, abakomeretse, amazu yatwitswe, amazu yasenywe, inka zariwe ndetse n'abahunze (Nsanzimihigo C., 1990).

Burugumesitiri agaragaza umubare w'Abatutsi bishwe n'amazina yabo. Mu Batutsi bishwe bagaragara muri iyo raporo harimo: Mukamurigo Félicité, Twagirayezu Charles, Ikibera Beata, Umwana wa Ikibera, Mukanzigiye Vestine, umwana wa Mukanzigiye, Mukangoga, Ntabashwa, Sebukayire n'abana be babiri. Muri iyo raporo, Burugumesitiri avuga ko abapfuye bose ari 11;

abaroshywe mu mazi bataraboneka ari 9; abiyahuye ari 2; abakomeretse ari 8; amazu yahiye yari 7; ayasenywe ari 91; inka zariwe ari 112; umubare w'abahunze wari 915. Abahunze bose bahungiyeye ku ngoro ya MRND ku wa 20 Ukwakira 1990 (Nsanzimihigo C., 1990).

Imibare igaragara muri raporo ya Burugumesitiri Nsanzimihigo ntabwo ihura. Urugero, hamwe agaragaza ko abahunze ari 745, ahandi akavuga ko ari 915.

Kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Satinsyi byarakomeje mu myaka yakurikiyeho. Ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1992, interahamwe za Komini Satinsyi, Kibilira na Ramba zagabye igitero cyo kubohoza Komini Nyakabanda yo muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Umutangabuhamya warokotse ubwo bwicanyi bwa 1992 muri Satinsyi, avuga ko abagabye igitero cyo kubohoza Komini Nyakabanda, bagiyeye bambaye amashara, barwanira ku kiraro cya *Bourget*. icyo gihe barwanishaga imyambi, amacumu n'imipanga. Bamaze gutsindwa, abo muri Satinsyi, baraje bica umuryango wa Rukara wari utuye ku isoko rya Ngororero n'abandi hirya no hino muri ayo makomine ya Ramba, Satinsyi na Kibilira. Kuri icyo tariki, muri Satinsyi hishwe Abatutsi bageze ku munani (N, 2013).

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi kuri icyo tariki buremezwa n'ibaruwa n° 011/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 20 Gashyantare

1992 ya Superefe wa Ngororero yandikiye Perefefe wa Gisenyi amugezaho ikibazo cyo gushyamirana hagati y'abaturage ba Komini Nyakabanda, Perefegitura ya Gitarama n'abo muri Komini Satinsyi byabaye ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1992 no ku itariki ya 16 Gashyantare 1992. Muri iyi baruwa, Superefe avuga ko gushyamirana byatewe n'amashyaka ya Politiki, aho abarwanashyaka ba MRND bo muri Komini Satinsyi bashyamiranye n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR bo muri Komini Nyakabanda, Perefegitura ya Gitarama, MRND ishaka kubohoza Nyakabanda.

Nk'uko ibaruwa Superefe yanditse ivuga, impande zombi zari zitwaje intwaro za gakondo. Nyuma y'uko Superefe wa Ngororero ari kumwe n'uwa Kiyumba, Perefegitura ya Gitarama bahageze, bahosheje imirwano, umutekano uragaruka, ariko abarwanashyaka ba MRND basubiranyeyo umujinya birara mu Batutsi, bamwe baricwa, amatungo yabo arasahurwa ndetse n'ibikoresho byo mu nzu. Abibasiwe cyane ni Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Kirengo, Ngurugunzu zo muri Komini Kibilira, segiteri Kageyo yo muri Komini Ramba n'ahandi muri Komini Satinsyi (Sous-Prefecture de Ngororero, 1992). Bamwe mu Batutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi n'abavuye ahandi bari barahungiyeye ku ngoro ya muvoma (MRND) i Ngororero bishwe icyo gihe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Babiciye

hanze y'ingoro aho batekeraga.

Mu 1993, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi bongeye kwicwa mu gihe cy'imyigaragambyo yakorwaga n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR ku matariki 20, 21, 22 na 23 Mutarama 1993. Uruhushya rwo gukora imyigaragambyo rwatanzwe na Perefef Habiyambere Joseph. By'umwihariko tariki 21 Mutarama 1993 muri iyo myigaragambyo, bishe Abatutsi bagera kuri mirongo itatu bo mu ma segiteri ya Gitwa, Gashonyi, Matyazo na Munini (Le Flambeau, 1993).

Urufu rw'abo Batutsi ruremezwa na Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho n'inama y'abaministri yo ku wa 3 Gashyantare 1993, igamije gusesengura ubwicanyi bwabereye mu ma Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye (Commission Politico-Administrative, 1993). Iyo raporo ivuga ko Habiyambere Joseph wari Perefef wa Gisenyi yatanze uburenganzira bw'imyigaragambyo yo ku matariki 20, 21, 22, 23, muri Mutarama 1993, mu ibaruwa n° 0040/04.09.01 yo ku wa 18 Mutarama 1993. Mu gihe iyo myigaragambyo yariho iba, Perefef ntiyigeze amenyesha inzego z'umutekano kugira ngo zibashe gukumira ibikorwa bibi byakorwaga n'abo barwanashyaka. Iyi myigaragambyo yahagaritswe na Perefef ubwe ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1993 (Commission Politico-

Administrative, 1993).

Ikinyamakuru “Le Flambeau” cyo ku wa 17 Gashyantare 1993 cyavugaga ku mvururu zabereye muri Gisenyi n’abategetsi babigizemo uruhare, kivuga ko Habiyambere Joseph, Perefefe wa Gisenyi, ari kumwe na *Chef d’Etat Major* ya *Gendarmerie Nationale*, Augustin Ndindiriyimana, batigeze bagira icyo bakora ku kababaro bagejejweho n’impunzi z’Abatutsi zari ku Ngoro ya Muvoma. Perefefe n’uwari umuyobozi mukuru wa Jandarumeri basuye impunzi z’Abatutsi zari ku ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) mu Ngororero ku itariki ya 26 Mutarama 1993. Bageze aho impunzi zari ziri nka saa tatu za mu gitondo, impunzi zibagezaho impamvu bahunze n’uko bamerewe, zigaragaza akababaro zatewe na Kabalira Telesphore⁵⁵ wari umaze kwicisha umuryango wa Nsonera Alexis wari utuye muri *Centre* ya Ngororero nko muri metero magana abiri uvuye aho impunzi zari zicumbitse, ndetse n’abandi Batutsi batandatu bari bamaze kwicwa. *Chef d’Etat Major* wa Jandarumeri ntacyo yigeze akora ku bibazo yagejejweho, ahita yinjira mu ndege ya Kajugujugu yari yamuzanye asubira i Kigali (Le Flambeau, 1993).

Abandi bavugwa bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry’Abatutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi harimo, Mukaruziga Eugénie wari

55

⁵⁵Kabarira Télésphore : yahoze ari insipegiteri w’amashuri mu karere ka Satinsyi, nyuma aza kuba Perezida wa MRND muri iyi Komini

umugore wa Kabalira Télésphore, akanaba visi perezidante wa CDR muri Komini Satinsyi. Afatanije n'umugabo we, ubwo Abatutsi bamwe bageragezaga guhunga bajya muri Gitarama ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1993, yahagaze mu muhanda akajya abakura mu modoka, avuga ngo baramenye batabacika (Le Flambeau, 1993).

Mbarushimana Bonaventure wari umucuruzi akaba na Perezida wa MRND mu rwego rwa segiteri Mucano, ni we wicishije Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Gitwa. Imodoka ye ni yo yatwaraga interahamwe n'impuzamugambi zabaga zigiyeye kwica (Le Flambeau, 1993).

Ntungura Jean Berchmans wari umwarimu akanaba perezida w'interahamwe muri segiteri Kageyo afatanije n'umugore we Mukarugina Cécile na we w'umwarimukazi, bishe umuryango wa Murengeantwari n'uwa Ruhumuriza harimo umugore we n'abana batanu. Mu gihe bari bagiye kureka kwica umukecuru witwa Kankindi, Mukarugina Cecile yaravuze ngo: «*Ukubita imbeba ntababarira ihaka*», *asaba abicanyi gukuraho umwanda, bahita bica wa mukecuru*” (Le Flambeau, 1993).

Undi uvugwa mu bagize uruhare ni Superefe wa Ngororero Rukabukira Ildephonse. Uruhare rwe rugaragazwa na Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho n'inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku wa 3 Gashyantare 1993, igamije

gusesengura imvururu zabereye mu ma Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Iyi raporo igaragaza ko ari we wateguye ndetse agashyigikira imyigaragambyo yabaye ku Cyome ku itariki ya 24 Mutarama 1993 ubwo abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR bo muri Komini Kibilira barwanaga n'abaturage ba Komini Bulinga, yo muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Nyuma y'ubwo bushyamirane, interahamwe n'impuzamugambi zatahanye umujinya, zirara mu mpunzi z'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ya Muramba, zirabica.

6.1.3. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba

Komini Ramba yari igizwe na segiteri zikurikira: Segiteri Bayi, Kavumu, Kimanu, Sovu, Nyampili, Kageyo, Mabuye na Suti. Muri 1990, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba yitwaga Nzabanita Théogène. Muri Kamena 1993 yasimbuwe n'uwitwaga Karasira Léonard, wayoboye Komini kugeza mu gihe cya Jenoside mu 1994. Kwica Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ramba byatangiyeye ku itariki ya 11 Ukwakira 1990. Abatutsi barishwe, amazu yabo aratwikwa, andi arasenywa, inka zabo n'andi matungo magufi biraribwa. Umwe mu batangabuhamya warokotse ubwo bwicanyi arasobanura:

«Inkotanyi zateye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 noneho twe badutera ku itariki ya 11 Ukwakira

1990. icyo gihe badutera, twabanje guhungira aha hoze ari Komini Ramba, tugeze kuri Komini, bashaka kuhatwicira ni bwo twakomeje duhungira ku Ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) kuri superefe gitura ya Ngororero. Twahamaze iminsi mike, abategetsi bahita batubwira ngo dusubire mu matongo yacu, turataha, tugezeyo dusanga amazu yacu yarahiye. Ubwo twahise tugondagonda uturaro two kubamo, turatura, hashize igihe gito na none barongera baradutera, twongera guhunga. Baduteye ubugira gatatu»(P, 2013).

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 riremezwa na raporo yakozwe na Superefe wa Superefe gitura ya Ngororero Rukabukira Ildephonse, mu ibaruwa n° 435/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 14 Ugushyamba 1990 yandikiye Perefe wa Gisenyi agaragaza imbonerahamwe y'abantu bapfuye kubera imvururu (nk'uko abivugaga) zabaye muri Superefe gitura ya Ngororero. Avugaga ko abishwe muri Komini Ramba ari 11. Iyi raporo ivugaga ko Abatutsi bakomeretse ari 8; abahunze ari 915; amazu yahiye ari 7 naho ayangijwe akaba 91; Inka zariwe zose ni 112. Raporo ivugaga ko abantu baroshywe mu mazi batabonetse ari 9 (Rukabukira, 1990).

Mu ibaruwa n° 167/04.18 yo ku wa 28 Ukwakira 1990 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba,

Nzabanita Theogène, avuga ko Abatutsi bahunze imvururu biganjemo abo muri segiteri Kageyo na Suti bakaba barahungiyeye kuri Superefegitura ya Ngororero (Nzabanita, 1990).

Kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba byakomeje no mu myaka yakurikiyeho. Umutangabuhamya warokotse ubwicanyi mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, avuga ko muri Mutarama 1991 haje igitero kiyobowe n'uwitwa Rubyagira wo muri segiteri Kavumu barwana n'icyo gitero, gusa bamwe mu bavandimwe be baza kwicwa, abarokotse bahungira kuri Komini Ramba. Mu 1992 Abatutsi bongeye guterwa, icyo gihe na none bahungira kuri Komini. Hishwe Abatutsi bake, ariko basahura ibyabo, n'inka zabo barazirya (P, 2013).

Intandaro y'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Mutarama 1993

Ku birebana n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba mu 1993, abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko intandaro yabayeye inama yari yakoreshejwe na Léon Mugesera ikurikirwa n'iyakoreshejwe na superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse.

Bajya kwica Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ramba hari habaye inama y'ishyamba rya MRND ku itariki 23 Mutarama 1993 ibera ahitwa Birembo ku kibuga cy'isoko, muri segiteri ya

Mabuye. Iyo nama yari irimo Léon Mugesera n'abandi bayobozi bo hejuru, harimo na Kabarira Télésphore wari ukuriye interahamwe muri Komini Satinsyi. Muri iyo nama Léon Mugesera yabajije abaturage ikibazo gikurikira: *"Kuki mutegereza ko inyenzi zirinda kubageramo, ubu murakora iki? Kuki mutavanaho ibyitso hakiri kare* (B, 2013).

Nyuma y'iyi nama bahise bica Umututsi w'umugogwe witwa Mbendegezi wari wihishe mu rusengeru rw'abadiyantisiti rwari hafi ya Birembo. Hishwe na none uwitwa Badehe wo muri segiteri Baye. Abagize uruhare mu rupfu rw'aba Batutsi twavuze haruguru, bagiye gufungirwa kuri Komini Ramba bisabwe na burugumesitiri wayo witwaga Nzabanita Théogène.

Umunsi ukurikiyeho, ku wa 24 Mutarama 1993, Superefe wa superefegitura ya Ngororero, Rukabukira Ildephonse, na we yakoresheje indi inama ku Rutindo muri segiteri ya Kageyo, Komini Ramba. Muri iyo nama yatanze amabwiriza yo kwica Abatutsi. Iyo nama yari irimo uwitwa Barakomera Michel wari Perezida w'interahamwe muri segiteri Kageyo, harimo n'uwitwa Ntungura Jean Berchmans wari ukuriye MRND muri segiteri. Yari irimo kandi uwitwa Kabalira Télésphore wahoze ari inspecteur w'amashuri muri Komini Satinsyi, waje mu nama yitwaje

ubuhiri.

Muri iyo nama bibutsaga abaturage ibyavugiye mu nama y'umunsi wo ku wa 23 Mutarama 1993 yari yayobowe na Léon Mugesera. Babwiye abaturage ko mu myanzuro yafatiwe muri iyo nama harimo kumenya kwirwanaho, bagatangatanga Inyenzi muri Komini impande zose (C, 2013). Muri iyo nama, bavuze ko bagomba guhiga Inyenzi aho ziri hose, ko uwitwa Umututsi, cyangwa umwe mu babyeyi ari umututsi, ko nta n'umwe bagomba kurebera izuba.

Kuri iyo tariki ya 24 Mutarama 1993, Uwitwa Nyandwi Claude wari umukuru w'interahamwe afatanyije n'abajandarume bari kuri Komini Ramba bafunguye interahamwe zari zafunzwe. Bamaze kubafungura, bafashe Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba, Nzabanita Théogène, bamuvana mu modoka yari arimo, bamukuramo inkweto, baramushorera, agendesha ibirenge ahantu hareshya na kilometero nk'eshatu, agera ahaberaga inama yari iyobowe na Superefe ku Rutindo (B, 2013).

Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho n'inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku wa 3 Gashyantare 1993 yari ishinzwe gukora anketi ku mvururu zabereye muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye na yo igaragaza uko

kuntu Burugumesitiri Nzabanita Théogène yagiriwe nabi n'interahamwe zari zimaze gufungura abishe Mbendegezi (Commission Politico-Administrative, 1993).

Umunsi ukurikiyeho, ku itariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 haje ibitero byo kwica Abatutsi. Bahereye kwa Gasana Diyoni, bica Annonciata Uwonkunda wari Directrice wa CERAI⁵⁶ y'ahitwa Kamashi, bica Mukobwajana Anastasie, umubyeyi we witwa Icyimpaye Cansilida, hishwe n'umugabo witwa Kayitare Alphonse, hicwa Nyirankumi Madeleine, Uwamuranga Yudita, na Mukampamo Bernadette, Ruhumuriza n'umugore we witwa Mukabutera n'abana babo babiri, Mugemangango, Musafiri Joseph n'abana babiri ba Murengeantwari. Kuri iyo tariki, hishwe Abatutsi 23 bo muri segiteri Kageyo (M, 2013)⁵⁷.

Ubwicanyi bwo ku itariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 muri Komini Ramba, bwakozwe n'ibitero byaturutse muri Komini Gaseke n'ibyo muri Ramba byahigaga Abatutsi, ari nabwo batangiyeye kwica ku mugaragararo.

Muri segiteri ya Suti hishwe umuryango wa Kabirigi wari ugizwe n'abantu bagera kuri 15, hicwa Mukagihana Béatrice, Uwamariya Judith, Uhoraningoga Canisius,

⁵⁶ CERAI: Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré (Amashuri y'imyuga nyuma yo kurungiza amashuri abanza yamaraga imyaka itatu).

⁵⁷ M: umutangabuhamya akomoka muri komine Kibilira, ariko ubwicanyi bwabaye ari muri komine Ramba ari na ho yakoraga.

Mukagakwaya n'abandi. Muri segiteri Suti, hishwe Abatutsi barenga 27. Hirya no hino mu ma segiteri atandukanye Abatutsi barishwe baranasahurwa (A, 2013).

Abatutsi bishwe muri icyo gihe ni abari bari barasubiye mu masambu ya bo, abandi bari baragumye ku ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) mu Ngororero, no kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo. Abaharokotse basanze abandi ku ngoro ya MRND ku Ngororero kugeza mu 1994, bishwe mu gihe cya Jenocide. Mu ntwaro abicanyi bakoresheje icyo gihe muri 1993 harimo; ubuhiri, imipanga n'amacumu. Ubuhiri bwakoreshejwe mu kwica, bwakorewe ku cyicaro cy'umushinga DRI-RAMBA-GASEKE⁵⁸. Umuyobozi w'uwo mushinga yagize uruhare runini cyane mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ramba (C, 2013).

Umukuru wa MRND Serugendo Pierre n'uwa CDR nibo bari bayoboye ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi. Burugumesitiri Nzabanita Théogène yaje kweguzwa, asimburwa na Karasira Léonard mu kwezi kwa gatandatu 1993. Nyuma y'iyeguzwa rye, Abatutsi bamerewe nabi cyane.

Umwe mu batangabuhamya wari umukozi wa Komini arasobanura uko byagenze nyuma yo kweguzwa kwa

⁵⁸ DRI-Ramba: Développement Rural Intégré, akaba ari ni umushinga w'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi muri Ramba.-Gaseke

Burugumesitiri Nzabanita Théogène.

«Mu kwezi kwa gatandatu 1993, bakuyeho Burugumesitiri Nzabanita asimburwa na Karasira Léonard. Karasira Léonard ni we washyizeho umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ramba. Burugumesitiri Karasira atangira kuyobora Komini Ramba, yasanze nkora nk'umunyamabanga wihariye wa Komini. Hariho undi munyamabanga usanzwe, ubwo yahise afata wa wundi, aramubwira ngo guhera uyu muni, uyu mugore (ni njye yavugaga) ntazongere kwitaba telefoni yo ku kazi. icyo gihe twari dufite telefoni zo mu biro. Kubera ko nta kibazo narimfitanye n'uwo munyamabanga, yaje kubimbwira. Nahise muhereza agafunguzo nari mfite. Namubajije impamvu yatumye burugumesitiri avuga atyo, arambwira ngo ni uko njye ndi icyitso cy'Inyenzi, ko amabanga yose najya nyajyana mu Nkotanyi. Nyuma y'igihe gito cyane, Burugumesitiri Karasira yambwiye ko akazi kanjye karangiye, ko nta kazi ngifite muri Komini. Yandikiye ubutegetsi bwa Superefegitura ya Ngororero ko umwanya wanjye ugomba kuvaho kubera ko nta mafaranga Komini ifite yo kujya impemba. Maze kumenya ko Superefe wa Ngororero ashaka kunyirukana, nabibwiye mubyara wanjye wakoraga i Kigali wari inshuti ya Minisitiri. Minisitiri yahise ahamagara

Superefe amusaba ko ntakwirukanwa. Burugumesitiri abimenye, ambwira ko guhera uwo muni ko ntazongera gukora, ko bazampemba, ariko sinsubire mu kazi k'ubunyamabanga. Ubwo nirirwaga nicaye kuri Komini, ukwezi kwashyira bakampemba. Mu ntangiriro ya 1994 nibwo umushahara wanjye wahagaze sinongera guhembwa» (M, 2013).

6.1.4. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Gaseke

Muri Komini Gaseke, Abatutsi batangiye kwicwa uherye mu Kwakira 1990. Kwicwa byagendanaga no gushura amatungo yabo, gutwika amazu ndetse n'ibindi bikorwa by'urugomo (L, 2013).

6.1.4.1. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu 1991

Ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1991, habayeho kwica Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Gaseke. Abarokotse bagerageje guhungira ku biro bya Komini Gaseke bahamara iminsi itatu. Nyuma y'iminsi itatu bari kuri Komini, Burugumesitiri w'iyo Komini witwa Niyonsenga yabategetse gusubira ku matungo yabo, ariko ntiyashyiraho ingamba zo kubarinda abicanyi, abikora nk'uburyo bwo kubashumururiza abo abicanyi, kubera ko bakimara kugera ku matungo yabo, abicanyi bagarutse

kubica, banasahura amatungo yabo.

Umwe mu barokotse ubwo bwicanyi asobanura uko byagenze:

«Mu 1991 mu kwezi kwa kabiri, habayeho kwica Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Gaseke. Muri segiteri Gisebeya ariyo nkomokamo, icyo gihe bishe uwitwa Mugemangango, Nyagasaza, Gafuta, bica n'abandi ntibuka amazina yabo. Muri abo bishwe icyo gihe harimo umubyeyi wanjye (Papa) witwaga Karasanyi, ndibuka bishwe ari ku wa gatandatu mu gitondo ubwo twari tugiye gusenga. Icyo gihe ubwo batangiraga kutwica, twahungiyeye ku ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya. Umuyobozi w'uruganda yahise atanga amabwiriza ko bafunga igipangu, abwira abarinzi ngo ntihagire Inyenzi iza kwihisha muri urwo ruganda. Ubwo nibwo bahise bica umubyeyi wanjye n'abandi bavandimwe banjye, babatsinda mu cyayi imbere y'uruganda. Njye nabanyuzemo ndiruka njya kwihisha mu mirima y'icyayi iri kure gato y'uruganda. Usibye kutwica, bashenye amazu yacu yose. Umunsi ukurikiyeho nibwo uwitwa Gatosho yaje gupfa, yishwe nabi cyane, bamunogoyemo amaso baramureka, bamurangiza nk'ejo bukeye. Ibi byose byakorwaga ubutegetsu bubizi burebera gusa. Yaba konseye cyangwa Burugumesitiri bari babizi, kuko

ni bo bashyiraga imbere abaturage ngo baze kutwica. Muri segiteri Rwiri hishwe uwitwa Gasereka, Bazinge, Gumiliza n'undi musaza ntibuka amazina ye. Abatutsi benshi bo mu ma segiteri ya Komini Gaseke barishwe, inzu zabo zirasenywa, basahura ibintu byose bari bafite. Abatutsi benshi baje guhungira kuri Komini. Nyuma y'iminsi itatu, abategetsi badusabye gusubira mu matongo yacu, tugezeyo na none barongera baza kudutera, ubwo ni bwo twafashe gahunda yo kujya gutura ku gasozi ka Kesho. Abatutsi twese twagiye gutura kuri ako gasozi mu rwego rwo kwirwanaho no kugira ngo tujye tubona uko duhangana n'ibitero byabaga bije kutwica. Tumaze kugera ku gasozi ka Kesho, nta Mututsi wagenda ari wenyine, kuko uwo babonaga ari wenyine baramwicaga. N'ubwo twishyize hamwe aho kuri Kesho, ntabwo bahwemye kutugabaho ibitero»(O, 2013).

Nyuma yo kubona ko umutekano umeze nabi, Abatutsi bicwa ubutegetsi burebera gusa, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Gaseke bishyize hamwe, mu rwego rwo guhangana n'ibitero byazaga kubica, bagonda utuzu two kubamo ku gazosi ka Kesho. Abatutsi batuye kuri ako gasozi kuva 1991 kugeza 1994. Buri gihe cyose bahoraga bahanganye n'ibitero bije kubica no kubanyaga (O, 2013).

Umwe mu batangabuhamyana nawe avugaga ko bahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho bahasanga abandi Batutsi kugira ngo babone uko bajya bahangana n'ibitero byaje kubica. Nk'uko abivugaga, ku gasozi ka Kesho hari hameze nk'inkambi y'Abatutsi, kuko Abatutsi baturutse hirya no hino mu makomini atandukanye bagiyeye kuri ako gasozi kugira ngo babone uko bafatanyaga kurwanya ibitero byabaga bije kubica (L, 2013).

Abari ku isonga y'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1991, harimo uwitwaga Munyandamutsa wari ukuriye MRND muri Komini Gaseke, Babonampozwe wari visi perezida wa MRND muri Komini Gaseke. Harimo na none konseye witwaga Nzibukira (O, 2013).

6.1.4.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu 1992

Kwicwa Abatutsi bo muri Komini Gaseke byari byaramenyereye ndetse bishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi bwariho icyo gihe. Buri gihe cyose icyo Abatutsi babaga bejeje imyaka, abicanyi barazaga bagasahura icyo myaka, bakarya inkazabo. Nk'uko bivugwaga n'umutangabuhamyana, muri 1992 mu kwezi kwa kabiri na none, ibitero byarajye, barwana nabyo, haza kwicwa Abatutsi 4. Icyo gihe barabasahuye, batwara inkazabo zirenga ijana na mirongo icyenda (190) (O, 2013).

Ibijyanye nubwo bwicanyi bwo mu 1992, undi mutangabuhamywa wo muri iyo Komini, avuga ko mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1992 haje ibitero byinshi biturutse hirya no hino barwana nabyo babisubiza inyuma. Akomeza avuga ko iyo wagenda uri wenyine bakwicaga. Bahoraga banyagwa inka zabo bakica abashumba baziragiraga.

Umutangabuhamywa, avuga ko babaye ku gasozi ka Kesho kuva 1991 kugeza muri Mata 1994, ubwo babateraga mu buryo bukomeye harimo abasirikare bakuru n'imbunda zikomeye. Aha Kesho, kubera kuhamara igihe kinini, abahahungiyeye bari barahubatse urusengero rw'itorero ry'abadivantisiti, ari n'aho baje kwicirwa muri 1994 (L, 2013).

Abatutsi bicwa muri Gashyantare mu 1992, Abakonseye ni bo babaga bayoboze ibitero. Urugero, mu kwezi kwa kabiri, haje ibitero bitandukanye, harimo igitero cyari kiyobowe na konseye wa segiteri Kabuye witwa Nzibukira Elifazi.⁵⁹ icyo gitero cyahitanye uwitwa Ndegeya, Gahaga na Sekabende bakundaga kwita Gatirisi (L, 2013).

Uretse ubwicanyi bwakorwaga ku mugaragaro, habagaho no kunyerezwa cyangwa gushimutwa, umuntu ukaburirwa irengero. Hari abapolisi ba Komini Gaseke bakoranaga

⁵⁹ Nzibukira Elifasi, wari konseye wa segiteri Kabuye, komine Gaseke, mu gihe twakoraga ubu bushakashatsi, batubwiye ko ubu afungiyeye ibyaha bya Jenocide.

na konseye Nzibukira bashimutaga Abatutsi. Muri abo bapolisi harimo uwari *brigadier* witwa Sangara n’undi bitaga Idi Michel. Barazaga bakica Abatutsi barangiza bakabajugunya mu cyobo, cyangwa bakabarituriraho umukingo (L, 2013).

Mu 1993 mu kwezi kwa kabiri, igitero kiyobowe na konseye Nzibukira cyaraje kinyaga inka z’Abatutsi bo ku gasozi ka Kesho. Izo nka zabaga mu bikuyu hafi aho, basahura n’imyaka bari bejeje. Hari undi mukonseye wagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry’Abatutsi mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1993 witwa Ntirugiribambe Zakariya wayoboraga segiteri Rwiri. Yaje ayoboye igitero cyaje kwica Abatutsi bo ku gasozi ka Kesho, abwira Abatutsi ati: *“mushaka mwarambika intwaro hasi kuko igihugu cyamaze kubatanga”* (I, 2013).

6.1.5. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Giciye

Komini Giciye yari igizwe na segiteri zikurikira : Birembo, Rubare, Gihira, Rubona, Murambi, Nyamugeyo, Gasasa, Kintarure, Shyira, Jomba, Shaki na Mutanda. Mu 1990, Burugumesitiri yitwaga Bangamwabo Charles.

Nyuma y’ibikorwa byo gutotezwa, no kunyerezwa, ku

itariki 29 Mutarama 1991 ni bwo hishwe ku mugaragaro Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Giciye. Bishwe muri gahunda Leta yari yashyizeho yo kujagajaga no gutema ibihuru muri Komini zegereye ishyamba rya Gishwati. Amabwiriza yo kujagajaga ishyamba rya Gishwati yatanzwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye Bangamwabo Charles, mu ibaruwa n° 0035/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 26 Mutarama 1991 yandikiye ba Konseye bose na ba resiponsabure ba serire zose zigize Komini ya Giciye. Muri icyo baruwa avuga ko gutema ibihuru, ari amabwiriza yatanzwe na Perefere wa Gisenyi, Habiyambere Joseph.

Abaturage ba segiteri zegereye ishyamba rya Gishwati basabwe kujagajaga iryo shyamba ku wa 29 Mutarama 1991, guhera i saa moya za mugitondo kugeza igihe barirangirije. Amabwiriza yavugaga ko ijagajaga ryakorwa no mu nsiro zose, kandi bigakorwa kabiri mu cyumweru ku buryo bw'umuganda (Bangamwabo, 26,1/1991).

Ba konseye bafatanije n'abaturage bo mu masegiteri ya Birembo, Gihira, Nyamugeyo na Rubare akikije iryo shyamba, bafashe amacumu, imipanga batangira kwica Abatutsi batuye muri izo segiteri. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umwe mu barokotse ubwo bwicanyi, igikorwa cyo kujagajaga ibihuru cyasobanuraga kwica Abatutsi. Kuri icyo tariki ya

29 Mutarama, hishwe Abatutsi barenga mirongo irindwi (70) bari batuye muri ayo masegiteri akikije ishyamba rya Gishwati (S, 2013).

Ibirebana n’ubu bwicanyi bigaragara mu ibaruwa n° 0047/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 4 Gashyantare 1991 iherekeza inyandiko-mvugo y’inama y’umutekano yabereye muri Segiteri Gihira, Nyamugeyo na Rubare ku ya 01 Gashyantare 1991. Muri iyo nyandiko-mvugo, Konseye wa segiteri Nyamugeyo, Bazera Abraham, avuga ko ubwo bavaga kujagajaga ishyamba rya Gishwati bashakamo umwanzu nk’uko byari byasabwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, basanze imvururu zatangiriye muri segiteri Gihira zikomeza muri segiteri Nyamugeyo n’ahandi. Avuga ko ku itariki 29 Mutarama 1991 ku mugoroba hapfuye abagowe bagera ku icumi, hakomerekamo Abahutu babiri, aribo, Bayahore na Sebureze.

Muri segiteri ya Rubare, konseye wayo Sekadirishya Protais, nawe avuga ko igitero cyishe Abatutsi cyaturutse mu ishyamba rya Gishwati kinyura Gihira na Nyamugeyo, kica Abatutsi bane bo muri segiteri ayobora. Muri iyo nyandiko-mvugo, umugogwekazi witwa Nyiramahoro wo muri segiteri Rubare, yasobanuye nawe ko babonye igitero kibagwa hejuru, hakaba haricwaga uwitwa Umututsi w’umugabo wese ndetse n’umwana

w'umuhungu (Bangamwabo, 4/2/1991).

Ibaruwa n° 0036/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 30 Mutarama 1991 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Bangamwabo Charles, yandikira Perefe wa Gisenyi iherekeje raporo ku imvururu z'abaturage baturiye ishyamba rya Gishwati, ivuga ko zabanjirijwe n'igikorwa cyo kujagajaga iryo shyamba ku itariki ya 29 Mutarama 1991 hashakwamo inyangarwanda n'abagororwa bacitse gereza ya Ruhengeri bakekaga ko baba baryihishemo (Bangamwabo, 30/1/1991).

Muri iyo raporo, ubwo Burugumesitiri Bangamwabo Charles yavugaga icyateye imvururu, yasobanuye ko abaturage bamwe (Abatutsi) batari bahamagariwe akazi ko kujagajaga ishyamba rya Gishwati bumvise ko bagenzi babo (Abahutu) bafashe amacumu n'imipanga, bityo bibatera ubwoba na bo bafata amacumu batangira gutera imvururu.

Burugumesitiri Bangamwabo akomeza avuga ko ari we wahosheje izo mvururu ku wa 30/1/1991 akoresheje amasasu ubwo yarasaga mu kirere. Nk'uko akomeza avuga, yabashije kumenya ko muri segiteri Rubare hapfuye abantu 8, segiteri Nyamugeyo 10, segiteri Gihira 4. Bose hamwe hishwe Abatutsi 22. Burugumesitiri avuga ko iyo ari yo mibare izwi neza, abavuga ko hapfuye benshi ari

ukubeshya, ko ahubwo Abatutsi bahunze, aho baherereye hataramenyekana (Bangamwabo, 30/1/1991).

Mu y'indi baruwa Burugumesitiri wa Giciye yanditse ifite n° 0049/04.09.01/4 ku wa 5 Gashyantare 1991 yandikira Perefe amugezaho inyandiko-mvugo y'inama y'umutekano, yavuze ko imvururu zatewe n'umugogwe witwa Iyamuremye wari wacumbikiye umuntu utazwi, abashinzwe umutekano bamubajije umwirondoro w'umuntu yacumbikiye, imvururu zitangira ubwo (Bangamwabo, 5/2/ 1991).

Iyo usesenguye ibiri muri aya mabarurwa abiri avuga ku mvururu zabaye muri Komini Giciye, ibivugwamo binyuranye n'ukuri kuko gahunda yo gutema ibihuru itatumiraga abaturage bose, igaragaramo ko abatatumwe hari icyo bahishwe. Bahishwe umugambi wo kubica, bituma batanabasha kwihisha cyangwa ngo birwaneho. Ababashije kurokoka bagiye ari uko batangiye kubica.

Muri iyo baruwa kandi yanagarutse ku bisobanuro byahawe abaturage bo muri Komini ayobora ku bijyanye n'umutekano mu magambo akurikira: *Abaturage basabwe guhiga no gutahura umwanzi, gutungira agatoki ubutegetsu bw'igihugu aho umwanzi ari, gufata mpiri umwanzi, kumenya kwitabara mu gihe umwanzi akurwanije no gutema*

ibihuru hose aho umwanzi yakwihisha (Bangamwabo, 5/2/1991).

Ku birebana n'Abatutsi bahunze, Burugumesitiri yavuze ko bagomba gusubira aho bari batuye. Akomeza avuga ko bitewe n'uko Komini Giciye nta mutungo ifite wo gufasha abahunze gusubira mu byabo, yabwiye abari mu nama ko “*Abagogwe bangirijwe ibyabo, bakwiye kugurishaho ku nka basigaranye, kugira ngo babone uko bagabanya bimwe mu bibazo bahuye nabyo; uwabatera inkunga akaba yabaha ubufasha bw' ibiti byo kubaka*”(Bangamwabo, 5/2/1991).

Nyumay'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abagogwe, bameneshejwe, bakavanwa mu byabo, inzu zabo zigatwikwa, amatungo yabo agasahurwa, nta kintu na kimwe ubutegetsu bwigeze bukora kugira ngo ababigizemo uruhare babiryoze, ahubwo Burugumesitiri Bangamwabo yabashyizeho iterabwoba ko bagomba kuva aho bahungiye, dore ko abenshi bari bahungiye ku gasozi ka Kesho, no kuri Paruwasi ya Shyira, ategeka ko bagurisha inka zabo kugira ngo babone aho kuba.

Na none muri Gashyantare 1992 hongeye kwicwa Abatutsi bo muri iyi Komini. Ubu bwicanyi bwari muri gahunda y'umuganda wo gutema ibihuru kugira ngo Inkotanyi zitazabona aho zihishya. Umutangabuhamya

avuga ko ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992 habaye inama yarimo ba Burugumesitiri ba Komini Giciye, Gaseke, Karago na Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Kabaya, Bikumba Raphael. Superefe yasabye ba Burugumesitiri ko babwira abakonseye n'abaturage bayobora kwitabira gahunda y'umuganda bagatema ibihuru ahantu hose kugira ngo Inyenzi zitabona aho zihisha. Ni muri urwo rwego ba konseye na bo bashyize mu bikorwa amabwiriza bari bahawe (E, 2013).

Umutangabuhamya warokotse ubwo bwicanyi avuga ko mbere y'uko ubwicanyi butangira, uwari Asisita Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye witwa Rulinda Védaste yaje abwira abaturage bose kujya mu muganda wo gutema ibihuru. Abakonseye bose batwaye abaturage mu muganda baja gushakisha ahantu hose hari Umututsi, uwo babonaga bahitaga bamwica. Umukonseye umwe wa segiteri Nyamugeyo witwa Bazera yabwiye abaturage bose, Abahutu n'Abatutsi kujya gutema ibihuru n'ibyatsi. Asisita Burugumesitiri Rulinda ahageze, asanga abaturage bose batema ibyatsi, ahita akubita konseye urushyi, aramubwira ngo kuki atumva icyo bashatse kuvuga, ngo gutema ibihuru ntabwo ari imigina, cyangwa ibihuru, gutema ibihuru bamubwiye ni Abatutsi.

Usibye Asisita Burugumesitiri, Rulinda Védaste,

wakubise urushyi konseye wa segiteri Nyamugeyo kubera ko atumvise neza icyo gutema ibihuru bisobanuye, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Bangamwabo Charles, nawe yatonganije konseye Bazera, amuziza kudashyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza yahawe.

Konseye Bazera ntabwo bamugiriraga icyizere, bamushinjaga kuba akunda gusangira n'Abatutsi. Ni yo mpamvu hari inama nyinshi bamuhishaga ntaziyemo. Abandi bakonseye harimo uwa segiteri Gihira witwa Gasasira we yari yasobanukiwe n'itangazo ryatanzwe ryo gutema ibihuru, kuko we n'ibitero yari ayoboye bazamutse umusozi wa Gihira, bahita bica Abatutsi bari bahatuye, bahera ku Mututsi witwa Iyamuremye Ngatura.

Mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1992, bicaga cyane cyane Abatutsi b'igitsina gabo. Umugambi wari uwo kumaraho uwitwa igitsina gabo kugira ngo inyoko ntutsi isibangane. Ab'igitsina gore icyo gihe ntabwo bishwe cyane. Impamvu yatumaga abagore n'abakobwa baticwa cyane, ni uko mu mucu nyarwanda umwana abarurirwa mu muryango wa se umubyara. Abicanyi bavugaga ko bazica igitsina gabo cyose, ndetse n'umwana w'umuhungu w'uruhinja, ariko abagore n'abakobwa bo bakabareka. Nk'uko umutangabuhamyi asobanura, abakobwa n'abagore b'Abatutsi bagombaga kuba abagore b'Abahutu bakababyarira abana bafite ubwoko bw'Abahutu (S,

2013).

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Giciye bwari bushyigikiwe n'abategetsu baho. Abo ni: Burugumesitiri Bangamwabo Charles, ba Asisita burugumesitiri be babiri, Rurinda na Kuradusenge Thomasi, n'abakonseye batandukanye.

Dore uko bisobanurwa n'umutangabuhamya warokotse icyo gihe:

«Ibitero byaduhigaga byari biyobowe na Burugumesitiri witwa Bangamwabo Charles, akaba yari kumwe icyo gihe na Asisita Burugumesitiri witwa Rurinda ubu arafunze, hari n'uwitwa Kuradusenge Thomas na we wari Asisita Burugumesitiri. Aba tuvuze bari kumwe n'abakonseye, ni bo bari bayoboze igikorwa cyo gutema ibihuru ku nkengeru z'ishyamba rya Gishwati» (S, 2013).

Abatutsi bishwe icyo gihe ni abo muri segiteri ya Nyamugeyo, Gihira na Rubare. Izo segiteri eshatu zari zihujwe n'aga *centre* kitwa Gakamba. Abatutsi bishwe muri segiteri Nyamugeyo, harimo : Rwisumbura, Barata, Rushyamira, Nyiramasaka, Kanyarwunga, Kumwami, Baudouin, Gashabuka, Njori, Kayisire wari umunyeshuri, Nyiramigayo. Uyu Nyiramigayo yabanjije kurwana n'igitero cyari cyaje kwica abahungu be, we baje

kumwica nabi. Bafashe icumu barishyira mu gitsina cye, yishwe ashinyaguriwe cyane. Ugereranije, muri segiteri Nyamugeyo hishwe Abatutsi bagera kuri 30. Abatutsi bishwe bo muri segiteri Gihira harimo: Iyamuremye Ngatura, Kamari n'abana ba Ntambara bishwe nyuma bakabajugunya mu misarani (S, 2013).

Ubwicanyi na none bwongeye kwibasira Abatutsi muri 1993 mu kwezi kwa kabiri. icyo gihe na bwo haje ibitero byo kwica Abatutsi, bamwe bahungira muri Komini Kanama. Abahunze bari igitsina gabo, igitsina gore basigaye mu ngo zabo. Kuri Komini Kanama bahamaze icyumweru kimwe, nyuma ubutegetsi bubasaba gusubira mu ngo zabo (S, 2013).

Impamvu bakundaga gutera Abatutsi buri gihe mu kwezi kwa kabiri birasobanurwa n'umutangabuhamya muri aya magambo:

«Urebye, bakundaga kudutera mu kwezi kwa kabiri, babariraga igihe imyaka yeze kugira ngo bayisahure tubeho nabi. Badushinja ko tugurisha imyaka amafaranga tukayohereza mu Nkotanyi. Na none babikoraga cyane cyane kugira ngo batwicishe inzara, kuko barazaga bagasahura ibyacu byose. Ukwezi kwa kabiri n'ukwa gatatu twagiriye amateka mabi» (S, 2013).

Ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama 1993 habayeho kwica Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Shyira muri Komini Giciye, habaho no gusahura ibyabo byose. Kwica Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Shyira birasobanurwa n’umutangabuhamya warokotse icyo gihe muri aya magambo.

«Ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama 1993, hishwe Abatutsi 27. Mu bishwe icyo gihe harimo: Papa wanjye witwa Mpatswenumugabo Grégoire, Siwebugingo, Karake Frédéric, n’abana be batanu. Hishwe na none uwitwa Ruvubi, Athanasia, Burinijabo n’umugore we witwa Kantarama, hicwa Musirikare, n’abandi ntibuka amazina yabo» (Z,2013).

Igitero cyaje kwica Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Shyira cyari kiyobowe n’uwitwa Sinamenye na Mvunabandi wari Perezida w’interahamwe muri iyo segiteri. Harimo na none umupolisi witwaga Rwendeye na Nyangabo. Uyu Nyangabo ni we wari ushinzwe gutoza interahamwe. Uwitwa Nkusi yagendaga yerekana ingo z’Abatutsi. Nkusi yari afite imodoka yagendaga itwaye interahamwe. Uwitwa Ngarukiye na we yari afatanije na Nkusi mu kugenda berekana aho Abatutsi baherereye. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye witwa Bangamwabo Charles icyo gihe yatutse interahamwe zari zasahuye inka, arazibwira ngo: *“izo nka mwaziciye iki, iyo mwica benezo”*. Abarokotse

twaje guhungira ku bitaro bya Shyira (Z, 2013).

Mbere y'ubwicanyi bwo mu kwezi kwa mbere 1993, hari habayeho ibarura. Babaruye Abatutsi bose bari batuye muri Komini Giciye. Ibyo kubarura Abatutsi byabaye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992. Mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1992 babwiye Abatutsi bose kuza mu nama. Iyo nama yari igamije kumenya umubare w'Abatutsi batuye mu masegiteri atandukanye. Na none bategetse Abatutsi gutanga irangamuntu zabo kugira ngo hatazagira uhunga akava aho atuye cyangwa ngo ajye mu Nkotanyi. Ibijyanye n'iryo barura rirasobanurwa muri aya magambo.

«Mbere y'uko ubwo bwicanyi buba nko mu mpera y'ukwezi kwa cumi n'abiri mu 1992, habaye ibarura. Badutumyeho kujya mu nama. Tugezeyo, uwitwa Simpame Séraphin adutegeka gutanga irangamuntu twari dufite. icyari kigamijwe, kwari ukumenya umubare w'Abatutsi uhari, kugira ngo hatazagira ujya mu Nkotanyi. Buri kwezi bakoraga ibarura, kugira ngo bamenye niba twese duhari. Nyuma yo gutwara irangamuntu zacu, twabayeho nk'imfungwa, ntabwo twabashaga kurenga segiteri dutuyemo. Kuva icyo gihe nta Mututsi numwe wongeye gusubizwa cyangwa guhabwa indangamuntu, kugeza muri Mata 1994. Ni ukuvuga kuva 1992, mu kwa cumi n'abiri

twashyizwe mu kato, kuko kugira ngo ugire aho ujya wagombaga kwerekana icyangombwa kikuranga kuri bariyeri zari zarashyizwe hirya no hino» (ZA, 2013).

Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Shyira baje guhungira kuri Paruwasi EAR ya Shyira. Guhungira kuri Paruwasi ntabwo byabujije interahamwe kubatera, kubera ko ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama 1993 haje ibitero birwana n'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye muri iyo Paruwasi ya Shyira, hicwa Abatutsi 26 nubwo bari babashije kwirwanaho. Ibyo bitero byari bigizwe n'interahamwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND (ZA, 2013).

Ibijyanye n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama 1993 biremezwa na Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho ku itariki 3 Mutarama 1993 ishinze gukora iperereza ku mvururu zabereye muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Iyo raporo igaragaza ko ku itariki 21 Mutarama 1993 hakomeje kuba imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka ba MRND ndetse hagaragara ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi. Raporo ivuga ko abigaragambyaga bamennye ibirahuri by'urusengeru rwa Shyira, bityo hicwamo Abatutsi umunani mu bari bahungiyeye (Commission Politico-Administrative, 1993).

Nyuma y'ubwo bwicanyi nk'uko abatangabuhamya

bavuga, uwitwa Banzi Wellars⁶⁰ yaje gukoresha inama aho bari barahungiyeye, ateguka ko bataha bagasubira mu matongo yabo. Impunzi z'Abatutsi zimubwiye ko amazu yabo yashenywe, yaravuze ngo : *Nibasubireyo, bagondagonde imitumba babemo, kuko batazabona ababubakira* (ZA, 2013).

Nyuma y'inama Banzi Wellars yagiranye n'impunzi z'Abatutsi bari kuri paruwasi ya Shyira, interahamwe zakomeje kubagabaho ibitero, birwanaho babisubiza inyuma, nibwo uwitwa Nyagasaza Mathias wari ukuriye interahamwe yazibwiye ati : *Mbese barinze binjira mu rusengeru muri hehe? Ngo, nimubareke, muzamenyeshwa undi muni muzasubirayo* . Icyo gihe interahamwe zari zahawe amabwiriza yo kugota Abatutsi hakiri mu ijoro kugira ngo hatagira uhunga, interahamwe zo zije zibanza kujya mu bikorwa by'ubusahuzi barya inka zabo Batutsi, ni bwo Nyagasaza yababwiye ngo *sinabatumye gutwara no kwica amatungo y'Abatutsi, musubireyo, nzabamenyeshwa undi muni* (ZA, 2013).

Imvururu zo muri Mutarama 1993 ziremezwa n'ibaruwa n^o 467/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 20 Ukwakira 1993 ya Burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Hagumimvuro Isaac,⁶¹ yandikiye Perefefe wa Gisenyi amugezaho raporo y'imiryango yangirijwe ibyabo igera kuri 74 yo muri segiteri Shyira, Rubare, Nyamugeyo na Gihira. Muri

⁶⁰ Banzi Wellars niwe wari ukuriye ishyamba rya MRND muri Perefefitura ya Gisenyi

⁶¹ Hagumimvuro yasimbuye burugumesitiri Bangamwabo Charles.

iyi raporo, Burugumesitiri avuga ko imiryango yahunze inzuzabo zikaba zarasenywe igizwe n'abantu magana atatu mirongo irindwi na bane (374) (Hagumimvuro, 1993).

6.1.6. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Karago

Komini Karago yari igizwe na Segiteri zikurikira : Nanga, Bumba, Mwiyanike, Rurembo, Ndorwa, Muhungwe, Rambura na Gakarara. Mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Karago yitwaga Twagirayezu Louis.

Kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Karago byatangiye ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 mu gihe hicwaga Abatutsi bo mu makomini ya Mutura, Kanama na Rwerere. Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 Abatutsi bo muri Segiteri ya Nanga bagabweho ibitero hicwa abarenga 20, amazu yabo aratwikwa, hasahurwa inka zabo n'andi matungo magufi (T, 2013).

Iyicwa ry'abo batutsi riremezwa n'ibaruwa n° 065/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 06 Gashyantare 1991 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Karago, Twagirayezu Louis, yandikiye Perefere wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, amugezaho uko umutekano wifashe muri Komini Karago. Nk'uko Burugumesitiri Twagirayezu Louis avuga, ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 haje ibitero biturutse muri Komini

Nkuli byifatanya n’abo muri Karago byirara mu Batutsi bari batuye muri segiteri Nanga, serire Buremera, bica Abatutsi bagera kuri 12. Nk’uko Burugumesitiri akomeza avuga muri iyo baruwa, hishwe abagabo 10, n’abagore 2, bose hamwe hishwe Abatutsi 12 (Twagirayezu, 6/2/1991).

Amazina y’abishwe ni: Kanyove, Karemera n’umwana we Kayishema, Gusoma, Nyiramategeko, Ruzindana, Nyirashyamba, Kagiraneza, Barere, Samuel, Uwanyiligira Donatien, Makuza, Segasanga, Cyoma na Kanyamuhanda. N’ubwo Burugumesitiri avuga ko hishwe Abatutsi 12, amazina y’abishwe avugwa muri iyo baruwa n’indi yari yanditse ku wa 5 Gashyantare 1991, umubare w’abishwe uragera kuri 16.

Abagize uruhare muri ubwo bwicanyi babashije kumenyekana ni: Kajeri wo muri segiteri Gakarara, serire Karuhirwa; Nturande wo muri segiteri Nanga, serire Buremera; Ndushabagabo wo muri segiteri Gakarara, serire Karuhirwa; Saraye wo muri segiteri Jenda, Komini Nkuli; Kangi (umutwa) wo muri segiteri Nanga, serire Gasasa; Ruzindana wo muri segiteri Nanga, serire Cyamabuye; Ribakare wo muri segiteri Nanga, serire Cyamabuye; Rutama wo muri segiteri ya Jenda, Komini Nkuli (Twagirayezu, 6/2/1991).

Kwica Abatutsi byarakomeje. Mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1992,

na none Abatutsi bo muri Komini Karago barishwe. Abategetsu b'inzeho z'ibanze bafatanije n'abasirikare, bafashe uwitwa igitsina gabo wese, babapakira mu makamyu ya gisirikare, babajyana mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Umwe mu barokotse ubwo bwicanyi arasobanura :

« Ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992 nyuma yaho Inkotanyi ziteye zigafata umujyi wa Ruhengeri, batwirayemo baratwica; bishe papa umbyara na bakuru banjye babiri. icyo gihe ndabyibuka neza, haje umusirikare twari duturanye witwa *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa, haza na *Major* Ntabakuze Aloys, bese bafatanije n'uwari Asisita Burugumesitiri Sebatashyi Bernard, batanga amabwiriza ko tugomba kwicwa kuko ngo dufasha Inyenzi akaba ari yo mpamvu zafashe Ruhengeri. Uyu Sebatashyi Bernard yavukanaga na *Colonel* Rwendeye wari umusirikare mukuru wo kwa Habyarimana waguye ku rugamba» (T, 2013).

Mu Batutsi bishwe ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992 harimo : Mucyahagugu, Muyogera, Bizimana, Nyabidandi, Birika, Buhereri, Kazoza, Kamujanja, Gafuta, Kaberuka, Kabanda, Ruhumuriza, Mwemera, Karasira, Niyibizi, Bagora, Gapfizi n'abandi.

Umutangabuhamyanya warokotse icyo gihe akomeza avuga ko mu 1992 bicaga cyane cyane igitsina gabo, bavugaga abagore bo ntacyo babatwaye, kubera ko bo basigaye bazababera abagore. Abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Mukamira ni bo bazaga gufata abagabo b'Abatutsi bakajya kubicira ahitwa Nyaruhonga, ho muri Komini Nkuli. Ababashije kurokoka ni abihishe mu ishyamba rya Gishwati (T, 2013).

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi hicwa igitsina gabo birasobanurwa n'undi mutangabuhamyanya na we warokotse ubwo bwicanyi :

Ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992 habayeho kwica Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Karago no mu yandi makomine twegeranye. Ndibuka icyo gihe haje ibitero biratugota, batangira gufata no kwica igitsina gabo , yaba ari umwana cyangwa umuntu mukuru. Icyo gihe basize abagore n'abana b'abakobwa. Abafashwe, bajyaga kubicira ahitwa Nyaruhonga, ho muri Komini Nkuli. Jenocide nyirizina yabayeho hano muri Komini Karago nta mugabo ukihaba, bese bari barishwe muri 1992". Ibitero byaje icyo gihe kwica Abatutsi byari biyobowe na konseye wa segiteri Nanga witwa Ngorora Pierre. Yaje ari kumwe n'abaturage, abasirikare baje nyuma bafata uwitwaga igitsina gabo wese» (U, 2013).

Bica Abatutsi ku itariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992, abasirikare bazanye kamyo ya gisirikare bapakira Abatutsi bari batuye mu Bihanga, ubu ni mu mudugudu wa Muremure, babajyana mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, nyuma bajya kubicira ahitwa Nyaruhonga ho muri Komini ya Nkuli. Bamwe mu Batutsi bishwe bari batuye mu Bihanga ni : Mikenko, Biriko, Gafurayonga, Rwamucyo, Gakufe, Nyamusaza n'abandi. Hishwe Abatutsi barenga 11.

Ibyo bitero byari bigizwe n'abaturage hamwe n'abasirikare. Ibitero by'abaturage byari biyobowe n'abakonseye ndetse na Sebatashyi wari Asisita Burugumesitiri. Abasirikare bari bayobowe na *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa (U, 2013).

Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Gashyantare 1992, harimo; Twagirayezu Louis wari burugumesitiri wa Komini Karago, Sebatashyi na Gasigwa bari ba asisita burugumesitiri; Ngorora Pierre wari konseye wa segiteri Nanga na Rusingizandekwe wari ukuriye interahamwe muri iyi Komini. Mu basirikare bakuru harimo, *Capitaine* Simbikangwa, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze na *Colonel* Nkundiye (ZB, 2013).

6.1.7. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Mutura

Komini Mutura yari igizwe na segiteri zikurikira : Mutovu, Rusiza, Tamira, Mugongo, Mudende, Nyaruteme, Nyamirango, Cyambara, Kora, Kabatwa, Butaka, Kanzenze na Gihorwe. Mu 1990, Burugumesitiri yitwaga Ndabarinze Faustin, waje gusimburwa n'uwitwa Bakiye Jean Berchmans muri Gicurasi 1991.

Kwica Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mutura byatangiyeye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Kuri iyi tariki habayeho gufata no gufunga Abatutsi babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi ndetse bamwe batangira kwicwa. Ubwicanyi bwarakomeje, bigeze ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 habaho kwica Abatutsi mu buryo bwaguye.

Muri 1991, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mutura bishwe hagati y'itariki 4-6 Gashyantare 1991. Intandaro yo kwica Abatutsi byaturutse ku ikinamico ryakozwe n'abasirikare ba Habyarimana babaga mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe ubwo bararaga barasa amasasu mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 3 rishyira iya 4 Gashyantare 1991. Abasirikare barashe amasasu ijoro ryose bavuga ko Inkotanyi zateye ikigo cya Bigogwe ziturutse mu Birunga. Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 batangiyeye gufata no kwica Abatutsi

bari batuye hafi y'ikigo cya Bigogwe no mu nkengero zacyo. Abasirikare ni bo bazaga gusaka no gufata Abatutsi bagahita babica. Abasirikare bazaga bari kumwe n'abaturage basanzwe. Abaturage bazaga bafite amacumu, imipanga n'ibisuti. Wasangaga muri buri gitero kirimo nibura abasirikare babiri cyangwa batatu bafatanije n'abaturage (ZU, 2013).

Umwe mu batangabuhamywa warokotse ubwo bwicanyi avuga ko nyuma yo kurara barasa amasasu mu kigo cya Bigogwe bavuga ngo Inkotanyi zagifashe, umunsi ukurikiyeho biraye mu Batutsi batangira kubica.

«Bazaga gusaka mu mazu, uwo bahuye na we bakamutwara cyangwa bakamwicira aho, bavuga ngo duhishe Inkotanyi zaraye ziteye ikigo cya gisirikare. Ku itariki 4 Gashyantare 1991, abaje bayoboye ibitero byo kwica Abatutsi ni *Capitaine* Bizimana André. icyo gihe abasirikare n'abajandarume, ni bo batugose, ni na bo bicaga Abatutsi bo muri aka gace. icyo gihe ikigo cya Bigogwe yayoborwaga n'uwitwa Hakizimana. Baraye barasa amasasu, babyitirira Inkotanyi kugira ngo babone impamvu yo kutwica bavuga ngo ni twe twari tubahishe (ZN, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamywa warokotse ubwo bwicanyi na we arasobanura uko byagenze :

«Bigeze ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991, ibintu byabaye bibi cyane. Mu ijoro ryo ku ya 3 rishyira iryo ku ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe baraye barasa amasasu menshi mu kigo, bavuga ko Inkotanyi zateye ziturutse mu birunga. Mu gitondo cya kare, cyo ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991, twarahunze, duhungira mu ishyamba rya Gishwati. Tugeze ahitwa Karambo twahasanze abasirikare baradutangira, baratubwira ngo twabateye ngo none nitwe duhunga. Ubwo bahise bafata abagabo n'abagore baraduhambiranya, baradutwara, tugeze imbere baraduhagarika, bamwe barabahambura. Abandi bakomeza kubahambiranya. Mu basigaye bahambiraniye, harimo na basaza banjye batatu, ubwo mu kanya hahise haza uwitwa Ntamaherezo wari ukuriye MRND muri Komini Mutura, ubwo afatanije n'abo basirikare bahise bajyana Abatutsi bese bafashwe kuri Komini, ariko babanje kubakubita. Ku itariki 5 Gashyantare 1991 ni bwo banatwitse amazu yacu, bavuga ko twafatanije n'Inyenzi Inkotanyi gutera ikigo cya Bigogwe. Urebye, bakoze ikinamico, barara barasa amasasu bavuga ngo inkotanyi zateye kugira ngo babone impamvu yo kutwica, kandi mu by'ukuri kwari ukubeshya, ntabwo Inkotanyi zari zafashe ikigo» (W, 2013).

Ku itariki ya 4 n'ya 5 Gashyantare 1991 hishwe Abatutsi benshi bo muri Komini Mutura. Nk'uko umutangabuhamy umaze kuvugwa haruguru avuga, mu bishwe icyo gihe yibuka harimo: Muhikira, Mabuye, Kalisa Camille wari veterineri. Kalisa bamuhambye ahagaze. Bishe na none uwitwa Sebuntu, uyu we bamwishe bamubaze nk'inyamaswa. Abana ba Kalisa bamaze kubona ko se yishwe, barirutse. Hari n'abandi benshi bishwe muri icyo gihe batibuka amazina yabo (W, 2013).

Ibitero birimo abasirikare ni byo byahigaga Abatutsi ahantu hose. Umwe mu bahigwaga waje gufatwa n'abo basirikare akarokoka arasobanura uko byamugendekeye:

« Ku itariki ya 7 Gashyantare 1991 baraduhize badusanga aho twari twihishe, batujyana mu kigo cya Bigogwe. Bagiye badukubita inzira yose kugera tugeze mu kigo. Bafashe imbunda barayinkubita, bafata icyuma kiba ku mbunda bakakinkubita. Ndibuka hari umukecuru twari kumwe, we yageze mu kigo cya Bigogwe umubiri wose wahindutse amaraso, yabaye nk'inyama. Hari umudamu wari utwite, baramufashe baramubamba, ubwo yahise agwa aho badusanze. Twahafungiwe iminsi mike, nyuma haza kuza umusirikare mukuru aradufungura, turataha, ariko twari twarabaye indembe»(W, 2013).

Ibijyanye n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi kuva ku itariki 4 kugera ku ya 6 Gashyantare 1991 birasobanurwa n'ubarokotse ubwo bwicanyi akaba icyo gihe yarapfushije umugabo we n'abana:

«Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 bishe umugabo wanjye witwa Mudahindwa François. Abasirikare bamaze kumwica, bafashe umwana wanjye w'imfura, bamujyana mu nzu, bamuboha amaboko, barakubita, bamubwira ngo nabereke aho imbunda n'amasasu biri. Baramukubise bamuca akaboko, barangije bamusiga aho. Hari n'abandi twari duturanye bishwe urubozo. Umugabo wanjye we yishwe arashwe, naho bene se bavukanaga, barabafashe bajya kubafunga kuri Komini ya Kanama, bataragerayo babicira mu nzira. Abandi bishwe ni: Nkenzingabo Phocas wubakishaga (ingénieur), Kabirizi, Gapasi, Tegeri Aloys, n'uwitwa Karema Venant, Biboga Gérard, n'uwitwa Bizimungu wari warazindukiye iwacu. Aba bose bari abo muri segiteri Bisizi, Komini Kanama (ZD, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamyana na we avuga ko mu bishwe kuri icyo tariki harimo uwitwa Semutaga wakinaga mu ikipe y'umupira w'amaguru ya Etincelles. Abandi bishwe ni: Karasimbuka Samuel, Sebukima Saratiyeli, Ndatira Pierre, Kanyundo Damascène, Rukara, Ruvumba,

Kambali na Rwakigarama. Nk'uko bivugwa n'uyu mutangabuhamy, Burugumesitiri Ndabarinze Faustin yashatse gushyinguza Kalisa amaze kwicwa, bituma ashinjwa kuba akorana n'Inyenzi, ko avugana na Lizinde, nyuma baza kumuvanaho asimburwa n'uwitwa Bakiye Jean Berchmans. Ndabarinze yaje kwicwa mu gihe cya Jenocide 1994 (AD, 2014).

Muri segiteri Kabatwa, hishwe Abatutsi benshi barimo Nyagacukuzo, Nkera Daniel n'imiryango yabo. Igitero cyabishe cyari kinini, cyari giturutse muri segiteri ya Shyogwe (ZC, 2013).

Muri segiteri Cyambara, bishe umugabo witwa Sebuntu, bica Nyamaguru n'abandi. Naho muri segiteri Mudende, hicwa Kazendebe, Murefu, Kadari, n'abandi. Aba bose biciwe ku musozi wa Bihe, aho bari bahungiyeye. Muri iyi segiteri hanishwe Tegets, Mutemberezi, Ruzibukira n'abandi (V, 2013).

Ubwobwicanyibwari buherekejwe no gusahura no gufunga Abatutsi bamwe. Abasirikare barabafataga bakabajyana gufungirwa kuri Komini. Abatutsi bafatwaga icyo gihe, babanzaga kujyanwa kwa Ntamaherezo wari umukuru wa MRND, na we akabajyana kuri Komini. Bageraga kuri Komini bakubiswe cyane, bamwe bagafungirwa aho abandi bagapakizwa imodoka bakajya gufungirwa muri gereza ya Gisenyi. Abafunzwe baje gufungurwa nyuma

y'imishyikirano yabaye hagati ya RPF-Inkotanyi na Leta ya Habyarimana. Barekuwe hashize amezi agera hafi kuri atatu, ariko benshi bagarutse barabaye ibimuga kubera gukubitwa n'ubuzima bubi bwo muri gereza.

Ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana bwabaga buzi ibibera hirya no hino mu makomuni, kandi ntibugire icyo bukora. Ku itariki ya 7 Gashyantare 1991, Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsu bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini, Munyazesa Faustin, yakoresheje inama abwira abaturage n'abajandarume bari bamaze iminsi itatu bafatanyaga n'abasirikare kwica Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mutura, ko bahagarika ubwicanyi, nyamara ntihagira n'umwe ufatwa ngo afungwe cyangwa ngo abazwe ibyaha yakoze (ZC, 2013).

Ibijyanye n'inama yakoreshejwe na Minisitiri Munyazesa Faustin birasobanurwa muri aya magambo :

«Ku itariki ya 7 Gashyantare 1991 uwari Minisitiri witwaga Faustin Munyazesa yaraje akoresha inama ahitwaga Cyarwamikombe abwira abaturage ngo nibunamure icumu. Yasabye ko bahagarika ibikorwa byo gusahura kubera ko byatuma Inkotanyi zibona uburyo zinjira zigafata igihugu bahugiye mu gusahura. Yanababwiye ko ngo umunsi Inkotanyi zizongera

gutera ko bagomba kuzirwanaho»
(ZC, 2013).

Ibyo guhosha ubu bwicanyi bivugwa mu ibaruwa n° 139/04.17.02 yo ku wa 21 Gashyantare 1991 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura ,Ndabarinze Faustin, yandikiye Perefere wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi amugezaho uko umutekano wifashe muri Komini ayobora. Muri icyo baruwa, Burugumesitiri yamenyeshaga Perefere ibyakozwe kugira ngo ubwicanyi buhagarare.

Burugumesitiri Ndabarinze yavuze ko ubwicanyi muri Komini Mutura bwatangiye ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare bugera ku ya 6 Gashyantare 1991. Akomeza avuga ko hakozwe inama nyinshi kugira ngo umutekano ugaruke, muriizo akavugamo inama yabowenye na Munyazesa Faustin wari Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini ari kumwe na Minisitiri ushinze umutekano muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika (Ndabarinze, 21/2/1991). N'ubwo mu ibaruwa ya Burugumesitiri hatagaragaramo ibyavuzwe na Minisitiri, ikigaragara ni uko hari inama yakozwe ku wa 7 Gashyantare 1991. Ibi bikaba bihujye n'ibyo abatangabuhamya bavugaga.

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya wari muri Komini Mutura avugaga, bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwo

mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1991 ni : Semikizi wo muri serire Nyagafumberi; Ntamaherezo wari umu reserviste akaba yari na Perezida wa MRND ku rwego rwa Komini; Nzitabakuze na Ndabahariye bari abategetsi muri CDR na konseye wa segiteri Cyambara witwa Semigwegwe. Konseye wa Segiteri Kabatwa, Mwitaba, na we yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi icyo gihe mu 1991 (AA, 2014).

Iyicwa ry'abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza ya Mudende

Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mutura muri Gashyantare 1991, ku itariki ya 13 Gashyantare 1993 hishwe abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza ya Mudende. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura witwa Bakiye Jean Berchmans ni we wagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'abo banyeshuri. Bakiye ajya kubicisha, yatinyaga ko imishyikirano hagati ya RPF-Inkotanyi na Leta ya Habyarimana niramuka ishyizwe mu bikorwa hakabaho kugabana ubutegetsi ko abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi biga i Mudende, dore ko bamwe ariho bakomokaga, bashobora kuzabona imyanya yo hejuru, bakaba bamusimbura.

Nyuma y'aho abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza ya Mudende bamenyeye ko bagiye kwicwa,

batorotse ikigo cy'ishuri bafata inzira igana Mukamira bashaka guhungira i Gitwe kuri Misiyoni y'abadivantisiti. Ubwo bageraga ku Mukamira, basanze abasirikare bashyizeho bariyeri, ni bwo babafataga, baburiza imodoka babasubiza i Mudende. Burugumesitiri Bakiye Jean Berkimmas yahise atumaho abapolisi bitwa Rutazarira na Nsenga abohereza n'imodoka ye kujya gufata abo banyeshuri. Abo bapolisi bafashe ba banyeshuri babajyana kuri ISAR Tamira, aba ariho babicira, nyuma imirambo yabo imodoka ijya kuyijugunya mu cyobo cyari cyacukuwe mu ishyamba rya Gishwati (AB, 2014).

Ibijyanye n'iyicwa ry'abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza ya Mudende birasobanurwa na none n'umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Mutura, icyo gihe akaba yari umupolisi warindaga Komini Mutura:

«Ibijyanye n'urupfu rw'abanyeshuri ba Mudende, Burugumesitiri Bakiye yafashe imodoka, afata umupolisi witwa Rutazarira n'uwitwa Nsenga, icyo gihe Bakiye asigara ari kunywa inzoga kuri *centre* ya Kabumba, arababwira ngo bafate abo banyeshuri babajyane kuri ISAR Tamira. Ba bapolisi baragiye bafata ba banyeshuri babashyira mu modoka ya Burugumesitiri babajyana kuri ISAR-Tamira, babagejejeyo bahita babicira aho. Imirambo yabo bagiye kuyijugunya mu ishyamba rya Gishwati» (AD, 2014).

Abanyeshuri bishwe ni: Nkunuzurwanda Alphonse, Parmehutu Célestin alias Pari, Hakizimana Emmanuel na Uwizeye Nasson.

Mu ibaruwa n° 053/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 5 Werurwe 1993 y'uwaru umusimbura wa Perefe wa Gisenyi, Banyurwabuke André, yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini amugezaho uko umutekano wifashe muri Gisenyi, yavuze ko ku itariki ya 12 Gashyantare 1993 itsinda rigizwe n'abanyeshuri barindwi bigaga muri Kaminuza ya Mudende bafashwe n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Umwe muri abo banyeshuri witwaga Nyagatara Jérôme yasanganywe mu gikapu cye, radiyo ikoreshwa mu itumanaho (radio émetteur-recepteur), akaba yarafashwe arafungwa, nyuma akaza gufungurwa. Banyurwabuke akomeza avuga ko muri abo banyeshuri barindwi bafashwe, bane muri bo batorotse bakaba baraburiwe irengero (Banyurwabuke, Werurwe, 1993).

Ibyo Perefe yavuze bihabanye n'ukuri, kuko abanyeshuri bane avuga ko batorotse akaba atazi aho bahungiye, ni abanyeshuri bavuzwe haruguru biciwe kuri ISAR Tamira, nyuma imirambo yabo ikajya kujugunywa mu ishyamba rya Gishwati.

Usibye abo banyeshuri bishwe icyo gihe, hari n'indi

miryango y'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye kuri Kaminuza ya Mudende bishwe na bo icyo gihe mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1993. Abishwe ni abari batuye muri segiteri ya Mugongo na Mutovu ndetse n'amazu yabo yaratwitswe (AD, 2014).

6.1. 8. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kanama

Komini Kanama yari igizwe na segiteri zikurikira: Bisizi, Kayove, Kanama, Karambo, Nkuli, Kigarama, Kanombe, Rugomero, Mukondo, Nyundo na Nyabirasi. Burugumesitiri wa Komini yitwaga Nzabonimpa Marius Ananie. Abatutsi bo muri iyi Komini batangiyeye kwicwa ku mugaragaro muri Gashyantare 1991. Mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991 habaye ikinamico ryakozwe n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe ubwo barasaga amasasu bavuga ngo Inkotanyi zateye ziturutse mu birunga. Mu gitondo cya kare cyo kuri icyo tariki abasirikare bari bamaze kugota ingo z' Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Kanama. Ku itariki ya 5 Gashyantare /1991 ni bwo batangiyeye kwica no gutwika amazu yabo. Umwe mu batangabuhamya barokotse icyo gihe arasobanura:

«Ku itariki ya 5 Gashyantare 1991, abasirikare baraje baratugota, bafata umwana wanjye w'umuhungu bamuzirika ku gitanda ngo niyerekane aho tubitse imbunda. Ubwo bahise bafata umugabo wanjye n'undi mwene se barabajyana, bagenda babakubita, bageze kuri Komini Kanama ari indembe. Ubwo umugabo wanjye na murumuna we bahise babica. Aho mvuka muri Komini Rwerere na ho ni ko byagenze bishe umuryango wanjye wose. Barabafashe babahamba

mu cyobo kimwe. Ku itariki ya 5 n'iyi 6 Gashyantare 1991, hashwe Abatutsi benshi muri Komini Mutura, Rwerere na Kanama. Bamaze kwica iwacu, twe twagumye mu ishyamba aho twari twahungiyeye, hashize iminsi twaragarutse dusanga amazu yacu yose barayatwitse, barasahuye ibintu byose barya n'inka zacu» (AA, 2014).

Umwaka ukurikiyeho mu 1992, Abatutsi bongeye kwicwa. Ibitero bigizwe n'abaturage basanzwe hamwe n'abasirikare nibo bazaga gufata Abatutsi no kubica. Interahamwe zakoresheye ibisuti by'imigano, ni naho izina ryaturutse bavuga ngo ni ku rw'ibisuti.

Umutangabuhamya warokotse icyo gihe avuga ko ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1992 hashwe abagabo bari baturanye, harimo uwitwa Rusasa na Manasi. Bombi bishwe n'abaturanyi. Mu minsi yakurikiyeho, interahamwe zafashe Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kanama, Nzabonimpa Ananiya zimuzyana mu modoka zimubaza impamvu ashya ibyo kurya Abatutsi bahungiyeye kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo, akoresheje imodoka ye.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Burugumesitiri yari inshuti ya Musenyeri wa Nyundo. Icyo gihe Musenyeri yari yamusabye ko amufasha akazanira ibyo kurya impunzi

zari zahungiyeye kuri Diyoseze. Nyuma yaho ntiyongeye kubikora (ZN, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya avuga ko muri uko kwezi kwa kabiri 1992 bafashe abaturage bose babashyira hamwe, nyuma basaba ko Abatutsi bajya ukwabo. Abasirikare babazaga Abahutu imyitwarire y'abo Batutsi, uwo bavugaga ko ari icyitso cy'Inkotanyi kandi ari ukubeshya, bahitaga bamufata akajya gufungwa cyangwa kwicwa (ZE, 2013).

Kwica Abatutsi bo muri iyi Komini byongeye gukorwa muri Gashyantare 1993 nyuma y'aho ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi zigabye ibitero simusiga ku itariki ya 8 Werurwe 1993, zikagarukira hafi mu marembo ya Kigali. Umwe mu barokotse icyo gihe, abivuga mu magambo akurikira:

«Byaje gukomera cyane mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1993, igihe RPF- Inkotanyi yagabye ibitero bikomeye igiye kugera i Kigali. Icyo gihe Abahutu duturanye bararakaye cyane. Muri Komini Kanama na Nyamyumba bishe Abatutsi, amazu barayasenya andi barayatwika. Byatumye Abatutsi benshi bahungira kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo, barahaguma kugeza muri Mata 1994 ari na ho baje kwicirwa. Abenshi bahahungiyeye, bari baturutse muri Komini Kanama, Kayove na Nyamyumba. Abahunze bose bageraga

kuri Magana ane na mirongo ine na batatu (443)»
(ZR, 2013).

Mu mpera z’umwaka wa 1993 habayeho agahenge, ni nacyo gihe habayeho gahunda yo kujya kwigisha impunzi z’Abatutsi zari zarahungiyeye muri Zayire ahitwa Cyeshero muri *groupement* ya Kibumba, ngo zitahuke. Gushishikariza Abatutsi gutaha byakozwe na ba Burugumesitiri, bababwira ko amahoro yabonetse. Hagiye ba Burugumesitiri ba Kanama, Mutura, Rwerere na Rubavu. Bamaze kwigishwa, bamwe mu bari barahunze baragarutse bajya aho bari batuye, baje kwicwa nyuma muri 1994. Uko gushishikariza Abatutsi gutahuka bwari uburyo bwo kubegeranya kugira ngo bazabone uko babica, kandi koko ni ko byaje kugenda.

6.1. 9. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini ya Kayove

Komini Kayove yari igizwe na segiteri zikurikira: Mushonyi, Gishwati, Ngabo, Vumbi, Rugamba, Kinunu, Busanza, Boneza, Syiki, Musasa, Murama na Gihinga. Mu 1990 Burugumesitiri wa Komini yitwaga Nzabonimpa Anselme waje gusimburwa n’uwitwa Maburakindi Isidori mu ntangiriro y’umwaka wa 1992.

Nk’imwe mu makomine yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi,

ubwicanyi bwatangiye mu minsi yakurikiye itangizwa ry'urugamba rwa RPF-Inkotanyi rwo kubohora igihugu mu Kwakira 1990. Muri iyi Komini Abatutsi barishwe, banyagwa ibyabo, ndetse n'amazu yabo arasenywa andi aratwikwa. Guhera ku itariki 6 kugera ku ya 16 Ukwakira 1990, habayeho kugaba ibitero, gusahura no gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi batuye muri segiteri Kinunu, Busanza na Boneza.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa n° 632/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 25 Ukwakira 1990, yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove, Nzabonimpa Anselme, yandikira Perefere wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, avuga ko guhera ku itariki 6 Ukwakira 1990 abaturage ba segiteri Gihumba bikoze bafata amacumu n'imihoro ngo bateye segiteri Kinunu na Busanza zituwe n'Abatutsi benshi, banyuze muri segiteri Boneza. Amazu amwe yaratwitswe, andi arangizwa, habaho gusahura no kurya inka zabo. Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Kinunu, Busanza na Boneza barwanye n'icyo gitero kugeza ubwo Burugumesitiri Nzabonimpa Anselme aziye ahosha imirwano. Icyo gihe, hariwe inka 67, hatwikwa n'amazu make y'Abatutsi (Nzabonimpa, 16/10/1990).

Burugumesitiri Nzabonimpa akomeza avuga ko hari igitero cyari cyagiye mu ishyamba rya Gishwati ku itariki

ya 9 Ukwakira 1990, kivuyeyo kinyaga inka z'Abatutsi. Burugumesitiri avuga ko yabashije guhosha izo mvururu ndetse n'abariye inka z'Abatutsi bafashwe bagafungwa. Yasabye ko abagize uruhare bishyura ibyo bangije. Iki cyemezo yafashe cyo gutabara Abatutsi, cyafashwe nabi n'abaturage kubera ko bavugaga ngo Burugumesitiri ababangamira muri gahunda yo kurwanya umwanzi muri Komini. Kubera iyo mpamvu, abaturage babwiye burugumesitiri ko bazandikira Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Ingabo bakamubwira ko Burugumesitiri ari Inyenzi kandi ko azishyigikiye (Nzabonimpa, 25/10/1990).

Usibye kuba Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove, Nzabonimpa Anselme, yarageragezaga kurwanya ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi, ntabwo byabujije abicanyi gusohozwa umugambi wabo mubisha. Urugero, hagati y'itariki ya 25 Gashyantare 1991 na 15 Werurwe 1991 muri iyi Komini, habayeho ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi, habaho gutwika no kurya amatungo yabo.

Ibirebanan'ububwicanyi, isenywan'isahurwary'amatungo y'Abatutsi bigaragara mu ibaruwa n° 297/04.04/2 yo kuwa 13 Gicurasi 1991 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove, yandikira Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi amugezaho ibikubiye mu nyandiko-mvugo

y'inama ya Komini Kayove yateranye kuwa 6 Mata 1991. Muri iyi nyandiko-mvugo, agaragaza ko umubare w'Abatutsi bishwe mu ma segiteri yose agize Komini ari 18, abakomeretse bakaba 18, inka zariwe zikaba 61 n' ihene 117, hakanangizwa amazu 82 (Nzabonimpa, 13/5/1991).

Intandaro y'ubwicanyi bwo ku itariki ya 28/12/1992 muri Komini Kayove

Mbere y'uko ubwicanyi buba, hari inama yari yabayeye iyobowe na Banzi Wellars wari ukuriye MRND muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Na none Léon Mugesera, yari amaze igihe gito akoresheje inama ahitwa ku Kabaya muri Komini Gaseke, aho yakanguriye Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Urebye, amagambo yavugiwe muri izo nama zombi ni yo yasembuye Abahutu baza kwica Abatutsi, kuko bari babwiwe ko ari bo banzi b'u Rwanda (ZJ, 2013).

Na none, bica Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini mu kwezi kwa 12 muri 1992, byaturutse ku nama yari yakoreshejwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove witwa Maburakindi, aho muri iyo nama yari yahamagaje abakonseye b'amasegiteri yose ndetse n'abaturage ababwira ko bagomba guhiga Inyenzi mu ishyamba rya

Gishwati. Burugumesitiri yatanze itegeko ko nta muntu n'umwe wemerewe gusigara kandi ko bagomba kugenda bitwaje inkota, amacumu n'imihoro. Abadafite izo ntwaro gakondo basabwe gushaka ibisuture⁶² by'imigano (AF, 2014).

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe mu nyandiko, uwari burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba, Karasira Léonard, avuga ko ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1992 habaye igikorwa kijyanye no guhiga inyenzi mu ishyamba rya Gishwati, cyarimo abaturage n'abasirikare bayobowe na *Major Habufite* (Karasira, 2011). Iki gikorwa cyakurikiwe no gusaka no gutwika ingo z'abagogwe bari baturiyeye ishyamba rya Gishwati. Iyo bavugaga gutema ibihuru, byasobanuraga kwica Abatutsi batuye muri ako gace abaturage bakoreyemo umuganda. Abatangabuhamya banyuranye babibonye, barabisobanura:

«Mu mpera ya 1992 habayeho umuganda wo gutema ibihuru muri Bitenga mu kagari ka Gihira. Uwo muganda wari watumiyemo abaturage bose. Abatutsi bo muri segiteri Bitenga, bamaze kumenya ko ikigamijwe ari ukubica, bagiye kubibwira konseye wabo witwa Duturanyi Albert kuko yahoraga abarwanaho. Nyuma bajyanye nawe kureba Burugumesitiri Maburakindi, ababwira ko ntacyo abiziho, barataha. Konseye Duturanyi yabujije Abatutsi bari bamutabaje

⁶² Ibisuture: ni ibiti by'imigano bisongoje bakoreshaga mu kwica. Ahandi babyita ibisuti.

kujya muri uwo muganda. Umunsi w'umuganda ugeze, abari bitabiriye umuganda, bagiye guhiga Abatutsi aho bari bihishe, batwika amazu yabo, barya n'inka. Abarokotse bahungiyeye mu ishyamba rya Gishwati, abandi bajya kuri Kongo Nil» (AF, 2014).

Abatangabuhamyi bavugaga ko ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1992 hashwe Abatutsi bo mu masegiteri atandukanye, batwika n'amazu yabo. Kuri iyi tariki haje ibitero bitandukanye bitwika amazu y'Abatutsi ndetse bamwe barabica harimo uwitwaga Sefura Ladislas n'umugore we Thérèse Nyirabudenderi, bari batuye muri serire Kaganza, segiteri ya Busanza. Sefura yanze guhunga asize umugore we bituma babicira hamwe. Sefura n'umugore we bishwe urw'agashyinyaguro kubera ko babatwikishije ibishogoshogo kugeza ubwo babaye umuyonga. Kuri icyo tariki, hashwe Nyiramiheto n'umuhungu we, na Fernand n'abandi. Hari abakubiswe icyo gihe, bibaviramo ubumuga. Icyo gihe batera, banyaze inka z'Abatutsi n'andi matungo magufi bari batunze.

Nyuma yo kumenya ko Sefura yishwe n'umugore we, umuhungu wabo w'umupadiri witwaga Rwigenza François wabaga kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo aherekejwe na musenyeri Gasore Louis baje gushyingura ababyeyi be. Mu gihe bari mu gikorwa cyo gushyingura, abaturage

batemye ibiti babishyira mu muhanda w'aho banyuze kugira ngo imodoka barimo itabona aho inyura batashye. Na none Abahutu b'intagondwa bashatse kwica uwo mupadiri bamushinja ko yaba akorana n'Inkotanyi ku bw'amahirwe aza kubacika.

Imvururu zo ku wa 28 Ukuboza 1992 zigarukwaho na raporo y'umutekano yo ku wa 16 Nzeri 1993 ya Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove, Maburakindi Isidore. Iyo raporo igaragaza lisiti y'amazu y'Abatutsi yangijwe mu mvururu zabereye muri iyo Komini kuva ku tariki 28 Ukuboza 1992 kugera ku ya 29 Mutarama 1993. Igaragaza ko amazu yangijwe yose hamwe angana na 123. Umubare w'Abatutsi bapfuye n'amatungo yasahuwe ntabwo bivugwa muri iyo raporo (Maburakindi, 1992).

Raporo ya Komisiyo yashyizweho n'inama y'abaministri yo ku wa 3 Gashyantare 1993, nayo ivuga kuri izo mvururu, ikavugako itwikwariye amazu y'Abatutsi baturiyeye ishyamba rya Gishwati, gushimutwa kw'inka zabo no guhunga kw'abarokotse izo mvururu (Commission Politico-Administrative, 1993).

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kayove buvugwa muri Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yakozwe (hagati y'itariki 7-21 Mutarama 1993) irebana n'ibikorwa by'ihutazwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu

Rwanda uhereye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990. Iyi raporo ivuga ko ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1992, burugumesitiri wa Komini Kayove yasabye abaturage guhiga umwanzu mu ishyamba rya Gishwati. Nk'uko raporo ikomeza ivuga, abaturage bagiye bitwaje imipanga, amacumu n'ibisongo. Bavuye muri iryo shyamba batangira gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi, barya inka zabo (Commission Internationale d'enquête (7-21 Janvier 1993 :38).

Uhereye mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1992 kugeza mu gihe cya Jenocide nyir'izina mu 1994, benshi mu Batutsi bo muri Komini Kayove bararaga mu bihuru. Buri gihe cyose bahoraga biteze kwicwa. Imibereho yari mibi muri icyo gihe. Dore uko umwe mu barokotse icyo gihe abivuga:

«Kuva mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1992 ntabwo twongeye kujya turara mu mazu yacu. Hageraga nijoro tukajya kurara mu bihuru. Ntabwo twari tukibasha korora inka cyangwa irindi tungo rigufi, bazaga igihe bashakiye bakayatwara, bakadusahura imyaka twabaga tumaze kweza kandi ababikoraga ntibahanwe. Mbese byageze mu 1994 baradukenesheje, imyaka yacu barayiranduraga, twari tubayeho nabi cyane» (ZJ, 2013).

Segiteri zibasiwe n'ubwicanyi icyo gihe ni Murama,

Kinunu na Busanza n’ahandi habaga Abatutsi benshi (ZJ, 2013). Abatangabuhama banyuranye bo muri Komini Kayove bahuriza ku makuru y’uko uwari Burugumesitiri witwa Maburakindi Isidore yaranzwe no gutoteza Abatutsi mu gihe cy’ubutegetsu bwe. Naho Nzabonimpa Anselme yari asimbuye akaba yari umuntu mwiza kuko yarengeraga Abatutsi barenganye (AG, AF, ZK, ZJ, 2013).

6.1.10. Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Nyamyumba

Uhereye mu kwezi k’Ukwakira 1990, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Nyamyumba barafashwe barafungwa, abandi baricwa. Abenshi bicwaga mu buryo bwo kubanyereza bakaburirwa irengero. Ubwicanyi bweruye bwabaye mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1993. Ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1993 habayeho imyigaragambyo ya MRND nyuma hakurikiraho iya CDR. Mu gihe cy’iyo myigaragambyo, CDR yari yararangije gukora lisiti y’Abatutsi muri Nyamyumba. icyo gihe Abatutsi bari kuri icyo lisiti barahohotewe bamwe muri bo baricwa (ZL, 2013).

Umutangabuhama utarahigwaga avuga ko ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1993, interahamwe na CDR bakora imyigaragambyo baririmbaga ngo” tubatsembatsembe”. Muri icyo myigaragambyo bishe Abatutsi ndetse batwika n’amazu yabo. Nk’uko umutangabuhama akomeza

avuga. Abahutu batifatanyaga nabo, baratotezwaga (AE, 2014).

Undi mutangabuhamy wo muri Komini Nyamyumba utarahigwaga avuga ko abarwanashyaka ba CDR bahoraga bababwira ko igihe kizagera Abatutsi bakicwa n'ibytso byabo. Abivuga muri aya magambo: “ *Baratubwiraga ngo turacyafite agahenge, ko imana y'Abatutsi ikiriho, ko igihe izaba itakiriho, ko ibyabo bizaba birangiye. Imana y'Abatutsi bavugaga yari Habyarimana, kuko ngo niwe wabatinzaga gusohoza umugambi wabo wo kwica Abatutsi vuba*» (ZL, 2013)

Mu gihe cy'imishyikirano y'amahoro y'Arusha hagati ya RPF-Inkotanyi na Leta ya Habyarimana, abarwanashyaka ba CDR n'izindi ntagondwa z'Abahutu bavugaga ko batazigera bemera ibizava muri iyo mishyikirano, ko nta na rimwe bazemera gusangira ubutegetsi n'Abatutsi. Babonaga Habyarimana nk'inzitizi kuko yatumaga badashyira mu bikorwa umugambi wo gutsembatsemba Abatutsi vuba. Umutangabuhamy utarahigwaga avuga ko Abahutu b'intagondwa ari bo bishe Habyarimana kugira ngo bashobore gusohoza umugambi wabo wo kurimbura Abatutsi (ZL, 2013).

Muri rusange, muri Mutarama 1993, mu makomini yose

yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, habaye imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR, batwika amazu y'Abatutsi banasahura ibyabo, ndetse na bamwe mu Batutsi baricwa.

Raporo y'umusimbura wa Perefefe wa Gisenyi (Prefet a.i), Banyurwabuke André, yo ku wa 25 Kanama 1993 ivuga ko hari Abatutsi bavanywe mu byabo, kubera imvururu hagati y'amoko zabaye muri Mutarama 1993. Iyo raporo isobanura neza umubare w'abahunze muri buri Komini n'aho bahungiyeye.

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE
PREFECTURE GISENYI

Gisenyi, le 25 Aout 1993

Préfectures NGORORERO et KANAMA n'ont pu de
S/Prefets depuis février 1993 et KANAMA vient d'en avoir
tandis que NGORORERO attend encore.

MESSAGE

C'est dire que la situation de la population a été très
faible à l'absence de ces services.
DE : PREFET GISENYI : **BANYURWA** ^{André}
POUR : MINISTRE KIGALI ^{Préfet aol}

Texte N° 265/04.09.01 Référence votre fax n°411/04.09.01 du
17 Août 1993 stop Honneur vous faire parvenir situation
des déplacés politico-ethniques de janvier 1993.

I. Les déracinés des troubles politico-ethniques Janvier 1993

- Le Parquet de GISENYI a ouvert et clôturé 50 dossiers

Centre d'hébergement	Communes	Les déplacés	Déplacés recensés au 15/8/93
	d'origine	recensés en :	Familles Composition
		février 1993 :	
1. Paroisse MUHORORO	1. SATINSYI : 2. KIBILIRA : 3. RAMBA :	700	351 27 134 69
S/TOTAL			53 : 209
2. Centre culturel de NGORORERO	1. SATINSYI : 2. KIBILIRA : 3. RAMBA :	747	56 0 45
S/TOTAL		809	67 : 252
3. Paroisse MURAMBA	1. SATINSYI :	100	0 : 0
4. Diocèse SHYIRA	1. GICIYE :	80	61 : 48
5. Paroisse NYUNDO	1. KANAMA :	376	63 : 331
6. Commune RUBAVU	1. RUBAVU :	72	0 : 0
7. Commune NYAKABANDA (GOFORWA)	1. SATINSYI : 2. KIBILIRA : 3. KANAMA :	285	50 10 4
S/TOTAL			104 : 314
8. Commune RUTSIRO	1. KAYOVE : 2. RAMBA : 3. GASEKE :	103 77 16	0 3 0
S/TOTAL		196	3 : 15
9. Commune GASEKE (RUBAYA)	1. GASEKE :	450	6 : 24
10. Commune BULINGA	1. KIBILIRA :	24	2 : 9
TOTAL GENERAL		3.092	304 : 1.202

N.B. La Paroisse Muhororo héberge 49 personnes (vieux et enfants) déplacés par les dirigeants de...

II. Difficultés rencontrées pour la réintégration dans leurs biens.

1) - Les Communes RAMBA, GASEKE et GICIYE n'ont pas eu de Bourgmestres

25 Aout 1993

- Les S/Préfectures NGORORERO et KABAYA n'ont pas eu de S/Préfets depuis février 1993 et KABAYA vient d'en avoir tandis que NGORORERO attend encore. C'est dire que la sensibilisation de la population a été très faible à l'absence des autorités ci-avant citées.

- 2) Destruction totale ou partielle des maisons d'habitation
- 3) Les déplacés se plaignent de ce que des malfaiteurs ne sont pas arrêtés et traduits en justice. Cet argument n'est pas fondé du fait que :

- Le Parquet de NGORORERO a ouvert et clôturé 13 dossiers dont 50 personnes en détention préventive. Ces dossiers sont transmis au Tribunal de Gisenyi et sont fixés respectivement aux 14 et 17/9/1993.

- Le Parquet de GISENYI a ouvert et clôturé 30 dossiers dont 24 sont déjà jugés par le Tribunal de GISENYI.
- Le Parquet de KABAYA a ouvert et clôturé 13 dossiers dont 10 sont jugés par le Tribunal, 2^e Chambre de KABAYA, 2 classés sans suite, 1 pendente et 27 détenus.

III. Solutions tentées et envisagées:

- Au niveau Communal, les Bourgmestres ont tenu des réunions de sensibilisation de la population devant accueillir des déplacés, ils ont visité des Centres d'hébergement et les mêmes activités se poursuivent.

- Au niveau Préfectoral, le Préfet de Préfecture, accompagné par certains membres du Conseil Préfectoral de Sécurité, a visité à plusieurs reprises des Centres d'hébergement et a dirigé des réunions de sensibilisation de la population.

- En application de la lettre n°670/17.4 du 21/7/1993 émanant du Ministre du Travail et des Affaires Sociales, les Bourgmestres concernés en collaboration avec des Comités paroissiaux de Caritas Rwanda, ont été demandés de recenser toutes les maisons détruites ou endommagées en vue de la recherche d'une aide éventuelle.

13. Commune GASEKE	GASEKE	77	3	15
13. Commune GASEKE	GASEKE	15	0	0
S/TOTAL		195	3	15
9. Commune GASEKE (KABAYA)	GASEKE	450	0	24
10. Commune BILINGA	KIBILEKA	24	0	0
TOTAL GENERAL		3.092	0	202

Gisenyi, le 25 août 1993

LE PREFET DE PREFECTURE s.i.

BATURUMABUKE André



II. Difficultés rencontrées :

leurs biens.

- 1) - Les Communes RAMBA, GASEKE et GICIYE n'ont pas de Bourgmestres

6.2. Inyito zahawe ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi hagati y'imyaka ya 1990 na 1993

Nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba mu 1990, Abatutsi bari batuye muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bishwe mu bihe bitandukanye kugeza mu gihe cya Jenoside nyir'izina mu 1994. Urugero, nko kuva mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 kugeza muri Kamena 1993, Abatutsi bagiye bicwa, bakurwa mu byabo, amazu yabo arasenye andi aratwikwa. Iyo usesenguye neza uko ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga, usanga bwari bwaratwagwe ndetse n'abagomba kwicwa bazwi. Inzego zitandukanye zabugizemo uruhare, zaba iza gisivile cyangwa izishinzwe umutekano.

Muri raporo zatangwaga n'aba Burugumesitiri, ba Superefe, ba Perefefe n'abandi bategetsi b'icyo gihe, nta na hamwe bigeze batanga imibare nyayo y'Abatutsi bishwe. Na none ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi babuhaga amazina, bavuga ko habayeho gusubiranamo kw'amoko, imvururu cyangwa imidugararo y'abaturage n'ayandi mazina.

Urugero, mu nyandiko-mvugo y'inama ishinze umutekano muri Superefe ya Ngororero yateranye ku wa 1 Gashyantare 1991 iyobowe na Superefe Rukabukira Ildephonse yasobanuye impamvu yatumye habaho umutekano muke muri aya magambo:

Kuva twaterwa n’Inyenzi-Nkotanyi ku ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, muri aka karere ka Superefegitura yacu habaye imvururu, abantu batangira gusubiranamo bashingiye ku moko. Abahutu bitwaje ko twatewe n’impunzi z’Abatutsi ziri muri Uganda bashaka kwihimura ku Batutsi batuye muri iyi Superefegitura ya Ngororero (Rukabukira, 1991).

Ubwicanyi bwagiye bukorerwa Abatutsi hagati ya 1990-1993, nta na rimwe ubutegetsi bwariho bwigeze buvuga ko ari Abatutsi bishwe n’ubwo hamwe na hamwe byagaragaraga muri raporo zitandukanye. Akenshi bakundaga kuvuga ko habayeho gusubiranamo hagati y’amoko cyangwa imvururu.

6.3. Kwivanaho uruhare kw’abicyanyi rukitirirwa abakorewe ubwicanyi

Abahanga mu bumenyi mu bijyanye na Jenoside nka Ternon (1989) na Stanton(2008), bagaragaza ko abategura bagashyira Jenoside mu bikorwa, bagerageza gushaka impamvu n’ibisobanuro by’ibyabaye, aho usanga bivanaho uruhare bakarushyira ku bishwe. Bivanaho ibyo bakagombye kubazwa, bakabigereka ku itsinda ryibasiwe. Abagize uruhare mu bwicanyi ndetse no muri Jenoside, usanga akenshi bavuga ko abishwe ari bo byaturutseho (Ternon, 1989).

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Abatutsi bishwe mu bihe binyuranye, kugeza mu 1994. Iyo bicwaga abategetsi babashinjaga kuba ba nyirabayazana b'iyicwa ryabo. Ibi byagaragaye muri raporo zinyuranye zagiye zikorwa n'abategetsi nka ba Burugumesitiri, ba Superefe n'abandi.

Mu gusesengura ibaruwa n° 730/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 15 Ukuboza 1990 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira, Sindibona Jean Marie Vianney, yandikiye Perezida wa “*Comité Préfectoral de Crise*”, usanga avuga ko intandaro nyakuri y'imvururu zabaye muri Komini Kibilira kuva ku itariki 11 kugeza ku ya 15 Ukwakira 1990 yaturutse ku Batutsi b'injijuke batuye muri iyo Komini bateguye kandi bagaragaza imyifatire y'ubugambanyi. Avuga ko abo Batutsi ari abakomoka muri Kibilira bakora ahandi cyangwa se bahakora.

Mu gusobanura impamvu Abahutu bishe Abatutsi, Burugumesitiri Sindibona Jean Marie Vianney agaragaza ko abaturage b'Abahutu bumvise ko u Rwanda rwatewe n'Inyenzi zishaka ubutegetsi, bituma birara mu Batutsi barabica. Muri iyo raporo anagaragaza ko Abatutsi bari biteguye muri icyo gihe, kuko baranzwe n'ibyishimo mu gihe igihugu cyari cyatewe kandi ngo bari bafite inzoga zo kunywa bishimye mu gihe Inyenzi zaba zimaze gufata

ubutegetsi (Sindibona, 15/12/1990).

Mu yindi baruwa, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kibilira, Sindibona Jean Marie Vianney, yandikiye Perezida wa « *Comité Préfectoral de Crise* » yo ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1991, yavuze ko ku itariki 15 Ukuboza 1990, hari hariye kuba izindi mvururu ziteguwe n'Abatutsi b'abapadiri. Avuga ko zari zateguwe na Padiri Sekabaraga Joseph wari kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo afatanije n'abandi Batutsi bajijutse baho (Sindibona, 21/2/1991).

Abatutsi bajijutse bitirirwa kuba ba nyirabayazana b'imvururu zabaye muri Kibilira bavugwa n'ibaruwa ya Burugumesitiri Sindibona, harimo: Mugengano Théodore, wari umuyobozi w'ibigo by'amashuri ya Muhororo, Kirwa na Ruhindage; Padiri Sekabaraga Joseph, Padiri mukuru wa Paruwasi ya Biruyi (Kayove); Hategekimana Faron Perezida w'urukiko rwa Kanto rwa Kibilira, Padiri Rwigenza François, Padiri mukuru wa Paruwasi ya Muhororo, Padiri Ndangamira Denis nawe wo muri Paruwasi ya Muhororo, padiri Gasore Louis, *Vicaire Général* kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo, n'abandi. Muri iyo raporo Burugumesitiri avuga ko bamwe mu Batutsi bishwe mbere harimo abari bumvanywe amagambo afitanye isano n'ubutegetsi bwa Kigeli (Sindibona, 21/2/1991).

Mu ibaruwa n° 088/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13 Gashyantare 1991, Burugumesitiri Sindibona yandikiye Perefe wa Gisenyi yamusabye ko Abatutsi basanzwe bafite akazi keza muri Komini ayobora bahindurirwa imirimo, igahabwa Abahutu (Sindibona, 13/2/1991). Muri raporo z’umutekano Burugumesitiri wa Komini Karago na we yatanze, agaragaza ko Abatutsi aribo ba nyirabayazana b’iyicwa ryabo, ko ari ibyitso by’ Inyenzi, kandi ko abaturage b’Abahutu bashyushye imitwe bitewe n’ifungurwa rya gereza ya Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991 (Twagirayezu, 22/2/1991).

Muri Komini Nyamyumba, naho Abatutsi bahoraga baregwa ibinyoma kugira ngo haboneke impamvu ituma bagirirwa nabi. Nko mu ibaruwa n° 1047/04.17.02 yo ku wa 5 Ugushyingo 1990 yanditswe n’umugenzacyaha witwa Halindintwari Lazare muri iyo Komini, atanga raporo y’ingoboka, yavuze ko Padiri Mukuru wa Paruwasi ya Kivumu witwa Gatore Thaddée, ko mu gihe yigishaga abakirisitu yanenze imbyino (animation) y’abaturage ivuga ngo “inyangarwanda tuzazitsemba, tuzazimarira ku icumu”. Umugenzacyaha yavuze ko ibyo Padiri Gatore yavuze ngo byateza umwuka mubi mu baturage. Umugenzacyaha yamusabiye gukurikiranwa no gukorwaho iperereza (Harindintwari, 5/11/ 1990). Icyo Padiri Gatore yaregwaga ni uko yanenze abakirisitu

ayobora bifatanije n'abaturage baririmba izo ndirimbo.

Muri raporo z'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri aya makomini muri iyi myaka ya 1990, 1991,192,1993 abategetsu bagiye bagaragaza ko iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryari rifite ishingiro. Ibi bikaba bitandukanye n'ukuri kubera ko ni bo babaga bibasiwe. Nta raporo n'imwe igaragaza ko Abatutsi baba barigeze bagaba ibitero ku Bahutu cyangwa ngo bashoze imvururu mu makomini atandukanye.

6.4. Umuco wo kudahana watije umurindi abicanyi

Abagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi kuva mu Kwakira 1990 kugeza mu gihe cya Jenocide nyir'izina 1994, nta bihano bizwi bigeze bahabwa n'ubutegetsu bwa Perezida Habyarimana. Hari bamwe bafashwe, bafungwa igihe gito bararekurwa. Hari n'abandi batigeze bahanwa na goto. Uwo muco wo kudahana watumye iyicwa ry'Abatutsi riba kenshi mu myaka inyuranye.

Muri 1990 ubwo hicwaga Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira, Nshunguyinka François wari Perefefu wa Gisenyi yasabye ko abagize uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi bafatwa, bagafungwa. Hari abafunzwe nyuma y'igihe gito bararekurwa.

Ku birebana n'abagize uruhare mu gutwika, gusenya, gusahura no kurya inka z'Abatutsi, iyo babyemeraga,

basabirwaga na parike cyangwa urukiko ko bahita barekurwa, kuko bataruhije ubutabera. Nta na hamwe urukiko rwabategekaga kwishyura ibyo bangije. icyegeranyo cyakozwe na Parike ya Gisenyi mu mpera z'ukwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, kigaragaza amazina y'abari barafashwe barekuwe kubera ko bemera icyaha bakoze, bakaba batanagoye ubutabera (Dosiye y'abashinjwa ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo muri Komini Kibilira, 1990).

Harekuwe abantu benshi muri ubwo buryo. Twavugaga nka Mbarushimana, ukomoka muri segiteri Ruhunga muri Komini Satinsyi, washinjwaga kuba yari mu gatsiko kateraga Abatutsi kagasahura amatungo yabo. Parike ya Gisenyi yanzuye ko kuba yiyemerera icyaha, akwiye kurekurwa. Nk'uwitwaga Barakuze Anastase washinjwaga kuba yaragiye gusahura inka n'ibintu byose by' Umututsi witwa Kangeyo, nyuma yo kwemera icyaha na we yararekuwe (Dosiye y'abashinjwa ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo muri Komini Kibilira, 1990).

Muri Komini Kayove, Abatutsi basabwe kureka gukurikirana ibyabo byangijwe haba mu nzego bwite za Leta no mu butabera kubera ko bishobora kongera kugarura umwuka mubi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi (Nzabonimpa, 13/5/1991).

Umuco wo kudahana waranze ubutegetsi bwa Perezida

Kayibanda na Habyarimana ni wo watije umurindi abicanyi mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byakorerwaga Abatutsi. Usibye gushyigikira abicanyi, Perezida Kayibanda na Habyarimana babaga bazi neza ibiriho biba, n'ababigizemo uruhare.

IGICE CYA VII. ISHYIRWA MU BIKORWA RYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU 1994

Muri iki gice hakubiyemo amakuru ajyanye n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, hagati y'itariki ya 7 Mata na 17 Nyakanga 1994, kuko ari bwo Jenoside yahagaritswe n'ingabo za RPF Inkotanyi, abicanyi bahungira mu yahoze yitwa Zayire, ubu ni Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo. Muri rusange muri iyi Perefegitura, Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa uhereye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Muri Komini Karago na Rubavu ho, Abatutsi batangiyeye kwicwa mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994. Hamwe Abatutsi bagiye baterwa n'interahamwe zifataniye n'abaturage, ahandi hakiyongeraho abasirikari cyangwa abapolisi ba Komini. Abari abayobozi haba ku rwego rwa Komini na Perefegitura hafi ya bose bagize uruhare mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside.

Amazina y'abari abayobozi ba Perefegitura na Komini muri 1994.

Perefe	Komini	Burugumesitiri
Banyurwabuke André (a.i) yasimbuwe na Zilimwabagabo Charles ku itariki 16 Mata 1994	Kibilira	Rwirahira Vincent
	Ramba	Karasira Léonard
	Satinsyi	Nsanzimihigo Cyrille
	Gaseke	Bazubahande Ignace
	Giciye	Hagumimvuro Isaac
	Karago	Twagirayezu Louis
	Mutura	Bakiye Jean Berchmans
	Rwerere	Butsingili Alphonse
	Kanama	Nzabonimpa M. Ananie
	Nyamyumba	Bagango Faustin
Kayove	Maburakindi Isidori	
Rubavu	Mpozembizi Marc	

Aho byavuye: Inyandiko zavuye mu bubiko bw'impapuro bw'Akarere ka Rubavu

7.1. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Ramba

Indege ya Perezida Habyarimana ikimara kuraswa, humvikanye itangazo kuri radiyo Rwanda ryasubirwagamo inshuro nyinshi rivuga ko indege yarimo Umukuru w'Igihugu n'abandi yarashwe, kandi ko nta muntu

wemerewe kuva aho ari. Ahantu hose hari bariyeri uhereye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Kwica ku mugaragaro byatangiye ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 (A, 2013).

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya, ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 muri segiteri Bayi haje igitero kigizwe n'interahamwe n'abapolisi ba Komini kiyobowe n'uwitwa Rubyagira⁶³ mwene Semasaka wakomokaga muri segiteri Magaba, Komini Gaseke (ubu ni mu murenge wa Muhanda). Igitero cyarimo umupolisi bitaga Kamenyero⁶⁴ mwene Makeri wari utuye muri segiteri Sovu, Komini Ramba ni cyo kishe uwitwa Nyamugira, umugore we n'abana be bose. Interahamwe zari zitwaje impanga, amacumu, amahiri n'udufuni. Abapolisi na zimwe mu nterahamwe bari bafite imbunda. Abatutsi bagombaga kwicwa muri Komini Ramba bari bazwi, abicanyi bagendanaga lisiti yabo. Uyu mutangabuhamya yaje kuva mu bwihisho bw'umuturanyi we, ahungira muri Komini Gaseke aza no kuharokokera (B & P, 2013).

Ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, Abatutsi benshi bo muri Komini Ramba biciwe mu masegiteri anyuranye cyane cyane, Kavumu, Sovu, Suti, Mabuye na Bayi. Kuri iyo tariki hishwe umuryango wa Kagaragu, Ntiyamira n'uwa

⁶³ Rubyagira, yahawe igihano cyo gufungwa burundu n'inkiko gacaca, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Gisenyi.

⁶⁴ Kamenyero: Abatangabuhamya bavugaga ko yahunze akajya muri Kongo, akaza kugaruka mu gitero cy'abacengezi mu 1997-1998, agwamo. Nta rubanza rwabaye kuri we kuko yari yarapfuye.

Mahuku bose bo muri segiteri Bayi. Mu gitero cyabishe harimo interahamwe nkuru yitwaga Nyandwi Jean Claude⁶⁵ wahoze ari umwarimu ku mashuri abanza ya Kavumu muri Komini Ramba.

Mu zindi segiteri, Abatutsi bishwe n'interahamwe za ho zifatanyije n'izaturutse Gaseke, Satinsyi na Kibilira. Abatutsi bishwe icyo gihe, bagiye bajugunywa mu nkengero z'ahari ibiro bya Komini Ramba. Nko muri segiteri Bayi, serire Nyamusenyi hajugunywe abana 7, babambuye ba nyina b'Abahutukazi (bari barashakanye n'Abatutsi) babashyira mu cyobo kimwe bakiri bazima. Ba se bababyara, babiciye ku musozi aho hafi, babarimiraho imikingo. Muri iyi segiteri kandi, hari abandi Batutsi biciwe muri serire Mutake.

Muri segiteri Suti ho, hari Abatutsi bajyanywe muri serire Gakinga aba ariho bicirwa. Abo mu muryango wa Mucunguramfizi Diyonizi harimo umukobwa we n'abuzukuru babiri bajugunywe mu musarani ari bazima. Umuryango wa Kabiligi wose wiciwe muri serire Kabayengo ari na ho bakomokaga. Abajyanywe muri segiteri Kageyo, babiciye muri serire Kamashi, bamwe babajugunya mu misarani, abandi babarimiraho imikingo.

Mu matariki yakurikiyeho bakomeje guhiga no kwica

⁶⁵Nyandwi Jean Claude, yarapfuye, yaguye muri gereza ya Gisenyi. Yapfuye ataraburana.

Abatutsi bagiye bihisha hirya no hino. Abo bose, ubu barataburuwe, bashyingurwa mu cyubahiro mu rwibutso rwa Kavumu. Kuri uru rwibutso hashyinguye imibiri y'Abatutsi igera kuri magana atatu na mirongo itandatu n'umunani (368).

Hari indi mibiri y'Abatutsi igera kuri makumyabiri ishyinguwe mu mva iri ahitwa ku Mukore muri serire Kamashi, segiteri ya Kageyo aho bita kwa Rwabugiri (P, 2013).

Mu bitero byishe Abatutsi muri Komini Ramba, havugwamo Bazimaziki Bernardin⁶⁶ wari superefe wa Ngororero, Karasira Léonard⁶⁷ wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba n'abandi.

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ramba ryakurikiye iyicwa ry'abandi Batutsi bari barahungiyeye mu ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) i Ngororero ryabaye ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994. Muri iyo ngoro haguyemo Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi cumi na bine harimo n'abakomokaga muri Komini Ramba bari barahungiyeye guhera mu 1990.

⁶⁶Uyu Bazimaziki Bernardin yari superefe wa Ngororero muri 1994, yaciriwe urubanza n'inkiko Gacaca akatirwa igihano cya burundu. Mu gihe twakoraga ubu bushakashatsi yari akiri mu buhungiro.

⁶⁷ Karasira Léonard, yakatiwe na Gacaca, igifungo cy'imyaka 30, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Kimironko muri Gasabo.

7.2. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Kibilira

Muri Komini Kibilira, mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, hashyizweho bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye ndetse habaho kugota bikomeye Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye kuri paruwasi ya Muhororo. Ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 interahamwe zateye Abatutsi bari bahungiyeye kuri iyo paruwasi, bagerageza kwirwanaho zisubirayo. Nyuma yo gusubizayo ibitero by'interahamwe, abakonseye bagiye kuzana abaturage benshi, bagarukana na za nterahamwe, na none, Abatutsi babasubiza inyuma. Ku itariki ya 13 Mata 1994 haje ikindi gitero kirimo interahamwe ziturutse Giciye, Karago, Gaseke n'iza Rutsiro ho muri Perefegitura ya Kibuye, zifatanya n'interahamwe za Kibilira, abapolisi ba Komini ndetse n'abasirikare.

Umwe mu barokotse ubwo bwicanyi, wanahahungiyeye kuva muri 1991 asobanura uko byagenze:

Mbere y'uko interahamwe zitera, Burugumesitiri Rwirahira Vincent⁶⁸ yaje kureba Abatutsi bahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ababwira ko nta Mututsi uzicwa, abasezeranya ko azabacungira umutekano. Ntabwo ariko byagenze kuko ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 haje igitero kinini cy'interahamwe harimo n'abaturage,

⁶⁸Rwirahira Vincent: yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Kibilira kugera muri Jenoside. Yarahunze, ntiyagarutse.

Abatutsi barwana nacyo gisubirayo. Barongeye baragaruka ubugira kabiri na bwo babasubizayo. Abatutsi bagerageje kwirwanaho bakoresheje amabuye. Abagabo ni bo bateraga amabuye, naho abagore n'abakobwa bakayegeranya bakanayabashyirira hafi. Umunsi bicwa, hari haje interahamwe ziturutse muri Komini Satinsyi, Ramba, Giciye na Karago, zifatanya n'iza Kibilira n'abasirikare baragotagota hose, uwo munsi hishwe Abatutsi benshi. Abatutsi bari bamaze kunanirwa kandi bari banashonje kuko imodoka ya Caritas yajyaga ibagemurira ibyo kurya, abapolisi bari barayifatiye i Gatumba ntiyaza. Abarokotse bake ni abari babashije kugenda nijoro bambuka Nyabarongo, bahungira muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama (F, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamyari wari warahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo na we avuga uko yabonye igitero cyaje kwica Abatutsi kuri iyo Paruwasi.

Ku itariki ya 13 Mata 1994, interahamwe ziturutse muri Komini ya Karago, Giciye, Gaseke na Satinsyi zaje mu mabisi na za *Daihatsu*, zifite imipanga, za gerenade ndetse n'imbunda. Abaturage ba Kibilira baza bitwaje imipanga n'amacumu. Interahamwe n'abasirikare bazamukaga ku gasozi ka Muhororo bagenda barasa, abafite imipanga n'amacumu bagategera hepfo, utishwe n'isasu bakaza kumurangiza

n'imipanga n'inkota. Kuri icyo tariki ya 13 Mata 1994
hishwe padiri mukuru wa Paruwasi ya Muhororo,
n'umusenyeri umwe n'ababikira bane. Brigadiye
witwa Tabaruka⁶⁹ Pascal alias Libenge ni we warashe
Padiri Mukuru Rwigenza François na Musenyeri
witwa Gasore Louis n'ababikira bane aribo Mama
Xavier, Mama Alphonse, Mama Gérard na Mama
Régis. Aha Muhororo, bashinyaguriye Padiri Mukuru,
mbere yo kumwica, bamwambika ubusa, bavuga ngo
reka bereke abaturage uko umupadiri w'Umututsi
aba ateye. Bajya kwica Mgr Louis Gasore, bamusanze
muri shaperi y'ababikira, nyuma yo kumenagura
amadirishya n'ibirahuri byayo⁷⁰(D, 2013).

Ibijyanye n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari kuri paruwasi ya
Muhororo bigaragara mu buhamya bwatanzwe na
Basabose Télésphore ukomoka muri segiteri ya Tobwe,
Komini Kibilira. Basabose afungiyeye muri gereza ya Butare
kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.
Kuri ubu afungiyeye muri gereza ya Kimironko. Nk'uko
avugaga mu buhamya yatanze mu nyandiko ngufi⁷¹, ibitero
by'interahamwe byaje kwica Abatutsi kuri paruwasi ya
Muhororo byaje mu modoka nyinshi, biyobowe n'uwitwa
Kabayiza Alphonse wari uzi neza imiterere y'icyo paruwasi.

⁶⁹ Tabaruka alias Libenge : yari brigadier wa komini, yarapfuye.

⁷⁰ Amadirishya ya chappelle : amadirishya ya chappelle yari yubatswe ku buryo ari maremare
nk'imiryango kandi yari akozwe n'ibirahure kugera hasi hayo.

⁷¹ Basabose yanditse inyandiko ngufi ivugaga ku mateka ya Jenocide muri Komini Kibilira.
Yayanditse muri Kamena 2011 ubwo yari afungiyeye muri gereza ya Butare.

Mu bishwe na Kabayiza Alphonse harimo Kabandana Jean n'umuryango we, yabateye gerenade mu nzu barimo ya ADEK (Association des Parents pour Education de Kibilira).

Nk'uko Basabose akomeza avuga, Padiri Mukuru witwa Rwigenza François yarashwe n'uwitwa Tabaruka Pascal wari burigadiye wa Komini Kibilira. Uyu burigadiye ni nawe wishe Musenyeri Gasore Louis, Padiri Ferdinand n'abandi batutsi benshi bari kumwe na bo. Akomeza avuga ko abicanyi bagiye no mu kibikira batsemba Ababikira bari bahari n'Abatutsi bari barahahungiyeye (Basabose, 2011).

Imbonerahamwe y'abihaye Imana n'abapadiri baguye kuri paruwasi ya Muhororo

Amazina	Umurimo	Aho Bi-ciwe /Paruwasi
Rwigenza Francois	Padiri mukuru	Muhororo
Mgr Gasore Louis	Musenyeri (Vicaire général)	Muhororo
Sr. Francois-Xavier Mukamurigo Verdiane	Umwenebikira	Muhororo

Sr. Alphonse Nziza Lidia	Umwenebikira	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Gerarda Maria Mukamurihira Margarita Maria	Umwenebikira	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Regis Gakwanzi Emerita	Umwenebikira	Muhoro- ro
Cyulinyana Solange	Aspiranti	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Dativa	Umuhire wa nyina wa Jambo	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Thérésie	Umuhire wa nyina wa Jambo	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Marie Jeanne	Umuhire wa nyina wa Jambo	Muhoro- ro
Sr. Spéciose	Umuhire wa nyina wa Jambo	Muhoro- ro

Rwigenza François yiciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo ahari harahungiyeye Abatutsi. Ubu ni ho hubatse urwibutso rwa Kibilira. Musenyeri Gasore Louis yiciwe mu kigo cy'ababikira bitwa Abenebikira, ari naho hiciwe ababikira bane bo muri uwo muryango. Uwitwa Cyulinyana Solange witeguraga kuba umubikira bamwiciye ku isoko rya Rusumo, hafi y'amaduka muri serire ya Rusumo, segiteri Karehe, Komini Kibilira. Ubu ni mu kagari ka

Rusumo, segiteri Gatumba, Akarere ka Ngororero. Abatutsi biciwe kuri paruwasi ya Muhororo bari baturutse muri Komini Kibilira, Ramba, hari n'abari baraturutse muri Komini Kivumu yo muri Perefegitura ya Kibuye. Ku munsu ukurikiyeho (14 Mata 1994), interahamwe zajugunye abari bamaze kwicwa mu cyobo cyari cyaracukuwe hafi aho, bakoresheje umuganda w'abaturage, abandi bajya kubajugunya ahitwa mu Gahama mu byobo by'ibirombe bya Gasegereti ho muri segiteri Karehe, bakoresheje imodoka z'abacuruzi. Ubu ni mu kagali ka Kamasiza, umurenge wa Gatumba, Akarere ka Ngororero. Kugeza ubu, Abatutsi biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo n'abandi bavanywe mu nkengero za ho, bashyiguye mu rwibutso rwa Kibilira ruri mu murenge wa Gatumba. Babarurirwa mu bihumbi makumyabiri na bine (24.000).

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwa Kibilira



Aho byavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

Usibye urwibutso rw'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwubatse kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo, hari urundi rw'abajugunywe muri Nyabarongo ruherereye mu kagali ka Cyome, Umurenge wa Gatumba, Akarere ka Ngororero. Ni urukuta rwanditseho amazina y'abajugunywe muri Nyabarongo bagera kuri magana ane (400).

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rw'abajugunywe muri Nyabarongo (Cyome)



Aho byavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

7.3. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide muri Komini Satinsyi

Uhereye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 hashyizwe bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye. Indege ya Perezida Habyarimana yarashwe n'ubundi hari Abatutsi bo muri Komini Satinsyi bari barahungiyeye ku ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) kuva mu 1990. Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 bwakeye barangije kuhagota. Muri iyi Komini, hishwe Abatutsi benshi ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994. Kuri iyi tariki haje ibitero byinshi by'interahamwe ziturutse mu makomini atandukanye. Igitero cyaturutse Kabaya cyari kigizwe n'abasirikare n'interahamwe ziturutse muri Komini Karago, Giciye na Gaseke. Ibyo bitero byifataniye n'interahamwe zo muri Komini Satinsyi zari ziyobowe n'uwitwa Kabarira Télésphore⁷², ubu arafunzwe. Batera ku ngoro ya Muvoma hari ku cyumweru tariki ya 10 Mata 1994 nyuma ya misa ya kabiri. Babanje kurashisha imbunda, hakurikiraho gutera za gerenade mu ngoro ya Muvoma, nyuma batwika iyi ngoro bakoresheje lisansi n'amashara, inzu irashya n'abari bahungiyemo (H, 2013).

Umutangabuhamyari wari warahungiyeye ku ngoro ya Muvoma wabashije kurokoka asobanura uko byagenze:

Ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, Superefe wa Ngororero

⁷²Kabarira Télésphore wari ukuriye interahamwe muri Satinsyi, yakatiwe igihano cyo gufungwa burundu, ubu afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiriba iherereye mu karere ka Rubavu.

witwa Bazimaziki Bernardin yari yabwiye Abatutsi bahungiye ku ngoro ko uwo muni bari bufate imfashanyo, hari ku cyumweru. Bigeze saa sita zirenga gato, haje ibitero bigizwe n'abasirikare n'interahamwe ziturutse Kabaya, Giciye na Karago. Uwitwa Ntawuruhunga Hassan, uzwi ku izina rya Haji⁷³ wari umucuruzi ukomeye ku Kabaya yazanye nabo. Interahamwe zaje mu mamodoka ya Minibusi na *Daihatsu*, zifite intwaro gako, imbunda nageranaga. Izo modoka zazanye ibyombi bitere zabururukije hafi y'ingoro bahita bayigota. Bamwe bashinze imbunda mu miryango y'ingoro batangira kurasa kuva saa sita kugeza saa cyenda z'amanya. Kuri icyo gicamunsi, nibwo uwitwa Kabarira Télésphore, n'abacuruzi babiri Gabriel Ndengeyingoma⁷⁴ na Munyarukato Ladislav⁷⁵ bo kuri centre ya Ngororero bazanye amajerikani abiri ya litiro 20 n'akandi gato ka litiro eshanu ya lisansi, interahamwe zimwe nazo zizana amashara, bamenagura ibirahuri by'amadirishya by'iyi nzu, bashyiramo amashara basukamo esenshi baratwika. Abatutsi bagera ku bihumbi cumi na bine na magana atanu (14.500) ni bo bahiriyemo (N, 2013).

⁷³ Ntawuruhunga Hassan uzwi ku izina rya Haji, abaturage bavuye ku bamubonye muri icyo gitero, ariko ubu yagizwe umwera.

⁷⁴ Uyu Ndengeyingoma Gabriel, afungiyemo muri gereza ya Kimironko iri muri Gasabo, yakatiye igifungo cya burundu kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenoside

⁷⁵ Uyu Munyarukato Ladislav yahungiyemo mu Bufaransa, hashize imyaka ibiri afuye. Yari yarakatiye n'urukiko Gacaca igihano cyo gufungwa burundu.

Nimugoroba umuriro umaze kugabanuka, interahamwe zinjyemo zishakisha abataravamo umwuka, zikababeshya ngo nibasohoke bajye kubavurira kuri Superefegitura. Abasohotse bahise bicwa (N, 2013).

Usibye iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku ngoro ya Muvoma, hishwe n'abandi Batutsi bari mu ma segiteri atandukanye yo muri Komini Satinsyi. Padiri Nkezabera Augustin n'uwitwa Liberata wari umu Asipiranti wo mu muryango w'Abenebikira biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Muramba ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'igitero cyari giturutse Kabaya. Bashyinguye mu gikari cya Paruwasi ya Muramba.

Mu matariki yakurikiyeho, abakonseye bagendaga bavuzabwira ibyirimo bavugaga ngo ihumire ryabonetse, babwira Abatutsi bihishye kuva mu bihuru, bagasubira mu ngo zabo. Uwasohokaga mu gihuru aho yari yihishye bamujyanaga kuri Superefegitura ya Ngororero, ari naho babiciye.

Abatangabuhamyaga batandukanye bavugaga ko abategetsi bo muri iyi Komini bagiye Kabgayi muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama kuzana Abatutsi bavuka Ngororero bari barahunze. Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye i Kabgayi muri Gitarama bagiye kubagarura bababeshya ngo iwabo ni amahoro. Abategetsi barimo superefe wa Ngororero na

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Satinsyi bohereje i Kabgayi bamwe mu bakonseye n'interahamwe, babaha n' imodoka zo kuzanamo Abatutsi bahahungiyeye. Bagezeyo, bakoranye n'interahamwe z'i Kabgayi babafasha kubabona.

Ku itariki 29 Gicurasi 1994, Abatutsi bagera ku 186 burijwe imodoka ebyiri nini harimo bisi na minibisi imwe hajyamo n'abakomoka ahandi bari barahungiyeye aho Kabgayi (abari muri CND⁷⁶ na Paruwasi) bagirango bazabaho. Imodoka zarahagurutse zigeze ahitwa Meru (Centre iri ku muhanda ugana Kibuye n'ugana Ngororero) basanga hari interahamwe za Ngororero zibategereje. Interahamwe zahagaritse imodoka babambika ubusa ku buryo bageze kuri Superefegitura ya Ngororero batambaye.

Bageze Ngororero, bahasanze izindi nterahamwe zibategereje, bahasanga n'abandi Batutsi bari bavanywe mu bihuru hirya no hino muri Komini Satinsyi. Abo bose biciwe mu gashyamba kabaga muni ya Superefegitura. Uwavaga muri « *bus* » interahamwe zahitaga zimutemagura, ugerageje kwiruka, bakamurasa. Bamaze kubica, umuyobozi wa MINITRAP witwa Afurika Alexis yabwiye umushoferi we witwa Benoît kuzana imashini ya *Caterpillar*, bacukura icyobo kinini muni ya Superefegitura barangije babajugunyamo, ya

⁷⁶CND I kabgayi , ni mu ishuri rya St Joseph, ahari harahungiyeye Abatutsi mu gihe cya Jenocide.

mashini iragaruka ibarenzaho itaka (N, 2013).

Ahari ku ngoro ya muvoma (MRND) ubu niho hubatse urwibutso rwa Ngororero, hashyinguwe imibiri y'Abatutsi bazize Jenoside bagera ku bihumbi umunani magana ane na makumyabiri na barindwi (8427). Hashyinguye abishwe hagati ya 1990 na 1994.

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwa Ngororero



Aho byavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

7.4. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Gaseke na Giciye

Kimwe nko mu zindi Komini zari zigize icyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, muri Komini Giciye Abatutsi bishwe uhereye mu 1991. Kubera ubwo bwicanyi, Abatutsi bamwe bari batuye muri Komini Gaseke na Giciye bahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho ho muri Komini Gaseke, abandi bahungira kuri Diyoseze ya Shyira. Mu 1994, Abatutsi bake niba bari barasubiye mu matongo yabo.

7.4.1. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho

Agasozi ka Kesho kari muri segiteri ya Muhanda, Komini Gaseke. Ubu gaherereye mu murenge wa Muhanda, Akarere ka Ngororero. Hari Abatutsi bo muri Komini Gaseke na Giciye bari barahungiyeye kuri ako gasozi guhera mu kwezi kwa Gashyantare 1991, hiyongeraho n'abandi bahageze mu 1994 baturutse hafi yaho. Kubera kuhamara igihe, abahungiyeye bari bariyubakiye urusengero, akaba ari ho basengera, kubera ko iyo bajyaga ahandi byababereye ibibazo. Kuva Abatutsi bahungira kuri ako gasozi mu 1991 kugeza 1994 bahoraga bahanganye n'ibitero by'interahamwe bituruka mu nkengero zaho.

Mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, interahamwe zarabateye, barazirwanya, igitero gisubirayo. Mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994, igitero kigizwe n'interahamwe, abapolisi ba Komini n'abasirikari b'aba GP⁷⁷, bagose agasozi ka Kesho batangira kurasa no kwica Abatutsi bari barahahungiyeye. Mu basirikare bakuru bahaje, harimo *Colonel* Serubuga, *Colonel* Rusatira, *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa na Protais Zigiranyirazo.

Nk'uko abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga, aba basirikare ngo baba bari baje gutegura aho umurambo wa Perezida Habyarimana wagombaga gucumbikirwa ku ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya. Abatangabuhamya basobanura uko byagenze:

Bigeze saa ine z'igitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 ibintu byabaye bibi cyane. Igitero kiyobowe n'abasirikare bakuru cyagose agasozi kose, harimo abasirikare benshi bafite n'imbunda nini zitandukanye. *Colonel* Serubuga yatangije ibikorwa by'icyo gitero arasa na masotera ye, ayerekeza ahari impunzi z'Abatutsi, abandi bafite imbunda bakomerezaho. Bashinze imbunda nini mu mpande enye, barasa mu mpande zose. Abatutsi bakwiye imishwari, birukira muri rwa rusengeru. Nyuma yo kurasa, begereye urusengeru bateramo za gerenade, nyuma binjiramo, bakagenda bacoca abatarashiramo

⁷⁷ GP : Garde Présidentielle

umwuka. Uwageragezaga guhunga yasangaga bagose ahantu hose, bakamuroha mu mugezi uri muni y'urusengero. Hishwe Abatutsi bagera ku gihumbi kimwe magana arindwi na barindwi (1707). Bake muri bo nibo babashije guhungira mu ishyamba rya Gishwati (E& Z & L, 2013).

Nyumayo kwica Abatutsi ba Kesho, hari abatangabuhama bavuga ko umurambo wa Perezida Habyarimana waba waracumbikiwe mu ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya ahagana mu matariki ya 12 Mata 1994. Muri iki gihe, uruganda rwayoborwaga na Jaribu Anastase⁷⁸. Umurambo wa Habyarimana bawunyujije aho, ntabwo bawuhashyinye (E&O, 2013).

Umutangabuhama warokotse icyo gihe agahungira mu ishyamba rya Gishwati waribayemo kugeza ku ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, avuga ko batungwaga n'ibirayi bajyaga gucukura nijoro, bakabirya ari bibisi. Ku manywa bihishaga mu buvumo buri muri iryo shyamba, nijoro akaba aribwo bajya gushaka ibirayi byo kurya. Nyuma yaje kubona Umuhutu w'umugiraneza wajyaga amuzanira ibiryo akabimushyirira mu ishyamba aho bari baravuganye, bwakwira akajya kubireba akabirya.

⁷⁸ Jaribu Anastase, bavuga ko yari inshuti y'umuryango wa Habyarimana, bakanavugaga ko Habyarimana yari yaramubyaye muri batisimu muri kiriziya gatorika.

Muri iryo shyamba interahamwe zanyuzagamo zikoherezamo imbwa zo kubahiga, rimwe na rimwe hazagamo n'Abatwa baje guhiga Abatutsi ngo babice, kuko bari barabemereye ibihembo mu gihe hari abo bishe. Uyu mutangabuhamya avuye mu ishyamba, yagiye ku Kabaya aho yakiriwe n'abasirikare b'Inkotanyi barimo umusirikare witwaga *Major* Ruzibiza, baramwondora, abana nabo kugeza umutekano ugarutse asubira iwabo gutura ku mudugudu (S, 2013).

Usibye Abatutsi biciweku gasozika Kesho, mutundi ducetwa Komini Giciye na ho Abatutsi barishwe, cyane cyane muri *centre* ya Gakamba yo muri segiteri ya Gihira na Rubare. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko guhera mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 batangiye kugabwaho ibitero, birimo abasivile, interahamwe n'abasirikare. Abasivile bari bitwaje intwara za gakondo (amacumu, imipanga, inkota, ibisuti n'ubuhiri), naho interahamwe zifite imbunda na gerenade

Bamaze kwica aho kuri *centre* ya Gakamba, ahagana saa munani z'amanywa ibyo bitero byarakomeje bijya kwica mu zindi ngo z'Abatutsi. Abatutsi bagerageje kwiruka bajya kwihisha mu bihuru. Baje kubivamo bwije ahagana saa mbiri z'ijoro berekeza Rubaya, basanga abandi bari barahungiyeye Kesho, kubwo amahirwe make naho bahatera

ku munsu ukurikiyeho ku ya 8 Mata 1994 (Z, 2013).

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho, harimo Protais Zigiranyirazo bakundaga kwita « Z » akaba musaza wa Agata Habyarimana ; *Colonel* Laurent Serubuga⁷⁹, *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa⁸⁰, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gaseke Bazubahande Ignace, Jaribu Anastase wari umuyobozi mukuru w'uruganda rw'icyayi cya Rubaya, Bagaragaza Michel, Kuradusenge Thomas n'abandi.

Bagaragaza Michel wahoze ari umuyobozi Mukuru wa OCIR-Thé yemeye ibyaha yaregwaga mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ko yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari ku gasozi ka Kesho n'ahandi. Yavuze ko ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 yagiranye inama na burugumesitiri wa Komini Giciye, Gahinjori, na asisita burugumesitiri, Kuradusenge Thomas, hagamijwe kureba uko hicwa Abatutsi bari hirya no hino, harimo n'abari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho. Muri icyo nama bemeraniye ko Kuradusenge Thomas ari we uzayobora igitero cy'interahamwe, naho Bagaragaza agatanga imodoka na lisansi kugira ngo interahamwe

⁷⁹ Colonel Serubuga yabaye Umuyobozi Mukuru wungirije w'ingabo z'u Rwanda (Armée Rwandaise) hagati ya 1972 kugeza mu 1992. Muri uyu mwaka yagiye mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru. Ubwo Jenocide yatangiraga gushyirwa mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994 yarahamagajwe asubira mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Ubu akurikiranywe n'ubutabera bw'Ubufaransa kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenocide

⁸⁰ Capitaine Pascal Simbikangwa wakoraga mu rwego rw'iperereza mu ingabo z'igihugu cy'u Rwanda, yaburanyishijwe n'urukiko rw'Ubufaransa ku byaha bya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, akatirwa igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri n'itanu.

zigere aho zigomba kujya kwica Abatutsi (Affaire n ° ICTR-2005-86-S, par.24).

Bagaragaza Michel yemeye uruhare yagize mu gushyigikira interahamwe aziha imodoka na lisansi ndetse no kuzigurira inzoga mu rwego rwo kuzishimira akazi zakoze (Affaire n ° ICTR-2005-86-S, par.25).

Uruhare rwa Protais Zigiranyirazo ruvugwa n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), mu rubanza yaregwagamo n'uru rukiko ko yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho, bishwe ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko y'uru rubanza, urugereko rwa mbere rwasanze Zigiranyirazo yari kumwe n'umurongo w'imodoka zazanye interahamwe, abasirikare basanzwe n'abasirikare barinda umukuru w'igihugu (GP) bishe Abatutsi bari hagati ya magana inani ni igihumbi magana atanu (800-1500) bari barahungiyeye kuri ako gasozi.

Urukiko rwanzuye ruvuga ko Protais Zigiranyirazo yafatanije n'abantu batandukanye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye ku gasozi ka Kesho, bituma ahanishwa igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri (The Prosecutor v. Protais Zigiranyirazo, 2008, par. 427). Zigiranyirazo yaje kugirwa umwere n'urukiko rw'ubujurire. Ushingiye ku

buhamya bw'abantu batandukanye ndetse n'ibyanzuwe n'urukiko rwa mbere rwa ICTR, uruhare rwa Zigiranyirazo mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ba Kesho rwarirengagijwe ariko ntabwo bihindura amateka n'ukuri kw'ibyabaye.

Imibiri 1707 y'Abatutsi bishwe bo muri Komini Gaseke ishyinguye mu rwibutso rwa Kesho, indi 191 ishyinguye mu rwibutso rwa Kabaya. Iyi foto ikurikira ni iy'urwibutso rwa Kabaya.

Urwibutso rwa Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi rwa Kabaya



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

7.4.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye kuri Diyoseze ya Shyira

Diyoseze y'abaporoso ya Shyira yari iherereye muri segiteri ya Shyira, Komini Giciye. Ubu ni mu murenge wa Shyira, Akarere ka Nyabihu. Kuva muri Mutarama 1993, bamwe mu Batutsi bo muri iyi Komini bari barahungiyeye kuri iyo diyoseze. Abandi bake bari barahungiyeye ku bitaro by'aho Shyira.

Umwe mu batangabuhamywa warokotse Jenoside wari warahungiyeye kuri Diyoseze ya Shyira avuga ko mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 haje umugore w'Umuhutukazi w'inshuti yabo ababwira ko nibadahunga bagiye kwicwa bose nti hagire n'umwe uroko. Hari abagerageje guhunga, ariko biba iby'ubusa bicirwa mu nkengero za Shyira. Uwafatwaga, yajyanwaga kwicirwa ahitwa Bihembe muri serire ya Cyimanzovu, abandi bakajya kubicira ahitwa Arusha muri serire Mugwato, segiteri ya Shyira. Abatutsi bafatirwaga ahitwa Vunga bajyanwaga kwicirwa ku mugezi wa Mukungwa bakabajugunyamo, amazi akabatwara.

Muri ako gace, Abatutsi bishwe muri 1994 bagera kuri magana abiri na mirongo itanu na batatu (253). Abamaze gushyingurwa kugeza ubu ni mirongo itanu n'umwe (51), bashyinguwe mu rwibuso rwa Mukamira, abandi

ntibaraboneka (ZA, 2013).

Ku bitaro bya Shyira, naho hiciwemo Abatutsi ndetse n'abandi baburirwa irengero. Mukashefu Alivera wari urwariye mu bitaro yishwe bamaze kumuvanamo umwana. Uwitwa Alfred wari umuganga muri ibi bitaro wakomokaga ku Kibuye, yajyanywe n'imodoka ya Burugumesitiri wa Ndusu, Bigilimana Jean Sauveur, ntabwo yigeze aboneka.

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Shyira ni aba bakurikira:

- Niyonshuti Pascal wo muri serire Cyimanzovu yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'ibiri n'igice, yakoze TIG⁸¹ ayirangije arataha.
- Nkinamubanzi Célestin wo muri serire ya Kana, yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'ibiri, yarangije igihano, yerekanye aho bashyize imibiri y'abishwe bo muri serire ya Kana. Mu bo yerekanye harimo umubiri wa Valentine Umumararungu n'umwana we, Ndanyuzwe Gerard na Nyirakiboko n'undi mukuru we bitaga Night.
- Nkuranga Daniel uzwi ku izina rya Libera.

⁸¹ TIG : Travaux d'intérêt Général, bisobanuye imirimo nsimbura gifungo ifitiye igihugu akamaro rusange

Yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu. Yari interahamwe, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiriba.

- Munyagisenyi Célestin wo muri serire ya Mpinga, yakatiwe igifungo cya burundu y'umwihariko kubera icyaha cyo gufata ku ngufu, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.
- Murenzi Jean Marie wo muri serire Cyimanzovu, yakatiwe igifungo cya burundu, ashijwa icyaha cyo gufata ku ngufu afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.
- Ruhanamirindi Chrysostome wo muri serire ya Kana, yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'icyenda. Ashinjwa urupfu rw'umunyeshuri w'Umututsi witwa Itangishaka Desiré, wiciye ku mugezi wa Giciye ku rugabano rwa Shyira na Rugera. Afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.
- Sebutozi wo muri serire Mukaka, yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri n'itanu, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.
- Nkusi Denis wo muri serire Mukaka, yakatiwe igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.

7.5. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide muri Komini Karago

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wo muri segiteri ya Rambura, mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 butaracya, interahamwe zaraye zica Abatutsi, zitwika n'amazu yabo. Abatarapfuye muri iryo joro, bagerageje guhungira mu ishyamba rya Gishwati bamaramo nk'icyumweru, nyuma baza guhungira muri Zayire. Abatutsi bo muri iyi komini bari bazi ko interahamwe zahawe imbunda, gusa bari barabuze uko bahunga kubera ko bitari byemewe kuva muri Komini udafite uruhushya rwa Konseye cyangwa urwa Burugumesitiri (ZQ, 2013).

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri segiteri ya Nanga avuga ko mu gitondo cya kare cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, abaserire babyutse batanga amatangazo ko nta muntu wemerewe kuva iwe, ko abantu bose bagomba kuguma mu ngo zabo. Uko amasaha yarushagaho kwigira imbere niko interahamwe zakwiraga ahantu hose hatuye Abatutsi. Bigeze ku gicamunsi, interahamwe zifataniye n'abaturage zatangiye kwica Abatutsi. Muri iyi segiteri kwica byatangiriye ahitwa ku Karambi, ari naho hari hatuye Abatutsi benshi. Bagerageje kurwana n'ibitero, babisubizayo ubugira kabiri. Nyuma haza abasirikare, babwira Abatutsi ko baje kubarinda, babasaba gusubira

mu ngo zabo. Abatutsi bamaze gusubira mu ngo zabo, ba basirikare barazigose, batangira guteramo gerenade.

Abarokotse icyo gihe bahungiyeye mu ishyamba rya Gishwati. Muri iryo shyamba, interahamwe zahoraga zirijagajaga zifashisha imbwa n'Abatwa mu gushakisha aho Abatutsi baba bihishye. Abatwa bababwiraga ko bazabaha imirima y'Abatutsi nibamara kubica. Hari Abatutsi babashije kwihisha muri iryo shyamba kugera mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gatandatu 1994, nyuma baza guhungira, muri *Régie na Peyizana* byo mu kibaya gihuza u Rwanda na Zaire, barokokerayo (U, 2013).

Mu yandi ma segiteri ya Komini Karago naho batangiyeye kwica Abatutsi mu gitondo cyo ku itariki 7 Mata 1994 (ZX, 2013). Abakonseye nibo babaga bashoreye ibitero by'interahamwe. Nka konseye wa segiteri Rambura witwa Kamari yayoboye ibitero byishe Abatutsi bo mu muri iyi segiteri.

Muri Paruwasi ya Rambura, hishwe umufaratiri witwa Callixte Ndutiye. Hishwe na none abapadiri batatu, aribo Kageyo Spridion, Habiyambere Antoine na Niyitegeka Antoine. Aba bapadiri biciwe muri *chappelle* iri i Rambura ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, nyuma y'amasengesho ya mu gitondo. Ubu bashyinguye muri *presbytère* ya Rambura. Mu gihe cyo kwibuka, imiryango yabo n'abakirisitu ba Paruwasi niho baza kwibukira.

Muri rusange, muri Komini ya Karago, kwica Abatutsi byakozwe mu gihe gito, biciwe cyane cyane muri segiteri ya Mulinga ahegereye ishyamba rya Gishwati hafi ya Rubaya; muri segiteri ya Nanga cyane ahitwa ku Ruhigi, Cyamabuye, Kagohe na Karambi. Ugereranije hishwe Abatutsi barenga igihumbi magana abiri (1200) . Abarakotse ni ababashije guhungira muri Zayire (TI, 2013).

Muri iyi komini hari bariyeri ebyiri zikomeye zifashishwe uhereye mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994. Hari bariyeri yari iri ahitwa Nyabirezi ku muhanda uva mu i Jenda ugana Cyamabuye yari ikuriwe n'umugore witwa Nyirakamanzi wari uzwi ku izina rya «Nyirakamodoka». Indi bariyeri ikomeye yari ku Cyamabuye muri segiteri ya Nanga iri ku irembo ry'urugo rwa Nyagasaza Mathias wari umwe mu bayobozi bakuru ba MRND muri Gisenyi.

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Karago ni:

1. Nyagasaza Mathias yakatiwe n'urukiko Gacaca igifungo cya burundu, ariko ubu yarapfuye, yaguye muri gereza ya Gisenyi.
2. Mbarushimana Edouard wo muri serire Kagohe,

wakatiwe n'urukiko Gacaca rwa Nanga, igihano cy'igifungo kingana n'imyaka mirongo itatu(30). Ubu afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiliba.

3. Demokarasi Mathias wireze ibyaha akagabanirizwa ibihano, wari utuye muri segiteri ya nanga, serire Gasasa, ubu yarafunguwe, atuye mu mugudugu wa Gasasa, imbere y'ibiro by'akagari ka Busoro.

Muri komini Karago, hari Abahutu bagize neza bahisha Abatutsi cyangwa babafasha guhunga. Bamwe muri bo ni aba bakurikira:

1. Sebirare Daniel bitaga Cyengera yagemuriye ibyo kurya Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye mu ishyamba rya Gishwati. Yabahaga amakuru ajyanye n'uko ubwicanyi buhagaze, akababurira kugirango bihishe neza, akabashyira umuriro kugirango babashe kotsa cyangwa guteka ibirayi yabashyiriye mu ishyamba. Iyo yabaga atari bushobore kubashyira ibyo kurya yabarangiraga aho babyikurira hafi y'ubwihisho babaga barimo. Uyu mugabo, ubu atuye mu mudugudu wa Gatagara, akagari ka Busoro, mu murenge wa Karago. Ni muri serire ya Kagohe ya kera, segiteri ya Nanga muri komini Karago.

2. Umusaza witwa Rwabahizi Siméon n'umugore we Nyirasinamenye afatanije n'umuhungu wabo Mutabazi bari batuye muri Segiteri ya Nanga, serire Gasasa. Bahishe

Umututsikazi witwa Nyirakaragire kugeza Jenoside irangiye. Ubu atuye Gisenyi.

3. Ntagungira n’umugore we Mukarubega Martha bafatanije n’abahungu babo Hakizimana na Hategekimana bahishe umututsikazi witwa Mukategeri Eleda. Yararokotse ubu utuye Musanze

3. Bazirasa wari utuye muri serire Rebero, segiteri ya Nanga, ubu ni mu kagari ka Busoro, umurenge wa Karago, yahishe Umututsi witwa Musuhuke Sarathiel aza no kumuhungishiriza muri Zayire hagati mu kwezi kwa Mata 1994. Uyu Musuhuke, ubu yarahungutse, atuye hafi n’umugezi wa Nyamukongoro mu kagari ka Cyamabuye, hafi n’ikigo cya gisirikari cya Mukamira mu murenge wa Karago.

Muri iyi Komini, imibiri y’abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ishyinguwe mu rwibutso rwa Mukamira. Muri uru rwibutso, hashyunguye imibiri y’Abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bagera ku bihumbi bibiri na mirongo itanu na batanu (2055). Imibiri ishyinguwe muri uru rwibutso ni iyo bavanye hirya no hino muri Komini ya Karago, Giciye na Nkuli yo mu cyahoze ari perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

7.6. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Mutura na Rwerere

Muri Komini Mutura na Rwerere, Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Mu gitondo cya kare cyo kuri iyi tariki, batanze amatangazo ko nta muntu wemerewe kuva iwe, ko badashaka abantu bahagarara ari babiri cyangwa batatu. Muri izi Komini, aho biciye Abatutsi benshi icyarimwe ni ku rusengeru rwa Cyambara muri segiteri ya Cyambara, kuri paruwasi ya Busasamana no kuri Kaminuza ya Mudende.

Muri Komini Mutura, abakonseye babifashijwemo n'aba nyumbakumi n'abaserire bategetse Abatutsi kutava mu ngo zabo. Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Cyambara no mu nkengeru zaho, bahungiyeye mu rusengeru rw'aho rw'abadivantisiti. Ku mugoroba wo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, igitero kigizwe n'interahamwe cyaturutse hafi y'ahubatse umurenge wa Bigogwe kiyobowe n'uwitwa Ndatimana bahimbaga Mumbende⁸² wo muri segiteri ya Cyambara, ikindi gitero gituruka mu rusisiro rwa Cyambara kirimo uwitwa Bihira⁸³ na Habiyambere Claude⁸⁴.

Igitero cya gatatu kiyobowe na Bazimaza Yuda cyaturutse

⁸² Ndatimana Mumbende yarahunze, ntiyigeze aba Cyambara

⁸³ Bihira, yakatiwe na Gacaca, ahanishwa igifungo cya burundu, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyakiriba

⁸⁴ Habiyambere Claude: avuka muri Komini Kayove, yakatiwe burundu mu rukiko Gacaca, afungiyeye Nyakiriba..

mu Gihonga ho muri serire Ngangare, ubu ni mu mudugudu wa Kariyeri, akagari ka Rega, Umurenge wa Bigogwe. Abasirikare bahavuka barimo Gasore n'uwitwa Nkundimana babaga mu kigo cya Bigogwe nabo bageze aho Abatutsi bari bahungiyeye (ku rusengero rwa Cyambara), barongera barigendera. Kuri iyi tariki Abatutsi bagerageje kurwana n'izo nterahamwe babasubiza inyuma.

Ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 mu ma saa kumi n'imwe z'umugoroba, haje ibitero by'interahamwe mu modoka ebyiri ziturutse muri Komini Karago, Gaseke na Giciye. Ikamyo imwe yururukije interahamwe ahitwaga Cyambara, ubu ni mu mudugudu wa Kinamba, indi ibasiga mu mudugudu wa Gaturo hose ni mu kagari ka Rega, Umurenge wa Bigogwe. Bari bafite intwara nyinshi zirimo imbunda n'intwara gakondo ziganjemo amacumu, inkota, imipanga, ntampongano, ibisuti n'ubuhiri. Kuri iyi tariki haje n'abasirikare baturutse mu kigo cya Bigogwe bafatanyaga n'interahamwe kwica Abatutsi. Babishe bakoresheje imbunda na za gerenade bateye mu rusengero. Abari batarapfa, bicishijwe intwara gakondo. Muri urwo rusengero hiciwemo Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitatu (3000). Hari n'abandi Abatutsi bahiciwe bari bahahungiyeye baturutse ahantu hatandukanye.

Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, abakirisitu b'itorero rya

Cyambara batahigwaga ntibahasengeye, bagiye guteranira Mukamira, kuko muri urwo rusengero hari hacuzuye imirambo. Kuri iyo tariki hakoze umuganda wo kuvanamo imirambo, bayikururira mu mirima iri muni y'urusengero, bayishyira hagati y'imitabo barenzaho itaka. Hari n'abajugunywe mu buvumo. Nyuma yo kuvana imirambo mu rusengero, bamwe mu bishe benshi bagiye bagororerwa, babaha inka cyangwa imirima yari iy'Abatutsi. Urugero nk'uwitwa Mataritari wo muri segiteri ya Cyambara, bamuhembye inzu ya Ruzibukira Kalisa w'Umututsi wiciwe mu rusengero rwa Cyambara. Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ba Cyambara, harimo Ndarifite Dasani⁸⁵ mwene Nyiramugwera na Gihamage wo muri iyo segiteri. Hari abakatiwe n'inkiko gacaca ariko bahunze. Abo ni nka Nkunzingoma Jean Damascene, Kwitonda Magigiri na Rucekeri wamenyekanye kubera kwica impinja. Abandi bagize uruhare, ni itsinda ry'abasirikare bakomokaga muri Mutura, aribo: Serugendo, Sebyondo, Busharire na Ntereye. Bose baburanishijwe n'inkiko Gacaca badahari bahabwa igihano cya burundu. Abatangabuhamyabavuga ko bahunze ntibagaruke.

Abafunze kugeza ubu, harimo Gasana Pontien⁸⁶ wari

85 Ndarifite Dasani, yakatiwe n'inkiko Gacaca ahabwa igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri n'itanu.

86 Gasana Pontien akomoka mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Byumba. Ibyaha bya Jenocide

umusirikare, yakatiwe burundu, akaba afungiyeye muri gereza ya Kimironko. Habiyambere Claude yakatiwe burundu, afungiyeye muri gereza ya Nyarugenge izwi ku izina rya 1930.

Hari ahandi hantu haguye Abatutsi benshi, twavugaga nk'ahahoze ari kaminuza y'abadivantisiti ya Mudende, mu rusengeru rw'abadivantisiti rwa Bweramana muri segiteri ya Mudende, Komini Mutura, no muri Paruwasi gatulika ya Busasamana, yo muri Komini Rwerere. Bishwe ku itariki ya 8-9 Mata 1994, bicwa n'interahamwe zifatanyije n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe. Muri Paruwasi ya Busasamana haguye Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitatu magana inani (3800). I Bweramana hiciwe Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitatu. Abenshi bajugunywe mu misarani. Mu Batutsi biciwe i Bweramana abenshi bakomokaga muri serire ya Gitega na Gaharawe zo muri segiteri Mudende. Aba bose bashyinguye ku rwibutso rwa Kanzenze ruri mu murenge wa Kanzenze, Akarere ka Rubavu (V, 2013).

Mu rwego rwo kwegeranya Abatutsi ngo babone uko babicira hamwe, abakonseye bafatanije n'abari bakuriye interahamwe na CDR bagendaga bahamagaza Abatutsi aho bihisha kuva mu bihuru bababwira ngo barashaka

yabikoreye muri segiteri Cyambara, akaba yarabaga mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe muri Mata 1994

kubarindira umutekano. Ba Konseye bakoreshaga indangururamajwi (Megaphone), bituma Abatutsi bava aho bari bihishye mu bihuru baja mu nsengeru na Paruwasi gatolika ya Busasamana. Urugero nk'uwitwa Simon⁸⁷ wo muri segiteri ya Kanzenze wari ukuriye CDR yahamagaje Abatutsi abashuka ababwira ko bahungira mu rusengeru rwa ADPR rwari ruherereye muri segiteri ya Busasamana kugira ngo babarindire umutekano. Abatutsi bamaze kuhagera, interahamwe zarahagose zirabica.

Mu bijyanye n'ubumenyi kuri Jenocide, kwegeranya hamwe abagomba kwicwa bifasha abicanyi mu mugambi wabo wo kumaraho burundu abagize itsinda rigomba gutsembwa. Ibi byanakozwe mu gihe cya Jenocide yakorewe Abayahudi, bakusanyirizwaga mu byo bitaga «ghetto».

Usibye Abatutsi biciwe hamwe, abandi Batutsi bagiye bicwa umugenda. Bamwe biciwe mu kibaya kigabanya u Rwanda na Kongo, bagerageza guhunga (ZY, 2013). Muri Komini Mutura, Ndabarinze Faustin wabaye burugumesitiri w'iyi Komini kugeza muri Gicurasi 1991, wagerageje kurengera Abatutsi no kurwanya umugambi wo kubarimbura, yishwe nawe mu gihe cya Jenocide muri Mata 1994.

⁸⁷ Simon, : yari umwarimu ku kigo cy'ishuri ryisumbuye cya Kanzenze, ni uwo mu muryango wa ya Barayagwiza Jean Bosco. Uyu Simon yahungiyeye muri Kameruni. Yaciriwe urubanza n'inkiko Gacaca adahari ahabwa igifungo cya burundu.

7.7. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Rubavu

Muri Komini Rubavu, Jenoside yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa uhereye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Mu mugi wa Gisenyi, Abatutsi batangiyeye kwicwa mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994. Muri iyi Komini, Jenoside yakozwe n'abaturage basanzwe, interahamwe ndetse n'abasirikare (AC, 2014).

Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege yarimo Perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 ahagana saa mbili n'igice z'ijoro, amasaha yakurikuyeho yabaye ayo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside, hicwa Abatutsi n'abandi batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana.

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe na Richard Mugenzi avuga ko mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 nka saa tanu z'ijoro interahamwe ziyobowe na Bernard Munyagishari na Barnabe Samvura zaje mu kigo cyakorerwagamo imyitozo ya gisirikare cya Butotori zihasanga *Lieutenant Bizumuremyi* na *Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva*. Bernard Munyagishari na Barnabe Samvura binjiye mu biro bya *Lieutenant Colonel Nsengiyumva* bamarana nawe umwanya munini. Nyuma barasohotse basanga izindi nterahamwe zigera kuri magana abiri bari bazanyeye nazo (Dupaquier, 2010).

Lieutenant Bizumuremyi yafashe ijambo atanga amabwiriza ku nterahamwe zari hanze “Abasirikare bagiye ku kazi kabo ko kurwanya umwanzi. Namwe muhite mujya gukora”. Gukora byasobanuraga kwica.

Bizumuremyi yabwiye izo nterahamwe ko baja mu ngo z’Abatutsi, uwo bafata bajye kumwicira kuri Komini *Rouge* kandi ko bagomba gukora vuba, bagasaka ahantu hose ku buryo nta Nyenzi isigara. Yabwiye izo nterahamwe ko Abatutsi babarwanya babicira aho, ko mu gitondo hari buze imodoka itoragura imirambo iyijyana kuri Komini *Rouge*. Yabwiye interahamwe ko Abahutu b’intakoreka bafata babajyana kuri burigade kugeza igihe ibyabo bizasobanuka (Dupaquier 2010:269-270).

Mu mugi wa Gisenyi, Abatutsi benshi batangiyeye kwicwa mu ijoro ryo ku itariki 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994. Uwo bafataga bajyaga kumwicira kuri Komini *Rouge*. Abishwe muri iryo joro bari kuri lisiti yakozwe na *Lieutenant* Bizumuremyi (R.M, 2016).

Umutangabuhamya Richard Mugenzi avugako *Lieutenant* Bizumuremyi yamubwiye ko mu Batutsi bari ku rutonde rw’abagomba kwicwa mu ijoro ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1994 harimo uwitwa Rwemarika, Bwanafeza na nyiri hoteri yitwa Edelweiss. Rwemarika na Bwanafeza bishwe muri

iryo joro (Dupaquier 2010: 272)

Mu gitondo cya kare cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, interahamwe zari zamaze gushyira bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye mu mugwi wa Gisenyi kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubacika (R.M, 2016).

Hari bariyeri yashizwe ahitwa « *La Corniche* » ugana ku mupaka uhuza u Rwanda na Kongo unyuze kuri bariyeri nkuru (grande barrière) yari ikuriwe n’uwitwa Serushago Omar. Interahamwe zabaga kuri iyi bariyeri harimo uwitwa Abuba Mukabu, Sibomana Rashid Gahutu, Mugiraneza Thomas na Bahati bahimbaga « *etranger* ».

Bariyeri yo kuri “*La Corniche*” yashyizweho kugira ngo interahamwe zijye zibona uko zifata Abatutsi bashaka guhungira muri Zayire. Uwafatwaga wese bajyaga kumwicira ku irimbi ryari iry’umujyi wa Gisenyi ryaje kumenyekana ku izina rya « *Komini Rouge* »⁸⁸. Hari bariyeri zashyizwe ku Nyundo no mu Rugerero utaragera mu mugwi wa Gisenyi, ndetse no mu marembo y’uyu mugwi.

Ibijyanye na bariyeri yari iri kuri “*La Corniche*” bigaragara mu nyandiko y’urubanza Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ruregamo

⁸⁸ Ijambo komine *Rouge*, ryavuzwe n’Umututsi bari bagiye kwica. Ubwo bamujyanaga bamushoreye bamubwira ngo bamutwaye ku biro bya komine Rubavu. Ariko kubera ko yari azi ko bamubeshya, ahubwo bagiye kumwica, arababwira ati, ahubwo ni kuri Komine *Rouge*

Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabirigi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva wari ushinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikare mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Mu nyandiko ikubiyemo ibirego ku ruhare rwa Anatole Nsengiyumva muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ivuga ko hagati y'ukwezi kwa Mata na Nyakanga 1994 interahamwe zashyize bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye mu mugi wa Gisenyi kugira ngo zibone uko zifata Abatutsi n'ibiyitso. Nk'uko iyo nyandiko ikomeza ivuga, uwo interahamwe zafataga zajyaga kumwicira kuri Komini *Rouge*" (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, p.345).

Lieutenant Colonel Anatoli Nsengiyumva yazengurukaga mu mugi wa Gisenyi, aho yageraga kuri bariyeri, yabazaga interahamwe uko akazi kameze. Yajyaga no kuri Komini *Rouge* kureba uko byifashe (R.M, 2016).

Interahamwe zifataniye n'abasirikare zavanaga Abatutsi mu ngo zabo cyangwa aho bari bihishye, bakajya kubicira aha hoze ari irimbi rusange, haje kumenyekana ku izina rya Komini *Rouge*. Urugero, ku itariki ya 21/4/1994, Interahamwe ziyobowe na Thomas zinjiye mu kigo cya kiriziya gatorika cyitwa St Pierre ku Gisenyi cyayoborwaga na Félicité Niyitegeka⁸⁹, zitwara Abatutsi

⁸⁹ Niyitegeka Félicité yari umulayiki wakoreraga muri diozesi ya Nyundo yabaga mu bakobwa ba musenyeri, bazwi ku izina rya Auxiliaire de l'apostolat. yanze kwitandukanya n'Abatutsi bamuhungiyeho, apfana nabo.

bari barahahungiye bose hamwe na Niyitegeka ubwe. Babatwaye muri minibisi imwe na kamyoneti baja kubicira kuri komini rouge. Bagezeyo bahasanze izindi nterahamwe zibategereje batangira kubica. Uretse Niyitegeka na Hakizimana Josaphat barashwe na Thomas wari uyoboye igitero kibazanye, abandi bose babishe babatemagura. Mu bishwe harimo Mukamana Antoinette n’umugabo we Mutarusha Oswald, abandi ntabwo umutangabuhama azi amazina yabo. Muri abo bantu bajyanywe kuri komini rouge bavanywe muri St Pierre harokotse gusa abana babiri b’abakobwa birutse mu gihe bari batangiye kubatemagura (AC, 2014). Amatsinda y’interahamwe cyangwa abasirikare yasimburanaga kuri Komini *Rouge* uhereye ku ya 7 Mata kugera ku ya 17 Nyakanga 1994, ubwo ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi zamaraga gufata umugi wa Gisenyi, interahamwe zigahunga.

Hari n’abandi Batutsi biciwe kuri “Komini *Rouge*” bavanaga hirya no hino mu nkengero z’umugi wa Gisenyi. Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, itsinda ry’abasirikare baherekejwe n’umujandarume bavanye Musenyeri Karibushi Wenceslas⁹⁰ ku Nyundo bashaka kumwicira kuri Komini *Rouge*. Batangiye kumwambura imyenda yari yambaye mbere yo kumwica, hatungutse *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva wayoboraga ingabo muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, ahita ahagarika abasirikare

⁹⁰ Musenyeri Karibushi Wenceslas yari Musenyeri wa Diyozesi ya Nyundo

barinda umukuru w'Igihugu (GP) n'interahamwe bari bagiye kumwica, ahita amujyana kuri *Hotel Méridien* ku Gisenyi, ahaba iminsi mike.

Abatangabuhamyanya bavuga ko abasirikare bakimara gutwara Musenyeri Karibushi byamenyekanye hirya no hino muri Kiliziya gatulika, bityo bituma uwari ukuriye ingabo muri Gisenyi yihutira kujya kuri “*Komini Rouge*”, atesha interahamwe zari zigiyeye kumwica. Abo batangabuhamyanya bavuga ko kuba atarishwe bitatewe n'imbabazi bamugiriye, ahubwo ko batinye ubutegetsi bukuru bwa kiriziya gaturika bw'i Roma.

Ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, Musenyeri Karibushi yasabye Nsengiyumva Anatole kumufasha akamuzanira kuri *hotel Méridien*, abapadiri bari bataricwa bari kuri diyoseze ya Nyundo. Nsengiyumva Anatoli yatumye umusirikare ajya ku Nyundo n'imodoka ashyiramo abapadiri bari bataricwa. Babajyanye ari cumi na babiri.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umupadiri warokotse icyo gihe, bajyanye n'uwo musirikare basanga Musenyeri Karibushi kuri hotel Meridien. Ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 bavugaga ko bagomba gufunga hotel Meridien kubera ko ari ho abazungu bacumbikaga. Musenyeri yasabye ko we n'abapadiri be babajyana mu nzu ya Diyoseze yari iri hafi aho, hagati ya *hotel Méridien* na *hotel Palm Beach*

barabimwemerera, babajyanayo ku itariki 12 Mata 1994⁹¹. Bahabaye igihe kingana n'amezi abiri n'icyumweru, kuko bahungiyeye muri Zayire ku itariki ya 19 Kamena 1994.

Muri iyo nzu hari hasanzwe habamo abazungukazi barimo Marie Louise na Moira, harimo ibyo kurya kuko bari barahashye, maze abahungiyeye batungwa n'ibyo bahasanze (Hategeka, 1994).

Mu gitabo cya Hategeka, harimo amakuru asobanura imibereho y'abari bahungiyeye muri iyi nzu ya diyoseze n'ababafashaga. Abakozi babiri nibo basohokaga bakabashakira bimwe mu byo bakeneraga nk'umunyu, isukari, n'isabuni yo kumesa. Muri bo havugwa Anathali Icyimpaye na Boniface Ndalifite basohokaga ku buryo bugoye. Uyu Boniface, bavuga ko yigeze kumara icyumweru atahageze kubera umwicanyi n'igisambo wari uzwi ku izina rya Kidumu. Abahungiyeye muri iyo nzu, bahoraga bategereje ubufasha bwo kuva aho hantu, ariko butinda kuboneka (Hategeka, 1994).

Ku mugoroba umwe, butangiye kwira, Musenyeri Karibushi yakiriye telefone y'umumisiyoneri w'umufransisikani, witwa Vlekoslav wari ahamagariye kuri hoteli Meridien. Mu gihe bakivugana, hinjiye

⁹¹ Inzu ya Diyoseze ya Nyundo yari iri mu kibanza cyari hagati ya Hoteli Palm Beach na Hotel Meridien, yarasenywe, nta nyubako yayo igihari.

umusirikare w’umu *Colonel*, abahahungiyeye babanza kugira ubwoba, ku bw’amahirwe basanga yari azanywe no kubabwira ko bitegura bakabahungishiriza i Goma. Mu mwanya ukurikiyeho, umumisiyoneri wari wahamagaye, yaje avuga ko bagiye kubahungishiriza i Goma, akomeza no kugenzura hanze uko hameze. Mu minota mike, imodoka eshatu ziba zirahageze, bagenda baherekejwe n’abasirikare. Mu nzira nta bantu na bake bagendaga. Bageze ku mupaka, abakozi b’Abazayirwa, babazaga gusa amazina y’abo batwaye kandi mu mutuzo, bajya kuri *éveché* ya Goma. Bahageze saa mbiri z’umugoroba ku itariki ya 19 Kamena 1994, bakirwa neza (Hategeka, 1994).

Imbonerahamwe ya bamwe mu bihaye Imana n’abapadiri baguye ku Gisenyi

Amazina	Umurimo	Itariki bici-weho	Aho bici-we
Padiri Ntagara Augustin	Umupadiri	Hagati y’itariki 8-9/4/1994	Gisenyi/ Komini <i>Rouge</i>
Sr Candida Mukabaziga	Umwizerama-riya	Hagati y’itariki 8-9/4/1994	Gisenyi

Sr Maria Mu-kamusana	Umwizerama-riya	Hagati y'itariki 8-9/4/1994	Gisenyi
----------------------	-----------------	-----------------------------	---------

Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Rubavu havugwamo *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatoli Nsengiyumva wari ukuriye ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri Gisenyi. Indege ya Habyarimana ikimara kuraswa, Nsengiyumva yakoresheje inama interahamwe, ababwira ko bagenda bakica Umututsi wese n'undi bacyeka ko akorana n'Inkotanyi. Yihanangirije interahamwe azibwira ko zigomba gusahura ari uko zarangije kwica Abatutsi bose. Yarababwiye ngo « mbese nimumara kwica Abatutsi ibintu byabo byose ntibiribube ibyanyu !! » (AC, 2014).

Uruhare rwa Nsengiyumva Anatoli rugaragara mu nyandiko y'urubanza aregwamo n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ivuga ko nk'uwari ukuriye ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi atigeze abuzabwiriza abasirikare yayoboraga mu bikorwa byo kwica Abatutsi, ndetse ko na we yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ryabo, kuko yahaga amabwiriza interahamwe zabaga zigiye kubica ndetse akabizeza ubufasha igihe cyose bakenera inyunganizi cyangwa *renfort* (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par, 1071).

Nsengiyumva Anatoli yahamwe n'icyaha cya Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu kubera uruhare yagize mu rupfu rw'Abatutsi bo mu mugi wa Gisenyi, kuri kaminuza ya Mudende na Paruwase ya Busasamana (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par, 2161). Yakatiwe igifungo cya burundu (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par, 2279).

Mu gihe cya Jenocide, ahiciwe Abatutsi benshi ni kuri “Komini *Rouge*”. Abarenga ibihumbi bitanu (5000) ni bo bahiciwe, abenshi bavanywe Rugerero, Byahi no mu mugi wa Gisenyi. Hari n'abavanywe ku Nyundo na Nyamyumba. Bicishijwe intwari gakondo n'imbunda. Bamwe mu biciwe kuri Komini *Rouge* bagiye bahambwa batarashiramo umwuka, bakabashyira mu cyobo cyari gihari, cyacukuwe mbere yo kubica. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko cyacukuwe n'abagororwa ba gereza ya Gisenyi.

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwa «Komini Rouge» muri Rubavu (ruracyubakwa).



Ifoto y'imbere mu rwibubutso rwa Komini Rouge muri Rubavu



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

7.8. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide muri Komini Kanama

Muri Komini Kanama, uherye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, interahamwe zatangiye gutwika no kwica Abatutsi bari batuye muri segiteri Karambo. Kuri icyo tariki igitero cyaje cyarimo interahamwe, abakonseye n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe. Abatutsi bamwe barishwe, abandi bahungira ku musozi wa Muhungwe⁹² (hafi ya Mahoko) ahagana ku ishyamba rya Gishwati. Uyu musozi uhuriweho na serire za Bwikurure yo muri segiteri Karambo, Rwankomo yo muri segiteri Kanama, Nyenyeri yo muri segiteri Kayove na Bisesero yo muri segiteri Nyamirango.

Abatutsi bari kuri uyu musozi batangiyeye gutwika n'ibitero bikomeye guhera ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 bagarageje kwirwanaho, ariko baza kunanirwa. Ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 ni bwo hashwe Abatutsi benshi kurusha iminsi yayibanjirije. Mu bitero byabishye harimo interahamwe n'abasirikare. Kuri uwo musozi, hiciwe Abatutsi bagera kuri magana abiri mirongo itandatu na babiri (262). Mu gihe ubu bushakashatsi bwakorwaga, abahaguye bari bataraboneka ngo bashyingurwe mu cyubahiro.

⁹² Muhungwe : Uyu musozi uherye iruhande rw'urutare rwitwaga «ibere rya Bigogwe». Niho hakorerwaga imyitozo ya Gisirikare cyane cyane iy'abakomando.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamy, impamvu Abatutsi bahungiyeye ku musozi wa Muhungwe byatewe n'umupfumu witwaga Busokoze wari utuye muri segiteri Karambo wari warahanuye ko abonye imivu y'amaraso hirya no hino, ariko ko ku musozi wa Muhungwe ho ntacyo habaye. Izo ndagu rero yavuze mbere ya Jenocide, ni zo zatumye Abatutsi benshi bari batuye muri aka gace bose bikusanyiriza kuri uwo musozi. Byatumye abicanyi babasanga hamwe ari benshi, babicira aho. Igitangaje ni uko hari n'Abatutsi bavuye ahitwa Kabumba ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Zayire baza kuri uwo musozi bazi ko ariho bazakirira (ZE, 2013).

Usibye abo Batutsi biciwe ku musozi wa Muhungwe muri segiteri Karambo, hari n'abandi benshi bo muri Komini Kanama biciwe kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo ahari harahungiyeye impunzi z'Abatutsi kuva Gashyantare 1993.

Umwe mu barokokeye aho ku Nyundo avuga ko ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, abapadiri bakuriye za Paruwasi zo muri iyi diyoseze ya Nyundo bari mu nama y'iminsi ibiri guhera ku itariki 5 Mata 1994.

Mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, hatambutse itangazo rivuga ko nta muntu wemerewe kuva aho ari, ko ntawemerewe kugira aho ajya. Abazungu bonyine nibo

babashije kujya ku Gisenyi, abandi bose baguma kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo. Abatutsi bo muri Komini za Mutura, Kanama, Kayove na Nyamyumba bahise bahungira kuri Diyoseze biyongera ku bandi bari bahasanze guhera mu mwaka w'i 1992 na 1993. Kuri Diyoseze habaga abapolisi barindaga impunzi zari zarahungiyeye.

Ibitero byishe Abatutsi bari ku Nyundo byaje mu bihe bitandukanye cyane cyane ku itariki ya 7-8-9 Mata no ku ya 1 Gicurasi 1994. Byari bigizwe n'interahamwe, abaturage basanzwe n'abasirikare. Akenshi ibitero byahageraga nka saa mbiri zishyira saa tatu za mu gitondo, bigataha ahagana nka sa kumi n'imwe n'igice.

Ku mugoroba w'itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, interahamwe zifataniye n'abaturage bagabye ibitero kuri Seminari ntoya ya Nyundo ahari impunzi z'Abatutsi, batangira kubica. Impunzi zatabaje Musenyeri Karibushi Wenceslas wa Diyoseze ya Nyundo bamumenyesha ko bariho bicwa. Musenyeri na we ahuruza ahamagara kuri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Hoherejwe abasirikare, ariko bahageze Abatutsi benshi bamaze kwicwa. Abasirikare basabye abari barokotse ku iseminari kuzamuka bakajya kuri Diyoseze kugira ngo barindirwe umutekano hamwe n'abandi bari bahahungiyeye. Barazamutse bajyayo, abo basirikare bahita

bigendera.

Ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 igitero kigizwe n' abicanyi benshi cyane bitwaje imbunda, gerenade n'intwano za gakondo, cyateye kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo. Mbere yo kugaba igitero, cyabanje gusahura mu mashuri atandukanye harimo irya *Groupe Scolaire Notre Dame d'Afrique, Ecole d'art de Nyundo* n' ivuriro ryo ku Nyundo.

Uwo muni tariki ya 8 Mata 1994, Abatutsi bari bagarageje kurunda amabuye, bakinga kiriziya no mu gikari cyayo, barwanira n' ibyo bitero hanze y' urusengero, ntibyashobora kwinjiramo. Kuri iyi tariki hishwe Abatutsi bake barimo umusaza umwe n' umusore, bishwe na gerenade yatewe n' interahamwe. Hishwe na none abapadiri babiri, Adrien Nzanana na Déogratias Twagirayezu, biciwe ku iseminari ntoya ya Nyundo.

Iyicwa ry' abo bapadiri riremezwa n' inyandiko y' urubanza y' Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) iregwamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gracien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 2150). Nk' uko bigaragara mu gika cya 2150, urugereko rwa mbere rw' uru rukiko rwemeza ko ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 interahamwe zateye kuri seminari ya Nyundo zica abapadiri babiri n' Abatutsi

benshi bari bihishe muri chapelle y'iyi seminari. Abarokotse bajanywe kuri diyoseze (Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consorts, 2008).

Kubera ibyo bitero byo ku ya 7 n'ya 8 Mata, byatumye ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 nijoro, hari abapadiri babiri, umwe witwa Gashema Albert na Rwivanga Déogratias⁹³, na Frère Aimable Mazimpaka w'umu Yozefite bakoreraga muri Paruwasi ya Kibuye n'abandi basore babiri bajya ku Kibuye aho babaga, bibwira ko yenda ho hari amahoro. Bakigera mu muhanda uzamuka ugana Kayove muri segiteri ya Nyabirasi hagati ya Komini Kanama na Komini Nyamyumba, utaragera ku ishyamba rya Gishwati, bicirwa aho. Imirambo yabo ntabwo yabonetse.

Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 nka saa mbiri za mu gitondo, ibitero by'interahamwe byongeye kugaruka, impunzi zirwana nabyo, bigeze nka saa tatu, haza abasirikare barindaga umukuru w'Igihugu (GP) bari kumwe n'izindi nterahamwe. Batwaye Musenyeri Karibushi Wenceslas bamujyana ku Gisenyi kuri Komini *Rouge* aho yagombaga kwicirwa. Abasigaye ku Nyundo biriwe barwana n'interahamwe n'abaturage umunsi wose. Abatutsi bari bigabanyijemo amatsinda abiri, bamwe barwaniraga muri kiriziya abandi mu gikari. Bigeze mu

⁹³ Padiri Rwivanga Déogratias na Gashema Albert bombi bavukaga muri komini Rwamatamu mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Kibuye

ma saa cyenda, haza ubufasha bw' izindi nterahamwe n'abasirikare bafite imbunda nyinshi na za gerenade, kwirwanaho birananirana, kuko nta ntwaro n'imwe bari bafite uretse amabuye. Ibitero byinjiye mu gikari cya Kiriziya bitangira kwica abari bahihishe bose, bateramo gerenade, bakagenda banarasa amasasu menshi. Kuri uwo munsu hishwe Abatutsi barenga ijana harimo abapadiri umunani n'ababikira batanu.

Ibijyanye n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi kuri iyi tariki rigaragara mu nyandiko y'urubanza Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) ruregamo Théoneste Bagosora na bagenzi be. Muri iyi nyandiko, urukiko ruvuga ko mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 interahamwe zabonye ubufasha zigaba ibitero ku batutsi bari kuri diyoseze ya Nyundo, uwo munsu hicwa Abatutsi benshi cyane (Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, par. 2150).

Ku mugoroba wo kuri iyo tariki ya 9 Mata 1994 haje abategetsi ba Perefegitura ya Gisenyi harimo uwitwa Hanyurwabuke Andereya wari Pefe w'agateganyo hamwe n'abasirikare bakuru. Basanze imbere ya kiriziya huzuye imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe, harimo n'iy'ababikira n'abapadiri. Aba bategetsi basanze hari Abatutsi bake bari bakihishe mu gisenge cya kiriziya,

ku buryo Abatutsi barokotse barebaga abo bategetsi batambuka. Nk’uko umutangabuhamy avuga, binjiye mu kiriziya, barazenguruka, basohotse bagenda bimyoza ngo ibyabaye ni agahomamunwa, bahita bisubirirayo. Bamaze kugenda, Abatutsi barokotse batangiyeye guterura no kwegeranya imirambo kugira ngo izashyingurwe. Ugereraniye abishwe icyo gihe barenga magana atatu (300) (ZR, 2013).

Abatutsi batishwe ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 bakomeje kuguma kuri diyoseze ya Nyundo bagoswe n’abasirikare, baje kwicwa ku itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1994, barashwe n’abasirikari n’interahamwe.

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare harimo interahamwe bari barahimbye izina rya ‘Mvumbuzwamahiri’, bitaga *chef des bandes*. Yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry’Abatutsi bari kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo, ni na we wakoreraga Abatutsi ibikorwa by’iyicarubozo. Yari asanzwe ari umuntu w’indakoreka kandi akorana n’ubutegetsi (ZR, 2013).

Imbonerahamwe y'amazina y'abapadiri n'ababikira bishwe tariki 9 Mata 1994.

Amazina	Umurimo	Itariki babi- ciyeho	Aho baguye
Herman Mwambari	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Robert Matajyabo	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Ferdinand Karekezi	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Clément Kanyabusoza	padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Edouard Gakwandi	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Callixte Kalisa	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Aloys Nzaramba	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Silas Gasake	Padiri	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Sr Giovanie Mukeshimana Godereva	Umwenebikira	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Sr Julienne Nyirate- reraho Suzana	Umwenebikira	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Sr Laetitia Nyira- makwandi Asteria	umwenebikira	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Sr Candida Kanyundo Catherine	umwenebikira	9/4/1994	Nyundo
Sr Vianney	umwizerama- riya	9/4/1994	Nyundo

Aho byavuye : Byakozwe n'abashashatsi bahereye ku makuru y'abatangabuhamya bo ku Nyundo.

Hari n’abandi bapadiri n’abihaye Imana ba Diyoseze ya Nyundo babaga mu ma Paruwasi yo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Kibuye bishwe mu gihe cya Jenoside. Biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Birambo ku wa 26 Mata 1994. Ubu bashyinguye mu rwibutso ruto ruri kuri Paruwasi ya Birambo, abandi bazize Jenoside b’aho, bashyinguye mu rwibutso runini ruri aho ari Superefegitura ya Birambo. Amakuru arambuye azagaragazwa n’ubushakashatsi bwo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Kibuye buzakorwa mu gihe kiri imbere.

7.9. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Nyamyumba

Muri Komini Nyamyumba, Jenoside yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa kuva tariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Mu gitondo cyo kuri iyi tariki, abakonseye banyuraga ahantu hose batanga amatangazo ko nta muntu wemerewe kuva iwe. Abaturage n’interahamwe bitwaje intwara za gakondo n’imbunda, bahise bagota ingo z’Abatutsi batuye muri iyi Komini. Abatutsi bamwe bahise bahungira kuri Komini, bigeze ku itariki ya 13 Mata 1994 baricwa. Abandi bagiye bicirwa mu bihuru ahantu hatandukanye aho babaga bagiye kwihisha (AE, 2014).

Hari abapadiri n’abandi batutsi biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Kiriziya gatorika ya Kivumu. Padiri witwa Thaddée Gatore

bamuvumbuye aho yari yihishe hafi y'irimbi rya Paruwasi muri serire Bunyunju, segiteri Kivumu, bahita bamwica. Bamaze kumwica, bamutaye aho mu irimbi barenzaho agataka. Imbwa zashatse kumurya, uwitwa Hakizumwami Jean Bosco wakoraga mu kigo nderabuzima cya Kavumu ajya kumushyingura. Yamushyinguye mu gikari cya Paruwasi nyuma baza kuhatunganya neza.

Imva ya Padiri Thaddée Gatore mu irimbi ry'Abapadiri rya Paruwasi ya Kivumu



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

Padiri Vénuste Nsengiyumva we yiciwe aho kuri Paruwasi, barangije bamujugunya mu musarane w'amashuri abanza yo kuri Paruwasi. Undi mupadiri w'umubirigi wabaga kuri Paruwasi ya Kivumu witwa Paul Kesenne yiciwe ku Gisenyi hafi ya *La Corniche* ubwo yahungaga. Yaguye ku gahanda kava kuri parike ya Gisenyi. Abatangabuhamya bakeka ko yaba yarishwe n'abari bamuherekeje bashakaga kumwambura amafaranga. Mu bamuherekeje harimo umupolisi wa Komini witwaga Semakoma Appolinaire na Nyandwi Ezekiel. Imibiri y'abo bapadiri bose ishyinguwe mu gikari cya Paruwasi ya Kivumu (ZI, 2013). Ifoto zikurikira zirerekana imva z'abapadiri bazize Jenoside bashyinguyemo.

Imva ya Padiri Vénuste Nsengiyumva mu irimbi ry'Abapadiri rya Paruwasi ya Kivumu



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015



Irimbi ry'Abapadiri ryo muri Paruwasi ya Kivumu (Nyamyumba) rishyinguwemo bamwe mu bapadiri bazize Jenoside



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

Ahashyinguwe aba bapadiri, nta kimenyetso na kimwe cyanditse kigaragaza ko bazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ubu buryo bwo kutagaragaza ko bazize Jenoside bushingirwaho n'abahakana bakanapfobya Jenoside bahisha ukuri ku mateka yayo. Kutagaragaza ko

bazize Jenocide bishobora kuyobya umuntu wese, yaba ushaka kwibuka no gusubiza agaciro abazize Jenocide ndetse n' utazi amateka y'aho hantu. Biramutse bikozwe bigambiriwe, bene iyi myitwarire ifatwa nk'igikorwa cyo guhakana Jenocide, dusanga mu itegeko n° 84/2013 ryo ku wa 11 Nzeri 2013 rihana icyaha cy'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide n'ibindi byaha bifitanye isano nayo mu ngingo ya gatanu, igika cya kabiri, ivuga ko “ kugoreka ukuri kuri Jenocide kugira ngo uyobye rubanda ari kimwe mu bikorwa byo guhakana Jenocide”.

Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Nyamyumba havugwamo Burugumesitiri w'iyi Komini witwaga Bagango Faustin. Ni na we washishikarije Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Yafatanyaga n'uwitwa Jonas Birushya wari ukuriye CDR, ari nawe watangaga raporo y'abishwe mu gihe cya Jenocide (ZL, 2013). Abandi bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini, harimo uwitwa Ngambanyi wo muri serire Bunyunju, segiteri Kivumu; Bicu mwene Mico wo muri serire Bunyunju, segiteri Kivumu; Mbarushimana mwene Aroni wo muri serire Bunyunju, segiteri Kivumu na Mashingwe Uwimana mwene Sebinyanja, ubu aba ku Kivumu. Aba bose baburanishijwe n'inkiko Gacaca. Muri bo hari uwireze icyaha witwa Mashingwe Uwimana, yakatiwe n'inkiko Gacaca, yarangije imirimo nsimburagifungo

ifitiye igihugu akamaro (TIG). Undi witwa Macumbi na we yarireze, ubu atuye mu mudugudu wa Kamabuye, akagari ka Bunyunju, umurenge wa Kivumu, Akarere ka Rutsiro.

7.10. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Kayove

Jenoside muri Komini Kayove yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa tariki 7 Mata 1994. Kuri iyi tariki, ni bwo Abatutsi batuye mu masegiteri atandukanye yo muri iyo Komini batangiye kwicwa. Nko muri Segiteri ya Murama, ibitero bigizwe n'interahamwe n'abaturage basanzwe bagabye ibitero ku Batutsi bari batuye ku musozi wa Nyarubuye. Ibi bitero byari byitwaje imipanga, amahiri harimo n'abafite imbunda. Ibitero byaje Murama byari biturutse mu masegiteri ahanye imbibi na segiteri ya Murama. Kuri iyi tariki batangiye gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi bo muri iyi segiteri.

Ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 hiyongeraho interahamwe ziturutse mu masegiteri atandukanye zigota Abatutsi b'aho. Kuri iyo tariki haje n' izindi nterahamwe ziturutse muri Komini Rutsiro, segiteri Gihango. Umutangabuhamya wabaye Konseye wa segiteri ya Murama, avuga ko yabwiye abaturage ayobora kutagira Umututsi bakoraho, ahubwo abasaba gufatanya bagakumira ibitero bije kwica

Abatutsi. Uwo munsu barwanije ibyo bitero bisubirayo. Ku itariki ya 9 n'ya 10 Mata 1994 haje ibitero byinshi cyane. Ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 haje igitero kirimo interahamwe nyinshi zifite imbunda, wa mu konseye acika intege ntiyakomeza kurwana ku Batutsi. Abatutsi bageraje guhungira hirya no hino, uwo bashyikiriye bakamwica. Hari abagize amahirwe babona aho bihisha ntibapfa. Bigeze ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 bazanye indangururamajwi (mégaphone) bagenda bavuga ngo Abatutsi bakihishe mu bihuru bahunguke kuko ihumure ryabonetse. Abatutsi bamwe bari bihishe bagize ngo ni ukuri batangira kuva mu bihuru barimo, interahamwe zirabafata zibashyira hamwe, nyuma zirabica (ZI, 2013). Umutangabuhamyari wari konseye muri iyi Komini, avuye ko ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 aribwo Burugumesitiri yaje asanga we n'abaturage bakumiriye ibitero byari byaje kwica Abatutsi bo muri segiteri yayoboraga. Burugumesitiri ahageze, yamubajije uko umutekano wifashe, amubwira ko yabonye igitero kije kwica Abatutsi muri segiteri ayobora agafatanyari n'abaturage kugikumira.

Burugumesitiri Maburakindi ntiyanyuzwe n'ibisobanuro ahawe, ahitaarakara, abwira umushoferi wengonahindukize imodoka, baragenda. Abapolisi bari bamuherekeje na bo yabasubiranyeyo. Nyuma Burugumesitiri yaje kubwira konseye ngo aje kumwerekari aho ibyo bitero

biri, baragenda ajya kubimwereka. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko igihe Burugumesitiri Maburakindi yazaga muri segiteri ya Murama, yari avuye kwica Umututsi witwa Kanyabashi wari utuye ku ga centre ka Gabiro kari muri segiteri ya Murama.

Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 bahumbahumye Abatutsi bo muri segiteri ya Murama bari batarapfa. Kuri iyo tariki ni bwo kandi Burugumesitiri Maburakindi yatumije ku bakonseye bose, abakoresha inama ku kibuga cya Komini Kayove. Muri iyo nama yavuze ko « nta muntu uhingira ku nzoka », bishatse kuvuga ko nta Mututsi ugomba gusigara atishwe. Yabwiye abakonseye ko batagomba kwemera ibintu byo gusahura mbere, ahubwo ko bakwiye kubanza kwikiza ba nyir'ibintu.

Ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, hakoreshajwe indangururamajwi bahamagarira Abatutsi kuva mu bwihisho bababwira ko amahoro yagarutse. Hari Abatutsi bari bakihishe bavuye mu bihuru bazi ko ibyo bababwiye ari ukuri, bahita babica. Na none ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, Burugumesitiri yahamagaje indi nama y'abakonseye bose abasaba raporo y'ubwicanyi muri buri segiteri. Umukonseye umwe yavuze ko muri segiteri ayobora hari Agatutsi kamwe barashe ariko kataravamo umwuka.

Burugumesitiri yahise yibutsa ategeka ba konseye bose ko ntawe uhingira ku nzoka, ati « *kuva nonaha sinshaka kongera kumva ngo hari Umututsi wasigaye kabone n'ubwo yaba agisambagurika* ». Nyuma yo kuvuga ayo magambo, abakonseye bose bavuye muri iyo nama bajya gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo babwiwe, bongera imbaraga mu gusaka no guhiga Abatutsi mu bihuru hose (ZJ, 2013).

Ukurikije ubuhamya bw'abantu batandukanye, Abatutsi benshi bo muri Komini Kayove bishwe mu kwezi kwa Mata 1994. Abishwe bagiye bajugunywa ahantu hatandukanye, nyuma baza gushyingurwa mu nzibutso, arizo: Kinunu mu murenge wa Boneza, Musasa mu murenge wa Musasa, Kayove mu murenge wa Ruhango na Bitenga nayo yo muri Ruhango. Kugeza ubu, hamaze gushyingurwa mu cyubahiro imibiri y'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi igera ku bihumbi munani na mirongo ine n'ibiri (8042)

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwa Ruhango



Aho yavuye: Ifoto yafashwe n'abashakashatsi mu Gushyingo 2015

7.11. Inzibutso zishyinguwemo imibiri y'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi

Akarere	Izina ry'urwibutso	Imibiri imaze gushyinjurwa mu cyubahiro (2014)	Uko Kominis yahoze yitwa	Umurenge	Igihe batangiye gushyinjurwa mu cyubahiro
Rubavu	Commune Rouge	4613	Rubavu	Gisenyi	2002
	Kanzenze	9279	Mutura	Kanzenze	2004
	Nyundo	851	Kanama	Nyundo	2005
	Rugerero	443	Rubavu	Rugerero	2004

Nyabihu	Mukamira ¹	2055	Nkuli (Ruhengeri)	Mukamira	2009
Imva (ci- metières)	Abagize umuryango wa Sembeba	64	Karago	Karago	1996
	Umuryango wa Rukun- do ku Cy- amabuye	72	Karago	Karago	1995
Ngorore- ro	Ngororero	8427	Satinsyi	Ngororero	1996
	Kibilira	24000	Kibilira	Gatumba	1996
	Nyange	7178	Kivumu	Nyange	1996
	Kesho	1707	Gaseke	Muhanda	1996
	Kabaya	191	Gaseke	Kabaya	1996
	Kavumu	368	Ramba	Kavumu	1996
	Cyome	450	Kibilira	Gatumba	1996
Rutsiro	Nyamyum- ba	1600	Nyamyumba	Kivumu	
	Nyarubuye	2014	Kayove	Musasa	
	Kayove	3968	Kayove	Ruhango	
	Bitenga	110	Kayove	Ruhango	
	Kinunu	350	Kayove	Boneza	
	Nyama- gumba	1600	Kayove	Ruhango	

Imibiri imaze gushyin- gurwa mu cyu- bahiro yose hamwe	69340
---	-------

Aho byavuye: Imbonerahamwe yakozwe n'abashakashatsi bifashishije raporo z'aturere ku mibare y'abamaze gushyingurwa kugera 2014.

Mu nzibutso zishyinguwemo imibiri y'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, hari izishyinguwemo abishwe guhera 1990 kugeza 1994. Aha twatanga urugero rw'urwibutso rwa Kibilira, Kabaya, Ngororero, Kesho na Kavumu. Izindi nzibutso zishyinguwemo abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bishwe hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994. Muri zo hari: Urwibutso rwa «Komini Rouge» mu karere ka Rubavu ruriho rwubakwa, urwa Rugerero, Kanzenze nazo zo muri Rubavu.

Muri izi nzibutso, hari iziri ku rwego rw'Akarere ziba zigizwe n'inzu y'amateka, aho bakirira abantu, imva zishyinguwemo abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ahabitse ibimenyetso bya Jenoside n'ibindi. Izi nzibutso zitabwaho n'ubuyobozi bw'Akarere zubatsemo.

Inzibutso ziri ku rwego rw'umurenge, nazo zifite imva zishyinguwemo abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, inzu y'amateka n'ubusitani bwubakiye. Izi nzibutso nazo zitabwaho n'Akarere. Urwego rwa gatatu rugizwe n'inzibutso zifite imva gusa, zishyinguwemo abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Zimwe muri zo ntabwo zubakiye, akenshi zitabwaho n'abasigaye bo mu miryango yabo.

IGICE CYA VIII. IYICARUBOZO RYAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI

Muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Abatutsi bagiye bicwa urw'agashyinyaguro uhereye mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda Grégoire kugeza mu gihe cya Jenoside ubwo yashyirwaga mu bikorwa muri 1994.

Mu mwaka wa 1967 inyenzi zateye, Abatutsi bo muri Komini Giciye barishwe, bajugunywa mu mugezi wa Mukungwa. Muri Komini Satinsyi, hari Abatutsi benshi bishwe bajugunywa mu mugezi wa Satinsyi aho bita Gitindagasani. Ibyo byabaye muri Gashyantare 1973.

Ubwo habagahogufata Abatutsi bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, abafatwaga bakajya gufungirwa kuri Komini, bicwaga bamaze gushinyagurirwa.

Muri Komini Karago, umutangabuhamywa wafunzwe bamubeshyera ko ari icyitso cy'Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, avuga ko ku itariki 7 Ukwakira 1990 ari kumwe na mukuru we, abajandarume babafashe babajyana gufungirwa kuri Komini Karago. Nk'uko akomeza avuga, basanze kuri Komini abandi Abatutsi benshi bari bafashwe babita

ibytso by’Inkotanyi. Umutangabuhamy a avuga ko aho kuri Komini bari baracukuye icyobo, bashyiragamo Abatutsi bakiri bazima:

“Bafashe mukuru wanjye baramukubita, amaze kuba indembe bamujugunya mu cyobo bari bacukuye, ariko bamujugunyemo atarapfa. Abandi Batutsi babajugunyaga muri WC, na bo bakajugunywamo ari bazima. N’ubwo nanjye narokotse icyo gihe, byansigiye ubumuga buhoraho” (T, 2013)

Muri Komini Satinsyi, raporo ya Burugumesitiri Nsanzimihigo Cyrille yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1990 yerekana ko mu gihe cy’imvururu zabaye muri iyi Komini, hishwe Abatutsi, icyenda barohwa muri Nyabarongo. Ibirebana no kwica Abatutsi babaroshye muri Nyabarongo biremezwa n’ibaruwa n° 794/04.17.02 yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1990 ya Burugumesitiri wa Komini Buringa⁹⁴ yo muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama ivuga ko hari Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira baroshywe muri Nyabarongo ku wa 13 Ukwakira 1990 (Nyaminani, 1990).

Abandi Batutsi banogorwagamo amaso, abandi bakabatema amaboko n’amaguru, barangiza bakabasiga batarapfa. Umutangabuhamy warokotse ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu kwezi kwa kabiri 1991 muri

⁹⁴ Komini Buringa yari ihanye imbibi na Komini Kibilira, zitandukanijwe n’umugezi wa Nyabarongo.

Komini Gaseke, segiteri ya Gisebeya avuga ko murumuna we witwa Gatosho wari wihishe hafi y'uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Rubaya, bamuvanyemo amaso, barangije baramureka. Umunsi ukurikiyeho ni bwo bamurangije (O, 2013).

Umwe mu barokotse ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kayove avuga ko ubwo bicaga Abatutsi bo muri iyi Komini mu Kuboza 1992, babikoranye ubugome bw'indengakamere. Akomeza avuga ko se wabo witwa Sefura Ladislas n'umugore we Nyirabudenderi Theresa bari batuye muri serire Kaganza, segiteri ya Busanza, bishwe babatwitse, bakoresheje ibishogoshogo (ZJ, 2013).

Mu gihe cy'a Jenocide na bwo Abatutsi bakorewe iyicarubozo. Hari abatabwaga mu misarani, abishwe batabwa mu mazi yo mu Kivu, kubatema amaboko bakaba babaretse, ejo bakabaca amaguru, nyuma akaba aribwo babarangiza.

Ubundi buryo bwakoreshwaga bashinyagurira Abatutsi, harimo kubambika ubusa, umugabo akambikwa ubusa imbere y'abana b'abakobwa; gufata abana bakabica mbere y'ababyeyi babo, ariko babwira abo babyeyi ngo basezere ku bana babo; gusambanya abagore n'abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi, nyuma bakabajombamo ibisuti cyangwa inkota; gufata abana b'impinja bakabakubita ku nkuta z'inzu. Hari abapadiri bashyinyaguriwe mbere yo kwicwa.

Bamwe babambitse ubusa berekana ubwambure bwabo, bereka abaturage imiterere y'umugabo w'Umututsi wihaye Imana. Hari n'abo bazaniraga ababikira bakabashinyagurira ngo ni babarongore, be gupfa ari ingaragu.

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Kayove, segiteri ya Murama avuga ko yasanze umusore bari baturanye bamuteye icumu mu nda riramuhinguranya rifata mu butaka. Muri Komini Kayove na none, hafi y'isoko rya Nkora, muri segiteri ya Ngabo (ubu ni mu murenge wa Kageyo, Akarere ka Rutsiro) bajugunye mu cyobo cy'amazi Umututsi witwa Ngirabatware Laurent n'umugore we ari bazima, babavomeraho ay'andi mazi, bapfiramo. Uyu mugabo yacururizaga muri Nkora. Bishwe ari ku wa kane, ku muni w'isoko (ZM, 2013).

Muri segiteri ya Kinunu, uwitwa Nyambwana baramwishe, bamuca umutwe bawujyana ahitwa ku ishusho ya Bikiramariya hafi y'ahahoze segiteri ya Kinunu, igihimba gisigara ukwacyo. Ubu ni mu murenge wa Boneza, akagari ka Bushaka, umudugudu wa Kinunu. Uwitwa Gasinzigwa Simelagdi wo muri serire ya Bikono, muri iyo segiteri, bamushyize mu cyobo ari muzima, barangije bashyiraho igitaka, bakajya bamuhamagara bamubaza niba yumva. Babonye atagisubiza, bamenya ko

yapfuye barekeraho barigendera.

Muri Komini Giciye, ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, uwitwa Mungaruruye Félicien Kayuku wo muri serire Cyimanzovu, segiteri ya Shyira yishwe ashinyaguriwe. Bamuciye amatwi n'ikiganza barabimuha ngo abirye. Nyuma baza kumwica. Umurambo we watoraguwe mu bwihereho (W.C) inyuma y'ahubatse segiteri, ubu ni mu kagari ka Cyimanzovu, umurenge wa Shyira (ZA,2013).

Umutangabuhamya warokotse Jenocide wo muri Komini Rubavu, asobanura urupfu rw'agashinyaguro rwakorewe Padiri Ntagara ubwo abasirikare ba Habyarimana bajyaga kumwicira kuri «Komini *Rouge*». Nk'uko umutangabuhamya avuga, bahambye Padiri Ntagara ari muzima, bamugerekaho ababikira babiri, na bo babahamba ari bazima, bavuga ngo napfe nibura nawe arongoye. Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga uburyo umukobwa we w'imyaka 17, bamufashe bamukubita ubuhiri mu mutwe, barangije bamujyana avirirana, bajya kumuhamba atarapfa kuri «Komini *Rouge*» (ZP, 2013).

IGICE CYA IX: GUSIBANGANYA IBIMENYETSO BYA JENOSIDE NK'UBURYO BWO KUYIHAKANA

Abategura Jenoside bashakisha uburyo bwose bushoboka kugira ngo bazabashe kuyihakana, bityo bagasibanganya ibimenyetso haba mu kuyitegura cyangwa mu gihe cy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa. Ibi biba ahabaye Jenoside hose. Muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 ni ko byagenze. Duhereye mu 1990 ubwo Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana yatangizaga umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi hirya no hino mu gihugu, Abatutsi barishwe, amazu yabo arasenywa andi aratwikwa, hakurikiraho kuvanaho burundu ikintu cyose cyashoboraga kugaragaza ko aho hantu higeze gutura abantu.

Ubutegetsu bwa Perezida Habyarimana bwageragezaga guhakana ko ibyabaye atari iyicwa ry'abantu runaka, ahubwo ko habaye imirwano hagati y'abaturage. Muri raporo zitandukanye bakoraga, nta n'ahamwe hakoreshejwe imvugo kwicwa kw'Abatutsi, ahubwo bavugaga ko hari abapfuye, bakongeraho ko byatewe n'ubushyamirane, gusubiranamo cyangwa imvururu hagati y'abaturage. Iyo bakoresheje izo mvugo, byasobanuraga ko habaye gupfa ku mpande zombi zari zishyamiranye.

Mu gihe cy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, ubutegetsu bwa Perezida Habyarimana bwagerageje gusibanganya ibimenyetso, ndetse na nyuma yaho habaho kuyihakana no kuyipfobya. Ingero zikurikira zigaragaza uko byakorwaga n'ababikoraga.

Muri Komini Kayove, mu gihe Jenocide yari irimbaniye, Burugumesitiri Maburakindi Isidori yahamagaje abakonseye bese ndetse n'aba resiponsabule ababaza ko niba nta Mututsi n'umwe ukiriho, ko icyo bagomba gukurikizaho ari ugusibanganya ikintu cyose cyagaragaza ko aho hantu higeze gutura Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya wari Konseye w'imwe muri segiteri za Komini Kayove asobanura uko byagenze:

Tariki 28 Mata 1994 habaye inama kuri Komini Kayove. Burugumesitiri Maburakindi yari yatumiye abakonseye n'aba resiponsabule bese kuza muri iyo nama, arangije arabaza ngo:” Abatutsi bari hano ni bangahe? Habura n'umwe, arakomeza ngo Abahutu bari hano ni bangahe? Bose bashyira intoki hejuru, ati, abatwa bar'aha ni bangahe? Haboneka umwe. Arangije kubaza, ahita atubwira ngo, nk'uko nta Mututsi wabonetse, ni ko nifuzaga ko n'amazu yabo hatagira n'igisigisigi gisigara, n'ikintu cyose gishobora kugaragaza ko higeze gutura Abatutsi (ZJ, 2013)

Burugumesitiri Maburakindi yabwiye abakonseye ko bafata abaturage bayobora bagasenya ibisigazwa by'amazu batwitse byabaga bitahiye, nyuma hagaterwa imyaka. Abaturage biraye mu bisigisigi by'amazu y'Abatutsi bakuraho ikintu cyose cyagaragaza ko aho hantu higeze gutura abantu, barahahinga, bahatera imyaka itandukanye (ZJ, 2013).

Muri Komini Mutura, tariki 9 Mata 1994, interahamwe n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe bishe Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye mu rusengeru rw'abadiyantisi rwa Cyambara. Nyuma yo kubica, batwitse amazu yabo, bakuraho n'ibisigazwa byayo kugira ngo hatazagira umenya ko aho hantu hari hatuye Abatutsi. Ahenshi bahitaga bahahinga (V, 2013). Burugumesitiri Bakiye yatanze amabwiriza ku bakonseye bose yo kubwira abaturage bayobora kvanaho ikintu cyose gishobora kugaragaza ko hari ahahoze hari inzu z'Abatutsi.

Umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga wo muri Komini Mutura avuga ko konseye wa segiteri yari atuyemo ya Mugongo, yabasabye ko nyuma yo gutwika amazu y'Abatutsi, bakuraho ibisigazwa byose by'ahari hatuwe n'Abatutsi.

Ibirebana no gusenya ahahoze amazu y'Abatutsi bishwe

kugira ngo bitazamenyekana, biremezwa na Raporo y'inama y'umutekano ya Segiteri Rusiza, Komini Mutura, yabaye ku itariki ya 12 Kamena 1994. Muri iyo raporo y'inama, Konseye wa segiteri, Munyakazi Etienne, wari watumiyeye abaserire bose, yabahaye amabwiriza y'ibyo bagomba gukora kugira ngo komisiyo ishinzwe iperereza niramuka igeze muri segiteri yabo, yoye kuzigera imenya ko mu ma serire yabo habaga Abatutsi, bakaba barishwe ndetse n'ingo zabo zigasenywa.

« Ku kibazo cy'umutekano, batubwiye ko hagiye kuzaza komisiyo izakora iperereza ry'uko Abatutsi bapfuye. Ni yo mpamvu aho Umututsi yari atuye hose mugomba gutema izo nzitiro hamwe n'amabuye ya *fondation* yose mukayakuraho. Ikindi kandi mugomba kumvisha abaturage ko nta Batutsi bapfuye ahubwo ko bahunze, bajya Zayire, ko ubu amasambu yabo afitwe na Komini » (Ntamabyariro, Kamena, 1994).

Muri Komini Ramba, gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenocide bigaragara mu ibaruwa n° 0631/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13 Kamena 1994 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri Karasira Léonard atanga amabwiriza ku ba konseye bose kubahiriza ibi bikurikira:

- Gusenya burundu amazu y'abishwe hagahingwamo imyaka nk'insina, amateke

n'ibindi.

- Kumenya imvugo imwe, ko imvururu zabaye zikomoka ku burakari bw'iyicwa ry'umukuru w'igihugu kandi ko ubwoko bwasubiranyemo kubera RPF yiganjemo Abatutsi ariyo yashoje intambara ikica inzirakarengane (Karasira, 1994).

Mu buhama twahawe n'uwari burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba, Karasira Léonard yavuze ko gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenocide ari amabwiriza baherewe mu nama yo ku wa 5 Gicurasi 1994 yabereye kuri Superefegitura ya Ngororero, yari iyobowe n'abaminisitiri babiri bo muri guverinoma y'abatabazi, aribo, Nyiramasuhuko Paulina na Rwamakuba André. Iyo nama yitabiriwe na ba burugumesitiri ba Komini Ramba, Satinsi na Kibilira zo muri superefegitura ya Ngororero. Abandi bitabiriye inama, harimo, superefe wa superefegitura ya Ngororero, abakuru b'amashyaka MRND na CDR, abakuru b'amadini, abahagarariye abacuruzi, n'abakonseye ba za segiteri zo mu makomini yavuzwe haruguru. Banzi Wellars nawe yari yitabiriye iyo nama. Umutangabuhama avuga ko amabwiriza bahawe aboneka mu ibaruwa n° 0631/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13 Kamena 1994 yavuzwe haruguru (KL, 2016).

Ubundi buryo bwakoreshejwe mu gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi ni: gucukura icyobo kinini bakarundamo imirambo y'abishwe ndetse bagahinga hejuru, kuzana ibimodoka bya tingatinga bikarunda itaka hejuru y'imirambo y'abamaze kwicwa ; gutwika imibiri y'abishwe; guhindura imbibi z'ubutaka bwari butunzwe n'Abatutsi bukitirirwa Abahutu bahatera imihati kugira ngo hatazagira uvuga ko aho hantu hari ah'Umututsi ; kubwira abaturage kumenya guhakanira uwo ari we wese wababaza niba hari Abatutsi bishwe bari baturanye ; kubwira abaturage kumenya guhakana bavuga ko nta Mututsi wishwe mubo bari baturanye ko ahubwo bahunze, n'ibindi.

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, abahakana Jenocide bavuga ko ntayigeze ibaho, ko habaye intambara, ko iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryatewe n'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Habyarimana wari Perezida wa Repubulika. Hari n'abavuga ko habaye Jenocide ebyiri, imwe y'Abatutsi n'indi y'Abahutu. Usibye kuyihakana, hari n'abayipfobya bavuga ko hapfuye umubare muto w'Abatutsi.

Muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe

Abatutsi, umugambi wo gusibanganya ibimenyetso byayo ugaragarira mu guhisha aho Abatutsi bishwe muri Jenocide bajugunywe; kunyuza imihanda hejuru y'ahashyizwe Abatutsi bishwe muri Jenocide; mu mvugo ikoreshe n'abaturage bitiranya Jenocide n'intambara, aho bakoresha imvugo "intambara yo mu 1994" aho kuvuga Jenocide. Kuri iyi mvugo, hari abayikoresha batabizi n'abayikoresha babizi.

UMWANZURO

Ubushakashatsi ku itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bugizwe n'ibice icyenda by'ingenzi.

Igice cya mbere kigaragaza imibanire y'abanyarwanda mbere no mu gihe cy'ubukoroni mu yahoze ari Teritwari ya Kisenyi. Muri iki gice, hagaragaramo na none imiterere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi, uruhare rw'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri mu gucama ibice abanyarwanda n'ubwicanyi bwo mu 1959.

Igice cya kabiri kibanze ku itotezwa, ihezwa n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda. Ubutegetsi bwe bwaranzwe n'ivangura n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku karere n'amoko, inyigisho z'urwango ku Batutsi, ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi haba mu 1963, 1967 na 1973 mu makomini atandukanye ndetse no kubamenesha.

Igice cya gatatu kigaragaza uko Abatutsi babayeho mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi kuva Perezida Habyarimana afata ubutegetsi mu 1973 kugeza 1990. Perezida Habyarimana amaze gukora «coup d'etat» mu 1973, habonetse agahenge k'igihe gito, ariko

ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide yarakomeje, igaragarira mu bikorwa by'ivangura, amacakubiri, guhezwa ndetse no gutotezwa byakorerwaga Abatutsi.

Igice cya kane kibanze ku bikorwa by'urugomo n'itotezwa ryakorewe Abatutsi hagati y'umwaka w'1990 na 1993. Uhereye tariki ya mbere ukwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 nyuma yaho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kwibohora, habaye gufata abo bitaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi no kubafunga. Abafashwe bitwa ibyitso bamwe muri bo barishwe, abandi barakubitwa bibaviramo ubumuga. Ababashije gufungwa bamaze muri gereza igihe cy'amezi atandatu, abenshi muri bo bafunguwe tariki ya 1 Mata 1991.

Hamwe n'ibikorwa by'urugomo byakorerwaga Abatutsi, uburenganzira bwabo bw'ibanze bwarahutajwe, babuzwa uburenganzira bwo gutembera hagati mu gihugu no kuba bajya hanze ya cyo. Uwashakaga kuva muri Komini atuye ajya mu yindi yabisabiraga uruhusa, nta ruhabwe. Abatutsi bahohotewe mu buryo bunyuranye harimo kubarega ibinyoma, kubakenesha ndetse no kubashimuta bakabica muri gahunda yo gukora amarondo.

Igice cya gatanu kibanze ku itegurwa rya Jenocide

yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi hagati ya 1990 na 1994. Muri iki gice, hagaragaramo uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, ibikorwa bijyanye no gutoza interahamwe no gutanga imbunda mu baturage na bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

Gushishikariza Abaturage kwanga no kwica Abatutsi byakozwe mu buryo butandukanye. Hari ibyanyuzwaga ku maradiyo cyangwa ibinyamakuru bitandukanye, inama zakoreshejwe n'abategetsi batandukanye bakanguriraga abaturage ubwicanyi.

Gutoza interahamwe mu makomini yari agize Perefegitura ya Gisenyi byatangiye mu mwaka wa 1992. Gutoza byakorwaga n'abavuye mu gisirikare, abajandarume, abasirikare ndetse hari n'aho byakorwaga n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa.

Gutanga imbunda mu baturage byatangiye gukorwa mu mwaka wa 1992. Ba burugumesitiri bafatanije na baburigadiye ba komini ni bo batangaga imbunda baziha ba konseye nabo bakaziha ababaga barahawe imyitozo ya gisirikare. Nibura muri buri serire habaga hari imbunda enye hakiyongeraho na konseye wabaga ayifite. Abacuruzi bakomeye nabo bahawe imbunda.

Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994 umubare w'abahawe imbunda wariyongereye. Umuturage utari ufite imbunda yari yarashatse intwaro gakondo zo kurwanya umwanzi ariwe Mututsi, nka ntampongano, imipanga, amacumu, ibisuti n'ibindi.

Abagize uruhare mu gutegura Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi babaga bibumbiye mu dutsiko dutandukanye. Utuzwi ni AMASASU, *Réseau Zéro*, *Escadron de la mort* na *Amis de l'Alliance*. N'ubwo utwo dutsiko dufite amazina atandukanye, abari batugize bari bafite intego imwe, ari yo, Kwica Abatutsi n'umuntu wese ushyigikiye amasezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha ajyanye no kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi.

Igice cya Gatandatu kigaragaza ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu bihe bitandukanye kuva mu 1990 kugeza mu 1993. Mu mpera z'umwaka w'1990, hishwe Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kibilira, Satinsyi na Ramba. Ubwicanyi muri ayo makomini bwahereye ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira kugera ku ya 13 Ukwakira 1990. Muri Komini Ramba na Satinsyi bwagejeje mu matariki 16 Ukwakira 1990. Abatutsi barokotse icyo gihe bahungiyeye kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo no ku Ngoro ya M.R.N.D yabaga kuri Superefegitura ya Ngororero.

Mu ntangiriro z’umwaka w’1991, hishwe Abatutsi bo mu makomini ya Gaseke, Giciye, Mutura na Kanama. Muri aya makomini, ubwicanyi bwahereye ku itariki 4 Gashyantare kugera ku itariki 7 Gashyantare 1991.

Kwica Abatutsi byarakomeje no mu myaka yakurikiyeho. Mu mpera z’ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1991 no mu ntangiriro z’ukwezi kwa Gashyantare 1992 hishwe Abatutsi bo muri Komini Giciye, Gaseke, Karago na Kayove muri Gahunda yiswe iyo “Gutema ibihuru”.

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bwarakomeje no mu mwaka wa 1993 mu makomini hafi yose ubwo bicwaga mu gihe cy’imyigaragambyo yakorwaga n’abarwanashyaka ba M.R.N.D na C.D.R kuva tariki 23 Mutarama 1993.

Igice cya karindwi cyasesenguye uko Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu makomini yose yari mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Muri iyi Perefegitura, Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa uherye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Nko muri Komini Karago no mu mugi wa Gisenyi, Abatutsi batangiye kwicwa mu ijoro ryo ku itariki 6 Mata 1994.

Muri rusange, Jenocide yashyizwe mu bikorwa guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, ibikoresho byifashishijwe byari byaramaze kwegeranywa, abazabikoresha na bo baratojwe

ndetse n'urutonde rw'abagombaga kwicwa rwarakozwe.

Kuri Paruwasi ya Muhororo ho muri Komini Kibilira, Abatutsi bishwe ku bwinshi ku itariki ya 13 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'interahamwe, abasirikare n'abapolisi. Kuri iyo Paruwasi hashyinguye imibiri y'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi igera ku bihumbi makumyabiri na bine (24.000).

Ku ngoro ya Muvoma (MRND) ho muri Komini Satinsi, Abatutsi bishwe ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'interahamwe babifashijwemo n'abasirikare. Hishwe abagera ku bihumbi cumi na bine na magana atanu (14.500).

Ku gasozi ka Kesho ho muri Komini Gaseke, Abatutsi bakomoka muri iyo Komini n'abavuye mu yandi makomini ahana imbibi nayo bahahungiyeye, bishwe ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'abasirikare barinda umukuru w'igihugu (GP) bafatanije n'interahamwe. Haguye Abatutsi barenga igihumbi magana arindwi (1700).

Kuri Diyoseze n'ibitaro bya Shyira ho muri Komini Giciye, Abatutsi bishwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'interahamwe zifatanije n'abapolisi ba Komini. Kuri iyo tariki hishwe Abatutsi barenga magana abiri mirongo

itanu (250).

Ku rusengero rw'Abadivantisiti rwa Cyambara ho muri Komini Mutura hiciwe Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitatu (3000) bari bahahungiyeye. Bishwe n'interahamwe zifataniye n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994.

Kuri Kaminuza ya Mudende ho muri Komini Mutura no kuri Paruwasi ya Busasamana ho muri Komini Rwerere hiciwe Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitatu (3000) bari bahahungiyeye. Bishwe n'interahamwe n'abasirikare bayobowe na *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatoli Nsengiyumva hagati y'amatariki 8 na 9 Mata 1994.

Ku musozi wa Muhungwe ho muri Komini Kanama, hiciwe Abatutsi barenga magana abiri mirongo itandatu (260) ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994. Bishwe n'interahamwe zifataniye n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Bigogwe.

Kuri Diyoseze ya Nyundo ho muri Komini Kanama hiciwe Abatutsi bari barahahungiyeye barenga magana atatu (300). Ku itariki ya 8 n'ya 9 Mata 1994 nibwo bishwe n'interahamwe zifataniye n'abasirikare barinda umukuru w'igihugu(GP) babaga ku Gisenyi. Abandi bishwe ku itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1994. Bishwe n'abasirikare bari

barazanye bavuga ko ari abo kubarindira umutekano.

Kuri Komini *Rouge* ho muri Komini Rubavu hiciwe Abatutsi bafataga babakuye ahantu hatandukanye ho mu mugwi wa Gisenyi no mu nkengero zawo guhera mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. Hiciwe Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi bitanu (5000), bicwa n'interahamwe bafatanije n'abasirikare.

Abamaze gushyingurwa kugeza ubu mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bagera ku bihumbi mirongo itandatu n'icyenda magana atatu na mirongo ine (69.340).

Igice cya munani kigaragaza ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo byakorewe Abatutsi mbere no mu gihe cya Jenoside mu 1994 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Muri ibyo bikorwa harimo gufata Abatutsi bakabajugunya mu cyobo ari bazima, kubica gahoro gahoro babaca ibice bimwe by'umubiri kugeza bavuyemo umwuka, kubatwika bakoresheje lisansi, kubaroha mu misarani, kubambika ubusa, kubwira ababyeyi kwiyicira abana babo cyangwa bagacukura icyobo cyo kubahambamo ari bazima n'ibindi.

Igice cya cyenda kigaragaza ibikorwa byo guhakana Jenoside. Mu gihe Jenoside yakorwaga, abayikoze bakoresheje uburyo bwose bushoboka kugira ngo

basibanganye ibimenyetso mu rwego rwo kuyihakana, nko kubwira abaturage gukuraho ibisigazwa by'amazu y'Abatutsi hagahingwa imyaka itandukanye no guhisha aho Abatutsi bishwe bajugunywe. Amabwiriza yo gusibanganya ibimennyetso mu rwego rwo guhakana Jenocide yatanzwe n'abayobozi bakuru mu nama zinyuranye bakoranaga n'abayobozi bo mu nzego z'ibanze. Dushingiye ku byavuye muri ubu bushakashatsi, imyanzuro ikurikira ni iyo kwitabwaho n'inzego bireba:

- Gukora ubukangurambaga kugira ngo herekanwe aho imibiri y'abazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi itaraboneka iherereye, bityo na yo igashyingurwa mu cyubahiro.
- Kubaka inzibutso no gushyingura mu cyubahiro imibiri y'abazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi aho yabonetse, bityo ntikomeze kubikwa ahabugenewe. Urugero ni nk'imibiri y'abazize Jenocide ikibitse mu mazu ya Diyoseze ya Nyundo.
- Abihaye Imana bazize Jenocide bashyinguye mu mva zisanzwe, hakwiye kwandikwaho ko bazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Urugero, ni nk'abashyinguye mu gikari cya Paruwasi ya Kivumu.
- Kwita ku nzibutso no kuzitunganya aho ziri

ndetse hakandikwa amateka ajyanye na buri rwibutso.

- Gukora urutonde rw'abahamwe n'icyaha cya Jenoside muri buri Komini.
- Gukora urutonde rw'abazize Jenoside muri buri Komini.

Ubu bushakashatsi ni intangiriro y'urugendo rurerure. Kwandika amateka ya Jenoside ni igikorwa kitarangira, gihora gisubirwamo cyangwa gikosorwa uko amakuru n'ibimenyetso bishyashya bigenda biboneka. Umwanzuro ni uko ubu bushakashatsi bwakurikirwa n'ubundi bubwunganira mu kugaragaza abagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, muri buri Komini.

INYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJE

Ibitabo

- Bideri, D. (2009). *Le massacre des Bagogwe: Un prélude au génocide des Tutsi. Rwanda (1990-1993)*. Paris : L'Harmattan.
- Chanda, T. (2014, April 6). *Rwanda: aux origines du génocide*. Retrieved August 3, 2015, from RFI Les voix du monde : <http://www.rfi.fr>
- Dupaquier, J.-F. (2010). *L'agenda du génocide : Le témoignage de Richard Mugenzi ex-espion Rwandais*. Paris: éditions Karthala.
- Fondation Hironnelle. (2002, February 8). *Rwanda/ Génocide: Plus d'un million de morts: Bilan officiel*. Retrieved August 4, 2015, from Relief web: <http://reliefweb.int>
- Gordon, G. S. (2015). *Speech in Pre-and Post- Genocidal Environments: Strategies for Preventing Critical Mass*. In J.-D. Gasanabo, D. Simon, & M. M. Ensign, *Confronting Genocide in Rwanda: Dehumanisation, Denial and Strategies for Prevention* (pp. 131-149). Bogota, Colombia: Apidama Ediciones.
- Guichaoua, A. (2000). *Annexe1: Les 11 camarades du 5 juillet et les premières promotions d'officiers des*

- Forces armées Rwandaises. In A. Guichaoua, *Les politiques criminelles au Rwanda(1990-1994)* (pp. 1-5). Paris : Editions La Découverte.
- Hategeka, J.B. (1994). Raisins verts pour dents agacées? Cri contre les Nazis Noirs du Rwanda. Modena, Italie.
- Human Rights Watch. (1999:10). *Human Rights Watch World Report*. New York, USA: Human Rights Watch, ©1998.
- Index of Rwanda: Archives . (2007, April 11). *Extraits du rapport de l' UNAR sur les émeutes au Rwanda(10 Novembre 1959)*. Retrieved August 4, 2015, from Index of RWANDA/Archives: <http://www.olny.nl>
- Kimonyo, J. P. (2008). *Rwanda: Un génocide populaire*. Paris: Editions Karthala.
- La Résidence du Rwanda. (1956). *Historique et chronologie*. Kabgayi.
- Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consorts, Affaire n° ICTR-98-41-T, 18 Décembre 2008
- Logiest, G. “Ma mission au Rwanda: un blanc dans la bagarre Tutsi-Hutu” , Bruxelles, Didier Hatier, 1988:209-212
- Mehdi, B. (2005, Mars-Avril). Rwanda: Un génocide européen. *Goliath Magazine*, 101, 1-40.
- Melven, L. (2004). *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan*

Genocide. London: Verso.

Mfizi, C.(2006). Le Réseau Zéro (B), Fossoyeur de la Démocratie et de la République au Rwanda (1975-1994). Rapport de consultation redigé à la demande du Bureau du Procureur du Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda, Arusha, Tanzanie.

Mugesera, A. (2004). *Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri(1959-1990)*. Kigali: Les Editions Rwandaises.

Mugesera, A. (2014). *The Persecution of Rwandan Tutsi before the 1990-1994 Genocide*. Kigali: Dialogue Editions.

Ndahiro, T. (2014, April 4). *Abafite ishema ryo gutsemba Abatutsi barengeye Léon Mugesera (1992-1993)*. Retrieved August 12, 2015, from Igihe : <http://www.igihe.com>

Nshunguyinka, F. (1989). Gisenyi irakwibwira. Gisenyi-Rwanda

Overdulve, C. M. (1997). *Rwanda un peuple avec une histoire*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Prunier, G. (1997). *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a genocide*. New York: Columbia University press.

Rapport d'expertise, 2272/00/13 & 1341 (Cour d'appel de Paris, Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris

Janvier 5, 2012).

Repubulika y'u Rwanda,. (1999, August). *Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda, mbere y'Abazungu n'igihe cy'Ubukoroni, mu gihe cya Repbulika ya Mbere*. Retrieved June 1, 2015, from repositories web site: <http://repositories.lib.utexas.edu>

Rwanda94. (nd). Akazu, Le premier cercle. Retrieved August 12, 2015, from Rwanda94: <http://rwanda94.pagesperso-orange.fr>

Rwanda94. (nd). Le discours de Kabaya. Retrieved December 30, 2015, from Rwanda 94 pages perso-orange: <http://rwanda94.pagesperso-orange.fr>

Rwanda Net. (2001, Fevrier 11). *Chronologie historique du Rwanda*. Retrieved July 28, 2015, from Rwanda Net: www.rwanda.free.fr

République du Rwanda (2009). Rapport d'enquête sur les causes, les circonstances et les responsabilités de l'attentat du 6/4/1994 contre l'avion Présidentiel Rwandais FALCON 50 No 9XR-NN, Kigali, Rwanda

Simbananiye, S. (2013). *La Toussaint Rouge du 1er Novembre 1959.(Révolution, Fratricides, Déicides ou Génocides assistés 54 ans après ?): Genèse et Chronologie* . Retrieved from <http://www.netpress>, 10 October 2015

Singiza, D. (2011, October 2). *Amateka y'inzara ya*

- Ruzagayura yo mu 1943-1944 (Igice cya I)*. Retrieved May 7, 2015, from Igihe : <http://www.igihe.com>
- Stanton, G. H. (2008, February). The eight stages of genocide. (Y. C. Studies, Ed.) *Yale Genocide Studies*, 1-8.
- Terno, Y. (1989). *Enquête sur la negation d'un genocide*. Editions Parenthèses, Marseille.
- The Prosecutor v. Michel Bagaragaza, Case n° ICTR- 05-86-S, 17 November 2009.
- The Rwandan . (2012, September 18). *C'était comme ça ! : Antoine Nyetera raconte sa vie...* Retrieved August 5, 2015, from The Rwandan : www.therwandan.com
- Totten, S. & Parsons, W. (2009). *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness accounts* (3 ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Viret, E (2010, Mars 8). *Chronologie du Rwanda (1867-1994)*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from Encyclopédie en ligne des violences de masse: <http://www.massviolence.org>

Raporo

- Bahiniramuye, F. (1994). *Ibaruwa yo ku wa 12/6/1994 yanditswe na Konseye wa segiteri Kora, Bahiniramuye Faustin, yandikira Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura amugezaho urutonde rw'abagomba kwiga imbunda*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

- Bangamwabo, C. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 0035/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 26/01/1991 yandikiwe ba Konseye bose na ba resiponsabule ba Serire zose muri Komini Giciye*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Bangamwabo, C. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 0036/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 30 Mutarama 1991 iherekeje Raporo y'imvururu z'abaturage baturiyeye ishyamba rya Gishwati*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Bangamwabo, C. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 0049/04.09.01/4 kuwa 5/2/1991 iherekeza inyandiko mvugo ku nama y'umutekano muri Komini Giciye*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Barihuta, M. (1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yateranye ku wa 10/6/1994, yahuje abaserire, abanyamadini, abahagarariye amashyamba ndetse n'abavuye mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, yanditswe na Konseye wa Segiteri Kanzeze Barihuta Michel, yandikira Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Commission Internationale d'enquête (7-21 Janvier 1993). *Violations massives et systematiques des droits de l'homme depuis le 1er octobre 1990*. Paris : FIDH.
- Commission Politico-Administrative. (1993). *les Troubles dans les Prefectures de Gisenyi, Ruhengeri et Kibuye*. Gisenyi: Archives de Gisenyi.

- Gihorwe, S. (Kamena 1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yo kuwa 10/6/1994 yatumiwemo abaserire n'abahoze mu gisirikare*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Hakizimana, A. (1994). *Ibaruwa ya Konseye wa Segiteri Mutovu Hakizimana Ananie iherekeza inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yo ku wa 13/6/1994, yandikira Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura amugezaho amazina y'abatowe muri gahunda yo kwiga imbunda*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Harindintwari, L. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° 1047/04.17.02 yo ku wa 5/11/1990 y'umugenzacyaha wa Komini Nyamyumba*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Le Procureur c. Théoneste Bagosora et consort, Case No 98-41-T (ICTR Décembre 18, 2008).
- Mugemanshuro, A. (1991). *Ibaruwa ya Prokirere wa Repubulika yandikiye Perefé wa Gisenyi amugezaho lisiti y'abantu barekuwe*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi
- Munyakazi, E. (1994). *Raporo y'inama y'umutekano ya Segiteri Rusiza, Komini Mutura yabaye kuwa 12/6/1994 irebana no gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenocide*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Musabyimana, G. (2012, January 2). *Quelques membres de l'Assemblée nationale sous la 1^è République*. Retrieved August 12, 2015, from Musabyimana

net : <http://www.musabyimana.net>

- Mwitabangoma, J. (1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'Inama yo ku wa 10/6/1994 yahuje abaserire n'abanyumbakumi bo muri segiteri Kabatwa muri gahunda yo kwiga imbunda*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Nsanzimihigo, C. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° 0880/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1990 ku mvururu zabaye hagati ya 6 na 12/10/1990 muri Commune Satinsyi*. Gisenyi: Archive Gisenyi.
- Nsanzimihigo, C. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° 0894/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 27/10/1990 ku mvururu zabaye ku ya 9/10/1990 muri Komini Satinsyi*. Gisenyi: Archive Gisenyi.
- Ntamabyariro, E. (1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'Inama yo ku wa 10/6/1994 yahuje abaserire n'abanyumbakumi bo muri segiteri Butaka muri gahunda yo kwiga imbunda*. Gisenyi: Arhives za Gisenyi.
- Nteziryayo, J. B. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° 604/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 13/10/1990 iherekeza raporo y'ibyabaye muri Komini Kibilira hagati ya 11 na 13/10/1990*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Nzabanita, T. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° I.167/04.18 yo ku wa 28/10/1990 ku mvururu zo muri Komini Ramba*. Gisenyi: Archive za Gisenyi.
- Nzabanita, T. (1990). *Raporo ya Burugumestre wa komini*

- Ramba yo kuwa 19/10/1990 ku mvururu zo mu Kakira 1990.* Gisenyi: Archives de Gisenyi.
- Nzabonimpa, A. (1990). *Ibaruwa n° 632/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 25 Ukwakira 1990 ku mutekano muri Kayove.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Nzabonimpa, A. (Mai, 1991). *Ibaruwa n° 297/04.04/2 yo ku wa 13 Gicurasi 1991 ku mvururu zabaye muri Komini Kayove muri 1991.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Parquet de la République.(Octobre 1990). Dosiye y'abashinjwa ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo muri Komini Kibilira, Dosiye Kibilira, Gisenyi : Archive za Gisenyi
- Perefegitura Gisenyi. (1990). *Raporo yo ku ya 19/12/1990 igaragaza uko Perefegitura ya Gisenyi yifashe kuwa tariki 1/10/1990.* Gisenyi: Perefegitura Gisenyi.
- Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze, Case n° 99-52-T, (ICTR December 3, 2003).
- Rukabukira, I. (1990). *Ibaruwa No 435/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 14/11/1990 ku mvururu zabereye muri Superefegitura ya Ngororero.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Rukabukira, I. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 001/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 14 Gashyantare 1991 .* Gisenyi: Archives de

Gisenyi.

Sebu, J. (1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yateranye ku wa 12/6/1994, yahuzaga abaserire na ba nyumbakumi mu rwego rwa segiteri Nyaruteme, amenyeshya Burugumesitiri amazina y'abatowe muri gahunda yo kwiga imbunda.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

Semigwegwe, M. (1993). *Ibaruwa yo ku wa 20/6/1993 Konseye wa Segiteri Cyambara yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

Semigwegwe, M. (Kamena, 1994). *Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yateranye ku wa 12/6/1994, yahuzaga abaserire na ba nyumbakumi mu rwego rwa segiteri, irebana n'abaturage bagomba kwiga imbunda.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

Senyoni, J. P. (Kamena 1994). *Segiteri Mugongo, Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama yo ku wa 11/6/1994 yari iyobowe na Konseye wa Segiteri Mugongo, SENYONI Jean Pierre.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

Sindibona, J. M. (1990). *Raporo ku mvururu zabaye Kibilira hagati ya 11 na 15 Ukwakira 1990.* Gisenyi: Perefegitura Gisenyi.

Sindibona, J. M. (21/2/1991). *Ibaruwa n° 099/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 21 Gashyantare 1991 ku mvururu za Kibilira.* Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

- Sindibona, J. M. (Decembre, 1990). *Lettre n° 730/04.09.01/4 du 15 Decembre 1990 pour le comite prefectoral de crise*. Gisenyi: Archives de Gisenyi.
- Sous Préfecture de Ngororero. (1992). *Ibaruwa n° 011/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 20/2/1992 ya Superefe wa Ngororero*. Ministère de l'intérieur et du développement communal, Secretariat Central . Gisenyi: Division de l'information et documentation.
- Twagirayezu, L. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 108/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 22/02/1991 ku bwicanyi bwa Karago Gashyantare, 1991*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Twagirayezu, L. (1991). *Ibaruwa n° 065/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 06 Gashyantare 1991 kuri raporo y'umutekano*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Rwirahira, V. (Aout 1993). *Ibaruwa n° 460/04.09.01/4 yo ku wa 27 Kanama 1993 irebana n'abavanywe mu byabo amazu yabo agasenywa muri Komini Kibilira*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.
- Zigiramahame, N. (Kamena 1993). *Ibaruwa yo ku wa 1/6/1993 ya Konseye wa Segiteri Mudende yandikiye burugumesitiri wa Komini Mutura kuri gahunda yo kwiga imbunda*. Gisenyi: Archives za Gisenyi.

Ibinyamakuru

Le Flambeau. (1993). Anketi ku marorerwa yabereye muri Gisenyi. *Le Flambeau du 17/02/1993*, 11-14.

Le Flambeau. (2015, June 19). *Communiqué No 005 : Le jour fatal du 17 Décembre 1993*. Retrieved August 31, 2015, from La France au cœur du génocide des Tutsi: Documents triés par date: <http://www.francerwandagenocide.org>

Abatangabuhamya babajijwe

1. A. (2013, Septembre 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
2. AA. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kanama. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
3. AB. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
4. AC. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
5. AD. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
6. AE. (2014, January 22). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu

- bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Nyamyumba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
7. AF. (2014, January 22). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
 8. AG. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 9. AH. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
 10. AI. (2014, January 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rubavu. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 11. B. (2013, September 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 12. B. (2013, September 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 13. C. (2013, September 9). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 14. CB. (2013, November 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya

Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)

15. CC. (2013, November 17). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
16. CI. (2013, November 14). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
17. CM. (2013, November 16). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Nyamyumba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
18. CN. (2013, September 8). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kibilira. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
19. D. (2013, September 4). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kibilira. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
20. DC. (2013, August 8). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kanama. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
21. DG. (2013, August 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Komini Rubavu. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
22. DJ. (2013, August 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya

- Gisenyi, Komini Kanama. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
23. DL. (2013, August 9). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rwerere. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
 24. DM. (2013, September 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 25. DO. (2013, September 8). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rwerere. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 26. DP. (2013, August 9). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rwerere. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
 27. DQ. (2013, September 9). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 28. DR. (2013, August 9). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rwerere. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
 29. E. (2013, September 10). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 30. F. (2013, Septmber 7). Itegura n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)

31. G. (2013, September 4). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Prefegiture ya Gisenyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
32. H. (2013, September 7). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Satinsyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
33. I. (2013, September 5). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Gaseke. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
34. J. (2013, Septembre 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
35. K. (2013, September 4). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
36. L. (2013, September 10). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Gaseke. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
37. M. (2013, September 11). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kibilira. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
38. N. (2013, September 11). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Satinsyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
39. O. (2013, September 10). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu

- bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Gaseke. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
40. P. (2013, September 6). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Komini Ramba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
41. Q. (2013, September 4). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
42. R. (2013, September 7). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Satinsi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
43. S. (2013, September 7). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
44. T. (2013, October 27). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
45. U. (2013, October 24). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
46. V. (2013, October 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
47. W. (2013, October 20). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya

- Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
48. X. (2013, October 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 49. Y. (2013, October 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 50. Z. (2013, October 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 51. ZA. (2013, October 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 52. ZB. (2013, October 24). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 53. ZC. (2013, October 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 54. ZC&ZP. (2013, october 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura, Rubavu. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 55. ZD. (2013, November 19). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenocide mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya

- Gisenyi, Kanama. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
56. ZE. (2013, November 11). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kanama. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 57. ZF. (2013, October 25). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 58. ZG. (2013, November 14). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 59. ZH. (2013, November 19). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 60. ZI. (2013, November 19). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 61. ZJ. (2013, November 19). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 62. ZK. (2013, November 17). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
 63. ZL. (2013, November 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Nyamyumba. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)

64. ZM. (2013, November 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kayove. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
65. ZN. (2013, November 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
66. ZN. (2013, November 18). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
67. ZO. (2013, October 23). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
68. ZP. (2013, August 7). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rubavu. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
69. ZQ. (2013, October 27). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
70. ZR. (2013, July 8). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kanama. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
71. ZS. (2013, September 10). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rubavu. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
72. ZT. (2013, october 24). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu

- bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
73. ZU. (2013, october 20). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (f. Mafeza, Interviewer)
74. ZW. (2013, October 27). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Giciye. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
75. ZX. (2013, October 27). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Karago. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
76. ZY. (2013, August 8). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Mutura. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
77. ZZ. (2014, Janvier 21). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Rubavu. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer)
78. RM (2016). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kigali. (F. Mafeza, Interviewer)
79. KL (2016). Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kigali. (L. Gahongayire, Interviewer).

INYOBORA BIGANIRO (INTERVIEW GUIDE)

Mbere yo gutangira ikiganiro, umushakashatsi arabanza yibwire uwo bagiye kuganira, amubwire impamvu y'ubushakashatsi nicyo bugamije, amwizeza ko ibyo baza kuganira ari ibanga hagati yabo bombi, kandi ko amazina ye nta nahamwe azigera agaragara.

Umwirondoro w'ubazwa

Amazina (asimburwa n'inyuguti imwe cyangwa ebyiri):

Igihe yavukiye:

Igitsina:

Irangamimerere:

Aho yaratuye mbere ya Jenoside (hagati ya 1990 -1994):

Aho yaratuye mu gihe cya Jenoside (Mata 1994):

Aho Jenoside yabaye ari:

Aho atuye ubu (Akarere, umurenge, akagali,umudugudu):

Amashuri yize:

Idini asengeramo:

Ingingo ya mbere: Imibanire y'abaturage bari batuye mu
yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi mbere
ya 1990

2. Mbere ya 1959, abaturage bari babanye bate mu

yahoze ari Teritwari ya Kisenyi?

3. Gucikamo ibice mu Banyarwanda byatangiyeye ryari? Byatewe n'iki?
4. Ni iki wibuka ku byerekeye imvururu zabaye mu 1959? Byagenze gute mu gace mwari mutuyemo?
5. Ubutegetsi n'imibanire byari bimeze bite mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Grégoire Kayibanda (1962-1973) ?,
6. Abaturage bose bafatwaga kimwe no guhabwa amahirwe angana ? Niba ari yego cyangwa oya, sobanura.
7. Haba hari ibikorwa by'ivangura n'itotezwa byakorerwaga Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda?
8. Haba harabayeho ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi mu gace mwari mutuyemo mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda ?
9. Nyuma ya "Coup d'etat" yakozwe na Habyarimana afatanije na bagenzi be mu 1973, ni izihe mpinduka zabayeho muri aka karere?
10. Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Juvénal Habyarimana mbere ya 1990, imibanire y'abaturage yari imeze ite? Abaturage bose bafatwaga kimwe?
11. Haba hari ibikorwa by'ivangura, itotezwa no guhezwa byakorerwaga Abatutsi mbere ya 1990 ?

Niba ari yego byakorwaga bite ?

12. Ese hari icyo uzi cyangwa wumvise kuri politiki y'iringaniza? Niba ari yego, iyo politiki yari imeze ite?(akazi, amashuri, igisirikare, n'ibindi)

Ingingo ya kabiri: Ibikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi nyuma y'igitero cya RPF - INKOTANYI mu Kwakira 1990

1. Nyuma y'igitero cya RPF Inkotanyi cyo kubohora igihugu mu Kwakira 1990, byagenze gute mu gace mwari mutuyemo?
2. Ni ayahe mashyaka ya Politiki yari yiganje mu yahoze ari perefegitura ya Gisenyi? Ayo mashyaka yaje ryari?, yatangiye gukora ryari?, ni bande bari abayobozi bayo?
3. Hari uruhare ubona amashyaka yaba yaragize mu gushishikariza abaturage urwango, n'urugomo bishingiye ku moko?
4. Hari ibikorwa byo gutesha agaciro, iby'urugomo, ubwicanyi byabereye mu karere mwari mutuyemo hagati ya 1990 na 1993? Niba ari yego, Ibyo bikorwa byabereye he? ryari? Byibasiraga bande? Ni bande babigizemo uruhare? Haba hari abayobozi mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta, abakuru

b'amashyaka, abashinzwe umutekano wibuka bari ku isonga ry'ibyo bikorwa ?

5. Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshwaga n'abayobozi (aba gisivile n'abashinzwe umutekano) mu gushishikariza abaturage urwango n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi ?
6. Ni iki bizezaga abaturage baramutse bakoze ibyo babasabaga? Haba hari abo muzi babihawe?
7. Haba hari Abatutsi bishwe muri aka karere nyuma yaho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba mu Kwakira 1990, mbere ya 1994? Ubwo bwicanyi bwabereye he? Ni abahe bantu, imitwe yitwara gisirikare wibuka yabigizemo uruhare?
8. Uretse ubwicanyi, haba harabayeye ubuhunzi bw'abatotezwaga muri aka karere mbere ya 1994? Niba byarabayeye bahungiyeye? Babifashwagamo na bande?
9. Haba hari uruhare amashyaka ya politiki, imitwe yitwara gisirikare, abayobozi ba gisivile, abashinzwe umutekano n' abarezi bagize mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1994?
10. Haba hari ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhame (meeting) wibuka byabayeye muri aka gace mwari mutuyemo

hagati ya 1990-1994? Niba ari yego, ibyo biganiro byabaye ryari? Byabereye hehe? byayobowe na bande? Ni ubuhe butumwa bwavugiwe muri ibyo biganiro?

11. Nyuma y'ibyo biganiro, imyitwarire y'abaturage yagenze ite?

Ingingo ya 3: Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenocide

1. Haba hari inama zakoreshejwe zikangurira abaturage kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego, zakoreshejwe na ba nde, kandi hehe?
2. Haba hari ubundi buryo bwakoreshejwe mu gushishikariza abaturage kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego ni ubuhe?
3. Mu gace mwari mutuyemo, haba harabayeho gutoza imitwe yitwara gisirikare? Niba ari yego, ni iyihe ?, batorejwe he?
4. Mu gace mwari mutuyemo, haba harabayeho gutanga imbunda, gerenade cyangwa intwaro gakondo mu baturage? Niba ari yego, ni bande bazitangaga, zahabwaga bande, zatanzwe guhera ryari?

Ingingo ya 4 : Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside
yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari
Perefegitura ya Gisenyi

1. Mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Habyarimana, umutekano w'abaturage muri rusange wari umeze ute muri aka karere mwari mutuyemo? Umutekano w'Abatutsi bari batuye muri aka gace wari umeze? Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege, byagenze gute?
2. Ni ayahe matariki y'ingenzi wibuka Jenoside yaba yaratangiriyeho, n'aho yatangiriye mbere yuko ikwirakwizwa mu gace mwari mutuyemo?
3. Ni uruhe ruhare rw'abashinzwe umutekano (abasirikare, abajandarume, abapolisi), imitwe yitwaraga gisirikare, abayobozi, n'abandi bantu bagize mu gukangurira abaturage mu bwicanyi nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Habyarimana?
4. Ni abahe bantu bari ku isonga mu gukangurira abaturage mu bikorwa bya Jenoside muri aka karere ?
5. Ni ibihe bikoresho byakoreshejwe muri Jenoside muri aka karere mutuyemo? Ibyo bikoresho byakoreshejwe na bande (imitwe yitwara gisirikare, abaturage basanzwe,...)?

6. Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshwaga kugira ngo byorohere abicanyi kugera kubo bashaka kwica? Haba hari ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo (kwicukurira mbere yo kwicwa, gufatwa ku ngufu, gucuza kumwambika ubusa, etc..)
7. Haba harabayeho kugerageza kwirwanaho kw'abicwaga mbere yuko bicwa? Niba ari yego cyangwa oya, Sobanura.
8. Ni hehe wibuka hiciwe abantu benshi mu karere mwari mutuyemo ? Abamaze kwicwa bashyirwaga hehe?
9. Haba harabayeho gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenocide mu gihe yashyirwaga mu bikorwa na nyuma yaho