REPUBURIKA Y'U RWANDA

Akarere ka Huye

Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG)

AMATEKA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU KARERE KA HUYE

Raporo ya nyuma

Yanditswe n'abashakashatsi bo mu Ishyirahamwe "*Menya Aho Uva Kugira Ngo Umenye Aho Ujya*" rikuriwe na Prof. Déo BYANAFASHE

Huye, Werurwe 2020

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URUTONDE RW'AMAGAMBO AHINNYE YAKORESHEJWE

ADEPR	Association des Eglises de Pentecôte au Rwanda
APROSOMA	Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse
AVEGA	Association des Veuves du Génocide-Agahozo
CCM	Center for Conflict Management
CDR	Coalition pour la Défense de la République
CERAI	Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Integré
CND	Conseil National de Développement
CNLG	Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
CHUB	Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Butare
DGB	Développement Global de Butare
ELECTROGAZ	Entreprise de Distribution d'Electricité, l'Eau et le Gaz
FAR	Forces Armées Rwandaises
EER	Eglise Episcopale du Rwanda
ESO	Ecole des Sous-Officiers
FARG	Fond d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide
FPR	Front Patriotique Rwandais
GP	Garde Présidentielle
GSOB	Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IRDP	Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix
IRST	Institut de Recherche en Sciences et Technologie
ISAR	Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Rwanda
JDR	Jeunesse du Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
LABOPHAR	Laboratoire Pharmaceutique du Rwanda
MININTER	Ministère de l'Intérieur
MINUAR	Mission Internationale des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda
MDR	Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
MRND	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
PARMEHUTU	Parti du Mouvement pour l'Emancipation des Hutu

PL	Parti Libéral
PSD	Parti Social Démocrate
RAB	Rwanda Agriculture Board
RTLM	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SNJG	Service National des Juridictions Gacaca
SORWAL	Societé des Allumettes du Rwanda
UN	United Nations

IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda muri 1994 yahitanye abarenga miriyoni bishwe mu mezi atatu gusa, inasiga ingaruka nyinshi zirimo umubare munini w'imfubyi, abapfakazi, ibimuga… Nyuma yayo, ubuyobozi bushya bw'igihugu bwihaye intego yo kongera kubaka umuryango nyarwanda washegeshwe, ibyo bikajyana no kumenya ukuri kose ku byabaye kugira ngo kwubakirweho umusingi ntayegayezwa w'ubumwe, ubwiyunge n'amahoro arambye mu Banyarwanda.

Nyuma y'uko iyo Jenoside ihagaritswe n'ingabo zahoze ari iza FPR-Inkotanyi, hakozwe byinshi mu ngeri zose z'ubuzima ku buryo ubu u Rwanda ari igihugu kimaze kwiyubaka mu nzego zose z'ubuzima. Gusa inzira iracyari ndende, cyane cyane mu kumenya uko Jenoside yateguwe n'uko yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu bice no mu nzego zitandukanye z'igihugu.

Kwandika no kubika neza amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bikubiye mu mwanzuro w'Inama ya 13 y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano yateranye mu Kuboza 2015 igasaba inzego zose za Leta n'iz'abikorera gukora ubushakashatsi bwimbitse ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, hibandwa ku mwihariko wa buri rwego na buri gace. Iyi nyandiko ikubiyemo ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe hagati ya Mutarama na Mata 2019 mu mirenge cumi n'ine (14) igize Akarere ka Huye ari yo Gishamvu, Karama, Kigoma, Kinazi, Maraba, Mbazi, Mukura, Ngoma, Ruhashya, Huye, Rusatira, Rwaniro, Simbi na Tumba. Twizeye ko bizafasha mu kumenya ukuri kose ku byabaye ku Batutsi bari batuye aka karere. Turifuza kandi ko iba n'imbarutso y'ibindi bikorwa bigamije gushimangira ubumwe, ubwiyunge n'iterambere rirambye mu Karere ka Huye by'umwihariko no mu Rwanda muri rusange.

Ubuyobozi bw'Akarere ka Huye burashimira abantu bose bagize uruhare muri ubu bushakashatsi, by'umwihariko Leta y'u Rwanda ibinyujije muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG) yatanze urubuga n'imirongo ngenderwaho. Turashimira abantu batanze amakuru ndetse n'ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze zafashije mu kugera ku batanze amakuru. Turashimira kandi itsinda ryakoze ubu bushakashatsi, riyobowe na Porofeseri Déo BYANAFASHE afatanyije na Porofeseri Déo MBONYINKEBE.

Iyi nyandiko ituwe inzirakarengane zose z'Abatutsi zazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

SEBUTEGE Ange
Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Huye

INCAMAKE Y'IBYAVUYE MU BUSHAKASHATSI

Ubushakashatsi ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye bugamije gushyira ahagaragara icyayiteye, uko yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ingaruka zayo. Ibyo biri mu rwego rwo gukumira Jenoside, kurwanya abayihakana n'abayipfobya no gutanga umuganda mu guteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu baturage b'Akarere ka Huye nka kamwe mu turere mirongo itatu (30) tugize u Rwanda.

Ubu bushakashatsi bwakorewe mu mirenge cumi n'ine (14) igize Akarere ka Huye ari yo Gishamvu, Karama, Kigoma, Kinazi, Maraba, Mbazi, Mukura, Ngoma, Ruhashya, Huye, Rusatira, Rwaniro, Simbi na Tumba. Bwakozwe hagati ya Werurwe na Gicurasi 2019. Habajijwe abatangabuhamya ijana na mirongo itandatu na batanu (165) bakomoka mu byahoze ari amakomini ya Mbazi, Maraba, Huye, Ngoma, Gishamvu, Ruhashya, Runyinya, Kinyamakara na Rusatira. Mu kwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye hifashishijwe na none inyandiko zitandukanye zifite aho zihuriye n'amateka ya Jenoside, hifashishwa abatangabuhamya, byose bishingiye ku ngingo nyoborabiganiro ubushakashatsi bwagendeyeho.

Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byerekana ko imibanire y'abaturage b'Akarere ka Huye yari myiza mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni bagize uruhare mu gucamo ibice Abanyarwanda, by'umwihariko abaturage bo mu gace kitwaga Nduga bakunze kurangwa n'imibanire myiza hagati y'amoko yose yari ahatuye. Ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku moko ni byo byagejeje ku bwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo byibasiye Abatutsi guhera mu Ugushyingo 1959 mu cyiswe Revorisiyo sosiyari. Ni nyuma y'itangazwa ry'amategeko icumi (10) y'Abahutu yahimbwe na Joseph Habyarimana Gitera muri Nzeri 1959, akanashinga ishyaka rya APROSOMA. Ayo mategeko yaje akurikira inyandiko yamenyakanye ku nyito ya *Manifeste y'Abahutu* yo mu 1957, aho bamwe mu banyabwenge b'Abahutu berekanye ko mu Rwanda hari ikibazo cya politiki hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi kandi mu by'ukuri ikibazo cyari ubusumbane bukabije bwari hagati y'abategetsi b'icyo gihe na rubanda rugufi rwari rukandamijwe. Habyarimana Joseph Gitera afatanyije na Kayibanda Grégoire

bakoze ubukangurambaga bashishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Ibyo byateje imvururu guhera mu Ugushyingo 1959 Abatutsi baricwa, baratwikirwa, bameneshwa mu gihugu cyabo, abarokotse bakomeza gutotezwa.

Muri 1960 Abakoloni b'Ababirigi bafatanyije na bamwe mu bamisiyoneri ba Kiliziya Gaturika bashyizeho ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika bwari bukuriwe na Kayibanda Grégoire nyuma yo kuvanaho ubwami. Izo mpinduka zakurikiwe n'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi mu gihugu hose, abacitse ku icumu baboneza iy'ubuhungiro mu bihugu bituranye n'u Rwanda. Abasigaye mu gihugu na bo bahinduwe ibikange, bamburwa imitungo yabo, babuzwa uburenganzira bwose nk'abenegihugu.

Muri 1962 u Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge bushimangira intsinzi y'ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU n'ubutegetsi bwa rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu yavugaga ko yategetswe na nyamuke y'Abatutsi imyaka magana ane (400). Muri make ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda bwari bugamije kwihimura ku bo bashinjaga ko babakandamije. Bwaranzwe n'ivangura, amacakubiri n'urwango ku Batutsi babayeho bahezwa, batotezwa bakanicwa. Abari barahunze ntibari bemerewe kugaruka mu gihugu, bene wabo basigaye na bo ntibari bemerewe kujya kubasura.

Ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 Habyarimana Juvénal yahiritse Perezida Kayibanda ku butegetsi amushinja guta umurongo no kubangamira ubumwe n'amahoro by'Abanyarwanda. Mbere yaho habanje ibikorwa bibi byo kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo, bitangirira muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda i Butare bikomereza mu mashuri yisumbuye n'ibigo hirya no hino mu gihugu. No mu giturage byarahageze Abatutsi barongera barasahurwa, barakubitwa bikomeye, benshi birukanwa ku mirimo, abacitse ku icumu bahungira mu mahanga basangayo abari barahunze guhera muri 1959. Icyo gihe Perezida Kayibanda n'abambari be ba MDR-PARMEHUTU bavugaga ko Abatutsi bari bamaze kuba benshi mu mirimo, bityo ko Abahutu batitonze bakongera kubategeka bakababambura ibyiza bagejejweho na revorisiyo sosiyari yo muri 1959. Mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye na ho

ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byarahageze nk'uko ubu bushakashatsi bwabyerekanye.

Kuri Repubulika ya kabiri Perezida Habyarimana yaje ashyira imbere ubumwe, amahoro n'amajyambere, habaho agahenge k'igihe gito, Abatutsi bamwe bari barahunze bagerageza kugaruka ariko bakirwa nabi cyane baramena basubirayo. Abatutsi bakomeje guhezwa mu mashuri, mu mirimo, mu gisirikare no mu nzego za Leta. Bake bashoboye kwiga bakoraga imirimo icirirtse gusa (cyane cyane ubwarimu, ubuvuzi no kuba abafasha mu by'ubuhinzi) kandi na bwo mu guhabwa akazi bakagendera ku ijanisha ntarengwa. Iyo politiki yitwaga iringaniza. Abatutsi benshi bayobotse imyuga n'ubucuruzi by'amaburakindi, ndetse bamwe babigiriramo amahirwe batera imbere. Mu bucuruzi bagombaga kwisunga umuhutu ukomeye kandi uzwi mu butegetsi kugira ngo amushingire igiti. Hari n'ingero zizwi z'aho Abahutu bakomeye mu butegetsi no mu ngabo bahabwaga imigabane n'inyungu mu bigo Abatutsi bashoyemo imari kandi nta cyo bakoramo. Mu giturage imibereho yabo yari hasi, cyane cyane mu turere tw'igihugu tutari Urukiga aho abakomokayo bari bihariye imyanya myinshi mu butegetsi no mu nzego z'umutekano.

Ubu bushakashatsi bwerekanye uko ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana bwakoze ibishoboka byose ngo bukandamize abakomoka mu gace ka Butare yakunze gutwererwa gushyigikira ubwami no kwanga kuyoboka Repubulika. Ibyo byakozwe bwohereza abategetsi n'abakozi bakuru basabitswe n'urwango, ivangura n'amacakubiri kuyobora Perefegitura ya Butare no gukora mu yindi mirimo. Hari igihe cyageze na none amashami amwe ya Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda yimurirwa i Nyakinama mu Ruhengeri mu rwego rwo kugabanyiriza ububasha Butare yakunze gufatwa nk'igicumbi cy'ubumenyi kubera amashuri menshi yisumbuye yahabarizwaga kandi yareze benshi mu mpuguke u Rwanda rwagize kuva ku gihe cy'ubukoloni.

Muri rusange kuva muwa 1975 ishyaka rimwe rukumbi rya MRND rishingwa kugeza mu Ukwakira 1990 hariho akarengane gakorerwa abitwaga Abanyenduga bose n'Abatutsi bose by'umwihariko. Nyuma y'aho FPR-

Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu mu Ukwakira 1990, Abatutsi bo muri Butare baratotejwe cyane, bakorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo. Abize n'abifashije barafashwe bafungwa mu byitso, barimo abarimu n'abakozi ba Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda n'amashuri yisumbuye atandukanye yo muri Butare. Bafunzwe amezi menshi nta kuburanishwa, mu buzima bubi cyane aho bakorerwaga iyicarubozo rirenze uruvugiro, bamwe barapfa, abafunguwe benshi bakurizamo ubumuga n'uburwayi budakira abandi bapfa urusorongo. Abahutu bamwe batari bashyigikiye ubwo butegetsi n'abarongoye Abatutsikazi na bo bafunzwe mu byitso.

Kuva mu Kwakira 1990 abayobozi batandukanye barimo abaserire, abakonseye na ba burugumesitiri bakoreshaga inama zishishikariza kwanga Abatutsi kandi bagasaba Abahutu kuba maso bakarwanya umwanzi bavugaga ko ari umututsi. Nyuma y'aho amashyaka ya politiki amaze kongera kwemererwa mu Rwanda muri Kamena 1991, habayeho inama na za mitingi zitandukanye z'abarwanashyaka bayo. Ayari yiganje mu Karere ka Huye ni MDR, PL PSD, MRND na CDR. Ku ikubitiro amashyaka nka MDR, PL, PSD yarwanyaga ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal. Nyuma y'aho amwe acitsemo ibice mu Ukwakira 1993 hakavuka ibyiswe pawa, umutekano warushijeho kuba muke ku Batutsi muri rusange kubera inyigisho zatangiye ku mugaragaro zivuga ko umwanzi w'igihugu ari umututsi ugomba kurwanywa akicwa.

Hagati ya 1992 na Mata 1994 hakozwe byinshi mu gutegura Jenoside mu Karere ka Huye nk'uko ubuhamya bubyerekana. Hari bamwe mu rubyiruko rwahawe imyitozo ya gisirikari n'intwaro zirimo imbunda, za gerenade, imihoro, byose byakoreshejwe muri Jenoside. Hakozwe inama mu nzego zose z'imirimo ya Leta n'abikorera zari muri Butare zigamije gushishikariza abaturage kurwanya amasezerano ya Arusha yagombaga kurangiza intambara no gushyiraho ubutegetsi buhuriweho n'impande zarwanaga.

Mu Karere ka Huye Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa ku matariki atandukanye ya Mata 1994 bitewe ahanini n'ubukana n'ubugome bw'abategetsi ba buri gace. Hari ingero z'amakomini cyane cyane ayahanaga imbibi na Perefegitura

ya Gikongoro Jenoside yatangiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 indege ya Perezida Habyarimana yaraye ihanuwe. Muri rusange ariko Jenoside yakajije umurego n'ubukana nyuma y'ijambo rutwitsi ryavuzwe n'uwari Perezida wa Leta y'Abatabazi Théodore Sindikubwabo ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994 mu Nzu Mberabyombi ya Perefegitura ya Butare ahari hakoraniye abategetsi n'abayobozi ku nzego zose. Muri iryo jambo yabasabye kujya kwica Abatutsi bose kandi uwanze n'ubarengera na we akicwa. Ibyo byabanjirijwe n'iyeguzwa ry'uwari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Butare, Dogiteri Habyarimana Jean Baptiste w'umututsi wari wakoze uko ashoboye ngo akumire ubwicanyi.

Abatutsi bo mu Karere ka Huye bishwe urupfu rubi kandi bicirwa mu duce twose tw'umujyi n'ibyaro. Abategetsi b'inzego z'ibanze bafatanyije n'abasirikari, abajandarume n'Interahamwe baremye ibitero bizenguruka hose, byica Abatutsi bose nta kurobanura. Mu Mujyi wa Ngoma (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Ngoma) Abatutsi bakuwe mu ngo zabo bajya kwicirwa ku ishyamba rya Arboretum riri inyuma ya Kaminuza, abandi bicirwa ku mabariyeri yari yashinzwe hose. Hari abiciwe ku Bitaro bya Kaminuza (CHUB), kuri ESO, ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare, ku Kabakobwa, i Cyarwa n'i Tumba, muri SORWAL no mu Iseminari Nto ya Karubanda. Muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda bamwe mu banyeshuri b'Abahutu bishe bagenzi babo n'abarimu b'Abatutsi urupfu rw'agashinyaguro, abakobwa babanje kubafata ku ngufu. Mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye, Abatutsi benshi biciwe i Simbi n'i Sovu muri Komini Maraba, kuri Paruwasi ya Cyahinda muri Komini Nyakizu, kuri Stade ya Byiza muri Komini Mbazi, muri ISAR- Rubona na ISAR-Songa muri Komini Ruhashya no kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Nyaruhengeri.

Umwihariko wa Jenoside yakorewe mu Karere ka Huye waranzwe n'ubukangurambaga bwihariye bwakozwe n'abategetsi bakuru ba Leta y'Abatabazi (Perezida wa Repuburika Théodore Sindikubwabo na Minisitiri w'Intebe Jean Kambanda) bose bakomoka mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare kubera ko Abahutu benshi babanje kwanga kwivangura no kwica abaturanyi babo b'inzirakarengane z'Abatutsi. Jenoside yateguwe kandi igahagarikirwa n'abanyabwenge bari bakuriye imirimo n'amashyaka. Abasirikari n'abajandarume bagize uruhare runini mu gutinyura abaturage

ubwicanyi aho batanze urugero kandi bagatera ubwoba abangaga kwica Abatutsi. Perefegitura ya Butare yarimo umubare munini w'impunzi z'Abarundi zagize uruhare mu bwicanyi hirya no hino barangiza bakisubirira iwabo. Perefegitura ya Butare ihana imbibi na Perefegitura ya Gikongoro; iyi yarimo abicanyi benshi banambukaga bakaza gutera inkunga abicanyi baho. Kuri iki hiyongeraho za bariyeri ishyano ryose zatangiraga abagerageje guhungira i Burundi bakazitirwa n'umugezi w'Akanyaru. Icya nyuma ni uko Perefegitura ya Butare ibarizwamo Akarere ka Huye ari yo yishwemo Abatutsi benshi[1] muri Jenoside ugereranyije n'izindi perefegitura.

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye yasize ingaruka nyinshi zikigaragara n'uyu munsi. Hari abapfakazi n'incike, abafite uburwayi budakira, abagifite ihungabana n'ibindi bibazo bijyanye n'imibereho igoye. Leta y'u Rwanda ibinyujije mu Kigega cya Leta Gitera Inkunga Abarokotse Batishoboye (FARG) ifasha abagezweho n'ingaruka za Jenoside uko ishoboye kandi birakomeje.

N'ubwo byari bigoranye kongera kubanisha Abanyarwanda nyuma y'ibyari bimaze kuba muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi aho abaturanyi bishe bagenzi babo, bakica abo bashakanye n'abo bafitanye amasano, Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho uburyo butandukanye bufasha kongera kubanisha bose. Uyu munsi abaturage b'Akarere ka Huye babanye neza n'ubwo hakiri bake bagifite ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikunze kugaragara cyane cyane mu gihe cyo kwibuka. Abo na bo bakomeza kwegerwa bagahabwa inyigisho zibafasha kwiyumvamo ko ari Abanyarwanda kuruta ikindi kintu cyose kibatandukanya.

[1] Ibarura ryakozwe na MINALOC muwa 2004 ryerekanye muri Perefegitura ya Butare haguye Abatutsi 220.996 bose hamwe.

INTANGIRIRO RUSANGE

1. Iriburiro

Jenoside ni ubwicanyi ndengakamere butegurwa kandi bugakorwa na Leta. Ingingo ya 2 y'amasezerano mpuzamahanga yo gukumira no guhana icyaha cya Jenoside yo ku itariki ya 9 Ukuboza 1948 isobanura Jenoside icyo ari cyo ndetse ikanagaragaza igishingirwaho kugira ngo ibyaha byakozwe byitwe Jenoside. Nk'uko bigaragara muri iyo ngingo, ikiba kigambiriwe ni ukurimbura bose cyangwa igice kimwe cy'abantu bahuriye ku bwoko, ubwenegihugu, ibara ry'uruhu cyangwa idini (UN, 1948). Icyemeza ko ari Jenoside kandi kiyitandukanya n'ubundi bwicanyi ni uko Leta igira umugambi (intention) n'ubushake bisesuye byo gutsemba icyo gice cy'abaturage bayo ndetse ikanawushyira mu bikorwa.

Jenoside iyo ari yo yose irategurwa kuko Leta iyikora ibanza kuyikorera gahunda inoze kandi ikayinjizamo abaturage benshi bashoboka. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda yarateguwe, si impanuka. Ni icyaha cyakozwe kigambiriwe; gishingiye ku ngengabitekerezo y'urwango, ivangura n'amacakubiri byabibwe mu muryango nyarwanda mu gihe kirekire bikozwe n'ubutegetsi bubi bwasimburanye kuva muwa 1900. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu 1994 yahitanye abantu bagera ku 1,074,017 babashije kumenyekana mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe na MINALOC muwa 2004.

Abatutsi bishwe bari mu byiciro byose by'abaturage: abana, abakuru, abize, abatarize, abahinzi, abafite ubumuga, abarwayi, abacuruzi, abarimu, abaganga, abakozi ba Leta, abanyamakuru n'abandi. Abicanyi na bo bari muri ibyo byiciro byose kandi umugambi wabo wari kumaraho kugeza ubwo abazaza bazajya babaza uko umututsi yasaga (Nkusi, 2013). Ni muri urwo rwego abaturage basanzwe, abize, abagize inzego z'umutekano (abajandarume, abapolisi, abasirikari) imitwe yitwaraga gisirikari yari yaratojwe ubwicanyi nk'Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi, abihayimana… bijanditse muri Jenoside yibasiye Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwakoyiraga. Jenoside kandi yatijwe umurindi na bamwe mu

bagize umuryango mpuzamahanga bicecekeye cyangwa se bafashije abateguye ubwicanyi nk'uko byagaragajwe n'abanditsi barimo Melvern (2006), Prunier (2012) na Staub (2015).

Nyuma y'aho Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda ihagaritswe na FPR-Inkotanyi[2], hakozwe byinshi mu rwego rwo kumenya ukuri kw'ibyabaye mu Rwanda, impamvu za hafi n'iza kure zabiteye, ababigizemo uruhare, cyane cyane mu gihe cy'inkiko gacaca zashoje akazi kazo mu wa 2012[3]. Ibyo byose bigamije kongera komora no kunga abagize umuryango nyarwanda. Muri uwo mujyo kandi, ubuhamya bwinshi bumaze gukusanywa, inyandiko za gihanga zitandukanye na zo zimaze kwandikwa zivuga kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Aha twavuga inyandiko z'imiryango itandukanye irimo iy'abacitse ku icumu nka IBUKA (1998) na AVEGA (1998), Human Rights Watch (1999), African Rights (1995, 1998), Ikigo cya Kaminuza y'u Rwanda Kigamije Gukemura Amakimbirane (CCM[4], 2012) n'izindi.

Abantu ku giti cyabo, baba Abanyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga, na bo bagerageje kwandika kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu bihe bitandukanye. Muri bo twavuga nka Yolande Mukagasana (1999, 2004), Philipp Gourevitch (1998), Esther Mujawayo (2006), Jean Paul Kimonyo (2008), Charles Kabwete (2010), Jean Hatzfeld (2003), Charles Mironko (2009, 2014) n'abandi. Kuri izi nyandiko kandi ni ngombwa kongeraho izavuye mu bushakashatsi bumaze gukorwa kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye tw'igihugu zigaragaza umwihariko w'ubwicanyi bwahabereye. Muri zo twavuga izakozwe ku duce tw'Amayaga (Rutembesa & Mutwarasibo, 2008), Nyarubuye (Rutayisire & Rutazibwa, 2003), Murambi (Rutinduka, 2010) icyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi (CNLG, 2015), icyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri (CNLG, 2018), izahoze ari Perefegirura za Cyangugu na Gitarama (CNLG, 2020), Akarere ka Gasabo (2018), Akarere ka Rwamagana (2018) n'izindi nyigo zigikorwaho.

[2] Front Patriotique Rwandais
[3] Raporo isoza ku mugaragaro imirimo y'Inkiko Gacaca yamuritswe muri Kamena 2012
[4] Center for Conflict Management

Birakwiye kwibutsa ko gukora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside muri rusange no ku yakorewe Abatutsi by'umwihariko bisaba imbaraga, ubwitange n'ubumenyi, cyane ko iyo mu Rwanda yakoranywe ubugome burenze urugero, mu gihe gito kandi igakorwa hagati y'abari babanye igihe kirekire baziranye neza. Ibi ni byo umwanditsi Hatzfeld yise *génocide de proximité*. Gusesengura byimbitse ibyerekeye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda ni n'uburyo bwo kubuza ko Jenoside yazongera kubaho, haba mu Rwanda cyangwa n'ahandi ku isi, hubahirizwa ihame rya "ntibizongere ukundi".

N'ubwo intambwe imaze guterwa ishimishije ariko, haracyari byinshi byo gukorwa ngo ukuri kose kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda kumenyekane, kuva ku rwego rw'igihugu rwari rukuriwe n'ubuyobozi bubi bwayiteguye bukanayishyira mu bikorwa, kugeza ku rwego rw'umuryango ndetse n'umuntu ku giti cye wakozweho n'uwo mugambi mubisha. Kumenya ukuri kuri Jenoside bifasha komora ibikomere by'abayirokotse, kubaka no kubungabunga amateka nyakuri ayerekeye no guhangana n'abayihakana n'abayipfobya (Rutayisire, en ligne).

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, ishingiro ryo gukora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ku rwego rw'uturere, imirenge, ibigo bya Leta n'iby'abikorera gikubiye mu mwanzuro wa 2 w'Inama ya 13 y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano yateranye ku matariki ya 21 na 22 Ukuboza 2015[5] aho abayitabiriye basabwe gukomeza gukora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nk'imwe mu nzira z'umuco umaze gushinga imizi mu Banyarwanda wo kwigira no kwishakamo ibisubizo.

Mu bufatanye na Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG), Akarere ka Huye kakoze ubushakashatsi bwimbitse kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu byahoze ari amakomini ya Mbazi, Maraba, Huye, Ngoma, Gishamvu, Ruhashya, Runyinya, Kinyamakara na Rusatira. Utwo duce ni two tugize

[5] Uwo mwanzuro wa 2 ugira uti: "Gukomeza gusigasira no kurinda ibyiza twagezeho dukesha inkiko gacaca no kurushaho kubungabunga ibindi bimenyetso bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi birimo inzibutso za Jenoside, no kwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu turere dutandukanye, mu bigo bya Leta, iby'abikorera n'amadini kugira ngo bikomeze gushyigikira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda."

Akarere ka Huye kashyizweho mu ivugururwa ry'inzego z'ibanze ryo muwa 2005[6]. Ibice bikurikira bikubiyemo intego z'ubushakashatsi, uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu ikusanyamakuru, abo bwakoreweho na zimwe mu nyandiko z'abahanga zivuga kuri Jenoside muri rusange no kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda ku buryo bw'umwihariko.

2. Intego z'ubushakashatsi

Intego rusange

Intego nyamukuru y'ubushakashatsi ni ukwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 mu Karere ka Huye kugira ngo ukuri kumenyekane bityo bifashe mu kurwanya abayihakana n'abayipfobya.

Intego zihariye

1. Kwerekana no gusobanura imibanire y'abaturage mbere ya 1959 mu Karere ka Huye;
2. Kugaragaza imvano y'amacakubiri n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri 1959 mu Karere ka Huye;
3. Kugaragaza ibikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi kuri Repuburika ya mbere mu makomini yahindutse Akarere ka Huye;
4. Kugaragaza imibereho y'Abatutsi kuva Perezida Habyarimana ahiritse Kayibanda mu 1973 kugeza mu Ukwakira 1990;
5. Kugaragaza no kwerekana ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993;
6. Kwerekana uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye;
7. Kwerekana uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu Karere ka Huye;

[6] Itegeko ryo muri 2005 rigena imiterere n'imikorere y'inzego zegerejwe abaturage

8. Kugaragaza ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo, ishinyagura no gusibanganya ibimenyetso byakozwe muri Jenoside mu Karere ka Huye;

9. Kugaragaza ingaruka za Jenoside mu Karere ka Huye no kwerekana uko imibanire y'abaturage imeze nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

3. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu bushakashatsi

Ubu bushakashatsi bwari bugamije kugaragaza Amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu byahoze ari amakomini agize Akarere ka Huye, ari yo Mbazi, Maraba, Huye, Ngoma, Gishamvu, Ruhashya, Runyinya, Kinyamakara na Rusatira. Utwo duce twose ni two twahurijwe hamwe duhinduka Akarere ka Huye mu ivugurura ryabayeho muri 2005 nk'uko byasobanuwe haruguru. Ubu Akarere ka Huye kagizwe n'imirenge cumi n'ine (14) ari yo Gishamvu, Karama, Kigoma, Kinazi, Maraba, Mbazi, Mukura, Ngoma, Ruhashya, Huye, Rusatira, Rwaniro, Simbi na Tumba. 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, by'umwihariko mu makomini yavuzwe haruguru yabarizwaga mu cyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare. Ubu bushakashatsi bwakozwe hakurikijwe ibijyanye n'ubumenyi kuri Jenoside no kuyikumira; abatangabuhamya akaba ari abaturage bari batuye mu makomini yavuzwe haruguru bava mu byiciro bitandukanye by'Abanyarwanda[7].

Mu ikusanyamakuru hakoreshejwe ibiganiro byimbitse n'abatangabuhamya bagera ku ijana na mirongo itandatu na batanu (165) babarizwa mu mirenge cumi n'ine igize Akarere ka Huye. Ni ukuvuga ko muri buri murenge habajijwe nibura abatangabuhamya cumi na babiri (12). Hari imirenge yabajijwemo abatangabuhamya barenze uwo mubare.

[7] Reba Itegeko-ngenga n°8/96 ryo ku wa 30/8/1996 rigena imitunganirize y'ikurikirana ry'ibyaha bigize icyaha cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba cyangwa ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe kuva tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990

Abatangabuhamya twagiranye ibiganiro bava mu bacitse ku icumu, abarinzi b'igihango barokoye abahigwaga, abayobozi mu nzego bwite za Leta nyuma ya Jenoside, ababaye inyangamugayo za Gacaca, abahoze ari impunzi batahutse bazi amateka ya kera ya Huye, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi cyane cyane abireze ibyaha bakanabisabira imbabazi, abari abayobozi mbere no mu gihe cya Jenoside n'undi wese ufite amakuru ku bikorwa byo gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Muri rusange abatangabuhamya batoranyijwe hakurikijwe abantu bazi neza amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 mu Karere ka Huye, babyiboneye, babyumvanye abayikoze cyangwa abayigizemo uruhare. Abatangabuhamya batanze amakuru ni abari bafite nibura imyaka 18 mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994. Abashakashatsi bifashishije inyandiko zifite aho zihuriye na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye, harimo n'inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca n'izavuye mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) ku bategetsi bakomeye ba Butare baburanishirijweyo.

Kubera ko amakuru yakusanyijwe muri ubu bushakashatsi yibanze ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mbere ya 1994, muri 1994 n'agace gato kavuga ku buzima bwa nyuma ya Jenoside, raporo y'ubushakashatsi yanditswe hakurikijwe ibyari amakomini ya kera kubera amavugururwa y'inzego z'ibanze yabaye nyuma ya 1994, bigatuma uduce tumwe tugize amakomini twimurirwa ahandi. Aho bishoboka twagerageje guhuza utwo duce twa kera n'imirenge y'iki gihe.

4. Jenoside n'aho itandukanira n'ibyaha by'intambara n'ibyibasira inyokomuntu

4.1. Jenoside

Jenoside ni ijambo ry'inyunge ryakoreshejwe bwa mbere n'umunyamategeko w'umuyahudi witwa Raphaël LEMKIN muwa 1944 agendeye ku ijambo ry'ikigereki "*genos*" rivuga ubwoko cyangwa inkomoko hamwe n'iry'ikilatini "*cãedere*" risobanura kwica cyangwa kurimbura. Mu gusobanura iri jambo, yagaragaje itandukaniro riri hagati ya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha ndengakamere

byibasira inyokomuntu (*Crime contre l'Humanité*). Nk'uko abisobanura, icyaha cya jenoside gishingiye ku mugambi wo kurimbura burundu abantu bahuriye ku bwenegihugu, ubwoko, ibara ry'uruhu cyangwa idini. Nta bwo abantu barimburwa baba bazira ko bari ku rugamba cyangwa ngo bahorwe ibyaha bakoze, ahubwo bahorwa gusa icyo bari cyo (Totten & Parsons, 2009, 3-4).

Amasezerano mpuzamahanga y'umuryango w'Abibumbye yemejwe ku itariki ya 9/12/1948, agashyirwa mu bikorwa tariki ya 12/1/1951 amaze kwemezwa n'ibihugu byose bigize uwo muryango, yavuze mu magambo yumvikanyweho (compromise) icyo Jenoside ari cyo, ni ukuvuga kimwe muri ibi bikorwa bikurikira bikoranywe umugambi wo kurimbura bose cyangwa igice cy'abantu bahuriye ku bwenegihugu (national), ubwoko (ethnical), ibara ry'uruhu (racial) cyangwa idini[8]. Ibyo bikorwa ni ibi bikurikira:

- Kwica abantu b'itsinda rimwe;
- Gukomeretsa bikabije imibiri cyangwa ibitekerezo by'abantu b'itsinda rimwe;
- Gushyira abantu b'itsinda rimwe mu buzima bubi ubigendereye ugamije ko barimbuka bose cyangwa igice;
- Gushyiraho uburyo bubuza iryo tsinda kororoka;
- Kwambura iri tsinda abana baryo bagahabwa irindi ridafite aho bahuriye.

Jenoside si impanuka. Kugira ngo ishoboke, habaho kuyitegura hifashishijwe uburyo butandukanye harimo gushishikariza kurimbura abagize itsinda runaka, gushyiraho no gutoza amatsinda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare yifashishwa mu gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside, gukora urutonde rw'abagomba kwicwa no gushakisha uburyo bwo kuzayihaka nyuma y'uko ishyizwe mu bikorwa.

[8] UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), 1948, Article 2

4.2. Jenoside n'ibyaha byo mu ntambara

Aho jenoside itandukanira n'intambara ni uko intambara igira amategeko ayigenga[9] aho impande ebyiri zigizwe n'abasirikare bafite icyo barwanira baba bahanganye. Mu ntambara birabujijwe kwibasira abaturage no kwica utakurwanya. Na none habaho imfungwa z'intambara. Jenoside yo aba ari umugambi wa Leta wo kurimbura bose cyangwa igice cy'itsinda runaka bahuriye ku bwoko, ubwenegihugu, idini cyangwa ibara ry'uruhu. Haba hari abagize uruhande rw'abica n'abagomba kwicwa. Uwicwa azira ko ari umwe mu bagize itsinda riba ryibasiwe. Nta mfungwa za Jenoside zibaho.

4.3. Jenoside n'ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu

Jenoside itandukanye n'ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu. Mu mategeko mpuzamahanga no mu itegeko ngenga rishyiraho igitabo cy'amategeko ahana mu Rwanda, icyaha cyibasiye inyokomuntu gisobanurwa nka kimwe mu bikorwa by'ubugome cyangwa ubwicanyi gikozwe mu bitero rusange cyangwa bya simusiga bigahitana abaturage batari abasirikare. Bashobora kuba bazira ubwenegihugu bwabo, ibitekerezo bya politiki, ubwoko bwabo cyangwa idini[10]. Itandukaniro hagati y'ibyo byaha byombi rishingiye ku mugambi w'icyaha kuko Jenoside isaba ko haba habayeho umugambi wo kwica abantu bazizwa kimwe muri ibi bikurikira: ubwoko, ubwenegihugu, idini n'ibara ry'uruhu. Icyaha cyibasiye inyokomuntu ntigisaba ko hagaragazwa umugambi wo kugikora[11].

Mu gusobanura Jenoside ni ngombwa kumenya itandukaniro riri hagati yayo n'intambara, ndetse n'ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu kugira ngo bifashe umuntu wese kwirinda kugwa mu mutego wo kwitiranya ibyaha, dore ko hari n'Abanyarwanda kugeza uyu munsi bakitiranya ibyabaye mu gihugu cyacu, aho bamwe babikora babizi (abahakana bakanapfobya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi) bavuga ko mu Rwanda habaye intambara. Hakaba n'abandi, kubera

[9] Convention de Genève (1949)

[10] CNLG (2018). Kwibuka ku nshuro ya 24 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ikiganiro kivuga ku mwihariko wa Jenoside n'aho itandukanira n'ibindi byaha, p.4

[11] Idem

ubumenyi buke, bagikoresha inyito “intambara” aho kuvuga Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

5. Amavu n’amavuko y’Umujyi wa Butare

Umujyi wa Butare washinzwe ahagana muwa 1920. Muri icyo gihe witwaga Astrida, izina ry’Umwamikazi w’Ububiligi. Butare ni wo wari Umurwa Mukuru wa Teritwari yitwaga Ruanda-Urundi yagenzurwaga n’Ababiligi. Ni wo wari umujyi wa kabiri nyuma ya Kigali, Umurwa mukuru w’u Rwanda. Kuri Repubulika ya kabiri Umujyi wa Butare wabarizwaga muri Komini y’Umujyi ya Ngoma (Commune Urbaine de Ngoma).

Umujyi wa Butare wamenyekanye ku kuba igicumbi cy’amashuri yisumbuye n’amakuru yigishije Abanyarwanda benshi n'abanyamahanga mu ngeri zitandukanye. Muri ayo harimo Kaminuza Nkuru y’u Rwanda yatangiye muwa 1963, Ishuri ry’Indatwa n’Inkesha (GSOB), Ishuri Sosiyari rya Karubanda, Ishuri ry’Ubuhinzi n’Ubuvuzi bw’Amatungo rya Kabutare, Seminari Gatolika Nto ya Butare ya Karubanda, Seminari y’Ababatisita ya Butare, Ishuri ryisumbuye ry’Ababyeyi rya CEFOTEC, Ishuri ryigenga rya Butare, Ecole Autonome de Butare. Uretse ayo mashuri hari n’Ikigo cy’Ubushakashatsi mu Ikoranabuhanga (IRST) cyari gifite amashami atatu ari yo Ikigo cy’imiti, Ikigo cy’Ingufu n’Ikigo cy’Inyigisho Nyarwanda. Inzu Ndangamurage y’u Rwanda na yo yabarizwaga mu Mujyi wa Butare kimwe n’Uruganda rw’Ibibiriti (SORWAL)[12].

[12] Source: https://web.archive.org/web/20010122053400/http://www.nur.ac.rw/rwanda5.htm

5.1. Umujyi wa Butare kuri Repubulika ya mbere n’iya kabiri

Mu gihe ivangura ry’amoko n'uturere ryari rimaze guhama kuri Repuburika ya kabiri, Abahutu bakomoka mu Majyaruguru y’u Rwanda (Urukiga) bishyizemo ko nta muhutu muzima ukomoka mu Nduga (Ahabarizwaga Perefegitura ya Butare). Ibyo babishingiraga ku buryo Abahutu n'Abatutsi ba ho bari barabanye neza igihe kirekire ndetse barashyingirana ku buryo ababakomotseho iby'amoko nta kintu kinini byari bibabwiye, ndetse umubare w'Abatutsi muri ako gace wari munini ugereranyije n'andi maperefegitura y'u Rwanda muri 1994. Byongeye kandi, poritiki y’iringaniza mu mashuri no mu mirimo na yo yatumye benshi bakomoka mu Nduga bakandimizwa baratindahara, ibyo bigatuma batibona mu butegetsi bwa Habyarimana.

Mu rwego rwo gupyinagaza Butare yahoze icumbikiye umurwa mukuru w’ubwami, umujyi mukuru wiswe Nyabisindu mu rwego rwo gusibanganya ayo mateka akomeye kandi y’igihe kirekire. Ibyo ariko ntibyakuyeho ko ukomeza kuba ikimenyetso gihamye cy’ubumwe bw’Abahutu n’Abatutsi. Umujyi wa Butare wakurikiraga umurwa mukuru Kigali mu bunini n'ingano y'ibikorwa bifitiye igihugu akamaro. Gusa mu myaka ya 1980 wagiye usigazwa inyuma hazamurwa umujyi wa Ruhengeri mu Majyaruguru y'u Rwanda. Ibyo ariko ntibyabujije Butare gukomeza kuba igicumbi cy'ubumenyi, cyane ko yari icumbikiye Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda imwe rukumbi yashinzwe muri 1963 u Rwanda rumaze gusubirana ubwigenge. Byongeye kandi, Butare yarimo andi mashuri yisumbuye menshi arimo Urwunge rw’Amashuri rwa Butare (GSOB) rwabaye ishuri rya mbere ryisumbuye ryashinzwe mu Rwanda mu 1929 rikigisha abanyabwenge benshi u Rwanda rwagize uvanyemo abize mu maseminari. Ibyo byose byatumaga Butare ifatwa nk’igicumbi cy’ubumenyi n’ubworoherane mu bahatuye.

5.2. Imiterere y’Umujyi wa Butare muri Mata 1994

Nk’uko tubisoma mu nyandiko ya Human Rights Watch (1999), Butare wari umujyi mukuru wa Perefegitura ya Butare, utuwe n'abaturage basaga 26.600. Muri abo kimwe cya kane (1/4) bari Abatutsi. Uwo mubare werekana ko imibare yakunze gutangwa n'ubuyobozi ko Abatutsi ari 17% by’abaturage

bose atari yo. Uwo mujyi uherereye ku muhanda munini wa kaburimbo ugana i Burundi n'ugana Nyamagabe na Rusizi ukomeza muri Kongo. Uwo mujyi urimo kandi amaduka menshi y'ubucuruzi n'izindi nzego zikora imirimo itandukanye, yaba iya Leta n'iy'abikorera. Mbere y'uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ishyirwa mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994, ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal bwari bwarashyize mu myanya itandukanye Abahutu b'intagondwa bagombaga guhangana n'abashaka kurwanya ubutegetsi bwa MRND.

Mu buyobozi bukuru bwa Kaminuza ndetse no mu mashami (Facultés) bwashyizemo abakozi bwizeye kandi bashyigikiye amatwara na MRND yategekaga igihugu icyo gihe. Kuri abo hiyongereyeho bamwe mu bakomoka mu Nduga ariko bari bazwiho kuba baracengewe n'amatwara y'urwango n'ivangura byakorerwaga Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma. Muri bo twavuga nka Ntahobari Maurice wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza muri 1994 ariko mu by'ukuri atari afite ijambo kuko uwategekaga byose ari Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije Ushinzwe Amasomo witwaga Jean Berchmans Nshimyumuremyi wakomokaga ku Gisenyi. Birumvikana ko ya shusho y'ubworoherane n'umubano mwiza warangaga Abanyabutare wahindutse kuko binjiwemo n'abakomeye bafite ibitekerezo n'amatwara y'urwango n'amacakubiri kandi bari bafite gahunda (mission) yo gusenya iyo mibanire myiza ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwafataga nko kwigomeka.

Poritiki y'iringaniza mu mashuri yahaga amahirwe menshi abakomoka mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda haba mu kwiga amashuri yisumbuye na Kaminuza. Ibyo byatumaga amashuri menshi yari muri Butare yigwamo n'abana bakomoka mu miryango y'abari bakomeye mu butegetsi nu mu nzego z'umutekano bo ku ngoma ya Habyarimana bakunze kurangwa n'ingengabitekerezo y'urwango n'amacakubiri bakuraga ku babyeyi babo. Birumvikana kandi ko bayikwizaga muri bagenzi babo biganaga, bamwe muri bo bakayemera ndetse bakayigenderaho. Urugero rufatika ni uko mu mvururu zo kwirukana abanyeshuri muwa 1973 abigaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda barimo Léon Mugesera ari bo bafashe iya mbere bafatanyije n'abasirikari n'abo mu nzego z'iperereza zanabatizaga imodoka zo kugendamo

bagiye gukubita no kumenesha abanyeshuri bagenzi babo. Babikoze muri Butare bakomereza i Nyanza kugeza muri za Birambo ku Kibuye.

Muri Mutarama 1991 igihe Inkotanyi zateraga mu Ruhengeri, amashami ya Kaminuza yari i Nyakinama yahungiye i Mburabuturo muri Kigali n'i Butare. Abarimu n'abanyeshuri bakomoka mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda bari barasaritswe n'urwango n'amacakubiri bakunze kwibasira bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi babashinja kuba ibyitso by'Inyenzi n'abanzi b'igihugu. Bakunze kandi gusohora inyandiko ngo za gihanga zisobanura ku buryo butari bwo ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ndetse banashyigikira ku mugaragaro ishingwa ry'amashyaka n'imitwe birwanya amahoro n'imibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda (Urugero ni CDR n'Interahamwe).

Umujyi wa Butare wari ucumbikiye ikigo cya Jandarumori, icya gisirikari cyarimo n'ishuri ryigishaga abasirikari bato (ESO). Byombi byakunze kuyoborwa n'abatoni b'ingoma ya Habyarimana kandi barangwaga n'ivangura n'amacakubiri. Mu rugomo, ihototerwa n'ubwicanyi byaranze imyaka ya mbere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, abajandarume n'abasirikari bakunze kugaragaramo bafatanyije cyangwa se bakingira ikibaba ababikoraga. Ibyo byajyanaga no kuburabuza Abatutsi muri rusange no kubaneka bihoraho. Aba akenshi bakoranaga n'abandi bantu bakomeye barimo umuyobozi mukuru w'uruganda rw'ibibiriti (SORWAL) witwaga Higaniro Alphonse hamwe n'abacuruzi bakomokaga muri Gisenyi na Ruhengeri bari bafitanye amasano n'umubano wihariye n'abategetsi bakomeye. Ishuri rya gisirikari ni ryo ryari ricumbikiye n'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo muri Butare na Gikongoro. Abasirikari bakuru bari batuye ahitwa Buye; ntibabaga mu kigo.

Segiteri ya Tumba ni yo yari yubatsemo ikigo cya Jandarumori cyarimo abajandarume basaga 300, abenshi bari bakambitse mu Mujyi wa Butare abandi bari i Nyabisindu. Butare yari ikikijwe n'uduce tw'icyaro mu mpande zose. Imibanire hagati y'abasirikari ku ngoma ya Habyarimana yarimo ibibazo bikomeye by'amacakubiri ashingiye ku turere bakomokagamo. Abo muri Butare na Gikongoro bari bayobowe na Koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi ukomoka i

Kigali, akungirizwa na Liyetona Koloneli Tharcisse Muvunyi wamusimbuye ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 ubwo Gatsinzi yagirwaga umugaba mukuru w'ingabo mu gihe gito. Koloneli Muvunyi akomoka i Byumba akaba yari afitanye umubano ukomeye n'abo muri *Hutu pawa*. Kapiteni Ildephonse Nizeyimana yakomokaga ku Gisenyi bikaba byaravugwaga ko yaba yari afitanye isano na Koloneli Théoneste Bagosora. Yari yarihaye ububasha bwinshi kuko yasuzuguraga amabwiriza yose y'abamukuriye babana ahubwo agakora ibye n'ibyo yasabwaga n'abamukuriye bo mu *Kazu* bateguye bakanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside. Ni we wari ikiraro gicishwaho amabwiriza ahabwa abicanyi b'ingeri zose. Yunganirwaga mu bugome n'uwitwa Liyetona Ildephonse Hategekimana wategekaga ikigo cya gisirikari cya Ngoma n'ubwo we atakomokaga mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda. Bafatanyaga na Liyetona Jandarume Niyonteze.

Jandarumori yategekwaga na Major Cyriaque Habyarabatuma wafatwaga nk'umuntu utari intagondwa ahanini kubera ubumuntu n'ubufasha yagaragarije Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe na Habyarimana ubwo bafatwaga banafungwa mu byitso muwa 1990. Nizeyimana yaziranaga bikomeye na Habyarabatuma ku buryo ndetse ngo Jenoside itangiye Habyarabatuma yahoraga yiteguye ko Nizeyimana azamwica. Uwari wungirije Major Habyarabatuma ari we Major Alfred Rusigariye wakomokaga Gisenyi yagenderaga ku mabwiriza ahawe na Nizeyimana na Hategekimana aho kumvira umukuriye[13].

5.3. Imiterere y'Akarere ka Huye

Akarere ka Huye gaherereye mu Ntara y'Amajyepfo, kagizwe n'imirenge cumi n'ine (14) ari yo Gishamvu, Karama, Kigoma, Kinazi, Maraba, Mbazi, Mukura, Ngoma, Ruhashya, Huye, Rusatira, Rwaniro, Simbi na Tumba. Akarere ka Huye gafite ubuso bwa kilometero kare 581.5 (km^2). Umubare w'abaturage bako mu 2012 wari ibihumbi 314.022. Ubucucike bw'abaturage mu 2012 bwageraga kuri 540/Km^2. Ibiro by'Akarere ka Huye biherereye mu Murenge wa Ngoma, Akagari ka Butare, Umudugudu wa Karubanda. Akarere ka Huye

[13] Byanafashe D., & Rutayisire P., *Histoire du Rwanda: Des Origines jusqu'à la fin du XXème siècle*, Kigali, NURC, p.478

kazwi kuba kabarizwamo inzu ndangamurage y'u Rwanda, Ibisi bya Huye, Urutare rwa Nyirankoko, iriba rya Nyagakecuru, ikawa ya Maraba, ishyamba ry'Arboretum n'ibindi[14].

Imirenge igize Akarere ka Huye n'amakomini ya kera ibarizwamo

Umurenge	Komini	Uwayoboraga Komini muwa 1994
Ngoma	Ngoma	Kanyabashi Joseph
Tumba		
Mukura		
Huye	Huye	Ruremesha Jonathan
Mbazi	Mbazi	Sibomana Antoine
Kigoma	Kinyamakara	Munyaneza Charles
Rwaniro		
Rusatira	Rusatitra	Rukeribuga Vincent
Kinazi		
Maraba	Maraba	Habineza Jean Marie Vianney
Simbi		
Gishamvu	Gishamvu	Kambanda Pascal
Karama	Runyinya	Hategekimana Déo
Ruhashya	Ruhashya	Rudakubana Martin

Icyitonderwa: Kubera amavugururwa y'inzego z'ibanze yabaye mu 2002 na 2005, hari uduce tw'amakomini twavanywe mu ifasi ya perefegitura twabarizwagamo twimurirwa ahandi. Urugero ni imirenge ya Rwaniro na Kigoma igizwe n'ibice byahoze ari Komini Kinyamakara yo muri Gikongoro.

[14] http://www.huye.gov.rw/index.php?id=83, accessed on April 24, 2019

IGICE CYA MBERE: IMPAMVU ZATEYE JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI

Umutwe wa Mbere: Uko amacakubiri yatangiye mu Karere ka Huye n'ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi guhera muri 1959

1.1. Uko amacakubiri yatangiye mu Karere ka Huye

Mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni, Abanyarwanda barangwaga n'ubumwe bwubakiye ku bunyarwanda buri wese yibonagamo. Bose baharaniraga kwagura u Rwanda, kurukunda no kurukorera. Ubwo bumwe bwarangwaga kandi no kugira icyerekezo kimwe, imyemerere imwe ndetse no gusangira indangagaciro z'ubupfura, umurava no gutabarana. Ubwo bumwe bwahungabanyijwe n'ubukoroni. Abakoloni bageze mu Rwanda batangajwe no kubona Abanyarwanda bibona kimwe nk'abantu bagize igihugu kimwe kirangwamo imirimo inyuranye cyane cyane ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, buri wese afite umurimo akora, ari na cyo cyatumaga buri wese agira urwego rw'imirimo n'imibereho abarizwamo. Ibyo byatumye batinya ko batazashobora kugera ku ntego yabo kuko Abanyarwanda bashobora gushyira hamwe bakabarwanya bituma bahitamo kubacamo ibice.

Abakoloni basenye inzego z'imiyoborere y'igihugu yari ishingiye ku bwami n'abatware, basenya imyemerere yari ishingiye ku Mana y'i Rwanda n'indangagaciro bijyanye bazisimbuza amahame y'idini ryabo. Za kirazira zari mu muco nyarwanda bumvisha abantu ko nta gaciro zifite. Ibi byakozwe ku bufatanye n'abamisiyoneri gatorika cyane cyane Abapadiri Bera. Musenyeri Léon CLASSE yumvishije abakoloni ko Abatutsi b'ibikomangoma ari bo bonyine bakwiye ubutegetsi kuko ngo ari bo bari bafite ubwenge karemano kurusha abandi Banyarwanda[15].

Izo mpinduka zagaragaye mu mpinduramatwara yiswe iya Mortehan (1926-1931) yasenye ubuyobozi bwariho cyane cyane abayobozi b'Abahutu bagakurwa ku myanya yabo. Kugira ngo bigerweho, Abanyarwanda bigishijwe ko Abatutsi baturutse muri Ethiopia na ho Abahutu bakaba baraturutse muri Tchad. Abatwa biswe abagasangwabutaka batemye ishyamba bakarema u

[15] Idem.

Rwanda. Nyuma yaho Abahutu bakomeje kumvishwa ko Abatutsi ari abanyamahanga babateye mu gihugu cyabo kuko bavugaga ko abo ari bo batuye nyuma mu Rwanda. Iyo ngengabitekerezo y'ivangura ishingiye ku bisobanuro abakoloni bahaye inkomoko y'Abanyarwanda yigishijwe mu mashuri igihe kirekire nyuma yo kugenda kwabo ndetse ishingirwaho mu kuringaniza Abanyarwanda mu mashuri ni mu mirimo bashingiye ku moko n'uturere.

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni, agace gaherereyemo Akarere ka Huye no mu nkengero zako kashinzwemo misiyoni za mbere za kiriziya gatorika, ni ukuvuga iya Save muwa 1900, iya Kansi muri Komini Nyaruhengeri muwa 1910 n'iya Butare muwa 1936. Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni Umujyi wa Astrida ni wo wari ukomeye kuko warimo ibigo bikomeye by'amashuri yisumbuye nka *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* yigishe benshi mu batware bo ku ngoma ya cyami ndetse n'abategetsi bo kuri Repubulika. Muri Butare hari kandi Seminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda[16] yarerewemo abihayimana bose b'Abanyarwanda.

Agace ka Save kegeranye n'Akarere ka Huye ni ho hakomoka Habyarimana Joseph Gitera washinze ishyaka rya APROSOMA[17] ryagize uruhare runini mu kubiba ivangura n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda byagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. APROSOMA yari isanzwe ari ishyirahamwe riharanira imibereho ya rubanda rugufi ryahindutse ishyaka rya politiki muri Gashyantare 1959. Mbere y'uko ryemerwa nk'ishyaka rya politiki Habyarimana Joseph Gitera yari yagaragaje amashagaga yo kwibasira Abatutsi n'ingoma ya cyami.

Mu nama zitandukanye yakoreshaga yakanguriraga abarwanashyaka be kwanga bivuye inyuma umututsi no kutagirana umubano na we. Uruhare rwa Habyarimana Joseph Gitera rugaragarira mu kubiba amacakubiri n'urwango binyuze muri za mitingi yakoreshaga, ariko cyane cyane mu mategeko icumi y'Abahutu[18] yanditse agamije gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica

[16] Jean Paul Kimonyo (2008). *Rwanda, Un génocide populaire*. Editions Karthala. p.147.

[17] APROSOMA: Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse

[18] https://urumuri.rw/?Amategeko-10-y-Abahutu-Intandaro-y-urwangano-rukomeye-rwo-kwanga-Abatutsi

Abatutsi. Ayo mategeko yabaye imwe mu nzira nyinshi zakoreshejwe mu kubiba urwango hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, byanatumye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ishoboka muwa 1994. Ayo mategeko rutwitsi yatangajwe ku mugaragaro na Habyarimana Joseph Gitera muri mitingi ya APROSOMA yabereye i Astrida (Butare) kuwa 27 Nzeri 1959.

Mu Ugushyingo 1959 mu Rwanda hose hatangiye ibikorwa byo gusahura no kwica Abatutsi bikozwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR-PARMEHUTU n'aba APROSOMA mu gace ka Save ahari icyicaro cy'ishyaka rya APROSOMA, abaturage bari bashyigikiye ubwami birwanyeho barabamenesha ndetse uwari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa APROSOMA witwa Kanyaruka aricwa. Ibyo byabaye kuwa 11 Ugushyingo 1959 bikozwe na Shefu Mbanda wari ukuriye ingabo zarwanyaga ibitero bya PARMEHUTU[19].

Ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU na ryo ryagize uruhare runini mu gucamo ibice Abanyarwanda. Muri Nzeri 1959, mu nama yahuje abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU na APROSOMA muri Hôtel Faucon i Butare, Kayibanda Grégoire yavuze amagambo akurikira: " *Ishyaka ryacu rirareba inyungu z'Abahutu bakandamijwe, bagasuzugurwa, bagapyinagazwa na Gatutsi wihaye igihugu (envahisseur). Tugomba kuba urumuri rwa rubanda nyamwinshi. Tugomba gusubiza igihugu bene cyo, igihugu ni icy'Abahutu*[20].

Imwe mu mirongo migari y'Ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU kwari ukwerekana ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi badafitanye isano, ko badakomoka hamwe. PARMEHUTU yigishaga abayoboke bayo ko Abatutsi ari abanyamahanga bigabije igihugu bakabategeka. Yerekanaga ko ikibazo cy'akarengane gihuriweho n'Abahutu bose bityo ikabahamagarira kwanga Abatutsi[21]. Iyo ngengabitekerezo y'urwango ni yo yagejeje ku bikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi guhera mu Ugushyingo 1959.

[19] Kimonyo Jean Paul (2008). *Rwanda, Un génocide populaire*. Editions Karthala. p.148.

[20] Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014). *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*. Kigali-Rwanda, p.28.

[21] Rurangwa Jean Marie Vianney (2013). *La question de l'ethnicité au Rwanda*. Ottawa, Canada.

1.2. Ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye muri 1959

Ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo byibasiye Abatutsi guhera mu Ugushyingo 1959 byabanjirijwe n'inama zitandukanye zakoreshwaga n'abakuriye amashyaka ya APROSOMA ya GITERA na PARMEHUTU ya Kayibanda aho bavugaga ko Abatutsi ari abanyamahanga, ko amashyaka yabo agamije kwita kuri rubanda nyamwinshi ari bo Bahutu no kubasubiza igihugu cyabo (Gasigwa Théophile, Mukura, Werurwe 2019).

Bamwe mu Batutsi batwikiwe muri 1959 muri Komini Nyakizu (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Karama mu Karere ka Huye) harimo umuryango wa Sakagabo Jérémie, Mabinga Fransisco, Sekimondo Augustin, Rucekerei Elias n'abandi. Abameneshejwe bagahungira i Burundi barimo Rukwirwa, Ntwaza n'abandi. Abarwanashyaka ba APROSOMA na PARMEHUTU bariye inka z'Abatutsi. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo barimo Ngirabanyiginya Joseph, Kanyenzi David, Kajyibwami Frodouard n'abandi (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Gashyantare 2019).

Ku bijyanye n'ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo byibasiye Abatutsi mu Ugushyingo 1959, Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya muri Segiteri Gikombe avuga uko byagenze:

> Batwitse ingo z'Abatutsi, bamaze gutwika hari inzu y'imibambano bayivanga n'imifuko bashyiramo amasaka n'ibishyimbo ubwo turahunga tujya ahitwa Cercle Ngoma. Bukeye ubwo imvururu zirangiye twaragarutse duha abajyanama inka nyuma twubakirwa akaganda; dusanga n'imirima yacu barayihinze barayigabanyije. Mu batwikiwe harimo Kamana, Kabwana Boniface, Ngamije mwene Ntabwoba. Hishwe uwitwa Serudandi banatwara inka ze (Sinzikiramuka Jean, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Uwo mutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko Abatutsi bamwe bahungiye i Burundi. Abagarutse aho bari batuye abayobozi bagiye babasaba gutanga inka y'umusangiro. Umututsi wagarukaga mu matongo ye ubuyobozi bwamutegekaga gutanga inka ikaribwa n'abaturage. Iyo usesenguye neza usanga inka y'umusangiro yatangwaga n'Abatutsi batahunze yagereranywa

n'icyiru (amende) bahaga abaturage ngo bigure nk'aho ari bo babakoshereje. Hari abatangabuhamya bavuga ko bwari uburyo bwo kunga abaturage ariko umuntu akibaza impamvu Abatutsi ari bo basabwaga gutanga inka cyangwa inzoga y'umusangiro nk'aho ari bo ba nyirabayazana b'ibibazo byariho icyo gihe kandi ahubwo ari bo bibasirwaga.

Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Mbazi avuga ko mu Ugushyingo 1959 abarwanashyaka ba APROSOMA babatwikiye batwara n'inka zabo. Mu bo batwikiye barimo umubyeyi we witwa Petero, Ruvumba, Gasore Emmanuel, Nkurikiyinka n'abandi. Bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma bahamara igihe gito. Bamwe mu bo bari kumwe abakoloni babajije aho bashaka guhungira, bamwe bavuga i Burundi, i Bugande na Kongo. Habayeho gutatana bamwe babajyana Uganda abandi i Burundi. Abatarahunze basubiye ku matongo yabo abaturanyi b'Abahutu babafasha kugonda inzu, barongera baratura (Kantarama Léocadie, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma, i Sahera, Abatutsi bamwe bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Kansi abandi barameneshwa bahungira i Burundi. Mu bishwe icyo gihe barimo uwitwa Mutembe wari Sushefu i Riba. Yishwe n'igitero cyarimo Nyabyenda wari umurwanashyaka wa APROSOMA. Abari ku isonga ni abarwanashyaka ba APROSOMA barimo Bigumushaka, Kabwana, Ngaboyamahina wabaye Konseye wa Segiteri Buvumo n'abandi (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu gace Umurenge wa Rusatira uherereyemo, mu Ugushyingo 1959 Abatutsi barishwe, baratwikirwa, barameneshwa. Mu bishwe harimo Sebitenga Athanase, umuryango wa Kagenza, Rwemarika, Musega Mathias n'abandi (Twiringiyimana Bénoît, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Ubwo batwikiraga Abatutsi hibasirwaga cyane abari abashefu, abasushefu n'abandi Batutsi bishoboye. Abatarahunze bagarutse mu matongo yabo Abahutu bari baturanye barabafasha bagonda utururi. Muri Komini Ngoma abagize uruhare muri ibyo bikorwa harimo Antoine Bisomimbwa, Sentama Gaspard, Rwamakuba n'abandi (Uwizeyimana Florida, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Ubwo Abatutsi batwikirwaga Abahutu bamwe bafatanyije n'Abatutsi kurwanya ibitero bya APROSOMA na PARMEHUTU. Abo bari bataramenya ko ikigamijwe ari ukwikiza Abatutsi. Nyuma yo gucengerwa n'ingengabitekerezo y'urwango bamwe badukiriye Abatutsi barabica abandi barabamenesha (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi basigaye mu gihugu bongeye gukorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo birimo kubatwikira no kubamenesha mu gihe cy'amatora ya Kamarampaka muwa 1960 ndetse na nyuma yaho. Mu bameneshejwe bo muri Komini ya Maraba harimo Muniga, Rwanyagatare, Kabaka n'abandi. Abari ku isonga ni abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU barimo Mutabazi Modeste (Kanobayire Jean Baptiste, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Ukuboza 1963 Abatutsi bo mu duce duhana imbibi na Perefegitura ya Gikongoro barishwe, baratwikirwa, abarokotse bahungira i Burundi na Uganda. Abasigaye imbere mu gihugu bakomeje gutotezwa, guhezwa no kwimwa uburenganzira bwo gusura cyangwa gusurwa n'abavandimwe babo bahunze.

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini ya Maraba avuga ko mu Ukuboza 1963 aba PARMEHUTU babatwikiye ubuyobozi bwa komini burebera. Burugumesitiri wa Komini witwaga Munyandekwe Claver ni we wabaga ayoboye ibyo bitero (Kanobayire Jean Baptiste, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Umutwe wa 2: Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya Mbere

Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire bwaranzwe no guheza Abatutsi mu buryo bwose, kubatoteza no kubica. Guheza Abatutsi byakorwaga mu mashuri, mu mirimo ya Leta, mu gisirikare ndetse no kubima uburenganzira bwo gusura cyangwa gusurwa n'abavandimwe babo bari barameneshejwe bagahunga. Abatutsi bimwe uburenganzira ku mitungo yabo bari barambuwe.

2.1. Ihezwa ry'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda

Kuri Repuburika ya mbere Abatutsi bahejwe mu nzego zose. Mu mashuri byari bigoye kubona ishuri muri Leta cyane cyane mu mashuri yisumbuye. Umwana w'umututsi wabaga afite iwabo bishoboye bamujyanaga mu mashuri yigenga, gusa icyo gihe na yo yari akiri make. Ahandi umwana w'umututsi yashoboraga kubona ishuri ni mu mashuri ayoborwa na Kiliziya Gaturika cyane cyane muri za seminari, gusa na ho bafatiraga ku manota yo hejuru.

Abana b'Abatutsi batotezwaga n'abarimu. Kubera kubahagurutsa buri gihe mu ishuri, bamwe bagiye bahagarika kwiga kuko kubahagurutsa byabateraga ipfunwe. Abanyeshuri b'Abahutu babitaga amazina mabi ndetse bakavuga ko Abatutsi bose ari aba UNAR (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma avuga ko kuri Repuburika ya mbere Abatutsi bahejwe mu nzego zose z'ubuzima. Ntibari bemerewe kwiga amashuri yisumbuye, kujya mu gisirikare na byo ntibyari byemewe. Akazi bakoraga kari ak'ubwarimu:

> Icyo gihe mu gisirikare ntawajyagamo atari umuhutu, kandi no mu mashuri byari bigoye kuko umwana yagombaga kuba afite imyirondoro ijyanye n'ubwoko bwe, wasangaga rero mu mashuri nta mututsi ushobora gutsinda. Iwacu nta muntu n'umwe nigeze mbona icyo gihe wari mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta. Abatutsi benshi wasangaga bikorera, abandi borora. Icyakora hari umuntu umwe wari umwarimu witwaga Rwigembe Estarque. Abandi bose bari Abahutu (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

2.2. Akarengane, urugomo rwakorerwaga Abatutsi no kubuzwa uburenganzira bwo gusura no gusurwa n'abavandimwe babo

Ku butegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda urugomo rugirirwa Abatutsi rwabaye ikimenyerewe kandi ntawigeze abyamagana cyangwa se ngo abihanirwe. Muri urwo rugomo n'ubunyamaswa byakorerwaga Abatutsi ku mugaragaro nta gihana habonetsemo abantu b'umutima mwiza bafasha abatotezwaga mu buryo butandukanye. Hari ababikoraga kubera imibanire myiza n'amasano bafitanye, abandi bakabikorera ubumuntu no kwanga guhemukira abaturanyi babo babanye neza igihe kirekire. Urugero abahungiraga ahandi cyane cyane mu bihayimana nta wabakurikiragayo, kimwe n'uko kwica abana n'abagore byari bikiri ikizira. Hari kandi n'abahishaga inka n'ibintu by'Abatutsi imvururu zahoshora bakabibasubiza. Abantu bose ntibari babi nk'uko byemezwa n'abarokotse ubwo bwicanyi n'urugomo byo ku bwa Perezida Kayibanda.

Muri rusange Repuburika ya mbere yaranzwe no gutoteza Abatutsi bose no kubaheza ku byiza byose by'igihugu nk'abenegihugu. Nta burenganzira bagiraga, bahoranaga ubwoba kandi icyakomaga cyose babiraragamo bakabica n'imitungo yabo igasahurwa. Byakorwaga n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR-PARMEHUTU bari biganje mu butegetsi kuva ku rwego rwa hasi rwa serire kugeza kuri Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Uretse ivanguramoko, Kayibanda yimitse kandi ivangurakarere aho yashyize ku ibere abakomoka iwabo muri Gitarama yirengagiza utundi turere tw'u Rwanda cyane cyane amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda yakomokagamo abasirikari benshi. Ubwo busumbane no kutumvikana mu bagize inzego nkuru za MDR-PARMEHUTU biri mu byo Habyarimana Juvénal yitwaje ahirika ubutegetsi ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1975 agatangiza Repuburika ya kabiri. Mbere y'iryo hirikwa ry'ubutegetsi habayeho kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo yose bikozwe n'ubutegetsi, mu rwego ngo rwo kubagabanya kubera ko bari bamaze kuba benshi bityo bagacura rubanda nyamwinshi (Gahutu) ibyiza yazaniwe na revorisiyo sosiyari yo mu 1959. Ibikorwa byo kumenesha Abatutsi no kubasahura ibyabo byanabaye mu giturage hirya no hino mu gihugu ahari

hamaze igihe hakwizwa umwuka mubi n'ibinyoma ko Abatutsi bacukuye imyobo yo kuzashyiramo Abahutu bamaze kubica.

2.3. Kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri mu 1973

Muri Gashyantare 1973 Abatutsi benshi bo mu Mujyi wa Butare bakorewe ibikorwa by'urugomo birimo kwirukanwa mu mashuri no mu kazi mu nzego za Leta n'abikorera. Kwirukana Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi byakozwe n'itsinda ry'abanyeshuri bari bibumbiye mu cyiswe *Comité du salut public* bari bashyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire kandi bakorana bya hafi n'inzego z'umutekano (Jandarumori n'igisirikari) n'iz'iperereza. Icyo gihe Abatutsi bageze aho bakorera basanga lisiti iriho amazina ya bo yamanitswe ibabuzaga kongera kwinjira mu kazi. Abanyeshuri bo birukanywe na begenzi babo b'Abahutu.

2.3.1. Kwirukana Abatutsi bakoraga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda

Nk'uko Bizimana Jean Damascène abisobanura, kwirukana Abatutsi muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda byatangiye mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 15-16 Gashyantare muri 1973. Icyo gihe Kaminuza yari iyobowe na Sylvestre Nsanzimana ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Karama muri Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, akaba mukuru wa Perefe Nkeramugaba wamamaye mu bwicanyi bwibasiye bikomeye Abatutsi bo muri Gikongoro muri 1963.

Nsanzimana yakoze raporo yoherereje Minisitiri w'Uburezi w'icyo gihe, Gasparad Harerimana, agaragaza uburemere n'akarengane abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bakorewe na bagenzi babo b'Abahutu muri Kaminuza. Muri iyo avuga ko ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1973 Padiri Gilles Marius Dion wari Umunyamabanga mukuru wa Kaminuza yamubwiye ko hari lisiti y'abanyeshuri 14 b'Abatutsi yamanitswe basabwa gutaha mu gihe kitarenze amasaha 24, batagenda bakicwa[22].

[22] Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014). Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Kigali-Rwanda, p.62

Mugesera Antoine mu gitabo cye avuga ko ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1973 ahagana saa kumi n'igice z'umugoroba ari bwo lisiti ya mbere yanditseho abanyeshuri 24 yamanitswe, ikaba yariho Africa Philbert, Mujawayezu M.J, Bitega M. Goretti, Bucyana François, Nyirimihigo J.M.V, Safari Vénant, Rugwizangoga Alphonse, Rugwizangoga Eugène, Nyiramugwera Monique, Nyiramasarabwe Monique, Rwamasirabo Emile, Rwamasirabo Georges, Musoni Joseph, Rangira Arthur, Manama Déo, Ruboneka Augustin, Ruzibiza Fidèle, Wane Justin, Kabeja Thomas, Kamanda Thaddée, Karagirwa Alphonse, Kantengwa Salomé, Sebulikoko Fidèle na Nsengimana François[23].

Muri rusange abanyeshuri 190 b'Abatutsi ni bo birukanywe na bagenzi babo b'Abahutu muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda no mu Ishuri Rikuru ry'Ubuforomo. Hari abanyeshuri babiri bakomeretse bikabije, ku bw'amahirwe ntawishwe[24].

Mugesera Antoine akomeza avuga ko ubwo Nsanzimana Sylvestre yabazaga impamvu Abahutu birukana abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi, ngo abanyeshuri bamushubije ko abanyeshuri b'Abahutu bashaka gushyira mu bikorwa ibiteganyijwe na Manifeste no 4 ya MDR-PARMEHUTU, ko biyemeje gukora ibyo abayobozi batashoboye gukora. Abo banyeshuri banavugaga ko nta Mututsi uzongera gukoza ikirenge muri Kaminuza[25]. Ibyo abanyeshuri bavuze byo gukora ibyo abayobozi bananiwe si byo kuko abayobozi babaga bafatanyije umugambi n'abo banyeshuri ndetse barebera ibyo bakora.

Boniface Barishinge yigaga muri Kaminuza muwa 1973. Yibuka ko umunsi birukanwa hari hateguwe sinema ku mugoroba w'itariki ya 15-16 Gashyantare 1973. Bamwe baritabiriye abandi baratinya kuko byari byatangiye kuvugwa ko sinema nirangira bakubitwa bakirukanwa. Ni ko byagenze kuko mu ijoro ryo ku wa 15/02/1973 Abatutsi barirukanywe barara bayobagurika bashakisha aho guhungira. Urugomo rwahereye muri

[23] Mugesera Antoine (2015), Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho. Kigali, p.206

[24] Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014). Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Kigali-Rwanda, p.62-63

[25] Mugesera Antoine (2015), Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho. Kigali, p.207.

Kaminuza rukwira no mu mashuri yisumbuye. Babirukanaga bababwira ngo *igihe cyabo cyo gutegeka cyararangiye, ko ari bo bagezweho ngo na bo bategeke*. Baravugaga ngo Abatutsi batwaye imyanya y'Abahutu mu mashuri.

Gasasira Jean Baptiste[26] wigaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda ari mu birukanwe amaze no gukubitwa. Yibuka ko mbere yo kubirukana habanje kuza icyuka kibi mu ngabo cya kudeta, abo basirikari bakuru bategura akajagari bahereye mu kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo. Za *listes* zirakorwa bahera ku bakozi, bakomereza mu banyeshuri. Serire zateguraga ibyo bintu ahanini zabaga zigizwe n'abantu baturuka mu Rukiga, Abanyenduga ari bake. Bari ubuyobozi guhera hejuru. Abanyeshuri bahawe iminsi ngo babe bavuye ku mashuri batashye. Abataratashye ku itariki ya 15/02/1973 barakubiswe barirukanwa.

Ahagana saa moya z'ijoro z'umugoroba ni bwo abanyeshuri binjiye aho bagenzi babo bararaga batangira gukubita. Gasasira abumvise yakubise urugi ahita yiruka, bamwirukaho umwe amukubita inkoni mu mutwe arazengera yikubita hasi [afite inkovu mu mutwe], ariko na we aramutega bombi baragwana. Kubera ubwoba yarahagurutse ariruka, yambukiranya ishyamba rya Arboretum, mukuru we amuhungishiriza mu Bafurere b'Abajozefite. Aho baramwomoye kuko batinyaga kumujyana kwa muganga ngo abicanyi batabimenya. Bamuhambirije igitambaro amaraso menshi yavaga arahagarara nyuma y'ibyumweru nka bibiri. Icyo gihe hari amaraso yaviriye mu mutwe bimuviramo kurwara igicuri cyaje kugenda gikira gahoro gahoro.

Uwamukubise ni uwitwa Dr. UWIMANA Alphonse wari umwana Habyarimana Juvénal yari yarabyaye mu batisimu. Abirukanwe bose ntawagarutse. Hari ababimenye mbere bakemewe n'abapadiri b'abazungu barara bahunze. Kuwa 17/02/1973 abo muri IPN na bo barirukanywe. Uwateraga amahane bamubwiraga ko agenda cyangwa akicwa. Abirukanywe batabonye uko basubira mu ishuri baratashye barahinga, baracupira. Mu giturage hari

[26] Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG). Ubuhamya bwa bamwe mu Batutsi bakorewe ihohoterwa n'iyirukanwa mu mashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye muwa 1973 Gashyantare 2020.

icyuka kibi cy'uko Abahutu bitegura gutwikira Abatutsi. Gusa ntibyatinze kuko byaje gufata indi sura bigaragara ko bitakiri ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ahubwo ko ari Nduga ihanganye n'Abakiga bashaka gufata ubutegetsi, bityo Abahutu bo mu majyepfo barekeraho guhiga Abatutsi ahubwo bashyira imbaraga mu guhangana n'Abakiga. Icyakora ku Gikongoro bakomeje kwica no gutwikira Abatutsi. Nyuma yo guhirika ubutegetsi ibintu byarahosheje, bake basubira mu ishuri abandi baguma mu cyaro.

Gasasira Jean Baptiste ari mu bagarutse kwiga akomeza ubuganga ariko azi neza ko naburangiza nta mwanya mwiza azahabwa kuko boherezaga Abatutsi ahantu habi hashoboka. Igihe kimwe yahawe kuyobora ibitaro bya Kibuye n'inama y'abaminisitiri yateranye, kubera ko uwamutangiye raporo yari yavuze ko akora akazi ke neza. Umwe mu bari mu nama arabaza ati "mwibagiwe ko ari umututsi, mwamuha uwo mwanya ari umututsi?". Bahita bisubiraho barawumwima. Boherezaga Abatutsi kure aho batabonana n'abandi nka za Rwinkwavu, Mibirizi…. Bakajyayo by'amaburakindi kuko nta mahitamo bari bafite.

2.3.2. Kwirukana Abatutsi bo mu Ishuri Rikuru Nderabarezi (IPN)

Urugomo mu Ishami Rikuru ry'Inderabarezi (IPN) rwatangiye nyuma y'iminsi ibiri, ni ukuvuga ku itariki ya 17 Gashyantare 1973. Nk'uko abatangabuhamya babivuga, Cyprien Rugamba wari umuyobozi yahuje abanyeshuri abasaba kugira ikinyabupfura ntibamere nk'aba Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda. Yarababwiraga ngo « muramenye ntimuzaterane amacumu twarabonye amakaramu ! ». Ntibamwumviye kubera ko na bo bamenesheje bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi. Mu bari babiyoboye harimo Bwenge Nicodème, Mugabo Pasteur, Mugesera Léon, Bizimungu Casimir, Zirimwabagabo Charles (Karakara), Nahimana Ferdinand, Mugenzi (Gipiki), Kwisaba, Mukarugero Candida, Munyakayanza n'abandi. Uwitwa Ndekezi Télesphore ni we wari ukuriye ibikorwa byo guhuza *Comité du salut public* yari ifite icyicaro muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda na IPN. Iyi komite ni yo yazengurutse igihugu hose ikangurira abandi kwitabira urugomo n'ubwicanyi.

Abanyeshuri birukanywe bo muri Kaminuza na IPN bagerageje gutorokera i Burundi na Zaire, abafatiwe ku mupaka bagafungwa. Muri abo harimo Sebuharara Vincent, Rudasingwa JMV, Kayihura Félix, Nyabyenda Laurien, Niyibizi Mariane wigishaga i Kansi. Bafatiwe ku mupaka wa Gikongoro n'u Burundi bagarurwa gufungirwa ku Gikongoro ku itariki ya 23 Gashyantare 1973. Abandi banyeshuri 14 bafatiwe ku mupaka wa Cyangugu. Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yatangaje muri Gicurasi 1973 ko hagezeyo abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bagera kuri 200[27].

Karege Félicien ni umwe mu banyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda birukanywe muri Gashyantare 1973 avuga uko byamugendekeye n'uko yaje guhungira i Burundi. Yibuka ko barangije igihembwe cya mbere batakivugana aho wasangaga mu gihe cy'akaruhuko buri wese yirukira muri bagenzi be b'Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi. Bari batangiye kumva amakuru y'uko Abatutsi bari gukubitwa mu mashuri yisumbuye, na murumuna we wigaga muri GSO yari yirukanywe asubira mu rugo iwabo mu Mayaga. Hashize igihe imvururu zigera n'iwabo n'ubwo atari azi umunsi nyawo bazatererwaho.

Umunsi babamenesheje bwacyaga bakora ibizamini. Saa kumi n'igice yagiye mu ruriro asanga bamanitse ilisiti ku rugi hariho amazina y'Abatutsi batemerewe kurara aho ngaho. *Comité du salut public* ni yo yari yasinye. Ayisomye yabonyeho izina rye. Yashatse guca urwo rutonde akebutse abona abantu baramureba. Abaza umwe yari ibyo ari byo aramwihorera. Afata icyemezo cyo kutajya muri restaurant ahubwo asanga ba bagenzi be bakundaga kwihuza iyo ibintu byakomeraga. Abagezeho atungurwa no gusanga ari we wenyine utari afite amakuru y'ibyo kumenesha Abatutsi. Bamubwira ko biriwe bahigwa ndetse no kwa Félicien bagiyeyo kumushaka bakamubura. Bigiriye inama yo kutajya kurya kugira ngo badakubitwa ahubwo biyemeza kuguma mu byumba byabo bakumva bagenzi babo baje kubakubita bagasimbuka.

[27] Mugesera Antoine, 2015, *Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho*. Kigali, p.208

Uwo mugoroba hari film. Icyo gihe yerekanwaga umunsi umwe mu cyumweru. Biyemeza ko abantu nibava muri film ari bwo bataha. Nk'uko babyibwiraga film itangiye bumva ibintu biratuje. Bafashe icyemezo cyo guhunga bukeye habona. Hagati aho abicanyi baje gushaka Félicien iwe baramubura. Yicara ategereje ko bucya. Bigeze saa tanu z'ijoro mugenzi we witwaga Kayibanda wari wagiye muri filimi aza yiruka amubwira ko ibintu bimeze nabi nta filimi yabaye ahubwo abanyeshuri bamwe bagiyemo kugira ngo bahane ibimenyetso (signes) by'uko baza kumenesha Abatutsi. Nta mwanya uciyemo bagiye kumva bumva induru hepfo abantu bagonga harimo uwitwa Ezéchias Rwabuhihi wakubiswe bikomeye agahunga apfutse. Wabonaga bakubita Abatutsi ariko batagambiriye kubica ahubwo ari ukumenesha ngo babavire aho. Bavugaga ko muri Kaminuza Abatutsi ari benshi kandi hanze mu gihugu ari bake. Ngo bashakaga iyo "equilibre" hose hakaba bake.

Bazengurutse hose bamenesha Abatutsi. Aho bageraga inzugi zifunze bategekaga ko zifungura n'ubwo byaba ku ngufu kugira ngo barebe ko ntawihishemo. Karege Félicien yari mu cyumba kimwe muri ibyo bifunze ari kumwe na Kayibanda. Baraje bakubita urugi cyane, Kayibanda bimurenze akubita urugi abacamo ariruka. Yirukanse bamwirukaho, amanuka muri escalier, ageze ku muhanda munini ujya kuri Kaminuza, asimbuka umugunguzi yikubita hasi aranakomereka, aviririana amaraso, akubitana n'imodoka ya Recteur witwaga Sylvestre Nsanzimana. Yari umuntu w'umunyabwoba cyane, ariko na we ntiyari abyanze. Yabonye abanyeshuri benshi bakurikiye umwe aravuga ngo: "Parmehutu oyee!" babyumvise barahagarara. Baramureka, ndetse baranagenda nk'aho bagize isoni zo kumukubita abareba. Babonye Kayibanda yirutse bibwira ko ari we wari urimo wenyine bakingira inyuma. Ubwo Félicien yaraye mu nzu ikinze mu madirishya harimo za grillages. Agarutse asanga harakinze. Ajya gushaka ahandi arara, bukeye yari yashatse urufunguzo, araza arakingura Karege avamo.

Bagisohoka bageze muri corridor bahuye n'igitero cy'abantu benshi, barabinginga barabareka bajya gutega imodoka. Bageze mu mujyi wa Butare basanga abantu bose ni ho bari. Abakubise n'abakubiswe. Bamwe baraye mu

bihuru, abandi bafite inshuti zabo baraye i Ngoma n'ahandi. Hari hasigaye gutega imodoka bagataha bagategereza icyo Leta izabagenera. Mu mitwe yabo harimo ko birangiye. Yageze iwabo avugana na se bumvikana ko ashaka uko ahungira i Burundi kubera ko atashakaga kuba mwarimu kandi yari hafi kurangiza icyiciro cya mbere cya Kaminuza. Amaze guhungira i Burundi iwabo nabo batewe n'Abahutu bari baturanye barabasahura.

Guhungira i Burundi byasabaga gukora urugendo rw'ibirometero n'amaguru uherekejwe n'umusare wagombaga kumwambutsa kuko banyuraga mu rufunzo bakambuka umugezi. Karege ageze i Burundi yasanze bazi ko abanyeshuri bari kumeneshwa mu Rwanda bakababakira. Yahasanze bagenzi be biganaga maze Abarundi babapakira amakamyo babajyana i Bujumbura akomeza amasomo ye. Arangije kwiga yashatse akazi arigisha, nyuma aza kubona Buruse yo kujya kwiga mu Busuwisi ari ho yakomereje ibyiciro byari bisigaye. Arangije ashaka akazi, arubaka ubu afite abana bakuru[28].

Muri iryo meneshwa ry'Abatutsi umwenebikira witwa Izana Adèle Consolata wari umukuru w'abenebikira bose yagiye i Burundi avuga ko agiye gusura Abenebikira b'Abanyarwandakazi baba i Burundi. Agarutse inzego z'umutekano zamufatiye ku Kanyaru afungirwa i Butare igihe gito nyuma yoherezwa gufungirwa i Kigali. Bamushinjaga ko yari yarahunze. Yaje kwamburwa uburenganzira bwo kuba umukuru w'umuryango wabo, Perefe w'I Butare amwambura pasiporo hanyuma bamwimurira i Nyarubuye ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Tanzaniya. Musenyeri Sibomana Joseph yanze iryo cibwa rya Izana Adèle muri Diyoseze ayobora. Yamujyanye kuba by'agateganyo muri *Procure* ya Kigali ariko Kanyarengwe na Lizinde ntibabyihanganira, baramufata bamupakira imodoka bamujyana i Nyarubuye amarayo imyaka ibiri yarahaciriwe. Yaje kuhavanwa na Minisitiri w'Amashuri Mutemberezi akamwohereza kwigisha i Muramba ku Gisenyi ahari harabuze abarimu b'ababahanga[29].

[28] Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG). Ubuhamya bwa bamwe mu Batutsi bakorewe ihohoterwa n'iyirukanwa mu mashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye mu mwaka wa 1973, Gashyantare 2020

[29] Mugesera Antoine (2015), Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho. Kigali, p.2019

2.3.3. Kwirukana Abatutsi bo muri *Groupe Scolaire* ya Butare (GSOB)

Muri Groupe Scolaire ya Butare kwirukana Abatutsi byabaye mu ijoro ryo kuwa 14 rishyira kuwa 15 Gashyantare 1973. Muri iryo shuri ntibamanitse lisiti nk'uko byakozwe mu yandi mashuri. Abayobozi b'ishuri bagiriye inama mu ibanga abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi kubyuka bagataha kuko byari bimeze nabi[30].

Mugesera Antoine avuga ko mbere y'uko Abatutsi birukanwa habanje umwuka mubi waterwaga n'utunama twakorerwaga mu kigo cy'Abafurere b'Urukundo. Izo nama zazagamo abahagarariye abanyeshuri b'Abahutu n'Abaparmehutu bamwe bakoraga i Butare bakaba bari barize muri Groupe Scolaire, barimo Dr. Mubiligi, Lizinde Théoneste wari ushinzwe inzego nkuru z'iperereza mu gisirikari n'abandi. Abo ni bo bacuraga umugambi wo kwirukana Abatutsi. Mu birukanywe harimo Condo Gilbert, Mutijima Jean Bosco, Kayumba Déo na Birego Emmanuel[31].

2.3.4. Kwirukana Abatutsi bo mu Iseminari Ntoya ya Karubanda

Kwirukana Abatutsi mu Iseminari Nto ya Karubanda byabaye ku itariki 26 Gashyantare 1973. Nkaka Raphaël watanze ubuhamya yigaga mu mwaka wa 3 icyo gihe. Ngo hari mbere ya saa sita ku itariki ya 26 Gashyantare ubwo Padiri Runyange wategekaga Iseminari yazaga akabasohora bose akabasaba guhunga kubera ko bari bagiye guterwa. Mugihe bakijijinganya babona abanyeshuri bagenzi babo b'Abahutu batangiye kubarakarira no kubasagarira. Bahise basobanukirwa ubutumwa bwa Padiri Runyange. Nyuma yaje kumenya ko cyari igitero cyari kivuye muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda kije gutinyura abaseminari b'Abahutu. Padiri yari amaze kubimenya. Nkaka na bagenzi be bahise biruka bamanukira mu ishyamba ryo ku Karubanda, bambuka hakurya ku gasozi gahari. Nta bwo bari benshi kuko batahungiye hamwe. Aho bari ku gasozi bari kumwe n'umwe mu barimu babo witwaga Nkusi Boniface (Baramwishe muri Jenoside muri 1994). Kubera ko

[30] Mugesera Antoine (2015), Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho. Kigali, p.205

[31] Mugesera Antoine (2015), Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rihoraho. Kigali, p.206

yari umwarimu yababwiraga ibyo bakora bakamwumvira. Bigeze nka saa kumi abasaba kujya i Sovu mu kigo cy'ababikira. Bagezeyo babakirana inabi ngo barajya he. Nyuma y'igihe kirenga nk'isaha babona imodoka za Camionette Toyota zoherejwe na Diosezi ya Butare yategekwaga na Musenyeri Gahamanyi zagombaga kubacyura iwabo. Imwe igana mu majyepfo ya Perefegitura ya Butare, indi itwara abajya Gikongoro, indi yerekeza mu maparuwasi yo mu majyaruguru, ari yo Kiruhura, Nyanza, Nyamiyaga na Ruhango. Nkaka yagiye muri iyo kuko yagombaga gutaha muri Paruwasi ya Nyamiyaga ku Mayaga.

Bageze i Nyanza basanga hari imvururu zikomeye zaterwaga n'abanyeshuri basaga nk'aho bafashe Nyanza bitwaje inkoni n'amahiri, bahagarika umututsi wese babonye cyangwa baketse mu muhanda. Bari bigaruriye imihanda yose ya Nyanza usibye ujya i Butare. Bari bigaruriye ujya kuri Paruwasi na Collège Christ Roi ujya mu Rukari no ku Rwesero n'ujya ku Kibuye. Kugira ngo bagere kuri paruwasi bagombaga guca mu ndiri yabo, mu ihuriro ry'imihanda, ariko imodoka barimo ihaca bahugiye mu gufata no guhondagura abari mu muhanda uteganye n'uwo barimo. Bari bafite inkoni, amahiri, n'amafirimbi basakuza cyane. Babacaho, baba barabarokotse. Biranashoboka ko batashoboye kumenya imodoka ngo bayihagarike. Muri abo yamenyemo umunyeshuri witwa Erasme wigaga muri EMA (Ecole des Moniteurs Auxiliaries) ryabaga aho i Nyanza. Yari mwene Sekayange Ladislas wabaye Burugumesitiri wa mbere wa Komini Muyira. Nkaka yari amuzi neza kuko bari baturanye bahura buri munsi iyo yabaga ari mu biruhuko. Icyo gihe i Nyanza yari afite ubuhiri. Muri iki gihe arafunze kuko yahamwe n'icyaha cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. N'ubwo yigaga i Butare ubugome mu guhohotera Abatutsi yabubonye i Nyanza. Bageze kuri Paruwasi i Nyanza babagabanyirije mu modoka 2, imwe ijya mu Ruhango indi imanuka i Nyamiyaga. Imodoka ibatwaye ntiyongeye guca mu mujyi aho abanyeshuri bari bakamejeje, yakubanutse mu tundi duhanda, ibageza mu muhanda mukuru wa Butare-Kigali.

Bageze i Nyamiyaga nko mu ma saa yine z'ijoro. Abapadiri bari bahari nabo babakira basa nk'abadashaka kandi mbere barababaniraga neza. Padiri mukuru witwaga Hans Soter yari umudage. Abandi bari Padiri Pirmez Andereya w'umubirigi na Padiri Robert May wari umufaransa. Babakiriye binuba birabatangaza. Ariko babahaye ibyo guteka n'aho gutekera. Barabacumbikira maze mu gitondo barabasezerera buri wese ataha iwabo. Yibajije impamvu Pirmez abakiriye ababwira nabi. Byarabatangaje kuko ni we wari ushinzwe amashuri ya primaire yose yo muri Paruwasi. Yize mu kigo cya paruwasi cyiza cyane. Pirmez yajyaga aza kenshi ku kigo cy'amashuri aje kureba uko biga, areshya bamwe muri bo kwitabira cyane ibikorwa bya Kiriziya Gatorika, abigisha kuririmba indirimbo za misa, abatoza guhereza mu misa, akajya anabigisha cyane iby'idini. Muri make ni we wari waratumye Nkaka ajya mu iseminari. Ni we ubwe wamwibwiriye ko yatsinze ikizamini cyo kujya mu iseminari. Yabimubwiye aseka cyane ubona ko amwishimiye. Hari ku cyumweru misa nkuru irangiye ubwo yamutumagaho ngo mbere yo gutaha aze kumureba. Hanyuma aza gutangazwa n'uburyo abakiranye umunabi bagiye bamugana nyuma yo kwirukanwa. Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ni bwo yasobanukiwe impamvu. Uwo mupadiri yaje kuvanwa i Nyamiyaga asubira iwabo, aragaruka ajyanwa mu mujyi wa Butare aho yigishaga muri ICA (Institut Catéchetique Africain). Jenoside yabaye ari ho ari. Nkaka asubiye i Butare kwigisha muri Kaminuza hari abanyabutare bamubwiye ko yashyigikiye Interahamwe. Yahise yumva impamvu yabakiranye inabi muri 1973. Padiri Pirmez yapfuye muri 2015[32].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakizu, Segiteri Gihango, muri Gashyantare 1973 abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi barirukanywe, abenshi muri bo bahungira i Burundi. Mu birukanywe harimo Kayimahe Vénuste, Senyana Cléophas, Nyungura Léodomir, Kayumba murumuna wa Mukantwari Marisiyana, Mukamusonera Daria, Mukabuzizi Christine n'abandi (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019.

[32] Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG). Ubuhamya bw'abirukanywe mu mashuri muri 1973. Gashyantare 2020, Kigali.

Mukankusi Immaculée wigaga kuri Sainte Bernadette avuga ko abanyeshuri b'abahungu bigaga mu ba *Frères maristes* baje bitwaje ibihiri bategeka Abatutsi gusohoka mu mashuri bagasubira iwabo. Uwazuyazaga baramukubitaga.

Benshi mu banyeshuri b'Abatutsi birukanywe mu mashuri muri 1973 bahise bayahagarika kuko kugira ngo wemererwe gusubirayo wagombaga kugenda witwaje indangamuntu cyangwa icya ngombwa cy'ababyeyi kigaragaza ubwoko bwawe. Kubera iyo mpamvu bake bahisemo gukomereza mu bigo byigenga, abandi bajya i Burundi na Kongo gushakayo amashuri, abatarabishoboye bacupirira mu giturage.

2.3.5. Kwirukana Abatutsi mu ishuri ry'Abakobwa ryo ku Karubanda

Ibikorwa byo kwirukana Abatutsi mu ishuri ry'Abakobwa ryo ku Karubanda byakozwe n'abakobwa b'Abahutukazi bari mu cyiswe "*Comité du Salut public*". Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsikazi bategetswe na bagenzi babo b'Abahutukazi gutaha iwabo ndetse baranabakubita. Muri iryo yirukanwa ababikira b'abazungu bayoboraga iryo shuri bashatse kurengera abanyeshuri b'Abatutsikazi birabananira kuko abari ku isonga ry'ibyo bikorwa bagiye gutabaza abasirikare bo muri Camp Ngoma, bahageze babafasha kubirukana. Hari abafashwe n'inzego z'iperereza barafungwa barezwe ibinyoma na bagenzi babo b'Abahutukazi. Mu banyeshuri b'Abahutukazi bagize uruhare mu kwirukanisha bagenzi babo b'Abatutsikazi harimo Uwimana Odette bari barise Shitani kubera ubugome yagiraga. Abandi ni Mukamugema Immaculée, Mukagasore Antoinette, Uzamushaka Agnès, Mukarwego Séraphine, Nibakure Isabelle, Kabanyana Anastasie, Musabyimana Vénéranda na Kamuzima Thérèse[33].

2.3.6. Kwirukana Abatutsi mu Iseminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda

I Nyakibanda mu Iseminari Nkuru ho nta bwo Abatutsi birukanywe kubera ko Musenyeri Niyibizi François wahayoboraga yabyanze ndetse ngo yamanuraga amatangazo yo kubirukana yabaga yamanitswe. Abonye bikomeye yagiye mu

[33] Bizimana Jean Damascène, 2014, *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali-Rwanda, pp.65-66

nama y'abasenyeri ababwira ko adashobora kuyobora ishuri ryigamo ubwoko bumwe. Yabasabye gushaka imodoka bagatwara abafaratiri babo mu gihe Abatutsi baba birukanywe (Théodore Simburudari, Kigali, Gashyantare 2018). Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi barirukanywe benshi muri bo bahungira i Burundi. Kwirukana Abatutsi byaje guhoshwa n'abapadiri b'abazungu barimo uwo bitaga Kreppi (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

2.4. Kwirukana Abatutsi mu kazi

Kwirukana Abatutsi bari mu mirimo ya Leta byabaye muri Gashyantare 1973. Bageraga aho bakoraga bagasanga hamanitse amazina yabo ko ntawemerewe kongera kwinjira. Benshi bahitaga basubira mu ngo zabo. Umwarimu witwa Karekezi Isaïe wigishaga ku mashuri y'i Sahera mu Kabuga yageze aho yigishaga asanga we na bagenzi be amazina yabo amanitse ku rukuta rw'ishuri handitseho ko batemerwe kwinjira mu mashuri bigishagamo (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019). Umutangabuhamya Makombe Mathias wakoraga muri ISAR yageze ku kazi mu gitondo asanga bamanitse urutonde ruriho amazina y'Abatutsi batemerewe kongera gusubira mu kazi. Yahise asubira mu rugo.

Lisiti yirukanisha Abatutsi mu mashuri nta bwo yasohokeye rimwe n'iyirukanishaga abakozi bo muri Kaminuza n'abakoraga muri Butare. Lisiti yo kwirukana abakozi yasohotse kuri 25 Gashyantare 1973 yariho abantu 143 barimo 86 bo muri Kaminuza. Abatutsi bakoraga mu bitaro bya Kaminuza i Butare birukanywe ku itariki ya 26 Gashyantare 1973. Kuri iyo tariki hirukanywe abaforomo 22. Mu mashuri nta bwo Abatutsi bayigishagamo birukanywe kuko ari bo bari bagize umubare munini, ubutegetsi bwasanze kubirukana byari gutuma amashuri menshi afunga buhitamo kubihorera[34].

[34] Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014). Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Kigali-Rwanda, p.70.

Mu Rukiko rw'iremezo rwa Ngoma hirukanywe Ndikubwimana Callixte, Rutayisire Albert, Karambizi Augustin, Gatarayiha Cassien na Musabimana. Muri serivisi y'ubuhinzi hirukanywe Karekezi Célestin, Rumanyika Léodomir, Ukobizaba Joseph, Ntagorama Austin, Sababo Côme na Gasasira Stanislas.

Muri Laboratoire y'i Butare hirukanywe Kabiligi Boniface, Karabaranga Servilien, Kalisa Joseph, Mbonigaba Célestin, Serufurira Théophile, Salaam JMV na Gakumba Hormisdas. Muri IPN hirukanywe Nyetera Célestin na Sendegeya Josias. Muri Météo hirukanywe Gisagara André, Munyandanguza Antoine na Gakuba Antoine.

Kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo ya Leta byakurikiwe n'ubwicanyi n'urugomo byabaye muri Werurwe kugeza Gicurasi 1973. Amazu yabo yaratwitswe andi arasenywa. Hari n'abishwe icyo gihe. Mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya Abatutsi baratotejwe ndetse hari n'abishwe. Serudagani n'umuhungu we witwa Ndanguza barishwe. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri ibyo bikorwa n'ubwicanyi barimo Rugigana, Nsanzabandi, Ntakabeza n'abandi (Sinzikiramuka Jean, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Huye Buhigimondo wari Burugumesitiri, Bisomimbwa Antoine, Rwamakuba, Gaspard Nyiramatwi ni bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo byibasiye Abatutsi muwa 1973 (Uwizeyimana Florida, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Bizimana Jean Damascène avuga ko abagize uruhare mu iyirukanwa ry'Abatutsi mu mashuri muri 1973 bahembwe imyanya na Leta y'u Rwanda mu myaka yakurikiyeho. Muri bo harimo:

a. Mugesera Léon wabaye umwarimu muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda kugeza avuye mu Rwanda akajya muri Canada nyuma yo guhamagarira kwica Abatutsi ku Kabaya muri Gisenyi kuwa 22 Ugushyingo 1992;
b. Pierre Célestin Rwagafirita wabaye Minisitiri n'umukuru wungirije wa Jandarumori;
c. Juvénal Uwiringiyimana wabaye Minisitiri akanayobora Ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'Ubukerarugendo (ORTPN);

d. Ferdinand Nahimana wabaye umwarimu muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda akaba n'Umuyobozi w'Ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'Itangazamakuru (ORINFOR);
e. Augustin Nduwayezu wayoboye ibiro bikuru by'iperereza;
f. Pasteur Bizimungu wabaye umuyobozi mukuru wa ELECTROGAZ na BACAR;
g. Joseph Nzirorera wabaye Minisitiri w'imirimo ya Leta n'ingufu;
h. Jean Berchmans Nsengumuremyi wari umuyobozi mukuru wungirije wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda muri 1994;
i. Pasteur Musabe wari umukozi mukuru muri BACAR.

Benshi mu bagize uruhare mu kwirukanisha bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi bari barabibwemo urwango n'abayobozi bakuru b'abanyepolitiki, kenshi bakabikora bakoresheje ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU ryayoboraga igihugu. Urwo rwango barukuriyemo barugira urwabo barukwiza mu Banyarwanda kugeza ubwo boretse igihugu[35].

Muri make igikorwa cyo kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu kazi cyabaye mu duce dutandukanye tw'Igihugu muri Gashyantare na Werurwe 1973 cyateguwe na Leta ya Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Mu mashuri ubutegetsi bwakoresheje agatsiko k'abanyeshuri kiswe *Comité du Salut Public* (Komite y'Ubucunguzi bw'Igihugu) kahabwaga amabwiriza na PARMEHUTU ku rwego rw'igihugu. Icyari kigenderewe kwari uguha urubuga Abahutu ngo bikubire ibyiza by'igihugu nyuma yo kwangaza Abatutsi.

Mugesera Antoine[36] na we yemeza ko igikorwa cyo guhohotera Abatutsi cyari cyarateguwe na Leta. Abaminisitiri bakigizemo uruhare barimo André Sebatware wari Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, Juvénal Habyarimana wari Minisitiri w'Ingabo, Gaspard Harerimana wari Minisitiri w'Uburezi, Frodouard Minani (Amatangazo ya Leta), Shiramaka (Umuryango), Augustin Kamoso (Iposita n'Itumanaho), François Nshunguyinka (Imirimo ya Leta), Pierre Damien Nkezabera (Ubuhinzi), Anastase Makuza (Ubucuruzi), Fidèle Nzanana

[35] Bizimana Jean Damascène, 2014, Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Kigali-Rwanda, p.69
[36] Mugesera Antoine (2015). Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1959-1990. Itotezwa n'iyicwa bihoraho, Deuxième édition.

(Imari ya Leta), Augustin Munyaneza (Ubutwererane), Godefroid Nyiribakwe (Abakozi), Emmanuel Hitayezu (Igenamigambi), Capitaine André Bizimana (Urubyiruko), Capitaine Jean Seyanga (yari ashinzwe guhuza imirimo y'ubutegetsi na politiki muri Perezidansi) na Déogratias Gashonga (Guhuza ibya Tekiniki n'Imari muri Perezidansi). Muri uwo mwaka wa 1973 Minisiteri y'Ubucamanza yari yaravanyweho ihuzwa na Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu. Yari iyobowe na Sebatware André wabaye umwe mu bayoboye uru rugomo n'ubwicanyi.

Kwirukana Abatutsi mu mirimo byabaye mu gihe hirukanwaga Abatutsi mu mashuri. Kumanika amazina y'abagomba kwirukanwa mu kazi byakorwaga kimwe kandi byakorwaga nijoro bwacya abakozi bagasanga urutonde rumanitse ahantu hagaragara. Izo lisiti ntizabaga zifite umukono w'abazanditse ariko zubahirizwaga nk'itegeko abayobozi b'ayo mashuri barebera, ndetse bamwe muri bo bakabigiramo uruhare. Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu yari ifite mu nshingano zayo ubucamanza ntiyigeze yamagana cyangwa se ngo ikurikirane abari bagize agatsiko ka "*Comité du Salut Public"* kagize uruhare mu guhohotera Abatutsi.

Umutwe wa 3 : Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri

3.1. Agahenge k'igihe gito

Habyarimana amaze gufata ubutegetsi habayeho agahenge k'igihe gito Abatutsi ntibongera kwicwa ikivunge nk'uko byari bimeze mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda, ariko nta bwo byamaze igihe. Yaranzwe n'akarimi kuzuye ubugome n'uburyarya nyamara ibikorwa byari bitandukanye n'ibyo avuga. Umwe mu batangabuhamya ni byo asobanura mu magambo akurikira:

> Icyo gihe agahenge karabaye kandi abantu tugira n'icyizere, twumva ko birangiye ndetse twumva turanishimye, cyane ko banaririmbaga ubumwe n'amahoro. Ariko na byo byabaye iby'akanya gato kuko nyuma yaho baje gushinga Muvoma bakajya baririmba ngo ikiraro cyambutsa bose, mbese ukabona ko agahenge kaje, ariko nyuma yaho si ko byakomeje; byari nko kujijisha kuko kari akarimi keza ka Habyarimana. Itotezwa n'ikandamizwa by'Abatutsi byarakomeje ndetse na ya magambo yavugaga aba ayo ku maradiyo no mu itangazamakuru gusa (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

3.2. Ivangura n'amacakubiri kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri

Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal nta cyo bwahinduye ku mibereho y'Abatutsi. Bwaje bukomereza kuri politiki y'ivangura n'amacakubiri byarangaga ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko nta mpinduka yazanye n'ubwo yavuze ko azanye amahoro ariko Abatutsi bakomeje guhezwa no gutotezwa mu mashuri no mu kazi ka Leta. Umwe mu batangabuhamya agira ati :

> Urebye nta cyahindutse ku buzima bw'Abatutsi, uko byari bimeze ku bwa Kayibanda ni ko byagumye no ku bwa Habyarimana. Abatutsi bakomeje kugenda barengana batyo haba mu mashuri no mu kazi. Imibereho ya bo yakomeje kuba mibi kuko ibyo Habyarimana yavugaga si byo yakoraga. Guhindura MDR bakazana MRND byari ukujijisha ngo Abatutsi bibagirwe MDR noneho bagire ngo MRND ni

> ikintu gishya kigiye kubazamura (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Undi mutangabuhamya avuga ko Perezida Habyarimana yaranzwe n'uburyarya no kwiyoberanya nyamara ubutegetsi bwe bugakomeza guheza Abatutsi mu nzego zose. Agira ati:

> Nta mpinduka zabaye ariko akijyaho yariyoberanyije bamwe mu Batutsi babonye akazi k'ubwarimu ariko ntihagire ujya mu buyobozi. Mu mashuri barigaga ariko ntibagere kure, mbese yaranzwe n'uburyarya nta cyo yakijije ahubwo yashimangiye ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n'Akarere, yikoma Abahutu bo mu Nduga Abakiga aba ari bo ashyira ku ibere (Uwizeyimana Florida, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bahejwe mu mashuri, mu mirimo ya Leta no mu gisirikare. Imirimo bari bemerewe gukora ni ubwarimu n'ubuforomo gusa. Kujya mu gisirikare cyangwa mu nzego zishinzwe umutekano ntibari bemerewe (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019). Abatutsi bari barahinduye ubwoko ni bo babashije kujya mu gisirikare cyangwa mu gipolisi, ariko iyo byamenyekanaga bahitaga bamwirukana cyangwa bakamwica (Ntawiyahura Anastase, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Abatangabuhamya bavuga uburyo mu ishuri babahagurutsaga, wahagurukaga mu banyeshuri mudahuje ubwoko mwarimu akakwicaza ndetse akakubwira nabi akubaza igihe wahindukiye umuhutu. Nta mututsi watsindaga ngo yimukire mu mashuri yisumbuye. Iyo yatsindaga amanota ye bayahaga umuhutu. Umwe mu batangabuhamya abisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

> Mu ishuri bahagurutsaga Abatutsi ubwo hagira umuhutu uhaguruka mu Batutsi mwarimu ati wowe sha icara ndakuzi ndashaka Abatutsi! Ubwo bakatubara bakatwandika. Nta mututsi watsindaga ngo ajye mu mashuri yisumbuye. Yahitaga aguranwa undi. Ndibuka natsinze ikizamini cya Leta ngiye kujya secondaire baranyangira ngo ndi umututsi ubwo njya muri

> Familiale. Wabonaga nta jambo Abatutsi bafite (Uwizeyimana Florida, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Hari abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bakubitwaga kubera ko bahagurutse mu Bahutu kandi akenshi babikoraga batabizi. Guhora bahagurutsa Abatutsi mu mashuri no kubacunaguza byagiraga ingaruka ku myigire yabo; hari bamwe barekaga ishuri. Kwitwa umuhutu byari ishema na ho kuba umututsi ari igitutsi (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Kugira ngo abarimu berekane itandukaniro hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bafataga ibiganza by'abanyeshuri uwo basanze mu kiganza cye hakomeye bakavuga ko ari umuhutu na ho umututsi ngo habaga horoshye. Kureba indeshyo y'umuntu, igihagararo n'ibice bigize umubiri we ni byo abakoloni bakoresheje bashaka kugaragaza ko Abahutu batandukanye n'Abatutsi. Ibyo rero byakomeje kwifashishwa mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda na Habyarimana kugira ngo bakomeze kwereka abaturage bayobora ko batandukanye (Ndabakenga Augustin, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye n'imibereho y'Abatutsi nyuma y'aho Habyarimana Juvénal afatiye ubutegetsi Munyankindi Straton wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya agira ati:

> Nta mpinduka zabaye nta mututsi wamerewe neza aho yari ari ni ho yakomeje kuba ahubwo uko iminsi yicumaga byakomeje kuba bibi ugasanga nta jambo bafite bakora batizeye amahoro bakora mu bwihisho (Munyankindi Straton, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye n'ihezwa ry'Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo ya Leta, mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana nta bwo byari byoroheye namba Abatutsi gutsinda ikizamini cya Leta kibemerera kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye. Nta bwo higeze habaho gutsinda ahubwo habagaho kwemererwa. Mu kazi nta mututsi wahabwaga akazi ko mu mwanya wo hejuru usaba gufata ibyemezo. Umutangabuhamya asobanura neza uko Abatutsi bafatwaga muri rusange mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal:

> Mu mashuri iyo wabaga ugeze mu mwaka wa gatandatu wuzuzaga icyo bitaga *fiche signalétique* ugashyiraho imyirondoro yawe yose, ubwoko bwawe na komini utuyemo. Ayo makuru yifashishwaga n'ubuyobozi kugira ngo babone uko batanga imyanya mu mashuri yisumbuye. Ndibuka mu ishuri nigagamo twari nk'Abatutsi mirongo itatu, abemerewe kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye bageraga ku munani. Nta bwo gutsinda byabagaho, habagaho kwemererwa. Mu mirimo ya Leta nta mututsi washoboraga kubona akazi gakomeye ngo abe umuyobozi. Akazi babonaga mu buryo butagoranye ni ubwarimu n'ubuforomo. Mu nzego z'umutekano ho nta mututsi wabitekerezaga ngo abe yajya mu gisirikare kuko yari azi ko bidashoboka (Mbabazi Norbert, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma asobanura ihezwa ry'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana muri aya magambo:

> Mu ishuri mwarimu yarazaga agahagurutsa abanyeshuri akavuga ati Abatutsi nimuhaguruke. Uwashakaga guhaguruka mu Bahutu mwarimu agahita amukubita. Ikindi, mu manota y'ibizamini bya Leta wabaga wakoze watsinze ariko amanota yajya gusohoka ugasanga nturiho hakaba hari n'igihe usanga uriho ariko baragucishijemo umurongo. Abanyeshuri byabayeho harimo Masabo Eric, Mugengana Ildephonse ni bo nibuka. Mu mirimo ya Leta abenshi bagiye basa n'aho bayivuyemo bajya mu bucuruzi (Uwamahoro Claire, Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi ntibari bemerewe kujya mu gisirikare. Uwashakaga kwinjira mu gisirikare bamubazaga indangamuntu. Iyo basangaga afite iyanditseho Tutsi bamusubizagayo. Hari Abatutsi binjiye mu gisirikare cya FAR babibeshyeho kuko babaga bazanye indangamuntu ziriho ubwoko bw'Abahutu; cyangwa bakemera bake mu rwego rwo kujijisha ko ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana budaheza nyamara ntibazigere bazamuka mu mapeti.

> Kugira ngo wemererwe kwinjira mu gisirikare cya FAR byagusabaga gutanga ruswa ugahabwa indangamuntu yanditsemo Hutu, kandi igihe babimenye waramaze kujya mu gisirikare wahuraga n'ibibazo bikomeye.

> Ntiwashoboraga kuzamuka mu ntera kandi bahoraga bakwishisha (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bayobotse inzira y'ubucuruzi maze birabahira; gusa bagombaga kwandikisha ubucuruzi bwabo mu mazina y'Abahutu kugira ngo bagire umutekano. Umwe mu batangabuhamya asobanura imibereho y'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana n'uko bayobotse inzira y'ubucuruzi.

Kuva Habyarimana afata ubutegetsi muri Nyakanga 1973 kugera mu Ukwakira 1990 Abatutsi bari babayeho nabi. Hamwe no guhezwa, kwimwa uburenganzira bwo gusurwa no gusura abavandimwe babo bari barameneshejwe, bahoranaga ubwoba. Iyo bahingaga ntibizeraga ko bazasarura. Umutangabuhamya abisobanura mu magambo akurikira :

> Twahoraga dufite ubwoba umuntu agahinga ariko nta cyizere cy'uko uzanasarura abana bakaza bavuye ku ishuri bavuga ko babatoteza» (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yashyizeho politiki y'iringaniza yari yubakiye ku ivangura ry'amoko n'uturere. Umwe mu batangabuhamya agira ati:

> Haba mu mashuri cyangwa mu mirimo ya Leta, hariho icyo bari barise iringaniza kandi politiki y'iringaniza yakorwaga ku mugaragaro, nta bwo ari ibintu bahishaga kuko iyo urebye ubona ari ibintu byari bigamije gukandamiza Abatutsi ariko bidasize uturere tumwe na tumwe. Twarabibonaga cyane kuko abana babonaga imyanya yo kujya kwiga cyane babaga ari abanya Gisenyi noneho abandi na bo babonaga imyanya mu mashuri no mirimo ya Leta bari Abahutu na ho Abatutsi bo barahezwaga ku mugaragaro (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Iyo usesenguye inyito ya politiki yiswe iringaniza ubwayo usanga nta kibazo cyari kubaho iyo Leta ya Habyarimana iza kuyishyira mu bikorwa nk'uko byumvikanaga maze Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa bagahabwa amahirwe angana. Si ko byagenze kuko politiki y'iringaniza yahezaga Abatutsi igaha

amahirwe menshi Abahutu biganjemo Abakiga. Mu cyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare Abahutu na bo barahejwe. Ibyiza by'igihugu byagombaga guhabwa abakomoka mu gace ka "KIGA" ibyo bikaba byaratumye abakomoka mu gace ka "NDUGA" bumva ko batitaweho ndetse mu myaka ya 1990 batangira kurwanya ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana. Kubera ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n'akarere byari byarokamye ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana, Abahutu bakomoka mu gace ka Nduga na bo yari yarabafashe nk'abanzi. Muri iyo politiki y'iringaniza Abanyenduga bahawe akato, atonesha abakiga. Mu myanya ikomeye yabaga ikuriwe n'Abakiga cyangwa Abahutu yizeye.

3.3. Irondakoko n'irondakarere mu nzego nkuru z'imirimo muri Perefegitura ya Butare

Nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu mu Ukwakira 1990, Perezida Habyarimana yashyize mu buyobozi inkoramutima ze mu bigo bitandukanye byakoreraga mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare mu murongo w'ivangura n'amacakubiri warangaga ubutegetsi bwe. Mu buyobozi bw'inzego n'ibigo bitandukanye, nta na hamwe hagaragaramo umututsi n'Abahutu bake bakomoka mu cyitwaga Nduga bari abatoni b'ingoma ya Habyarimana ku buryo babashyiragamo bizeye neza ko bazakurikiza umurongo we. Abayobozi b'ibigo bitandukanye byari muri Butare, ubu mu Karere ka Huye byose byayoborwaga n'Abahutu, benshi muri bo bakaba bari mu ishyaka rya MRND, aho mirongo ine ku ijana (40%) babaga bakomoka mu Rukiga (Gisenyi & Ruhengeri). Abakomoka mu ishyaka rya PSD cyangwa MDR bari mu bice byahindutse PAWA. Abenshi muri abo bayobozi bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ingero zikurikira zirabigaragaza:

3.3.1. Muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda muri 1993

No	Amazina	Icyo yari ashinzwe	Aho yakomokaga	Ubwoko/Ishyaka
1	Maurice NTAHOBARl	Umuyobozi Mukuru, umwe mu bagize *Comité Central* ya MRND	Butare	Hutu/MRND

2	Jean NTAWUNEZA	Umuyobozi (Administrateur trésorier) wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda	Gisenyi	Hutu/MRND
3	Jean-Berchmans NSHIMYUMUREMYI	Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije wa UNR-Butare	Ruhengeri	Hutu/MRND
4	Anatole RWAGASANA	Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije wa UNR-Ruhengeri	Kibuye	Hutu/MRND
5	Alphonse RUDATSIKIRA	Umunyamabanga Mukuru Wungirije wa UNR-Butare	Kigali	Hutu/MRND
6	Alphonse MUREGO	Umunyamabanga Mukuru Wungirije wa UNR-Ruhengeri	Gisenyi	Hutu/MRND
7	Anastase NKURANGA	Umuyobozi Wungirije (Administrateur Trésorier Adjoint) w'Ibitaro bya Kaminuza (CUB)	Byumba	Hutu/MRND
8	Eugène SANO	Umuyobozi Wungirije (Administrateur Trésorier Adjoint) w'Ishami rya Ruhengeri (CUR)	Butare	Hutu/MRND
9	Denys MUTAGOMA	Ushinzwe Abakozi-Butare	Gisenyi/ Karago	Hutu/ MRND/CDR
10	Annonciata KURADUSENGE			Hutu
11	Aloys MUHA WENIMANA	Ukuriye Ishami ry'Ubuhinzi	Ruhengeri	Hutu/MRND
12	RUSIBANE Gaétan	Ukuriye Ishami rya SESG	Kigali rural	Hutu/ Sans parti

13	Jean Gakwaya	Ukuriye Ishami ry'Amategeko	Byumba	Hutu/PSD
14	Cyprien MUNYANSHONGORE	Ukuriye Ishami ry'Ubuzima Rusange (Santé publique)	Kigali	Hutu
15	Fidèle NKUNDABAGENZI	Ukuriye ISAP	Cyangugu	Hutu/MRND
16	Ezéchiel BISALINKUMI	Ukuriye *Pharmacie*	Kibuye	Hutu/MDR
17	Jean Baptiste KATABARWA	Ukuriye Ishami rya Siyansi (*Sciences appliquées)*	Ruhengeri	Hutu/MRND
18	Alphonse KAREMERA	Ukuriye Ishami ry'ubuvuzi (Médecine)	Gitarama	Hutu/MDR
19	François-Xavier BANGAMWABO	Ukuriye Ishami ry'Indimi (Lettres)	Byumba	Hutu, MRND

3.3.2. Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi mu by'Ubuhanga (IRST)

Muwa 1993 IRST yayoborwaga na Gasengayire François, Umuhutu ukomoka muri Gitarama wari mu ishyaka rya MDR.

3.3.3. Muri ISAR

Umuyobozi mukuru (Directeur Général en poste à Rubona) yari Charles Ndereyehe Ntahontuye, Umuhutu ukomoka mu Ruhengeri wari mu ishyaka rya MRND/CDR. Yagizwe umuyobozi mukuru wa ISAR ku itariki 27 Mutarama 1992. Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yahungiye mu Buholandi aho yaje gufatirwa ubu akaba ari kuburanishwa. Ashinjwa ibyaha bya Jenoside yakoreye muri ISAR-Rubona yayoboraga muri 1994.

a. **Directeur régional** : Venant Rutunga, umuhutu ukomoka muri Ruhengeri
b. **Chef de station** : Joseph Mulindangabo, umuhutu ukomoka i Gitarama muri Komini Masango, yari mu ishyaka rya PSD
c. **Directeur scientifique** : Pierre Nyabyenda, akomoka i Butare muri Komini Ruhashya, yari mu ishyaka rya PSD

d. **Directeur financier** : Jean Damascène Shyirambere, umuhutu
e. **Administrateur du personnel** : Didace Mugemana, PSD, Umuhutu

Icyitonderwa : Venant Rutunga yagaragaye mu nama nyinshi bitaga iz'umutekano zakorwaga ku rwego rwa perefegitura mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa. Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko Joseph Mulindangabo na Didace Mugemana bagaragaye mu bitero byishe Abatutsi bakoraga muri ISAR-Rubona. Ni na bo bagororeraga abicanyi babaga bishe Abatutsi benshi.

3.3.4. Muri Société Rwandaise d'Allumettes (SORWAL)

a. **Directeur Général** : Alphonse Higaniro, Umuhutu ukomoka i Gisenyi. Yari mu ishyaka rya MRND/CDR
b. **Directeur technique**: Martin Dusabe, Umuhutu ukomoka ku Gisenyi, yari mu ishyaka rya MRND/CDR
c. **Directeur commercial** : Jean Paul Kamavu, Umuhutu ukomoka muri Kigali ngali, yari muri MRND
d. **Directeur administratif et financier** : Jean Baptiste Sebalinda, Umuhutu ukomoka i Butare muri Komini Kibayi, yari muri MDR-POWER
e. **Chef comptable** : Pierre Nsabimana, Umuhutu ukomoka i Butare muri Komini Nyakizu yari muri PSD.

3.3.5. Muri Région Sanitaire de Butare

Directeur : Jean Chrysostome Ndindabahizi, umuhutu w'i Butare, ukomoka muri Komini Nyakizu, yabaga muri PSD Pawa

3.3.6. Muri LABOPHAR

a. **Directeur** (suspendu) : Emmanuel Munyangendo, Umuhutu ukomoka ku Gikongoro, yari muri PSD
b. **Directeur a.i** : Madamu Esperancia Mukarugambwa, umugore wa Rwagasana wari Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije wa Kaminuza, Campus ya Ruhengeri, umuhutu ukomoka i Cyangugu, yari muri MRND.

3.3.7. Mu Nzu Ndangamurage y'u Rwanda (Musée)

Directeur : Simon Ntigashira, umuhutu ukomoka ku Gisenyi, yari mu ishyaka rya MRND.

3.3.8. Muri Projet Rizicole de Butare

a. **Directeur** : Augustin Nkusi, umuhutu ukomoka i Butare, yari muri PSD.

3.3.9. Muri Projet de Développement Global de Butare (DGB II)

a. Directeur : Justin Nsengimana, umuhutu ukomoka i Butare muri Komini Gishamvu, yari muri PSD.

b. **Directeur Adjoint** : Alphonse Karangwa, umuhutu ukomoka muri Gitarama, yari muri PSD.

Muri make twavuga ko kuva mu 1973 kugeza muri 1990 ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwakoze ibishoboka byose ngo bupyinagaze Abatutsi n'abo bitaga Abanyanduga bafatwaga kimwe n'Abatutsi. Byongeye kandi, bwavuniye ibiti mu matwi ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari mu mahanga zasabaga gutaha ariko zikabyangirwa kuko ubutegetsi bwavugaga ko u Rwanda rwuzuye nk'ikirahure utabasha kongeraho n'igitonyanga na kimwe. Ni muri uwo mwuka intambara yo kubohora igihugu yatangiyemo maze urwango n'amacakubiri bijya ahagaragara.

Umutwe wa 4: Ibikorwa by'urugomo, gufunga no gutoteza Abatutsi mu gihe cy'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu

4.1. Gufunga Abatutsi no kubatoteza babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi

Nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ubutegetsi bwa Leta yari iyobowe na Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal bwahise bwitwaza icyo gitero kugira ngo bukwize mu baturage umwuka w'ubwoba n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko aho bahamyaga ko u Rwanda rwatewe n'abanzi bagizwe n'Abaganda bafatanyije n'Abatutsi, ariko ngo bakaba banafite ibyitso imbere mu gihugu ari bo Batutsi. Urwikekwe no kwishishanya byahise bikwira mu Bahutu n'Abatutsi batangira kurebana ay'ingwe. Abatutsi bose muri rusange baratotejwe mu magambo no mu bikorwa, aho bacyurirwaga gushaka kugarura ingoma ya cyami na gihake. Ubwoba bwo kwicwa igihe icyo ari cyo cyose bwatashye mu mutima y'Abatutsi bose mu gihe urwango n'umujinya byasabye Abahutu b'intagondwa bifuzaga kurimbura Abatutsi bashinjaga kuba nyibayazana w'ibibazo byose igihugu cyarimo.

Hafunzwe mu byitso Abatutsi bari abakozi ba Leta, abarimu n'abishoboye. Mu gusaka bateraga hejuru ibintu byose bavuga ko bashaka imbunda n'amasasu. Igitangaje ni uko bashakiraga n'ahadashoboka nko mu bitariro, mu byumba by'abana, mu tubati n'ahandi. Abafashwe bafungiwe kuri za kasho za komini, abandi bajyanwa kuri Gereza ya Karubanda, hari n'abafungiwe i Kigali.

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare hafunzwe abagera kuri 256, biyongera kuri 315 bafatiwe i Kigali bajyanywe gufungirwa muri Gereza ya Karubanda i Butare[37]. Babarunze muri Gereza ya Karubanda. Babaho ubuzima bubi cyane[38]. Urugomo rwo kubakubita hato na hato, kubicisha inzara, kubacunaguza, kubanyagiza imvura mu kibuga cya gereza n'ibindi. Bageze aho ubuyobozi buzana Parike ya Butare kubakorera dosiye. Porokirere Bushishi Mathias ni we wari ukuriye icyo gikorwa. Ariko ababibonye byari

[37] Jean Paul Kimonyo (2008). Rwanda, *un génocide populaire*, Editions Karthala, p.187.

[38] CLADHO, *Ingoma y'amaraso*, Kigali, 1995, pp.124-126

ikinamico[39]. Bageze aho mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1991 batangira kubarekura kugeza bashizemo. Byatewe ahanini n'igitutu Leta ya Habyarimana yashyizweho na FPR-Inkotanyi ifatanyije n'imiryango mpuzamahanga irengera uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Abayobozi barimo ba konseye na ba burugumesitiri babwiraga Abahutu ko umwanzi wateye igihugu ari Abatutsi bahunze muwa 1959 bakorana n'Abatutsi bari imbere mu gihugu kandi ko bafite umugambi wo kwica Abahutu bose. Ibyo rero ngo byabateraga ubwoba. Umutangabuhamya wagize uruhare muri Jenoside agira ati:

> Nyuma y'uko Inkotanyi zitangije urugamba rwo kubohoza igihugu habayeho ikintu cyo gufata ibyitso mu Batutsi ariko ku ruhande rw'Abahutu twebwe nta bwoba twari dufite ahubwo twabuterwaga n'abayobozi bo hejuru kuko bavugaga ko Inkotanyi zateye igihugu kandi ko ari Abahutu bose zishaka, ngo bahereye cyera batsindwa, batwumvisha uburyo tugomba kubigiramo uruhare na twe. Ibyo bikorwa by'iterabwoba byose byakorwaga n'uwitwaga Kagabo wari Burugumesitiri (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Guhera mu Ukwakira 1990 habayeho gusaka ingo z'Abatutsi ngo barebe niba nta mbunda bafite. Abashinzwe umutekano bafatanije n'abaserire cyangwa ba konseye binjiraga mu ngo z'Abatutsi bagasaka ahantu hose ndetse bakarandura indabo ngo barebe niba nta mbunda cyangwa amasasu ahishemo. Imiryango y'Abatutsi yari ifite abahungu b'abasore yahoraga igenzurwa kugira ngo barebe niba abana babo bataragiye mu Nkotanyi.

Mu makomini atandukanye habayeho igikorwa cyo guhamba imitumba bavuga ko bahambye Rwigema Fred wari umugaba mukuru w'Ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi waguye ku rugamba kuya 2 Ukwakira 1990. Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa, bigeze mu Ukwakira 1993 ubwo Perezida w'Uburundi yicwaga na bwo baratotejwe babaziza ko yishwe n'abasirikare b'Abatutsi bo mu Burundi. Umwana w'umutangabuhamya Mukantwari Marisiyana yakubitiwe ku ishuri

[39] CLADHO, idem, p.135

azira ko Ndadaye yapfuye. Yakubiswe n'uwitwa Sinayobye biganaga kandi abikora ubuyobozi bw'ishuri burebera ntibwamuhana (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma mu byitso hafunzwe Abatutsi bagaragara ko bakomeye, abarimu n'abacuruzi. Harimo Gasana Samuel, Gashayija Innocent, Sindayigaya Charles wakoraga muri Laboratwari ya Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, umusaza witwaga Mukubu, umugabo wa Bamurange Christine, Karugarama Jean n'abandi. Bamwe babafungiye kuri Komini Ngoma abandi hashize igihe gito barabarekura (Bamurange Christine, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019). Bafungiwe kuri Gereza ya Karubanda. Abatarafunzwe barasatswe bikozwe na ba resiponsabure ba serire bafatanyaga n'uwari maneko witwa Remera Siméon (Mbabazi Norbert, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma avuga ko nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu Abatutsi bafashwe barafungwa babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Hari abafunzwe bari batuye i Sahera barimo uwitwa Gasirimu wakomokaga muri Mutura n'abandi (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wari umusirikare mu ngabo za kera (FAR) avuga uko byagenze nyuma y'igitero cya FPR-Inkotanyi:

> Icyo gihe nari ndi i Kigali i Kanombe mu kigo cy'abaparakomando. Icyo gihe abantu barafashwe barakubitwa, barafungwa, abandi babajyana muri za burigade babita ibyitso ndetse bamwe barabica. Icyo gihe hari habaye nka saa yine noneho hasohoka itangazo bavuga ko Kagitumba bayifashe, ngo u Rwanda rwatewe, noneho bucyeye ku itariki ebyiri batujyana mu Mutara. Icyo gihe twari tuyobowe na General NSABIMANA Castar. Twaragiye tugeze i Nyagatare twari kumwe na Major NTABAKUZE Aloys, ni we wari uyoboye Batayo y'abaparakomando. Icyo gihe bajya ahantu hari hatuye Abahima bica abantu bari bahatuye, bica abantu, bica inka, batwika amazu, noneho nyuma twaje kujya i Gabiro ubwo tugezeyo amabatayo asubiranamo turarasana biba imirwano ikomeye cyane. Ubwo rero nyuma twaje kugaruka i Kigali bucyeye batoranyamo abasirikare

> b'Abahutu bari bizeye babahuza n'abajepe. Ubwo batangira gufata ibyitso mu Mujyi wa Kigali. Hari umukapiteni witwaga Karanganwa na we baramwishe. Hari na Munyakayanza na we wakoreraga abazungu na we baramwishe icyo gihe. Abo ni bo nabashije kumenya kuko babiciye i Kanombe mu kigo barangije babahamba mu ishyamba ryari inyuma y'ikigo. Hari undi mwana witwaga KAREKEZI umuhungu wa MUKU na we bamwiciye muri ESO (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Abaguye muri gereza ya Butare kubera gufungwa babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi barimo umusaza witwaga Gakuba Paul w'i Ngoma wakundaga kuba ari ahitwa mu Gisaza, Kagiraneza Zéphirin, Kamugunga, Innocent n'abandi. Abenshi bagiye bicwa n'amacinya kubera ubuzima bubi barimo. (Gasana Ildephonse, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Muri Komini Runyinya, Umurenge wa Karama, guhamba umutumba byabereye ahantu hatandukanye. Abaturage bo muri Segiteri ya Karama na Kaburemera bahuye n'abari baturutse Nzige bakomeza berekeza ahitwa ku Gatobwe ahari ikibuga cy'umupira, aba ari ho habera umuhango wo guhamba umutumba bawita Fred Rwigema. Abantu batandukanye barimo abakonseye b'ayo masegiteri bavuze amagambo ashimagiza ingabo za FAR no kuvuga ko Inyenzi zashize (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye no guhamba umutumba bawitirira Rwigema, umutangabuhamya avuga ko ibigo by'amashuri abanza byahuriye kuri Komini Runyinya bifatanya n'abaturage bari bahageze bakora urugendo berekeza ku iteme rya Raranzige ahavugiwe amagambo, nyuma habaho umuhango wo guhamba umutumba. Igikorwa cyari kiyobowe na Burugumestri wa Komini Runyinya Hategekimana Déo ari kumwe n'abayobozi b'ibigo by'amashuri n'abakonseye (Mukeshimana Hyacinthe, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Runyinya, Segiteri Gikombe, guhamba umutumba bawitirira Rwigema byabereye ku kibuga cy'imikino cya Gatobwe i Karama. Abayobozi bitabiriye icyo gikorwa harimo Mbarubukeye Jean de Dieu wari umwarimu, Burugumesitiri Hategeka Déo n'abandi. (Sinzikiramuka Yohani, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wari umunyeshuri mu UKwakira 1990 avuga ko babategetse kujya guhamba umutumba bawitirira Rwigema. Bafashe umutumba bawushyira ku giti berekeza mu Mujyi wa Butare bagenda bariririmba ngo Rwigema shefu w'Inyenzi bamurashe rugikubita (Uwamahoro Claire, Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya asobanura uko byagenze umunsi bahamba umutumba bawitirira Fred Rwigema:

> Muri iyi Komini yacu ya Runyinya icyo gihe byari byateguwe ku rwego rw'amasegiteri yose kuko hari abaturutse i Karama, i Bunazi no mu yandi masegiteri ubundi twese duhurira ku kibuga cyari ahantu hitwa mu Gatobwe ahantu hajyaga habera inama. Noneho ubwo rero kuri icyo kibuga bakora inama batubwira ko umuhango wo guhamba Rwigema urangiye, ko ngo abasigaye nta cyo bazakora, ko bose ngo bagomba gupfa (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Mu gisirikare na ho habaye itotezwa ry'abasirikare bakomoka mu gace k'Amajyepfo cyane cyane abo bakekaga ko ari Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya wari umusirikare avuga uburyo yatotejwe nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990.

> Mu gisirikare habayeho gutoteza abasirikare b'Abanyenduga cyane cyane abo bacyekaga ko ari Abatutsi. Koloneli Ndamage Martin yarantoteje cyane afatanije na Kapiteni Turikumana David (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Kuva FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu muri 1990 Abatutsi baratotejwe babuzwa uburenganzira bwo kuva aho batuye ngo bajye mu yindi komini. Bahoranaga ubwoba ko igihe cyose bashobora kwicwa cyangwa kugirirwa nabi. Umwe mu batangabuhamya avuga uko bari bamerewe:

> Kuva mu Ukwakira 1990 nta mututsi wari wemerewe kujya no ku kabari, cyane ko ku kabari ni ho wasangaga abantu bari bahagarariye za MDR za cyera. Icyo gihe rwose byari bikomeye kuko nta bwinyagamburiro

> twabonaga, nk'iyo wabaga ushaka kujya ku kabari icyo gihe watumaga umwana akagage ukakanywera mu rugo. Ikindi ni uko icyo gihe wabonaga Abatutsi babayeho mu bwoba, noneho nk'abo bari barize ari abarimu nta bwo bashoboraga kugeza saa kumi n'ebyiri bataragera mu rugo (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa ndetse bamwe mu baturage bafite abo bavukana bari mu nzego z'umutekano bakabiyenzaho nta mpamvu. Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya agira ati:

> Icyo gihe hariho urugomo ruteye ubwoba rwakorerwaga Abatutsi, urugero hari umugabo witwaga Mbarubukeye Jean Dieu wari Umunyamabanga wa *Inspecteur*. Uwo mugabo yari yarahimbye indirimbo yavugaga ngo "Uru Rwanda n'ibirurimo byose ni iby'Abahutu!" Byumvikane ko aho yagusangaga hose uri umututsi warakubitwaga. Uwo mugabo rero yaje kumara ubwoba n'abandi bose bari bameze nka we kuko yari afite mukuru we wari Burigadiye witwaga Niyonsaba Athanase (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

4.2. Uruhare rw'abanyabwenge mu guhembera urwango n'amacakubiri hagati y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu

Mu mpera za 1990 bamwe mu barimu bageragеje gutanga ibisobanuro n'imyumvire byaje kuvamo Hutu pawa ndetse bivugwa ko bagize uruhare mu kwandika "Amategeko 10 y'Abahutu" yatangajwe na Kangura mu Kuboza 1990[40]. Kuva icyo gihe kandi batangije icengezamatwara rigamije kweza ibikorwa bibi bya Habyarimana byo kubuza Abatutsi uburenganzira mu gihugu no gukumira impunzi azibuza gutaha mu gihugu cyazo.

Uwari umuyobozi mukuru wa Kaminuza wungirije ushinzwe amasomo witwa Jean-Berchmans Nshimyumuremyi ni we wari uyoboye iryo tsinda ry'intagondwa kuko yarushaga ububasha n'ijambo uwari umuyobozi mukuru witwaga Ntahobari Maurice wari muri MRND. Nyuma yo guhabwa akato na bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi n'Abahutu bashyira mu gaciro, izo ntagondwa

[40] Kangura N^{0} 6 yo kuwa 6 Ukuboza 1990

zatangiye kwinjiza ibitekerezo by'urwango n'amacakubiri no mu banyeshuri. Urugero mu 1993 abanyeshuri bari bashyigikiye Perezida Habyarimana basabye gushinga ishyirahamwe ry'abanyeshuri rishya ryitwa Urugaga rw'Abanyeshuri b'Abanyarwanda (Rwandan Student League/Ligue des Etudiants du Rwanda, LIDER) ryagombaga guhangana n'irisanzwe ritwaga *General Association of Rwandan National University Students/Association Générale des Etudiants de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, AGEUNR*. Muri uwo mwaka kandi abari bashyikigiye Perezida Habyarimana bakoreye imyigarambyo ikomeye imbere ya Kaminuza ndetse bashaka no kuyifunga. Bari bayobowe n'umugore w'umuyobozi mukuru wayo, Madamu Pauline Nyiramasuhuko wari Minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Imibereho y'Abagore hamwe n'umuhungu wabo witwa Shalom Anselme Ntahobari wari wararetse kwiga muri Kaminuza kugira ngo abe umwe mu bakuru b'Interahamwe zayogoje Butare nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 ubwo Jenoside yari yarateguwe kuva kera yashyirwaga mu bikorwa ku mugaragaro.

4.3. Ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka ya politiki n'abari bayakuriye muri Butare

Nyuma y'aho mu myaka ya za 1990 habayeho imihindagurikire ya politiki ku isi ibihugu byo muri Afrika na byo ntibyasigaye inyuma. Ibihugu by'i Burayi birimo Ubufaransa ndetse na Leta Zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, imiryango mpuzamahanga n'ibigega bishingiye ku masezerano ya Bretton Woods[41] byasabye za Leta zariho kwemera amashyaka menshi bitaba ibyo ntibyongere guhabwa imfashanyo. Perezida Habyarimana yabaye umwe mu bakuru b'ibihugu by'Afurika banze ayo mabwiriza yitwaje ko amashyaka menshi atari ngombwa ngo habe demokarasi, abyemezwa n'igitutu yashyizeho giturutse imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo.

Ku itariki 5 Nyakanga 1990 Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yatangaje ko igihugu kigiye kujya mu nzira ya demokarasi. Muri Mutarama 1991 hashyizweho komisiyo ishinzwe kwiga uko byakorwa ishyira ahagaragara

[41] The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They were set up at a meeting of 43 countries in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in July 1944. Their aims were to help rebuild the shattered postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation.

umushinga w'Itegekonshinga rishya ryemera amashyaka menshi, ritorwa n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu muri Kamena 1991.

4.3.1. Amashyaka ya politiki yari mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye muri Mutarama 1992

Nº	**Izina**	**Itariki ryagerejeho muri MININTER urwandiko rusaba kwandikwa**	**Itariki ryemereweho**
1	MRND (Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement et la Démocratie)	15 Nyakanga 1991	31 Nyakanga 1991
2	MDR (Mouvement Démocratique Républicain)	16 Nyakanga 1991	31 Nyakanga 1991
3	PSD (Parti Social Démocrate)	22 Nyakanga 1991	5 Kanama 1991
4	PL (Parti Libéral)	24 Nyakanga 1991	10 Kanama 1991

4.3.2. Abari bagize Komite ya MRND muri Butare

Abari bagize Komite ya MRND muri Butare muri 1992 ni abakurikira:

a. Amandin Rugira: Perezida akaba yari Depite. Yapfuye ku itariki 6 Gicurasi 1993
b. Innocent Butare: Visi-Perezida akaba yari Diregiteri wa OPROVIA
c. Laurent Baravuga: Umunyamabanga akaba yari Depite
d. Jean-Gaulbert Rumiya: Umubitsi akaba yarigishaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda. Mu Ugushyingo 1992 Rumiya yanditse ibaruwa asezera mu ishyaka rya MRND kubera ko ryari rimaze gufata amatwara y'ubuhezanguni bwa CDR. Jean-Gualbert Rumiya yishwe muri Jenoside muri Mata 1994. Abana be babiri biciwe i Sovu aho bari bahungiye mu ntangiriro ya Nyakanga 1994.

4.3.3. Abari bagize Komite ya PSD muri Butare

Abari bagize komite ya PSD muri Mutarama 1994 ni abakurikira:

a. Dr. Ndindabahizi Jean-Chrysostome (Hutu, Butare, Komini Nyakizu) : Perezida
b. Mulindahabi Charles (Hutu, Butare, Komini Rusatira) : Visi-Perezida wa mbere
c. Dr. Nsabumukunzi Straton (Hutu, Butare, Komini Kibayi) : Visi-Perezida wa 2
d. Nsenglmana Justin (Hutu, Butare, Komini Gishamvu) : Umubitsi
e. Ndungutse François (Hutu, Butare, Komini Shyanda): Umunyamabanga.

4.3.4. Abari bagize Komite ya PL muri Butare

Muwa 1992 ishyaka rya PL muri Butare ryari rikuriwe n'abantu bakurikira:

a. Dr Kurawige Jean Baptiste wari Perezida: Yari Umututsi ukomoka i Kibungo akaba yari umuganga yigisha muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda ;
b. Rutsindura Alphonse wari umunyamabanga: Yari umututsi ukomoka muri Komini Ndora, yigishaga mu Iseminari Nto ya Karubanda ;
c. Ndakaza Joseph wari umubitsi: Yari umututsi ukomoka muri Komini Ngoma, akaba yari umucuruzi.

4.3.5. Abari bagize komite y'ishyaka rya MDR muri Butare

Muri 1992, abari bagize komite y'ishyaka rya MDR ni abakurikira:

a. Uwillngiyimana Agathe (Hutu, Butare, Komini Nyaruhengeri): Perezida
b. Kambanda Jean (Hutu, Butare, Komini Gishamvu) : Visi-Perezida
c. Niyonzima Faustin (Hutu, Butare, Komini Maraba) : Umunyamabanga
d. Semwaga Félix (Hutu, Gitarama, Buringa) : Umubitsi.

Mu mpera y'Ukwakira 1993 Uwilingiyimana Agatha yegujwe ku mwanya wa Perezida w'ishyaka asimburwa na Kambanda Jean wari umeze nk'umukeba we. Muri icyo gihe ni bwo ishyaka rya MDR ryacitsemo ibice bibiri, igice kimwe

gisigara ari icya Twagiramungu Faustin (Amajyojyi), ikindi gice gihinduka MDR-Pawa kiyoborwa na Karamira Frodouard.

4.3.6. Abari bagize Komite ya CDR muri Butare

a. Perezida : Siméon Remera wari umuganga (Assistant médical) ku Bitaro Bivura Indwara zo mu Mutwe (Centre Psychiatrique de Butare)
b. Visi-Perezida : Jean Baptiste Kagabo (Yahoze ari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mbazi).

4.4. Umutekano muke mu gihe cy'amashyaka menshi mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye

Nyuma ya Nyakanga 1991 amashyaka yari yiganje muri Butare yari MRND, MDR, PSD, PL na PDC. Ishyaka rya MRND ryari rifite abayoboke bakomeye bari mu myanya y'ubuyobozi nka François Nzabahimana wari Minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Théodore Sindikubwabo wari Perezida w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, Depite Amandin Rugira, Runyinya Barabwiriza wari Umujyanama muri Perezidansi, Maurice Ntahobari wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Porofeseri Jean Rumiya wari muri biro politiki ya MRND.

Kuva amashyaka ya politiki yemererwa mu Rwanda muri Kamena 1991, abayakuriye bakoresheje inama mu rwego rwo gushaka abayoboke benshi no kugeza ku baturarwanda imigabo n'imigambi ya yo. Inama za mbere zakozwe n'ishyaka rya MDR ku ya 15 Kanama 1991 muri Komini Gishamvu. Iyo nama yabaye iyo gusebya no kuvuga nabi ishyaka rya MRND n'abayobozi batandukanye bakomoka muri iryo shyaka. Abarwanashyaka ba MDR batangiye kurwanya no kutitabira gahunda za Leta nko kurwanya imisuri, umuganda, kwanga gutanga umusoro, abaserire n'abakonseye benshi bahise bava muri MRND bayoboka andi mashyaka arimo PSD na MDR. Perefe wa Perefegitura Justin Temahagari yohereje intumwa mu makomini atandukanye kureba uko byifashe mu makomini, raporo yagaragaje ko ishyaka rya MRND risigaranye abayoboke bake mu makomini. Amashyaka ya politiki muri Butare

yateje umutekano muke ku buyobozi bwa MRND aho abaturage bigumuye bigabiza amashyamba ya Leta barayahinga nta burenganzira bahawe[42].

Ku itariki 15 Ukuboza 1991 ishyaka rya PSD ryakoresheje mitingi kuri Stade ya Huye yari yitabiriwe na Perezida wa PSD ku rwego rw'igihugu, Nzamurambaho Frédéric ukomoka muri Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'iryo shyaka, Gatabazi Félicien ukomoka muri Komini Shyanda, Perefegitura ya Butare na ba visi-perezida babiri ba ryo, Félicien Ngango ukomoka muri Perefegitura ya Kibungo na Théoneste Gafaranga wo muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Abayobozi b'iryo shyaka bibanze ku bibazo biri imbere mu gihugu bagaya ishyaka rya MRND.

Ishyaka rya MDR ryari rifite ishusho ya PARMEHUTU ya Perezida Kayibanda. Mu nama bakoreshaga bakunze kugaruka ku matwara ya PARMEHUTU ndetse no gushimira Perezida Kayibanda watangije iryo shyaka. Ntibatinyaga kuvuga uburyo Kayibanda yabakijije ubuhake; hari aho Jean Kambanda yasabye abarwanashyaka bose ba MDR guhaguruka bakibuka mu cyubahiro Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Ibyo byabaye muri mitingi y'ishyaka rya MDR kuwa 15 Gashyantare 1992 kuri Stade ya Huye.

Kuva muri Werurwe 1992 habayeho guhangana hagati y'abarwanashyaka ba MDR na MRND. Nko mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakizu abarwanashyaka ba MDR bashyamiranye n'aba MRND bapfa aho gukorera mitingi ku itariki ya 1 Werurwe 1992. Nyuma y'uko MRND ishatse ahandi hantu ho gukorera mitingi abarwanashyaka ba MDR babasanzeyo babatera amabuye barabamenesha kugeza ubwo bakomerekeje umwe muri bo wari ufashe ibendera rya MRND. Abajandarume bahise baza guhosha, umwe muri bo arakomereka. Abayobozi babiri ba MDR bahise batabwa muri yombi.

Nyuma y'aho hashyizweho Perefe mushya wa perefegitura ya Butare Habyarimana Jean Baptiste muri Kamena 1992, guhangana hagati y'amashyaka ya politiki byabaye nk'aho bigabanuka, ndetse bigeze mu mpera

[42] Jean Paul Kimonyo (2008), *Rwanda : Un génocide populaire*, p.193.

y'umwaka wa 1993 ubwo havukaga icyiswe Hutu pawa ntibyafata intera ndende nk'uko byagenze mu yandi maperefegitura[43].

Mu kwezi wa Gashyantare 1994 muri Butare habaye imvururu zikomeye zakurikiye urupfu rwa Bucyana Martin rwaje na rwo rukurikira urwa Gatabazi Félicien wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa PSD. Mu rwego rwo kuzihosha, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo na jandarumori bwahohereje abasirikari n'abajandarume benshi bari bashyigikiye amatwara y'ubuhezanguni ya Hutu pawa. Ubwo imirwano yongeraga kubura, abasirikari bari i Butare bajyanwe ku rugamba abari yo barataha. Abarwanye na FPR cyane cyane ababaga barakomeretse bari abagome cyane kandi ni bo akenshi bavugwaga mu bikorwa byo guhohotera no kwica Abatutsi kurenza abandi.

Mbere ya Jenoside hari abasirikari bake bo mu mutwe ushinzwe kurinda Habyarimana barindaga murumuna we w'umuganga witwa Dr. Séraphin Bararengana wari utuye i Buye. Igihe Sindikubwabo yagirwaga Perezida w'inzibacyuho wa Leta y'Abatabazi abo basirikari bashinze ibirindiro iwe aho yari atuye muri Segiteri Tumba hari mu ntera nto uvuye ku kigo cya Jandarumori. Abasirikari barindaga Habyarimana ubusanzwe bahabwaga amabwiriza n'abakuru babo bari i Kigali bari bafitanye umubano wihariye na Kapiteni Nizeyimana basuraga kenshi muri ESO ndetse n'abandi Bahutu bari bakomeye muri Hutu pawa bagize uruhare rutaziguye mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi[44].

4.5. Umutekano muke nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Melchior Ndadaye

Ndadaye amaze kwicwa mu Kwakira 1993 ibihumbi by'impunzi z'Abarundi byiganjemo Abahutu bahungiye mu Rwanda bashyirwa mu nkambi zitandukanye mu majyepfo y'u Rwanda. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yabaye mu Rwanda hari impunzi z'Abarundi zigera ku bihumbi 270. Kubera umujinya w'ibyo bari barahuye na byo binjiye ku bwinshi mu Nterahamwe ndetse bagira uruhare rukomeye muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Imyitozo mu Nterahamwe i bayiherwaga Gabiro. Impunzi z'Abarundi zabaga mu yahoze

[43] Jean Paul Kimonyo (2008). *Rwanda, Un génocide populaire*. Editions Karthala, p.197.
[44] Human Righst Watch Report, 1999

ari Komini Ntongwe zafashe iya mbere zica Abatutsi urubozo aho bababagaga bakababakuramo imitima bakayotsa.

Padiri Masinzo Jérome avuga ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida w'u Burundi Melchior Ndadaye mu Ukwakira 1993 i Butare hahungiye impunzi z'Abarundi zaje gukwirakwizwa ingengabitekerezo y'urwango ku Batutsi. Mu buhamya bwe avuga ko muri paruwasi ayobora abakristo bamusabye ko hakorwa misa yo gusabira Perezida Ndadaye. Agira ati:

> Haje abagore batatu bamusaba gukora misa ya Perezida Ndadaye bavuga ko yapfuye. Ubwo nababwiraga ko ntari mbizi barandakariye bagenda bavuga ko nishimiye urupfu rwe. Nyuma inkuru imaze kumenyekana twakoze misa yo kumusabirra ariko byaje guteza umwuka mubi kuko hari abari babishyigikiye n'abatarabishakaga.

4.6. Umutekano muke nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gatabazi Félicien na Martin Bucyana

Gatabazi Félicien yari mu barwanashyaka bashinze ishyaka riharanira Imibereho Myiza y'Abaturage (PSD), akaba yarakomokaga muri Komini Mbazi ya Butare. Iryo shyaka ryabi ribumbye abahejwe inyuma na MRND babarizwaga mu gice cyitwaga Nduga. Abanyabutare baranzwe no kudaha uburemere ikibazo cy'amoko, cyane ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bakunze gushyingirana no gusabana batitaye cyane ku macakubiri ya Kiga/Nduga/Hutu/Tutsi yatangijwe na Kayibanda agakuririzwa na Habyarimana. Amashyaka menshi atangiye Abahutu n'Abatutsi bavuye muri MRND bayoboka PSD ku bwinshi, haba mu migi no mu byaro. Bayabonagamo uburyo bwo kwigaranzura ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwari bwarabahejeje inyuma. Umwanditsi André Guichaoua[45] ahamya ko muri iyo nkubiri muri PSD hagiyemo na ba Rusahuriramunduru bishakiraga ibintu n'imyanya myiza (Opportunisme).

[45] Rapport d'expertise d'André Guchaoua," Butare, la préfecture rebelle", tomes 1 ā 3. 16 Juin 2004

PSD yigaragaje nk'ishyaka rishya kandi ribumbye ibyiciro n'amoko yose, rishinga umutwe w'urubyiruko w'Abakombozi bagize uruhare mu guhangana n'andi mashyaka yarwanyaga ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana wari ashyigikiwe na MRND na CDR. Yashinze ibyicaro mu gihugu hose, igira n'abayihagarariye mu butegetsi bwari buhuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

Ubwo amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta yacikagamo ibice bya Pawa, bamwe mu bayobozi ba PSD bayobotse uwo murongo ndetse banashyigikira ingengabitekerezo yo kurimbura Abatutsi bose yatangijwe na MRND-CDR zashakaga gutambamira ko FPR-Inkotanyi yinjizwa mu butegetsi bw'inzibacyuho yaguye. Gatabazi Félicien yagumye ku ruhande rw'abashyigikiye amahoro, ahangana na bamwe mu bayobozi ba PSD bari bacengewe n'ayo macakubiri.

Gatabazi Félicien yishwe ku itariki ya 21/2/1994 mu gihe hitegurwaga ishingwa rya Leta y'Inzibacyuho Yaguye yagombaga kuzamo FPR-Inkotanyi. Umwuka ntiwari mwiza muri rusange kubera ko CDR na yo yasabaga gushyirwa muri Leta kandi yari ishyize imbere kurimbura Abatutsi yitaga ibyitso by'umwanzi. Yarasiwe imbere y'urugo rwe i Kigali n'abantu batamenyekanye, ariko haketswe umutwe w'abicanyi witwaga *Escadrons de la mort* wari ukuriwe na Capitaine Simbikangwa wari inkoramutima ya Perezida Habyarimana.

Urupfu rwa Gatabazi Félicien rwateje impagarara muri Butare aho abarwanashyaka ba PSD bakoze imyigaragambyo ikomeye bibasira bikomeye abayoboke b'andi mashyaka. Ni muri uwo mwuka mubi ku itariki ya 23/2/1994 bafashe Bucyana Martin wari avuye i Cyangugu maze bamwicira i Mbazi bavuga ko bihorera ku rupfu rwa Gatabazi bashinjaga CDR. Urupfu rwa Bucyana rwakurikiwe n'ubwicanyi n'ubusahuzi byibasiye Abatutsi n'abayoboke b'amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi hirya no hino mu gihugu, cyane cyane mu Mujyi wa Kigali i Gikondo aho yari atuye.

Muri Butare urupfu rwa Gatabazi na Bucyana rwateje umwuka mubi n'umutekano muke mu baturage. Gatabazi amaze gupfa insoresore zo mu ishyaka rya PSD zakoze imyigaragambyo mu mujyi wa Butare, iminsi

yakurikiyeho nibwo hishwe Bucyana Martin wari Perezida wa CDR (Padiri Masinzo Jérome, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Umutwe wa 5: Itegurwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye

Ibikorwa bigaragaza itegurwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bivugwa muri iki gice birimo inama zakoreshejwe hirya no hino zishishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwikiza Abatutsi, imyitozo yahawe imitwe yitwara gisirikari irimo Interahamwe za MRND n'Impuzamugambi za CDR, gutanga intwaro mu baturage no gukora urutonde rw'Abatutsi bose kugira ngo kubica bizorohe.

5.1. Gushishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi

Gushishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi byakozwe mu buryo butandukanye. Hari inama zakoreshwaga n'abakuriye amashyaka ya politiki nka MRND, MDR-PAWA, CDR, aba burugumesitiri, ba konseye n'abandi. Inama nyinshi zatangiye gukorwa ku mugaragaro nyuma yaho havutse icyiswe Hutu Pawa mu Kwakira 1993, ariko cyane cyane ubwo Jenoside yari itangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Gushishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi byakozwe nyuma yo gucikamo ibice mu ishyaka rya MDR mu Ukwakira 1993. Abari muri MDR bifatanije n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR batangira gukora inama zishishikariza kwica Abatutsi.

Nko mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya, Burugumesitiri Hategekimana Déo afatanyije n'umuyobozi w'ikigo cy'amashuri yari hafi ya Komini, Kabibi Vénuste n'abandi barimo abakonseye, yakoresheje inama ku itariki 9 Mata 1994 ashishikariza abaturage gufata iya mbere bakikiza umwanzi. Ijambo umwanzi ryasobanuraga "umututsi". Muri iyo nama hanatanzwe intwaro zirimo imbunda na za gerenade. Abapolisi ba Komini Runyinya barimo Burigadiye Athanase na Rudakemwa Pascal batanze intwaro zirimo imbunda n'imipanga baziha abaturage (Mukeshimana Hyacinthe, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini ya Kinyamakara, Segiteri ya Nyarusange, umutangabuhamya avuga ko inama zishishikariza kwica Abatutsi zabaye nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal kuya 6 Mata 1994. Nko ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994, uwitwa Karemanzira wari umuyobozi muri Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi

bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini yaje gukoresha inama abaturage bo muri Komini Kinyamaka ababwira ko bagomba kwica Abatutsi ko ari bo banzi b'igihugu ndetse ko badakwiye kugira uwo basiga. Nyuma y'iyo nama bamwe mu bayirimo barimo Kavutse na Matayo bahise bica abana babiri b'Abatutsi. Guhera ubwo Interahamwe n'abaturage batangiye gutwikira Abatutsi, gusahura no kwica (Nkeshiyaremye Jean, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Amashyaka ya politiki amaze gucikamo ibice mu mpera ya 1993 ubutumwa bwatangirwaga muri za mitingi bwarahindutse, abakuriye amashyaka ya MDR na PL PAWA bavugaga ku mugaragaro ko umwanzi wabo ari umututsi, ko bagomba kuba maso bakamurwanya. Nko mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya uwari ukuriye MDR witwa Butare Evariste na Kizima Joseph wari ukuriye CDR babwiraga abaturage ko Inyenzi nizimara gufata igihugu Abahutu bose bazicwa (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Mbazi inama nyinshi zishishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi zakozwe ubwo amashyaka ya politiki yari amaze gucikamo ibice hakavuka icyiswe Hutu pawa. Inama zakorwaga mu masegiteri yose. Nko muri Segiteri ya Mutunda inama zakorerwaga kwa Kagabo. Uwitwa Masumbuko François wabaye umwicanyi kabuhariwe muri Komini Mbazi yashishikarizaga Abahutu bose kwitabira Jenoside ndetse akavuga ko utazifatanya na bo mu kwica Abatutsi na we azicwa (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

5.2. Inama zitandukanye zishishikariza kwica Abatutsi

Nyuma yo gutangiza Jenoside ku mugaragaro mu nama yahuje abategetsi batandukanye na Perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994, yakomereje gukongeza umuriro mu masegiteri ya Cyamukaza na Muzenga muri Komini avukamo ya Ndora. Aho ngo yahavugiye amagambo akomeye kurenza ayo yakoresheje mu nama y'i Butare. Yanatanze amabwiriza ayaha abaturage mu yandi makomini arimo Shyanda no kuri Centre ya Superefegitura ya Gisagara aho yateguye ibitero byahise bitangira kwica Abatutsi bukeye bwaho bihereye i Kabuye.

Muri izo ngendo yari aherekejwe na Callixte Kalimanzira wakomeje kuhagaruka kureba ko Perefe n'abo ategeka bashyira neza mu bikorwa umugambi wa Jenoside. Nk'umuyoboke ukomeye kandi w'igihe kirekire wa MRND, Kalimanzira nta mahirwe yari afite yo kuba Perefe muri Butare yarwanyaga bikomeye iryo shyaka. Bityo rero yizeraga kuzakorera muri Perefe mushya Nsabimana utari ufite ubumenyi n'uburambe mu mitegekere. Sindikubwabo na Kalimanzira bashyize igitutu kuri ba burugumesitiri bari banze kwitabira ubwicanyi barimo Théophile Shyirambere wa Shyanda, bababwira ko nibatitabira bakurwa ku myanya yabo kandi bakicwa.

Perefe mushya Nsabimana Sylvain ntiyabaye ikigwari kuko kuva yinjira mu kazi yahise ashyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza ya Guverinoma yiyise iy'Abatabazi bari bamushyizeho maze ahagarikira Jenoside mu bice byose bya Perefegitura ya Butare afatanyije n'abo yasanze barimo abasiviri n'abo mu nzego z'umutekano. Icyo azwiho ni inama yakoreshaga ababurugumesitiri bakanzura ko Abatutsi n'impunzi bavuye mu byabo bagomba gusubira ku masambu yabo kugira ngo bafashirizweyo, ariko mu by'ukuri ari umutego wo kugira ngo nibagerayo bicwe.

Mu mpera za Mata 1994 yakoresheje inama maze nyuma yayo agenda avugira mu ndangururamajwi ko umutekano wabonetse hatanzwe ihumure ntawongera kwicwa. Abari bihishe bose barigaragaje maze abicanyi bahita babamarira ku icumu. Yanatanze amabwiriza yo gutema ibihuru bashaka ahihishe Abatutsi, anategeka ko Abahutu bigarurira imitungo y'abamaze kwicwa.

Bamwe mu baburugumesitiri bihutiye kugeza ubutumwa bwo gutangira Jenoside mu duce bategekaga maze abaturage babisamira hejuru. Urugero ni Elie Ndayambaje wa Komini Muganza wavugiye mu nama mu ruhame asaba Abahutu kwikiza Abatutsi baturanye. Abandi babikoranye ubwenge ariko ababwirwa bumva neza icyo bagomba gukora.

Ku itariki ya 21 Mata, kuri Stade ya Mbazi, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mbazi Antoine Sibomana yatanze ubutumwa bwari buzimije cyane ku bari bahari. Ngo yanakoresheje imigani mu kumvikanisha ubutumwa bwe, irimo uvuga

ngo *Iyo inzoka yiziritse ku gisabo ugomba kukimena ukabona uko uyica.* Mu kwiregura kwe Sibomana yemeye ko yakoresheje uwo mugani ahandi hatari muri iyo nama, ko amagambo ye yahinduwe[46].

Ubufasha bw'abategetsi muri Jenoside bwagaragariye mu gufungura abari bafatiwe mu bikorwa by'ubusahuzi n'ubwicanyi byibasiraga Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye. Urugero ni uko nyuma y'inama yabereye kuri Stade i Mbazi Burugumesitiri Sibomana afatanyije n'umushinjacyaha muri Butare witwa Mathias Bushishi barekuye abari bafunzwe bose bazira guhohotera Abatutsi.

Nyuma y'inama yo ku itariki ya 20 Mata 1994 yakoreshejwe na perefe Nsabimana Sylvain, abakonseye benshi bakoresheje inama za rwihishwa ninjoro bahejemo Abatutsi maze bapangiramo kubica mu minsi yakurikiyeho. Urugero muri Segiteri Tumba, Komini Ngoma, Konseye yabwiye abari muri iyo nama ko habonetse amalisiti Abatutsi bakoze bapanga kwica Abahutu, bityo bakaba bagomba kubatanga kugira ngo bitabare. Muri Segiteri Cyarwa umututsi wagerageje kwitabira iyo nama baramututse bamwirukana nabi. Ku Kabutare abari mu nama babwiwe ko Inkotanyi zari zateye segiteri baturanye, bityo ko bagomba guhita bakora amarondo kugira ngo barwanye umwanzi. Muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije Ushinzwe Amasomo yasabye abanyeshuri kutikanga nibumva amasasu kubera ko ari abasirikari bari kurwanya abacengezi muri Butare. Yabasabye gufata ingamba zo kwirindira umutekano. Yanatumije inama y'ishami (Faculté) mu gitondo cy'umunsi ukurikiyeho mu gihe ubwicanyi bwari bwakwiriye hose[47].

5.3. Guha abasivili imyitozo ya gisirikare

Guha abaturage imyitozo ya gisirikare byakozwe guhera mu mpera y'Ukwakira 1993 nyuma y'uko amashyaka ya politiki nka MDR na PL yarwanyaga Perezida Habyarimana acitsemo ibice hakavuka icyiswe Hutu PAWA. Byakozwe cyane nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal rwabaye ku ya 6 Mata 1994.

[46] Rapport d'expertise d'André Guchaoua," Butare, la préfecture rebelle", tomes 1 ā 3. 16 Juin 2004, p.95
[47] Idem

Kwigisha abaturage imbunda byakozwe cyane nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal ryabaye kuya 6 Mata 1994. Abasore bakomoka mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare n'ahandi bagiye kwitoreza mu bigo bya gisirikare. Hari abagiye i Gako mu Bugesera, i Gabiro n'ahandi. Batozwaga n'abasirikare ba FAR (Bugirimfura Charles, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Ngoma hari umutwe witwa *Groupe mobile* wagiyeho nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu. Abagize uwo mutwe bakoraga irondo kandi babaga bafite n'imodoka ibatwara. Abagize uwo mutwe ni bo baje kuvamo Interahamwe bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Hari undi mutwe wari ugizwe n'abagore babaga muri MDR ni bo baje kuvamo MDR-Pawa. Abagize uwo mutwe bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku Kabakobwa (Mbabazi Norbert, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994, gutoza abasivili ibya gisirikare byabereye ahantu hatandukanye harimo no kuri Stade Kamena. Mu batojwe harimo Siméon wayoboraga Segiteri ya Remera, abaserire n'abaturage. Batojwe n'abajandarume n'abasirikari bavaga kuri ESO (Mbabazi Norbert, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ngoma abacuruzi bakomeye bakoreraga Butare barimo Vénant Gakwaya na Isaac Munyagasheke bafashaga Interahamwe ndetse n'abana babo bari muri uwo mutwe. Isaac Munyagasheke yaranguzaga inzoga za BRALIRWA. Nyuma y'uko MDR icitsemo ibice mu mpera z'Ukwakira 1993 yashyigikiye MDR Pawa. Abahungu be barimo Clément Munyagasheke na Desiré Munyaneza bari mu mutwe w'Interahamwe[48].

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994, Vénant Gakwaya n'undi mucuruzi witwa Félix Semwaga wari umubitsi w'ishyaka rya MDR i Butare bahawe inshingano mu cyiswe "Auto-défense civile"[49].

[48] Rapport d'expertise d'André Guchaoua," Butare, la préfecture rebelle", tomes 1 ā 3. 16 Juin 2004, p.88

[49] Idem

Muri Komini Runyinya hari abaturage bagiye gutorezwa kuri Superefegitura ya Busoro muri Komini Gishamvu. Rusagara Saveri ni umwe mu batwaraga bisi (bus) zajyanaga insoresore kwitoreza i Busoro. Bamwe mu bagiye gutozwa harimo Bakundukize Viateur, Ruzindana Hervais, Kabanda, Mirindi, Ndahimana Vénuste wari umwarimu n'abandi. Batozwaga n'abajandarume barimo Habyarabatuma n'abandi (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya na none, abaturage batorejwe ibya gisirikare ku Rutare aho bakunze kwita ku Bashinwa. Imyitozo bayihawe n'abapolisi ba Komini. Hari abandi baturage bagiye gutorezwa i Busoro muri Komini Gishamvu. Mu bagiyeyo barimo Mbarubukeye Jean de Dieu, Rusagara Saveri, n'abandi (Mukeshimana Hyacinthe, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abaturage bitorezaga na none ahitwa mu Gitwa hafi yo kwa Kizima Joseph wari ukuriye CDR, ubu ni mu mudugudu wa Rwezamenyo mu Murenge wa Karama (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Mu batojwe barimo umuhungu wa Kizima witwa Kibaya, Ntigashira Théoneste, Ntazinda Félicien, Bizumuremyi, Sekamana Emmanuel n'abandi. Batozwaga n'abavuye mu gisirikare barimo Muzigura Martin n'abandi (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Kinyamakara, imyitozo yatangwaga na Burigadiye Ntibagororwa. Batojwe guhera mu ntangiriro ya 1994. Mu bayihawe harimo abari bagize umutwe w'Interahamwe barimo Kamana Charles, Rusiyani, Bibari n'abandi. Nyuma baje guhabwa imbunda (Ntawiyahura Anastase, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye no gutoza imitwe yitwara gisirikare, umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Mbazi wagize uruhare muri Jenoside wireze akemera ibyaha asobanura uko byakozwe:

> Ino aha iwacu kwitoza cyangwa gutoza imitwe ya gisirikari byarabaye kuko hari nk'abitozaga imbunda, bakitoreza ahitwa muri KIBUGU, bakazigishwa n'uwitwaga SEBAZUNGU wari umupolisi ariko akaba

yarigeze kuba umusirikari. Ubu arafunze. Na ho iwacu mu giturage twakoreshaga intwaro gakondo kuko abayobozi bakuru bavugaga ko udafite imbunda ashobora gukoresha igikoresho gisanzwe nk'ubuhiri, imipanga cyangwa amacumu (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Ubwo Minisitiri w'Intebe Jean Kambanda yasuraga Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda i Butare ku itariki 14 Gicurasi 1994, yakanguriye abarimu ba Kaminuza, abanyeshuri n'abakozi kwiga imbunda bakarwanya umwanzi yavugaga ko ari Umututsi wateye aturutse Uganda. Yabijeje kandi kubagezaho intwaro mu gihe cya vuba kugira ngo bazikoreshe. Ni muri gahunda y'ubwirinzi (Auto-défence civile) yagendaga yigisha hirya no hino mu gihugu, aho yasabaga ababurugumesitiri gushaka abajya kwiga imbunda. Kuri we uburyo bwo guhashya uwo yitaga umwanzi (Ni ukuvuga FPR-Inkotanyi n'Abatutsi bose yavugaga ko bamushyigikiye) kwari ukurwanisha abaturage bose bakoresheje intwaro zose bafite. Ubwo yavugaga iri jambo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda Jenoside yari igeze kure ikorwa kubera ko Abatutsi bari bamaze kwicwa hose mu gihugu hasigaye ingerere zari zikihishe, ari bo yahamagariraga kurimbura. Mu mvugo ye ijijisha yumvikanisha ko abicwa ari ibyitso by'Inyenzi, ariko mu by'ukuri nta byitso byihariye byariho ahubwo ni Abatutsi bose barimburwaga n'Abahutu bahagarikiwe na Leta y'Abatabazi. Yashishikarije abaturage gukomeza amarondo na za bariyeri bigamije guhiga abo yita umwanzi w'igihugu n'abamushyigikiye[50].

5.4. Gutanga intwaro mu baturage

Hagati ya 1993 na 1994 mu gihugu hose hatanzwe intwaro zirimo imbunda, amagerenade, imihoro, udufuni, udushoka n'izindi mu rwego rwo kwitegura Jenoside. Mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye gutanga intwaro byakozwe cyane nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal ku ya 6 Mata 1994.

[50] Ikiganiro cya KAMBANDA Jean asura UNR n'ijambo rya Recteur NTAHOBARI Maurice taliki 14/05/1994.

Muri Komini Kinyamakara gutanga intwaro zirimo imbunda byakozwe muri Mata na Gicurasi 1994. Colonel Simba Aloys ni we wazitangaga. Mu bazihawe harimo Harerimana Claude wari diregiteri w'amashuri abanza, Mayira Enock wari *Assistant Burgumestre* wa Komini Kinyamakara, Barakagira wari *Comptable* n'abandi (Nkusi Jean, Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini ya Kinyamakara, Segiteri Musange, gutanga imbunda mu baturage byakozwe na Colonel Simba Aloys afatanije n'abajandarume. Byakozwe hagati y'amatariki ya 10-15 Mata 1994. Mu bazihawe harimo Semakote, Ndayisaba n'abandi (Nkeshiyaremye Jean, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Mu rubanza Porokireri aburana na Aloys Simba (No:ICTR-01-76-T) hagaragaramo ko mu cyumweru cyakurikiye urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, Aloys Simba yajyanye ku biro bya Komini ya Kinyamakara ibisanduku bitatu birimo imbunda nka 50 zo mu bwoko bwa *Kalachnikov*. Izo mbunda zari mu modoka ya Aloys Simba zapakuruwe n'abasirikare maze abategeka gufatanya n'abapolisi ba komini kuziteranya no kuzitanga. Izo ntwaro zahawe abasirikare n'abasiviri b'Abahutu bari barigishijwe imbunda. Izo ntwaro zahise zikoreshwa mu kwica Abatutsi mu ngo zabo no ku maduka yo kuri santeri y'ubucuruzi ya Rugogwe muri Komini Ruhashya, Perefegitura ya Butare.

Aloys Simba na Capitaine Faustin Sebuhura w'umujandarume bashyikirije Charles Munyaneza wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini ya Kinyamakara, ibisanduku bitatu birimo imbunda zo mu bwoko bwa *Kalachnikov*. Uwo munsi hagati ya saa saba na saa munani n'igice z'amanywa, uyu mutangabuhamya yabonye Simba, wari wambaye imyenda ya gisirikare na Sebuhura bagera ku biro bya Komini Kinyamakara mu modoka ya Simba yo mu bwoko bwa Mercedes Benz y'umweru ariko isize ibyondo kandi bari kumwe n'abasirikare. ANX yari nko mu ntera ya metero 45 cyangwa 50 ku kayira kajya ku kigo nderabuzima hafi ya kasho ya komini. Ibiro bya komini byari bizitijwe ibiti by'amasadara. Abasirikare babiri n'abajandarume babiri bapakuruye ibyo bisanduku bitatu birimo imbunda nshya bazikura inyuma mu ikamyo ya gisirikare yari iherekeje Simba na Sebuhura. Abasirikare n'abajandarume

bakuye imbunda mu bisanduku, bashyiraho sharijeri maze barazigenzura barangije bazisubiza muri ibyo bisanduku. Simba na Munyaneza basinye mu ikaye maze abapolisi bashyira ibyo bisanduku mu biro. Simba na Sebuhura bavuye aho hantu nyuma y'iminota nka 20 cyangwa 30.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya, nyuma y'imyitozo abaturage bahawe imbunda na za gerenade. Barimo Konseye Sekamana Emmanuel, Sebagirirwa Vincent wari umuserire na Ntazinda Félicien wahawe za gerenade (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Usibye gutanga imbunda na za gerenade, abaturage bo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya bahawe imipanga n'udushoka. Bamwe mu bamenyekanye mu kuzitanga harimo Remera Siméon wari umuganga ku Kabutare akaba yari akuriye ishyaka rya CDR muri Komini, yafatanyaga na Rugaju Tharcisse wari umuturage w'umunyarugomo. Mbere yo guha abaturage imipanga n'umashoka babanzaga kubityaza kuri *ponceuse*. Ibyo byakozwe nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

5.5. Gukora intonde z'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa

Mu mugambi mugari wo kurimbura Abatutsi hakozwe urutonde muri buri serire ruriho imyirondoro ya buri mututsi, aho atuye n'abo babana, ibyo bakora n'ingendo zabo. Urutonde rwakorwaga na konseye wa segiteri afatanije n'abaserire kuko ni bo babaga bazi abaturage bose bakarushyikiriza inzego z'umutekano zakorereraga ku rwego rwa Komini. Gukora intonde z'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa byakozwe guhera mu Ukwakira 1990 ubwo ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana bwafataga Abatutsi hirya no hino mu makomini atandukanye bukabafunga babeshyerwa ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Urwo rutonde rwagiye ruvugururwa kugeza muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994 aho abicanyi babaruraga Abatutsi bamaze kwicwa n'abasigaye kuri buri musozi.

Amakomini menshi yo muri Perefegitura ya Butare yari yiganjemo ishyaka rya PSD ryari rifite urubyiruko ruzwi ku izina ry'Abakombozi. Muri Gashyantare 1994 bakoze imyigaragambyo ikomeye nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gatabazi Félicien

wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa PSD. Udutsiko tw'urubyiruko n'abarwanashyaka bariye karungu batangiriye Perezida wa CDR Martin Bucyana avuye i Cyangugu maze bamwicira i Mbazi mu rwego rwo guhorera Gatabazi bavugaga ko yishwe na MRND-CDR. Bamwe mu bishe Bucyana bamaze gufatwa bashinjwa urwo rupfu, abayobozi ba PSD bateguye imyigaragambyo basaba ko abayoboke babo barekurwa, bashyira igitutu ku bacamanza n'ibindi bikorwa bibi birimo gutera ubwoba Abahutu bo muri Hutu pawa bose hamwe n'abakomoka mu Majyaruguru y'u Rwanda by'umwihariko. Ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo byatumye abayobozi ba CDR muri Segiteri Tumba barimo Laurent Baravuga wari umudepite na Siméon Remera bahungira mu kigo cya jandarumori. Iterabwoba ryakorerwaga Abatutsi ryarakomeje mu bindi bice by'igihugu. Muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda abakozi b'Abatutsi n'abatari bashyigikiye MRND baribasiwe kugeza ubwo bimutse mu nzu za kaminuza bakajya gucumbika mu mujyi[51].

5.6. Gahunda ya *autodéfense civile* muri Butare

Umwanditsi André Guichaoua yasesenguye ibya *autodéfense civile* muri Butare yibanda ku bari bayigize muri Kamena 1994, amashyaka babarizwagamo n'uko bakoranaga hagati. Komite ngenzuzi yayo yari ikuriwe Faustin Twagirayezu (Perezida) wigishaga muri Groupe Scolaire Officiel akaba no muri MRND. Yari akuriye kandi agace ka Kabutare-Ngorna. Félix Semwaga yari Visi-Perezida w'iyo Komite akaba yari muri MDR. Harimo kandi Jean-Damascène Ruganintwari wari umuyobozi w'Ikigo cy'Amahugurwa cya Karubanda, akaba yari muri PSD.

Komite ya autodéfense civile ku rwego rwa perefegitura yarimo : Porofeseri Faustin Twagirayezu (Perezida) wigishaga muri Groupe Scolaire akaba muri MRND. Yari akuriye kandi agace ka Kabutare-Ngoma. Visi-Perezida yari Frédéric Ntabwoba wakoraga mu isomero rya Groupe Scolaire akaba yari muri MRND, Venant Gakwaya wari umucuruzi, Faustin Niyonzima wari Perezida wa MDR Maraba akaba n'umunyamabanga wa MDR ku rwego rwa

[51] HRW report, 1999

Perefegitura, Emmanuel Rekeraho wari yarasezerewe mu ngabo (EX-FAR) akaba yari muri PSD, Damien Iyakaremye wari Enjeniyeri muri UNR, Jean-Damascène Ruganintwari wari umuyobozi w'Ikigo cy'Amahugurwa cya Karubanda, Faustin RUT AYISIRE wari Superefe akaba muri MRND/CDR, Martin Dusabe wari umuyobozi (Directeur) muri SORWAL akaba yari no muri MRND, Bernard Mutwewingabo wari umwarimu muri Kaminuza akaba no muri MRND/CDR, Siméon REMERA wari umuganga (Assistant médical) mu Bitaro bya Butare akaba muri CDR.

Abandi bari bagize Komite ya *autodéfense civile* barimo, Léon NYAMUSIMBA wigishaga muri Groupe Scolaire de Butare, Clément MUNYAGASHEKE wari mu Rubyiruko rwa MDR (INKUBA), akaba umuhungu wa Munyagasheke, Désiré MUNY ANEZA wari mu Rubyiruko rwa MDR (INKUBA), akaba umuhungu wa Munyagasheke, Célestin HALINDINTWALI, Élysée MUTEYE wigishaga muri GSOB, François NDUTIYE wakoraga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Vénusté UWIZEYE wari Konseye wa Butare, Jean-Baptiste RUZINDANA wari Perezida w'Urukiko rwa Mbere rw'Iremezo, Dr Martin KAGERUKA wigishaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Jean-Bosco NZITABAKUZE wigishaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda.

Komite zavuzwe haruguru ziyongeragaho Komite ishinzwe umutungo wa gahunda ya *autodéfense civile* igizwe n'abavuzwe haruguru hiyongereyeho Maurice NTAHOBARI wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda akanaba muri MRND, Jean-Berchmans NSHIMYUMUREMYI wari Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda akanaba muri MRND, Zéphirin BAGAMBIKl w'umuhutu wo mu Ruhengeri wari muri MRND akaba n'umuyobozi w'isomero rya CAB, Isaac MUNYAGASHEKE wari umucuruzi, Joseph KANY ABASHl wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ngoma, Jean-Baptiste SEBALINDA wari ushinzwe imari (DAF) SORWAL, Charles SINDYENIYO wavuraga mu Bitaro bya Kaminuza bya Butare, Sosthène MUNYEMANA wavuraga mu Bitaro bya Kaminuza bya Butare. Abagabo bane barimo Supefere Faustin RUTAYISIRE, Jean-Berchmans NSHIMYUMUREMYI,

Jean-Baptiste SEBALINDA na Venant GAKWAYA ni bo basabwe na Perefe Sylvain Nsabimana kwandikwa kuri Konti ya Komite ya *autodéfense civile*[52].

Umwanditsi Guichaoua asobanura ko l'autodéfense civile yari ifite inshingano zitandukanye zirimo gushyigikira ingabo mu bikorwa byose (nk'uko abandi bicanyi bahembwaga ibinyobwa cyangwa bagasezeranywa guhembwa imitungo y'abishwe), gutanga inkunga y'ibikoresho ikenewe mu kwica Abatutsi (Urugero gutwara abicanyi no kubacumbikira). Abakozi n'abacuruzi ni bo bari bahanzwe amaso. Urugero ni abarimu ba Kaminuza bemeye gutanga amafaranga y'ubwizigame bwabo (Dépôts d'Epargne) bugahabwa gahunda ya autodéfense civile. Bari babitegetswe n'Umuyobozi Mukuru Wungirije wa Kaminuza, Jean-Berchrnans NSHIMYUMUREMYl. Abaturage basanzwe mu byaro na bo basabwe gutanga icyitwaga *umusanzu w'ingabo* aho ngo babahaga n'inyemezabwishyu ku mafaranga yakwaga abagenda bose.

Ubwo imirwano yakazaga umurego isatira Umujyi wa Butare abatojwe muri gahunda ya *autodéfense civile* bose hamwe n'Interahamwe zatojwe mbere bajyanwe ku rugamba mu makomimi ya Muyaga, Mugusa na Nyabisindu ariko baratsindwa. Ibyo byeretse abayobozi babo ko nta cyo gahunda imaze, ahubwo ko bashatse kwibonera imbunda zo kwirinda gusa. Ibyo byakurikiwe no gutsindwa ruhenu mu ntangiriro ya Nyakanga 1994[53].

5.7. Ubufatanye bw'Interahamwe na bamwe mu bari mu mashyaka ya politiki

Amashyaka ya MRND, CDR na MDR yari afite abayoboke bake bavamo abicanyi batojwe bakwira mu Mujyi wa Butare n'amakomini yose y'ibyaro. Ubuhamya butandukanye bwakusanyijwe buhuriza ku kuba gutoza urubyiruko byarakozwe hagati ya Nzeri n'Ukwakira 1993 bikozwe mu ibanga rikomeye, bigakorerwa muri Komini Maraba n'abasirikari. Bivugwa ko habayeho ibyiciro bitatu by'abatojwe mu gihe cy'ukwezi batwarwaga n'imodoka ya komini bajyanwa ahandi hantu bahererwaga imyitozo irushijeho. Hari amakuru avuga ko Interahamwe zikomoka hanze ya Butare

[52] GUICHAOUA, A., *Témoin expert, Rapport « Butare, la préfecture rebelle* », tomes 1 ā 3, Arusha, le 16 Juin 200
[53] GUICHAOUA, A., *Témoin expert, Rapport « Butare, la préfecture rebelle* », tomes 1 ā 3, Arusha, le 16 Juin 2004

zahageze nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 bacumbika mu ibanga muri hoteri imwe kugeza ku itariki ya 19 Mata ubwo bahavuye bagakwira mu duce (quartiers) dutandukanye babihawemo amabwiriza n'abasirikari. Utwo dutsiko tw'abicanyi bagizwe n'abantu batamenyerewe muri Butare hamwe n'abasirikari bo mu mutwe warindaga Perezida Habyarimana (Abajepe) bambaye imyenda y'abasiviri kandi ngo bacumbikiwe mu Ruganda rw'Ibibiriti (SORWAL) rwayoborwaga na Alponse Higaniro wari umwambari ukomeye w'akazu.

5.8. Ikwirakwizwa ry'inyandiko zitoteza Perefe wa Butare Habyarimana Jean Baptiste kubera kurwanya umugambi wa Jenoside

Inyandiko ya CNLG yashyizweho umukono n'Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wayo Dr Bizimana Jean Damascène ivuga ibikorwa by'ingenzi byaranze itegurwa rya Jenoside ku matariki ya 13 -19 Mutarama 1991-1994, igaragaramo itotezwa ryakorewe Prefe wa Butare Dr Jean Baptiste Habyarimana kuva yaba Perefe kuwa 3 Nyakanga 1993. Iyo nyandiko igaragaza ko:

> *Dr. Habyarimana Jean Baptiste yagizwe Perefe ku ya 3 Nyakanga 1992. Ni we Perefe wenyine w'Umututsi ku baperefe 11 bayoboraga za Perefegitura zose, akaba yari mu Ishyaka rya Parti Libéral (PL). Kuva yahabwa kuyobora iyo Perefegitura yaribasiwe ku buryo bukomeye azizwa ko ari Umututsi wahanganaga n'intagondwa za MRND na CDR zakwizaga ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu Mujyi wa Butare. Muri bo abari ku isonga ni Cpt. Nizeyimana Ildefonse, Alphonse Higaniro wayoboraga uruganda rw'ibibiriti SORWAL, Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye wayoboraga ISAR, Dr. Jean Berchmans Nshimyumuremyi wari umuyobozi wungirije wa Kaminuza, Dr. Eugène Rwamucyo n'abandi. Aka gatsiko kafatanyije n'abakozi benshi bananiza Perefe Habyarimana bakoresheje uburyo bwinshi harimo kumwandikira amabaruwa mabi y'urudaca agamije kumutesha agaciro. Imwe muri ayo mabaruwa ni iyanditswe ku wa 13 Mutarama 1993 n'abakozi bakuru 10 bakoreraga mu Mujyi wa Butare na Nyanza, harimo na ba Superefe batatu bayoborwaga na Perefe Habyarimana.*

Iyo baruwa bayihaye inyito ivuga ngo: "Ibaruwa-bwega yandikiwe Bwana Habyarimana Yohani Baptista Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Butare." Icya mbere aba bantu bashinjaga Perefe Habyarimana ngo ni ukuba yaragaragarije abaturage ko bagomba gukorana n'Inkotanyi. Baragira bati: "Wowe ubwawe Bwana Perefe, inama wakoranye n'abaturage ba Komini Nyaruhengeri ubwo wajyaga kubiyereka, usubiza ikibazo wari ubajijwe kerekeranye n'abasore bajya mu Nkotanyi, wivugiye ko abo bantu nta makosa bafite, ko nta n'ugomba kubatangira kuko iyo bayagira Leta y'u Rwanda itari kugirana imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi".

Kuba Perefe Habyarimana yarabwiraga abaturage ko batagomba gukomeza gufata Inkotanyi nk'abanyamahanga, kureka kubita Inyangarwanda, ahubwo bakabaha uburenganzira bwabo nka buri Munyarwanda nta cyaha cyarimo. Buri muyobozi wese yagombye ahubwo kuba yarabigenje atyo. Kuba rero aba bantu baramwibasiye kubera gushyigikira Inkotanyi byari mu mugambi wa Jenoside.

Icya kabiri bashinjaga Perefe ngo ni ivanguramoko rishingiye ngo kuba yarirukanye abakozi b'abahutu. Babyandika batya: "Ukimara kugabirwa Perefegitura ya Butare, Umuhutu wese yahise ahindurirwa akazi kandi agasimburwa n'Umututsi uturutse ahandi atamenyereye akazi, atanafite ubushobozi bungana n'ubw'uwo asimbuye". Bashoje bamwiyama muri aya magambo: "Tukaba twizera ko, Bwana Perefe, mu minsi iri imbere, dukurikije ubuhanga n'ubushobozi abaturage bagukekagaho, wakwisubiraho cyangwa ukavuga ku mugaragaro ko bikunaniye."

Iri terabwoba ryakozwe n'abantu bari mu buyobozi bwa Perefegitura bagombaga kuba barafashije Perefe Habyarimana mu kazi ke ka buri munsi, ahubwo bagahitamo kumurwanya no kumushyiraho iterabwoba ni ibintu byari mu mugambi utihishiriye wo gutegura Jenoside. Abanditse iyo baruwa ni aba: Nyilinkwaya Zéphanie wari Superefe kuri Perefegitura, Harindintwali Célestin wari umugenzuzi w'amateme n'imihanda, Mutabaruka Bernard wari umugenzuzi wungirije w'amateme n'imihanda, Ndahayo Naphtal wari umukuru wa serivisi z'itumanaho muri

Butare, Munyamagana Wilson wari Diregiteri wa CPDFP muri Butare, Uwimana Aloys wari umuyobozi w'urubyiruko n'amashyirahamwe muri Butare, Habumugisha Michel wari Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Nyabisindu, Ngiruwonsanga Vincent wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyabisindu; Simbarikure Assiel wari Superefe wa Superefegitura Busoro na Harelimana Rostal utazwi umurimo yakoraga.

Ikinyamakuru ISIBO No 83 cyo ku wa 9-16 Mutarama 1993 cya Sixbert Musangamfura, bizwi ko kitavugiraga Abatutsi, cyanditse ko abo bantu bose basinye iyo baruwa bashatse kuyisinyisha abakozi benshi ariko babatera utwatsi. ISIBO kandi yerekana ko abayisinye bari mu ishyaka rya MRND/CDR uretse Nyilinkwaya Zéphanie wari muri PSD kandi na we izina rye aho rigaragariye ku basinye iyo baruwa ishyaka rya PSD ryamenyesheje ko ryitandukanyije na we.

ISIBO yasobanuye ko icyo abo bantu bahoraga Perefe Habyarimana ari imikorere ye myiza yo kurwanya ruswa, akarengane n'irondabwoko mu karere byakorwaga n'abo bakozi. Aho guhindura imyumvire n'imikorere, bahisemo kuba ari we baharabika bamugerekaho ibyaha bakora bo ubwabo. Muri make, ISIBO yagaragaje imyitwarire idahwitse ya buri mukozi mu basinye ibaruwa yikoma Perefe Habyarimana. ISIBO yashoje inyandiko yayo igaragaza ko abo bakozi banditse ibyo binyoma nta kindi bari bagamije uretse kuzana amatiku mu karere karangwagamo ubwumvikane, igasaba ko bakurikiranirwa hafi kugira ngo batazanduza abandi bakozi. ISIBO yashoje ishima ishyaka rya PSD kuba ryaritandukanyije na superefe Nyilinkwaya rimubwira ko ibitekerezo bye atari ibya PSD[54]*.*

5.9. Uruhare rwa Perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana mu gukumira Jenoside

Perefe Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana yari urugero nyarwo rw'ubumwe, ubworoherane n'ubuhanga byarangaga Butare. Ni we mupefere w'umututsi wabayeho mu mateka y'u Rwanda, akaba yarayoboye Perefegitura ya Butare

[54] https://imvahonshya.co.rw/ibikorwa-byingenzi-byaranze-itegurwa-rya-jenoside-ku-matariki-ya-13-19-mutarama-1991-1994/

kuva mu 1992 akomoka mu ishyaka ry'ukwishyira ukizana kwa muntu (PL). Byongeye kandi, yari mu Batutsi bake bari barashoboye kwiga amasomo ageza ku mpamyabumenyi y'ikirenga (PhD) kubera ko yari *Ingénieur* wize muri Amerika. Yagaragaraga nk'umunyabwenge koko. Mu gihe yari arangije kwiga ngo hari inshuti ze zamwinginze ngo asabe ubuhungiro nk'umunyapolitiki kubera ko mu Rwanda Abatutsi batotezwaga cyane bityo na we akaba yarashoboraga kugirirwa nabi. Ariko yarabyanze ahitamo kugaruka kubera ko yumvaga afitiye icyizere Abanyarwanda kandi afite inyota yo kuza kubasangiza ubumenyi yari amaze kunguka mu mahanga. Yagarutse mu Rwanda mu 1990 atangira kwigisha muri Kaminuza. Mu Kwakira 1990 yafashwe mu byitso arafungwa, afunguwe asubira kwigisha kugeza muri Nyakanga 1992 ubwo yarekaga akazi atabishaka agizwe Perefe wa Butare. Nyuma yaho yabwiye umushakashatsi w'umuryango uharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu wa *Human Rights Watch* icyemezo cye ko kugaruka mu Rwanda gifite ishingiro kubera ko yabonye umwanya wo guteza imbere demokarasi n'uburenganzira bwa muntu.

IGICE CYA 2: JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI NYIRIZINA

Umutwe wa 6: Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye

6.1. Uko byagenze nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal

Iminsi ibiri yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, abaturage bose bagumye mu ngo zabo nk'uko bari babitegetswe n'ubuyobozi bwa Minisiteri y'Ingabo. Ku itariki ya 9 Mata Perefe Jean Baptiste yategetse ko inzego z'imirimo n'amasoko bifungura kubera ko hariho igisa n'agahenge. Ariko hagati aho abasirikari bo mu Kigo cya Ngoma bamaze kumenya iby'urupfu rwa Habyarimana bo batangiye kwica Abatutsi. Hari abavuye mu kigo biganjemo abo mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda bajya mu Matyazo bafatayo abasore b'Abatutsi 12 babazirika mu modoka inyuma maze bagenda babakubita mu nzira. Major Habyarabatuma abimenye agerageza kubafunguza ariko uwitwa Jean-Bosco Rugomboka we abasirikari baramukubise cyane baramutwika kugeza apfuye bamushinja ko yari yapanze kwica Abahutu. Icyo cyari ikinyoma kigamije gutera ubwoba Abatutsi ngo batagerageza kwirwanaho no gutinyura Abahutu berekana ko ubwicanyi bwari bushyigikiwe n'ingabo n'ubutegetsi.

Ikindi kinyoma cyakongeje umuriro ni amagambo yatangajwe n'uwari Burugumesitiri wa Ngoma Kanyabashi mu nama rusange yakoresheje ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, ashinja Rugomboka kuba baramusanganye umupira wa FPR. Abasirikari banafashe abasore n'inkumi 8 b'Abatutsi bari bavuye Kigali n'amaguru bagerageza guhungira i Burundi maze barabakubita bikomeye barangije babicana na Rugomboka imirambo yabo bajya kuyijugunya mu cyobo cyari ku muhanda wa kaburimbo ugana i Burundi. Ibyo byari mu rwego rwo gutera ubwoba uwagerageza guhungira i Burundi wese ndetse no kubuza Abahutu guhisha Abatutsi bahigwaga.

Hagati y'itariki ya 7 n'iya 21 Mata 1994 hari udutsiko tw'abasore b'Abahutu biganjemo abayoboke ba PSD bajyanwe rwihishwa mu kigo cya gisirikari cya ESO maze abasirikari bakabacengezamo amatwara y'ubwicanyi kuko bari bafite impungenge ko umugambi wa Jenoside utazitabirwa nk'uko

babyifuzaga. Nyuma yo kwigishwa bagarukanaga ubugome ndetse banashyigikiye amatwara ya Hutu pawa barwanyaga mbere. Iryo cengezamatwara kandi ryaroroshye kubera ko babasezeranyaga ibihembo birimo no kwigarurira imitungo y'Abatutsi bazaba bamaze kwica.

Mu gihe mu bice byinshi bya Perefegitura ya Butare Jenoside yatinze gutangira, mu makomini ya Gikongoro bihana imbibi ho ubwicanyi, gutwika no gusahura byatangiye tariki 7 Mata 1994 ndetse abarokotse bagahungira muri Butare. Abicanyi barabakurikiye maze ubuyobozi bwite n'ubw'inzego z'umutekano zifata ingamba zo kubikoma imbere. Akenshi Majoro Habyarabatuma wayoboraga Jandarumori muri Butare na Gikongoro yagiye yohereza abajandarume ku mbibi gukumira ibyo bitero by'abicanyi batatinyaga kwambuka bakurikiye ababahunze. Ni muri urwo rwego ababurugumesitiri ba Komini Runyinya na Maraba begeranyije abaturage bose hamwe, ni ukuvuga Abahutu n'Abatutsi, maze bafatanya mu gukumira ibyo bitero. Muri icyo gihe abahungiraga i Butare ni ko bakomeje kwiyongera kimwe n'abavanwaga mu byabo uko ubwicanyi bwakazaga umurego. Byongeye kandi, abanyamahanga benshi bahungaga Kigali na bo banyuraga i Butare berekeza i Burundi, bamwe ndetse baherekejwe n'ingabo za MINUAR, ibyo bikarushaho kongera ubwoba n'impungenge mu Batutsi n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana babonaga neza ko icyakorwa cyose kitazamanyekana kuko abakakivuze bigendeye[55].

6.2. Ivanwaho rya Perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside mu Karere ka Huye

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu duce dutandukanye tw'igihugu, mu Karere ka Huye hashize igihe kirenga ibyumweru bibiri Jenoside itaratangira kubera Perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana utari ushyigikiye umugambi wa Jenoside. Habyarimana yahamagariye abantu kutica ahubwo abasaba kwakira abatutsi bahungaga bava mu tundi duce tw'igihugu.

[55] Urugero ni uko abazungu benshi bacyuwe iwabo ikitaraganya Jenoside itangiye mu cyiswe *Opération Amaryllis* yakozwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa hagati y'itariki ya 9 na 11 Mata 1994

Kugira ngo adakomeza kubangamira Leta yiyise iy'abatabazi mu mugambi wayo wo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 Leta yamukuyeho imusimbuza Nsabimana Sylvain. Radiyo Rwanda yari imaze iminsi imwibasira imushinja gusuzugura abamukuriye ubwo yangaga kwitabira inama y'abaperefe yari yateranye ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994 ibera mu nzu mberabyombi ya Perefegitura ya Butare.

Ku itariki 17 Mata 1994 Radiyo Rwanda yatangaje ko Jean Baptiste Habyarimana akuwe ku mwanya w'ubuperefe, ko yasimbujwe Nsabimana Sylvain. RTLM yo yavugaga ko ari umugambanyi n'icyitso cy'Inkotanyi.

Tariki 19 Mata Sindikubwabo yaje i Butare kwitabira umuhango wo gushyiraho Perefe mushya wa Butare. Mu buryo bweruye, Habyarimana yagizwe umwanzi wa Leta. Jean Baptiste Habyarimana yarafashwe yoherezwa i Gitarama aho yatotejwe bikomeye kugeza yishwe. Kugeza ubu ntawuzi aho umubiri we washyizwe.

Umuryango wa Habyarimana wari ugizwe n'umugore n'abana babiri b'abakobwa waje kwicirwa iwe mu rugo i Butare. Ibikuta by'inzu babagamo byari byuzuye amaraso ku buryo hari uwatanze ubuhamya avuga ko ari abakobwa be bakubiswe ku bikuta kugeza bashizemo umwuka.

Ku isonga ry'abateguye iyicwa rya Perefe Habyarimana, harimo umugore wari Minisitiri w'ubutabera muri guverinoma yiyise iy'abatabazi witwa Agnes Ntamabyariro. Uyu Agnès yari afite Nyina w'umututsikazi na Se w'umuhutu.

Mu muhango wo gushyiraho Perefe Mushya wa Butare Nsabimana Sylvain ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1990, Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yashishikarije Abahutu bose kurimbura Abatutsi no kwikiza uwo ari we wese uzabangamira uwo mugambi. Hari mu nzu mbera byombi ya MRND i Butare akangurira Abahutu (yise ba Ntibindeba) gutsemba Abatutsi. Iryo jambo ryanyuze no kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Yagize ati:

> "Umenya ahari mutarumvise amabwiriza twatanze, cyangwa se mwarayumvise mwanga kuyashyira mu bikorwa n'abashaka kurebera mu

> gihe abandi bakora. Abashinzwe kubadukiza bagire vuba, kugira ngo abafite ubushake bwo gukora batangire akazi. Nimuve mu rwenya n'imikino ahubwo mutangire akazi!"

Amagambo ya Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yahamagariraga kongera umurindi mu kwica Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Hari uduce tumwe tubarizwa mu Karere ka Huye Jenoside yari yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa, cyane cyane uduce turi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gikongoro.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ku itariki ya 20 Mata 1994 abasirikare b'abajepe baturutse i Kigali bazanywe n'indege ya Kajugujugu. Abaturage babanje kwibwira ko ari baje gutabara abari batangiye kwicwa nyamara ahubwo bari baje gutinyura abicanyi. Abo basirikare ni bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu icyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku Kabakobwa, ku bitaro bya CHUB, kuri perefegitura n'ahandi (Uwihoreye Anne Marie, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

6.3. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Ngoma

Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa muri Komini Ngoma (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Ngoma, Mukura) nyuma y'ijambo rya Perezida Sindikubwabo yavugiye i Butare mu muhango wo kwimika Perefe mushya Nsabimana, kuya 19 Mata 1994. Mbere yaho hari umutekano muke n'ubwo Abahutu n'Abatutsi barafatanyaga kwirindira umutekano. Nyuma yo kweguza Perefe Habyarimana Jean Baptiste kuwa 17 Mata 1994 umutekano wabaye muke cyane ku Batutsi hirya no hino batangira kwicwa. Umutangabuhamya avuga uko byagenze :

> Indege imaze guhanurwa nta mututsi w'umugabo wongeye kurara mu rugo. I Sahera hari Abatutsi benshi bagize ubwoba kakajya bafatanya kurwanya ibitero bivuye i Buvumo. Twari muri vacances nari mfite urufunguzo kandi ndi mwarimu. Hari abahungiye mu ishuri bo muri Nyaruguru ni uko Konseye arambwira ngo nimbafungurire bajye kubafasha. Barengaga 200. Twarabafashije bakomeza bajya i Kansi abandi bahungira ku Kabakobwa. Théodore Sindikubwabo avugira kuri Radiyo ngo Abanyabutare sinzi icyo mwigize! Ni uko na bo batangira

kwica. Uwitwa Kanyabashi yavuze ko abenshi bari ku Kabakobwa maze bajya kubica; harokotse mbarwa (Mukankusi Immaculée, Mukura, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Ngoma Abatutsi bahungiye ahantu hatandukanye harimo kuri kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma, *Groupe Scolaire* ya Butare, ku Kigo Nderabuzima cya Matyazo, ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare, Ku kabakobwa n'ahandi

Padiri Masinzo Jérome wabaga kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma avuga uko byagenze nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana Juvénal:

Ihanuka ry'indege yari itwaye perezida Habyarimana twabimenye bukeye mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Ntawashoboraga kuva aho ariko ku matelefone byaracicikanaga twumva ko i Kigali batangiye kwica Abatutsi. Guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 abasirikare bari batangiye gushimuta Abatutsi. Mu bashimuswe harimo Ukobizaba Patrice wari Agronome n'uwo bitaga Ambasaderi wari utuye mu Matyazo. Hari n'abandi ntamenye batwawe muri *camionette* bagenda babicaye hejuru. Ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 haje abasirikare bavuye muri ESO baza gusaka muri paruwasi ya Ngoma bajya no mu cyumba cy' urubyiruko rwahuriragamo, nyuma baragenda. Ku itariki 14 Mata 1994 Abatutsi bari barokotse baturutse za Gikongoro harimo na Padiri mukuru w'i Kibeho bahungiye kuri paruwasi ya Ngoma. Bahageze, padiri mukuru w'i Kibeho yagerageje guhamagara hirya no hino atabariza ab'i Gikongoro ariko ntacyo byatanze, aguma aho i Ngoma. Abatutsi bari baturutse mu Bisi bya Huye, Maraba n'i Gikongoro bashatse guhungira kuri paruwasi ya Ngoma abajandarume barabatangira babajyana kuri Centre de santé ya Matyazo. Nagiye gusaba Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi uburenganzira bwo gufashisha ibyo kurya abari bamaze kugera kuri iryo vuriro, ku bw'amahirwe aranyemerera.

Ubwo nabivugiye mu kiriziya; ufite ibishyimbo n'ibindi akabizana nanjye hari ibyo nari mfite nakuye kuri paruwasi nkabizana tukabafasha tukajya tubatekera tubitaho yaba Abahutu n'Abatutsi twarafatanyaga. Ubwo bigeze kuri 17/4/1994 Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi yasabye ko Abatutsi

bari bahungiye kuri paruwasi n'ahandi mu mujyi ko babajyana I Runyinya n'i Maraba. Hagati aho kuri Paruwasi ya Simbi hari habaye inama y'umutekano bemeza ko ari ho hari umutekano ariko kwari ukubeshya. Ubuyobozi bwa Komini bwansabye kubaherekeza kuko ngo ni jye bari bizeye. Bampaye abasirikare mbashyira mu modoka nari mfite, babiri bajya mu modoka abandi baherekeza za mpunzi z'Abatutsi tujya kuri paruwasi ya Simbi. Ngeze i Sovu nsanga abantu batangiye guhunga. Nahuye n'Abatutsi bahunze bambwira ko batangiye kubatwikira ko berekeje mu Babikira b'i Sovu no ku ivuriro ryaho.

Ubwo ngeze mu Gako nahasanze abana benshi bavuzaga amafirimbi ariko ubona ari abantu bakuru babatoza, bagota izo mpunzi ubwo ba basirikare barambwira bati wowe guma aha twe dukomeze. Abo basirikare bari aba *sous officiers* bayobowe n'umu *sergent*, turenze mu Gako tuhasanga za bariyeri ubundi buri metero icumi twahasangaga bariyeri. Tugeze i Cyizi twahasanze umugore wari ukuriye bariyeri, i Simbi kuri Paruwasi tuhasanga bariyeri bashinze ibiti mu nzira byinshi babitondetse. Ubwo abakuru bari bayiriho babonye abasirikare bayivaho hasigara akana gafite nk'imyaka 11. Tuti sha kuraho iyo bariyeri! Kati twakoze gahunda yo kwica Abatutsi saa moya. Ndakabaza nti ese murabahora iki? Kati ni abagome turashaka kubatanga bataratwica. Kuva i Simbi ujya ku Cyizi hari abaturage benshi bambaye amakoma n'amashara bagose bamwe hasi abandi hejuru.

Ubwo narazamutse njya kuri paruwasi mpasanga Burugumesitiri waho afite *pistolet* ari kumwe n'abapolisi ba Komini, mubwira ko Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi ambwiye kuzana impunzi kuri Paruwasi ya Simbi.Twahasanze padiri mukuru witwa Sebera ambonye ati reka tujyane n'ubundi nabuze aho njya. Kuri paruwasi ya Simbi twahasize undi mupadiri w'Umuhutu witwa Michel asigarana zimwe muri izo mpunzi abandi tugarukana mu Matyazo. Sebera twarajyanye tugeze I Butare kwa Musenyeri ubwo nahamagaye Kanyabashi mubwira uko byifashe nawe ansubiza ko ntacyo yamarira. Nabuze uko mbigenza nterefona no mu bigo by'abajandarme mbasaba ubufasha barantuka nterefona muri *Camp*

Ngoma ntibamfasha ubwo za mpunzi tuzisubiza mu Matyazo ku ivuriro bagenda biyongera no kubagaburira biratunanira.

Tugeze ku itariki ya 17-18/4 tubona imiriro iradusatiriye iva za Nyarutovu na Nkima batangiye gutwika bisatira i Ngoma kuri 19/4/1994. Ndibuka hari kuwa kabiri ngenda ngiye mu Mujyi; hari umuganga w'umudogiteri witwa Korawige wari muri PL wari wansabye imodoka ngo mugeze kwa Gitera i Cyinteko.

Ubwo kwa Bihira hari bariyeri iriho abantu ntazi. Ubwo bakura abantu mu modoka twahasanze interahamwe imwe igaruka ivuga iti mumpe itabi maze kwica Abatutsi. Ubwo mbona imodoka ya Coamionnette y'umucuruzi witwa Camille itwawe n'abasirikare harimo abantu hejuru bagenda bamukubita. Ubwo aho hanyuze urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe; bari bafite udushoka duto, banyuraho kuri bariyeri. Byari bigeze ku itariki 19/4/1994. Ubwo ngeze imbere y'ivuriro ku Kabutare mpabona umusirikare witwa Alphonse wabaye Perefe wa Butare igihe cya Jenoside wakomokaga i Mugombwa ahagararanye na Dr. Gatera. Ndakomeza ngera ku Cyinteko bituma mbona uko mu mujyi hameze.

Kuri 20/4/1993 hari abantu bansabye kubajyana kwa muganga kuko bari bakomeretse, mbajyana CHUB. Bigeze tariki ya 21/4/1994 umudamu umwe wasengeraga kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma wari uturutse Matyazo yasanze aho twicaye ati muracyari aho kandi bamaze abantu? Ubwo Ngoma yose bari barayigose abantu batagisohoka. Ni ko Interahamwe zagendaga zinjira mu ngo z'Abatutsi bica uwo babonye. Abashoboye kubacika bajyaga ku mashuri ya Matyazo bakabasangayo bakabica; mu gihe abacitse bagasimbuka baza ku Kiriziya ya Ngoma hari hataraterwa nkabafungurira. Naje kumenya ko hari bake barekaga bakajya mu Kiriziya ya Ngoma kugira ngo bagwire kubicira hamwe bizorohe. Kandi nyine ni ko byagenze.

Bigeze tariki ya 22/4/1994 twumva ubwicanyi i Ngoma bwakomeye ukabona nk'umuntu aje bamutemye aviririana akinjira mu Kiriziya iwacu. Ubwo impunzi zagiye zigwira ariko abantu bari ku ivuriro i Matyazo

barabagose barabica yari tariki ya 22/4/1994. Harokotsemo abana bato kuko babarohagamo amagerenade bakanarasa. Ubwana buto bukihisha hasi ntubapfe ubwo abo bana barokotse abaturage b'i Matyazo bababonye bakajya bakuramo abakuru kugira ngo babagire abakozi bo mu rugo, basiga udufite nk'imyaka 5 cyangwa 6 kandi cyari igihe cy'imvura.

Ubwo hari Konseye wa Matyazo bitaga Kizenga, yari afite imodoka arundamo ba bana kugira abajyane muri Groupe Scolaire ya Butare kuko habaga abana b'impfubyi n'ubundi. Ageze imbere y'Ikigo cya Gisirikari cya Ngoma banga ko atambuka bamubaza aho ajyanye izo nyenzi. Ubwo yarabagaruye abajugunya imbere ya Kiriziya ya Ngoma. Umupadiri twabanaga witwa Eulade ni we wasohotse arabegeranya, yasanze abakuru bakikiye abato bamaze nk'iminsi itatu batarya, babinjiza mu Kiriziya hamwe n'izindi mpunzi.

Ubwo twari dufitemo abagore harimo umwe yari umu infirmière afite umugabo wari umuganga. Bashaka ibikoresho babitaho barabapfuka, barabondora. Byageze ku matariki ya 25-26/4/1994 maze kubarura mu bantu nari mfite bagera kuri 476 n'ubwana burimo. Twari dufite *toilette*s nkeya. Nari mfite muri Caritas umuceri n'ibishyimbo ndabitanga barabiteka. Ubwo bakajya babiha utwana kugira ngo tudashira. Bigeze ku matariki ya 26-27/4/1994 ku kibuga cy'i Ngoma imbere ya *ELECTROGAZ* habereye inama iyobowe na Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi afatanyije na Perefe Sylvain Nsabimana. Babwira abaturage bose bati ihumure ryatanzwe n'abafite abantu babagaragaze ntakongera kwica bizabaho ukundi. Ariko yari amayeri kuko abigaragaje barabishe.

Ubwo twebwe bigeze tariki ya 29/4/1994 nijoro baradutera duterwa n'abantu b'abaturanyi batarimo abasirikare bayobowe na Jacques Habimana wari uzwi mu bwicanyi na Nyagashi. Ubwo baje na twe tuvuza inzogera cyane turatabaza twirwanaho tubatera amabuye barahunga. Ubwo ibyo bitero byahise bajya guhuruza abasirikare muri *Camp militaire* ya Ngoma. Ninjye wafunguraga urugi runini. Numva barakomanze, ndafungura, Niyonteze Fabien wari *sous lieutenant* ni we wari ubayoboye. Arambwira ngo aje gusaka aho kuri paruwasi. Yari afite abasirikare nka

7, arazenguruka mu byumba hose, arambwira ati kuki ucumbikira inyenzi zingana utya uzi ko uri hafi ya camp militaire? Nanjye nti “mon lieutenant, ari wowe bibayeho wakora iki”?

Ubwo yahise asohoka avugana na ba bandi bari baduteye, mbona barajyanye. Ubwo bigeze tariki ya 30/4/1994 mu gitondo nka saa yine baraza baradutera ku mugaragaro bari kumwe n’abasirikare. Basohora ba bantu bose hanze babashyira mu rugo rwa paruwasi. Ubwo harimo umusirikare witwa *Caporal* Mpakaniye Gaspard. Hari itsinda ry’abakirisitu bo muri *Camp* Ngoma twari tuziranye nzwi nka padiri mukuru. Ubwo hari abakiritisu bamwinginze bati “ko uri muri kiriya gitero cyateye kuri paruwasi, wadukirije uriya mu padiri?” Bavuga njye. Yaraje mbere y’abandi arambwira ati “shaka aho wihisha!” Iwanjye hari *ouverture* muri *plafond,* aramfasha mukandagira ku ntugu ndinjira ndihisha. Ubwo ni ko cya gitero cyahise cyinjira kiti padiri mukuru ari he? Wa mu *caporal* ati agomba kuba asohotse aciye iwe mujye mu masaka aho murebe. Bashatse kurasa muri plafond aritambika ati nagezeyo, abereka aho yakandagije inkweto.

Ubwo uwari ayoboye igitero yari *Commandant wa Camp militaire,* Lieutenant Hategekimana Ildephonse. Nanagiye Arusha mu rubanza rwe muri 2009. Icyo gihe araza aravuga ati ntituje kubica, ni ukubafunga gusa. Ubwo za mpunzi zikoma amashyi ariko ababeshya kugira ngo basohoke. Bagisohoka bisanga muri ba bicanyi bafite ubuhiri ariko hakaba hari bamwe bavugaga bati turi abakristu ntitwakwicira mu kiriziya; bati urica umuntu ukarengera amatafari. Ubwo ba basirikare na bo bari aho hanze bafite imbunda, bareba ko nta mututsi uri bwirwaneho. Ubwo bica abo batutsi nk’abahura kandi ntawatakaga kuko Interahamwe zabaga zifite imihoro n’ubuhiri ku buryo bakugeragaho wabaye nk’igiti utumva ni ko nabwiwe n’akana karokotse. Njye nari muri plafond mbyumva. Abagore n’abakobwa bo babanzaga kubafata ku ngufu inyuma ya Kiriziya, nyuma barabica barabarangiza. Ubwo wa mupadiri twabanaga w’umusaza witwa Eulade w’umututsi bari bamuretse ngo aba padiri bose

ntibabica, ngo abapadiri bagira akamaro kuko iyo inzara yateye basaba imfashanyo. Bati turica cya gipadiri cy'igisore cy'Inkotanyi, bavuga jye.

Ubwo abaharokokeye na bo bashidikanywagaho ku ndangamuntu zabo batazi neza ubwoko bwabo. Harimo abakobwa batatu n'abadamu bake n'abandi baturutse ahandi batazwi, bavuga bati tutikora mu nda. Abandi bose barishwe mu bari bahungiye aho kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma bagera kuri 476. Abarokotse ntibagera ku 10; ni 6 kuko harimo Padiri Eulade n'utwana; nyuma hari abandi baje bake bake nko mu kwa 5 bari bihishe mu masaka.

Ku itariki 4/7/1994 ni bwo ingabo za RPA baje kurokora abantu b'i Butare. Gusa hari abandi bari bajyanywe n'itsinda ry'Abafaransa bari baje gutwara Musenyeri wa Butare witwa Gahamanyi, na twe bamwe tura profita. Gusa abo Bafaransa ntibabaga baje bazanye amamodoka yo gutabara Abatutsi ahubwo bazaga mu tumodoka twa gisirikare, abantu nka 5 bakinjiramo abandi bagasigara. Nyuma batabarwa n'Inkotanyi. Ubwo ndibuka tariki ya 3/7/1994 ni bwo batugejeje i Murambi, tuhava tujya i Bujumbura nyuma tugaruka mu Rwanda Jenoside ihagaritswe. Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma harimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ngoma Kanyabashi Joseph, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Huye Ruremesha Jonathan, Capitaine Hategekimana Ildephonse, Interahamwe nka Harerimana Jacques, Nyagashi Edouard n'abandi (Masinzo Jérome, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma Abatutsi bari bahahungiye bishwe ku itariki 29 Mata 1994 bigizwemo uruhare na Capitaine Hategekimana Ildephonse na Major Habyarabatuma Cyriaque boherejeyo Interahamwe n'abajandarume kujya kubica. Hakoreshejwe imipanga, imbunda na za gerenade mu kubica ndetse abana n'abandi bari barokotse kuri iyo tariki babatwikishije amapine (Gatera Laurent, Huye, Ngoma 2019).

Major Habyarabatuma Cyriaque yicishije Abatutsi muri Jenoside. Abatangabuhamya barimo Gatera Laurent bavuga ko yakoreshaga uburyarya yerekana ko adafite umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi abizeza ko nta cyo bazaba,

nyamara iyo yamaraga kuhava yoherezaga abajandarume kubica. Jenoside itandira yijeje perefe wa Butare Habyarimana Jean Baptiste ko ntacyo azaba, ndetse iyo yageraga ku mpunzi z'Abatutsi yababwiraga ko babarindiye umutekano nyamara bwari uburyo bwo kugira ngo badahunga azabone uko abicisha bose ntawe urokotse. Major Habyarabatuma niwe watanze imbunda zishe Abatutsi bagerageza kwirwanaho muri Kiriziya y'i Cyahinda. Yahaye amabwiriza abajandarume yayoboraga kujya kwica Abatutsi bari i Cyahinda ababwira ko ari Inyenzi (Gatera Laurent, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Abandi bagize uruhare harimo aba GP barindaga umukuru w'igihugu. Kubera ko perezida Sindikubwabo Theodore yari atuye ku Mukoni, iwe harindwaga n'aba GP. Bafatanyije n'abasirikare babaga muri ESO, no muri camp Ngoma biraye mu Batutsi bari bahungiye hirya no hino muri Komini Ngoma barabica. Banagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi no mu yandi makomini nka Mbazi, Huye, Rusatira (Gatera Laurent, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Ngoma bariyeri zari ahantu hatandukanye harimo ku Mukoni, imbere y'amarembo ya Kaminuza, imbere yo kwa Ntahobari na Nyiramasuhuko, Kwa Bihira, kuri Groupe Scolaire ya Butare ku muhanda ujya i Gisigara, ku Nzu Mberabyombi, haruguru y'Inzu Ndangamurage y'u Rwanda, mu Rwabuye, Kuri Hôtel Faucon na IBIS n'ahandi hatandukanye. Aho hose hashyizwe bariyeri kandi zacungwaga n'interahamwe n'abaturage ku buryo bitari byoroheye Abatutsi kubona aho banyura ngo bahunge.

Abatutsi bahungiye mu Matyazo bishwe mu matariki ya 21 na 22 Mata 1994, na ho abahungiye mu Kiriziya ya Ngoma bishwe kuri 29 Mata 1994 (Rwagasana Stanislas, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Mukura i Sahera bariyeri zari ahantu hatandukanye. Hari iyari mu Gasanteri ka Sahera ahitwa mu Kabuga yari iyobowe na Biziyaremye Jean wari Konseye. Kugira ngo hatagira umututsi wihisha kuwa 23 Mata 1994 abakonseye bafashe indangururamajwi banyura ahantu hose bavuga ngo ihumure ryabonetse. Abatutsi bari bihishe bavuye mu bwihisho; igitero cyari kiyobowe n'abicanyi barimo Nsengiyumva Pierre, Karekezi Claude n'abanya

Buvumo bagose abari barokotse ubwicanyi bwo kuwa 22 Mata 1994 barabica (Mukankundiye Mathilde, Mukura, Werurwe 2019).

6.3.1. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu Rwunge rw'Amashuri rwa Butare

Indege ya Perezida Habyarimana yahanuwe ku itariki 6 Mata 1994 mu gihe muri Groupe Scolaire Officiel ya Butare harimo kubera imurikagurisha (*Exposition)* yo ku rwego rw'igihugu yari yatangiye ku itariki 5 Mata 1994. Ku itariki 7 Mata 1994 hari urujya n'uruza rw'abantu benshi, hari imodoka nyinshi ndetse hari n'amahugurwa y'abarimu baturutse ahantu hatandukanye mu gihugu. Muri *Groupe Officiel* ya Butare hakoreraga Croix Rouge yitaga ku bana bari barahunze baturutse i Byumba. Aho muri *Groupe Officiel* ya Butare hari Abatutsi barenga igihumbi bari bahahungiye.

Muri Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare Indatwa (GSOB), Jenoside yabaye hamaze iminsi habera imurikagurisha. Abatutsi benshi bahungiye muri icyo kigo. Igitero cya mbere cyaje kwica Abatutsi bari bahahungiye ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994. Haje Interahamwe zivanze n'abasirikare n'abaturage benshi bagota Abatutsi bari bahungiye muri Groupe Officiel ya Butare no ku Kabutare barabica. Muri icyo gitero cyarimo Desiré wo kwa Munyagasheke, Shalom Ntahobari umuhungu wa Nyiramasuhuko, Nzarubara, Major Albert, Ntirurihamwe Jean, n'abandi. Cyarimo na none impunzi z'Abarundi zari zarahunze muwa 1993 (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda rigizwe n'uhagarariye Ibuka mu Murenge wa Ngoma, Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Umurenge n'abandi, Werurwe 2019).

Ibindi bitero byagarutse kwica abari bakiriho ku itariki ya 28-29 Mata 1994.

6.3.2. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda

Ku itariki 21 Mata 1994, abanyeshuri, abarimu n'abandi bakozi ba Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda bishwe urubozo bigizwemo uruhare na bamwe mu banyeshuri n'abarimu b'intagondwa z'Abahutu.

Kabutare yari agace kari gatuwemo n'abarimu benshi bigishaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda cyangwa mu mashuri yisumbuye yo mu Mujyi wa Butare. Abatutsi baho bishwe n'abasirikare babaga barakomerekeye ku

rugamba bakazanwa kuvurirwa i Butare bafatanyije n'Interahamwe. Abarimu bo muri Kaminuza barangaga abarimu bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi ngo bicwe. Abakozi bayo n'abanyeshuri ba Kaminuza babaga bari ku Mukoni ahantu bitaga muri bisi haguye benshi. Bari banafite bariyeri aho bita kwa Sebukangaga i Madina kuri Barthos. Hari Abatutsi bahiciwe bagambaniwe n'abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza barimo uwitwa Kayibanda Jules NKIKO (Ni umuganga wigeze gukora aho bita kwa Nyiranuma i Kigali). Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko yamanukanaga abanyeshuri bakajya kubica. Undi wari mu banyeshuri wakoze Jenoside ni Amandin Rugira Pacifique wahunze ubu akaba aba muri Afurika y'epfo. Hari n'uwitwa Nyirimana Innocent uba i Burundi n'abandi. Hari n'abahungu ba Setakwe Claver bakoze Jenoside bamwe bakidegembya barimo Karabaranga Isaïe, Murangwa Innocent, Emmanuel Setakwe na mushiki wabo witwa Mariya wasekuraga abana mu isekuru. Ubu aba i Gitarama aracuruza. Umurenge wa Tumba wabagamo Abarundi benshi bari barahunze bakaba na bo baragize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda ryo mu Murenge wa Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Abicanyi babasanze muri utwo duce twose barabica. Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bigaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda n'abarimu bahakoraga biciwe muri iyo Kaminuza. Abenshi bagiye babicira mu ishyamba rya Kaminuza, ku Mukoni ugana i Cyarwa, kuri IRST n'ahandi. Abatutsi bahungiye mu bitaro bya Kaminuza (CHUB) hamwe n'abarwayi na bo barahabiciye.

Mu barimu ba Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi i Huye harimo Mutwewingabo, Kampire Thérèse wari umwarimu, Dr Gatera wicaga Abatutsi mu bitaro bya CHUB, Nzitabakuze Bosco alias Karingiti wigishaga mu ishami rya Biologie, Dr. Munyemana Sosthène, Gatabazi Martin wakoraga muri Laboratwari (Gasana Ildephonse, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Hari Abatutsi bajyanaga kwicirwa kuri IRST babavanye ahantu hatandukanye. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Ntahobari Shalom afatanyije n'interahamwe n'abasirikare bo muri ESO bafataga Abatutsi bakajya kubicira kuri IRST. Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda

(ICTR) mu rubanza ruregamo Nyiramasuhuko Paulina n'abo bari bafatanyije b'Abanyabutare, rwagaragaje ko kuri 21 Mata 1994, Ntahobari Shalom umuhungu wa Nyiramasuhuko Pauline yafataga Abatutsi akajya kubicira kuri IRST[56]. Abafatanyije na Ntahobari bavugwa muri urwo rubanza barimo Desiré umuhungu wa Munyagasheke na Pierre Claver[57].

Mu bakoraga muri IRST bagize uruhare muri Jenoside harimo Murengezi Ildephonse wari umushakashatsi. Hari na Hakizamungu Etienne n'abandi (Laurence, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

6.3.3. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ku Bitaro bya Kaminuza (CHUB)

Abarwayi n'Abatutsi bari bahungiye mu Bitaro bya Butare (CHUB) bishwe n'abasirikare b'abajepe ku matariki ya 24-25 Mata 1994. Umutangabuhamya wahungiye i Butare kuri CHUB avuga ko abasirikare bakimara kuhagera bazanaga lisiti iriho amazina y'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa. Kubera ko Abatutsi bari bahungiye mu bitaro, ubuyobozi bw'ibitaro bwubatse shitingi (Teinte) hanze aba ari yo babashyiramo. Hepfo y'ibitaro bya CHUB hari shitingi bakusanyirizagamo Abatutsi bababesha ngo ni ubuhungiro.

Inkomere z'Abatutsi zazaga ku bitaro bya CHUB zicwaga n'abaganga aho kubavura. Umutangabuhamya Gasana Ildephonse wari uharwariye ubwo Jensoide yashyirwaga mu bikorwa asobanura ibyabereye mu bitaro bya CHUB:

> Ibitaro bya CHUB byakagombye kwita ku barwayi bazaga babigana nibyo byabaye ibagiro ry'Abatutsi. habaye ibagiro kuko ni ahantu abantu bagombaga kuvurirwa, hazaga inkomere za jenoside ariko abatutsi bahasohotse ni imbarwa kandi bicwaga n'abaganga, ariko ubwo ikindi cyahabaye ni uko ku manywa hirirwaga abarisikare, bakirirwa bazenguruka abaganga basa n'ababereka aho abo bantu bari noneho umuntu yamara koroherwa bakavuga ngo baramusezereye, ubwo mu ijoro abo basirikare bagahita baza bakabashorera bakajya kubicira hariya muri IRST, abandi ni abantu benshi bari hariya muri maternité bari baturutse

[56] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, p.344

[57] Idem, p.343.

> Nyaruguru, noneho nabo baza baje kwihisha ariko basa n'abahunze, abo rwose babatwaye ndeba, baraza nabo barabashorera bajya kubica, njyewe icyo gihe sinashoboraga kugenda kuko bari baranciye ibitsi, n'umutwe barawutemaguye ndetse nanaharwariye Macinya. Ikindi navuga kuri CHUB ni uko hari *Médecins Sans Frontières* harimo n'Abatutsi benshi, ubwo nibwo bazaga abo Batutsi barabica bose noneho ya *Medecin sans frontière* irahambira irigendera, noneho ha handi yari iri bahita bahazana inkambi z'Abarundi, abo Barundi rero na bo bagize uruhare rukomeye cyane mu kwica hariya mu Bitaro, ku buryo wasangaga hahuriye abo basirikare, abo baganga noneho n'abo Barundi bari barahaje, abo ni bo bakoze ibara. (Gasana Ildephonse, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).Abasirikare babaga muri ESO bafatanyije na bamwe mu baganga ba CHUB nibo bicaga Abatutsi bari barwariye muri ibyo bitaro ndetse n'ababaga bahahungiye. Abaganga berekanaga Abatutsi baharwariye ndetse bakifashisha amafishi y'abarwayi mu rwego rwo kumenya neza Abatutsi abo ari bo (Gatera Laurent, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Mu baganga bagize uruhare harimo Dr Gatera Jovani, Dr Kageruka ndetse bavuga ko ari mu bicishije GICANDA afatanyije n'abasirikare, Dr Iraguha, umuforomo bitaga Murara Twagirayezu Emmanuel, Dr Sosthène Munyemana, Yotamu Nshimiyimana wayoboraga ibitaro, Habarugira Pascal wakoraga muri Maternité, akenshi yabaga ari kuri bariyeri yo ku Mukoni no mu bitero byica Abatutsi. Umubikira witwa Théopiste afungiye muri gereza ya Huye, Murekezi, Bigirimana Fidele, umuforomakazi witwa Scholastique, Nsabumukunzi Straton n'abandi (Mukamudodo Emerita, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Perefe afatanije na Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi baje kuvana bamwe mu Batutsi bari ku bitaro babajyana kuri Perefegitura; ni ho biciwe (Mutamuriza Judith, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

6.3.4. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare

Nk'uko inyandiko y'ibirego bishinja Nyiramasuhuko Pauline ibyaha bya Jenoside yakozwe n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) ibigaragaza, hagati y'itariki ya 19 Mata n'impera ya Kamena

1994, ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare hahungiye Abatutsi bizeye kurengerwa n'ubutegetsi. Hari n'abo abategetsi boherezaragayo mu rwego rwo kugira ngo nibamara kugwira bazicwe bose kandi ku buryo bworoshye. Muri icyo gihe cyose bahahuriye n'ibyago bikomeye: Nyiramasuhuko, umuhungu we Ntahobari, Interahamwe zirimo Jumapili na Nsengiyumva bahoraga baza gushimuta Abatutsi. Abatutsikazi basambanyijwe ku bwinshi kandi mu ruhame mbere yo kwicwa. Ubuhamya bwatanzwe buvuga ko hari ubwo babanzaga kwamburwa imyenda bakajya kubica bambaye ubusa. Abagerageje kwirwanaho bakoresheje amabuye bahise bicwa. Abajyaga kwicwa batwarwaga n'imodoka ya Minibus y'umutuku yanditseho *Région Sanitaire* bakajya kwicirwa ahantu hatazwi.

Ku itariki ya 28 Mata 1994, Nyiramasahukuko Paulina, umuhungu we Ntahobari n'abicanyi benshi bahaga amabwiriza bateye ku biro bya Perefegitura ahari hahungiye Abatutsi benshi bizeye kurindwa na Perefe. Abana n'abagore bari mu kibuga hanze; abagabo bari bafungiye muri kasho y'ibiro. Nyuma yaho Ntahobari Shalom n'Interahamwe zikomeye zakunze kugaba ibitero bagashimuta abagore n'abakobwa bakabasambanya nyuma bakabica. Ibyo bitero byabaga bikuriwe na Nyiramasuhuko Paulina washimishwaga cyane ko kubona abagore bagenzi bahohoterwa. Abajyanwaga bivugwa ko bicirwaga mu ishyamba ry'inyuma ya Groupe Scolaire, abandi bakajyanwa ku Mukoni. Akenshi abategetsi bakomeye barimo Perefe Nsabimana n'abasirikari n'abajandarume babaga bari aho igihe Interahamwe zatwaraga abo zijya kwica zinafata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu. Ibyo bikorwa by'ubunyamaswa byakozwe amezi yose Jenoside yamaze kandi ku mugaragaro. Abarokokaga ubwicanyi aho batuye bazaga ku biro bya Perefegitura bizeye ubuhungiro bahagera bakicwa abandi bagahohoterwa. Hari n'ubwo batwaraga abana bakiri bato bakicwa. Ntawamenya umubare w'Abatutsi bishwe bakuwe ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare.

Hari Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Perefegitura ya Butare nyuma barahava bajya kuri EER, bagezeyo na ho barahabavana bagamije kujya kubicira i Nyaruhengeri. Umutangabuhamya Uwamahoro Marie Claire asobanura ko bahungiye kuri EER nyuma bakahabavana babajyana i Nyaruhengeri,

bagezeyo abicanyi baho bababwira ko barambiwe kwica babategeka gusubira aho bavuye i Ngoma. Bahise bajya kuri Perefegitura ya Butare aho bagiriye umutekano muke kubera ko Nyiramasuhuko Paulina n'umuhungu we Ntahobari Shalom bazanaga imodoka gutwara abagabo n'abasore bakajya kubicira mu Rwabayanga. Abakobwa bakuru barimo bajyaga kubabohoza ukagira ngo barapfuye nyuma y'icyumweru bakagaruka. Baje kuva kuri Perefegitura basubira kuri EER, nyuma abakuriye abicanyi baravuga ngo aho ku mashuri ya EER bari kuhatera umwanda, babajyana i Nyange muri Nyaruhengeri. Kuri za bariyeri barabahagarikaga bakabasiganira, ariko ku bw'amahirwe barabaretse baragenda.

Mu nzira bahuye n'ibigeragezo byose aho kuri za bariyeri babavanagamp bamwe bakabica, bakarara rwa ntambi iminsi myinsi nta cyo kurya no kunywa bafite, bararorongotana kugeza ubwo bagarutse ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare bahaguma bategereje kuzaherekeza Perezida Habyarimana igihe cyo kumushyingura. Bahuye n'ubuzima bubi cyane batabona uko bavuga kugeza Inkotany zihageze mu kwezi kwa karindwi zikarokora abari bakirimo umwuka (Uwamahoro Marie Claire, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Mu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Ngoma harimo Karimanzira Callixte ukomoka i Mugombwa, Jenerali Ndindiriyimana ukomoka i Kansi, Nyiramasuhuko Paulina wari Minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Uburinganire ukomoka i Ndora, Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda Ntahobari. Abandi ni Munyagasheke Isaac n'abahungu be, Ntahobari Shalom umuhungu wa Nyiramasuhuko Paulina, Major Habyarabatuma, Capitaine Ildephonse Nizeyimana, interahamwe n'abandi (Gasana Ildephonse, Ukuboza, 2019).

Hari Abatutsi biciwe ku Kabutare. Abagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ku Kabutare harimo Twagirayesu Faustin wari umwarimu, Matwi, Ndahayo alias Bisu, Nyabusimba n'abandi (Tangishaka Marguerite, Huye, Ukuboza 2019)

6.3.5. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ku Kabakobwa

Ku matariki ya 21 na 22 Mata 1994, Abatutsi bahungiye muri Serire Kabakobwa babeshywe na Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi ko abarindira umutekano. Nyuma yaho yategetse abaturage, abasirikari, abapolisi ba komini n'Interahamwe kubatera maze barabica. Ku itariki ya 21 Mata kandi Kanyabashi yategetse abaturage gukora umukwabo wo gusaka Abatutsi aho bari bihishe hose maze abavumbuwe baricwa. Ibyo byakozwe mu cyiswe *umuganda* wategetswe gukorwa na Kanyabashi ku itariki ya 23 Mata 1994.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamya, Abatutsi benshi bahungiye ku Kabakobwa guhera mu matariki 19 Mata 1994, bigeze ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994 bagabwaho ibitero n'Interahamwe n'abasirikare. Bishwe mu matariki 21 na 22 Mata 1994. Bahahungiye bazi ko bazahabonera umutekano ariko bashaka no guhungira i Burundi. Interahamwe, abasirikare b'abajepe n'abajandarume barabagose babura uko bahunga. Bashatse kwirwanaho ngo bahangane n'ibitero bibarusha imbaraga kuko Interahamwe n'abasirikare babarashemo amasasu menshi, babateramo na za gerenade.

Inyandiko y'Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) igaragaza ko ku itariki 22 Mata 1994 nka saa kumi z'umugoroba Kanyabashi wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ngoma yahamagaje abasirikare b'aba GP bafatanya n'interahamwe n'abapolisi ba komini n'abaturage bagota ahari hahungiye Abatutsi ku ka Kabakobwa babarasamo amasasu na za gerenade[58].

Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi yari azi neza ko baza kwicwa ari yo mpamvu yabashishikarije guhungirayo ari benshi. Abarokotse barabakurikiranye barabasonga. Abicanyi bari bategetswe na Kanyabashi kwambara amashara no kwisiga irangi ry'umukara mu maso. Nyuma yo kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku Kabakobwa saa cyenda z'amanywa, abicanyi bapakiye mu modoka z'abasirikari ibintu byabo by'agaciro birimo za moto n'ibindi bajya

[58] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, p.346.

kubigabana. Muri icyo gihe cyose Kanyabashi yari abahagarikiye. Imirambo y'abiciwe ku Kabakobwa yajugunywe mu byobo byari aho.

6.3.6. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Cyarwa na Tumba

Ubwicanyi bwo muri Cyarwa bwatangiye saa saba ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994, kandi abicanyi bagendaga urugo ku rundi kuko bari bafite urutonde rw'abahigwa bose. Uwatanze ubuhamya avuga ko baje barombereje kwa Ndakaza wari umuyoboke wa PL, bakurukizaho kwa Sinzi Tharcisse wakoraga muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, kwa Simpunga wakoraga muri Economat akaba n'umuyoboke wa PL no kwa Grégoire Hategekimana wakoraga muri Kaminuza. Nyuma ubwicanyi bwasakaye muri Tumba. Hari Abahutu bake bishwe n'ubwo berekanaga indangamuntu zabo, kimwe n'Abatutsi bari barahinduje ubwoko bakiyita Abahutu. Ibyo byakozwe mu rwego rwo gutera ubwoba abasigaye kugira ngo abantu bose bitabire ubwicanyi. Mu bishwe bari bakomeye harimo Umushinjacyaha wungirije witwa Matabaro. Banishe Porofeseri Jean-Marie Vianney Maniraho n'umuryango we kubera ko yari yanengeye mu nama y'umutekano ko hari abasirikari benshi mu Mujyi wa Butare atazi icyo bakora. Abasirikari kandi bishe Superefe Zéphanie Nyilinkwaya n'abantu 14 bari iwe ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994. N'ubwo yari umuhutu wo muri PSD, Nyilinkwaya yafatwaga nk'ushobora kubangamira kwicwa Abatutsi. Bukeye bwaho umuganga wo mu Baganga Batagira Umupaka (MSF) yaje kwa Nyirinkwaya asanga imirambo inyanyagiye hose, harimo n'umwana w'imyaka 3 wari wapfiriye ku ibere rya nyina. Bose bari bicishijwe amasasu. Yabashije kubonamo umukobwa wari akiri muzima ariko isasu ryamwahuranyije mu mabere yombi n'akandi kana gato k'agahungu k'imyaka 14 kari kagihumeka. Agerageje kubajyana kwa muganga abasirikikari baramubuza bashaka kubasonga. Yabatambukije nyuma y'imishyikirano no kubaha amafaranga.

Hari amakuru avuga ko mu bicanyi hari umuntu wagiye muri komini zabo kugenzura neza ubwoko bwabo yagaruka agatanga amakuru yabicishije. Depite Laurent Baravuga ni we wagendaga asoma ku rutonde abagomba kwicwa agatungira agatoki abasirikari b'abajepe barimo abarindaga

murumuna wa Habyarimana Dr. Bararengana wari utuye i Tumba n'abarindaga urugo rwa Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore.

Ibitero byinshi byazaga ku manywa; ninjoro bakagaruka guhiga abp babuze ku manywa. Abaturage basanzww babaga baherekejwe buri gihe n'abasirikari kugira ngo babereke ako Abatutsi batuye cyangwa se aho bahungiye.

Igitero cyishe Abatutsi bari i Musange cyaturutse i Kaburemera. Igitero giturutse i Ngoma ni cyo cyishe Abatutsi bari bahungiye i Nganzagihendo. Mu bari ku isonga mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Ngoma harimo Nteziryayo Alphonse wari Superefe wa Perefegitura ya Butare, Kanyabashi Joseph wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ngoma, Nyiramasuhuko Pauline wari Minisitiri w'Umuryango, Murekezi Vincent, Ntahobari Shalom n'abandi (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda, Umurenge wa Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Tumba bariyeri zari ahantu hatandukanye harimo iyari kwa Ntirabampa Vénant alias Mabumbogoro, iyabaga kwa Remera Siméon, iyabaga kwa Bwanakeye, iyari ku Gateme ari na ho bita ku Kibihanga yari iyobowe n'umurundi bitaga Korokoro. Indi bariyeri yari ku Mukoni ujya kwa Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore, iyabaga ku mashuri y'i Cyarwa yari ikuriwe na Hategekimana Nicodème, iyari ku muhanda ujya Rwasave n'izindi. Izo bariyeri zose ziciweho Abatutsi. Ahandi Abatutsi biciwe mu Murenge wa Tumba harimo i Musange, ku mashuri y'i Cyarwa, mu rya Lambert, i Nganzagihendo n'ahandi.

Mu nama yakoreshejwe i Tumba kuri segiteri n'umuganga uzwi cyane witwa Sosthène Munyemana, yabeshye ko FPR yari yateye muri Komini Kigembe abantu 15 bakaba bari bahungiye iwe. Abaturage bari aho bahamya ko ayi magambo yateye umujinya n'urwikekwe rukomeye hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi byabaye intandaro ya Jenoside mu Mujyi wa Butare.

Abandi bagize uruhare muri Jenoside mu murenge wa Tumba harimo Ntahobari Shalom, Munyaneza Desiré, Murekezi, Ntirenganya, Munyakayanza, Munyemana Sosthène, Rugambwa Joseph, Déo watwaraga

imodoka ya Perefegitura ya Butare n'abandi (Niyigena Emmanuel, Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Abandi ba ruharwa barimo uwo bitaga Siméon Remera wari umuganga muri CARAES Butare. Yaricaga agakiza. Baramukatiye muri Gacaca ariko yarahunze. Hari uwitwa Hitimana Joseph wari ufite akabare bakoreragamo inama; we yazize macinya. Hari uwo bitaga Mabuye Emmanuel na we yarapfuye. Munyemana Sosthène wari umuganga ni na we wazanaga intwaro. Hakaba Bwanacyeye wari konseye, yarafunzwe; hakaba n'uwo bitaga Boniface Cyanira bivugwa ko yahungiye i Burundi we na Mabombogoro, n'uwo bitaga Gashirabake wahunze. Mambo Gérard yarapfuye, uwo bitaga Foro yarahunze. Uwitwaga Ntirenganya Evariste arafunze; Murekezi Vincent; Faustin wo kwa Félicien ubu ari Malawi; Isaac wajyanaga abantu bakabata mu byobo; Micomyiza Jean Paul bavuga ko ari muri Centrafrique, Sagahima, Bucumi Célestin ari i Burundi; Safari wadodaga inkweto afana Mukura bavuga ko aba i Rwamagana n'abandi (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda ry'abo mu Murenge wa Tumba, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Butare kimwe n'ahandi hose bariyeri ziciweho Abatutsi benshi cyane cyane kuva ku itariki ya 22 Mata 1994. Abasirikari bo muri ESO n'abo mu mutwe warindaga Perezida Habyarimana biciye Abatutsi batagira ingano imbere ya Hôtel Faucon bari baje bahunga ubwicanyi ku Gikongoro, kuri bariyeri yari ahitwa ku Mukoni ugana i Cyarwa ku bageragezaga guhungira i Burundi hamwe n'ahitwa kwa Ngoga aho abicanyi boherezaga Abatutsi kandi bazi neza ko hari bariyeri bicirwagaho. Umuhungu w'uwitwa Alphonse Ngoga wigeze kuba Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigembe witwa Micomyiza yari akuriye ibitero by'abicanyi byishe Abatutsi benshi kuri iyo bariyeri. Bafatanyaga n'impunzi z'Abarundi bari abagome cyane. Ibitero byose bikomeye byo mu Mujyi wa Butare byari bikuriwe na Shalom Ntahobari na nyina Pauline Nyiramasuhuko wari Minisitiri w'Umuryango muri Leta y'Abatabazi.

Mu Mujyi wa Butare abicanyi barimo Interahamwe zifatanyije n'abasirikari bashyizeho ahantu ho kwicira Abatutsi ndetse haguye benshi. Hari mu ishyamba ry'inyuma y'Inzu Ndangamurage y'u Rwanda, mu ishyamba rya

Arboretum inyuma ya Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, iruhande rw'ibitaro by'indwara zo mu mutwe no muri *Groupe Scolaire* ya Butare. Aho ni ho abatuye Umujyi wa Butare bumvaga amasasu menshi guhera ku mugoroba w'itariki ya 20 Mata 1994 ahabaga hicirwa Abatutsi mu rwego rwo gusibanganya ibimenyetso. Ntibibujije ariko ko hari n'Abatutsi benshi biciwe mu ngo zabo no mu nzira bagerageza guhunga.

Kuva ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 abategetsi ba Perefegitura batangiye kohereza Abatutsi bavanywe mu byayo mu duce twitaruye Umujyi wa Butare, bagerageza no kubambura intwaro za gakondo bamwe muri bo bari bitwaje. Mu makomini ya Ruhashya, Mbazi na Nyaruhengeri, ba burugumesitiri bangiye impunzi z'Abatutsi guhungira ku biro bya komini ku mabwiriza bagomba kuba barahawe n'ababakuriye. Ahubwo babohereje ahandi hantu harimo za *stades* n'insengero. Ab'i Ruhashya banze guhungira ku biro bya komini bahitamo kujya muri ISAR Rubona. Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri EER bo babohereje i Nyange muri Komini Nyaruhengeri, bagezeyo babagarura i Ngoma kuko abicanyi bavugaga ko bananiwe badafite imbaraga zo kwica.

6.3.7. Iyicwa ry'Umwamikazi Rosalie Gicanda

Rosalie Gicanda yavukiye i Rwamagana mu 1928. Muri Mutarama 1942, yashyingiranywe n'Umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa Charles Léon Pierre, wapfuye urupfu rutunguranye kandi rudasobanutse kuwa 25 Nyakanga 1959. Nyuma yaho u Rwanda rubaye Repuburika, Perezida Kayibanda yamwirukanye mu Rukari i Nyanza yimurirwa i Butare. Yirukanywe mu rwego rwo kuzimanganya burundu ingoma ya cyami n'ibimenyetso byayo.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Rosalie Gicanda yaranzwe n'ibikorwa by'impuhwe n'ubugiraneza aho yari atuye mu Mujyi wa Butare. Ku itariki ya 20 Mata 1994 ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yari itangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare itsinda ry'abasirikari riyobowe na Liyetona Pierre Bizimana wari wahawe amabwiriza na Capitaine Ildephonse Nzeyimana bafashe Umwamikazi Gicanda n'abandi bagore batandatu bari inshuti ze hamwe n'abandi bo mu muryango we babajyana muri ESO ngo mu ibazwa. Nyuma babajyanye mu ishyamba rya IRST bashaka kubica ariko

barabireka, ahubwo babajyana mu kandi gashyamba kari ku nzira igana mu Nyakibanda aba ari ho babicira. Ni na ho imibiri yabo yavanywe bajya gushyingurwa mu cyubahiro. Harokotse umukobwa umwe mu bari kumwe na Gicanda ari na we watanze ubuhamya kuri urwo rupfu.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, Liyetona Bizimana Pierre n'umusirikare muto witwa Aloys Mazimpaka bahamijwe n'urukiko rwa gisirikare icyaha cyo kwica Umwamikazi Rosalie Gicanda, Liyetona Bizimana ahita akatirwa igihano cyo gupfa cyari kicyemewe mu mategeko y'u Rwanda icyo gihe na ho Mazimpaka akatirwa igifungo cya burundu.

Tariki ya 6 Ukwakira 2009 Capitaine Ildephonse Nizeyimana wahoze akuriye ibiro by'ubutasi akaba yari n'umwe mu bahigwaga cyane ngo baryozwe ibyaha bya Jenoside yafatiwe i Kampala muri Uganda maze ashyikirizwa Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) muri Tanzaniya. Tariki ya 19 Kamena 2012 yahamwe n'icyaha cyo gutanga itegeko ryo kwica Umwamikazi Rosalie Gicanda. Ildephonse Nizeyimana yahamwe kandi n'icyaha cya Jenoside, ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu n'ibyaha by'intambara, ahanishwa igifungo cya burundu.[59]

Umwamikazi Rosalie Gicanda yishwe afite imyaka 66 y'amavuko. Umubiri we washyinguwe i Mwima iruhande rw'umugabo we Umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa ari naho hashyinguwe Umwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa. Ubu ni mu Karere ka Nyanza.

I Butare Gicanda yabanaga na nyina wari ushaje cyane hamwe n'abandi bagore babitagaho bombi. Yiberagaho mu masengesho no mu bikorwa by'ubugiraneza kuko yumvaga ntaho ahuriye na poritiki.

Jenoside itangiye muri Butare Gicanda yabanje kwiringira ko uwari Perefe Habyarimana Jean Baptiste aza kumurengera. Nyuma y'aho uwo yiciwe ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994 ibintu byabaye bibi cyane, Gicanda aterefona uwari Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi wa Komini Ngoma ngo amutabare, undi

[59] *The Prosecutor* v. *Ildephonse Nizeyimana,* Case No. ICTR-2000-SSC-T

amusubiza ko atabishobora. Nyuma yaho rero ni bwo abasirikari baje bamena urugo batwara Gicanda n'abagore bari kumwe na we bajya kubarasira ahavuzwe hejuru. Ku mugoroba ngo bagarutse gusahura urugo rwe basiga nyina wa Gicanda wari ushaje cyane. Bagarutse nyuma y'iminsi 2 na we baramwica mu rwego rwo kugira ngo atazabavuga. Abisabwe n'umupadiri wa Paruwasi ya Butare, Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi yohereje abafungwa bahamba Gicanda mu gikari inyuma y'inzu ye. Ubuhamya buvuga ko mbere yo kwicwa Gicanda yabanje kuzengurutswa mu Mujyi wa Butare ari inyuma mu modoka y'itoyota mu rwego rwo kumutoteza no gutera abandi ubwoba. Bivugwa ndetse ko abicanyi babanje kumufata ku ngufu mbere yo kumwica. Urupfu rwe rwateye ubwoba Abatutsi benshi bibwiraga ko nta bwicanyi bwaba muri Butare.

6.4. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Mbazi

Mu yahoze ari Komini ya Mbazi (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Mbazi), Jenoside yatangiye kuwa 21 Mata 1994. Nk'uko umutangabuhamya abivuga, mbere yaho Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mbazi Sibomana Antoine afatanije n'abapolisi ba Komini babanje kurwanya ibitero by'Interahamwe zaturukaga mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, ndetse abaturage n'abo babanje gukumira ibyo bitero kuko bari bataramenya abahigwa abo ari bo. Perefe Nsabimana Sylvain akimara gusimbura Habyarimana Jean Baptiste Jenoside yahise ikwira hose, ibyo kurwanya ibitero birahagarara, Abatutsi batangira kwicwa. Umwe mu batangabuhamya asobanura uko byagenze:

> Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana ku ya 6 Mata 1994, Jenoside nta bwo yahise itangira kuko abaturage bari bataramenya ikigenderewe. Bahise batangira kujya gukumira ibitero byabaga bije gutera Abatutsi, byabaga bije biturutse za Gikongoro. Icyo gihe nibuka ko Burugumesitiri wacu yaje azanye n'abapolisi baje gukumira ibyo bitero noneho bageze mu ga centre k'iwacu mu Kabuga hahise haza Perefe Nsabimana Sylvain abwira Burugumesitiri ati abo bapolisi bawe bacyure ubakure hano, ubu ni ukwica Abatutsi bakabamaraho nta bya bindi byo kubareka bakagenda bakagaruka. Ubwo rero Burugumesitiri yahise abwira abaturage ati: «baturage mwimenye!» Abwira abapolisi be burira imodoka baragenda.

> Kandi ubwo ba bandi batwikaga amazu y'Abatutsi Burugumesitiri yari yabanje kubafunga, noneho kuva uwo munsi Perefe akimubwira ibyo bahise babafungura bose babapakira ya modoka ibagarura mu gace twari dutuyemo. Ubwo rero rero ni bwo bahise baza bati noneho tuje no kubica. Ubwo bitangira uko, uhunga arahunga, uwihisha arihisha, abandi baricwa (Gashumba Joseph, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Inyandiko ya African Rights yasohotse muri Nzeri 1997 ivuga ku ruhare rwa Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mbazi Sibomana Antoine ivuga ko abatangabuhamya babajijwe ubwo bakoraga anketi bose bemeje ko mu matariki yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida Habyarimana Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine yafashe abapolisi ba Komini barwanya ibitero byabaga biturutse Gikongoro n'ahandi. Nyuma y'uko Guverinoma yiyise iy'abatabazi ivanyeho perefe wa Butare Habyarimana Jean Baptiste ikamusimbuza Sylvain Nsabimana wakomokaga i Mbazi, ibintu byahindutse[60].

Nk'uko iyo nyandiko ibigaragaza, ku itariki 19 Mata 1994, perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yagiye i Butare gushishikariza abaturage kwica Abatutsi. Yakoresheje inama ba Burugumesitiri bose harimo na Sibomana Antoine, inama ibera ku biro bya perefegitura ya Butare. Aba Burugumesitiri batari bagatangiye gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside harimo n'uwa komini Mbazi bavuye muri iyo nama biyemeje kuyishyira mu bikorwa.

Akimara kuva muri iyo nama, ku itariki 20 Mata 1994, Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine yagiye kuri kasho ya komini Mbazi arekura interahamwe yari yafunze zashakaga kwica Abatutsi. Yarazi neza ko nabarekura ikintu cya mbere bakora ari ukwirara mu Batutsi bakabica.

Ku itariki 21 Mata 1994, Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine yakoresheje inama kuri sitade ya Mutunda ahazwi ku izina ryo mu Byiza. Abaturage bo mu masegiteri ya Mutunda, Mbazi na Mwulire bari batumiwe muri iyo nama, ndetse yitabiriwe na porokirere wa parike ya Butare Bushishi. Amagambo

[60] African Rights, Témoin du génocide. Antoine Sibomana et ses défenseurs. Numéro 7, Septembre 1997.

yavugiye muri iyo nama yatumye abaturage b'Abahutu bumva ko umwanzi wabo ari Abatutsi. Yavuze ko "umwanzi w'Umuhutu ari Umututsi" kandi ko "ujya kwica inzoka yizingiye ku Gisabo abanza ku kimena". Yahise atanga amabwiriza yo kujya gusenya inzu y'Umututsi witwa Mvuyekure Viateur ngo kuko muri 1991 uwitwa Paul yagiye mu Nkotanyi yari yaraye iwe. Yabwiye abaturage ko nibadafata iya mbere ngo bice Abatutsi aribo bazicwa. Nyuma y'iyo nama interahamwe n'abaturage b'Abahutu biraye mu ngo z'Abatutsi barasahura bakurikizaho kuzitwika.

Mu rwego rwo gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine yabwiye abari bitabiriye iyo nama ko Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri stade ya Mutunda ko icyo bagambiriye ari ukwishyira hamwe ngo babone uko bagaba ibitero ku Bahutu. Akimara gukoresha iyo nama, ibitero by'interahamwe byatangiye kujya kwica Abatutsi.

Abatutsi bari bahungiye mu Byiza kuri Stade ya Mbazi babanje kwirwanaho bahangana n'ibitero byabaga bije kubica. Mu gitondo cya kare cyo ku itariki 25 Mata 1994 haje ibitero bigizwe n'interahamwe, abapolisi n'abasirikare n'abaturage basanzwe birara mu Batutsi barabica.

Babanje kugota Abatutsi bari muri iyo stade, babarasamo amasasu menshi na za gerenade, uwashaka guhunga bamwicishaga intwaro gakondo. Mu gihe kitarenze amasaha atandatu, bari bamaze kwica Abatutsi bari muri iyo sitade barenga ibihumbi bitanu. Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri iyo sitade abenshi ni abo muri Komini Mbazi ariko hari n'abari baturutse muri Komini Maraba, Huye, Ruhashya, mu bice bya Gikongoro n'ahandi. Imirambo y'abishwe imwe bayishyize mu cyobo cyashyirwagamo imyanda yo ku ibagiro rya Mutunda n'iya CERAI, hari n'iyajugunywe mu isambu yari hafi y'iryo bagiro[61].

Abatutsi bahungiye muri Stade ya Byiza bagoswe impande zose ku buryo ntawashoboraga gucika. Ibyo kubagota bigarukwaho n'umutangabuhamya wagize uruhare muri Jenoside: «*Uburyo bwakoreshejwe kwari ukubagotera muri stade ku buryo twanayigose imbere n'inyuma hose kugira ngo hatagira*

[61] African Rights, Témoin du génocide. Antoine Sibomana et ses défenseurs. Numéro 7, Septembre 1997.

uducika. Uwageragezaga kwiruka twaramufataga tugahita tumwica» (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Ku itariki 26 Mata 1994, Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine yagarutse kuri sitade yo mu Byiza ari kumwe n'umuvandimwe we Ndagijimana Epimaque wari juge kuri kanto ya Mbazi hamwe n'abaturage benshi. Kubera ko hari abatutsi batari bagashyizemo umwuka, interahamwe zazengurukaga mu mirambo bashakisha ukiri muzima ngo bamuhuhure no kujugunya imirambo yari inyanyagiye muri iyo sitade.

Mu bari ku isonga muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi harimo Perefe Nsabimana Sylvain, Burugumesitiri Sibomana Antoine, abakonseye barimo Sakindi Emmanuel, uwitwa Ndegeya Charles, Habiyambere Stéphane, Masumbuko, Kagabo, umusirikare witwa Gatwaza n'abandi (Nyiradukuze Marguerite, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Abarokotse aho mu Byiza bamwe bahungiye i Gihindamuyaga muri Camp des Jeunes n'i Sovu ku ivuriro benshi muri bo biciwe aho bahungiye (Gashumba Joseph, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

6.5. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Huye

Mu yahoze ari Komini Huye (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Huye), Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa guhera kuri 21 Mata 1994. Abatutsi bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma, kuri Perefegitura, i Rukira ku mashuri, i Sovu, i Gihindamuyaga, bicirwa aho bari bahungiye. Abatutsi bahungiye kuri Komini Huye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ruremesha Jonathan yarababwiye ngo bajye mu nzu ya IGA yari inyuma ya komini, ndetse abasaba kubwira n'abandi bihishe ko bihishura kuko ngo bagiye kubaha imfashanyo. Abari bihishe barihishuye, ahita ahamagaza Interahamwe zirabagota zibarasamo amasasu na za gerenade. Abagore n'abakobwa babanzaga kubasambanya; hari n'abo babohoje nyuma bamwe bakabica (Uwizeyimana Florida, Ngoma, Werurwe, 2019).

Abatutsi bari bahungiye i Gihindamuyaga habarizwa ubu mu Karere ka Huye barishwe bose. Abatutsi bari bahungiye ahitwa Karambi ku Rusengero rw'Abametodisiti, ubu ni mu Murenge wa Huye mu Karere ka Huye, bakomokaga mu Matyazo, Nyaruguru n'ahandi, bishwe n'Interahamwe zo ku Gikongoro zibateye za gerenade. Kuva ku itariki ya 21-22 Mata 1994 ku kigo cy'amashuri abanza cya EP Matyazo cyari giherereye muri Komini Huye ahitwaga ku Rusisiro, ubu ni mu Karere ka Huye, hiciwe Abatutsi basaga 10.000 bari bahahungiye baturutse muri za Komini Ngoma, Runyinya, Maraba na Huye. Interahamwe zabishe zibatwikishije lisansi, amasasu n'intwaro za gakondo.

Umutangabuhamya Mukantabana Immaculée wari mu yahoze ari Komini Huye asobanura uko byagenze:

> Nyuma yo kumenya ko perezida Habyarimana yapfuye, twagize ubwoba abo twahamagaraga i Kigali dushaka kumenya uko bimeze ntihagira uwo tubona. Telefoni zageze aho zikurwaho tuguma mu rugo tutazi uko biza kugenda. Bigeze ku itariki 17 Mata 1994 ubwo twari tuvuye gusenga nibwo twamenye ko Musonera wari veterineri yishwe n'umuturanyi we turumirwa. Umuturanyi we ntibuka izina yashatse gutwara inka za Musonera, ubwo yazimwimaga undi yafashe icumu yarafite ararimutera ahita apfa. Twamuhambye kwa Sugira. Mu mwanya wakurikiyeho twaje kumva ko hari abandi Batutsi bishe barimo Alphonse wari utuye i Ngoma, Edwije n'umugore wa Nyampeta. Kuri iyo tariki ya 17 Mata haje impunzi nyinshi ziturutse Nyaruguru harimo n'abana bo mu miryango yacu yari ituye yo. Burugumesitiri Ruremesha Jonathan yadusabye kuva mu ngo zacu tukajya kuri Komini Huye ngo niho bazaturindira umutekano. Abatutsi bari barokokeye i Sovu, i Karama n'abavuye i Gikongoro bose bahungiye kuri Komini Huye. Hari nabakomeje bajya ku ivuriro ryo mu Matzazo abandi ku mashuri yaho. Ku itariki 19 Mata 1994 bazanye imodoka irimo ibyo kurya batubwira ko twiyandikisha kugira ngo bajye babona uko batugaburira nyamara bwari uburyo bwo kumenya umubare w'Abatutsi uri Komini Huye bityo babone uko bazatwica. Ku mugoroba wo kuri iyo tariki ya 19 Mata 1994 haje ibitero biturutse i Nkima, ku Rukira

n'i Nyanza turwana nabyo ndetse dukomeretsamo bamwe hapfa uwitwa SOGI wari umufundi ari n'Interahamwe. Hakomeretse n'uwari uyoboye igitero witwa Nkurikiyinka Tharcisse. Icyo gitero cyasubiyeyo nyuma yo kuneshwa. Nyuma yaho haje ikindi gitero kirimo abasirikare n'abapolisi ba komini Huye hamwe n'interahamwe barashisha ibunda na za gerenade Abatutsi bari kuri Komini. Abamaze gupfa babatwaye mu modoka ya profeseri Karekezi Joseph. Abarokotse twageraga kuri 47 batujyana mu nzu yakoreragamo koperative. Naje kugira amahirwe mva aho twari turi mu nzu ya koperative, barampisha nubwo bitari byoroshye, ku bw'amahirwe Inkotanyi zirandokora. Mu bari ku isonga mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari kuri Komini Huye harimo Nkurikiyinka Tharcisse, Muganga Joseph, Kampayana Aloys, Semakaba Déo, Kabanza Christophe, Gakwaya Hyacenthe, Ntakirutimana Azarias wari umufasha (Assistant) wa Burugumesitiri, abapolisi ba komini n'abasirikare (Mukantabana Immaculée, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Abatutsi biciwe ku ivuriro ry'i Sovu byagizwemo uruhare n'abasirikare barimo Rekeraho n'ababikira barimo Gertulde na Kizito, ubu baba mu Bubiligi. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Huye na we yifatanyije n'ibitero byaje kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye i Sovu.

6.6. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Ruhashya

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ruhashya (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Ruhashya), Jenoside yatangiye kuwa 22 Mata 1994. Burugumesitri wa Komini Rudakubana Martin yabanje kurwanya ibitero byazaga kwica Abatutsi. Nyuma y'inama yo kuwa 19 Mata 1994, ayivamo yahindutse ndetse agaruka yambaye imyenda ya gisirikare. Abatutsi bahungiye kuri Komini Ruhashya, muri ISAR SONGA, ku musozi wa Rubaba n'ahandi. Ku musozi wa Rubaba Abatutsi bahanganye n'ibitero byazaga kubica, haza kuza abajandarume babarasamo amasasu menshi barabica. Kuva kuwa 23 Mata kugeza kuri 30 Mata 1994 abicanyi bakoze igikorwa cyo guhiga Abatutsi ahantu hose bari bihishe barabica. Ahandi hiciwe Abatutsi muri Komini Ruhashya no ku Rugogwe, ISAR Rubona n'ahandi. Bishwe kuwa 25 Mata 1994 (Mukamunana Immaculée, Ruhashya, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Ruhashya avuga ko Perezida Habyarimana akimara gupfa ku munsi ukurikiyeho ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 abaturage bose babanje kwishyira hamwe ngo barwanye ibitero byazaga kubica. Byaje kumenyekana ko abari guhigwa ari Abatutsi Abahutu bari kumwe na bo babasiga bonyine.

Ku iteme rya Mwogo, Abatutsi birwanyeho baneshwa ubwo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinyamakara Munyaneza Charles azanye imbunda akabarasamo, baratatana. Ahitwa i Rubaba, Abatutsi n'Abahutu barafatanije barwanya ibitero byari biturutse muri Gikongoro. Uwitwa Nsengiyumva Vénuste yahamagaye n'ijwi rirenga ngo Abahutu nibitandukanye n'Abatutsi kuko ari bo bari guhigwa. Kuva ubwo Abahutu barivanguye ibitero bihita byirara mu Batutsi barabica (Mukanyonga Ancilla, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1994 bagabweho ibitero bahungira i Rubaba. Abicanyi bahereye ku mazu y'Abatutsi bayatwika, inzu z'Abahutu babaga bazishyizeho ibirere kugira ngo batazitiranya n'iz'Abatutsi bakazitwika. Kuva ubwo ibitero byiraye mu Batutsi barabica. Abari bahungiye i Rubaba bishwe kuwa 21 Mata 1994 (Semungu Ndatsikira, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Muri Komini Ruhashya, Abatutsi biciwe kuri Komini, ahitwa i Rubaba, i Mwendo, muri ISAR Rubona na ISAR Songa. Hari n'abagiye bicirwa kuri za bariyeri zari zashyizwe hose nk'izari ku gasantere ka Rwaniro, ku Mwogo, n'ahandi. Bariyeri yo kwa Ngenzi Godefroid n'iyo kwa Rukundo ziciweho Abatutsi benshi. Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Komini Ruhashya bishwe ku matariki ya 24-25 Mata 1994, bishwe n'ibitero bigizwe n'Interahamwe zari ziturutse mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, ibitero biturutse i Maraba na Rusatira. Abahungiye muri ISAR Songa bishwe ku itariki ya 28 Mata 1994.

Abatutsi bari batuye i Rwaniro muri Komini Ruhashya bishwe n'ibitero byari biturutse i Kinyamakara biyobowe na Colonel Simba Aloys na Mucumankiko Silas, Munyaneza Charles wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinyamakara n'abandi. Muri icyo gitero harimo umucuranzi witwa Masabo Nyangezi Juvénal, Komanda wa Jandarumori witwa Sebuhura, Munyakazi, Birari, Ntibagororwa n'abandi. Abaturage na bo babaga bari muri ibyo bitero.

Abari ku isonga muri Jenoside muri Komini Ruhashya barimo umujandarume witwa Ntibagororwa, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ruhashya Rudakubana Martin, Nyabyenda, Batsinda Patrice, Rugamba Jean Baptiste, Kibega n'abandi (Gatera Viateur & Mukamunana Immaculée, Ruhashya, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Ruhashya hari inzibutso eshatu, urwa Ruhashya, urwa Mwendo n'urwo kuri ISAR Songa.

6.7. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Rusatira

Mu yahoze ari Komini Rusatira (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Rusatira na Kinazi), Jenoside yatangiye ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994. Amazu y'Abatutsi batangiye kuyatwika kuri iyo tariki. Abatutsi bo muri Komini ya Rusatira bamwe bahungiye muri ISAR Rubona na ISAR Songa. Bishwe kuva ku itariki ya 28 Mata 1994. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ryabo harimo Nyawenda Isidore wari Burugumesitiri, umupolisi witwa Bagirishya, umupolisi witwa Rutagengwa, uwari Konseye witwa Kabera, Interahamwe n'abandi. Ufiteyezu Innocent alias TOTO ni we watwaraga Interahamwe mu modoka azikwiza ahantu hose, yahungiye mu mahanga (Karemangingo Théogène, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019). Abandi bagize uruhare muri Jenoside harimo uwitwa Kabera wari Konseye, Ntamwiza Léopold wabaga ayoboye ibitero byajyaga kwica Abatutsi, yarafunguwe n'abandi (Uwimana Théophile, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Rusatira Jenoside ikimara gutangira Abatutsi bahungiye i Remera, i Mwendo, i Rubona no kuri ISAR Songa. Abicanyi babasanzeyo barabica (Mukahuye Consolata, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019). Muri ISAR Songa Abatutsi bagerageje kwirwanaho babifashijwemo na Sinzi Tharcisse kugeza ubwo hifashishijwe indege ya Kajugujugu. Abatutsi baho benshi bishwe guhera ku itariki ya 24 Mata 1994 (Twiringiyimana Bénoît, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Rusatira uri mu yahoze ari Komini Rusatira, bariyeri zari ahantu hatandukanye harimo iyari hafi y'amashuri ikuriwe n'umupolisi witwa Rutagengwa, iyari hafi ya Komini Rusatira ikuriwe na Ntarwizana, iyari ku

Gasenyi, iyari i Rubona, iyari ku Kanyirankuba. Abatutsi benshi biciwe kuri ISAR-Songa aho bari bahungiye. Hishwe abagera ku bihumbi icumi. Bishwe n'abasirikare bafatanije n'Interahamwe n'uwari konseye witwa Nikombabona Joseph. Icyo gitero cyari giturutse i Huye (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda ryo mu Murenge wa Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Uruhare rwa Rutunga Vénant na Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye bari abayobozi bakuru muri ISAR

Muwa 1994 Rutunga Vénant yari umuyobozi mu Kigo cy'Igihugu cyari Gishinzwe Ubushakashatsi ku Buhinzi n'Ubworozi (ISAR) nka *Directeur du Centre Régional du Plateau Central*. Ubwo Jenoside yatangiraga Abatutsi benshi bagahungira muri icyo kigo, Rutunga ashinjwa ko yazanye abasirikare n'Interahamwe zikabica.

Muri Werurwe 2019, U Buholandi bwemeje ko ishami rishinzwe gukurikirana ibyaha mpuzamahanga, ryataye muri yombi Umunyarwanda Rutunga Venant, ushinjwa uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Rutunga w'imyaka 69 yafatiwe mu mujyi wa Leersum. U Rwanda rwasabye ko yoherezwa ngo aburanire mu gihugu ku byaha akekwaho. Rutunga yafashwe kuwa 19 Werurwe 2019 na Polisi y'u Buholandi, akaba ategerejwe gushyikirizwa inkiko ngo yisobanure ku bwicanyi ashinjwa gukorera mu Majyepfo y'u Rwanda[62].

Usibye Rutunga ushinjwa kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri ISAR, hari na Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye umwe mu bashinze CDR ushinjwa ko yateguye Jenoside, ari nawe wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa ISAR. Ku itariki ya 05 Ugushyingo 2008, Ndereyehe yaciriwe urubanza adahari n'Urukiko Gacaca rwa Gikirambwa rumuhanisha igifungo cya burundu nyuma yo gusanga ahamwa n'ibyaha bya Jenoside.

Inyandiko yasohowe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu ishinzwe kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG) muri Werurwe 2018, isaba u Buholandi ko Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye umwe mu bashinze CDR wanateguye Jenoside yaburanishwa

[62] http://imvahonshya.co.rw/nyuma-ya-rutunga-u-rwanda-rurasaba-ko-nabandi-bakekwaho-jenoside-bafatwa/

cyangwa akoherezwa mu Rwanda igaragaza Ntahontuye uwo ariwe n'uruhare rwe mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ndetse n'uruhare rwe muri ISAR[63]. Inyandiko ya CNLG igira iti:

Ndereyehe Ntahontuye Charles akomoka muri Komine Cyabingo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, agace kakomokagamo benshi mu bari abategetsi. Mu 1992, hamwe n'abandi banyabwenge b'abahezanguni barimo Nahimana Ferdinand, Dr Rwamucyo Eugène, Dr Nshimyumuremyi Jean Berchmans n'abandi, Ndereyehe yaremye kandi ayobora umutwe w'abagizi ba nabi wiswe «Cercles des Républicains Progressistes» washishikarije abanyeshuri gutegura Jenoside muri Kaminuza i Nyakinama n'i Butare.

Mu itangazo rya CNLG ryashyizweho umukono n'Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wayo Dr Bizimana Jean Damascène rivuga ko ku ikubitiro Ndereyehe yari umurwanashyaka w'ishyaka MRND rya Habyarimana, ariko mu 1992 yavuye muri MRND agira uruhare mu ishingwa ry'ishyaka CDR ryagize uruhare rukomeye muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Muri ISAR mu 1993 nk'umuyobozi Mukuru, Ndereyehe yacuze umugambi wo kurimbura imiryango y'abakozi b'Abatutsi yakoreshaka n'iy'Abatutsi yari ituriye ikigo. Yashyizeho komite y'abicanyi i Rubona no mu yandi mashami y'ikigo arindwi hirya no hino mu gihugu. Yirukanye cyangwa yimurira ahandi abakozi bakoreraga i Rubona batari abahezanguni asigaza gusa ku myanya y'ubuyobozi abakozi bari basangiye na we ubuhezanguni bwo kwanga Abatutsi kandi bemeraga gukora Jenoside.

Dr Bizimana akomeza avuga ko ku itariki ya 21 Werurwe 1993 Ndereyehe yandikiye ibaruwa Didace Mugemana, wari ushinzwe abakozi muri ISAR. Muri iyo baruwa yamuhaye uburenganzira busesuye burimo ubwo gufatira umukozi ikemezo icyo ari cyo cyose yakumva ari ngombwa. Abari mu nzego

[63] http://imvahonshya.co.rw/cnlg-irasaba-u-buholandi-kuburanisha-ndereyehe-cyangwa-akoherezwa-mu-rwanda/ Yanditswe na MUGABO LAMBERT ku ya 13 Werurwe, 2018

z'ubuyobozi muri ISAR bose bahawe kopi y'iyi baruwa. Mu gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza ya Ndereyehe, Didace Mugemana yashyizeho kandi anahuza ibikorwa by'umutwe w'Interahamwe muri ISAR.

Igihe izo Nterahamwe zabaga zimaze kwinjizwa, Ndereyehe afatanyije na Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana na we wakomokaga mu majyaruguru, bateguraga amahugurwa yazo ku mikoreshereze y'imbunda mu ishuri rya ESSO i Butare. Nyuma zoherezwaga i Rubona bagatoza indi mitwe mu mashyamba ya ISAR i Rubona n'i Songa. Ndereyehe yabonaga ubufasha buvuye ku bajandarume bo mu kigo cya Nyanza cyategekwaga n'undi muhezanguni, Captain Bilikunzira François-Xavier na we wagize uruhare rukomeye muri Jenoside mu mujyi wa Nyanza no mu makomine awukikije.

Muri Mata 1994, Ndereyehe yayoboye mu biro bya ISAR inama zitandukanye zo gutegura Jenoside no gushyiraho umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi ku buryo nta Mututsi wagombaga kurokoka haba mu bakoraga muri ISAR cyangwa abari bayituriye". Ngo yatanze imodoka za ISAR ngo zige zitwara abicanyi, anashyiraho ibihembo by'amafaranga ku bari kwigaragaza cyane muri Jenoside. Ubwicanyi bukomeye bwabaye ku itariki 26 Mata 1994, abantu basaga 300 barishwe ku mabwiriza ye.

Ndereyehe yateye inkunga ikorwa rya Jenoside

Dr Bizimana avuga ko tariki 25 Gicurasi 1994, muri Jenoside, Kambanda Jean wari Minisitiri w'Intebe yoherereje ba Perefe bose amabwiriza yo gukomeza guhiga Abatutsi n'Abahutu batari bashyigikiye Jenoside.

Mu gushyira mu bikorwa aya mabwiriza, Ndereyehe yandikiye ibaruwa abakozi bose ba ISAR, itegeka buri wese gutanga 20% y'umushahara w'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994 kugira ngo azashyigikire iki gikorwa cyari cyo gushishikariza kwihutisha Jenoside.

Muri iyi baruwa, yanasezeranyije kuzakura ku ngengo y'imari ya ISAR amafaranga miliyoni agenewe guhemba abicanyi.

Ndereyehe yafatwaga na Guverinoma yateguye ikanakora Jenoside nk'intangarugero mu gushishikariza Jenoside

Aha Dr. Bizimana agira ati «Urugero rwa Ndereyehe mu cyaha cyo gushishikariza ikorwa rya Jenoside ntirwagarukiye muri ISAR Rubona gusa. Ibikorwa bye byagarukwagaho mu nama zabaga zateguwe na Guverinoma mu rwego rwo gushishikariza abaturage kwijandika muri Jenoside».

Avuga ko ari muri urwo rwego mu nama yari iyobowe na Perefe wa Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile ku itariki ya 9 Kamena 1994, yari yitabiriwe na ba Burugumesitiri bose bo muri iyi perefegitura, maze icyo gihe Colonel Ntibitura Bonaventure wari ushinzwe Auto-Défense Civile muri Ruhengeri avuga urugero rwiza rwa Ndereyehe Charles asaba ubufasha bw'amafaranga ku ngabo z'abajenosideri. «Ndereyehe, Umuyobozi mukuru wa ISAR, abyumvikanyeho n'inama y'ubutegetsi y'iki kigo, bemeye gutanga umusanzu w'amafaranga wa miliyoni y'amafaranga y'u Rwanda ku buryo umuntu wese uzaka intwaro Inyenzi-Inkotanyi akazana intwaro yayo, azahabwa igihembo cy'amafaranga ibihumbi icumi y'u Rwanda». Ibi byari ugushishikariza mu ruhame kandi ku buryo butaziguye guhiga no kwica Abatutsi.Umwe mu myanzuro ikomeye yafatiwe muri iyi nama wari uwo guha lisansi abicanyi kugira ngo babashe kugera aho ari ho hose bagomba kwica. Ni muri ubwo buryo abicanyi batsembye Abatutsi bo mu Bisesero ku itariki 30 Kamena bari baturutse mu bice bitandukanye birimo Cyangugu, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye.

Ndereyehe yatangiye umushinga wa Jenoside mbere y'uko yoherezwa muri ISAR

Mbere y'uko yoherezwa muri ISAR, Ndereyehe yayoboraga Umushinga w'Iterambere ry'Ubuhinzi n'Ubworozi muri Gikongoro (PDAG). Icyo gihe yabaye umwe mu bakozi ba Leta bashinze umutwe w'Interahamwe ku Gikongoro, afatanyije na Captain Sebuhura Faustin wari umuyobozi wungirije wa Jandarumori yo ku Gikongoro. Sebuhura yakomokaga muri Komine Mukingo mu Ruhengeri, agace kamwe na Ndereyehe.

Icyo gihe Ndereyehe yanafatanyije n'abayobozi b'imishinga y'ubuhinzi yakoreraga muri Gikongoro cyane cyane Pierre Célestin Mutabaruka wari umuyobozi w'umushinga Crête Zaïre Nil, abayobozi b'inganda z'icyayi za Mata (Denis Kamodoka) na Kitabi (Juvénal Ndabarinze), abayobozi batandukanye muri perefegitura ya Gikongoro barimo Ayurugari Justin wari ukuriye ELECTROGAZ na Celse Semigabo wari Umushinjacyaha wa Repubulika. Bose ubu bakurikiranyweho icyaha cya Jenoside.

Mu Buholandi Ndereyehe akomeje umugambi we wa Jenoside

Ndereyehe yavuye mu Rwanda mu 1994 ubwo Guverinoma y'abicanyi n'ingabo zayo bari bamaze gutsindwa. Ari mu bashinze tariki 3 Mata 1995, ubwo bari impunzi muri Zayire, umutwe wa politiki n'igisirikare w'abahezanguni witwa RDR ushingiye ku ngengabitekerezo ya Jenoside. Ubu aba mu Buholandi kandi ni umwe mu bayobozi b'ishyaka ry'iterabwoba FDU-INKINGI rishingiye ku ngengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.

Dr Bizimana avuga ko mu matangazo menshi ya FDU-INKINGI, Ndereyehe ahakana mu buryo bukomeye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, yigisha abantu kuyihakana akanatesha agaciro kwibuka Jenoside, ayifata nka « fonds de commerce» cyangwa se urucuruzo.

Mu Buholandi ahuza ibikorwa by'andi matsinda y'abahezanguni b'intagondwa z'Abanyarwanda bahunze bahora banyotewe n'ingengabitekerezo y'ivanguramoko yayoboye u Rwanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Muri ayo matsinda harimo FEDERMO (Fédération des Organisations Rwandaises aux Pays Bas), CARP (Collectif des Associations Rwandaises aux Pays–Bas), RIFDP-NL (Réseau International des Femmes pour la Démocratie et la Paix), DEN HAAG, Pro Justitia, FFDR (Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Rwanda).

Kuva tariki 20 Mata 2010, Ndereyehe yashyiriweho impapuro mpuzamahanga zo kumuta muri yombi n'ubutabera bw'u Rwanda. Ari kandi ku rutonde rw'abashakishwa na Polisi Mpuzamahanga. Nyamara ntibimubuza gukomeza mu mutuzo ibikorwa bye by'icengezamatwara rya

gihezanguni mu Burayi n'ahandi, afatanya n'andi matsinda nka RNC, FDLR na FDU-INKINGI[64].

Urwibutso rwa Jenoside rwa Rubona rushyinguyemo imibiri y'Abatutsi bagera ku gihumbi na magana abiri (1.200).

Umurenge wa Rwaniro ahahoze ari muri Komini Rusatira, mu mateka yaho ni hamwe mu hifashishijwe indege mu kwica Abatutsi kubera amateka yaho. Abahahungiye mbere bose birwanagaho bishoboka ku buryo nta bitero by'interahamwe byashoboraga kuhisukira. Ariko haje gukoreshwa imbaraga nyinshi batashoboraga guhangana na zo.

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Rusatira ubu ubarizwa mu Murenge wa Kinazi avuga ko Jenoside yatangiye kuwa 22 Mata 1994. Abahutu n'Abatutsi ngo babanje bose guhungira hamwe kuri ISAR-Songa nyuma haza uwitwa Kabera André wari Interahamwe ari kumwe n'umupolisi witwa Nkurunziza Michel asaba Abahutu kwivangura n'Abatutsi. Abatutsi babonye bikomeye bahungiye ku gasozi ka Gitovu; hahurira abavuye ISAR- SONGA na Buremera ndetse na Ruyenzi kugira ngo birwaneho. Batangiye kurwana n'ibitero kuva kuwa 23 Mata kugeza 28 Mata 1994, haza indege ya kajugujugu irabarasa; abajandarume baturutse i Nyanza n'Interahamwe babiraramo barabica (Murangamirwa Innocent, Kinazi, Werurwe 1994).

Umutangabuhamya Sinzi Tharcisse avuga uburyo bahungiye kuri ISAR Songa bagahangana n'ibitero byazaga kubica nyuma hakifashishwa indege ya Kajugujugu n'abasirikare baturutse i Kigali. Jenoside itangira Sinzi Tharcisse yari mu Mujyi wa Butare; abonye ubwicanyi bukomeje gufata indi ntera ahungira iwabo mu cyahoze ari Komini Rusatira. Tariki ya 12 Mata 1994, Sinzi yahuye n'ibihumbi by'Abatutsi bahigwaga bari barimo guhunga, aho hari hafi y'umugezi wa Mwogo watandukanyaga Komini Rusatira na Komini Kinyamakara yo mu yahoze ari Gikongoro.

[64] http://imvahonshya.co.rw/cnlg-irasaba-u-buholandi-kuburanisha-ndereyehe-cyangwa-akoherezwa-mu-rwanda/ Yanditswe na MUGABO LAMBERT ku ya 13 Werurwe, 2018.

Tariki ya 13 Mata 1994 Sinzi Tharcisse yakoranyije abantu bari kumwe ababwira ko bagomba kwirwanaho bagahangana n'Interahamwe n'ubwo bitari byoroshye kuko nta kindi bari bafite barwanishaga uretse gukoresha amabuye no kurwanisha amaboko yabo gusa. Tariki ya 21 Mata 1994 bavuye kuri Mwogo bahungira ku gasozi kitwa Songa aho babonaga byaborohera kwirwanaho. Aha na ho Interahamwe zarahabasanze maze bagerageza kwirwanaho bakoresheje ikintu cyose babashaga kubona cyane cyane amabuye. Aha Sinzi Tharcisse yabatozaga uko birwanaho bakoresheje intwaro gakondo n'amabuye, bagashira amanga bagahangana n'abicanyi.

Kwihagararaho kwabo ubwo bari ku musozi wa Songa byatumye Radio RTLM yakwirakwizaga amacakubiri inakangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi ivuga ko Inkotanyi zamaze kwigarurira aka gace, dore ko kari gateraniyeho abantu bagera ku 3.480 bageragezaga kwirwanaho. Abazaga baje kurwanya Sinzi n'imbaga bari kumwe ngo bavugaga ko bifuza umutima w'uyu mugabo. Ibi byatumye ibintu birushaho kubakomerana maze tariki ya 27 Mata 1994 kajugujugu ya gisirikare itambagira ku musozi wa Songa aho bigaga neza iby'abantu bari bihagazeho kuri uwo musozi, maze nyuma y'amasaha macye i Kigali haturuka izindi mbaraga za gisirikare zari zije kurimbura Abatutsi bari ku musozi wa Songa.

Muri iryo joro Sinzi yabonye ko ibintu byamaze gufata indi ntera kandi ko bahanganye n'imbaraga zikomeye abagira inama ko bahungira i Burundi. Icyo gihe ariko inama yo guhungira i Burundi hari benshi batayemeye; ibi bikaba ari kimwe mu byamubabaje kuko asanga iyo babyemera hari kurokoka abantu benshi kurushaho.

Tariki 28 Mata 1994, ahagana ku isaha ya saa kumi z'umugoroba, Sinzi avuga ko ari bwo igitero kidasanzwe cyakoresheje ibitwaro biremereye cyagabwe kuri abo bantu bari kumwe benshi cyane bakahasiga ubuzima. Muri uwo mugoroba ni bwo ababashije kurokoka bagiye bagana ku Kanyaru barambuka bagera i Burundi. Kuri musozi wa Songa ni ho Sinzi Tharicisse yaburanye n'umugore we n'umwana we; iby'urupfu rwabo akaba atarabashije

kubimenya. Uyu mugabo yari amaze imyaka ibiri gusa ashakanye n'uwo mugore we.

Sinzi yabashije kwambukana abantu bagera ku 118 bagera i Burundi mu gihe abandi bose bishwe muri urwo rugamba rutoroshye rwo kwirwanaho no kugerageza guhunga ngo bakize ubuzima bwabo. Sinzi Tharcisse ababazwa n'uburyo Abatutsi bari kumwe na we ku musozi wa Songa banze kumwumvira ngo bahunge mu ijoro ry'itariki ya 27 Mata 1994 mbere gato y'uko igitero simusiga kibarimbura.

Muri ISAR-Songa abakozi bahakoraga bakoze Jenoside nka Munyamugisha wakatiwe n'inkiko ariko agahunga, Cyubahiro Ambroise wari umushakashatsi we aranafunze, hari abakozi bandi na bo bagiye bagaragazwa muri Gacaca bose bafunze. I Rusatira hari umudamu wabigizemo uruhare yicisha bagenzi be. Yitwaga Appolinarie; yicishije umugore witwa Mukantambara Janvière yagize. Abayoboraga n'abakoraga muri ISAR Songa bagize uruhare muri Jenoside ari yo mpamvu kumenya ukuri kose bigoye kubera ko bahishirana.

Bamwe mu bari ku isonga mu kugaba no kuyobora ibitero harimo Nyawenda Esdroni wahunze, Kandagaye Jean Marie Vianney wakatiwe burundu, abakonseye barimo Ndayisaba Samuel, Karambizi Konseye wa Segiteri Kabona, Habimana Aimable, Uwimana Alphonse, Nathan Karemera, Pierre, hari n'undi wari umucamanza witwaga Kadebereza Jean Baptiste (Ikiganiro cy'itsinda ry'Umurenge wa Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Rusatira hari inzibutso ebyiri; ururi kuri ISAR Rubona (Ubu ni RAB Rubona) rwitabwaho na RAB ya Rubona, hakaba n'urundi rwa ISAR Songa bahuriyeho n'Umurenge wa Kinazi. Izo nzibutso zombi zimeze neza (IBUKA/Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

6.8. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Gishamvu

Muri Komini Gishamvu (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Gishamvu) Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa nyuma y'inama yo kuwa 21 Mata 1994 Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yagiranye n'ubuyobozi bwa Komini Gishamvu harimo Burugumesititi Kambanda Pascal na Superefe Simbarikure Assiel wa

Superefegitura ya Busoro. Iyo nama yarimo abakonseye b'amasegiteri agize iyahoze ari Komini Gishamvu. Perezida yahageze avuye muri Komini Ndora avukamo aho yatangarije abari mu nama ko muri Gishamvu ahitwa i Nyumba Abatutsi baho bafite intwaro zikomeye. Komini Gishamvu ni imwe mu makomini yubahirije amabwiriza yo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, cyane ko Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'Abatabazi, Jean Kambanda, ari ho akomoka.

Kugira ngo Jenoside ishoboke mu yahoze ari Komini Gishamvu hakoreshejwe amayeri atandukanye kugira ngo abaturage bayitabire. Mu nama Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yerekanye imirambo y'abantu babiri bishwe, avuga ko ari Abahutu bishwe n'Abatutsi, bityo ababwira ko nibadafata iya mbere ngo birwaneho akabo kashobotse bashira. Ibyo byatumye abaturage bumva ko bari mu kaga, cyane ko mbere y'uko Perezida Sindikubwabo ahagera Abahutu n'abayobozi barimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gishamvu Pascal Kambanda bari bataratangira ubwicanyi.

Uretse Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakizu Ntaganzwa Ladislas n'uwa Komini Runyinya Hategekimana Déo bari batangije ubwicanyi, abandi ba burugumesitiri bayoboraga amakomini agize iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare babanje gukurikiza amabwiriza yatangwaga na Perefe Habyarimana Jean Baptiste mbere y'uko avanwaho ku ya 17 Mata 1994. Afatanyije n'abo ba burugumesitiri bakumiriye ibitero ndetse bagerageza kubuza abaturage kwishora mu bwicanyi. Nyuma y'aho avanyweho ndetse akicwa ni bwo mu makomini atandukanye batangiye gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside.

Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yakoresheje inama ishishikariza kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Gishamvu mu gihe hari harahungiye Abatutsi benshi baturutse mu duce dutandukanye twa Gikongoro, Nyakizu, Runyinya n'ahandi. Abo Batutsi bahungiye muri Komini Gishamvu guhera kuwa 10 Mata 1994, bakaba barahungiye no kuri Paruwasi ya Nyumba no mu Iseminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda. Paruwasi ya Nyumba yayoborwaga n'uwitwa Gakwandi ukomoka i Kibeho muri Gikongoro. Ibyo byatumye Abatutsi benshi bo muri Gikongoro bahahungira bibwira ko nta cyo bazaba. Kuva ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994 Abatutsi bo muri Komini Gishamvu na bo bahungiye kuri

Paruwasi ya Nyumba no mu Iseminari Nkuru i Nyakibanda, abandi bahungira ku gasozi k' Ibisi n'ahitwa ku Bitare.

Guhera ku itariki 22 Mata 1994 ibitero by'Interahamwe ziturutse za Gikongoro byatangiye kwibasira Abatutsi zigaba ibitero ahantu hatandukanye bari bahungiye. Abari kuri Paruwasi ya Nyumba bagerageje kwirwanaho bakoresheje amabuye bisubizayo ibitero. Ku ya 23 Mata 1994 hongeye kuza ibitero birimo abapolisi ba Komini Gishamvu babarasamo amasasu, bigeze kuri 25 Mata 1994 ni bwo haje ibitero simusiga biturutse muri Komini Nyakizu, i Runyinya no muri Komini Kigembe bifatanije n'abapolisi n'abasirikare babiraramo barabica.

Umwe mu batangabuhamya abisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Ku itariki ya 25 Mata 1994, Paruwasi ya Nyumba n'amashuri abanza na Seminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda byagoswe n'abicanyi bafite intwaro z'ubwoko bwose harimo n'imbunda nini na za gerenade. Kubera ubwoba, Abatutsi bamwe bahise binjira mu nyubako abandi basigara hanze. Ibitero bimaze kubagota abasirikare n'abapolisi babarashemo amasasu menshi, abafite intwaro gakondo nk'imipanga, udufuni bagenda bica abakiri bazima. Kwica byahereye saa tatu za mu gitondo. Saa munani z'amanywa ni bwo abicanyi bari barangije umurimo wabazanye. Abatutsi baguye aho hose hamwe barenga ibihumbi bitatu.

Nyuma yo kubona ko imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe inyanyagiye hirya no hino, ubuyobozi bwa Komini Gishamvu bwahamagaje abaserire bategeka abaturage kuyivanaho. Abaturage babanje kubyanga kubera ko yari myinshi cyane kandi ari mu gihe cy'imvura, ubuyobozi bufatanyije n'abacuruzi ndetse n'ubuyobozi bwa Seminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda harimo Thaddée Rusingizandekwe batanga amafaranga kugira ngo iyo mirambo ivanweho. Nyuma y'uko ibananiye kuyikuraho yose, Burugumesitiri Kambanda afatanyije na Superefe Simbarikure bagiye kuri Gereza ya Karubanda kuzana

imfungwa kugira ngo ziyivaneho, nyuma bitabaza imashini isiza (Cartepillar Bulldozer) aba ari yo iyihamba mu byobo rusange byacukuwe[65].

Umutangabuhamya Mukamwezi Pélagie yarokotse ubwicanyi bw'i Nyumba muri Komini Gishamvu agahungira i Butare muri CHUB. Yaje kuhirukanwa ahungira kuri Perefegitura ya Butare aho yasanze abakobwa n'abagore b'Abatutsikazi bafatwaga ku ngufu n'abasirikare umunsi ku wundi. Mu buhamya bwe agira ati:

> Kuri Paruwasi ya Nyumba no mu Iseminari ya Nyakibanda haguye Abatutsi benshi kuko amabuye bakoreshaga birwanaho ntiyari kunesha amasasu n'amagerenade. Bacitse intege baricwa abandi baratoroka. Ndibuka najye aho Paruwasi ya Nyumba namazemo iminsi mu cyobo nihishamo n'abandi bana batandatu bari bavuye Rusenge na Gashiru na Rambi ya Rusoro. Ubwo twamazemo icyumweru, hazamo intozi zituriye tuvamo dukomeza tujya i Gishamvu, tunyura mu ishyamba rya Seminari. Hari Interahamwe yari inzi; hari n'ikiragi kinzi cyabagaga inka. Kitubonye baratwirukankana; twatandukaniye n'abo twari kumwe bwije imvura. Mu nzira tubona umumama bishe ariko akana ke k'agahungu gafite nk'imyaka ibiri ari kazima kari konka, turagafata turagatwara. Tugeze hafi ya IRST twahasanze bariyeri ikaze, hari nka saa mbiri z'ijoro. Baraduhagarika bati "murajya he?" Tuti "tujyanye uyu mwana kwa nyina ari kwa muganga" Bati "ntimuri Inyenzi?" Turahakana.
>
> Uwatubazaga abonye ntavuga ankubita urushyi nitura hasi. Haza undi ati "izi nyenzikazi zirajya he ko tutazishira amakenga?" Umwe azana icyuma kirekire cy'imbunda akintera aha ku ibere; ako kanya twumva urwamo hepfo bagiye kureba na twe duhita twiruka. Twari kumwe n'abandi bahungu 4 duca mu ishyamba, tujya muri IRST. Wa mwana inzara iramwica ararira cyane, umukobwa twari kumwe amujyana mu bitaro najye turajyana tuhasanga umucekuru witwaga Marigo n'abandi bana bakomeretse. Tujya muri *corridor* turaryama. Haza mubyara wanjye ati

[65] Kabwete Mulinda, Charles (2010). *A space for Genocide: Local authorities, local population and local Histories in Gishamvu and Kibayi (Rwanda)*. Thesis Dissertation, University of Western Cape.

“muramu wanjye ni we uyobora ibi bitaro ngwino njye kukwakira icya ngombwa ko uri umurwaza uryame mu bitaro” Ubwo muramu we Jean Paul arabyanga. Njya muri *chirurgie*; mbona umugabo witwa Murara wakoraga muri médecine interne. Ndibwira nti ndakize kubera ko yari inshuti na marume bari bariganye. Ariko nicujije impamvu mwiyeretse kuko yaravuze ngo nta bwihisho bw’inyenzi afite.

Ubwo nyuma araza ati nakuboneye ubwihisho, kumbe yahamagaye abasirikare n’abashoferi bo ku bitaro barimo uwitwa Fidèle n’undi, bati “ngwino tujya hepfo ya Maternité”. Haruguru habaga Chapelle, hari icumbi ry’abanyeshuri ba Kaminuza. Mpasanga abana b’abakobwa. Babanzaga kugufata ku ngufu nyuma bakakwica nabi. Nahasanze Interahamwe zinjugunya mu cyobo cyaho ariko nsanga bajugunyemo n’abandi, bamwe bapfuye abandi ari bazima. Namazemo iminsi ibiri; ubwo rya bere ryanjye ryarri ryarabyimbye. Hari akandi kana k’agahungu bajugunye muri icyo cyobo batakamazemo umwuka kaviririana, bari bagakubise ikintu mu mutwe numva karakabakaba, turafatanya turazamuka tuvamo.

Hari umugabo wakoraga muri Maternité akorana na Pascal Habarugira, ndibwira nti reka njye kureba ko baje byibura bamfuke. Mpageze nsanga ataje ariko mpasanga uwo Pascal Habarugira baradupfuka. Hashize iminota 30 tubona abasirikare baraje. Njye yari arangije kumfuka hasigaye uwo musore. Bati “nta soni wowe urapfuka inyenzi ugapfusha umuti ubusa?” Ati aba ndabizi ni bene wabo wa Docteur Mbarutso. Bati “musohoke mumusange!”. Ngeze imbere ya ESO ntazi aho ngiye mpura n’umupadiri wari inshuti y’iwacu wabaga i Simbi ari kumwe n’ababikira. Ati “wa mwana we urakora iki aha?” Nari mfite mukuru wanjye wigishaga i Simbi witwaga Olive; bambwira ko bamaze kumwica. Nibaza uko nagera i Burundi nsanga bitashoboka ndarekera.

Ubwo muri ESO hari abasirikare barimo basahura mu maduka batwara imiceri n’ibindi. Umwe arampagarika ambaza aho ngiye mubwira ko ngiye kuri Perefegitura. Abonye nakomeretse ambaza icyo nabaye, ashaka kunjyana inyuma y’utuzu twari aho ngo amfate ku ngufu ariko hari bagenzi be barimo barasana bapfa ibyo basahuye. Agiye kureba mpita mucika njya

kuri Préfecture mpahurira n'ibibazo byinshi birimo kuba abakobwa n'abagore bose barasambanywaga ku ngufu n'abasirikari mbere y'uko bicwa. Nibuka umubikira wahise apfira aho bamaze kumufata ku ngufu agambaniwe n'umupadiri w'abasirikare (*Aumonier)* witwaga Anaclet.

Ubwo naje gutoroka njya ku ishyamba ry'abaporoso impande ya ELECTROGAZ; nahamaze iminsi imvura inyagira. Nza kujya kuri Groupe Scolaire ya Butare; hari ikibuga inyuma hari ihema rinini rya *Croix rouge*. Hari impunzi za Kibaye na Mugombwa ari ho stock yaho iba. Na bwo mpasanga abandi bana b'abakobwa benshi bari ibikoresho byabo. Ubwo haje umusirikare abaza umushoferi w'i Sovu witwaga Yohani ati "aha hari abakobwa bangahe?" Undi ngo ni 6. Amutegeka kubazana; ngenderamo bansubiza muri IRST. Baradusambanya bihagije. Haje kuvamo abasore babiri harimo umushoferi witwa Fidèle n'undi musirikare witwaga Mazimpaka [arafunze akatiye burundu ari Mageragere; ari mu batwaye umwamikazi Rozaliya Gicanda kumwica], harimo nundi witwaga Savimbi wo mu Ruhengeri bamaraga kugusambanya bakagutera ibisongo. Nanjye barabinteye, abandi barapfuye.

Nyuma nagarutse kuri préfecture ariko aho natewe ibisongo haza kubora hakajya hazamo inyo. Ubwo haje amabisi apakira abantu bavuga ngo haje ihumure. Zajyaga ahitwa Runyinya na Gishamvu. Sinazijyamo; nza kujya mu yerekeza i Nyange. Aho rero habaga Abatwa bari baratojwe kwica. Navuyeyo ndi muzima, nza n'amaguru nkora urugendo rw'ibyumweru nka bibiri. Ngaruka kuri CHUB mpasanga abasirikare bakomeretse n'umugabo witwa Gasana Ildephonse baramutemye udutsintsino agenda akambakamba. Yari kuri réception ashaka ko abo basirikare bamwica ariko baranga ngo napfe urwo apfuye; nanjye banga kunyica.

Ubwo ngeze kuri Motel iri munsi y'ibitaro nsanga abasirikare bahagize indiri yabo hari abakobwa benshi basambanyaga. Njye ntawarukinyegera naranukaga ibere ryaraboze na nyababyeyi (matrice) isa nigiye kuvamo. Nza kugira amahirwe uwitwa Mazimpaka ati "uyu asa n'uwapfuye mujye mumuha ibiryo! Anyereka n'aho ndyama; njya mu kibuga imvura ikajya inyagira.

> Nyuma twaje kumva ngo Inkotanyi zageze mu Mujyi; sinzi abazibwiye ko muri maternité hari abantu ziza kuhatuvana. Njye no kugenda ntibyashobokaga. Uwitwa Ibingira wari uyoboye ingabo za APR n'undi bari kumwe bagenda bafata abarembye cyane batujyana kuri stade badushakira abaganga baratuvura batujyana i Save kutuvura ariko imiti ntigire icyo imara kubera ibisebe bikomeye. Ubwo ndibuka Ibingira yabwiye Gasana (ubu ni Governor w'Amajyepfo) ngo badushakire inzu. Ubwo abarwayi bakajya badushakira imiti. Twari twagaruwe muri stade ariko njye bikanga gukira. Ubwo najyanywe Nairobi kuvurwa ariko matrice bayikuramo. Nza gukira nta cancer narwaye (Mukamwezi Pélagie, Huye, Ukuboza 2019).

Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Nyumba harimo Brigadier Mugaragaza, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gishamvu Kambanda, Nyamaswa, Museni wari umwarimu n'abandi. Mu bari ku isonga ry'ubwo bwicanyi harimo Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore wakoresheje inama ishishikariza ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Gishamvu, Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busoro, Simbarikure, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gishamvu Kambanda Pascal, abashinzwe umutekano, Interahamwe n'abaturage.

Umurenge wa Gishamvu ufite urwibutso rumwe rw'i Nyumba n'imva eshatu. Imva imwe iri mu Mudugudu wa Gashankingi, iri mu Ijanja i Nyakibanda n'indi iri mu Iseminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda. Urwibutso rw'i Nyumba rushyinguyemo imibiri 28.641 (Ikiganiro n'uhagarariye IBUKA mu murenge wa Gishamvu, Werurwe 2019).

6.9. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Runyinya

Muri Komini Runyinya (Ubu ni mu Murenge wa Karama), Jenoside yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa ku itariki 13 Mata 1994. Kwica byahereye ahitwa mu Gikombe no mu Bisi. Abatutsi bamwe bahungiye i Karama bishwe ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994. Usibye i Karama, abandi Batutsi biciwe ahitwa mu Bisi muri Segiteri Gikombe. Umutangabuhamya avuga uko byagenze :

> Abatutsi benshi bari barahungiye muri Segiteri ya Gikombe, kuko ni mu BISI bya Bunazi na Nyakibanda, urebye hari hahungiye Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi mirongo itatu (30.000), aho hantu bahateye tariki 19-20/04/1994, ubwo abacitse ku icumu bahise baza hano kuri Komini bahasanga abandi bari bahari, na bo kuri 21/04/1994 baraza na bo barabica (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya avuga ko mu Bisi ho hari n'umugabo witwaga Semwaga Benoît wabashije kwaka imbunda Interahamwe noneho agerageza kurinda impunzi, nyuma abasirikare ba FAR n'abapolisi ba Komini Runyinya baraje bashakisha ahari imbunda, bamaze kumwica ni bwo biraye mu Batutsi bari bahahungiye barabica (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bo muri Komini Runyinya biciwe ahantu hatandukanye harimo ahitwa i Nyumba, mu Bisi, i Karama n'ahandi. Bamaze kwica Abatutsi i Karama, abana bari bagihumeka babahaye igikoma kirimo *acide* barapfa (Mukeshimana Hyacinthe, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya, ubu ni mu Murenge wa Karama, avuga ko «Abatutsi baturutse mu makomini atandukanye bahungiye kuri Komini Runyinya babanza guhangana n'ibitero ndetse umwe muri bo afata gerenade bari babateye yapfubye ayijugunya mu bari baje kubica, ihitana batandatu. Ibyo byatumye ubuyobozi buhuruza ko Abatutsi bafite intwaro, haza ibitero byinshi bifite imbunda na za gerenade babiraramo barabica. Abarokotse bake ni bo babashije guhungira i Burundi[66]».

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Segiteri Gihango, Komini Nyakizu utuye mu Murenge wa Karama, avuga ko:

> Muri Segiteri Gihango Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa guhera ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994. Abatutsi batuye muri ako gace bamwe bahungiye kuri Komini Gishamvu abandi bahungira i Karama. Avuga ko kuri Komini Gishamvu bahamaze icyumweru. Nko mu matariki 17 Mata 1994 ni bwo

[66] Ikiganiro n'umutangabuhamya wo mu Murenge wa Karama, Werurwe 2019.

bagabweho n'ibitero byica Abatutsi bari bahahungiye. Abahungiye i Karama bahasanze abandi Batutsi benshi. Hategekimana Déo wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Runyinya yazanaga Abatutsi mu mabisi avuga ko abajyanye i Karama kugira ngo bahabarindire, nyamara bwari uburyo bwo kugira ngo babakusanyirize hamwe babone uko babica (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Undi mutangabuhamya na we asobanura uko byagenze :

Ahantu twari twahungiye ni hano kuri Komini Runyinya hafi ya paruwasi, muri Segiteri Karama. Icyo gihe twari tubayeho mu buzima bubi cyane kuko bahise bafunga amazi noneho no ku migezi isanzwe bahashyira abarinzi, umanutse wese ajya gushaka utuzi agapfa. Ubwo nyuma baje kuza noneho bakajya badutwarira inka, baza no kujijisha baravuga ngo dushake amafaranga ubundi baturindire inka, abari bayafite begeranya ducye ariko ubwo byaje kurangira n'inka bakomeje kuziba. Noneho bigeze tariki ya 21/04/1994 hari umwana w'umukobwa witwaga Yankurije Madeleine wari umwarimu mu kigo cya PAREKE [SIC) ariko we yari umuhutu. Ni bwo bamubwiye ngo inama yuzuye bene wanyu ejo bazabica. Umwana yaje arira arabitubwira, ndetse na Padiri witwaga Ngomirakiza na we iyo nkuru aza kuyimenya, aragenda asiga atubwiye ngo twitegure urupfu. Ubwo na twe ababashije twakoze akanama turavuga tuti n'ubundi gahunda ni ukutwica, wakoma amashyi, wamanika amaboko, twemeza ko tugomba kwirwanaho uko dushoboye. Ariko ubwo ikindi kintu cyabaye ni uko mbere y'uko ibitero byo kutwica biza habanje kuza abantu bitwa Abahutu baje kugura inka. Ndabyibuka icyo gihe inka barazaga bakaguha amafaranga igihumbi, icyatanu, magana atanu, ubwo abari bazi ko byarangiye bakazitanga zikavamo zikagenda. Noneho nyuma haje kuza Burigadiye wa Komini Runyinya witwaga Niyonsaba na Rugirangoga Fabien wari umupolisi binjira mu nkambi y'Abatutsi, noneho batwara umwana w'umusore wari Gérant wa Banki y'Abaturage ya hano witwaga Rurangwa. Bamaze kumutwara baramujyanye bamwaka imfunguzo za banki batwara amafaranga barangije bamushyira muri kasho, nyuma rero baje kumwica. Aho twari twahungiye muri Komini Runyinya hari nko mu

> masaha ya saa yine za mu gitondo kuko twari ahantu hirengeye tubona abantu benshi cyane baza bambaye amashara, mu mihanda yose migari igana hano kuri Komini. Ubwo rero aho ngaho isaha y'urupfu twari twayibonye. Icyo gihe bavugije ifirimbi ngo batangire kwica, imbere hari ab'imbunda na za gerenade, noneho hagakurikiraho ab'ibikoresho bya gakondo, ariko na twe twirwanaho n'amabuye guhera saa yine n'igice kugeza saa cyenda (10:30.AM - 15:00.PM). Ni bwo bavuze ngo amasasu ararangiye, noneho ubwo hari umugabo wari warigeze kuba umupolisi witwaga Semigabo, icyo gihe bamuteye gerenade, irapfuba na we arayifata ahita ayibatera ihitana batandatu. Noneho ni bwo bahise biruka bavuga ngo ba bakenya bafite na za gerenade. Ubwo bahise bagenda na twe abasigaye muri twe batari bakomeretse duhita dufata inzira twerekeza mu Burundi. Ku itariki 21/04/1994 ni bwo baje kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye hano kuri Paruwasi, ariko mbere habanje kuza imodoka ya Perefe, imodoka y'abajandarume, ariko ubwo kuko kuri paruwasi twari twahahungiye turi Abatutsi baturutse mu makomini yose, ubwo ubuyobozi bw'ayo makomini yose uko ari arindwi bwohereje abantu bagomba kuza kwica hano (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Kugira ngo abicanyi babone uko bicira hamwe Abatutsi, ubuyobozi bwa Komini Runyinya bwabanje kwegeranya Abatutsi kuri Komini bubabeshya ko ari ukugira ngo babacungire umutekano. Abajandarume n'Interahamwe bakoze uruzitiro mu nkengero zose bahakikiza ibitero by'abaturage ku buryo Abatutsi batabashaga kubona uko bahunga. Umutangabuhamya warokotse Jenoside asobanura mu buryo burambuye uko byagenze:

> Uburyo abicanyi bakoresheje bwari bukomeye cyane kuko babanje kutwegeranya twese tujya hamwe barangije bakora uruzitiro. Mu nkengero zacu habaga hari abicanyi kandi ubwo twari tunarinzwe na jandarumori ku buryo nta n'uwari gucika. Kuri 21 Mata 1994, bahise bavuza ifirimbi ngo batangire, imbere yabo hari abafite amagerenade, inyuma y'abo hari abafite imbunda, inyuma yabo hari abafite imipanga n'imiheto, noneho hagakurikiraho ababaga bafite ntampongano y'umwanzi, udufuni n'izindi ntwaro za gakondo. Ubundi buryo

> bwakoreshejwe kugira ngo Abatutsi batabona uko bahunga ni za bariyeri zapangwaga n'uwitwa Mbarubukeye Jean de Dieu na Niyonsaba Athanase wari burigadiye. Ni bo bagendaga bagenzura uko byifashe kuri buri bariyeri. Hagati ya Muyange na Gahororo hari bariyeri, kwa Rugondo na ho yari ihari, ahandi yari iri ni aho bitaga Serire Gikongoro ubu ngubu ni mu mudugudu wa Mavumba. Hari bariyeri ku Nkoto, muri Serire Mukongoro, muri Serire Nyarusange na ho yari ihari, hari n'andi mabariyeri menshi (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya akomeza abivuga, ku tariki 22/04/1994 abicanyi bagiye kuri *Centre de Santé* no mu mashyamba yose bagenda bavuga ngo habayeho ihumure, ngo abantu bose bagize amahirwe bakaba batapfuye baze babashakire ibibahembura. Ubwo abantu bose koko barabyumva ndetse baranabyitabira baraza ubwo ni bwo babishe ndetse bafata igikoma kirimo acide bagiha utwana twari twabashije kurokoka n'abandi bari bifungiranye mu nzu ya Padiri na bo babishe icyo gihe (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Kugira ngo abicanyi babashe kubona abo bashakaga kwica, Uwitwa Rwanyange wari *agronome* ari kumwe n'abaselire babwiye Abatutsi kujya kuri Komini Runyinya bababeshya ko ari ukugira ngo babagezeho imfashanyo no kubarindira umutekano. Bigeze kuwa 21 Mata 1994 haje abasirikare b'abajepe babarasamo amasasu menshi na za gerenade (SINZIKIRAMUKA Jean, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abicanyi babaga bambaye amashara, amakoma, bafite imipanga, ibihiri, udufuni, amacumu, imbunda, za gerenade etc. (Mukeshimana Hyacinthe, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Runyinya barimo Burugumesitiri Hategekimana Déo, Mbarubukeye Jean de Dieu, Burigadiye Niyonsaba Emmanuel, Ndahimana Vénuste wari umwarimu, Kizima Joseph, Twagirumukiza Charles, Murindabigwi Oscar, Hishamunda, Kabibi Vénuste, Sindayigaya Thomas wari umurundi hamwe na Nkunzimana (Sinzikiramuka Jean & Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

6.10. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Kinyamakara

Muri Komini ya Kinyamakara (ubu ni mu murenge wa Kigoma na Rwaniro), Jenoside yatangiye kuwa 13 Mata 1994. Abatutsi benshi bahungiye mu Cyanika, ku Rubaba n'ahitwa ku Karambi. Umwe mu batangabuhamya wari utuye i Kashaka muri Komini Kinyamakara avuga ko mu matariki ya 12-13 Mata 1994 uwitwa Birari wari uvuye i Kigali yakoresheje inama abaturage abasaba ko bafatanya bakarwanya umwanzi yitaga umututsi. Nyuma y'iyo nama bahise bica uwitwa Nyirinkera. Kwica Abatutsi byahise bitangira ahantu hose muri Komini ya Kinyamakara (Ntawiyahura Anastase, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Kinyamakara (Ubu ni mu Murenge wa Rwaniro) avuga uko byagenze nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal:

> Guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 twagize umutekano muke. Nari kumwe na databukwe mu rugo twumva ko ku Gikongoro batangiye gutwika inzu z'Abatutsi, mu mwanya muto dutangira kubona imyotsi icumba. Nyuma haje umuhungu adusanga aho twari ku gasanteri aratubwira ngo muracyari aha kandi ku Gikongoro batangiye kwica Abatutsi. Twahise tunyanyagira dushakisha aho duhungira. Abaturage b'Abahutu bari batarahinduka babi, twabanje kwishyira hamwe turwanya ibitero byari giturutse kuri Komini Kinyamakara. Mu matariki ya 13 Mata 1994 ibintu byari bimaze gukomera, Burugumestri wa Komini ya Kinyamakara Munyaneza Charles, yaraje abwira Abahutu kwitandukanya n'Abatutsi. Kuva ubwo batangira guhiga no kwica Abatutsi. Benshi bahungiye mu kiriziya abandi bahungira i Rubaba ni ho babiciye (Mukantwali Gaudelive, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Igitero cyaje kwica Abatutsi bo mu Murenge wa Rwaniro cyaturutse kuri Komini Kinyamakara kiyobowe na Koloneli Simba Aloys afatanije na na Perefe Bucyibaruta, Munyaneza Charles wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinyamakara, Mucumankiko Silas wakoraga muri TABARWANDA, Masabo Nyangezi Juvénal wari umucuranzi, Gasasira Alphonse, Konseye Munyakazi

n'abaturage basanzwe (Ikiganiro n'abatangabuhamya mu Murenge wa Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bo mu yahoze ari Komini Kinyamakara, ubu ni mu Murenge wa Kigoma, bishwe kuwa 13 Mata 1994. Bahungiye muri Kiriziya ya Cyanika, barwanya ibitero byazaga kubica bigeze kuwa 13 Mata 1994 haza ibitero byinshi birimo Interahamwe n'abajandarume barabarasa. Bishwe n'ibitero by'Interahamwe n'abaturage. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinyamakara Munyaneza Charles na we yabigizemo uruhare kuko yabaga ari muri ibyo bitero (Nkeshiyaremye Jean, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Muri iyo Komini bamwe mu batangije Jenoside harimo Ndayisaba, Gasirabo wari umwarimu n'abandi (Nkusi Yohana, Kigoma, Werurwe 2019). Mu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Kinyamakara harimo Colonel Simba Aloys, Burugumesitiri wa Komini, Munyaneza Charles, *Assistant Bourgumestre* Munyakazi, Jôel, Ndayisaba n'abandi (Nkeshiyaremye Jean, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Abari ku isonga mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu Murenge wa Rwaniro harimo Perefe wa Gikongoro Bucyibaruta, Burugumesitiri Munyaneza Charles, Hitimana, Bibari, Kamana, Rusiyani, Konseye Munyakazi, Ntibagororwa n'abandi (Ntawiyahura Anastase, Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wireze agasaba imbabazi kubera uruhare rwe muri Jenoside avuga ko Abafaransa baje muri *Opération Turquoise* bagize uruhare mu guhungisha abicanyi. Bazanaga imodoka bagapakiramo abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi bakajya kubasambanya. Gusa avuga ko atigeze amenya aho babajyanaga (Nkusi Jean, Kigoma, Werurwe 2019). Aho Perefegitura ya Butare igabanira na Gikongoro ingabo z'Abafaransa zagiye zimira Inkotanyi zashakaga gukurikira ingabo za FAR (Nkeshiyaremye Jean, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Mu duce duhana imbibi na Perefegitura ya Butare abasirikare b'Abafaransa bari barahashyize ibirindiro barasana n'abasirikare b'Inkotanyi zashakaga gukurikira abicanyi no kurokora Abatutsi bari basigaye bataricwa (Rutayisire Modeste, Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umurenge wa Kigoma wari muri Komini Kinyamakara, imwe muri Komini yari igize Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, ahari Zone turquoise. Muri ako gace Jenoside yatinze kurangira. Abatutsi bake bahungiye ku Gikongoro. Mu nzira aho banyuraga bahasangaga bariyeri zirinzwe n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa, abagore n'abakobwa bagahohoterwa. Bariyeri zari ahantu hatandukanye. Zari ku Kamwambi, ku Gateri n'i Simbi. Izo bariyeri zakumiraga Abatutsi bashakaga guhungira i Butare. I Rwaniro ujya i Butare hiciwe Abatutsi benshi. Igitero cyabishe cyari kiyobowe na Gasirabo. Ahandi hiciwe Abatutsi benshi ni i Rwamateke muri Nyabisindu. Hiciwe Abatutsi bahungaga bagana Mwogo. Bamwe mu bari ku isonga mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu Murenge wa Kigoma barimo Koloneli Simba Aloys, Burigadiye Mugemana, Masabo Nyangezi, Gasasira, Nkundimana, Mucumankiko (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda n'abatangabuhamya bo mu Murenge wa Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Uko Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kinyamakara n'abaturutse ahandi biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Cyanika

Ku wa 8 Mata, impunzi z'Abatutsi zatangiye kuza kuri paruwasi ya Cyanika zakirwa na Padiri Niyomugabo Joseph. Ku wa 11 Mata, Suprefe Ntegeyintwali yakoresheje inama ku kibuga cy'umupira yo gutera impunzi z'abatutsi. Nyuma y'iyo nama abitwa Kazungu, Munyu na Rubera bateye grenade mu mpunzi hapfamo umubare utazwi neza. Ku wa 12 Mata, Superefe NTEGEYINTWALI yategetse kunyaga inka z'Abatutsi no kuzirya. We ubwe yatwaye inka zo kwa Mugemana na Tubayijuka Juvénal. Kuri iyo tariki Perefe BUCYIBARUTA yategetse ko telefoni zose zikatwa abantu ntibongera gushobora guhamagara.

Kuri 13 Mata Perefe BUCYIBARUTA yakoresheje inama ababurugumestri, abasuperefe n'abakuru b'amashyaka ya Hutu Pawa, hemezwa gushyiraho bariyeri hose muri perefegitura no kuzikaza. Ku wa 13 Mata, superefe

Ntegeyintwali afatanyije na Burugumesitiri Ngezahayo wa Komini Karama, Hategekimana Didace wa Rukondo na Munyaneza Charles wa Kinyamakara, baje kubarura impunzi zose zari mu Cyanika bagira ngo basuzume niba Abatutsi bose bo muri Komini zabo bahageze. Babifashijwemo na Mulindababisha wari Diregiteri wa Groupe Scolaire yo mu Cyanika na Ntaganira Emmanuel. Nyuma y'ibarura, Ngezahayo yazengurutse hose akoresha indangururamajwi ahamagarira Abatutsi basigaye iwabo ngo baze kuri paruwasi bashobore kubarinda naho agamije kubakusanyiriza hamwe ngo bashobore kubica bose uko bakabaye.

Ku wa 19 Mata, Perezida SINDIKUBWABO na Minisitiri w'Intebe KAMBANDA Jean bakoresheje inama ahitwa kuri CIPEP ku Gikongoro hafatwa icyemezo cyo kwica Abatutsi basigaye muri Perefegitura yose ya Gikongoro. Kuwa 21 Mata nyuma ya saa sita abajandarume bavuye ku Gikongoro bayobowe na colonel Aloys SIMBA na Capitaine Faustin SEBUHURA bafatanyije n'Interahamwe zo mu Cyanika bica Abatutsi bari kuri Paruwasi Cyanika.

Ku wa 24 Mata, Perefe Bucyibaruta yohereje Superefe NTEGEYINTWALI azana n'abanyururu n'abajandarume baza bitwaje *Caterpillar* bica Padiri Niyomugabo banacukura ibyobo binini bajugunyamo imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe kuwa 21 Mata. Amakuru avuga ko Padiri NIYOMUGABO yaba yaratanzwe na Musenyeri MISAGO kuko NIYOMUGABO yarokotse ubwicanyi bwo kuri 21 yihishe mu cyumba cy'ivuriro rya Cyanika, hanyuma kuri 22 aterefona Misago amubwira ko yarokotse. Misago na we yabibwiye Superefe NTEGEYINTWALI, hanyuma icyakurikiye ni uko abicanyi bamenye aho Padiri NIYOMUGABO aherereye bakamwica[67].

6.11. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Maraba

Mu yahoze ari Komini Maraba (ubu ni mu Murenge wa Maraba na Simbi), Jenoside yatangiye kuwa 18 Mata 1994 ariko Abatutsi benshi bishwe guhera ku itariki ya 20 Mata 1994. Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Simbi, abandi bahungira i Karama. Abahungiye kuri paruwasi bishwe n'ibitero

[67] Ubuhamya bwatanzwe mu kwibuka ku nshuro ya 18 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi i Cyanika mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gikongoro.

by'Interahamwe. Burugumesitiri wa Komini ya Maraba Habineza JMV yabaga ari kumwe n'ibitero byazaga kwica Abatutsi (Kayitesi, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Ku mugoroba w'itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 hari abasirikari bazengurutse Komini Maraba na Runyinya mu modoka bagenda baha intwaro abaturage. Abo bicanyi babaga bambaye amashara mu ijosi batera hejuru ngo "Pawa!" Icyo gihe Paruwasi ya Simbi n'inzu ziyikikije zari zuzuyemo Abatutsi bahahungiye. Abo bicanyi bari babagose bategereje isaha ya saa kumi n'imwe (17h) bari bumvikanye gutangiriraho ubwicanyi. Za bariyeri zari zashyizwe hose kugira ngo batangire umututsi wese ugerageza gucika. Imwe muri izo bariyeri yacungwaga n'umwana w'imyaka nka 12 abamukuriye bari hafi aho bamureba. Yabwiraga abahitaga ko yari mu nama itegura ubwicanyi ubwo hemezwaga isaha yo kwica Abatutsi. Bamubajije icyo Abatutsi bazira yashubije ko bagomba gupfa kubera ko ari abanzi b'igihugu.

Jean-Marie Vianney Habineza wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Maraba yari kuri Paruwasi Simbi afite imbunda ya masotera kandi aherekejwe n'abapolisi ba komini kuri uwo munsi w'icyumweru nyuma ya saa sita. Ba basirikari bavuzwe hejuru bazanye imbunda banazanye impunzi z'Abatutsi bari bavuye kuri Komini Ngoma. Burugumesitiri yanze kubakira avuga ko yari yihanangirije Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi wa Komini Ngoma amubuza kongera kumwoherereza Abatutsi. Abo bantu bashubijwe i Ngoma baherekejwe n'abana bagendaga babavugiriza induru n'amafirimbi bavuga ngo "Pawa".

Mu Murenge wa Maraba, Abatutsi bahungiye mu Bisi bya Huye, abandi Burugumesitiri Habineza abajyana kuri Paruwasi ya Simbi ari na ho biciwe (Ugirase Odette, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Burugumesitiri wa Komini, Habineza Jean Marie Vianney afatanije n'abapolisi ba komini hamwe n'abasirikare n'Interahamwe bagose Abatutsi bari bahungiye muri Kiliziya ya Simbi barabica. Bishwe urw'agashyinyaguro kuko abicanyi bageze n'aho bazana urusenda bazibamenaho kugira ngo utavuyemo umwuka yitsamure babashe kumubona bityo bamwice (Mutamuriza Judith, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bo mu Murenge wa Simbi bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Simbi n'ahandi batekerezaga kubona ubwihisho ariko baje kwicwa. Burugumesitiri Habineza yabanje kubizeza ko bazabacungira umutekano. Babanje kurwanya ibitero ariko biba iby'ubusa kuko Habineza Jean Marie yazanye abapolisi ba komini n'Interahamwe zibarasamo amasasu n'amageranade. Abandi Batutsi bahungiye ahitwa mu Rugogwe na bo babicirayo (Havugimana Faustin, Simbi, Werurwe 2019).

Mu bari ku isonga muri ubwo bwicanyi harimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Maraba Habineza Jean Marie Vianney, Mujyambere wari *Inspecteur* w'amashuri, Interahamwe n'abaturage (Kangabe Joséphine, Simbi, Werurwe 2019). Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Perezida Sindikubwabo Théodore yageze muri uwo murenge ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994 atinyura Abahutu batangira kwica Abatutsi (Kangabe Joséphine, Simbi, Werurwe 2019.

Uko Burugumesitiri wa Komini Maraba yahindutse mubi n'uko yicishije Abatutsi bari i Simbi

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Maraba Habineza yahindutse umwicanyi ku buryo butunguranye kuko yabanje kuba ku ruhande rudashyigikiye MRND ndetse anagira uruhare mu gukumira ibitero byavaga ku Gikongoro biteye Komini ye ya Maraba. Hari igihe abo bicanyi bageze mu nkengero za Paruwasi Simbi maze arasa hejuru abakanga akoresheje ya masotera ye.

Ubuhamya butandukanye bwerekana ko mu minsi ya mbere abaturage bafatanyije n'abapolisi bagerageje gukumira ibitero byaturukaga ahanini ku Gikongoro. Icyo gihe impunzi z'Abatutsi zanyuzagamo zigasohoka zijya gushaka ibyo kurya ku isoko. Ariko nyuma y'itariki ya 15 Mata 1994 ibintu byarahindutse kubera ko n'abantu bo hanze bahaga impunzi z'Abatutsi ibintu zatangiye kwisubiraho, bikerekana ko hari abayobozi bari bababujije kubera ko bateguraga ubwicanyi. Ba bapolisi babanje kurwanya ibitero by'ubusahuzi na bo barahindutse maze ugasanga barebera abasahura nta kubabuza. Banatanze urugero bica uwitwa Hategeka basanze ari gusahura aho kubanza kwica Abatutsi. Ibyo byakozwe n'abapolisi baje nyuma y'itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 mu bice bya Maraba.

Abicanyi bavuye ku Gikongoro babaga bambaye amashara kandi bitwaje imihoro, amasuka n'impiri bari baherekejwe n'abasirikari n'abapolisi bafite imbunda. Bamwe bari bitwaje amajelikani ku mugongo yarimo *essence* bamenaga ku nzu bakazitwika. Inyuma yabo hari imodoka zabaga zitwaye lisansi yo kongeramo bibaye ngombwa. Icyo cyari ikimenyetso ndakuka ko ubutegetsi bwari inyuma y'ubwo bwicanyi n'urugomo byakorerwaga Abatutsi.

Igihe Habineza yananirwaga guhagarika ibitero byari bishyigikiwe n'abategetsi bo hejuru yasabye ubufasha kuri Perefegitura. Inama y'umutekano yateranye ku itariki ya 15 Mata yohereje abapolisi benshi baherekejwe na Porokireri Mathias Bushishi na Superefe Evariste Bicamumpaka. Perefe yumvaga ko ateye ingabo mu bitugu Burugumesitiri. Koko rero bahageze bafashe umufasha we (Assistant Bourgumestre) washinjwaga gutiza umurindi ibitero. Nk'uko abari aho babibonye babihamya, nyuma y'uko abo bategetsi bagiye Burugumesitiri ntiyongeye kurwanya abakoraga Jenoside. Hari uvuga ko umwe mu bashyitsi yaba yarashyize Habineza ku ruhande akamwumvisha ko nta mpamvu yo kurwana ku Batutsi kubera ko bari bishe Habyarimana.

Icyerekanye ko Burugumesitiri yahindutse mubi ni uburyo yasabye impunzi kuva mu kiriziya zikajya mu nkambi aho ibitero byashoboraga kubageraho ku buryo bworoshye. Nyuma y'aho abapadiri bangiye ko impunzi zigenda Habineza yafashemo abagore n'abakobwa bake arabatwara maze bakorerwa ibyamfurambi mbere yo kwicwa. Muri icyo gihe ni bwo Habineza yicishije umugenzacyaha witwa Hategekimana bari bafitanye ibibazo ubwo yamuhungiragaho abantu bari bamuteye iwe bafite amacumu n'imihoro. Mu kwanga kumuhungisha yasubiye inyuma ahura n'abo bicanyi bahita bamutemagura, nyuma asongwa n'ukuriye abapolisi ba komini.

Abicanyi bo muri Maraba na bo biganye abo ku Gikongoro mu kwitwaza ibikoresho na lisansi yo gutwikira Abatutsi ku buryo bworoshye. Ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1994 sasa tatu za mu gitondo ibihumbi by'abicanyi baturutse imihanda yose bateye Paruwasi ya Simbi n'ikigo nderabuzima. Bari bambaye amashara umubiri wose birabye ingwa mu maso bagenda bavuza induru n'ingoma cyane. Umupadiri w'umututsi waho yari yaraye ahunze ninjoro

hasigara uw'umuhutu warimo abatiza abantu kuko yari yabonye ko bagiye kwicwa nta kabuza. Umwe mu bicanyi yateye gerenade mu nzu bose barakangarana maze abasigaye bahita birohamo batangira kwica Abatutsi bose bari bahahungiye. Bishe umunsi wose n'ijoro maze bwije bajya kurya bamurikisha amabuji bari basahuye aho. Bukeye ku matariki ya 19 na 20 Mata bagarutse kwica abari bakirimo umwuka. Bafashijwe n'abasirikari umunani (8) bari kumwe n'abapolisi ba komini bagenzuraga ko ubwicanyi bukorwa neza uko bikwiye. Ni na bo batangaga amagerenade babaga baje batwaye mu modoka. Burugumesitiri Habineza we yahavuye ubwicanyi butangiye.

Imibare y'abiciwe i Simbi itangwa ni hagati ya 3.000 na 5.000. Abageragezaga gutoroka bakubitanaga n'amabariyeri yari impande zose bagahita bicwa. Bivugwa ko hari ababikira batatu b'Abahutu na bo bishwe kubera ko batambamiye ko ikigo nderabuzim gisahurwa.

Burugumesitiri Habineza yahembye buri mwicanyi wafashije mu guhamba abishwe mu byobo rusange byari iruhande rwa Kiriziya ikiro cy'umuceri. Uwo muceri ni uwari wasahuwe mu gipadiri wari ugenewe abakene. Habineza avugwa mu gusahura ikigo nderabuzima kandi ngo yanyaze abasahuye imitungo y'Abatutsi bari bifashije akoresheje ububasha bwe. Byongeye kandi, ngo yakoresheje inama zo kugabana imitungo (imirima) y'Abatutsi bari bamaze kwicwa.

Abagize uruhare mu kwica Abatutsi muri Komini Maraba barimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Habineza JMV, Mujyambere Antoine, Rekeraho, Rwabuhungu Sylvestre n'abandi (Kanobayire Jean Baptiste, Maraba, Werurwe 2019).

6.12. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe n'abicanyi kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubacika

Abateguye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bakoresheje amayeri atandukanye kugira ngo bakusanyirize hamwe Abatutsi babone kubica. Bumwe mu buryo bakoresheje harimo gushuka Abatutsi bababwira kujya ku nyubako za Leta, muri Kiliziya cyangwa ahandi hantu bababesha ko ari uburyo bwo kubarindira umutekano. Na none abateguye Jenoside bakoresheje indangururamajwi bazenguruka ahantu hose babeshya ko ihumure ryabonetse, ko Abatutsi bihishe bava mu bihuru. Bakoresheje ikinyoma bavuga ngo Abatutsi bihishe baze ahantu bari bateganyije kubahera imfashanyo. Byatumye abaturage b'Abahutu bari bahishe Abatutsi bajya aho bavugaga ngo hari imfashanyo birangira bagaragaje Abatutsi bari bahishe. Umwe mu batangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya asobanura ayo mayeri atya:

> Icyo bakoze babanje kwizeza Abatutsi ko babatindira umutekano, babaha icyizere, babakusanyiriza hamwe ngo bari kubarinda, noneho ubwo rero bigatuma n'abari mu giturage bose bazamuka bakaza aho abandi babaga bahungiye, ibyo byatumye babasha kubegeranya babicira hamwe. Ubundi buryo bakoresheje kwari ugushyiraho za bariyeri ahantu hose hahurira imihanda. Ubundi buryo bakoreshaga baricaraga bagakora inama bakibukiranya abo bishe na bo batarabona, ubwo bagatangira bakabahiga kuko bari baranakoze amalisiti y'Abatutsi bose batarapfa.
>
> Ikindi bakoze hagati muri Jenoside iri kuba ni uko hari igihe batangaga amatangazo bakazenguruka bavuga bati; amahoro yaje, abihishe bose nimuze amahoro yabonetse bajye kubaha imfashanyo. Ndetse icyo gihe ni bwo umusaza witwaga Semwaga Ladislas wari warihishe mu mashyamba ya Seminari ari kumwe n'abandi bantu barimo mushiki wanjye witwaga Gracian, baje ari ninjoro mu gitondo uwo musaza bahise bamwica (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

6.13. Iyicarubozo ryakorewe Abatutsi muri Jenoside mu Karere ka Huye

Ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, bamwe mu Batutsi bishwe urw'agashyinyaguro. Hari abo bategekaga kwicukurira barangiza bakababahamba ari bazima, abo bashyiraga mu misarani ari bazima, abategekwaga kwica abana babo, hari abo batemaga bakabareka bakabarangiza umunsi ukurikiyeho, abafashwe ku ngufu n'abishwe ubundi buryo butandukanye bw'iyicarubozo.

Ubuhamya butandukanye bugaruka ku bunyamaswa bwakorewe Abatutsi mbere no mu gihe bicwaga, byerekana ko ingengabitekerezo y'urwango yari yarageze ku gipimo cyo hejuru aho umwicanyi yumva ko kwica umututsi utamurwanya bidahagije ahubwo agomba no kumubabaza ku buryo bushoboka bwose. Kandi ibyakozwe hamwe ubisanga n'ahandi, bisobanura ko bari barabyumvikanyeho cyangwa bakoraga ibyo bumvise ahandi. Twafashe ingero nke kugira ngo tugaragaze ubwo bunyamaswa.

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nyakizu, Segiteri Gihango asobanura uko byagenze:

> Mariya Kansana, Nyiramicyuro Domina baricukuriye bahita babica, hari n'abo baroshye mu cyobo ari bazima babaturaho amabuye ari bo Butera, n'abana benshi n'abagore. Hari abo bacuje barimo Saverina, Regina, Mukamurenzi, Kayitesi, Agnès. Babafashe ku ngufu nyuma barabica. Ababigizemo uruhare ni Kagabo Gaspard ubu ufunze, Justin bamwishe nyuma na we ngo yarihutuje, Twagirayezu, Bizuru, Munyampeta ufunze (Mukantwari Marisiyana, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye n'iyicarubozo ryakorewe Abatutsi muri Jenoside, undi mutangabuhamya agira ati:

> I Karama hari uwitwa Kabiligi bamwishe urubozo. Bagiye batema buri ngingo ukwayo; abandi bafashwe ku ngufu nk'uwitwa Madeleine abicanyi basimburanyeho bamufata ku ngufu barangije baramwica. Yakoraga kuri Centre de santé ya Karama. Abandi baracujwe (Rwagasana Stanislas, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Runyinya atanga ingero z'Abatutsi bishwe urw'agashinyaguro.

> Hari mukuru wanjye witwaga Kanyemera wicukuriye akajya yigeramo, noneho kuko yari kumwe na mushiki we n'abana be baramubwiye ngo nacukure aho bose bari bukwirwemo. Noneho arangije bose babambura imyenda babaryamishamo ubundi babanza kubashyiraho amabuye noneho babona kurenzaho itaka. Hari undi mwana witwaga Rwigema na we baramuzanye babanza bamukuramo imyenda yose noneho babona kumwica. Hari umudamu bari barabohoje noneho uwo mugabo wari umufite akajya yirirwa amubwira ngo wowe nzakwiyicira nudakora ibyo nshaka. Noneho bigeze igihe cyo guhunga aramwirukana ati genda uzagwe ku bandi naraguhaze (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Undi mutangabuhamya wo mu yahoze ari Komini Karama atanga ingero z'Abatutsi bishwe urw'agashinyaguro muri Jenoside:

> Hari umusaza witwaga Gakwaya bishe iminsi ibiri bamutemagura, bamukoreshaga umwitozo barangiza bakamutema ngo nasange bene wabo bamuvuze, nyuma rero baje kumutsinda mu nzira. Hari umwana w'umukobwa witwaga Yankurije Madeleine na we icyo gihe baramubohoje, baramurarana bucyeye baramwica. Uwitwaga Mukagasana Budensiyana na we ni nk'uko baramubohoje baramurarana nyuma baza kumwica. Hano hepfo hari urutare inyuma ya rwo hari umugina muremure ufite metero nk'umunani. Hari abo bafataga bakajya kubajugunya muri uwo mugina bakiri bazima. Hari Abatutsi bari bifungiranye kwa Padiri; icyo gihe basakambuye inzu barurira hejuru n'urwego bashyiramo ibishangara barangije babamenaho essence babatwika ari bazima. Hari n'ibindi byinshi cyane (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Abatutsi bari bahungiye muri Stade ya Byiza muri Komini Mbazi bishwe urw'agashyinyaguro. Uwitwa Musengimana André babanje kumutema amaguru arara adapfuye nyuma baragaruka baramwica. Ni ko byagenze no kuri bakuru be barimo Kalisa na Vianney. Ababigizemo uruhare harimo

Nkurunziza Tabaro, Habiyakare Théophile n'abandi (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

Hari abagore n'abakobwa basambanywaga hagamijwe kubanduza SIDA. Umwe mu batangabuhamya avuga ko we na bagenzi be bafashwe ku ngufu n'abasirikare ba kera (FAR) nyuma baje gusanga baranduye SIDA (Umutangabuhamya, Ngoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Rusatira Uwitwa Benimana Eustache yishwe urw'agashinyaguro. Mbere yo kumwica abaturanyi be bamuzengurukije icyari segiteri yose bavuga ngo bafashe Inkotanyi. Bamuvanye muri Serire Gikinga bamugeza muri Serire Buhimba bamutegeka kwicukurira nyuma bahita bamwica. Hari n'abadamu babanje gufata ku ngufu nyuma babashyira mu musarani ari bazima (Uwimana Théophile, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Mu Murenge wa Rusatira Mugirente na Nyamaswa babanje kwicukurira nyuma barabica. Abana bo kwa Gashagaza babatwaye kwa Padiri babashyira mu musarani waho babatera amacumu babatamo. Hari abana banjye babashyize mu musarani wuzuyemo amazi nyuma bazana abandi Batutsi babagereka hejuru yabo bakiri bazima. Mukandekezi bamusenyeyeho inzu akiri muzima. Umukecuru witwa Thérèse bamushyize mu rwina ari muzima nyuma baza kumutaburura ngo bamuhambanye amafaranga. Abana be na bo babashyize mu musarane babarimiraho ibinonko (Nyirabarinda Annonciate, Kinazi, Werurwe 2019).

Izo ni ingero nkeya zigaragaza uko Abatutsi bishwe urw'agashyinyaguro mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa. Hirya no hino mu makomini atandukanye Abatutsi bishwe nabi.

6.14. Gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside byagiye bikorwa kuva Jenoside itegurwa, aho abateguye Jenoside batifuzaga ko hagaragara ikintu cyose kigaragaza umugambi wo kumaraho Abatutsi. Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside byagaragariye mu gusenya ibisigisigi by'amazu y'Abatutsi yari yamaze gusenywa cyangwa

gutwikwa, gutwika imirambo, kubashyira mu misarani, kujugunya imirambo ahantu bitoroshye kumenya nko mu misarane ikomeza gukoreshwa, kubaka hejuru y'ahajugunywe imirambo y'abishwe, gutanga imitungo yabo igahabwa abicanyi, kwanga kuvuga ahajugunywe imibiri ngo ishyingurwe mu cyubahiro, kwanga kuvugisha ukuri ku byabaye iyo ubajije abicanyi n'ababarebereye kwanga gusubiza ibyasahuwe n'ibindi.

Umutangabuhamya wagize uruhare muri Jenoside avuga ko abayobozi bababwiraga gusibanganya ibimenyetso basenya ibisigisigi by'amazu y'Abatutsi bari batwitse. Akomeza avuga ko nyuma ya Jenoside na bwo abagize uruhare muri Jenoside batifuzaga gutanga amakuru ndetse bamwe badashaka kugaragaza aho abishwe bajugunywe (Uwiringiyimana Callixte, Mbazi, Werurwe 2019).

6.15. Abagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye

Muri Kamena 2012 mu Rwanda hose hashojwe ku mugaragaro imirimo y'Inkiko Gacaca yari imaze imyaka isaga icumi. Nk'uko bigaragara muri raporo ya nyuma, Gacaca yagize uruhare runini mu kumenya ukuri kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda muri 1994, kugaragaza no guhana ababigizemo uruhare bose mu rwego rwo kungera kunga umuryango nyarwanda no kubanisha abaturage. Ni yo mpamvu yiswe ubutabera bwunga.

Mu Karere ka Huye imibare y'abagize uruhare muri Jenoside baburanishijwe n'Inkiko Gacaca ku rwego rw'utugari, imirenge ndetse no mu bujurire iri hejuru cyane ugereranyije no mu tundi turere. Iyo mibare yerekana ubukana Jenoside yagize muri ako gace. Imbonehamwe ikurikira irerekana iyo mibare ku rwego rw'akarere:

NO	**Ibyiciro by'ababuranishijwe**	**Umubare**
1	Ababuraniye mu tugari	177.241
2	Ababuraniye ku murenge	43.887
3	Ababuraniye mu bujurire	15.532
Bose hamwe		**236.660**

Aho byavuye: SNJG, Raporo isoza imirimo y'Inkiko Gacaca mu Rwanda, 2012

Ababuranishijwe muri Gacaca si ko bose bagize uruhare rungana mu gutegura no gukora Jenoside dukurikije ibyiciro bashyirwagamo mu gihe cyo kuburana. Icyiciro cya mbere cyarimo abateguye umugambi wa Jenoside bakanawushishikariza abandi, biganjemo abari abategetsi n'abari mu nzego z'umutekano. Kirimo kandi ba ruharwa bamamaye mu bikorwa by'iyicarubozo no gufata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu. Icyiciro cya kabiri cyarimo abakoze Jenoside na ho icya gatatu kikabamo abasahuye n'abangije imitungo y'Abatutsi muri Jenoside. Muri iki gice twifuje kugaragaza bamwe mu bicanyi bakomeye bamenyekanye muri Huye ukurikije uduce twiciwemo Abatutsi benshi. Bari mu baburanishijwe n'Inkiko Gacaca, inkiko zisanzwe, Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) cyangwa se bakaba baratorotse ubutabera.

6.15.1. Bamwe mu bayobozi ba gisiviri na gisirikari bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye

6.15.1.1. Nyiramasuhuko Paulina

Nyiramasuhuko Paulina yavutse muri 1946 muri Komini Ndora muri Perefegitura ya Butare. Nyuma yo gusoza amashuri yisumbuye yagiye i Kigali ahabwa akazi muri Ministeri ifite mu nshingano imibereho myiza. Muri 1968 yashakanye na Ntahobari Maurice wabaye Umuyobozi Mukuru (Recteur) wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda (UNR). Muri 1992 yagizwe Minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'Abagore, umwanya yagumyeho kugeza muri 1994 ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa. Nyiramasuhuko Pauline yagize uruhare runini muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Rugaragarira mu bikorwa bitandukanye birimo: gushishikariza kwica Abatutsi, kuyobora ibitero by'Interahamwe, gushishikariza Interahamwe gufata ku ngufu abagore n'abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi mbere yo kubica, gushyiraho za bariyeri harimo iyari kuri Hotel Ihuriro no kuzigenzura.

Inyandiko y'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) igaragaza ko Nyiramasuhuko Pauline afatanije n'umuhungu we Arsène Shalom Ntahobari hamwe n'Interahamwe bashyize bariyeri imbere y'iwabo yiciweho Abatutsi benshi. Inshuro nyinshi ari kumwe n'umuhungu we bajyaga kuzana Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Butare bakabapakira imodoka bajya kubicira ahantu hatandukanye. Yasabye Interahamwe kubanza gusambanya abagore n'abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi mbere yo kubica ndetse akajya azihagarikira.

Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda rwasanze ahamwa n'icyaha cya Jenoside ndetse n'ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu harimo gufata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu. Nyiramasuhuko Pauline ni we mugore wenyine waburanishijwe na ICTR kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Mu 2011 yahanishijwe igifungo cya burundu; nyuma yo kujurira agabanyirizwa ibihano ategekwa gufungwa imyaka mirongo ine n'irindwi (47)[68].

6.15.1.2. Arsène Shalom Ntahobari

Arsène Shalom Ntahobari yavutse mu 1970 i Tel Aviv muri Israël, akaba ari mwene Ntahobari Maurice wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza Nkuru y' u Rwanda na Nyiramasuhuko Pauline wari Minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'Abagore. Amashuri abanza yayize i Butare *muri Groupe Scolaire Complexe,* ayisumbuye ayiga ahantu hatandukanye harimo i Kigali kuri Collège Saint André na ESAPAG i Gitwe. Mu mwaka wa 1993-1994 yari umunyeshuri muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda (UNR) aho yigaga anakurikirana ibikorwa by'ubucuruzi bya Hôtel yabo bitaga Ihuliro yari muri Serire Mamba, Segiteri ya Ngoma, Komini Ngoma.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko y'urubanza Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda ruregamo Nyiramasuhuko Pauline, Arsène Shalom Ntahobari, Nsabimana Sylvain, Nteziryayo Alphonse,

[68] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, JUDGEMENT AND SENTENCE, 24 June 2011

Kanyabashi Joseph na Ndayambaje Elie, Arsène Shalom Ntahobari yagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Ngoma, Perefegitura ya Butare. Uruhare rwe rugaragarira mu bikorwa bitandukanye birimo kuyobora umutwe w'Interahamwe, gushishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, gushyiraho no kuyobora bariyeri yari imbere y'iwabo yiciweho Abatutsi, gufata Abatutsi akajya kubicira muri IRST, gutwara Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Perefegitura ya Butare, ku bitaro bya Butare(CHUB), kuri EER, akajya kubicira mu ishyamba rya Cyarwa n'ahandi. Muri IRST yahiciye Abatutsi barenga magana abiri (200) ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994 afatanyije n'Interahamwe.

Afatanije n'umuganga wo ku bitaro bya Butare witwa Gatera, Arsène Shalom Ntahobari yafataga inkomere z'Abatutsi zabaga zaje gushaka ubufasha ku bitaro bya Butare akababapakira imodoka akajya kubicira ahantu hatandukanye. Yafashe ku ngufu abakobwa n'abagore b'Abatutsikazi ndetse ashishikariza Interahamwe kubasambanya. Muwa 2011 ICTR yahamije Arsène Shalom Ntahobari icyaha cya Jenoside n'ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu ahanishwa igifungo cya burundu.[69] Mu 2015 yarajuriye maze urukiko rumugabanyiriza ibihano rutegeka ko afungwa imyaka mirongo ine n'irindwi (47).

6.15.1.3. Kanyabashi Joseph

Kanyabashi Joseph yavutse muwa 1937 muri Segiteri Mpare, Komini Huye, Perefegitura ya Butare. Yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ngoma kuva mu 1974 kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994 ubwo yahungaga kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Uruhare rwe rugaragarira mu bikorwa bitandukanye birimo gushishikariza kwica Abatutsi, kuyobora ibitero byishe Abatutsi, guha intwaro Interahamwe agamije kwica Abatutsi n'ibindi.

[69] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, JUDGEMENT AND SENTENCE, 24 June 2011

Ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994 ubwo bari mu muhango wo kurahiza Perefe mushya Nsabimana Sylvain, yafashe ijambo asaba abari aho gufatanya bakarwanya umwanzi ari we mututsi. Ku matariki ya 21 na 22 Mata 1994 ubwo Abatutsi bari babuze aho bahungira, yababwiye ko bajya ku Kabakobwa abasezeranya kubarindira umutekano, nyamara bwari uburyo bwo kubegeranya kugira ngo babone uko babica. Yasubiye inyuma azana Interahamwe n'abapolisi kujya kubica, abonye ko imbaraga zabo ari nke yiyambaza abasirikare bagota Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku Kabakobwa barabica. Kuwa 23 Mata 1994 ibitero by'Interahamwe byagarutse guhumbahumba Abatutsi bari bagihumeka bisabwe na Burugumesitiri Kanyabashi.

Kanyabashi Joseph yagize uruhare rw'Abatutsi biciwe mu duce dutandukanye twa Komini Ngoma harimo kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma, ku Bitaro bya Butare (CHUB), kuri Perefegitura ya Butare, i Matyazo n'ahandi. Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994 yakoresheje inama abaturage i Cyarwa muri Segiteri ya Ngoma abasaba guhumbahumba Abatutsi bari bakiriho.

Muwa 2011 Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) rwahanishije Kanyabashi Joseph igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu n'itanu (35). Mu 2015 yarajuriye maze agabanyirizwa ibihano ahabwa igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri[70].

6.15.1.4. Colonel Nteziryayo Alphonse

Nteziryayo Alphonse yavutse kuwa 26 Kanama 1947 muri Komini Kibaye, Perefegitura ya Butare. Amashuri abanza yayize i Mugombwa muri Komini Muganza, ayisumbuye ayiga i Save kuri *Ecole des Moniteurs*. Muwa 1971 yagiye mu gisirikare akoramo imirimo itandukanye.

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare, Nteziryayo Alphonse yari afite ipeti rya Liyotena Koloneli akaba yari akuriye ingabo muri ako gace anashinzwe gahunda ya *défense civile* muri Butare. Ku itariki ya 17 Kamena 1994 yagizwe Perefe wa Perefegitura ya

[70] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, JUDGEMENT AND SENTENCE, 24 June 2011

Butare asimbura kuri uwo mwanya Nsabimana Sylvain. Uruhare rwe muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rugaragarira mu bikorwa bitandukanye birimo gutoza Interahamwe no kuziha intwaro, gushishikariza kwica Abatutsi, kuyobora ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye n'ibindi. Mu muhango w'irahira rye ku mwanya wa Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Butare ryabaye kuwa 21 Kamena 1994 yavuze ko agiye gukomereza aho mugenzi we yari ageze, yizeza abagize Guverinoma y'Abatabazi gushyira imbaraga mu guhiga no guhumbahumba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, ni ukuvuga Abatutsi[71]. Afatanije na Arsène Shalom Ntahobari wari ukuriye Interahamwe, bangiye abakozi ba *Croix Rouge Internationale* gutwara abana b'Abatutsi bagera kuri magana atatu (300) n'abari babaherekeje, nyuma baricwa.

Muwa 2011 Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) rwahanishije Nteziryayo Alphonse igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu (30). Mu 2015 yarajuriye agabanyirizwa igihano, ahabwa igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri n'itanu (25).

6.15.1.5. Nsabimana Sylvain

Nsabimana Sylvain yavutse kuwa 29 Nyakanga 1951 muri Komini Mbazi, Perefegitura ya Butare. Yagizwe Perefe wa Butare kuwa 19 Mata 1994 nyuma y'uko Guverinoma y'Abatabazi yeguje Perefe Habyarimana Jean Baptiste. Yabaye Perefe wa Butare kugeza kuya 17 Kamena 1994 asimburwa na Lieutenant Colonel Nteziryayo Alphonse. Nsabimana Sylvain yagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye twa Komini Ngoma.

Ku itariki ya 20 Mata 1994 yakoresheje inama ababurugumesitiri bose b'amakomini yari agize iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Butare abasaba gushyira imbaraga mu gikorwa cyo kurwanya umwanzi ari we mututsi. Nsabimana Sylvain yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Perefegitura ya Butare. Ibitero by'Interahamwe byazaga gutwara impunzi zari zahahungiye arebera ntiyagira icyo akora. Aho ni ho hahurizwaga Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa. Abatutsi bari bahasigaye basabwe kuhava ku ngufu bakajya kuri

[71] *Prosecutor v. Nyiramasuhuko et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-42-T, p.1042

EER; mu nzira bagendaga bakubitwa n'abasirikare. Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) rwamuhamije icyaha cya Jenoside n'ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu, rumuhanisha igifungo cy'imyaka makumyabiri n'itanu (25).

6.15.1.6. Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi

Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi yabaye umuyobozi w'ingabo na jandarumori muri Perefegitura ya Butare na Gikongoro hagati ya Mata na Kamena 1994. Yanayoboye ishuri rukuru ry'abasirikari b'aba Officiers (ESO) mu gihe Jenerari Marcel Gatsinzi yagirwaga Umugaba Mukuru w'Ingabo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 Leta y'Abatabazi imaze gushingwa. Jenoside imaze guhagarikwa Tharcisse Muvunyi yahungiye mu Bwongereza aho yafatiwe ku itariki ya 5/2/2000 akohererezwa Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) ngo rumuburanishe ku byaha bya Jenoside n'ibyibasiye inyokomuntu yakekwagwaho. Ubushinjacyaha bwamuhamije ibyaha bitanu birimo icyaha cya jenoside, guhamagarira gukora jenoside, ubufatanyacyaha mu gukora jenoside, gufata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu n'ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu.

Nk'umuyobozi wari ufite ububasha ku ngabo n'abajandarume bose muri Butare, yatanze amabwiriza yo kwica Abatutsi bahungiye mu bice bitandukanye by'Umujyi wa Butare bizeye umutekano nyuma yo kumeneshwa mu ngo zabo. Hari Abatutsi benshi bafashwe bajya gufungirwa kuri Burigade ya Ngoma, nyuma bagasohorwa n'abajandarume baharindaga bagiye kwicwa ku mabwiriza ya Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi. Abafatanyije na we mu bwicanyi barimo Kapiteni Ildephonse Nizeyimana wari akuriye amasomo muri ESO, Liyetona Hategekimana wayoboraga Camp Ngoma na Liyetona Rushigajiki wayoboraga Ikigo cya Jandarumori cya Tumba.

Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi yarezwe kwitabira inama yabaye ku itariki ya 19 Mata 1994, ikaba yari iyobowe na Perezida wa Leta y'Abatabazi Théodore Sindikubwabo ari kumwe na Minisitiri w'Intebe, Jean Kambanda. Muri iyo nama harahijwe Perefe mushya Sylvain Nsabimana wasimbuye Dr. Jean Baptiste Habyarimana wavanywe ku mirimo ye umunsi umwe mbere yaho

azira kurwanya ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bwibasira Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi muri Perefegitura ya Butare kandi byari bimaze kuyogoza ahandi hose mu gihugu. Twibutse ko Perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana ari we mututsi wenyine wagiye muri uwo mwanya mu mateka yose ya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri, akaba yari mu Ishyaka ry'Ukwishyira Ukizana kwa buri Muntu (PL). Muri iyo nama kandi yari yakoraniyemo abategetsi bose ba gisiviri n'aba gisirikari ni ho Perezida Sindikubwabo yahamagariye Abahutu kurimbura Abatutsi bose no kwikiza ba *ntibindeba*, ni ukuvuga abatitabira ubwicanyi. Kuva Tharcisse Muvunyi nk'umusirikari mukuru ataramaganye uwo mugambi bivuga ko we ubwe n'urwego yari akuriye bari bawushyigikiye.

Inyandiko y'ibirego isobanura ko nyuma y'ijambo Perezida Sindukubwabo yagejeje ku bari bateraniye mu Ngoro ya MRND abasaba gutangira kwica Abatutsi Tharcisse Muvunyi yakoranyije inama y'abasirikari bose akababakangurira gutangira gukora kubera ko yari amabwiriza ya Perezida. Ni muri urwo rwego yashyirishijeho za bariyeri hose muri Butare zacungwaga n'abasirikari bafatanyije n'Interahamwe n'abaturage basanzwe. Aba nib o bagendaga mu ngo z'Abatutsi bakababakuramo bakajya kubicira ahandi harimo muri ESO no mu ishyamba rya Arboretum.

Uretse mu Mujyi wa Butare Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi yanakoresheje inama zishishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi afatanyije na Perefe Sylvain Nsabimana wari unashinzwe gahunda ya *auto-défense civile* muri Butare Ahamenyekanye bagiye harimo kuri Komini Mugusa mu mpera za Mata 1994, kuri Santeri ya Gikore mu ntangiriro za Gicurasi 1994, muri Komini Muyaga hagati y'itariki ya 3-5 Kamena 1994, muri Segiteri Nyabitare ya Komini Muganza mu ntangiriro za Kamena 1994, kuri Santeri y'ubucuruzi ya Nyantanga no ku biro bya Komini Nyakizu, muri Serire Rumba ya Segiteri Kibirizi n'i Gikonko muri Komini Mugusa.

Aha hose Tharcisse Muvunyi yitwazaga gukoresha inama z'umutekano ariko agakoreshamo imvugo izimije n'imigani mu kwibasira Abatutsi byumvwaga nk'impuruza ku Bahutu ibakangurira kwikiza Abatutsi mbere y'uko Inkotanyi zihagera.

Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi yashinjwe guha abasiviri imyitozo n'intwaro ubwo yabemereraga gukorera imyitozo muri ESO bakiga kurasa bakoresheje imbunda z'ishuri kandi barangiza bamwe bakazihabwa ngo bajye kuzicisha Abatutsi bitaga umwanzi wateye igihugu. Imyitozo yabaga ihagarikiwe na Kapiteni Nizeyimana warangizaga akajya kureba uko bakora mu giturage.

Ku Bitaro bya Kaminuza bya Butare (CHUB) Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi yahohereje abasirikari bo kurinda umutekano, cyane ko hageze igihe abakomerekeye ku rugamba bose ari ho bazaga kuvurirwa uko imirwano yagendaga ikaza umurego. Abo basirikari ni bo bagize uruhare mu kwica abarwayi, abaganga n'Abatutsi bari bahahungiye, imirambo bakayijugunya mu byobo rusange ubusanzwe byajugunywagwamo imyanda yo mu bitaro. Kenshi ngo Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi yarahasuraga ari kumwe na Minisitiri Paulina Nyiramasuhuko wahamijwe ibyaha bya Jenoside agahanishwa gufungwa burundu.

Ku mabwiriza ya Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi, abasirikari bayobowe na Liyetona Hategekimana bagabye igitero ku Benebikira bica abana 25 bari bahahungiye. Icyo gihe bari kumwe n'Interahamwe zirimo Dr. Pierre Mugabo wavuraga imitima, umuhungu wa Mugabo, uwitwaga Ignace, umwarimu witwa Valens wigishaga muri GSO, umugabo bahimbaga izina rya Nyati, Porofeseri Blaise n'undi mugabo Hategekimana yitaga Makete.

Ahiciwe Abatutsi benshi ku mabwiriza ya Koroneri Tharcisse Muvunyi harimo kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma, kuri Komini ya Ngoma, kuri Ivuriro (Dispensaire) ya Matyazo, kuri Paruwasi ya Kibeho, kuri Komini Mugusa, mu Benebekira i Sovu, mu Benebikira kuri Katedrari ya Butare, muri Groupe Scolaire Ngoma, muri Economay Général, kuri Paruwasi Nyumba muri Komini Gatare, mu duce dutuwemo n'abayisiramu i Ngoma, mu ishyamba rya Mukura ahari hahungiye Abatutsi benshi, ku Kabutare no kuri Paruwasi ya Cyanika.

6.15.1.7. Colonel Simba Aloys

Simba Aloys yavutse kuwa 28 Ukuboza 1938 mu yahoze ari Komini Musebeya muri Perefegitura ya Gikongoro. Nyuma yo gusoza ishuri rya gisirikare yakoze imirimo itandukanye mu gisirikare hagati ya 1963 na 1967. Ni umwe mu bafashije Habyarimana Juvénal guhirika ku butegetsi Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire muri Nyakanga 1973. Hagati ya 1980 na 1988 yagizwe umudepite, nyuma mu 1993 ajya mu kiruhuko k'izabukuru. Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994 yagizwe ukuriye gahunda yiswe "Auto-défense civile" mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gikongoro na Butare.

Mu nyandiko ikubiyemo ibirego Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda ruregamo Colonel Simba Aloys, mu gika cya 20, ruvuga ko mu cyumweru cyakurikiye urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Aloys Simba yajyanye ku biro bya Komini ya Kinyamakara ibisanduku bitatu birimo imbunda nka 50 zo mu bwoko bwa Kalachnikov. Izo mbunda, zari mu modoka ya Aloys Simba, zapakuruwe n'abasirikare maze abategeka gufatanya n'abapolisi ba Komini kuziteranya no kuzitanga. Izo ntwaro zahawe abasirikari n'abasiviri b'Abahutu bari barigishijwe gukoresha imbunda. Zahise zikoreshwa mu kwica abasiviri b'Abatutsi bari imbokoboko kandi biciwe mu ngo zabo no ku maduka yo kuri santeri y'ubucuruzi ya Rugogwe, muri Komini ya Ruhashya, Perefegitura ya Butare[72].

Iyo nyandiko igaragaza ko ku itariki ya 22 Gicurasi 1994 cyangwa hafi y'iyo tariki, Aloys Simba yagiye mu muhango wo kwimika Mathieu Ndahimana ku mwanya wa Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ntyazo muri Perefegitura ya Butare. Icyo gihe Aloys Simba yabwiye abari muri iyo nama kutagira umututsi n'umwe basiga, avuga ngo iyo wica imbeba ziri mu rugo udasiga n'ihaka. Aloys Simba yasobanuriye abari aho ko umubano w'Abahutu n'Abatutsi umeze nk'uw'injangwe n'imbeba. Kugeza icyo gihe hari abagore benshi, abakobwa, ibimuga n'abasheshe akanguhe bari bataricwa ariko nyuma yaho gato kubera ayo magambo ye, Abatutsi bose bari basigaye muri ako gace barishwe[73].

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[72] *Urubanza Porokireri aburana na Aloys Simba, No :ICTR-01-76-T, p.119*

[73] Ibidem, p.120

Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) rwemeza ko Colonel Simba Aloys yari mu nama yo kuwa 23 Mata 1994 yabereye muri Komini Ntyazo n'ubwo rutemeza neza niba amagambo yavuze ari yo yabaye imbarutso y'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri iyo Komini. Usibye muri Komini Ntyazo, Colonel Simba Aloys yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Ruhashya. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko ikubiyemo ibirego, Muri Mata 1994, nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, Aloys Simba yateguye ibitero bibiri bya karundura maze ategeka abasirikare, abantu bitwaraga gisirikare n'abasiviri b'Abahutu kugaba ibyo bitero ku Batutsi bari baravuye mu byabo bari muri Komini ya Ruhashya muri Perefegitura ya Butare. Igitero cya mbere cyibasiye abavuye mu byabo bari kuri santeri y'ubucuruzi ya Rugogwe na ho icya kabiri kigabwa ku bavuye mu byabo bari ku gasozi ka Gashoba.

Mu matariki akurikira urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, Colonel Aloys Simba yahaye intwaro abagabye ibitero kandi abatwara mu modoka ye. Yatwaye Interahamwe azijyana ku kiraro cya Muhange kiri ku rubibi rwa Kinyamakara (Perefegitura ya Gikongoro) na Ruhashya (Perefegitura ya Butare). Zahagurukiye aho zijya kwica impunzi zari zaravuye mu byazo muri Komini ya Ruhashya, iya Rusatira n'iya Nyabisindu zo muri Perefegitura ya Butare.

Aloys Simba wagendaga yitwaje intwaro kandi yambaye imyenda ya gisirikare yayoboye abantu barenga igihumbi mu bitero byagabwe muri Komini ya Ruhashya. Abasiviri bamwe bari bafite intwaro bo muri ako gace bagiye aho hantu bari mu modoka za burugumesitiri na ho abandi bagenda mu ikamyoneti ya gisirikare yatanzwe na Aloys Simba. Yabaga buri gihe ahari agenzura ibyakorwaga kandi atanga amategeko yo kugaba ibitero. Ibitero byagabwe ku Rugogwe n'i Gashoba muri Komini ya Ruhashya byahitanye abantu babarirwa mu magana barimo abagabo, abagore n'abana b'Abatutsi. Colonel Aloys Simba yakatiwe n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) igifungo cy'imyaka 25 kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

6.15.1.8. Dr. Vincent Ntezimana

Muri Mata 1994 Vincent Ntezimana yari umwarimu wa physique muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda (UNR), ishami rya Butare, akaba yari atuye ku i Taba. Yavutse muri 1961, akaba akomoka i Muramba muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Yari anakuriye ishyirahamwe ry'abarimu ba Kaminuza. Jenoside imaze guhagarikwa muri Nyakanga 1994 Vincent Ntezimana yahungiye mu Bubiligi anahabwa ubuhungiro. Yafatiwe iwe mu rugo ku itariki ya 27 Mata 1995 afungwa by'agateganyo. Urubanza rwe rwatangiye kuburanishwa mu mizi muri 2001 n'Urukiko rw'Abaturage (Cour d'Assises) rw'i Buruseri mu Bubiligi. Ku itariki ya 8 Kamena 2001 ni bwo urwo rukiko rwasomye umwanzuro w'urubanza maze Vincent Ntezimana ahanishwa igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'ibiri (12).

Ibyaha Vincent Ntezimana yahamijwe birimo urupfu rwa Pr. Claver Karenzi bigishanyaga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda bakaba bari banaturanye ku i Taba mu Mujyi wa Butare. Karenzi yishwe mu ba mbere ubwo Jenoside yatangiraga muri Butare nyuma y'ijambo rya Perezida Theodore Sindikubwabo ryavuzwe haruguru. Byari mu rwego rwo gutinyura abaturage kugira ngo bitabire kwica Abatutsi. Ubuhamya bwatanzwe na Gasana Ndoba uvukana na Claver Karenzi bugaruka ku buryo abasirikari bateye kwa Karenzi babanje kujya impaka n'umugore we wabumvishaga ko atari umututsikazi. Mu kugenzura ngo umwe muri abo basirikari yaterefonnye Vincent Ntezimana amusobanuza, uyu ngo yashubije ko uwo mugore abeshya, ko agomba kwicwa. Ni ko kandi byagenze kuko Pr. Karenzi yicanywe n'umugore we, abana be n'abandi bantu bari mu rugo. Bose hamwe bari 8 bishwe barashwe. Harokotse umwe w'umukobwa wihishe muri *plafond*.

Vincent Ntezimana yashinjwe gukorana bya hafi na Capitaine Ildephonse Nizeyimana wayoboraga ingabo muri Perefegitura ya Butare, uyu akaba yarahamijwe ibyaha bya Jenoside n'ibyibasira inyokomuntu n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) rwakoreraga Arusha muri Tanzaniya. Ibi byaha byose yabikoreye mu Mujyi wa Butare aho yari umuyobozi w'ingabo. Yahanishijwe gufungwa imyaka 35. Uwo Capitaine

Ildephonse Nizeyimana ni umwe wavuzwe mu kwicisha Umwamikazi Rosalie Gicanda.

Vincent Ntezimana afatanyije na bagenzi be biganaga mu Bubiligi muri 1990 basohoye inyandiko yakwijwe hose ibiba urwango n'amacakubiri hagati y'amoko y'Abanyarwanda. Hari nyuma gato y'itangira ry'urugamba rwa FPR-Inkotanyi rwo kubohora igihugu.

Jenoside imaze gutangira muri Butare Vincent Ntezimana yakoze urutonde rw'abakozi ba Kaminuza we avuga ko bifuzaga guhungira i Burundi, abigiyemo inama n'Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza Wungirije Ushinzwe Amasomo. Abantu benshi bemeza ko guhungira i Burundi bitashobokaga kubera uko umutekano wari wifashe nabi icyo gihe. Icyo gihe yifashishije amafishi y'abakozi bose maze abandukura akurikije amoko yabo aho yavanguye Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Amalisiti yakoze ni yo yakoreshejwe n'abicanyi mu kurimbura imiryango itabarika y'Abatutsi. Ashinjwa kandi kuba nta cyo yakoze ngo atabare abari mu kaga ko kwicwa amaze kumenya ko kubahungisha bitagishobotse.

Vincent Ntezimana yahamwe n'icyaha cyo kudatabara umukobwa wari iwe wishwe n'uwitwa Nkuyubwatsi wakoraga muri SORWAL, Akitwaza ko atashoboraga kumubuza. Uvuye iwe no muri metero 500 hari bariyeri yiciweho umusore abizi ntiyamutabara, ahubwo yabaga aganira n'abicanyi bigaragara ko bari bafitanye umubano n'imikoranire kuko batigeze bamwakura. Abo bicanyi ni na bo bararaga ku marondo ahiga Abatutsi.

Ku itariki ya 25 Mata 1994 Vincent Ntezimana afatanyije na bagenzi be b'abarimu n'abakozi bose ba Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda basinye ibaruwa isaba kwigishwa imbunda no kuzihabwa muri gahunda y'ubwirinzi (Auto-défence civile). Iyo gahunda bayishishikarijwe na Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Leta y'Abatabazi Jean Kambanda ubwo yabasuraga muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda ku itariki ya 29 Mata 1994.

Vincent Ntezimana avugwa mu ruhare yaba yaragize mu kwandika inyandiko yiswe " Appel à la conscience des Bahutu" yasohotse mu Kinyamakuru Kangura N0 6 cyo mu Ukuboza 1990, ikaba yarahamagariraga Abahutu bose

kwanga no kwikiza Abatutsi bose bo mu Rwanda bashinjwaga kuba ibyitso by'abateye u Rwanda. Iyo nyandiko yavuguruye *Amategeko 10 y'Abahutu* yari yaratangajwe na Joseph Gitera Habyarimana muri Nzeri 1959. Hari impuha zakwirakwijwe muri 1991 zavugaga ko iyo nyandiko yandikiwe i Louvain-La-Neuve mu Bubiligi kandi icyo gihe Ntezimana yigagayo, akaba yari azwiho kugira amatwara akarishye mu gukwiza urwango ku Batutsi.

6.15.1.9. Ababikira b'i Sovu

Ababikira babiri ari bo Gertrude Mukangango na Julienne Kizito Mukabutera b'i Sovu mu yahoze ari Komini Maraba bagize uruhare rukomeye mu bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi babahungiyeho muri Mata 1994 ubwo bameneshwaga n'abaturanyi babo b'Abahutu. Nyuma ya Jenoside bahungiye mu Bubiligi ndetse bakomeze umurimo wabo nk'abihayimana aho bafatiwe muri 2001 bagatangira kuburanishwa n'Urukiko rw'Abaturage (Cour d'Assises) rw'i Buruseri. Bombi bahamwe n'icyaha cya jenoside n'ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu, harimo gushumuriza Interahamwe Abatutsi bari babahungiyeho bizeye amakiriro kubera ko hari mu nzu y'Abihayimana bari basanzwe babana neza. Hagati y'itariki ya 18 na 24 Mata 1994 Abatutsi barenga 7.200 biciwe mu nzu y'Ababikira no ku Kigo Nderabuzima cya Sovu, bishwe n'abasirikari bafatanyije n'Interahamwe n'abaturage basanzwe. Julienne Kizito bahimbaga Gapyisi yahamwe no kuba yaratanze essence yakoreshejwe mu gutwika Abatutsi bari hagati ya 500 na 700 bari bihishe mu igaraje ry'abo Babikira. Mameya mukuru Gertrude Mukangango yabanje kubatoteza abita umwanda.

Abatutsi batangiye kuhahungira ku itariki ya 17 Mata, ku mugoroba basubira mu ngo zabo bijejwe umutekano. Bukeye bwaho ku itariki ya 18 Mata bongera kuhahungira ari benshi bameneshejwe n'abaturanyi babo b'Abahutu. Mameya Mukangango yanze kubahisha mu nzu yabo (Couvent) yanga ko imirimo isanzwe yahungabana kandi ngo yanatinyaga ko ikigo cye abicanyi bagisenya.

6.15.1.10. Higaniro Alphonse wayoboraga SORWAL

Uruganda rw'Ibibiriti (SORWAL) ni rumwe mu nganda eshatu zakoraga ibibiriti ku mugabane w'Afurika mu myaka ya za 1990. Rwashyizweho na Leta y'u Rwanda mu mwaka 1980. Ku itariki 10 Mata 1990 ibigo bikomeye byayiguzemo imigabane harimwo TABARWANDA, RWANDEX, BRD, Sosiyete y'Ababiligi yitwa UNAL (Assistance technique ā la gestion), SWEDFUND (Fondation suédoise). Leta y'u Rwanda yari ifitemo imigabane igera kuri 27%, BRD, TABARWANDA, RWANDEX bifite 48%, imigabane isigaye ingana na 25% yari iy'abanyamahanga[74].

Mu Ukuboza 1989 Perezida w'Inama y'Ubutegetsi ya SORWAL yari Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Icyo gihe Umuyobozi Mukuru wayo yari Ngirira Mathieu, Umuhutu ukomoka ku Gisenyi. Yaje kwegura kuri uwo mwanya kuwa 17 Gashyantare 1992 asimburwa na Higaniro Alphonse, umuhutu ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Gaseke muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

SORWAL ni imwe mu nganda zikomeye zari mu gihugu icyo gihe ari yo mpamvu ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana bwayihozagaho ijisho ndetse bukayiha abayobozi bwizeye bazaharanira inyungu zabo. Muri Mutarama 1994 Bunani Fabien yagizwe umuyobozi uhagarariye Leta y'u Rwanda muri SORWAL, Gaspard Tegibanze agirwa *Commissaire aux comptes.*

Uruhare rwa SORWAL muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rugaragarira mu gufasha umutwe w'interahamwe n'ubuyobozi bwawo babaha inguzanyo zitazigamiye. Kubera ko abari mu mutwe w'Interahamwe abenshi muri bo batari bafite akazi gafatika, Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana yabafashaga kubona izo nguzanyo kugira ngo babeho bityo bashyire mu bikorwa ibyo basabwaga batazuyaje. André Guichaoua asobanura uruhare rwayo mu magambo akurikira:

> *« Alphonse Higaniro était directement impliqué dans l'organisation de la milice interahamwe et agissait d'une façon active. En qualité de directeur de l'usine, il avait pour mission d'aider les interahamwe ā s'autofinancer*

[74] Guchaou André, Rapport « Butare, la préfecture rebelle », tomes 1 à 3. Temoin Expert, ICTR, Juin 2004.

pour qu'ils aient une vie meilleure par rapport aux autres groupes sociaux. La plupart des interahamwe étaient sans emploi. Pour subsister, tous les directeurs des Offices étatiques avaient mission d'aider les interahamwe ā beneficier d'avantages par rapport aux autres surtout en leur octroyant des crédits sans garantie. C'est dans ce cadre que Higaniro distribuait des crédits aux interahamwe en leur accordant le monopole de la vente des allumettes au prix de l'usine contre un chèque en blanc pour la comptabilité. Les personnes qui ont reçu ce genre de crédit sont surtout les membres influents des interahamwe. Georges Rutaganda, Robert Kajuga, Phéneas Ruhumuriza, etc…»

[Alphonse Higaniro yari afite uruhare rutaziguye mu gufasha Interahamwe. Nk'umuyobozi w'uruganda, yari afite inshingano zo gutuma Intarahamwe zibona ibizitunga zikabaho neza kurenza abandi bantu. Interahamwe nyinshi nta kazi zagiraga. Kugira ngo zibashe kubaho, abayobozi benshi b'ibigo bya Leta bagombaga kuzorohereza ubuzima harimo no kubaha inguzanyo nta kubasaba ingwate (garantie). Ni muri urwo rwego Higaniro yahaga Interahamwe inguzanyo akanabemerera gucuruza ibibiriti ku giciro cy'uruganda amaze kubasinyira sheki bo biyuzurizagaho amafaranga bashaka (Chèque en blanc). Abayobozi b'Interahamwe bakomeye ni bo bahawe bene izo nguzanyo, barimo Georges Rutaganda, Robert Kajuga, Phénéas Ruhumuriza n'abandi.]

Uruganda rwa SORWAL rwagize uruhare mu gutoza Interahamwe. Mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe André Guichaoua yasanze Interahamwe zaritorezaga mu nyubako z'uruganda rwa SORWAL ndetse ngo ni ho hahuriraga abashaka kuzijyamo. Uwitwa Déo Ndikumana wavukaga i Butare muri Komini Mbazi ni we wari ushinzwe ibikorwa byo kwinjiza (*recrutement)* akaba yaratangiye iyo mirimo guhera muri 1993[75].

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa muri Mata 1994, Alphonse Higaniro afatanyije na Capitaine Nizeyimana Ildephonse bakoze ubukangurambaga bugamije gushishikariza abasore kujya mu Nterahamwe kandi bigakorerwa

[75] Guichaoua André, Rapport « Butare, la préfecture rebelle », tomes 1 à 3. Témoin Expert, ICTR, Juin 2004, p.93

mu nyubako z'uruganda rwa SORWAL. Abakozi ba barwo bajyaga gufatanya n'abicanyi kuri bariyeri zari zashyizwe ahantu hatandukanye mu Mujyi wa Butare. Mu bakozi bamamaye mu bwicanyi harimo Jean Léonard Cyiza wo muri Segiteri Rango, Jacques Habimana na Edouard Niyitegeka bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Ngoma kuwa 29 Mata 1994. Jacques Habimana wari usanzwe ari *magasinier* yabaye Konseye wa Segiteri Ngoma asimbuye Saidi Munyankumburwa wari umaze kwicwa. Byari bisabwe na Burugumesitiri Joseph Kanyabashi wa Komini Ngoma. Edouard Niyitegeka yamenyekanye cyane kubera kwiyicira umugore we wari umututsikazi[76].

Amaherezo ya Higaniro Alphonse

Nyuma yo guhagarika Jenoside muri Nyakanga 1994 Higaniro Alphonse yahungiye mu Bubiligi aho yafatiwe ku itariki ya 27 Mata 1995 akekwaho ibyaha bifitanye isano na Jenoside yakorewe mu Rwanda. Ku itariki ya 11 Mutarama 1996 Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) rwa Arusha rwasabye u Bubiligi kurwoherereza ibirego bya Higaniro Alphonse kugira ngo rumuburanishe. Gusa ku itariki ya 8 Kanama 1996 abacamanza ba ICTR banze gushyira umukono inyandiko y'ibirego bashyikirijwe n'umushinjacyaha. Kubera iyo mpamvu Urukiko rw'Ubujurire bw'Ububiligi bwahaye ububasha umucamanza w'i Buruseri gukomeza urubanza ruregwamo Higaniro Alphonse.

Ibyaha Higaniro Alphonse yashinjwe birimo kuba yarifatanyije n'abandi bahezanguni bari mu cyiswe Akazu kateguye kakanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Afatanyije na Vincent Ntezimana, bitabiriye inama zategurirwagwamo kurimbura Abatutsi, zakorerwaga mu biro by'Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Kaminuza. Mu mvugo n'inyandiko ze yakoreshaga amagambo gukora cyangwa se gukora isuku/umuganda ashaka gusobanura kwica Abatutsi. Mu ruganda rwa SORWAL yayoboraga yakoreshagamo Interahamwe n'abandi Bahutu b'intagondwa. Izo Nterahamwe zakoreshaga imodoka z'uruganda yabaga

[76] Guchaou André, Rapport « Butare, la préfecture rebelle », tomes 1 à 3. Témoin Expert, ICTR, Juin 2004, p.94

yabatije bagiye muri za mitingi no mu kwica Abatutsi. Higaniro Alphonse yavuzwe mu rupfu rwa Porofeseri Claver Karenzi afatanyije na Vincent Ntezimana.

Urubanza rwa Higaniro Alphonse rwamaze ibyumweru umunani kuva ku itariki ya 17 Mata 2001. Yaburanishijwe ari kumwe na Vincent Ntezimana, ababikira Consolata Mukangango (Mama Gertrude) na Julienne Mukabutera (Mama Mariya Kizito). Ku itariki ya 8 Kamena 2001 ni bwo urubanza rwa Higaniro na bagenzi be rwashojwe ahamijwe ibyaha byose maze rumuhanisha igifungo cy'imyaka 20[77].

6.15.1.11. Uruhare rw'impunzi z'Abarundi

Mu Mujyi wa Butare hari hatuye Abarundi benshi barimo abanyeshuri bigaga muri kaminuza, abarimu n'abandi bakozi bari barabanje kuba impunzi igihe kirekire, n'urubyiruko rutagiraga akazi rwari rwaravuye mu nkambi z'impunzi kimwe n'abavaga i Burundi buri munsi. Twibutse ko Abarundi benshi bahungiye mu Rwanda mu Ukwakira 1993 nyuma y'urupfu rw'uwari Perezida Melchior Ndadaye. Ibihumbi bisaga ijana (100.000) basubiye iwabo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 nyuma y'uko Jenoside itangiye, abandi baguma muri Perefegitura ya Butare kugeza hagati muri Gicurasi 1994, ahanini kubera ko harimo abari baratorejwe mu nkambi bagize uruhare runini mu kwica Abatutsi hirya no hino. Kubera ko Perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana yari azi neza ko izo mpunzi zishobora gukoreshwa amabi, yahoraga ashakisha ibibatunga kugira ngo badatera abaturage cyane cyane Abatutsi.

[77] https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/alphonse-higaniro/

6.16. Abakozi bazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bakoreraga amakomini yagizwe Akarere ka Huye

NO	Amazina	Aho yakoraga	Icyo yakoraga
1	BAHIZI Thomas	Komini Ruhashya	Comptable
2	BIMENYIMANA André	Komini Mbazi	Konseye
3	BIRIKUNZIRA Narcisse	Komini Rusatira	Umuserire
4	BURIHEMU François	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umukozi wa MINITRAPE
5	BUTERA François	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
6	BUTERA Innocent	Perefegitura ya Butare	Vétérinaire DGB
7	CANDARI Augustin	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umukozi *wa Chambre du Commerce*
8	Charles	Perefegitura ya Butare	Planton
9	Espérance	Perefegitura ya Butare	Agent du Ministère de l'Artisanat
10	Etienne	Komini Huye	Agronome
11	GACINYA Edmond	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umukozi wa *Chambre du Commerce*
12	GAKUBA Alexis	Perefegitura ya Butare	Comptable
13	GAKWAYA Adrien	Komini Huye	Assistant Bourgmestre
14	GAKWAYA Athanase	Perefegitura ya Butare	MINAGRI, GBK
15	GASAMUNYIGA	Komini Huye	Aide Véterinaire
16	GASANA Alexis	Komini Rusatira	-
17	GASANA Joseph	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
18	GASANGWA Innocent	Komini Ruhashya	Agronomme
19	GASHUGI Tharcisse	Komini Maraba	Vétérinaire
20	GATERA Sixbert	Komini Ngoma	Comptable
21	HABYARIMANA J. Baptiste	Perefegitura ya Butare	Préfet
22	HATEGEKIMANA Claver	Perefegitura ya Butare	MINAGRI
23	IRIBAGIZA Rose	Komini Ngoma	-
24	KABANO Ladislas	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
25	KABAYABAYA Fidèle	Komini Rusatira	Konseye
26	KAJEJE Jonathan	Perefegitura ya Butare	Garde Forestier,GBK

27	KAMANZI	Komini Rusatira	Moniteur Agri
28	KANUMA Anselme	Perefegitura ya Butare	Garde Forestier,GBK
29	KAYITARE Emmanuel	Komini Ruhashya	Agronome
30	KAYITARE Noël	Komini Mbazi	Ushinzwe urubyiruko
31	KAYITESI Génèviève	Perefegitura ya Butare	Comptable DGDB
32	MBABAZI Jean	Komini Ruhashya	Agronome
33	MINANI Martin	Komini Ngoma	Vétérinaire
34	MIRASANO Georges	Perefegitura ya Butare	Vétérinaire
35	MISIGARO Tharcisse	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
36	MITARI Vincent	Komini Rusatira	Umuserire
37	MUCYO Eustache	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umukozi wa Douane
38	MUGABO Védaste	Komini Mbazi	Comptable
39	MUKAMUSONERA Léa	Perefegitura ya Butare	Comptable DGB
40	MUNYANEZA Romouald	Perefegitura ya Butare	MINAGRI,GBK
41	MUREKEZI Thomas	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umushoferi wa GBK
42	MURINDAHABI Charles	Perefegitura ya Butare	Ushinzwe Requêtes de la Population
43	MUSONERA Joseph	Komini Huye	Secrétaire
44	MUSONI Callixte	Komini Rusatira	Umuserire
45	MUSONI Louis	Perefegitura ya Butare (D.P.E)	Responsible D.E.P Butare
46	MWITENDE Silas	Komini Ruhashya	Percepteur
47	NCAMIHIGO François	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
48	NDAGIJIMANA Védaste	Perefegitura ya Butare	Magasinier GBK
49	NDASHONGA Eugène	S/Perefegitura Busoro	Dactylographe
50	NDEKEZI Anastase	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
51	NDWANIYE Charles	Perefegitura ya Butare	Enquêteur
52	NGIRINSHUTI François	Perefegitura ya Butare	Projet Engrais/FAO
53	NGIRUWONSANGA Félicien	Komini Ruhashya	Vétérinaire
54	NGIRUWONSANGA Félicien	Komini Runyinya	Vétérinaire
55	NGIRUWONSANGA Gérard	Komini Maraba	Konseye

56	NIBAKAREKE Vincent	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
57	NSENGIYUMVA Jean	Perefegitura ya Butare	Secrétaire
58	NTAWIZIGIRARUBANDA Camille	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
59	NYATANYI Emile	Komini Rusatira	Umuserire
60	NYIRIMBUTO Marc	Perefegitura ya Butare	Secrétaire
62	NZABANDORA Xavier	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
63	RUGAMBAGE Déo	Perefegitura ya Butare	Vétérinaire
64	RUKIMBIRANA J.M.V	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umushoferi
65	RUSHAYIGI Innocent	Perefegitura ya Butare	Secrétaire au DGB
66	RUTABANA Fréderic	Komini Mbazi	Umuserire
67	RUTAGENGWA Gervais	Komini Maraba	Umukozi wa MINAGRI
68	RUTAGENGWA Théophile	Perefegitura ya Butare (DGB)	Umushoferi
69	RUTAZIBWA Ignace	Perefegitura ya Butare	Planificateur
70	RUTAZIKA Alexandre	Komini Huye	Agronomme
71	RUZINDANA	Komini Rusatira	Assistant agronome
72	RUZINDANA Antoine	Komini Maraba	Konseye
73	RWAKAYONZA Pierre	Komini Ngoma	Agronome
74	SAFARI	Komini Rusatira	Umuserire
75	SEBARINDA Emmanuel	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umushoferi wa DGB
76	SEBARINDA Théophile	Perefegitura ya Butare	Vétérinaire DGB
77	SEBUDUGURI Frédéric	Komini Rusatira	Secrétaire
78	SEBUHUNYUHUNYU Dismas	Komini Maraba	Resiponsabure wa Serire
79	SEBURIMBWA Jonathan	Komini Mbazi	Moniteur agricole
80	SEKAMANA Eugène	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umushoferi muri DGB
81	SEKAMANA Yvonne	Perefegitura ya Butare	Comptable au DGB
82	SIRIKARE Viateur	Perefegitura ya Butare	Garde Forestier,GBK
83	TWAGIRAMUNGU Charles	Komini Mbazi	Responsable
84	TWAGIRAYEZU Cassien	Perefegitura ya Butare	Umukozi wa MINITRAPE
85	TWAGIRUMUKIZA Célestin	Komini Ngoma	Planton

86	UKOBIZABA Joseph	Perefegitura ya Butare	Forestier DGB
87	UWIMBABAZI Olive	Perefegitura ya Butare	Secrétaire DGB

IGICE CYA 3: INGARUKA ZA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU KARERE KA HUYE

Umutwe wa 7: Ingaruka za Jenoside ku bantu no ku bintu

7.1. Ingaruka za Jenoside ku bacitse ku icumu

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yagize ingaruka zo mu buryo butandukanye cyane cyane kubarokotse Jenoside. Zimwe mu ngaruka za Jenoside zikigaragara ni abafite ubumuga bukomoka kuri Jenoside, hari abafite ihungabana, abafite amazu ashaje akenewe gusanwa kubera ko ashaje.

Umutangabuhamya warokotse Jenoside avuga ko zimwe mu ngaruka za Jenoside bagihanganye na zo zirimo imibereho itari myiza y'abarokotse Jenoside, ikibazo kijyanye n'imitungo yangijwe muri Jenoside, ihungabana n'ibindi. Asobanura ibyo bibazo mu magambo akurikira:

> Ni imibereho mibi y'abacitse ku icumu. Batuye ahantu hatari heza n'abayobozi nko mu tugari ntibabitaho. Ikindi ntibishyuwe imitungo yabo, abayitwaye banze kuyishyura mu gihe iyo hari ikintu cyabuze muri uyu Murenge kirara kibonetse iyo byagejejwe mu buyobozi (Munyankindi Straton, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Nk'uko Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Umurenge wa Kigoma abisonanura, abarokotse Jenoside bafite ikibazo cy'amacumbi ashaje akeneye kuvugururwa. Ayo macumbi yubatswe muri za 1995 igihugu kitarabona amikoro kandi byarihutirwaga. Muri iki gihe rero akeneye kuvugururwa cyangwa kuyasenya bakubakirwa andi. Muri uyu murenge abahabwa inkunga y'ingoboka bagera kuri magana ane, abenshi muri bo ni abagihanganye n'ingaruka za Jenoside. N'ubwo bahabwa ubwo bufasha urugendo ruracyari rurerure kugira ngo babashe kwikemurira ibibazo bikomoka kuri Jenoside (Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Umurenge wa Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu rwego rwo gushakira umuti ibibazo bikomoka ku ngaruka za Jenoside, Umunyamabanga nshingwabikorwa w'umurenge wa Kigoma avuga ko abafite ikibazo cy'amacumbi bagomba gufashwa ndetse bagasurwa kugira ngo

hamenyekane n'ibindi bibazo bafite bitari iby'amacumbi. Ku kibazo kijyanye n'imibiri itarashyingurwa mu cyubahiro, avuga ko ari ugukora ubukangurambaga, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside bakegerwa kugira ngo batange amakuru bityo imibiri ishyingurwe mu cyubahiro (Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Umurenge wa Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Mu bibazo abarokotse Jenoside bafite birimo amacumbi ashaje, uburwayi budakira, ihungabana, hari n'abafite ikibazo cy'ubukene. Amazu barimo yubatswe kera akeneye gusanwa. Hari abarokotse Jenoside bashyizwe mu cyiciro cya gatatu ubu bikaba bibagora kwigurira Mitiweri. Bifuza ko bafashwa bagashyirwa mu cyiciro cy'ubudehe kijyanye n'imibereho yabo (Ikiganiro cyo mu itsinda n'abatangabuhamya bo mu Murenge wa Rwaniro, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya akaba n'uhagarariye IBUKA mu Murenge wa Rusatira asobanura ingaruka za Jenoside zikigaragara mu magambo akurikira:

> Mu barokotse Jenoside harimo abafite ihungabana ubona ko ribangamiye imibereho yabo. Ikindi dufite ikibazo cy'amazu ashaje nko mu Mudugudu wa Nyabusunzu harimo amazu ashaje ku buryo bukabije. Amazu yabo akeneye kuba yasanwa. Abantu bafite ikibazo cyihungabana twumva bakwitabwaho bakavurwa byafasha imibereho yabo kurushaho kuba myiza (Uwimana Théophile, IBUKA/Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Umuyobozi wa IBUKA mu Murenge wa Karama ashimira avuga ko hamwe n'ibibazo abarokotse Jenoside baba bafite, Leta ibafasha kubikemura uko ishoboye. Ahereye ku kibazo cy'uburwayi usanga akenshi gihangayikishije abarokotse Jenoside bageze mu zabukuru. FARG yabahaye amakarita yo kwivurizaho ; ubuyobozi bw'umurenge n'akarere bubafasha kwivuza. Mu bibazo bigikomereye abarokotse Jenoside avugamo amazu ashaje akeneye gusanwa kuko yubatswe muwa 1997, ubu arashaje. Agira ati: «*Dufite ikibazo cy'amazu ashaje kurenza ibindi bibazo dufite kubera ko ubukene tubusangiye n'abandi bose*» (Ikiganiro na Perezida wa IBUKA mu Murenge wa Karama, Werurwe 2019).

7.2. Inzibutso ziri mu Karere ka Huye n'uko zifashwe

Inzibutso	Umurenge ruherereyemo	Imiterere yarwa	Umutekano wazo	Abakozi bahoraho
Nyumba	Gishamvu	Rugizwe n'imva ishashemo amakaro; rurasakaye. Rushyinguyemo imibiri irenga 58.895	Kubera ko rwegeranye n'inyubako z'ubuyobozi rucungwa na DASSO bacunga ibiro by'umurenge n'abazamu b'ibigo by'amashuri bihegereye	Nta mukozi uhari hakorwa na komite za IBUKA n'ibigo by'amashuri, hamwe n'imiganda mu busitani bwarwo
Karama	Karama	Rumeze neza rurubatse ruriho amakaro rurasakaye rufite na cloture. Rushyinguyemo imibiri isaga 68.216	Kubera ko rwegeranye n'inyubako z'ubuyobozi rucungwa na DASSO bacunga ibiro by'umurenge n'abazamu b'ibigo by'amashuri bihegereye	Umukozi ukora isuku ku murenge ni nawe ukora isuku ku rwibutso n'inzego za ibuka zijya zihakora isuku
Sahera	Mukura	Rugizwe n'imva nini 2 zikoze neza ziriho amakaro kandi rurasakaye	Hacungwa n'irondo rirara ku biro by'Akagali kuko byegeranye	Hari umukozi uhembwa n'umurenge buri kwezi uhakora isuku
Kabakobwa	Mukura	Rugizwe n'imva 1 imeze neza rurasakaye runashasheho amakaro. Hiciwe abana	Harindwa n'inkeragutabara 3, hirirwa 1 hakarara 2	Ucunga umutekano ku manywa ni na we ukora isuku.

		n'abagore benshi hashyinguyemo imibiri igera 27.020		Ahembwa n'umurenge akunganirwa na komite za IBUKA n'umuganda mu busitani buhakikije
Buvumu	Mukura	Rugizwe n'imva 1 isakaye iriho amakaro inafite ibyumba biteganyijwe kuzashyirwamo ibindi bimenyetso by'amateka ya jenoside. Uru rwibutso ntiruruzura neza	Harara inkeragutabara	Hakorwa isuku na komite za IBUKA mu Kagali kuko hegereye akagari
Ruhashya	Ruhashya	Rufite imva nziza isakaye n'inzu y'amateka itameze neza kuburyo ikwiye gusanwa. Rushyinguyemo imibiri isaga 45.020	Kuberako rwegeranye n'inyubako z'ubuyobozi rucungwa na DASSO bacunga ibiro by'umurenge n'abazamu b'ibigo by'amashuri bihegereye	Umukozi ukora isuku ku murenge ninawe ukora isuku ku rwibutso akunganirwa na komite za IBUKA
Mbazi	Mbazi	Rufite ibibazo: inyubako itameze neza n'amasanduku ashaje. Rushyinguyemo imibiri igera ku 9.747	Kubera ko rwegeranye n'inyubako z'ubuyobozi rucungwa na DASSO icunga ibiro by'umurenge	Nta mukozi uhoraho uhari ariko hari umukecuru wacitse ku icumu ukunda kuhakora isuku, ubusitani

			kandi hari na police	bukorwa n'umuganda
Simbi	Simbi	Rumeze neza rugizwe n'imva nini iriho amakaro ruranasakaye kandi rufite n'uruzitiro (clôture) rushyinguyemo imibiri 40.001. Imyenda nka kimwe mu bimenyetso bya Jenoside nta bwo ibitswe neza	Irondo ni ryo rihacunga umutekano	Nta mukozi uhoraho uhaba, hakorwa isuku n'urubyiruko rwiga muri Groupe Scolaire Saint Jean Bosco Simbi. Iyo batashye Umurenge ushaka abahakora isuku
Kigoma	Kigoma	Rugizwe n'imva nini isakaye ruriho n'amakaro. Rushyinguwemo imibiri igera 3.366; rufite ikibazo cy'ubukonje (Humidity).	Kubera ko rwegeranye n'inyubako z'ubuyobozi rucungwa na DASSO bacunga ibiro by'umurenge n'abazamu b'ibigo by'amashuri bihegereye	Umukozi ukora isuku ku murenge ni na we ukora isuku ku rwibutso akunganirwa na komite za IBUKA
Kinazi	Kinazi	Rugizwe n'imva zitandukanye, harimo 1 ikoze neza ishasheho amakaro inasakaye. Iracyashyingurwamo hakaba n'izindi zisanzwe ziteyeho indabo zashyinguwemo mbere mu ma shitingi kandi ba nyiri abantu ntibashyigikiye ko	Umutekano ni irondo riwukora	Nta mukozi uhoraho uhari; hakorwa isuku n'umuganda

		ababo bimurwa. Hari inzu ibitsemo imibiri n'ibindi bimenyestso bya Jenoside: imyenda n'ibikoresho byakoreshejwe mu bwicanyi. Hashyinguwemo imibiri 43.177.		
Mwendo	Rwaniro	Rugizwe n'imva 1 ishasheho amakaro inasakaye, ruracyafite imyanya yo gushyingurwamo. Hashyinguwemo imibiri 3.059. Nta clôture rufite nta mazina yanditse ku rukuta rwabiteganyirijwe	Hari irondo rihoraho	Nta mukozi uhoraho uhari ariko hakorwa isuku na komite za IBUKA bakunganirwa n'umuganda
Ngoma	Ngoma	Rugizwe n'imva 1 isakaye ishasheho amakaro n'izindi zitandukanye zidasakaye ariko ziriho amakaro. Rushyinguyemo imibiri igera ku 35.545. Rufite clôture ya senyenge	Nta mu ntu uharara ariko ruri hagati y'ikigo cya polisi n'ahari abasirikari ku kibuga cy'indege (umutekano warwo urarinzwe)	Hari umukozi uhoraho uhakora isuku
Huye	Huye	Rugizwe n'imva 2, imwe isanzwe ishyinguyemo bwa mbere (yashyinguwemo kera) indi yubatswe neza ifite	Rwegereye ibiro bya polisi n'ibiro by'umurenge , akagari n'amashuri n'ikigo	Nta mukozi uhoraho uhari ariko hakorwa isuku na komite za IBUKA

		amakaro iracyashyingurwamo. Hari inzu y'amateka irimo imibiri ariko itabitswe neza kuko conservation yayo ntikozwe ku buryo burambye. Uru rwibutso rushyinguwemo 42.008. Rufite ikibazo cy'ubukonje(Humidity)	nderabuzima ku buryo abacunga aho ari na bo bacunga umutekano warwo	
Cyarwa	Tumba	Rufite imva nini isakaye n'izindi zisanzwe zidasakaye. Rushyinguyemo imibiri 7.889; rufite ikibazo cy'ubukonje (Humidity).	Irondo ni ryo ricunga umutekano waho	Hari umukozi uhembwa uharinda buri gihe
Mpare	Tumba	Rugizwe n'imva 1 isakaye iriho amakaro rushyinguwemo imibiri 11.835	Irondo ni ryo ricunga umutekano warwo	Umuganda w'abaturage ni wo ukora isuku
UR Huye Campus	Ngoma	Rumeze neza kandi rwitabwaho na Kaminuza. Rushyinguyemo imibiri isaga 563	Umutekano urahari hari abarinzi ba Company bahoraho	Isuku ikorwa na company y'isuku ikorera muri kaminuza
RAB	Rusatira	Rumeze neza rugizwe n'imva 1 yubakiye neza ku muhanda kandi rwitabwaho na RAB rushyinguyemo imibiri isaga 120	Umutekano ucungwa na RAB (company y'umutekano)	Abakora isuku muri RAB ni bo bayikora no ku rwibutso

Aho byavuye: Raporo y'Akarere ka Huye, 2019

7.3. Amafoto ya zimwe mu nzibutso za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye

7.3.1. Urwibutso rwa Jenoside rwa Kaminuza y'u Rwanda





Amwe mu mafoto y'abanyeshuri n'abarimu bazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yari Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda.

7.3.2. Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwa Kabakobwa mu Murenge wa Mukura



7.3.3. Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Murenge wa Rwaniro



7.3.4. Urwibutso rwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rw'i Nyumba mu Murenge wa Gishamvu


NYUMBA GENOCIDE MEMORIAL SITE

7.4. Imibanire y'abaturage nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Jenoside ikimara guhagarikwa n'ingabo zari iza FPR-Inkotanyi, hashyizweho Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yihatira gushyiraho ingamba zo kurwanya ivangura n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda. Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda yakuyeho ikintu cyose cyashoboraga kongera gucamo ibice abanyarwanda. Yakuyeho indangamuntu zagaragaragamo ubwoko, Leta yihutiye gucura no gutuza impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, ari izahunze muri 1959, Guverinoma yabashakiye aho baba, abari bahunze muri 1994, Leta yarabacyuye ibashakira aho baba. Abo bose ni ko bafashwaga kongera kwiyubaka. Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda yashyizeho Komisiyo y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nk'uko byari mu masezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha kugira ngo ifashe kongera kunga abanyarwanda. Abanyarwanda mu ngeri n'ibyiciro bitandukanye bateguriwe ingando, bahabwa inyigisho z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge harimo izivuga ku ndangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco nyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bagiye bigishwa amateka y'igihugu cyabo, ndetse abitabiriye izo ngando bakagaragaza uruhare rwabo mu ongera kubaka umuryango nyarwanda.

Leta ifatanije n'imiryango itari iya Leta (NGOs) bafashije abanyarwanda mu kongera kwiyubaka, mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge binyuze mu makoperative atandukanye agamije kwiteza imbere no kunga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Gahunda zitandukanye zigamije gufasha abanyarwanda kwivana mu bukene zirimo Girinka, Ubudehe, VUP Umurenge n'izindi zafashije no mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge. Umuturage wahawe inka yagombaga kwitura inyana yavutse ku nka yahawe atagombye kureba nimba uwo agiye kwitura ari umuhutu cyangwa umututsi. Uko gusabana kongeye kubaka ubumwe bwabo.

Leta yashyizeho gahunda ya "Ndi munyarwanda" yigisha Abanyarwanda bose kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda kuruta ikindi kintu cyose biyumvagamo. Mu mirenge igize Akarere ka Huye, abatangabuhamya batandukanye bagiye bagaragaza uko imibanire yabo imeze muri iki gihe. Ku bijyanye n'imibanire y'abaturage nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, umwe mu batangabuhamya w'umurinzi w'igihango asobanura uko kubana

kw'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside byabaye urugendo rurerure, muri iki gihe bikaba bishimishije n'ubwo hakiri bake bakigaragaza ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside. Abivuga muri aya magambo :

> Imibanire y'abaturage nyuma ya Jenoside nta bwo yatangiye ari myiza ariko uko imyaka yagiye ishira ni ko igipimo kigenda kigaragara ku mibanire kuko hashyizweho na Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ifasha Abanyarwanda. Impamvu bitahise bizamuka cyane abantu bari bagifitanye urwikekwe, hari abangirije abandi, hari imfungwa nyinshi n'abapfuye benshi. Tugeze muri Gacaca buri wese yagiye agaragaza uruhare rwe. hari ababashije kwishyura ibyo bangije, hari n'abandi batarabyishyura kandi bafite imitungo ariko nta bushake bwo kwishyura. Hari n'abandi bantu batayifite ngo bishyure abenshi usanga ari n'abafashwa mu kiciro cya mbere. Ngarutse inyuma muri ya mibanire abacitse ku icumu Leta igerageza kubashakira amazu. Hari n'abandi batacitse ku icumu bari mu cyiciro cya 1 bahawe amazu nk'uko bahabwa inkunga y'ingoboka ya FARG. Byagiye bikemura amakimbirane. Muri ya gahunda ya *Ndi umunyarwanda* nta muturage uhezwa bose bafatwa kimwe. Ibijyanye no kwishishanya n'urwikerwe ku ngengabitekerezo ibintu nta bwo byaba 100% kuko mu mitima y'abantu haba harimo byinshi ariko gufasha abatishoboye gukora umuganda n'ibindi bikorwa bigenda biduhuza urwaye abantu bakajya kumuheka ahetswe na ba bandi batanamurishye. Urwikekwe ntirwabura kuko abantu hari n'abemeye icyaha bitabarimo ari ukugira ngo babone uko bava muri gereza ariko mu giturage ntawe uvuga iby'amoko abantu barafashanya (Kagenda, Huye, Werurwe 2019).

Zimwe mu mbogamizi z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ni izikurikira: Icya mbere ni ikibazo kijyanye n'imibiri itaraboneka ngo ishyingurwe mu cyubahiro. Hari abarokotse Jenoside batarabasha gushyingura mu cyubahiro ababo bishwe muri Jenoside. Abagize uruhare muri Jenoside nta bwo baranga aho Abatutsi bishwe babashyize. Hari ikibazo cy'imitungo yangijwe muri Jenoside itarishyurwa. Icyo kibazo na cyo ni imbogamizi ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Umwe mu batangabuhamya agira ati:

> Imibanire imeze neza hano iwacu mu baturage. Gusa turacyafite ikibazo cy'uko abadusahuye ibyacu bakanatwangiriza kugeza na n'ubu ntawe uratekereza kuba yagira icyo abikoraho kugira ngo tubisubizwe cyangwa se wenda bakaba banabituganirizaho ngo tubone ko wenda nta wundi mutima mubi ugihari, muzadufashe (Nyiranzogeye Appollonie, Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Ubuyobozi bw'Umurenge wa Rusatira buvuga ko imibanire ari myiza. Gusa ikibazo cy'imanza zitarangizwa z'imitungo yangijwe muri Jenoside ni cyo kigaragara nk'imbogamizi: «*ikintu kibangamira abacitse ku icumu ni imanza zitararangira ngo abasahuye imitungo y'abacitse ku icumu bayishyure ; muri rusange abaturage babanye neza*» (Ubuyobozi bw'Umurenge wa Rusatira, Werurwe 2019).

Hari bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bireze bakemera ibyaha bakagabanyirizwa ibihano, ndetse bamwe bamaze gufungurwa, ariko imibanire yabo n'abo bahemukiye iracyarimo igitotsi kuko igihe cyose baba bafite ipfunwe ry'ibyo bakoze ku buryo batarisanzura ngo basabane n'abo bahemukiye (Umukozi w'Umurenge wa Kigoma, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya avuga ko usibye kuba hariho ubuyobozi bwiza bwifuza ko abantu bose babana mu mahoro, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside nta bushake bagira bwo gusaba imbabazi z'ibyo bakoze, gusa hari bake. Benshi banze no kugaragaza aho imibiri y'abishwe itaraboneka iherereye. Icyo akaba ari imbogamizi ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge (Mukahuye Consolate, Huye, Werurwe 2019).

Umutangabuhamya wundi na we avuga ko imwe mu mbogamizi y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ari abagize uruhare muri Jenoside badasaba imbabazi nk'uko byakagombye gukorwa bityo ngo abarokotse Jenoside na bo bazibahe :

> Imbogamizi y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ni abagize uruhare muri Jenoside. Nta bwo higeze habaho umwanya urambuye wo kugira ngo bicarane n'abo

> bahemukiye, noneho kugira ngo bigaragare ko biyunze kuko n'imbabazi bagiye basaba bazisabye kugira ngo bivire mu buroko kuko usanga bavuga n'ejo hari igihe hagaragara akandi gakosa bakansubizamo. Icyabaho ni uko hakomeza kubaho gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge kugira ngo bariya bantu biyunge neza n'abo bahemukiye ndetse abacitse ku icumu na bo baruhuke mu mitima yabo mbese biyakire (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Kugira ngo urwicyekwe rukigaragara hagati y'abagize uruhare muri Jenoside n'abarokotse Jenoside rukurweho, abatangabuhamya bifuje ko:

> Abayobozi bo mu nzego zose uhereye ku karere kugeza ku mudugudu ni uko mu nama bajya baganira ku kintu cy'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Ikindi ni ugushaka ukuntu bariya bantu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside bakaba barireze bakemera icyaha hashakwa ahantu bahurira n'abo bahemukiye, mbese bakajya bahuza ibiganiro bityo kwishishanya byagenda bigabanuka. Ikindi ni uko ubu mu Rwanda hari ahantu bamaze kwiyunga neza, rero numva hajya habaho nk'ingendoshuri kugira ngo n'abatarabasha kugera kuri urwo rwego bagire abo bareberaho babone ko bishoboka (Karambizi Védaste, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

Ku bijyanye n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, abatangabuhamya bavuga ko igaragara mu gihe cyo kwibuka ikaba yigaragaza mu magambo asesereza abwirwa abarokotse Jenoside. Hari na *tracts* zakunze kugaragara mu myaka yashize harimo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside. Inyinshi muri izo *tracts* nta bwo hamenyekanye abazanditse. Umudugudu wa Karambo ni wo wakunze kugaragaramo ingengabitekerzo ya Jenoside mu bihe binyuranye (Rusagara Damien, Karama, Werurwe 2019).

UMWANZURO RUSANGE

Ubushakashatsi ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye bugizwe n'ibice bitatu by'ingenzi bivuga ko mpamvu zateye Jenoside, uko yateguwe n'uko yashyizwe mu bikorwa, ndetse n'ingaruka zayo. Inyandiko yose igizwe n'imitwe irindwi (7) yuzuzanya.

Intangiriro rusange igizwe n'iriburiro, intego z'ubushakashatsi, uburyo bwakoreshejwe n'ubusobanuro kuri Jenoside. Icyo gice kigaragaramo amavu n'amavuko y'Umujyi wa Butare n'imiterere yawo muri Mata 1994 ndetse kikagaragaza imiterere y'Akarere ka Huye muri iki gihe.

Igice cya mbere kivuga ku mpamvu zateye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kigizwe n'imitwe itanu (5) yose hamwe. Umutwe wa mbere ukubiyemo uko amacakubiri yatangiye mu Karere ka Huye, ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi guhera muri 1959. Kwica, gutwika no kumenesha Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye byakajije umurego mu 1961 mu gihe cy'amatora ya Kamarampaka na nyuma yaho n'ubwo no muri 1959 hari Abatutsi bamwe batwikiwe bakanicwa.

Umutwe wa kabiri ugaruka ku mibereho y'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Icyo gihe Abatutsi baratotejwe, baricwa, bahezwa mu mashuri, mu mirimo ya Leta no muri poritiki. Ntibari bafite uburenganzira bungana n'ubw'abandi Banyarwanda. Abari barahungiye hanze bangiwe gutahuka, ababigerageje bagafungwa cyangwa bagasubizwayo nabi.

Umutwe wa gatatu uvuga ku mibereho y'Abatutsi kuva Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal afata ubutegetsi muri Nyakanga 1973 kugeza mu Kwakira 1990. Uyu mutwe uvuga na none ku byaranze ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana amaze guhirika ubutegetsi. Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwe Abatutsi bakomeje guhezwa mu mashuri, mu mirimo no nzego za Leta. Kugeza mu Kwakira 1990 ubwo FPR-Inkotanyi yatangizaga urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu mu Rwanda hari akarengane gakorerwa Abanyarwanda benshi cyane cyane Abanyenduga n'Abatutsi by'umwihariko. Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida

Habyarimana bwubakiye poritiki yabwo ku ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku bwoko n'akarere. Ingero ni inzego na bimwe mu bigo bikomeye biri mu Karere ka Huye byayoborwaga n'Abahutu b'abahezanguni bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Umutwe wa kane wibanze ku bikorwa by'urugomo, itotezwa n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu, ni ukuvuga kuva mu Kwakira 1990 kugeza muri Mata 1994. Abatutsi barafashwe barafungwa bikozwe n'abayobozi b'inzego z'umutekano bafatanyije n'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Abatutsi bishoboye, abize n'abakoraga ahantu hatandukanye ni bo bibasiwe cyane. Habayeho kubatoteza cyane no gukorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo harimo no kwicwa urusorongo mu migambi mubisha wa Jenoside warimo ugeragezwa. Ibyo byose bikaba byarabaye mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994.

Umutwe wa gatanu wasesenguye uko Jenoside yateguwe mu Karere ka Huye. Hakoreshejwe uburyo butandukanye burimo inama (Mitingi) aho abayobozi batandukanye barimo abo mu nzego za Leta, abakuru b'amashyaka bagiye bakoresha inama abaturage babashishikariza kwanga no kwica Abatutsi. Habayeho ibikorwa byo gutoza urubyiruko ubwicanyi nyuma y'aho amashyaka ya politiki acitsemo ibice, akishyira hamwe mu cyiswe Hutu PAWA. Abatojwe bahawe intwaro zirimo imbunda, imihoro na za gerenade zakoreshejwe cyane Jenoside itangiye. Abaturage benshi na bo bahawe imbunda ngo birindire umutekano, ariko mu by'ukuri zari izo kwica Abatutsi. Abajandarume, abaporisi ba komini, abayobozi ku nzego zose ni bo bagize uruhare mu gutanga imbunda mu baturage. Gukora lisiti z'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa byakozwe guhera muri 1990; muri 1994 habayeho kuvugurura izo lisiti bagenzura neza niba Abatutsi bose bayiriho. Ibyo gukora lisiti byakorwaga n'abakonseye n'abaserire bafatanyije n'inzego z'umutekano.

Umutwe wa gatandatu wagaragaje uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yagenze mu Karere ka Huye. Muri rusange Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa nyuma yo kweguzwa kwa perefe wa Perefegitura ya Butare, Habyarimana Jean Baptiste

no kumusimbuza Perefe mushya Nsabimana Sylvain mu nama yabaye kuwa 19 Mata 1994 mu Nzu Mberabyombi ya MRND mu Mujyi wa Ngoma. Muri iyo nama ni bwo Perezida Sindikubwabo yakanguriye Abanyabutare kwitabira Jenoside. Icyakora hari amakomini yahise atangiza Jenoside nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana arimo: Nyakizu, Gishamvu, Kinyamakara na Runyinya. Muri icyo gice hagaragamo ahantu hatandukanye hiciwe Abatutsi n'umwihariko wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Karere ka Huye.

Umutwe wa karindwi wibanze ku ngaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ubuzima bwa nyuma yayo cyane cyane mibanire y'abaturage b'Akarere ka Huye nyuma ya Jenoside, inzibutso ziri mu Karere ka Huye n'uko zifashwe. Urutonde rw'abakoze bakoreraga amakomini agize Akarere ka Huye bazize Jenoside na rwo rwaragaragajwe.

Gukora ubushakashatsi ni igikorwa kitarangira. Turizera dukomeje ko ubwakozwe kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu makomini agize Akarere ka Huye k'ubu bwagaragaje ukuri n'ishusho ngari y'amateka yagejeje kuri Jenoside, ariko na none bukaba ari intangiriro y'ubundi buzakomerezaho mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ku buryo bucukumbuye cyane amateka ya Jenoside ku rwego rw'imirenge n'utugari.

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IMIGEREKA

URUTONDE RW'ABATANGABUHAMYA MU BUSHAKASHATSI KU MATEKA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU 1994 MU KARERE KA HUYE

6. UMURENGE: HUYE

No	AMAZINA
1	DUSABE Emmanuel
2	KANAMUGIRE Vénuste
3	MUDATSIKIRA Eustache
4	MUHAKWA Vénuste
5	MUYANGE Emmanuel
6	NGENDAHAYO Pascal
7	RURANGWA Stanislas
8	SAFARI Jean de Dieu
9	SEBANANI Jean
10	SHARANGABO Boniface
11	UMUTONI Aliane

7. UMURENGE: KARAMA

No	AMAZINA
1	KARAMBIZI Védaste
2	MUKAHIGIRO Vénantie
3	MUKANTWALI Marcienne
4	MUKESHIMANA Hycinthe
5	MUNYANKINDI Straton
6	NYOMBAYIRE Philémon
7	RUGERINYANGE Charles
8	RUSAGARA Damien
9	RUZINDANA J. Damascène
10	SEKAMONYO Patrice
11	SINZIKIRAMUKA Jean
12	URAYENEZA Antoinette

8. UMURENGE: KIGOMA

No	A**MAZINA**
1	MUKAKABAYIZA Domitille
2	MUKASINE Marthe
3	NKUSI Jean
4	TWAGIRAYEZU Agathe

4. UMURENGE: KINAZI

No	**AMAZINA**
1	MUGIRWA Théoneste
2	MUKAMURIGO Marthe
3	MURANGAMIRWA Innocent
4	NYIRABARINDA Annonciata
5	NYIRAMANA Hilarie
6	RUDAKUBANA Ernest
7	TWAHIRWA Simon
8	BUDIGWA Théoneste

5. UMURENGE: MARABA

No	**AMAZINA**
1	BIZIMUNGU Vincent
2	HABIMANA François
3	KAYITESI Théophile
4	MUGIRASONI Sorina
5	MUGENZI Faustin
6	MUGIRASONI Pauline
7	MUTAMURIZA Judith
8	RUTAYISIRE Albert
9	UGIRASE Odette

9. UMURENGE: MBAZI

No	AMAZINA
1	MPOZO Philippe
2	NYIRANDEGEYE Christine
3	NYIRATABARO Charlotte
4	GASHUMBA Joseph
5	NYIRADUKUZE Marguerite
6	UWIRINGIYIMANA Callixte

10. UMURENGE: MUKURA

No	AMAZINA
1	BAMURANGE Christine
2	GASANGWA Théophile
3	MAKOMBE Mathias
4	MBARUSHIMANA Déogratias
5	MPAKANIYE Mathias
6	KANKUNDIYE Mathilde
7	MUKANKUSI Immaculée
8	NYANDWI J. Bosco

11. UMURENGE: NGOMA

No	AMAZINA
1	BARAMBANZA Emmanuel
2	BUGIRIMFURA Charles
3	MBABAZI Norbert
4	MBARUBUKEYE Justin
5	MUNYAKAZI Risiane
6	NYIRABAHIRE Vénantie
7	NYIRAMATEGEKO
8	RWAGASANA Stanislas
9	SEMUHUNGU Vincent
10	UWIHOREYE Anne Marie
11	UWIZEYIMANA Florida
12	GATERA Laurent
13	GASANA Ildephonse

9. UMURENGE: RUHASHYA

No	AMAZINA
1	HABIMANA Alexis
2	MUHIRE Jean Claude
3	MUKAMANA Bertilde
4	MUKAMUNANA Immaculée
5	NYIRABUNGERI Burgalie

10. UMURENGE: RUSATIRA

No	AMAZINA
1	GATERA Viateur
2	KAREMANGINGO Théogène
3	MUKARUHANGO Consolate
4	MUKARWEGO Vénantie
5	NDABAKENGA Augustin
6	NKURUNZIZA Félicien
7	NYIRAMIGANGO Véronique
8	NYIRANZOGEEYEE Plunarie
9	TWIRINGIYIMANA Bénoît
10	UWIMANA Théophile
11	KALISA André
12	KAREKEZI Emmanuel
13	ZIMURINDA Célestin

11. UMURENGE: RWANIRO

No	AMAZINA
1	KARARO Christophe
2	KARIBUSHI Anselme
3	MUKANDAYAMBAJE Médiatrice
4	MUKANTWALI Godelive
5	MUKANYONGA Ancille
6	NTAWIYAHURA Anastase

7	NYIRINGANGO Emmanuel
8	RUTABANA Vénuste
9	RUTAYISIRE Modeste
10	SEMUHUNGU NDATSIKIRA Eugène
11	TWAGIRAMUNGU Alexandre

12. UMURENGE: SIMBI

No	**AMAZINA**
1	HAVUGIMANA Faustin
2	KANOBAYIRE Jean Baptiste
3	KANGABE Joséphine
4	KANTARAMA Léocadie
5	MUKAGIGELI Marie Gorette
6	MUKARUYONZA Patricie
7	MUREKATETE Gloriose
8	NYANDWI Innocent
9	SEZIBERA Antoine
10	SIRAMBU Laurène

13. UMURENGE: TUMBA

No	**AMAZINA**
1	AHEZANAHO Monique
2	BANKUNDIYE Libérata
3	BAZUMUTIMA Sylvie
4	BUZIZI Narcisse
5	GASHUGI Jean Marie Vianney
6	HABYARIMANA Claver
7	MUGIRANEZA KAMILI
8	NDAYINO Vénuste
9	NIYIGENA Emmanuel
10	NYIRABAKIGA Mélanie
11	UWAMAHORO Claire

Abandi batangabuhamya babajijwe: MUKAMUGANGA Félicitée, GASASIRA Assiel, KABERANYA François, KANAKUZE Godeberthe, KAREMERA Paul, MUBERA Léopold, MUKABARIRA Emerthe, MUNYAKAYANZA Claver, MUNYESHYAKA HITIMANA Vincent, NDAGIJIMANA Léonard, NDAYAMBAJE Innocent, NDAHIKESHA Jean Claude, NDAYISABA Philippe, NIZEYIMANA Alexis, NKESHIYAREMYE Jean, NKUNDABAGENZI Mathieu, NSABIMANA Paul, RUTAYISIRE Alfred, RUZIBUKIRA Emmanuel, RWASA Aloys, SEKAMONYO Patrice, SIBOMANA Metucella na UWIHOREYE Valentin.

INYOBORABIGANIRO UBUSHAKASHATSI BWASHINGIYEHO

Ingingo ya mbere: Imibanire y'abaturage hagati ya 1959-1990

1. Mbere ya 1959, abaturage b'icyahoze ari Komini…… bari babanye bate?

2. Ku bwawe gucikamo ibice mu Banyarwanda byatangiye ryari? Byatewe n'iki?

3. Ni iki wibuka ku byerekeye imvururu zabaye mu 1959? Byagenze gute mu gace wari utuyemo?

4. Imibanire y'abaturage b'iyahoze ari Komini……. yari imeze bite mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Grégoire Kayibanda (1962-1973)?

5. Ese ubona abaturage barafatwaga kimwe mu guhabwa amahirwe angana mu nzego z'ubuyobozi ? Yego cyangwa oya, sobanura.

6. Haba hari ibikorwa by'ivangura n'itotezwa byakorerwaga abaturage b'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi mbere bwa 1990? Niba ari yego byakorwaga bite?

7. Hari ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi bwigeze buba mu gace mwari mutuyemo mbere ya 1990?

8. Ni izihe mpinduka zabayeho muri iyi komini nyuma ya "Coup d'etat" yakozwe na HABYARIMANA afatanije na bagenzi be mu 1973?

9. 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 2: Ubuzima bw'Abatutsi n'ibikorwa by'ivangura mu gihe cy'urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu (1990-1994)

1. Nyuma y'igitero cya FPR Inkotanyi cyo kubohora igihugu mu Kwakira 1990, byagenze gute mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

2. Ni ayahe mashyaka ya Politiki yari yiganje mu yahoze ari Komini ……? Ayo mashyaka 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 muri Komini…… ?

6. Haba hari Abatutsi bishwe muri aka karere nyuma yaho FPR-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba mu Kwakira 1990, mbere ya 1994 ? Ubwo bwicanyi bwabereye he ? Ni abahe bantu, imitwe yitwara gisirikare wibuka yabigizemo uruhare ?

7. 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?

8. Haba hari ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhame (meeting) wibuka byabaye muri aka gace mwari mutuyemo hagati ya 1990-1994? Niba ari yego, ibyo biganiro byabaye ryari? Byabereye hehe? Byayobowe na bande? Ni ubuhe butumwa bwavugirwaga muri ibyo biganiro?

9. Ni ibihe bikorwa bindi by'ingenzi byaranze itegurwa rya Jenoside muri Komini……?

Ingingo ya 3: Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

1. Ese Jenoside yatangiye ryari mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

2. Haba hari inama zakoreshejwe zikangurira abaturage kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego, zakoreshejwe na ba nde, kandi hehe?

3. Mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Juvénal HABYARIMANA, umutekano w'abaturage muri rusange wari umeze ute muri aka karere mwari mutuyemo? Umutekano w'Abatutsi bari batuye muri aka gace wari umeze ute? Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege, byagenze gute?

4. Ni ayahe matariki y'ingenzi wibuka Jenoside yaba yaratangiriyeho, n'aho yatangiriye mbere y'uko ikwira ahandi hose mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

5. 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?

6. Ni abahe bantu bari ku isonga mu gukangurira abaturage mu bikorwa bya Jenoside muri iyi komini ?

7. Ni ibihe bikoresho byakoreshejwe muri Jenoside muri aka gace mutuyemo? Ibyo bikoresho byakoreshejwe na bande (imitwe yitwara gisirikare, abaturage basanzwe)?

8. Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshwaga kugira ngo byorohere abicanyi kugera ku bo bashaka kwica? Haba hari ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo (kwicukurira mbere yo kwicwa, gufatwa ku ngufu, gucuza kumwambika ubusa, n'ibindi byakozwe?)

   Yego cyangwa oya, sobanura.

9. Haba harabayeho kugerageza kwirwanaho kw'abicwaga mbere y'uko bicwa? Yego cyangwa oya, Sobanura.

10. Ni hehe wibuka hiciwe abantu benshi muri komini mwari mutuyemo? Abamaze kwicwa bashyirwaga hehe? Bate?

11. Haba harabayeho gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside mu gihe yashyirwaga mu bikorwa na nyuma yaho? Yego cyangwa oya, sobanura.

12. Muri iki gihe hari inzibutso zingahe mu cyahoze ari Komini……? Zishyinguyemo imibiri y'abantu bangahe? Ese zifashwe zite? Ese abaturage bajya bazibukiraho?

Ingingo ya 4: Ingaruka za Jenoside: Ubuzima bwa nyuma ya Jenoside

13. Ese Abacitse ku icumu babayeho bate? Batuye he? Haba hararokotse bangahe mu yahoze ari Komini……?

14. Ese haba hari ibikorwa cyangwa amagambo agaragaza ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside byagaragaye mu gace utuyemo? Niba ari yego, byabaye ryari? Byakozwe na bande? Hehe? Hakozwe iki nyuma y'uko bigaragaye?

15. Nyuma ya byo, ubona imibanire hagati y'abaturage imeze ite?

Ingingo ya 6: Ibirebana n'imibanire y'abakozi b'Akarere ka Huye

- ✓ Ese Abakozi b'Akarere ka Huye bajya bitabira kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994? Niba ari yego, bikorerwa he? Gute? Sobanura.

- ✓ Ese haba hari ibimenyetso by'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside byigeze bigaragara mu bakozi b'akarere ka Huye? Niba ari yego, sobanura uko byagenze n'icyo ubuyobozi bw'akarere bwakoze mu kubirwanya/kubikumira.

- ✓ Ese akarere ka Huye kajya gatera inkunga abacitse ku icumu? Yego cyangwa oya. Niba ari yego, sobanura utange n'ingero.

- ✓ Imyaka 25 nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi abakozi b'Akarere ka Huye babanye bate?

- ✓ Nta kindi wumva wakongeraho?