SUPER GENOCIDE YAKOREWE ABAHUTU

1. Intangiriro

ABAHUTU barapfuye ku manywa y'ihangu ndetse no kugeza uyu munsi wa none baracyatotezwa. Jenoside yabo yateguriwe mu bihugu bikomeye kw'isi harimo n'ibihugu bituranyi. Umugambi wacuzwe n'Intagondwa-Nkotanyi ushyirwa mu bikorwa n'ingabo za FPR/RDF n'amashumi yazo. ABATUTSI nabo barapfuye ku manywa y'ihangu. Gusa ikimaze kugaragazwa ni uko Jenoside yabo itateguwe n'intagondwa z'Abahutu nkuko ibinyoma bya FPR bivuga. Murabizi urukiko rw'Arusha (TPIR/ICTR) rumaze imyaka 18 ntirwigeze rwemeza ko Abahutu aribo bapanze umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi. Abateguye Jenoside y'Abatutsi bakwiye gushakirwa ku rundi ruhande rw'Agatsiko k'Intagondwa-Nkotanyi zo muri FPR zishakiraga ubutegetsi. Ibimenyetso byo gushinja FPR sibyo byabuze, birahari ku bwinshi. Ahubwo ikibazo nyamukuru ni uko igihe cyose FPR izaba igifite ubutegetsi mu Rwanda kandi ishyigikiwe n'ibihugu bikomeye bitazoroha kuburanisha abategetsi bayo.

Tugarutse ku byabaye 94, twese tuzi ko byabaye ku manywa y'ihangu ko kandi hari Abanyarwanda baguye mu mutego mubisha wa FPR bakica abaturanyi babo. Ubwo bwicanyi ntawe utazi ko bwashyizwe mu bikorwa n'Interahamwe zari zaracengewe n'Inkotanyi z'amarere. Birazwi ko Abacengezi-Nkotanyi aribo bashishikarije Interahamwe kwica vuba kandi bakifotoreza ku mirambo kuri za bariyeri kugirango amahanga abibone.

Kubyerekeye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi hari icyo twakwita **ISARANGANYARUHARE** (***reponsabilités partagées***) hagati y'Interahamwe n'Intagondwa-Nkotanyi. Kugeza ubu ishusho y'Interahamwe yagumye mu mutwe ni uko Interahamwe= Ibirara, abakarasi n'abandi bantu bananiranye twakwita Ibirumbo bakundaga kwibera cyane cyane ku dusenteri *(centres)*, abo nibo bambaye amashara mu mitwe bafata imihoro bajya kwica. Kuri twe *définition* duha Interahamwe= ni umuntu wese (Umuhutu, Umututsi cg Umutwa) wishoye mu bwicanyi, waguye mu mutego kirimbuzi wa FPR wo gutangaho igitambo Abatutsi. Ukuri kundi tutaca iruhande kandi kuzwi ni uko hari n'abandi bantu bake b'abahezanguni bitwa ko bize amashuri baguye mu mutego inkotanyi zari zateze Leta y'Abatabazi. Abo nabo kubera kureba hafi kwabo bishoye mu bwicanyi kubera urwango karemano rwababagamo.

Ku rundi ruhande Inkotanyi-Ntagondwa nazo n'amashumi yazo zishe ABAHUTU batagira ingano. *Définition* duha Inkotanyi=bamwe mu basirikare ba APR/RDF, abakada, na bamwe mu bacikacumu bashowe mu bwicanyi bwo kwihorera ku Bahutu. Ujanishije abantu bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi nyirizina habayeho ubutabera nyabutabera ushobora gusanga batarenga kuri 2% by'abenegihugu bose ku mpande zombi. Ariko murabizi neza ko FPR Nyirabayazana wa Jenoside zose ikaba yaranigize umucamanza yikoreje urusyo rwa Jenoside ABAHUTU barenga 2000,000 muri Gacaca abandi Bahutu barenga 2000,000 ikabakindagura mu Rwanda no mu mashyamba ya Kongo. Murumva rero ko uruhare runini mu mahano yagwiriye Abanyarwanda ni

urwa FPR niyo mpamvu Abanyarwanda bose bakwiye gushyira hamwe bakarwanya *système-FPR*.

Tugarutse ku nyandiko yacu nyirizina turibanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU kuko yo itajya ivugwa nka Jenoside yakorewe ABATUTSI. Kubyerekeye Jenoside y'Abatutsi bo bafite abavugizi ntayitindaho kuko amaradiyo na Televiziyo bya Leta ya Kigali bivuga interuro *'Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi'* incuro zirenga nk'2000 ku munsi. Indi mpamvu yumvikana ituma tuvuga iyi Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU ni iyuko bamwe mu Banyapolitiki bacu iyo bageze kuri jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU bararuma bagahuha ntibabivuge batomoye ngo LONI n'ibihugu by'ibihangange bitazabareba nabi. Kuba kandi LONI itaremeza neza ku buryo budasubirwaho Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU twe abashaka UKURI nyakuri ntidukwiye kugira ubwoba bwo kuvuga ibyatubayeho uko biri.

IJORO RIBARA UWARIRAYE! Ku barokotse agafuni, agashoka, inyundo, n'amasasu ya FPR mu Rwanda no mu mashyamba y'inzitane ya Kongo, kudahwema kuvuga JENOSIDE yakorewe ubwoko bw'ABAHUTU kugeza yemejwe na LONI ni uguha icyubahiro ABACU bari muri ariya mashyamba ya Kongo. Bityo kandi tugaharanira ko abayikorewe n'abayirokotse bakabona nabo ubutabera ari nabyo bizubaka u Rwanda twese twibonamo.

Iyi si dutuye nta mbabazi igira! Muzi ko abayobora iyi si akenshi babogamira kubafite ingufu z'ubutegetsi n'amafaranga. Dukomeze umurego mu kurwanya ivangura (discrimination/racisme) rikorwa na Communauté Internationale iseta ibirenge mu kwemeza jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU ikirengagiza nkana umubare munini w'Abahutu bishwe n'Inkotanyi.

Mu kinyarwanda cyacu ijambo ryasobanura neza amahano ndengakamere yakorewe Abahutu mu Rwanda no muri Kongo kuva FPR Inkotanyi yatangiza ubwicanyi mu Rwanda tariki ya 1/10/1990 twasanze ari '***Super Genocide'***. Mu rurimi rwacu ducishirije twavuga ko ari **Itsembabantu Rurangiza**.

Kuki *Super Génocide*?

Iri jambo ***Super Génocide*** twarihisemo kuko ribumbiye hamwe **Jenoside ebyiri zakorewe Abahutu**. Jenoside yambere yabereye imbere mu Rwanda kuva tariki ya 1/10/1990 kugeza mu mu mwaka w'2000 (ariko benshi bemeza ko kwica Abahutu bigikomeza kugeza ubu bigakorwa bucece, mu ibanga no mu buryo amahanga atarabukwa), **jenoside ya kabiri** yakorewe Abahutu muri Kongo. Iyi jenoside idasanzwe (*spécial*) yanavuzwe muri *Mapping Report* ya LONI yarakorewe Abahutu b'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi ndetse n'Abanyekongo b'Abahutu ku butaka bwa Kongo. **<u>Ikitonderwa:</u>** Abahutu b'Abanyekongo nabo barimbaguwe n'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zibaziza kuba Abahutu ibi bikaba bitandukanye n'indi Jenoside iri ukwayo yakorewe Abanyekongo barenga miliyoni 6 bo mu moko y'abaBANTU nayo itaremezwa.

2. Icyo bita ibyaha mpuzamahanga ni iki?

Ni byaha birenga ku mategeko n'amasezerano bikurikizwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Ibyaha ku rwego mpuzamahanga biri mu byiciro 4: i) ibyaha by'itsembabantu (génocide), ii) ibyaha byibasira inyoko muntu (crimes contre l'humanité, iii)ibyaha byo mu ntambara (crimes de guerre) iv) n'ibyaha byo gutera ikindi gihugu (aggréssion).

3. JENOSIDE cyangwa ITSEMBA-BANTU ni iki?

Mu kinyarwanda cyacu: jenoside ni ijambo ritirano mu ndimi z'amahanga ryinjijwe mu kinyarwanda mu myaka ya vuba, mu magambo yoroshye kandi yumvikana Jenoside bivuga itsemba ry'abantu bahuriye ku kintu kimwe (ubwoko, igihugu, idini, ibara ry'uruhu, ibitekerezo bya Politiki, n'ibindi).

Mu rwego rw'amategeko mpuzamahanga: nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose (1939-1945) na nyuma y'amahano yo muzi yiswe *Haulocaust* yahitanye abayahudi (*les juifs*) barenga miliyoni 5, icyaha cya jenoside cyasobanuwe (f*ormulé*) bwa mbere mu masezerano ya Génève yo mu 1948 agamije gukumira no guhana icyaha cya jenoside.

Ingingo (article) ya 2 yayo masezerano ya Génève yo mu 1948 avuga ko jenoside ari ibyaha bikorwa hagamije kurimbura, imbaga cyangwa igice cyayo, itsinda ry'abanegihugu, itsinda ry'ubwoko runaka, itsinda ry'abahuje umuco cyangwa abahuje idini.

Jenoside ni ikomatanyirizo (ensemble) rw'ibikorwa bya jenoside (actes de génoside). **Ibikorwa bya jenoside** ni kimwe muri ibi bikurikira:

a) Kwica abagize itsinda
b) Kwibasira bikomeye ibijyanye n'imiterere ndetse n'ubwonko bw'abagize itsinda
c) Kugambirira no gushyira abagize itsinda mu buryo butuma itsinda ryose cyangwa igice cyaryo kizimangatana burundu.
d) Uburyo bwo kubuza itsinda kororoka cyangwa kubyara.
e) Gutwara ku ngufu abana b'itsinda rimwe ukabahatita kuba mu rindi tsinda batandukanye

Mu butabera nyabwo: *acte de génoside* imwe ubwayo irahagije kugirango ubwicanyi bwibasiye itsinda bufatwe nka jenoside.

4. Dore ibishingirwaho kugirango jenoside yewerwe:

Kugirango ibyaha ndengakamere byemerwe ko ari Jenocide ntibishingira ku mubare mwinshi uyu nuyu ahubwo bishingira kuri *analyse juridique* ihereye kuri iriya ngingo ya 2 y'Amasezerano ya Geneva yo 1948 yerekeye Jenoside.

Barereba cyane cyane niba:

1) harabaye ibikorwa bya Jenoside (actes de génocide)

2) hari umugambi (intention) wo kurimbura imbaga cyangwa igice cyayo

3) niba abicwa bafitanye isano (ubwoko, igihugu, idini, umuco, ibitekerezo bya politiki)

Binyura mu zihe nzira kugirango byemerwe?

1) Raporo z'impuguke za LONI: Loni yohereza impuguke zigakora amaraporo ku bijyanye nubwicanyi bwabaye.
2) Raporo zigashikirizwa Akanama ka LONI gashinzwe umutekano kwisi (Conseil de Securité)
3) Akanama ka LONI gashinzwe umutekano kwisi gafata icyemezo gishyiraho Urukiko mpanabyaha
4) Mu manza za mbere z'Urukiko rwa LONI nibwo hemezwa ku buryo budasubirwaho ko ibyaha byakozwe ari Jenoside.

Urugero: Ijambo Jenoside ryatangiye gukoreshwa guhera 1994 ku mahano yo mu Rwanda LONI itarabyemera. Loni yabanje kohereza Itsinda ry'Impuguke, ritanga raporo iremezwa maze urukiko rwa ICTR/TPIR ruri ARUSHA rujyaho. Urwo rukiko nirwo rwemeje mu rubanza rwa mbere rwa Jean-Paul Akayesu mu 1998 ko ibyabaye mu Rwanda ari Jenoside. Aha tukaba twamara impungenge abanyapolitiki n'abandi banyarwanda bagitinya gukoresha ijambo Jenoside yakorewe Abahutu ku mugaragaro ko bakwiye gushira amanga kuko nk'uko tubibonye hejuru no kubyerekeye Abatutsi, ijambo jenoside ryakoreshejwe imyaka 4 yose mbere yuko urukiko rwa LONI rubyemeza kandi nta muntu turumva wafunzwe na LONI imuziza ko yavuze ijambo jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mbere yo kwemezwa.

5. JENOSIDE /UBWICANYI NDENGAKAMERE BWAKOREWE ABAHUTU

Ese ubwicanyi bwibasiye ABAHUTU ku butaka bw'u Rwanda no ku butaka bwa Kongo byujuje ibyangombwa byo kwitwa Jenoside?

Igisubizo ni YEGO

5.1 Reka duhere kubyabereye mu Rwanda hagati y'umwaka wa 1990-2000

1. <u>Actes de génocides zakozwe na FPR:</u>

Ingero:

- ☞ Umubare utagira ingano w'Abahutu batikaguwe na FPR mu Turere yari yarigaruriye hagati y'Ukwakira 1990- Mata1994 cyane cyane abishwe mu ma Komini ya Bwisige, Cyumba, Cyungo, Kibali, Kivuye, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Muvumba, na Ngarama muri Perefegitura ya Byumba na Butaro, Cyeru, na Nyamugari muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ Kwica no gushyira abagize itsinda ry'Abahutu bari batuye muri Byumba na Ruhengeri mu buryo butuma itsinda ryose cyangwa igice cyaryo kizimangatana burundu. <u>Urugero</u>: hagati y'Ukwakira 1990- Mata1994 hari Abahutu barenga miliyoni 1.5 bavanwe mu byabo n'intambara ya FPR bari muri conditions zibicisha inzara n'indwara hagamije kubarimbura bose cyangwa igice cy'itsinda (**crimes de génocide**).

- ☞ Ubwicanyi bw'abahutu batagira ingano mu mugi wa Ruhengeri tariki 23 Mutarama 1991, muri Butaro Gicurasi 1992, mu gitero cyo mu Ruhengeri abarenga ibihumbi 40 000 bishwe ingunga imwe tariki 8 Gashyantare 1993 no mu makomini ya Byumba nka Ngarama, Gituza tariki 8 Gashyantare 1993 (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ **Ubwicanyi ndengakamere (*des massacres à grande échelle*) bwa FPR hagati ya Mata n'Ukuboza 1994 mu Rwanda hose:** mu mujyi wa Kigali hose nka za Kicukiro, Gikondo Nyamirambo n'ahandi hirya no hino mu Gihugu: Kibungo, Bugesera, Gitarama, Butare n'ahandi ingero ni nyinshi cyane , Abapadiri 9 biciwe ku Rwesero (tariki 22-23 Mata 1994), Abihayimana 13 biciwe i Gakurazo (tariki 5 Kamena 1994), Abahutu bajugunywe mu za kariyeri z'amabuye za Rwinkavu, , Abahutu bishwe ikivunge bakanatwikirwa mu mazu za Mugina, Ntongwe, Runda, Musambira, Abiciwe za Kayonza, ISAR Rubona na Songa n'ahandi henshi mu Gihugu (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ Ubwicanyi ndengakamere FPR yakoreye Abahutu i Kibeho hagati yamatariki 17-23 Mata 1995(**crime de génocide**)
- ☞ Gutsembatsemba itsinda ry'Abahutu batuye mu Mutara no mu majyepfo y'Igihugu (Gitarama, Butare, Kibungo) mu myaka ya 1995, 1997, 1998 na nyuma muri gahunda FPR yise *Punguza*:gabanya Abahutu (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ Ubwicanyi ndengakamere (**des massacres à grande échelle**) FPR yakoreye mu ma Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Gisenyi namwe mu makomini ya Gitarama mu kiswe intambara y'abacengezi abenegihugu bakabakaba 200,000 bahasize ubuzima (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ Gushyira abagize itsinda ry'Abahutu bo mu majyaruguru y'Igihugu mu buryo butuma itsinda ryose cyangwa igice cyaryo kizimangatana burundu. Urugero: ubwicanyi bwa FPR ku bahutu bari bahungiye mu Buvumo bwa Nyakinama hagati y'amatariki 23-28 Ukwakira, 1997 (**crimes de génocide**).
- ☞ FPR yagiye ishyiraho gahunda n'uburyo bwo kubuza Abahutu cg itsinda ryabo kororoka cyangwa kubyara **(crimes de génocide)**
- ☞ FPR yagiye yibasira bikomeye ibijyanye n'imiterere ndetse n'ubwonko bw'Abahutu **(crimes de génocide)**
- ☞ Kurasa indege yarimo abategetsi b'Abahutu **(crime de génocide / crime contre l'humanité)**
- ☞ nibindi nibindi byinshi tutarondora aha.

2. **Umugambi** wari uhari byerekana ko ari ibintu byabaga byateguwe neza kandi byashakiwe ibikoresho nababikora mu buryo budasanzwe

3. **Kureba niba abicwa bafitanye isano** (ubwoko, igihugu, idini, umuco, ibitekerezo bya politiki) ibyo nabyo ntawabishidikanyaho kuko abicwaga bari abo mu bwoko bumwe n'ikimenyimenyi nuko ku mirenge mu gihugu iyo FPR yakoreshaga inama iri bwiciremo Abahutu yaburiraga Abatutsi mbere ntiyitabire inama.

5.2 ABAHUTU bishwe imbere mu Rwanda bangana iki bose hamwe?

Amaraporo n'abanditse b'ibitabo batanga imibare itandukanye ariko imibare ikunze kugarukwaho kenshi niyi ikurikira:

- Mbere ya Mata 1994 : Abahutu bishwe na FPR mu gihugu hose cyane cyane mu duce FPR yari yarigaruriye mu maperefegitura ya Byumba Ruhengeri no hagati ya 400,000 na 650,000
- Abahutu bishwe hagati ya Mata 1994 n'Ukuboza 1994 bakabakaba 1,000,000
- Abahutu biciwe mu Rwanda hagati y'umwaka wa 1995 kugeza ubu ubu bakabakaba hagati ya 300,000 na 400, 000. Abiciwe Kongo turabireba mu bikurikira.
- Abahutu biciwe mu gihugu imbere bose hamwe barakabakaba 2,000,000

5.3 KUBINJYANE NIBYABEREYE MURI KONGO

IBIMENYETSO BIFATIKA BYEREKANA KO UBWICANYI BWABEREYE KONGO NABWO ARI JENOSIDE YUZUYE

- **<u>Icya MBERE : Gutegurwa:</u>**

Ubu bwicanyi bwakorewe abahutu bwateguwe kandi bushyirwa mu bikorwa n'ABASIRIKARE BA LETA Y'U RWANDA ARIBO APR/RDF.

- Hari discour Kagame yavuze tariki 19 Gashyantare 1995 akiri Vice-Presida yavuze Ati *intambara twiteguye kuyitwara hakurya y'umupaka w'u Rwanda muri Zaire.*
- Hari uruzinduko Kagame yagiriye muri Leta zunze z'Amerika mu kwezi kwa munani 1996 ukwezi kumwe mbere y'uko u Rwanda rutera Zaire yabwiye abanyamerika ko agiye gutera INKAMBI z'impunzi z'Abahutu ziri muri Zaire.
- Frank Mugambage wari Colonel muri APR wabaye umujyanama mu Biro bya Perezida ubu akaba Ambassador w'u Rwanda i Kampala, yavugiye Kampala mu 1995 ko FPR izagabanya Abahutu bucece ku buryo Amahanga atarabukwa. Amagambo yuyu mugabo arahari
- Umuryango w'Abibumbye wari ubizi kandi wabigizemo uruhare. Urugero ni uko tariki ya 1/09/1996 ONU yakuyeho EMBARGO yari yarafatiwe u Rwanda 94 irubuza kugura intwaro, hanyuma mu mpera ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1996 uRwanda rwahise rutera inkambi z'Abahutu muri Kongo. **Birababaje kubona LONI ireka Kagame yica impunzi ntigire icyo ibivugaho!**
- Ibikorwa byo gukora igerageza rya jenoside (testing the genocide): habanje gukora za essai kugirango batate barebe uko ubwicanyi buzaba bumeze. Ingero : <u>Urwa mbere:</u> Iterwa ry'Inkabi ya Birava muri Mata 1995. <u>Urugero rwa kabiri:</u> ibikorwa byo guhungabanya umutekano mu nkambi za INERA, Kashusha, Cimanga/Kankinda n'ahandi byabaye mu mezi abanziriza iterwa ry'inkambi. <u>Urugero rwa gatatu:</u> muri Kivu y'Amajyepfo mu ijoro ryo 13 to 14 Ukwakira 1996, inkambi za Runingu muri Uvira t zatewe n'Abanyamulenge/Tutsi bica impunzi z'Abahutu hakoreshejwe intwaro ziremereye.
- Inama za RPA High Command zakorerwaga mu Buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za Kagame zikurikira coordination y'uko ubwicanyi buri gukorwa
- N'ibindi n'ibindi tutarondoye.

- **<u>Icya kabiri: Intention/UMUGAMBI</u>**
  - Umugambi wo kurimbura ubwoko bwose cyangwa igice cy'ubwoko bw'Abahutu. Uwo mugambi wari uhari: kwica impinja zavutse, abana bato, abagore, abarwayi, abasaza n'abakecuru nabandi bose batakurwanyije (badafite intwaro) biragaragaza umugambi kirimbuzi INKOTANYI ZARI ZIFITE ZO KURIMBURA IGICE CYANGWA ITSINDA RYOSE ry'ABAHUTU.
  - Hari aho batoranyaga Abahutu bagashyirwa ku ruhande bakabica, abandi batari Abahutu bakabareka bakagenda. Kuba Abahutu barahabwaga amazina abatesha agaciro INGURUBE abantu babi n'ibindi birerekana intention (umugambi) yari ihari
  - ABICWAGA BARI BAHUJWE N'IKINTU KIMWE KUKO BOSE ARI ABAHUTU
  - KWICA MU KIVUNGE BADATORANYE TOUTES LES NATIONALITES CONFONDUS: impunzi z'Abahutu b'abanyarwanda n'Abarundi n'abanegihugu ba Kongo b'Abahutu bishwe nk'abasiviri batari mu ntambara. Iki gisobanuke neza kugirango hatazagira ubyitwaza ngo mu mpunzi harimo interahamwe na ex-FAR. Ntiduhakana ko batari barimo ariko bari abasirikare kw'izina ariko basa naho bari barasubiye mu buzima bwa gisiviri kuko imbunda zabo bari barazambuwe. Ikindi cyanasobanuka neza niyo abo ba ex-FAR bafatwa nkabasirikare wenda barabonye imbunda bazikuye ku Bazayirwa ntabwo APR yaje ishaka ex-FAR kuko iyo aba aribo iza ishaka ntabwo iba yarishe inzirakarengane ibihumbi nibihumbi z'abasiviri b'abakecuru, abana, abasaza mu ishyamba hose kuva Bukavu kugera i Mbandaka na za Rukorera. Ikindi kigaragaza ko umugambi wari uwo kurimbura ikitwa UMUHUTU cyose ni Aabahutu b'abakongomani nabo bishwe kubera ko ubuhutu bwabo.
  - Ahantu havugwa Mapping Report ivuga aho Abahutu b'Ababanyekongo bishwe bazira ko ari Abahutu ni aha hakurikira: Musekera, Kiringa (October 1996), Rutshuru (30 October 1996) and Mugogo (18 November 1996), Kabaraza (November 1996), Hombo, Katoyi, Kifuruka, Kinigi, Musenge, Mutiko and Nyakariba (December 1996), Kibumba and Kabizo (April 1997), Nyamitaba, and Kausa[1], muri Nord Kivu (over 460 Hutu Congolese were killed on 23 December 1996).
  - Gukoresha amanama, za bariyeri, gutanga amakuru atariyo ku maradiyo no gutanga imfashanyo (ku miryango imwe y'abagambanyi) nabyo byakoreshejwe nka strategy yo kuvumbura ABAHUTU aho bihishe no ku bica ku bwinshi mu kivunge mu mashyamba.
  - Hari n'abishwe n'inzara, inyota, kubura imiti n'indwara kubera ko Abasirikare ba APR/AFDL babujije Abagiraneza nyabo kugoboka abahigwaga.
  - Ikoreshwa ry'intwaro gakondo: udufuni, udushoka, utunyundo mu kwica abanyantege nke.
  - Gusambanya ku ngufu abahutu-kazino no kwica abamaze gukorerwa amarorerwa nabyo byakoreshejwe na APR/AFDR nk'itwaro ya jenoside yo kurimbura Abahutu muri Kongo .

[1] In Kausa the RPA/AFDL elements asked Civilians to convene in the village square to attend a meeting and then they fired shots. source: OHCHR, "Report of the Mapping Exercise", pp. 125-126

- **Icya gatatu: Actes de génocide**

Zimwe muri za ACTES DE GENOCIDE zakorewe Abahutu zikozwe na APR/AFDL muri Kongo: Hari ibimenyetso byinshi muri Mapping Rapport: **Hari ibikorwa bigera ku ijana na bine (104 *actes de génocide*) biri muri *mapping rapport* (ntabwo tubirondora hano)** ndetse hari ibitabo n'ubuhamya bw'abarokotse udufuni amashoka namasasu ya FPR byashyizwe hanze n'ibindi bitarashyirwa hanze.

5.4 ABISHWE muri kongo bangana iki BOSE HAMWE?

Duhereye kw'igereranywa rya LONI rivuga ko impunzi z'abanyarwanda zonyine zaguye hariya muri Kongo ziri hagati ya 250,000 na 300,000 (iyi mibare ya LONI siyo kwizerwa birumvikana ko iyigabanya kubera uruhare rwa LONI mu bwicanyi bbwibasiye Abahutu). Hari indi Miryango-Mpuzamahanga ivuga ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda bakindaguriwe mu ishyamba no mu nzuzi za Kongo barenga 600,000. Indi mibare ivuga ko Abahutu bose (Abarundi Abanyarwanda n'Abanyekongo) baguye muri Kongo mu ntambara za Kongo 1,2, 3 niya 4 bamaze kurenga 1,000,000. Tutabariyemo Abanyekongo b'AbaBANTU bo hishwe abarenga 6,000,000.

5.5 UBUHAMYA KURI JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABAHUTU MU RWANDA NO MURI KONGO

Abatangabuhamya benshi abarokotse ubu bwicanyi, abanyapolitiki benshi barabyemeza ndetse n'Abanditsi b'ibitabo b'ambanyamahanga n'abanyarwanda benshi batandukanye barabyanditse.

Abanditsi b'ibitabo b'abanyarwanda benshi batandukanye n'abanyamahanga nka Edward S. Herman na David Peterson, Prof. Filip Reyntjens, Chris Black, Gérard Prunier, Keith Harmon Snow, Christian Davenport and Allan Stam, Guillaume Murere, Joseph Sagahutu, Christophe Ndandari Segako, Gaspard Musabyimana n'abandi benshi tutibagiwe Abacamanza n'abahanga mpuzamahanga Fernando Andreu Merelles, Jean- Louis de Bruguière, John P. Zelbst, Prof. Peter Erlinder, Kurt P.Kerns, n'Impirimbanyi z'uburenganzira bwa muntu (human right activists) nka Joseph Matata na bagenzi be muri CLIIR, Claude Gatebuke, Jacques Bahati, Kambale Musavuli n'abandi n'abandi ntibagiwe nabo bagiye bavuga ku bwicanyi bwibasiye Abahutu.

Mu gitabo kitwa *La France a-t-elle participé au génocide Rwandais?* cyanditswe na Ambassadeur Jean Marie Vianney NGAGIJIMANA wigeze no kuba Ministre 1994-1995 hari aho yanditse ku buhamya yahawe n'Umunyapolitiki Mr. Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU wari Minisitiri w'Intebe hagati ya Nyakanga 1994- na Kanama 1995 yavuze ko afite ibimenyetso ntabanduka byuko FPR yishe inzirakarengane z'Abahutu mu Rwanda imbere barenga 250,000 ibaziza gusa ko ari Abahutu. Urwo rwari urugero rumwe hari nyinshi kuko atari Faustin Twagiramungu wenyine uvuga ubwo bwicanyi Abanyapolitiki benshi barimo nyakwigendera

Seth Sendashonga, Madame Victoire Ingabire, Me Bernard Ntaganda, Deo Mushayidi n'abandi benshi cyane cyane abari mu mashyaka ya opposition akorera hanze bagaruka kuri ubu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abahutu.

Umunyamerika Robert Gersony wakoreraga USAID akaba n'impuguke (Consultant International) wa HCR yakoze raporo ku bwicanyi Mata-Nyakanga 1994 kuri Jenoside yakozwe na FPR ku Nzirakarengane z'Abahutu muri Kibungo, Butare n'igice cya Kigali-Ngali . Raporo ye yaranyerejwe muri LONI ariko kopi yayo yari yamaze kugera mu kinyamakuru Le Monde.

Ubuhamya bw'abari abasirikare ba RPF-Inkotanyi, Abdul Ruzibiza (Rwanda: The Secret History), Alphonse Furuma (ibaruwa ifunguye 2001), Jean Pierre Mugabe, Aloys Ruyenzi Patrick Karegeya na bagenzi be (Rwanda Briefing) n'abandi benshi ntarondoye nabo bavuga uko FPR yishe Abahutu batayirwanyaga ibaziza ko ari Abahutu gusa.

Ntitwibagiwe n'ubuhamya bw'abacikagafuni b'Abahutu banyanyagiye hirya no hino mu Rwanda no kw'isi.

5.6 INYITO ZIGOMBA GUKORESHWA

ESE DUHUJE IBYABAYE KU BAHUTU MU RWANDA NO MURI KONGO BYAKWITWA IKI?

Igisubizo: ***Super Genocide*** **(Itsembabantu Rurangiza)**

Dushingiye ku bushakashatsi tumaze igihe kinini dukora ku mvugo yakoreshwa ku mahano yakorewe ubwoko bw'Abahutu guhera muri 1990 kugeza magingo aya dusanga uteranyije za *actes de genocides* zakorewe abahutu mu ubwicanyi ndengakamere bwabakorewe mu Rwanda bugakomereza no mu mashyamba ya Kongo bukwiye kwitwa ***''Super Genocide''*** kubera impamvu zikurikira:

1) Aho bwakorewe: ibihugu bibiri bitandukanye
2) Igihe bwakorewemo n'amayeri adasanzwe yabuherekeje
3) Ababukorewe: mu Rwanda Abahutu b'abanyarwanda, Muri Kongo: Abahutu b'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, Abarundi n'Abahutu b'Abanyekongo batari impunzi
4) Abakoze ubwicanyi: Inkotanyi (Agatsiko k'abasirikare bakuru na bamwe mu basirikare bato muri RPA/RDF, Inkotanyi z'amarere, imitwe yashinzwe na Leta ya Kigali muri Kongo, n'imwe mu mitwe ya militia y'Abanyekongo)
5) Uburyo ubwicanyi bwakozwemo n'ibikoresho byakoreshejwe
6) Uburyo amahanga yarebereye na nubu akaba yarakomeje guterérana abakorewe icyaha (victims) n'abarokotse (survivors)

Izo mpamvu n'izindi tutarondoye nizo zatumye tugenekereza tubyita ***Super Genocide***

Ese gukoresha ijambo "GENOCIDE RWANDAIS" birahagije kugirango ABAHUTU biciwe mu Rwanda n'impunzi z'ABAHUTU ziciwe muri Kongo zumve ko ubwicanyi zakorewe bwumvikana muri iyo nteruro?

Igisubizo OYA:

- Duhereye ku nyito n'igisobanuro Umuryango wa LONI wahaye icyo wise "*génocide rwandais*" (ubu mu minsi ishize ukaba utangiye guhindura imvugo zawo ukavuga Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi) usanga iyo nyito ya LONI uvuga ibyaha bikomeye byabaye hagati y'itariki ya 1/1/1994 na 31/12/1994 birimo itsembabwoko ryakorewe ABATUTSI mu Rwanda ndetse n'itsembatsemba ry'ABAHUTU batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwari buyoboye u Rwanda muri icyo gihe. Usesenguye neza usanga ABAHUTU bishwe na FPR batibona muri iyo nyito kuko ubwicanyi bwabibasiye bwatangiye tariki 1/10/1990. Gusa nubwo urukiko rwa LONI rutahaye ubutabera ABAHUTU biciwe n'Inkotanyi ariko ukurikije inshingano zari zahawe urwo rukiko rwagombaga no gukurikirana inkotanyi zishe ABAHUTU. **Birababaje kubona LONI ibogamira ku gihande cyatsinze!**

- Icya kabiri ni ibyerekeye amatariki: Jenoside y'ABAHUTU yabereye ku butaka bwa Kongo nyuma yuko LONI yemeje iriya nyito. Birumvikana ko mu mvugo *Génocide Rwandais* abiciwe Kongo yaba itabareba.

- Ikindi cya gatatu kinakomeye nuko muri iyi Jenoside yakorewe ubwoko bw'ABAHUTU ku butaka bwa Kongo si ABAHUTU b'abanyarwanda bonyine bishwe ahubwo haguyemo n'ABAHUTU B'ABARUNDI ndetse n'ABAHUTU B'ABANYEKONGO BAVUGA IKINYARWANDA NABO BARISHWE kubera ko ari ABAHUTU. Ubyise *"Génocide Rwandais"* Abarundi n'Abanyekongo waba ubavanguye.

- Ikindi cya kane UBUTEGETSI BWA FPR BWAGIYE BURANGWA NO GUHUZAGURIKA MU MYITO. Ubwicanyi bwo mu RWANDA bwabanje kwitwa Itsembabwoko n'Itsembatsemba bishaka kuvuga ABATUTSI bishwe bazira ubwoko bw'abo n'ABAHUTU bishwe mu bundi bwicanyi. Nyuma y'imyaka mike imvugo y'Itsembatsemba yakuweho hasigara hakoreshwa gusa itsembabwoko. Nyuma y'imyaka mike iyi mvugo nayo yarahindutse maze isimburwa na 'jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi' . Iri hindagurwa ry'amazina rigamije kwirengagiza nkana Abahutu bishwe ku mpande zombi haba abishwe n'INTERAHAMWE bazira ko bashyigiye FPR-INKOTANYI haba n'abishwe n'INKOTANYI ibaziza ubuhutu bwabo.

- LONI niba idashaka gusumbanya abantu niyemeze ko habayeho na Jenoside yakorewe Abahutu guhera 1990 kandi inemeze jenoside yakorewe muri Kongo

5.7 ABATEGUYE ZA JENOSIDE

Bimaze kumenyekana kw'isi hose ko Gen. Kagame n'Agatsiko k'intagondwa za FPR aribo bari kw'isonga ry'amahano ndengakamere yahitanye ABATUTSI, ABAHUTU n'ABATWA guhera

tariki ya 1/10/1990. Ibiri amambu duhereye kubyo FPR ubwayo yiyemereye ko amahano y'ubwicanyi mu Rwanda yatangiye tariki 1/10/1990. Kubera ikinyoma kinshi ubwo FPR iba yikubise icenga ityo. Wa mutego mutego mutindi ngo ushibukana nyirawo. Mu Itegeko nshinga u Rwanda rugenderaho ubu barimo gushaka guhindura kugirango iyo nteruro yuko byatangiye muri 1990 nayo ikurwemo. Bibutse ibitereko…!

Dushingiye ku bushakashatsi bw'abanditsi b'ibitabo ndetse n'abatangabuhamye b'abanyarwanda bumvise kenshi aho Gen. Kagame yivugiraga ubwe ko ABATUTSI bari imbere mu gihugu 1994 atari Abatutsi nyabo ko ari **Abatutsi ku zuru** ariko **ku mutima ari ABAHUTU** ko ari abagaragu n'ibisambo by'ingoma ya Habyarimana (Cfr. Testimony of Lt. Abdul Ruzibiza n'gitabo ke Rwanda: The Secret History)). Biryo rero bikumvikana ko umugambi kirimbuzi (cataclysm) ya FPR yari ifite kwari ugutsemba Abahutu byaba ngombwa n'abagaragu babo (Abatutsi b'imbere) bakagenderamo kuko ntacyo FPR byari biyibwiye. Na nubu URWISHE YA NKA…! Umugambi mubisha w'Agatsiko k'intagondwa za FPR wo kuryanisha no kumarisha Abanyarwanda ukomereje muri gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda. Nta gushakira kure abateguye kurimbura Abanyarwanda bo mu moko yombi.

6. UBUTABERA KU BAHUTU N'ABANYEKONGO

Hakorwa iki kugirango Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU mu Rwanda no ku butaka bwa Kongo yemerwe kandi haboneke ubutabera nyabwo.

Ikingenzi kandi cyumvikana kugirango jenoside yakorewe Abahutu izemezwe nta mbogamizi birasaba ko Abayiteguye (Intagondwa-Nkotanyi za FPR) bari mu butegetsi muri Leta ya Kigali bamburwa ubutegtsi bafite kuko aribwo bubakingiye ikibaba.

Mu gihe ibyo gukuraho system ya FPR bitaragerwaho hari n'ibindi bikorwa byakorwa en parallèle no gukuraho igitugu cya FPR. Ibyo ni ibijyanye no gushyira igitutu kuri LONI.

HAKENEWE ICTR/TPIR 2 YO KUREBA IBYAHA BYA FPR N'AMASHUMI YAYO MU BIYAGA BIGARI

Kubera ko ICTR/TPIR 1 izacyura igihe mu mpera z'uyu mwaka, hakenewe ko dusaba hakabaho ICTR/TPIR2. Uko ibintu uko bimeze ubu turakeka atari uguhera kuri zero. Habayeho étape ya mbere: RAPPORT Y'IMPUGUKE ZA LONI (Mapping rapport) yarakozwe. Nubwo itanonosowe neza kubera ibihugu bimwe na bimwe by'ibihangange byayibangamiye ariko iyo raporo irahari. Etape igomba gukurikiraho ni ugushyira igitutu kinshi (PRESSURE) kuri CONSEIL DE SECURITE ya LONI kugirango ishyireho itsinda ryihariye ry'Impuguke ribanziriza ishyirwaho rw'urukiko rwihariye rwa ICTR/TPIR 2. Urwo rukiko rumaze kujyaho rugomba gutangiza AMAPERERERZA YO MU RWEGO JUDICIAIRE. Ibyo bishobotse *processus* yo kwemeza Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU yaba iri mu nzira nziza.

Duhereye ku rugero rwa genocide yakorewe Abatutsi nakwibutsa ko habanje kubaho AMARAPORO Y'IMPUGUKE ZA LONI ku bijyanye nubwicanyi bwabaye 1994 hanyuma izo rapports zigashikirizwa conseils de securité, nyuma yaho Conseil de securite yatoye imyanzuro itari mike harimo nuwo gushyiraho Urukiko mpanabyaha rwa Arusha (the resolution 955-ICTR adopted on 8 November 1994). Hanyuma urukiko rwa ARUSHA nibwo rwaje kwemeza mu rubanza rwa mbere rwa Jean-Paul Akayesu nkuko twabikomojeho hejuru. Mu 1998 hemejwe bidasubirwaho ko ibyabaye 94 byari Jenoside ariko nkuko mubyibuka na none iryo jambo ryabanje gukoreshwa guhera 1994. Kwemeza urukiko rwa ICTR/TPIR Arusha byarihuse kubera ko FPR yari imaze gufata ubutegetsi bwose. Ikindi cyatumye bitebuka niba lobbyists ba FPR mu bazungu. Iyo LONI itemera ko habaho urukiko rumeze nkurwa Ex-Yougoslavie byari kugaragara nk'ivangura Abazungu baklorera Abirabura (racism) kuko ibintu byari bimaze kuba mu Rwanda byari indengakamere kurusha nibyari bimaze kubera muri Yougoslavie.

Kuri case yacu hari byinshi byakwifashishwa ubu: kubera ko Intambara yo muri Kongo isa niyarangiye IKI NI IGIHE CYO GUSABA LONI UBUTABERA. IBINTU BYOSE NI STRATEGIES ZITEGURWA NABASHYIZE HAMWE. Ntabwo abantu bakwikingirana iwabo mu ma salons ngo bategereze ko ibintu bizikora. Aha natwe biradusaba ko abanyapolitiki n'abanyabwenge bacu bakwiye kumara abantu ubwoba bakavuga ibintu uko biri. Ni uko muri make twumva byakorwa, izindi details abanyamategeko bazirebaho.

Umwanzuro

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yaremewe kandi iravugwa ariko Jenoside yakorewe Abahutu ntivugwa. **Kuki n'Abahutu ubwabo batinya kuvuga beruye Jenoside yabakorewe?** Buri wese yibaze kandi yihe igisubizo.

Iyi nyandiko nayiteguye nk'umwe mu barokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abahutu. Nk'uko benshi mubizi ndi umuyobozi w'ishyaka **ISANGANO-ARRDC-Abanegihugu**. Ibitekerezo bikubiye muri iyi nyandiko ntabwo bitandukanye na *position* y'ishyaka ryacu ku mahano yagwiriye abanyarwanda. Izina niryo muntu ishyaka ryacu turi **isangano** ry'abanyarwanda bose ntawe tuvangura. Mw'ishyaka ryacu twemera ko Abatutsi bapfuye bazira uko baremwe, twemera ko Abahutu bapfuye bazira uko baremwe. Abatutsi barababaye, Abahutu nabo barababaye. Abatutsi bose ntabwo ari abicanyi kimwe n'uko Abahutu bose atari Abicanyi. Kuri twe nta mwicanyi mwiza ubaho kandi nta bwoko bwikoze nk'ubwoko ngo bupange umugambi wo kurimbura ubundi bwoko ahubwo byose byakozwe n'udutsiko tw'Abicanyi bihisha inyuma yayo moko. ABATUTSI bamwe bishe abandi Batutsi, Abatutsi bamwe bica Abahutu kimwe n'uko ABAHUTU bamwe bishe Abahutu, Abandi Bahutu bamwe bishe Abatutsi.

Jenoside zakorewe Abahutu n'iyakorewe Abatutsi zabaye ku manywa y'ihangu. Kuvuga ko habayeho Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU ntibivuga guhakana Jenoside yakorewe ABATUTSI.

Uwumva ari uguhakana ibyo yemera ibyo biramureba ntawamuhatira kwemera ibyo twemera. Twe nta gikuba duca ahubwo dushyize imbere UKURI. Reka dusase inzube tuvuge ibintu uko ibikwiye kwitwa. Kuba LONI itarashyiraho urukiko rwemeza Jenoside yakorewe ABAHUTU bidasubirwaho twe tukaba tuyivuga nta cyaha dukora. Kwita ibintu uko biri nuko bigomba kuba ntabwo ari ugushyira amoko imbere. Buri wese nashyireho ake UKURI kuvugwe kuko ariko musingi wo kubakira u Rwanda rushyashya rwa twese.

Murakoze

Mbifurije urukundo n'amahoro.

Jean-Marie V. MINANI