Andereya Guichaoua

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

Poritiki z'ubugizi bwa nabi muRwanda

(1990-1994)

Ijambo ry'ibanze rya Mwarimu René DEGNI-SEGUI

Igitabo cyatangajwe ku nkunga
ya Kaminuza ya Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

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IBINDI BITABO BY'UMWANDITSI

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Urubuga rwa murandasi www.rwandadelaguerreaugenocide.fr rukusanya indi myandiko myinshi yuzuriza iki gitabo(Reba itonde ryayo mu mpera z'igitabo).

Ijambo ryo gushimira

Umwanditsi yigombye gushimira ku buryo buvuye ku mutima abantu bose bagize uruhare kuri iki gitabo batanga ubuhamya bwabo, bafatanya n'abandi umurimo wo gukusanya amakuru, batorora udukosa kandi bagira icyo bongera ho na bo.

Ndashimira kandi abantu benshi twagiranye ibiganiro, haba Arusha, haba muRwanda ndetse no mu bindi bihugu byinshi, kuba barashyigikiye ubushakashatsi bwanjye kandi bakubaha n'icyerekezo nabugeneye.

Ndangije nshimira Kaminuza ya Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne yakomeje kunyihanganira incuro nyinshi nabaga nasibijwe no gutanga ubuhamya mu nkiko, no kuba yaranteye inkunga mu gutangaza iki gitabo.

Niba wifuza kumenyeshwa buri gihe ibitabo dutangaza, iyandikishe ku buntu ku igazeti yacu iboneka kabiri mu kwezi ku rubuga rwacu

www.editionsladecouverte.fr. Ni ho uzasanga itonde ry'ibitabo byacu byose.

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Hubahirijwe ingingo kuva ku ya L.122-10 kugeza ku ya L. 122-12 z'itegeko rigenga ubusugire bw'ibihangano nyabwenge, birabujijwe gutubura iki gitabo cyose cyangwa igice cyacyo ukoresheje fotokopi kandi hagamijwe kugikoresha mu buryo bugenewe urusange, igihe nta ruhusa rwatanzwe n'Ikigo cyo muBufaransa gishinzwe uburenganzira bwo gutubura imyandiko (CFC, 20, rue des Grands-Augustins, 75006 Paris). N'ubundi buryo bwose bwo gutubura umwandiko wose cyangwa igice cyawo burabujijwe igihe hatabonetse uruhusa rw'umutangazi.

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Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

Ijambo ry'ibanze

J*enoside n'***intambara y'*imyiryane mu gihugu*** ni ibyorezo bibiri, bidatandukanwa, byateye icyunamo imiryango myinshi kandi biyogoza uRwanda, « paradizo yo muri Afurika ». Ayo mahano yibasiye abantu yerekanye ko umuryango mpuzamahanga warebereye gusa mu gihe igihugu cyawitabazaga mu makuba yari acyugarije. Ayo mahano rero yakuruye, ndetse aracyakomeza no gukurura impaka zikarishye mu gusesengura ibyabaye ubwaryo.

Igitabo mwarimu Andereya Gishawa yarangije kwandika nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda rushyizwe ho, kigamije gutanga umusanzu mu kumenyakanisha ukuri, ari ko nkingi ikomeye ituma ubutabera butunganywa neza. Dukwiriye kucyishimira.

Ku ruhande rwanjye, nari narakoze ipereereza muRwanda nk'intumwa yihariye ya Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bwa muntu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, kandi ku itariki ya 28 Kamena 1994 nasabye ko, « mu gihe urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ruhora ho rugitegerejwe, hashyirwa ho urukiko mpuzamahanga rwabugenewe rushinzwe gukurikirana ibicumuro no gucira urubanza abo bihama ». Byaranezereje cyane mbonye

Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi ifashe icyemezo cyo gukurikirana abantu « bakekwa ho kugira uruhare mu bikorwa bya jenoside ».

« Ibikorwa bya jenoside » ! Kugena ingeri y'ibicumuro byararuhanyije, cyane cyane ibyerekeranye n'itsembatsemba ryabaye guhera ku itariki ya gatandatu Mata 1994. Byagombye guharanirwa. Hanyuma, bidasabye impaka za ngoturwane mu guhita mo amagambo, Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi yemeranyijwe ku mvugo ngo « ibikorwa bya jenocide », bitarenze aho ngo ibyite jenoside. Urwo rwego rw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rufite inshingano y'ibanze yo kubungabunga amahoro, rwasangaga wenda nta kintu kirenze « ibikorwa bya jenoside » cyabaye. Ku bw'amahirwe, *kuba hariho amagambo atandukanye* nta ngaruka zo mu rwego rw'amatageko *b*yakuruye : kimwe n*a jenoside*, ibikorwa bifitanye isano na yo na byo bigenerwa ibihano.

Gushakisha ukuri ni « igikorwa » cy'igihe kirekire gisaba ubwihangane bwinshi no kutayingayinga. Abashakashatsi muri rusange n'abanyamategeko by'umwihariko babizi neza. Bityo rero, kuba igitabo cya mwarimu Andereya Gishawa gitangajwe ubungubu ni indi mpamvu yo kwishima. Iyi mpamvu kandi ifite ishingiro, kuko ikatirwa rya Tewonesiti Bagosora ubarirwa mu bantu b'ingenzi bapanze jenoside y'Abatutsi ryatangajwe ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2008 n'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda.

Iki gitabo gifite agasanira n'umwanzuro w'itsinda ry'amaperereza yakozwe ku bufatanye bw'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda. Nta wakwibagirwa kandi ko kuva urwo Rukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwihariye rushyizwe ho kandi mu gihe cy'imyaka myinshi, umwanditsi wacyo yagiye mu butumwa bwarwo, arukorera n'amaperereza nk'inzobere yarwo n'iy'umushinjacyaha. Ni ngombwa kandi kwibutsa ko umwanditsi yari i Kigali, umurwa mukuru w'uRwanda ku ya 6 Mata 1994, umunsi indege ya perezida igwa mu gico maze ako gatendo kakaba imbarutso y'itsembatsemba n'amagomerane. Ibyo umwanditsi avuga rero muri iki gitabo arabivuga nk'inzobere n'umugabo wabihagaze ho. Ntitwakwibagirwa no kongera ho nyakwigendera Alison Des Forges wagiriye umutima w'impuhwe n'ubwitange

inzirakarengane za jenoside, agafatanya ku buryo bwa hafi cyane na mwarimu Andereya Gishawa. Nimureke muri kano kanya twibukane icyuhahiro uwo murwanashyaka ukomeye w'uburenganzira bwa muntu witanze atizigamye mu gushimikira ukuri ku mahano yabaye muRwanda.

Bityo rero, uyu murimo mwarimu Andereya Gisha*wa* atangaje none, ukaba uje ukurikira ibindi bitabo byinshi n'inyandiko ku karere k'Ibiyaga bigari, tuwakiranye ubwuzu. Uharaze ibirezi by'agaciro bitagira ingano. Kubera kudashobora kubirondora byose muri iri jambo ry'ibanze rigufi, turagaruka kuri bimwe muri byo twihuta.

Ingenagaciro ya mbere *i*hita *y*igaragaza, ni ubukungu butsitse mu gitabo, bushingiye ku « bu*ganzamarumbo* » bwacyo. Kiri mo amapaji 600, ukayongera ho andi 2000 y'imyandiko y'imigereka (iboneka ku rubuga rwa murandasi rujyana n'igitabo), yose hamwe akagera ku 3000.*Uretse ubuganzamarumbo* bwacyo n'ubwinshi bw'amapaji gifite, umuntu atahura*mo* insanganyamatsiko *zibumbye urunyurane rw'ibintu, ahantu n'igihe.* Izo nsanganyamatsiko tuzivuze mo nkeya gusa, usanga zigusha ku isesengura « ry'imibereho y*'abaturage na* poritiki », ku « kibazo cy'impunzi n'icy'uko FPR/Inkotanyi yahise mo inzira y'imirwano » mu 1990, no « ku cy'intambara yagizwe igikoresho cyo kugabagabana abakandida » bo gusimbura Yuvenari Habyarimana binyuze ku « gico cyatezwe ku ya 6 Mata » n' « itsembatsemba ryibirinduranyije mo *jenoside* »…

Amakuru yaturutse ahantu hanyuranye, cyane cyane imyandiko itaragira ahandi itangazwa umwanditsi yashoboye kugera ho ku bufatanye bwe n'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda, ntibishidikanywa ko ari ikigega cy'agaciro gahebuje. Ayo makuru nakomatanywa n'insanganyamatsiko zatazuwe azakungahaza ibyiyumviro ku ngingo y'urusobekerane ya jenoside muri rusange, no kuri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku buryo bw'umwihariko.

Ingenagaciro ya kabiri umuntu yasanga muri uyu murimo ni ubwimerere bw'ikirari cyibanzwe ho mu gusobanukirwa neza n'ibyabaye, no hirya yabyo gusobanukirwa na jenoside. Umwanditsi aragaragaza ku buryo bukurikira icyerekezo gishingiye ku bintu bibiri by'imbangikane: « ikirari gikomatanya n'ibirindurasesengura ». Ikirari cya mbere

gikusanyiriza hamwe ubuzima bw'Abanyarwanda, bwaba ubwo ku mugaragaro, bwaba n'ubuzima bwite ; hanyuma, ku byerekeranye no kwigarurira ubutegetsi, isesengura rigacengera « mu rubuga rwa poritiki rw'imbere », no ku itsimbaniro njyanamuntu rishyamiranya impande ebyiri z'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari ». Ikirari cya kabiri ntigishingira ku bikorwa bifatika ngo bigire icyo bimenyesha kuri banyirabyo kandi ngo bisobanure uruhare babigize mo ; ahubwo cyibanda cyane ku banyagikorwa ubwabo. Iyo rigeze mu rubuga rwa poritiki rwagati, ku rwego rwo hejuru rufatirwa mo ibyemezo, isesengura rishingira ku « ngamba n'intego z'abakimbiranye » kugira ngo rigerageze kumvikanisha uruhare rwabo.

N'ubwo nta wakwirarira ngo iki cyerekezo kimara ingingo zose imuzingo, nyamara gifite imimaro ibiri yo kugira icyo gihishura ku byabaye muri rusange (jenoside n'amagomerane) no ku ngamba z'abanyagikorwa no ku ruhare rwabo bwite. Bityo, dutanze gusa ingero nkeya, gishimikira umwanya w'ibanze w'abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi, ubusumbane bw'inzego zabo, n'uruhererekane rw'imiyoborere rugengwa n' « amategeko y'urusobe rw'ubuhake ».

Ingenagaciro ya gatatu y'uyu murimo igaragazwa n'ikiraro gihuza ubumenyampugu n'ubumenyamategeko, hanyuma, hirya yabyo, ikarangwa n'umusanzu wacyo wihariye mu gutamanzura ukuri. Urwo runana rw'ubumenyampugu n'ubucamaza mpanabyaha rwerekana ubwuzuzanye bw'amashami y'ubumenyi yombi, bushobora gushishikariza abayateza imbere n'abashakashatsi bayo gushyira ingufu zabo hamwe kugira ngo barushe ho gusobanukirwa n'ikintu gisobekeranye nka jenoside.

Ku bw'intangamugabo, reka twibutse ko igitabo cyibanda cyane cyane ku rwego abayobozi bakuru ba poritiki n'igisirikari bafatiye mo ibyemezo bakanayoborera mo intamabara y'amagomerane n'ubwicanyi bwa jenoside. Bamwe muri abo bayobozi ba poritikin'igisirikari bahamagawe imbere y'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda baranaburanishwa. Ku wakwifuza ingingo zo gusigura amateka ya jenoside yasanga imanza zabo ari ikigega cyuzuye amakuru atagereranywa.

Nyamara ariko, umurimo wo gucukumbura ukuri ushingiye ku zindi ngeri

z'intangamugabo n'intego z'ubumenyi zititabazwa n'umuderi w'imikorere y'ubucamanza. Umushakashatsi ni we ugomba gushimikira ubwe ingamba z'abanyagikorwa n'uruhererekane rw'ibyemezo byakoze akantu mu itsembatsemba na jenoside. Uwo murimo wo gucukumbura witabaza abantu benshi n'imyifatire itabarika, kandi ibi ntibigaragara mu ruhando rw'imanza. Mwarimu Andereya Gishawa yihatiye gukora ubwo bucukumbuzi, bikaba ari na byo bisobanura, nk'uko twabitsindagiye, ubuganzamarumbo n'urusobe biboneka mu gitabo cye.

Kuri ibyo hiyongera ho ibyo gushyikiriza umusomyi igipande cy'amakuru, akenshi ataratangazwa yashingiye ho, akomeka ku gitabo cye imigereka ifite agaciro kanini.

Na none, hari ibindi bitabo n'imyandiko byagize uruhare rukomeye mu kumenyekanisha mu buryo bw'ubuhanga amahano yagwiriye uRwanda. Ariko umwihariko w'iki gitabo ni uko gifite isano n'amateka y'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda.Ariko kandi intego zacyo z'ubuhanga zitandukanye n'iz'ubushinjacyaha zuje ubwisanzure. Nk'umunyamategeko utewe ubwuzu n' « ubuganzamarumbo » bwerekana ko iki gitabo ari indashyikirwa nk'ibikorwa bya Hercule, sinabura kwishimira rwose bene ubwo bufatanye.

René DEGNI-SÉGUI

Mwarimu wabweguriwe w'amategeko rusange, akaba yarigeze no kuba intumwa idasanzwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye muRwanda.

Abija, ku ya 26 Ugushyingo 2009

Iriburiro

Nyuma y'imyaka irenga cumi n'itanu ibaye, jenoside y'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi iracyizimba mu binyamashusho n'ibinyabumenyi byerekeye ako gahugu gato ko muri Afurika yo hagati kabarurwa mo abaturage bakabakaba miriyoni icumi. Na none, ubuhahamuke bwatewe n'amahano yo mu 1994 bukomeje kuranga ubuzima n'imyitwarire y'abaturage b'uRwanda, kimwe n'umuryango mpuzamahanga wanze kugira icyo ukora ngo uhagarike itsembatsemba.

Muri kino gihe nyamara haragaragara amambu akomoka ku kinyuranyo kiri hagati, ku ruhande rumwe, y'ukuntu ubwihute bw'imirimo yo gusana n'ubutubuke bw'ishoramari byahinduye ku buryo budasubirwa ho imisusire – cyane cyane y'imigi – no ku rundi ruhande, ubuyobozi bwa poritiki burangwa n'igitugu cyane. Ibi bikaba bihora bisesekaza « amarengamutima y'Abanyarwanda » ataragize icyo acubywa ho n'imihindukire ikomeye yo mu rwego rw'ubukungu na poritiki yagenwe n'abayobozi b'Abatutsi bashya bari ku butegetsi. Biratangaje kubera ukuntu aba bayobozi bihatira gucengeza poritiki ihamye mu rwego rw' « ukuri, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge », kandi bagashyira ho urusobe rw'amabwiriza atagira ingano ashishikaza n'ahana kugira ngo « ubwiyunge bw'igihugu » bugerwe ho.

Uburambe bw'icyuka kirangwa n'amarengamutima bushobora gusobanurwa n'impamvu zitandukanye zizasuzumwa uko imitwe igenda ikurikirana. Nyamara muri izo mpamvu, reka duhite dutsindagira iy'uko kuva mu wa 1994 hakomeje kuba impaka

zikarishye zerekeranye n'ubusobanuro bw'ibyabaye. No kuri iyi ngingo kandi, n'ubwo habaye ho anketi nyinshi na za komisiyo mpuzamahanga n'izo mu rwego rw'ibihugu zari zigamije gutazura neza impamvu zateye jenoside n'abayigize mo uruhare, ibipande binini by'intambara yashojwe mu Kwakira 1990 ntibirajya ahabona, nta n'ubwo yewe birasuzumwa ngo dushobore gusobanura inzitane z'uruhererekane zakuruye amarorerwa.

Bityo, kubera ko abanyagikorwa mpuzamahanga bagize akagambane ko kwanga ko umurimo wo gucukumbura ukuri ukomezwa kugera ku mwanzuro wawo, kubera n'ukuntu ingoma iri ho yimbika ingufu nyinshi mu guhanagura mu mateka ibyiciro byose n'abatangabuhamya bazagira icyo banyuranya ho n'igitekerezo cyo « kubohora igihugu » ubutegetsi bukwirakwiza, intambara y'amagomerane ikomereza mu rwego rwa poropagande. Ubutegetsi buri i Kigali bukura ishingiro ryabwo ku nsinzi y'intambara bwarwanye n'imitwe y'abajenosideri. Buhoza kandi ku nkeke y'umutimanama abantu bose baretse jenoside igakorwa. Muri icyo gihe, abagitsimbaraye ku gipande cy'abakoze jenoside bamagana imyitwarire ya mpatsibihugu y'igipande cyatsinze intambara, haba imbere mu gihugu cyangwa se mu rwego rw'akarere. Bashyira hanze ibintu byose byazinzikiranywe cyangwa se byahakanwe hifashishijwe ukuri gucagase, ari ukugira ngo ibicumuro byabo bisibangane cyangwa se ahubwo bibonerwe impamvu.

Kugira ngo ibi bintu bidasanzwe byumvikane, ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko iyi rucumbeka iri mu rugero rw'ibyo amashyaka ya poritiki yakoze mbere hose, n'amakosa yakozwe mu gusesengura ibiri ho. Dukurikije uko bimeze rero, nta wundi murimo wagombye guhigika uwo kugaragaza uko imyaka itashye n'uko ubushakashatsi bugize icyo bwunguka, ingingo z' « ukuri » zidashidikanywa cyangwa izigibwa ho impaka. Izo ngingo zimaze kuba nyinshi bihagije kandi ziratomoye ku buryo zishobora kurema imbata yo gukora isesengura rigiye umujyo umwe. Mbere yo kwiturira muri uwo mukoro, reka tubanze twibutse amwe mu mateka y'imyaka ya nyuma ya Repuburika ya kabiri, kuko ari bwo ibintu byabirindutse.

Ku itariki ya mbere Nyakanga 1987, imihango yo kwizihiza isabukuru y'imyaka 25 y'ubwigenge bw'uRwanda yitabiriwe n'umubare urenze ijana w'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo n'intumwa zohererejwe icyo. Bose uko basumbana mu nzego bahurije hamwe

bashimagiza ibikorwa ako gahugu kangana urwara kageze ho mu rwego rw'amajyambere mu bukungu no mu mibereho ya rubanda. Mu buryo bwaguye kandi butizigamye, ingoma ya Habyarimana bari bayambitse nk'umudari kubera ibyo yageze ho mu rwego rw' « imiyoborere », inshoza nshyashya yari yadukanywe n'imiryango y'ubutwerane mpuzamahanga yashakishaga abanyeshuri b'indatwa ngo babere isi yose urugero mu by'amajyambere.

Ugereranyije, hirya y'umwiyerekano w'abagize inzego za Leta no kubeshyeshyana bya kidiporomasi, ibirori byabereye i Bujumbura kuri uwo munsi ku mpamvu zo kwibuka isabukuru y'imyaka cumi ya Repuburika ya kabiri y'uBurundi yari ikonje. Ubutegetsi bwa Koroneri Yohani Batisita Bagaza bwari mu byumweru byabwo bya nyuma (abasirikari batembagaje ubutegetsi bwe ku itariki ya 3 Nzeri yakurikiye ho). Ikinyuranyo cyari kinini : ku ruhande rw'uBurundi, inzego zishinzwe umutekano gakushwa zari zishishikariye kumarira abantu mu magereza ; ku ruhande rw'uRwanda, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari amaze gusinya iteka rya perezida ritanga imbabazi, anategeka kurekura imfungwa 4000. Ku buryo budashidikanywa, mu banyagitugu batatu bari babumbatiye umutuzo mu karere (Bagaza, Habyarimana na Mobutu muri Zayire), umuryango mpuzamahanga wahitaga mo Habyarimana, na ko wasangaga ari we upfa gukanyakanya.

Ishingwa rya Repuburika y'uRwanda ya mbere yayobowe na perezida Gerigori Kayibanda ryaherekeje intambara zo guharanira ubwigenge, mu gihe ubutegetsi bwa cyami ntutsi umukoroni w'Umubirigi yari yakomeje gushyigikira bwari bumaze guhirima. Muri Nyakanga 1973, Koroneri Yuvenari Habyarimana yakoze kudeta asezerera iyo Repuburika ya mbere.

Mu gushyira imbere imigambi y'amajyambere, ingoma ya Habyarimana yongerewe ingufu n'inkunga igaragara y'ibihugu byose by'i Burayi, mbere na mbere uBubiligi n'uBufaransa, ariko n'uBusuwisi, Kanada ndetse n'inzego z'ubutwererane bw' « iterambere » zo mu bihugu by'amajyaruguru y'uBurayi.

Twakongera ho ko yagenewe inkunga itubutse n'ibigega mpuzamahanga (kuva ku

Muryango w'ubumwe bw'uBurayi kugeza kuri Banki nkuru y'isi), n'imiryango itabogamiye kuri Leta y'imihanda yose - yari yashyize uRwanda ku mwanya wa kabiri wo kuba « paradizo ya Afurika » nyuma ya Burukinafaso – ariko cyane cyane na Kiriziya gatorika yayoboranaga igihugu n'ubutegetsi bwari ho kuva ku bwigenge.

Nyamara ariko, ku buryo bushinze imizi, kwikundisha rubanda ku buryo bw'igitsure kibakangurira kugira uruhare mu bikorwa, guhatira inshingano abanyagikorwa b'amajyambere, no kwiyegereza rubanda rwo mu cyaro ku buryo bwa demagoji, ibyo byose byarashe cyane abaterankunga b'ibihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere bativanga muri poritiki ndetse n'abashyira imbere ubugeni bwa tekiniki. Ahangaha usanga mo inganzo y'ibitekerezo by'amashyaka ya gikirisitu aharanira demokarasi. Icyo gihe uRwanda rwari ruzwi hose ku izina ry' « igihugu cy'abaterankunga igihumbi ».

Nyamara n'ubwo ari uko byari bimeze, ibirori byo kwizihiza itariki ya 1 Nyakanga mu 1987 ni byo byashoje imyaka y'umudamararo ya Repuburika ya kabiri y'uRwanda yagengwaga yose yose n'Ishyaka-Leta MRND (Muvoma revorisiyoneri iharanira amajyambere y'igihugu) na perezida fondateri waryo, Yuvenari Habyarimana. Imyaka yakurikiye ho yararuhanyije kuko habaye mo kwizirika umukanda cyane mu by'ubukungu, kwigaragaza kwa « sosiyete sivire », kuzamura ijwi kw'abaharanira demokarasi, hanyuma rero n'igitero cyatangijwe ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 na FPR/Inkotanyi, umuryango ukomatanya poritiki n'igisirikari washinzwe n'impunzi z'Abatutsi zari zaratujwe muBuganda kuva mu bihe by'imyivumbagatanyo y'ubwigenge. Hakurikiye ho intambara ndende yashojwe n'amahano yabaye nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, nyuma y'amezi atatu y'ubushyamirane butagira impuhwe n'ikiguzi cya jenoside.

Ikirari gikomatanya n'ibirindurasesengura

Nabanje gutangaza ibyagezwe ho n'ubushakashatsi bwinshi nakoze ku makimbirane ya poritiki yo mu karere k'Ibiyaga bigari bya Afurika, ku ntambara y'amagomerane no kuri jenoside yo muRwanda. Ubwo bushakashatsi bwerekanye ukuntu ari ngombwa kwihutira gukusanya ubuhamya bw'abacitse ku icumu n'abagabo bahagaze kuri ibyo bintu, kugaragaza ku buryo mbonera kandi budashogosha ubuhonyozi bwajyanye na byo.

Uyu murimo uje ubwuzuriza ariko kandi utandukanye na bwo.

Mu murongo w'imirimo y'isesengura nakoze vuba aha ku makimbirane yo mu karere no muRwanda[1], kuri « poritiki za jenoside » zakoreshejwe mu nzego za komini na perefegitura, mu bigo na za minisiteri[2], uyu murimo urasuzuma ukuntu intambara yo muRwanda yagenze mu rwego rukuru rwa poritiki : urwego rw'abayobozi n'abafata ibyemezo.

Ikirari kizibanda ku mikorere ya Leta, urusobekerane rw'ubutegetsi rwadukanye n'amashyaka menshi, imigendekere y'intambara y'amagomerane mu rwego rwa poritiki no mu rwa gisirikari (kurema amatsinda abogamiye uruhande rumwe, imikino ya poritiki, imishyikirano, ivugururwa ry' inzego za Leta, ubuhotozi, ibico n'itsembatsemba, nb.). Igice kinini cy'iki gitabo cyahariwe, birumvikana, ishyaka ryahoze ari rukumbi, nyuma y'icyeragati kigufi cy'amashyaka menshi yemewe ku ya 10 Kamena 1991 Itegekonshinga rishya rimaze kwemerwa. Iryo shyaka ryasubiranye ubutegetsi nyakuri hafi ya bwose, kuva ku ishyirwa ho rya Guverinoma y'ubusigire ku itariki ya 9 Mata1994. Ryihariye kandi ububasha bwo kuvugira « imbaga y'Abahutu » ryishingikirije ibyo gutabara igihugu cyatewe. Ikirari kizashingira rwose ku myitwarire y'abanyaporitiki bamwe bakomokaga mu ishyaka rya MRND, bakaba kandi bari bafite imirimo ihanitse mu gihe cyose cya Repuburika ya kabiri.

Nko mu bitabo byabanje, uyu murimo urihatira cyane cyane kwerekana neza ibyabaye no no gutahura ingamba.Uragereranya ubuhamya bwinshi cyane bwatanzwe n'abanyagikorwa b'abasiviri n'abasirikari. Uragenera umwanya mugari isesengura rya za « ajenda », mu nyito zombi z'iryo jambo (udukarine twandikwa mo ibikorwa, na gahunda y'imirimo ya ba nyiratwo), n'isuzuma ry'imyitwarire y'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari mu gihe cy'intambara na jenoside nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ryaciye umutwe inzego za Leta.

Abasomyi bazibonera ko mu mapaji yacyo uko akurikirana, iki gitabo kigaragaza

[1]André Guichaoua, Exilés, réfugiés, déplacés en Afrique centrale et orientale, Karthala, Paris, 2004.

[2] André Guichaoua, Rwanda 1994. Les politiques du génocide à Butare, Karthala, Paris, 2005.

ibyiciro n'ibikorwa byari bidasobanutse cyangwa byari bizwi nabi kugeza ubu. Ibyo gishyira ahabona birahamya isesengura ry'imyitwarire, ry'imigambi bwite cyangwa rusange, n'iry'uko abanyagikorwa bari babiri mo ku buryo bwa hafi bumvaga icyo intambara yari igamije. Hanyuma, impamvu y'ubu bushakashatsi ni uko ari ngombwa kugirira icyarimwe imbonerahamwe y'ingeri zitabarika z'ibyari byihishe inyuma y'iyo ntambara itagira impuhwe. Muri urwo rwego iki gitabo kirugurura amarembo mashya.

Irembo rya mbere rijyanye n'isesengura ry'urukubo rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu n'urw'amashyaka ahanganye yigabagabanyije, nibura ku buryo bw'agateganyo, kugenzura inzego zimwe za Leta, igihe ubutegetsi bushingiye ku mashyaka menshi bwari bumaze kwemerwa mu wa 1991. Kuri iyi ngingo, ni ngombwa kwitabaza ikirari rukomatanya kuko ishyaka rukumbi n'abayobozi baryo bagenzuraga kugeza icyo gihe impande zose z'ubuzima rusange, n'igice kinini cy'ubuzima bwite bw'abaturage b'uRwanda. Ubwo bwiganze bwarakomeje no mu gihe cy'amashyaka menshi. Mu myaka y'ubwisanzure bw'amashyaka - n'iy'intambara y'amagomerane- (1991-1994), ikibazo cyazaga mu mpaka zose cyari icy'uko abayobozi n'abarwanashyaka b'uwo mutwe wa poritiki bari barihariye uruhererekane rwa poritiki n'ubukungu, bityo bakanagira ubushobozi bwo gukura ho cyangwa kugabanya ubwo bwikubire.

« Abo ku ruhande rwa perezida[3]» bakomeje kwiganza muri poritiki y'igihugu, kandi n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi yagenaga amatwara yayo abanje kureba uko bahagaze. Hirya y'urukubo rwa poritiki, igihugu cyabaye ho mu gatereranzamba kajya imbere n'inyuma ku rugamba rudahosha rwo gushyira ho imbuga za demokarasi mu ngeri zose z'ubuzima nyamubano. Imputa n'imirwanire y'urwo rugamba byagenwaga buri gihe n'uko intambara y'amagomerane imeze, ndetse n'igipimo cy'ingufu z'impande ebyiri z'ingenzi zari zishyamiranye: ubutegetsi bwa perezida (bwahinyurwaga i Kigali), n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi. Zombi zari zaranangiye kwemera ko haba ho ubwisanzure bw'amashyaka zitashoboraga kugenzura n'igabana nyakuri ry'ubutegetsi. Urwo ruhande

[3] Nyuma y'iyemerwa ry'amashyaka menshi, iryo bango risobanura ku buryo rusange imiryango n'abanyaporitiki biyemeje gukomeza kuba abambari n'ibyegera bya perezida Habyarimana.

ubwarwo rw'uko ibintu byari byifashe muri poritiki rushobora kumenyekana kuva ubu ku buryo buhamye, cyane cyane kubera ingingo z'isesengura ry'imiyoborere y'intambara ya FPR/Inkotanyi zibonetse vuba aha[4]. Nzagira n'icyo mvuga ku banyagikorwa b'abanyamahanga, bo mu karere n'abo mu rwego mpuzamahanga, abikorera ku giti cyabo n'abakorera Leta, bagize uruhare rusa n'urutaziguye mu migendekere y'ibyabaye. Ntabwo nzaba ngamije gucukumbura iby'izo mpande zose, ariko nzerekana ingeri z'aho zagiye zivanga byanze bikunze.

Ku buryo bufatika, nzihatira gusesengurira hamwe amakimbirane yo gufata ubutegetsi mu rukubo rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu, n'ihangana ry'injyanamuntu hagati y'ibipande bya gisiviri na gisirikari. Icya mbere cyibumbiye uko amezi atashye ku basirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bo mu majyaruguru bashyizwe ho na Repuburika ya kabiri, na ho icya kabiri cyari kigizwe n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi. Umuhigo nyamukuru, birumvikana, wo kugumana cyangwa kwisubiza ubutegetsi ni wo washyamiranyije, kuva mu Kwakira 1990, inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi b'impunzi zaturukaga mu ndiri yazo muBuganda, amashyaka n'imiryango itavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi byari byashinzwe nyuma y'iyemerwa ry'amashyaka menshi mu wa 1991, n'ingufu z'ingeri zitandukanye zari zibumbiye hamwe mu cyitwa « uruhande rwa perezida ».

Irembo rya kabiri rijyanye n'ibirindurasesengura. Reka mbivuge mu magambo yumvikana. Kugeza ubu nari nashyize imbere ikirari cy'ibifatika, cyatangiriraga ku

[4] Uburanguruzi bwinshi buturutse muri FPR ubwayo cyangwa se bwigenga bwari bwaramenyekanishije, mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1990, inkuru n'ubuhamya byerekeye ishusho mbonera ry'imiterere y'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi, n'ingamba za Jenerari-Majoro Pawuro Kagame zo gufata ubutegetsi (nka Memorandumu ya Michaël HOURIGAN, umupererezi wa TPIR, yanditswe mu wa 1997), nyamara ni ukuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 2000 gusa (ubuhamya bwa Yohani-Petero Mugabe ku iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, Ishyirahamwe mpuzamahanga risesengura ingamba, 21 Mata 2000 cyangwa se inyandiko za Majoro Arufonsi Furuma, 23 Mutarama 2001), ariko cyane cyane mu mwaka wa 2004, ko amakuru yagiye yuzuzanya ku buryo bunyiriye kandi budashogosha mu biganiro byinshi byabaye (Rb. Abdul RUZIBIZA, Rwanda, Histoire Secrète[amateka yagizwe ibanga], Panama, Paris,2005). Mu buryo bubangikanye, amaperereza aboneye yakozwe na TPIR, n'umucamanza w'Umufaransa Jean-Louis Bruguière, n'ubucamanza bwa Hisipaniya, nb. , mu rwego rwo gukurikirana ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibyibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe mu ntambara. Kuri iyi ngingo, reba umutwe wa 7 n'uwa 14.

bikorwa kikaronda banyirabyo, kikagaragaza imyanya yabo, ubusano n'ubwitange bwabo mu byabaye. Ku bwanjye, mbona iki kirari cyari kibonereye ibyo kumvikanisha ukuntu imyitwarire y'abantu bo mu nzego zisumbana- muri rusange iziciye bugufi-, imirimo bashinzwe, urubibi rw' ububasha bwabo, byashoboraga gusobanuka no gutandukanywa ku buryo butazuye. Bitandukanye n'iby'abanyagikorwa bari mu myanya ikomeye ifata ibyemezo bya poritiki cyangwa itanga amategeko ya gisirikari. Icyari kibashishikaje ni ibikorwa byabo byakomatanyaga buri gihe intego yo kongerera ingufu umwanya wabo bwite mu rusobe rw'ubutegetsi no gukora ku buryo ubwo butegetsi bukomeza kwizimba. Mu byiyumviro byabo, ariko na none bishingiye ku gitekerezo cyihariwe na buri muntu, irari rya buri wese n' « inyungu zihanitse z'igihugu » byarahwanaga ku buryo ubu n'ubu. Urwivange kandi rwarushije ho gukomera cyane cyane kuko abayobozi b'ingenzi badushishikaje hano bari bafite imyanya y'igikatu mu nzego zaremaga umusingi n'ishingiro ry'ubutegetsi bwa Repuburika ya kabiri zigashyira ho n'amabwiriza yo kubungabunga imigendekere myiza y'ubuzima nyamubano. Bityo abo bayobozi bibwiye hakiri kare cyane ko bashobora gushyika ku myanya yo ku isonga, ndetse bakagira n' « ubwamamare mu gihugu hose ». Ni muri urwo rwego ari ngombwa kumva neza, mu gihe cya mbere, amategeko yagengaga umukino w'urusobe rw'ubuhake mu marembera ya Repuburika ya kabiri, n'uburyo bwihariye bw'ishyirwa mu myanya, bw'imikorere n'itoranywa ry'abanyabikorwa bo mu nzego za Leta no mu mfuruka z'ubutegetsi buri wese yaboneraga mo ibimugenewe. Mu gihe cya kabiri, ni ngombwa kumenya akageni ingamba zabo zo guhatanira imyanya mu ruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi, zo gufata no kugenzura ingufu zo mu ngeri ya poritiki (kugira ijambo mu ishyaka no mu nzego za Leta), zo mu ngeri y'imari n'ubukungu(imigabane inyuranye itorwa ku musaruro n'izenguruka ry'amafaranga, kugena ibikoresho no gusaranganya umutungo), zo mu ngeri ya gisirikari (gutunganya urunana rw'imikoranire, kugira ibitwaro bya hambavu) , n'izo mu ngeri ya diporomasi (inkunga ya za ambasade z'ibihugu bikomeye n'iya benifaranga) zihindura ayo mategeko y'umukino ndetse zigahindura imyanya y'ibigamijwe. Perezida Habyarimana yari we mutima w'urusobe runogereje yari yarizengurukije ho huboro buhoro, ariko na we ubwe rukamugenga igihe « ibiremwa »

rwibarukaga rukanaha icyerekezo byahindukaga urubariro rwa koma rw'inyubako ye, bigashobora no kuba ku mukondo w'ubutegetsi bw'amagomerane. Mu bihe by'amahoro, byari byoroshye gucunga amarari. Icya ngombwa cyari ugusaranganya ubukungu n'imyanya byafunguraga amayira yo kubigera ho no kubitubura, byombi bikagengwa n'ingufu z'amasano buri wese afitanye n'abagize ipfundo ry'urusobe rw'ubuhake.

Bene ayo masano Yuvenari Habyarimana yashoboraga kuyacikiza cyangwa kuyaregura igihe cyose. Mu bihe by'umutuzo muke wakuruwe n'amashyaka menshi n'intambara y'amagomerane, ingufu n'imicungire by'ayo matsindabyahindukaga bikurikije nyine uko ibintu byagendaga bihindagurika. Bityo rero, kubera ko ubutegetsi bwari bwajegeye, kugenzura urwo rusobekerane byari ingorabahizi. Ku buryo bwihariye, intera z'ingufu za poritiki buri wese mu bari bahanganye mu ntambara yashoboraga gukusanya zari ziyongereye ku buryo bugaragara. Muri izo ntera z'ingufu habarirwaga mo, niba kuzitandukanya hari icyo bikimaze, uburyo « bwemewe n'amategeko », imikorere y'irengayobora cyangwa se isanzwe ibujijwe nk'ibikorwa « bya ruharwa ». Iremwa ry' amatsinda y'insoresore z'amashyaka n'iyunguruza ryayo byerekanaga ku buryo bw'intangarugero iryo zamuka ry'intera : gukangura abarwanashyaka binyuze mu bikorwa by'imboneramubano, uburezi cyangwa imikino ngororamubiri mu ntera ya mbere, kubahiriza umutekano no gufasha mu bikorwa by'ikangurambaga ryamamaza ishyaka, kwirema mo amatsinda no gukora imyitozo ya gisirikari mu ntera ya kabiri, hanyuma ku ya gatatu, gukodesha amatsinda yitwaje intwaro n'inzego zikora « ku giti cyazo » no kongera umubare w'udutsiko turangwa n'ibikorwa by'ingeruza. Nuko rero, igihe abahanganye basangaga ibicumuro byari ngombwa kugira ngo bagere ku ntego zabo, aho kubifata nk' « amakosa » babigize ibikorwa by'intambara. Icyo gihe, kuri bo ibyo bicumuro – gukwirakwiza no gushishikariza urwango hagati y'amoko, guhigira imitungo n'abantu, gusahura, guhotora, kurema ibico, gutsembatsemba bikagera aho kurimbura abantu bo mu bwoko runaka ubita abanzi, bifatwa nk'aho ari ngombwa mu mikorere yabo kuko biba byakomotse ku byemezo by'ingamba z'indengerabuzima.

Kurundarunda ibyo bigufu n'ibikoresho byose byari bihariwe gusa abanyagikorwa bari

bafite ho ububasha kandi bashoboraga kurenga imiziro mboneramuco n'amategeko y'igihugu kigendera ku mategeko. Ni muri ubwo buryo abategetsi cyangwa abakuru ba gisirikari bakoze ku bitwaro by'intambara by'amoko yose bateganya kandi bategeka kurimbura umuntu wese cyangwa itsinda ry'abantu babonwaga nk'inzitizi ku migambi yabo ya poritiki. Twibutse kandi ko gushyira imbere imikorere y'ubucokoma n'ubuhezanguni babigize ubusa muri ako karere k'umusi wa Afurika, kashegeshwe n'urukurikirane rw'imidugararo ya poritiki n'intambara z'amagomerane. Iyo midugararo irangwa n'intego zihora zihinduka yaje mu murongo w'inzibacyuho z'ubwigenge zapfubye. Hafi buri gihe yajyanaga n'ubuhonyozi burenze kamere bwahitanaga umubare uhanitse w'abantu n'ibintu (muBuganda, Santarafurika, Kongo- Zayire, muBurundi no muRwanda, nh.). Iyo midugararo yagiye isembura kandi igakongeza indi yiyanditse mu gihe no mu rwibuko by'abanyagihugu bo ku isonga ndetse no mu nzego zose z'abaturage, nk'aho ari ibyiciro bisanzwe cyangwa se bitagira gitangira.

Uko ibintu byari byifashe nyuma y'ihotorwa rya perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 byatumye abateye igihugu bahanika imihigo yabo, bityo bagomorora ingufu z'Ahahutu b'ababahezanguni bari bahise mo kurwanya imbonankubone FPR /Inkotanyi n'Abatutsi guhera mu gice cya kabiri cy'umwaka wa 1993. Mu masaha yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege, bariye karungu maze bakindagura abari ku isonga y'abacisha make bataravugaga rumwe na Leta, kugira ngo bafate ubutegetsi. Nyuma yo kwima ingufu ku bushake n'akagambane abanyagikorwa baturuka hanze y'igihugu (Minuar- Misiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yo gufasha uRwanda[5]) - n'ingabo z'amahanga, ubunanirane

[5] Minuar yashyizwe ho n'Icyemezo 872 cy'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 5 Ukwakira 1993, hanyuma ubutumwa bwayo burangira ku itariki ya 8 Werurwe 1996. Yari ifite inshingano zo gutera inkunga mu kubungabunga umutekano mu mujyi wa Kigali, kugenzura imyubahirize y'amasezerano yo guhosha intambara yashyiraga ho urubibi rushya rw'akarere katarangwa mo imirwano, gushyira ho ubundi buryo bwo gusubiza abasirikari mu gisiviri, kugenzura uko umutekano rusange wifashe kuva mu icyura ry'igihe rya Guverinoma z'inzibacyuho kugeza ku matora yo hagati mu mwaka wa 1996. Yagombaga kugira uruhare mu gutaburura ibisasu no gutera inkunga ibikorwa by'imfashanyo ngobokamuntu bijyana n'imirimo y'ubutabazi. Umukuru wa gisirikari w'iyo Misiyo yariJ enerari Roméo Antonius Dallaire (Kanada) wakoze uwo murimo kuva mu ntangiro kugeza ku itariki ya 20 Kanama 1994. Yari akuriwe na Bwana Jacques- Roger Booh-Booh (Kameruni),

bwagaragaye vuba bw'imishyikirano yo guhagarika intambara bwatumye iyo ntambara ifata isura ya rurangiza : impande zombi zavugaga ko ari « iya nyuma ». Nta rubibi na rumwe rwari rukibuza abashyamiranye guhita mo ibikoresho no kugira aho bagarukiriza ibikorwa byo kubageza ku nsinzi.

Bityo rero, iki kirari gishingira ku ngamba n'intego z'abafitanye amakimbirane kugira ngo kitwumvishe neza uburyo n'intera zo gushitura abantu buri wese yari afite uko ibyiciro by'intambara byagiye bikurikirana. Kiranyura mu nzira itandukanye n'izisanzwe mu isuzuma ry'ingirwahame y' « igutegurwa » ry'ibicumuro cyangwa ry' « ubwumvikane » bwaba bwarabibanjirije. Gihereye ku iyibukiranya rinoze ry'ibyabaye, kirerekana ku buryo budahinyuka ukuntu imigendekere y'intambara n'ibijyana na yo, iyubura ry'imirwano mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata n'itangizwa rya jenoside bidashobora gusuzumwa intatane. Kandi kiratuma cyane cyane dushoshobora kumenya ku buryo budahusha igihe jenoside yatangiriye n'abanyagikorwa bayiyoboye.

Ubuhamya n'imyandiko: ingingo z'uburyo mbonera

Ubushakashatsi nk'ubu busaba kwigerera ku makuru y'umwimereri no ku buhamya nyagaciro bw'abahagaze ku byabaye. Kurusha uko byagenze ku bitabo byabanje, nahawe umusanzu ukomeye w'abagabo benshi n'abanyagikorwa bataziguye b'ibyabaye. Byorohejwe n'uko nari nzi ubwanjye benshi muri bo kuva mbere ya 1994. Nk'umushakashatsi, kuva mu 1979 nari naratangiye imirimo yo kugereranya ibyaro byo muri Afurika yo hagati, nkajya no mu butumwa kenshi cyane nk'inzobere y'imiryango mpuzamahanga cyangwa se nyagihugu y'ubutwererane n'amajyambere (BIT, Banki y'Isi, PNUD, ubutwererane n'uBusuwisi, nd.). Guhera mu myaka ya 1984-1986, imirimo yo gukurikiranira hafi gahunda z'amajyambere y'ubuhinzi muBurundi no muRwanda yatumye mpamara igihe kirekire nkoresha anketi n'ubushakashatsi bunyuranye. Ibyo

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intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, akaba ari na we wayoboye iyo Misiyo kuva ku ya 23 Ugushyingo 1993 kugeza ku ya 15 Kamena 1994.

byose byatumye menya neza amakomini hafi ya yose yo muri ibyo bihugu. Mu karere 90% by'abaturage batunzwe n'ubuhinzi, kandi n'abari ku isonga bagakomeza kwizirika ku butaka bwabo kavukire, kuba hafi yabo byamfashije kugirana umubano ukomeye kandi urambye n'imiryango myinshi ku mpande zombi z'umupaka, ndetse no ku buryo bwaguye, mu ntara zo hakurya mu burasirazuba bw'icyahoze cyitwa Zayire. Mu gihe amakimbirane yubuye mu wa 1987 agatuma abanyamahanga birukanwa igihiriri bagasubizwa mu bihugu byabo, bari bansabye kwiga ku buryo bwimbitse ingingo nyinshi z'izo mpaka zabuzaga isinywa ry'Amasezerano yo kwishyirukizana kw'ibintu n'abantu mu Muryango w'ubukungu w'ibihugu byo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari (CEPGL, ihuriwe mo n'uBurundi, uRwanda na Zayire). Kubera ibyo, nashishikariye ikibazo cy'abimukira (ba kera n'aba vuba) bahakanirwaga uburenganzira bwo gutura n'ubwenegihugu. Nitaye cyane cyane ku ngaruka ziri mo amakimbirane z'ukuntu impunzi amagana z'urunyuranyurane muri ibyo bihugu zari zitegereje, zimwe guhera muri za 1950, ko hafatwa umwanzuro ku kibazo cyabo bakamenya icyo bagenewe.

Hirya y'urukubo rwa poritiki za Leta, nashoboye kubonana n'abantu benshi baje, mu myaka ya 1990, kuvugana n'abategetsi bari bari ho mu izina ry'amatsinda ya poritiki atavuga rumwe na Leta cyangwa se ry'imitwe yitwaje intwaro yari ifite igice kinini cy'abayobozi n'abarwanashyaka bayo mu mahanga. Uruhare nagize mu mishyikirano n'inama binyuranye mu wa 1991 na 1992, kimwe no gukurikirana gahunda z'imfashanyo zihutirwa, byongereye intera yo kwinjira muri ibyo bikorwa ku buryo bwimbitse, ndetse no mu bihe cyangwa mu dutendo twatumaga abanyamahanga batazenguruka mu karere. Ni muri ubwo buryo nari ndi i Kigali muri Werurwe – Mata 1994. Kuba muRwanda byari bijyanye n'ubutumwa butari buke bwerekeye ubushakashatsi n'inkunga mu bya tekiniki nakoreraga Ubuyobozi bw'ubutwererane n'amajyambere (DDC) bwo muri Minisiteri y'Ubwibumbe y'Ububanyi n'amahanga yo mu Busuwisi, kandi nagombaga kuhamara ibyumweru bitatu. Icyari kigamijwe ni ugusuzuma gahunda z'amajyambere z'ubwo butwererane muRwanda, no gutunganya iby'ihererekanyabubasha

ry'abaminisitiri bashya bashinzwe kubukurikirana.

Mu buryo bwinshi, kuba nari ndi muRwanda byakatishije ikorosi ubuzima bwanjye. Mbere na mbere kubera uruhare rwanjye bwite aho nari ndi no mu byumweru byakurikiye, kandi ariko cyane cyane mu mezi menshi namaze mu karere kuva ubwo kugeza mu bihe bya vuba aha. Uretse ubutumwa bw'imishyikirano n'ubutwererane, ubutumire bukomeye kurusha ubundi bwaturutse mu Rukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda (TPIR, rwashyizwe ho n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Gushyingo 1994), no mu nkiko z'ibihugu byinshi zari zashinzwe guca imanza z'ibicumuro byakozwe muri iyo myaka y'intambara. Kugeza uyu munsi, natanze ubuhamya mu miburanishirize y'imanza mirongo itatu z'abaregwa jenoside, nk' « umugabo wari uhibereye » kandi nk' « umutangabuhamya w'inzobere ». Uretse kandi imyifatire mboneramuco y'uko abashakashatsi bazobereye muri aka karere bategekwa gutanga ubuhamya ku byo bazi ku mwuka n'abanyagikorwa b'ibyabaye (ndetse no ku baregwa), ubwo bwitange bukomeye buturuka ku nshingano yo mu rwego rw'amategeko ihabwa abagabo bahagaze ku byabaye, ubwo rero nanjye nari mu butumwa i Kigali muri Werurwe – Mata 1994. Muri urwo rwego, misiyo zibarirwa mu macumi n'amezi menshi nakoze mo anketi aho ibikorwa byabereye, isesengura ry'ishyinguramurage rinini cyane n'uburenganzira budasanzwe bwo kugera ku isoko y'amakuru afite uwo ahariwe cyangwa atarigeze agira icyo amazwa, ibyo byose byamfashije gukora ubushakashatsi ku mateka y'ubuzima bw'abantu mu rwego rw'akarere cyangwa se rw'insangamatsiko, ubwo bushakashatsi bukaba bwarabaye ishingiro ry'ubuhamya natanze n'ibitabo natangaje. Umubano ukomeye mfitanye n'abantu bo muri ako karere kuva mu myaka mirongo itatu ishize watumye ngirana ibiganiro n'abantu benshi cyane nkanababaza ku ngingo zisa n'izifite imiziro. Nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu ibintu bibaye, benshi muri bo bifuzaga noneho gufata ijambo, kugira ngo nibura bashyire ahagaragara igice cy'amakuru n'inyibutsamateka bafite. Ibyo birareba abayobozi benshi b'abasirikari n'abasiviri bafite amakuru menshi bagize umuhate wo kuyibuka no kuyasesengura, bikaba byaratumye

gukora anketi no kuzishakira gihamya byaronyoroheye. Ubwo bushake bushya bw'abari batarigeze bifuza kugira icyo batangaza kugeza ubu bukwiriye kwitabwa ho. Kwiyumva mo ko igihe cyegereje amaherezo « ukuri » ku ngingo z'intambara zikiri mu gihu kukavugwa, ariko cyane cyane kukumvikana bisobanura ubushake bwo gufatanya bw'abo batangabuhamya, n'ubwo bazi ubukana bw' ibibi bakorerwa na bagenzi babo bashobora kubatahura ku buryo bworoshye[6].

N'ubwo byumvikana ko bidashoboka kubavuga, ndabamenyesha cyakora ukuntu umusanzu w'abo bantu bose wabaye ingirakamaro: baba abo twakomeje guhererekanya amakuru kuva mu myaka ya 1990 kandi bakaba barambereye indahemuka mu bushakashatsi bwanjye bunyuranye, rimwe na rimwe ari n'ubusaba kwigengesera bikomeye, baba n'abasabwe amakuru igihe gito bakemera gusubiza ibibazo bimwe bigufi ariko bikemura impaka. Abo bantu bose bazi uburyo mbashimira ko bangiriye akamaro bakangirira n'icyizere.

Ndanabashimira kubera yuko ibirari nagereranyije byatumye nkoresha neza amakuru n'ubusesenguzi nari nararundanyije mu myaka icumi ishize, mbifashijwe mo n'abantu banyuranye. Ayo makuru n'ubusesenguzi akenshi nabyumvaga nabi kuko kuri njye byari urugera n'urusobe. Gusobanukirwa n'urukubo rwa poritiki bisaba kumenya ku buryo bunonosoye imiterere y'abantu n'urushamikirane bakorera mo, n'ubwo kuvuga uziga, gukorera mu kintu cy'igihu no guhishahisha ari yo mategeko abagenga.

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[6] Hano ngomba kuvuga Liyetona- Koroneri Agusitini Cyiza waguranye ubuzima bwe kwitangira ukuri. Uwo musirikari mukuru kandi w'umunyamategeko yabaye umwe mu bantu bagize ubushishozi bwinshi muri icyo gihe. Ni umwe mu bantu bake cyane bakurikiranye ibyabaye, akaba yarashoboye kugirana n'impande zose zishyamiranye imishyikirano ya hafi cyane kandi isobanutse, kuko atigeze aba gashozantambara cyangwa umunyaporitiki. Uwo musirikari mukuru utagira igice abarirwa mo kandi wishyiraga akizana, bigatuma adahabwa umwanya,- yari perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisirkare rutabaga ho-, yaharaniraga amahoro abyiyemeje kandi abikuye ku mutima. Ubuhanga mu gusesengura, ugushyira mu gaciro n'imvugo ye itarya amagambo byahoraga bitamaza abo bavuganaga kuko yashyiraga ahabona amayeri yabo. Gukora ibyo k'umuntu udafite ikimurengera byamubyariye inzangano nyinshi. Yashimuswe n'abakozi ba serivisi z'ipererezа zo muRwanda ku itariki ya 23 Mata 2003 none kuva icyo gihe nta washoboye kumenya agakuru ke (rb. André GUICHAOUA, « Post-face. Le 23 avril 2003 », mu gitabo cyitwa Agusitini Cyiza, Un homme libre auRwanda[umugabo wishyiraga akizana muRwanda], Karthala, Paris, 2004, p. 209-213 ; reba kandi umugereka 51).

Ikindi kandi, mu gihe cy'imirimo yanjye yerekeye intambara na jenoside mu rwego rwa za perefegitura na komini, nari mfite icyitegererezo gihagije cyari cyarakomotse kuri za anketi nakoze kuva kera mu by'ubushakashatsi bwanjye bujyanye n'ubumenyi nyamubano n'ubukungu byo mu cyaro. Kandi nashoboraga gusubira aho nazikoreye nkongera nkabonana n'abanyagikorwa barusimbutse, cyangwa se nkamara iminsi nshatse mu magereza nganira n'abari mu maboko y'ubucamanza, haba ku mpamvu nyazo cyangwa zigoretse. Kuri ubwo buryo, byarashobokaga gutazura vuba impamvu zo mu rwego nyamubano, kumenya aho abantu babaye, ibi bikaba ari ingingo z'ingirakamaro zituma umuntu arusha ho gusobanukirwa.

Imikorere nk'iyo ntiyari igishoboka mu mitegurire y'iki gitabo kubera ko ibyo abantu bari bashinzwe byari byinshi kandi bidasobanutse neza, kubera ingeri zitabarika z'imirimo bari bafite mo uruhare, no kubera ko urushamikirane rw'inzego zitandukanye z'ibikorwa byabo rutari rusobanutse. Aha rero akaba ari ho amambu yo kuba umushakashatsi w'umunyamahanga yigaragariza bikaba akaburabuza.

Ku ruhande rumwe, muri rusange ashobora kurundanya amakuru atabarika abenshi mu banyagihugu badashobora gukusanya kubera kubura amikoro, ariko no kubera imyanya yabo bwite n'aho bahagaze (mu rwego rw'imiryango, uturere, imirimo n'imibanire, amadini, ingenabitekerezo na poritiki). Ku rundi ruhande, ahora yitaruye ibyo abantu bafite mu mbamutima zabo atumva neza kandi « atabonesha amaso ». Ubwo bwitarure busobanurwa neza n'uyu mugani w'ikinyarwanda ugira uti: « Agahinda k'inkoko kamenywa n'inkike yatoye mo » [mu kinyarwanda mu gitabo]. Uyu mugani uratsindagira cyane ingorane zo kumva neza ukuri kw'iriya ntambara, n'ibishuko bikabije bitera indorerezi gusimbuza ibura ry'amakuru afite gihamya n'isesengura ridafatika, amahame y'imvugo za rubanda. Nyamara imyifatire y'umushakashatsi w'umunyamahanga ishobora kumubera akarusho hirya y'intera runaka yo gukusanya amakuru n'iyo kugirana ikimenyane n'abanyagikorwa no kuba umenyeranye n'ibyabaye. Iyo myifatire ituma yitarura inkuru zihora zisubira mo n'ingingo gihamya zagenwe gutyo, ariko cyane cyane bifite icyo bigamije n'ingamba z'amayeri zitizwa abanyagikorwa ku buryo budakuka.

N'ubwo hashize imyaka, inkuru nshya ibonetse cyangwa itahurwa ry'ibintu bitari bizwi bishimangira imbamutima y'uko anketi zitarangiye n'uko ubushakashatsi butuzuye. Iyo mbamutima ishobora kuringanizwa n' « ukuri kw'ingero zikomeye zabaye ho », nk'uko Hannah Arendt abivuga, ingero zigira icyo zigera ho, zikagaragaza ibindi bifite urunyiriri cyangwa bidafite umutwe n'ikibuno, bigatera kuzirikana no kumva neza ibipande bidacimbuye by'amateka. Ingorane ebyiri cyangwa imbibi ntarengwa ziracyari ho nyamara, kandi zikomeje kubangamira ubushakashatsi. Iya mbere, kandi iremereye, ikomoka ku rwego rw'abenshi muri abo banyagikorwa badashobora cyangwa badashaka kugira icyo batangaza, kubera imirimo n'inshingano bari bafite icyo gihe cyangwa ubungubu. Amananiza yo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza abibuza ku buryo bugaragara abakurikiranwe n'inkiko cyangwa abafunzwe, ndetse n'abashobora kubigirirwa. Ariko, mu buryo rusange, iterabwoba n'ibikangisho bikoreshwa ku buryo busesuye n'inzego za poritiki n'iz'ubucamanza, bikaba byarabaye intwaro abategetsi bashya bitabaza bacecekesha abatangabuhamya bashobora kugira icyo bavuga ku byabaye, bibatera kwifata cyane. Icyerekezo rusange cy'uko ubutegetsi bushaka kwandikisha amateka ya jenoside n'ibyayibanjirije noneho cyaremejwe kugira ngo gihamye ishingiro ry'ishoza ry'intambara n'iryo gufata ubutegetsi ukabwikubira, kugira ngo gisobanure impamvu abanyagihugu bagengwa n'igitugu kandi bagapakirwa inyigisho z'ingenabitekerezo. Bifashishije urwungikane rw'amategeko abemerera gukurikirana abatana umurongo wa poritiki n'ingenabitekerezo, abategetsi bafite ububasha bwo kugamburuza ku buryo budasubirwa ho uwagaragaza ikirari icyo ari cyo cyose cyanyuranya n'ayo mateka yemejwe. Ku by'umwihariko, bashobora kubangamira isesenguramateka ryose ryakwiyemeza gushyira jenoside yo mu wa 1994 mu murongo w'intambara yashojwe na FPR/Inkotanyi, no gusuzuma imiyoborere yayo bwite y'intambara.

Izinzika rimeze rityo riboneka no ku rundi ruhande mu bari bagize akazu ka perezida no mu byegera bya Nyakwigendera Yuvenari Habyarimana, bashoboye kubambira neza neza abagira ibishuko byo « kwiguranura » kubera ukuri. Iryo hishira urisanga no mu biyemeje kurishyigikira bari muri za ambasade z'impande zose zari zifite inyungu mu ntambara, badashaka gushyirwa cyangwa gusubizwa mu ruhando rw'iteranamagambo

rihora rihemberwa n'amarengamutima y'Abanyarwanda ahora aryenyegeza.

Urubibi rwa kabiri rushingiye ku mubare muto cyane w'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe ku ntambara ubwayo, cyane cyane ubwo twaba dukesha abanditsi b'Abanyarwanda bazi neza ibyabaye. Igitera ibi bintu kurusha ho kuba bibi ni uko ibyinshi muri ibyo bitabo usanga mo umubare ukabije kuba muto w'ibikorwa ntangamugabo kandi bifatika bishimangira ibyanditse mo. Iki gitabo kirageregeza gukosora izo nenge gikusanya imyandiko y'icyo gihe n'ubuhamya butaratangazwa cyane cyangwa butagerwa ho ku buryo bworoshye. Na none, uko imyaka igenda ihita ni na ko abagabo bakunze kwitarura amakuru batanze ku byabaye, bakongera mo ibivugwa cyangwa ibyo bababwiye, ibyo bemera cyangwa bashaka kwemera. Gusobanura uruvange rw'inzibuko z'ukuri n'izidafite ishingiro bishobora kuruhanya, ariko bitagombye gutuma duhakana ko uwihatira kwibuka avuga yeruye irimuri ku mutima cyangwa ko akwiriye kwemerwa.

Ikibazo cyo kumenya niba ibyavuzwe ari amanyakuri kirusha ho gukomera iyo nyir'ukuvuga, ku buryo ubu n'ubu, yemerwa nk'uwahohotewe kandi na we akaba ari ko yiyumva. Ubwo rero haba hasigaye gutandukanya « ukuri » n'isesekaza ry'ubuhungabane bwamubaye ho, itoranya ry'ibintu bijyanye no kwitoza kuba umuranguruzi, n'ukwicengeza mo ibyo bavuga ko kuva ubu ari ko kuri kwemewe. Ariko icya ngombwa kurusha ho ni uguhigika ubutitsa igipande cyibagiranye cy'ibintu byabaye ntibihabwe agaciro, cy'ibyazinzitswe, cy'ibyahakanwe, cy'amabanga abitswe kubera ko hari mo umubare cyangwa se ko ari ngombwa. Kuko bisa n'aho bishoboka iteka gushimikira icyabaye no kubona abandi bagabo bagihamya cyangwa bagihakana. Nk'uko turi bubibone nyuma, ibice binini byahariwe gutahura no guhambura amapfundo n'imikino by'ubutiriganya bwa poritiki bugenda burusha ho kuba urusobekerane. Ubwo butiriganya bunyurana mo bwajyaga bushobera abenshi mu ndorerezi n'abadiporomate biboneraga isura y' inyuma gusa. Nyamara n'ubwo hari ibisobanuro byatanzwe kandi n'isesengura rikaba ryarateye imbere ku buryo bugaragara, abanyagikorwa b'Abanyarwanda babaye muri ubwo butiriganya (cyangwa babugiriwe) buri munsi bazasigarana ipfunwe ryinshi. Kuri iyi ngingo sintekereza ukutishima guterwa n'ibikorwa

cyangwa isesengura binyuranya n'amateka yapanzwe, ahubwo ndavuga ubucikize buguma mo byanze bikunze. Koko rero, n'ubwo urunyiriri rugaragara hagati y'ibikorwa n'ibyemezo by'impande zose rushobora kwemerwa kuva ubu ko muri rusange ruboneye, n'ubwo insimburantego zo mu ntangiro zateganyaga imyanzuro yaje gushyigikirwa amaherezo, inkuru iravuga igice gusa cy'ibyagiye bihinduka bitewe n'ibihe bigezwe ho, bikaba byaragize ingaruka ku byo abanyagikorwa bari bategereje n'ibyo bashakaga, kandi bikanagira n'icyo bikora ku migendekere y'ibyabaye.

Kugira icyo mvuga kuri iyi ngingo mbitewe n'ibyitegerezo bya buri gihe nahabwaga n'abo twaganiraga, ndetse n'abo nabaga nasabye kunsomera ibyo nanditse ngo batahure mo ibidatunganye. Akenshi bavuga ko hari ibyemezo bimwe byagize ingaruka za poritiki zikomeye « batari bashatse » cyangwa « batari biteze », bakicuza ko batashoboye gukumira abarenze imirongo gacanya. Akenshi ibyo byitegerezo bifite ishingiro bashoboraga kubitangira umugabo bifashishije amakuru cyangwa se insimburantego bidakemangwa. Urebye amahano yakurikiye ho n'uruhare bwite cyangwa rusange rushobora kubituruka ho, iyo mvugo nziganyo igomba kwitabwa ho kugira ngo hakorwe isesengura ridatatira ibyabaye, aho ingirwa runyiriri mu mikurikiranire y'ibikorwa cyangwa y'ingamba ziteganyijwe zaba zaragoetswe nyuma kandi ku buryo bwo kurengera, n'iyo byaba biboneka gusa mu nyandikire idahwitse. N'ubwo kubitandukanya buri gihe bitoroha, kongera kwinjiza icyo gice kiri ho kandi kidashobora kubura cy'ibidafatika neza mu mikurikiranire y'ibikorwa ni ngombwa kugira ngo intekerezo z'abanyagikorwa zumvikane neza n' « ukuri kwa nyakuri » kugaragazwe neza cyangwa gusubizwe ku ntebe. Koko rero, nk'uko ubwinshi bw'ubuhamya bubigaragaza, ubushyamirane bw'abanyaporitiki bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bwaturukaga ku mibare « ifite urunyiriri », ku myanya bari bafite cyangwa se kuri « kamere » ya buri wese. Amagambo aje mu gihe kitari cyo, ikibatsi cy'uburakari, uruhuriranye rutunguranye rw'ibikorwa, cyangwa se ibiri amambu « amagambo asize umunyu », ingingo zitavuguruzwa, kuba uri mu gihe wumva ko ibintu byose bihagaze neza, ibyo byose byashoboraga guhindura umurongo w'ibiganiro cyangwa w'inama, w'ubwisungane cyangwa se uwo gucana umubano. Aha umuntu yavuga ibyemezo byinshi byashyigikiwe

kandi nyamara binyuranye n' « inyungu zigamijwe », ibyo kandi biturutse ku manjwe yo guhatanira imyanya y'icyubahiro cyangwa se bitewe no gutomboka. Ibintu bisa n'aho nta gaciro bifite, akenshi bikibagirana muri raporo y'incamake, ariko nyamara ugasanga ari rugenabyemezo mu gihe byabaga. Ikindi kandi, abantu benshi twaganiraga bifuje ko nakwibutsa ibyerekeye ubusumbane bwarangaga abanyaporitiki mu rwego rwo kumenya amakuru ya ngombwa, rwo kumenyera uburyo n'umukino by' impaka za « kidemokarasi ». Amakimbirane yakuruwe n'intambara yagize ingaruka nyinshi ku bantu, hanyuma no ku mashyaka yari agitangira kwitoza ibyo guhangana hagati yayo, mu gihe yari ataraboneza amabwiriza n'imikorerwe y'igenzura bigomba kubahirizwa mu ishyaka ubwaryo no hagati y'amashyaka. N'ubwo ubwabo bahindutse abanyaporitiki babifitiye uburenganzira, abaragwamurage b'ishyaka rukumbi banyanyagiye mu mashyaka anyuranye atavuga rumwe n'iriri ku butegetsi n'ay'arishyigikiye mu wa 1991 no mu wa 1992, bakomeje kugirana umubano wa hafi hagati yabo, umubano wari ushingiye ku karere, ku miryango, ku madini, ku bucuti bw'abiganye mu mashuri n'ubw'abahuje ishyaka. Baragenderanaga, bagaturana, bagashishimurana kandi bagahana agaciro (mu nyito bwite, akenshi mu nyito nziguro) nk'abafitanye isano ya hafi, nk'incuti, nk'abakeba, nk'abahanganye. Iryo fatizo ridahita rigaragara ryabaga rihari buri gihe, cyane cyane kandi n'iyo abasangiraga inzoga muri wikendi, mu minsi mikuru cyangwa se mu mihango itegetswe, bongeraga guhura ku wa mbere kugira ngo bakemure, ku neza cyangwa se ku nabi, ibyo batumvikana ho muri poritiki.

Ikirari kiranyurana gato ku birebana n'abayobozi bakuru n'intumwa za FPR/Inkotanyi twavuganaga. N'iyo abantu babaga bafitanye umubano wa hafi hagati yabo, wasangaga abo ku ruhande rwa FPR/Inkotanyi bafite undi muco wa poritiki wihariye uranga uwo mutwe w'inyeshyamba. Uwo mukoke udasimbukwa wabatandukanyaga n'abayobozi b'imbere muRwanda washyamiranyaga impugu ebyiri : iya mbere igizwe n' « abasiviri », kabone n'iyo babaga bambaye gisirikari, icya kabiri yarangwaga n'imkorere ya gisirikari yari ifite amategeko n'ibihano byakurikizwaga no ku bakurutu b'abasiviri ku buryo budashogosha. Muri bene ubwo buzima, uruhare

rw'ibidateganyijwe n'ubwiganze bw'abantu ku giti cyabo byari byaragabanyijwe ku buryo bukaze mu birebana no gusesengura ingamba z'abanyagikorwa no kumva neza imigambi igamijwe. Kwibeshya, imikorere ikwanjitse cyangwa y'imbusane byashoraga kwiganza mu isuzuma ry'ibiri ho n'itangizwa ry'ibikorwa, ariko iyo imigambi yabaga yemejwe n'ibikorwa bigeze hagati, nta washidikanyaga ku runyiriri rusange, ku bushake bwa benshi ndetse no ku bwitabire bw'abantu, kuko « abataye umurongo » bahigikwaga.

Icyitegerezo cya nyuma cyerekeye imyandiko n'ubuhamya byinshi biri muri kino gitabo. Ntabwo ari iby'akanyongezo gusa. Yego ni intangamugabo n'ibyuzuzo bya ngombwa bitazura kandi bigashyigikira ibyanditswe, ariko hari ibindi byinshi cyane byongera ho. Byinshi muri byo ni ingingo zihariye – akenshi zitaratangazwa- ariko za ngombwa kugira ngo ibintu byumvikane neza. Kubera inyungu n'akamaro zifite, niyemeje kuziha umwanya mu gihimba cy'umwandiko (cyangwa se, mu gihe nta mwanya ubonetse mu gitabo, kuzomeka ho nk'imigereka iri ku rubuga rwa murandasi rujyana na cyo), kugira ngo abasomyi bisuzumire ubwabo ukuri zibumbatiye.

Ni cyo gitera imyandikire n'igitabo kuba ari imyimereri. Koko rero, kugira ngo ushobore gufindura ibintu bimwe bitagaragara neza, cyangwa se ngo werekane urufatikane rwabyo umuntu atakeka, ibice n'ingingo bimwe biboneka mo byanze bikunze ibisobanuro byinshi byerekeye ubuzima bwite bw'abantu, imikurikiranire y'ibihe, nb., bituma intego itandukana rwose n'iy'ibitekerezo umusomyi asanzwe amenyereye. Ishyirwa ho ry'urubuga rwa murandasi umusomyi asabwa kujya ho kenshi, kuko imigereka irenga ijana y'iki gitabo yahakusanyirijwe, rifite umugambi umwe. Ku bwanjye nabonaga ari ngombwa ko abazasoma iki gitabo bashobora kwibonera ubwabo intangamugabo « z'umwimereri » zikubiye mo (urugero : imyandiko iri mu kinyarwanda – cyane cyane za ajenda- iherekejwe n'ubuhindure bwayo mu gifaransa). Ni yo mpamvu na none, iyo ubuhamya bwinshi bwo mu gitabo bubara inkuru y'ibikorwa bimwe, ndabubangikanya kugira ngo ngaragaze aho butandukanira, aho buhuriza n'aho buvuguruzanya. Icyo kirari kandi gituma umuntu apima uko umurimo waba usigaye gukorwa ungana kugira ngo ubuhamya bwose bucukumburwe ku buryo bwuzuye. Nk'uko umusomyi azabyibonera, isesengura n'igereranya by'amakuru byakozwe ku

buryo budakebakeba, nyamara ariko n’ubwo nihatiye kubona abaranguruzi bizewe cyane kugira ngo bashimangire amakuru nakusanyije, kugira ngo basubire mo kandi bakosore inyandiko ya nyuma y’iki gitabo, sinshidikanya ko kikiri mo amakosa yansobye n’ibigenekerezo.Mbaye nsabye abasomyi kubimbabarira.

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

1

Imibereho y'abaturage na poritiki

Iki gice gikubiyemo zimwe mu ngingo z'uturango tw'ingenzi tw'imiterere y'URwanda igaragaza umwihariko nyakuri w'akarere k'imisozi miremire yo muri Afurika yo hagati kazwi ho kuba umutima w'Afurika. Iyo miterere y'umwihariko yakunze gutera amatsiko abashakashatsi b'abanyamahanga bashishikarira kwumva impamvu y'ubwicucike bukabije bw'abaturage n'imiturire itatanye.Nubwo ubushakashatsi bwa gihanga bwagiye butandukana cyane uko ibihe biha ibindi, usanga icyo buhuriyeho ari ukwimakaza ibyiyumviro bishingiye ku isano hagati y'abaturage n'aho batuye cyangwa ibishingiye ku itsimbatazamuco. Muri ubwo bushakashatsi, amazina akunze guhabwa abaturage (« abantu baturiye ibiyaga », « abakiga », « abanyamusozi », « ba nyamwigendaho », « abagundira-butaka ») usanga ahanini ashaka kumvikanisha ko hariho isano ya bugufi hagati y'imyitwarire y'umuntu n'ubwoko bwe, iyo sano igashingira ku bibazo by'imiturire—ubwiyongere bukabije bw'abaturage, ubuke bw'amasambu n'ihihibikana ry'ubuzima bwa buri munsi—, ibyo akaba ari nabyo bikunze gushyirwa imbere mu gusobanura urudaca rw'intambara ziyogoza aka karere. Bene iyo mitekerereze isangiye inenge yo kuba ishingiye ku mateka n'ibyiyumviro by'uko abantu bashaka kubona ibintu ; nubwo iyo mitekerereze atari baringa cyangwa imburamumaro, nta mwanya ikwiriye mu bushakashatsi bwa gihanga.

Abaturage n'imiturire

Rwagati mu mutima w'Afurika, URwanda ni igihugu gito cy'imisozi, gifite ubuso bwa 26 338 km^2, gikikijwe n'ibihugu by'inganzamarumbo; nubwo nta mutungo kamere gifite,

gikize ku nsimburanyabihe y'izuba n'imvura mu rugero ruringaniye ndetse n'ubutaka burumbuka. Abahinzi ni abanyamurava cyane, umusaruro wabo ushimishije ni wo nkingi y'ubukungu bw'URwanda bugizwe ku ruhande rumwe n'ibihingwa ngandurarugo (ibitike, ibishyimbo, amasaka,…) no ku rundi ruhande, n'ibihingwa bibiri ngengabukungu, ikawa n'icyayi, ari byo bigize hafi umusaruro wose igihugu kivana ku isoko mpuzamahanga. Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994, URwanda rwari rutuwe n'abantu bakabakaba miriyoni 7.9, ni ukuvuga ubucucike bw'abaturage bwa 300/km^2. Ubwiyongere busanzwe bw'abaturage bwarihutaga cyane buri ku ntera ya 3.1%. Hakurikijwe imibare igaragazwa n'ibarura rusange ryakozwe mu mwaka wa 1991, abaturage bari batuye mu mijyi babarirwaga mu bihumbi 400 kandi muri abongabo 3 /4 byabo bose bari batuye mu murwa mukuru wa Kigali. 91% by'abaturage bari batunzwe n'ubuhinzi. Iyo ugereranije uwo mubare n'ubutaka buhingwa usanga ubucucike bw'abari batunzwe n'ubuhinzi bungana na 417/km^2 ndetse mu misozi miremire yera cyane hari aho ubwo bucucike bwikubaga incuro zirenze 2 ibyo bikaba ari ibintu bidasanzwe mu bihugu by'Afurika byo mu majyepfo ya Sahara. Kuba ubutaka buhingwa bwaragiye bwiyongera bukava kuri Ha 500.000 bukagera kuri Ha 800.000 hagati y'umwaka wa 1974 n'umwaka wa 1994 si ukuvuga ko habonetse ubundi butaka «bushya» ahubwo byaturutse ku igabanuka ry'inzuri n'imishike. Mu by'ukuri igihugu cyagendaga gifata isura y' « igihugu cyuzuye kugeza ku musozo». Kubera ibura rikabije ry'amasambu mu maperefegitura yo mu Burengerazuba, usanga guhera mu mwaka wa 1970 harabayeho abimukira benshi imbere mu gihugu berekezaga mu maperefegitura yo mu Burasirazuba yari asanzwe adatuwe cyane cyane mu Mayaga (hagati mu gihugu) no mu Bugesera (mu majyepfo y'iburasirazuba).

Habayeho n'izindi mpamvu zitandukanye zatumye habaho imiturire yihariye mu turere tumwe tw'igihugu. Ubwo igihugu cyasubizwaga ubwigenge (muri 1962), umutima w'igihugu ari mu miturire, mu bukungu no muri poritiki wari mu majyepfo mu ntara y' Astrida yaje kugabanywamo perefegitura ya Butare na Gikongoro. Abanyaporitiki n'abandi bari barize babarizwaga i Nyanza (icyicaro cy'ubutegetsi bwa Cyami kugeza mu mwaka wa 1961), Ngoma ya Butare (umugi w'impuguke) na Kigali—umurwa

mukuru w'ubutegetsi. Kuri Repuburika ya mbere (1961-1973), amakimbirane n'ihindagurika rya poritiki byatumye umupaka w'URwanda n'UBurundi kimwe n'uw'igihugu cya Kongo n'URwanda mu majyepfo yawo hafi y'umujyi wa Bukavu isa naho ihora ifunze; ibyo byatumye imijyi yo mu majyepfo idindira cyane, bityo imijyi yo hagati (Gitarama na Kigali) ihazamukira. Repuburika ya Kabiri (yadutse muri 1973) yakajije umurego mu kugira Kigali umurwa rukumbi nyakuri, iwutuzamo ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu majyaruguru y'URwanda dore ko aribo bari bamaze kwigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Nanone muri icyo gihe niho amaperefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri yateye imbere cyane kuko ibikorwa by'amajyambere byinshi ariho byerekezwaga.

Mu by'ukuri Repuburika ya kabiri yatsimbataje amakimbirane hagati y'amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo n'ayo mu majyaruguru. Amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba yibumbiye mu «Rukiga», andi yose Atari mu majyaruguru akomatanyirizwa ku izina rya «Nduga» cyangwa «Nduga yaguye». Mu gihe cy'amahoro, irondakarere ryasimbuye gahoro gahoro irondakoko.

Nyamara kandi irondakoko ntiryazimiye burundu dore ko ubwinshi bw'abatutsi bwari umwihariko ukomeye w'amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo. Iyo urebye nk'imibare yo mu ibarura ry 'abaturage ryakozwe n'inzego z'ubuyobozi mu myaka ya 1980[7] , usanga amaperefegitura ya Rukiga yarimo gusa 7% by'abatutsi bo mu gihugu cyose. Dufashe nk'urugero rwa Ruhengeri, habarurwaga gusa 0.6% by'abatutsi bose[8] . Nyamara mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo nka Butare yonyine yabarurwagamo 25% by'abtutsi mu gihe andi maperefegitura yabarurwagamo abatutsi hagati ya 10% and 20%. Ni ukuvuga ko kimwe cya kane cy 'abatutsi bari mu gihugu, abantu bagera ku bihumbi 130, bari batuye muri perefegitura ya Butare. Uhereye ku cyegeranyo cy'iyo mibare usanga mu mwaka wa 1994 URwanda rwose rwari rutuwe n'abatutsi bakababakaba ibihumbi 800.

7 Iri barura ryirengagije umubare w'abatutsi bakomoka mu miryango yaguze ubwoko. Gusa na none ikinyuranyo cyari gito cyane kandi kinahindagurika buri mwaka.

8 Abatutsi bakomokaga muri iyi perefegitura barayihunze hafi ya bose kubera imvururu zikomeye zahabaye muri Revorisiyo ya Rubanda yo muri 1959 mu myaka ya mbere y'ubutegetsi bwa Repuburika. Benshi bagiye bajya gutura mu duce twa perefegitura ya Kigali tutari dutuwe cyane nko mu Bugesera.

Imiturire y'abatutsi muri 1994 ukurikije buri Perefegitura (nkuko bigaragara ku makarita ari ku mpapuro za mbere z'iki gitabo) yerekana ukuntu amakimbirane ashingiye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere yari ashamikanye nubwo imyumvire n'ingaruka zayo byaterwaga ahanini n'amateka y'urusobekerane tw'uturere kenshi tudahuye n'imbibi z'amaperefegitura (impugu z'abahinza, uturere nyamwimerere, ibikingi, inkambi z'abakoroni, ubukonde bw'imiryango migari, amasoko, n'ibindi). Ariko nanone ntawabura kuvuga ko ikibazo cy'imiturire y'abantu hakurikijwe ubwoko bwabo kitumvikana kimwe cyangwa ngo kigire uburemere bumwe ku bantu batandukanye aha n'aha.

Nkuko nzagenda mbigarukaho muri iki gitabo, ni ngombwa guhoza ku mutima imiterere y'ibi bibazo kuko ariyo ahanini yagiye ishingirwaho mu gushyiraho ingamba za poritiki n'iza gisirikari mu ntambara nyinshi zibasiye aka karere kuva mu bihe by'ubwigenge mu myaka ya za 1960.

Imyiryane y'akarande, urugomo ruhemberewe

Muri make, ndagira ngo mbanze nibutse imwe mu mizi n'imizo y'uruhererekane rw'amakimbirane rukomoka ku karande k'ihungabana ry'umutekano mu rwego rw'akarere kasabitswe n'impagarara za poritiki y'irondakoko mu duhugu duto tw'uRwanda n'Uburundi dukikijwe n'ibihugu binini nabyo byaranzwe cyane n'imidugararo ikomeye (Ubuganda na Repuburika iharanira Demokrasi ya Kongo yitwaga Zaire).

Kwibuka izo ngingo bifasha kandi kwumva ubukana bw'amahahamuka aterwa n'intambara zihoraho za hato na hato zijyana n'ibikorwa by'ubugome bukabije.

Mbere y'ibyo ariko ni ngombwa kwibutsa amateka n'ikibazi cy'imiterere y'amoko mu baturage bo muri aka karere. Nubwo mbere y'ubukoroni, amagambo hutu, tutsi na twa yari uturango abantu ku giti cyabo no mu miryango yabo bahuriragaho cyangwa bagatandukaniraho mu rwego rw'umuryango nyagihugu bari bahuriyeho bose, Ubukoroni bwahaye utwo turango isura y'irondakoko yishingikirije ubushakashatsi bwa gihanga.

Iyo sura y'irondakoko ubu isigaye yarabaye indorerwamo abaturage benshi cyane cyane ab'impuguke bireberamo, Ishinze imizi mu gitekerezo cy'uko abatutsi ari intararutsi zakomotse ishyanga. Muri ubwo buryo, abahutu (bitirwa abahinzi bo mu bwoko bwa "Bantu") bivugwa ko ari bo baremye impugu zari zarakonzwe n'abasangwabutaka b'abatwa bitwa impunyu[*pygmoïdes*]. Bivugwa rero ko abahutu n'abatwa baje kuzwamo n'aborozi (Tutsi, Hima) baje kwiganza gahoro gahoro umwami wabo yigarurira impugu zo mu karere k'Afurika y'ibiyaga bigari.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoroni, iyo myumvire ishingiye ku macakubiri hagati y'abatutsi b'abahima baturutse ahandi bakaza kwigarura igihugu cy'abahutu bakabagira ingaruzwamuheto ninayo yashingiweho mu gutoranya no gushyiraho abategetsi bo gufasha abakoronii kuyobora igihugu.

Nguko rero uko imirimo yose y'ingenzi mu by'ubutegetsi, ikoranabuhanga n'ubukungu yahariwe abatutsi gusa.Iryo toneshwa rishingiye ku moko ryatumye abatutsi biyumvamo ingufu nyinshi cyane batangira guhimba no kwubaka ingengabitekerezo yo guhamya ko basumba abandi muri byose bashingiye ku mateka,ku bwoko no ku idini. Nguko uko mu mwaka wa 1946, ubwami bumaze kuyoboka kiriziya gatorika bweguriye uRwanda Kristu-Umwami maze kuva icyo gihe ruhinduka indorerwamo n'igipimo cy'ubukristu muri Afurika.

Umurage mutindi wa poritiki

URwanda n'uBurundi ni ibihugu bisa nk'intobo (ingano y'ubuso bwabyo, imiterere n'ingano y'ababituye hombi abahutu akaba aribo nyamwinshi, ubutunzi buteye kimwe, ingoma karande za cyami zamaze imyaka agahiryi, ingoma z'ibitugu zishingiye ku ivanguramoko, ubwikanyize bw'abatutsi i Burundi n'ubw'abahutu muRwanda,…). Ingoma z'ibitugu zibiranga zishinze imizi mu ntambara n'imidugararo ijyanye n'uburyo abakoroni b'Ababirigi bategetse uRwanda mbere y'ubwigenge bwo muri Nyakanga 1962.

Nyuma gato y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose, hatangajwe ku mugaragaro inzira yo

kuvanaho ubukoroni bugasimburwa n'ubutegetsi bugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi. yari yaratangajwe k'umugaragaro.Amatora ya mbere muRwanda yabaye mu mwaka wa 1950 yahaye « abajyambere »[9] b'abahutu umwanya wo kuvugira rubanda ku karengane kariho mu byerekeye poritiki no kubanyunyuza imitsi
byakorwaga n'agatsiko k'abatutsi bari k'ubutegetsi. Urupfu rw'umwami [Mutara Rudahigwa] muri 1959 n'izungurwa rye ryakuruye impaka zatumye habaho impagarara nyinshi no kudohoka k'ubutegetsi, bitanga icyuho cyo gushinga amashyirahamwe yaje kwibaruka amashyaka. Nyuma y'ibyumweru by'imidugararo n'intambara zo kuyihosha zakorwaga n'abashyigikiye ubwami,umwe mu bayobozi b'abahutu [Dominiko Mbonyumutwa] yarasagariwe bituma abaturage b'abahutu mu gihugu hose bakora imyiivumbagatanyo ivanzemo n'ubwicanyi bukomeye. Nibyo byiswe Revorisiyo ya Rubanda yo mu Ugushyingo 1959.

Iyo revorisiyo yarakomeje ishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni bwagendaga bushyiraho abategetsi bashya mu makomini biganjemo abahutu. Nubwo amatora yo mu makomini yabaye muri Kamena na Nyakanga 1960 atemewe na bose kubera uburyo yakozwemo, hiyongereyeho n'amatora ya Kamarampaka yo muri Nzeri 1961 yimakaje ubutegetsi bwa Repuburika n'amatora y'abadepite byatumye ubutegetsi bw'abahutu bwari bumaze kujyaho bugaragara nkaho aribwo buhagarariye by'ukuri inyungu za Rubanda.

Mu myaka mirongo itatu yakurikiyeho,amatora menshi yabaye yatumye ubutegetsi bufata isura nziza bwemerwa na bose ku buryo budasubirwaho nubwo nyamara butarekaga gukoresha igitugu gishingiye ku irondakoko rya rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu. Iyo ngengabitekerezo yatumye abatutsi bafatwa nk'abagererwa mu gihugu. Mu by'ukuri mu myumvire ya MDR-Parmehutu (Ishyaka riharanira Demokrasi na Repuburika n'ukwishyira ukizana kw'abahutu) ari naryo shyaka ryari rikomeye kurusha ayandi, icyari kigamijwe si ukurwanya no kuvanaho akarengane katerwaga n'ubutagetsi

9 « Abajyambere » ni ijambo rigenekereza icyo ku ngoma ya gikoroni bitaga « évolués », ni ukubuga ubyiruko rwatojwe gusoma no kwandika ari na rwo rwaje gukorera iyo ngoma.

bw'abatutsi muri poriitiki n'ubutunzi, ahubwo harimo no gusubiza igihugu "benecyo", ni ukuvuga Abahutu.

Ibyo bitekerezo bishingiye ku marangamutima kandi byari bishyigikiwe n'abakoroni nibyo byakuruye urugomo rwaranze Revorisiyo ya rubanda n'itangwa ry'ubwigenge bituma abatutsi ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza bahungira mu bihugu bihana imbibe n'uRwanda.

Kubera ko impunzi nyinshi zakomeje guhungira muBurundi, amakimbirane yo muRwanda yaje gutokoza no kwanduza inzira yo kwibohora igikoroni uBurundi kandi nyamara yari yaratangiye neza. Guhera muri Nyakanga 1963, ibitero by'abatutsi bifuza gusubirana ubutegetsi byagiye bigabwa muRwanda incuro nyinshi bivuye mu nkambi z'I Burundi. Buri gitero cyatumaga umutekano w'imbere mu gihugu uhungabana bigatuma abatutsi bahigwa bakanicwa abandi benshi bakongera bagahunga. Mu Ukuboza 1963, kimwe mu bitero bikomeye by'abatutsi bari barahungiye muBurundi cyageze I Kigali, gisubizwa inyuma *ku kaburembe kigeze* mu marembo y'umurwa mukuru ku kiraro cya "Kanzeze". Kubera ubwoba bwinshi bwari bwatashye mu mitima y'abaturage, habayeho ubwicanyi bukabije bwibasiye abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu bakekwaho kuba intasi cyangwa ibyitso by'icyo gitero. Imvururu z'icyo gihe zahitanye abatutsi bakabakaba hafi 10.000 harimo n'abayobozi b'amashyaka yari ashyigikiye ubwami.Ibyo byatumye nanone hahunga abatutsi babarirwa mu bihumbi mirongo.

Mu wa 1966 na 1967, imitwe y'abarwanyi b'impunzi bongeye gutangiza intambara bashyigikiwe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bamaze gufata ubutegetsi muBurundi; ibitero byaturukaga i Burundi kandi iteka bigakurikirwa n'iyicwa ry'abatutsi imbere mu gihugu. Ibyo byatumye nanone impunzi nyinshi zihungira mu bihugu bikikije uRwanda ari na byo byaje gutuma habaho imishyikirano yaje kwibaruka amasezrano yo kuburizamo burundu ibikorwa byose by'intambara byakorwaga n'impuzi z'Abanyarwanda muBurundi.

Ku mirenge ubwicanyi bwibasiraga abatutsi muri rusange bwafatwaga nku buryo bwo kwirengera, guhana no guca umwanzi intege; bwakorwaga n'abaturage ariko cyane

cyane insoresorez'ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu zabaga zishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi maze zikagaba ibitero mu ngo z'abatutsi zikabica, zikabasahura zikanabatwikira amazu.

Mu by'ukuri icyabaga kigenderewe kwari ukuvana ku isi umuryango wose cyangwa kuwutorongeza wose no gusibanganya ikitwa ikimenyetso cyose cyatuma nyirumutungo yongera kugaragara kugirango ibintu bye byose byongere bigabwe bundi bushya nk'ibitagira nyirabyo.

Nkuko inkuru zakwirakwizwaga muBurundi n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda kuva 1959-1966 zari zagiye zitera ubwoba bwinshi abatutsi b'i Burundi bikanabangamira cyane inzego z'ubutegetsi zari zagiyeho nyuma y'ubwigenge, hagati mu myaka ya za 1960 ubwoba n'urugomo i Burundi byafashe inzira inyuranye n'iyo muRwanda , abatutsi (nyamuke) bikubira ubutegetsi bwose kugirango birinde ko ibyabaye ku batutsi bo muRwanda nabo byababaho. Nguko uko uruhererekane rw'icyuka cy'ubwoba cyaritse mu mitwe y'Abayobozi b'uRwanda ko ingabo z'uBurundi zihora zirekereje zishaka urwaho rwo gutera uRwanda no kugarura ingoma ya cyami . Ibyo byashimangiwe n'ibintu byinshi birimo: iyicwa n'abayobozi bakuru b'Abahutu nyuma y'umugambi wapfubye wo guhirika ubutegetsi mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1965 i Bujumbura; ubugome ndengarugero n'ingamba kirimbuzi zo kugarura umutekano mu gihugu zadukanywe na kapiteni Mikayire Micombero (washyizeho Repuburika muBurundi mu wa 1966 mbere yo kwigira Perezida); itsembabwoko ryibasiye abahutu ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza hagati ya Mata na Kamena 1972[10], n'impuzi z'abahutu babarirwa mu bihumbi batatanye

10 Ibyo bakunze kwita imidugararo yo muri 1972, byerekana intera kaminuza y'ubwicanyi bukaze (hapfuye nibura abantu bagera ku 100.000)buturuka ku ruhuri rw'intambara z'urudaca n'amakimbirane afite imizi mu muco,mu bukoroni no muri poritiki yakurikiye ubwigenge (amashyaka menshi,imikorere y'intumwa za rubanda n'ibindi) Amacakubiri hagati y'imiryango y'ibikomangoma,imyiryane hagati y'abashyigikiye ubwami n'abashaka repuburika,amakimbirane ashingiye ku turere no ku bwoko byafashe intera ndende bamwe bagakurura cyane bifuza ko bimera nko muRwanda abandi bagasunika cyane batinya ko ibyabaye muRwanda byabageraho. Ubukana ubwo bwicanyi bwakoranywe n'amarangamutima yabugaragayemo byatunguye abanyamahanga benshi ndetse n'Abarundi ubwabo. Gutondekanya uko ibintu byagiye bigenda n'urusobe rw'impamvu zabiteye ntawashobora kubivuga mu magambo avunaguye. Icyo twavuga gusa hano ni uko Abarundi bahababariye cyane kandi ko bakandamijwe

bagahungira mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'uBurundi. Ibyo bitekerezo bishingiye ku bwoba byakwirakwijwe muRwanda hose bituma abahutu barwanya ubutegetsi bw'i Burundi batangira kwitegura imirwano.

Nyuma yaho abasirakari bafatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu mu bihugu byombi mu myaka ya za 1970 hakaduka icyiswe Repuburika ya kabiri, ubwicanyi bw'insobekerane bwayogoje kariya karere bwaracubye ariko ntihagira igihinduka ku byerekeye ubwikanyize no kwikubira ubutegetsi bushingiye ku moko muri ibyo bihugu byombi. Gusa ubushake buke bwo guhindura ibintu uko bikwiye no gusangira intero n'inyikirizo mu byerekeye imigambi yo gutsura amajyambere byagabanije amakimbirane hagati y'ibihugu byombi.

Uhereye ku by'ingenzi bivugwa muri ikigitabo usanga igihe nyirabayazana cyateguwemo imigambi mibisha n'ibyayikoreshejwemo byose kimwe n'ababigizemo uruhare bose byarateguwe mu mpera y'imyaka ya za 1980. Gushyiraho ubutegetsi bukomeye kandi burambye muBuganda(1986), kudohoka bikabije by'ubutegetsi bukuru bwa Zayire mu ntara z'icyo gihugu(1989-1990)ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi bwa Yohani Batista Bagaza bwari bumaze kuba ruvumwa muBurundi(1987), kwemerera amashyaka akomeye arwanya ubutegetsi gukorera mu bwisanzure muRwanda mu mpera za 1980 byahinduye bikomeye isura ya Poritiki yo mu karere.

Gufungura amarembo ya poritiki byibanze mbere na mbere ku kibazo cy'impunzi cyari cyaragizwe kirazira uretse aho cyigeze gutungwaho agatoki mu masezerano yerekeye kujya no kuza mu bwisanzure kw'ibintu n'abantu mu karere k'umuryango w'ubukungu w'ibiyaga bigari (CEPGL) yashyizweho umukono mu Ukuboza1985 hagati y'uBurundi,uRwanda na Zayire. Icyo kibazo cyari cyaraganiriweho hagati y'uRwanda n'abategetsi bashya b'uBuganda guhera 1986 (reba umutwe wa kabiri). Ni muri ubwo buryo Abaganda bagera ku bihumbi 600.000 bari barahungiye mu bihugu bituraniye uBuganda batahuka hagati ya 1989-1990, impunzi z'abazayirwa mu bihuguru bituranye

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bitavugwa mu gihe cy'imyaka iyinga 20 n'akazu kubakiye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere –akazu k'Abatutsi b'i Bururi.

na Zayire hafi ya zose zaratahutse, 60.000 by'impunzi z'Abarundi bari barahungiye muRwanda nyuma y'ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko bwari bwabaye muri Kanama1988 basubiye iwabo mu mwaka wakurikiyeho.

Hari hasigaye gusa ikibazo cy'impunzi za kera z'Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi. Muri ibyo bihe, abanyaporitiki benshi bo mu gihugu n'indorerezi mvamahanga zakurikiranaga ibibera mu karere, babonaga ko noneho byashoboka kujya impaka no kuganira ku bibazo byose byakomotse k'umurage mutindi w'irondakoko no ku ihererekanya ry'ubutegetsi igihe cy'ubwigenge, byagiye byibaruka ingoma zishingiye k'udutsiko ndondakoko. Icyari cyitezwe rero sicyo cyabaye. Ahubwo ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko bwabaye mu makomini 2 yo mu majyaruguru y'uBurundi bwashubije ibintu irudubi ku byerekeye ikibazo cyo kurenga ivanguramoko no kwimakaza umuco wa demokrasi.Ubwo bwicanyi bukaze kandi butunguranye (hapfuye abantu 20 000 mu minsi 15 gusa) bwerekanye k'umugaragaro ko impfundikirane y'ibibazo bidakemuka kandi mu ntango yabyo byari byoroshye; ishobora kuba intandaro y'intambara zikomeye kandi zihuriye ku mateka mabi y'akahise. Aha umuntu yavuga nk'urusobekerane bw'ibibazo bisa mu bihugu byombi, umurava n'ibwirizamatwara byakozwe n'abari barahungiye muRwanda n'ubufatanye bw'umuwihariko hagati yabo n'ubutegetsi bw'uRwanda. Haba muri kariya karere cyangwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga izo ntambara zishingiye ku moko zateye induru ndende[11] bituma umusirikari mukuru w'umututsi wari umaze gufata ubutegetsi, Petero Buyoya, yiyemeza gufungura amarembo ya poritiki muBurundi no kuyoboka inzira ya demokrasi.

Mu by'ukuri kwongera kugwa mu mutego w'intambara zishingiye ku ivanguramoko byabaye gutsindwa kabiri. Ku ruhande rumwe ari narwo rwashegeshwe cyane habayeho gutakaza icyizere ku banyamahanga batangaga imfashanyo no ku mpuguke zo mu gihugu, bose bibwiraga ko ibikorwa by'iterambere byihutaga cyane muBurundi, ubusabane bwagaragaraga mu bihugu byo muri kariya karere n'umubano mwiza

11 Reba ibyanditswe na *Jean-Pierre CHRÉTIEN, André GUICHAOUA na Gabriel LE JEUNE, « La crise d'août 1988 auBurundi », Les Cahiers du CLA, AFELA/Kartala, Paris, 1989.*

mpuzamahanga byari gutuma habaho imihindukire myiza mu rwego rwa poritiki no kubana neza hagati y'Abarundi bose. Nyamara nubwo imiryango mpuzamahanga yunganiwe n'uruhuri rw'imiryango idaharanira inyungu itegamiye kuri Leta yari yaratumye kwibanda ku bikorwa by'amajyambere bigaragaza umusaruro ushimishije mu rwego rw'ubukungu na poritiki n'ubutwererane ndetse no mu ishoramari, nyuma y'imyaka 20 yose ni ho umurage mutindi w'inzigo idashira n'amacakubiri y'igihe kirekire bivanze n'urugomo byongeye kuvumbukana ubukana. Ku rundi ruhande, habyeho gutsindwa kwa poritiki ya Yohani Batista Bagaza y'ubwirasi no guhakana ikibazo cy'amoko muBurundi nyuma y'imyaka icumi agerageza guhatira abahutu kwemera buhumyi poritiki ye y'igitugu. Ingoma za gisirikari mu bihugu byombi zari zarashoboye kuzinga no gupfundikira ibibazo byose bya poritiki mu gaseke ku buryo bukomeye hasigara havugwa gusa ibyerekeye ikoranabuhanga n'inzira zo gutsura amajyambere dore ko n'ibyakorwaga byose muri urwo rwego mu bihugu byombi byasaga nk'intobo. Nyamara kandi byari bizwi neza ko ako gahenge k'amajyambere kari gashingiye gusa ku mpurirane z'igihe gito z'imiterere y'ubukungu muRwanda no muBurundi .MuRwanda, nyuma y'imyaka 12 igihugu kiyobowe n'abanyenduga baturuka mu majyepfo, n'indi myaka hafi 20 kiyobowe n'abakiga baturuka mu majyaruguru, byari bimaze kugaragara ko demokrasi itakomeza kuba urubuga cyangwa se imbata y'abanyaduga n'abakiga gusa ko ahubwo byari ngombwa kwumva no kwita ku bitekerezo bya ba nyamuke. MuBurundi, nyuma y'imyaka 25, abasirikari bakuru b'abatutsi bakomoka ku mirenge inyuranye yo mu ntara ya Bururi bamaranira ubutegetsi no kwigwizaho ubukungu, inzira yo gusangira ubutegetsi n'abahutu yari imaze kugaragara ko idashobora gusubizwa inyuma. Mu bihugu byombi inkubiri yo guharanira demokrasi no kurwanya ubwikanyize bushingiye ku dutsiko tw'ubutegetsi tugendera ku moko hutu cyangawa tutsi yari yatangiye. Iyo nkubiri yarwanyaga cyane kandi ihereye mu mizi ubwikanyize bushingiye ku kazu, ku irondakoko n'irondakarere byafatwaga nk'ihame ridakuka ubutegetsi bugenderaho. Uko iyo nkubiri ya Demokrasi yasatiranaga igitutu ubwo bwikanyize ni nako ubutegetsi bwariho bwarushagaho gushimangira igitugu

bwari bushingiyeho. Ni muri urwo rwego, ku buryo buziguye cyangwa se bwemewe n'amategeko, kwikubira no kuvangura amoko byari bimwe mu ngamba zakoreshwaga muri poritiki ikomoka ku murage mubi w'ubukoroni. Ni muri uwo murage kandi, mu bihugu byombi, abategetsi bavomaga ingufu zo kwikanyiza bunga ubumwe hagati y'udutsiko n'utuzu twabo bakaboneraho no gukomeza ubufatanye hagati y'abagize amoko yabo kugirango babanyunyuze imitsi kandi ariko ntibashore kurabukwa no kwivumbura ngo batavaho batatira ubwoko abategetsi babayobora bakomokamo. Amatati ashingiye ku moko yashoboraga kuvumbuka no gukoreshwa igihe cyose havutse ibibazo bishingiye kuri poritiki, ku bukungu, ku mibanire y'abantu cyangwa ku nyungu zindi zishingiye ku tuntu tw'ubusabusa. Umwuka uhoraho w'urwikwewkwe watumaga akantu kose gashobora gufata isura y'irondakoko abaturanyi bakarebana ay'ingwe. Bityo haba mu basangiye akazi badahuje amoko, abasangiye idini badahuje amoko, mu masoko, mu tubari no mu nsengero hose hashoboraga kuvuka amakimbirane ashobora kugusha ku ntambara zikomeye n'ubwicanyi buteguwe.

Ariko se intambara kirimbuzi yari « nta gisibya »?

Ntibihagije gushyira imbere gusa icengezamatwara, kwoshywa no gushyigikirwa n'ubutegetsi, isindwe no kunywa ibiyobya bwenge, ubwana n'ubusore by'abicanyi kugira ngo usobanure ubukana n'ubugome buvanze n'ubuhumyi byibasiye inzirakarengane. Mu mahano ateye ubwoba yibasiye ibi bihugu, hagaragara nanone imyitwarire yari yarashinze imizi mu mitima y'ababikoraga kuko mu burakari bwabo bwo kwica ubonamo uruhererekane rw'ibikorwa bifitanye isano-muzi n'ibikorwa bibi bya poritiki y'akahise nuko yagenze byatumaga abantu bakora buhumyi ibyo batumva bigasa naho icyazuraga cyose uburakari bwo kwica, cyibutsaga ibyari bisanzwe mu mitwe y'abantu, bityo rero bigasa nko kwiyibutsa umwuga no kugabana imirimo kuri buri gikorwa.

Mu bihugu byombi, muri buri rungano no muri buri muryango, uko baganiraga ku byababayeho mu mibereho yabo, bikababaza ndetse bikabakura n'umutima mu bihe binyuranye,ni nako mu bwonko hagendaga hasigaramo imbuto y'umurage mubi wo kwica .Iyo mbuto niyo yibarutse inzangano n'amakimbirane hagati y'abaturage buri

gihe bakibona nk'abantu bagize ibice bibiri bihora bishyamiranye .

Ubwicanyi bwibasiraga imbaga bwagiye buba kenshi hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi batuye hakurya no hakuno y'uruzi rwitwa Kanyaru cyangwa Akanyaru bitewe n'imvugo ya buri gihugu, urwo ruzi rukaba n'umupaka ugabanya uRwanda n'uBurundi, bwagiye bubura rutangira bugasakara nk'icyorezo mu bihugu byombi. Guhora bavuga ku mateka y'ibya kera arangwa n'ubwoba buhoraho buturuka ku marangamutima yo kwiheba byagiye bihembera ubwicanyi bwa « dutanguranwe » noneho hakivangamo na poritiki bikaba nk'umusemburo w'ubwicanyi.

Kuva ibihugu byombi byabona ubwigenge hagiye habaho udutsiko tw'intagondwa mu mashyaka yose ya poritiki duhora duhimba imipango y'ubwicanyi , tukitwara nk 'abapfumu bahoza abaturage ku kidodo no ku nkeke y'ubwicanyi ngo bwabaga bwarahanuwe.

Kuva mu wa 1959, hatangiye gatebe gatoki y'intambara hagati y'amoko. Ibyo bigaragazwa cyane n'uburyo abantu bitwaye ku giti cyabo mu bwicanyi bwabaye muBurundi hagati y'Ukwakira n'Ukuboza 1993. Icyo gihe niho Merikiyoro Ndadadaye Perezida wa mbere wo mu bwoko bw'abahutu wari watowe muri demokrasi isesuye yahiritswe k'ubutegetsi akanicwa urubozo amaze amezi atatu gusa ku butegetsi. Ibyo byakuruye intambara y'urudaca kandi yamennye amaraso menshi muBurundi irangizwa nuko umutwe w'abarwanyi b'abahutu ugeze ku butegetsi ukoresheje ingufu ukaza no gutsinda amatora yakuirikiyeho. Ni nako byagenze muRwanda kuva aho intambara yari yahagaze yongeye kubura hagati y'ukwezi kwa Mata na Nyakanga 1994, aho ubwicanyi bw'itsembabwoko bwafashe intera itari yarigeze ibaho na rimwe.

Iyo ntambara kandi yaje gukwira akarere kose ibyara icyiswe « intambara yambere ikomeye y'Afurika ». Umutwe w'abatutsi [Inkotanyi] bari bamaza gufata ubutegetsi i Kigali kifuzaga kwigizayo burundu icyezezi cy'irindi tsembabwoko ryashoboraga guturuka ka bahoze ari ingabo z'igihugu kimwe n'impunzi z'abahutu zari mu makambi anyanyagiye ku mupaka wose wa Zayire.

Umutwe w'Inkotanyi washaka nanone gushyiraho ubutegetsi buzinogeye i Kinshasa

kugirango zigarurire amasambu n'umutungo kamere w'icyo gihugu kinini cy'abaturanyi. Icyateye amayobera ni uko muri icyo gihe ari naho ubutegetsi bwa Kigali bwagendaga bushyigikira agatsiko k'abahutu bari bamaze kwigarurira ubutegetsi i Bujumbura babwambuye Abatutsi bari babumaranye imyaka 30 nta nkomyi.

Ingabo z' « umugambwe wo guhabuza demokarasi » (CNDD-FDD) ari na zo zagize uruhare rugaragara mu ntambara yayogoje uBurundi, zashyizweho na Rewonaridi Nyangoma i Bukavu ku itariki ya 14 Kanama 1994, nyuma gato yaho Inkotanyi za FPR zifashe ubutegetsi i Kigali. Ingabo z'uRwanda za kera zari mu makambi muri Zayire nizo zagize uruhare rukomeye mu gushinga umutwe w'abarwanyi b'iryo shyaka.Ukomatanije intambara zabaye mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari by'Afurika hagati y'imyaka ya 1990-2000 zikaza no kwadukira akarere kose k'Afurika yo hagati usanga arizo zahitanye abantu benshi ku isi kuva intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose. Hapfuye abantu barenga miriyoni 4 baguye ku rugamba cyangwa se biturutse ku ngaruka z'intambara kandi benshi ari abaturage cyane cyane muBurundi, muRwanda no mu Repuburika iharanira demokrasi ya Kongo, utabariyemo amamriyoni y'impunzi n'abavanywe mu byabo biyongera ku bari basanzwe[12]. Ni muri iyi ndorerwamo dukwiye kureberamo za poritiki za mpemuke ndamuke n'abazigizemo uruhare bose bakora amahano yabayeho. Mu by'ukuri, nko muRwanda ntawatinyuka kuvuga ko abarwanaga batari bazi amahano ashobora kubaho no kuyahagarika batagombye gutegereza indeshyo n'ubukana bwayo, muri make ntacyatunguranye. Nyamara nkuko byagiye bigaragara,agahenge kose ko guhagarika intambara kakoreshwaga mu kwibasira abaturage n'imitungo yabo, kwica abaturage, kubatega imitego hagamijwe gutuma biheba no gutyaza inzangano hagati yabo,nkaho nta yandi mizero y'amahoro no kubana neza yazaga gushoboka. Bene ubu

12 Mu by'ukuri, kuva mu ntangiriro z'ubwigenge, habayeho impunzi nyinshi cyane, ndetse zimwe zitazwi na busa, cyane cyane izavuye muRwanda, Burundi, Kongo n'uBuganda. Uretse Arigeriya, uRwanda nicyo gihugu cy'Afurika cyagize impunzi nyinshi zabaruwe ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko mpuzamahanga. Izo mpunzi kandi zagiye ziyongera buri gihe uko habaga imidugararo mu gihugu (1963,1965,1969,1972,1973 etc..). Kugeza mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2000, aka karere[k'ibiyaga bigari] kari kamwe mu hantu hacumbikiye impunzi nyinshi ku isi yose.

buryo ni bwo bwakoreshejwe muri 1994. Intambara imaze kubura n'ubwicanyi burimbanije, impande zombi zishyamiranye zirinze inzira y'imishyikirano kandi yari igifite igaruriro, bigasa no kwerekana ko buri wese yahihibikaniraga kumvisha abaturage ko nta yandi makiriro uretse guhitamo uruhande buri wese abogamiraho. Nguko uko ya mbuto y'amacakubiri yabibwe kuva kera, iherekejwe n'ingengabitekerezo, n'imibabaro inyuranye ikomoka ku ntambara byatumye urubyiruko rw'icyo gihe rwumva ko intambara kirimbuzi itari gusa amaburakindi ahubwo yari yo makiriro.

Ingoma ya Habyarimana

Tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, Perezida wa mbere wa Repuburika kuva igihugu kibonye ubwigenge, Geregori Kayibanda (Hutu, Gitarama), yahiritswe ku butegetsi, bufatwa n'umukuru w'ingabo Yuvenari Habyarimana (Hutu, Gisenyi) noneho igicumbi cy'ubutegetsi bushingiye ku irondakarere cyimukira mu maboko y'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru ari nabo nyine ahanini bari bagize ingabo z'igihugu[13]. Umukuru w'igihugu yigaragaje nk'ushaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bose, ubumwe yavugaga ko bwatatiwe na MDR-Parmehutu. Muri icyo gihe hafashwe ibyemezo byinshi bigamije kugabanya kwikubira ubutegetsi, muri byo havugwa nk'iringaniza ryari rigamije gutanga imyanya mu rwego rwo kuzamura ba nyamuke no gutangiza poritiki yo gusaranganya ishingiye ku turere n'amoko. Mu buryo bwagutse, abaturage bashishikarizwaga kwitabira umurimo n'amajyambere no kureka ibibatanya byose.Impinduramatwara yo muri 1973,

13 Umukuru w'ipereereza mu gihugu Aregisi Kanyarengwe niwe wshyizeho ingamba zishingiye ku irondakoko agamije gutuma abaturage basubiranamo ngo abone impamvu yo guhirika ubutegetsi avuga ko agaruye umutekano mu gihugu. Abanyeshuri bo mu mashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye, abakozi ba Leta n'abo mu bigo byigenga babwirijwe kwirukana bagenzi babo b'abatutsi mu mirimo yose no mu rwego rw'uburezi, ndetse hamwe na hamwe byakuruye n'ubwicanyi. Hakurikiyeho ihunga ry'abatutsi biyongerega ku bari barahunze mbere hagati ya 1959-1963. Byose byakozwe mu mugambi wo gutesha agaciro abayobozi bakuru bakomokaga mu majyepfo bafatwaga nk'inshuti z'abatutsi bakagenda basimburwa n'abo mu majyaruguru. Kubera ko iryo hirikwa ry'ubutegetsi ritari rishingiye ku byifuzo bya rubanda, ryafatwa nk'isubiranamo hagati y'udutsiko tumaranira ubutegetsi.

yahamagariraga abanyagihugu bose,abaturage, abakozi ba Leta n'abayobozi kwishyira hamwe. Imirimo rusange (umuganda) yakanguriraga abasirimu kwitabira imirimo y'amaboko no gukomeza ubufatanye hagati yabo n'abaturage bo mu cyaro. Byaje kugera aho ariko, agatsiko k'abahiritse ubutegetsi ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973 kari kiyise "Abasangirangendo b'uwa gatanu Nyakanga" (ako gatsiko karimo Tewonesiti Lizinde na Aregisi Kanyarengwe, reba umugereka wa mbere) kagashyira Yuvenari Habyarimana ku butegetsi, kaje gutangira kurwanya ku mugaragaro ko Perezida yakomeza kwiharira ubutegetsi bwose wenyine. Kugira ngo yikize ako gatsiko anacecekeshe burundu abari bagitsimbaraye ku matwara ya MDR-Parmehutu, Habyarimana Yuvenari yashyizeho umutwe wa poritiki yise MRND (Muvoma Revorisiyoneri iharanira amajyambere y'igihugu) ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1975. Uwo mutwe ni nawo waje kuba igikoresho cye bwite mu rwego rwa poritiki. Guhatirwa kuba muri Muvoma byanze bikunze bwari uburyo bwo guhuriza Abanyarwanda hamwe nta vangura rishingiye ku moko, ku turere cyangwa ku madini. Hashingiwe cyane ku iterambere ryo mu cyaro no gucunga neza ibikomoka mu gihugu,ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwatsinze ibitego bidashidikanywaho nko kutaroha igihugu mu madeni menshi, kubahiriza ibipimo ngengabukungu, gutuma ifaranga ridata agaciro no kwihaza mu biribwa ku buryo bucirirtse kugeza mu mpera ya za 1980. Ibi ni nabyo bisobanura neza impamvu mu rwego rw'ubutwererane mpuzamahanga igihugu cyarashimwaga cyane n'imiryango nterankunga yegamiye kuri Leta ndetse n'iyigenga. Igice cya kabiri cyo mu myaka ya za 1970 n'icyambere cyo mu myaka ya za 1980 cyabaye icy'uburumbuke bushimishije mu rwego rw'ubukungu. Ubukungu bw'igihugu bwageraga kuri buri cyiciro cy'abaturage: uburyo bwo kugeza amafaranga ku baturage bwariyongereye,ubucuruzi bw'ibikomoka ku buhinzi bwateye imbere, habonetse akazi gatanga umushahara mu cyaro, haboneka akazi mu bucuruzi n'ubukorikori ndetse na Leta ishobora gutanga akazi no guhemba abakozi bayo ku buryo budahindagurika, n'ibindi… Gusa rero, izo ngamba zo guhangana n'ibibazo by'ubukungu zari zihishe irindi banga rikomeye ry'ubusumbane bukabije mu baturage ritavugwaga. Ubwo busumbane bwatoneshaga abakomoka « iwabo wa Perezida » no ku buryo bwagutse ibindi bikomerezwa byagabiwe ubutegetsi. Uko demokarasi ishingiye ku iringaniza yagendaga

yinjizwa buhoro buhoro mu mitwe y'Abanyarwanda byatumaga ubutegetsi nabwo bwemeza hose ko ikibazo cy'amoko cyarangiye burundu.Uretse impunzi zabaga mu mahanga n'abatutsi bamwe babaga mu mijyi, nta wundi wabonaga icyo yaveba iyi nzira ya poritiki mu gihe byashoboraga gukomeza no kuramba.

Ni mu gihe kandi kuko ntawashoboraga kwigobotora ingoyi y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi MRND: kuvuka uri umunyarwanda byari bihagije ngo ube ubarirwa mu bayoboke bayo wanze ukunze ; yewe nta n'ubwo abayoboke basabwaga kugaragaza umurava w'icengezamatwara rikataje, dore ko nta n'ingengabitekerezo yihariye yariho. Gutanga umusanzu, kujya mu muganda, kujya muri animasiyo ukavuga amagambo yatoranijwe n'inzego nkuru (kuva ku mivugo yamamaza gusasira ikawa kugera ku isuku y'abana bajya ku ishuri) byabaga bihagije. Umwihariko w'iyo ngoma n'abaryankuna bayo kwari ukwitaka no kwemeza ko ariyo yonyine ikora neza kandi ishoboye kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda ku buryo burambye. Gukoresha ijambo "Umubyeyi w'igihugu" bashaka kuvuga Perezida Habyarimana byerekana neza uko yifuzaga gufatwa n'abo ategeka. Abategetsi bagenzuraga cyane abaturage mu mirimo yabo mu cyaro ndetse no mu mijyi bakababuza kuva mu maperefegitura yabo bajya mu yandi cyane cyane mu mujyi wa Kigali, bagashyiraho imisoro ku bicuruzwa binyura mu cyaro,bakabumbira umusaruro w'abaturage mu dushyirahamwe duto duto, n'ibindi. Impamvu nyayo y'iryo genzura rihoraho kandi kenshi rishingiye ku gitugu kwabaga ari ukuzirika abasirimu ku cyaro kuko aricyo cyabahaga amaramuko ava ku musaruro uvunanye cyane w'ingufu z'abaturage. Kubera ubwigunge bw'igihugu kidafite n'umutungo kamere wabyazwa umusaruro hariho igihe byaba ngombwa koko gushakira amakiriro ku mbaraga z'abaturage, ariko ibi nabyo bifite aho bitarenga kubera ubuto bukabije bw'ahaturuka umusaruro n'ubukene bukabije bw'abaturage bamwe. Niyo mpamvu kwemeza ko hariho "ubwuzuzanye mpuzabikorwa" buturuka ku mikoranire myiza hagati y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi na Leta (byazanywe na Repuburika ya Kabiri) atari byo kubera ko ubuhangange n'ubutavugirwamo bya Leta byari biherekejwe n'imvugo nkene ya poritiki itagira kivuguruza ku migambi yabaga yafashwe. Mu by'ukuri, abayobozi bakuru b'ishyaka

MRND ntibashyirwagaho hakurikijwe uburemere n'ingufu za poritiki babaga bafite mu baturage .Nta munyeporitiki numwe wabonaga ko ari ngombwa kugendera ku mbaraga zivuye mu baturage b'akarere aturukamo ngo bigaragare ko ako karere kamukunze kandi kamwizeye. Bake cyane bagerageje kunyuranya n'ayo mabwiriza (Ferisiyani Gatabazi, Ferederiko Nzamurambaho, Aregisi Kanyarengwe, Ferikura Nyiramutarambirwa hagati ya 1975-1985) bagiye bacibwa intege cyangwa bagahitanwa. Imyanya yose n'ibikorwa byose byagenwaga n'inzego zo hejuru zari zarashyizeho ibyagombaga kuba byujujwe kugira ngo naka cyangwa nyiranaka ahabwe umwanya w' icyubahiro cyangwa uhemba neza. Abiyemezaga guhatanira imyanya nk'iyo babanzaga gukora ibishoboka byose bakigaragaza nk'abashishikajwe cyane n'imirimo ya tekiniki kurusha iya Poritiki, bagasizora barushanwa kwibonekeza muri byose mu gutanga ingufu no guharanira inyungu z'ubutegetsi.Kugira ngo ube Burugumestri cyangwa Perefe, Ministri cyangwa umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo kigengwa na Leta byasabaga ibintu 2 by'ingenzi :

- Kuba ushyigikiwe na Perezida;
- Kwiyemeza gukurikiza amabwiriza yose atangwa na we hatavuye n'ibango.

Ibyo byari bihagije ngo wemerwe nk 'umunyaporitiki cyangwa umukozi ushobye akazi. Niyo mpamvu usanga hari icyuho gikabije hagati y'abaturage n'abatirirwaga kuba babahagarariye mu matora. Urugero ni uko muri 1981, 92% by'abadepite bari bagize inama ishinga amategeko (CND) bose baturukaga mu nzego za Leta, nta numwe wari uhagarariye imbaga y'abahinzi borozi bari bagize 95% by' abaturage bose. Harimo abatutsi babiri gusa n'umutwa umwe.

Muri I988, abagize CND baravuguruwe; ku bari bayigize 68 kuri 70 bari abahoze ari ba Ministri mbere (15 kuri 16 bari bagikora iyo mirimo) 44 bari basanzwe ari abadepite abandi babaga barabaye abaperefe, abasuperefe, ababurugumestri cyangwa se abakozi bakuru ba Leta, kandi abatutsi bakomeje kuba babiri gusa. Mu Ukuboza 1988, Perezida Habyarimana wari umukandida umwe rukumbi yatowe ku majwi 99% mu gihugu hose ndetse no mu majyepfo y'igihugu aho batamuhumekaga neza. Kujya mu nzego nkuru z'ishyaka MRND cyari ikimenyetso gikomeye cy'ubuhangange kuko byerekanaga igipimo cy'icyizere kidasanzwe Perezida agufitiye kandi bikaguha n'amahirwe yo kugera

mu nda y'ingoma y'amayobera menshi ari naho hafatirwaga ibyemezo bikomeye biyobora igihugu. Aho ninaho hagaragarira ubufatanye mu gusangira indonke mu mutuzo hagati y'abayobozi bakuru bo muri ubwo butegetsi.

Ruswa yagaragariraga cyane mu masoko atangwa na Leta, mu mishinga y'ubwikorezi no gutwara abantu, kubaka amazu no kugura ibikoresho bya Leta, n'indi mishinga inyuranye yakorerwaga mu maperefegitura kandi igakoreswa nku buryo bwu guhemba abagaragu bayo hirya no hino mu gihugu.

Ijambo « dictature » [ingoma y'igitugu] ntirisobanura neza bene iyo sano yihariye hagati y'abaturage bo mu cyaro n'inzego za Leta, aho abaturage mu by'ukuri baba bahagarariwe n'abana babo baba bamaze kugabirwa imyanya mishya y'ubuyobozi (mu myaka ya za 1980, abantu bari barengeje igisekuru kimwe mu mujyi bari mbarwa). Ijambo riboneye kuruhaho ni « totalitarime»[ingoma rugengabyose] kubera ko nubwo rubanda rwa giseseka batagiraga urwinyagamburiro mu butegetsi bubagose cyangwa ngo bagire uwo batakira mu gihe barenganijwe n'ubutegetsi, hariho icyambu hagati y'abaturage n'inzego zinyuranye zibagenga. Uruhuri rw'amabanga basangiye, ibyo bafatanije, imihango n'imigenzo, urwibutso se rwa « Revorisiyo ya rubanda » yewe ndetse n'uburyo abaturage bahoraga basabwa kuba ba « nyamujya iyo bigiye » byatumaga ubutegetsi bwirinda igitugu cyabangamira isano yabwo na rubanda.

Muri rusange, imiyoborere y'URwanda muri kiriya gihe wayigereranya n'imibanire y'abayobozi b'amadini n'abayoboke babo. Muri urwo rwego, twavuga ko hariho « ingoma y'igitugu yo kujijura abaturage » aho abize bafata abaturage nk'injiji zigomba guhora zigishwa, no guhozwaho ijisho bityo bagakora gusa ibyo babwirijwe n'ubutegetsi, bagahora bakangurwa kugira ngo bakore icy'ubutegetsi bwifuza ndetse mu gihe batabikoze bakaba banahanwa kandi byose byitwa ko bikorwa mu nyungu zabo. Iyo nzira yagize uruhare rukomeye mu kureshya no gukurura abaterankunga n'indi miryango mpuzamahanga ifasha abaturage[14]. Koko rero, iyo miryango yashoboraga kwegera

14 Ku banyamahanga, imiyoborere nk'iriya yo kwita cyane ku baturage no kubafata nk'ibitambambuga yigaragaje nk'uburyo buboneye bwo kugeza abaturage ku ntego bifuza, ibahuma amaso ituma birengangiza ndetse

abaturage ku buryo buyoroheye ibinyujije kuri Leta mu nzego zayo zose kuva hejuru kugera hasi.

Ikibazo cy'amoko n'ivangura rinyuranye

Ushubije amaso inyuma usanga mu mpera ya za 1980 ibibazo by'ingutu byavugwaga cyane bitarimo ivanguramoko. Abahutu n'abatutsi ba rubanda rugufi, cyane cyane abaturage batagira amasambu, abana batagize amahirwe yo kwiga n'abagore, bari basangiye ibibazo. Mu rwego rwa poritiki, Abanyarwanda bo mu turere twose tw'igihugu banengaga kimwe ubwikanyize na ruswa byari byihariwe n'abahutu bo mu majyaruguru n'abatutsi b'ibyegera by'umubyeyi w'igihugu. Ntibyoroshye rero kwiyumvisha ukuntu itsembabwoko ry'ikirenga nka ririya ryaje gushoboka nyuma y'imyaka icumi amakimbirane hagati y'amoko asa naho yibagiranye,ugereranije nuko byari bimeze nyuma y'ubukoroni, binakubitiyeho ko abahutu n'abatutsi bize bari bamaze kugera ku ntera yo gukora no guhiganwa mu kwishakira imibereho myiza mu nzira zizira irondakoko. Mu nkubiri yo gukorera mu mashyirahamwe yatangiye muri za 1980, wasangaga abatutsi n'abahutu bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo na Kigali bahujwe cyane no guharanira amajyambere yo mu turere bakomokamo kuruta ibindi byose. Gusa nanone ntawashidikanya ko ubutegtsi bwose bwari bufitwe n'abahutu kuko bwari bushingiye kuri nyamwinshi y'ubwoko kandi n'iringanizwa ryakorwaga rikaba ryari rishingiye ku bantu ku giti cyabo haba gutanga amashuri, akazi n'indi mirimo yose ikomeye kandi ihesha icyubahiro[15].

Nyamara nubwo poritiki y'iringaniza yari yarashyriweho gukemura ibibazo by'ubusumbane byariho;nayo ubwayo yaje guhinduka buhoro buhoro ikibazo gikomeye

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bakirengagiza nkana iby'akarengane kakorerwaga abaturage. Ibyo byatumye ubwicanyi bukomeye n'ivanguramoko byagiye byibasira abaturage mu bihe binyuranye bitabuza ko URwanda n'UBurundi bikomeza gufatwa nk'ibihugu by'intangarugero mu rwego rw'umutekano n'amahoro mu karere k'ibihugu bihoramo intambaran'akaduruvayo.

15 Uretse Koroneri Epimaki Ruhashya, umutusi umwe rukumbi wari mu rwego rw'abasirikari bakuru akaba no muri Komite y'ubumwe n'amahoro n'abandi batutsi 2 bari mu nteko ishinga amategeko,abaperefe bose na ba

kuko yahemberaga ikibazo cy'amoko ndetse ikagitsimbataza. Iringaniza mu mashuri ryabaye agahomamunwa kuko indangamuntu abanyeshuri bakomora ku babyeyi babo yababeraga nk'umusaraba mu myigire yabo yose. Kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru ntibyari bigikurikiza amanota atsindirwaho mu gihugu cyose,hakurikizwaga izindi mpamvu mu byukuri zitazwi kandi zikorwa mu ibanga.

Amashuri yisumbuye, amaseminari na Kaminuza byari byarabaye indiri n'isibaniro y'ivanguramoko. Kandi si aho gusa wasangaga hari n'imirimo runaka igenewe abo mu bwoko bumwe gusa. Abatutsi wasangaga bohereza abana babo aho igenzura ryabaga ridakaze cyane : mu bikorera ku giti cyabo muri rusange; abanyamadini, abakora imyuga yigenga cyangwa se gukorera abanyamahanga n'imiryango mpuzamahanga. Mu byukuri, iringaniza ryaje kuba intwaro ikomeye kandi ishaje yakoreshwaga n'intayega zitsimbaraye ku byakera zari k'ubutegetsi zitifuzaga ko hagira igihinduka. Mu bihe bikomeye by'ihungabana ry'ubukungu, iringaniza ryakoreshejwe mu kurengera abaturage bamwe b'indobanure no gukumira abadaturuka mu majyaruguru y'igihugu mu mirimo ihemba neza cyangwa ifatirwamo ibyemezo bikomeye (igisirikari, inama ishinga amategeko,Komite nyobozi,ibigo bigengwa na Leta). Dore urugero : nubwo Perezidansi yageragezaga gusaranganya imyanya myiza mu bahutu n'abatutsi bari batonnye ku ngoma (imiryango imwe ikomeye y'abatutsi bari mu bucuruzi n'ubwikorezi bw'ibiva n'ibijya mu mahanga bakingigirwaga ikibaba ku buryo bukabije), ibiro by'iperereza bishinzwe kugenzura iby'amoko mbere yo guha abakozi ba Leta akazi byakundaga gukora amaraporo yibasira abatutsi. Ahanini bene ayo maraporo yabaga agamije kurengera inyungu z'abari mu myanya myiza yagendaga ikendera kubera gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda amahanga yategekaga igihugu kujyamo. Nguko uko poritiki yo gusaranganya ibyiza by'igihugu yari yagiriyeho gushimangira ingoma yariho yaje kuba imbarutso yo kwamagana ku mugaragaro uburyo abakomoka ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri bikubiye ibyiza by'igihugu ku buryo buteye isoni.

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burugumestri b'icyo gihe bose bari abahutu n'abakekwaho kuba batari abahutu bagombaga kuba bafite indangamuntu z'ubuhutu.

Gutsindwa kwa MRND mu matati y'irondakarere

Muri ibyo bihe by'amashiraniro, MRND yaciye ukubiri n'ibyo yigishaga. Koko rero MRND yavutse igamije gushimangira ibyiza byazanywe n'impinduramatwara yo muri 1959 ikoresheje icyo yise « *impinduramatwara mvugururamuco* » yo guhuriza Abanyarwanda bose hamwe bakazibukira irondakoko n'ironda karere. Umugambi w' « amahoro n'ubumwe » yahoraga iririmba witabiriwe ku buryo bugaragara n'abaturage ndetse n'igice kikini cy'abayobozi bari bamaze kurambirwa amacakubiri ya MDR-PARMEHUTU. Yewe ntibyanaruhanije na busa kugira ngo MRND yinjire mu mitwe ya rubanda dore ko Perezaida Habyarimana yahagaritse amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko hagati y'Abanyarwanda bikanamuhesha igikundiro mu batutsi b'imbere mu gihugu.

Nyamara nubwo yari yashoboye gucubya amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko mu gipande cy'abamushyigikiye, yananiwe kurenga macakubiri ashingiye ku irondakarere, ndetse anakingira ikibaba ihotorwa ry'abanyeporitiki bo kuri Repuburika ya mbere. Ibyo byamubyariye urwango rukomeye rw'abaturuka mu majyepfo y'igihugu nubwo yakoraga ibishoboka byose ngo yibagize amahano akomeye yo kwica uwari waramubereye « se » muri poritiki[16].

Perezida Habyarimana yongeye nanone gutsindwa ubwo yashakaga guhindura MRND nk'akarima yororeramo abanyaporitiki bamushyigikiye gusa kandi bashobora kumwitangira, agashimshwa gusa no kubahoza mu ipiganwa ryo kumukeza ngo abihere imyanya myiza mu butegetsi. Iryo piganwa hagati y'ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu majyepfo no mu majyaruguru ryarakaje cyane abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru bari bamushyize ku butegetsi. Byaje kurushaho kuba bibi aho hagiriyeho itegekonshinga ryo kuwa 28 Ukuboza 1978 ryeguriraga ubutegetsi bwose Perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana.

16 Geregori Kayibanda amaze guhirikwa ku butegetsi, hashyizweho urukiko rukuru rw gisirikari maze rumukatira we na bagenzi be 7 muri Kamena 1974 igihano cyo kwicwa. Yaje gufungirwa iwe mu rugo aza kuhagwa mu buryo butigeze busobanuka. Abanyaporitiki babarirwa muri mirongo bari bakomeye ku ngoma ya Repuburika ya mbere bishwe urubozo.Ibyo byabaye cyane ku bari bafungiye mu kato muri gereza ya Ruhengeri mu maboko ya Major Tewonesti Lizinde ubwe. Ubwo bwicanyi budasobanutse bwatumye abaturage n'abakozi ba Leta benshi bakomoka my majyepfo y'igihugu bijundika ubutegtsi bwa Habyarimana.

Mu gihe yari asanzwe akomatanije imirimo yo kuba umukuru w'igihugu, n'uwa guverinoma ndets akaba na Ministri w'ingabo z'igihugu n'umugaba mukuru wazo, itegeko nshinga rishya ryaje kumwongereraho kuba Perezida wa Muvoma ari na we wenyine washoboraga kwiyamamaza ubuziraherezo umwanya wo kuba Perezida w'igihugu. Ku bushyamirane bwari hagati y'abakomoka ku Gisenyi n'abakomoka mu Ruhengeri hiyongereyeho no kutumvikana hagati y'abaturuka mu turere tubiri twa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Bushiru na Bugoyi, ari naho havuye umugambi waje gupfuba wo guhirika ubutegtsi bwa Habyarimana ugahitana na bamwe mub'imena mu basangirangendo b'uwa 5 Nyakanga 1973 (Aregisi Kanyarengwe na Tewonesti Rizinde). Nta byinshi bizwi ku byaba byarateye ayo makimbirane yakurikiwe n'ururandagatane rw'insobe. Gusa icyo twavuga ni uko hari igipande cyari gishyigikiye Habyarimana Yuvenari[17] mu gisirikari no mu banyaporitiki b'abasiviri cyari gishyiditse n'icyari gishyigikiye, cyane cyane mu gisirikari, Kanyarengwe Aregisi wari Ministri w'igihangange w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu.

Ipiganwa ryagaragaraga cyane cyane mu gukeza Perezida kugira ngo bagire uruhare mu byemezo bikomeye yafataga.Bimaze kugaragara ko Kanyarengwe Aregisi arwanya ubutegetsi ku mugaragaro, Perezida Habyarimana yagize impungenge ko n'abari bamushyigikiye bashobora kumuvaho bakayoboka Kanyarengwe Aregisi.Niyompamvu mu kwezi kwa Mata 1980 yafunze Major Tewonesti Rizinde,igikurankota cyari gikuriye iperereza mu guhugu. Kuwa 28 ukuboza yirukanye Kanyarengwe Aregisi muri Guverinoma nawe ahitamo guhungira mu gihugu cya Tanzaniya kuko yatinyaga ko yafungwa. Nyuma yaho Habyarimana yaketse ko mu gutoroka igihugu Kanyarengwe

17 Mu gice cyakari gishyigikiye Habyarimana Yuvenari twavugamo Arufonsi Ribanje wari umyobozi mukuru wa Ofisi y'icyayi muRwanda(OCIR-Thé) Yohani Berekimansi Birara wari umyobozi wa Banki nkuru y'igihugu,,Aroyizi Bizimana umwe mu bayobozi bakomeye ba Banki ya Kigali bose bakomoka mu Bugoyi. Hari nanone Yohani Bosiko umunyamabanga mukuru muri Ministeri ya Finansi ukomoka I Byumba, n'abasirikari bakomeye barimo Koroneri Serubuga Rawurenti umugaba mukuru wungirije w'ingabo z'igihugu,Koroneri Buregeya Bonaventura wari Umunyamabanga mukuru muri Perezidansi ya repuburika, ariko waje kuvanwaho kuwa 16 Mata 1980 hakaba nanone Petero Seresitini Rwagafirita wari umugaba wungirije wa Jandarumori.

Aregisi yaba yaraburiwe na Major Yakobo Maniraguha ukomoka mu Buhoma mu Ruhengeri kandi wari ushinzwe kwakira abashyitsi muri Perezidansi ya Repuburika maze nawe aramufunga. Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1981 Tewonesiti Lizinde yaciriwe urubanza akatirwa igihano cyo kwicwa afungirwa muri Gereza ikomeye ya Ruhengeri.Ubwo kandi ni nabwo urwikwekwe rwakomezaga ku bantu bari bacuditse n'abategetsi bari bamaze kuvanwaho[18]. Kwigizayo burundu agatsiko k'abarakare bo mu majyaruguru byarushijeho kwagura urwango hagati yabo nabo mu majyepfo. Mu by'ukuri nyuma y'ihotora n'inyerezwa by'abanyaporitiki bo ku ngoma ya Repuburika ya mbere, Yuvenari Habayarimana yagerageje kwubaka guhera mu mpera z'imyaka ya za 1970 ikipi y'abanyaporitiki b'ababanga bakomoka mu mamajyepfo y'igihugu[19] ariko nabo akagenda abigizayo buhoro buhoro igihe cyose babaga bagaragaje ko batemera amatwara asa n'ay'ubuhake yagenderwagaho muri MRND. Abageragezaga kugira igikundiro n'icyizere gikomeye mu baturaga baho bakomoka kugirango bigaragaze nk'abanyaporitiki nyakuri bafite imbaraga mu baturage bahitaga bigizwayo.Urugero rufatika ni urw'abagabo babiri nyamara bari batandukanye cyane mu mikorere yabo: Nzamurambaho Ferederiko na Gatabazi Ferisiyani birukaniwe rimwe. Uwa mbere yiyerekanye nk'umuministri w'umukozi cyane wegeraga abaturage kandi akabasanga iwabo mu cyaro akababwiza ukuri. Ibyo byaje gutuma aba icyamamare bigera naho bagenzi be bo mu nteko ishinga amategeko bagaragaza ko bashaka ko yaba Perezida w'inteko ishinga amategeko. Nyamara ahubwo ibyo byamubyariye amahari aturuka ku byegera by'umukuru w'igihugu baburizamo uwo mugambi bitwaje ko ari umuntu utakwizerwa kuko kumukoresha cyangwa kumukoreramo bitajyaga gushoboka.

Uwa kabiri we yari intyoza izi gukina no kunyura mu makoni yose ya poritiki. Yaje

18 Reba umugereka wa 1 werekana uko ibyiciro by'abarangije ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari byagiye bisimburana bizagufasha no kwumva neza uko uzagenda usoma iki gitabo imiterere y'ikibazo cy'irondakarere.

19 Reka tuvugemo bamwe mu b'ingenzi : Maritini Bucyana(Hutu Cyangugu), Ferisiyani Gatabazi(Hutu Butare), Tomasi Habanabakize (Hutu Gitatarama) Kerewofasi KanyaRwanda (Hutu Gitarama) Yohani Kirizostomi Nduhungirehe (Hutu Butare), Simewoni Nteziryayo (Hutu Cyangugu), Ferederiko Nzamurambaho (Hutu Gikongoro).

kuvanwaho kubera ko yari yatinyutse guhangara imbonankubone Nsekarije Aroyizi umwe mu basirikari bakuru bo mu kazu ko kwa Perezida kandi ibyo akaba yari abishyigikiwemo na Nzamurambaho Ferederiko n'abandi banyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo y'igihugu[20]. Twibutse ko mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, abaturage baho bakomeje kugirana ubufatanye bushingiye ku muco wabo w'ibikingi n'uturere kamere bakomokamo. Ibyo byose byagiye bigira ingaruka zinyuranye mu mitegekere yo ku ngoma za repuburika ya mbere n'iyakabiri, kuko iyo havukaga ikibazo imiryango minini yo mumajyaruguru yihagararagaho ikanga kuva ku izima ku kintu cyose cyashoboraga guhungabanya inyungu zayo. Aha umuntu yavuga nk'abanyabikingi bo mu Buhoma na Bukonya mu Ruhengeri, abo mu Bugoyi ku Gisenyi bari bakomeye cyane kubera ubukungu burangwa mu turere twabo mu gihe akarere ko mu Bushiru ko kari gakennye kandi gasuzuguritse(reba umugereka w'ikarita ya 1).

Umurindi wo gushimangira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuriwe wenyine watumye Yuvenari Habyarimana ahabwa akato. Kwirukana Tewonesti Lizinde na Aregisi Kanyarengwe byatumye atongera gucana uwaka n'abaturuka mu Bugoyi(barimo Arufonsi Ribanje,Sitanisirasi Biseruka, Yohani Berekimansi Birara) no mu Ruhengeri. Inkingi z'ubutegetsi bwe zimaze kugwa izindi zikajegera yahisemo kwisunga no kwibumbira ku nkoramutima ze gusa.Ingufu zikomeye z'ubutegtsi bwe zari zishingiye ahanini k'ubufatanye buzira umuze hagati y'abasirikari n'abanyaporitiki baturuka mu Ruhengeri no ku Gisenyi, ziba zisimbuwe gusa no gufatanya nabo mu muryango we n'uw'umugore we hiyongreyeho n'abashiru b'iwabo aho akomoka.Poritiki y'iringaniza ishingiye ku moko n'uturere Perezida yari yaragize intwaro ikomeye ku butegetsi bwe iburiramo ityo

20 Nubwo Perezida yumvaga neza ko impamvu bamurwanya zidashingiye gusa ku ipigana risanzwe ryo guhatana muri poritiki, biriya bikorwa byatumye acana burundu n'abari bamushyigikiye. Gukomatanya nokwigerekaho ariya makosa yo mu rwego rwa portiki byatumye abo mu majyepfo y'igihugu bongera kugira impungenge zikomeye maze nawe atangira kujya afata ibyemezo bisa naho bishingiye ku marangamutima gusa.Ibyo byaje na none gukurikirwa n'ibikorwa byo gutoteza abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfoharimo n'ubwicanyi budasobanutse mu mpera y'imyaka yaza 1980 byose kandi bishingiye kuri poritiki yo gusuzuguza no gutesha agaciro abanyaporitiki bose baturuka mu majyepfo y'igihugu.

kubera kubogamira cyane ku bantu be gusa. Byageze aho Jenerari Perezida ikibazo kimubera ihurizo rikomeye kubera ko yagombaga kwirinda impanvu zose zakomeza guhembera uburakari bw'abasirikari n'abahinza bo mujyaruguru bakaba bahirika ubutegetsi bwe, kandi nanone agomba kwikiza bamwe muri bo b'ingenzi ariko adatakaje ingufu z'abanyaruhengeri kandi zari kamara mu gutsimbataza ubutegetsi bwe. Habyarimana Yuvenari yatinye kuba yagira undi musirikari mukuru cyangwa umunyaportikiu ukomeye wo mu Ruhengeri yakoraho, ahubwo ahitamo kubashyiraho ingenza zibacunga buri munsi, abifashijwemo cyane na Koroneri Serubuga Rawurenti wari intayegayezwa ku mwanya wo kuba umugaba wungirije w'ingabo z'URwanda,Eriya Sagatwa umunyamabanga wihariye wa Perezida ari na we wakoreraga mu kwaha iimirimo nyakuri y'umugaba w'ingabo, hamwe na muramu we Zigiranyirazo Porotazi wari nyirububasha bwose muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri (yategetse kuva tariki ya 24 Ukuboza 1974 kugeza tariki ya 13 Ukwakira1989). Byaje rero kuba ngombwa ko Habyarimana yuvenari avana mu kato akarere ka Bukonya (aho Aregisi Kanyarengwe yakomokaga) maze agashumbusha gushyira muri Komite nyobozi ya MRND Koroneri Rusatira Rewonidasi na Fransisko Ngarukiyintwari wari ministri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane. Muri Werurwe 1981, undi muntu ukomeye mu Bukonya, Yohani Damaseni Hategekimana, yagizwe ministri w'imari. Agahebuzo kaje kuba icyemezo gishobora kuba ari kimwe mu bikomeye byo mu gihe cyose Habyariamana yategetse kandi cyari kigamije gusibanganya Kanyarengwe Aregisi, cyabaye icyo kuzamura umwe mu basiviri b'intamenyekana, Yozefu Nzirorera, agirwa umuyobozi w'ikirenga uvuka muri iyo ntara kandi ashingwa kuyihindura mu myumvire kugira ngo iyoboke ku buryo burambye. Izamurwa rye mu ntera ryihuse nk'umurabyo, ryabaye kandi inzira yo kunoza umubano n'ubufatanye hagati y'amaperefegitura yombi yo mu majyaruguru : Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Uburyo Yozefu Nzirorera, umusore w'amashagaga wasabitswe na ruswa, yakuwe mu busa akagera mu bushorishori bw'igihugu ni indorerwamo nyakuri y'ingoma [ya Habyarimana] ari mu ntambwe ishimishije yateje igihugu ari no mu bibi birenze urugero byayirunduye.

incamake ya 1

Yozefu Nzirorera, Rutemikirere ya Perezida mu bicu bya poritiki y'URwanda

Yozefu Nzirorera yavukiye i Busogo komini Mukingo mu mwaka wa 1950. Muri 1975 niho yabonye impamyabushobozi ihanitse mu by'ubwubatsi muri Kaminuza y'URwanda i Butare. Yahise atangira igeragezwa ku kazi ka Leta nk'abandi bose ku ntera y'umunyamabanga mukuru w'ubuyobozi aza kwemerwa burundu nk'umukozi wa Leta kuwa 15 Ugushyingo 1977.

Nyamara hagati aho atararangiza n'igihe giteganijwe cy'igeragezwa, ku itariki ya 30 Kamena 1976, Yozefu Nzirorea yagizwe umyobozi mukuru w'ikigo gishinzwe amateme n'imihanda, kimwe mu bigo byatanganga akazi kenshi mu gihugu kubera ingengo y'imari itubutse cyagenerwaga mu rwego rwo gukora imirimo ya Leta , gutanga amasoko n'ibindi bikorwa bishamikiyeho. Aho niho yaboneye uburyo bwo kwigwizaho umutungo anyereza ibya Leta bituma ndetse ministri mushya w'imirimo ya Leta, ingufu n'ibikoresho, umunyabutare Gatabazi Ferisiyani amugaya amuha amanota mabi ku byerekeye ishimwe ku kazi kugira ngo amugarure ku murongo. Gatabazi yari yagizwe minisitiri muri 1977 aza ari nk'inyenyeri izamuka imurikira abanyaporitiki baturuka mu majyepfo. Hagati aho byaje kuba nk'amayobera ubwo mu mwaka wa 1980 Nzirorera Yozefu yaje gukorerwa indi mbonerahamwe ndanga-mikorere myiza ku kazi ke imuhanaguraho bwa busembwa bwose kugira ngo ashobore gukomeza kuzamuka mu ntera z'abakozi ba Leta nta nkomyi. Muri Mata 1980, Simewoni Nteziryayo wari wasimbuye Gatabazi muri MINITRRAPE yagizwe minisitiri muri Perezidansi ya Repuburika maze MINITRAPE isigara idafite umuyobozi kugeza ubwo hashyirwaho Guverinoma yo kuwa 29 Werurwe 1981. Kuva icyo gihe kugeza ubwo hasyizweho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi kuwa 31 Ukuboza 1991 iyobowe na Ministri w'intebe, Yozefu Nzirorera ntiyigeze abura muri guverinoma n'imwe kandi nubwo yayoboye ministeri zinyuranya wasangaga yarashinze ibirindiro muri minisiteri y'imirimo ya Leta n'ibikoresho hakiyongeraho ndetse ingufu n'amazi. Hamwe n'ibyo kandi yari n'intumwa ya rubanda, kuri manda eshatu zose zabayeho 1981,1983 na 1989. Yaje no gushyirwa muri Komite nyobozi ya MRND muri kongere yayo yo kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1983 aba umwe mu bagize komisiyo ikomeye cyane ariyo ya Poritiki.

Mu by'ukuri usibye ubushake bwa Perezida Habyarimana, Yozefu Nzirorera yari gukomeza kuba intamenyekana ariko aho azamuriwe yabaye icyatwa aba umuhuza kamara hagati ya Perefegitura ye na Perezidansi. Kuva yarangiza Kaminuza, Yozefu yabaye umuhuzabikorwa ushinzwe "kunyereza umutungo" wa Leta; kuba minisitiri w'imirimo ya Leta byo byamugize ishingiro ry' «Ikiguri rwiziringa»[a] — cy'ubuhake bwubakiye kuri Perezida bugahemba abagaragu b'akazu ke butibagiwe ishimo rikwiye umuryanngo w'umugore we ariko cyane cyane Zigiranyirazo Porotazi wari Perefe wa Ruhengeri akaba

n’inshuti magara ya Nzirorera Yozefu dore ko ari we wanamuzamuye muri poritiki akamugira n’indakorwaho.

Nzirorera yozefu yari kamara muri byose kandi yari yareguriwe ububasha bwo kugira abamugaragira be bwite. Yari umushoborabyose nko mu gutanga akazi, gutanga inguzanyo n’ibindi byose bifitanye isano na ministeri yayoboraga. Niyo mpamvu yashoboye kubaka akazu ke k’abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru ariko cyane cyane abakomoka mu Ruhengeri. Hejuru yo kuba Rugaba wa byose yari yemerewe no kwigwizaho umutungo no kuwusaranganya mu bo ashatse ntawe umucunga.ibyo byari byaratumye bamuhimba akazina ka «TOTAL»[« Byose hamwe »].

Uretse abo mu kazu ko mu muryango wa Habyarimana twavuga ko mu bategetsi bo muri Repuburika ya kabiri ari bake cyane bari bemerewe ubutoni nk’ubw’uwo mugabo. Ubwo buhangange ku ngoma bwaje kurushaho gukomezwa n’amasano ya bugufi yagendaga yubakwa. Twavuga nka muramukazi wa Yozefu Nzirorera Beyatrisa wakoraga muri Banki y’ubucuruzi y’uRwanda(BCR) washyingiwe mwishywa wa Habyarimana witwa Iridefonsi Gashumba umuyobozi wa serivisi y’ivunjisha muri Banki Nkuru y’igihugu— umwanya ukomeye cyane ku bijyanye no kumenya no gucuga amafranga y’amahanga (amadovize). Andi masano yaje kubakwa ubwo Mariya Yohanna Umukobwa wa Perezida Habyarimana yarongorwaga na Arufonsi Ntirivamunda, umuyobozi mukuru w’ikigo gishinzwe amateme n’imihanda nawe ukomoka muri Mukingo. Nzirorera Yozefu ni we wabaye umukuru w’ubukwe w’icyubahiro.

Kwimurira Yozafu Nzirorera muri Ministeri y’inganda n’ubukorikori muri guverinoma ebyiri zabanjirije ihuriweho n’amashyaka menshi muRwanda byagushije hasi isura ye ya Poritiki kuko byari bigamije gucubya uburakari bw’abaterankunga binubiraga ko imfashanyo batanga icungwa nabi cyane haba muri ministeri ubwaho haba no mu yindi mishinga myinshi yakorwaga mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru. Ibyo byageze kuri Perezida biramubabaza kubera irari by’ibyubahiro bikabije ikiremwa cye cyihundagazagaho.Yatabawe gusa nuko baramu ba Perezida bahagurutse bagakomakoma ngo atirukanwa muri Guverinoma. Ibyinshi Nzirorera Yozefu yabibwirwaga na Sagatwa Eriya, muramu wa Perezida Habyarimana wari n’umunyamabanga we wihariye wamugezagaho ibirego byose bimureba byabaga byageze i bukuru nawe agashaka abantu b’intyoza mu gutarama no kuvuga neza akabohereza ubutitsa kumuvuganira no gucururutsa uburakari bw’i bukuru. Perezida yaje gufata ibyemezo bibiri bikomeye. Icya mbere ni icyo kwinjiza muri Guverinoma yo muri Gashyantare 1991abantu bashya «bazira ubwandu»: Enoki Ruhigira(hutu,Kibuye),Jemusi Gasana(hutu,Byumba), Agusitini Ngirabatware (hutu,Gisenyi) wari usanzwe no muri guverinoma kuva ku wa 10 Nyakanga 1990 na Nzabahimana (hutu, Gitarama).

Icyemezo cya kabiri cyabaye icyo kwimurira Nzirorera Yozefu muri ministeri y’inganda n’ubukorikori (Minimart) itari ifite byinshi yavugwaho cyane muri ibyo bihe.Itangazamakuru ryigenga

ryari rishyushye icyo gihe ryakomeje kwerekana uruhare rubi rwa Nzirorera muri Minitrape hagati aho ariko ibyemezo bya Perezida byashimwe n'abaterankunga banishimira n'abayobozi bashya bari bagiye gukorana nabo mu mishinga bateragamo inkunga.Kuva hagiyeho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi iyobowe na Nsengiyaremye Disimasi kuwa 16 Mata 1992 (nkuko muzabisoma mu bika bikurikira) uwahoze afite intebe y'ikirenga nk'igikomangoma kwa Habyarimana yabaye nk'uwikuye mu rubuga rwa poritiki ku mugaragaro ndetse yiheza no mu nzego za MRND mu gihe yanengwaga cyane nk'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi.

Nyuma yuko MRND ivugururiwe ikajye ku rwego rumwe n'ayandi mashyaka, Nzirorera yuririye kuri izo ntege nke zagaragaraga mu ishyaka aza yigaragaza nk'umukandinda w'igikonyozi uturutse i bukuru ugamije kurohora abatagmba kurohama. Ku wa 30 Werurwe 1993 umukuru w'igihugu yeguye ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka mu rwego rwo kugerageza kudakomeza gukomatanya imirimo. Kongere ya MRND yateranye abaharaniye kuyivugurura bumva ko babonye umwanya wo gukora poritiki mu bwisanzure batora Ngirumpatse Matayo undi mugabo nawe wari warazamuwe na Habyarimana (reba incamake n°7) ku buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka.Mu buryo bunyuranye n'itorwa rya Matayo Ngirumpatse, umwanya w'ubunyamabanga bukuru warahataniwe cyane kuko Nzirorea Yozefu yawifuzaga by'agahebuzo. Twibutse ko Yozefu Nzirorera ntaho yari agihuriye na Matayo Nzirorera mu gukomeza ubutoni ku mukuru w'igihugu.

Nyuma y'amacenga menshi yashoboye gutsindira uwo mwanya nuko bidaciye kabiri akigera muri iyo mirimo yigwizaho ibyubahiro byose bitangwa n'ishyaka Matayo Ngirumpatse asigara ari Perezida ku izina gusa (reba umugereka wa 2).

Mu nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho ishingiye ku masezerano ya Arusha (reba umutwe wa 5), Nzirorera yasohotse ku rutonde rwemejwe burundu rw'abadepite, ari umwe mu bahagarariye perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana yirinze kujya muri guverinoma y'agateganyo ahubwo atangira gutegura izungura nyaryo. Yabigezeho ubwo ku wa 4 Nyakanga 1994 ku Gisenyi yateranije abagize inama ishinga amategeko bakamutorera kuyibera Perezida. Hari hasigaye gusa kweguza Perezida w'agateganyo Sindikubwabo Tewodori kugira ngo yemezwe nka Perezida wa Repuburika.

Umuvuduko wa FPR wo gufata ubutegetsi hamwe no kuba yaranze umyanya mbere byamubujije kwicara ku ntebe y'ikirenga. Igihe yari hafi kujya ku isonga ry'ubutegetsi bwamureze ni naho bwahirimye burundu. Icyakora yashoboye gutegeka inkambi z'impunzi zo muri Kivu yo mu majyaruguru. Aho atangiriye gushakishwa n'Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho URwanda [TPIR], yafatiwe mu gihugu cya Benin yoherezwa Arusha kuhaburanishirizwa,

Umuvuduko wa FPR wo gufata ubutegetsi hamwe no kuba yaranze umyanya mbere byamubujije kwicara ku ntebe y'ikirenga. Igihe isonga ry'ubutegetsi bwamureze yarikozagaho imitwe y'intoki ni naho bwahirimye burundu. Icyakora yashoboye gutegeka inkambi z'impunzi zo muri Kivu yo mu majyaruguru. Aho atangiriye gushakishwa n'Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho URwanda [TPIR], yafatiwe mu gihugu cya Benin yoherezwa Arusha kuhaburanishirizwa.

a. «*Ikiguri rwiziringa*» *biragenekereza ibyo uwahoze ari minisitiri muRwanda James Gasana yise mu gifaransa "systeme rhizomatique" Gasana mu gitabo cye Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2002,p.36.

Mu mpera y'imyaka ya za 1980, nyuma y'imyaka 10 ubutegetsi bufitwe n'injijuke ziganjemo abo mu majyepfo n'imyaka hafi 20 bufitwe n'abo mu majyaruguru, ubutegetsi byagaragaraga ko bumaze kunanirwa. Abanyarwanda benshi bari bamaze kubona ko « Demokarasi » itakomeza kuba umukino wa gatebe gatoki hagati y'utuzu tw'abakomoka mu majyepfo n'utw'abo mu majyarugu y'igihugu twiyitirira « rubanda nyamwinshi ».

Ntabwo ariko ibibazo by'ingutu igihugu cyarimo byaturukaga gusa ku burambirane cyangwa se idohoka ry'ubutegetsi. Inkubiri y'abaharanira demokarasi nyakuri bamaganaga cyane umuco w'ubuyobozi ushingiye ku guca abantu mo uduce no kurema utuzu bishingiye ku nyabutatu y' « ubuhake, irondakoko n'irondakarere. » Iyo nkubiri kandi yaharaniraga ko buri wese, yaba umuhutu cyangwa umututsi no ku buryo bw'umwihariko abaturage bahejwe n'abatagira kivugira, bagira uburenganzira busesuye bwo gutangaza ibitekerezo byabo ku miyoborere y'igihugu.

Imbogamizi ya mbere muri uru ruhando yari uko abanyaporitiki, ari abarwanyaga ubutegetsi ku mugaragaro cyangwa rwihishwa, bose bari bakiboshywe n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, MRND, kandi basangiye umurage umwe w'ubutegetsi bw'intavuguruzwa, buyobora abantu buhumyi kandi budashingiye ku byifuzo by'abaturage. Ikindi ni uko mu by'ukuri kurwanya imikorere ya gihake bitari byimirijwe imbere, dore ko ahubwo iyo mikorere yarushijeho guhabwa intebe uko ubutegetsi busanzweho bwagendaga bufungura

amarembo.

Imbogamizi ya kabiri ni uko nta mutegetsi n'umwe cyangwa se urwego rw'ubuyobozi wari ufite urubuga, ijambo no kwemerwa n'abantu bose mu rwego rw'igihugu.

Imbogamizi ya gatatu ni uko abanyaporitiki bose mu isesengura ryabo kandi ritabuze ishingiro, bahurizaga ku ngingo ko habanza inzira ya demokarasi naho ikibazo cy'amoko kikazigwa nyuma kuko cyari gifite imitego myinshi kandi kikaba cyashibukana abihaye kukibyutsa.

Mu by'ukuri abayobozi ku mpande zose, kubera ingorane buri wese yari yifitiye mu ruhando rwa poritiki, bahitgamo kugira bene ibyo bibazo bitatinyukwaga kuvugwa (irondakoko) cyagwa se byahishahishwaga (irondakarere) intwaro bashobora kwitabaza bibaye ngombwa.

Impamvu y'akaminuramuhini ni imyitwarire y'abanyaporiki bo mu majyaruguru. Bimaze kugaragara ko inkubiri y'amahindura ikajije umurego kandi ko ubutegetsi bwari busanzweho bwari butangiye kujegera, inzego zose zegereye n'izishamikiye ku kazu zashyizeho ingamba zo kwirwanaho mu buryo bwose bushobotse.

2

Ikibazo cy'impunzi no guhitamo intambara kwa FPR

Mbere yo gukomeza gusesengura uko poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu yagendaga ihinduka, ni ngombwa kumenya uburyo umuryango wa FPR Inkotanyi wafashe icyemezo cyo gutangiza intambara ukoresheje ingabo zawo (APR)— mu by'ukuri APR ntikunze kuvugwa kuko byombi byuzuzanya.

Ku itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, intambara yateye iturutse i Buganda igizwe n'ibihumbi by'abarwanyi ba FPR[21] yahungabanije ku buryo bukomeye ubutegetsi bwa

21 Umubare w'abatangije intambara ugenda uhindagurika hagati ya1500 na 7000 bitewe n'aho amakuru aturutse. Iyo urebye neza usanga abari ku rugamba mu byumweru bibiri bya mbere by'intambara batari barenze batayo enye ni ukuvuga abantu batarenze 1 500. Undi mubare uvugwa ni igiteranyo cy'abasirikari 4 000 by'inkotanyi zari zisanzwe mu gisirikari cya Uganda n'abandi hafi 3 000 b'abasiviri abenshi bari bagizwe n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda hakiyongeraho n'abandi bose bavuga ikinyarwanda n'abasirikari bakuru ba Uganda bari basigaye nta bantu bafite kuko babaga batorotse bagiye mu nkotanyi.

Perezida Habyarimana cyane cyane ko abo barwanyi baturukaga mu gisirikari cya

Uganda cyari kigizwe ahanini n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari zarahungiye muri icyo gihugu gituranye n'U Rwannda guhera mu myaka ya za1960. Bari bararwaniye Yoweri Museveni akiri inyeshyamba bamugeza ku butegetsi muri Uganda kandi bose bari bayobowe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bafite imyanya ikomeye mu gisirikari cya Uganda (NRA).

Kugeza ubu hazwi ibintu bike cyane ku byerekeye ibikorwa byabanjirije iriya ntambara n'uburyo yagenze. Inzego z'iperereza za Perezidansi n'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo muRwanda bari bazi neza iby'imyiteguro y'intambara yategurwaga n'impunzi z'abatutsi bari i Buganda. Ubundi kandi Perezidansi ihereye kuri ayo makuru, yari yaratangiye kubonana mu ibanga n'abahagarariye impunzi z'abatutsi ibinyujije ku bantu bamwe yizeye b'abahutu n'abatutsi. Uretse abasiviri nka Karori Shamukiga cyangwa Andreya Katabarwa, twavuga n'abanyamadini bo muri kiriziya gatorika y'i Roma barimo umushumba wa diyosezi ya Kabare Barnabas. R. Harer'Imana cyangwa se umupadiri w'umuyezuwiti Kirizorogi Mahame wari wubashywe cyane muri bagenzi be b'abapadri b'abatutsi.

Bamwe mubo twavuganye bambwiye ko ndetse hari harabayeho amasezerano hagati ya Perezida w'URwanda n'uwa Uganda asobanura uko ingabo z'inkotanyi zagombaga kwinjizwa mu gisirikari cy'URwanda akanateganya za ministeri zagombaga kugenerwa inkotanyi. Ngo ayo masezerano yateganyaga ko zari kugenerwa ministeri y'imari n'iyinganda.[22] Ibyo ari byo byose, urupfu rutunguranye rw'umukuru w'inkotanyi Fredi Rwigyema urugamba rugitangira no kuba abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru kandi

22 Abarwanyaga Habyarimana bakunda kwibutsa ko muri 1987 yagiye gusura ku mugaragaro igihugu cya Uganda akajya mu muhango wo kwambika amapeti abasirikari bo mu ngabo za NRA harimo n'ipeti rya Jenerari Majoro ringana n'iryo yari afite we ubwe ryambitswe Fred Rwigyema. Bari barakajwe cyane ni uko muri uwo muhango wari wateguwe na Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Musaveni, Perezida Habyarimana Yuvenari yaguye mu mutego w'umwanzi. Kugira ngo umuntu yumve uburemere bwa kiriya gikorwa, ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko abasirikari bakuru b'URwanda bari barahataniye kugera kuri iryo peti "rya kirazira" bikananirana [kuko ryari "umwihariko" wa Habyarimana].

b'ibyegera bya Perezida batarakozwaga na busa icyo gitekerezo cy igabangana ry'ubutegetsi byaburijemo ku buryo budasubirwaho inzira zose z'ubwumvikane. Ubushake Perezida yari amaze iminsi agaragaje bwo kuvugurura imiyoborere y'igihugu, uko byavugwaga ko atangiye kwinjiza abatutsi mu butegetsi ndetse no kworohera abari batangiye kumurwanya hagati ya 1988-1989 ntibyakirwaga neza n'ibyegera bye n'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru babibonaga intangiriro yo kumunga nyungu zabo.

Intambara y'uwa mbere Ukwakira 1990 yateye urujijo cyane. Byabaye ngombwa kwitabaza abasirikari bo muBufaransa, mu Bubirgi no muri Zayire kugirango ubutegetsi buhangane n'ibitero kandi bugarure umutekano mu gihugu wari umaze guhungabanywa cyane n'iyo ntambara kimwe n'impagarara za poritiki mu mpera za 1990. Nubwo amacakubiri yari asanzwe hagati y'utuzu tw'abaturuka mu majyepfo nabo mu majyaruguru yakomeje, noneho hiyongereyeho ibindi bibazo by'ingutu bya poritiki bishingiye ku nkubiri ya demokarasi imbere mu gihugu no ku bibazo byihariye by'abatutsi bateraga igihugu bavuye hanze.

Umukinnyi mushya utunguranye mu ruhando rwa Poritiki

Nkuko amakuru avuye i Kampala yabyerekanaga, iby'igitero cyashoboraga kuva i Buganda byari bizwi kandi byahoraga bigibwaho impaka kenshi mu buyobozi bw'ingabo z'URwanda. Gusa rero iby'icyo gitero byari inkuru y'incamugongo [muRwanda] kuko byagaragazaga ko abashaka gutera bifuza kugira uruhare mu butegetsi kandi bikerekana neza ko ubushobozi bwa gisirikari ku mpande zombie bwari buhagaze. Icyarushijeho gutungura abayobozi b'URwanda ni uko impunzi zabaga I Buganda zagabye igitero mu gihe umwuka w'amahoro wari uganje mu karere kandi ndetse n'imishyikirano yo kugira ngo impunzi zitahe mu mahoro yari yararangiye mu kwezi kwa Kanama1990 ihagarariwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga. Iyo mishyikirano yari yemeje ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zemewe n'umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe impunzi (HCR) zatahuka k'ubushake nta nkomyi. Ikindi cyatunguranye ni impinduka zakurikiye urupfu rw'umukuru w'inkotanyi, icyamamare Fredi Rwigyema, ku munsi wa kabiri imirwano itangiye, inkotanyi zigahita ziba impehe. Ibyo byatumye imigambi ya gisirikari y'inkotanyi ihinduka inasubirwamo. Icyatangaje nanone ni ubushobozi buke bwagaragaye ku ngabo

z'URwanda ku rugamba, haba mu mirwano haba no mu buhanga bwo kwitegura gukoma imbere ibitero. Ikindi kitabuze gutangaza ni imyitwarire ya Habyarimana mu rwego rwa poritiki kuri iyo ntambara yatangiye ari mu ruzinduko mu mahanga. Ubwo yatahukaga huti huti yanyuze gato i Buruseri kuwa 3 Ukwakira gusaba igihugu cy'UBubiligi imfashanyo ya gisirikari. Nyuma yaho gato ubwo Kigali yaterwaga (mu ijoro ryo kuwa 4 Ukwakira) n'abakomando bakekwa kuba bari ibyitso by'umwanzi, yategetse ko hafungwa abantu benshi cyane baba abamurwanya koko cyangwa ababikekwaho gusa. Nyuma yaho abasirikari ba mbere b'Ubufaransa n'UBubiligi bahagereye, hakiyongeraho n'abazayiruwa, gutsinda kw'inkotanyi kwavuye mu biganiro[23] hasigara gusa impaka ku ngaruka z'iyo ntambara mu karere no mu gihugu imbere, dore ko yari yanatumye havuka urwangano rukomeye hagati ya Perezida wa Uganda na Perezida w'URwanda. Hagati aho ariko, Abatutsi bo NRA bari bashoboye kwiyegereza abahutu bamwe b'ibyamamare (reba incamake n^o 2) bituma batagaragara nk'abavuganira impunzi gusa ahubwo bigatanga isura nziza ko poritiki yabo ihuriweho n'Abanyarwanda bose.

Mu rwego rwa gisirikari ariko, ubufatanye butihishira bw'ingabo z'uBuganda n'izari zateye bwari buhagije kugira ngo Habyarimana abwuririreho ahurize hamwe imbaraga z'abanyarwanada bose mu rugamba rwo kurwanya igitero kivuye hanze, kandi ndeste bikamuha n'uburenganzira bwo kwiyambaza ingufu za gisirikari zo hanze. Byazaga no gutuma ashyigikirwa n'imiryango mpuzamahanga irimo ndetse n'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika dore ko abari bawugize icyo gihe batashoboraga gushyigikira inyeshyamba zishaka gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu kabone nubwo icyo gihe uwo muryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika wari uyobowe na perezida Yoweri Museveni wa Uganda ubwe.

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23 Ingabo z'URwanda zigaruriye Gabiro n'akarere kayo kose mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa cumi. Ingabo z'abanyekongo zari zasubiye iwabo hagati mu kwezi kwa cumi hakurikiraho izo mu Bubirigi mu kwezi kwa 11 ariko ingabo z'ubufaransa zisigara mu butumwa bwiswe" Noroît" kuko URwanda rwari rwiteze ibitero bikomeye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1990.

Incamake ya 2

Igaruka ry'ibikurankota byo muri 1980

Mbere y'uko intambara yo kuwa 1 Ukwakira itangira, Habyarimana yashegeshwe no kubona Kanyarengwe Aregisi wahoze ari n° 2 muri komite y'ubumwe n'amahoro yifatanya n'Inkotanyi. Mu wa 1987, abigiriwemo inama na Karori Shamukiga (Tutsi, Byumba) wari uhagarariye by' w'icyubahiro igihugu cya Luxembourg muRwanda, na rwiyemezamirimo Antoni Sebera (Tutsi,Butare), Rwigyema yari yaratumye abantu kuri Kanyarengwe Aregisi amusaba gufatanya n'Inkotanyi zarimo zitegura icyo gihe. Hagati mu kwezi kwa 9 Aroyiziya Inyumba umwe mu bagize komite nyobozi ya FPR aherekejwe n'umucuruzi witwa Karimba boherejwe Daresaramu kuzana Kanyarengwe ngo asange inkotanyi i Kampala. Kanyarengwe ubwe byose yaragiye abimenyesha Habyarimana ariko we akicecekera. Kanyarengwe yaje kwemera gufatanya n'Inkotanyi nuko ku wa 28/9/1990, iminsi 2 gusa mbere yo kugaba igitero, agirwa umukuru wungirije w'inkotanyi ari Visi-Perezida wa Rwigyema. Nyuma y'urupfu rudasobanutse rwa Fredi Rwigyema. Pahuro Kagame wahoraga amaranira kuba umukuru w'Inkotanyi abigeraho kuwa 1 Ukuboza 1990 abifashijwemo na Perezida Museveni. Uko gushyirwa ku buyobozi bukuru bw'Inkotanyi umuntu wanga Habyarimana urunuka kandi uzwiho kwanga abatutsi cyane byababaje Habyrimana cyane kuko byamwibutsaga iby''agatsiko k'abasirikari bakuru bari baramwigometsho muri za 1980.

Byaje kuba impamo y'inzozi mbi ku wa 23 Mutarama1991 ubwo Inkotanyi zafataga Gereza ya Ruhengeri zikavanamo imfungwa 2 za poritiki Major Rizinde Tewonesti (Hutu, Gisenyi)na Komanda Biseruka Stanisirasi (Hutu, Gisenyi)zari zarabaye ibyamamare ku ngoma ya repuburika ya 2 mu cyiswe " Agatsiko ka Rizinde" mu wa 1980. Mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1991 nyuma y'amezi atatu batwawe n'Inkotanyi binjizwe mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'Inkotanyi i Byumba aho Inkotanyi zari zarashinze ibirindiro guhera muri Mutarama 1991. Aho nihoLizinde yabaye umujyanama wa Pahuro Kagame asubira mu mirimo ye y'ubutasi (reba umugeraka n°3). Kwakira Kanyarengwe na Lizinde mu ngabo zayo FPR yari ibonye iturufu rikomeye mu rwego rwa poritiki y'igihugu,kuko byaremaga agatima abari basanzwe bashyigiye abo bagabo mu gihugu ndetse bikaza no kuba akarusho, ubwo mu masezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yashyizweho umukono muri Kanama1993 ku byerekeye kugabana imyanya mu ngabo z'igihugu abo bagabo bombi b'ibyigomeke kuri Habyarimana binjizwaga mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo ku ruhande rwa FPR.

Aha nanone reka tuvuge undi mugabo w'Hutu, Gisenyi, Pasitori Bizimungu nawe wari urambiwe poritiki yo guhakirizwa akaba yari n'umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo gitanga amazi n'amashanyarazi mu gihugu yahungiye muri Uganda akigira mu nkotanyi kandi akaza kugira uruhare rukomeye cyane rwo

guhagagrarira FPR-Inkotanyi mu mishyikirano. Ubwo bufatanye bw'inkotanyi n'abahutu kimwe n'andi macenga ya poritiki byabereye urujijo abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu bari basanzwe bashyigikiye FPR. Ntwashidikanya rero ko ibyo ari byo byatumye mu minsi ya mbere abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu baba bifashe mu kuyoboka FPR,ahubwo bagahitamo kuyoboka amashyaka yarwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu.

Ikibazo cy 'abavuga ikinyarwanda muri Zayire na Uganda

Haba mu karere kose cyangwa se imbere mu gihugu uburenganzira bwo gutahuka ku mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda wasangaga atari ikibazo gishishikaje cyane ku bantu bavuga ikinyarwanda, by'umwihariko ku babaga muri Zayire no muBuganda.

Amateka y'imiturire y'abantu bari baturiye akarere k'imisozi miremire igabanya uruzi rwa Zayire n'urwa Niri, cyane cyane ku Banyarwanda, ntaho ahuriye n'imipaka y'ibihugu yashyizweho n'abakoroni hagati ya 1885 na 1910. Iyo mipaka ishyirwaho ntibitaye ku kibazo cy'abantu bavugaga ikinyarwanda bari bamaze imyaka irenga ijana cyangwa maganabiri baba iburengerazuba bw'imisozi miremire y'ibirunga[24] n'abandi babaga Goma na Rutshuru muri Kivu yo mu majyaruguru.[25]

Ibiganiro kuri izo ntara n'abazituye[26] byaririndwaga cyane kuko nkuko bivugwa n'abanyamateka bemewe byagushaga byanze bikunze ku mipaka yariho mbere y'ubukoroni. Ariko ibyo nabyo nta shingiro bifite kuko n'ubundi abo bantu bumvaga bahujwe n'umuco, ururimi ndetse n'ibibazo by'ubukungu bari basangiye kuruta kuba bakumva bahuriye ku gihugu kimwe.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoroni hagiye habaho urujya n'uruza rw'abimukira bitewe n'ubushake cyangwa se biturutse kuri poritiki y'ubukoroni yo kubyaza ubukungu akarere ka Shaba na

24 *Akarere ka Kigezi mu Bufumbira muri Uganda ni ukuvuga akarere kari hagati y'ikiyaga cya Kivu n'ikiyaga Edouard[Rwicanzige]*.

25 Reba André GUICHAOUA, Le Probrème des réfugiés rwandais et des populations banyarwanda dans la région des Grands Lacs africains,[Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda n'abavuga ikinyarwanda mu karere k'Afurika y'Ibiyaga Bigari],UNHCR, Genève,Mars 1991([dir] byasubiwemo na Andreya GUICHAOUA muri, Exilés, déplacés, réfugiés en Afrique centrale et orientale, Karthala, Paris, 2004,annexe 8, p. 817-872).

26 Ubukoroni burangiye babarurirwaga hagati ya 400.000 na 500.000 muri Zayire na 200.000 muri Uganda.

Kivu muri Repuburika yigenga ya Congo muri iki gihe. Byagaragaye cyane ku bihugu byari bikoronijwe n'Abongereza ubwo ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abarundi n'Abanyarwanda bambutswaga inzuzi bajyanwa gutura ahandi mbere gato y'ubwigenge bw'ibyo bihugu.Gutuzwa kw'Abanyarwanda muri Zayire bikozwe n'Ababirigi byatangiye mu wa 1937ariko bifata intera ndende mu wa 1949. Guverineri wa Kivu yahawe inshingano yo gutuza Abanyarwanda (MIB) kuri Ha 150.000. Igihe cy'ubwigenge habarurwaga imiryango 40 000 yatujwe ni ukuvuga abantu hafi 200 000; abenshi ari abahutu kandi muri bo 70% ari abatujwe ku buryo buhuje n'amategeko naho 30 % ari abituje ubwabo gusa. Guhera icyo gihe birakomeye cyane ndetse ntibinashoboka kumenya neza imibare yerekeye imyororekere y'abo bantu kubera intege nke z'ubutegetsi bwa Zayire. Duhereye ku bushakashatsi bwakozwe na A. Gatanazi[27], Abanyarwanda bagiye gutura muri Zayire mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1970 bageraga kuri 1.350.000 babarirwamo hagati ya 600.000 na 700.000 bari baratuye ku buryo busanzwe bwa gihanga mu gihe cy'ubukoroni na mbere yaho.

Mu ntangirro y'imyaka ya za1990 umuntu abaze abiyongereyeho bavuye hanze n'ubwiyongere busanzwe bw'abaturage, Abanyarwanda babaga mu Burasirazuba bwa Zayire ugereranije bageraga kuri 1.600.000[28]. Muri Uganda, ibarura rya nyuma ryakozwe nyuma ya revorisiyo yo mu wa 1959 ryerekanye ko hariyo Abanyarwanda 350.000 bahahungiye mu gihe cya gikoroni[29] bitwaga abahunze kubera ubukene (*Abapagas*i).

27 A. Gatanazi "L'émigration et sa place dans l'évorution de l'équiribre démo-économique et social auRwanda"*Carrefour d'Afrique,*12,1973.

28 Andreya GUICHAOUA, Les frux migratoires dans les zones limitrophes de la CEPGL dans l'optique de l'application de la Convention sur la libre circulation des biens et des personnes,BIT-PECTA, CEPGL,Addis-Abéba/ Gisenyi,mai 1987. Jyewe ubwanjye, nakoze ubushakashatsi kuri ibyo bibazo hagati ya 1986-1992, mbisabwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga igihe cyo gushyira mu ngiro amasezerano yerekeranye n'ubwisanzure bwo kugenda kw'ibintu n'abantu mu muryangow'ubukungu w'ibihugu bituriye ibiyaga bigari by'Afurika no mu gihe cyo gukurikirana imirimo ya Komisiyo yihariye ku bibazo by'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda no muri Komite y'abaministri ihuriweho n'URwanda naUganda yigaga ku bibazo by'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zabaga Uganda. Hanyuma nanone mbikoraho mu gihe cyo gukora inyandiko ikusanya ibibazo byose by'impunzi z'abanyarwanda (reba Andreya GUICHAOUA, Le probrème des Réfugiés Rwandais,op. cit.)

29 Jean-Pierre CHRÉTIEN,"Des sédentaires devenus migrants, ;les motifs des departs des Burundais et des

Gatarina Watson mu kigereranyo cye avuga ko mu ntangiriro z'imyaka ya 1990 abo bantu bari bamaze kugera kuri 650.000; wakongeraho abari bahasanzwe bavuga ikinyarwanda[30] bakaba 1.100.000. Hari higanjemo abahutu batuye mu Bufumbira bitwa Abafumbira. Ariko kubera ibura ry'amasambu benshi bagiye bimukira mu murwa mukuru. Hagiye hiyongeraho n'impunzi z'abatutsi bavaga muRwanda. Nkuko twabivuze hagati y'Ugushyingo 1959 n'Ukwakira 1961, ubwicanyi n'umutekano muke muRwanda bayatumye ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza by'Abanyarwanda bahungira i Buganda, mbere habanje guhunga abahutu n'abatutsi nyuma hakajya hahunga abatutsi gusa. Ku munsi wo gutangaza Ubwigenge, abavanywe mu byabo bari 180.000 naho abahunze ari 120.000. Mu myaka irenga 12 yakurikiye ubwigenge, impagarara zitasibaga zatumye hababo impunzi nyinshi zerekezaga cyane muBurundi, muBuganda, muri Tanzaniya no muri Zayire. Mu wa 1964, ibarura ryakozwe n'umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe impunzi HCR ufatanije na Croix Rouge mu nkambi bagenzuraga ryerekanaga ko imibare y'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ziganjemo abatutsi yari iteye itya: 200.000 muBurundi,78.000 muri Uganda,36.000 muri Tanzaniya na 22.000 muri Zayire.

Mu ntangiriro za Repuburika ya 2, nubwo muwa 1973 habayeho izindi mpunzi, HCR yemeza ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari zageraga kuri 300.000. Hiyongeragaho abari barahungiye Kenya no muri Afurika y'iburengerazuba, mu Burayi cyane cyane mu Bubirigi no muri Amerika yo mu majyaruguru.

Impamvu z'igabanuka ry'imibare y'impunzi zizwi zirimo kumenyera kubana neza n'abazakiriye no guhabwa ubwenegihugu muBuganda,Tanzaniya na Zayire. Muri Zayire abari basabye ubwenegihugu bose barabuhawe muwa 1971. Muri rusange kubona indangamuntu yo muri Zayire byari byoroshye cyane, byabazaga amezi gusa ku buryo Abanyarwanda babaga muri Zayire wasangaga bafite indangamuntu 2. Muri Uganda, impunzi nyinshi zari zarivanze cyane n'abavuga ikinyarwanda bakagenda babona

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Rwandais vers l'uganda,1920-1960",Cultures et developpement,10,1,1978,p.71-101.

30 Catherine Watson," Exile from Rwanda: background to an invasion", Issue paper, The US Committee for Refugees, Washington DC, Février 1991.

ubwenegihugu kenshi bahinduye izina gusa. Kuva mu wa 1960 umubare w'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda wasaga naho udahinduka cyane (hafi 70.000) Ariko waje kwiyongera aho Yoweri Museveni afatiye ubutegetsi mu wa 1986 ubwo impunzi zari zarirukanywe muBuganda hagati ya 1982-1983 (*uzabisanga mu nyandiko z'inyuma)* zagarukaga zikaza kugera kuri 150.000 mu mwaka wa1990 nyamara mri uwo mwaka ibarura rya HCR ryari ryerekanye ko umubare w'impunzi wari waragabanutse ukagera kuri 82.200. Iyo wongeyeho umubare w'impunzi z'abanyarwnada HCR yagaragazaga mu kwezi k'ukuboza 1990 ni ukuvuga 12.596 muri Zayire,67.684 muBurundi,22.297 bari basigaye muri Tanzaniya[31] ukwongeraho n'bindi bihumbi by'impunzi zabarurirwaga muri Kenya, Afurika y'iburengerazuba n'ahandi umubare w'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zemewe n'amategeko mpuzamahanga zose hamwe zageraga kuri 200.000[32].

Kubera kubura ubundi buryo bwo kubara ntakwibeshya, umuntu yagera ku kigereranyo nyacyo akoresheje ubundi buryo 2 bwuzuzanya.Uhereye ku mubare w'impunzi zabaruwe mbere y'ubwigenge usanga muri kiriya gihe zari kuba 550.000; wahera ku mubare w'impunzi zabaruwe mu myaka ya za1960 ugasanga zari kuba 590.000. Iyi mibare, ari nayo koko yegereye ukuri nyako, itandukanye cyane n'umubare wa 2.000.000 wagiye uvugwa n'Abanyarwanda baba hanze[33] wazamuraga cyane

31 Abanyarwanda 25.000 kandi benshi bahoze ari impunzi babonye ubwenegihugu babikesheje amasezerano hagati ya Tanzania n'URwanda yo muri 1981.

32 Kugena no gutangaza umubare w'impunzi wakuririzwaga cyane ku mpamvu za poritiki byagiye bikorwa mu icuraburindi muri buri gihugu.Urugero twatanga ni nk'urwo muBurundi nanakomojeho mbere, igihe mu wa 1987 hatangazwaga ko muBurundi hari impunzi z'Abanyarwanda 266.000 HCR ntibivuguruze na rimwe ku mugaragaro ndetse bikaza no kuvamo amakimbirane akomeye mu rwego rwa poritiki. Impamvu yo kwigerekaho uwo mutwaro kwari ugushaka imfashanyo hanze kuko HCR yo icyo gihe yabaruraga gusa 67.684; izo mpaka zari zaratangiye mu mpera y'imyaka ya 1970 hagati ya HCR n'UBurundi zaje kumarwa n'ibarura rusange ry'abaturage mu wa 1979; nuko mu wa 1990 byose bimaze kwumvikanwaho n'ibyongerwaho byose birangiye hemezwa ko umubare w'impunzi utashoboraga kurenga 80.000.

33 Dore urugero: « These refugees are the largest on the African continent. They number around 2 000 000 and the majority of them live in city slums and refugee camps in asylum countries », ibi ni ibyavuzwe n'ishyirahamwe ry'Abanyarwanda baba hanze Washington, ku wa 12 Ugushyingo 1990. Hari ho n'izindi nyandiko zagiye zipfobya cyane umubare nyawo w'impunzi zikemeza umubare ungana na kimwe cya gatatu cy'umubare nyakuri.

umubare w'impunzi zikomoka ku batutsi zikagera ku kigereranyo kitigeze kigaragazwa n'ibarura na rimwe mu yakozwe yose keretse ahari ushyizemo n'abantu bavuga ikinyarwanda b'i Buganda batigeze bagira na rimwe ubwenegihugu bw'URwanda. Iyo ubirebeye hamwe usanga urusobekerane n'imvange ya biriya bibazo byose yarazitiraga cyane ubushake bwose bwo kubarura nta kubogama ndetse no ku ruhande rwa HCR niko byari bimeze nkuko byerekanwa n'imyigaragambyo myinshi yakorwaga n'abashyigikiye FPR. Inzira ziruhanije z'igenzura rikabije, riherekejwe m'imikorere ya giporisi babaga baranyuzemo mu gihe cy'imyaka n'imyaka kugira ngo bemererwe ubuhunzi byatumaga batinya ko batakaza ibyabavunnye cyane mu nzira ndende HCR ibanyuzamo.

Ubirebye ku buryo bwagutse, hari ibice bitatu : Abantu bavuga ikinyarwanda kandi babayeho mbere y'ubukoroni, Abaje mu gihe cy'ubukoroni, n'impunzi zavuye muRwanda nyuma yaho hashyiriweho imipaka izwi muri iki gihe; ibi ni nabyo byabayemo ingorane cyane gutandukanya abantu bahuje umuco cyangwa basangiye umuryango uhereye ku bihe binyuranye bagiye bagerera mu gihugu cyangwa se ku mategeko abagenga kandi byose bikomatanye..

Imishyikirano y'Akarere yatangiye mu wa 1988

Mu wa 1982 kwirukanwa kw'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda kwatunguye URwanda bituma rufunga imipaka rwanga ko abana barwo barwinjiramo *(niba ushaka kubyumva neza kurushaho uzabisanga munyandiko zizakurikira)*. Nyuma yaho ariko, hashyizweho urwego rwa poritiki rwo kwiga icyo kibazo kuva aho Komite nyobozi ya MRND yari imaze kwemeza muri Kongere yayo yo kuwa 26/7/1986 ko impunzi zifite uburenganzira bwo gutahuka .Muri Gashyantare 1988, hashyizweho Komite ihuje abaminisitiri b'uRwanda na Uganda igamije kwiga ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda. Nyuma yo kwongera gutorwa kwa Habyarimana Yuvenari no gutangaza ku mugaragaro gahunda ya guverinoma 1989-1994, Leta yashyizeho Komisiyo yihariye ku bibazo by'Abanyarwanda

b'« abimukira»[34].

Byagombye ariko gufata umwaka wose kugira ngo abari bashinzwe imishyikirano bumve neza imiterere y'icyo kibazo kandi bashobore nu kwumvikana ku byifuzo by'impande zombi. Ni muri icyo gihe nanone muBurundi habaye impinduka za poritiki zkomeye kandi zumvikanye cyane muRwanda.

Mu kwezi kwa Kanama 1988 hadutse isubiranamo ry'amoko mu makomini 2 yo mujyaruguru y'uBurundi abasirikari bakoresha ingufu zivanzemo urugomo n'ivangura mu kurihosha. Mu guhangana n'icyo kibazo, ubutegetsi bushya bwari bwa Major Petero Buyoya (1987) bwahise busubiza abasirikari mu bigo byabo bushyiraho ingamba nshya zirimo kugarura amahoro ku buryo « bwunvikanyweho », gutangiza imishyikirano igamije gucyura impunzi (z'abahutu) no gusana byihutirwa ahangijwe n'imvururu. Mu buryo bwagutse, Petero Buyoya yatangije inzira yo gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kugirana imishyikirano n'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi bwe babaga hanze ndetse abenshi mu bemeye gutahuka bitabira gahunda yo guhabwa imyanya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka rukumbi,UPRONA, ryari ku ubutegetsi.

Mu gihe ishyirahamwe ry'ibihugu by'i Burayi, Banki y'isi, n'ikigega mpuzamahanga gitanga inguzanyo byitabiraga ku buryo bugaragara ndetse bikagena n'intumwa zo gukurikirana buri gihe no kujya inama ku by'iyo nzira nshya ya poritiki muBurundi, Perezida Habyarimana nawe ubwe yabishyizemo ingufu ashyigikira byimazeyo ubutegetsi bw'i Bujumbura mu ngamba zo gukemura vuba kiriya kibazo n'umugambi wo gucyura vuba impunzi z'Abarundi zari muRwanda ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Nguko uko ku impunzi z'Abarundi, ubundi zari zisanzwe zishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi, igisirikari ndetse na Kiriziya muRwanda, 60.000 bashoboye gutahuka ku bwumvikane mu gihe cy 'amezi make cyane, naho izigera ku 2000 zanze kuva ku izima zimurirwa mu majyaruguru y'igihugu kure y'umupaka w'uBurundi[35]. Nubwo imyitwarire ya Perezida

34 Mu ndimi z'amahanga hakunze gukoreshwa ijambo « émigrés »[abimukira] ariko impunzi z'abanyarwanda zo zakunze kuryirinda.

35 Reba André GUICHAOUA, « La région des événements », muri Jean-Pierre CHRÉTIEN, André GUICHAOUA na Gabriel LE JEUNE, « La crise d'août 1988 auBurundi » (dossier), op. cit., p. 17.

Habyarimana kuri kiriya kibazo yashimwe cyane ikamugaragaza nk'umuntu witonda[36] kandi wiyoroshya, byagize izindi ngaruka zikomeye kuri Poritki ye mu gihugu no ku mpunzi z'abanyarwanda.

Nkuko abategetsi bo muBurundi bari babigenje, abo muRwanda nabo mu ngendo zabo mu mahanga batangiye kuganira na bamwe mu mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda bakabashishikariza gutaha. Gusa rero ibyo byaciriye aho kuko nta muhate wundi wari ubirimo. Mu Ugushyingo 1989 niho Guverinoma yatangiye kuganira n'impunzi ku mugaragaro ari nabwo Kazimiri Bizimungu wari ministri w'ububanyi n'amahanga akaba na Perezida wa komisiyo yihariye kuri icyo kibazo yatangaje ko guhera mu wa 1986 hari imupunzi 300 zasabye gutahuka buri wese ku giti cye.

Nyuma yo gutanga raporo yayo ya mbere mu kwa gatanu 1990, iyo Komisiyo yashyizeho gahunda n'ingengabihe y'ibyagombaga gukorwa kugira ngo ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda babaga Uganda kirangire burundu. Biteguwe kandi babifashijwemo na HCR, hakozwe ibarura ryegereye cyane ukuri ryagaragaza ko hariho 40.000 by'impunzi zemewe n'amategeko zari zagaragaje ubushake bwazo bwo gutahuka. Mu gihe inzobere za HCR zari zirangije uwo murimo ndetse ziteguye kuzana n'abahagarariye impunzi muRwanda hagati y'amatariki ya 27 Nzeri na 10 ukwakira 1990, kugira ngo barebe uko imyiteguro yo kubakira n'umutekano wabo biteganijwe[37] niho abari bahagarariye Leta ya Uganda bivanye mu mishyikirano ubwabo bonyine mbere y'uko ubwo butumwa butangira.Ni muri icyo gihe kandi FPR yahisemo gutangiza intambara. Aha niho bigaragara ko gutera uRwanda ku wa 1 Ukwakira byari bigamije kuburizamo imishyikirano yakorwaga.Mu by'ukuri amahirwe yo gushyira mu ngiro iyo gahunda yo gutahuka kw'impunzi z'abatutsi bakomoka mu byaro, kandi yashoboraga

36 Ibi byerekanaga ahanini ko kwitsitsa ku by'amoko nta gaciro byari bifite cyane mu mpaka za poritiki y'igihugu muri biriya bihe.

37 Amahitamo yari aya: gutahuka muRwanda, kuguma muBuganda utegereje guahabwa ubwenegihugu,cyangwa gutuzwa mu kindi gihugu.

kurangiza ikibazo cy'impunzi cyari hagati y'uRwanda na Uganda[38], ntiyashimishaga na busa abakuru b'ingabo za FPR babaga muri Uganda.[39] Imyanzuro y'imishyikirano iruhije ariko yakoranywe ubwitonzi n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yari ibabangamiye cyane. Abifuzaga gutaha botswaga igitutu kugira ngo batiyandikisha ku rutonde rwa HCR rw'impunzi. Kubera umugambi ngenderwaho wari warafashwe "Twahungiye hamwe, tuzatahukira hamwe", abatinyukaga kunyuranya n'uwo mugambi bahabwaga akato[40].

Inkazamurego mu ngabo z'abatutsi b'i Buganda rero zahisemo kwishora mu ntambara zitanguranwa n'igihe mu buryo bwose bushoboka[41] kubera impamvu zinyuranye zirimo ko gahunda yo gucyura impunzi ya HCR yaraburizagamo umugambi wazo wo kubona abarwanyi (dore ko abenshi bavaga mu cyaro), kuba zari zihangayikishijwe n'ubwumvikane bwari bumaze kuvuka hagati ya Perezida wa Uganda na Perezida w'uRwanda (bari bakataje mu mishyikirano n'abatutsi bo hanze no mu gihugu imbere), ndetse zikaba kandi nta mishyikirano igaragara zari zifitanye n'abahataniraga ko poritiki

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38 Hakurya y'imipaka yombi, haba aho impunzi zabaga naho zagomba kujya gutuzwa, ikibazo cyamasambu cyari ingorabahizi.

39 Iyi ngingo nta n'umwe mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo wayivuguruje kandi Habyarimana yumvikanye neza cyane muri disikuru yavugiye imbere y'abagenzi be abakuru b'ibihugu na za Leta bari bateraniya mu nama yabo ya 27 y'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika, aho yagize ati: «Abanyarwanda bose hamwe n'indorerezi z'inzobere uyu munsi baremeza badashidikanya ko kubera ko ikibazo cy'impunzi hagati y'uRwanda na Uganda cyari kiri hafi kurangira burundu, kubera ko inzira ya demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi yatangiye kandi ikaba idashobora gusubira inyuma, kubera ko ubukungu bw'igihugu bwongeye kuzanzamuka kubera amasezerano uRwanda rwagiranye na Banki y'isi yose n'ikigega mpuzamahanga gitanga inguzanyo bya Bretton Woods, ko kubera ibyo byose byakozwe ariyo mpamvu abo duhanganye (FPR) bahisemo gutangiza intambara kubera ko byose byaburizagamo imigambi yabo»(Abuja, 4 kamena 1991).

40 Kutiyandikisha ku rutonde rw'abatahuka byaterwaga na none n'ubwoba bwo gutakaza amasambu yabo muBuganda kandi badashobora kuzayasubizwa mu gihe gutuzwa muRwanda byaba bitabanogeye.

41 Bamwe mu bo twaganiriye bemeza ko Rwigema yishwe agambaniwe, batubwira ko ari ho umugambi wo kumuhitana watangiye gutegurwa (reba Abdul Yoshuwa Ruzibiza *Rwanda. l'histoire secrète*, Panama, Paris, 2005, p. 108, 121-122). Aha twibutse ko Fredi Rwigyema yari yarateguye umugambi we w'intambara igihe kirekire, agategura n'ingabo ze mu ibanga nubwo Museveni atari abimushyigikiyemo ndetse Pahuro Kagame icyo gihe wari mu mahugurwa muri Leta zunze z'amerika ubwe akaba yari yerekanye ko nta mpamvu y'iyo ntambara mu gihe yari hafi cyane gutangira.

muRwanda ihinduka mu maguru mashya bari bifitiye izindi nzira za poritiki barimo.

Inzitizi «mu ngamba zo gutahuka»

Guhitamo intambara kuri FPR byatewe n'impamvu nyinshi umuntu yavugaho muri make. Iyambere ishingiye ku burakari bw'impunzi zari mu bihugu bituranye n'uRwanda ari nazo zari zimaze igihe kinini mu buhunzi ku isi yose zitagira amategeko azigenga nta n'amizero yo kubaho ukundi muri ibyo bihugu nabyo ubwabyo byahoragamo imidugararo. Mu buryo bwumvikana, babazwaga no kwumva baratereranwe n'abo basangiye igihugu batitaga na gato ku kibazo cyabo. Mu gihe uRwanda rwiyemezaga kuyoboka inzira ya demokarasi isesuye (reba igika gikurikira) kandi ishyigikiwe n'abantu bashyashya haba muri poritiki cyangwa se mu zindi nzego z'igihugu (amashyaka, amashyirahamwe,itangazamakuru…) kandi abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu babifitemo uruhare rukomeye, bo bumvaga basigaye iheruheru nta sano bagifitanye nabo mu gihugu. Iyo ntimba bari bafite nayisobanuza amwe mu magambo nahaweho ubuhamya muri 1991 agira ati: « *Igihugu cya ndakuzi iyo kitagutabaye kiragutabariza*»[42]. Mu gihe no mu buryo uwo twavugana yarimo yashakaga kumvikanisha ko «igihugu uzwimo neza iyo kitagutabaye kiragutabariza iyo kitagutabarije nibura kirakubika iyo wapfuye». Mu yandi magambo:« Iyo abawe batagutabaye baba bishimiye ko upfa».

Inzira yo gutahuka no gusubizwa mu byabo nayo nta mizero bayibonagamo cyane nubwo mu rwego rwa poritiki byagendaga bijya mu buryo bwiza. Mu by'ukuri mu gihe bari kuba batahutse mu rwego rwa poritiki ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi umubare wabo muto cyane ntiwashoboraga gutuma bihagararaho ngo barengere inyungu zabo. Niyo mpamvu komisiyo ihuriweho n'uRwanda na Uganda yari yarasabye HCR gutangaza umubare udakuka w'impunzi yahoraga mu mpaka z'urudaca.

42 Ubihinduye ijambo ku ijambo:«Kugira inshuti ni byiza iyo idashoboye kugoboka ubwayo ngo igufashe ibwira abandi bakabigufashamo». Cyangwa se :«Iyo utewe cyangwa uri mu byago inshuti yawe ikaba idashoboye kugutabara iraguhururiza abandi bakagutabara». Indi nsobanuro yava ku gace ka kabiri k'uriya mugani : «Iyo upfuye inshuti yawe ntishobore kugutabara irakubika abandi bakagushyingura.»

Hari icyuho kidasibangana hagati y'umubare uhanitse cyane wari waratangajwe n'abakuru ba FPR-Inkotanyi biyerekanaga nk'abahagarariye abavuga ikinyarwanda bose muri kariya gace n'umubare w'impunzi watangazwaga na HCR kuva 1959-1966 no hagati ya1966-1973 habaruriwemo n'urubyaro rwabo. Ku ruhande rwa FPR havugwaga miriyoni ebyiri ku ruhande rwa HCR havugwa ibihumbi magana abiri. Duhereye kuri uyu mubare wa HCR w'impunzi zemewe n'amategeko ari nazo zagombaga gutahuka nta mizero na busa yariho yabaha amahirwe yo kwihagaraho muri demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi.

Mu by'ukuri amizero y'Inkotanyi (FPR) yagerwaga ku mashyi mu ruhando rwa demokrasi, mu gihugu abayoboke bayo batari bazi neza, haba mu by'imibereho y'abaturage, ibya poritiki se ndetse n'ingengabitekerezo. Nyuma yo kugira uruhare rukomeye mu kugeza Yoweri Museveni ku ubutegetsi i Kampala (1986), abo bancancuro ba kera ba NRA bari baragiye bigizwayo buhoro buhoro abandi bagashyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru. Kubera ko batari barigeze bamenyera umuco wa demokarasi, kwisukira bene iyo nzira byari bibari kure n'ukwezi. Byongeye kandi, inzira y'imishyikirano y'amahoro kimwe no gutuza impunzi mu bihugu byazakiriye yahaga ku buryo budasubirwaho mahirwe menshi abasiviri n'abize biberaga mu mahanga cyane cyane ababaga mu Burayi no muri Amerika yo mu majyaruguru, bityo ikimbura ababaga i Buganda, bari baragize intambara umwuga, amahirwe yo kuba ku isonga rya FPR.

Guhitamo inzira y'intambara byaterwaga nanone n'ipfunwe ryo kuba bamwe mu bari bakomeye mu nyeshyamba za NRA batarabonaga neza icyo imyanya bagenerwaga [mu butegetsi bw'uRwanda] izabamarira. Koko rero, hari imyanya ikomeye ya poritiki Habyarimana yari yaremereye abayobozi bakuru b'inyeshyamba abinyujije ku bo yazitumagaho ariko nanone ugasanga ari mike cyane kubera ko amasezerano ya gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda (PAS) igihugu cyari kimaze gusinya yacaga intege impunzi z'impuguke zari zisanzwe zifite imyanya myiza muri Leta ya Uganda cyangwa se mu miryango mpuzamahanga zikaba zari zizeye kubona indi myanya myiza kurushaho muRwanda.

Icyagaragaraga nanone ni uko muri za minisiteri no mu bigo bya Leta byashoboraga

guhabwa abantu ba FPR, gukorana n'abakozi bahasanzwe byashoboraga kutoroha kubera gusuzugurana. Ikindi kibazo cyari gikomeye cyane kwari uguhuza ingabo za FPR Inkotanyi zitwaraga kinyeshyamba n'ingabo z'igihugu muri icyo gihe zasabwaga gukurikiza byanze bikunze ingamba za Banki y'Isi yose zerekeye kubaka igisirikari cy'umwuga.Ngiyo rero impamvu nyakuri abari bashishikajwe n'inzira y'imishyikirano ari abatutsi bake b'abacururuzi bo mu gihugu no hanze bari bafitanye umubano wihariye na perezida Habyarimana ku buryo ndetse byarakazaga ibyegera bye[43].

Ubuhamya bw'abantu benshi bwemeza ko mu mishyikirano yabaga mu rwego rwo hejuru hagati ya Perezidansi y'uRwanda n'iya Uganda babinyujie ku ntumwa zahuzaga HabyarimanaYuvenari n'abayobozi ba FPR ko Habyarimana yaba yaragumye mu gihirahiro cy'amayirabiri anyuranye cyane. Hari «uruhande rwa gisirikari rwashakaga gufata ubutegetsi bwose ku ngufu hakaba n'uruhande rw'abanyaporitiki bashyiraga imbere kugabana ubutegetsi, kwemeza uburenganzira bw'abatutsi nka banyamuke n'itahuka ry'impunzi mu mahoro[44].

Ni ngombwa kandi kwibutsa ko mu mishyikirano y'ubwisanzure bw'urujya n'uruza rw'abantu n'ibintu mu karere k'umuryango w'ibihugu bituriye ibiyaga bigari (CEPGL) yashyizweho umukono mu wa 1985, ikibazo cy'itahuka ry'impunzi « zifite amikoro » kitigeze kiruhanya na busa. Muri urwo rwego, ubusabane bushingiye ku bwuzuzanye hagati y'abanyemari b'abahutu n'abatutsi b'i Kigali ndetse no kuba amasosiyete

43 «Ubufatanye » bwa FPR na Habyarimana nta gihe butabayeho, byatangijwe na Perezida Museveni, biza gukomezwa n'nshuti za Habyarimana z'abatutsi barimo Valensi Kajeguhakwa,Andreya Katabarwa na Karoli Shamukiga.Ubundi kandi intagondwa zo muri MRND zihereye ku bushuti bwari hagati ya Museveni,Fredi Rwigyema na Yuvenari Habyarimana, zifata Habyarimana nk'umwe mu « bashinze umuryango wa FPR » ndetse zikemeza ko intambara y'Ukwakira 1990 yari ikinamico hagati y'abo bagabo uko ari batatu igamije gusobanura no kwumvikanisha impamvu impunzi zagombaga gutahuka zigahabwa imyanya ikomeye muri poritiki no mu gisirikari Habyarimana yari yarazemereye mu ibanga [kuko] nta bundi buryo bwa poritiki yari afite bwo kubishyira mu bikorwa.» (ubuhamya bw'umwe mu banyaporitiki bakomeye cyane, inyandiko zanjye bwite.)

44 Ubuhamya nahawe n'undi munyaporitiki ukomeye, inyandiko zanjye bwite. Ibyo aribyo byose nkuko twabibonye mu ncamake ya 2, kwifatanya kwa FPR na babasirikari bakuru b'ibyigomeke byatumaga hashobora kubaho andi mabanga y'ubufatanye.

mpuzamahanga y'ubucuruzi yari agizwe ahanini n'abatutsi b'impunzi bwatangaga icyizere cy'ubusabane burambye mu karere kose.

Gusa rero bene icyo cyizere ntibari bagisangiye n'ingabo za FPR zitari zarashoboye kugira uruhare rugaragara mu butunzi bw'igihugu nka bagenzi babo b'Abaganda n'Abanyankole kandi bose bari barafashije Museveni gufata ubutegetsi.

Nguko uko benshi mu ngabo za FPR zakomeje kwihagararaho, by'amaburakindi cyangwa se ubupfura, zikigaragaza nk'intwari ziharanira impinduramatwara kandi zizi kwizirika umukanda mu gihugu kwigwizaho umutungo mu nzira zisanzuye ari yo yari intero n'inyikirizo.

Nanone muri icyo gihe, impunzi z'abanyarwanda zabaga mu bihugu bindi bituranye n'uRwanda kimwe n'izabaga mu Burayi no muri Amerika yo mumajyaruguru zarajijinganyaga cyane mu kwitabira no gutera inkumba imigambi ya FPR «y'i Buganda».

Hariho nanone icyuho kinini muri gahunda ya FPR ikubiye mu ngingo umunani yatangajwe mu Ukwakira 1990, yakomozaga ku bibazo byose mu buryo rusange, bityo ntihabe hagira ubona neza icyo anenga cyangwa ashima hagati yo gukemra ikibazo cy'impunzi mu mahoro no gushoza intambara ihutiyeho:

- gushimangira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda;

-gushyiraho inzira n'inzego z'ubutegetsi zishingiye kuri demokarasi;

-kwubaka no guteza imbere ubukungu bw'igihugu;

-kurwanya ruswa, gucunga nabi umutungo w'igihugu, n'igitugu mu butegetsi;

-Uburenganzira budakumirwa bw'impunzi bwo gutahuka mu gihugu;

-guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage mu byerekeye ubuvuzi, uburezi, gutura neza, gutwara abantu, n'ibindi;

-Uburenganzira bwo kurengera umutekano w'abaturage kandi nabo bakabigiramo uruhare;

-guteza imbere ubufatanye mu by'ubukungu mu karere.

Izo ngingo zari zisanzwe n'ubundi zigibwaho impaka imbere mu gihugu kandi ntagishya cyakwerekana amatwara yihariye ya FPR (uretse ingingo ya 7 yavugaga

k'umutekano bityo ikaganisha ku kibazo gikomeye cyo kuvanga ingabo hakurikijwe amoko) kandi ari nacyo cyari gishishikaje cyane impunzi. Ntibitangaje rero ko abantu bakomeye n'abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu batewe amakenga, ndetse bagerageza gukumira intambara yashojwe na FPR ku wa 1 Ukwakira. Ubwo byari bimaze kumenyekana ko igitero cyapfubye, ingaruka mu gihugu zateye icyoba cyinshi. Ifungwa ry'abantu benshi mu «barwanyaga» ubutegetsi muRwanda naryo ryabaye indi mpamvu yo kwishisha inyeshyamba[za FPR]. Kutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi byaracwekereye ndetse abatutsi benshi bize b'imbere mu gihugu bumvaga ntaho bahuriye n'izo «nyeshyamba» bahitamo kwitabira imyigaragambyo yo gushyigikira «ubumwe bw'igihugu».

Kwitandukanya n'imigambi ya FPR nanone byongeye gutizwa umurindi n'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi, ubwo bamwe mu batutsi bakomeye bihitiragamo ayo bayoboka. Bamwe bahisemo kwigumira muri MRND cyane cyane mu bihe bya mbere, ariko abenshi bayoboka ku mugaragara amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi ndetse bayagiramo n'uruhare rugaragara, dore ko icyo gihe abanyarwanda hafi ya bose bahaga ihuriro ry'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi (FDC)[45] amahirwe yo gutsinda amatora mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Abakomeje gushyigikira FPR –n'inzira y'imirwano muri rusange— ni abari hanze y'igihugu ahanini kubera ko bari bahuje ubwoko n'inyeshyamba za FPR zikaba kandi zari zatinyutse kuba imbanzaguseruka ku rugamba. Gushyigikira FPR byaje kugenda byiyongera gahoro gahoro uko yagendaga igaragaza ingufu zayo ku rugamba.

Aho Museveni afatiye ubutegetsi mu kwa mbere 1986, abavuga ikinyarwanda bari barinjiye muri NRA batashye itsinzi bahabwa imyanya myiza mu gisirikari no mu butegetsi bw'igihugu kimwe n'Abaganda n'Abanyankole bose. Babiri muri bo bari barabaye ibyamamare kandi bakaba mu banyamuryango b'ikubitiro bashinze NRA ni Fredi Rwigyema na Pahulo Kagame; uwa mbere yabaye umugaba mukuru w'ingabo za Uganda uwa kabiri aba umukuru w'inzego z'umutekano mu gisirikari. Ariko Perezida

45 FDC yahuzaga amashyaka yose atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi naho (ARD) ihuriro ry'amashyaka aharanira gukomeza demokarasi yakoreraga mu kwaha kwa MRND (reba incamake ya 4).

mushya [Museveni], ubwo yari amaze gushyiraho minisitiri w'intebe ukomoka mu mamajyaruguru y'igihugu, ntiyari kubura guterwa impungenge n'abamunengaga kuba ingaruzwamuheto y'abavuga ikinyarwanda bari biganje mu byegera bye haba mu butegetsi cyangwa muri NRA. Ndeste nawe ubwe abamurwanya bakekaga ko akomoka muRwanda nkuko no muRwanda bamwe bakekaga ko umuryango wa Habyarimana nawo ukomoka i Buganda.

Ibiri amambu, nguko uko hagati y'izo ntore z'« ntararutsi » zari zikiri mu ntsinzi havutse amahitamo simusiga hagati yo gutura bagatuza nk'abandi baturage i Buganda no gutahuka ku ruhembe rw'umuheto mu rwababyaye. Mu by'ukuri amahitamo yari yoroshye hagati yo guhabwa ubwenegihugu muBuganda no kurwanya ingabo z'uRwanda zitari zimenyereye imirwano ndetse zitanafite ubushobozi bugaragara bwo kurwana intambara. Gusa rero Museveni ntiyari ashyigikiye igitekerezo cyo gutera uRwanda, dore ko yari ashishikajwe no gutsimbataza ubutegetsi bwe mu gihugu, bityo agatinya ko gushoza indi ntambara byagabanya ingufu mu gisirikari cye cyari kigizwe ahanini n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda. Nyamara nanone imyanya myiza Abanyarwanda bari bafite mu gisirikari n'ubwishongore bwabo byatizaga umurindi amakimbirane ashingiye ku guhiga ubutwari hagati y'Abaganda n'Abanyakole ari nabo Museveni avukamo. Birumvikana rero ko Abanyarwanda bari mu myanya myiza ya gisirikari aribo bari bafite bynshi byo gutakaza dore ko gushyira imbere inyungu z'abaturage gakondo no gushyira mu majwi ubwikanyize bw'abasirikari b'abanyamahanga byagendaga bihabwa intebe.

Ikindi nanone gusubiza abarwanyi mu buzima busanzwe bwa gisiviri byari biruhanije cyane kubera ko ikibazo cy'amasambu cyakomezaga kubyutsa intugunda zahemberwaga n'abarwanya ubutegetsi hagati ya ba kavukire n'abavuga ikinyarwanda.

Mu gukemura ibibazo bijyanye no gutuza ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abaganda batahukaga mu gihugu cyabo, Museveni yagombye kotsa igitutu impunzi z'Abanyarwanda (ndetse n' uRwanda) kugira ngo nabo bumve uburemere bw'ikibazo cy'impunzi kandi bagishakire umuti vuba. Ibi byatumye impunzi zitekereza kurushaho ku buryo zakwivana muri ibyo bibazo by'inzitane.

Ni muri urwo rwego, mu Ugushyingo 1989, Fredi Rwigyema n'abandi basirikari

bakuru b'abanyarwanda basezerewe mu ngabo za NRA. Iryo sezererwa rikubitiyeho n'ibibazo bikomeye byavugwaga mu butegetsi bwa Habyrimana kandi byiyongeraga buri munsi byatumye igitekerezo cy'intambara kibona ingufu gitangira no gutekerezwaho k'uburyo bwa gihanga. Aha si ngombwa kujya mu mpaka zo kumenya uruhare nyarwo rwa Museveni ubwe mu « mugambi » wo gutera uRwanda ; gusa ikizwi ni uko ibi byose bitari gushoboka bidahawe umugisha n'abategetsi bo hejuru kandi burya singombwa gufatanya mu gikorwa kugira ngo werekane ko ugishyigikiye nkuko nanone atari ngombwa kukirwanya ngo werekane ko utagishyigikiye. Buri wese yari azi icyo undi ashaka n'ingorane azahura nazo kugirango akigereho kandi buri wese yari afite uburyo yakoresha ku wundi kugirango ibyo ashaka abigereho. Hari imyumvire itandukanye mu bijyanye no gusesengura neza imiterere ya poritiki yo muRwanda hagati ya Perezidansi ya Uganda n'ibyari mu mitwe y'abifuzaga imirwano. Hariho nanone ukutumvikana ku migambi y'iyo ntambara.

Ubuyobozi bw'urugamba mu minsi ya mbere bwagaragaje ko nubwo intambara yari yarateguwe yitondewe hatabuzemo ubuhubutsi butunguranye bushingiye ku gusiganwa n'igihe no kuvanaho impaka zashoboraga gukomeza kubacamo ibice kandi zari zimaze kurambirana no kuba urudaca hagati yabo. Mbese yari kamarampaka hagati y'abashyigikiye intambara n'abatayishyigiye.

Nubwo intambara yatangiye mu kaduruvayo haba mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikari, nyuma y'urupfu rwa Fredi Rwigema, Kagame Pahulo yigaruriye ubuyobozi bwose bw'intambara maze koko ayigaragazamo ubuhanga n'ubushobozi Abanyarwanda bari bamaze kubamo inzobere ku rugamba.

Ibyo nanone byavanyeho burundu ingingimira z'uko Museveni yashoboraga kwanga kubashyigikira mu rugamba bari bashoje. Koko rero, nubwo ubutegetsi bwa Uganda bwakomezaga kwinumira, ntawahakana ko bwafashaga inkotanyi mu kuziha abasirikari, ibikoresho by'intambara no kubaha aho bashinga ibirindiro, ibyo bikagaragazwa cyane n'uburyo FPR yarenze ku masezerano yo guhagarika intambara yari yashyizeho umukono ku wa 5 kamena1992 ikanafunga amayira yose yo mu majyaruguru arirwo

rurembo ibicuruzwa muRwanda hafi ya byose byacagamo. Ariko ibyo nanone ntibivuguruza cyangwa ngo bivaneho ko intambara yateguwe kandi ikanatangizwa n'Abanyarwanda b'abatutsi aho kuba byakwitwa ko ari igihugu cya Uganda cyateye uRwanda kitwikiriye impunzi z'abanyarwanda.

Ntibishidikanywa ko ari FPR [Inkotanyi] ubwayo yafataga ibyemezo kandi igashyiraho ingamba zayo yifashishije ububasha n'ubushobozi yari ifite i Buganda : ibyitso by'ibishyitsi mu butegetsi bwa Uganda, inkunga inyuranye y'abaturage bakomoka muRwanda, abategetsi bakuru b'Abanyenkole Perezida Museveni avukamo. Nkuko twabivuze, nubwo abayobozi b'Inkotanyi bihutishije cyane icyemezo cyabo cyo gutera uRwanda kugira ngo bakome imbere impunzi zifuzaga gutaha ku bushake hakurikijwe umugambi wa HCR, byaje kugaragara ko FPR ntaho yari ihuiye na busa, yewe ndetse ntiyari izi namba imiterere y'ibibazo igihugu cyarimo. Gusa icya ngombwa kuri bo cyari uko abagaba b'ingabo baturuka i Buganda bari bigize abavugizi n'abaharanizi b'inyungu z' impunzi z'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bose bemewe hose gutyo.Ni mu gihe kandi, kuko nubwo izo mpunzi zari zarageregeje kenshi kurenga ibyazitandukanyaga yewe ndetse zikanabinenga, zari zarananiwe kubyivamo[46]. Mu mpaka zose bagiranaga nta narimwe bari barigeze bahuriza ku mugambi unoze kandi usobanutse wa Poritiki bifuzaga kuzana muRwanda. Ariko nkuko byagaragaye guhera mu Ukwakira 1990, igitutu gikaze cy'ubufatanye cyagiye gituma habaho ubwumvikane ku bibazo by'ingenzi igihe cyose byabaga bibaye ngombwa kurengera inyungu rusange bahuriyeho. Nguko uko abambari b'ingoma ntutsi barimo abashyigikiye ubwami, abacuruzi na ba rwiyemezamirimo b'abatutsi bakoranaga ubucuruzi n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana n'abandi bose bumvaga babonye uburyo bwo gutahuka batangiye buhoro buhoro kwiyegereza ka gatsiko k'abasirikari kugirango babone inzira yo gusubirana uburenganzira bwabo.

Nubwo mu ntangiriro gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi hagati ya Uganda n'uRwanda byari ku isonga, abanyarwanda bo mu bihugu bituranye n'uRwanda kimwe n'ibyo mu

46 Byagaragaye cyane mu ikoraniro rusange ry'impuzi z'abanyarwanda ry'i Washington, Kanama 1988.

majyaruguru y'isi bakiriye intambara ya FPR-inkotanyi nk'ikimenyetso cyumvikana cyo kwiheba, nubwo bwose bitatumye bahita bayitabira. Gusa uko iminsi yagendaga yicuma, ubuyobozi n'ingamba bya FPR —cyane cyane mu gihe Pahulo Kagame yaragishakisha uko ayigarurira ku buryo bwose— ntibyagiye bivugwaho rumwe nubwo ntawigeze abyasasa ku mugaragaro haba muri FPR ubwayo — nkuko bigaragazwa n'itandukaniro mu byagiye bitangazwa ku mugaragaro n'abavugizi be—haba no mpunzi zari mu mahanga muri rusange.

Nubwo nta butumwa bwo guhagararira impunzi bari bafite ndetse nta n'ububasha bafite bwo kuzigenga, abakuru b'inyeshyamba z'i Buganda bayoboranye urugamba umurava udasanzwe n'ubuhanga bari baratojwe muri NRA mbere yuko nneho babugaragaza mu kurengera inyungu zabo bwite.

Nkuko ibibazo byihariye by'abandi batutsi babaga hanze ntacyo byari bibabwiye (cyane cyane ab'i Burundi na Zaire)[47] cyangwa se «abasivili bo muri FPR»[48], bahakanye burundu ibyo gushyikirana n'Abanyarwanda imbere mu gihugu bari bashishikajwe n'icyo kibazo cy'ubuhunzi.

Uko intambara yadukiriye akarere mu rujya n'uruza rw'ibihe

Nubwo FPR yari mu bwigunge nyuma yo gutsindwa uruhenu mu gitero cya mbere, yari igifite amaturufu mu mufuka: kumenyera bidasubirwaho ubuzima bw'intambara ya kinyeshyamba, ibirindiro bitavogerwa muri Uganda ari naho bavanaga intwaro. Nanone kandi, mu guhitamo imigambi ya vuba n'iyo mu bihe birambye, FPR yari ifite uruhare runini mu bibazo bya buri gihugu (Uganda n'uRwanda) ndetse no mu karere kose. Ibyo

47 Ubwo FPR yari imaze gufata ubutegetsi, kugira ibirindiro bikomeye « mu Baganda » byayifashije kuziba icyuho cyo kubona abantu ishyira mu myanya i Kigali ndetse no kugenzura igihugu cyose. Nguko rero uko abavuga ikinyarwanda bakomoka i Buganda bitabajwe bakazamura umubare w'*impunzi zatahutse* zivuye i Buganda kugira ngo batamirwa n'ubwinshi bw'abatutsi b'« abarundi », « abazayirwa » n'abanyarwanda bacitse ku icumu.

48 Ijambo «abasivili ba FPR» rikoreshwa mu kuvuga abatutsi bize cyane binjiye mu muryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi benshi baturutse mu bihugu byo mu majyaruguru y'isi batigeze bakora ibya gisirikari.

rero byayihaga ubushobozi bwo gutwara imbangikane ingamba za poritiki n'iza gisirikari ikurikije uko abo bahanganye bahagaze ku rugamba. Ikihutirwaga ariko kwari ugushinga imizi mu karere kubera ko, nkuko perezida Habyrimana ubwe yahoraga abishimangira, ibitero byo mu Ukwakira 1990 byari byaburijwemo kubera ko URwanda « rutari rwatewe ruturutswe mu mpande zose ».

Kubera ko itashoboraga kwinjira mu ruhando rwa poritiki imbere mu gihugu, FPR yahisemo gutangira gushaka abayoboke mu mpunzi zo mu karere kose ari nako igenda ibigisha, ibacengezamo imigambi yayo. Mu ikubitiro, inyigisho za FPR ntizakiriwe neza n'impunzi zabaga muri Tanzaniya na Zayire. Muri rusange zahurizaga ku cyifuzo cyo kwirinda urwikekwe mu baturage b'ibihugu byabakiriye kandi bari basanzwe babana neza. Nyamara umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi muri Zayire n'igitutu amashyaka mashya yotsaga abavuga ikinyarwanda agamije kubaheza mu bya poritiki mu rwego rw'igihugu n'urw'intara watumye benshi batangira kwitabira urugamba rwo gutahuka.

MuBurundi ho icyo gihe ibintu byari binyuranye cyane. Mu murwa mukuru, impunzi z'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bakomeye, zarigengeseraga cyane bitewe n'imihindukire ya poritiki imbere mu gihugu. Ariko ntibyabujije benshi muri bo gutinya no gukemanga poritikiya Guverinoma ya Sibomana Adiriyani, benshi bitaga «hutsi» yo kwagura no kuringaniza imyanya ya poritiki «hakurikijwe amoko». Ibyo byatumye batangira kwitabira cyane ibiganiro bya poritiki no kwishakira inshuti mu ntagondwa zo mu gisirikari cy'uBurundi no mu bakozi ba Leta mu gihe bari bategereje ikizava muri poritiki y'iringaniza ry'uturere. Nguko uko hongeye kubuka ubufatanye bushingiye ku irondakoko hagati y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu muRwanda no muBurundi. Buri gice cyari gifite inyungu mu guteza akaduruvayo mu buyobozi bw'kindi gihugu.

Kwivanga kw'impunzi mu bibazo bya poritiki byabaye nko gutega urutambi mu bihugu byombi kuko noneho aho gushaka gutahuka mu mahoro icyari gishyizwe imbere kwari uguhirika ku ngufu ubutegetsi busanzweho. Ikindi cyari gihambaye cyane nanone ni uko ikibazo cy'impunzi zose zo mu karere cyari gisigaye gusa mu maboko y'intagondwa zo hanze zunganiwe n'izisanzwe imbere mu gihugu. Ni muri ubwo buryo mu bibazo byose byakuruye ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abayobozi ba FPR na Perezida

w'uBurundi Buyoya harimo kuba yarashenye ibirindiro by'agaco k'abacengezi b'inkotanyi kakoreregа mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'uBurundi mu ntara ya Cibitoke yayoborwaga na Antoni Baza. Byatumye FPR itongera gutinyuka gushinga ibirindiro muBurundi kandi byari kuyifasha cyane mu ngamba zayo za gisirikari. Kubera iyo mpamvu no kugenzurwa cyane n'abategetsi b'uBurundi, abashakaga kwinjira mu Nkotanyi bazisangaga Uganda cyangwa se bakazisanga mu majyaruguru y'igihugu cy'uRwanda. Hagati mu mwaka wa 1993, umubare w'abavaga muBurundi bajya mu nkotanyi, kandi mu by'ukuri ari nabo bari benshi kandi bariteguye neza kandi ku buryo buhagije, wariyongereye cyane kuko byari bimaze kugaragara mu rwego mpuzamahanga ko FPR ariyo yari yihariye ububasha bwo guhagararira no kuvuganira ku buryo bwemewe kandi buhoraho impunzi zose z'abanyarwanda. Ariko bizeraga ko ubwinshi bwabo bugeretse ho n'ubumenyi bwo mu mashuri binakubitiyeho ko abacuruzi bo muBurundi aribo batangaga amafranga menshi ku rugamba ibyo byose byajyaga gutuma bagira ijambo rikomeye ku basirikari nyuma yo gutsinda urugamba.Mu gihe ibyo byakorwaga ibice binyuranye by'abahutu nabyo byarisuganyaga muRwanda no muBurundi. Mu wa 1991, ubutegetsi bw'uRwanda bwagize uruhare mu myivumbagatanyo yaje kuburizwamo mu ntara zo mu majyaruguru y'uBurundi (Muyinga na Cibitoke) yari yateguwe na Palipehutu yari yiganjemo impunzi zabaga muRwanda kandi babishyigikiwemo n'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali « kugira ngo bisubize igihugu bari barambuwe n'abatutsi imyaka 400»[49]. Ubutegetsi bw'uBurundi bwashoboye guhosha izo mvururu z'uduco tw'abahutu bukoresheje ingufu n'urugomo by'igisirikari cyari kigizwe ahanini n'abatutsi. Ibyo nanone babifashijwemo nuko abahutu benshi bahaga akato uduco tw'abarwanyi. Koko rero, muri icyo gihe abahutu benshi ntibifuzaga imirwano kuko babonaga poritiki y'iringaniza mu myanya ya poritiki hakurikijwe amoko yagombaga kuzagusha ku matora ashingiye kuri demokarasi kandi bizeraga gutsinda bagendeye kuri nyamwinshi yabo. Nubwo ibitero bya Palipehutu mu ukuboza 1991 i Bujumbura byari akataraboneka, byerekanye ko inzira y'intambara yari ifite icyizere gike

49 Kangura no30 Mutarama 1992, urupapuro rwa 9.

cyane mu baturage. Bamaze gutakaza icyizere ku bari babashyigikiye mu mijyi no mu nzego z'ubutegetsi bwo hejuru, intagondwa z'abahutu zahisemo noneho gucengera mu baturage bo mu cyaro kugira ngo bambike ubusa poritiki y'iringaniza abatutsi bari bari gushyira imbere ariko bitababujije gukomeza kwiharira igisirikari, ubutegetsi bwo hejuru, no kwirundaho bonyine ubukungu bw'igihugu cyose bari bararundanije mu myaka 30.

Mu gihe rero Abarundi benshi bari bashyigikiye inzira y'amahoro aganisha kuri demokarasi, abandi nabo baratanguranwaga bagakora ibishoboka byose ngo bayiburizemo.Batangiye rero kwigisha abaturage kwirwanaho n'uburyo bwo kwirengera bwangu kandi neza mu gihe baba batewe n'abasirikari b'igihugu.

Nyuma y'imishyikirano myinshi inyuranye yagiye ihuza abakuru b'ibihugu bituranye n'uRwanda hageretseho n'igitutu cy 'abaterankunga mpuzamahanga mu rwego rw'imari, haje kwemezwa amasezerano y'agahenge yo guhagarika imirwano yashyizweho umukono kuwa 29 werurwe 1991, iyubahirizwa ryayo rishingwa umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika hakurikijwe ibyemezo by'inama yari yabereye Daresalamu kuwa 19 Gashyantare ari nayo yari yakoze itangazo rikomeye rikubiyemo «imyanzuro ihoraho igamije gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda». Iyo poritiki y'ubwisanzure yateganywaga mu karere yahuraga n'inzitizi zikomeye imbere mu gihugu kuko abategetsi batari bafite ingufu zihagije zo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo bemeye. Ku ruhande rwayo, FPR ntiyemeraga na busa ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana kimwe n'ubwa guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yifuzwaga n'abatavuga rumwe nawe.

Intambara hagati ya Leta n'inyeshyamba n'inzira ya demokrasi mu gihugu

Imbere mu gihugu, intambara yo mu Ukwakira 1994 no ku buryo bw'umwihariko igitero cy'amayobera cyitiriwe abacengezi b'Inkotanyi cyabaye mu ijoro ryo ku wa 4 rishyira uwa 5 Ukwakira i Kigali byahahamuye abantu ku buryo bukomeye. Urufaya rw'amasasu rwumvikanye hagati ya saa munani z'ijoro na saa kumi n'ebyiri za mugitindo mu bigo bya gisirikari bya Kanombe, Kimihurura, Kigali na Kacyiru byakuye abaturage umutima. Icyo gitero n'abaminisitiri ubwabo bise «*ikinamico*» na nubu kiracyakurura impaka z'urudaca *(reba ikarita y'umujyi wa Kigali mu ntangiriro y'iki*

gitabo). Ibitekerezo bibiri by'ingenzi bitandukanye cyane ni byo bukunze gushyirwa imbere mu gusobanura iby'icyo gitero: Icya mbere gisa n'igihuriweho na benshi mu babibonye kivuga ko ari ikinamico ryaba ryarakozwe n'abagaba 2 bungirije b'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo na Jandarumori, Koloneli Serubuga Lawurenti na Koloneli Rwagafirita Petero Selestini[50] kandi bikavugwa ko batari kubikora badahawe uruhusa na Perezida. Igitekerezo cya kabiri kivuga ko icyo gitero cyagabwe n'abakomando ba FPR bari baracegeye imbere mu gihugu. Icyo nicyo cyemezwa n'ubutegetsi kandi kikaba gishyigikiwe na Koloneli Tewonesti Bagosora (Gisenyi). Ikindi gitekerezo cya gatatu cyagaragaye vuba aha ni igitangwa na ba maneko b'igisirikari cy'Ubufaransa[51] bavuga ko kubera icyoba, abasirikari b'uRwanda baba bararasanyeho bibagwiririye bityo hakabaho ururandagatane rw'amasasu mu bigo. Ariko uko byasobanurwa kwose nta nakimwe cyasobanura urugomo rukabije rwakurikiyeho.

Ubwoba bwatashye mu baturage bwabaye impamvu yoguha abasirikari ububasha bwo kubahohotera no kubafungira ubusa baba abarwanya ubutegetsi koko cyangwa se ababikekwaho gusa: abanyamakuru, abibumbiye mu mashyirahamwe anyuranye, abacamanza n'abandi, biganjemo abahutu ariko cyane abatutsi[52] bari bamaze iminsi

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50 Reba Yohani Batista Nsanzimfura na Faranswa-Saveri Nsanzuwera, *Le Génocide des Rwandais tutsis : un plan politico-militaire*, Ronéo, Ukuboza 2003. Na Koloneli Lewonidasi Rusatira wahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru muri minister y'ingabo z'igihugu akaba ari nawe wari wasimbuye umukuru w'igihugu nk'umugaba w'ikirenga w'ingabo kugeza akubutse muri Kanada abikomozaho avuga ko byakozwe bimaze kwemezwa n'inzego nkuru z'umutekano w'igihugu.

51 Byavuzwe na Bernarido Lugani, *Rwanda. Contre-enquête sur le génocide*, Privat, Paris, 2007, p. 42 et suiv.

52 Mu gihe abantu benshi bemezaga ko abantu benshi bafunzwe baziraga kuba ari abahutu batekerezaga gushinga amashyaka arwanya ubutegtsi hamwe n'abatutsi, abahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda bo bavugaga ko mu bafunzwe 90% bari abatutsi gusa. Inzobere z'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'afurika zo zagize ziti:«Gufunga bantu byahise bitangira ako kanya,abantu 13.000 barafungwa. Muribo harimo abahutu bake ubutegtsi bwifuzaga gucecekesha cyangw gutegeka gushyigikira Perezida.» OUA, *Rapport des experts sur le génocide auRwanda*, Addis-Abéba, 2000, § 7.8 [*voir annexe 5*]. Ubushakashatsi twikoreye muri Perfagitura ya Butare bwanditse muri André GUICHAOUA, *Butare, la préfecture rebelle*, TPIR, 2004, t. 3, annexe 6, p. 30 et suiv., bwerekana neza ko buri munsi hafungwaga abahutu n'abatutsi bazira cyane kuba bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu ; aha rero niho bigaragara ko icyari kigamijwe kitari ugufunga abatutsi ahubwo kwari ugufunga abarwanya ubutegetsi.

batinyuka kwandika no kuvuga ibitagenda neza mu gihugu.

Nkuko bikunze kugenda mu bihe by'imidugararo, abafunzwe bazize ahanini amabwire, urwikwekwe, n'amashyari hagati y'abacuruzi bapiganira inyungu batari bafite aho bahuriye n'ibya poritiki.

Ubwinshi bw'abafunzwe[53] icyo gihe bakarundanyirizwa hamwe muri stade ya Kigali kimwe n'urugomo n'ubugome bagiriwe byaroshye igihugu mu cyoba gikabije.

Amabwiriza yo kuri Radio-Rwanda akangurira abaturage kuregana no kwitabira inzangano zishingiye ku moko, yakwirakwizwaga n'abategetsi bo mu nzego za perefegitura n'izo hasi kugira ngo agere kuri bose cyane mu majyaruguru y'igihugu no mu burasirazuba bwacyo. Ibyo byose byateye inkeke n'ubwoba budashira mu gihugu hose. Ubutumwa bw'umukuru w'igihugu bugamije guhumuriza abanyarwanda bwari bunyuranye cyane n'ibyakorwaga ndetse hamwe na hamwe bwateraga urujjo. Nguko uko yashinze Minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihuguYohani Mariya Viyani Mugemana guhosha ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abatutsi muri Superefegitura ya Ngororero.

Byabaye ngombwa ko Superefe wa Ngororero Bernardo Niyitegeka na Burugmestri wa komini Ramba M. Nteziryayo bahagarikwa ku mirimo yabo bakanafungwa bazira kuba batarashoboye guhagarika ubwo bwicanyi. Superefe yaje kugwa muri gereza ku buryo bw'amayobera kandi nta anketi yigeze ikorwa ku rupfu rwe ngo igaragaze icyo yaba yarazize. Imicungirey'amadosiye y'abafunzwe mu ukwakira 1990 nayo yajemo urujijo n'amacenga menshi bamwe bifuza ko ibintu bikemuka mu mucyo hakurikijwe amategeko abandi batabishaka. Byaje kuba umwaku aho Prokireri Mukuru mu rukiko rurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu Alufonsi Mariya Nkubito yigijweyo azira ko aca inkoni izamba. Imanza z'ibyitso zabaye hari umwuka mubi cyane kubera ko zabaye nyuma y'uko FPR igabye igitero gikaze mu Ruhengeri kuwa 22 mutarama1991 igafunguza Tewonesti Lizinde ikanamujyana mu ngabo zayo *(reba incamake n^{o}2).*

Mu mezi menshi yakurikiyeho byasaga naho hari udutsiko tw'abakomoka mu

53 Ibigereranyo byatanzwe n'imiryango yigenga ivuga ko abafunzwe barengaga 8.000 utabariyemo abagiye bafungirwa muri za kasho z'amakomini.

majyaruguru twari twarihaye ubushobozi n'ububasha mu mirimo ikomeye y'igihugu itarahabwaga ubonetse wese (ibiro bikuru by'iperereza,udutsiko dutsimbaraye cyane ku moko muri MRND no mu gisirikari). Ni muri ubwo buryo intagondwa zashoboye gukoresha itangazamakuru ryigenga rigaharabika bamwe mu bategetsi bakomeye mu gihugu babita ku mugaragaro «ibyitso by'umwanzi» (guhera mutarama1989 abaministri bakomoka mu majyepfo bari bavuye ku10 bagera kuri 12 ku17 bari bagize guverinoma yose). Icyo kibazo cyo gusuzugura guverinoma cyangwa se bamwe mu bayigize cyarakomeje kugeza n'igihe Perezida avugururiye Leta ye kuwa 7/2/1991.

Bitewe nuko abahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda bamwotsaga igitutu no kubera amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yagombaga gushyirwaho umukono kuwa 29 werurwe 1991, Perezida yagize Nsanzimana Silivesitiri Ministri w'ubutabera bituma hafungurwa abantu 3.500 bari bagifungiye kuba ibyitso, 8 muribo bari bakatiwe igihano cyo kwicwa, mu iteka rye ryo kuwa 18 mata, Perezida arabadohorera, agihindura gufungwa burundu.

Ibyo byemezo byaturutse ahanini ku bitekerezo bihamye byavaga mu itangazamakuru ryigenga na Kiliziya, bigakwirakwizwa n'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu yari imaze kuvuka.

ARDHO, Umuryango nyarwanda uharanira kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu washinzwe ku wa 30 Nzeri1990, wahereyeko ubona akazi kenshi cyane .

Mu mwaka wa 1991, hagiye hafatwa ibyemezo by'ubwisanzure harimo nko kuvana imirimo yo gutanga ibyangombwa byo kujya mu mahanga mu maboko y'inzego z'iperereza bikajya bitangwa na ministeri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ndetse n'umunyarwanda wese w'impunzi ubishatse byemezwa ko yagombaga guhabwa (mu gihe kigenwe) ibyangombwa by'inzira.

Ikindi tutabura kuvuga ni inama yahuje amashyaka yose ya poritiki igamije kwigira hamwe ibyasabwaga na FPR mu rwego rwa poritiki, gushyiraho itegeko nsibacyaha rishya mu ukuboza 1991, (abantu 5.872 bakaza guhanagurwaho icyaha muri gashyantare1992) no gushaka no kugena amasambu yo kwakira impunzi no gushyiraho

urwego rwa Leta rushinzwe icyo kibazo.

Ikindi kandi poritiki y'iringaniza hakurikijwe amoko yagombaga kuba yavuyeho guhera ugushyingo 1990 kimwe n'ibijyanye no kwandika amoko mu ndangamuntu.

Ibi byose byari ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko gukemura ibibazo byariho byari mu nzira. Nubwo inzira yo kugarura amahoro mu baturage yari imaze kuboneka kandi ishyigikiwe cyane n'amahanga, kuyigeraho byabazaga ingamba n'ubushake bw'abategetsi b'igihugu mu kuyishyira mu bikorwa. Aha rero ni ho ibintu bimwe na bimwe byateraga amakenga. Muri ibyo twavuga nka guverinoma igizwe n'abantu bamwe gusa yari yashyizweho n' «ibikonyozi » kuwa 4 gashyantare 1991,amananiza yo mu mishyikirano yo gucyura impunzi, gutinza amatora yategurwaga no kudasubiza mu kazi abari barafungiwe kuba ibyitso bari bamaze gufungurwa muri werurwe na mata 1991, indangamuntu nshya zari zitarajya ahagaragara (ipiganwa ry'ibiciro by'amacapiro ryatinze gutangazwa bigeza mu ukuboza 1991, ibyo bikagaragaza ko imikorere idahwitse ya kera yari igifite intebe[54] …) ; kongera kwandika amoko mu ibarura rusange ryabaye hagati mu wa 1991aho kimwe mu bibazo by'umugereka cyarebaga iby'ubwenegihugu ; imvugo n'inyandiko zibasiraga abatutsi zagaragaraga mu itanganzamakuru ryikwitwaga ko «ryigenga». Bene utwo tubazo twagabanije icyizere ku mpunzi zifuzaga gutahuka mu mutuzo. Icyaje gutera inkeke kurushaho nanone ni urugomo rwakorerwaga abatutsi bo mu cyaro, iyo FPR yabaga yateye cyangwa se nyuma yaho ubwo bamwe bari batangiye kuyoboka amashyaka mashya.

Abantu benshi barishwe, abandi baranyerezwa ; ibyashoboye kumenyekana birimo ibyabaye ku wa 11 ukwakira 1990 i Kibirira muri Gisenyi (abatutsi 383 barishwe), muri Kinigi (hishwe abatutsi b'abagogwe 261 [abagogwe ni abatutsi mu majyaruguru y'i burengerazuba bw'uRwanda]), birakomeza mu makomini ya Mukingo Nkuli na Mutura muri mutarama na gashyantare1991,bisatira Kanzenze muri Kigali mu ukwakira 1991 bigera Murambi ya Byumba mu Ugushyingo 1991,muri werurwe 1992 nanone birongera

54 Murabisanga mu mugereka n0 6 uvuga ku buryo bwuzuye ibintu byinshi byahishwe ku mpaka no ku ngorane zabayeho kugira ngo indangamuntu zagombaga gutangwa mbere yuko hajyaho guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yo mu wa 1994 zishobore kugera mu icapiro.

muri Kanzenze hapfa abatutsi 30 birakomeza n'ahandi.

Ubwo bwicanyi ntibwari bushingiye ku burakari rusange bw'abaturage ubwabo banganga abatusi,ahubwo bwaturukaga ku nyigisho zatangwaga n'abategetsi bo hasi nabo babicengezwagamo n'inzego zimwe zo mu butegetsi bwo hejuru.

Ibi bikab byerekana ukuntu ubutegetsi bwagendaga bwiyandarika bugata isura nziza kugera no mu cyaro. Ibinyamakuru byagiye bitaganza inkuru z'imvaho[55] ku bwicanyi bwagiye bukorwa hirya no hino inzego z'ubutegetsi n'izubutabera zo mu cyaro ntizigire icyo zikora. Ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiraga ahanini abatutsi «bakize», abacuruzi, abarimu cyangwa se abatunzwe n'umushahara uzwi n'abandi baturage b' «abakungu». Benshi mu bakurikiraniraga hafi ibibera muRwanda bemeje ko ubutegetsi bw'uRwanda aho kurwanya Inkotanyi «z'amarere »nkuko ziyitaga, bwahisemo gufata abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu ho ingwate. Nguko uko ubwoba abatutsi bari bafitiye urugomo rw'abasirikari n'abaporisi bwiyongera ndetse urwikekwe hagati y'amoko ruhabwa intebe mu nzego zose n'imibanire ya buri munsi.

Amakimbirane mu gisirikari n'igenanyito y' «umwanzi » icyo ari cyo

Ni muri icyo gihe, ubwo inkubiri yo kwagura amarembo ya poritiki yakazaga umurego buri munsi, abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, babishyigikiwe n'ibikomangoma by'ubutegetsi berekanye ku mugargaro kandi ku buryo budasanzwe uburakari bwabo.

Kuwa 1 ukuboza1991, hasohotse itangazo ririho umukono wa Liyetona Koloneli Anatori Nsengiyumva mu izina ry' «Ubuyobozi bushinzwe imirwano mu ngabo z'uRwanda »ryamaganaga akajagari kagenda kiyongera mu gihugu n'uburyo *Inyenz*[56] zakaza umurego. Nyuma y'iminsi 3, ku wa 4 Ukuboza,Yuvenali Habyarimana

55 Reba ibivugwa mu kinyamakuru cya kiliziya gatolika Kinyamateka no 1357 yo kuwa 1 ugushyingo 1991 (« *Abategetsi bamwe ni bo bayoboye imvururu muri Murambi* » hari n'izindi nkuru zagiye zerekena urutonde rw'abantu banyerejwe mu Bugesera.

56 ***Inyenzi*** ni ijambo ryakoreshejwe n'abarwanyi b'abatutsi barwaniriraga kugarura ubwami muRwanda mu myaka ya 1960 ni izina biyise rihinnye rishaka kuvuga mu magambo arambuye **« *Ingangurarugo yiyemeje kuba ingenzi***». **Ingangurarugo** zari ingabo zikomeye cyane ku ngoma y'umwami Rwabugiri.

yakoresheje inama ihuza abayobozi bose b'uduce tuberamo imirwano,abashinzwe imitwe inyuranye ya gisirikari,abayobozi b'ibigo bya gisirikari, abasirikari bakuru bo muri minisiteri y'ingabo n'abo mu buyobozi bw'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo ngo barebere hamwe ibyari bimaze gukorwa n'ibiteganijwe kuzakorwa nyuma y'umwaka umwe w'intambara.

Inama yabaye mu muhezo ariko irangwamo umwuka mubi cyane aho abasirikari bamwe biyamirizaga abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi babashinja kugambanira igihugu n'ibindi bikorwa bifasha umwanzi no kuvuga amadisikuru aca intege ingaboz'uRwanda.

Perezida Habyarimana yahereye ko ashyiraho komisiyo ishinzwe kwiga no gutekereza kuri icyo kibazo ikazamushyikiriza imyanzuro yayo mu gihe kitarenze ukwezi. Iyo komisiyo bamwe bayise «Komisiyo Bagosora» bayitirira Koroneli Tewonesiti Bagosora umusirikari mukuru wari ukuriye abandi kuri iryo peta ari nawe wayiyoboraga. Harimo n'abandi basirikari 9 bakomeye barimo abashyigikiye ubutegetsi n'abandi bigenga mu bitekerezo byabo cyangwa se bashyigikiye demokrasi isesuye *(reba umugereka n^{o}7).* Raporo yanditswe mu gihe kiri munsi y'ibyumweru 3 hanyuma yongera gusomwa no gukosorwa na Major Agusitini Cyiza, iza kwemezwa n'abagize komisiyo bose ishyikirizwa Perezida Habyarimana nawe atageka ko igomba gutangarizwa abo ireba gusa ntisakazwe.

Igice cya mbere cy'iyo raporo cyavugaga ikibazo cy' « umwanzi» m gihugu no hanze kiri mu byashoboraga gukurura intugunda (kandi koko ni nako byaje Kugenda ubwo agapande kayo kamwe katangazwaga muri nzeri 1992).

Nyamara icyo si cyo cyabujije Perezida gukumira isakazwa rya raporo ; icyabimuteye ahanini ni ingingo zanengaga ukuntu ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwari bumaze imyaka butavugururwa, uburyo budahwitse bwakoreshwaga mu micungire y'ingabo, ndetse n'umwanzuro wavugaga ko gufungura amarembo ya poritiki ari yo nzira iboneye yo kurangiza intambara.

Nk'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu, perezida yashavujwe cyane no kubona raporo igaya uburyo ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo butari bwarigeze na rimwe

buvugururwa ndetse n'uburyo ubwo buyobozi bwananiwe kwitegura igitero cy'Inkotanyi ; nuko mu minsi mike ashyiraho Silivesitiri Nsanzimana nka Minisitiri w'intebe ndetse na we asezera ku gukomatanya imirimo y'umukuru w'igihugu, n'iyo kuba ministri w'ingabo n'umukuru w'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo.

Ibyo byatumye bamwe bizera ko abari banenzwe ku mugaragaro[57] bari bagiye guhita banyagwa, barimo Koroneri Rwagafirita Petero Selesitini wari umugaba wungirije wa Jandarumori kuva 1979, Koroneri Serubuga Lawurenti wari umugaba w'ingabo wungirije kuva 1973, n'umunyamabanga mukuru muri ministeri y'ingabo Koroneri Lewonidasi Rusatira kuva 1970[58].

Hagati aho, kubera amakenga yari itewe n'iryo yagurwa ry'amarembo ya poritiki muRwanda, FPR yahinduye ingamba ishyira imbere kwitegura « intambara y'igihe kirekire », isigara gusa ikora udutero-shuma tutari dukanganye na busa mu rwego rwa gisirikari, uretse rimwe na rimwe iyo ingabo za Uganda zabaga ziyigobotse nkuko bari byagenze muri 1990.

Ahubwo icyari gishishikaje uRwanda cyane cyari ingaruka [z'intambara] ku bukungu bw'igihugu kubera ifungwa ryamayira'ibicuruzwa byavaga mu byambu byo ku nyanja y'ubuhindi (inzira y'amajyaruguru anyura Uganda na Kenya akagera Mombassa n'inzira yo hagati inyura Tanzaniya kugera ku cyambu cya Daresalamu) ; wongeyeho amafaranga yo gushora mu ntambara (cyane cyane kongera umubare w'abasirikari no kugura ibikoresho), ibyo byose byari biteye inkeke cyane ku busugire n'izanzamuka ry'ubukungu mu gahugu gato kari mu bwigunge.

Mu rwego rwa poritiki, udutero shuma Inkotanyi zahoraga zitera zabangamiraga ubwumvikane bwari bunasanzwe budafashije hagati y'amashyaka yari yarishyize hamwe imbere mu gihugu ngo arwanye ubutegetsi bwariho n'ishyaka MRND ryari ryikubiye

57 Uburemere n'impaka zabereye muriyo komisiyo urazisanga ku mugereka no7.

58 Yashyizwe kuri uwo mwanya na Perezida wa mbere Geregori Kayibanda ubwo Habyarimana Yuvenali yari minisitiri w'ingabo, awugumaho kugeza muwa 1992 aho yabaye umuyobozi w'ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari muri guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

ubutegetsi, agaharanira ko habaho inama nkuru y'igihugu ifite ububasha busesuye (bitaga «RUKOKOMA» mu kinyarwanda).

Inzibacyuho y'amaburakindi

Imyaka ya 1991-1993 yiswe «Inzibacyuho ishyira demokrasi» yabaye imyaka yo kubaka umusinge. Kwisanzura muri demokrasi kwabaye inzira yo gukangurira rubanda guharanira uburenanzira yari yaravukijwe mu nzego zose z'ubuzima bw'igihugu. Kubigeraho byasabaga ingufu ku mpande 2 :

Ku ruhande rumwe kwari ugusobanurira abaturage uburenganzira bwabo no gushyiraho inzego z'ubutegetsi zishobora kuburengera igihe cyose.

Ku rundi ruhande kandi bikorewe icyarimwe kwari ugushyiraho imyugariro n'ibimenyetso bifasha kumenya neza ko abari basanzwe batsimabaraye ku butegetsi batabigenderaho bayobya abaturage kugirango bakomeze kubifatira.

Kugirango byumvikane byashyirwa mu bihe 2 mbere na nyuma yaho FPR igabye igitero cyo muri gashyantare1993. Ni ukuvuga igihe urubuga rwa poritiki imbere mu gihugu rwasaga naho rwihariwe n'amashyaka ya poritiki mashya arwanya ubutegetsi n'igihe FPR Inkotanyi yerekanaga ubudasumbwa bwayo mu ngufu za gisirikari n'ubufatanye bwayo n'andi mashyaka ya poritiki bityo hagatangira kwishushanya impande 2 zihanganye ari nazo zavuyemo intambara ya rurangiza yo muwa 1994.

Habyarimana abonye ko agoswe impande zose haba inyuma n'imbere mu gihugu, yibutse ibanga yakoresheje mu wa 1973 atangira kwikundisha ku «Bahutu» bo mu giturage. Ubwo kandi ni nako yageragezaga kwereka amahanga ko ariwe wenyine kamara washoboraga guhagara hagati y'ubutagondwa bw'impande zombi: Ubw'abahutu bwagaragaraga mu nzego z'ubutegetsi busanzwe no mu nzego za gisirikari n'ubw'abatutsi cyane cyane abari barahungiye mu gihugu cya Uganda, byavugwaga ko bagitsimbaraye cyane ku mugambi wo kugarura ingoma ya cyami muRwanda.

Uko gukangurira abaturage ivanguramoko byakomeje kwaje kwiyongera ku mpagarara zariho ari mu bukungu, imibanire na poritiki.

Nanone ariko zimwe mu nzego z'ubuyobozi (itangazamakuru, inzego z'umutekano n'ingabo z'igihugu, n'iz'ubutabera) zatangiye gahunda yo kurwanya ibitekerezo by'intagondwa ; iyo gahunda yari igamije kwerekana ishusho y'ubworoherane «umubyeyi w'igihugu» yashakaga kugumana kugira ngo akomeze guhabwa imfashanyo itubutse mu bya gisirikari n'ubukungu abaterankunga bamuhaga ariko banamuhatira kufungura marembo ya poritiki.

Byaba ari ukuri cyangwa impuha, bivugwa ko perezida yaba yarashatse gukoresha intambara y'Inkotanyi nk'inzira yo gucecekesha burundu abamurwanyaga mu gihugu cyangwa se ndetse akagura urubuga rwa poritiki ya Republika ya kabiri yinjizamo bamwe mu mpunzi z'abatutsi bemeye kugirana na we imishyikirano ; ibyo ari byo byose, uwo mugambi waburiyemo kubera ko ingabo z'igihugu zawamaganye dore ko n'ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo bwabyinaga intsinzi mu mpera y'ukwakira 1990. Nyamara kwiyitirira iyo ntsinzi nta shingiro byari bifite. Akajagari gakabije kari mu buyobozi bw'ingabo kagiye ku karubanda maze abantu bararengana karahava : gushyira mu kato abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo, iyicwa ridasobanutse rya bamwe mu basirikari bakuru b'abahanga bakomoka mu majyaruguru, ibirego byo kugambanira igihugu n'imigambi yo guhirika ubutegetsi, ifungwa rya bamwe mu basirikari bakuru bo m majyaruguru bakekwaho kumena amabanga, n'ibindi.

Uwo mwuka mubi uri mu bisobanura impamvu ingabo zari zihagaze nabi ku rugamba muri kiriya gihe. Aho intambara yari igeze, buri wese mu barwana yabonaga ko izamara igihe kirekire buri gice rero kirasesengura gitangira kwishakamo ingufu no guteganya uko bizagenda muri urwo rugendo rw'igihe kirekire. Imbere mu gihugu, abanyagisenyi n'abanyaruhengeri bishyize hamwe kugira ngo bakomeze kwiharira ubutegetsi bwose bari basanzwe

bafite maze bihindura akarere kabo «umutamenwa» abandi bose baturuka ahandi bari bahejwemo. Nguko uko mu gihe kwemerwa kw'amashyaka menshi ya poritiki bitari bigishoboye gusubizwa inyuma kandi biha abaturuka mu majyepfo yo kwigaragaza no kwipakurura gukandamizwa n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi , MRND, bahisemo kwigunga no

gutsimbarara ku nyungu zabo bwite. Nyamara kandi imibare yose yarerekanaga ko poritiki y'iringaniza yari yaratumye biyerekana nk'aba nyamuke batoneshejwe birenze urugero[59].

Ntagushidikanya rero, irondakarere ryarushaga ubukana irondakoko ku buryo ryashyamiranyaga ku mugaragaro ibyegera bya Perezida byo mujyaruguru n'abaharanira kwisanzura. Kuri izo mpande zombi, ikibazo cy'irondakoko cyari nk'iturufu yabafasha kugira« ubwiganze» mu bitekerezo. Mu gihe intagondwa zasabitswe n'irondakarere n'irondakoko zavugaga ko abarwanya ubutegetsi bose nta kuvangura ari abanzi b'igihugu ko kandi bagomba kurwanyirizwa hamwe, Habyarimana we yari ashyigikiye abayoboke ba MRND bifuzaga ko yaba ishyaka rihuza abayarwanda bose aho gufatwa nk'imbata y'abo mu majyaruguru gusa kuko yabonaga ko ari ngombwa gukomeza gushyigikira inyungu z'abatutsi bize kandi bakoranaga mu gihugu hose kugira ngo agabanye ingufu zashoboraga guturuka mu kwiyuburura kwa MDR-Parmehutu mu majyepfo y'igihugu (MDR-Parmehutu ni riyo shyaka rikomeye ryahangamuye ingoma ya cyami muRwanda mu wa1959). Uko gufatanya imirongo 2 ya poritiki idahuye ryari ibanga ry'umwihariko rya perezida wenyine kandi yagumanye kugeza ubwo apfuye kuwa 6 ukwakira 1994.

Muri FPR bo, bose babonaga nta shiti ko ingoma ya Habyarimana iri mu marembera, ariko rero bihutira kumurwanya no kuvana ingabo ze mu birindiro byazo kuko batinyaga ko amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu yasaba ko inzira ya demokarasi yihutishwa bityo akabatanga kugera ku butegetsi. Ubu bwoba ko amashyaka mashya yakwisuganya FPR yari ibuhuruyeho n'ibikomangoma bya Repuburika ya Kabiri.

Iyabateraga ubwoba cyane cyangwa se iyo babonaga ishobora kuzabagora ni MDR (ishyaka riharanira demokarasi muri repuburika) dore ko yabonwagamo kuba urunani rugamije kurwanya abo mu majyaruguru, rushinze imizi mu mateka (revorisiyo ya 59)

59 Abize ntibatinyaga icyo gihe kwamagana Abashiru (abakomoka mu Bushiru, agace perezida avukamo, kagizwe n'amakomini abiri, Karago na Giciye) bavuga ko bari agatsiko ka « nyumuke (batagze ku baturage iihumbi 100) cyane kurusha abatutsi (hafi ibihumbi 800) ».

ndetse ikaba n'amizero ya rubanda. Irindi shyaka batinyaga ni PSD (ishyaka riharanira demokrasi n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage ryarangwaga n'amatwara mashya atandukanye n'ayagendeweho muri republika zambere zombi), yari ishyigikiwe cyane n'abahutu n'abatutsi bo maperefegitura 2 yo mu majyepfo, Butare na Gikongoro, arangajwe imbere n'abavugizi babiri b'ibyamamare : Felisiyani Gatabazi na Nzamurambaho Ferideriko.

Uko gushyigikirwa byari imbogamizi ikomeye kuri FPR kuko byayibuzaga amahirwe yo gushinga imizi mu maperefgitura yariyiganjemo abatutsi.

Iyo mbogamizi nanone yari iyifite kuri PL (ishyaka riharanira ubwisanzure, ryari ryiganjemo abatutsi) ryari rishinze ibirindiro mu maperefegitura ya Kibungo na Kigali ngari ariyo yari kuntera ya 2 mu guturwamo n'abatutsi benshi mu gihugu.

Ku mpande zombi, « intagondwa » zahawe rugari : ku ruhande rumwe, Pahulo Kagame yazunguye Fredi Rwigyema, ashimangira umurongo w'ubukana n'ubutagamburuzwa ; ku rundi ruhande, hagati y'« abapawa » n' « abaharanira ubwisanzure » rubura gica barwana « intambara mu yindi ».

Amavuko ya MRND ivuguruye

Kuwa 5 nyakanga 1990, Habyarimana yari yamenyesheje Abanyarwanda ko inzira ya demokrasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi igiye gutangira. Ku wa 1 nzeri, Eduwaridi Karemera ashingwa kuyobora Komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo (reba umugereka wa 8) by'abaturage ku mpinduramatwara ya poritiki Perezida yari yabasezeranije.

Ibyavuye muri iyo komisiyo byagiweho impaka biza kubyara imbanziriza-mushinga y'itegeko ryo mu wa1991. Kuva icyo gihe, Eduwaridi Karemera yahawe izina rya *Rukusanya*, « umuhuza » (w'ibitekerezo) ndetse aza no guhemberwa ibyiza uwo murimo wagezeho (*reba incamake ya 3).*

Nyuma y'amezi atatu, kuwa 5 nyakanga 1991, MRND ivuguruye yemeje amategeko mashya ayigenga muri Kongere yayo yabereye kuri Stade Amahoro ; ubuyobozi

bwashyizweho bwari buteye butya : Perezida Habyarimana yashinzwe guhagararira ishyaka mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho kugeza igihe MRND ivuguruye (Muvoma iharanira demokarasi, repuburika n'amajyambere) izagiraho ku mugaragaro, naho Eduwaridi Karemera ashingwa gushyiraho inzego zose z'ibanze z'ishyaka no kuyobora buri munsi ibokorwa byose by'ishyaka kugeza igihe kongere yari kuzatora abayobozi bashya. Mu by'ukuri niwe wari uyibereye umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu.

Abayobozi bo mu maperefegitura no mu makomini bari barashoboye gushaka no kwohereza abayoboke bashya gushinga MRND ivuguruye bahawe inshingano zo gushyigikira ikipi ya Eduwaridi Karemera no kwemera kuba ba perezida b'agateganyo b'ishyaka rivuguruye mu maperefegitura. Kuvugurura inzego za komite mu makomini no mu maperfegituira byarangiyemuri gashyantare1992*(reba umugereka n^0 9.3)* .

Nyuma y'amatora muri za komite za Perefegitura niho MRND ivuguruye yagize Biro poritiki yari igizwe n'abantu 11 bayihagarariye mu maperefegitura. Habyarimana yateranije inama ya Biro poritiki gake cyane, nabwo ari igihe ari ngombwa gufata ibyemezo bikomeye kugeza igihe inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu zigiriyeho k'umugaragaro[60].

Mu by'ukuri nkuko byari byarabaye umuco w'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, perezida n'inzego za Leta—dore ko n'ubundi ubutegetsi bwa Leta bwari bukiri mu maboko ya MRND— nibo bayoboye iyo nzibacyuho yo kuvugurura ishyaka. Perezida yagize uruhare rw'ikirenga : gushaka abayoboke, kubatumira, kugirana imishyikirano na bamwe ndetse no guhemba no kugira ibyo yemerera abandi. Icyari kimushishikaje cyane kwari ukugumana muri MRND, abategetsi, abakozi n'ibikomerezwa byo hirya no hino mu gihugu ari nabo yateganyaga kuzifashisha. Iyo mirimo abaperefe barayitabiriye cyane, dore ko nubwo ubutegetsi bwabo bwari bumaze kujegera, bari bagifite igitsure cyane cyane ba burugumesitiri. Ku ruhande rwabo, abaminisitiri bakoreshaga ububasha n'uburyo bwose bari bafite mu kwigarurira abakozi bakuru ba Leta, abayobozi b'ibigo

60 Uko byari biri kose, nubwo Biro poritiki yari itaremerwa ku mugaragaro, ni rwo rwego Perezida Habyarimana yiyambaje cyane mugufata ibyemezo bikomeye.

byigenga bishamikiye kuri Leta n'abayobora imishinga y'amajyambere.

Uwo murimo wo kuvugurura ishyaka[61] ntiwari woroshye kandi wari uwo kwitonderwa kuko byasabaga byanze bikunze gushyira mu myanya abantu bashya, bagombaga kuzahagarairira MRND ivuguruye mu ma perefegitura no kuzayobora urugamba rw'amatora mu ruhande rw'abashyigikiye Perezida mu gihe ubushobozi bwo gutonesha no kugabira abayoboke bwagendaga bukendera. Gushakisha no gushyiraho abahuzabikorwa n'abagize za biro zo mu maperefegitura kimwe no gushakisha « abarwanashyaka b'ifatizo » bo gushyira umukono ku mategeko mashya ya MRND[62] baturutse mu maperefegitura anyuranye no mu nzego z'akazi n'ubutegetsi binyuranye byatanganga isura yihuse yuko ubutegetsi bwagomba kuzaba buhagaze mu gihe cyari imbere. Inkubiri y'amatora yabazaga abantu « bakunzwe n'abaturage », ibyo bikagabanyiriza amahirwe abarwanashyaka bo mu biro bari barashyizweho na ba perefe mu nzego z'ibanze bashizwe kwiba amajwi no guhindura ibyavuye mu matora uko reta ishaka.

Birumvikana rero ko umuntu wari ukenewe ngo ayobore MRND ivuguruye ari umunyaporitiki ubifitemo uburambe kandi uzi gufindura ibyo perezida n'ibyegera bye bifuza, ibyo bigasaba nanone ubushobozi gatozi bugaragara mu gusesengura ibiriho no kujya impaka mu mishyikirano. Eduwaridi Karemera yakoze neza akazi bari bamushinze ndetse arabishimirwa bituma asigara ari we uri ku isonga mu banyapolitiki bakomoka mu mamajyepfo y'igihugu.Nyamara amacakubiri yari yagaragaye muri komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo yahuriranye nuko hari ibyo Perezidansi itashakaga nuko biba impamvu yo kumukumira ngo atavaho yishyira hejuru. Kongere yo muri mata 1992 yashyizeho ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu, Perezida akomeza kuba Habyarimana, Visi-Perezida wa mbere aba Amandini Rugira (Hutu,Butare) Visi-Perezida wa kabiri aba Kabagema Feredinandi (Hutu,Kibungo) naho Matayo Ngirumpatse (Hutu,Kigali) aba umunyamabanga mukuru mu rwego rw'igihugu *(reba umugereka 9)* .

[61] Nubwo bwose inama nyobozi itari yakaba urwego ruriho ku buryo bukurikije amategeko, Perezida Habyarimana ni yo yiyambazaga kenshi mu gufata ibyemezo bikomeye.

[62] Ishyaka ryaje kongera kwemerwa ku mugaragaro ku wa 31 Nyakanga 1992.

Mu bari bashinzwe kuyobora ishyaka mu gihe cy 'inzibacyuho kugeza kuri iriya kongere nta numwe wagiye mu buyobozi bushya[63]. Uwabuze muri ubwo buyobozi bigatangaza benshi ni Eduwaridi Karemera.

Kwivugurura mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi

Kwivugurura kwa MRND mu nzira y'amashyaka menshi byabaye ahanini kubera kotswa igitutu giturutse ku ntambara igihugu cyarimo. Hari nanone mu gihe cyo guhangana n'amashyaka menshi yari amaze kuvuka no kuvavanura n'akamenyero ko gukoresha amajyambere nka gatigisimu buri wese agomba kwemera cyane cyane mu gihe ubukene bwanumaga no kwizirika umukanda bibangamiye benshi.

Ntibyari bigihagije gusa rero kuririmba intero nshya z'inzira ya demokarasi, cyari igihe cyo kurenga « intero yo gukomeza umurage wa revorisiyo yo mu wa 1959 n'uwa revolisyo mvugururamuco yo ku wa 5 nyakanga 1973» hagashakwa utundi turango twa poritiki abantu bahagurukira.

Incamake ya 3

Eduwaridi Karemera : Kuva ku mirimo y'ishyaka kugeza ku ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside

Eduwaridi Karemera yavukiye muri Komini Mwendo, perefegitura ya Kibuye ku wa 1 nzeri1951 ; yize muri Koleji Kristu-Umwami y'i Nyanza guhera muri 1964, aho akaba ari naho n'abandi bantu bakomeye benshi bize amashuri yisumbuye. Yaje kubona impamyabumenyi ihanitse mu by'amategeko muri kaminuza gatorika ya Louvain [mu Bubiligi]. Agarutse mu Rwanda muri 1976, yahawe umwanya muri Minisieri y'ubutabera ariko agakorera mu biryo bya perezida w'urukiko rw'ikirenga, Fulujansi Seminega (Hutu,Byumba). Seminega yamusabiye ko azamurwa mu ntera akaba «umujyanama mukuru mu rukiko rusesa imanza$_a$ ». Iteka rya Perezida ryo kuwa 11 mutarama 1977 ryaje kumugira umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri Ministeri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yayoborwaga na Liyetona Koloneli aregisi Kanyarengwe. Ku wa 5 kamena 1978, kubera «ibikorwa bitangaje kandi bidasanzwe$_b$ » Eduwaridi Karemera yagizwe umuyamabanga mukuru muri Ministeri y'imirimo n'abakozi ba leta, aho yavuye adatinze ku wa 16 mutarama1979 akimurirwa muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika mu ishami rishinzwe amategeko. Yayoborwaga Simewoni Nteziryayo (Cyangugu) wari Ministri muri Perezidansi,

[63] Abantu 2 bakomeye binjijwe mu nzego nkuru z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka ni Lewo Mugesera (Hutu,Gisenyi)wari uhagarariye ku buryo bwuzuye inyungu z'intagondwa zo mu majyarugur na Anasitazi Gasana (Hutu,Kigali ngari) umunyapoiltiki w'umuhunahunnyi waje kwigira muri MDR.

umwanya wagereranywa n'uwa Ministri w'intebe ariko udafite ijambo ku baministri ; yaje kuba Minisitiri muri guverinoma yashyizweho kuwa 29 werurwe 1981. Ibi byabaye kuzamuka mu ntera ku buryo bukataje ndetse budasanzwe kuko hagati aho Eduwaridi Karemera yari yaranatoranijwe na Perezida Fondateri kuba umwe mu bambere binjiye muri komite nyobozi y'igihugu ya MRND mu wa 1979.

Yongeye nanone kugirirwa icyizere cyo kuguma muri Komite nyobozi yaguye ya MRND yashyizweho na Kongere yayo ya 3 isanzwe yo mu Ukuboza 1980. Minisiteri y'imirimo n'abakozi ba leta yashinzwe kuyobora mu wa1981 yari ministeri ikomeye cyane mu gihugu akazi kose no kuzamurwa mu ntera mu myanya yose ikomeye y'igihugu byakorwaga na leta kuko ari yo hafi yonyine yatangaga akazi gahemberwa.Byose rero byaturukaga cyangwa bikerekezwa kwa Perezida wabicungiraga hafi.

Kuri uwo mwanya Eduwaridi Karemera yakoze ibitangaza kuko nyuma y'amezi 10 gusa, ubwo Guverinoma yavugururwaga kuwa 8 gashyantare 1982 hamaze kujyaho inteko nshya ishinga amategeko, Eduwaridi Karemera yagizwe no ya 2 mu butegetsi agirwa Ministri muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika ushinzwe ibibazo bya politiki, ubutegetsi n'imikoranire y'inzego z'ubutegetsi. «Uwamubyaye muri poritiki », ministri Simewoni Nteziryayo asigara ashinzwe gusa ibyerekeye ubukungu n'icungamari.

Mu by'ukuri ntibyoroshye kumva uko ibintu byari biteye icyo gihe : kimwe na Simewoni Nteziryayo, Karemera yakoranaga na perezida mu buryo butaziguye, ashinzwe kuyobora igice kimwe cy'abayobozi n'abajyanama banyuranye banyuranagamo mu ruvunganzoka rw'inzego za perezida ariko nanone ku buryo nta zibangamira izindi ; nanone akongera akaba umuhuza kamara hagati ya Perezida n'abaministri. Habayeho rero igabana ry'akazi hagati ya Simewoni Nteziryayo wari inararibonye n'impuguke mu mibare y'ubucungamari akagerekaho no kwiyizera mu byo ashinzwe, na Eduwaridi Karemera, wari ukomatanije ubuhanga bwo kuba impuguke mu by'amategeko n'umunyaporitiki ushabutse, w'umunyamurava kandi « witeguye gukora ibyo asabwe byose ». Uwa mbere, utarakundaga kwigaragaza kandi akubahwa nk'umuntu « w'imfura », yaramenyereye cyane ibyo gushyikirana n'abaterankunga kurusha guhiganwa mu bya poritiki. Nubwo ibibazo byose bikomeye cyane cyane ibirebana n'ubukungu ari we byanyuragaho, ntiyaragishoboye kuba umuhuza uboneye muri ibyo bihe by'amashiraniro aho gushyiraho inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere(CND) byasabaga ko « umubyeyi w'igihugu » agira urubuga rweruye rwo gushikirana n'abaturage bose aho guhinira amarembo ku miryango ikomeye yo mu Ruhengeri yamuryaga isataburenge. Uwo ni wo murimo w'ibanze wari ubereye Eduwaridi Karemera washyizwe imbere na perezida kugira ngo arangurure ku buryo bwuzuye amabwiriza ya Perezida kandi akurikirane uko ashyirwa mu bikorwa mu ruhando rw'isoko nshya y'abanyaporitiki yari imaze kwemezwa n'itora rusange ry'abaturage.

Kuba yaravukiye mu misozi miremire (inkiga) ya Mwendo, byatumaga Karemera agaragara nk' « umukiga» (wo mu majyaruguru) cyangwa se byibura n'utari « umunyanduga » cyane nk'abandi bakomoka mu majyepfo.

Yashimirwaga nanone imico ye yo kugira ibakwe no kudatindiganya ndetse no kugendera kure abanuganunwagaho kurwanya ubutegetsinka Ferederiko Nzamurambaho wari minisitiri w'ubuhinzi, na we akomoka mu majyepfo ; ibyo rero bigatanga icyizero ko nta bufatanye bushingiye ku karere (k'abanyanduga) yari kujyamo. Abambari b'ubutegetsi bamufataga nk'umugererwa wa perezida utagira ikindi yakora kidahuje n'ugushaka kwa shebuja. Yewe n'iyo yari kuba ararikira kwigira igihangange, perefegitura avukamo n'idini rye ntibyari gutuma abigeraho. Urunana rwa Nteziryayo-Karemera rwagumyeho kugeza mu 1989, ruri ku isonga y'imyaka y'amata n'ubuki ku ngoma ya Habyarimana yari ishingiye ku muryango we n'akarere ke, mbere yuko ihubirana n'ibibazo by'imibereho y'abaturage, iby'ubukungu ndetse haza kwiyongeraho n'ibya poritiki.

Ubwo byari bimaze kugaragara ko abo bagabo bombi batari bakijya imbizi, Simewoni Nteziryayo yasubiranye imirimo ye ya kera yo kuba minisitiri muri Perezidansi, Eduwaridi Karemera agirwa igitambo, « ashumbushwa umwanya wa poritiki[kuba depite] »[C].

Gusa rero, perezida wari umaze gutangaza ubwe ko inzira ya poritiki ishingiiye ku mashyaka menshi yari ntagisibya, ibyo akaba yarabivuze muri disikuru yo gusoza amatora muri Mutarama 1989, ntiyashoboraga kwibeshya ngo ahe Eduwaridi Karemera urwaho rwo kujya ku isonga ry'abarwanya

ubutegetsi bo mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Ngicyo icyatumye amugira perezida wa komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo byaje kuvamo imbanziriza mushinga w'imbonerahamwe y'ibitekerezo rusange ku mahame ya politiki yaje kwibaruka itegeko nshinga ryo kuwa 10 kamena1991.

Nyuma yaho yaje kumugira Perezida wa Komite y'igihugu ishinzwe gushyiraho inzego za Muvoma ivuguruye hakukijwe amategeko mashya ayigenga yari yashyizweho kuwa 5 nyakanga 1991, nuko amwigarurira atyo kandi amuha n'ubushobozi bwo kumenya no kugira uruhare mu « byemezo n'ibyifuzo » bijyana no kogera gusaranganya imyanya mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Eduwaridi Karemera rero yari ageze ku ndunduro y'umwuga n'umunyaporitiki : yari ahawe isumbwe ryo gukomeza kuba umunyacyubahiro mu ishyaka riri ku butegetsi—dore ko icyo gihe uwo mwanya wajyanaga n'ibihembo bitubutse—kandi imirimo yari ashinzwe yasumbaga kure iy'abaminisitiri n'abandi banyaporitiki. Ibyo byatumye abanza kwizera ko umurimo we uzamuhesha indi myanya y'ikirenga mu buyobozi bw'igihugu, ariko amaso ahera mu kirere.

Bimaze kugaragara –ku mpamvu zifatika cyangwa amabwire— ko Karemera yashoboraga guhuza ibyifuzo by'abakomoka mu majyepfo akabarangaza imbere, yahise yigizwayo, perezida amusimbuza abandi bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo badafite inyota y'ubutegetsi bemejwe na kongere y'igihugu ya MRND yo muri mata 1992.

Amaze kubona imyanya y'ubutegetsi imiciye mu myanya y'intoki, Karemera yirwanyeho ku giti cye ashinga ibiro byo kunganira abantu mu manza, ariko nanone perezidansi imuha ikiraka cyo kunganira mu manza amasosiyete agengwa na reta (BACAR, SORWAL n'andi), ibyo bituma agira umutungo uruta kure umushahara yari kuba ahembwa mu mirimo ya reta. Ibyo byose byakozwe kugira ngo adahinduka « umu-mec » (umurakare) agatiza umurindi abarwanya ubutegetsi.

Muri Kongere yo muri nyakanga1993, Karemera yashoboye kongera kwinjira mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka bityo ajya mu bantu bashoboraga gusimbura Habyarimana.Yerekanye ndetse n'ubuhangange bwe ubwo yatorerwaga kuba depite uhagarariye Kibuye kuri lisiti yagombaga gutangwa na MRND ivuguruye mu nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho.

Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gicurasi 1994, igihe buri wese yabonaga ko ubutegetsi buri mu marembera, yafashe umwanya wa minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya Komini(hari habuze uwufata) aherako ashyiraho inzego za gisivili zo kwirengera. Nguko rero uko yegukanye umwanya wo kuba minisitiri ushinzwe gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa(*reba umutwe wa 7*).

Yafatiwe muri Togo mu kwezi kwa kamena 1998, yoherezwa muri gereza y'umuryango w'abibumbye Arusha mu kwa karindwi k'uwo mwaka ubu niho aburanishirizwa.

a. Ibaruwa nº 331.10.41 yo kuwa 1 Ukuboza 1976.

b. Iteka rya Perezidal 200/09.

c. Iteka rya perezida 805/03 ryo kuwa 14 ugushyingo 1989.

Nubwo umugambi wo kuvugurura ishyaka ndetse n'impaka zisesuye byabaye mu rwego rw'igihugu, amategeko mashya y'ishyaka yagaragaje ko inzira yo kwivugurura yari ikiri kure nk'ukwezi. Ayo mategeko yashyize imbere ibi bikurikira[64] :

-Guharanira no gukomeza ibyiza bikomoka kuri Revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu wa 1959 na Revolisyo mvugururamuco yo kuwa 5 nyakanga 1973 no gushimangira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri repubulika ;

-Guteza imbere ibyiza bigize umuco nyarwanda no gukomeza ubumwe, amahoro

[64] Ingingo ya 5 y'amategeko ngenga ya Muvoma, *igazeti ya Leta* nº 16 yo kuwa 15 kanama 1991.

n'ubufatanye hagati y'abanyarwanda no kurandura burundu ibisigisigi bishingiye ku ngoma ya gihake ;

-Guharanira ubumwe buzira ivangura, kongera imbaraga z'abayoboke ba Muvoma kugira ngo bagere ku majyambere abereye abanyarwanda bose mu bumwe, mu mahoro,mu bwumvikane no muri demokrasi hakurikijwe amahame ya Muvoma ;

-Guha abaturage bo mu cyaro ijambo mu byerekeye amajyambere yabo n'imibereho myiza no guteza imbere ibikorwa bishyigikira iterambere ry'abagore, urubyiruko, n'ibigamije kurengera abana ;

-Guharanira ubutabera, ubwisanzure mu bitekererezo n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu ;

-Kurinda no guteza imbere ibikorwa birinda ubusugire bw'ubutegetsi n'imkorere y'inzego za Leta muri demokarasi ;

-Gucunga neza umutungo w'igihugu no gukoresha neza ibiwugize;

-Gutanga umusanzu mu bikorwa bigamije kurengera umutekano, ubwigenge n'ubusugire bw'igihugu ;

- Gukomeza ubumwe buzira umuze hagati y'abayoboke ba Muvoma kugira ngo bashobore kugera ku ntego zayo ;

-Gukomeza ubufatanye n'umubano mwiza mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

Iyo ntero ihararutswe n'imvugo iziga birumvikana ko ntaho byari bihuriye n'uruhuri rw'ibyifuzo binyuranye by'abayoboke n'abayobozi. Kuba ariko « kwinigura » byarahawe umwanya, ntibivuga ko abayoboke ba MRND bose batari bishimiye uko yari isanzwe ikora.

Benshi mu bayobozi b'ishyaka harimo n'abadakomoka Gisenyi na Ruhengeri babonaga ko Ishyaka riwme rukumbi ryari ryarageze kuri byinshi k'uburyo

Benshi mu bayobozi bakuru, ndetse n'abadakomoka Gisenyi na Ruhengeri, bumvaga ibyagezweho n'ishyaka rukumbi bishimishije kandi bakumva rwose ko abarwanya ubutegetsi nta ngufu bari bafite.

Nyamara ariko, wasanganga intero za Muvoma ivuguruye zari zishinze imizi mu bya

kera (ubumwe, kwishyira hamwe) ku buryo bwose, ntihabemo umushinga koko uboneye wo gushimangira ubufatanye hagati y'amoko n'uturere twose tw'igihugu.

Icyarazaga ishinga [abayobozi ba Muvoma] yari intego yo kuburizamo ivugururwa rya MDR-Parmehutu, bityo kwiyitirira umurage w'amateka bigafata umwanya wa mbere kugira ngo bakome imbere abashakaga kuwuiriraho. Byongeye kandi, byari ngombwa gukumira abo mu majyepfo ngo batisuganya kandi byanze bikunze hakaburizwamo izuka ry'ubufatanye bw'apanyaporitiki b'i Gitarama na Ruhengeri bwo kuri Repubulika ya Mbere.Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ko ubwoba bwari bwasumbye ubwenge kubera ko Habyrimana yagombaga guhangana n'ikibazo cyo kuba yaricishije abanyapoltiki bo muri perefegitura ya Gitarama baharaniye revolisiyo n'ikibazo cy'inyota y'ubutegetsi yaranganga imiryango y'abahinza n'abasirikari bakomoka mu Ruhengeri.

Bityo rero, inyota yo kugumana ubutegetsi byariganje, bimira ubushake bwo guhitamo poritiki iboneye, ubwo gutomora umurongo ngengamatwara, muri make, hapfubye ubushake bwo kuvavanura n'imitegekere y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi.

Icyagoranye muri Muvoma ivuguruye ni uko mu gihe ibintu byaganishaga ku irondakoko n'irondakarere yo yagombaga kwagura amarembo kuri bose no kwakira ibitekerezo bituruka impande zose. Nkuko Jemusi Gasana[65] abivuga komite zo mu maperefegitura zageretswe hejuru y'inzego z'igihugu zari zisanzweho no hejuru y'abakozi bahoraho bari basanzwe bakora muri muvoma hiyongeraho n'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe zarimo abashyigikiye FPR n'intagondwa zitavugirwamo z'abahutu ari nabo baje kwivangura bahinduka impuzamugambi za (CDR).

Nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwabereye mu Bugesera muri werurwe na mata niho abatutsi batangiye kuva muri MRND bajya mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi cyane cyane bajya muri PL biyongereye *(kugira ngo ubyumve neza wasoma inyandiko zindi ziri imbere muri iki gitabo*).

Kubera kubura imigambi mishya y'umwimereri, icyashyizwe imbere ni ukureshya imwe mu myanya yari ifitwe na MRND abanyaporitiki byagaragaraga ko bashobora

[65] James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit.*, p. 86.

gushinga ayabo mashyaka cyangwa se bakifatanya n'inganga z'abakomoka mu majyepfo bari bahujwe no kurwanya ubutegetsi. Kandi koko Yuvenali Habyarimana yari akeneye « abaganduzi » bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Ku buryo bweruye, byarihutirwaga kubuza ko habaho abantu benshi bagira inyota y'ubuperezida no kubima urwinyagamburiro.

Uretse iyo nkubiri yo guhatanira ubuperezida yari imaze kuba kimomo, kuba Abo mu majyaruguru batarakozwaga ibyo kugurura amarembo ndetse n'amakenga y'abahatanira ubuperezida, ikindi umuntu atabura kuvuga ni uburyo ababasha by'abayobora MRND bwari bwarakendereye ku buryo ubuyobozi bukuru butari bugishoboye guhuza ibipande by'abayoboke bihanganye.

Inyabubiri y'ibyuho mu rubuga rwa poritiki

Intege nke zagaragaye mu myivugururire ya Muvoma zari mu mujyo umwe w'amahindura inkubiri y'amashyaka menshi yari yadukanye mu rubuga rwa poritiki mu gihugu cyose. Abari barashinze amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi bari «abarakare» bashya cyangwa bamaze igihe, bahoze muri MRND. Wasangagamo abatari barabonye imyanya myiza bifuzaga cyangwa se abavukijwe kuba abayobozi b'ishyaka mu turere bashoboraga gutorwamo.

Poritiki y'amashyaka menshi yabaye rero uburyo bwo gushyiraho inzira ebyiri zitandukanye mu rwego rwa poritiki : Imbere muri MRND hari intambara yo kuzungura no kubohoza icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi hagati y'ibikomangoma n'abayoboke bashya ; naho inyuma hari intambara yo guhuriza hamwe abari barakumiriwe muri MRND kubera ubwoko bwabo cyangwa akarere baturukamo. Gahunda yo kubyutsa MDR-Parmehutu cyangwa se igisa nayo hagamijwe gushyiraho ishyaka rimwe rikomeye riwanya ubutegetsi rihuza abo mu gihugu hagati n'amajyepfo yaburiyemo kubera ko bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bifashe babisabwe na perezida wabasezeranyaga ingurane[66]

[66] Ni ngombwa kuvuga ko kuva muri Muvoma bajya mu yandi mashyaka bitavuga kwitandukanya ku bayoboke bamwe bitavugaga kwitandukanya no kuvavavanura burundu n'imigenzo mibi yakorwaga mu mitegekere y'igihugu (inyungu zishingiye ku kazu,ku karere no k'uguhakishwa abandi).

Igihe cyose icyabaga cyarabyaye inzangano cyashoboraga kuvaho,kwongera gufatanya no kwisubiraho hagati

naho abandi bagasanga kujya mu kigare kimwe gihuje abarwanya ubutegetsi bose bitazabaha urubuga rwo kugera ku migambi nyakuri yabo bwite. Abandi benshi bahisemo kwinyurira mu nzira zoroheje ariko zabo bwite kandi bagenzura aho kwigerezaho bishora mu ihangana rihoraho ry'ibihangange[67]. Aha twakwibutsa nanone igice cya gatatu cy'amayirabiri mu rubuga rwa poritiki: Guhera muri 1992, impande zari zihanganye zasanze uburyo bworoshye bwo kugwiza amaboko mu nzego z'ubutegetsi ari ukwihisha inyuma y'udushyaka twa nyirarureshwa twitabirwa n'abanyaporitiki b'inda.

INCAMAKE no 4
Amashyaka ya Poritiki n'amashyirahamwe
yari yemewe mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi

Muri kamena 1991, Itegeko nshinga ryemera amashyaka menshi ryaremejwe. Habanje kwemerwa amashyaka atanu n'amategeko-shingiro yayo atangazwa mu igazeti ya leta[a].

MDR ***(Muvoma iharanira demokarasi na Repubulika*****)** niyo yavutse mbere yemerwa muri werurwe 1991. Mu minsi mike yakurikiyeho havutse **PSD** ***(Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage*****), PL** ***(Ishyaka riharanira ubwisanzure*****) PDC** ***(Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi n'amatwara ya gikirisitu)*** na **PSR** ***(Ishyaka riharanira abakozi).*** Ayo mashyaka yahise ahyiraho amabwiriza y'ubwumvikane atuma ashobora guhangana na **MRNDD** ***(muvoma revolisiyoneli iharanira demokrasi n'amajyambere).***

Haje kuvuka andi mashyaka yakurikiranye atya : **RTD**(iharanira guhuza ingufu z'abakozi na demokarasi),**PDI** (iharanira demokarasi n'amatwara yakisilamu), **PECO** (iharanira kurengera ibidukikije) **PPJR Rama-Rwanda** (iharanira iterambere ry'ubyiruko) **PARERWA** (iharanira repubulika muRwanda) **PADER** (iharanira demokarasi muRwanda); amenshi muriyo yashyizweho na MRNDD.

Kugera muri gashyantare 1992[b] hari hamaze kwemerwa amashyaka 12 aliko muri werurwe 1994 hari hamaze kwemerwa andi mashyaka 6 : **PD, (**iharanira demokarasi), **CDR, (**Urugaga rw'abaharanira kurengera Repubulika),**UDPR (**iharanira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda muri demokarasi),**MFBP (**Muvoma iharanira abategarugori na rubanda rugufi), **PRD (**iharanira kuvugurura demokarasi ikaba yari ishyigikiye MRND na MDR PAWA), UNISODEC(urugaga rwa rubanda ruharanira demokarasi ya gikirisitu).

FPR ntaho yagaragaraga kubera ko yitwaraga nkaho atari ishyaka rya poritiki mu gihe yari igitegereje ko ingabo zayo zinjizwa mu ngabo z'igihugu.

Uhereye ku matwara n'imigambi yayo, ayo mashyaka yose ashobora guhurizwa mu mpuzamashyirahamwe 3 nini:

1. **ARD :** impuzamashyirahamwe yo gutsimbataza demokarasi yavutse kuwa 12 ugushyingo1992

y'abantu byarashobokaga.

[67] Ntawakwibagirwa nanone uruhare rw'abari bahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda n'impuzamashyaka mpuzamahanga nka Internationale démocrate-Chrétien yafashaga banyaporitiki bamwe mu nyungu zabo bwite, igamije kuzagira inshuti ifiteho ijambo.

Aliko muburyo bufatika kandi budasubirwaho mu gihe nka kiriya cy 'imvururu zishingiye kuri poritiki zasakaye mu maperefegitura yose no mu baturage u Rwanada ntirwari rugishoboye kuburizamo ubwisanzure mu bitekerezo binyuranye(hamwe n'ingaruka zabyo zashoboraga no kuba mbi) birangwa no gushyira hanze amarangamutima yose n'imyitwarire ituruka ku karengane no gupfukiranwa kwa rubanda byari bimaze imyaka n'imyaka.

ihuza amashyaka akurikira uhereye ku ngufu yari afite, MRND, CDR, PECO, PARERWA na PADER.

- **MRNDD** (iyahoze ari Muvoma kera yayoboye igihugu kuva 1975 -1991 ikaza kwemezwa kuwa 31 nyakanga1991). Perizida :Matayo Ngirumpatse (Hutu, Kigali ngari).
- CDR yari yahimbwe akazina ka« Muvoma y'*Akazu*[c]». Perezida: Maritini Bucyana (Hutu,Cyangugu) waje kwicirwa i Butare kuwa 23 gashyantare 1993 agasimburwa na Tewonesti Nahimana (Hutu ,Gisenyi) .

Ayo mashyaka yombi yari afite ingaga z'urubyiruko ziyashyigikiye arizo :

- ***Interahamwe*** (« abashyize imbaraga zabo hamwe »), 1991, Perezida: Robert Kajuga (Tutsi,Kibungo) *(reba umutwe wa 6)*
- ***Impuzamugambi,*** 1993, Perezida: Simbizi Stanisilasi(hutu,Gisenyi).

Habayeho n'andi mashyaka yagiye ashingwa mu rwego rwo kwamamaza no gushyigikira Perezida akibumbira mu cyo bise «urugaga rw'abambari ba Perezida» twavuga nka :

- **PECO,** Perezida: Dr Yohani Batista Butera(Hutu,Kibungo);
- **PARERWA,** Perezida: Mutamba Agustini (Hutu,Kigali ngari); Visi- Perezida: Agustini Semucyo (Hutu,Kigali ngari) ;
- **PADER,** Umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu:Yohani Batista Ntagungira (hutu,Kigali ngari).

Nubwo atari muri ruriya rugaga, amashyaka akurikira nayo yabarirwaga mu bambari ba Perezida :

- **MFBP**, Perezida: Gaudence Nyirahabimana(Hutu,Gisenyi) ;
- **PDI**, Perezida: Omari Hamidu (Hutu ,Kigali) ; Umuhuzabikorwa mu rwego rw'igihugu : Andreya Bumaya(Hutu,Cyangugu).
- **PRD,** Perezida: Aregisi Nsabimana (Hutu ,Gitarama).
- **UNISODEC,** Perezida: Selesitini Mutabaruka (Hutu,Gikogoro).

2. FDC : Impuzamashyirahamwe y'abaharanira impinduramatwara yari igizwe na (MDR,PSD,PL,PDC na PSR) :

- **MDR,** Perezida:FawusitiniTwagiramungu, waje kuyirukanwamo kuwa 23 Nyakanga 1993 ; visi-Perezida wa mbere:Dismasi Nsengiyaremye. Guhera hagati mu mwaka wa 1993 MDR yacitsemo ibipande 2 kimwe gishyigikiye FPR cyitwa «*Amajyogi*» kiyobowe na Fawusitini Twagiramungu n'ikindi cyitwa «*Abapawa*» cyiyobowe na Froduwalidi Karamira (Hutu,Gitarama) na Donati Murego(Hutu,Ruhengeri) .
  - JDR [urugaga rw'urubyiruko rwa MDR rwitwaga]Inkuba, 6 Nyakanga 1993, Perezida: Berinaridini Ndashimye(Hutu,Gitarama).
- **PL,** Perezida: Yusitini Mugenzi (Hutu,Kibungo) ; visi- Perezida wa mbere: Landuwalidi Ndasingwa (Tutsi, Kigali) ; Visi- Perezida wa kabiri : Mbonampeka Sitanisilasi (Hutu,Ruhengeri) ; umunyamabanga mukuru : Ntamabyariro Anyesi.

  Muri PL naho haje kuvukamo amacakubiri asa nayo muri MDR nayo icikamo ibice 2 mu ukuboza 1993[d.]
- **PSD,** Perezida: Ferederiko Nzamurambaho (Hutu,Gikongoro) ; visi-Perezida wa mbere:Felesiyani Ngango(Hutu,Kibungo) ; Visi-Perezida wa kabiri :Gafaranga Tewonesti(Hutu,Gitarama) ; umunyamabanga mukuru : Felesiyani Gatabazi,(Hutu,Butare).
- **PDC,** Perezida: Yohani Nepomuseni (Hutu,Gisenyi) ; visi-Perezida wa mbere: Tewobalidi Gakwaya Rwaka (Hutu, Cyangugu).
- **PSR,** Perezida:Dr Antoni Ntezilyimana (Hutu,Gikongoro) ; visi-perezida wa mbere: Medaridi Rutijanwa (Tutsi,Kigali).

PL, PSD na **PDC** nayo yari yazarashyizeho inzego z'urubyiruko ziyashyigikiye PSD yari ifite «abakombozi[e] » PDC ifite «**Jeunes Démocrates Chrétiens** » abo muri PL bo nta zina ry'umwihaliko bari bafite.

3. **Amashyaka adafite «aho abogamiye» : PD, PPJR Rama –Rwanda,RTD na UDPR**

- **PD**, Perezida: Ildefonsi Nayigizente (Hutu, Byumba) ;
- **PPJR Rama-Rwanda,**umunyamabanga mukuru wa mbere:
  Andreya Hakizimana(Hutu,Gitarama).
- **RTD,** Perezida: Emanweli Nizeyimana (Hutu,Byumba) ;
- **UDPR,** Perezida:Visenti Rwabukwisi (Hutu ,Gitarama),waje kwicwa muri Mata 1994.

Amashyaka 3 ya mbere yari afitanye umubano mwiza na ARD naho UDPR yegereye FDC.

a. N^{o} 16 yo muri kanama 1991

b. N^{o} 4 yo muri gashyantare 1992

c. Ijambo ryasobanuraga ibyegera bya Perezida

d. Mu by'ukuri kuwa 12 ukuboza 1993 niho habayeho kongere ya mbere ari nayo yonyine y'igihugu ya PL kongere yari yayibanjirije mu ugushyingo itumiwe na Landuwalidi Ndasingwakwa yagizwe impfabusa mu Ugushyingo kuko itari ikirikije amategeko y'ishyaka

e. «Abakomozi», cyangwa «Nkomboha »mu giswayiri biva ku nshinga «kukomboa» bivuga kubohoza ni ijambo ryakoreshwaga n'abasirikari bo muri Tanzaniya bavanyeho ingoma y'igitugu ya Idi Amin Dada muri uganda mu wa 1979.

Isura nshya y'ubutegetsi «busaranganijwe »

Birakomeye kumenya neza ingufu amashyaka yari afite kuko nta matora yigeze aba ngo abigaragaze. Aliko uko ibintu byari byifashe birumvikana ko iryahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi — ryari ryikubiye ubutegetsi bwose muri poritiki n'ubuyobozi bw'inzego zose mu nyabubiri ya Leta n'ishyaka— ryakomeje kwikubira hafi ubutegetsi bwose ahenshi uretse aho ahari harigaruriwe n'abarirwanya. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ikijyaho muri mata 1992 nyuma y'imishyikirano iruhanije cyane, impande zombi zagwaga miswi mu ngufu z'ubutegetsi bwo hejuru, ariko nanone ahandi hose imyanya yari ikiri mu maboko ya MRND. Mu Nama Iharanira Amajyambere (Inteko ishinga amategeko), mu badepite bari baherutse gutorwa mu Ukuboza 1989 mu rwego rw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, bamwe bitabiriye amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, ariko abandi benshi bakomeza kwibera muri Muvoma cyangwa bakaba mu cyeragati. Mu bucamanza no mu gisirikari aho byari bibujijwe kujya muri poritiki, bake nibo berekanye akanyamuneza ku mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi aliko abandi bishimiraga ko noneho bagiye gukora imirimo yabo mu bwigenge, ugasanga rero MRND yari ikirusha andi mashyaka yose ingufu bidasubirwaho.

Icyuho cyagaragaye cyane mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze dore ko

abayobozi n'abayoboke [ba Muvoma] bari bamwe. Ubwo hashyirwagaho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho muri werurwe 1992, imyanya y'abaperefe yahise igabanganywa hagati ya MRND n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe nayo. Aliko ku byerekeye ababurugumesitiri siko byagenze. Ahantu hose abaturage bashoboraga kwigobotora ubutegetsi [bwa Muvoma] cyane cyane nko mu maperefegitura amwe yo muri Gitarama, ababurugumesitiri bayo baribwirizaga bakegura. Ahenshi ntibanarindiriye ko guverinoma ikoresha amatora y'ababurugumesitiri bashya batorwaga "abahagarariye abandi" mu bajyanama ba komini.

Iyo nkubiri yo "kuvugurura" inzego z'ibanze yabaye mu makomini 38 muri werurwe 1993, hiyongeraho andi 8 muri nzeri1993, ariko ntiyakataza ngo ivane MRND mu byimbo uko byari byitezwe. Bityo rero, muri 1994, MRND yari igifite ubutegetsi bukomeye mu nzego zo hasi ku buryo yabonekaga nkaho yemewe na bose.Yategekaga amakomini 100 kuri 145 yose yariho mu gihugu mu gihe MDR yo yari ifite 24 gusa PSD ifite 15 naho PL ifite 1, andi makomin 5 yasaga naho ntaho abogamiye kubera imiterere yayo (nko kuyoborwa na burugumestri udafite aho «abogamiye» kutagira burugumesitiri cyangwa se kuba iyobowe k'uburyo bw'agateganyo*)(reba umugereka wa 10).*[68]

Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida

Hari izindi ngingo zigomba kwitabwaho mu gusesengura imiterere y'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida, uhereye no ku muga abuganishaho. Kugeza ubu hakunze gukoresha amagambo menshi mu kuranga «igicumbi » cy'ubutegetsi: Perezida, Perezidansi, abo kwa perezida, umuryango wa perezida cyangwa uwo kwa sebukwe, ibyegera bye, iwabo wa perezida n'abahakomoka (OTP), intumwa ze; iyo ugiye ku yindi ntera havugwa: ishyaka rya perezida, amashyaka ashyigikiye perezida; nanone wajya ku ntera yisumbuye ukahasanga: urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida, nb., ubwinshi bw'izo nyito bushobora

[68] Nubwo hariho uburyo bwa buri kanya bwo kuva muri MRND ukajya mu mashyaka ayirwanya nkuko byagaragye hagati ya 1992-1993 cyangwa se ukayavamo ukisubirira muri MRND nkuko byagenze mu mpera ya 1993 kugeza mata 1994, nubwo wakwongerho uburyo bwariho bwo kwiyorobeka mu yandi mashyaka ashyigikiye MRND nka CDR cyangwa se mu mashyaka ayirwanya byose ntacyo bihindura ku bivugwa muri rusange muri iri sesengura. Mu ibarura twakoze amakomini atari afite abayayobora k'uburyo bwa burundu mu ma perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ,Byumba na Kibungo twayabaze nka ya MRND kuko yari ayobowe by'agateganyo n'abantu bayo.

gufatwa nk'inyabubiri y'kimenyetso cy'ubutegetsi bushingiye ku muntu umwe kandi butsitse ahantu hamwe. Tutiriwe tujya mu byo gusesengura imiterere y'ubutegetsi n'uko bwasagambye kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri, ni ngombwa kugira icyo dusobanura ku ikoreshwa ryayo magambo muri iki gitabo. Gukoresha imvugo zagutse cyangwa rukomatanyo nkuko byakoreshwaga n'abaganiraga na perezida n'abari bashinzwe kumutegurira ibyo avuga bisaba kubanza kumenya neza umuyoboro ngenderwaho w'ibianiro wagenwe na Perezida n'abari bashinzwe gusohoza ibyifuzo bya perezida (rimwe na rimwe n'ibyo yabaga aseruye mu mvugo iteruye). Hari ibisobanuro bimwe byadufasha kumvikanisha neza iyi ngingo.

Ubutegetsi rwamwa, urusobe rw'indanguruzi

Duhereye kuri Perezida, ikibazo cya mbere ni ukumenya uburyo amakuru yamugeragaho, icya kabiri ni ukumenya ufite ububasha bwo kumuvugira ibyo atekereza, ariko cyane cyane ushobora kumenyekanisha ibyifuzo n'ibyemezo bya perezida. Ku byerekeye uko Perezida yabonaga amakuru, birahagije kumenya umugeraho akamugezaho—ni ukuvuga ushungura kandi agasohoza— amakuru agenewe perezida, ari areba ibibazo byihariye cyangwa poritiki, ari ayanyuze mu nzira zizwi cyangwa mu rufefeko.

Uri ku isonga muri abo rero yari umuyamabanga we wihariye —— akaba na muramu we—, Eliya Sagatwa, wakoze uwo murimo guhera 1973; hiyongeraho ababaye ba minisitiri muri Perezidansi uko basimburanye kuva aho umwanya w' «ubunyamabanga bukuru muri Perezidansi» wari ufitwe na Koloneli Bonavantura Buregeya (Hutu,Gisenyi) uviriyeho muri mata 1980; hagataho umuyobozi w'ibiro bya perezida n'abagaba bungirije uw'ingabo n'uwa jandarumori; umukuru w'ibiro by'iperereza mu gihugu; hanyuma mu rwego rucirirtse, hakaza umunyamabanga mukuru muri ministeri y'ingabo wari ushinzwe gusa ibibazo by'abakozi nta jambo riremereye afite muri poritiki no ku ngabo z'igihugu. Yuvenali Habyarimana ubwe ni we wari

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Twavuze n'andi makomini amwe n'amweyari afite ibibazo byihariye mu mu mugereka wa 10.

minisitiri w'ingabo akabikomatanya no kuba umugaba w'ingabo n'uwa jandarumori, ari na byo byari bigize ingabo z'igihugu kugeza ku mwaduko w'amashyaka menshi— ku buryo nyabwo kugeza ku ishyirwaho rya guverinoma iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe Silivesitiri Nsanzimana mu Ukuboza 1991. Ntitugomba kandi kwibagirwa uruhare kenshi rwari kamara rw'ibishyitsi nk'umusuwisi Jean- Charles Jeanneret, umujyanama mu by'ubukungu kugeza muri 1993, wari ufite uburenganzira busesuye bwo kubonana na perezida igihe cyose ashakiye.Yamugezagaho dosiye zose –kenshi zanditse mu mvugo itaziguye kandi idakebakeba— zidashoboraga kumugeraho mu zindi nzira. Abandi mu byegera bye bageragezaga kwibeta Eliya Sagatwa ku kibazo iki n'iki bakageza kuri perezida utubaruwa cyangwa amakuru.

Uretse iryo tsinda ry'abakozi ba perezidansi bafashe impu zombi zo kuba abakozi ba Leta n'abagaragu ba perezida bahoraga barwanira kumurashanwa ho ubutoni,

Yuvenari Habyarimana yari afite indi miyoboro y'amakuru: inzego z'ipererereza, abayobozi b'ishyaka yari abereye perezida-fondateri, umuminisitiri uyu n'uyu, nb., hakiyongeraho abo abo yahuraga nabo cyangwa se yatumiraga mu cyo yumvaga ari « ubuzima bwite[69]». Mu kindi cyerekezo, ibyo kumenyekanisha ibyo perezida yifuza byari umwihariko wa Eliya Sagatwa, nk'umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida akaba n'umushyinguzi w'amabanga ye, ari areba ubutumwa bugenewe perezida asanga atari ngombwa kubumugezaho, ari ayo aba yagejejweho n'abandi buri wese mu byo ashinzwe, ari ndetse n'ayo yabaga agomba gutangaho ibisubizo mu izina rya perezida.

Ingorabahizi rero kwari ukumenya koko niba ibyifuzo bya perezida byarageraga ku bo bigenewe uko byakabaye no kumenya uko abantu bashoboraga kwemera ko ibyo babwiwe n'ururandagatane rw'intumwa bihwanye koko n'ibyifuzo cyangwa ibisubizo cya perezida. Umuntu ashobora gutandukanya abahabwaga ububasha cyangwa se

[69] Imibonano ijyanye «n'ubuzima bwite » mu rwego rwa poritiki, ni ukuvuga yitaruye Akazu (benewabo n'ibyegera by'umuryango uri ku ngoma) n'inzego za Leta, yakundaga kubera mu gikari cya hoteri *Reberocyangwa* muri village Urugwiro, na rimwe na rimwe muri imwe mu ngoro ze yari ku Kiyaga cya Kivu ku Gisenyi, mu muhezo utagerwamo n'abashinzwe kumwakira, abajyanamo yewe ndetse n'umunyamabanga we wihariye. Inama zifashe impu zombi hagati ya Leta n'iby'umuryango we, kenshi zitabirwaga n'umugore we, zakundaga kubera iwe mu ngo ze zari I Kanombe, Kiyovu (Kigali ville) cyangwa Rambura (Gisenyi).

inshingano iyi n'iyi mu gihe kigenwe n'abari bafite uburenganzira budakumirwa bwo gutangaza icyo perezida atekereza. Muri iki cyiciro cya kabiri, dusangamo ibyegera bye n'umuryango we, no ku buryo rusange, abo bivugwa ko bari amatwi n'abatoni ba perezida. Byaba amategeko, amatangazo, ibyifuzo, amabwiriza cyangwa se impuha, intumwa ni zo zagombaga gusigura igipfuritse mu butumwa ubu n'ubu, kenshi buba buri mu mvugo ijimije ndetse ifashe impu zombi.

Bityo, birumvikana ko Eliya Sagatwa atashoboraga kuba afite ububasha bwose rubanda bamuvugaho. Perezida yari yaragennye byose, ashyiraho gahunda yo kugenzura byose we ubwe, ibyegera bye bikaba gusa ibyo kumubera « umuyoboro wo kwakira no gusohoza ubutumwa ». Yari afite rero urwunge rw'imiyoboro y'amakuru ku buryo amategeko ye atashoboraga kuvanwaho ibango cyangwa ngo akerenswe. Ni yo mpamvu yari yarahisemo kuyobora ubwe inzego zose zifatirwamo ibyemezo ari iza poritiki ari n'iza gisirikari. Nanone kandi, Eliya Sagatwa azwi ho kuba atari nyamwigendaho cyangwa umuguruguru nk'abandi bene wabo. Perezida yatangaga imyanya akurikije gahunda ye bwite kandi ashingiye ku nyungu yabaga abifitemo.

Tugarutse rero ku kibazo cy'amatangazo n'ibikorwa bya perezida, ni ngombwa kwiyumvisha ko, kimwe n'ahandi hose, ibintu ntibyari agasani gaseye, nta n'ubwo byari byoroshye kumva cyangwa gusesengurwa.

Yego ubutegetsi ntibwari bukennye ku magambo ngenantego n'ubutumwa bwa perezida byasakazwaga na radiyo n'itangazamakuru rya Leta. Ibyo ndetse byunganirwaga n'imbwirwaruhame zigenewe abanyamakuru, amatangazo anyuranye agenewe kubwira abaturage ibikorwa na perezida, amadisikuru perezida yivugiraga ubwe cyangwa abandi bakayasoma mu zina rye kimwe n'amatangazo ya ba minisitiri muri perezidansi bari abavugizi be. Gusigura urwo ruhuri rw'imiyoboro byasabaga umurimo ukomeye w'isesengura rishize amanga, dore ko hafi buri gihe usanga inyuma ya buri ngingo hihishimo ubushake butihishira bwo kwitarura « amatiku na poritiki » ndetse n'impaka za-ngo-turwane. Yahihibikaniraga guhorana amarembo yuguruye muri byose ndetse agashaka kugaragaza ko na we ahangayikishijwe n'ibiraza ishinga abo yavuganaga nabo mu nzira ziziguye cyangwa zitaziguye, kabone nubwo ibyo [gushaka gufata impu zose]

byatumaga kenshi yivuguruza bitihishira. Nanone ariko byari bikomeye kumenya ireme nyakuri z'ibyemezo n'ubutumwa mbwirwaruhame iyo byabaga bisiguwe cyangwa bivugurujwe n'abandi banyacyubahiro, mu mvugo cyangwa mu ngiro (nk'ibyemezo bigaragara bigomba gushyirwa mu bikorwa n'inzego nyobozi za Leta cyangwa igisirikari). Icya nyuma, imwe mu nenge zikomeye yakunze kugaragara mu ihererekanya butumwa ry'abategetsi b'uRwanda, ni icyuho hagati y'ibyo perezida cyangwa abavugizi be babwira amahanga n'ibyo babwira abaturage mu gihugu. Byagaragaye kenshi bene icyo cyuho cyarangwaga kenshi mu ngamba za MRND zatangazwaga ku buryo bunyuranye na radiyo n'itangazamakuru rya Leta mu gifaransa n'ikinyarwanda, ibyatangazwaga mu binyamakuru bitari ibya Leta cyangwa se amatangazo y'ingabo z'igihugu.

Mu by'ukuri, umuntu asanga ingamba kenshi zitagira amahuriro, yewe ndetse zigongana ku mugaragaro, zihurizwa hamwe mu butegetsi bumwe, mu rugaga rw'abambari ba perezida, uruhare nyakuri rwa perezida rukaba guhuza byose muri gahunda imwe, bitabujije ko areka buri wese cyangwa urwego uru n'uru guhinira ahamunogeye, bipfa gusa kuba byafasha kwigarurira urubuga rwa poritiki aho bishoboka hose. Nta washidikanya ko perezida «yamenyeshwaga neza » kandi yari azi gutega amatwi, ko yari azi n'akari i murori mu rubuga rwe rwa poritiki, ko yamenyaga uko ipiganwa ry'ingufu rihagaze n'aho ryerekera mu rugaga rw'insobe n'urujya n'uruza yari yarubatse ubwe, ko yari azi igihe cyo kwiyegereza uruhuri rw'abamushyigikiye n'abamurwanya, ko yari intagamburuzwa. Ikibazo rero nticyari ukumenya niba Habyarimana yari impirimbanyi ya demokarasi, niba yari abogamiye ku Batutsi, niba yari abogamiye kuri Matayo cyangwa Nzirorera, nb. , cyangwa se niba yari ikinyuranyo cy'ibyo byose, noneho ngo ahasigaye umuntu ashakishe gihamya iboneye, akurikije uburyo abakurikirira hafi ibintu basesengura poritiki ye. Ikibazo nyakuri kwari ukumva uburyo ingaga zihariye zamwiyitiriraga zabashaga buri rwose gushimangiro ibirindiro mu rubuga rwa poritiki, hanyuma, mu gihe cy'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi, kugira icyicaro cyiza mu ruhando rw'ibihanze n'ibihinduka kugira ngo bashobore kurenga

ibihato byabuzaga ingoma iganje kujya mbere.

Ibi bigaragaramo imyanzuro ibiri. Uwa mbere ni uko hariho uruhuri rw'amagambo akoreshwa mu kuranga abari abavugizi b'ingoma ya Habyarimana. Uwa kabiri ni uko, yarinze apfa akiyumvamo ko ari we shingiro rw'urubuga rwa poritiki, kandi ko ari we wenyine wari ushoboye kuziba icyuho giteye inkeke cyari hagati y'abari bahanganye mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida ndetse akaba yarumvaga ko ari we wenyine ushobora kubahuriza hamwe.

Mu buryo busesuye, yakunze kwiyumvamo ko umwanya wo kuba perezida wamugiraga mu maso y'abaturage benshi ipfundo «ry'ubumwe bw'igihugu ». Muri ubwo buryo, ni we wenyine kugena uko amahoro agerwaho n'uko abungwabungwa.

Perezida yari nk'izingiro ry'urusobe rw'inziga z'ubutegetsi umuntu yavuga mu magambo avunaguye ku buryo bukurikira.

Uruziga rwa mbere rurimo *akazu*

Akazu kubakiye ku muryango wa bugufi wa perezida no kwa sebukwe, kakabamo ibikomangoma by'abasirikari n'abasiviri cyane cyane abakomoka mu makomini ya Karago na Giciye muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Uko imyaka yagiye ikurikirana, uretse imirimo buri wese yari ashinzwe, abagize akazu bari bagize urwego rwihariye rw'ubutegetsi mu gisirikari, mu ishyaka [MRND] no mu gisirikari bakagerekaho n'ububasha bwo kumunga no kunyunyuza umutugo w'igihugu.

Koko rero, abakomoka mu muryango wa perezida n'ibyegera bye nibo wasangaga muri Banki nkuru y'igihugu [BNR], banki y'ubucuruzi y'uRwanda [BCR], banki y'umugabane w'Afurika muRwanda na Banki ya Kigali (BK). Ibyo kandi ni ko byari bimeze mu bigo bya Leta (uruganda[Ocir] rw'ikawa n'urw'icyayi), amasosiyete Leta ifitemo imigabane, imishinga yo guteza imbere icyaro (Gishwati-Butare-Kigali, n'ahandi), n'ibigo bitumiza bikanajyana ibicuruzwa mu mahanga (La Centrale, La Rwandaise, Kipharma, Agrotec, garage NAHV, n'ibindi).

Aba bantu bakurikira ni bo ahanini bashyirwa mu majwi ko bicaga bagakiza:Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, Koroneri Eliyasi Sagatwa, Serafini Rwabukumba—uko ari batatu bakaba

«baramu » ba perezida ; koroneri Lawurenti Serubuga (wahoze ari umugaba wungirije w'ingabo); dogiteri Serafini Bararengana—murumuna wa perezida ; dogiteri Karori Nzabagerageza, mubyara wa perezida— wabaye perefe wa Ruhengeri ; Alufonsi Ntirivamunda, umukwe wa perezida na Yozefu Nzirorera. Umwanya wihariye nanone wari ufitwe na depiteNoheri Mbonabaryi, wari se wo mu batisimu wa perezida[70].

Abagize isonga ry'akazu gashingiye kuri Eliya Sagatwa, porotazi Zigiranyirazo na Yozefu Nzirorera kaje no gukomeza kubaho nyuma y'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi bahuraga kenshi bafata ibyemezo by'ingutu. Ubwo Habyarimana yaratangiye gukorana n'itsinda ry'« abibohoye » ari naryo ryaje gutorera Matayo Ngirumpatse kuba perezida wa MRND, umukino warushijeho kuba insobe kuko byabaye ngombwa ko perezida atagira aho abogamira mu mpande ebyiri zari zishyiditse zirangajwe imbere na Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera. Yuvenari Habyarimana yari asigaye rero agisha inama abagize akanama gato karimo abo bagabo bombi bari bashyiditse wongeyeho abandi bake yahitagamo akurikije ibigomba kwigwa cyangwa gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Nyamara rero nta na rimwe Matayo Ngirumpatse yigeze afatwa nk'umwe mu bagize « akazu » n'ubwo bwose inkuru yari kimomo ko umugore,Roza, we yari yarigaruriwe na Yuvenari Habyarimana.

Incamake ya 5

Imiryango ya Yuvenari Habyarimana n'umugore we Agata Kanziga

Juvénal HABYARIMANA (yavukiye i Rambura, Gisenyi ; 8 werurwe 1937-6 Mata 1994). Nyuma y'amashuri abanza i Rambura n'umwaka wa nyuma yize kuri paruwasi ya Nyundo,

[70] Uyu yamaze igihe kinini afite umwanya utagereranywa w'umu yobozi mukuru w'umurimo muri minisiteri y'abakozi ba Leta n'umurimo. Ni we wagomba kwemeza cyangwa kwanga abakozi bakuru b'ibigo byigenga. Yakoranaga bya bugufi n'urwego rw'ubutasi bwari bufite ijambo rikomeye mu guha akazi abakozi bo ku ntera y'ubuyobozi muri Leta no mu bigo byigenga utaretse no mu myanya ya poritiki.Kuva muri 1973 kugra muri 1980, urwo rwego rwabaye igikoresho cyo guhonyora abantu ku buryo buteye ubwoba ubwo rwayoborwaga na Tewonisiti Lizinde. Noheri Mbonabaryi yaje gupfa mu ntangiriro za 1994.

yinjiye mu iseminari nto i Kabgayi. Aho gukomeza iby'ubupadiri, yagiye muri koleji y'uruvange rw'amoko ya Saint-Paul i Bukavu, aho yakuye impamyabushobozi y'amashuri yisumbuye mbere yuko yinjira mu ishuri ry'ubuvuzi i Kinshasa (aho yavuye atarangije).Muri 1960, yinjiye mu ishuri ryari rigitangira rya gisirikari aho yarangije nyuma y'umwaka ari we uri ku isonga, ahita ahabwa ipeti rya suliyetena.

Se: Yohani Batista Ntibazirikana wo mu bwoko bw'Abungura b'abashusha. Yari umwarimu wa gatigisimu kuri paruwasi ya Rambura (Gisenyi).

Nyina : Suzana Nyirazuba wo mu nzu y'umwami w'uBushiru Nyamakwa, ari nayo ikomokamo Agata Kanziga, umugore wa Juvénal Habyarimana.

Abavandimwe be (kuva ku mukuru kugera ku muto) :

– Cyrina Ahobamboneye [a], yashatse kandi atura i Buganda ;

– Concessa Nturozigara, yabaye umubikira yitwa Mama Télésphore mu muryango wa

Benebikira. Yakoraga muri minisiteri y'urubyiruko ashinzwe amashyirahamwe y'urubyiruko musaza we yari abereye perezida[b] ;

– Joséphine Barushwanubusa, uzwi ku izina rya Mama Godelieve-Marie, umubikira w'umuforomo mu Benebikira, yigishaga mu ishuri ry'abaforomo i Rwamagana. Yari umugenzuzi w'inyigisho z'abafasha b'ubuvuzi muri minisiteri y'ubuzima akanayobora ishuri ryigenga Apaper ry'i Kigali ;

– Mélaine Nzabakikante, umujyanama muri komini Karago. Umukobwa we yarongowe na Joseph Nzabonimpa, umukozi w'ibiro by'iperereza. Umuhungu we Ildephonse Gashumba yabaye umuyobozi ushinzwe ivunja ry'amafaranga muri banki nkuru y'igihugu (BNR), aho yari afite ububasha bukomeye mu rwego rwo gutumiza nokohereza hanze ibicuruzwa ;

– Euphrasie Bandiho, umuhinzi. Yarongowe n'uwahoze ari kaporari mu ngabo z'igihugu ; batuye i Gisenyi ;

– Séraphin Bararengana, umuganga w'impuguke mu byo kubaga, yigishaga mu ishami ry'ubuvuzi muri Kaminuza i Butare. Yari azwi ho ubuhanga bwo gutahura abantu b'intyoza mu ntiti za Kaminuza (UNR). Umugore we, Catherine Mukamusoni, yari umukozi mukuru muri Banki y'ubucuruzi y'uRwanda (Butare), akaba murumuna wa Agata Kanziga.

– Télésphore Uwayezu, umucuruzi(yitabye Imana).

a- Mu Rwanda abana ntabwo ubusanzwe bafata amazina y'ababyeyi babo. Ku gihe cya gikoroni, aho gatorika itangiriye gukwira, imiryango imwe yatangiye kwita abana amazina ya ba se.

b- Uretse aho bisobanuye ukundi, imirimo ivugwa n'iyo abantu bakoraga ku ngoma ya Habyarimana.

Agathe KANZIGA (yavutse kuwa 1 Ugushyingo 1942 i Giciye, Gisenyi ; yarongowe na

Juvénal Habyarimanakuwa kuwa 17 Kanama 1963.

Se : Gervais Magera[c] w'umugesera. Akomoka ku mwami w'uBushiru Nyamakwa (ni mwisengeneza wa Suzana Nyirazuba, nyina wa Juvénal Habyarimana).

Nyina : Joséphine Nyiranshakiye (1916-2003).

Abavandimwe:

– Protais Zigiranyirazo, perefe wa Ruhengeri (1973-1989). Yari azwi ku kabyiniriro ka

«Z », yari perefe w'abaperefe bose, akaba umwe mu bantu ushaka kugera kuri perezida yagomba kunyuraho. Yari azwi ho kuba umwe mu bikomangoma biri ku isonga ry'« uruziga rwa mbere » rukikije perezida;

– Catherine Mukamusoni, umugore wa Séraphin Bararengana (reba hejuru) ;

– Marie-Rose Kamugisha, umugore wa coroneri Théoneste Ntuyahaga(Gisenyi), bombi bitabye Imana;

– Agnès Kampundu, umugore wa Denis Bigilimana, umujyanama w'ambassade y'

uRwanda mu Budage.

Bene se [d] :

– Élie Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa Juvénal Habyarimana kuva yafata ubutegetsi. Ni we muhuza kamara abashaka kugera kuri perezida bagombaga kunyuraho

(yapfanye na perezida mu ndege yahanuwe kuwa 6 Mata 1994) ;

– Séraphin Rwabukumba, uzwi ku kazina ka «La Centrale », yakoraga ahanini umwuga wo kujyana no kuvana ibicuruzwa hanze akoresheje isosiyete yitwa iryo zina. Umugore we yari afite abavandimwe babiri bari bararongowe, umwe na Antoine Ibambasi, wari umujyanama wa Augustin Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'imigambi ya Leta, und na André Sebatware, wigeze kuba minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu na perefe wa Kigali ;

– Joseph Buhirike, umucuruzi ukomeye.

c- Gervais Magera yari afite undi mugore babyaranye abana babibiri.

d- Abana ba Joséphine Nyiranshakiye, nyina wa Agata Kanziga na Fidèle Semapfa (wapfuye), umuvandimwe wa Gervais Magera, se wa Agata Kanziga.

Abana b'urugo rwa perezida (kuva ku mukuru kugeza kuri bucura):

– Jean-Pierre Habyarimana, yarongoye Bernadette Uwamariya, umukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga, umucuruzi ukomoka i Byumba. Yaguye mu Bufaransa muri 1997 ;

– Jeanne Habyarimana, yarongowe na Alphonse Ntilivamunda, umuhungu wa Gaspard

Munyampeta, umucuruzi ukomoka mu Ruhengeri, umuyobozi mukuru w'amateme n'imihanda;

– Jean-Claude Désiré Habyarimana, yaguye mu Bufaransa muri 2007 ;

– Marie-Rose Habyarimana ;

– Léon Habyarimana, yarongoye Françoise Mukanziza, undi mukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga ;

– Bernard Habyarimana ;

– Jean-Luc Habyarimana ;

– Marie-Merci Habyarimana.

(*Hariho andi masano, ya hafi cyangwa aziguye, asobanuye mu mugereka wa 11*.)

Yuvenari Habyarimana nanone birazwi ko yakoranaga n'abandi bantu bafite imyitwarire iciye ukubiri n'iyabo mu kazu, abo barimo abakozi bakuru bo mu biryo bye, Leonidasi Rusatira na Enoki Ruhigira, cyangwa se ibikomerezwa nka Simiyoni Ntezilyayo wahoze ari minisitiri muri perezidansi, n'abandi, ; gusa rero ibyo bwari uburyo perezida yakoreshaga mu kwiyegereza ababona ibintu ku bundi buryo, abava mu zindi ntara no mu zindi ngaga, ndetse ibyo bigatuma yisanzura ntabe imfungwa y'abo mu muryango we.

Inkubiri y'amashyaka menshi yatumye ubwikanyize bw'umuryango wa perezida n'ibyegera bye mu rubuga rw'ubutegetsi n'ubukungu bushegeshwa cyane. Gushyirwa mu majwi byarushijeho gusakazwa n'itangazamakuru ubwo abayoboke ba MDR batangiraga gukoresha muri za mitingi zabo ijambo « akazu » mu mpera za 1991 batunga agatoki umuryango wa perezida.

Ubundi iryo jambo muRwanda rwo hambere ryavugaga i « bwami», ibikomangoma n'ibyegera byo mu muryango uri ku ngoma, naho iyi yo rero ni inyito y'icyitiriro, ivuga akazu kari konyine kitaruye inzu nini ubundi kari kagenewe gushyirwamo abarwaye indwara zanduza ; iyo nyito rero ni yo yahaye ijambo « akazu » intero yo kwamagana inarigira rurangiranwa[71].

[71] Kerementi-Yoronimu Bicamumpaka (MDR, minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane muri guverinoma y'abatabazi) avuga ko ubwo bari mu nama ya komisiyo y'«ubushakashatsi n'igenamigambi» muri

Ingufu z'iryo jambo zari zishingiye ku bushobozi bw'impuha bwo kwinjiza cyangwa kuvana umuntu uyu n'uyu mu gatsiko k'abagize indiri y' « ubutegetsi» bagombaga kugenderwa kure [nk'abarwaye ibinyoro]. Icyo amasesengura y'imiterere y'ubutegetsi mu myaka ya nyuma y'ingoma ya Habyarimana ahurizaho, ni uko kazu kari ahantu nyirizina hafatirwaga ibyemezo byose bikomeye ku buryo budasubirwaho.

Umuryango w'umugore wa perezida ahanini ni wo wabonwagamo kuganza perezida wavukaga mu muryango w'intamenyekana akaba yarageze ku butegetsi gusa abikesha uburambe bwe mu gisirikari.

Bityo, bamwe bavuga ko ijambo « Akazu » ryerekeza gusa ku gatsiko kagarukira ku muryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida :

> « *Bari abagize Akazu nka :* Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, Eliyasi Sagatwa, Serafina Rwabukumba na Agata Kanziga. Ubw'amambere, ndemeza ko abantu maze kubabwira bagenzuraga ububasha bwa poritiki muRwanda. Gusa rero, kubera ko abo bantu mvuze hejuru batari bafite ubushobozi bwose bwa ngombwa, bashakishije abafite bne ubwo bushobozi mu gihugu cyose, nanone ariko bakabikora ku buryo bagenzura abo batahuye. Twari mu butegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi : ubutegetsi bw'ingoma y'igitugu. Ububasha bwa poritiki bwagenzurirwaga mu nzego zariho aho buri wese yakanirwaga urumukwiye zirimo : CND, ubucamanza n'ubutegetsi bwa Leta[72] ».

Gashyantare 1992, Bonifasi Ngulinzira, impuguke mu by'iyigandimi n'umwe mu bayobozi ba MDR, ari we waba yaratanze igitekerezo cyo kwita « akazu » ibikomerezwa bikikije perezida bidakora umurimo uzwi cyangwa utorerwa.

Iryo jambo ryaba rero ryaraje kwemezwa n'inama nyobozi ya MDR no gukoreshwa mu matangazo anyuranye mbere yuko abarwanya ubutegetsi bose baritora (reba ubuhamya bwa *Kerementi-Yoronimu* BICAMUMPAKA,TPIR, 17 nzeri 2007).

[72] Ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya utaratangajwe izina kubera impamvu z'umutekano we, « umuyoboke wa, umwe mu bari bagize Akazu », TPIR, 29 kanama 2005.

Muri bose, muramu wa perezida birazwi ku buryo budashidikanywa ko ari we wari kamara : perefe Porotazi Zigiranyirazo yari « inkingi y'imihango y'*abiru* [abanyamabanga b'imihango bakaba n'abajyanama bakuru b'umwami ku ngoma ya cyami] : Iyo [abagize akazu] babaga basabye Yuvenari gukora iki n'iki, hanyuma ntagikore, Porotazi Zigiranyirazo yarebaga umugaba w'ingabo cyangwa Eliya Sagatwa . Nuko bose bakarindira ko Sagatwa aterefona agira ati : « Perezida wa Repubulika yanshinze …», nkuko twabibwiwe n'umuminisitiri utarashatse ko tumuvuga izina.

Nguko uko Bwana « Z » abonwa nk' « umubyeyi » nyakuri w'ikiguri cy'ibisahiranda byari byihariye urubuga rubumbye ndetse rugasumbya amaboko urwa perezida ubwe : Umwe mu batangabuhamya ati : « Inkuru ni kimomo, biravugwa ko « Z » ari we washyiragaho cyangwa akavanaho abakozi bakuru ba Leta utaretse na ba minisitiri ».

Muri rusange, abashyira Porotazi Zigiranyirazo mu majwi bamushyira mu gatebo kamwe na Yozefu Nzirorera, « ikiremwa poritiki » cya perezida (reba *incamake* ya 1). Inyabubiri y'ubutoni bwabo (amasano ya hafi ku ruhande rumwe, gutoneshwa na perezida ku rundi) yaruzuzanyaga bya hato na hato mu kwigarurira Ruhengeri. Uko imyaka yagiye ishira indi igataha, ubufatanye bw'inyabubiri Zigiranyirazo-Nzirorera bwashingiye ku nyungu zigaragara bari bahuriyeho utaretse n'ubusabane bw'agahebuzo bushingiye ku myitwarire n'imibereho bari basangiye (igitugu, kuryoherwa n'ubutegetsi, gukunda amafaranga n'abagore…). Hariho andi magambo yogeye[73] yibasiraga nayo mbere na mbere umuryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida ; agamije gusobanura imikorere, ari ku mugaragaro ari n'ihishe, yagengaga urubuga rw'ibikomangoma ikanaranga urujya n'uruza rw'intera n'amasano hagati y'abarugize.

Gusa rero nanone gusesengura izingiro ry'urubuga rw'ubutegetsi ntabwo ryagarukira gusa ku bikomangoma bibonwa na bose. Ni ngombwa kwirinda gupfobya cyangwa gukabiriza uburemere bwa poritiki bw'abagize umuryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida.

[73] Rimwe muri ayo mazina ni « réseau zéro », yamamaye nyuma yaho Kirisitofori Mfizi,umwe mu bikomerezwa byipakuruye Muvoma, yandikiye perezida Habyarimana ibaruwa ifunguye asezera mu ishyaka MRND (*Le Réseau zéro*, Kigali, 15 août 1992). Iyo mvugo yaje kuyisimbuza intero yise « ordre zédiste » igenekereza ikiguri cyubakiye kuri Porotazi Zigiranyirazo n'abandi bagize umuryango wa kwa sebukwe wa perezida.

Iyo witegereje impagarara zahoragaho hagati y'imiryango yombi, ntacyakwemeza ku buryo budasubirwaho ko umuryango wa Yuvenari Habyarimana wari waraganjwe n'uwa Agata Kanziga.

Perezida ntiyari abuze imbaraga zo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo bye kandi yagenzuraga inzego zose za nombwa. Ntabwo kandi byaba biboneye kwibwira ko agakungu ko kwibonekeza k'abitwa « baramu » ba perezida n'ibibi bahoraga bakora ari ikimenyetso cy'uko bagenzuraga inzego zinyuranye z'ubutegetsi.

Urugero rw'imikorere y'« umuryango » rwerekana neza uko ubufatanye bwiganza byanze bikunze. Kuva muri 1975, umwaka mpuzamahanga w'umugore, Agata Kanziga, yatangiye gushyiraho ku buryo bwinyeje « urugaga rw'abagore » muRwanda. Urwo rugaga yarushyizeho ahereye ku rwunge rw'amasano yari asanganywe cyane cyane ashingiye ku ishuri mbonezamubano rya Karubanda[74] akazikomereza muri « serire Kiyovu » (umudugudu wa Kiyovu).

Iryo tsinda ryari rirangajwe imbere na Agata Kanziga ryahurizaga hamwe abagore b'abaminisitiri n'abandi banyacyubahiro mu bikorwa by'umuganda wakorwaga na buri muturage aho ava akagera ku wa gatandatu mu gitondo. Muri bo, itsinda ry'abagore b'ibikomerezwa bari bagaragiye Agata Kanziga ryari rigize icyaje kwitwa « guverinoma y'abagore », yagabiraga ndetse ikananyaga abadepite, igashishikariza abagore kujya mu myanya ikomeye ndetse ku buryo bw'umwihariko ikagenzura amashyirahamwe y'abagore ashamikiye kuri Leta, dore ko ari nayo yonyine yari yemewe.

> « Minisitiri w'intebe » [wa guverinoma y'abagore] yari ku buryo budashidikanywa Gauwudensiya Nyirasafari Habimana (Hutu, Gisenyi, ariko washatse mu Ruhengeri), umwe mu bari bagize komite nyobozi ya MRND, akaba umuyobozi

[74] Agata Kanziga, umwe mu babonye impamyabushobozi bwa mbere uRwanda rumaze kubona ubwigenge (1962), uretse abo mu rungano rwe, yahagurukiye kuzamura abagiye barangiza mu ishuri mbonezamubano [Karubanda]. Hashyizweho ishyirahamwe ryo guhuza abasohotse muri iryo shuri akaba ari ho amenyera ab'intyoza.

wa Onapo n'umwe mu bagize urubuga rwa mbere rw' Akazu[75].

Hakurikiragaho Imakurata Nyirabizeyimana (Hutu, Byumba), warangije mu ishuri mbonezamubano[Karubanda] muri 1971, wavuye ku mwanya w'umudepite w'umusigire agatorerwa kuba depite mbere yuko, nyuma y'amatora ya gatatu y'abadepite, yabaye visi perezida wa CND ku wa 8 mutarama 1989. Ibyo yari abifatanije no kuba perezida w'ishyirahamwe Duterimbere, ryari rigamije gushyigikira abagore mu bikorwa byo kwihangira imirimo cyane cyane ibafasha kubona inguzanyo.

Luwiza Mukasine (Hutu, Ruhengeri), wabaye muri 1988 perezida wa mbere wa l'URAMA (*Urunana rw'abanyarwandakazi mu majyambere*), urugaga rwa Muvoma rwari rubumbye abagore, akaba yari na mwene wabo w'umugabo wa Gawudensiya Nyirasafari Habimana. Byongeye kandi, nyinawabo wa Luwiza Mukasine yari umugore wa Koroneri Aregisi Kanyarengwe.

Nubwo iyi poritiki ya bucece yo mu « gikari » itagiye ku karubanda, yagize uruhare rukomeye cyane cyane mu cyiciro cya kabiri cya Repuburika ya Kabiri. Gusa nta na rimwe Agata Kanziga yigeze ubwe agira perefe cyangwa se minisitiri yivanga mu mirimo ye agira icyo amusaba. Mu by'ukuri, yagiraga uruhare mu nzego nyinshi zinyuranye za Leta abinyujije ku mugabo we, uyu yaba abyanze, akitabaza basaza be na babyara be. Nyamara rero, kubifuzaga kugera i bukuru, « bagezaga raporo » kuri « madame wa perezida» na we « akabyumvisha » umugabo we.

Nubwo umuryango wa perezida n'ibyegera bye ari bo bari ku isonga ry'ubutegetsi, icyicaro, amahame y'imikorere no kuramba kw'ingoma byari bishingiye ahanini ku bushobozi ikiguri cy'ubuhake perezida yari yarashyzeho cyari cyifitemo bwo kugaba amashami hirya no hino, gushimangira ubuyoboke bw'abo cyakamiraga no gushinga iminsi mu baturage. Bake gusa bo mu muryango we ni bo bashoboraga kugira abo

[75] Gawudensiya Nyirasafari Habimana yari yariganye amashuri abanza na Yuvenari Habyarimana kuri paruwasi ya Rambura i Gisenyi, hanyuma akomereza amashuri i Burayi, ayo akaba yari amahirwe adasanzwe ku munyarwandakazi wo muri icyo gihe. Bivugwa ko ari Yuvenari Habyarimana yabanje kureshya. Ikindi twakwibutsa ni uko umugabo wa Gawudensiya Nyirasafari Habimana, Fokasi Habimana, yayoboye radiyo RTLM.

bahaka kandi bagatanga amabwiriza akurikizwa.

Uruziga rw'akarere

Uruziga rwa kabiri rw'abambari b'ingoma rwari rugizwe n'akarere ka Bushiru—kari kagizwe by'umwihariko na komini Karago et Giciye , kabaye koko « ivuko rya perezida », kaba isoko ivubura abambari bo kuyoboka akazu. Muri iki gihe ni hadutse izindi ntero nka OTP « originaires du terroir présidentiel [abakomoka ku ivuko rya perezida][76] ». Imbibi z'ivuko rya perezida nanone zagendaga zihindagurika mu kugena « ibimenyetso-fatizo by'ubusumbane » ari nabyo byaje kuba imbarutso ya poritiki y'iringaniza byavugwaga ko igamije kuvanaho ubusumbane mu moko n'uturere mu nzego zose z'igihugu. Uretse komini zari zigize Bushiru, kwagura amaboko y'ivuko rya perezida byabyaye indiri nshya y'ubutegetsi ihuriweho na Ruhengeri (Buhoma, Umurera, Rwankeri, Bukonya, Bugarura,Buberuka) na Gisenyi (Bushiru, Bugoyi, Kanage, Cyingogo) [*reba ikarita mu mugereka wa 1*].

Uko ingoma yagenda yagura cyangwa igahina amarembo, aha ni ho havaga abakozi bakuru ba Leta n'abayobozi b'ingabo bazamurwa mu ntera cyangwa bashingwa imyanya yabaga inyazwe abayoboke bamwe mu gihe hagishakwa abandi bashya bo guhaka.

Akarere ka Rwankeri kavugwagaho kuba « ivuko rya perezida ryaguye », kari kagizwe na komini Mukingo na Nkuli, muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Kiswe gutyo nyuma y'aho umukobwa w'imfura wa perezida Habyarimana arongorewe ku buryo bw'amacenga na Alufonsi Ntilivamunda (umuyobozi mukuru muri minisiteri y'imirimo ya Leta), wari umuhungu w'umucuruzi ukomeye muri ako karere, Gasipari Munyampeta.

Munyampeta yari nk'uwabyaye Yozefu Nzirorera mu mandwa, dore ko ari na we wari waramurihiye amashuri. Mu gutegura ubukwe, Yozefu Nzirorera yabereye Alufonsi Ntilivamunda se wo mu batisimu, maze kuva ubwo, umuryango wa Habyarimana utangira kwita by'akabyiniriro uwa Nzirorera « *bamwana* », ni ukuvuga umuryango bafitemo umukwe.

[76] James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit.*, p. 37.

Ariko nkuko abanditsi benshi babishimangiye, ingufu z'iyi ngoma rwiziringa zari zishingiye mu bushobozi bwayo bwo kurenga kure urwego rw'umuryango n'ivuko rya perezida ikagaba amashami mu turere twose n'inzego zinyuranye z'igihugu.

Ubwinshi bw'umutungo wa Leta n'imfashanyo z'abaterankunga byari umusingi w'ubusugire bw'ingoma n'ubwiyongere bw'abo itunze ari nabo bari bayibeshejeho.
Ingoma yatangiye guhura n'ingorane mu butegetsi ubwo ubukungu bwahungabanaga n'imfashanyo z'abaterankunga zikagabanuka hagati mu myaka ya za 1980 ; amasoko yuhiraga ubutegetsi yatangiye gukama maze kwamagana ikiguri cy'abakamiwe n'ingoma yihariwe n'abo mu majyaruguru bikaza umurego.

Urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida

Hanyuma, mu rwego rw'urubuga rwa poritiki rwemewe n'amategeko rwa nyuma y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, umuntu yakwibutsa umugambi wo kongera umubare w'amashyaka ari mu kwaha kw'icyaje kwitwa «urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida» kuva mu mwaka wa 1992. Iyo mikorere yahaga uruvugiro ibyerekezo bitahishaga ko biri mu murongo w'intagondwa kandi igaha n'urubuga mu rwego rwa poritiki igice gihishe cyo ku ruhande rwa perezida. Koko rero MRND ivuguruye yakomeje kuba umutwe utagira gahunda ihamye, wari ushishikajwe ahanini no guhembera irondakarere n'irondakoko by'ibikomererezwa byawo bitabarika kurusha kwihangira icyerekezo cya poritiki no kuvugurura abarwanashyaka n'abakozi bawo bakuru.

Hakurikijwe imiterere ya buri perefegitura, hashyizweho amashyaka ya nyirarureshwa yari ashinzwe gukoma imbere amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi no kwagura urubuga rwo kugwiriza MRND abayoboke: umuntu yavuga cyane cyane nka Parerwa, Pader na CDR. Parerwa yaterwaga inkunga na Laurent Semanza (Hutu, Kigali ngari, MRND), wari ufitanye ubushuti bwihariye n'umuryango wa Yuvenari Habyarimana akaba na burugumesitiri wa komini yo mu cyaro ikize kurusha izindi mu gihugu[77]. Pader yahimbwe na Jean-Baptiste Gatete (Hutu, Byumba, MRND), burugumesitri wa komini

[77] Reba André GUICHAOUA, Laurent SEMANZA, *le « grand bourgmestre[*burugumesitiri w'igihangange*]»*, TPIR, Arusha, avril 2001.

Murambi kugeza mu mwaka wa 1993[78]. Habonetse na none ku ruhande rwa MRND ibikorwa byo kuniga (kubuza guhumeka, kumira) inzego za perefegitura z'amahyaka amwe n'amwe arwanya ubutegetsi nka PDC. Hanyuma ishyirwaho ry'imitwe y'urubyiruko *Interahamwe* n'*Impuzamugambi* ryongerera umurego ikwirakwira n'ububasha bwo gukora bya MRND, iba urwego rwo kuvugiramo rwemewe n'amategeko kandi rushingiye ku matwara yubaka.

Muri rusange, ibyerekezo bya poritiki bibiri by'ingenzi byigabanganije uruhande rushyigikiye perezida byarigaragaje. Kimwe cyafatwaga nk'ikidashaka ihinduka ry'ibintu cyahuzaga abantu bose bitangiraga buri munsi kandi ku buryo bunoze kurinda ubutegetsi n'umutungo bakeshaga Repubulika ya II. Aha wasangagamo ahanini abantu bakomoka mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyaruguru dore ko ubwikanyize bwabo no kugira igihugu akarima kabo byamaganwaga bikomeye. Ikindi gice cyahuzaga «abashaka impinduramatwara» kigashyira imbere guhanga inzira yo kuvugurura ubutegetsi. Aba bashyiraga imbere ko ishyaka ryagura amarembo, rigashingira ku baturage mu gihugu cyose, «ubunyagihugu » n'umucyo ukaganza mu nzego z'igihugu kigendera ku mategeko

[78] N'ubwo yatangajwe mu mazina y'amahimbaho, ayo mashyaka yombi yahimbwe n'abo baburugumesitir i babiri, bibiri bya gatau by' ababyiyitiriraga bakomokaga mu baturage b'amakomini atatu ya Bicumbi, Gikoro (muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari) na Murambi (perefegitura ya Byumba). Perzida w'irya mbere yakomokaga muri komini Bicumbi, uw'irya kabiri muri Gikoro, komini byegeranye, zombi zayoborwa mu rwego rwa poritiki rutaziguye na Laurent Semanza. Burugumesitiri wa Bicumbi kuva mu mwaka wa 1970 kugeza ubwo asimbuwe mu mwaka wa 1993, uyu mugabo yabashije kwiyongeza, akomeza kuyobora komini no kuyimikamo iterabwoba. Ubwicanyi bukomeye bwayibereyemo kuva intambara yubuka muri Mata 1994. Yafatiwe muri Kameruni ku itariki ya 26 Werurwe 1996, ajyanwa muri gereza y'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR) ku itariki ya 19 Ugushyingo 1997. Ku iariki ya 20 Gicurasi 2005, yakatiwe n'Icyumba cy'ubujurire cya TPIR igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu n'itanu. Burugumesitiri wa Murambi kuva mu mwaka wa 1987 kugeza mu wa 1993 akanaba umwe mu bagize Inama yo mu rwego rw'igihugu ya MRND, Jean- Baptiste Gatete yavanywe ku mirimo ye mu mwaka wa 1993 nyuma y'ibikorwa by'ubugome birwanya Abatutsi yahishiriye akoresheje ubutegetsi bwe, ariko yakomeje kugira ububasha buhoraho ku nzego za komini Murambi n'imitwe yitwaza intwaro yo mu karere ke. Kimwe no muri komini Bicumbi, ihigwa ry'abarwanya ubutegetsi n'abaturage b'Abatutsi ryahatangiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Yafatiwe ku itariki ya 11 Nzeri muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Congo ajyanwa mu kigo cy'imungwa cya TPIR Arusha. Nyamara urubanza rwe rwaje gutangira mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2009.

kimwe no mu ngabo z'igihugu no mu butabera. Bashingiye ku cyubahiro perezida Habyarimana yari afite mu baturage n'ububasha inzego za MRND zari zaragumanye mu gihugu no mu rwego rw'ubukungu, babonaga ihinduka rishingiye kuri demokarasi ridashobora kugerwaho MRND ubwayo itabanje kuzamo demokarasi. Bumvaga ko, gushinga imizi kwayo n'ikwirakwira ryayo n'amatwara yayo yubaka uko bishobotse byarahaga MRND amahirwe yo guhagarara neza kurusha amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi mu ruhando rwo guteza imbere ku buryo bunoze, ubwisanzure mu rwego rwa demokarasi. Abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri urwo ruhande rw'iterambere bakomeje kugirana umubano wihariye n'abayobozi b'amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi.

Nanone kandi, poritiki y'amashyaka menshi yabaye inzira y'ubusamo ku barwanashyaka bashya biyongeraga buri munsi yo kugwiza umutungo n'indonke zitabarika. Abo «bayoboke» bashya baremerezaga umutwaro wo kwita ku nzego za poritiki bakanotsa igitutu ibigo bya leta n'ibyigenga byagombaga gutanga umusanzu. Amahugurwa y'abanyacyubahiro baguzwe, ba ruvumwa cyangwa ba rusarurira mu nduru, amashyaka yose yiroshyemo[79] icyo gihe, yimitse isoko rishya ryarimo inyungu itubutse. Abenshi basabye ku mugaragaro gushyira demokarasi mu kugera ku isaranganya ry'ubuhake, ni ukuvuga mu bikorwa byo gushyiraho amahirwe angana mu buryo bwo kwigwizaho umutungo cyangwa bwa ruswa. Kubera ibyo, kandi iyi ngingo ntigomba gusuzugurwa, amashyaka menshi n'itangazwa ry'amatora asesuye byagize uruhare mu gukangura igihugu byinjijwemo amaperefegitura n'amakomini yose yo mu gihugu, yakekaga ko noneho azagira uruhare ku buryo bungana mu nzego za poritiki z'igihugu. Nk'uko Matayo Ngirumpatse yabivuze:

> «umwuka mushya wa poritiki ubereye benshi mu banyaporitiki bakuru, waguye umukino winjizamo uturere twasigaye inyuma mu isaranganya ry'imyanya, ariko ntiwahinduye bigaragara amategeko y'umukino cyangwa abanyaporitiki mu

[79] Ukuyoboka Inkotanyi kw'abahoze ari ibikomerezwa bya Repubulika ya Kabiri binyuze mu mishyikirano byari byaratangije icyo gikorwa kuva mu mwaka wa 1990.

rwego rw'ubunyangamugayo mu buzima bwa poritiki, mu ihitamo ry'abantu, cyangwa mu misobanukire ya za poritiki[80].»

Ukutabaho cyangwa ubukene mu mishinga ya poritiki byari ibintu bisanzwe kandi ntibyatumye amashyaka agaragaza itandukaniro ry'ibitekerezo rifatika. Ni yo mpamvu, mu mwuka w'umutekano muke n'ikendera riteye ubwoba ry'umutungo, ubwisanzure mu rwego rwa demokarasi ryabaye imbarutso simusiga y'ihiganwa rya poritiki rishingiye ku makimbirane ya kera y'uturere, hiyongereyeho irondakoko ryakuruwe n'igitero cy'Inkotanyi mu Kwakira 1990 (icyo cyorezo cyaje kongera umurego mu mpera za 1993, ubwo havukaga impande zishyira imbere Abahutu ziswe « power », cyangwa, ku rundi ruhande, izishyigikiye Inkotanyi mu mashyaka atandukanye). Ku isonga ryayo hari abanyacyubahiro bakomeye bo mu turere bishyizeho, amashyaka agendera ku mizi yo kureshya ishingiye ku karere nkomoko (« abava ahantu, (ba kavukire) ») cyangwa ku kuba mu bwoko. Ku rwego rw'imisozi, kubera kutagira ibimenyetso byo kwigaragaza mu rwego rwa poritiki bishingiye ku mishinga yubaka igihugu, ubwoko cyangwa icyubahiro byatumaga muri rusange habaho ukwitanga burundu kandi kudasubira inyuma. Bityo, aho gukomeza ubufatanye bushingiye ku kureshya kw'abantu, « demokarasi » yasambuye imibanire y'abantu inashyiraho imbibi z'amatsinda yarebanaga nk'abakeba ahubwo ndetse nk'abanzi.

Abakina poritiki bari mu myanya n'umwuka mushya wa poritiki umaze gutungana, hagombaga nanone kugaragazwa amabwiriza mashya y'umukino agenga ihiganwa. Ku rwego rw'amabwiriza shingiro, ibyagezweho mu bitekerezo byari bisobanutse : mu kwemera amashyaka menshi, inzibacyuho iciye muri demokarasi yagombaaga gusimbuza imihango y'amatora yo kwemeza ingoma ya Habyarimana icyemezo kinyuze mu mucyo cya gahunda za poritiki zinyuze mu itora rusange kandi mu rwego rw'ihiganwa rikoresheje ingufu zingana.

[80] Ikiganiro nagiranye na Matayo NGIRUMPATSE muri Hôtel des Mille Collines, Kigali, itariki ya 8 Gicurasi 1993, saa tanu z'amanywa.

Amatora rusange n'uruvugiro rw' « abaharanira demokarasi »

Ahangaha haragaragazwa ikibazo gikomeye cy'ububasha bw'amashyaka yitwa « arwanya ubutegetsi mu rwego rwa demokarasi ». Nk'uko twabibonye, icya mbere ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi ryaskozwe n'icikamo ry'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi n'itangizwa ry'amashyaka ashingiye ku turere na/cyangwa ubwoko, atarashoboraga, mu gice cya mbere cy'ishyirwaho ryayo n'imenyekana ry'abakuru bayo, guhangana afite amahirwe nyayo yo gutsinda amatora mu rwego rw'igihugu. Icya kabiri, gushingira ihiganwa rya poritiki ku kurwanya ubutegetsi no kwisyira hamwe gutewe n'inyungu kw'abanyacyubahiro bashobora kuba abaperezida-kurusha [kurishingira] ku mishinga yo kubaka igihugu na gahumda za poritiki-byafashaga guharanira kujya mu nzego no kwishyira hamwe kw'abakozi bakuru bikica ishyaka ryo gushinga imizi mu gihugu, ryo kugenzurira abayobozi hasi no gukangura abaturage byiyambazwaga by'ukuri mu gukemura ubushyamirane mu buyobozi bwo hejuru, mu makomini cyangwa iyo habaga mitingi zikomeye ku rwego rw'igihugu. Ikintu cya nyuma, cya rurangiza, abashoboraga kuba abaperezida bahisemo, ku mbaraga cyangwa ku bushake, kwipakurura MRND ivuguruye, basangaga nta ntege bafite mu by'ubuyobozi kandi ku buryo buhoraho ugereranyije n'abakandida bagumye mu myanya y'icyahoze ari ishyaka ry'igihugu, mu gihe batari bagifite ubufatanye « busanzwe »-bwa ngombwa kugira ngo bizere gutsinda-mu ngabo, mu nzego zihana n'izishinzwe umutekano, mu butegetsi bw'igihugu, mu nteko ishinga amategeko, mu butabera[81] no mu rwego rw'ubukungu (rwari rwiganjemo uruhande rwa leta n'uruyegamiyeho).

Perezidansi na nyuma yaho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ntibyigeze bitinya gukoresha iterabwoba ku « baharanira demokarasi », ku mugaragaro nko mu mwaka wa 1990 cyangwa mu buryo budakabije ubugome nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka mesnhi muri Mata 1992. Kandi itunganya rikomeye ry'izo nzego ni ryo ryonyine ryashoboraga guhindura ihangana ry'impande zose. Ariko umwuka

[81] N'ubwo bari barinjiye muri izo mpaka n'amakimbirane bya poritiki, abakozi b'izo nzego ntibemerewe kujya mu mashyaka, bituma habaho ukwifata mu magambo yo guhangana.

w'intambara watejwe n'Inkotanyi (FPR) ntiwari ubyoroheye, mu gihe icyitwa akajagari gakomeye cyose byanze bikunze cyacaga intege imyitwarire ya gisirikare n'iya poritiki by'ingabo, abajandarume, inzego z'iperereza, kandi nyine ari byo imbaraga z'intambara zari zishingiyeho. Ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu, hari inzira ebyiri gusa : amatora cyangwa gukoresha imbaraga, ni ukuvuga gushyigikira ibikorwa bya gisirikare bidasubira inyuma by'Inkotanyi.

Muri Kamena 1991, itangazwa ry'itegeko nshinga rishya ryashyiragaho amashyaka menshi ntiryagize icyo rivuga ku kibazo cy'amatora, ariko ryayahaga inzira. Hari higanje ibitekerezo bibiri bishyamiranye. Ku bwa perezida Habyarimana na MRND, igitekerezo cyo gutunganya amatora rusange cyaremerwaga ariko, n'ubwo ishyirwa ryayo mu mwaka wa 1992 ryasaga n'iriteganywa, nta cyatumaga habaho ingengabihe yihutirwa, kandi ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryarakomezaga kugenzura inzego z'ubutegetsi n'imishyikirano igoye ku buryo amatora yakorwamo hamwe n'amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu yarigaragazaga. Ku rundi ruhande, ku bw'ayo mashyaka yari atarisuganya neza kandi agikomeza gushinga imizi, umuti w'ihuriro mu rwego rw'igihugu (rukokoma) ryari gutuma habaho isaranganya ryumvikanyweho ry'ubutegetsi n'umutungo hagati y'amashyaka, mbere y'itegura ry'amatora rusange, wari ngombwa ukurikije ukuntu ihangana ry'impande zose ryari riyafitiye akamaro ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Koko rero, icyumweru ku kindi, ihururu rikaze ry'abaturage bashyigikiye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ryarushagaho gukomera – ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abantu byakoze imyigaragambyo i Kigaali ku itarki ya 17 Ugushyingo 1991-, rigatuma umuntu akeka ko ryashoboraga guhitana ikintu icyo ari cyo cyose kiribereye mu nzira.

Mu ishyirwaho rya Sylvestre Nsanzimana nka Minisitiri w'intebe mu Kwakira 1991-umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND wubahwaga na bose-, na nyuma yaho hagashyirwaho, ku itariki ya 30 Ukuboza, guverinoma yiswe « ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi » yarimo umuminisitri umwe gusa utari muri MRND-, Perezidansi yerekanaga ku mugaragaro ubushake bwayo bwo gutegura amatora rusange idatakaje ubugenzuzi bwayo

muri icyo gikorwa kandi idatumye hari uyitera ubwoba.N'ubwo ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1992 habayeho imyigaragambyo ikaze yo kwamagana ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ye, Minisitiri w'intebe, wari umaze amaezi abri agirana imishyikirano n'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi kugira ngo yitegure haramutse habayeho amatora, yashereyeko asaba minisitriri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Faustin Munyazesa, gutegura umushinga w'Itegeko rigenga amatora- irya kera rimaze guteshwa agaciro n'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi.

Ubwo minisiteri yatangiye kwegera abanyemari kugira ngo batere inkunga itunganya ry'uwo mushinga (abahanga, amahuriro…). Itsinda rihuza za minisiteri rigizwe n'abahagarariye Perezidanse, Minisiteri y'intebe na Minisiteri y'Ubutabera ryashinzwe gukora inyandiko irimo ibitekerezo by'ingenzi by'Itegeko rigenga amatora, Imbonerahamwe y'impamvu no gutangira umushinga. Uwo mushinga w'itegeko washyikirijwe amashyaka yose yemewe na minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ku itariki ya 27 Mutarama 1992 kugira ngo awusuzume, akaba yari afite amezi abiri yo kuwukosora mbere yo gukora ihuriro rusange…

Uwo mushinga w'itegeko wahagurukije amashyaka ya poiltiki maze hafi ya yose ashyiraho utunama twihariye two kuwusuzuma. Ariko gukora ihuriro no gutangiza impaka mu ruhame ntibyahuraga n'ibyihutirwaga icyo gihe imbere y'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, abayobozi benshi barwo bumvaga icyo gihe bashobora gutuma Yuvenari Habyarimana yegura ku butegetsi ahanganye n'imbyivumbagatanyo y'abaturage.

Nyuma y'ibyumweru byarimo imvururu zikomeye no kurebana ay'ingwe, uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rwisubiyeho mu gushaka Inama rukokoma rwokejwe igitutu na za ambasade[82], noneho aza amaherezo kwemera, ku itariki ya 3 Mata 1992, ishyirwaho nyaryo rya guverinoma ihuriweho (n'amashyaka) (muri yo ishyaka rye ntiryari ryiganje mu myanya), ishyirwaho rya Minisitiri w'intebe uvuye mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi,

[82] Uditsiko twihariye akenshi twagize uruhare rw'intagereranywa mu kwihutisha cyangwa mu kuvana inzitizi mu mishyikirano. Havugwa by'umwihariko « isamura ry'isengesho » (prayer breakfast) hajemo Yuvenari Renzaho, Enoch Ruhigira, Faustin Munyazesa, abapasitori Malachie Munyaneza, Tharcisse Gatwa, James Gasana kandi ibikorwa byaryo bikurikiranwa n'umudepite w'umudage Rüdolf Dreyer n'ambasaderi w'umunyamerika David Rawson.

Dismas Nsengiyaremye (umuyobozi wungirije [visiperezida] wa mbere w'ishyaka MDR) ariko cyane cyane amasezerano yo kuyobora yagabanyaga bidasubirwaho ububasha itegeko nshinga ryemereraga perezida kandi yateganyaga, mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho kigufi cyane (umwaka umwe), itegura ry'amatora y'amakomini, ay'abadepite n'aya perezida. Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yagaragaje uko kwigarurira agace k'ubutegetsi, kwanyuze mu mishyikirano yo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu nzego z'amashyaka, nk' intsinzi, ntiyavuga ibitekerezo by'isaranganya cyangwa ngo yerekane ingamba za poritiki n'ihinduka mu mibereho myiza n'ubukungu yasobanuraga.

Kubera ko ikangura ry'abaturge n'ubwiyunge bw'abayoboke bayo byari mu mwanya wo hejuru, yumvaga yizeye gutsinda amatora. Riteguwe na minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ihuriro rusange ryabereye muri Hôtel des Diplomates mu gihe cy'ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka menshi bwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye. Amashyaka ya poritiki yose yarahagarariwe, uretse MDR na PL. Nyuma y'ibyumweru bike, raporo ya nyuma kimwe n'imbanzirizamushinga y'itegeko rishya rigenga amatora byohererejwe Minisiteri y'intebe, Perezidanse, abagize guverinoma bose n'amashyaka ya polkitiki yose.

Minisiteri y'intebe ni yo yagombaga gusaba perezida gushyira uwo mushinga kuri gahunda y'ibyigwa – bateguriraga hamwe- y'imwe mu nama za guverinoma. Ibyo amaherezo ntibyabaye kubera ko, n'ubwo ikurikirana ry'amatora (ay'amakomini, ay'abadepite na nyuma yaho aya perezida) ryumvikanwagaho muri rusange n'amashyaka, amacakubiri akomeye yagumyeho ku ngingo nyinshi zo mu rwego rwa tekiniki (reba umugereka wa 12). Rumaze kubasha kwemeza perezida Habyarimana guverinoma itarashoboraga kunyuranya n'ibyo yifuza, uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rwiyerekanaga, mu byumweru byakurikiyeho, nk'urutitaye cyane ku kumenya ihangana nyaryo hagati yarwo n'ishyaka rya perezida mu bagombaga gutora, ariko ycane cyane ku kugereranya imyumvire nyayo y'ibice byarwo binyuranye…Kubera ko byari byafashe icyemezo cyo kwita cyane ku bwiyunge n'Inkotanyi, Minisiteri y'intebe n'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi byabonye ari byiza gutegereza ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho

zakorwagaho imishyikirano, bizi ko byashoboraga bibaye ngombwa gucungira ku nkunga ya gisirikare idasubira inyuma y'inyeshyamba. Ku ruhande rwa perezidanse na MRND ho, ntibizeraga intsinzi yabo.

Amaherezo, abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rushingiye kuri demokarasi batinyaga ko inzira y'itora yagenzurwa gusa na n'ubuyobozi bw'icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, ryari rikiriho. Icyahoze ari ishyaka ry'igihugu ryari rifite koko rero ubunararibonye (uburambe) mu bukangurambaga bwa hafi bw'abaturage kandi ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ku ruhande urnini bwri bukiri ubwaryo, uretse mu maperefegitura amwe n'amwe yo mu Majyepfo. Mu [maperefegitura] ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibungo na Byumba, amakomini yose yayoborwaga n'ababurugumesitiri bo muri MRND, mu maperefegitura ya Kigali y'umugi, Kigali ngari na Cyangugu, ubwiganze bwaryo bwari butarakorwaho, muri yo nk'uko akurikirana komini 1 (imwe) kuri 3 (eshatu), 1 (imwe) kuri 16 (cumi n'esheshatu) na 2 (ebyiri) kuri 11 (cumi n'imwe) zayoborwaga n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegatsi. Amaperefegitura atatu gusa ni yo yari yarayobotse uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ku bwinshi : Gitaram (14 MDR, 3 MRND), Butare (14 uruhande rurwanya ubutegatsi, 6 MRND), Gikongoro (6 uruhande rurwanya ubuitegetsi, 4 MRND) (reba umugereka wa 10).

Bityo, impamvu nshya zahoraga zitangwa kugira ngo higizweyo icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose. Usubije amaso inyuma, usanga impaka ku itegura ry'amatora asesuye mu rwego rw'amashyaka menshi zishobora gufatwa nk'intera ya poritiki iruta izindi igihugu cyagezeho, mu gihe cyari cyayobotse inzira ya demokarasi. Imibare mu rwego rwa poritiki yaburijemo itegura ry'ayo matora kandi, igitangaje, « abaharanira demokarasi » bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi- ari na bo nyamara gushyigikirwa n'itora ry'abaturage byari bibereye isoko imwe rukumbi yo mu rwego rwa poritiki- batije umurindi abari bashyigikiye inzira za gisirikare.

Icyo gihe ntawateganyaga ko Inkotanyi, umuryango w'inyeshyamba zifite intwaro, zakwitabira amatora. Kuri icyo gihe, ukurikije umurego w'ikanguka ry'abaturage bashyigikiye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, ikorwa ry'amatora ashingiye ku mashyaka menshi kuri zo ahubwo ni ryo ryari imbogamizi yagombaga kwigizwayo.

Ku ruhande rumwe, kubera ko igikorwa cyo gutora cyahaga urubuga kongera kwita ku bibazo bya poritiki by'imbere mu gihugu n'iyigizwayo, nibura by'agateganyo, ry'ibibazo by'impunzi. Ku rundi, kubera ko amajwi y'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, yari agitatanye mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, kandi ikomera ry'amashyaka nk' ishyaka rihanira ubwisanzure (PL)-ryakusanyaga abarwanashyaka benshi b'Abatutsi-yabatandukanyaga n'Inkotanyi zafatwaga nk'iziva i Buganda. Zabonga neza intege nke zazo mu rwego rwa poritiki, haba imbere ya MRND cyangwa imbere y'ububasha bwiyongeraga bw'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi- rwarimo MDR « yazutse » yari ifite umwanya ukomeye cyane.

Uko amatora yari gukorwa kose, ubwiganze bw'Abahutu bwabahaga icyizere cyo gutsinda : MRND mu majyaruguru na MDR/PSD mu majyepfo. Nanone, itora risesuye mu matora y'abadepite ryashoboraga gutuma Abahutu bo mu Nkotanyi, iyo batangwa nk'abakandida, bari kubona ubwigenge kubera ko bemerwaga n'abaturage bidashidikanywa (Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Sendashonga[83]). N'ubwo nta cyemezaga ko bari gutorwa, ibyo ari byo byose ni bo bonyine babishoboraga. Ibbyo bikavuga ko ibitekerezo by'abo banyacyubahiro b'Abahutu ari byo byagombaga kwiganza. Kubera kudashobora guhangana n'abakeba babiri icyarimwe, Inkotanyi ziyegereje MDR kugira ngo zigizeyo Yuvenari Habyarimana na MRND noneho zongere kandi zoroshye ibikorwa byazo bya gisirikare zirwanya Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Abayobozi bazo ba gisirikare bemeraga ko bahagarariye umuyoboro umwe rukumbi wizewe ushobora "gukura Abanyarwanda ku ngoyi y'agaco ka poritiki na gisirikare gategekesha igitugu[25]" kari ku butegetsi kandi ntibatekerezaga ko MDR n'andi mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yashoboraga kubangamira imigambi yabo nyuma yo gutsinda burundu kw'umuryango wabo.

Muri urwo rwego, MRND, icyo gihe yari yaravukijwe inyungu zo kuba ishyaka rimwe rukumbi kandi yabonwaga na benshi nk'iyatsinzwe witegereje ukuntu amashyaka yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi yari ashyigikiwe n'abaturage, cyane cyane na za

[83] Seth Sendashonga , umunyabwenge w'Umuhutu, yinjiye mu Nkotanyi hagati mu mwaka wa 1990 ndetse aza kuba umwe mu bayobozi bazo b'ingenzi.

ambasade z'inyamahanga-icyo gihe zavugiraga icyarimwe-, yari igeze aharindimuka. Ishyaka ku bwaryo ntiryashoboraga kurwanya amatora, ariko perezida waryo yari agifite ububasha bwo kwemeza ingengabihe. Icyihuturwaga cyane kwari ukwihangana kugira ngo inkubiri y'umuyaga ibanze ihite no gusimbukira ku dukosa tw'ubusabusa dukozwe n'abakeba. Ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi ryo muri Mata 1992 ryabaye, muri uwo mwuka, gusubira inyuma kimwe n'inzira, yabonekaga nk'irimo ibibazo bike ugereranyije n'amatora yashoboraga guhitana ibintu byose cyangwa kugwa mu bihe by'intugunda haramutse hakozwe Inama rukokoma (Ihuriro mu rwego rw'igihugu). Nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'iyo guverinoma, MRND yashoboraga nanone guharanira ku mugaragaro gutunganya amatora hakurikijwe ingengabihe ya vuba vuba, kubera ko amaherezo yari isigaye ari ryo shyaka ryabyifuzaga ryonyine.

Ku bw'abayobozi ba MRND, ntibyari nyamara icyerekezo cyo gusahurira mu nduru gusa. Bitegereje amacakubiri yari ayirimo, umurava w'abakozi bakuru utarumvwaga n'abayoborwa, guta igihe mu ihashya ry'imyigaragambyo ikomeye y'abaturage (ikintu kidasanzwe muRwanda), uburyo bushaje bw'urwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga n'urwa poritiki yo gutumanaho, ukutagaragara bihagije kw'ibikorwa by'abanyabwenge bo mu gihugu, abenshi muri bo baboneye icyarimwe ko igihe cyo kongera gukangura no kuvugurura cyari ngombwa. Mu gusaba itegura ryihita ry'amatora, bifuzaga kurokora ibitekerezo byari bigishobora kurokorwa mbere y'uko umutego w'ubwiyunge bw'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi ushibuka.

Iyo gahunda y'amatora yaburijwemo yateye itandukana ry'abaturage n'ibikomerezwa by'abanyaporitiki by'i Kigali, kubera ko itumvikanaga imbere y'imbaga y'abaturage bari barakanguriwe ibikorwa byo kwinjira muri demokarasi kandi batari bamenyereye imico y'inzego za poritiki zo muri kapitali. Mu gihe nta mabwiriza yari ateganyijwe yo gutegra isimburana ku buyegetsi n'imbere y'ukwanga kwa bamwe kujya mu matora n'abanzi bakanga gutegura Ihuriro rukokoma ku rwego rw'igihugu, aabarwanyaga ubutegetsi bageze ubwo bemeza amabwiriza yabo ubwabo: habayeho ku buryo bugaragara isaranganya ribogamye rya za minisiteri n'igerageza ryo kwirukana abakozi mu bigo bya leta n'amasosiyete leta ifitemo imigabane rikozwe na za minisiteri

bishamikiyeho.

Mu ikubitiro, amagambo ya mbere ya Minisitiri w'intebe yaciye cyane perezida intege. Koko rero Disimasi nta kintu na kimwe yatanzeho icyifuzo cyari kuba ishingiro rya gahunda nto ishoboka y'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu imbere yInkotanyi. Yuvenari Habyarimana yari akomeye ku bwiyunge bucirirtse na MDR, bushingiye ku byifuzo rusange bigaragajwe neza byashoboraga gutuma FPR ihishura imigambi yayo. Kuri iyo ntera nibura, yashakaga ko habaho impande ebyiri gusa ku rubuga rwa poritiki rwari rwasubiwemo, kubera ko yari azi ko Inkotanyi zashakaga ubutegetsi bwose. MDR yo yashakaga impande eshatu, ikeka ko Inkotanyi zari gushimishwa no kwemererwa uburenganzira bw'abantu bake. Ni uko perezida yarakajwe n'ukwanga kwa Nsengiyaremye kwamagana muri Kamene 1992 amanama y'i Buruseri (Bruxelles) hagati y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi MRND itarimo kandi Komite nyobozi ya MDR yari yarafashe icyemezo cyo kwitandukanya n'icyo cyerekezo.

Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi nyuma yaho yashyize ingufu nyinshi mu guteza imbere ibice by'ubuyobozi byabo bishya mu mwuka w'imibereho y'abaturage n'ubukungu wari ugoye cyane,batagaragaza icyabatandukanyaga ubuyobozi bwabo n'ubwababanjirije. Mu gihe abaturage mbere ya byose bari bashishikajwe n'isimbura by'ababurugumesitiri bitwaraga nabi kandi bakoreshaga igitugu no kongera gusuganya ubuhumekero bwa poritiki bwo mu duce twabo, ibikomerezwa byitaye by'umwihariko ku kwirakwizaho imigabane y'umutungo w'ubuhake bari bahawe. Uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, agaragaza byeruye imyiryane yayo,ayo mashyaka yagiya atakaza abari bayashyigikiye n'imbaraga yari akeneye kugira ngo ashyire mu bikorwa ihinduka ry'ibintu yizezaga. Bityo, aho gusaba ishyirwaho ryo guhagararira abantu mu matora asesuye, yaketseko yashoboraga gufata ubutegetsi vuba, ndetse ko yashoboraga kubukoresha nta we baburwanira abifashijwemo n'Inkotanyi. Yifuza kwiyegereza ibyiza byari kuva mu igaruka ry'amahoro ku nyungu nsa z'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, bimuriye itegura ry'amatora nyuma y'impera y'ubushyamirane.

Abahyacyubahiro benshi cyane bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bari

bashyigikiye imishyikirano yihutirwa n'Inkotanyi, bamwe ndetse bifuza agashyi ka gisirikare ka nyuma. Nguko uko ubujiji budasobanutse mu rwego rwa poritiki bwatumye bwatumye bishyira mu maboko y'Inkotanyi zitwaje imbunda kugira ngo bace intege ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana maze bagure umwanya wabo mu rubuga rwa poritiki[84]. Nyamara Inkotanyi ni zo zari zaragennye uko imishyikirano yagombaga kugenda zinateza rugikubita akajagari muri guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi.

Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1992, mugihe rwagati cy'imishyikirano ya mbere hamwe n'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi yonyine, Inkotanyi zagabye igitero muri perefegitura Byumba; n'ubwo kitari gikaze, cyageze ku byo zifuzaga.

Uduce muri guverinoma twarigaragaje ku buryo butihishiriye. Amashyaka arwnya ubutegetsi,ashaka gukomeza imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi, yagombye kurwana intambra ebyiri, kubera ko yariho atakaza ishyigikirwa ry'igice kinini cy'abaturage, cyarwanyaga intambra yatejwe n'Inkotanyi kandi yari yatakaje agaciro imbere y'Ingabo z'igihugu. Kuva ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga kugeza ku ya 4 Kanama 1993, imishyikirano igoranye yasubije mu buryo ubuzima mu rwego rwa poritiki inasimbura ikibazo cy'amatora. Inkotanyi ziganje mu rubuga rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu zikina imikino yo guca uduce mu mashyaka kandi zisimburanya inzira za poritiki cyangwa ibikorwa bya gisirikare n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba.

Kubera kudashobora gutegura ibyifuzo bya poritiki bahuriyeho, bamwe mu bayobozi bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ntibatinye gushakisha inkunga y'Inkotanyi kugira ngo bakomeze kugira uruvugiro. Bityo, baha inyeshyamba ububasha mu rubuga rwa poritiki rw'imbere mu gihugu, ndetse ku buryo budasobanutse baharira urubuga MRND, yari ikirango ruvumwa cy'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bw'umuntu umwe, rwo guharanira ubwisanzure bwa demokarasi inyuze mu matora asesuye n'urwo kwigarurira

[84] Mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, byaravugwaga kenshi ko Inkotanyi zari kubakiza Yuvenari Habyarimana zikamutsimbura mu majyaruguru zikoresheje abayoboke bazo bakuru b'abahutu (aregisi Kanyarengwe, Pasiteri Bizimungu, Tewonisiti Lizinde…) bashoboraga kugira benshi bakurura Inkotanyi zitari kugeraho ubwazo. Nah obo [abarwanya ubutegetsi mu gihugu] bumvaga umugambi w'ibohoza (ibikorwa byo kwamagana ubutegetsi no guteza akajari, *reba umutwe ukurikira*) wari kubafasha kwigarurira amakomini yo mu majyepfo.

ingabo z'igihugu.

Ikibazo cy'igenzura ry'ibitangazamakuru

Igerageza ryo kwibohora

Bubifashijwemo n'umurava n'ubwitange by'umuyobozi mukuru wabyo w'intayega Christophe Mfizi (Hutu, Gisenyi), wamaze imyaka cumi n'itanu ku buyobozi bw'Ikigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe itangazamakuru (Orinfor), ubwikanyize buhoraho bw'ibitangazamakuru bya leta byari byarakoreye ubutegetsi imirimo ijyanye n'isabwa n'ubutegetsi ubwo ari bwo bwose bw'igitugu. Dukurikije ibisobanura byahoraga byibutswa n'umukuru w'igihugu byavuzwe n'uwo mugabo, "Ikigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe itangazamakur (Orinfor) cyari, hamwe n'Ikigo gikuru gishinzwe ipereza (SCR), ibikoresho by'Umukuru w'igihugu, kimwe kiri haruguru, ikindi kiri hepfo[85]". Iryo bangikana rishize amanga ry'ibigo bibiri ryagaragazaga neza ubwoko bw'amakuru bw'amakuru bwari butegerejwe ku bakozi b'ibitangazamakuru byandikwa na radiyo, bya leta cyangwa byigenga, bari bashinzwe gukurikirana no gutangazanya icyubahiro ubutumwa, imbwirwaruhame n'ibikorwa bya perezida n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Uretse Radio Rwanda yari yemewe, itangazamakuru ryanditse ryo muRwanda ryagarukiraga ku binyamakuru bike nk'Imvaho na La Relève. Ibinyamakuru umuntu byaba byiza kongeraho Kinyamateka, agace k'Inama y'abasenyeri bo muRwanda kikaba ari na cyo kinyamauru cya kera mu gihugu (cyahimbwe mu mwaka wa 1933), kimwe na bigenzi byayo, yashyigikiraga ku buryo budasubirwaho ibyifuzo n'ibikorwa bya guverinoma. Twavuga mu nyuma ikinyamakuru Dialogue, ikinyamakuru cyasohokaga rimwe mu kwezi cy'Abapadiri Bera, cyageragezaga gutangiza impaka gikurikije imbibi ntarengwa cyagenerwaga n'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe mu ry'igihugu.

Mu myaka ya 1980, ishyirwaho ry'ubuyobozi bushya bwa Kinyamateka bwashinzwe padiri Sylvio Sindambiwe, wakomokaga i Gitarama, ryahaye ikinyamakuru imvugo inegurana itarashimishije abayobozi. Kiliziya gatolika yitandukanyije buhoro

[85] Christophe MFIZI, *Le Réseau zéro (B), fossoyeur de la démocratie et de la République auRwanda[Ikiguri-nunga, umutabyi wa demokarasi na Repubulika muRwanda](1975-1994)*, TPIR, Arusha, mars 2006, p. 54.

buhoro n'ibyandikwaga, Sulvio Sindambiwe biba ngombwa ko yegura mu Kuboza 1985[86]. Kubera kwishyira imburagihe mu byo kwinenga, Kinyamateka yataje vuba abayisomaga, mu gihe ikindi kinyamakuru, Kanguka, cyari kidafite amikoro ariko cyigenga kandi kigamije guhindura ibintu, cyafashe urumuri rwo kwanga amafuti maze gishimisha abantu ku buryo burambuye. Mu Kwakira 1988, Inama y'abasenyeri yashyize ku buyobozi bw'ikinyamakuru cyayo (cyasohokaga buri cyumweru) cyari gifite ishema ariko cyenda guhagarara, undi mupadiri wakomokaga i Gitarama, André Sibomana, na we waje kwanga vuba cyane kwiyemeza gupfukamira no kwigengesera byasabwaga n'abategetsi. Yamaganwa n'inzego nkuru za kiliziya gatolika ariko ishyigikiwe n'abihaye Imana bo mu maparuwasi, ikpe nshya y'ubwanditsi yashoboye gukangura abasomyi benshi maze vuba vuba ishyirwa mu bahigwaga n'ubutegetsi n'Ikigo gikuru gishinzwe iperereza (SCR).

Muri Nyakanga 1990, umwanditsi mukuru wa Kanguka yarafashwe, hanyuma akatirwa igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'irindwi. Muri Kanama 1990, abayobozi bateye intambwe nshya barega Musenyeri Vincent Nsengiyumva gusebanya, inshuti magara ya perezida, umwe mu bagize Komite Nyobozi ya MRND, kubera ko ari we wari ushinzwe Kinyamateka, kugira ngo asubirane ikinyamakuru mu biganza bye. Nyamara ikipe y'ubwanditsi yashoje urugamba. Bashyigikiwe n'amashyirahamwe adashingiye kuri leta (ONG) arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu yari agitangira hamwe na za ambasade zose n'abaterankunga bari bahagarariwe i Kigali, abanyamakuru basabiye muri Nzeri imbere y'abacamanza gukoresha uburenganzira bw' uruvugiro . Biabaye ngombwa ko bitaza, abayobozi bifuje gutangiza umurimo wo gutegeura itegeko rigenga itangazamakuru, washinzwe Christophe Mfizi mu mwaka wa 1987 (1978 ?).

Nyuma y'iyemezwa ry'amashyaka menshi muri Kamena 1991, ku itariki ya 1 Ukuboza uwo mwaka itegeko rishya rigenga itangazamakuru ryaratangajwe. Ryarimo n'ubundi ingingo zirimo amananiza , ariko ryoroshyaga ku buryo bugaragara ingoyi y'ubutegetsi ku bitangazamakuru. Bikabije ariko ku banyakazu, bashoboye kugera ku

[86] Yapfiriye i Butare mu Gushyingo 1989, azize impanuka yo mu muhanda abenshi bafashe nk'igikorwa cy'urugomo rw'abashinzwe umutekano.

ivanwaho ry'umuyobozi wa Orinfor, kuva ubwo wari ushyigikiye ubwisanzure mu itangazamakuru rya leta n'ubwinshi bw'ibinyamakuru.

Mu ishyirwaho rya guverinoma « idashingiye ku ishyaka rimwe » ku itariki ya 31 Ugushyingo 1991, ku nshuro ya mbere kuva mu mwaka wa 1976, minisiteri y'Itangazamakuru yashizweho mae Orinfor , yahereyko iyishamikiraho, iva mu bugenzuzi bwa perezidanse ya Repubulika. Mu gihe cya mbere, ubuyobozi bw'ikigo na minisiteri y'Itangazamakuru byashinzwe abanyacyubahiro bakomoka muri MRND, ari bo Ferdinand Nahimana (Hutu , Ruhengeri) na Fidèle Nkundabagenzi (Hutu, cyangugu), banize ubwisanzuriro ubwo ari bwo bwose. Bityo, mu mprea z'umwaka wa 1991, mu gihe umubare w'ibinyamakuru byandikwaga wiyongeraga cyane, ihohoterwa n'igipolisi ry'abanyamakuru bigenga ryariyongereye, rikabahitishamo kwihisha cyangwa guhamagarwa n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano. Hanyuma, Ferdinand Nahimana yakoreshaga ku mugaragaro radiyo y 'igihugu nk'urwego rwo kurwana intambara y'amarangamutima, adatinya gusimburanya ibinyoma ku bugambanyi bw'ubuhimbano bw' « umwanzi » n'abarwanya ubutegetsi.

Ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1992, mu ishyirwaho rya guverinma ihuriweho [n'amashyaka] yari iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsegiyaremye, minisiteri y'Itanagazamakuru yahawe umuminisitiri na we ukomka muri MDR ari we Pasikari Ndengejeho (Hutu, Kigali). Kuva mu mpera za Mata 1992, Ferdinand Nahimana yakuwe ku mirimo bitewe n'igitutu cy'amashayaka ya poritiki arwanya ubutegetsi, nyuma y'ihitishwa kuri Radio Rwanda ry'itangazo ryafashwe nk'iryatije umurindi ubwicanyi bw'abasivili b'Abatutsi bo mu karere ka Bugesera[87]. Yasimbuwe, by'agateganyo, na

[87] Ku itariki ya 2 Werurwe 1992, itangazo rya Orinfor, rishingiye ku nyandiko yavuye i Nairobi abayikoze bakomeje kuba mu rujijo, ryabeshyaga kumenya imyiteguro y'iterabwoba y'Inkotanyi zifatanyije na PL (cyane cyane ukwicwa kw'abanyacyubahiro 22 b'Abahutu), ryahamagariye abantu kwitonda kugira ngo « baburizemo imigambi mibisha y'umwanzi Inyenzi-Inkotanyi ». Iryo tangazo ryahitishijwe bukeye kuri Radio Rwanda umunsi wose. Mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 4 n'iya 5 Werurwe 1992, abaturage, cyane cyane Abatutsi, bo mu karere ka Bugesera bagabweho ibitero n'Abahutu bo muri ako karere n'amatsinda y'abatu batamenyekanye. Abantu mirongo itatu na batanu ukurikije abayobozi, agarega 300 ukurikije amashyirahamwe arengra uburenganzira

Musemakweli Prosper, umwe mu bagize MDR.

Ubugenzuzi bw'abakozi bakuru bo muri MRND kuri za gahunda za Radio Rwanda bwaragabanutse. A mashyaka ya poritiki yahawe igihe cyo kuvugira kuri radiyo, aho yavugiraga ibyo ashaka. Ikurikirana rihoraho ry'ibikorwa n'amagambo bya perezida ryakorwaga na Radio Rwanda ryavuyeho, kimwe n'itangzwa ntakuka ry' « ijambo ry'ibanze » rya perezida mbere y'amakuru cyangwa nanone iry'imbwirwaruhame n'ubutumwa bw'abayobozi by'urudaca.

Iyo mikorere mishya yabawemo nabi cyane n'ibikomerezwa byo mu butegetsi n'abayoboke babyo, batari bamenyereye kuvuguruzwa kandi abanyamakuru bashoboraga no kwirengagiza. Abangaba bakomeje kuregwa na bamwe kudaha umwanya uhagije abarwanya ubutegetsi, abandi baburega gukoresha ijonjora. Uko byari kose, urubuga rw'itanagazamakuru bwari bwiganjemo ku buryo butagibwaho impaka na Radio Rwanda n'Imvaho, ibikoresho bibiri bidasimburwa byari byarashyizwe mu bugenzuzi bw'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Akazu ka perezida na MRND byiteguye kwivana muri ibyo bizazane[29].

Igisubizo cya perezida n'isubirana ry'ubugenzuzi bw'ibitangazamakuru

Séraphin Rwabukumba, muramu wa perezida, yari yagerageje gushyiraho ikinyamakuru cyitwa Intera[88] mu mwaka wa 1989, ariko ariko icyo gikorwa nticyashoboye kugerwaho. Imibereho ya Kangura, yahimbwe ikanayoborwa na Hassan Ngeze (1990), yari ishyigikiwe n'ibikomerezwa byo hejuru byo mu butegetsi, yarahuzagurikaga mu ntangiriro. Guhangana na Kanguka yigisha urwango rw'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ntibyari bihagije mu kugena abashobora gutora, ariko ikangura ryari

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bw'ikiremwamuntu, barishwe ; ubusahuzi n'inkongi z'umuriro byangije amagana y' amazu ; hagati y'ibihumbi 10 na 15 by'abavanywe mu byabo byirunze mu mapruwasi. Abategetsi bashyizeho umukwabu, ariko imyitwarire y'ubuyobozi bw'akarere yabaye urujijo ku buryo bw'umwihariko imbere y'abahohotewe. Iryo hangana ryateye ryabyukijwe iterana ry'amagambo hagati y'umuyobozi wa Orinfor na MRND ku ruhande rumwe, n'imitwe ya poritiki yari yashyizwe mu majwi (PL na MDR), ku rundi.

[88] Intera biva ku nshinga « gutera » isobanura icyarimwe kugaba igitero no gukora.

ryaratangijwe n'igitero cy'Inkotanyi mu Kwakira 1990 ryatumye « intagondwa » zo mu butegetsi zizura icyo kinyamakuru cyendaga gupfa (cyari mu marembera). Mu gihe inzego z'itangazamakuru n'abanyamakuru byaregeraga icyarimwe icyo gikorwa cy'ubushotozi bikanamagana ingaruka zacyo, Kangura yafashe uruhande rwayo rugikubita nk'intwararumuri y'ibitekerezo by'intambara, iby'irondakoko n'ivanguramoko, itizwa umurindi n'ibindi binyamakuru bitari bizwi cyane. Ariko muri rusange, ibyandikwaga byegereye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, ku mwanya wa mbere hari Kinyamateka ya Kiliziya Gatolika, Kanguka ya Vincent Rwabukwisi, Isibo ya Sixbert Musangamfura, Ikindi cya Thaddée Nsengiyaremye, Rwanda Rushya cyaAndré Kameya, Le Tribun du Peuple [Umuvugizi wa rubanda (abaturage)]cya Jean-Pierre Mugabe byari bifite umwanya wiganje(ukomeye), tutibagiwe Radio Muhabura, urwego rwInkotanyi rwageraga ku barwumva batari bake.

Nanone, icyo gihe inyigo z'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'umushinga wa Televiziyo y'uRwanda (TVR), wari waratangijwe mu myaka ya 1989 zari zimaze gukorwa. Ihitamo ryo mu rwego rwa tekiniki ryari ryakemutse, inzitizi zavanyweho n'igihe cy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imirimo gishobora gutangira, haba kuri TVR ya leta ndetse no kuri sosiyete yo gufata amajwi n'amashusho yari yaratewe inkunga na Séraphin Rwabukumba.

Urugamba mu rwego rw'itumanaho rwari rukomeye kandi inyungu ifatika yari kuba iy'uwari kugaragaza ubushobozi muri icyo gikoresho gishya, n'ubwo gahunda y'ivugurura ry'inzego n'intambara byashoboraga gutinza ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryacyo urebye igishoro cyari gikenewe n'imvune zihoraho byasabaga.

Ukutabiha agaciro kw'ako kanya kwagaragajwe na perezida kuri uwo mushinga kwari gusobanutse, ukurikije Christophe Mfizi, kubera ubwoba ko icyo gikoresho cyagwa mu maboko y'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Yashyiraga imbere kuva ubwo amayeri yo kubica i ruhande mu gutegura umushinga wigenga wo kubisimbura.

Bityo, nk'uko Yozefu Nzirorera yari yagizwe, mu mwaka wa 1990,

minisitiri w'Inganda n'Ubukorikori kugira ngo ashyire abantu bizewe mu myanya ikomeye, kugenzura ibigo no gutegura « ivoma » ry'umutungo w'ibigo bya leta ku nyungu za MRND, kuva icyo gihe itari igifite amaugati wa leta (reba umugereka wa 25), Nahimana yaba yarashyizwe bu kuyobozi bwa Orinfor kugira ngo ategure, igihe byari kuba ari ngombwa, itangiza ry'igitangazamakuru cyigenga gihimbwe nk'igishamikiye kuri Radio Rwanda, maze abantu bacyo, umutungo n'ubuzobere bikigarurirwa na MRND. Muri urwo rwego, perezida yari kuba yarangije kwemeza bya vuba inyandiko y'itegeko rigenga itangazamakuru riha ifata ry'amajwi n'amashusho ubwisanzure bwangiwe itangazamakuru ryandikwa.

Gutakaza ubugenzuzi ku bitanagazamakuru bya leta kwabaye mu by'ukuri impamvu ya mbere yatanzwe mu gusobanura itangizwa rya radiyo « yigenga ». Abari bashyigikiye icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi batinyaga gusigara ari bonyine badafite urubuga rwihariye kubera ko, kuva mu mwaka wa 1991, Inkotanyi zari zifite muri Radio Muhabura, radio y'inshimusi yavugiraga ku mirongo migufi ihereye i Buganda kandi ikaba yarageraga bicirirtse mu gihugu cyose ndetse no mu gace gato ko hanze y'igihugu. Ikindi kandi, batinyaga kutazabona uruhushya rwo gushyiraho indi radiyo yigenga mu gihe cy'amatora ya nyuma y'inzibacyuho.

Ishsyashyana ryo gutangiza radiyo yigenga ikorera MRND ryatangianye n'ishyirwa rya Ferdinand Nahimana ku buyobozi bwa Orinfor mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1991 kandi ukurwaho rye icyo ryakoze ni ukwihutisha itangira ry'umushinga. Mu Kwakira 1992, Ferdinand Nahimana yavuganye na Joseph Serugendo kugira ngo anoze inyigo ya tekiniki y'uwo mushinga mbere yo kujya, mu kwezi kwakurikiyeho, mu Budage no muBubiligi mu butumwa bwo kugenzura itegura n'ibikoresho bya radiyo.

Ni bwo Komite y'itangiza rya RTLM yatunganyijwe neza. Yarimo mu ikubitiro abantu umunani, nta n'umwe muri bo wakoreraga iyo sosiyete:

-Félicien Kabuga (Byumba), perzida wa Komite, umucuruzi wari ufitanye isano n'umuryango wa Yuvenari Habyarimana ;

-Charles Nzabagerageza (Gisenyi), Umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri Gutwara abantu no Gutumanaho (wegereye perezida), wahoze ari perefe wa Ruhengeri ;

-Ferdinand Nahimana (Ruhengeri), umwe mu bagize Komite ya perefegitura ya MRND mu Ruhengeri , wahoze ari umuyobozi wa Orinfor ;

-Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (Gisenyi), umuyobozi muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, umujyanama wa CDR ;

-Ephrem Nkezabera (Gisenyi), Umuyobozi w' amashami ya Banki y'Ubucuruzi y'uRwanda (BCR), umujyanama muri Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe ;

-Joseph Serugendo (Gisenyi), umukuru w'ishami ry'Ubuhanga bw'ibyuma muri Orinfor/Radio Rwanda, umujyanama muri Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe[89];

-Augustin Hatari (Ruhengeri), umukuru w'ishami ya gahunda za Orinfor/Radio Rwanda ;

-Ignace Temahagali (Byumba), umukozi wa sosiyete y'igihugu y'ubwishingizi muRwanda (Sonarwa).

Abari bayirimo bafite uruhare runini cyane, kubera ubumenyi bwabo n'ubuzobere, ni Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (ku birebana n'amategeko); Josph Serugendo (ku bireba inyigo ya tekiniki); Ephrem Nkezabera (wari ushinzwe urwego rw'ishoramari n'ubucungamari); Ferdinand Nahimana (ushinzwe ibibazo by'ubuyobozi n'itegurwa rya gahunda). Yari ashinzwe nanone ubuhuzabikorwa bw'imirimo yoose akanaba "umuyobozi wungirije" wa Komite y'itangiza (ry'umushinga). N'ubwo yiswe perezida w'icyubahiro mu gihe hashyirwaga umukono imbere ya *noteri* ku mategeko y'umuryango ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1993 muri Village Urugwiro, Félicien Kabuga ntiyagize uruhare ku mugaragaro mu mikorere ya buri munsi ya Komite y'itangiza kandi ntiyajyaga mu manama yose. Ibibazo yagezawagaho hakurikijwe uko byihutirwa byari ibifitanye isano no gutera inkunga igurwa ry'ibikoresho kimwe n'iby'imibanire n'inzego z'ubutegetsi.

[89] Biragaragara ko nta muntu n'umwe mu bagize Komite mpuzabikorwa yemewe n'amategeko y'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe yashyizweho na Désiré Murenzi, uri kuri urwo rutonde ; babiri mu bayobozi bazo tumaze kuvuga ni abari mu bikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru bari bashyizweho n'ibyegera bya Habyarimana akaba ari nabo bafashe ubuyobozi bw'umutwe w'Interahamwe mu 1992 (reba umutwe wa 6).

Inama rusange ya mbere y'abanyamuryango ba RTLM yabaye ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga 1993 kuri Hôtel Amahoro y'i Remera, iminsi ibiri radiyo imza gutangira ibiganiro byayo. Iyobowe na Félicien Kabuga aikijwe n'abagize Komite y'itangizwa, iyo nama yahuje abantu basaga Magana atandatu iragizwa n'umwanya wo kugura imigabane, wayobowe na Ephrem Nkezabera na Georges Gakeri, wari wafunguye aho hantu agashami ka Banki y'Ubucuruzi y'uRwanda (BCR). Imigabane yakiriwe icyo gihe yageze kuri hafi miliyoni indwi z'amafaranga y'uRwanda (FRw). Iryo yakira ryarakomeje kugeza ubwo mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1994 yari igeze kuri miliyono 15 z'amafaranga y'uRwanda.

RTLM yatangiye gukora rero mu gihe gisa n'igituje ku rwego rwa gisirikare n'urwa poritiki, cyarangwaga n'ishyirwaho umukono ku masezerano y'Arusha mu ntangiriro ya Kanama 1993 (reba umutwe ukurikira).

Amakuru ashyushye menshi, afitanye isano n'amasezerano y'amahoro, n'ihindura ry'imvugo rydukanywe no kuvugira aho n'imvugo nyanadagazi y'iyo radiyo nshya byari bihagije mu guha icyizere RTLM, ku buryo abari bayishinzwe batatinyaga kwiratana, badashobora kubigaragaza, abayumva bangana n'aba Radio Rwanda, aho RTLM yashoboraga gufatwa.

Umwuka w'ivuka rya RTLM wayihaga icyerekezo cya radiyo yo kwamamaza MRND kimwe na radiyo Muhabura ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi. Iyo mitwe yombi ni yo rero yonyine yari ifite igikoresho cy'itumanaho rigera kuri benshi, ryari ingirakamaro cyane kurusha itangazamakuru ryandikwa kandi ryakoreshaga ubushishozi rikanahangana kurusha Radio Rwanda. Koko rero mu rwego rw'imiyoborere, Radio Rwanda yagenzurwaga ku buryo bubiri na Orinfor hamwe na minisiteri y'Itangazamakuru kandi, nk'iradiyo ya leta, yagombaga kubaha iringaniza rijegajega rya poritiki y'ubutegetsi bwari bwaracitsemo uduce tutagira umubare, kugira ngo isobanure uko guverinoma ihagaze. Bityo, yatangazaga muri rusange amagambo adasobanutse, atumvikana neza ku bayitegaga amatwi bari baramenyerejwe amabwiriza adaca ku ruhande.

Ariko, nk'uko igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyunguye ikinyamakuru cy'intagondwa cya

Kangura ibitekerezo bya ngombwa byo gushyigikira no gutinda ku iyamamaza ryayo rishingiye ku bwoko, RTLM yigaruriye urubuga rw'itangazamakuru nyuma yaho inagbo z'uBurundi zihitanye Melchior Ndadaye ku itariki ya 21 Ukwakira 1993. Iryo yicwa [rya Ndadaye] ryashegeshe bikomeye abaharanira demokarasi bose, baba Abarundi cyangwa Abanyarwanda, bari bishimiye intambwe y'intangarugero muri demokarasi uBurundi bwari bumaze gutera ; ahubwo rero ryahaye urwaho intagondwa z'Abahutu hakurya no hakuno y'Akanyaru. Ku ruhande rumwe, i Burundi udutsiko tw'intavugirwamo twamaganaga ubutegetsi bwa Frodebu yari yitabiriye inzira y'amatora ihangana n'ingoma y'abasirikare b'Abatutsi bari barikubiye ubutegetsi kuva hagati mu myaka ya za 1960 ; ku rundi ruhande, abashyira imbere amatwara ya gihutu muRwanda barwanyaga ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha yakekwagaho gushyira igihugu mu maboko y'Inkotanyi. Mu gihe Radio Rwanda, nka radiyo ya leta, yagenzurirwaga hafi n'ubutegetsi ngo idatokoza umubano w'ibihugu byombi wari mu mazi abira, RTLM yipakuruye ibyo kwigengesera ivugira ku mugaragaro ibyo yemera. Yongereye vuba igihe cyo gutangaza kugira ngo ikurikiranire hafi ibyaberaga i Burundi kandi imenyekanishe buri kanya uko byagendaga bihindagurika. Yibanze cyane ku nzira y'ikinamico, igaha ijambo abantu aho bari, ari abayobozi n'abaturage basanzwe, bakavugira aho batagombye gutegurwa ari mu magambo cyangwa isesengura, bakavuga iribaniga, ari ibyifuzo ndetse n'urwango bafite. Ku buryo butari bwarigeze bubaho muri ako karere, amagana y'ibihumbi by'abateze amatwi bashoboye gukurikira ku buryo buhoraho kandi mu magambo ataziguye imigendekere y'ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa poritiki gikomeye kandi cyari giteye inkeke cyane.

Indorerezi nke zumvise uburemere bw'icyo gikorwa kidasanzwe kandi cy'ibanze ku mpamvu nyinshi mu ikangurambaga mu rwego rw'ibitekerezo n'urwa poritiki. Gutegwa amatwi n'icyizere ikurikiranwa ry'ikibazo cy'i Burundi byahesheje RTLM ntibishobora gusa gufatwa nk'ubuhanga budasanzwe bwo mu rwego rw'iyamamaza rigenewe imbaga y'abaturage ibyakira kandi idashishoza. RTLM yafashe ikibazo cy'i Burundi nk' « ifumba ya batisimu », mbese ikigira imbarutso idasanzwe yo kwigaranzura

ibitangazamakuru bya leta ndetse ahubwo ubuzobere buke bwayo mu mwuga w'itangazamakuru n'imitunganyirize idahwitse muri gahunda zayo biyibera intwaro z'ingirakamaro. Gutoranya abo iha ijambo, gutandukanya impuha n'inkuru z'impamo cyangwa kubona amakuru aca igikuba n'abogamye ntibyari bikiri ikibazo. Kugereranya RTLM na Radio Rwanda— dore ko noneho kwinumira, kutagira amakuru ahagije no kwirinda gutangaza ibyo ifite ari byo yari yahisemo— byari bihagije ngo biheshe amakuru ashyushye ya RTLM icyizere cyarushagaho kongerwa n'igishyika cy'amakuba yari yagwiririye uBurundi.

Nyuma y'ibyumweru bike gusa imaze gushingwa muri Nyakanga 1993, RTLM yari imaze kugwiza abayumva benshi mu nkambi z'impunzi zari mu nkengero y'umurwa mukuru, dore ko yatarangaga yivuye inyuma amarorerwa y'ibitero by'Inkotanyi byari byatumye amagana y'ibihumbi by'abantu bahunga agace k'umupaka zari zarigaruriye mu majyaruguru kuva muri 1992 na nyuma y'igitero cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 ; yibandaga cyane nanone ku bukene bw'abakuwe mu byabo n'intambara bari bamaze amezi n'amezi baratereranywe, bari ku gasi kandi nta cyizere namba bafite. Nubwo bene ibyo biganiro bitaburaga gushisha bamwe, dore ko byari bishyize imbere kurshya no gushyushya abantu imitwe, abakuru b'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe bari mu buyobozi bwa RTLM bari barayigize umuyoboro wo kureshya no gushishikariza urubyiruko rw'imburamukoro kwitabira imyitozo ya gisirikari. Aho bicikiye i Burundi, abenshi mu bari basanzwe bumva Radiyo Rwanda bashidukiye inkuru zishyushye za RTLM ku byaberaga i Burundi, harimo ndetse n'abari basanzwe banenga ibogama ryayo. Nguko uko abantu batangiye kumenyera gushakira kuri RTLM amakuru batabonaga kuri Radio Rwanda, yee ndetse bikaba naho abanyamakuru ba Radio Rwanda ubwabo basubiraga mu makuru RTLM yabaga yarangije gutangaza kare.

Hashize ibyumweru byinshi inkuru zishyushye za RTLM nta kindi zivuga atari ibibazo by'uBurundi n'amasomo abanyarwanda bagombaga kubivanamo, bityo ibyo bituma yamamara cyane kandi bitiza umurindi ibitekerezo by'irondakoko itafashaga hasi. Amatangazo yamamaza n'inkunga byarushijeho kwiyongera kuri RTLM.

Uhereye ku kibazo cy'uBurundi, nkuko umwe mu bayobozi b'Interahamwe

yabisobanuye neza, « mu by'ukuri inkuru za RTLM zose zari zihuriye ku mugambi umwe rukumbi: kurwanya umwanzi. Nta washoboraga kwigobotora icyo cyerekezo kereka ashaka kwitwa "icyitso" cy'umwanzi akanirengera ingaruka zabyo, rimwe na rimwe zashoboraga kumuhitana ndetse zikarimbura n'umuryango we wose »[90].

Ku itariki ya 26 Ugushyingo 1993, Komite y'ishyirwaho rya RTLM, ibisabwe n'Inama rusange yateranye ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga 1993, yaraguwe iva ku bayigize 8 igera kuri mirongo itatu, yinjizwamo abanyacyubahiro benshi. Icyo cyemezo cyagombaga gutuma hihutishwa ishyirwaho rya sosiyete [y'abagize RTLM], inama rusange yo gushyiraho inzego zihoraho ikaba yari iteganijwe mu Kuboza 1993. Nyamara iyo komote y'itangiza yaguye n'utunama tunyuranye ntibyagiyeho, kubera ko inama rusange yabanje kwimurirwa muri Gashyantare 1994, nyuma yimurirwa ku munsi utazwi. Ariko abayobozi ntibashoboraga na busa gutinyuka gukurikirana RTLM mu butabera.

[90] Ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya utaratangajwe izina ku mpamvu z'umutekano we, TPIR, 6 Kamena-8 Gicurasi 2006, p.42.

4

Imishyikirano y'Arusha n'ukwisuganya kw'imbaraga za poritiki

Nyuma gato y'igitero cy'Inkotanyi mu Kwakira 1990, igikorwa cy'imishyikirano, ubwa mbere mu buryo bwihariye nyuma mu buryo buzwi, yaratangiye hagati y'impande zari zihanganye. Cyakomereje mu turere tunyuranye kandi n'abavugana batabarika, bahagarariye ubutegetsi cyangwa batazwi, hanyuma kirangirira ku masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha, yashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993. Kuva ku munsi wa mbere w' igitero cy'Inkotanyi, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) n'abakuru b'ibihugu bo mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari biyimitse nk'inzobere mu murimo w'imishyikirano, n'ubwo icyo gihe hatabagaho uburyo bwemewe bwo guhosha amakimbirane. Raporo y'ibyagezweho n'umuryango itanga ubuhamya ku kuntu impamvu nyinshi zatumye umwuka uherako uba mubi.

> « Umuryango wumvaga udafite ububasha buhagije bwo kwamagana igitero cy'Inkotanyi n'ubwo, nanone, wari wishimiye ko icyo gitero gishyira guverinoma ya Habyarimana mu makuba. Icya kabiri, perezida w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika icyo gihe perezida w'u Bugande Museveni, wafatwaga buri gihe ne Habyarimana nk'ufasha Inkotanyi. Ku bwa Habyarimana, igihugu cyari cyatewe n'uBuganda. […] Na nyuma y'uko perezidanse y'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika yegurirwa undi, Museveni yakomeje kugira uruhare rukomeye mu bikorwa by'akarere kuRwanda, ibyo bikaba byarakomeje kurakaza Habyarimana

kugeza ubwo apfa. […] Abakuru b'Inkotanyi bishishaga ku buro bumwe Mobutu wa Zaïre kubera umubano wa hafi wari hagati ya Mobutu na Habyarimana. Mobutu yemeraga ko kimwe na Habyarimana ko Inkotanyi zari zarahimbwe na Museveni. Ariko, nk'ukuriye Abakuru b'ibihugu by'Afurika, Mobutu yari perezida w'umuryango w'akarere w'Ihihugu by'Ibiyaga Bigari.

Mu rwego rwo kugarura amahoro, imyaka ya 1990 yabaye urubuga rw'ibitekerezo byiza, kugisha inama bidashira, inama z'urudaca, gushyigikira no kwitandukanya. Urwo rujya n'uruza rw'ibikorwa ni ishusho y'imikorere nyakuri y'Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, utagira ububasha bwo gufata ibyemezo bitanyuze ku bihugu biwugize kandi butanashobora gutegeka ibihugu biwugize gukora ibyo wemeje cyangwa guhana uwo ari we wese wirengagiza ibyo ushaka. Icyo Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika ushobora gukora gusa, ni ugutumiza amanama, kwizera ko abatumirwa baza no kwifuza ko bayazamo bubaha ibyo biyemeje[91] ».

Muri Nyakanga 1992 ni bwo umuhuza, perezida wa Tanzaniya Ali Hassan Mwinyi n'umuyobozi w'impaka, perezida wa Zaïre Mobutu Sese Seko, noneho bashoboye gutangiza igikorwa cy'imishyikirano gifite gahunda. Icyo gikorwa cyari gishyigikiwe n'Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, ababifitemo uruhare bo mu karere (Tanzaniya, uBuganda, Zaïre n'uBurundi), ambasade zikomeye z'abazungu nk'iy'uBubiligi, u Budage, uBufaransa na Leta zunze ubumwe kimwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga n'iyo mu karere.

Nta wakwibagirwa mu bari babifitemo uruhare b'Abanyafurika bafashije gushyiraho uburyo bwo koroshya icyo gikorwa, abahagarariye amadini, uruhare rwabo rwabaye mu by'ukuri ingirakamaro kuva ubwo igitekerezo cy'amashyaka menshi cyategurwaga ku mugaragaro mu mpera za 1991 hashyirwaho Sylvestre Nsanzimana, umunyacyubahiro wakoreshaga ubwisanzure, ku buyobozi bwa guverinoma. Ku itariki ya

[91] OUA, *Rwanda, le génocide qu'on aurait pu stopper[jenoside abantu bashobaraga guhagarika]*, Addis-Abéba, 7 juillet 2000, chapitre 11, « Avant le génocide : le rôle de l'OUA [umutwe wa 11, "Mbere ya jenoside: uruhare rwa OUA"]», voir annexe 5.

3 Mutarama 1992, abasenyeri b'abaporotesitanti bateguye ihuriro n'abahagarariye amashyaka yose ya poritiki. Ryakomereje i Londres mu nama yo mu ibanga hagati y'abahagarariye Inama y'Amatorero y'Afurika yose (CETA), ifite icyicaro i Nairobi kandi yahurizaga hamwe amatorero yose azwi ku isi yo ku mugabane n'Inkotanyi, kimwe n'itangizwa ry'imibonano ya mbere i Kigali hagati ya CETA, MDR, PL na PSD. CETA yahuye n'abaminisitiri na perezida wa Repubulika, hanyuma itegura, ku itariki ya 22 Mutarama, inama y'abahagarariye amadini anyuranye kugira ngo bategure umugambi wo kunga. Ku itariki ya 27 Mutarama, akanama gahuriweho n'abayobozi b'abanyagatolika n'abaporotesitanti katangiye imibonano n'abahagarariye amashyaka, yakomeje kugeza ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare. Inama yo mu ibanga nyuma yateguriwe i Nairobi hagati y'Inkotanyi na Komite y'imibonano (amadini n'abanyacyubahiro).

Muri uko kwezi kwa Gashyantare, bubibangikanyije n'ubwiyongere bw'imibonano yihariye yafunguriraga inzira imishyikirano itaziguye (reba umugereka wa 13), Ubuyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikare bw'inyeshyamba bwinjije Inkotanyi, zari zihejwe mu bikorwa bya poliki by'imbere mu gihugu, mu mugambi uteye ukubiri, wavangaga igitutu cya gisirikare giturutse hanze y'ihigugu cyifashishaga ibikorwa bya gisirikare byemewe n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba byo guhungabanya guverinoma nshya y'imbere mu gihugu. Inyanyagiza ry'abakomando n'ugukabya kw'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byakoreshaga za mine cgyangwa ibisasu biturika ntibyahuye n'imbogamizi n'imwe kubera ingufu nke z'inzego z'ipereza za leta n'ubukana bw'amahiganwa yo murwego rwa poritiki hagati y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'ingoma ya Habyarimana. Ni imwe mu mpamvu zatumye ibikorwa byose by'iterabwoba, n'iby'Inkotanyi birimo (reba imbere cyane muri uyu mutwe), hafi ya buri gihe byitiriwe "imitwe y'ubwicanyi" cyangwa "ingufu za gatatu" ziyoberanyaga, byashoboraga kuba bifitanye isano n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida.

Ubugizi bwa nabi bwikubye kabiri hagiyeho guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1992. Abakomando b'Inkotanyi batangiye icyo gihe umuvundo w'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi, bahohotera imbaga y'abasivili (reba umugereka wa 14).

Imishyikirano ku gitutu cy'ingufu za gisirikare

Bashingiye kuri uko kwishisha Perezidansi na MRND, abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ni bwo bashyize itangira ry'imishyikirano kuri gahunda ya poritiki ya leta. Ku buryo bwemewe, yatangiye ku itariki ya 24 Gicurasi 1992 i Kampala, mu mibonano ya mbere hagati ya guverinoma y'uRwanda, yari ihagarariwe na Bonifasi Ngulinzira, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wo muri MDR, n'Inkotanyi, yatangirijwemo ingengabihe y'imishyikirano. Ibiganiro by'amahoro hagati y'Inkotanyi, ku ruhande rumwe, MDR, PSD na PL, ku rundi, yatangijwe nyuma i Bruxelles ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi, muri icyo gihe ari nabwo habaye imyigaragambyo y'abasirikare batinyaga gusezererwa amasezerano y'amahor akimara gushyirwaho umukono, yajyanye n'ubusahuzi, mu maperefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Gisenyi. Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena, nanone i Bruxelles, mu gihe inyeshyamba na ya mashyaka atatu yo muri guverinoma yishyize hamwe yari mu mishyikirano y'amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano binyuranyije n'icyifuzo cya MRND, Inkotanyi zubuye imirwano hamwe n'Ingabo z'igihugu, ahanini muri perefegitura ya Byumba. Ingabo zigendera mu mitaka zo mu mutwe wa 8 w'ingabo zo mu mazi (RIPMa) z'Abafaransa, zari mu gikorwa cya gisirikare kitiriwe Noroît [Noruwa][92] cyarimo hafi abantu 170, zafashije Ingabo z'uRwanda kurwanya icyo gitero.

Imishyikirano yongeye kubura ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena i Paris. Yageze ku masezerano yinjizagamo MRND kandi ateganya gutangiza muri Tanzaniya, ku itariki ya

[92] Igikorwa cya gisirikare cy'Abafaransa cyitiriwe « Noroît [Noruwa]» cyatangiye ku itariki ya 4 Ukwakira 1990 bisabwe na perezida Habyarimana amaze guterwa n'Inkotanyi. Uwo mutwe wari ugizwe na etamajoro y'abahanga mu bya gisirikare y'abantu 40 n'amatorero abiri— irya 1 n'irya 3 y'Ingabo z'umutwe wa 8 RPIMa— buri torero rigizwe n'abantu 137. Igikorwa cyari kigamije kurinda umutekano w'ambasade y'uBufaransa n'abantu bakomoka muBufaransa no kubimura bibaye ngombwa. Hagati y'itariki ya 5 n'iya 12 Ukwakira, Abafaransa 313 bavuye koko muRwanda. "Umutwe Noroît nanone wakoze ibikorwa binyuranye, nko kubarura intwaro n'ibikoresho byahabwaga ingabo z'uRwanda ndetse no kuzihugura byakorwaga n'umusirikari mukuru w'umuhanga mu bya tekiniki wigishaga ibijyanye no guhangana n'impanuka za mine n'imitego." Icyagaragaye nanone ni "uko guhurura ku mutwe w'ingabo z'amahanga, n'iyo zitarwana, bigira uruhare mu kugarura ituze no kurema agatima ubutegetsi buba bugeraniwe n'igitero kivuye hanze kandi bwugarijwe n'imyiryane ishingiye ku moko cyangwa ibibazo bya poritiki. Mu Ukubozo 1990, itorero rimwe ni ryo ryasigaye i Kigali abandi barataha. (reba raporo ya jenerari Jean-Claude THOMANN, muri ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Enquête*

10 Nyakanga ikurikiraho, ibiganiro by'amahoro ku bibazo by'ubumwe bw'igihugu, umuco wa demokarasi, ivangwa ry'ingabo zombi rari zihanganye, guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, n'ibindi. Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, James Gasana, icyo gihe yagize ububasha ku ngabo kubera gusererwa kw'abayobozi ba etamajoro bungirije b'ingabo n'abajandarume, batashoboye guhosha imyigaragambyo n'ibikorwa bibi. Nyuma yaho gato, habayeho ibyiciro bitatu by'imishyikirano biyobowe n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), bibera uko bikurikirana Arusha, Addis-Abéba na Arusha nanone ku matariki ya 12, 26 Nyakanga n'iya 11 Kanama. Mu byayivuyemo, havugwa ishyirwa mu bikorwa y'ihagarikwa ry'imirwano ryagezweho ku itariki ya 1 Kanama, rikurikirwa ku itariki ya 18 Kanama n'ishyirwaho umukono ku gace k'amasezerano kerekeye "Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko"[93]. Mu gihe imbere mu gihugu hari umwuka urangwa n'iyubuka ry'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bikorerwa abasivili, ambasaderi w'uBufaransa, Georges Martre, na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Boniface Ngulinzira bashyize umukono, ku itariki ya 26 Kanama 1992, ku bwumvikane bw'"amasezerano adasanzwe y'ubufatanye mu rwego rwa gisirikare" bw'uBufaransa bwerekeye gutunganya no gutoza ikijandarume cy'uRwanda bwari bwaratangijwe muri Nyakanga 1975. Ubwo bwumvikane bwaguye ububasha bwabwo ku Ngabo z'igihugu zose.

Ku itariki ya 30 Ukwakira, akandi gace k'amasezerano "ku igabana (isaranganya) ry'ubutegetsi" kashyizweho umukono n'impande zose[94]. Nyuma byabaye ngombwa gutegereza amezi umunani mbere y'uko agace ka gatatu gategurwa kakanemezwa, muri icyo gihe abarwanaga batera urusaku rukabije. Impera z'ukwezikwa Mutarama 1993

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sur la tragédie rwandaise](1990-1994), Paris, 1998, t. II : *Annexes*, p. 138).

[93] Ako gace k'amasazerano karimo imitwe ine: "ubumwe bw'igihugu", "Demokarasi","Ukubaho kw'amashyaka menshi", n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu".

[94] Aka gace ka kabiri k'amasezerano kari kagabanyijemo ibice bitanu: "Inzego za leta", "Perezida wa Repubulika", "Guverinoma yaguye", "Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho"n' "Inzego z'ubutabera". Kamburaga perezida wa Repubulika ubwinshi mu bubasha bwe byegurirwa Inama nyubahirizategeko. Urwego rwubahiriza itegekokuva ubwo rwari rushinzwe Inama y'abaminisitiri rwa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yagombaga kujyaho, amashyaka yose akomeye yari kugiramo abayahagarariye.

zabayemo imyigaragambyo ya MRND mu gihugu cyose n'ubwicanyi bwinshi bw'Abatutsi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye na Byumba. Hanyuma, ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare, icyumweru kimwe nyuma y'ihura ryavuzwe cyane mu bitangazamakuru hagati ya ba perezida Habyarimana na Museveni i Entebbe, Inkotanyi, zitwaje imvururu zishingiye ku moko na poritiki zo muri Mutarama[95], zarenze ku ihagarikwa ry'imirwano zigaba igitero gikomeye mu masuperefegitura ya Kirambo (Ruhengeri) na Kinihira (Byumba).

Icyo gitero gishya cy'Inkotanyi aho ingabo zazo zageze ku birometero nka makumyabiri mu majyaruguru ya Kigali, cyashoboraga kuba rurangiza iyo Abafaransa batahaba ngo bagoboke ingabo z'igihugu[96]. Nyuma y'aho abasirikare b'Abafaransa barwanira mu kirere baba i Bangui basesekariye i Kigali, barimo n'itsinda ryazobereye mu gukoresha ibibunda bya rutura byo mu bwoko bwa mortier [morotsiye], Umuryango

[95] "Icyo gitero cy'inyeshyamba cyari gikomotse ku bwicanyi bwari buherutse kwibasira Abatutsi ; « urwo rugomo rwaberaga muRwanda mu by'ukuri nta sano nyayo rwari rufitanye n'imishyikirano yaberaga i kantarage », (OUA, *Rapport des experts…*, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

[96] Ku itariki ya 9 Gashyantare, i Kigali hasesekaye « abantu ba mbere b'Abafaransa bo gufasha mu bikorwa bya gisirikare » byise EFAO bo mu mutwe wa 21 RIMa. Ku itariki ya 10 Gashyantare habaye igikorwa cya gisirikare cyiswe « Volcan »[Ikirunga] cyo gushakisha abanyamahanga bari mu Ruhengeri. Ku itarki ya 20 Gashyantare haje umutwe wa kabiri w'abasirikare bagendera mu mitaka uvuye i Bangui n'i Libreville, no ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, haza igice cy'imbunda nini za morotsiye za EFAO. Agace k'ubushakashatsi bukoreshwa indege bw'ibikorwa bidasanzwe (RAPAS) ko mu mutwe wa 1 wa RIMa wabumbiye hamwe imitwe yose yari iri aho kandi, witwa igikorwa «Chimère) (Inzozi), utera inkuga Ingabo z'igihugu mu bikorwa bya gisikare kuva ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare kugeza ku ya 28 Werurwe 1993. Icyo gikorwa kidasanzwe, cyarimo abawofisiye bagera kuri makumyabiri n'abahanga bo mu mutwe wa 1 RPMa baje gutera inkunga, cyahurije hamwe abasirikare bose ba Dami (Umutwe w'inkunga ya gisirikare n'amahugurwa), ni ukuvuga abantu 69 bose hamwe n'abiyongeragaho bo muri Noroît (umubare wabo wagejejwe ku bantu 688). Inshingano z'umutwe Chimère (Inzozi) yari ukuzamura urwego rwa tekiniki mu bikorwa bya gisirikare raw etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu n'urw' ubuyobozi bwa segiteri nibura ebyiri za gisirikare ; kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubutasi bugera kure bw'ingabo Noroît, igihe icyo ari cyo cyose bikenewe ; kurangiza amahugurwa y'abakozi bo mu Ngabo z'igihugu ku bikoresho bya gihanga ; guhugura inzobere z'Ingabo z'igihugu ku bikoresho bishya ; kubasha kuyobora inkunga za zikoresha indege. Intego y'uwo mutwe yari iyo guhugura ku buryo buziguye ingobo zigera ku bantu ibihumbi 20 no kuziyobora ku buryo buziguye (reba ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE , *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*op. cit. t. I, p.157).

w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) na Tanzaniya byafashije impande zombi zirwana kwemera guhagarika imirwano ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1993. Kubera igitutu gikomeye cya za ambasade n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo bari babishyizemo umwete kurusha abandi (uBubiligi, uBufaransa, u Budage, Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, ndetse n'intumwa ya Papa n'u Busuwisi), imishyikirano yarasubukuwe mu rwego rwo hejuru ku itariki ya 6 Werurwe i Dar-es- Salaam hagati y'itumwa za guverinoma y'uRwanda ziyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, Dismas Nsengiyaremye, na perezida w'Inkotanyi, Aregisi Kanyarengwe.

Icyizere cy'uko intambara yari hafi kurangira cyatumye byinshi bihinduka mu ivugurura rya poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu. Ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe, jenerali majoro akanaba n'umukuru w'igihugu, Habyarimana, yeguye ku mirimo ya perezida wa MRND kugira ngo atavanga imirimo y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'ubw'amashyaka. Nanone, ku itariki ya 15 Mata, igihe cya guverinoma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye cyongereweho amezi atatu kubera ko byari byananiranye guhitamo minisitiri w'intebe wa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari itegerejwe wagombaga kuva muri MDR. Muri icyo cyuka cy'urunturuntu ni bwo ku itariki ya 18 Gicurasi, agaco k'Inkotanyi kahitanaga Emmanuel Gapyisi (reba umugereka wa 15), wari umwe mu bayobozi ba MDR, wari umaze gushinga ihuriro ryitwa « Paix et Democratie[Amahoro na Demokarasi] », ahamagarira uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kurwanya ku buryo bumwe ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana n'Inkotanyi, akaba n'umwe mu bakandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wari umaze kwigaragaza cyane. Muri icyo gihe, ihuriro ry'amatorero ya gikirisitu yakanguranye umurava imbaraga zayo zo mu karere (CETA y'i Nairobi hamwe na Kiliziya gatolika[97]), kugira ngo bihutishe imishyikirano y'amahoro.

Nyuma yo gushyira umukono ku gace ka gagatatu k'amasezerano « kerekeye gucyura no gutuza impunzi hamwe no gutuza abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara » ku itariki ya 9 Kamena 1993 mu mugi wa Arusha, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wongereye

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[97] Karidinali Roger Etchegaray, perezida w'akanama « Ubutabera n'amahoro » yoherejweyo na Papa kuva ku itariki ya 6 kugeza ku ya 13 Gicurasi asa n'utegura imirimo y'Inama y'abasenyeri gatolika bo muRwanda no muBurundi, yateranye hagati y'itariki ya 27 na 28 Gicurasi i Kigali.

Itsinda ry'indorerezi za gisirikare zitagira aho zibogamiye (GOMN) z'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) mu ishyirwaho, ku itarki ya 22 Kamena, ry'umutwe w'indorerezi uhuriweho n'uBuganda n'uRwanda, ushinzwe kugenzura umupaka. Ubutiriganya bwa poritiki bwahereyeko bwiyongera harimo, ku ruhande rumwe, ivugurura ry ;ubuyobozi bwa MRND (Inama rusange yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga i Kigali), ku rundi, ivanwaho rya Minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye (MDR), ryakurikiwe n'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma nshya iyobowe na Agagthe Uwilingiyimana (MDR) ku itariki ya 18 Nyakanga. Iteraniye mu nama idasanzwe ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga, MDR yamaganye iryo shyirwaho inatora ihagarikwa mu ishyaka ry'abaminisitiri bose bo muri MDR bari muri iyo guverinoma nshya hamwe na Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida wayo. Abantu benshi mu b'imena bari bashyigikiye igikorwa cy'imishyikirano ubwo bavanywe mu rubuga rwa poritiki (minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Boniface Ngulinzira [MDR], ahanini), ndetse biba ngombwa ko bahunga igihugu kubera iterabwoba (minisitiri w'Ingabo, James Gasana [MRND], Minisitiri w'intebe wari wavanyweho Dismas Nsengiyaremye) (kuri ibyo bihe binyuranye, reba imbere muri uyu mutwe).

Ku itariki ya 3, inyandiko y'igice cya kane cy'amasezerano-« cyerekeye ivanga ry'ingabo z'impande zombi zihanganye »- n'iy'igice cya gatanu- « cyerekeye ibibazo binyuranye n'ingingo zisoza[98]"-noneho yari imaze kurangira, ikaba yarashoraga gufasha, bukeye bwaho, gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusaha hagati y'Inkotanyi na guverinoma y'uRwanda. Byakurikiwe no kwemerwa ku mugaragaro kwa Faustin Twagiramungu nka Minisitri w'intebe wa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, ku itariki ya 5. Amasezerano yemezaga ku buryo budasubirwaho igenzurwa ry'inzego za poritiki n'iza gisirikiare n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi byishyize hamwe.

N'ubwo abaturage bashobora kuba bariruhukije, ariko ntibigeze mu by'ukuri bagaragaza ibyishimo. Ntibari na rimwe barigeze batumirwa kugira icyo bavuga ku

[98] Muri izo ngingo zisoza harimo ivanwaho ry'ubwoko mu ndangamuntu no kwemera ishyirwa ry'amasezerano mpuzamahanga yerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu mategeko y'imbere mu gihugu.

itegurwa ry'amasezerano cyangwa mu kuyemeza, kandi bari bahangayikishijwe cyane n'imikino ya poritiki n'ubwiyunge budasobanutse bwakorwaga, kimwe n'iyicwa rya Emmanuel Gapyisi-Uwa mbere mu rutonde rw'ubwicanyi bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki-, ryasakujwe cyane.

Icyemezo cy'ingenzi cy'amasezerano cyari cyerekeye ishyirwa muRwanda ry'ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ryemejwe n'Inama y'Umutekano ku itariki ya 5 Ukwakira 1993[99]. Minuar (Ubutumwa bw'Umuryango w 'Abibumbye bwo kunganira uRwanda) yasimbuye ubutumwa bwo mu rwego rw'uburorerezi bwari bwarashyizweho muri Kamena uwo mwaka. Inshingano zayo, zateganywaga mu gihe cy'amezi atandatu, zarebaga igenzura ry'ihagarika ry'imirwano ryari ryarashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 hagati ya guverinmoma y'uRwanda n'Inkotanyi, kugenzura icyurwa ry'impunzi n'ituzwa ry'abavanywemu byabo, hamwe no gukura ingabo muri Kigali. Mu ntangiriro yari igizwe n'abasirikare 1260, 81 muri bo barashyizwe ku mupaka w'uBuganda. Inama y'Umutekano yafashe icyemezo cyo kohereza umutwe w'ingabo w'inyongera mu cyemezo cyayo cya mbere cy'umwaka wa 1994[100], cyafashwe na bose. Zigeze ku basirikare 2500, ingabo zayo zavaga mu bihugu 24 kandi zayoborwaga n'umujenerali w'Umunyakanada Roméo Dallaire. Bangladesh yari yatanze 937, Ghana841, uBubiligi 428. Kubera ko Inkotanyi zari zanze burundu uruhare rw'ingabo z'Abafaransa mu nago za Minuar mu itunganya ry'imishyijkirano y'Arusha, ingabo z'Ababiligi ni zo zari zigize « agace gakaze ».

Ingabo za Minuar zatangiye kuza ku itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1993, noneho ku itarik ya 15 Ukuboza umutwe wa gisirikare w'Abafaransa Noroît urataha, usigaza gusa abafatanyabikorwa b'abasirikare 24, bari bashinzwe ubwunganizi mu rwego rwa tekiniki muRwanda. Babanjirijwe n'ibikorwa bya poritiki bikaze mu mitwe ya poritiki irwanya ubutegetsi (inama rusange ebyiri zihanganye za PL, inama rusange ya PSD, itegura ry'inama idasanzwe yiswe « iy'ubwiyunge » muri MDR, n'ibindi), ingabo n'abahagarariye Inkotanyi bageze i Kigali ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza batura mu ngoro

[99] Icyemezo n° 872.
[100] Icyemezo n^0 893 cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mutarama 1994.

y'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND). Abantu magana atandatu ukurikije amasezerano, 800 ku bandi, impaka ni bwo zari zigitangira…

Uretse ibikorwa bya poritiki byari bifitanye isano ya hafi cyangwa bikomoka ku gikorwa cy'Arusha, umwaka wa 1993, wari wahariwe amasezerano, warangijwe n'ukwisubiranya gukomeye mu rwego rwa poritiki. Uko kwisubiranya kwatewe n'ihinduka ry'umwuka wa gisirikare n'imbaraga zongewe mu ihangana rishya.

Igihagararo cyiza cy'Inkotanyi

Ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi, imishyikirano yari ivanyeho ku buryo burambye urwitwazo rw'amatora zatinyaga bidasubirwaho. Nanone, zabonaga umugambi wazo wo gukuraho ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana ushyigikiwe ku buryo bwose n' «abaharanira demokarasi » zitiriwe ubwazo zisobanura umushinga uwo ari wo wose wo kubaka igihugu cyangwa zikora imishyikirano ku ntego za poritiki zisobanutse. Zibifatanyije n'ibitero bya gisirikare, zari zashyize ingufu mu bikorwa byo guhungabanya urwego rwa poritiki rw'imbere mu gihugu kandi zibasha kubyegeka ku ntagondwa za MRND. Koko rero, abo ntibatinyaga na bo gutegura ubuhotozi n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abasivili b'Abatutsi bwihishwe inyuma n'abategetsi.

Ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byakorwaga n'Inkotanyi ku basivili byashoboye kumenyekana neza bitinze (reba umugereka wa 14). Hagati ya Nyakanga 1991 na Nzeri 1992, ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi 45 byakoreshejwe mine zitega ibimodoka by'intambara cyangwa bitegwa abantu byarabaruwe binabonerwa ibimenyetso na jandarumori y'igihugu, n'ubwo itari izobereye ibikorwa by'iperereza, yari yagaragaje ibimenyetso rusange bike ibifashijwemo n'abashinjacyaha ba Repubulika. Raporo zavuye muri jandarumori y'uRwanda zibanze icyo gihe ku:

-isimburana ry'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi imbere mu gihugu n'imirwano hagati y'ingabo z'Inkotanyi n' Ingabo z'igihugu ku rugamba;

-intego yo kurushaho gutiza umurindi amakimbirane muri guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye no mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida

ubwarwo[101];

-Ugukomera kw'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi mu turere twarimo abaturage benshi b'Abatutsi, bashoboraga gukekwagaho kuzagira uruhare mu gukangurira abantu gushyigikira Inkotanyi, by'umwihariko mu maperefegitura zitabashaga gushingamo ibirindiro (nk'i Butare);

- ntitwabura kandi kuvuga ku bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byinshi byibasiraga ahantu h'ingirakamaro (nk'ubwikorezi bwa lisansi n'urugomero rw'amashanyarazi rw'i Cyangugu).

Twibuke nanone ko ahantu hashakwaga (amasoko, gari-inshuro ebyiri-iposita nkuru y'i Kigali, minibisi, amatagisi, amahoteli n'utubari hagaragazaga ko byari bigamije guhitana abasivili benshi cyane. Ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bibiri gusa ni byo byakorewe minibisi za gisirikare (komini Gashora, Kigali ngari, muri Gashyantare na Werurwe 1992).

Icyiciro cya mbere cy'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi cyakomeye mu ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuruweho n'amashyaka menshi muri Mta1992 kirakomeza kugeza ku mpera z'umwaka, hanyuma birahagara rwse mu ntangiriro yumwaka wa1993, igihe habaga igitero cya gisirikare cy'Inkotanyi mu maperfegitura yo mu Majyaruguru muri agashyantare. Icyiciro cya kabiri cyabaye hanyuma, hagati ya Werurwe na Gicurasi 1993. Ifatwa ry'abantu benshi bambukanaga za mine ku mipaka ya Tanzaniya na Zaïre mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992 ryerekanye ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'Inkotanyi (reba umugereka wa 14), ibyo bikaba byaratumye ahari zihindura uburyo bwo gukora. Muri icyo gihe higanje ibitero, ibikorwa by'ubusambo na cyane cyane amahotorwa (y'abantu), byari bigoye cyane kumenya ababikoze (reba umugereka wa 15).

Twibutse ariko ko uburyo bwo gucegera mu mashyaka (cyane cyane mu rubyiruko rwa PSD), hanyuma no kuba i Kigali byemewe kw'Inkotanyi byazongereye uburyo

[101] Muri Mata 199, umuyobozi wa Orinfor, Christophe Mfizi, yatangaje inyandiko ityaye irwanya icyo yise «*Reseau zero*[ikiguri-nunga]» yemeza ko hariho « imitwe y'ubwicanyi» yaterwaga inkunga na Perezidansi kandi yari yimirije imbere gusenya uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Twibutse nk'urugero, ko igikorwa cy'ubugizi bwa nabi cya mbere cyitiriwe Inkotanyi cyo ku itariki ya 6 Gicurasi 1992 i Butare, intego yacyo yari hoteli Faucon yari yabereyemo imwe mu nama za mbere z'abayobozi ba MDR ku rwego rwa perefegitura nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

bushya bwo gukora. Bityo, gushakira ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi byarateganyijwe iyo habaga ubwicanyi bukomeye, cyane cyane mu nzego za jandarumori y'uRwanda. Nk'urugero twavuga, mu bikorwa byitiriwe abakomando bo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi, urutonde rw'ibitero byo mu Gushyingo 1993. Koko rero Inkotanyi zivumburanye ubugome ku ivugurura bimyuze mu matora ry'inzego nshingwabikorwa za komini, ryabaye muri Nzeri 1993 mu karere kari karavanywemo ingabo ko mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, zari zarigaruriye mu gihe cy'amezi menshi. N'ubwo zari zaritanze bikomeye mu bikorwa byo kwiyamamaza, Inkotanyi zatsinzwe ahantu hose n'abayoboke ba MRND. Iryo somo ryo ku butaka ryahinduye ibintu, ryongera urwango rukabije rw'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'Inkotanyi ku «baharanira demokarasi», ryongera nanone kurwanya ibikorwa by'amatora byateganywaga n'amasezerano y'Arusha mu mpera z'inzibacyuho. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 17 rishyira iya 18 Ugushyingo, hagati y'abantu 40 na 55[102] bishwe mu makomini ya Nyamugari, Cyeru, Kidaho na Nkumba ya Superefegitura ya Kirambo (Ruhengeri). Abenshi mu bantu bahigwaga ni abari bahagarariye MRND na CDR bari batsinze ayo matora hamwe n'abantu bo mu miryango yabo.

Havugwa nanone uruhare rw'agaco k'abakomando b'Inkotanyi mu mvururu hagati y'amoko zabaye kuva ku itariki ya 26 kugeza ku ya 29 Ugushyingo mu 1993 mu Bugesera, zikagwamo abantu batanu abandi 300 bagahungira kuri paruwasi gatolika ya Ruhuha. Abo bakomando baturukaga i Renga, ku rundi ruhande rw'umupaka w'uBurundi muri komini Busoni, porovensi ya Kirundo, ahari kamwe mu duce tw'ingenzi tw'inzira y'Inkotanyi yanyuragamo abinjizwaga mu ngabo bavuye muRwanda.

Cyangwa se , mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 30 Ugushyingo rishyirab iya 1 Ukuboza 1993, ubwo habaga ubwicanyi bw'abasivili 17 ku Kabatwa, muri komini Mutura, muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Iryo tsinda ry'abakomando, rigizwe n'abantu bagera kuri 20 mo mu mutwe w'ingabo z'Inkotanyi "Charly" wabaga muri Butaro, ryari riyobowe na majoro Gashayija Bagirigomwa hamwe na kapiteni Moses Rubimbura (reba umugereka

[102] Uwo mubare ni uwatanzwe n'akanama k'ipereereza kari kabishinzwe muri Minuar.

wa 16). Kuri ubwo bwicanyi bwa nyuma, Minuar yari yarageze ku mwanzuro ko Inkotanyi ari zo zari zakoze ubwo muri superefegitura ya Kirambo, yahisemo kudakora iperereza, ukurikije amagambo ya jenerali Roméo Dallaire, icyo gihe wari umuyobozi wa Minuar:

> «Iyo dukora iperereza tukabona gihamya yizewe ko Inkotanyi ari zo zakoze ibyo byaha, twashoboraga guhuzagurika ku butaka butezemo mine, kubera ko umwe mu bahoze barwana yari kuboneka nk'ushaka guhungabanya igihugu ku bwende. Nyamara kandi, iyo bitadushobokera kugaragaza Inkotanyi nk'aho ari zo zakoze ibyo byaha, ibitangazamakuru, by'umwihariko RTLM, byari kudufata nk'abashyikiye Inkotanyi cyangwa abatagira icyo bamaze na busa [103]».

Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare, 2004, majoro Brent Beardsley, wahoze yungirije Jenerali Dallaire yatanze ubuhamya bukurikira imbere y'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR):

> «Mu Gushyingo 1993, twavumbuye ko izindi mbaraga za gatatu zakoranaga n'uruhande rwa guverinoma y'uRwanda. […] Zari zariyemeje gusebya Minuar no kuburizamo amasezerano y'amahoro. Zari ziteguye kwica kubera iyo mpamvu. […] Ibikorwa binyuranye byatugejeje kuri uwo mwanzuro. Ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi, umutekano muke mu majyepfo y'igihugu, amagambo arwanya Ababiligi kuri RTLM na bwa bwicanyi bubiri bwo mu Gushyingo byatumye dufata umwanzuro ko hariho agatsiko kari kariyemeje guhagarika ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha[104]. »

Imyanzuro ya Brent Beardsley ni ukuri ku byerekeye ukubaho kw' "imbaraga za gatatu" zari zariyemeje guhagarika igikorwa cy'amahoro. Ariko igitekerezo cye

[103] *Ubuhamya, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 21 Mutarama 2004, p. 70 (reba umugereka wa 16).*

[104] Ubuhamya bwa majoro Brent BEARDSLEY, urubanza rwa Baagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 4 Mutarama 2004 (reba umugereka wa16).

gishingiye ku bwende bwo kuvangitiranya ibintu nkana kubera impamvu tumaze kuvuga (reba ibyavuzwe na Dallaire). Nk'uko tuzabibona imbere cyane, iryo bogama ryo kwemeza ibyo udafitiye gihamya ni ryo ryaje kuba inkingi y'ibindi bisobanuro bibuze epfo na ruguru.

Nyamara, ibyo ntibivuguruza na busa ukubaho kw'ibitero n'ibikorwa by'ubugome byateguwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare y'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, cyangwa amarorerwa yakozwe n'abasirikare bo mu ngabo z'igihugu. Mu makomini menshi ya MRND, kimwe no mu yandi yari afitwe n'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ibikorwa by'iterabwoba ribogamye ntibyasibaga kwibasira abaturage benshi barimo abarwanya ubutegetsi cyangwa abanga gusa kwemera ubwambuzi n'ibigambo binyuranye by'iterabwoba. Muri ibyo bikorwa harimo, akenshi bitewe n'ubusambo busanzwe, ibitero bya buri gihe byakoreshaga za gerenade. Ku bazishakaga bose, izo (gerenade) zabonekaga ku isoko ku biciro byoroheje. Inyandiko za minisiteri y'ingabo zivuga iturika ry'umubare munini wa za gerenade ryabarwaga ku basirikare bitwazaga umuco wo kudahana wariho kugira ngo bihorere.

Ukuri ni uko hari imbaraga za «gatatu» n'iza « kane », zimwe ku ruhande rw'intagondwa zo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, izindi ku rw'Inkotanyi, zose ziri ku mpande zitandukanye z'urubuga rwa poritiki, zari zihuriye ku kutagira inyungu n'imwe mu kubona amasezerano y'Arusha ashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Bityo, zaba Inkotanyi, baba bakeba bazo bo mu ruhande rushyikiye perezida bose bakoresheje ibikorwa by'iterabwoba bakurikije gahunda iteguye kandi ijyana n'ibindi bikorwa bya gisirikare na poritiki. Ariko, nk'uko bisobanuye mu mugereka wa 14, ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byakoresheje za mine zishwanyaguza ibimodoka by'intambara n'izica abantu byakorewe abaturage b'abasivili hagati y'umwaka wa 1991 no hagati mu mwaka wa 1993 zishobora gufatwa nk'ikimenyetso cyihariye cy'Inkotanyi mu ntambara yo kuryanisha Abanyarwanda. Mu ntangiriro za 1994, Minuar yabaruye mu bice yakoreragamo cyane cyane mu mugi wa Kigali «abacengezi» [b'Inkotanyi] amagana, nyuma yaho ndetse igeza ku bihumbi, ariko ntiyigeze na busa yibaza ku ntwaro

bari bitwaje kandi byari mu nshingano zayo (umugereka wa17).

Kubera uruhare zari zeguriwe nk'«umukiranuzi» w'impande zishyamiranye [imbere mu gihugu], Inkotanyi zabonye urwaho rwo gusarurira mu nduru y'ihangana ry'abakeba bazo, bityo zikagenda zifatanya na bamwe guharanira inyungu izi n'izi uko ibihe biha ibindi ari nako zikataza mu gushyira I rudubi ubukana bw'amakimbirane ya poritiki, ubukungu n'imibanire y'abaturage. Icyari kigambiriwe kwari ugutesha agaciro no guca integer abazirwanyaga mu gihe zari zigihihibikanira kwemeza [n'amahanga] ko ari zo zonyine zashoboraga kuba ingurane nyakuri y'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana[105] ari nako zitegura igitero rurangiza.

Isandara ry'urukuta rw'imbere mu gihugu

Nyuma yo guhanyanyaza burundu, Yuvenari Habyarimana yaje kwemera, muri Mata 1992, "minisitiri w'intebe wo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi" noneho yibanda ku bugenzuzi bw'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida na MRND, aho abari bafite irari ry' ubutegetsi bahanganye batinyukaga noneho kujya ku karubanda.

Incamake ya 6

Ukubohoza cyangwa "kuvana" muri MRND ku mbaraga

Ku bakozi bakuru bo mu buyobozi bw'ishyaka rya leta, inkubiri y'amahindura yadukanywe n'amashyaka menshi yafashwe nko kunyagwa akabiri kombi, bitera benshi guhahamuka cyane cyane mu nzego zegereye abaturage. Kunyagwa kwa mbere kwari kujyanye n'amategeko mashya yahagarikaga ivanga ry'ubuyobozi bwite bwa leta n'ubw'inzego z'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Ku buryo busobanutse neza, MRND ntiyari igifite ububasha bwo kwigenera no gukoresha umutungo wa leta, cyane cyane amashimwe yawuvagamo[a]. Kunyagwa kwa kabiri yari inkubiri y'*ukubohoza*, yajyanaga no kwibasira ku buryo bunyuranije n'amategeko imirimo, ibintu n'imitungo bwite by'abarwanashyaka ba MRND aho yari igishinze ibirindiro.

Ukubohoza[b] ni izina ryadutse mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi, rikagenekereza ibikorwa bya MDR, ndetse na PSD na PL, byo kwamagana no guhungabanya ahanini abakozi bakomeye bo mu cyahoze ari

[105] "Nanone biratangaje ko ibikomerezwa byinshi by'Inkotanyi ubu biri mu mahanga. Kanyarengwe na Sendashonga ubu bari i Washington ku butumire bwa sena y'Abanyamerika" (inyandiko liyetona NEES yakoreye icyicaro gikuru cya Minuar, ku itariki ya 9 Gashyantare 1994, reba umugereka wa 17).

ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, no ku buryo bwaguye, abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Kubuhoza abantu byavugaga "kubabohora" ingoyi n'ibyiyumviro bibaziritse, kwigabiza umutungo wo mu rwego rwa poritiki bagenzuraga, ndetse no kubirukana mu byabo.

Aho amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yari akomeye, ababurugumesitiri, abajyanama ba segiteri bavanyweho muri ubwo buryo barasimbuzwa. Iyo nkubiri yabanzirizaga amatora yifuzwaga kandi ikaba yari mu mugambi uganisha ku nama *Rukokoma*. Bityo, haba mu duce tw'umugi wa Kigali cyangwa ku misozi yo mu makomini yo mu giturage, habayeho ingero nyinshi z'ibikorwa by'urugomo byahanganishije urubyiruko rushya rw'Inkuba za MDR n'urwa MRND. Bityo, ufashe urugero ku maperefegitura ya Gitarama cyangwa Butare, MRND yahagaritse ibikorwa byayo mu makomini menshi, ndestse iyavamo ku mugaragaro. Abakozi bakuru benshi bagiye muri MDR cyangwa PSD. Urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za MRND bavugaga ibyo gusubiramo ibohoza mu bikorwa byabo byo "kubohora" abarwanya ubutegetsi mu turere twarimo bake, bitwaga kuborohereza kugaruka muri MRND.

Edouard Karemera, wari ushinzwe inzibacyuho hagati ya MRND ya kera na MRND ivuguruye, asobanura ingaruka z'iyo nkubiri agira ati:

"Byaravugwaga, cyane cyane ko abakeba bacu bo muri MDR, PSD na PL bari baratangije poritiki mbi—ndavuga koko poritiki "mbi"—yitwaga kubohoza –mu Kinyarwanda, ni ukuvuga kugandisha abaturage. Kandi iyo poritiki yo kubohoza, yageze mu gihugu cyose. Yibasiraga abayobozi; MDR n'abo bifatanyije ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bashakaga abayoboke ku mbaraga. Iyo wabaga uri burugumesitiri, barakubazaga bati : "Urahitamo kuva muri MRND winjire mu ishyaka ryacu, cyangwa witegure ko tukuvana ku mbaraga muri iryo shyaka ry'igitugu."[...] Kandi ntibyarangiriraga aho. Kubohoza, iyo poritiki mbi yari ishyigikiwe na Minisitiri w'intebe ubwe, Nsengiyaremye Dismas, yibasiraga ibikorwa byose by'amajyambere byari byarakozwe mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi[c]."

Ubwo bugizi bwa nabi n'isenya ry'ibikorwa rusange byitirirwaga "MRND" (amagana y'amahegitari y'amashyamba n'inyubako nyinshi byatwitswe) byafashwe nabi cyane n'abaterankunga b'abanyamahanga, mu myaka ya 1991-1992 bamagana ku mugaragaro uwo mugambi wo kugumuka ku ruhande rw'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi rwari rutangiye kuvuka. Nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye (Mata 1992), kutabasha kwayo kurwanya ihangana rya poritiki byayigabanyirije cyane icyizere hamwe n'inkunga yahabwaga abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

a. Ubuhamya bwa Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR, 18 Gicurasi 2009, impap. 26-28 (umugereka wa 18)

b. Iryo jambo ry'ikinyarwanda ryatiriwe mu giswahili, ijambo rikomokaho kukomboa (« kuvana ku ngoyi ») ryahinduwe ku buryo butuzuye « kubohoza » (reba nanone, mu ncamake ya 4, igisobanuro cy'ijambo abakombozi).

c. Ubuhamya bwa Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR, 18 Gicurasi 2009, ururpap.33.

Ivugurura ry'inzego z'ubuyobozi, itatana ry'inzego z'iperereza no gucika mo uduce mu ngabo z'igihugu byahungabanyije bikomeye ubutegetsi bwa perezida, bikanamugabanyiriza ububasha. Kugira ngo abashe kugumaho, yagombaga mbere na mbere kongera kwigarurira MRND dore ko benshi mu bikomerezwa bifuzaga, nubwo batabyeruraga, ko yakwegura ku buyobozi bwayo. Yagombaga nanone gushyigikirwa n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, rwari ingirakamaro cyane mu kureshya abarwanashyaka. Ku itariki ya 22 Mata, Yuvenari Habyarimana yeguye ku mwanya w'umukuru w'ingabo anatangaza ko afashe ikiruhuko cy'izabukuru mu Ngabo z'igihugu kugira ngo agume ku buyobozi bwa MRND kandi yiyamamarize kuba perezida wa Repubulika. Ku buryo bubangikanye, yiyemeje kugenzura Interahamwe anashyirishaho ubuyobozi bwazo bushya. Icyo gitugu cyo kwikubira imyanya nticyashimishije uwari watangije « umuryango w'urubyiruko » rwa MRND, Désiré Murenzi, umwe mu bari bagize Komite y'ishayaka mu rwego rw'igihugu, wahisemo kuyivamo.

Ibintu mu rwego rwa poritiki byari bikomeye ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, rwotswaga igitutu n'amashyakayo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, yageragezaga gutsimbataza ibirindiro byayo mu makomini akoresheje inkubiri yo kubohoza no kwirukana abayategekaga.Nanone uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ubwarwo rwari rwaracitsemo ibice bibiri, kimwe cyashyiraga imbere umugambi wo gufungura amarembo no kuvugurura abakozi bakuru bo mu majyaruguru, ikindi kigizwe n'abari batsimbaraye ku kurengera bivuye inyuma ibyo bari baragezeho ari nabo baje kuyoboka CDR ku bwinshi. Ku ntambara y'inyuma n'imbere mu gihugu hiyongereyeho imishyikirano y'Arusha, aho ubwiyunge bw'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi byashegeshaga bikomeye inzego za MRND. Kuri buri ntambwe mu mishyikirano, uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwumvaga runyazwe inshuro ebyiri. Mu buryo bwo kunegura, abanyacyubahiro benshi bitaga icyo gikorwa « imishyikirano hagati y'Inkotanyi n'Inkotanyi », agace ka MRND kakifata nk'agahejwe.

Ku ruhande rumwe, batinyaga ko abarwanya ubutegetsi ari bo bonyine bitirirwa itungana ry'icyo gikorwa. Ibi ybyagaragaye ubwo guverinoma n'Inkotanyi bashyiraga umukono ku masezerano yo guhagarika imirwano ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga 1992,

abaturage bakiruhutsa dore ko bari barambiwe intambara. Ku rundi ruhande, bumvaga ko imishyikirano yari igamije kubaburizamo mu rwego rwa poritiki, nk'uko babitangaje ubwo hashyirwaga umukono ku gace k'amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi, ku itariki ya 30 Ukwakira 1992.

Muri izo mpagarara, ubutegetsi bwa Yuvenari Habyarimana bwagendaga butsindwa mpaga maze abambari babwo, harimo n'abo mu ngabo, bagaterwa impungenge n'imbaraga nke, yewe ndetse n'ubushobozi buke yagaragazaga. Ikinegu gikomeye yagejejweho n'abantu b'intagondwa, cyane cyane mu bari bamugaragiye bya hafi ni ukutabasha kugira igitsure ku ntumwa za guverinoma zari zishinzwe imishyikirano:

> « Urwego rw'ububanyi n'mahanga rwa guverinoma ntirwajyaga imbizi n' n'ubutegetsi bwa kera, kimwe na perezida n'abamugaragiye. Mu buhamya bwe, indorerezi y'uBufaransa mu mishyikirano y'Arusha, Bwana Jean-Christophe Belliard, na we yavuze ko intumwa za guverinoma y' uRwanda, zari zigizwe na Boniface Ngulinzira, wari icyo gihe minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'uRwanda, aherekejwe na Bwana Claver Kanyarushoki, icyo gihe wari ambasaderi w'uRwanda muBuganda hamwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, « yahoraga mu bwumvikane buke, mbega nta mbaraga afite muri iyo mishyikirano ». Yasobanuye ko hari nk'ubwo « minisitiri Ngulinzira babonanaga buri gihe kandi imbonankubone, yagiraga ibyo amwemerera mu mvugo, ariko akanamwibutsa ko atari we wafataga ibyemezo, ko yagombaga kubibwira Bwana Claver Kanyarushoki. Yagombaga rero kujya impaka n'ambasderi Claver Kanyarushoki, ibyo bikaba byari umwanya ukomeye mu kazi ke. Iyo Bwana Claver Kanyarushoki yasobanukirwaga, yageragaho agatanga icyifuzo cye n'icya perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana, ariko akongeraho ko yagombaga gusobanurira kolonewli Théoneste Bagosora ». Yongeyeho ko ko hari n'ubwo yiboneye aho ubwumvikane buke hagati y'intumwa [za guverinoma] butuma ibikorwa

by'imishyikirano bihagarikwa noneho impaka zikimurirwa ku wundi munsi[106].”

Koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo, yari mu baneguranaga cyane kandi akigaragaza cyane nk'ugomba kugishwa inama mu rwego rwa poritiki ari na ko yongera igitutu cyo kugirwa jenerali majoro, ipeti ryari rifitwe gusa na Yuvenari Habyarimana kugeza ubwo yasezeraga mu ngabo kubera iza bukuru. Ibi biragusha ku ruhare rwa minisiteri y'ingabo n'urw'ingabo z'igihugu mu mwuka mushya w'intambara yo gusubiranamo n'inzibacyuho yo mu rwego rwa poritiki. Koko rero, ingabo zabaye bidasubirwaho urubuga amacakubiri yo mu rwego rw'igihugu yigaragarijemo ku buryo bw'ubukana bwinshi ndetse n'ibyago by'urupfu. Ni ngombwa kubyibutsa mu magambo make kugira ngo umuntu yumve imikomerere n'ingaruka zabyo.

Ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikare

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1973, ikibazo gikuru cya jenerali major Yuvenari Habyarimana cyabaye kugenzura ibikorwa n'irari ry'ubutegetsi rya bagenzi be – ubu noneho bari basigaye ari abagererwa be— bari baramushyize ku butegetsi (reba umugereka wa 1), cyangwa se mu by'ukuri, abo yari yibye umugono agafata ubutegetsi bakamwemerera noneho na we akabakinga akababi mu maso abagabiramo imyanya. Uko biri kose, habanje kuba ihiganwa ndondakarere hagati y'abawofisiye bo ku Gisenyi n'abo mu Ruhengeri. Ni yo mpamvu, muri Nyakanga 1975, perezida yishyiriyeho nk'umuyoboro wa poritiki yitegekera bisesuye. Mu gukora atyo, kandi atirengagije ingabo, yari ahaye Repubulika ya Kabiri ibyicaro bibiri ku rwego rwa gisivili n'urwa gisirikare, yashoboraga kwiyambariza icyarimwe cyangwa abisimburanya, ndetse akabiteranya kimwe n'ikindi.

Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1980, ubwo umugambi wo guhirika ubutegetsi wari umaze gupfuba[107], majoro Théoneste Lizinde agafungwa na koloneli Aregisi

106 Raporo ya Pierre Brana na Bernard Caseneuve, muri ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit., tumb 1,* p.102

107 Ukuri kuri uwo mugambi wo kugerageza guhirika ubutegetsi na nubu kuracyagibwaba ho impaka, dore ko

Kanyarengwe agahunga, ibyo kwica cyangwa kwigizayo abamurwanyaga ku mugaragaro cyangwa mu rufefeko byahagarariye aho. Koroneri Lawurenti Serubuga, wari umwungirije muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'uRwanda akanaba « nomero ya kabiri » mu rwego rwa gisirikare nyuma ya Yuvenari Habyarimana, yari rwose mu mwanya mwiza cyane, ariko ntiyari yujuje ibya ngombwa byo kuba yamusimbura. Nk' umuntu utarakundwaga kandi utarigaragazaga, yari igikoresho cya perezida. Umuntu rero yakeka ko ukuramba kwe ku buyobozi bwa etamajoro kwari koko gufitanye isano n'ubwitonzi bwe, bwari butandukanye n'irari ry'ubutegetsi ryagaragazwaga n'ibikomerezwa byo mu cyiciro cya gatatu (1962-1964) cyo mu Ishuri ryAbawofisiye (EO), cyarimo Théoneste Lizinde, Stanislas Mbonampeka, Théoneste Bagosora cyangwa Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita (reba umugereka wa 1).

Nyuma yaho, abawofisiye babiri bavuka mu kazu ka perezida baje kwigaragaza. Abo ni koloneli Stanislas Mayuya na koloneli Aloys Nsekarije. Uwa mbere, umugabo w'inyangamugayo kandi wubahwaga wakomokaga ku Gisenyi kandi wavaga mu cyiciro cya 4 cy'Ishuri ry'Abawofisiye (EO), yari umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Kanombe n'uw'umutwe w' « abaparakomando » wafatwaga nk'umwe mu mitwe ikomeye y'ingabo z'uRwanda. Uwa kabiri yavaga, kimwe na perezida Habyarimana, mu cyiciro cya mbere cya EO kandi agakomoka ku muryango wa kera wo mu Bushiru, wari warakiriye ukanaha isambu abapadiri b'abanyagatolika, bashinze misiyoni ya Rambura, hamwe n'umuryango wa Habyarimana, waje ukurikiye abo bapadiri mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya XX. Uwo mugabo wasigaye ari uwa nyuma mu barokotse bo mu bakamarade b'uwa 5 Nyakanga, yari yarigize ikimana anafite ku mugaragaro uduco tw'abagererwa be bwite, aba minisitiri udakorwaho mbere yo gusigara ari depite.

Stanislas Mayuya yarashwe muri Werurwe 1988 na serija Birori wari umukuru w'abarindaga ikigo, amutsinda imbere y'ibiro bye amaze kumuterera isaruti. Mu igenzacyaha, urupfu rwe rwateye impuha nyinshi ku bari baruri inyuma. Urwikekwe

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nta perereza ryabikozweho icyo gihe.

rwari kuri koloneli Serubuga, umukuru wa etamajoro wungirije, rwarayobejwe maze abawofisiye batatu barafatwa ariko ntibigera bacirwa urubanza[108]. Uwa kabiri we, koloneli Nsekalije, yigijweyo mu 1990 bamutoresha ku budepite.

Bityo rero, ni igisirikare cyaciwe intege kandi cyinjijwe mu bya poritiki, ariko kandi kirimo ibice byinshi—abawofisiye ntibari bagitinya kugaragaza ukubogama kwabo ku mpande za poritiki, ku migendekere y'intambara, ku bakuru babo— cyahanganye n'ikibazo cy'intambara kandi « ibikomerezwa » byo mu majyaruguru byagerageje kongera guhagurutsa abantu byitwaje amoko nkuko byari byaragenze muri za 1960. Igisirikari cyarimo koko abawofisiye benshi b'abasore, bamwe muri bo barize mu mashuri ya gisirikare yo mu mahanga ndetse bamwe muri bo baranageze mu nzego z'ubuyobozi zifuzwaga cyane (umutwe w'abaparakomando, umutwe w'iperereza, n'ahandi), ariko na bo ubwabo bari barashyizwe mu mwuka w'ubuhake, uw'amoko n'uturere wayoboraga urwego rwa gisirikare ukanarucamo ibice.

Muri Gashyantare 1991, kimwe mu byemezo bya mbere bya Sylvestre Nsanzimana, wari wagizwe Minisitiri w'ubutabera[109], cyabaye kurekura ba bawofisiye batatu bari barabeshyewe kuba inyuma y'urupfu rwa koloneli Mayuya. Nyuma basubijwe mu gisirikare n'icyemezo cy'inama ya guverinoma ku itariki ya 21 Ukwakira 1992, kimwe n'abandi bagera kuri makumyabiri, kimwe na bo, bari birukanwe mu gisirikare bazira ubusa. Ku ruhande rwe, minisitiri mushya w'ingabo z'igihugu, James Gasana, umusivili wo muri MRND, yagerageje gupfundura ingoyi z'izo ngabo zari zaraboshywe n'uduco two ku ruhande rwa perezida. Yihatiye kubaka bundi bushya igisirikare cy'« igihugu » no kuminjira abasirikari mo agafu. Ashyigikiwe na guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye yashyizweho muri Mata 1992, yavuguruye bikomeye ubuyobozi bw'ingabo, atunganya bundi bushya inzego z'iperereza, asaranganya ibikoresho mu mitwe y'ingabo. Muri Mata 1992, nyuma y'isezera mu ngabo

[108] Koloneli Théoneste Bagosora yeguriwe icyo gihe ubuyobozi bw'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Kanombe, ariko ntiyahabwa icy'umutwe w' « Abaparakomando », biramubabaza cyane.

[109] Umugabo wubashywe, uwo munyagikongoro, wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa Grégoire Kayibanda akanaza kuba Umuyobozi wa mbere w'Umunyarwanda wa Kaminuza, yari mu mwanya w'Umunyamabanga wungirije w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) ubwo yasabwaga na perezida Habyarimana gukemura umwuka wa poritiki w'imbere mu gihugu.

rya Yuvenari Habyarimana (reba umugereka wa 19), ikibazo cyikubye kabiri cy'umukuru wa etamajoro n'ipeti rya jenerali majoro (kuva ubwo nta warigiraga) cyari cyabaye ingorabahizi mu ngabo. Muri Gicurasi, Yuvenari Habyarimana yamenyesheje ko yashakaga gushyira Théoneste Bagosora ku buyobozi bw'ingabo[110] mbere yo gusaba, amaze kwangirwa na minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu na Minisitiri w'intebe, gushyiraho Laurent Serubuga nk'umunyamabanga wa minisitiri. James Gasana yanze kuva ku izima ahubwo atangaza bidasubirwaho ibyo gushyira mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru abakoloneli Serubuga (Gisenyi), Rwagafirita (Kibungo), Bagosora (Gisenyi), Sagatwa (Gisenyi), Nshizirungu (Kigali ngari) n'abandi bawofisiye benshi, ateza intambara yeruye y'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru hamwe n'agace « k'intagondwa » zo mu gisirikare zari zirangajwe imbere na koloneli Serubuga. Minisitiri na guverinoma batsimbaraye kuri kandidatire ya koloneli Déogratias Nsabimana (Ruhengeri), wari wagaragaje ubutwari ku rugamba mur 1990 kandi akaba azwiho kutaniganwa ijambo. Mu rwego rw'ubworoherane, igihe cy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa cy'icyemezo cya guverinoma ku ishyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru cy'abo bawofisiye, ku itariki ya 9 Kamena 1992, iyongererwa ry'igihe mu kazi ry'umwaka umwe ryemerewe ba koloneli Bagosora, Sagatwa na Nshizirungu. Ariko, kubera kutemera inzira zakoreshejwe na Théoneste Bagosora kugira ngo abigereho, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu yamwambuye umurimo uwo ari wo wose w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare, amusubizamo nk'umukozi wa leta w' « umusivili », ku mwanya w'umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu[111].

[110] Iryo zamuka mu ntera ryahuzaga n'ibyifuzobikomeye bya nyirubwite, iyo icyo gihe aza kugera ku ipeti rya jenerali yari kuba akwepye inzitizi y'imyaka 50, akaba kandi abaye umuwofisiye uruta abandi mu ngabo. Ariko nanone kuri Habyarimana, bwari uburyo bwo guteganya umusimbura mu bawofisiye bo mu Majyaruguru, agatangira minisitiri ariko cyane cyane akanashyira Bagosora mu igenzura rye ritaziguye. Ingaruka z'ikibazo cya Mayuya n'ukwihorera kwagikurikiye byari byarahinduye Bagosora « umurakare » ku buryo, ukurikije amagamboo yavuzwe n'umutangabuhamya yari yahishuriye ibanga, yateganyije muri Kanama 1990, gukurikira (gusanga) Valens Kajeguhakwa na Pasteur Bizimungu akishyira hamwe n'Inkotanyi i Kampala.

[111] Ishyirwa rye mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru ku itariki ya 23 Nzeri 1993 kwashyizwe mu bikorwa ku itariki ya 1 Mutarama 1993 mu « cyemezo cya gisirikare » cyafashwe n'umukuru wa etamajoro. Iyo nyandiko yariho abasirikare bakuru bose hakurikijwe inzego bakoramo n'ahantu bakorera (agace D. NS 15, TPIR, Arusha).

Nk'umuwofisiye wa nyuma warokotse wo mu gatsiko ko mu basaza bo mu Bushiru, Théoneste Bagosora aba atyo « ijisho » rya perezida muri Minadef afite inshingano zo kugenzura minisitiri we, James Gasana, wafatwaga, n'ubwo yari umuyoboke wa MRND, nk'uhiganira abikomeje umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika.

Bityo, abakuru bashya ba etamajoro y'ingabo n'iya jandarumori, ba jenerali majoro Dégratias Nsabimana na Augustin Ndindiliyimana (Butare), bombi bavaga mu cyiciro cya karindwi cy'Ishuri ry'Abawofisiye (EO), bagiye ku buyobozi bw'ingabo, abanyacyubahiro hafi ya bose bakekwaga cyangwa bihishaga inyuma y'abafasha ba hafi ba perezida bari bavanywemo cyangwa bateshejwe agaciro.

Iryo hangana rirangira, nta mukandida n'umwe ushyigikiwe na Yuvenari Habyarimana wabonye ipeti rya jenerali—n'imirimo ijyana na ryo—ryari kubafasha kutajya mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, ariko Théoneste Bagosora yari afite umwanya ukomeye wo kwitegereza no gucungira hafi ibyabaga byose. Ntibyamutindiye inshingano ze ziragurwa, kubera ko muri Nyakanga 1993, minisitiri Gasana, ahanganye n'iterabwoba rikaze ry'uduce tw'intagondwa zirusha izindi ubukana zo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, byabaye ngombwa ko ahunga igihugu. Yasimbujwe umusivili wabo kandi utazi ibya gisirikare, Augustin Bizimana. Kwisubiranya byahereye ko bikorwa mu maguru mashya, maze kuva ubwo Théoneste Bagosora areka imyambaro ya gisirikari ariko aba inkingi ikomeye y' « intavugirwamo » z'ingoma muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu.

Kwisuganya kwa MRND no kugarura ubuyanja kwa perezida

Ku rwego rwa poritiki naho ibintu byaracikaga. Abaturage bari bategereje ibintu byinshi kuri « guverinoma yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi » yo muri Mata 1992, cyana cyane kugira ngo bave mu bibazo by'ubukungu n'imibanire yabo byarushagaho gukomera, ariko mu ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi, babonaga intege nke zikabije za leta n'ubwiyongere bw'ibikorwa by'ubugome ku rwego rwa poritiki. Koko rero, uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rwagaragazaga imbaraga zarwo kandi rwari rwarageze kuri byinshi, ariko inkubiri yo gukangura abantu yari yabibagejejeho, mu iteganya ry'amatora anyuze muri demokarasi, yari yaracitse intege (yaraguye). Ikangura mu rwego

rw'uturere rigamije kubohoza ryakorwaga rinagaragara, ariko ryarebaga gusa abarwanashyaka babyiyemeje, bari biteguye guhangana mu mbaraga n'aba MRND. Abenshi mu baturage bagayaga akajagri byateraga ahubwo bahangayikishwaga n'icumbagira ry'inzego z'ubuyobozi ryaterwaga n'isaranganya rya za minisiteri mu mashyaka. Muri buri minisiteri intambara zikaze zarashozwaga kugira ngo ishyaka ryigarurire minisiteri ryari ryeguriwe : kugenzura imyanya, ingengo z'imari n'izindi ndonke zinyuranye. Uko gucika intege cyangwa kuzinukwa byagiriraga akamaro MRND, yari ihagarariye ibyahozeho kandi yakomezaga gusaba itegura ry'amatora. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992, byagaragaraga neza ko, imbere y'umutekano muke wiyongeraga n'isakara ry'ihangana rishingiye ku marangamutima, umugambi w'ukwishyira hamwe mu kurwanya MRND utari usobanutse.

Icyo gihe cyari amashiraniro mu rwego rwa poritiki, kubera ko inzira z'ingufu zari guhangana nyuma zimaze kwigaragaza. MRND yabonaga neza ingingo yashoboraga gushingiraho mu kongera kwigarurira abaturage ngo bayishyigikire: kugarura umutekano, demokarasi, amajyambere. Ubumwe, imwe mu nkingi z'intego ya MRND, bwari bwaravuye mu mbwirwaruhame bitewe n'igitutu cy'abakiga n'akazu. Mu gihe ihuriro ry'amashyaka aharanira demokarasi mu guhindura ibintu (FDC), ryari rifite ibibazo imbere mu gihugu, ryerekezaga imbaraga zabo nyinshi mu gutsinda bisesuye uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ku meza y'imishyikirano— dore ko zitari zikizera kubona intsinzi mu matora— kuko MRND na perezida bari bongeye kugirirwa icyizere na « rubanda nyamwinshi ». Itandukana hagati y' « ubwiganze mu rwego rwa poritiki » n' « ubwiganze bushingiye ku bwoko » Inkotanyi zavugaga kugira ngo zisobanure ukwanga kwabo rusange kw'amatora, zitizera ubushishozi rw'abaturage mu rwego rwa poritiki, ryarushagaho gutiza imbaraga ibitekerezo « bishingiye kuri demokarasi » byatangwaga n'ibyerekezo byose bya MRND, byose bihuriye kuri iyo ngingo.

Amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yo muri Nyakanga 1992 amaze gushyirwaho umukono, MRND yashimishijwe no kwibutsa uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ko, n'ubwo rwari rwisubiyeho ku cyifuzo cyarwo cy'ingenzi cyo kwanga

amatora, yari yahisemo kuva ubwo kwiyambaza amasezerano hagati y'amashyaka mu mwanya w'uburenganzira bw'abaturage. Ibyo ni byo perezida ubwe yamaganye mu ijambo rye yavugiye ku buryo butunguranye muri mitingi ya MRND mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992, imbere y'abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi ubwo yateruraga ati:

> « Ninjira hano, nabonye ikintu : maze kumva noneho impamvu abo bantu bafite ubwoba bw'amatora [amashyi, amafirimbi n'imirishyo y'ingoma]. Baribeshya ko batsinze, ariko ntibashaka amatora [amashyi, amafirimbi n'imirishyo y'ingoma]. Nimunyumvire namwe ! Ubu maze kumva impamvu badashaka amatora. […] Abahinziborozi ni bo bagize imizi y'ishyaka ryacu. Mubegere muganire na bo kugira ngo mumenye ibitekerezo byabo n'ibibazo byabo. Mubegere haba mu byishimo cyangwa mu byago, bityo ishyaka ryacu rizakomera kurushaho. Nsabye rero abayobozi bo mu nzego zose kwegera abahinziborozi bagafatanya na bo. Abahinziborozi ni bo musingi w'ishyaka ryacu. Ni bo barwanashyaka bacu[112].»

Nubwo Yuvenari Habyarimana atari ashishikajwe cyane no kuyobora bya hafi ishyaka ryari ryarihaye ubwigenge kandi ryaracitsemo, yashakaga gukoresha umurimo we n'igikundiro cye bwite kugira ngo yongere yiyunge n'« imbaga », yari igishimishwa n'imvugo ye ishyira abaturage imbere. Muri icyo gihe, yashyiraga imbaraga ze ku buryo bugaragara mu gukomeza umuryango w'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe, urwuri rw'abarwanashyaka bari baritangiye MRND burundu. Yawushakiraga imfashanyo mu bigo bya leta cyangwa mu bikorera, bashyiraga nyuma Interahamwe mu maboko y'abanyaporitiki perezida yashakaga kongerera ubushoabozi. Uwo mugambi wo gukwirakwiza abarwanashyaka wasaga n'igisubizo kidakuka imbere y'inkubiri yo kubohoza kimwe n'igerageza ryo kurengera byakorwaga ahanini mu maperefegitura yo mu hagati mu gihugu n'ayo mu Majyepfo n'urubyiruko rwa MDR. Umwaka umwe nyuma y'iseswa ry'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, ikimenyetso ruvumwa cy'ubutegetsi

[112] Uduce tw'ijambo rya perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana muri mitingi ya MRND yabereye mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992, TPIR, Arusha, KV00-O392E (reba umugereka wa 20).

bw'igitugu bushaje, MRND yashoboye kugera koko ku ihinduka ridasanzwe : kuzana demokarasi cyangwa se « demokarasi » ubwayo, ukurikije imyumvire y'uruhande rushaka guhindura ibintu cyangwa urutsimbaraye ku bya kera, byari byabaye isengesho rye ryo kwemera, ndetse ku buryo burushijeho, amahirwe ye yonyine.

Gusa icyahemberaga ukutumvikana muri MRND, ni umugambi wayo mu rwego rwa gisirikare. Abaharaniraga kujya mbere ntibabonaga umuti mu ikoresha ry'intwaro kandi bakekaga ko byari ngombwa kurangiza imishyikirano vuba kugira ngo bajye mu matora, yari kugaragaza imbaraga z'impade zose. Abatsimbararaga ku bya kera kimwe n'intagondwa bashoboraga (batinyaga) gutakaza byose bakomezaga gukeka ko byari bigishoboka gucogoza bikomeye (gukubita imigiti) ingabo z'Inkotanyi bakanahindura imigendekere y'imishyikirano, ukurikije ibyo bavugaga, yarushagaho kunyaga kandi nta kiyivamo.

Umuntu yakeka ko perezida Habyarimana yari azi neza imbaraga ishyaka rye MRND ryari ryarasubiranye. Ntiyari agikozwa iby'imishyikirano ku iyegura rye ku butegetsi. Nk'uko yabivuze adategwa mu ijambo rye ryo ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992 mu Ruhengeri, ntiyateganyaga na busa kwemera ku bwoba ibyasabwaga n'impande zombi, amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu n'Inkotanyi.

Igitandukanya cyane ririya jambo na menshi mu matangazo n'amagambo yemewe ya perezidansi, ni uko rirangwa no gusobanuka kwaryo n'icyemezo cyaryo. Perezida aragaragaza ku buryo busonutse ukuntu akomeye ku gukangura MRND—kandi mbere na mbere ku barwanashyaka be b'imena, Interahamwe— mu rugamba rwari ruri imbere, cyane cyane itora ryateganywaga rya perezida wa Repubulika :

> « Ndashimira abayobozi b'ishyaka hano mu Ruhengeri, abarwanashyaka ba MRND muri aka karere. Ntimugire ubwoba ! Icy'ingenzi ni ugutsinda amatora kandi tuzayatsinda kubera ko muyakomeyeho hano n'ahandi mu maperefegitura [amashyi, amafirimbi, imirishyo y'ingoma]. […] Igihe nikigera, nzabohereereza ubutumwa. Nzasaba Interahamwe kumperekeza. Bmbwiye ko, mu kwiyamamaza kwanjye nzitwaza abasirikare banjye kugira ngo banyamamaze. Hari ikibazi gihari

babikoze ? [amashyi, amafirimbi, imirishyo y'ingoma]. Nyamara nzi ko ari cyane cyane Interahamwe zizanyamamaza, kubera ko turi kumwe. Mbifurije kugira ubuzima burambye[113]."

Amagambo nk'ayo yavugwaga n'abayobozi ba MRND mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992 yavuzweho byinshi kandi ahora yibutswa n'abashishikajwe no kugaragaza ubushake buke bwo kujya mu mishyikirano bwa perezida n'ishyaka rye, MRND. Nyamara amasesengura agaragaza gake ukutumvikana gukabije kwashoboraga kwiganza hagati y'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki bizeye ukwamamara kwabo mu baturage no kugira ababahagarariye, n'abari mu mishyikirano Arusha. Abo, mu izina ry'amashyaka n'ingabo z'inyeshyamba, batunganyaga ibyo bumvikanyeho bagamije kuniga ubutegetsi bw'ingoma abayifitemo uruhare bose bemeraga ko yari kuzava mu matora ya rubanda yarushijeho gukomera no kwemerwa. Ni byo James Gasana ashaka gusobanura iyo yamagana « ibitekerezo byo kwifuza » n'« urwango rwakekwaga perezida yari afitiye amasezerano y'amahoro » n'interuro ya perezida yabaye ikirangirire y'« ibipapuro » :

> « Igihe yavugaga ko gushyira umukono ku rupapuro bitari bihagije mu kugarura amahoro, ni uko yabonaga ko uwashyikiranaga ku ruhande rwa guverinoma (minisitiri Boniface Ngulinzira wo muri MDR) yirengagizaga ubusugire bw'abaturage n'ukuntu bifuzaga demokarasi. Ku bwe, amasezerano y'Arusha ntiyagombaga gusimbura ijwi rya rubanda, ahubwo kwiga uburyo abaturage bagenzura ibintu. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, demokarasi ntiyagenaga gusa amabwiriza yo kugera ku butegetsi, yanagenaga abawiriza yo kubuvaho. Ntibyashobokaga rero gutanga ubutegetsi kubera igitutu cy'imbunda, cyangwa icy'imikino yaberaga mu mishyikirano y'Arusha[114]."

Aho ni ho hari ikinyuranyo ntarengwa hagati y'uburenganzira bubiri, uburenganzira bushingiye kuri demokarasi y'imbaga (rubanda nyamwinshi) n'uburenganzira bwo gutaha bw'agace gato (rubanda nyamuke). Twibuke nanone ko

113 reba umugereka wa 20.

114 James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit.*, p. 168.

itangazwa ry'uburyo perezida yashakaga kwifashisha bwumvikanaga rugikubita. Inyungu z'ingabo z'Inkotanyi n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi zagerwagaho ku meza y'imishyikirano mu rwewgo rw'amasezerano yashyizweho n'iterabwoba ry'imbunda, Yuvenari Habyarimana yatangaje adategwa ko, ku munsi w'isaranganya rya nyuma rinyuze mu matora, azahangana na zo akoresheje ukwitabira amatora ku bwinshi kw'abahinziborozi, baherekejwe n'Interahamwe ze hamwe n'abasirikare be.

Kwari ukwibeshya gukomeye Minisitiri w'intebe Nsengiyaremye yavuze mu ibaruwa ikaze yo kubyamagana yoherereje perezida ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo (reba umugereka wa 20). Usibye ishyirwa mu majwi rikabije ry'igikorwa cy'Arusha na perezida, yibutsamo ibintu by'icyuka kibi cya poritiki, aho intagondwa mu ngabo, ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare ya MRND zasakazaga iterabwoba zinageregeza guhungabanya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi. Yamagana akomeje ukuntu ingabo zahamagariwe gukora "iyamamaza" rya perezida hirengagijwe ihame ryo kwifata ryagenwaga n'itegeko, kimwe n'umuco wo kudahana warengeraga abatezaga imvururu bakoze ubwicanyi burwanya Abatutsi muri Kibilira, mu Bugesera no ku Kibuye. Nanone yamagana igerageza ryo gukora imyigaragambyo ya gisirikare ryari riyobowe n'umutwe wayoborwaga na majoro Ntabakuze mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Kanombe mu ijoro ryo ku wa 21 rishyira uwa 22 Ukwakira 1992. Iyo myigaragambyo nta muntu n'umwe wayirwanyije ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida uhereye ku bayobozi ba MRND, kandi James Gasana, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu wayikomokagamo, ari we ahanini wahigwaga (reba umugereka wa 21).

Mu gusoza, ibaruwa ye yibanda ku gikorwa kigayitse cyasakujwe cyane mu baturage, cy'uruhare rwarushagaho gukomera rw'imitwe yitwara gisirikare y'Interahamwe n'ukuntu zitahanwaga:

> "Nanone, mu gihe guverinoma isaba ivanwaho ry'imitwe yitwaza intwaro y'amashyaka, muratumira Interahamwe gukora umutwe w'abarwanyi mu ngendo zanyu zo kwiyamamaza. Sinzi niba ari ngombwa kwibutsa ko ibikorwa byo kwamamaza bitaratangizwa ku mugaragaro kandi ko iyo myitwarire inyuranyije

n'amategeko? Na ho Interahamwe zo, hibukijwe inshuro zitabarika ko urwo rubyiruko rurimo abantu bafite intwaro kandi ko kubera ibyo rugomba kuvaho hakurikijwe amategeko agenga amashyaka ya poritiki muRwanda[115].”

Iryo hangana ryagize intera idasanzwe. Nk'uko James Gasana abyibutsa, guhera mu ntangiriro y'igice cya kabiri cy'Ugushyingo, guverinoma yagize icyo irivugaho:

“Minisitiri w'intebe yateguye inama y'abaminisitiri bari bafite mu nshingano zabo umutuzo mu gihugu n'umutekano, n'abakuru b'amashyaka ya poritiki yari muri guverinoma, kugira ngo hafatwe ibyemezo byo kurwanya ibikorwa by'urugomo by'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka. Kubera ukubyitangira kwemewe n'abakuru b'amashyaka, ibikorwa bya jandarumori birwanya ibikorwa by'urugomo byo mu rwego rwa poritiki byabaye ingirakamaro maze, mu mpera z'umwaka, hari abakekwaho ibyaha b'Interahamwe 79 bari bafunzwe n'abandi 9 bashakishwaga kubera ibyaha binyuranye[116].”

Iryo fungwa ryafashwe na perezida nk'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ubushake bwo guhungabanya urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe ku ruhande rwa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu. Uyunguyu yari ashyigikiye ko jandarumori iicyo yakoraga kwari ugufata abanyabyaha bitwazaga kuba mu nterahamwe kugira ngo bahishe ibikorwa byabo. Kuri icyo kibazo, habayeho koko ubwumvikane buke.

Ubushyamirane hagati y'abo bagabo bombi bwarakomeye ubwo minisitiri yasabaga jandarumori gukaza ibikorwa byo kurwanya itunga ry'imbunda ritemewe n'amategeko noneho mu mukwabu ku Kicukiro, jandarumori igafata imbunda ikomeye mu rugo rw'umukwe wa se wa batisimu wa perezida akanaba umukuru w'Interahamwe zaho. Uyu yabashije guhunga kandi, n'ubwo hasohotse inyandiko yo kumufata yakozwe

[115] Ibaruwa ya Minisitiri w'intebe, Dismas NENGIYAREMYE, yandikiye perezida wa Repubulika ku wa17 Ugushyingo 1992.

[116] James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit.*,

n’urwego rw’ubushinjacyaha (parike), akomeza kubura...

Uwo muco wo kudahana Yuvenari Habyarimana yakomezaga kurengeresha abantu be, bakoze ibikorwa by’amarorerwa cyane cyane abitwaza intwaro b’Interahamwe, byongereye iyinjizwamo n’irohwa mu bikorwa by’ubugome by’urubyiruko.

Agace k’amasezerano ku igabana ry’ubutegetsi

Inyandiko yasubiwemo y’agace kerekeye igabana ry’ubutegetsi, kashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 9 Mutarama 1993, yahamije ibitekerezo bibi by’abayobozi ba MRND. Icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi cyegenewe gusa, muri guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE), perezidanse ya Repubulika na minisiteri eshanu ku myanya makumyabiri n’ibiri. Nanone, mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko yaguye (ANT), yabashije kugira imyanya cumi n’umwe gusa kimwe na buri mutwe ukomeye wo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi (FPR, PL, PSD, MDR). Iryo hindura ryanashyiragaho umwanya wa Minisitiri w’intebe wungirije, wagenewe Inkotanyi, n’itegeko ku “myitwarire ya poritiki”, ryateganyirizwaga gushyirwaho umukono n’imitwe ya poritiki itari mu mishyikirano y’Arusha. Iyongiyo yari kugororerwa umwanya umwe umwe mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y’igihugu. Bityo, Inkotanyi n’uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw’imbere mu gihugu byari byiyeguriye ubutegetsi busesuye, ubwiganze bwa bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko bwabihaga ndetse ububasha bwo guhindura amategeko agenderwaho. Icyo MRND na CDR zise “kudeta y’Inkotanyi na Ngulinzira”(izina ry’umuminisitiri w’Ububanyi n’amahanga wo muri MDR, wari uhagarariye guverinoma mu mishyikirano y’Arusha) kigaragaza neza imbibi hagati z’impande zariho.

Mbere na mbere hazaga abari batsinze icyo gihe: MDR n’abifatanyije na yo, bari biganzuye mu by’ukuri uruhande rushyigikiye perezida bafatanyije n’Inkotanyi. MRND n’abayishyigikiye bamaze gutatanywa, imibare y’amatora yabahaga icyizere cyo kwiganza birambye imbere y’Inkotanyi zitari zifite imizi ihagije mu baturage ku buryo zagira imbaraga mu rwego rwa poritiki.

Ku ruhande rwa kabiri, uhasanga MRND, yari yatsindiwe ku meza y'imishyikirano. Ariko uko kwiganzurwa kwari kwarariteguwe. Bizeye neza ihagararirwa ryabo kandi bafite imbaraga kubera uko bari bahagaze mu giturage, abenshi mu bayobozi ba MRND bashobora kwihanganira igihe cy'inzibacyuho maze bakazmuka mu bihe by'amatora yari ateganyijwe, n'ubwo yari gutinda. Bumvaga ko bitari gushobokera amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi gushyira mu bikorwa mu gihugu intsinzi yari yavanye mu mpapuro, kandi ntibatekerezaga ko yashobora gushinga imizi mu ndiri za MRND kandi zishingiye ku bwoko bumwe zo mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyaruguru. I Kigali n'i Kibungo, ku Kibuye n'i Cyangugu na ho MRND yari ihafite imizi kandi ihagarariwe n'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye mu nzego za poritiki, ubukungu n'igisirikare. Perefegiutra za Gitarama na Butare ni zo zonyine itari ifitemo ijambo. Ibyo ari byo byose, uburemere bw'itsindwa ryegukanye Arusha bwatumaga hakorwa iteganywa ry'igihombo cyari imbere ku ruhande rw'itsinda ry'ibikomerezwa byo muri Repubulika ya II (Ubuyobozi bukuru, abayobozi b'ibigo bya leta, abawofisiye, n'abandi), byari kunyagwa burundu imirimo yabyo ku mpamvu zo gusezererwa cyangwa bisabwe n'abaminisitiri bashya. Kubera ko bari bake cyane batumva ukuntu barengera imitungo n'imyanya yabo babinyujije mu nzira za poritiki kandi bakaba bataremeraga ihezwa ryari ryarateganyijwe, biyemeje kubuza uburyo imyihutire y'imishyikirano, ndetse bari biteguye kwiroha mu byo guhirika ubutegetsi.

Ikindi kandi, ya myanya itanu ya minisiteri yari yagenewe Inkotanyi, ukuyemo ishyirwaho ry'umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wungirije n'umunyamabanga wa leta ushinzwe gucyura impunzi, yose yari yavanywe ku yari isanzwe ari iya MRND yatakazaga ityo ku nyungu z'Inkotanyi imyanya ine yarimo minisiteri ikomeye y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (reba umugereka wa 22).

Umujinya wa MRND n'abakunzi bayo warenze inkombe. Ku itariki ya 19 Mutarama 1993, MRND na CDR byakoresheje imyigaragambyo mu gihugu cyose yo kurwanya amasezerano, ukuba mu gihugu kwa Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'ipereereza ku

iyicwa ry'uburenganzia bw'ikiremwa muntu muRwanda[117], gufasha koroshya ubukana. Itahuka ryayo ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama, igihe nyirizina umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND yatangazaga ko ishyaka rye ryanze ku buryo bwose amasezerano, ryatumye imyigaragambyo yiyongera. Mu gihe cy'iminsi itandatu, ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byakozwe n'abitwaza intwaro b'intagondwa bafatanyije n'abaturage b'uturere tunyuranye byayogoje amajyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'uRwanda:

> "Ishyigikiwe n'abayobozi b'uturere, MRND yakoresheje imyigaragambyo irimo ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi mu gihugu cyose kuva ku itariki ya 20 kugeza ku ya 22 Mutarama 1993 itangaza icyifuzo cyayo cyo guhagarika imirimo yose. Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi ntiyemeye guterwa ubwoba na yo akoresha imyigaragambyo iyirwanya yatsimubye intagondwa za MRND n'udushami twayo, mmu maperefegitura ya Byumba, Kibungo, Umugi wa Kigali, Kigali ngari, Gitarama, Gikongoro, Cyangugu na Kibuye (uretse muri komini Rutsiro). Mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kigali ngari (agace ka Bumbogo n'u Buliza), Byumba (komini Tumba) na Kibuye (komini Rutsiro), iyo myigaragambyo yahindutse vuba imvururu abitwaga ko bigaragambya batangira kwica Abatutsi n'abantu mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Hapfuye abantu bagera kuri 400 n'abandi 20 000 bakurwa mu byabo[118]."

Uruhande rwa gatatu rwari urw'Inkotanyi, kuva ubwo zari zishyigikiwe n'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, bari bizeye ko nibura agace k'ubutegetsi kari kuba akabo mu bihe

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[117] Izo ntumwa zari muRwanda kuva ku itariki ya 7 kugeza ku ya 21 Mutarama 1993 (reba raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'ipereereza ku iyicwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu muRwanda guhera ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Ihuriro mpuzamahanga ry'amashyirahamwe arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu/Africa Wath/ Ubumwe nyafurika bw'uburenganzira bw'ikirenwa muntu/Ikigo mpuzamahanga cy'uburenganzira bw'umuntu n'iterambere ry demokarasi, 8 Werurwe 1993).

[118] Ibyatangajwe na Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE (mu nama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 3Gashyantare 1993), muri Raporo ya Komisiyo yo mu rwego rwa poritiki n'ubuyobozi ku mvururu mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Iyo komisiyo yari iyobowe na Augustin Iyamuremye (PSD), icyo gihe wai ushinzwe urwego rw'perereza mu Biro bya Minisitiri w'intebe.

bya vuba. Bibangikanye n'ubwiyongere bw'ibikorwa by'ubugome byibasiraga Abatutsi byakorwaga na CDR n'abitwaza intwaro b'Abahutu, urubyiruko rwinshi rw'Abatutsi rwinjiraga mu Nkotanyi, rwari rufitiye icyizere cyane kugira ngo rubone umutekano kurusha uko rwinjiraga mu mashyaka y'Abahutu cyangwa ayiganjemo Abatutsi y'imbere mu gihugu.

Kubera kwigaragaza mu maso y'amahanga nk'imbaraga zikomeye mu rwego rwa poritiki kandi zizeye ingufu zazo nyinshi mu rwego rwa gisirikare (zongerwaga n'ishyigikirwa rihoraho rya NRA y'i Buganda), Inkotanyi zitwaje ibikorwa by'ubugome bybasira Abatutsi zigaba igitero cya gisirikare gikomeye i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare. Ingabo z'uBufaransa zarahagobotse zikoma imbere igitero, gufata Kigali bizinaniye nuko ingabo z'Inkotanyi zisubira inyuma muri Werurwe, ariko zimaze kugaragaza ingufu zazo ku buryo amaperefegitura yose yo ku mipaka, na Gisenyi irimo, yatangiye kugira ubwoba bwo kugwa mu ntambara yari imaze kugwiza inzirakarengane n'ibihumbi amagana by'abakuwe mu byabo.

Muri rusange, ukwigarurira ubutegetsi kw'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi ntikwari kugishidikanywaho imbere y'intagondwa za CDR na MRND. Kwakomeje ubumwe bwari bwongeye kugaruka mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwari inyuma ya Habyarimana, wigaragaje icyo gihe nk'urukuta rukumira Inkotanyi zashakaga kwigarurira ubutegetsi ku mbaraga. Ariko kwari nanone guhangayikishije abashyigikiye, abayoboke n'abakozi bakuru b'amashyaka agize Imbaraga z'Ihinduka (FDC). Ingaruka zabaye nyinshi by'umwihariko mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyaruguru, aho MDR na PSD byari byaragize ibibazo byinshi byo gushinga imizi. Bitewe n'imyumvire, igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyashoboraga gufatwa nk'intsinzi cyangwa umushyitsi. Cyakabije kwangiza ibintu cyane cyane ku ruhande rw'inzirakarengane z'abasivili ibihumbi n'ibihumbi, n'ubwo umubare mbumbe wabo ukigibwaho impaka, ariko ahanini kuri miliyoni y'abavanywe mu byabo bari bashyizwe mu nkengero z'umugi wa Kigali. Ababyitegereje bose nibura bemeranywa ku kuntu cyagize uruhare runini mu ifatwa ry'Inkotanyi

nk'"abatabazi"[119]. Bityo abayobozi b'ayomashyaka mu rwego rw'amaperefegitura, nka Donat Murego, umunyanmabanga wa MDR mu rwego rw'igihugu akaba na perezida wa komite nyobozi yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Stanislas Mbonampeka[120], visiperezida wa kabiri wa PL akaba na perezida w'inzego za perefegitura mu Ruhengeri cyngwa Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa mu rwego rwa perefegitura wa PSD ku Gisenyi akaba yari ashinzwe ibiro bya minisitiri Félicien Gatabazi, bafashe umurongo w'ibitekerezo by'umubare munini w'abarwanashyaka babo, batangiye kugirana imibonano n'abayobozi ba MRND bo mu turere.

Ishyuha ry'imitwe n'isubirwamo ry'urwego rwa poritiki

Iyirukanwa rya Dismas Nsengiyaremye

Mu kwezi kumwe, "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi" n'igitero cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare byafashije gusobanura irari ry'ubutegetsi n'ubushobozi bw'abari babifitemo uruhare banyuranye. Amayeri yabo yo guhangana icyo gihe yigaragaje ku buryo buteguye neza. Inzirakarengane ya mbere yabaye MDR, Dismas Nsengiyaremye uyikomokamo, umuyobozi wungirije (visiperezida) w'ishyaka akanaba Minisitiri w'intebe, yiteguraga guhunika imigabane yo mu rwego rwa poritiki y'ishyirwaho umukono (isinywa) ry'amasezerano y'amahoro kandi yatekerezaga gushobora kwiyongeza afata ubuyobozi bwa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Iryo yimikwa rya "MDR Gitarama", perefegitura Dismas Nsengiyaremye

[119] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, t.I, impap. 109-110 n'izikurikira (reba nanone umugereka wa 23).

[120] Umuwofisiye wo mu cyiciro cya 3, Stanislas Mbonampeka yari umuyobozi w'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Kigali muri Nyakanga 1973. Icyo kigo cyarimo icyo gihe umutwe ushinzwe ipereereza (Recce), umutwe w'"igipolisi cya gisirikare" (PM), umutwe w' "cyicaro gikuru" (QG) -wayoboraga abasirikare bakoreraga inzego z'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare- n'ikigega cya gisirikare (base militaire). N'ubwo ihirika ry'ubutegetsi (kudeta) ryatangiriye mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Kigali, asa n'utaragize uruhare rw'umwihariko mu ikorwa ryaryo. Umuyobozi w'ikigo ntiyari afite ububasha na buke mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi cyangwa urw'ibikorwa bya gisirikare ku mitwe yabaga mu kigo, yagenzurwaga ku buryo butaziguye na etamajoro. Stanislas Mbonampeka yari yararongoye Marie-Claire

yakomokagamo, ryari ribangamiye umururumba w'abandi bashoboraga kuba abaperezida bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, yaba Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida w'ishyaka akaba n'umukwe wa nyakwigendera perezida Grégoire Kayibanda, yaba Emmanuel Gapyisi, perezida wa komoisiyo ya poritiki ya MDR na we akaba umukwe wa Grégoire Kayibanda, ariko kandi n'abakuru ba PSD na PL, Félicien Gatabazi na Justin Mugenzi. Ikindi kandi, ingingo y' "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi", yateganyaga ko umukandida ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'intebe yari "gutangwa n'umutwe wa poritiki wari kuba watoranyijwe icyo gihe (kandi)wemejwe n'impande zombi zari mu mishyikirano[121]" kandi ko umwirondoro we wari kumenyekana mbere yo gushyira umukon ku masezerano y'amahoro, yahaga Yuvenari Habyarimana uburyo bukomeye bwo kuzana amacakubiri hagati y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi no muri yo ubwayo. Abakandida benshi, bahangayikishwaga n'ukwiyongera k'ububasha bwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye, uw'ibanze wari uhanganye na we, bashobraga gutangaza ko biyegereje Yuvenari Habyarimana, uwa mbere muri bo akaba yari Faustin Twagiramungu, n'ubwo yari ashyigikiye ubufatanye n'Inkotanyi, wari ushyigikiwe n' abantu bake (utari ushyigikiwe cyane) mu ishyaka rye. Imikino mito n'ikomeye yageze ku ishusho nyayo y'ubwifatanye yatangiye icyo gihe nta wushobora kumenya neza icyari kuyivamo. Igice cya mbere cyabaye, muri Mutarama 1993, iyirukanwa rya Boniface Ngulinzira, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, ku mwanya we w'umukuru w'intumwa za guverinoma Arusha-yari yarabaye "umwanzi ukomeye" wa MRND uko imishyikirano yigiraga imbere-ryakurikiwe n'isimbuzwa rye, nta nama ibanje kugishwa minisitiri w'intebe, James Gasana, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, "kubera ko igice cy'imishyijkirano y'Arusha cyakurikiragaho, cyari gusuzuma ahanini iyinjizwa ry'abarwanyi b'Inkotanyi mu Ngabo z'igihugu[122]."

Mu gufata icyo cyemezo, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari agabanyije bidasubirwaho

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Mukamugema, umukobwa wa Domonique Mbonyumutwa, perezida wa mbere wa Repubulika y'uRwanda yishyizeho ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961.

[121] Ingingo ya 51 y' "agace k'imishyikirano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi".

[122] Ibaruwa Enoch RUHIGIRA yandikiye Minisitiri w'intebe ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1993.

ububasha bwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye kandi yambuye MDR ububasha bwo gusaba imigabane yo mu rwego rwa poritiki yari itegereje muri ayo masezerano, cyane cyane mu byo kumenyekana mu baturage. Ariko cyana cyane yari yisubije ububasha kuri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, ubwo yari igiye mu buyobozi bw'umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri Théoneste Bagosora. Dismas Nsengiyaremye na James Gasana banz ebivuye inyuma iryo hindagura. Ntabari bazi nyamara ko Yuvenari Habyarimana yari ashyigikiwe na ba perezida ba MDR, PL, PSD... n'Inkotanyi, noneho biba ngombwa ko bicisha bugufi (reba umugereka wa 24). Muri MDR, Faustin Twagiramungu yari akeye ikunga ya Yuvenari Habyarimana kugira ngo ahagarike itangwa rya kandidatire ya Disama Nsengiyaremye ku mwanya wa Minisitri w'inteba wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) kandi, ku buryo bwaguye, ukwiyegeranya kwa Habyarimana/Twagiramungu/Mugenzi (PL) kwatangiraga igikorwa cyari kuzagera ku ihinduka ry'ubwifatanye. Na ho ku ruhande rw'abayobozi ba PSD, Frédéric Nzamurambaho na Félicien Gatabazi , bashakaga kuburizamo igaruka ku butegetsi rya "Gitarama".

Ubwo imishyikirano yuburaga muri Gashyantare, Inkotanyi zarwanyije ububasha bwa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu nk'umukuru mushya w'intumwa za guverinoma, kandi zigaba igitero mu Ruhengeri, zikeka ko amacakubiri yo mu rwego rwa poritiki yari kugera mu ngabo kandi ko ibyo zari zaragezeho bikomeye mu rwego rwa gisirikare byari gukomeza ku buryo bw'ingirakamaro ubufatanye bwazo n'ihuriro riharanira demokarasi n'ihinduka (FDC: MDR, PSD, PL na PDC). Kugendera ku Nkotanyi n'umugambi wazo wo gufata ubutegetsi zikoresheje intwaro byari ngombwa koko kimwe n'ikibazo cy'ingenzi mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu. Iyigizwayo rya MDR, inkingi y'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kandi yashakaga kwigenga imbere y'impande zo mu nzego za poritiki na gisirikare, byari byarabaye intego nkuru ya bariya bakeba babiri b'imena, bari bahangayikishijwe no koroshya igikorwa cya poritiki bashingiye ku bwifatanye bwombi.

Igihe kirekire, perezida yakomeje kwemera ko Komite nyobozi ya MDR yari

guhsyigikira kugeza ku ndunduro isubizwaho na kandidatire ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku buyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)[123]. Ukurikije ibyavuzwe n'umwe mu bari begereye Yuvenari Hbayarimana, mu ntangiriro za Nyakanga ni bwo yaba yarafashe icyemezo cyo kumuvanaho abitewe n'umujinya nyuma y'uruzinduko rw'amabasaderi wa Tanzaniya wari waje kubaza ibyerekeye itariki yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano yari kwemeza itangazwa rya Minisitiri w'intebe. Mu gihe perezida yari amaze kuvuga ko yemera igitekerezo cya kandidatire ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye akanasaba inyandiko ndakuka zari gushyirwaho umukono, uwo ambasaderi yiyemereye ko zari zitaraboneka. Perezida yumvise ko ukwiyamamaza kwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye kugamije ishyigikira ry'isubizwaho rye muri za ambasade ryafashaga kumusebya no kumuca intege. Bityo, icyo gihe yari yiteguye gushyiraho umunyacyubahiro uwo ari we wese, kabone n'iyo yaba Félicien Gatabazi, perezida wa PSD, n'ubwo byari kuba ngombwa kuri iyo mpamvu guhindura "agace k'amasezerano".

Ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga, Biro nshingwabikorwa ya MRND ku bwumvikane busesuye yoherereje Perezida wa Repubulika ibaruwa iha na kopi abayobozi bose b'amashyaka yari muri guverinoma, ibamenyesha ko MDR "itari ifite ububasha bwo gutsindirira abakoranaga na yo umukandida [Dismas Nsengiyaremye] utarashoboraga kugeza inzibacyuho ku matora yizewe kandi akozwe mu mucyo, mu mahoro n'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu[124]." Ku itariki ya 15 Nyakanga 1993, ku mpera za manda ye, Biro poritiki ya MDR yasabye ko guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye iguma ku murimo kugeza ku isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro kandi yongera kwemeza kandidatire ye ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE).

Nyamara bwakeye Dismas Nsengiyaremye n'uwakoraga imishyikirano Boniface

[123] Yuvenari Habyarimana yahoraga abwira abamwegereye ko atumvaga impamvu Dismas Nsengiyaremye yangaga gufata ubuyobozi bwa MDR mu mwanya wa Faustin Twagiramungu. Ihitamo rye ryari ryigaragaje neza mu itangira ry'imishyikirano hamwe n'Inkotanyi muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1992, ubwo Faustin Twagiramungu yashyiraga imbere umugambi wo kwifatanya by'umwihariko n'Inkotanyi, anyuranyije na Dismas Nsengiyaremye na cyane cyane Donat Murego na Froduald Karamira, bamaganye icyo cyerekezo.

Ngulinzira basimbuwe. Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yabonye ko Inkotanyi zitari zigishaka Dismas Nsengiyaremye, wari ukomeye ku kurangiza byanze bikunze imishyikirano mbere y'irangira rya manda ye ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga. Ukurikje ibyavuzwe n'umwe mu bari begereye perezida, iyo uyu ubwe amusaba inkunga, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari kuyimwemerera, kubera ko inkunga nk'iyo yari kugabanya ukwishisha Inkotanyi zari zimufitiye. Mu kwigaragaza nk' "uwigenga", Dismas ahubwo yatakaje n'uwakwifatanya na we uwo ari we wese.

Faustin Twagiramungu, wari ushyigikiwe n'Inkotanyi, icyo gihe yashyize imbere kandidatire y'Agata Uwiringiyimana, peresidante wa MDR i Butare, ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'intebe, yitegurira umwanya wo kuzashyirwaho ubwe nyuma nka minisitiri w'intebe wemejwe n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha ku buyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Ubwo MDR yahereye ko icikamo ibyerekezo bibiri mu rwego rw'igihugu. Ubuyobozi bwayo bwemewe n'amategeko n'icyicaro cyayo byari bibonye urubuga rwo kwifatanya n'abarwanya Inkotanyi, kandi Faustin Twagiramungu yari asigaye ahagarariye ubuyobozi bushyigikiwe na bake.

Kongere ya MRND ku itariki ya 3 n' iya 4 Nyakanga 1993

Kugira ngo hasesengurwe iryo hindagurika ry'ubufatanye n'ingaruka zaryo ku ruhande rwa Yuvenari Habyarimana, ni ngombwa kugaruka gato ku byibanzweho muri kongere ya MRND yari imaze gukorwa ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga n'umwuka wayikomotseho.

Iyo kongere yari yabayemo ihangana ry' "abaharanira ubwisanzure" n' "abadashaka ko ibintu bihinduka", ariko n'ubwo iryo nyuranya ry'ibitekerezo ryatangaga ishusho y'igihagararo cy'impande zari zihanganye, ibyerekezo by'imigambi byari bifite ibindi bishingiyeho, kandi na byo by'ingirakamaro. Bityo, muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, MRND yakomeje kuba mbere na mbere igikoresho cy'abakomokaga mu kazu ka

124 Reba umugereka wa 24.

perezida (OTP) kugira ngo irengere ibyo bamaze kugeraho. Ariko umugambi w'umutima w'Akazu n'abayobozi b'uturere ba MRND wari uhishe byinshi. Mu guteganya ibyo kugabana ubutegetsi, byari ngombwa kuvanaho ubwigunge bwa MRND no guha amasura anyuranye inzira ya poritiki kugira ngo haboneke amashyaka ya poritiki yifatanya na yo kandi haburizwemo gushinga imizi kw'imitwe iyirwanya. Wabaye umurimo wa Yozefu Nzirorera, wigaragaje nk'urukuta, umuvugizi w' "abafite icyerekezo gikaze" bo ku ngoma, wari ufite ububasha burenze imbibi za MRND yonyine gusa. Umuragwa w'ingoma wakekwaga wa Yuvenari Habyarimana, ni we, yubahiriza amabwiriza ye, washyize mu bikorwa iyagura ry'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ahimba CDR (Ubwifatanye bwo kurinda Repubulika), ishyirahamwe ry'intagondwa za MRND n'amashyaka yayigenderagaho. Nanone ni we wahuzaga ibikorwa by'inkunga akanishyura amasezerano n'ibikorwa binyuranye byabaga byumvikanyweho mu gihe cyo kwifatanya. Uwo mwanya wamugize urebye umuntu wari ufite icyerekezo cyaguye kurusha abandi kandi gisobanutse mu mashami y'ubutegetsi bwa perezida.

Isaranganya ry'imirimo" hagati ya MRND na CDR ryari ahanini rishingiye ku kibazo cy'ubwoko. CDR yavugiraga ku mugaragaro ibyo MRND itifuzaga kugaragaza kubera impamvu yari ishingiyeho kugira ngo igumane, nibura mu gihe gito, ishusho yayo y'ubwisanzure kimwe n'ashoboraga kuyitora b'Abatutsi. Imvugo ishingiye ku bwoko na yo yayizaniraga abarwanashyaka benshi bashyigikiye ibitekerezo bya CDR batashoboraga na busa kujya ku ruhande rwa MRND. Nanone, ku buryo butangaje, iterahejuru rya CDR ryari rishyigikiwe n'impande z'abadashaka ko ibintu bihinduka n'abashakaga ihinduka bo muri MRND. CDR yongereraga ingufu (uruhande rwa) abambere, yari ibereye ikijombesho (uruhindu) n'igikoresho cyo kotsa igitutu (gutera icyokere) imbere mu gihugu. Uruhande rwashakaga ihinduka rwo, rwabonaga muri CDR impamvu yo gutera intege nke abantu b'intagondwa bavaga muri MRND bakayigana.

Ibyo ari byo byose, n'ubwo muri ayo mashyaka yombi abenshi mu bayoboke bayo babonaga gusa inyungu muri ubwo bwuzuzanye, abakozi bakuru bo muri CDR bifuzaga kwibohora kurerwa n'icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi maze bakamagana irekura

n'ukwanga kwiteranya bya MRND imbere y'Inkotanyi n' "ibyitso byazo". Bityo, CDR yaregeye icyarimwe perezida na minisitiri w'intebe ubugambanyi, nyuma y'ihita kuri radiyo (itangazwa), ku itariki ya 9 Werurwe 1993, ry'itangazo rya Perezidanse ryashyigikiraga imishyikirano yakomezaga i Dar es Salaam. Amashyaka yombi yateranye amagambo maze CDR iva mu Bufatanye bwo gukomeza demokarasi (ARD) ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe. Umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu wa MRND yagayiye ku mugaragaro CDR umurongo wayo ushingiye ku moko anamagana uruhare rwayo mu bwicanyi bwo ku Gisenyi mu Kuboza 1992 no muri Mutarama 1993. Myamara kandi ubwo bushyamirane ntibwashoboraga kumara igihe, kubera ko ubufatanye hagati y'iyo mitwe yombi bwari bukomeye cyane. CDR yari irenze cyane urwego rw'ishyaka ry'abavuye mu yandi. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, ubwiganze bwayo bwarengaga cyane perefegitura ya Gisenyi n'uruhande rw'abadashaka ko ibintu bihinduka (rutsimbaraye ku kudahinduka kw'ibintu) rwa MRND.

Umwuka w'imbere muri MRND ntiwari woroshye mu yandi maperefegitura yo mu Majyaruguru. Intambara n'amashyaka menshi byari bifite ingaruka zikomeye kuri MRND muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, no ku buryo bufitanye isano, ku bufatanye bwiza na Gisenyi. Koko rero MRND yari ihanganye na Kanyarengwe, wari warabaye perezida w'Umuhuhtu w'Inkotanyi. Ibigambo byinshi byarahwihwiswaga ku kubaho k'uruhande rw' "Inkotanyi power", rwashoboraga kuba rwarifatanyije na MDR bigasubiranya ubufatanye bwa Ruhengeri na Gitarama ubutegetsi bwa MDR-Parmehutu bwari bwarashingiyeho muri Repubulika ya mbere. Ikindi kandi, igihagararo cya MRND mu karere cyaterwaga ibibazo n'ihiganwa ridasanzwe ry'abari bahanganye bombi.

Imbere muri MRND, intambara yari yarazamuye abanyacyubahiro babiri: Yozefu Nzirorera na Casimir Bizimungu. Uwa mbere yari mu gatsiko ka perezida rwagati kandi, iyo bagugaga "akazu ka perezida", Mukingo, komini ye y'amavuko muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, yabaga buri gihe irimo.

Mu bwatsi bwe bwite, minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu yarwanyije ubwikanyize bwe

kandi aramutsinsura ashyigikiwe bidasubirwaho n'umudepite Boniface Rucagu: bityo, mu matora ya komite ya perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yo muri Gashyantare 1992, Yozefu Nzirorera yatowe ku mwanya wa kabiri. Muri Kongere y'ishyaka yo ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1992, ntiyashoboye kujya muri Komite nyobozi cyangwa muri Biro poritiki. Iyo kongere yaranzwe n'igaruka rya Matayo Ngirumpatse (reba incamake ya 7), na Casimir bizimungu yinjira muri Biro poritiki.

Uwo munyacyubahiro wa kabiri, wakomokaga muri komini Nyamugari, yari yaratoranyijwe muri Mata 1987 n' "umushyigira we", Dogiteri Séraphin Bararengana, umukuru w'ishami ry'ubuvuzi akanaba umuvandimwe wa perezida, azamurwa mu mwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubuvuzi, nyuma aba minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Ukwigaragaza kwe gukaze mu kurwanya "igitero cy'Abaganda", kwari gutandukanye n'uguhuzagurika kwa perezida, kwashimwaga by'umwihariko n'abaturage bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru yari abangamiwe n'abasirikare b'Inkotanyi kandi yamuheshaga icyubahiro gikomeye mu ngabo. Abawofisiye benshi bo mu Ruhengeri bumvaga ingoma ya Gisenyi iri mu marembera kandi Ruhengeri ari yo itahiwe.

Ukwamamara bwite kwa Casimir Bizimungu, kwakomezwaga n'umwanya we wa minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ukumenyana kwe n'abashinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga, ukuntu yagaragaraga nk' umunyacyubahiro "mushya" uhanganye na Yozefu Nzirorera n'ubucuti bwe na MDR yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura byateye ubwoba cyane perezida, wahisemo icyo gihe, kugira ngo amugabanyirize ingufu, guha iyo minisiteri uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rwo muri guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yo muri Mata 1992. Yanarwanyije ishyirwaho rye muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu-Casimir Bizimungu yashakaga-, ihabwa umusivili James Gasana, wakomokaga i Byumba. Iyo perefegitura yari ifite uruhare runini muri MRND kandi yaboneraga urwaho ku makimbirane hagati ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri igakomeza ubwigenge bwayo ikanashaka ubufatanye hanze y'Amajyaruguru, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura yari abangamiwe n'umutwaro w'intambara: Kigali na Kibungo. Kubera ko yari ku ruhande rwa MRND rwaharaniraga kujya mbere, urwo ruhande rwari rushingiye kuri James

Gasana.

Icyatunguye benshi, uyunguyu yabashije vuba na bwangu kwigaragaza mu ngabo kandi acecekesha abantu bagendera mu murongo ukaze bo mu kazu ka perezida. Ubuyobozi bwe bwa minisiteri bwakorwaga mu mucyo kandi bwari bushingiye ku kumenya umwuga bwamuhesheje icyubahiro mu bakuru b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Ibyo bintu byose byatumye afatwa na perezida n'abakomoka mu kazu ka perezida (OTP) nk'imbogamizi ikomeye. Amatiku aremereye yo muri Perezidanse yamuteye yatumye avana kandidatire ye ku mwanya wa visiperezida wa MRND muri kongere yo ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1992. Ibikorwa bisa n'ibyo byarasubiriye muri kongere yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga 1993.

Igikuru cyari kigamijwe muri iyo kongere ya MRND cyari isaranganya rusange ry'imyanya hagati y'abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma hakurikijwe ibyasabwaga n' "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi". Kubera ko Yuvenari Habyarimana yagombaga gusubizwa kuri pereziodanse ya Repubulika, "gisenyi yari isubijwe"kandi, n'ubwo yotswaga igitutu n'abamwegereye, yatangaje isezera rye ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe. Icyari gisigaye kwari ugushyiraho ubuyobozi bushya no gushaka abahabwa ya myanaya bitanu y'abaminisitiri yari yeguriwe MRND. Abenshi babonaga umwanya w'umukuru w'ishyaka warashoboraga kuba imbarutso ku uwufite yo kubona uburyo bwo guhangana ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika, hari ubwoba ko washoboraga kwegurirwa umuntu udakomoka ku Gisenyi. Uko ni ko Matayo Ngirumpatse yabonaga ibintu: Mu ijarajara (ihuzagurika rya Yuvenari Habyarimana, yari yiyahuye amwoherereza mu mpera za Gashyantare cyangwa mu ntangiriro ya Werurwe, ibaruwa amwibitsa icyemezo cye cyo kwegura ku buyobozi bwa MRND, ibaruwa yaaratse abenshi mu bari bamwegereye (reba umugereka wa 26).

Ubwo buryo bwo kwigira icyigenge kandi cyane cyane butari busanzwe bwo kwerekana umururumba w'ubutegetsi ahangana na perezida bwateye akantu kandi busiga inkovu n'ubwo bwashoboraga kumvikana mu mwuka w'icyo gihe, aho amakimbirane

y'amoko yose kandi no mu nzego zose (abakuru b'amaserire, abakonseye [abajyanama] ba segiteri na cyane cyane mu baburugumesitiri, na bo ubwabo bari bahanganye n'abandi bifuzaga imyanya) yari yiyongereye kubera igabanuka ry'imyanya. Nyuma yo kugerageza ku buryo bwose kuburizamo ikorwa rya kongere babangamira ikusanywa ry'amafaranga (imari), abantu batari bashyigiye ihinduka bari bazi neza ko ifatwa ry'ubuyobozi bwa MRND n'abantu bifuzaga iterambere ryari intarengwa. Koko rero, Matayo Ngirumpatse ntiyigeze agira ingorane zo kurundanya amajwi yabo no gutorwa. Inkeke zikomeye z'Akazu zabaye izo kubona iringaniza by'ubutegetsi kugira ngo kagumane igitsure ku ishyaka kandi kemeze umukandida wako, Josph Nzirorera, ku bunamabanga bukuru mu rwego rw'igihugu.

Imibare yose yerekezaga icyo gihe ku kibazo cyo gusaranganya imyanya itanu yari yeguriwe MRND muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) kandi yashoboraga koroshywa itya: Gisenyi yari ifite umwanaya wa perezida wa Repubulika, Byumba ifite Ingabo z'igihugu, Ruhengeri ifite gusa umwanya wo hasi (Amashuri makuru n'ubushakashatsi mu by'ubuhanga) ikaba yarasabaga rero ubunyamabanga bukuru bwa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu (kugira ngo ikomeze igenzurwe n'Amajyaruguru). Ihiganwa ryhindutse icyo gihe ihangana hagati ya Casimir Bizimungu, perezida wa komite mu rwego rwa perefegitura ya MRND mu Ruhengeri, na Yozefu Nzirorera, watsinze. Urebye, mu macenga agoye, abari muri kongere boroshyaga itorwa rya Matayo Ngirumpatse ku mwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka-wigaragazaga nk'umukandida mu isimbura rya Yuvenari Habyarimana-begurira inzego z'ishyaka uwo abarwabnashyaka bose bari bazi ko nta guca iruhande ko yari umukandida Yuvenari Habyarimana yari gushyigikira igihe yari kwivanaho mutwaro we. James Gasana, wari icyo gihe minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, asobanura muri aya magambo ibyavuye muri iyo kongere:

> "Intsinzi y'abari bashyigikiye ihinduka ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka yasangiwe n'abaharaniraga iterambere, bafite umwanya wa perezida, n'abadashaka ihinduka, bafite ubunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu. Abagize akazu (abanyakazu)

n'abagaragu babo bumva basa n'abatsinzwe, kandi ntibumva ukuntu bazagenzura ishyaka. Nyamara iyo kongere ni yo yagaragayemo bwa nyuma ivugurura ryubahirije demokarasi muri MRND. Koko rero, itorwa ry'umuntu wegereye akazu ku mwanya w'umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu byatumye abifatanyaga na we bigarurira ishyaka burundu. Ubunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu kuva ubwo bwakoze butitaye ku nama (bitekerezo) z'inzego z'ishyaka. Bityo, Nzirorera aba umusimbura ndakuka wa Habyarimana ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka aho kuba Ngirumpatse, umusimbura we binyuze mu mategeko[125]."

Twongereho, kugira ngo tugaragaze uko umwuka wari umeze nyuma ya kongere, ko ihuza ry'amacenga kugira babone ivanwa rya James Gasana muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, wari , kubera gushyigikirwa bigaragara n'ingabo (abawofisiye n'abasirikare bato), warabaye umuyobozi wigenga imbere ya Yuvenari Habyarimana, yageze aho atihanganirwa kandi hiyongeraho n'iterabwoba ritihishira rimureba we ubwe. Mu gihe yakangishwaga kwicwa n'abari mu kazu ka perezida (OTP), yanahigwaga bikomeye n'Inkotanyi kubera umwanya we nk'uhagarariye ubumwe bw'Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR): bimunyuzeho, byari ngombwa kugabanya (guhungabanya) ubutwari zari zarishubije. Icyo gihe yohereje umuryango we mu Busuwisi anamenyesha Minisitiri w'intebe na perezida icyifuzo cye cyo kujya kuruhukira kuri icyo gihugu. Ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga, yemeye mu magambo isubizwa rye muri guverinoma y'Agata Uwiringiyimana, ava muRwanda ku itariki ya 20 Nyakanga ajya muBufaransa, aho yabonye muri Kanama uruhushya rwo kumara igihe kirekire mu Busuwisi[126]. Yamenyesheje guverinoma ko yeguye kuri 23

[125] Reba James Gasana, *Rwanda, Kuva ku ishayaka leta kugeza kuri leta ikigo cya gisirikare, op. cit.*, impap. 208-209 n'umugereka wa 2. Amaherezo, Biro y'igihugu yatowe mu gihe cya kongere yo ku itariki ya3 b'iya 4 Nyakanga yari igizwe na Matayo Ngirumpatse (Kigali), perezida; Edouard Karemera (Kibuye), visiperzida wa mbere; Ferdinand Kabagema (Kibungo), visiperezida wa kabiri na Yozefu Nzirorera (Ruhengeri), umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu.

[126] Twibutse ko, ku itariki ya 15 Nyakanga, ambaasaderi w'uBufaransa ubwe, yamusuye ku bw'ubucuti mu biro bye kuri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu. Amaze kumenya umugambi we wo kujya mu Busuwisi, Jean-Michel Marlaud yamusabye kwemera viza yo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga yo muBufaransa, yahawe ku munsi ukurikiyeho, yashyizweho umukono n'ambasaderi ubwe kandi yamaraga igihe cy'amezi atatu.

(reba umugereka wa 27).

Icyo gihe ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo z'igihugu bwasubiye mu maboko y'abo mu kazu kandi abari mu murongo ukaze baherako bazigarurira. Ukugenda kwa James Gasana ntikwatumaga habaho irengerwa ry'abantu bifuzaga iterambere bo mu ngabo, guverinoma, ishyaka, mu mihanda no ku misozi. Mu Ngabo z'igihugu, ibitekerezo bibogamye n'ishyushyamitwe byashoboraga kuva ubwo kwigaragaza nta nkomyi ku ruhande rwa minisitiri w'umwagoronome wari washyizwe mu ngabo, Augustin Bizimana, na we wakomokaga i Byumba[127].

> "Ni umuntu ukabije guhakirizwa, umunyamurava w'igihubutsi wo muri MRND winjiye muri Minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu. Ubwo asura ubwa mbere inzego za minisiteri y'Ingabo, ni bwo bwa mbere twari tubonanye, ansaba kumumenyesha abawofisiye bo ku ruhande rwa MRND bari mu biro. Namusubije ko muri minisiteri y'Ingabo, kimwe no mu Ngabo, abawofisiye batari mu mashayaka kandi ko bagombga kutagira aho babogamira, ko iyo ari yo, ibyo ari byo byose, poritiki ya minisiteri y'Ingabo imbere y'abakozi bayo b'abasirikare. Kuva ubwo, yirinze kungisha inama ku kintu icyo ari cyo cyose[128]."

Ubusabane hagati y'abasirikare n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare bwarakomeye (imyitozo, itangwa ry'intwaro, amahugurwa). Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Faustin Munyazesa, ntiyari agifite ububasha bwo kwanga itandukira ry'izo mbaraga, zari zishyigikiwe na perezidansi hamwe na MRND na minisiteri y'ngabo.

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[127] Umuyobozi w'umushinga w'itunganya ry'ibibaya byo mu Mutara, Augustin Bizimana yakoze mu mwaka wa1987 ihugurwa mu icungamutungo muri Canada, aho yahuriye na Zigiranyirazo, na we wakoraga ihugurwa nk'iryo. Agaruste, "Bwana Z" yamushyirishije ku mwanya w'umuyobozi wa Opyrwa (Ofisi ya pireteri y'uRwanda) mu Ruhengeri. Amaze kuzamurwa mu ntera ya perefe wa Byumba muri Nyakanga 1992, yari abaye umugabo Perezidansi yashoboraga gucungiraho. Nyuma y'ihunga rya James Gasana, ishyirwaho rye ku buyobozi bwa minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu ku itariki ya 30 Nyakanga 1993 ryari rifite icyo gihe inyungu kuri perefegitura akomokamo no ku rwego rwe kugira ngo bajijishe ko nta cyahindutse muri iyo minisiteri.

[128] Ubuhamya bwihariye bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, inyandiko zanjye bwite.

Yozefu Nzirorera yari afite inzego za MRND mu biganza kandi nta rwego rwemewe na rumwe rw'ishyaka rwari rugiterana. Muri uwo mwuka, Yuvenari Habyarimana yongeye kuba umukuru nyakuri w'ishayaka. Icyari gisigaye ku ruhande rwa perezida ku izina, Matayo Ngirumpatse, kwari uguharanira kugumana inyungu ze no kugerageza gutuma hibagirana agasuzuguro ke (ukubahuka kwe) n'ukudashima kwe imbere y' "umubyeyi w'igihugu".

Kongere idasanzwe ya MDR yo ku itariki ya 23 n'iya 24 Nyakanga 1993

Amacenga yo gusimbuza Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana n'ubwo abenshi muri MDR bari babyanze kandi hifashishijwe ishyigikirwa ridasanzwe ry'abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri MRND (cyane cyane amasezerano hagahti ya perezida mushya wa MRND, Matayo Ngirumpatse, na Fausti Twagiramungu) ashobora gufatwa nk'igikorwa gikomeye cyo mu gihe cyo kubana cyari cyaragaruwe n'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yo muri Mata 1992. MDR gucikamo ibice bibiri byakoreraga inyuma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye (visi-perezida wa mbere), ku ruhande rumwe, na Faustin Twagiramungu (perezida) ku rundi ryatewe n'ingingo yo mu masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yateganyaga ishyirwaho rya Minisitiri w'intebe mbere y'uko asinywa. Uwa mbere wari muri uwo mwanya kuva muri Mata 1992, yashakaga kuwuguma. Faustin Twagiramungu yari yaratangiye gushaka amaboko muri MRND no mu Nkotanyi kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Kugira ngo ashobore gukora "kudeta" muri MDR—aho abari bashyigikiye ihinduranya ry'ubufatanye bukajya ku ruhande rwa MRND barushagaho kwiyongera nyuma y' igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare-, Faustin Twagiramungu yakoresheje umwanya we wa perezida w'ishyaka noneho yitangaho kuba "umukandida watoranyijwe ku buyobozi bwa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)" ashyigikiwe na ya mashyaka yose uko ari ane (MRND, PSD, PL na PDC).

Amaze gushyirwa hanze y'umukino wa poritiki n'amatiku y'ubutegetsi, visi-perezida wa MDR, Dismas Nsengiyaremye, yatumije icyo gihe kongere idasanzwe ya

MDR ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga kugira ngo agaruke mu rubuga rwa poritiki abikesheje abarwanashyaka kandi yigizeyo Faustin Twagiramungu n'Agata Uwiringiyimana wari umaze kuzamurwa ku rwego rwa Minisitiri w'intebe. Kubera ko uruhande rwa Twagiramungu rwari rushyigikiwe n'abarwanashyaka mbarwa, Faustin Twagiramungu na Matayo Ngirumpatse, abaperezida bombi ba MDR na MRND, bafatanyije gucura umugambi wo kurwanya iyo kongere maze perefe wa Kigali, koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho (Hutu, Kibungo) arabagoboka afata icyemezo cyo kuyiburizamo. Amaze kubona ko abari muri kongere basuzuguye icyemezo cyo kuyiburizamo naho abashyigikiye Faustin Twagiramungu bakaba bari bageraniwe, Matihieu Ngirumpatse yohereje Interahamwe gufunga amayira yajyaga ku kigo Iwacu[Kabusunzu] no kubirizamo imirimo ya kongere.

Incamake ya 7

Matayo Ngirumpa, wakekwagaho kuba umuragwangoma

Matayo Ngirumpatse yavutse ku itariki ya 1 Ukuboza 1939 i Rulindo, komini Tare (perefegitura ya Kigali). Atararangiza kwiga amasomo y'amategeko, yahawe akazi na minisiteri y'Ubutabera y'uRwanda rwigenga. Yazamutse mu ntera kugeza ubwo aba umukuru wa parike (urwego rw'ubushinjacyaha) i Butare n' i Kigali. Mu mwaka wa 1972, yigishije amasomo y'ubucamanza mu ishuri rikuru rya gisirikare (ESM), n'ubwo icyo gihe yari afite gusa impamyabushobozi y'ishami ry'ikilatini yahawe na Koleji Saint-Paul y'i Bukavu.

Kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri, yimuriwe ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1974 muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane, icyo gihe yayoborwaga na majoro Aloys Nsekalije (Hutu, Gisenyi). Uyunguyu yamugize ambasaderi muri Ethiyopiya, aho yari ahagarariye igihugu no muri Sudani no mu Muryango w'Ubumwe bw 'Afurika (OUA) kugeza mu mwaka wa 1979, mbere yo kwimurirwa muri amabasade y'uRwanda mu Budage.

Kubera guhungabanywa n'ingorane zo mu rugo, yishyize mu muhezo maze mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1982 abona uruhushya rwo kwiyandikisha muri kaminuza y'i Strasbourg, aho yatsindiye impamyabushobozi yo mu cyiciro cya gatatu cy'amashuri makuru amaze kumurika ku wa 15 Ukwakira 1985 umurimo yise *Le Système de la dot ou l'Inkwano en droit rwandais* [Ikwano mu mategeko y'uRwanda][a].

Yasubiye mu buyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu ku itariki ya 18 Gashyantare 1986 ashyirwa mu rwego rw'Ububanyi n'amahanga rwa perezidansi ya Repubulika ayoborwa na minisitiri Siméon Nteziryayo. Icyo gihe yashinzwe imirimo y'ingorabahizi irimo iyo gutegura amanama ya komite yo mu rwego rw'abaminisitiri ihuza URwanda n'uBuganda ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda (Kigali, 15-17 Gashyantare 1989). Yagumye mu rwego rw'Ububanyi n'amahanga kugeza ku itariki ya 16 Werurwe 1990, ubwo yashyirwaga muri minisiteri y'Imari akagirwa umuyobozi wa Sonarwa, umwanya washakwaga cyane kubera ko warimo inyungu ku buryo bw'umwihariko.

Ku itariki ya 31 ukuboza 1991, yasimbuye Sylvestre Nsanzimana ku buyobozi bwa minisiteri y'Ubutabera, ariko biba ngombwa ko ava ku mwanya we guhera ku itariki ya 16 Mata yakurikiyeho, kubera impamvu z'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ya mbere ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

Ku rwego rw'ibikorwa by'uburwanashyaka, yashyizwe mu bunyamabanga bwa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu muri kongere yo muri Mata 1992 yatangije MRND ivuguruye, atunganya imirimo ya Biro poritiki. Itorwa rye ku mwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka muri kongere yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga 1993 ryarwanyijwe cyangwa rinnyegwa n'ibyegera bya perezida Habyarimana bumvaga ishyaka riri kwigarurirwa n'ab'i "Kigali"; iyo ntsinzi ariko yacubijwe n'ishyirwa rya Yozefu Nzirorera mu mwanya w' ubunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa. Nyuma yahoo, ku itariki ya 15 Kamena 1993, yasabye kuba ahagaritse imirimo ku mpamvu ze bwite, kubera ko imirimo ye mishya " itamwemereraga kuguma mu rwego rw'umukozi wa leta". Kimwe na Edouard Karemera igihe gito mbere ye, yafunguye ibiro byo kunganira abantu mu manza [avoka].

Mu mpera z'umwaka, kubera guhigwa n'abantu bo mu majyaruguru, yeguye ku

mwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka maze abimenysha perezida Habyarimana. Edouard Karemera yamugiriye inama yo kwisubiraho. Iryo simburana ryo kurwanira imyanya no kwishyira mu muhezo akenshi ryafashwe nk' ikimenyetso cyo kujarajara kwa Matayo Ngirumpatse. Umwe mu bashishozi bakomeye wo mu banyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa poritiki muRwanda avuga mu magambo make ibyabaye imbaraga n'intege nke bye: "Yari yariremewe na Yuvenari, wamukundaga cyane kandi wari waramurengeye kenshi."

Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 mu gitondo, yanze gusimbura by'agateganyo perezida Habyarimana, wari waraye yishwe, ariko agira uruhare rukomeye mu gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Yakoze nyuma yaho ubutumwa bunyuranye bwo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga asobanura poritiki y'iyo guverinoma. Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi 1994 yemeje ishyirwaho ry'abantu bashya bari bagize ibiro bya Théodore Sindikubwabo. Muri bo harimo Matayo Ngirumpatse nk'umuyobozi ushinzwe ubutumwa mu by'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Yagumye muri uwo mwanya w'indeberezi kugeza igihe ahungiye muri Zayire nyuma yo gutsindwa.

a. Uretse iyo mpamyabushobozi izwi, yemezwa na kaminuza iyitangiye kandi ikatanga uburenganzira k'ubugenerwa impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga, nta yindi dipolome ya kaminuza iri mu idosiye yo mu buyobozi cyangwa mu mwirondoro we. Inyandiko zo kwiyandikisha muri kaminuza zonyine zitigeze zemezwa cyangwa amahugurwa anyuranye ni yo abonekamo.

Jandarumori ni yo yaje guhosha izo mvururu no kugarura umutekano aho hantu ibisabwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora—icyo gihe wasimburaga by'agateganyo minisitiri w'ingabo wari mu buhungiro. Kongere ya MDR yarashyize yemeza umwanzuro wo kwirukana mu ishyaka Twagiramungu n'abaminisitiri bashya bo muri MDR Agata Uwiringiyimana, Faustin Rucogoza (Hutu, Byumba), Anastase Gasana (Hutu, Kigali ngari), Jean-Marie Vanney Mbonimpa (Hutu, Kibuye) kimwe n'abayobozi b'ibiro byabo n'abajyanama babo; hanyuma itora Yohani Kambanda[129], wari ushiditse na

[129] Jean Kambanda, wari waravutse ku itariki ya 9 Ukwakira 1955 muri komini Gishamvu , perefegitura ya Butare, yari afite impamyabumenyi ya enjeniyeri yo mu ishuri ry'Inyigisho zo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu

Agata Uwiringiyimana muri MDR i Butare, nk'umukandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE).

Minisitiri w'intebe, Agata Uwiringiyimana (wari kuri uwo mwanya kuva muri Nyakanga 1993), yamenyeshejwe iryo tora maze, nyuma yo kungurana ibitekerezo n'abahagarariye MDR i Butare, yemera mu nyandiko kwegura muri guverinoma (reba umugereka wa 28). Ubwo yari agarutse mu rugo ariko, yasanze intumwa zikomeye zimutegereje zirimo Faustin Twagiramungu, Justin Mugenzi, Ferdinand Kabagema, Matayo Ngirumpatse, Frédéric Nzamurambaho na koloneli Bagosora, zimusaba kutegura. Zifashishije umugabo we, Ignace Barahira, izo ntumwa z'abakuru b'amashyaka zamwemeje kwandika itangazo rinyuzwa kuri radiyo risobanura ko yari yeguye kubera igitutu cy'abari muri kongere[130]. Disamas Nsengiyaremye icyo gihe yari yigijweyo burundu, Nuko Agata Uwiringiyimana, utari mu by'ukuri umuntu washakwaga na perezida Habyarimana, yongera kuba Minisitiri w'intebe abikesha amacenga ahuriweho na Matayo Ngirumpatse na Faustin Twagiramungu n'uruhare rwihariye rwa koloneli Bagosora ubwe.

Uwo muvundo n'ibyawuvuyemo birerekana neza agaciro k'uwo munsi mu mateka y'ibyakurikiyeho: byerekana na none uburumirahabiri bwa Agata Uwiringiyimana, kuko nubwo yari azwiho gukomera ku byiyumviro bye, yageraga aho akagamburuzwa mu mahina. Nk'ahangaha, icyemezo cye cya nyuma ntigisobanurwa cyane n'ihitamo rishishoza ry'icyerekezo cya poritiki, kurusha ukuntu atabonaga icyo yari kuba cyo muri MDR aramutse yitandukanyije na Faustin Twagiramungu. Muri rusange, ibyagezweho

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by'ubucuruzi ry' i liege[muBubiligi]. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1985 kugeza mu wa1989, yakoraga mu Isandugu y'ubwubatsi y'uRwanda mbere yo kujya muri Banki z'Abaturage. Muri Mata 1994, nk'ushinzwe ubuyobozi bwa Banki z'Abaturage, ni we wari umukozi mukuru wazo w'Umunyarwanda. Umuyoboke wa MDR, yari mu batangije ishyaka muri perefegitura ya Butare. Kugeza muri Gicarsi 1993, yari kumwe na Dismas Nsengiyaremye. Nyuma y'iyirukanwa mu ishyaka ry' Agathe Uwilingiyimana, yafashe ubuyobozi bw'uruhande rwa "Power". Muri Banki z'Abaturage, yahoranaga na Augustin Bizimana, perefe wo muri MRND w'i Byumba akaba na minisitiri w'Ingabo, wari umwe mu bagize Inama y'ubuyobozi.

[130] Kuri iyi ngingo, umuntu yareba igitabo cya James GASANA *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison*, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

byari biremerereye MDR: ubumwe bw'ishyaka MDR bwari mu mazi abira ku buryo budasubirwaho, na Nsengiyaremye ari hanze y'ikibuga.

Hashize iminsi mike, ku itariki ya 31 Nyakanga, mu gihe byahwihwiswaga ko yashoboraga gufungwa akurikiranyweho kugira uruhare mu inyereza ry'ibyari bigenewe abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara—amakuru dufite yemeza ko ibyo byaba ari akagambane yagiriwe na Matayo Ngirumpatse na Faustin Twagiramungu (reba umugereka wa 29)—, Dismas Nsengiyaremye yavuye mu gihugu asanga James Gasana icyo gihe wari ucumbitse muBufaransa.

Ibindi bivugwa kuri icyo gihe cya rurangiza, cyaranze ikomeza ry'ishwanyagurika rya MDR biturutse ku gitutu cya MRND, umuntu yabihinira muri aya magambo: "Ngirumpatse: kwikuraho Dismas, kuzamura Faustin no kubikiza bombi[131]."

Ukwibanda kwa Matayo Ngirumpatse ku ihezwa rya Dismas Nsengiyaremye mu ruhando rwa poritiki y'uRwanda kwaterwaga n'ubwoba bwo kutagera ku mushinga w'ubufatanye hagati ya MDR na MRND. Kuri we, icyo gikorwa cyari ingenzi. Urebye intege nke yari yifitiye mu buyobozi bwa MRND "nkiga", kwifatanya n'abo mu gihugu hagati no mu majyepfo bwagombaga byanze bikunze guca kuri MDR. Ubufatanye busesuye hagati ya MDR na MRND ni bwo bwonyine bwashoboraga gutsinda Inkotanyi haba ku rwego rwa gisirikare ("agace k'amasezerano ku isaranganya ry'ingabo" kategekaga ubwo bufatanye hagati y'abawofisiye bo mu Majyaruguru no mu Majyepfo, begemiye kuri MRND cyangwa MDR) cyangwa urwa poritiki (ubufatanye hagati ya MDR na MRND bwafatwaga nk'ubufite abayoboke benshi mu gihugu cyose, uretse ahari i Butare).

Mu ntangiriro, yaketse ku buryo bugaragara ko ashyigikiye Faustin Twagiramungu byimazeyo, yashoboraga kuzamwinjiza burundu mu maboko y'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida nk'uko yari yabigezeho kuri Justin Mugenzi, perezida wa PL.

Nyuma yaho, bimaze kumenyekana ko Faustin Twagiramungu yari ikirumirahabiri, Matayo Ngirumpatse yegereye Froduald Karamira na Donat Murego abumvisha ko yashoboraga kubafasha gusubirana uburenganzira bwa MDR bwari bwaranyurujwe na Faustin Twagiramungu, wari, ku buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose, kwigizwayo muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Ariko, uwo ari we wese bavuganaga, byari ngombwa kwirinda ko Dismas Nsengiyaremye, wari wararwanyije ubufatanye hagati ya MDR na MRND, "n'iyo habaho igitutu cy'inshuti z'uRwanda rwigenga z'Ababiligi cyangwa z'Abafaransa", ashobora guhesha agaciro igitekerezo cye. Ni yo mpamvu y'icyifuzo cyo kumuheza hanze y'igihugu, ariko cyane cyane icyo kumuhambiraho icyaha cyo kuba yari inyuma y'urupfu rwa Emmanuel Gapyisi, cyoroherezaga ahubwo MRND kwigarurira inshuti za Gapyisi.

Nkuko bigaragara, inzego za poritiki zari zarayobotswe n'abantu benshi kuva muri za 1991 ari na zo zatumye hemerwa poritiki y'amashyaka menshi, kuzihungabanya byinyuze mu iyicwa rya bamwe n'amacenga ya poritiki ku bandi byasohoje umugambi w'agatereranzamba wari umaze igihe kirekire w'abashyigikiye perezida na MRND, ku ruhande rumwe, n'Inkotanyi ku rundi, wo gutatanya no kwigarurira urubuga rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikare. Muri Kanama 1993, igihe hshyirwaga umukono ku masezerano y'Arusha, igitekerezo cy'impande ebyiri cyagenderwagaho mu "gace k'amasezerano ku isaranganya ry'ingabo[132]" cyashoboraga no gukoreshwa ku rubuga rwa poritiki rwose muri rusange. Ibyemezo bibiri bikomeye kuva ubwo byari bifite imbaraga mu mahitamo n'ubufatanye mu rwego rwa poritiki: kimwe cyari gishingiye ku kuntu imbaraga nshya za

[131] Imbonerahamwe yanditswe ku itariki ya 8 Gicurasi 1993 nyuma y'ikiganiro kirekire cy'umwanditsi na Matayo Ngirumpatse.

[132] Agace kerekeye igisirikare k'amasezerano y'Arusha kateganyaga ko ihuriza hamwe ry'abahoze ari abarwanyi b'Inkotanyi n'aba guverinoma mu ngabo (umubare mbumbe w'abazigize kuva ubwo wari kuba abantu 13 000) no muri jandarumori (6 000 bose hamwe mu bihe byari imbere) ryakorwa ku buryo banganya ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi kandi hakurikijwe isaranganya rya 40/60 mu bwiganze bw'abasirikare. Inkotanyi zagaragazaga abantu 15 000, na guverinoma 40 000, ni ukuvuga 35 000 bagombaga gusezererwa mu ngabo (reba umutwe ukurikiraho).

poritiki zagombaga kubahiriza imigambi n'amahirwe yo gutsinda by'impande zombi za gisirikare zari zihanganye, aho abafite ingabo ari bo bazaga ku isonga muri buri ruhande; icya kabiri cyari gishingiye ku ruhare rw'abanyamahanga –abo mu karere n'ab'abazungu—botsaga igitutu impande zombi babinyujije mu mishyikirano y'amahoro.

Muri urwo rubuga rwa poritiki aho benshi bari bakishakashaka, habuze abanyaporiki baseruka ngo bagaragaze imbaraga zihamye cyane cyane nko mu rwego rwo gukangura abaturage byari byarararanze imyaka ya 1991-1992. Urubyiruko rwitwaza intwaro rw'amashyaka n'abanyaporitiki bari barishyize hejuru nibo basigaye bihariye ijambo bakiyitirira kuba ijwi rya rubanda. Kubera ko gusubiza abarwanashyaka ububasha bwo kugenzura inzego z'amashyaka mu mucyo wa demokarasi byari byarakendereye mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993, amatiku yafashe intera iruta iy'ibyerekezo bya poritiki. Abari bahanganye mu ntambara y'amasasu [MRND na FPR] nibo "biranguriye" –mu mvugo ishushanya ndetse n'itaziguye— abo banyaporitiki bitanaga agasuzuguro "abaharanira demokarasi", nuko bombi barashyidika mu gukoresha iterabwoba rijya imbu n'amareshyamugeni, basibanganya icyahozeho cyose cyagiraga icyo cyibutsaga mu rwego rw'ubufatanye, ari nako bakataza mu macakubiri ashingiye ku turere, ubwoko na poritiki. Baba abanyacyubahiro bo mu byerekezo "Hutu Power[Hutu pawa]" by'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi cyangwa "Abahutu bacisha make" bari barishyize hamwe n'Inkotanyi, abihomaga ku bandi batahiye kuba udukeregeshwa tw'inyongera.

5

Amacenga yari yihishe mu masezerano y'Arusha n'idindira ry'inzibacyuho

Gahunda yateganywaga n'amasezerano y'Arusha yashyize igihe cy'inzibacyuho ku mezi makumyabiri n'abiri guhera ku gihe cy'ishyirwaho umukono ry'isezerano ry'amahoro (4 Kanama 1993) kandi hifuzwaga ko iba isobanutse neza, yihuta kandi itajenjeka (reba umugereka wa 30). Ingingo zimwe na zimwe zari zarahagaritswe kuva ku isinywa ry'amasezerano adasanzwe, ryari ryaratangiye kuva habaho ihagara ry'iraswa ry'ibisasu ku itariki ya 31 Nyakanga 1992, nk'iyateganyaga ifungurwa ry'imfungwa z'intambara n'abantu bose bafashwe nyuma kandi kubera intamabara, yagombaga gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu minsi itanu ikurikira iryo sinywa. Inzego z'inzibacyuho (Perezidanse, Inteko na guverinoma-iyobowe naa Faustin Twagiramungu) zagombaga gushyirwaho mu minsi mirongo itatu n'irindwi yakurikiraga isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro, ni ukuvuga bitarenze itariki

ya 11 Nzeri 1993, kimwe n'Inama nkuru y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo[1133]. Hanyuma, abayobozi bose bo mu rwego rw'ibanze (ababurugumesitiri, abasuperefe, abaperefe ba perefegitura) bagombaga kuba barasimbuwe, cyangwa baremejwe mu hihe cy'amezi atatu yari ateganyijwe kugira ngo hashyirweho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Hanyuma, hagombaga gutangira imirimo itatau ikomeye: itahuka ry'imppunzi, ivangwa ry'ingabo zombi n'amatora asesuye. Ku byerekeye icyurwa ry'impunzi mu matsinda[134], itsinda rya mbere ryagombaga kuhagera mu mezi icyenda akurikira ishyirwaho rya guverinoma. Muri ayo mezi icyenda.

Hagombaga kuba harangijwe ibikorwa by'ibarura ry'ababyifuzaga, ahantu ho gutuzwa, kubona inkunga y'abaterankunga, isinywa ry'amasezerano n'ibihugu zizavamo, nb. Ku byerekeye ihuzwa ry'ingabo, ingengabihe y'amezi icyenda nanone yari ihari, iteganya gusezerera mu ngabo abantu bo ku mpande zombi (Ingabo z'igihugu n'iz'Inkotanyi) bari kuba batarafashwe muri ba basirikare n'abajandarume 19 000 bagombaga kugumamo. Mu kurangiza, ingengabihe y'amatora yagombaga gutangizwa n'ivugurura ry'abahuzabikorwa bo mu makomini amezi atandatu mbere y'irangira ry'inzibacyuho, yagombaga guherako ikurikirwa n'amatora rusange, yagombaga gutegurwa mu mpera z'igihe cy'inzibacyuho y'amezi makumyabiri n'abiri, ni ukuvuga hagati mu mwaka wa 1996[135].

Ku buryo bugaragara, ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha ryasabaga ubwitange bwinshi ku ruhande rw'abari babifite uruhare mu makimbirane. Urubuga rw'ibyashoboraga kugerwaho ahanini rwari rubumbiye mu mvugo yari yadutse vuba y' "imigambi ihishe" (hidden agenda). Iyo minyagwa y'imigambi ihishe yavangaga ukuri kw'ibintu n'ibyifuzo, ariko yari ifite akamaro kenshi. Kubera ko byari ngombwa kumenya neza umugambi w'umwanzi, ibyakekwaga byose, biteye ubwoba cyane

[133] Itahuka ry'ingabo zose z'inyamahanga ryagombaga guhera ko rikurikira ishyirwaho ry'itsinda ry'indorerezi zo mu rwego rwa gisirikare zitagira aho zibogamiye (GOMN), uretse abafatanyabikorwa b'abasirikare bari muRwanda kubera amasezerano y'ubufatanye hagati y'ibihugu.

[134] Impunzi zitari zikeneye gufashwa zashoboraga gutaha igihe zibishakiye.

kandi/cyangwa bikabije ubugome byashoboraga guteganywa kandi muri iyo mikorere bigafatwa k'aho ari ukuri. Icyari kibabaje, byateraga kwiroha mu migambi yo kwirwanaho, ndetse no guca igikuba. Uko ni ko buri wese yagiraga uruhare mu kongera ibihuha n'amakabyankuru akanahora arenga ku miziro ubundi yakagombye gukumira urugomo rugaragara. Bitabaye ibyo kwinjira mu rubuga rw'ikinamico ya poritiki, reka twibutse ibintu bike mu byari byihishe inyuma y'urwego rwa poritiki akenshi cyane byibagiranye kuva icyo gihe kandi bishobora gutuma umuntu atekereza ko ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha ritari riteganyijwe na busa.

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryashishaga bose

Ikintu cya mbere cyari gishingiye ku bisobanuro bya poritiki byagezweho nabi, mu buryo bwa huti huti mbere y'isinywa ry'amasezerano kugira ngo hamburwe ibyari byagezweho n'ikipe, yari (ibumbiye) inyuma ya Dismas kandi ishyigikiwe n'abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri MRND, yari yaragize uruhare runini cyane mu kuyageraho kandi ikanashyikirana ku mwanzuro wayo. Itungana ry'icyo gikorwa ryari kuburizamo rugikubita igitekerezo cya poritiki giteye ugutatu cyabiteraga, cyangwa, ku buryo busobanutse neza, intego yo gushyiraho imbaraga za poritiki zigenga imbere y'ingabo zombi. Niba, ku byagaragaraga, urusobe rw'amatiku n'ubufatanye byari byiganje mu gihe cyo guheza mu rubuga rwa poritiki Dismas Nsengiyaremye, minisitiri w'intebe, rwarerekanaga imikomerere n'uruzurungutane by'imyumvikamire yo mu bihe byari imbere, ni ngombwa nanone kwibaza igihembo "abatsinze" bemeye gutanga kugira ngo Inkotanyi zishyigikire (zemere) iryo yigizwayo. Muri icyo cyerekezo, kwemera gucumbikira batayo y'Inkotanyi muri CND (Ingoro y'Inteko ishinga amategeko), muri kapitali rwagati (imbere muri kapitali), bikomoka ku mibare ya poritiki irimo ukudashishoza (ubushishozi buke, ubucucu, ubwenge buke, igoryamye) ku ruhande rw'abayobozi b'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu. Matayo Ngirumpatse kuri iyo ngingo

[135] Ububasha bwo kongererwa igihe inshuro imwe, bitewe n'impamvu zidasanzwe zabangamiye ishyirwa neza mu bikorwa rya gahunda ya guverinoma, bwashoboraga guteganywa.

atanga ibisobanuro bikurikira:

"1. Umuryango wo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga, Gahunda y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) biravuga ko kuva ubu, kubera ko amasezerano yashyizweho umukono, ari ngombwa gukorana ibintu byose n'Inkotanyi. Nta wubyanze. Ariko se ni nde wakwita ku mutekano ko Inkotanyi zitari i Kigali, cyangwa mu Nteko, cyangwa muri guverinoma? Ibyo tubireke (Biti ihi se). Inkotanyi, zishyigikiwe na bamwe mu banyamahanga, zirasaba ko tureka Kigali, tugakorera inama za guverinoma i Byumba, umugi wo ku mupaka, kuri kirometero 35 uvuye ku mupaka w'i Buganda. Uretse abigometse ku butegetsi bakifatanya n'Inkotanyi, amashyaka ntabishaka kandi aratanga impamvu ebyiri:

-nta wapfa guta umurwa mukuru gutyo gusa. Igitekerezo cyo kugabanya igihugu mo ibice bibiri kiracyariho kandi bamwe baratinya, nk'uko bisanzwe, ko Byumba yagirwa ikintu kimeze nka "kapitali ihuza ibihugu" kandi ko, amaherezo, Kigali yafatwa nka kapitali isanzwe y'Abahutu.

-Inkotanyi zirabeshya ko zidashobora kuza mu nama i Kigali ku mpamvu z'umutekano wazo. Amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu na yo ni ko avuga. Byumba, ni hafi y'uBuganda, ni indiri y'Inkotanyi na etamajoro yazo iri ku birometero bike uvuye mu mugi, mu ruganda rw'icyayi rwo ku Mulindi, muRwanda. Ni nde washoboraga kwemera ahantu nk'aho?

2. Inkotanyi zirabeshya ko zidashobora kugera i Kigali zidacungiwe umutekano. Ishyirwaho ry'ingabo zihuriweho rizafata igihe. Zikeneye rero ibyemezo by'umutekano wazo. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, turumva ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zihagije kandi ko kuzana abasirikare b'Inkotanyi bizateza umutekano muke ugararagara. Baraturega kubuza ibintu kujya mu buryo (kuruhanya). Ariko umusomyi azi impamvu andi mashyaka atabangamiwe n'ukuza kw'abasirikare b'Inkotanyi muri kapitali. Ni ukubera ko yaretse

gushyigikira Ingabo z'igihugu, yishyira mu maboko y'Inkotanyi. Bemera rero n'ubwenge buke no ku buryo bworoshye bikabije ukuza kwa batayo y'Inkotanyi muri kapitali[136].”

Ariko icyo nyuma yita “ikosa ryo kwiyahura mu rwego rwa poritiki” cyaje gufata intera yindi iyo inkuru ye ku byabaye ishyizwe ku byakurikiyeho. Koko rero, ni MRND ubwayo yanze inzira yumvikanyweho n'abo Matayo Ngirumpatse yita “abigometse ku butegetsi bakifatanya n'Inkotanyi”-, ni ukuvuga Boniface Ngulinzira, minisitiri ukomoka muri MDR wari wari ushinzwe imishyikirano y'Arusha. (Iyo nzira)Yifuzaga ko ingabo z'Inkotanyi ziguma ku Mulindi igihe cyose Minuar yari kuba itragarura umutekano muri Kigali kandi ko Inama y'abaminisitiri, igihe ibintu byari gusaba ko abahagarariye Inkotanyi bahaba, yashoboraga kubera i Kinihira (muri perefegitura ya Byumba), mu gace kari karavanywemo ingabo. Nyuma y'iyigizwayo (ihirikwa) rya guverinoma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye, icyo cyifuzo, nyamara cyari cyaremewe n'Inkotanyi, cyongeye kugibwaho impaka (gusubizwa mu masezerano) n'Anastase Gasana, minisitiri mushya w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa MDR (uruhande rwa Twagiramungu) wemeye, abyumvikanyeho na MRND, ukuza kwa batayo y'Inkotanyi muri Kigali, ari uko izina rya Faustin Twagiramungu nka Minisitiri w'intebe ryanditswe ku mugaragaro mu masezerano y'amahoro[137].

Mbere y'iryo subirwamo ry'imishyikirano, byari biteganyijwe ko MDR imenyesha

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[136] Matayo Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie rwandaise. L'autre face de l'histoire* [*Amarorerwa y'uRwanda. Urundi ruhande rw'amateka]*, Roneo, byandikiwe mu buhungiro, muri za 1996, impap.100-101.

[137] Byabaye nanone ikosa rinini mu rwego rwa gisirikare ryakuruye urwikekwe rw'igihe kirekire mu buyobozi bw'Ingabo z'igihugu ku ihitamo ryari yakozwe n'abanyaporitiki. Ihitamo batigeze bumva intera yaryo. Usibye ishusho y'ifarasi y'i Troie yometswe ku bumwe bw'Inkotanyi zari sishinze ibirindiro muri kapitali, abasirikare ntibashoboraga kumva ukuntu ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'Inkotanyi bwari bwashoboye kwemera gushyira abantu babwo 600 hafi y'ikigo cy'Abajepe (Abarinda perezida) kandi nta ngufu zo kubahagarara hagati kubera ukuntu Minuar yari kure, zitabanje mbere na mbere kwica amasezerano kugira ngo zibone umubare w'abantu n'intwaro bibaha ububasha bwo kurwana nibura bungana n'ubwa batayo y'Abajepe. Ibyo ibintu byakurikiyeho byarabigaragaje koko.

andi mashyaka izina rya Minisitiri w'intebe wifuzwa ariko bitari ibyo gushyira izina rye mu nyandiko y'amasezerano.

Ikintu cya kabiri cyari cyihishe inyuma y'urwego rwa poritiki gishingiye ku ntera (ibyari kuva) y'amacenga yari yumvikanyweho. Amasezerano y'Arusha yakemuriraga mu mpapuro ihangana ritari rishingiye kuri poritiki y'igihe kirekire[6138]. Yahaga urubuga uburinganire bw'imbaraga ebyiri za gisirikare: zimwe ntizari zatsinzwe, ariko ntizashoboraga no gutsinda (ndetse no guhangana haramutse habayeho igitero cy'urundi ruhande) hatabayeho ishyigikirwa riturutse hanze riteguwe neza, zitari zifite, ingabo z'Abafaransa zimaze gutahuka; izindi zari zifite imbaraga nyinshi zizwi n'ishyigikirwa n'amahanga ryizewe. Nyamara, ku rwego rwa poritiki, hari intege nke zikabije mu rwego rw'ubufatanye kandi icyari kizwi ni uko Inkotanyi, zishingiye ku bwoko, zitashoboraga kwizera mu gihe gito cyangwa kiringaniye, imizi igaragara mu baturage, yashoboraga kuzizeza ibihe byiza bizaza (by'imbere) mu rwego rwa poritiki binyuze mu matora. Iryo hurizo ku mpande zombi ryahaga icyerekezo amakinamico y'abo byarebaga bose.

Mu gihe cyo gushyiraho umukono (isinywa) ku masezerano y'amahoro ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, guhurizwa hamwe kw'ingabo nshya z'igihugu ryateganywaga n' "agace k'amasezerano kerekeye ingabo" ryasobanuraga neza ko Inkotanyi zagombaga gutanga 40% by'ingabo no gushyiraho 50% mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo. Twongeyeho itegeko ry'iringaniza ry'uturere ryari kuyobora ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano, uruhande rushyigikiye MRND rwo mu ngabo kugeza ubwo rwari rukabije kugira abantu benshi haba mu basirikare bato haba no mu bawofisiye, urebye rwari rucitsemo kabiri. Ureste 40% zagenerwaga, Inkotanyi zari zifite n'abandi bake mu

[138] Iyo ni yo yari imyumvire nyayo ya jenerali Dallaire ubwo yatangira imirimo ye icyo gihe (reba umugereka wa 31). Ni na cyo nanone cyasaga n'aho ari igitekerezo cy'abari bakomeye mu mishyikirano b'Abanyatanzaniya: "Minisitiri w'intebe wa Tanzaniya, Bwana John Malechela, yanyemereye ibyo bintu Arusha, muri Kanama 1993, amasezerano y'amahoro yaraye ashyizweho umukono, ubwo yansuraga muri hoteli akansaba gushyigikira ayo masezerano.Yanyibwiriye ko yari azi neza ko Inkotanyi zari zasinye ku bw'amaburakindi no ku mbaraga kandi ko igihe icyo ari cyo cyose, zari guhagarika ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano" (ikiganiro cyihariye nagiranye

nabo z'uRwanda bazishyigikiye, bityo zikaba zibaye igipande gikomeye cy'ingabo nshya. Hongeweho icyerekezo cyari gishyigikiye abaharanigara ihinduka mu gihugu, wasangaga hari umugabane wa hafi kimwe cya gatatu cy'abantu bashyigikiye MRND na CDR na bibiri bya gatatu by'abashyigikiye Inkotanyi n'abaharanira ihinduka muri demokarasi (FDC). Umubare munini w'abawofisiye "bakuze" bo mu majayaruguru wagombaga kujya mu biruhuko by'izabukuru, cyane ko imibanire mishya yari yarinjiye mu Ngabo z'igihugu, nk'uko byerekanywe neza n'ishyirwaho ry'abawofisiye bahamagarirwaga kujya mu Buyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikare mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho (reba umugereka wa 32).

Abawofisiye batoranywaga hashingiwe ku bimenyetso by'isuzuma, inyandikomvugo zaryo zoherererezwa Minisiteri y'Ingabo, ariko igaragaza ry'uturere bakomokagamo ubwaryo ryafashije kugereranya ihindagurika ryari kuzabaho, ryari ryiteguwe cyangwa riteye ubwoba: Urukiga-Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba-rwari rusigaranye abaruhagarariye bane kuri cumi n'umwe- harimo umwe gusa wo muri Gisenyi...-, abandi bose bakaba bari abo mu Nduga-amaperefegitura y'igihugu yose hamwe uvanyemo igice cy'amajyaruguru. Ikindi kandi, n'ubwo kutagira aho babogamiye byari ubutwari bwari buhuriweho n'abenshi mu bashyizweho, abenshi mu bawofisiye bo mu Majyepfo bari batoranyijwe ntibahishaga uko bakundaga amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Aha byasabaga minisitiri w'Ingabo kohererza ubutumwa abakuru b'amashyaaka arwnya ubutegetsi, kugira ngo bagaragaze igisa n'ubumwe bw'igihugu bitabaye ngombwa ko abayobozi bihitiramo abanyacyubahiro abantu (abanyacyubahiro) batajegajega. N'ubwo batari abagaragu b'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida, nta n'umwe muri abo bawofisiye washoboraga mu by'ukuri kubuza uburyo perezida na koloneli Bagosora cyangwa kubarwanya.

Nkuko za ambasade n'indorerezi zari zarabiketse, hatangiye imyitwarire ikaze

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n'umunyacyubahiro w'umunyaporitiki wo murwego rwo hejuru w'Umunyarwanda, ku itariki ya 20 Mutarama 2006).

y'abawofisiye n'abantu b'intagondwa bo mu Majyaruguru- bafashe ako gace k'amasezerano nk'ubushotoranyi. Ikindi kandi, abaturage bose b'imbere mu gihugu bababajwe bikomeye n'uko abari mu mishyikirano ku ruhande rwa guverinoma bakinnye urusimbi umutwaro w'imyaka ine y'intambara yo gusubiranamo inyeshyamba zaroshyemo Ingabo z'igihugu n'igihugu cyose: ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abahohotewe kimwe n'inkomere z'intambara, abasivili barenga miliyoni bavanywe mu byabo kandi bari barundanyije mu nkambi, ihahamuka ry'abantu n'itakara ry'umutungo bitabarika. Ukurikije imyanzuro yakozwe nyuma n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, icyo gihe ntibyari bikiri amacakubiri y'abari mu mishyikirano bo ku ruhande rwa guverinoma, ahubwo byari ubuhubutsi:

> "Koko rero, biragoye kumva amasezerano yateguwe ku buryo arushaho kurakaza hafi abantu bose bo muRwanda Inkotanyi zashoboraga gukorana na bo. Byari ikintu gishoboka kuvuga ko bitari ngombwa ko 85% by'abaturage bari Abahutu kugira ngo bihe igitugu cy'Abahutu ububasha bwo kwitwa demokarasi. Ariko nanone byari ikindi kintu kuvuga ko Abatutsi, bari bafite munsi ya 15% by'abaturage, bashoboraga kugira uburenganzira kuri hafi kimwe cya kabiri cy'ingabo. N'Abahutu bacishaga make ubwabo, bari mu mirwano idashoboka hagati y'impande zombi, bumvaga icyo gitekerezo ari icyo kurwanya (atari cyo)[7]."

Aha hakwibutswa ingingo imwe yakomeje kuba urujijo kugeza ubwo imirwano yubuka ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994: Inkotanyi ntizigeze zishaka guhishura amazina y'abantu mu bawofisiye bazo bagombaga kujya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo zigihugu zateganywaga. Ibyo indorerezi zabibonagamo nibura ubwitonzi bwazo bukomeye mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha. Uko kutagira icyo zitaho kwari gutandukanye n'impagarara zikabije zatewe n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amsezerano mu Ngabo z'igihugu, minisitiri wari uzishinzwe akaba yariho akora igishushanyo mbonera cy'ubuyobozi bushya. Gushyirwa imbere kw'imitwe yitwara gisirikare kuri muri uwo mwuka: yari yarahamagariwe kunganira intege nke zikabije z'abahagarariye MRND/CDR mu ngabo nshya hakoreshejwe kwitabaza imbaraga z'abaturage zari

kunganira ku buryo budasubirwaho itegura ry'amatora.

Mu by'ukuri, nyuma y'iyicwa muri Gashyantare rya Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD akaba na minisitiri w'Ibikorwa bya leta, intambara yaranukaga hagati y'impande zombi za gisirikari zahiganwaga kumenya imbwa n'umugabo: ku ruhande rumwe, urwunge rw'imbaraga z'abasirikari batsimbaraye ku matwara ya gihutu rwari rwifatanije n'abawofisiye b'abakiga b'intagondwa bari baramaze kujya cyangwa biteguye kujya mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, no ku rundi ruhande, ingabo z'Inkotanyi. Ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi, umugambi wo kwigarurira ubutegetsi ku ngufu za gisirikare wari nta-gisibya kandi amaherezo yawo yari azwi kubera ko amasezerano y'Arusha yari amaze kuvanaho inzitizi ya nyuma yarangiranye n'itahuka ryuzuye kandi ryihuta ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa. Ibihe rero byacaga amarenga. Icyari gisigaye yari imbarutso ubundi rukambikana.

Ukwisungana kwa MRND n'abatsimbaraye ku byerekezo bya gihutu mu ruhande rw'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi mu gihugu

Ku ruhande rwa Perezidansi, itandukana ry'imbaraga ryari mu nyandiko n'imbaraga nyazo mu rwego rwa poritiki z'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida— dore ko rutati rufite nibura n'umubare wa ngombwa wo guhagarika ibyemezo— byatumaga batinya kuzakorerwa "kudeta yihishe inyuma y'amategeko" na bakeba babo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Icyari gisigaye rero cyari ukwagura urubuga mu rwego rwa poritiki no kurindira igihe cyiza. Kubera iyo mpamvu, byarashobokaga kongera kwifashisha MRND kuko abarwanashyaka bayo bari bongeye kunga ubumwe kubera ko bose amasezerano y'amahoro yabajonjoraga kimwe. Isaranganya ry'imyanya ryari ryemejwe na kongere yo muri Nyakanga 1993 ryarindaga MRND kugwa mu mutego w'intureka n'amacakubiri andi mashyaka yivurugutagamo, byongeye kandi ubushishozi n'ubushobozi perezida wa Repubulika yakomezaga kugaragaza byakumiraga intambara hagati y'abaragwangoma bari barigaragaje, Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera.

Nanone kandi, amatora yagaragazaga ko MRND yari ihagaze neza bidashidikanywaho. Mu matora yo gusimbura ababurugumesitiri 38 bakekwagaho "kurya ruswa, ubushobozi buke cyangwa uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi" yabaye ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe 1993 nyuma y'amezi menshi y'impaka z'urudaca higwa uburyo buboneye bwo kuvugurura inzego z'ibanze mu "mucyo", amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubtegetsi ntibyayahiriye uko yabyifuzaga. Gutora intumwa zizatora mu izina ry'abaturage bose[8139] byakozwe mu muvundo w'uburiganya n'iterabwoba. Ibavuye mu matora byagaragaje ukuntu ibogama rishingiye ku irondakarere ryagizemo uruhare rukomeye kandi ko amashyaka abiri akomeye (MRND na MDR) yaguye amaboko ndetse akiganza n'ahari hasanzwe ari ibirindiro by'ayandi mashyaka(reba umugereka wa 33). Ayo matora yaciye intege bikomeye abarwanashyaka b'uruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutetsi ruharanira demokarasi. Kuva ubwo, ntibari bacyibeshya ku ntsinzi yabo mu matora imbere ya MRND yagendaga ibigaranzura yitonze kandi igwiza abayoboke. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, iryo somo ryari rihagije witegereje imbaraga mu matora z'ayo mashyaka akomeye ashingiye kuri Repubulika. Yagombaga gukina umukino wo koroherana n'abanyacyubahiro bo mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi bari bongeye gaushyira mu gaciro, cyangwa bifuzaga kubona uruvugiro, kimwe no mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, byaba ngombwa ikareka abantu b'abarakare cyane bakajya mu masshyaka ayishamikiyeho ikanabegurira ingingo n'uburyo bwo gukangura abaturage bishotorana cyane, kimwe n'imirimo isuzuguritse ijyana no kubogama.

Ikomera ry'icyerekezo cy'ubumwe bw'Abahutu cyiswe "Power" imbere y'impungenge zaturutse ku nyungu zagezweho n'Inkotanyi ryihutishijwe mu Kwakira 1993, mu igerageza ryo guhirika ubutegetsi ry'abasirikare n'iyicwa, i Bujumbura, rya perezida Melchior Ndadaye n'abanyacyubahiro b'ingenzi bari ku butegetsi muBurundi (bari bashyizweho n'amatora asesuye ya mbere yakozwe kuva bwagera ku bwigenge). Abantu benshi muRwanda icyo gihe bafashe ubwo bwicanyi nk'ubwakorewe umwe mu

139 Dukurikije amabwiriza ya minisitiri yo ku itariki ya 11 Werurwe 1993, umutwe wari ushinzwe amatora wari ugizwe n'abahagarariye urwego rwa ploitiki n'abanyacyubahiro bavuye mu nzego z'amadini n'amashyirahamwe.

banyacyubahiro b'ikirenga b'Abanyarwanda. Koko rero Melchior Ndadaye, impnzi y'Umuhutu, yari yarahunze uBurundi mu mwaka wa 1972 yiga amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru muRwanda. Itorwa rye ku mwanya wa perezida w'uBurundi ryari ryafashwe nk'intsinzi y' "Umunyarwanda". Ingaruka z'ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi n'induru byateye muRwanda byabaye akaminuramuhini. Guhirika ku mbaraga ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho bwatowe muri demokarasi ku buryo bw'intangarugero ku mugabane wose byabaye ikimenyetso cyo gushyigikira abari basanzwe kimwe n'abimirizaga imbere kwishisha abatutsi aho bava bakagera, haba muBurundi cyangwa muRwanda, maze muri iyo nkubiri, gahunda yo kwigisha abaturage ibyo kwirengera bifata indi ntera.

Muri urwo rwego, isomo ry'uBurundi ryari risobanutse: n'ubwo imiryango mbonezabupfura (amatorero, amashyirahamwe yigenga, nb.) yahagurukiye icyarimwe ndetse n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga ugafata iya mbere mu kubamagana, icyabujije abasirikari b'Abatutsi i Burundi kwigarurira ubutegetsi ni ihaguruka ku bwinshi ry' "abaturage b'Abahutu".

Ingaruka z'iyo kudeta zabaye agahomamunwa muBurundi: Iyicwa ry'abategetsi b'ingenzi ba Frodebu ryatumye igihugu gihungabana mu buyobozi maze imyiryane y'amoko ihabwa intebe. Mu maporovensi menshi ibyaro byasigayemo ubwoko bumwe, abaturage b'Abatutsi bata izabo bahunga ubwicanyi, bajya mu nkambi z'abakuwe mu byabo mu nkengero z'imigi aho barindwaga n'ingabo. Ingabo na zo zahuka mu bahutu zirarimbagura zihorera "abantu bazo". Ayo makuzungu yahagurukije inkerarugamba za "[Hutu] Power" muRwanda batangira kwitegura ku mugaragaro kuzarwana bene iyo ntambara.

Impungenge z'abategetsi b'Abahutu b'Abanyarwanda ko Inkotanyi zashakaga kubagusha muri bene uwo mutego zahinduye intambara yo mu rwego rwa poritiki, ntiyaba igishyamiranya abari bashyigikiye n'abarwanyaga Habyarimana, ahubwo iba iy'abashyigikiye n'abarwanyaga Inkotanyi. Urwango rwarushijeho kwiyongera nanone igihe hamenyekanaga, nyuma y'ibyumweru bike, ko abenshi mu bagize uruhare mu

ihirika ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi bari babonye ubuhungiro i Kamapala, aho bari bakiriwe neza n'abayobozi b'uBuganda. Icyo gihe i Kigali havugwaga icyoba cy'uko Inkotanyi zateguraga gukomeza amayeri ya "Micombero" n' "umugambi wa Simbananiye[140]" byabaye indahiro y'bihe by'injyanamuntu mu mateka y'uBurundi bwigenga. Michel Micombero, umuwofisiye w'Umurundi wakoze kudeta, yari yarahiritse ingoma ya cyami muri Kamena 1966 maze yica buhoro buhoro abayobozi bose b'Abahutu bo mu ngabo n'abo mu butegetsi bw'igihugu muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1965 no muri Nzeri 1969. Amaherezo, ni we wateguye iyicwa ry'Abahutu basaga 100 000 mu kiswe "génocide sélectif" [itsembabwoko rirobanura] muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1972.

Ukwiyegeranya k'urubyiruko rw'Abahutu bari mu mashyaka ashyamiranye kwarakomeye icyo gihe hagamijwe guhuriza hamwe imbaraga zo guhangana n' Inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo. Mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy'umwaka wa1993, amashyaka yose yo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'ibyerekezo "Power" by'imitwe irwanya ubutegetsi byatunganyije imitwe yabyo yitwaza intwaro kugira ngo ikorere hamwe. Mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyaruguru (Ruhengeri, Gisenyi), yahawe, mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994, imyitozo yakoreshwaga n'abawofisiye bo mu ngabo z'uRwanda kandi ishyikirizwa intwaro. James Gasana, wakomezaga aho yari mu buhungiro gukurikiranira hafi umwuka wo mu gihugu n'uwo muri minisiteri "ye", agira ati:

> "Kuva mu mpera z'Ukwakira 1993, Interahamwe zari zaramaze kwiyegeranya n'indi mitwe y'urubyiruko y'amashyaka MDR na PL. Uko kwiyegeranya kwabaye igihe havukaga icyoba mu banyaporitiki bo ku ruhande rwa Habyarimana, cyatewe n'uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa ikurwa ry'ingabo mu mugi wa

140 Arthémon Simbananiye, Umututsi w'Umurundi wo muri porovensi ya Bururi, ahakomokaga abawofisiye bafashe ubutegetsi kuva mu 1965 hugeza mu 1993-,yagenzuye ubuyobozi bw'ubucamanza bw'uBurundi kuva mu 1965 kugeza mu 1972 (nk'umushinjacyaha mukuru wa Repubulika , Umunyamabanga wa leta na minisitiri) mbere yo gukora indi mirimo ikomeye. Mu mutima w'Abahutu b'i Burundi n'abo muRwanda, izina rye ryibutsa umugambi wakekwaga wari ugamije kwica umubare munini ushoboka w'Abahutu kugira ngo bagere ku mubare ungana w'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

> Kigali. Ingabo z'ighugu n'Inkotanyi zagombaga kwamburwa intwaro mu "gace katarangwagamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare" ka kapitali. Abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa poritiki bo mu byerekezo byose bagombaga kurindwa n' "ingofero z'ubururu" [ingabo za loni] zo muri Minuar, ariko abari bahanganye n'Inkotanyi bakomeje kumva ko nta cyemezo na kimwe cyizewe cyari cyarateganyijwe cyo kwambura intwaro imitwe y'abarwanyi bari baracengeye b'Inkotanyi. Uko kwishisha ni ko kwaje kwihutisha inyigisho za gisirikare z'Interahamwe, umurimo Minisiteri y'Ingabo yashinze majoro Léonard Nkundiye, umuyobozi wa segiteri ya gisirikare ya Mutara, wahoze ari umuyobozi w'ingabo zirinda perezida, wari ushyigikiwe na yo. Amatsinda y'abinjizwa yateguwe mu Gushyingo n'Ukuboza 1993 yatangajwe muri Etamajoro ya jandarumori y'igihugu na majoro Michel Havugiyaremye, umuyobozi w'ikigo cya jandarumori cya Rwamagana. Muri rusange, amatsinda atatu y'abantu 600 buri tsinda yaba yarigishijwe atyo[141]. Inama y'umutekano iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Agata Uwiringiyimana, yarateranye kugira ngo yige icyo kibazo, ariko minisitiri w'Ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, ahakana ko nta nyigisho sa gisirikare zigeze zibaho[142]."

Mu by'ukuri, igihagararo cy'imigambi y'Inkotanyi mu karere cyari cyaratewe imbaraga n'impinduka z'uBurundi, ariko ihinduka ry'imibanire imbere mu gihugu y'imbaraga za poritiki muRwanda kuva ubwo ryarayirwanyaga by'umwihariko. Nanone, Kigali yari mu gitutu cya miliyoni y'abantu bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, bari birunze mu miryango yayo kuva igihe cy'igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 mu maperefegitura ya Byumba na Ruhengeri, kandi n'ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'impunzi z'Abarundi b'Abahutu zinjiraga mu maperefegitura yo ku mipaka yo mu Majyepfo.

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[141] Ku bisobanuro birambuye, umuntu yareba raporo y'igenzura ya François-Xavier NSANZUWERA, *La Criminalité des* Interahamwe *entre 1992 et avril 1994[Ibyaha byakozwe n'Interahamwe hagati ya 1992 na Mata 1994]*, TPIR, Arusha, 1997, impap. 3 n'izikurikira.

Icikamo ibice rishingiye ku moko ry'umwuka wa poritiki muBurundi, ukwiheba bw'abakuwe mu byabo n'impunzi zitagiraga uzitaho mu gihugu kidafite uko kimeze hakiyongeraho n'inkuru zerekeye ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi zakorewe, bw'Abahutu" intambara y'Inokotanyi itari yaratumye bubaho kugeza icyo gihe. Iyo ngingo yafashije ku buryo bwuzuye amashyaka yo mu "ruhande rushyigikiye perezida". Irondakoko ryo kwirinda byatije umurindi ibyerekezo bya "Hutu Power" rinaha inzira ubwifatanye busesuye bw'amashyaka yarwanyaga ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi zikoresheje intwaro.

Ku itariki ya 16 Mutarama 1994, miyingi ikomeye ya MRND yabereye kuri sitade y'i Nyamirambo i Kigali. MDR "Power" na PL "Mugenzi" na bo barayitabiriye. Uwo munsi ni bwo ukwishyira hamwe kw'amashyaka atsimbaraye ku matwara ya gihutu kwatangaje ko kwiganje mu nzego z'inzibacyuho (reba umugereka wa 34). Uko kwigaragaza kwerekanaga isubizwaho ry'imibanire yo mu rwego rwa poritiki idasobanutse hagati y'abayobozi b'iyo mitwe, n'ubwiyunge hagati ya MRND na MDR "Power" bwabuzeho gato ngo bushyirwe mu bikorwa.

Imibonano inyuranye yari yaratangiye mu Kwakira 1993 hagati y'abayobozi bo muri iyo mitwe yombi yarabaye, ituma perezida Habyarimana yemera ukujya kwa benshi mu bayobozi b'ishyaka ryarwanyaga ubutegetsi ku murongo "Power". Icyo gihe yamenyesheje ko yifuzaga gushyikirana n'ikipe nshya y'ubuyobozi bwa MDR, yashoboraga kwemera umurongo wa MDR "Power" kandi itaragombaga kubamo yaba Faustin Twagiramungu cyangwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye. Jean Kambanda, Froduald **[si Edouard!]** Karamira na Donat Murego bagerageje icyo gihe guteranya kongere. Disimasi Nsengiyaremye yasubiye muRwanda mu Kuboza 1993 avuye mu buhungiro mu Bufaansa, agerageza gukosora itandukira rishingiye ku bwoko ry'ishyaka, yiyunga na Faustin Twagiramungu maze bombi bagerageza gutumiza kongere yo kwiyunga. Amaherezo, kongere ntiyabaye, kubera ko perefegitura zimwe zitohereje abazihagarariye

[142] James GASANA, *Rwanda du Parti-État à l'État-garnison[, kuva ku ishyaka leta kugera kuri leta ikigo cya gisirikare], op. cit.*, impap. 226-227

maze umwuka w'igisa n'icikamo ukomeza kwiganza.

Ibyinshi mu byabaye mu mateka y'imishyikirano yo mu ibanga hagati ya MDR na MRND kugira ngo basimbure Agata Uwiringiyimana kandi baheze Faustin Twagiramungu mu buyobozi bwa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho kugeza ubu ntibizwi neza, n'ubwo iby'ingenzi bimaze kubonerwa ibimenyetso. Aha umuntu yavuga uruhare rukomeye rwagizwe n'umuntu umwe, Emile Nyungura (Umututsi wihinduye Umuhutu, Butare), umwe mu b'ibanze bashinze PSD, kandi wari warabaye mu bantu ba hafi bari bungirije Félicien Gatabazi. Umuyobozi (Diregiteri) w'Ingufu muri minisiteri w'Ibikorwa bya leta, yabaye umwe mu barwanashyaka washyizwe mu majwi ku buryo bukaze igihe cy'iyamagana-ryatewe n'iperereza ryakozwe imbere mu ishyaka-ry'ibikorwa byo kurigisa mu cyayenge imitungo ya za minisiteri zishinzwe ubukungu PSD yayoboraga (Ubuhinzi, Ibikorwa bya leta n'Ingufu, Imari)[12]. Emile Nyungura yari afitanye ubucuti n' abanyacyubahiro bo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida wa Repubulika kandi yari aziranye cyane cyane na Matayo Ngirumpatse. Yagize uruhare rukomeye mu guhuza Félicien Gatabazi na MRND ariko igitangaje cyane, yabaye umuhuza mu bwumvikane hagati ya Jean Kambanda, wumvaga ari umukandida w'inzego zemewe n'amategeko za MDR ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'intebe wa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho wari weguriwe iryo shyaka, na perezida Habyarimana binyuze kuri Elie Sagatwa, umuyobozi w'ibiro, na Alphonse Ntilivamunda, umukwe wa perezida.

N'ubwo irimo ibintu bidasobanutse neza n'ibindi bituzuye (bishobora gusobanurwa n'uko atageraga ahantu hakomeye cyane mu butegetsi), inkuru ya Jean Kambanda, inemezwa n'abandi bo muri MDR bagizemo uruhare, ni iyo kwitabwaho:

"Ahagana mu Kwakira 1993, umuntu w'inshuti, Emile Nyungura, wapfuye

muri Mata 1994[143], wari muri PSD, yambwiye ko yari kunyorohereza kubonana na perezida Habyarimana, umuntu ntari narigeze mpura na we kugeza uwo munsi, kugira ngo tugirane ikiganiro. Yansabye kwitonda ansobanurira ko perezida aramutse ashaka kubonana najye njyenyine, azabinkorera, ambwira ko umuryango ukikije perezida wari mubi cyane no kutagira icyo mvugira imbere y'umugore we, muramu we unamubereye umunyamabanga wihariye, koloneli Elie Sagatwa. Hashize igihe ari ku mugoroba, nagiye kwa perezida Habyarimana, mperekejwe na Emile Nyungura, n'umukwe wa perezida, Alphonse Ntirivamunda n'umuryango we. Guherekezwa n'abo ba nyuma bombi byatworoherezaga uruzinduko kwa perezida. Ikindi kandi, Emile Nyungura na Alphonse Ntirivamunda bari barakoranye muri minisiteri y'imirimo ya leta. Emile Nyungura yari azwi cyane na perezida Habyarimana; yashoboraga no kumwihamagarira ubwe kuri terefone abishatse. Nsigaranye na perezida twenyine, namubajije uko yashakaga kurengera igihugu. [...] ''Nta wukikubona mu micungire y'igihugu'', ni ko namubwiye. Uri perezida, ufite Minisitiri w'intebe, ariko nta rwego na rumwe rukora. None rero, ugomba kuvanaho minisitiri w'intebe washyizeho, ugaha inzego kongera gukora. Abantu baririrwa bajya impaka ku bibazo bidafashe. Kuki mucamo amashyaka uduce kugira ngo mubashe kuguma ku butegetsi gusa? [...] Abantu baratera ubutegetsi muhagarariye bakoresheje intwaro, ubutegetsi bwa rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu kandi abarwanya ubutegetsi bitwaje intwaro bagizwe muri rusange n'Abatutsi. Ibyo bibazo byose ni byo bigomba kubonerwa ibisubizo mu maguru mashya''. Yambajije niba cyari igitekerezo cyanjye cyangwa icy'ishyaka ryanjye. Namubwiye ko cyari

[143] Bene wabo benewabo bo muri PSD, ndetse n'Inkotanyi, zari zimuziho kuba inkoramutima ya Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mukuru w'ishyaka; kimwe na we, yahitanywe hamwe n'umuryango we hafi wose (urtse umuhungu we "Corneille") n'abakomando b'Inkotanyi ku mugoroba wo ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 (reba ifirimi *Ipereereza mu gace kigenga* ya Raymond Saint-Pierre, muri "Le mystère Corneille", Radio-Télévision Canada, 21 Mata 2006 ndetse n'abatangabuhamya benshi barimo Matayo Ngirumpatse wafashe uwo mwana wari wacitse ku icumu, TPIR, KT 200 F K012-9149-K012-9173.pdf, p.6).

igitekerezo cyanjye, mpuriyeho n'abagize ishyaka ryanjye. Yambajije impamvu abantu bakubwira gusa ibyo ushaka kumva. "Ni uko babatinya." [...] Yarambwiye ati: "Unzanire inyandiko yashyizweho umukono n'ishyaka ryawe yemeza ko atari wowe wenyine gusa ufite icyo gitekerezo." Nijoro, Emile Nyungura nanjye twateguye inyandiko yo kugeza kuri Komite mpuzabikorwa ya MDR, yarigizwe...yari isigaranye gusa abantu batatu...Natanze [inshamake] muri [komite nyobozi] ya MDR, mbasaba kwihangana bakaza muri [Biro poritiki] ya MDR bukeye bwaho mu gitondo, kandi mbasaba [gukora] inama kugira ngo mbabwire iby'umubonano wanjye na perezida. Banyakiriye uwo munsi, mbereka inyandiko, barayikosora [...]. Iyo nyandiko yohererejwe ibyumweru bibiri cyangwa bitatu nyuma yaho [...] perezida Habyarimama[144]."

Nyuma yo kohereza iyo baruwa, perezida yatangije igikorwa cyo kujya inama hagati ya MRND n'ibyerekezo byangaga Inkotanyi byo mu mashyaaka MDR, PL, PDC na PSD. Icyo gihe habaye amanama menshi, yakomeje ubwifatanye hagati y'abahagarariye ayo mashyaka kandi yagombaga kurangirana n'isimburwa rya Agata Uwiringiyimana mu mpera za Mutarama 1994, nk'uko Jean Kambanda abihamya:

"Habaye inama enye hagati y'Ukuboza 1993 na Gashyantare 1994, iya mber ku biro bya MDR, iya kabiri n'iya gatatu ku biro bya PL muri minisiteri y'Ubukungu, iya kane mu rugo rwa perezida wa MRND.Iya kane yabaye ku munsi w'ishyingurwa rya minisitiri w'Ibikorwa bya Leta, Félicien Gatabazi, umwe mu bagize PSD, wiciwe imbere y'iwe avuye mu nama kuri Méridien. Twafashe ibyemezo muri iyo nama: gusaba perezida wa Repubulika gusimbuza Agata Uwiringiyimana jyewe, gushyiraho guverinoma ishobora gukorana

144 Ni ibaruwa yo ku itariki ya 27 Ukwakira 1993, yashyizweho umukono na Froduald Karamira na Murego Donat kandi irega Faustin Twagiramungu nk'uwishe Emmanuel Gapyisi. Yakurikiwe, ku itariki ya 4 Ugushyingo, n'inyandiko y'abantu benshi yihaniza bikomeye Faustin Twagiramungu kubera kwifatanya mu bikorwa bibi

imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi kandi ikora...Iyo PSD, itari yaragiye mu nama, yanga kujya muri guverinoma, imyanya yayo yari kugabanwa ku buryo bukurikira: Ubuhinzi n'Ubworozi ku ruhande rwa PL, Ibikorwa by'igihugu ku ruhande rwa MDR, Imari ku rwa MRND. Gatabazi yari yabonanye na Karamira wo muri MDR na Mugenzi wo muri PL na Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND. Yiteguraga, nk'uko bikekwa, kuza muri guverinoma yacu kandi yaba yari yaramaze kubibwira abarwanashyaka bakomeye bo mu ishyaka rye, ariko ntibyari bizwi ku mugaragaro uretse mu ishyaka rye. Igabana rya minisiteri za PSD ryafatiwe icyemezo nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gatabazi, igihe guverinoma yagombaga kujyaho byihutirwa, kandi nta kintu cyashoboraga kwizeza ko PSD yabyemera[145].''

Ishyirwa ku ruhande ry'abanyacyubahiro batavugirwamo bo muri MDR ma PSD, ryateguwe ku bufatanye bw'Inkotanyi na MRND kugira ngo bigabanye nyuma ibyo bambuye ayo mashyaka yombi, ryari rigamije guheza ku mugaragaro mu rubuga rwa poritiki imbaraga zonyine n'abayobozi bonyine bari bafitiitwe icyizere gihagije cyo kwemeza igikorwa cy'amahoro impande zombi za gisirikare na poritiki zitabishakaga.

Ibyumweru bikomeye cyane byo mu Kuboza na nyuma amezi atatu ya mbere ya 1994 byibanze ku bushyamirane hagati y'ubuyobozi buhanganye bwa MDR n'ubwa PL, bwasabaga bwombi ububasha bwo gushyiraho abadepite n'abaminisitiri bashinzwe guhagararira amashyaka yabo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Muri MDR, hashyamiranye, ku ruhande rumwe, Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida wavanyweho yitwaza urwego rwe rwa Minisitiri w'intebe washyizweho (ndetse mbere yo kubiherwa ububasha n'amategeko) no ku rundi, ubuyobozi bwemewe, bwavugirwaga na Disamas Nsengiyaremye, visi-perezida wa mbere, wari ushyigikiwe na Froduald Karamira, visi-perezida wa kabiri na Donat Murego, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa. Uwo mukino wabangamiwe n'ubushake bwo kunga n'ibyerekezo bihindagurika bya Agata Uwiringiyimana, Minisitiri w'intebe wariho, kubera ko atashoboraga kubibemeza.

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n'Inkotanyi inamagana ukuza i Kigali kwa batayo y'Inkotanyi kwari guteganyijwe (reba umugereka wa 35).

Muri PL, icyuka kibi cyatutumbaga bigaragara hagati y' uruhande rwiganjemo abantu benshi rwari rwegereye umuyobozi wayo wungirije wa mbere Landoald Ndasingwa— wari warakoresheje kongere yo ku rwego rw'igihugu ku itariki ya 13 n'iya 14 Ugushyingo— na kongere ya kabiri yo ku rwego rw'igihugu ku iatariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Ukuboza yahuje abari batowe na kongere nshya z'amaperefegitura, zari zatumijwe ku buryo bwihuse kugira ngo zishyigikire perezida w'ishyaka, Justin Mugenzi (wari urangije manda). Abo baperezida— Faustin Twagiramungu (MDR) na Justin Mugenzi (PL)— bari bafite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo abahagararira amashyaka yabo kabone nubwo bari basigaye bashyigikiwe n'abantu mbarwa mu nzego zifata ibyemezo, kandi banazi neza ko ubutabera butari gukemura amakimbirane yabo. Bityo uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, abo banyarwanda bahoze ari abarwanashyaka baharanira demokarasi, baje gusanga ibyiza ari uguhitamo "igitugu cya gihutu" kiyobowe na MRND kuri bamwe, n' "igitugu cya gitutsi" kiyobowe n'Inkotanyi ku bandi.

Amananiza mu gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho

Muri icyo cyuka, ku mpamvu z'impurirane, umugambi wo gucamo kabiri imbaraga za poritiki wari wimirijwe imbere n'intagondwa ku mpande zombi wahuriye mu gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo batinze ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho. Hagati aho, buri wese yashakaga koko kugera ku iringaniza ry'imbaraga ku nyungu ze cyangwa inyungu zisesuye. MRND cyane cyane yatinyaga iringaniza riteye ritya: bibiri bya gatatu by'imyanya mu maboko y'Inkotanyi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu gihugu (FDC) naho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rugasigarana gusa kimwe cya gatatu— bityo rukaba rutanafite icyizere cyo kugira ububasha bwa nyamuke bwo kuburizamo ifatwa ry'ibyemezo:

[145] Ubuhamya bwa Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2K7-21 Ku itariki ya 29 Ukuboza 1997.

> « Ibivugwa mu masezerano byose bishoba guhinirwa mu ngingo imwe ya: bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko y'igihugu no muri guverinoma, kimwe no mu itora mu nama y'abaminisitiri, hatabayeho ubwumvikane. Amacenga yose ya poritiki, ibogama ry'ibihugu bimwe, ubwicanyi bwakozwe muri icyo gihe, icikamo ry'amashyaka ya poritiki, ibyo byose byabaye ingaruka z'iyo ngingo[146]. »

Habayeho isimburana ry'amatumiza y'inzego, yose ataragize icyo ageraho kubera kutayitabira kwa bamwe n'abandi, imyigaragambyo ya CDR n'Interahamwe, ukuzuza umubare wagenwe, nb. Uburyo bwose bwo guta igihe impande zinyuranye zarabukoresheje.

Ku itariki ya 5 Mutarama 1994, iyimikwa ry perezida Habyarimana ryarabaye ariko risozwa n'isubikwa ry'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) n'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT). Nyamara Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yaraye yakiriye Agata Uwiringiyimana, bumvikana kuri lisiti za nyuma z'abadepite nk'uko zari zarakozwe n'abaperezida b'amashyaka (Faustin Twagiranmungu [MDR], Justin Mugenzi[147] [PL], Frédéric Nzamurambaho [PSD]. Ariko, bitinze nimugoroba, Agata Uwiringiyimana yamenyesheje ibiro bya perezida ko, nyuma y'impaka zagiwe ku ruhande rwe, atari acyemera lisiti ya PL « Mugenzi », yari yanzwe n'uruhande « Ndasingwa » (Landoald Ndasingwa, Umututsi, yari azwiho gushyigikira Inkotanyi) ko yagenderaga kuri lisiti ya nyuma yari yahawe na perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga. Mu gukemura ubwumvikane buke, rwashyigikiye Ndasingwa, rwanga gushyiramo abadepite « Power » bari batanzwe n'inzego za PL n'iza MDR. Iro hinduka Yuvenari Habyarimana ntiyashoboraga kuryemera.

Perezida amaze kurahira— umuhango Agata Uwiringiyimana cyangwa abadepite

146 Matayo Ngirumpatse, *Amarorerwa y'uRwanda, op. cit.*, p. 105 (reba umugereka wa 36).

147 Abo baperezida babiri bemewe ba MDR na PL batangaga buri wese lisiti zitandukanye n'izari zakozwe n'inzego ziganjemo abantu benshi z'amashyaka yabo. Muri ubwo bwumvikane, amategekontiyari yishwe, kubera ko abaperezida b'amashyaka batangaga abakandida kandi, mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, icyo gikorwa nticyari gifite aho kibogamiye kubera ko buri wese yari ashyigikiye rumwe mu mpande zombi za poritiki. Muri iryo kinamico, uwari ufite icyo ahomba ahubwo ni Landoald Ndasingwa , kandi lisiti ye yari nyamara yemewe na Yozefu Kavaruganda, perida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga, iya Justin Mugenzi ari yo yanzwe (reba nanone umugereka wa 37).

b'Inkotanyi batigeze bitabira—, yahereye ko amenyesha ko imihango yari gukomeza ku gicamunsi hashyirwaho Inteko y'Inzibacyuho (ANT) na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'inzibacyuho ryabanzirizaga irya Guverinmoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, kubera ko abaminsitiri bagombaga kurahirira imbere ya perezida hari abadepite, hakurikijwe ingingo ya 7 y' « agace kerekeye ibibazo binyuranye n'ibyemezo byanzura ». Ingabo zirinda perezida na zo zashinzwe kubuza uruhande « Ndasingwa » gufata ibyicaro. Ku gicamunsi, perezida yibukije ko kubera ukutuzura k'umubare wagenwe, ishyirwaho ry'inzego zisigaye risubitswe. Icyo gihe yari abaye umuntu umwe gusa ukora mu nzibacyuho nshya. Mu gitondo koko, uretse Faustin Twagiramungu wari wagumye inyuma y'inzu, abadepite ba MDR ishyigikiye Twagiramungu n'aba PL ishyigikiye Ndasingwa ntibari bahari, ariko ku gicamunsi, yaba Twagiramungu, yaba Kavaruganda (perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga), zaba Inkotanyi ntibahageze. Kuva icyo gihe, Agata Uwiringiyimana yumvise ko « kubera ko itinjiye mu nzibacyuho », guverinoma itashoboraga kongera guterana ku buryo bwemewe (reba umugereka wa 37). Icyo cyemezo nyuma cyagarutsweho inshuro nyinshi mu myigaragambyo ya MRND yo « kurwanya kudeta », ariko cyane cyane, nk'uko tuzabibona, mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 (reba umutwe wa 7).

Impaka nyinshi zibogamye zigamije kwegeka uruhare rw'uko kudashobora kujyaho kw'inzego kuri Yuvenari Habyarimana cyangwa nanone ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi zahereye ako kanya zufata intera. Urwunge rw'amashyaka ane arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu hamwe n'Inkotanyi rwongeye kuvuka, ruguheza perezida wa PL n'inzego zigizwe n'abantu benshi za MDR, rutera ubwoba rwo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho zishingiye gusa ku cyemezo cya perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga. Ibyo bikangisho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwabyamaganye ko ari umugambi wa kudeta.

Ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1994, ibyasabwaga n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ntibyahindutse na perezida Habyarimana aranangira ntiyabyemeza. Bityo, n'ubwo

hajemo igitutu cyo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga na gahunda ya nyuma ikomeye yo kujya inama kugeza mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8, imihango yo gushyiraho guverinoma n'Inteko y'igihugu ku gicamunsi, yari yateganjyijwe na Minisitirir w'intebe wenyine atagishije inama guverinoma, yaburiyemo kubera ko perezida Habyarimana wari ushinzwe kuyiyobora atayitabiriye.

Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, intumwa idasanzwe yari ihagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni akanaba n'umukuru wa Minuar, yakomeje imishyikirano y'imfabusa Agata Uwiringiyimana yari yaratangiye anavugana n'amashyaka yose. Isubikwa rishingiye ku makimbirane yo muri PL ryarongeye ku itariki ya 14 Mutarama ndetse nanone biba uko ku itariki ya 20 Mutarama.

Ku matariki ya 7, 10 na 13 Gashyantare, inama eshatu zo kungurana ibitekerezo zakorewe ku kicaro cya Minuar ziga ku bagize intumwa za PL maze zishyira umuhango utaha w'ishyirwaho ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare ziha PL igihe cyo kubona igisubizo…Icyo gihe hateganyijwe gushyiraho guverinoma imyanya imwe yayo-iyari itabashije kumvikanwaho mu mashyaka- yagumaho itarimo abantu mu gihe hari kuba hagitegerejwe ko inkiko zikemura amakimbirane. Agata Uwiringiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu banze ubwo buryo, kubera ko baribashyigikiwe n'abantu bake bikabije mu ishyaka ryabo (MDR). Ku itariki ya 14, perezida Habyarimana yatanze icyifuzo cy'amabwiriza y'imyitwarire hagati y'amashyaka ya poritiki n'Inkotanyi mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho, cyateganyaga guhanagurwaho ibyaha muri rusange no kutabogama k'ubuyobozi kugira ngo habeho icyizere cyo gukora amatora anyuze muri demokarasi adakoresheje amatiku cyangwa uburiganya bukomeye bwashoboraga gutuma Inkotanyi zigabiza ubutegetsi. Ayo mabwiriza yafashwe n'Inkotanyi nk' « ayirengagiza ibintu »[148].

Ku itariki ya 17, Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi yongeye gukangihsha guhagarika ibikorwa bya Minuar mu gihe inzego z'inzibacyuho zari kuba zitagiyeho. Amaherezo, amaharirana ya bamwe n'abandi yageze ku isezerano rusange rishingiye ku

[148] Ubutumwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yoherereje Kofi Annan ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare 1994, MIR 345.

mizi isa n'iy'iryo ku itariki ya 4 Mutarama hagati ya Yuvenari Habyarimana na Agata Uwiringiyimana, cyane cyane ku byerekeye umubare w'abadepite ku mpande zombi zikomeye za poritiki : 11 na 12 buri ruhande kuri 11 na 11[19]. Ibindi bibazo by'ingutu na byo byarakemuwe : perezida and visi-perezida b'Inteko, ihitamo ry'abaminisitiri ba PL, ukwemerwa kwa Faustin Twagiramungu na komite nyobozi ya MDR, iyinjizwa ry'umudepite wa CDR nyuma yo gushyira umukono ku mabwiriza y'imyitwarire, n'ibindi.

Icyo gihe, umuntu yashoboraga gutekereza atibeshye ko ubwumvikane busesuye bwari bwagezweho n'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu bwari koko gutuma hashyirwaho Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye.

Koko rero, ugukomera kw'ibyerekezo « Power » by'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ubwifatanye bukomeye bw'amashayaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi ntibyari bicyiganje (igaruka ry'abenshi mu bantu bagize Komite nyobozi ya MDR ku ruhande rwa Murego, Karamira, Nsengiyaremye ; gusubira mu mwanya « mu rwego rw'igihugu » kwa Félicien Gatabazi[149] muri PSD; itandukana ry'ubuhuzabikorwa bwa PL, nb.) kandi imbaraga « ziringanijwe » z'inzego zariganzaga haba mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho no muri Guverinomay'inzibacyuho yaguye, ku buryo bunyuranye n'igihe cy'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha muri Kanama 1993 ubwo uruhande rw'abashyigikiye perezida rwari ruryamiwe cyane.

N'ubwo ibyo byose byabayeho, Yuvenari Habyarimana ntiyari afitiye icyizere abenshi mu bayobozi kandi yibukaga ukuntu bamwe muri bo bari bahisemo Inkotanyi muri Kamena 1992. Ni yo mpamvu, ku buryo bunyuranye n'abakuru b'uduce tw'amashyaka ya MDR, PSD na PL— ahanini twari duhangayikishijwe n'imyanya twari kubona ubwatwo—, perezida ntiyafataga nk'ikintu cy'ibanze ikibazo cy'imyanya

149 Yari akimara kumenyesha Yuvenari Habyarimana na Minisitiri w'intebe ko ibipande bishyigikiye Inkotanyi bya PSD, PL na [**PSD ?]** byari byemeye kohereza bamwe mu rubyiruko rwabyo ku Mulindi guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikare kandi ko n'intwaro zari zimaze gutangwa. Yasabaga ko uwo mushinga uburizwamo kandi urubyiruko

n'abayijyamo— cyagombaga ku bwe kwigwa mu mpera z'inzibacyuho nyuma yo gukizwa n'amatora— kandi yumvaga icyihutirwa ari ugusobanura isezerano ryo mu rwego rwa poritiki ku buryo bunoze hagati y'amashyaka yose hashingiwe ku musingi w' « ubufatanye bugamije kugera kuri demokarasi ».

Kugira ngo umuntu yumve neza aho Yuvenari Habyarimana yari ahagaze mu ngorane zijyana n'ububasha bwa ba nyamuke bwo guhagarika ibyemezo, kutagirira icyizere abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi no gutsimbarara ku mabwiriza y'imyitwarire myiza, ni byiza kwibanda ku kuntu yatinyaga bikabije kuzakorerwa « kudeta yemewe n'itegeko nshinga », mu gihe abamurwanya baba bishyize hamwe ku mpamvu iyo ari yo yose[150]. Impamvu z'ubwo bwoba ntizashoboraga gusobanurwa ku mugaragaro cyangwa kugibwaho impaka mu ruhame.

Ubwoba bwo kuregwa, bikurikiwe no gusabwa kwegura, yabuterwaga n'igishyika kidafite ishingiro nyurabwenge yari yaratewe cyane cyane n'igaruka rya koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe, mukeba we uhoraho yari yahigitse muri 1980 akaza kuba perezida w'Inkotanyi. Kimwe n'ubwoba bwo kwihorera kwa Alexis Kanyarengwe, yongererwaga icyoba n'ibyahwihwiswaga ko yashoboraga gushinjwa iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bo muri Repubulika ya mbere (reba umugereka wa 36). Byari ngombwa rero, kugira ngo yirinde urwitwazo urwo ari rwo rwose rwo kumuhirika, gushyira umurimo we mu mutuzo ariko kandi no kugumana ububasha busesuye bwo gukorera mu bwisanzure mu gihe cyose cy'inzibacyuho. Byari ngmbwa rero kuri we kugenzura nibura bumwe mu butegetsi butatu bw'ibanze :

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rw'amashyaka yose rukamburwa intwaro.

150 Reba ingingo ya 11 y'agace k'amasezerano hagati ya guverinoma ya Repubulika y'uRwanda n'Inkotanyi kerekeye ibibazo rusange n'ibyemezo bisoza : « Mu gihe habaho kwica Itegeko Rikuru ku ruhande rwa perezida wa Repubulika, ikirego gifatirwa icyemezo n'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho ku bwiganze bwa bibiri bya gatatu by'abayigize bahari kandi mu itora ryo mu ibanga. Ariko, mbere yo gukora itora kuri iryo regwa, Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho igomba kugisha inama Komisiyo ya poritiki na gisirikare ivugwa mu ngingo ya IV y'amasezerano y i N'sele, nkuko ryahinduriwe i Gbadolite ku itariki ya 6 Nzeri 1991 na Arusha ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga 1992. Ishobora nanone gusaba igitekerezo cy'Umuhuza. Iyo hemejwe ishingiro ry'iregwa, Perezida wa Repubulika akurikiranwa n'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga, rwo rwonyine rufite ububasha rwo gutangaza iyegura rye burundu. »

-umwanya wa perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga, wari ufitwe na Yozefu Kavaruganda, wari ugiye kuwugumana. Nyuma yo kuba umwe mu bari baramushyigikiye byizewe kuva kuri kudeta yo mur 1973, yari amaze kwiyegereza MDR, yumva nta shimwe abona ku bikorwa bye byubahiriza amategeko. Kandi Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga rwari rufite ububasha bwo kwemeza abiyamamaza mu ipiganirwa ry'imyanya mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho n'ubwo gucira perezida urubanza aramutse arezwe ;

-ubwa kabiri bwari umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutabera, wafatwaga nk'uw'ibanze, kubera ko uwushinzwe yagomabaga kuba azi ibirego bifitanye isano n'iregwa rya perezida. Nyamara uwo mwanya wagombaga kwegukanwa na Aloys Niyoyita, Umututsi, umurwanashyaka wa PL igipande « Ndasingwa », wari uzwiho gushyigikira Inkotanyi ;

-ubwa gatatu bwari bushingiye ku bwisanzure bwa bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko y'igihugu y 'inzibacyuho.

Iturufu nkuru y'icyo gihe cy'itegereza yari ishingiye ku myitwarire ya perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga, wari washyigikiye inshuro nyinshi uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi mu mishyikirano yo kwemeza abaharanira umwanya w'ubudepite. Nta gushidikanya ko iyo Habyarimana aza kwizera uwo mwanya, inzego ziba zaragiriyeho igihe, mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994. Ariko guteza perezida ubwe umutekano muke byari mu by'ukuri mu migambi y'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Nanone, bibiri bya gatatu by'amajwi byari bikenewe kugira ngo habeho isezererwa iryo ari ryo ryose cyangwa ishyirwaho ry'abayobozi bakuru ba leta.

Iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi (PSD), ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, ryari rigamije ku mugaragaro kuburizamo ibyiza bikomeye byari bimaze kugerwaho n'amashyaka kandi byongeraga guha igisa na gahunda urubuga rwa poritiki rw'imbere mu gihugu. Impuha zibuze shingiro na rugero n'urwikekwe rukabije byarubutse maze ibintu si ugucika birayoba hagati y'amashyaka. Ku bwa perezida, iryo yicwa ryahamije ibyo

yakekaga.

Ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare, igerageza rya nyuma ryo gushyiraho inzego ryagiye mu gihirahiro kubera ko abahagarariye Inkotanyi na PSD, ba minisitiri b'intebe bombi-uwariho n'uwari kuzaba we- na perezida w'Inama nshingategeko batabyitabiriye. Nyuma, amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi byashinje Prezidansi iryo yicwa.

Ku itariki ya 25 n'iya 27 Gashyantare, perezida yahamagariye impande zose (ba minisitiri b'intebe bombi n'abayobozi b'amashyaka (ayiganje n'atiganje ku ruhande rwa MDR na PL) guhura kugirango ajye impaka ku kibazo cy'ihagararirwa rya PL, ariko Inkotanyi ziranga n'abayobozi bazo bose basubira ku Mulindi[151]. Kuri Perezidansi, ibyari bishishikaje cyane byari ukubuza umukandida wa PL gahabwa minisiteri y'Ubutabera. PL ntiyanyuzwe maze irahezwa. Bityo, itangazo risoza ryatangajwe na Peresidansi ku itariki ya 27 Gashyantare ryagiraga riti : « Uruhande rutanyuzwe n'ubwumvikane buvuzwe hejuru, rizafatira amasomo ku myanzuro yabuvuyemo kandi buzabyirengere. »

Ku itariki ya mbere, Jacque-Roger Booh-Booh yagiye ku Mulindi gusaba Inkotanyi kugaruka mu mishyikirano i Kigali ariko ntiyabigeraho. Ku itariki ya 9 Werurwe, Inkotanyi zemeye amaherezo ko Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho ishyirwaho imyanya ya PL idashyizwemo abantu.

Ku itariki ya 18 Werurwe, nyuma y'imishyikirano iruhije, Faustin Twagiramungu yagejeje kuri perezida lisiti y'abagize guverinoma bari bemewe n'amashyaka yose byarebaga maze bukeye bwaho (ku munsi ukurukiyeho) amugezaho « lisiti ya nyuma» y'abagize Inteko y''igihugu y'inzibacyuho bari batoranyijwe. Uyunguyu yatanze ibyifuzo bitatu ku cyemezo cye : yanze nanone ko umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutabera uhabwa umuminisitiri wa PL w'Umututsi kandi asaba ishyirwa ry'umudepite wa CDR hamwe n'uw'Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi ya kiyisilamu mu Nteko y'igihugu

[151] Ubutumwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yoherereje Kofi Annan yo ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare 1994, MIR 441

y'inzibacyuho.

Mu gihe nyirizina Inkotanyi na CDR bari mu mishyikirano babifashijwemo na Minuar ku ngingo yo guha CDR intebe imwe, ibyo byifuzo byaramaganywe maze ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho ryari ryateganyijwe ku itariki ya 25 Werurwe rishyirwa ku munsi ukurikiyeho (nta kintu kinini rigezeho) kubera ibura ry'intumwa z'Inkotanyi na lisiti y'abadepite Agata Uwiringiyimana yatanze itarimo uhagarariye CDR (reba umugereka wa 38).

Ku itariki ya 28 Werurwe, ubwo ibura ry'Inkotanyi, Minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe, Yozefu Kavaruganda n'abadepite benshi ryabuzaga Perezida Habyarimana kujya ku ngoro ya CND, inama y'abahagarariye mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga ibihugu by'indorerezi mu mishyikirano y'Arusha (uhagarariye Papa, ba amabasaderi b'u Budage, uBubiligi, uBurundi, Leta Zunze ubumwe, uBufaransa, uBuganda, Tanzaniya, Zayire) iyobowe na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, yagaragaje ikomeje kandi mu ijwi rimwe ko bababajwe n'iburizwamo ry'icyo gikorwa Inkotanyi zari zibereye noneho nyirabayazana (reba umugereka wa 38). Inkotanyi zari zisigaye zishyigikiwe na jenerali Roméo Dallaire wenyine zarijujuse bikomeye, ziyama abayobozi b'amashyaka yose, zinakangisha guhagarika uruhare rwazo mu mugambi w'amahoro.

Amaherezo, nyuma yo kwihanangirizwa bikomeye n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, wakangishaga gucyura ingabo za Minuar mu gihe nta gihindutse n'iterabwoba rya za ambasade ryo guhagarika imfashanyo, igihe cya nyuma cyashyizwe « mbere y'itariki ya 9 Mata ». Iyo tariki perezida yayimenyesheje umuyobozi w'ibiro bye neza neza mbere yo kujya kwe i Dar- es- Salaam mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1996.

Icyo gihe cyari cyaratakaye nticyapfuye ubusa ku bantu bose : uko ibyumweru byigiraga imbere, abari bahanganye biteguye intambara bagerageza gufata igice kinini gishoboka kandi bitegura ibyari kuba byose. Ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida,

umuganbi wari usobanutse, wari uguhindura uko bishoboka kose ihangana ry'imbaraga zirubangamiye mu nzego z'inzibacyuho zari zagenwe n'amasezerano. Habayeho icyo gihe ihindura ry'umukino wo mu 1991-1992, igihe uruhande rurwanya ubutegtsi rwari rwahagaritse imirimo y'inzego kugira ngo ruburizemo ishyirwaho n'akazi ka guverinoma ya nyuma y'ishyaka rimwe kandi rugakoresha uburyo bwose bw'ikangura kugira ngo rwagure urubuga rwarwo rwa poritiki, runemeze guverinoma rwari kugenzura. MRND, CDR n'abifatanyije na bo, bashyigikiwe kuva ubwo n'ibyerekezo « Power » by'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, batindije ku buryo bwose ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, kugira ngo bahindure ihurizo ry'imishyikirano yabasuzuguzaga kandi bagere ku nyungu bwite za poritiki z'abategetsi bari bishyize hamwe. Hifashishijwe itunganya ry'ibyerekezo « Power », iterabwoba ry'ubwisanzure bwa bibiri bya gatatu by'abadepite amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu n'Inkotanyi byari byihaye kugira ngo bigenzure burundu inzego z'inzibacyuho kandi bashyirisheho ibyemezo bikomeye bishingiye ku Nteko ryari ryavuyeho.

Kugira ngo harangizwe iterabwoba ry'Inkotanyi, ubufatanye bushya bushyigikiye Abahutu bwari bufite intwaro ikomeye cyane mu ngingo y'amasezerano yateganyaga, kugira ngo habeho ihagararirwa ry'amashyaka akomeye ku rwego rw'igihugu, yagombaga gutanga umukandida muri buri perefegitura. « Aho gutanga ikirundo cy'abarwanashyaka bizewe b'i Gitarama ku ruhande rwa MDR, i Butare ku rwa PSD, amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yariyahuye yemera iyo nzira. Ku Kibuye, Depite wa PSD yari koko umuntu wavuye muri MRND […][152]." Imibare y'abantu ku giti cyabo yabaye iyo kwishakira inyungu. Icyo gisubizo Matayo Ngirumpatse yaracyishimiraga akanagifata nk'ingirakamaro mu kwivangura n'Inkotanyi, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ikiganiro cye kuri Radio Rwanda cyo ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 :

« Umunyamakuru : Matayo Ngirumpatse nk'umunyamategeko nganiriza ku

152 Ubuhamya bw'umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 19 Mutarama 2008.

mishyikirano y'Arusha. Ese uko ibintu bimeze ubu ntibyaba, ku bwanyu, iherezo ry'ibyari byakozwe byose nk'imishyikirano kandi byari byavuzwe ko ari ibihendabana ?

Uganira (bwana Ngirumpatse) : Yego, mu by'ukuri mfite isoni z'uko ishyaka ryacu ryamaganye buri gihe bimwe mu byemezo by'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ariko nta bushake buke bwarimo, ni uko ayo masezerano y'Arusha, nk'uko yakozwe, yahaga Inkotanyi ububasha bwo kwigarurira ubu butegetsi ku buntu. […] Isezerano, ni igikorwa cy'abantu, rishobora gusa guhinduka ari uko abantu babishatse ariko ibitekerezo by'abantu, ibyo bavuga, ibyo ni ibyo bavuga nyine. Ni bo gusa bashobora kuyahindura. Rero, isezerano rirakemangwa, rirenze gukemangwa, igihe Inkotanyi zasabye andi mashyaka kudahindura imvugo kubera ko, bitewe n'abantu bari bahari, zari zizeye imyanya ingana ityo mu Nteko y'igihugu, imyanya ingana ityo muri guverinoma, kandi kuri zo ubutegetsi bwari mu maboko yazo. Ariko, kubera ko abantu bari bahinduye imvugo, ntizari zigishaka kwemera ayo masezerano. […] Kuva icyo gihe ni bwo byatangiye gushyuha[153].»

"Lisiti ya nyuma" y'abadepite yari yemewe noneho yatumaga hakekwa ko n'ubwiganze budakabije bushigikiye Inkotanyi n'Imbaraga za demokarasi mu ihinduka (MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, PSR) butari bwizewe. Icyo gihe bari kure cyane y'ubwiganze bwa bibiri bya gatatu byari byaratumye bizera kugira ububasha bukomeye mu mikorere y'inzego no koroshya imigendekere y'ibikorwa byo mu rwego rwa poritiki kugeza ku mpera z'ibihe cy'inzibacyuho.

Kuva ku macakubiri ya poritiki kugera ku migambi yo guharika ibintu, nta ntera nini cyane yarimo n'ubwo nta na rumwe mu mpande zombi rwagaragazaga ubushake buhagije bwo gukurikiza ayo masezerano: nk'uko Léonidas Rusatira, wahoze ari

153 Iyandukura ry'amajwi yafashwe na Radio Rwanda , 17 Mata 1994, TPIR, K7 RSF0234, K0143818-K0143819.

umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikare ry'i Kigali (ESM) yabivugiye imbere ya sena y'uBubiligi: "umwe yashakaga kugumana ubutegetsi bwose mu gihe undi yashakaga gufata ubutegetsi bwose[154]." Uwa mbere wari ufite amahirwe agaragara yashyize ingufu ze zose mu gukomeza ububasha bwe mu rubuga rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu no kwiha igihe, uwa kabiri akoresha icyo gihe mu kwiha imbaraga za gisirikare no gukomeza itumanaho rye.

> "Impuha zakwirakwiye i Kigali ko Inkotanyi zamaze kugera mu mugi zifite abantu 3 000, harimo 600 bari basanzwe muri CND ku buryo buzwi. Mu Majyaruguru, na ho hari abasirikare 15 000 b'Inkotanyi bategereje impuruza kugira ngo bakore kudeta bahereye i Kigali. Ibyo bisobanura ukwihangana kwabo no kutita kwabo ku ishyirwaho rya guverinoma[155]."

Aya magambo agaragaza ku buryo bworoshye imyitwarire y'Inkotanyi muri ayo mezi y'ishiraniro. "Ukutita ku bintu", byo kujijisha, zagaragazaga zabiterwaga n'urubuga rwa poritiki y'igihugu, yari yacagaguwemo burundu n'amahiganwa ashyushye hagati y'abayobozi bo ku rwego rwa poritiki n'uduce bashyiragaho kugira ngo bagere ku nyungu zabo kandi bategure amatora yari imbere. Amasezerano y'amahoro amaze gushyirwaho umukono, abari babifitemo uruhare bose mu "rwego rw'igihugu" bari binjye neza mu nzibacyuho kandi batekerezaga gusa ku byari kuzava mu matora, Inkotanyi zitari kugira icyo ziboneramo. Bityo, uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, kimwe no mu mwaka wa 1992 nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, ukwibanda kw' ubuzima bwa poritiki ku bibazo by'imbere mu gihugu byatumaga Inkotanyi zishyirwa mu kato.

Ku bakunzi b'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida, "umwanzi" yari atinyitse kubera gusa iterabwoba rya gisirikare yakangishaga mu migendekere ya poritiki mu gihe

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[154] Komosiyo idasanzwe kuRwanda ya Sena y'uBubiligi, Bruxelles, iyumvwa ryo ku itariki ya 29 Mata, 1997, p. 7.

[155] Liyetona M. NEES, umuwofisiye mu ipererza rya Minuar, Loni, KIBAT S2, 11 Gashyantare 1994 (reba umugereka wa 17).

cy'inzibacyuho n'ububasha bwo gucamo uduce yagaragazaga hagati y'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu; ku mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ibyitso byashobokaga by'Inkotanyi, akamaro kazo kari gashingiye gusa, uko ibyumweru byakurikiranaga, ku gikorwa cy'ishyigikira ryarengeraga abanyacyubahiro cyangwa uduce twari twaratakaje abantu kandi ibyemezo by'amasezerano y'Arusha byonyine bikaba ari byo byaduhaga ububasha bwa poritiki bw'agateganyo.

Ku bayobozi b'Inkotanyi, byari bizwi ko ubwigaranzure butakekwaga bwo mu mwaka wa 1993 ku rwego rwa gisirikare (mu gitero cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 n'itahuka ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa mu Kuboza), urw'ububanyi n'amahanga (ibyagezweho n'amasezerano y'Arusha) n' urw'akarere (muri kudeta y'i Brundi n'ubucuti bukomeye bwari bwariyongereye hamwe n'abasirikare b'Abatutsi bagenzuraga ingabo) bwari kugira ingorane zikomeye zo gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu rwego rwa poritiki rw'imbere mu gihugu. Kuva habaho ihuriro ryagutse rishyigikiye Abahutu nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Ndadaye muBurundi mu kwezi kwa cumi (Ukwakira) 1993, ubufasha mu rwego rwa poritiki zari zifite zibikesha amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi bwari busigaye gusa ku duce dushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Ku ruhande runini, ingorane zo kugira uruhare mu mpaka n'ibibazo by'igihugu nta mizi ya poritiki yazo bwite zigaragaje ku buryo budasobanutse mu bihe zikuraga mu gikorwa cy'imishyikirano, cyakurikiwe n'isubira ku Mulindi ry'abazihagarariye mur mpera za Gashyantare no muri Werurwe 1994. I Kigali koko rero, imishyikirano ikaze hagati y'amashyaka ntiyigeze ihungabana na busa kandi abari mu mishyikirano b'abanyamahnga ni bo bagiye ku Mulindi kugerageza kugarura Inkotanyi mu gikorwa cy'amahoro.

Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe abahagarariye ibihugu byabo bumvise neza ko Inkotanyi zahishaga umugambi wazo wo kudindiza ibintu inyuma y'imyiryane muri bagenzi bazo, imyiryane zatizaga umurindi bibaye ngombwa. Urugero rw'imishyikirano zari zatangije ku giti cyazo hamwe na CDR, mukeba wazo bidasubirwaho— mbere yo kongera kuyigira ruvumwa mu gihe impande zose zari zemeye kuyinjiza burundu mu

masezerano— icyo gihe rwarabihishuye.

Zitwaje kubeshyera mukeba wazo imbere y'indorerezi zitabizi cyangwa zigaruriye, ko ari we ufite uruhare mu idindira ryo gushyiraho inzego z'Arusha, Inkotanyi zakangishije, nk'uko zari zibimenyereye buri gihe iyo zabaga ziri mu ngorane, gusubira mu ntambara.

Umugambi w'Inkotanyi wo guhungabanya urwego rwa poritiki mu gihugu imbere

Nk'uko twabibonye, imigambi yo kudindiza no gutinza ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho yashyizwe mu bikorwa n'abari babifitemo uruhare banyuranye yari ishingiye ku gushaka kwinjira mu "nzibacyuho" bafite imbaraga cyangwa mu buryo bubabangamiye buhoro bishoboka. N'ubwo yari yaratekerejwe ku nyungu z'ingufu eshatu za poritiki, kuva ubwo amasezerano y'Arusha yagombaga kugarurwa mu ishusho y'impande ebyiri, za ngufu ebyiri zikomeye zari zararashyize hamwe kugira ngo zice intege cyangwa zigarurire amashyaka ya poritiki arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu. Icyo cyifuzo cyari ngombwa kuri zombi kugira ngo zagure ibirindiro ba poritiki zinashobore kuba ku isonga mu mpera z'icyo gikorwa.

Icyo gikorwa cyo guca hasi cyari cyaratangiye kuva ku ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye muri Mata 1992 gihembera icikamo ibice n'amacakubiri muri ubwo bwifatanye rw'uruvangavange rwahurizaga hamwe umubare munini w'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye n'amashyaka yari atariyubaka neza kandi yifuzaga kwitandukanya n'imikorere ya poritiki ishingiye ku ishyaka rimwe. Zakoreshaga nanone uburyo bw'imbaraga kandi kudahishe: iterabwoba ry'amagambo, guhiga no guhohoterwa abaturage basanzwe kimwe n'abarwanashyaka byari byarabaye akamenyero, bikorerwa igihe kimwe n'ubugizi bwa nabi buhiga abantu cyangwa bukozwe gihumyi kandi cyane cyane iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bagaragara. Amezi atatu y'imishyikirano yabanjirije iyubuka ry'intambara muri Mata 1994 yaranzwe n'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'ibikorwa by'imvururu za poritiki hamwe n'ubwiyongere bw'ihangana hagati y'urubyiruko

rwitwara gisirikare rw'amashyaka.

"Koroshya" urubuga rwa poritiki rwifuzwa byashingiye ku buryo bubiri butandukanye bitewe n'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida cyangwa urushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Aba mbere binjiye mu gikorwa gikomeye cyo gutanga ibisobanuro byo mu rwego rwa poritiki hagamijwe kubona abarwanashyaka n'abakozi bakuru bari banyanyagiye mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Iyo mikorere ityaye yaterwaga n'impungenge kuva icyo gihe zatutumbaga z'ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi hakoreshejwe intwaro ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi. Yitabiriwe n'abantu benshi ntibyaba ngombwa kwifashisha ibikorwa by'igitangaza cyangwa uburyo bw'imbaraga. Ku rundi ruhande, Inkotanyi, zari zifite ingorane mu rubuga rwa poritiki, zibanze ku buryo bwo kwirinda. Ku ruhande rumwe, zashyize imbaraga mu kwiyamamaza mu Batutsi b'imbere mu gihugu n'abo mu bihugu by'abaturanyi, basabwaga kuzinjiramo kandi bakajya mu ngabo zazo (APR) na ho ku rundi, zongeye gukora ibikorwa byo guhungabanya urubuga rwa poritiki kugira ngo zotse igitutu abifatanyaga na zo cyangwa abahoze bifatanya na zo bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kugira ngo bahitemo ku mugaragro uruhande rwazo.

Ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1994 i Kigali, iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD akaba na minisitiri w'Ibikorwa by'igihugu, ryakurikiwe ku itariki ya 23 n'ihotorwa rya Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, byagize uruhare rukomeye mu gushyira poritiki mu murongo ukaze, wageze icyo gihe ari muri kapitali ari no muri perefegitura ya Butare. Félicien Gatabazi yari mu itsinda ry'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye kandi b'ababahanga cyane mu bya tekiniki, bakomokaga mumaperefegiture yo mu Majyepfo Habyarimana yari yarashinze za minisiteri mu myaka ya 1970 kugira ngo agabanye ububasha bwa bakeba be bo mu Majyaruguru. Nyuma yo gukekwaho guhirika ubutgetsi kwa Théoneste Lizinde n'Alexis Kanyarengwe mu mwaka wa 1980, perezida yiyambaje iryo tsinda cyane, ari na ko yashakaga kuburizamo abantu bazwi cyane no kubasimbuza buhoro buhoro abanyaporitiki bo mu Majyepfo bitondaga

kubaruha. Ivugurura ry'abaminisitri ryo ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1984, ryigijeyo Félicien Gatabazi na Frédéric Nzamurambaho, abanyacyubahiro bubahwaga kurusha abandi bo mu Majyepfo, ryateye ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa poritiki gikomeye cyane muri Repubulika ya II. Ku mwaduko w'amashyaka menshi mu mwaka wa 1990, impande zose z'urwego rw'ubugenzuzi bwa poritiki bw'ishyaka rya leta muri Butare zasenyutse nabi, byerekanaga urwango rusa n'aho rwari mvukanwa rw'igitugu cyakoreshwaga n'agatsiko k'abasirikare hamwe n'abasivili bo mu Majyaruguru. Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsiyahereyeko yiganza, by'umwihariko PSD, ryari ryarahimbwe na ba banyacyubahiro bari bazwi cyane bo mu Majyepfo, basubijwe by'urwiyerurutso minisiteri zabo za kera ubwo hashyirwagaho guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye muri Mata 1992.

Ukurikije civipol, igipolisi cy'Umuryango w'abibumbye cyari muri Minuar, iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi ryaba ryarakozwe n'abantu begereye Yuvenari Habyarimana. Amazina ya kapiteni Pascal Simbikangwa (Hutu, Gisenyi), wari mu nzego z'iperereza, na Alphonse Ntilivamunda (Hutu, Gisenyi, MRND), umukwe wa perezida yaravuzwe, n'umushoferi wa koloneli Elie Sagatwa, **undi mukwe wa perezida? [muramu wa perezida]** waketsweho kuba yaratwaye abicanyi. Nanone, koloneli Laurent Rutayisire, wahoze ari G2[156] wa jandarumori, icyo gihe wari umuyobozi (diregiteri) w'Iperereza ryo hanze, wari ufitanye isano na Félicien Gatabazi[157], na we yashyizwe mu majwi kubera kubangamira ubucamanza no guhisha ibimenyetso: yaba yari afite imbunda ikekwaho kuba yaricishijwe.We na muramu we, Hyacynthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki[158], bari bamaze igihe bakekwaho gushaka kugarura Félicien Gatabazi mu nzira ya perezida.

Nkuko byaje kugaragara mu bushinjacyaha bw'i Kigali, urwo ruvange rudafashe rw'abaregwaga bakomeye (reba imbere) n'ibirego byegekwaga ku muryango wa nyakwigendera byashobora gusobanura imyifatire y'abarwanashyak b'i Butare ba PSD:

[156] Reba urutonde rw'impine z'amagambo ku mpera z'igitabo.
[157] Abagore babo baravukana.
[158] yari yararongoye mushiki wa koloneli Rutayisire.

bukeye bwaho, bishe Martin Bucyan, perezida wa CDR, bahorera urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi. Koko rero, ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1994, Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, wari wagenzwe runono kuva ku Gikongoro akurikiwe n'imodoka y'umushinga DGB yari itwawe n'abarwanashyaka ba PSD. Amaze kuva i Butare, yanjamwe n'abarwanashyaka ba PSD hamwe n'abaturage baramuhotora. Bamwe muri bo bari muri PSD ariko ari n'abarwanashyaka b'Inkotanyi[159].

Mu cyuka cya poritiki rusange, nubwo urwikekwe rwashyizwe rugikubita ku "gaco k'abishi" ka Perezidansi, igitekerezo cy'ikorwa ry'iryo yicwa n'Inkotanyi, zifatantije n'abantu bo muri PSD bashakaga ubufatanye bw'umwihariko na zo cyabayeho. Mu kunganira icyo gitekerezo, ukuntu, mu nama y'ishyaka rye i Butare mu cyumweru cyabanzirije iyicwa rye, Gatabazi yari yavuze interuro ikurikira, ukurikije abashishoza benshi, yasinyaga urupfu rwe: "PSD, ntiyigeze iba umugaragu wa MRND, ntizemera kuba umugaragu w'Inkotanyi[160]." Aho amariye gusaba kwakirwa na perezida akamugezaho ibyo yibazaga ku giti cye ku byerekeye imyumvire ya demokarasi, mu magambo ye yamaganaga abantu bo mu ishyaka rye batashoboraga kubona imipaka nyayo hagati ya PSD n'Inkotanyi. Ingingo z'amoko abiri zishyigikiye igitekerezo cy'iyicwa ryahagarariwe n'Inkotanyi zishobora gutangwa.

Ingingo ya mbere, rijyana n'ibihe, isubiramo uko umugambi w'Inkotanyi ushobora kuba wari uteye. Ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ryasabaga ibyitso byizewe by'Inkotanyi, ibyo bikaba bitari, mu by'ukuri, ikibazo cy Félicien Gatabazi. Uyunguyu ntiyashakaga na busa gushyigikira igerwaho ry' "umutekano" ryigishwaga n'Inkotanyi, kandi yashoboraga kwigira umukeba uteye ubwoba utandukanye na bagenzi be bandi batatu bo mu rwego mpuzabikorwa rwa PSD: Félicien Ngango na Théoneste Gafaranga bari "barigaruriwe", na ho Frédéric Nzamurambaho yari yararongoyee

[159] reba ibyavuye mu iperereza byose muri André GUICHAOUA, *Butare,la prefecture rebelled[perefegitura yivumbuy]e,op. cit.* TPIR, tome 3, umugereka wa 112, impap.53-83.

[160] reba James GASANA, *op. cit. p.* 246.

Umututsikazi, yafatwaga nk'ushobora kutagorana. Ku byerekeye imitunganyirize ya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, Marc Rugenera na Frédéric Nzamurambaho bagumanaga imyanya yabo y'abaminisitiri. Ikurwaho rya Félicien Gatabazi ryasigiraga umwanya w'umuminisitiri Théoneste Gafaranga cyangwa Félicien Ngango. Ariko uyu wa nyuma yari yaramaze kwemererwa uwe nk'umukandida watoranyijwe na PSD ku mwanya wa perezida w'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Bityo, yari kuba umunyacyubahiro wa kabiri mu gihugu, ashobora guhamagarirwa gusimbura by'agateganyo perezida wa Repubulika igihe umwanya we waba udafite umuntu uwurimo. Inshuro nyinshi, abo bombi bashakaga imyanya, bari baravuze ko Félicien Gatabazi yabangikanyaga imirimo myinshi n'umwanya ukomeye w'umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD, utarajyanaga n'imirimo y'inyongera y'ubuminisitiri. Nyamara uwo byarebaga yibazaga na we cyane ku mumaro wo kwegura ku mwanya we wa minisitiri w'Ibikorwa by'igihugu kugira ngo agirwe depite maze ahanganire umwanya wa perezida w'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho wari waremerewe Félicien Ngango, kandi hagati aho akagumana urwego rwe rw'umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa w'ishyaka. Muri ubwo buryo, ukwigendera kwa Félicien Gatabazi kwasubizaga ishyaka mu maboko y'abantu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi, kwirigabanyirizaga imbaraga ku buryo bugaragara mu rwego wr'igihugu kukanaryambura umutungo mwinshi uva mu nkuga.

Ingingo ya kabiri, yunganira iya mbere, itanga ubundi buryo bwo kumva ibintu byabanjirije ako kanya iyicwa rye. Ku cyumweru, umunsi umwe mbere y'urupfu rwe (bucya apfa), Félicien Gatabazi yari yeruriye inshuti avuga ko nta mutekano yari afite. Ku wa mbere ku itariki ya 21 Gshyantare, bumaze kwira kandi atashye ava imbere mu gihugu, yakiriye terefone ya Faustin Twagiramungu ivuye kuri hoteli Méridien yamutumiraga kumusanga muri etaje ya nyuma ya hoteli. Uyunguyu yari yamaze igicamunsi mu nama yari yakorewe ku cyicaro gikuru cya Minuar hamwe n'umukozi udasanzwe wari uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, yerekeye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye,

ryari riteganyijwe ku munsi ukurikiyeho i saa yine. Muri iyo nama harimo, uretse Faustin Twagiramungu, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, perezida wa PSD; Landoald Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere wa PL; Agata Uwiringiyimana, Minisitiri w'intebe; Jea-Népomuscène Nayinzira (Hutu, Gisenyi), perezida wa PDC, n'abandi. Inma irangiye, abenshi muri bo bagiye mu kabare ka hoteli Méridien maze Faustin Twagiramungu ahamagara kuri terefone abanyacyubahiro benshi batari baje mu nama yo ku gicamunsi abasaba kuhabasanga kugira ngo bajye inama ku byifuzo bya nyuma byagombaga kumvikanwaho no kunonosora imyiteguro y'igikorwa cy'umunsi ukurirkiraho. Froduald Karamira na Donat Murego bo muri MDR ntibashoboye kuboneka, Mahieu Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND na Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL bombi batanga impamvu zo kugomba kubaza mbere na mbere inzego zabo za poritiki, banitwaza isaha itinze kugira ngo bange kujyayo. Félicien Gatabazi ni we wenyine wemweye. Amaherezo nta nama yigeze iba amaze kuhagera kubera ko Faustin Twagiramungu yamaze igihe kinini cyane cy'uwo mugoroba mu biganiro kuri terefone. Buri wese rero yasubiye mu (rugo) iwe. Gatabazi yiciwe ku muhanda ukata ugana mu (rugo) iwe hafi ya saa yine n'iminota mirongo ine n'itanu (22h45). Yashoboye gutwara imodoka kugera ku nzu ye aho yahereyeko agwa. Ibitoryi by'amasasu bigera kuri mirongo itandatu byasanzwe aho hantu.

Urebye, nk'uko bigaragara mu mugereka wa 15, kuva Félicien Gatabazi ajya kuri hoteli, abari bashinzwe (abakomando) kumwica, bari batangatanze hafi y'urugo rwe, bamenyeshejwe ugushyika kwe. Uwari uhagarariye iryo yicwa yari Karenzi Karake (Tutsi, Zayire, APR/FPR [Ingabo z'Inkotanyi]), umuwofisiye wakoranaga na Minuar akaba n'umukuru w'abakomando b'Inkotanyi muri Kigali, icyo gihe wari ucumbitse muri hoteli Méridien hamwe n'abandi bawofisiye bane bo mu Ngabo z'Inkotanyi. Batatu muri bo bari bahatuye: komanda Salton Bahenda (Tutsi, Zayire, APR/FPR), kapiteni Godffrey Butare (Tutsi, Uganda, APR/FPR) na majoro Philbert Rwigamba (Tutsi, Uganda, APR/FPR).

Ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, ubwo hatangwa amabwiriza yo kwica Félicien

Gatabazi, nta n'umwe utari uzi ko uruhare muri iryo yicwa rwagombaga kugerekwa ku "gaco k'abicanyi" ka Perezidanse. Koko rero, ku munsi ubanza, ku cyumweru ku itariki ya 20, muri mitingi ikaze yari yakoreshejwe i Nyamirambo na Agata Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu kugira ngo berekane imbaraga zabo mu rwego rwa poritiki imbere y'ubushotoranyi bwa MDR "Power", abarwanashyaka ba MRND, ana CDR n'aba MDR "Power" bakoresheje amagerenade n'amabuye byo gutera imodoka zari zitwaye ababashyigikiye. Abenshi barakomeretse n'abandi batandatu bicirwa mu Rwampara hafi y'i Nyamirambo. Iyo bataba barinzwe na Minuar, Agata Uwiringiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu na bo bashoboraga kuhagwa.

Nuko, nk'uko byari byitezwe, ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare, urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi rumaze kumenyekana, perezida wa PSD, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, yamaganye abicanyi bakoreraga mu kwaha kwa Perezidanse. Icyerekezo cyahawe ubugenzacyaha n'abantu ba mbere bafashwe byemeje icyo gitekerezo. Urwikekwe rw'injyanamuntu rwashyizwe ako kanya ku byegera bya perezida Habyarimana.

Uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwashinjaga, rwo, abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bari bagiye mu nama yo kuri Méridien. Muri uwo mwuka, iyicwa rya Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, ryagaragaye nk'ikintu gisanzwe kubera ko ryafashwe nk'ingaruka y' "ukwihorera kwikoze".

Ku rwego rwa MRND na CDR, ho, ukuri kwagombaga kujya ahagaragara: ubugambanyi bwari bwateguwe na Faustin Twagiramungu, Agata Uwiringiyimana n'abayobozi bashyigikiye Inkotanyibo muri PSD no muri PL bihimura ihangana rikaze ryatejwe n'abarwanashyaka hamwe n'abitwara gisirikare bo muri MRND n' "abapawa" i Nyamirambo. Mu ntera yakurikiyeho, ubwo urwikekwe rwashyirwaga ku Nkotanyi, igitekerezo cy'ubugambanyi bwakorewe hamwe cyariganje. Matayo Ngirumpatse asubiramo iryo cenga atya:

> "Twumvise, rugikubita, ko umugambi wari uwo gukurura mu mutego umwe, abayobozi ba MDR, aba MRND, aba CDR n'aba PL kugira ngo bicirwe ijoro

rimwe. Kubera ko Inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo bari bamaze gushinja Perezida Habyarimana kwica abarwanya ubutegetsi, wari nanone umwanya mwiza wo kumushinja uretse gusa kuba yararimbuye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, nanone kuba yarikijije abaharanira demokarasi kurusha abandi bo mu ishyaka rye. Ubwo buryo bwari bwarabahiriye igihe cyose bashakaga kwikiza abantu bose bababangamiye[161]."

Ako gace k'inkuru gafite akamaro ko kwerekana ukuntu inzangano zari zikomeye hagati y'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki bo mu mashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu n'icyuho bahaga batyo mukeba wabo bose. Mu by'ukuri, Inkotanyi zumvaga zigomba guhindura icyo cyumweru ikintu kimeze nk'igihe ntarengwa cyo gupfa kugira ngo zirimbure ubuyobozi bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki bw'amashyaka kandi ziteze imvuru rusange zibanziriza igitero cyazo cya rurangiza. Kubera ibyo, igitekerezo cy'akagambane kateguwe hagati ya Twagiramungu n'Inkotanyi nticyumvikanaga: imikorere y'Inkotanyi yari itunganye bikabije kandi irimo amashami ahagije bitatumaga zafatanya gutegura operasiyo z'ubwoko nk'ubwo n'abarwanya ubutegetsi zitari zarigeze na rimwe zizera kandi batigeze na rimwe bafatwa na zo nk'abafatanyabikorwa cyangwa abishyize hamwe na zo, uretse gusa kubacamo uduce.

Iyicwa rya Gatabazi n'irya Bucyana ryateje ihangana rikaze hagati y'imitwe yitwaza intwaro y'amashyaka yishe abantu 37 i Kigali. Iryo hangana ryarangiye igihe ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka yabigizemo uruhare yabonaga neza inyungu za poritiki Inkotanyi zayakuragamo. Koko rero, kimwe no muri Mutarama 1993 nyuna y'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kibuye na Byumba, bwabanjirije kurenga ku ihagarika ry'ibisasu n'ibitero bikaze mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare, Inkotanyi zakangishije kuva ku itariki ya 24 Gashyantare 1994 kuri Radio Muhabura, kubura intambara imbere y'amadindiza ya poritiki yitiriwe uruhande rushyigikiye perezida. Mu mpera za Gashyantare n'intangiriro

[161] . Matayo Ngirumpatse, La tragedie rwandaise [*Amarorerwa r'uRwanda]op. cit. p.*116.

ya Werurwe 1994, zakoresheje ibitangazamakuru byo muBuganda kugira ngo zicengeze mu bazishyigikye iby'intsinzi zavugaga ko yizewe. Mu itangazo ryo ku itariki ya 28 Gashyantare, perezida w'Inkotanyi, koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe yaranditse ati: "Akaga gakabije kagombaga kugombaga kuba ku mugoroba wo kuri iyo tariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1994 igihe abicanyi bashygikiwe na perezida Habyarimana bicaga bwana Gatabazi Félicien, minisitiri w'ibikorwa by'igihugu". Muri Uganda Confidential yo ku matariki ya 28 Gashyantare – 7 Werurwe 1994, hasomwamo ngo: "Amahirwe ya Kagame yo gufata Kigali yikubye inshuro 100." Muri The People yo ku matariki ya 4-8 Werurwe 1994, hasomwamo isubiramo ry'amagambo ya Paul Kagame avuga ko afite uburyo, ibikoresho n'ingabo byo gufata Kigali ku munsi umwe kandi ko yiteguye. Ubwo buryo bwo kubona ibintu nyirubwite yabwemereye jenerali Roméo Dallaire, nk'uko uyunguyu abihamya:

> "Roméo Dallaire: Rero, ku bwanjye, izo ngabo zari zaratojwe ku buryo budasanzwe. Ibyo, kuri jye, mu isesengura ryanjye, na mbere y'intambara, byarambwiraga ngo niba baritoje cyane bakaba bahagaze neza cyane, ese barakeka ko amasezerano y'amahoro avaho? Maze rero, nyine mu kwezi kwa gatanu, ahagana ku mpera z'ukwa gatanu, jenerali Kagame yanyerekaga ko niba nta muti ubonetse vuba, hari kubaho icyemezo kidasubirwaho cyagombaga gufatwa.
>
> Ikibazo: Ndakeka ko ari mu kwezi kwa babiri, atari mu kwa gatanu?
>
> R. Dallaire: Ukwa kéabiri, ukwezi kwa kabiri[162]."

Ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe, Ingabo z'Inkotanyi zakomeje igikorwa cyo gupfubya (kuniga) abakuru b'udutsiko two mu murongo ukaze tw'Abahutu maze zica Alphonse Ingabire bahimbaga "Kayumba", uahagarariye CDR i Kigali. Ukurikije amakuru yazo adasohoka, Ingabo z'Inkotanyi zari zarahaye akazi, kubera icyo gikorwa, Kiyago, umukuru w'abakomando (abicanyi) b' agace E (urwinjiriro) na serija Mugisha, umukuru w'agace Kosovo (kari kabumbiyemo uturere twa Kicukiro, Remera, Masaka na Ndera

[162] Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 24 Mutarama 2004, p. 29.

twa Kigali). Bari baherekeje na liyetona Jean-Baptiste Mugwaneza[163].

Biraboneka ko icyo gikorwa cy'ubwicanyi cyashyiraga mu bikorwa gahunda yari yaravuzwe n'abawofisiye banyuranye b'Ingabo z'igihugu, ku itariki ya3 Ukuboza 1993 mu ibaruwa yahererjwe abakuru ba Minuar, ariko ihitanwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi icyo gihe ryegekwaga ku mitwe yo ku ruhande rwa perezida…Iyo baruwa itarasinywe kandi yavaga ahantu hatazwi, abayanditse bashobora kuba baragiye gusobanurira impungenge zabo ku buryo burambuye umuyobozi w'inagabo za Minuar (reba umugereka wa 45), yaba yarashoboraga, tutitaye ku byayihinduweho bike wenda, kuba gahunda y'imirimo y'abakomandobo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi.

Nkurikije amakuru mfite, icyo gikorwa cy'ubwicanyi cy'Inkotanyi cyagombaga gutangira ku itariki ya 17 Gashyantare 1994, uwahigwaga wa mbere wari warateganyijwe akaba yari Landoald Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere wa PL, wahushijwe inshuro eshatu, iya mbere mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 17, n'izindi ebyiri ku matariki ya18 na 19 Gashyantare.

> « Ikibazo : Ku rutonde rw'abanyacyubahiro bagombaga kwicwa, wari ufite inshingano zihariye, kuri Lando ?
>
> Igisubizo : Yego, kuri Lando, kubera ko nari ntuye i Remera. Nari ntuye hafi, ariko naritonze. Urebye, sinabyemeraga, naribazaga nti ndicira iki Lando? Icya mbere, ntari mu murongo ukaze, ni Umututsi nkanjye, ni PL, ntarwanya Abatutsi, poritiki ye si mbi kuri twe. Ndicira iki Lando? Ni ubugome. Kuki Umututsi agomba kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'undi Mututsi? Umututsi udafatanya

[163] « Baravugaga, nko mu iyicwa rya Ingabire, baravugaga ibintu birakomeye, mwitegure…Tugiye gukora ikintu, buri wese agomba kuba maso. Bakavuva : Ni iki kigiye kuba ? –Ingabire, tugiye kumwica. –Ni nde ukora icyo kintu ? Kiyago arakora icyo kintu. Ni byiza nta kibazo''. » (Iyandukura ry'ikiganiro cyihariye n'umuwofisiye wo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi, 24 Mata 2005, p. 13).

n'ubutegetsi? Sinabonaga impamvu. Ariko, urebye, nari noherejwe. Kuri we gusa. Ikindi kandi, bashakaga kumenya icyo mbitekerezaho, wenda. Kugeza ubu, ndibaza impamvu babimenyesheje.

Bazo: Ni cyo gihe cyonyine baguhaye inshingano igaragara?

Subizo: Yego, ahasigaye, inshutizanjye ni zo zambwiraga cyangwa umukuru wacu wabwiraga buri wese, avuga ko hari operasiyo igomba gukorwa : « Mwitode. Nihagira ikintu kiba, nibashyiraho bariyeri, nibatangira gusaka amazu, mwitonde cyane. » Ni uko twabwirwaga. Ku kibazo nyirizina cya Lando, bampaye iyo misiyo, yo kumugendaho. Amaherezo barambwira bati warangije ubutasi bwawe bwose, washushanyije aho wagombaga gushushaanya, kuvuga ibyo washakaga kuvuga. Dukorere umurimo wo kugenda kuri Lando. Tugiye gushaka uburyo bwo kumukuraho. Naratashye nibaza impamvu…amaherezo, ntitwigeze tumwica[164].”

Ingaruka zikomeye z'iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi na Martin Bucyana nyuma zafashwe nk'izihagije noneho ikomeza rya gahunda rirasubikwa. Mu bandi bahigwaga harimo nka Yozefu Kavaruganda, perezida w'Urukiko rurengera itegeko nshinga, Stanislas Mbonampeka wo muri **[PL],** Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko wo muri MRND. Nk'uko biboneka, ubuyobozi bw'Inkotanyi bwari bwavangavanze abo zahigaga ariko zari ziteguye guca umutwe PL, irya nyuma mu mashyaka akomeye ryarimo abanyacyubahiro bazwi, muri gahunda yazo yo gusopanya kugira ngo bagenzure Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Na ho Joseph Kavaruganda we, Umunyacyubahiro w'ingenzi mu rwego rw'inzego, yari yarahindutse umwanzi ukomeye wa perezida Habyarimana.

Niba twibuka ko amashyaka yose yari afite urahare mu masezerano ya Arusha, n'Inkotanyi zirimo, yari yateranye ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare kugira ngo ashyire

[164] Iyandukura ry'ikiganiro cyiharye hamwe n'umuwofisiye wo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi, 24 Mata, p. 13.

umukono ku itangazo ryashyiraga ku munsi ukurikiyeho ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, itangazo ryashyizwe ahagaragara mu ma saa tatu y'ijoro n'intumwa idasanzwe yari ihagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye, icyemezo n'ihitamo ry'igihe byo guhitana Félicien Gatabazi byerekanaga neza agaciro Inkotanyi zahaga ukudashyirwa mu bikorwa kw'amasezerano y'amahoro.

Bityo, mu mpera za Gashyantare 1994 abakomando b'Inkotanyi bari baciye imitwe MDR, PSD na CDR, bateje imvururu zikabije mu buyobozi bw'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu bwari bwasubiwemo biruhanyije kandi bongereye umwiryane mu rwego rwa poritiki muri rusange.

MDR isa n'iya rusimbutse ariko isigara ari ishyaka rishingiye ku buyobozi bwacitsemo. Isimbura rya Martin Bucyana ku buyobozi bwa CDR nta ngorane ryateye (ihitamo ry'umuntu wo mu Majyepfo ryari rishingiye ahanini ku rwiyerurutso kandi abayobozi nyabo bari abakiga). Nyamara, byarakomeye cyane kongera kwegura PSD yari, kugera ku iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi, yarigaruriwe n'umuyobozi wayo w'indasumbwa. Abarwanashyaka bayo bokejwe igitutu gikomeye n'impande zombi zari zihanganye, maze ubushyamirane bwa poritiki bushyirwa ahagaragara mu itora ry'umusimbura wa Félicien Gatabazi ku mwanya w'ubunyamabanga bukuru bw'ishyaka.

Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe 1994, biro poritiki yashyizeho ku bwumvikane Augustin Iyamuremye, wari wamamajwe na Frédéric Nzamurambaho, wari mu ruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi, ariko komite y'akarere y' i Butare, yagenzurwaga na François Ndungutse na Straton Nsabumukunzi, yahagaritse iyo kandidatire. Umugambi wabo wari uwo gushyiramo Sylvestre Uwibajije, icyo gihe wari ambasaderi i Burundi.

Bari mu nama ya kongere i Butare ku itariki ya 12 Werurwe kandi icyo gihe Sylvestre Uwibajije yaramaze kwimenyekanisha nk'umukandida, ishyaka ryemeje itora rya biro poritiki maze uruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi ruba rurakomeye mu buyobozi bw'ishyaka bwica ku barwanashyaka bo hanze y'amaperefegitura yo mu Majyepfo.

Ukutavuga rumwe kugaragara hagati y'abo bakandida Félicien Gatabazi yafataga nk'abafasha be ba hafi kwateye ubwoba abarwanashyaka benshi. Rugikubita, igihe cy'ishyingurwa rya Félicien Gatabazi, Frédéric Nzamurambaho amaze kuvuga mu izina ry'ubuyobozi bwa PSD na Faustin Twagiramungu nyuma ye mu izina ry'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi muri demokarasi, Augustin Iyamuremye na Sylvestre Uwibajije basabwe, bombi, gufata na bo ijambo mu ruhame.

Umugambi wa MRND wo kumunga uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi

Ku ruhande rwayo, MRND ntiyari yarasigaye inyuma mu bintu byo guhungabanya uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Inyuma y'iyirukanwa ry'ingirakamaro ry'abantu bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bavugaga rumwe ku kurega Agata Uwiringiyimana kutarangiza imirimo ye uko bikwiye (reba umugereka wa 39). Hamwe n'ibyo, bashakaga ko yegura kugira ngo areke perezida azibe icyuho mu nzego akurikije inyungu ze. Ibyo bintu amasezerano y'Arusha ntiyabiteganyaga.

Ishwanyuka ry'urwego rwa poritiki rw'imbere mu gihugu ryari ryararangije kuba kubera ubutiriganya ku mpande nyinshi kandi, kubera iyegereza ry'ingengabihe y'inzego yari yaragenwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha, buri wese yari yiteguye gukina umukino wa nyuma. Bityo, ku rugero:

> "Ku itariki ya 31 Ukuboza 1993 habaye, mu rugo kwa Minisitiri w'intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana, inama hagati ye, Minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe Faustin Twagiramungu n'abaminisitiri bo mu mashyaka agize Imbaraga ziharanira demokarasi mu ihinduramatwara (ihinduka)[FDC] (MDR, PSD, PL naPDC). Itsinda FDC ryavuganaga n'Inkotanyi zari muri CND kandi ryemeraga ayo masezerano. Ihura ryayo ryasuzumye ingamba zinyuranye zatuma batesha agaciro MRND na perezida Habyarimana. Bamwe mu bri bayirimo bifuje ndetse uburyo bwo guhungabanya Ingabo, ibyo ndabyanga kubera ko , nibura mu magambo, ukurikije amategeko, izongizo zagengwaga n'ubuyobozi bw'umukuru wa guverinoma yari iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe wo muriMDR, yari muri FDC.

> Guhungabanya Ingabo z'igihugu byari kuba igikorwa cyo kwiyahura mu rwego rwa poritiki kuri guverinoma yari yaranmze kumungwa n'itsinda ry'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND bari baramenyereye kudindiza igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gishobora guhesha ishema Minisitiri w'intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana. Nyuma y'impaka, intumwa za FDC zagiye kuri CND guhuza ibyifuzo n'Inkotanyi hakurikijwe ingengabihe zari ziteganyije kugira ngo hashyirweho inzego z'inzibacyuho (iminsi itanu nyuma yaho, igitekerezo cy'umwanditsi)[165]."

Iryo jarajara mu ibangikanya ry'inzego za poritiki ryongereye umurego nyuma y'irahira rya perezida n'inzitizi zo gushyiraho Inteko na guverinoma by' "inzibacyuho", kubera ibyifuzo bishya byatanzwe na Agata Uwiringiyimana. Urujya n'uruza rw'amabaruwa, amwe muri yo atyaye by'umwihariko, hiyongereyeho amagambo kuri radiyo y'igihugu, rwemeje ukwanga kwe gukoresha ku buryo busanzwe inama ya guverinoma itari yararahiye[166]. Yakoreshaga buri gihe inama z'abantu bake hamwe n'abahagarariye amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi kandi, iyo byabaga ari ngombwa, inama zongerwagamo abaminisitri barebwaga n'ibibazo by'umutekano. Uwo bavuganaga ku buryo busanzwe kubyerekeye ibibazo byagombaga kwigirwa hamwe na MRND yari André Ntagerura, warushaga abandi uburambe muri guverinoma.

> "Hagati yUkuboza 1993 na Mata 1994, yavuganaga ubwe n'abaminisitiri bamwe hamwe n' abakuru b'amashyaka arwnya ubutegetsi, kugira ngo akoreshe inama zitwaga "inama zo mu muhezo", zari zigamije guheza MRND, mu gihe inma zisanzwe zagarukiraga ku bafite imyanya irebana n'umutekano. Amaze kugirana amasezerano n'amashyaka arwnya ubutegetsi, Minisitiri w'intebe yajyaga guhura n'itsinda ry'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND, André Ntagerura yari

[165] ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, p. 10 .

[166] Reba umugereka wa 41. Ayo magambo yongereweho ibintu byinshi bikomeye mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata.

abereye umuvugizi, yungirijwe na Casimir Bizimungu[167].”

Ku rundi ruhande, kandi abari bawushyigikiye ntibabihishaga, umugambi wo “kwivumbatanya” ugamije kwegezayo (kwikuraho) Mimnisitiri w’intebe wari ushyigikiwe n’abantu badashaka ihinduka ry’ibintu bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida. Umugambi abantu “baharanira ubwisanzure” bo muri MRND batanengaga ku mugaragaro.

Hariho indorerwamo ebyiri zibusana zo kureberamo ibintu. Indorerwamo ya mbere yerekanaga ko perezida Habyarimana yari yaratakaje cyane ubugenzuzi bw’ibintu, ko ukwiyoroshya kwe cyangwa kudafata ibyemezo kwe byamuteranyaga n’abari mu murongo w’intagondwa wo ku ruhande rwe, ko abo bantu bateguraga ku mugaragaro umugambi wo kumwigizayo no gukora kudeta. Ku barebera muri iyo ndorerwamo, icikamo kabiri ryari ryamaze gucengera imbere mu Kazu kandi umuryango w’umugore we waba wari ufite ishyushyu ry’icyo gikorwa cy’ubwiyahuzi. Twibuke ko iyo ndorerwamo yasaga n’ihuriweho n’ abari bahagarariye ambasade z’amahanga, babonaga perezida “atagifite ububasha” kandi atakimenya aho ibintu bigeze.

Indorerwamo ya kabiri yo, ku buryo bunyuranye, igaragaza ko kwicecekera ku bwende bwa perezida mu byukuri byajyanaga na kamere ye kandi ibyo bikemezwa na benshi mu byegera bye. Muri ubwo buryo, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yarasubiranye igice kinini cy’ubwamamare bwe mu baturage, yashakishaga mu ngendo nyinshi no mu mvugo, kandi yari yarigaruriye ubugenzuzi busesuye bwa MRND akoresheje gushyamiranya hagati ya perezida wayo, Matayo Ngirumpatse, n’umunyabambanga ku rwego rw’igihugu, Yozefu Nzirorera. Ni we wahabwaga ibyubahiro n’urubyiruko rw’Interahamwe, intwaro y’ubuyoboke y’ishyaka rye. Mu ngabo, isubirana rirambuye ry’imitwe y’ingabo ryakozwe n’abawofisiye bari baramwitangiye ryari ryaratangiye minisitiri James Agasana akimara guhungira mu mahanga[168]. Nanone, ubwiyongere

[167] ubuhamya bw’umuminisitiri muri guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, p.8.

[168] Umwuka wa poliki ntiwatumaga koko byoroha gusubiza mu ngabo abawofisiye bashyizwe mu kiruhuko by’izabukuru cyangwa hakorwa ivugurura ry’abawofisiye bafatwaga nk’abegereye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, ariko mu maperefegitura yose y’igihugu akazu ka perezida kari gafitemo abantu bakomeye, bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru, bari abafasha bizewe: umuyobozi w’ingabo mu ifasi cyangwa umuyobozi wungirije, umuwofisiye

bw'amashyaka n'amatsinda ya poritiki afite ibyerekezo bisa n'ibikaze, ndetse bivuguruzanya yose yiyita ayo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bworoshyaga isaranganya ry'imirimo mu rubuga rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu, bityo bigatuma peresida ashyirwa mu mwanya wo hagati. Uyunguyu yasimburanyaga inkunga ye ku mpande zose maze akigumira mu mwanya w'umuhuza n'uhagagarariye ubusugire mu rwego rwa poritiki iyo imigendere y'ibintu cyangwa ihangana ry'ingufu byabisabaga. N'ubwo abanyacyubahiro benshi bamwegereye batatinyaga kujya impaka cyangwa kwivumbura ku cyemezo iki n'iki cyangwa icyerekezo cya perezida, nta n'umwe wihaga guharanira ihinduka ry'ubutegetsi ryar kwegezayo Yuvenari Habyarimana[169].

Muri icyo cyerekezo, kuri MRND n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwose, umugambi w'idindizwa ry'inzego warimo inyungu nyinshi. Watumaga mbere na mbere hafatwa igihe mu kureka buri ruhande rukisuganya kugira ngo rwiyegereze abarwanashyaka benshi bishoboka kimwe n'abaturage mu nyungu zarwo, ariko kandi washoboraga kurambira Inkotanyi ukasitera gusubira mu bikorwa bya gisirikare, nk'ukio buri gihe zabikoragakuva mu 1991, bityo zikishyira mu makosa imbere y'umuryango mpuzamahanga n'abaturage.

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ushinzwe ipereereza no gutumanaho (ni we wakiraga amabwiriza, akayayatunganya maze agahitamo kuyohrerereza uyu n'uyu) cyangwa ushinzwe gucunga ibigemurwa n'ububiko bw'intwaro n'ibikoresho…

[169] N'ubwo, mbere y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE), uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rutashoboraga gutekereza kuvangira ubumwe bwarwo imbere y'abakeba barwo, igitekerezo nk'icyo nticyashoboraga ibyo ari byo byose kwirengagizwa mu bihe byari imbere. Ubumenyi buke bwo gukora gahunda bwari buhuriweho n'imitwe yose ya poritiki n' ukutagira icyo uhisha by'uruhando rwa poritiki byari byiganje kuva hajyaho amashyaka menshi, byatumaga habaho ubwifanye bw'amoko menshi. Bityo, abantu bake bari barasanze Inkotanyi, i Kigali bitaga "Inkotanyi Power" (Abahutu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi), bashoboraga gufatwa nk'abantu babi cyane ku ruhande rw'akazu ka perezida kurusha Inkotanyi z' "Abatutsi". Koko rero, hagati ya 1992 na 1994, imishyikirano inyuranye yari yatanze imyanya myinshi yo guhura hagati y'abanyacyubahiro bo mu Nkotanyi (Pasteur Bizimungu abarimo), abanyacyubahiro bo muri MRND n'abawofisiye bo mu Ruhengeri. Ariko se abo banyacyubahiro b'Abahutu bo mu Nkotanyi bigeze batuma kuri iyo mpamvu habaho ubwiyunge n'abawofisiye n'abanyacyubahiro bo mu Ruhengeri (Léonidas Rusatira, Jacques Maniraguha...), ndetse n'abantu b' "intagondwa" nka Théoneste Bagosora, utaratinyaga kumenyesha ku giti cye intumwa zari Arusha ibyo atemeranywagaho na Yuvenari Habyarimana n'urwego rwe rw' "umurakare"? Ibyo ari byo byose, igitekerezo cy'amasanasana akomeye yo mu rwego rwa politki mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho kandi ashingiye ku basirikare n'inzego z'ubucuruzi z'Abahutu bo mu Majyaruguru-habamo cyangwa hatabamo Habyarimana- cyarateganywaga ku buryo bukomeye. Ubwifatanye nk'ubwo n'uruhande rwiswe "Inkotanyi Power" na rwo rwavugwaho mu bagize MDR "Twagiramungu", icyo gihe bari barishyize hamwe n'Inkotanyi. Ariko ikiguzi cy'intambara nticyatumaga, nibura icyo gihe, habaho ubwisanzure na bumwe. Ku ruhande rumwe, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari agaifite imbaraga kandi yakomezaga gutuma habaho ubufatanye bw'uruhande rwari ku butegetsi, ku rundi, abanyacyubahiro b'Abahutu biyegerejwe bari barahuje inzira z'ubuzima bwabo n'iz' ubw'Inkotanyi.

> "Jyewe ubwanjye, nyuma ya "misa yo gusabira" bwana Bucyana Martin nari nagiyemo [...]; niyumviye imbere ya kiliziya i Gikondo ikiganiro cyakorwaga n'umukuru wa Etamajoro y'ingabo z'uRwanda, jenerali majoro Déogratias Nsabimana, na we ubwe wari waje muri iyo misa. Uyunguyu yabwiraga itsinda ry'abayobozi ba CDR, barimo Barayagwiza Jean-Bosco, Nahimana Théoneste {Ferdinand] ko, akurikijee amakuru yari afite, "Inkotanyi ziteguraga gusubira mu ntambara bidatinze". Nanone, yongeyeho ko yari kugwamo abantu benshi, ariko "Inkotanyi ntizizafata igihugu". Ayo magambo y'umukuru wa etamajoro yasobanuraga icyo ingabo zatekerezaga icyo gihe. Iyicwa ry'ihagarika ry'ibisasu n'iyubura ry'imirwano hagat y'Inkotanyi n'Ingabo z'igihugu byarateganywaga bikbije, kandi buri ruhande rwihatiraga gukora uko rushoboye kugira ngo rudatungurwa kandi rubashe gutsinda urundi burundu[170]."

Ugushobora kwubuka kw'imirwano ntikwari guteye ubwoba. Koko rero, barengewe n'amasezerano y'Arusha, MRND n'abifatanyije na yo bashoboraga kwirwanaho ku buryo bwose bwemewe bumvisha abaturage n'umuryango mpuzamahanga ko barwanyaga igitero. Ariko, ku buryo bukomeye kurushaho, nk'uko ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri MRND bubigaragaza, uwo mwanya wari kubaha ububasha bwo kotsa igitutu gikomeye kiganisha ku "isubiramo ry'amasezerano y'Arusha, yafatwaga nk'akabije kurengera Inkoyanyi. Uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwari gutangira iryo subiramo ry'amasezerano rufite ingufu kubera ko, ukurikije MRND n'abari bifatanyije na yo, babifashijwemo n'ishyigikirwa ku bwinshi ry'abaturage n'Interahamwe, Inkotanyi icyo gihe zari kwikururira ingorane ku rugamba kubera ko zitari kuba zigishobora gucungira ku rukuta rwazo rwa gatanu (rwari rugizwe n'imitwe y'abacengeye), rwari kuba rwaburijwemo n' imbaraga z'abaturage[171]."

Ntiyumvaga ukuntu yari avuze neza kubera ko ari kuri ayo matariki neza neza, ya 30

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[170] ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare - 8 Gicurasi 2006, urupap. 133.

[171] ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Nyakanga 2005, urupap. 9.

na 31 Werurwe 1994, minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu hamwe na perefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali byakoze amanama menshi yo kwitegura agamije gutunganya ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage. Iyo myiteguro yahuzaga abasirikare basezerewe n'abitwara gisirikare batojwe, bahuguraga abaturage bari bashyizwe hamwe mu rwego rw'amasegiteri n'amaserire y'amakomini atatu ya perefagitura y'umugi wa Kigali (PVK) n'ay'amakomini byegeranye (reba umugereka wa 40).

Ariko, icyagaragaye cyane ni uko ubwo bushake bwo gutunganya uhura n'iyungikanya ry'inama zo kungurana ibitekerezo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu no hagati yarwo n'Inkotanyi kugira ngo rurinde umutekano w'abarwanashyaka n'abanyacyubahiro barwo. Zatangijwe mu ntangiriro ya Werurwe, akomeza kugeza ku itariki ya 6 Mata ariko yose adafite uburemere bumwe. Imwe muri zo, ari nayo yonyine yatangajwe, yahaye ibyerekazo byose by'Ubufatanye bwo guteza imbere demokarasi (ARD) na CDR bivugira hamwe kongera gusaba ivanwaho rya guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi y'Agata Uwiringiyimana. Umwanaya wabonetse ku itariki ya 2 Mata 1994, igihe uyunguyu yaregwaga kugerageza gukora kudeta yo kugumaho hamwe n'abawofisiye bo mu Majyepfo yari yahuje ku munsi bucya bwaho) mu rugo iwe. Igitekerezo cyo gukora iyo nama cyaturutse kuri kapiteni Bernard Ndayisaba, umuwofisiye wo mu rwego rw'umutekano muri etamajoro na Jean-Berchmans Habinshuti, umunyamabanga wihariye w'Agata Uwiringiyimana. Iyo nama yari igamije guhuza abasirikare, "bakomeye "bizwi cyangwa bashobora gukomera, bo muri perefegitura ya Butare kugira ngo bamenyane ubwabo, baganire ku bibazo byo muri perefegitura yabo, bige ku ivugurura ryateganywaga ry'ingabo, basobanure neza ibyerekeye gahunda yo gusezerera abantu mu ngabo. Byari ukubasobanurira cyane cyane ko bo ubwabo batari kugerwaho n'ibyo byemezo byarebaga ahanini abawofisiye bo mu Majyaruguru. Ikibazo cy'ibyemezo birebana n'umutekano byagombaga gufatwa hitegurwa ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) na cyo cyavuzweho.

Iyo nama, yabaye nk'iya mbere mu rutonde runini, yagombaga gutuma habaho

ihura ry' abagize igisirikare banyuranye begereye amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Abawofisiye n'abunganira abasuzofisiye bagera kuri makumyabiri bari babimenyeshejwe na kapiteni wo muri jandarumori Jean-Baptiste Iradukunda[43]. Agata Uwiringiyimana yagombaga ubwe gutumira ba Banyabutare babiri barusha abandi amapeti, koloneli Alphonse Nteziryayo na jenerali majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Amaherezo, kubera gukekwaho icyizere gike cyangwa gushobora kubirwanya, nta n'umwe muri bo bombi watumiwe. Ni na ko byagendekeye koloneli François Munyengango, wafatwaga nk'utagira aho ahuriye n'amashyaka na busa. Abawofisiye n'abasuzofisiye cumi na barindwi bo mu Majyepfo baba amaherezo baragiye muri iyo nama (reba umugereka wa 41).

Inama ikimara kurangira, mu ijoro, umwe mu bawofisiye, Edouard Gasarabwe, yakoreye raporo umukuru we, liyetona koloneli Yuvenari Bahufite, umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare i Byumba OPS Byumba), wari wamwemereye kuyijyamo. Na we ubwe yabimenyesheje Déogratias Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro, nyuma amakuru agera kuri RTLM, yatangije iyamamaza ry'iyica mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru ryarwanyaga Minisitiri w'intebe, ubusanzwe wahigwaga kubera kurwanya yivuye inyuma iyinjizwa ry'umudepite wa CDR mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho (ANT). Undi wari mu nama, liyetona Pascal Baziruwiha, yahereye ko ahamagazwa ku munsi ukurikiyeho bisabwe na Augustin Ndindiliyimana, wari warakajwe cyane no kumenyeshwa n'umuwofisiye we G2 inama yakoreshejwe na Agata Uwiringiyimana, umuturanyi we, bakomoka muri komini imwe ya Nyaruhengeri muri perefegitura ya Butare. Yahereye ko amuhamagara kugira ngo abimubwire. Nyuma, mu mwuka ushushye w'icyo gihe, itinya kuregwa kuba yarashyigikiye "iyo kudeta" no guhungabanyirizwa umutekano, imiryango ya AugustinNdindiliyimana (icyo gihe wari muri konji iwabo muri Nyaruhengeri) n'uwa Edouard Karemera, wari ucumbitse iwe, yaba yarashatse guhungira kwa koloneli Mariseri Gatsinzi, umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikare ka Butare-Gikongoro. Ariko kubera ko uyunguyu yari yamaze kwakira umuryango w'uwahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND, Bonaventure Habimana, iyo miryango yasabye kwakirwa n'umuyobozi w'ikigo cya jandarumori,

majoro Cyriaque Habyarabatuma. Kubera kutagira ububasha bwo kwakira imiryango ibiri mu rugo rwe, yabahaye ababarinda babaherekeza mu rugo kwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana banacunga umutekano wabo.

Ubugambanyi mu rwego rwa poritiki bwari bwatangiye n'itangazamakuru rigendera ku murongo ukaze ryo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida rirasara. Aha turagarukira gusa ku nkuru ikabya yo muri icyo gihe nyirizina yavuzwe na perezida wa MRND amezi menshi nyuma y'ibyabaye:

> "Icyumweru kimwe mbere y'iyicwa rya perezida, ibitangazamakuru byo muRwanda byateye bombe: "Minisitiri Agata Uwiringiyimana yari yateranyije abawofisiye bo mu kerere k'iwabo kandi yari yabasabye gukorera kudeta perezida Habyarimana". Abawofisiye bari batoranyijwe hakurikijwe akarere bavukamo n'ibyerekezo byabo bya poritiki. Hakozwe igenzura muri etamajoro, ibintu bigaragara ko ari byo. Abawofisiye bamwe ntavuga amazina, mbere yo kujya muri iyo nama mu rugo kwa Minisitiri w'intebe, inama ahari batari bazi icyo yari igamije mbere, babanje kubimenyesha jenerali Nzabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro, kubera ko batashakaga kujya mu nama yateguwe n'umuyobozi wo mu rwego rwa poritiki etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu itabizi. Jenerali Déogratias Nsabimana yaboheje kujyayo kubera ko, kuri we, nta washoboraga kwanga kujya mu nama atazi icyigamije. Bavuye mu nama, abo bawofisiye bakoreye raporo umukuru wabo. Abawofisiye bamaganye igitekerezo cya kudeta, bumvisha Minisitiri w'intebe ibihe bitabemereraga gukoresha imbaraga, mu gihe havugwaga amashyaka menshi n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Namaze kwibutsa ko, n'iyo bari kuba bifuza ko ibintu bihinduka, abawofisiye b'ingabo ntigashakaga kwishyira mu maboko y'Inkotanyi ku mpamvu z'ishema no gukunda igihugu. Icyifuzo nk'icyo cyarabatunguye kandi nta wushobora gukora kudeta arwanisha umutwe. Hagomba gukorwa umugambi no kumenya neza ko igice kinini cy' ingabo cyemera impamvu yayo, kandi ibyo nta wari kubyizera na busa. Kubera ko ibintu

byihuse, nta perereza rirambuye ryakozwe[172].”

Iyo nkuru irunzemo ibinyoma: ubuhamya bwose bw’bari bahari burabyemeza, nta na rimwe higeze habaho ikibazo cy’umugambi w’imyivumbagatanyo[173]. Mu by’ukuri, n’uwiga guhirika ubutegetsi yari kuba yigwijeho abafasha babizobereyemo kurusha umukumbi we w’abasuzofisiye cyangwa abawofisiye b’abasore badafite ubuzobere mu rwego rwa gisirikare n’urwa politki kugira ngo agere ku mushinaga nk’uwo. Tuributsa nanone, kugira ngo dusobanure ubumenyi buke bwa Minisitiri w’intebe mu byo gukora kudeta, umuwofisiye umwe gusa wari watumiwe, kandi utari igihagraro na gito cya poritiki, yagize ubwitonzi bwo kwirngera amenyesha urwego rumukuriye, kubera kudahubuka nk’uwanditse iriya mirongo yo hejuru, rwaretse inama ikaba maze ku munsi ukurikiyeho bugaha amakuru RTLM n’itangazamakuru rya biracitse kugira ngo batere “bombe” ititazwa yo mu itangazamakuru. Igice cy’iyo nkuru cyatanzwe na perezida wa MRND, cyari cyaravuzwe mu bindi bihe[174], gishimangira igitekerezo ko ibyo byari, nk’uko bisa n’ibigaragazwa n’amagambo anyuranye y’abayobozi n’abaminisitiri bo muri MRND cyangwa aya Jean Kambanda, amatiku yo ku nshuro ya kenshi yo guhungabanya Minisitiri w’intebe, yategurwaga n’abamurwanyaga bo ku ruhande rushigikiye perezida.

Ku byerekeye ingingo, ku buryo bunyuranye n’abandi bayobozi ba MDR n’ab’uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, Agata Uwiringiyimana yakoresheje iyo nama nta

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[172] Matayo Ngirumpatse, *Amarorerwa y’uRwanda,op.cit.*p. 156

[173] Reba umugereka wa 41. Biratangaje cyane kuba Misiyo ishinzwe amakuru y’inteko y’Abafaransa yaremeje icyo gitekerezo ikanashyira mu nyandiko yayo ibintu birimo amakosa: “Muri uwo mubonano, Minisitiri w’intebe, amaze kubona idindizwa ry’igikorwa cy’Arusha kandi yitwaje iterabwoba ku banyacyubahiro bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, yaba yarasabye guhirika Yuvenari Habyarimana. Abawofisiye bababaranangiye, bamwe bakanajya ndetse kumenyesha perezida icyo kiganiro. Radio RTLM yatangaje ibyo bintu nta magambo yongeyeho.” (INTEKO ISHINGA AAMATEGEKO Y’IGIHUGU CY’UBUFARANSA, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, igitabo cyavuzwe,* t.I , impap. 229-230).

[174] Mu rugendo i Nairobi ku itariki ya 27 Mata, Matayo Ngirumpatse, aherekejwe na Justin Mugenzi, abari bashinzwe imishyikirano ya Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho, yaravuze-nk’uko Filip Reyntjens abitindaho- ngo “Minisitiri w’intebe yari yatumije inama[ku itariki ya 4 mu rugo iwe] abawofisiye bake bakuru maze ababwira icyifuzo cye cyo gukorera perezida kudeta” (Filip REYNTJENS, *Rwanda: iminsi itatu yahinduye amateka,* CEDAF/L’Harmattan, Paris, 1995, urupap. 33, icyitonderwa 46).

cyo ahisha na busa ku buryo, utitaye ku byavugwaga hose, atari yarigeze yemera ibyifuzo byo gushyigikira Inkotanyi bya Faustin Twagiramungu. Mu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, yari ku buryo budahishe mu "bantu bakunda ubwigenge", kimwe na Emmanuel Gapyisi na Félicien Gatabazi, ni ukuvuga abataremeraga ko Inkotanyi zigarurira ubutegetsi. Ntiyatinyaga, mu biganiro byabo, kubibwira imbonankubone Yuvenari Habyarimana: "Sindi Faustin Twagiramungu", "Sindi inkotanyi", "Mfata ibyemezo nka Minisitiri w'intebe[175]",nb.. Nanone, imyitwarire rusange ya Agata Uwiringiyimana, wafatwaga nk'urwanya perezida wabyiyemeje, yari ishingiye ku biganiro by'imbonankubone akenshi kandi bityaye bagiranaga, bitagiraga aho bihuriye n'amagambo yo mu rwego mpuzamahanga indorerezi zari zimenyereye. Ariko ibyo ntibyabuzaga kujya inama no kugira impungenge zimwe ku bibazo bikomeye.

Hakurikijwe umwuka wa poritiki w'icyo gihe, nta wabura nyamara kwibutsa ko iyobora ry'inama nk'iyo rikozwe na Minisitiri w'intebe ryatewe, muri make, n'ubushishozi buke (ubuhubutsi) mu rwego rwa poritiki. Kwakira ku mugaragaro mu rugo iwe abasirikare kubera ko bava hamwe byarengaga ku ibwiriza riteruye ryashakaga ko abongabo bativanga mu rwego rwa poritiki kandi ntiberekane aho babogamiye[176]. Niba ukwishongora atari ko kwari kugamijwe kuri uwo mugoroba, Agata Uwiringiyimana yakururiraga abatumirwa be ibibazo bitoroshye, n'ubwo etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu, ibonye ko inyungu zo mu rwego rwa poltiki z' iyamamaza rikozwe n'ibinyamakuru zihagije, ntiyashatse kwisebya ifatira ibihano abasuzofisiye n'abawofisiye b'abasore kandi batamenyereye akazi bari bageretsweho imyitwarire y'abantu b'abihanduzacumu bivumbuye.

Ibyo ari byo byose ingaruka z'iyo nama ntizari zoroshye kandi kuri iyo ngingo,

[175] Ikiganiro kuri terefone n'umunyacyubahiro ukomeye wo muri MRND, 18 Gicurasi 2009.

[176] Twibutse ariko ko iryo bwiriza ahangaha ryarebaga gusa abawofisiye bo mu Majyepfo. Ntibyari kuboneka neza gutangazwa n'uko abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki n' urwa gisirikare bakomoka mu Majyaruguru (abakiga) baterana kugira ngo bajye impaka kuri poritiki cyangwa nanone, gutekereza kuvuga icyo gihe ubugambanyi cyangwa ukwitandukanya....

umwanzuro wa Matayo Ngirumpatse usobanura neza umwuka wa poritiki ushyushye bikabije kandi urangwa n'urwikekwe rusange w' icyo gihe:

> "birashoboka kandi ko icyifuzo cya kudeta cyaba cyarateye abanzi ba perezida ubwoba maze bakihutisha iyicwa rye, batinya kuvubwamo kwari kuba kubi nyuma y'ivumburwa ry'ubwo bugambanyi bwari buyobowe na Minsitiri w'intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana[177]."

Nkuko ubuhamya bwinshi bubyemeza, abantu benshi b' "intagondwa" z'ubutegetsi bari mu bakomeje cyangwa abashatse kwemeza ukuri kw'iryo terabwoba ry' "abanyenduga", cyane cyane kubera ko byahuye n'inama z'abakuru b'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu hamwe n'inkotanyi. Kuri bo, ubugambanyi bw'abasirikare bo mu Majyepfo ntibwashobraga gutegurwa kandi ngo bugire icyo bugeraho butifatanyije n'Inkotanyi.

Ariko ubugambanyi ntibwagarukiye aho. Muri ako kavuyo, Matayo Ngirumpatse, perezida wa MRND na Augustin Ndindiliyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya jandarumori, na bo baketsweho kwifatanya na Agata Uwiringiyimana (ari na yo nkomoko y'amabeshyuza yabo akomeye). Ubwumvikane bwabakekwagaho hamwe n'Abatutsi n' ''ibyitso" bizwi bwongeye gushyirwa imbere. Uwa mbere kubera ko yari ashyigikiye ku buryo butajegajega Robert Kajuga-perezida wa Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'Interahamwe, waregwaga kuba umukozi w'Inkotanyi n'abakiga bo muri "komite ibangikanye" bari bashyizweho na Nzirorera-na Kassim Turatsinze (maneko wa Minuar, "icyitso", reba imbere cyane [umutwe wa 6]), uwa kabiri kubera ubucuti bwamukekwagaho n'Agata Uwiringiyimana n'abawofisiye "MDR", kubera abasirikare b'Abatutsi bamurindaga, kubera kuyobora, afatanyije na Minuar, ibikorwa byo gushaka ahahishe intwaro z'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe, n'ibindi.

Uretse ko biswe ubwabo nk'abashoboraga kugira inyungu muri kudeta yateguwe n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegtsi hamwe n'abawofiyiye b'abanyanduga (bo mu Majyepfo)-bari kwihanganira ko umwe aba umukuru w'igihugu, undi akaba umukuru w'ingabo-,

[177] Matayo Ngirumpatse, *Amarorerwa y'uRwanda,op. cit.* p. 156.

ariko Matayo Ngirumpatse nanone yarezwe kuba ku isonga ryayo ashyira muri icyo gikorwa Komite yo ku rwego rw'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe (reba umugereka wa 42).

Kubera ko igihe cy'ishyirwaho ry'inzego cyari cyegereje, ihishurwa ry'ingirakamaro ry'igerageza ryo kwivumbura ryahaga Yozefu Nzirorera umwanya atitzeraga wo kwikiza abanyanduga, abantu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi n'abashyigikiye Arusha bo muri MRND n'abifatanyije na bo mu ngabo. Ibirego binyuranye byagejejwe kuri perezida Habyarimana, wasabye ibisobanuro akanatumiza Robert Kajuga-ikintu kitari gisanzwe ku muntu wari ufite imyitwarire "y'ingegera"(kandi w'Umututsi)- kuva ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo avuye i Dar es- Salaam.

Iryo tiku rya Yozefu Nzirorera ryashoboraga kugaragara ku mpamvu nyinshi nk'ukugerageza kwa nyuma kugira ingufu ku cyemezo cya Yuvenari Habyarimana cyo kujya cyangwa kutajya mu "nzibacyuho". Yari azi neza ko Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yararekuriye umwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka Matihieu Ngirumpatse kubera ko umugambi wonyine wo guhindura MRND ishyaka rifite imizi yaguye mu gihugu wamuhaga amahirwe yo kuvana intsinzi mu matora, ibyo Yozefu Nzirorera n'imyitwarire ye y'umunyaporitiki w'umukiga uvangura akaba atarabishoboraga. Ariko Yozefu Nzirorera, kimwe na Yuvenari Habyarimana, yari azi nanone ko nta na rimwe abanyacyubahiro b'abakiga bari ku butegetsi, ari na bo mizi yabo ya poritiki isanzwe, batari kwemera itangwa ry'ubutegetsi ryari kubambura bidasubirwaho.

Guhindurwa inyamaswa, byakorwaga kuri gahunda y'abawofisiye b'abakiga hanyuma ku ya RTLM, kw'Agata Uwiringiyimana, abawofisiye b'abanyanduga, Matayo Ngirumpatse n'umukuru wa etamajoro ya jandarumori, hamwe n'isaba ry'igihano cy'intangarugero ryagejejwe kuri perezida ryerekanaga neza ubushake bwo kumwemeza ko akemura noneho amakimbirane hagati ya Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera, ko arenga igongana ry'irari ry'ubutegetsi ry'abantu agahagarika umukino we w'iringaniza kandi ko mbere yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano, ahitamo uruhande

imbere y'Inkotanyi zitari zigishaka kujya mu mishyikirano. Yuvenari Habyarimana amaze gutanga uburenganzira kwo gufatira ibihano abasirikare bari kwa Agata Uwiringiyimana no gutumiza Robert Kajuga, Yozefu Nzirorera yashoboraga gukeka ko noneho yatsinze umukino ku buryo budasubirwaho.

Ni yo mpamvu, imvugo ya Matayo Ngirumpatse ku isano hagati y'ibyo bintu n'iyicwa rya Habyarimana yari ifite ishingiro, kubera ko amakimbirane adahishe ku isonga ry'ishyaka ryashinzwe n'"umubyeyi w'igihugu", umuntu wa nyuma wari utarahindutse kugeza icyo gihe mu ruhando rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu, utitaye ku gihagararo cy'ishusho ye, yari ahangayikishije cyane imikoranire y'ingufu z'imbere mu gihugu n'izinyuma yacyo kandi yongeraga cyane ibyago byo kugwa mu mvururu n'igihirahiro igikorwa cy'Arusha cyari cyaranyuzemo.

Igihe Habyarimana yajyaga i Dar es-Salaam gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro, amahitamo yabonaga kugira ngo ahe imigabane abashoboraga kuba abaragwangoma be yongeraga igongana rishingiye ku turere kandi yagabanyirizaga imbaraga igihagararo cy'ishyaka mu ruhando rwa poritiki y'igihugu mu gihe kibi cyane. (Ihitamo) Irya mbere ryari ukwemera ukwiregura kw'abaketsweho kwivumbura no gutera inkunga umugambi wa Matayo Ngirumpatse we ubwe yari gushyira mu bikorwa asinya amasezerano y'Arusha.

Mu mbibi zari zarashyizweho n'amasezerano, ubwisanzure Matayo Ngirumpatse yaharaniraga (cyane cyane imbere ya Faustin Twagiramungu) bwahaga amaherezo uburenganzira inyota zo kwifatanya, haba mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho cyangwa muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye hagati y'amashyaka n'ingufu za poritiki by'imbere mu gihugu. Ubwo amajwi y'abadepite b'Inkotanyi n'ibyifuzo by'abaminisitiri bazo byari kugira imbaraga zidafashe ku byemezo. Irya kabiri ryari ukwegezayo Matayo Ngirumpatse kandi, habaho cyangwa hatabaho umukono w'Arusha, "uburenganzira" bukaba buhawe imibanire ikaze kandi y'igihe kirekire hamwe n'Inkotanyi n'abazishyigikiye mu nzego z'inzibacyuho.

Ibyo ari byo byose iyo, nk'uko byari byitezwe, Yuvenari Habyarimana atari kwivanaho ishyigikirwa ry'abo banyacyubahiro bombi, cyangwa kwemera ko MRND

icikamo mu gihe cyi guhangana n'iyinjira ritoroshye mu "nzibacyuho", yashoboraga gusa gusaba Matayo Ngirumpatse kugerageza kwihangana no kwiyoroshya kugira ngo adashotora urund rw' "intagondwa" rwa MRND- rwagombaga kumvishwa ko isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro ritari ugukuramo akarenge imbere y'ibyifuzo by'Inkotanyi. Mu gihe gikomeye, nanone, byasaga n'aho Yuvenari Habyarimana ari we wenyine wari ufite ingufu za poritiki zo kujya hejuru y'ayo makimbirane no kwambutsa inyanja y'amasezerano uruhande rushyigikiye perezida.

Nk'uko tuzabibona, iryo subiranamo muri MRND hagati ya Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera, ryinjizagamo ku buryo buziguye Komite y'Interahamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu n'abagize Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, ryateye ingorane ku buryo bukomeye ibyemezo byafashwe ku itariki ya 7 mu gitondo, mu nama hagati y'abayobozi ba MRND naThéoneste Bagossora (reba umutwe wa 7). MRND yasanze yasubiye nanone guhangana n'ibibazo bimwe aho "abivumbuye" bombi, bari barashyizwe mu gatebo kamwe ku buryo bukabije kandi bahabwaga ububasha n'amategeko (Matayo Ngirumpatse nka perezida wa MRND n'Agata Uwiringiyimana nka Minisitiri w'intebe wa guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi yari ishinzwe gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho) basanze, batabishaka, bahuye kugira ngo barangize inshingano zabo.

Muri iyo minsi y'ishyuha ry'imitwe rikabije, igice kinini cyane cy'Abanyarwanda, abaturage kimwe n'abanyaporitiki, bari barasobanukiwe, babyemera batabyenera, ko isimbura rya Yuvenari Habyarimana ritari rikigezweho. Kuri bamwe, ubwoba bw'ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi ryahaga ishingiro poritiki yo "kurengera igihugu" inyuma ya perezida, ku bandi, impungenge y'ukwigarurira ubutegetsi kw'abantu bashyikiye Abahutu bo mu murongo ukaze yabasunikiraga mu maboko y'Inkotanyi.

Ingamba z'ukurokoka mu rwego rwa poritiki kw "abaharanira demokarasi"

Igerageza rya nyuma ryo kwirinda no kurokoka by'urhande rurwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu ryari ryaratekerejweho mu byumweru byabanzirije ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho, nk'uko umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND abitangaho ubuhamya:

> "Nta bwo nzi inama yihariye yagenewe ishyirwaho ry'umutwe wo kwihimura mu rwego rwa giririkare. Ibyo ari byo byose, mu ntangiriro y'ukwezi kwa gatatu 1994, nagiye mu nama y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yo kumvikana ku cyatuma hashyirwaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Muri iyo nama, havugiwemo ko, nba guverinoma idashyizweho vuba, hari ubwoba ko imitwe yitwara gisirikare yajya mu bikorwa byo kwica abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi kandi ko, yitwaje akavuyo, perezida yatangaza ibihe bikomeye agasesa ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha, avuga ko abaturage banze ayo masezerano. Dogiteri Théoneste Gafaranga [Umuhutu w'I Gitarama, PSD], yasabye ko uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rushyiraho umutwe witwara gisirikare wo kwirwanaho kugira ngo urinde abayobozi bawo. Yasabye ko hafatwa urubyiruko rwizewe, rukoherezwa ku Mulindi, aho rwahabwa ihugurwa rya ngombwa n'inzobere z'Inkotanyi. Yatanze icyizere ko Inkotanyi zemeraga ubwo buryo. Ariko nta cyemezo cyafashwe muri iyo nama[178]."

Ariko, mbere y'ihana ry'ubutegetsi nyaryo n'ikara ry'umwuka wa poritiki ryari ryitezwe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye ikimara kujyaho, abayobosi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bumvaga rwose ikibazo cyo kwirinda cyihutirwa. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gatatu (Mata), ahagana ku itariki ya 28, inama yo kubitegura yabereye kuri Hôtel des Mille Collines harimo Faustin Twagiramungu wo muri MDR n'abayobozi banyuranye b'amashyaka, barimo Aaron Makuba wo muri PSD, Landoald Ndasingwa wo muri PL, Frédéric Nzamurambaho wo muri PSD, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi wo muri PSD, Jean-Népomuscène wo muri PDC...kugira ngo batekereze ku buryo bwo gucunga umutekano w'abarwanashyaka n'abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

Icyo gihe ni bwo bagiwe impaka ku itegura ry'inama z'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki hamwe n'abasirikare bakomoka mu maperfegitura yabo begereye amashyaaka yabo. Urutonde rw'inama Agata yatangije ku itariki ya 1 Mata ahuza

[178] Ubuhamya bw'umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND, inyandiko bwite, 21 Werurwe 2004.

abawofisiyebo mu Majyepfo mu rugo iwe. Imwe mu ngingo z'ingenzi z'impaka zo mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe, Minisitiri w'intebe ashobora kuba ataramenyeshejwe, yari yerekeye ishyirwaho ry'umutwe wo "kwirwanaho hakoreshejwe intwaro". Ntiyari azi nanone ahari ko mu batumirwa be harimo umucrunzi wagemuriraga Inkotanyi intwaro i Kigali. Ingemu y'imbunda 800 yari yarashyitse ivuye muri Kenya, kandi Inkotanyi zagombaga kwishingira gutoza abarwanashyaka bo mu rubyiruko rw'amashyaka[179].

Muri rusange, ukutava ku izima kw'Inkoyanyi icyo gihe kwarakoraga ku mugaragaro kugira ngo zitegeke abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi guhitamo uruhande begamiyeho.

> "Ambasaderi wa Tanzaniya yakoresheje ku itariki ya 2 Mata 1994 inama yahuzga intumwa z'Inkotanyi n'abahagarariye MDR kugira ngo bumvikane ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye[52]. Nayigiyemo ubwanjye. Intumwa z'Inkotanyi zarimo Seth Sendashonga, Tito Rutaremara na Abdul Harelimana. Sinibuka niba Patrck Mazimpaka yari ahari. Ibibazo byose bitarangiye (abagize guverinoma, ihezwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bo mu byerekezo "Hutu Power", ubwiyunge muri MDR no mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi mu nzira ya demokarasi, ubufatanye hagati y'Inkotanyi n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi mu nzira ya demokarasi) byarakemuwe, uretse kimwe: iyinjizwa rya CDR mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Intumwa z'Inkotanyi zarwanyije zivuye inyuma ukwemerwa kw'umudepite wo muri CDR mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho, ibyo byica icyizere cyose cyo kuva mu biihe bikomeye. Nibukije intumwa z'Inkotanyi ko icyemezo cyabo cyaganishaga ku idindiza ry'ibintu kandi ko cyashoboraga kuganisha ku isenyuka ry'igikorwa cy'amahoro, rikurikiwe n'ibikorwa by'abagizi bwa nabi. Seth Sendashonga yasubije ko Inkotanyi nta

[179] Dismas Nsengiyareme, wahoze ari Minisitri w'intebe, Boniface Ngulinzira, wahose ari minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga na Faustin Twagiramungu, Minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha bari mu nama mu mwanya wa MDR.

> kintu na kimwe zashoboraga kurekura kandi ko ukubaho kw'imvururu nta cyo kwari kubabwiye na busa. Ibyo ari byo byose, "nta wuteka umureti atamennye amagi kandi, MRND niyibeshya igatangiza imirwano, Inkotanyi ziteguye kwihagararaho no gufata ubutegetsi mu gihe kitageze icyumweru." Namubajije niba yari yaratekereje ku nzirakarengane zashoboraga kubigwamo maze yongeraho ngo: "ntizizaba nyinshi: wenda ibihumbi bitanu cyangwa zibaye nyinshi ibihumbi makumyabiri." Inama yarangiye mu gahinda gasa, abayijemo batari Inkotanyi bumva amakuba ashobora kubaho kandi yegereje. Nyuma yaho, navuganye na Thaddée Bagaragaza [Hutu, Ruhengeri, MDR] kugira ngo mumenyshe uko ibintu bimeze kandi nshaka indi nzira byanyuramo. Twafashe icyemezo cyo kuvugisha Musenyeri Thaddée Nsengiyumva w'i Kabgayi tukamusaba kotsa igitutu Habyarimana kugira ngo ave kuri CDR maze igihugu kireke gusubira mu ntambara. Iryo hura ryabereye i Kabgayi ku itariki ya 4 y'ukwezi kwa kane (Mata) 1994; Musenyeri Thaddée yemeye gukora ubwo butumwa. Sinigeze menya niba yarashoboye kuburangiza, kubera ko ibintu byahereyeko byihuta kandi bigahitana Musenyeri Tadeyo[180]."

Habaye indi nama hamwe n'abayobozi b'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 6 Mata mu mpera z'igicamunsi kuri ambasade ya Tanzaniya (amabsaderi adahari, kubera ko yari yagiye mu mpaka i Dar es Salaam) yarimo Patrick Mazimpaka, Seth Sendashonga, Tito Rutaremara, Abdul Harelimana, Aaron Makuba, Faustin Twagiramungu, Landouald Ndasingwa na Boniface Ngulinzira. Yari iyo gufata imyanzuro ku bwifatanye hagati y' "abarwanya ubutegetsi" n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'Inkotanyi[181]. Ibangikana ry'impande

[180] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wo muri MRND, inyandiko bwite, 21 Werurwe 2004.

[181] Kurya inzira itabwira umugenzi, ku itariki ya 6 Mata ku gicamunsi, mu gihe Faustin Twagiramungu yari mu nama zo kungurana ibitekerezo n'Inkotanyi, Agata Uwilingiyimana we yari ari kujya impaka n'umuyobozi mukuru wo muri MRND ku buryo bwo kumvisha Faustin Twagiramungu kwitandukanya n'Inkotanyi. Koko rero, Agata ntiyari agishaka "kugwa mu mutego w'Inkotanyi", "kugamburuzwa n'ibyifuzo byazo", "kwemera idindizwa ry'imishyikirano" (ikiganiro cyihariye umwanditsi yagiranye n'uwaganiriye na nyirubwite, 18 Gicurasi 2009). Iyo ngingo ku bwa njye irakomeye cyane kandi irashimangira ibyo twavuze ku mwanya wihariye Agata Uwilingiyimana yari afite mu bayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

ebyiri ryari rirangiye.

Haba ku rwego rw'imibare cyangwa urw'inkurikizi za poritiki, ikibazo cy'iyinjira rya CDR mu nzego z'inzibacyuho cyari ikintu gikomeye: ku ruhande rumwe, ubwiganze bwashakwaga bw'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho (ANT)bwari bushingiye ku ijwi rimwe cyangwa abiri kandi, ku rundi, ibyari byarakozwe n'ibitekerezo bikaze by'iryo shyaka byarigiraga ikibazo cy'umwihariko. Ariko, imbere y'abari mu mishyikirano bbo mu rwego mpuzamahanga n'abavugizi babo, ambasaderi w'Amerika n'uhagarariye Papa, icyihutirwaga kidakuka icyo gihe cyari gufata imyanzuro vuba no gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho. Witegereje uburemere bw'ibyashoboraga gushyikira icyo gikorwa, byari nanone kuba byiza ko CDR ihyirwamo ku mugaragaro aho kuyigira inzirakarengane ihejwe mu rubuga rwa poritiki. Nyuma y'ibiganiro byatangaga icyizere hagati y'abayobozi ba CDR n'ab'Inkotanyi byari byakoreshejwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu kwezi kwa gatatu hagati, intumwa zari mu mishyikirano zafashe icyemezo cy'Inkotanyi cyo kwanga ku munota wa nyuma ko umudepite wa CDR yinzira mu nzego z'inzibacyuho nka nyirabayazana, cyangwa se nibura nk'imwe mu bihato byo gushyira amasezerano y'Arusha mu bikorwa. Abari mu mishyikirano kabone n'abari basanzwe bashyigikira ibitekerezo by'Inkotanyi batangiye kwibaza bikomeye ku bushake bwazo bwo gushyiraho inzego [z'inzibacyuho]. Nkuko ba bayobozi babiri b' Umuryango w'Abibumbye bari bashinzwe gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh na Roméo Dallaire, babigaragaje, n'ubwo bari bafite impamvu zitandukanye cyane zo gushingiraho ibyo bavugaga, bahurizaga ku ngingo imwe: Imishyikirano y'amahoro yari imaze urwayo (reba umugereka wa 39).

Muri icyo gihe, byagendaga bigaragara ko gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho abari kubigiramo amahirwe agaragara ari perezida Habyarimana, MRND n'abafatanyije na yo. Naho Ikotanyi zo, icyizere cyo kugira umwanya mwiza mu ruhando rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu cyagendaga kiyoyoka.

Mu cyiciro cyakurikiyeho, kubura kw'intambara byerekanye ko impungenge

z’intumwa zari zihagarariye UMuryango w’Abibumbye zari zifite ishingiro. Mbere yo gusuzuma iby’iryo birinduka riteye agahinda ariko, ni ngombwa kubanza kugira icyo tuvuga kuri zimwe mu ngufu zikomeye zo mu rwego rwa poritiki zagombaga kugira uruhare rukomeye muri uwo mwuka mushya : urubyiruko rwambariye urugamba.

6

Ipiganwa ryo kwigarurira imitwe y'urubyiruko

Ku bwa Matayo Ngirumpatse, perezida wa Muvoma, ushyigikiye ihame ry'uko amatsinda y'insoresore yavumbutse atyo gusa kimwe n'itsembatsemba, byari ngombwa kwemeza ko urukubo rwa poritiki y'uRwanda rwagengwaga n'ibitekerezo bya kimarayika, kandi ko irari ryumvikana ry'abanyaporitiki ryigaragarizaga mu mpaka z'abanyabwenge zakemurwaga amaherezo n'igereranya ry'ibyo abaharanira ubutegetsi bakoze n'ibyo bashoboye. Aravuga ko umuryango wa poritiki w'*Interahamwe* wiremye ubwawo :

> « Nuko rero hari hari ho n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka rya MRND, *Interahamwe*, rutaremwe n'ishyaka, kandi ibi ndabitsindagira cyane. Abantu ntibakwiriye kugumana urujijo mu mitwe yabo. *Interahamwe*, urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, ntizaremwe n'ishyaka. Ni abasore biyemeje ubwabo kwirema mo ishyaka »[182].

> « Ni bo bitoreye ubwabo komite nyobozi yabo, bashyikiriza perezida Habyarimana umushinga wabo, hanyuma bawugeza no ku nzego z'ishyaka. Ni iki cyababwirije gukora ibyongibyo ? Ni irari kamere ryo kwirwana ho gusa. Koko rero, gahunga z'andi mashyaka wari uwo gukoresha iterabwoba kugira ngo bahatire Abanyarwanda kuyoboka ishyaka rya FPR, irya MDR n'irya PSD, cyangwa se kwimura Muvoma. […] Abasore benshi ntibihanganiye ako

[182] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, KO129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1Ukwakira 1999.*

gasuzuguro »[183].

Ku muntu w'inararibonye nka we, aya mahomvu ye aratunguranye, kandi atuma ubwunganizi bwe buba igugu kurusha ho, umuntu arebye gusa amateka y'izo nsoresore. Koko rero, *ishya* ry'abaziremye ryari riteye agashyari abandi bayobozi b'abanyaporitiki bashakaga abarwanashyaka muri ibyo bihe bitoroshye. *Interahamwe* zaremwe mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy'umwaka wa 1991. Itsinda ry'ikubitiro ryari rigizwe n'abasore b'i Kigali, Abahutu n'Abatutsi, bari mu ikipi y'umupira w'amaguru yitwaga « Loisirs » yari ishyigikiwe na Desideri Murenzi, wari umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo Petrorwanda, akaba no muri komite ya perefegitura y'ishyaka rya MRND muri Kigali ngari[184]. Muri icyo gihe, we yashakaga kurema, afatiye ku rugero rw'amashyirahamwe, amatsinda y'abarwanashyaka bo mu rwego rw'ibanze bashoboraga kurebera ku mikorere y'ukunyonya kw'Abahamya ba Yehova, kugira ngo bamamaze amatwara ya Muvoma.

Yari agamije no kubumbira hamwe abasore bifuzaga kurwanya ihohoterwa ry'abayoboke ba Muvoma ryari ryiganje mu tugari tumwe na tumwe tw'i Kigali nka za Nyamirambo, mu mugambi ugira uti « Abakiga basubire mu Rukiga ». Desideri Murenzi yari akikijwe na Rubereti Kajuga, perezida w'ikipi y'umupira, Eriki Karekezi[185], n'abaje kurema Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe, nka Bujeni Mbarushimana[186] na Diyedone Niyitegeka[187]. Aba ni bo bari bagize icyaje kwitwa Komite nshingwabikorwa yemewe n'amategeko. Abari muri iyo Komite ubusanzwe bahuriraga mu nama ku wa gatatu nyuma ya saasita, mu nyubako iri hafi ya minisiteri y'Imigambi ya Leta, ikaba iya

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[183] *Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, La Tragédie rwandaise[Amarorerwa yo muRwanda], op. cit., p. 69.*

[184] *Incuti ya Karori Nyandwi, umwe mu banyaporitiki bakomeye ba perefegitura ya Kigali, wabaye minisitiri mu myaka ya 1981 n'umudepite utanyeganyezwa, Desideri Murenzi na we yabaye umwe mu bagize Komitey'igihugu ya Muvoma kuva muri Kongere yo muri Mata 1992.*

[185] *Umututsi w'i Kigali, muramu wa Bonavantura Habimana (Kigali ngari), umunyamabanga mukuru wa Muvoma kuva mu wa 1975 kugeza mu wa 1991.*

[186] *Bujeni Mbarushimana akomoka mu muryango ukomeye wo mu Bugoyi. Yarongoye umwe mu bakobwa ba Felisiyani Kabuga, Wini Musabeyezu. « Sekuruza » wabo yabyaranye n'abagore benshi abana bagera kuri mirongo itatu hanyuma bose abitirira izina rye.*

[187] *Diyedone Niyitegeka (Umuhutu wari ufite nyina w'Umututsi, komini Shyanda, Butare, MRND), yarezwe n'umuryango wa Aloyizi Munyangaju (Astrida). Uyu yari mu bagize Inama y'igihugu ya mbere yashyizwe ho n'abategetsi b'Ababirigi mu wa 1953, akaba n'umwe mu bashinze ishyaka rya Aprosoma hamwe na Tewodori Sindikubwabo. Diyedone Niyitegeka yarongoye murumuna w'umugore wa Yuvenari Renzaho (Ruhengeri, MRND). Uyu yari umujyanama mu bya poritiki muri perezidansi ya Repuburika. Yitabye Imana ku ya 6 Mata 1994 hamwe na perezida Habyarimana yaherekezaga mu ngendo ze.*

Vedasiti Rubangura, umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi w'i Kigali, wari waremereye ishyaka rya MRND gukoresha igipande kimwe cy'ibyumba byari muri iyo nzu[188]. Inama zahuzaga abantu bagera kuri magana abiri, badashabukiye cyane ibya poritiki, bakomoka mu nzego zinyuranye, bari baziranyi neza kandi bagahuzwa n'imikino ngororamubiri cyangwa se ibikorwa biterekeye akazi kabo.

Uko inama zikurikiranyaga kandi abazitabira bagenda barusha ho kuba benshi, abanyaporitiki bo muri Muvoma babibonye mo inyungu maze na bo bagira umwete wo kuziza mo. Muri bo habonekaga cyane cyane Matayo Ngirumpatse, Karori Nyandwi, Farasisiko Karera, superefe ushinzwe ibya poritiki n'ubutegetsi muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari[189], Enoki Ruhigira, umukuru w'ibiro bya Perezida. Abo banyaporitiki bakomeye bazaga gutara amakuru bakanashishikazwa no gukurikirana icyo gikorwa gishyashya Desideri Murenzi yibwirije. Igihe babaga bagendereye urwo rubyiruko rwari rwaranze kwimukira mu gipande cy'amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, abo bayobozi bababwiraga amagambo yo kubatera akanyabugabo.

> « Kuva nakwinjira mu mutwe w'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma, nibwiye ko Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo na Nyandwi Karori bari ababyeyi ba Murenzi Desideri muri poritiki. Uko ari batatu bakomokaga muri Kigali ngari, kandi Ngirumpatse Matayo na Nyandwi Karori babonaga ko, kubera ikigero cye, Murenzi Desideri yashoboraga kuba umukangurambaga mwiza w'urubyiruko[190]. »

Mu Kuboza 1991, Desideri Murenzi na Matayo Ngirumpatse wari perezida wa Muvoma muri perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali icyo gihe, babwiye abakangurambaga ko

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[188] *Eduwaridi Karemera na we yari ahafite ibiro nk'umwunganizi mu by'amategeko wikorera ku giti cye.*

[189] *Ni we watanze igitekerezo cy'izina Interahamwe Za Muvoma. Kwinjira mu Nterahamwe kwa Joriji Rutaganda na Feneyasi Ruhumuriza ni perezida Habyarimana ubwe wabyigiriye mo, kandi nyamara Matayo Ngirumpatse yari perezida wa MRND muri perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali. Ubwo perezida yabonaga ari ngombwa rwose kugira aho gushinga ibirindiro mu « banzi » bo muri perefegitura ya Gitarama. Amafaranga ya mbere yashowe muri icyo gikorwa yatanzwe na Pasiteri Musabe, umuyobozi mukuru wa BACAR (Banki y'Umusi wa Afurika muRwanda), akaba na muramu wa Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora. Uretse Joriji Rutaganda na Feneyasi Ruhumuriza, ikipi ishinzwe iby'Interahamwe muri Gitarama yari ihagaze neza kuko hari mo na Izaki Kamari (undi muramu wa Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora) na Yohani – Mariya – Viyane Mudahinyuka wari ufita akazina ka « Zuzu » (Reba: André GUICHAOUA, Butare, perefegitura y'icyigomeke, op.cit., t.1, p.89-90).*

[190] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora* kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 42-43.

perezida Habyarimana yifuzaga kubonana n'intumwa zabo icumi kugira ngo baganire ku ntego n'ibikorwa by'urwo rubyiruko. Ziyobowe na Desideri Murenzi, izo ntumwa zari zigizwe na Rubereti Kajuga, Joriji Rutaganda, Feneyasi Ruhumuriza, Bujeni Mbarushimana, Diyedone Niyitegeka, Efuremu Nkezabera, Isimayeri Kayitare, Yohani - Mariya -Viyane Mudahinyuka, Arufonsi Kanimba na Yozefu Serugendo. Umubonano wabereye muri hoteri *Urugwiro* ku Kacyiru. Ibiganiro byaranzwe n'ubwisanzure no kuvuga iriri ku mutima. Perezida yababwiye ko yumvise imigambi yabo kandi abasezeranya n'inkunga. « Nuko, mu kwezi kw'Ukuboza, muri zimwe mu nama zacu, Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo yari yamenyesheje ko perezida wa Repuburika, akaba kandi na perezida-fondateri wa Muvoma, yari yarumvise bavuga iby'urubyiruko rushyigikiye imigambi y'ishyaka rya MRND, bityo rero akaba yari yatumenyesheje icyifuzo cya perezida cyo kwakira intumwa zarwo ngo baganire.

> Yatubwiye kandi ko mu mibonano nk'uwo ari ngombwa kwitwaza inyandiko ikubiye mo ingingo z'ingenzi ziri buganirwe ho. […] Bityo rero, twakoze itonde ry'ibyo Muvoma idakora neza, ibyo ikora neza bigomba kongererwa ingufu, n'ibyo bayikemanga ku byerekeye isaranganya ry'imyanya ya za minisiteri n'ibindi bigo bya Leta abatavuga rumwe na yo bari barabonye mo iturufu y'urugamba rwabo. Nuko rero, twamugejeje ho ibyifuzo byacu yuko niba ashaka kubahiriza poritiki ye y'iringaniza yagombaga kuvugurura umurongo w'imyifatire ye kuri icyo kibazo kugira ngo dushobore kumushyigikira no kugira ngo azashobore gutsinda amatora mu bihe by'amashyaka menshi yari amaze kwemerwa n'itegeko. Hanyuma rero mu kwezi kw'Ukuboza, ndakeka ko hari ku wa gatandatu nyuma ya saasita ahagana saakumi, perezida yakiriye intumwa zari ziyobowe na Desideri Murenzi, nk'uko nabivuze wari waremye uwo mutwe. Inyandiko intumwa zari zitwaje yarasomwe, yunguranwa ho ibitekerezo, nuko perezida yumva aranyuzwe rwose, yemera ku mugaragaro ko azatera inkunga urwo rubyiruko rushyigikiye ishyaka rye, kandi anasezeranya ko azubahiriza ingingo zikubiye mu nyandiko bamushyikirije. […]Nyuma y'uwo mubonano ni bwo hiyandikishije abasore b'abayoboke batagira ingano kuko bari bumvise ko perezida Habyarimana yari yiyemeje kubatera inkunga ku buryo budasubirwa ho[191]. »

Uwo mutwe rero witoranyirije izina, iniforume n'ikirangantego, kandi ushyira ho

na Komite y'agateganyo yongewe ho abandi bantu batari mu gatsinda k'ikubitiro k'abayobozi bawuremye : Rubereti Kajuga (Tutsi, Kibungo) agirwa perezida, Feneyasi Ruhumuriza (Hutu, Gitarama) na Joriji Tutaganda (Hutu, Gitarama) bagirwa ba visiperezida, Bujeni Mbarushimana (Hutu, Gisenyi) aba umunyamabanga mukuru naho Diyedone Niyitegeka (Hutu, Butare) aba umubitsi. Iyo Komite yashyize ho « abajyanama » bo kuyobora za komisiyo zijya gusa na baringa zikoporora igishushanyo mbonera cy'inzego za Muvoma (*Reba umugereka 43*). Baje no gutekereza ibyo kwagurira uwo mutwe mu tundi turere tutari Kigali y'umujyi :

> « Mu by'ukuri, mu kwezi kwa Mutarama Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo, yari yarasabye abagize Komite y'igihugu gushyira ho amashami y'umutwe w'*Interahamwe* mu yandi maperefegitura. Ni kuri ubwo buryo ahagana muri Mutarama- Gashyantare [1992], abantu batatu bagiye muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi bahatangiza ishami ry'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma[192] ; iryo shami barishyize ho bakurikije uko byari bimeze i Kigali. […], Nuko, hakurikira ho ibyo kugerageza gushyira mu bikorwa icyifuza cya Bwana Ngirumpatse :
>
> Ahagana muri Werurwe- Mata, intumwa zagiye i Butare zikorana inama n'abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza y'uRwanda zibifashijwe mo n'uhagarariye Muvoma mu rwego rwa perefegitura, akaba yari n'umwarimu muri Kaminuza[193]. Byari ngombwa kwinjiza icyo gitekerezo mu banyeshuri kugira ngo babambire urubyiruko rwa PSD rwari rwiganje cyane muri iyo perefegitura. Ngibyo ibyari byarageragejwe kugeza muri Mata ku birebana n'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma[194]. »

Mu cyiciro cya kabiri, ubuyobozi bwari bwarashyizwe ho bwagombaga kuzurizwa n'itora ry'abagize inzego z'igihugu, perefegitura na komini, - itora ritigeze riba ho-.

Nyuma y'uwo mubonano wa mbere wagaragaje ko ibintu bizagenda neza, mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1992 perezida Habyarimana yatumiye Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe Za Muvoma n'abandi bayoboke benshi, mbese abantu barenze magana

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[191] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 45.*

[192] *Perezida w'iryo shami yagizwe Berenarudo Munyagishari, umusifuzi w'umupira w'amaguru mu rwego rw'igihugu.*

[193] *Uwo ni Yohani-Gwaruberi Rumiya (Tutsi, Butare, MRND).*

abiri, muri hoteri *Rebero/L''Horizon* y'i Kigali kugira ngo abifurize umwaka mushya muhire. Nuko muri icyo gitaramo perezida ashimira I*nterahamwe* umwete n'ubwitange bwazo, ariko ntiyakomoza na gato ku bushyamirane n'imirwano hagati y'imitwe y'amashyaka, itanisha ry'urubyiruko Desideri Murenzi yarwanyaga atajenjetse. Yabonaga ko uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko wari uri mo kwigarurirwa n'ibyegera bya perezida kandi we yarabigayaga. Nyuma y'aho Eliya Sagatwa amuhamagariye kandi akamushyira ho iterabwoba, igitero cyifashishije gerenade cyibasiye imodoka itwara abakozi yari ihagaze muri parikingi ya Petrorwanda muri Kamena 1992. Amaze kubona uwo muburo, Desideri Murenzi yamenyesheje abahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda banyuranye impungenge afite ku bireba umutekano we (yasabye ubuhungiro mu Burayi) maze ajya kumara iminsi nka cumi n'itanu mu Bubirigi. Aho agarukiye, yamenyeshejwe na Kasimu Turatsinze (uyu uzaba umuranguruzi « Jean-Pierre » wa Minuar, *reba ibiri bukurikire ho*) ko urupfu rwe rwari rwateganyijwe. Bimaze kugaragaro ko inzego za Leta zakagombye kubungabunga umutekano we nta byo zari zishoboreye, umuvugizi w'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda yari yatekerereje uko bimumereye yahise yaka icyanzu kwa perezida Habyarimana noneho amugeza ho atabiciye iruhande inkeke abantu bari bafitiye ibyegera bye. Muri icyo kiganiro, perezida yakomeje kugaragaza ko bimuhangayikishije, ariko arahangaza ahakana atsemba uruhare abifite mo. Desideri Murenzi abonye nta kintu perezida amumariye yumva ko yambuwe icyizere, hanyuma kubera umutekano we, ahita mo kuvana mo ake karenge. Yasezeye mu ishyaka rya MRND mu mpera za Nyakanga 1992, hanyuma ava no ku mwanya w'ubuyobozi bwa Petrorwanda.

Hagati aho, Rubereti Kajuga yari yagiranye umubano ukomeye n'abana ba perezida Habyarimana- cyane cyane umuhungu we Jean-Pierre- n'ibyegera bye nka Serafini Rwabukumba na Porotazi Zigiranyirazo. Inama z'umutwe w'urubyiruko ubwo zaberaga mu cyumba cyabugenewe cya minisiteri y'Imigambi ya Leta, yayoborwaga n'umuminisitiri wa Muvoma wo ku Gisenyi, Agusitini Ngirabatware. Ubwo ni mbere

[194] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 45.*

y'uko sebukwe, Ferisiyani Kabuga, umucuruzi, umushoramari wa Muvoma kandi bamwana wa perezida, abacumbikira muri imwe mu mazu ye.

Uruhuri rw'abahihibikaniraga kuba « ba shebuja » b'Interahamwe

Kuba Yuvenari Habyarimana n'ibyegera bye baragendaga barusha ho kwigarurira uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko byari ingamba nshya za perezida. Kubera ko ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ihuriwe mo n'amashyaka menshi byari bimugabanirije umugogoro wo gukurikiranira hafi ibikorwa bya guverinoma (nta n'ubwo yashakaga gusangira na yo umugayo wari uyitegereje) no kuba yarasezeye mu ngabo z'igihugu ku itariki ya 22 Mata 1992 kubera impamvu y' iza bukuru, Yuvenari Habyarimana yashakaga kugira umwanya uhamye muri poritiki no guhatanira imbere muri Muvoma n'abibwiraga ko ashobora guhara ubuperezida. Mu gikorwa cyo kwiyegereza urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, perezida yabonaga ko ingufu Muvoma yari iri mo kwisubiza zaturukaga ku myifatire ye yo kurigarukira abishyize mo umwete. Muri icyo gihe kandi, umutwe w'*Interahamwe* wari pepinyeri, kuva waremwa, y'abarwanashyaka biyemeje kubambira ibikorwa by'amashyaka mashya atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Bamaze kunyagwa ingufu z'igitugu bahabwaga n'ubutegetsi, ba OTP (abakomokaga mu karere ka perezida) n'abafite ibitekerezo bitunguruza bo muri Muvoma bafatiye guverinoma n'ayandi mashyaka ingamba nk'iz'amashyaka mashya arwanya Muvoma. Bakoresheje imyigaragambyo irangwa mo urugomo kandi banogereza ingamba zabo zo kurwanya *ukubohoza (Reba Incamake ya ya 6).Interahamwe* zacengeye ku bwinshi imitwe y'urubyiruko rw'andi mashyaka kugira ngo ziyasabote kandi zinyonye n'abarwanashyaka bayo b'imena. Urebye ukuntu perezida yari yarigaruriye urwo rubyiruko atitaye ku nzego zinyuranye z'ishyaka, ubwitange Matayo Ngirumpatse yakomezaga kugaragariza abayobozi b'uwo mutwe ntibwari ku busa. Yari yarumvise neza ko kwifatira *Interahamwe* byari byarahindutse umuhigo uhanitse mu gitekerezo cy'abanyaporitiki bifuzaga inkunga y'abo barwanashyaka mu kurwanira imyanya muri Muvoma no mu kwiyamamariza amatora yari ateganyijwe. Koko rero, mu rubuga rw'amashyaka menshi, kutarangwa ho umurage

w'uburwanashyaka no kutagira aho bashinze ibirindiro byabo bwite byatumaga « abanyaporitiki bato bato » badafite *Interahamwe* batarashoboraga kurota imyanya ikomeye cyangwa se kuba minisitiri… Yari azi kandi ko ibikomerezwa byo mu Rukiga bitashoboraga kwemera ko hazamuka urwego rwiganje mo abarwanashyaka bakomoka mu maperefegitura yo mu Nduga (Kajuga, Ruhumuriza, Rutaganda, Niyitegeka, Mudahinyuka, Mwarimu, nb.). Mu gihe cy'ishyirwa ho rya Komite y'agateganyo, kubangikanya abayobozi baremye umutwe w'urubyiruko n'abandi bayobozi ba za komisiyo biganje mo abo mu majyaruguru byagaragazaga ubushake bwo kwitwararika iringaniza mu « muryango ». Ni muri urwo rwego havutse ipiganwa hagati y'abayobozi ba Muvoma bwo kubumbira hamwe nta gukoma rutenderi iyo nyongeramumaro itagengwa na Leta. Abagize icyo bamarirwa n'iryo piganwa ni abayobozi ba Muvoma bashoboye no gupiganisha ibihembo n'izindi nyungu zinyuranye. Koko rero, n'ubwo Yuvenari Habyarimana yashyigikiraga ibikorwa bya Matayo Ngirumpatse kugira ngo amufashe kuganza muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) no muri Muvoma ivuguruye, ntiyaburaga no kuzitira irari rye, agahugukira kugenzura ubwe uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko ku rwego rw'igihugu arushakira abarwishingira benshi mu maperefegitura. Ku ruhande rwe, Matayo Ngirumpatse yumvaga atemera kwamburwa igitari yari yararimye mu b'ikubitiro.

> Kuko impande zose zashakaga kuyigarurira, Komite y'igihugu yaheze hagati nk'ururimi ntiyerekana ireme ryayo kubera ko nta buyobozi bukomeye Muvoma yari ifite, no kubera amakimbirane akabije yari hagati y'abanyaporitiki bashakaga gushimangira imyanya yabo muri perefegitura. « Komite nyobozi y'*Interahamwe* z'i Kigali ijya kwiyita « Komite y'igihugu » yabonaga ko ifite ububasha bwo kuboyora uwo mutwe mushya, kandi nyamara Muvoma yo yaribwiraga ko *Interahamwe* zakagombye kwinjizwa mu ishyaka ndetse zikagengwa n'inzego zaryo (perefegitura, komini, segiteri). Bityo rero ibyo gukwirakwiza amashami y'*Interahamwe* mu gihugu hose byakozwe ku buryo bwisanzuye. Nyamara ariko, Komite y'*Interahamwe* z'i Kigali yakomeje kwtwa « Komite y'igihugu » nk'uko byari biri mu mushinga wa mbere. Ku buryo bw'ihange, ubwo bari bahise mo ubuyobozi bwisanzuye, gukomeza kwita Komite y'i Kigali « Komite y'igihugu » nta shingiro byari bigifite. Ni kimwe n'amatora y'abagize Ibiro na za Komisiyo zajyanaga na byo. Nyamara, n'ubwo bitashobotse gushyira ho za Komisiyo,

> abajyanama bari barashyizwe ho mu buryo budasobanutse bagumye ho, bagafasha Komite gukemura ibibazo bya buri munsi. Na none, ni ngombwa kuvuga ko abajyanama bamwe b'*Interahamwe* ba « bikwakwanya » bitwaje iryo zina bakibarira mu « bagize Komite y'igihugu » kandi ari ukurengera. Ibyo byaterwaga n'amarari anyuranye yakuruye ubwumvikane buke muri Komite[195]. »

Kuva mu mezi ya mbere y'umwaka wa 1992, Matayo Ngirumpatse yagombye kwitanga cyane mu gukumira inyonya ry'abarwanashyaka b'*Interahamwe* bari barashwe n'ibitekerezo biheza inguni kandi bironda akoko CDR yari ikimara gushingwa yadukanye. Ni bwo yamaganye abashakaga « kwambara ingofero ebyiri », iya CDR n'iya MRND. Kugira ngo ashimangire ubudahemuka bwabo, Matayo Ngirumpatse yemerewe ko abayobozi b'ingenzi b'umutwe w'urubyiruko batumirwa nk'indeberezi muri kongere y'igihugu ya Muvoma yo muri Mata 1992 yabereye mu Ngoro y'Inteko ishinga amategeko (CND) iyobowe n'umukuru w'igihugu. Iyo kongere ni yo yahinduye izina ry'ishyaka rikitwa MRNDD, ishyira ho inzego nshya kandi itora n'abagize ubuyobozi « buvuguruye ». Ubwo butumire bwari bufitiye Matayo Ngirumpatse akamaro kanini, kuko yari akeneye inkunga y'umutwe w'urubyiruko kugira ngo agumane ubuyobozi bw' ishyaka mu mujyi wa Kigali abahiganwa na we bifuzaga, no kugira ngo ategure neza ibyo kwiyamamariza umwanya wo kuba umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma yahataniraga na Eduwaridi Karemera akawumutsindira ku bwa burembe. Uwabaga ari muri uwo mwanya yayoboraga Biro poritiki ari mu kibaba cya perezida Habyarimana, bityo akaba ari we mutware w'intebe w'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka.

> « Mbere y'uko iyo kongere iterana, Bwana Ngirumatse Matayo yari yatumiye Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo ngo izayize mo nk'indorerezi. Abenshi mu bagize iyo Komite, usibye babiri cyangwa batatu, bitabiriye iyo kongere ; abagize kongere bashimagije umutwe w'*Interahamwe* ; bashima ibikorwa by'urwo rubyiruko mu kuvugurura ishyaka, bityo rero no mu matora, nk'uko bisanzwe – ubwumvikane buri mo ubutiriganya, gushyira abandi mu kinyiranyindo -, *Interahamwe* zari zihari zamamazaga

[195] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare- 8 Gicurasi 2006, p.17.*

> Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo, nk'umutware wazo. Ngako akazi zakoreye mu cyayenge, Matayo akegukana uwo mwanya akawutsindira, ku majwi make cyane, Bwana Eduwaridi Karemera bawuhiganiraga. Ni ukubera… Numvaga… Ndibwira ko, ari ukubera umukino w'ikinyiranyindo muri iryo yamamaza ryakozwe rero n'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* bari bahari kandi bari bishimiwe n'abagize kongere, Bwana Matayo yegukanye uwo mwanya, ku majwi make, awutsindiye Bwana Karemera Eduwaridi bawuhataniraga.[196] »

Mu ruhame abayobozi b'ingenzi bose bakoranye, Kongere y'ishyaka yafashe icyemezo cyo gushyigikira ku buryo bwose urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* kandi isaba umunyamabanga w'igihugu na ba perezida ba za komite z'amaperefegitura guteza imbere ishingwa ry'amashami y'*Interahamwe* mu turere bashinzwe. Nk'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka rya MRND umutwe w'*Interahamwe* wagumye mu maboko ya perezida fondateri, utarashakaga na gato ko zigengwa n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu ngo zimutize ingufu. Umukuru w'igihugu yari amaze kwigiza yo Eduwaridi Karemera ari nk'aho nta gashimo, kandi ntiyashakaga guhangana vuba cyane n'umuyobozi mushya ufite inyota yo kwigarurira uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko. Nk'umuyobozi w'ubunyamabanga bw'ishyaka, Matayo Ngirumpatse yari afite urubuga rutagereranywa rutuma aba icyamamare mu gihugu cyose no kunogereza ubutore bwe mu ngendo zo mu maperefegitura yose, mu magambo avugiwe mu nama cyangwa ibirori byateguwe mu izina ry'ishyaka, cyangwa se kubera gusa ko agendana na perezida akamuguma hafi. Dore yaramuherekeje muri mitingi ya Muvoma yabereye mu Ruhengeri mu Gushyingo 1992, mitingi Yuvenari Habyarimana yashimagirije mo urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*. Ariko, kimwe na Eduwaridi Karemera mbere ye, Matayo Ngirumpatse yagenzurirwaga hafi na Perezidansi n'abakomoka ku karere ka perezida bari bazi ko « gushyira poritiki ku ntera y'ibihe » uko ari ko kose n'ubushake bwo kurema ishyaka « ryo mu rwego rw'igihugu » byari kubashyira mu bwigunge.

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[196] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi,*

Abagenderaga ku bitekerezo bitunguruza bari bafite ingufu nkeya mu ishyaka – aho ubwisungane hagati y'igihande cy'abaharanira ubwisanzure n'icy'abatavuga rumwe n'Abakiga bwari bufite ubwiganze -. Ndetse no mu Ngabo z'igihugu baryaga bari menge kuko gahunda yo kurema igisirikari cy'umwuga n'iyo kuvugurura Ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo byari byaratangiwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo ureba kure, ari we Gemusi Gasana, yari irimo kugaragaza ibikorwa bifatika, ikanaheza abari basanzwe ari ibikoresho bya perezida. Na bo babonaga *Interahamwe* ari nk'ikiraro kibafasha gukomeza kugenzura inzego z'ishyaka, kongera ingufu z'ubukangurambaga muri rubanda, no kwishyirira ho umutwe w'abarwanashyaka bafite intwaro. *Interahamwe* zari mu masangano y'umukino w'ubutiriganya wari hagati y'ibikomerezwa mu ishyaka byashakaga kwiyegereza amatsinda y'*Interahamwe* bifashishije abo muri Komite y'igihugu babashyigikiye.

> « Guhera mu gicagate cy'umwaka wa 1992, *Interahamwe* zigabye mo amatsinda ku buryo bugaragara zikajya gushengerera abanyaporitiki bakize kandi bafitanye umubano n'ibyegera bya Habyarimana. […] Ayo matsinda ntiyari mu rwego rwa perefegitura kuko abaperefe batinyaga ibihano bya guverinoma. N'ubwo muri rusange amatsinda yari mu rwego rwa komini, hari ayagiye avuka mu mu rwego rwa segiteri muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali no mu nkengero zawo. Imirwano hagati y'imitwe y'urubyiruko mu mujyi wa Kigali akenshi yashyamiranyaga utugari[197]. »

Mu by'ukuri, umutwe w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* ntiwigeze ugira izindi nshingano uretse izo kwicengeza mo no gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza n'imirimo byatanzwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma, cyangwa ku buryo bugaragara kandi bitewe n'ibihe, n'abo urwo rubyiruko rwabonaga ari ibyegera bya Habyarimana bakaba kandi « n'ibikomerezwa » bya Muvoma. Ni ukuvuga abafataga ibyemezo kandi bakababahemba, ari bo umunyamabanga w'igihugu na perezida w'ishyaka cyangwa umwe muri bo, abaperezida bo mu rwego rwa perefegitura, abakuru b'ibigo cyangwa abacuruzi

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TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 48-49.

[197] *ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Anketi ku marorerwa yabaye muRwanda, op. cit.* t. I, p. 97.

bakomeye.

Kudashaka guha uwo mutwe ubuzima gatozi no kudasobanura neza isano ufitanye n'ishyaka byari bifitiye Muvoma inyungu nyinshi cyane kuko byatumaga ikomeza kuwushyira mu kibaba cyayo ku bw'imikorere no kwishingira « iposho » ry'urwo rubyiruko mu gihugu cyose. Ibyo abayobozi bawo benshi bavuga yuko « ibyemezo byose byaturukaga hanze » mbona bifite ishingiro, n'ubwo ukurikije ubunyawe bw' (inariyo y') abayobozi ba komite za perefegitura, hari abashoboraga kutemeranya na byo.

> « Twakoraga ibyo abayobozi b'ishyaka MRND ariko cyane cyane umukuru waryo, Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo batubwiraga, nko kwandika amatangazo, gushyushya igitaramo aho ishyaka rya MRND ryabaga ryateganyije mitingi, gukurikirana nk'indorerezi kongere cyangwa inama zo mu rwego rwo hejuru, no kwitabira imyigaragambyo inyuranye ubuyobozi bwabaga bwasabiye hakiri kare impushya za ngombwa. Nta mbwirwaruhame zerekeye poritiki twigeze dukora. Nta kintu twigeze twibwiriza uretse ibyo abo bayobozi badusabaga[198]. »

Amazina y'abayobozi batatu ni yo akunze kuvugwa : Matayo Ngirumpatse wakurikiraniye hafi uwo Mutwe kuva waremwa, akanatunganya n'imikorere yawo mu rwego rw'igihugu guhera mu mwaka wa 1992, hagata ho Yozefu Nzirorera, « umuminisitiri w'igihangange ku ngoma ya Habyarimana », hagaheruka Yohani – Petero Habyarimana, umuhungu w'umukuru w'igihugu, wahaga inkunga y'amafaranga urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* z'i Kigali akanishingira n'ingendo zabo : « No mu gihe cyo gushyushya urugamba muri za mitingi, yatangaga inkunga ariha ibiribwa, ibinyobwa n'ibindi byose byasabaga amafaranga mu kabari kitwa *Tam-Tam* no mu rubyiniro rwitwa *Kigali Night*[199]. » Abana ba Ferisiyani Kabuga na bo bari mu mubare w'abafatwaga nk'abahagarariye abayobozi b'ishyaka.

Uko abarwanashyaka bahindutse interahamwe

Urebye abo bishingizi bashya, urasanga umushinga w'ikubitiro wo kurema

[198] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.*
[199] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.*

Umutwe w'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe – kuzana amaraso mashya n'ibitekerezo bishya mu ishyaka rya MRND – bari bararangije kuwutanisha. Nta matwara ya poritiki yari agihiganwa hagati y' abashaka ubwisanzure n'abatsimbaraye ku bitekerezo bitunguruza. « Urubyiruko » rwari rubereye ho gutanga imbaraga abarwanashyaka « bakuze » batari bagifite. Ingamba n'ibikenewe by'abayobozi byashyize umutekano no kwirwana ho kw'abaturage ku murongo wa mbere w'ibyihutirwa.

Abakurutu bashya bahamagarirwaga umurimo usanzwe wo gucunga umutekano nk'abarwanashyaka bafite ibizigira, bagashorwa mu gatereranzamba k'ubuhonyozi bwajyanye n'ibikorwa ishyaka ryateganyije byo guhungabanya no gusabota guverinoma nshya ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi. Abaminisitiri b'ishyaka MRND ntibashoboraga kuyobora ibyo bikorwa ku mugaragaro. Ni uko wasangaga Matayo Ngirumpatse ku murongo wa mbere mu myigaragambyo y'ishyaka n'iy'urubyiruko rwaryo yaranzwe n'urugomo. Yari ahari igihe basahuraga utugari tw'i Kigali nyuma y'imyigaragambyo ya rubanda yateguwe na Muvoma ku Kimihurura, ku rubuga ruteganye n'ingoro ya minisitiri w'intebe, ku itariki ya 6 Kamena 1992 (Pentekositi). Iyo myigaragambyo rukundura yari igamije kwamagana imishyikirano itaziguye abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bari batangiye kugirana na FPR/Inkotanyi i Buruseri[200]. Abari mu rubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* bafashe imihoro, amasuka, udushoka, impiri, imiheto, imyambi n'amabuye maze berekeza iyo mu mujyi wa Kigali rwagati, Nyamirambo, Nyakabanda, Kimisagara n'utundi tugari, reka si ukuhayogoza. « R. : […] Hari muri wikendi ya Pentekositi, ubwo habaga imirwano imena amaraso itari yarigeze iba ho muri Kigali. Interahamwe na Muvoma bavugaga ko FPR/Inkotanyi zari zafashe icyemezo cyo kwirukana *Interahamwe* muri Kigali, hanyuma *Interahamwe* zikazibambira ari mu buryo bwo kwirwana ho. Uru ni urugero rw'imirwano imena

[200] *Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1992, hari amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yasinyiwe i Buruseri hagati ya FPR/Inkotanyi n'amashyaka atatu yo muri guverinoma yari yishyize hamwe mu cyitwaga « Ingufu za demokarasi zigamije ihinduramatwara », n'ubwo ishyaka rya MRND ryo ritabyemeraga. Yahise akurikirwa n'iyubura ry'imirwano hagati ya FPR/Inkotanyi n'Ingabo z'uRwanda muri perefegitura ya Byumba, ishyaka rya MRND riyigira intangamugabo y'ubunywanyi bwa FPR/Inkotanyi n'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu atavuga rumwe n'irya perezida.*

amaraso, kandi byantangaza hatarabaye mo ibitambo muri iyo mirwano yo muri wikendi ya Pentekositi.

Bazo : Haba hari *Interahamwe* uzi yaba yarakurikiranwe kubera urugomo cyangwa kwica umuntu igihe icyo ari cyo cyose mu mwaka wa 1992 cyangwa se nyuma yaho ?

Subizo : Muri rusange, ahanini iyo *Interahamwe* zabaga zafashwe … iyo zabaga zafashwe n'inzego z'ubucamanza, habaga ho abazaga kuba…[ntibyumvikana], nk'uko ku buryo bumwe ariko mu rugero rworoheje, abo mu rubyiruko rw'ishyaka MDR cyangwa PSD bafatwaga na komini – iyo byabaga – cyangwa bagafatwa n'inzego z'ubucamanza, yego, abayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki anyuranye babijyaga mo kugira ngo barekuze izo « mburamukoro » zabaga zafashwe – niba nshobora gukoresha ijambo « imburamukoro », nta muntu nshaka gutuka.

Bazo : Ni nde mwunganizi w'ingenzi, muri Muvoma, wavuganiraga *Interahamwe* zabaga zafashwe ?

Subizo : Bwana Karemera Eduwaridi ni we waburanaga inyungu za Muvoma, kubera ibyo rero, nzi ko ku buryo bwemewe kandi mu izina ry'ishyaka, yarekuzaga *Interahamwe* zafatirwaga mu… mu mirwano imwe n'imwe, byibuze muri Kigali. Ngibyo… ibyo nshobora kuvuga[201]. »

Ni Matayo Ngirumpatse, amaherezo, wahamagariye abayoboke bose b'ishyaka n'urubyiruko rwaryo gukora imyigaragambyo karundura mu gihugu cyose kugira ngo bamagane, ku bwa Muvoma, amasezerano y'ingoragore ya Arusha. Iyo myigaragambyo akenshi yahindukaga mo ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ibyo kugandira ubutegetsi, ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka bukitana bamwana bwitwaza ingingo yo kwirwana ho. Ibyo byari byoroheye *Interahamwe* kuko muri rusange abategetsi b'inzego za Leta barazihanganiraga cyane, iyo ubwabo batazihaga ibyo zikeneye byose. Uko amezi yahitaga, imirimo yo gucunga umutekano yariyongereye, maze urubyiruko rugira uruhare rw'ingenzi mu kugenzura utugari, cyane cyane i Kigali, rugatanga raporo ku bantu

[201] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 65.*

batahazwi, ku byo kujya mu myitozo ya gisirikari n'ukugaruka kw'abasore b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'irya perezida kandi yanywanye na FPR/Inkotanyi, ku myitwarire itarangwa mo ubucuti, nb. Bityo, nk'uko Gemusi Gasana yabyanditse:

> "Buhoro buhoro, urubyiruko rw'amashyaka rwaretse ibya poritiki rugenda rwishora mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi. Abayoboke bavanaga ikibatunga mu ibyaha. Bari bakeneye ubakingira ikibaba ngo badakurikiranwa n'ubucamanza. Ibyaha n'urugomo rwa poritiki byari byabaye insobekerane. Amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD na CDR yabaye ingabo ikingira abanyarugomo. Na FPR na PL ni ko yari ameze, kuko urubyiruko rw'ayo mashyaka rwari rwariyoberanyirije muri PSD. Kuri benshi muri izo nzererezi n'abatagira kivurira, byaba atari byo kubitirira ingenabitekerezo iyi n'iyi. Kwiyandikisha mu mutwe runaka cyangwa se muri myinshi icyarimwe byari bibafitiye inyungu. Iby'ubucengezi byaje kuba urujya n'uruza mu mitwe y'urubyiruko yose[202]."

Gushaka abayoboke ntibyari bigishingiye ku ngenabitekerezo cyangwa ku mahame yihariye, nta musanzu wasabwaga, kandi amaronko basezeranywaga yagenwaga hakurikijwe icyo bategereje kuri buri mukurutu. Urubyiruko rw'imburamukoro, cyane cyane urwari mu nkambi z'impunzi ni rwo bakuraga mo abayoboke, kimwe n'abavuye mu gisirikari. Abasore bari bahunze intambara ya FPR/Inkotanyi bavaga mo abayoboke babyitabiriye, badafite ikibarangaza kandi badasaba byinshi[203]. Bose babonaga ko « ibyo kwica akanyota » (inzoga bahabwaga nyuma ya za mitingi zigenewe rubanda), gutwarwa mu modoka ku buntu, kurihirwa ingendo mu murwa mukuru, kubonana n'abanyaporitiki n'abayobozi bafite ijambo mu ishyaka rya MRND, byari amahirwe yo guteza imbere imibereho yabo n'iy'imiryango yabo (*Reba ibiza gukurikira ho muri uyu mutwe*).

N'ubundi umubare w'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara wari munini mu mpera za 1992, ariko wageze kuri miriyoni nyuma y'igitero cya FPR/Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare 1993. Hafi ya bose bari bashyizwe mu nkambi zagondagonzwe hafi cyane ya Kigali. Muri perefegitura ya Byumba, amakomini 13 kuri 17 yari yashize mo abaturage bayo ; kandi ni na ko byari byagendekeye amakomini menshi yo mu

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[202] James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit., p. 134.*

[203] *Nk'uko byatangajwe n'umuntu wigeze kuba minisitiri wa MRND, « Wapfaga kubasezeranya ibyo kurya bagahita bahurura » (ikiganiro nagiranye na nyirubwite, Ukuboza 2007).*

Ruhengeri. Mu Kwakira 1993, amakomini ahana imbibi n'uBurundi yakiriye impunzi hagati ya 200.000 na 300.000 nyuma y'imirwano n'itsembatsemba byakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida w'uBurundi muri uko kwezi. Mu basore bo muri izo nkambi, abanyaporitiki nta ngorane na nke bagiraga zo kubona abitabira imyitozo ya gisirikari, bityo rero ibyo gushakisha intwaro birahugukirwa. Ni muri ibyo bihe byo mu wa 1993, Muvoma yemeye, amaherezo, ariko itinze, kubahiriza amasezerano perezida yari yarahaye abaturage bo ku mupaka mu mpera za 1991yo kubaha intwaro « bagacubya ubwibonabone bw'Inkotanyi » [ingabo za FPR]. Matayo Ngirumpatse wari perezida wayo icyo gihe yavugaga ko icyo gikorwa cyo guhuruza abaturage cyari kiboneye kandi cyubahirije itegeko. Uhereye ku byanditswe na Tewonesiti Bagosora, ni muri Gashyantare – nyuma y'igitero cya FPR/Inkotanyi mu Ruhengeri -, batangiye kurema amatsinda y'imitwe yitwaje intwaro (*Reba umugereka wa 44*).

Urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe, umutwe « ushamikiye » kuri Muvoma

Ikibazo cy'amategeko yagengaga urubyiruko rwa Muvoma cyakomeje kugaruka kandi nticyigeze gikemuka ku mugaragaro. Urwo ruhande rwerekeranye na poritiki ntirwari mu byihutirwa kandi rwarebaga gusa abayobozi bo mu rwego rw'igihugu bari bashishikajwe no kubona icyakoranyiriza hamwe ayo matsinda y'intage. « Turebeye ku byakorwaga mu rwego… rw'ishyaka MDR ryari rifite umutwe w'urubyiruko wiyandikishije kandi wemewe n'amategeko, twari twarasabye Bwana Ngirumatse Matayo kubinyuza muri icyo cyerekezo. Yasezeranye ko azabyita ho, ariko kugeza muri Mata [1992] twari tutaragira amategekoremezo ; n'ubundi kandi ndashaka kuvuga ko umutwe w'*Interahamwe* utigeze ugira amategeko yemewe. None se ni ukubera iki ? Ibisubizo byari mu ngeri zinyuranye : abantu bibwiraga ko Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo watonganyaga umukuru w'ishyaka MDR igihe imitwe y'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma yakoraga ubushotoranyi, cyane cyane JDR/Inkuba –

urubyiruko rw'ishyaka MDR -, nuko rero abantu bavugaga ko Matayo yashakaga kuzitira andi mashyaka ngo atazakora kimwe na we mu gihe abayoboke bamwe b'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bari kuba baguye mu makosa. Ku bwanjye, mbona nta kintu byari bibangamiye ho Komite kugira cyangwa kutagira amategekoremezo yemewe ; ibyo ari byo byose, twari ku bwishingire bwa Muvoma, kandi ibyo nta wigeze abirwanya[204]. » Muri make, ingingo z'impaka zari ziteye zitya : Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yarakomeje kwanga ko *Interahamwe* ziba urwego rw'ishyaka. We yashakaga amatsinda y'abarwanashyaka ari ukwayo, agasa n'akoreshwa bucancuro kandi yishingiwe n'abantu bakomeye yagenzuraga. Ibyo byatumaga akomeza gukontorora urusobe rwa gihake rwari rumukikije we n'umuryango we, agashobora gucubya irari rya Matayo Ngirumpatse ryo gushyira ibintu ku murongo w'igihe. Ngirumpatse yashakaga kwinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka kugira ngo abone uko zimufasha gutsinda amatora, kandi nyamara *Interahamwe* zari zikubiye ku banyamafaranga bifuzaga kugumana ububasha Yuvenari Habyarimana yabemereraga kuzigira ho. Abandi bake, ariko na bo bakomeye, ni ababonaga ko kwinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka ku buryo bw'amategeko byari guha ingufu umunyamabanga w'igihugu bikagabanya iza Yuvenari Habyarimana wari gutakaza ububasha bwo kuziha amategeko ku buryo butaziguye. Bityo, hagati ya kongere ya Muvoma yo mu wa 1992 n'iyo mu wa 1993, ihiganwa ntiryigeze rihosha kuko umukuru w'igihugu n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma bashakaga, buri wese ku ruhande rwe, gushaka no kongera amajwi mu barwanashyaka. Iryo higanwa ryongerewe ingufu n'iryahanganishaga Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera. Hari ukuntu ayo mahiganwa n'irari Matayo Ngirumpatse yari afitiye umwanya wa perezida ari byo bisobanura imbaraga nyinshi *Interahamwe* zagize, bikerekana ku buryo bw'amambu imbaraga nke perezida w'ishyaka yari afite. Kutinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka byagize ingaruka iziguye yagaragajwe n'ubusumbane mu byo kuryozwa ibyo wakoze, ugereranyije n'uko indi mitwe y'urubyiruko yafatwaga. Kubera ko yo yari yarasabye

[204] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 45.*

kwemererwa ubuzima gatozi, yagombaga kwishingira ibyangiritse byose. Ibi rero byatumaga abaporisi ba komini, abajandarume n'abashinjacyaha ba Repuburika bashobora kugenzura ku buryo bworoshye ibikorwa by'abigaragambya. Amafaranga bashoboraga gucibwa mu kuriha ibyangiritse yari akanganye cyane ku buryo yashoboraga no gutera isenyuka ry'iyo mitwe y'urubyiruko. Nyamara, kubera ko *Interahamwe* zitari zifite ubuzima gatozi, ntizibe zarashyizwe muri Muvoma ku buryo bugaragara binyuze ku cyemezo cya kongere no ku ngingo y'amategekoremezo y'ishyaka igira icyo izivuga ho, zo ntizikangaga bene ibyo bihano. Buri wese mu bayoboke bazo yaryozwaga ku giti cye ibyo yakoze mu gihe cy'imirwano yabashyamiranyaga n'imitwe y'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ndetse no mu bindi bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byose.

Muri icyo gihe, abayoboke benshi b'*Interahamwe* bari barafashwe kandi bari mo gukorerwa anketi nk'uko byari byasabwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo, Gemusi Gasana. Ubwoba bwabo bwari bufite ishingiro, n'ubwo muri rusange barekurwaga vuba kubera ubugiraneza bwa perezida w'urukiko rw'iremezo rwa Kigali, Yohani Damaseni Hategekimana. Ariko amenshi mu madosiye ntiyarindaga kugera iyo yose kubera abanyagatuza babyivangaga mo. Ni muri ubwo buryo perezida Habyarimana yatumije ubwe minisitiri w'Ingabo, anahuruza ibyegera bye kugira ngo baburize mo dosiye y'ubwicanyi yakurikiranaga Serafini Twahirwa, umukuru w'*Interahamwe* z'i Gikondo akaba na mubyara wa Yuvenari Habyarimana (*Reba umugereka 45*). Ni kongere yo muri Nyakanga 1993 yakemuye – na ko yanze gukemura – icyo kibazo, yirengagije raporo yari yakozwe na Yozefu Serugendo abisabwe na Matayo Ngirumpatse wifuzaga ko *Interahamwe* zinjizwa mu ishyaka. Iki cyemezo cyari gikomeye cyane, kuko cyamburaga ku mugaragaro Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo y'*Interahamwe* – abayigize bose bari batuye muri Kigali y'umujyi kandi ari na ho bakorera – ububasha bwose kuri za komite za perefegitura mu gihugu cyose. Ubusumbane bw'inzego muri za komite, kimwe n'uruhererekane rw'amakuru byakomokaga mu ishyaka rya MRND. Mu by'ukuri, Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* yari mu maboko ya perezida w'ishyaka, kimwe n'uko indi mitwe y'urubyiruko yakora ga ukwayo yagengwaga n'abahagarariye komite nyobozi

za perefegitura z'ishyaka rya MRND, n'izindi nzego z'ishyaka (komini, segiteri, serire). Amatsinda yo hasi y'*Interahamwe* yagengwaga n'uruhererekane rw'ubusumbane rusange rwa Muvoma, bityo imikoranire y'inzego zinyuranye ikagenzurwa na Komite y'igihugu cyangwa « biro poritiki » ya Muvoma.

Iyo miterere irasobanurwa n'umuyobozi wo muri Komite y'igihugu mu magambo amwe neza neza n'ay'uwahoze ari minisitiri muri guverinoma y'ubusigire (GI) :

« Ku byerekeye imiterere y'umutwe w'*Interahamwe*, utari unafite ubuzima gatozi, inzego yawo zakoraga ukwazo, ku buryo Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* yari ifite icyicaro i Kigali yasaga n'idafite ububasha butaziguye kandi bwuzuye kuri komite za perefegitura. Gukurikirana ibikorwa bya komite za perefegitura byari bigenewe ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma mu rwego rw'igihugu, bwari mu maboko ya perezida cyangwa y'umunyamabanga w'igihugu wari ushinzwe imicungire ya buri munsi y'ishyaka. Abo bayobozi bombi, bari bafite ijambo rikomeye ku *Nterahamwe,* banyuzaga amabwiriza yabo mu nzego z'ibanze zari zinyanyagiye mu gihugu cyose[205]. »

Mu by'ukuri, ubushobozi bwa Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo y'*Interahamwe* […] bwagarukiraga gusa muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali n'inkengero zawo za hafi, za hafi cyane. Naho urubyiruko rwo mu gihugu hagati rwagengwaga [na komite ya perefegitura ya Muvoma], nk'uko byari byarafashwe ho umwanzuro. Urugero : ubwo bamwe mu bahagarariye Komite bagiye ku Gisenyi gushyira ho, gutangiza ishami ry'urubyiruko, bagombye kubahiriza amabwiriza y'abategetsi baho, abategetsi b'akarere b'ishyaka rya MRND. N'ubundi kandi, ibyo byabaye nk'uko byagendekeraga Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo yari i Kigali mu mikoranire yabo n'abategetsi baho, uretse ko bo bari abayobozi b'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu[206]. » Uko ibi bintu bisobanuwe birasaba yuko umwihariko wa buri perefegitura mu rwego rwa poritiki witabwa ho, kugira ngo imivukire, ingufu n'inshingano nyabyo by'urwo rubyiruko bimenyekane neza. I Kigali,

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[205] *Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri guverinoma y'ubusigire udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2005.*

[206] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, uurbanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 45.*

ikintu kidasanzwe ni uko umutwe waho wishyize ho ukigenera n'imikorere ubwawo mbere y'uko abanyaporitiki babibona mo inyungu bawishingira. N'ubwo yari mu kibaba cya komite ya Muvoma muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) – iyobowe na Yohani Habyarimana, wari wasimbuye Matayo Ngirumpatse -, Komite y'igihugu yari ifite abantu benshi bashaka kuyishingira, ku buryo yashoboraga gusaba inkunga mu banyemari batagira ingano (umunyaporitiki uyu n'uyu mu tugari, kugirana umubano utaziguye n'abayobozi ba perefegitura n'aba gisirikari cyane cyane, kubera umubare w'abavuye mu gisirikari babaye abayoboke guhera mu wa 1993…). Uvuye muri Kigali, ukarenga n'abayobozi ba komite za perefegitura z'ishyaka MRND babyemerewe, ni ngombwa gusuzuma ingufu za poritiki n'imyifatire y'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, imikoranire y'umutwe w'urubyiruko n'ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu karere ariko bigakorera mu murwa mukuru, umwanya wa Muvoma mu rwego rwa poritiki uyigereranyije n'andi mashyaka, utibagiwe n'imyifatire n'igitinyiro bya perefe uhari, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura ayoborwa n'abantu bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma.

Bityo, ubwo Rawurenti Semanza yasimburaga Karori Nyandwi ku buyobozi bwa komite ya perefegitura ya Kigali ngari, itsinda ry'urubyiruko ryahindutse vuba cyane umutwe ushinzwe gukumira ukoresheje ingufu uwo ari we wese utavuga rumwe na Muvoma, wiringiye ubudahanwa busa n'ubwuzuye[207]. Muri perefegitura ya Byumba - aho Muvoma ikuriwe na Agusitini Ruzindana yari ishyigikiwe cyane n'abaturage bakozwe ho n'intambara -, *Interahamwe* zari zifite pepinyeri ikomeye y'abayoboke mu bavanywe mu byabo. *Interahamwe* kandi zari zifite abayoboke benshi n'imikorere myiza mu zindi perefegitura ebyiri zisa n'izituwe n'abahutu gusa ari zo Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Muri iyi perefegitura ya nyuma, *Interahamwe* zaboneraga ku ihiganwa rya Kazimiri Bizimungu na Yozefu Nzirorera bahataniraga ubuyobozi muri komite ya perefegitura

[207] *Reba* : *André GUICHAOUA, Laurent Semanza, le «grand bourgoumestre[burugumesitiri w'igihangange] », TPIR, Arusha, 2001, 30 p.*

y'ishyaka[208].

Muri perefegitura ya Kibuye ariko ho byari urusobe bitewe n'uko byari byifashe muri komini (abatutsi bari benshi mu yo mu majyepfo) no muri perefegitura ya Cyangugu,aho abasore bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bageragezaga gucogoza ubwiganze bwa MRND – Simewo Nteziryayo atashoboraga gukurikiranira hafi kandi yari perezida wa komite ya perefegitura. N'i Kibungo na ho, imitwe y'urubyiruko rwa Muvoma yashyamiranaga kenshi n'imitwe y'ayandi mashyaka ihatanira kwigarurira ubuyobozi bwa za komini. Mu kurangiza, ni ngombwa gutsindagira amambu y'uko mu zindi perefegitura zo mu majyepfo urubyiruko rwa Muvoma rwasaga n'aho rudahari cyangwa se ugasanga rufite ingufu nkeya cyane. Bityo, muri perefegitura ya Gikongoro, n'ubwo Aloyizi Simba yacuraganaga nk'umuyobozi wa komite ya perefegitura, urubyiruko rwa Muvoma ntirwashoboye kujya mbere muri komini zari ziganje mo amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Kimwe no mu ya Butare yari iyobowe na perefe Yohani Batisita Habyarimana (Tutsi, PL), amarwanirirashyaka n'urugomo rw'imitwe y'urubyiruko byacungiwe hafi cyane kandi bigenerwa ibihano bikaze. Muri perefegitura ya Gitarama ho Muvoma ntiyari ikinahasunuka kubera ubwiganze burunduye bw'urubyiruko rwa MDR. Atatu muri ayo mashyaka yayoborwaga n'abaperefe bakomoka mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bavanywe ho cyangwa bishwe imirwano yongeye kubura muri Mata 1994. Mu buryo bufatika, ubwishingire Matayo Ngirumpatse yari afitiye *Interahamwe* ni bumwe n'ubwo yagaragarije ishyaka ryose. Yari afite ingufu muri Kigali y'umujyi kubera umubano wa kera kandi udahungabana yari afitanye n'abenshi mu bagize Komite y'igihugu. Nyamara kubera ko *Interahamwe* zacungwaga ku buryo bwitaruye n'abanyaporitiki bakomeye bari abambari b'ingoma yabahaye gukira, ibyo byatumaga perezida Habyarimana agumana ingufu z'ingenzi mu maboko ye, cyane cyane muri perefegitura zo mu majyaruguru. Mu gusoza, ndabamenyesha ko benshi mu bayoboke ba Muvoma batifuzaga kugira icyo bavuga kuri

[208] *Ingufu nkeya Kazimiri Bizimungu yari afite muri perefegitura ye zemejwe igihe avanwa mu bakandida bo kwinjizwa muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye agasimbuzwa Feredina Nahimana, umuhezanguni utihishira wari ushyigikiwe na Yozefu Nzirorera.*

iyi dosiye, kandi bakagaya abahizi bombi bashakaga kubigarurira. Koko rero, n'ubwo bari bashyigikiye igitekerezo cy'uko ishyaka ryagira umutwe w'urubyiruko, bamaganaga urugomo *Interahamwe* zakoraga ku buryo bukabije n'iterabwoba ribogamye cyane zari zarimakaje. Guhiganwa ingufu byatangiye, kongere yo muri Nyakanga 1993 ikirangira, hagati ya Matayo Ngirumpatse, perezida w'ishyaka kandi wagaragaraga nk' « umutware w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma », na Yozefu Nzirorera, intagondwa yo mu Kazu akaba n'umutware nyakuri wa Muvoma, - abo bagabo bavuzwe batyo mu buhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*— byashyize abagize Komite y'igihugu ku nkeke y'amabwiriza avuguruzanya bahabwaga n'abantu ku giti cyabo :

> Kugira ngo nsobanure ibyo bintu, ndatanga ingero ebyiri. Urwa mbere, ni urwa Bwana Turatsinze Kasimu, wahoze ari umushoferi wa Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo akiri mu mwanya w'umunyamabanga w'igihugu. Kasimu Turatsinze yeguye ku kazi ke mu rusaku rwinshi yanga ku mugaragaro kuba umuderevu wa Bwana Yozefu Nzirorera. Ku bwa Turatsinze, ngo Bwana Yozefu Nzirorera yamuhaga amategeko adashobora kwemerwa kandi akabishyira mo agatsinuzo. Amakuru yavugwaga icyo gihe ko imyifatire ya Bwana Yozefu Nzirorera yasaga n'iyemeza ko Turatsinze Kasimu yari igikoresho na maneko wa Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo.Turatsinze Kasimu yari umukangurambaga mukuru w'*Interahamwe* za perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, akanacunga ibikoresho bya poropagande n'ubukangurambaga *by'Interahamwe Za Muvoma*. Amaze kwegura ku kazi, Kasimu Turatsinze yasubiye gukorera Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo. Itsitsurana hagati y'abo bagabo bombi ryakuruye iterana ry'amagambo mu mutwe w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe Za Muvoma*[209]. »

Uru rugero ruteye amatsiko cyane, kuko Kasimu Abubakari Turatsinze azwi cyane ku rihimbano rya « Jean Pierre», umuranguruzi wamamaye wa Minuar. « Ibyo yahishuriye » Koroneri Marchal mu ntangiro ya Mutarama 1994 (ubuhisho bw'intwaro bwa MRND, imyitozo y'imitwe y'urubyiruko, itonde ry'amazina y'Abatutsi) byafashwe, nyuma y'intambara, nk'imwe muri gihamya z'ingenzi z'igitekerezo cy'uko jenoside yateguwe (*Reba umutwe wa 14 n'umugereka 46*). Turatsinze wavukiye i Shyorongi (perefegitura ya Kigali ngari) akagira se w'Umuhutu na nyina w'Umututsi yarerewe na nyina mu kagari ka Biryogo i Kigali. Nyina yari azwi ho kuba umurwanashyaka

[209] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, Gicurasi - Kamena 2003.*

ushishikaye wa Muvoma. Turatsinze yinjiye muri serivisi z'iperereza (SCR). Yarongoye umugore w'Umututsikazi ukomoka i Gitesi, ubwo yari umushoferi kuri perefegitura ya Kibuye mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1980. Ntabwo yigeze abarirwa mu mutwe w'abaparakomando cyangwa w'abashinzwe kurinda perezida, - uretse n'ibyo kuwuba mo umusirikari mukuru -, kandi birumvikana ko atigeze ashingwa kurinda umutekano wa perezida Habyarimana. Yabaye nk'uzimira nyuma y' « ibyo yahishuye » muri Mutarama 1994, yongera kugaragara akanya gato i Kigali nyuma gato y'aho FPR/Inkotanyi ifatiye ubutegetsi. Kuva icyo gihe « yarazimiye ». Ibintu bitagira umutwe n'ikibuno biri mu buhamya bwe no kudashaka icyemezo cy'ibyavuzwe n'uwo mutangabuhamya w'ingenzi wa Jenerari Dallaire n'abasirikari bakuru bashinzwe ipereereza muri Minuar byaratamajwe mu gihe cyo kunyomoza abagabo imbere y'ingereko za TPIR (*Reba umugereka 46*).

> Kuri iki kibazo, umunsi umwe Nzirorera na we yatubwiye ko Abahutu bazize ubugambanyi bwa Turatsinze Yohani – Petero wari, mu mizo ya mbere, ushinzwe ubukangurambaga mu rubyiruko rwa Muvoma. Yatubwiye ko Turatsinze yajyaga agemura amabanga y'*Interahamwe* kwa Dallaire wayoboraga ingabo za Minuar, no kwa Twagiramungu wo muri MDR. Kubera izo mpamvu, ubwo yashatse kumwirukana mu biro by'igihugu, Matayo Ngirumpatse wari perezida w'ishyaka MRND icyo gihe yarabyanze kuko yamwemeraga cyane. Ibyo ari byo byose yashoboye kumukura ku mwanya w'umuyobozi ushinzwe ubukangurambaga amuha indi mirimo. Nzirorera yagaye ukuntu Matayo atemeye icyo gihe ko Turatsinze agenda, kuko biba byarabarinze ibizazane bagiranye na Minuar nyuma y'aho Turatsinze agendeye. Turatsinze yari incuti ya Ngirumpatse, perezida wa Muvoma, kandi Nzirorera yaharaniraga gushyira undi muntu muri uwo mwanya, umuntu washoboraga gusohoza imigambi mpezanguni atagombye kubimenyesha Ngirumpatse wari ufite kamere icisha make[210]. »

Kugenzura umutungo w'amafaranga

Ku buryo budashidikanya, kuri uru rwego ni ho hari impamvu ya kabiri ikomeye y'imashaniro mu micungire y'urubyiruko rwa Muvoma, kuko ububasha bwo kugera ku mafaranga yakusanyijwe n'umubare wayo ari byo byagenaga ubushobozi bwo kunyonya

abayoboke no gushimangira ubudahemuka bw' « abarwanashyaka »[211]. Ikibazo cy'amafaranga y'umutwe w'urubyiruko cyahagurukiwe n'inzego zose ya Muvoma kugira ngo haboneke agahimbazamusyi gafatika ko gukomeza abarwanashyaka badahamye cyangwa guhemba abatajegajega bazwi ho ubwitange, ubwamamare n'ubukangurambaga buhageze : kubona akazi, kuronka amafaranga ku buryo bunyuranye. Muri ubwo buryo, hari mo ubwo guhabwa inguzanyo mu mabanki : Banki y'Umusi wa Afurika muRwanda, Bacar (iboyowe na Pasiteri Musabe), Banki y'Ubucuruzi y'uRwanda, BCR (iyobowe na Karaveri Mvuyekure) cyangwa Banki ya Kigali, BK (iyobowe na Viyateri Mvuyekure, waje gusimburwa na Siriro Bizimungu). Minisiteri, ibigo bya Leta n'ibyo Leta ifite mo imigabane byose byari mu maboko y'abayoke ba Muvoma byasabwe umusanzu ku buryo ubu n'ubu, cyane cyane ubuyobozi bw'amateme n'imihanda bwo muri minisiteri y'Imirimo ya Leta (bwari bushinzwe Arufonsi Ntirivamunda, umukwe w'umukuru w'igihugu akaba n'umuyobozi w' Ikigega cy'imihanda umuntu atamenyaga imikorere yacyo), Electrogaz (iyoborwa na Donati Munyanganizi), Sorwal (iyoborwa na Arufonsi Higaniro), OCIR – Ishami ry'icyayi (riyoborwa na Mikayire Bagaragaza), Magerwa (Ibigega rusange by'uRwanda, biyobowe na Kiriyofasi Kanyarwanda), nb. Ibigo bimwe nka Onatracom (Ikigo cya Leta gishinzwe gutwara abantu, Ikaragiro rya Nyabisindu, Cimerwa y'i Cyangugu, ORTPN (ikigo cy'uRwanda cy'ubukerarugendo n'ibyanya cyimeza[212] byashombaga ku mugaragaro abakandida bo guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikari y'*Interahamwe*. I Cyangugu, Yusufu Munyakazi, umukonde ukungahaye akaba n'umucuruzi, yari atungiye mu mazu ye ahunikwa mo ibintu *Interahamwe* zibarirwa muri za mirongo ingahe. Ni ngombwa kandi

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[210] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi, 2004.*

[211] *Hano haravugwa gusa ibyashyizwe ku runyiriri ku rwego rw'igihugu. Kurondora ibyakorwaga mu nzego zicirirtse bigaragaza uburyo bwinshi bunyuranye, hari mo gucuza amafaranga hakoreshejwe iterabwoba, kugeza no ku manyanga ahanitse yo kunyereza imari n'umutungo bya Leta (ibaruramari mu bigo, gutanga amasoko, kuvunjisha amadovize, nb.), utibagiwe ubujura n'ubusahuzi. Tutagombye kugaruka kuri izi ngingo, ni ngombwa ariko gutsindagira ko, kugira ngo ubwo buryo bw'imicungire « ishingiye ku mashami y'ibanze » burambe, bwagombaga kwemerwa no kwishingirwa n'abayobozi b'abanyaporitiki bo ku cyicaro gikuru. Aba ntibashoboraga gukurikirana buri gikorwa cyangwa buri mutwe, ariko na none nta na kimwe muri ibyo cyashoboraga kuramba kidafite ubwishingire bw'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma, n'inkunga ya Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe.*

[212] *Igikingi cya Porotazi Zigiranyirazo na Karori Bunani, umukuru w'ishami ry'ubuyobozi wari umukwe wa Noheri Mbonabaryi, uyu akaba se wa batisimu wa perezida Habyarimana.*

kongera ho abakozi bo mu rugo b'abayobozi b'inzego za Muvoma. Hari ubufatanye bukomeye hagati y'abacuruzi n'abashoramari bahaga *Interahamwe* inkunga y'amafaranga, bagatoneshwa mu itanga ry'amasoko n'ipiganirwa ry' imirimo byabonekaga, tuvuge, nko mu magereza no mu bigo bya gisirikari[213].Ubuhamya bwinshi bugaragaza neza uko byakorwaga :

> « Urugero rwa kabiri rwerekeye imicungire y'amafaranga yaturukaga hirya no hino mu bari bafite ubushobozi bwo gutera inkunga urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma. Abo ni ibishyitsi bya Muvoma, biri mo ibyegera bya hafi bya perezida Habyarimana. Ayo mafaranga bateganyaga ko ashyirwa kuri konti yafunguwe muri Banki ya Kigali, mu izina ry'*Interahamwe* kandi agacungwa n'umubitsi w'*Interahamwe Za Muvoma*, Niyitegeka Diyedone. Mu by'ukuri ariko byakorwaga ku bundi buryo. Nk'urugero, perezida wacu Rubereti Kajuga yarazaga akatubwira ko yahawe amafaranga menshi na Bwana Nzirorera Yozefu,
>
> rimwe ibihumbi 50.000 Frw, ubundi ibihumbi 100.000 Frw. Iyo habaga hari ikibazo kigomba gukemurwa, nko kuriha ingendo z'abayoboke cyangwa *Interahamwe* zakangishaga kuva muri Muvoma zikigira mu ishyaka rindi nka CDR, cyangwa se guha inyoroshyo abayoboke b'amashyaka bahanganye ngo biyizire muri Muvoma, cyangwa na none guha inkunga y'amafaranga umurwanashyaka wo mu mutwe uyu n'uyu wo mu tundi tugari wabaga ari mu ngorane, Rubereti Kajuga yagezaga ibyo bibazo kuri Bwana Yozefu Nzirorera wari uzwi ho kuba rugabishabirenge. Yatangaga atitangiriye itama kugira ngo arushe ho kwamamara, no kugira ngo ashyigikire ibikorwa by'ishyaka n'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma, bityo abasore bacu bagakomeza kuba abayoboke. Byongeye kandi, muri icyo gihe nyirizina amikekwe hagati y'uturere n'amoko yari yongeye kubura. Ibi byari bigiye guhungabanya ubumwe bw'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma, bamwe bageza aho kuvuga ko Kajuga Rubereti na Ruhumuriza Feneyasi ari Abatutsi, abandi bakavuga ko mu bajyanama higanje mo abo mu Rukiga, cyangwa se ko ba visi-perezida bombi ari abanyanduga. Ibyo niyiziye ubwanjye, ni uko abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bose bumvise ko ayo matiku yashoboraga kugira ingaruka mbi ku ishyaka, akanaca umutwe w'urubyiruko mo uduce, bakoze

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[213] *Ku byerekeye ingamba zinyuranye zo gusaruza inkunga z' Interahamwe, ni ukureba mu mugereka wa 25 wahariwe uburyo abayobozi bazo bahabwaga amafaranga n'ikigo Sorwal cy'i Butare Matayo Ngirumpatse yari abereye perezida w'Inama y'ubutegetsi, Eduwaridi Karemera akakibera umwunganizi n'umujyanama. Mu rugabagabane rw'imirimo rw'agashobero no mu myanya inyuranye, ku ruhande rumwe usanga mo ibikomerezwa byose byo mu butegetsi : ibyegera bya perezida, abayobozi ba Muvoma, abaminisitiri benshi, abanyamabanki, no ku rundi ruhande hakaba abayobozi hafi ya bose b'Interahamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu, ndetse, ariko iki ni cyo kirushije ho gutangaza, ababitsi b'inzego za poritiki z'ibanze zinyuranye cyangwa se zifitanye ubucuti, nk'ishyaka rya CDR. Umuntu ashobora kubona mo gihamya y'uko rwari urusobe rupanze neza rw'inzego zihujwe no kunyereza imitungo ziyisaranganya amashyaka ya poritiki yari yibumbiye mu cyitwa ARD.*

> uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo batsinde icyo kigeragezo, nuko bakomeza gushyira hamwe kugeza ku ndunduro. Ibi bisobanura yuko, kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994, twakomeje kwemera ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka rya MRND. Perezida waryo, Bwana Ngirumpates Matayo, twamwemeraga nk'umutware wacu ku buryo butavuguruzwa. Imicungire n'isaranganya ry'impano n'imirage byari bishinzwe umunyamabanga w'igihugu mushya, Bwana Nzirorera Yozefu. Uyu yahaga perezida Kajuga Rubereti n'abavisi- perezida be, Ruhumuriza Feneyasi na Rutaganda Joriji, ndetse n'abari bafitanye na we umubano wihariye. Urugero ni nka Bwana Maniragaba Berenarudo wajyaga kwibonanira ubwe n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu, hanyuma na we agasaranganya amafaranga yahawe mu kagari ka Gitega n'ahandi. Andi matsinda y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma z'i Gikondo n*'Inyange* z'i Remera zahabwaga inkunga y'amafaranga na Bagaragaza Mikayire wo muri OCIR-Ishami ry'icyayi nta wundi binyuze ho. Itsinda ry'*Interahamwe* z'i Kanombe ryari rimaze kuremwa ryishingiwe n'umukuru w'igihugu, Bwana Habyarimana Yuvenari, nk'uko yari yabitumenyesheje ubwo yatwakiraga muri hoteri Rebero/L'Horizon y'i Kigali, asaba kuba umunyamuryango w'icyubahiro w'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma[214]. »

Kuri iyi ngingo, ubuhamya bugenda bwuzuzanya, ku byerekeye inama zakorewe muri hoteri - resitora *Rebero/L'Horizon* y'i Kigali yari iya perezida Habyarimana. Imwe muri zo yaba yarahabereye muri Nyakanga 1993, umugambi ari uwo gukusanya amafaranga yo gutegura mitingi yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura Muvoma bateganyaga gukorera ku Gisenyi. Ibyo gukoresha iyo mitingi hari mo utubazo duteye amatsiko.

Kuko perezida Habyarimana yari yabyanze, bagombye gukoresha amayeri kugira ngo bitagaragara ko ari we wakoresheje inama ibogamiye ku ruhande rw'ishyaka rye gusa.

Subizo : Ni ukubera ko, icyo gihe, euh… ni perezida Habyarimana, utarashakaga ko bavuga ko ari we uyoboye inama yo gukusanya amafaranga. Ntiyashakaga ko babivuga, ko babitangaza ku mugaragaro. Ni uko rero, byitiriwe umuhungu we kugira ngo bavuge ko ari we wakiriye abantu bo mu *Nterahamwe*.

Bazo : Kuki se Habyarimana atashakaga ko bamuvuga muri icyo gikorwa cyo gukusanya amafaranga ? […]

Subizo : Ku bwanjye, icyo navanye muri ibyo, ni uko icyo gihe yari perezida wa Repuburika, kandi ndibwira yuko icyo gihe yari atakiri perezida w'ishyaka. Amasezerano ya Arusha ntiyemera ko perezida wa repuburika yinjira cyane mu by'ishyaka rye. Icyo gihe, ndakeka ko yari yarasezeye mu Ngabo no ku mwanya wa

[214] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.*

perezida wa Muvoma[215]. »

Nyamara ubwo bwitange bwa perezida ubwe n'abo mu « muryango we » byari ngombwa kugira ngo haboneke abatumire benshi no kugira ngo bagaragaze ubwitange bwabo no gutanga umusanzu bataguniriza. Byumvikanishaga ukuntu ubwishingire bwa perezida bwabonwa nko gushyigikira ibikorwa n'imirimo bateganyiriza *Interahamwe* n'uburyo buziguye bwo kubakingira ikibaba. Ubusumbane nyabwo bw'abanyaporitiki bo hafi ya Yuvenari Habyarimana busobanuye neza mu nkuru ikurikira :

> « Twari dufite ibibazo by'amafaranga kandi abantu bamwe bo mu Kazu bari bafite ingingira zo gutanga ayo gushyigikira ibikorwa by'*Interahamwe*. Ni muri ubwo buryo Ngirumpatse Matayo yasabye Kajuga Rubereti gutumira abagize Komite y'igihugu bose. Hatabuze mo n'umwe, bose bitabiriye ubutumire ndetse n'intumwa z'*Interahamwe* zo mu tugari tw'i Kigali baza mu nama perezida Habyarimana yibereye mo. Ingamba zari zoroshye. Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo yaba yaragiriye inama perezida wa Muvoma gutumira abayobozi bakuru bamwe n'abandi banyemari bo muri Muvoma ngo baze mu nama bari bateganyije mo ibyo gukusanya amafaranga. Bityo, abatumiwe ntibashoboraga kubura mu nama no kudatanga umusanzu bari imbere ya perezida. […] Muri iyo nama bashoboye gusaruza amafaranga y'uRwanda miriyoni imwe[216]. »

Kuba ibyo gutanga amafaranga byari bishingiye ku bayobozi ubwabo, ipiganwa ry'abanyaporitiki mu micungire y'*Interahamwe* ryakwiriye mu gihugu hose ku nzego z'akarere n'utugari. Amacakubiri mu ishyaka n'amakimbirane hagati y'abanyaporitiki bitekererezaga iby'amatora ari imbere yagize ingaruka mbi mu gusaruza no gusaranganya amafaranga. Hari amakimbirane hagati y'abayobozi bo ku isonga y'ishyaka, cyane cyane nyuma y'imihindukire yo muri Nyakanga 1993 yashyize ahabona ibyerekezo bibiri mu rwego rw'igihugu biturutse ku makimbirane yari hagati ya perezida mushya, Matayo Ngirumpatse, n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Yozefu Nzirorera, amakimbirane ashingiye ku by'akarere. Ubwo rero havutse indi komite ibangikanye na Komite y'igihugu

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[215] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Werurwe 1997.*

[216] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004 (Reba umwandiko wuzuye mu mugereka 47).*

y'*Interahamwe*, iyo komite igizwe n'abayoboke bakomoka muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri zo mu majyaruguru, ikaba yari igamije kuburiza mo ububasha Matayo yari afite ku mutwe w'urubyiruko.

> « Nari naraganiriye na perezida wa Repuburika ku bibazo by'imbere mu ishyaka byerekeye urubyiruko. Komite y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* yari igizwe mu by'ukuri n'abantu bo mu turere twose, nk'uko byari akamenyero mu mikorere y'ishyaka. Nyamara, ku bw'amahirwe make, ndibwira ko agakundi ko ku Gisenyi kari karashyize ho komite ikorera mu bwihisho igatera ibibazo Komite yemewe. […] Ariko muri icyo gihe, sinavuga ko bwari ubushyamirane busa n'aho bwari kuzambya ishyaka. Icyo nashakaga gutsindagira gusa, ni uko hagomba kuba hari ho agakundi ntashoboye gushyira ku runyiriri[217]. »

Ingorane iremereye cyane yatewe n'iremwa rya komite y'imbangikane yumvikanye ku ngingo y'amafaranga : amafaranga y'abo mu majyaruguru yashyikirizwaga abarwanashyaka bo mu Rukiga ! Bityo, mu gihe cya mitingi yakoreshejwe na perezida, amafaranga ibihumbi 200.000 Frw gusa yatanzwe kashi ni yo yashyikirijwe umubitsi ashyirwa kuri konti y'umutwe w'urubyiruko. Sheki z'amafaranga hafi miriyoni zafashwe n'umwe mu bagize komite y'imbangikane ku giti cye, kandi ntihagira raporo ihabwa abayobozi y'ukuntu ayo mafaranga yakoreshejwe (*Reba umugereka 47*). Ntibyari bitangaje rero ko umubitsi wa Komite y'igihugu, Diyedone Niyitegeka yagombye, kuva mu wa 1992, kwinubira ku munyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma ibirego yagerekwaga ho by'uko hari mo ikinyuranyo hagati y'ubusabusa bw'amafaranga yari kuri konti yo muri Banki ya Kigali n'umubare utubutse w'amafaranga nyayo abayobozi b'umutwe w'urubyiruko babaga basaruje. Nyamara uwo munyaButare si we wenyine winubaga. Abayobozi bose bo mu majyepfo bari bahuriye ku bibazo nk'ibyo :

> « Bityo, ntanze nk'urugero, umunsi umwe numvise minisitiri Daniyeri

[217] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, cote K7 KT 00-0200, icyumweru cy'iya 27 Nzeri kugeza ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1999.*

> Mbangura [Hutu, Gikongoro] yinubira umubare udashimishije w'Interahamwe, mu by'ijana, yari yashoboye kunyonya ku Gikongoro bitewe n'amikoro make. Ngomba kuvuga ko uko gushaka abayoboke kwaranzwe mo ikintu gisa n'ivangura. Buri muyobozi yari afite bije yagenewe na Muvoma kugira ngo yegeranye ibikenewe n'*Interahamwe* byose. Uko iyo bije yanganaga byaterwaga cyane n'inarijye y'umubobozi bireba[218]. »

Ibi by'uko *Interahamwe* n'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo batari bafitiwe icyizere bisobanura ubusumbane mu itezambere ry'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* mu gihugu cyose. Bisobanura kandi umubare muto w'*Interahamwe* zahawe imyitozo ya gisirikari kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, uretse mu bigo bya Leta n'iby'ifite mo imigabane, n'ubwo byari muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo, byayoborwaga n'abo muri Muvoma bakomoka mu majyaruguru (nka Sorwal i Butare, Cimerwa i Cyangugu cyangwa Ikaragiro ry'i Nyabisindu, nb.).

Imyitozo ya gisirikari no gutanga intwaro

Guha urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* imyitozo ya gisirikari byatangiye mu gice cya kabiri cy'umwaka wa 1993, nuko bihita bisakara hose vuba cyane, n'ubwo abakuru ba gisirikari n'abayobozi ba Muvoma babihakanaga:

> « Abantu bashoboraga kubumva batahuka muri za mitingi, bahanamye ku makamyo na za tobisi bahanitse amajwi baririmba, kandi nta wuri bugire icyo abakora ho, ngo "*Tuzabatsembatsemba*"[219]. Bari bazi icyo bavuga, cyane cyane ko imbwirwaruhame twibukije mbere zasaga n'aho zabibakanguriye. Kandi no kuba barihangishaga ho imvugo nk'iyo, ni uko bumvaga babyemerewe kandi barinzwe[220]. »

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[218] *Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.*

[219] *Interuro ishobora no guhindurwa ngo « Tuzabatsembatsemba" [bo cg mwebwe!].*

[220] *Inkuru y'ubuhamya bwa Jenerari Leonidas RUSATIRA, Komisiyo idasanzwe ya Sena y'uBubiligi kuRwanda, Buruseri, 29 Mata 1997.*

Ku bari batuye i Kigali, imyitozo yaberaga mu bigo bya gisirikari byo mu Bugesera no mu Mutara, mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu. *Interahamwe* zatwarwaga muri tobisi za Onatracom zafatiriwe, mu makamyo y'abasirikari, cyangwa mu makamyoneti yatiwe cyangwa yakodeshejwe abikorera ku giti cyabo. Gutoranya abarwanashyaka byari bishinzwe abayobozi b'ibiro nshingwabikorwa by'ishyaka, b'ubunyamabanga bw'igihugu nyirizina, babifashijwe mo n'abasirikari bakuru b'i Kanombe n'ab'Umutwe urinda perezida. Bashingiraga ku miterere n'ubushobozi by'umubiri w'abiyandikishije, abahoze ari ba rezerivisiti n'abavuye mu gisirikari bagashyirwa imbere kubera kuba inararibonye mu by'igisirikari. Mu buhamya bwe bwombi, Matayo Ngirumpatse yemera rwose ko iyo gahunda y'imyitozo ya gisirikari yabaye ho, ariko akayiharira abasirikari bakuru b'Ingabo z'igihugu. Ngo ntibatoje gusa abasore bari babisabwe « ku giti cyabo », ahubwo ngo no muri icyo gihe batoranyaga no mu basirikari. Ku bwe, ngo *Interahamwe* zaje koherezwa ku rugamba, ngo ntizagira uruhare mu kwica abaturage b'abasiviri byakozwe n' «abantu bo mu baturage ubwabo ».

> « Abo basore ntibahawe imyitozo nk'abayoboke b'ishyaka. Batojwe n'ingabo. Mu buryo busanzwe. Kubera ko nakubwiye ko Minuar yari yananiwe guhagarika imyitozo ya FPR/Inkotanyi, Ingabo na zo zaragize ziti « Ariko se, ni byiza ko twasinyanye amasezerano na bariya bantu, kuki bakomeza guha imyitozo [ntibyumvikana] ? » Batoje abasore babishatse ku bwabo. Ntibyari nk'aho ari abayoboke ba Muvoma, kuko bari abasore bemeraga. […]Abantu baritoje, batagamije, nk'uko babivuga, kwica abantu ku mirenge. Ibyo si byo rwose ! Kwari ukurwana intambara. N'ubundi kandi, nshobora kubikubwira, *Interahamwe* nyazo ntizari ku mirenge, ahubwo zari hamwe n'ingabo ku rugamba. Ntabwo ari *Interahamwe* zakoresheje imipanga, ibyo ni abantu bo mu baturage, ni ibyo ! Abari barahawe imyitozo ntibari imbere mu gihugu, bari ku rugamba hamwe n'abasirikari[221]».

> « Ikidashidikanywa, ni uko igitekerezo cyo guha abaturage imyitozo kugira ngo birwane hobahangana n'ibitero bya FPR/ Inkotanyi cyatangiye muri za 1991. Kandi nibwira ko ari uburenganzira bwa buri guverinoma bwo kurinda abaturage bayo no guhuruza abasore ngo bavune igihugu cyabo. Na ho ku byerekeye

[221] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, TPIR, K7 KT 00-0199, cote KO129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1Ukwakira 1999.*

> imyitozo yatanzwe mu wa 1993, ni ibintu byumvikana, ni ukubera yuko FPR yohejwe cyangwa ikingiwe ikibaba na Minuar, yari yakomeje kwigisha abayoboke bayo no kubaha imyitozo ya gisirikari. Imyitozo rero yatanzwe na guverinoma yari iyobowe na Madamu Agata Uwiringiyimana. Ishyaka ryari ribifite mo nyungu ki zo kwivanga mu kibazo cya guverinoma ? Kuki minisitiri w'intebe atahagaritse iyo myitozo ? Niba hari abasore b'ishyaka batoranyijwe, ntibyatewe n'uko ari abayoboke b'ishyaka, ariko kubera ingenagaciro zabo bwite[222]. »

Uretse ko n'ibyo kuvuga abanyagikorwa mu buryo budasobanutse ngo ni « abaturage » byavugurujwe cyane n'amaperereza yakozwe mu gihugu cyose, ibikorwa byose bya Matayo Ngirumpatse mu mirimo ye inyuranye y'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma birahamya ko, ibiri amambu, yakomeje gushaka kongera ingufu z'ubugizi bwa nabi bw'urubyiruko, n'izo guhiga ibizigira n'urubyiruko rw'a mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, akishingira n'ubudahanwa bw'abayoboke bakurikiraniwe « ibyo bononnye[223] », kimwe n'ubushake budahuga bwo kurindagiza igenzura ryakorwaga na Minuar ibifashijwe mo na guverinoma kugira ngo ihagarike ibyo gukwirakwiza intwaro mu rubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*. Ibaruwa yabonetse isobanura neza ibyo bintu ni iyandikiwe perezida Habyarimana mu buryo bw'ibanga ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1993 imumenyesha ibingibi :

> « Biro poritiki yanasabye ko hashyirwa ho imitwe yo kwirwana ho mu bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara no muri perefegitura zugarijwe. Ibi ntibyakozwe. Impamu zatanzwe zo kudaha abasiviri intwaro ni amafuti, kandi imyifatire nk'iyo, ikunze kuranga abasirikari b'umwuga, ishobora kuzaridukondera. Ibyo nyamara ntibyabujije amashyaka na FPR/ Inkotanyi kuturega kugira imitwe y'urubyiruko ! Ku bwanjye, birihutirwa cyane guha abasore imyitozo (mu ibanga, birumvikana) kuko tuzi ko umugambi w'ibanze uri mo gusohozwa ari uwo kwigarurira uRwanda, uBurundi, n'uburasirazuba bwa Zayire. Ubwitabire bw'abanyagihugu bose ni bwo bushobora kuwuburiza mo[224]. »

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[222] *Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, Amarorerwa yabaye muRwanda. Urundi ruhande rw'amateka, nta tariki, p. 69-70.*

[223] *Matayo NGIRUMPATSE yandikiye perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana ku ya 23 Ugushyingo 1992, TPIR, cote KO0504602 (Reba umugereka 36).*

[224] *Ibaruwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE yandikiye perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana ku ya 15 Gashyantare 1993, TPIR, KO0503817 (Reba umugereka 48).*

Abatangabuhamya benshi cyane bemeza ko icyo cyifuzo cyakurikijwe, kandi ko abayobozi b'imena ba Muvoma bashishikariye ubwabo gupanga, babifashijwe mo n'abakuru ba gisirikari bari bashyigikiye iyo poritiki (nka Rewonaridi Nkundiye i Gabiro) iyo myitozo ya gisirikari, ariko cyane cyane ko umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma akwirakwiza intwaro abavuye mu myitozo (*Reba umugereka 48*). Na none, mu myandiko n'ubuhamya byinshi, haboneka mo ibisobanuro nyirizina by'igikorwa gikomeye gishimangira uruhare rwa perezidansi ya Muvoma n'urwa Komite y'igihugu y'umutwe w'urubyiruko mu gukwirakwiza intwaro. Koko rero, kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 ni bwo Matayo Ngirumpatse yafatanyije n'abayobozi bo muri Komite y'igihugu batangira kugirana na Minuar umukino wo guhishahisha intwaro zifitwe n'abarwanashyaka, bityo bagakontorora gahunda ya Minuar yo « gutororokanya intwaro zitunzwe ku buryo bunyuranyije n'amategako ». Ibyo Minuar yabikoraga isaka abantu bose bashoboraga gukekwa, ni ukuvuga cyane cyane urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*.

> « Mu nama ya Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma yabaye ku buryo rusange ku wa gatatu [itariki ntizwi], Bwana Ngirumpatse Matayo yabamenyeshe ku mugaragaro ko Minuar ifite uburenganzira bwo gusaka, igihe icyo ari cyo cyose no mu rugo urwo ari rwo rwose, ubuhisho bw'intwaro no kuzifata. Kubera ibyo, yaburiye *Interahamwe* Za Muvoma kandi asaba izifite intwaro kwikandagira cyane no kuzihisha ku buryo abantu ba Minuar badashobora kuzibona. Yarabihanangirije ababwira y'uko ishyaka rya MRND nta cyo rizashobora kunganira ho uzaba yafashwe[225]. »

Igihe umwe mu bayobozi b'*Interahamwe* yari yitabye urukiko Arusha muri Kamena 2006, abunganizi ba Matayo Ngirumpatse bahakanye batsemba uruhare rw'uwo baburanira mu gutanga intwaro. Dore ingingo ebyiri uwo muyobozi w'*Interahamwe* yahaye umwanya w'ibanze. Iya mbere yerekeye uburyo bwo kubona intwaro:

[225] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004. Mu mugereka wa 48 hari mo inkuro zinyuranye z'amaraporo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye n'ubuhamya bw'abagabo.*

Bazo : Bwana Mutangabuhamya, mbese wari icyegera cya nomero ya mbere?
Subizo : Yego, Munyamategeko.
Bazo : Mwigeze se muvugana ibyo gutanga intwaro ?
Subizo : Yego, twavuganye ibyo … gutanga intwaro, yego.
Bazo : Wamubajije se aho zavaga ?
Subizo : Munyamategeko, sinashoboraga kumubaza ibibazo nk'uko uri mo kubica mo amarenga. Uko ibintu byari byifashe, n'uko byari bimenyerewe mu gihugu - ndabyibutsa kandi nari nabivuze na mbere -, ni uko aho intwaro zaturukaga hari hamwe gusa muRwanda : gutunga intwaro byari bihariwe abasirikari gusa. Nta bucuruzi buhari… nta bucuruzi bwisanzuye bw'intwaro bwari buhari, oya[226]».

Koko rero, n'ubwo hari intambara y'amagomerane, gutunga imbunda muRwanda byari « umwihariko w'abasirikari ». « Nta soko ry'intwaro » ryari ryemewe kandi kuzigera ho byashorwaga na bake (*Reba umugereka 48*). Ibyo guha intwaro abaturage byari byarageragejwe mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1992, ariko ntibyagira icyo bigera ho. Bitangiriye muri komini Muvumba mu Mutara, hari gahunda yo gufasha abanyacyaro kwirwana ho yari yakwijwe muri komini nyinshi zindi zagirijwe n'imirwano, ariko izo ntwaro, hafi ya zose, zaguye mu maboko ya FPR/ Inkotanyi. Igikorwa cyihutirwa Gemusi Gasana yashishikariye akigirwa minisitiri w'ingabo muri Mata 1992, cyabaye icyo gukosora imikorere idahwitse no kudakurikiza amabwiriza ya disipurini byarangwaga mu nzego zose z'Ingabo, ahanini bitewe n'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'umubare w'abasirikari bashya binjijwe bageze mu bihumbi – babitaga « abakenzejuru » ari ugushimangira ukuntu imyitoreze yabo yari migufi cyane – bakaba ari na bo bihutiraga kugurisha imbunda zabo, gerenade zabo batangira n'ubucuruzi bwakwirakwije intwaro mu migi minini. Kubera amashyaka menshi n'icyemezo cya Gemusi Gasana[227], gahunda yo guha

[226] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe udashobora kuvugwa izina, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 1 Kamena 2006, p. 5.*

[227] *Ndibutsa ko Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yarakomeje kwanga gahunda iyo ari yo yose yo gutoza urubyiruko ibya gisirikari, kuko yari gutuma n'urubyiruko rwo mu turere twose tw'igihugu rushobora kwinjira mu Ngabo. Nyamaar nyuma y'igitero cya FPR/Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare 1993, yavuze amadisikuru anyuranye yakanguriraga abaturage gushyira ho ingamba zo kwirwana ho, bityo akavuguruza minisitiri w'Ingabo. Uyunguyu yarwanyaga cyane gahunda zo gutanga intwaro Koroneri Bagosora, wayoboraga ikigo cya gisirikari gikomeye cy'i Kanombe ya Kigali, yari yaratangije guhera muri Mutarama 1993, yubikiye ko minisitiri yari adahari (ku buryo buhutiye ho, yari yashinzwe kubobora intumwa za guverinoma mu mishyikirano ya Arusha). Aho agarukiye, gahunda yo kugaruza izo ntwaro yayishinze Koroneri Rawurenti Rutayisire, ariko cyane cyane Majoro Ruti*

intwaro abasiviri yaracogoye kugeza igihe Gasana yahungiye noneho minisiteri y'Ingabo ikigarurirwa n'umuyoboke wa Muvoma « wizewe », n'abasirikari b'abahezanguni. Kuva icyo gihe, abahabwaga intwaro bashungurwaga n'uruhererekane rw'abasirikare n'abanyaporitiki bo mu gipande cya perezida : ni abari bagize amatsinda yo « kwirwana ho kw'abaturage », n'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* zahawe imyitozo n'intwaro, hatarangwa mo n'uwa kirazira mu barwanashyaka bo mu majyepfo. Icya kabiri, n'ubwo mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 hari hatewe intambwe mu kwifatanya n'urubyiruko rwa « Hutu Pawa » rwo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ubwo bufatanye ntibwageze ku ntera yatuma umuntu yibwira ko amacakubiri ashingiye ku turere yavuye ho, cyangwa se ko intwaro zitari kongera gukoreshwa mu mirwano ishyamiranya abavandimwe:

« *Kwigisha abantu kwirwanaho ngo ni ukwigisha abakiga ngo bazamare abanyenduga* [228]*!!*» Iyo nteruro yagaragazaga urwikekwe rukomeye rwari hagati y'Abakiga n'Abanyenduga, no mu byerekeye imiyoborere y'intambara no kwirwana ho kw'abaturage. Mu by'ukuri, imitwe y'*Interahamwe* yabaye ho nyabyo muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo igihe byagaragaye ko bitagishobotse gukumira isibo ya FPR/Inkotanyi kandi ko gutsindwa byari byegereje (*Reba umugereka13*). Intwaro z'*Interahamwe* zari ziri mo : imbunda R4, G3, Kalashnikov, gerenade, masotera n'intwaro gakondo. Kasimu Turatsinze, uzwi no ku izina rya « Jean Pierre », umurwanashyaka wari umuderevu wa Matayo Ngirumpatse akaba yari anashinzwe ibyo gucunga intwaro, yagereranyaga ko imbunda zahawe *Interahamwe* z'i Kigali zari zarahawe imyitozo ya gisirikari « zakabakabaga umubare wa magana atandatu ». Mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1994, imyitozo *Interahamwe* zahabwaga n'abasirikari yariyongereye mu mitwe yari ishyigikiye ibikorwa byazo kandi haba ho n'inkunga ya minisitiri w'Ingabo wari uwa Muvoma, Agusitini Bizimana. Udutsiko twitwaraga gisirikari twari twiganje cyane cyane i Remera, aho *Interahamwe* zari zigizwe n'umubare urenga 60% w'abarezerivisiti kandi

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Kankwanzi. Ni no muri uko kwezi kwa Gashyantare minisitiri w'Ingabo yategetse gufunga ako kanya ikigo cyari mu Bugesera gitorezwa mo abakurutu 3.000 batoranyijwe mu nkambi z'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara mu gihe yari atari mu gihugu.

[228] *Ajenda ya Pawurina NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ku magaji yerekana amatariki ya 31 Mutarama, 19-20 Gashyantare, na 22 Gashyantare 1994 (Reba umugereka 76).*

zikanashyigikirwa n'abakuru b'Umutwe urinda perezida. Wadusangaga i Kanombe aho *Interahamwe* zari zigizwe hafi zose n'abahoze ari abasirikari, ndetse no ku Kicukiro. Ni zo zari imenerabahizi mu dutendo, ukabona zitandukanye cyane n'insoresore bapfaga gutoragura ngo zize « gukora ikinamico ». Mu gihugu bavugaga ko izo nsoresore zari izo gukontorora « imigendo y'imbeba » (« *panya road* » mu giswayire). Inshingano z'*Interahamwe* zari zaragenwe ku buryo busobanutse neza, haba ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma n'urwa Komite y'igihugu, haba ku nzego zose za perefegitura, komini na segiteri, ndetse n'aho abanyaporitiki bazihongeraga amafaranga kugira ngo zicunge umutekano wabo kandi zinabashyigikire mu bya poritiki. Ibigo bikomeye byose bya Leta n'ibyo yari ifite mo imigabane byayoborwaga n'abari mu pipande cya perezida byari byarashyize ho imitwe yitwaje intwaro kandi bikayigenera umushahara (Cimerwa, Sorwal, Ocir- Ishami ry'Icyayi n'Ishami ry'Ikawa, Isar, Onatracom, Ikaragiro rya Nyabisindu, nb.) Mu izina rya MRND/CDR, iyo mitwe yishingiraga ibikorwa by'umutekano cyangwa iby'iterabwoba ahantu n'igihe abayobozi babiyisabaga.

Asezera ku buyobozi bw'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*, hanyuma no mu nzego za Muvoma ndetse no ku mwanya wamuhaga amafaranga yari yarashyizwe mo, Desideri Murenzi yari yerekanye ko atemeranya na perezida n'ibyegera bye ku ngingo yo gukoresha imitwe y'urubyiruko mu kurinda umutekano bwite w'abanyaporitiki. Nyuma y'imyaka itatu, kandi abayobozi ba Muvoma babizi neza, urwo rubyiruko batanishije rwaje kwibyara mo ikiremwankwashi.

7

Igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 n'ishyirwaho rya Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba

Ku wa gatatu ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 saa mbiri na makumyabiri n'itanu, indege yari itwaye Jenerari-Majoro Yuvenari Habyarimana na perezida w'uBurundi Sipiriyani Ntaryamira yarahanuwe. Abo bakuru b'ibihugu bombi baguye muri icyo gico bavuye i Dar es-Salaam mu nama yari yahuje abakuru b'ibihugu byo mu karere kugira ngo basuzume ibibazo by'umutekano, ariko cyane cyane icy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano yasinyiwe Arusha ku ya 4 Kanama 1993. Perezida w'uBurundi yinjiye ku munota wa nyuma mu ndege Falcon 50 ya perezida w'uRwanda kubera ko iye yari yakwamye. Mu gihe yari mo kwitegura kugwa ku kibuga mpuzamahanga cy'i Kigali cyitiriwe perezida Gerigori Kayibanda, indege ya perezida yarashwe igisasu gikoreshwa ku butaka no mu kirere ariko kirayihusha. Umuderevu yakomeje imirimo yo kururutsa indege, ariko hagati aho igisasu cya kabiri kirayihamya, kiyituritsa iri mo kwababa hejuru y'umuhanda wayo.

Icyo gico cyahitanye abantu cumi na babiri, imirambo yabo igwa mu busitani bw'inzu

ya perezida Habyarimana yari iri hafi aho. Muri iyo ndege hari mo kandi Abafaransa batatu (Majoro Jacky Héraud, umuderevu, Koroneri Jean- Pierre Minaberry, umuderevu wungirije na Ajida- shefu Jean- Marie Perrinne, umukanishi w'indege), Jenerari- Majoro Dewogarasiyasi Nsabimana, umukuru wa Etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda, Ambasaderi Yuvenari Renzaho, umujyanama muri Perezidansi, Koroneri Eli Sagatwa, umujyanama wihariye na muramu wa perezida, Emanweri Akingeneye, muganga wihariye wa perezida, Majoro Tadeyo Bagaragaza, umusirikari mukuru urinda perezida, Siriyaki Simbizi, minisitiri w'Umurundi wari ushinzwe Itumanaho akaba n'umuvugizi wa guverinoma, na mugenzi we, Berenarudo Ciza, minisitiri wa Leta ushinzwe Igenamigambi ry'amajyambere no gusana ibyangiritse.

Uruhuri rw'ibisobanuro bigusha kuri nyirigico

Nk'uko nabivuze mu iriburiro, nari i Kigali ku munsi w'igico ndetse no mu minsi yakurikiye ho. Mu mitwe y'iki gitabo ikurikira, ndajya ntanga ubuhamya bw'ibyo niboneye n'ibyo niyumviye nk'umugabo wari uhibereye. Guhera igihe mviriye i Kigali, ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, nafatanyije n'Abanyarwanda benshi – abo muri Kaminuza n'abanyamakuru twateguranaga igitabo – ngerageza gukusanya amakuru yose yashobokaga. Twari twaratangiye, dukurikije ubushobozi bwacu, kwibukiranya ingengabihe y'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari bakomeye, iy'abayobozi bo mu gipande cya perezida n'abo muri FPR/Inkotanyi, kugira ngo tumenye neza icyo bakoze mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bityo dushyire abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi mu myanya yabo dukurikije aho bari bari igihe iki n'iki.

Mu gihe twahurizaga hamwe ibyo twari twarageze ho, ubwo hari mu nama twakoreye mu Bubirigi mu cyumweru cya mbere cya Kamena 1994 dufatanyije n'intiti za Kaminuza n'abanyaporitiki benshi, imyanzuro itatu yarigaragaje :

- Ikipi yateguye ikanarangiza igico yari igizwe n'abantu bake cyane, bakoze batanyuze mu nzira z'inzego zisanzwe za poritiki cyangwa iz'ubuyobozi zishobora kubibazwa. Abantu b'ibikomerezwa bari basanzwe ari ibyegera

by'abafata ibyemezo ntacyo bari babwiwe kandi nta n'ubwo bashoboye gukeka ikiri bube ;

- Akajagari, ndetse n'igikuba byaranze igipande cya Muvoma/CDR/Akazu igico kimaze kuba byari binyuranye cyane n'urunyiriri rw'ingamba z'abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi bari muri CND (Inteko ishinga amategeko) ;
- Kubona ambasade zikomeye na serivisi z'iperereza z'amahanga zararuciye zikarumira byagaragaje ubwumvikane bwo kuzinzika ibyabaye[229].

Turebye igikusanyo rusange cy'ubushakashatsi n'uko nta ngingo gihamya zashobaraga gutuma abantu bagira icyo bemeza gifatika, umwanzuro waragize uti « uko ibintu byifashe, nta ngingo n'imwe yafasha gukemura cyangwa kweyura ibishidikanyo[230]».

Mu cyuka cy'irengamutima cyabaye ho kuva ubwo ku bibazo byerekeye uRwanda, nirinze kugira icyo nemeza cyangwa ngo mpakane. Igitekerezo cy'uko FPR/Inkotanyi ari yo yabigize mo uruhare cyaje kugira ireme rihageze ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe i Kigali, ubwo namaze umwanya munini nungurana ibitekerezo na minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Seti Sendashonga, akambwira amakenga yagaragajwe n'abayobozi benshi b'abasiviri n'abasirikari ba FFPR/Inkotanyi bashyiraga mu majwi agatsiko k'ipfundo ry'Ingabo za FPR. Amagambo nk'ayo nayabwiwe ku munsi wa kabiri wakurikiye ho, ku itariki ya 25 Werurwe, na minisitiri w'Ubucamanza, Arufonsi- Mariya Nkubito. Ku itariki ya 6 Gashantare 1997, uyu Nkubito wari umuyobozi mukuru wa Banki ya Kigali icyo gihe kandi akabibangikanya n'ibikorwa byo guharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu, yamenyesheje ko atari agishidikanya ku ruhare rwa FPR/Inkotanyi muri icyo gico kubera ubuhamya yari yararundanyije. Ubwo buhamya yari yaragiye abukorera inyandiko inonosoye akabushyikiriza ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika yari

[229] *Igice kimwe cy'iyi misanzu y'ibitekerezo umuntu yagisanga mu gitabo : Andre Gishaoua, (dir.), Les crises politiques auRwanda et auBurundi [Ibizazane bya poritiki muBurundi no muRwanda], Karthala, Paris, 1995, cyane cyane mu mutwe witwa « L'attentat du 6 avril contre l'avion du president Habyarimana et Ntaryamira[Igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata ku ndege ya perezida Habyarimana na Ntaryamira] », p. 675- 693.*

[230] Ibid., p. 677

yarakomeje gukorana na yo.

Na none muri Gashyantare 1997, mu mpera z'uko kwezi, Mikayire Hourigan, wari uyoboye Ikipi nyagihugu ya TPIR yari i Kigali kandi ishinzwe gukora anketi, yahagaritswe mu buryo butunguranye mu kazi ko gupererereza ibyerekeye igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata. Ibyo byaturutse ku kiganiro yagiranye n'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR Louise Arbour bakoresheje terefoni yizewe yo muri ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika noneho akavuga ko, ashingiye ku buhamya busobanutse neza bw'abantu batatu, Pawuro Kagame ari we watanze amabwiriza yerekeye icyo gico[231]. Nyamara ariko ni muri Kanama 2002 nabonye ko ibyo kumwitirira icyo gikorwa bifite ishingiro rihamye. Bitewe n'imirimo nakoraga yo kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere mu biro by'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR, icyo gihe nashoboraga kugera ku makuru nyayo ashyigikira igitekerezo cy'uko FPR/Inkotanyi yagize uruhare mu dutendo twa gisirikare twinshi cyane hagati ya 1991 na 1994, hari mo n'igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994. Ayo makuru yari akubiye mu myandiko yakozwe n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abanyarwanda bari bakiri mu kazi, bamaze imyaka itatu bakora anketi, hanyuma bakagaragaza ibimenyetso by'ingeri zinyuranye byerekeye icyo gico kandi bakanatangaza amazina y'abakigiye mo n'ay'abatangabuhamya bemeye kugira icyo babibivuga ho. Ayo makuru yari agenewe umushinjacyaha wa TPIR Carla Del Ponte n'umucamanza Jean- Louis Bruguière bari bafatanyije, nibuze ku buryo bw'amategeko, gukurikirana iby'iyo dosiye. Iyo myandiko rero yashyikirijwe uwo mucamaza w'Umufaransa, maze asanga mo ingingo zishimangira ku buryo buhamye ibyo na we yari yarivumburiye. Yahise asaba ko abohereje iyo myandiko bahagarika anketi zose bakareka no kongera kugira uwo babonana na we, ku mpamvu z'umutekano wabo n'uw'abatangabuhamya. Na ho umushinjacyaha wa TPIR we, ubwo nashatse kumuhereza iyo myandiko mu ntoki ze bwite i La Haye ku itariki ya 8 Ukwakira 2002, yarayinteye avuga ngo uretse n'indahiro visi-perezida Kagame yakoreye mu ruhame ko ari umwere, we ubwe yari yahaye urukiko impapuro zikomoka mu

[231] *Ku itariki ya 27 Ugushyingo 2006, Michael Hourigan yashyikirije TPIR ubuhamya bukubiye mo anketi yari yarakoze (Reba umugereka 49).*

Banyamerika, zikaba zemeza ku buryo budasubirwa ho uruhare rw'uBufaransa, bityo ngo we ni aho azagarukira[232]. Kuva icyo gihe, keretse hagize ubivuguruza, naho ubundi kubona anketi zakozwe ku buryo zitagize aho zihurira ariko zikagaragaza amazina amwe rwose kandi zikabara ku buryo bumwe inkuru y'uko ibintu byakurikiranye, bisobanura yuko imyanzuro yazo ifite ukwiringirwa guhamye. Ubwo bwiringirwe bwaje gushimangirwa, ku buryo budasanzwe mu byumweru byakurikiye ho, n'ukuntu bagerageje kwica, gufata, gucira mu buhungiro no kuzimiza abasirikare bakuru benshi bakekwaga kuba baragize uruhare muri izo anketi. Twatunguwe n'amananiza badushyiraga ho, cyane cyane ayo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza, bakatubangamira mu byo twakoraga bigamije gukusanya izindi ngingo z'amakuru cyangwa se gihamya z'inyongera, cyane cyane ko ayo mananiza yaturukaga ku bayobozi mu bya poritiki n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ndetse n'abo mu rwego mpuzamahanga bari bashinzwe korohereza izo anketi no gutuma zirangira neza.

Ndibutsa kandi ko mbere, hagati na nyuma y'intambara yo mu wa 1994, FPR/Inkotanyi itigeze igingimiranya mu gukoresha uburyo bwose bushoboka bwo gukanga no kureba igitsure abatangabuhamya bashoboraga kumena « amabanga » yayo n'ubugizi bwa nabi bw'urukozasoni yerekanye mu ntambara, kabone n'iyo yabaga ibugirira abayoboke bayo barahiriye kutazayigambanira no kubahiriza amabwiriza y'ishyaka. Bityo, abantu babarirwa muri za mirongo ingahe babaye ibitambo, ku buryo butaziguye n'ubuziguye, by'iryo hishahisha ry'ibyabaye ku birebana na dosiye y'iyicwa ry'abanyaporitiki, y'iremwa ry'ibico n'iy'itsembatsemba ry'abaturage b'abasiviri mu gihe cy'intambara,

ndetse n'iy'igico cyahanuye indege ya perezida[233]. Abandi bakomeje kubagenzura mu

[232] *Wari umwandiko ukomoka mu kigo baringa cyitwa ISTO (International strategical and tactical organization), cyegekaga icyo gico kuri DGSE, serivisi z'uBufaransa z'ipereereza ryo hanze. Intumwa z'icyo kigo zahaye ambasade y'uRwanda muri Kanada amazina y'abasirikari b'Abafaransa ngo baba barahanuye indege. Ariko igenzura ryakozwe n'ishami ry'abaporisi bakurikirana dosiye z'ubucamaza risuzumye ibitabo by'imyirondoro n'itonde ry'amazina y'abasirikari bakuru basohotse mu ishuri rya gisirikari rya Saint- Cyr ntiryagize ikintu rigera ho. Ku ruhande rwayo, Interpol nta kirari na kimwe yabonye cy'icyo kigo ISTO muri Kanada. Anketi igaragaza imikorerere y'abantu CIA[ikigo cy'ubutasi muri Amerika] yagize udukoresho (Reba umugereka 50).*

[233] *Ndavuga gusa amazina ya bamwe mu bantu bafite icyo bibukirwa ho. Perefe Petero - Karaveri Rwangabo : yiciwe ku muhanda wa Butare ku ya 4 Werurwe 1995 ; minisitiri Seti Sendashonga : yiciwe i Nairobi kuya 16 Gicurasi 1998 ; musenyeri Andereya Sibomana : yategereje ko ajyanwa kwivuriza i Nairobi, nuko ubutegetsi*

ngendo zabo no mu bo batumanaga ho (iposita, terefone, murandasi…). Bazi kandi ko serivisi z'iperereza zigengwa na Perezidansi zitarabica kubera gusa ko bakagombye kuba ari bonyine babitse amabanga amwe n' amwe, bityo kuyatangaza bikaba byabavira mo amakuba ako kanya. Dore ibyambaye ho ubwanjye: igihe nasozaga ikiganiro nari nagiranye n'umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi ukorera muRwanda, namubajije mutunguye niba yibuka ingengabihe yakurikije ku munsi runaka mbere y'ukwezi kwa Mata 1994 (icyo gihe Umuhutu ukomeye yari yishwe n'igitero shuma uwo muntu nabajije yari ari mo), nuko mbona igikuba kiracitse. Urundi rugero natanga ni urw'umukomando wo mu Ngabo za FPR/Inkotanyi wafashwe akimara kubona ibaruwa yohererejwe n'umusirikari wari watorotse akisangira izindi ngabo hanyuma akaza no kwicwa urubozo n'abashinzwe iperereza rya gisirikari (DMI) bamubazaga.

Bamwe babujijwe burundu kugira aho bajya no kugira uwo babonana. Muri icyo cyuka kiremereye, dore ko n'ibihano biremereye byari byagenewe abasirikari bakuru hafi ya bose bahoze mu Ngabo z'uRwanda – bamfashaga mu gutegura imanza za jenoside zo mu rukiko rwa Arusha (*Reba umutwe wa 14*) - , ku itariki ya 2 Werurwe 2004, namenyesheje minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'uRwanda, Karori Murigande(6), ko « kuva ubu nzakora anketi nkanavugira imbere y'Urukiko ibyerekeye ibyaha bya jenoside n'ibyaha by'intambara ndetse n'ibyibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi ». Ubwo nari nibohoye amasezerano yo kudakura inyungu mu buryo bworoshye nari mfite bwo gukora iperereza ku madosiye areba abayoboke ba

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bumwima pasiporo, maze apfa atyo azize kureregwa ku ya 9 Werurwe 1998 ; minisitiri Arufonsi- Mariya Nkubito : yaguye iwe ku ya 12 Gashyantare 1997 ; incuti ye, perezida w'Inama ya Leta, Visenti Nkezabaganwa: yiciwe i Kigali iminsi ibiri nyuma ya Nkubito, ku ya 14 Gashyantare 1997 ; visiperezida w'Urukiko rw'ikirenga, Agusitini Cyiza: yashimuswe ku ya 23 Mata 2003 none yarabuze kuva icyo gihe. Byongeye kandi, ubuhotozi bw'abanyamahanga babonye ubugome n'itsembatsemba byakozwe na FPR/Inkotanyi bwakomeje kuba kugeza mu myaka ya vuba : Joachim Vallmajó, umupadiri w'umusipanyoro ku ya 26 Mata 1994 i Byumba ; Claude Simard, uwihaye Imana w'Umunyakanada, ku ya 17 Ukwakira i Butare ; Abafurere marisiti b'Abasipanyoro bane , ku ya 31 Ukwakira 1996 mu nkambi y'impunzi muri Kivu y'Amajyepfo ; abaterankunga b'amajyambere batatu b'Abasipanyoro bakoreraga umuryango w'Abaganga b'Isi (Médecins du monde), ku ya 18 Mutarama 1997 mu Ruhengeri ; Guy Pinard, uwihaye Imana w'Umunyakanada, ku ya 2 Gashyantare 1997mu Ruhengeri ; abakurikirana iby'uburenganzira bwa muntu batanu b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku ya 4 Gashyantare 1997 ; umupadiri w'Umukorowate, Curi Vjekoslav, ku ya 31 Ukwakira 1998 ; Isidro Uzcudun, umupadiri w'Umusipanyoro, ku ya 10 Kamena 2000 i Gitarama ; nb. (Reba umugereka 51).

FPR/Inkotanyi. Mu itsinda ry'imyandiko yatangajwe n'ikinyamakuru *Le Monde* muri icyo gihe, hari mo inkuro ica amarenga kuri iyo dosiye y'abasirikari bakuru b'uRwanda irebana n'igico : « N'ubwo yiyise igitambo cy'ingoma y'i Kigali amaze gusezererwa ku mirimo ye muri Nzeri 2003 (« Biragaragara ko byose byatangiye igihe twatekereje ibyo gukora anketi zihariye ku ibyaha bya FPR/Inkotanyi »), Madamu Carla Del Ponte, kimwe n'uwamubanjirije muri TPIR, ntiyigeze ashaka kugaragaza uruhare rwa FPR/Inkotanyi. Amaze kubonana na perezida w'uRwanda ku ya 28 Kamena 2002 i Kigali, yagize ubushishozi buke amenyesha Jenerari Kagame mu buryo bwanditse ko ahagaritse ibyo gukurikirana abantu bo mu ishyaka rye… Nuko no ku itariki ya 8 Ukwakira [2002], kugira ngo ativuguruza ubwe, Carla Del Ponte yanze kwakira idosiye iri mo gihamya z'igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata, kandi nyamara ayiherejwe n'inzobere yakoraga mu Biro bye. Izo gihamya zakusanyijwe n'abitandukanyije n'ubutegetsi bwo muRwanda, nyuma zabaye umusanzu ukomeye muri anketi y'umucamanza Jean – Louis Bruguière, kimwe n'iz'abatangabuhamya benshi bari barahejwe mu rukiko rw'umuryango w'Abibumbye, bakaza kuzihishurira uwo mucamanza w'i Paris. « Muri ubwo buryo, dushobora kuvuga ko byari ubufatanye bwo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza LONI yatugaragarije », nguko uko umuranguruzi umenyereye iby'ubugenzacyaha bwo muBufaransa yayivugiye ho. « Ku bisigaye bindi, byari amananiza yo kutubangamira gusa[234]. »

Igihe yabibajijwe n'ikinyamakuru *Le Monde*, umushinjacyaha wa TPIR yahakanye ko atigeze yanga kwakira iyo myandiko, hanyuma asaba ko imvugo ye yakosorwa mu buryo bukurikira, kandi agobeka mo n'ibango ryanditse mu nyuguti nkuru : « Niba hari ikintu ntashobora kwanga, ni imyandiko. Ikigera hano cyose KANDI KIKABA GIKWIRIYE KWAKIRWA, ndagifata kuko gishobora gufasha muri za anketi zanjye cyangwa se no mu z'undi muntu[235]. »

Sinashatse na gato kwinjira mu bushakashatsi bwo mu rwego rwa tekiniki buhariwe abategetsi bo mu bucamanza, ahubwo kuva icyo gihe nashishikajwe no gusuzuma ishingiro ry'icyo gitekerezo, cyane cyane kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2003,

[234] *Stephen SMITH, Le Monde, 3 Mata 2004.*
[235] *Ibyavuzwe byerekeye ikiganiro (???), 11 Werurwe 2004*

ubwo nagize amahirwe yo kugirana umubano wa hafi n'abaranguruzi banyuranye bo mu ngabo za FPR/Inkotanyi, bose kugeza uyu munsi bakaba barashimangiye ibyo twari twageze ho mbere.

Urebye igiciro gikanganye cyo gukomera ku kuri, ku masezerano nagiranye n'abatangabuhamya, no ku bwishingire bw'amakuru nakusanyije, ibyagaragajwe byose na anketi natangaje kugeza ubu kandi byerekeye ubushakashatsi nakoze muRwanda cyangwa kuRwanda nabitanze nk'ubuhamya mu bucamanza cyangwa se byagiwe ho impaka mu gihe nabarizwaga mu mashami ya TPIR Arusha. Inzira zose zishoboka, za gihamya n'abagabo bashakiwe icyo bya poropagande zihanganye, ibyo byose ni ubutabera bugomba guha agaciro no gushungura umusanzu wa buri wese mu kugaragaza ukuri. Kandi rero, n'ubwo igico cyahanuye indege ya perezida ari igikorwa gifite ingaruka ziremereye mu rukurikirane rw'ibyabaye mu mwaka wa 1994, nta buryo cyaba ari igisobanuro cyose [arufa na omega] cy'intambara na jenoside. Igico gishobora gufatwa nk'intandaro ya jenoside (*Reba umugereka 52*), ariko ntikiyisobanura (*Reba ibiri bukurikire*). Ku bwanjye, ngicyo igikabyo mu guhamya ukuri cyagaragaye mu iteka ry'umucamanza Jean- Louis Bruguière[236] kandi kikaba cyarangije byinshi, kitagaragaza neza ibikorwa nyabyo byavumbuwe n'iperereza. Ikindi, n'ubwo kwemera no gushakira gihamya ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bwa FPR/Inkotanyi ari ngombwa kugira ngo twumve neza icyari inyuma y'iyo kabutindi y'intambara y'amagomerane, ntibihanagura uruhare rw'igipande bari bashyamiranye ku byerekeye ubugizi bwa nabi bwarwo.

Amahitamo y'ubuyobe n'ubukunguzi atari ngombwa na gato

Urupfu rwa Habyarimana rukimenyekana, ibikorwa n'ibyemezo by'abanyagikorwa byakurikiranye mu muvuduko mwinshi. Dore incamake y'ingingo ngiye kwibanda ho : mu mugoroba nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege, inama idafite gahunda

[236] *Urukiko rukuru rw'Iremezo rw'i Paris, ibiro by'umucamanza Jean- Louis Bruguière, itangwa ry'inzandiko zo mu rwego mpuzamahanga zo gufata abashakishwa.* Ordonnance de soit-communiqué *[Iteka ry'ubushinjacyaha], Paris, 20 Ugushyingo 2006.*

yahurije muri etamajoro abasirikari bakuru benshi bo mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo bari baje kubaza amakuru hanyuma bakaza gusanga ari ngombwa gufata ibyemezo byihutirwa byo kubungabunga umutekano no kuziba icyuho muri etamajoro. Inyuma y'itoranya ry'abantu hari hikinze mo imigambi ya poritiki ikomeye yerekeye isimburwa rya perezida Habyarimana no gukomeza imirimo y'ubutegetsi mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho byabonekaga ko ari ngombwa. N'ubwo abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo n'abategekaga uturere twa gisirikari bari bagaragarije hamwe ko bashaka ko Leta ikomeza kuba ho n'uko hashyirwa ho ku buryo bwihutirwa inzego z'inzibacyuho zari zateganyijwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha, Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, ashyigikiwe n'abayobozi b'ingenzi ba Muvoma, yagerageje kubahatira icyitwa « Komite ya gisirikari » itubahiriza ibikubiye mu itegekonshinga.

Icyo kirari cyari gihuye n'icy'umuryango wa perezida washakaga mbere na mbere kuryoza urupfu rwa Habyarimana abari bahanganye na we muri poritiki, no gushyira ku isonga umusimbura we uzaba wahaye umugisha. Bityo, kuva mu museke wo ku ya 7 Mata, abagize Umutwe urinda perezida (*Reba Incamake ya ya 8*), imitwe y'Ingabo « yizewe » n'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bagabye ibitero ku batavuga rumwe na Muvoma no ku Batutsi hirya no hino mu tugari, bahotora umuyobozi wa guverinoma ari we Madamu Agata Uwiringiyimana kimwe n'abaminisitiri b'ingenzi n'abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvuma, bica rw'agashinyaguro « abasirikari ba Loni »[barangwa n'ingofero y'ubururu] b'Ababirigi bari muri Minuar bakaba bari bashinzwe umutekano wa Minisitiri w'Intebe nk'uko turi bubigaruke ho ku buryo burambuye. Bamaze gusesa ibyateganyijwe mu itegekonshinga rishya, Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bashinze « Abapawa » ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, nuko bitabaza n'itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991maze bashyira ho « Guverinoma y'ubusigire » ibwirizwa ibyo igomba gukora kandi ishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa poritiki yo guhangana na FPR/Inkotanyi no gutsembatsemba abaturage b'abasiviri b'Abatutsi.

Ku itariki ya 6 Mata nimugoroba, n'ubwo byabonekaga ko intambara yashoboraga

kongera kubura, kandi igipande cya perezida cyari cyaciwe umutwe (nta mukuru w'igihugu, nta mukuru wa etamajoro, nta bashefu b'ibiro G2 [ubutasi] n'ibiro G4 [ibikoresho] kikaba cyaragombaga kurundarunda ivu ry'ubutegetsi bwari bwasandaye no kugerageza gushyira ho izindi ngamba, ingufu nke no gutsindwa byaje kugaragara, amaherezo, ku Ngabo z'uRwanda imbere y'isumbwe rya gisirikari rya FPR/Inkotanyi, ndetse n'imyifatire yari kuranga za ambasade zikomeye, ibyo byose nta cyo byari byifite mo cy'urwandiko nyirantarengwa. Mu bihe byakurikiye ako kanya ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, ubushake bwo kugumana ubutegetsi inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi zashakaga kwigarurira, bwatumye ingufu zose zishyira hamwe kandi n'ishema ryo gukunda igihugu cyangwa insanganyamatsiko yo kurwanirira « ubumwe bw'Abahutu » byashoboraga kwiganza.

Incamake ya *8*

Umutwe w'ingabo zirinda perezida

Umutwe w'ingabo zirinda perezida (GP), kimwe na batayo y' « Abakodo » (Bn « Para », ndetse na batayo yo gutata ibirindiro by'umwanzi [Abariki], wari indatwa mu Ngabo z'uRwanda. Waremwe nyuma gato ya kudeta yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973 yakuye ho perezida Gerigori Kayibanda ikimika Jenerari Yuvenari Habyarimana. Inshingano z'Umutwe urinda perezida kwari ukumenya umutekano w'umukuru w'igihugu, w'umuryango we, w'ibyegera bye n'uw'abashyitsi be b'abanyacyubahiro. Ubuyobozi bw'uwo mutwe, birumvikana, bwakomeje guhabwa abasirikari bakuru bizewe. Ni kuri ubwo buryo abasirikari bakuru bo ku Gisenyi, akarere perezida akomoka mo, bawusimburanye ho :

Dewogarasiyasi Ndibwami, Rewonaridi Nkundiye, na Porotazi Mpiranya. Ni uyu wa nyuma wawutegekaga muri Mata 1994, ubwo yari Majoro. Kuva ukiremwa, Umutwe urinda perezida watujwe mu kigo gishya cyubatswe ku gasozi ka Kimihurura gateganye no mu mujyi rwagati. Uwo Mutwe ni wo warushaga indi yose ibikoresho, ukagira

burende zawo, n'abasirikari bawo bakabatoranya babyitondeye cyane, cyane cyane mu basirikari baturuka muri perefegitura zo mu majyaruguru : Gisenyi, Byumba na Ruhengeri. Kuba wari uri mo abasirikari hafi igihumbi byawugiraga uwa mbere mu kugira abasirikari benshi mu yindi yose y'Ingabo z'uRwanda. Umutware w'Umutwe urinda perezida ntiyahabwaga amategeko na etamajoro, ahubwo yayahabwaga no Koroneri Eli Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida, akaba ari na we ushinzwe umutekano we. Etamajoro yatangaga ibikoresho gusa, ikurikije amabwiriza ya Koroneri Eli Sagatwa. Ubuhamya bwinshi buvuga ko, inkuru y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ikimenyekana, na Eli Sagatwa akaba mu bayiguye mo, umuyobozi w'Umutwe urinda perezida kuva icyo gihe yakurikije amabwiriza aturutse mu muryango wa perezida no mu wo kwa sebukwe, yari yateraniye i Kanombe mu rugo rwe kubera ibyari bimaze kuba. Uwo Mutwe wagombaga kurindira mu kigo cyawo abanyacyubahiro bo ku ngoma ngo ubuzima bwabo, kurusha ubw'abandi, burushe ho kwitabwa ho.

Ariko kugira ngo iyo mpuruza y'ubumwe ishobore kwitabirwa, yagombaga guturuka mu buyobozi bufatanye urunana kandi bubona neza intego zigamijwe n'uburyo bwo kuzigera ho. Nyamara ahubwo inyongeramumaro zari zihari zakoreshejwe mu kajagari ku buryo wasangaga umugambi ari uwo kurusha ho kongera ingufu z'agatsiko aka n'aka gashingiye ku turere no kubwifatanye bwubakiye ku ruvangitirane rudasobanutse, aho guharanira umutsindo wa poritiki cyangwa uwa gisirikari ku gipande bahanganye.

Rimwe mu makosa akomeye y'abo mu pipande cya perezida, ni uko banze kwemera ko gukaza umurego kw'abasirikare no gushyira hamwe kw'abayobozi b'Ingabo mu myaka 1992-1993 byatewe n'uko minisitiri Gemusi Gasana yari yavuguruye etamajoro kandi agasaranganya ibikoresho mu mitwe yose y'ingabo. Abamurwanyaga bamuhatiye kwegura no guhunga, nuko bahita bisubiza ibyo bari banyazwe, n'abasirikari bakuru bari bamaze gushyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru bakomeza guhatiriza ngo babone uko basubira mu kazi. Dore nko mu isaha yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, Rawurenti Serubuga wari iwe ku Gisenyi yahamagaye Tewonesiti Bagosora amusaba ko we na Petero- Seresitini Rwagafirita baza « kumufasha ». Abo bombi ni bo

bari barahoze bayobora etamajoro hanyuma bagashyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru na Gemusi Gasana. Agatsiko nyamuke k'abasirikari bakuru b'abahezanguni bakorana n'Akazu bari bariye karungu kandi biyemeje gukoresha icy'ingufu. Kuko ntacyo bari gutakaza iyo baramuka biganje, ni bo, nk'uko turi bubibone, batangije ubuhotozi n'itsembatsemba muri Kigali, bifashishije imitwe y'abasirikari y'i Kigali yarushaga iyindi intwaro, n'iy'*Interahamwe* zari zakamejeje.

Aha ni ho habaye ikosa rya kabiri rya rurangiza ryakozwe n'abihangishaga ho ko ari bo bonyine bashobora kubungabunga ibyagezwe ho na « revorisiyo ya rubanda ». Bagereka ku mirimo yabo yo kurwanirira igihugu (abantu bose bashoboraga kuvuga ho rumwe) uwo gutsemba Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma n'Abatutsi b'abasiviri, bikururiye ubunyuranyantekerezo bukomeye muri etamajoro no mu pipande kinini cy'abaturage, bitesha batyo inkunga yose bari guhabwa n'amahanga. Aho kwitakana ubuke bw'ibikoresho bya gisirikari, kurebera no kwivanira mo akarenge by'igipande kinini cy'abanyagikorwa b'abasiviri n'abasirikari bari bashyigikiye ku bushake cyangwa ku gahato iyo poritiki y'ubwiyahuzi ni byo byatumye « Abahutu » baneshwa uruhenu. Bityo, n'ubwo nyamara mu mizo ya mbere byari bigishoboka ko ingufu zihindura icyerekezo cy'umunzani, ingamba zitaboneye z'ako gatsiko nyamuke zatumye gatsindwa ubudasubirwa ho, nk'uko turi bubibone.

Iyo « ntambara mu yindi ntambara » yatumye imitwe y'urubyiruko n'iyo kwirwana ho y'abaturage yirahira buri mutsindo w'urwibeshyo ku ngirwabanzi, kandi nyamara Ingabo z'igihugu, zari zacitse mo ibice, zitahwemaga kuvanwa mu byimbo n'ibitero by'imitwe ya FPR/Inkotanyi. Ingabo za FPR zaboneye icyuho muri ayo macakubiri maze mu gihe gito cyane ziba ari zo ziyobora umukino. Isumbwe mu bikoresho n'igemurirwa, ubumwe bw'umuryango n'urunyiriri mu buyobozi no mu migambi isobanutse byatumaga ibitero bya FPR/Inkotanyi bigera ku ntego zabyo kandi hadatakaye byinshi mu rwego rwa gisirikari, n'ubwo Abatutsi b'abasiviri b'imbere mu gihugu bagombaga kwirengera ingaruka zabyo z'akandare. Kugira ngo nirinde isesengura rw'ubusamo n'ivangavanga byagiye bisubiza amaso inyuma bigasa n'ibikomatanyiriza

mu kabindi kamwe abantu bose bo mu bwoko bwatsinzwe n'abayobozi bose b'abasirikari n'abasiviri, ni ngombwa kugaragaza abayobozi b'ingenzi n'ingufu zari zifite ubutegetsi cyangwa se zagerageje kubwigarurira, no kwerekana uko imyaka yatewe imirwi n'uko imirimo yigabagabanyijwe hagati y'abanyagikorwa banyuranye b'ako kangaratete.

Inama idafite gahunda y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo

Ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida rikimenyekana, abasirikari bakuru batangiye kujya muri etamajoro y'Ingabo kubaza amakuru no kugira ngo bamenye ikigomba gukorwa muri icyo gihe cy'icyuho[237]. Nta n'umwe washidikanyaga ku ruhare rwa FPR/Inkotanyi kandi ko n'inshingano yo gusubiza ho ubutegetsi yari ngombwa vuba na bwangu kubera iyubura ry'intambara barwanaga n'umwanzi wari umaze kugaragaza ku cy'ingufu ko yari ifite amarari ahanitse. N'ubwo inyota ya FPR/Inkotanyi ya guhirika ubutegetsi yari yaravumbuwe kuva kera ku buryo itari ikiri itungurana nyaryo, abanyaporitiki n'abasirikare bo mu gipande cya perezida, kimwe n'abakoranaga n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma ntibyababujije kubura icyo bafata n'icyo bareka. Bahereye ku byabaye mbere, bose babonaga ko FPR/Inkotanyi yitabazaga intwaro buri gihe kugira ngo ishimangire ibirindiro byayo cyangwa se ari ukugira ngo yigobotore mu mpatanwa. Nyamara abenshi bibwiraga ko inzego nshya za poritiki zari kuyigamburuza ntiyiringire inzira y'intambara gusa.

Mu gukumira FPR/Inkotanyi yabarushaga ingufu za gisirikari, abo mu gipande cya perezida n'ingufu z'imbere mu gihugu bari bishingikirije iturufu y'umubare munini cyane w'Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu. Ku bw'abayobozi b'iyo nyamwinshi, iyo miterere y'abanyagihugu ntiyari gutuma nyamuke y'Abatutsi baturutse ishyanga bategeka igihugu ku buryo burambye, cyane cyane yuko gukumba Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu byabateshaga inkunga yo mu rwego rwa poritiki bari biringiye. Ngibyo ibintu by'ibanze abahamagariwe kuzanzamura Leta yari yaciwe umutwe bagenderaga ho.

Kwibukiranya iby' iyo nama mpereye ku buhamya bw'abagabo benshi bari

[237] *Ushaka kumenya uko ijoro ryagenze muri etamajoro yabisanga mu mugereka 53.*

bayiri mo bigera ku nkuru ikurikira y'ukuntu iryo joro ryagenze[238]. Mu minota mirongo itatu yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege, Majoro Jerari Ntamagezo wari ku izamu muri etamajoro yabimenyesheje Liyetona-Koroneri Sipiriyani Kayumba wari ku izamu kuri minisiteri y'Ingabo. Kugira ngo amenye uko byifashe, uyu na we yabajije Koroneri Ferisiyani Muberuka wari umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Kanombe akaba ari na we wategekaga akarere k'imirwano k'umujyi wa Kigali. Muberuka yamuhamirije ko indege ya perezida yari yasandaye, kandi ko hari ikipi yari yagiye kugenzura neza aho ibintu byabereye.

We wenyine muri minisiteri y'ingabo, Sipiriyani Kayumba ni we washatse kuvugana na Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora mu rugo iwe ariko ntiyabishobora. Nuko aboneza iyo muri etamajoro, ahasanga Majoro Jerari Ntamagezo, Liyetona- Koroneri Manweri Kanyandekwe, Koroneri Yozefu Murasampongo, na Liyetona – Koroneri Yohani- Bosiko Ruhorahoza. Hashize akanya gato haje Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana[239] akurikiwe na Majoro Farasisiko- Saveri Nzuwonemeye. Nyuma yaho hageze Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora ubwo bajyaga mu cyumba cy'inama cyo muri etamajoro. Haziye ho na ba Liyetona- Koroneri Agusitini Rwamanywa, Pawuro Rwarakabije, na Yohani- Mariya- Viyane Ndahimana. Hafi saa yine, abayobozi ba MInuar, Jenerari Roméo Dallaire na Luc Marchal na bo baba barahageze, bari kumwe na Liyetona- Koroneri Efuremu Rwabarinda, umusirikari mukuru w'intumwa muri Minuar. Koroneri Baritazari Ndengeyinka yaje kubasanga, aho amenyeye ko hari inama muri etamajoro.

Inama yagiye irogowa n'igendagenda rya bamwe mu bayiri mo n'ikubitarubandu (Koroneri Ferisiyani Muberuka na Rewonidasi Rusatira) yarangiye ahagana saa cyenda-saa kumi za mu gitondo. Abasirikari bakuru benshi bagiye iwabo guhindura imyenda no kwitegura gusubira ku kazi. Jerari Ntamagezo, Manweri Kanyandekwe na Yohani-Bosiko Ruhorahoza ni bo bonyine bagumye muri etamajoro. Sipiriyani Kayumba

[238] *Mpereye ku mpapuro zanditswe, zinonosorwa kandi zinongera gusomwa na Liyetona- Koroneri Sipiriyani Kayumba.*

[239] *Uyu yahageze mu masaa tatu. Abonye ko Koroneri Bagosora adahari, yasabye ko yavugana na we ku murongo wa radiyo. Bagosora yahageze mu minota cumi yakurikiye ho (ubuhamya bwa Agusitini NDINDIRIYIMANA bwakiriwe na Filip Reyntjens, Buruseri, 8 Werurwe 1995).*

yagarutse muri etamajoro saa kumi n'imwe n'igice, amaze kumenyeshwa na Jerari Ntamagezo ko amasasu ari kumvikana mu mujyi rwagati no ku Kimihurura, aho ikigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida cyari kiri. Ngo ayo masasu yaba yararaswaga na bamwe bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida bari ku izamu ku rugo rwa perezida (rwari hepfo ya Katederari Mutagatifu Mikayire), akaba ari na bo bagiye mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe rwari hafi aho, ari ukugira ngo bamubuze kujya mu mazu ya Radiyo Rwanda aho yashakaga kugira icyo atangariza rubanda[240]. Muri urwo rufaya rw'amasasu, ngo hari n'uwabonye[241] neza amwe arasirwa muri burende (birashoboka ko yari iy'umutwe urinda perezida.

Mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri- saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice, amasasu yumvikaniye ahantu hose ari na bwo Umutwe urinda perezida watangiye itsembatsemba rihera ruhande. Sipiriyani Kayumba yahamagaye Tewonesiti Bagosora ngo abimumenyeshe. Abasirikari benshi mu bari bahari ninjoro bagarutse kubaza amakuru muri etamajoro. Koroneri Bagosora yakoresheje akanama kugira ngo bagire icyo bavuga ku kibazo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida no kugira ngo batange amabwiriza y'icyakorwa. Sipiriyani Kayumba, umusirikari mukuru wari ku izamu, « atumira abantu bose mu nama muri etamajoro i saa moya ». Abahuriye muri iyo nama bemeje gusaba batayo y' « Abariki » (Recce) yari ishinzwe kurinda ahantu h'ingirakamaro « ngo ikumire abo basirikari ». Abasirikari

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[240] *« Bukeye [ku ya 7 Mata], kare cyane mu gitondo, nakiriye indi terefone, iturutse kuri minisitiri w'Intebe, Madamu Uwiringiyimana wambwiraga ko afite ingorane zo kugera kuri Radiyo ngo atange itangazo kuri iyo mpanuka. Yambwiraga ko ari mo kugerageza gutumira Inama ya guverinoma, ko twagombaga kubonana mu kanya gato nyuma yaho, kandi ko nagombaga kugumya kuba hafi, akaza kongera kumpamagara. Ntiyongeye guhamagara". (ubuhamya bwa Yusitini Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p.44).*

[241] *Reba n'ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari Ndengeyinka imbere y'Urukiko mpanabyaha rw'i Buruseri mu rubanza rwa Majoro Ntuyahaga: "Nuko umutangabuhamya avuga ko yagiye saa kumi za mu gitondo, amaze kugena umusirikari mukuru wo gusigara kuri terefone. Yari atuye hafi cyane y'Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikari (ESM), mu nguni y'umuhanda Paul VI n'umuhanda wa Nyarugunga. Mu masaa kumi n'imwe za mu gitondo, yakanguwe n'amasasu, nuko aterefona umusirikari mukuru uri ku izamu, Sipiriyani Kayumba, waba ngo yaramuhaye amakuru akurikira : " Ni twe dushaka kubuza minisitiri w'Intebe kujya kuri Radiyo" » (ubuhamya bwa Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, 5 Kamena 2007, Igazeti y'ubucamanza : Imanza zerekeye uRwanda, 2007, nº 7, Buruseri, p. 3).*

bakuru benshi banyuze muri etamajoro mbere yo kujya ku kazi kabo muri minisiteri y'Ingabo i saa moya. Bamwe bashoboye kugera yo, abandi babibuzwa n'amasasu. Bose bashakaga kumenya neza ibyari mo kuba. Jenerari Ndindiriyimana yahageze inama imaze kurangira, ariko Koroneri Bagosora amunyurira mu byemezo byafashwe kugira ngo bagenzure ibiri mo kuba. »

Icy'ingenzi cyari kigamijwe n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo bari muri etamajoro (EM AR) ku mugoroba w'ihanurwa ry'indege, cyari icyo kumenya uzasimbura by'ubusigire abayobozi bari batabarutse, mu gihe bari bagitegereje ko icyerekezo cya gisirikari n'icya poritiki bigaragara neza. Ni ukuvuga, mu buryo bufatika, kugeza ku gihe FPR/Inkotanyi yari kumenyekanisha cyiciro gikurikira cya « gahunda » yayo. Bari bazi kandi ko guhita mo abayobozi b'abasigire byagombaga byanze bikunze kwerekana ishusho y'isaranganya rya poritiki ryari kuzakurikira ho. Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata, urubuga rw'insimburantego za poritiki rwari rufunguriwe bose, haba mu gipande cya perezida, haba no mu mashyaka yo mu gihugu ataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma, kuko nta shyaka, nta cyerekezo, nta n'itsinda na rimwe byari bifite umukandida witeguye kuzungura. Hafi ya bose y'abari mu nama idafite gahunda y'Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo – n'ubwo amasezerano ya Arusha atari yateganyije icyo cyuho – babonaga ko ubutegetsi butabuze ubusigarana. Hakurikijwe itegekonshinga, guverinoma ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi, iyobowe na minisitiri w'Intebe, ni yo yakomezaga uburambe bwa Leta. Kandi rero, n'inzego z'ubutegetsi za Leta, cyane cyane ubuyobozi bwa perefegitura, zashoboraga gutabazwa kugira ngo ibintu byose bisubire mu buryo. Icya nyuma, ku bw'abasirikari bakuru bari bahari, ni Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, wari umukuru wa etamajoro ya jandarumori, akaba ari na we musirikari mukuru wenyine wari ufite ipeti rya jenerari, wagombaga, ku buryo bwumvikana, gusimbura umukuru w'Ingabo z'uRwanda wari witabye Imana. Kubona ari uko byari bikwiye kugenda hanyuma umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo, Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora[242], agatanga

[242] *Yagumye mu mwanya we atabyemerewe ku buryo bw'amategeko kuva aho ashyiriwe mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru ku ya 23 Nzeri 1993.*

igitekerezo cyo gushyira ho « Komite ya gisirikari » isimbura ibiteganyijwe n'amategeko kandi agashaka no kuyiyobora, byeretse bagenzi be ko icyo gitekerezo cyari gishingiye cyane cyane ku bushake bwo kudacikwa n'amahirwe adasanzwe yo kugarura umugambi wa poritiki wa mbere (bihawe umugisha n'agatsiko ka perezida) aho gutangazaga umugambi unoze wo gufata ubutegetsi. N'ubwo Jenerari - Majoro Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya jandarumori, yajijinganyije imbere y'irari rya Koroneri Bagosora, bagenzi be ntibashidikanyije kwerekana ko badashyigikiye uwo mushinga n'uburyo bwo kuwutsindagira abantu bose. Babishyize mo umurego, bateganyaga kwinjira nyabyo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho zahamyaga ibyo kwigiza yo burundu abasirikari bakuru bari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru nuko birengagiza ubwifate bw'umukuru wa etamajoro wa jandarumori. Ibyo byabaye nk'aho batari bazi icyemezo Tewonesiti Bagosora yari yafashe, umuhatirizo w'umuryango wa perezida n'impamvu za Agusitini Ndindiriyimana zitamuheshaga ishema. Koko rero, kugira ngo umuntu atsinde muri ibyo bihe bidasanzwe, byari ngombwa gushyigikirwa n'Akazu, kwiringira kugenzura Ingabo no kwiganza mu rwego rwa poritiki.

Byari ngombwa kuzuza ingingo ya mbere, kuko umukondo w'ubutegetsi wari ushingiye mu Kazu ndani, kandi, nibura mu gihe gito, urupfu rwa Habyarimana rwatumye umuryango we wa hafi uhangwa amaso n'ibikomerezwa byose byo muri poritiki, mu gisirikari no muri diporomasi. Iyi ngingo irakomeye by'agahebuzo kandi isobanura imyifatire ya Agusitini Ndindiriyimana ku butiriganya bwa Tewonesiti Bagosora (*Reba ibiza gukurikira*). Imyifatire ya Agusitini Ndindiriyimana yari nko kugendera ku magi : koko rero, mu minsi mike ishize, yari yashyizwe mu igorane ryo kugomba kwitandukanya na Agata Uwiringiyimana, nyuma ya poropagande yakozwe na radiyo RTLM n'abo mu ishyaka rya MRND bavugaga ko inama yari yagiranye iwe mu rugo n'abasirikari bakomoka mu majyepfo yari iyo gucumba urugomo – n'ubwo atari yayitumiwe mo -. Abenshi mu basirikari bakuru bari bateraniye mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe bashoboraga kurebwa nk'abakorana n'amashyaka y'imbere atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Kwemera kuyobora Komite ya gisirikari, nk'uko babimusabye – kandi asanzwe ari umukuru wa etamajoro ya jandarumori, kandi na none mu ijoro ry'iya 6

rishyira iya 7 Mata, ishyirwa ho rya Mariseri Gatsinzi (Umuhutu, Kigali ngari) nk'umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu rikaba ryari ryatumye Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo bujya mu maboko y'abakomoka mu majyepfo- byari kumvikana nk'aho ari ugushyira mu ngiro cyangwa gukomeza gahunda yo « gufata ubutegetsi » yo ku itariki ya 1 Mata yari yaramaganwe…

Byongeye kandi, ikigwirirano cyari cyashatse ko ateganya gahunda y'uko mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata, afatanyije na Koroneri Luc Marchal, umuyobozi wungirije wa Minuar, yatangiza amarondo ahuriwe mo na jandarumori y'igihugu n'Igiporisi cya gisiviri (Civipol) cya Minuar kugira ngo babungabunge umutekano muri Kigali kandi banashakashake ubuhisho bw'intwaro. Iki gikorwa cyarebaga za depo zakozwe n'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* n'ishyaka rya MRND babifashijwe mo na perefegitura ya Kigali n'abasirikari bakuru b'abahezanguni.

Iryo saka ritagiraga icyo rigera ho hafi buri gihe, kubera ko ryabaga ryamenywe mbere y'igihe, ryafatwaga na ba « rutwe rukomeye » bo ku ngoma nk'aho ari agasomborotso. Nuko wakongera ho ko minisitiri w'Intebe, Agata Uwiringiyimana, wakomokaga muri komini imwe na we muri perefegitura ya Butare, ari we mu by'ukuri wari ushinzwe ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko kubera urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu n'ubwo nyamara yari yaranze gutumira inama ya guverinoma guhera ku ya 5 Mutarama, ugashobora kwiyumvisha ingorane zari zimutegereje. Ku mugoroba w'ihanurwa ry'indege, mu cyuka cy'irengamutima cyari gitewe n'iyicwa rya perezida, ibyo kwemerwa byari bihereye mbere na mbere ku ruhande rw' « umuryango ». Hirya yo gutanga mpore, byari ngombwa kumenya vuba cyane uko « mukaperezida » na basaza be bari bakiriye ibyo bintu n'icyo bateganyaga.

Uko umuryango wa perezida wabyifashe mo

Imyifatire y'umuryango wa perezida yateye abantu amatsiko kubera ukuntu wamenye iby'urupfu rwa perezida, nk'uko ubuhamya bwa Jean-Luc Habyarimana, umwe mu

bahungu b'umukuru w'ibihugu bubigaragaza:

"**Bazo** : Mbese waba uzi uwahanuye indege ya so muri uwo mugoroba?

Subizo : Ku bwanjye, nta gushidikanya na gato kuko hari ibimenyetso byinshi rwose biganisha ahongaho. Nigombye kumenyekanisha ko, iminsi itatu mbere y'ihanurwa ryayo, ni ukuvuga ku ya 3 Mata 1994, nari ndi kumwe na data, na mama, na bashiki banjye babiri ndetse na babyara bacu; twatumiwe n'urugo rwa Higaniro Arufonsi ku Gisenyi. Icyo gihe hari hari na Jacques – Roger Booh –Booh wari uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni[ONU][243] wabwiye data –aha nari mpibereye kandi narabyiyumviye ubwanjye -, nuko abwira data ko Kagame wari… ko intumwa yihariye yari yabonanye na we mu minsi mike ishize, ko Kagame yari yamusabye kubwira data ko yari kuzamwica[244]."

Nguko uko ibintu byari bimeze. Birerekana neza akari ku mutima w'uwo muryango wari ufite ingingo ukomeye ho, n'imyitwarire yashoboye kuzituruka ho, nk'uko bigaragara mu buhamya bw'abakobwa b'umuganga wihariye wa perezida, na we waguye muri icyo gico :

> « Mu gihe twaririraga imbere y'umurambo wa data, Madamu Habyarimana yatubwiye ko tutagombaga kurira, kuko abanzi bari kutwigamba ho iyo baramuka batubonye. Yongeye ho ko twagombaga gufata imbunda nk'umuhungu we Jean-Luc watemberanaga imbunda « R4 ». Mu gihe twari mo gusenga, madamu Agata Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Habyarimana yasengaga mu ijwi riranguruye asaba ko *Interahamwe* zifashwa kugira ngo zidukize umwanzi, kandi ko abasirikari b'uRwanda babona intwaro. Ndagomba kuvuga ko hagati aho bashiki ba perezida

[243] *Jacques – Roger Booh – Booh yari azwi ho « kujya gutarama » kwa perezida Habyarimana, akaba yari atandukanye na Jenerari Roméo Dallaire warebwaga nk'aho ashyigikiye FPR/Inkotanyi ku mugaragaro. Mu Kuboza 2000, minisitiri w'ubucamanza w'uRwanda, Yohani wa Mungu Mucyo, yifuje ko Jacques – Roger Booh – Booh yakurikiranwa na TPIR kubera ngo uruhare yaba yaragize mu gukoma imbarutso ya jenoside.*

[244] *Ubuhamya bwa Jean-Luc HABYARIMANA, TPIR, 6 Nyakanga 2006, p 11- 15. Kuri iyo ngingo, Jacques – Roger Booh – Booh aragingimiranya, ariko ntabivuguruza:*

*« **Bazo** : […] Ikibazo : mbese muri icyo kiganiro mwavuzwe mo iby'uko ubuzima bwa perezida Habyarimana bwari burarijwe ?*

*« **Subizo** : Namubwiye ibijya kumera nk'ibyongibyo,… ndakoresheje imvugo ya diporomasi cyane. Ndibwira ko namubwiye ibintu nk'ibyo, ko impuha… Uzi kandi ko nta serivisi y'ipererereza nari mfite muri Minuar. Nuko rero, igihugu cyagenderaga ku bihuha, abantu barazaga, bakagenda, bagasohoka – ibyo nabikubwiye iki gitondo. Bamwe bashoboraga kubifata nk'imvaho, abandi nabo bakabifata nk'ibihuha. Ibyo ari byo byose namukoreye… namuhaye raporo ku bihuha na we ubwe agomba kuba yari azi. Kandi ndanakubwira ko nanjye nari natumiwe i Dar es-Salaam. Sinagiye yo » (ubuhamya bwa Jacques – Roger BOOH – BOOH, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, 21 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 69).*

> b'ababikira na arikiyepisikopi bari bahageze. Twumvise mama Goderive avugira mu gikoni ko byari ngombwa kwica Abatutsi bose. Twumvise Jane Habyarimana, nyina ndetse na Serafini [Rwabukumba] basobanurira kuri terefone ko ari Ababirigi bari bahanuye indege, kandi ko [Ababirigi] barwaniraga uruhande rwa FPR/Inkotanyi. Ibyo byavugiwe kuri terefone kenshi. Twumvise ibiganiro bagiranye kuri terefone na Mobutu, Mitterrand na ambasaderi w'uBufaransa. Haje n'ubutumwa bwinshi bwo kwifatanya mu kababaro… Rimwe na rimwe Madamu Habyarimana yadusabaga gusohoka igihe cy'ibiganiro bimwe na bimwe. […] Njyewe, Karara, ndacyibuka ikiganiro cya Madamu Habyarimana, aho yasubizaga ko byari ngombwa kumubaza icyo abitekereza ho mbere yo gufata icyemezo runaka. Icyo gihe hari ku kibazo cyo gushyira Gatsinzi mu mwanya w'umukuru wa etamajoro. […] Mu munsi wo ku ya 7 Mata 1994, twabonye ko umuryango wose wari wakoranye, n'ababikira bahari, maze bakishima iyo hagiraga uza kubamenyesha urupfu rw'utavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida ni bo bazanaga inzo nkuru, bigamba ubwo bwicanyi[245]."

Abari bafitanye na bo umubano wa hafi bavuze ko iyo Agata Kanziga yamaraga kugena ingamba z'uko bagomba kwitwara muri icyo gihe cy'akaga, ni musaza we mukuru, Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, wari ushinzwe guharana ku nyungu za hafi z'umuryango wa perezida, no gutanga amabwiriza yo kubigera ho. Muri iryo joro, ngo yaba ari we wakoze imirimo yari ishinzwe Eli Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida, akaba na mwene se wa Agata Kanziga, na we akaba yari yahitanywe n'igico: kumenyakanisha amategeko n'ibyifuzo by' "umuryango" kuri terefone. Icyihutirwaga ku bo kwa perezida, ni ukwemeza ku mugaragaro ko batari barimbutse n'ubwo bari batakaje benewabo b'imena, ko inyungu zabo zagombaga gusugira, kandi ko inzira zose zo kumusimbura zitagombaga kwirengagiza ibyo nyakwigendera Habyarimana yari yarateganyije. Ku buryo bwumvikana, kwari ukumenyesha mbere na mbere amahanga, ni ukuvuga ko, n'ubwo bitashobokaga kwihorera ku bafatwaga ku buryo bweruye nk'abagize uruhare rw'ibanze ku buryo ubu n'ubu muri icyo gico, bagombaga kwihorera ku bari bahanganye na Habyarimana bari bagize uruhare uru n'uru mu rupfu rwe. Ku buryo busobanuye kurusha ho, byari ngombwa guhigika abashoboraga kugira icyo

[245] *Ubuhamya, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Buruseri, PV no 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, imyandiko ya TPIR yahawe nomero KO074271 n'ibikurikira.*

bungukira ku rupfu rwe. Icya kabiri, byari ngombwa kwirinda ibindi bitero n'imitego, kubungabunga umutekano n'umutungo y'abagize ako gatsiko. Reka twibutse ko niba indishyi perezida wari umaze gutabaruka yari afite ikaba ari n'imwe mu nzitizi z'ingenzi zo gushyira ho inzego z'inzibacyuho, kwari ugutinya gukurikiranwa n'ubutabera kubera iyicwa ry'abayobozi ba Repuburika ya mbere ; Porotazi Zigiranyirazo yashoboraga na we guhangayika kubera umwanya wa perefe wa Ruhengeri yari ari mo icyo gihe. Yawushyizwe ho ku ya 24 Ukuboza 1974, amezi make nyuma y'urubanza rwakatiye abo banyacyubahiro ba kera imyaka myinshi y'igifungo muri gereza yarahiriwe yo mu Ruhengeri. Ubwo rero hari ukuntu yakurikiranye buri munsi urupfu rw'urubozo bapfuye.

Icya nyuma, kandi iyi ngingo ifitanye isano n'iyibanziriza, ni uko umuryango utashoboraga kwemera yuko umurage wa poritiki wa Repuburika ya kabiri utangirwa ubusa cyangwa kubona, bipfumbase, hagera ku butegetsi abanyaporitiki bari kubigira mo uruhare ku buryo bweruye cyangwa buziguye.

Niba imiterere y'urusobe rw'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana yari ikomeye bihagije ku buryo yari kuramba kurusha uwayihanze kubera ishyaka ry'abari bayigize n'abari bayishyigikiye, izo nshingano ntizashoboraga kugira undi zihabwa maze ngo umuryango wa perezida ubirebere gusa. Amabwiriza yerekeye ingamba zo kubirwanya yari asobanutse kandi nta wundi washoboraga kuyatanga uretse abafatanye urunana n'umuryango wari usigaranye agace karusimbutse ko ku ruhande rw'umugore : Agata Kanziga, musaza we Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, mwene se Serafini Rwabukumba, n'abana bwite ba perezida. Ku buryo buhamye, Agata Kanziga, umuhungu we Jean-Luc na Porotazi Zigiranyirazo baje kwemeza nyuma ko nta kungurana inama nk'ibyo byabaye ho hagati yabo mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7, yewe ngo na nyuma y'aho Umutwe urinda perezida (GP) na batayo y' « Abakodo» bari bazitiye aho indege yaguye n'inzira zigana mu rugo rwa perezida rw'i Kanombe. Uko bo babivuga, ngo Agata Kanziga ntiyigeze avugana n'abo bantu muri iryo joro kandi ngo yagumanye gusa n'abari basanzwe mu rugo (*Reba umugereka 54).*

Nyamara, n'ubwo Agata Kanziga yaba atari akeneye abavandimwe be mu gufata ibyemezo, nta wakwemera ko abagize umuryango we baba bariheje kandi na bo ubwabo

barumvaga ko bahigwa kimwe na perezida n'abandi baguye mu gico. Nta n'uwatekereza ko mu bihe nk'ibyo abagize umuryango batagaragaza ko bifatanyije na mwene se, na mushiki we, cyangwa abishywa. Ibi kandi Porotazi Zigiranyirazo ntabihakana :

> « Hari ahagana saa mbiri na mirongo itatu n'itanu [20h35] ubwo murumuna wanjye Rwabukumba yanterefonnye ambwira ko indege ya perezida yari imaze kuraswa. Mu gihe nari ndi mu kayubi, naterefonnye i Kanombe mu rugo rwa perezida.Jean-Luc, umuhungu we muto, yari ataramenya neza ko se yari mu ndege yari imaze gusandarira mu kibanza cyabo. Nyina yari muri shaperi ari mo gusenga. Nahamagaye Bwana ambasaderi w'uBufaransa ambwira ko amaze kumva iyo nkuru, ariko ko ataramenya neza niba perezida yari mu ndege imaze guhanurwa. Narongeye mpamagara i Kanombe. Jean-Luc ambwira ko umurambo w'umusirikare mukuru ngendahafi wa perezida uhora aba ari kumwe na we mu ngendo wari umaze kuboneka, hanyuma ibisigaye narabyibwiye. Twaraye mu nzozi mbi n'icyoba, kuko amasasu yumvikanye ijoro ryose. Sinashoboraga gutinyuka kwishora njyenyine ngo njye i Kanombe, nategereje ko bucya[246].

Byaba rero bitangaje ko muri iryo joro ridasanzwe, Porotazi Zigiranyirazo yaba ataravuganye kuri terefone n'abo mu muryango we ku byagombaga gukorwa. Ku bw'abakoroneri babiri bari muri etamajoro ijoro ryose, ibintu byaba byaragenze bitya :

> « Uwa mbere [Tewonesiti Bagosora] yatangiye amabwiriza ye kuri terefone mu gihe cy'inama ya ninjoro, hanyuma acomeka radiyo yamuhuzaga n'abo bashobora kuvugana (umuyobozi w'Umutwe urinda perezida, igiporisi cya gisirikari, batayo y'«Abakodo » n'iy' « Abariki » (Recce), uwa kabiri [Yozefu Nzirorera] yakoresheje Efuremu Setako – mu buryo butubahirije inzego – nuko ashishikaza Umutwe urinda perezida. » « Bagosora yanyuze muri izi nzira : yagiye gushaka amakuru kwa Madamu [Agata Kanziga] amenya uwapfuye uwo ari we n'ibiri kuri gahunda, mu gihe abandi bagize Komite yo mu gihe cy'amakuba bari bagitegereje guhabwa amakuru n'Umutwe urinda perezida. Bagosora yaboneye mu cyumba cy'inama terefone ya mbere yari ashyikirijwe n'uwari ushinzwe kwakira za terefone, ikiganiro kiba mu ijwi ryo hasi cyane, nuko, mu gihe haje terefone ya kabiri, yasabye ko bayimushyikiririza mu bindi biro. Yabonye nibura terefone eshatu, nuko yicara mu biro bya etamajoro (EM) ; amaze kubona terefone ya nyuma, yagarutse mu cyumba cy'inama asaba Sipiriyani Kayumba kujya kwakira

[246] *Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, Incamake y'ubuzima, inyibutsamateka za TPIR, inkuru yafashwe mu cyuma ku ya 7 Ugushyingo 2001, cote KO222712.*

> izakurikiye ho. Kayumba agarutse, yatangaje ko na we ashyigikiye kuva ubwo ko abasirikare bafata ibintu mu maboko yabo[247].

Muri iryo joro Tewonesiti Bagosora ashobora kuba yarabaye koko umuvugizi w'agatsiko ka perezida (kwa sebukwe n'abashoboraga kumusimbura) muri Komite ya gisirikari, abyumvikanye ho, kuri terefone kandi ku buryo butaziguye, n'umuryango wa sebukwe wa perezida.

Gahunda y' ihora

Ku byerekeranye n'ihora, kimwe n'uburyo bunyuranye bw'isimbura, ntibyari ngombwa kubijya ho impaka ndende kandi n'abantu bari kumwe. Itonde ry'abantu bari banzwe cyane n'umuryango ryari mu mutwe wa buri wese kuva kera : hari abataragombaga kubura ho kubera imyanya bateganyirijwe n'itegekonshinga, hari abari baremeye ibyo FPR/inkotanyi yifuzaga mu mishyikirano, hari abari bararwanyije perezida ku buryo bukakaye, hari Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu bari bahise mo gukorana na FPR/Inkotanyi : Agata Uwiringiyimana, minisitiri w'Intebe « washatse guhirika ubutegetsi », Yozefu Kavaruganda (Hutu, Kigali), perezida w'Urukiko rurinda ubusugire bw'itegekonshinga, abagize uruhare mu masezerano ya Arusha (nka Bonifasi Ngurinzira [Hutu, Ruhengeri], ba minisitiri bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma (Feredariko Nzamurambaho, Fawusitini Rucogoza [Hutu, Byumba], abanyaporitiki b'Abatutsi (Randuwaridi Ndasingwa [Tutsi, Kigali], Ferisiyani Ngango (Hutu, Kibungo)na Venansiya Kabageni (Hutu, Gisenyi) bari bateganyijwe kuba perezida na visi-perezida b'Inteko ishingamategeko y'inzibacyuho, nb. Incuti y'umuryango yemeza ko inama yo kunoza umugambi no gufata icyemezo yabereye mu rugo rw'i Kanombe :

> « Nuko muri icyo gihe, Musabe Pasiteri yari amaze kutubwira ko akarisiti gato k'abanyacyubahiro b'i Kigali kari kateguwe na Zigiranyirazo Porotazi, ari kumwe na Musabe Pasiteri, Mpiranya Porotazi[248], Kanziga Agata, umukobwa we Jane

[247] *Ibyo benubwite biyandikiye, byakiriwe ku ya 30 Gicurasi n'iya 1 Kamena 2009.*

[248] *Hutu, Gisenyi, Majoro wategekaga Umutwe urinda perezida.*

> n'abandi. Birashoboka ko Rwabukumba Serafini na Nyagasaza Matiyasi bari bahari mu gihe cyo gutegura itonde ry'abanyaporitiki, mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994. Na none muri icyo kiganiro twagiranye na Musabe Pasiteri, yatubwiye ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Habyarimana, mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, abantu maze kuvuga amazina bashatse guhora urupfu rwe barimbura abanyaporitiki bamwe, kandi ni na ko bari banditse iryo tonde, ryari ho abanyaporitiki bakurikira : Uwiringiyimana Agata, Ndasingwa Randuwaridi, Nzamurambaho Feredariko, Kavaruganda Yozefu, Ngango n'abandi. Nuko rero Musabe Pasiteri yatubwiye ko Zigiranyirazo Porotazi yasabye Majoro Mpiranya Porotazi kohereza abasirikari b'Umutwe urinda perezida kwica abantu bari ku itonde. Amaherezo, bishe abagabo, abagore n'abana, uretse wenda kuri Kavaruganda wenyine kuko umugore we yashoboye kubacika. […] Na none muri ibyo biganiro, twaje kubona ko ibintu byari byafashe intera irenze ukwemera ku buryo, mu by'ukuri, nta washoboraga kubigenzura. […] Icyo gihe rwose ni bwo twabonye ko Zigiranyirazo Porotazi yakoze amakosa akomeye menshi, kuko ari we wari wabaye uwa mbere mu guhamagarira abantu guhora, akaba ari na we wasabye Majoro Mpiranya Porotazi kujya kwica abantu bari ku itonde. Njye na Musabe Pasiteri twahuriye ku mwanzuro w'uko ari « Z » n'ihora rye babaye imbarutso y'itsembatsemba na jenoside mu gihugu cyose. Iyo hataba ho ibyo guhamagarira guhora, jenoside ntiba yarageze mu rwego rw'ibyabaye. Icyo cyemezo cyaremye icyuho mu byateganywaga n'itegekonshinga ku buryo cyahagaritse inzego za Leta n'iza guverinoma. […] Muri icyo gihe, ku bantu nka Zigiranyirazo Porotazi, Kanziga Agata, abagize Komite y'igihugu ya Muvoma, kimwe n'abandi banyaporitiki bo ku ngoma, byari byo rwose kumenya « umwanzi » uwo ari we. Byari ngombwa guhora urupfu rwa Yuvenari n'urwa Eli Sagatwa[249].

N'ubwo iyi nkuru ihuje umurongo n'ibyo twabwiwe n'abandi bantu benshi twavuganye, nta wabura kubona mo ubushake bwa nyirayo bwo guharabika no gushinja Porotazi Zigiranyirazo kandi ibyo kuba yari i Kanombe muri iryo joro bidafite ishingiro. Kanombe yari yagoswe n'umutwe urinda perezida, kandi nta wundi mutwe cyangwa undi muntu washoboraga kwigereza ho ngo ajye yo atabyemerewe n'uwo mutwe. Mu basirikari bakuru bagiye mu rugo kwa perezida, hari mo Ferisiyani Muberuka

[249] *Izi ngingo zose zishyigikiwe n'ubuhamya bwinshi buri muri TPIR cyane, ndetse n'ibyo abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi muri icyo gihe bivugiye ubwabo. Uko imanza zagiye ziburanishwa, umuntu abona ko mu makuru yose yakusanyijwe hari mo ingingo zuzuzanya. Ku buryo bwihariye, ubuhamya, intego z'ibisobanuro n'ibyireguzo byasuzumwe ku buryo buvuye ruhande mu nyandiko y'ica ry'urubanza rwa Bagosora (Bagosora, Isoma n'ikata ry'urubanza, TPIR, 18 Ukuboza 2008, umutwe wa 3: "Ibyabaye hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 9 Mata1994", cyane cyane mu gika 3.2: "Inama").*

wategekaga akarere k'imirwano (OPS), wabaga mu kigo cyitiriwe Mayuya cy'i Kanombe kandi akaba yari ashinzwe kugenzura ibyaberaga mu karere yakoreraga mo, hari mo Rawurenti Baransaritse, umuyobozi w'ibitaro by'i Kanombe, Liyetona – Koroneri Sitanisirasi Bangamwabo, mubyara w'umukuru wa etamajoro w'Ingabo z'igihugu wari waguye mu ndege, Jenerari Dewogarasiyasi Nsabimana. Na none kandi, hari gihamya y'uko Majoro Aroyizi Ntabakuze, umukuru wa batayo y'« Abakodo», yagiye mu rugo kwa perezida (ndetse yagiye yo incuro nyinshi) indege ikimara guhanurwa, n'ubwo inkuru z'abo mu muryango zivuguruzanya. Hashize akanya gato, yakurikiwe na Majoro Porotazi Mpiranya, umukuru w'Umutwe urinda perezida[250]. Kuba abo basirikari bakuru bombi babarirwaga mu b'indahemuka baragiye mu rugo rwa perezida, bigaragaza ubushake bwo guhamya ko bifatanyije ku buryo bwose n'umuryango wa perezida, n'ubwo kwiherwa amategeko na « nyirubwite » aho kuyagezwa ho n'intumwa. Bo ubwabo bimenyeye gahunda Agata Kanziga yari yemeye. Ubirebye, wasanga Serafini Rwabukumba na Porotazi Zigiranyirazo baba bataragiye i Kanombe muri iryo joro, ariko barazindutse « kare » cyangwa « kare cyane mu gitondo », nk'uko abagabo babihamya[251]. Guhera mu museke, Umutwe urinda perezida wajyanye abandi banyaporitiki mu rugo kwa perezida i Kanombe no mu mujyi. Bityo, bamwe bagiye mu gatemeri ko mu bitaro by'i Kanombe kureba umurambo wa Agata Uwiringiyimana, noneho Serafini Rwabukumba ajya mu kigo cya Kigali "kureba

[250] *Porotazi Zigiranyirazo avuga ko yageze mu rugo kwa perezida ku ya 7 Mata i saa yine za mu gitondo. Yaba yarahagumye kugeza ku ya 9 ubwo umupfakazi wa perezida yahungishwaga, mbere y'uko abandi bo mu muryango bimurirwa ku Gisenyi ku ya 10- 11 Mata. Na we yagiye kuba mu nzu ye yo muri Giciye, agahora asiragira ku Gisenyi mu mujyi (aho abo mu majyaruguru bari muri guverinoma bari bakoraniye, kimwe n'abandi banyaporitiki bafitanye umubano) no kuri Goma (aho yari yacumbikirishirije umugore we w'Umututsikazi). Hagati muri Nyakanga, yaje gutura kuri Goma, hanyuma aza kwimukira mu mujyi witaruye umupaka.*

[251] *Porotazi Zigiranyirazo avuga ko yageze mu rugo kwa perezida ku ya 7 Mata i saa yine za mu gitondo. Yaba yarahagumye kugeza ku ya 9 ubwo umupfakazi wa perezida yahungishwaga, mbere y'uko abandi bo mu muryango bimurirwa ku Gisenyi ku ya 10- 11 Mata. Na we yagiye kuba mu nzu ye yo muri Giciye, agahora asiragira ku Gisenyi mu mujyi (aho abo mu majyaruguru bari muri guverinoma bari bakoraniye, kimwe n'abandi banyaporitiki bafitanye umubano) no kuri Goma (aho yari yacumbikirishirije umugore we w'Umututsikazi). Hagati muri Nyakanga, yaje gutura kuri Goma, hanyuma aza kwimukira mu mujyi witaruye umupaka.*

imirambo y'abasirikari icumi b'Ababirigi bamanukira mu ndege bari bahiciwe[252]" (*Reba ibiri bukurikire*).

Ariko inama y'umuryango yarabaye koko ijoro ryose, nk'uko bigaragazwa na ba nyirubwite mu biganiro bagiranye kuri terefone (Agata Kanziga yitaruraga abandi igihe cy'ibiganiro bimwe na bimwe byo kuri terefone, yashatse ko ibyemezo byose bifatwa ahibereye, kandi amenyesha abo mu muryango we n'abo bavuganye ko ashaka kwihorera).

Uruhare rwa muka perezida mu ihora ryibasiye abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma rwatinzwe ho cyane mu cyemezo cyafashwe na Komisiyo y'Abafaransa yakira ubujurire bw'impunzi, itaramwemereye ubuhungiro kubera uruhare yaba yaragize muri jenoside. Urwo rwego rwatsindagiye cyane ingingo « y'ububasha nyabwo yagize mu masaha yakurikiye igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, n'ukuntu yigaruriye inshingano za Leta ». Rwemeye kandi amagambo y'umutangabuhamya wavuze ko mu kiganiro kimwe cyo kuri terefone, Agata Kanziga yaba yaravuze « ko ari ngombwa kubanza kumva igitekerezo cye mbere yo gufata icyemezo[253]». Kuba muri iryo joro umupfakazi wa perezida yari afite ijambo rikomeye cyane ni ibintu bidashidikanywa. Kandi, nk'uko biboneka mu bundi buhamya, inkoramutima z'umuryango zaje mu rugo i Kanombe ntizahavaga uko zahaje : « Ntabakuze yari mu bagiye kureba umurambo wa Yuvenari. Yari mu bariye karungu[254]».

Bityo, umuntu yafata ko, guhera mu masaha ya mbere y'ijoro, ikibazo cyo kwikiza abanyaporitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma cyasaga nk'icyakemuwe ku bw'umuryango [wa Habyarimana] n'abifuzaga kumusimbura, Yozefu Nzirorera na Tewonesiti

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[252] *Ubuhamya, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Buruseri, PV nº 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, gihamya ya TPIR ifite nomero KO074271 n'ibikurikira.*

[253] *Icyemezo cya Komisiyo yakira ubujurire bw'impunzi (CRR), 25 Gashyantare 2007, 564776, Madamu Agata Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Habyarimana (Reba umugereka 54).*

[254] *Ikiganiro nagiranye na Majoro Agusitini CYIZA, umusirikari wo mu rwego rwo hejuru w'Ingabo z'igihugu, ibyo nanditse ubwanjye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

Bagosora[255]. Ntibyari ngombwa kujya impaka ku mazina y'abicwa, ahubwo icy'ingenzi cyari ukwemera kurangiza akazi benshi bari bifiuje gukora kuva kera. Icya ngombwa gusa cyari uko ibyo bikorwa byazatabikwa ku buryo ubu n'ubu n'umuntu cyangwa abantu bazafata ubutegetsi. Ibyo ari byo byose, kutabuza cyangwa gutegeka Umutwe urinda perezida guhorera shebuja byari uburyo bwo kubahiriza, nibura by'igice, ingingo ya kabiri yo gutsinda : ubwo inkunga y'Akazu yari imaze kugerwa ho, byari ngombwa no kugira ubuganji ku Ngabo z'igihugu. Koko rero, gushyira ukwazo ingufu z'uwo Mutwe ugizwe n'abasirikari b'indatwa, wagombaga kuva ho nk'uko amasezerano ya Arusha yabiteganyaga, hanyuma ukabashora mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi, byasobanuraga ko uvanywe mu nzego z'ubuyobozi zisanzwe. Ikirusha ho kandi, ni uko Umutwe urinda perezida wari ufite ubushobozi bwo gukorera iterabwoba, atari abanyaporitiki gusa, ndetse ahubwo n'abasirikari bakuru bose n'imitwe yari kugerageza kuzitira ubwo bwicanyi wari waherewe amategeko. Kubera kutamenya aho uburakari bw'Umutwe

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[255] *Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR byihatiye igihe kirekire gushaka gihamya y'uko Tewonesiti Bagosora yagiye mu nama zakoreshejwe na Aroyizi Ntabakuze mu kigo cy'i Kanombe kugira ngo bigaragaze neza umwanya we wo kuba « gacurabwenge », ariko ibiri amambu, ni uko kuba ahari ubwabyo byari kuba bitangaje, kubera ko bitari mu nshingano ze na gato. Kuri iyo tariki, Bagosora yari umusiviri uri mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru. Ntiyari akibarirwa mu nzego za gisirikari kandi nta n'itegeko na rimwe yashoboraga gutanga « ku buryo butaziguye » yitwaje ipeti rye cyangwa se uburambe mu kazi. Nta n'ubwo minisitiri w'Ingabo yari yamuhaye ububasha bw'umusigire. Mu gihe minisitiri cyangwa abandi basirikari bakuru bo mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta badahari, yashoboraga gutumira abasirikari bakuru akabakoresha inama, ariko ntiyashoboraga kwivanga ku mugaragaro mu byo kuyobora ibikorwa bya gisirikari mu mwanya w'inzego zisanzwe ho. Ibyo ntibyamubujije kuyobora ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba, n'ubwo, ibyo ari byo byose, atari we wenyine wabitangiraga amabwiriza. Ariko ibi bituma abantu bumva neza uburyo budateganyijwe bwakoreshejwe mu kubishyira mu ngiro.*

Bityo, nta gihamya ihari y'uko hari amategeko yihariye yatanzwe kugira ngo hicwe mbere na mbere abari bahagarariye inzego zemewe n'amategeko; abataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma bose ni rwo bakatiwe na bo, uretse abashoboye kwihisha cyangwa guhunga. Na none kandi, hasigaye kubona gihamya y'uko iyicwa ry'abasirikari b'Ababirigi bari mu butumwa bwa Loni « abanyangofero z'ubururu » ryari ryagambiriwe, kandi rigakorwa ari uburyo bwo kwirukana Minuar. Imbusane n'ibibazo byasigaye bitabonewe ibisubizo nyuma y'urubanza rwa Ntuyahaga (Buruseri, Gicurasi- Nyakanga 2007, reba Incamake ya ya 11) n'urwa Bagosora (reba cyane cyane : Bagosora, isomwa n'ikatwa ry'urubanza, op. cit., § 854 n'ibikurikira, na § 864 n'ibikurikira, p. 216) bibyerekana ku buryo burambuye.

urinda perezida bwazagarukira, abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma si bo bonyine bafashe ingamba zo kwimenya guhera muri iryo joro ry'iya 6 Mata.

Ibya ngombwa by'izungura

Nguko uko ibintu byari byifashe mu gihe umuryango wa perezida n'abafite intwaro bari ukuboko kwawo kw'iburyo bari bahanganye n'ikibazo cya kabiri cyo muri iryo joro, ikibazo cy'izungura :

> « Impaka zari mu muryango wa perezida zari izo kumenya uwashoboraga gutangaza ngo ''harakaba ho umwami'', akurikije abapfuye n'abadahari. Ku ruhande rumwe, hari hapfuye Nsabimana na Sagatwa, ku rundi hari habuze Kabirigi na Ntiwiragabo[256], undi wo mu ntera ya G wari usigaye yakomokaga i Gitarama[257] ! Ubwo rero abasangirangendo Zigiranyirazo na Bagosora bihaye uwo mwanya bishingira ibyo kuvugana n'abantu ninjoro no mu gitondo. Ku bw'Akazu, kuva ku iyicwa rya Sitanisirasi Mayuya mu wa 1988[258], insimburantego zari zoroshye : « uwa kabiri » nyuma ya Yuvenari Habyarimana yari Bagosora niba haragombaga umusirikari, cyangwa se Nzirorera, iyo amasezerano ya Arusha ajya kubahirizwa hifuzwa umusiviri[259]. »

Ayo marenga yibutsa intanage ikomoka mu bwami bw'Abafaransa bwo mu kinyejana cya 15 ikaba yaramamaye ngo « Umwami yatanze, harakaba ho umwami » yari afite icyo asobanura muri ibyo bihe, kuko bishimangira yuko umurimo w'ubwami uramba na nyuma y'itanga ry'umwami. Ku bw'umuryango wa perezida, icyarutaga nyuma y'urupfu rutunguranye rwa Yuvenari Habyarimana, cyari ukugumana no gukomeza ubutegetsi. Nta cyuho cyashoboraga kuba ho, izungura ryagombaga kujya ho ako kanya. Ibyo rero byasabaga kubanza kwemeza abantu igitekerezo cy'umurage mu bakomoka mu nzu imwe, no kumenya abagenerwamurage bemewe, mbere y'uko hagira

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[256] *Koroneri – Jandarume Aroyizi Ntiwiragabo (Hutu, Gisenyi) icyo gihe yari G2 muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu. N'ubwo yari mu basirikari bakuru b'intagondwa ku kibazo cy'uturere n'amoko, bagenzi be bamutizaga agasanira k'ubututsi, ibyo bikamubera inzitizi.*

[257] *Mu bakuru b'Ibiro bane bo muri etamajoro, « G » rudori wari usigaye yari Koroneri Yozefu Murasampongo (Ibiro G1).*

[258] *Koroneri ukomoka ku Gisenyi babonaga nk'aho ari umugenerwamurage wa Yuvenari Habyarimana.*

[259] *Ikiganiro nagiranye na Majoro Ausitini CYIZA, umusirikari mukuru mu Ngabo z'uRwanda, ibyo niyandikiye ubwanjye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

za kirogoya zibyivanga mo.

N'ubwo ibihe bidasanzwe by'umutekano muke byahaga umusirikari Bagosora amahirwe menshi kurusha Nzirorera w'umusiviri, yari asigaje kuzuza icyangombwa cya gatatu kugira ngo atsinde : kugirirwa icyizere n'abanyaporitiki. Ibyo byasobanuraga mbere na mbere gutesha ingufu zose umuzungura « utabyemerewe », uwari waranyaze « umubyeyi w'igihugu » n'ishyaka « rye », akaba kandi yari yararezwe ubugambanyi kuri Yuvenari Habyarimana mbere gato y'uko uyu ajya Arusha [Dar es- Salaam], uwo rero akaba yari Matayo Ngirumpatse. Koko rero, Ngirumpatse yari afite uburenganzira bwo kuba umusigire agategekana na Agata Uwiringiyimana kugeza igihe barangirije gushyira ho inzego z'inzibacyuho zateganyijwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Iyo Ngirumpatse na Uwiringiyimana, bombi bakaba bari bavugavuzwe ho gushaka guhirika ubutegetsi mu cyumweru kibanziriza urupfu rwa perezida – bakaba kandi ari bo bari bafite uburenganzira bwemewe n'amategeko -, iyo bajya kwifatanya mu byo kuzungura, byari kugaragara nk'ubushotoranyi burenze kure udutsiko tw'abahezanguni bo muri Muvoma no mu gipande cya perezida. Kuba yari uwa mbere ku itonde ry' « abanzi » akumva n'icyuka cy'irengamutima cyari ho muri iryo joro, Matayo Ngirumpatse ntiyaruhanyije mu guhigama. Yanze rero kuba umusigire wa perezida Habyarimana.

« Umuryango » wa perezida witabye Imana washakaga ibitekerezo mu bantu banyuranye, nuko Tewonesiti Bagosora agakora umurimo wo kubihuriza hamwe, akaba ari na we wari ushinzwe ku buryo bwihariye ibyangombwa by'umutekano no gushishikaza imitwe ifitiwe icyizere. Ntabwo byari ukwikiza abo bahanganye gusa, hari mo no gushyira abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma, ni ukuvuga abanyaporitiki bakomeye n'abaminisitiri b'ishyaka rya MRND n'imiryango yabo, mu maboko y'Umutwe urinda perezida ngo ucunge umutekano wabo.

Yozefu Nzirorera, wari wamenyesheje umukuru wa Minuar akomeje, mu ibaruwa yo ku ya 27 Ukuboza 1993, ko atari yizeye umutekano mu rugo rwe rwari hafi y'Inteko ishinga amategeko (CND), agomba kuba yarabaye mu ba mbere na mbere, niba atari uwa

mbere, wahawe abamurinda[260]. Umutwe urinda perezida na wo warashyashyanye kugira ngo utorore abaminisitiri ba Muvoma washyize mu kigo cyawo cyari hafi ya CND. Majoro Agusitini Cyiza, wari perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisirikari mu wa 1994, akaba rwose yari umwe mu bantu bari bafite amakuru menshi, yavuze uko byari bimeze muri aya magambo: « Kubera ko bazanwaga n'abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida, abaminisitiri bazaga bibwira ko habaye kudeta, ariko bamara guhabwa amakuru bakitwara nk'inzuki zasinze umutsama bashaka kwihorera kuri FPR/Inkotanyi[261]. » Ari Matayo Ngirumpatse, ari na Eduwaridi Karemera, nta n'umwe wari mu « bahungishijwe ». Uyu wa kabiri yari yagiye mu rugo rw'uwa mbere, n'ubwo ba nyirubwite nyuma batigeze bashishikazwa no kuranga neza ahantu bari bari nibura mu ijoro rya mbere (*Reba umugereka 55*).

Kureka Tewonesiti Bagosora akayobora Komite ya gisirikari byabonwaga n'agatsiko gato k'abantu bo mu kazu nk'aho, mu gihe cya mbere, ari bwo buryo bushobotse kandi bwizewe, ariko Bagosora ntiyashoboye kuzuza icyangombwa cya kabiri. Ubusigire bwa Jenerari Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro wari waguye mu gico cyahanuye indege, bweguriwe ikipi ya etamajoro. Ubusanzwe iyi kipi yagombaga kuyoborwa n'umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi ipeti, ni ukuvuga Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana.

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[260] *« Ubwo nari ndi mu buhungiro muri Afurika y'Uburengerazuba mu myaka ya 1997- 1998, hari ubwo nacumbikiye igihe kiringaniye Bwana Nzirorera Yozefu iwanjye mu rugo muri Bénin. Hari ubwo twajyaga tuganira ku bintu bimwe byabaye muRwanda mu wa 1994. Ndibuka ko muri uwo mwaka Bwana Nzirorera yari atuye mu nzu ye bwite yari iteganye na CND, ku muhanda ugana i Kinyinya. Ndibutsa ko muri Mata 1994 Bwana Nzirorera Yozefu yari umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma, akaba yaragenerwaga abasirikari bo kumurinda igihe babona ari ngombwa. Inzu yari atuye mo yari umutamenwa rwose, kandi abantu bose barabivugaga icyo gihe. Ndibuka ko mu kiganiro kimwe yambwiye ko mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata, ni ukuvuga indege ya perezida imaze guhanurwa, yari yimuwe muri iyo nzu ye bwite n'abasirikari bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida, bamujyana mu yindi nzu yari afite mu Kiyovu. Sinzi niba yarajyanye n'umugore n'abana. Icyo nshobora kwemeza, ni uko Bwana Nzirorera Yozefu yari i Kigali mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 nk'uko yabinyibwiriye » (ubuhamya bwafashwe mu cyuma, umugabo udashobora kuvugwa amazina, Gicurasi- Kamena 2003).*

[261] *Ikiganiro nagiranye na Majoro Agusitini CYIZA, ibyo niyandikiye ubwanjye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

Ibyo ari byo byose, mu gihe nta mukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo mushya wari uhari, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori ntiyagombaga byanze bikunze guhita azamuka mu ntera. Tewonesiti Bagosora yarwanyije igitekerezo cy'uko bamwemerera kuba perezida wa Komite yo mu gihe cy'amakuba.

INCAMAKE YA YA 9

Kuva ku nama itunguranye y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo kugera ku ishyirwa ho ry'abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba (6-8 Mata 1994)

N'ubwo abari mu nama baganiriye igihe kirekire ku miterere, ku nshingano no ku izina (« komite y'igihe cy'amakuba » cyangwa « komite ya gisirikari » ryahabwa ikoraniro ryabereye muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bisa n'ibyarusha ho kuba byo, byibura ku cyiciro cya mbere cyo kungurana ibitekerezo, umuntu avuze ko yari inama y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu. Iryo koraniro ryari ryaremwe ku buryo budateganyijwe n'itsinda ryari ryiremye rityo gusa, rikaba mo abasirikari bakuru bakoraga muri minisiteri y'Ingabo no muri etamajoro y'Ingabo n'iya Jandarumori. Abo basirikari bakuru bari babimenyeshejwe na bagenzi babo bari bahageze mbere, nka Jenerari Ndindiriyimana, cyangwa se bari bibwirije ku giti cyabo (bagashobora no kuhagera) kujya muri etamajoro y'Ingabo muri iryo joro. Umubare wabo wagiye uhindagurika uko amasaha yagendaga, kandi benshi muri bo bagiye bahamara akanya gato ari ukugira ngo « bafate amakuru cyangwa amabwiriza » (*Reba umugereka 56*).

Mu bari muri iyo nama idateganyijwe cyangwa abaharabutswe, umuntu yavuga :

- Jenerari Majoro Ndindiriyimana Agusitini, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori (wahageze mu ba mbere) ;
- Koroneri BEMS *a* Bagosora Tewonesiti, wari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akaba umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo ;

- Koroneri Murasampongo Yozefu (Hutu, Gitarama), umukuru w'Ibiro G1 muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda (EM AR) ;
- Koroneri BEM Ndengeyinka Baritazari (Hutu, Kibuye, umujyanama wa minisitiri w'Ingabo mu byerekeye tekiniki ;
- Liyetona- Koroneri Kanyandekwe Manweri (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umusirikari mukuru ushinzwe itumanaho mu Biro G3, Em AR ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Kayumba Sipiriyani (Hutu, Byumba), umusirikari mukuru ushinzwe iby'imari muri minisiteri y'Ingabo ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Ruhorahoza Yohani – Bosiko (Hutu, Byumba), wakoraga mu Biro G, EM AR, umwanditsi w'inama ;
- Liyetona- Koroneri Rwabirinda Efuremu (Hutu, Cyangugu), umusirikari mukuru wari intumwa muri Minuar ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Rwamanywa Agusitini (Hutu, Gikongoro), G4, EM AR ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Rwarakabije Pawuro (Hutu, Ruhengeri), G3 EM Jandarumori (GdN) ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Ndahimana Yohani- Mariya Viyane (Hutu, Kibuye), komanda wa Baze AR Kigali – Kanombe ;
- Majoro Ntamagezo Jerari (Hutu, Ruhengeri), wakoraga mi Biro G2, umusirikari mukuru wari ku izamu ;
- Majoro Gakara Tewofiri (Hutu, Byumba), G1, EM Gd N ; Majoro Nzuwonemeye Farasisiko – Saveri (Hutu, Kigali), komanda wa batayo y' « Abariki » (Recce) ;

264

- Koroneri Muberuka Ferisiyani (Hutu, Kigali), komanda w'ikigo "

Koroneri Mayuya", akayobora n'akarere k'imirwano mu mujyi wa Kigali ;

- Koroneri Rusatira Rewonidasi (Hutu, Ruhengeri), komanda w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ***b*** ;
- Majoro Hanyurwimana Epifane (Hutu, Byumba), umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri minisiteri y' Ingabo, umwanditsi w'inama (uyu yatangiye uwo murimo mu gitondo kare cy'iya 7 Mata, asimbuye Liyetona – Koroneri Ruhorahoza).

Mu bandi bantu bakomeye bahanyuze gusa muri iryo joro, ni ngombwa kuvuga Jenerari Roméo Dallaire (Umunyakanada), wayoboraga Umutwe wa Minuar, na Koroneri Luc Marchal (Umubirigi), wayoboraga akarere Kigali ka Minuar. Nyuma, cyane cyane kubera ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abagize Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, ni bwo abantu bari mu nama muri ESM ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo – inama yari yaguwe itumira n'abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano (OPS) n'ab'Imitwe, ni bwo basabwe kungurana ibitekerezo ku ishyirwa ho rya « Komite yo mu gihe cy'amakuba », kugena inshingano zayo n'ububasha bwayo.

Hari hari ibitekerezo bibiri binyuranye. Icya mbere, cyari gifite ubwiganze cyane, cyabonaga ko « komite » ari urwego rw'agateganyo rushinzwe kubungabunga ubusugire bw'inzego za Leta mu gihe abayobozi b'inzibacyuho barangajwe imbere na Agata Uwiringiyimana bashyira ho bwangu inzego z'inzibacyuho. Icya kabiri, cyari gishyigikiwe na Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abandi basirikari bakuru bake, hanyuma kikemerwa n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, cyari icyo kwegurira ubutegetsi iyo « komite » yagombaga gusimbura guverinoma ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi yari ihari, hanyuma igakora imishyikirano igamije gushyira ho umuzungura wubahiriza inyungu z'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari bakomeye bo mu majyaruguru. Inteko y'abari bahari, ni ukuvuga abasirikari bakuru 50 – 60, yakoze kandi yemeza itonde ry'abantu 12 bari mu

Buyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, hiyongera ho n'abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro, nuko biturutse ku cyifuzo cy'Inteko , hinjizwa mo n'umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano ka Kigali ***c*** na perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) – bagombaga kuhaba kubera imirimo yihariye bari bashinzwe yo gucunga umutekano mu murwa mukuru – hanyuma, amaherezo, n'umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) n'uw'ikigo cya ESO.

Uyu wa nyuma, Koroneri Mariseri Gatsinzi, yari yagizwe umukuru wa etamajoro w'inzibacyuho muri iryo joro, bitewe n'uburambe mu kazi yarushaga abandi bayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano, ariko yageze i Kigali ahagana mu ma saa kumi ku itariki ya 7 Mata. Yatumirijwe guterana saa kumi n'ebyiri, Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yagenwe ityo yahuye ubwa mbere ahagana mu ma saa moya, itora perezida wayo, Jenerari Majoro Agusitini Ndindiriyimana. Uwo mwitozo urangiye, itonde ry'abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba ryari ryemejwe n'abasirikari bakuru mu nama yabo yo mu gitondo ryari riteye gutya:

- Jenerari Majoro Ndindiriyimana Agusitini (Butare);
- Koroneri BEMS Bagosora Tewonesiti (Gisenyi);
- Koroneri BEM Gatsinzi Mariseri (Kigali), wari wagizwe umukuru w'umusigire wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda mu ijoro ryakeye;
- Koroneri Rusatira Rewonidasi (Ruhengeri);
- Koroneri BEM Ndengeyinka Baritazari (Kibuye);
- Koroneri Muberuka Ferisiyani (Kigali) ;
- Koroneri Renzaho Tarisisi (Kibungo), perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) ;
- Koroneri Murasampongo Yozefu (Gitarama) ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Rwabirinda Efuremu (Cyangugu) ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Kayumba Sipiriyani (Byumba) ;
- Liyetona – Koroneri Rwarakabije Pawuro (Ruhengeri) ;

- Majoro Gakara Tewofiri (Byumba).

Abenshi muri abo basirikari bakuru bari bagize uruhare mu mpaka za ninjoro kandi « iringaniza ry'uturere ryitawe ho kugira ngo perefegitura zose zihagararirwe » (ubuhamya bw'Umukoroneri wari uhari). Uretse inama yateganyirijwe itora rya perezida, nyuma nta ngengabihe nta n'ingingo zo ku murongo w'ibyigwa z'inama bigeze bategurira hamwe, kubera ingamba bwite bamwe mu bagize Komite bari bifitiye. Byongeye kandi, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'inyandikomvugo zitaratangazwa z'inama zinyuranye (*Reba ibiza gukurikira ho*), nta makuru cyangwa ibisobanuro byigeze bitangwa n' « abafataga ibyemezo » ku rukurikirane rw'ibintu byari mo kuba bikanavurunga inzego za poritiki, kandi abenshi mu bagize Komite nta buryo bari bafite bwo kujya mu mujyi ngo birebere ubwabo uko ibintu byifashe. Mu by'ukuri, nzigamiye iyi ngingo ya nyuma, umuntu yavuga ko Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yakoze imirimo yayo hagati y'igihe yagiriye ho, ku wa kane tariki ya 7 ku gicamunsi, n'igihe hashyiriwe ho Guverinoma y'ubusigire (GI), ku itariki ya 8 mu mugoroba. N'ubwo hari bamwe mu bayigize bitabiriye inama zose mu minsi ibiri yo ku ya 7 n'iya 8, inama ebyiri nyazo zahuje abantu bose ni iyo ku ya 7 nimugoroba yo gutora perezida wa komite n'iyo ku ya 8 ku gicamunsi yo « kwakira » abategetsi b'abasiviri bashya b'ubusigire. Ariko, ibiri amambu, muri iyo nama ya kabiri, abagize Komite yo mu gihe cy'amakuba bigombye kuvuga ko bari muri iyo nama nk'indorerezi, ngo hato batazava aho baregwa kuba barivanze mu byemezo by'abanyaporitiki. Itonde ry'abakandida bo kwinjira mu Nama ya guverinoma rikimara kwemerwa ahagana mu ma saa tatu cyangwa mu ma saa yine, Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana yatangaje ko Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba irangije ubutumwa bwayo. Nyamara mu kanya kakurikiye ho, bagiranye inama ya nyuma na nyuma n'umuyobozi w'Umutwe wa Minuar kugira ngo babwirane uko ibintu byifashe mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikari (FPR/ Inkotanyi, imyifatire y'Umutwe urinda perezida, iyicwa

ry'abanyaporitiki, umumaro wa Komite yo mu gihe cy'amakuba, nb.)***d.***

a. *Kwiyibutsa, reba itonde ry'impine mu mpera z'igitabo.*

b. *Uyu yatumiwe ninjoro, aho Tewonesiti Bagosora amariye kujya kwa Jacques – Roger Booh – Booh, wari uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye .Koroneri Rewonidasi Rusatira yari umusirikari mukuru wakurikiraga Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana mu burambe mu kazi.*

c. *Twibutse ko uyu nguyu, Koroneri Muberuka, amaze kubona ko hari ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abasirikari bakuru, kandi akaba atarashakaga kurwanya Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, yagiye aza mu nama bya nyirarureshwa agahita yigendera.*

d. *Ku byerekeye ayo matangazo anyuranye, inyandikomvugo z'inama, ibyemezo n'ubuhamya, ni ukureba mu mugereka 65 n'iwukurikira.*

Mu kwanga bigitangira gufata iya mbere nk'umuyobozi— ahanini yanga kubera Koroneri Bagosora intambamyi—,Agusitini Ndindiriyimana yatije Bagosora ingufu zo kwiganza, nibura igihe gito. Ariko ikintu kimwe cyari ukuyobora inama, ikindi kikaba icyo gushyira ho Komite ya gisirikari ifite ububasha busesuye yasimbura abayobozi b'abasiviri, ibyo rero bikaba byaramaganwe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bahari hafi ya bose[262].

Ntiyanabonye inkunga ya Jenerari Roméo Dallaire n'iy'uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques- Roger Booh-Booh – wari wahindutse Kamara muri iryo joro, kandi Bagosora akaba yarifuzaga ko amushyigikira (*Reba umugereka 57*) – yemwe ahari n'inkunga ya za amabasade

[262] *Uretse Koroneri Yohani- Bosiko Ruhorahoza, musanzire wa Koroneri Banavantura Buregeya (abagore babo bava inda imwe) kandi akaba yarakoranaga na Tewonesiti Bagosora, umusirikari mukuru wa etamajoro wenyine wo muri Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba washyigikiriye umugambi wa Bagosora wo guhirika ubutegetsi yaba yarabaye Liyetona – Koroneri Sipiriyani Kayumba (Byumba). Mu gihe cya mbere yari yabanje kwifatanya n'abandi bagize etamajoro mu kwamagana irari rya Bagosora, ariko yaba yarisubiye ho amaze kugirana ikiganiro kirekire kuri terefone n'umuntu utaramenyekanye.*

zikomeye ntiyayibonye. Bityo, nk'uko Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, Jenerari Roméo Dallaire na ba ambasaderi bari muRwanda hafi ya bose babyumvaga, hari ibintu bibiri bigaragarira buri wese : ku ruhande rumwe, amasezerano ya Arusha yagombaga kwitabwa ho kuko Perezidansi yari yageze mu cyiciro « cy'inzibacyuho » ku ya 5 Mutarama 1994, hanyuma ku rundi ruhande, minisitiri w'Intebe yari afite umwanya w'imena muri iyo mishyirirweho y'inzego. Iryo sesengura Koroneri Bagosora yararimenyeshejwe ku buryo bunoze. Ubwo rero yari abonye ahatiwe kureka igitekerezo cya Komite ya gisirikari yo mu gihe cy'amakuba yari kwiyoborera, hari hasigaye kuyoboka inzira iteganijwe n'itegeko nshinga, ariko ibyo bigashoboka gusa ari uko abayobozi batamugwa ku nzoka babanza kuvanwa mu nzira.

Tewonesiti Bagosora ntiyanashoboye gushyira mu mwanya w'umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo Koroneri Agusitini Bizimungu wari umaze amezi atanu gusa ahawe ipeti rya koroneri. Atanga igitekerezo cyo gutoranya umukuru wa etamajoro mu bayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano yibwiraga ko azashobora gukontorora Ingabo zose. Kubera ko yari amaze igihe atumana ho ubutitsa n'abayobozi b'imitwe y'ingabo, ntiyakekeranyaga ibyo kubona inkunga yabo, kandi yari yiringiye kuzitabaza ukwishyirukizana kwabo mu dutendo twe twihariye, cyane cyane utwo guhotora abanyaporitiki. Koko rero, Umutwe uba utoranyijwe, wibumbiye hamwe, wumvira umuyobozi wawo, ariko hakaba n'ubwo ushobora kutumvira umukuru wa etamajoro.

INCAMAKE YA 10

Umubonano Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yagiranye na Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994

Mu buhamya bwe bwo ku ya 21 Ugushyingo 2005 muri TPIR, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh aribuka ikiganiro yagiranye na Tewonesiti Bagosora :

« **Subizo.** : […] Ndemera ko ntigeze nibaza ako kanya impamvu ari we [Tewonesiti Bagosora] waje, kandi hari Abajenerari mu Ngabo, kandi hari umukuru wa etamajoro w'Ingabo, hari na minisitiri w'Ingabo. Ariko nyuma ni ho baje kumbwira ko umukuru wa etamajoro yaguye mu ndege hamwe na perezida, bambwira n'uko minisitiri w'Ingabo yari mu butumwa muri Kameruni a. Rwose nari nibajije icyo kibazo gusa ariko sinagiha agaciro kanini. […]

Bazo. : Mbese ushoba kutubwira uko byagenze guhera icyo gihe ?

Subizo. : Yego. Koroneri Bagosora yarambwiye… Yarambwiye ko perezida, indege ye yari imaze kuba… gukora impanuka cyangwa simbizi kandi ko yari yapfuye, ko perezida yari yapfuye. Sinzi niba yaranabivuze no kuri perezida w'uBurundi. Nuko rero, nahise mubwira "Mpore!" mbere yo gukomeza. Nuko ambwira ko abasirikari bateranye bagatora Umukoroneri. Ndabyibuka neza, yavuze Umukoroneri w'i Butare, ibintu nk'ibyo. Nta cyo nabyumvise mo : ese yakomokaga i Butare ? Ese yakoraga i Butare ? Ibyo ari byo byose numvise ikintu kimeze gityo, « ikintu » ntahaye agaciro kanini.

Hari ikintu yavuze : ngo bitoye mo umukuru wabo, intego ari iyo kubungabunga umutuzo, no guhumuriza abaturage mu gihe Minuar n'abanyaporitiki bahugiye mu gushyira amasezerano y'amahoro mu bikorwa. Ariko nahise murogoya ndamubaza nti « Ubwo se ni ukuvuga ko mwakoze kudeta ? » Yaransubije ati « Oya, nta kudeta twakoze na gato, ntibiri muri gahunda yacu, ariko nyamara hakwiriye abantu bo guhumuriza abaturage ba… » Naramubwiye ngo ambabarire, Minuar ntiyazanywe muRwanda no gukora muri gahunda nk'iyo. Twaje gukorana n'abasiviri, abanyaporitiki. Nuko rero ko ibyo gushyira ho komite cyangwa ikindi nta cyo byari bitwunguye. Kandi nashyigikiwe na Jenerari Dallaire wavuze ati « Mu gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi, abasiviri… ni

abasiviri bategeka. Abasirikari bahabwa amabwiriza, amategeko n'abasiviri ». Ikiganiro ndumva cyarajyaga kumera nk'ibyo, ko umushinga wabo ntacyo wari utumariye. Namubwiye kandi ko agomba kujya kureba « minisitiri w'Intebe », kuko mu gitekerezo cyanjye, ko bitabaza Itegekonshinga rya kera cyangwa irishya ryemejwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha, hombi umwanya we wari uri mo.

Kandi namubwiye ko bashoboraga kugerageza kuvugana…, ko byari ngombwa kuvugana n'abantu bose. Ubwo navuze Muvoma, kuko perezida yagombaga gutoranywa mu ishyaka rya MRND. Amasezerano y'amahoro yari yateganyije n'ibyo bintu, perezida aramutse atabarutse. Rero, njye ni uko namubwiye, ku bwanjye byari ngombwa ko na FPR/Inkotanyi igira uruhare mu myiteguro yo gukemura ibibazo by'ingutu by'icyo gihe. Ni uko. Koroneri yarambwiye… Ntiyahakanye kugira imibonano yindi yose, ntiyahakanye, ariko yatsembye ku mugaragaro ibyo kugirana umubonano na madamu Agata. Biragaragara. Yavuze ko adashaka… Ni umugore - mbese umuntu yabivuga ate – wigijwe yo na guverinoma ye bwite, n'abaturage n'Ingabo z'igihugu cye. Ibyo ari byo byose ni muri ubwo buryo Ingabo zitamushakaga b. »

a. Mu butumwa bwa Leta i Yaoundé kuva ku ya 4 kugeza ku ya 8 Mata ku butumire bwa PNUD, minisitiri yari mu nama ya Komite ngishwanama ihora ho y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku bibazo by'umutekano muri Afurika, mbere yo kujya muri Ghana yagombaga kumara ibyumweru bibiri.

b. Ubuhamya bwa Jacques-Roger BOOH-BOOH, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 21 Ugushyingo 2005, p.80.

Nyamara uturere tuba tugizwe na za batayo zidafite aho zihuriye, haba mu mitegekere yazo, haba no mu basirikari baziri mo. Ariko Tewonesiti Bagosora ntiyari yibutse ko umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano wari ufite ipeti ryo hejuru kandi n'uburambe mu kazi mu by'ukuri yari Mariseri Gatsinzi wari i Butare, n'ubwo ako karere ka gisirikari – kari kakimara gushyirwa ho – kari kataragira imirwano nyayo kagira mo uruhare[263].

[263] *Umuyobozi w'ishuri ry'abasuzofisiye ry'i Butare bari bakoze ku buryo ashobora kuvugana kuri radiyo*

Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari Ngengeyinka, bwemejwe n'abenshi mu bari mu nama nashoboye kuganira na bo, burerekana neza ukuntu Bagosora yari asigaye wenyine :

« 1. Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, […] nahamagaye ku izamu ryo muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, bansubiza ko Umutwe urinda perezida wari umaze guhamya ayo makuru. Nabajije niba nta nama yari mo kubera muri minisiteri y'Ingabo nyuma y'icyo gikorwa kibabaje. Igisubizo bampaye ni uko koko hari abasirikari bakuru bari mu nama muri etamajoro. […] nanjye rero nafashe icyemezo cyo kujya yo. […]

2. Aho tumenyeye urupfu rw'umukuru wa etamajoro kandi dukurikije ko ibihe bitari bimeze neza, twasanze ari ngombwa gushyira ho umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusigire dutegereje ko guverinoma yari gushyirwa ho imwemeza cyangwa se igahita mo undi. Jenerari Ndindiriyimana ubwe yafashe ijambo atwibutsa ko inama zose za gisirikari zigira umuyobozi, ko kuri we, kubera ko hari abasirikari bakuru bo muri minisiteri, bo mu Ngabo n'abo muri Jandarumori, Koroneri Bagosora wari umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo ari we wari ukwiriye kuyobora inama. Nibutse ko icyo gihe abashinzwe ibiro G2 na G3 ari bo Koroneri Aroyizi Ntiwiragabo na Koroneri Garasiyani Kabirigi, na minisitiri w'Ingabo, Bwana Bizimana Agusitini bose bari mu butumwa hanze y'igihugu. Twakurikije ho gusuzuma uburyo busanzwe bwo gushyira ho umukuru wa etamajoro. Mu nama ya guverinoma, minisitiri w'Ingabo atanga amazina y'abakandida, noneho Inama ya guverinoma igakura mo umwe, nyuma agashyirwa ho ku mugaragaro n'iteka rya perezida. Icyo gihe rero nta perezida, nta minisitiri w'Ingabo bari bari ho. Ni bwo twafashe icyemezo cyo kumushyira ho ubwacu. Koroneri Bagosora yatanze igitekerezo cyo gushyira ho umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano warushaga

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n'abari mu tundi turere tw'imirwano, kugira ngo ajye amenya amakuru yo ku rugamba, bityo yitegure ibyo kuyobora akarere kashyirwa ho haramutse hari igitero kije muri icyo gice cy'igihugu giturutse i Burundi.

abandi uburambe mu kazi. Nahise numva ako kanya ko yateganyaga Koroneri Agusitini Bizimungu, wari wahawe ipeti rya Koroneri mu Kuboza 1993, bityo kubera ko bari barasimbuye aba kera bose, akaba ari we warushaga abandi uburambe. Nyamara yibagirwaga ko kuva ku midugararo yikurikiranyije muBurundi nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Ndadaye, akarere ka Butare kayoborwaga na Koroneri Mariseri Gatsinzi, kafatwaga nk'akarere k'imirwano n'ubwo nta mirwano yari yakahabera. Ubwo rero ni Koroneri Gatsinzi wari wujuje ibya ngombwa. Koroneri Bagosora yarabirwanyije. Namusubije ko nta butabera buri mo abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano ari bo babaye abakandida bonyine, ko ahubwo ubusanzwe uwo mwanya ari uw'umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi uburambe mu kazi, ko icyo gihe kandi yari Koroneri Rusatira (*Reba umugereka 58*)[264]. Koroneri Bagosora yahise avuga atazuyaje ko niba ari uko bimeze yahita mo Koroneri Gatsinzi aho kuwuha Rusatira. Bityo, Koroneri BEM [ipeti rya etamajoro] Gatsinzi agirwa umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusigire [Reba umugereka 59].

3. Nyuma y'ishyirwa ho ry'umukuru wa etamajoro, Koroneri Bagosora yatanze igitekerezo cyo gusimbuza inzego za Leta Komite ya gisirikari, mu by'ukuri, gukora kudeta ya gisirikari. Abari bahari bose barabyamaganye batanga ingingo zishyigikira igitekerezo cyabo. Izo mpaka zamaze igihe. Koroneri Bagosora yasohokaga kenshi agiye guterefona[265]. Igihe kimwe, Bagosora yaratubwiye ngo

[264] *Urunyiriri rwo gushyirwa mu myanya abari muri izo mpaka bari biteze basanze rwavuyanzwe nta mpamvu, bityo ibyo bikurura ubushyamirane n'ubwumvikane buke mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo mu gihe cyose cy'intambara, kubera kugirwa umukuru wa etamajoro no guhabwa ipeti rya Jenerari- Majoro ry'Umukoroneri BEM wari umaze amezi make gusa ahawe iryo peti mu nama yari iherutse ya Komisiyo ishinzwe ibyo kuzamura mu ntera. Wongeye ho ihezwa n'ubwikanyize byari bishingiye ku turere n'ipfunwe rimaze igihe mu mitunganyirize z'izamurwa mu ntera, byumvikanisha ukuntu abari bamaze guhabwa amapeti bahise baba ibitambo by'ishyirwa ho ryabo ritubahirije amategeko kandi ryarwanyijwe cyane. Ibyo rero byagize ingaruka mbi mu guhuriza hamwe abasirikari no gukaza umurego wabo ku rugamba.*

[265] *Tewonesiti Bagosora yari afite radiyo ebyiri za Motorola ziri mo ubugenge bwatumaga avugana ku buryo butaziguye n'abayobozi b'Imitwe (ibyo nyirubwite yabwiye Filip Reyntjens, ubuhamya, urubanza rwa Bagosora*

ntiyumva impamvu twanga igitekerezo cye kandi ngo abamuterefona bose ari cyo bari kumubwira gusa. Ikindi gihe, Liyetona – Koroneri Kayumba na we yarasohotse ajya gusubiza terefone. Yagarutse asa n'uwarubiye, avuga ko na we ashyigikiye ibya kudeta. Jenerari Dallaire na Koroneri Marchall baje kudusanga mu nama, hanyuma tubamenyesha ikibazo dufite. Jenerari Dallaire yatubwiye ko nidutana umurongo w'amasezerano ya Arusha nta kindi yari gukora uretse kuva mu gihugu. Hari uwagize igitekerezo kiri mo ubukenguzi cyo kugisha inama Bwana Booh – Booh, intumwa yihariye y'umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni : Koroneri Bagosora na Liyetona – Koroneri Rwabarinda ni bo bahawe ubwo butumwa. Bagarutse, batumenyesheje ko Bwana Booh – Booh na we yatugiraga inama yo kuguma mu murongo w'amasezerano ya Arusha. Mu gihe intumwa zari zagiye, twahamagaye Koroneri Rusatira wari utaje mu nama[266]. Twamusobanuriye uko ibintu bimeze, hanyuma na we ashyigikira uruhande rudashaka kudeta. Liyetona – Koroneri Kayumba wenyine ni we wagaragaje ko atishimiye icyo gitekerezo.

4. Mbere y'uko intumwa zijya kwa Bwana Booh – Booh, twumvikanye yuko tuzakurikiza ibyifuzo bizava mu nama tuzagirana n'uwo munyacyubahiro, nuko twiyemeza gutumira abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano n'ab'Imitwe yigenga y'i Kigali mu nama yari kuba mu gitondo gikurikiye ho muri ESM, kugira ngo bamenyeshwe uko ibintu byifashe […][267]. »

Abayobozi b'uturere n'ab'imitwe babwiwe iby'inama muri iryo joro, nuko guhera saa mbiri hashyirwaho ingabo zo kurinda no gutwara abasirikari bakuru batumiwe muri ESM. Inama yashoboye gutangira saa yine. Yabaye hari Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, Koroneri Rewonidasi Rusatira wayoboraga ESM,

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n'abandi, TPIR, 15 Nzeri 2004, p.27).

[266] *Jenerari Ndindiriyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, yamuhamagaye hagati ya saa sita na saa saba z'ijoro.*

[267] *Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 24 Kanama 2002.*

Koroneri Tarisisi Renzaho, perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano, ab'ibigo bya gisirikari, ab'Imitwe y'Ingabo n'ab'ibigo bya Jandarumori (uretse umukuru w'Umutwe urinda perezida, Majoro Porotazi Mpiranya), abakuru b'Ibiro bya za etamajoro, abakuru b'imirimo muri minisiteri y'Ingabo, na Roméo Dallaire wahageze inama yenda kurangira. Abari batoranyijwe mu ijoro baremewe.

> « Inama yo mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata 1994 yabaye iyo kwibukiranya ibyari byaraye bibaye n'icyari kigamijwe. Ikintu cyadushimishije cyane, ni uko iyibutsa ry'ibyabaye ryakozwe mu manyakuri, ku buryo bunyuranye n'ubwo abantu bari biteze kuri Bagosora. Umuntu umwe gusa ni we wafashe ijambo agira icyo abivuga ho, Liyetona- Koroneri Nkundiye (utari woroshye, kuko ari we warushaga abandi bo mu Bushiru uburambe mu kazi nyuma ya Bagosora kandi akaba yari akiri mu kazi) ashimira Komite ubushishozi buranga ibyemezo byayo[268]. »

Iryo jambo ryakurikiye irya Koroneri Rewonidasi Rusatira, wari wasabye akomeje y'uko Ingabo zirinda umutekano kandi zigafasha guverinoma iri ho gukomeza imirimo yayo, kandi yari yanasobanuye neza ko yavugaga guverinoma ya Agata Uwiringiyimana. Ni muri uwo mwuka w'ubwumvikane inteko yatoranyije abagize icyaje kwemerwa ku mugaragaro nka Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba, igira umukuru wa Jandarumori, Jenerari Ndindiriyima, umukuru wayo ishinga na Koroneri Bagosora, umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo, gukomeza imishyikirano n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo muRwanda. Inteko yifuje ko guverinoma ya Agata Uwiringiyimana ihuriwe ho n'amashya menshi ihabwa ako kanya uburyo bwo kuyobora igihugu, kugira ngo ishobore gushyira ho inzego z'inzibacyuho.Ingingo ya kabiri y'itangazo ry'Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo z'igihugu ryasoje inama ntirijijinganya kuri iyo ngingo :

[268] *Ubuhamya bwite bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye ubwanjye, 10 Mata 2005.*

« ni muri urwo rwego guverinoma iri ho isabwe kurangiza neza imirimo yayo; n'inzego za poritiki zibishinzwe zisabwe kwihutisha ishyirwa ho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho ziteganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha[269].

Abasirikari bakuru benshi bari bahari bavuze ko Rewonaridi Nkundiye wayoboraga akarere k'imirwano k'Umutara yatunguye abantu bose na we ubwe ashyigikira ko byari ngombwa kugarura umutuzo, anasaba umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano ka Kigali kongera gufata mu maboko ye ibikorwa bya gisirikari, akanakurikirana bwangu iyubahirizwa ry'ibyateganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha.

> « Nakomeje kwibuka ijambo rya Liyetona – Koroneri Nkundiye, ryari intangamugabo y'uko yari yumvise neza ishingiro ryo gukora ibintu muri ubwo buryo, rikanasaba ko inama yasozwa kugira ngoabayobozi banyuranye bajye gusobanurira abasirikari ibyemezo bimaze gufatwa. » [270]

Tewonesiti Bagosora yari atsinzwe igitego cya gatatu. Ariko, ku buryo bwatunguye abantu bose, kandi nk'uko Koroneri Rusatira yabivuze, icyo gitsindo yari yacyiteze :

> « Koroneri Bagosora yasubiye mu byo bari baraye bavuze, hanyuma aha ijambo abari mu nama. Natanze igitekerezo ko ingabo zicunga umutekano, zikanafasha guverinoma iri ho gukomeza imirimo yayo. Ndavuga guverinoma ya Agata ya Uwiringiyimana. Nashyigikiwe na Ntabakuze na Nkundiye. Naje kumenya nyuma ko Agata yari yishwe mbere y'uko inama yacu irangira. Ndibwira ko abo basirikari bakuru bombi bo mu gipande cya Bagosora, bashushe nk'abanshyigikira kandi ahari bari bazi ko icyo gihe minisitiri w'Intebe yari yishwe. Inama yari

[269] *Reba umugereka 56.*
[270] *Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye ubwanjye, 24 Kanama 2002.*

yarogowe n'urusaku rw'amasasu twumvaga atari kure ya ESM ku ruhande rw'ikigo cya Kigali[271]. Liyetona – Koroneri Nubaha wategekaga icyo kigo cya gisirikari yaraje asanga Bagosora agira icyo amwongorera. Ndakeka ko ibyo byabaye mbere y'uko Jenerari Dallaire ahagera. Abari mu nama bemeye igitekerezo cyanjye, nuko batoranya n'abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yagombaga gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo byemezo.

Nuko mu kanya gato :

« Inama ijya kurangira, twumvise urusaku rw'amasasu (ayishe « abanyangofero z'ubururu »[ingabo za Loni])[272].

Nyuma y'inama gusa ni bwo amakuru y'uko Umutwe urinda perezida wishe minisitiri w'Intebe yahererekanywe n'abagize inteko, noneho impamvu z'uko umuyobozi wawo, Majoro Mpiranya ataje mu nama ziba zirasobanutse. Icyo gihe ni bwo abari mu nama bumvise neza amambu yari hagati y'ingamba z'agatsiko nyamuke k'abashaka kudeta batifuza uburambe bwa guverinoma, n'iz'abari bashyigikiye inzira ya poritiki yubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha, inzira yatatiwe burundu kuva icyo gihe. Amagambo acisha make kandi ashyira mu gaciro y'abasirikari bakuru bakoranaga cyane n'igipande cya perezida nka Rewonaridi Nkundiye basaga n'abashyigikiye uburambe bwa guverinoma bwifuzwaga n'abenshi muri bagenzi be, yumvikanye noneho ko yari ayo gukingira abantu inyuma y'inyegamo y'igihu. Kugira ngo iyo myitwarire yumvikane neza, Liyetona – Koroneri Agusitini Cyiza yakoze isesengura rikurikira :

« Guhera mu wa 1992, nta bushake bwo kurwana abasirikari bari bafite. Abo mu

[271] *Koko rero, abasirikari bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida bageze mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe ahagana mu ma saa tatu, hanyuma baza kubona aho yari ari n'amaherezo bamurasa mu ma saa tanu – saa sita, ni ukuvuga mbere gato y'uko inama yo muri ESM irangira.*

[272] *Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 24 Kanama 2002.*

majyepfo bifuzaga ivangwa ry'Ingabo zombi [FAR na APR], abo mu majyaruguru ntibatekereze ko ikibazo cyari mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Ku rugamba, abasirikari nta bushake bwo kurwana bari bagifite, benshi barihungiraga iyo FPR/Inkotanyi yabaga igabye igitero. Ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, bamwe ntibabonaga uwo bakirwanira nyuma y'urupfu rwa Yuvenari Habyarimana. Ku ruhande rumwe abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru bashakaga ko n'igice cy'amajyepfo cyumva na cyo uko intambara imeze. Mu gihe yari umukuru wa etamajoro mu wa 1992, Rawurenti Serubuga ni we wahoranaga igitekerezo ngo « noneho amajyepfo ni yo atahiwe » ; ku rundi ruhande, iyicwa ry'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo ntiryatumaga hashobora kuba ho ikintu cyo « gufatana urunana ». Abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo bashakaga guca agasuzuguro k'abo mu majyaruguru».[273] N'ubwo ku bw'ihange Ingabo z'uRwanda zari zifite isumbwe mu bikoresho n'ubuhanga bwa tekiniki, amahirwe yazo yo gutsinda yari make cyane. Icya nyuma, ari na cyo gikomeye, ni uko bitashobokaga kugirana ubufatanye n'imishyikirano nyakuri na FPR/Inkotanyi, kuko agatsiko k'abayobozi bayo kari kagizwe n' « abanyamahanga » badafite amahuriro n'ibyo mu gihugu imbere, badafite abo bazitabaza, kuko inkunga bari bayifite mu Batutsi gusa. Abahutu bakoranaga bari bagizwe nk'imiyugiri, kandi bahozwa ho ijisho. Ku bwanjye, nguko uko amagambo ya Koroneri Nkundiye agomba kumvikana, igihe yashyigikiraga igitekerezo cyo kureka abasiviri bakajya ku isonga[274]. »

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[273] *Iri sesengura riboneka mu buhamya bwa Roméo Dallaire : « Ni uko. Mu kigereranyo cyanjye, numvaga ko ibyo ari byo byose hari Imitwe yifuzaga isubikwa ry'imirwano. Indorerezi n'abaranguruzi banjye banzaniraga amakuru yuko hari igice gifatika… - ariko aha sinashobora kuvuga ko cyari mu kigero cya 40% cyangwa 70% - mbese igice kigaragara cy'abasirikari ku rugamba batari bagishaka kurwana, bashakaga amahoro, batashakaga gukomeza kurwana na FPR/Inkotanyi » (Ubuhamya bwa Jenerari Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 26 Mutarama 2004,p 17- 18).*

[274] *Ikiganiro nagiranye na Majoro Agusitini CYIZA, ibyo niyandikiye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

INCAMAKE YA 11

Ihotorwa ry' « abanyangofero z'ubururu [ingabo za Loni]» b'Ababirigi bari muri Minuar (7 Mata)

Urubanza rwa Berenarudo Ntuyahaga rwabereye mu Rukiko mpanabyaha rw'i Buruseri ku itariki ya 19 Mata kugeza ku ya 4 Nyakanga 2007 ntirweyuruye ibihu byose bikomeje kubudika ku rukurikirane nyarwo rw'ibintu byabaye no ku banyagikorwa bagize uruhare muri ayo marorerwa. Twibuke ko ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, kuba muRwanda n'imyitwarire y'Ingabo z'Ababirigi zari muri Minuar i Kigali byagibwaga ho impaka zishyushye mu gihugu. Ibirego byo kubogamira ku ruhande rwa FPR/Inkotanyi, n'amacakubiri yari mu bakuriye Misiyo byari byarageze ku karubanda, haba mu rwego rw'Ubuyobozi, haba no mu rw'ubucuti bwihariye abasirikari bakuru b'Ababirigi bari bafitanye na bagenzi babo bo mu mpande zombi zishyamiranye. Ayo macakubiri yagaragariye , ku ya 5 Mata, ku « Mwandiko wo kurega Dr. Booh – Booh » Aregisi Kanyarengwe, perezida wa FPR/Inkotanyi yoherereje umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye a. Uwo mwandiko wari ukubiye mo amakosa baregaga intumwa y'umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ibirego byashyigikiwe na Jenerari Roméo Dallaire wenyine mu bahagarariye Umuryango mpuzamahanda bose, nyuma y'itangazo ryo ku ya 28 Werurwe 1994 ry'intumwa z'ibihugu by'uBurayi n'iz'ibihugu byo mu karere ryasabaga ko amashyaka yose yemewe muRwanda (na CDR iri mo) yazagira uyahagararira mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (*Reba umutwe wa 5*).

Urebye icyuka kiri mo umurego ndetse n'irengamutima cyari kiri ho kuri cyo gihe, aho buri wese yarebuzaga ibikorwa by'abandi bose mu rwikekwe, misiyo itunguranye yahawe esikoti y'« abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi yo guherekeza abahagarariye FPR/Inkotanyi mu cyanya cy'Akagera ku itariki ya 6 Mata bwateye abantu benshi kubwibaza ho. Nyuma y'aho indege ya perezida ihanuriwe, ibirego bishinja Ababirigi byakwiriye hose. TPIR ibara inkuru y'ibyo bintu ku buryo bukurikira :

« Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata, nyuma gato y'uko indege ya perezida ihanurwa,

Bagosora yayoboye inama mu kigo cya Kigali, inama ya Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba, yari igizwe n'abasirikari bakuru b'Ingabo n'aba Jandarumori. Jenerari Roméo Dallaire, umuyobozi w'Umutwe wa Minuar, yagiye muri iyo nama yungura abasirikari igitekerezo cyo kuvugana na minisitiri w'Intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana. Yanabamenyesheje ko byari ngombwa ko minisitiri w'Intebe agira icyo atangariza abanyagihugu, amaze kubona amakuru y'uko indege ya perezida yari yahanuwe. Bagosora yarabyanze. Nyuma yaho muri iryo joro, Bagosora na Dallaire bagiranye akanama n'intumwa y'umunyamabanga mukuru, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh iwe mu rugo. Bagosora yarongeye yanga ibyo kuvugana na minisitiri w'Intebe. […] Mu ijoro, Jenerari Dallaire yategetse ko esikoti ya Minuar igenerwa minisitiri w'Intebe kugira ngo ashobore kugira icyo atangariza kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu gitondo. Ku itariki ya 7 Mata, ahagana mu ma saa kumi n'imwe, « abanyangofero z'ubururu » cumi b'Ababirigi boherejwe mu rugo rwe. Mu masaha ya mbere y'uko icyo cyemezo gifatwa, abasirikari ba batayo y'« Abariki » (Recce) n'ab'Umutwe urinda perezida bari bagose urugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe, bakanyuza mo bakarasa ku bajandarume b'uRwanda no ku « banyangofero z'ubururu » bakomoka muri Ghana bari bashinzwe kurinda minisitiri w'Intebe. Ababirigi bamaze kuhagera, basanze urugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe rwari rwatewe. Minisitiri w'Intebe yari yahungiye mu rugo bari baturanye. Baramubonye, baramwica, banamukorera ibya mfura mbi. […] « Abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi n'Abanyagana bamburiwe intwaro zabo mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe, nuko bajyanwa mu kigo cya Kigali ahagana mu ma saa tatu. Nyuma yaho gato, igitero cy'abasirikari baturuka mu kigo bagota « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi, nuko batangira kubagirira nabi. Abasirikari bakuru benshi b'Abanyarwanda, hari mo na Koroneri Nubaha wayoboraga ikigo cya Kigali, bagerageje kuvuga amagambo yo kurura abo basirikari b'Abanyarwanda. Mu gihe ibyo byari mo kuba, ahagana mu ma saa yine, Bagosora yari ayoboye inama y'abasirikari bakuru b'Ingabo n'aba Jandarumori mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) ryari hafi aho. Abari mu nama bari mo kungurana ibitekerezo ku byakurikiye urupfu rwa perezida. Nubaha yavuye mu kigo aza aho inama yaberaga

maze amenyesha Bagosora ko abasirikari b'Ababirigi bari mu mazi abira. Inama yarakomeje ariko nyuma abari bayiri mo baza kumva urusaku rw'amasasu ruturuka mu cyerekezo cy'ikigo. Nyuma y'inama yo muri ESM, Bagosora yageze mu kigo cya Kigali. Yabonye imirambo y'abasirikari b'Ababirigi bane, amenya ko n'abandi « banyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi bari mu biro bari bazima. Arireguza y'uko igitero cy'abasirikari bamumereye nabi, ndetse bakamwita umugambanyi, bigatuma yigendera. Urukiko rurasanga nta ngufu zakoreshejwe kugira ngo bapfubye ibyo bintu byatatumbiraga guturika. Hashize akanya gato Bagosora agiye, abasirikari bo mu kigo bicishije intwaro zikomeye « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi bari basigaye.

Ibyo bikorwa bya gisirikari binyuranye ntibyafatiwe ho, cyangwa ngo bituruke ku kibatsi cy'uburakari bw'abasirikari. Muri buri cyiciro, amategeko atomoye kandi yumvikanywe ho yaratanzwe, cyangwa se ahubwo cyane cyane ntiyatanzwe n'abakuru b'imitwe yari yishoye muri ibyo bikorwa ndetse n'inzego zisumbuye. Ayo mategeko ni yo yateje iryo tsemba. Guhora ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida byagombaga kugerwa mu ndengo y'ibitero bya FPR/inkotanyi n' « ibyitso » byayo by'abanyagihugu n'abanyamahanga babiregwaga. N'ubwo bikomeye kumenya niba intera y'ingaruka zo kwica « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi yari yarateganyijwe kandi igapimwa n'abakoze iryo shyano, nyamara ubushake bwo kugaragaza umurego mwinshi muri ibyo bikorwa ntibwashidikanywa ho.

Ku buryo bwimbitse, ibyari byabaye mu ijoro ryakeye byatumaga abantu bibwira ko impande zombi zishyamiranye zari ziteguye intambara ya rurangiza. Kuba ibintu ari uko byabonekaga byagamburuje Ingabo za Minuar na za ambasade zikomeye kugira icyo zikora ngo zihagarike ubwicanyi cyangwa ngo zihatire impande zombi imishyikirano. Zimaze guhungisha abanyamahanga, zose zikuriye mo akarenge maze zisiga abarwanyi bahanganye, zizi ku buryo budasubirwa ho, akaga kari gategereje abaturage b'abasiviri bari bafashwe bugwate.

a. *Murindi, 5 Mata 1994, réf. PR/V.1/0017/94 B.u., ikirego cyageze ku munyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye i New- York ku itariki ya 4 Gicurasi 1994, na*

teregisi Annan/Booh-Booh 14 97 yo ku ya 6 gicurasi 1994 n'iya Booh-Booh/Annan MIR 923 yo ku ya 8 Bicurasi 1994 (imyandiko yashyinguwe muri TPIR ifite ibimenyetso no 189 na no191 byo ku ya 22 ugushyingo 2005, Reba umugereka 77).

***b**. Umushinjacyaha c. Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abandi, dosiye n° ICTR-98-41-T, CI08-0053 (F) 6, Incamake y'isomwa ry'urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 18 Ukuboza 2008.*

Igitekerezo Koroneri Nkundiye yabwiriye mu ruhame abasirikari bakuru bo mu karere yari ashinzwe agisubira i Gabiro cyari gihuye n'icya bagenzi be benshi batari batinyutse kurwanya ku mugaragaro icyerekezo cya benshi. Nyamara bakomeje gufatanya na Bagosora gutegurira mu ibanga ibikorwa byo kwikiza abo bari bafitanye akantu n'ibyo kwihorera bari bamaze amezi n'amezi barota. Ubwo bakurikizaga amabwiriza Bagosora yabahereye mu bwiherero mu gihe cy'inama yo muri ESM yo ku ya 7 mu gitondo : umwe mu basirikari bakuru wari uhari yavuze ko Bagosora yaba yarabwiye ba Majoro Nkundiye, Ntabakuze na Nzuwonemeye ngo « Muhere ruhande ! » Icyabatandukanyaga cyonyine ni uko Majoro Nkundiye atashoboraga kwigira indyarya mu mikoranire n'abagize etamajoro ye bari mu itabaro mu karere yari ashinzwe. Na ho ku byerekeye abandi basirikari bakuru, Liyetona – Koroneri Aroyizi Ntabakuze, umukuru wa batayo y'« Abakodo », Majoro Farasisiko – Saveri Nzuwonemeye, umukuru wa batayo y'« Abariki », cyangwa Majoro Yoweri Bararwerekana (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umukuru wa batayo y'Igiporisi cya gisirikari(PM), amagambo yabo yo mu ruhame n'imyitwarire yabo nyakuri byashoboraga kubusana ku buryo bugaragara[275].

[275] *« Hari umutangabuhamya wavuze ko, […] muri Kenya, yabonanye n'uwari umuyobozi wungirije wa batayo y'« Abariki », Inosenti Sagahutu. Uyu ngo yaba yaramubwiye ko Bwana Nzuwonemeye wahoze ategeka iyo batayo, yari yamuhaye amategeko, mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, yo gushyigikira Umutwe urinda perezida akoresheje burende, ibyo akaba yarabikoze aha Ajida Bizimungu iyo misiyo. Mu gitondo uyu yari yabwiye Kapiteni Sagahutu ko Umutwe urinda perezida wari wambuye intwaro « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi, ko bashakaga kwica minisitiri w'Intebe, ariko ko mbere yaho byari ngombwa ko « abanyangofero z'ubururu » babanza « kwikura » » (ubuhamya bwa Yohani – Batisita NSANZIMFURA, 4 Kamena 2007, Igazeti y'ubucamanza, Imanza*

Bityo, ku munsi wo ku wa kane tariki ya 7, mu gihe Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo bwasabaga batayo y'« Abariki » na batayo « PM » kurema ingamba ngo zihagarike ubwicanyi bugirirwa abaturage kandi zikumire Umutwe urinda perezida, amatsinda y'abasirikari bo muri izo batayo - batigeze bihakanwa n'abayobozi babo, Majoro Ntabakuze na Bararwerekana -, bafatanyije ubwicanyi n'Umutwe urinda perezida, babyemerewe n'umukuru wawo, Majoro Porotazi Mpiranya. Umaze kubura umutware wawo wari warashyiriwe ho kurinda, uwo Mutwe - amasezerano ya Arusha yari yateganyirije guseswa – wumvise ko udategetswe gukurikiza amabwiriza y'inzego zisanzwe, maze ushishikarira kumuhorera uhigira hasi kubura hejuru abantu bose bakekwaga ho kutavuga rumwe na we. Naho Majoro Nzuwonemeye, umusirikari mukuru « w'umunyenduga » wari usigaye ari wenyine, ntiyashoboye kugira igitekerezo agaragaza, maze ahita mo kumvira amabwiriza avuguruzanya, ni ukuvuga ko yarekeye iyo. Koko rero, n'ubwo umupango wa Koroneri Bagosora wo gushyira ho Komite ya gisirikari utemewe ninjoro no mu nama yahuje Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo n'abakuru b'Imitwe mu gitondo, Bagosora yarinangiye akomeza gutanga amategeko. Ibyo yabikoze umunsi w'itariki ya 7 kugira ngo habe ho akavuyo intagondwa z'abahezanguni bashoboraga kubonera mo icyuho. N'ikimenyimenyi, itangazo ryanditswe nyuma y'inama yarindiriye kurisinya nyuma ya saa sita, kandi ubwicanyi bwibasiye abagize guverinoma n'abanyaporitiki bo mu mashyaka yo mu gihugu atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bwari bwakwiriye hose. Itangazo ryari ritarasomwa kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu ma saa kumi n'igice, igihe FPR/Inkotanyi yasohokeye muri CND ishaka kwagura urubuga rwayo rwa gisirikari. Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yahise iterana maze ijya kureba Jenerari Dallaire ngo imusabe « gufata ibintu mu maboko ye », no kuvugana na FPR/Inkotanyi ngo isubire mu kigo cyayo. Abagize Komite bemeye ibyo umukuru wa Minuar yabasabye (gusubiza Umutwe urinda perezida mu kigo no guhagarika ubwicanyi). Jenerari yari kubona kujya kuvugana na FPR/inkotanyi, hanyuma bukeye bwaho akageza kuri Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba raporo y'ibyo bavuganye, kugira ngo bagene uburyo bwo gusubika

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zerekeye uRwanda 2007, nº 7, Buruseri).

imirwano. Ubwo Koroneri Bagosora yari yongeye kujya ku isonga kandi yari yaganjwe mu nama ya ninjoro, nuko atangira guhiga abari barwanyije ibitekerezo bye noneho bari basigaye nta kintu bashobora gukora kubera ko ishyirwa ho rya Komite yiganje mo abatabona ibintu kimwe na we ryari ryatinze, ugereranyije n'umubare w'abasirikari bari bakwiriye muri Kigali :

> « Abantu bose bari bazi abafite intwaro muri Kigali abo ari bo. Izo ntwaro rero zari zitunze ku bari batamushyigikiye, kandi benshi muri twe twajyaga kumera kimwe n'abatakiri ho. Icyo gihe rero, twari guhangana dute n'umuntu twari tumaze kwambura ubuyobozi bwa Komite yacu, noneho ahubwo akaba yarasaga n'ufatanyije imigambi n'abicanyi ? […] Abari bagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba si ko bari bahuje bose ibitekerezo bya poritiki n'Imitwe y'abarwanyi yari mu mujyi wa Kigali, ari zo ngufu za gisirikari icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose cyagombaga gushingira ho[276]. Impaka zibanze ahanini mu kurwanya ibitekerezo bya Bagosora abandi bagize Komite basangaga byabashora mu bintu batashoboraga kugenzura. Twese twari tuzi ku buryo butajijinganya ko ari FPR/Inkotanyi yari inyuma y'ubuhotozi. Twashakaga gufata ibyemezo byatuma dushobora gukurikiranira hafi imigambi ya FPR/Inkotanyi noneho tugashaka ibisubizo bikwiranye na yo[277]. »

Kwanga kubungabunga uburambe bwa Leta n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha byari bibusanye n'ibyemezo umuntu yagira ingorane zo guhakana ishingiro ryabyo. Inama y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo muri etamajoro yarumvikanaga ku buryo bwose, kuko yari ihuje n'umuco wo kuri Repuburika ya kabiri w'uko Jenerari- Majoro Yuvenari Habyarimana yari akomatanyije imirimo ya Perezida wa Repuburika, « iya minisitiri w'Ingabo n'iy'umukuru wa etamajoro, ibyo byose kandi nta n'umwanya wa

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[276] *Ni ikigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida cyo ku Kimihurura n'ikigo cy'i Kanombe (burende, imbunda zirasa kure, imizinga, abakodo, nb.).*

[277] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Mata 2005.*

minisitiri w'Intebe uhari. Bityo rero, ntibyari bitangaje ko abakuru y'Imitwe y'Ingabo bari baramenyereye guhabwa amategeko n' « umubyeyi w'igihugu » kandi akaba ari na we ubwe bageza ho raporo bahurira mu nama kandi inzego z'Ubuyobozi zabo zari zasenyutse. Ikindi kandi, bose bari bazi ko amategeko nshinga yashyizwe ho mu wa 1962 n'uwa 1991mu rwego rw'amashyaka menshi yashyize Ingabo mu nshingano za minisitiri w'Ingabo, agaha raporo minisitiri w'Intebe na guverinoma. Kuba yari umusigire wa minisitiri w'Ingabo, Koroneri Bagosora wari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo nta bubasha na buke yari afite bwo kugira icyo atangariza abanyagihugu mu izina ry'Ingabo z'igihugu akoresheje kandi kashe ya minisiteri y'Ingabo, mu mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe wari wabujijwe, ku buryo bugambiriwe, kunyuza kuri radiyo iryo tangazo ubwe, kandi nyamara yari yariteguye. Bityo, impaka zo mu rwego rw'amategeko zerekeye ukwishyira hamwe kw'amashyaka n'uburyo bwo gusimbura perezida wa Repuburika Koroneri Bagosora yasabye kugirana n'abayobozi b'abanyamategeko bo muri Muvoma zari uburyo bwa poritiki bugaragara nko gusisibiranya no gukina ku mubyimba, kuko iyo nama abo banyaporitiki batatu, Nzirorera, Ngirumpatse na Karemera bagiranye na Tewonesiti Bagosora yari igamije guca icyuho mu nzego za Leta kitari cyashoboye gucibwa n'urupfu rwa Agata Uwiringiyimana. Urebye ibintu bikomeye byari byabaye kuri uwo munsi kandi inama ya mu gitondo yari igamije kubikumira – bitabujije ko abandi bihatira kubishoza -, umubonano Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yagiranye na Jenerari Dallaire nyuma ya saa sita wabaye imitsi y'abayiri mo yareze : abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba basaga n'aho bafashwe bugwate ntibashobore kugira icyo bamenya n'icyo bakora. Cyane cyane ko ikibazo cy'umukuru w'iyo Komite cyari kitarakemuka, kandi Tewonesiti Bagosora yarihutishwaga no kwiha uwo mwanya, mu gihe Minuar yamutungaga agatoki imushinja urupfu rw'« abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi, Leta y'uBubiligi yari yatangiye gusabira raporo.

> « Kuva inama yarangira, Komite ntiyigeze imenyeshwa ku mugaragaro amakuru y'ibibera mu mujyi. Abenshi mu bayigize ntibari bafite esikoti, bityo rero ntibashoboraga kujya kwirebera ubwabo uko ibintu byifashe. Ariko amakuru

bongorerwaga yari mo igikuba : nyuma y'uko n'inama irangira, twari twamenye ko « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi bari bafite ingorane, ko minisitiri w'Intebe n'abandi banyaporitiki bahotowe, intagondwa zo mu gatsiko ka perezida na Bagosora yari ari mo akaba ari zo zakekwaga. Komite yahise mo kwitandukanya na Bagosora, noneho Jenerari Ndindiriyimana yemera bya nyirarureshwa ko agiye kuyiyobora. Uko mbyibuka, koko nta nama n'imwe yigeze ayobora »[278].

Ku mugoroba w'uwo munsi, nagiye mu nama ya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba[279] maze aba ari ho numva ubwa mbere ko minisitiri w'Intebe, Madamu Agata Uwiringiyimana bari bamwishe (ni Koroneri Rewonidasi Rusatira wibukije urwo rugero). Muri iyo nama, twasabye umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo mushya, Koroneri Gatsinzi, kujya guha mpore ambasaderi w'uBubiligi ku bw'urupfu rw' « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi. Hari n'abafashe ijambo (Comd ESM) basaba gufata ibintu mu maboko kugira ngo bahagarike akaduruvayo kari kari ho. […] Muri iyo nama havuzwe n'ikibazo cy'ubuyobozi bwa Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba. Koroneri Bagosora yashakaga kuyiyobora, ariko Koroneri Rusatira avuga ko, ubwo Komite yari igizwe n'abasirikari bakuru bakiri mu kazi, kandi Koroneri Bagosora akaba yari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, ubuyobozi bwayo bwagombaga guharirwa umusirikari urusha abandi uburambe mu ipeti risumba ayandi. Ubwo yaganishaga kuri Jenerari Ndindiriyimana »[280]. « Mu nama yo ku ya 7 nimugoroba, numvise Bagosora afitanye amakimbirane n'abandi bari muri Komite kuko Bagosora yashakaga kuyiyobora, kandi yari Komite ya gisirikari.

[278] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Mata 2005.*

[279] Iyo nama yabereye muri ESM, itangira saa moya z'ijoro. Abari bayiri mo ni : Jenerari – Majoro Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, Koroneri Mariseri Gatsinzi, Koroneri Ferisiyani Muberuka, Koroneri Yozefu Murasampongo, Koroneri Baritazari Ndengeyinka, Koroneri Dewogarasiyasi Ndibwami, Koroneri Tarisisi Renzaho, Koroneri Rewonidasi Rusatira, Liyetona – Koroneri Agusitini Rwamanywa, Liyetona – Koroneri Sipiriyani Kayumba, Liyetona – Koroneri Efuremu Rwabirinda, Liyetona – Koroneri Pawuro Rwarakabije na Majoro Tewofiri Gakara. Ibi nta n'ubwo byari ukuri.

[280] Ubuhamya Umukoroneri wari uhari yitangiye ubwe, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Gashyantare 2006.

Ntabwo twemeraga ko ayiyobora kubera ko yari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akabarirwa no mu banyaporitiki kuko yari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo. Twashakaga ko ari umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi uburambe mu ipeti risumba ayandi wayiyobora, ni ukuvuga Ndindiriyimana Agusitini. Na we kandi yari muri iyo nama. Bagosora yishingikirizaga ko kuba yari umusigire wa minisitiri wari ushinzwe amashami yombi y'Ingabo na Jandarumori byatumaga agomba kuyobora iyo Komite, ibyo rero abari mu nama bakaba bari babimutsembeye. Ni bwo rero atangiye gusamuranya n'abasirikari bakuru bamwe ku giti cyabo, nka Rusatira Rewonidasi avuga ko mu gihe uyu na we yari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri yazaga mbere y'abakuru ba za etamajoro[281]. Twamwumvishije ko icyo gihe ari minisitiri ubwe wabyemereraga umukuru w'Ibiro bye[282]. Amaherezo ni Ndindiriyimana wayoboye inama. Imyanzuro y'inama yari ugushaka uburyo bwo kugarura disipurini mu Mutwe urinda perezida, korohereza imibonano hagati y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, abanyaporitiki na FPR/Inkotanyi binyujijwe kuri Minuar, kugira ngo bashyire ho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu rwego rwo kubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha. Ubundi ni umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo wari ushinzwe guhuza abakuru ba gisirikari, inzego zinyuranye za poritiki n'iza guverinoma, bityo agashyira mu ngiro imyanzuro y'inama. Etamajoro ntigira umubonano utaziguye

[281] Ibi nta n'ubwo byari ukuri.

[282] *1973, Rewonidasi Rusatira, wari Liyetona icyo gihe, yari yaragizwe umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo, Yuvenari Habyarimana, kandi akomeza uwo mwanya kugeza mu wa 1992 n'ubwo Rawurenti Serubuga yabirwanyaga ku mugaragaro. Ntacyo byamutwaye igihe cyose abasirikari bakuru bakomoka mu Ruhengeri kandi bamurusha amapeti n'uburambe bari bakiri mu kazi : Nyatanyi, Benda, Kanyarengwe, Ntibitura, Mbonampeka, Bangamwabo na Nsengiyumva. Umubano we na Habyarimana wahindutse igihe ari we wari usigaye ari umusirikari mukuru uvuka mu Ruhengeri wari ukiri mu kazi. Koroneri Dewogarasiyasi Nsabimana (icyiciro cya 7) akigirwa umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo, uwo musirikari ukomoka mu Ruhengeri yahise azamurwa ku ipeti rya Jenerari. Rewonidasi Rusatira abonye agumye ku ipeti rya Koroneri yatekereje ibyo kwegura, ariko abasirikari bakuru bavuka mu Ruhengeri bakoranye akanama maze bamutuma ho Koroneri Andereya Kanyamaza kumusaba mu izina ryabo ko abireka, nuko amaherezo arabibemerera.*

n'izo nzego. Inama irangiye, Bagosora yasohotse arakaye »[283].

Ku bwa Rewonidasi Rusatira, igongana yagiranye na Bagosora ku kibazo cyo guhita mo perezida wa Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba rikaza gutuma « yivumbura » ndetse agakubitira ho no gusohoka inama itarangiye ryavutse impaka zigitangira, kuko ari yo ntego nyakuri yonyine yari igamijwe muri icyo kigoroba, ikaba n'ishingiro ry'izindi ngingo zari kugibwa ho impaka. Amasaha makumyabiri n'ane nyuma y'urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu yarangiye hari imyanzuro ivuguruzanya hagati y'impande ebyiri z'Ingabo zari zashyamiraniye ubuyobozi bw'ibihe by'amakuba. Haba mu ruhande rw'abamwanga urunuka haba no mu rw'abamushyigikiye, bose babonaga Koroneri Bagosora nk'aho ari we uyobora umukino ku buryo budasubirwa ho. Yari yikijije abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma b'ingenzi, ndetse n'abo abahezanguni b'Abahutu bitaga ibyitso bya FPR/Inkotanyi ; Imitwe y'Ingabo yari ku ruhande rwe ni yo yagenzuraga umujyi maze igakwirakwiza iterabwoba mu tugari.

Mu kigo cy'i Kanombe, bari batangiye kumwita « perezida ». Umuhangayiko w'abahezanguni kasha ba « Hutu Pawa » wari wacogoye, n'uyu kandi yari yageze aho kwibwira ko ari mo kurangiza « gahunda » ye. Nyamara, ku bimureba ku giti cye, ibintu byari bimeze ukundi. Kuba minisitiri w'Ingabo, Agusitini Bizimana, abasirikari bakuru ba etamajoro, Garasiyani Kabirigi na Aroyizi Ntiwiragabo, bari badahari kubera ubutumwa bari mo mu mahanga, byari byamuvukije inkunga yabo ndemyacyemezo mu gushakisha uburyo yajya ku isonga rya Komite ya gisirikari yasimbura abayobozi b'abasiviri. Ubwo buganzwe bwamugejeje aho kugaragaza ingufu n'umukutirizo bye atanga amabwiriza yo kwica abanyaporitiki bo mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe na Muvoma bagombaga gukomeza uburambe bwa Leta, anategeza abasirikari ba Minuar abo mu kigo cya Kigali bari bariye karungu. Impamvu z'uwo mukubitirizo zari zishingiye ku ntego

[283] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Mariseri GATSINZI, minisiteri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142. 16 Kamena 1995, p.4.*

isobanutse ya etamajoro yumvaga ko ari we wenyine washobora kuyigera ho : gukumira ku buryo bwose imigambi ya FPR/Inkotanyi yo kwigarurira ubutegetsi.

Hirya y'isesereza ry'ubushotoranyi, Tewonesiti Bagosora yari yatanze gihamya mu gihe kirekire yamaze mu kazi yumvira amategeko ya Yuvenari Habyarimana, ko kimwe n'uwo yareberaga ho, yari umunyamutwe uzi kwishongora akanashyira mu gaciro, agashobora no gupima ireme ry'ingufu z'abahanganye. Urebye uko ibintu byari byifashe icyo gihe, yari yiteguye gusaba igiciro gihanitse ibyo yari kwemerera FPR/Inkotanyi, kimwe n'amashyaka yo mu majyepfo atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ariko agahatira abo bagiranye imishyikirano na ba ambasaderi bari barangamiye amahoro ko hajya ho inzibacyuho ya poritiki isubiwe mo ku buryo buringaniye. Ni muri ubwo buryo umuntu yakumva ubukenkemure bwagaragaraga kuri Tewonsiti Bagosora na Agusitini Ndindiriyimana mu kiganiro kirekire bagiranye na Jenerari Roméo Dallaire nyuma ya saa sita (*Reba umugereka 60*). Uyu yatangajwe n'ingufu z'ubuyobozi yabonaga muri Bagosora (« Ni we washoboraga kuvugana n'abantu, nta wundi wo muri guverinoma washoboraga kugana ngo usange ari umutegetsi koko »), atangazwa n'uko yabonaga ibintu byose abifite mu maboko ye (« Sinigeze mbona umuntu utuje, utakangaranyijwe n'uko ibintu byari byifashe »), ariko atangazwa cyane cyane n' «imbaraga zikwiye ishimo » zimbitswe mu « itangizwa ry'ibikorwa byubaka » kugira ngo ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba bihagarare. Koko rero, urebye uko ibintu byari bimeze nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida, abantu bose basangaga Tewonesiti Bagosora ari we muyobozi wa gisirikari wenyine washoboraga guhangara kugirana imishyikirano na FPR/Inkotanyi, ariko cyane cyane ni we musirikari mukuru wenyine washoboraga guha amategeko Imitwe ya gisirikari n'iy'urubyiruko yari yishoye mu bwicanyi kubuhagarika. Ariko ibyihutirwa by'abenshi mu bari bitabiriye inama idafite gahunda y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo mu ijoro n'iya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yo mu kigoroba byari bitandukanye rwose rwose n'ibyo we yabonaga. Banga gushyira Bagosora ku butegetsi cyangwa ku buyobozi bwa Komite yabo, abari bayigize bagaragaje mbere na mbere icyizere gike bafitiye umuntu basangaga yakora ikintu cyose gishoboka kugira ngo ubutegetsi bugume mu maboko y'abaragwamurage b'ingoma bari barashyizwe mu myanya na Yuvenari Habyarimana, ni

ukuvuga, ku buryo bufatika, kugira ngo abungabunge inyungu z'abasirikari bakuru bo mu Bushiru, ku Gisenyi no mu majyaruguru muri rusange[284]. Ni ukubera iyo mpamvu bagenzi be bamurwanyije, bakamushinja « ubuhezanguni », ariko si uko bibwiraga ko yari mo gutegura jenoside. Koko rero, twibuke ko hagati y'iyo tariki n'iya 12 Mata, umunsi guverinoma yimukira i Murambi (Gitarama), ubwicanyi bwagarukiraga mu mujyi wa Kigali, muri Kigali ngari no mu makomini amwe n'amwe ya Gisenyi (mu ya perezida), ya Gikongoro na Kibungo. Ni ku matariki 18 -19 Mata gusa perefegitura zo mu majyepfo (Gitarama, Butare) « zarindimutse », nyuma y'uko abategetsi bashya b'agateganyo bahakoreye ingendo.

Incuro eshatu zose abasirikari bakuru « bashyira mu gaciro » bimye icyizere Bagosora zarasumbanaga mu ntera. Mu nama idafite gahunda yo mu ijoro ry'iya 6 Mata, ni ikigwirirano cy'uburambe bwari butitawe ho cyatumye bahigika umukandida Bagosora bakamusimbuza umwe muri bo nk'umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo. Ubwa kabiri, bitabaje inkunga ya Roméo Dallaire na Jacques - Roger Booh – Booh kugira ngo bazitire irari bwite rya Tewonesiti Bagosora, ariko badatinyutse kumuhangara imbonankubone kuko nta mukandida washoboraga kumwigimba, nuko ahubwo icyemezo bagisunikira inteko y'abasirikari bakuru bayobora ibigo n'uturere tw'imirwano yatumijwe mu nzira zisanzwe.

N'ubwo iyo nama b'abasirikari bakuru yashigikiye ikirari cyabo yemeza ku mugaragaro ko byari ngombwa gushyira mu bikorwa bwangu amasezerano ya Arusha, umuganzanyo wabo wabaye uw'igihe gito ubwo inama yarangiraga bagasanga Koroneri Bagosora yabatanze imbere akaburiza mo imishobokere y'ubwo buryo.

Ihigikwa rya gatatu rya kandidatire ya Bagosora muri iryo joro ryabaye nyuma y'impaka zishyushye kandi rigira n'akarusho ko ryabereye ku mugaragaro ubushyamirane bukerekana neza abahanganye abo ari bo. Nyuma y'aho Bagosora

[284] *N'ubwo umuryango wa perezida wari umuteze ho ko arengera umurage rusange, wari uzi neza ko igeno ryawo rizahatubira kuko uwo mukeba wa Yuvenari Habyarimana yari afite impamvu nyinshi zo kwibona nk'« umurakare » w'uruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi.*

agendeye, abamurwanyije bagombye gukora gahunda no guteganya ibikorwa bifatika bijyana n'icyerekezo cyabo, kandi bikaboneka bukeye mu gitondo. Na none ariko, uko ibintu bibonwa si ko biba bimeze koko. Bahita mo Agusitini Ndindriyimana nk'umukuru wa Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba, abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma bari bamugize umuvugizi wabo, ari ko mu by'ukuri akaba ataratinyukaga kwitandukanya na Bagosora. Ikindi kandi, n'ubwo bari ku ruhande rwiganje kandi ubwemerwe bwabo bukaba bwaraturukaga ku nama b'abayobozi, ububasha bw'abagize Komite ya gisirikari yari yashyizwe ho amaherezo bwasaga n'aho ari ubuhwahwari : bananiwe gutsimbura no kugamburuza Imitwe yigometse n'iy'urubyiruko yari yigaruriye imihanda, bananiwe kurinda umutekano w'abanyaporitiki bashoboraga guhererekanya gahunda yabo, kandi ntibanashoboye kwemerwa na Jenerari Dallaire cyangwa na za ambasade nk'abantu bo kugirana na bo imishyikirano.

Icya nyuma, ari na cyo kirusha ibindi gukomera, ntibari basesenguye neza « ubwivumbure » bwa Bagosora wasohotse mu nama amaze kwimwa icyizere na bagenzi be. Amaze kuba wenyine, ubwihare Bagosora yari yagaragaje mu ngamba ze zo kurimbura abanyaporitiki « b'ibyitso » bwahindutse umushibuka. Uretse ambasade y'uBufaransa yakiriye abanyacyubahiro ba Muvoma n'abarwanashyaka ba « Hutu Pawa » bari baherekejwe n'Umutwe urinda perezida (*Reba umutwe wa 10*), abahagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye na za ambasade zose zari zifite uruhare mu masezerano (uBudage, Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika, uBubiligi, Intumwa ya Papa) bamaganye ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyaporitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma, bashyigikira icyerekezo cya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba bongera gushimangira « ko inzego za poritiki zibishinzwe [zihutisha] ishyirwaho ry'amashami y'ubutegetsi by'inzibacyuho ateganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha ». Kuva ku munsi ukurikiye ho, iyo mishyirirweho imaze kugibwa ho impaka, Bagosora yari kugomba kwisobanura imbere y'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo, imbere y'Umuryango mpuzamahanga n'Ubutabera bw'uBubiligi ku bwicanyi bwari bwabaye uwo munsi.

Na we rero yabonaga ko agomba byanze bikunze gufata izindi ngamba nshya (*Kuri iyi ngingo, reba umugereka 61*). Nta kundi kandi byari kugenda, cyane cyane ko

FPR/Inkotanyi yari imaze kwibutsa abantu bose ku buryo bukarabutse ko yinjiye mu kibuga, ubwo nyuma ya saa sita yasohokaga aho yari ikambitse muri CND kugira ngo ihite isakirana n'Umutwe urinda perezida wari ufite ikigo cyawo hafi aho :

> « Ingingo ya 4 : Abasirikare ba FPR/Inkotanyi bari mu kigo cya CND cyari kirinzwe na Minuar bari bakumiriwe n'Ingabo za Minuar, ariko bigeze mu ma saa kumi n'igice ku isaha y'uRwanda, ni ukuvuga mu ma saa yine n'igice ku isaha ya New York, kimwe cya gatatu cyabo, ni ukuvuga hagati y'abasirikari 150 na 200 kuri 600[285] basohotse ku ngufu ; nyuma hakurikiye ho imirwano yo mu mihanda bagiranye n'abasirikari b'Umutwe urinda perezida[286] ».

Ubwo yari isheshe amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Iryo seswa ryahuruje ako kanya abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba bashoboye kuboneka, basaba Jenerari Dallaire guhita atangiza mu maguru mashya ibiganiro na FPR/Inkotanyi, ariko amaherezo byimurirwa mu gitondo cyakurikiye ho. Bityo, ku itariki ya 7 Mata, hari hitezwe ibintu byose bishobora kuba ho. Abanyagikorwa bose, n'abanyamahanga bari mo, bagombaga kugaragaza aho bahagaze, n'ubwo amakuru y'urukurikirane rw'ibyabaga yageraga, na bwo kandi ku buryo buruhije, ku batari mu dutsinda duto tw'abantu bari babishoje. Ibintu byose byatumaga abantu batekereza ko umunsi wo ku ya 8 Mata na wo wari kuba indemyacyemezo.

Igico cy'ubugome cyabaye akayobero

Mu gusoza inkuru y'uko ibintu byagenze, birakwiye gusesengura impamvu ikibazo cy'uwahanuye indege ya perezida cyakomeje kuzinzikwa mu icuraburundi. Nubwo ntawigeze yigamba icyo gitero, abenshi mu banyaporitiki i Kigali bagishinjaga ku

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[285] *Aha umuntu yakwibuka ko mu mpapuro za Minuar bakomeza kuvuga umubare baringa w'abasirikare ba FPR/Inkotanyi 600 bari bacumbikiwe muri CND, kandi byari ikimenyabose ko umubare wabo wari wikubye kabiri nibura.*

[286] Ubutumwa bwa *«teregisi» bujya hanze, Minuar, irango TPIR : L0001689.*

buryo butazuyaza FPR/Inkotanyi yari isigaye yonyine, kandi yihakanye amasezerano y'amahoro. Nk'uko nashoboye kubibona ubwo nari mpibereye, ni uko abantu bari i Kigali, abanyagihugu n'abanyamahanga, abakozi ba za ambasade n'abanyamakuru, basangaga ibintu ari urusobe. Abantu babonaga ko nta shiti FPR/Inkotanyi ari bo bonyine bashoboraga gukora iryo shyano, ryarrije rikurikira imihigo yeruye yo guhitana abantu abayobozi bayo bahozaga mu kanwa mu byumweru bishize, ndetse n'iyo guteguza ko bazatsinda intambara vuba na bwangu kandi ku buryo butajijinganya. Ariko kubyemerera ku mugaragaro byateraga umususu cyangwa kwifata, urebye uko abantu bagereranyaga ubushobozi bw'impande zombi zari zishyamiranye. Kuva kera, Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yaratsinzwe intambara y'amagambo muri poropagande yakoraga mu Bazungu, kandi byari biruhije kwamagana uwo muryango [wa FPR/Inkotanyi] muri rusange washimagizwaga kubera imiterere n'imikorere yawo yari ku runyiriri kandi igatuma ugera ku ntego zawo buri gihe. Nta muntu washidikanyaga ko wari gufata ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali vuba cyane iyo ujya kubishaka. Kuba bamwe barirengagije kumenya, abenshi bakanga kuvuga ibyo bari bazi, guhuzagurika no kwikurira mo akarenge by'Umuryango mpuzamahanga byaturutse ku gitero gitumo abantu batigeze batekereza kandi nyamara buri wese yarashoboraga guteganya ubukana bwo gusenya bwacyo burenze urugero. Aho kugaragaza ibimenyetso bya gihamya bifatika buri wese yari ategereje, za ambasade « zikomeye » zaheze mu byo gukekakeka gusa uru cyangwa ruriya mu mpande zari zishyamiranye, cyangwa se zigasa n'izishyira imbere ku mugaragaro ibitekerezo bigamije guhanagura icyaha ku ruhande zari zishyigikiye.

Ni muri ubwo buryo kandi, n'ubwo bake cyane muri bo bari bahafite abanyamakuru, bene itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga babanje gukusanya ibyo abantu bose bashoboraga gukeka. Ariko rero, uko iminsi yicumaga, nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwa mbere - bwibasiye abanyaporitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma ndetse n' « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi (*Reba ibiri bukurikire ho*) – iyicwa rigenda rizamura intera kandi rikorwa ku buryo buturutse ruhande ry'Abatutsi bo mu gihugu n' « ibyitso » byabo, ingirwahame y'uruhare rw' « abahezanguni b'Abahutu » barakajwe n'ibyo Yuvenari Habyarimana yaba yari amaze guhara i Dar es – Salaam yashyizwe ahagaragara, yakirwa mu bindi

bitekerezo maze yumvikana nk'aho yari ishingiye ku bugambanyi bwateguwe. Amahano arenze kamere ya jenoside, kutagira icyo wikopa kw'abashyamiranye banze imishyikirano yose, ubufura bw'Umuryango mpuzamahanga, ibyo byose byatumaga kwemera uruhare rwa buri wese no kuvuga ukuri biba ikidashoboka. Imvugo yo gutsinda no guca amarenga, ingamba zinyurana mo zo guhakana ibyaha no kwitana bamwana by'impande zose, kugoragoreka ibimenyetso gihamya, kuzitira cyangwa kuniga imigendekere y'imirimo y'ubutabera, ibirungo byose by'iyobera ryari ryagizwe ihame bagendaga babikusanya buhoro buhoro.

Bityo rero, n'ubwo ibyabaye byari amarorerwa akabije kandi bikagira n'ingaruka, anketi mpuzamahanga yasabwe na perezida w'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, na Guverinoma y'uRwanda y'ubusigire, cyangwa n'ibindi bihugu ntiyigeze ikorwa. Guhera ku itariki ya 8 Mata, igihugu cy'uBufaransa cyari cyayisabye Loni, no ku ya 27 Kamena Inama ishinzwe Umutekano yari yategetse Umumnyamabanga mukuru gukoresha iyo anketi. Ku itariki ya 12 Mata, guverinoma y'uBubiligi yari yabisabye Umuryango mpuzamahanga w'indege za gisiviri (OAIC) maze ubijya ho impaka ku ya 25 Mata. Ku itariki ya 15 Kamena 1994, inama y'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika yabereye i Tunis na yo yatoye icyemezo kiganisha ahongaho. Ubwa nyuma, ku ya 28 Kamena, René Degni-Ségui, raporuteri udasanzwe wa Komisiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye y'uburenganzira bwa muntu watumwe muRwanda, yasabye ko hajya ho ku buryo bwihutirwa komisiyo yo gukora anketi… Kugeza ubwo intambara irangiriye, muri anketi zose zasabwe nta n'imwe yagize gikurikira.

Igisubizo gitangaje kurusha ibindi cyaturutse kuri René Degni-Ségui : Kwanga [gukora anketi] byatewe n'uko nta ngengo y'imari Umuryango w'Abibumbye wari wateganyirije icyo gikorwa[287]. Nuko, nyuma y'insinzi y'inyeshyamba n'ishyirwaho

[287] *« […] Nasabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye ngo umpe komisiyo y'iperereza iri mo inzobere mu by'amasasu kugira ngo nshobore gukora ubushakashatsi. Koko rero hagati aho barambwiye ngo Umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe iby'indege za gisiviri utashoboraga gukora anketi, kuko indege itari iya gisiviri, ahubwo ngo yari iya gisirikari. Nuko rero byari ngombwa gushyira ho komisiyo y'iperereza. Nayisabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye, hanyuma bansubiza yuko nta ngengo y'imari yari yateganyirijwe ibyo » (ubuhamya bwa René DEGNI-SÉGUI, Sena y'uBubiligi, Komisiyo ya sena ishinzwe gukora anketi ku byabaye muRwanda, Raporo yakozwe mu izina rya Komisiyo na ba Bwana Mahoux na Verhofstadt, (534b), Buruseri, 6 Ukuboza 1997.)*

ry'abategetsi bashya, ibyo kongera kugira icyo ubaza kuri iyo dosiye byahindutse inkuru ishaje. Bityo, ku itariki ya 16 Nzeri 1994, mu Nama mpuzamahanga yerekeye uRwanda yabereye i La Haye, perezida mushya wa Repuburika y'uRwanda, Pasiteri Bizimungu, yavuze ko iyo dosiye « nta nyungu » iri mo, ko itari mu byihutirwa muri gahunda z'abategetsi. Aba bahitaga mo kuyirekera « mu maboko y'inzego zidafite aho zibogamiye », zihutiye kuyitabika[288]. Uretse ibaruwa yo ku ya 28 Werurwe 1996 itarasubijwe minisitiri w'uRwanda wa Taransiporo no gutumanaho yandikiye uhagarariye Umuryango mpuzamahanga w'indege za gisiviri mu karere kugira ngo agire uruhare mu gusuzuma indege Falcon ya perezida[289], nta rundi rwego mpuzamahanga rwigeze rushyikirizwa iyo dosiye n'abategetsi b'ibihugu yarebaga – uRwanda n'uBurundi – (*Reba umugereka 130*). Naho iby'urukiko rwa TPIR rwashyizwe ho ku ya 8 Ugushyingo 1994 n'icyemezo cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, kandi

[288] *Reba cyane cyane raporo za Loni na OUA ku byabaye muRwanda mu wa 1994 zanditswe n'inzobere zigenga : INAMA ISHINZWE UMUTEKANO Y'UMURYANGO W'ABIBUMBYE, Raporo ya komisiyo yigenga y'iperereza ku bikorwa by'Umuryango w'Abibumbye muRwanda mu wa 1994, 15 Ukuboza 1999, hakaba n'iy'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika (OUA), Rwanda : jenoside yashoboraga kutaba ho,Addis-Abéba, Gicurasi 2000. Raporo ya mbere nta hantu na hamwe ikomoza ku bantu baba baragabye icyo gico cyangwa se ngo ibe yateganya gukora anketi kuri iki kibazo. Naho iya kabiri, benekuyikora babanje kugaragaza ingorane zikomeye bahuye na zo basanze hari nk'ubuhuzamugambi mu bantu bwo kutagira icyo batangaza, nuko bakomeza bagira bati « 9.14. Kuva icyo gihe, kandi nko ku buryo budashobora gusubikwa, ibihuha n'ibirego bivuguruzanya rwose byarakwirakwijwe ku byerekeye abashobora kuba barabigize mo uruhare. Mu gushakisha ukuntu haboneka urwitwazo rw'igitero cyari giteganyirijwe abasirikari b'Ababirigi bo muri Minuar, Radiyo RTLMC yahise itunga agatoki Ababirigi, ndetse n'abandi. Kuva ubwo, buri ruhande rwari rubifite mo uruhare rwashinjwe icyo gico : Akazu, abandi Bahutu b'intagondwa, FPR/Inkotanyi, Minuar n'Abafaransa. Ukuri ni uko kugeza magingo aya, icyo gikorwa cy'icyamamare mu mateka cyazitswe mu bihuha no mu birego bivuguruzanya, kandi nta gihamya ifatika n'imwe yigeze itangwa. Ku buryo bw'amayobera, nta anketi n'imwe icukumbuye yigeze ikorerwa iyo mpanuka, kandi n'iyo komisiyo ntiyigeze igira ubushobozi bwo kuyikora. Icyo kibazo cy'ingenzi twagishyize no mu byifuzo byacu » (ni njye wabihinduye mu gifaransa). Abo banditsi kandi basabye ko hakwitabazwa undi muntu : « OUA yagombye gusaba Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'abanyamategeko bagatangira anketi yigenga kugira ngo igaragaze gatozi w'ihanurwa ry'indege yari itwaye perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana w'uRwanda na perezida Sipiriyani Ntaryamira w'uBurundi » (p. 267), ariko nta gisubizo bahawe.*

[289] *INAMA ISHINZWE UMUTEKANO Y'UMURYANGO W'ABIBUMBYE, Raporo ya Komisiyo yigenga yakoze anketi, op. cit. p. 17 na 47.*

« rushinzwe gucira imanza abantu bakekwa kuba baragize uruhare mu bikorwa bya jenoside cyangwa byica ku buryo bukabije amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera ikiremwamuntu » - hari mo n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba -, rwasabwe incuro nyinshi kugira icyo rukora kuri icyo kibazo. Ariko abavugizi barwo bakomeje kuvuga ko igico cyo ku ya 6 Mata kitari muri manda yabo. Ibyo ari byo byose ariko, ndatsindagira y'uko abashinjacyaha barwo batatu bakurikirana bagerageje, ariko tabishyize ho umutima, gukora anketi kuri iyo dosiye, no ku buryo bwaguye ku ibyaha by'intambara n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe n'inyeshyamba, bahise mo kubireka kubera igitsure cy'abategetsi bashya b'uRwanda, ariko cyane cyane, bahishe ibyo bari bavumbuye cyangwa se barabihindagura. Urwo Rukiko rwakomeje kwanga anketi zose rwasabwe gukora ku gico. (*Kugira ngo urushe ho kumenya impamvu z'iyo myifatire, reba Umutwe wa 14 n'umugereka 130*). Kuva ubwo, ku rwitwazo rw'uko nta « anketi mpuzamahanga » yakozwe, dosiye n'ibimenyetso gihamya by'icyo Loni itsimbaraye ho icyita « impanuka y'indege ya perezida » cyangwa « impanuka y'indege yahitanye perezida w'uRwanda n'uw'uBurundi[290] » bibundarawe ho cyane.

Ku itariki ya 27 Werurwe 1998 gusa, hashize ibyumweru bitatu baremye Komisiyo y'amakuru y'Inteko ishinga amategeko « ishinzwe gukora anketi ku bikorwa bya gisirikari by'uBufaransa, ibindi bihugu na Loni muRwanda hagati y'umwaka wa 1990 n'uwa 1994[291] », ni bwo Ubutabera bw'uBufaransa, bubisabwe n'imiryango y'Abafaransa bakoraga mu ndege ya perezida, bwatangiye iperereza bukarishinga umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière. Nyuma y'impaka nyinshi no kwisubira ho, iryo perereza ryagaragaje, ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo 2006, ko FPR/Inkotanyi ari yo nyirabayazana, nuko hakurikira ho za manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata ibyegera cyenda bya perezida Pawuro Kagame zatangajwe ku itariki ya 22 Ugushyingo 2006[292].

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[290] *ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Anketi ku marorerwa yabaye muRwanda, op. cit.*

[291] *Urukiko rwa mbere rukuru rw'i Paris, Ibiro by'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, itangwa rya manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata. Iteka rigomba gutangazwa, Paris, 22 Ugushyingo 2006.*

[292] *Mu by'ukuri, serivisi z'iperereza z'uRwanda zari zaratangiye akazi kazo ko gukusanya amukuru yerekeye uruhare rwitirirwaga Ingabo z'uBufaransa guhera mu wa 2002. Minisitiri w'Ingabo, Mariseri Gatsinzi, washyizwe*

Itangazwa ryazo ryakurikiwe n'uko uRwanda n'uBufaransa byacanye umubano wa diporomasi ku itariki ya 24 Ugushyingo. Isozwa ry'iperereza rya Bruguière ryari ryarakomeje kwigizwa yo ryaje kubanzirizwa n'ishyirwaho, i Kigali ku ya 17 Mata 2006, rya Komisiyoy'igihugu y'iperereza iyobowe n'uwahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubutabera Yohani wa Mungu Mucyo, komisiyo « ishinzwe gukusanya ibimenyetso gihamya by'uruhare uBufaransa bwagize muri jenoside yo mu wa 1994 ». Iyo komisiyo yasaga n'igisubizo ku birego by'Abafaransa[293]. Raporo yayo yarangiye muri Mata 2008

Amaherezo igatangazwa ku ya 5 Kanama[294], yamenyeshaga ko mu minsi mike hazatangwa manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abafaransa mirongo itatu na batatu. Ku buryo bubangikanye n'iyo komisiyo ya mbere, ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 2007, hashyizwe ho Komisiyo y'igihugu « ishinzwe gukora anketi ku gico cyibasiye indege ya perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 ». Imirimo y'iyi komisiyo ya kabiri yari iyobowe n'umucamanza Yohani Mutsinzi, yari kuzagaragaza gihamya y'uruhare rw'Abafaransa. Ikindi kandi, ku itariki

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ho ku ya 15 Ugushyingo muri uwo mwaka, yasabwe gutahura abahoze ari abasirikari mu Ngabo z'uRwanda baba baragize aho bahurira na « opération Turquoise » ku buryo ubu n'ubu, bakaba bashobora gutanga ubuhamya bwerekeranye n'uruhare rwayo. Jenerari Mariseri Gatsinzi yategekaga akarere ka gisirikari Butare – Gikongoro mu gihe cy'iyo misiyo. Mu mpera za 2002 ni bwo batangiye gufata abahoze ari abakozi mu nzego za perefegitura na komini zari zigamijwe, kandi n'abanyururu bahoze ari abasirikari mu Ngabo z'uRwanda bagasabwa, bahereye ruhande, kuza gutanga ubuhamya. Uwo murimo watangiye nyuma y'aho Pawuro Kagame agiriye ingorane mu rwego rw'ubucamanza, igitabo cya Karori Onana kimaze gutangazwa : Amabanga ya jenoside yo muRwanda, Duboiris, Paris, Ugushyingo 2001. Mu kigwi cya visiperezida w'uRwanda, ambasaderi w'uRwanda i Paris yareze mu nkiko umwanditsi n'umutangazi bacyo, abashinja gusebanya no kutubahiriza ihame umucamanza Bruguière yari yibombaritse ho ry'uko umuntu utarakatirwa wese abafatwa nk'umwere. Ibyo birego byatsinzwe ibitego bibiri. Icya mbere cyo muri Mata 2002 ni uko urukiko rw'i Paris rwanze kucyakira kubera ko bari barengeje igihe cyo kugishyikiriza urukiko, icya kabiri cyo mu Kuboza k'uwo mwaka ni uko umurezi yasibishije ikirego yari yatanze ubwa kabiri, mbere gato yo kuza imbere y'abacamanza gusuzuma « za gihamya » umunyamakuru yari yatanze zerekeye uruhare rwa Pawuro Kagame mu gico cyo kya 6 Mata. Iryo sibisharubanza bararyamamaje cyane, kandi barifata nk'aho ari uburyo buteruye bwo kwemera icyaha.

[293] *Repuburika y'uRwanda, Komisiyo y'igihugu yigenga ishinzwe gukusanya gihamya z'uruhare rwa Leta y'uBufaransa muri jenoside yakorewe muRwanda mu wa 1994, Raporo n'imigereka, Kigali, 15 Ugushyingo 2007.*

[294] *Administracion de Justicia, Juzgado Central de Instruccion nº 4, Audiencia nacional, Sumario 3/2.008, Madrid, p. 7.*

ya 6 Gashyantare 2008, umucamanza w'Umusipanyori Fernando Andreu Merelles, ashingiye ku bubasha buzira urubibi, yatanze manda zo gufata abayobozi bakuru mirongo ine bo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda abashinja ibikorwa bya jenoside, ibyaha byibasira inyoko muntu, ibyaha by'intambara n'iterabwoba bakoze muRwanda no muri Repuburika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo (RDC) hagati y'itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 n'umwaka wa 2002.

Mu iteka rye rishingiye ku bimenyetso n'imyanzuro bidatandukanye cyane n'ibyo mu iperereza ry'Umufaransa, umucamanza w'Umusipanyori yashinje Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo za APR/Inkotanyi, ariko mbere na mbere Pawuro Kagame, kuba bararemye « igico kigamije kwambura perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana ubuzima bwe […] mu mugambi wo gutegura igitero cya nyuma cyo kwigarurira ubutegetsi, no gushyira ho ibihe by'intambara y'amagomerane[295] ». Ku itariki ya 23 Ukwakira 2008, abacamanza babiri b'Abafaransa basigiwe anketi ya Bruguière, Marc Trévidic na Philippe Coirre, ntibashoboye gukora anketi zo kuzuriza iyabanje kubera ko mu by'ukuri Ubugenzacyaha bw'uBufaransa bwari bwazihagaritse[296] kuva aho Ubutegetsi bw'i Paris bufatiye icyemezo cyo umubano n'ubw'i Kigali, bukamenyesha impande zose ko bushaka

[295] *Kuva perezida Nicolas Sarkozy yagera ku butegetsi muri Gicurasi 2007, iyo dosiye yari inkomyi ikomeye kuri poritiki y' « ubwiyunge » n'uRwanda yari yashishikaje minisitiri Bernard Kouchner. Ubwo bushake bwo gusubiza ibintu mu buryo bwari bugamije gusubiza uBufaransa ijambo bwari bwaratakaje muri Afurika yo hagati n'iy'uburasirazuba, Abongereza n'Abanyamerika akaba ari bo bahungukira, cyane cyane ku byerekeye umubano hagati ya Repuburika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo n'uRwanda. Kuva ku nama yahuje abakuru b' ibihugu by'Ubumwe bwa Afurika i Charm el-Cheikh muri Kamena 2008, perezida Kagame yari yagiye ku isonga y'urugamba abakuru b'ibihugu barwanaga « n'uducamanza tw'Abazungu », y'urugamba rurwanya ububasha butagira urubibi bw'inkiko z'i Burayi, no kurengera by'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga.*

[296] *« B. Kouchner : Oya, nta nzitizi twigeze dushyira muri iyo anketi. Abanyarwanda badusabye kuvana ho za manda zikurikirana abo basangiye igihugu zatanzwe n'umucamanza Bruguière mbere y'uko tugera [ku butegetsi muri Gicurasi 2007]. Twabasubije ko ibyo bidashoboka. Ubucamanza burigenga. Ikipi y'abanyamategeko yasabwe gusuzuma icyo kibazo yavuze ko niba Abanyarwanda bashaka kumenya ibiri mu idosiye, nibuze umwe mu icyenda bakurikiranwe yagombye kuzitaba Ubucamanza bw'Ubufaransa. Ni byo Umuyobozi wa porotokori wa Kagame, Roza Kabuye yakoze » (Ikiganiro ya Bernard KOUCHNER, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'uBufaransa, Le Nouvel Observateur, 5 Gashyantare 2009).*

guhagarika imirimo y'ubugenzacyaha. Icyo kirari cyari gifunguye amarembo aganisha ku rubanza rwo mu ruhame kandi abaregwa bose badahari. Ku itariki ya 28 Ukwakira, Bruno Joubert, umujyanama wa perezida Nicolas Sorkozy ku byerekeye Afurika, na Patrick Ouart, umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri perezidansi ya Repuburika, banyarukiye i Kigali maze bumvikana n'abategetsi b'uRwanda ku buryo bazafata Roza Kabuye, umuyobozi wa porotokori muri perezidansi y'uRwanda, uregwa ubuganbanyi bugamije ubwicanyi buri mo iterabwoba, n'ubufatanyacyaha n'agatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi mu gutegura ibikorwa by'iterabwoba. Ku itariki ya 9 Ugushyingo, uyu Kabuye yasuzuguye manda mpuzamahanga yo kumufata, maze yishyira abamuta muri yombi mu Budage, aho yimuwe ajyanwa muBufaransa[297].

Roza Kabuye amaze kumenyeshwa ibyo aregwa no guhabwa ukwishyirukizana ariko ategetswe kujya yitaba ubucamanza, abunganizi be noneho bashoboraga kumenya ibikubiye mu mpapuro zibarirwa mu bihumbi z'idosiye y'ubushinjacyaha bw'uBufaransa. Abategetsi b'uRwanda bakurikije ho icyemezo cyo gusubika itangazwa rya « Raporo ya Mutsinzi » - yari itezwe ho kugaragaza uruhare rw'uBufaransa mu gico – ryari ryateganyijwe mu Gushyingo 2008 hanyuma rikimurirwa muri Werurwe 2009. Bityo rero, imyaka cumi n'ine nyuma y'igico, impaka zo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza zari zigaruwe ku rubuga, nta wubona neza igihe zizamara n'ibisabwa kugira ngo zizashobore kurangira. Buri wese yatekerezaga ko ubushake bw'abaregwa n'ubw'abategetsi b'uRwanda bwo « kumena ikibyimbye » nta yindi ntego bwari bufite itari iyo kuzitira urubanza rwari gucibwa abaregwa badahari, no gushyikira ibikubiye byose muri « anketi ya Bruguière » mbere yo gutangira, babifashijwe mo n'ubushinjacyaha, imihango miremire yo mu rukiko izabanziriza umwanzuro wumvikanwe ho wo kuzika burundu iyo dosiye.

Iyo ngirwahame yarushije ho kugira ingufu kuva ku itariki ya 29 Ugushyingo

[297] *Urebye ibirego bashinja uregwa, ntiwavuga ko ari icyemezo cyo kurekurwa cy'umucamanza ushinzwe ibyo kwishyirukizana cyangwa se icyo gufungwa cyatunguye benshi mu bakurikiranye iyo dosiye (nta n'ubwo yari abujijwe kubonana n'abo basangiye ibirego cyangwa n'abatangabuhamya), ahubwo batangajwe n'uko Ubushinjacyaha ubwabwo ari bwo bwari bwamusabiye ubwo butoni. Nguko uko umushinjacyaha yahindukiye nk'iz'i Mwendo, kandi yari yaragaragaje ishyaka ryinshi mu Kwakira 2006, igihe batangaga manda zo gufata abasirikari bakuru b'Abanyarwanda.*

2009, ubwo ibihugu byombi byongeraga kubyutsa umubano wabyo wo mu rwego rwa diporomasi, nyuma y'ibiganiro umunyamabanga mukuru wo muri Élisée, Claude Guéant, yagiranye na perezida Kagame i Kigali. Gutendeka mu gihe cy'imyaka myinshi « dosiye ya Bruguière » kugira ngo abunganizi bashobore kubona andi makuru yuzuriza aya mbere nk'uko babisabye, ukongera ho n'uko abacamanza b'Abafaransa bazasubira mo anketi bashingiye ku wundi musingi, ibyo byakuye ho igikangisho cyo gukurikirana mu nkiko abasirikari bakuru n'abanyaporitiki b'Abafaransa. Muri icyo cyumweru kandi, nyuma y'uruzinduko umushinjacyaha mukuru w'uRwanda, Maritini Ngoga, yagiriye i Madrid rukaba rwari rwarabanjirijwe n'urwo Sekereteri wa Leta y'Ubusipanyoro ushinzwe Ububanyi n'amahanga, Angelo Lossado, yari yaragiriye i Kigali mu Kwakira, ibinyamakuru bya Leta y'uRwanda byatangaje ukwisubira ho kuziye igihe kw' « abagabo b'imena » babiri bo mu idosiye y'umucamanza w'Umusipanyoro Merelles.

Aha na ho hari mo ibirungo bisa n'ibyakoreshejwe n'abategetsi b'uRwanda ku byerekeranye no gukurikirana Abafaransa mu nkiko, kandi birashoboka ko habaye inyishyu zo mu rwego rw'ubutabera kuko perezida Kagame, mu bugwaneza bwe, yahise afata icyemezo cyo guha « imbabazi » umushoramari w'Umusipanyoro wari warafunzwe mu gihe kije neza cy'ukwezi kwa Mata 2009. Mu bihugu byombi, abategetsi b'abanyaporitiki batangaje ubushake bwabo bwo guhindura ipaji, nyamara kandi bubahiriza urwego rw'Ubutabera. Ibyo umukozi mukuru w'Umufaransa yabivuze mu magambo magufi ati « Ubutabera burigenga, ariko ni twe dushyira ho ingengabihe. » Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko ababikurikiranira hafi babyumva, igituma impaka zigibwa ubungubu ku gico cyahanuye indege ari ugutandukira cyangwa se zigasa na sakiriregо, ni intera ihanitse itsembatsemba na jenoside byagikuriye byageze ho.

Kandi, nk'uko bigaragarira mu myitwarire n'imvugo y'abanyaporitiki (abasiviri, yemwe n'abasirikari) b'Abanyarwanda b'impande zombi, abantu bake ni bo batekerezaga ko icyo gico cyari kugomorora ubuhonyozi bw'intera ya nyuma cyangwa se ko abanyagikorwa b'Abanyamahanga bari kubura ingufu zo kubugomera mu gihe abashyamiranye bombi bifuzaga kwicira agahigo burundu. Ubashyize mu rwego

rw'ubuhonyozi bwo mu « ntera icirirtse », abaremye igico, abo baba ari bo bose, bashobora gufatwa ubungubu nk'abagaba b'urugomo basanzwe, noneho Umuryango mpuzamahanga wose ukihanganira guturana na bo cyangwa se kugirana na bo imishyikirano[298].

[298] Dufashe urugero kuBurundi*, abatanze amabwiriza y'ihotorwa rya perezida Merikiyoro Ndadaye, abarikoze n'abaribereye ibyitso ntibigeze bakurikiranwa, kandi, nibura mu gihe gito, bari barahungiye i Bugande mu cyayenge.*

8

Ubuyobozi bw'agateganyo bwa gisiviri

Ku bw'agatsiko ka perezida, gutsindwa Tewonesiti Bagosora yari yiteze guhera mu gicuku, byamuhatiraga kwitabaza igisubizo cy'insimburantego, icy' « abanyaporitiki[299]». Icyo gisubizo cyari gifite inyungu yo kutigiza yo Koroneri Bagosora, n'iy'uko yashoboraga gusunika umukandida we, Yozefu Nzirorera. Ariko kugira ngo ibyo bikunde, byari ngombwa gucana ku mugaragaro n'urunyiriri rwagenwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha yashyiraga imbere, ibiri amambu, abantu babiri Akazu n'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru bangaga urunuka : Agata Uwiringiyimana na Matayo Ngirumpatse. Kubona Ngirumpatse mu mwanya wa perezida ategekana na Uwiringiyimana mu wa minisitiri w'Intebe ni ko kaga gakabije bashoboraga gutekereza. Ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwari kuba buri mu maboko y' « Abanyanduga » babiri, Agata babonaga mo ubugambanyi, na Matayo wari uhanganye na perezida witahiye.

Kwitarura amasezerano ya Arusha

Kwigiza yo Agata Uwiringiyimana ntibyari bigoye. Nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida, guhigika cyangwa kwikiza minisitiri w' Intebe byari mu murongo w'uko ibintu byagombaga kumera. Nta muntu wo mu gipande cya perezida washoboraga kwemera ko

[299] *« Ni byo byemezo bya mbere byafashwe ninjoro hamwe n'umuryango wa perezida : gushyira ho guverinoma ya gisirikari yo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR/Inkotanyi no kubungabunga ibyo bari barageze ho ; kumvisha ba ambasaderi na Dallaire ko ari yo ishoboye gukemura ibibazo ; gushyira Ingabo ku ruhande rwayo. Bagosora yatsinzwe kuri izo ngingo zose uko ari eshatu (ikiganiro na Agusitini CYIZA, ibyo niyandikiye, 11 Mutarama 2001).*

« igihugu kigabizwa abantu bashyigikiye FPR/Inkotanyi », n'ikirushije ho, ko gihabwa umugore utarigeze ashidikanya mu gukoresha imvugo iri mo agasuzuguro, ndetse inakomeretsa perezida, n'umuryango wo kwa sebukwe cyane cyane. Uyu muryango na wo rero wamwangaga urudafunguye :

> « Ndibuka ko Jean–Luc yari yitwaje imbunda ; naramwiboneye igihe twajyaga kureba umurambo wa Madamu minisitiri w'Intebe mu gatemeri k'ikigo cy'i Kanombe. Ndakeka ko yari yambaye igitenge gusa, yari nk'uwambaye ubusa kandi yari arambitse ku butaka. Najyanye yo na Jean-Luc, Serafini n'abanyezamu. Hari mu ma saa saba z'ijoro ; ndabyibuka kuko nagarutse ngasanga umuvandimwe wanjye Arufonsina yandakariye. Ariko singishobora kwibuka umunsi uwo ari wo. Ni Jean-Luc washakaga kujya kureba umurambo we ngo amenye neza ko yapfuye koko, kandi naramuherekeje. Ndahamya ko Jean-Luc yaba yarageragеje kurasa umurambo wa Agata, ariko naramubujije, ntinya ukuntu abasirikari bari mu kigo bari kubwitwara mo. Nabonye ko abasirikari baciriye ku murambo wa Agata. Ku kibazo umbajije cyo kumenya niba Jean-Luc yari afitanye amasinde na Agata, ndagusubiza nemeza ko ari byo kubera ko, mu byiyumviro byanjye, yari mu ishyaka ritavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ku bwanje ryari rifatanyije n'*Inkotanyi* [abarwanyi ba FPR][300]. »

Ariko, nk'uko Matayo Ngirumpatse yabyanditse, ikibazo cyo «gutoranya umukuru w'igihugu no kumenya itegeko rigomba gukurikizwa ni cyo cyari ipfundo ry'ibindi bibazo byose abantu bari bafite[301] » Kugira ngo perezida wa Muvoma yiheze noneho bashyire ho ikirari gishingiye ku mategeko ariko kinyuranye n'amasezerano ya Arusha, byasabaga ko nyirubwite « abyumva », kandi n'abandi bayobozi ba Muvoma bakabyemera. Ibyo byari bishingiye ku mutima w'ubwitange, ku bw'inyungu z'ubumwe bw'igihugu, Matayo Ngirumpatse yari kugaragaza, ndetse kimwe n'abandi baharaniraga umwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika basabwaga na bo kwibagirwa, nibura igihe gito, inyota yabo bwite. Koko rero, nibura abanyaporitiki batanu bo muri Muvoma bari mo

[300] *Ubuhamya, umugereka wa nº 257777/2003, dosiye 1007/02, Polisi y'igihugu, Buruseri, 7 Ugushyingo 2003, imyandiko ifite irango TPIR : KO074271 n'ibikurikira. Yohani – Luka yahakanye atsemba ibyamuvuzwe ho (ubuhamya bwo ku 6 Nyakanga 2006, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, p.50).*

[301] *Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, Amahano yabaye muRwanda, op. cit. , p.168.*

gutyaza irari ryabo cyangwa se bari baranagaragaje ko bifuza umwanya wa perezida. Kuri uwo mugoroba, buri wese muri bo yibazaga uko agiye kuzamera. Ni ukuvuga, ku buryo bufatika, kumenya abasirikari yashoboraga kwiringira ko bazarinda umutekano we, ndetse bakaba banamushyigikira.

Abo ni aba :

- Eduwaridi Karemera, « inyenyeri itumbagira » yo mu wa 1991. Mu by'ukuri, ntiyari akiri mu ihiganwa kuva aho perezida Habyarimana amuhigitse ku buyobozi bwa Muvoma mu wa 1992 akamusimbuza Matayo Ngirumpatse. Ikindi kandi, uwari umushyigikiye cyane mu gisirikari, jenerari- Majoro Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, yari amaze kongera kugaragaza imyitwarire ye irangwa no kujijita, n'ubushobozi buke bwo kwihesha igitinyiro[302]. Nyamara ariko, nk'umuntu ushyira mu gaciro kandi utagamburuzwa, yari yiteguye, mu gihe yari agitegereje ngo arebe, kwinjira mu kirari cyo kwirengagiza amasezerano ya Arusha nk'uko byari byifujwe n'agatsiko ka perezida, ni ukuvuga, kwigaragaza nk'umuntu wo mu majyepfo uharanira Abahutu ku buryo bw'intagondwa ;
- Agusitini Ngirabatware, intyoza yari ifitiwe icyizere cyose n'ibyegera bya perezida. Minisitiri w'Imigambi ya Leta akaba n'umukwe w'igikomerezwa Kabuga, uyu na we akaba yari bamwana wa perezida. Yari asanzwe ari umujyanama w'umuryango. Kandi rero, mu bihe by'igihirahiro nk'ibyo, umuryango ukikije Agata Kanziga wari ukeneye umuntu uwereka icyerekezo. Ikindi na none, kuva yakwinjizwa mu muryango no muri poritiki mu minsi ya vuba, yari yashoye byinshi kugira ngo aronke ubutoni bw'abasirikari bakuru bakomoka mu karere ka perezida. Ariko nta hantu na hamwe yari

[302] *Reka nibutse n'aka gakuru gafite icyo kavuga : « Mu ntangiro za 1994, guverinoma yari iri hafi gutangaza uzaba umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo nk'uko amasezerano ya Arusha yabiteganyaga. Minisitiri w'Intebe, Agata Uwiringiyimana yatekereje Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, umuhungu ukomoka iwabo, nuko abimugeza ho. Icyo cyifuzo yacyakiriye neza. Mu gihe cy'Inama ya guverinoma, perezida Habyarimana yagejejwe ho icyo cyifuzo maze arasubiza ngo nta wahatira umuntu gukora umurimo wenda adashaka, ko byari ngombwa kubanza kugira icyo babimubaza ho. Ubwo Inama yari igikomeje, Agata Uwiringiyimana yaterefonnye Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, noneho uyu arabimuhakanira. Nyamara perezida wari wamenye mbere icyifuzo cya minisitiri w'Intebe yari afite umukandida we, Jenerari – Majoro Dewogarasiyasi Nsabimana. Yari yarasabye Ndindiriyimana kutemera umwanya Agata yashakaga kumuha, ahubwo amusezeranya kuzamugira ambasaderi mu Budage » (ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Gicurasi 2004.*

afite abantu be bwite kandi nta n'ireme yari afite muri Muvoma, uretse inkunga yashoboraga guterwa na sebukwe w'umuherwe ukomoka i Byumba ;

- Kazimiri Bizimungu umunyaporitiki ukerebutse kandi wubashywe, wasunitswe kandi agakingirwa ikibaba na murumuna wa perezida, Serafini Bararengana. Yuvenari Habyarimana yamubonaga nk'umuntu ushobora kumusimbura, kandi abari mu kazu bagahora bamwishisha. Imibonanire ya Kazimiri Bizimungu na perezida yari yarazitiwe na Eli Sagatwa – wari waritangiye Yozefu Nzirorera -. Bizimungu ariko yari afite inkunga itari nto mu basirikari bakuru bo mu Ruhengeri bahiganwaga n'aba Yozefu Nzirorera[303]. Na none ku buryo bwa rusange, yabonwaga neza n'abasirikari bakuru "bifuza ko ibintu byahinduka" bo mu Rukiga n'abo mu Nduga. Ariko rero bari bamushyigikiye mu cyayenge. Nyuma y'aho Gemusi Gasana agiriye mu mahanga, kandi bimaze kugaragara ko amahirwe ya Kazimiri yo kumusimbura muri minisiteri y'Ingabo yari ari mo gukendera, yatakaje abari bamushyigikiye bo mu Ngabo hafi ya bose, begamira ku mugaragaro ku ruhande rwa Yozefu Nzirorera. Nyamara kandi, iyo haba hari ho uburyo bwo gutora bwemerewe buri wese, Kazimiri Bizimungu nta shiti yari mu bakandida bake cyane bo mu majyaruguru washoboraga kubona amajwi mu zindi perefegitura zitari mu Rukiga.

- Abakandida babiri ba nyuma ku mwanya wa perezida bari bitawe ho muri uwo mugoroba, Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera, bari bamaze imyaka myinshi baragaragaje irari ryabo kandi bahangana ku mugaragaro nk'abakeba. Ariko rero, mu bihe bya poritiki byari byakuruwe n'urupfu rutunguranye rwa perezida Habyarimana, uwa mbere yabonaga ko ibyo ari byo byose Akazu karibumuhigike. Ku bw'abari bakomeye ku buperezida bwubahirije amategeko, basangaga Matayo Ngirumpatse ari inganzwa, umurarikizi kandi n'indashima. Inama zakozwe ninjoro hagati y'umuryango wa Habyarimana n'ibyegera byawo ntizatumaga hagira ushidikanya ko intego yihutirwa

[303] *Kwica mo ibipande ahanini byari bishingiye ku « turere »: abasirikari bakuru bose bo ku Gisenyi, kimwe n'abo mu makomini ya Ruhengeri yegereye Gisenyi (Mukingo, Nkuri, Nyakinama, Nyamutera), « abadakurwa ku izima » n'abambari b'Akazu bagombaga gushyigikira Yozefu Nzirorera (Buregeya, Serubuga, Setako, Nkundiye, Ntabakuze…), naho Kazimiri Bizimungu yari ashyigikiwe n'abasirikari bakuru bakomoka muri superefegitura ye ya Kirambo (yegereye Byumba), no muri rusange agashyigikirwa n'abavuka muri komini Nyamutera, Butaro, Cyeru, no mu karere k'uBukonya mu majyepfo ya perefegitura.*

y'agatsiko ka perezida yari iyo kubuza byanze bikunze ko inzibacyuho ijya mu maboko ya perezida wa Muvoma, nyamara wazaga ku isonga mu masezerano ya Arusha. Uburakari abari mu Kazu bari bamufitiye bwatumaga umuntu yibwira, nk'uko na we ubwe abyivugira, ko iyo Matayo Ngirumpatse ajya kwibeshya agakomeza ubukandida bwe, yari gushumurizwa ako kanya abazigo bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida maze akaba igitambo cy' « uburakari bwa Rubanda », kimwe n' « abagambanyi » bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Matayo Ngirumpatse yanatekerezaga ko, FPR/Inkotanyi yari imaze kwerekana ko idatinya guhangana imbonankubone, itari kwihanganira ko yitambika mu nzira yayo[304]. Inkunga yari afite mu Ngabo ntizari zifashe. Abasirikari bakuru bo muri perefegitura ye, nka Mariseri Gatsinzi na Ferisiyani Muberuka, nta cyo bari cyo imbere y'abasirikari bakuru b'abahezanguni bo mu majyaruguru. Na none kandi, abari basanzwe bamushyigikira muri Muvoma muri icyo gihe bari bameze nk'abadafite ireme : kugenzura ibikorwa by'abarwnashyaka byari byareguriwe umunyamabanga w'igihugu w'ishyaka, Yozefu Nzirorera, wumvirwaga n'ishami (ry'intagondwa) ry' « *Interahamwe* zo mu Kazu », bari bakarihije muri ibyo bihe.

Kuba yaremerwaga n'intiti zo mu ishyaka ndetse n'abataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma bo mu majyepfo ko ari we mukandida wo mu « rwego rw'igihugu » wa Muvoma ku mwanya wa perezida haramutse habaye ho itora ritagira uwo riheza, iryo turufu ahubwo ryaramuzitse mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata. Muri make, umwe wenyine mu bakandida batanu ba Muvoma, Yozefu Nzirorera, ni we wari wujuje ibya ngombwa bitatu twabonye mbere : gushyigikirwa n'Akazu, kwemerwa n'Ingabo, no kwihesha igitinyiro muri poritiki. Kandi, nk'uruhurirane rw'ibintu, yari ashyigikiwe na Tewonesiti Bagosora, umukandida wari wagizwe igiseswa ! Nguko uko umugambi udahushwa w'agatsiko ka perezida wari uteye – n'uw'abasirikari n'abasiviri bo mu majyaruguru –

[304] *« Ariko njyewe, kuva nakwinjira muri iyo nama yashyize ho guverinoma [ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo], sinigeze nsubira iwanjye, nta n'ubwo nigeze nsohoka. Kubera ko numvaga ndi umuntu ushakishwa n'impande zombi, ndabibabwiye ! Nabibabwiye : impande zombi. Bityo rero, sinashoboraga kwigereza ho » (Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, ubuhamya bwafashwe mu cyuma n'abagenzacyaha ba TPIR mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999 i Bamako, reba umugereka 62).*

mu nama Tewonesiti Bagosora yagiranye n'abayobozi ba Muvoma (ku ya 7 Mata saa mbiri za mu gitondo). Bisabwe n'intumwa idasanzwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, iyo nama ndemyacyemezo yari yateganyijwe mbere y'iy'abakuru ba gisirikari bagombaga kumenyeshwa neza ibyerekezo bya poritiki bisobanutse. Hakurikijwe amasezerano ya Arusha, umuntu wari kuba perezida wa Repuburika yagombaga guturuka muri Muvoma[305].

Abayobozi bose ba Muvoma Tewonesiti Bagosora yari yatumiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata guhera saa saba z'ijoro batangaje, mu buhamwa batanze nyuma, ko batari bazi gahunda y'inama, ko nta kintu bari bunguranye ho ibitekerezo mbere yayo, - habe no kuri terefone- ndetse ko basohotse muri iryo koraniro nta kintu na kimwe bagiye ho impaka nta n'icyo bemeje, uretse icyizere bahaye Tewonesiti Bagosora kugira ngo afatanye na Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba gutunganya iby'inzibacyuho[306]. Matayo Ngirumpatse we ngo « yanibagiwe » rwose n'uko iyo nama yabaye ho, yemeza kandi ko yaterefonnye rimwe gusa hagati y'igihe yamenyesherejwe iby'igico n'icy'inama y'amashyaka yaba yarabaye ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo :

> « Nuko rero ni umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya minisitiri wambwiye iby'urupfu rwa perezida. Yarambwiye ati « Ntituzi niba yapfuye, ariko indege ye yahanuwe. » […] Hashize igihe gito, habaye itangazo rya gisirikari risaba abantu kugumana ituze no guhama mu ngo zabo. Kuko nari ndi umusiviri, nagumye mu rugo. Na

[305] *Reba ingingo ya 47 n'iya 48 y' « amasezerano hagati ya guverinoma ya Repuburika y'uRwanda na FPR/Inkotanyi ku byerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi mu rwego rwa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriwe mo n'amashayaka menshi » (yasinyiwe Arusha ku ya 9 Mutarama 1993, akurikira amasezerano yasinywe ku ya 30 Ukwakira 1992 (Reba umugereka 63).*

[306] *Dufite inyandikomvugo irambuye y'iyo nama n'iy'izindi nyinshi zayikurikiye. Izo raporo zifite akamaro gakomeye cyane ariko zikaba zari zaribagiranye zabonetse muri Gicurasi 2002 maze zishyirwa ahagaragara. Uko ari eshanu, zikubiye mo ibyavugiwe mu nama za Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba kuva ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo kugeza ku ya 8 Mata nimugoroba. Ni njye ubwanjye wandukuye iyo myandiko yose, yongera gusomwa no gukosorwa na bene kuyandika uko ari babiri, hanyuma na bo bagira icyo bayivuga ho mbere yo kuyinshyikiriza ku ya 13 Ugushyingo 2002. Nayandikishije muri TPIR mu gihe natangaga raporo yanjye y'inzobere kuri dosiye ya Karemera n'abandi, muri Gashyantare 2006 (irango ni KO365916 kugeza kuri KO365950, KO365961 kugeza kuri KO365979, KO365987 kugeza kuri KO365992). Inyandiko y'umwimereri ubu ifitwe na Epifane Hanyurwimana (Reba umugereka 64 n'uwa 65).*

bukeye bwaho nagumye mu rugo […] [307]. » « […] Mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7, nagerageje guterefona mugenzi wanjye visiperesida w'ishyaka ryacu, Bwana Kabagema, witabye Imana, mvugana na we, ndamubwira ngo agerageze gusohoka kuko byari bikomeye, nuko aransubiza ati « Ntibishoboka, muri kino gihe sinshobora gusohoka » kuko barasaga impande zose, hafi y'iwe. Uretse ibyo nta wundi naterefonnye kuko bitigeze binza mo ; abandi nahuriye na bo mu nama[308].

Kuva icyo gihe, hari izindi nkuru kuri iyo nama na zo mu by'ukuri zidatandukanye cyane n'iyo mu rufefeko :

« **Bazo.** : Mbese mu gusoza iyo nama hari ibyemezo byafashwe?

Subizo. : Bon, ibyemezo nyabyemezo, nta cyemezo cyahabaye, nta cyemezo na kimwe gifatika [ntibyumvikana] ; nta … nta cyemezo na kimwe cyafashwe. Gusa, turi… twari turi aho, turavuga. Kandi…kandi urabizi, igihe umukuru w'igihugu yari yatabarutse, bon, na … na Bagosora ubwe akaba yari yabitumenyesheje mu ma saa tatu, kandi ko yari afite indi gahunda yo kujya muri ambasade ya … ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika guhera saa mbiri n'igice, bitinze. Nuko, nyuma y'uko dutandukana, yatubwiye ko tu… tuza kongera kuvugana nyuma haramutse habonetse amakuru mashya. […]

Bazo. : Ikibazo cya nyuma kuri iyo nama : mbese hari ubwo mwigeze mugira icyo muvuga kuri minisitiri w'Intebe muri iyo nama ?

Subizo. : Reka da ! Nta n'amarenga… yerekeza kuri minisitiri w'Intebe[309]. »

Ibyo binyoma byose bizinzika kandi bikanusura amakuru y'impamo byatangaza abanyaporitiki bose n'abo muri rubanda rusanzwe, kimwe na bo, bamaze ijoro ryose baterefona, bakaba bari bazi kandi ko guhera saa kumi n'imwe z'igitondo, abakomando

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[307] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999 (Reba umugereka 66).*

[308] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999.*

b'Umutwe urinda perezida n'abasirikari bari batangiye kugakora mu tugari. Mu by'ukuri ninjoro bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo kubivugana ho n'abari babashyigikiye. Bari bazi neza cyane uko ibintu bimeze kandi babifite mu maboko yabo ku buryo ibyemezo bafashe byari bihuje n'ibyo bari bategerejwe ho : Yozefu Nzirorera na Matayo Ngirumpatse, abakandida bahanganye, « ku bwende bwabo » banze kwigabanya ubutegetsi (*Reba umugereka 64*). Perezida wa Muvoma yahise atangaza rugikubita icyemezo cye kugira ngo ahumurize hakiri kare abaterwaga impungenge n'ibyo amategeko yateganyaga, nuko, inzitizi zimaze kuva mu nzira, bose batangariza icyarimwe ko, mu izina ry'ishyaka rya MRND, bahaye Tewonesiti Bagosora uburenganzira bwo gutunganya iby'inzibacyuho.

Ku buryo bufatika, ibyo bisobanura ko bari bemeje icyiciro cya mbere cy'umupango wari wateguwe ninjoro n'agatsiko k'umuryango wa perezida n'ibyegera byawo babyumvikanye ho na Tewonesiti Bagosora, ni ukuvuga gahunda yo kwica abanyaporitiki batari mu murongo wabo. Ku banyamategeko bombi bari muri iyo kipi, kubona nta n'uwigeze « asunutsa » izina rya Agata Uwiringiyimana wahabwaga n'itegeko ububasha bwo gukurikirana imirimo ya Leta isanzwe, byasobanuraga ku buryo butaziguye ko urwe rwari rwamaze gukatwa[310]. Bisabwe na Bagosora, abasirikari ntibari

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[309] Ubuhamya bwa Yozefu Nzirorera, Urubanza rwaBagosora na bagenzi be, TPIR, 16 Werurwe 2006, p. 76.

[310] *Kugira ngo ngaragaze agaciro izo ngingo zahabwaga, ndibutsa ko umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya perezida yari yohereereje, mu izina ry'umukuru w'igihugu, ibaruwa Agata Uwiringiyimana ku itariki ya 6 Mutarama 1994 imusaba gukoranya Inama y'abaminisitiri : « Amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi ateganya, mu ngingo zayo za 4, 15, 16 na 17, ko ' ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko busangiwe na perezida wa Repuburika na guverinoma'. […] Itegekonshinga riguha ububasha, ndetse ahubwo rigutegeka gutumiza Inama y'abaminisitiri. Ni wowe uyobora Inama y'igihugu y'umutekano. Ni wowe ugenzura inzego z'ipereereza.' Izo nshingano kandi yari yongeye kuzibutswa ku mugaragaro n'abaminisitiri bakomoka muri Muvoma ku itariki ya 16 Mutarama yakurikiye ho : « Kuri ibyongibyo, turakwibutsa ko umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya perezida wa Repuburika , mu ibaruwa ye nº 0050113 yo ku ya 6 Mutarama 1994, yakugejeje ho ubutumire bwa perezida wa Repuburika bwagusabaga gukoranya Inama y'abaminisitiri ngo irebe aho dosiye yo gushyira ho inzego z'inzibacyuho igeze, isuzume inzitizi zibangamiye icyo gikorwa, inashake icyo guverinoma yakora kugira ngo zive mu nzira. […] madamu minisitiri w'Intebe, tugomba kukwibutsa y'uko hari ho, nta shiti, uburyo buteganyijwe n'amategeko bwo gukoranya Inama y'abaminisitiri.*

bazitiye minisitiri w'Intebe gusa bamubuza kujya kuri Radiyo Rwanda kugira icyo atangariza abanyagihugu, ahubwo bari bakumiriye undi wese washoboraga gufata ijambo ryibutsa « ibiteganywa n'amategeko »[311]. Dukurikije ibyaje kuvugwa nyuma n'umuntu ukomeye wari muri ako gatsiko abibwira abo mu muryango we, ngo umwe mu bari bahari yaravuze ati « Nta zina rishobora gutangwa igihe minisitiri w'Intebe akiri ho », mbere yo kongera ho ko igisubizo bose bari bategereje cyahise kiboneka ako kanya : « Matayo ntiyagundiriye ». Kubera gutinya yuko Matayo Ngirumpatse yaza kugaragaza ubutwari butunguranye, kandi urebye imipango yari yateguwe ninjoro n' « abariye karungu » bo mu Kazu – dukoresheje amagambo nk'uko abasirikari bakuru benshi bayavuze -, itangwa riteruye ry'abanyaporitiki batari mu murongo ryashoboraga no kumugera ho na we kuko ingingo ya 15 y'amategekoremezo ya Muvoma yateganyaga ko mu gihe perezida w'ishyaka adahari yashoboraga gusimburwa n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu…, ni ukuvuga Yozefu Nzirorera. Umuti wo gukemura ibibazo kuri ubwo buryo uba waratumye birinda ibyo guhandura amategeko nk'uko byagenze, uba warahise ushyira imbere ako kanya umukandida « nyirubwite » ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika, ariko cyane cyane uba warashyize ho inzibacyuho ihuje mahwi n'ibyo Umuryango mpuzamahanga wabonaga ko byubahirije amasezerano ya Arusha.

Igitekerezo cyo guhotora Matayo Ngirumpatse cyarumvikanaga rwose kuko

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Bugenwa n'ingingo ya 8 y'amasezerano ya Arusha ivuga ko guverinoma iri ho ubu iguma ho kugeza igihe hazashyirirwa ho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi. »

[311] *Mu nama yo mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata muri etamajoro, « ndebye ukuntu [Bagosora] yakomeje kwanga ko minisitiri w'Intebe ari we yaharirwa umurimo wo kumenyesha abaturage urupfu rwa perezida no kubasaba gukomeza kugira umutuzo, navuze izina rya Enoki Ruhigira, umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya perezida, maze Bagosora ahita abyamagana ngo arambiwe abasiviri. Ruhigira akomoka ku Kibuye, ariko akaba umuyoboke ufite ijambo muri Muvoma n'icyegera cya perezida kuva kera. [Nyuma y'iminsi mike, Ruhigira yarahunze.] Umuntu yasobanura ate iyo myifatire ? Yaba se ari iy'umurwanashyaka usanzwe wa Muvoma ? Yaba se ahubwo ari iy'umurwanashyaka w'icyamamare « Hutu Pawa » ? Yaba se ari iy'umusirikari mukuru utegura kudeta ya gisirikari abihishe bagenzi be, cyangwa se iy'umuntu waharaniraga yivuye inyuma ko ubutegetsi bwaguma mu maboko y'abagize agatsiko ka perezida gusa ? » (Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Mata 2005).*

abahezanguni batandukanye bari bigaruriye imihanda babonye urwaho kuri ibyo bihe by'ubudahanwa rwo kwihimura ku bo bari bafitanye ibibazo (imanza mu muryango, mu bucuruzi, kurwanira abagore), ubugizi bwa nabi bwari kwitirirwa kwibeshya, amabandi cyangwa se FPR/Inkotanyi[312]. Kugena ibikurikira ho byari gukemurirwa « ikambere » mu banyamategeko, mu gisirikari no mu banyaporitiki. Raporo y'inama abayobozi ba Muvoma bagiranye na Bagosora irabigaragaza neza (*Reba umugereka 64*).

Perezida Matayo Ngirumpatse yatsindagiye rugikubita ko ibya ngombwa kugira ngo ishyaka rya MRND rishyire ho abakandida baryo ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika bitashobokaga na gato (gutoresha abayoboke, ni ukuvuga gukoresha kongere, kwemererwa n'andi mashyaka). Yatinyaga ko icyo gikorwa cyateza akajagari n'uburangare mu basirikari.Visiperezida wa mbere, Eduwaridi Karemera, yunga mo yemezo ko Ingabo z'igihugu ari zo zonyine zashoboraga kubumbatira uburambe bwa Leta. Umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Yozefu Nzirorera, we ahubwo yongera mu isesengura rye igitekerezo cy'uko ari mu gihe cy'intambara : yateganyaga gukurikiza amategeko y'ibihe by'ubugotwe, « kuyugiriza ingufu zose z'ikibi » no kubanza gushyira ituze mu gihugu no mu baturage mbere yo gusubukura ibikorwa bya poritiki. Umwanzuro wa Matayo Ngirumpatse washimangiye ubwo bwumvikane bunoze, nyamara kandi arekera Bagosora ububasha bwo gukora ibyo yibwirije : « Ntabwo byaba ari kudeta kuko ari guverinoma yumvikanwe ho. Ku bireba amategeko, ntabwo ari guverinoma iyubahirije. Guhubuka byonona byinshi. […] Ni ngombwa rero gusobanurira Umuryango mpuzamahanga ko umutekano ari cyo kintu cy'ibanze. » Ingingo ebyiri z'ibyo biganiro zahawe agaciro kihariye. Matayo Ngirumpatse yahise atangaza ihame shingiro ry'intekerezo : « Hagomba abakandida babiri », ryungaga mu rindi rigira riti « Ibyo

[312] *Urugero, Rawurenti Serubuga, wahoze ari umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu, yari afîtiye umwenda umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi bari bafatanyije ishoramari, Beritini Makuza, uyu akaba ari we wari ufite imigabane myinshi muri Rwandafoam no mu yandi masosiyete anyuranye. Mu gihe Beritini Makuza yari mu kaga urupfu rumugera amajanja, Serubuga yamutegetse kumwegurira imigabane ye yose. Makuza yarabyemeye, ariko kubera gutinya ko ibyo ari byo byose bari bumuhitane, yitabaje undi mu bo bari bafatanyije mu ishoramari, Majoro Pasikari Ngirumpatse wakoresheje imodoka Mercedes 4 x 4 ya Rawurenti Serubuga, nuko amukura i Remera amujyana muri Mille Collines hamwe n'abandi bantu makumyabiri na* bane bo mu muryango we.

basaba ishyaka rya MRND ntibishoboka muri kino gihe. Kubera ko tugomba kwitegura (gukora kongere, nb.) kugira ngo dutange abakandida babiri. » Kandi rero koko, amasezerano ya Arusha ntiyajijinganyaga, umwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika wari ugenewe ishyaka rya MRND, yagombaga gutanga abakandida babiri batoranywa mo perezida. Matayo Ngirumpatse wari warashyizwe na kongere y'ishyaka ku mwanya wa perezida waryo mu mezi cyenda ashize, yashoboraga gushingira ku byo amategeko yamwemereraga agasaba ko ari we inzego z'igihugu za Muvoma zitanga ho umukandida : guhera mu wa 1992, ni zo zari zisanzwe zifata ibyemezo by'ingenzi (biro poritiki yonyine, biro poritiki yiyongeye ho ba perezida 11 ba komite za perefegitura)[313]. Kwifata kwe nta mpamvu byari bifite, uretse kwanga kugirana ibiganiro n'izindi mpande zose zasinye amasezerano ya Arusha… Ingaruka z'uko gusubira incuro ebyiri (kuba umukandida no kwitaza amasezerano ya Arusha) zahise zigaragaza ako kanya.

Eduwaridi Karemera yaravuze ati « Minuar ntigomba gukangisha amasezerano, bagomba na bo kutubonera ibisubizo ku buryo bwihuse », Yozefu Nzirorera yunga mo ati « hagomba ingamba zidasanzwe mbere yo gusoma amasezerano ya Arusha (ibihe by'ubugotwe. » Kugira ngo akure ho ubwumvirane bwose, Eduwaridi Karemera yarangije agira ati « *Umwanzuro* : Ni ngombwa ko abanyaporitiki b'impande zose bagirana ibiganiro, uretse guverinoma iri ho ubungubu[314]. » Eduwaridi Karemera atanga igitekerezo ko inzibacyuho ku mwanya wa perezida yashingwa perezida w'Inteko ishinga

[313] *Kuva ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, umunsi amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yasinyiwe ho, aya ni yo yari yemewe nk'Itegekoshingiro. Itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991 ryari ricyubahirizwa mu ngingo zaryo zitari zitawe ho cyangwa zitari « zibumbatiwe » n'ayo masezerano, ariko ayangaya ni yo yiganzaga mu gihe habaye ho ingingo zayo zivuguruzanya n'Itegekonshinga. Ingingo ya 43, 3 y' « amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi » yateganyaga ko, mu byumweru bitatu nyuma yo kubona ko nta wuri mu mwanya wa perezida, ishyaka ryazatanga abakandida babiri. Mu cyumweru cya kane, itora ryakorerwa mu cyiciro gihuriwe mo na bose, kiyobowe na perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Mu gihe ishyaka ryaba ridatanze umukandida, amashyaka yose agashobora kumutanga nyuma y'ibyumweru bitandatu by'ubuhehe, itora rigakorwa mu cyumweru kimwe nyuma yaho, irahizwa rikaba mu minsi munani nyuma y'itora.*

[314] *Ubwifate bwaratunguranye cyane cyane ko abanyamashyaka bari mu mishyikirano, uhereye ku ba Muvoma, bukeye bwaho batangajwe n'uko abayobozi bishyize ho b'ishyaka PSD ryari ryaciwe umutwe bifashe ku ngingo y'ukuntu inzego zari zigiye gushyirwa ho n'abantu batabiherewe ubutumwa.*

amategeko (CND) mu minsi mirongo cyenda, ashingiye ku itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991. Kuva ubwo rero Tewonesiti Bagosora yashoboraga gutangira gahunda ze. « Uburenganzira » bwari butanzwe bwo kwica abanyaporitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma, babonwaga nk'abafatanyije na FPR/Inkotanyi kandi bakabangamira uwo mupango, kugira ngo hashyirwe ho guverinoma ifite isura ya Muvoma n'iy'igipande cya « *Pawa* ». Uretse no kubahiriza itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, izamurwa rya perezida mushya w'umusigire, Tewodori Sindikubwabo, ryari mo inyungu zinyuranye, izo Yuvenari Habyarimana yari yasanze muri uwo munyaporitiki. Umuyoboke wa Muvoma ukomoka mu majyepfo, yari intangarugero y'uko iryo shyaka rikwiriye mu turere twose, kandi ari n'umuntu ujijita akanagondeka. Ikindi kandi, mu wa 1994, yari ashaje kandi arwaye. Mu by'ukuri yatumaga ubutegetsi bujya mu maboko y'umukuru nyawe wa Muvoma, umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Yozefu Nzirorera, akoresheje inzego z'icyahoze ari ishyaka rukumbi, kandi atiriwe ategereza ko ibintu byose bitunganywa mu nzira z'amategeko. Yozefu Nzirorera, yishingikirije umurage w'itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, yari arangamiye umwanya wa perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko kugira ngo azasimbure, mu gihe kigenwe, Tewodori Sindikubwayo. Ku ruhande rwe, Matayo Ngirumpatse, wari watakaje byinshi muri uwo mupango, yari yiteganyirije indi myanya mu gihe kizaza. Yashoboraga gukora imibare ko, usibye igihe Ingabo zaba zitsinzwe vuba cyane, nyuma y'amezi atatu Sindikubwabo yari yahawe biturutse ku bucurategeko bwa Eduwaridi Karemera, byari ngombwa kuzagaruka ku masezerano ya Arusha, kandi noneho nta washoboraga kumuhigika. Yohani Kambanda minisitiri w'Intebe washyizwe ho na Tewonesiti Bagosora ku ya 8 Mata, yasesenguranye ubushishozi ingingo z'amategeko abayobozi ba Muvoma bitwaje kugira ngo bafate mu maboko yabo ibintu byose kandi "batiyanduje".

« **Subizo.** : Nuko rero igisubizo, nabonye nishakiye amakuru ubwanjye[315], ni umwanzuro nageze ho maze gushyira ibitekerezo ku runyiriri, ni uko icyo gihe ibintu

[315] *Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana.*

byari bimeze nabi cyane ku buryo abayobozi ba Muvoma basanze ari byo byiza kutirirwa bitanga mo umukandida. Kandi kugira ngo babihunge, babonye amayeri yo gushyira ho undi, ariko mu gihe gito kugira ngo hagati aho bashobore gukontorora uko ibintu byifashe, maze bakazigaragaza ari uko hari igihindutse. Nuko rero, bansobanuriye ko, kubera kuba umunyamategeko n'umwunganizi, ni Eduwaridi Karemera wavumbuye ayo mayeri, atanga igitekerezo cyo gukurikiza itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991. Kugira ngo ibyo bishoboke, byari ngombwa kubona ingingo zituma amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha atubahirizwa. Izo ngingo zarabonetse : ubwa mbere bwo, ni uko aya masezerano bari bamaze kuyarenga ho…, icya kabiri ni uko bitashobokaga gutumiza kongere kugira ngo itore umukandida wa Muvoma, icya gatatu ni uko ibintu byihutirwaga cyane. Izo ngingo eshatu ni zo zashyizwe ku mugaragaro kugira ngo basobanure impamvu bakurikije itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991 aho kubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Ni byo byatanzwe ku mugaragaro nk'igisobanuro cy'ukuntu bahise mo umukandida Sindikubwabo.

Njyewe, nara…, ndebye hirya y'ibyavuzwe, mbitekereje ho kandi nitegereje ibyabaga, njye naribwiye nti ni amayeri, nti impamvu nyayo ni uko ibintu byari bimeze nabi cyane ku buryo batashakaga kubivumbika mo akarenge, ko bagombaga kureka abandi bikabakaranga mu gihe kigereranyije cyatumaga bo bashobora kongera kujya ku isonga ibintu bimaze gusa n'ibituza. Ibi kandi nabitekerezaga kubera yuko, mu nshingano bo ubwabo bari bahaye guverinoma, hari mo iyo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR/Inkotanyi yagombaga kugarura ku rubuga amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bityo perezida cyangwa ishyaka rya MRND bakabona uko batanga umukandida ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika.

Bazo. : Kubera ko, ngaha aho iryenge rihereye, hakurikijwe itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, byasaba gushaka perezida wacu mu Inteko ishinga amategeko (CND), ni byo ?

Subizo. : Yego.

Bazo. : Nuko, hakurikijwe amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bikaba ngombwa kujya

gushakira …

Subizo. : Mu ishyaka rya MRND.

Bazo. : Hanyuma ibyo ntibabyifuze.

Subizo. : Ibyo ntibabishakaga, rero byari ngombwa gushakira ahandi, nuko bafata perezida wa CND, bamugira perezida, ariko bazi ko, ibyo ari byo byose hakurikijwe itegekonshinga, ni iminsi 60 [90], rero, umuntu ashobora kwihanganira kutaba perezida wa Repuburika mu minsi 60 [90], ariko byumvikana ko yazabigera ho nyuma. Nguko uko njyewe, nakoze iryo sesengura[316].

Icya kabiri, bahaye guverinoma inshingano nyine zo kugarura ku rubuga amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bityo no kugarura abantu banze gutanga kandidatire zabo icyo gihe. Icya gatatu, ni imyifatire yabo mu ntambara. Kubera ko barangamiye umwanya ukomeye, nta cyo bakora, nta cyo bavuga. Bityo bari [ntibyumvikana] barategereje. Ngibyo[317]. » Yakurikije ho gusesengura ku buryo bwihariye imyifatire ya perezida wa Muvoma ubwe, Matayo Ngirumpatse : « Imyifatire ye muri icyo gihe cyose yagaragaje ko ari umuntu wishyize mu buzigamo, adashaka guhungabanya ahazaza he muri poritiki. Nta jambo atangaza, ntaho agenderera ku mugaragaro, nta cyo atangariza abanyamakuru, nb. Ariko mu ibanga, ibintu byinshi bigakorwa ku nyungu ze, ibindi akabyikorera, cyangwa ibindi bigakorwa ari uko abyemeye[318]. » Inama y'abayobozi ba Muvoma ihumuje, Tewonesiti Bagosora yari afunguriwe amayira n'intego ebyiri zagombaga kugerwa ho zisobanutse neza : cyangwa se gushyira ho ibihe by'ubugotwe no guha ububasha bwose Komite ya gisirikari ishyigikiwe na Muvoma ukurikije uko yashoboraga kumenyekanisha igitekerezo cyayo mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata ; cyangwa se, na none

[316] *Iri sesengura rishobora kugereranywa n'ibyihohoro bitagira epfo na ruguru byatanzwe muri Mata 1994 n'abari bateguye iryo ryenge rigoreka amategeko kandi bakanarigira mo inyungu. Umuntu yarebera cyane cyane ku nkuro z'amagambo yavugiwe kuri Radiyo Karori Ntampaka yandukuye muri raporo ye yashyikirije TPIR(Reba umugereka 67, p. 23 n'ibikurikira), aho asuzuma ingingo abanyamategeko ba Muvoma bashingiye ho, kimwe n'intekerezo Yozefu Nzirorera yishingikirije (Reba umugereka 67).*

[317] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-18 bwo ku ya 27 Nzeri 1997.*

[318] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-62 bwo ku ya 18 Gicurasi 1998.*

bishyigikiwe n'ishyaka rya MRND, gusubira ku itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, bikajyana no gukura ho guverinoma yari iri ho no kwanga gushyira ho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Mu migambi yombi, iyicwa ry'abanyaporitiki b'imbogamizi ryarashobokaga, bahereye mbere na mbere udashyize mo ariko perezida wa Muvoma, ku bagombaga kubungabunga uburambe bw'inzego z'ubutegetsi : Agata Uwiringiyimana, minisitiri w'Intebe, perezida w'Urukiko rurinda itegekonshinga, Yozefu Kavaruganda n'abari bateganyirijwe kuba abakandinda ku mwanya wa perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho, Randuwaridi Ndasingwa wo muri PL na Ferisiyani Ngango wo muri PSD. Agatsiko ka perezida na Tewonesiti Bagosora bakoze ibintu ku buryo buturutse ruhande. Mu gihe Tewonesiti Bagosora yabonanaga na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, hagati ya saa tanu n'igice na saa sita z'ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bari bananiranywe kumvikana ku kibazo cya minisitiri w'Intebe. Ku bwa Jacques-Roger Booh- Booh, uyu yari afite ububasha bwo kubungabunga uburambe bw'ubutegetsi no kugeza ku banyagihugu itangazo ribahamagarira kugumana ituze. Nyuma y'ako kanama, Jacques-Roger Booh- Booh yahamagaye Agata Uwiringiyimana amumenyesha ko akora ku buryo amufasha kugera kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu ma saa kumi n'imwe n'igice za mu gitondo ku ya 7 Mata. Ahagana saa munani na mirongo ine z'ijoro, Komanda Lotin n' « abanyangofero z'ubururu » icyenda b'Ababirigi yari ayoboye bari bamaze kuva ku kibuga cy'indege berekeza mu rugo kwa Agata Uwiringiyimana kugira ngo bamuherekeze kugera mu nzu za Radiyo aho yashakaga gutangira itangazo. Kubera bariyeri bagombaga kunyura ho, bahageze i saa kumi n'imwe na makumyabiri, basanganirwa n'urufaya rw'amasasu. Ayo masasu yaraswaga n'abasirikari b'Umutwe urinda perezida bari ku izamu ku rugo rwa perezida (rwari inyuma ya Kiriziya ya Mutagatifu Mikayire), Ahagana saa kumi n'imwe, abo basirikari bari bimutse bagana ku rugo rwegeranye n'urwa minisitiri w'Intebe, kugira ngo bamubuze kugera mu mazu ya Radiyo Rwanda. Hashize iminota cumi, burende y'Ingabo z'igihugu yashinze ibirindiro hafi aho maze ikarasa amasasu iyerekeza ku rugo rwa minisitiri w'Intebe no ku

« banyangofero z'ubururu » bayobowe na komanda Lotin[319]. I saa mbiri na makumyabiri, kubera ko yari mu menyo y'urupfu kandi atagishoboye kugira aho ajya, Agata Uwiringiyimana yanyuze mu busitani ahungira ku muturanyi. Abasirikari ba Minuar ntibamukurikiye yo, kimwe n'abasirikari b'uRwanda bari bashinzwe kurinda minisitiri w'Intebe, ahubwo bayugirijwe nyuma yaho gato n'abasirikari b'Umutwe urinda perezida babajyanye mu kigo cya Kigali babatwaye muri minibisi.

« Abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi bishwe mu gihe mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) ryari hafi aho hari mo kubera inama ihuje Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu n'abategeka uturere tw'imirwano. Mu ihunga rye, minisitiri w'Intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana yakiriwe mu nkambi y'ingabo za Loni yari hafi y'iwe. Dallaire yahise aterefona Iqbal Riza i New York, amumenyesha ko wenda byari kuba ngombwa gukoresha ingufu kugira ngo batabare minisitiri w'Intebe. « Riza icyo yakoze gusa ni ugushimangira amabwiriza twagombaga kubahiriza : abasirikari ba Minuar bagombaga gukoresha intwaro zabo iyo bari kuba batewe gusa[320]. » Ubwo rero abicanyi nta washoboraga kubakoma imbere : igihe cyose batari kugaba ibitero ku « banyangofero z'ubururu », bashoboraga kwica abo bashaka. Hashize nk'iminota 40 Dallaire amaze guhamagara Riza, ni ukuvuga ahagana saa tanu, abasirikari b'uRwanda binjiye mu nkambi [???] ya Loni, basanga mo minisitiri w'Intebe, nuko baramwica[321], hamwe

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[319] *Abakobwa ba Dr. Akingeneye bagiye i Kanombe baherekejwe n'ingabo zo mu Mutwe urinda perezida bagiye gutahura umurambo wa se, bavuga ko bumvise ayo masasu i saa moya : « Mu gihe twasohokaga, twumvise amasasu. Ajida Turatsinze wari waje kudushaka yaratubwiye ngo twoye kugira impungenge, kuko barasaga imizinga kwa Agata [minisitiri w'Intebe] kugira ngo bamubuze gusohoka iwe », ubuhamya bwafashwe mu cyuma, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Buruseri, PV no 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, imyandiko ifite irango TPIR KO074271 n'ibikurikira.)*

[320] *« Minisitiri w'Intebe yahungiye mu yindi nzu itari iy'umuryango we. Ahajya kuba saa mbiri n'igice, umukozi wa Loni UNVs yabimenyesheje Bwana Le Moal, wari washinzwe iby'umutekano. Nk'uko biboneka muri raporo Dallaire yohereje ku Cyicaro gikuru, yahamagaye Riza saa tatu na makumyabiri amumenyesha ko Minuar yagombaga kwitabaza ingufu kugira ngo irokore minisitiri w'Intebe. Riza yashimaniye amabwiriza y'uko bagomba kwitwara : ngo Minuar ntiyashoboraga kurasa, kugeza igihe bayirasiye ho » (Raporo ya anketi yigenga yerekeye ibyo Umuryango w'Abibumbye wakoze mu gihe cya jenoside yo muRwanda mu wa 1994, Umuryango w'Abibumbye, New York, 15 Ukuboza, 1999, p. 6).*

[321] *Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), Raporo y'inzobere…. Op. cit., & 15.4, p. 126 Reba umugereka 5).*

n'umugabo we Inyasi Barahira, n'umujyanama we Inyasi Magorane. Kuri iyo saha abenshi mu bandi banyaporitiki bahigwaga bari bamaze kwicwa. Mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri za mu gitondo, abasirikari bagiye mu rugo rwa Yozefu Kavaruganda, perezida w'Urukiko rurinda itegekonshinga, nuko bamusaba kubaherekeza. Uyunguyu yaranze, ahubwo atabaza abasirikari ba Minuar bari ahantu hanyuranye ngo bamuvune. Mu isaha yakurikiye ho, abasirikari baramusingiriye maze bamujyana mu kigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida ku Kimihurura, aba ari ho bamwicira. Ahagana mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice za mu gitondo, urugo rwa Ferisiyani Ngango, visiperezida wa mbere wa PSD, rwaratewe maze baramwica. Mu ma saa moya y'igitondo, Feredariko Nzamurambaho, perezida wa PSD, yarasiwe mu rugo iwe. Nyuma gato ya saa moya, cyangwa se nyuma muri icyo gitondo, nk'uko abandi batangabuhamya babivuze, abasirikari bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida bagera kuri makumyabiri bagiye mu rugo rwa Randuwaridi Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere w'ishyaka PL, nuko baramwica, hamwe n'umugore we w'Umunyakanada Hélène Pinski n'abana babo. N'abandi benshi bapfuye rumwe na bo, nka Fawusitini Rucogoza, minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, wajyanywe mu kigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida mu ma saa yine akicirwa yo. Muri icyo gihe, ni bwo ingabo zishinzwe umutekano w'abategetsi zahazanaga abaminisitiri ba Muvoma kuhabarindira. Amaze kwicisha Agata Uwiringiyimana na Yozefu Kavaruganda, Tewonesiti Bagosora yari akemuye impaka abayobozi batatu ba Muvoma bari bashoje ku byerekeye iyemerwa rishingiye ku mategeko ry'abo bateganyaga gushyira ku butegetsi[322]. Bamaze no kwica abayobozi bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bashinjwaga kubogamira kuri FPR/Inkotanyi, icyo bari basigaje gusa ni uguhita mo mu banyaporitiki b'abanywanyi cyangwa se bemera ko hajya ho guverinoma y'abasiviri ariko igomba guhabwa amategeko. Bityo, Matayo Ngirumpatse, Eduwaridi Karemera na Yozefu Nzirorera,

[322] *« Foroduwaridi Karamira, visiperezida wa MDR, yarambwiye, ndabyibuka neza, igihe yaje kunshaka iwanjye ku Kacyiru [yari aherekeje Tewonesiti Bagosora] ati "Ibya Agatha byabaye ngombwa ko tubirangiza ngo tubone uko dushyira ho guverinoma". Ibyo yarabimbwiye, kuko yibwiraga ko kuri we no kuri njye iyo yari inkuru nziza, kubera ko nashoboraga noneho kugera ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe » (Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-66 bwo ku ya 19 Gicurasi 1998).*

bavuga ko batigeze bava iwabo ku munsi w'iya 7 Mata, bashoboraga gutunganya « inzibacyuho » ya poritiki uko bayishaka, bakajya n'impaka n'abandi baminisitiri ba Muvoma. Kuko bari bahungishirijwe muri ambasade y'uBufaransa nta gishobora kubakoma, bari bashoboye kubarura abanyaporitiki bishwe no gukusanya amakuru ya nyuma[323]. Mu nama y'abaminisitiri bari bahari yabaye bukeye bwaho saa tatu za mu gitondo bisabwe na ambasaderi w'uBufaransa[324], Jean-Michel Marlaud, uyu « […] yaduhaye amakuru ya nyuma y'uko ibintu byifashe, y'uko ibintu byari byagenze, akurikije amakuru ambasade y'uBufaransa yari yakusanyije, nk'uko yari yabageze ho. Ni we waduhaye inkuru y'impamo ku mazina y'abaminisitiri bari bapfuye. Ni we watumenyesheje uko ibintu bayri byifashe mu mujyi. Yashishikarije abaminisitiri bari bamukikije kugeregeza kureba icyo bakora ngo bakure igihugu mu kaduruvayo cyari mo kurigita mo[325]. » Birumvikana ko nta minisitiri n'umwe mu bari bahari wari ugitekereza iby'uko Fawusitini Twagiramungu ari we wari wemewe nka minisitiri w'Intebe washyizwe ho n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Ibyo bahise babyibagirwa burundu n'ubwo perezida wa Muvoma, Matayo Ngirumpatse, yaje kubihakana nyuma y'igihe : « Ndashaka gushimangira ko ishyaka, nk'umutwe, nta kintu kibi ryakoze, nta mabwiriza yo kwica ryigeze ritanga cyangwa se ayo kugira nabi, kubera ko kuva perezida yapfa nta nama y'ishyaka yigeze iterana. Perezida yapfuye ku ya 6 Mata. Kuva ubwo, abenshi mu bayoboke b'ishyaka barahunze, abandi bakoranira muri za ambasade, abandi bagerageza kurwana ku miryango yabo, ku buryo mu by'ukuri bitashobokaga gukora inama iyo ari yo yose yo gutanga ayo mabwiriza. Kuva na none icyo gihe, sinahakana ko umuyoboke

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[323] *« Mu biganiro twagiranye n'abantu nahasanze, ni byo, amakuru yarazengurukaga avuga abantu bapfuye. Ni kuri ubwo buryo twamenye ko Madamu Agata Uwiringiyimana yari yishwe, ko na Kavaruganda yari yishwe, ndetse ko hari n'abandi baminisitiri bishwe » (Ubuhamya bwa Yusiti MUGENZI, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 46).*

[324] *Dukurikije uko amabasaderi w'uBufaransa yabivuze, ngo inama yabaye ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo « abaminisitiri bamaze kuhagera ». Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko twabibonye, abaminisitiri n'abanyaporitiki ba Muvoma ndetse n'abo muri « Hutu Pawa » bari bashyitse muri ambasade ku itariki ya 7, bityo bakaba bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo kuhategurira inzibacyuho ya poritiki « yabo » (Reba umutwe wa 10).*

[325] *Ubuhamya bwa Yusitini MUGENZI, urubanza rwa K. Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyingo 2005.*

w'ishyaka ashobora kuba …yarishoye mu bikorwa bigayitse. Ariko ni ngombwa kubashakisha, ibyo babikoze ku giti cyabo si mu izina ry'ishyaka[326]. » Babyemeranyijwe ho n'abagize agatsiko ka perezida n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, abasirikari bakuru « bari biyemeje kudeta » bageze ku mugambi wabo wo gufata ubutegetsi wari wapfubye mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bakoresheje ubundi buryo. Uwo mugambi n'inama yahuje Komite ya gisirikari yo mu gihe cy'amakuba, abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano n'abakuru b'Imitwe yari yawuteye utwatsi mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata, mu gihe abakuru b'imitwe bamwe n'aba za kompanyi bari mo gutanga amabwiriza mu ibanga yo kwica abanyaporitiki, cyangwa bagikomeje itsembatsemba ry'abasiviri ryari ryatangiye ninjoro, kugira ngo amahano abure gitangira. Muri iyo Mitwe uwazaga mbere ni uw'abarinda perezida wari wigize « hangaharya », kugira ngo utume Tewonesiti Bagosora n'Abahutu b'abahezanguni bashobora gukora ibyo batari kwirengera ku mugaragaro, nuko hagati aho batayo y'Igiporisi cya gisirikari, batayo y'« Abakodo », batayo y' «Abariki», kompanyi y'«Abatezi » yayoborwaga na Majoro Radisirasi Munyampotore (Ruhengeri), na batayo y' « Abazinga » yayoborwaga na Majoro Aroyizi Mutabera (Gisenyi). Kubera ibyo, ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, Imitwe yose yari i Kanombe ntiyashidikanyaga ko uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'icyo kigo, Tewonesiti Bagosora, yari yabaye perezida ! Ikigo cya Kanombe ni cyo cyari cyabaye indiri n'inteko y'abakomye imbarutso y'itsembatsemba, n'iy'abasirikari bakuru n'Imitwe yari yigometse ku Buyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, igahangana n'abasirikari bashakaga kubungabunga ubutegetsi. « Guhera ku ya 8, nabonye ko nta bwumvikane bwari hagati y'abasirikari n'abanyaporitiki, kandi ko ari ko byari bimeze ahantu hose, mu gihe njye nari nshishikariye imirwano yari yongeye kudushyamiranya na FPR/Inkotanyi. Uko njye nabonaga ibikorwa bya gisirikari muri icyo gihe, ku ruhande rumwe hari ibya gisirikari nyabyo byari bijyanye n'intambara twarwanaga na FPR/ Inkotanyi, ku rundi ruhande hakaba ibyakorwaga n'abasirikari, higanje mo abo mu Mutwe urinda perezida, byari

[326] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, irango KO129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1 Ukwakira1999.*

bigamije gusoza umugambi wateguwe mbere hose, ukaba wari uzwi gusa n'urusobe rw'abakoreraga mu bwihisho. Ibi bya nyuma ntacyo nashoboraga kubikora ho. Nyamara ibyo ku rugamba byo nari nzi neza uko byifashe n'uko bikorwa.

Ni umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikari k'umujyi wa Kigali wari ufite inshingano zo kuremesha iyo Mitwe yose ingamba zo kurinda no kurwana ku mujyi wa Kigali. Naramuhamagaye ndamubaza ansubiza ko atazi ukuntu abasirikari bamwe boherezwaga mu tugari tunyuranye gukorera yo ubwo bwicanyi. Ni uko yahamagariye kuri radiyo igendanwa umuyobozi w'Umutwe urinda perezida kugira ngo amubaze impamvu abasirikari ayoboye bari banyanyagiye mu mujyi. Undi yaramusubije ngo abasirikari be bose bari mu kigo imbere. Umutwe urinda perezida wari ufite misiyo ebyiri, kurinda perezida no kurwana ku bari mu gipande cye, ibyo binkinjira muri gahunda yo kwirwana ho muri rusange. Amasezerano ya Arusha yateganyaga gusesa uwo Mutwe ugasimburwa n'Umutwe urinda abategetsi ba Leta. Naje kumenyera nyuma mu kiganiro cyo mu ruhame, igihe nari ndi muri *Reorganistion School* i Gako, mu Kuboza 1994, mbibwiwe no Koroneri Bavugamenshi, ko bari bamubwiye kutirirwa ahangayikira ibyo kurinda abategetsi bakomeye mu gihe imirwano yari kuba yubuye, ngo kuko abo bategetsi bari kurindwa n'Imitwe y'abasirikari yari aho bari. Ku buryo bufatika bivuga ko, ni urugero, inkunga yo kurinda minisitiri w'Intebe Agata Uwiringiyimana yagombye kuba yaraturutse mu kigo cya Kigali. Icyo nzi cyo ni uko abasirikari bamwishe. Twaje kumenya nyuma ko Bagosora yari afite umurongo wa radiyo yihariye, ubangikanye n'umurongo wa gisirikari usanzwe. Akoresheje uwo murongo, yashoboraga kuvugana ku buryo butaziguye n'Umutwe urinda perezida, batayo y' « Abakodo » na batayo y'« Abariki ». Agomba kuba yarakoresheje uwo murongo kugira ngo ahe amabwiriza iyo Mitwe, abayobozi b'Ingabo batabizi. Koroneri Ndengeyinka wari umujyanama mu bya tekiniki muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu yabitangira gihamya[327]. »

Gushora abasiviri imbere

[327] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Mariseri GATSINZI, minisiteri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142, 16 Kamena 1995, p. 7.*

Hakurikijwe icyifuzo cy'abenshi mu Buyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo cyo gushyira ho vuba guverinoma y'inzibacyuho – icyifuzo cyari cyashimangiwe ku mugaragaro na Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba mu mugoroba wo ku ya 8 Mata- guhita mo guverinoma y'abasiviri byari bitiye inyungu nyinshi itsinda ry'abasirikari bakoranaga n'Akazu, bo mu by'ukuri bari barishyiriye ho amategeko yabo kuva ku itariki ya 6 nimugoroba. Ku bwabo, byari bihagije gutoranya abasiviri bazashyira mu bikorwa gahunda ya poritiki yabo, ariko na none byari ngombwa ko iyo guverinoma ikingira ikibaba abasirikari, yirengera ubwayo itsembatsemba n'ubundi bugizi bwa nabi. Icya nyuma, ni uko iyo guverinoma, kurusha ubutegetsi bw'abasirikari bari kuregwa ko bakoze kudeta, yashoboraga kubona ako kanya ububasha bw'icyitiriro bw'ubutegetsi bwemewe n'amategeko. Ibi rero byari ngombwa cyane ko bigaragarira ibihugu by'amahanga byari byishingiye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha. Ku bw'abagena ingamba bo mu Kazu, gushyira ho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byari ukugaragaza igipande cy' « imbere mu gihugu » cya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, hubahirijwe iby'ingenzi mu igabana ry'ubutegetsi ribogamye nk'uko byari byateganyijwe. Kubera ibyo rero, icyiciro cyo gushyira ho abazayijya mo cyari gifite umwanya w'ibanze. Ku bw'impamvu ze bwite no ku bw'inyungu z'ingamba yemeranyijwe ho n'abandi bo mu Kazu, Koroneri Bagosora yaritanze n'imbaraga ze zose. Mu gihe abagize Komite ya gisirikari bari bamuteye utwatsi, yumvise ukuntu yari asigaye wenyine kandi akaba, ku bw'abarwanyaga poritiki ye, urutsinga rwagombaga gukatwa. Nyamara, bitewe n'uko yari yakomeje umuhati kandi akagumana ingamaba ze zo gutunguza abantu ibyo yarangije kare zari zamuhiriye mu gitondo cy'uwo munsi, mu mugoroba w'iya 7 Mata, Bagosora yari yarangije gukora gahunda y'inama zari kuba bukeye kugira ngo yihutishe itegura ry'imbangikane ryo gushyira ho icyo yise guverinoma « ye ». Bagenzi be bo muri Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba bo bifuzaga kwirinda ikintu cyose cyakarishya amacakubiri, bashishikajwe n'ibyo gushyira ho, amaherezo, perezida wabo :

« Ku itariki ya 8 Mata saa kumi n'ebyiri za mu gitondo, [Agusitini Ndindiriyimana] yagiranye inama n'umukuru wa etamajoro w'inzibacyuho kugira ngo barebere hamwe uko ibintu byifashe, mbere yo gusanga abo muri Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yemeye kubera perezida kugira ngo ahoshe ubwinangire bwari bwakomotse ku gatendo k'abashakaga guhigika Koroneri Bagosora[328] »

Koroneri Bagosora yarabaretse bajya impaka, bayobowe na Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana na Jenerari Dallaire, ku ngingo z'ibanze zagenwe nyuma yo kumva igitekerezo cya FPR/Inkotanyi aho imariye gusohokera muri CND ikanatera ikigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida :

« Ibikorwa bya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba ku itariki ya 8 Mata byibanze ku mirimo yo gutabara mu tugari dutandukanye tw'umujyi wa Kigali twari mu kaga, n'iyo gukurikiranira hafi imirwano [yari yaraye itangiye hagati ya FPR/Inkotanyi n'Imitwe y'Ingabo z'igihugu yo mu karere ka Kigali]. Uwo munsi, Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yakomeje gushakisha ukuntu yasinyana na FPR/Inkotanyi amasezerano yo gusubika imirwano[329] » Na ho Tewonesiti Bagosora we yari ahugiye mu byo gushyira ho guverinoma y'agateganyo yajya ho mu mwanya wa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho guhera mu gitondo cy'iya 8 Mata, abanje kubijya mo inama na Yozefu Nzirorera, hanyuma n'abandi bayobozi b'ishyaka rya MRND. Babyemeranyijwe ho bose ko bashoboraga kwiha uburenganzira bwo guhita mo ubwabo abahagararira amashyaka yari atezwe ho kuba yasimbura abanyaporitiki bayo bahigitswe cyangwa se bishwe, nuko bajya n'impaka no ku birebana n'amategeko.

« **Bazo** : Mbese igihe Koroneri Bagosora yababwiye ko abanyaporitiki bagomba

[328] *Dosiye Agusitini NDINDIRIYIMANA, icyemezo nº 96/771/F629/cd cyo ku ya 28 Gicurasi 1998 cya Komisiyo ihora ho y'ubujurire bw'impunzi, Buruseri, p. 3.*

[329] *Liyetona- Koroneri utarashatse ko izina rye ritangazwa, ibyo niyandikiye, 9 Gicurasi 2006 (Reba umugereka 61).*

guhura kugira ngo bashake umuti w'icyuho cyari kiri mu butegetsi, yabivuze mu izina rya Jacques- Roger Booh- Booh nk'uko byari bayaraye bigenze, cyangwa se yabivuze mu izina rye bwite, cyangwa se mu izina ry'undi uwari we wese ?

Subizo : Oya, yatekerezaga … - n'ubundi ariko, ndibwira ko igitekerezo cye cyagaragariye ku buryo bwatuye mu itangazo nyuma -, yavuze ko Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo na Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba bifuzaga ko abanyaporitiki bita ku nshingano zabo mu bireba poritiki.

Bazo : Mbese, muhereye ku byo Koroneri yari amaze kuvuga, wowe ubwawe cyangwa se abandi bazaga mu nama, hari icyo mwaba mwarasubije ?

Subizo : Yego, twarasubije, twamubwiye ko iyo bavuze abanyaporitiki baba batavuze ishyaka rya MRND. Guverinoma y'uRwanda yari igizwe n'amashyaka ya poritiki atanu. Nuko rero twamubwiye ko twiteguye kubahiriza inshingano zacu, mu gihe andi mashyaka ya poritiki yaba ahari na yo.

[…]

Bazo : Hanyuma se Koroneri Bagosora yasubije iki ku cyitegerezo cyanyu ?

Subizo : Yavuze ko agiye kubashaka.

Bazo : Hanyuma se, amaze kubabwira ko agiye kubashaka, byagenze bite : yaragiye cyangwa se yagumanye namwe ?

Subizo : Oya, ntiyagumanye natwe, kubera ko turebye iyo ibintu byaganaga, twari dufite icyo tugomba kubyibaza ho ; kubera ko byari byiza kuzana amashyaka muri iyo nama, ariko se amashyaka yari kuvuga iki ? Nuko rero twasigaye dutekereza ku gisubizo kinyuze mu buryo bw'amategeko n'ubutegetsi.

Bazo : Wavuze ko mwatangiye gutekereza, mbese washobora kumbwira neza igihe byabatwaye, niba kandi haba hari imyanzuro icyo gitekerezo cyageze ho, mu nama yanyu ya batatu ?

Subizo : Uko twari batatu, umwanzuro twageze ho ni uko byari ngombwa gushaka igisubizo mu itegekonshinga ryo ku ya 10 Kamena 1991. Iryo tegekonshinga ni ryo

ryateganyaga uburyo bwo gusimbura perezida mu gihe agize imiziro, apfuye, nb.»[330]

Mu gihe amategeko agondagonzwe hakurikijwe « iyo ibintu bigana », igisigaye ni ukugabagabana imirimo yo guharirikanya hagati ya Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma. Mu gihe abo batatu bari mo kungurana ibitekerezo na Tewodori Sindikubwabo, abayobozi bashya batowe mu gipande cya « Pawa » cy'amashyaka yaciwe imitwe yahoze ahanganye na Muvoma, bari mo « gushombwa » mu ngo zabo na Koroneri Bagosora ubwe cyangwa n'abasirikari boherejwe na Koroneri Tarisisi Renzaho, perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, abifashijwe mo na superefe wa Kigali ngari, Farasisiko Karera[331]. Niba Yohani Kambanda yaratorowe na mugenzi we Foroduwaridi Karamira waje mu modoka ya gisirikari akamusobanurira uko ibintu byifashe, abaminisitiri benshi bajyanywe muri minisiteri y'Ingabo nta gisobanuro na gito bahawe. Kuri bamwe ntibyari ngombwa kuko byabonekaga ko izo ntumwa zari zitegerejwe (MDR na PL « Pawa »). Ku bandi, baratunguwe cyane kandi ntibumvaga ibyo ari byo. Inkuru ya Manweri Ndindabahizi, waje guhabwa umwanya wa minisitiri w'Imari muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, irabigaragaza neza (*Umugereka 68*). Ku birebana n'ishyaka rya PDC, ibintu byari birushije ho gato kuba insobe. Koko rero, perezida w'iryo shyaka, Yohani – Nipomuseni Nayinzira, yari yabogamiye kuri FPR/inkotanyi kandi yaremewe nka minisitiri uhagarariye PDC muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Guhera ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, bavuze ko ngo « ataboneka », nuko Koroneri Bagosora yohereza abantu gushaka iwe mu rugo Gasipari Ruhumuriza, minisitiri wa PDC wari uri ho, kugira ngo aze mu nama y'abahagarariye amashyaka yo ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo. Uyu rero yasabye ko ajyana yo na ambasaderi Seresitini Kabanda (Hutu, Butare) na Farasisiko Harerimana (Hutu, Gisenyi, wari ushyigikiye CDR), abo bombi bari muri Biro poritiki ya PDC. Kubera ko bitashobotse kubona Farasisiko Harerimana, Gasipari Ruhumuriza

[330] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 5 Nyakanga 2005.*

[331] *Ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994, Farasisiko Karera yashinzwe kuyobora perefegitura ya Kigali ngari yari imaze amezi menshi itagira umuyobozi. Umwambari w'ingoma w'indarikizi cyane, yari yashoboye gushyingira umuhungu we w'ikinege mwishywa wa Agata Kanziga.*

hamwe n'abasirikari bari kumwe babonye Yohani – Mariya Viyane Sibomana (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umwe mu bagize Komite nyobozi ya PDC, nuko bamujyana mu nama y'amashyaka…

Nyamara, n'ubwo kuba mu mubare w'abatowe byateye benshi impungenge, icyagaragaye cyane ni uko bamaze guterana, « abanyamishyikirano » basubije agatima mu nda bakajya n'impaka nk'aho babona ibintu biri mu buryo bwabyo, n'ubwo iyimikwa ryabo ryari rishingiye ku ibanga ry'abasirikari bakuru b'abahezanguni n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, kandi n'urupfu rw'abahotowe rukaba rwari rukibaremereye :

« Twagerageje kubahiriza rwose amasezerano yo ku ya 7 Mata 1992 nk'uko yahinduwe ku ya 8 Mata 1994 (*Reba umugereka 69*), ibi bikaba byaratumye binanirana gushyira ho guverinoma ifite ingufu, kubera ko amashyaka yahise mo abakandida bayo mu bwisanzure, yego, ariko mu by'ukuri abumvikanye kujya muri iyo guverinoma bari batungujwe ibintu byarangiye kera, kuko abanyaporitiki b'imena bari bapfuye cyangwa se ngo bataboneka. Ibyo byatumye guverinoma imera nk'ikipi yumvikanwe ho gusa, izitiwe cyane mu mikorere yayo. Ubutegetsi nyabwo bwari bwibereye ahandi. Ishyaka rya MRND ryari ryiganje mu nzego z'ubutegetsi, n'abasirikari bakorana n'igipande cya perezida biganje mu Ngabo z'igihugu. N'ubundi kandi, muri ibyo byakorwaga byose, abantu bumvaga ko Ngirumpatse, Karemera, Nzirorera na Bagosora bakoreraga mu ibanga, bakagena ibyari mo kuba byose, ariko ntibashake kwigaragaza ku rubuga. Abantu bamwe batekerezaga ko ishyaka rya MRND ryari rifite ingamba zihamye zo gushyira imbere abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo mu gihe cy'amakuba, riteganya ko abanyaporitiki bakomeye bo mu majyaruguru bazabiganzura inzego z'inzibacyuho zimaze kujya ho. Mu mugoroba, Ngirumpatse yatubajije niba guverinoma nshya yaragombaga kujya ho ako kanya. Namusubije ko twagombaga gutumira abahagarariye Umuryango mpuzamahanga mumihango yo kuyishyira ho niba twarashakaga ko iyo guverinoma yemerwa mu rwego rw'amahanga.

Karamira we yashakaga kuba ategereje ko umukandida we aba ahari, ariko abandi, nk'aba Muvoma n'abaminisitiri bashya ba MDR na PSD, bari bashyigikiye ko ishyirwa

ho ako kanya[332]. » Nta muntu n'umwe utarabonaga ikinamico y' « agakundi ka bane » - Ngirumpatse, Karemera, Nzirorera na Bagosora – bahawe ako kazina n'umwe mu banyamishyikirano b'amashyaka. Banonosoye itangazo ry'ubwitore bwabo kugeza ahagana mu ma saa cyenda, bagitegereje ko abanyuma bahagera, abahagarariye ishyaka PSD, bakoze gusa ibyo gushyira umukono wabo ku myandiko yateguwe kare.

« **Bazo** : Ni uko. Turi ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994, ni saa cyenda, mugeze muri minisiteri y'Ingabo ; ahongaho ni nde wabakiriye ?

Subizo : Munyamategeko, mbese wibwira ko twakiriwe ? Ntitwakiriwe, twarahageze, ngo tuhagere, twasanze abantu mu cyumba cy'inama, bamwe bahagaze, abandi bicaye, ni ibyo gusa. Nta byo kwakirwa byahabaye, nta bashinzwe kwakira abantu twahabonye.

[…]

Bazo : None se, amaherezo, byagenze bite muri minisiteri y'Ingabo kuri uwo munsi ? Mbese hari umuntu wagize icyo ababwira ? Mbese hari umuntu wagize igitekerezo abageza ho ? Mwakoze iki ? Tubwire uko byagenze muri iyo nama.

Subizo : Nta nama yari iri mo igihe twahageraga. Ndakubwira ko bamwe bari bahagaze, abandi bicaye. None se ibyo ni ko bigenda mu nama? Oya da! Inama yari yarangiye, ikintu cya mbere batubwiye bagize bati "Ah ! PSD irahageze ! PSD irahageze ! Twarangije gushyira ho guverinoma, ni bande bagomba kuyobora minisiteri zanyu, minisiteri babageneye ? " Ngayo amagambo batubwiye.

[…]

Mu gihe twe twabajije aho abaminisitiri bacu ba mbere bagiye, numvise Bwana Mugenzi avuga ngo "Niba batapfuye bazimiye". Ngicyo igisubizo baduhaye. Kandi abantu bose bari mu nzu barabitsindagiye, kubera ko abayoboke bose b'amashyaka bari bahari… abagize za biro poritiki… za komite, abagize komite z'amashyaka yari muri guverinoma y'ubushize, amashyaka yose yari ahagarariwe, uretse PSD. Nuko rero, baratubwiye bati "Ngibyo, bagabo, twebwe, twe twarangije, twamaze gutanga amazina

[332] *Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri guverinoma y'ubusigire udashobora kuvugwa amazina, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare, 2005.*

y'abaminisitiri bacu, hasigaye minisiteri za PSD. Nuko rero, nimwe mugomba kuvuga abaminisitiri basimbura abanyu bapfuye cyangwa bazimiye. " Ngibyo[333]. »

Uko guverinoma yari iteye byahise byemerwa nta zindi mpaka mbere y'uko abari bahari bose bajyanwa muri ESM kugira ngo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho imurikirwe abagize Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba bari bahari (batari banatumiwe ku mugaragaro) n'abaminisitiri ba Muvoma bari bagumanye imyanya yabo kandi bakaba bari begeranyijwe n'abasirikari. Uwo muhango wagenze neza, dukurikije uko Matayo Ngirumpatse abivuga, we wari umuhuzabikorwa n'umuvugizi :

« Bazo : Igihe intumwa [za PSD] zageze [mu nama y'amashyaka yabereye muri minisiteri y'Ingabo kugira ngo ihite mo abajya muri guverinoma], ushobora kubwira Urukiko uko byagenze ?

Subizo : Izo ntumwa zemeye amasezerano twari twateguye… andi mashyaka yari yateguye. Barayasinye na bo, ariko bashyira ho inziganyo ; baravuze bati "Tugomba kubaza inzego z'ubuyobozi zacu kugira ngo zemere amasinya yacu." Kubera ko bari muri biro poritiki, ariko batari muri komite nyobozi. Ariko barasinye, bashyize ho inziganyo. […]

Bazo : Mbese ushobora no kugira icyo utubwira kuri iyo guverinoma ?

Subizo : Yego. Guverinoma igomba kugira minisitiri w'Intebe - nibura, dukurikije itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, hagomba minisitiri w'Intebe. Twasabye ishyaka rya MDR – rigomba gutanga minisitiri w'Intebe – kumenyekanisha umukandida waryo.

Bazo : Ni byo. Hanyuma se ishyaka rya MDR ryakoze iki ?

Subizo : Ah ! Ryaratubwiye ngo ni Yohani Kambanda wari gushyirwa ho. Kandi ndibwira ko bagiye kumushaka.

Bazo : Mbese waba wibuka niba amashyaka yaragombye kubigirana a ho imishyikirano ?

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[333] *Ubuhamya bwa Manweri NDINDABAHIZI, Urubanza rwa Ndindabahizi, TPIR, 25 Ugushyingo 2003, p. 36 n'ibikurikira (Reba umugereka 70).*

Subizo : Oya. Ni ibintu byari mu buryo.

Bazo : Mbese, uretse umwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe, ushobora kugira icyo ubwira Urukiko ku yindi myanya y'abaminisitiri ?

Subizo : Muri Muvoma, ntacyo twahinduye, twakomeje ikipi yari isanzwe ho. Twaravuze duti "Ubwo iyi guverinoma itazamara ho igihe, ntacyo bimaze guhindura. " Twagumishije ho ikipi yari isanzwe ho.

Bazo: Naho se ku byerekeye izindi ntumwa?

Subizo : Abandi, ndibwira ko PSP yahinduye, hanyuma na MDR igahindura mo abantu bamwe… Yego, abandi, barahinduye. Mu by'ukuri, PDC na yo ntiyahinduye, kuko ministiri wa PDC yari Gasipari Ruhumuriza ; yagumanye umwanya we.

Bazo : Ikibazo : Mbese ni icyo gihe abaminisitiri bashyiriwe ho ?

Subizo : Yego. Yego, rwose. Buri shyaka rya poritiki ryatanze risiti yaryo. Nta mpaka twagiye ku bantu ubwabo, kubera ko twemeraga ko amashyaka ya poritiki akora ibintu abishyize ho umutima. Kandi rero, n'ubundi, urebye uko ibintu byari bimeze, nticyari igihe cyo kujya mu mpaka zidafite ishingiro. […] Nyuma y'inama, twasabye ko bajya kubimenyesha Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba n'abandi banyaporitiki bifuzaga kumenya imyanzuro. Nuko rero, amashyaka yagiye mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari kugira ngo atangaze imyanzuro yari yageze ho.

[…]

Bazo : Yego. Ndashaka kurangiriza ku ngingo ebyiri. Iya mbere: Mbese ushobora kutubwira abari mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari igihe mwajyaga yo?

Subizo: Yego. Hari Sindikubwabo, birumvikana, perezida w'agateganyo; ndakeka ko Kambanda na we yari yahageze. Ariko hari, uretse abahagarariye amashyaka, hari n'abasirikari bakuru benshi, abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro, abasirikari bakuru… Abenshi ntitwari tubazi, twari tuzi mo bamwe, ariko bari benshi, bari bahari. Rusatira yari ahari, Ndindiriyimana yari ahari ; hari abasirikari bakuru benshi, benshi.

[…]

Bazo : Mbese ushobora gusobanura neza uko byagenze, icyo gihe, ni ukuvuga igihe mwageraga hamwe n'abahagarariye amashyaka mu nama yo mu Ishuri rikuru rya

gisirikari ?

Subizo : Nashinzwe gutangaza imyanzuro twari twageze ho. Nyuma yo kuyitangaza, abantu bakomye amashyi, bayemeye mu by'ukuri nta mpaka[334]. » Ni yo nama yonyine ikomeye umuntu yavuga ko « yayobowe » na perezida wa Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba, Agusitini Ndindiriyimana. Na none ni we wahaye ijambo Tewonesiti Bagosora ngo yerekane guverinoma « ye » mbere y'uko Matayo Ngirumpatse asobanura uburyo yemewe n'amategeko n'imikorere yayo. Dore uko Yohani Kambanda abara iyo nkuru :

« **Bazo** : Igihe ugeze mu nama, uherekejwe na Bwana Karamira [Foroduwaridi, visiperezida wa MDR], mbese ushobora kutubwira uko byagenze ?

Subizo : Mu by'ukuri, batangiye bavuga buri wese uwo ari we. Ariko perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba, Jenerari Agusitini Ndandiriyimana, yafashe ijambo adushimira ko twaje, nb., muri uwo muhango, nuko ahita aha ijambo Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, avuga ko ari we wari wakurikiranye iyo dosiye kuva mu ntangiro, ko ari we uzi… ufite ibisobanuro ashobora kuduha. Nuko rero Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora afata ijambo, nyuma ya Ndindiriyimana.

Bazo: Ikibazo cyo gusobanuza neza: uravuze ngo Jenerari Ndindiriyimana yari perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba; mbese ni ko yimenyekanishije cyangwa se ni amakuru wabonye nyuma? Mbese ntiwatekereje ko undi muntu ari we wari perezida icyo gihe" Ushobora se kududusobanurira neza iyo ngingo?

Subizo : Abantu bose bari bazi ko, mu nzego za gisirikari, ni umusirikari mukuru usumbya abandi ipeti uba ari ku isonga, ni ko bimeze. Sinibuka niba yarigeze avuga ubwe ko ari perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba, ariko igihe yafataga ijambo, ntibyadutangaje kubera ko twari tuzi ko ari we musirikari mukuru wo mu gihugu cyacu warushaga abandi ipeti.

Bazo : Wavuze ko Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora yafashe ijambo ; mbese washobora kutubwira igihe yamaze avuga, n'icyo yavuze, ukurikije uko ubyibuka ?

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[334] *Ubuhamya bwa Matayo NGIRUMPATSE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 5 Nyakanga 2005, p. 76-77.*

Subizo : Nk'uko nabivuze, biraruhije cyane ko uyu munsi, nyuma y'imyaka cumi, nibuka igihe yamaze avuga. Yaravuze. Icyo nzi, ni uko yadusobanuriye uko ibintu byagenze kuva ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida Habyarimana. Yatubwiye iby'inama yagiranye n'abadiporomate, iby'iyo yagiranye n'abasirikari, iby'ishyirwa ho rya Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba. Nyuma yaje no kudusobanurira impamvu twari ahongaho, impamvu byabaye ngombwa ko batwitabaza.

Bazo : Mbese, uko ubyibuka, nta bandi bantu bagize icyo bavuga muri iyo nama ?

Subizo : Yego, hari perezida w'ishyaka rya MRND wafashe ijambo, kubera ko ari we wadusobanuriye, inzira zo gutoranya abakandida no gushyira ho iyo guverinoma […] kandi nta wundi muntu nibuka wafashe ijambo nyuma ya Matayo Ngirumpatse. Nuko rero, icyari gisigaye kwari ugutegereza irahira ryari riteganyijwe bukeye, kuko guverinoma yari imaze gushyirwa ho. Icyakozwe rero, ni uko abakuru b'amashyaka berekanye abakandida… banyeretse abakandida, buri wese avuga ati " Uyu ni kanaka, azaba minisitiri wa … w'iyi minisiteri ahagarariye ishyaka rye", ariko njye ubwanjye nta jambo nafashe[335]. »

Mu by'ukuri, minisitiri w'Intebe yategereje irahira kugira ngo ashimire Ingabo z'igihugu uruhare rwazo mu ishyirwa ho ry'iyo guverinoma ikurikije icyerekezo cya poritiki nshya yifuzwaga, poritiki yari afite mo umwanya w'ibanze kubera ko uwo bari barakomeje guhiganwa, Agata Uwiringiyimana, yari yishwe.

Intege nke za poritiki yokwigira nyoninyinshi mu byamaze kwemezwa kera

Nk'uko ubuhamya bwose bubitangira umugabo, abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro na Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba bari bahejwe burundu mu byakorwaga. Igitondo cyabo bari bakimaze bagerageza kubona uburyo bwo gushyikirana na FPR/Inkotanyi, nyuma ya saa sita bungurana ibitekerezo ku buryo bwo guhagarika ubwicanyi.

[335] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 32-33.*

Ibikorwa bya Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma babyakiriye bibagaragara ho ko batunguwe kandi ko batabishyigikiye (*Reba umugereka 68*). « Bukeye mu gitondo [ku ya 8 Mata], Ndindiriyimana yadutumiye mu nama yo kutumenyesha ko Bagosora yari yakoranyije abanyaporitiki kugira ngo bashyire ho guverinoma y'ubusigire. Tukiri muri iyo nama Bagosora yazanye n'abagize iyo guverinoma, hanyuma tubona ko ari we ubwe wari watoranyije abo bantu, kandi ko bitari bihuje n'imyanzuro y'inama yari yaraye ibaye. Iyo guverinoma yari yiganje mo abaminisitiri b'ishyaka rya MRND (abaminisitiri 9). Hari abandi baminisitiri icyenda b'amashyaka ane ya MDR, PSD, PL na PDC. Twatungujwe ibyari byararangijwe kera[336] » « Igihe Bagosora azana abantu be bagombaga kuba ba minisitiri, byari akumiro : iyo kipi yari iri mo abantu benshi batazwi, muri bo minisitiri w'Intebe ; nta gisobanuro yatanze ku byerekeye abatari bahari ; ababazi neza bakatwongorera ko bose ari " *Abapawa*" [337]. » « Abandi basirikari bakuru, bari mo Koroneri Rusatira, batangajwe n'iryo hindukira nk'iry'i Mwendo, nuko kubera ubudatezuka ku byo bari bumvikanye ho, biyumvisha ko byari amakuba gushyira ho guverinoma ku buryo bwirengagije burundu amasezerano ya Arusha[338]. Babigaragarije mu nama (umuntu yavuga ko yari iya kabiri ya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba)bagiranye n'abanyaporitiki ku itariki ya 8 Mata. Abo basirikari bakuru bari bakomeje gushyigikira amasezerano ya Arusha basubijwe y'uko iyo guverinoma nshya yari ifite nyine inshingano zo gushyikirana na FPR/Inkotanyi kugira ngo barebe uko ayo masezerano yakubahirizwa. Abo basirikari bakuru bafashwe nk'ibyigomeke ntibita ku byo bavuze, ndetse ntibanatumirwa mu muhango wo kurahiza guverinoma y'ubusigire bo babonaga ko nta mizero yari izaniye igihugu. Ibyakurikiye ho byerekanye ko bari mu kuri. Itangazo ryashyizwe ho umukono n'abasirikari bakuru 12, hari mo n'umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusigire, Mariseri Gatsinzi, [na Rewonidasi Rusatira], rigaragaza neza icyuka cyari ho muri ibyo bihe. N'ubwo abo basirikari bakuru batari muri etamajoro bose, iryo

[336] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Mariseri GATSINZI, minisiteri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142, 16 Kamena 1995, p. 3-5.*

[337] *Ubuhamya bwa Koroneri Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ibyo niyandikiye, 20 Mata 2005.*

[338] *Reba umugereka 30.*

tangazo ryitiriwe Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo kubera ko umukuru wa etamajoro yari mu mubare w'abarisinye[339]. » Ariko nyine ibintu byari byigaragaje, kudeta y'abasirikari bo mu « kazu » ka perezida n'abayobozi ba Muvoma yari yageze ku ntego yayo ihitana abatavuga rumwe na bo, abandi ibashyira ho iterabwoba :

> « Uwo munsi, ahagana saa tatu – saa yine za ninjoro, Muri ESM, amaze kumenya itonde ry'abakandida ku buminisitiri, Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana yamenyesheje, mu izina rya bagenzi be bo mu Buyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, ko misiyo ya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba irangiye[340]. » Icyo abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo bari bakinwe amacenga bari basigaje gukora, ni imirwano y'amasigaranyuma bizeraga ko yazashyigikirwa n'abandi bandi bakomeye ku masezerano ya Arusha, ni ukuvuga za ambasade z'ibihugu bikomeye na FPR/Inkotanyi. Ari ambasade ari na FPR/Inkotanyi, nta washakaga kubatera iyo nkunga. N'ubwo bahigwaga, bahigitswe cyangwa se bayugirijwe kuva igihe ingufu zabogamiye mu ruhande rubarwanya, abasirikari bakuru benshi banze gutunguzwa ibyarangijwe kera maze basaba ku mugaragaro mu itangazo ryabo ryo ku ya 12 Mata 1994[341] gutangira ibiganiro na FPR/Inkotanyi no guhagarika imirwano. Icyo kirari cyakomerejwe mu ibaruwa umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo, Jenerari Mariseri Gatsinzi, yandikiye Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994. Muri iyo baruwa, wamugezaga ho igitekerezo cyo gushyira ho gahunda yo gukorera hamwe amarondo , gutoratora intwaro zose zari zitunzwe ku buryo bunyuranyije n'amategeko, no kugenzura ibiganiro n'ibitangazwa kuri radiyo[342].

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[339] *Rewonidasi RUSATIRA, Rwanda, uburenganzira bwo kwiringira, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2005, p. 54 n'ibikurikira.*

[340] *Itangazo ry'Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo z'uRwanda,12 Mata 1994. Ni ukureba umugereka 71 ugaragaza uko iryo tangazo ryakiriwe n'impande zitandukanye.*

[341] *Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri guverinoma y'Abatabazi, udashobora kuvugwa amazina, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.*

[342] *Ibaruwa ya Jenerari Mariseri GATSINZI yo ku ya 17 Mata 1994, TPIR, irango KO196126 (Reba umugereka*

Ariko, ku itsinda ry'abayobozi ba Muvoma bafatanye urunana, urubuga rwari rwamaze gutamururwa ku buryo burengeje ibyo bari bizeye. Mu rwego rwa poritiki, bayoboraga umukino bawihariye bonyine, mu gihe bari bafite perezida wo muri Muvoma, minisitiri w'Intebe w' « umupawa », abaminisitiri bose ba Muvoma basubijwe ho kandi bagize kimwe cya kabiri cya guverinoma. Ku birebana n'abantu, umupango wari utunganye ku buryo buhuje n'uko umuntu yashoboraga kuwifuza : kwitabaza abantu b'i Butare, bo ku Kibuye, ndetse muri rusange abakomoka muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo byatumaga ari bo begekwa ho amarorerwa, mu gihe abayobozi batatu – Ngirumpatse, Nzirorera na Karemera – bifatanyije na Bagosora, bari bibereye ahitaruye, bagitegereje kureba uko ibintu bigenda ngo babone kuboneza ingamba zabo bwite. Dore uko uwahoze ari minisitiri wa Muvoma yabisobanuye atabiciye iruhande : « Koko rero, hari ho poritiki yo gukorera mu ibanga, igashyira ku rubuga abantu batazi gahunda z'amahano zategurwaga cyangwa zigakorwa mu bwihisho. N'ubwo yakorerwaga ku runyiriri rwa kabiri , ni rwo rwari rufite ubutegetsi nyabwo, uburyo n'ibikoresho, imishyikirano n'itumanaho. Ntibari bashyizwe imbere ngo batabonwa n'inzirakarengane n'abandi bose, no kugira ngo batazasabwa nyuma kwisobanura ku ibyaha n'ibikorwa byabo[343]. »

Ku itariki ya 8 Mata nimugoroba, nyuma y'amasaha mirongo ine n'umunani indege ya perezida imaze guhanurwa, abagize Guverinoma y'ubusigire baboneje bose iyo muri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, baherekejwe n'abasirikari bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida, mbere y'uko barahira bukeye bwaho mu gitondo no guhita basakirana n'akazi. Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera, ndetse na Tewonesiti Bagosora, Mariseri Gatsinzi na etamajoro y'Ingabo baje kuba muri hoteri ku itariki ya 9, nk'uko bivugwa na Pawuro Rusesabagina wacungaga icyo kigo cyafatiriwe na Leta.

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71).

[343] *Ubuhamya bw'umuntu utarashatse ko izina rye ritangazwa, ibyo niyandikiye, 11 Gicurasi 2005.*

Kugeza aho ibintu byari mu nzira nziza rwose[344]. Ikintu kimwe ni cyo cyari gisigaye giteye ubwoba, ubwoba kandi bukomeye cyane. Ubwo bwoba bugaragara muri raporo yakozwe na Majoro Epifane Hanyurwimana (*Reba umugereka 65*), raporo y'inama ya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba n'abayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki, bari kumwe n'abatorewe kujya muri Guverinoma nzibacyuho, inama yabaye ku itariki ya 8 Mata ku gicamunsi. Ikintu cyo kwitabwa ho cyane muri uwo mwandiko gikubiye mu mirongo mike yongewe hepfo y'itonde ry'abari bahari, imirongo yerekana amagambo yavuzwe na Jenerari Ndindiriyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, nyuma y'inama bagiranye n'abagize guverinoma nshya, kandi mbere y'uko bakora inama y'abaminisitiri yabo ya mbere :

« Umukuru wa EMGdN [Etamajoro ya Jandarumori y'igihugu] Wabemeza ute ?

- Guverinoma igize ingufu nke : umutekano ntiwagaruka
- Ni abantu batagize icyo bishoboreye
- Ni ngombwa gutsindagira ingingo y'umutekano. N'abo ba minisitiri bagomba kuguma mu rugo
- Ni ngombwa kubatunguza ibyarangijwe kera
- Dukabije kugira ikinyabupfura no kujirajira
- Naho ubundi Ingabo z'igihugu zizatakaza icyizere cyose
- Ntimwafata ubutegetsi. »

Mu mpera z'umunsi w'imishyikirano n'abasiviri babonetse cyangwa bafatiriwe ngo bakomeze imirimo ya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba, aya magambo yerekanaga ko, abasirikari bakuru bari bayoboye ishyirwa ho ry'iyo guverinoma, n'ubwo yari yatoranyirijwe abantu b'intagondwa batezwe ho kwemera umurongo wabo wa poritiki,

[344] *Tewonesiti Bagosora yari ari mu cyumba 205 yagumye mo igihe « Hôtel des Diplomates ihinduka nk'igikari cy'urunywero rw'ikigo cya gisirikari », kandi yaragikomeje kugeza igihe Kigali ihungiye (ikiganiro na Pawuro RUSESABAGINA, diregiteri wa Hoteri,23 Ugushingo 2007).*

bari bafite ipfunwe n'ubwoba bw'uko batazayisangana uburwanashyaka bukaze bari bayiteze ho. Kujenjeka cyangwa kutagaragaza ko bisamaje, kw'abagize guverinoma ku byerekeye itsembatsemba byari byatangiye gutera impungenge no kwamaganwa, icyizere mu Ngabo z'igihugu cyari mu bigeragezo…Nk'uko byanditswe n'umwe mu basirikari bakuru wari uhari, « imyibukire yanjye ntiyeyurutse neza, ariko ndibuka ko igitekerezo cyo gushyira guverinoma y'ubusigire mu butita cyabaye ho kuva ikijya ho[345] », kandi igitangaje, ni uko ari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, umusirikari mukuru « ucisha make » wo mu majyepfo wavuze ayo magambo. Koko rero, n'ubwo abo baminisitiri b'abasiviri bose, abenshi ari abanyamashuri menshi, bari bumvise neza misiyo yo « gukingiriza » bari bashinzwe, abatari bake muri bo bari bakeneye igihe kugira ngo bamenye intera y'ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba abasirikari n'imitwe y'urubyiruko yabasabaga kwirengera. Ntabwo bari bagasobanukiwe imigambi nyirarupfu bagombaga gushyira mu bikorwa kandi bari bafite n'impamvu zo kujijinganya ku buryo intambara izarangira. N'ubwo kuri uwo munsi no kuri iyo saha abagize guverinomay'ubusigire batari bazi neza uko ibintu bizakurikirana, bashoboraga nibura kubona ko Umutwe urinda perezida, Imitwe yindi n'*Interahamwe* zajyanaga na wo yari yanangiye guhagarika ubwicanyi, kandi ko guverinoma y'abasiviri iyobowe n'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo nta mahirwe na make yari ifite yo kumvikanisha imigambi yayo, n'iyo ijya kubishaka. Abasirikari n'abayobozi b'amashyaka abiri akomeye, MRND na MDR, bafashe ibyicaro mu nama za Guverinoma y'ubusigire kandi bakabunganira mu myitozo y'ubutegetsi. Kugira ngo ikipe igume mu cyerekezo kimwe kandi ngo n'abagitinyatinya bashire amanga, byari ngombwa kubajandika rwose mu mirimo yabo no kubatandukanya n'ijijinganya ry'abanyamujyi ryabadindizaga. Kubera ibyo, ku itariki ya 11 Mata hafashwe icyemezo cyo kwimurira Guverinoma y'ubusigire imbere mu gihugu. Iryo yimurwa se ryafatwa nk'uburyo bwo kugumisha mu kigo abanyeshuri batarajya mu murongo ? Umuntu yabitekereza. Inkuro ikurikira y'ibibazo by'ingenzi minisitiri w'Imari, Manweri Ndindabahizi, yabarijwe muri TPIR iragaragaza neza ibyo abaminisitiri bagombaga kwicengeza mo mu maguru

[345] *Inyandiko y'umukoroneri wo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda, ibyo niyandikiye, 21 Werurwe2006.*

mashya.

« **Bazo** : Mbese hari izindi nama wagiranye n'abandi bari muri Guverinoma [y'ubusigire] igihe yari i Kigali ? Ntituvuga inama yo ku itariki ya 9 Mata gusa, Bwana Ndindabahizi, turavuga n'indi minsi guverinoma yari ikiri i Kigali.

Subizo : Ku ya 10, ni ukuvuga bukeye bwaho, hongeye kuba inama y'abaminisitiri, kandi nari nyiri mo. Ku ya 11 Mata, na bwo habaye indi nama, yatumiwe mo ba perefe ba za perefegitura, kandi na yo nari nyiri mo. Muri make, habaye ho inama ebyiri, ku itariki ya 10 n'iya 11.

Bazo: Ni izihe ngingo zari ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'izo nama?

Subizo: Ku itariki ya 10, ndibuka ko ikibazo cyari icyo kumenyeshwa uko umutekano wifashe imbere mu gihugu. Nuko rero, hafashwe icyemezo cyo gutumira… cyo gutumiza ba perefe ngo tubiganire ho. Ba perefe baje bukeye, ni ukuvuga ku ya 11.

Na none twakomeje kuvuga iby'umutekano ; nta kindi iyo nama yari igamije, nta kindi twagombaga gukora. Igihugu cyari mo gukongoka, cyane cyane muri Kigali, ubwo rero byari ngombwa kumenya ibintu biri mo kuba. Ngiyo impamvu y'izo nama.

Bazo : Guverinoma yagumye i Kigali kugeza ryari ?

Subizo : Guverinoma yagumye i Kigali kugeza ku itariki ya 12 Mata mu gitondo, mu gitondo cy'iya 12 Mata.

Bazo : Kuki se guverinoma yagombye kuva mu murwa mukuru ?

Subizo : Guverinoma yavuye mu murwa mukuru ku ya 12 Mata mu gitondo, ariko nk'uko mbizi, nta mpamvu n'imwe yari yatanzwe. Nuko rero, nagiye kureba abana banjye bari mu rugo rw'incuti mu Kiyovu, hari nko muri metero 500 uturutse kuri Hoteri. Aho ngarukiye, nasanze abandi bose bandurutse, bari bagiye. Nabajije abari basigaye nti « Ni ibiki ? » Barambwiye bati « Umva, bagiye. » Bityo rero nta makuru yatanzwe ku buryo buzwi.

Bazo : Ibyo ndabyumva. None se ni izihe mpamvu zatumye guverinoma iva i Kigali ?

Subizo : Yavuye i Kigali batatubwiye ibyo ari byo, hanyuma turakurikira, ibyo gusa. Nyuma ni ho twaje kumenya ko byatewe n'impamvu z'umutekano[346]. »

Hari n'abaminisitiri batatu « bahibagiriwe » :

« **Subizo** : Navuye i Kigali ku ya 12, mu gitondo.

Bazo: Kubera iki?

Subizo: Ibyo birumvikana: ni ukubera impungenge zerekeye umutekano. Narabyutse mu gitondo nsanga abandi bose bagiye ; usibye abaminisitiri babiri, abandi bari bagiye.

Bazo : Abaminisitiri babiri bandi bari bagihari ni bande ?

Subizo : Abo baminisitiri ni Pawurina Nyiramasuhuko na minisitiri Mugenzi. […] Ngeze i Gitarama, nagiye mu rugo kwa perefe wa Gitarama kumubaza niba yari azi aho abandi baminisitiri bacumbitse, ambwira ko bari i Murambi. […]

Bazo : Aho i Murambi bari ahagana hehe ?

Subizo: Sinashobora kuvuga ahantu aha n'aha. Abantu bageragezaga gushaka aho bikinga, aho bacumbika; hari mu kigo cyari i Murambi. […] Muzi ko bitari biteganyijwe, byari bitunguranye[347]».

« **Bazo** : Ese… Mbabarira. Wavuze yuko, nyuma, waje kugira icyiyumviro cy'uko kuva i Kigali byabaye ikosa ? Kuki, ku bwawe, byari ikosa ?

Subizo : Kubera ko Kigali ari yo yari umurwa mukuru wacu, ni ho hantu twari dufite aderesi zizwi, hari ahantu twashoboraga kubonanira n'abo muri za ambasade zo hanze. Mu gihe twari mu mudugudu – kuko Murambi, hari nk'umudugudu -, twari twatandukanye na byose. Njye rero nasangaga ari intangiro y'ugutsindwa kwacu[348]. »

Itungurwa ryatewe n'icyo cyemezo « kibaguye hejuru » kandi gishingiye ku mpamvu z'umutekano muke zari zakabirijwe ku bushake ryarumvikanaga. Uko

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[346] *Ubuhamya bwa Manweri NDINDABAHIZI, urubanza rwa Ndindabahizi, TPIR, 25 Ugushyino 2004, p. 38.*

[347] *Ubuhamya bwa Anyesi NTAMABYARIRO, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Kanama 2006, p. 3 (Reba umugereka 72).*

[348] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 36- 37.*

biboneka, icyo cyemezo ahanini cyatewe no guca igikuba aho gushingira ku byago nyabyo byari byibasiye umurwa mukuru n'abategetsi. Niba twibuka ko umutekano wa guverinoma wari ushinzwe Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, twanakwibuka n'amagambo yavuze ku itariki ya 8 Mata, yerekeza ku « mukumbi » w'abagize guverinoma yari imaze gushyirwa ho : « Wabemeza ute ? Ntacyo bishoboreye. Ni ngombwa gutsindagira ikibazo cy'umutekano. N'abo baminisitiri bagomba kuguma mu rugo. Ni ngombwa kubatunguza ibyarangijwe kera. » Nk'uko Yohani Kambanda abivuga, icyo gikorwa cyabaye « intangiriro yo gutsindwa », itsindwa we n'abandi bake bangaga kwirengera bafatanyije n'abanyakudeta b'agatsiko ka perezida, bari bihangishije ho guhonyora inzego zishingiye ku mategeko kugira ngo bagumane ubutegetsi, bitaba ibyo bagakushumukana abandi bose mu burimbuke bwabo.

9

Ishyirwaho ry'abategetsi b'agateganyo

Gukoresha inama y'abayobozi b'amashyaka byari biruhije, ariko kandi bikanoroha. Byari biruhije kubera ko ibikomerezwa byose by'ingoma, hari mo n'abasiviri bo mu Kazu, byari byihishe kuva ku ya 6 Mata mu mugoroba, babitewe n'impungenge z'ubuhonyozi butagira gitangira bw'Umutwe urinda perezida n'*Interahamwe,* biyumvisha neza ko na Bagosora atashoboraga cyangwa atashakaga kubizeza umutekano. Na we ubwe yari yaragize igihe cyo kutagirirwa icyizere muri za 80 ijya kurangira, akaba yari mu « bamek » bashoboraga kugira ibishuko byo kwihimura mu gihe ibintu byari mo guhinduka. Bose batinyiraga ubuzima bwabo n'imitungo yabo, bagashaka kubarura abashoboraga kuba « abanzi » babo. Rumwe mu ngero zigaragara neza ni urwa Yohani Kambanda, wahoraga ahanganye na Agata Uwiringiyimana, akaba yari perezida wa MDR y'i Butare utarigeze yuzuza izo nshingano, akaba n'umukandida w'iryo shyaka ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, awurwanira na Fawusitini Twagiramungu, umukandida wari watanzwe n'ayandi mashyaka.

Kuva ku ya 7 Mata ku manywa, Yohani Kambanda n'umuryango we bahungiye mu kigo cya Jandarumori ku Kacyiru bahasanze Majoro Gerishomu Ngayaberura na Majoro Petero- Karaveri Karangwa babacumbikiye mu nzu yari hafi y'amarembo y'ikigo. Yumvaga ko ari mu makuba ku buryo bubiri :

« **Bazo** : Kuki wumvaga hari ho ikibazo cy'umutekano, n'icy'umutekano wawe ?

Subizo : Nari ndi kandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe, kandida wari ufite, navuga, abakeba muri poritiki, kuko ishyaka ryanjye ryari ryaratanze abandi bakandida bari bashyigikiwe, ndetse na FPR/Inkotanyi. Natinyaga rero guhotorwa na FPR/Inkotanyi. Ku rundi ruhande, sinavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa perezida Habyarimana.

N'intambwe zo kwiyegeranya twari twarateye twembi ntibyari byakabaye ngombwa kubimenyesha abantu bose. Na none rero, ndibwira ko nashoboraga guhohoterwa n'abari bashyigikiye perezida Habyarimana, cyane cyane nyuma y'iyicwa rye. Bityo rero, numvaga ndi mu makuba ku buryo bubiri[349]. »

Igihe yanyarukiraga iwe mu rugo mu gitondo cyo ku ya 8 Mata kugira ngo agire utuntu akura yo ni bwo yamenye ko yagizwe minisitiri w'Intebe wa guverinoma y'ubusigire[350] :

> « Ni byo koko, mu gihe twari mo kwegeranya utuntu two kwitwaza, nabonye imodoka ya gisirikari hafi y'iwanjye, mbona iri mo kuza mu rugo ; yari ijipi ya gisirikari. Nk'uko nari… nari namenyeshejwe ko abasirikari bamwe bari bishoye mu bwicanyi, nagize ubwoba. Naribwiye nti ahari ni njye wari utahiwe kwicwa. Nari mfite abajandarume babiri… bacungaga umutekano wanjye. Narabatabaje, nuko igihe imodoka igeze hafi cyane y'iwanjye, irahagarara maze mbona ko umuntu uyisohotse mo nari muzi. Yari Foroduwaridi Karamira. Yarasohotse maze mbonye ko ari we, umutima usubira mu gitereko kuko nibwiraga ko yari incuti. Yaraje, ambwira ko bantegereje mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari, kandi ko ishyaka

[349] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 28.*

[350] *Ntibyari kumushobokera guhungira i Butare cyangwa kujyana yo umuryango we, kubera ko abaturage bari bagikomeye kuri Agata Uwiringiyimana bari basanzwe bahanganye akaba yari yishwe mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata. Nyamara ku ya 8 yari yamenyesheje Agusitini Cyiza ko bukeye bwaho yari kwisunga « komvuwa » yerekeza i Butare uyu yari yateganyije, ariko yaje kwisubira ho mbere gato y'uko bahaguruka, ku itariki ya 9 mu gitondo, amaze kugirwa minisitiri w'Intebe.*

ryanjye ryari rimaze kuntorera kuba minisitiri w'Intebe, mu nama bari bamaze kugirana n'andi mashyaka n'abasirikari mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari. Nguko rero uko byagenze[351]. »

Uko guverinoma y' agateganyo yari iteye

Uyirebeye ku isura y'inyuma gusa, Guverinoma y'ubusigire yari yubahirije – bitewe n'uko ibibazo bya poritiki byari « byorohejwe » n'iyicwa ry'abanyaporitiki b'ingenzi bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma – amasezerano ya Arusha n'iringaniza ryari ryagenewe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (*Reba Incamake ya 12 n'umugereka 22*) : perezida wo muri Muvoma, minisitiri w'Intebe wo muri MDR, abaminisitiri 9 ba Muvoma (yari yafashe kubera ko « byari ngombwa kandi ku buryo bw'agateganyo » imyanya ya FPR/Inkotanyi itari ifite abayiri mo…), imyanya itatu ya MDR, itatu ya PL, itatu ya PSD n'umwe wa PDC. Nta cyari cyahindutse mu igabagabanya ry'imyanya y'abaminisitiri mu mashyaka. Na ho ku bindi byayirangaga, iyo guverinoma yari yubahirije neza imbata y'abari bayiteguye. Yagombaga kuvana ho amacakubiri yo mu gipande cy'abakomeye ku « buhutu », kugira ngo bahangane n' « Umututsi w'umwanzi » n' « ibyitso » bye, bagombaga kurwanywa mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa poritiki[352] cyane cyane.

INCAMAKE YA 12
« Guverinoma y'agateganyo » yo ku wa 8 Mata 1994[a]

Perezida wa Repuburika w'umusigire: Dogiteri Tewodori SINDIKUBWABO (MRND, Hutu, Butare).
Minisitiri w'Intebe: Yohani KAMBANDA (MDR, Hutu, Butare).
Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'Ubutwererane: Kerementi- YoLonimo BICAMUMPAKA (MDR, Hutu, Ruhengeri).

[351] *Ubuhamya bwa Yohani KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR. 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 29.*

[352] *Koko, Abasirikari b'uRwanda batari bake babonaga ko FPR/Inkotanyi itagira igitekerezo cyo kubura intambara rurangiza (byashoboka bite ko FPR/Inkotanyi iserukiye « nyamuke iturutse ishyanga » yagira igicuro cyo gutegeka igihugu cy' « Abahutu » ?), kandi cyane cyane, kuri bo, ntibyumvikanaga ukuntu ibihugu by'amahanga, hari mo Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika n'uBwongereza byarushaga ibindi gutera inkunga FPR/Inkotanyi, byari kurekera ubutegetsi bwose agatsiko k'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi kari gakabije kuba nyamuke, kandi hari miriyoni z'impunzi z'Abahutu hafi y'umupaka. Muri make, buri wese yibwiraga ko intambara izageza igihe iki n'iki, hanyuma hakiganza umupango w'uko bose bemera amasezerano ya Arusha. Muri icyo cyerekezo kigarukira bugufi n'ahagereranyije, imashaniro nyamukuru ryari mu rwego rwa poritiki.*

MInisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya komini:
Fawusitini MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)(yasubijwe ho, ariko ntiyafashe uwo mwanya[b], asimburwa na Eduwaridi KAREMERA(MRND, Hutu, Kibuye), ku ya 25 Gicurasi 1994.
Minisitiri w'Ubutabera: Anyesi NTAMABYARIRO (PL, Hutu, Kibuye) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu: Agusitini BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Ubuhinzi, Ubworozi n'Amashyamba : Dr. Sitaratoni NSABUMUKUNZI, PSD, Hutu, Butare).
Minisitiri w'Amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye : Dr. Andereya RWAMAKUBA (MDR, Hutu, Kigali).
Minisitiri w'Amashuri makuru, Ubushakashatsi mu by'ubuhanga n'Umuco : Dr. Danyeri MBANGURA (MRND, Hutu, Gikongoro)(yasubijwe ho), aza gusimburwa na Yohani wa Mungu KAMUHANDA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali), nyuma y'uko agirwa Umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya perezida.
Minisitiri w'Imari : Manweri NDINDABAHIZI(PSD, Hutu, Kibuye)
Minisitiri w'Abakozi ba Leta : Porosiperi MUGIRANEZA (MRND, Hutu, Kibungo) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru : Eriyezeri NIYITEGEKA(MDR, Hutu, Kibuye).
Minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Inganda n'Ubukorikori : Yusitini MUGENZI (PL, Hutu, Kibungo).
Minisitiri w'Imigambi ya Leta : Dr. Agusitini NGIRABATWARE (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Ubuzima : Dr. Kazimiri BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Ubwikorezi n'Itumanaho : Anderya NTAGERURA (MRND, Hutu, Cyangugu) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Umurimo n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage : Yohani wa Mungu HABINEZA (PL, Hutu, Gisenyi).
Minisitiri w'Imirimo ya Leta n'Ingufu : Yasenta NSENGIYUMVA RAFIKI (PSD, Hutu, Gisenyi).
Minisitiri w'Ubukerarugendo n'Ibidukikije : Gasipari RUHUMURIZA (PDC, Hutu, Gitarama) (yasubijwe ho), yareguye ku ya 12 Kamena 1994.
Minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'Abategarugori : Pawurina NYIRAMASUHUKO (MRND, Hutu, Butare) (yasubijwe ho).
Minisitiri w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe : Karisiti NZABONIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gitarama) (yasubijwe ho).

(a). Guverinoma bavuga ko yishyize ho kandi itaremewe n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga. Intumwa yayo yayihagarariye mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kugeza aho iyo guverinoma itsindiwe burundu kandi igafata icyicaro muri Zayire kugeza ku ya 17 Nyakanga 1994 (Reba umugereka 73).
(b). Yakoreraga mu kibaba cya minisitiri w'Intebe. Ubusigire bw'iyi minisiteri bweguriwe nta shiti umuyobozi w'Ibiro byayo wari uri ho ku ya 6 Mata, Karisiti KAREMANZIRA.

Izo ntego ebyiri zasabaga, ku ruhande rumwe, gusanasana ubumwe bw'igihugu no kubura iturufu y'ubwoko ya « rubanda rwiganje », ku rundi ruhande, guhosha amakimbirane y'uturere bareka amashyaka yiganje mu turere tumwe akagera ku rwego rw'igihugu cyose. Ikimenyetso cya mbere kitihishira, ni icy'uko abari ku isonga bagomba kuba bahuje ubwoko bose, ibi bikaba byari mu murage n'umurongo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye yagombaga gusezerera. Umuco w'umuminisitiri Baringa umwe w'Umututsi wari wacikijwe. Ikimenyetso cya kabiri, cyaje ari gishyashya mu mateka, ni

ireme ry'ububasha bahaye abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo no hagati y'igihugu. Perezida na minisitiri w'Intebe bombi bakomokaga i Butare. Ku munsi wakurikiye iyicwa rya minisitiri w'Intebe wari washyize ku bitugu bye ibyiringiro by'abo mu majyepfo mu gihe yari ahanganye n'urusobe rw'ubutegetsi rwaboshywe na Yuvenari Habyarimana, ikimenyetso cy'indishyi zo mu rwego rwa poritiki cyatanzwe n'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru cyari gifite agaciro kanini.

Bityo, « ibintu byari byujujwe », n'ubumwe bw'icyitiriro hagati y'abakeba babyawe na Repuburika ya mbere na Repuburika ya kabiri bwashoboraga gushyirwa ahagaragara : abo mu majyaruguru bari yabuze umutware wabo, n'abo mu majyepfo bari bamubuze. Uwo mvuze mbere yasimbuwe na perezida w'icyahoze ari Inteko ishinga amategeko wagombaga, hakurikijwe itegekonshinga ryo mu wa 1991, gusimbura perezida, kandi byari bimushimishije kuko byamuhaga icyizere cy'ahazaza mu rwego rwa poritiki. Uwa kabiri yasimbuwe n'uwo bahoraga bahiganirwa umwanya wa perezida wa MDR i Butare wumvaga agenewe uwo mwanya kuva ubwo ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka rye bwo mu rwego rw'igihugu bwari bwirukanye minisitiri w'Intebe wari wemeye uwo mwanya muri Nyakanga 1993, hanyuma bugatanga Yohani Kambanda nk'umukandida wemewe wa MDR ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Yaje kuba minisitiri w'Intebe wa guverinoma y'ubusigire ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Ubumwe bw'abo mu majyaruguru n'abo mu majyepfo bwabonekeye mu migabanire y'inshingano iteye itya : « Abakiga bacunge intambara. […] Abanyanduga bacunge poritiki[353]. »

Iyo mitekerereze yari iyo mu rwego rwo hasi :

- Abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo ntibari bizewe. Bityo, umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusigire, Mariseri Gatsinzi, wari washyizwe ho Tewonesiti Bagosora atamushaka, yahise asimburwa amaze iminsi cumi gusa kuri uwo mwanya. Kandi ngombwa kongera kwigarurira Ingabo;

[353] *Ajenda ya Tewonesiti BAGOSORA, Banki ya Kigali, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku ya 15 Gashyantare 1993, irangiro KO239532.*

- Mu rwego rwa Poritiki, byari ngombwa kubona icyizere cy'abo mu majyepfo, kandi urushodekane rwa perezida na minisitiri w'Intebe badasobanya ni rwo rwonyine rwashoboraga gutuma iyi ntego igerwa ho. Kuri ubwo buryo, byari ngombwa ko akari kera abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo bagira uruhare mu kwirengera ubwicanyi bwakorewe abanyaporitiki muri Kigali. Wongeye no ku mwanya wa perezida no ku wa minisitiri w'Intebe, amajyepfo yagenewe minisiteri 13 kuri 19[354]. Perefegitura ya Kibuye, Gitarama na Butare zonyine zari zifite 8. Wagira ngo Kibuye noneho yariyishyuye, kubera ko muri Repuburika ya kabiri itari yarigeze irenza minisitiri umwe.

Iyo perefegitura, yabonaga ko yari yararyamiwe mu gihe cya guverinoma ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi, noneho yari yinjiranye ingufu(ndetse yarushaga Cyangugu). Yagenewe minisiteri zikomeye eshatu, hanyuma enye : Imari, Itangazamakuru, Ubutabera n'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (igihe gihamya yari imaze kuboneka y'uko Fawusitini Munyazesa atemeye uwo mwanya), cyangwa se, nkoresheje ntera nyamico yo mu mvugo ya rubanda : gatsi y'intambara, poropagande, ubudakoreka, kubumbatira umutuzo no kwenyegeza jenoside. Nyamara ariko, hirya y'ingamba za poritiki yateganyijwe, uwo murengera w'akarere wafashe intera ndende ku bw'ibigwirirano. Amashyaka yari yasabwe gutanga intumwa zayo muri guverinoma y'ubusigire nuko muri ubwo buryo ishyaka rya PL ritanga Anyesi Ntamabyariro, MDR itanga Eriyezeri Niyitegeka, na PSD itanga Manweri Ndindabahizi. Yego ababiri ba mbere bari bazwi neza mu bayobozi ba « PAWA » mu rwego rw'igihugu, ariko Manweri Ndindabahizi yagwiriwe n'ubuminisitiri kubera gusa ko yari mu rugo kwa Yasenta Nsengiyumva Rafiki, umuyobozi wa PSD wo mu majyaruguru, wari ugiye kugirwa minisitiri w'Imirimo ya Leta n'Ingufu, igihe Tewonesiti Bagosora yazaga kumushaka ngo amujyane muri minisiteri y'Ingabo.

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[354] *Dore inkomoko za ba minisitiri 19 ushingiye kuri perefegitura : Kibuye, 4 ; Gisenyi, 3 ; Butare, 2 ; Gitarama, 2 ; Kibungo, 2 ; Kigali, 2 ; Ruhengeri, 2 ; Byumba, 1 ; Cyangugu, 1 ; Gikongoro, 0 ; - ni ukuvuga 6 bo mu majyaruguru (perefegitura eshatu z' « uRukiga » : Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba) na 13 bo mu majyepfo(mu « Nduga »).*

Icya gatatu kiranga iyo guverinoma, ni ubushake bwo kurandura ubwifatanye bushingiye kuri poritiki no ku turere. Hari ingero zimwe zigaragara neza. Ku ruhembe rw'imbere rw'icyubahiro, hazaga minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'Ubutwererane, Kerementi- YoLonimo Bicamumpaka wo mu ishyaka MDR, ukomoka mu Ruhengeri. Ku ruhembe rw'inyuma rw'icyubahiro hari minisitiri w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe(umwanya ukomeye mu bihe by'intambara kuko kwitabaza imitwe y'urubyiruko, kuroba abarwanashyaka mu nsoresore no kubaha imyitozo byari biyifite mo uruhare ndemyacyemezo), umuyoboke wa Muvoma ukomoka i Gitarama mu ndiri y'abatavuga rumwe na yo. Hari na minisitiri w'Umurimo n'Imibereho myiza y'abaturage wo mu ishyaka PL wakomokaga ku Gisenyi, perefegitura yasaga n'iyikubiwe n'ishyaka rya MRND. Uretse n'iryo tangwa ry'imyanya ryari rifite icyo rigaragaza, ubushake bwo gukwira igihugu cyose no kutagira perefegitura ikumirwa ku rugamba bwarabonekaga.

Ni ngombwa kandi gutsindagira ko hari ho n'icyifuzo cyo kugumisha umubare ufatika w'abaminisitiri mu turere twari nk'igikingi cya Muvoma (Kigali ngari na Kibungo). Uburemere bw'ikibazo cy'uturere ntibwatumaga hari utekereza ko ubutegetsi bwakwikubirwa n'abo mu majyaruguru, cyangwa se bukahiganza, nk'uko bitari kumvikana ko bwimukira mu majyepfo. Ishyaka rya MRND ntiryifuzaga gutakaza umwanya wa perezida cyangwa se ngo koma y'uburwanashya bwabo bwo mu majyaruguru idohoke. Kwigomwa imyanya ibiri yo ku isonga y'ubutegetsi igahabwa abantu bakomoka muri perefegitura imwe ya Butare – mu gihe cya mbere abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari benshi bo mu majyaruguru ntibabyumvaga – ahanini byari bigamije kujijisha.

> « Perezida wa Repuburika akomoka mu majyepfo, minisitiri w'Intebe na we avuka mu majyepfo, umujyanama ukora imirimo nk'iya minisitiri muri perezidansi ni uwo mu majyepfo [Enoki Ruhigira[355]] n'umujyanama mu by'umutekano na we ni

[355] *Enoki Ruhigira yari yasubijwe mu mirimo yakoreraga Yuvenari Habyarimana, ariko uwo mwanya arawanga, ava mu gihugu ku ya 12 Mata. Yasimbujwe Danyeri Mbangura.*

uwo mu majyepfo [Jenerari Agusitini Ndindiriyimana[356]], bityo, byari ngombwa ko haba ho abantu bo kumvikanisha ijwi ry'amajyaruguru muri « guverinoma y'Abatabazi»[357]. »

Kuva bigitangira, perezida wa Repuburika w'umusigire, Tewodori Sindikubwabo, yafatwaga nk' « umuhisi » washoboraga kunyagwa igihe icyo ari cyo cyose. Ni we wagombaga kwirengera ubwicanyi, mu gihe icyahoze ari igipande cya perezida kitarigaragaza mo umusimbura uhamye cyangwa atarashyirwa ho. Mu mibare yabo, Yohani Kambanda ni we wari ngombwa gusa kuko kuva mu wa 1993 yari yahawe icyizere n'igipande cya MDR « Pawa » kandi ni cyo cyari cyiganje mo abayoboke.

Ikimenyetso cya kane kiranga guverinoma cyerekeye umubano hagati y'abanyaporitiki bari bahuriye kuva ubwo mu mukumbi uteye ukwawo. Hano ni ho uburemere bw'iyicwa rya perezida bwumvikanye cyane. Ba minisitiri benshi, aba kera n'abashya, bumvise yuko ibyo inyungu z'igihugu zasabaga, nk'uko abasirikari b'abahezanguni bo mu majyaruguru babivugaga, bitari bigishoboka kubijya ho impaka. Poritiki y'ubumwe bw'igihugu na yo ntiyemeraga ko haba ho abitarura bahereye ku byabacaga mo ibice mbere. Bose bagombaga gufata umurongo umwe wo gushishikariza intambara no gukangura abaturage, bagateganya uko ibintu bizagenda byunguruza n'uko intambara izarangira, kugira ngo berekane neza aho bahagaze ubwabo n'uko biteganyiriza ahazaza. Uyirebye ku buryo bucukumbuye, usanga iyo guverinoma yarakomatanyije abanyaporitiki boroheje n'abakandida b'indatwa cyangwa se ba mpemuke ndamuke butwi[358]. Kubera ibyo, icy'ingenzi cyari umubano abantu bashoboraga kugirana n'abo bari kumwe, n'abari babashyize muri iyo myanya cyangwa se n'abo bari bahagarariye.

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[356] *N'ubwo ari we Tewonesiti Bagosora yahaye koko inshingano zo kumenya umutekano bwite w'abagize guverinoma y'ubusigire, we akizigamira ishami ry' « ubugemuzi », Ndindiryimana ntiyigeze agira ibikoresho bya ngombwa n'amakuru y'ingenzi byajyanaga n'uwo murimo : « Umushoborabyose Koroneri Bagosora wari wimitse uwo muperezida w'ikiwani [wa Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba] ntiyamukuraga ho ijisho kandi byose byakorwaga nk'uko abishaka. Nta washoboraga gukora uwo murimo atabyemerewe na Bagosora » (ubuhamya by'umusirikari mukuru wo muri etamajoro utarashatse kwivuga izina, ibyo niyandikiye, 23 Gashyantare 2007.*

[357] *Ikiganiro na Majoro Agusitini CYIZA, ibyo niyandikiye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

[358] *Nka Eriyezeri Niyitegeka wahoze ari umunyamakuru mbere yo kwiyegurira umurimo w'ubucuruzi bwa lisansi ku Kibuye mbere ya 1994.*

Abanyaporitiki b'Abanyarwanda benshi batekereje ako kanya ko iryo hitamo ryari rifutamye, kandi ko guverinoma ifite ingufu ari yo yonyine yashoboraga guhangana n'ibihe byari ho :

« Nyamara *Abatabazi* [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri], baje ari amahano nyakuri. N'ubwo bari bashyizwe ho ku buryo busa n'ubwubahiriza amategeko, gutoranya abantu byabaye agahomamunwa urebye akandare igihugu cyari kiri mo. Agatsiko k'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari bo mu Kazu ntibashakaga guverinoma ifite ingufu kandi igaragaza umurimo. Ibyo rero byabaye ikosa rikomeye mu gihe icyari ngombwa atari uguhagarika jenoside gusa no kugarura umutekano, kandi byari na ngombwa kuburiza mo ubukunguzi FPR/Inkotanyi yari yishoye mo. Ibikorwa byayo bya mbere byabaye ibyo kwiteza ibibazo byo mu rwego rwa diporomasi, ishinja uBubiligi kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'abaperezida babiri, mbere y'uko ikusanya ibimenyetso ntangamugabo. Ntiyigeze iboneza ikirari cyo kugarura amahoro mu gihugu, habe yewe n'icya poritiki iboneye yo mu rwego rw'amahanga. Kwanga kwamagana no guhagarika jenoside y'Abatutsi byatumye isi yose yitandukanya na yo, binayibyarira gufungirwa intwaro, bityo igihugu igihereza FPR/Inkotanyi ku buntu[359]. »

Ariko nta wari ugishidikanya ko iyo guverinoma yari yashyizwe ho n'udushami twa gisiviri n'utwa gisirikari two mu Kazu. Yari guverinoma ihubukiwe kandi idafite umurongo, kimwe n'ibyemezo bikomeye byafashwe Yuvenari Habyarimana agipfa, ari ukugira ngo bazitire ko ubutegetsi bwavanwa mu maboko y'agatsiko ka perezida. Ku mukondo w'iyo guverinoma hari Kazimiri Bizimungu wari minisitiri w'Ubuzima, akamaganira kure ko hagira ikintu FPR/Inkotanyi yakwemererwa, kandi akaba yari amaze hafi imyaka cumi yizembagiza hagati ya minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'iy'Ubuzima. Hari mo na Agusitini Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'Igenamigambi, wari watumburutse muri poritiki no mu mafaranga kuva yarongora umukobwa wa Ferisiyani Kabuga. Iryo zamuka ryari ribangikanye n'ubuhezanguni muri poritiki : yakoreye mu

[359] James GASANA, *Rwanda, du Parti-État à l'État-garnison, op. cit.*, p. 255.

kinyiranyindo ibikorwa byinshi byo guhungabanya guverinoma ihuriwe ho n'amashyaka menshi ; yateraga inkunga ikomeye abarwaniraga Abahutu ishyaka mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru cyane cyane, aho yacungaga akanasoroma igishoro cyimbitswe na sebukwe, Ferisiyani Kabuga. Umuntu yavuga kandi, ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'abategarugori, Pawurina Nyiramasuhuko, umurwanashyaka wabyiyemeje wari icyegera cya Agata Kanziga, akaba n'umugore w'umuyobozi mukuru wa Kaminuza y'uRwanda, Morisi Ntahobari, wari waranahoze ari perezida w'Inama nkuru iharanira amajyambere (CND).

N'ubwo atari i Kigali mu gihe cy'irahira ariko akagumishwa ku mwanya we wa minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu[360], Agusitini Bizimana ntiyigeze acikiza ibikorwa bya gisirikari byari byaratangiwe na Tewonesiti Bagosora n'umuyobozi b'Umutwe urinda perezida n'uwa batayo y' « Abakodo ». Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, muramu wa perezida, ni we wari waramugejeje kuri urwo rwego, kandi ubwitange bwe mu gukorera « umuryango » bwari bwuzuye. Aho agarukiye mu murwa mukuru, Agusitini Bizimana yazengurutse Kigali aherekejwe n'agahuri k'abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro bamwumviraga. Icyo gikundi cya mbere ni cyo cyari gishinzwe, mu by'ukuri, guharanira inyungu z'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru n'iz'abatoni b'ingoma yahirimye. N'ubundi kandi, hari ho abantu bashyiriwe ho kubahiriza iringaniza ku ntego gusa, bagasabwa gukurikira umuvumba batashoboraga kugira icyo bawukora ho. Muri bo umuntu yavuga minisitiri w'Imari, Manweri Ndindabahizi, wakoraga mu biro by'igenzuramutungo mbere y'uko yinjira, ahanini ku bw'ibigwirirano, muri poritiki agirwa umujyanama wa minisitiri Mariko Rugenera wa PSD muri Nyakanga 1993.

Ni kimwe na minisitiri w'Ubuhinzi, Dr. Sitaratoni Nsabumukunzi, umwe mu bayobozi ba PSD, akaba umuganga muri Kaminuza y'uRwanda i Butare : yemeye uwo mwanya cyane cyane ari ukwikingira ubwihimure ishyaka CDR ryashoboraga kumugirira. Koko rero, ni abarwanashyaka ba PSD b'i Butare bari bahotoye umuyobozi mukuru w'ishyaka CDR, Maritini Bucyana, ngo bahora urupfu rwa Ferisiyani Gatabazi. Ku bandi

[360] *Yavuye muri Kameruni ku ya 10 Mata.*

banyaporitiki batari binjiye muri guverinoma y'ubusigire, icyezi cy'ububasha bwabo n'uburyo bwo kugira uruhare muri poritiki byari byarindimutse, n'ihiganwa ry'abarwanira imyanya ryizimba mu nzego z'ubutegetsi zari zifite ijambo mu gihe cy'intambara. Ni yo mpamvu Guverinoma y'ubusigire yakurikiraniwe hafi cyane kandi iranabwirizwa mu gihe cy'iminsi ijana yamaze. Inama ya guverinoma yasaga nk'aho itajya ihumuza, yaba ikoraniwe mo n'abayigize bose cyangwa se hari bake, hakurikijwe ibyihutirwa (*Reba ibidanago 1 na 2 mu mutwe wa 12),* akenshi ikitabaza udutsinda duto twashoboraga kuba mo « abatumirwa » bakekaga ho ubushobozi cyangwa se ari « indorerezi » gusa, bitewe n'ingingo ziri ku murongo w'ibyigwa, n'ubumwe bafitanye cyangwa se n'uko byari ngombwa. Guverinoma y'ubusigire ntiyashoboraga kutitabaza iyo mikorere y'urusange kandi idasobanutse neza, kuko yari « ubwifatanye bw'amashyaka bugengwa n'ihame ry'uko ibyemezo byose bigomba gufatwa ku bwumvikane bwa bose[361]. »

Iyo guverinoma yakomeje gukikizwa n'abasirikari bakuru kimwe n'abanyaporitiki banyuranye, abajyanama bazwi ku mugaragaro n'abatazwi, na bo ubwabo bakururana n'ishyo ry'abantu bagenzwa no gukurura amakuru, kugira ibyo bitunganyiriza, kwishingana cyangwa se gusaba impushya z'ubwoko bwose. N'ubwo ibyemezo byose birebana n'ibyerekezo by'ingenzi byo kurwana intambara no gucunga amadosiye ya gisiviri bitakomokaga kuri Guverinoma y'ubusigire ubwayo, ahantu yabaga ifite icyicaro {i Murambi muri perefegitura ya Gitarama, hanyuma i Muramba muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi[362]} hari hakoraniye abantu n'inzego zizwi n'izitazwi zashoboraga kubifata no

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[361] *« Icyemezo cyose cyagombaga gufatwa ku bwumvikane bwa bose, naho ubundi ni nyiracyo wacyirengeraga. Bityo, hakurikijwe amategeko ngengamikorere ya Guverinoma, ibyemezo byafatiwe mu nama y'abaminisitiri byagombaga gufatirwa inyandikomvugo. Inyandikomvugo kandi zagombaga kwemezwa ku mugaragaro mu nama y'abaminisitiri, naho inkuro zabyo zikandikwa muri raporo yasinywaga na buri minisitiri » (ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri guverinoma y'ubusigire udashobora kuvugwa amazina, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare, 2005).*

[362] *Mu by'ukuri, abaminisitiri bumvaga nta mutekano bafite kuri paruwasi Muramba. Uretse Yohani Kambanda na Pawurina Nyiramasuhuko bari bahacumbitse, bahazaga ku wa gatanu gusa, ku munsi w'inama y'abaminisitiri.*

kubyiyandika ho. Ni muri icyo kibariro abanyaporitiki bakomeye bo mu gipande cya perezida n'abo mu mashyaka bari bafatanyije bitangaga kugira ngo bakomeze imisingi yabo muri poritiki. Bityo, buri wese mu bahataniraga umwanya wo ku isonga b'ingenzi – Matayo Ngirumpatse, Yozefu Nzirorera, Agusitini Ngirabatware, Kazimiri Bizimungu, Eduwaridi Karemera na Donati Murego – yaharaniraga kuzigama no kongera amahirwe ye yo mu gihe kizaza. Matayo Ngirumpatse yagiye gutura i Murambi hamwe n'umuryango we guhera ku itariki ya 12 Mata, kimwe n'abandi bose bagize guverinoma y'ubusigire. Yahawe umwanya wo kuba umushingwabutumwa wa perezida mu by'Ububanyi n'amahanga, igihe Inama ya guverinoma yateranaga ku itariki ya 19 Gicurasi 1994. Uwo mwanya w'igiciririkanyo wari uturutse ku kibariro cy'icyo gihe :

> « Yego Matayo yari akiri perezida wa Muvoma, ariko yari ahagaze nabi mu rwego rw'irengamutima ku birebana n'isimbura : yafatwaga nk'umuntu wishe se kubera ko yari yashatse guteganya ko Yuvenari Habyarimana ashobora kuva ku butegetsi. Yagiye mu ngendo igihe cyose byashobokaga, yafashe umwanya wo kuba umujyanama wa perezida kugira ngo yikingire –kuko yari afite ubwoba -, kugira ngo abe ahategerereje kandi ari n'ahantu ashobora kwitegereza neza ibintu byose. Ibyo ari byo byose, icyo gihe ntiyari afite abamurwanira ishyaka ngo bamwamamaze. « Kwihoma » kuri Sindikubwabo, guteganyiriza uburambe bwe no kugorora aho yari yatsikiye byamushyiraga mu mwanya utagira uko usa.

Abandi baminisitiri bari bacumbitse ku Gisenyi, aho abenshi muri bo bari bameze nk'abatuye muri hoteri Méridien Izuba : « Ni uko hoteri Méridien yari yabaye aho abantu bose bahurira ku Gisenyi…hari igihe, yari ihuriro n'imirimo yose ya guverinoma n'iy'Inteko, nb., yemwe n'inama. Uzi ko igihe kimwe, nigeze gutorerwa umwanya wa perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko. Hari inama nahayoboreye. […] Ariko nari ndi muri hoteri Méridien kuko, buri munsi, hari imirimo twahakoreraga, kandi hari inama nagiriye… muri hoteri Méridien. Maze gutorerwa kuba perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko, naharemesherezaga inama z'abadepite. Ahongaho nari mpafite n'ibiro » (ubuhamya bwa Yozefu NZIRORERA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 12 Kamena 2006, p. 24).

> Matayo Ngirumpatse, nk'umujyanama wa perezida Sindikubwabo, iryo hita mo ryari ryakoranywe ubwenge cyane. Ari kumwe na Tewodori Sindikubwabo, yumvaga ari umuhuza y'abantu bo mu majyepfo n'abo mu majyaruguru nka Murego *nawe wari mu bahihibikanira gusimbura perezida.* Yari yagiye kunganira perezida ari ukugira ngo ahugirize Nzirorera wari ku isonga ry'abamaranira gusimbura perezida[363]. »

Nguko uko Matayo Ngirumpatse yinjiraga mu bikorwa bya diporomasi, yuzuriza cyangwa se abangikanye n'urusobe rw'amacuti Agata Kanziga yari kwitabaza kuva yavanwa i Kigali ku itariki ya 9 Mata akajyanwa i Paris (*Reba umutwe ukurikira*). Muri icyo gihe kandi yari yarakomeje kwegera abarwanashyaka ba Muvoma bari bamushyigikiye (abayoboke bo mu majyepfo n'igipande cy'*Interahamwe*). Icyari gishishikaje cyane agatsiko k'abo mu majyaruguru, ni ugufata igihe cyo gutambutsa Yozefu Nzirorera. Uyunguyu yakubitirizaga nk'urubori rukaze mu nkubo zose za poritiki, za gisirikari, z'imitwe y'urubyiruko, yishingikirije y'uko yari umunyamabanga nshingwabikorwa wa Muvoma. Yari yasubiranye iby'ingenzi mu burenganzira n'ububasha yari afite mu gihe Muvoma yari ikiri ishyaka rukumbi, akaba ndetse yari mo guteganya inteko rusange yagenewe ibyo gusa kugira ngo imwimike. « Nzirorera yari umugenerwamurage wemewe kandi n'umuvuganizi wari uhagarariye inyungu z'abo muri komini Karago – Giciye – Mukingo – Nkuri, ariko yagombaga gukina iturufu y'ubuturanyi ahibereye ubwe, yagombaga kwemarara akagumana igitinyiro, kandi ntiyashoboraga kwishora ubwe kandi ku buryo butaziguye mu mikino ya poritiki. Yari afite ibiro bya « kabiri » ku Gisenyi aho yabaga ari kumwe n'abambari b'Akazu, nuko agasigira Bagosora, Ngirabatware, Semanza, nb. ibyo gucunga inyungu z' « umuryango » bari i Murambi. Bagosora yasiragiraga yo rimwe na rimwe aturutse i Kigali, Ngirabatware yahabaga kurenza uko yabyifuzaga, Semanza yari atuye i Murambi ariko

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[363] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma wo mu rwego rwo hejuru, ibyo nifatiye ubwanjye, 7 Mutarama 2006.*

akajya i Kigali kenshi, nk'intumwa ifite amababa…Yavunwaga n'imyitwarire y'ikirumirahabiri. Ku ruhande rumwe, yagombaga kugumana ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma mu majyaruguru afatanyije n'insoresore n'abasirikari barubiriye abo mu majyepfo, ku rundi ruhande, yagombaga kuronka nibura indengo nto ishoboka y'icyizere muri perefegitura zo hagati no mu majyepfo[364]. » Umukandida wa gatatu (wari utaritwikurura) yari Agusitini Ngirabatware « wari ufite umwanya wo hagati, yari afite ukuntu na we yemewe kubera ubusano yari afitanyen'umuryango wa perezida, kubera inkunga ya Ferisiyani Kabuga n'iya Agusitini Bizimana. Ubumwe bwe n'umuryango w'i Byumba bwamushyiraga mu buhanuzi bwadukanywe n'umugore wo mu Mayaga muri za 80 bwavugaga ko umugenerwamurage azaturuka muri iyo perefegitura {we bikamwototera kubera amasano y'imiryango}[365]. »

Incamake ya 13

Inyandiko ica igikuba Eduwaridi Karemera yagejeje ku baturage ahagana ku itariki ya 12 Mata (a) : «Abayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki MRND, MDR, PSD, na PL baratabariza uRwanda »

Banyarwandakazi, Banyarwanda, mwese abanyagihugu b'uRwanda, Nimushikame, murwane kuri Repuburika na Demokarasi mwahawe na « revorisiyo ya rubanda » yo mu wa 1959 ; *Inkotanyi* zirashaka gusibanganya burundu ibyo mwageze ho, zikabasubiza mu bucakara. Mwebwe, bayobozi b'amakomini n'ab'amashyaka ya poritiki, mwebwe bajyanama ba komini n'abagize komite za serire, nimugire umwete, mukoreshe inama, muburire abaturage, mubamenyeshe ko bugarijwe n'amakuba akomeye.

[364] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma wo mu rwego rwo hejuru, ibyo nifatiye ubwanjye, 7 Mutarama 2006.*

[365] *Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma wo mu rwego rwo hejuru, ibyo nifatiye ubwanjye, 7 Mutarama 2006.*

Banyarwandakazi, Banyarwanda, nimufashe hasi amacakubiri, nimwunge imbaraga zanyu kugira ngo mushobore guhangana n'abuzukuru b'Abarunari, biyemeje kongera kubatsikamiza ubucakara. Mu maserire yabo, abaturage basabwe guhita basuzuma inzira n'uburyo bwose, bagatunganya amarondo neza bagashinga na bariyeri, kugira ngo bazibire umwanzi amayira. Aho abaturage bahura n'ingorane, babimenyeshe Ingabo z'igihugu.

Mugire amahoro.

(a). Amaherezo, iri tangazo ntiryanyanyagijwe mu bantu (Reba umwandiko w'umwimereri mu mugereka 74).

Nyamara ihubuka rye ryamukoresheje ikosa rikomeye ryamutesheje icyizere mu basirikari batari bake nubwo byamaze akanya gato, ubwo yashyigikiraga ko Agusitini Bizimungu, uvuka i Byumba, agirwa umukuru wa etamajoro (*Reba umutwe wa 12*). Kuba yaragumanye umwanya wa minisitiri w'Igenamigambi byatumaga arebera kandi akavugira abo kwa perezida muri guverinoma y'ubusigire, agashobora no kwigaragaza na we nk'umukandida utegereje, mu gihe yari agishakisha za ambasade zimushyigikira. Muri ubwo buryo, yarushaga amaturufu undi « ambasaderi » wari ufite irari, Kazimiri Bizimungu. Kubera ko Kazimiri Bizimungu yari yigungiye muri minisiteri y'Ubuzima ikibariro cy'icyo gihe nticyatumye abona urubuga rwa poritiki rwo kwigaragaza na we. Eduwaridi Karemera, utari ufite izindi nshingano uretse iyo kuba mu buyobozi bwa Muvoma, ariko akaba yari yemewe cyane muri perefegitura avuka mo, yabaye nk'icumu ricanye muri poritiki ya guverinoma y'ubusigire, ndetse akaziba kenshi icyuho cy'umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu utari uhari.

Dore urugero : Eduwaridi Karemera, abyumvikanye ho na minisitiri w'Ingabo, Agusitini Bizimana, yibwirije kwandikisha mu Icapiro rya gisirikari inyandiko-mpuruza yahamagariraga abaturage bose kugaragaza « ishyaka » mu kurengera « Repuburika na Demokarasi » bahangana n' «abuzukuru ba Lunari (UNAR)[366], ibyo akaba ari

[366] *Abashyirahamwe b'uRwanda (ishyaka ryari rishyigikiye umwami mu gihe cyo kubona ubwigenge).*

ibimenyetso bikomeye [mu mateka y'igihugu]. Iyo nyandiko-mpuruza yagombaga kunyanyagizwa hose hifashishijwe za kajugujugu.

Kubera ko icyo gihe urugamba rwari rwikubiye i Kigali no mu Mutara (*Reba Incamake ya ya 14*), abanzi bahigwaga bari Abatutsi, ku buryo budashidikanywa. Mariseri Gatsinzi, umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, yatangajwe no kubona iyo nyandiko-mpuruza yacapwe[atabizi], n'ubwo yari umukuru wa etamajoro. Yashakishije umwimereri wayo, nuko ashobora gukurikirana amateka yayo :

> Ku byerekeye inyandiko-mpuruza izwi cyane ya Karemera na Bizimana, ni byo koko. Batabimenyesheje, bari bahaye uwategekaga Icapiro rya gisirikari, ajida-shefu [Biyingoma], umwandiko wo gucapa ku rupapuro rukomeye. Ubwo ni hagati y'itariki ya 10 n'iya 15 Mata 1994. Nabimenye bingwiririye, ubwo uwo ajida-shefu yaje kubura impapuro zikomeye, nuko akaza kumbaza uko babona izindi, yibwira ko ndi mu mugambi w'iyo gahunda ya Muvoma. Nabujije ko bakomeza gucapa uwo mwandiko, no kuwusubiza abo bagabo. Byabaye mahire kuko byubahirijwe. Maze kwinjizwaga mu Ngabo za FPR (APR) mu wa 1995, nasanze muri iryo capiro ikirundo kitagira uko kingana cya kopi z'iyo mpuruza zikiri nshya, kandi zimwe zipfunyitse. […] Yahamagariraga abaturage gushinga za bariyeri hose kugira ngo bafungire amayira *Inkotanyi*, abana b'inyenzi bari bagarutse kubashyira mu bucakara. Kubera ko nibutse ko, nkiri mu mashuri abanza, inyandiko nk'izo zari zanyanyagijwe na kajugujugu cyangwa utudege duto twahawe akazina ka « *gasurantambara* », ku misozi hose mu wa 1959- 1960 ndetse no mu murwa mukuru nari ndi mo. Ubwo rero nahise nibwira nti « Sinshobora kwemera ko ibyo byongera kuba ho, kandi ngo binaturuke muri etamajoro nari nshinzwe icyo gihe. Sinshidikanya ko byabaye imwe mu mpamvu zatumye bamvana kuri uwo mwanya, ntibemeza n'uko ndi umukuru wa etamajoro. Bansimbuje Umukoroneri utari umaranye igihe iryo peti, agashobora no kuba

igikoresho cya Muvoma n'icya guverinoma y'ubusigire[367]. »

Kubera ko Mariseri Gatsinzi yari yabujije ko iyo nyandiko itangazwa, Eduwaridi Karemera yategereje y'uko abanza kuvanwa ku mwanya we kugira ngo asubukure icyo gikorwa abyemerewe na guverinoma :

> « Ku buryo rusange, intumwa zifite impungenge zo kubona igikorwa cyo gutunganya uko abasiviri bakwirwana ho gisa n'aho kidashishikaje cyane guverinoma, kandi ari yo turufu ya nyuma yo kuzitira umwanzi.[…] Kugira ngo imitwe y'abantu itegurwe, itangazo ry'amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD, PD na PL rigomba kunyanyagizwa muri perefegitura zose ku bwinshi, kandi ku buryo bwihuta bushoboka.[368] »

Uru rugero ruragaragaza cyane ko visiperezida wa mbere wa Muvoma na minisitiri w'Ingabo wo muri Muvoma hari ibikorwa bibwirizaga, ko batangaga amabwiriza, batangaga ibikoresho bikenewe, bumvirwaga batagombye kubahiriza amabwiriza ya guverinoma, y'umukuru wa etamajoro cyangwa se y'ibindi biro bya Muvoma, urebye ko akenshi perezida wayo yabaga yibereye mu ngendo. Mu gihe ryari ryiteguye kujya mbere kandi ryiziritse ku mabwiriza y'abavugizi baryo bafite ijambo, Ishyaka – Leta Muvoma rimaze gufata indi sura[369], ryabaga rizi hakiri kare ko amashyaka na guverinoma « bazemera » ibyo ryateganyije. « Ku bireba guverinoma, yari ifite umutware w'icyubahiro : perezida wa Repuburika, Tewodori Sindikubwabo. Yari ifite umutware w'icyitiriro, ari we njye, minisitiri w'Intebe. Ku cyemezo cyose kijyanye na porotokori cyangwa se isezerano rigenewe rubanda, baranyitabazaga. Umuyobozi wa guverinoma

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[367] Mariseri GATSINZI, minisitiri w'Ingabo, ibaruwa yanyandikiye ku ya 20 Ukwakira 2005.

[368] Eduwaridi Karemera, raporo y'ubutumwa yakoreye ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri ku wa 18 na 19 Mata 1994. (Reba umugereka wa 25).

[369] *Iki gisobanuro ni ingirakamaro kugira ngo hatagira uwitiranya « MRND yo ku wa 5 Mata n'iyo ku ya 10 Mata. Hagati y'ayo matariki, hari abatagihari, abishwe n'abari mu bwihisho » (uhubamya bw'umuyobozi wo mu rwego rwo hejuru wa Muvoma, ibyo niyandikiye, 7 Mutarama 2006).*

nyawe yari Bizimana Agusitini, minisitiri w'Ingabo. Avuye mu butumwa muri Gabon cyangwa Togo [mu by'ukuri ni muri Kameruni, ku itariki ya 10 Mata], ni bwo nabonye ko ari we mutware. Abo mu ikipi bose twari kumwe barambwiye ngo ubwo agarutse ibintu bigiye kujya mu buryo. Nasanze ari umuntu uzi gushyira ibintu ku runyiriri, wari ufite impano yo kubwira imbaga mu ruhame. Yari afite n'ubushobozi bwo kugonda abasirikari barushaga abandi gukomera bakamwumvira.

Nabonye ko igaruka rye ryahuriranye n'inyenyemba rya Bagosora. Ku giti cyanjye nari mfitanye na we umubano wihariye kuko twari tuziraniye mu kazi, igihe yari perezida w'Inama y'Ubutegetsi ya Banki z'Abaturage. Ni we wangejeje ku basirikari ananyerekana mu baminisitiri ba Muvoma[370]. » Iki cyitegerezo cya Yohani Kambanda, watangajwe n'ukuntu Agusitini Bizimana yari afite igitinyiro mu gisirikari kigomba ibisobanuro bike. Ni byo koko, umwanya uwo muminisitiri w'Ingabo yari afite muri Poritiki wari wihariye. Ku ruhande rumwe, yari ashyigikiwe na Porotazi Zigiranyirazo n'umuryango wa perezida, kuko yari mu mwanya w'indemyacyemezo mu ngamba zo kwamamaza Yozefu Nzirorera. Ikindi, ni uko nk'Umunyabyumba yari afite akarusho ko mu rwego rwa poritiki ko kutitwaza iby'uturere nk'Abanyagisenyi n'Abanyaruhengeri. Ku rundi ruhande, kubera ko umupango wa gisirikari Bagosora yashyiraga imbere wari wabaye karahanyuze, insimburantego ya gisiviri yasabaga gusubiza ho urubariro rwa koma hagati y'inkingi eshatu zashoboraga kurokora ubutegetsi icyo gihe: Ingabo, ishyaka rya MRND n'imitwe y'urubyiruko. Byari ngombwa gusubiza mu murongo urwego rwa gisirikari, cyane cyane Ubuyobozi bwarwo bukuru bwari bwazonzwe n'amacakubiri bukirema mo impande zishyamiranye, no gukaza ububasha bw'ishyaka ku mitwe y'urubyiruko. Bityo, akigaruka i Kigali, Bizimana ubwe yakiriye mu biro bye muri minisiteri y'Ingabo Rubereti Kajuga, perezida w'*Interahamwe*, igikorwa cyateye icyoniki abasirikari bakuru bari bahari, kubera ko mu tugari twa Kigali, *Interahamwe* zari zihangishije ho gushyira ho amategeko yazo, zikayaha ndetse n'abasirikari. Nyamara ibyo ntibyari byatumye Agusitini Bizimana ahinduka umunyaporitiki w'ingenzi cyangwa

[370] *Ibazwa rya Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-16, 26 Nzeri 1997.*

se umuntu ufata ibyemezo biremereye. Yashoboraga kwanga amabwiriza ya Tewonesiti Bagosora kubera gusa ko yari ashyigikiwe n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bifuzaga ko itsindwa rya Bagosora ryibagirana bwangu, hanyuma bakamwumvisha yuko yakwisubira, nk'uko ku itariki ya 16 Mata, yari yagerageje gusaba ko yasubizwa mu gisirikari. Ibyo ntibivuga kandi ko Bagosora yari yashyizwe ku ruhande, ahubwo ntiyari agifite umwanya w'ibanze mu igenerwamirimo rishya. Icyo Agusitini Bizimana yakoraga ni ukuvuga gusa ibyoagatsiko ko mu Kazu kifuzaga. « Koko rero, abagize Akazu babonaga ko batareshya : hari ho "abari mu kazu imbere", hakaba n'"abari mu mbuga gusa ». Ayo magambo ubwayo ni yo Bagosora yakoresheje, mu Kuboza 1992, ansobanurira umwanya yari afite mu Kazu. Ngo umwanya we wari mu mbuga[371]. »

Eduwaridi Karemera, utari warongeye kuba minisitiri kuva kuri guverinoma yo muri Gicurasi 1987, yasanze ari ngombwa kujya mu mukumbi ugize guverinoma binyuze mu nzira ziboneye mu mpera za Gicurasi, mu gihe byabonekaga ko Ingabo ziri mo kugenda zitsindwa urugamba, kandi ibyo gushishikariza jenoside byari mo kugabanya umurego muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo zari ziganje mo « ibyitso ». Basanze ari we wari ushoboye kandi yiyemeje kongera kwigarurira ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, gahunda yo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage, n'isubukura ry'itsembatsemba. Icya nyuma, ni uko na none mu bari barekereje imyanya yo ku isonga, hari mo na Donati Murego. N'ubwo atari muri guverinoma y'ubusigire, ni we wari ufite bya nyakuri ishyaka MDR mu maboko ye, akagenda ahanjura inkunga yashakaga yerekana ko rifite ibirindiro bishya « mu gihugu cyose » (Ruhengeri, Kigali, Kibuye, Butare). Yagenderaga ku bushogoshe burambye bw'ishyaka PSD ryari risigaranye abayobozi ba nyamujyiyobijya, kugira ngo yikubire umwanya wose w'amashyaka yahoze atavuga rumwe na Muvoma.

Guhindura isura mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikari byatewe n'iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, mu cyuka kirangwa mo ubushake bwo kwihorera n'ingamba zo gushyira mu gaciro mu gihe bagihanganye n'umwanzi bahuje, byateguwe mu buryo bwihuse cyane, bishyirwa mu bikorwa mu buryo buri mo urugomo, noneho bigenda

[371] *Ubuhamya bwa Baritazari NDENGEYINKA, ikiganiro twagiranye kuri terefone, 30 Nzeri 2008*.

binonosorwa kandi bigenza amakuru make uko iminsi yakurikiranaga. N'ubwo hari ibintu byinshi byihutirwa n'ibidashobora kugerwa ho, n'ubwo mu rwego rw'imikorere hari mo ibyo gufatira ho, nta rindimuka ryigeze riboneka mu nzego zafatirwaga mo ibyemezo birebana n'ingamba. N'ubwo habaye ho itungurwa ry'akanya gato, abari mu gatsiko ka perezida n'itsinda ry'abasirikari n'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyaruguru bagaragaje ubwiyemeze bukomeye, n'abatware babo bakorana ibintu urunyiriri kugira ngo basubirane ububasha bwabo mu ruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi.

Ubufatanye bwabo bwari bushingiye ku ntego eshatu zo mu rwego rwa poritiki ariko z'igihe kigufi : gukomeza uburambe bwabo muri poritiki no kwikiza abapiganwa na bo, gusana « ubumwe bw'igihugu » kugira ngo bashobore guhangana na FPR/Inkotanyi, kwigiza yo igihe cyo gutoranya abararikiye umwanya wo gusimbura [perezida]. Ukuntu ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba byatangiye birerekana neza ibintu bibiri : icya mbere ni uko « abashinzwe ibyo bikorwa » bari bariteguye (ihora n'umujinya w'umuranduranzuzi by'Umutwe urinda perezida byari uburyo busanzwe bwo kugaragaza ubwo bumwe nyuma y'uko umutware wabo yicwa[372], icya kabiri ni uko gahunda ishishikariza abantu kwibasira Abatutsi yari yaracengeye mu *Nterahamwe* z'i Kigali no muri perefegitura zigenzurwa mu bya poritiki n'abantu « batabonda » bo muri Muvoma (Gisenyi na Ruhengeri). Ubufatanye bunoze bwabaye vuba cyane hagati y'abakuru ba gisirikari bo mu majyaruguru, abayobozi ba Muvoma n'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* ku migambi yo kwihimura no kuramba muri poritiki, bwerekana neza ko, muri icyo gihe gikomeye, igabana ry'imirimo ryari ryararangiye kandi ko n'umurongo bagendera ho wari uzwi.

Ibyo gushyira mu bikorwa amategeko yo gutsembatsemba yatangiwe i Kigali ku itariki ya 7 Mata n'abayobozi bishyize ho kandi banyuranye ntibyigeze biruhanya kubigeza ku « bantu bunganira » bari biteguye cyangwa basabwe kubigira mo uruhare mu tugari tw'umujyi, no muri perefegitura na komini zimwe z'imbere mu gihugu. Icyari

[372] *Ni ngombwa kwibuka ko inzu y'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) yari icumbikiwe mo FPR/Inkotanyi yari itandukanyijwe n'Ikigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida na metero magana angahe gusa, kandi ko iryo yegerana ryashyushyaga imitwe buri munsi, iyo bamwe bajyaga ahantu bagahura n'abandi. Buri gihe rwashoboraga kwambikana.*

gisigaye cyari ugushyira ho poritiki isobanuye neza n'abantu bo kuyishyira mu bikorwa.

Kuva ku ihora kugera kuri jenoside

« *Ingoma itica ntihore ni igicuma*»[373] [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri]. Uyu mugani urasobanura neza mu magambo ahinnye ingenantekerezo zakurikijwe nyuma y'iyicwa ry' « umubyeyi w'igihugu », ingenantekerezo zari zikubiye mo ingamba zo kwihorera zakwirakwizwaga n'abazishyigikiye, n'amayeri y'ihiganwa rigaragara ryari ryatewe n'isimburana ritateguwe. Abasiviri n'abasirikari bafatanye urunana, agapande k'abashyigikiye perezida kari gakarishye cyane – ari na ko kari gafite ibyo gahomba-

kerekanye ku buryo butajegajega ko ubutegetsi butari mo icyuho, kandi ko butari bworoshye nk'igicuma. Ku buryo bubangikanye no gushakisha umupango wakubahiriza amategeko yo gusubiza ishyaka rya MRND ububasha bwaryo nk'Ishyaka- Leta, abayobozi baryo baboneye kuri icyo kibariro kidasanzwe maze bikiza buheri heri abanzi batavuga rumwe na bo abahezanguni bo mu majyaruguru bari barashatse kwica kuva kera, nuko bibuka ingamba zo mu ntambara y'amagomerane zari zaramenyerewe mu myaka ya 1960, maze bakorera Abatutsi itsembatsemba ritagira irindi rigereranywa. Ikintu kimwe cyari ukwihanganira cyangwa se gushoza urugomo nk'uko bigenda igihe cyose umujyi waguye mu rugote. Ibyo bisobanuye neza mu magambo akurikira :

> « Icyo nzi cyo, ni uko Zigiranyirazo Porotazi yinjiye muri Gisenyi ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994. Ubwo nashoboye guhura na we, yari yabishe, nk'uko natwe twari tumeze. Mu kiganiro twagiranye, namumenyesheje uko ibintu byari byifashe mu karere, kandi ko *Interahamwe* zari mo kugakora muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi yose. Ubwo yaransubije ngo ni ikintu cyiza, ariko ambwira ko amarorerwa yari yibasiye umuryango we yari akabije. Yongeye ho ko i Kigali abasirikari

[373] *Mu kinyarwanda ijambo ingoma rifite inyito ebyiri, ingoma ivuzwa, ubundi rikavuga ubutegetsi. Ingoma ishushanya ubutegetsi ; igicuma cyavuye mo amashywa kimeneka ubusa iyo hari ikigikomye ho.*

> n'*Interahamwe* bari bakomeje guhora urupfu rwa perezida wacu twakundaga. Zigiranyirazo Porotazi yakomeje ambwira ati " Abantu perezida yafashije akabagirira neza ni bo bamwishe." Yakomeje avuga ko Sagatwa Eli na Habyarimana bari abantu beza, kandi ko Abanyarwanda bagombaga guhorera muramu we na mwene se Sagatwa. Nabonaga agihungabanyijwe n'ibyabaye[374]».

Ikindi kintu cyari ukwata undi murari imbere mu gihugu, ubangikanye n'ibikangisho bya gisirikari by'ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi, ukaba ugamije kurimbura abakekwaga ho bose kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Ntibyari bikiri ibyo gukinga cyangwa gusubiza, yari « poritiki yo ku mugaragaro » yo gutsemba Abatutsi yashyizwe ho na Leta y'uRwanda yafashe iyindi sura. Uyu mwanzuro ntiwari urwandiko cyangwa se ikintu cyateganyijwe, wari ikiguzi abayobozi ba Muvoma bemereye Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora bamuriha ko yavuye mu ruhando kandi bamwizeza kutazakurikiranwa. Iryo ni isesengura rya Majoro Agusitini Cyiza wari juji perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisirikari muri cyo gihe[375] akaba yarakoze ibyo yashoboraga byose kugira ngo amenye ibyo Koroneri Bagosora yakoze muri iyo minsi ibiri. Ibisobanuro bye bishingiye ku itsindwa n'iyangirwa byazitiye Tewonesiti Bagosora mu bikorwa binyuranye yagerageje : amaze kunanirwa kubahiriza ibyifuzo by'umuryango wa perezida byo gushyira ho guverinoma ya gisirikari yo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR/Inkotanyi no kubungabunga inyungu zawo, amaze kubona ingamba ze zamaganwe n'abadiporomate Booh – Booh na Dallaire, ubwigunge bwe bwari bwagaragaye, kandi bwagize ingaruka ziremereye mu gihe cy'inama y'abakuru b'imitwe y'Ingabo n'abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano mu gitondo cyo ku ya 7 Mata :

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[374] Ubuhamya *bw'umunyaporitiki wo mu rwego rwo hejuru udashobora kuvugwa amazina, TPIR, 9 – 13 Nzeri 2004.*

[375] Urwo rukiko ntirwigeze ruhabwa uburyo bwo gukora ; ibyo byatumye [Cyiza] abona igihe gihagije cyo kwikorera ibye nta nkomyi. Nk'umuharanizi w'uburenganzira bwa muntu, yari afite byinshi bimuhuza n'abantu ndetse akagira n'uruhare mu guhuza no gukemura amakimbirane.

« Kuba Nkundiye yaramwihakanye ku mugaragaro na Ntabakuze[376] akanga kwifatanya na Bagosora mu kagambane ke byatumye abandi basirikari bakuru bamurwanya. Mu by'ukuri, Bagosora yari yigungiye i Kanombe hamwe n'abari bamushyigikiye, ni ukuvuga abasirikari bamwe bo muri batayo y' « Abakodo » n'abo mu Mutwe urinda perezida. Ariko uyu Mutwe ntiwari ushyigikiye Bagosora, wubahirizaga, utagombye kubibwirizwa, inshingano zawo : kurokora ingoma no kuyugiriza abatavuga rumwe na yo. Na ho batayo y' « Abakodo » ya Ntabakuze, yari yarashegeshwe cyane n'intambara, cyane cyane mu wa 1990 mu gitero cya mbere cya FPR/Inkotanyi, kandi Ntabakuze yari azi neza ko intambara iramutse yubuye, bari kuyitsindwa. Nyamara, yari yiteguye kwishyuza « abagambanyi » bose b'imbere mu gihugu urupfu rwa perezida. Kompanyi nyinshi mu zo yategekaga zari zishyigikiye itsembatsemba. Mu by'ukuri, icyo baje kwita jenoside nyuma cyatangiye ku ya 8 Mata igihe Semanza[377] na Karera bahaga intwaro abasiviri kuri perefegitura. Yabaye inkurikizi itaziguye y'iburiramo rya "kudeta Bagosora". Koko rero, impamvu ebyiri ni zo zabaye indemyacyemezo :

- Imbere mu gihugu, Bagosora yashoboraga guhigikwa kubera urupfu rw'abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma. Jenoside yabaye ngombwa kuko ari bwo buryo bwonyine bwashoboraga gushora abantu bose mu itsembatsemba ;
- Inyuma y'igihugu, yashakaga kugurana na FPR/Inkotanyi ubuzima bw'Abatutsi ihagarikwa ry'imirwano. Urugogwe rwari rugiye kumugwira [Bagosora]. Ku

[376] *Ibyo abo basirikari bakuru bavugiraga mu ruhame byabaga byitezwe cyane kubera ko bombi bari bafite abagore bakomotse muri Zayire, bagafatwa cyangwa bagakekwa kuba Abatutsi b'Abanyamulenge.*

[377] *Icyegera cya perezida Habyarimana akaba na burugumesitiri udashyiguka wa Bicumbi, komini yo mu cyaro yarushaga izindi zo mu gihugu cyose ubukungu, uwo muhezanguni kabuhariwe yari perezida wo Komite ya perefegitura ya MRND muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari. Yamamaye cyane ku kazina k'« inkandagirabitabo » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri] kubera iterabwoba n'urugomo yagiriraga abantu bose bo muri komini ye bari baranze kujya muri Muvoma.*

ruhande rumwe, Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yashakaga guhagarika ubwigomeke mu gisirkari n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abari ku isonga y'abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ni ukuvuga, kugumisha mu kigo cyawo ku Kimihurura Umutwe urinda perezida wari watangiye guhangana na FPR/Inkotanyi muri Kigali, no gusaba ku buryo bwihutirwa imishyikirano na FPR/ Inkotanyi bitabaje inkunga yaJenerari Dallaire na za ambasade. Ku rundi ruhande, yashakaga kubuza ko « ubumwe bw'Abahutu » bumubera igihombo, abanyaporitiki bo mu majyaruguru biyunze n'abo mu majyepfo bari bashyigikiye imishyikirano. Ku bantu bo mu majyepfo, gusana « ubumwe bw'igihugu » byasabaga byanze bikunze ko Bagosora abazwa iby'urupfu rw'ababo yatikije. Ni yo mpamvu byari ngombwa ko ashyira ho byihutirwa guverinoma y'abasiviri b'abahezanguni yirengera poritiki ye kandi igakomeza guhembera ubushake bwo kwihorera bw'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru. Muri ibyo bigonzi, abayobozi ba Muvoma baramushyigikiye kuko yabahaga ubutegetsi kandi ubwabo bakaba bari guhombera byinshi mu gisubizo cya poritiki gishakiwe mu mishyikirano. Mu gihe Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba yari yanze gahunda ye, Bagosora yahamagaye abasirikari bari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akoranya imitwe y'urubyiruko, asubiza ho ingamba zo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage. Ku itariki ya 8 Mata, *Interahamwe* ni bwo zahawe intwaro bwa mbere. Cyari ikirundo cy'intwaro nshya zitari zizwi n'Ingabo z'igihugu, zikaba zari zibitse mu cyumba cy'ikuzimu cya perefegitura. Imiterere y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage yari igamije gusubiza mu murongo imitwe yose y'urubyiruko no kuyiha imbunda, kugeza no ku mitwe y'urubyiruko itari iya MRND cyangwa CDR[378]. […]Imaze gutangizwa, jenoside yarihembereye ubwayo. Abari kuyikora bari bashyizwe mu myanya[379]. »

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[378] *Ubuhamya bwinshi buhuriza kuri iki cy'uko intwaro nshya (Kalachnikov na Uzi) zahawe imitwe y'urubyiruko ku itariki ya 8 Mata mu nzu ya perefegitura ya Kigali zari zibitse mo, zari zaraturutse i Kanombe aho Tewonesiti Bagosora yari afite abamushyigikiye cyane. Mbere yo kujyanwa muri minisiteri y'Ingabo, yari yarategetse ikigo cyitiriwe « Koroneri Mayuya ». Ubwo buyobozi bw'icyubahiro cyane cyane bwari ubwo kugenzura imicungire y'ubutegetsi mu kigo cyose cya Kanombe. Icyo kigo cyari kiri mo batayo y' « Abakodo » ya Aroyizi Ntabakuze, batayo y' « Abanyamizinga », batayo y' «Abahanura indege », ibitaro bya gisirikari, amacumbi y'abasirikare n'indi Mitwe yindi.*

[379] *Ikiganiro na Majoro Agusitini CYIZA, ibyo niyandikiye, 11 Mutarama 2001.*

Ubwumvikane hagati y'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikari bw'imbangikane bwari mu maboko y'abasirikari bakuru b'abahezanguni, n'agatsiko k'abakandida ba Muvoma bwagenze neza cyane n'ubwo abari baburi inyuma batabonekaga ku ruhembe rw'imbere rw'umupango wari wagaragajwe, ahubwo bakaba barakoreraga mu bandi bantu. Izo mpande zombi zari zikeneye indi minsi mike kugira ngo zinonosore bwa nyuma amakipi yari mu myanya y'imbere. Tewonesiti Bagosora yagombye gutegereza kugeza mu kwezi kwa Mata hagati kugira ngo ayugirize burundu abasirikari bakuru bari bakomeye ku mategeko bakaba barigomekaga kuri Guverinoma y'ubusigire, kugira ngo ahe etamajoro indi sura kandi akwirakwize itsembatsemba rusange. Ni ubwo buyobozi bwa gisirikari bw'imbangikane bwakoranyaga bukanatanga inkunga y'abasirikari bakenewe kugira ngo bakorane ubwicanyi n'imitwe y'urubyiruko kandi bakwirakwize za bariyeri. Hanyuma abasirikari bakuru n'abasuzofisiyeni bo bagenzuraga ko ibyo byose byakozwe uko byagenwe.

> « Ku byerekeye ukwirwaho kw'abaturage, biraruhije kumenya uwagenzuraga iyo gahunda mu rwego rw'igihugu, kuko ku ruhande rumwe, inzego zashoboraga kugira imitambiko myinshi cyane, ku rundi ruhande ugasanga ibipande byo mu ntango n'ibanze bidashobora gukorana hagati yabyo byanze bikunze. Nyamara ariko, nshobora kugerageza kumenya umuntu wari wishingiye mbere na mbere buri gipande[380]. »

Itonde ry'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa perefegitura ryakozwe na Tewonesiti Bagosora[381] na Agusitini Bizimana babyemeranyijwe ho n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, ahanini ryari riri ho abantu, muri perefegitura nyinshi, bari bibwirije guhera ku itariki ya

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[380] *Ibazwa rya Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2- T7- 16, 26 Nzeri 1997.*

[381] *Tewonesiti Bagosora yarasisibiranyaga ngo asubize mu Mitwe y'Ingabo abasirikari bakuru bari barashyizwe mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru n'uwahoze ari minisitiri w'Ingabo, Gemusi Gasana, yihereye ho ubwe.*

7 Mata, gucunga ibikorwa bijyanye no guhiga « umwanzi ». Iryo tonde ryaje kwemezwa na Guverinoma y'ubusigire.

> « Ubuyobozi bwa gahunda yo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage muri perefegitura… Ni guverinoma yabushyize ho, ikoresheje iteka rya minisitiri ryanditse, abasirikari bakuru bamwe batorewe kuyobora gahunda y'ukwirwana ho kw'abaturage, ikurikije inama yagiriwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo, na we wahabwaga amabwiriza n'ishyaka rye, MRND. Iryo shyaka kandi ryari rihagarariwe n'abanyaporitiki batatu bafite ijambo cyane bari bakurikiye guverinoma i Gitarama, bakaba bari muri Komite nyobozi yaryo. Abo ni Matayo Ngirumpatse, Karemera na Nzirorera. Bashyiraga ho cyane cyane abasirikari bakuru biteguraga kuba abadepite cyangwa se bari basanzwe ari abadepite. I Butare ho hari Koroneri Nteziryayo. We ntiyari depite. Yari yarahoze ari umuyobozi w'Igiporisi cya komini muri minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Ku Gikongoro hari Majoro Simba. Uyu yahoze ari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973. Yari depite wa Muvoma ku Gikongoro.
>
> I Cyangugu habaye ikibazo cyo kubona yo umuyobozi nyawe, nuko gahunda yo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage ikurikiranwa na Imanishimwe Samweri, Liyetona wari ubonye iryo peti vuba. Yunganirwaga na perefe Bagambiki wahoze ari umuyobozi wa serivisi z'iperereza, akaba yarigeze no kuba perefe wa Kigali. I Gitarama, hari Majoro Ukurikiyeyezu Yohani- Damaseni wari depite wa Muvoma. Nyuma yaje kugirwa perefe wa Gitarama ahagana mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994. I Kigali nta mukuru wa gisirikari wari wahashyizwe, ariko umuntu yakumva ko ari Koroneri Renzaho, perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali wacungaga ibyo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage, abifashijwe mo na Komanda Bivamvagara Patirisi [Gisenyi], na Komanda Rawurenti Twagirayezu ngo waba warapfiriye i Butare, we akaba yari ashinzwe imyitozo ku buryo bwihariye. Yari umuyoboke ufite ijambo mu ishyaka MDR. Ku Gisenyi nta makuru y'imvaho mpafitiye, ariko ngo abasirikari bakuru batanu ni bo bari bashinzwe gahunda y'ukwirwana ho kw'abaturage. Babiri b'ingenzi muri bo ni : Rawurenti Serubuga, wahoze ari umukuru wa etamajoro

y'Ingabo wungirije, ku bwa perezida Habyarimana, akaba kandi yari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973 ; na Buregeya Banavantura, wari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973, yari yarabaye umujyanama wa perezida, akaba yarigeze no kuyobora Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ; naho Koroneri Nsengiyumva Anatori we yari umukuru w'akarere k'imirwano, akagira uruhare rukomeye mu igemura ry'amasasu no mu korohereza guverinoma kubona inzira isohoka mu gihugu. […] Ku Kibuye hari minisitiri Karemera w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, akaba na visiperezida wa mbere wa Muvoma, Niyitegeka Eriyezeri wari minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, bombi bakaba bashinzwe perefegitura yabo. Habaye ubwicanyi bwinshi muri iyo perefegitura. Karemera yashyizwe ho muri Gicurasi, kuko uwo bari bahaye uwo mwanya, Fawusitini Munyazesa, atigeze yigaragaza. Buri gihe yari kumwe natwe, ni ukuvuga guverinoma, kuko yari umunyagikorwa w'ingenzi mu ishyirwa ho rya guverinoma yacu. […] I Kibungo hari Petero- Seresitini Rwagafirita, Koroneri, akaba yari umukandida wa Muvoma ku mwanya wa depite mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Yigeze kuba minisitiri, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori wungirije ku ngoma ya Habyarimana. Mu Ruhengeri, hari [ntibyumvikana] Abatutsi ku buryo ntigeze menya imiterere ya gahunda y'ukwirwana ho kw'abaturage[382]. Ngibyo rero ibyo nzi ku bayobozi ba gahunda y'ukwirwana ho kw'abaturage[383]. Ngomba kongera ho ko bamwe batashyizwe ho na guverinoma, akaba ari ukubera ko ibintu byahuriranye bakaba bari bahari icyo gihe[384]. »

Ku ruhande rwabo, inyabutatu y'abayobozi ba Muvoma bagombaga kugenzura ko guverinoma y'ubusigire igumya kugira isura imwe. Yego, inshingano buri minisitiri yari yahawe mu gihe cy'irahira zari zisobanutse: no mu byo basabwaga hari mo ibyo

[382] *Ni Liyetona – Koroneri (ER) Bonavantura Ntibitura (Ruhengeri).*

[383] *Koroneri Atanazi Gasake (Ruhengeri) ni we wacungaga gahunda y'ukwirwana ho kw'abaturage mu rwego rw'igihugu, ahabwa amabwiriza ataziguye na minisiteri y'Ingabo.*

«kuyugiriza umuntu wese wari gushaka gukurura imidugararo mu gihugu[385]. » Ariko byari ngombwa gukomeza urunana rw'abarwanashyaka b'impangu ba Muvoma, MDR na PL hamwe n'abari bagifite icyoba kandi batari inararibonye muri poritiki bari batoranyijwe bagashyirwa no mu kazi huti huti. Byari ngombwa cyane cyane gushora mu ntambara igihugu cyose, ni ukuvuga gushishikaza abategetsi b'intara no kwigarurira perefegitura zo mu majyepfo. Nyuma y'ingendo zo gukangura imbaga guverinoma yakoreye muri perefegitura ziseta ibirenge za Gitarama, Gikongoro na Butare ku ya 18 n'iya 19 Mata, umuntu yavuga ko , mu gihugu cyose, abayobozi ba MRND/CDR bafataga ibyemezo bagatanga n'amabwiriza mu ngeri zose z'imirimo, bakigarurira abigeze kutavuga rumwe na bo igihe kimwe, byaba no ngombwa kandi, bagasabota cyangwa bakica abakozi batumvira cyangwa se bajijinganya gusa. Muri perefegitura na komini, umusanzu w'ingenzi w'abayobozi b'ishyaka rya MRND wabaye uwo kwegeranya ibikoresho n'abakozi ba Leta, kuba hafi y'abaturage bakabatoza gushyigikira Ingabo n'imitwe y'urubyiruko kugira ngo « batsinde intambara ». Iyo gahunda yatangajwe ku mugaragaro kandi ishyirwa mu bikorwa ku buryo budakebakeba. Icya ngombwa cyari ukuyemera, kandi intera y'ubwitange bwa buri muntu ni yo yari igipimo basuzumira ho abantu, abategetsi cyangwa abategekwa. Nta byo kumvikana byashoboraga kwihanganirwa na gato, kandi nta muntu wari ubiyobewe. Ku buryo bwihariye, abayobotse cyangwa se abagaruwe mu minsi ya vuba bahoraga biteze kuregwa ubugambanyi n'ababarushaga ubutagondwa.

Imishyikirano idashoboka hagati y'abarwana

Muri ibyo bihe, imishyikirano abategetsi bashya bagiranye na FPR/Inkotanyi yari nk'ikinamico ryabaye ho kubera ibyasabwaga n'abahuza b'abanyamahanga. Iyubura ry'imirwano ryerekanaga neza ko abarwanyi batari bitaye ku masinya bari bashyize ku masezerano ya Arusha yari yagezwe ho biruhanyije. Abahezanguni b'impande zombi bari biyemeje kumvana, n'inshoza yo koroherana bakagira icyo bumvikana ho yari

[384] *Ibazwa rya Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2 –K7-18, 27 Nzeri 1997.*
[385] *Ajenda ya Pawurina NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 9 Mata (Reba umugereka 76).*

itagitekerezwa.

Umuryango mpuzamahanga wonyine ni wo uba warashoboye gukingira cyangwa guhagarika amahano buri wese yari yiteze, kandi ugahatira abarwanyi b'impande zombi ibisubizo bikaze. Biraboneka ko byari gushoboka igihe abasirikari ibihumbi n'ibihumbi b'Ababirigi, Abafaransa n'Abanyamerika basesekaye i Kigali cyangwa i Bujumbura guhera ku itariki ya 9 Mata. Ariko ngo ntibari bazanywe no guhagarika itsembatsemba cyangwa kubungabunga amahoro, cyangwa gutera inkunga Minuar na yo yari yatangiye kugabwa ho ibitero nyuma y'amezi n'amezi ishyirwa mu majwi hatagira urevura cyangwa ukurikiranwa. Koko rero, n'ubwo yari ifite abasirikari 2.500 badafite intwaro zikwiye kandi bagendera kuri manda ibazitira cyane, misiyo ya Loni muRwanda ntiyari ifite ubushobozi bwo guhagarika itsembatsemba. Nyamara ariko, Abasirikari b'abanyamahanga bari i Kigali (Abakodo b'Abafaransa n'Ababirigi bagera ku gihumbi) cyangwa se bari bakambitse hafi aho (hagati y'abasirikari 1.500 na 2. 000) bashoboraga kubigera ho kuko Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'uRwanda bwari bwiteguye kubibafasha mo, kimwe n'imyinshi mu Mitwe y'Ingabo yari yakomeje kubahiriza amategeko.

Twibuke ko mu minsi ya mbere ubwicanyi muri Kigali bwakorwaga n'insoresore zigera ku 2.000 hamwe n'abasirikari b'imikogoto bajya kungana batyo bari batsimbaraye ku gatsiko ka perezida. N'ubwo gutabara bitari kubura mo amakuba bwose, kurinda ahantu Abatutsi n'abataguva rumwe na Muvoma bari bateraniye no kubuza ubwicanyi bw'itetu Minuar yari kubishobora, ifatanyije n'abasirikari baturutse mu mahanga. Ariko, kuva bigitangira, itsembatsemba ryafashwe nk'aho rijyanye n'intambara, iyingiyi ikaba itari muri manda za Minuar, ntibe yishingiwe n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga wari watanze ibisubizo byo mu rwego rwa poritiki bitumvikanwaga ho na buke… Indorerezi nyishi z'abasiviri n'abasirikari zabonye ko igitekerezo cyo kwanga guhagarara hagati ngo bakumire itsembatsemba cyiganje muri za etamajoro z'ibihugu by'amahanga, bidaturutse ku mpamvu za gisirikari, ariko bitewe no kudashobora guhuza imyifatire : Minuar yibasiye igikorwa cya « operasiyo Amaryllis » (cyo gutabara no

gusubiza Abafaransa iwabo), kudashobora gukorera hamwe kw'abasirikari b'Ababirigi n'Abafaransa, kuba Koroneri Bagosora yari afitiye umunabi abasirikari b'Ababirigi bari baje, no kuba FPR/Inkotanyi yari yahaye abanyamahanga itariki ntarengwa yo kuba barangije gukora ibyabazanye. Ariko impamvu nyamukuru ni uko Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yari yananiwe gushyira ho umurongo wo kugendera ho. Kutagira icyo bakora byasobanuraga kureka abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi bagafata ubutegetsi, ariko na none bakareka ibihumbi amagana by'abagabo, abagore n'abana bagatsembwa.

Ibyari byabaye mu minsi ibanza byari byerekanye ubushake bw'abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi mu ntambara bwo kurushanwa no gupiganisha ingufu ku rugamba, mu gihe bari biyemeje poritiki yo kutagira ikintu na kimwe bumvikana ho. Mu gihe runaka, abahuza n'abashyira mu gaciro b'ingeri zose nta jambo bari bafite. Ku buryo bumwe, biraboneka ko umuntu yashobora kwemeza ko intego y'ingenzi y'abarwanyi bombi bifuzaga guca agahigo yari iyo gusesa icyizere cy'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'uRwanda bwari bubereye ho gusa, kugeza hagati muri Mata, kureba uburyo bwashyira mu bikorwa igisubizo cyo mu rwego rwa poritiki cyashobora guhosha amakuba yari ho. Iyo ntera imaze kurengwa, byarashobokaga kuvuga ko ingamba bwite cyangwa rusange za ba gashozantambara zashyizwe mu rwego rw'igihugu cyose. Kuri ubwo buryo, amahano yagombaga gushyika ku ndunduro yayo. Guhera mu wa 1994, abo mu gipande cyatsinze n'abo mu cyatsinzwe ntibahwemye kwitana bamwana bashinjana kwanga imishyikirano no kubura intambara nyuma y'iyicwa ry'Umukuru w'igihugu cy'uRwanda hamwe n'abandi benshi b'ibyegera bye. Nta gushidikanya ko iki kibazo kizakomeza gukurura impaka ndende. Ndabanyurira mo gusa uko giteye muri rusange. Icyemezo cyo guhanura indege ya perezida cyahaga FPR/Inkotanyi umwitangirizwa mu kugena ibikorwa bya gisirikari, bikayiha n'akarusho ko gutegura hakiri kare ingamba zayo n'ibikoresho. Hagati y'umupango w'igisubizo cyo mu ntera iciye bugufi (kuyugiriza igihe gito inteko z'uwo muhanganye zifata ibyemezo bya poritiki n'ibya gisirikari no kubona abo muvugana kugira ngo mutegurire guverinoma y'ubusigire hamwe n'abo muri etamajoro bemera amasezerano ya Arusha, n' ibipande bishyigikiye FPR/Inkotanyi

by'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, na Minuar, na za ambasade, nb.) n'umupango w'igisubizo gikaragashiye kandi cy'ako kanya giturutse mu Mitwe ya gisirikari iziritse ku gatsiko ka perezida iri i Kigali, cyunganiwe n' « umujinya wa rubanda » ugaragazwa n'imitwe y'urubyiruko, FPR/Inkotanyi yari yaragize ibyumweru birebire byo gushyira ku munzani no gushungura imipango inyuranye, kugira ngo na yo itegure neza ibisubizo byayo ku buryo buhuje n'umugambi wayo wo gufata ubutegetsi ikabwikubira.

Ubundi kandi, yari izi neza amabanga y'ukuntu abo mu gipande bahanganye bagenda basumbanya ingufu, haba mu basiviri haba no mu basirikari. Muri iryo hangana na FPR/Inkotanyi, ubushake bw'itsinda ry'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bwo gukumira igitero imbonankubone, n'ikiyemezo cyo guhanika rugikubita igisubizo cyabo ku ntera yo hejuru, ntibyabujije, kugeza muri Mata hagati, ko abenshi mu basirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro bashakisha ukuntu bahagarika ubwicanyi n'uburyo bwo gutangiza imishyikirano.

Guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata nyuma ya saa sita, Jenerari Dallaire yakoresheje ikiganiro kuri terefone hagati ya Seti Sendashonga ku ruhande rwa FPR/Inkotanyi, Tewonesiti Bagosora n'umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, Jenerari - Majoro Agusitini Ndindiriyimana, ku ruhande rw'Ingabo z'uRwanda. Icyo kiganiro yagikoresheje ahagana saa cyenda z'amanywa :

> « Nagerageje guhuza FPR/Inkotanyi na Bagosora ngo bavugane, bagamije intego yo kuba bashyira hamwe imbaraga zabo bakanga ko ibintu bigenda birusha ho kuba umwanda, bakanga n'uko intambara yashobora kubura.
> **Bazo** : Uwo mubonano na Bagosora wamaze igihe kingana iki ?
> **Subizo** : Ntabwo yari inama. Nagiye mu biro bye. Mu by'ukuri yari yahaje kugira ngo agire abo ahamagara kuri terefone, kugira ngo avugane n'abanyaporitiki bamwe, nka Seti [Sendashonga, umwe mu bayobozi ba FPR/Inkotanyi].
> Nagerageje guhuza Seti na Bagosora, baravuganye bombi, ariko byarumvikanaga

ko nta bushake na buke bwo gushyira hamwe ngo bagarure ituze. Bavuganye mu kinyarwanda. Ndindiriyimana na we yafashe terefone, avuga mu gihe cyisumbuye ho, nuko arangije, avuga ko bitashobokaga gufatanya na FPR/Inkotanyi. Nkurikije rero amakuru nakusanyije mu ruhande bari bahanganye, cyari … igisubizo… amaherezo bateye utwatsi icyo gitekerezo, inkurikizi yabyo, birumvikana, iba iy'uko itsembatsemba ryakomeje[386]."

Bukeye bwaho, ibiganiro byasubukuwe, mu izina rya Komite y'igihe cy'amakuba, no ku munsi wakurikiye ho, na Mariseri Gatsinzi, umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo. Kugeza ku itangazo rya nyuma ry'Ingabo z'uRwanda ku itariki ya 18 Mata, wibutse n'intabaza y'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo yo ku ya 12 Mata (*Reba umugereka 71),* abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda ntibahwemye gusaba imishyikirano no kugaragaza ko amarembo yuguruye[387], ibyo ndetse bakabikora baciye inyuma ya guverinoma y'ubusigire kandi basa n'abatayitaye ho, ari ukugira ngo basabe ishyirwa ho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) n'iyubahirizwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha. Umwe mu baminisitiri bo muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire arasobanura atya uko ibintu byari bimeze icyo gihe :

« Nk'uko bivugwa mu masezerano, Guverinoma yagombaga kugirana imishyikirano itaziguye na FPR/Inkotanyi, ariko iyi yariyangiye. No ku itariki ya 9

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[386] *Ubuhamya bwa Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 19 Mutarama 2004, p. 43. Reba kandi, mu mugereka 56, itangazo ryanyujijwe kuri radiyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 i saa kumi n'imwe na 20 risaba ishyirwa ho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, kugira ngo bagaragaze ko bashyigikiye amasezerano ya Arusha, ariko FPR/Inkotanyi ntigire ikintu na gito irivuga ho.*

[387] *Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru kigahita kuri radiyo, umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda yaribukije ati « Ingabo z'uRwanda zirasaba zikomeje kandi ku buryo bwihutirwa abakorana na FPR/Inkotanyi ko rwose bagaragaza ubushake bwabo buzira amaziri, kugira ngo umwuka w'amahoro n'imishyikirano ugaruke, kandi FPR/Inkotanyi ireke gushyira imbere intambara kubera ko umuti uturutse ku masasu utazana amahoro, ahubwo ushobora kuba gatindi. » Twibuke kandi ko ku itariki ya 11 Mata, Jenerari Rewonidasi Rusatira yashakishije abantu 11 bu muryango wa perezida wa FPR/Inkotanyi, Aregisi*

Mata, twatsindagiye ko dushaka kohereza intumwa mu mishyikirano. Twahise mo minisitiri w'Intebe ngo abe ari we ubikora afashijwe na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Twasabye dukomeje ko Umuryango mpuzamahanga waba uyiri mo. Mu gisubizo yatanze, FPR/Inkotanyi yamenyesheje neza ko itashakaga kugirana imishyikirano na Guverinoma y'ubusigire itemeraga, ko ahubwo yifuzaga abahagarariye Ingabo z'igihugu. Koroneri Gatsinzi, Rusatira n'abandi basirikari bakuru « bashyira mu gaciro » bari bashyigikiye kubonana ku buryo butaziguye kandi ako kanya na FPR/Inkotanyi batagombye kubyemererwa na guverinoma. Ntibashakaga kudeta nyayo, ahubwo bashakaga « gusuzugura guverinoma » kugira ngo bongere basubukure intambwe ziganisha kuri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Amaherezo, twafashe icyemezo cyo kohereza Ingabo z'igihugu mu mishyikirano, ariko mu izina rya giverinoma. Koko rero, itegeko rivuga ko Ingabo zikurikiza amabwiriza ya guverinoma[388].

Itangazo ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata riragaragaza neza igitekerezo cya etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu, kuko ryasinywe n'umukuru wayo w'agateganyo, Koroneri Mariseri Gatsinzi, n'abakuru b'Ibiro bane bakoranaga (Koroneri Yozefu Murasampongo [G1] ; Koroneri BEMSG Aroyizi Ntiwiragabo [G2] ; Liyetona – Koroneri Manweri Kanyandekwe – wari umusigire wa Garasiyani Kabirigi – [G3] ; Liyetona- Koroneri BEMS Agusitini Rwamanywa [G4]. Ariko ubu bwari ubwa nyuma iyo kipi ivugira ku mugaragaro, kuko kuri iyo tariki Mariseri Gatsinzi nta butegetsi yari agifite, kandi n'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo abarisinye bumvaga bahagarariye bwari butarashobora

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Kanyarengwe, akabahungisha, mbere y'uko na we ajya kwihisha muri ambasade y'uBushinwa.

[388] *Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru kigahita kuri radiyo, umukuru wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda yaribukije ati « Ingabo z'uRwanda zirasaba zikomeje kandi ku buryo bwihutirwa abakorana na FPR/Inkotanyi ko rwose bagaragaza ubushake bwabo buzira amaziri, kugira ngo umwuka w'amahoro n'imishyikirano ugaruke, kandi FPR/Inkotanyi ireke gushyira imbere intambara kubera ko umuti uturutse ku masasu utazana amahoro, ahubwo ushobora kuba gatindi. » Twibuke kandi ko ku itariki ya 11 Mata, Jenerari Rewonidasi Rusatira yashakishije abantu 11 bu muryango wa perezida wa FPR/Inkotanyi, Aregisi Kanyarengwe, akabahungisha, mbere y'uko na we ajya kwihisha muri ambasade y'uBushinwa.*

kumvirwa n'imitwe yakoraga ubwicanyi, habe no gushyigikirwa n'amashyaka na Guverinoma y'ubusigire, yari yahindutse intagondwa nyuma y'aho barekeye igikorwa cya « operasiyo yo kugarura amahoro » - bari bateze ho guhagarika itsembatsemba i Kigali – n'aho bahungiye bakajya i Gitarama. Urebye uko ibintu byagenze, ibibazo byo kwigira nyoni nyinshi by'abasirikari bakuru bafungiwe ubu Arusha bihuye neza n'indenguro y'umugani w'ikinyarwanda ugira uti « *Kwikiriza ntibibuza uwanga kwanga* » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerereri]. « Birakwiye gutsindagira ko iryo tangazo ryari rishyigikiwe n'Ingabo z'igihugu zose. Turabeshyuza umuntu wese watubwira ko haba harabaye ho umukuru w'akarere cyangwa umuyobozi w'Umutwe waba waramaganye iryo tangazo. None se kuki abasisibiranyi bamwe bitirira iryo tangazo abasirikari bakuru bavugwa ho ko « bashyira mu gaciro » ngo baba baritandukanyije na guverinoma ? Mbese bashobora kutubwira undi musirikari mukuru waba yarabibwiwe hanyuma akarwanya uwo mushinga cyangwa se ntiyemere icyo gitekerezo ? »[389]

Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu bwabonaga ko bidashoboka kubahiriza ingingo z'ibanze FPR yasabaga (gukontorora Umutwe urinda perezida no guhagarika ubwicanyi bw'imitwe y'urubyiruko) hatabanje kuba ho mbere na mbere ihagarikwa ry'imirwano. Imirwano yari yubuwe n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi mu mirari myinshi guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata, zitewe inkunga n'Ingabo z'uBuganda, zikaba zarasatiraga Kigali. Koko rero, ibikorwa byose byari byageragejwe kugira ngo bagarure Umutwe urinda perezida mu buryo ntacyo byari byageze ho[390] kandi ibyo guhashya imitwe

[389] *Jenerari – Majoro Agusitini NDINDIRIYIMANA, Anatori NSENGIYUMVA, Jenerari Garasiyani KABIRIGI, Koroneri Tarisisi RENZAHO, Liyetona- koroneri Efuremu SETAKO, Majoro Aroyisi NTABAKUZE, Ibyitegerezo ku gitabo cya Jenerari Rusatira, Gereza, Arusha, ronéo, 23 Mata 2006, p. 14. Ariko ikibazo gishobora guturukwa ku rundi ruhembe : kuki, biramutse ari uko bimeze, abasirikari bakuru « bashyira mu gaciro » baba baranze kwagura itonde ry'abasinye, kugira ngo intabaza yabo bayiheshe agaciro ?*

[390] *Umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano k'umujyi wa Kigali, Koroneri Ferisiyani Muberuka, yari yagerageje ibyo bikorwa incuro nyinshi, nibura niba yarumvaga ko hari icyo bivuze, nk'uko bigaragazwa na teregaramu nyinshi yohererej e etamajoro ku itariki ya 7 Mata asaba ko ibigo byose n'Imitwe yo mu karere bahagarika ibyo « gukocorana kw'abasirikari n'abaturage» (RT INT/OPS/94/1428 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'ikigo « Koroneri*

y'urubyiruko byari ugushoza « intambara mu yindi » Ingabo z'igihugu zitashoboraga kwishora mo mu rwego rwa poritiki cyangwa urwa gisirikari zidafashijwe nibura n'umwe mu barwanyi. Iri sesengura ryari rishingiye ku itandukanya hagati y'intambara yo gufata ubutegetsi cyangwa yo kuburengera, n'itsembatsemba ry'Abatutsi ryahindutse kuva ku itariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata, ingamba za jenoside ikorwa na Leta. Ku by'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu, abahezanguni bashyigikiye Abahutu, baba abasirikari cyangwa imitwe y'urubyiruko, bari mo kurwana intambara y'imbangikane yibasiye abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma ariko bagashyigikira FPR/Inkotanyi, baba Abatutsi cyangwa se Abahutu. Abo bahezanguni bibwiraga, kandi bari mu kuri, nk'uko izina rya « guverinoma y'*Abatabazi*[391]» guverinoma y'ubusigire yari yihaye ribigaragaza, ko abashishikarizaga iyo ntambara batemeraga ubwabo ko bazatsinda intambara ya FPR/Inkotanyi. Intego rusange yahuzaga kandi igatera umwete abahezanguni bashyigikiye Abahutu yari uko nta n'umwe mu bo bahoze bahanganye b'imbere mu gihugu wari kuzabyina insinzi ya FPR/Inkotanyi. Gutsindwa na FPR/Inkotanyi byashoboraga kwihanganirwa gusa ari uko nta n'umwe mu banzi babo b'Abatutsi n'Abanyanduga, bari barabagambaniye, wagira n'agatanyu aronkera kuri iyo nsinzi. Abasirikari benshi bakomoka mu karere ka Nyakwigendera perezida Habyarimana, bakoreraga mu bwihisho kugira ngo basabote Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo, nta n'ubwo bari bagishaka kurwana na FPR/Inkotanyi, kuko uwo bari barinze yari yishwe.

Intego yabo yihutirwa yari iyo gutsemba umusingi wa poritiki FPR/inkotanyi n'abanywanyi bayo bashoboraga gushingira ho. Abo basirikari ntibigeze bashaka gufata ubutegetsi, ariko nyamara iyo babishaka, inkunga yabo iba yarabaye indemyacyemezo mu gushyira ho Komite ya gisirikari yihaye ububasha bwose, mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata. Mu gihe nta masezerano ya guhagarika imirwano yari ahari, nta muntu wari

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Mayuya » ; RT OPS/ 94/356 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'umukuru w'akarere k'umujyi wa Kigali ; RT INT/OPS/94/353 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'umukuru w'akarere k'umujyi wa Kigali).

[391] *Ari ku ijambo ku rindi bisobanura « aboherejwe ku itabaro ». Biributsa « abatabazi » ba kera batangaga ubuzima bwabo kugira ngo barengere ingoma y'ubwami.*

ugishoboye guhagarika iyo Mitwe yigometse mu bikorwa byayo bya kirimbuzi kuko yari ifite intwaro zikomeye, kandi yashoboraga kwitabaza inkunga y'insoresore za Muvoma zashyushye imitwe.Guhera ku itariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata, gusesekara ku rubuga nyabyo kw'abanyaporitiki bo muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire bari biyemeje gushingira ahazaza habo muri poritiki ku ndunduro y'intambara no kuri jenoside, byerekanye iyunguruza rikomeye ku munzani w'ingufu wagushije mo Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu bwakomeje kugenda bukendera ntibabwite ho. Nk'uko biboneka neza muri taragiti y'amashyaka yahamagariraga ubwibumbe bw'intango burwanya ingoma ya cyami (*Reba Incamake ya 13*), ibibazo by'umutekano byagiwe ho impaka mu nama za guverinoma zo ku ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata ntibyari bishishikajwe no guhagarika itsembatsemba ry' « abanzi b'imbere », ahubyo byari bihangayikishijwe no guhagarika ubwicanyi hagati y'abavandimwe b'Abahutu bo mu mashyaka anyuranye, cyane cyane imirwano hagati y'imitwe y'urubyiruko.

Impuruza zo kubungabunga umutekano w'abaturage, gucunga intambara n'uburyo bwo kuyikumira, gutahura abacengezi, abagambanyi n' « *ibyitso* » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri], nb. Byagombaga gushimangira igihango cy'ingufu za « Hutu Pawa » mu kurwanya umwanzi w'Umututsi n'ibyitso bye. Inama ya guverinoma ya mbere hamwe n'abayobozi b'amashyaka yabereye i Murambi ku ya 12 Mata yasezereye ku mugaragaro ijijinganya ry'abaminisitiri maze yimakaza « ubunywanyi bukomeye » bw'amashyaka yitwaga ay'Abahutu (*Reba umutwe wa 12*). Ubufatanye bwa MRND na MDR bwari bwarasunutse, ku buryo bwo gushaka amarariro, hagati ya Matayo Ngirumpatse na Fawusitini Twagiramungu mu mwaka wa 1993 hagati (igihe Disimasi Nsengiyaremye avanwa ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Intebe, noneho Fawusitini Twagiramungu akaba minisitiri w'Intebe wemewe mu masezerano ya Arusha). Bwari bwakomejwe na Foroduwaridi Karamera na Donati Murego bifuzaga kugarura MDR mu maboko yabo babitewe mo inkunga na Muvoma igihe Fawusitini Twagiramungu yagaragaje ko abogamiye kuri FPR/Inkotanyi muri Nzeri 1993. Ubwo bufatanye bwashyizwe ahagaragara mu Gushyingo 1993 nyuma y'ihotorwa rya perezida w'Umuhutu, Merikiyoro Ndadaye, i Burundi. Ariko kugeza ubwo, bwari ubufatanye

budashingiye kuri gahunda cyangwa se ku ngamba. Guhera ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, ubufatanye « kamere » bwashyizwe mu ngiro koko. Bwahagaritse itsembatsemba riturutse ruhande ry'Abahutu bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Bateganyirije abazabyishora mo ibihano bikaze nyuma y'umutsindo wabo kuri FPR/Inkotanyi wari mu nzozi gusa, nuko ingufu zose bazimbika mu kurimbura Abatutsi. Na none ni kuva ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 Donati Murego yafashe ubuyobozi nyabwo bwa MDR, Karamira na Kambanda bakomeza kumugisha inama nk' « inararibonye » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimererі]. Ubwo ni ho jenoside yatangiye mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

Umuntu yakwibaza niba Tewonesiti Bagosora na Agusitini Ndindiriyimana bataragennye ku bwende bwabo iyimurirwa rya Guverinoma y'ubusigire i Murambi (perefegitura ya Gitarama), mbere y'uko uburyo bwose bw'imishyikirano yifuzwaga n'abenshi mu bagize etamajoro burangira. Mu gihe bamwe bari bagitsimbaraye ku mupango wabo w'ubwiyahuzi wivanze mo inyota y'ubutegetsi yakarangaga abandi, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo bwahatirije gushakisha uko haba ho imishyikirano, ibi bikaba byemezwa na teregaramu yo ku ya 13 Mata Roméo Dallaire yoherereje Kofi Annan[392]. Muri urwo rwandiko, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo buragira buti « Ni igihe cyo guhagarika intambara. Kubera ibyo, Ubuyobozi bukuru bwemeye ihagarika ry'imirwano nta mananiza guhera ku itariki ya 13/04/1994 i saa sita z'amanywa. » Ariko rero, n'ubwo FPR/Inkotanyi n'Ingabo z'uRwanda basinye kuri iyo tariki ya 13 isubikamirwano ry'amasaha 48, ryari iryo kugira ngo abanyamahanga babanze bave mu nzira, ntabwo ryari rigamije guhagarika itsembatsemba. Na none andi masezerano mashya y'isubikamirwano yasinywe ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 nta kintu na gito yahinduye ku byari mo kuba. Yemwe nta n'icyo byageze ho ibiganiro bya mbere by'imbonankubone byabaye ku itariki ya 15 Mata 1994 muri hoteri *Méridien* hagati y'abayobozi ba FPR/Inkotanyi n'ab'Ingabo z'uRwanda, biyobowe n'intumwa yihariye y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh.

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[392] *MIR 750, yatanzwe nka gihamya mu rugereko1rwa TPIR, irango D.NT108.*

Ku ruhande rwayo, FPR/Inkotanyi yashoboraga gupima ko ireme rya poritiki ry'abashyigikiye imishyikirano ritari hagije ku buryo bwatanga icyizere ko imyanzuro izayiva mo izubahirizwa, ku buryo bwatuma isubika ibitero byayo. Bityo, impuruza yo mu rwego rwo hejuru Jenerari Gatsinzi yoherereje, ku itariki ya 17 Mata, intumwa y'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye (*Reba umugereka 74*), impuruza yibutsaga ibitekerezo yari yamugejeje ho ku itariki ya 15 Mata[393], yari imeze rwose nk'iy'umukuru wa etamajoro wari wahawe agahenge, kuko n'ubwo iteka ryamukomboraga ryasinywe ku itariki ya 18 Mata, ishyirwa ho ry'umusimbura we, Koroneri Agusitini Bizimungu, ryari ryaratangajwe ku ya 15… Ariko umuntu ashobora no gutekereza ko iyo ngingo yari ishingiye ku mubare wizwe neza, urebye ukuntu gukomeza kwanga imishyikirano bya FPR/Inkotanyi byongereraga ingufu ingamba nyirarupfu za Guverinoma y'ubusigire, kandi bigaca intege buri munsi kurusha ho abagize etamajoro bifuzaga umuti wo mu rwego rwa poritiki. Igihe FPR/Inkotanyi amaherezo yemeye ibiganiro hagati y'itariki ya 22 Mata n'iya 14 Gicurasi 1994, yabonaga ko Jenerari Gatsinzi, wari utagifite ububasha na buke, ari we yahita mo ko bashyikirana, nuko yanga kubonana n'uhagarariye Guverinoma y'ubusigire. Ariko mu by'ukuri nta kintu impande zombi zari zigifite cyo kuganira ho, kandi FPR/Inkotanyi ntiyashakaga kongera kumva bavuga ibyerekeye ihagarika ry'imirwano[394].

INCAMAKE YA 14

Ibyiciro bitatu by'intambara iri muri gahunda yari yitezwe

Intambara yaranzwe n'ibitero bibiri by'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi byibasiye, ku buryo buhana imbu cyangwa se bukomatanye, Kigali n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu hatagize ingamba z'ibirindiro zikomeye zibikoma imbere. Mu murwa mukuru gusa ni ho habaye ibirindiro bihageze by'Ingabo z'igihugu, zitewe ingabo mu bitugu n'imitwe y'urubyiruko. Ibyo bitero umuntu yabishyira mu byiciro bitatu.

Kuva ku ya 7 kugeza ku ya 22 Mata : Rwarambikanye hagati y'Ingabo zombi

[393] *« Nejejwe no kubona ko [ibisabwa] biri mu murongo w'itangazo ryacu n'imigambi twifuzaga kuzagera ho dufatanyije na FPR/Inkotanyi, ni ukuvuga kugarura amahoro no gutanga inkunga mu ishyirwa ho ribangutse ry'Inzego z'inzibacyuho yaguye » (RL Nº 0624/G3.3.3 yo ku ya 15 Mata 1994 ya EM AR).*

[394] RoméoDALLAIRE, *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanité auRwanda*, Libre Expression, Outremont/Paris, 2003, p. 412-413. *(Reba umugereka 77).*

Guhera mu ijoro ry'itariki ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, mu gihe Ingabo z'igihugu zashyiraga bariyeri mu tugari dutuwe mo n'abifashije ndetse no mu masangano y'imihanda y'i Kigali, Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi zari zikambitse hafi y'umupaka w'uBuganda zafashe inzira zigana i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri, ariko cyane cyane i Kigali kugira ngo zigere ku « basirikari babo 600 » bari bacumbikiwe muri CND (mu masezerano havugwa mo 600, ariko ababiboneye bagahamya ko bari hagati ya 800 na 1.200).

Habaye urunyuranyurane rw'amasasu menshi ahagana mu ma saa kumi za mu gitondo, ariko abarwanyi 200 ba FPR/Inkotanyi basohotse nyuma ya saa kumi z'amanywa, barinzwe na Minuar, nuko batangira « gukingurutsa » utugari two hafi ya CND, mu gihe mu mujyi abasirikari n'imitwe y'urubyiruko bari mo gutsemba baturutse ruhande Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Ku itariki ya 9 Mata ni bwo abasirikari b'Abafaransa, Ababirigi n'Abanyamerika batangiye ibikorwa byo guhungisha abanyamahanga. Itsembatsemba ryakwiriye mu gihugu, cyane cyane mu Bugesera, mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu. FPR/Inkotanyi yateye umujyi wa Byumba n'uwa Ruhengeri, itangaza kandi ko yohereje abasirikari 4.000 i Kigali kugira ngo bahagarike itsembatsemba. Kuko yabonaga ko amasezerano ya Arusha yataye agaciro, FPR/Inkotanyi yavuze ko Ingabo z'uRwanda zashoboraga kwitwara ku buryo butatu : gusanga Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi, kutagira icyo zikora na busa cyangwa se kuyirwanya. Yasabye kandi ko Ingabo z'abanyamahanga zose zaba zavuye mu gihugu mu masaha 48. Ku itariki ya 12 Mata, hamaze kuboneka gihamya y'uko abarwanyi ba FPR/Inkotanyi baturutse ku Murindi bari bageze mu nkengero z'umurwa mukuru, Guverinoma y'ubusigire, yari imaze iminsi ibiri ishyizwe ho, yimukiye i Gitarama. Imirimo yo gutahura abanyamahanga yararimbanyije. Ku itariki ya 14 Mata, FPR/ Inkotanyi yatanze agahenge i Kigali itabitangaje kugeza ku gihe ntarengwa cya saa sita z'ijoro yari yashyize ho, ari ukugira ngo ireke abanyamahanga ba nyuma bamare gukura mo akabo karenge. Intambara yahise ikwira ahantu hose, haba i Kigali FPR/Inkotanyi yagendaga yagura buhoro buhoro uturere yagenzuraga – n'ubwo Ingabo z'uRwanda n'Imitwe y'urubyiruko barwanaga inkundura bayikumira – haba no muri perefegitura ya Byumba n'iya Kigali ngari yanyuze mo yihuta. Guverinoma y'ubusigire yifatiye inzego za Leta, cyane cyane izo muri perefegitura na komini. Kuva ubwo rero, itsembatsemba ry'Abatutsi n' « ibyitso » byabo (ijambo ryakoreshwaga muri rusange bavuga abantu bose batemeraga guhiga « umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu ») bari bibasiwe na Poritiki ya Guverinoma y'ubusigire, rigera muri perefegitura z'amajyepfo : Kibuye, Gitarama, hanyuma, guhera ku itariki ya 19 Mata, Gikongoro na Butare. Imirwano n'itsembatsemba byafashe intera ndende i Kigali bitegura itahuka, ku ya 20 Mata, ry' « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi ba nyuma. Kubera ko yari isigaranye abantu 270 (icyemezo 912 cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye) Minuar yashoboraga gukora imirimo ijyanye gusa na manda yo mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urwo kurengera ikiremwamuntu (gutegura no gutunganya ibiganiro n'imishyikirano hagati y'abarwanyi, kwitegereza ibikorwa no kubimenyesha abo

bigenewe).

Kuva ku ya 21 Mata kugera ku ya 29 Gicurasi : ifungwa ry'umupaka na Tanzaniya n' « inkundura y'i Kigali »

Ku ya 21 Mata, FPR/Inkotanyi yafashe umujyi wa Byumba Ingabo z'uRwanda[a] zari zimaze guteshwa, yagura igitero cyayo ku ngerero zose zo mu majyaruguru kuva i Byumba kugeza mu Ruhengeri, ikomeza igana mu majyepfo inyuze iburasirazuba nta kiyikomye imbere na gito (*Reba umugereka 77*). FPR/Inkotanyi yateguye kandi ikorera itsembatsemba riturutse ruhande abaturage b'abasiviri yari yabanje kurundanya. Bukeye bwaho, impunzi z'Abahutu 250.000 babwirizwa n'abayobozi babo n'imitwe y'urubyiruko ya Muvoma bo muri komini zabo bambukiye umupaka wa Tanzaniya hafi ya Benako maze mu masaha make barema igiterane cyabaye nk' « umujyi wa kabiri mu gihugu ». Ishami rya Loni ryita ku mpunzi ryavuze ko iryo hunga «ryakozwe vuba kandi riba rinini kurusha andi yose yabaye ho ku isi ». Rwamagana, mu majyepfo, yafashwe ku ya 27 Mata, nuko ku ya 1 Gicurasi FPR/Inkotanyi irangiza kuzitira umupaka w'uRwanda na Tanzaniya. Yavanye Ingabo z'uRwanda mu birindiro maze izisunika iziganisha iburengerazuba, nuko ikora urugendo rw'agatunambwenu yerekeza i Kibungo. Ku ya 27 Mata mu gitondo, i Kigali hubuye imirwano ikaze cyane, nuko nyuma y'igisa n'isubikamirwano ryo ku ya 2 Gicurasi, FPR/Inkotanyi n'Umutwe urinda perezida barasana, ku ya 3 Gicurasi, amasasu y'imizinga iremereye yateguraga « inkundura y'i Kigali ».

Nta n'igicuro cy'mishyikirano cyari mu bitekerezo. FPR/Inkotanyi yahakanye umubonano uwo ari wo wose na Guverinoma y'ubusigire, ahubwo isaba guhura n'Ingabo z'uRwanda ari uko ibonye itageze ku ntego zayo zose zo mu rwego rwa gisirikari (Gitarama, Kigali). Guverinoma y'ubusigire yakomeje gutsindagira ingingo ebyiri yabonaga zigomba kubanza kubahirizwa mbere y'ihagarikwa ry'itsembatsemba : FPR/Inkotanyi yagombaga kwemera ko iyo Guverinoma yari yubahirije amategeko, kandi hagombaga kuba ho isubikamirwano. Kugeza ku itariki ya 4 Gicurasi, amabombe menshi cyane yatewe kuri CND, aho abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi bari bacumbikiwe, mu gihe FPR/Inkotanyi yari mo kuboneza igitero cyayo mu nkengero no hagati mu mujyi. Mu minsi ine, imirwano itaretsa yatumye Ingabo zayo zigira imbere cyane mu tugari. Nyuma yo gutangaza amasubikamirwano abiri atandukanye, imirwano yagabanyije umurego ku itariki ya 8 Gicurasi. Urugote rwa Ruhengeri (7 Gicurasi) rwabanjirije urwa Kigali. Hagati mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'uRwanda bwavuye mu murwa mukuru bwimukira i Gitarama. Ku itariki ya 16 Gicurasi, uburyo bwose bwo gushyikirana no kuvugana n'ab'i Kigali bwarakaswe. Ku ya 17 Gicurasi, Inama ishinzwe umutekano yafashe icyemezo 918 cyo gufunga intwaro kandi itanga uburenganzira bwo kongera abasirikari ba Minuar kugeza ku 5.000. Hagati y'itariki ya 20 n'iya 23 Gicurasi, FPR/Inkotanyi yasubukuye ibitero byayo ku mujyi wa Kigali. Yafashe ikibuga cy'indege n'ikigo cy'abasirikari cy'i Kanombe (22 Gicurasi), ifata n'ingoro ya perezida

(23 Gicurasi). Kuko umuhanda ugana mu majyepfo wari wasigaye udafunze ku bwende, abenshi mu nsoresore bataye Kigali ku ya 27 Gicurasi. Ku ya 29, FPR/Inkotanyi yarangije igikorwa cyo guta mu rugote umurwa mukuru. Kuva ubwo uRwanda rwari rwacitse mo ibice bibiri. FPR/Inkotanyi yari ifite igice cy'iburasirazuba n'ikibuga cy'indege cy'i Kigali. Ingabo z 'uRwanda zari zikigenzura igipande kimwe cy'umurwa mukuru n'igice cy'iburengerazuba cyarushaga ikindi abaturage.

Kuva ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi kugera ku ya 17 Nyakanga : Ikataza [ry'Inkotanyi] zerekeza hagati, amajyepfo n'amajyaruguru by'igihugu

Guhera muri Gicurasi hagati, nta wari agishidikanya uko intambara izarangira. Nta nkunga mvamahanga yari igishobora kuza gutabara guverinoma yisize ibara rya jenoside, kandi FPR/Inkotanyi nta gitekerezo na mba yari ifite cyo kuba yagira uwo bashyikirana ku byerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi n'abatsinzwe. Nyuma y'uko Ingabo z'uRwanda zifungirwa intwaro, icyashoboraga kugibwa ho impaka ni uburyo instinzi izagerwa ho n'ibitambo izasiga. Ibisubizo byose byo mu rwego rwa diporomasi byarananiranye rero.

Ku itariki ya 6 Kamena, igihugu cya Kenya cyatumije inama y'abakuru b'ibihugu byo mu karere, ariko nta gikorwa cyayikurikiye. Ihagarika ry'imirwano ryumvikanywe ho i Tunis ku itariki ya 15 Kamena mu gihe cy'inama y'abakuru b'ibihugu by'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) FPR/Inkotanyi yahise irirengaho bukeye bwaho isuka amabombe muri Kigali rwagati. Imirwano yarakomeje mu gihe kirenze ukwezi mu duce abaturage benshi b'abasiviri bari bagizwe ingwate. Ku itariki ya 29 Kamena, FPR/Inkotanyi yafashe Nyanza, yahoze ari yo murwa mukuru w'umwami, ikomeza igana iya Kabgayi, ihafata ku ya 2 Kamena, bituma Guverinoma y'ubusigire yimuka i Gitarama ijya ku Gisenyi, ku mupaka wa Zayire, mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba. Ku itariki ya 6 Kamena, Ingabo z'uRwanda zagabye igitero cyabo cya nyuma gikomeye, mu karere ka Kabgayi. Cyarapfubye nk'ibyakibanjirije maze Gitarama, umutima w'igihugu n'ikimenyetso cya Repuburika, yigarurirwa ku ya 13 Kamena. Ibirindiro byari byasandaye burundu, nta n'umurongo usigaye wo kwisuganyiriza ho. Ni bwo rero hatangiye isuhuka rya za miriyoni z'abaturage bahungira muri Zayire no muBurundi. Ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, nyuma y'iminsi icumi y'imishyikirano ikomeye hagati y'abagize Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, iyi nama yahaye uBufaransa, igihugu cyonyine cyari cyabisabye, manda y'amezi abiri yo kugira icyo bwakora muRwanda mu gihe bagitegura kohereza yo abasirikari bo muri Minuar2. Ku mugoroba ubanziriza icyo cyemezo, Ingabo z'uBufaransa zari zaraye zigeze ku mupaka wa Zayire. Igikorwa kizwi ku izina rya « Operasiyo Turquoise » cyatangiye ku mugaragaro ku itariki ya 23 Kamena, abasirikari 2.500 bashyirwa mu myanya yabo buhoro buhoro kuri Goma n'i Bukavu muri Zayire. Iyo « Operasiyo » yari ifite inshingano zo kugarura umutekano muri perefegitura nkeya kugira ngo hatagira abaturage miriyoni na miriyoni bahungira muBurundi cyangwa muri Zayire (*Reba Incamake*

ya ya 16).

Hagati aho, FPR/Inkotanyi yari yakomeje kujya mbere. Yigaruriye burundu agace ko mu mujyi wa Kigali rwagati ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga, nuko ku itariki ya 7 ikibuga cy'indege kirafungurwa. Yafashe Butare ku ya 3 Nyakanga ikomeza yerekeza iya Gikongoro mu burengerazuba, aho yagonganiye n'Ingabo z'uBufaransa bashyiraga ho icyo bise « akarere katari mo imirwano gafashirizwa mo abagoberewe » kanganaga na kimwe cya kane cy'igihugu kiri mu majyepfo n'uburengerazuba (perefegituraGikongoro, Kibuye na Cyangugu), akarere kahise kazimagizwa n'ibihumbi amagana n'amagana by'abantu bahunga FPR/Inkotanyi. Ubwo kwigarurira amajyepfo byari bisubitswe, FPR/Inkotanyi yazamuye ingabo zayo izitegeza akarere k'amajyaruguru y'uburengerazuba kari kiganje mo Abahutu, mbere y'uko hagira ibirindiro bishingwa muri utwo duce tw'imisozi miremire tugerwa mo biruhije. Abantu ibihumbi amagana n'amagana bahunze berekeza ku mupaka wa Zayire. Ku itariki ya 14 Nyakanga, umujyi wa Ruhengeri wari waguye mu maboko ya FPR/Inkotanyi ; ku ya 15, impunzi 500.000 zari zimaze kugera muri Zayire ; ku ya 16, ba minisitiri 13 bo muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire na perezida wa Repuburika wiyimitse mu bagiye mu karere katari mo imirwano k'Abafaransa mu majyepfo y'igihugu, hanyuma i Bukavu (Zayire) ; ku ya 17, FPR/Inkotanyi yari igeze ku Gisenyi ku mupaka wo mu majyaruguru, igenda ishushubikana impunzi ibihumbi 600.000, zirundiye mu mujyi wa Goma no mu nkengero zawo. Ariko, indege z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zagemuraga imfashanyo kuri Goma bari bazihagaritse nyuma y'uko FPR/Inkotanyi itera amabombe ku kibuga cy'indege. Abasirikari bagera ku 10.000 bo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda na bo bari bambutse umupaka, bivanze n'impunzi. Kuri uwo munsi, FPR/Inkotanyi yashyize Pasiteri Bizimungu ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repuburika, ikaba yari manda y'imyaka itanu. Na Fawusitini Twagiramungu, wari wemerewe n'amasezerano ya Arusha kuzaba minisitiri w'Intebe, yahise atangira imirimo ye. Ku ya 18 Nyakanga, FPR/Inkotanyi yatangaje « ihagarikwa ry'imirwano ». Impunzi zisaga miriyoni zari zambutse umupaka wa Zayire i Goma kuva ku itariki ya 15 Nyakanga. Ku wa kabiri tariki ya 19 Nyakanga, guverinoma ya Fawusitini Twagiramungu, yatoranyijwe na FPR/Inkotanyi, yarahiriye i Kigali. Ingabo za FPR/inkotanyi na ba *returnees* [mu cyongereza mu mwandiko w'umwimereri, ni ukuvuga abatahutse] bigaruriye imijyi n'icyaro mu gihugu cyavuye mo kimwe cya kabiri cy'abaturage bacyo : miriyoni bari bapfuye, naho miriyoni eshatu barahunze.

(a)*. Imirwanire FPR/Inkotanyi yakoreshaga iteka yari iyo kugota imijyi noneho ikagenda irusha ho guhuza impembe zayo ariko igasigira icyanzu abayirwanya batakarizaga mo abantu batabarika: «Igitekerezo cyabo, cyari icyo gufata imisozi ikikije Byumba, mbese mu by'ukuri guta Byumba mu rukubo, ariko bagasiga umuhanda munini ujya mu majyepfo ufunguye. Ubwo rero, basukaguraga amabombe kuri Byumba kugira ngo bateze akavuyo mu bo barwana. Nuko igihe kimwe, kubera igihama cyinshi n'ubushobozi buke, Ingabo z'uRwanda zibona ko zitakibashije kugumana Byumba. Zatangiye rero*

gusubira inyuma zinyuze mu cyanzu FPR/Inkotanyi yari yazisigiye. FPR/Inkotanyi yagiye izirasa umugenda, yicamo abarenga… izica mo kandi izikomeretsa mo abantu benshi» (Ubuhamya bwa Jenerari Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 26 Mutarama 2004, p. 3).

Ibyo Jenerari Dallaire yabyemeje mu butumwa yoherereje Kofi Annan ku itariki ya 24 Mata, avuga mo iby'ikiganiro yagiranye na Pahuro Kagame muri aya magambo : « Uyunguyu muri kino gihe arasa n'udatekereza cyane iby'ihagarika ry'imirwano. Ingabo ze ziratsinda urugamba kandi zizakomeza kurwana igihe cyose zizaba ziri mo gutsinda[395]. » Kandi koko ni intambara yari kuzakiranura abarwanaga. Naho ku byerekeye imishyikirano, nta muti na muke wari uyitezwe ho. Icyo gitekerezo cyagaragariye i Gbadolite ku itariki ya 24 Mata, kuko amasezerano y'inyongera yasinywe n'Ingabo z'uRwanda gusa. FPR/Inkotanyi yari yanze ko minisitiri wa Guverinoma y'ubusigire, ari na we wari umukuru w'intumwa z'uRwanda, Andereya Ntagerura, ayashyira ho umukono. Tito Rutaremara wagombaga kuza kuyasinya ku ruhande rwa FPR/Inkotanyi ntiyigeza ahaza. Ibyo kandi byongeye kuba ho Arusha ku itariki ya 30 Mata, mu mishyikirano yari ihagarariwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo na minisitiri w'Intebe ba Tanzaniya. Intumwa za FPR/Inkotanyi, zari zigizwe na Aregisi Kanyarengwe, Pasiteri Bizimungu na Tito Rutaremara zanze igitekerezo cy'Abanyatanzaniya cyo guhagarika imirwano mu masaha 48 akurikira ho, nuko zigenda nta kintu zisinye. Jacques- Roger Booh – Booh yasobanuye iyo myifatire muri aya magambo y'uburyoshyakarimi ngo "Nta ruhande na rumwe rwanze imishyikirano. Uretse ko habaye ho ingingo z'ibanze zagombaga kubanza kubahirizwa[396]. » Nyuma y'itariki ya 30 Mata, buri ruhande rwihatiye ibikorwa bya diporomasi kugira ngo rushake ingufu zirushyigikira imbere mu gihugu no mu mahanga. FPR/Inkotanyi, kubera inkunga y'uBuganda, nta ngorane yigeze igira zo kugemurirwa intwaro, bityo ikomeza kwanga imishyikirano iyo ari yo yose,

[395] *Current Assessment of the Situation in Rwanda [Uko ibintu byifashe kino gihe muRwanda], Kigali, 24 Mata 1994, p. 4, § 10 (Reba umugereka 77).*

[396] *Ubuhamya bwa Jacques- Roger Booh – Booh, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 81.*

cyane cyane n'uko hagira igihugu cy'amahanga cyivanga mu ntambara, n'ubwo bitagenze uko byari byatanzwe ho icyizere n'abari bavuze ko bazibanda gusa ku bikorwa byo gutabara no gufasha abaturage b'abasiviri (*Reba umugereka 77*). Ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma y'ubusigire, ibikorwa bya diporomasi by'ingenzi byabaye ibyo guhagararira igihugu no kugira imibonano igamije gusobanura ingorane zisanzwe zo kubona inkunga n'amafaranga cyangwa se kimwe muri byo byayifasha kurwana intambara. Ibyo bibazo byarebaga ku buryo butaziguye kandi bwenda kuba umwihariko Guverinoma y'ubusigire, kandi no muri yo, abaturuka mu ishyaka rya MRND.

Koko rero, n'ubwo minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga yari yemerewe Kerementi-YoLonimo Bicamumpaka wo muri MDR, agatsiko ka MRND/CDR kari gafite ububasha bwose mu kugena ibikorwa bya diporomasi. Minisitiri uri muri uwo mwanya yakomeje gucibwa inyuma n'intumwa zihariye n'izidasanzwe za guverinoma, zaba abasiviri cyangwa abasirikari, muri zo hakaba perezida wa Muvoma, uwa PL, ariko cyane cyane Yohani-Bosiko Barayagwiza wo muri CDR wisumbukuruzaga minisitiri ku mugaragaro :

> « **Subizo** : Oya, njye ndibwira ko niba [Yohani- Bosiko Barayagwiza] yaratoranyirijwe [kujya mu butumwa mu mahanga mu izina rya Guverinoma], ni uko ari we muntu wari uzi neza amadosiye y'ububanyi n'amahanga mu rwego rwa guverinoma. Kubera ko minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga yari mushya, twari dukeneye umuntu wakoze muri iyo minisiteri kandi twabonaga ko azi iby'amahanga kurusha abandi bose. Yari we rero. Ni yo mpamvu yahawe ubutumwa mu mahanga[397]. »

Ubundi kandi, n'aho yari yahungiye i Paris, Agata Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Yuvenari Habyarimana, yakoze ibintu byinshi by'ubuvuganizi ku bakuru b'ibihugu bya Afurika benshi, bashyigikiye Guverinoma y'ubusigire muri diporomasi batagombye kubyasasa.

[397] *Ibazwa rya Yohani KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-28 yo ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1997.*

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

10

Ibogama ry'Ambasade y' UBufaransa

Mu by'ukuri muri ibyo bihe bikomeye ambasade y'UBufaransa si yo yonyine yagerageje guhangana n'ibibazo no gutunganya igikorwa cya gisirikare cyo gucyura abanyamahanga. Ariko nta n'imwe yagize uruhare rugaragara cyangwa se runini nk'urwayo, mu cyumweru cyakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, mbere y'uko ambasade z'inyamahanga muRwanda hafi ya zose zifungwa. Mu ikubitiro hari ikintu kimwe kigomba kubanza kumvikana neza: Kuba ambasade y'UBufaransa yaragize uruhare rugaragara ntibisobanura ko yo n'abayihagarariye b'abasivili n'abasirikare ari bo bihaye iyo nshingano cyangwa ngo ubwabo bafate ibyemezo byashyizwe mu bikorwa aho hantu. Itsinda rihuriweho na perezidansi ya Repubulika n'Ishami ry'Afurika, Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga na Etamajoro y'ingabo ni ryo ryari ku isonga (mu nama zihuza za minisiteri mu muhezo), cyane cyane mu ishyirwaho ry'igikorwa cyiswe "Amaryllis". Aha tugiye kwibanda by'umwihariko ku byakozwe n'ibyabereye muri ambasade y'UBufaransa aho abakozi bayo bahaga bagenzi babo b' i Paris amakuru ya ngombwa hanyuma aba nabo bakabaha amabwiriza bagenderaho. Tuributsa amwe muri ayo mabwiriza yo mu buyobozi, nibura ayashoboye kumenyekana. Nanone, ibivugwa aha bishingiye ahanini ku byo umwanditsi yahagazeho dore ko yari i Kigali byinshi akabyibonera, akabishyingura mu nyandiko icyo gihe na nyuma gato aho aviriye muRwanda muri Mata 1994 hagati; bishingiye nanone ku bushakashatsi bwakozwe nyuma mu rwego rwo kumva neza ibyabaye byose n'amasano bifitanye.

Ingingo enye ni zo zibandwaho. Iya mbere irebana n'uburyo butandukanye ambasade y'UBufaransa yafashemo imiryango ya ba « Agata » bombi: Agata Kanziga, umupfakazi wa perezida Habyarimana, na Agata Uwilingiyimana, Minisitiri w'Intebe wishwe bitegetswe n'abateguraga izungurwa rye. Iya kabiri ivuga ku igera ry' abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki bo muri MRND kuri ambasade y'UBufaransa. Iya gatatu ivuga uko ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud yashyigikiye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Mu gusoza, ingingo ya kane igaragaza umwete muke w'ambasade mu gufasha, gucumbikira no kurokora abantu bari mu byago, by'umwihariko abakozi bayo b'Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi benshi bayiyambaje.

Inkuru yo gucyurwa ku gahato

Uruhare rw'ubuhamya bwanjye bwite ntanga hano burampa umwanya wo kugaruka mu magambo make ku mibereho yanjye i Kigali muri ibyo bihe. Nk' umuntu wari ushinzwe umurimo wo kunganira mu rwego rwa tekiniki Ubuyobozi bw'Ubutwererane n'Iterambere (DDC) muri Minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga y'Ubusuwisi (DFAE), nagombaga kugenzura gahunda z'iterambere ry' ubwo butwererane muRwanda, ngakurukirana uko abaminisitiri bashya bazzazungura imirimo yo muri urwo rwego. Uruzinduko rwanjye rwari rwagenwe hakurikijwe ingengabihe yavugwaga y'ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho zishingiye ku masezerano y'Arusha.

Iyo ngengabihe imaze gutangazwa, ambasade zose n'amashyirahamwe yo mu rwego rw'ubutwererane byakekaga ko guverinoma n'Inteko ishingamategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT), byari kuba byagiyeho bitarenze muri Mata 1994. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe, kubera guhora byigizwayo, «ambasade zikomeye » zokeje igitutu impande byarebaga zinazikangisha guhagarika bwangu imfashanyo zatangaga iyo ari yo yose niba kuri 31Werurwe nta tariki ntarengwa y'ishyirwaho ry'izo nzego yari kuba yemejwe. Bityo, n'ubwo imbere mu gihugu ibintu byari bishyushye[398], urugendo

[398] Mu rwego rwo kwibutsa, ku itariki ya 29 Werurwe hari habaye inama kuri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu (G3, ushinzwe inyigisho n'ibikorwa bya gisirikare) hamwe n'abahagarariye perefegitura ya Kigali kugira ngo hategurwe

rwanjye rwagumishijwe ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe, ngomba kubanza kuba kujya i Bujumbura akaba ari ho mba ntegerereje umwanzuro w'imishyikirano y'Abanyarwanda. Amaherezo, ku wa gatanu tariki ya 1 Mata, izo mpande zumvikanye ku gihe cya nyuma cy'ishyirwaho ry'inzego: ku wa gatanu tariki ya 8, cyangwa se iya 9. Ubwo ambasade y'Ubusuwisi yansabye kujya i Kigali bitarenze umunsi ukurikiyeho mu gitondo.

Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 2 Mata

Maze kwambuka umupaka hagati y'uRwanda n'uBurundi no guhagarara gato i Butare n'i Gitarama, natangajwe n'umutuzo wari uganje, bitandukanye n'i Burundi harangwaga no kwiheba gukabije mu makomini y'imbere mu gihugu, cyane cyane mu maporovensi yo mu Majyaruguru. Nyamara nkigera i Kigali, nahubiranye n' impagarara z'abasirikare bakuru n'abayobozi bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bashinjaga Agata Uwilingiyimana, Minisitiri w'intebe, kuba yarateremesheje inama iwe mu rugo ku wa 1 Mata nimugoroba y'abawofisiye bakomoka muri perefegitura ye akabasaba gukorera kudeta perezida Habyarimana. RTLM n'itangazamakuru ry'intagondwa ritsimbaraye ku buhutu byari byariye karungu. Kubera ubwoba bw'umutekano wabo, abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa gisirikare n'urwa poritiki bakutse umutima batangira gushakisha ubwihisho ku nshuti bizeye (reba umutwe wa 5, *« ingamba z'irokoka rya poritiki ku baharanira demukarasi »*). Ba ambasaderi n'abunzi banyuranye bakoraga iyo bwabaga kugira ngo buke igitutu ba nyirabayazana kandi bavane mu nzira inzitizi za nyuma zabuzaga gushyira umukono ku masezerano.

Ku itariki ya 2 Mata, hakozwe inama hagati ya FPR na MDR babifashijwemo n'ambasade ya Tanzaniya. Ku itariki ya 4, Musenyeri Tadeyo Nsengiyumva w' i Kabgayi yariyambajwe kugira ngo abonane na perezida Habyarimana kandi, uwo munsi, Loni (Umuryango w'Abibumbye) yakangishije gucyura Minuar mu gihe nta ntambwe itewe

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«umugambi wo kwirinda kw'abaturage, uyobowe n'abasirikare bacumbitse hanze y'ibigo». Umugambi wari «ukurinda uduce tw'umugi, guhiga no gufata mpiri «abacengezi». Mu yandi makomini, «hari hifujwe ko bakwigisha abaturage gukoresha intwaro gakondo (inkota, amacumu, imipanaga, imiheto n'imyambi) kubera ubuke bw'imbunda bari bafite» (ibaruwa yandikiwe minisitiri w'Ingabo ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe). Nyuma, ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe, Alphonse Ingabire, «umuyobozi wa CDR» i Kigali yarishwe (ubu birazwi ko yishwe n'umukomando

mu gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho; ku itariki ya 6 Mata mu mpera z'igicamunsi, habereye indi nama muri ambasade ya Tanzaniya ihuza abantu banyuranye bahagarariye amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu na FPR.

Muri icyo gihirahiro, maze kugirana imibonano y'ibanze na benshi mu banyacyubahiro ba guverinoma yateganywaga, hafashwe icyemezo ko itsinda ry'ubugenzuzi nayoboraga ryari kujya ku Kibuye (ari ho hari igicumbi cy'ibikorwa by'ingenzi by'urwego rw'ubutwererane rw'u Busuwisi) kandi impaka zo mu rwego rwo gufata ingamba zikimurirwa mu gice cya kabiri cya Mata. Nanone ikibazo cyagiweho impaka cyane ni icya mugenzi wanjye w'umunyarwanda twagombaga gukorana mu buryo bwemewe n'amategeko, washoboraga kugira uruhare muri anketi hafi ya zose n'inama, ndetse no mu iyandikwa rya raporo isoza umurimo. Hatoranyijwe Ignace Ruhatana, Tutsi), umwe mu bayobozi ba Kanyarwanda, ishyirahamwe rishyigikiye iterambere ry'ubumwe mu butabera bushingiye kuri rubanda, akaba n'umwanditsi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru gifite iryo zina.

Ku wa gatatu tariki ya 6 Mata

Nari niriranywe na Clément Kayishema, perefe wa Kibuye dutegura akazi k'ubutumwa. Gusubira ku Kibuye byari biteganyijwe ku wa 7 Mata saa kumi n'ebyiri. Iyo saha ya karekare mu gitondo nyamara ntiyari inogeye mugenzi wanjye Ignace Ruhatana, wagomba iryo joro kujya mu marondo « avanze » abaturage bateguraga mu gace k'umugi nijoro kugira ngo barinde umutekano w'ibintu n'abantu.

Ku mugoroba, kuri *Hôtel Mille Collines*, nyuma gahoro ya saa mbiri n'igice, umugore wari uhagarariye ambasade y'u Busuwisi yamenyesheje « impanuka y'indege ya perezida » kandi ko na perezida w' uBurundi yashoboraga kuba yari ayirimo. Natangiye kugirana ibiganiro kuri terefone na bagenzi banjye b'Abarundi kimwe n'Abanyarwanda, birushaho kwiyongera uko inkuru y'urupfu rw'abaperezida bombi, Umunyarwanda n'Umurundi, yagendaga isakara.

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w'Inkotanyi).

Ikibazo cyangoye cyane n'icy'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahiye ubwoba bakansaba ko mbakira nkaba mbacumbikiye muri *Hôtel* des *Mille Collines*. Bifuzaga kubona ubuhungiro butigaragaza cyane. Kuri bamwe muri bo, nta cyihutirwaga. Hari ndetse abanze ibyo kuza muri hoteri, bumvaga kurindwa n'ingabo za Minuar bihagije : ni ko byagenze, by'umwihariko kuri Landoald Ndasingwa ; nyamara abamurindaga b'Abanyabangaladeshi baje gukizwa n'amaguru ubwo ingabo zirinda perezida zateraga iwe mu gitondo.

Mu runywero rwa hoteli, hari hicaye koloneli Charles Vuckovic, wari ushinzwe ibibazo bya gisirikare muri Ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika i Yaoundé kandi akaba afite mu nshingano ze uRwanda n'uBurundi, wari wahageze uwo munsi, kimwe n'abakozi ba C130 y'Ababiligi muri Minuar bagombaga gusimburwa kuri uwo mugoroba, ariko indege yabo ikaba itaremerewe kugwa ku kibuga cy'i Kanombe. Ahagana mu masaa tanu z'ijoro, abakozi ba hoteli bari bagerageje gutaha iwabo bacyumva iyo nkuru, batangiye kugaruka batangiriwe na bariyeri za gisirikare, cyangwa bifuza kurindwa no kumenya neza amakuru kurusha mu gace k' iwabo. Bityo, baje kugwa mu mutego bamazemo iminsi myinshi, nta makuru y'imiryango yabo bazi kandi bavunwa n'imitwaro iremereye. Agace gasigaye k'umugoroba n'igice kinini cy'ijoro byahariwe gutara amakuru, cyane cyane kumenya aho inshuti zacu cyangwa Abanyarwanda tuziranye baherereye. Terefone yari yabaye ikintu cy'ibanze muri icyo gikorwa.

Mu masaha yakurikiye amarorerwa, igihe Ingabo zirinda perezida (GP) zakwirakwiraga mu mugi, abanyacyubahiro benshi bumvaga badafite umutekano bihishe kwa benewabo cyangwa ahantu bizeye umutekano. Nyuma gato ya saa tatu z'ijoro (21h), Agata Uwilingiyimana yari amaze kuvugana n'abantu banyuranye bamugira inama yo kwihisha muri ambasade inzira zikigendwa. Yarabyanze asubiza ko urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana rwamusabaga gucunga ubusugire bwa leta no kurinda umutekano w'abaturage. Yahisemo rero kuguma iwe mu rugo hanyuma amenyesha abo yashoboye kuvugisha ko yari agiye gutegura itangazo rihamagarira Abanyarwanda gutuza

akanagerageza kugarura ibintu mu buryo.

Nyamara, inshuro nyinshi, Agata Uwilingiyimana ubwe yari yaraburiye mu ibanga ambasade z'abazungu ibikorwa by'amarorerwa. Ariko, urebye, ntiyakekaga icyo gihe ko na we ubwe yashoboraga guhigwa.

Ku wa kane tariki ya 7 Mata

Ijoro ryaranzwe n'ibintu bibiri: ishyirwa rya bariyeri mu mugi wose bikozwe n'Ingabo zirinda perezida n'imitwe y'ingabo z'uRwanda (FAR) (*reba umugereka wa 78*), n'amasasu y'urufaya abantu bumvise guhera saa kumi z'ijoro mu duce twegereye hoteli. Kuri iyo saha, abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bakuru batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bari bamaze kugera mu bwihisho (Dismas Nsengiyaremye, AlphonseMarie Nkubito, André Sibomana, nb.) kandi nta washoboraga kubageraho. Mu gitondo ni bwo byagaragaye neza ko ihiga nyaryo ry'"abanzi" ryari ryatangiye koko. Intabaza z'abanyacyubahiro bahigwaga badashobora kugera kuri za ambasade z'inyamahanga ziyongereye ubutitsa. Amakamyo aherekejwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida abantu babonaga zihita mu muhanda uri hejuru ya hoteli yattangiye gutunda *Interahamwe* zifunga uduce tw'umugi, zitangira kwica abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi n' "abacengezi" nyabo cyangwa ababikekwaho. Kubaha "amabendera" (ya za ambasade, Umuryango utabara imbabare, imiryango y'ubutabazi) ntibyari bigifite agaciro ku buryo buhamye. Inkongi z'umuriro zagaragaye mu duce twa Nyamirambo, Gikondo na Remera. Mugitondo karekare, terefone ya Ignace Ruhatana ntiyakoraga: yari yamaze kwicwa.

Kujya inama kuri terefone ku buryo bunonosoye gahoro byaratangiye hagati y'abihayimana, abawofisiye, inshuti zihagarariye ibihugu, kugira ngo hategurwe iyoherezwa ry'imodoka ku bahuruzaga, no gutara cyangwa gutanga amakuru ku byabaye kuri bamwe na bamwe. Nanone, abahungiraga kuri hoteli bariyongeraga, ku buryo hari hatangiye kubaho ibibazo by'umutekano no kubungabunga umutuzo. Nguko uko ku gasusuruko abasirikare bo mu Ngabo z'igihugu (FAR) bateye amatako aho abashyitsi bakirirwa kuri hoteri, bagenzura ibitabo byanditsemo abahacumbitse. Bashakaga Dismas

Nsengiyaremye (yari yaraye akemewe ari i Gitaramo ahera ko yinyegeza mu misozi). Nyuma bagiye kuri *Hotel des Diplomates.*

Hanyuma habaye igabana ry'imirimo hagati y'abasirikare babiri ba Loni batari bitwaje imbunda babaga ku buryo buhoraho muri hoteli (kapiteni Mbaye Diagne w'Umunyasenegali, na majoro Paul Victor Moigny w'Umunyekongo bo muri Minuar, ari na bo bonyine bakomeje kwigendera aho bashatse), ikipe y'ubuyobozi bwa hoteli, abakiriya bake bamenyereye aho hantu n'abakozi bafitiwe icyizere gikomeye. Aba mbere bitaga ku mutekano bakanahuza Minuar n'abasirikare b'uRwanda, aba kabiri bitaga ku mutungo (abakozi, guhaha, ibiribwa, na cyane cyane ibikoresho by'isuku), hanyuma aba gatatu bageragezaga gutunganya ibyo kwakira abantu, gutoragura indembe zashoboraga kugerwaho, kuvugana na za ambasade n'ibitangazamakuru, kugeza amakuru ku bacumbitsi ari na ko barwanya uko babishoboye impuha, umuvundo cyangwa icyoba byakundaga rimwe na rimwe gucengera mu bacumbitsi.

Kapiteni Mbaye Diagne yabaye umukozi w'ibanze wo kwakira abanyacyubahiro cyangwa abaturage basanzwe bahigwaga. Iryo yinjizwa ryaciririkanyweho kuri buri wese, akenshi binyuze mu mafaranga afatika yahabwaga abanyamapeti bo mu ngabo z' uRwanda bagenzuraga inzira zigera kuri hoteli. Amacumi menshi y'Abanyarwanda ni we bakesha kuba barageze kuri hoteli, ariko cyane cyane, kandi ibyo bizwi na bake, kuba barahagumye. Koko rero, urebye buri gihe ni we abakozi bakira abantu biyambazaga kugira ngo acubye isurasura rya nijoro ry'abasirikare, kubera kutishimiraga ibyo kwigura babaga bahawe (bacuje) ku manywa, bagashakaga gutoragura abo bahigaga no "kurangiza akazi" nijoro. Nanone, dufashijwe n'ambasade zimwe, twe (ni ukuvuga agatsinda gato kavuzwe hejuru), twari twarashyizeho itumanaho rihoraho hagati yacu n'abawofisiye b'ingabo z' uRwanda (FAR), babyikoreraga ubwabo cyangwa bagatanga imodoka n'abarinzi kugira ngo batware abantu bahigwa kuri hoteli.

Umuyobozi wa hoteli, Cornelius Bik, yafashije bikomeye muri iyo mirimo idasanzwe atanga uruhushya rwo gukoresha umutungo wa hoteli mu kwishyura ibyo kwigura byasabwaga abacikacumu bahageze. Hari ikintu cy'umwihariko kigomba kuvugwa ku ruhare rw'abakozi bamwe, Abahutu n'Abatutsi, bitanze bikomeye

bakarengera abantu bari bihishe muri hoteli, bakabagaburira bakanabahindurira icyumba buri gihe kandi batigaragaza, ariko cyane cyane bakagenzura bihoraho urujya n'uruza rudasanzwe muri hoteli no mu nzira ziyigeraho, by'umwihariko nijoro.

Mu bahageze ku itarki ya 7 Mata harimo imfubyi za Agata Uwilingiyimana, Minisitiri w'Intebe wishwe, bafite hagati y'imyaka 3 na 18. Mu ihunga ry'umuryango wabo mu gitondo abasirikare bamaze kugera iwabo mu rugo, na bo bari bashatse ubuhungiro mu nzu yeranye n'Abakoranabushake b'Umuryago wAbibumbye bacumbikirwa mu cyumba gitandukanye n'icy'ababyeyi babo. Ni yo mpamvu batari bafashwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida zoherejwe guhiga nyina. Mu masaa saba y'amanywa, generali Dallaire yari yagiye aho hantu ahura n'abana (*reba umugereka79*). Nimugoroba saa kumi n'ebyiri, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne aherekejwe n'umukapiteni w'umujandarume wo mu ngabo z'uRwanda, yagiye kubafata abajyana kuri *Hôtel Mille Collines,* aho yabashyikirije umuyobozi w'ikigo. Ubwo abari bahacumbitse babizi batangiye umukino uruhije wo kwihishahisha barengera abo bana bari bakutse umutima, nta kambaro, nta n'icyo basobanukiwe ku byabaye, bahora bafunze amadirishya, bagahora bavanwa mu cyumba bashyirwa mu kindi kandi nta na rimwe babwirwa uko bazamera[399]. Amaradiyo y'amanyamahanga yari yaratangaje amakuru y'urupfu rwabo n'urw'ababyeyi babo, ariko Ingabo zirinda perezida zari zizi ko bari muri hoteli. Ni uko hatangiye icyabaye dosiye y' "abana ba Agata".

Guhera saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice z'umugoroba, hagaragaye igabanuka gahoro gahoro ry'urusaku rw'amasasu mu murwa mukuru, nyuma y'urusaku rukabije rwo hagati ya saa kumi n'imwe na saa kumi n'ebyiri. Hanyuma, mu ma saa mbiri z'ijoro, urusaku rwinshi rw'ibibunda binini rurongera mu mugi hagati. Hafi ya saa tatu z'ijoro, bisa no kugaragaza urwango abasirikare b'Abanyarwanda bari batuzengurutse bafitiye Ababiligi (iyo hoteli yari iya kompanyi y'indege y'Ababiligi Sabena), icyumba cy'ururiro muri

[399] Vuba aha, bambwiye ko bumvaga ko, kubera impagarara, bari bibwe n' "Abazungu", bakoraga ubucuruzi bw'abana babohereza mu Burayi. Bibukaga impanuro za nyina ku kibazo cyo kwitondera abanyamahanga. Koko rero, kubera inzara yo muri 1989 n'intambara, hari haradutse muRwanda "isoko" ryo gucuruza abana ryakorwaga n'abanyamahanga byitwa ko bababereye mu kigwi cy'ababyeyi.

etaji ya kane ya *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'uruhande rwayo rureba ku muhanda witiriwe Ingabo (Avenue de l'Armée) byamishweho amasasu y'imbunda za mitarayezi. Abantu babiri barakomeretse bidakabije. Ubwoba bwo kutwinjirana n' imbunda imbere muri hoteli bwaradutashye. Abari bahangayitse cyane bari abakozi b'indege ba Sabena.

Abisabwe n'abakozi b'indege ya C130 ya Minuar bari baraye bageze muri hoteli bakabura ubwasohoka, koloneli Luc Marshal yaje kugenzura aho hantu. Ariko kuhagera kwe byarushijeho guca abantu intege kubera ko, nyuma yo kugenzura imiterere ya hoteli ari kumwe n'abasirikare b'Abanyamerika, bafashe umwanzuro ko bitashobokaga kuharinda nyabyo mu gihe habaho igitero cyangwa amasasu y'abasirikare bari ku muhanda hejuru y'uruhande rurimo ibyumba bifite ibirahure. Buri wese baramuretse yihitiramo ibyo yabonaga bimufitiye akamaro: gufata umwanya mu nzira iri hagati y'ibyumba igana mu nzu yo munsi, mu cyumba kigenewe asanseri mu gice cy'inyuma cya hoteli, mu nzira ziri hagati ya za etaji cyangwa kwigumira mu cyumba cya buri wese… Abasirikare b'Ababiligi ba C130 bafashe umwanya mu kumba kari mu nzu yo munsi kasohokeraga ku tuzu duto tw'inyuma ya hoteli. Andi masasu ya mitarayezi yarashwe nyuma gato ya saa tanu z'ijoro, akurikirwa n'ubundi burakare bukabije ahagana mu masaa kumi z'ijoro.

Ijoro rero ryari injyanamuntu. Abenshi mu bacumbitsi bari baryamye, babyigana, inyuma y' inkuta za beto zo mu nzira zijya muri etaji kugira ngo birinde amasasu. Bose bari bishwe n'umunaniro kandi barwanaga n'ibitotsi kugira ngo bashobore kugenzura urumuri rwa asanseri zacicikanaga rimwe na rimwe zigana muri za etaji, batinya ko inzugi zakwifungura nabi zigaha inzira abasirikare.Muri icyo cyoba, bamwe bafashe imigambi yo kwegera ibitangazamakuru mpuzamahanga. Ni uko, kuva iryo joro amaradiyo menshi, cyane cyane ibitangazamakuru bikomeye byo muri Amerika (birimo CNN) bisobanura ku buryo buhoraho ubwoba n'ibyago by'abari bacumbitse by'amaburakindi muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines.*

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 8 Mata

Bugicya, hafashwe icyemezo cyo kugenda tukajya impaka ku mugaragaro n'abasirikare bari batugose kugira ngo tumenye ibyo bashakaga kugeraho, noneho nko

mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne abonana n'itsinda ryagenzuraga amarembo ya hoteli. Batangaje ko batari bafite umugambi wo kuhinjira, ariko bameyesha ko nta burinzi bwa Minuar cyangwa ihungishwa na rimwe bashoboraga kwihanganira. Nyuma yaho ku manywa hoteli yajemo Abanyapakisitani n'Abahindi benshi. Bari batakaje ibintu byose, ibicuruzwa byabo byasahuwe, kandi bari barishye bikomeye abarinzi b'abasirikare babajyanye kuri hoteli. Abantu bagera kuri 800 kuva ubwo ni bo bari bahacumbikiwe, muri bo harimo impunzi nyinshi z'Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu bavuye mu tugari twari twatewe na FPR n'umubare wiyongeraga w'abanyacyubahiro n'abaturage basanzwe bari barokowe n'abasirikare b'inshuti cyangwa baguzwe ku bandi. Abarokotse b'Abatutsi barwanyaga ukwakirwa kw'izo mbabare z'Abahutu biyumvisha ko Ingabo z' uRwanda (FAR) zabakoreshaga mu bikorwa by'ubucengezi muri hoteli no kugira ngo bayigenzure. Ibibazo byo kubana byaravutse kandi hafatwa icyemezo cyo guharira abo bashya baje igice cyo hasi, hari umwanya uhagije ariko hatagira na mba ibyumba n'urwinyagamburiro. Abongabo, muri bo harimo abantu benshi tuziranye bari batuye mu duce twegereye CND, bagaragaragaho kubabazwa n'urwo rwikekwe bari bagiriwe. Habayeho n'mwiryane mu rwego rwo gucunga ikigega, mu bikorwa rusange bya hoteli no mu biryo byagendaga biba bike.

Uwo munsi, urusaku rw'amasasu y' imbunda nini n'into rwongeye kumvikana mu mugi mu rukerera ; mu gitondo cyose, abantu babonaga amakamyo yuzuye abarinzi n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba ahita. Terefone yagiye ikatwa gahoro gahoro mu duce tw' uburasirazuba n'amajyaruguru ya Kigali. Mu kanya gato k'igabanuka ry'amasasu kabonetse mu masaa cyenda n'igice, ubutumwa bwihutirwa bwohererejwe abanyaporitiki twakoranaga b'i Paris.

Inyinshi muri za ambasade zari zatangiye gutegura ihurizwa hamwe ry' abakozi bazo bo mu rwego rw'ubutwererane n'abandi bahatuye, n'iyimurwa ry'abakozi b'amashyirahamwe y'abagiraneza berekezaga i Burundi riratangira. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'iyimurwa ryateye icyizere cyinshi muri hoteli, cyaje kuba inzozi kivukamo imyitwarire isa no guta umutwe. Koko rero nyuma ya saa sita, igerageza ry'iyimurwa ry'

abakomoka muri Amerika no muri Kanada ryateguwe n'ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe, ryateye impagarara zikaze cyane hagati y' abacumbitsi ba hoteli. Abasirikare bake b'abanyamerika bari baje kubaherekeza ntibabujije imodoka zari zateganyijwe gufatwa bunyago n'abantu benshi bo mu bindi bihugu by'amahanga n'Abanyarwanda bifuzaga kugenda. Imyitwarire irimo agahinda kenshi yabayeho ubwo abasirikare b'abanyamerika bukaga inabi abatarifuzwaga bakanahagarika icyo gikorwa. Imishyikirano ibabaje cyane yabaye nimugoroba no mu ijoro, mu itsinda rigizwe gusa n'abashoboraga kugenda (Abadage na bo baje amaherezo gushyirwa mu cyiciro cya mbere) bategura iyimurwa mu ibanga.

Generali Dallaire avuga mu gitabo cye *J'ai serré la main du diable [Naramukanije na Shitani]* uko yasuye hoteli « ku mpera z'igicamunsi ». Sinzi niba yarahageze mbere cyangwa nyuma y'igerageza ryo guhungisha atanavuga, ariko ibyo avuga bigaragaza neza umwuka wari uhari n'imibanire hagati y'abasirikare n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bari bagose hoteli :

> « *Mu gusubira ku Mahoro, niyemeje guhagarara kuri Mille Collines, ahari hahungiye umubare munini w'abanyamahanga, Abanyarwanda n'abakozi ba Minuar. Urwinjiriro, ibaraza n'ibyumba byari byuzuye abasiviri bishwe n'ubwoba. Banyuzuye iruhande, banyinginga ngo mbabwire ibyariho biba kandi mbarengere. Nabasabye gutuza, mbarundamo amagambo yo kubatera imbaraga, ariko nta kindi kitari amagambo nashoboraga kubamarira. Nari ndiho nshaka mu ibanga kapiteni Mbaye, mbona anguyeho, utamenya aho avuye, anjyana ku ruhande. Ejo, kandi nta modoka ya burende yari yigeze igaragara, yari yegeranyije abana ba madamu Agata, abahisha mu kirundo cy'imyenda mu modoka ye inyuma abajyana kuri hoteli*[400]*. Nta nkomyi yabaye muri urwo*

[400] Iyo nkuru itandukanye n'iy'Ubutumwa bw'abashingamategeko b'Abafaransa: « Yumvwa n'uwakoze raporo, Bwana Bernard Cazeneuve, Bwana Le Moal, icyo gihe wari wungirije umuyobozi wa Porogaramu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) wari kandi ushinzwe gushyiraho uburyo bwo kunganira amasezerano y'amahoro kuva muri Nzeri 1993, yagaragaje ko, ku itariki ya 7 Mata, afite imodoka eshatu z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, yagiye ubwe gushaka abana ba Minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Agata Uwilingiyimana, kandi ko yabajyanye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* aho yasabye umuyobozi wayo kubacumbikira» (ASSEMBLÉE

rugendo, kandi muri icyo gihe abana bari mu mutuzo mu cyumba kimwe cyo muri etaji. Namubwiye ko nzakora ibishoboka byose nkahabavana. Nta gitangaza ko abanyamazimwe bari muri hoteli. Uwo mukapiteni yagombaga byanze bikunze kurinda abana bari bihishe mu cyumba cyabo. Hanze, agatsiko k'Interahamwe kari kashyize bariyeri imbere ya hoteli. Narahagaze nshaka kumenya icyo bahamaraga. Abo bagabo bansubije ko hoteli yari ihishemo abagambanyi kandi ko nta n'umwe bazatuma asohoka. Ariko uwashakaga kwinjira muri Mille Collines yashoboraga guhita. Numvise uruhu rw'umubiri rumvuyeho. Imbere abantu bari babarundanye nk'ishyo ry'inka, kandi byari byorosheye Interahamwe kwirohayo zikabica. Maze kubabwira ko noneho hoteli yari irinzwe n'Umuyango w'Abibumbye, nabategetse kutinjirayo. Ayo magambo yarabasekeje[401]*».*

Ubwicanyi bukaze, cyane cyane bwibasiye Abatutsi, bwarakomeje ijoro ryose mu duce twa Kigali. Muri rusange, nkurikije ibyo abantu babonaga ku mpande za hoteli n'ibyo batubwiraga kuri terefone, umugi wose wasaga n'uwaguye mu bikorwa by'ubugome by'ibintu by'ibisinzi byarasaga ikintu cyose cyinyagamburaga, byica, bifata ku ngufu binasahura.

Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata

Imbere muri hoteli, ijoro ryabaye rigufi ariko rituje. Nyamara amanywa yo ku wa 9 Mata byari bigoye kuyihanganira. Isakabaka ryatangiye mu masaa cyenda y'ijoro (3h), ubwo indasinzira zumvaga amaradiyo ananywa n'ijoro, zumvaga inkuru y'igwa ry'indege enye Transall z'imfaransa ku kibuga cy'indege i Kigali. Abasirikare b'Abafaransa bazivuyemo bigaruriye ikibuga, agace kose kaguma mu maboko y'Ingabo z'uRwanda (FAR). Operasiyo « Amaryllis » yari itangiye.

Kuri iyo saha, ambasade y'Amerika yahaye amabwiriza y'ibanga abayikomokamo

NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,, *umutumba I, p.267-268).*

[401] Roméo DALLAIRE, *J'ai serré la main du diable [Naramukanije na Shitani].p.* 345-346.

n'abatoranyijwe bari bashyizwe ku rutonde ruzwi bonyine, ikora operasiyo ya gikomando yo kubatwara hagati yo mu masaa kumi na saa kumi n'imwe z'ijoro, itungura abandi basabaga kugenda. Mu museke, abatereranywe bamaze kumenya iryo yimurwa rivangura kandi ryaraye rikozwe rwihishwa, umwuka wo kwikuriramo akarenge n'urwikekwe rwinshi wuzura mu mpunzi za buri gihugu. Iyo operasiyo ifatwa nk'ubugambanyi, yavugishije ibigambo bikaze ku busumbane bw'ubwenegihugu n'ingirwagaciro y'ubuzima. Nta rindi fatanya rusange ryongeye kuvugwa, n'ubwo ka gace kari gashinzwe « imishyikirano » kuva ku wa 7 Mata (abakozi b'ubuyobozi bwa hoteli, ba basirikare babiri ba Minuar na bamwe mu bacumbitsi bahamenyereye) nta ko katagize.

Isakabaka ryakabije mu masaa mbili saa tatu z'igitondo kubera kwisuka kw'impunzi zahigwaga na FPR zari zizanywe aho n'Ingabo z'Igihugu (FAR). Intonganya zikomeye zarabaye mu isaranganya n'ishyirwa mu byumba.

Amanywa yegeye imbere, amaradiyo yatangaje ko abasirikare 300 barwanira mu mazi b'Abanyamerika bari bageze i Bujumbura kandi ko abasirikare 600 bamanukira mu mitaka b'Ababiligi bavaga muBubiligi berekeza i Kigali mu rwego rwa operasiyo « Silverback ». Igice cya mbere cy'abanyamahanga b'abazungu 200 cyavuye i Butare kigana i Bujumbura, gikurikirwa n'abandi banyamahanga 200 bagizwe ahanini n'Abanyamerika bavuye i Kigali, hakurikiraho abakozi bagera ku ijana b'Amashyirahamwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye.

Kubera ko batari bacyizeye amakuru yavugaga ko indege yoherejwe na guverinoma y'Ubuhindi yashoboraga gufatira i Nairobi Abanyaziya ingabo z'Abafaransa zari guhungisha, aba bo bahisemo kumvikana n'abasirikare bo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda ku « bukode » bw'imodoka za burende zashoboraga kubaherekeza kugera ku mupaka w'uBurundi. Bahasize ibisigazwa by'umutungo wabo…Amaherezo, ambasade y'uBufaransa yadusabye kwitegura guhungishwa muri hoteli bukeye bwaho, inatumenyesha ko twagombaga kujya ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa Saint- Exupéry dukoresheje uburyo bwacu. Inkuru twari dushinzwe gukwirakwiza mu bantu bacumbikiwe muri hoteli yari iyi: mu banyamahanga, abakomoka mu Ishyirahamwe

ry'Ubukungu ry'Ibihugu by'u Burayi, bonyine, ni bo barebwaga n'iyimurwa ; hari kuba iyimurwa rimwe gusa, kandi uBufaransa bukaba ari bwo bwonyine burikora (no ku baturage b'uBubiligi). Iryo tangazo ryari urucantege ku miryango y'imvange z'amoko, by'umwihariko iyo umwe mu bayigize yabaga ari umunyafurika. Twishyie hamwe, turerura tubwira ambasade y'uBufaransa ko tutabyemera, haba ku ruhande rwacu by'umwihariko cyangwa ku Banyarwanda barokotse ubwicanyi bwakorwaga.

Indege yo guhungisha irimo gusa abantu mirongo ine na batatu (abana n'abagore b'abanyamahanga b'Abafaransa ahanini) yahagurutse i Kigali mu mpera z'igicamunsi. Nta yindi ambasade yigeze isabwa kuzuza iyo ndege. Abantu cumi na babiri bo mu muryango wa Yuvenali Habyarimana bajyanywe muri iyo ndege[402].

Umunsi wari watangiranye icyizere cy'itabara ry'abanyamahanga umuntu yakekaga ko ryari rigiye guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugarura umutekano, warangiye mu kumiro kenshi, cyane ko koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, umuyobozi mushya wa Etamajoro wari winginzwe ngo aze gutwara umuryango wari wihishe atigeze akoma. Mu by'ukuri, nta bubasha bwo kuyobora yari afite.

Ku cyumweru tariki ya 10 Mata

Nkurikije abo twavugana bose, iryo joro ryari rifite umutuzo kurusha ayandi yose umugi wa Kigali wari wararaye kuva intambara yongeye kuba kandi kuva mu rukerera abantu babonye amakamyo y'imyanda atangiye gutoragura intumbi mu mihanda.

Ariko abantu banamenye nanone ko bamwe mu bantu twari twarakiriye muri hoteli batari bagihari. Nkurikije abakozi, iryo genda ryaba ryarakozwe nijoro hamwe n'abasirikare nta wamenya niba bari baje kubarokora cyangwa kubahitana. Ibikorwa nk'ibyo byari byaragiye biba kenshi ku manywa guhera ku wa kane. Byadutera ipfunwe

[402] «Ku gicamunsi cyo ku itariki ya 9 Mata, ishami ry'ingabo ryagenzuraga ibigo byo guhurizamo abantu mu gace karimo ambasade, cyane cyane ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Inzira yo guhungisha abantu ntiyacaga mu mugi hagati, ahubwo mu nkengero yawo yo mu majyepfo. Iryo tsinda ryaguwe n'ishyika ry'abantu mirongo itatu na batanu biyongereyeho. Saa kumi n'imwe, mu kubahiriza amabwiriza y'icyo gikorwa, indege ya mbere ya C130 yarahagurutse irimo Abafaransa mirongo ine na batatu n'abantu cumi na babiri bo mu muryango wa Habyarimana» (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 257).

iyo wakubitanaga amaso nabo batwawe butama, ukibaza icyo batekerezaga.

Saa tatu n'igice, ambasade y'abafaransa yasabye urutonde rw'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga gutwarwa. Hafi yo mu masaa tanu, ba kapiteni Mbaye na Moigny ba Minuar baje gutwara abana ba Agata Uwilingiyimana, babajyana mu modoka ya burende ya generali Dallaire yari ihagaze imbere y'urwinjiriro rwa hoteli. Ariko, ku munota wa nyuma, uyu yategetse ko babasubiza mu cyumba cyabo, atinya ko bafatwa n'Ingabo z' Igihugu (FAR) cyangwa abaturage b'inkerarugamba. Nyuma yaho gato, mu ntangiriro y'igicamunsi, nko mu masaa kumi, abasirikare bagera kuri cumi na babiri hamwe n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bafite amahane menshi bari bavuye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates,* baje ku rwakiriro bakangisha guturitsa inzugi z'ibyumba na za gerenade zabo niba batabahaye abana ba Minisitri w'Intebe Agata Uwilingiyimana, kimwe na Faransisiko Saveri Nsnzuwera, porokireri wa Repubulika wa Kigali n'umugore we Imakulata Mukahirwa (bari batoraguwe na koloneli Lehonidasi Rusatira abageza kuri hoteli). Abo ba nyuma bombi bari bashyizwe mu cyumba cyanjye ubwanjye muri etaji ya kabiri, abana bari mu cyumba byari bifatanye, nanjye kandi narashakishwaga. N'ubwo ibintu byari bimeze nabi, ugutabaza kwacu kwihutirwa nta cyo kwatanze, haba muri Minuar, muri PNUD no mu basirikare b'Abafaransa biyambajwe (« Nimwumvikane », ni ko bansubije muri ambasade y' uBufaransa).

Kapiteni Mbaye Diagne yabyinjiyemo ajya impaka igihe kirekire nyuma aza kwemererwa ko abasirikare n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bava kuri hoteli mbere gato ya saa cyenda z'amanywa[403].

Ako kanya bakimara kugenda, haje minisitiri w'Ingabo, Agositini Bizimana, arinzwe n'abasirikari bakuru. Uyu yari avuye muri misiyo muri Kameruni (Cameroun), ahita atangira imirimo ye muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Ngifite igihunga natewe

[403] Inkuru ikurira y'icyo gikorwa itangwa n'abakoze raporo y'ubutumwa bw'abadepite: «ku cyumweru tariki ya 10 Mata, ambasaderi w'uBufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud amaze kumenyesha[Bwana Le Moal, icyo gihe wari wungirije umuyobozi wa Porogaramu y''Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) wari kandi ushinzwe gushyiraho uburyo bwo kunganira amasezerano y'amahoro kuva muri Nzeri 1993] ko bitashobokaga, nta bibazo bikomeye biteye, kubera umwuka w'urwango wari wiganje, guhungisha «abana b'Agata», [Bwana Le Moal] yasubiye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* aho yamenyeye ko abo bana bari batoraguwe na Bwana André Guichaoua hamwe n'Umunyamerika [Marc-Daniel Gutekunst, w'Umufaransa wabaga muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe, Igiterezo cy'umwanditsi] (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE,*Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.*.p. 268).

n'amagambo akaze nari nateranye n'abasirikare n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba, namwakiranye ibyishimo agisohoka mu modoka (twari tuziranye by'umwihariko kubera imirimo yakoraga mbere muri banki z'Abaturage). Namuregeye uko mbonye imyitwarire n'ibikorwa bibi by'abasirikare « be ». Yansubijanye inabi ko atagiraga ububasha na buke ku basirikare kubera ko atari yakarahiye nk'abandi baminisitiri ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Ukuza kwa Jean-Hélène, wari uhagarariye ikinyamakuru Le Monde na Radiyo Mpuzamahanga y'Abafaransa (RFI) washakaga kugirana na we ikiganiro, kwarogoye ibiganiro byacu. Nyuma yo kumubaza inshuro ebyiri kuvuga umwirondoro we, minisitiri yategetse abasirikare babiri bo mu bamurinda guherako bafata uwo munyamakuru yise «FPR kantsinsi ». Jean-Hélène yirutse amasigamana agana aho imodoka zihagara, yiroha mu modoka ya Croix-Rouge yahereyeko ivuduka. Ubwo minitiri yavuze ko yatanze itegeko « yisekereza ». Noneho ibiganiro byacu byarakomeje: minisitiri yemeje ko bariyeri zose zari zavanyweho i Kigali uretse iz'abajandarume, kandi ko bidatinze byashobokaga kwigendera nta nkomyi. Yanyijeje kohereza saa kumi n'imwe abandinda kugira ngo njye kugoboka abanyamahanga bari bafite ibibazo. Guhera saa kumi n'iminota cumi n'itanu, iraswa ry'amasasu ryarongeye bikabije risa n'aho ryakiraga ishyika ry'indege za mbere z'Ababiligi zageze i Kanombe ahagana saa kumi na mirongo ine n'itanu. Nategereje abarinzi be umuti wa mperezayo biba ngombwa ko ndeka gusohoka.

Saa kumi n'imwe, bwenda kwira, ambasade y'UBufaransa yamenyesheje ko yari ishinzwe gucyura «abanyamahanga bose », inadusaba kuva vuba vuba muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* tukajya ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa twirwanyeho nta n'abaturinda[404]. Nyuma

[404] «Amanywa yo ku itariki ya 10 Mata yaranzwe n' ihaguruka ry'indege eshatu i Bangui zo mu bwoko bwa C130 zitwaye umutwe wa Regima ya 8 y'abagendera mu mitaka bo mu ngabo zo mu mazi (RPIMa) bari bavuye i Libreville, bituma umubare wose w'ingabo ugera ku bantu 464. Muri icyo gihe, hatangiye amasimburanwa umunani yo kwimurira abantu i Bujumbura. Kubakuraho byari bitangiye gukomera, cyane cyane hafi ya *Hôtel Méridien* mu miriro y'amasasu yaraswaga n'Inkotanyi. Muri rusange, imitwe ibiri y'ingabo ni yo yagenzuraga aho hantu n'umutwe umwe wakwirakwijwe mu mugi, aho uduce twawo tubiri twarindaga ikigo gikuru cyo kwimuriramo abantu cyo ku Ishuri ry'Abafaransa, agace kamwe karinda ambasade y'uBufaransa n'aka kane kagenzura inzu ndangamuco. Kuri ayo manywa ni bwo himuwe, hamwe n'abababaherekeje, abana 97 bo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Mutagatifu Agatha cyari i Masaka. Bukeye bwaho baje kujyanwa n'indege» (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*.p.257).

yo kubijyaho inama akanya gato, twabamenyesheje ko twanze bidasubirwaho (burundu) gusohoka muri hoteli duhubutse kandi bwije. Hafashwe icyemezo cyo kwimurira urugendo ku munsi ukurikiyeho. Ariko kandi byakomeje kugorana kubona igisubizo gifatika ku cyifuzo cy'uko tujyana abana ba Agata Uwilingiyimana, kimwe na François-Xavier Nsanzuwera n'umugore we. Ibisubizo bya Ambasade byagendaga bihindagurika hakurikijwe uwo buvugana, bamwe bakitsitsa ku mabwiriza y'ibanze : « uBufaransa burishingira abacumbitsi b'abanyamahanga, abanyamahanga bose », « Abanyarwanda barebwa n'Ababiligi, baje nyuma, ni bo bagomba gukora igikwiye »; abandi bakihohora bati « Kuki [ari] twe [mureba gusa]? », « Nimugeze ikibazo kuri Loni ». Intabaza zose zabaye imfabusa .Nta wayashakaga nta n'uwatinyukaga kwishyiraho umuzigo. Hamaze kubura umwanzuro kandi bigaragara ko rwabuze gica, icyizere kidasobanutse neza cyaje gushyira gituruka muri ambasade y'uBufaransa.

Nubwo na bo byari byabaye ngombwa ko bahungira kuri hoteri, abakozi b'umuryango utabara imbabare w'Ababiligi baraye ijoro ryose bagaragaza ubuhanga bwabo, babarura abantu n'imodoka, banavana ku mabisi mato (minibisi) ya Sabena ibirango byayo. Hoteli yari icumbikiye icyo gihe abanyamahanga 166 n'Abanyarwanda basaga 300 (abenshi ntibatari kuri lisiti n'imwe, abandi bakoresha amazina atari yo ku mpamvu z'umutekano wabo). Bitinze ku mugoroba, hiyongereyeho uwihayimana w'Umunyakanada aherekejwe n'Umuzayirwa ; bari bamaze iminsi bihishe mu « bihuru » maze bagarurwa mu mugi n'irondo ry'abasirikare. Ikiguzi cyari ibihumbi 300 by'amafaranga y'amanyarwanda, icyo ni cyo giciro gito ku bindi cyasabwaga igihe twahamaze…Urebye abasirikare basabaga gusa amafaranga yo « kugura » risansi n'inzoga. Ku manywa, twari tugeze ku mafaranga 25000 ku munyenganda n'umwavoka, batahabwaga akandi gaciro uretse ak'ubwoko, birurira bigera ku mafaranga 100000 ku warwanyaga ubutegetsi wabaga yatahuwe.

Ku wa mbere tariki ya 11 Mata

Saa kumi n'imwe n'igice mu gitondo, twamenyesheje ambasade y'uBufaransa ko twiteguye kujya ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Bitwaje gusa agafuka cyangwa agakapu, "abanyamahanga" bose bari bageze mu modoka zari zashoboye gukusanywa. Kapiteni Diagne Mbaye yari yarangije kugenzura inshuro nyinshi inzira yo kunyuramo kandi nta bariyeri n' imwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba cyangwa y'abasirikare yari igihari. Nyamara byabaye ngombwa gutegereza amasaha abiri mbere y'uko hatangwa ikimenyetso cyo kuva kuri hoteli, kubera ko gutwara ba bana batanu b'Abanyarwanda byari byongeye gukemangwa n' abo twakoranaga bo muri ambasade y'uBufaransa. Nihutiye kubabwira ko nta muntu n'umwe washoboraga kuva muri hoteli igihe cyose twari tutarabona uburenganzira bwo kubajyana. Nari natunguwe n'ihindagura ryabo maze duterana amagambo akarishye. Koko, nijoro nari naterefonnye Pierre Péan muBufaransa musobanurira ukuntu tubayeho kubera kwinangira kw'ambasade y'uBufaransa, namusaba kubyigereza ubwe kuri Bruno Delaye, umuyobozi w'Ishami ry'Afurika muri Elysée[ingoro ya perezida w'UBufaransa]. Nyuma yarampamagaye ambwira ko guhungisha [abana ba Agata] byemejwe. Icyo kibazo cy'abana rero narahakanye ndatsemba ko ndashobora kwemera ko ambasade yisubiraho. Nyuma y'iterana ry'amagambo rikomeye (harimo ni ryo nagiranye na Jean-Michel Marlaud), ambasade yagezeho iremera, ariko ikomeza kwangira ishikamye uwareraga abana, ndetse na porokireri wa Repubulika n'umugore we. Nyuma y' inama y'agatsinda kacu, twafashe icyemezo cyo kutava ku izima no gukomeza kurwanira ko abo twari kumwe bose tujyana. Pierre Sharon ubwo ajya mu byo kunyihanangiriza maze amenyesha ko niba dushaka "kumukinisha", ububiko bw'imodoka zacu buri busakwe ku muryango w'ishuri ry'Abafaransa kandi ko Abanyarwanda bari bube bazirimo basubizwayo, mu magambo make ko bari buhabwe abasirikare bari barashyizwe hafi aho. Hanyuma yanteye ubwoba ko nintaha muBufaransa, nanjye ubwanjye azandega mu butabera "gufata abantu ho iminyago" no "gushyira mu byago ubuzima bw'abaturage b'uBufaransa ". Amaherezo, Bik, Diagne, Gutegunst nanjye twafashe icyemezo cyo kuva ku izima tunasaba porokireri, uwo bashakanye n'umukozi urera abana bari bamaze kwicara muri

4x4 gusubira muri hoteli kubera ko ibintu byari bimeze nabi: kuba nta bariyeri z'abaturage b'inkerarugamba zari mu nzira twagombaga kunyuramo kugira ngo tugere ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry ntibyashoboraga guhoraho. Nanone, gushyuha mu mutwe n'ubwoba byagendaga byiyongera mu bantu bari batsindagiye mu mamodoka yari kuri parikingi ya hoteli mu gihe cy'amasaha abiri kandi batagiraga icyo bazi ku mpamvu y'iryo tinda. Indi kirogoya ya nyuma, saa moya amabasade y'uBubiligi yifuje ko abantu bayo baguma muri hoteli bakahavanwa nyuma n'ingabo z'Ababiligi! Mu ijoro, abakomando b'inyongera 400 bamanukira mu mitaka b'Ababiligi bari koko bageze i Kigali. Abakomoka muBubiligi babyangiye icyarimwe. Kujyana na ba bana batanu ku ishuri amaherezo byabaye mu masaa moya n'igice, bikurikirwa no kujyanwa ku kibuga cy'indege saa yine.

Itahuka ry'abanyamahanga ryatubereye twese, by'umwihariko kuri " malayika murinzi" wacu wo muri Minuar, igihe cy'agahinda yakiriye nk'itsindwa rye ubwe kubera ivangura ryakorewe abanyagihugu. Kuva saa kumi z'ijoro amaze kwizera ko nta bariyeri n'imwe y'abasirikare cyangwa y'abitwara gisikare yari ifunze inzira yo kunyuramo kugera aho twari guhurira, kandi anibutsa abantu bari mu makuba yari yasubije kuri hoteli, yaratubwiye mbere y'uko dushobobora kuvugana na amabasade y'uBufaransa ati "nakoze igice cy'umurimo, ubu ni mwe mugomba gukora ikindi gice". Ubugome bwaranze ukwanga kwa amabasade y'uBufaransa bwamuteye agahinda, hanyuma mbere yo gutandukana atubwira ko yikundiraga urwego rwe rw'umusirikare " w'intege nke kubera ko ari ko Loni yabishatse" kurusha urw' "abari bafite uburyo ariko bakanga gutabara".

Tukigera ku ishuri[Saint-Expéry], twaganiriye twisanzuye n'abakozi b'ambasade y'uBufaransa bari bahadutanze[405], ikibazo cya porokireri Nsanzuwera tukivuganaho

[405] Ubwo naje kumenya, mbibwiwe na madamu Marlaud, umugore w'ambasaderi ubwe, ko ari we ubwe, wari waraye afashe icyemezo cyo kwanga guhungisha Nsanzuwera. Ingingo ye yari ishingiye ko, urebye inyandiko zisaba za Nsanzuwera nari namwohererje kuri fagisi muri iryo joro kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, uwo yasabaga ubuhungiro bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki muBubiligi ambasade y'uBufaransa ikaba itaragombaga kwita ku mpamvu ye. Ku ruhande rwacu, ntitwari twaketse ko hari ikibazo kubera ko uBufaransa bwimuraga muri hoteli abakomokaga muBubiligi. Icyo gihe, umutekano nyirizina w'ambasade y'uBubiligi wari ntawo burundu kandi nyuma y'ukutagira ikigerwaho n'itabara rya jenerali Dallaire kuri hoteli kugira ngo atware abana, ntibyashobokaga na busa gutekereza ko ingabo z'Ababiligi zashoboraga kubyinjiramo. Nanone, ambasaderi Marlaud yari yasanze ku munsi ubanza

n’abasirikare b’Abafaransa, bemera guhera ko bansubiza kuri hoteli mu ijipe bamperekeje kugira ngo muzane. Umwofisiye wari ushinzwe ibyo guhungisha yasabye ariko ko twabanza kubona icyemezo cy’ambasaderi mbere yo kujya kuri hoteli, hanyuma, mperekejwe n’abasirikare bane ninjiye muri ambasade. Mu kirongozi cya Ambasade nahahuriye n’uhagarariye Papa muRwanda anyemerera kumperekeza kugira ngo amfashe kumvisha ambasaderi ukuri. Twasabye kwakirwa twembi baratwangira. Ikindi kandi ni uko umunyamabanga we yatwibukije ko kutahaba kwanjye byari bigiye gutinza kujyana igihiri cy’abantu bose ku kibuga cy’indege. Iyo ngingo yari yagiweho impaka mbere yo kuva ku ishuri ry’Abafaransa tugana kuri ambasade kandi, nyuma y’impaka nagiranye n’umusirikare mukuru wari umperekeje, yangiriye inama yo kudatinda kubwira abakuru be bari ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry ko yari guherako anjyana ku kibuga hamwe na porokireri, ko bitari rero ngombwa gutegereza ko tugaruka. N’uhagarariye Papa turongera dusaba ko amasaderi atwakira. Kwanga kwa kabiri: “Nta mwanya ukiri muri ambasade y’uBufaransa. Nta kundi byari kugenda, uwari undinze arongera amperekeza ku ishuri ry’Abafaransa. Hanyuma igihiriri cy’abantu kijya ku kibuga cy’indege, akenshi ku buryo bugoranye, kinyuze mu gace kahariwe inganda. Ku kibuga cy’indege, umwirondoro wa ba bana batanu batari bafite impapuro nta kibazo wateye mu magenzura abiri yakozwe n’ingabo z’Abafaransa mbere yo kujya mu ndege.

Ikibazo cyasaga n’icyumvikanye, n’abahagarariye u Busuwisi i Kigali bari badusezeranyije ko abana bari kwakirwa ku butaka bw’u Busuwisi baramutse babyangiwe bageze muBufaransa. Nuko, tugeze i Bujumbura, Henri Crépin-Leblond, ambasaderi w’uBufaransa muBurundi yansobanuriye ko yari kohereza i Quai d’Orsay agapapuro kavuga ko banyura muBufaransa berekeza mu Busuwisi. Amakuru yari yamugejejweho byanze bikunze na mugenzi we w’i Kigali.

Akanya gato abana bamaze ku kibuga cy’indege i Bujumbura kateje impagarara nyinshi mu nzego z’igipolisi n’abasirikare b’Abarundi bari bashinzwe umutekano

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bidashoboka gushinga uwo murimo ingabo z’Abafaransa mu gihe ingabo zirinda perezida n’abitwara gisirikare bari babyinjiyemo, kandi n’ubuzima bw’abakomoka muBufaransa ubwabwo bwari bubangamiwe.

w'ikibuga, batari bazi umwirondoro nyawo w'izo mfubyi. Indege ya Transall y'imfaransa ikihagera mu masaa saba ivuye i Kigali, igihuha cyari cyakwiriye ku kibuga ko bari abana bakomoka kuri nyakwigendera Habyarimana. Kubera ko ibitangazamakuru mpuzamahanga byari byatangaje urupfu rw'abana ba Minisitiri w' Intebe hamwe na nyina, kwibeshya byarumvikanaga. Ubushyuhe bwari bwinshi mu basirikare, wasangaga bamwe muri bo kugira ngo bagaragaze ko batishimiye kuba bahari, bahondaguraga ibirahuri by'icyumba twari dutegererejemo. Ku bw'amahirwe, nabonye mu bagenzi b'indege yari imaze kugwa, uwahoze ari Minisitiri w'Intebe w'i Burundi Adirani Sibomana, mbasha kumusobanurira ikibazo cyacu. Yarahagobotse, adushinga Mames Bansubiyeko, umuyobozi mukuru w'ipererezа n'abinjira n'abasohoka. Amenye ko abana bari ku butaka bw'uBurundi, perezida w'agateganyo, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, wifuzaga "kwakirana ishema no guha icyubahiro abazize imidugararo yo muRwanda", yashatse kutwakira muri perezidansi ya Repubulika. Ku mpamvu z'umutekano no kwirinda imbogamizi ariko, twumvikanye kuguma ku kibuga mu gace mpuzamahanga, tuguma mu cyumba cyo kwicaramo ku kibuga kugeza igihe indege ya Air France yahagurukiye kuri uwo mugoroba. Ku gicamunsi, Minisitiri w'Intebe w'uBurundi, Anatole Kanyenkiko, Minisitiri w' ububanyi n'amahanga, Jean-Marie Ngendahayo n'amabasaderi w'uRwanda mu Bujumbura, Sylvestre Uwibajije, baje kuganira n'abana.

I Kigali ibintu byarihuse:

"Mu mugi imirwano irakomeye. Abenshi mu bakomoka muBufaransa bamaze guhungishwa cyangwa bakusanywa ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Ibyo bikorwa birakomeza; bireba abava muBufaransa n' abanyamahanga. Saa cyenda n' igice ambasaderi i Kigali, " kubera icyemezo cyo gufunga agace gahurizwamo Abafaransa, ibintu birushaho kuba bibi i Kigali n'iyimurirwa rya Guverinoma muri Hôtel des Diplomates yegereye ambasade ikaba ishobora kuba intego y'amasasu", irasaba Quai d'Orsay gufunga iyo ambasade ejo mu gitondo tariki

ya 12 Mata"[406].

Icyo cyifuzo cyari cyarangije kugibwaho impaka muri icyo gitondo mu nama ihuza za minisiteri iyobowe na François Mitterand, wari wasabwe kugira icyo avuga ku iyimurwa ry'Abafaransa n'ifungwa ry'ambasade:

" Aho hantu, tubonwa nk'abafatanya n'Abahutu n'ibyitso bya Habyarimana wahoze ari perezida.Iyinjira i Kigali rya FPR n'imirwano igiye gukara ni imbogamizi ikomeye cyane ku mutekano w' abaduhagarariye mu gihugu. Ambasaderi wacu ashobora, niba mubyemera, kuvana i Kigali n'abasirikare bacu ba nyuma.Ni cyo gitekerezo cya Quai d'Orsay.Mu rwego rw'umutekano, natwe ni ko tubibona"[407] .

Uhagarariye Papa yimuriwe i Bujumbura ahagana saa kumi n'imwe.Yahageze mbere gato y'uko twinjira mu ndege, ambwira ko bitashobotse kujya gufata porokireri Nsanzuwera n'umufasha we.

Ku wa kabiri tariki ya 12

Indege idasanzwe ya Air France igeze ku kibuga cy'i Roissy itwaye abanyamahanga 474, minisitri w'ubutwererane, Michel Roussin, no hanyuma uhagarariye minisiteri w'ububanyi n'amahanaga nibarije ubwanjye, bambwiye ko bari bamenyeshejwe ko abana ba Agata Uwilingiyimana bari mu baje mu ndege, ariko ko nta cyemezo cy'umwihariko kibareba cyari cyafashwe, kandi imfashanyo zikomeye zari zateguwe mu kwakira "imfubyi zemewe n'amategeko" zo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte-Agata, bimuwe n'iyo ndege. Bashoboraga ariko kubona icyemezo cyo kutirukanwa cy'iminsi itandatu kimwe n'abandi banyamahanga bimuwe, hagitegerejwe ko ikibazo

[406] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*.p.258.

[407] Inyandiko Jenerari Christian QUESNOT, umugaba wa etamajoro yihariye ya François Mitterrand na Dominique Pin, wari ushinzwe ubutumwa, bagejeje kuri perzida ; tubisanga mu gitabo cya Pierre PÉAN, *Noires Fureurs, Blancs menteurs. Rwanda 1990-1994*, Fayard, Paris, 2005, p. 291.

cyabo gifatirwa ibyemezo. Ariko, kubera ko ntari nashoboye kubona gihamya yo gushyira mu buryo ikibazo cyabo itanzwe na perefegitura ya Lille-ni ho nari ntuye- mu minsi itandatu icyemezo cyagombaga kumara, Thérèse Pujolle, umuhuzabikorwa w'ishami rya za minisiteri rishinzwe ibihe bikomeye ryari ryashyiriweho kugenzura ibikorwa byo gutahura abantu, yangiriye inama yo gukomeza gahunda yo kujyana abana mu Busuwisi: ku ruhande rw'abayobozi, byari kuba ari "ukwimuka kwihariye bajya mu Busuwisi" baciye muBufaransa. Icyemezo cy'u Busuwisi cyamenyekanye ku manywa noneho Anne Baudois Chaya, wari uhagarariye Ubusuwisi i Paris, ashobora kuza kudufata imbere mu nzu itegererezwamo indege aje mu modoka ifite icyapa cya CD, adutwara mu gace mpuzamahanga ku ndege ya Swissir yerekezaga i Genève. Nguko uko Leta y'uBufaransa, mu kutava ku izima ryayo, yizibukiriye uwo mutwaro dore ko abashoboraga gusabaga ubuhungiro batari bigeze bakandagira bizwi ku butaka bwabo.

Abana bitaweho n'inzego za gipolisi z'Abasuwisi zifuje ko "begezwa kure y'induru y' ibinyamakuru". Mbere y'uko nsubira i Paris nimugoroba, itangazo rigufi ryo mu buyobozi ryamenyesheje mu maganbo make ishyika ry'abana ba Minisitsrs w' I ntebe mu Busuwisi. Bashyizwe mu rwihisho ibyumweru byinshi mu kigo cyakira impunzi mu Busuwisi mu gace kavuga ikidage, mu gihe ibigo bikomeye bya televiziyo n'ibinyamakuru by'ibinyamahanga byabashakishaga uruhindu[408].

[408] Mu mwaka wakurikiyeho, muri Mata 1995, ikibazo cy' "abana b'Agata" cyongeye kuvuka i Kigali, mu iyibuka ku nshuro ya mbere ry' intambara na jenoside, ubwo abayobozi bashya b'uRwanda bashakaga gutaha urwibutso mu rwego rwo guha icyubahiro ababiguyemo kandi by'ibanze Agata Uwilingiyimana, wari wagizwe intwari y'igihugu. Hagiwe impaka n'abayobozi b'u Busuwisi kugira ngo abana bashobore kuza muri iryo yibuka rya mbere. Ndi i Kigali mu butumwa bwa Banki y'isi mu kwezi kwa gatatu, nasabwe kubaherekeza kandi umukuru wa guverinoma w'icyo gihe, Faustin Twagiramungu, yifuza cyane cyane ko mba mu mwanya w'icyubahiro hamwe n'abana nkanahagararira uBufaransa, kubera ko ambasaderi mushya w'uBufaransa, Jacques Courbin, yari yifatiye mu cyayenge ibiruhuko akajya i Paris. Mu mwuka w'imitwe ishyushye cyane Imbere mu gihugu,n'ubwumvikane buke bukabije hagati y'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki byrangwaga igihe habaga ibiganiro n'impaka nari natumiwemo, byatumye nanga kugaragara mu birori yemewe. Hanyuma, ubuyobozi bw'Inkotanyi, bubuza guverinoma uburyo, bwanze gushyikirana n'ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Rishinzwe impunzi (HCR) n'abayobozi b'Abasuwisi ku buryo bwo kuzana abana muRwanda, bunasaba ambasaderi w'uRwanda i Genève gufata ubwe abana mu miryango yabakiriye mu Busuwisi akabageza i K igali. Ubushyamirane bwo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga bwari bwatangiye, icyo gihe mfata icyemezo, mbyumvikanyeho na Minisitiri w'intebe, kuba ntari i Kigali muri iryo yibuka. Uko kutizerana kwagize ingaruka z'igihe kirekire mu mibanire yanjye n'abayobozi bashya.

Hanyuma muBufaransa idosiye y'abana yabonewe umwanzuro "wemewe" ku itariki ya 12 Gicurasi 1995, umunsi natumirwaga ku meza, ku buryo buntunguye, muri Quai d'Orsay, na Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sablière, wari icyo gihe umuyobozi w'Ibireba Afurka na Madagascar, hashize iminsi mike Jacques Chirac atorewe kuba

I Kigali, amabasade y'uBufaransa yafunzwe ahagana saa tatu mu gitondo n'abakozi ba nyuma bari bagihari , ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud, koloneli Bernard Cussac, Pierre Sharon…bimukira ku kibuga cy'indege. Ku manywa, indege idasanzwe y' imfaransa yahagurutse i Kigali ijya i Bujumbura irimo abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye muri amabasade y'uBufaransa. Muri rusange, abantu 1238 bimuwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa harimo Abafaransa 454. Mu banyamahanga 784, harimo Abanyafurika 612, harimo Abanyarwanda 394. Igihiri cya nyuma cyaje kuva i Kigali kirimo Johann Swinnen, ambasaderi w'uBubiligi— ari mu modoka ya burende y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye—, Marie-France Renfer, wari uhagarariye u Busuwisi, Monique Mujawamariya, umuharanizi w'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu wo muri CLADHO (Urugaga rw'amahuriro n'amashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu muRwanda), nb. Abanyamahanga b'abanyaburayi bavanywe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* ahagana saa cyenda z'amanywa. Abakozi 26 b'Abasuwisi ba Komite mpuzamahanga y'Umuryangoutabara imababare (CICR) bayobowe na Philippe Gaillard, nibo bonyine basigaye i Kigali. Mu nyuma, *Hôtel des Mille Collines* yasigaye ahanini yita ku byo guhisha abanyacyubahiro bari bahahungiye.

Hôtel des Diplomates yo yafunzwe mu ntangiriro y'amanywa, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho imaze kwimukira i Gitarama. Nyuma yaho gato, umuyobozi w'umubiligi wa *HôteL des Mille Collines* yasimbuwe na Paul Rusesabagina w'Umunyarwanda, mbere yaho wari umuyobozi wa *Hôtel des Diplomates.* Yahavuye saa kumi n'imwe hamwe n'abayobozi b'ishami ry'Umuryango w'Ubukungu w'ibihugu by'i Burayi (CEE).

Ku wa kabiri kuri 12 ku manywa, noneho François-Xavier Nsanzuwera yashoboye kuboneka kuri terefone. Yatubwiye ko ambasaderi w'uBubiligi Johan Swinnen na we ubwe witeguraga kujyana n'Ababiligi ba nyuma, atashoboraga "kwinyagambura" ngo

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perezida. Turiho turya, ku bintu byose byerekeye ako karere, Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sablière yagargaje amatsiko menshi anavuga inshuro nyinshi ko "atangajwe no kumva" ibyo namubwiraga ku byabaye i Kigali muri icyo cyumweru, kandi ko yari gutangiza bidatinze (mu maguru mashya, ku buryo bwihutirwa) "anketi za ngombwa kugira ngo yibarize amakuru ubwe". Idosiye y' "abana b'Agata" yaravuzwe cyane. Namusabye icyo gihe ko bahabwa uburenganzira bwo gutura muBufaransa kugira imitwaro y'imiryango yabakiriye mu Busuwisi igabanuke. Babony viza bidatinze banashobora kumara ibiruhuko byo mu cyi (impeshyi) muBufaransa.

amufate.

Abanyamahanga bamaze kugenda, kapitali yayogojwe n'ingabo zarindaga perezida n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne agomba gutegereza ku wa gatandatu kugira ngo hamwe na Minuar, agerageze kongera guhungisha abantu bari basigaye muri hoteli, by'umwihariko porokireri wa Repubulika wa Kigali washakishwa cyane n'abasirikare. Afatanije na generali Dallaire, babashije gusohora abantu icumi, ariko François-Xavier Nsanzuwera akomeza kubura kubera imyirondoro itandukanye n'inimero z'ibyumba namumenyeshaga ku buryo butaziguye kuri terefone. Hahoraga "abasirikare ba Loni" cumi na bane imbere ya *Mille Collines,* ariko bose amaherezo byabaye ngombwa ko bahava. Ku cyumweruu kuri 17 Mata, François-Xavier Nsanzuwera yasize ubutumwa kuri terefone yanjye yikoresha, yihebye, avuga ko yari yamenyeshejwe urugendo rwa Dallaire, ariko ko atari yashoboye gusohoka ngo amugereho. Ubwo Minuar yahereye ko imenyeshwa ko yari akiri muzima, ariko kubera ko agace karimo hoteli kaberagamo imirwano ikaze hagati y'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) n'Inkotanyi (FPR), umwofisiye wa Minuar nashoboye kuvugana na we yambwiye ko bitashobokaga kongera gusubiramo igikorwa barai baraye bakoze.

Habayeho andi magerageza, nk'iryari ribabaje kandi ritagize icyo rigeraho ryo ku wa 3 Gicurasi, ubwo ikivunge cy'imodoka zahungishaga abantu cyatangirwaga n'*Interahamwe,* zikabahukamo n'imipanga abantu icyenda bagakomereka maze bose bagasubizwa kuri hoteri(*reba umutwe wa 12*). Igikorwa cyageragejwe kuri 27 Gicurasi cyo icyakora cyaratunganye, nuko nyuma y'ibyumweru birindwi by' intimba, impunzi zo mu minsi ya mbere zishobora gutoroka abazamu n'abashinyaguzi bazo.

Inyandiko ebyiri zavuye muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, zitanga ishusho y'ijijisha ry'abakoze raporo kuri dosiye y' "ihungishwa ry'abana ba Agata Uwilingiyimana, Minisitiri w'intebe", bagaragaza nibura intege nke z'igitekerezo cy'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa:

> "UBufaransa koko bwimuye mu ndege ya mbere [ku wa 9 Mata, ibi ni iby' umwanditsi] umupfakazi wa perezida Juvenal Habyarimana na babiri mu bakobwa

be, umwe mu bahungu be, babiri mu buzukuru be na bamwe mu bantu be b'inkoramutima, ikurikije amabwiriza, mbega ni abantu bagera ku icumi. Abantu bo mu "ruziga rwa kabiri" rw'umuryango wa Habyarimana bari ku rutonde (lisiti) rw'abagenzi bari guhungishwa mu byiciro bikurikira, ariko abo bantu, nk' uko byagaragajwe, bafashe umuhanda bajya ku gisenyi. [...]

"Abana ba Agata" bimuriwe i Bujumbura, aho bafatiye indege ya Air France ku wa mbere tariki ya 11Mata, ari na byo byatumye ambasaderi avuga: "Ku ruhande rw' iyimurwa ry'abana ba Agata Uwilingiymana, ntangajwe n'uko havugwa ko ryatinze. Bimuwe ku wa mbere ukurikira w'amarorerwa,igihe kimwe, ku rugero, n'umugore wanjye, uw'ushinzwe ibya gisirikare n'uw'umukuru w'ishuri,mbere y'abantu bari bahungiye muri ambasade bahavanywe ari uko ifunzwe[409]". Nyamara, Bwana Michel Cuingnet, wari ushinzwe Misiyo ya gisivili y'ubutwererane, atanga igitekirezo kinyuranye n'icyo. Yaba yarababajwe cyane n'itandukana mu kwihutira abantu ba hafi ya Habyarimana, nka Bwana Nahimana, umuyobozi wa Radio des Mille Collines.

"Bwana André Guichaoua na we yavugiye imbere y'iyo Misiyo ko nta cyemezo cyari cyigeze giteganywa cy kwakira abana ba Minisitiri w'Intebe i Paris kandi ko bari bashoboye kuva muBufaransa bajya mu Busuwisi babikesha Uhagarariye Ubusuwisi i Paris[410]."

Mu kwanzura iyo nkuru, ndifuza gusobanura ingingo yo muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite na nubu igikurura impaka cyane[411]. Iyo ngingo yerekeye inkuru yerekeye ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa bangeretseho muri raporo ya nyuma ahagira hati:

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[409] Reba umugereka wa 79

[410] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[411] Bernard LUGAN, *François Mitterrand, l'armée française et le Rwanda*, Le Rocher, Paris, 2005, p. 187-190 ; Bernard LUGAN, *Rwanda. Contre-enquête sur le génocide*, Privat, Paris, 2007, p. 242-254 ; Pierre PÉAN, *Noires Fureurs, Blancs menteurs, op. cit.*, p. 290.

"*Bwana André guichaoua yavuze ko, abonye banze gutwara abana batanu ba Minisitri w'intebe wari wishwe (bari barokowe n'abakozi ba Loni maze bahungira kuri Hôtel des Mille Collines), yarangaje abasirikare b'Abafaransa kugira ngo abinjize mu ndege. Abayobozi ba gisirikare bahakanye ko bitashobokaga na gato kwinjira mu ndege batabyiyemereye ubwabo kandi bagaragaje ko batigeze banga kwinjiza abo bana. Ni ukuri ko ubushishozi bukabije mu gikorwa cyo guhungisha busa n' ubutandukanye n'uko abana binjijwe mu rwihisho. Nk'abajyanywe ku kibuga, "abana ba Agata" bimuwe ku bushake busesuye bw'ingabo z'Abafaransa, ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud amaze noneho guhabwa cyangwa gutanga uburenganzira bwo kubareka bakagenda*[412]*."*

Uburemere bw'ayo magambo koko bwashoboraga gutuma abanditse raporo banyomoza ibivugwamo. Nyamara sinigeze mvuga ariya magambo [bantwerera] ndetse n'abakoze raporo baje kwiyemerera Ubwabo ko baguye mu mutego w'umukabyankuru. Ibyo ari byo byose, nta wuzi impamvu nyakuri zateye ambasaderi Marlaud kurwanya yivuye inyuma guhungisha no kwakirwa "abana ba Agata" muBufaransa, kandi agashami k'Afurika kari kabyemeye. Ikizwi neza ni uko amakuru y'ingenzi kuri iyo dosiye nagejeje kuri Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa atashoboye gushyirwa muri raporo kubera ko ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud yabirwanije ku bende, nk'uko Paul Quilès-perezida wa Misiyo, yabimbwiye mu kiganiro kirekire twagiranye imbonankubone kuri 28 Ukwakira 1998.

Uko Abanyaporitiki bakomeye b'uRwanda bageze kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa

Iki gice cya kabiri kiragaruka ku bimaze kuvugwa harugu ariko noneho hakibandwa ku mwanya bifite mu rubuga rwagutse rwa poritiki. Kirasobanura neza uruhare rukomeye ambasade y'uBufaransa yagize mu nzibacyuho ya poritiki yakurikiye n''iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana n'intera guhitamo umurongo wa poritiki byafashe.

[412] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

Koko rero, kuva ku wa 7 Mata, ambasade y'uBufaransa yerekanye ku mugaragaro ibogama ryayo mu mashyaka ya poritiki yari muri guverinoma iyobowe n' Agata Uwilingiyimana yakira mu nzu zayo abaminisitiri ba MRND baherekejwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida. Bukeye bwaho, bakurikiwe n'abantu benshi bari bahagarariye uduce twa hutu "Power" tw'amashyaka yari ahagarariwe muri guverinoma[413], kandi bagenzi babo "biyoroheje" bari bamaze kwicwa n'abandi bakomando b'ingabo zirinda perezida. Iryo yicwa abaminisitiri ba MRND nta kantu ryabateye na mba. Abanyacyubahiro bakiriwe bakoreye inama nyinshi muri ambasade y'uBufaransa, kandi banatanga nyuma igice kinini cy'abantu b'intagondwa bari muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Ambasaderi w'uBufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud igihe yumvwaga na Misiyo y'abadepite ku byerekey itariki ya 7 Mata, yavuze ko "ahagana saa kumi n'imwe, abantu 300 bo muri batayo ya FPR basohotse mu kigo cy'Inama Ishinga amategeko, n'imirwano ikoresheje imbunda za rutura iratangira hagati y'Inkotanyi (FPR) n' ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Muri akokanya, impunziza mbere zagezekuri ambasade, kandi ibintu byakomeje kudogera[414]. Nta gisobanuro na kimwe yatanze ku miterere y'abashyitsi be n'ukuntu bageze kuri ambasade. Raporo ya Misiyo *y'abadepite* yongeraho ko

> *"[M. Jean – Michel Marlaud] yasobanuye ko mu gitondo cyo ku wa 8 Mata, umuryango wa Habyarimana wongeye guhamagara, usaba guhungishwa[415][...], ikara ry'imirwano n'ishyika ry'abaminisitiri benshi kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa. Hanyuma abo baminisitiri bakoze inama bafatiyemo imyanzuro itatu: gusimbura*

[413] "Justin Mugenzi […] yari ku meza hamwe hamwe n'abayobozi ba banki ya Lugizamburu ubwo indege ihanurwa. Yahereyeko ava aho hantu bwangu ajya mu rugio iwe ku Kicukiro, aho yagumye kugeza mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri za nimugoroba, ku munsi wakurikiyeho. Nyuma yagiye aherekejwe n'abajandarume, abajandarume bari basanzwe bamurinda, kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, aho yamenyeye, ubwa mbere, urupfu rwa Minisitiri w'intebe n'abandi baminisitiri" (Ibyavuzwe na Justin Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR), itariki ya mbere (1) Ugushyingo, 2005, *reba umugereka wa 80*).

[414] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[415] Ku matariki ya 7, 8 na 9 Mata, abagize umuryango wa perezida bari mu rugo rwabo i Kanombe, aho bimuwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa ku itariki ya 9 Mata ahagana mu masaa cyenda bafata mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri indege yagiye i Bangui. Bahavuye, bajyanywe n'indege i Paris, aho bageze ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994. Amatariki ya 7 na 8 Mata 1994 yahariwe urebye ijyanwa ry'imirambo y'abaperezida b'uRwanda n'uBurundi mu cyumba cy'abapfu cyo mu kigo cy'i Kanombe n'iyimurwa ry'abandi bagize n'abegereye umuryango (*reba umugereka wa 54*).

abaminisitri cyangwa abayobozi bapfuye n'ababuriwe irengero, kugerageza kugenzura ingabo zirinda perezida kugira ngo bahagarike iyicwa ry'abantu, no kongera kwemeza ko bashyigikiye amasezerano y'Arusha. Ariko kandi, banze kugira FaustinTwagiramungu Minisitiri w'intebe wo gusimbura Agata Uwilingiyimana[416].

Akomeza iyumvwa rye avuga ko:

"*Ahagana saa mbiri, amabasade yamenyeshejwe ishyirwaho rya perezida wa Repubulika na guvernoma b'inzibacyuho. Imitere y'iyo guverinoma yasaga n'iyubahiriza amasezerano y'Arusha, kubera ko yateganyaga isaranganywa ry'imyanya mu mashyaka ya poritiki. Ibyo ari byo byose, byarashobokaga kwibaza ku bo ihagarariye by'ukuri. Buri shyaka ryarimo ibice, ahubwo abantu bashyizweho bari bahagarariye agace gashyigikiye intagondwa.*[417]"

Reka twibutse by'amatsiko uko ibintu byakurikiranye: ku wa 8 Mata ahagana saa tatu za mu gitondo, Théoneste Bagosora n'abayobobozi bakuru batatu ba MRND bumvikanye kugaruka ku ngingo z'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu 1991 ryateganyaga ishyirwaho rya perezida w'Inama y'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambere (CND) nka perezida w'inzibacyuho, mu gihe cyo gutegura amatora mashya, no guhuza aabayobozi b'amashyaka kugira ngo bashyireho guverinoma nshya. Koloneli Bagosora yiyemeje ubwe guhuza abo bayobozi ba poritiki. Koloneli Bagosora amaze kugenda, ba bayobozi batatu ba MRND bafashe umwanzuro wo kujya mu rugo kwa Théodore Sindikubwabo, perezida wa CND, kubimumenyesha, kubimwemeza no kumwizeza inkunga y'amashyaka.

Ni uko, mu gihe hagibwaga impaka zo gushyiraho inzego nshya, kandi perezida

[416] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, p.296.

[417] Iyumvwa rya Jean-Michel Marlaud, ambasaderi muRwanda (Gicurasi1993-Mata1994), igiterane cyo ku itariki ya 13 Gicurasi 1998, *igitabo kimwe*,p.297.

mushya ataramenyeshwa izamurwa rye mu rwego, nk'uko ubuhamya bw' ibinyoma bwa Matayo Ngirumpatse na Edouard Karemera[418] bubivuga, ngo abo bayobozi bombi ntibari bazi iyicwa rya Minisitiri w'intebe ko n'abayobozi b'ayandi mashyaka bari bataratoranywa cyangwa guhuzwa, ambasade y'uBufaransa yakiriye "abaminisitiri benshi", bakoraga inama, "bagena ingamba|" bakanafata ibyemezo.

Bari nyine abaminisitiri bari ku ibere, bitwara rugikubita nk'abasubijweho, - kandi ari na ko ambasade ibafata. Bigaragara ko nta mpungenge bafitiye imibereho yabo, ntibatinyaga gufata ibyemezo ku masimburwa "y'abayobozi bishwe cyangwa baburwe irengero",biha no gushyiraho itegeko ko batazemera guverinoma iyobowe na Faustin Twagiramungu [Minisitri w'intebe wateganyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha], ari na ko bashimangira, nk'uko Ambasaderi w'uBufaransa abikomozaho, " ikomera ryabo kumaserano y'Arusha"!

Aya magambo y'ambasaderi agaragaza bisesuye ibibabazo by'abo [iyo guverinoma y'inzibacyuho]yari ihagarariye by'ukuri . Kubera ko buri shyaka ryari ryaracitsemo ibice, abantu batoranyiwe bari bahagarariye agace gashyigikiye "intagondwa", ariko ku buryo bunyuranye, byerekana ko "intagondwa" zari zatoranyijwe ku manywa[419], zari zabikorewe hakurikijwe ibyifuzo bya babandi bakoreraga muri amabasade y'uBufaransa kandi bose bavaga, uretse babiri, mu ishyaka MRND, ari ryo ryonyine ritari "ryacicemo ibice", kandi ritari rikeneye gusimbura "abapfuye cyangwa ababuriwe irengero"…

Icyo cyizere cy'abaminisitiri ba MRND bari bacumbikiwe muri amabasade y'uBufaransa, kirumvikana neza ku muntu uzi ko bataje ku wa 8 Mata nk'uko byari biteganyijwe, ahubwo bakaza ku wa 7 ku manywa, kandi ko bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo gutekereza ku ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bibanda ku iyicwa rya bagenzi babo ryari ryamaze gukorwa hagati aho. Twibutse ko ku wa 7 mu gitondo ari bwo hakozwe imishyikirano mfatacyemezo hagati y'abayobozi ba MRND na Théonesti

[418] Reba umugereka wa 81.

[419] Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'inyandiko mvugo y'inama yakorewe mu gitondo kuri ambasade, yibanda ku kwanga kw'abaminisitiri gushyiraho Minisitiri w'intebe wari waratoranyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha.

Bagosora ku nzibacyuho yemewe n'amategeko yeguriiwe Théodore Sindikubwabo, kandi ko mu gitondo bakiva mu biro bya Théoneste Bagosora, abayobozi ba MRND bari bafite ibintu by'ingenzi byose byari bikenewe mu itunganya ry'imikino yari yarateganyijwe.

Izo "mpunzi" zari zatereranywe na Minuar yari yihishe mu nkambi zayo zivugwa n'ambasaderi Marlaud[420], zari zakusanyijwe mu masaha ya mbere y'ijoro kwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata mu nkambi Y'ingabo zarindaga perezida ku Kimihurura. Zari zitaweho n'umwe mu mitwe ikomeye ifite intwaro zihagije, igihe utundi duce twajyaga muri misiyo zo gutsemba bagenzi bazo. Ni na ko byagenze ku manywa ubwo udutsinda tw'abasirikare barinda perezida twasakaga mu gace karimo za amabasade bahiga abanyacyubahiro bari bihishe.

> "*Kubera amabombe yisukiranyaga, bimuwe umwe umwe kugera kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa[…]. Bakoreshaga inzira zitabangamiwe n'amabombe kugira ngo bajye kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa. Bahamaze amajoro abiri, mbere y'uko mpura [na minisitiri Paulina Nyiramasuhuko]mu nama yoku Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikare. Igihe twararaga kuri Hôtel des Diplomates, abenshi mu bantu bo muri MRND basubiye kuri ambasade y'u Bufafansa. […]*
>
> *Ikibazo: Itoranywa ryo kujya kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa ryaba ryari rizwi?*
>
> *Igisubizo: Nta byo numvise itoranywa ryashingiyeho, ariko ndakeka ko ari ku mibanire buri wese yashoboraga kuba afitanye n'iyo ambasade, kubera ko hari n'abandi bahisemo kujya ku zindi ambasade, nko kuri amabasade y'uBubiligi.*

[420] "Hagati aho, umubare w'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade wari wakomeje kwiyongera ku buryo, ku itariki ya 9 Mata mu gitondo, bwana Jean-Michel yamenyesheje i Paris: "N'ubwo Bwana Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yamenyeshejwe binyuzeho ishyika rikurikirana ry'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda kuri ambasade, ntirinzwe n'abarinzi ba Minuar, binyuranyije n'ibyemezwa n'Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu magambo yagugiwe mu cyicaro cyacu gihoraho". Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yatinze ku kuntu yabonaga bihwitse icyo gihe ko Minuar yita ku banyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga kumva babangamiwe, kandi ambasade itari ifite by'umwihariko umurimo wo kurinda bamwe cyangwa abandi. Yagaragaje ko abanyacyubahiro bari bacumbikiwe kuri ambasade bitewe n'uko Minuar itari yabahaye uburinzi. […] Avuga abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade, Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yemeje ko bitumvikanaga kubirukana kuri ambasade, kandi Minuar itari yabitaeyeho n'ubwo yari yabisabwe. Abaje bose barakiriwe." (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise*, *op. cit.*, p. 298-299).

Ikibazo: Paulina se ubwe yagiranaga imibanire n'amabasade y'uBufaransa?

Igisubizo: Sinabimenya. Yagiye, ndavuga" yagiye" ntabyeruye, kuri iyo amabasade kubera ko, mvuye mu kigo cy'Ingabo zarindaga perezida (Kaánjepe), bajyanye abaminisitiri bose bari muri Kaánjepe kuri amabasade y'u Buaransa.[…]

Ikibazo: Mwari bangahe muri Diplomates [hoteli yateraniragamo guverinoma y'inzibacyuho]? Abagize guverinoma?

Igisubizo: Hari urujya n'uruza rw'abantu, ariko umuntu yashoboraga kurara kuri Hôtel des Diplomates, bukeye bwaho akarara ahandi, nyine hari urujya n'uruza, sinitegereje, kandi sinari nzi abantu bose.

Ikibazo: Barindiwe umutekano kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa iminsi ingahe?

Igisubizo: Navuga ko ari ukuva imirwano itangira kugeza cy'iyimuka, cy'iyimurwa ryakozwe n'amabasade y'uBufaransa.

Ikibazo: Hanyuma ukurikije amatariki hari (nka ryari)?

Igisubizo: Ahagana ku wa 6, uwa 7 kugeza hagati ya 11na 12[421]*."*

Nkurikije ubuhamya nahawe ubwanjye n'abantu bavanywe mu nkambi y'Abarindaga perezida bakajyanwa kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa[422], iyimurwa ryabo mu kigo bajya mu mugi hagati ryemejwe iraswa ry'amasasu ya mitarayezi ryongeye gutangira aho hafi, ku wa 7 Mata ahagana saa cyenda na saa cyenda n'igice z'amanywa. Igitigiri cya mbere kirimo abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bakuru n'imiryango yabo cyarikusanyije. Icyo gitigiri cyari kigizwe n'imodoka zigera kuri esheshatu, bamwe muri bo bari bajemo mu buhungiro mu nkambi. Abantu bagera kuri mirongo itandatu

[421] Iyumvwa rya Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-58 ryo ku iatariki ya 15 Gicurasi 1998.

[422] Ubwo buhamya bwunganirwa n'abandi benshi nka Jean KAMBANDA muri TPIR, T2-K7-58, ku itariki ya 15 Gicurasi 1998 (*reba umugereka wa 82);* Maurice NTAHOBARI (umugabo wa Pauline Nyiramasuhuko), TPIR, itariki ya 13 Nzeri, , urup. 20; Léoncie BONGWA, umugore w'uwahoze ari minisitiri wo Gutwara abantu no gutumanaho muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, atanga ubuhamya ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi 2002 imbere ya TPIR Arusha ashinjura umugabo we, André Ntagerura; Justin MUGENZI (ibyo yatanze, urubanza rwa Bizimungu, nb., TPIR, itariki ya mbere Ugushyingo 2005), nb.

bazitsindagiyemo bagera kuri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu bakoresheje uduhanda tubangutse, imodoka y'Abarinda perezida ibari imbere. Ahongaho, umwe mu bawofisiye bari ku izamu yasanze ambasade y'uBufaransa ari ho hantu ho kubakira hizewe, aherako asaba amabasade y'uBufaransa koherezayo icyo gitigiri, irabyemera.

Bose bakiriwe bamaze kuvuga umwirondoro wabo ku muryango, n'ubwo hari amakosa amwe n'amwe yakozwe n'abakozi b'ambasade bashinzwe kwakira abantu. Nuko Daniel Mbangura yagombye kubasobanurira ukuntu hashoboraga kubaho "abaminisitiri babiri b'Amashuri makuru", Ferdinand Nahimana yamaze kwiyitirira uwo mwanya, adasobanuye neza ko yari gutangira imirimo ye nyuma. Undi nanone yakoresheje ikimenyane cy'umuntu wari mu rugo kw' ambasaderi bari baziranye neza, kugira ngo yerekane ko yari "umuntu ukomeye". Muri iryo tsinda harimo abantu nka Daniel Mbangura, Paulina Nyiramasuhuko, Augustin Ngirabatware, Callixte Nzabonimana, Porsper Mugiraneza, Casimir Bizimungu, André Ntagerura, Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka na Jean-Baptiste Byiringiro. Baherekejwe n'abarinzi b'abajandarume yari yishakiye ubwe, Justin Mugenzi n'umuryango we baje babasanga nimugoroba nka saa kumi n'ebyiri.

Uruhare rw'amabasade y'uBufaransa mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho

Abaminisitiri bari bakiri ku mirimo bari bacumbikiwe muri ambasade y'uBufaransa bari aba bakurikira:

-Bizimungu Casimir, minisitiri w'Ubuzima (MRND);

-Mbangura Daniel, minisitiri w'Amashuri makuru (MRND);

-Mugenzi Justin, minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Inganda n'Ubukorikori (PL *"Power")*;

-Ngiratware Augustin, minisitirir w'Imigambi ya leta (MRND)[423];

-Ntagerura André, minisitiri w'Ubwikorezi no Gutumanaho (MRND);

-Nzabonimama Callixte, minisitiri w'Urubyiruko (MRND);

[423] Hakurikijwe ubuhamya bwinshi, uwo muminisitiri ntiyaraga kuri ambasade hamwe n' "akazu" ke, kubera ko urugo rwe bwite rwari aho hafi.

-Mugiraneza Prosper [424], minisitiri w'Abakozi ba leta (MRND);

-Nyiramasuhuko Pauline, minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Imibereho y'Abagore (MRND).

Biroroshye kubibona, abari muri ambasade y'uBufaransa, usanga bose ari abaminisitiri ba MRND bo muri guverinoma ya ku wa 18 Nyakanga 1993 bari i Kigali icyo gihe. Abaminisitiri bAbiri ba MRND batarimo bari bagiye muri misiyo: Faustin Munyazesa yari yaherekeje perezida Habyarimana i Dar-es- Salaam, aho yari yahisemo kugaruka i Kigali, Augustin Bizimana yari muri Kameruni(Cameroun) agaruka ku wa 10 Mata. Ibyo ari byo byose, umuryango we na wo wagiye muri ambasade y' uBufaransa kimwe n'iy'abandi baminisitiri…Ibintu byari biteye bitya ku bandi bari bagize guverinoma y'Agata Uwilingiyimana: Agnès Ntamabyariro wo muri PL yari acumbikiwe muri ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe, batatu bari binyegeje iwabo (Gaspard Ruhumuliza wo muri PDC, Marc Rugenera wo muri PSD, Anastase Gasana wo muri MDR), n'abandi baminisitiri bane bari bishwe (Agata Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Rucogoza bo muri MDR, Landoald Ndasingwa wo muri PL na Frédéric Nzamurambaho wo muri PSD).

Abaminisitiri bose bari muri amabasade y'uBufaransa -barindwi bo muri MRND na Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL[425]- basubijwe muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Biyongereyeho undi mushyitsi ukomeye w'aho hantu, Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka, umunyacyubahiro wo muri MDR *"Power"*(wagizwe minisitiri W'ububanyi

[424] Kuba Prosper Mugiraneza (ubu uburanishwa muri TPIR y'Arusha) yari i Kigali ku itariki ya 6 Mata byemezwa n'abamushinjura, Ingabo zirinda perezida zikaba zari zamurinze nijoro mbere yo kumujyana ku itariki ya 7 Mata ku gicamunsi kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa.Nyuma yaba yaragumye i Kigali kugeza ku itariki ya 12 Mata, itariki y'igenda rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Gitarama. Ku ruhande rw'abashinja, rwemeza ko yagiye ku manywa muri komini y'iwabo ya Kigarama mu manama ya MRND hamwe n'*Interahamwe.* Hakurikijwe ibyatanzwe n'umugabo wabibonye wari kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, Prosper Mugiraneza, kimwe n'abandi baminisitiri, "yasohokaga ku manywa akagaruka kuharara."

[425] Justin Mugenzi yari yaramaze gufatwa nk'uwagiye muri MRND kuva mu mpera za 1993. Bityo, mu mibare y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE), yabarwaga nk'umuminisitiri ushyigikiye Habyarimana kuva haba igeragezwa ro gushyiraho iyo guverinoma muri Mutarama (ukwezi kwa mbere) 1994 (*reba ibiciyeyeho umurongo bya 12*).

n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane) hamwe na Justin Mugenzi, wari wabaye wenyine umukuru wa PL nshya na Clément-jérôme Bicamumpaka[426], wari umuvugizi wemewe wa MDR ikubuye (afatanyije na Donat Murego na Froduald Karamira), ryari nyine itsinda ryose ry'abanyaporitiki bafata ibyemezo mu rwego rw'igihugu bari bashyizweho na Théoneste Bagosora n'abakuru ka komite nyobozi ya MRND bari bacumbitse muri ambasade. Ni ho bakoreraga inama, bateguriraga ibikorwa, aho bajya n'ibikoresho byabo[427]. Birumvikana rero ukuntu gukorana byari byoroshye hagati y'abafataga ibyemezo b'ibanze bo muri MRND n'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa:

"Bz: Hari igihe mwaba mwarabonye ambasaderi igihe mwari kuri ambasade?

Sbz:Yego, twabonye akanya ko kubonana n'ambasaderi mu gitondo.Hari mu gitondo cy'uwuhe munsi?

Bz: Mu gitondo cyo ku wa 8. Ambasaderi w'uBufaransa yarahanyuze…ahamagara abaminisitiri bose bari baraye mu kigo cy'ambasade.twagiyeyo, nk'uko mwabibonye … nk'ukio bimeze kuri lisiti mwabonye.

Sbz: Murashaka kuvuga aabminisitiri?

Bz: Yego. Abaminisitiri. Ni uko tugirana ibiganiro na we; yatumenyesheje amakuru mashya y'uko ibintu byari bimeze, ku byari byabaye nk'uko amabasade y'uBufaransa yari yakusanyije amakuru nk'uko yayigeragaho.Ni we watubwiye by'imvaho-mumbabarire - watubwiye by'imvaho amazina y'abaminisitiri bari bapfuye (batakaje

[426] Akomoka muri komini Ruhondo muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, akaba umuhungu wa Balthazar Bicamumpaka, umwe mu bakuru mu mateka ya MDR-Parmehutu, wari inkingi y'ubwiyunge hagati ya Gitarama na Ruhengeri bwaranze Repubulika ya mbere. Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka yarakenewe bisanzwe mu mahindura ya MDR mu 1991, aba umunyamabanga wa MDR mu rwego rwa perefegitura anaherekeza izamuka rya perezida Donat Murego, waje kuba umwe mu bakuru b'uruhande rwa "*Power".* Mu mpera za 1993, yagizwe n'ishyaka rye umudepite wa MDR uhagarariye perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'iguhugu y'Inzibacyuho (ANT).

[427] Kuba abanyacyubahiro bo muri PSD na PDC batari bahari birumvikana ku buryo bworoshye, kubera ko ubuyobozi bwombi bw'ayo mashyaka bwari "bukishakashaka" kandi mu ntangiriro y'igicamunsi cyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata ni bwo "abatowe bashya", bari batoranyijwe na Théoneste Bagosora n'abakuru ba MRND, bongerewe mu

ubuzima). Ni we watubwiye by'imvaho ibintu nk'uko byari bimeze mu mugi. Yanasabye abaminisitiri bari bamukikije kugerageza kugira icyo bakora kugira ngo bavane igihugu mu kajagari cyariho kigwamo.

Bz; Ni nka saha ki iyo nama hamwe n'ambasaderi yabaye?

Sbz: Mu masaa tatu zo mu gitondo.

Bz: Ni iki kindi cyabaye nyuma?

Sbz: Nyuma cy'icyo kiganiro n'amabasaderi mu biro bye, igihe nari nsohotse, nahuye n'abasirikare banshakaga kugira ngo banjyane kwa Minisitir w'Ingabo z'igihugu; bambwiye ko hari inama nari natumiwemo. Ubwo nyine navuye kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa muri icyo gitondo, njya kuri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, mpasnga abandi bayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki bahateraniye bitabirye iyo nama ya poritiki.''[428]

Amaze kubwirwa n'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa akajambo « karema agatima », Justin Mugenzi yaherekejwe n'umusirikare umurinda ajya mu nama hamwe n'abandi bakuru b'amashyaka bahamagajwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora:

"Bz: Ku rundi ruhande, niba mwari mwasobanukiwe ko Minuar itari ishyigikiye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, mwabyitwayemo mute mubonye ubwo butumire bwa koloneli Bagosora cyangwa bw'undi muntu bwo kugira uruhare muri komite y'ibihe bikomeye?

Sbz: Ubundi, nta hitamo twari dufite.Mu gihe twari muri ambasade, amabasaderi w'uBufaransa ni we wa…waturemaga agatima kuko yaduhamagariraga gukora akazi kacu atwizeza ko Umuryango mpuzamahanga na wo wari gukora akazi kawo. Nyine, igihe twatumirwaga gusanga abandi bayobozi ba poritiki, nari mfite ubwo butumwa bundema agatima.Nta n'ihitamo ryabaye; twari tuzi ko Loni…umuryango

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itsinda ry'abanyamashyaka bakoraga imishyikirano banamenyeshwa amabwiriza mashya y'umukino wa poritiki.

[428] Ibyatangajwe na Justin MUGENZI, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, ITAR, itariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 51-52.

mpuzamahanga udushyigikiye, kandi ko iyo dukora ibikorwa byiza, tutari kubura ishyigikira ryabo. Ni muri urwo rwego twiyemeje kudacika intege[429]*."*

Bityo, amagambo ya bamwe muri bagenzi ba Jean-Michel Marlaud bari bahagarariye ibihugu byabo avuga ko uwo mugabo yaba ari we ambasaderi wenyine wari i Kigali wagize ubwe uruhare mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku wa 8 Mata—ayo magambo yafashwe nk'amazimwe n'uwo byarebaga mu gihe cy'ibiganiro yagiranye n'abagize misiyo y'anketi y'inama ishingamategeko y'imfaransa yo i 1998—aha ashobora kugira ishingiro[430].

Rihereye mu gicumbi cyabo, Ishyushyamitwe ry'abaminisitiri bo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ryashoboraga gusakara nta nkomyi, kubera ko, mu gihe imiryango yabo yari irinzwe n'ambasade y'uBufaransa, abo banyacyubahiro, barinzwe, bakomeje gukora imirimo yabo ku manywa no gukora urujya n'uruza kuri amabasade. Ubuhamya bwinshi burabisobanura neza, harimo ubwa Joseph Ngarambe, umutangabuhamya na we wari wahahungiye guhera ku wa 10 Mata:

> *" Abagize guverinoma buri wese yari afite uburinzi bwe yihariye kandi baridegembyaga kumanywa. Barahararaga, nta na rimwe nigeze nkeka ko bari impunzi. Batumizaga ibyo kurya hanze. Bari barahuye inshuro nyinshi, hagati yabo cyangwa hamwe n'amabasaderi w'uBufaransa muRwandam, Bwana*

[429] Ibyatangajwe na Justin MUGENZI, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, ITAR, itariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p.69.

[430] Nk'uko byavuzwe na Filip Reyntjens, "habayeho imibonano hagati y'abanyacyubahiro bari bahungiye kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa n'abakoraga imishyikirano mu rwego rw'amashyaka (hagati y'ambasade na minisiteri nta na kilometero imwe yari ihari). Nanone, hari abakeka ko ambasaderi w' uBufaransa, Jean-Michel Marlaud, yaba yaramenyeshwaga uko imishyikirano yateraga imbere kandi birashoboka ko yaba yaragishijwe inama. […] Kuba uwo mubano wa bugufi wariho bigargazwa n'ukuntu, ku gicamunsi, Marlaud yahamagaye mugenzi we w'Umubiligi Johan Swinnen, akamubwira lisiti y'abaminisitiri bari bemejwe. Abonye ko umurongo wari ukabije kuba "*power",* Swinnen yaritonze. Yatanze igitekerezo ko guverinoma imeze ityo yasaga n'idahuye n'ibikenewe mu rwego rwa poritiki. Marlaud, we, yavuze ko yari yishimye cyane. Cyane cyane ko yumvaga ishyirwaho rya guverinoma ryari gutuma haburizwamo ihirika ry'ubutegetsi yatinyaga" (Filip REYNTJENS, *Rwanda: Trois jours qui ont fait basculer l'histoire[iminsi itatu yahinduye amateka],op. Cit.p.* 89).

Marlaud nari nzi neza cyane, cyangwa rimwe na rimwe hamwe 'uhagarariye Papa.Izo nama ntizakorerwaga mu biro ahubwo bishyiraga ku ruhande mu dutsiko bakirinda bigaragara kirogoya n'umwe wabasakuriza[431]*."*

Ariko biragaragara nanone ko bitari gusa gucumbikira no kujya impaka n'abanyapoliki ba ngombwa, kubera ko ihagararirwa ry' agace k' "intagondwa" byari birenze cyane urwego rwa poritiki. Mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru n'urw'imari na ho hari abanyacyubahiro bakomeye ba *"Hutu Power"*, harimo Ferdinand Nahimana na Félicien Kabuga n'umuryango we wose, uwa mbere akaba umwambari rurangiranwa w'ingengabitekerezo ya gihutu kandi akanaba minisitiri wari wateganyijwe muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)[432] , uwa kabiri akaba yari umucuruzi ukomeye n'umwe mu banyamigabane b'ingenzi ba radiyo RTLM[433] n'umuterankunga w'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bo muri MRND.

Twavuga nanone ingero ebyiri zidashoza impaka gusa ku kibazo cy'uko [ambasade yú Bufaransa] yaba yarashyigikiye ishyirwaho ry'abayobozi bashya, ahubwo ndetse ko yahawemo núruhare rugaragara. Koko rero, ntibyumvikana ukuntu ambasaderi w'uBufaransa yabashije kwibagirwa ko Eugène Mbarushimana, umukwe wa Félicien Kabuga[434], yari sekereteri mu rwego rw'igihugu w' *Interahamwe* zari zishinzwe icyo gihe ubwicanyi i Kigali.Yagarutse muRwanda gukomeza imirimo ye akimara kwimurira umuryango we i Bujumbura n' i Bukavu nyuma yaho.

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[431] Ibyatangajwe na Joseph NGARAMBE, TPIR, isahkiro K0133228, itariki ya 9 Mata 2000, p. 4 n'ibiganiro byinshi twagiranye imbonkubone.

[432] Intagondwa yo muri MRND yagize uruhare rukomeye mu gutangiza ubwicanyi mu Bugesera mu 1992, ariko yakiriwe n'ambasade nk'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) washyizweho na MRND.

[433] Uwa gatatu mu "icumi ba mbere" inyuma ya Yuvenari Habyarimana na Pierre Basabose.

[434] Undi mukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga, Bernadette Uwamariya, yari umugore w'umwe mu bahungu ba perezida Habyarimana (Jean-Pierre, wapfuye).

"Augustin Ngirabatware yimuwe ahagana ku wa 10 Mata, ubwa mbere atwawe n'Abafaransa i Bujumbura muBurundi hamwe n'abandi benshi ndetse, barimo Eugène Mbarushimana, sekereteri wa Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za MRND na Ferdinand Nahimana wa RTLM. Birukanywe i Bujumbura noneho bimurirwa muri Zayire, bahava bagaruka muRwanda[435]*."*

"Nigeze kuvuga kuri uwo mugabo [Eugène Mbarushimana] mu buhamya bwanjye, ahanini mu ihimbwa n'ikomera ry'ishyirahamwe ry'Urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za MRND, aho yari afite umwanyawa sekereteri muri Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe. Ni kimwe n'igihe cy'inama yo "kugarura amahoro"yabaye ku wa cyangwa anahagana ku wa 10/04/94, ubwo nahuriraga na Mbarushimana Eugène kuri Hôtel des Diplomates y' i K igali, ari kumwe na muramu we Ngirabatware Augustin, wahoze ari minisitiri w'imigambi ya leta. Icyo gihe, yambwiye ko yari agiye kuri amabasade y'uBufaransa, aho yagombaga kuvanwa guhungishwa n'Abafaransa. Nyuma yaho, numvise ko bavuye Bujumbura, we n'abandi harimo na muramu we, bajyanywe i Bukavu bakahava bagaruka muRwanda mu kwa kane (muri Mata) 1994. Ni uko mu gihe cya jenoside, nasabwe gukorana misiyo naMbarushimana Eugéne, ahanini byerekeye ubucuruzi bw'ikawa[436]*."*

Mu bashyitsi b'imena b'ambasade y'uBufaransa harimo nanone umuryango wa Ndaziboneye. Kubayo k'uwo muryango birumvikana neza witegereje ibyabanje. Kubera kumenywa no kubahwa n'inzego z'imirimo z'ambasade, Jeanne Ndaziboneye yari mugenzi wabo usanzwe mu rwego rw'umurimo wo kwakira abashyitsi muri perezidansi, aho yakoraga ayobowe na majoro Désiré Mageza (w'i Butare). Ni uko yakiriwe kuri ambasade n'umuryango we. Kubera imirimo ye n'ubucuti bukomeye

[435] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro K0502997. Koko rero, yuma y'aho bimuririwe i Bukavu, bahereyeko bajya i Goma bagaruka muRwanda baciye ku Gisenyi, aho bagumye kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994 kugira ngo bahayoborere ingamba za jenoside za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku ruhande rw'uwa mbere, no gushaka umutungo wo kugura ibyo bagemurira abasirikare ku wundi.

[436] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro K0502682-83.

bumaze igihe hagati ye n'Agata Kanziga (bari bariganye mu Ishuri ry'Imbonezamubano ryo ku Karubanda i Butare) kandi ni we wakurikiranye itegurwa ry'iyimurwa ry'umuryango wa "perezidante" mu ndege ya mbere, operasiyo "Amaryllis" yashoboye gukora. Kuba kwe muri ambasade y'uBufaransa ntibyamubujije gukomeza gukora imirimo ye, kubera ko, guhera ku wa 8 nimugoroba, yahawe imirimo kwa perezida mushya w'inzibacyuho, kandi mu gitondo cy'uwa 9 ni we wari ushinzwe kwakira abashyitsi mu irahira rye n'irya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho[437].

Ikigomba kwitabwaho hano ariko, ni uko muri iyo minsi, umugabo we ubusanzwe

utarakundaga kwiyerekana, major Charles Ndaziboneye (Ruhengeri), umurimo we w'umucamanza wungirije mu Rukiko rwa gisirikare wahaga umwanya uhagije, na koloneli Ephrem Setako (Ruhengeri), bakoranaga muri icyo kigo, berekaga inzira uduce tw'ngabo zirinda perezida n'utw'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bahigaga bakanatsemba "abanzi" mu gace ka Kiyovu, aho bari batuye ari na ho hari ambasade y'uBufaransa. Koko rero, abatangabuhamya benshi (ahanini abo mu idosiye ya majoro Bernard Ntuyahaga waburaniye muBubiligi, n'aba TPIR (Urukiko Mpanacyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda) bavuga ko babonye abawofisiye bakuru bari batuye muri ako gace baha amabwiriza abasirikare barinda perezida[438]. Amazina agarukwaho kenshi ni ay'abo bantu bazwiho irondakoko, bari barihaye misiyo kuva ku ya 7 Mata mu bikorwa byo guhorera urupfu rwa perezida. Nkurikije ibyavuzwe n'umutangabuhamya w'umuwofisiye, Charles Ndaziboneye yari muri komite z'ibyaduka zashyizweho muri ako gace.

Iyakirwa n'iyimurwa rivangura

Aka gace ka kane kerekeye umwirondoro wa poritiki n'ubwoko usumba iyindi w'abantu bakiriwe mu mazu y'amabasade y'uBufaransa, n'uburyo bwo kugera kuri

[437] "Ahagana mu masaa yine, twakoze umuhango w'irahira rya guverinoma. Perezida wa Repubulika wahoze ari na perezida w'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND), dogiteri Sindikubwabo Théodore, afashijwe na visiperezidante wa mbere Nyirabizeyimana Immaculée na sokereteri depite Munyampundu Cyprien, berekanywe nk'abagize ibiro bishya bya CND. Bari baherekejwe n'umugore, Jeanne Ndaziboneye, wari ushinzwe kwakira abantu muri guverinoma" (iyumvwa rya Jean KAMANDA, TPIR, T2K7-13, K0154808).

ambasade, byabaye intandaro yo gufatwa nk'ibikorwa by'ivangura. Iryo fatwa nk'ibikorwa by'ivangura, nanone ryashyizwe mu mpamvu zitaweho mu ihitamo ry'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bimuwe mu rwego rwa operasiyo "Amaryllis". Muri iyo operasiyo nk'uko twamaze kubivuga, uBufaransa bwimuye abaturage b'Abanyarwanda 394. Kwanga gutangaza lisiti z'izo nkundwakazi cyangwa, ku buryo bworoshye kwanga gusobanura uko amabwiriza ya Quai d'Orsay yari yashyizwe mu bikorwa byatumye abantu bakomeza kwibaza byinshi.

Ibibazo abantu bibaza umuntu yabivuga muri make yifashishije agace k'inyandiko

ya Misiyo y'inteko nshingamategeko y'Abafaransa yo mu 1998 ahagira hati:

" Mu kwanzura, amaze kubona ko uBufaransa butahwemye gushyigikira abari bari gushyira jenoside mu bikorwa guhera mu minsi ya mbere y'imidugararo mu gihe ubuzima bwaterwaga hejuru kandi ko ibikoresho ngombwa bya gisirikare byari byateguwe, Bwana André Guichaoua yatanze ibyifuzo anabaza ibibazo bikurikira:

-kuva ku wa 7 kugeza ku wa 11 Mata, amabasade y'uBufaransa yinginzwe inshuro nyinshi n'izindi ambasade z' i Burayi cyangwa n'abantu ku giti cyabo, isabwa guhisha abantu bahigwaga. Buri gihe hatangwaga ibisubizo bihakana. Bityo, hari hakwirakwijwe igitekerezo ko ambasade y'uBufaransa yari yakiriye gusa "ibikurankota", ukurikije imvugo yari igezweho i Kigali icyo gihe, ko byari ngombwa kwiyambaza ambasade y'uBubiligi, iy'u Busuwisi na cyane cyane *Hôtel des Mille Collines*, niba barashakaga kurengera abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi.Lisiti y'abantu 178 bimuriwe n'indege i Bujumbura (yagizwe "ibanga ry'umutekano" igezwa kuri Bwana A. Guichaoua n'anayobozi b'uBurundi) isa n'iyemeza iyo ngingo. Uretse abanyacyubahiro bamwe na bamwe nka Alphonse-Marie Nkubito bari bahari, navuga ko no kuhaba kwabo kwari kwategetswe

[438] Ubuhamya bw'abantu batavuzwe amazina MFR, PN, VN, SM, JMVU, nb., inyandiko zanjye bwite.

n’ambasaderi w’uBubiligi, wahasangaga cyane cyane abanyacyubahiro b’ingoma ya Habyarimana, abagize Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yo ku wa 8 Mata, cyangwa abantu nka Ferdinand Nahimana (umushyushyarugamba wa RTLM) bari barahahishe imiryango yabo, bakahageraga nta nkomyi. Ni ayahe mabwiriza ambasaderi w’uBufaransa yari yarahawe?[439]“

Abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y’abadepite basubije ibyo bibazo ku buryo bukurikira:

“Ikirego cy’iyimura rivangura:

UBufaransa bwarezwe, ku ruhande rumwe, kuba bwarakoze iyimurwa ry’abanyacyubahiro b’ingoma mputu, batitaye ku byabaga ku barwanyaga ubutegetsi b’Abahutu biyoroshya cyangwa Abatutsi, ku rundi ruhande, kuba butarafashe kimwe abakozi b’Abafaransa b’ ambasade n’abakozi b’abanyarwanda. […]

Ku bireba abakozi b’ambasade, ni ibinyoma kwemeza ko haba harabayeho kwanga kubimura, nk’uko teregaramu yo ku wa 11 Mata yavuye i Paris ibigaragaza: “Minisiteri irabamenyesha ko bikwiye guha Abanyarwanda b’abakozi b’ambasade,bashoboraga kuboneka, ubury bwo kuva i Kigali hamwe n’abasirikare b’Abafaransa.”

Nyamara ikigaragaza ni uko kubona abakozi ba ambasade b’Abafaransa byari byoroshye cyane kurusha ab’Abanyarwanda, kubera ko aba ba nyuma bagombaga kubanza kwimenyekanisha, ibyo bikaba byarabashyiraga mu mwanya utareshya n’uw’abava muBufaransa. Ahari Pierre Nsanzimana, umukozi w’Umututsi muri ambasade y’uBufaransa wanavuzwe n’ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud, ni we wenyine washoboye guhungishwa hamwe n’umuryango we[440].”

Ku mugereka w’igitabo rusange cyita *Les crises politiques auBurundi et auRwanda,* Bwana André Guichaoua yatangaje itonde ry’abanyacyubahiro 178

[439] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit., Tom.III, tab.1, p. 31-32.

[440] Reba umugereka wa 95.

bimuwe n'ambasade y'uBufaransa. Iyo lisiti yaba yarayihawe n'abayobozi b'uBurundi kandi, yaba yemeza ko ambasade y'uBufaransa yanze gucumbikira abanyacyubahiro benshi ahubwo ikakira gusa abari bakomeye mu butegetsi. Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yamaganye icyo gitekerezo anashimangira ko kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa hatateraniye gusa abantu bari bafitanye isano n' ubutegetsi cyangwa abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ahubwo hari n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bari bafite ibibazo, akaba ari muri ubwo buryo Bwana Pascal Ndengejeho,wahoze ari minisitiri utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi wa MDR, na Bwana Alphonse Nkubito, porokireri generali bari bahungiye muri amabasade, bari basabye ubuhungiro bwa poritiki, nk'uko teregaramu n^{o} 350 ibisobanura.

Bwana Gérard Prunier yibukije ko uko abizi, utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi umwe ari we wari washoboye guhungira muri ambasade y'uBufaransa, "kubera ubucuti bwihariye yari afitanye n'umukozi waho", Bwana Joseph Ngarambe, umwe mu bayobozi bakuru ba PSD, abayobozi baryo bakaba bari bamaze kwicwa. Ibyo byemezwa na teregaramu n^{o} 342.

Ni byo koko ko abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bari bahungiye muri ambasade barimo abategetsi bakomeye b' ingoma ya Habyarimana. Ibyo ariko si ikimenyetso ndakuka ko uBufaransa, bwaba bwarahungishije abagize uruhare muri jenocide (abajanosideri, abicanyi) barimo Bwan G. Ruggiu, ubu uriho yiregura mu rukiko rw'Arusha. Umunyamakuru kuri radiyo y'intagondwa RTLM, Bwana G. Ruggiu " nta lisiti n'imwe y'abantu bagomba gucyurwa zatanzwe n'ambasade y'uBufaransa i Kigali, ntari no kuri lisiti n'imwe y'abantu batwawe, ifitwe na Quai d'Orsay". Ibyo ni ibivugwa n'inzego z'imirimo za minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga zatangiye gukora igenzura kuri icyo kibazo gisobanutse cy'iyo Misiyo[441]."

[441] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit., Tom. I, p. 266-267.

Ibyo bibazo byakomeje gukurura impaka zikomeye, akaba rero ari nombwa ko ngira icyo mvuga ku buryo bweruye kuri buri ngingo.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu gitabo nayoboye[442], lisiti y'abantu bahungiye muri ambasade yafashije gutahura abantu bacumbikiwe bari bemerewe guhungishwa. Uhereye kuri iyi nyandiko, nabashije kwegeranya umwirondoro w'Abanyarwanda 318 bimuwe kuri 394, ni ukuvuga 81% y'umubare wabo wose {ari wo 178 bo kuri lisiti yo ku wa 12 Mata, umuntu ashobora kongeraho imfubyi 94 zo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte-Agata n' "ababaherekeje" 34 (imyirondoro yabo yazizitswe burundu n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa), n'abantu 12 bo mu muryango wa Yuvenari Habyarimana bimuwe ku wa 9 Mata. Ariko rero, kuva operasiyo "Amaryllis" itangira, abayobozi b'Abafaransa bashyize imbaraga nyinshi mu kubuza ko hari amakuru yamenyekana ku mwirondoro n'irengero ry'Abanyarwanda bose bari bimuwe[443]. Uretse gusa ku muryango wa perezida witabye Imana, byaragoranye kumenya lisiti y'indege zahagurukijwe n'uBufaransa zerekeza i Paris cyangwa ahandi hagenzurwaga n'ingabo z'Abafaransa (nk'urugero muri Centrafrique). Abayobozi b'uBufaransa bahisemo kubika nk' ''ibanga r'umutekano'' amalisiti anyuranye y'abantu bimuwe (indege n'inzira zo ku butaka), iyo ni yo ngingo bambwiye icyo gihe banyikiza.

Tuributsa ko imvano ikomeye y'impaka nyuma y'ifungwa rya za ambasade zose i

Kigali[444] n'iyimurwa ry'abanyamahanga zashingiye ku myitwarire y'izo ambasade

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[442] André GUICHAOUA (dir.), *Les Crises politiques auBurundi et auRwanda (1990-1994), op. cit.*, p. 697-701 (reba umugereka).

[443] Uwo mubare watanzwe operasiyo ikimara kurangira n'abakozi bakuru bo muri minisiteri y'Ubutwererane, waje kwemezwa nyuma mu butegetsi.("Ibyavuye mu iyimura byerekanywe ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 na EMA/COIA, bigaragaza iyimurwa mu ndege ry'abantu 1238, harimo Abafaransa 454 n'abanyamahanga 784, muri bo Abanyafurika bakaba 612 harimo Abanyarwanda 394. Ku buryo bubangikanye, Abafaransa 115 bafashe umuhanda berekeza Zayire n' i Burundi. Ugereranyije, uBubiligi bwimuye abantu 1226, harimo Ababiligi1026; Ubutaliyani na Kanada buri gihugu cyimuye abantu bagera ku ijana", ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,Tom.I, umutwe 2, p. 266)

[444] Muri "ambasade zikomeye", uBushinwa ni bwo bwonyine kwakomeje gufungura urwego rubuhagarariye mu

imbere y'iyinginga rikomeye kandi rireba ubuzima bwabo, ry'Abanyarwanda baziteye, kandi koko ntibyashobokaga kubasubiza hadakozwe ivangura kubera ingamba zo kutivanga zafashwe gihubuko n'abo byarebaga mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri urwo rwego, usibye amahirwe yo kwegerana kw'ahantu[445], ihitamo ry'ambasade zibakira ryakozwe n'abanyacyubahiro bahigwaga, abumvaga bari mu gihirahiro cyangwa ku buryo bworoshye, abifuzaga kutagira imbogamizi, muri rusange ryashingiraga ku mibanire, ubuvandimwe cyangwa ubucuti, bitihi se rigaterwa n'ihitamo rya poritiki rizwi. Bityo, uretse guhindura ambasade ibigo bifasha imbabare, ibisubizo byiza cyangwa bibi by'izo ambasade ntibyari gushingira gusa ku "ngorane z'ubushobozi", n'ubwo umntu yatekereza ko iyo nzitizi yaba yaragize uruhare rukomeye ku ihitamo ryakozwe.

Isesengura ryitonze rya lisiti ryerekana ko Abanyarwanda bacumbikiwe n'ambasade y'Abafaransa baturukaga mu miryango hagati ya 20 na 25, wongeyeho abantu bake cyangwa ingo zitandukanye. Imyinshi muri iyo miryango yari ifitanye amasano ya hafi yo mu muryango, ay'ubucuti na/cyangwa ayo mu mirimo. Bityo, nk'urugero, Siméon Nteziryayo[446] n'abe ntibari munsi y'abantu hafi mirongo itatu, na Augustin Ngirabatware , hamwe n'umuryango waguye wa Félicien Kabuga n'iy'abakwe be, hamwe n'abo bakoranaga muri minisiteri y'imigambi ya leta b'inkoramutima we byari agahebuzo. Uretse ingero zimwe na zimwe zikenera ubushakashatsi bukozwe neza, abantu batandukanye bavuzwe muri iriya lisiti bose bari bazwi kubera akazi bakoraga icyo gihe cyangwa bari barakoze. Nanone ikigaragara kitagibwaho impaka, muri bo hafi ya bose, abanyacyubahiro babaruwe bari mu gace gato k'abategetsi bo ku ngoma ya Habyarimana.

Kuki abategetsi b'ingoma ya Habyarimana birukiye mbere na mbere kuri

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gihe cyose cy'intambara.

[445] Urugero rusonbanutse neza rutangwa na Agnès Ntamabyariro, minisitiri w'Ubutabera (PL), amaze kumenya ko abandi bantu bahungiraga mu rugo kw'ambasaderi wa Leta zunze ubumwe, wavuganye na we akamwemerera (reba ibyavuzwe n' Agnès NTAMABYARIRO, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 28 Kanama 1995, p. 37).

[446] Siméon Nteziryayo yari mu bantu ba mbere babaye abaminisitiri ba Repubulika ya II muri Kamena 1975, nyuma mu ivugurura ry'abaminisitiri ryo muri Werurwe 1981, aba minisitiri muri Perezidansi, umwanya wari ukomeye bihagije.

ambasade? Impamvu ya mbere umuntu yavuga ishingiye ku hantu yari iri. Mu gace ka Kiyovu irimo, hari hatuye abanyacyubahiro benshi b'iyo ngoma. Abantu nka Augustin Ngirabatware, Sylvestre Nsanzimana, Pascal Ndengejeho, Siméon Nteziryayo cyangwa nanone umuryango wa Munyemana bashoboye kugera kuri ambasade kubera ko bari abaturanyi bamenyereye aho hantu kandi bamwe muri bo, abasirikare barindaga perezida barayirindaga. Koko rero, kandi iyi ngingo iruta iya mbere, kari agace Karinzwe bikabije. Bityo, Banki Nasiyonali y'uRwanda (níbigega byayo by'amadovize), amacumbi ya perezida na Elie Sagatwa, irya Séraphin Rwabukumba yari mu gishushanyo cy'ahantu hahoraga hagenzurwa n'Ingabo zirinda perezida, no kuhagera, rugikubita nyuma y'iraswa ry'indege ya perezida, byasabaga kunyura kuri bariyeri zikomeye kuva mu kabwibwi[447]. Mu gitondo, wasangaga itumbi kuri izo bariyeri kandi ntibyari byoroshye kwiha kuzinyuraho umuntu atarinzwe cyangwa se atazwi. Mu gihe Ingabo zirinda perezida zahoreraga shebuja, abarinda abawofisiye bo mu kazu bahiga "umwanzi" ukomoka mu majyepfo n'abatutsi, abahigwaga, binyegeje, ntibashoboraga guhirahira ngo bigaragaze[448] . Ibyo byakumiraga abifuzaga kujya kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa bazwi ho kuba mu barwanyaga ubutegetsi cyangwa abanyacyubahiro b'abatutsi batagiraga uburinzi bwizewe cyangwa batari bafite inzira isobanutse yo kwirengera, kandi amarembo y'amabasade y'uBubiligi yari afunguye kurushaho. Muri ubwo buryo, abanyacyubahiro benshi bahigwaga banze kudusanga kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* kubera ko

[447] Ubwo yumvwaga n'ubutumwa bw'abadepite, Jean-Michel Marlaud yavuze ko kuva ku wa gatatu tariki ya 6, ahagana saa yine z'ijoro, yahuye n'ibibazo ava mu rugo iwe ajya kuri ambasade yari aho hafi kubera bariyeri (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE , *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,* Tom.III, p.295).

[448] Uko ni ko, ahagana mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 8 n'iya 9, Désiré, umuhungu w'imfura w'Alexis Kanyarengwe, perezida w'Inkotanyi, yazamutse, mu muhanda wa Jeunesse, ashaka ubuhungiro kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wabibonye nahuye na we, yahagaritswe imbere y'urugo rwa majoro Bernard Ntuyahaga wari kumwe na koloneli Ephrem Setako muri Peugot 505 ya gisirikare hamwe n'abitwara gisirikare b'*Interahamwe.* Amaze kuvuga umwirondoro we n'ikimugenza, uwo musore yararashwe. RTLM yahereye ko itangaza urupfu rwe. Umurambo we watoraguwe n'Umuryango utabara imbabare nyuma y' iminsi myinshi.

tutashoboraga kubizeza umutekano—byahise bitunanira—kabone n'abari mu metero nke rwose uvuye aho twari turi.

Ku wa 11 Mata 1994, ambasade y'UBufaransa yohererej minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi

bw'igihugu w'uBurundi, Jean-Baptiste Manwangari, telegisi imusaba kwakira abantu bari bayihungiyemo, amazina yabo akaba yari kuri lisiti y'amazina y'abantu 178 *(reba umugereka wa 83).*

Reka twongere dusobanure ko ari lisiti yamenyeshaga abayobozi b'Abarundi kuza

kw'abantu bose bari bemeye guhungishwa n'ingabo z'Abafaransa mbere y'uko zitahuka n'uko ambasade y'uBufaransa ifunga, kandi iyimurwa ryabo rikaba ryari ryaremejwe n'abashinzwe ambasade. Nta bwo igaragaza rero Abanyarwanda bose bari bacumbitse kuri ambasade. Nanone, n'ubwo ibyo bireba gusa abanyacyubahiro bake, iyo lisiti ntisobanura neza urwego rw'icumbi bahawe: umucumbitsi uhoraho, uw'ijoro rimwe, umushyitsi wa rimwe na rimwe, n'ibindi. Lisiti dutangaje siyo yonyine yabayeho si na yo ya nyuma, kubera ko hari abandi bantu bavuzwe mu ihamagara rya bose umunsi wo kwimuka. Hanyuma kandi by'umwihariko, amaherezo ntigaragaza abanze kuva i Kigali bari basabye imyanya gusa kugira ngo babe banyonyomba bibaye ngombwa.

I Bujumbura, nyuma y'igenzura ryihuta ry'iyo lisiti rakozwe n'inzego zishinzwe

umutekano wo hanze, abinjira mu gihugu na polisi ishinzwe imipaka, handitswe agapapuro kariho abantu (cyangwa imiryango) 27 "bari mu mazira abira", ni ukuvuga abo umutekano wabo wagombaga kubungabungwa, cyangwa kuhaba kwabo kwashoboraga guteza imvururu. Hanyuma, abagize akanama k'ubuyobozi –kayoboraga igihugu nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida Cyprien Ntaryamira i Burundi— bagishije inama Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa Loni muBurundi, maze bafata icyemezo cyo kwamagana bidasubirwaho no kwanga icyo cyifuzo bemeza gusa ko indege inyura ku kibuga cyabo. N'ubwo lisiti yariho abantu 178, amaherezo abagenzi bari bimuwe ku wa 12 babaye bake cyane, kubera ko

abanyacyubahiro benshi cyane cyane nk'abumvaga nta mpungenge zúmutekano bafite cyangwa abari bamaze guhabwa imyanya muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, bahisemo kohereza imiryango yabo (Bicamumpaka, Kabuga, Mbangura, Mugenzi, Mugiraneza, Ntagerura[449], Nyiramasuhuko).

Bageze i Bujumbura, abimuwe ntibemerewe kuva mu gace mpuzamahanga kandi

bacumbikiwe ku kibuga cya kera, aho Croix-Rouge yabafashirije. Kubera gukubitiriza hirya no hino kw'ambasaderi w'uRwanda muBurundi, Sylvestre Uwibajije,hamwe n'abanyacyubahiro banyuranye b'Abanyarwanda n' Abarundi, minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu w'uBurundi yaje kwemera, ku manywa yo ku wa 13, kureka hagasohoka abantu 43 bari bashyizwe mu rwego rw' "abari mu mazi abira" cyangwa bashoboraga kugira ibibazo muri Zayire, kugira ngo babe bagumye i Burundi by'agateganyo, cyangwa bajye ahandi bihitiyemo (Sylvestre Nsanzimana, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, Pierre Gakumba, Joseph Ngarambe, Dorcy Rugamba). Abandi bagenzi bose bimuriwe i Bukavu ku wa 14, bahagera saa kumi n'imwe zo ku mugoroba. Bahurijwe kuri *Hôtel Métropole,* bahacumbikirwa bishyuriwe n'abayobozi bo muri Zayire mbere yo kwimurirwa ahandi hantu (amahoteli, inzu zihariye n'ahandi). Nkurikije anketi nakoranye n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR), abagiye benshi, nka Cyprien Munyampundu, Ferdinand Nahimana, Augustin Ngirabatware na Télesphore Bizimungu, basubiye muRwanda umunsi ukurikira uw'iyimurwa, banyuze i Cyangugu. Perefe Bagambiki yari yabohereereje bisi ya Onatracom yabategerereje ku mupaka. Abandi baciye i Goma.

Abenshi muri abo banyacyubahiro bakozweho anketi bakanashinjwa n'Urukiko Mpanacyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR), iyo lisiti yabaye urwitwazo rukomeye, kubera ko yashoboraga guha urwitwazo abashinjwaga kuba bari muRwanda, nibura mu minsi ya mbere yakurikiye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Kopi z'izo nyandiko zombi (lisiti yoherejwe kuri telegisi na lisiti y'abantu

[449] Reba umugereka wa 83

babangamiwe) naziherewe ubwanjye na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu w'uBurundi, Jean-Baptiste Manwangari, ku wa 12 Nyakanga 1994. Mu 1998, zashyikirijwe Bernard Caseneuve, wakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite. Ku byo nzi, abakoze raporo ya misiyo ntibashoboye guhabwa n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bireba impapuro z'umwimerere cyangwa indi nyandiko iyo ari yo yose yerekeranye n'iryo yimurwa (kimwe n'ayandi yose). Ibyo ari byo byose, "abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite barayifashishije kandi bayiha Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud, wahoze ari ambasaderi w'uBufaransa muRwanda utarigeze ahakana ko ibaho cyangwa ngo ahakane ibiyikubiyemo, ariko agahakana agatsemba ku ngingo y'iyimurwa rivangura[450]". Nyamara byari kuroha kwirinda ishyinguranyandiko ridahwitse cyangwa ubushake buke bw'inzego z'ubuyobozi zinyuranye z' i Paris iyo hasabwa muri ambasade y'uBufaransa muBurundi ikoreshwa ry'impapuro z'umwimerere.Mu ruzinduko nakoze i Bujumbura mu 1999, niyemeje kubonana nanone n'abo twagiranye ibiganiro mu 1994, kugira ngo mbasabe kwemeza ubuziranenge bwa kopi za telegisi n' iy'inyandiko y'inzego z'akazi z'uBurundi minisitiri yari yarampaye. Ntibyashobotse kubona impapuro z'umwimerere ndetse na lisiti z'abagenzi bagiye mu ndege n'abari bayitegereje ku ya 12 na 13 Mata. Ibyemezo nakusanyije nabishyikirije Paul Quilès ku wa 23 Gicurasi 1999, wasubije ko yabibonye ku wa 1 Kamena 1999. Nabitangiye hamwe mu buhamya mu Rukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda[451].

Uko "abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi" bakiriwe kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa

450

451 Izo lisiti zikomeje kuvugwaho byinshi: "Perezida w'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga kuRwanda vuba aha yaregewe n'icyumba kimwe cy'urukiko ibura ry'ubufatanye bw'uBufaransa mu gutanga lisiti y'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki b'Abanyarwanda bahungiye kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa i Kigali mu ntangiriro ya jenoside. Mu itegeko-teka ryo ku itariki ya 13 Ugushyingo AFP (Ikigo gitara amakuru cy'uBufaransa) yashoboye kubona ku wa kane, icyumba nomero 3 cya TPIR kirahamya ko nta buryo kitakoresheje kugira ngo abayobozi b'Abafaransa bagihe iyo lisiti "kikaba kibishyikirije perezida w'urukiko", Dennis Byron—bene iki cyemezo kiboneka gake cyane. Amategeko agenga TPIR ateganya ko iyo icyumba cy'urugereko rw'ibanze n'umucamanza umwe badashidikanya ko igihugu kitubahirije inshingano […], icyo cyumba cyangwa uwo mucamanza ashobora kwiyambaza perezida akabimenyesha Inama ishinzwe umutekano ya Loni" (AFP, Nairobi, 19 Ugushyingo 2009).

Nk'uko bivugwa muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, Jean-Michel Marlaud yarahakanye aratsemba ko ambasade y'uBufaransa yaba yaranze gucumbikira abanyacyubahiro benshi ikaba yarakiriye gusa abari ku ngoma. Yashyigikiye ko kuri ambasade hari hateraniye n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bumvaga babangamiwe, itanga urugero rwa Pascal Ndengejeho, wahoze ari minisitiri utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi wo muri MDR, na Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, porokireri generali, basabiye icya rimwe ubuhungiro bwa poritiki.

Uvanye "abatoni b'ingoma" kuri lisiti y'abantu bemerewe icumbi n'ihungishwa,

hasigara gusa imiryango itanu idasanzwe cyangwa abanyacyubahiro umuntu yakwita "abatari kuri gahunda"; ni byiza gusobanura uko buri wese yageze kuri ambasade.

Ikintu kigaragara cyane ni uko mu itsinda ryose ry'abantu bakiriwe, keretse habayeho kwibeshya, harimo abagabo babiri gusa b'Abatutsi n'imiryango yabo[452]. Buri wese muri bo, ku buryo bwe, ari mu rwego rudasanzwe.

Uwa mbere, niba nanditse izina rye neza, yitwa Pierre Nsanzimana. Ukurikije imvugo ya Jean-Michel Marlaud, ni wa mututsi umwe rukumbi wakoraga muri ambasade washoboye kurokoka ubwicanyi. Yakoraga muri ambasade, akaba yari yihishe ku muturanyi w' "*interahamwe*" kuva ku wa 7 Mata akaba kandi atarashoboraga kubona terefone no kugera kuri ambasade. Yashoboye kuhagera ku wa 11. Nk'uko abyivugira[453], amambere igisubizo cy'Umufaransakazi bavuganye ku rwakiriro rwa terefone cyari oya, , gisa n'ibindi byose byari byakibanjirije[454]: ntibyashokaga gufasha umuntu uwo ari we wese w'Umunyarwanda. Yanze gufunga terefone, aringinga maze agira amahirwe ikiganiro cyabo cyumvwa n'umuliyetona-koloneri w'Umufaransa yari azi neza wakoraga

[452] Hari n'abagore b'Abatutsi, ariko bahari kubera ko abagabo babo na bo bahari. Igenzura iryo ari ryo ryose ntirinashoboka kubera ko izina ryabo ritavugwa. Imiryango, umugore n'abana, aha bandikwa ku izina rya se.

[453] Ubuhamya bwa nyirubwite, ibiganiro kuri terefone byo ku itarki ya 7Gicurasi 2006.

[454] N'ubwo hari teregaramu ya Quai d'Orsay yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata: "Minisiteri ibamenyesheje ko ari byiza guha Abanyarwanda bari mu bakozi b'ambasade (abahawe akazi ba kavukire), bashobora kugerwaho, uburyo bwo kuvana i Kigali n'ingabo z'Abafaransa".

mu ikipe y'abunganizi mu rwego rwa tekiniki. Ku bwende bwe, uwo mugabo yiyemeje kujya kumukura mu bwihisho. Yahereye ko ajyayo, apakira umuryango we wose mu ijipi ye ahagana sa tanu n'igice z'amanywa, hanyuma avugana n'amabasade kuri radiyo kugira ngo amenye aho awushyira. Bamujyanye ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry, aho ingabo z'Abafaransa zahagurukirizaga imbaga y'abanyamahanga bajya ku kibuga cy'indege. Uwo muryango waraharaye maze ujyanwa ku kibuga cy'indege ku munsi ukurikiyeho kare kare mu gitondo. Kubera ko nta cyizere cyo kwakirwa muBufaransa bari bafite kandi kandi batazi igihugu berekezamo, Pierre Nsanzimana n'umuryango we bongewe kuri lisiti y'abatoni k'ingoma boherejwe i Burundi.

Nk'uko abyivugira, iyo hataba ukwitanga k'uwo muwofisiye ku giti cye, aba yarabaye nk'abandi bakozi b'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi b'iyo ambasade.Nawe ubwe ntiyibuka izina ry'uwo muliyetona-koloneli ntabashije gutahura.

Umututsi wa kabiri, Pierre Gakumba, yari umukozi mukuru wa Banki z'Abaturage utari ufite aho ahuriye n'ambasade[455]. Yagejejwe kuri ambasade n'uhagarariye uBusuwisi muRwanda Marie-France Zenfer, ku wa 11 Mata nimugoroba, hamwe n'umugore we Médiatrice Uwanyiligira na we w'Umututsikazi, wari umuganga mu muryango w'Abaganga batagira imipaka (Médecins sans Frontières), n'umwana wabo. Kubera ko na we yari irengayoboro, yemerewe guhungishwa ariko habanje kuba imishyikirano ikomeye n'ambasaderi.

Yari umwe mu bantu benshi bari bahungiye mu mazu y'icyicaro cy'uhagarariye u Busuwisi muRwanda, cyangwa mu macumbi y'abakozi b'ambasade. Kubera ko iyo ambasade itari ifite inkunga y'ingabo z'igihugu zoherejwe kuyirindira umutekano w'amazu no guhungisha abenegihugu bayo, umugore wari uyiyoboye yagerageje kubashakira icumbi n'ukuntu basohoka. Ku wa 9 Mata, nyuma yo guterana amagambo bikomeye n'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa, uhagarariye u Busuwisi bamwangiye kwakira abantu bose yari yabisabiye, hitwajwe ko nta mwanya wari uhari, haba mu busitani, haba no mu ndege. Jean-Michel Marlaud yari yasabye lisiti inonosoye y'Abanyarwanda bo

[455] Yari mu bakozi bakuru bakomeye bo muri icyo kigo, barimo na Jean Kambanda.

guhungishwa. Ababyifuzaga bagera kuri mirongo itandatu (abana batarimo) bari: abakozi b'amabasade y'u Busuwisi badafite umutekano, aba'koranaga n'imishinga y'ubutwererane y'u Busuwisi, majoro Pascal Ngirumpatse n'inshuti ye y'Umututsikazi n'abana babo[456], abakozi ba leta bakuru bahoze ari abanyamabanga bakuru (Emmanuel Bahigiki) cyangwa abayobozi bakuru ba za minisiteri (DG Mininter, Minitrape…), abarimu muri kaminuza n'umuganga (bose bari bafite imiryango igizwe n'abana batatu cyangwa batanu). N'ubwo hari icyizere ko abo bantu bose bari guhabwa uruhushya rwo kujya mu Busuwisi, ambasaderi yanze akomeje kugira n'umwe yimura. Icyari kimuhangayikishije kwari ukumenya niba Disimasi Nsengiyaremye wahoze ari Minisitiri w'intebe yari yahungiye mu Basuwisi kandi niba yari kuri lisiti yabo. Lisiti ya kabiri iriho abantu 15 gusa (abana batarimo) yongeye kumushyikirizwa, na yo ayanga nk'iyayibanjirije.

Ku bwa burembe, yemeye kwakira abantu babiri. Ubwo uhagarariye u Busuwisi yahisemo Pierre Gakumba n'umugore we[457] noneho Jean-Michel Marlaud yemera kongeraho umwana wabo w'umuhungu. Igihe uhagarariye uBusuwisi yagezaga Pierre Gakumba n'umugore we kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, ambasaderi yanze kwakira François Nzabahimana wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi n'Abaguzi wa MRND akanaba umunyamabanga mukuru wa za Banki z'abaturage, muri rusange wafatwaga n'abantu b'intagondwa bo muri MRND nk' "utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi[458]". Nanone yanze kwakira Josepha Kanzayire, wari wenyine n'abana be, akaba umuyobozi wa INADES, ahabarizwaga abakozi bakuru bo mu rwego rw'amashyirahamwe yo mu cyaro bari biganjemo abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, n'abawofisiye benshi bo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda (FAR) bakoranaga n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi (icyo gihe bari bihishe).

[456] Majoro Pascal Ngirumpatse, yakoreraga Laurent Serubuga, wari usigaye yibera mu mirimo y'ubucuruzi. Muri iyo minsi, yakoresheje icyo kimenyane ...ndetse n'imodoka ya shebuja arengera abatutsi benshi.

[457] Guhitamo uwo muryango byatewe nuko Pierre Gakumba yari yavuze ko umugore we yari afitanye isano na Fred Rwigema, wari uzwi ho kuba yaratangije umutwe w'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi, bityo akaba yari mu mazi abira.

[458] Yakomokaga mu Majyepfo, akaba muri iyo minsi yarahoraga avugana na perezida mushya wa Repubulika. Yaratemberaga kandi agaca kuri bariyeri nta kibazo.

Bageze kuri ambasade, babonye hari abantu bagera ku icumi banaganaga ku byuma by'urupangu, binginga ngo binjire bikaba iby'ubusa. Mu bari bamaze kwakirwa kuri ambasade, bamenyemo nka ba Ferdinand Nahimana, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, na Sylvestre Nsanzimana. Nyuma gato yaho, minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu yatashye avuye gutembera mu mugi. Umuryango wa Gakumba waherekejwe ku wa 12 Mata ku kibuga cy'indege cy'i Kigali unimurirwa i Bujumbura, aho wavuye werekeza mu Busuwisi[459].

> " Mbagejejeyo, niboneye ubwanjye Ferdinand Nahimana, Félicien Kabuga, Augustin Ngirabatware, Casimir Bizimungu, Callixte Nzabonimana, Siméon Nteziryayo n'abandi benshi; icyo gihe Alphonse Nkubito yaraturitse andirira mu maboko, Jean-Michel amperekeje ku muryango w'igipangu: "Murabeho, ndumva koko nta mwanya mumfitiye[460]…".

Iyo miryango yombi y'Abatutsi ntiyijandikaga mu bya poritiki, ntiyarwanyaga ubutegetsi, kandi yarokowe, uwa mbere n'amahirwe yo kugira umugoboka, uwa kabiri, nyuma y'itoranya ribabaje kandi rivangura mu basabaga benshi.

Abantu nkanjye bari bageregeje kugira abo bajyana (muri za ambasade zitari zifite uburyo bwo kurinda umutekano zinafite benshi bazigana), bahuye bose n' imbogamizi yo kwangirwa bidasubirwaho hose urwitwazo ari: "ubushobozi buke bw'icumbi". Ibyo kandi aho watakambiraga hose igisubizo cyari kimwe: ushinzwe kwitaba terefone cyangwa ushoboye kubona umujyanama wa mbere wari ubikomeyemo cyane William Bunel, cyangwa se wigereye kuri ambasaderi ubwe.

Abanyarwanda b'abatutsi bake bari barahungiye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* nashoboye gutuma bimuka "bitangiwe uburenganzira n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa" kandi baciye mu Ishuri ry'Abafaransa mbere yo kugera ku kibuga cy'indege, nk'uko

[459] Ibiganiro nagiranye kuri terefone na Médiatrice Uwanyiligira hagati y'itariki ya 26 Mata n'iya 11 Gicurasi 2006.

[460] Ubutumwa bw'umuntu wari uherekeje umuryango wa Gakumba, itariki ya ya 24 Mata 2006.

twari twabyumvikanyeho, bagiye bavuga ko bari barataye indangamuntu zabo. Biyise abava muri Afurika y'i Burengerazuba na kapiteni Mbaye Diagne wo muri Minuar ahamagara ambasade yemeza inkomoko yabo mbere y'uko tujya ku Ishuri ry'Abafaransa.

Izindi ngero eshatu z' "abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi" bari kuri ambasade zerekeye abanyacyubahiro b'Abahutu. Hari izina riherako ryigaragaza, iry'Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, porokireri generali w'Urukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Kigali wari warajuragijwe n'ubutegetsi kuva mu ntangiriro za 1990. Yari ndetse n'umwe mu badukanye ishingwa ry'imiryango itegamiye Leta ari yo yaje kwibaruka urugaga rw'amashyirahamwe arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu muRwanda[461] yatumye aba ikirangirire mu mahanga. Kubera ko yahigwaga kuva mu gitondo gikurikira amarorerwa, yari yabashije kuva iwe, aherekejwe n'umujandarume umwe cyangwa babiri, bari bamurinze. Umugore we wari urwaye cyane yamutaye mu nzu. Yashoboye amaherezo kugera kwa ambasaderi w'uBubiligi Johann Swinnen, ku wa 7 Mata ahagana saa kumi n'imwe z'umugoroba. Kubera ko umuryango w'Ababiligi wahigwaga by'umwihariko hamaze kwicwa abaparakomando icumi n'abasivili benshi, no kubera amatangazo y'urwango rwibasira aBabiligi yahitaga ku bwishi kuri RTLM, ambasaderi yabuze uko abigenza. Kongera uwo "mwanzi w'igihugu" wahigwaga n'intagondwa zábahutu ku "batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi" bagera kuri mirongo itatu bari bahungiye mu rugo iwe, byashyiraga ambasaderi mu mazi abira.

Yumvikanye rero na Alphonse-Marie Nkubito ko, uko ibintu bigenda bihinduka, inzira iyo ari yo yose yatanga umutekano kuri bose yateganywa. Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata, nta wutekereza ko bishoboka, yemwe nta n'uburyo buteganywa bwo kwimuka, ambasaderi yagobotswe n'uruzinduko rw' intumwa z'abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka [Ububanyi n'amahanga], Augustin Ngirabatware [Imigambi ya leta], Casimir Bizimungu [Ubuzima]), bagombaga kujya nyuma yaho kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, abasaba kuhamugereza umwe mu

[461] Yari mu Ishyirahamwe nyarwanda rirengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu (ARDHO) akaba na perezida w'Impuzamashyirahamwe y'imiryango irengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu (CLADHO).

“nshuti” ze…Ubwo mu masaa cyenda saa kumi, yahamagaye mugenzi we w’Umufaransa Jean-Marlaud na we yemera ko Alphonse-Marie Nkubito yagira umutekano urushijeho kuri ambasade y’uBufaransa. Ni uko abo baminisitiri bokejwe igitutu bakiza ubuzima bwa Alphonse-Marie Nkubito bamugeza kuri Jean-Michel Marlaud washoboraga, binyuranye na mugenzi we w’Umubiligi, gutanga icyizere cyo kwakira no kwita ku bantu mu mutekano. Ubwo ambasade y’uBufaransa iba igize umushyitsi wihararutswe kandi utakekwaga mu “muryango” wari wakoranye ushingiye ku guhuza ibitekerezo byawo bya poritiki. Kugira ngo hatabaho urujijo urwo ari rwo rwose ku buringanire bwashoboraga kuba muri uko kwegerana, tuributsa ko nyuma y’iyimurwa rye, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito yirukanywe mu bakozi ba leta byemejwe na Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho.

Iyo nkuru isobanura neza isano iri hagati y’imibanire y’abantu ishingiye kuri poritiki n’umutekano wabo abaminisitiri ba Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho bari basuye ambasaderi Swinnen bahanganye na yo mu gihe kidasanzwe. Koko rero, ambasaderi yatumiye mu kiganiro umwe mu bo yari acumbikiye, Enock Ruhigira, umunyacyubahiro ukomeye muri MRND, wari umuyobozi w’ibiro bya nyakwigendera Yuvenari Habyarimana. Ubwo indege ya perezida yaraswaga, uwo mugabo yari ashinzwe kwakira perezida ku kibuga cy’indege. Ni we rero wa mbere wamenye uko byamugendekeye, aba n’uwa mbere wabimenyesheje abahagarariye ibihugu by’amahanga benshi, barimo Jean-Michel Marlaud. Yaboneyeho akanya ko gufindura ibintu byari kuba no gutekereza ku myitwarire ye bwite. Icyemezo cye cyari gisobanutse neza. Bakimuherekeza iwe, yanze kwimurirwa mu nkambi y’Ingabo zirinda perezida, ahitamo gusaba ubuhungiro mu icumbi ry’inshuti ye y’Umubiligi ryarindwaga na Minuar. Hanyuma ku wa 9 Mata, amaze kubonana muri *Hôtel des Diplomates* n’abategetsi bashya b’abasivili bari bashyizweho na Théoneste Bagosora, yanze gusubizwa mu mirimo ye kwa perezida wa Repubulika Théodore Sindikubwabo, anasaba gucumbikirwa mu rugo kw’ambasaderi w’uBubiligi, aho yimuwe ajya i Nairobi ku wa 12, ubwo ingabo z’Ababiligi zatahukaga. Ku muntu uzi ibintu nka we, kandi wahoraga ahabwa ububasha bwo kujya mu mishyikirano itoroshye, icyo cyemezo nta ho gihuriye n’ubugenge. Mu gihe intagondwa zo mu bice byombi byarwaniraga ubutegetsi byari bimaze kwinjira burundu mu

ntamabara, abanyacyubahiro bake cyane b'inyaryenge ni bo bagize ubwenge n'ubutwari byo kwanga kubigiramo uruhare. Uko kwitarura kugaragara k'umunyacyubahiro w'umunyaporitiki ukomeye imbere y'ihitamo ryakozwe na bagenzi be mu ishyaka hafi ya bose, rishyira ku buryo bugaragara imyifatire ya poritiki y'abari mu rubuga, n'imyitwarire ya buri ambasade mu gihe cy'amahitamo akomeye[462.]

Izina rya Joseph Ngarambe, wari muri PSD, wagejejwe kuri ambasade n'inshuti ye y'Umufaransa, na ryo ryavuzwe nk'iry'utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi.Ariko ntiyari afite umwanya w'ubuyobozi mu nzego z'iryo shyaka washoboraga gutuma ahigwa n'ingabo zirinda perezida cyangwa abaturage b'inkerarugamba.

Mu kurangiza, urugero rwa gatatu rw'utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi ambasaderi yatanze ni "Pascal Ndengejeho, wahoze ari minisitiri w'ishyaka ritavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi MDR". Imvugo "uwahoze ari minisitiri mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi" irasobanutse cyane: yabaye koko muri guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye yo muri Mata 1992 ku ruhande rwa MDR, ariko ntiyasubijwe mu y'Agata Uwilingiyimana, abari bayigize bo muri MDR (agace kari gashyikiye Inkotanyi (FPR) ka Faustin Twagiramungu) baje guhigwa ku mugaragaro. Nanone, kandi iki gitekerezo ndabona gifite ishingiro, igisobanuro cy'ingenzi cy'ukuba kwe mu mazu y'ambasade y'uBufaransa gishingiye ku mpamvu z'uko yari atuye hafi

[462] Igitekerezo cya Enoch Ruhigira cyagumaga icyo gihe mu murongo ugororotse w'imibanire ye na perezida. Ku bwe, Habyarimana ni we wenyine washoboraga kubuza itandukira nyuma y'ishyirwaho umukono ry'amasezerano y'amahoro, n'ubwo na we ubwe atari yorohewe: "Habyarimana wenyine ni we washoboraga kwiha kohereza Protais muri Kanada, kwitandukanya na Nzirorera, na Nsekalije."Twibutse ko ingaruka z'iyo myitwarire "itandukira" nyuma zabaye nyinshi cyane. Uretse urwango rukomeye yagaragarijwe kuva icyo gihe n'abantu bo mu kazu ka perezida kubera "ubugambanyi", intamabara ikirangira Inkotanyi zamushyize ku isonga y'urutonde rw'abateguye jenoside zagombaga gucira urubanza! Ikindi kandi, kuva mu 2003, mu gihe abayobozi b'uRwanda bari bafitiye impungenge ikomera ry'icyubahiro yagumanye mu duce tw'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo, cyane cyane muri Leta zunze ubumwe, minisitiri w'Ubutabera w'uRwanda yatanze urupapuro mpuzamahanga rwo kumufata rutanga ibimenyetso…ku ruhare rwe bwite mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside muri perefegitura ya Kibuye mu kwezi kwa Mata, Gicurasi na Kamena 1994. Ibirego byahimbwe n'abatangabuhamya babi, kubera ko nyirubwite atigeze asubira muRwanda kuva igihe yimurwaga n'ingabo z'Ababiligi ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994.

yayo kandi umugore we akaba yari umuvandimwe wa Léoncie Bongwa, umugore wa André Ntagerura, minisitiri wa MRND, wari ukuriye abandi baminisitiri ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Ni amahirwe masa rero, si ubushake, yagejeje imiryango ibiri y'Abatutsi n'umuntu umwe w'ikirangirire utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi mu mazu y'ambasade y'uBufaransa, aho bafatiye itike itabemerera kugaruka yo kujya i Bujumbura, ku buryo butandukanye n'ubwa benshi mu "batoni" b'ingoma ya Habyarimana.

Ku buryo bw'inyongera, twavuga ko iyo lisiti (n'izindi zitamenywe na benshi) iriho abantu banyuranye baje kuba mu ba mbere basabye ubuhungiro muBufaransa, kandi dosiye zabo za poritiki zari imitwaro iremereye. Abandi, na bo b'ibirangirire, baje kubakurikira. Kuva icyo gihe, abo banyacyubahiro n'ababagenderagaho barengeraga, batuye ari benshi cyane muBufaransa, Misiyo y'ikusanyamakuru y'abadepite itarigeze yifuza gufungura iyo dosiye [kubatangaho ikirego]-irakomeye cyane urebye ubufatanye n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa uko kwakirwa kwimakaje-mu gihe ryakoraga imirimo yayo.

Urugero, minisitiri muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, Augustin Ngirabatware, wari ufite pasiporo yo muri Gabon yakozwe bizwi mu izina rye ku wa 31 Ukuboza 1996,yahawe n'inzego zishinzwe ubutoni n'ubudahangarwa (Privilèges et Immunités) za Quai d'Orsay "ikarita idasanzwe" mu mwanya w'icyemezo cyo gucumbika, ku wa 20 Mata 1998 (ibyumweru bitatu nyuma y' itangira ry'itangabuhamya muri Misiyo y'abadepite) mu izina ry' umuryango mpuzamahanga atigeze akorera (*reba umugereka wa 84*). Ubwo Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR) rwateguraga ifatwa rye i Paris ku wa 26 Ugushyingo 1999 kandi n'urugo rwe rugenzurwa, yashoboye kuva nta ngorane ku butaka bw'uBufaransa ajya i Libreville, aho abayobozi ba Gabon bamutahuye bakanemeza ko bamukoreraga igenzura, hagati aho bakamwuzuriza ibisabwa n'amategeko…bakanamureka akazimira[463] .

[463] Augustin Ngirabatware kuva icyo gihe yanyuze, urebye nta ngorane nyinshi, mu bihugu binyuranye by'Afurika n'u Burayi, aza gufatirwa mu Budage ku itariki ya 17 Nzeri 2007.

Haje nanone kugaragara itura muBufaransa ry'abakozi babiri bakuru cyane ba minisiteri y'Igenamigambi, by'umwihariko Télesphore Bizimungu wahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru w'Imigambi ya leta, wari ushyigikiye CDR[464], n'Antoine Ibambasi, wakomokaga muri komini Nyamyumba (komini ya Augusti Ngirabatware), wari umujyanama wa minisitiri mu birebana na tekiniki. Uwo muyobozi uzwi w' intagondwa z'Abahutu kuva muri 1992, na we yari ashakamye n' umuvanimwe wa Seraphin Rwabukumba, undi muramu wa perezida. Ni we wateguye anashyigikira imyivumbagatanyo muri Onatracom muri Kanama 1992. Abajijwe gusobanurira guverinoma ibikorwa by'umujyanama we, minisitiri Ngirabatware ntiyamuhannye. Mu bari mu "kazu ka perezida" na bo batuye i Paris, hari harimo abandi bakwe babiri ba Kabuga: Fabien Singaye, wahoze ari umujyanama muri ambasade y'uRwanda mu Busuwisi akahirukanwa mu 1994 kubera ibikorwa by'ubutasi, akaba kandi, ageze muBufaransa, yarakoranye na Paul Barril; hari na Eugène Mbarushimana, umuyobozi mukuru w'*Interahamwe,* wari ucumbitse muri ambasade y'uBufaransa, wakojeje isoni abamurengeye ageze muBufaransa. Umugore we[465] na we ubwe[466] bangiwe burundu ubuhungiro na Komisiyo ishinzwe ibirego by'impunzi (CRR) ku wa 19 K amena 1996 (*reba umugereka wa 85*). Bahereye ko bajya gushakishiriza muBubiligi. Bombi babonye ubuhungiro muBubiligi kuva muri Mutarama 1997, nyuma bahabwa ubwengihugu, umugore mu 2004, umugabo muri Kanama 2005.

Ni iki cyateye buriya bufatanye bwuzuye ivangura?

Uburyo bwo kwiregura bwakoreshejwe n'ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud mu rwego rwa Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, bushingiye ku magambo make dusubiramo

[464] Télesphore Bizimungu yahawe icyemezo cy'impunzi n'inzego z'Ikigo cy' uBufaransa gishinzwe kurengera impunzi n'abatagira iwabo (OFPRA) mu Kuboza 2001.

[465] Reba Komisiyo y'ubujurire bw'impunzi yo mu Nzego z'ipereereza (SR), itariki ya 19 Kamena1996, 280638, Mme K. épouse M., isohoka: 2 Ugushyingo 2004.

[466] Reba Komisiyo y'ubujurire bw'impunzi yo mu Nzego z'ipereereza (SR), itariki ya 19 Kamena1996, 280638, Mme K. épouse M., isohoka: 2 Ugushyingo 2004.

nk'uko yakabaye:

> "Yavuze ko ari ubugome bukabije gutinyuka kwemeza ko habaye ivangura mu bakozi b'ambasade cyangwa ko hari abangiwe guhungishwa nkana. Saa mbiri n'igice za nimugoroba, isaha indege ya perezida Habyariman yahanuriwe, abakozi b'Abanyarwanda muri ambasade bari iwabo mu ngo, aho abenshi muri bo batagiraga terefone. Byari bikomeye cyane kubona terefone yo guhamagara ambasade. Nanone, kuba uduce cyangwa amabarabara y'umugi bitaragiraga amazina n'amazu nta numero, byari na byo bikomeye kujya mu ngo z'abakozi bahatuye. Abantu babiri gusa ni bo bashoboye kwimenyekanisha: Bwana Pierre Nsanzimana, umukozi w'Umututsi w'ikigo, wabashije guterefona, yimuwe hamwe n'umuryango we. Yatanze ubuhamya bwanditse ku buryo iyimurwa ryakozwe; umukozi wa Air France na we yashoboye gutabaza ishyirahamwe rye i Paris, rivugana na minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, na yo ibimenyesha ambasade. Iyimurwa rye ryasabye kohereza abasirikare inshuro ebyiri zose, iya mbere yabaye imfabusa, kubera ko byari byabaye ngombwa ko yihisha n'umuryango we. Avuga iby'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade, Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yemeje ko kubirukana kuri ambasade bitumvikanaga, mu gihe Minuar itari yabitayeho kandi bari bayibisabye. Abaje bose barakiriwe. Ni byo koko abenshi muri bo, ariko si bose, bari abambari ba perezida Habyarimana. Mu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi harimo Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, wakiriwe bisabwe n'ambasaderi w'uBubiligi kubera ko yashakishwaga cyane n'Ingabo zirinda perezida kandi n'umutekano we ukaba utarashoboraga gucungwa. Nyuma yaho yimuwe n'uBufaransa. […] Mu bantu bimuwe harimo Ferdinand Nahimana, umwe mu bahimbye Radio des Mille Collines, ariko yari yatoranyijwe kuba minisitiri w'Uburezi bukuru, Umuco n'Ubushakashatsi muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari kujyaho. Muri urwo rwego, yari yemewe n'Inkotanyi (FPR). Niba, usubije amaso inyuma, bishoboka gutahura ibikorwa bimureba, icyo gihe yari umunyaporitiki "wemewe". Ibyo ari byo byose, ihitamo ryari ryoroshye:

kwari uguhungisha ababyifuzaga bose, cyangwa gutoranya. Icyemezo cyarafashwe, ko hashobora kugibwa impaka ku guhungisha abari bahungiye muri ambasde bose kandi bashakaga kugenda[467].”

Uretse amakuru yatanzwe haruguru, ubu buryo bwo kwiregura bugomba kugira icyo buvugwaho hakurikijwe amabwiriza y’ ubuyobozi agarukwaho n’abakoze raporo:

-Irya mbere riri mu rwego rw’imyitwarire n^{o}3 ryo ku wa 11 Mata saa mbiri n’igice z’ijoro :

“rigenza buhoro misiyo. Ni ukuvuga kugumana buri gihe ikibuga cy’indege n’inzira zikiganaho kugira ngo hakorwe “iyimurwa ry’abanyamahanga n’iry’ambasade yacu iteganywa ku wa 12 Mata guhera saa moya mu gitondo”. Iyimurwa ry’Abafaransa rirarangiye. Ni ukuvuga noneho “kwihutisha iyimurwa ry’abanyamahanga n’abakozi ba za ambasade, no gutegura itahuka buhoro buhoro ry’imitwe y’ingabo”. Ni ukwibuka ko hatakozwe itandukanya rishingiye ku bwenegihugu bw’abakozi b’ambasade. Kugenda burundu biteganywa ku munsi ukurikiraho (bukeye bwaho), hazaba ari ku wa kabiri. Amabwiriza ya gisirikare ntiyarwanyaga rero ishakisha ry’abakozi b’Abanyarwanda b’ambasade n’iyimurwa ryabo[468].”

Iyo ngingo nanone igarukwaho ku buryo busobanutse muri telegaramu yo ku wa
11 Mata yavuye i Paris:

“Minisiteri ibamenyesheje ko ari byiza guha Abanyarwanda bari mu bakozi

[467] NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,, Tom.III, p. 299-300.

[468] Ibid. p. 254

b'ambasade (abahawe akazi ba kavukire) bashobora kugerwaho, uburyo bwo kuvana i Kigali n'ingabo z'Abafaransa."[469]

Uko kwiregura nanone kugomba kugira icyo kuvugwaho hitawe ku bisobanuro ku

mabwiriza y'i Paris byatangiwe aho hantu. Kuri iyi ngingo, ibyavuzwe n'abanyaporitiki n' abasirikare babishinzwe bigusha hamwe. N'ubwo bihakana bikomeje poritiki iyo ari yo yose y'ivangura, bigaragaza ku buryo busobanutse ko ibyemezo byo guhungisha byafatiwe aho hantu:

" Bwana François Léotard [icyo gihe wari minisitiri w'Ingabo wo muri guverinoma ya Edouard Balladur, inyongera y'umwanditsi (NdA)], yashimangiye ko operasiyo "Amaryllis", yari ifite izindi nyinshi zayibanjirije muri Afurika, yabaye igikorwa gisanzwe cyo guhungisha, cyibanze ku Banyaburayi ku buryo budahinduka, ariko ko n'abantu bafite ubwenegihugu bw'uRwanda na bo byabarebaga. Yahamije ko atari azi niba aho hantu harabereye ivangura ry'amoko mu iyimura. […] Bwana Alain Juppé [icyo gihe wari minisitiri w'Ububaanyi n'amahanga, inyongera y'umwanditsi (NdA)] yasobanuye ko ibyemezo byo guhungisha byari byafatiwe aho n'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa, Bwana Marlaud n'abashinzwe operasiyo "Amaryllis", hagati mu mugi wari wayogojwe n'ubwicanyi, urimo ahantu hatagerwaga, terefone yakaswe. Iyimura ryateguriwe kuri ambasade n'ahantu hahurizwaga abantu. Bwana Alain Juppé yibanze ku ngingo y'uko nta robanura na rimwe ryigeze rikorwa rishingiye ku bwoko abantu bakomokamo, kandi ashimangira ko kwemera ibinyuranye n'ibyo nta ntangamugabo igaragajwe byari bibi cyane. […] Bwana Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sblière [icyo gihe wari umuyobozi w'Ibireba Afurika na Madagasikari muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, inyongera y'umwanditsi (NdA)] […]

[469] Ibid. 266

yashimangiye ko nyuma y'amarorerwa, icyari gishshikaje cyane uBufaransa cyari uguhungisha abakomoka mu bihugu by'abazungu anameza ko igikorwa cyo guhungisha, cyemejwe ku wa 7 Mata kigakorwa bwangu, cyabaye kimwe mu bitoroshye ingabo z'uBufaransa zakoze muri Afurika. Yavuze ko yababajwe no kumva abantu bavuga ko habaye "itoranya kuri ambasade", ko n'abakozi bakomoka aho babaye ibitambo. Yemeje ko ambasaderi aba yarimuye abakozi bari batashye iyo bashobora kuboneka, kandi ko yari yahawe teregaramu ibimwemerera. […] Amirali Jacques Lanxade [icyo gihe wari umugaba w'ingabo, inyongera y'umwanditsi (NdA)] yasobanuye uko ibikorwa by'iyimura byategurwaga. Iyo icyemezo cyamaze gufatwa n'ubuyobozi mu rwego rwa poritiki, akenshi bubisabwe n'ambasaderi wacu, akanama k'ibihe bikomeye gateranira muri Quai d'Orsay, inshingano z'ako z'ingenzi zikaba gutegurira perezida wa Rpubulika amabwiriza yo guhungisha no gusaba guverinoma gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo hagati y'uruhererekane rw'ambasade n'abasirikare. Ni ko byagenze kuri operasiyo "Amaryllis". Abafaransa barimuwe, hamwe n'Abanyaburayi, Abanyamerika, Abanyakanada, Abarusiya n'Abanyafurika. Ku bireba Abanyarwanda, ambasaderi yafashe umubare w'abantu yabonaga ko ubuzima bwabo bubangamiwe, kandi yasabye amabwiriza i Paris. Abo bantu bimuriwe haba i Bujumbura, haba i Bangui bikozwe n'abayobozi ba girikare, bakurikije amabwiriza. […] Operasiyo "Amaryllis" yubahirije amabwiriza y'iyimura yatanzwe na Paris kandi byaba byiza kubaza ambasaderi ku mpamvu zamuteye gushyirahamwe abantu bari mu gihirahiro guverinoma y'u Bufarnsa yari yahisemo kurengera. Yasobanuye ko abasirikare batari bashinzwe kurobanura abantu bo guhungisha[470]."

Mu byo nashoboye kubona no kumva aho hantu, icyemezo ntakuka cyahoraga gikwirakwizwa n'abakozi b'ambasade y'uBufaransa ku bashoboraga kubavugisha

[470] ibid. tom.III, 1, p.98-99; 2, p. 156; 1, p. 238 na 240.

muri iyo minsi igice cy'umugi kitari kikiboneka kuri terefone, Abafaransa bonyine n'abava mu bihugu by'abazungu ari bo bashoboraga guhungishwa kandi ko kwubahiriza bikomeye iryo "sezerano" n' "abayobozi b'uRwanda" -Guvernoma y'inzibacyuho, Ingabo zirinda perezida, Ingabo z'igihugu -byatangaga umutekano ku iyimura ry'abanyamahanga no ku buryo bugaragara, ku ngendo zabo bagana ahantu bahurizwaga hari hateguwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa[471]. Uburyo bwo kujya gautabara abakozi b'Abatutsi b'amabasade ubwabwo, baba abo mu Kigo ndangamuco cyangwa mu zindi nzego zagengwaga n'ubuyobozi bw'uBufaransa, ntibwari rero mu mirimo yari igenewe ingabo z'Abafaransa.

Dushubije amaso inyuma, buri mukozi wa leta w'umufaransa wo mu Kigo ndangamuco (CCF), wa Misiyo y'ibikorwa by'umuco (MAC), w' Isandugu mfaransa itsura amajyambere (CFD) ari yo ubu yitwa Ikigo cy'uBufaransa gitsura amajyambere n'ahandi, ashobora rwose gutanga ubuhamya ku kuntu yashoboye kwita cyangwa kutita ku kibazo cy'abakozi b'Abatutsi, yemwe no ku ngamba yashoboye gufata ubwe kugira ngo arengere uyu n'uyu mu bo yahembaga cyangwa mu bakozi be bo mu rugo, ariko icyemezo ndakuka cyo kwanga guhungisha abantu cyatumaga izo ngamba zidashobora kugerwaho. Ibyo ari byo byose, hari abantu (abantu bamwe na bamwe) bateguye uburyo bwo gucumbikira no kurengera abakozi b'Abatutsi bakoresheje abakozi b'Abahutu, igerageza ry'ubwo buryo ryagaragaje ko ubwo buryo butigeze bugira icyo bumara imbere y'iterabwoba ry'abaturage b'inkerarugamba n'abasirikare uko iminsi yegeraga imbere.

Muri rusange, n'ubwo hari ibikorwa byo kugoboka abantu biteguye neza byakozwe n' abasirikare b'Abafaransa mu duce Abafaransa cyangwa abanyamahanga bari mu bwigunge, babangamiwe cyangwa badashora kugerwaho, akenshi ambasade

[471] Ikigaragara neza muri ako gace ka raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa: "Impapuro zabonywe na Misiyo zerekeye uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa operasiyo "Amaryllis" […], ku nzego z'imikoranire n'ibitangazamakuru, […] urwego rw'ubuvugizi bwa operasiyo bwaborohereje akazi [abanyamakuru, inyongera y'umwanditsi], bubagezaho amatangazo abiri buri munsi, kandi rubafasha kugenda, ariko bwifuza buri gihe kutaberekaa abasirikare b'Abafaransa, bukemerera gusa abanyamahanga bonyine kwinjira mu bigo byo guhurizamo abantu byo muRwanda cyangwa ntibugire icyo bukora kugira ngo buhagarike ubwicanyi bwibonerga aho hafi" (ibid. Tom. I, p.280).

yasabaga abanyamahanga bagomba guhungishwa, kujya ahari hagenewe guhurizwa abantu-ishuri ry'Abafaransa Saint-Exupéry- birwanyeho. Aho ni ho nyuma havaga ibitigiri by'abantu biherekejwe ku kibuga cy'indege. Igihe imodoka z'abasirikare b'Abafaransa zahitaga nta kibazo mu gace karimo Ikigo ndangamuco cy'Abafaransa kimwe no mu duce twinshi tw'umugi, byajyaga kuba ngombwa ko amabwiriza asobanutse atangwa kugira ngo bafate Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi bari bihishe hiyra no hino. Ariko si ko byagenze na busa. Amagerageza yo guhuriza hamwe abakozi b'Abatutsi yakozwe cyane cyane n'Ibiro by'ubutwererane by' u Busuwisi cyangwa amatabara menshi yakozwe n'abawofisiye b'Ingabo z'igihugu (impunzi zajyanywe kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* abantu bashyizwe mu mazu ya Minuar n'aya za ambasade) yakozwe muri rusange hari Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu bashoboraga gutabara. Umuntu yatekereza ko ambasade yashoboraga gusaba inkunga y'abo yavuganaga na bo bari bafite ububash, kugira ngo ijye gushakisha cyangwa gufasha gushakisha, gutoragura cyangwa gufasha gutoragura uwo yifuzaga (yashakaga) wese.

N'ubwo abayobozi b'Abafaransa bashobora gushyirwa mu majwi kubera ko batashatse kugira uruhare muri icyo gikorwa (nk'uko ubuhamya bw'Abanyarwanda barokotse babyinubiye hanyuma), ni byiza gusobanura ko hafi y'ambasade zose n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yose ari ko byabigenje[472]. Ubwo ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe yimuraga abantu bayo muri *Mille Collines* ku wa 8 Mata, sinibuka niba narabonye bajyana Abanyarwanda. Nanone, itunganya ry' ibikorwa ry'iyimura ryakozwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa n'Ababiligi birumvikana ko ryabashyizeho umutwaro w'umwihariko. Nyamara ugereranyije, imyitwarire y'ingabo z'Ababiligi, nk'uko ubuhamya bwinshi bubivuga, yabayemo ubwitonzi mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'uwo mwihariko (ibyo ambasade y'uBufaransa yarabyemeye ku mugaragaro), n'ubwo

[472] Byemezwa n'urugero rwa Faustin Twagiramungu, ambasaderi wa Leta zunze ubumwe yikijije atiteranyije kandi bwangu amushyikiriza ushinzwe ishyirahamwe ritagengwa na leta ry'irinyamerika Care. Faustin Twagiramungu nyuma yabashije kwitabwaho na Minuar (reba ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,, Tom. III: Iyumvwa , igitabo 1, p. 268-269).

umubare wose w'abantu bimuwe wabaye muto ku buryo bugaragara. Inyandiko nyinshi mu binyamakuru byo muBufaransa no muBubiligi zavuzeh- haba ku ngero zitabarika z'iyanga ry'abayobozi ry'Abafaransa n'Ababiligi, haba no ku buhamya bw'Abatutsi bake bashoboka bimuwe n'abasirikare b'Ababiligi. Izo nkuru zigaragaza ko n'ubwo hari ingorane, byashobokaga kurokora no guhungisha Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Icumbikira kimwe n' "itorokesha" ryakozwe n'ambasade y'uBufaransa ku banyacyubahiro banyuranye b'Abanyarwanda twabaruye haruguru, cyangwa ku bantu bagera ku ijana (100) babaga n'abagera kuri mirongo itatu "bakoraga" mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte –Agata bigaragaza ko ubwo buryo bwakoreshejwe koko, ariko bushingiye ku ijonjora rikomeye mu rwego rw'imyumvire, urwa poritiki n'urw'ubwoko.

> Dukurikije ibyagezweho muri rusange, n'uburyo operasiyo "Amaryllis" yagenze, kwitwaza amazina nk'atandatu y'Abatutsi barokotse n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bimuwe, bifitanye isano cyane n'ibigambo bikoreshwa mu buryo bwo kwiregura bw'abashinjwa bose bavugira hejuru icyarimwe ko barokoye Umututsi runaka cyangwa uwarwanyaga ubutegetsi uyu n'uyu kurusha uko biyifitanye n'iramburangingo ryumvisha ukuri rishobora gushimangira ibirego byo kwakira no guhungisha bivangura.

Bityo, mu gihe nta gerageza ku bushake ryo kugoboka abantu bahigwaga ryabayeho, byari bihagije gufunga amaso (gutanga ibisubizo bibi kuri terefone, kwanga kujya gushaka abantu aho bari binyegeje) no kwirukana abatifuzwa bari babashije gukora iyo bwabaga bakagera ku byuma by'igipangu cy'ambasade, mu gace gafite umutekano umeze utyo, nk'uko ubuhamya bunyuranye bubigaragaza[473].

Biraboneka, uburyo bwo kuvangura bwatewe ahanini no kutita ku mabwiriza

[473] "Ku itariki ya 11 Mata nyuma ya saa kumi n'ebyiri, hari itsinda ry'abantu (Abatusti) ryageragezaga kwinjira mu busitani kandi ryari ryahejejwe inyuma y'urupangu n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa. Mbere, ku itariki ya 9, hari n'ubundi abantu bari birundanyije ku rupangu ku buryo narize gushakisha inzira kugira ngo ngere ku idarajya.Nyamara ibikomerezwa byo muRwanda byari byamaze kugera imbere" (ubuhamya bw'umuntu uhagarariye igihugu cy'amahanga, inyandiko zihariye, 29 Werurwe na 5 Mata 2006).

yatanzwe mu bihe bikomeye koko kandi birimo ingorane, ariko umuntu atitaye ku makosa akomeye yakozwe bitewe n'uburangare, kandi ahuriweho na za ambasade zose, umuntu yakwibaza ku yakozwe ku bwende cyangwa ashingiye ku kubogama kwa poritiki kwaranze ambasade y'uBufaransa, yakurikiraniraga hafi ibyakozwe byose muri icyo cyumweru cy'amakuba.

Ku bwanjye, ahanini kubogama bikoreweho kurusha gufata icyemezo "gifite ingamba" ni byo byateye uko kutita ku bintu cyangwa kwanga guhungisha Abanyarwanda bafatwaga nk'abayobye kandi bari mu ngorane. Mu kwemera kurengera abafata ibyemezo bangana kuriya bakoranaga bya hafi n'imitwe ya gisirikare n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bari bashinzwe ubwicanyi, ambasade ntiyari mu rwego ruyisaba kwemera "amasezerano" ayo ari yo yose ayibuza kurengera abakozi bayo b'Abatutsi. Bityo, ukuntu ambasade yanze burundu kwakira porokireri (umushinjacyaha) wa Repubulika wa Kigali kugeza ubu ntibyumvikana na busa, kandi yari yihanganye igacumbikira umukuriye mu mirimo bakurikirana, porokireri generali (umushinjacyaha mukuru) Alphonse-Marie Nkubito. Nanone, iyimurwa ry'abana batanu b'Agata Uwilingiyimana ryashoboraga gufatwa nk'igikorwa cyo gufasha abantu cyateguwe mu rwego rwo guhishira iyimurwa ry'imfubyi zose zo mu kigo Sainte-Agata. Umuntu atitaye ku kubogama kwakomotse ku mibanire n'abayobozi bari bafitanye isano n'ingoma ya Habyarimana, ikibazo gikomeza kubaho: Inyungu za poritiki z'ubufatanye bwibanda gusa ku gace k'intagondwa z'Abahutu zari zishingiye kuki?

Urugero rwa nyuma rurerekana ukuntu iryo hitamo ryari "ikintu gisanzwe".

Abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite bibanze ku kuvuguruza bikomeye ikirego kidahwitse— badasobanura nanone aho cyavuye— kivuga ko ambasade y'uBufaransa yaba yarimuye umunyamakuru w'Umubiligi Georges Ruggiu wo kuri RTLM[474] -umuntu ubundi wari ufite ububasha buke. Ariko, muri anketi nakoze kuri iyo ngingo, nabonye ibintu by'inyongera bikurikira:

[474] Yahawe akazi kuri RTLM yoherejwe na Ferdinand Nahimana wari waramufashe mbere muri Orinfor akiyibereye umuyobozi.

"N'ubwo Ruggiu atari koko kuri ambasade, natangajwe no kumva Hassan Ngeze[475], ahamagarwa (uwa mbere!) mu bantu [bategetsi] bakomeye cyane [VIP] bo guhungisha (abo ku nshuro ya mbere). Sinari naramubonye kuri ambasade hagati y'itariki ya10 n'iya 12 Mata[476]."

Hassan Ngeze, umwe mu barwanyaga Abatutsi bazwi cyane, ntiyimuriwe i Bujumbura, kimwe n'abandi batoni b'ingoma batari bafite impungenge ku buzima bwabo ku wa 12 Mata, ariko ikigaragara cyane ni uko icyemezo cyo kwitabwaho n'uBufaransa kitari cyarateye ibibazo byo kwifata, haba ku ruhande rwa babandi, bahoraga bari maso bikomeye nk'uko twabibonye, bari barakoze lisiti z'abatoranyijwe, haba no ku rw'ambasaderi w'uBufaransa. Koko rero, uyu [mugabo] nta cyo yari ayobewe, mu gihe ari we ubwe wayoboraga ihamagara ry'abantu bakomeye cyane:

"Uwo mugabo uvugwa, wasaga n'umusirikare w'umuwofisiye wambaye gisiviri, ahamagara abantu bo kuri lisiti ya mbere ari kumwe n'ambasaderi Marlaud, hanyuma [uwo] ashinga umurimo wo guhamagara abantu bo gutwara (abo mu itsinda rya kabiri, ritari "iry'ibanze") minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu[477] wiyongereye ubwe amazina kuri lisiti "ye" [478]."

Yego hariho ikintu cyo gucumbikira uduce tw' "intagomdwa twa guvernoma yari
ivuyeho no gushyigikira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, niba atari poritiki yayo yica,

[475] Hassan Ngeze ni we, mu 1990, watangije anaba umwanditsi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru *Kangura*, cyigize umuhagararizi w'ibitekerezo bishingiye ku moko bishyigikiye Abahutu. Umwe mu bagize CDR yo ku Gisenyi, yavugiye inshurno nyinshi kuri RTLM.

[476] Ubuhamya bw'umwe mu mpunzi zari kuri ambasade, inyandiko zihariye, 16 Gicurasi 2006.

[477] Casimir Bizimungu, kimwe n'abandi benshi bari bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, amaherezo yahisemo kuguma i Kigali ariko yimura umuryango we bwite.

[478] Ubuhamya bw'umwe mu mpunzi zari kuri ambasade, inyandiko zihariye, 16 Gicurasi 2006.

ariko kudateganya imbibi zo kwegerana n'abanyaporitiki bagombaga "kwakirwa" no gufatanya na bo gucunga ihitamo ry'abifuza guhungishwa byo byagarazaga umubano wa hafi wivanzemo poritiki bitari bifite aho bihuriye n'ubushishozi mu by'ububanyi n'amahanga.

Mu gihe ku wa 11 Mata Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yageragezaga kwinjira mu gikorwa cyo "kugarura amahoro" cyari cyatangiye ku munsi ubanza kandi cyari kigamije guhagarika ubwicanyi rusange-igikorwa kitari cyatangira kugaragaza akamaro kacyo-, kwerekana umuntu yivuye inyuma iryo bogama byaterwaga n'ubujiji, ukwanduzanya rusange cyangwa akagambane?

11

Kuva ku bwicanyi kugera kuri jenoside

Umugambi n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ubwicanyi byari bishingiye, nk'uko twabibonye, ku mitwe y'ingabo zigihugu yigaruriwe n'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba y'i Kigali yegamiye ku buryo butaziguye ku bafata ibyemezo bakuru mu bihe bikomeye: abawojfisiye hongeyeho akazu ka perezida. Uburyo abaturage b'inkerarugamba bikusanyije i Kigali guhera mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 7 mata byarabigaragaje ku buryo bunnonosoye. Ingabo, cyane cyane Ingabo zirinda

perezida, zashyizeho vuba bariyeri zo kurinda uduce twarimo Perezidansi, abanyacyubahiro bo kurinda, ibigo bya gisirikare n'inyubako z'ingenzi nka banki (Kanombe, Kimihurura,Kiyovu n'ahandi), hanyuma yibanda ku ku kugabanya ingendo za Minuar no gufunga za segiteri zabagamo abanyacyubahiro bari bagenewe kuba ibitambo mu ihora ry'akazu ka perezida. Ni na zo zashyizeho kare kare mu gitondo amatsinda ya mbere y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba (abenshi muri bo bakomokaga ubwabo mu Ngabo zirinda perezida (GP). Mu mpera z'igitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 ni bwo bakwirakwiye mu duce tunyuranye tw'umugi guhiga "abanzi", hanyuma ku manywa ubwicanyi bukomeye bwabereye ku mabariyeri yari yashyizwe ku mihanda minini ya kapitali. Amabariyeri y' "abasivili", bivugwa ko zashyizweho huti huti zitari zitezwe, yariyongereye mu mihanda mito kugira ngo ahagarike iyinjira n'isohoka mu duce dutuwe n'abaturage benshi.

Ihigwa nyirizina ry' "abanzi b'imbere mu gihugu" ryari ritarakorwa ku mabariyeri. Koko rero, amatsinda y'*Interahamwe* yibanze cyane ku kuzerera mu duce tunyuranye tw'umugi kugira ngo ahashye "abacengezi n'ibyitso" by'Inkotanyi (FPR)[479] yari yamaze gutahura no kugenzura amazu.

Mu duce utwo ari two twose tw'umugi n'imihanda, umurimo wari umwe: inzu zikekwaho guhisha "abanzi" n'izari zituwemo n'imiryango yari ifite umuntu ukekwaho kuba yaragiye mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi (FPR) zahereyeko ziterwa, abazituyemo baricwa-hamwe na hamwe batewe inkunga n'abasirikare. Aha ni ho hagaragaye ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili kwari kwateguwe na perefe Tharcisse Renzaho hamwe na

[479] Inkotanyi zatsimbataje ibirindiro byazo zizana rwihishwa intwaro n'amagana menshi y'ingabo i Kigali kugira ngo zunganire abasirikare 600 bari bemewe n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ibyo kandi byakomeje umurego nanone mu rwego rwa poritiki, haba i Kigali no mu gihugu hose. Inkotanyi zimaze kubona uruhare rwazo rwemewe muri Guverinoma zibikesha amasezerano y'amahoro, abari bazishyigikiye, mbere batihutiraga kugaragaza ubuyoboke bwabo, batangiye kwigaragaza. Abanyaporitiki bakuru bajyaga mu ndiri y'Inkotanyi guhabwa imyitozo basubiraga iwabo bakihutira gushaka abayoboke bashya. Mu ntangiriro za Mata, inkotanyi zari zifite amaserire 600 mu gihugu cyose, harimo 147 i Kigali. Buri tsinda ryabaraga abarigize 6 cyangwa 12, bihwanye n'igiteranyo cy'abantu hagati ya 3600 na 7200, bagaragaje byeruye cyangwa ku buryo bwabo bwite gushyikira Inkotanyi, Umubare munini kurusha indi, hagati ya 700 na 1400 bari muri kapitali" (Human Rights Watch/fidh, ikiganiro n'uwahoze ari mu buyobozi bwa Minuar, Plainsboro, New Jersey, 13 Kamena 1996; kuri terefone, Nairobi, 22 Werurwe, 1996; Kigali,

minisiteri y'Ingabo (*reba umugereka wa 40).* Hanyuma, ubwo mu mpera z'igitondo amakuru yasakaraga ku iyicwa ry'abayobozi b'Abahutu n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, abayobozi bahuruje amakipe y' amarondo y'umutekano, ari bo bayiyoborera, agizwe n'abaturage batuye uduce tunyuranye tw'umugi. Kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka na cyane cyane mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gashyantare, ayo makipe yakoraga amarondo ya nijoro adasiba arinze ibintu n'abantu. Ijambo "umwanzi" ryongereye igisobanuro rivuga Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, no ku buryo bwihuse cyane, abantu bose batari bashyigikiye ubwicanyi. Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi bo mu makipe "avanze[480]" bagerageje kubyanga na bo barishwe, utavuze ukwihorera kutabarika hagati y'abaturanyi kwashobotse kubera ko hari havanyweho kirazira.

Uburyo bwakoreshejwe bwasaga n'ubwari bwarageragejwe i Burundi mu Kwakira 1993 nyuma y'iyicwa rya Melchior Ndadaye: Hombi, kubera iyicwa ry'Umukuru w'igihugu, "uburakari bw'abaturage", buhemberewe bizwi kandi buyobowe n'abarwanashyaka b'intagondwa z'Abahutu bahora barekereje, bwashoboye guturika nta haniro.

Itangazo rya minisiteri y'ingabo ryasinywe na Theoneste Bagosora rigahita kuri radiyo ahagana saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice mu gitondo, rifite uburemere bw'ikirenga (*reba umugereka wa 53*). "Yibutsa nanone abaturage kuguma mu ngo zabo mu gihe hategerejwe andi mabwiriza", interuro ye ya nyuma yategekaga abaturage bose bari bafite ubwoba bwo kwicwa gutegerereza abicanyi mu rugo cyangwa ku baturanyi babo, kandi abagerageje guhunga basanze bikomeye cyane kucika igenzura ry'amabariyeri yafungaga ibisagara.

Ubwicanyi n'ishyirwaho ry'amabariyeri byatangiye nyabyo kare kare mu

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14 Gashyantare 1997).

[480] Ni ukuvuga arimo Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Aho yabaga, amarondo nk'ayo yari atandukanye bigaragara n'amarondo y'ubwoko bumwe bw'Abahutu, yari muri rusange urundi ruhande rutaziguye rw'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka.

gitondo cy'itariki ya 7 kandi ntibyabaye ngombwa guha abaturage b'inkerarugamba impapuro zibaha uburenganzira bwo guherako batangira gukora no kumva ko bari mu bihe bikomeye byo "kwirwanaho". Abarozi bari barashyizeho abaturage b'inkerarugamba, bari bakababundikira bakabagwizamo imbaraga, batangajwe n'imikorere yabo.

> "Nababwiye ibikorwa byacu nk'umwe mu bagize Komite y'igihugu y' *Interahamwe* za MRND, ku mabariyeri anyuranye n'ahandi hantu h'i Kigali nyuma y'urupfu rwa Habyarimana, rwabaye ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. […] Iyo twajyaga kureba *Interahamwe* zari kuri ayo mabariyeri, uretse kuzishimira no kuzikangurira gukomeza "umurimo" wazo mwiza, abagize Komite y'igihugu, baziteraga akanyabugabo baziha inzoga, itabi, ibiryo n'amafaranga yo ku mufuka bibaye ngombwa kandi bitewe n'ubushobozi bwabo.[481]"

Bityo, n'ubwo hari umukwabu wari waratangajwe na Bagosora, koko abasirikare bo mu Ngabo zirinda perezida, bagombaga kubaha ababategeka, hamwe n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba b'*Interahamwe* ni bo bakaze (babiciye) mu bwicanyi mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 7 n'iya 8, ku buryo abayobozi b'abaturage b'inkerarugamba mu bisagara bubahirije umukwa bubukeye bwaho bafashwe nk'abanyabwoba cyangwa "abatorotse"… Abasirikare noni bo baherekeje kandi barinda abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* "mu kazi". Ibikorwa byabo byatangazwaga n'abanyamakuru ba RTLM, bavugaga umubare w'abapfuye, bakanashima ububasha buteye ubwoba bw'ababityayemo[482]. Abishwe mbere ni abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, ibyitso n'intasi zari zaramaze gutahurwa no kwandikwa:

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[481] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicirasi 2006.

[482] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicirasi 2006.

" Niba ntisubiyemo, nababwiye nk'umwe mu bagize Komite y'igihugu y' *Interahamwe* ko, mu manama yacu mbere ya 1994 yabaga irimo inzego nkuru za MRND hamwe n'abantu begereye perezida Habyarimana, amazina yarobanurwaga ku ruhande rw'umwanzi, kugira ngo azarimburwe. Byari bikwiye ko nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, abantu bari baratahuwe kandi bafite aho baba hazwi bicwa[483]."

I Kigali, Komite y'*Interahamwe* yabaye nka etamajoro. Ingufu z'abitwara gisirikare zageze aho zihangana n'imitwe y'ingabo yarawanyaga ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abaturage b'abasivili b'Abatutsi, cyangwa kubuza ihita ry'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki cyangwa abasirikare. Ariko uko kwikorera uko zishatse, *Interahamwe* zabikeshaga uburenganzira n'inkunga zahabwaga ku mugaragaro n'abakuru b'amashyaka.

> "Kuva mu kwezikwa Gashyantare, *Interahamw*e zetegetswe gukorana n'*Inkuba,* umutwe w'abaturage b'inkerarugamba wa MDR "Power" ariko mu minsi ya mbere ya jenoside, abari muri MDR benshi-harimo abari barigaragaje muri MDR "Power"- barwanyije *Interahamwe* n'*Impuzamugambi.* Nyamara, nuyma y'ubutumwa buciye kuri radiyo bwo ku itariki ya 12 Mata bwatanzwe na

[483] Icunga n'ishyira ku malisiti byaritondewe: "Urubyiruko rw'amashyaka amwe, nka PL na PSD, nyine urubyiruko rwa PL n'*Abakombozi* ba PSD, abenshi muri "bo" bari baragiye mu matozwa ya gisirikare mu Nkotanyi, baragendaga, bakagaruka. Igihe kimwe, kuva batayo y'Inkotanyi imaze kuza, ubwirasi bwa benshi muri bo bwageze aho banduranya mu matagisi, mu buryo bwo gutwara abantu, mu mihanda, bavuga ngo: Mutege amatwi, dore, abantu bacu baje, dufite ingabo zacu bwite, dufite abantu bacu batojwe, *Interahamwe* zacu bwite, ubu, ni iki muzakora? Ni iki muzavuga? Mbese, abo bantu …abo bantu bigaragazaga "ubwabo" nk'ibyitso by'umwanzi kandi bakabyigamba. Ikindi kandi, kuva batayo y'Inkotanyi yahagera (yaza), imyifatire idafite icyo ihishe na gito yari yaradutse, abantu bari bashyigkiye umwanzi bajyaga gusura, kuva mu gitondo kugeza saa kumi n'ebyiri za nimugoroba, cyangwa ahari nyuma yaho, bajyaga muri CND, baragendaga bakagaruka, kandi uko ni ko byabaye impamo ko abasirikare bamwe b'Inkotanyi bashoboye gucengera mu baturage babeshya ko abo bantu babaga bagiye gusura ari bo babaga bagarutse, nyamara kandi, ayo mayeri yo gucengera yikorerwaga atyo. Kandi abantu bajyaga muri CND, baracungwaga (baragenzurwaga)" (ibyatangajwe n'umuyobnozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicurasi 2006, urupasp. 4, reba umugereka 86).

> Froduald Karamira no kubera amabwiriza asa na bwo yatanzwe n'abandi bayobozi b'ishyaka, amatsinda y'urubyiruko rwa MDR YIFATANYIJE n'*Interahamwe.* Bityo, bashyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza yavugaga ko igihe cyari kigeze cyo "kwibagirwa itsimbarara[484]."

Babifashijwemo n'abantu b'intagondwa nkuru mu mashyaka, ivanga ry'imitwe yitwara gisikare ryaraniranye n'ishyirwaho ry'ubuyobozi buhujwe, buyobowe n'ishyaka MRND. Mu maperefegitura yose y'imbere mu gihugu, ubwo buyobozi bwagombaga gukurikiza ububasha n'inyugu by'abakuru b'amashyaka n'iz'abaterankunga b'uturere bitaga ku rubyiruko "rwabo" bakanarengera ubusugire bwo kuyoboka no kwitanga kwabo mu ntambara za poritiki z'ibihe by'imbere. Ububasha bwa leta ku mitwe yose y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bwariho koko, kandi ibyemezo bisobanutse binatanzwe n'abahagarariye byemewe ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ni byo byakoresheje amarushanwa y'ishyushyamitwe yahembereye akanaha ubukana ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi by'urubyiruko rw'abaturage b'inkerarugamba:

> "Iyo abayobozi b'igihugu bashaka mu by'ukuri kurengera abaturage, abo bategetsi bafatanyije n'ingabo, abajandarume n'abapolisi ba komini, bashoboraga guhafata imitwe yose yitwara gisikare. Nyamara, mu masaha yakurikiye urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana ku iatariki ya 6 Mata 1994, ingabo, Abarindaga perezida, abajandarume n'abapolisi ba komini bafatanyije n' *Interahamwe* za MRND n'inshuti zazo, gutangiza ubwicanyi, byitwa kurwanya umwanzi[485]."

Ibyo ari byo byose ni ngombwa gusobanukirwa neza urusobekerane rw'imikoranire yabayeho kuva mu itangira ry' ubwicanyi, hagati y'abayobozi ba Komite y'igihugu i Kigali, abatangama amabwiriza ya gisirikare n'abakuru b'amashyaka:

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[484] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi-Kamena 2003.

[485] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi-Kamena 2003.

“abayobozi” bakoreshaga ububasha bwabo, ari na ko baha imitwe yitwara gisikare, babikeneye [nta kundi byagenda] kandi no ku nyungu zabo bwite, uburyo bwo gukora bwisanzuye. Ibikorwa bikabije ububi [iyogoza, amarorerwa, ibikorwa bya mfura mbi], ubusahuzi no gufata ku ngufu [imbaraga] byari igihembo cyo gukomeza kurundanya Imitwe y’abaturage b’inkerarugamba, ku rundi ruhande nanone, iterabwoba yari yimakaje ryazibyaga abantu bacisha make cyangwa ababirwanya mu basirikare, abanyaporitiki n’abakozi bakuru ba leta Guverinoma yari mifite ibibazo byo gukusanya [kwegeranya]. Abakuru b’Imitwe y’abaturage b’inkerarugamba bari barahindutse intarutwa mu guhangana n’umwanzi, nta rwego na rumwe bifuzaga kugabanyamo ubwisanzure rwabo mu bimkorwa [ntibifuzaga na gato kugabanya ukwishyira bakizana kwabo mu bikorwa], ariko ntibanashoboraga gukomeza gukora badashyigikiwe n’abayobozi bakuru, ari na bo bonyine bashoboraga kubizeza ukudahanwa guhamye.

Mu buhamya bwe busesuye, Jean Kambanda asobanura neza urusobekerane rw’iyo mikoranire, ishyigikirwa n’ububasha bari bareguriwe n’abategetsi b’amashyaka (*reba umugereka wa 87*).

Ikurikiranabikorwa rya hafi ry’abakuru babo b’intanbara mu bisagara byose no ku

mabariyeri, inyungu babikuragamo n’icyizere cyo kudahanwa byari bihagije: kwica byahindutse reroubwoko bw’umurimo umuntu yihangira kugeza ubwo ; bamaze kubura amabwiriza y’abategetsi babo ba poritiki mu rwego rw’igihugu kandi bahanganye n’ “ibura ry’akazi mu rwego rwa tekiniki”bitewe n’igabanuka ry’umukumbi w’ “abanzi” bakekwa bagomba kwicwa, uduce tw’Imitwe y’abaturage b’inkerarugamba twakoresheje imbaraga zatwo mu gusubiranamo twicana [mu mahangana yo kwicana ubwatwo]:

“Bz: Ku matariki ya 13, 14, 15, na 16 Mata, ubwicanyi bwarakomeje ku mabariyeri yo ku mihanda (yo) mu mugi wa Kigali?

Sbz: Ubundi, nyakubahwa mucamanza, munyemerere mbabwire ko, hari igihe

ubwicanyi butakorerwaga byanze bikunze ku mabariyeri, [ubwicanyi] [ahubwo] bwakorerwaga imbere mu bisagara. Ariko amabariyeri yo ku mihanda, birumvikana, aho abantu bahagarikwaga, nyine, ubwicanyi bwarakomeje, ariko nyine buza kugabanuka. Uko ibihe byagendaga bihinduka, bwagabanyije ubukana kubera ko, birababaje, ngomba kubabwira ko, uko bagendaga bica, nyine, nta muntu wo kwica wari ugihari. Mumbabarire, wenda ubugome mbivugana, ariko ni ukuri, birababaje. Koko, muri Kigali ubwicanyi bwarakomeje[486].”

“Bz: Hanyuma uko igihe cyagiye kigenda n’ibyakurikiyeho mu ntambara, mbese Interahamwe nyinshi zifatanyije n’ingabo zizitera imbaraga?

Sbz: Murambabarira niba ibyo ngiye kubabwira birimo ikinu cy’ubugome. Hari igihe, i Kigali, hatari hakiri wenda abanzi bo kwica, ku buryo *Interahamwe* zimwe na zimwe zatangiye gusubiranamo: “Wowe wishe benshi, wa…”, (bya) isubiranamo. Byatumye ndetse, igihe kimwe, bamwe mu bagize Komite bavugabati: “(Twumvikane [Mubyumve neza], nta bwo abantu bo ku mabariyeri bagomba kuva mu gisagara cyabo [gace kabo] bagiye kwihorera mu bindi bisagara [utundi duce]. Abantu bo mu gisagra [gace] baziranye neza kuri bariyeri, kandi bazi uri cyangwa utari uwaho[487].”

Ni uko, nyuma y’imisi itatu y’uburakari bukabije n’ibisazi byo kwica, ubwicanyi

bwagabanyijhe ubukana kubera umunaniro w’abicanyi, ukugabanuka kw’abahigwa, gukenera gukora akazi ko mu rugo gasanzwe no guhaha, ariko kandi no kugomba guhungisha imirambo yatangiye kuborera mu mazu no mu mihanda, kugabana ibyasahuwe [ibyanyazwe] no kugabana n’abaturanyi ibintu bitagira ba nyirabyo [byandagaye]. N’ubwo irundanya ryari rigikaze, abicanyi bari mu gihirahiro

[486] Ibyatagajwe n’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n’abandi, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 74.

[487] Ibyatangajwe n’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n’abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicurasi 2006, p. 8.

(bagitegereje). N'ubwo amahamagara yo kwica yakorwaga na RTLM, babonga neza ko agatsiko k'abafata ibyemezo kari karimo ibice, ko etamajoro n'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bitari bishyigikiye ubwicanyi, kimwe n'abanyaporitiki cyangwa amadini. Amabwiriza avuguruzanya yari hose. Ni uko, ku itariki ya 10 Mata, hatangajwe ibyemezo byo guhagarika ubwicanyi no gusubirana ubugenzuzi bw'ibisagara [uduce tw'umugi]bya Kigali, n'icyifuzo cy'inzibacyuho ya gisivili cyafashe intera ugereranyije n'icyo "gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu za gisirikare": igaruka rya minisitirin w'Ingabo z'igihugu, augustin Bizimana, ihanwa rya perefe Renzaho kubera abasirikare bakoze ibikorwa by'ubugome bukabije Kigali, inam ya Komite y'ibihe bikomeye hamwe na RTLM kugira ngo amahamagara yo kwica ahagarare (*reba* umugereka *wa 65*), inyuzwa kuri Radio Rwanda ry'itangazo rya minisiteri y'Imirimo ya leta rihamagarira abashoferi bayo gusubira ku mirimo kuva bukeye bwaho, ku itrariki ya 11 Mata mu gitondo[488].

Guhera mu masaha ya mbere y'uwo munsi, kubona ibihumbi by'imibiri y' "abanzi" ykusanyijwe ikarundanywa kugira ngo amakamyo ya Minitrape ayitoragure ku mahuriro y'imihanda no ku mihanda mini yose inyura mu bisagara [uduce] by'umugi no mu duce dutuwe twa Kigali byateye ibibazo mu mitwe y'abantu. Mu gihe amakuru yo gutanga ibirego ku bwicanyi mu rwego mpuzamahanga yafataga intera, ambasade zihari zitegura gutaha, ingabo z'Inkotanyi (FPR), zamanutse ziva ku Mulindi, zigaruriraga amakomini ahana imbibi na Kigali Ngari, zinaca ku mugi zijya mu majyepfo, abayobozi ba gisirikare n'aba politki bari bakijya ku butegatsi bahangayikishijwe n' ibyo bikorwa ndetse bibatera ubwoba. Ni muri urwo rwego abategetsi ba MRN n'abakuru b'amashyaka byarebaga bahamagaje abagize Komite y'igihugu y' urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* kugira ngo babasabe guhagarika ubwicanyi bwagaragaraga kurusha ubundi.

Uwo munsi w'agahenge ka nyirarubeshwa mu bwicanyi, igihe cyabaye nk'igihagaze, kubera ko inzira y'ibyashoboraga kubaho yari itarafungwa burundu.

[488] Abari bateze amatwi bumvise ko byari ugutoragura intumbi. Abahagarariye imitwe yitwara gisirikare basbye abari ku mabariyeri gutunganya hamwe n'abaturage itoragurwa ryzo n'itwarwa ryazo ku mpande z'imihanda.

Ku ruhande rumwe, mu bakuru b'amashyaka n;abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki abari bagishora kugarura umutekano bajarajaraga mu nzira za poritiki zidashoboka imbere yabo n'ikomeza ry'intambara yasaga n'aho bari bamaze kuyitsindwa. Abaminisitiri bashya bari bashyizweho bangaga buri gihe kwishyiraho umutwaro w'ubuhotozi n'ubwicanyi bari kuzabazwa byanze bikunze, ariko ntibaniyumvishaga ko bashobora kubyamagana cyangwa guhindura ibimtu. Nanone, abaperefe bateraniye I Kigali bagaragazaga ukutumvikana, kwakomezwaga n'umubare w'abari basibye. Hanyuma, ku ruhande rwabwo, Ubutegetsi bw'Ikirenga, abenshi mu bari babugize barahigwaga cyangwa bari barateshejwe agaciro, bwageragezaga bufashijwemo na Minuar guhbona ihagasrikwa ry'amasasu ritaziguye ry'Inkotanyi (FPR).

Ku rundi ruhande, igice gikomeye cy'abanyacyubahiro bari batangije ihotora n'ubwicanyi, mu b'ikubitiro harimo Bagosora, Ntabakuze, Mpiranya na Nzirorera, ntibashoboraga kwihanganira ko habaho icyanzu cya poritiki icyo ari cyo cyose. Bari bazi ko bityo, basangiye ibitekerezo cyo kwiremamo agatima, "amahoro" yari kugarurwa batarimo kandi ko ibikorwa byabo by'ubwicanyi byari bifitanye isano n'isubira ry'intambara byari kuzababazwa. "Abigaruriye ubutegetsi" b'abasirikare n'abasivili bo mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata, bongeye rero kwiroha ubwa kabiri, birabahira.

Uwo munsi, amabwiriza abaperefe bahawe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ihunga rya Guverinoma bwakeye yageze i Gitarama hamwe n'itegeko ryatanzwe na Nzirorera ryo guha intwaro abaturage b'inkerarugamba bari ku mabariyeri byongeye guhembera ubwicanyi. Zahinduye imirishyo burundu, agatsiko ka Bagosora na Nzirorera n'abagashyigikiye b'intagondwa karaganza bidasubirwaho.

Uburumirahabiri n'intege nke bya Guverinoma mu bwicanyi

Nta shiti, abaminisitiri bashya bari basobanukiwe neza abari bafite by'ukuri mu iyo guverinoma mu ntoki n'ibyo bashakaga kugeraho. Yego ntibari basobanukiwe neza n'inzira zose zari zakoreshejwe mu kubaha imyanya, ariko bari bemeye imirimo bari bashinzwe. Gusa nanone, bahubiranye n'imirimo yihutirwa yari ngombwa mu nzego zose, nta mwanya bari bagifite wo kwibaza ku nkomoko y'ibyabaga n'ihitamo

ry'ingamba bagombaga gufata, babishaka cyangwa batabishaka. Bari bazi by'umwihariko, kubera ko na bo ubwabo bari barabaye abarwanashyaka, icyo amahame ya MRND ari cyo: " Ibitekerezo bimwe, icyerekezo kimwe, ibikorwa bimwe." Umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi ntiwari warahungabanyije na gato umuco wo kubaha ubuyobozi bwa « humiriza nkuyobore » bari baratojwe.

> "Umurwanashyaka [umumirita] ntiyari akeneye amabwiriza yanditse kugira ngo akore, mu gihe yari azi ko amategeko, amabwiriza cyangwa ibigomba gukurikizwa byavaga ku buyobozi. Nanone, MRND yagenzuraga cyangwa yahinduraga bikomeye imitetekerereze y'abashinzwe ubuyobozi bw'igihugu (ba perefe, ababurugumesitiri, abajyanama, n'abashinzwe komite z'amaserire [abaserire] kandi nta cyo ibaho ry'amashyaka menshi ryari ryarabihinduyeho[489]."

N'ubwo yari ifite ubushake, iminsi ya mbere ya guverinoma yari mibi cyane.

Kuva aho abayihanze b'abasirikare n'abasivili bavaniwe mu nzira, abaminisitiri bari baremejwe bashoboye cyangwa bashatse gukeka ko bari bafite koko "ubutegetsi". Nyuma y'inama idasanzwe yo gutegura umuhango w'irahira rya Guverinoma ku itariki ya 8 nimugoroba, bukeye bwaho inama ya guverinoma yarateranye ubwa mbere ku itariki ya 9 Mata. Abaminisitiri hafi ya bose bafashe ijambo, baganira muri rusange ku mwuka wa poritiki n'umutekano.

> "Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yarahiriye ku itariki ya 9 Mata mu gitondo kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, hatarimo ba minisitiri Augustin Bizimana na Faustin Munyaneza, bari mu mahanga. Bwaba Booh-Booh yagiye muri iyo mihango, aho perezida Sindikubwabo, Minisitiri w'intebe Jean Kambandana Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, visi-perezida bafashe ijambo. Nyuma y'imihango, twateraniye

[489] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005

uwo munsi muri hoteli. Twavuze ku mutekano nabaza niba twaragombaga gutangira anketi ku mpanuka y'indege. Twasabye Bagosora gutegura raporo kuri iyo ngingo, dore ko minisitiri w'Ingabo atari ahari. Ibyo ari byo byose, yakomezaga gukurikira guverinoma yita ku bikoresho. Bagosora yavuze ko Ndindiliyimana yagombaga kurinda umutekano w'abaminisitiri, na we ubwe agahuza ibyarebaga minisiteri y'Ingabo byose[490]."

Nyuma y'inama, Minisitiri w'intebe yemeje imirimo n' ingengabihe byashyiraga

mu byihutirwa kurusha ibindi muri porogaramu ya guverinoma, igikorwa cy'umubano n'amahanga n' "igarura ry'umutekano". Byari ngombwa gushyiraho ubutegetsi mu gihugu: "ku wa mbere: abaperefe; ku wa kabiri: ababurugumesitiri; ku wa gatatu: abajyanama; ku wa kane: inzego z'abaturage[491]." Mu by'ukuri, ubukwakuzi bw'abaminisitiri ba MRND bari basubijweho, bwatumye bose babona bwangu imbarutso, n'ubwo abenshi mu barimo batari inzobere ku kazi, ku murongo w'imbere muri bo hakaba Minisitiri w'intebe.

Nyamara byagaragaye bwangu ko ibintu bitagenda nk'uko byari byateguwe. Yaraye igiyeho, ku itariki ya 10 Mata, guverinoma yasanze itazi aho iri:

" Umutekano ni wo kintu cya mbere kugira ngo hatabaho ibikorwa byo gutandukira bitewe n'urupfu rwa perezida wa Repubulika…ibisanzwe mu minsi ibiri cyangwa itatu, ariko nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma, ntibyakumvikana ukuntu abasivili n'abasirikare bakomeza guteza akajagari (urubyiruko rw'amashyaka na rwo ruri muri urwo rwego rugomba kugenzurwa). Kumvikana n'abasirikare, bagaragaza imbaraga, n'abanyaporitiki bafite ibitekerezo. Bariyeri zigenzurwa n'abasirikare zigomba kugumaho, ariko abaturage bishyiriyeho

[490] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005

[491] Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ishakiro K0045913 (*reba umugereka wa 88*).

bariyeri zabo[492].”

Abahungabanyaga umutekano n’abakoraga ubwicanyi bari bamaze gutahurwa neza: “Abasirikare”, urubyiruko rw’amashyaka”(abaturage b’inkerarugamba b’*Interahamwe* za MRND), RTLM na Radio Rwanda. Ubwo yashyirwaga mu majwi ku buryo butaziguye n’inkotanyi (FPR) zamaganaga “guverinoma y’igitugu ishaka kuburizamo ishyirwaho [ry’inzego z’inzibacyuho] yica amategeko” zinavuga ko “guverinoma iriho itegura ubwicanyi kandi izaza kuduhana”, guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yatangaga ibisubizo bidasobanutse. Amagambo make asobanura neza kuvanga imvugo zitajyana:

“Porogaramu ya RTLM iriho kugabanya umurego.

Ngirabatware: RTLM izakorana nta shiti n’iyi Guverinoma, ariko igomba gushyigikira ingabo mu ndirimbo;

Ibirwanisho, kubishaka vuba bishoboka[493].”

Mu bintu bimeze bityo, umwanzuro wa nyuma w’Inama ya guverinoma mu rwego

rwo kugarura umutekano usa no kwivugira gusa, kubera ko uha ububasha bwo kuwushyira mu bikorwa abafite “imbaraga [ingufu]”, ukaba utanagaragariza na gato mu ruhame “ubushake” bwa guverinoma: “Ingabo zagombye gufata abicana, abasahura kandi zikabahana binyuze mu mategeko[494].

Iyo ni imwe mu ngingo zikomeye zagize ingaruka ku myivugururire y’abagize guverinoma. Barinzwe n’abasirikare kandi bafite n’ubwobwa bw’umutekano wabo,

[492] Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, Inama y’abaminisitiri (CM) yo ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, ishakiro K00459, iyerekanwa (a) ryo ku itariki ya 29 Nzeri 2005.

[493] Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, Inama y’abaminisitiri (CM) yo ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, ishakiro K00459, iyerekanwa (a) ryo ku itariki ya 29 Nzeri 2005.

[494] Iyumvwa ry’umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

kwinyagambura kwabo kwagarukiraga mu Kiyovu n'aho batuye, kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* no kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa. Ingendo zabo ntizarengaga aho hantu, no kubona amakuru kwabo byagarukiraga ku byo babemererwaga n' "ababarengeraga" cyangwa, ku buryo bunonosoye, abagenzuraga intera bagezeho. Muri make, hagati y'itariki ya 9 n'iya 10 Mata, umunsi wa nyuma Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yamamaze i Kigali, nta rwego na rumwe cyangwa uburyo bwo gukorera hamwe byashyizweho kugira ngo bigeze ku baminisitiri amakuru ku byaberaga mu mugi no mu gihugu. Isoko yayo yagarukiraga ku bantu bamwe mu bagize etamajoro (biciye ku ruhererekane rw'abowofisiye bari bashinzwe kuneka mu maperefegitura), ku makuru yashakwaga n'abakuru b'amashyaka no ku yageraga kuri minisitiri w'intebe**,** minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'abaperefe, ni ukuvuga muri make kuri Callixte Kalimanzira, umuyobozi b'ibiro bya minisitiri wasimburaga minisitiri Faustin Munyazesa wari ikigwari, afatanyije n'ubuyobozi bwa MRND, bwakoranaga buri gihe na Radio Rwanda bwari bwarigaruriye, na RTLM.

Kugira ngo hatabaho kwishisha ku rwego rw'amakuru, tuributsa ko inama z'

Inama y'abaminisitiri [ya guverinom] yakorewe kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* yabaye hari abayobozi ba MRND, bashoboraga kuboneka buri gihe kubera ko abenshi babanaga na bo mu mazu.

Ni muri uro rwego abaminisitiri banze ku itariki ya 10 Mata ihita kuri radiyo

ry'amatangazo ya Kiliziya Gatolika yanditswe na Musenyeri Thaddée Nsengiyumva, umushumba wa Kabgayi, umwe mu batangije icyahoze ari Komite yo guhuza amadini n'abari mu mirwano kandi cyane cyane akaba na perezida w'Inama y'Abasenyeri muRwanda.

> "Abasenyeri na bo bashatse guhitisha itangazo nk'iryo, ariko guverinoma yaba yarabyanze, nkurikije ibyo nabwiwe na Musenyeri Thaddée Nsengiyumva w' i Kabgayi. Muri rusange, nkurikije uwo munyacyubahiro w'umunyadini, amatangazo ya Kiliziya yasabaga ihagarikwa ry'ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'ubugome yabanzaga gushungurwa na minisiteri y'Itangazamakuru na Radio

> Rwanda. Uwo musenyeri wari perezida w'Inama y'Abasenyeri bo muRwanda, yamaganaga icyo gikorwa cyabuzaga Kiliziya, ishyirahamwe rikomeye kandi rifite inzego zikoze neza kurusha andi mashyirahamwe ya gisivili, gukoresha ububasha bwayo kugira ngo ihagarike ubwicanyi, kandi yifuzaga ko […] tumufasha guhitisha amatangazo yabo[495]."

Icyo cyemezo minisitiri wari ushinzwe Itangazamakuru, Eliezer Niyitegeka, intagondwa izwi mu kurwanya Abatutsi, yagizemo uruhare rukomeye, kigaragaza neza imbibi z'imbaraga zakoreshwaga na Guverinoma mu kugarura "umutekano" no mu guteza imbere "kugarura amahoro". Muri iryo shungura ni ho abaminisitiri bamenyeye ko abenshi mu bagize Ubuyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo, abayobozi b' imitwe y'ingabo n'ab'amatsinda yarwanaga bari bagaye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, kandi ko abategetsi babwo ahubwo bageragezaga gutangira imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi (FPR). Barwanye ku nshingano zabo: "Guverinoma yo "kwiharira imishyikirano", nk'uko umuminisitiri umwe abivuga mu nyandiko ye, yibanda atyo ku kuntu Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ari yo yagombaga kugumana ububasha bwo gushyikirana n' Inkotanyi (FPR).

> Ku itariki ya 11 Mata, "inama ihuza Guverinoma n'abaperefe ba za perefegitura"

yabafashije gupima uburemere bw'akajagari n'ubwicanyi muri za perefegitura zari zihagarariwe, ibyo kubera ko mu magambo make abenshi mu baperefe bari aho barimo kurwanya "ibyitso" by'imbere mu gihugu. Bitewe n'ishusho nyayo y'imikomerere y'ibintu mu gihugu bari bamaze kwerekwa, abenshi basanze amagambo ya Koloneli Renzaho wavugaga ko ari ibihe by'urugamba rw'ubutwari n'ubwitange by'abaturage bahanganye n'icengera kimwe n'ibitero by'Inkotanyi (FPR), ari amakabyankuru.

[495] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-14 na 15, 26 Mzeri 1997.

Ihanganye n'ishyuha ry'imitwe n'itahura ry'uburemere bw' ibikorwa bya gisirikare, ibogama ry'uruhande rukomeye rwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku bitekerezo by'abantu b'intagondwa bashakaga intambara ryasaga n'irimaze kugerwaho, ariko amacakubiri ya poritiki yo yagumyeho kandi ashingiye ku ashingiye ku itahurwa ry'ukwanga bikomeye ubwicanyi mu maperefegitura y'amajyepfo yari ashyigikiye MDR na PSD, aho ubuyobozi bw'intara bwashyigikiye ba perefe ba Gitarama, Butare na Gikongoro. Kwishyira hamwe k'umuperefe wa MDR, uwa PL w'Umututsi n'uwa MRND byari ikibazo gikomeye: uwa mbere yivugiye ubwe mu nama ko arwanya ubwicanyi, na ho uwa kabiri we, yifitiye ubwoba bw'ubizima bwe, yanze kugira aho ajya ariko acisha kuri radiyo hamwe na mugenzi we wo ku Gikongoro, itangazo ribwamagana. Byabaye ngombwa gushungura ayo makuru!

"Bz: Nifuzaga nyine, aho mbere y'uko turangiza, kumenya ibikubiye mu murongo wa nyuma w'inyandiko yerekeye inama ya ba perefe. Hano, muri iyi handitse ngo: "Hafashwe icyemezo cyo kudakora raporo yanditse y'iyi nama, ku buryo ammakuru acecekwa."

Sbz: Yego. […]

Bz: Ni nde wababwiye kudakora [wababujije gukora] raporo yanditse, wabagiriye inama?

Sbz: Ni minisitiri w'Ingabo. […]

Bz: Bwana Bizimana mu by'ukuri ntiyashoboraga kubategeka ikintu nk'icyo atabasobanuriye impamvu cyangwa atisobanuye?

Sbz: Yari yambwiye ko bitari byiza ko ayo makuru akwirakwira.

Bz: Ese ayo makuru yari ukuri?

Sbz: Ayo makuru yari ukuri.

Bz: Kuki [kubera iki], nk'uko yabivuze, atagombaga gukwirakwira?

Sbz: Nta gisobanuro yampaye, uretse kuba yarambwiye ati: "Jyewe ndabona ku nyungun za Guverinoma aya makuru atagomba gukwirakwira."Nabonye ibindi

bisobanuro…[…]

Bz: Ku ki [Kubera iki]? Hagombaga mu by'ukuri kuba hari impamvu yatuma atarashakaga ko ayo makuru atangazwa ku mugaragaro.

Sbz: Ibyo ari byo byose ibyakorwaga ntibyari ikintu cyiza cyo…tuvuge umuntu yashoboraga kwiratana. Ku bwanjye ni ibyo, ko atashakaga ko icyo kintu kibi cyariho gikorwa [cyrimo gukorwa] kimenyeka. […]

Bz: […] Ese, uretse ibintu wamaze kuvuga aho ngaho, ese hari ba perefe berekanye ku mugaragaro icyifuzo cyo guhagarika ubwo bwicanyi?

Sbz: Nta byo nibuka, uwo nibuka wenyine kandi wari wishimiye [wari ufite ishema ryo] ry'ibyo yari yarakoze, ni uwa Gitarama, wavugaga ko yari yabashije kubuza abantu kwinjira muri perefegitura ye.

Bz: Bivuga nyine ko yabujije ubwicanyi?

Sbz: Yego

Bz: Ibyo yabivuze ryari?

Sbz: Ku itariki ya 11 Mata.

Bz: Ubwo nyine Gitarama, kubera imvugo ye, yavuze ku byabaga iwe, yarasimbujwe, ni byo?

Sbz: Si ako kanya[496]"

Minisitiri w'intebe yatanze umwanzuro w'inama: "sinzi niba hashobora kubaho ibihe bikomeye kurusha ibyo turimo ubungubu[497]."

Muri uwo muvundo uteye kwiheba ni ho habaye igikorwa cya giturumbuko cyo kwimurira Guverinoma i Gitarama, ku wa 12 Mata. Kubera ko batari bizeye umutekano, abagize Guverinoma bari bacumbitse kuri ambasade y'uBufaransa, mbere gato y'ifungwa ry'ambasade za nyuma z'abazungu na bo bahise bafata utwangushye ubwo abari babacumbikiye bari bahunze. Abandi bari bateshejwe umutwe n'ibihuha,

[496] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-14 na 15, 26 Mzeri 1997.

[497] Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994, ishakiro K0045915.

urusaku rw'amasasu n'izerera ry'abasirikare muri kapitali, n' "ubucengezi" bwakekwaga. Ababasigasiraga b'abasirikare n'ab'abanyaporitiki bakoze ku buryo budateguwe iyimurirwa ryabo imbere mu gihugu, i Gitarama, bahunga igihe nyirizina abasirikare b'Inkotanyi (FPR) bari bamaze gusatira kapitali, ibyo birushaho gutuma abantu babona ko iyo Guverinoma nta bubasha n'intege yari yifitiye. Muri icyo gihe cy'icyoba rusange kiyongeraga buri munsi—Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) zakomeje kugenzura igice kinini cy'umugi ibyumweru byinshi— ni ho umuntu abona neza aho inzego zifata ibyemezo zari zihagaze no kumenya uko uko zasumbanaga.

Kuri iyo tariki, abagize guverinoma nshya bari koko bamaze kumenya neza uko ibintu bimeze, ahari ndetse n'inshingano Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari ibatezeho, ariko ntibabonaga neza iby'igabana ry'imirimo hagati y'inzego z'amashyaka, abavugizi banyuranye b'ingabo, na guverinoma. Iryo kosa rinini rya poritiki rya mbere ryerekanaga mu by'ukuri kudakomera kw'umusingi abatangije ubwicanyi bari bubakiyeho, ariko cyane cyane ryagaragazaga neza cyane inzira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itashakaga gucamo n'ibyemezo yanze gufata.

Bamaze kwikiza Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, Yozefu Nzirorera na Théoneste Bagosora bavanyho iryo jarajara. Igikorwa cyo "Kugarura amahoro" cyari cyibagiranye mu buryo nta rujijo rwari kuri polotiki bifuzaga gukoresha. Jenoside yashoboraga rero, nkurikije amagambo ya Augustin Cyiza "kwigaburira", mbere y'uko yitabwaho bigaragara na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu rwego rwo kwirwanaho kwa gisivili.

Abenshi mu bagize Guverinoma nshya y'inzibacyuho, mbere ya byose bari bahangayikishijwe m'umutekano wabo, ntibakurikiraga ibibera byose mu gikorwa cyo "kugarura amahoro" kandi babyemeje badakomye mu nama ya mbere y'Inama ya guverinoma yabereye i Murambi. Ukudasobanuka kw'urusobe rw'amagambo "kugarura amahoro" koroherezaga buri wese muri bo kuyashyigikira no gukora nk'utazi ko kuva ubwo rwari rwifubitse igisobanuro kimwe: kurimbura umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu.

Igikorwa cyiswe "kugarura amahoro" cyo kuva ku itariki 10 kugeza ku ya 12

Ako gace gakomeye gashobora noneho kurondorwa neza kubera ubuhamya bw'abantu benshi bagizemo uruhare rutaziguye, butuma nta mpungenge umuntu asigarana ku kuntu ibintu byagenze n'uruhare rw'abanyacyubahiro. Harimo bamwe, nka Matayo Ngirumpatse[498],nyuma y'ifatwa ryabo bisabwe n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR), bamaze igihe mu ihakana ry'urudaca.

Igikorwa cyiswe "Kugarura amahoro" ni ingirakamaro mu kumva no kumenya ibihe byaranze ishyirwa mu bikorwa byo kurimbagura abasivili b'Abatutsi. Mu gihe Koloneli Théoneste Bagosora wari uyabereye nyirabayazana yashakaga kugereka ku bategetsi bashya b'abasivili iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki n'ubwicanyi nyirizina, ukwifata kw'abaminisitiri benshi, kongerewe kwamaganwa ku rwego mpuzamahanga, byateye guverinoma kubigemzura, n'ubwo itageratageje kubihagarika.

> "Guverinoma yarahiriye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* ku itariki ya 9 Mata saa yine mu gitondo noneho, nyuma yaho gato, habaye inama yihutirwa yo kujya impaka ku bibazo bya Guverinoma, ari byo umutekano n'ubwicanyi[499]; ubwo hemejwe muri rusange ko abatezaga imvururu n'abicanyi bagombaga kumenyekana bagahanwa by'intangarugero. Abasirikare bitwaraga nabia [bafite ikinyabupfura gike] bo mu mitwe inyuranye n'*Interahamwe* za MRND barakekwaga. Guverinoma yafashe icyemezo ko ubutumwa bwagombaga koherezwa ku biro byabo binyuranye, bagakangurirwa guhagarika ako kanya nta n'amananiza ubwicanyi bwose. Minisitiri w'intebe yasabwe guhura n'abakuru b'imitwe yose y'ingabokubera ko minisitiri w'Ingabo atari mu gihugu. Justin Mugenzi yahawe n'inama ububasha bwo kuvugana n'abategetsi ba MRND kubasaba guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorwaga n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, ari rwo

[498] "Nababwiye ko kuva ku rupfu rwa perezida ntongeye kubonana na Komite" (ibyatangajwe na Matayo Ngirumpatse, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, K0129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1 Ukwakira 1999).

[499] Edouard Karemera ahakana ko atari ahari icyo kiganiro kiba kandi yemeza ko yari muri *Hôtel des Diplomates* ariho yandika itangazo amashyaka atanu-MRND, MDR, PSD, PDC na PL- yasinyiye hamwe rigahitishwa uwo munsi.

Interahamwe. Ni muri urwo rwego Mugenzi yahuye na Matayo Ngirumpatse na, nyuma yaho ahura na Yozefu Nzirorera, abagabo bari ku isonga muri iryo shyaka MRND ariko batari bari muri Guverinoma. Nzirorera yatumije inama y'abayobozi b'I*nterahamwe*, harimo uyu mutangabuhamya ushinja. Nzirorera yabwiye abo bayobozi, Mugenzi ahibereye[500], ko Guverinoma yategetse ko ubwicanyi buherako buhagara. Nzirorera yahamije ko, ubundi, yabyemeraga.Yahaye abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* amabwiriza yo kujya mu mugi no kumenya neza ko, mu mpera z'amanywa, ayo mabwiriza aba yageze ku bayobozi ba buri tsinda; nanone yasabye kumukorerta raporo igihe cyose bishoboka, ariko bitarenze saa kumi n'ebyiri za nimugoroba z'uwo munsi. Saa kumi n'ebyiri za nimugoroba, abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* basubiye kuri hoteli, noneho bamukorera raporo ivuga ko abo bari bavugishije bari bemeye kurangiza cyangwa guhagarika ubwicanyi[501]."

Icyo cyemezo cyamenyekanye ku mugaragaro ku manywa mu itangazo:

"Ku itariki ya 10 Mata, abakuru b'amashyaka bahuriye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* kugira ngo bategure itangazo rihamagarira guhagarika ubwicanyi. Kugira ngo tugaragaze ko tutabwirengagizaga".

Iyo nkuru yatanzwe n'abari bafite imyanya muri guverinoma, yemejwe n'abayobozi ba Komite y'igihughu y'*Interahamwe* usanga ubutumwa bwabo buhuza (*reba umugereka wa 90*).

"Ni nko mu masaa 9 z'amanywa, ku wa cyangwa ahagana ku wa 10/04/1994,

[500] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005 (*reba umugereka wa 89*).

[501] Ibyatangajwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Justin Mugenzi, ku wa kabiri tariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 2005.

> Bwana Maniragaba Bernard, umwe mu bari bagize Komite y'igihugu yaguye (umujyanama) y'*Interahamwe* yageze kwa Ephrem Nkezabera, na we wari muri iyo Komite, kutumenyesha inama abayobozi b'ishyaka MRND, ba bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nzirorera Joseph, bashakaga gumkorana na Komite y'igihugu kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* isaa yine za mugitondo.[…]Ni Bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu wafashe ijambo mbere atonganya Komite y'igihugu kubera ukuntu "*Interahamwe* zicaga zikananika intumbi*"* kandi ko umuryango mpuzamahanga warwanyaga guverinoma kubera ibyo." Bwana Mugenzi Justin yakomeje atwiyama ko "ko dutera Abatutsi boroheje kandi b'abakene kandi abantu bakomeye bigendera nta nkomyi muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*". Yaba yaratanze urugero rw'umucuruzi Sisi Evariste, wari mu ruhande rwa PL rwiyoroshya wari muri iyo hoteli. […] Nanone, twasanze ari ngombwa kugira vuba kandi tukagira uruhare mu guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugarura ituze. Abayobozi nyine badusabye gukora ingendo zo "kugarura amahoro" muri Kigali dusaba *Interahamwe* ziri ku mabariyeri "guhagarika ubwicanyi, gushyira intumbi hafi y'umuhanda kugira ngo amakamyo ya Minisiteri y'Imirimo ya leta (Minitrape) azitoragure." Byari ngombwa "kwihaniza *Interahamwe*" ko, ku ruhande rumwe, abazanyuranya n'ayo mabwiriza "bazakurikiranwa, ku rundi ruhande, ko "igenzura ry'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ayo mabwiriza rizakorwa n'abagize guverinoma"; na bo ubwabo baziyizira[502]."

Asa n'uwamenye impungenge z'abayobozi b'abaturage b'inkerarugamba mu minsi ibanza basiragiraga ku mabariyeri bahamagarira ubwicanyi kandi baha ibihembo ababukoze, Nzirorera yarabavuganiye kugira ngo Bagosora abahe ijipi ya gisikare:

> "Nk'uko yari yabidusezeranyije mu nama yo "kugarura umutekano", Bwana

[502] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 85.

> Nzirorera yabonanye na koloneli Bagosora kugira ngo atubonere uburinzi bw'abasirikare, ni ukuvuga ijipi ifite ibara rya gisirikare n'abasirikare batatu bose bitwaje intwaro, harimo n'umushoferi. Urebye imyambarire yabo, abo basirikare bose uko batatu bari mu mutwe w'ingabo zigendera mu mitaka bo mu kigo "Koloneli Mayuya. Ubwo burinzi bwageze kwa Ephrem Nkezabera mu masaa tanu z'amanywa[503]."

Ariko imyumvire y'ubutumwa bwatanzwe n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba yakomeje guhindagurika. Bamwe basaga n'abemera ubutegetsi bw'ingabo na guverinoma[504]:

> "Ubutumwa bwakiriwe neza n'*Interahamwe,* kandi kubutega amatwi byorohejwe n'uko uwabubagezagaho yari umwe muri bo. Noneho, kubera ko zitari zatunguwe, *Interahamwe* ntizagaragaje impungenge zidasanzwe. Urebye, byari ibintu bizwi neza n'umwe mu bacu[505]."

Abandi bamaganye bidasubirwaho ubwo buryo:

> "Mu itangaza ry'ubutumwa, *Interahamwe* zimwe zasaga n'izitunguwe n'ibibukubiyemo, zibazaga ikibazo cyo kumenya "icyo twari cyo koko". Izindi zivugishaga amagambo nka "*Ibyitso biba byinshi",* bishaka kuvuga ko "ibyitso birimo amoko menshi". Ubutumwa bwacu bwararwanyijwe bikabije kubera, ni ko twabikekaga, imirwano yotsaga igitutu aho hafi. Iyo tutagira uburinzi bw'abasirikare, tuba twarahuye n'ingorane zikabije. Abasirikare baturindaga byabaye ngombwa nanone ko bitegura kwirwanaho, bagahora biteguye icyo bakora kugira ngo badutabare [baturwaneho]. Abari ku iyo bariyeri bibanze ku

[503] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 91.

[504] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobzi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 92

[505] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobzi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, wiswe KO502624.

kuntu Guverinoma yagombaga ahubwo kubaha intwaro zo kwirwanaho aho kugendera ku bigambo.[506]“

Ni muri uwo mwuka wo kutishima bikabije abayobozi b’abaturage b’inkerarugamba

bahaye mu masaa kumi n’imwe za nimugoroba, inshamake idashimishije y’urugendo rwabo n’ibyo abantu “barutezeho”, abo bari bavuganye mu gitondo, babasabye kandi gukomeza umurimo wabo wo gusobanura ku munsi wakurikiyeho. Bateraniye kuri uwo mugoroba (itariki ya 10) mu rugo r’umwe muri bo, Ephrem Nkezabera, aho abenshi bari batuye, bagaragaje impungenge zabo:

“Igikomeza gutangaza, ni indimi ebyiri zakoreshwaga na Bwana Mugenzi Justin mu isaba rye ryo gutera “Abatutsi bakomeye” mu gihe ubutumwa twari twategetswe gutanga bwari ubwo guhagarika ubwicanyi. Hari ikindi kintu cyo kwitondera: ba bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nzirorera Joseph, mu kudutumiza muri iyo nama yo kugarura umutekano hamwe na Mugenzi Justin, wari minisitiri muri guverinoma y’inzibacyuho, ku bwabo, bwari uburyo bwo kutwumvisha ko turi abagaragu ba Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho, kandi ko yari idufiteho, twebwe nka Komite y’igihugu y’*Interahamwe za MRND,* ububasha bwiyongera ku kuba tugengwa na MRND[507].”

Umurimo bari badushinze ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 wari uw’urwiyerurutso. Koko rero, kutubahiriza izo ntego by’ingabo n’abajandarume byatumye dukeka ko ayo mabwiriza atari yagejejwe ku bayobozi babifitiye ububasha. Urundi rugero, ni

[506] Iyumvwa ry’umuyobzi w’*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 98.

[507] Iyumvwa ry’umuyobzi w’*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 85.

uko icyo gihe Radio Rwanda itigeze ihitisha ubutumwa buteye butyo. RTLM yakomeje kugeza ku bantu ubutumwa bwayo bw'urwango no kugaragaza umwanzi, bityo igeza ubwo inabangamira uwo murimo wo "kugarura amahoro[508]."

Mu gihe abaturage bari basabwe kurundarunda ku mihanda minini no ku ihuriro ry'imihanda imibiri y'abantu bishwe kugira ngo inzego zishinzwe imihanda ziyihavane, uburemere bw'ubwicanyi bwabaye mu bisagara (duce) bwateye ubwoba. Muri urwo rwego, ibyemezo by'abategetsi ba MRND byo guhagarika igikorwa cyo "kugarura amahoro" byashoboraga gufatwa nko kwisubiraho burundu.

"Bz: Igihe mwavugaga ukuntu iyo mirambo yari yuzuye mu mihanda ya Kigali yari imeze, Edouard Karemera yabyifashemo ate?

Sbz: Nk'uko nabibabwiye, iimyifatire nabonye kuri bwana Karemera, kwari ukwiheba bivanzemo no guhebera urwaje: "Mrumva, ni urwaje…", ikintu cyo kubura uko ugira. Ni nk'aho umuntu yari kuba ahanganye (ari imbere ya) n'ikintu ntarengwa cyari kimaze guca ibintu (kuyogoza, gukora ishyano).

Bz: Hari umunyu wanejejwe cyangwa wari ufite ibyishimo ku buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose ukurikije ibyashyikiraga Abatutsi?

Sbz: Umva, sinshaka wenda gusesengura kwitaza ibintu kwa bwana Nzirorera, ikintu cy'agatwenge kanegura, guhigima, nk'ibyishimo byo, oya. Ariko, ku bwanjye ibyo byendaga gusa no kwitarura, kwitarura wenda kubera ibyari byabaye kuri Habyarimana n'abari bamuherekeje. Nabonye ko urupfu rwari ikintu gisuzuguritse, abantu bari bakonje cyane. Natangajwe… n'uko nta n'umwe muri abo bategetsi bacu…byateye agahinda…atababajwe n'ibyabaye kuri perezida wacu [w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe,* Robert Kajuga] yiciwe n'abacu…[ntibyumvikana neza]. Nta wavuga ko ari FPR yari yabikoze, ni ukuri

[508] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro K0502624.

ko FPR yari yivuganye numero ya cumi n'umwe. Ariko nanze ubwo bukonje bwagaragaraga ku byari byabaye kuri perezida wacu[509].”

Uko byagenda kose biyemeje gukomeza:

“Nyamara, kubera icyubahiro bari bafitiye iyo guverinoma n'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwo hejuru b'ishyaka ryacu MRND, ari bo ba bwana Ngirumptse Mathieu na Nzirorera Joseph (bari na bo abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* za MRND) twari twumvikanye gukomeza umurimo kugeza urangiye[510].”

Barumiwe cyane, bagarutse ku itariki ya 12 mu ntangiriro y'amanywa, basanze hagati aho guverinoma yarahunze kandi Nzirorera wenyine gusa ari we uri kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates.* Yariho yimura ibintu bye, noneho bahageze aboneraho akanya ko kubasaba inkunga yo kubimutwarira:

“Hanyuma mu masaa munani zo ku manywa, dusubiye gusobanura uko ibintu byagenze, twarumiwe cyane twumvise ko guverinoma yari yazinze ibirago - mumbabarire iyo mvugo. Hanyuma twahasanze gusa bwana Nzirorera wenyine watubwiye tumu…tumweretse raporo yacu ati: “Mubyumve neza, nta kundi byagenda ngomba nanjye kwimuka.” Ariko twakomeje kumwumvisha ko badushyize mu menyo ya rubamba, kandi ko ubwo guverinoma yari imaze kugenda, twari kumanikwa n'abantu twari twahaye ubutumwa bwo kutirwanaho, abo twari twabwiye ko guverinoma yari yijeje kwita ku byifuzo byabo. Twari twabashije gukira ibyari kutubaho bibi kubera Bwana Nzirorera kandi yari yashoboye kwita kuri ibyo byifuzo, yashoboye kutubonera

[509] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 70-71.

[510] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 101

intwaro, kandi abantu bakomezaga guhunga Kigali. Ariko *Interahamwe* nyinshi zo kuri bariyeri zarahagumye. Urebye ni imiryango …abantu b'intege nke bavaga muri Kigali , kubera ko na guverinoma yari yamaze kuva i Kigali. Kandi, kubera igitut cy'abasirikare, abantu bagendaga bumva nta mutekano bafite. Ngibyo. Ngibyo uko twagamban iwe n'abantu bari baraturoshye mu bintu byafatwaga, ubundi, nk'igikorwa cyo kwana ku bantu gishimishije[511]."

Kubera ko bari bashinzwe kubwiriza irangira ry'ubwicanyi, basubiranagayo ikirundo cy'intwaro n'amasasu byo guha abaturage b'inkerarugamba!

Iyo nzira idasobanutse yerekana neza ukugwa bidasubirwaho mu mutego w'ingamba zo guhangana gukaze n'ibijyana na ko, umuyoboro wa jenoside, wafashweho icyemezo n'urukururane rwa Nzirorera na Bagosora. Ku mpande nyinshi, itarki ya 12 Mata yabaye umunsi udasanzwe: uw'ifungwa rya za ambasade hafi ya zose, uw'iyimukira rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Gitarama, uw'iwishyirwa ryayo mu maboko y'abayifashaga b'abasirikare n'abanyaporitiki, mu nyuma kandi cyane cyane, uw'itangazo ry'Ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo z'ighugu z'uRwanda (*reba umugereka wa71*). Ubwo buyobozi bwingingaga Inkotanyi (FPR) na Minuar kugira ngo imirwano ihagarare n'agahenge gasubireho kugira ngo bihe ingabo "zihyigikiye ubutegetsi" uburyo bwo guhagarika ubwicanyi no gucubya abaturage b'inkerarugamba hamwe n'imitwe y'abasirikare yaziyoboraga.

Iryo tangazo, ari na ryo rya nyuma ryasinywe mu izina rya etamajoro yari yarashyizweho n'Ubuyobozi Bukuru bw' ingabo mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 7 Mata, yemeje ubundi ugutsidwa ku buryo bubiri. N'ubwo yemezaga ihezwa rya Bagosora n'abawofisiye b'intagondwa ugereranyije n'Ubuyobozi Bukuru, yanimikaga (yashyiraga imbere) ububasha buke bw'abasirikare bakuru bwo gushimangira ubutegetsi bwabo mu bitwara gisirikare no mu mitwe yari yaranze kubayoboka (cyane cyane Ingabo

[511] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 71.

zarindaga perezida, n'amabatayo yitwaga "Paracommandos"" na "Recce", ubwo guhangana no kwigira ba ntibindeba kw'abandi bawofisiye benshi, n'ubwo nanone kwemerwa nk'abantu bizewe bavugana n'Inkotanyi (FPR) mu mishyikirano y'uko habaho ihagarikwa ry' ibisasu. Ubwo Inkotanyi (FPR) zatangaga igihe ntarengwa ku batabazi b'abanyamahanga kugira ngo barangize iyimurwa ry'abantu babo na Minuar nta cyo ikimaze, igihe cyo guhangana imbonankubone cyari cyegereje. Nzirorera na Bagosora bagombaga kugereka ku gihugu cyose ihitamo rikomeye bari barakoze mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata, no kurihatira abantu bose kuva ubwo.

Ubuhamya bwose bw'abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* buruzuzanya mu gusubiramo neza ukuntu icyemezo cyo guha intwaro Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba cyafashwe: (icyo cyemezo) cyari ikimenyetso cy'ubwumvikane abafataga ibyemezo bari bagiranye. Ubwo bwumvikane bwagombaga gukomeza kubaho kugeza igihe intambara izararangirira. Ubwo ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 mu msaa munani n'igice, ba bantu batatu bari bagize Komite y'igihugu, Ephrem Nkezabera, Bernard Maniragaba na Jean-Pierre, bagiye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, gusobanurira abayobozi uko ubutumwa bwagenze no gusaba intwaro zigenewe abaturage b'inkerarugamba bo kuri bariyeri. Bashinzwe nyuma y'ubwumvikane na Yozefu Nzirorera na koloneli Bagosora kwivuganira n'uwo wa nyuma:

> "Noneho, Nzirorera Joseph yahaye Bernard numero ya terefone[512]...Uwo ni we wakoraga nk'umuhuza hagati ya koloneli Bagosora n'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, kugira ngo tubone intwaro[513].

[512] Akomoka mu Ruhengeri kimwe na Yozefu Nzirorera, Bernard Maniragaba yakoreshwaga nk'umubitsi wa komite ibangikanye w'umutungo yashyikirizwaga ku buryo butaziguye na Yozefu Nzirorera akanakorera uyunguyu imirimo myinshi: "Ndetse nyuma y'igenda rye ryasaga n'iritunguranye, yasabye Maniragaba Bernard gutegura iyimurwa rya bimwe mu bintu bye bwite; byahereyeko bikorwa hifashishijwe *Interahamwe* zimwe zayoborwaga na Maniragaba Bernard" (Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 19 Gicurasi 2004, p.28).

[513] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w*'Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Bruxelles, TPIR, 19 Gicurasi 2004, p.

"Hanyuma mu masaa kumi, ubwanjye narahamagaye. Nomero ya 6 na we yambwiye ko yahamagaye, noneho bwana Nzirorera atubwira ko yari yatanze ikibazo cyacu, cyari kuzakemurwa na koloneli Bagosora, ko twagombaga guhura saa kumi n'ebyiri kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*. Koko rero, saa kumi n'ebyiri twagiye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, aho koloneli Bagosora yatubwiriye kumukurikira kuri minisiteri y'Ingabo, aho yaterefoneye, atanga amabwiriza ye, aduha umushoferi we atujyana mu bubiko bw'intwaro, dushobora kuhavana intwaro twatanze ku munsi ukurikiyeho.

Bz: Ni ubuhe bwoko bw'imbunda Nzirorera yakoze ku buryo Bagosora abafasha gutanga umunsi ukurikiyeho?

Sbz: Oya, si umunsi ukurikiyeho, ni kuri iyo tariki ya 12...ahagana saa tatu mu gitondo… ahagana saa tatu zibura, kubera nyine ubwo bwumvikane, twabonye uburyo bwo kugera mu Kiyovu, mu cyari icumbi rito rya perezida, ahari inkambi y'Ingabo zirinda perezida. Nyine ryari icumbi rya kera mu Kiyovu. N'ubwo yari yarimukiye i Kanombe, aho hantu hakomeje kuba icumbi rye rito-niba ari ko nahita (nabivuga). Aho rero ni ho, kuri uwo mugoroba wo ku itariki ya 12, twashoboye kuvana uruboho rwa 100..., rw'imbunda hafi 100 n'amasasu yazo…, amasanduku y'amasasu, za pisitore mitarayeri Uzi. Imbunda muRwanda bitaga…[nibyumikana] imbunda z'Abajepe (GP)[514]; bukeye ni bwo twashoboye

[514] Izo ntwaro zajyanywe mu rugo rw'uyu mutangabuhamya: " Tumaze gufata ibyapakuruwe ahagana…mu masaa mbiri z'ijoro, itsinda [ntibyumvikana] riherekejwe na Kajuga Robert, itsinda ryari rigizwe na Maniragaba Bernard, Sebanetsi Jean-Pierre na Nkezabera Ephrem, mbere nmbere rya…ryerekeje iwanjye, aho twashyize igice kimwe cy'amasasu, dukomeza tugana ku Gitega, aho twashyize intwaro dutegereje kuzitanga bukeye. Hgati aho, Kajuga Robert n'itsinda ryari rimuherekeje badusanze ku Gitega, aho twaganiriye ku birebana n'umwuka wariho Kubera ko bwari ubwa mbere, urebye, twari tubonye Ruhumuliza Phénéas n'abandi bantu bamwe na bamwe. Nyuma yaho, mu masaa tatu n'igice saa yine, nyuma yaho, mperekejwe na Sebanetsi Jean-Pierre, nagiye mu rugo aho nyine twari ku nkeke yo guhungisha imiryango yacu, ibyo byakozwe bukeye bwaho mu gitondo" (ibyatangajwe

> gutanga izo mbunda ku mabariyeri twari twaranyuzeho nk'uko twari twabibasezeranyije tubabwira tuti: "Mubyumve neza, guverinoma yatubwiye ko mugomba kurekera aho, ariko ibyifuzo byanyu bizigwa bikaibonerwa ibisubizo". Nyine, ku itariki ya 13 ahubwo ni bwo twatanze intwaro, ariko twari twazibonye ku mugoroba wo kuri 12 Mata[515]."

Indimi ebyiri n'intege nke bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, yakoreshwaga n'abayihimbye kandi itari ifite na mba icyifuzo cyangwa ubushake bwo gukoresha ibyitayeho kandi by'ingirakamaro, uburyo n'ububasha byagombye kuba ari ibyayo kugira ngo igarure umutekano inacubye intagondwa. Mu gihe *Interahamwe* zari zarakaze kuva umunsi wa mbere mu gukwirakwiza no gutegura ubwicanyi, n'ubwo zari zaragaye amabwiriza yo "kugarura amahoro", zabonaga (bumvaga) adasobanutse, ntibyababujije kuyakwirakwiza bihishe inyuma y'ibyarangaga ubutegetsi (abawofisiye bakuru, ijipe ya Bagosora, gukoresha amazina y'abayobozi ba MRND n'aba guverinoma). Ariko buri Munyarwanda yari azi neza ko, ku nkuru zikomeye, isesengura risesuye ry'impamvu n'imbaraga zihanganye buri gihe ari ngombwa kugira ngo umuntu yumve icyo amabwiriza atangwa n'ubuyobozi ubu n'ubu ahatse. Imbere y'*Interahamwe,* indimi ebyiri z'abayobozi ba MRND zari itegeko risanzwe ryari ryarageragejwe mu myitozo ya gisirikare no kwitwaza imbunda mbere y'isubira ry'intambara. Ikintu cyose kitari kibujijwe ku buryo buzwi kandi ngo ginahanwe bikomeye cyari cyemewe, cyane cyane iyo ibikorwa bigikomotseho byabaga gihuje n'impammvu uwo mutwe w'abaturage b'inkerarugamba wari warashyiriweho ukanahabwa imyitozo guhera hagati y'umwaka wa 1993. Ntibatunguwe rero n'ivuguruzanya z'ibyo basabwaga. Ahubwo iryo suzuma rya mbere ryabereye umwaku Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho:

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n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 63).

[515] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 71-72.

"Bz: Kugira ngo izo ngendo zitungane, mu yandi magambo, kugira ngo ubwicanyi buhagarare, guverinomo yari kubyifatamo neza ite iyo iza kuba ibishaka?

Sbz: Icya mbere yari gukora mu bihe nk'ibyo, kwari kongera ku butumwa ibyemezo bikomeye. Ibyo byemezo bikomeye, mu bihe nk'ibyo, bireba ahanini abajandarume, bireba anhanini ingabo. Ku bwanjye, icyo gikorwa cyunganira ubutumwa bari badusabye gutanga cyari kuba ingirakamaro kuko byarashobokaga gukanga wifashishije imbaraga z'abajandarume cyangwa z'ingabo; n'ubwo byose bitari guhagarara ako kanya, ariko byari gukanga bikanca intege. Kuki mvuga ibyo? Ndavuga ibyo, kubera ko, ubwo nanyuraga mu gace kahariwe ubucuruzi i Kigali, twabonye intumbi zambaye iniforome za gisirikare kandi namenye ko abo bantu bari bishwe ku itegeko rya perefe wa Kigali. Rero, abapolisi ba komini ba perefegitura ya Kigali bari bafite itegeko ryo kwica abasirikare bahitagamo, aho kujya kurwana, kwigira mu busahuzi. Kubera iyo mpamvu, agace k'ubucuruzi nta cyo kabaye. Intumbi, ndakeka ko zahamaze iminsi ibiri cyangwa itatu. Hanyuma ndakeka ko icyemezo nk'icyo cyari kunganira ubutumwa abo bayobozi bari badusabye gutanga. Icyo, ku bwanjye, ni icyemezo cya mbere.

Icyemezo cya kabiri, hagombaga kwiyama ubutumwa bwahitishwaga na RTLM n'ibindi byemezo inzobere muri ibyo bibazo bazi neza kuturusha, twe b'abasivili. Ndakeka ko byari kurushaho kugira icyo bimara. Ariko rero, ngomba kwibuka ko hari undi muntu utaroroshyaga ibintu, Inkotanyi (FPR) n'icyokere cyayo cya gisirikare yashyiraga ku baturage no ku Ngabo z'igihugu, nyine. Hari ibyemezo ishyano ryose kandi abayobozi ni bo bagombaga kubimenya[516]."

Bityo, ikijyaho, guverinoma nshya yasanze nta bubasha burambye ifite, kandi

[516] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 73.

birumvikana neza ko, mu ntamabara, imibanire itari shyashya hagati y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba na "guverinoma y'impunzi[517]" , abo batemeraga ubuyobozi bwayo n'ishingiro ryayo:

> "Kugenda, birumvikana, ariko kugenda umntu atihanangirje, atibukije abantu, adatangaje ijambo iryo ari ryo ryose kuri radiyo, mumbabarire kubabwira akandi ku mutima kanagaragaza nanone akari ku wa bagenzi banjye n'abandi Banyarwanda ku myitwarire idahwitse yaregwaga iyo guverinoma[518]."

Mu guha abayobozi ba Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, babizi neza, intwaro basabaga kandi zavaga mu bubiko kugeza icyo gihe butari buzwi n'abayobozi bemewe, Yozefu Nzirorera na Théoneste Bagosora bahishiraga ubwicanyi, ubugizi bwa nabi n'ubusahuzi bwari bwarakozwe kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata, batangaga ikimenyetso cyo kubikomeza no kubyongera, gutyo, bakururagamo,babibatsindiriye,abayobozi ba guverinoma bahisemo kutiteranya.

Mu gihe itari yarageregeje gukoresha ingufu kugira ngo ihagarike ubwicanyi bigishoboka, ahubwo abaturage b'inkerarugamba bigamba ko ari bo barinda abayobozi bakuru, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho nta kindi yahisemo uretse kugaragaza intege nke zayo no guhishira ibikorwa byabo. Yishyiragaho umutwaro w'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byari byatesheje agaciro rugikubita "ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage".

Ubundi kandi, nko mu gihe cy'icpwa rya taragite ihamagarira abaturage guhaguruka (*reba igishushyanyo cya 13)*, ni abayobozi ba MRND n'abasimburag mu ngabo bifatiye ubwabo ibyemezo bikomeye, bitananyuze mu nzego za MRND cyangwa

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[517] " Nta cyambuza kuvuga ko abagize Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe za MRND* bumvise bagambaniwe kandi banasizwe bonyine, igihe cy'ihunga rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ryabaye ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 iva i Kigali ijya i Murambi, rigakomeza nyuma riva i Murambi rijya ku Gisenyi (Kamena 1994), rikava ku Gisenyi rijya i Bukavu-Zayire (Nyakanaga 1994)" (iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi witwara gisirikare, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Bruxelles, 19 Gicurasi 2004, p.28).

[518] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 64.

mu rundi rwego urwo ari rwo rwose rwemewe n'amategeko cyangwa rw' abantu muri rusange. Kuri uru rugero, kwitanga byari bikomeye. Igenda nabi ry'igikorwa cyo "kugarura amahoro", cyatangijwe nta bushake nta n'uburyo bufatika byashoboraga gutuma kigenda neza, ntiryashoboraga kutabaho. Ibyasabwaga na Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* byari byatunganye: imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba kuva ubwo yari ifite uburenganzira bwo gusobanura no gushyira mu bikorwa "inshingano" zayo, kandi yari yemerewe guhabwa intwaro n'abari bazifite kandi bari bafashe iya mbere mu gutangiza urugamba rwa kabiri: Bagosora n'imitwe y'imbata ku ruhande rumwe, MRND binyuze kuri Nzirorera na Ngirumpatse, n'ihunga ryabo hamwe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ryari riteye akantu, ku rundi ruhande.

Kuri iyo ngingo, ibikorwa n'icyo umuntu yakwita igihe gikomeye cy'urubanza rwa koloneli Bagosora birahura. Izi nteruro nke zikurikira zavuzwe na we zijya, mu gihe gito, hejuru y'impamvu n'ibisobanuro bisannzwe mu kwegeranya ubuhamya nyabwo:

> "Bz:[…] Icyo nshaka kumenya: mbese mwemera cyangwa muhakana ko mu gihe iki n'iki, Abatutsi bishwe kubera gusa ko bari Abatutsi?
>
> Sbz: Mu gihe kimwe bishwe kubera ko ari Abatutsi. M kindi gihe, …mu kindi gihe, byaracitse…ibisazi…hanyuma, waba umtutsi ugapfa. Ibyo, ndabyemera.
>
> Bz: Mushobora gusobanura mu kihe gihe, kuri mwe…[…]Byatangiye ryari?
>
> Sbz: Ni nyuma y'ihunga rya guverinoma .[…] Navuga ko ibyo bintu byatangiranye n'ihunga rya guverinoma, n'ihunga ry'abavanywe mu byabo b'i Nyacyonga[519]; kuri jye ni cyo cyitegererezo, icyo gihe, nta muntu ugenzura undi.

[519] Mu nkambi z'abavanywe mu byabo bari barahunze imirwano n'uduce twafashwe n'Inkotanyi kuva mu 1991, inkambi ya Nyacyonga -kuri kiromtero zigera ku icyenda mu mjyaruguru ya kapitali- aahai harunze, mu butindi bukabije, amagana y'ibihumbi by'abantu, ni yo yari nini kurusha izindi. Kuva ku itariki ya 9 Mata, ubwo ingabo z'Inkotanyi, zivuye mu gace kari kakuwemo ingabo, zageraga i Kigali, inkambi zombi iy'i Nyacyonga n'iy'i Mugambazi ziroshye muri kapitali. Ku itariki ya 12 , mu mpera z'igitonde, bumvise ko Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahunze, biroshye ari uruvunge bagana umuhanda w'i Gitarama na bo bacika. Ritangiye mu cyoba, iryo hunga ryabayemo ubugizi bwa nabi bwinshi cyane (gusahura kugira ngo babone ibyo kurya) ariko cyane kwangiza ibintu

Hari mliyoni imaze gukwirakwizwa mu baturage, hari abandi bivanga muri rubanda ruhunga, nta muntu ugenzura, hari akajagari gahagije. Jye ndavuga nti ni uguhera icyo gihe.

Bz: Yego. Bibaye ngombwa gucishiriza itariki y'icyo gihe, mushobora kudufasha?

Sbz: Jyewe, ndabwira ko kuva ku itariki ya 12, ihunga rya guverinoma, isenyuka ry'ikigo cy'abavanywe mu byabo cy'i Nyacyonga, bakiroha mu baturage imbere, jye nshobora gufata iyo tariki nk'intangiriro y'umwuzure[…][520]."

Ihitamo rya jenoside ryari noneho rimaze kwemezwa nta nkomyi kandi nta bwo ryigeze ryibazwaho kugeza ku itsindwa. Akoresheje indimi ebyiri zitandukanye, iyo gushimira abaturage b'inkerarugamba kubera ibikorwa byabo n'iyo guhamagarira kuba "intangarugero", amatangazo ya MRND yo ku matariki ya 23 na 27 Mata (*reba umugereka wa 92*) ntiyahinduraga na busa icyo cyerekezo cy'ibanze. Nta na rimwe ubuyobozi bwiyunze bw'ishyaka, bwari bwishyize ku murongo ukaze mu kurwanya abanyaporitiki bafite ubwoba cyangwa "bakonje", bwatanze uburyo bwo guhagarika amabi yakozwe ashyigikiwe n'ibimenyetso n'umwambaro wa MRND.

Umugogoro wa jenoside n'abayigizemo uruhare

Birashoboka noneho gusobanura uko "akagambane" ka jenoside gateye, gushyira

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no kwica umuntu uwo ari we wese wafatwaga nk'Umututsi. Kwambuka kwabo bagana mu majyepfo kwagize uruhare runini mu gusakaza ubwicanyi mu maperefegitura ya Gitarama, Kibuye na Butare.

[520] Ubuhamya bwa Théoneste BAGOSORA, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 10 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 22. Dusubiramo,mu mugereka wa 91, igice cyose cyavuyemo aka gace kugira ngo umusomyi abashe gukurikira ibitekerezo bya Théoneste Bagosora, bikomoza ku ikurikirana ntarengwa ry'ibintu byakomotseho ibyo kugwa mu "bwicanyi bw'abantu benshi, bukabije" (p. 17). Umuntu arabonamo ko, niba ibidukikije n'imyumvire bihura ku buryo bwikoze n'ibyo avuga, , ibintu byose bifitanye isano n'ibyemezo byafashwe n'abayobozi bashya kandi cyane cyane ibye bwite byagize uruhare ku buryo, ku itariki ya 12 Mata, "haba amarorerwa" byagumye neza neza mu bwiru cyangwa bigahakanwa.

mu ngengabihe ibyiciro byayo, kugaragaza umwuka yatangiyemo,no kugaragaza abantu banyuranye bayigizemo uruhare.

Incamake ya 15

Ibyiciro by'ingezi bya jenoside n'abayiguyemo

Imibare tuvuga hano yerekeye igihe cy'intambara yo mu mezi ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994, n'ubwo bishoboka kubara abapfuye benshi cyane guhera ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 (ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) n'iz'inyeshyamba(FPR) zaguye ku rugamba, abasivili bishwe mu ntamabara-ubwicanyi bwabereye ahantu hazwi, ibitero bigamije kwica, ubuhotozi, abakuwe mu byabo) ariko cyane cyane nyuma y'intambara nyirizina kubera igenzurwa ry'igihugu n'Inkotanyi (FPR) na poritiki zashyizweho zo gucyura za miliyoni z'impunzi z'Abahutu zari zarashyizwe ku mipaka kimwe no kugenzura uturere byegeranye.

Ubwicanyi bjyanye n'ibyiciro binyuranye by'intamabara

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi n'ubuhotozi bwateguwe bwakorewe abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi n' "ibyitso" mu duce twa Kigali byatangiye guhera mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 ishyira iya 7 Mata 1994 nyuma gato y'aho amahano ku ndege ya perezida Habyarimana amenyekaniye. Ku munsi ukurikiyeho byafashe za sgiteri na za komini zayoborwaga cyangwa zagenzurwaga n'intagondwa zitsimbaraye ku irondakoko zari zishyigikiye Abahutu, nko muri za perefegitura zo mu Majyaruguru nio mu Burasirazuba, mbere yo gukwirakwira mu gihugu cyose bikaza guhagarara mu kwezi kwa Nyakanga. Ibyiciro byinshi bishobora kugaragazwa hakurikijwe ubukana bw'ubwicanyi.

Ku matariki ya 7,8 na 9Mata, mu duce twose twa Kigali, udutuwe n'abakire kimwe n'utw'abaturage, abasirikare b'Ingabo zirinda perezida, ab'amabatayo y' "Abaparakomando", "Ubutasi" n'indi mitwe bagabye ibitero bikaze mu ngo z'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi n'iz'Abatutsi, mu gihe igenzura kuri bariyeri zari zashyizwe ku mihanda ritatumaga hari n'umuntu n'umwe ucika. Abagerageje kwihisha baravumbuwe n'amakipe y'irondo yasakaga mu madari (amaparafo), mu tubati, umnsi y'ibitanda, mu misarani, mu bubiko bw'imitwaro bw'imodoka, n'ahandi. Ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'imirambo yarunzwe hamwe, itoragurwa n'inzego zishinzwe imihanda mu mugi ku itariki ya 11Mata (igera ku 20.000, ukurikije Umuryango w'Abibumbye).

Ku itariki ya 12 Mata, nyuma y’iminsi ibiri y’agahenge gato, mu gihe za

ambasade zimuraga abantu bazo ba nyuma na guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yamaze kwimukira i Gitarama, Imitwe y’abaturage b’inkerarugamba yahawe intwaro n’intambara isesuye itangarizwa “abanzi” b’imbere (mu gihugu). Ubwicanyi bwagaragaye muri za perefegitura hafi ya zose z’igihugu, bwakwiriye hose mu zo mu Majyaruguru no mu Burasirazuba, buboneka mu duce tumwe na tumwe mu zo Hagati no mu Majyepfo. Ku matariki ya 18 na 19 Mata, guverinoma yakoresheje inama mu maperefegitura ya Gitarama, Gikongoro na Butare yo kugaya no kwirukana abayobozi bari bakigerageza kurwanya ubwicanyi. Amaperefegitura n’amakomini byarebaga by’umwihariko ni ayarimo imibare mini y’Abatutsi (Butare, Amajyepfo ya Kibuye, Gikongoro) Nyuma y’itariki ya 20 Mata, nta hantu na hamwe harinzwe hari hakiri mu gihugucyose. Ahantu hose, ahahurira abantu benshi (za kiliziya, amashuri, ibitaro, inyubako za komini cyangwa za perefegitura) abayobozi bari basabye Abatutsi kuhateranira haratewe hose abari bahari baricwa, akenshi ari ibihumbi n’ibihumbi. Ihangayikishijwe n’ingaruka ku rwego mpuzamahanga z’iryo tsembatsemba n’icuzwa (ry’ibintu), Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yatumiye abayobozi b’ibanze gukora igenzura ry’igikorwa cy’ubwicanyi cy’abaturage b’inkerarugamba. Poritiki yiswe iyo “kugarura umutekano” ntiyagize icyo ihindura ku ntego yari igamijwe , n’ubwo iminsi ya nyuma y’ukwezi kwa Mata n’igice cya mbere cy’ukwa Gicurasi byaranzwe n’igabanuka rigaragara ry’ubwicanyi (Umuryango w’Abibumbye wavugaga umubare wa 200.000 byapfuye mu mpera z’ukwezi kwa Mata. Mbere na mbere impamvu zari zishingiye ku buryo bwo gukora. Uretse ukurambirwa kwagendaga kuza mu bicanyi, “akazi” k’ingenzi kari karangiye kandi, uretse mu maperefegitura yo Majyepfo, byari bitangiye gukomera kubona “abanzi” n’ “ibyitso” byo kwica.

Ubwicanyi bwongeye gukara cyane mu gice cy kabiri cy’ukwezi kwa

Gicurasi (gatanu), mu igerageza rya nyuma ryo “kwirwanaho mu gihugu” ryari rihanganye n’isatira rya gisirikare ridasanzwe ry’Inkotanyi (FPR); Bwafashwe nko kwihorera imbere y’iryo satira . Aherekeje ishyirwaho rya Edouard Karemera ku buyobozi bwa minisiteri y’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu, amabwiriza ya guverinoma ku kwirwanaho kw’abasivili yo ku wa 25 Gicurasi yagize ishakishwa n’irimburwa ry’ “umwanzi w’imbere mu gihugu” igikorwa cy’ibanze mu rwego rw’igihugu. Mu maperefegitura yo Hagati, mu Majyepfo no mu Majyepfo y’Uburengerazuba, ukwiyongera kw’impunzi zahungaga isatira ry’Inkotanyi (FPR) kwagize uruhare mu ikusanya ry’abantu. Abayobozi bashakaga kurangiza “akazi”, ni ukuvuga kumaraho abari, mu turere, bararengewe kugeza ubwo (abasaza, abagore, abapadiri n’ababikira, abaganga (abakozi bo mu buvuzi), n’abandi), n’ahanini gucubya burundu agaco k’abirwanagaho babikomezaga ku dusozi twa Bisesero, muri komini Gishyita na Gisovu za perefegitura ya Kibuye.

Ahantu hose kandi mu kwezi kose kwa Kamena, ihiga ryitondewe r

yakozwe mu mu mirima, mu bihuru, mu bishanga, mu mashyamba no mu migezi kugira ngo bahige

Abatutsi barokotse. Guhera ku itariki ya 23 Kamena, ishyirwaho ry' "agace ko gufashirizamo abantu kizewe" kagenzurwaga n' Abafaransa ryagumishije hamwe amagana n'amagana y'abavanywe mu byabo rinatuma ingabo z'Inkotanyi (FPR) zihuta cyane zigana mu majyaruguru, zinahagarika jenoside y'Abatutsi.

Amabarura menshi akenshi avuguruzanya

Umubare wavuzwe w'abishwe muri jenoside wakomeje buri gihe gucishirizwa, ushyirwa hagati y'ikigereranyo gito n'ikinini cya 5oo kugeza kuri miliyoni 2 zirenga. Koko rero, n'ubwo amabarura yose yakozwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, n'abayozi bashya nyuma yaho, yemeza ubwinshi budasanzwe bw'ingogo, nta na rimwe rituma hakwemezwa bifatika ikigereranyo iki n'iki.

Imibare ya mbere yatangwaga nyuma y'intambara yari hafi ya 500.000 kandi yari ishingiye ku mubare w'Abatutsi wari wabaruwe muri 1991 n'abari barokotse. Hakurikiyeho nyuma ibiteranyo byakozwe n'abayobozi bashya, twerekanira ibyavuyemo by'ingenzi:

- Mu kwezi kw'Ukuboza 1994, raporo y'Ishami ry'ibarura rya minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu y'ingoma nshya yatangaga umubare wa 2.100.000 z'abishwe muri jenoside. Igiteranyo cyakozwe gishingiye ku bantu muri rusange bari icyo gihe mu gihugu (miliyoni 4,72), umubare bongeragaho uwa miliyoni 1,2 z'impunzi, wabonetse hakuwemo umubare w' impunzi zari zitahutse vuba muRwanda (800.000) ku giteranyo rusange cya miliyoni 2 z'impunzi zabarurwaga hanze y'imipaka y'uRwanda. Igiteranyo cyabonetse (miliyoni 5,92), kikaba ari cyo cyacishirizaga umubare "nyawo" w'abantu bari bakiriho, cyagereranyijwe n'umubare "ukekwa" w'ababtu muri rusange wagombye kuba waragezweho hatabayeho intambara, wakozwe hakoreshejwe uburumbuke ku mwaka bwa miliyoni 7,2 z'abaturage bari barabaruwe ku itariki ya 15 Kanama (z'ukwezi kwa munani) 1991, bitanga miliyoni 8,02 [b].
- Minisiteri y'Amashuri Makuru, Ubushkashatsi mu by'ubuhanaga n'Umuco yashyizeho, muri 1995, komisiyo yakoze ubushakashatsi bunyuranye mu makomini. *Raporo y'ibanze y'ahabereye jenoside n'ubwicanyi bwo muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994* yatangajwe muri Gashyantare 1996. Igiteranyo cy'abishwe cyageraga icyo gihe kuri miliyoni 1.364.020 [c].
- Nyuma y'ibarura ryakozwe muri Nyakanga 2000, icyegeranyo cyemewe cya minisiteri y'uRwanda y'Ubutegetsi bw'uturere cyatangajwe muri 2002 cyerekanye ko jenoside yahitanye miliyoni 1.074.017. Ariko rero abishwe 934218 gusa ni bo bamenyekanye nyabyo. Ukurikije anketi zakozwe, 93,7% by'abishwe muri jenoside bishwe kubera ko bari bamenyekanye ko ari Abatutsi, 1% kubera ko bari bafit anye isano yo mu muryango, y'ishyingirana cyangwa y'ubucuti n.Abatutsi, 0,8 % kubera ko basaga (bari bafite ibimenyetso ku mubiri bisa na) n'Abatutsi. Abana n'urubyiruko ruri munsi y'imyaka 24 ni bo bari bagize igice kinini cy'abishwe, bari mu

kigereranyo cya 53,7%. Nanone, abagabo (56,4%) ni bo bakozweho cyane kurusha abagore (43,3). Murwego rw'imibanire y'abantu, abaturage ni bo babangamiwe cyane bafite 48,2%, hanyuma hagakurikiraho abanyeshuri bo mu mashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru (21,2%). Umuhoro ni wo wabaye intwaro yicishijwe cyane (37,9% by'abishwe), hagakurikiraho amahiri (16,8%) n'imbunda (14,8%). Ubwicanyi bwinshi bwakorewe ku gasozi batuyeho (59,3%). Za kiliziya zari mu mwanya wa kabiri mu bwicanyi bwinshi (11,6%). Hanyuma, mu kigereranyo ku rwego rw'igihugu, umubare munini w'abishwe wagaragaye mu ntara ya Butare mu majyepfo (22,1%), hakurikiraho Kigali ngari (14,6%) na Gitarama hagati (mu gihugu) (12,I%). Intara zitakozweho cyane zari iza Ruhengeri (1,3%), Byumba (2,8%) na Gisenyi (3,8). Iyo mibare ihura n'igiteranyo cyose cy'Abatutsi ukurikije amaperefegitura.

- Amatora yo mu 2003 yegereje, bashingiye ku mibare isa n'iyo mu Kuboza 1994, abategetsi batangaje ko abaturage b'uRwanda bageraga kuri miliyoni 8,2. Bahereye ku mibare y'ibarura ryo mu 1991 no ku burumbuke busanzwe bwa 3,2%, "igihombo cy'abantu" cyashyirwaga ku makimbirane icyo gihe cyafatwaga nka miliyoni 2,3 by'abantu.
- Muri Mata 2004**,** ibarura ryakozwe na minisiteri y'uRwanda y'Urubyiruko, Umuco na Siporo kandi rigafata gusa igice cy;intambara yo gusubiranamo ya 1994 ryashyiraga "umubare w'abantu bishwe mu minsi ijana (kuva mu kwezi kwa kane kugeza mu kwa karindwi) kandi twashoboye kubonera izina, umwaka n'ahantu bavukiye" ku "bihumbi 937.000 by'Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi b'Abahutu" (ibyavuzwe na minisitiri Robert Bayigamba) [d].
- Mu kurangiza, nkurikije ibarura ryatangajwe ku itariki ya 29 Ukwakira 2008 ku muyoboro w'Urwego rw'igihugu rw'inkiko gacaca (SNJG) umubare w'abishwe muri jenoside wafatwaga nka miliyoni imwe.

Miliyoni imwe ku bayobozzi b'uRwanda cyangwa Komite Mpuzamahanga ya

Kuruwa Ruje (CICR) [e] n'ibihumbi 800.000 ukurikije Umuryango w'Abibumbye ni yo mibare ibiri igarukwaho buri gihe n'amasesengura menshi. Nta kintu gishya cy'ingenzi na kimwe kizahindura ahari, mu bihe bizaza, icyo kigereranyo kinajyana ndetse n'amabarura y'abaturage mu rwego rw'igihugu n'ankete zishingiye ku hantu zakorewe mu turere tuzwi neza.

Ibarura ry'abishwe muri jenoside n'abishwe mu ntambara

Amagereranya cyangwa amahuzagurika agaragara muri izo anketi ashingiye ku bibazo by'uburyo bwo gukora (ntarengwa muri rusange) ari no gusobanura abishwe abo ari bo. Ariko by'umwihariko, hari ingorane ebyiri mu by'ukuri zidashobora kuvaho.

Iya mbere, niba amabarura abiri rusange y'abaturage yo mu 1978 no mu

1991yarafashwe muri rusange nk'ayemewe, imibare ishingiye ku moko ntiyagaragazaga neza amasano

n'aho abantu babarizwa by'ukuri. Amabarura ya buri mwaka y'ubuyobozi yakorwaga n'amakomini yakosoraga igice kimwe cy'inenge z'ayo magereranya, ariko akongeramo ubundi busembwa kubera kutitabwaho. Bityo rero, imvugo ko Abatutsi bari benshi kurusha imibare yemewe yavuye mu mabarura, irasobanutse nyine mu rwego rwa poritiki rwashyizweho na repubulika zombi, ariko nta kintu gituma umuntu amenya itandukanyirizo.

Iya kabiri, ibarura ry'abishwe rikurura byanze bikunze impaka ku mubare w'abishwe bazize jenoside n'abazize intambara (imirwano hagati y'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) n'Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR)), kimwe n'uw'abazize ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) ku baturage b'Abahutu. Urugero: ku itarikiya 16 Nzeri 1994 mu nama Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda y'i La Haye, perezida Pasteur Bizimungu yemeraga ko, "hagati y'abantu 60 na 70 bakoze ibikorwa byo kwihorera" bitewe " n'imikorere y'umuntu ku giti cye kandi ku buryo bw'umwihariko" mbere yo guherako asobanura ati: " nta gikorwa cy'ubugizi bwa nabi na kimwe tutahannye". Nk'uko yabyanzuye mu kuri, abazize ibyo bikorwa "ntibashobora gufatwa nka miliyoni y'abapfuye muri jenoside", ariko ubuhamya n'intangamugabo byose byakusanyijwe byo byabaruraga amacumi y'ibihumbi by'Abahutu bishwe, bikanagaragaza neza ko aho kuba ibikorwa by'umwihariko, ahubwo byari iby'amabwiriza yari yaratanzwe, ku rwego rwo hejuru, n'abayobozi b'inyeshyamba, mu mitwe y'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) [f].

Icyagenderwagaho muri ayo mabwiriza cyari ukudafata imfungwa mu barwanyi, kuvana abaturage mu duce twafashwe kandi, mu maperefegitura menshi (Byumba, Kibungo, Gitarama, Butare), gukusanyiriza ahantu hahurirwa n'abantu benshi (za sitade, amasoko n'ahandi) abaturage b'Abahutu batari bahunze, kugira ngo babicire hamwe [g]. Kubera ko muri rusange intumbi zongerewe mu myobo rusange yari isanzwe iriho, zabaruriwe nyuma hamwe n'imbaga y'abazize jenoside. N'ubwo habayeho ibintu byo gushaka byanze bikunze guhakana iyo mikorere no gusibanganya intangamugabo yayo, kandi nkurikije igitabo cya HRW/FDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre,* "ibyo bimenyetso, bituzuye kandi bitemejwe, bigaragaza umubare w'abishwe bari nibura hagati y'ibihumbi 25.000 na 30.000, ibyo bikaba bihuye n'ikigereranyo gito cyane cya Gersony [h]." Ikigaragara ni uko iryo cishiriza ry'umubare w'Abahutu bishwe n'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) riri rwose munsi y'andi mabarura, ashyiramo ukuntu abakuwe mu byabo bo muri zone Turquoise [i] bafashwe, igihe Inkotanyi zahafataga (cya cyane mu nkambi y'i Kibeho, muri Mata 1995); iyicwa bunyamaswa ry'impunzi zacyuwe ku mbaraga ziva muri Zaïre mu 1996; ubwicanyi budasanzwe bw'impunzi zahungaga zerekeza i Gisangani n'i Kinshasa hagati ya1996 na 1997, cyangwa nanone ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abazize kurwanya "abacengezi" mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Gitarama mu mwaka wa 1997. Amabarura agera rero ku bihumbi amagana by'abapfuye: bityo, amabarura menshi y'abazize intambara na jenoside yakozwe n'abanditsi benshi (Filip Reytjens [j], James Gasana [k], Abdul Joshua Ruzibiza [l], n'abandi), atanga imibare muri rusange iri hagati ya miliyoni 1,5 y'abishwe mu

mwaka umwe gusa wa 1994.

Ku byerekeye abanyamahanga bazamo, twavuga nanone ba “basirikare 10

ba Loni” b’Ababiligi, bishwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Nyuma abandi “basirikare ba Loni” bahasize ubuzima, kimwe n’indeberezi eshatu za gisirikare

“basirikare ba Loni” 12 bahasize ubuzima, kimwe n’indeberezi eshatu za gisirikare, n’umwe mu bagize igipolisi cy’abasivili.

N’ubwo hari amakuru menshi yakusanyijwe mu masoko atabarika kandi

yashyizwe mu madisiye akomeye n’ibiro by‘umushinjacyaha w’Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR), kwanga gukurikirana abatangije ibikorwa by’ubwicanyi bwo mu ntambara n’ubwicanyi bwibasira ikiremwa muntu byakozwe n’Ingabo z’Inkotanyi (APR) ntibizatuma intugunda zikaze kandi zihoraho zirangira (*reba umutwe wa 14*).

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a Mu mubonano hagati y’abahagarariye Inkotanyi n’ingabo zazo ku itariki yaa 30 Gicurasi 1994 ku kicaro gikuru cya Minuar i Remera (Kigali), etamajaoro y’Ingabo z’igihugu yibukije ko “icyifuzo cy’ibanze kandi ntarengwa, kugira ngo hashobore kubaho kumvisha abaturage no guhagarika ubwicanyi , cyari ihagarara ry’imirwano no kugira agahenge” (itangazo rya etamajoro y’Ingabo z’igihugu, Kigali, 30 Gicurasi 1994)

b 8 021 250-[4 720 000 + (2 000 000 □ 800 000)]= 8 021 250 □ 5 920 000= 2 101 250 abantu bishwe.

c Ubundi, 1360 970 hasubiwemo imibare igaragazwa kuri buri perefegitura: Butare (382 757); Byumba (7 380); Cyangugu (95 443); Gikongoro (131 331);; Gisenyi (12 120); Gitarama (90 728); Kibungo (182 287); Kibuye (265 000), Kigali ngari (94 729); Umugi wa Kigali (56 052); Ruhegeri (43 143).

d Nyamara ibarura rusange ry’abaturage ryarabaye muri Kanama 2002 ku nkunga ya Komisiyo y’u Burayi, ibihugu by’ibiterankunga (u Bwongereza n’u Buholandi) na FNUAP. Biratangaje cyane kuba ritarashoboye gutanga imibare nyayo ku ngaruka z’intambara na jenoside ku mubare w’abaturage.

e Ijambo ryahise kuri radiyo rya Philippe GAILLARD, umukuru w’intumwa z’Umuryango mpuzamahanga utabara imbabare (CICR) ku itariki ya 11 Nyakanga 1994 i Kigali.

f Reba AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, *Rwanda: Raporo ku bwicanyi n’amarorerwa byakozwe n’ingabo z’Inkotanyi, Mata-Kanama 1994*, Londres, 19 Ukwakira 1994.

g Iyo mikorere yakozweho inyandiko na raporo nyinshi, zo mu ibanga muri rusange, kugira ngo habungabungwe umutekano w‘abakozi, cyane cyane uw’abakozi b’Ishami ry’Umuryango w’Abibumbye ryita ku mpunzi n’indeberezi z’imiryango irengera uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu.

h HRW/FIDH, *Nta mutangabuhamya n’umwe ugomba kurokoka*. Jenoside muRwanda, Karthala, 1999, p. 852. Inkotanyi zikimara kugera ku butegetsi, Robert Garsony yakoze muRwanda, abisabwe na HCR, ubutumwa ku kibazo zzo gucyura impunzi. Muri ubwo butumwa, hagati y’itariki ya 1 Kanaman’iya 15 Nzeri, we n’itsinda rye bakusanyije , mu makomoni 41 basuye (ku 145), ubuhamya bwinshi n’amakuru ku bwicanyi bw’abantu benshi bwakorewe abaturage b’Abahutu (UNHCR, Inyandiko. *Uko ibintu bimeze muRwanda*, ibiri mu ibanga, 23 Nzeri 1994). Ubwicanyi nanone bwakorewe raporo imbere mu matsinda ya HCRY yahakoreraga. “Raporo ya Garsony” yakuruye amahane ku ruhande rw’abayobozi b’uRwanda yemerewe na HCR na sekeretariya y’Umuryango w’Abibumbye ko ayo makuru yose aguma kuba ibanga. N’ubwo iby’ingenzi mu byari mu “isesengurabibazo” rya R. Garsony byageze mu itaangazamakuru kubera imena ry’amabanga, HCR yanze gutangariza raporo uwari uhagarariye uwari ushinzwe gukora raporo kuRwanda, yemeza ko: “Raporo ya Garsony” itabaho” (ibaruwa

RWA/ HCR/REP/96/0409 yo ku itariki ya 4 Mata 1996). Kuri iyo dosiye, reba HCR/ FIDH, *Nta mutangabuhmya n'umwe ugomba kurokoka, igitabo cyavuzwe mbere,* p. 842-848.

i Kugira ngo umntu amenye byinshi kuri operasiyo "Turquoise" , reba Incamake ya 16 (umutwe wa 13).

j Filip REYNTJENS, "Igereranya ry'abantu bishwe muRwanda mu 1994", muri *Annuaire des Grands Lacs 1997-1998,* L'Harmattan, Paris , 1997, p. 179-186.

k James GASANA, *Kuva ku ishyaka rimwe rukumbi kugera kuri Leta nk'ikigo cya gisirikare, igitabo cyavuzwe mbere.*

l Ni ugushakira mu mugereka wa 93, ugaragaza imbonerahamwe zakozwe nyuma y'ipereresa ry'amezi menshi n'igereranya byakozwe n'ABDUL Joshua Ruzibiza, umuliyotona mu ngabo z' Inkotanyi, acishiriza umubare w'abaturage b'Abahutu bishwe mu mwaka umwe gusa wa 1994 (450 000).

Ese FPR yatunguwe n'intera jenoside yafashe cyangwa yayisamiye hejuru ?

FPR ntibuze kuba yarabonaga neza ko ubwicanyi bukabije bwagombaga kuba.Koko rero, kubura imirwano ntibyabaye icyemezo cy'ikigwirirano cyangwa gifashwe by'amaburakindi, ahubwo cyari icyemezo cyo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wa poritiki watekerejweho binononsoye, ugategurwa, ugasuzumwa kandi ugashyirwa mu bikorwa nyuma y'integuza nyinshi. Nkuko byahoraga bigarukwaho muri poritiki y'igihugu mu birego by'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bo mu gihugu imbere kimwe ndetse na FPR, nta wari uyobewe ko amatsinda y'intagondwa z'Abahutu afatanyije na bamwe mu basirikare yari yaratangiye kwisuganya ku mugaragaro mu mpera z'umwaka wa1993 no guha intwaro abaturage b'inkerarugamba mu rwego rwo "kwirwanaho kw'abaturage" bahangana n'umwanzi w'imbere n'uw'inyuma y'igihugu.

Ukurikije ibyavugwaga n'abayobozi ba FPR mbere y'amarorerwa, ibintu byinshi bituma umuntu atekereza ko hamwe n'abaterankunga babo b'abanyamahanga bakoze ikosa rigaragara mu isesengura ry'imiterere y'imbaraga biteguraga guhangana na zo. Hariho ibitekerezo bibiri by'ingenzi.

Ukurikije bamwe mu baburimo cyanga bigeze kububamo, ishyuhaguzwa ryo gufata ingamba ry'Ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FPR ryari rishingiye ku gitekerezo cy'abibwiraga cyangwa bagakeka ko perezida Habyarimana yari afite intege nke, ko atashoboraga gushyira ibintu mu buryo no gushimangira ububasha bwe ku itsinda ryose ry'amashyaka n'ibyerekezo bya poritiki byakomokaga ku ruhande rwe. Nyuma yo guca imitwe amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi na CDR, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) bwabonaga igihe kigeze cyo kwikiza Habyarimana babonaga ari we

wenyine usigaye ari inzitizi mu nzira yabo yo gufata ubutegetsi. Babonaga guhitana Habyarimana byari gutuma imiterere y'ubutegetsi bwaremwe kandi bushingiye kuri we buhita – nkuko umwe mu bawofisiye ba APR yabivuze— « bunegekara». FPR yari guhita yiharira urubuga kuko byagaragaraga ko kwisuganya no kongera kwegura umutwe ku ruhande rw'abambari ba perezida bitashobokaga. Hari gukurikiraho kwifashisha Minuar bakagirana imishyikirano n'abo bari basanzwe bakorana bo ku ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Nkuko inama yabereye muri ambasade ya Tanzania mu gihe nyirizina cy'igico [cyo guhanura indege ya perezida] yabigaragaje, abo [batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi] bari barahiye ubwoba ndetse FPR yari yabemereye kurinda umutekano wabo(*reba umutwe wa 5*). Uretse abanyacyubahiro mbarwa nk'Agata Uwilingiyimana, bihagararagaho bakanga kwihoma kuri rumwe mu mpande zari zifite ingabo, abayobozi batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi batari barihomye ku mpande zishyize imbere ubuhutu hafi ya bose bari bateze amakiriro yabo kuri FPR.

Nta wutazi agasuzuguro abayobozi ba FPR bari bafitiye Akazu, "abaharanira demokarasi" n' "inzibacyuho inyuze muri demokarasi". Kumenya bihamye intugunda z'amahindura ya poritiki imbere mu gihugu, nubwo byari ibya vuba ariko bikongerwa n'ibyo babwirwaga n'ibyitso byo mu gihugu, ntibyatangaga ishusho nziza y'abanyaporitiki ba Repubulika ya II mu bayobozi ba FPR. Aho ni ho hari ubushobozi bwabo budasanzwe ari mu gutiza umurindi amakimbirane akomeye hagati y'abayobozi banyuranye b'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi ari no gusarurira mu nduru y'amacakubiri yamungaga MRND.

Ibyo kandi ni ko n'imbaga y'abanyamahanga yabibonaga: urebye nta n'umwe mu bari bahagarariye umuryango mpuzamahanga wahaga agaciro abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu. FPR yari izi ko bizayigirira akamaro kuba ambasade nyinshi zikomeye zari kwifata cyangwa se ikanga kwivanga mu ntambara mu gihe yari kuba yongeye kubura.

Ibyo ari byo byose, abibeshyaga bose ku isenyuka ry'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida cyangwa ku icecekeshwa ryarwo by'agateganyo, barayobye cyane. Ibyo kandi,

n'ubwo bafashijwe bidasobanutse n'ibihe bidasanzwe byatumye abakoze amarorerwa, usibye guca igihugu umutwe, baranawuciye n'Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Amarorerwa yari yatumye bikiza, hamwe n'Umukuru w'igihugu, Umuyobozi wa etamajoro Déogratias Nsabimana na koloneli w'umutoni cyane Sagatwa. Nanone, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, Augustin Bizimana, na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Faustin Munyazesa, bari mu ngendo mu mahanga, kimwe n'umukuru w'iperereza rya gisirikare, Aloys Ntiwiragabo, n'umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare, Gratien Kabirigi bari mu butumwa, umwe muri Kameruni (Cameroun) hamwe na minisitiri, undi mu Misiri (Egypte).

Nyamara icyatunguranye ni uko intagondwa z'Abahutu « zitanegekaye » ndetse no kwishyira hamwe kw'abanyaporitiki, noneho bari bamaze gukizwa "umunyagitugu" ntibishoboke. Nta senyuka ry'inzego z'ubutegetsi cyangwa ishwiragira ry'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo byabaye, yewe ndetse n'abawofisiye bo mu Majyepfo ntibitandukanyije n'abandi.

Ahubwo rero gukoma imbere igitero cya FPR byahuriweho n'ingabo z'igihugu zose— nubwo yego icyemezo cyafashwe bitinze kandi kikubahirizwa mu masaha make gusa. Nanone, si benshi batekerezaga ko abaturage b'inkerarugamba bari bafite imbaraga zikataje zo gutera no kwitabara. Mu rwego rwa gisikare nyirizina, izo mbaraga zagaragaye ahanini mu nzego ebyiri. Mu bwicanyi simusiga bwibasiye abasivili b'Abatutsi, abaturage b'inkerarugamba batsembye ku buryo bugambiriwe kandi busesuye abayoboke n'ibyitso bya FPR mu duce tw'umugi wa Kigali no mu makomini yo mu giturage. Ku rwego rwa kabiri, basimbuye bigaragara ingabo zari ku rugamba, cyane cyane mu kurinda ifatwa rya Kigali. Nubwo habaye uko kwihagararaho mu gihugu [kw'ingabo n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba], kuba FPR yararwanije ishikamye amasezerano ayo ari yo yose kimwe n'itabara iryo ari ryo ryose riturutse hanze— ibyo nta n'ambasade n'imwe ikomeye yari i Kigali yabiteganyaga— bisobanura neza koko ko FPR itashoboraga gutindiganya cyangwa kwemera icyakoma imbere amahirwe yo gufata ubutegetsi burundu.

Dukurikije icyo gitekerezo, ikosa ry' isesengura rya FPR ryasobanurwa no

kutamenya neza umukino wa poritiki, bitewewe n'uko zari zifite icyizere ku bushobozi bwazo bwa gisirikare, kutita ku bibera mu giturage, no kutamenya neza ahantu (habera imirwano) ku dusozi tw'imbere mu gihugu. Kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, kongererwa ingufu kw'igice gishyigikiye Abahutu byari bishingiye ahanini ku kuntu cyarengaga cyane imipaka y' "igice gishyigikiye perezida", yari yarashyizweho mu itangira rya poritiki y'amashyaka menshi. Urugero, Agata Uwilingiyimana yemeraga ubwe ko, n'ubwo abarwanashyaka b'i Butare bamufataga nka perezida wa MDR mu rwego rwa perefegitura kubera kumukunda, umurongo we wa poritiki ntiwumvwaga na benshi mu barwanashyaka kandi ko na Jean Kambanda yari ashyigikiwe bitagibwaho impaka n'inzego z'ishyaka. Nanone, kwifatanya n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida kwabonetse mu bakandida bari barateganyijwe mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho yari kuzajyaho ntibyasobanurwaga gusa n'amayeri y'inzego n'impamvu z'inyungu. Mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urw'ibitekerezo, imizi y'uburwanashyaka mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, kandi ukurikije uko ibintu byari bimeze, abenshi mu baturage bo mu migi no mu byaro bari barashegeshwe n'intambara, bagerekaga uburemere bwayo ku Nkotanyi (FPR). Ku buryo bw'ibanze, imbaraga zinyuranye Yuvenari Habyarimana yageragezaga gufatanya zari zarivanguye bihagije kandi zaritandukanyije ku buryo zitashoboraga kurokoka nyuma ye uko igikorwa cya poritiki cyangwa cya gisirikare cyari kuba kimeze kose. Na MRND ubwayo ntiyari ibuze abakandida bo kumusimbura iteganya ibihe by'amatora byari bitegerejwe cyane.

Mu gihe cy'amezi menshi, kinjyana n'ihurizwa ry'urwinyagamburiro rwa poritiki mu rwego rw'igihugu mu byerekezo "*Power*" bya MDR, PL, na PSD, utwo duce hamwe n'amashyaka yo mu itsinda rishyigikiye perezida byarigaragaza bikabije hasi mu baturage mu iyamamaza ryo mu rwego rwa politki. Icyizere cya nyirarubeshwa cyo gutsinda amatora nyuma y'igihe cy'inzibacyuho cyatangaga inzira za poritiki z'amoko menshi cyane. Bityo, abashoboraga kurwanira ubutegetsi nka Matayo Ngirumpatse cyangwa Edouard Karemera, bashoboraga gutekereza ko bibonamo uruvange rw'Abakiga n'Abanyenduga (abo mu majyaruguru n'abo mu majyepfo), ubwiyunge

bwashoboraga kubaho hagati y'abari bashyamiranye icyo gihe (Mugenzi, Karamira, Murego, n'abandi), biteguye guhirimbana buri wese ukwe no gusuka ibifaranga mu imenyekana rishingiye ku turere no mu majwi y'abatora…

Muri urwo rwego, byarashobokaga gukeka ko ifatwa bunyago n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu byerekanwaga ku mugaragaro nk'intwaro idasubirwaho y'intagondwa z'Abahutu kugira ngo zice FPR intege zo gufata ubutegetsi ku mbaraga za gisikare, nta muyobozi n'umwe mu mashyaka yari yarasinye amasezerano y'Arusha wakekaga ko iyo nzira yahoboraga kugerwaho umuryango mpuzamahanga urebera, kubera ko bumvaga bitabaho ko FPR yabasha kwemeza birambye ubutegetsi bwayo mu gihugu abaturage b'Abahutu bari biganjemo cyane, kandi bari baniganjemo abayirwanyaga mu rwego rwa poritiki. Muri ibyo bihe, inzira ya jenoside yari rero ishingiye cyane ku rwego rwo guca intege kurusha ku itegurwa rigambiriwe, yemwe no ku ruhande rw'abahozaga mu kanwa isubiramo byanze bikunze ry'intambara kandi bafashaga, kubera iyo mpamvu, ikusanya n'itozwa ry'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba.

Ikintu gikomeje kwibazwaho ni ukumenya niba ukutamenya cyangwa ukutagereranya bikwiye imiterere y'ingufu zashoboraga kuyibera imbogamizi ari byo byateye ikosa mu migambi ya FPR cyangwa niba, iki cyaba ari igitekerezo cya kabiri, itahura ry'izo ngufu za kidobya uko ryarushagaho kwiyongera ari ryo ryatumye abayobozi bazo bibaza ku nyungu zari mu masezerano y'amahoro yari yarashyizweho umukono.

Aha umuntu yagaruka mu nzira ivuga ko abayobozi ba FPR bataba gusa bararetse hakabaho ubwicanyi bukabije, ahubwo ko bashobora kuba barabushyize mu ngingo z'imigambi yabo ya poritiki na gisirikare yo gukomeza kugira intwaro ubwicanyi n'umwuka urwanya Abatutsi byo mu myaka yo hagati ya 1991 na 1993 kugira ngo basobanure ishingiro ry'ibitero bya gisirikare kugeza igihe bari gufatira ubutegetsi. Muri iyo nzira, kuva ibikorwa bya jenoside bimaze gukara n'Inkotanyi (FPR) zibashije kubimenyekanisha ku rwego mpuzamahanga muri Gicurasi hagati, umwanzuro wari ubonetse. Icyemezo cyafashwe n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango

w'Abibumbye ku itarki ya 17 Gicurasi 1994 cyo gutegeka ko Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) zikumirwa kugura intwaro cyahaga Inkotanyi (FPR) icyizere cy' intsinzi. Mu gukora ibyo, byari byarangiye umuryango mpuzamahanga wari wemeje intego yazo yo guhirika ubutegetsi, kandi wari uhaye Inkotanyi (FPR) uburenganzira zitagiraga kugeza icyo gihe.

Niba hari n'igitetekerezo cy'ifatwa ry'imigambi cyaba cyariganje kurushaho,

Twibutse ubu ko inkuru yemewe n'amategeko mu mateka y'uRwanda yemejwe n'uruhande rwatsinze kuva intambara irangiye, ihishira ikintu cy'ibanze ku myumvire y' ibyabaye: Inyeshyamba zakomotse mu mpunzi z'Abatutsi ntizatangiye intambara kandi ntizarwanye zigamije "kurokora Abatutsi", zigaruriye ku mbaraga ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali hagombye gutangwa ibitambo by'ubuzima bw'abavandimwe babo.

Ariko n'iyo ibyashoboraga kuba byaba byaragereranyijwe nabi cyangwa

bikemerwa n'Inkotanyi (FPR), agace k'abawofisiye n'abanyaporitiki bari bifatanyije n'akazu ka perezida ni ko kabarwaho kuba karatangije ubwivanyi bwakorewe abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi n' "abanzi" b'imbere mu gihugu, no kuba karategetse kakanayobora irimburwa ryabo: babikoze batagamije "kurokora Repubulika (igihugu)", ahubwo bashakaga gukemura burundu ikibazo cyo kuziba icyuho cy'iyicwa rya perezida ibyo bakabikora bashyira ubutegetsi mu maboko y'intagondwa ku buryo budasubirwaho. Nubwo bari bonyine kandi ari mbarwa, bageze ku ntego zabo « mu izina rya bose » kandi batigaragaza mu myanya mishya y'ubutegetsi bishyiriyeho mu buryo budasanzwe bihishe inyuma ya Guverinoma nzibacyuho yahawe inshingano yo kurimbura umwanzi badahuje ubwoko mu gihugu. Icyo gisobanuro ni ingenzi kubera ko, nubwo ari iyo "guverinoma ya jenoside" yagombye gukusanya umutungo w'igihugu wose mu izina ry'ubumwe bw'igihugu (ingabo, ubuyobozi, amashyaka, ibitangazamakuru, amashyirahamwe ya "gisivile", abaturage) kugira ngo buyishyire jenoside mu bikorwa, umushinga wa jenoside ukomeza kuba uw'agaco kageze ku butegetsi kagize igitambo amaraso y'abayobozi bemewe kandi kagombye, mu mezi atatu kabyiyemeje, kuroha inzego za leta mu migambi yako.

Igisobanuro kimwe n'intera y'ibikorwa n'iy'intego ntibigomba na busa kwitirirwa

abantu bose. Buri mwanya wo mu rwego rwa poritiki kandi ku mpamvu z'umusaruro wari utegerejwe ku ntambara, wajyanaga n'imyifatire yihariye y'abantu ku giti cyabo n'iyo bahuriyeho muri rusange. Ku ntagondwa z'Abahutu, ubwicanyi, ubusahuzi n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byari uburyo bw'uruvugiro butewe n'uburakari bwaturitse nyuma y'imyaka ine y'ihembera ry'amakimbirane y'amoko. « Leta » yahaye urwaho rwo gusandara inzangano zari zimaze igihe zitutumba ndetse itanga n'uburenganzira bwo kurimbura uwitwa « umwanzi », atari abatutsi gusa. Guhitana abatari bashyigikiye ubwicanyi, ariko cyane cyane kudatinya guhanwa, isahaguranwa ry'ibyacujwe "umwanzi" n'umwanya udasanzwe wo kurenga imiziro mbonezabupfura mu izina ryo kurwana intambara, byatumye abitabira ubwicanyi baba benshi kandi kwica bihabwa agaciro gasuoroheje ikusanya (iyegeranya) ry'umubare munini w'abicanyi kandi bahabwa agaciro gasumba kure kubaha ubuzima bw'abantu.

Abataritabiriye ubwicanyi bari mu ngeri nyinshi hakurikijwe abantu ku giti cyabo, imyanya bari barimo, ahantu n'ibihe. Ku baturage benshi, byari bihagije kurebera abica bakica bakica cyangwa se byaba ngombwa ukabatera inkunga ku mugaragaro kubera inyungu, kurambirwa, ubwoba cyangwa ubushobozi buke. Mu nyuma, nubwo ibi bitari byigwa cyane, habayeho uburyo bwinshi bwo kurwanya ubwicanyi, uretse ko kenshi abantu babizize bakicanwa n'abahigwaga. Ku mugaragaro cyangwa mu rwihishwa, ibikorwa by'ubufatanye byabayeho, inzira zo kurokora abaturanyi cyangwa abavandimwe zarakoreshejwe zigamije guca intege cyangwa kwimira ibikorwa by' imashini yakoraga jenoside.

Paul Kagame, umuyobozi w'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi kuva mu Kwakira 1990[521] wabaye Umukuru w'igihugu mu 2000, atanga igitekerezo cy'umushinga nkomoko w'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside revolisiyo yo mu 1959 ishobora kuba yaremeje mu rwego rw'ingengabitekerezo. Icyo gitekerezo cyibanda ku kubaho kw'ibikorwa bya jenoside bya kera kandi bihora bihemberwa mu karere, kimwe n'ukubaho

[521] "Ariko iryo shwanyagurika si ryo ryateje jenoside…Jenoside yatangiye mu myaka ya 1960. Ni ngombwa kuyishakira mu ngengabitekerezo yayo, ibyo bintu bitariho kuva kera noneho, mu 1994, bigera ku ntera yabyo yo hejuru. Ni ibintu byamaze igihe kirekire… (ikiganiro na Paul Kagame, *Le Soir*, 6 Mutarama 2006).

kw'ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside[522]. Ibyo ari byo byose, n'ubwo icyo gitekerezo gihuriweho n'injijuke nshya ziri ku butegetsi, igitekerezo cy'ingengabitekerezo karemano y'injijuke zo ku ngoma zabanje ntigihagije mu gutanga ibisobanuro ku mitekerereze yo mu rwego rwa poritiki mpuzamubano n'ubutegetsi yagushije kuri jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa[523].

Koko rero, bigaragara ko bikomeye cyane kwerekana, utitaye ku bivuye mu ibogama no ku byaketswe nyuma, ukuri ku "bugambanyi" bwa jenoside bumaze igihe, kuvuga igihe bwabereye no kugaragaza neza ababugizemo uruhare n'itegurwa ryabwo rifatika, ibyo kubera impamvu ebyiri.

Iya mbere ishingiye ku kuntu hatabayeho ubugambanyi bwa leta nk'uko hatanabayeho ingoma yiyemeje gushyira jenoside muri poritiki yayo y'iterambere[524]: ntibyabayeho haba mu 1990 ubwo yafungaga nyuma y'igitero cy'Inkotanyi (FPR) ibihumbi by'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi b'Abatutsi n'Abahutu, haba hagati ya 1990 na Mata 1994, haba mu ntambara cyangwa se jenoside nyirizina itangira. Isesengura ry'abahanga b'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) rishimangira iyo ngingo bisobanutse:

> "7.4. […] Nta muntu ushobora guhamya ko ukwigaragaza kutabarika kw'ibitekerezo birwanya Abatutsi muri iyo myaka byari mu mugambi munini w'ubugome. Turakeka ko, dukurikije ibimenyetso ntangamugabo, bishoboka cyane ko igitekerezo cyavutse buhoro buhoro ahagana 1990 kandi ko cyongereye umurego kikanihutirwa mu 1994. […]
>
> 7.6. Kuba guverinoma y'uRwanda yaramaganye bikomeye igitero nta cyo

[522] kubaho, nk'uko twabikomojeho mu ntangiriro, si umwihariko w'uRwanda, kandi intagondwa z'Abahutu ntizari zibyihariye.

[523] Reba umugereka wa 5 (OUA, *Raporo y'impuguke kuri jenoside yo muRwanda, op. cit.,* umutwe wa 7 werekeye "itegurwa rya jenoside" rikekwa, p.56-64).

[524] Cyangwa, nk'uko byavuganywe ubugome, nk'ingoma "yo mu bwoko bw'abanazi", nk'uko abayobozi benshi bariho ubu babyemeza.

ubwabyo bihamya ku bitekerzo bya jenoside; nta guverinoma n'imwe yari gukora ibitandukanye n'ibyo. […]

14.3. […] Umuntu yavuga ndetse ko, mu masaha ya mbere yakurikiye impanuka, umugambi wa mbere w'intagondwa wari uwo mu rwego rwa kudeta ikorewe guverinoma y'ubwiyunge, ukaba utari uwo mu rwego rwa jenoside[525].”

Ibo jenerali Roméo Dallaire abivuga mu buryo bumeze kimwe:

“N'ibyo twashoboye kubona, amaherezo, ni uko icyo twari duhanganye na cyo ubundi kitari ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko, ariko kandi bari baciye umutwe filizofiya yose, ni ukuvuga urwego rwose rw'ubuyobozi, ari rwo Abahutu bacisha make. Nanone muri rusange, ni byo bintu twagaragaje; byari bimeze nk'aho bagombaga kwikuraho urwego rwose rw'ubuyobozi rucisha make, kandi igitutu twokejwe…amakuru twabonye, wabonaga basa n'abageze ku ntego zabo[526].”

Mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, koko guverinoma yari iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe wakomokaga mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi kandi wari ushyigikiwe n'abaminisitiri benshi bazwiho gucisha make; ingabo, etamajoro yazo n'Ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo ntibyari byarinjiwemo n'ubwoko bw'ibitekerezo bya jenoside[527]. Nanone, ubuyobozi bw'intara bwari “bwarasaranganyijwe” mu mashyaka anyuranye, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura n'amakomini yarimo Abatutsi benshi; ndetse imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba nta hantu na hamwe yagaragazaga imbaraga

[525] Ibid.

[526] Ibyatangajwe na Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 20 Mutarama 2004, p. 52.

[527] Ibyago bitabarika Bagosora yagize mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 7 n'ishyuhaguzwa yakoresheje mu gukurura guverinoma “ye” mu ntambara birabyerekana ku buryo busobanutse. Iyo Bagosora n'abasirikare bari bamushyigikiye baza kuba “biteguye” kandi bafite ingufu, ntibari gupfa kwemera kugirana imishyikirano n'Ubuyobozi Bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu…ku ishyirwaho rya Gatsinzi ku buyobozi bwa etamajoro, cyangwa kwivuna basyiraho guverinoma y'abasivili. Bari gushyiraho ako kanya Komite y'abasirikare batagishije inama z'ubusa. Nanone, umukino w' “abasivili” wabaye ngombwa kubera ko Bagosora atashoboye kwigarurira ingabo.

zihagije zo guhindura “ibintu” no gushyiraho amategeko yayo ahantu hari hatuye abaturage yahigaga. Uwo mwuka wa poritiki waragaragaraga ku buryo ahubwo abayobozi bari bahanganye gusa, mu gihe cy’imyaka ine, n’intambara yayoborerwaga inyuma y’igihugu kandi igatizwa umurindi n’ibikorwa by’iterabwoba mu baturage n’iyicwa ry’abanyacyubahiro b’abanyaporitiki, muri byo ibyari biteye ubwoba kurusha ibindi bikaba byarakorwaga n’Inkotanyi (FPR). Cyane cyane, abayobozi bagombaga kwita ku bakuwe mu byabo barenga miliyoni bari barahunze n’ubwicanyi bwibasira abaturage b’Abahutu mu makomini yari yarafashwe n’inyeshyamba z’Abatutsi.

Impamvu ya kabiri iroroshye kandi inateye ubwoba: ubwicanyi bwo mu ruvunge bwari bworoshye kandi ntibyari ngombwa kubukorera itegura rirambuye kabone nubwo ubuyobozi bw’intara bwakanguwe bukanetegekwa kwisuganya kugira ngo bushyire mu bikorwa amabwiriza adasanzwe. Ibyo amaherezo Umuryango mpuzamahanga waje kwita “ibikorwa bya jenoside”, nyuma y’ibyumweru byinshi by’ubwicanyi[528], byarangizaga ahanini ikibazo cy’inzego.

Isesengura nk’iryo ryakozwe ku buryo busobanutse n’abakoze raporo y’Umuryango w’Ubumwe bw’Afurika (OUA):

> “7.12. Ibintu, mu yandi magambo, byari bisobanutse neza. Ikitari gisobanutse, ni ukumenya neza aho abatangije ubugambanyi bari biteguye kugera. Ku babyitegereje benshi cyane, nta gitangaza ko ubwicanyi bwinshi bwashoboraga kubaho mu gihe hatari kuboneka uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo kubwimira (kubibuza). Ariko se ni nde wari gutekereza ko intagondwa zari gutinyuka kandi ko zari kwiroha mu gitero cya jenoside gikomeye cyane gihiga Abatutsi bose bo mu gihugu? […]

[528] NATIONS UNIES ET CONSEIL ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL, *Raporo ku miterere y’uburengazira bw’ikiremwa muntu muRwanda,* yatanzwe na Bwana R Degni Ségui, ukozi udsanzwe warimushinzwe gukorera raporo Komisiyo y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu, ashyira mu bikorwa porogaramu ya 20 y’icyemezo 1994S-3/1 cy’iyo Komisiyo, ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, urupapauro E/CN.4/1995/7, New York, 28 Kamena 1994.

7.13. Ibyo ari byo byose igice kinini cy'ababyitegereje nticyatekerezaga ko jenoside yashoboraga kuba. Mbega, ntibashoboraga kwiyemeza kubyiyumisha[529]." Jenerali Roméo Dallaire ararondora ibintu bijyanye n'ibyo:

"Bz: Muri videwo, muravuga ko hashobora kubaho itegura ry'irimbura ry'abanyaporitiki barwanya ubutegetsi, ry'abo mwita "abicisha bugufi", ariko ko bikomeye kubasha kwiyumvisha-niba numvise neza ijambo ryanyu-, ko habayeho itegurwa ry'ibyabaye byose.

Sbz: Oya, ibyo navuze, ni uko byari bikomeye…kubona ko uburemere bw'ubwicanyi-800.000, 900.000, 500.000- bushobora kuba bwarateguwe. Ariko mu mutima wanjye, kwari ukuva ku bihumbi 50-nk'uko byabonekaga kenshi i Burundi-ku bihumbi 100, 150, yego, bicaga, ko abantu bagize uruhare muri ubwo bwicanyi, ko Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba yari irimo, kandi ko byakomerezaga hamwe n'amatsinda yo kwirwanaho yishe benshi; ibyo ku bwanjye, ni byo, byarakorwaga. Ariko se umugambi wari uriho cyangwa, ese byari biteguwe byanze bikunze ko bari kwica kandi ko batekerezaga kwica miliyoni 1,5 y'Abatutsi cyangwa miliyoni 1 y'Abatutsi cyangwa ibihumbi 8oo cyangwa 500? Ku bwanjye agace nabonaga muri iyo ntera,kwari ukurimbura (Holocauste), ubundi, sinashoboraga kumva ko byashoboraga kubaho kandi ko nabyiboneye (nabihagazeho, nabibereye umugabo).

Bz: Rero, niba mbyumva neza- biraba n'ikibazo cyanjye cya kabiri: igitekerezo cyanyu cyangwa aho muhagaze hari icyo byahindutseho hagati ya 1994 n'ubungubu?

Sbz: Oya, kubera ko ubungubu, ndacyakeka ko intera y'ibihumbi 800, kuri jye, ntibyashobokaga kwemera ko umuntu ashaka, by'umwihariko, kujya kwica

[529] OUA, *Raporo y'impuguke kuri jenoside yo muRwanda, op. cit.*. Iyo mvugo isa n'iy'abakoze raporo ya Misiyoy'abadepite b'Abafaransa ihina ibyavuzwe n'abantu bumviswe: "Kuba ryaratangajwe inshuro zitabarika kuva mu 1990, ishoboka rya jenoside ryaragaragaraga mu ntangiriro za 1994 ariko utarihamya" (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise, op. cit.,, Tom. I p. 281).

> abantiu ibihumbi 800 cyangwa abantu 500. Ariko …, nk'uko bivugwa mu bisobanuro, bisaba abantu ngo iyicwa ryitwe ubwicanyi kugera kuri janoside, si ngombwa umubare. Bityo rero, ku bwanjye, iyo ntera, yaba yarashakwaga kandi yaratangiwe uburenganzira, mu gihe cy'amezi, y'uko abantu ibihumbi 800 bicwa, icyo gihe ndakeka ko ku rwego rwo gutegura no kuyobora, bindenze[530]."

Ubwicanyi n'umwuka urwanya abaturage b'Abatutsti byari mu buryo bwo gukora butitabwagaho mu duce tumwe na tumwe two ku ruhande rwa perezida kuva nibura mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1991(kandi nta n'interahamwe zabagaho). Mu Kwakira 1993, nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida w'Umuhutu Melchior Ndadaye muturanyi uBurundi rikozwe n'abasirikare b'Abatutsi, ibihumbi by'Abatutsi bishwe bazira "umujinya wa rubanda" rw'Abahutu, byakurikiwe n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu bapfuye bazira iterabwoba ry'abasirikare, byahaga bagenzi babo b'Abanyarwanda igitekerezo cy'intera (amacumi menshi y'ibihumbi) ubwicanyi bwashoboraga kugeraho, nyamara bwahoshejwe mu minsi mike, ubwo abanyamatiku biyemezaga gukurura imyuka y'ubwicanyi.

Abanyaporitiki bakuru b'Abarundi bayoboye ubwicanyi bw'abaturage b'Abatutsi kugira ngo bahorere iyicwa rya perezida wa mbere w'Umurundi wari utowe binyuze muri demukarasi bari bakabije kuba bake kandi ntibari bafite, mbere y'icyo gikorwa, ububasha na buke bw'umwihariko ku baturage bari, mu mpera z'inzibacyuho y'intangarugero, bamaze gukoresha mu mutuzo n'ubushake, uburenganzira bwabo ku nshuro ya mbere kuva babonye ubwigenge. Ibintu ntibyari bitandukanye cyane n'ibyo muRwanda muri Mata 1994, umuntu akoze ibarura ry'abatangije ubwicanyi na jenoside: abantu bagera kuri mirongo itatu bafite umwirondoro n'amazina (*reba umutwe wa 12*) byenda guhura n'ibyagaragajwe n'ishyirahamwe rirengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu HRW mu mwaka wa 1999 (*reba umugereka wa 94*).

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[530] Iyumvwa rya jenerali Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,*TPIR, 23 Mutarama 2004, p. 66-67.

Ariko imyaka ine y'intambara yari yabigishije byinshi baba inararibonye. Bari mbere na mbere barabonye ko kumenya neza kwabo urwego rwa poritiki y'igihugu n'irambirana ry'intambara, ni ukuvuga igihe, byabafashaga, mu gihe Inkotanyi (FPR) zari zihangayikishijwe no kugaragaza ku rugamba intege zazo nyinshi za gisirikare. Ubwo ku nshuro ya gatatu, zari zarenze ku bikorwa bya poritiki byari byarahagaze, zigaba ibitero bya gisirikare[531], byashoboraga, iyo umuryango mpuzamahanga utahagoboka byari kuzigeza i Kigali. Kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994, nyuma y'itahuka ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa, Inkotanyi zari zasubiyemo iterabwoba ryazo ryo kuvana "umugome" mu nzira mu "gihe cy'amasaha 48", kandi Minuar ntiyari kwiha kuzambura intsinzi yazo ku rugamba. Nanome, umuntu agarutse ku iyica n'umuwuka wo mu myaka ya 1991 na 1992, abanyaporitiki n'abawofisiye b'intagondwa bari baramaze kubona imyanya myinshi yo kumenyereza "ubuhanga bwabo bwo kwica" ntibahanwe, n'ubwo byasakuzwaga.

Bahoraga bavuga ko Inkotanyi zitashakaga amahoro kandi ko zari kugerageza gufata ubutegetst bwose igihe cyose umwanya wari kuboneka. Iyicwa rya Yuvenari Habyarimana ryagaragaje icyo gikorwa rinabazamura ku rwego rwa mbere rw'abantu barengeraga badasubira inyuma "ibyagezweho na revolisiyo yo mu mwaka wa1959". Berekaniye rero icyarimwe ubushake buhagije bwo kugerageza ubwabo kwigarurira ubutegtsi no kuryoza Inkotanyi (FPR) intsinzi zari zatangaje. Nta muntu n'umwe washatse kwivanga cyangwa gushyikirana muri iyo ntambara yagaragaraga ko ari rurangiza, hanyuma imyiryane mu banyarwanda imara amezi atatu.

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside n'abarihanze

Nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana ryakurikiwe n'iminsi itandatu y'amayeri ya poritiki yuje ubugome, ni bwo ako gaco k'intagondwa kashoboye gushyiraho ku ngufu umugambi wa jenoside witiriwe uwo kwirwanaho, no kuwugira, ku rundi ruhande, poritiki yemewe ya leta yari yaraterateranyirijwe muri Guverinoma

[531] Ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991 mu Ruhengeri, ku itariki ya 5 Kamena muri perefegitura ya Byumba ariko cyane cyane ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare mu bitero byazo bikaze mu maperefegituraya Byumba na Ruhengeri.

y'inzibacyuho.

Ubwicanyi na jenoside rero, ku buryo busobanutse neza, ni igikorwa cy'ako gaco ka poritiki na gisirikare ko mu majyaruguru gakomoka mu kazu ka perezida, kabifashijwemo n'imitwe kagize « imbata » y'ingabo (Abarinda perezida, igipolisi cya gisirikare, batayo z' "Abaparakomando" n'Ipereza rya gisirikare (Recce) kimwe n'ubuyobozi bwa MRND, kigaruriye buhoro buhoro imiyoboro y'ubutegetsi kuva ku matariki ya 7 na 8 Mata ishyiraho « ubumwe » bw'Abahutu bose, bo mu Majyaruguru no mu Majyepfo. Ako gaco kaje kwiyongeramo, kubera kubyemera cyangwa kubera inyungu, abaminisitiri ba MRND bari bakuweho n'abantu b'intagondwa bo muri za komite za MRND mu maperefegitura, hamwe n'abayobozi ba « *Power* » bashyigikiraga ibitekerezo byako mu mashyaka yabo ubwayo.

Birumvikana rero, nk'uko twabibonye uko ibintu byagiye bikurikirana nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida, impamvu hataboneka, mu ishyirwa ryayo mu bikorwa, agace kamwe rukumbi gafata ibyemezo, cyangwa ku buryo bworoheje, kavuga rumwe, gafite abayobozi bemewe.

Ni na yo mpamvu imbaraga zakoraga jenoside zari "ziteguye" gusa mu Majyaruguru no mu murwa mukuru (kapitali), amaperefegitura yo Hagati no mu Majyepfo-aho abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bari biganje-aza gubyinjiramo igihe abayobozi bashya ba guverinoma bahinduraga abakozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki. Ni yo mpamvu nanone uduce twari dukenewe mu gushyira jenoside mu bikorwa (kwifashisha abicanyi babyiyemeje, igenzura ry'ingufu za leta, poropagande ihamye, ibikoresho byo kwica byabugenewe n'ibindi) byabaye ngombwa ko bishyirwaho ku bw'amahirwe. Twariyegeranyije rero buhoro buhoro, mu buryo bwo kubyiyemeza no kwitanga, buvangamo ibyemezo bifite ingamba zihamye kuva hagati y'itariki ya 10 n'iya 12 Mata n'amatungurana rimwe na rimwe atangaje, y'ingirakamaro cyangwa ateye ubwoba bitewe n'intego twabaga dukurikiranye. Ayo matungurana yabaga agamije gusaba cyangwa gutegeka izindi ngufu gushyigikira umushinga wa jenoside. Isesengura ry'ukuntu ibintu byakurikiranye n'iry'uburyo bwo gufata ibyemezo byaje kuvamo iyicwa

ry'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bikanagera ku bwicanyi busesuye ryerekana ko abantu ku giti cyabo, amatsinda y'abantu, ibikoresho n'ibikorwa bigamije kurimbura "abanzi"- ku mugaragaro kandi bamwe bashakishwa hifashishijwe amazina- no guhangana n'ubushotoranyi bw'Inkotanyi (FPR), byari byaregeranyijwe kugira ngo bikoreshwe mu iycwa n'ubwicanyi busesuye by'abashoboraga kuba ari abanzi cyangwa abakekwagaho kuba ibyitso byabo.

Gufatanya ibikorwa, kwiyunga, ariko rero n'amacakubiri cyangwa ihangana hagati y'abo bantu n' ayo matsinda y'abantu byakorwaga bari ku kazi, ni ukuvuga mu gihe iyicwa ryakorwaga, hakurikijwe ubumenyi, abahigwa, imigambi yihariye y'amatsinda anyuranye, bigatandukana ukurikije uduce tw'umugi, amakomini, amaperefegitura kubera amabwiriza yabaga yatanzwe cyangwa nyine kubera ko habaga hatakiriho gahunda n'ukudahanwa kubemerewe.

Mu minsi ya mbere, mbere y'uko iyica n'ubwicanyi busesuye byemezwa ku mugaragaro, hanyuma bukemerwa n'abayobozi bakekwagaho gushingira ku rwego rw'amategeko nibura rwemewe, imwe mu nyungu z'iyica n'inkuga mu bwicanyi hagati y'amatsinda yabikoze, yari ukwemeza inzego hagati yayo, kwigabanya uturere n'uduce two kugiramo ijambo no kugabana iminyago (inyaga, iyicarubozo, abagore). Irushanwa rero ryari rikaze ku buryo igarura ry'umutekano ryihutirwa ryashoboraga guhagarika uwo mwuka udasanzwe kandi n'urwego rw'umuhuza umwe rukumbi Ingabo zirinda perezida zari zarashyizemo amatsinda y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba b'*Interahamwe* (ku buryo busobanutse neza ayari agizwe n'abahoze ari ingabo) yagenzuraga igice kinini cy'umugi wa Kigali ntirwashoboraga kugumaho birambye mu duce dutuwe n'abaturage, aho urundi rubyiruko rw'abaturage b'inkerarugamba na rwo rwari rwarashinze ibirindiro.

Bityo, igitekerezo cya jenoside yateguranywe ubushishozi ntikijyanye n'ingamba zo gukwirwa imishwaro z'abenshi mu bayobozi b'abasivili n'abasirikare b'Abahutu bashyirwa mu basanzwe baregwa ko bayiteguye. Cyane cyane niba ibivugwa ku bugambanyi byifashisha icyaje kwitwa, ku mugaragaro cyangwa mu buryo buhishe, impamvu y'intangamugabo y'ikirenga y' "itegurwa", ari yo gutegura amarorerwa yakozwe ku ndege ya perezida, imbarutso ya jenoside, byakozwe n'intagondwa

z'abahutu kugeza ubu zitari zakurikiranwa n'ubucamanza bwo mu gihugu cyangwa bwo mu rwego mpuzamahanga, kubera ko bataramenyekana.

Nyamara rero ibyakurikiye ayo marorerwa ntibyari byigeze "bitekerezwaho mbere", nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ingorane abitirirwa ubwicanyi na jenoside bahuye na zo kugira ngo batangize hagati yabo, mu masaha ya mbere, uburyo butaziguye bwo gutumanaho buhoraho; inama itunguranye y'abagize Ubuyobozi Bukuru (bw'ingabo)- "bamenyeye amakuru kuri etamajoro"; ishyirwaho rikoreweho ry'umuyobozi mushya wa etamajoro, wabonetse ku mahirwe y'uburambe mu kazi; kwamagana igerageza ryo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu ryakorwa n'Ubuyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo; gukenera, mu gihe nta musimbura wari uhari, gutegura imibonano n'inama za hutihuti, kugira ngo hatunganywe ibikorwa by'isimbura, kumenya aho babarizwa no gushyiraho abakandida bari batekerejwe; ingorane zo kubona abayobozi b'abanyapolitki biteguye gukora, byanasobanuraga ingingimira ya bamwe mu bakandida bari bashyizwe mu bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, iyo guverinoma ubwayo abatumye ibaho b'abasirikare bashatse "gushyira muri firigo" ikimara kujyaho itari yanarahira…

Ibyiciro bitandukanye bigaragaza ndetse imyitwarire yo guta umutwe cyangwa yo gukwira imishwaro: aha umuntu yavuga amasasu yarashwe mu byerekezo byose n'abasirikare bo mu Ngabo zirinda perezida mu rugo rwa perezida i Kanombe indege ikimara guhanuka; ikusanywa ry nijoro n'ishyirwa ry'agace n'intagondwa ka guverinoma mu kigo cy' Ingabo zirinda perezida (GP), n'ihunga ryako rya hutihuti ryo ku manywa gashakisha icumbi rifite umutekano (ryabonetse kuri ambasade y'UBufaransa); perezida w'ishyaka MRND, wahamagariwe kujya mu mwanya w'Umukuru w'igihugu, akagira ubwoba ku buzima bwe noneho akanga kugira uruhare urwo ari rwo rwose muri poritiki;

Icyoba cyatashye abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku itariki ya 12 Mata, igice cyayo kimwe kigasaba kwimurirwa i Burundi n'ingabo z'Abafaransa mu gihe ikindi gice cyayabangiraga ingata cyerekeza i Gitarama giherekejwe n'abasirikare; ukwiheba kw'abaminisitiri bibagiranye bashakisha uburyo bwo kubatwara hamwe na lisansi kugira ngo bajye gushakisha bagenzi babo. Icyitegererezo cya nyuma, gitangaje, na cyo

kigomba kuvugwa. Koko rero, ihamagara ritaretsa ry'abagize umuryango wa perezida, bari batereranywe mu rugo i Kanombe, basaba guhungishwa n'ambasade y'uBufaransa, ryakurikiwe no kugenda rwihishwa k'umupfakazi wa perezida i Bangui hanyuma i Paris, ryagaragazaga ishusho mbi y' "umugore wa mbere", umunyabushishozi ufite igitinyiro, ushobora kuba yaratanze igitekerezo, cyangwa ndetse yaremeje iyicwa ry'umugabo we kugira ngo ahagarike ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imishyikirano y'Arusha, anigarurire ubutegetsi! Nanone nta shema ryagaragaye kurushaho mu isohoka ry'abandi ba nyirabayazana b'ubwicanyi, basaza b'Agata Kanziga na musaza we wo kwa mukase n'abo mu muryango, kubera ko ubwo liyetona-koloneli Grégoire de Saint-Quintin yajyaga i Kanombe kubimura ku itariki ya 11 Mata, ntibbri bagihari ahubwo bari bageze ku Gisenyi birwanyeho kugira ngo bishyire mu mutekano.

Niba itegura, uko ryaba rinonosoye kose, rihura buri gihe na kirogoya, itungurana ryo ryari ryageze mu nzego zitumvikana. Koko rero, kugira ngo umushinga wa jenoside ugire ireme, ukure kandi uhinduke urwego rwa poritiki ruteguye neza[532], abawutangije bagombye kunyura mu cyiciro cya mbere cyo gushaka ingufu zo guhanga "inkambi" nibura zenda gusa: iz' abasirikare, iz'abasivili n'abasirikare, iz'abo mu majyepfo n'abo mu majyaruguru, iz'amaperefegitura, iz'amashyaka ahanganye.

Muri urwo rwego, umuntu ashobora kuvuga ko amarorerwa yakorewe indege ya perezida ari yo yatumye ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside rishokoba, kubera ko ibintu byinshi nyuma yaho byisukiranyije vuba vuba, mu mvugo ya gihanga ya shimiya. Intagonwa z'Abahutu zakeneye icyumweru kimwe kugira ngo zishyire mu bikorwa umushinga wa jenoside kandi zihyireho inzego zakoze mu gihe cy'amezi atatu. Impaka ku marorerwa (y'indege) ahora yibanda ku kibazo kibogamye: kumenya uwayakoze byaba ari ugutunga agatoki umuntu wikoreye umutwaro w'ibintu byayakurikiye. Nyamara abashyize mu bikorwa jenoside ntibabikoze kubera ko habayeho ayo marorerwa, ahubwo (babikoze) kugira ngo barengere irokoka ryabo mu rwego rwa poritiki, ryari ribangamiwe bikabije ku mpande nyishi, mu gihe isana bari babashije

[532] Ku cyitegererezo gisesuye, reba André GUICHAOUA, *Rwanda 1994. Poritiki za jenoside i Butare, op. cit.*.

gukora binyuze mu bikorwa byo kwirinda bikaze ryashoboraga kutagira icyo rigeraho.

Niba, ku ruhande rwabo, abayobozi b'Inkotanyi (FPR), mu kwanga inzira iyo ari yo yose ya poritiki inyuze mu mishyikirano, barahaye urubuga ugushobora kubaho kwa jenoside, amarorerwa ubwayo ntashobora gufatwa nk'imbarutso ya jenoside. Jenoside ni umwanzuro w'imigambi ya poritiki, yashyizwe mu bikorwa n'amatsinda y'intagondwa z'Abahutu zabonaga ko kubera amarorerwa n'isubira byanze bikunze ry'intambara, zari zibonye umwanya wo kurangiza hakoreshejwe intwaro, ubushyamirane bafitanye n'Inkotanyi (FPR) no gukurira inzira ku murima ingufu za poritiki zari ziyishyigikiye imbere mu gihugu. Kugira uruhare muri uwo mushimga wa jenoside byerekanaga neza itandukaniro hagati y'impande zanganaga urunuka kandi byagombaga kunga "rubanda nyamwinshi rw'Abahutu" ku ruhande rw'abari bakoze iryo hitamo rikabije kandi ritagiraga igaruriro. Ihitamo ryagombaga aamherezo kubageza ku gutsindwa, kubera ko ritari rikijyanye n'ingorane n'imbibi byarangaga umuryango nyarwanda mbere y'imyaka ya 1990.

Mu byabaye kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata nimugoroba, umuntu yabonamo akaniga umugambi w'ubugizi bwa nabi washyizwe mu bikorwa, aho ibyemezo, ibyakorwaga (birimo n'iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro b' abanyaporitiki) byaje kongerera intege inzira zikaze zari zashatswe n'intagondwa nkuru mu gihe cy' "intambara rurangiza".

Duhereye aho, itandukaniro rigaragara rishobora gukorwa hagati y'iyica n'ubwicanyi busesuye bifitanye isano na jenoside byakozwe kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata, n'ibyakurikiye itangira ry'imirimo nyaryo rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho nyuma y'itariki ya 9 Mata. Muri iyo minsi ya mbere, ibikorwa by'ubugome by'abantu ku giti cyabo cyangwa muri rusange byakorwaga i Kigali no mu maperefegitura menshi y'igihugu byaterwaga n'ukwihorera kwakorewe inzirakarengane, ku bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byo mu ntambara n'ibyo kwibasira ikiremwa muntu byajyanaga n'ingamba zo gusana urwego rwa poritiki z'abantu b'intagondwa, baboneye akanya ku cyuho mu butegetsi kugira ngo bihe ububasha bwo gukora ihangagana ryari ryitezwe hagati yabo n'Inkotanyi (FPR).

Icyo kintu kiranga iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro n'ubwicanyi butavangura bw'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi n'Abatutsi kigaragarira bikomeye mu buhamya:

"Bz: Jenerali [Dallaire], mwadusobanuriye ko mwabonye amakuru yerekeye ukuntu abarinda perezida basuraga uduce tw'umugi bitwaje amalisiti. Ese mushobora kutugaragariza neza aho mwakuye(inkomoko ya) amakuru kuri iyo ngingo?

Sbz: Indorerezi zanjye, zari mu mugi, hamwe n'abasirikare bo muri Ghana, bari mu mwanya w'imbere, no mu mugi, hanyuma ndashaka kuvuga ko hari ahantu henshi, kandi niba ntibeshye, icyicaro cyanjye gikuru cy'indorerezi, kitari kure cyane y'icumbi ryanjye, abantu bavugaga ko, muri ako gace-kubera ko hari nyine urujya n'uruza rw'imodoka zanjye-ko bitegereje, ko babonye abantu binjira mu nzu kandi ko bumvise urusaku rw'amasasu, n'induru. Nyuma y'ibyo, abo bantu barasohotsehanyuma bajya ku nzugi ebyiri, eshatu, ibinyu nk'ibyo, barataha, hanyuma ibyo ibintu byarasubiriye.

Bz: Ni byo. Niba numvise neza, ni ibikorwa bivugwa mu mugi wa Kigali; ibyo ni byo?

Sbz: Yego, yego, yego.

Bz: Ni byo, OK. Ni ibikorwa byaba byaratangiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata?

Sbz: Karekare mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7. Niba hari ibyabaye nijoro, nt wa…ingabo zanjye ntizari zihari.

Bz: Ese byaba bihuye na…n'iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro cyangwa ni abandi bantu? Ndavuga…

Sbz: Isesengura ryakorwaga icyo gihe nyine, byaragaraga ko bari abantu bo mu buyobozi kandi basaga n'abari ku ruhande, mu bantu twashoye kumenya, ku ruhande rw'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi cyangwa abacisha make.

Bz: Ni byo. Ese mwakwemeranya najye mukuvuga ko bitari ubwicanyi rusange, ahubwo ubwicanyi cyangwa iyica ryari rifite abo rigenewe? Ni ibyo mushaka kudusobanurira?

Sbz; Yego. Izo raporo zerekanaga ubwicanyi, ni ukvuga iyicwa rifite abo rigenewe. Ndetese, njye, nagaragaje muri raporo yanjye ko, n'ubwo hariho bariyeri kandi… hakaba n' abantu bari biciwe kuri bariyeri, icyo gihe, icyabonekaga, ni icibwa ry'umutwe ryuzuye ry'ubuyobozi bwo ku ruhande rucisha make, Abahtu n'Abatutsi, bose.

Bz: Ni byiza cyane. Bityo rero, nta bwo ari, tuvuge, ubwicanyi ku mabariyeri, nk'uko tuzabibona nyuma, ku mpamvu z'ubwoko?

Sbz: Oh! Oya, oya. Ijambo "ubwoko" rivuye mu cyicaro cyanjye gikuru, ryaje hashize iminsi mike[533]."

"Ubuhamya [bwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh]: N'ubwo Komite y'ibihe bikomeye ya gisirikare yatangaga icyizere cyo kwemera isezerano ry'amahoro, n'igenzura ry'ingabo zabo, Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR), abajandarume n'Ingabo zirinda perezida ntibigeze basubira mu bigo byabo. Wenda ntibarimo kuyobora ibikorwa by'iterabwoba, ariko kandi barabirebera, barabyitereza ntibagire icyemezo bafata cyo kugarura umutekano. *Interhamwe* n'abandi bantu benshi bakomeje ibikorwa byabo by'imvururu zishingiye ku moko kandi muri rusange. […]

N'ubwo yizeza gucubya ingabo zayo, Komite y'ibihe bikomeye ya gisirikare, cyangwa ntisha kugenzura igice kinini cy'ingabo zayo, cyangwa se na yo yivanze muri ibyo bikorwa by'iterabwoba[534]."

Nyuma y'iminsi itatu y'igihirahiro mu rwego rwa poritiki, no kubera iyimurirwa rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Gitarama n' igenzurwzryayo rya hafi ryakorwaga n'abayobozi b'amashyaka, abayigize bemeye ku mugaragaro, batunganya kandi basakaza

[533] Ibyatangajwe na jenerali Roméo DALLAIRE, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 23 Mata 2004, p. 33.

[534] Terefone ya Jacques -Roger BOOH-BOOH ahamagara ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994 ba bwana Annan (umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije ushinzwe ibikorwa byo kurinda amahoro), Goulding (umunyamabanga mukuru

ikorwa ry'ubwicanyi bukabije, bwaje nyuma kwitwa n'ubucamanza ibikorwa bya jenoside.

Koko rero, ibyavugwaga mbere ntibyari bigihagije mu kwita ubwo bugizi bwa nabi: ntibyari bikiri imvururu n'ubwicanyi byateguwe n'amatsinda y'intagondwa cyangwa ubuyobozi bwishyizeho ku mpamvu zo kwihorera cyangwa kwihimura kugira ngo bugenzure ubutegetsi, ahubwo yari poritiki ifite icyo igamije, yizwe neza kandi abaturage bose bagombaga umuntu ku giti cye kugiramo uruhare, y'irimbura ry'itsinda rimwe ry'ubwoko. Kuva ku nitariki ya 12 Mata kugeza hagati muri Nyakanga, mu rwego rwa "poritiki ya rubanda" yakusanyaga umutungo wose wa leta, iyobowe kandi igenzurwa na guverinoma, ababikoraga bagombaga buri munsi, aho bakoreraga kandi bakurikije umurimo bashinzwe, kuvugurura imyifatanyirize yabo n'iyo poritiki n'ibikorwa biyiha intege, bituma ubungubu umuntu nyabasha gucishiriza imyitwarire ya bamwe muri bo mu gihe byakorwaga.

Ikara ry'umwuka mubi wa poritiki no mu mibanire y'abantu, akagambane k'abayobozi, ikusanya n'itegura ry'abarwanyi mu nzego za gisirikare byoroshyaga ukwiroha mu ntambara, mu bwivcanyi no muri jenoside. Ariko, uretse wenda ko amateka yaba ari ntarengwa, ni ngombwa kwibanda ku kuntu ugutinda, ubukana n'imigendekere y'intambara yari yubuye bitari byarateganyijwe mbere. Uko iminsi n'ibyumweru byagiye bihita, ibitekerezo ku ntambara ya rurangiza byashoboye kuba birebire kubera ko abari babifitemo uruhare banze indi nzira iyo ari yo yose, kandi ibura ry'abantu n'ibintu byinjijwemo babonaga ridakanganye witegereje intego zari zigamijwe, kandi n' amakosa mu kugereranya ingufu zihanganye yabayeho.

Kwemeza ko ishwiragira ry'inzego mpuzamahanga ryatumye kwittza intambara bidashoboka ni ukuri. Gushyikira ko ukutivanga mu rwego rwa poritiki cyangwa gufunga amaso kw'abanyamahanga byarebaga byaba byaroroheje bku mugaragaro ubwicanyi na jenoside bifite ireme, ariko ubukana bw'amakimbirane, gushaka guhangana kugeza ku munota wa nyuma byakomotse ku byemezo byafashwe buri munsi n'abantu

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wungirije ushinzwe ibya poritiki) na Hansen (umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije ushinzwe ubutabazi), Umuryango w'Abibumbye, New York, iyibukiro MIR 727, ishakiro TPIR: L0004279-4282.

nyirizina, bo mu mpande zombi, bari bashinzwe kuyobora intambara n'ubutegetsi bw'abantu.

Kwitegereza ibikorwa byakozwe muri ibyo byumweru ni byo byatuma uruhare rwabo bose rumenyekana, hatitaweho kongera gutondekanya uko byagenze.

Ni yo mpamvu atari byo kandi ari ugukabya, kugereka muri rusange umutwaro w'umushinga w'ubugizi bwa nabi ku nzego zose, amashyaka, amashyirahamwe n'amatsinda, akenshi bifatirwa hamwe bikitwa "urwego rwa jenoside" cyangwa "ishyirahamwe ry'ibikowa by'ubwicanyi". Uretse inzego zigizwe n'abantu bake bigishaga ku mugaragaro umugambi mubi wo kwikiza ubwoko n'abantu ku giti cyabo, bihishe cyangwa mu buryo butuje, bayoboraga iyo "ntambara mu yindi", ni ngombwa gutondekanya inzira buri wese yanyuzemo n'imigenzereze rusange byagushije inzego n'abayobozi bazo mu mvururu, na nyuma yaho mu gushyira mu bikorwa poritiki ya kirimbuzi.

12

Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu ndiri y'ingoma

Imaze kwimurirwa [mu kigo cy'amahugurwa]i Muranbi, igihe cyayo cyo guhugurwa cyarangiriye aho. Yahise isabwa kurwana "intambara ya nyuma". Bafatanyije n'abakuru bose b'amashyaka, na bo bari bageze i Murambi, abaminisitiri bahereye ko bashyashyana. Abanyaporitiki b'inararibonye bafashe iya mbere inama ya mbere ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho iterana nyuma gato yo kugera mu kigo cy'amahugurwa ku itariki ya 12 Mata aho abaminisitiri bashoboraga gucumbika. Ku buryo bufite icyo buhishura, iyo nama yiswe "icyiciro cy'akazi" cyangwa "Inama y'abaminisitiri n'amashyaka ya poritiki".

Umurongo wa mbere w'inyandiko y'inama yakozwe na minisitiri Nyiramasuhuko

ugizwe n'urutonde rw'ibyari byimirijwe imbere: "*Intambara, ubushake, ubushobozi, ubwitonzi*[535]*."*

Intero yari ibonetse. Kure bihagije y'ahaberaga imirwano, ubwoba bwari bushize,

igihe cyo gufata ibyemezo cyari kigeze. Ingingo zabonetse mu nyandiko mvugo zose z'inama za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (CG) kugeza ku ishwiragira ryayo rya nyuma zagiraga ziti: kumvisha abantu imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo, ibikoresho n'inkunga

[535] Inama ya Guverinoma (CG) yo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ishakiro K0045916 (*reba umugereka wa 88*).

by'intambara, umutekano kuva ubwo witwaga 'icungwa ry'intambara n'ukwirwanaho", gutahura abacengezi, abagambanyi n'*ibyitso.* Hatangiye nanone urutonde rw'ingendo mu mahanga, zo kugura intwaro[536]. Iyo nama ya mbere ya Guverinom n'amashyaka yabaye intangarugero, kubera ko yatangije ku mugaragaro uburyo bwo gukora bwiganje mu mezi atatu yakurikiyeho. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yakoreraga hamwe n' "amashyaka" bisigasiwe na MRND n'abagabo batatu bayiyoboraga. Urwo ruhare rwerekanwaga neza n'imvugo shusho inegurana iteye itya mu kinyarwanda: "*Bakora kigare*" cyangwa "*Bakora kigorofani",* mu kugenekereza byaba "Bakora nk'igare", "nk'ingorofani". Iyo mvugo-shusho sobanura abantu b'ibikoresho, bayoborwa n'abandi, babaheka cyangwa bakabashyigikira na bo ubwabo batazi iyo bajya.

"Inshingano nyayo" ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho noneho yemewe

Minisitiri w'intebe, niba umuntu yakwemera amagambo yavuze nyuma, yafashe

icyo gihe icyemezo cyose cy' "inshingano nyayo"yagombaga kurangiza. Guverinoma yari ishinzwe gutunganya ubwicanyi kandi Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba y'*Interahamwe* yari ukuboko kwayo gufite intwaro. Ikurikirana n'igenzura rya politki yayo ryakomeje gukorwa n'agace k'abayobozi kakuru b'ingabo n'abayobozi ba MRND berekezaga ibintu aho bashaka kuva perezida Habyarimana apfuye. Abo ubwabo ni bo batanze ubugira kabiri uburenganzira bwo kubura ubwicanyi kun itariki ya 12 Mata: Augustin Bzimana, minisitiri w'Ingabo, n'abandi banyaporitiki bafite ijambo babikoze babinyujije mu matangazo ahita kuri radiyo yahamagariraga ubumwe bw'Abahutu: nk'uko babyivugira, byari ngombwa kureka inyungu za bamwe kugira ngo barwanye umwanzi rusange, Umututsi; Nzirorera, umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu wa MRND yabikoze "abizi", ariko Ngirumpatse, perezida wa MRND yabikoze "atabizi". Hgati ya Nzirorera na visiperezida (perezida wungirije) Karemera, bakoranaga umurimo

[536] Itumizwa rya mbere ryihutirwa ryari ryamaze gukorwa na guverinoma muri sosiyete iri mu Bwongereza kuva ku itariki ya 10 Mata (Myl/Tec, ishakiro TPIR K005-7496-K005-7534, *reba umugereka wa 95*).

wabo ubuhanga n'ubwitange batitaye ku mitekereze yabo, na Ngirunpatse, wagaragazaga kudafata icyemezo biboneka, icyo gihe ubufatanye bwari bwose ku byerekeye imigambi, ibyabatandukanyaga gusa bikaba umururumba n'imibare bya poritiki bya buri wese.

Ishyirwa rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Murambi, hafi y'i Gitarama, mu gihugu rwagati, ntiryapfuye kwikora. Ryashoboraga gufatwa nk'urwiyenzo rw'abayobozi bashya kandi ryagaragazaga neza ibyihutirwaga icyo gihe. Ubwicanyi bwari butaratangira mu maperefegitura y'Amajyepfo kandi perefe wa Gitarama ntiyari yatinye kuburwanya ku munsi ubanza, ubwo yari yahamagajwe mu Nama ya guverinoma. Yari na perefegitura MRND itari yemerewe gucumbikamo kuva ubuyobozi bw'amakomini yose bweguriwe abatowe bo muri MDR mu 1993, nta n'umuyobozi n'umwe wo muri MRND watinyukaga kuhaca n'imodoka ajya muri perefegitura ya Kibuye. Nanone urubyiruko rwa MDR ntirwifuzaga kwegurira *Interahamwe* za MRND ubuyobozi bwarwo. Kuroha Gitarama mu ntambara, ni byo bnyari umurimo wa mbere wagombaga kwitabwaho na Jean Kambanda, Minisitiri w'intebe wa MDR "*Power"*. Mu gihe atari kuba yashyizeho "ubumwe bw'Abahutu" muri perefegitura yari yibarutse MDR kandi yanatangiriyemo "Revolisiyo sosiyali" yo mu 1959, byari kumugoira byanze bikunze guhangana na Butare, perefegitura ye ubwayo. Impamvu zari nyinshi: MDR yarimo abantu bake kandi idafite ingufu mu makomini y'igiturage; iyicwa ry'Agata Uwilingiyimana ryari ryababaje cyane abantu, kandi na perefe, Umututsi wo mu ishyaka PL, yari yanze ku bwende kujya mu nama ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho umunsi ubanza, amenyesha Minisitiri w'intebe ko atemraga ubutegetsi bwe kimwe m'ubwa guverinoma yayoboraga.

Ibintu byari bikomeye, kubera ko inzira y'intambara ku *Batabazi* ntiyashakirwaga i Kigali, ahubwo imbere mu gihugu mu "bwoko nyamwishi". Kugira imizi kwa leta yisannye byasabaga guterateranya imizi yayo muri rubanda nko mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi (ishyaka ry'igihugu) no gusubizaho imikorere n'ubumenyi ngiro bwari buzwi gusa na MRND, ifatanyije n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu kuva mu rwego rw'igihugu rwo hejuru kugeza ku rwego rwa serire (akagari), ku misozi yose y'igihugu.

Iyo ntego igaragarira mu cyfuzo, cyatanzwe mu ikubitiro n'abaminisitiri ba

MRND, cyo gusubizaho itangwa ry'imisanzu, kugeza ku mwaduko kw'amashyaka menshi, yahabwaga abayobozi ba za komite z'amaserire mu gihugu hose (*reba umugereka wa 96*). Gitangijwe mu nama ya kabiri y'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 Mata, icyo kibazo, cyari ingirakamaro mu kugumishaho umurego w'intambara w'abakangurambaga bo mu rwego rwa politki begereye abaturage, cyibanzweho mu nama yo ku itariki ya 14 Mata i Gitarama:

> Mbere na mbere *guhagurutsa* amaserire ku mpamvu zo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage.
>
> Icyemezo
>
> a- Amashyaka yose, kugarura amahoro, kujyana abaturage mu bikorwa byo *kurwanya umwanzi*
>
> Itangazo ryagenewe abagize amaserire *kuko badufasha kurwana intambara ko guverinoma yemera ko ari umwenda*[537]*."*

N'ubwo minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu atari ahari, akaba ataranagarutse ava i Dar-es-Salaam aho yari yaherekeje Umukuru w'igihugu, isubizwaho ry'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, igikoresho cyabugenewe mu ikusanya ry'abaturage, ryari mu nzira nziza. Nyuma yo kwigarura, gucengerwamo n'ibintu no gusobanukirwa ko nta rwitwazo rwari kubaho, abagize guverinoma bari nyine basigasiwe n'abakuru b'amashyaka, ku buryo butumvikana, babaye aba mbere mu kwitegura intambara. Batanze abasirikare bari bakirimo uduce, bashyize ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'inama yabo yambere yabereye i Gitarama "ibikorwa Rusatira-Gatsinzi na bagenzi babo bitwa "abacisha make" " (*Reba umugereka wa 97, itariki ya 12 Mata),* hamwe n'ububasha bwo guha Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) kugira ngo zishyikirane n'Inkotanyi (FPR).

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[537] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 14 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, Ishakiro KOO45915 (*Reba imigereka ya 88 na 97, Itariki ya 14 Mata*).

Ubuhirimbanyi bukataje

Ariko, mbere yo gukomeza gusesengura ibikorwa nyirizina bya Guverinoma Ariko, mbere yo gukomeza gusesengura ibikorwa nyirizina bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ibisobanuro rusange bike ku mirimo yayo n'imikorere yayo biratuyobora gahoro. Imirimo ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari myinshi, irimo nibura inama za guverinoma 37 mu minsi ijana yabayeho (*Reba igishushanyo cya 1*), mu kigereranyo nibura inama imwe buri minsi itatu, utabariyemo ibangikana rihoraho ry'impaka zagibwaga mu nama zidasanzwe zaterwaga no gushaka ubwumvikane hagati y'amashyaka. Ibihe by'imirimo myinshi byiganjemo ibice bibiri. Igice cya mbere gihura n'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma n'iyubuka ry'intambara, nk'uko byemezwa n'abari babifitemo uruhare:

> "Nagiye mu nama kuva bigitangira, ni ukuvuga kuva ku irahira ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, no ku itariki ya 10, ni ukuvuga bukeye bwaho; no ku itarikiya 11, habaye inama; hanyuma ku itariki ya 12, twarahavuye, tujya kuba i Gitarama; n'igihe twari I Gitarama inama z'Inama (ya guverinoma) zakomeje kubaho hafi ya buri munsi. Ndibuka ko twagize inama ndetse ku itariki ya 14, iya 15, iya 16, inama ikomeye twakoze ku itariki ya 16, n'iya 17, hari n'indi nama, kugeza ku mpera za Mata , habaga…habaga inama kenshi[538] ."

Igice cya kabiri kiri hagati y'itsindwa rya nyuma no guhungira muri Zayire.

Hagati y'ibyo bice byombi, hakozwe inama za buri cyumweru, mbere (zabaga) ku wa kane hanyuma ku wa gatanu, n'izindi nama z'inyongera, hamwe n'ihuriro ry'iminsi itatu mu mpera za Mata .

Amatariki y'inama afite ibimenyetso byuzuye ni yo yonyine yavuzwe, ni ukuvuga ku buryo bwumvikana igihe cyose hashoboye kuboneka ahanditse amazina "Inama y'abaminisitiri" cyangwa "Inama ya guverinoma" mu nyandiko na ajenda z'abaminisitiri,

[538] Ubuhamya bwa Emmanuel NDINDABAHIZI, minisitiri w'Ubukungu, TPIR, itariki ya 28 Ugushyingo 2003, p. 1.

ari zo nkomoko y'amakuru ku mirimo ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (*Reba umugereka wa 97*). Nanone hitawe ku "nama zaguye" (ku baperefe, abakuru b'amashyaka, abadepite, abayobozi b'ingabo) n' "inama zo mu muhezo".

"Inama zo mu muhezo" zabangikanaga n'izindi kugira ngo hanonosorwe ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa cyangwa hakemurwe ibibazo by'ingutu byabaga bitarabonerwa umuti. Akenshi zarebaga ibibazo bwite by'umuntu uyu n'uyu mu bagize guverinoma cyangwa se umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu, ibikorwa byo gusohora umutungo, n'akenshi, ibintu bya gisirikare byihutirwa. Aha na ho ariko, n'iyo "inama zidasanzwe", zabaga zashyizwe muri jenda, inama nyinshi "zihuza minisiteri" zakorwaga mu "matsinda mato", mbere gato cyangwa nyuma y'Inama za guverinoma, bitewe n'ingingo zigwa cyangwa zitegurwa, hagize abashyitsi banyura i Murambi, ariko cyane cyane mu gihe cy'imirimo myinshi ya guverinoma, ubwo guverinoma yateranaga hafi buri munsi. Urebye abaminisitiri bari babifitemo uruhare cyangwa bireba ni bo bonyine bazijyagamo, kandi zabaga zizwe n'abantu bake, hiyongeragaho abashyitsi batahoragaho babaga bazanywe no gushaka amakuru cyangwa bazijemo. Izi ngingo zizagarukwaho mu isesengura ry'imikorere y'ubutegetsi mu gihe cy'intambara.

Bityo rero, ntibyoroshye kumenya niba uyu n'uyu yaragiye mu nama yose cyangwa mu gice cyayo, no mu gihe ingingo zimureba zabaga zigibwaho impaka. Ibyo ari byo byose, mu rwego rw' "ubwumvikane hagati y'amashyaka", inama nyishi zikomeye zakorwaga nyuma y'inama zizibanziriza z'abahagarariye amashyaka-zateguraga ibyemezo- cyangwa zigakomereza mu nama nk'izo zashyigikiraga ibyemezo byazo. Kubera ko ubwumvikane bwagombaga byanze bikunze kubaho ku ngingo zose zigoranye cyangwa zikomeye, imikoranire hagati ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'amashyaka yari iteye ku buryo kuba minisitiri bitari n'ikimenyetso kamara mu mikorere ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Nanone, nta wakwizera ko ibyerekezo cyangwa ibyemezo byashoboraga kuvuguruza ibyo abanyacyubahiro bitivangaga mu bintu ku bwende bwabo, nka Matayo Ngirumpatse, Josph Nzirorera, Donat Murego, Frodouald Karamira cyangwa Stanislas Mbonampeka byabashaga gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni yo

mpamvu ari Perezida wa Repubulika ari na Minisitiri w'intebe bahoraga bagisha inama mbere cyangwa nyuma y'izo nama, nanone badahinduye Inama ya Guverinoma icyumba cyo gufatiramo amajwi, nk'uko uburemere bw'impaka zahaberaga bubyemeza.

Imbonerahamwe 1:

Inama za guverinoma zakozwe na GI *mu gihe yamazeho*[539]

1994	Kuwa 1	Kuwa 2	Kuwa 3	Kuwa 4	Kuwa 5	Kuwa 6	Kuwa 7	inama	iminsi
Mata			6	7	8	**9**	**10**		
	11	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**		
	18	19	20	**21**	**22**	**23**	24	**15**	**22**
	25	26	**27**	**28**	**29**	30	1		
Gicurasi	2	3	4	**5**	6	**7**	8	8	31
	9	**10**	11	**12**	13	14	15		
	16	**17**	18	19	**20**	21	22		
	23	24	**25**	26	**27**	28	29		
	30	31	**1**	2	3	**4**	5		
Kamena	**6**	7	8	9	**10**	11	12		
	13	14	15	16	**17**	18	19		
	20	21	22	23	**24**	25	26		
	27	28	29	30	**1**	2	3	6	30
	4	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**		
Nyakanga	**11**	**12**	13	14	15	16	17		
	18							10	18
Byose								**39**	**101**

[539] Kuva ku irahira ry'abagize guverinoma i Kigali kugeza ku kujya i Bukavu kwa perezida, kwa Minisitiri w'intebe n'ukw'abaminsitiri ba nyuma bari bahungiye i Cyangugu muri *zone Turquoise (*ibara ry'ikijuju*)*. Ibara ry'umukara rirerekana amatariki yakoreweho inama.

Imbonerahamwe 2: Inama za guverinoma *GI i Bukavu n' i Goma mbere y'ishyirwaho rya guverinom yo mu buhungiro*[540]

1994	Kuwa 1	Kuwa 2	Kuwa 3	Kuwa 4	Kuwa 5	Kuwa 6	Kuwa 7	inama	Iminsi
		19	20	21	22	**23**	24	4	13
Nyakanga	**25**	26	**27**	28	**29**	30	31		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	2	31
	8	9	10	11	12	**13**	14		
Kanama	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
	22	23	24	25	26	27	**28**		
	29	30	31	1	2	3	4	14	30
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
Nzeri	12	13	14	15	16	**17**	**18**		
	19	20	21	22	23	**24**	25		
	26	27	28	29	30	1	2		
	3	4	5	**6**	7	8	9		
Ukwakira	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
	17	19	21	22	23	24	25	8	31
	26	27	28	29	30	31	1		
Ugushyingo	2								
Byose								**28**	**105**

[540] Ni ukuvuga hagati y'itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, umunsi wa mbere abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari bageze mu buhungiro muri Zayire n'itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1994, itariki y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma yo mu buhungiro. Ibisa n'ikijuju, ni inama z'akazi za buri munsi, zayoborwaga na perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri w'intebe, abaminisitiri, abahagarariye amashya n'abawofisiye bari i Bukavu ku mivugururire ya za minisiteri n'ishiyrwaho rya guverinoma yo mu buhungiro (*reba umugereka wa 98).*

Ikindi kandi, kubera ko minisiteri zari "zareguriwe" abaminisitiri batanzwe n'amashyaka yabo, imicungire ya buri minisiteri yashoboraga, bitewe n'imyitwarire ya buri muminisitiri cyangwa umwanya afite mu ishyaka, kuba itaziguye cyangwa yiyambaza abandi, inyura inzira imwe cyangwa inzira zitandukanye[541].

Bityo, n'ubwo yari yashyizwe mu nshingano za Minisitiri w'intebe, wo muri MDR-kubera kutahaba kwa minisitiri uyishinzwe, wari wasubijweho mu gihe hari hagitegerejwe ko ashobora kugaruka- minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'iguhugu yakoze ku buryo busanzwe itegekwa n'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka MRND, ku buryo busobanutse itegekwa n'umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu na visi-perezida, babikoranye ubwitange. Kuba umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri Callixte Kalimanzira, wari usanzwe amenyereye kugendera ku mabwiriza y'Akazu ubwo Faustin Munyazesa yari minisitiri, yarakoze imirimo y'ubusigire ntibyatumye umwanya arimo uba mo icyuho cyangwa imirimo igende nabi. Nyuma yaho, ubwo Edouard Karemera yafataga iyo minisiteri (ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi) ntibyasobanuraga kugaya imicungire yahozeho, ahubwo byagaragazaga ihinduka ry'imigambi yo gukomeza intambara: cyari igihe cyo guhagurukiriza icya rimwe abaturage kugira ngo bunganire ingabo zarangwaga n'amacakubiri no gusubira inyuma. Byari nanone uburyo bwo gutangira hakiri kare gushyiraho ingamba za politki yizewe zo gusimnbuza inzego z'ubuyobozi no gutegura imirwano izakurikiraho mu gihe ingabo zari kuba zitsinzwe. Nanone, abaminisitiri bafite intege nke cyangwa bemejwe ku mpamvu z'amashyaka babangikanyijwe ku mugaragaro n'abanyacyubahiro bo mu ishyaka ryabo cyangwa bunganirwa n'abandi bantu cyangwa amakipe y'abantu abishoboye yiyambajwe.

Iyo mikorere yibanzweho ahanini mu nzego ebyiri za ngombwa, ububanyi n'amahanga n'ibibazo bya gisirikare. Aho hombi, ahantu henshi habangikanye mu butegetsi cyangwa mu ifata ry'ibyemezo hari hahari hashoboraga, kubera uburemere bw'ibintu n'inzego bireba, gutambamira abaminisitiri kandi/ cyangwa ibiro byabo; ndetse

[541] Ibya Gaspard Ruhumuliza muri urwo rwego ntibisanzwe, kubera ko yabaye buri gihe umuntu umwe rukumbi uhagarariye ishyaka rye PDC, wari i Murambi.

Perezidansi na Minisitiri w'intebe bahaye uburenganzira intumwa zishinzwe kubahagararira cyangwa kujya mu mishyikirano mu mwanya w'abaminisitiri babishinzwe. Ibintu byazagamo uburiganya bwinshi iyo byabaga ngombwa kumenyesha amahanga ibyifuzo bageragezaga kuyumvisha bashingiye ku mitandukanire y'abantu bavugana, cyangwa nanone, iyo mu buyobozi bwari bushinzwe jenoside byabaga ngombwa gucubya umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu bamwohereje mu butumwa. Umuntu yakeka nanone ko abaminisitiri bishiraga izo ngendo kubera ko batemeraga poritiki ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho cyangwa zimwe mu ngingo zayo, kandi cyane cyane kubera ko izo ngendo zo hanze zabafashaga gutegura imigambi y'urwitwazo mu bikorwa bya politki byari kuzakurikiraho baramutse bagize ibyo babazwa ku byerekeye ubwicanyi bwari bwateguwe.

Muri rusange, gusiba hato na hato byabaye vuba ikintu gikomeye ku baminisitiri batateganyaga ishema cyangwa inyungu za poritiki zidasanzwe mu myanya yabo, cyangwa se ku baminisitiri b'ababanga mu rwego rwa tekiniki, ibura ry'uburyo n'umwuka w'intambara byari byiganje i Murambi na nyuma yaho i Muramba (muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi), bitari bigitera intege zo gukora. Bamaze kwitoza kuvuga make ariko nanone batagaya ibyo guverinoma yakoraga, bamwe ntibakundaga kwigaragaza mu makoraniro y'abantu benshi, kuvugira imbwirwaruhame kuri radiyo cyangwa kuvuga amagambo atyaye mu nama z'amaperefegitura cyangwa z'ibiterane by'aho bari. Gusiba hato na hato byafashaga nanone gukwepa ihora ku kazi ry' i Kigali cyangwa ingendo zo "kugarura umutekano",aho byari ngombwa gushyigikira ku mugaragaro poritiki y'ubwicanyi imbere y'abagabo benshi, cyangwa guhishira ku buryo butaziguye ibyakorwaga. Abaminisitiri benshi b'inararibonye, kubera kutagirira icyizere ibihe bizaza bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, batajyaga mu bihumbi by'amatiku n'ubugambanyi abari bacumbitse i Murambi bahoragamo, bagaragaje ukudatuza kw'imburamumaro kwarangaga ibikorwa bya guverinoma. Bityo, kimwe n'abandi bahisemo kuba muri perefegitura z'iwabo mu Majyaruguru, Augustin Ngirabatware yarivumbuye mu Nama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 6 Kamena : "*Kugabana aho abantu bagomba kujya* no

kudakora inama z'abaminisitiri buri munsi[542].''

Ishyirwaho ry'ihuriro ry'abagize guverinoma

Mu ntangiriro yayo, impamvu z'imikorere zifitanye isano no kumenyera kw'abantu n'ivugurura ry'inzego z'imirimo byivanze n'ukwihutirwa kw'ibikorwa byatejwe n'intambara mu gusobanura inama ndende za buri munsi. Ibintu byose bigaragaza ko akamaro kazo kari ako guhana amakuru ku bayigize, babikesha uburinzi bwa gisirikare bari bafite, buri kuva ubwo mu bantu bake batoneshejwe bashoboraga kugira aho bajya, guterefona no kugirana ibiganiro n'abari "bafite ibyo bazi". Nyamara, ijambo ry'abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku byabaga ryakomezaga kuba rito kandi ibyemezo byinshi byafatirwaga ahandi: Ubyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo, cyangwa ubuyobozi bubangikanye na bwo butegekwa na Théoneste Bagosora, ubuyobozi bwa MRND n'ubw'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba, cyangwa nanone abaterankunga b'abanyamahanga. Inzego zitandukanye za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho zagombaga kumva neza ibyo abafata ibyemezo bari bazitegerejeho no gutunganya imikorere yazo, n'ubwo iyo guverinoma yateraga ukwifata kw' inzego z'ububanyi n'amahanga n'iyamagana ryatangazwaga n'Inkotanyi (FPR).

Inama icyenda za guverinoma zabaye hagati y'itariki ya 9 n'iya 17 Mata zashingiye ku "bumenyi bwa cyimeza" bw'itsinda, ariko kandi igice cy'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND n'ubuyobozi bwabo bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki bahereyeko bakora banabasha kugenzura buhoro buhoro amahuriro y'ubutegetsi yari yirigaragaje mu masaha yakurikiye ibura ry'Umukuru w'igihugu n'umuyobozi wa etamajoro. Kuva ku itariki ya 11 ni bwo gahunda y'akazi yasaga n'itunganye yatangijwe, igenda yivugurura iyimurirwa rya Guverinoma i Murambi rimaze gukorwa. Guverinoma yatangiriye ku gushimangira ubutegetsi bwayo mu rewgo rw'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu iteranya abaperefe ku itariki ya 11 Mata, nyuma yaho ikoranya ababurugumesitiri. Ibibazo by'umutekano ni byo

[542] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itarki ya 6 Kamena, ajenda ya Augustin NGIRABATWARE, TPIR, ishakiro K0243007 (*reba umugereka wa 99*).

byihutirwaga bidasubirwaho: kurwanya ubucengezi bw'Inkotanyi (FPR), kurinda (gucunga) umutekano w'abaturage no gutega amatwi raporo z'abaperefe ku bwicanyi (*Reba imbonerahamwe n'inyandiko by'Ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa by'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata mu mugereka wa 97*). Ijambo rya guverinoma ku nzego *'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku* z'ubutegetsi ryagezweho ku itariki ya 12 Mata, mu nama yahuriwemo n'abakuru b'amashyaka-buri gihe yibanda ku ntamabara no ku ihamagara ry'abantu imbere mu gihugu no hanze-(poropaganda n'ububanyi n'amahanga-Umryango w'Abibumbye (ONU), Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw' Afurika (OUA), Ububiligi na Minuar-), ibikoresho n'inkunga y'intambara (itegurwa ry'ingendo mu mahanga zo kugura intwaro), "icungwa ry'intambara n'ukwirwanaho", itahura ry'abatasi (abacengezi), abagambanyi n'*ibyitso (Reba Umurongo w'ibyigwa by 'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 12 Mata mu mugereka wa 97).* Aha byari ugusaranganya ku buryo bufatika imirimo ya buri wese mu bagize n'abatagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Inam ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 13 Mata yatangije ikindi cyiciro, mu by'ukuri gikomeye cyane, kuko intego kwari ugushyiraho Ubuyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo bushyigikiye politki nshya no kongerera ingufu minisitiri w'Ingabo wo muri MRND, Augustin Bizimana, avuye mu mahanga. We n'abakuru b'ishyaka bari bafite icyifuzo cyo gusobanura imirimo ya koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, n'ubwo yari yanyazwe amahirwe yo gusimbura perezida, wegeranyaga udutsiko twe asaba ko abawofisiye bacyuye igihe (we ubwe mu ba mbere) basubizwa mu ngabo anatunganya urwego rwo kwirwanaho. Augustin Bizimana na Théoneste Bagosora bahuriraga nibura ku ngingo imwe, iyo byanze bikunze gucecekesha mu maguru mashya Ubuyobozi Bukuru na etamajoro nk'uko bari bishyizeho ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu izina rya Komite ya gisirikare y'ibihe bibi. Ibyari kuri gahunda y'ibyigwa y'inama ya Guverinoma byasabaga igihe kitaragera (by'imburagihe) isimburwa rya koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi , umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, bikanemeza ijambo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari ifite ku Buyobozi Bukuru, yihaga, umunsi ubanza, kugirana imishyikirano itaziguye n'Inkotanyi (FPR): kujya inama hagati ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'abayobozi b'ingabo, ishyirwaho

ry'umusanzu ku bushake wo gushyigikira ingabo, gushyiraho "etamajoro y'ibihe bibi igizwe n'abasirikare + guverinoma", kugira ngo hashyirwe imbaraga mu bwitange bwabo no mu mibanire yabo n'abaturage (*Reba Ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'Inama ya guverinoma mu mugereka wa 97*). Hakurikiyeho ku matariki ya 14 na 15 Mata, Inama ebyiri za guverinoma zahariwe ibibazo by'ibikoresho n'imikorere (igemura, inkunga n'ibindi) zakomerejwe mu nama nyinshi zibangikanye zerekeye ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi bw'uturere na etamajoro, umwanzuro wazo ugibwaho impaka mu nama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 16 Mata. Impaka zarangiye umunsi ukurikiyeho.Guverinoma yari yarangije gutegura icyari kuba poritiki yayo mu mezi atatu yo kubaho kwayo yanemeje "porogaramu y'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ibyemezo".

Igikuru muri ibyo byemezo cyarebanaga n'ishyirwaho ry'abaperefe. Cyakorewe itangazo ryasomwe kuri Radio Rwanda na Eliézer Niyitegeka, minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru n'umuvugizi wa guverinoma, washimiye abaperefe bakoranaga ubwitange "imirimo" yabo anamenyesha ikurwaho ry'abaperefe b'abanyakaminuza bo mu "ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi (uwa Butare n'uwa Kibungo) (*Reba umugereka wa 97*). Byari ngobwa kuva ubwo gushimangira ubutegetsi bwa guverinoma mu gihugu, aho "ubutumwa" butakirwaga cyangwa bwakirwaga nabi. Icyo gihe hateguwe hashyirwa mu bikorwa ingendo z'iminsi ititu za benshi mu bagize guverinoma n'abakuru b'amashyaka kugira ngo bamenyesheku mugaragaro ubuyobozi bw'uturere bw'i Gitarama no ku Gikongoro (ku itariki ya 18 Mata mu gitondo no ku gicamunsi), nyuma yaho ubw'i Butare (ku matariki ya 19-20 Mata), intego ikaba yari uko ayo maperefegitura yari yarinangiye na yo "yakamo umuriro". Muri perefegitura ya Butare, yavanye nabi ku butegetsi abarwanyaga jenoside inatera ubwoba abakozi ba leta (abasirikare n'abasivili) bayirwanyaga.

Iryo yihutishwa ry'ibikorwa bya guverinoma-kubona mu gihugu abafasha bazayunganira badatezuka- ryakoranywe ubwitange bafatanyije cyangwa umuntu ku giti cye[543] riyobowe n'abaminisiritiri bari bashinzwe "kugarura amahoro" muri perefegitura

[543] Nk'uko twabyizeho igihe knini ndetse, amabwiriza yagize akamaro kandi mu minsi mike amakomoni yose yari yiroshye mu bwicanyi (*reba* André GUICHAOUA, *Rwanda 1994. Les politiques du génocide à Butare*, *op. cit.*,

yabo, na Minisitiri w'intebe wakoze kenshi isura ry'uturere. Kugira ngo hizerwe imiyobokere y'ubuyobozi butita ku bintu, ihindagura ry'abakozi bafite ububasha mu makomini n'amaperefegitura ryahoragaho mu gihe cyose cy'intambara kandi ryari ingingo ihora igarukwaho mu nama za guverinoma, nk'uko inyandiko zakozwe n'abaminisitiri zibyemeza (*Reba ku rugero Ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena mu mugereka wa 97*).

> "Yari inama [yakozwe ku itariki ya 11 Kamena] yajemo abantu icumi gusa. Bari abaminisitiri bonyine, cyane ko inam yagombaga kwiga ibibazo by'ubuyobozi, ari byo ishyirwaho cyangwa ihinduranya ry'abasuperefe bo mu maperfegitura. Impaka zagiwe koko kuri iryo shyirwaho,ariko no ku iyoherezwa ry'abaminisitiri mu maperefegitura bavukamo cyangwa mu yandi maperfegitura mu "bukangurambaga" cyangwa "ihuzwa" ry'abaturage. Nyine, abaminisitiri bagombaga gukoresha mitingi bakigishamo ukwihanganirana n'uguturana mu mahoro kw'amoko n'amashyaka ya poritiki, gusaba guhagarika ubwicanyi n'iszindi mvururu, gusobanura uko umutekano umeze mu gihugu n'ukuntu guverinoma yateganyaga kurengera abaturage. […] Sinizeraga ubushake nyabwo bwa guverinoma bwo guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugera ku zindi ntego zateguwe mu itangazo n'inyandiko y'ubwumvikane byo ku itariki ya 8 Mata. […] Kuri ibyo hiyongeragaho ko byari bitunguranye, guverinoma ari bwo igitangira gukora, gufata icyemezo cyo kohereza abasminisitiri mu giturage. Abaminisitiri batari muri iryo huriro, bari mu butumwa mu mahanga, cyangwa bari batatanye mu gihugu gushyira mu bikorwa iyo gahunda (porogaramu)[544]."

Ariko, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ibyemezo byafashwe n'Inama ya guverinoma ku itariki ya 16 n'iya 17 Mata, ukwiganzura kwa guverinoma ku nzego za leta

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chapitre 7 et 8).

[544] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

amaherezo ryari ryashyizweho nta mikururano ikomeye.

ntibyagarukiye gusa ku buyobozi bw'abaturage. Mu kwinjiza muri yo ubwayo no mu matsinda yabugenewe abayobozi b'amashyaka- bari banabibangikanyije n'ubuyobozi bw'abaturage b'inkerarugamba- n'abawofisiye bari bashinzwe kuyobora intambara, Guverinoma ntiyari yigaruriye nyabyo inzego zose zifata ibyemezo, ariko yari yishyize mu butegetsi rwagati. Bityo, inama yo ku itariki ya 16 Mata yateje imbere bikomeye imikoranire ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'urwego rwa gisirikare.

Ingabo zigenzurwa n'abasivili?

N'ubwo ibihe bya mbere byari bikomeye, igabana ry'imirimo ryemejwe na koloneli Léonard Nkundiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, ubwo yashyigikiraga igitekerezo cyo "kurekera abasivill ku murongo w'imbere"[545], abasirikare bariho bagacunga intambara. Mu gushyiraho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, abari bayisigasiye b'abasirikare n'abasivili basubijeho imikorere y'ishyaka rukumbi MRND aho ingabo byanze bikunze zari zifite uruhare rukomeye kubera impamvu z'ibihe by'intambara. Kwiyegeranya byabaye ingirakamaro: kuva ku itariki ya 9 Mata, jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana yicaranaga n'Inama y'abaminisitiri akanatunganya, mu gihe minisitiri w'Ingabo atari ahari, imibonano hagati ya Minisitiri w'intebe n'abayobozi b'imitwe inyurany y'ingabo kugira ngo bahagirike ibikorwa bibi n'ubwicanyi. Hamwe na bagenzi be, na we yafashe ku itariki ya 12, nta we abajije, icyemezo cyo kwimurira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Murambi. Nyuma yaho ku itariki ya 13 Mata, nyuma y'inama hamwe n'amashyaka ya poritiki, hakurikiyeho umwanya w'abawofisiye bari baragize uruhare mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho wo kujya inama nayo kugira ngo bakore "etamajoro y'ibihe bibi igizwe n'abasirikare hamwe (+) na Guverinoma" ku mpamvu zo "kongera ubwitange bwabo n'imikoranire yabo n'abaturage" igihe "bari ku mabariyeri yose bategatega imodoka[546]."

[545] Bityo, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko avuga mu nyandiko ze z'inama ya mbere y'Inama y'abaminisitiri ko hagomba "kubaho ubutwari bwo kwangira abayobozi b'abasivili bashaka kwivanga mu rwego rwa tekinki ya gisirikare" (Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ishakiro K0045913, *reba uumugereka wa 97*).

[546] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 13 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, ishakiro

Avuye muri butumwa ku itariki ya 10 Mata, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu wo muri MRND, Augustin Bizimana, yasanze ahanaganye n'urwego rw'Ubuyobozi bukuru budasanzwe kandi bwashwanyaguritse. Ihangana mu Buyobozi Bukuru ryari ryareruye n'ikozanyaho ry'abo ku isonga ryabwo ntryari rikihishira. Ku rugamba ho, mu majyaruguru no mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu, ibintu byarushagaho kuba bibi buri munsi:

> "Ruhengeri: iragenzurwa kugera muri Cyeru
> Byumba: iragoswe
> Kigali: imirwano ku Irebero, i Gikondo
> Mutara: Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR)zashwiragiye
> Ibihumbi 20 bapfuye ku ruhande rwacu, bishwe n'Inkotanyi (FPR)[547]."

Ibyemezo bye bya mbere byafashwe akihagera, byasaga n'umugambi wari uhuriweho na koloneli Bagosora n'abakuru ba MRND: yasinyishije umukuru wa etamajoro isubizwaho ry'abawofisiye bari barasezerewe n'uwamubanjirije anazamura mu ntera ku buryo bwihuse bamwe mu bawofisiye bo mu majyaruguru nka Léonard Nkundiye (*Reba umugereka wa 101*). Bivuye ku wo bitaga "Yego-yego" w'abawofisiye b'intagondwa, ayo mabwiriza yahereyeko ateza umwuka mubi cyane mu bawofisiye bakuru benshi, mbere y'uko guverinoma, imenyeshejwe ibyo byemezo, yisubiraho, itinya idohoka ku rugamba ry'igice kitari gito cy'imitwe y'ingabo n'abasirikare, ahanini abakomoka mu majyepfo.

N'ubwo Minisitiri w'intebe yemeranywaga na Augustin Bizimana gusimbura umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, yari azi ko, umukandida uwo ari we wese Inama y'abaminisitiri yari guhitamo, umukuru wa etamajoro mushya atari kwemerwa na

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K0045919 (*reba umugereka wa 97*).

[547] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itarki ya 16 Mata, 1994, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, p. Zo ku itariki ya 1 n'iya 2 Gashyantare (*reba umugereka*).

bose kandi ko ingaruka z'iryo shyirwaho zari kuba zikomeye. Ikindi kandi, bitandukanye n'ibyo yibwiraga, icyifuzo bwite cya Augustin Bizimana nta mbaraga cyari gifite mu rwego rwa gisirikare. Mu mwuka wari watejwe n'ibura ry'Umukuru w'igihugu hamwe n'umukuru wa etamajoro, n'iyubura ry'intambara, umuminisitiri w'umusivili utari unafite igitinyiro nk'icy'uwo yasimbuye, James Gasana, ntiyari afite ububasha buhagije bwo kwemeza umukuru wa etamajoro yihitiyemo.

Mu itegurwa ry'Inama ya guverinoma yari kujya impaka ku iyeguzwa n'isimburwa rya Marcel Gatsinzi ku mwanya w'umumkuru wa etamajoro, hagombaga nibura abakandida babiri. Minisitiri Augustin Bizimana yahisemo babiri mu bo hafi ye kugira ngo atagira uwo atera ishyari, ariko afite umukandida we w'umutoni. Yatanze Gratien Kabiligi (Cyangugu) na Augustin Bizimungu (Byumba). Uwa mbere yari umuyobozi w'agace k'imirwano ka Byumba ubwo na we ubwe yari perefe (kuva muri Nyakanga 1992 kugeza muri Nyakanga 1993), kandi yari amaze gushingwa inyigishoo n'ibikorwa bya gisirikare (G3) muri etamajoro, ariko yari azwiho kuba "umuyobozi w'agace gato k'ingabo (peroto)" kurusha uko yaba umukuru wa etamajoro. Augustin Bizimungu we, akaba umusirikare mwiza, uzwi cyane. Ntiyarushaga Gratien Kabiligi kumenya neza urusobekerane rw'inzego za etamajoro, ariko ntiyari afite inenge mu rwego rw'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, mu gihe uwo wundi we yafatwaga ku mugaragaro nk'ushinzwe kwigisha *Interahamwe.* Nanone, kandi iyi ngingo si amakabyankuru gusa, yari umuntu uvuka i Byumba kimwe na Augustin Bizimana, bigahuza n'ibyari byaravuzwe n'umuhanuzukazi ko "umugabo w'i Byumba" yari kuzasimbura Habyarimana.

Inama ya Guverinoma yemeye ihitamo rya minisitiri, izamura Augustin Bizimungu ku ipeti rya jenerali-majoro mu iteka ryo ku itariki ya 18 Mata, kubera ko yari agizwe umukuru wa etamajoro. Muri icyo gihe, koloneli Gratien Kabiligi yagizwe jenerali wa burugade. Mu nyuma kandi muri uwo mwuka, ba koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi na Lénidas Rusatira na bo bazamuwe ku ipeti rya jenerali kugira ngo bazibe icyuho Mu izamurwa ry'uwa mbere n'amazamurwa mu ntera atangaje nako ateye isoni yabikomotseho. Asobanura iby'iyo myanya, minisitiri Eliézer Niyitegeka yaravuze ati:

> "Twe, "guverinoma", twarobye Bizimungu inyuma y'abandi bakoloneli, agomba rero kudukorera. […]Amadosiye ya ba jenerali Augustin Bizimungu yaburaniwe na minisitiri Bizimana n'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND, aya ba jenerali Gatsinzi na Rustira (aburanirwa) n'abaminisitiri b'ayandi mashyaka[548]."

> Ugaragara wabuze ku rutonde rw'abazamuwe ni Théoneste Bagosora, wahoraga

nyamara amaranira ipeti rya jenerali kuva kera[549]. Guverinoma yabonaga ko nyuma y' itsindwa rye ryo ku itariki ya 7 Mata, izamurwa nk'iryo icyo ryari kumara kwari ugukomeza gucamo uduce Ubuyobozi Bukuru. Ntiyigeze anashyigikirwa n' "umuryango". Augustin Ngirabatware, wari ufitanye isano n'umuryango wa Félicien Kabuga, umwe mu bantu bagaragaraga kurusha abandi mu bacuruzi bakuru bari bafitanye umubano n'ingoma ya Habyarimana, yitangiye bikomeye Augustin Bizimungu, wafatwaga nk'"umwana" wa Félicien Kabuga kandi wari waroherejwe mu Ishuri ry'intambara i Bruxelles ari we ubisabye. Gushyigikirwa n'ab'i Byumba (Kabuga, Bizimana) hiyongereyeho umugisha w'ab'i Gisenyi (Ngirabatware, Protais zigiranyirazo) nuko umukuru mushya wa etamajoro akomerwa yombi n'abawofisiye bakomeye bo mu kazu ka perezida (OTP).

Iryo tanga ry'amapeti n'ubutiriganya bwajyanye na ryo, nta kibazo na kimwe cya kera byigeze bikemura, ahubwo byarabyongereye. Koko rero, mu izamurwa rya Agustin Ndindiliyimana na Déogratias Nsabimana ku ipeti rya jenerali majoro mu Kuboza 1993, uretse ingingo y'imikorere yaterwaga no guhitamo umuwofisiye uvuye mu bajandarume n'undi uvuye mu ngabo, iringaniza ryari ryafashe umwanya munini hagati y'umukandida

[548] Ubuhamya bw'umuwofisiye wari uhari, inyandiko ze bwite, 5 Mutarama 2008.

[549] Kubera iyo mpamvu, ntiyakoze urugendo rw'i Murambi, binyuranye n'ibyo Jean Kamanda yagerageje kwemeza (*reba umugereka wa 101*).

w'Amajyaruguru, n'umukandida w'Amajyepfo.

Izo ngingo zari zasumbije agaciro iy'uburambe ku kazi kuri iryo peti. N'ubwo yari umuwofisiye wa kera, Léonidas Rusatira ntiyari yemerewe na Perezidansi-yari yifitiye umukandida "wayo" wo mu Majyaruguru ari we Nsabimana- n'uruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi rwo mu majyepfo-umukandida warwo usanzwe, Ndindiliyimana, atarengwaho. Ishyirwa ku ipeti rya jenerali wa burigade rya ba koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonodas Rusatira ryasabwe mu Nama ya guverinoma n'abantu, bafite isoni, bagenderaga ku gucisha make.

Ntiryshyigikiwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, Augustin Bizimana, utari wanejejwe n'itangazo ry'ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, Gatsinzi na Rusatira bari bagize uruhare rukomeye mu itegurwa ryaryo. Amakuru anyuranye avuga ko Théoneste Bagosora yaba yaramaganye bikomeye izamurwa ry'abo bantu bombi. Nyamara rero, igitangaje, ishyirwaho rya Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonodas rishobora gusonurwa n'uruhare rwabo mu ishoka ry'iryo tangazo ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata. Icyo guverinoma yifuzaga nta shiti cyari ukubasubiza mu bandi, ariko itabasinze imyanya ikomeye. Abari bafite ubutegetsi bashya bagombaga kugumishaho umutuzo nibura w'icyiyerurutso mu bawofisiye bakuru bamaze igihe ku kazi, bamwe muri bo bakaba barangaga kubaha jenerali majoro mushya banasaba ko "amahano mu kazi" agomba gukosorwa. Koloneli Léonidas Rusatira yari yarasigaye inyuma inshuro nyinshi kandi, mu 1994, yari amaze imyaka umunani y'uburambe ku ipeti rya koloneli, akaba rero muri urwo rwego yaruzuzaga kuva igihe cy'imyaka ine ibyasabwaga kugira ngo agere ku ipeti rya jenerali wa burigade. Ingingo zindi ebyiri zariganje mu izamurwa rya Léonidas Rusatira. Iya mbere, kuko yafatwaga nk' "ushyigikiye MDR", kwari ugushimisha abantu bashya bo muri MDR bari bashyizwe muri guverinoma. Nnone, byari ngombwa kuringaniza izamurwa ry'umukiga w'I Byumba (Augustin Bizimungu) n'iry'umukiga wo mu Ruhengeri. Kuri Marcel Gatsinzi, waru ubuzeho amazi make kugira ngo "ageze igihe", ni ukuvuga kugira uburambe bwa ngombwa kugira ngo asabe ipeti ryo hejuru, byari ngombwa koroshya uko yakiriye iyegezwayo rye ryihuse kandi ribabaje muri etamajoro. Abo bazamuwe bombi bahawe gusa uburenganzira bwo mu

rwego rw'ubutegetsi bujyana n'ipeti, ariko ntibahabwa imirimo nyayo.

Ku byerekeye ba bakoloneli babiri b'abasore bari bazamuriwe rimwe mu Kuboza 1993, Augustin Bizimungu na Gratien Kabiligi, bakomokaga uko bakurikirana mu byiciro bya 13 na 12 by'Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikare, inyuma cyane ya ba bakoloneli ka kera (icyiciro cya 6 kuri Léonidas Rusatira n'icya 9 kuri Marcel Gatsinzi). Nta n'umwe muri bo wari kuri lisiti y'abawofisiye "bageze ighe". Gratien Kabiligi yari yarageze ku ipeti rya koloneli mu 1993, kandi yari ku mwanya wa 12 kuri lisiti y'abaliyetona koloneli bashoboraga kuzamurwa. Bombi bari barigeze guhabwa imirimo yo mu rwego rwo hejuru. Augustin Bizimungu yari amaze kugirwa umuyobozi w'imwe muri burigade enye zateganywaga n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha na Gratien Kabiligi yari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri etamajoro. Izamuka, ku ruhande rwabo, ryari rifatanye n'imirimo ikomeye cyane y'umukuru wa etamajoro y'abajandarume ku ruhande rw'umwe, n'umuyobozi w'agace k'ibikorwa bya gisirikare ka Ruhengeri ku rw'undi, asimbuye Augustin Bizimungu.

Imbere ya ba bakoloneli "ba kera" bagizwe ba jenerali ba burigade, Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonidas Rusatira, ikintu cyo kwemezwa ku ngufu nka jenerali majoro kandi akaba n'ubakuriye ku kazi, kw'umukandida utari ku rutonde n'urwego ruzamura mu ntera, byari ikinamico. Agasuzuguro kari gakabije kubera ko Léonidas Rusatira ubwe yari umukuru w'icyiciro cye (umuwofisiye warushije abandi amanota mu cyiciro cye), mu gihe Augustin Bizimungu yari uwa nyuma mu cye. Nanone, ishyirwaho nka jenerali wa buribage ry'umuliyetona koloneli utari ufite umwanya mwiza (ku rutonde rw'abazamurwa) ryateye isoni itsinda w'abakoloneli.

Niba abawofisiye bakuru bari bamenyereye itinda ryo kuzamurwa mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi n'imirimo-amakosa yari ajyanye n'impamvu za poritiki n'iz'uburenganzira zinyuranye cyane- ayo macabiranya ku murimo yazambyaga n'imibanire irangwa n'icyubahiro hagati y'abantu. Ntibyaba rero ari ugukabya kwemeza ko ibyemezo bitumvikanyweho byafashwe n'abasivili (minisitiri Bizimana n'abaminisitiri ba MRND) binyuranyije n'umurongo wa gisirikare bisobanura, ku

ruhande rutari ruto, ubushobozi buke mu rwego rwa gisirikare bw'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) mu ntambara.

Iryo vugurura ry'Ubuyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikare rirangiye, imibanire hagati y'abasivili n'abasirikare yari yarateye imbere ku buryo bugaragara mu gihe cy'iminsi icumi. Igabana ry'umurimo ryari ryahindutse: "abasivili" bari beguriwe gukemura impaka z'urwego rwa gisirikare rwacitsemo ibice ku buryo bukomeye kandi rufite ingorane ku rugamba.

Umuntu ashobora rero kuvuga ko hagati muri Mata guverinoma y'amashyaka yari yaterateranyijwe n'abasirikare, iy Théoneste Bagosora yitaga "guverinoma yanjye", yari ihagarariye "ubutegetsi" baha imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo. N'ubwo atari yo yonyine yari yabweguriwe, ni yo yari umutima wabwo:

I Murambi ni ho hafatirwaga ibyemezo bikomeye. Izindi mpande zari zifite uburyo burambuye, ariko zidahanganye na guverinoma: etamajoro nshya y'Ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) na perefegitura ya Kigali mu rwego rwo kwirinda n'urw'ubwicanyi; uruhande rwo ku Gisenyi[550]- hamwe n'abegereye umuryango wa perezida, bari bagumanye ububasha bwo gutanga icyerekezo n'intege mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga bafatanyije n'umupfakazi wa perezida wari mu mahanga; inzego z'ibanze z'amashyaka zari zarayobotse abanyacyubahiro cyangwa abaterankunga bari bafite inyungu zinyuranye; hanyuma,Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba yitiranyaga kurinda igihugu n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi.

Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yitaga ku cyitwaga ubwisanzure ku murimo bw'izo ngufu zitandukanye zari zishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa poritiki "yayo". Uruhande rushya rwa Théoneste Bagosora rugaragaza neza iyo mibanire ifite ibyerekezo bibiri.

Ubwisanzure bubungabunzwe bwa Théoneste Bagosora

Nk'uwari mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi yarafashe ikiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, yaragumye nta

[550] Nyuma y'igenda ry'Agata Kanziga muBufaransa ku itariki ya 9 Mata, abagize umuryango wa perezida batimuwe biyegeranyije ku Gisenyi ku itariki ya 11, aho bsanzwe n'abandi babegereye nka Félicien Kabuga. Hoteli *Méridien Izuba* ni yo yabaye icumbi ryabo n'ahantu ho kwiherera, bateranyiriza hamwe ababegereye n'abafata ibyemezo baba abanyaporitiki cyangwa abasirikare bafitanye isano n'Akazu.

cyemezo kimushyiraho mu mirimo ye ya diregiteri w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, yaravanywe mu bashoboraga gusubizwa mu ngabo (bityo nta kuzamurwa), abuzwa uburyo kenshi na minisitiri we, uwari yigaruriye ubutegetsi akamaganwa na bagenzi be benshi ntiyari agishoboye kuba mu mwanya w'imbere y'abandi. Ariko kandi yari agifite ijambo (ntiyari yaratakaje ijambo) ku mpande nini z'ingabo. Hari hashize amezi hari imibanire yihariye hagati y'abawofisiye b'intagondwa bo mu Majyaruguru, bari mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo, na perefe Renzaho, wagenzuragakapitali[551]. Nanone, ingufu z'amabwiriza yatangwaga na guverinoma yari i Murambi kuri etamajoro yari yaragumye i Kigali nitzashoboraga kwizerwa witegreje ingorane zikomeye zo mu rwego rw'ibikoresho no kugemurirwa etamajoro yari ishinzwe kuyobora bya nyabyo imirwano yari ihanganye na zo.

Dukurikije ubuhamya bwinshi bw'abasirikare n'abawofisiye, kuva ku itariki ya 7 Mata, inama zakorewe kuri perefegitura, kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates,* muri minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu cyangwa mu ngo za bamwe mu bagize ingabo cyangwa abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki nk'uwitwaraga gisirikare Claver Kamana cyangwa nanone mu "cyicaro gikuru" cy'Angéline Mukandutiye, umwe mu bari bagize komite ya perefegitura ya MRND akaba na peresidante w'*Interahamwe* za segiteri Rugenge. Izo nama zemeza ukubaho k'urwego ngishwanama "rusanzwe", rugizwe n'abafata ibyemezo bakomeye, baziranye bose, bashyigikiye umurongo urwanya imbonankubone Inkotanyi n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha.

Wayasangagamo, bitewe n'ahantu n'iminsi, ba koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho, Théoneste Bagosora na Gratien Kabiligi, ba majoro Morgan Hategekimana wo mu barindaga perezida na Protais Bivanvagara, wari ushinzwe ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili, liyetona Miruho wo mu kigo Huye, François Karera, ba kapiteni Innocent Sagahutu na

[551] Nk'urugero ku itariki ya 7 Werurwe 1994, nyuma y'inama hagati ya etamajoro na perefe wa Kigali, Tharcisse Renzaho, yoherereje ibaruwa perezida na minisitiri w'Ingabo, anaha kopi abasirikare, ariko ntiyabimenyesha Minisitiri w'intebe. Iyo baruwa yasabaga guha abaturage intwaro no gutegura intambara (*reba umugereka wa 40*).

Pascal Simbikangwa, minisitiri Eliézer Niyitegeka, Stanislas Simbikangwa na Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza wo muri CDR, cyangwa nanone abagize Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*.

Koloneli perefe Tharcisse Renzaho urebye yakusanyaga byose: mu bihe by'intambara, yashoboye gukoresha ububasha bwe bwa gisirikare n'ibyo yemerewe mu rwego rwa gisivili kandi, nk'uwarin ushyigikiye MRND by'umwihariko yiyambaje urbyiruko rwitwaza intwaro. Biraboneka rero ukuntu gukangura rugikubita urwego rw'ikimenyane rwari rumukikije byikubye kabiri, kuva ku itariki ya 7 n'iya 8 Mata, yifashishije kubyinjizamo abari bashyushye cyane mu bakozi bakuru bo mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi yategekaga.

> " Abakonseye ba segiteri n'abayobozi ba serire ni bo ba mbere bashinzwe umutekano w'abaturage mu rwego rwa segiteri. […] Murumva neza ubwo ko intwaro abakonseye bari bafite zidashobora kugira indi nkomoko itri iy'ubuyobozi bubakuriye, ari bwo perefegitura. Abakonseye ba segiteri bahaewv rero imbunda nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. […]
>
> Nanone, abakonseye ba segiteri batumiwe mu nama kuri perefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali, ahanini binyuze mu matangazo kuri radiyo. […] Perefe Renzaho Tharcisse ndetse yashyizeho urupapuro rw'inzira (resepase) rugenewe imodoka rufasha kugenda no gusohoka mu mugi waKigali. Rwafashaga cyane cyane kugemzura ubucengezi bw'umwanzi n'ingendo z'abaturage. Ubuyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikare ni bwo bwafashe icyemezo cy'umukwabu n'icyo gushyiraho za bariyeri.
>
> Byaba rero ngombwa kumenya ukuri ku kuntu ishyaka MRND na/cyangwa Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* za MRND bitari inzego zemerewe gufata icyemezo cyo hushyiraho za bariyeri. Ishyirwaho rya za bariyeri (z'abasivili) mu gihugu no ku by'umwihariko muri kapitalini icyifuzo cy'abayobozi bakuru b'igihugu, ari bo Ubuyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikare na/cyangwa perefe w'umugi wa Kigali, koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse,

abifashijwemo n'abakonseye ba segiteri bari bashinzwe kuyobora abaturage mu duce tw'umugi. […]

Nkurikije uko nabonaga ibintu icyo gihe kandi nshingiye ku matangazo yahitaga kuri radiyo, abaturage bashyizwe kuri za bariyeri biturutse ku cyemezo cya perefe, bikozwe n'abakonseye ba segiteri bafatanyije ku buryo bwikoze n'abayobozi bamwe b'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka batuye aho. Ibyo kandi byemezwa n'ibyabonetse mu turere mu gihe cy'ingendo zo kugarura amahoro mu duce tutarimo abitwaz intwaro (*Interahamwe*) benshi. Wahasangaga ibyo ari byo byose za bariyeri zimwe na zimwe, cyane cyane mu duce twa Nyamirambo sitade (ku kibuga) na Nyakabanda, zitarinzwe n'abitwaza intwaro b'*Interahamwe za* MRND[552].

"Nyamara, ku itariki ntibuka neza, ariko mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994, nagiye mu nama yakoreshejwe ku biro bya segiteri Gitega/Kigali, na koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse hamwe na majoro Twagirayezu Ephrem (Laurent). Iyo nama yari yahuje abaturage ba Gitega n'abahegereye. Yarimo nanone urubyiruko rw'amashyaka yose nta kurobanura. Abatanze ibiganiro Renzaho na Twagirayezu basobanuye intego n'imigambi yo kwirinda kw'abasivili, nk'uko zari zaremejwe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, banavuga amazina y'abantu batoranyijwe kuyobora uko kwirinda kw'abaturage mu maperefegitura anyuranye.

Mu rwego rwa Kigali, koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse yavuze koloneli Gasake, nk'uko nigeze kubibabwira, wayoboye mu minsi ikurikiyeaho inama yahuje urubyiruko rwa MDR (Mugenzi Joseph), urwa CDR (Simbizi Stanislas) n'urwa MRND, inama nigiriyemo ubwanjye. Mu bandi bagize Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* za MRND niba nibuka neza, hari Maniragaba Bernard,

[552] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 111-114.

Niyitegeka Dieu-Donné, Sebanetsi Jean-Pierre na Nkezabera Ephrem[553].”

Umuntu yongeyeho ko koloneli Renzaho yari umugabo w’inararibonye kandi ushoboye imirimo, asobanukirwa neza imikorere y’iyo myiteguro yo kwirinda yakoze muri kapitali. Igitekerezo gihinnye neza gitya:

“Kigali, ni perefegitura, ibumbiye inyuma ya Théoneste Bagosora, Tharcisse Renzaho n’abawofisiye b’intagondwa, yakoze imirimo nk’iya guverinoma nto. Umutungo uhagije yari irundanyije wari ubabereye “minisiteri y’imali”, ibintu n’abakozi byari bihari byatangaga ibikoresho na sekeretariya[554].”

Inyuma ya Théoneste Bagosora hari ubuyobozi bw’ingabo bubangikanye bwari bwaratangiye gukora mbere y’itariki ya 6 Mata mu rwego rwo gutumanaho, cyane cyane muri iryo joro, ariko bwanakomezaga gufata ibyemezo abari bagize etamajoro batigeraga bamenyeshwa.

> “VIII. Ahagana ku itariki ya 13/05/1994, nasubiye I Kigali byitwa ko aro ku mpamvu z’ubuyobozi bw’agace k’ibikorwa bya gisirikare ka gikoro. Muri gahunda yo gushyira ingabo mu myanya yo muri etamajoro, ntikabagaho. Umuyobozi w’agace k’ingabo ka Kigali, koloneli Félicien Muberuka, wagombaga kuba abukuriye , na we ntiyari abizi. Muri icyo gihe, nabonye ku idirishya rya Minadef iradiyo ya Motorola (y’ubwoko bw’Abarindaga perezida), yari yometseho urupapuro rwanditseho umuyoboro w’abantu batanu bahanaga amakuru (koloneli Bagosora, majoro Mpiranya, majoro Bararwerekana, majoro Ntabakuze, major Nzuwonemeye):
>
> -Icyicaro gikuru: diergiteri w’ibiro wa Minadef (n’izina bumvikanyeho)
>
> -Ibyicaro byungirije:

[553] Iyumvwa ry’umuhyobozi w’*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 21 Gicurasi 2004, ishakiro K0502743, p. 158.

[554] Ikiganiro na Majoro Augustin CYIZA, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

- Umuyobozi wa batayo _Abarinda perezida_ (n_izina bumvikanyeho)
- Umuyobozi wa batayo _Igipolisi cya gisirikare_ (n_izina bumvikanyeho)
- Umuyobozi wa batayo _Para komando_ (n_izina bumvikanyeho)
- Umuyobozi wa batayo _Recce_ (n_izina bumvikanyeho)[555]

Nibibwiye koloneli Muberuka, umuyobozi w'agace k'ibikorwa bya gisikare muri Kigali, wari ufite mu buyobozi bwe abo bungiriza bane bavuzwe mbere. Amaze kunyibwirira ko atari azi impamvu z'umuyoboro nk'uwo, namugiriye inama yo gusaba ibisobanuro umuyobozi wa batayo "Recce" (majoro Nzuwonemeye, bakomokaga muri komini imwe). Nyuam yaho, koloneli Muberuka yambwiye ko major Nzuwonemeye yivugiye ko atari azi uwo muyoboro[556]."

Ibikoresho n'ibyifashishwa mu butegetsi byo byatangwaga bikanagenzurwa na perefe koloneli Renzaho witwaraga, nk'uko Mnisitiri w'intebe abivuga, nka "minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu" nyawe n' "umutware wa bose":

"Amaperefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali na Kigali ngari urebye byakoreraga hamwe. Karera François, wahoze ari burugumesititiri wa Nyarugenge, yari yarabaye icyo gihe umugi wa Kigali, yakoreraga muri Kigali ngari na ho koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho ari ku isonga rya PVK, perefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali. Ku bireban n'umugi, koloneli Renzaho yitwaraga cyane nka minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kurusha uko yitwaraga nka perefe. Raporo ye yasaga n'amabwiriza, urugero rw'ubwoko"Mwirinde kuvuga ahabaye ubwicanyi"; "abaminisitiri bagomba kugaragariza kuri radiyo ishusho nziza y'igihugu kurusha ibyo babonaga mu by'ukuri". We, ku ruhande rwe, yavugiraga kuri radiyo uko yabishakaga,

[555] Bari abawofisiye bakurikira: Major Protais Mpiranya, majoro Joël Bararwerekana, majoro Aloys Ntabakuze na majoro François-Xavier Nzuwonemeye.

[556] Ubuhamya bwite bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, 24 Kanama 2002

nk'aho yari umuvugizi wa Guverinoma nta narimwe ahabwa amabwiriza. Ysaga n'uwavanyeho ugutegetsi bwa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, kubera ko uwo mwanya waamze igihe kerekire udafite nyirawo. Ntiyaduhaga raporo ku rwego rw'ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi, yabicaga hirya.Ababurugumesititiri n'abakonseye babanaga na Renzaho mu nzu imwe, nahuye na we, narababonye bar kumwe. Ntiyigeze abihingutsa, yavugaga ko yasenyaga umwanzi. Nzi ko yasuraga za bariyeri, yarabyiratataga kuri radiyo. Yari yarafashe amaduka amaduka meza kurusha ayandi nka Ali-Rwanda. Yari yarshyiriyeho burigade irwanya ibisambo, ariko abyemerewe na guverinoma. Ku beyerekeye Petit Kigali, […] nari narahageze mbere y'ibiokorwa by'ubugome byom mu 1994, bambwiye ko ari ho hari ubwonko bw'*Interahamwe.* […] Nta muntu washobraga kwiberaho atyo I Kigali, atabyemerewe na Renzaho witwaga nk'umuhuzabikorwa w'*Interahamwe* muri Kigali. Ni we muyobozi wo mu rwego rwa politki wagumye I Kigali. Yari umusiriikare n'umunyaporitiki icyarimwe. Nta buyobozi bwariho, nta bakozi ba leta bari Kigali. Intambara yari ikibazo cy'abasirikare, kwirinda kw'abasivili byari ikibazo cye. Yari rero umuntu wo gushimwa mu gice cyacu, yari impirimbanyi. Yari kandi umunyamayeri. Renzaho yitwaraga nk'umutware w'abantu bose. Nta gitangaza ko abasirikare bo murwego rwe n'imyaka nye ari bo batoranywaga kuyobora ukwirinda kw'abasivili, no mu tundi duce. Bafite icyubahiro, kuba brarwanye kera, bfite akamenyero kandi bazi intambara, bari bazi akarere kabo[557].”

Nyuma y'intambara, kimwe n'abandi mbawofisiye nka Ephrem Setako, yari yarahawe izina rya rusahurira-mu-nduru, atishimiraga na busa, kubera kwigarurira abinyujije mu nzego za perefegitura, imitungo y'abacuruzi bari barahunze.

Kuri uru rwego rw'isesengura, umuntu yakeka ko ubwiganzure bwa guverinoma

[557] Ibyavuzwe na Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2K7-18 byo ku itariki ya 27 Nzeri 1997.

ku ngabo, cyangwa se ku buryo bunyuranye, gutegekwa kwayo n'ingabo bitafite ishingiro, n'ubwo habayeho imvugo ihindagurika ya Minisitiri w'intebe Kambanda[558]. Koko rero, poritiki ya "guverinoma ya bagosora" ni yo iyo guverinoma yashyiraga mu bikorwa, iyari yateganyijwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu na bagenzi be bo muri MRND na Minisitiri w'intebe wazaga imbere ya minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu mu buyobozi. Nta mikorere mibi cyangwa ukutumvikana hagati y'abakuru b'ingabo n'abashinzwe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byigeze bigira icyo bitwara ibyerekezo by'ingamba zafashwe cyangwa birenga ku nshingano zisanzwe ku murongo w'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo mu bihe by'intamabara, umuntu yitegereje urwego rw'imitunganyirize n'ububasha bwo kugira ibikoresho by'izo nzego zombi.

Igitekerezo nk'icyo gishobora gukoreshwa muri rusange ku byerekeye imikoranire

n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba. N'ubwo, ku buryo butandukanye no mu ngabo, ukubura k'ubuyobozi bushyize hamwe kwabyaye ibintu binyuranye cyane mu turere.

Ikibazo cy'igenzura ry'imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba

Kuva ku itariki ya 7 Mata, ibisa no kwihaza kw'abitwaza intwaro byari ukuri mu

rwego kuyobora ibikorwa mu turere, kandi abayobozi ba Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu b'i Kigali, yari yinjiye cyane mu bibazo by'intambara kandi ititaye ku kurwanya amatandukira yajyanaga na byo-kandi na bo byabagiriraga akamaro-, ntibari bafite impamvu n'imwe yo gushyiraho igaruriro ry'imvururu, kandi imitwe y'ingabo n'iy'abajandarume barazijyagamo ntihabwe ibihano. Amahamagara y'urudaca yo kugarura ituze usanga mu matangazo ya mbere y'ingabo na nyuma yaho mu ya

[558] "Bz: Mu kurikije ibyo mwabonye nka Minisitri w'intebe, wakwemeranywa nanjye ko ubutegetsi bwari cyane mu maboko y'abasirikare kurusha mu y'abanyaporitiki?

Sbz: Ndakeka ko atari ibiba gusa muRwanda; mu bihe byose "mu" ntambara, umuntu ufite intwaro ni we uba afite ubutegetsi nyabwo, ni ukuri" (ibyatangajwe na Jean KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,* 13

Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yihanganiraga cyane igaragaza ry' "umujinya" no gufatwaho iminyago kw'Abatutsi. Imitwe yitwaza intwaro, nibura mu gihe kimwe, bari mu birindiro kandi bahanganye n' "umwanzi", bahonda abakekwaho kumushyigikira, mu gihe we yarundanyaga mu buhanga imitwe ye. Ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwashimangiraga kandi bukagaragza ku buryo bushimishije icyitwa ubumwe bw'Abahutu, mu gihe icikamo uduce ridasubirwaho ryari ryatangiye hagati y'abakiga n'abanyenduga, hagati y'abashyigikiye intambara isesuye n'abantu barwanyaga uwo mugambi w'ubwiyahuzi batashoboraga kurwanya uduco tw'intagondwa twakomaga mu nkokora inzira iyo ari yo yose ya poritiki inyuze mu mishyikirano.

Uruhande rwa perezida n'abayoboke barwo, abasirikare b'intagondwa n'abayobozi ba MRND, babangikanye na Komite ya gisirikare y'ibihe bibi nyuma yaho bakigarurira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho na etamajoro, bagenzuraga cyangwabagashyigikir "imitwe yarwanaga", bavanga abasirikare, abajandarume n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba bashinzwe ubwicanyi bari bigaruriye imihanda ya Kigali, kandi bagendaga bagura ububasha bwabo mu maperefegitura. Bityo rero, by'amaburakindi kugira ngo babyihishe inyuma cyangwa barengere na bo urwego rwabo rw'abari mu biganiro bizewe, abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki ntibajijinganyije gushinga abayobozi b'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* ubutumwa bwo kubahagararira no kujya mu mishyikirano!

> "Bz: Mwavuze ko mwabonye Karemera, Nzirorera na Ngirumpatse ahantu guverinoma yari yimukiye i Murambi. Bite ibya Bgosora? Ese mwaramubonye nyuma y'itariki ya 17 Mata?
>
> Sbz: Yego, nahuye na koloneli Bagosora nyuma y'itariki ya 17 Mata inshuro nyinshi.
>
> Bz: Ese hari ikintu icyo ari cyo cyose waganiriye na Bagosora? Niba ari yego, cyari cyerekeye iki?

Nyakanga 2006, p. 24-25).

Sbz: Twaganiriye ahanini ku bibazo byari bifitanye isano n'ubutumwa nagombaga kujyamo hanze y'uRwanda mu rwego…mu rwego rwo gukora imirimo yanjye. Noneho, inshuro ya kabiri, cyai ikibazo cy'imibonano yari yateguwe hagati y'*Interahamwe* na jenerali Dallaire. […]

Bz: Ndaza kubavugisha ku byerekeye inama hamwe na jenerali Dallaire. Iyo nama yabaye ku yihe tariki? Kuki kandi ni nde wundi wari uhari?

Sbz: Nkurikije ibyo nibuka,iyo nama yaba yarabaye ku itariki ya 24 Maata 1994. Cyari ikibazo cy'ihura ryari ryateguwe hamwe na jenerali Dallaire, wasabye *Interahamwe* kuvanaho bariyeri zabo, kureka abantu bakagenda mu mutuzo kandi, nyine byabaye ikibazo cy'abantu batashobraga kugira aho bajya, cyane cyane abantu…Abatutsi bari bahejejwe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'ibindi bibazo byabajijwe n'*Interahamwe* byerekeye Abahutu bari bagoswe kandi bariho [ntibyumvikana] ndetse kuri sitade Amahoro, i Remera , kbikozwe n'Ikotanyi (FPR). Nyine, impaka zose zibanze ku byabaga, ivanwaho rya za bariyeri, kureka abantu bakagenda mu mutuzo, igurana ry'imfungwa. Ngibyo muri make ibibazo byagiwehom impakamuri iyo nama ya jenerali Dallaire n'*Interahamwe.* Hanyuma mwabazaga abantu nbari bahri. Nomero ya mbere yari kumwe n'abagize Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Nomero gatanu yari ahari. Nomero umunani yari ahari. Nomero icyenda yari ahari. N'abandi bashinzwe *Interahamwe* bo muri komite z'uduce tunyuranye twa Kigali[559].

Bz: Icyemezo cyo gusenya bariyeri cyaba cyarafashwe icyo gihe?

Sbz: Cyarahagaze nyine kubera ko *Interahamwe* zasabye, noneho icyemezo cyo gukuraho, cyo kuvanaho bariyeri nticyagezweho kubera ko *Interahamwe* zabongaga ari ukwiyahura, zivuga nyine Inkotanyi (FPR) n'abacengezi bazo, ubryo bwonyine bwo kubagenzura bwari ukurekeraho za bariyeri. Icyo cyemezo, nibura…sinzi niba, no mu nama yakurikiyeho, icyemezo cyo kuvanaho za bariyeri cyarafashwe.

[559] Reba umugereka 102

Bz: Iyo icyemezo cyo gukuraho bariyeri zo ku mihanda kiza kuba cyarafashwe, biba byarashobotse ko Komite y'*Interahamwe* n'abashinzwe *Interahamwe* bo mu matsinda atandukanye bavanaho bariyeri? […]

Sbz: Niba numvise neza ikibazo cyanyu, ibyo ari byo byose abagize Komite yo ku rwego rw'igihugu y'agateganyo nta bubasha bari bafite bwo gutegeka ivanwaho rya za bariyeri zo ku mihanda. Kandi nk'uko maze kubibabwira, ibya byavuzwe ntibyashoboraga kujya muri iyo nzira igihe cyose imirwano yacaga ibintu, igihe cyose ibikorwa by'ubugome byakomezaga i Kigali. Ariko kugira ngo nsubize neza ikibazo cyanyu, abagize Komite y'igihugu ntibashoboraga gutetgeka ivanwaho ry za bariyeri, cyane ko atari bo bari barategetse ishyirwaho ry'izo bariyeri…izo baraje zo ku mihanda.

Bz: Ni nde rero wari ufite ububasha bwo gufata icyo cyemezo, ni ukuvuga kuvanaho bariyeri zo ku mihanda?

Sbz: Biragaragra ko guverinoma yari ashyizweho. Iyo guverinoma yatangaga amabwiriza, ibigomba gukurikizwa n'abaturage ibinyujije mu matangazo yo kuri radiyo. Rero, uruhare rw'igihugu, rwo kuyobora igihugu, ibyemezo [ntibyumvikana] n'abaturage bibarwa kuri guverinoma yashyizweho ku buryo bwemewe, yarahijwe, yeretswe abaturage[560].”

Inkuru y'igihe gikurikira yanditswe maze kuva i Kigali, muri Mata 1994, itanga ishusho kandi igafasha gusobanukirwa neza uwatangaga amabwiriza n'uwo *Interahamwe* z'i Kigali zubahaga.

“Nyuma y'itahuka ry'abanyamahanga, kapitali yigabijwe n'abasirikare n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba noneho kapiteni Mbaye Diagne [wo muri Minuar] biba ngombwa ko ategereza ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 16 kugira ngo atunganye igerageza ryo gukura [abarokotse bari bihishe] muri *Mille Collines.* Jenerali

[560] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 26 Gicurasi, urpap. 16.

Dallaire yabashije kubona abantu 10 ariko […] [biba ngombwa ko] asubira inyuma guhera nimugoroba.[…]

Irindi gerageza ryakurikiyeho [ryo gukura-kurokora] ryabaye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi kandi rireba impunzi 62 […], imodoka zibatwaye, n'ubwo hari uburinzi bwikubye kabiri bwa Minuar n'Ingabo z'igihugu n'abajandarume, zatewe n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba b'*Interahamwe* kuri metero magana angahe za hoteli […]. Jenerali Dallaire yari nyamara, nk'uko bikekwa, yatanze amabwiriza asobanutse yo kwirwanaho baramutse batewe. Abagenzi bose bagombye gusohoka no kwicara ku butaka baterwa ubwoba n'abitwara gisiskare. [Minuar yabuze uko ibigenza]. Abisabwe, Bruno Delaye, wari ushinzwe agace k'Afurika ko muri Elysée (perezidansi y'uBufaransa) yatumye umujenerali n'umukoloneli b'Abafaransa bo muri etamajoro, bavugana na jenerali Augusti Bizimungu, umukuru w'Ingabo z'igihugu i Kigali. Mu masaamoya (ahagana saamoya), ba banmtu 62 basubiye kuri hoteli, bakijijwe "ku munota wa nyuma" n'itabara rya Augusti Bizimungu, wiherekereje ubwe amamodoka. […]

Ku wa gatatu tariki ya 11 Gicurasi, abagize umutwe w'abaturage b'inkerarugamba benshi hamwe n'abasirikare binjiye ku ngufu muri hoteli kugira ngo bitwaze "igurana" ry'imfungwa ryahwihwiswaga [hamwe n'inkotanyi (FPR)], imibare y'abacumbikwe ikaba yarageraga ku bantu magana atanu[561]. Minuar imaze gusabwa bikomeye n'uBufaransa gucunga umutekano wa hoteli, Inkotanyi (FPR) zamaganiye hejuru ukwivanga kw'uBufaransa.

[Nyuma yaho ku itariki ya 12 Gicurasi I Kigali habereye umubonano] hagati ya Komiseri mukuru wo mu Muryango w'Abibumbye ushinzwe uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, José Ayala Lasso na jenerali Augustin Bizimungu. Isezerano ry etamajoro y'uRwanda ry'iyimurwa muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* ryarabonetse, ariko nanone ntiryarebaga abaturage b'inkerarugamba, basabaga ko "ba kavukire

[561] Kuri bo, wari umwanya wo kubona, nk'ingurane y'irekurwa ry'imfungwa zo muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*, umutekeno wabo ubwabo n'uw'imiryango yabo hanze ya Kigali mu duce twari tutaraba utw'Inkotanyi.

bose" (ni ukuvuga n'imiryango yabo ubwabo) bimurwa.

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 27 Gicurasi, amaherezo, abasivili 240 b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi "baraguranywe", bamwe bajya mu bice by'Inkotanyi (FPR), abandi baherekeza abasirikare mu ihunga ryabo[562]."

Hano biraboneka neza ukuntu umugambi wo gufata imfungwa z' "abanzi" ukora bitewe n'imishyikirano y'ababikora b'abagambanyi, kugeza ubwo, amaze ku byo yifuza, perzida wa MRND yategetse ihagarara ry'imvururu:

"Bz: Ubiherewe uburenganzira kandi ubifashijwemo n 'icyumba, waba wiijambo rya Bwana Ngirumpatse ryahise kuri radiyo rirebana na *Hôtel des Mille Collines*

buka ko ari […]. "Ishyaka MRND koko rero ryakiriye icyemezo cya guverinoma cyo kureka abantu bari baheze ahantu hamaze kuvugwa kuva aho hantu, cyane cyane kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*…cyangwa icyo gihe kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*. Ndashaka gusaba abarwanashyaka bacu, cyane cyane urubyiruko, ndabasaba kuva ubu kurekura abo banyacyubahiro bahejejwe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'ahandi. Niba bashyigikiye guverinoma, bagomba gukurikiza ibyemezo bya guverinoma. Ishyaka MRND rirahagarariwe muri guverinoma kandi icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose cya guverinoma kiba ari n'icyemezo cya MRND. Mbisubiremo, nifuzaga gusaba abarwanashyaka bacu kurekura abo bantu bakimara kumva ubu butumwa."

Sbz: Ibyavuye muri ayo makururana kuri icyo kibazobytumye, niba nkibuka neza, ahagana ku itariki ya 23 cyangwa ahagan ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi, habaye igurana-ryorohejwe, ndakeka, na Minuar-ry'abantu bari barabuze aho banyura bo ku mpande zose, ni ukuvuga Abatutsi bari baraheze kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'Abahutu bari baraheze kuri sitade Amahoro. Habayeho igurana, kandi, muri

[562] André GUICHAOUA (dir.), *Les Crises politiques auBurundi et auRwanda (1993-1994), op. cit.*, p. 707-708.

ubwo buryo, ni irangizwa ry'amakururana, ni irangizwa ry'ibyo biganiro byose.

Bz: Nyuma y'ihitishwa ry'amabwiriza ya Bwana Ngirumpatse, abantu bari kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* baba barashoboye kurenga bariyeri zo ku mihanda?

"Sbz: Yego, igurana ryashyizwe mu bikorwa, igurana ryaratunganye. Rero nsubije nemera[563]."

Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba yari igize ku mpamvu nyinshi ingufu zibyemera kandi zitangira kurangiza umutumwa bukuru bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, kwica Abatutsi n' "n'ibyitso". Imyitwarire mibi yabo n'ibokrwa bibi bitashoboraga kubura byari nk'ikiguzi cy'akazi kakozwe. Icyo gitekerezo, cyari cyagaragaye no mu isesengura ryakozwe mu mutwe wa 6, rivuguruza bidasubirwaho amagambo avuga ko Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba yaba yarishyizeho nk'ingufu zitagenzurwa n'ubuyobozi ubwo ari bwo bwose, bwaba ubwa gisivili cyangwa ubwa gisirikare, kandi bushobora burebwa n'umutwaro w'ubwicanyi bwose na jenoside. Iyo ngirwa kuri yashoboye kwiganza bitewe n'ibintu biboneka bikorewe aho by'ubwicanyi bwakozwe abantu bose bahari kandi ku mugaragaro, akenshi kandi ku muhanda nyabagendwa, ahari harunze imibiri y'abishwe. Kwatijwe imbaraga n'uko ayo matsinda y'abantu cyangwa uduco byari bitandukanye mu rwego rw'imico n'imikorere, kandi n'iyo yasaga n'akorera munsi y'itegeko ry'abakuru cyangwa abayobozi, buri wese mu batugize yashoboraga kwambura, guhutaza cyangwa kwica uwo ariwe wese atabibajije abo 'babishinzwe". Kubera kutagira ubuhuzabikorwa ku rwego rw'igihugu, ikurikirana n'icunga ry'ibikoresho, iyo myitwarire mibi n'inyungu abicanyi babikuragamo ni byo byakururaga ingufu z'ubwicanyi bikanizeza ibizavamo n'agahimbazamusyi hagati y'amatsinda. Ariko ukurikije imyihariko y'ibyaberaga mu maperefegitura, ni abasirikare bashyushy imitwe (nk'i Kigali), abawofisiye basubijwe mu gisirikare bashinzwe ukwirinda kw'abasivili, n'abandi bahagararizi banyuranye batuye ahantu (abanyaporitiki, abacuruzi bakomeye,

[563] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 26 Gicurasi 2006, p. 16-17.

n'abandi) babitagaho bakabaha n'ingemu batashoboraga gukora batabonye. Noneho urutonde rw'ibyihutirwa ryakorwaga buri gihe n'inama z'umutekano mu rwego rwa perefegitura cyangwa amatsinda yavugaga mu izina ryazo.

Nyuma y'intambara, agaciro kanini kahawe ubwisanzure bw'abaturage b'inkerarugamba cyane kubera ibigambo bidafatika byakoreshejwe n'uburyo bwo kwiburanira kw'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitki n'abasirikare bakurikiraywen'akajagari kongerewe uko imyaka yagiye ihita mu mvugo ya gicamanza, ho ibyaha. Koko rero biraboroheye gtsindagira ku bitwaraga gisirikare ishyirwa mu bikorwa ritaziguye ry'ubwicanyi, kandi bo, iyo ubwabo baburana, barebwa n'inkiko zose zo muRwanda kandi badashobora gutegura ukwiburanira gufite gahunda kandi kutivuguruza kimwe n'abaregwa b'Arusha. Ku buryo bw'inyongera, icyo gihuha gifasha bikomeye abakoranaga kimwe na guverinoma zagiranye imishyikirano-cyangwa zashyigikiye-n'abayobozi b'inzibacyuho, zibafata nk'abo bakorana bafite ubwenge kandi batanashobora guhagarika "uburakari bw'abaturage".

Indi ntera mu miyoborere y'ukwirinda kw'abaturage

Guverinoma yari yashyizeho, ikoresheje icyemezo cya minisitiri cyo ku itariki ya

12 Mata, abawofisiye bashinzwe ukwirinda kw'abasivili binjijwe bitegetswe na minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu wo muri MRND. Kuri MRND n'abawofisiye bo mu Majyaruguru, wabaye umwanya wo guhugura abawofisiye bari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru nka majoro Aloys Simba, wahoze ari mu "bakamarade bo ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga (19973)", depite wa MRND ku Gikongoro; majoro Jean-Damascène Ukulikiyeyezu, depite wa MRND,waje kugirwa perefe wa Gitarama ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 1994[564]; koloneli Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita, umukandida depite wa MRND w'i Kibungo mu Nteko y'igihugu ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho akaba yarahoze ari

[564] Jean-Damascène Ukulikiyeyezu asimbura atyo Fidèle Uwizeye, wari wahunze mu mpera za Gicurasi kandi yarirukanywe ku buryo bwemewe ku itarki ya 14 Kamena 1994.

Umuyobozi wungirije wa etamajoro y'abajandarume. I Kigali hari koloneli Athanase Gasake; I Butare, koloneli Alphonse Nteziryayo, wari n'umuyobozi w'igipolisi cya komini muri minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kandi waje kugirwa perefe wa ku itariki ya 17 Kamena bisabwe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, mu izina rya PSD kugira ngo bajijishe ko iyo perefegitura yari ikomeye kuri iryo shyaka…Nanone, jenoside yari ibaye igikorwa cy'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, abasirikare b'abanyaporitiki (Théoneste Bagosora na Augustin Bizimana, Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita) kandi, ku nzego zose za MRND n'iz'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe.*

Ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka bwose bwari bubyiyemeje igihe "aha *Interahamwe* za MRND ubutumwa budasanzwe" ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi mu nama ikomeye y'umutekano yari iyobowe na Minissitir w'intebe:

> "muri ubwo butumwa, *Interahamwe* zirasabwa kurushaho guhiga, kwigizayo no kurwanya umwanzi zifatanyije n'urubyiruko rw'andI mashyaka ashaka amahoro muRwanda.Yabasabye kuba ku isonga ryo guteza imbere igikorwa kigamije kurinda uRwanda (Kwirinda kw'abasivili) no gufata mpiri umugizi wa nabi wese uzagambanira rubanda yihishe inyuma y'umwenda w'*Interahamwe*[565]."

Mu gihe kimwe n'itangira ry'imirimo rya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Edouard Karemrera no kohererezа abaperefe amabwiriza avuye muri guverinoma, poritiki yarahindutse kandi irushaho kugira ubukana. Edouard Karemera ni umugabo ugira gahunda, ushoboye imirimo kandi witanga[566]. Urugero kuri perefegitura

[565] Inyandikomvugo y'inama y'akanama gashinzwe umutekano ku Kibuye yo ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994, iyandukura ry'ijambo rya Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, ishakiro K0246609-10.

[566] Uko kutajarajara kuboneka mu bikorwa bye byose n'amagambo ye (*reba umugereka wa 103*). Ku rugero; umuntu yareba ijambo rye (ryavuzwe hejuru) yavugiye ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994 ku bibazo by'umutekano. Imwe mu nteruro ze za mbere yibutsa, mu itanagazo rye ryo ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, ko "guverinoma yemeye guha umushahara abayobozi b'amaserire (ba resiponsabure ba) ariko ko na bo bagomba kurushaho kwita ku murimo kandi bagacunga umutekano." Arangiza ijambo rye, yagavuze ku ngingo ifatika cyane, ikibazo cy'imitungo itarakoreshwaga y'abishwe n'amakibirane yaterwaga no kuyigarurira mu kajagari: "Yasabye ko abaturage bakora inama kugira ngo batange ibitekerezo bigomba gufasha abayobozi gucunga ibyo bintu ku buryo

ya Kigali rwatanzwe hejuru rwari mu by'ukuri mu mutwe we ubwo byagaragaraga ko ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bukabije, byirohwagamo n'abaturage b'inkerarugamba mu gihugu cyose, byagendaga birambira abaturage, na bo ubwabo bari bashyizwe mu mutekano muke. Ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, Minisitiri w'intebe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu basohoye inyandiko hamwe n'amabwiriza byo gushyira mu bikorwa ivugurura ry' ukwirinda kw'abasivili (*reba umugereka wa 104*), zari mzifite umugambi w'ibanze wo guhuriza hamwe imbaraga zo kwica z'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba no kuzikoresha neza. Mu gushinga abaperefe ukwirinda kw'abasivili, bamwe muri bo ari abasirikare, abayobozi bageragezaga nanone kuzura imbaraga zacitse baziganisha muri politki y'ubwicanyi no gutangiza urwinyagamburiro rwa nyuma mu rwego rw'igihugu mbere y'uko itsindwa hakoreshejwe imbunda ribaho.Ukwirinda kw'abasivili kwatekerejwe kugira ngo kube uruvange rw'abaturage, guverinoma yishyizeho, ingabo, amashyaka n'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba.

Hakurikijwe amabwiriza ku "kwisuganya kw'ukwirinda kw'abasivili", byarebaga

urubyiruko rw'*Interahmwe* gutanga mu gihugu, mu makomini yose na segiteri, abakenewe mu "bantu b'inzobere bagombaga kwigisha abagize igice gikomeye cyo kwirinda kwa'abasivili mu rwego rwa politki n'ibitekerezo", kubera ko bari bujuje kurusha abandi, "ibikenewe byose mu guhitamo urubyiruko rwo kwigisha"kandi bakaba bari basanganywe abavuye mu gisirikare bari bateganyijwe n'inyandiko ya minisitiri (ibaruwa igenewe ba perefe) yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi. Kwari ugushyira umubare munini w'urubyiruko mu myitozo ya girikare.

Ugereranyije na gahunda yo "kugarura amahoro" yari yaramamaye kugeza ubwo,

intego ntiyahindukaga (iryo jambo ryakomezaga gusobanura gukora ubwicanyi), ariko harimo gukoresha neza imbaraga no kwihutisha irimburwa ry' "abanzi" mu gihe nyamara

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bubereye rubanda nyamwinshi" (TPIR, ishakiro K0246608 na 010, *reba umugereka wa 103).* Uwo munyaporitiki w'inzobere, wahoranaga n'abaturage, yari azi neza abo abwira kandi yari afite ubuhanga bukomeye mu rwego rwo gukangura imbaga n'urw'akamaro k'ibintu.

ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) zasatiraga bigaragara Kigali, Gitarama n'inkengero za perefegitura ya Butare. Umuntu yabibonamo iyimikwa ry'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba. Abawofisiye bashyizweho kugira ngo bayobore za komite z'ukwirinda muri buri perefegitura, batunganye imyitozo ya gisirikarekandi bahe intwar abaturage b'inkerarugamba. Bityo, inyandiko yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yerekeye "Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amabwiriza ya Minisitiri w'intebe ku itunganya ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili" yhaga ku mugaragaro abashinzwe komite z'ukwirinda, ububasha bwo kwica bagakiza ku baturage bose bashoboraga gukekwaho gucikika intege cyangwa kugira ubwoba mu 'kurinda igihugu kiri mu makuba" (*reba umugereka wa 104*). Nk'uko umunyamateka Alison Dea Forges yabisesenguye[567], ishyirwaho ry'urwego rwo kwirinda kw'abasivli rugizwe n'abaturage ryari rifite cyane cyane akamaro ko guhigikira icyarimwe amashyaka ya poritiki, inzego za gisirikare n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu kugira ngo himikwe ku buryo bugaragara ububasha n'imyemererwe by'imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba, ni ukuvuga abashyikiye ubwicanyi babyitangira kurushaho. Nta tegeko na rimwe, nta rwego na rumwe byari bigishoboye gukoreshwa mu kwimira umurava w'abarwanashyaka bashoboraga gutera abantu bose, ku buryo ubu n'ubu, bahagarikaga imigendekere y'ukwirinda. Kamwe mu kamaro k'ingenzi k'ayo mabwiriza kari ugutera icyokere "abananiwe", bari benshi mu buyobozi, ndetse no mu ngabo, bari batangiye kwibaza ku kamaro k'ubwo bwicanyi bwose, igitekerezo Abanyarwanda bose bashoboraga guhuriraho mu gihe guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahungiraga mu majyaruguru.

Itozwa ryitaweho mu kwirinda kw'abasivili ryoroshyaga igenzura rya bugufi ry'Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba, yari ifite imyitwarire ya kinyamaswa. Kwiyambaza bikomeye abakozi ba minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'abakozi bakuru bo mu buyobozi bw'uturere byari bigamije kongera guhuruza abaturage bari bakijya ku marondo kandi barahariye igenzura rya za bariyeri abaturage b'inkerarugamba /cyangwa ingegera.

[567] HRW-FIDH, *Nta mutangabuhamya n'umwe ugomba kurokoka, igiyabo cyavuzwe mbere,* p. 325 n'izikurikira.

Ishyirwaho ry' "imyitozo yo kwirinda kwa gisivili" mu maporoto no mu mashami

ryakuruye abakandida benshi bashishikazwaga cyane cyane n'uburyo bwo kubasha kugira imbunda. Wasangagamo abaturage b'inzego zose, abacuruza muri za butiki, abacuruzi, abakozi ba leta, abakozi ba kaminuza, abashakashatsi n'abarimu muri kaminuza. Uretse imirimo yo "kugarura amahoro " yari igenewe abari bagize ukwirinda kw'abasivili, abo bakorerabushake banibwiraga ko bashobora no kugira uruhare ku mutekano wabo bwite, bakanarinda imitungo yabo.

Interahamwe rero zabaye mu bantu b'ingenzi bahawe intwaro zatanzwe minisiteri y'Ingabo z'igihugu muri Kamena-minisitiri w'Ubutegesti bw'igihugu yafasheho kimwe cya kane (imbunda 2500) ku mpamvu zo kwirinda kw'abasivili. Ariko itozwa rya hutihuti ry'urubyiruko rwinjiye vuba ryakorwaga n'abashinzwe ubuyobozi bw'amakomini nta cyo ryamaze na busa igihe ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare bwageragezaga guhagarika isatira ry'imitwe y'ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) yaganaga i Gitarama mu gice cya mbere cy'ukwezi kwa Kamena, bwiyambaje Imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba. Imirwano yabereye mu makomini yo mu majyaruguru ya Butare yateje itakara ry'abantu benshi ku ruhande rwa guverinoma, inatanga ishusho y'intege nke za gisirikare z'ukwirinda kw'abasivili gukozwe n'abaturage.

"Twajyaga impaka ku migendekere y'ubwicanyi muri buri perefegitura. Izo nama zagabanywamo ibyiciro bibiri. Icya mbere kuva muri Mata kuza mumpera za Gicurasi: abaminisitiri, bose, nta kibuza, basabiraga perefegitura bavukamo intwaro nyinshi zishoboka zo guha abaturage babo ku mpamvu itaravugwaga yo kurimbura "Abatutsi"b'Abanyarwanda benshi bashoboka. Muri icyo kiciro cya mbere, ingabo zari zigifite umwihariko ku ntwaro. Hari itangwa ryazo ridakabije ku ruhande rwa guverinoma, abantu babonaga intwara bitewe n'uko babanaga n'abasirikare. Impaka mu gihe cy'Inama ya guverinoma zabaga buri ku mpamvu y'uko buri muminisitiri yabazwaga no kuba atarabonye intwaro zihagije zo

gukwirakwiza muri perefegitura avukamo. I Kigali iryo saba ntiryabagaho, abantu bari bararangije guhabwa intwaro. Mu kiciro cya kabiri, cyo mu kwezi kwa Kmena 1994, twabonye intwaro 10 000 zo gutanga by'umwihariko mu kwirinda kw'abasivili. Kubera igitutu cy'inambara, Ingabo z'igihugu zihaye 7500 muri izo ntwaro. 2500 zasigaye zeguriwe Karemera, minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ku mpamvu z'ukwirinda kw'abasivili. Sinzi uko zatanzwe. Ariko nshobora kuvuga ko 250 muri izo ntwaro zari zigenewe Butare, zinyujijwe kuri jenerali wa burigade Gatsinzi, kandi ko zitigeze zigerayo.Mu Nama y'abaminisitiri, ingingo yo gusaba intwaro yari ukurinda perefegitura y'umuntu imbere y'Inkotanyi. Ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko , no mu kiciro cya mbere, hatigeze habaho ikibazo cyo kubonera perefegitura y'umuntu intwaro kugira ngo bajye kurimbura Abatutsi ku uryo buzwi n'ubuyobozi. Zari buri gihe izo kurwanya Inkotanyi, ni ukvuga umwanzi witwaje intwaro. N'ubwo ubu byagaagaye ki izo ntwaro zakoreshejwe mu kurimbura abasivili b'Abatutsi, nta sabwa ryazo ryigeze rikorwa ku buryo bwemewe n'umuminisitiri n'umwe mu nama za guverinoma.Ngibyo rero ibirebana n'inama hamwe n'abaperefe[568]."

Ni no muri iyo Nama ya nyuma ya guverinoma minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yasabiye "koherza" buri muminisitiri muri perefegitura y'iwabo kugira ngo ayobore ubwe ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda yo kumvisha no gutoza abaturage. N'ubwo nta n'umwe watinyutse kurwanya ku mugaragaro iryo bwiriza, ab' intagondwa muri bo bari baramaze gutangiza, abenshi barifashe. Nk' uburwayi, iryo bwiriza (ryamenyekanye humvwa abaregwa) nta hantu rigaragara mu nyandiko muri ajenda cyangwa mu nyandiko mvugo y'umuntu ku giti cye izwi.

"Guverinoma ya jenoside"

N'ubwo ari imvugo iremereye, kwita Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho "guverinoma

[568] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2 K7-18, 27 Nzeri 1997.

ko

ya jenoside" birahwitse. Byemezwa byuzuye na Minisitiri wayo w'intebe, amaze kubona "yashyiriweho kujya gukora ubwicanyi[569]", wihisha inyuma y'ukwemerwa n'amategeko k'ubutumwa bwe. Niba, kimwe na bagenzi be, ataratangije ubwe iyo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, yarangije "inshingano nyazo" zayo (manda nyayo yayo) mu bwitange kuva igihe yafatiraga icyemezo ukwinangira yasangaga mu maperefegitura menshi yo mu Majyepfo. Uko amakimbirane mu rwego rwa gisirikare yarushagaho gukomera, ubwicanyi bwarushagaho gukwirakwira: byari kuva ubwo gukomera ku rugamba rwo guhangana n'Inkotanyi muri kapitali no mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu, aho yasatiraga vuba vuba, no guhuruza igihugu.

Imvugo "guverinoma ya jenoside" risaba nanone ibisobanuro byinshi.

Icya mbere, kuva ubu biragarara ko, ku buryo bunyuranye n' ibitetekerezo bitandukanye bishyira imbere ukubaho kwa "leta yananiwe" kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, ndetse na mbere, bigatera igihe cy'akajari rusange, ntihigeze habaho icyuho mu butegetsi bwo muRwanda-nibura, umuntu agarutse ku rugero rukabije, kubera kubanguka n'uburwanashyaka by'abigaga kwigarurira ubutegetsi mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata. N'ubwo ibihe byo gukomanya amahembe byiganje kubera uguhiganwa kw'abashoboraga kuba abakandida mu isimbura ryatewe n'iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, abari babifitemo uruhare b'ingenzi bo mu bice byombi by'abasisirikare n'amatsinda y'abasivili bari bafatanyije na bo ntibigeze batakaza ubugenzuzi bw'umwuka wa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu. Ni bo koko bateganyije ikurikirana n'urwego rw'ubukana by'amakimbirane ya gisirikare n'intambara yo gusubiranamo, batangiza cyangwa batiza umurindi ibikorwa (imyigaragambyo, inyandiko zisebanya n'amatangazo, iterabwoba, amarorerwa,

[569] "Kubera ko… mu ntangiriro, igihe jye nagirwaga Minisitiri w'intebe, sinibaraga nk'umuntu washyiriweho kujya gikora ubwicanyi, numvaga ndi umuntu washyiriweho kuba Minisitiri w'intebe w'igihugu cyose no kuzana amahoro n'umutekano, kandi ni zo nshingano zari zahawe guverinoma, kandi muri urwo rwego nabishyizemo ubushake, mvuga nti bampaye inshingano eshatu: kugarura umutekano mu gihugu,kugirana imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi kugira ngo nsubize mu buryo ishyirawa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha hanyuma no kurengera abaturage n'ibindi…kwita ku mpunzi. Ibyo ni byo byari ubushake bwanjye" (iyumvwa rya Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-68, 20 Gicurasi 1998).

ubwicanyi) byatezaga urwego rw'ishyushyamitwe cyangwa rw'ihungabanya rujyanye n'imigambi rusange yo kwigarurira cyangwa yo kugumana ubutegetsi. Nanone, haba muri kapitali cyangwa mu maperefegitura y'imbere mu gihugu, n'ubwo ibura ry'uburyo ryagize ingaruka zigaragara ku nzego nkuru, cyane cyane kubera iyimurirwa rya guverimnoma i Murambi, no ku buryo kukomeye inzego z'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, ubuyobozi bwakomeje gukora bisanzwe aho ari ho hose-nk'uko byemezwa n'ibirundo byinshi by'impapuro inzego zinyuranye zohererezanyaga- cyane cyane mu rwego rwo gutoza cyangwa rwo guhuruza abaturage ku mpamvu zo kubashyushya imtwe.

Iki gitekerezo ntikinyuranye n'icy'ubuswa cyangwa akamenyero gake by'abanyacyubahiro bari bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, cyangwa n'ukubaho k' ubutegetsi bubangikanye.

Ukuboneka kw'imenyera ry'akazi ridahagije rya benshi mu baminisitiri, ndetse n'ubuswa bw'uyu n'uyu, gufite ishingiro ku buryo budahakanwa. Umuntu yakwibaza ukuntu perefegitura ya Kibuye yasaga n'itarigeze igira uyihagarariye muri guverinoma kuva Repubulika ijyaho yagize itya igahabwa abaminsisitiri bane mu bakomeye cyane[570], akanatanga igitekerezo ko, mu bihe by'intambara, abakorerabushake bashobora kwitangira imyanya irusha iyindi kutagira akamaro ari abavaga mu maperefegitura yari yaratereranywe, aho irari ryo gukomera ryari ryapfubijwe imyaka n'imyaka. Abazamuwe mu ntera bashya bagaragaye mu bagize umwete mwinnshi mu kurangiza inshingano zabo, mu gihe abari bamenyereye gutegeka bajijinaganyaga kuzirangiza cyangwa babyangaga ku bushake.

Ariko rero abaminisitiri benshi ntibari bakigira uruhare mu rwego rwa tekiniki rwari mu nshingano zabo (uburezi, ubuhinzi, umuryango n'imibereho y'abagore…). Bavugaga nk'abahagarariye ishyaka ryabo n'amaperefegitura bavukamo no ku kibazo cy'ingorabahizi cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivili no kugarura amahoro. Icyo gihe, akamaro k'umuminisitiri kapimirwaga ku kwitanga mu rwego rwa poritiki gutewew no

[570] Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (kugarura amahoro na jenoside), Ubukungu (imbaraga z'intambara), Itangazamakuru (poropagande) n'Ubutabera (ukudahana).

gushyigikira poritiki ya guverinoma, ni ukuvuga mu bikorwa, mu igenzura no mu ihitamo ry'abakozi ba leta bashobora guhuruza abaturage mu kwitangira intambara. Nii kuri izo ngingo abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuha bajyaga impaka buri gihe bikajyana n'iyirukanwa n'ishyirwaho byageraga ku rwego rw'abakonseye ba segiteri.

Nanone, igitekerezo kivuga ko Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yasaga n'ikora idahari

kubera isiba rihoraho rya bamwe mu bayigize ryajyanaga n'uburyo bwo kujya inama ku "butumire" (inama zitunguranye, impaka z'urudaca, ukwiyongera kw'inana zidasanzwe) nticyabuzaga ko yayoborwaga cyangwa igakururwa n'agace k'intagondwa, zihaga ubutegetsi bukomeye mu izina ryayo cyangwa mu izina ry'izindi nzego zubahiriza ubutegetsi zibangikanye na yo, nk'ibiro bya perezida n'ibya Minisitiri w'intebe byarimo abajyanama batabarika.

Uko kwifata kose kujyana na poritiki yakurikizwaga, uburwanashyaka

bw'abayigize, guhabwa agaciro gake hanze, ariko ntikugira icyo gutwara ubuhanga bwayo mu kwica n'ukutava ku izima, n'iyo byaba ari ukwiyahura, mu gushyira mu bikorwa intego zayo. Igitekerezo kigaragarira ku buryo rimwe na rimwe butagira icyo buhishe, mu nyandiko mvugo n'inyandiko zihariye z'abazijyagamo:

> "Urwego rw'impaka hagati y'abo bayobozi baguverinoma y'igihugu n'abakuru b'amashyaka rwari hasi cyane kandi mu by'ukuri byarababazaga kumva bamwe mu banyabwenge bakomeye bo mu gihugu bavuga ibyaabaga nk'aho barimo gukora indi revolisiyo y'abaturage ya kabiri. Urugero,ndibuka Bwana Donat Murego, nyamara wari dogiteri mu buhanaga mu bya poritiki, arimo mkuvuga ubwicanyi n'intambara "nk'uburyo bwo kurangiza revolisiyo yo mu 1959" n'inzira yo ishyaka rye umwanya mu matora yo mu bihe bizaza. […] Inma yemwe y'abaminisistri nagiyemo I Muramba (Gisenyi) [ku itariki ya 11 Kamena], yarntambabaje cyane. […]Muri iyo nama, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, yasbye abateraniye aho niba guverinoma yarashoboraga kwemera icyifuzo cy'abasirikare cyo kwica abasenyeri babiri b'Abatutsi, Musenyeri Gahamanyi Jean-Baptiste wa

> Butare na Musenyeri Kalibushi Wenceslas wa Nyundo, bombi bari bahungiye ku Gisenyi, kugira ngo bahorere abasenyeri batatu b'Abahutu bari barishwe n'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 5 Kamena , ari bo Thaddée Nsengiyummva wa Kabgayi, Joseph Rtuzindana wa Byumba na Vincent Nsengiyumva wa Kigali. Numvaga mbabajwe bikomeye n'ukuntu impaka nk'izo zishobora kugibwa ku mugaragaro mu Nama y'abaminisitiri noneho ngaragaza ko nanze bidasubirwaho icyifuzo cya minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu. Ndakeka ko iyo nama yabaye umunsi wo gushyingura nyina wa Protais Zigiranyirazo, cyngwa ikintu nk'icyo cyari cyabaye. Kambanda yasoje inama arakaye kugira ngo ajye muri uwo muhango, yizeza kongera kudutumira. Mu bantu bari bahari, ndibuka Mugenzi, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Karemera na Mugiraneza. Ndakeka ko Augustin Ngirabatware , wari washinzwe perefegitura ya Gisenyi, na we yari ahari, ariko sinabihamya[571].”

Kuri iyo ngingo na ho, birasa n'aho nta tandukanyirizo nyaryo hagati y'abahabwaga icyubahiro cy'abize n'abari bazamuwe mu ntera. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko yatandukanyaga, ku ruhande rumwe, “abanyaporitiki bafite ibitekerezo”, ni ukuvuga abakuru b'amashyaka, ku rwego intambara yari igezemo, bahitagamo kwitarura imikorere ya buri munsi y'inzego za leta, bagahugira ahanini ku itegura ry'ibihe bizakurikiraho, hanyuma ku rundi ruhande abacungaga intambara no “kugarura amahoro”. Muri bo bose, hashoboraga gutoranywamo, ku ruhande rumwe, abaminisitiri bakorana ubushake kurusha abandi kandi bashyushye: Eliézer Niyitegeka, Callixte Nzabonimana[572], Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Rafiki Nsengiyumva, babihariye ahanini igihe cyabo n'imbaraga zabo, ku rundi, ba nyakabyizi (Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, Straton

[571] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

[572] “Mu kurangiza, nagiraga ngo mbabwire ko, ubwo nari mu buhungiro muri Bénin, bwana Nzirorera Joseph ko uwo mugabo, n'ubwo yari mu rwego rw'umuminisitiri, na we ubwe yinjiye mu bwicanyi bwo mu 1994. Ngo abari bamwegereye mu butegetsi baba baramuhimbaga *Bwarayaze*, ni ukuvuga “umusazi” (iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Ukuboza 2005, p. 92).

Nsabumukunzi, André Rwamakuba…) n' "ingirwabanyapolitki", nk'uko biswe na Jean Kambanda, ari bo batishyiraga imbere (Gaspard Ruhumuliza, Jêrôme Bicamumpaka, Jean de Dieu Kamuhanda…).

Abenshi muri bo ntibagawe: guverinoma yarakoraga, yarateranaga, yashakaga amakuru, yafataga imyanzuro, yafaga ibyemezo iknatanga amabwiriza ku bintu byose, n'ibintu bireba abasirikare itari imenyreye byanze bikunze kandi iyari ifiteho ububasha buke cyane. Uko kwemerwa n'ububasha byajyanaga byarifuzwaga bikomeye, na nyuma yo hagati ya Nyakanga, nyuma y'inzozi z'ubutegetsi zagumyeho n'ubwo yari yahiritswe kandi iri mu buhungiro.

Ingingo imwe ishobora kwemerwa ni ivuga ko abafataga ibyemezo bakomeye kurushaho baba barabonye uburyo bwo gukoresha ibyo bashatse abamimnisitiri mu itunganya ry'inshingano zabo. Ishobora kugabanywamo ikuru ebyiri. Inkuru ya mbere ibumbiye mu magambo akurikira ya Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh:

> "Bz: Havugwa ko batari bagaragaza ko bari bafite ububasha bwo kugenzura ubutegetsi mu gihugu. Hari iminsi itandatu nyuma y'aho bagiriye i Gitarama; nifuzaga rero ko musobanura icyo mushaka kuvuga ahongaho.
>
> Sbz: Oya, nta kintu mfite cyo gusobanura. Ndakeka ko byumvikana neza ko guverinoma isanzwe iba i Kigali [nyuma] ikiyemeza kujya [kuba] i Gitarama ari uko [igomba kuba] ifite ibibazo. Murashaka ko mbabwira iki? Kubera ko Kigali ari yo kapitali, ni ho hari inzego zose z'itumanaho, iz'ubuyobozi cyangwa iza guverinoma kugira ngo igihugu kigire ubuyobozi. Iyo guverinoma ivuye muri kapitali ikajya mu mugi wo mu giturage, turabibona. Murashaka ko mbabwira iki bwana mwunganizi mu mategeko (Maître)?[573]."

[Iyi nkuru] Ifite koko ireme mu minsi ya mbere yo kubaho no kutumvikana kwa

[573] Ibyatangajwe na Jacques Roger BOOH-BOOH, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,* 22 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 50.

Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ubwo ukwigarura kw''abagiriwe icyizere" kwari kutarizerwa: koko rero, kugeza ku irahira ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata, umuntu yakwemera ko yarimo abanyacyubahiro babonaga bashobora gupfa (bibonaga bapfuye) baramuste banze kubera ko intego nkuru y'ihirika ry'ubutegetsi ry'abasirikare (Bagosora n'abandi) yari iyo kwikiza (kurimbura) abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Nanone, bamaze kuvumbura ko bari batoranyijwe kugira ngo bagerekweho uruhare mu bikorwa bya mbere by'ubugizi bwa nabi n'ubwicanyi ku bantu bo mu Majyepfo, cyangwa nibura kugira ngo bagabane urwo ruhare, abenshi barifashe imbere y'ubwicanyi.

Nyamara rero nyuma y'iyimurirwa ryabo i Gitarama ni bwo abaminisitiri bahindutse abantu bahamagarira [abandi] ubwicanyi kandi bashyira mu bikorwa poritiki yari ibategerejweho aho yagombaga kubera, ni ukuvuga ku dusozi tw'imbere mu gihugu hatari i Kigali.

Inkuru ya kabiri ni iy'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ushyira imbere ubutegetsi bukorera mu bwiru bugatambamira ibyifuzo byiza bwitirira iyo guverinoma:

> "Kubera ikomeza ry'ubwicanyi, icyo nakekaga ni uko hari ubutegetsi bwemewe bwasaga n'ubudafite imbaraga iruhande rw'ubutegetsi bukorera mu bwiru bukomeye kurushaho, bugizwe n'abari mu Kazu nka Bagosora, Nzirorera, Casimir Bizimungu, Augustin Ngiarabatware n'abandi, kandi bari bafite imiyoboro ikomeye imbere mu gihugu, ndetse no mu mahanga, kubera ko, n'ubwo hariho amabwiriza yacu n'ibyemezo minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu yavugaga ko yayafatiye, ubwicanyi bwarakomeje[574]."

Icyo gitekerezo ni cyo mu rwego rw'imibanire y'ubutegetsi bwemewe

[574] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

n'ububangikanye na bwo, ariko nta cyatuma umuntu yemeza ko habayeho inyuranya rikomeye hagati y'ubwo butegetsi. Nk'uko Alison Des Forges yabigaragaje, abakuru b'amashyaka bakoranaga inama muri rusange n'abagize guverinoma kandi abaminisitiri bavugaga mi izina ry'ishyaka ryabo rirobanuyemo ushobora kurirwanya uwo ari we wese. Niba hari agce k'umukino wa politki kacikaga abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, poritiki mu rwego rwo kugaruara amahoro yakorerwaga mu bwumvikane busesuye:

"Abayoibozi b'amashyaka, nka Karemera wo muri MRND na Murego wo muri MDR "*Power",* bajyaga mu Nama y'abaminisitiri, na ho abandi, nka Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND, bahagarariraga Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu mahanga, bitwaje ubutumwa bwo gusobanura jenoside. Minisitiri w'intebe ne minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bategetse abaperefe gukoresha abanyacyubahiro b'abanyaporitiki batuye kugira uruhare mu bikorwa, kugira ngo bagarure "umutekano" .Barubashye kamdi bakora ku buryo ababungirije na bo babigenza batyo. Kimwe n'abari mu buyobozi, abakuru b'amashyaka akomeye barindwaga n'abasirikare kandi kimwe na bo, bakoraga ingendo ku misozi kugira ngo bageze ubutumwa bwa guverinoma ku baturage[575]."

Indi ngingo isa n'iyo ishobora gutangwa ku kibazo cyo kutabona amakuru ahagije

kwahogaho kw'abaminisitiri. Umwe muri bo ashyigikira ko "ku byo azi, guverinoma nk'urwego rukorera hamwe, itabonaga raporo ku migendekere y'ubwicanyi, uretse izatanzwe n'abaperefe mu nama yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata[576]."

Nyamara imirongo y'ibyigwa yose y'inama za guverinoma zabagamo ingingo "poropagande": abaminisitiri ni bo mu by'ukuri bari bayishinzwe. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahaye ku buryo butunganye umwanya munini icunga ry'itangazamakuru ku bikorwa byayo, n'ubwo ibyavuyemo bitari bishimishije. Bityo, mu iteganya

[575] HRW-FIDH, *Aucun temoin ne doit survivre, , op. cit.* p. 262.

[576] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

ry'amatsinda y'akazi mato y'abaminisitiri, itanagazamakuru ryari igice cyihariye. Ku buryo bubangikanye, ubutumwa bwinshi bwo gusobanura mu mahanga bwarateguwe, ubutumwa aabminisitiri cyangwa abavugizi babiherewe ububasha bakozemo umurimo wo kuba abashinzwe ingendo kugira ngo basabe imfashanyo cyangwa intwaro.

Ntibyoroshye , biraboneka, guhakana ko "abasivili bashyizwe imbere", kandi ko, nibura bafatiwe mu mukino:

-Ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwagenzurwaga na guverinoma ku buryo bwa hafi kandim kuburyo busobanutse neza bwagenzurwaga n'abanyacyubahiro bari bashinzwe "kugaarura amahoro" mu maperefegitura. Amahiganwa hagati y'abantu ku giti cyabo no mhagati y'amashyaka kugira ngo ageenzure amaperefegitura, amakomini n'amasegiteri yatumaga mu by'ukuri ibintu bikomera kandi yashoboraga kubyara amakimbirane mu karere, ariko imisubirire mu buryo yayo yakorerwaga hagati y'amashyake muri guverinoma. Ahubwo, ububasha bwa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'abaperefe bwariyongraga mu gihe cy'amakimbirane kubera agahimbazamusyi k'intambara kahaga ububasha nyabwo abakozi ba leta bafite umwete bititaye ku mategeko asanzwe y'inzego;

- Amashyaka n'umwiryane wayo byagenaga mu byukuri imibereho ya buri munsi ya guverinoma, ariko, inyuma y'amakimbirane ashingiye ku igababana ry'umutungo n'imyanya, ubufatanye bwiganzaga ku byeyerekeye intego n'uburyo. Iryo huza ryashingiraga ku buryo butunvikana ku mbaraga zidasubira inyuma za MRND, yari ifite ubwunganizi buhagije mu ngabo n'ubwiganze buhagije mu buyobozi bw'igihugu ku hantu haruta bibiri bya gatatu by'igihugu. Nanone MRND yahoraga icungishije perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo abajyanama be. Abayobozi ba MRND ni na bo bagenzuraga Radio Rwanda kandi bari barateye itangizwa rya RTLM[577].

[577] Hano nta wareka kwibutsa ko ku rutonde rw'abari bafite imigabane muri iyo mradiyo "yigenga", wasangagamo ukurikije irutanwa ry'umutungo washyizwemo: Habyarimana Yuvenari, 1 000 000 Frw; Basabose Pierre, 600 000 Frw; Kabuga Félicien, 500 000 Frw; Musabe Pas Teur, 500 000; Nzirorera Joseph, 500

Ukutigaragaza k'umuryango wa perezida wari warimukiye ku Gisenyi no kuba umukuru wayo yarabaye igitambo, byongeraga ukwemerwa n'ingufu z'ishyaka rya perezida. Uvanyemo abajyanama b' "umuryango" bari bahagarariwe na Augustin Ngirabatware muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, n'imishyikirano mu rwego mpuzamahanga bakomeje kugirana n'abakuru b'ibiguhugu bamwe na bamwe, "itsinda ryo ku Gisenyi" ryigaragaje ku itariki ya 25 Mata ritangiza ikigega cyo kurinda igihugu, cyari gishinzwe guha guverinoma imfashanyo (igura ry'intwaro, imodoka, iniforome z'ingabo n'iz'imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba. Mu bagiteraga inkunga, harimo Félicien Kabuga, Matayo Ngirumpatse, Edouard Karemera, Anatole Nsengiyumva. Ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, Félicien Kabuga yamenyesheje ku mugaragaro Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itangizwa ry'icyo kigega anasobanura uburyo bwo gukoresha umutungo (*reba umugereka wa 105);*

-Ubwa nyuma kandi cyane cyane, imaze gutangizwa, by'umwihariko mu ngabo z'igihugu no mu maperefegitura yari ashyigikiye abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, jenoside yagombye buri gihe kwemezwa ku ngufu imbere y'abayiwanyaga, abanyaporitiki "badashyushye" n'abakozi bakuru b' "abanyabwoba". Hagombye buri gihe guhora isubirwamo iyo imbaraga no kwemera akamaro kayo byagabanukaga. Uretse ikusanya ry'abantu, ibikoresho n'ibinrtu bya ngombwa mu gukora jenoside, guverinoma yagombye bihoraho gutaka, uko byashobokaga kose, ukwemerwa kw'ibitekerezo by' "uburakari bw'abaturage" imbere no hanze y'igihugu. Kubera iyo mpamvu, yagombaga guhoza ingingo n'akamaro mu rwego rwa poritiki mu mvugo inoze (kugarura amahoro, ukwirinda kw'abasivili, n'izindi), kugira ngo ubwicanyi budahinduka burundu ubunyamaswa, ubusambo bukabije n'ibikorwa byubugizi bwa nabi kuri za bariyeri no ku misozi.

Ahanini koko, imaze gutangira, "jenoside yarihagije ubwayo n'ubwicanyi

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000;Rwabukumba Séraphin, 500 000 Frw; Kmana Claver, 300 000 Frw; Bagosora Théoneste, 250 000 Frw. Kandi, kugira hatagira n'umwe ubura, mu bashyizemo imigabane bato harimom Madamu Karemera Édouard (25 000Frw) na Mgirumpatse Mathieu (5 000 Frw).

ntibwakeneye “gutegurwa” “, bwatunganywaga buri munsi[578]. Imaze kuvuka, ihawe ububasha ku ntego zoroshye kandi “isonewe” inkeke iyo ari yo yose y’amategeko, Imitwe y’abaturage b’inkerarugamba ntiyari ikeneye kongera “gushyirwa kuri gahunda”. Icy’ingenzi aho yakorerwaga, kwari uguhozaho no guhembera buri gihe imbaraga hamwe n’inyungu zinyuranye (ubwambuzi, ubusahuzi, gufata ku ngufu, ibihembo by’ako kanya cyangwa ibintu bitangwa).

Ishyizweho ku mpamvu zatewe no gukenerwa no kwihutirwa, guverinoma yaje kuba, mu mibereho yayo kuva ku itariki ya 9 Mata kugeza ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga, itsinda “ryihariye”, ryarimo ingufu z’abantu koko zitandukanye, ariko, ku mpamvu zinyuraranye, buri wese yiyumvagamo. Niba itaragenzuye uduce twose tw’ubutegetsi (by’umwihariko,amatsinda y’abasirikare n’abanyaporitiki bayiyoboreraga hanze cyangwa kure), yibwiye ko yari yemewe mu mategeko kandi ntiyigeze ishake kwitandukanya n’ubwo butegetsi bwnshi bwo mu bwiru: Akazu n’abo kanyuragaho (abasimburaga abahungiye) mu mahanga, Théoneste Bagosora n’abasirikare b’abakiga bari bamushyigikiye, inyabune yayoboraga MRND, abayobozi b’amaperefegitura (Renzaho i Kigali, Rwagafieita i Kibungo, Nseniyumva ku Gisenyi, n’abandi)[579]. Ahubwo buri gihe yatanguranwe gushyira mu bikorwa ibyifuzo byabo cyangwa ishyigikira poritiki mbi zamaganwaga. Uruhare rw ’abanyaporitiki bashyize ubuyobozi bwa gisivili buteguye neza kandi bufatika mu ntego z’intambara z’uduce tw’intagondwa z’abasirikare n’abaturage b’inkerarugamba ruzamo ku buryo bwuzuye, kera ko ari bo bihatiye kuburizamo uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose butunganye bwo kurwanya umushinga wa

[578] Twibutse ko ubwicanyi bwo muri Kibirira cyangwa ubwo mui Bugesera butiyambaje urwego rukuru urwo ari rwo rwose rwihariye. Bwakoreshejwe ibikoresho bike ku rwego rw’ubuyobozi na poritiki: abahagarariye abayobozi bingingaga kandi bakanatwara inkundarubyino zabyiyemeje zo muri MRND, ibatayo y’abahohotewe n’intambara…Kutabasha kurimbura ukwirwanaho gukaze kw’abari barokotse b’Abatutsi bo muri perefegitura ya Kibuye bari bakusanyirije ku dusozi twa Bisesero muri Gicurasi na Kamena 1994 no gukenera kwiyamabaza ingabo zo mu yandi maperefegitura bigaragaza neza uko kutitegura kw’inzego n’ubwo habayeho ihruza mu kajagari ry’ingabo, abajandarume, igipolisi n’abaturage b’inkerarugamba.

[579] Imbere y’iyo mashini y’intambara ikomeye yahuruzaga imbaga y’abayoboke ba MRND, abayobozi bo muri

jenoside (amashyirahamwe adashingiye kuri leta, amadini…) no guhindura ubusa imibanire y'abaturage yari hejuru y'inkomoko n'igitekerezo cyo kuba mu moko.

Muri rusange, icyafashije inzego za leta kurangiza inshingano zazo mbi muri ayo

mezi atatu cyari gishingiye ku mpamvu z'uko imibereho y'abari bafitemo uruhare ba leta n'abafashwaga na leta, yari ifitanye isano n'intambara bari bazi ko bamaze gutsindwa, kandi ko imyiryane ya poritiki n'uturere yagabanyaga ingufu za poritiki bari bahuriyeho, yageraga muri buri gace kari kabashyikiye. Ubwumvikane rusange bwakomokaga nanone mu masano ya hafi yari yaratanzweho umurage n'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, yungaga abagize inzego za girrirkare, abanyaporitiki n'ubuyobozi. Bwaba ubutegetdi bwa Kayibanda cyngwa ubwa Kabyarimana, bwose bwari bushingiye ku banyabwenge bafite imico itandukanye, noneho intambara ibagarurira ubuyanja. Ingabo z'igihugu ku ruhande rumwe, abakurur b'amashyaka abir akomeye ku rundi: Nzirorera, Karemera na Ngirumpatse ku ruhande rwa MRND, Murego na Karamira ku rwa MDR. Ayo mashyaka yombi yarase ubumwe yari yasubiranye mu guhuza urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* n'*Inkuba*, nyumayaho mu kwirinda kw'abasivili.

Umwiryane kirimbuzi waranduye ingoma wari ushinze imizi mu ihiganwa

Nduga/Kiga MRND, ingabo, cyangwa ubuyobozi batashoboye kwigobotora. Koko rero, abakozi ba leta bakuru bo mu Majyepfo, abasivili cyangwa abasirikare, bumvaga ari ugushyira ubutegetsi mu maboko y'umuntu nka Nzirorera wabonwagamo— urukundo abaturage bari bafitiye Habyarimana tutarushyizemo— ibibi byose byo muri Repubulika ya II, ari no kujya munsi y'ikirenge cy'ingabo ntutsi za FPR ari iri n'iri. Uretse izo "ngamba" zombi, urwo hanze n'urw'imbere mu gihugu, uduco dushyira imbere ubuhutu twari dushyamiranye, twashwanyaguraniye mu ntambara y'ubwiko n'iyo kuzungura, yatubereye simusiga.

MRND ni bo bonyine bari bafite ububasha bwihariye bwo kujya mu mishyikirano yo mu rwego rwa poritiki.

13

Intambara, inzira yo gukiranura abahihibikaniraga kuzungura

Kimwe n'uko intambara yateye hejuru bidasubirwaho inzego z'imibanire y'abaturage n'iz'ubukungu hagati y'abantu ku giti cyabo ku misozi no mu duce tw'imigi, n'uko ubutegetsi n'ibintu byashoboraga guhinduka buri kanya mu buryo bw'igitugu kandi ukwitegeza ibitagira ba nyirabyo byari ubwabyo intego y'intambara, ubusahuzi bw'umutungo wa leta no kurunda iminyago y'intambara byakusanyije imbaraga nyinshi mu mashyaka anyuranye.

Isaranganya ry'umutungo (imyanya, amafaranga, ibigemurwa), washoboraga kuba muke cyangwa utubutse bitewe n'uko wagerwagaho, ryari impamvu yo kuyoboka kandi ryagabanyaga umururumba.

Ibyo bintu byagize uruhare rukomeye mu ihiganwa hagati y'amashyaka n'abanyacyubahiro no mu ishyamirana ry'abifuzaga kuzungura.

Igabana ry'umutungo wa leta

Amashyaka yagombaga kwita ku ikusanya ryo mu rwego rwa poritiki n'ibitekerezo ry'abarwanashyaka bayo. Kubyiyumvamo kw'abakozi bakuru n'abakuru b'amaserire ku nyungu zabo kwagombaga kubanziriza umurimo uwo ari wo wose utunganye wo gukangura abantu mu rwego rwa poritiki. Kugira ngo bigerweho, bagombaga kugira ibyo bizeza ababashyigikiye, ni ukuvuga ku nburyo busobanutse neza

kubaha umutungo muri icyo gihe cyari gikomeye ku bantu bose. Akamaro ko guha ishyaka minisiteri iyi n'iyi cyangwa ikigo iki n'iki cya leta, hakurikijwe ububasha bwacyo bwo kwinjiza umutungo kari kanini. Intambara icyo yakoze ni ukongera iyo ngeso.

Icyo gihe cyavutsemo imikorere idasanzwe yo guhuza ingeso yo guhakwa ingoma ya Habyarimana yari ishingiyeho n'ibibazo by'intambara. Kugira ngo habeho "ubwumvikane bw'amashyaka", guverinoma yagombaga kugenera imfashanyo umururumba w'abanyacyubahiro bifuzaga umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika cyangwa indi nshingano ikomeye (nibura gutegura ingendo, inama, mitingi) no kwihakirwa ku mukuru uyu n'uyu w'ishyaka.

Uwo ni umwe mu mirimo yari ishinzwe ubutumwa mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanaga n'urw'ubucuruzi mu mahanga abanyacyubahiro bo mu mashyaka bagiyemo mu rwego rwo gucuruza umusaruro w'ubuhinzi n'inganda na cyane cyane mu igura ry'intwaro. Inyandiko z'Inama ya guverinoma dufite (cyane cyane izakokozwe na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko) n'ubumhamya bwinshi bitanga ingero zituma hagereranywa agaciro k'ibyakoreshejwe n'abo byagiriye akamaro b'ingenzi.

Usangamo mbere na mbere abategetsi bakuru bari bashinzwe kurangiza ibibazo byabo bwite no kongera umutungo w'ishyaka ryabo. MRND birumvikana ko ari yo yahungukiraga cyane, ikoresheje umwanya w'umwihariko wari wagenewe koloneli Ephrem Setako, umuwofisiye wagendanaga na perezida akaba n'umuntu wo mu biganza bya Nzirorera, wakomokaga mu gace kamwe na we wuzurizaga hamwe amasandugu y'uwari umusigasiye n'aya MRND, atibagiwe n'aye bwite. Hakurikiraho Yozefu Nzirorera ubwe[580] na Casimir Bizimungu, hanyuma Protais Zigiranyirazo, witaga ku igenzura ry'iyiherezwa mu mahanga rya pireteri. Ariko usanga nanone ku isoko ry'intwaro abakuru b'amashyaka babiri b'ingenzi bazwi mu bikorwa by'igwizamutungo

[580] Imibare yakozwe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yo mu buhungiro igereranya umutungo wishyuzwa-ni ukuvuga utarakoreshejwe kandi utarasubijwe Leta nyuma yo kuva mu butumwa- wa Yozefu Nzirorera, intumwa ku "mucuruzi wo muri Repubulika y'Afurika y'Epfo" ubarirwa mu madorari 900 000 (*reba Raporo ku miterere y'umutungo, y*akozwe bisabwe na perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo, na Innocent Habamenshi, minisitiri w'Umutungo n'Ibikoresho ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yo mu buhungiro, ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1995, umugereka wa 106).

byabo: Froduald Karemera wo muri MDR na Justi Mugenzi wo muri PL. Hyacinthe Rafiki Nsengiyumva wo muri PSD ntiyasigaye inyuma: Yahawe na guverinoma, mu mwanya wa Straton Nsabumukunzi-minisitiri w'Ubuhinzi bavaga mu ishyaka rimwe [581]-ububasha bwo kugurisha umusaruro w'ikawa. Igice cy'imari minisitiri yashatse kubika muri Banki Nasiyonali y'uRwanda (BNR) cygenewe cyose gutera inkunga "ubutumwa bw'abanyacyubahiro". Mugenzi we mu ishyaka, Emmanuel Ndindababahizi, yagumanye we amadorali ibihumbi 84, na yo yavanywe ku y'igurishwa ry'ikawa. Ku itariki ya 15 Kamena 1994, amafaranga y'amanyamahanaga (amadovize) yose yo muri BNR yari yarakoreshejwe. Imari "yapfuye ubusa", yitwariwe [582]n'umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu yari igegze ku madorali ibihumbi 151. Iyasigaye ku musaruro w'ikawa yari igenewe ubucuruzi yimuwe na Rwandex-Gisenyi yagurishirijwe i Goma na Eugène Mbarushimana, umunyamabanga mukuru w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe,* afatanyije na Augustin Ngirabatware na Félicien Kabuga, bombi bari babereye abakwe. Imari itaratanzwe muri leta yageze ku madorali ibihumbi 600. Igurishwa rya gasegereti ni minisitiri Callixte Nzabonimana warihaweho umurage. Ikiguzi cyayo cyageze ku madorali ibihumbi 470, ataragize n'urumiya rugera mu isandugu ya leta. Yugarijwe n'igitutu cyo guhunga, Nzabonimana "yishyuye" umubare (akayabo ko) w'amadorali ibihumbi mirongo itanu, Minisitiri w'intebe Jean Kambanda wari uyakeneye ...

Hanyuma, abasirikare bo, bari by'umwihariko mu mwanya mwiza wo kubonera inyungu mu masoko y'intwaro. Nyine ni 'agace ka Bagosora" kagaburiwe, karimo koloneli Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza, liyotona koloneli Cyprien Kayumba na Théoneste Bagosora ubwe. Intumwa muri dosiye yo kugemura intwaro n'amasasu yoherejwe muri sosiyete OMI, koloneli Cyprien Kayumba yashyize mu mufuka miliyoni imwe y'amadorari.

Ubwo butumwa bwose budasanzwe bwararwanirwa by'umwihariko, atari ukubera

[581] Uyu yari yaramaze kubona ibye mu igurishwa ry'ibintu binyuranye bifite agaciro kagera ku madorari 100 000.

[582] Imibare yose yavuzwe ihura n'umwaka wa 1994. Reba *raporo ku miterere y'umutungo, igitaabo cyavuzwe mbere.*

indishyi y'amafaranga ibihumbi 11700-amadorali 110 y'icyo gihe- ahubwo kubera ko ibikorwa by'ubucuruzi byakorwaga ku mafaranga yishyurwa ako kanya, nta nyandiko zemewe, ku bazibahaga barenze ku ikomanyirizwa ryo mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Kwisigariza n'inyoroshyo byari rero byizewe.

Ingendo Théoneste Basgosora , Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza na Yozefu Nzirorera bakoze mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994 zahaye icyuho ubusahuzi nyabwo bw'isandugu ya lete. Ku itariki ya 23 Gicurasi, uko ari batatu bagiye i Kinshasa, bahawe ububasha bwo kujya impaka n'abategetsi b'Abazayirwa ku bibazo by'igemurwa ry'imbunda bari bafite kubera ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro ryari ryatowe n' Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi. Josph Nzirorera yakomereje urugendo rwe muri Afurika y'epfo, aho yagumye kuva ku itariki ya 27 Gicurasi kugeza ku ya 9 Kanena, asangwayo na Théoneste Bagosora, wamushyikije, ku itariki ya 3, miliyoni imwe y'amadorali muri sheki z'ingendo. Ariko ubwumvikane n'abatanga intwaro bashakaga kwishyurwa amafaranga abaze ntibwashobotse, kubera ko amabanki yanze kwakira sheki z'ingendo zatanzwe.

Amaherezo, igisubizo cyateguwe n'ambasade y'uRwanda i Kinshasa cyabaye icyo kohereza ku buryo butaziguye umubare wasabwaga mu kwishyura itumizwa. Amaherezo cyubahirijwe neza, ariko ku itariki ya 14 Nyakanga…, nyuma y'itatana, ku nyungu za guverinoma y'Abazayirwa byari byakozwe mu izina ryayo. Ariko amateka ntahagararira aho, kubera ko umubare ungana n'uwo waje kwishyurwa inshuro ebyiri: imwe muri sheke yahawe Yozefu Nzirorera, n'indi mu buryo bw'amayeri yakozwe babifashijwemo n'ambasade y'uRwanda i Kinshasa. N'ubwo zitakoreshejwe, izo sheki z'ingendo ntizasubiye mu isandugu ya leta.

Nk'uko Jean Kambanda abivuga, uruhande rw'imari rwacunzwe gusa- nta genzura narimwe ray guverinom- na minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, uri na we mu ba mbere babonye kuri iyo mana ya rubanda (*reba umugereka wa 107*).

> "Urugero rwa karindwi: Bizimana, minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu. Yagombaga gucunga umubare munini cyane w'amafaranga wo gutumiza ibikoresho bya gisirikare. Muri urwo rwego, yacunze umubare utarigeze usobanuka. Inyandiko

hagati yacu, zo mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1994, zigaragaza neza ko mumubare utarakoreshejwe mu matumizwa atatu yamaze kwishyurwa ariko ntatugereho agomba gusobanuka. Akayabo ka miliyoni y'amadorali y'Amanyamerika yahawe Umushinwa w'i Hong Kong. Ayo masezerano yashyizweho umukono na Kabiligi i Nairobi mbere gato y'intambaray. Akandi kayabo ka miliyoni y'amadorali y'Amanyamerika yishyuwe muri Afurika y'epfo, ku bwoko bumwe b'itumizwa n'uwo muyobozi Nzirorera, iyishyura ryayo rikaba ryarabaye mbere yo guhunga, ku itumizwa ryahagaritswe ahagana ku mpera za 1994 n'intangiriro za 1995[583]."

Ajenda ya minisitiri Pauline Nyiramasuhuko itanga imbonerahamwe yivugira yo kuitariki ya 3 Kanama 1994:

"Intwaro-Bagosora

-Kayumba

-Mugenzi

-Nzirorera byarashobotse

-Ruhorahoza

Kajeguhakwa aradutwara café yose yongera ibiciro buri munsi.

Umwikorezi w'ibintu Duchâteau si uwo kwizerwa, ariko afashwa n'Ayishashe ari na we "Transamit".

Hasigaye isosiyete y'Ababiligi ibyo ari byo byose?

Imari:miliyoni 6 [584]."

"Umutungo:

Amabuye y'agaciro+ 200 000 $ Mijeuma

[583] Iyumvwa rya Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-72, 1997 (*reba n'umugereka wa107*).

[584] Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya 1 n'iya 2 Nyakanga 1994 (*reba umugereka wa 97*).

Icyayi n'ikawa biva i Cyangugu?
Igihombo cy'amafaranga miliyoni 62
11 000-8000 [585]."

Ibyo bintu bisobanura ibaho by'ibikorwa bibi, ba rusahurira mu nduru bashya n'aba kera bashyizemo imbaraga nyinshi, muri guverinoma yagombaga kuziba icyuho cy'inyereza ryabo. Ibyo bikorwa bishobora gushyirwa mu rwego rumwe n'ibyemezo by'ubugome by'isahura ry'umutungo wari ugenewe izabukuru ku bakozi ba Kaminuza y'igihugu y'uRwanda, kwigwizaho umutungo mu mafaranga y'amanyamahanga (amadovize), ukudahemba abakozi, itanga ry'imisanzu rihoraho kandi ribuza uburyo abacuruzi n'abaturage. N'ubwo iyo myitwarire igayitse yagize ingaruka ku magemurwa y'ibikoresho bya girikare by'Ingabo z'igihugu ikanagira uruhare runini mu kwihutisha itsindwa ry'abasirikare, inagaragaza ubugome no kutagira icyo bitaho by'ababibonagamo inyungu imbere y'ibyago by'abaturage bahoraga binginga mu izina ry'ikibazo rusange. Umuntu yakwibutsa nanone, uretse urugero rwa Justin Mugenzi, ko umubare munini w'amafaranga warunzwe ku baminisitiri n'abawofisiye bo mu Majyaruguru, kandi n'ubundi abavuka muri ayo maperefegitura atatu bari barigabanyije ubugenzuzi bwa hafi ya yose mu masosiyete n'ibigo bikorana na leta [586].

Nduga ihanganye na Rukiga

Amayeri yakoreshejwe mu gushyira abasivili b'abanyenduga ku buyobozi bw'inzego za poritiki yanyuranyaga n'itegeko ritanditse rya Repubulika ryerekeye kwirinda kurundanya ubutegetsi bwose mu Majyaruguru, cyangwa se mu Majyepfo. Ibikomerezwa byo mu Majyaruguru ntibyayumvise, bihoza guverinoma ku nkeke

[585] Inama hamwe na Minisitiri w'intebe, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, Impapuro zo ku itariki ya 3 Kanama 1994.

[586] Umuyobozi wa Banki y'igihugu y'uRwanda , Denis Ntirugirimbabazi, wakomokaga mu Ruhengeri, yarezwe kenshi kwimurira umutungo wa banki muri Zayire, muri Kenya na nyuma muri Luxembourg na wuzi wuzi uwo cyangwa abo ugenewe.

idashira. Byayigerekagaho kugira uruhare mu bibazo bya gisirikare, iby'umutekano, ibyo mu rwego mpuzamahanga nurw'ubukungu. Guverinoma muri rusange na bamwe mu bayigize by'umwihariko baraneguwe buri gihe kubera ubushobozi buke bwabo imbere y'isatira ry'Inkotanyi cyangwa bakekwaho intege nke imbere y'ibyitso by'imbere mu gihugu. Amagambo yavugwaga ku bumwe bw'Abahutu ahanini yihanganirwaga n'intagondwa za MRND/CDR zo mu Majyaruguru, zahoraga ziteguye kwamagana amakosa n'iteshuka ry'abanyenduga bari bishyize hamwe na bo vuba , batubahaga na busa kandi bari bafitiye icyizere gike. Amaharirana yo mu rwego rwa poritiki yakorewe abanyaporitiki bo mu Majyepfo, ibyo ari byo byose, yafatwaga nk'agateganyo, agomba kumara iminsi itarenga 90, ndetse mike kuri iyo bibaye ngombwa.

Perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo, wari ufite umugore w'Umututsi, umunyaporitiki w'inararibonye wari waratewewe hejuru mu buyobozi bw'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND- Inteko ishingamategeko) aho yari yarashyizwe na perezida Habyarimana, yababajwe n'agasuzuguro ibimenyetso byo kutizerwa yagombye ubwe kwihanganira. Kubera impamvu z'ubusaza n'imimerere y'ubuzima bwe, abesnhi bumvaga atari umuntu ukwiye muri ibyo bihe bashaka gutuma yegura igihe kitageze, byari guha umwanya umukandida "usanzwe", Yozefu Nzirorera. Uwo ntiyashoboraga kwerekana ku mugaragaro ishyushyu rye, ariko uko kwifata ntikwasabwaga buri wese.

Bityo, ikibazo gikomeye cyaravutse guhera ku itariki ya 22 Mata 1994, nyuma y'iminsi itatu perezida Sindikubwabo atangije ubwicanyi muri perefegitura ye, igihe yamenyeshaga minisitiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, hanyuma Inama y'abaminisitiri, icyifuzo cye cyo kwegura. Barimo kuganira, yari yasabye Augustin Bizimana gufata ibyemezo byo kongera uburinzi bw'abagize umuryango we bari i Butare[587]kandi batotezwaga buri gihe "ariko adashobora kumutera imbabazi":

"Nkeneye, Bwana minisitiri, kubibutsa ko umwe mu bantu bo mu muryango

[587] Yakomokaga i Shyanda

wanjye, mufite kuri lisiti, aramuste yishwe na kariya gatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi, nkeneye kubibutsa ko byaba binkomereye cyane gukomeza gupfusha imbaraga zanjye ubusa nkorera abadashima n'abagambanyi? [588]"

Ijambo "agatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi" n'ijwi rikaze cyane nta cyo byahishaga ku kuntu atemeraga ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bikorweho. Ingingo ya gatatu y'inyandiko ye yavugiraga aho:

"Byaba bibabaje kurushaho, Bwana minisitiri, niba ibigambo bihwihwiswa ko abantu bamwe bitwaza ibihe bibi kugira ngo bikize Abanyanduga bababangamiye, ntibyaba bibaje gusa ahubwo byaba ari amakuba , kubera ko icyo gihe intego y'umwanzi yaba igezweho nta ngorane, ni ukuvuga gucikamo ibice, umwiryane no kumarana kw'Abahutu."

Ibigambo byavuzwe bireba agace k'abasirikare n'abanyaporitiki b'abakiga kifuzaga kubabaza cyane perezida Sindikubwabo, by'umwihariko Yozefu Nzirorera na Augusti Bizimana ubwe bifuzaga ko kuzungura igihe kitaragera. Inama ze nta cyo zamaze, n'ubwo yari ashyigikiwe biboneka n'Inama ya guverinoma: ku itarki ya 26 Mata, sebukwe w'umukobwa we, Claver Mpakaniye yishwe n' "intagondwa" no ku itariki ya 27 inzu ya Emmanuel Kayiranga, umuvandimwe w'umukwe we yarasenywe nyuma y'isahurwa rirambuye [589].

Ubundi, Théodore Sindikubwabo, n'ubwo yari amaranye igihe na perezida Habyarimana [590] kandi n'uburwanashyaka bwe bushingiye ku moko buzwi, yafatwaga ku mugaragaro n'uduce tw'intagondwa z'abakiga nk'ushobora kurwanya ubutegetsi.

[588] Ibaruwa ya Théodore SINDIKUBWABO, Perezida wa Repubulika, kuri Augustin Bizimana, minisittiri w'Ingabo z'igihugu, 22 Mata 1994 (*reba umugereka wa 108*)

[589] Emmanuel Kayiranga, umucuruzi, mukuru w'umucuruzi ukomeye w'i Butare, Etienne Gakwaya bahimbaga Mwami, icyo gihe yari yarahungiye i Burndi n'umuryango we. Nyuma yakoraga ingendo muri Bujumbura na Butare kugira ngo acunge ibikorwa bye by'ubucuruzi, aza kwicirwa muri rumwe muri izo gendo ze.

[590] Yari yarabaye umuganga w'abana be.

Koko rero mu rugo rwe bwite rw' i Nyaruhengeri, harinzwe na bamwe mu Brindaga perezida, yarwanye ku mukwe we Augustin Iyamuremye, wahoze ari umuyobozi w'inzego zishinze umutekano zo Biro bya Minisitri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye n'Agathe Uwilinguyimana akanaba umusimbura wa Félicien Gatabazi ku buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka PSD, wavaga mu ruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Yanakekwagaho "intege nke" muri perefegituraye. Urwo rwikekwe rwari rwakomejwe n'uburyo yari yakoze uruzinduko rwe kuri superefegitura ya Gisagara muri komini Ndora[591] ummnsi umwe mbere y'uko ashaka kwegura.Mu ngendo ze bwite zo ku itarki ya ya 21 Mata 1994, yari yakoresheje amagambo yavuzweho byinshi: "Buri wese agomba kurinda umutekano w'umuturanyi we." Byongeye, kuri superefegitura ya Busoro. Aho yagiye nyuma yaho yashyigikiye umurongo wa poritiki w'abateraga.

Itangira ry'ubwumvikane buke bukabije mu buyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu mu gihe guverinoma, yari yaramaze kwamaganwa bikomeye mu rwego mpuzamahanga, yatangizaga ibikorwa by'ubukangurambaga n'imishyikirano mu mahanga, ntiryari rikenewe na busa, kandi we yagaragje ko "yumva" perezida Sindikubwabo.''

Urugero rwa perezida nytirwaritwihariye: urwikwkwe rushingiye ku turere n'amakenga ashingiye ku moko byarakomeje. Kugaragaza abagambanyi b' "imbere mu gihugu" byakomeje kwiyongera. Ku itariki ya 26 Mata, Edouard Karemera yasanze bifite akamaro "guha amakuru ku giti cye kugira ngo agenzurwe" umuyobozi wa jandarumori y'igihugu, Augustin Ndindiliyimana; mu by'ukuri yamusabaga kwikiza aAbatutsi bari mu bamurindaga (*reba umugereka wa 109*). Hashize iminsi mike, mu "nama y'umutekano" yabereye ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe, wari uherekejwe na Edouard Karemera-nka visiperezida wa mbere wa MRND-n'abahagarariye PSD na MDR, imbwirwaruhame zari zisobanutse by'umwihariko:

[591] Yari yarabaye umufasha wa muganga (umuforomo) ku ivuriro ry'i Ndora agitangira gukora mbere yo guhabwa umurimo wa burugumesitiri.

> "yavuze [Minisitiri w'intebe] ko guverinoma ari iy'Abanyarwanda, kandi ko abaskaka gufasha Inkotanyi bagomba kuzisanaga ku Mulindi bakazazana na zo muri guverinoma yaguye nizemera kuyijyamo. Yasabyae abanyaporitiki bakonje kuvuga aho bahagaze: cyangwa se bashyigikiya inyungu z'abaturage, cyangwa bashyigikiye ibitekerezo by'Inkotanyi, kubera ko umuntu utagaragaza aho ahagaze ntagomba kwizera kuzabona umwanya amahoro nagaruka [592]."

Iya mbere mu iyubuka ry'amakimbirane yeruye na perezida yafashwe na visiperezida wa mbere w'ishyaka rya MRND, watumije ku itariki ya 10 Gicurasi inma ya biro [ya] (ishinzwe) poritiki y'ishyaka mu kigo cy' i Muarmbi. Yari yerekaeya ku kujya impaka ku migendekere y'umwuka wa poritiki n'uwa gisirikare, kungurana inama ku mitingnyirize y'ukwirinda kw'abasivili ariko cyane cyane kuvuga, mu ngingo y'ibyigwa yiswe "ibintu n'ibindi", ku iyihutishwa ry'inzibacyuho yemewe n'amategeko. Visiperezidante wa CND, Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, umusimbura wa perezida wasimburaga haramutse habayeho kunanirwa, n'aabaminisitiri ba MRND bayitumiwemo. Mu gihe cy'iminsi ibiri ikurikirana ku matariki ya 12 na13 Gicurasi, impaka zarakomeye noneho zigusha, zikirangira, ku itangazo rikomeye rya biro poritiki, ryasomwe kuri Radio Rwanda n'abayobozi babiri b'umwiherero basimburanwa, Edouard Karemera na Yozefu Nzirorera (*reba umugereka wa 110*).

Igice cyari gikomeya cyane cyarebaga kumenyesha iby'ihinduka ry'itegeko nshinga " kugira ngo habashe kubaho kuziba icyuho mu itegeko nshinga nyuma y'amezi atatu yateganywaga", ariko ingingo zo mu rwego rw'amategeko zahereko zita agaciro kubera gukenera gushyira abantu "nta gutinda mu myanya kugeza ubu idahagarariwe mu nzego: Perezidansi na CND". Iyo myanya nyamara yari ifite abayirimo mu gihe cy'iminsi 90...

Icyihutirwa nyine cyari ahandi. Théodore Sindikubwabo yari arwye kandi afite

[592] byandukuwe by'ijambo rya Jean KAMBANDA, 3 Gicurasi 1994, Ishakiro K0246608-09 (*reba umugereka wa 103*).

intege nke. Ibibambo byarahwihwiswaga ku bubasha bwe bwo gukomeza imirimo ye. Ariko igikomeye cyane nanone, Biro poritiki ya MRND guverinoma gushyiraho komote y'ibihe bibi kugira ngo icunge neza intambara" hamwe na "komite yo mu nzego nyinshi yo gutekereza ku bibazo by'insobe bya politki, iby'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage byugarije igihugu no guha guverinoma ibisubizo [593]."

Uruhande rwa guverinoma rwari ku buryo busobanutse bufashwe nk'imburamumaro mu nzego zose kandi MRND yari irambiwe ububasha buke bwa Guverinom y'inzibacyuho bwo gufata umwanzuro imbere y'Inkotanyi, ari ku rwego rwa gisirikare n'urw'ububanyi n'amahanga. Imishikirano yo guhgarika ibisasu yari yarananiranye n'ubutumwa mu bubanyi n'amahanga mu rwego rw'Afurika bwa Mathieu Ngirumapatse na Justin Mugenzi bwari bwageze ku bintu bike cyane.

Gushobora kwisanga mu mwanya utarabashaga kubamo ikintu na kimwe cyo kujyaho impaka byagendaga biba ukuri. Igihe cyo kwigira nyoni nyishi no kwitegereza gusa cyari cyaratinze bihagije.

Ivugurura ryari rikenewe kugira ngo ritere imbaraga Ingabo z'igihugu z'uRwanda zari zihagaze nabi nkandi ryongere gukangura vuba vuba inyuma yazo ukwirinda kw'abasivili kwari kwaratatanyijwe mu gikorwa cyo "kugarura amahoro", aho abanyamusozi n'abagizi ba nabi bidegembyaga [594].

Muri Gicurasi hagati, koko rero umwuka mu gisirikare wagendaga uba mubi, ku buryo etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu, yarimo inzanagano zigaragara, yagombaga na yo guhungira i Gitarama kubera igitutu cy'igwa mu maboko y'Inkotanyi rya kapitali ryari ryegereje.

Mu gihe ku rugamba itsinda mu rwego rwa gisirikare ry'Inkotanyi ritari rikigibwaho impaka, ibihugu bikomeye n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye byongeye kwivanga kugira ngo bimenye ukuntu intambara izarangira. Amayeri yo mu rwego rw'ububanyi

[593] Ibyatangajwe mu ifunga rya Biro ya poritiki ya MRND, 13 Gicurasi 1994.

[594] "Mutege amatwi, icyo gihe, nta na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu wabagaho.Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yashyizwe , ndakeka, ku itariki ya 25...ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994. Minisitiri w'intebe ni we wari ushinzwe iyo minisiteri uko mbizi. Nta minisitiri w'Ubutegesti bw'igihugu wabagaho" (iyumvwa rya Emmanuel NDINDABAHIZI, wahoze ari minisitirir w'Imari, TPIR, 27 Ugushyingo 2003, urupap. 18).

n'amahanga ku mpande zose yahuraga nyamara n'ivuruzanya ntarengwa. Intambara yo mu binyamakuru yari yamaze kwemeza uwatsinze, inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi, kandi yatesheje umutwe uruhande rushyigikiye Abahutu rwendaga gutsindwa. Ku ruhande rumwe, kugira ngo jenoside n'ubwicanyi bihagarare, hari hakenewe gukomeza gushyikirana n'abayobozi kuva ubwo bari biswe "ibicibwa"(integerwa). Icyoba cya jenoside n'ihitamo rya poritiki yo kwangiza yari yategetswe n'uruhande rwa guverinoma byabuzaga itabara iryo ari ryo ryose cyangwa agahenge mu rwego rwa poritiki, n'imbere y'abayishyigikiye b'abanyamahanga babyumvaga, bari bakiri benshi muri Afurika. Ku rundi ruhande, isenyuka ry' "uruhande rushyigikiye Abahutu" rw'intagondwa no kujya mu buhungiro kw'abaturage hafi ya bose byagaragaraga nk'ikibazo kidasanzwe n'impamvu y'umutekano muke uhoraho mu karere kose [595].

Ishwanyuka burundu ryo ku itariki ya 15 Gicurasi

Muri Gicurasi hagati, mu gihe hari hategerejwe ibyemezo byihutirwa by'Inama ishinzwe amahoro n'inama ya gatatu idasanzwe ya Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye i Genève ku byaberaga muRwanda, abayobozi barahagurutse.

Nyuma yo kuva mu butumwa kw'abaminisitiri bane, Gaspard Ruhumuliza, André Ntagerura na Agnès Ntmabyariro (bagarutse ku itariki ya 14 Gicurasi) na Justin Mugenzi (ku itariki ya 15), ibyari ku murogo w'ibyigwa w'Inma ya guverinoma yabereye i Murambi ku wa kabiri tariki ya 17 Gicurasi, amasaha make mbere y'iterana ry'Inama y'umutekano i New York wariho by'umwihariko ibintu byinshi:

> "-Amabwiriza ku kwirinda kw'abasivili;
> -inkunga ku ngabo z'igihugu;

[595] Igitekerezo cy'ibyo byago cyari cyateye ubwoba cyane ibitangazamakuru ku itriki ya 22 Mata mbere yaho, ubwo impunzi 250 000 z'Abahutu zahungaga isatira ry'Inkotanyi zambutse mu masaha make umupaka wa Tanzaniya (*reba umutwe wa 9*).

-ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro;

-inyandiko ya Visi Perezida wa CND [596];

-ishyirwaho ry'abacamanza;

-ivugurura ry'ababurugumesitiri n'abasuperefe;

-ishyirwaho by'abagize ibiro bya perezida wa Repubulika;

-inyandiko mvugo z'ubutumwa bwa Justin Mugenzi na Matayo Ngirumpatse i Kayiro n'i Rabat baciye i Nairobi […] [597]."

Irangwa no kuhaba kwa perezida, wari waratewe intege nke n'uburwayi bwe n'umushiha wa Jean Kamabanda, inama yatangijwe n'ijambo rya Minisitiri w'intebe ryerekeye ibizazane by'urudaca (bihekeranye) Guverinoma yari imaze kugira:

"Minuar A [598], mu byerekezo byayo, ntiduha icyizere cy'uko Inkotanyi zitazadutera.

-Ikomanyirizwa rikomerera guverinoma si Inkotanyi.

-Ifatwa ry'ikibuga cy'indege cy'i Kanombe.

-Ibintu birakomeye. Ikiraro cya Rwabusoro cyasenywe, kubera iyo mpamvu nta buryo bushoka dushobora gukorana na Kigali, Kibungo na Byumba tugikoresheje.

- Kwanga kwa Dallaire kuyobora Minuar a.[…]

-Imfunganwa, inzego zose zifite uruhare mu igura ry'intwaro zigomba gukora iyo bwabag. Minadef.Minifin, BNR.Ambasade zacu zirenda gufunga, zigomba guhabwa uburyo.

-Ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro.

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[596] Ni visi perzidante w'Inamay'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambera (CND), Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana

[597] Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya 22 kugeza ku ya 28 Gashyantare 2004 (*reba umugereka wa76*).

[598] Byibutsa Minuar B (cgangwa Minuar 2), yagombaga gusimbura iyari ihari kugeza icyo gihe.

-Icyizere kuri guverinoma cyngijwe n'Inkotanyi, yateranyije abanyenganda b'abanyamahanga ibizeza ko izakorana na bo kubera ko ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi i Kigali ryegereje.

-Kutagira amafaranga.

-Kutagira uburyo bwo gutumanaho.

-Kutamenya abacuruza intwaro.

-Umubano na Zaire idatuje, Zayire igomba kwemera kutubera umuhuza.

-Ubutumwa bwo guhagarika ibisasu.

Inkotanyi ntizaashyize umukono ku mpapuro zimwe n'iza Guverinoma y'uRwanda.

Intumwa z'impande zombi ntizakoreye hamwe.

Inkotanyi zirashaka guteranya guverinoma y'uRwanda n'uworoshya impaka n'umuhuza[599].

-Kugirayo umuntu, umusirikare ku mpamvu z'i ntwaro muri Zayire [600].

-Terefone yabo kugira ngo duhore tuvugana.[…]

-Mugenzi+Ngirumpatse i Kayiro n'i Rabat banyuze i Nairobi babonanye na Minaffetna perezida Arap Moi.

-Ba amabasaderi baba i Nairobi kandi baroherejwe muRwanda.

-Bangladesh ivuga ko dufite ibyitso mu ngabo zacu.

-Abazungu baratugurishije, ni ngombwa gushaka abandi tugirana umubano [601].''

[599] Uyobora ibiganiro (perezida wa Zayire): Sese Seko Mobutu; umuhuza (perezida wa Tanzaniya): Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

[600] Ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, Inama y'abaminisitiri yagize koloneli Ephrek Setako umuhuzabikorwa w'ingabo (muri ambasade) i Kinshasa.

[601] Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ipmapuro so ku itariki ya 22 kugeza ku ya 28 Gashyantare 2004.

Icyo kidendezi cy'inkuru mbi cyanejeje, nk'uko bisanzwe, abifuzaga ikaza rishya kandi rikomeye ritangisa irobanura hakiri kare. Ryagaragariye ubwa bere ku ngingo y'ibanze yagombaga kugibwaho impaka, ni ukuvuga umushinga wo kwirinda kw'abasivili wari warateguwe mu minsi ibanza na Biro poritiki ya MRND, kandi Minisitiri w'intebe n'abayobozi ba MRND bari basabwe ko wigwa nk'umushinga w'itegeko. Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera bari batumiwe mu nama kimwe na (uwahoraga adasobanutse) minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu Edouard Karemera, kuko ni we wari wakoze amabwiriza yasabwaga. Ijambo ya Minisitiri w'intebe ryahereyeko ribyutsa impaka nyinshi zo mu rwego rw'amategeko, zivuga ku kutagira ububasha kwa guverinoma ko gushyiraho amategeko mu mwanya w'Inteko ishinga amategeko. Umuti wo kwemeza iyo gahunda nk'amabwiriza ya Minisitiri w'intebe yuzuzwa n'amateka ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ayashyira mu bikorwa, waje kumvikanwaho:

> "Nagize uruhare ku mpaka ku kwirinda kw'abasivili mu nama ya guverinoma n'abakuru b'amashyaka yabaye hagati muri Gicurasi 1994. Abakuru b'amashyaka bari batumiriwe kugira urhare mu mpaka kugira ngo bahuze ibitekerezo. Icyo gihe, Ngirumpatse wari uhagarariye MRND, na we ubwe yashyigikiye uwo mushinga, kubera ko ubundi, wari wateguwe n'ishyaka rye kuko, kimwe n'umushinga w'itegeko wa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu[602], wari wateguwe neza kandi ugatangwa biturutse kuri MRND, umuntu akurikije imikorere yari igezweho mu mashyaka yari muri guverinoma. Nzirorera na we yari ahari. Minisitiri w'inetbe ni we wari waburaniye uwo mushinga w'itegeko.

Muri iyo nama, narwanyije uwo mushinga w'itegeko, mvuga ko bwari uburyo bwo kwemeza itangwa ry'intwaro no guha rugari gutyo imitwe y'abaturage

[602] Ni Édouard Karemera, minisitiri wari uteganyijwe, winjiye mu mirimo ye nyabyo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, umunsi hatangazwa ayo mabwiriza.

b'inkerarugamba yakoraga ubwicanyi. Nanone, Minisitiri w'intebe ntiyari afite ububasha bwo gushyiraho amategeko muri urwo rwego, kubera ko bwari bufitwe n'urwego rushinga amategeko.

Kugaragaza ibitekerezo byanje byamviriyemo kunegurwa na bamwe, bandegaga gukabya kugendera ku mategeko. Kamabnda yababajwe n'uok nari natinyutse kugira icyo mvuga anakora kuri msotea ye yari ku mukandara, avuga ko bitashobokaga gukora revolisiyo hamwe n'abantu nkanjye.

Kubera kudashobora guhitisha uwo mushimnga mu Nama y'abaminmisitiri, abawushyigikiye biyambaje amayeri y'ibwiriza rya Minisitiri w'intebe, ryuzuzwa n'amateka cyngwa amabwiriza yo kuyashyira mu bikorwa ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, yose ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994.

Nyamara, abari bashyigikiye umushinga w'itegeko ntibari babaye, kubera ko gahinda yo kwiwrinda kw'abasivili yari yaramaze gutangira kandi ntiyari igikeneye uruhushya urwo ari rwo rwose rwa guverinoma kugira ngo ibeho. Ibwiriza rya Minisitiri w'intetebe n'amateka ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu byagiraga itegako ibyari bisanzweho, kukomigiuhe yafatwaga, imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba y'amashyaka yari yarteranyije ikorera hamwe. Nanone, intwaro zari zaratanzwe mu baturage kandi zigitangwa.

Rero, uko mbitekereza, ibyo byemezo byari uburyo bwo guha ububasha bw'amategeko rugikubita itangwa ry'intwaro mu baturage, bityo guha rugari abicanyi, bitwaje kurwanya umwanzi, utari anasobanutse neza [603].”

Inonosora ry'ibyemezo, ryajyanje n'isezererwa ry'abaperefe benshi, ryimuriwe ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi. Za minisiteri z'Ingabo z'igihugu, Umuryango n'iterambere ry'abagore, Urubyiruko n'amakoperative, Ubukerarugendo n'ibidukikije, Amashuri abanza zari zishinzwe gufasha minisiteri yUbutegetsi bw'igihugu mu murumo wo gukangirira kwirinda kw'abasivili. Inyandiko ikurikira irerekana urutonde rwa za minisiteri zagize uruhare cyane mu ikangura ry'abaturage…

[603] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, impap. 18-19.

"Kwirinda kw'abaturage□Minadef
Mifaprof, Mijeuma, Mineto, Mineprisec.
Ibyo ku wa gatanu[20 Gicurasi]:
Ishyirwaho ry'ababurugumesitiri n'abasuperefe
Imodoka za leta
Kwirinda kw'abasivili
Ishyirwaho ry'abacamanza [604]."

Gutanguranwa byari bigezweho n'ibindi bihiriri by'abakozi byari biteganyijwe kugira ngo bakomeze ubwicanyi.

Reka twerekane izindi ngingo ebyiri zikomeye zo ku murongo w'ibyigwa: Inama ya guverinoma yumvise ijambo ry Visiperezidante wa CND, Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, ku gucyura igihe kw'inzego, naa perezida Sindikubwabo amaenysha Inamaivugurura ry'ibiro bye:

"Ijambo rya Perezida wa Repubulika:
-Umuyobozi w'ibiro: Mbangura [605]
-Ushinze ubutumwa: Ngirumpatse
-Uburezi: Kayinamura
-Ubukungu: Mukamanzi Monique, Umujyanama mu byerekeye ubukungu
-Igenamigambi: Niragire Jean [606]."

[604] Agenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapaur rwo ku kitariki ya 20 Gashyantare 1994.
[605] Daniel Mbangura, umwarimu muri UNR kandi wari umuyobozi wungirije w'ikigo cya kaminuza cyo mu Ruhengeri mu gice cya kabiri cy'imyaka ya 1980 yari yarazamuwe na perezida Habyarimana muri Komite Nyobozi ya MRND mu 1989. Muri icyo gihe yinjiye mu Nama ya Guverinoma, aho yabafashe umwanya wa minisitiri w'Amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye kugeza ku ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi muri Mata 1992. Yari umwe mu banyacyubahiro bo mu Majyepfo bari barayobotse MRND.
[606] Ubwo ntikwari ugushyrwaho gushya. Kuva mu myaka myinshi, Jean Niragire yahoranye uwo mwanya muri

Ifatwa ry'imirimo rya Matayo Ngirumpatse nk' "ushinzwe ubutumwa" ryamushyiraga mu rwego rw'ambasaderi woherezwa mu ngendo kandi ntiryai rifite ingaruka za poritiki ziziguye. Nyamara, mu kwiyegereza Théodore Sindikubwabo kwe, bitandukanye na Nzirorera-wari waramuhunze-byamushyiraga mu rwego rw'umushishozi ukomeye mu iteganya ry'ibikorwa birebana n'amategeko ryari gukurikiraho. Aho abantu bagaze hagendaga hasobanuka kandi umwanzuro wari wegereje, nk'uko byagaragajwe n'icyemezo, cyari giterejwe cyane, cy'Inama y'umutekano ku mugoroba wo ku itasrki ya 17 Gicurasi.

Koko rero, itora ry'Inama y'umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ry'icyemezo 918-cyategekaga ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro zoherezwa muRwanda kinateganya iyoherezwa ry'ingabo mpuzamahanga zo kujya hagati (y'abarwana) no gufasha zigizwe n'abantu 5 500- ryari riteye ikashe ku migendekere ya nyuma y'intambara no ku buryo bwihuse, ku buzima bw'abayobozi b'inzibacyuho [607].

Ikubura mu bawofisiye n'itangiza bundi bushya ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili

Ariko umunsi wari utararangira kandi wari uguhishe ibindi bitangaza. Babajwe n'inkuru mbi yari igbagize ibigwari kandi batabasha gufata ibyemezo bihuje n'ibyo bari bakeneye gukora, abagize guverinoma baguye mu kantu, kongerwaga n'umwiryane wari ushingiye ku gusigana umubiri kwa buri munsi bahoragamo mu kigo cy'amahugurwa cy'i Murambi cyari kibacumbikiye. Umuriro waratse mu rubuga rwa poritiki na gisirikare, "abagambanyi" bagomba kurimburwa baratarangwa.

Nyuma y'inama ya Komisiyo y'imicungire y'intambara yo ku itariki ya 17 saa

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perezidansi ya Repubulika (ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 27 Gashyantare 1994).

[607] Ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu yo Muryango w'Abibumbye yafashe nta tora ribaye icyemezo gishyiraho umwanditsi udasanzwe ushinzwe gukora raporo ku mwuka w'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu no gukora ipererezа ku ihohoterwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu n'uburenganzira bw'umuntu ku rwego mpuzamahanga. Yongerewe igihe ku itariki ya 8 Kamena, n'icyemezo 925 cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano, yemezaga ko "ibikorwa bya jenoside byari byarakozwe muRwanda" kandi yibutsaga muri urwo rwego, ko jenoside ari icyaha gihanwa n'ubutabera mpuzamahanga

cyenda [608], yarimo abagize guverinoma n'abayobozi b'amashyaka nka Laurent Semanza na Matayo Ngirumpatse bo muri MRND, "lisiti y'abawofisiye cumi na babiri b'*ibyitso* yashyikirijwe kuri uwo mugoroba Théodore Sindikubwabo. Ni koloneli Théoneste Bagosora na minisitiri w'Ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, wari umaze kongera kwemererwa n'inama ya guverinoma [609] umwanya we w'umuhuzabikorwa w'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, bayimushyikirije.

Ababaye kandi azi neza icyo abakoze lisiti bagamije, Théodore Sindikubwabo yatumije ako kanya Augustin Ndindiliyimana-na we wari ufite izina kuri lisiti-i Murambi ku munsi ukurikiyeho mu gitondo, kugira ngo amumenyeshe iryo terabwoba anamusabe inama.

Abanje kuvugana na Jean Kambanda, perezida yamenyesheje jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana ibyifuzo bya Komisiyo y'imicungire y'intambara[610]. Uyu yaganiriye ku buzima bwe na perezida kimwe na Minisitiri w'intebe.

Akigera i Kigali, ku itariki ya 19 Gicurasi, mmu masaa kumi -saa kumi n'imwe zo mu gitindo, Ndindiliyiman yahamagaje mu biro bye koloneli Laurent Rutayisire na majoro Pierre-Claver Karangwa kugira ngo abagire inama yo gufata ibyemezo byo kwirinda, ariko atabasobanuriye impamvu ku buryo bugaragara. Na we ubwe yateguye ako kanya ihunga ry'umuryango we n'ukugenda kwe.

Théodore noneho yateguye ibaruwa ya kabiri yo gusezera ku mirimo, ukurikije ibivugwa n'abawofisiye benshi, ishobora kuba yaragiweho impaka ndende n'abagize Inama ya guverinoma batandukanye.

Bamwe mu basirikare baregwaga bamenyeshejwe mu ibanga icyemezo cyo kubavanamo cyngwa cyo kubica cyari cyafashwe n'abantu bari mu nama kugira ngo

[608] Ajenda ya Jean KAMBNDA, BK, TPIR, ishakiro KA000209 CZ (*reba umugereka wa 111*).

[609] Ako gace gakomeye k'amakimbirane mu Buyobozi bw'Ingabo z'igihugu kashoboye gusubirwamo hifashishijwe ubuhamya bwavuye mu bawofisiye hafi ya bose byarebaga: Augustin Cyiza, Félicien Muberuka, Balthazar Ndengeyinka, Léonidas Rusatira, Marcel Gatsinzi, Pierre-Claver Karangwa, Laurent Rutayisire, Emmanuel Habyarimana na Anselme Nshizirungu. Ephrem Rwabalinda na Innocent Bavugamenshi bapfuye, bo, muri Nyakanga 1994 no mu Kwakira 1996 uko bakurikirana. Ubuhamya bwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana ntibwashoye kuboneka.

[610] Ajenda ya Jean KAMBANDA, BK, TPIR, ishakiro K000209 DA ((*reba umugereka wa 111*).

bafate ibyemezo bya ngombwa. Bityo, Laurent Semanza yabimenyesheje koloneli Félicien Muberuka, bavaga muri komini imwe kandi banafitanye isano [611], ariko abajijwe n'abandi nyuma ahakana ibyizwe muri iyo nama.

> "Muri ino minsi nagiye i Gitarama; nahuye na koloneli Muberuka. Yamenyesheje ko yari yabwiwe n'inshuti ye Laurent Semanza, wahoze ari burugumesitiri wa Bicumbi, ko guverinoma yari yakoze lisiti y'abawofisiye 12 (barimo we nanjye) bagombaga kwicwa, kubera ko bari babangamiye imigendekere myiza y'intambara. Nagiye (nk'uko yari amaze kubikora) i Murambia aho nasanze Bwana Matayo Ngirumpatse, wahunze igisubizo icyo ari cyo cyose gisobanutse ahubwo yibanada ku kuntu abasirikare bagomba kurushaho kugira imbaraga mu guhangana n'Inkotanyi. Niyemeje kumubwira nabi [612]."

> "Ngo Sindikubwabo yaba yaramenyesheje uwo mugambi jenerali Ndindiliyimana wari waramaze kohereza umuryango we ku Kibuye kwa Karemera (MRND) [613]. Koloneli Muberuka na we yari yohereje uwe kwa majoro (depite) Ukurikiyeyezu, wari wabaye perefe wa Gitarama nyuma y'ikurwaho rya Fidèle Uwizeye [614]. Nari mbabaye cyane kuko abo bawofisiye bombi nta cyo bigeze bambwira kuri uwo mugambi. Nyamara bari mu nshuti zanjye zikomeye, cyane cyane Félicien Muberuka [615]."

Ikibazo cyo gukura umwanda mu ngabo z'igihugu z'uRwanda cyari ingingo yahoraga igarukwaho mu nama z'Inma ya guverinoma [616], kandi amagambo atera ubwoba

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[611] Bombi bari bafite sekuru umwe (ba se baravukanaga).

[612] Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYIKA, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 24 Kanama 2004.

[613] Nyuma y'igihe yamaze i Nyaruhengeri mu rugo rwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana, iyo miryango yombi yagiye ku itariki ya 24 Mataku kuba ku Kibuye kwa Édouard Karemera. Kwa Ndindiliyimana bari koko rero barabyaye muri batisimu umuhungu wo mu rubyaro rwa Karemera. Umuryango wa Ndindiliyima wagiye i Burundi ku itariki ya 14 Kamena.

[614] Félicien Muberuka n'umuryango we bagumye kwa majoro Jean-Damascène Ukurikiyeyezu kuva ku itarki ya 12 Mata kugeza ku ihungira ryabo ku Gisenyi ahagana ku itariki ya 26 Gicurasi.

[615] Intekerezo zavuye kuri jenerali Marcel GATSINZI, Kigali Kamena 2002, inyandiko zanjye bwite

[616] Koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, wari warashyizwe ku buyobozi bw'akarere ka gisirikare katabagaho

yari yarasubiwemo kenshi inshuro nyinshi ku bawofisiye benshi, cyane cyane ku "barwnyaga ubutegetsi " bo mu Majyepfo. Igerageza ryo kwica ryari ryarababaye inshuro nyinshi, cyane cyane kuri Augustin Cyiza, Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonidas Rusatira. Iterabwoba ntiryabaye mu magambo gusa: ukurikije amagambo ya Laurent Rutayisire, igerageza ryo kumwica yrari ryarabereye ku kiraro cya Nyabarongo. Ariko itonde ryo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi ukutava ku izima-mu mbararaga no mu byemezo- kwa etamajoro imbere y'abawofisiye bafatwaga "nk'abegereye Inkotanyi".

Harimo: majoro Augustin Cyiza (Cyangugu)[617], majoro BEM Emmanuel Habyarimana (Byumba)[618], majoro w'umujandarume Pierre-Claver Karangwa (Gitarama)[619], liyotona koloneli BEM Ephrem Rwabalinda (Cyangugu)[620], liyotona koloneli Innocent Bavugamenshi (Cyangugu)[621], koneli BMES Félicien Muberuka (Kigali), koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka (Kibuye)[622], koloneli Anselme Nshizirungu

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yoshyizwe ahagana ku itarki ya 16 Gicurasi mu mwanya w'umuyobozi w'akarere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikare ka Bugesera kugeza nko ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi, itarki yakuriwe ku mirimo ye asimbuzwa liyeton koloneli BEM Gasarabwe. Ku itariki ya 12 Kamena, yahagaritswe ku mirimo ya gisirikare (*reba umugereka wa 112*).

[617] Augusti Cyiza yari perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisrikare kandi yari afite umwanya uasanzwe mu mu rwego rwa gisirikare kubera impande ze ebyiri zo kuba umuwofisiye n'umunyamategeko. Umujyanama mu by'ubutabera wa minisitiri w'Ingabo, James Gasana, yagiye mu rwego rw'Itsinda ry'Indorerezi za Gisirikare zitagira aho zibogamiye z'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (GOMN) mu mishyijkirano inyuranye hamwe n'Inkotanyi.

[618] Emmanuel Habyarimana icyo gihe yari umuwofisiye washyizwe mu karere washyizwe mu karere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikare k' u Mutara. Usibye ibihuha ku gushaka kwikiza abantu "bacisha make" mu ngabo, ntiygeze ubwe amenyeshwa icyo cyemezo. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, mu rugendo yakoze ava i Butare ajya ku Kigeme mu Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikare (ESM), yafatiwe kurri bariyeri ku Gikongoro, ariko ashobora gucika. Yagiye mu kigo cyo ku Kigeme arindwa na jenerali Rusatira, na we wari wirukanywe.

[619] Pierre-Claver Karangwawri ushinzwe ibiri bya G2 byo mu rwegom rw'abajandarume, yari yrashyizwe icyo gihe muri Minuar. Yamanyeshejwe na Ndindiliyimana ubwe ivanwaho rye n'isimburwa rye na majoro Stanislas Kinyoni (Kigali ngari), wari warasezerewe nyma agarurwa ku kazi.

[620] Umujyanama w'umuyobozi wa etamajoro y'ingabo, Ephrem Rwabalinda yari yagiye mu ruzinduko i Paris kubonana n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa kuva ku itariki ya 9 kugeza ku ya 13 Gicurasi 1994. Yiciwe mu gico cy'ingabo z'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 7 Nyakanga i Gitarama.

[621] Innocent Bavugamenshi (Cyangugu) yabaye umuyobozi w'umutwe w'abajandarume wari ushinzwe umutekano w'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda. Ubwo yoherezwaga kurinda Minisiti rw'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye mu 1992-1993, yarezwe kugirana ubucuti n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegfetsi. Kubera iterabwoba yagirwaga mu minsi ya mbere y'ubwicanyi, yasbye guhindurirwa imirimo nk'umuyobozi w'ikigo mcy'abajandarume i Cyangugu. Ahongaho, n'ubwo hari iterabwoba rikomeye ry'abasirikare, yivanguye n'ishyushyamitwe ry'ubwicanyi ry'uwo yasimbuye, majoro Munyarugerero (Ruhengeri), anageragеza, nta cyo ageraho gikomeye, guhagarika ubwicanyi muri perefegitura abifashijwemo na majoro Cyiza. Yapfuye mu Kwaikira 1996.

[622] Balthazar Ndengeyinka, wahoze ari umujyanama mu rwego rwa tekiniki wa minisitiri w'inbago, James Gasana, yari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare i Gitarama muri Mata 1994. Yabonye mu ntangiriro za Nyakanga ibaruwa imuhagarika ku kazi kubera impamvu z'umutekano ayohererejwe na minisitiri w'ingabo ivuye ku Gisenyi. Yaburiwe na koloneli Muberuka ko hari igerageza ryo kumwicwa, na we ubwe abimenyeshejwe na Laurent

(Kigali)[623], koloneli w'umujandarume Laurent Rutayisire (Gikongoro)[624], jenerali wa burigade BEM Marcel Gatsinzi (Kigali)[625], jenerali wa gurigade Léonidas Rusatira (Ruhengeri)[626], jenerali majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana (Butare).

Yarondoraga ubundi, ku benshi muri bo, abawofisiye bari baragize uruhare mu mishyikirano y'Arusha. Bose uretse babiri bakomokaga mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyepho. Umumwe ni we washoboraga gushyirwa mu komoka mu karere ka perezida (OTP). Birashoboka nanone gukeka ko Théoneste Bagosora yashakaga gucecekesha burundu abagabo (abatangabuhamya) ku igerageza rye ryo gufata muri Komite y'ibihe bibi, nka Ndimdiliyimana, Rusatira na Gatsinzi batari baragize bo uruhare mu mishyikirano y'Arusha. Uyisangaho nanone abateguye itangazo ry'Ingabo z'igihugu ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, ryari ryavumbuye umujinya wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Nyuma yo gutsindwa, abenshi muri abo bawofisiye bashyizwe kuri lisiti y' "abaguzi ba nabi" yakorewe i Bukavu na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari mu buhungiro.

Nk'uko umuntu wahoze ari umuwofisiye mu Ngabo z'igihugu abivuga mu magambo make:

> "Abo bawofisiye bose 12 bari batoranyijwe nk'abahigwa kubera ko -bakekwagaho kuba mu bawofisiye batemera amabwiriza ya guverinoma yishyizeho;

Semanza. Abajijwe, uyunguyu yanze kuvuga impamvu z'inama, bitandukanye na Matayo Ngirumpatse, wabyemereye bamwe.

[623] Anselme Nshizirungu yari umujyanama mu rwego rwa gisirikare wa Agathe Uwiliniyimana.

[624] Yahoze ari umuyobozi w'urwego rw'iperereza ryo hanze y'igihugu muri etamajoro, Laurent Rutayisire yari yasubijwe

[625] Marcel Gatsinzi yabaye umuyobozi wa etamajoro y'Ingabo z'igihugu wihitira hagati y'itariki ya 8 Mata n'iya 14 Mata 1994.

[626] Umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikare (ESM) kuva mu 1992, Léonidas Rusatira yagaragaje ku buryo bweruye kurwanya kwe bikomeye "ihirika ry'ubutegetsi"ry Bagosora ryo hagati y'itarki ya 6 n'iya 8 Mata 1994 kandi byabaye ngombwa ko yihisha muri ambsade y' U Bushinwa nyuma y'itariki ya 12 Mata. Yaje kujya kuba ku Kigeme (Gikongoro), aho Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikare ryari ryimuriwe. Yamenyeshejwe iyandikwa rye kuri lisiti n'umukuru wa etamajoro, Augusti Bizimungu, ashobora kongera gufata ibyemezo byo kwirinda bya ngombwa. Yirukanywe mu Ngabo z'igihugu ku itariki ya 10 Nyakanga 1994, ahungira i Bukavu ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga afashijwe n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa bo muri operasiyo "Turquoise". Yasubiye muRwanda ku itariki ya 29 Nyakanga yishyira hamwe n'Inkotanyi.

-bari babababangamiye muri gahunda zabo;

-bari bazi ibintu bigushamo abakoze jenoside;

-bari bararwanyije mbera Bagosora cyangwa amabwiriza amwe n'amwe;

-bashoboraga guhiganwa na bo;

-bateraga bamwe ishyari;

-bose bari abo mu Majyepfo, ukuyemo koloneli Rusatira (Ruhengeri) na majoro Hbyarimana (Byumba), ibyo bikaba byari intangiriro yo kwikiza abakomoka mu Majyepfo;

-bafatwaga nk'abababangamiye ugutsinda kw'abakoraga jenoside [627]."

Hakurikijwe ubutumwa bw'umwe mu bawofisiye ubizi, umwe mu baminisitiri wari mu namam ya Komisiyo ku micungire y'intambara, ubuyobozi bw'abajandarume na Théoneste Bagosora, ariko yagumye aho nta kazi. Yamenyeshejwe ibimutegereje na Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Yaba yaravuze ngo: "Ibyitso by'abasivili byarishwe, hasigaye ibyitso by'abasirikare kugira ngo dutsinde intambara [628]."

Uwo munsi uteye ubwoba wo ku itariki ya 17 Giurasi, indi lisiti y'abawofisiye yagiweho impaka igaragaza ukumvikana guke cyane n'ugukabya hagati y'abafaga ibyemezo i Murambi, ariko ibyari biyikubiyeme byamenyekanye gusa mu mpera z'icyumweru. Ashyigikiwe na perezida Sindikubwabo, minisitiriri w'Ingabo yari yasabye za etamajoro, imitwe y'ingabo, abayobozi b'ibikorwa bya gisirikare, gutumaho abawofisiye bari mu kirihuko cy'iza bukuru kugira ngo babasabe gusubira mu kazi kubera umwuka wa girikare. Igihe lisiti y'abari bongeye gusubizwa mu gisirikare yatangazwaga,ahari ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, buri wese yashoboye kubona ko koloneli Gagosora, umuyobozi w'ibiro bye ubwe, atari ayiriho kandi yarangaga kuva mu kwezi kwa Kamene 1992 ishyirwa rye mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru agejeje ku myaka yemewe

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[627] Ubuhamya bw'umujenarali, minisitiri w'Ingabo, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 21 Ukwakira 2005.

[628] Ubuhamya bw'umwe mu bakoloneli, inyandiko zanjye bwite

n'amategeko, yaranageragеje inshuro nyinshi kugikwepa no gusubizwamo.

Ubuhamya bwa Yozefu Nzirorera bwerekeye icyo gihe busobanura ku buryo bw'umwikariko uburyo bwo gufata ibyemezo mu nzego z'ubutegetsi, bwibanda ku mwanya w'ibanze w'abakuru b'amashyaka mbere y'abaminisitiri no ku ruhande rwa MRND, icyemezo cya ngombwa cy'abagize umuryango ufitanye ishyari ariko ushyize hamwe wa Nzirorera/Ngirumpatse wayiyoboraga:

> "Sbz: Ku buryo butangaje, izina rya Bagosora ntiryari kuri lisiti, kandi na we ubwe yari muri urwo rwego. Rero, ndakeka ko Bagosora ubwe yumvise avanguwe n'icyo cyemezo cya minisitiri w'Ingabo. Muri ibyo bihe ni bwo Bagosora yanyegereye nk'umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu, anegera perezida Matayo Ngirumpatse, twese hamwe. Yatwegereye twembi.
>
> Bz: Ngiye kubasaba ibisobanuro bike. Icya mbere: mwatubwiye mu kanya ko byaba byarabereye i Gitarama; ese mushobora kutubwira neza ahantu, i Gitarama, haba harabereye icyo gikorwa?
>
> Sbz: Twari i Gitarama mu kigo gishinzwe amahugurwa y'abakozi cy'i Murambi-ni ho guverinoma yari yarahungiye- igihe yari avuye muri guverinoma ku itariki ya 12 Mata.
>
> Bz: Ese mwaba mwibuka igihe koloneli Bagosora yabegereye kuri icyo kibazo?
>
> Sbz: […] Ni uk itariki ya 21 Gicurasi. […]
>
> Bz: Mwavuze mu kanya -kandi nifuzaga kubibasobanurira-ko MRND yacungaga minisiteri y'Ingabo; ese mushobora kudusobanurira?
>
> Sbz: Oya, ni ukuvuga ko minisiteri y'Ingabo, mu rwego rw'ubwumvikane bwo ku itarki ya 7 Mata 1992, […] minisiteri y'Ingabo yari ku rutonde rw'imyanya ifitwe na MRND. Minisitirir rero w'Ingabo yagenwaga n'ishyaka MRND kuri uwo mwanya. Ni muri urwo rwego Bagosora yaje kutureba kugira ngo atugezeho…kugira ngoareba niba dushobora kurangiza icyo kibazo hamwe na minisitiri w'Ingabo wri mu ruhande rwa MRND.
>
> Bz: Hanyuma mwagiye cyangwa ntimwagiye kureba minisitiri w'Ingabo?

Sbz: Mthieu nanjye twagiye kumureba, yari afite ibiri bito i Gitarama, twaramubonye; turamubaza. Urebye ntiyagoranye, yatubwiye ko yari bukemure iby'uwo mwamya, ikibazo cya Bagosora.

Bz: Ese mushobora kugereranya -mwatubwiye ko guhura na Bagosora byabaye ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi-ese ni ryari mwaba mwarabonanye na minisitiri w'Ingabo?

Sbz: Ni uwo munsi.

Bz: Ese, igihe mwahuraga na Bagosora cyangwa eseigihe mwahuraga na Bwana Bizimana, mwasabye cyangwa mwabonye ibisobanuro ku mpamvu hari icyo kibazo?

Sbz: Oya, Bizimana nta kintu yatubwiye.Twaramubajije: "Bagosora afite ibibazo?" Yakitugejejeho, tumubwira ko twifuzaga ko yakwirinda kugirana na we ibibazo, nka minisitiri, n'undi ari umuyobozi w'ibiro. Nanone kandi, ryari ivangura risa n'irigaragaza kubona ko abawofisiye bose bari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru bahamagawe gsubira mu gisirikare, kandi Bagosora, umubereye…umuyobozi w'ibiro…bakorana ku buryo butaziguye, atari kuri lisiti. Hari ikintu gisa…Kandi yumvise vuba cyane ko n'ishyaka ryari ryabibonye [629]."

Ubu buhamya bwemeza ko abafata ibyemezo bose barebwage no gukora lisiti z' "abawofisiye bagomba kwicwa" bari bari kandi bakusanyijwe i Murambi ku mattariki yagenwe, kandi ko byari ngombwa "kwirinda ibibazo" bikomeye na Théoneste Bagosora mu gihe Yozefu Nzirorera na we bagombaga kujyana ku itariki mya 22 Gicurasi, kugura intwaro mu mahanga.

Augustin Bizimana yabyemeye atabyemeye: Bagosora yasubujwe ako kanya mu ngabo, ariko isubizwamo rye ritajyanye n'izamurwa yashakaga cyane (yari yarategeje) ku ipeti rya jenerali (*reba umugereka wa 113*).

[629] Ibyatangajwe na Yozefu Nzirorera, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 16 Mata 2006.

Ako gasuzuguro kandi kuri Théoneste Bagosora kerekanaga ukuntu ububahsa bwe mu rwego rwa poritiki bwari bwaragabanutse kandi n'ibigambo bye ku basivili nta cyo byari bikivuze. Uruhare rutari ruto mu bizazane mu rwego rwa gisirikare Ingabo z'igihugu zari zifite rwashoboraga kumugerekwaho kubera kuba nyamwigendaho mu ngabo no kutabasha kwe kuzikusanya (kuzishyira hamwe). Ariko, nk'uko Yozefu Nzirorera yabivugaga, ntibyashobokaga gutekereza kugirana ibindi bibazo n'umuwofisiye wari ufite ahantu ho gukorera imyitozo yo kurinda Kigali, ahari ibirindiro by'imitwe ifite ibikoresho kurusha indi mu ngabo, komite mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, n'umutungo wa prerefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali (PVK) (*reba umutwe wa 12*).

Ubwo guverinom yari ihaye rugari ishyirwaho ry'umugambi wo kurengera rubanda no kongera gutangira guhamagarira abaturage kwitabira ukwirinda kw'abasivili, kwari kongeye gutunganywa ku nkunga ya Edouard Karemera-wari wijinjiyemo noneho ku mugaragaro nka minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu- kandi kwashinzwe ubuyobozi bwa koloneli Gasake[630]. Amabwiriza ya minisitiri yerekeye Ukwirinda kw'abasivili yasabaga ihuzwa ry'abaturage bari bakusanyijwe na MRND, n'urubyiruko rwatoozwaga n'abawofisiye ba kera basubijwemo biyobowe n'abaperefe. Ariko kwari, mu gihe kimwe, ukwihutisha ihihe cya Guverinoma y' "inzibacyuho", kuvanaho perezida Sndikubwabo no gushyira ku mugaragaro Yozefu Nzirorera ku butegetsi bitari byatinda.

Icyo gihe cyo kwihorera no kwigaragaza mu rwego rwa poritiki gishobora gufatwa nk'igihe giha ibindi kubaho ku mpamvu nyinshi. Kibanziriza gato ihungira ry'igice kimwe cya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Muramba (perefegitura ya Gisenyi) kivuye i Murambi, nyuma y'ifatwa rya Nyanza n'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi 1994. Itsindwa mu rwego rwa gisirikare rygendaga ritangira, hagragezwa bwa nyuma mu buryo budaafite gahunda gukiza icyari kigishobora gukizwa.

Muri uwo mwuka ni ho perezida Sindikubwabo yiyambaje nyuma perezida François Mitterrand amumenyesha ko Ingabo z'igihugu zitashoboraga guhangana n'Inkotanyi kandi ko ubwicanyi bukabije bwashoboraga kubura (*reba umugereka wa*

[630] Uyu yahawe minisiteri y'Ingabo muri guverinoma y'Abatabazi mu buhungiro

114). Ariko umugambi ugaragara wari uwo guhuza igenzura ryo murwego rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikare n'iyubura ry'ubwicanyi busesuye bw'Abatutsi. N'ubwo amahirwe yo kubasha gusubirana ubugenzuzi yari make cyane, ubwicanyi bwo bwari mu bubasha bwuzuye bw'*Abatabazi.*

Gufatanya bitavuye ku mutima kwa Edouard Karemera na Yozefu Nzirorera

Edouard Karemera yinjiye ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho iri muri uwo mwuka, akoresha urwego rwe (minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu) yubahiriza inshingano ze nyakuri.

Kuva mu ntangiriro y'intambara, ntiyize aerka gushyigika ikusanya, gukangura imbaga, kugira abantu inama. Bityo, muri *Raporo y'ubutumwa bwakozwe ku Gisenyi no mu Ruhengeri kuva ku itariki ya 18 kugeza ku ya 19 Mata 1994*, yari yarafatanyije na minisitiri w'Ingabo kwandika, Augustin Bizimana yasabaga icyo gihe guverinoma, cyane cyane minisiteri yUbutegetsi bw'igihugu, kwita bikomeye ku kwirinda kw'abasivili… Bishimiraga ko ibyo bari basabye muri izo perefegitura zombi.

> "murwego rwo gutunganya ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili byasaga n'ibyahereyeko bikurikirwa n'ibikorwa bifatika. Ibihumbi by'urubyiruko bari mu itizwa haba mu Bigogwe no mu Ruhengeri. […] Amabwiriza asobanutse agomba gutangwa bidatinze mu bayobozi b'amakomini kugira ngo bahitemo urubyiruko rubishaka ruhabwe iryo hugurwa, no mu bayobozi b'imitwe ya gisirikare yo mu maperefegitura kugira ngo mbashyireho uburyo bwo kwigisha gukoresha intwaro mu bihe bya vuba cyane. Guverinoma igomba gutegura mu maguru mashya igitekerzo cyo konegerera ingabo zacu imbaraga muri kapitali, yoherezayo amatsinda y'urubyirruko ruklorera ubushake ruvuye mu maperefegitura, nk'uko bamwe bamaze bkubyifuza [631]."

[631] Reba umugereka wa 75

Itandukira (ikabya) ry'*Interahamwe*, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyepfo, ryateraga Edouard Karemera akantu, hanyuma yigira vuba umuvugizi w'ishyirwa ry'uwo mutwe wagisivili wari utunganyije kandi ufite intwaro munsi y'ubuyobozi bw'inzego za gisirikare. Kwinjiramo kwa visiperezida wa mbere wa MRND byongereraga ingufu ukwemerwa kw'iyo guverinoma yanengwaga, kandi bamwe mu bayigize babonaga iri mu marembera, ariko kandi byagagazaga itangira ry'ibikorwa bikomeye byo mu minsi ya nyuma.

Koko rero imirwano yari igeze ahakomeye: isatira ry'Inkotanyi ryasaga n'iridasubizwa inyuma, kandi ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro ryatangaga biboneka igihugu mu bihe bigufi. Ariko Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yagombaga kwerekana ko hatabayeho imishyikirano, itari gupfa kwemera gutsindwa gusa (yagombaga kurwana igaramye , kwishyuza ikiguzi gikomeye ugutsindwa kwayo). Kuri urwo rwego rw'intambara, ibyo biganiro nta kindi byari kugeraho kitari igabanywa ry'igihugu mo uduce twamaze gufatwa n'Inkotanyi, mu Burasirazuba bw'igihugu, n'ibice by'imisozi by'Abahutu mu Burengerazuba. Ubwo imishyikirano y'Arusha yashoboraga kuba yubahirijwe mu rwego rwo "kugabana ubutegetsi", cyane cyane ku rwego rw'ingabo ahom bateganyaga igabana rya 50-50. Hari hasigaye ibyo ari byo byose kwemeza uwo muti umuryango mpuzamahanga, washoboraga nanone kwiboneramo inyungu[632].

Mu by'ukuri, muri uwo mukino, ihiganwa hagati y'abifuzaga kuzungura ryari kuba ryeguriwe Yozefu Nzirorera, wibonaga yamaze gushyirwa hejuru y'igice cy'Abahutu bo mu Rwada rugabanyijemo kabiri. Nyamara muri ayo macenga Karemera nta cyo yatakazaga. Koko rero, ubwo Matayo Ngirumpatse yrirwaga yimena umutwe mu mibare ye y'umunyabwenge utazi icyo afata n'icyo areka kandi yarabashije kubona

[632] Akazi kasaga n'agakomeye umuntu arebye amagambo yavukijwe n'ibaruwa ya perezida Sindikubwabo kuri mugenzi we w'Umufaransa ku itariki ya 23 Gicurasi (*reba umugegreka wa 114*). Ariko, n'ubwo hari itererana, usanga, ku itarki ya 25 Gicurasi, aho inzego z'ubutabera z'Umuryango w'Abibumye zari zihagaze harakomezaga kuba nta rujijo ku ruhande rw'iyemerwa rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 115*), n'ubwo habaye itora ry'icyemezo cyo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi gihagarika itumizwa ry'intwaro n'inangira ry'abagize Inama y' umutekano.

ukuntu guverinoma yari abereye umuvugizi mu mahanga yari imaze guta agaciro, Edouard Karemera we yumvaga ari ngombwa kugaragaza ubwitange bukomeye no kwimenyekanisha yishyira hejuru y'ukwirinda kwa gisivili ahanganye nukwiganzura kw'Inkotanyi kwagendaga kwigaragaza[633]. Yitwazaga intambara kugira ngo yigire intwari anishyire mu mwanya mu ivugurura ryagombaga guterwa byanze bikunze n'irangira ry'imirwano muri MRND. Ariko nanone yari azi gushyira mu gaciro: guhanagana na Nzirorera n'igikingi cye cy'abakiga byari kuba ukudashishoza. Byari ngombwa rero kumushyigikira, ari na ko afata umwanya munini mu ishyaka. Mu gukora imirimi ikomeye kandi ikenewe, yashoboraga kwizera, igihe kigeze, kuzagumura "abarwanya Nzirorera". Iri sesengura ryarasobanuwe neza na Minisitiri w'intebe Jean Kambanda ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994 ku Kibuye ari kumwe na Edouard Karemera.

Igaruka mu rubuga rya Karemera riri mu mujyo umwe n'izamurwa atakekaga, mu nama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya mbere Kamena (*reba umugereka wa 97*), rya koloneli Félicien Muberuka, umuwofisiye w'umwirasi wo muri Kigali ngari, kubera ko yari umwe mu bakoloneli "basuzuguraga ubutegetsi bwa minisitiri [w'Ingabo]. Ishyiraho rye na guverinoma ku buyobozi bwa etamajoro y'abajandarume asimbuye Augusti Ndindiliyimana ryair rishingiye ku mayeri ya poritiki amwe n'ayakoreshwaga na Edouard Karemera: "Nidutsindwa, tuzagumana nibura igice cy'igihugu" kandi "tuzasubizaho inzego za gisirikarare nyazo mu ngabo". Ari mu rwego rumwe n'abandi bawofisiye bafatwaga nk' "abarwanya ubutegetsi"-yari kuri listi y'abawofisiye 12 b' *ibyitso*-, umwanya we mu Ngabo z'igihugu wari inziramakemwa (ntamakemwa): n'ubwo yari "umunyayanduga", umugore we, wavukaga mu ruhengeri, watumaga yemererwa iryo zamuka mu ntera[634].

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[633] . Amayeri ameze atyo yari yaramaze kuboneka ku ruhande rwa Donat Murego mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi.

[634] Félicien Muberuka yari amaze igihe mu bashoboraga kuba abakuru ba etamajoro. Ishyirwaho rye nk'umukuru wa etamajoro y'abajandarume ryashyigikiwe na Matayo Ngirumpatse (na we wakomokaga muri Kigali ngari) ndetse ahari ntiryarwanyijwe na Théoneste Bagosora, n'ubwo Muberuka yerekanaga ku mugaragaro ko arwanya umukuruwa etamajoro y'ingabo, jenerali majoro Augustin Bizimungu. Ibyo bituma umuntu atekereza ko byari bikomeye kuzamura mu ntera utari umunyakazu. Muri rusange, umwuga we wabaye mwiza mu rugero, n'ubwo hari akantu mu bawofisiye bo mu Bushiru, barakazwaga no kubona umuntu ukomoka mu Majyepfo ahabwa imyanya yifuzwaga kubera ubucuti bw'umugore we Roza na perezida. Uyu yari inshuti y'umugore wa Thaddée Bagaragaza;

Hamwe n'itorwa ry'icyemezo 918 cy'Inama ishinzwe amahoro (17 Gicurasi)- rishyiraho ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro zohererezwa Ingabo z'igihugu kandi rimenyesha iyoherezwa rya Minuar ya kabiri (2)-, nta bwo byari bikiri igihe cyo kujijinganya (*reba umugereka wa 116).* Niba bitari bigishobotse *(*guca Inkotanyi mu rihumye) kwiba Inkotanyi intsinzi yazo yo mu rwego rwa gisirikare, niba abahahgarariye ibihugu byabo batari bagiteganya kongera gutangiza imishyikirano n'uruhande rushygikiye Abahutu rwari rwarataye agaciro, byari bigishoboka kurengera igice, n'iyo cyaba gito cy'ingingo za poritiki z'amasezerano y'Arusha, ni ukuvuga agace k'igihugu, abayobozi b' "Abahutu", ndetse n'ukwemerwa mu izina ry'icyerekezo mu rwego rw'ubutabazi, byari kuvamo mu buro ubu n'ubu mu igabana ry'igihugu. Bashingiye kuri ibyo, abayobozi b'inzibacyuho bumvaga bagifite icyizere (iturufu nke zo gukina) mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Kuva ku itariki ya 18 Gicurasi, muBufaransa, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga Alain Juppé yasabye Inteko ishinga amategeko gutegura inama ihuza Abakuru h'ibihugu bituranye n'uRwanda anakira i Paris ku itariki ya 20, Fausti Twagiramungu , Minisitiri w'intebe wari watoranyijwe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Nanone ku itariki ya 20, amabasaderi w'uBubiligi muRwanda, Johan Swinnen, yatangiye urugendo rwo kuvugana (n'abantu) mu bihugu byinshi by'Afurika; nanone itabaza Théodore Sindikubwabo yohererereje Mitterrand ryakiriwe neza i Paris.

Ku ruhande rwazo, Inkotanyi zumvaga zigomba kwihutisha igitero kugira ngo zitsinde burundu. Bityo, uwo munsi zigaruriye ikibuga cy'indege cy'i Kigali n'ikigo cy'abasirikare cy'i Kanombe.

Hanyuma bukeye bwaho, mu gihe hakirwaga ku Mulindi (icyicaro cy'Inkotanyi), intumwa yihariye y'umunyamabanga mukuru w'Abibumbye (Loni), Iqbal Riza, wari ushinzwe kuganira ku iyoherezwa i Kigali ry'abasirikare ba Loni (ingofero z'ubururu) 500 b'Abanyagana bari bategererereje i Nairobi, Paul Kagame ubwe yaneguye bikomeye

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bombi babaye amahabara ya Yuvenari Habyarimana. Nk'urugero, yagizwe umuyobozi wa batayo y' "Abakomando" yo mu Ruhengeri hagati ya 1980-1981, hanyuma yoherezwa mu ihugurwa mu Ishuri rikuru ry'intamabara ry' i Paris, aho yavanye impamyabumenyi y'amashuri makuru ya gisirikare. Kuva mu 1989 kugeza mu 1992, yashyizwe ku mirimo ya G4 muri etamajoro y'Ingabo z'uRwanda, hanyuma asimbura koloneli Bagosora ku buyobozi bw'ikigo cyitiriwe "Mayuya" i Kanombe n'ubw'umuyobozi w'akarere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikare by'umugi wa Kigali. Imirimo ye ntiyatinze kubera ibibazo mu girikare n'ihungira rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku Gisenyi.

uwo muryango anategeka ingabo ze gufata ako kanya urugo rwa perezida i Kigali. Ni muri icyo cyerekezo hashobora gukorwa isesengura ryo ukutava ku izima kw'impande zombi.

Kwinjira mu rubuga kwa Karemera, umugabo utajarajara, wongeweho umukoloneli washyizwe ku buyobozi bw'abajandarume-wahereyeko atangazae, umunsi w'ishyirwaho ryabo, ubushake bwe bwo kuvanaho, rugikubita, intambara ikimara gushira, imirimo y'abirasi ku buyobozi bw'ingabo (kandi cyane cyane jenerali Augustin Bizimungu)- kwashoboraga gufatwa icyarimwe nko kwemeza bundi bushya imbaraga mu mirwano n'inyeshyamba, ariko nanone nko gukingurirwa umuryango. Uwo mukino mushya washoboraga mu by'ukuri gushimisha abawofisiye benshi b'Abafaransa bari bazi neza Félicien Muberuka, wari warize mu mashuri meza ya gisirikare yo muBufaransa kandi bari barakoranye na we ari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri Kigali kandi witandukanyaga n'intagondwa zishyigikiye Abahutu zayoboraga imitwe ifite ibikoresho byinshi y'i Kigali. Mu rwego rw'igikorwa cy'ubutabazi gihagarariwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mbere y'ishyirwaho rya Minuar ya kabiri (2) kandi cyari kuba kigamije kugarura umutekano mu duce tutari twarafashwe n'Inkotanyi, umuryango wa Karemera na Muberuka washoboraga gufatwa nk'abantu bajya mu biganiro bagaragara imishyikirano ishoboye kubaho.

Mu gihe hari hagitegerejwe irangizwa ry'ikibazo cy'urwego, ubuyobozi n'intego y'icyo gikorwa mpuzamahanga, byari ngombwa kugaragariza abayobozi ubwitange. N'ubwo yari yarakomeretse ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi 1994, Félicien Muberuka yashoboye gukorana urugendo na Edouard Karemera muri perefegitura ya Kibuye akimara gushyirwaho.

Mu rwego rwa minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, abakozi bakuru b'iyo minisiteri bari baraheze mu gihirahiro mu gihe kirekire kandi kidasobanutse cy'ubusigire bwa minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, bahamagariwe igikorwa cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivili cyari cyarabaye icy'ibanze, karemera aherako yinjira mu by'izungura ku nyungu za Yozefu Nzirorera.

Ishyirwaho ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili

Ku idosiye y'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, Edouard Karemera ntiyazuyaje kuyikora, nk'uko bigaragara mu gatabo ke k'inyandiko (*reba umugereka wa 117*): kuva ku itariki ya 25, hatanzwe amabwiriza ya Minisitiri w'intebe yerekeye ukwirinda kw'abasivili hanyuma, nyuma y'iminsi itatu yatumije abaperefe bose i Gitarama kugira ngo amenye aho ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amabwiriza ye ryari rigeze, amare impungenge ku isimbura ry'abayobozi b'amakomini, anajye na bo impaka ku mibereho y'abavanywe mu byabo (*reba umugereka wa 118).* Ku itariki ya 9 Kamena, yashyize guverinoma ku nkeke kugira ngo abone ukwitanga gukomeye kw'Igabo z'igihugu mu kwirinda kw'abaturage, anatangiza "iyamamaza rikaze ku maradiyo n'ibinyamakuru byandikwa kugira ngo yumvishe Abanyarwanda akamaro ko kwirwanaho ndetse n'ako kugaba ibitero ku mwanzi rusange aho guhunga buri gihe [635]."

Ubwitange bwa Edouard Karemera mu ishyirwaho ry' ukwirinda kw'abasivili ntibwatewe gusa n'ingorane z'ibihe. Asohora amabwiriza yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, yashakaga kurangiza urujijo mu rwego rw'amategeko rwarangaga uwo muryango w'urubyiruko, noneho yari ashyize ku buryo bwemewe muri icyo kimashini gishya cyari cyashyizweho. Mu kugira imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba amaboko yitwaje intwaro imbere mu gihugu ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, "nomero ya gatatu" mu ishyaka MRND yari nanone arangije amakimbirane yo kuyobora ishyaka yari hagati ya Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera.

Uko kwemerwa n'amategeko kw'urubyiruko rwa MRND, kwasobanuraga neza ubushake bwa Edouard Karemera bwo kongera kwigarurira urwo urwego buri gihe yagiranaga na rwo umubano udasobanutse, kuva ubwo abarurimo bagiraga uruhare rukomeye mu itsindwa rye ku buyobozi bwa MRND mu ihuriro rusange ryo muri Mata 1992:

[635] reba umugereka wa 97

> “ Uretse muri za mitingi mu migi mikuru inyuranye, uretse mu myigaragambyo ya poritiki, sinigeze mbona Bwabna Karemera yigaragaza muri Komite. Ngomba ndetse kuvuga ko mu itangira ry’*Interahamwe,* mbere y’ihuriro rusange ryo muri Mata 1992, bwana Karemera… ku byo nabonye, ntiyemeraga *Interahamwe* kandi na zo zarabimwishyuraga. Rero, ziyamamarizaga Mathieu aho kwamamaza Karemera [636].”

Ariko uko kwigarurirwa ntikwari kubura ingurane, kubera ko ukwemerwa gushobora kuboneka nk’igikorwa cyo guhanagurwaho icyaha (kugirwa abere) kweretswe abakuru b’abitwara gisirikare bari batumiwe icyo gihe n’uwiyerekanaga nk’umuntu mushya “uhagarariye” urwo rubyiruko.

> “Bz: Mwavuze ko intego z’ukwirinda kw’abasivili, igihe mwajyaga mu nama yo hagati muri Gicurasi imbere ya koloneli Gasake, yari ukuvanga *Interahamwe* n’indi mitwe y’urubyiruko mu mutwe w’ukwirinda kw’abasivili. Ikoreshwa ry’iyo mitwe ryagize iyihe ngaruka mu rwego rwo kwirinda kw’abasivili?
> Sbz: Ubundi igitekerezo cyanjye ni uko icyo cyemezo wenda cyaje gitinze niba cyari kigamije gukiza ubuzima, ariko naketse ko icyo cyemezo cyasaga n’icyemera mu rwego rw’amategeko ibyari byabaye ku itariki [ntibyumvikana] Mata, ku buryo imitwe imwe y’abantu yibwiye ko, kubera ko ukwirinda kwari kwemejwe n’amategeko kamdi tukaba twari twarakoze mu rwego rwo kwirengera, byari nk’aho babonaga ubwo bwicanyi cyangwa ibyari byarakozwe bimaze kwemerwa n’amategeko. Ni ko mbibona ku giti cyanjye [637].”

Ako ni ko kabaye akamaro gakubye kabiri k’iyemerwa: gutunganya ubushobozi

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[636] Ubuhamya bw’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n’abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, urupap.34.

[637] Ubuhamya bw’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n’abandi*, TPIR, 26 Gicurasi 2006, impap.22-24.

bw'abitwara gisirikare no kwemera ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byamenyekanishaga kandi bigahesha ishema "abakunda igihugu nyabo batemeraga iyo ntambara kandi bari bashyigikiye ingabo z'igihugu":

> "Ubundi, ku bwanjye-ni igitekerezo cyanjye- ndebye guverinoma, ndebye ukuntu mbere y'itariki ya 6 Mata, hari habajijwe icyo kibazo cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivil, cyari buri gihe cyagiye cyangwa, cyangwa kikabikwa, icyo gihe, bemeje iyo gahunda y'ukwi9rinda kw'abasivili, yahereyeko yemeza cyangwa ishyiraho, iha ububasha bw'amategeko, ihanagura ibyaha urebye abari barakoze ubwicanyi; icyo gihe, itegeteko ryari rihinduye ku buryo bwemewe ukwirinda kw'abasivili n'ubwo ubwicanyi bwari icyaha [638].

Igihe na cyo cyahaye Edouard Karemera umwanya wo kujya mu bikorwa bifatika nk'umuyobozi w'intambara muri perefegitura y'iwabo ya Kibuye. Iyo perefegitura yari yarabayemo ubwicanyi bukabije kubera umubare munini w'Abatutsi bari bayituyemo na poritiki y'ubushotoranyi yaoreshwaga na Clément Kayishema. Kuva mu mpera z'igice cya mbere cya Gicurasi, imisozi ya Bisesero yabaye ihuriro ry'abasivili b'Abatutsi bahigwaga kandi bari bafungiwe uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo guhunga, haba mu majyaruguru werekera ku Gisenyi, mu burengerazuba werekra ku kiyaga cya Kivu cyangwa mu majyepfo werekera i Cyangugu. Abo bacikacumu biyemeje kwirwanaho kugeza ku munota wa nyuma bifashishije uburyo bwashoboraga kuboneka, ubwo bari bafite n'ubwo bikoreye ubwabo ahongaho: imyambi, imiheto, amacumu cyangwa amabuye. Uko kwirwanaho kurangwa n'ubutwari, abashinzwe umutekano baho n'abitwara gisirikare bo muri perefegitura yose hanyuma n'abo mu maperefegitura byegeranye batashoboraga gutsinda, kwashajije abo ku ruhande rwa guverinoma, noneho irimburwa ryabo rigirwa inshimgano y'igihugu (*reba umugereka wa 119*).

Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena yari yahangayikishijwe n'ibyo bintu

[638] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 6 Kamena 2006, urupap.26.

ntiyashobora gufata icyemezo:

> "-Abahutu benshi binjiwemo n'Inkotanyi muri Kibuye
>
> -Ibibazo byo gufunga isoko ku nkengero z'ikiyaga cya Kivu Rwamatamu, burugumesitiri ni umuvandimwe wa Sendashonga[639].
>
> Ikibazo cy'*Inyenzi* mu Bisesero [abacengezi b'inkotanyi] [640]."

Iyo ngingo yongeye gushyirwa ku murongo w'ibyigwa n'inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 14 Kamena bafite ubushake bugaragara bwo kuyirangiza. Kugira ngo isobanure ubwinshi bw'ibikoresho bya gisikare n'ibya gisivili yafashe icyemezo cyo koherezayo, guverinoma yitwaje ingirwa ngingo z' "amateka" n'amayeri ya gisirikare yo mu rwego rwo hejuru:

> "Uko ibintu bimeze (mu rwego rwa gisirikare, urwo kwirinda kw'abasivili, abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, urwa poritiki n'ububanyi n'amahanga). Ibura ry'intwaro.
>
> *Komini Gishyita segiteri Biseserohari inyenzi.*
>
> -Rwamatamu na majoro Jabo baburijemo igikorwa gihuriweho kubira ngo birangire.
>
> Uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Gisovu rufite abajandarume babiri gusa. *abarezerivisite bakwiye kuharinda hose abantu 20*
>
> *Kuwisumo Umushinga GTZ*
>
> Abasesero, ni abatasi ba kera b'ingabo z'abami. Mu Nkotanyi, Polisi Denis…Rwigara ni abo muri ako karere, kandi Bisesero yahiswemo na Biseruka [*reba incamake ya 2*] kubera ko azi ko ari ahantu hafite akamaro mu rwego rwa gisikare. Gisenyi izaterwa biturutse mu Bisesero na Kabuhanga <Gisenyi>.

[639]Abel Furere yari umuvandimwe wa Seth Sendashonga, Inkotanyi ikaba na minisitiri watoranyijwe w'Urubyiruko n'Amakoperative muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye.

[640] Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapuro rwo kuri 31 Gicurasi (*reba umugereka wa 76).*

Hakenewe ibikorwa bikomeye. Gisenyi ifite batayo imwe gusa, iya 42 [641].”

Inkuru yitaweho na Edouard Karemera muri ajenda ye igaragaza uyu mwanzuro:

“Inama y’Inama y’abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17.06.1994.

Ibyemezo byafashwe

Guverinoma yemeje ko igitero gikaze kigomba gukorwa i Bisesero bibaye ngombwa ifashijwe na Gisenyi kandi ibyo, bitarenze itariki ya 20/06/1994.

Mu rwego rwo kurinda ibikorwa by’amajyambere muri gace k’imisozi miremire, guverinoma yemeje ko abayobozi b’ibyo bigo bandikirwa (Electrogaz-uruganda rw’icyayi rwa Gisovu-anteni ya Karongi, umushinga wa Crête Zaïre-Nil), ni ngombwa guha akazi abahoze mu gisirikare bagabahembwa ku ngengo y’iamari ya Guverinoma bibaye ngombwa kandi Guverinoma izatanga intwaro ku zatumijwe mu rwego rw’ukwirinda kw’abasivili [642].”

Nk’uko bigaragara mu nyandiko zose zashoboye kuboneka zerekeye icyo gihe, cy’irimburwa ry’abaturage b’abasivili, minisitiri w’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu ni we koko wayoboraga icyo ubwe yari yise “igitero gikaze”, afatanyije na perefe n’umuyobozi w’ikigo cy’abajandarume. Ku itariki ya 20 Kamena, bitewe n’icyemezo cy’Inma ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 17 Kamena no kutahab kwa Minisitiri w’Ingabo, ni na we, mu izina rya guverinoma, wategetse liyetona koloneli Anatole Nsengiyumva, umuyobozi w’akarere k’ibikorwa bya gisirikare ka Gisenyi, gufasha ikigo cy’abajandarume cyo ku Kibuye, kugeza icyo gihe kitari cyarashoboye gutsinda abari barokotse. Yamuhaye igihe cy’iminsi itatu kugura ngo abe yarangije igikorwa cyo kubahiga. Yabimenyesheje perefe, anamusaba kumukorera raporo ku migendere y’ibintu mu makomini ya gishyita, Gisovu na Gitesi mu mpera z’ukwezi (*reba umugereka wa 119*). Twibutse hagati aho ko iryo huriro ryari ryahamagajwe rityo ryari ritaragera ku ntego zaryo mu ishyika ry’ ingabo zo mu gikorwa “Turquoise”, ku itariki ya 22 Kamena.

[641] Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo kuri 18, 19 Gicurasi, 4 na 9 Kmena.
[642]Edouard KAREMERA, inyandiko za TPIR, ishakiro KA0100403[E] (*reba umugereka wa 117).*

Nguwo umusanzu wa Edouard Karemera mu migendekere y'intambara yo gusubiranamo. Biramureba kuba kuba yarasabye, guhera mu ntangiriro ya Mata, icyerekezo gihuza abasirikare (ntiyibeshyaga ku mbaraga zabo kimwe n'abawofisiye benshi ba etamajoro) n'ikusanya rinini ry'abaturage ryiyambazaga uduce tubishaka kandi tw'intagondwa tw'urubyiruko rw'Abahutu. Icyo cyemezo, n'ubwo kitari icy'umwimerere, cyasaga urebye n'aho ari cyo cyonyine cyashoboraga guhangana, nibura mu gihe gito, n'imbaraga za gisirikare nyinshi z'Inkotanyi no kuburizamo cyangwa gutera ubwoba abashoboraga kuzishyigikira b'imbere mu gihugu.

Kubera ko ingabo zari zifite akazi kenshi zitabasha no kwivana mu bibazo byazo bwite na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho igaragaza intege nke cyane mu gucyamura imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba mu duce tutagenzurwaga ako kanya n'abasirikare b'abarezeriviste cyangwa abakiri mu kazi, imitunganyirize y'ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili, yari mu maboko y'impande ebyiri urw'amapererefegitura n'urw'ingabo, imbere yazo yasaga n'amahirwe ya nyuma yo gutinza ishwiragira. "uburyo bwa Karemera" bwungaga byuzuye imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba burema imitwe y'ingoboka iyoborwa n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryari ryasubijweho. Nanone ubwo buryo bwakuragaho urujijo, rwari rwaramaze kwirengagizwa mu maperefegitura ashyigikiye MRND, rwemeza ku mugaragaro itangwa ry'intwaro mu basivili n'abitwara gisirikare ryari ryararwanyijwe n'abanyacyubahiro benshi kugeza icyo gihe:

> "Imikoranire ya guverinoma n'Ingabo z'igihugu:
>
> Abasirikare barumva baratereranywe na guverinoma, isa n'ishaka kwihisha hafi y'umupaka ititaye ku gishakira Ingabo z'igihugu ibikoresho.
>
> Ntibishoboka kwemera ko bashaka kuvangira (kudindiza) igikorwa cya guverinoma kandi nta cyo itakoze kndi n'abayobozi ba gisirikare bazi ibikorwa byose muri urwo rwego [643]."

[643] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR, iyibutsa ry'uduce tune: inamy'Inma y'abaminisitiri yo

"6. Uko ibintu bimeze ku mabariyeri:

Itangazo ku baperefe kugira ngo imbunda na za gerenade ntibyerekanwe.

Kugabanya uko bishoboka amabriyeri hagasigara gusa ashobora gusobanurwa".

"7. Uko ibintu bimeze mu gisirikare"

-Kigali yose iragoswe.

-Itangwa ry'ibkoresho ntirigenda neza na busa n'ubwo hatanzwe icyizere.[…]

Ibintu birakomeye. Kugira ngo hirindwe ibyago, habomba kuboneka amasasu no kubasha kwinjiza mu ngabo abantu nibura 5000."

"-Kuvanaho imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba igahindurwa *imitwe irwana* , igenzurwa n'ingabo.

-Hakenewe uburyo nyabwo bwo kwemeza Inkotanyi kujya mu mishyikirano.

-Ishyirwaho ry'urwego rwa poritiki rwo gutekereza ku ngingo z'imibanire y'abaturage na poritiki.

-Kwirinda kurwanira imyanya [644].

Ubutumwa bwoherejwe mu mahanga gushaka intwaro.

-Itunganywa ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili rireba Mininter na Minadef, Iyo ya nyuma ni yo igomba kwifashisha abajyanama ba gisirikare bshinzwe kutubwira

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ku itariki ya 17 Kamena 1994: ishakiro KA0100403G; Inam ya guverinoma yo ku itarki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994: ishakiro KA0100403L; KAO100403M-KO1OO4030 na KA0100403M-KA01004030 (*reba umugereka wa117*).

[644] Igitekerezo cysubiwemo mu Nama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 mu gihe hageragezwaga "ishyirwaho ry'itsinda rya poritiki ryo gutanga ibitekerezo ku birebana n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage na poritiki: kwirinda kubyiganira imyanya" (agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, ishakiro KA01104030). Ku ruhande rw'inzego z'ubutegetsi, igihe cy'iminsi 90 yatangaga impamvu ihagije yo gutangiz aku mugaragaro dosiye yo gusimbura Thé0dore Sindikubwabo.

icyemezo cyatuma ingabo zigenzura imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba kugira ngo ziyihindure abarwanyi kimwe nabasirikare basanzwe.

-Kurinda Kigali na Gisenyi

-Gucengera mu bari inyuma y'ingabo z'umwanzi.

-Urwego ruhoraho rworoshya imikoranire hagati y'urwego rwa poritiki n'rwa gisirikare.

-Gutabaza mu cyerekezo cya Paris kugira ngo badufashe byihutirwa."

Igitero ku misozi ya Bisesero itanga ishusho y'imitunganyirize y'ikusanya, hamwe n'iyinjiramo bijyana ry'umuyobozi w'akarere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikare, wabiyoboraga, ry'ibigo by'abajandarume, igipolisi cya komini n'abitwara gisirikare bakuwe hirya no hino.

Ariko nk'uko n'amagambo ya minisitir Karemera abihamya, intambara ni igikoresho cya poritiki gusa. Igikorwa cyo mu Bisesero cyasubizaga ingorane zihutirwa zo gushyira mu bikorwa intego ebyiri zifitanye isano yari yarumvikanyeho na Yozefu Nzirorera:

-kubura mu bintu by' "ubwenge" ubwicanyi n'intambara kugira ngo haboneke impamvu y'imishyikirano ("Hakewe uburyo bwihariye bwo kwemeza Inkotanyi gushyikirana[645]") no

-gufata igihe cyo kurangiza inzibacyuho yo mu rwego rw'amategeko we ubwe yari yagize uruhare mu itegurwa ryayo ku matariki ya 7 na 8 Mata.

Iyimikwa rya nyirarubeshwa rya Josph Nzirorera

Atagira imirimo ye ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Edouard Karemera yari asigaranye gusa ibyumweru bitandatu byo gutegura irangizwa ry'igihe cy'inzibacyuho,

[645] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KREMERA, Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994, TPIR, ishakiro KA0104030.

ni ukuvuga mu buryo bufatika gutoresha Yozefu Nzirorera ku buyobozi bw'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'igihugu kugira ngo amushyire mu mwanya wo gusimbura Théodore Sindikubwabo.

Ubusimbure bwe kuri perezidansi bwagombaga kumara amezi atatu gusa. Muri uwo mwuka w'intambara, ububasha bwo gukora bwari buhagije kandi yagombaga gutera inambwe ku mbaraga. Zishobora gusubirwamo uhereye ku nyandiko bwite za minisitiri:

> "Inama y'amashyaka ya poritiki atanu ari muri guverinoma yo ku Gisenyi ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena
>
> Ibyemezo byafashwe:
>
> Aho gusubira inyuma, kandi hari imbogamizi zo mu rwego rw'amategeko n'urwa poritiki zigaragara, abari mu nama bemeje kujya mu cyerekezo cy'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha aho gusubizaho CND nk'uko byri byifujwe mu nama y'abaperezida(b'amashyaka).
>
> Humvikanyweho gutangaza ibyagezweho n'ibyemezo byafashwe na guverinoma kugira ngo bishyirwe mu bikorwa.
>
> Ishyirwaho ry'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho ishingiye ku masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha;
>
> Gshaka uburyo bwo gusimbura Perezida wa Repubulika witabye Imana muri urwo rwego.
>
> Mu gihe cya kabiri, nyuma yo kugisha inama, gushyiraho guverinoma [646]."
>
> "Inma y'Inama y'abaminsitir yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena 1994
>
> Ibyemezo byafashwe:
>
> […]4.
>
> - Kwemezwa na guverinoma kw'itangazo ry'amashyaka ya poritiki MRND-MDR-PSD-PDC na PL, ryakorewe ku Gisenyi ku itariki ya 7 Kmena 1994 nyuma y'inama yayo yo ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena 1994.

[646] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KAEMERA,TPIR, KA 0I0403A na KAOI0403D (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

-Itegurwa ry'inam hagati ya Minisitiri w'intebe n'amashyaka ya poritiki ahamagarirwa kujya mu Nzego z'inzibacyuho.

-Birifuzwa ko abayobozi b'amashyaka batanga lisiti y'abadepite babo mu Ntekom ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Ibaruwa ya Minjisitiri w'intebe izakurikiraho."

Inyandikomvugo irambuye y'iyo Nama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 itangwa na minisitiri Augustin Ngirabatware:

"Isuzuma ry'itangazo ry'amashyaka ya poritiki ryo ku matariki ya 6-7 Kamena 1994.

Muri iryo tangazo, ingingo ya 4 ni yo shingiro ry'iyo nyandiko naho ingingo ya 5 itegrezwa ry'umuryango mpuzamahanga n'Inkotanyi.

Iteganyabihe ry'ibintu nimikurikiranire yabyo:

Kwakirwa kw'itangazo mu bitekerezo by'imbere mu gihugu.

Igigomba kwitabwaho:

Ishyishyirwaho rya perezida w'urukiko rusesa imanza.

Gsaba amashyaka abakandida (abaperezida n'abadepite).

Ihindurwa ry'itegeko nshinga (Twagiramungu, isaranganya)

Gusaba Minisitiri w'intebe gushyiraho guverinoma nshya.

Isaranganya rya za minisiteri.

Abagize amashyaka ya poritiki.

Igihe ntarengwa cy'ibyumweru bitatu kugira ngo ibyo bikorwa bizabe byarangiye.

Inama y'Inama nkuru y'ubucamanza izaba ahagana mu mpera z'icyumweru gitaha.

Ni nde ushyikirizwa lisiti y'abadepite?

Guverinoma ni yo ishyiraho Inzego, Minisitiri w'intebe yandikira

amashyaka;ayo yohereza amalisiti noneho Minisitiri w'intebe akayageza kuri perezida[647].”

“Inama y'Inma y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17 Kmena 1994

[…] 6. Lisiti y'abadepite:

Amashyaka amwe yamaze gutanga amalisiti yayo n'ubwo atuzuye.

MRND na MDR ntzirayatanga kimwe n'amashyaka atari muri guverinoma[648].”

“Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994

1.Inzego

Ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'igihugu guhera ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanaga, hakurikijwe icyemezo cyafashwe n'amashyaka ya poritiki mu nama yayo yo ku itariki ya 30 Kamena 1994.

Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (Mininter) izita ku itunganya ry'ibintu bizakenerwa muri uwo muhango, Minisiteri y'Ubutabera (Minijust) izita ku byangombwa birebana n'amategeko kugira ngo uwo muhango utungane.

Amalisiti y'abadepite ba buri shyaka amaze gushyikirizwa Minisitiri w'intebe, azatangaza abyumvikanyeho na Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (Mninter) lisiti ntakuka yo gutanagaza[649].”

Ibyari bikenewe mu ihindagura ry'inyandiko z'amategeko mu rwego rwa poritiki, byifuzwaga na minisitiri Karemera kugira ngo atoreshe Nzirorera byari binyuranye burundu n'ibyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata: kugirango ashimishe umuryango mpuzamahanga, utari ugifite icyo utegereje kuri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho-, byari noneho ngombwa kwimika Yozefu Nzirorera nka perezida mushya w'Inteko y'igihugu ishinga amategeko “wemewe”, ni ukuvuga washyizweho bikurikije amasezerano y'Arusha, akanaherwa

[647] Ajenda ya Augustin NGIRABATWARE, TPIR, ishakiro K0243644 (*reba umugereka wa 99*).
[648] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR ishakiro KA 010403 G (*reba umugereka wa 117*).
[649] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR ishakiro KA 010403 J (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

hamwe ububasha ibyemezo by'itetgeko nshinga ryo mu 1991 byafatanyaga n'urwego rwa perezida w'Inama *y'igihugu* iharanira amajyambere (CND): ubwo gusimbura perezida wa Repubulika mu gihe ubutegetsi budafite ubuhagarariye [650].

Ahangaha, ihitamo ry'uburyo bw'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT) butari ubw'Inama y'igiuhugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) bwari ngombwa mu kurangiza ikibazo cya visiperezidante wa CND, umukandida wari ugenewe gusimbura perezida, agasabwa guhagararira by'agateganyo umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND (wari kuba yazamuwe ku buyobozi bw'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT)). Hagombaga nanone gusimbuza, hakurikijwe amategeko, abari bagize CND abahagarariye urwego rufite imbaraga rw'abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Bityo, wasangaga mu badepite bashya batoraanyijwe guhagarira ishyaka muri ANT, intagondwa zari zragize uruhare rukomeye mu bwicanyi nka Laurent Semanza (Kigali ngari), Adalbert Muhutu (Butare), Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita (Kibungo)…Amaherezo, imiryango y'Inteko ishinga amategeko yari ifunguriweamashyaka mashya y' "Abahutu Power". Icyari gisigaye kwari ukugena abahagarariye buri wese no gukemura ikibazo cya CDR, yari yarangiwe kuba muri ANT hagati ya Werurwe-Mata 1994. Bityo, mu mahindagura yari yatangijwe mu isaranganya ry'imyanya ugereranyije n'itonde rya mbere yari yarakozwe mbere y'iyubura ry'intambara na Yozefu Kavaruganda, perezida wishwe w'Urukiko rusesa imanza, twavugamo iyemerwa ry'abinjiye babiri bashya: Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi ya gikirisitu (USDC) n'Ishyaka rihanira demokarasi (PD).

Imishyikirano ikomeye ni yo yayoboye isaranganya ry'imyanya, yatangwaga hakurikijwe imbaraga za buri shyaka n'ubwumvikane hagati n'icyahoze ari uruhande rushyigikiye perezida (MRND, CDR n'itsinda ry'udushyaka two ku ruhande twari twarahimbwe na MRND kugira ngo yagure ihagararirwa ryayo) n'amashyaka yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi. Yageze ku isobanura ry'ibice bine byahawe uko bikurikirana

[650]Inama nyinshi z'abaminisitiri zahariwe isuzuma ry'amavugurura ry'itegeko nshinga ashingiye cyane cyane ku isaranganya rishya ry'abadepite mu mashyaka, yemejwe mbere yo guhindura ibiro (*reba umugereka wa 98*).

abadepite 44, 14, 6 na 6.

Amashyaka ane "akomeye"-MRND, MDR, PSD, PL-yagumanye buri ryose imyanya 11 maze uruhare rw'Inkotanyi rusaranganywa mu itsinda ry'andi mashyaka. Hanyuma, andi mashyaka 13 yemejwe yafashwe ku buryo butandukanye:

CDR: 5, PDC: 4, Peco na PDI: 3 [651]

RTD, Pader, Parti démocrate: 2 buri shyaka

MFBP, PRD, Unisodec, UDPR, Parerwa,PPJR Rama Rwanda: 1 buri Shyaka.

Ihangana hagati y'icyahoze ari uruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'amashyaka yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi kuva ubwo byari byahindutse ikintu kimwe gishyigikiye MRND ryarivuguruye rero ku buryo bugaragara. Amaherezo imyanya 31 yahawe itsinda rya mbere, 40 ihabwa irya kabiri [652]. Kugira ngo habeho icyizere gisesuye ku mihurize y'iyo nteko n'icyifuzo cy'abayihyizeho hashinzwe izindi nkingi z'inyongera. Nk'uko Edouard Karemera abyandika, Minisitiri w'intebe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ni bo bemeje ubwa nyuma ihitamo ry'abakandida.

Itegura ry'amatora, Sylvestre Matunguru (MDR Kibungo) yagizemo uruhare runini, ryabaye rirerire kandi rikubiyemo ibintu byinshi. Hagombaga gushyirwaho uburyo bwo guhura n'inkambi z'impunzi muri Tanzaniya no gutegura ijyanwa ry'abadepite bemejwe ku Gisenyi. Kugira ngo ibyemezo bikomeye bityo byemezwe, umubare w'abagombaga kuba bahari wari koko munini: byari ngombwa kumenya neza ko haza abadepite 53.

Bateraniye ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga mu ngoro ya MRND ku Gisenyi, iruhande rwa *Palm Beach*-hakurikijwe inyandiko mvugo- ni abadepite 54 bari bahari koko barahiriye imbere ya Charles Nkurunziza, umunyamabanga mukuru wa Guverinoma, wari wagizwe perezida w'Urukiko rusesa imanza ubwo akaba ari n'uw'Urukiko

[651] Gushingira kuri 14 amaherezo ntibyubahirijwe.

[652] Ibi byagezweho bivuye mu nzira nzira zinyuranye cyane cyane ubuhamya, ariko intangamugabo igaragara iri muri ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO (*reba* André GUICHAOUA, *Rwanda 1994, op. cit.*, p. 422-425) (*Reba umugereka wa 97*).

rurengera itegeko nshinga (asimbuye Yozefu Kavaruganda). N'ubwo inzira yasaga n'ibonetse, abadepite batatu baba mbere bari biyamamaye mwanya wa perezida: Yozefu Nzirorera (MRND), Stanislas Mbonampeka (PL) na François Ndungutse (PSD). Ariko gukenera kugaragaza ubumwe bwongeye kugaruka hagati y'abishyize hamwe bo mu cyahoze ari ruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'amashyaka yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi byashyitse amaherezo ku mukandida umwe rukumbi, Yozefu Nzirorera, watowe n'amajwi 43 kuri 54 y'abatoye. Yungirijwe na ba visiprerzida babiri, bavuye umwe muri PSD, undi muri RTD, na skereteri depite ava muri CDR (*reba umugereka wa 120*).

Nyuma y'ayo matora-yari yimitse ubwiganze bwuzuye bw'uruhande MRND/CDR-,binyuranyije n'ibyifuzo by'amashyaka na guverinoma, ntihabayeho: isimbura rya perezida witabye Imana" n'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma nshya. Kuri iyo tariki koko, Yozefu Nzirorera byabaye ngombwa ko asubiramo umugambi we bwite kubera uko ibintu byagendaga bihinduka.

Ikintu cya mbere cyari gishingiye ku bihe bibi bya girikare Ingabo z'igihugu zarimo kuva aho igitero cyazo cyo kwihimura cya nuyma cyo ku itariki ya 6 Kamena kibereye imfabusa. Igitekerezo cy'urukuta rwo kwirinda cyo mu misozi miremire ya Zayire-Nil n'amashyamba nticyari kikibaho: ingabo zacitse intege zasubiraga inyuma zitarwanye zigana ku mupaka wa Zayire. Nanone inshingano z'igikorwa "Turquoise" (*reba ibiciweho umurongo 16*) zagarukiraga ku buryo bugaragara ku bikorwa birambuye by'ubuhuza. Itabara mu rwego rwo kurengera ikiremwa muntu ry'Abafaransa ryari ndetse amagambo yitondewe ku ruhande rw'abayobozi b'Inkotanyi nyuma y'imibonano myinshi ikurikirana y'imbonankubone bagiranye n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa: amabsaderi w'uBufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud, yari yagarutse i Kigali ku itariki ya 19 Kamena "gusobanura imigambi" y'uko gutabara imbere y'Inkotanyi kandi cyane cyane minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Alain Juppé, yari yakiriye, binyuze mu mishyikirano iruhije, Jacques Bihozagara, wari icyo gihe umuvugizi w'Inkotanyi mu Burayi, i Paris ku itariki ya 22 Kamena bucya hatangira ku buryo bwemewe igikorwa "Turquoise". Ku rundi ruhande, ibintu bidafashe byo mu rwego rwa poritiki byagezweho na Stanislas

Mbonampeka Wari mu butumwa bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ubwo yasuraga Bruxelles ku itariki ya 22 Kamena na Augustin Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'Imigambi ya leta, mu biganiro yagiranye ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga muri minisiteri y'Abafaransa y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'amabasaderi Marlaud (*reba umugereka wa 121*) nta cyizere na gito byatangaga ku bubasha bwo kurokora ingoma nyarwanda yari yarakomotse ku ruhande rwahoze rushyigikiye perezida.

Incamake ya 16

Operasiyo "Turquoise" (23 Kamena-21 Kanama 1994)

Ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, hashize iminsi icumi y'imishyikirano igoye hagati y'abagize Inama y'umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, iyi yatoye icyemezo 929 giteganya gushyiraho igikorwa cy'ubutabazi mpuzamahanga cyo gufasha abasivili, gifite uburenganzira bwo gukoresha ingufu. Kiyobowe n'uBufaransa-uBufaransa ni bwo bwonyine bwabishakaga-, operasiyo "Turquoise" cyari giteguye ku buryo cyagombaga kumara igihe cy'amezi abiri, mu gihe Loni yari kuba yohereza abantu 5500 ba Minuar 2, iyoherezwa ryabo ryari ryemejwe ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi (icyemezo cya 918). N'ubwo uBufaransa bwabitsimbarayeho imbere y'abao bakorana b'abanyaburayi n'abanyafurika, ingabo za Senegali ni zo zonyine zasanze aho hantu abasirikare 2494 b'Abafaransa.

Ziturutse mu birindiro byazo i Goma n'i Bukavu muri Zayire, ingabo z'Abafaransa zinjiye ku butaka bw'uRwanda ku itariki ya 23 Kamena zikwira buhoro buhoro muri kimwe cy kane cy'Amajyepfo y'igihugu. Ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga, nyuma y'ifatwa rya Kigali na Butare ziri mu maboko y'Inkotanyi, zahashyize "agace ko gufashirizamo kizewe", kahungiwemo n'amagana y'ibihumbi by'abasivili, baherekejwe n'ibihumbi by'abitwara gisirikare n'abasirikare baregwaga "jenoside iteguye kandi idatoranya" na raporo ya Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu ya Loni yo ku itariki ya 30 Kamena. Iyo raporo yari yanamaganye ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'ibihugu bimwe na bimwe by'ibinyamahanga byakomezaga gufasha mu rwego rw'ibikoresho no mu rw'ubukungu abayobozi b'inzibacyuho bari mu mirimo. Ku ruhande rw'abayobozi b'Abafaransa, barebwaga ku nburyo butaziguye n'icyo kirego, icyo gikorwa cy'ubutabazi cyitwaje intwaro cyatewe mu by'ukuri n'umubabaro bari basangiye imbere y'ubwicanyi. Cyongeraga amagerageza ya mbere yo kwikura mu isoni (kimwaro) imbere y'ibitekerezo byo mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

Yanzwe n'Umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika n'abayobozi ba Minuar 1, yamaganywe n'abayobozi b'Inkotanyi, ikekwaho ibyo ihisha mu rwego rwa poritiki n'imiryango myinshi itegamiye kuri leta yari aho, operasiyo "Turquoise" yahuriye vubavuba aho hantu n'ibibazo ahari itashoboraga kwivanamo. Yashoboye mu by'ukuri kurokora ibihumbi bike by'abantu, kandi, cyane cyane kandi irinda uBurundi ihungabana uruvunge rw'amagana y'ibihumbi by'impunzi ryari gutera byanze bikunze. Ariko, nyuma y'itatana ry'Ingabo z'igihugu zari rahurijwe mu Majyaruguru y'igihugu, ntiyashoboye kwikiza "amakuba mu rwego rw'ubutabazi" yatinyaga. Abasivili bakoreshejwe ku mugaragaro mu guhisha ihunga ry'ingabo za guverinoma zatsinzwe no kuba nyuma, mu nkambi z'impunzi, isoko ivamo inyeshyamba z'Abahutu bo kugarura igihugu mu bihe bizaza.

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

Mu mpamvu z'ubwo bubasha buke, harimo uburyo budahwitse bw'ingabo zo ku isonga mu itunganya ry'imirimo y'ubutabazi, gukuramo akarenge ku buryo bwihishe cyangwa bugaragara kw' inzego zabizobereyemo(imiryango itagengwa na leta (ONG) n'amashyirahamwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye) nibura mu bihe bya mbere, ariko cyane cyane iyangwa ry'uBufaransa mu buhuza ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urwa gisirikare kubera ukwivanga kw'ingabo nyinshi zabwo zinjijwe muri Kamena 1994 mu bikorwa bya gisirikare byakozwe ku ruhande rw'Ingabo z'igihugu zihanganye n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi mu myaka yari yabanje.

Ahanini, igikorwa cy'Abafaransa babiherewe ububasha na Loni nticyabashije kurenga ibyo kuvanagamo intego zabo za poritiki[a] n'ubwoba bw'ibihugu by'ibihangange bwo kwinjira mu karere karimo ibibazo bikomeye. MuBufaransa, n'ubwo intege zakoreshejwe zasaga n'izoroheje umutima mubi w'abantu kandi zigatuma abagize guverinoma batabishakaga na etamajoro bagaragaza ko bifatanyije n' " abayobozi b'akajagari", abantu bashishoza ntibibeshye kuri icyo gikorwa cyaje gitinze cyo "kwigira abere" mu by'ubutabazi, buteye ishema, ariko bw'imburamumaro (butagira icyo bugeraho).

Ku rwego mpuzamahanga, n'ubwo nta bufatanye bwagaragaraga, haba mu Burayi cyangwa muri Afurika, uBufaransa bwari bwasubiranye ishusho y' "igihugu cy'igihangange", "cy'intwari kandi gifite ubushake" ugereranyije n' "ubugwari" bw'abo bafatanya b'ingenzi b'abanyaburayi n'abo mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri Afurika, bwari bwerekanye ko i Paris hari hakiri "poritiki ireba Afurika" kandi bwari bwivanye mu byo "kwisuzugura" (complexe de Fachoda).

Mu mpera za Nyakanga, igihe amakuba mu rwego rw'ubutabazi yari amaze kumenyerwa (icyorezo cya korera cyagaritse mu minsi mike ibihumbi by'ingogo muri miliyoni y'impunzi zitagira intege kandi zishonje zari ziroshye mu ntara ya Kivu y'Amajyaruguru muri Zayire) n'ikindi gihe kubera igitutu cy'ibitangazamakuru, imfashanyo ku rwego mpuzamahanga yaje kwiyongera no gutunganywa. By'umwihariko, Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, zitwaje ubucuti bw'abayobozi bashya b'Inkotanyi bari bashyizwe i K igali, batanze ibintu byinshi cyane byo mu rwego rw'ubutabazi na poritiki kugira ngo zihagarike ibibazo byo gusubira mu rudubi mu bihe bizaza. Gatebe gatoki n'iterana hejuru ririmo inyungu mu micungire y'amakimbirane y'uRwanda ku rwego mpuzamahanga byambitse ubusa bikabije ububasha buke bw'Umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika n'ubw'imiryango ishinzwe "imitunganyirize mishya y'inzego mpuzamahanga" bwo gusaba imbaraga zo gutabara cyangwa zo guhuza ku bundi buryo mu bihugu bya gashakabuhake bihora byiteguye kurengera inyungu zabyo z'umwihariko mu izina ry'umuryango mpuzamahanga.

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a Gushaka gushyiraho agace k'ubutabazi kizewe (ZHS) mu "ntara y'Abahutu irimo umutekano" no gushyikirana muri iyo nzira ku bwumvikane bwo mu rwego

rwa poritiki bwaha ubusha bwo guhoraho ibyo bintu byasabaga birumvikana gushobora kwiyambaza abayobozi badashobora gushyirwa mu majwi. N'ubwo abenshi mu bavuganaga n'abawofisiye b'Abafaransa buzuzaga icyo cyitegererezo, ntacyageragejwe nibura kugira ngo baburizemo abatuzuzaga ibikenewe. Ni byo koko uhagarariye uBufaransa i Goma ntiyemeye igitutu cy'"abayobozi bo ku Gisenyi" (yitandukanyije na bo ku itariki ya 6 Nyakanga, imisi icumi mbere yo gutsindwa) bamusabaga bahatiriza kugeza agace k'ubutabazi kizewe (ZHS) mu maperefegitura yose "afite ubwisanzure" yo mu Majyaruguru y'Uburengerazuba (ni ukuvuga yari atarafatwa n'Inkotanyi). Nyamara imaze guhabwa amabwiriza yo kubuza kwinjira mu gace k'ubutabazi kizewe abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bashakaga kuhahungira, oprasiyo "Turquoise" ntiyabafungiye inzira kandi ntiyabafashe cyangwa ngo ibafungishe ijisho: "Umurimo nk'uwo ushobora kutuvana mu kutagira aho tubogamira kwacu"(ibyavuzwe na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga byo ku itariki ya 16 Nyakanga 1994, biri mu INTEKO ISHINGA AMATEGEKO Y'IGIHUGU CY'UBUFARANSA, *Ipereza ku marorerwa yo mu Rwaznda*, tuumb.I, urupap. 325). Ntiyigeze inabasha kwambura intwaro imitwe y'abaturage b'inkerarugamba cyangwa kwambura intwaro ingabo za guverinoma, "inyinshi muri zo (10 000 ku 30 000) zajyanye intwaro zao muri Zayire" *(icyo gitabo*, urupap. 327).

Abayobozi ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari bazi neza, nk'uko Edouard Karemera yabyibukije mu Nama ya guerinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga:

"Ubutumwa rwo mu rwego rw'ubutabazi bw'Abafaransa

Operasiyo "Turquoise" yemejwe gusa n'uBufaransa butitaye ku gitekerezo cya Guverinoma n'Inkotanyi.

Hakekwa ko ari koko iy'ubutabazi, ariko kandi ifite imigambi. Yba igamije ahanini kurengera Zayire ya mareshali Mobutu n'uRwanda ku buryo bw'inyongera.

UBufaransa bwisanze imbere ya mugenzi wabwo wasaga n'utakiriho. UBufaransa ntibushobora, bwonyine, kudufasha gutsinda intaambara. Buzakora mu by'ukuri bwita ku bisabwa n'uBubiligi na Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika. Ntibwizera ububasha bwacu bwo gushyira ibintu mu buryo.Ni twe bireba kwerekana ko, nka Guverinoma, turangwa n'ubushake bwo kubigeraho n'ubwo hari imbogamizi zikomeye tugomba kwemera mu rwego rwa gisirikare n'urw'ububanyi n'amahanga.

Impaka

Inyandiko yo gusaba gufashwa mu rwego rw'ubutabazi igomba gushyikirizwa ku buryo bwemewe ubutumwa "Turquoise" igaragaza imibare y'ababangamiwe,

ahantu bacumbikiwe abavanywe mu byabo.

Amakuru atangazwa n' amashusho yerekanwa atubereye imbogamizi.Hagomba kubaho ibeshyuza.

Komisiyo yo kubikurikirana kugira ngo tugerageze kubona amakuru menshi ashoboka ku cyo agamije kugeraho.

Amabeshyuza agomba guterwa inkunga.

Iki kibazo cyagombye kuba ku murongo w'ibyigwa wa buri Nama y'abaminsitiri mu rwego rwo guhana amakuru. Ndetse, Minaffet na Mininfor zagombye gushyiraho urwego rwo ruzihuza rugenzura abanyamakuru [653].''

Amaherezo hari n'ikibazo gikomeye cyane cy'uburyo abahagarariye ibihugu byabo b'abanyamahanga bakomeza "kwegera" abayobozi b'inzibacyuho.Ikibazo cyabakurikiranye kugeza mu buhungiro: "Ese nidukuraho inzego zizwi: guverinoma n'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'iguhugu tuzagirirwa icyizere kurushaho [654].

Icyizere ku rwego mpuzamahanga cya "guverinoma y'abanyaporitiki n'abasirikare" Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yagerageje gushyira imbere imaze guhungira muri Zayire ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga cyasabaga ko habaho abantu bashya "batanduye", nk'uko minisitiri Pauline Nyiramasuhuko yabyanditse. Usibye ukwemerwa mu rwego rw'imyitwarire, icyerekezo cyo gukurikiranwa mu bucamanza byagaragara ko ari ntarengwa kuva aho hatorewe icyemezo 925 cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumye yo ku itariki ya 8 Kamena, yitaye ku bikorwa bya jenoside, yakurikiwe ku itariki ya 12 Kamena n'iyamagana ry'Umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika ry' "ibikorwa bibangamiye inyoko muntu" byakozwe muRwanda, ariko cyane cyane nyuma y'itangwa, ku itariki ya 28 Kamena muri Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, rya raporo ya René Degni-Ségui ku

[653]Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 28 Kanama 1994 (Bukavu, Zayire), ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo kuri 14,15,16 Kanama 1994.

[654] CM du 28 août 1994 (Bukavu, Zaïre), agenda de Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, pages des 14, 15, 16 août 1994

kuntu uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu bwari bwifashe muRwanda[655]. Hanyuma, ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga, Inma ishinzwe umutekano ya Loni, yitaye ku makururu yari imaze kwegeranya, yashyizeho "byihutirwa komosiyo idafite aho ibogamiye y'impguke", ari yo komisiyo yo gukora perereza (anketi) ku bikorwa bya jenoside muRwanda. Icyo cyari icyiciro kibanziriza icya nyuma cy'igikorwa cyo "kumenya abagize uruhare mu bikorwa bya jenoside muRwanda[656].

Yozefu Nzirorera yakomezaga kumva ikorwa ry' imishyikirano ridashobora kwirengagizwa. Yagombaga kwemeza ku mugaragaro mu bihe bizaza ko yemerewe guhagararira impunzi n' "abagumye mu birindiro" (abakomeza kurwana). Yirinze ariko kugeza aho yiyita perezida wa Repubulika byari kugaragra nk'ugutandukira ukurikije ishwiragira ry'ingabo zo ku ruhande rwe, kandi na Faustin Twagiramungu, mu izina ry'Inkotanyi, yariteguraga gutangiza ku mugaragaro ibiganiro byerekeye ishyirwaho rya guverinoma nshya y'ubumwe bw'igihugu (6 Nyakanga), n'abawofisiye bo hejuru bari bitandukanyije ku buryo bwemewe n'abayobozi b'inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 120*).

Icyo cyizere cyo kugumana ububasha bwo guhagararira abandi mu rwego rwa poritiki cyarakomeye, kubera ko ingingo imwe y'ibyari ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 11 Nyakanga yongeye kukigarukaho:

> "Amakuru ya Minaffet
> […] Guverinoma yacu yataye agaciro burundu.
> Abaturage b'abasivli baratabarwa bate?
> Gverinoma yataye agaciro: ni nde uzavugira
> □? Imyifatire ya Guverinom yacu imbere ya Twagiramungu
> □ Itangazo ry_i La Baule

[655] *Raporo ku mwuka w'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu mu Rwasnda,* yatanzwe na bwana René DEGNI-SEGUI, umukozi udasanzwe ushinzwe gutegura raporo wa Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, mu

[656] Ishyirwaho rya komisiyo mpuzamahanga yo gukora iperereza yemejwe n'Umuryangow'Abibumbye ibyumweru bitatu nyuma yaho, ku itariki ya 28 Nyakanga 1994.

Ibyifuzo :

kubahiriza igika cya 20 cy'icyemezo 1994S-3/1 cya Komisiyo, ku itariki ya 25Gicurasi1994, Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Inama y'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, E/CN.4/1995/7, 28 Nyakanga 1994.

Intambara ku rwego rwa poritiki n'ububanyi n'amahanga: uBufaransa burashaka

abo bakorana mu Nkotanyi no muri Guverinoma.

Umuti

 Ivugurura rya za minisiteri n_igabanya ry_umubare wazo.

 Gushyira hamwe kw_Abahutu.

 Ubutumwa bwa Minisitiri w_intebe kuri Minisitiri w_intebe Baladur.

 Ubutumwa bwa Perzida wa Repubulika kuri Perezida Mitterrand.

 Ubutumwa bwazanywe n_abanyamadini.

 Akazi ko mu rwego rw_ububanyi n_amahanga kakozwe na ba ambasaderi bacu.

Minisitiri w'intebe

 Ni akahe kamaro k_ivugurura ry za minisiteri?

Mininfor: ivugura n'igabanya nta kamaro byagira.

Miniprisec: nta vugurura.

Mitraso: ivugurura rya minisiteri si ngombwa[657].”

Mu izina ry'iyimikwa rye ku buyobozi bw'iyo Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho idasanzwe, Josph Nzirorera yabaye ibyo ari byo byose umuyobozi w' “agace k'ubukangurambaga k'Amajyaruguru” k'abaturage bahungiye muri Zayire byemejwe n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri ba guverinoma yo mu buhungiro ku itariki ya 27 Nyakanga.

[657] Ajenda ya Augustin NGIRABATWARE, TPIR, ishakiro K0243653-54 (*reba umugereka wa 99*).

"Goma (Zayire)

27 Nyakanga 1994: inama y'Inama y'abaminisitiri

Hafashwe icyemezo cyo gushyiraho uduce tubiri two kuyobora abturage. Agace k'Amajyepfo, i Bukavu, gafite nk'abayobozi Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri w'intebe.

Agace k'Amajyaruguru, i Goma, gafite nk'umuyobozi perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'igihugu(AN), Bwana Yozefu Nzirorera.

Inama yifuje kom habahi komite y'ihuzabikorwa idahoraho irimo:

Perezida wa Repubulika

Minisitiri w'intebe

Perezida wa AN

Umuyobozi wa etamajoro y'ingabo [658]."

Abagize iyo nteko y'igihugu y'icyuka bashobora nyuma kuba barateranye incuro nke mu nkambi z'impunzi mu duce twa Goma ariko nt cyo bakora gifatika. Buri gace kagumye ubwo mu buyobozi bw'abakuru babo bagatuyemo. Mu buryo bw'iyimikwa ritagize icyo rimaze, abayobozi n'abaturage bari mu buhungiro bavugishaga Yozefu Nzirorera bamwita "Bwana Perezida".

Mu kurangiza inkuru y'irari rikomeye ry'ubutegetsi, twibutse ko imibanire y'abayobozi bo mu Majyaruguru (bari i Goma)n'abo mu Majyepfo (bari i Bukavu) yahoragamo amahane ku buryo bw'umwihariko, yahaga urubuga ihangana no kwihorera bikaze. Abayobozi b'i Bukavu, nka perezida Sindikubwabo na Minisitiri w'intebe, batinyaga kujya i Goma batinya ko babatsindayo. Ibyateye urupfu rwa Théodore Sindikubwabo rwabaye icyo gihe bikomeje kugibwaho impaka. Ubuzima bwe bwari bwarashegeshwe na mbere yo kujya mu buhungiro, byaba byaramubujije ahari kwivuza, bishobora kwemeza igitekerezo cy'urupfu rw'ikirago. Ariko nta makuru na make ahari

[658] Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Edouard KAREMERA, TPIR, ishakiro KA010403R (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

ku hantu n'uburyo yapfuyemo n'icyabaye ku murambo we. Nyamara icyo gihe yafashwaga n'umuliyetona wakoraga umurimo w'umuwofisiye w'umuherekeza we n'uburinzi bwa gisirikare bukomeye, abari baburimo bashoboraga gutanga ubuhamya ku byabaye.

Kwishyira hamwe ku mbaraga ko mu kwezikwa Mata kwarangijwe n'amacakubri akomeye, yatumaga gucunga itsindwa byari bikomeye kurusha gucunga intambara. Inkotanyi zari zafashe ubugenzuzi bw'igihugu cyayogojwe kandi cyashizemo abantu: uretse amagana y'ibihumbi by'abasizwe iheruheru na jenoside n'intambara, hafi miliyoni eshatu z'impunzi kuva ubwo zari mu nkambi ku mupaka zitegekwa n'abo bayobozi ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. URwanda n'akarere rurimo byahindutse igicumbi kirunzemo impunzi kinini kurusha ibindi ku isi cyitabwagaho n'umuryango mpuzamahanga icyo gihe wagombaga gutabara…

Abahataniraga kuzungura amaherezo barasaranganyijwe nyuma…baranyagwa

Iyo umuntu yitegereje ibyagezweho birashimisha kugaruka mu magamgo make ku nzira za bamwe mu babigizemo uruhare b'ingenzi ubufatanye bwabo muri ayo marorerwa bwabaye ikintu gikomeye. Turagarukira kuri Matayo Ngirumpatse, Edouard Karemera na Yozefu Nzirorera, ba bayobozi batatu ba MRND bateraniye mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu biro bya Théoneste Bagosora [659].

Bose uko ari batatu bari abakozi bakuru, nyuma y'urugendo rusa n'urwihuta kandi rufite ishema, bari, mu ntangiriro y'intambara mu 1990, mu myanya myiza yatumaga bashishoza ku mibereho y'igihugu. Matayo Ngirumpatse, wavuye mu bambere "bari barateye imbere" ba nyuma y'ubwigenge, yari ageze igihe cyo gucunga uburambe bwe mu rwego rwa poritiki n'ubushobozi buzwi, cyane cyane mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga. Ariko rero yari abangamiwe ku bimureba ubwe n'imyitwarire idasobanutse. Yabonwaga nk'umuntu w'umunyabwenge, ufite ubushobozi bukomeye bwo gusesengura

[659] Ferdinand KABAGEMAyarapfuye. Visiperezida wa kabiri wa MRND, ntiyigeze afatwa nk'uwifuza imyanya yo mu rwego rwo hejuru.

n'imico ishimwa mu rwego rw'imibanire y'abantu, yashimishaga ari abaturage, ari abanyabwenge, by'umwihariko abakomokaga mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyepfo, amaperefegitura atinyitse, ndetse asuzugura ubutegetsi bukuru. Ikindi kandi, cyane cyane mu duce turushijeho gukara tw'injijuke zo mu Majyaruguru aho imyitwarire ya gisirikare n'induruburi byari byiganje, yabonwaga nk'umunyacyubahiro w'umunyamayeri kandi wiyoroshya. Imico ye, kimwe n'ibibazo by'urushako yagize byaritwazwaga kugira ngo basuzugure ubushobozi bwe bwo kugira igitinyiro no kuyobora.

Ibyo nyamara ntibyavugaga ko yari yarubakiye umwuga we ku myitwarire yamutandukanyaga n'abandi bakozi b'abanyaporitiki b'Abanyarwanda. Niba yarahisemo muri rusange kandi kubera kubikenera icyerekezo cyo kutivamo, ubugome n'inyungu ze byariganje kenshi iyo byabaga ari ngombwa ntiyarekaga gukoresha imico isanzwe yo kuregana, gusuzugura, kujya mu matiku kugira ngo yikize bakeba be. Ariko, aho yari atandukaniye n'intagondwa kabuhariwe, yigaragajeho imyitwarire y'umuntu wigenga agira uruhare mu bikorwa bisuzuguritse kandi yibanda ku kudahubuka gukomeye muri urwo ruhande rundi rw'ibikorwa bye. Ayo ni yo yabaye amayeri ye mu guteza imbere urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, atatinye gutoza ibisabwa mu kurinda ku buryo bukaze ibyagezweho n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, n'ibikorwa bigayitse byo mu bihe by'intambara. Nyine, intege nke ze imbere y'abo bari mu rwego rumwe b'abakiga mu miyoborere ya poritiki na gisirikare ya Repubulika ya kabiri zatumaga agira ubupfura bufite intego butasabwaga bakeba be bari bafite uburyo ku rwego rwa poritiki bukomeye kurusha ubwe cyangwa bemerwaga kumurusha.

Mu by'ukuri, kubaho kw'amashyaka menshi no kwinjira muri demokarasi by'ubuzima bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki byagiyeho mu ntangiriro ya za 1990 byamufunguriye umuryango ku bihe byiza byari imbere kandi yari ategereje n'icyizere kwimikwa n'abaturage mu gihe yari kuba yahisemo kwiyamamaza mu nzego z'ishyaka. Muri urwo rwego, gukomera kwe ku cyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryavuguruwe no kuyoboka bigaragara perezida Habyarimana byari ihitamo ry'ingirakamaro. Ariko gukunda icyubahiro kwe kwaramurenze ku buryo yakoze ikosa ryo mu rwego rwa

poritiki akabya gusaba perezida fondateri kumwegurira ubuyobozi bwaryo. Nanone, ikara ry'amakimbirane ya poritiki kubera intambara ryafashaga umushinga we wo kumenyekana mu rwego rwa poritiki rugenzuwe. Kuzamura umukandida utagira aho abogamiye ku rwego rw'akarere na poritiki byari byari ukugira umutwe ukomeye numa y'imyaka makumyabiri yo kwirunda ubukire n'ubutegetsi mu Majyaruguru, ariko urwego rw' "inuma" yarwaniraga imbere ya za "sakabaka" (ukurwanya ubutegetsi yakundaga kurusha amakimbirane hagati y' "abacisha make" n' "intagondwa") rwabaye, uko amezi yagiye ashira, imburagihe mu bibazo by'intambara, aho yasangaga buri gihe avuguruzwa na poritiki nyayo y'ishyaka yayoboraga.

Ukuri yagaragarijwe mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata kwemeje ubwitonzi mu bushobozi bwe bwo guhitamo neza mu bihe bikomeye. Yakomeje kuba uwo yari we: umunyantege nke kandi udafata ibyemezo, ntiyatinyutse guha agaciro uburenganzira bwe bwo gusimbura, yemera iyicwa ry' "abari babangamye" anatererana uruhande rushyigikiye demokarasi muri MRND. Nk'uko abakeba be bari barabibonye, uwo munyabwenge w'umunyabwoba ntiyeteye ikibazo cyo gushyira umururumba we mu rwego rw'ubuzima bw'igihugu. Mu mwuka udasanzwe wiganje ku itariki ya 6 Mata, yashoboraga koko gusaba inzira ya poritiki "yigenga" ihuye n'ibyo yibwiraga ko ahagarariye, akigaragaza nk'urukuta rw'amahoro na demokarasi arwanirira amasezerano y'Arusha akanarwanya ihembera ry'intambara. Ntiyari kubura abifatanya na we, ariko ntiyanagerageje kubibasaba.

Hagati mu marorerwa, yakoze imirimo ye ya perezida wa MRND arwana ku nyungu zidafashe zajyanaga na wo kandi arengera, uko byashobokaga kose, icyubahiro cye yihishe inyuma y'ubutumwa bwo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga mu bihugu byo hanze, aho yahoraga aburanira ibitekerezo byemewe bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Iyo mibare na yo yamubereye imfabusa. Iyo yagarukaga, Matayo Ngirumpatse ntiyahishiraga gusa "abari mu nzibacyuho" mu bwicanyi bwabo bukabije, ahubwo yakoraga ku buryo yongera kwishyira imbere agaragaza nibura ko na we yari yarabyiyemeje nk'abandi. Mu gihe cyose jenside yakorwaga, ku byo nzi, nta nyandiko n'imwe ibaho cyangwa itangazo yigeze agaragarizamo ko yitandukanyije na poritiki yari

yemewe cyangwa yamagana ibikorwa by'abitwara gisirikare, kandi yari umukuru wabo. Kubera kutagira icyerekezo cya poritiki, yaje kubura byose, harimo, mu nkambi z'impunzi, icyubahiro cyajyanaga n'imirimo ye. Mu buryo bwo kwirengagiza cyangwa ukugome, yakoze ku buryo abantu bakeka ko yari yashoboye "gusimbura" nta kibazo nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida fondateri, kugumishaho ubwumvikane no kurengera bya nyirarubeshywa ishyaka…ryamaze gusa iminsi mike nyuma yo gutsindwa.

Kuri iyo ngingo nibura, imyitwarire ya Edouard Karemera yaritandukanye n'iye ku kwitanga atahwemaga kwerekana. Na we ubwe yari yarahuye n'agasuzuguro k'akazu ka perezida kubera ko yagaragaje ukwifuza gukomera, ariko imibanire ye na Yuvenari Habyarimana yari ijyanye n'akazi kandi idashyushye. Edouard Karemera yari yarumvise neza ko yagombaga kwita ku mategeko y'umukino agoye n'ubusumbane mu butegetsi bwarengaga cyane perezida ubwe n'umuryangom we. Ubwo yatoranywaga na perezida kugira ngo ayobore icengeza rya MRND yavuguruwe, yaritanze arangizanya uwo murimo ukomeye ubushishozi n'ubushobozi, yegeranya abamushyigikiye benshi kandi anabikuramo gushimwa kuvanze n'ubwoba ku ruhande rwa bakeba be. Mu by'ukuri aboneka nk'ushobora kujya mu ihiganwa ukomeye, yakoze ibyo MRND yifuzaga kandi, nka Ngirumpatse, arifata mu masubiramo ya poritiki manini, yari guha umwanya ugaragara abakomoka mu Majyepfo.

N'ubwo yakekaga ko perezida fondateri w'ishyaka yamubuza kubona umugabane w'ubwitange bwe, ntiyari yiteguye kuvanwa nabi mu mukino na Yuvenari Hbyarimana ku nyungu za Matayo Ngirumpatse. Ibihembo yahawe mu mwuga we mushya wo kuburanira abantu (avoka) byerekanye ibyo ari byo byose ko yabonwaga nk'umunyaporitiki wagombaga kwisungwa (ku buryo bugaragara n'ubutagaragara), hanyuma ukwisuganya yakoze mu gihe cy'inama rusange yo mu 1993 kwamusubije mu rwego rw'abahatanaga, ariko batari ku isonga.

Nyuma y'ukwigendera nabi kwa perezida, ihirima rya Matayo Ngirumpatse ryahaye umwanya w'igihe kirekire uwo mukandida wabyiyemeje wari guhagararira amahame remezo ya Repubulika n'ibyifuzo byo mu Majyepfo imbere y'umuragwa wari

waratoranyijwe, Yozefu Nzirorera. Umugambi wo kwitarura, wahuriweho n'inyabutatu yayoboraga MRND mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iy 7 Mata, waramufashaga kurusha Matayo Ngirumpatse. Hba mu myitwarire cyangwa mu nyungu, yemeye impamvu y'ubwicanyi nk'igikenewe mu rwego rwa poritiki gisobanutse, ikintu cyhutirwa mu mirimo. Nta cyo byari bimubwiye kugaraga nk'umuntu "wanduye". Nka Nzirorera, yitanze atabara kugira ngo ateze imbere ingufu zo kwigarurira abantu no kubona umwanya we wose mu Biro mpuzabikorwa by'ishyaka MRND. Yumvaga atari ngombwa gusigira ubuyobozi bwo guhangana n'abateye abantu bo mu Majyaruguru kandi ububasha bwe bwo kwigarurira ishyigikira ry'abanyaporitiki n'abawofisiye bo mu Majyepfo bwarashimwe.

Yinjira ku mugaragaro muri minisiteri muri Gicurasi icyo yakoze gusa ni ugufata ubuyobozi bw'ibikorwa mu gihe gikomeye kandi yishyize mu mwanya w'intwari mu guhangana kw' "igihugu" n'umwanzi. N'ubwo bitashobotse gusubiza ibintu mu buryo no gushyikirana ku birindiro, ibikorwa bye, mu gihe cyo kujya mu buhungiro ntibyari bisuzuguritse imbere y'intagondwa, kandi yarubashywe anakurikirwa n'abanyacyubahiro b'impunzi.

Kugeza ku gihe cya nyuma, no mu buhungiro, Edouard Karemera ntiyigeze agira impungenge y'ukuri kw'impamvu yarwaniraga, nk'uko atigeze yibaza ku kamaro n'imyemererwe y'uburyo bwari bwahiswemo. Ahubwo, gusubira inyuma yabishyiraga ku ruhande rw'ugukusanya abaturage kudahagije, kandi byaragombaga, kur bwe, gusimbura imbogamizi zigaragara zo mu ngabo. Icyngenzi cyamubabazaga, cyari gishingiye ku ihitamo ryo mu ikubitiro-yabaye umwe mu baritangije-ryashyizeho guverinoma y'intege nke, itarashoboraga kuvumbura intamabara igitangira imyitwarire inoze n'ubwitange bisa n'iby'uwo bari bahanganye wangwaga.

Muri iyo mbonerhamwe, umwanya wa Yozefu Nzirorera ni uw'umuntu watoneshejwe n'ingoma, mu gihe cyose cy''akazi ke nk'umwana w'ikirara "w'umubyeyi w'igihugu", wungukiye bitagira igaruriro kandi mu mutuzo, mu butoni bw'ubutegetsi. Ntiyari akeneye kujya mu buriganya bwo gushimisha, icyari ngombwa kuri we ni ukwiyerekana nk'uberanye n'icyizere yari yaragiwe no kurwana ku mwanya yari yahawe

imbere y'abageragezaga kuwumunyaga. Ibihe bibi bya poritiki byatangijwe n'induru yo mu rwego rwa demokarasi n'ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi byatumye icyarimwe, aba avuye by'agateganyo mu ruhando rwa poritiki, yitangira n'ubushake bwinshi kurengera ingoma yari imaze gucibwa intege. Amayeri ye yabaye ay'umuragwa ushinzwe kurengera ibyagezeho n'abari babifitemo inyungu kand mbere na mbere urwego rwe rw'umusimbura umwe tukumbi. Muri urwo rwego, ikibazo cy'ingenzi yari afite muri uwo mwuka mushya nticyari icyo gutangira izungura, ahubwo icyo kusibira amayira izamuka ry'abahiganwa bashoboraga, igihe kigeze, kumusaba isaranganya ry'ibintu bafite "icyemezo".

Uburyo yabashije, hamwe n'umuryango wa perezida, kwihanganira ibura rya Yuvenari Habyarimana bwatewe n'ubuhnga bukomeye kubera ko mu minsi icumi, ikirere cyari cyiza burundu ku wahatanaga wari watoranyijwe kandi n'ukugumaho kw'ingoma kwari kwizewe ku mugaragaro. Mu guha igihugu perezida udafashije ugaragiwe n'ibyigakurunga, abasubijwemo bo muri MRND ari abayoboke be, nta kibazo na kimwe byari biteye ahubwo yari yihaye amahirwe abiri akomeye mu bihe bizaza: gushyira ku "bagize inzibacyuho" umutwaro w'irimbura ry'abari bemerewe guhatanira ubutegetsi no kwihitiramo ubwe itariki y'iyimikwa rye. N'ubwo yabaye umunyamayeri ugaragara, ihitamo rye ry'ingamba ryabayemo ukwibeshya. Iterabwoba ry'ubwicanyi nta cyo ryabwiye uwo bari bahanganye kandi ryabaye ishyuhaguzwa ry'imburamumaro. Noneho, uwo mwana bajeyi wo ku ngoma nta yindi nzira yabonye uretse gukora hirya no hino kugira ngo arengere icyashoboraga kurengerwa mu murage we wifuzwaga n' "umwanzi".

Icyizere cyo gusaranganya kimaze kuyoyoka, yiyambaje uburyo bwo gusiga amatongo. Nyuma y'uko kwiroha, itwara ry'abantu ryako ntiryamuteye ubwoba, ategura ibyo ari byo byose iyimikwa ridafashe yishyirishaho nka perezida w'Inteko ishingamategeko y'igihugu kandi yubahiriza akabyiniriro ke ka "rurangiza"[660].

[660] Ageze mu buhungiro yasabye umwe mu banyacyubahiro yiganaga mu ngiro n'ingendo kumufasha kurinda umutungo we dore ko yari umwe mu bigabije ibya Leta. Kimwe n'abamibisitiri bahunganye imari z'ibigo bikomeye n'abandi banyacyubahiro bari bashinzwe kugura intwaro ku isoko rya forode mu gihe cy'ikomanyirizwa ryemejwe n'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi 1994 (Justin Mugenzi, Froduald Karamira, Casimir Bizimungu, n'abandi),yisigiye ku ruhande igice cy'umutungo udakorwaho. Bityo, amafaranga yahawe ajya mu

Muri ayo mateka yuzuye ibyago, usanga muri abo banyaporitiki batatu b'abagome ukwirengagiza kumwe gukabije ubwicanyi na jenoside, bafashe nk'inyungu mu rwego rwa poritiki kimwe n'izindi zakoreshwaga mu mibare yabo n'umururumba wabo bwite. Amarorerwa amaze kubaho, mu buhungiro, bafashe bunyago abaturage b'impunzi kugira ngo bongere kubona imyanya yo guhangana yerekanywe nk'ibikorwa bikomeye byo gufata ingamba (*reba umugereka wa 123*), kugeza ubwo amaherezo basanze bigijweyo batigeze bagira icyo bamenya: "ndacyemera ko ubwo bwicanyi ari impanuka n'igikowa kigayitse kitagomba gusubirwamo[661]."

Umuntu wa kane w'ingenzi, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, yaketse vuba cyane ko noneho yari agiye gusimbura Yuvenari Habyarimana. Uwo mushinga yawugize guhera mu myaka ya za 1980 ubwo imiryango mikuru y'abasirikare b'abakiga basubiranagamo na Yuvenari Habyarimana, amaze kunanirwa, akiyegereza umuryango we n'akarere ke. Mu izina ry'uko kwemererwa kwegerana no gushyirwa imbere kw'abasirikare mu gihe cy'intambara, yabashije kwishyiraho iminsi mike nk'umutware ariko ntiyashaka andi maboko atari abayoboke b'agace ka perezida n'abo ubugome bwe bwateye ubwoba. Ari wenyine kandi atinya kuzisobanura ku bugizi bwa nabiyari yategetse kugira ngo yice abayobozi bemewe, yatangiye urundi rugamba, rurwanya umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu,aushinga icyo yise guverinoma "ye". Ihotora n'ubwicanyi byajyanye no guhorera "umubyeyi w'igihugu" n'intambara y'izungura byahishwe n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya poritiki ishingiye kuri jenoside, yashakaga kutavugirwamo. Bityo rero yasuzuguye ibikorwa bye by'ubugizi bwa nabi, ategeka iby'ubunyamaswa bukabije kurushaho abo yahisemo hamwe n'abayobozi ba MRND kugira ngo babe bayobora, igihe umwuka wa poritiki n'uwa gisirikare wari kuzabera mwiza n'abahatanira kuzungura badashiyika, bari barigumiye inyuma, bamaze kugaragaza aho bahagaze. Koko rero, badashobora

butumwa muri Afurika y'Epfo ari muri sheki z'ingendoThomas-Cook yamutunze mu buhungiro kugeza ubwo banki yabyanze mu ntangiriro za 1998. Akurikiranywe n'ubutabera bwo muri Bénin (ni ho yabaga icyo gihe) kubera gutanga sheki zitazigamiwe, yagombye kwishyura amadeni abamugurije banyuranye (reba Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itarki ya 1 Nyakanga, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya1 n'iya 2 Nyakanga n'ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya urinzwe ku mugereka wa 97).

[661] Mathieu NGIRUMPATE, op. cit. p. 148.

kwisaranganya ubutegetsi, abo bari nbihaye igihe ntarengwa cyemewe n'itehgeko nshinga cy'iminsi 90 cyatumaga birinda, urebye ni ko babikekaga, kwikorera umutwaro w'amarorerwa bari baratgetse gukora…jenoside kugira ngo bayobore isaranganya!

Imyaka cumi n'itanu nyuma yaho, bose uko ari batatu bongeye guhura muri gereza y'Arusha kugira ngo ubwa nyuma basaranganywe…n'abacamanza bo mu byumba by'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga kuRwanda (TPIR). Théoneste Bagosora yafatiwe, bisabwe na TPIR, ku itariki ya 6 Werurwe 1996 muri Kameruni, yoherezwa Arusha ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga 1997, aho yarezwe jenoside, kumvikana gukora jendside, guhamagarira ku mugaragaro abantu gokora jenoside, ibikorwabyo mkuyoza ikiremwa muntu, kurenga ku masezerano y'i Genève. Koloneli Bagosora aregwa ibyaha bimwe n'uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikare ka Gisenyi, liyetona koloneli Anatole Nsengiyumva; uwahoze ari umuyobozi wa batayo "Paracommandos" i Kigali, majoro Aloys Ntabakuze; n'uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri etamajoro y'ingabo Z'uRwanda, jenerali wa burigade Gratien Kabiligi. Nyuma yo gutangira nabi ku itariki ya 2 Mata 2002, amasubikwa menshi n'iyimurirwa mu cyumba kiyoborwa n'umucamanza wo muri Norvège Erik Mose, urubanza rwiswe "urw'abasirikare rwa mbere" rwatangiye nyabyo ku itariki ya 16 Kamena 2003 kandi rwafatiwe imyanzuro ku itariki ya 19 Ukuboza 2009 mu isomwa ry'urubanza ryarekuye Gratien Kabiligi , rigakatira abo bandi batatu igifungo cya burundu. Kuva icyo gihe urubanza rwarajuririwe.

Edouard Karemera, Matayo Ngirumpatse na Yozefu Nzirorera bose uko ari batatu bafashwe ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1998, nk'uko bakurikirana, muri Togo, Bénin na Mali, bajyanwa imbere y'ibyumba by'Arusha. Nyuma y'amaperereza menshi, urubanza rwa mbere baburanishirijwemo mhamwe n'undi munyacyubahiro w'umunyaporitiki rwasheshwe n'icyumba cy'ubujurire mu Kwakira 2004, bamaze umwaka bumvwa. Urundi rubanza bahuriyeho rwatangiyw ku itariki ya 19 Nzeri 2005. Baregwa kumvikana gukora jenoside, guhamagarira gukora jendside, ubugambanyim muri jenoside, gufata ku ngufu, kurimbura abantu no kurenga bikomeye ku masezerano y'i Genève,

umushinjacyaha akaba yaremeje ko ibyo byaha bishyirwa mu “mpamvu y’umushinga w’ubugizi bwa nabi rusange” cyangwa bigize “ingaruka zisanzwe kandi ziteganywa z’ikorwa ryawo”. Ni byo yita “uburyo bwaguye” bw’umushinga w’ubugizi bwa nabi rusange, bugamije kurimbura Abatutsi muRwanda “bwatangijwe mber ya Mutarama 1994 kandibwakomeje kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994 nibura” (ibirego ku bayobozi ba MRND). Ibikoresho byabaye, ukurikije ikirego, inzego za MRND, umutwe wayo w’*Interahamwe*, ubuyobozi bw’igihugu n’umutungo wabwo, ibitangazamakuru. Urwo rubanza rwahagaritswe muri Kanama 2008 kubera uburwayi bw’umwe mu baregwa, ni urwa mbere irangizwa ryarwo rimuriwe nyuma y’umwaka wa 2009, itariki ivugwa yo kurangiza imirimo y’urukiko.

Izo manza zombi zirangamiwe nizisozwa, imyaka cumi n’itanu nyuma y’impera y’intambara, Urukkiko mpanabyaha mpuzamaahanga rw’Arusha yagombye kuzaba irangije uw’ingenzi mu mirimo abashinjacyaha barwo bakurikiranye bari bateganyije mu rwego rwagenwe n’Inama y’Umuryango w’Abibumbye, “yemera ko, mu bintu by’umwihariko byiganje muRwanda, ikurikiranwa ry’abantu bakekwaho kugirab uruhare mu bikorwa bya jenoside cyangwa irindi renga rikomeye ku burenganzira mpuzamahanga bw’ikiremwa muntu rishobora gutuma iyo ntego igerwaho [yo guhagarika ubugizi bwa nabi nk’ubwo] kandi ko ryagira uruhare mu gikorwa cy’ubwiyunge mu gihugu kimwe no mu kugarura no kubungabunga amahoro.” Kuva ubu, ibyagezweho bya mbere bishobora gusuzumwa hitawe ku bikorwa byasesenguwe muri iki gitabo kugira ngo hagereranywe ibyo ubutabera bwashoboye kugeraho “birenze ishidikanya iryo ari ryo ryose rishoboka” ku migendekere y’ibintu n’imyitwarire y’ababigizemo uruhare.

14

Ubucamanza n'ukuri :«intambara yo kwibuka»

Gusuzuma byonyine icyuka cy'impaka zigibwa ubungubu ku mumaro n'ibyagezwe ho n'ubucamanza mu bihe byakurikiye intambara bihita byerekana intera n'imbibi byabwo. Koko rero, mu gihe ibyo guhakana itsembatsemba no gukerensa jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bo muRwanda bitagishobora kubona ingingo haba mu byabaye ho haba no mu nyurabwenge[662], ibyo kugerageza guhindura amazina y'ibyabaye (nko gukoresha amagambo twabonye mbere ngo « impanuka », « ibintu bibabaje ») n'urunana rw'abunganizi bo mu manza babihakana bivuye inyuma na byo biracyafite ababishyigikiye cyane ndetse n'abo bishamaje, ku buryo biha urubuga poropagande z'ivangurabwoko zigikomeje guhangana. Umwanya w'ibanze ugenerwa ibarura ry'ibitambo by'impande zombi mu iterana ry'amagambo – kugira ngo habe ho iringaniza ripfobya ibicumuro byakozwe n'abarwanyi b'impande zombi – uragaragaza nta shiti ko umurimo utangaje ubucamanza bwakoze guhera mu wa 1994 utaragira ikintu gifatika uvungura kuri poropagande n'amashagaga ya

[662] *« Nta n'umwe ushobora kugira icyo ashingira ho ahakana ko mu wa 1994 habaye ho ibikorwa byo gushishikariza itsembatsemba rigamije kurimbura Abatutsi bose bo muRwanda cyangwa se nibura igice kinini cyane muri bo, bakaba bari bagize itsinda rishinganywe. Iryo shishikaza ryageze ku ntego yaryo ku buryo bukura umutima. […] Jenoside yo muRwanda ni igikorwa cyiyanditse mu mateka y'isi, igikorwa kidashidikanywa nk'ikindi cyose. Ni rwo rugero ruhamye rw' "ibikorwa by'ikimenyabose" » (TPIR, URUGEREKO RW'UBUJURIRE, Icyemezo ku bujurire bwatanzwe m'umushinjacyaha busaba icyemezo ku gikorwa cy'ikimenyabose mbere yo gusuzuma urubanza mu mizi yarwo, La Haye, 16 Kamena 2006, &35, p. 21-22).*

gashozantambara. Bamwe bahakana jenoside, abandi bakagira ruvumwa ingoma na repuburika zombi, bityo intambara ikagera mu rwego rw'intekerezo zikubira ubwoko ubu n'ubu mu gatebo kamwe, nk'aho umurundo wa anketi zakozwe kuva mu wa 1994 n'inzego zose zashinzwe n'isi yose kugaragaza « ukuri » n' « ubutabera » waba umaze : imiryango mpuzamahanga, komisiyo nyagihugu, urugaga rw'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, inkiko z'ibihugu by'amahanga, n'urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwaremewe icyo gusa, utiriwe ubarura ibitabo amagana n'amagana, amasenema n'ubuhamya bw'ingeri zose. Wagira ngo ubumenyi bwose n'amakuru byakusanyijwe mu myaka irenga cumi n'itanu bitashoboraga kwemerwa cyangwa bitemewe, kandi ntibigere ku bigize abayobozi b'umukino wo guterana amagambo ufite ikindi ugamije.

Umurimo wo gucukumbura ukuri utangaje ariko uvangura bikabije

Impamvu zatumye ibintu bimera gutyo ni nyinshi, ariko ndibwibande gusa ku zishobora kuba zifitanye isano n'urwego rw'ubutabera mpuzamahanga rwashyiriwe ko kurangiza izo nshingano, maze kwibutsa nihuta iby'ingenzi byarangaga ikibariro mpuzamahanga igihe urwo rwego rwaremwaga. Kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1994, ihahamuka amahanga yatewe n'ibyabaye muRwanda ryatumye hakorwa umurimo wo gutekereza utarigeze uba ho mbere, haba ku butumbanya bwawo no ku mikorerwe yawo, umurimo wakozwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga na za Leta zinyuranye. Inzego nyinshi na komisiyo z'iperereza zashyiriwe ho gutazura iby'amahano yabaye muRwanda no gutanga ibyifuzo birebana n' « imfashanyo, gusana ibyangiritse no gutsura amajyambere » cyangwa se bijyanye n' « amahoro, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge ». Kuva mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1995, izo nzego na komisiyo, zimwe kugeza mu wa 2000[663],

[663] *Dore itonde ry'uko izo nzego na komisiyo zakurikiranye :*
Ubutwererane bw'uBusuwisi muRwanda, raporo ya minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Berne, 20 Mutarama 1996, ishingiye ku biganiro by'abanyaporitiki n'inzobere 110 ; Komite nyobozi y'isesengura ry'imfashanyo yihutirwa yahawe uRwanda, Igisubizo Umuryango mpuzamahanga wageneye intambara na jenoside : amasomo y'ibyabaye muRwanda, Copenhague,1996, umutumba wa 5, raporo yatangajwe nyuma yaho gato, mu izina ry'imiryango 36 y'imfashanyo n'iterambere (hari mo inzego z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, n'ubutwererane hagati y'ibihugu). Muri

zakoranyije amagana n'amagana y'inzoberekandi zirundanya impapuro ibihumbi n'ibihumbi z'imyandiko n'inyandukuro z'ubuhamya kuri ubu zuzuye ikigega kinini cyane. Ariko rero, kubera ko zagiye zubahiriza ibyifuzo by'abazisabye, anketi zibanze cyane cyane ku byo izo nzego zagiye zikora nabi no kugaragaza ukuntu inkunga n'imfashanyo zaturutse mu mahanga muri rusange zitageze ku ntego yazo. Zirinze no kugira icyo zivuga ku ngingo abantu bari bafite ho isesengura ritandukanye cyane, ntiziririrwa zinagira icyo zikomoza ku ngamba z'abanyagikorwa bo mu mahanga banze gutanga umusanzu wabo muri ubwo bushakashatsi[664]. Muri rusange izo nzego zari zishishikajwe cyane cyane no kugaragaza impamvu umuryango mpuzamahanga utagize

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Nyakanga 1996, Komisiyo y'Ububanyi n'amahanga ya Sena y'uBubiligi yashyize ho itsinda ryabugenewe « ryo gusuzuma imyandiko yose yo muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'iy'Ingabo yerekeranye n'ibyabaye muRwanda hagati y'igihe cy'isinywa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha muri Kanama 1993 n'igihe jenoside yatangiriye muri Mata 1994 ». Ihereye kuri iyo raporo yatanzwe ku itariki ya 7 Mutarama 1997, Komisiyo y'Ububanyi n'amahanga yashyize ho Komisiyo idasanzwe y'uRwanda. Guhera ku itariki ya 19 Gashyantare 1997, iyo komisiyo idasanzwe yatangiye kubaza abantu batari bake noneho nyuma ihindurwa mo, ku buryo buyiha uburenganzira bwose, Komisiyo ya anketi y'Inteko ishinga amategeko. Iyo Komisiyo yashyizwe ho ku itariki ya 30 Mata 1997 yatanze raporo yayo ku itariki ya 6 Ukuboza 1997. Hashize amezi make, ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE yafashe icyemezo cyo gushyira ho Misiyo y'itaramakuru y'Inteko ishinga amategeko yatangiye kubaza abantu ku itariki ya 24 Werurwe 1998. Imyanzuro yayo n'imyandiko myinshi yatanzwe n'imigereka yayo byashyizwe ahagaragara mu Kuboza k'uwo mwaka ku izina ngo Raporo y'ikusanyamakuru ya Misiyo y'itaramakuru ya Komisiyo ya Jandarumori n'Ingabo n'iya Komisiyo ya minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga ku bikorwa bya gisirikari by'uBufaransa, ibindi bihugu n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye byabaye muRwanda hagati ya 1990 na 1994, Anketi ku marorerwa yabaye muRwanda, op. cit. Hanyuma, ku ya 16 Ukuboza 1999 hasohotse Raporo ya Komisiyo yigenga yakoze anketi ku bikorwa by'Umuryango w'Abibumbye muri jenoside yo mu wa 1994 muRwanda (Umuryango w'Abibumye, Inteko ishinzwe umutekano, New York), raporo yakurikiwe, muri Gicurasi 2000, na Raporo kuri jenoside yo muRwanda, yanditswe n'Itsinda mpuzamahanga ry'abanyaporitiki b'imena babisabwe n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika (OUA, Rwanda, jenoside yashoboraga guhagarikwa, Addis- Ababa, 7 Nyakanga 2000).

[664] *Ibyo byabonetse ku bihugu by'ibihangange nka Leta Zunze ubumwe z'Amerika n'uBwongereza, no ku byinshi mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'uRwanda ari byo Kongo- Zayire, uBurundi, Tanzaniya, kandi nyamara byari bifite inyungu ndetse n'uruhare mu ntambara no mu mishyikirano, ariko cyane cyane uBuganda. Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi zari zigize igipande cy'ingenzi cy'Ingabo z'icyo gihugu, ni ukuvuga NRA (Ingabo z'ibirindiro by'igihugu), zagize uruhare rw'ibanze mu gushoza intambara, zagemuye ibintu byose zigatanga n'ibikoresho, zarwanye mu bitero byose bikomeye kandi zikagira uruhare mu byemezo byerekeranye n'ingamba.*

icyo ukora mu gihe cy'amahano yagwiriye uRwanda, aho kugira ngo bagaragaze ibyihishe inyuma y'iyo ntambara, icyayiteye n'icyo yari igamije. Ku buryo bw'imbangikane, ibitabo umurundo, amasenema n'ibindi byo mu rwego rw'ubumenyi cyangwa rw'inkuru ndende, byatangajwe kuri jenoside, impamvu zayo, uko yagenze, abayigize mo uruhare n'ibitambo byayo, abayirokotse n'ihahamuka ryabakurikiranye. Uwo murimo wo gusesengura no kwibuka wageze mu rwego rureshya n'icyo gicumuro cy'ubutumbanya n'ibikiranga birenze kamere, no mu rwego rw'ihakana n'ubureberezi bw'amahanga cyagaragaje. Ariko kandi umurimo wo kwibuka wakozwe cyane cyane n'abantu batari Abanyarwanda, akenshi bazi gake cyane cyangwa se batazi igihugu na busa mbere y'uko kiba mo jenoside. Kuva ubwo, ubwo « bwemerwe » bwa jenoside bugira uburemere bukomeye mu myumvire y'amakuba yabaye muRwanda, bukanatsindagira ubuyayuko bwagaragaye mu mirimo y'abanyagikorwa b'abanyamahanga kuko, ku bwende cyangwa atari ku bwende, ubwo bwemerwe nta gisubizo bwaboneye ibibazo byinshi bijyanye n'imyitwarire, n'uruhare rw'abanyagikorwa b'abanyagihugu mu gushoza no kurwana intambara. Mu giteranyo, usanga hari ibipande binini by'amateka y'iyo ntambara n'ibyayibaye mo bitarasobanuka kugeza ubu, kandi raporo n'bundi bushakashatsi byatangajwe biterekana ukuntu byazabashoboka cyangwa byazaba ngombwa kushyira ahagaragara ibyo bitaramenyekana (intego z'intambara abarwanaga bari bafite, ibico byibasiraga abaturage b'abasiviri, iyicwa ry'abanyaporitiki, igico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata, nb.). Kubera kutagira ibisubizo binyuze, ibyo bibazo bikomeje gukurura ibihuha n'amikekwe, kandi bikenyegeza ubukana bwo kuregana cyangwa ubwo kwiregura by'impande zitavuga rumwe. Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwagenewe uRwanda nUmuryango w'Abibumbye rwari kuba rwarafatiye kuri uwo murimo wo gutazura rugakora anketi zitabonda, rukagaragaza ibimenyetso gihamya, rugatahura aho ruzakura uburanguruzi n'umutungo (cyane cyane ku bireba ubuzobere), rukagirana imibonano n'inzego zakagombye gukorana na rwo, rugasobanura ku buryo bufatika ingamba zarwo zo gukurikirana abaregwa rukagaragaza n'ibikorwa byihutirwa. Iyo misanzu ituruka imuhana yagiye yitabazwa kenshi mu cyiciro cyo kwitoza imirimo kwa TPIR, mbere

yuko urwo rukiko ruhinduka ubwarwo ahantu h'ingenzi hakorerwa imirimo yo gukusanya, gushyingura no gusesengura amakuru rwari rukeneye mu kuzuza inshingano zarwo.

Itana ry'ubucamanza mpuzamahanga

Nyamara, ubutumbanya butagira ingano bw'amakuru yarundanyijwe na TPIR mu izina ry'ukuri n'ubutabera ntiburanyura impande zose, habe no guhosha amarengamutima y'Abanyarwanda. Ubwo bunanirwe bwarwo butera abantu kwishisha no kunegura urukiko rwa Arusha. Impamvu z'ibyo binegu zikomoka mbere na mbere ku miterere yarwo, nko kuba ruri Arusha, ahantu h'ubwigunge hatagendwa cyane kandi n'amakuru y'ibihakorerwa ntamenyekane, ariko na none zigaterwa n'uko abantu batazi ko icyo kigega cy'imyandiko kiri ho kandi ko bashobora kukigera ho bakacyitabaza. Hakurikira ho impamvu z'imikorere mibi y'urukiko ubwarwo igaragarira cyane ku bikorwa mbarwa byarwo iyo urebye umubare w'imanza zaciwe. Koko rero, uwo mubare ni muto uwugereranyije n'igihe n'ibyangombwa urukiko rwahawe : mu Kuboza 2009, abaregwa 90 bari barakurikiranwe, muri bo 11 bakaba bakiri mu bwihisho. Mirongo irindwi na barindwi barakatiwe cyangwa se bari hafi gukatirwa.

Uhereye ku kidushishikaje cy'ingenzi, ni ukuvuga ibyagezwe ho mu rwego rwo gusesengura no gusobanukirwa neza ibyabaye n'ingamba z'ababigizemo uruhare, ishimwe riri ku ntera icirirtse kandi ibyagezwe ho bishya birutana hakurikijwe igoragoza ryaranze poritiki y'ubushinjacyaha.

Ibintu bibiri byo ariko biragaragara neza. Icya mbere gituruka ku mahitamo yo mu rwego rw'ingamba n'imicungire urukiko TPIR rwagombye gukora mu myaka cumi n'itanu y'ukubaho kwarwo rugira ngo rushimangire icyizere n'ubushobozi abantu bari baruteze ho. Mu ntangiro zarwo rwakunze kuregwa na Leta y'i Kigali ko ntacyo rugera ho, ariko n'abaruhaga amafaranga n'inkunga zinyuranye, barunenga ko rwafashe abantu bake cyane, ko nta manza rwaburanishije cyangwa se ko zabaye nkeya cyane, ko nta

n'urubanza na rumwe rwigeze rucibwa[665]. Nyamara icyo cyiciro nticyabuze kuba mo anketi zakozwe n'ubushakashatsi bwatangijwe, ibyo byose bikaba byarageze ku myanzuro ishimishije ku buryo budasanzwe. Kubera ubufatanye bwabaye hagati y'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta n'intiti zo muri Kaminuza, ibiganiro byakorewe n'impaka zagiriwe muri icyo kigo byatumye basuzuma intego zari zigamijwe, bagaragaza ibirari n'ibikorwa byihutirwa, babarura amakuru n'ubushakashatsi byagezwe ho, nuko bityo bagashinga ikigega cy'imyandiko n'imfatizo bikungahaye kandi bigabye mu ngeri zinyuranye. Icyo cyiciro cy'iyimbika cyanatumye urukiko rwakira abitoza n'abiga umwuga w'amategeko benshi, rwitabaza abashakashatsi batari bake, no gushyira ho kuri ubwo buryo abakozi bamenyereye urusobe rw'amadosiye y'uRwanda, ndetse bamwe bakaba bakinari mo ubungubu. Ikindi, mu ntangiro y'imyaka ya 2000, igihe umushijacyaha Carla Del Ponte ashyirwa ho, abagize Inama ishinzwe umutekano bafashe icyerekezo cy'imicungire iboneye kandi itabonda. Kuko noneho bari bafite ubugeni bwo guhunika no gusesengura amakuru no gusesengura amakuru, abagize iBiro by'umushinjacyaha b'ingenzi basabwe ku buryo butajenjetse kwihutisha imiburanishirizwe y'imanza no gushyira imbere ibyo kugaragaza ubushobozi mu kazi no kugera ku myanzuro ifatika. Urukiko rwagowe n'uwo muvuduko : kongera itonde ry'abaregwa n'iry'abafatwa byabaye mo amakosa no kwibeshya bigenda bisumbanya uburemere, ariko bikangiza imirimo, integuro ndetse n'agaciro ka gihamya n'urunyiriri rw'intego. Ubwo amadosiye menshi yahagaritswe igihe kirekire, ararembera cyangwa se aburizwa mo : ubugenzacyaha bwa hutihuti, ibirego bidafatika, ubuhamya bwitojwe, gupfusha ubusa gihamya zihari, amakosa akabije mu mfatizo, nb. , ibyo byose bikajyana n'ihinduranya rikabije ry'abashinjacyaha n'abungirizi babo, n'iry'abashinzwe ipereereza. Ibyo byateye ipfunwe ryinshi, cyane cyane mu bantu bose bari bategereje ko Urukiko ruhita rutangiza imanza zimwe zisobanutse, hanyuma rukazaba rwimbika ibikoresho n'ububasha byarwo mu madosiye yasabaga cyane kwitondera umurimo wo gutahura

[665] *Urwa mbere rwatangiye ku itariki ya 2 Nzeri 1998, ariko rwapfundikiwe burundu n'urugereko rw'ubujurire rw'i La Haye ku itariki ya 16 Gicurasi 2001.*

ukuri no kwimakaza ubutabera.

Icya kabiri kigaragara, gituruka ku bushake budakumirwa bw'abategetsi bashya b'uRwanda bwo kugenzurira hafi anketi zose no kwemera gusa ubushakashatsi buhuje n'ibyifuzo n'intego byabo byo muri poritiki. Iyo ngingo yari ibangikanye n'iy'abo mu gipande cy'abaregwa, cyane cyane iyo babaga ari ibikomerezwa. Kubera ibyo, kubona abagabo bashinja, kimwe n'abashinjura byagombaga kunyura mu mishyikirano, bikagenzurwa, bigapangirwa kure n'abayobozi bo mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta n'abo mu nzego za poritiki b'ingoma ya kera n'iya none. Ku buryo ubu n'ubu, urebye amakuba abatangabuhamya babaga bishyize mo, abakandida bonyine babaga batoranyijwe, bagiriwe inama kandi bashyigikiwe n'amatsinda cyangwa abantu bakomeye ni bo batinyukaga kwishora muri urwo rukururo.

Gutoranya abaregwa

Bityo, amashyirahamwe y'abacitse ku icumu cyangwa y'imfungwa zireze ashyigikiye ubushinjacyaha, kimwe n'urugaga rw'abari mu butegetsi bwa kera bakorera abunganizi, bikora nk'inzego z'imicungire y'abagabo baba bateguriwe neza gutanga ubuhamya ku byabaye koko no ku makinamico. Nyamara urukiko rwa TPIR rwari rwashyiriwe ho guha urubuga rugari abatangabuhamya bose n'ibitambo biboneye ubwabo iterabwoba rikoranywe urunyiriri ryagombaga kubacecekesha burundu[666].

Ibyo bintu bibiri byagaragaye ntibishobora gutandukanywa kuko inyungu zo muRwanda imbere zasobanyirije urukiko mpuzamahanga kugera mu mizi yarwo kandi ku buryo buzaramba.

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[666] *Abagabo benshi cyane baracyafite ubwoba bwo gutanga ubuhamya, haba mu babisabwa n'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha, haba no mu bashakwa n'amakipi y'abunganizi. Abaturanye cyangwa abafitanye amasano n'ibitambo cyangwa n'abaregwa baba muRwanda cyangwa se mu buhungiro batinya ko abo batavugira bazabihimura ho cyangwa se bakihimura ku bantu bo mu miryango yabo. Muri rusange, incuro nke cyane ni bwo Urukiko rwashoboye gushyigura abatangabuhamya b'inzobere b'Abanyarwanda bafite ijambo kandi batavugirwa mo, ntirwabashije no kubona umubare ugaragara w'abirega bakemera icyaha (9) kandi bagirira akamaro ubushinjacyaha.*

Kimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi birebana n'iyo ngingo, ni icy'ubufatanye bw'abategetsi bw'uRwanda n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Bakomeje kwitwaza ku buryo budahuga ububasha bahabwa n'ingingo y'uko ubwo bufatanye ari nkenerwa, maze babogamisha poritiki y'ubushinjacyaha, niba ahubwo batarabuyoboye ku buryo bweruye. Kuba ibintu bimeze bityo bikomoka ku kibariro cy'uko ibintu byari bimeze mu gihe urwo rukiko rwaremwaga. Urukiko rwa TPIR rwashyizwe ho mu kintu cy'ubwumvirane. Abategetsi bashya b'uRwanda, bamaze gushyika ku ntebe nyuma y'intambara muri Nyakanga 1994, bifuzaga urukiko rw'abatsinze rumeze nk'urw'i Nuremberg rwacira imanza hutihuti « abacurabwenge » ba jenoside. Ntibashakaga urwego ruremereye rwasobanyiriza mu gihe cy'imyaka cumi cyangwa cumi n'itanu poritiki yabo bwite y'ubucamanza no gusana igihugu. Kuri iyo ngingo, bagize ipfunwe ryinshi muri manda y'umushinjacyaha Richard Goldstone ukomoka muri Afurika y'epfo (yatangiye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1994 ikarangira ku itariki ya 30 Nzeri 1996), kubera ko mu byo yakoze nta cyasubizaga ibyifuzo byabo. Byarabonekaga ko Urukiko rushyiriwe ho kuzamara igihe, abakozi barwo bimenyerezaga ibidukikije batari bazi kandi biruhije urebye imbata bagombaga kurema, bakoraga ubushakashatsi bw'ingeri zose, ni nk'aho nta muntu bafataga (abantu 14) kandi ntibagire n'uwo bacira urubanza. Ikirushije ho, ni uko aho kwibasira abanyaporitiki bakomeye, igikundi cya mbere cy'inzandiko zo gufata abakurikiranwe cyari cyahimbiye cyane cyane ku banyaporitiki bo mu rwego rw'intara cyangwa rw'akarere, nka Kerementi Kayishema wari perefe wa Kibuye ; Ruferedi Musema wari umuyobozi w'uruzini rw'icyayi ; Yozefu Kanyabashi, burugumesitiri wa Ngoma – Butare, umujyi wa kabiri muRwanda, iyo atari abubahiriza amabwiriza gusa, nka burugumesotiri Yohani – Pawuro Akayesu wo muri perefegitura Gitarama cyangwa Eli Ndayambaje wo muri Butare. N'ubwo ababikurikiraniye hafi benshi babonye ko umumaro w'ikimenyetso n'isomo w'iregwa ry' umuntu « usanzwe », Yohani- Pawuro Akayezu, burugumesitiri nk'abandi benshi, wari uhagije kugira ngo imanza zitangire, biragaraga ko ibyiringiro abantu bari bateze ku bucamanza mpuzamahanga byari mu rundi rwego. Kimwe n'iyahawe urukiko rw'i La Haye rwashinzwe dosiye y'icyahoze ari Yugosiraviya, manda y'urukiko rwa TPIR yari iyo « kurasa ku isonga » y'abakoze

ibicumuro birenze urugero mu gihe cy'intambara. Ifatwa rya visiperezida w'*Interahamwe*, Joriji Rutaganda, ni ryo ryonyine ryari ryubahirije iyo ntego. Mu mwaka wa 1996, umushinjacyaha Goldstone yahinduye icyerekezo ubwo yafatishirizaga muri Kameruni abaregwa benshi bo mu mwanya w'ibanze : Feredina Nahimana na Yohani – Bosiko Barayagwiza bavugwa ho kuba abayobozi ba Radiyo RTLM ; Koroneri Tewonesiti Bagosora, umukuru w'Ibiro muri minisiteri y'Ingabo na Liyetona- Koroneri Anatori Nsengiyumva, wahoze ayobora serivisi z'ipereereza za gisirikari, akaba yari umukuru w'akarere k'imirwano ka Gisenyi. Ariko ntiyabonye igihe cyo kubimurira muri gereza ya Arusha. Ni umushinjacyaha w'Umunyakanada, Louise Arbour (watangiye imirimo ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1996 ageza ku ya 14 Nzeri 1999) wabikoze kandi ashyira ho n'umushinjacyaha wungirije mushya, Bernard Muna, umunyamategeko ukomoka muri Kameruni wahawe inshingano zo gushyira mu ngiro ingamba zikurikirana by'ibanze abayobozi ba poritiki, abari muri guverinoma y'ubusigire, abakuru ba gisirikari n'abayobozi b'itangazamakuru. Ubwo rero hatangiye icyiciro kirekire cyaranzwe n'agatereranzamba ko gufata abantu benshi, buri gihe bigakurura umubyigano mu mu ngerero z'urukiko. Iyo nkubiri yo gufata abantu benshi yatewe n'uko hagombaga kuboneka imibare itubutse mbere y'uko Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha bitanga raporo ya buri mwaka, ibyo ari ukugirango bahoshe ikinegu, giturutse cyane cyane ku bategetsi b'uRwanda binubiraga ubuzarire bw'urukiko TPIR no kuba nta bushobozi rwiyumva mo rwo gutangiza imanza[667], ariko cyane cyane ubwo kuzisoza. Bityo, urubanza rumwe gusa ni rwo rwari rwaratangiye igihe Louise Arbour akora, muri Nyakanga 1997, agatendo

[667] *Igihe cyo gufungwa by'agateganyo cyararenze bikabije, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'amakuru yatanzwe muri Nyakanga 2009 ku bantu 43 bari baciriwe urubanza nibura mu rw'iremezo. Ku baregwa 14 baburanishijwe ukwabo, mwayene y'igihe cyo gufungwa by'agateganyo yari iminsi 1.670 (imyaka 4 n'amezi 7). Igihe kigufi cyabaye iminsi 213 (amezi 7), naho ikirekire kiba iminsi 2.891 (imyaka 7 n'amezi 11). Ku baregwa 29 baburanishijwe nk'igikundi, mwayene y'igihe cyo gufungwa by'agateganyo yageze ku minsi 2.903 (imyaka 7 n'amezi 11). Igihe kigufi cyabaye iminsi 973 (imyaka 2 n'amezi 7), naho ikirekire - icya Tewonesiti Bagosora - kiba iminsi 5.032(imyaka 13 n'amezi 9). Naho ku bireze bakemera icyaha, ibyo ari byose mwayene y'igihe cyabo yari iminsi 1.012 (imyaka 2 n'amezi 9).*

kitwa Operasiyo « NAKI » (Nairobi- Kigali) kafatiwe mo abakekwa icyenda bagahagarikirwa muri Kenya, muri bo hari mo uwahoze ari minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'ubusigire, Yohani Kambanda ; uwahoze ari minisitiri w'Umuryango n'iterambere ry'abategarugori, Pawurina Nyiramasuhuko, umugore wa mbere washinjwe n'urukiko mpuzamahanga jenoside n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu ; umuhungu we, *Interahamwe* Sharomu Ntahobari ; Jenerari Garasiyani Kabirigi ; uwahoze ari umunyamakuru Hasani Ngeze ; uwahoze ari perefe wa Butare, Sirivani Nsabimana n'umuzungu w'Umutariyani n'Umubirigi Georges Ruggiu, wahoze atanga ibiganiro kuri Radiyo RTLM. Agatendo nk'ako kahawe izina « KIWEST » kakozwe mu mwaka wa 1998 muri Afurika y'uburengerazuba. Kari karangamiye abayobozi ba Muvoma bari barahungiye muri Mali, Bénin, no muri Togo[668], nuko gafatirwa mo Manweri Bagambiki wahoze ari perefe wa Cyangugu, na Yuvenari Kajerijeri, wahoze ari burugumesitiri wa Mukingo muri perefegitura Ruhengeri. Abantu bane bari minisitiri muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire na none barafashwe mu mwaka wa 1999, batatu muri Kameruni : Yoronomo Bicamumpaka (Ububanyi n'amahanga), Yusitini Mugenzi (Ubucuruzi), na Porosiperi Mugiraneza (Abakozi ba Leta), hanyuma umwe afatirwa muri Kenya, Kazimiri Bizimungu (Ubuzima). Mu giteranyo, Louise Arbour yafatishije abantu 23[669], bikaba byaratumye ashimwa n'abategetsi b'uRwanda. Ingamba rusange zo kugeza abantu mu rukiko zari zihuje n'intego zabo ku buryo bugaragara. Mu guhita mo ikirari cy'ubufatanyacyaha, ni ukuvuga ubugambanyi bwo gukora jenoside, yanditse ikirego rukomatanya muri Werurwe 1998, agendeye ku manza zihuriwe ho z'i Nuremberg. Urubanza rw'ingenzi yari ateganyije, rwari ugukusanya abaregwa 29, Koroneri Bagosora abari ku isonga – ubushinjacyaha bwafataga Bagosora

[668] *Eduwaridi Karemera, wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ; Yozefu Nzirorera, wari perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'ubusigire akaba yaranabaye minisitiri y'Imirimo ya Leta, Matayo Ngirumpatse, wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubutabera, wari wikubiye imyanya ya visiperezida, umunyamabanga na perezida wa Muvoma.*

[669] *Ariko imanza enye gusa zo mu rw'iremezo (eshatu z'abantu ukwabo na rumwe rukomatanya) zerekeye abaregwa 6 zaciwe mu gihe cya manda ye y'imyaka itatu.*

nk' « umucurabwenge » wa jenoside -, rwagombaga gutanga gihamya y'ubugambanyi mu rwego rw'igihugu cyose. Abacamanza bahigitse icyo cyifuzo, babona ko urubanza nk'urwo rwahonyora uburenganzira bw'abaregwa, batsindagira cyane kandi ko imirimo yo gukurikirana abaregwa yari mu ntera zitareshya – bamwe bari baraburaniye mu ngereko z'iremezo, mu gihe abandi bari bataranafatwa. Umushinjacyaha yakomeje ariko ihame ry'imanza rukomatanya, ariko agenda agabanya umubare w'abantu bo mu rubanza rumwe, kandi azipanga akurikije ibyiciro by'abanyagikorwa (itangazamakuru, guverinoma, igisirikari), cyangwa uturere bakomoka mo (Butare, Cyangugu). Ingamba nk'izo zakurikijwe rugikubita na Carla Del Ponte, umushinjacyaha w'Umusuwisi wamusimbuye (yatangiye imirimo ku ya 15 Nzeri 1999 ageza ku ya 14 Nzeri 2003), hanyuma yagerageza kuvugurura no kwihutisha imiburanishirize y'imanza bigahita bimuzambana[670]. Yashishikariye gushyira ho poritiki yo gukurikirana abantu ifite amatwara maremare, igaragaza neza intego urukiko rwagombaga kugera ho mu mwaka wa 2008, umwaka w'ihange Umuryango w'Abibumbye wateganyaga ko ari ho urukiko rwasoza imirimo yarwo maze rugafunga. Akurikije irangashingiro ry'icyemezo 1329 cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano cyo ku ya 30 Ugushyingo 2000, « ibonye igitekerezo cyagaragajwe n'inkiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga cy'uko ari abayobozi b'abasiviri, b'abasirikari n'abitwaraga gisirikari bagomba kuburanishwa na zo, ariko atari abahabwaga amabwiriza gusa », umushinjacyaha yakoresheje amatonde anyuranye y'abahigwaga bari bashyizwe mu byiciro hakurikijwe uburemere bw'ibicumuro baregwaga, nuko agahora azamura buri gihe intego ze zigaragazwa n'umubare w'imanza zizacibwa, bityo ava ku 140 zari zateganyirijwe umwaka wa 2001 ageza kuri 250 yizeraga mu mwaka wa 2003. Mu myaka ine, Carla Del Ponte yafatishije abantu 28 (ku barenga 200 bashakishwaga)bari mo abahoze ari ba minisitiri Yohani wa Mungu Kamuhanda (Amashuri makuru) na Manweri Ndindabahizi (Imari) ; ba Jenerari Agusitini

[670] *Carla Del Ponte agitangira manda ye yahise ahura n'ingorane zikomeye zerekeranye n'ubufatanye yari ategereje ku bategetsi b'uRwanda, nuko, kimwe na Louise Arbour, arasaya ntiyashobora gutangiza imanza nshya rukomatanya.*

Ndindiriyimana na Agusitini Bizimungu bayoboraga etamajoro, umwe iya Jandarumori, undi iy'Ingabo mu gihe cya jenoside ; ba Koroneri Tarisisi Renzaho (perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali)na Tarisisi Muvunyi (wayoboraga Ishuri ry'abasuzofisiye ry'i Butare); Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, muramu wa perezida Habyarimana ; umuririmbyi Simoni Bikindi, wakoreregа poropagande ubutegetsi, ndetse na Majoro Farasisiko – Saveri Nzuwonemeye wategekaga batayo y' « Abariki » yo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda yagakoze mu mujyi wa Kigali. Isabu ye y'imanza zaciwe ntiyigeze risumba iya Louise Arbour : 7 mu rw'iremezo (6 z'abantu ukwabo na 1 rwa rukomatanya) mu bantu 8 bagejejwe imbere y'abacamanza. Na ho umushinjacyaha Hassan Bubacar Jallow ukomoka muri Gambiya, kuva yatangira imirimo ye ku itariki ya 15 Nzeri 2003, yatangaje rugikubita ko Ibiro bye bizihutira cyane gutegura imanza zigomba kuburanishwa aho gushakisha abandi baregwa. Koko rero, igihe cyo gusoza imirimo yo gukurikirana abantu mu wa 2009, yari yafatishije abaregwa 12 mu myaka itandatu, kandi yasinye inzandiko zirega abantu 90 (muri zo 11zari zerekeye abaregwa bahunze), bityo akaba yari yakataguye amatonde ya Carla Del Ponte acubya m'amarere y'urukiko. Umushinjacyaha na we yashoboraga kwiratira ko yafatishije ibikomerezwa nka Koroneri Efuremu Setako, « ukuboko kw'iburyo » kwa Yozefu Nzirorera ; abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* Yusufu Munyakazi na Yozefu Serugendo ; ba minisitiri ba Guverinoma y'ubusigire Agusitini Ngirabatware (Igenamigambi) na Karisiti Nzabonimana (Urubyiruko), ndetse na Liyetona Iridefonsi Nizeyimana, umwe mu b'ingenzi bayoboye ubwicanyi i Butare, ariko abandi bose bari abanyagikorwa bo mu rwego rwa kabiri.

Isuzumamumaro nk'iryo rishobora gukorerwa itonde ry'abaregwa 12 bahunze, batatu gusa muri bo bakaba bafatwa nk'abantu bangombwa : Agusitini Bizimana, minisitiri w'Ingabo ; Ferisiyani Kabuga, « umunyemari » wa jenoside na Majoro Porotazi Mpiranya wayoboraga Umutwe urinda perezida. Mu giteranyo, mu myaka cumi n'itanu ni abayobozi 60 bagize uruhare rukomeye mu bicumuro biremereye, n'abaregwa bagera kuri mirongo itatu bo mu rwego ruciriritse baciriwe urubanza cyangwa bakurikiranwe n'urukiko mpuzamahanga. Uwo mubare ni muto cyane urebye ikigereranyo cya mbere

cyavugaga ko abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi muri jenoside bari hagati ya 200 na 300. Icyo giteranyo cyashobeye rwose abategetsi b'uRwanda bari bategereje ibirushije ho. Twibuke ko mu mpera za Nyakanga 1994, intambara ikirangira, FPR/Inkotanyi yatangaje itonde ry'agateganyo riri ho abantu 200 bateguye jenoside n'itsembatsemba, muri bo hakaba mo abaperefe, abasuperefe na ba burugumesitiri bagera ku ijana. Cyari ikigereranyo cya mbere giciye bugufi cyane, urebye icyatanzwe na minisitiri w'Ubutabera wa mbere wa « guverinoma y'inzibacyuho », Arufonsi – Mariya Nkubito (Hutu, « umuryango wa gisiviri[671] », igihe yatangiraga imirimo ye ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, cyagezaga mu 10.000 umubare w' « abajenosideri » bagomba gucirwa imanza, ni ukuvuga abayobozi 2.000 ~ 3.000 bo mu rwego rw'igihugu, n'abayobozi bagera muri za mirongo ingahe muri buri komini (zari 145).

Abayobozi ba FPR/Inkotanyi bo bagezaga mu bihumbi amagana by'abicanyi, bashingiye ku mubare w'abanyururu Umuryango utabara imbabare mpuzamahanga wari wabaruye mu magereza azwi yarengeranye, mu gihe mu mirenge y'imbere mu gihugu yigaruriwe hakorerwaga ubucamanza bugorofanya bwangu. Nyuma rero, FPR/Inkotanyi imaze kwigarurira neza neza inzego zose za Leta n'iza komini, mu ntangiriro y'imyaka ya 2000, imibare y' « abajenosideri », bacaguriwe mu byiciro bitatu hakurikijwe uburemere bw'ibicumuro baregwa, yaratumbagiye muRwanda hose kugeza aho, mu mwaka wa 2009, yabumbiraga hamwe abaturage b'Abahutu hafi ya bose b'igitsina gabo bari barengeje imyaka 14 mu wa 1994 (*Reba umugereka 124*). Naho ku bireba « abajenosideri ba ruharwa », ibarura ryabo n'itangazwa ry'amarisiti ya Leta na n'ubu bihora bigaruka mu makuru agezwe ho mu rwego rw'ubucamanza n'u… n'urwa poritiki by'igihugu. « Itonde (rya mbere) ry'abantu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere » ryasohotse mu Gushyingo 1996 ryari ho amazina 1.946, agenda yigabanya mo ibice hakurikijwe perefegitura bavuka mo n'imirimo bakoraga. Itonde « ryo mu rwego rw'igihugu » ryari ho abaregwa bashakishwa cyane ryari ho amazina 110. Hakurikijwe itegeko ngenga ryo mu wa 1996, iryo tonde ry'abakekwaga ryari ryakozwe n'umushinjacyaha mukuru mu

[671] *Umwanya we wabaruwe nk'aho ari uwa MDR.*

Rukiko rw'ikirenga, ritangazwa mu *Igazeti ya Leta* kandi ryagombaga « guhora ritangazwa ku buryo ngarukagihe kugira ngo rigaragaze ibyarihindutse mo ». Ishyirwa ku gihe ryaryo rya mbere ryabaye ku ya 8 Nyakanga 1999, hanyuma, nk'uko byagenze mu wa 1996, iryo tonde ryaramaganwe kubera amakosa arebana no kwibeshya ku bantu, kwandika amazina y'abapfuye mbere ya jenoside cyangwa se y'abatari bari mu gihugu mu gihe ibintu byabaga. Nyuma y'amezi make, ku itariki ya 19 Mutarama 2000, umushinjacyaha mukuru yemeye ko hari mo ibituzuye ndetse n'amakosa nuko atangaza itonde rishya rivuguruwe kandi ryuzuye ryari ho amazina 2.133 (amazina 643 yakuwe ho, 830 yongerwa ho). Ku itariki ya 11 Mata 2001, itonde rya gatatu ry'abajenosideri bo mu cyiciro cya mbere ryatangajwe riri ho amazina 2.898 (hagabanyutse ho amazina 36 ku itonde rya kabiri, n'amazina mashya arenga 801[672]). Guhera mu mwaka wa 2003, amarisiti yihariye y'abantu bakekwa ho kuba barakoze igicumuro cya jenoside muRwanda mu mwaka wa 1994 kandi bakaba bari mu mahanga yarakwirakwijwe kugira ngo bashyikirizwe inkiko kandi bagarurwe mu gihugu. Kuri risiti yanyuma (11 Gicurasi 2006) hari ho amazina 93, hakiyongera ho n'andi agera kuri 20 yari yohererejwe Interpol mu ibanga, aherekejwe n'inzandiko zisaba ko bafatwa. N'ubwo umubare munini w'amazina ahuye ku buryo budahusha n'ay'abantu bakorewe iperereza n'urukiko rwa TPIR cyangwa izindi nkiko, umugambi w'ayo marisiti usa n'aho ari muremure cyane.

N'ubwo umushinjacyaha mukuru, Jeraridi Gahima yavuze muri Mutarama 1999 ko gushyirwa ku itonde bidasobanura ko uri umunyacyaha, iyamamaza n'inyito z'amarisiti ubwabyo byibasiraga abantu nta kintu na gito cyerekana uwatanze ikirego cyangwa uko igicumuro giteye. Na we ubwe yiyemereye, ni urugero, ko abantu bapfuye, hari mo n'aba mbere ya jenoside nka perezida Habyarimana, bari bashyizwe ho gusa kugira ngo imitungo yabo izafatwe. Ku muntu uzi umubare w'imanza z'amasambu hagati y'impunzi z'Abahutu bari bagarutse mu gihugu na *returnees* [mu cyongereza mu mwandiko w'umwimererі] (abatahutse), bakorana n'ubutegetsi bushya bari bigabije ibitari biri mo ba nyirabyo intambara irangiye, kwemera ko iyo migirire yari ho bisobanura byinshi.

[672] *Igazeti ya Repuburika y'uRwanda, no 2279, Kigali, Mata 2001.*

Ikindi kandi, urebye misiyo zo kubonana zitabarika abategetsi b'uRwanda (perefe, minisitiri, abo mu muryango bari basigaye mu gihugu) bakoze mu nkambi z'impunzi kugira ngo baganire ibyo gutahuka, ibyo gusubizwa ibyabo bataye, kugira ngo basezeranye bamwe kuzabavana ku marisiti cyangwa se bagakangisha abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi kuzayashyirwa ho, biragaragara ko amarisiti yakoreshwaga nk'igikangisho cya poritiki ku mpunzi z'Abahutu.

Ayo marisiti yari ashingiye ku rubibi rwaguye cyane rw'icyo bitaga ibicumuro byerekeranye na jenoside, kandi rero byashoboraga byashoboraga kwitirirwa ikintu cyose gisa n'ikidashyigikiye ubutegetsi bushya, cyane cyane kuva aho « kurema udutsiko », « amacakubiri » n' « ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside » byinjirijwe mu mategeko mpanabyaha y'uRwanda. Bityo, amazina y'abantu batari barigeze bavugwa mu bya jenoside yavanwaga cyangwa agashyirwa ku marisiti bitewe n' « ubutumwa » bwo mu rwego rwa poritiki abayobozi ba FPR/Inkotanyi bifuzaga kubageza ho babinyujije mu ishami ry'ubutabera.

Kugira ngo bagere kuri iyo ntego, ntibigeze bazuyaza gukora inzandiko zo gufata abantu z'impimbano, bakanazohereza mu rukiko rwa TPIR ngo izemeze kandi ikomereze ho kubakurikirana. Amadosiye menshi yashoboye gutahurwa yerekana ko ibyo byakomeje gukorwa. Idosiye ntangarugero yabonetse muri Kanama 2007 mu Banyarwanda bakurikiranwaga n'ubugenzacyaha bw'ibihugu bahungiye mo biturutse ku rwandiko rw'ibanga rubafatisha rwatanzwe n'uRwanda kandi rusaba ko bagarurwa iwabo. Ibirego uwo muntu yagerekwaga ho byari byemejwe n'ubuhamya bwinshi bw'abagabo babihagaze ho muRwanda mu gihe cya jenoside muri Mata- Kamena 1994, nyamara kandi uwo muyobozi ukomeye wo muri MRND yari yarahungishijwe na ambasade y'uBubiligi intambara igitangira, hakaba hari gihamya y'uko atigeze asubira muRwanda. Ubirebye neza, usanga imyanzuro y'ingenzi y'isuzuma ry'uburyo bwo gutoranya abaregwa ishingiye ku rwagenewe abantu bari mu ibi byiciro bitatu :

Abari babanje kugira impungenge igihe gito, none ho bakaza guhonoka ubucamanza mpuzamahanga ; abafashwe koko kandi bagacirwa urubanza ; hanyuma, hakaba

abatarigeze batekerezwa n'ubucamanza mpuzamahanga, n'ubwo hari abavugaga ko bagize uruhare rw'ingenzi muri jenoside. Igikundi cya mbere ni icy'abantu bashoboye, kubera impamvu zinyuranye, gucika ubucamanza mpuzamahanga kandi bari barigeze, igihe iki n'iki, kugerekwa ho ibirego bishandikanye neza : kubera ko nta muntu cyangwa itsinda ry'abantu bigeze bahagurukira gushishikariza abandi kubarega no kubafungisha, kuko gihamya zari zakusanyijwe zitari zigagije, kuko abatangabuhamya bari bigaragaje batongeye gushaka gutanga ubuhamya, kuko abo bantu bashoboye « kuzimira » cyangwa se kwiyoberanya, ariko cyane cyane, buri wese mu rwego rwe, yagizwe n'urusobe rw'ubusano bushingiye ku muryango – ku turere cyangwa kuri poritiki - rwiyemeje kwishingira ibyo baba barakoze mbere cyangwa se rukabahagarara ho mu gihe barezwe. Abandi kandi, baba muRwanda cyangwa se mu mahanga, ni abagiranye imishyikirano n'ubwumvikane n'abayobozi b'i Kigali, bityo bagahabwa pasiporo yishingiwe y'ubudahanwa. Aha umuntu yavuga abantu b'ibikomerezwa (abanyaporitiki, abasirikari bakuru, abashoramari n'abacuruzi) batakivugwa maze ibyo bigatuma bibagirana. Na none nta wavuga ko bikinze amakuba burundu, kandi n'ubwisubire ho butera umubabaro bushobora kuba ho igihe icyo ari cyo cyose, ariko igitekerezo cy'uko abatarahanwe bazagira ubwo bakurikiranwa kiragenda kirembera kubera impamvu ebyiri z'ingenzi. Ku ruhande rumwe, Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha byahanantuye imihigo ihanitse yo kurega abantu hagati ya 300 na 400 maze bisigaza 90 gusa ; ku rundi ruhande, amarisiti y'uRwanda arakemangwa, kandi mu wa 2009, ibihugu bike cyane bikabije ni byo byatekerezaga bikomeje ibyo kuzasubiza muRwanda ababihungiye mo. Ikigaragara cyo ni ikingiki : abari bazi ko bashakishwa n'urukiko rwa TPIR bagahita mo kurwishyira kugira ngo ibyo « bive mu nzira », cyane cyane mu gihe Carla Del Ponte yari yakutuje mu mirimo y'urukiko, bakoze imibare nabi cyangwa se nta kundi bashoboraga kubigenza : Abenshi mu baregwa bafashwe, birumvikana, ni abashoboraga kugerwa ho vuba cyangwa se abatarigeze bihisha na gato. Ingingo ya kabiri irebana n'abaciriwe urubanza. Muri rusange, nta wahakana yuko abagize uruhare rw'ingenzi muri jenoside bafashwe bagacirwa imanza. Umuntu yakwibaza ku mitangirwe y'ibihano bakatiwe, ku cyatumye umunani muri bo bagirwa abere, ku mpamvu zateye ko ku bakoraga umurimo

umwe n'abagize uruhare rungana umwe yaba yarakurikiranwe agakatirwa, mu gihe undi yabihonotse, ariko muri rusange imanza zaciwe zerekana ishusho itabeshya y'isura y'abanyagikorwa b'ingenzi muri jenoside : abayobozi bakuru ba gisiviri n'aba gisirikari, abanyaporitiki, abasirikari bakuru, imitwe y'urubyiruko, abayobozi bo mu nzego za perefegitura na komini, abayobozi b'ibigo Leta ifite mo imigabane, abashoramari n'abogezamatwara. Iyo shusho igaragaza kandi irundanya ry'uburyo n'ibikoresho bya Leta ku gitugu n'itandukaniro rya poritiki za jenoside hakurikijwe perefegitura n'ingeri y'imirimo.

Ibiri amambu, Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha byakomeje kubura ingingo zo gushyigikira igitekerezo remezo cy' « ubwumvikane» bw'abaregwa – bwakajyanye n'ukwishyira hamwe kwabo n'umuteguro bigamije gukora jenoside – byari byashyize ku mukondo w'ingamba zabyo zo gukurikirana abantu bishingiye ku bitekerezo bishyigikiwe n'intiti zo muri kaminuza n'abaharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu. Uretse imanza ebyiri zageze mu rwego rw'ubujurire zigacibwa kimwe no mu rw'iremezo[673], gihamya z' « ubwumvikane » zatanzwe n'ubushinjacyaha ingereko zose zasanze zidahagije, mu rubanza urwo ari rwose. Igitekerezo cy' « akagambane » cyakomeje kwitsitswa ho mu manza zose z'interamatsiko n'iz'uturere cyatakaje burundu ububasha bwacyo bwo gufatwa nk'ingingo y'igisobanuro rusange, ariko nyamara gikomeza kugira umumaro. Aha rero no wenda ni ho urwunguko rw'ingenzi rw'imanza zo mu rukiko rwa Arusha : ihame ry'ubwumvikane cyangwa bw'akagambane usanga rigeza ku myanzuro ishimishije koko iyo rikoreshejwe mu kibariro n'igihe byahawe urubibi rugaragara neza : ni ukuvuga igihe rifasha gusobanuro ukuntu ku gasozi runaka, muri komini runaka, muri perefegitura iyi n'iyi, mu butegetsi ubu n'ubu, ingamba z'abanyagikorwa zinyuranye zishyize hamwe mu gutsemba abaturage batabarika. Niba ihange ry' « abacurabwenge » risa n'iritarabona kugeza ubu ingingo zihagije zo kurishyigikira, ni ukubera ko uburyo jenoside yakorwaga mo umunsi ku munsi byaterwaga n'uruhurirane rw'ibyemezo byinshi bitaturukaga buri

[673] *Ikatirwa rya Yohani Kambanda wari minisitiri w'Intebe na Eriyezeri Niyitegeka wari minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire.*

gihe ku « muzirikanyi » umwe rukumbi cyangwa ku mushinga umwe uzahora ho. Ubushakashatsi bwakorewe aho ibintu byabereye bwerekanye neza yuko ahubwo ibintu byagenze ku buryo butagira aho buhuriye na hato, kandi, hirya y'ibihuriwe ho, ubushakashatsi bugaragaza ko abicanyi bo mu rwego urwo ari rwo rwose bagize « ubuvanganzo ». Ibyitwazo rusange by'urugomo, by'ubwoba n'iby'irondabwoko bigaragarira bityo mu mabwiriza yatanzwe no muri gahunda zateguwe. Ibyo bikorwa byose bisaba kurundanya ibikoresho byitabazwa n'abantu bazwi neza amazina mu kibariro cy'igabanamirimo rinoze. Iyo mitekerereze, ifata abantu nk'abanyagikorwa b'iyo ntambara bazi neza icyo bakora, ishobora no kwifashishwa mu gusobanura ibikorwa « bitombokewe » cyangwa « bwite » by'amatsinda cyangwa by'abantu bikorera « ku giti cyabo ». Ni ukubera ubunararibonye bwakomotse ku manza no kubera anketi zitabarika zakozwe ku baregwa bo mu « rwego rucirirtse » bo muri perefegitura za Kibuye, Kigali ngari, Butare, Cyangugu n'iya Gitarama ko byashobotse gutegurana ubutarambirwa inzandiko z'ibirego no gutanga gihamya y'ibyaregwaga abagize ubushobozi cyangwa iryenge byo guhishira uruhare rwabo, cyangwa byo gushora abandi mu « gukora ». Icya gatatu umuntu yakwibaza ni icy' « abacurabwenge » baba baribagiwe n'ubucamanza mpuzamahanga. Koko rero, abantu bashoboraga gutegereza ko Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha bishyira ku mwanya w'ibyihutirwa gucira urubanza abari mu Kazu – Agata Kanziga, umugore wa perezida Habyarimana n'abari mu « gatsiko » ke – bari umukondo wa « Hutu Pawa ». Nyamara, uretse ifatwa ritari ryitawe ho mu by'ukuri rya Porotazi Zigiranyirazo (*Reba umugereka 125*), musaza wa Agata Kanziga, muri Kamena 2001 i Buruseri, ikibazo cy' « abadahanwa », ni ukuvuga « abantu bose, kubera umwanya bari bafite muri Leta cyangwa se bari bafite igitinyiro mu ibanga, bagombaga kuba barisobanuye ku bikorwa byabo, cyangwa se ku byo banze gukora mu gihe cya jenoside, - kandi bakaba batarigeze bisobanura », cyazamuwe icyo gihe na Stephen Smith kiracyafite ishingiro :

«“ Kuki Agata Kanziga adashakishwa ?

- Ni nde ukubwira ko adashakishwa ? ”, nguko uko Carla Del Ponte, umushinjacyaha mukuru w’urukiko rwa TPIR yasubije, mu kiganiro yagiranye n’ikinyamakuru *Le Monde* muri Mata. Kubera ko « Itonde Gamma » - ryari ho

abantu bashakishwa n’urukiko mpuzamahanga – ryari ibanga, bizaruhanya cyane kurivuguruza. Nyamara mukaperezida w’uRwanda yabaye imyaka itari mike muri Gabon, kandi ku mugaragaro, ntihagira umuntu mu mu rukiko rwa TPIR uza kugira icyo amubaza. Kandi na none, ku byerekeye urubanza rubera Arusha kuva mu wa 1998, Agata Habyarimana yabonanye n’umwunganizi washakaga kumutanga ho umugabo. Yari yabyemeye ku bw’ihame. Ariko amaherezo, umwunganizi yamumenyesheje ko “ urukiko rutari rubikomeye ho”[674]. » Byongeye kurusha ho gutangaza, mu ntangiro z’umwaka wa 2007, igihe ababikurikiranira hafi bose bibwiraga ko, kubera ko Agata Kanziga yangiwe incuro ebyiri ubuhungiro muBufaransa na Ofisi y’uBufaransa irengera impunzi n’abatagira igihugu (OFPRA) nyuma akabwangirwa na Komisiyoy’ubujurire bw’impunzi (CRR)[675], ibyo byagombaga gukurikirwa n’uko urukiko rwa TPIR rutanga urwandiko rwo kumufata. Cyane cyane ko raporuteri w’Urukiko rw’ubujurire yumvikanishije ko Agata Kanziga yari mu bagenewe n’urukiko rwa TPIR inzandiko zo gufata ziteye ho igifashi. Nyamara ariko ibyo ntibyari ukuri, haba ejo hashize haba n’uyu munsi. Ni kimwe n’iby’ikurikiranwa rya Serafini Rwabukumba, mwene se wa mukaperezida utuye mu Bubirigi : urukiko rwa TPIR n’ubucamanza bw’uBubiligi bwarabiretse. Muri ibi bintu bibiri hagomba kuba hari mo icy’ukuri : cyangwa se urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga n’inkiko z’ibihugu zirebwa n’iyo dosiye (uBufaransa n’uBubiligi) nta bimenyetso bifatika zifite byashobora gushinga ikirego, cyangwa se ntizishaka gukurikirana abo bantu kubera impamvu zidafite aho zihuriye n’ubucamanza. Impamvu ya mbere muri izo yashimangiwe ku itariki ya 16 Ugushyingo 2009 igihe urukiko rw’ubujurire rw’i La Haye rwagiraga Porotazi Zigiranyirazo umwere. Kubera kutagira

[674] *Stephen Smith, « Rwanda : akarenganyo mpuzamahanga », Le Monde, 19 Gicurasi 2001.*

[675] *Ofisi y’uBufaransa irengera impunzi n’abatagira igihugu (icyemezo cyo ku ya 4 Mutarama 2006), Komisiyo y’ubujurire bw’impunzi Iicyemezo cyo ku ya 15 Gashyantare 2007, reba umugereka 54).*

gihamya zifatika, abamukurikiranaga bashingiye, nk'uko bigenda kenshi, ku birego byavuye ku bagabo b'abashinjabinyoma babisabwe n'abayobozi bo mu bucamanza bw'uRwanda, kandi bari bafite ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko uregwa atari aho ibicumuro ashinjwa byabereye.

Abunganizi bashirurutse n'abacamanza bari maso b'i La Haye batumye uregwa asubirana ukwishyirukizana kwe. Impamvu ya kabiri ishingiye ku buhanjuzi bwa poritiki. Ku bategetsi b'uRwanda ba kino gihe, ikintu kimwe ni uguharabika mu rwego rw'imbonezamuco n'urwa poritiki abo mu muryango w'uwahoze ari perezida no gushoza ikurikiranwa rikomeza iryo harabika, ikindi ni ugusaba bakomeje kandi babishyize ho umwete urubanza nyarwo. Koko rero, nta kuntu amaherezo urwo rubanza rutashoza impaka zivuguruzanya ku gico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata, ku banyamahanga bagishyigikiye, ku bicumuro by'intambara n'ibyibasiye inyokomuntu byajyanye n'ingamba FPR/Inkotanyi yahise mo zo kwigarurira ubutegetsi ikoresheje intwaro. Kuba FPR/Inkotanyi yarabashije, mu gihe cyose cy'imibereho y'urukiko rwa TPIR kandi ikoresheje ibikangisho n'iterabwoba, guhagarika anketi zose zerekeye amarorerwa y'Ingabo zayo, ikaba yarahawe n'umushinjacyaha Hassan Bubacar Jallow ubutoni buhora ho bwo kutazigera ihanirwa ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibyibasiye inyokomuntu ishinjwa – ubutoni bwashimangiwe n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 2009 - , nta mushinjacyaha n'umwe wari ufite uburenganzira mbonezamuco bwo gukurikirana umupfakazi wa perezida Habyarimana.

Amayobera abundikiye ayo madosiye akurura amikekwe kandi akanayahembera. Nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu ibintu bibaye, kuba urukiko mpuzamahanga rwigenga rwashinzwe gutangaza ukuri rutuma abantu bemera yuko, nta n'igisobanuro na gito gitanzwe, abakoze jenoside « nyabo » n'ab'ingenzi « bayiteguye » baba batarakurikiranwe ni ibintu bidashobora kwemerwa. Gutuma abantu batekereza yuko rwaba rurangije manda yarwo rutarashobora kugaragaza inzego z'uruhare abantu bagize muri jenoside, mu by'ukuri urukiko rwa TPIR rupfobya ibikorwa byarwo byose. Icya nyuma, ni uko iyo myifatire ifite ingaruka ziremereye, kuko itiza ingufu ibihuha n'amahange y'ubugambanyi yakwirakwijwe cyane muri kino gihe. Urebye icyuka kibi

kibuditse ku kintu cyose cyerekeye umuryango w'uwahoze ari perezida n'ibyegera byawo, birababaje ko urukiko rwa TPIR, kubera gukomeza kwicecekera, rutuma abantu bibwira ko hari amabanga abanyabicumuro basangiye n'ababakingiye ikibaba bakomeye cyane ku buryo nta n'uwatinyuka kuvuga abo ari bo. Kuba ubucamanza mpuzamahanga bwarananiwe gufata Ferisiyani Kabuga uzwi muri rusange ko yari « umunyamari wa jenoside » kandi utungwa agatoki kuva mu mwaka wa 2001ko ari we « mwanzi nomero ya mbere » - umwanya rero yambuye Agata Kanziga – birushije ho gutera icyo ni iki. Ibyo bikaba bimeze bityo, kandi nyamara Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika zarateganyirije igihembo kinini cyane umuntu wazagira uruhare mu gufatisha umuntu urukiko rwa TPIR ruvuga ko yaba ari muri Kenya. Umunyemari Ferisiyani Kabuga uvugwa ho kuba yarateguye jenoside, agaha amafaranga Radiyo RTLM n'*Interahamwe* yinjijwe mu muryango wa perezida n'ubusano bushingiye ku bushyingirane (abakobwa be babiri barongowe n'abahungu ba perezida Habyarimana, (*Reba Incamake ya ya 5*). Kimwe n'ibyerekeye umukwe we Agusitini Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'Imigambi ya Leta muri Guverinoma y'ubusigire, amaherezo wafatiwe mu Budage muri Kanama 2007, ubushobozi buke, abakingakibaba babifite mo inyungu n'iringaniza ryo mu rwego rwa poritiki mu isuzuma ry'amadosiye y'ibikomerezwa ni byo byonyine bishobora gusobanura ubwo budebeke (*Reba umugereka 84*). Ikirushije ho gutangaza, ni uko mu gihe itangazamakuru rihora ritera isahaha kuri iyo mpunzi y'ikirangirire – batazi niba anagishobora gukora ingendo -, birakwiye kwibaza impamvu inzandiko zimurega, kimwe n'iz'umukwe we, zisa nk'aho ziri mo ubusa kugeza ubu. Icyo kibazo gifite ishingiro, cyane cyane ko kireba abantu babiri baregwa kuba baratanze amafaranga yo gukora jenoside.

Idosiye y'amafaranga yarazinzitswe

Ibyabaye kuri iki gice cya anketi zerekeye ibikomerezwa byo ku ngoma ya Habyarimana byumvikanisha neza zimwe mu ngorane ubugenzacyaha bwahuye na zo. Kuva mu ntagiro z'urukiko rwa TPIR, bari bimbitse imbaraga nyinshi mu gushakisha amakuru arebana n'amafaranga yakoreshejwe mu ntambara na jenoside, kandi izo

mbaraga bazikajije umurego mu mwaka wa 2000[676]. Abantu bari bategereje kubona gihamya « zidakuka » (ni ukuvuga, zanditse). Abakoze anketi bujuje za konteneri z'impapuro zisa n'izidatonze neza zerekeye ingengo y'imari n'imikoreshereze yayo muri za minisiteri,

zerekeye ibaruramari ry'igihugu, amafaranga yinjiye n'ayasohotse n'ayakomotse mu mahanga. Amaherezo, abakoze anketi n'inzobere bageze ku myanzuro mike cyane, nko kugaragariza mu mibare ko ubukungu bwari ubw'igihe cy'intambara cyangwa se ko umubare w'imihoro yatumizwaga mu mahanga wiyongereye mbere ya jenoside (iki bakaba barakomeje kugitanga nka gihamya y'uko jenoside « yateguwe »). Ku bw'abacamanza, ibyo bimenyetso ubwabyo ntibihagije kugira ngo abaregwa bahamwe n'igicumuro. Muri Gicurasi 2001, mu gihe cyo gusuzuma dosiye ya Arufonsi Higaniro[677], umwe mu baregwa mu rubanza rwa jenoside rwa mbere rwabereye mu Bubirigi, n'icyo gutegura urubanza bita « urw'i Butare » rubera Arusha, byari byagaragajwe neza ko anketi zidasambira byinshi zari zerekanye ku buryo budakuka uko amafaranga menshi cyane yagiye aturuka mu bigega by'ibigo by'inganda Leta ifite mo imigabane – byacungwaga n'abari mu Kazu cyangwa se ibyegera byako- agahabwa abayobozi benshi b'amashyaka ya poritiki yari mu gipande cya perezida (*Reba umugereka 25*).

Ni bwo rero anketi zerekeye amafaranga zongeye gukorwa, ariko zishingiye ku misingi mishyashya. Imikorere bwite y'ibigo byegamiye kuri Leta binyuranye imaze gutazurwa (cyane cyane iya Cimerwa – Uruganda rwa sima rwo muRwanda), byaroroshye cyane gutahura ibigo n'amakonti ya banki y'abayobozi babyo. Kuva mu isuzuma ry'ikubitiro, ibimenyetso byabonetse byashinje ku buryo budakuka abanyaporitiki benshi bashyirirwaga amafaranga kuri konti nta no kugerageza kubihishira. Ibyo rero bikagaragaza ukuntu, mu ntangiro za 1990, ibikomerezwa byo ku ngoma byumvaga ko ari indahangarwa ndetse n'uko imikorere y'amabanki yemeraga iyo

[676] *Izo anketi zari zigamije gusa kureba niba hashobora kuboneka uburyo bwo gufatira amafaranga yo kuri konti z'abahunze (Inama ishinzwe umutekano yo ku itariki ya 2 Kamena 2000).*

[677] *Arufonsi Higaniro yari umuyobozi mukuru wa Sorwal, ikigo gikomeye cy'i Butare Leta yari ifite mo imigabane.*

mikorere. Byarashobokaga rero kugenzura nta ngorane uko agatsiko ka perezida n'ibyegera byako bari barapanze gukoresha amafaranga yatanzwe n'abashoramari b'ingenzi (Banki y'isi cyane cyane) cyangwa se yatorwaga ku ngemu z'ibikomoka kuri peterori.

Iryo genzura ryagaragaje amafaranga yahawe abanyaporitiki n'amashyaka mashya yishyiriwe ho n'igipande cya perezida ndetse risuzuma uko ibikomerezwa byo ku ngoma byoherezaga amafaranga mu mahanga kuyabitsa yo mu gihe cya jenoside, binyujijwe mu Bubirigi, muBufaransa no mu Busuwisi. Ibyo byakorerwaga cyane muri Bacar no muri Banki ya Kigali. Ikintu kimwe cyari icyo kumenya uko amafaranga yagiye agera kuri za konti ku bw'amabwiriza minisitiri w'Ubutabera w'uRwanda yahaga ubwe abakozi bakuru bo muri banki zinyuranye zo mu gihugu, ikindi kintu kikaba icyo gushobora kohereza urukiko rwa TPIR impapuro z'imfatiro zose zabaruwe.

Urukiko rwa TPIR rukimara gusaba ku mugaragaro kohererezwa izo mfatiro, abayobozi b'ibigo bicunga imari by'i Kigali bahise bacikiza anketi ku buryo butunguranye, nuko bamaze kubyumvikana ho ubwabo kandi babyerewe n'Ubuyobozi bwabyo bwo mu mahanga, banga gutanga impapuro zigaragaza ibyo abanyaporitiki bireba bagiye bakorana n'amabanki, ndetse na kopi za sheki zajyanaga na byo. Bakimenyeshwa uko ibyo bintu byifashe, abategetsi b'uRwanda bigabanyije mo kabiri kuri iyo dosiye, « abashakaga kubimenya » n'abatari babyitaye ho. Nyuma yaho, n'ubwo urukiko rwandikiye minisitiri w'Ubutabera amabaruwa menshi kandi n'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha bigakurikirana icyo kibazo, byarananiranye gusubukura anketi no kuzisoza. Koko ngo izo anketi zashoboraga guhungabanya gahunda y' « ubwiyunge bw'igihugu » zitera impungenge abacungabukungu bashinzwe ibyo kwinjiza no gusohora ibicuruzwa mu gihugu bibwiraga ko kuva ubwo bari basonewe gukorerwa anketi. N'ubwo muri kino gihe uburyo mbonera bwo gushakisha bwanonosowe, inzira amafaranga n'ibicuruzwa byanyuzwaga mo zo ntizahindutse cyane (*Reba umugereka 126*). Biraboneka ko mu ngeri y'ubucuruzi n'amafaranga, « ubwiyunge bw' igihugu » bwatangiye kare kandi bugatoranya. Abategetsi bashya ni bo bishyiriraga ho ibya

ngombwa bisabwa kandi bashoboraga no kugira umwere uwo bashaka. Bahereye ku batangamari b'abanyamahanga bahishiraga amahano yerekeye amafaranga yakozwe n'ibikomerezwa by'ingoma yashaje n'ay'iby'ingoma iganje, ku bihugu byakiriye impunzi bikavunja amafaranga yajyanywe yo mu gihe cyo guhunga[678], hanyuma, ku buryo bwaguye, ku bantu bose bari bafite imari cyangwa imitungo, abanyamahanga n'abanyagihugu, bifuzaga kurenza ku byahise kandi bakagaragaza ko biteguye kugira uruhare mu bikorwa byo gusana igihugu. Ingingo bitwazaga y'uko urukiko rwa TPIR nta nshingano yo gukurikirana ibya ruswa rwari rwarahawe yatumye ruzitirwa gukora anketi ku gatereranzamba k'uburyo umutungo w'igihugu wakoreshejwe mu mushinga w'ubugizi bwa nabi (gutwara abantu, kubahemba, imikoreshereze y'amafaranga, nb.). Rwitwaje ikibariro cy'icyo gihe, urukiko rwa TPIR rwanize anketi zarwo bwite, bityo ubugenzacyaha bubura ibimenyetso simusiga bitashoboraga kugira ikindi kibisimbura. Hashobora gutangwa n'izindi ngero zigaragaza neza ko, kimwe n' « amarisiti » y'uRwanda y'abaregwa ahora ahindagurika, ay'urukiko rwa TPIR (yari afite, uyagereranyije n'ayandi, akarusho ko kugirirwa ibanga) yashoboraga kongerwa ho cyangwa kuvanwa ho amazina bitewe n'uko ibirego byatangwaga, kandi n'uko intego za poritiki y'abanyamahanga zabigenaga. Koko rero, uhereye ku gusaba bisanzwe ukageza ku bikangisho biri mo iterabwoba, abategetsi bo mu bucamanza bw'uRwanda bitabaje uburyo bw'igitugu bwose bushoboka, kandi hafi buri gihe bikabahira, kugira ngo bazitire anketi zimwe z'abashinjacyaha b'urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga bose uko bakurikiranye, cyangwa se bakabatsindagira amadosiye yabo bwite ku bagomba gukurikiranwa bihitiye mo ubwabo, bakurikije intego za poritiki babonaga zihutirwa. Ku bwabo basangaga ubwo bwivange babufitiye uburenganzira buri gihe, n'ubwo bwanyuranyaga ku buryo butaziguye n'ihame ry'ubwigenge bw'umushinjacyaha kandi bugatiza ingufu abarwanya poritiki ibogamye cyane y'ubugenzacyaha bw'urukiko rwa TPIR.

[678] *Usanga ari ibintu bisekeje iyo beneyo bageze muri gereza ya Arusha bagahabwa imfashanyo zo kubunganira mu manza kubera ko ari abatindi nyakujya…*

Ubucamanza burwaye urukebu

Manda y'urukiko mpanabyaha iteganya ko, ku manza z'abakekwa kuba baragize uruhare muri jenoside, rugomba no kongera ho iz'abakekwa kuba baragize uruhare mu bicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu n'ibicumuro by'intambara byakozwe hagati y'itariki ya 1 Mutarama n'iya 31 Ukuboza 1994, bityo ikaruha ububasha bwo gukurikirana ibicumuro byo muri izo ngeri byakozwe n'abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi mu gihe cy'intambara no mu mezi atandatu yakurikiye insinzi yayo. FPR/Inkotanyi yahise yanga iryo hame rugikubita. Kuba yarashyizwe ho mu nzira z'icyemezo cy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano, amategekoremezo y'urukiko rwa TPIR ahatira, ku buryo bw'ihame, ibihugu – hari mo n'uRwanda -, gufatanya n'urukiko. Ariko, mu kibariro cy'amakimbirane hagati ya FPR/Inkotanyi n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kubera ko Misiyo yawo yo gufasha uRwanda yabuze ingufu maze ikazimata, ubwisanzure bw'urukiko n'inkunga y'abari barushyize ho byagerwaga ku mashyi. Insinzi idasangiwe ya FPR/Inkotanyi ku bajenosideri yahaye uburenganzira budasubirwa ho « ababohoye igihugu » mu rwego rwa gisirikari, rwa poritiki n'ingenabitekerezo, imbere mu gihugu no mu mahanga.

Kandi koko, imaze gufata icyicaro i Kigali muri Nyakanga 1994, FPR/Inkotanyi yagenzuye inzego zose z'ubutegetsi. Nta washoboraga gushidikanya ku migambi w'abategetsi begukanye umutsindo yo gutegeka igihugu nk'uko bari bayoboye intambara, n'iyo kwishingikiriza, mu mibanire yabo n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga, ikirego cyo kuba warafunze amaso kuri jenoside. Ubushake bwa FPR/Inkotanyi bwo kwikiza imbibi zose zashoboraga kuzitira ubwigenge bw'igihugu, bwagaragariye, kuva mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1995, mu bikorwa biri mo urugomo byo « kugarura amahoro » mu cyahoze ari akarere ka « Operasiyo Turquoise » kari kakirinzwe na Minuar. Yemerewe kandi n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano, ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1995, igabanywa rikomeye ry'inshingano, ry'abakozi n'abasirikari b'iyo Minuar, no kuba yavuye mu gihugu nyuma y'amezi atandatu. Nyuma kandi, mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1996, Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi zakemuye ku buryo burambye ikibazo cy'impunzi miriyoni ebyiri z'Abanyarwanda zari zikambitse ku mupaka, zibagarura mu gihugu ku

gahato, zibahonyora (Umuryango wita ku mpunzi {HCR} watangaje ko abantu 240.000 babuze « ku iperu ») cyangwa se zinyanyagiza abazihonotse mu bindi bihugu bya Afurika. Kwita impunzi zose z'Abanyarwanda iyo ziva zikagera « abajenosideri » byatumye FPR/Inkotanyi igera ku migambi yayo mibisha kandi yigaragaza mu maso y'abagize Inama ishinzwe umutekano nk'aho yitwaye ku buryo mbonezamuco, bo bari bishimiye guhishira ubuhonnyo bwabo bagenera FPR/Inkotanyi ubudahanwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Bityo, mu mwaka wa 1997, Komisiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe uburenganzira bwa muntu, mu gihe yakoraga isabu y'umwaka wa 1996, yemeje ku mugaragro ihotorwa ry'abantu bayo bakoraga muRwanda (*Reba Incamake ya ya 11*), ifata kandi icyemezo cyo guhagarika manda ya Raporuteri wayo wihariye wari ushinzwe uRwanda.

Icyemezo nk'icyo cyafatiwe nyuma yaho gato Komisiyo idasanzwe yashyizwe ho n'inama ishinzwe umutekano kugira ngo ikore anketi ku itsembatsemba ryakorewe impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire Raporuteri Roberto Garreton, yasabaga ko bwemezwa nka jenoside. Kwibutsa ibingibi mu ncamake ni ingenzi rwose kugira ngo umuntu yumve neza ko icyo gihe bitashoboraga no kuza mu gitekerezo ko umushinjacyaha w'urukiko rwa TPIR rwari rugifata ikibanza yatangiza anketi ku bicumuro byose n'ubwicanyi byakozwe mu mwaka wa 1994. Yahise yigiza yo rugikubita ibyo kurangiza « inshingano ye ya kabiri » ijyanye n'ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi[679] nuko asobanura iryo subika rye avuga ko icyihutirwa cyane cyari ugukurikirana abagize uruhare muri jenoside. Ubwo bucamanza butoranya nta mususu ntibwashoboraga kwamaganwa igihe cyose urukiko rwa TPIR rwari rugikubana no gushyira ho poritiki y'ubugenzacyaha, rutashoboraga gufata abo rwaregewe, no kuringaniza ingengo y'imari yarwo n'abakozi barwo n'imirimo yagombaga gukorwa. Manda y'umushinjacyaha Richard Goldstone n'iy'umushinjacyaha Louise Arbour zakorewe raporo y'ubugenzuzi zikarishye cyane ku micungire yabo y'urukiko zatumye haba ho urukurikirane rwo kwirukana abakozi bakuru ba Loni.

[679] *Ibi ni byo abakoraga anketi bise « igisasiro cya kabiri » cy'ibyobo rusange bya jenoside abaganga b'abanyamategeko batabururaga mo imirambo.*

Abategetsi b'uRwanda basamiye hejuru ubwo budohoke bw'urukiko mpuzamahanga maze babwamagana ku buryo buturutse ruhande. Ariko amakimbirane y'ubutitsa abategetsi b'i Kigali bahoraga benyegeza ku by'ubushobozi buke nyakuri cyangwa bw'ubuhangikano bw'urukiko rwa TPIR yari agamije no gutinza no guteganyiriza ubushyamirane butashoboraga kubura ku kibazo cy'ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu. Ingamba za Kigali zarayihiriye kuko nta n'umwe mu bashinjacyaha babiri ba mbere wigeze atinyuka kwishora muri iyo dosiye. Ishyirwa ho rya Carla Del Ponte, umunyamategeko wari uzwi ho kutabonda no kutavugirwa mo n'abanyaporitiki, ryatumaga abantu bitega impinduka igaragara mu mpumeko. Ikigwiririrano cyateye ko, agitangira manda ye, yahise akubitana na dosiye ya Yohani – Bosiko Barayagwiza[680] Kigali yishingikirije igaca umubano n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Umushinjacyaha mushya yangiwe impapuro zimuha uburenganzira bwo kwinjira muRwanda[681]. Iyo batisimu y'umuriro yatumye abategetsi b'uRwanda bapima ubushobozi bwe mu byerekeye imishyikirano, no kugira ibyo bamwumvisha.

Uko yagendaga asimburanya ubutabonda no kudohora, yagaragaye rugikubita nk' utitaye ku byo gufindura « iby'imibereho y'Abanyafurika » yasaga n'aho adaha agaciro, iyo myifatire ikaba itarigeze ihinduka kugeza ku mpera za manda ye. Carla Del Ponte yahinduye abantu benshi bari mu myanya y'ingenzi mu rukiko rwa TPIR, bikurura amatiku akaze ku buryo bwe bwo guhita mo abafasha be. Mu gihe kimwe, yashishikarije Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha gukora umurimo w'ingezi wo gushyira ku runyiriri imihango y'iburanisha n'iya poritiki yo gutanga ikirego, kandi aha urukiko intego zihuye n'igihe cya manda ye yose. Kigali yabonye icyo kirari kiyiteye impungenge nyinshi. Kuva urukiko rwa TPIR rutangaje, mu Kuboza 2000, ko rwari rwatangiye gukora anketi

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[680] *Yahoze ari umujyanama mu bya poritiki muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, akaba mu bagize Komite yatangije Radiyo RTLM. Yohani – Bosiko Barayagwiza yari umwe mu baregwa batatu mu rubanza rw' « itangazamakuru ry'urwango », rumwe mu manza mbonera z'urukiko rwa TPIR. Yarekuwe ku itariki ya 3 Ugushyingo 1999 n'urugereko rw'ubujurire rwa TPIR, hagishira ukwezi kumwe gusa umushinjacyaha mushya atangiye imirimo ye.*

[681] *Umurego wadohotse mu Kuboza 1999. Ariko, mu ruzindu rwe rwa mbere i Kigali, yasanganijwe imyigaragambyo yamagana urukiko rwa TPIR yakoreshejwe n'amashyirahamwe b'abacitse ku icumu rya jenoside, babyemerewe na guverinoma.*

« zidasanzwe » ku basirikari b'Abatutsi bahoze ari inyeshyamba bakekwaga ho ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu baba barakoze mu mwaka wa 1994, guverinoma y'uRwanda yahise irega Carla Del Ponte « guhindura umwanya yari mo uwa poritiki ». Hashize umwaka, uwo mushinjacyaha yamenyesheje Inama ishinzwe umutekano iby'icyo kirari[682] kandi atangaza incuro nyinshi, mu Kuboza 2001 no muri Mata 2002, ko yari hafi gutanga inzandiko zibafatisha.

Umugundagurano wakurikiye ho wafashe isura yo « kubura abatangabuhamya » mu mwaka wa 2002. Bishingikirije agatotsi kari hagati y'urukiko n'amashyirahamwe y'abacikacumu ku byerekeye uburyo amakipi amwe y'abunganizi rimwe na rimwe yafataga nabi abagabo bashinja, ibyo abategetsi b'i Kigali bakangishaga abatangabuhamya byahindutse mo, mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 2002, kubafungira impushya zo kugira aho bajya no kubima pasiporo. Mu mezi menshi, imanza zaburanishirizwaga mu rukiko rwa TPIR zarahagaze ku mpamvu zo kubura abagabo baturutse muRwanda, iryo bura rikadindiza inyinshi mu manza, rikanagaragaza ukuntu urukiko rwagenerwaga n'abategetsi b'uRwanda ibyo rwagombaga gukora[683]. Nyuma y'uko Jenerari Pawuro Kagame amenyesheje umushinjacyaha, ku itariki ya 28 Nyakanga 2002, yuko atazihanganira anketi iyo ari yo yose ku gico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 – indi dosiye yari mo amakimbirane akomeye – n'iyo ku bindi bicumuro by'igipande cyatsinze, anketi zose zarahagaze muri Nzeri 2002[684]. Nyamara ariko ibyo kurebana ay'ingwe ntibyarangiriye aho.

Mu Kuboza 2002, amakimbirane yarubuye maze atera impande zombi kubwirana

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[682] *« Imwe mu ngeri nshya dutangiye ni iyerekeye ibirego by'ibicumuro byakozwe mu mwaka wa 1994 n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi. Izo anketi zizagira icyo zigera ho bitewe n'intera y'inkunga Guverinoma y'uRwanda izatugenera » (Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Inama ishinzwe umutekano, New York, 27 Ugushyingo 2001).*

[683] *Iyo ntwaro yari indemyacyemezo, kuko mu rusobe rw'amategeko rwo mu murage w'Abongereza, ari rwo rwagizwe imbonera mu rukiko rwa TPIR, ubugenzacyaha bukorwan'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha, kandi anketi zishingira ahanini ku ikusanya ry'ubuhamya bushinja. Iyo myumvire y'uko ibintu bigaragarizwa mu irundanya ry'ubuhamya « buregana » aho gushyira ahabona ibyakozwe uhereye kuri gihamya zifatika, ituma bisa nk'aho nta kintu gishobora gukorwa abagabo batabonetse.*

[684] *Mu gitabo cya Florence HARTMAN, Paix et châtiment[Amahoro n'igihano], Flammarion, Paris, 2007, Carla Del Ponte abara inkuru ye y'uko ibintu byagenze, akanashimangira ubushake bw'Inama ishinzwe umutekeno bwo kubuza inkiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga zigenga kurangiza inshingano zazo.*

amagambo akaze. Itangazo rya guverinoma y'uRwanda ryagiraga riti « kugeza kuri uyu munsi, abaturage b'uRwanda batakaje icyizere babari bafitiye intego za Del Ponte n'ububasha bwe bwo kwimakaza ubutabera ». Carla Del Ponte na we yasubije nta mususu ati « Ku bwanjye, igitambo ni igitambo. Igicumuro cyose kiri mu mbibi z'ububasha bwanjye ni igicumuro, ntitaye ku irangamuntu, ku bwoko cyangwa ku bitekerezo bya poritiki by'uwagikoze. Ubutabera ntibuturana na mpemuke ndamuke yo muri poritiki. Nta muntu n'umwe ukingiwe gukurikiranwa ku bicumuro birenze uruvugiro[685]. » Ayo makimbirane yakuye ho iby'inozamvugo : mu gihe abategetsi b'uRwanda bari bakomeje guhakana ubusano bw'ayo makimbirane na za anketi « zidasanzwe », Carla Del Ponte yemereye ubwa mbere mu ruhame, ubwo yabonanaga n'abadepite b'Abongereza, ko imvano y'uko kwanga gufatanya yagombaga gushakishirizwa ku ruhande rw' « anketi ze zidasanzwe ». N'ubwo yari ifite ishingiro, iyo ngingo ariko ntiyari ihagije.

Muri uwo mwaka kandi, Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha byari byirundanyije ho amakosa akomeye : kuba byarananiwe gusunika amadosiye aremereye (cyane cyane ay'imanza rukomatanya), byongeye ho no gukurikirana, mu buryo bwo kugerageza gushimisha abo bavugana bo muri FPR/Inkotanyi, abasirikari bakuru bahoze mu Ngabo z'uRwanda bishingiye ku madosiye adafatika, bigaragaza bityo ko bikorera ku mutunariko uhora ho kandi udahusha intego w'impambiranyi zimwe z'i Kigali[686]. Bimaze kugera aho bisa n'ibyiteranyije n'ingeri zose z'Abanyarwanda bahurije hamwe kubyamagana, Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha byatakaje inkunga yose y'abemera demokarasi muRwanda – muri guverinoma, mu nteko ishinga amategeko, muri etamajoro y'Ingabo – bari bagikomeye ku mibereho n'ubwigenge by'urukiko rwa TPIR. Ubwabyo rero bwafunguriye amayira

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[685] *Ikiganiro na « agence Hirondelle », Ukuboza 2002.*

[686] *Ku byerekeye idosiye ya Jenerari Rewonidasi Rusatira wari umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari kandi azwi ho kuba yaramaganye jenoside ku mugaragaro muri Mata 1994, ikirego cyashoboye kwandikwa hakurikijwe imbata y'ubuhamya yateguwe uko yakabaye n'abiyitaga « abafasha bo mu butabera », nuko Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha biterura ibyari mo hafi ya byose. Nyuma y'ihangana rusange ryateguwe na minisiteri y'Ubutabera y'uBubiligi i Buruseri ku itariki ya 25 Nyakanga 2002, aho uregwa yari ategerereje muri gereza ya « Saint – Gilles » kuzajyanwa Arusha, Carla Del Ponte yaje kwemera ko nta gihamya zihagije yari afite zo kumwemeza igicumuro. Yarekuwe ku itariki ya 18 Kanama 2002.*

abahezanguni, ariko cyane cyane abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi bari barakariye kwihorera ku Bahutu mu gice cya kabiri cy'umwaka wa 1994. Ubutagondwa mu kurwanya urukiko rwa TPIR n'ubwinangire kuri « anketi zidasanzwe » byariganje, nta reme ryo mu rwego rwa poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu ryashoboraga kubicubya. N'ubwo amaherezo uRwanda rwahatiwe n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano kubahiriza inshingano z'amategeko rwashyize ho umukono no kureka guhagarika imanza, ntirwigeze ruhanwa cyangwa se ngo runagawe.

Itangazo ry'Inama ishinzwe umutekano ryo ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2002 ryatsindagiraga gusa ngo « Ibiganiro byubaka bigomba kuba hagati y'Inkiko na guverinoma zibishinzwe kugira ngo haboneke uburyo bwo gukemura ikibazo cyose gishobora kubangamira imirimo y'Inkiko cyavuka mu bufatanye bwazo, ariko itsindagiye yuko ibyo biganiro byaba ho cyangwa bitaba ho bitagomba kubera ibihugu urwitwazo rwo kutarangiza inshingano zabyo zo gufatanya n'Inkiko ku buryo bwuzuye, hakurikijwe ibyemezo by'Inama ishinzwe umutekano n'amategekoremezo y'Inkiko ». Muri Mata 2003, ubwa mbere na mbere, kandi nyuma y'inama yari yateguriwe Arusha n'abagenzacyaha, ahantu cumi na hatanu FPR/Inkotanyi yakoreye itsembatsemba haratoranyijwe, maze hane muri ho hari hafite imfatiro zinoze hafatwa ho kuzaba ishingiro ry'inzandiko z'ibirego[687]. Ibyo ariko nta cyo byageze ho : babitewe mo inkunga na ambasaderi w'Umunyamerika ushinzwe ibicumuro by'intambara, Pierre- Richard Prosper, Abanyarwanda bavuze ko ubwabo bashoboye gusuzuma no guca imanza z'ibicumuro byaba byarakorewe mu gipande cya FPR/Inkotanyi, nuko banga ubugenzacyaha ubwo ari bwo bwose bw'urukiko rwa TPIR. Umushinjacyaha yabonye ko mu by'ukuri ahatiwe gusubikira ku munsi utazwi « anketi ze zidasanzwe » n'ubugenzacyaha ku bicumuro bya FPR/Inkotanyi. Icyaruhanyije kurusha ho ku birebana n'ahazaza, ni uko muri iryo shyamirana ryose, byagaragaye neza ko abenshi mu bakozi b'urukiko bangaga ko hagira ikibuza imirimo yarwo gukomeza, kimwe n'imyanya

[687] *Amatsembero abiri yari muri perefegitura Byumba – sitade ya perefegitura na komini Giti – (Mata 1994), irya gatatu ryaguye mo abasenyeri ryari i Gakurazo, perefegitura ya Gitarama (Kamena), irya nyuma ryari mu mujyi wa Butare, mu ishyamba rya « arboretum » (Nyakanga).*

y'akazi amagana n'amagana rwari rwarashyiriye ho intego zarwo. N'ubwo Carla Del Ponte yagerageje, ariko atinze, gushakisha uburyo bagira icyo bumvikana ho, urwango uRwanda rwari rufitiye uwo mushinjacyaha ntirwigeze rucogora, ku buryo muri Kanama 2003, Umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni, ashyigikiwe na Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika n'uBwongereza, yasabye ko hashyirwa ho abashinjacyaha babiri, umwe wa TPIR undi wa TPIY « kubera impamvu zo gukora neza imirimo ». Kubera ko nta mahita mo yandi yari afite uretse ayo kugumana ubuyobozi bw'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwa Yugosiraviya aho kuba ubw'urukiko rwa TPIR, uwo mushinjacyaha yahanutse ku ntera ye kubera uguhora ahinduranya kwe. Kubera ko atavuguruje ibihuha byavugaga ko icyemezo cyo gushyira ho umushinjacyaha wihariye cyaba cyaratewe ahanini no gushaka guhagarika anketi zidasanzwe, Carla Del Ponte kimwe n'abategetsi b'uRwanda batumye abantu bemera igitekerezo cy'uko umushinjacyaha mushya, Hassan Bubacar Jallow, atateganyaga kuzishora mo, n'ubwo Inama ishinzwe umutekano yari yongeye kwemeza icyo gice cya manda ye. Guhera mu Gushyingo 2003, ambasaderi w'Amerika ushinzwe ibicumuro by'intambara, Pierre – Richard Prosper, yasabye urukiko rwa TPIR na guverinoma y'uRwanda gusubukura impaka bajyaga ku ngingo gacanya no kumvikana ku ruhande (TPIR cyangwa guverinoma y'uRwanda) rwagombaga gukora izo anketi.

N'ubwo Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika zari ziyemeje kubafasha kubonera umwanzuro icyo kibazo, ibyo bigaha icyizere abategetsi b'i Kigali, umushinjacyaha n'abo bategetsi birinze gukomoza kuri iyo ngingo mu mubonano wabo wa mbere wakurikiye ho. Nuko, ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 2004, umushinjacyaha, mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru Arusha, yongeye kwemeza ku mugaragaro ko urukiko mpuzamahanga rwari rufite ububasha bwo gusuzuma ibicumuro byaba byarakozwe mu mwaka wa 1994 n'Ingabo zahoze ari inyeshyamba, hanyuma ku itariki ya 29 Kamena 2004 agaragariza Inama ishinzwe umutekano asubiza amaso inyuma ibyo « kutagira poritiki » byakomeje kumuranga kuri icyo kibazo :

« Ku byerekeye ibyo abanyamuryango ba FPR/Inkotanyi baba baregwa, Ibiro byanjye

biri mo gusuzuma muri iki gihe gihamya zakusanyijwe kugeza ubu, kugira ngo birebe niba hari mo ingingo zihagije zatuma bakurikiranwa, bigene abagomba gukurikiranwa n'ibicumuro bashinjwa. Natangiye kandi ibiganiro na guverinoma y'uRwanda kuri icyo kibazo, cyane cyane ku buryo bunyuranye bwo kurangiza amadosiye yaboneka nyuma y'iryo suzuma[688].»

Nyamara ariko, anyuranyije n'ibyo yari yabwiye Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 23 Ugushyingo 2004 ubwo yatangazaga ko azasuzuma gusa ibimenyetso byakusanyijwe kugeza icyo gihe, Hassan Bubacar Jallow yasabye, ku itariki ya 2 Ukuboza, ko hakorwa anketi zigenga, nuko amenyesha ibi bikurikira Inama ishinzwe umutekano ku itariki ya 13 Kamena 2005 : « Umurimo urakomeje ku byerekeranye n'ibyo birego.» Amaze kwakira icyegeranyo cy'umwimereri kandi gifite imfatiro zinoze[689], yafashe icyemezo cyo guhita mo amadosiye yazagumana burundu kugira ngo akore inzandiko z'ibirego. Nyuma y'inama zabereye Arusha mu cyumweru cy'iya 31 Ukwakira 2005, parike yarinyonyombeye ku itariki ya 7 Ugushyingo 2005, yishingikirije icyifuzo cya ambasaderi w'Amerika ushinzwe ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu, cy'uko gutangiza iyo mirimo byasubikwa. Bityo, ikibazo cyo guhita mo « uburyo » kirongera gisubizwa guverinoma y'uRwanda[690]. Mu gihe kimwe, umushinjacyaha Jallow agumisha ho ikipi ihunyiza kandi nkene ishinzwe iyo dosiye, mu by'ukuri igenewe gutuma ashobora gusubiza abamubaza, ko agisuzuma kandi akigenzura neza ibirego mbere y'uko afata icyemezo cyo kugira uwo yakurikirana. Haba mu mwaka wa 2006 no mu wa 2007, yakomeje gusubirira mo amagambo amwe Inama ishinzwe umutekano :

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[688] *INAMA ISHINZWE UMUTEKANO Y'UMURYANGO W'ABIBUMBYE, Raporo y'inama, New York, 29 Kamena 2004, p. 19.*

[689] *Gihamya y'ingenzi y'iyo dosiye yari igizwe n'ibyagezwe ho na anketi zakozwe cyane cyane na Liyetona Abdul Joshua Ruzibiza n'abandi basirikari bakuru ba FPR/inkotanyi (Reba umugereka 127).*

[690] *« Byongeye kandi, ibicumuro FPR/Inkotanyi yarezwe na byo twabyitaye ho. […] Navuganye kandi n'abahagarariye guverinoma y'uRwanda ku buryo buri ho bwo gukurikirana amadosiye yaturuka muri izo anketi nshya », INAMA ISHINZWE UMUTEKANO Y'UMURYANGO W'ABIBUMBYE, Raporo y'inama, New York, 15 Ukuboza 2005, p. 15.*

> Anketi ziracyakomeje, zabaye ndende kurusha uko byari biteganyijwe, muzamenyeshwa amakuru umwaka utaha[691]… Ndetse bukeye bw'ikiganiro cye cyo muri Kamena 2007 yabonanye n'intiti zo muri kaminuza, ari nko kwerekana ubushake bwe budakuka bwo kurangiza uwo murimo. Hatagize ikintu na gito gikorwa, umwanzuro w'iyo dosiye ndende kandi igomba ubushishozi amaherezo wagezwe ho muri Werurwe 2008 : umushinjacyaha w'urukiko rwa TPIR yagejeje kuri perezida Kagame amadosiye abiri yavuye muri anketi zarwo yashoboraga kuburanishirizwa muRwanda cyangwa se Arusha, biramutse bidashobotse. Iya mbere yari yerekeye itsemba ry'abantu cumi na bane i Kabgayi, hafi y'i Gitarama, ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1994. Musenyeri wa Kabgayi, Tadeyo Nsengiyumva, arikiyepisikopi wa Kigali, Visenti Nsengiyumva, musenyeri wa Byumba, Yozefu Ruzindana, bahiciwe n'abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi, bari kumwe n'abapadiri icyenda, n'umukuru w'abafurere b'Abayozefiti n'umwana umwe. Idosiye ya kabiri yari yerekeye itsembatsemba ryabereye kuri sitade y'i Byumba ku itariki ya 23 Mata 1994 rigahitana Abahutu bari hagati y'igihumbi n'ibihumbi bibiri bari bahakoranyirijwe n'abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi. Hagati ya Kiriziya episikopari, sitade, ikigo cya gisirikari, Ishuri mbonezamubano rya « Bon Conseil », minoteri, ibigo by'amashuri bya Kibari na Buhambe, abantu barengwa ibihumbi bitanu b'abasiviri barimburiwe i Byumba mu kwezi kwa Mata 1994.

Perezida Kagame yagombaga gutanga igisubizo ahari kera mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, kugira ngo umushinjacyaha na perezida w'Urukiko babone uko bamenyesha

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[691] *« Nabwiye Inama ishinzwe umutekano muri raporo zanjye zabanjirije iyi ko Ibiro byanjye byasanze ari ngombwa gukora izindi anketi bimaze gusuzuma imfatiro zerekeye ibicumuro byirengagije uburenganzira bwa muntu abantu bavuga ko byaba byarakozwe na FPR/Inkotanyi. Niteze ko izo anketi zizarangira mu mwaka wa 2007 maze ibyo bigatuma dushobora gufata icyemezo ku buryo twazabikurikirana » (Hassan Bubacar Jallow mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano yo ku itariki ya 15 Ukuboza 2006) ; « Kuva kuri raporo yanjye ya nyuma nashyikirije Inama ishinzwe umutekano, Ibiro byanjye yateye intambwe igaragara muri anketi kubicumuro biregwa abanyamuryango bamwe ba FPR/Inkotanyi. Turizera ko tuzashobora gusoza iyo dosiye mu ntangiro z'umwaka utaha » (Hassan Bubacar Jallow mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano yo ku itariki ya 10 Ukuboza 2007).*

Inama ishinzwe umutekano uko iyo dosiye yakurikiranywe. Urukiko rwa TPIR rwavugaga ko rwiteguye gukoresha bidatinze urubanza rw'abishe abasenyeri babonaga ari nk'ikimenyetso, no kuruha umwanya w'imbere kugira ngo rugaragaze ubushake bwarwo bwo gukurikirana ibicumuro byose mbere y'uko rusaba kongererwa manda rugakomeza imirimo yarwo mu mwaka wa 2009. Ibyo ari byo byose, ikurikiranwa ryari ngombwa kubera ukuntu ubwo bwicanyi bugenderewe bwari bwamenyekanye mu mahanga yose, kandi hakaba hari ho imfatiro nyinshi zisobanura uko ubwo bwicanyi bwagenze. Ikindi kandi, nyuma y'intambara, abategetsi b'i Kigali bemeraga ko ubwo bwicanyi bwabaye ho, bakabufata nk'igikorwa kibabaje, ariko cyumvikana kuko cyakozwe n'abasirikari basanzwe. Na dosiye y'itsembatsemba ry'i Byumba na yo yari intangarugero, ariko yashoboraga gukururira FPR/Inkotanyi ingorane nyinshi, kuko yari kuba ishoje, ihereye kuri perefegitura yashegeshwe cyane, impaka ku bicumuro byibasiye imbaga y'abasiviri b'Abahutu byagiye biranga FPR/Inkotanyi mu ri perefegitura yabaga yigaruriye. Ikindi kandi, byari biyikomereye kongera kwitabaza amayeri yo kuvuga ko ari ibikorwa by' « abasirikari basanzwe » nk'uko byagenze muri dosiye y'abasenyeri, kubera ko byari inkuru ya kimomo ko umuyobozi wayo mukuru, Pawuro Kagame, yari ahibereye ubwe. Kubera ko urukiko rwa TPIR rwari rufite umugabo umwe gusa muri dosiye y'i Byumba, rwabwiye abategetsi b'uRwanda ngo biburanishirize urwo rubanza niba parike yabo yari ishoboye ubwayo kubona abagabo. Byaba bidashobotse, iyo dosiye igahanagurwa. Ashingiye kuri ibyongibyo, umushinjacyaha wa TPIR yamenyesheje Inama ishinzwe umutekano, ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 2008, ko parike nkuru y'uRwanda yamugejeje ho « icyemezo yafashe cyo kurega no gukurikirana vuba, ku bicumuro by'ubwicanyi n'ubufatanyacyaha mu bwicanyi, abasirikari bakuru bane b'Abanyarwanda[692] » bakekwaga ho kuba baragize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwabereye i Kabgayi mu mwaka wa 1994 bugahitana abihayimana 13 babarirwa mo abasenyeri batatu. Mu izina ry'ubwo bufatanye butari bwarigeze buba ho, umushinjacyaha yatangaje

[692] *Mu by'ukuri bari abasirikari bakuru bo mu rwego rwo hejuru n'abakapiteni babiri. Amadosiye yabo yaratandukanyijwe.*

yuko, urwo rubanza ruramutse rugenze neza, rwahagarika ibikorwa bye byose byerekeye « ibyo bicumuro » bya FPR/Inkotanyi :

> « Nk'uko abagize Inama babizi, uRwanda n'urukiko rwa TPIR bisangiye ububasha bwo kuburanisha imanza z'ibyo bicumuro. Ni yo mpamvu nafashe icyemezo, ku binyerekeye, cyo guhagarika ibikorwa byose, byumvikanye neza ariko ko ikurikiranwa rikorerwa muRwanda kandi rigakorwa n'icyo gihugu ryakagombye gushyika ku ntego, gukorwa vuba, kuba intabera kandi bigatangarizwa rubanda. Ibiro byanjye kandi bizagenzura iyo mikorere. Birumvikana ko ikurikiranwa rikorerwa muRwanda ritazabangamira ububasha bw'ibanze urukiko rwa TPIR rufite kuri ibyo bicumuro. Ndizera ko uRwanda ruzakora ikurikiranwa ku buryo buzatanga umusanzu ugaragara mu bwiyunge bw'icyo gihugu[693]. »

Idosiye yateguwe n'ubushinjacyaha bwa Arusha bufatanije n'urukiko rwa gisirikari rw'i Kigali yavugaga ko « byari impanuka », « ibyemezo by'abasirikari ku giti cyabo batari bahawe amategeko[694], kandi umwana wishwe ntiyari yashyizwe mo. Ikindi kandi, nta mutangabuhamya n'umwe wo kunenga imikorere y'urukiko rwa TPIR, kandi agashobora no kuvuguruza iyo nkuru na raporo y'ibyabaye z'ibinusu wari wateganyijwe. Niba ari uko ibintu byari bimeze, urubanza rwagenze uko byari byateganyijwe : abasirikari bakuru babiri bari barafashwe ku itariki ya 11 Kamena bagizwe abere, bafungurwa ku itariki ya 24 Ukwakira 2008, kuko nk'uko biboneka mu icibwa ry'urubanza, ntibari bafite amakuru yashoboraga gutuma babuza icyo gicumuro gukorwa. Naho abakapiteni babiri bari bemeye icyaha, bakatiwe imyaka umunani y'igifungo kubera ko bakoze « bagendeye ku irengamutima».

Kimaze gusubirwa mo n'urwego rw'ubujurire muri Mutarama 2009, icyemezo

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[693] *Hassan Bubacar JALLOW mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano yo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 2008.*

cy'Urukiko rw'ikirenga rwa gisirikari rw'i Kigali cyatangajwe ku itariki ya 25 Gashyantare, nyuma y'uko za rusanze n'ingingo z'urubanza zemezwa n'umushinjacyaha w'urukiko rwa TPIR (*Reba umugereka 98*). Ihanagurwa ho icyaha ry'abajenerari ryaremejwe, n'ibihano by'abakapiteni babiri birapunguzwa biva ku myaka umunani bigera ku myaka itanu (*Reba umugereka 128*). Urwo rubanza rwavuye mo inyigisho ebyiri z'ingenzi. Iya mbere ni uko nta mugabo ushinja n'umwe wabajijwe, kandi nyamara umushinjacyaha w'urukiko rwa TPIR yari yaramenyeshejwe ko hari abagabo bari biteguye gutanga ubuhamya (hari mo uwo mu muryango w'umwe mu bishwe wari watandukanyijwe na we mu gihe abasirikari bajonjoraga abo bica)[695]. Iya kabiri ni igisobanuro gitangaje abategetsi bahaye icyifuzo cy'umushinjacyaha Jallow cy'uko kuburanishiriza urwo rubanza i Kigali byari « kugira uruhare mu bwiyunge bw'igihugu ».

Nyamara urwo rubanza rwabaye urwitwazo rwa poropagande yo kwamagana ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika no kwinjiza mu bantu igitekerezo cy'uko ubwicanyi bwakorewe abasenyeri « bwaturutse ku nyishyu itaziguye y'imyitwarire yabo itarangwa n'ubumuntu ahubwo ikuzura ubujenosideri », bityo mu gihe cy'urubanza bakavugwa nk'aho ari bo bigishaga jenoside mu karere : « Abasenyeri bari bafite ububasha ku bo mu nzego z'ubutegetsi, ku basirikari, ku *Nterahamwe* : iyo bajya kuvuga ijambo rimwe, baba

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[694] *Nyamara ariko biraruhije kumva ko abasirikari bakuru bo mu Ngabo za FPR/Inkotanyi zafata icyemezo cyo kwica abanyacyubahiro bakomeye gutyo batabanje kubigeza ku babakuriye.*

[695] *Iyi ngingo irakomeye cyane kuko abatangabuhamya b'inzobere babiri bakoreraga Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha bari bamenyesheje umushinjacyaha ubwe ko amazina y'abagabo babiri biboneye ubwabo ubwicanyi bw'i Kabgayi yari kumugezwa ho igihe hari kuba habonetse uburyo bunoze bwatuma batanga ubuhamya mu mutekano, ariko ntiyigeze abasubiza. Ku itariki ya 11 Nyakanga 2009, umushinjacyaha yavugiye i Jeneve ko atigeze yohereza gihamya urukiko rwa gisirikari rw'i Kigali, kandi ko dosiye yakurikiranywe n'ubucamanza bw'uRwanda gusa : « Nta gihamya n'imwe ikomoka mu Biro by'umushinjacyaha twigeze duha uRwanda. Gihamya yakoresheje ni bo bazishakiye, ariko zihuye n'izo dufite kandi n'icyemezo twafashe ».* Conference, « « Arusha, modèle ou contre-modèle pour la justice internationale. Le point de vue des acteurs », Université Paris-I/IHEID/TPIR, *inyandiko y'ijambo rya H. B. JALLOW, inama ya 5, p. 13). Nyamara raporo y'Inama ishinzwe umutekano yo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 2009 yari yamenyeshejwe yuko « Urukiko rwohereje inkiko z'uRwanda, muri Kamena 2008, amakuru ya za anketi zayo zimwe zerekeye FPR/Inkotanyi, kandi abayobozi bane ba FPR/Inkotanyi bari mo kuburanishwa » (Inama ishinzwe umutekano, 4 Kamena 2009, New York, p. 29). Biraboneka rero ko habaye ho ibyo guherereka nya amakuru, kandi n'ingingo za gihamya , uretse kwibeshya, zikaba zarashoboye kohererezwa inkiko z'uRwanda, ariko nyuma zigakoreshwa ku buryo zitemerewe n'abacamanza ba TPIR.*

barakijije abantu bose. Ariko na bo ubwabo bari mu bicanyi[696]. Nyamara Musenyeri Tadeyo Nsengiyumva, wari perezida w'Inama y'abasenyeri, yari mu bashishikariye gushyira ho itsinda ry'amadini ryo gutsura ibiganiro, itsinda ryaranzwe n'ubutwari igihe ryigereza ho rigirana imishyikirano ya mbere na FPR/Inkotanyi intambara y'amagomerane igitangira, mbere y'uko rigira uruhare rukomeye cyane mu guteza imbere amahoro no kugurura amarembo agana kuri FPR/Inkotanyi mu myaka yose intambara yamaze. N'ubundi kandi, ku bwumvikane bw'urukiko rwa TPIR n'abategetsi b'uRwanda – kandi bidakorewe iyamamaza na rito – urubanza rwa kabiri rwoherejwe muri parike nkuru ya Kigali, urw'i Byumba, rwaburijwe mo nta shiti kubera gusa ko ngo nta bagabo babonetse.

Uwo mwanzuro nta kuntu wabura gutungurana, kuko muri raporo yakozwe mu mwaka wa 2002 bisabwe na Carla Del Ponte ku bicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe na FPR/Inkotanyi, hari harimo abagabo 11bashoboraga gutanga ubuhamya ku itsembatsemba ryose ry'i Byumba muri rusange, 6 muri bo – aho kuba 1 – ku ryabereye kuri sitade. Nta n'umuntu kandi wigeze amenyeshwa ko hari ho ubushakashatsi bugamije gutahura cyangwa gushishikaza abatangabuhamya babonye ibyabaye. Ubwo bushakashatsi bwari bwarashinzwe parike y'uRwanda. Umuntu asubije amaso inyuma, agashingira gusa ku makuruy'imvaho, biraboneka ko « kutagira poritiki » by'umushinjacyaha Jallow birangwa no kudakora anketi nshya no kwirengagiza anketi zakozwe n'umushinjacyaha Carla Del Ponte, byari bigamije kwiha igihe gihagije kugira ngo urukiko rubone uko rutegurana n'abategetsi b'i Kigali ikinamico z'imanza mu gihe cyo kurangiza manda yarwo. Intangamugabo y'ibyo ni uko nta hantu na hamwe hagaragara mu igenamari ryo mu mwaka wa 2008 n'uwa 2009 ko haba hari amafaranga yigeze asohoka yo gukoresha iyo mirimo, mbese nk'aho imigendekere n'imyanzuro y'izo manza zombi z'akarorero yari izwi mbere y'igihe.

Nguko rero, nk'uko umuryango uharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu witwa Human Rights Watch wabitsindagiye cyane mu itangazo ryawo ryo ku munsi wabanjirije iterana

[696] *Ijambo mbanzirizamvugo ry'abunganizi mu ibazwa ry'abagabo ryo ku itariki ya 10 Nzeri 2008.*

ry'Inama ishinzwe umutekano ryo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 2006 – umunsi hagombaga guhagarikwa ko kwemeza icyo gice cy'ingamba zo kurangiza imirimo y'urukiko – uko ikibazo cyo gukurikirana amadosiye no kuburanisha abanyamuryango ba FPR/Inkotanyi ku bicumuro bakoze mu mwaka wa 1994 kikiri cyose kandi nta n'umwanzuro cyabonye(*Reba umugereka 129*). Hari impamvu eshatu z'ingenzi zisobanura iby'ubwo buhonnyo bwa buri ho. Iya mbere yerekeye urwego rw'« ababohozi » b'uRwanda abategetsi bashya bihaye, bikaba byaba ari ukubakoza isoni « gushyira mu gatebo kamwe umujenosideri n'abo yahekuye[697] ». Koko kandi, amategeko yose yashyizwe ho n'abategetsi bashya b'igihugu yo kuburanisha imanza z'ibicumuro byakozwe kuva intambara igitangira mu Kwakira 1990 (ubucamanza busanzwe, ubucamanza « gakondo » n'ubucamanza bwa gisirikari), mu by'ukuri agena ubudahanwa bwuzuye haba ku bicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe n'Ingabo za FPR/Inkotanyi, haba no ku bicumuro by'ubwicanyi, urugomo n'isahura – byiswe ngo « ibicumuro byo kwihorera » - bigerekwa ku Batutsi b'abasiviri bari basanzwe mu gihugu n'abatahutse[*returnees* : mu cyongereza mu mwandiko w'umwimererі][698].

Ubwo budahanwa muri kino gihe bwahawe intebe n'uko ibicumuro, amakosa n'ibyaha hafi ya byose by'Abatutsi, uretse ibyerekeye jenoside, bireka gukurikiranwa iyo hashize imyaka cumi bikozwe.

Impamvu ya kabiri, isa n'aho ari ikintu cyo mu rwego rusanzwe, ku buryo budashidikanya ni yo ikaze cyane kubera ingaruka zayo. Ishingiye ku miterere itayega n'amategeko adashogosha y'imikorere ya FPR/Inkotanyi. Koko rero, ku buryo butandukanye n'inzego za Leta y'uRwanda, haba mbere cyangwa mu gihe cy'intambara yo mu mwaka wa 1994, byari biruhije kumenya neza abafata ibyemezo abo ari bo no gusobanukirwa neza uruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi. Kubera ibyo rero, kuba ubutegetsi

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[697] Servilien SEBASONI, « À propos d'"Une justice intimidée[*Ibyerekeye "Ubucamanza bukorera ku cyoba*]" (*Libération*, 23 mai 2006) », *Itangazo ry'umuvugizi wa FPR/Inkotanyi, Kigali, Kamena 2006.*

[698] *Amadosiye mbarwa y'abasirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi baciriwe imanza yoherejwe urukiko rwa TPIR (ari ukurumenyesha), yerekeye abasirikari bato cyane, na bo bahaniwe imyitwarire yabo yateraga akavuyo mu Mitwe bari bari mo.*

bwose bwo mu nyeshyamba bwari mu maboko y'abantu bake bituma gukora anketi ku idosiye iyo ari yo yose n'iyo yaba yoroshye bidashoboka, utagombye kugera mu nzego zo ku isonga zifatirwa mo ibyemezo. Ntibishoboka rero kumenya ikiri hirya y'urubanza rumwe rwa nyirarureshwa rwakatiye ibihano abaregwa b'udukingirizo. Nyamara n'ubwo bahoraga ku ntonganya z'uko urukiko rukora nabi n'uko abajenosideri bakingirwa ikibaba n'ibihugu by'ibihangange[699], bagahora no ku nkeke y'uburakari bw'abategetsi b'i Kigali, abashinjacyaha bose bagiye basabwa, ku buryo budahuga, n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano ko muri iyo dosiye bajya babanza kubona inkunga y'abategetsi b'uRwanda, bakomeje kubaha ibisubizo byo kubatesha igihe cyangwa se bakababahakanira burundu. Iyo yabaga ataciwe intege cyangwa ngo yamaganwe ku buryo bwatuye[700], nta na rimwe umushinjacyaha yigeze abona inkunga n'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye n'iy'Inama ishinzwe umutekano, kugira ngo ashyire mu ngiro icyo gice cya manda mpuzamahanga cyari cyahawe Urukiko[701]. Impamvu ya gatatu, yamamaye cyane mu itangazamakuru kandi n'ubutumbanya bwayo bwo mu rwego rwa diporomasi bukaba burenze kure ubwo mu rwego rw'ubutabera kubera abanyagikorwa bashobora gutungwa agatoki, yerekeye igico cyibasiye indege ya perezida ku itariki ya 6 Mata. N'ubwo umushinjacyaha wa mbere, Richard Goldstone yatangarije ku mugaragaro kandi aranguruye ijwi, ariko nyuma y'igihe cye, ko icyo gico cyari muri manda y'urukiko[702],

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[699] *Bityo, umuvugizi wa FPR/Inkotanyi yibajije niba « urukiko rwa TPIR rutararemewe nyine kugira ngo rudakora », (Seriviriyani SEBASONI, « Ibyerekeye "Ubucamanza bukorera ku cyoba", (Libération, 23 Gicurasi 2006) », loc. cit.).*

[700] *Ku buryo bw'ihame, ibihugu byinshi byo mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano ntibyemeraga ko abakiri ku butegetsi bakurikiranwa.*

[701] *Kubera kugongana n'intwaro y'amarisiti y' « abajenosideri » baba mu mahanga, ibihugu byose byashoboraga kwakira abaregwa batarafatwa cyangwa se abakatiwe byagize ingorane zimeze zityo. Ibihugu bitatu (uBusuwisi, uBubiligi na Kanada) baburanishije imanza z'abaregwa jenoside kandi bazamamaza cyane mu itangazamakuru, ariko kugeza uyu munsi nta rukiko rw'igihugu runaka, uretse uBufaransa na Hisipaniya, rwigeze rwemera gusuzuma ibirego byerekeye ibicumuro byakozwe n'inyeshyamba n'abazishyigikiye. Ku ruhande rumwe, bavuga ko ubumenyi bafite kuri ibyo bicumuro budahagije ; ku rundi, bakavuga ko amategeko ari ho ataboneye ; ahandi na none, kugira ngo abatanga ikirego bakirwe bagomba kubanza gusabwa kuzirikana amakuba azagwira benewabo cyangwa abagabo bazatanga, ari ukugira ngo bareke ibyo gutanga ikirego, nb.*

[702] *« Ibyo ntabwo mbyumva. Biragaragara ko bifitanye isano na jenoside. » « Ibyo ari byo byose, ni byo byabaye imbarutso ya jenoside kandi biba byaragiriye akamaro kanini cyane ubucamanza n'ibitambo iyo ibyo bintu bishyirwa ahagaragara » (Ikiganiro Richard Goldstone yagiranye n'ikinyamakuru Berlingske Tidende, Copenhague, 12 Ukuboza 2006).*

Louise Arbour yahakanye ko atigeze anatangiza anketi kuri iyo dosiye, mu gihe abagenzacyaha be bari bamushyikirije intangamugabo z'uko icyo gico gihama FPR/Inkotanyi. Ku ruhande rwe, Carla Del Ponte yajijinganyije igihe kirekire mbere y'uko yemera ko hari isano hagati y'igico n'itangira ry'itsembatsemba, ariko nyuma aza kuvuga ko urukiko rudafite ibimenyetso simusiga, kuko perezida Kagame yari yamwemeje ko « ari umwere ». Amaherezo yararetse ubucamanza bw'uBufaransa aba ari bwo bushyira ahagaragara iyo dosiye, nyamara kandi yanga gutanga gihamya, n'ubwo yabihakanye, umucamanza wari ukurikiranye iyo dosiye (Jean – Louis Bruguière) yamusabaga. Naho umushinjacyaha Jallow, yahise yemeza rugikubita ko igico kitari muri manda y'urukiko rwa TPIR, mu gihe yarekaga abagize Ibiro bye bavuga ko amayira y'ingirwahame zose zerekeye banyiricyo gico afunguye, ndetse n'irishinja « abahezanguni b'Abahutu », na nyuma y'aho anketi y'Abafaransa irangiriye mu Kwakira 2006, ndetse n'aho umucamanza Bruguière atangiye inzandiko zo gufatisha abasirikari bakuru ba FPR/Inkotanyi. Nyamara rwari rutezwe ho kugira uruhare no gutanga inkunga muri iyo anketi (*Reba umugereka 130*).

Mbese aho ubucamanza ntibwataye ukuri ku munigo ?

Ibyo bintu byose byazinzitswe nkana cyangwa se bigasigwa mu tugereka mu rukiko mpuzamahanga, n'ingamba zatoranyijwe byerekanaga byagize ingaruka zikomeye ku mirimo yarwo mu rwego rw'imikorerwe ya za anketi no mu rw'imiyoborere y'imanza. Bamwe bavugaga ko ari cyo kiguzi cyo kurangiza akazi neza : byose babihinduye mo inkuru yoroshye cyane y'abeza n'abagira nabi. Ku ruhande rumwe, hari ababohozi barwaniraga uburenganzira bwabo bwo kugaruka mu gihugu, gusubirana inariyo yabo n'imitungo bari baranyazwe, ku rundi ruhande, hari jenoside yateguwe n'injijuke zigendera ku gitugu no ku irondakoko kuva repuburika yashingwa, kandi zari ku isonga z'abaturage bariye karungu. Urebye ubutumbanya bw'itsembatsemba n'uburyo bururutse ruhande ryakoranywe, ingingo z'urubanza zarumvikanaga ku banyamahanga bari bashinzwe gutangiza urwo rukiko, ingingo zashoboraga gukoreshwa mu madosiye yose, hakagenda hahinduka mo utuntu tudafatika gusa, hakurikijwe uko abacikacumu bo gutanga ubuhamya babonekaga. Mu gihe cyo gucira imanza abakurikizaga amabwiriza

gusa n'abanyagikorwa b'itsembatsemba ubwabo, ikirari cyo kubakurikirana cyabaye mo ingorane nkeya cyane. Ariko ibintu byabaye ibindi mu gihe cyo gushinga ibikwa bifasha kubaka ihame ry'ubwumvikane, umushinjacyaha ashaka guhuriza mu kibariro kimwe n'amateka amwe amadosiye y'abasirikari, y'abanyaporitiki, y'abayobozi b'itangazamakuru n'abagenantekerezo. Kutamenya cyangwa se kwirengagiza urusobe rw'intego z'imitunganyirize y'urukubo rwa poritiki n'ubwiganze bw'ubushyamirane bw'uturere, byatumye ibyitekero by'umushinjacyaha byose bita agaciro, mu gihe yari yibasiye abo yitaga « abacurabwenge », kandi na bo ubwabo bari bashoboye kugaragaza neza, babifashijwe mo n'abunganizi babo, ko ibirego bye byari bidafashe. Koko rero, icyo iyo jenoside yihariye cya mbere, ni uko abahezanguni banga Abatutsi bagenzuraga uturere dusa n'uturi mo Abahutu gusa, tukaba mo itsembatsemba rike cyane, nyamara kandi abenshi mu Batutsi bahigwaga bari batuye muri perefegitura abo bahezanguni bari nyamuke, ndetse ubona nta n'icyo bavuze. Bityo ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside yateguwe n'injijuke zo mu majyaruguru igwa ku njijuke zo mu majyepfo zari zimaze imyaka makumbyabiri zamagana ubwikanyize bw'abo mu majyaruguru ! Mu gihe cy'itangiza ry'imanza z'abayobozi b'abanyaporitiki n'aba gisirikari, bafatwaga nk'aho ari bo « bateguye » jenoside, ni ho byagaragariye buri wese ko guca mo amateka y'ibyabaye ibipande biriri, ku buryo budafashije, ari ugushakisha uko haboneka ibisobanuro by'imbonerahmwe byatesheje ireme imyumvire y'ibikorwa byajyanye na jenoside, ndetse n'iry'ingingo zishinja, imbere y'amakipi y'abunganizi bari barafashe ku mitwe y'intoki, uko imyaka itashye, imizi n'umuhamuro by'uko ibintu byifashe muRwanda. Kugunira anketi ku banyagikorwa ba rumwe mu mpande zari zihanganye na byo byatubije imyumvire y'ibyabaye n'iy'urukurikirane rwabyo. Byatumye cyane cyane amakipi y'abunganizi bacinyira urusobe rwo gushinjura rwo mu rwego rwa poritiki gusa, bageza n'aho gucira urunyeri imyitire y'ibicumuro bya jenoside abakiriya babo baregwaga. Ariko umurimo wo gukurikirana ukuri n'ubutabera wakorewe mu kibaba cy'uruhande rwatsinze ntiwari wanzuriye gusa ku bumenyi bucagase kandi bubogamye. Iterana ry'amagambo wakongeje kandi wakomeje kwenyegeza ku byerekeye poritiki

n'igenantekerezo ryaje ku buryo busanzwe rwose ku runyiriri rwa mbere mu gihe ingamba zo gusoza zibanziriza irangira rya manda y'urukiko rwa TPIR zaje guhinduka mo ibyemezo bifatika. Umutuzo abashinjacyaha bose uko bakurikiranye bari baratanze ho ikiguzi cyo kuvirira igipande cya manda yabo icyo gihe wabangamiye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amabwiriza y'inzibacyuho n'ay'iyegurirabubasha Leta y'uRwanda kuko nta gihugu na kimwe, kugeza mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2009, cyari cyemeye ko inzego z'ubucamanza zarwo zari zihwanye n'iz'igihugu kigendera ku mategeko. Abategetsi rero basanze bagomba gutora hutihuti amategeko yo mu bihe bidasanzwe, ari ukugira ngo berekane ko basa n'abari ku ntera y'aho abandi bageze. Koko rero, n'ubwo umushinjacyaha yemeje ko muri rusange ubucamanza bwo muRwanda bwujuje ibyangombwa ariko akanateganya ko mu gihe kizaza hazaba ho imivugururo yo kubutunganya kurusha ho, ntiyashoboraga gusimbuza ibyemezo by'abacamanza b'urukiko rwa TPIR ibye bwite. Aba bamaze kuvugwa, kubera kutagira aho bahurira na poritiki yo gukurikirana abaregwa, bashoboraga kwerekana ubwigenge bwabo, ndetse bakanagaya ubuhonnyo bw'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha mu madosiye areba FPR/Inkotanyi. Ingorane bagombaga gutsinda zari nyinshi. Mbere na mbere bagombaga gukemura ikibazo cyo kwimurira amadosiye atarapfundikirwa mu bucamanza bw'ibihugu biri mo abaregwa bashya cyangwa abazafatirwa mo cyangwa se mu bucamanza bw'uRwanda rwari rwasabye kuva urukiko rwa TPIR rwajya ho, ko rwakohererezwa abakekwa bose bashakishwa, ariko kandi, ku buryo bw'ibanze kandi bwumvikana, abaregwa bose urukiko mpuzamahanga rutashoboraga gucira imanza cyangwa gufata mbere y'uko rufungwa. Kuva mu myaka myinshi, inzira zitabarika zo kohereza muRwanda abaregwa zari mu turegeka mu Buhorandi, mu Bwongereza, muBufaransa, muri Nuvere – Zerande, muri Kanada, mu Busuwisi cyangwa muri Suwedi, bitewe n'ibibazo bitoroshye byerekeranye n'ubushobozi bw'ubucamanza bwo muRwanda bwo kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'abaregwa no kubacira imanza mu buryo bukwiye. Kuva igihano cyo kunyonga cyavanwa ho muRwanda mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 2007, inzitizi y'ingenzi yo mu rwego rw'amategeko yabuzaga kohereza abaregwa muRwanda yavuye ho, ariko ibihugu byose byategereje ko urukiko rwa TPIR rufata iya mbere rukagira uwo

rwohereza, mbere y'uko na byo byirukana kandi bigasubiza muRwanda abafite amadosiye amaze igihe atendetse. Mu by'ukuri byahitaga mo kutaburanisha cyangwa kutongera kuburanishiriza imanza zibihenda ku butaka bwabyo, ariko cyane cyane byizeraga kurangiza burundu « amadosiye y'uRwanda ». Koko rero, byabonaga ko, rutitaye ku bisubizo rwahawe ku bibazo byarwo byerekeye ubucamanza no kurwanya ubudahanwa, uRwanda rutahoshaga kubyotsa igitutu, kandi rukitwaza abo bakurikiranwa kugira ngo rujyane mu bindi bihugu amakimbirane yarwo ubwarwo, no kugira ngo kandi rwihimure ku bihumbi mirongo ingahe by'abatavuga rumwe na rwo n'impunzi za kera n'iza vuba zinyanyagiye hirya no hino ku isi. Ubundi kandi, uRwanda rwamye rusaba ko abakatiwe n'urukiko rwa TPIR boherezwa kurangiriza ibihano byabo muRwanda. Kugeza ku itariki ya 4 Werurwe 2008, ibihugu bya Mali, uButariyani, Bénin, Swazirandi, uBufaransa na Suwedi byari byarasinyanye n'urukiko rwa TPIR amasezerano yerekeye iby'irangizagihano. Abaregwa bose bari barakatiwe burundu bakoreraga igihano cyabo muri Mali. Kuva icyo gihe rero ni bwo urukiko rwa TPIR rwasinyanye amasezerano na guverinoma y'uRwanda, amasezerano yongera kwemeza ko abakatiwe n'urukiko rwa TPIR bagenewe koherezwa mu magereza yo muRwanda. Ayo masezerano ntiyatumye impaka zihagarara. Icyemezo cy'uko uwakatiwe arangiriza igihano cye muRwanda kigomba gufatwa na perezida w'urukiko. Kugeza uyu munsi nta wakatiwe n'umwe wari woherezwa. Muri uko kwezi kandi, atanabanje kumva icyo ingereko zibivuga ho, umushinjacyaha yemeye kohererereza abategetsi b'uRwanda amadosiye ya FPR/Inkotanyi yari yakorewe anketi n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Icyo cyemezo cyabyukije ubwumvikane buke bwagaragaye hagati y'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha, ku ruhande rumwe, n'umuryango uharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu, Human Rights Watch, n'abatangabuhamya benshi b'inzobere bari bagize uruhare mu gukora ayo madosiye kugeza ubwo, ku rundi ruhande.

Ikibazo cya nyuma cyari icyo kohereza muRwanda amadosiye n'abaregwa bafunzwe ariko bataracirwa urubanza n'urukiko rwa TPIR, kandi uRwanda rukaba rubisaba na byo. Icyo kibazo cyakuruye impaka zikarishye cyane ku itariki ya 24 Mata 2008, mu gihe abacamanza babazaga abahagarariye guverinoma n'ishyirahamwe ry'abunganizi bo

muRwanda, ndetse n'izindi mpande zirebwa n'icyo kibazo, kugira ngo bemeze niba uregwa wa mbere umushinjacyaha yateganyaga kohereza muRwanda azashobora kuhaburanishirizwa urubanza ruboneye. Iryo suzuma ry'ibyangombwa ubucamanza bugomba kuzuza no ku buryo bwaguye, iry'ikibariro cya poritiki n'ubucamanza by'uRwanda ryabyukije impaka zikaze hagati y'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha bishyigikiwe n'abategetsi b'uRwanda kimwe n'ishyirahamwe ry'abunganizi bo muRwanda, ku ruhande rumwe, n'imiryango n'amashyirahamwe byari byifuje kugira icyo « bitazurira » urukiko kuri iyo ngingo, ku rundi ruhande (*Reba umugereka 131*). Mu mezi yakurikiye ho, ibyemezo bitanu bihakana byafashwe n'ingereko zari zasabwe kugira icyo zivuga kuri uko gusaba ko abaregwa boherezwa muRwanda byerekanye ko abacamanza batari banyuzwe n'ingingo zatanzwe n'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha. Ibyo byemezo bihakana byaje gushimangirwa n'urugereko rw'ubujurire rw'i La Haye. Abategetsi b'uRwanda n'umushinjacyaha bagaruye icyo kibazo mu mpera z'uwo mwaka, batanga icyizere cy'uko bazanonosora amategeko bakurikije ingingo zari zagaragaye ho ikinegu.

Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2009, n'ubwo abategetsi b'uRwanda n'umushinjacyaha botsaga igitutu za ambasade kandi bakaba bari bashyigikiwe n'abagize Inama ishinzwe umutekano hafi ya bose ku kibazo ko kohereza abaregwa muRwanda, nta mwanzuro wari wakaboneka ngo ushyikirizwe abacamanza na none[703]. Iyindi ntego, na yo y'ikimenyetso kandi yakururaga amakimbirane ni iyerekeranye n'uko abategetsi b'uRwanda bari barasabye gusigirwa ikigega cy'imfatiro n'imyandiko by'urukiko rwa TPIR. Kubibemerera bivuga ko bari kumenya amakuru yose ahunitse mu kigega cyarwo, hari mo n'ay'ibanga rikomeye, bityo rukaba rutaranze abaranguruzi barwo n'abatangabuhamya batari bashatse ko amazina yabo amenyekana. Ibyo kandi rukabigirira uruhande rumwe mu zo manda y'urukiko yabariraga mu bashyamiranye kandi rukabakeka kugira uruhare mu bicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye

[703]*Ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe 2009, Umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ushinzwe iby'amategeko, Patricia O'Brien, ntiyajijinganyije gutanga umusanzu we muri icyo gitsure yemeza, mu gihe yari mu ruzinduko i Kigali, ko kohereza muRwanda abaregwa jenoside ari « icyemezo gituruka ku Nama ishinzwe umutekano n'abacamanza b'urukiko rwa TPIR ».*

inyokomuntu. Uko kwigereza ho gukomeye kwari kwihishe n'inyuma y'amadosiye ashinja yakorewe uruhande rwatsinze. Guseta ibirenge no kujijita by'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha mu gukurikirana abanyamuryango ba FPR/Inkotanyi bakekwa ho ibicumuro by'intambara cyangwa ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu byabaye inzitizi ikomeye yabangamiye ikusanya ry'ubuhamya bushinja.

None se umuntu yakwihangisha ho ate gukomeza ibanga ry'amazina y'abagabo n'abaranguruzi akanabizeza kubarinda – cyane cyane niba bari muRwanda - , akishingira umutekano bwite n'uwo mu kazi w'abakozi b'Urukiko bagize uruhare mu gukorera amadosiye abayobozi ba gisiviri n'aba gisirikari ba FPR/Inkotanyi niba, byatinda byatebuka, amaherezo abo bayobozi bazasigirwa iby'ikurikiranwa n'amadosiye byabo ?Ku buryo bushamikiye kuri iki kibazo, ni nde watekereza rwose ko garanti zo kurindwa, gukomeza kwitabwa ho, kugera mu bucamanza no gushobora kujurira Umuryango w'Abibumbye uvuga ko ufite uzazubahiriza ku buryo butari mo ububogame nk'ubwo wagaragaje mu madosiye y'uRwanda wasuzumye kugeza uyu munsi ?

Abakozi bose n'abagabo bazi ko kuva urukiko rwa TPIR rwaremwa, nta kintu na kimwe mu birubera mo gisoba serivisi z'iperereza z'uRwanda : abahabwa imyanya, amadosiye, igenzacyaha, ingendo, imfatiro zo mu kigega cy'amakuru, yewe n'ibyo ingereko ziba zategetse ko bikorerwa mu muhezo[704] ! Umuntu rero ashobora gutekereza ko ibyo guharana ku mahame biguma gusa ku rwego rw'ihange n'ikimenyetso. Nyamara, ingero zitabarirka zatanze umugabo w'uko ikibazo cy'ingaruka zo kubahiriza cyangwa se kurenga kuri ayo mahame kitari mu rwego rw'ibigambo gusa. Reka ntange urugero rugaragaza imikorere y'iyo mashini yica ukuri – rimwe na rimwe ku buryo nyabwo - : muri Gashyantare 2002, mu itegura ry'imanza « zikomeye » z' abayobozi ba gisirikari n'abanyaporitiki bagize uruhare muri jenoside, abantu cumi n'umwe bo mu basirikari

[704]*Twibuke amagambo umushinjacyaha Louise Arbour yabwiye umunyamakuru w'Umunyakanada Caroll Off : « Guverinoma y'uRwanda yasomaga amabaruwa yanjye. Yari izi ibyo nakoraga. Kubera ibyo, iyo nabaga nohereje umuntu gukora anketi kuri FPR/Inkotanyi, yashoboraga guhotorwa. Sinabikoze » (Caroll OFF, The Lion, the Fox and the Eagle*,[*Intare, Nyiramuhari na Sakabaka], Random House Canada, 2000.)*

bakuru bo mu rwego rwo hejuru na ba minisitiri b'Ingabo b'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga gusenya ingingo abaregwa jenoside bitwazaga mu guhakana kwabo, bemeye gufatanya n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Bose bari mu bantu, mbere ya jenoside, bari bitandukanyije n'abahezanguni b'impande zombi kandi barageragеje, batitaye ku buzima bwabo, guhagarika agatereranzamba k'urupfu. Nuko rero, bakimara gushyirwa ku itonde, abagabo bari muri ako gatsinda, urukiko rwa TPIR rwagombaga kwishingira ko batazamenyekana, bibasiwe n'ibitero binyurana mo. Umwe bavuze ko « akekwa akaba ari mo gukorerwa anketi », igihe yari agiye bwa mbere na mbere Arusha, ku itariki ya 25 Werurwe 2002. Undi yararezwe afatirwa mu Bubirigi ku itariki ya 15 Gicurasi bisabwe n'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha (nyuma, nk'uko twabibonye, arekurwa ku itariki ya 18 Kanama ubwo umushinjacyaha yagombye kwemera ko « gihamya » zatanzwe zitari zifite epfo na ruguru). Abandi babiri bahuye n'ingorane zinyuranye, ibitotezo byo mu bucamanza n'ibikangisho bya buriho byo gukurikiranwa mu bihugu byabakiriye. Abanyuma, bari muRwanda, batakaje akazi kabo, kandi bagahora ku bikangisho by'ubutitsa bigamije guhana ubwitange bwabo bwari buzwi gusa, ku bw'ihange, n'Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha gusa… Mu gihe bamugeraga amajanja kumufata, Jenerari wahoze ari minisitiri n'umukoroneri bagombye gutoroka igihugu ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe 2003. Liyetona – Koroneri, wari visiperezida w'Urukiko rw'ikirenga, yashimuswe ku itariki ya 23 Mata muri uwo mwaka n'abakozi ba serivisi z'iperereza rya gisirikari n'igiporisi(DMI), ajyanwa mu kigo cy'i Kami i Kigali none ntiyigeze yongera kuboneka[705]. Undi musirikari mukuru – wari waremewe na bose ko yagize ubutwari bwo kurwanya jenoside i Butare, akaba yarabaye n'umusirikari mukuru wa mbere wo mu Ngabo z'uRwanda wakiriwe mu Ngabo za FPR/Inkotanyi muri Kanama 1994 - yafunzwe ku itariki ya 9 Gashyantare 2004, bashingiye ku buhamya bw'abashinja bavuye mu mfungwa yari yarasabiye ubwe ko bakurikiranwa ! Mu myaka ibiri, hataragira n'umwe mu barigize utanga ubuhamya Arusha, iryo tsinda ryari ryashanyagujwe.

FPR/Inkotanyi ntiyashakaga ko abo basirikari bakuru, bakomotse mu Ngabo zatsinzwe

[705]*Reba Agustin CYIZA, Un Homme libre uRwanda [umuntu urangwa n'ubwisanzure muRwanda], Karthala, Paris, 2004, p. 209 n'ibikurikira, n'umugereka 132.*

yasangaga igomba guharabika, batanga ubuhamya mu rukiko rwa Arusha ku bicumuro bya jenoside, kuko yatinyaga, kandi wenda byari gushoboka, ko nyuma bazashyira ahabona n'urugomo rw'intera yo hejuru rwakozwe n'umuryango wahoze ari inyeshyamba. Izi ngero zirerekana ikintu cyavuzwe ho bike cyane : ubufatanye buterana hejuru bwaje kuvuka, amaherezo, hagati n'abategetsi b'uRwanda n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1990, ibyo FPR/Inkotanyi yashoboraga kubona yifashishije intwaro yabigeze ho : kwigarurira ubutegetsi, gushyigikirwa n'amahanga, kubona umwanya wiyubashye mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa poritiki mu karere. Hiyongeye ho, nk'icyiru cy'uko umuryango mpuzamahanga witwaye nabi muri jenoside yo mu mwaka wa 1994, imfashanyo z'amafaranga na tekiniki z'ubutumbanya butigeze buba ho, na garanti y'ubudahanwa ibumbatira ibikorwa by'intambara byose, haba imbere mu gihugu haba no mu karere, kugeza n'icyo gukomeza gufatira uburasirazuba bwa Repuburika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo.

Kuri iyo ngingo, urukiko rwa TPIR, kimwe n'izindi nzego mpuzamahanga zagize icyo zivuga ku mizi n'umuhamuro by'amakuba yagwiriye uRwanda, rwarangije inshingano rwari rutezwe ho mu ngeri y'ibikorwa byarwo, izo nshingano zikaba zari ukubakira imyumvire y'iyo ntambara ku ruhande rwayo rwakabije kuba mo amahano kandi rwajyanye n'irangiza ryayo : jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi b'abasiviri.

Ikatirwa rya Bagosora : imbibi z'igorekamateka

Abacamanza b'urukiko rwa TPIR icyakora bashoboye gushyira urubibi ku igorekamateka ry'igipande cyatsinze. Muri urwo rwego, ikatirwa rya Bagosora, ryasomwe ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2008[706], rishobora gufatwa nk'aho ari ryo rikomeye cyane mu mu manza z'urwo rukiko mpuzamahanga. Iryo katirwa ryagaragaje, mu mbata yari yashyizwe ho na parike, ingingo fatizo zitari nkeya kandi zinonosoye cyane, kandi

[706]*Reba mu mugereka 133 incamake y'imikirize y'urwo rubanza yatangajwe n'urugereko rwa 1 rwa TPIR. Kubona umwandiko warwo wuzuye, ni ukureba Urugereko rwa 1 ruburanisha, dosiye nº ICTR-98-41-T, Bagosora, Imikirize y'urubanza n'ikatirwa, op. cit., TPIR, 18 Ukuboza 2008*.

nyinshi muri zo ari umwimererei. N'ubwo imikirize y'urwo rubanza, rukiri mu bujurire, itavanye ho iteranamagambo ribogamye[707], ifite akarusho kanini cyane ko kwatura ibyo abacamanza bo mu rugereko rwa 1 rwa TPIR, nyuma y'imyaka y'urubanza n'amezi yo kuruca, basanze ko, ku bwabo, ari ko kuri kuvuye mu bucamanza, bamaze gusuzuma ingingo bamenyeshejwe n'impande zose. Kuba ryarahinduwe impamo gikwira bitewe n'uruvangitirane rw'ibintu byabaye, ibikorwa cyangwa amatangazo bitabarika – byagiye byitabazwa ku buryo budahuga mu birego by'urukiko rwa Arusha bigafatwa nk'aho ari byo kamara mu by'amategeko -, bikajya kandi bishyigikirana mu guhuriza ku isura ya satani yomekwaga kuri Bagosora (bitaga « umucurabwenge »), ihange ry'uko jenoside yateguwe ryagiye rihinduka mo, uko imyaka itashye, ryabaye akarorero nk'ako mu migani[708]. Kuva ubwo rero, ryabaye nk'umurongo ntarengwa, hirya yawo hagatangirira « ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside » - ari yo ntandaro yo guhakana no gupfobya jenoside -, abategetsi b'i Kigali bahinduye igicumuro. Ikindi kandi, ku bw'abategtsi, kutemera ko jenoside « yateguwe » ni kimwe no kwemera ihame ry' « uburakari bwa rubanda » nk'impamvu y'ubukana n'ubuhonyozi burenze urugero by'itsembatsemba ryo mu mwaka wa 1994. Ibyo byaba ari ukujya ku ruhande rw'abavuga ko igico cyibasiye indege ya perezida n'umujinya cyakongeje ari zo mpamvu zonyine z'amahano yabaye. Mu yandi magambo, byaba ari ukwemera ko jenoside ari ikintu cyatombokeye aho, ubwo rero

[707] *Umuvugizi wa FPR/Inkotanyi yatangaje amagambo ari mo umunya : « Oya, umucamanza wa Arusha ntiyumva ibishandikwa, ntiyumva ibitegurwa, kabone n'iyo bivugwa mu ijwi riranguruye, kandi ntiyemera ibiri mo gupangwa ! Ibyo birasa n'ibisekeje ; biributsa ariko nibura ibintu bibiri : icya mbere ni uko Abanyarwanda, ndetse n'abanyuze mu masomero, batandika iteka ryose ibyo bateganya gukora ; ikindi, birerekana ukuntu ari ibyago kuba urukiko rwa TPIR rwarahariwe gusa abacamanza bazi gake cyane cyangwa batazi na mba kuRwanda. Abacamanza bahangikwa ku buryo bworoshye n'uruco rw'abashakashatsi bibera mu masaro… » (Seriviriyani SEBASONI, « Bagosora cyangwa urucambwe rw'ubudahanwa », Mutarama 2009, ibi biri ku rubuga rwa FPR/Inkotanyi www. rpfinkotanyi.org/).*

[708] *« Urwibuko rw'ibitambo bya jenoside yo muRwanda rugenerwa igihe kigufi cyo hagati y'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 n'iya 31 Ukuboza 1994, kandi nyamara amateka ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi arambambuye mu myaka y'ibinyacumi byinshi, kuko ari ngombwa kuyahera mu mizi yayo, niba dushaka gutahura neza impamvu zayo », KOMISIYO IDASANZWE YA SENA, Ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside muRwanda n'ingamba zo kurirandura, Kigali, 4 Gashyantare 2009, p. 152.*

ukaba ugize « ibyiyumviro by'irondakoko nk'iby'ababona ko irimbura ry'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi ryabaye icyiciro mu ntambara y'amoko imaze ibinyejana byinshi, indi yiyongereye ku zayogoje umusi wa Afurika[709]. » Muri urwo runyiriri, imikirize y'urubanza rwa Bagosora yaba mu by'ukuri ari « inkurikizi ziteganyijwe z'igitekerezo cyo guhakana no gucurikanga jenoside : irahakana jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi cyangwa ikayegeka ku Batutsi ubwabo[710] »… Kuba cyaratekerejwe ho cyane kandi kigasasirwa n'ingingo nyinshi, icyemezo cy'abacamanza cyo tukagumisha « ubwumvikane bugambiriye gukora jenoside » mu birego bireba Bagosora gifata intera y'umwihariko. Koko rero, gihamya zatanzwe n'umushinjacyaha mu manza 16 kuri 35 zapfundikiwe kugera mu mwaka wa 2009 hagati kugira ngo zitume abacamanza bemeza ko habaye ho akagambane ko gukora jenoside, icyo gihe na none basanze zidahagije, kandi yari yarazigize inkingi ya mwamba y'ibirego bye muri urwo rubanza rw'akarorero. Urubanza rwa « Bagosora n'abandi » rwagombaga gukatira « umucurabwenge » wa jenoside, n'umushinjacyaha ntiyajijinganyije gushyira mu bisobanuro bye amarenga akomoza ku mitunganyirize y'igico cyibasiye indege ya perezida, cyasaga nk'aho, amaherezo, ari cyo cyari ikimenyetso cyambere cy' « akagambane » ko gukora jenoside. Reka nsubire kuri zimwe mu ngingo z'ingenzi z'imikirize y'urubanza rwo ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2008. Iya mbere ni iy'uko igico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata cyavuzwe mo ku buryo butunguranye kandi bw'ikimenyetso, n'ubwo cyahise gitandukanywa rugikubita n'ibisobanuro rusange abacamanza batanze : n'ubwo rwiziritse ku buryo butabonda kuri gihamya zicyerekeye zagiwe ho impaka, urugereko rwabonye ko igico cyahanuye indege ya perezida gifite « ibisobanuro by'insimburantego », ariko ngo ubu nta na kimwe muri byo kibuza abacamanza gushidikanya.

> « 10. […] Amakipi amwe na yo yatanze ibisobanuro bitari bike byashobora kugaragaza uko ibintu byagenze. Imwe muri yo irashingira ku ihame ry'uko ari

[709] *Seriviriyani SEBASONI, « Bagosora cyangwa urucambwe rw'ubudahanwa », loc. cit.*
[710] *Ibid .*

FPR/Inkotanyi yaba yarahanuye indege ya perezida Yuvenari Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata, akaba ari icyo gikorwa cyiyongera ku bindi cyaba cyarabaye imbarutso y'itsembatsemba rivumbutse rityo[711]. »

Ingingo ya kabiri yerekeranye n'uko abacamanza batemera ko icyitwa « umucurabwenge » wa jenoside yaba yarabaye ho koko. Imikirize y'urubanza yerekana neza uruhare bwite rwa Koroneri Bagosora mu bwicanyi bwakorewe abanyaporitiki, mu gutangiza itsembatsemba no mu gukora jenoside, ariko na none ikagaragaza neza impamvu itemera ihame ry'ubwumvikane hagati y'abakoze jenoside n'abateguye gahunda y'ibikorwa byo kuyirangiza. Bityo, urugereko rurasanga ubwicanyi bwakorewe abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma butinjira byanze bikunze mu « bugambanyi bwo gukora jenoside », kandi bukaba bushobora guturuka ku makimbirane ya poritiki agamije gufata ubutegetsi, cyangwa se ku byemezo byafashwe kubera ko intambara na FPR/Inkotanyi yari yubuye[712]. Mu ikatwa ry'urubanza, abacamanza baha umwanya ugaragara ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma, ndetse n' « Abahutu bashyira mu gaciro » bahigwaga n'abicanyi intambara igitangira[713].

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[711] *Umushinjacyaha vs Tewonesiti Bagosora n'abandi, dosiye nº ICTR-98-41-T, Incamake y'imikirize y'urubanza, op.cit., 18 Ukuboza 2008, p. 3.*

[712] *« 17. Urugereko rwemera nta shiti ko ibikorwa bimwe bishobora gusobanurwa nk'aho bihamya imibereho y'umugambi wo gukora jenoside, ku buryo bwihariye iyo urebye ukuntu ubwicanyi butoranya bwakozwe vuba cyane indege ya perezida igihanurwa. Urugereko rurerekana kandi ko no muri gihamya zatanzwe, biboneka ko hari imyiteguro yari yakozwe mu rwego rwo kurwanira ubutegetsi bwa poritiki cyangwa ubwa gisirikari, ko amabwiriza yari yatanzwe mi kibariro cy'intambara irwana na FPR/Inkotanyi yashyizwe mu bikorwa bifite indi migambi guhera ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 » (Incamake y'imikirize y'urubanza, op. cit., p. 4).*

[713] *Nko mu zindi ntambara nyinshi, kwibanda ku bagize uruhare mu rugomo cyane no ku bahezanguni muri rusange byatumye ba ambasaderi n'abahuza banyuranye birengagiza abashyira mu gaciro bari muri guverinoma, abanyamuryango b'amashyirahamwe ya gisiviri baba barashoboye guhindura icyerekezo ibintu byajyaga mo, nuko kubera ibyo bumva batereranywe kandi bafite imbaraga nke. Ku bireba uRwanda, umuntu yatekereza yuko mu minsi ya mbere ya Mata, iyo abanyaporitiki bari bitandukanyije n'ibikundi bishingiye ku moko bajya guhabwa inkunga itazuyaza na za ambasade z'ibihugu bikomeye, n'ingabo z'amahanga zari zahurujwe ndetse n'abasirikari ba Loni, baba baragize igitinyiro gihagije kugira ngo basabe guhagarika itsembatsemba, kuyugiriza imitwe y'urubyiruko no kongera kugenzura imitwe y'abasirikari bari bigometse, babifashijwe mo n'Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo*

Muri iyo minsi mike, Tewonesiti Bagosora yaba yaritwaye koko, ku ruhande rumwe, nk'umuyobozi ufite umwete w'ibikorwa « byagombaga kurangizwa » kugira ngo abungabunge inyungu rusange z'abo mu Kazu n'iz'ibikomerezwa byo ku Gisenyi zari zigiye guhungabanywa n'igitero gitunguranye, hanyuma ku rundi ruhande, nk'umunyaporitiki usunikwa n'irari rye bwite ridakumirwa, akaba yaragombaga gukina abantu bose kugira ngo asimbure uwari waramutsikamiye imyaka makumyabiri yose kandi ngo amaherezo agere ku ipeti risumba yose rya Jenerari – Majoro. Koko rero, nk'uko twabibonye, ibyemezo by'ingenzi byo mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata na bukeye bwaho byafashwe na Agata Habyarimana ubwe cyangwa se amaze kubyumvikana ho n'abo mu muryango mugari, « urebye ububasha yari afite mu masaha

yakurikiye igico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994[714]». Kuba Bagosora yarageragеje gufata ako kanya ibyimbo byatuma agera ku butegetsi ni ikintu cyumvikana, ariko ntiyashoboraga , uko ibintu byari bimeze icyo gihe, « kutizirika» ku mabwiriza n'ibyifuzo by'umuryango wa perezida. Si na we umuyobozi w'Umutwe urinda perezida yagishije inama mbere yo gufata icyemezo cyo «guhora» no gutsembatsemba byakozwe n'abakomando yategekaga n'imitwe y'urubyiruko.

Iteka ryose, Umutwe urinda perezida wari « igikingi bwite » cy'umuryango wa perezida Habyarimana ku birebana no gutoranya abawujya mo n'imicungire yawo. Kuko wagenderaga ku mategeko ataziguye y'uwo muryango kandi mu buryo bwa tekiniki ukayoborwa na Koroneri Eli Sagatwa, muramu wa perezida n'umukuru wa etamajoro ye utagaragara, Umutwe urinda perezida wagengwaga na etamajoro yabugenewe ku buryo bw'icyitiriro gusa. Ku itariki ya 6 Mata nimugoroba, abantu babiri gusa ni bo bashoboraga kuwuha amategeko, ni Agata Kanziga na Porotazi Zigiranyirazo. Ikindi kandi, kuba *Interahamwe* zaragiye mu myanya ako kanya zigafatanya n'Umutwe urinda perezida , nk'uko abakurikiraniraga ibintu hafi babibonye, ntibyarebaga *Interahamwe* zo muri Kigali muri rusange, ahubwo byarebaga ku buryo bwihariye amatsinda y'i

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z'uRwanda.

[714]*Reba umugereka 54.*

Kanombe n'i Remera yari agizwe n'abarezerivisite bahoze mu Mutwe urinda perezida[715]. Ikibazo cyo kugenzura Umutwe urinda perezida no guhagarika itsembatsemba nticyashoboraga gukemurwa na etamajoro cyangwa Ubuyobozi bukuru by'Ingabo badahawe uburenganzira na Agata Kanziga cyangwa Porotazi Zigiranyirazo, uburenganzira banze gutanga mbere y'uko bava i Kigali, umwe ku itariki ya 9 Mata (agana i Paris), undi ku itariki ya 10 Mata (ajya ku Gisenyi). Kuva kuri ayo matariki, mu gihe ibya ngombwa byose by'inzibacyuho irengera inyungu n'irari byabo byari bimaze gushyirwa ho, Tewonesiti Bagosora, kimwe na Yozefu Nzirorera, bari bageze aho guhangana n'urwo bandikiwe.

Ingingo ya gatatu yerekeye gihamya zishyigikira ko habaye ho akagambane nyakuri n'umugambi byo gukora jenoside. Iki gice cy'imikirize y'urubanza, mu by'ukuri, ni kimwe mu by'umwimereri uhageze kandi bitsitse amakuru[716], kandi kigasubiza ku bicumuro byose byarondowe mu rwandiko rw'ikirego, ni ukuvuga, kuba umwe mu bari bagize komisiyo yo mu mwaka wa 1991yasobanuye « umwanzi » uwo ari we (*Reba umugereka 7*), ibikorwa byo gutegura abarwanyi byajyanye no kwigisha imyitozo ya gisirikari, gutanga intwaro no kuzihunika, gushyira urunyiriri mu mitwe y'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka anyuranye, gukora amarisiti, by'umwihariko i Kigali, ubuhamya butabarika bwavugaga ibizaba, nk'ingirwabaruwa (idasinye)yo ku itariki ya 3 Ukuboza 1993 y' « abasirikari bakuru bashyira mu gaciro », n'ibyahishuwe n'icyamamare « Jean-Pierre » ku itariki ya 10, ya 11 cyangwa iya 12 Gashyantare 1994…

Icyo gice cy'imikirize y'urubanza kirasuzuma, ubwa mbere mu mateka y'urukiko rwa TPIR, ku buryo bunonosoye kandi buturutse ruhande, ingingo na gihamya zose bari baramenyereye gutanga bashyigikira ihame ry' « itegura » rya jenoside. Bamaze

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[715] *Ku itariki ya 7, ariko cyane cyane ku itariki ya 8 ni bwo « komite y'imbangikane » y'Interahamwe yakoranyije kandi ishyira kuri gahunda andi matsinda y'urubyiruko ifatanyije n'abasirikari bo mu Ngabo bari bakomeje kumvira amategeko bahabwaga n'abasirikari bakuru biziritse ku gatsiko ka perezida, hanyuma, kuva aho Guverinoma y'ubusigire igendeye, ni bwo habaye ubwibumbe na komite y' « umujyi » yari iyobowe na perefe Renzaho na Tewonesiti Bagosora.*

[716] *Urugereko rwa 1 ruburanisha, dosiye nº ICTR-98-41-T, Bagosora, Imikirize y'urubanza n'ikatirwa, op. cit., umutwe wa III, 2 « Ibirego byerekeye icuramugambi n'itegurwa rya jenoside », p. 45-159.*

gucukumbura imiburanishirize miremire kandi ivuguruzanya yanditswe ku mpapuro ibihumbi n'ibihumbi – mu miburanire yabo, abenshi mu batanze ibyo birego bageze aho bemera ko ingingo zabo zijegajega, ko abaranguruzi babo badashobora kwizerwa, kandi ko bagoronzoye nkana ku buryo bugaragara inkuru z'uko ibintu byagenze – abacamanza basanze ibyinshi mu birego bigenda bihindagurika cyangwa bidafite ishingiro ; kandi rero igice kiri mo ingingo zirusha izindi gukomera cyerekeye imitwe y'urubyiruko na gahunda yo kwirwana ho kw'abaturage[717]. Ku buryo bwimbitse mu mizi, abacamanza bahakanye ku mugaragaro ibikorwa bisasira n'ingirwahame zishyigikira igitekerezo gishingira « imitegurire » ya jenoside yo muRwanda ku mupango ukopora jenoside y'Abayahudi mu Budage bw'Abanazi. Nta gihamya n'imwe y'akagambane ko gucumura yigeze yemerwa, nta n'umuntu n'umwe mu bakekwaga kuba mu gaco k'ubugambanyi wigeze acemerwa, kandi nyamara abacamanza, ku buryo buvuguruza imvugo z'abagize Ibiro by'umushinjacyaha, batarigeze bazuyaza gusubira kure cyane mbere y'itariki ya 1 Mutarama 1994 bashakisha gihamya z'ako kagambane kaba karabaye ho[718] :

« 16. Inyinshi mu ngingo z'ishingiro z'igitekerezo cy'umushinjacyaha ku bwumvikane ntizashyigikiwe n'ubuhamya bushobora kwizerwa ku buryo buhagije. Nk'ingero, umuntu yavuga ikirego kigerageza kwemeza ko Bagosora yateguraga « Umunsi w'imperuka » mu mwaka wa 1992[719] n'uruhare abaregwa baba baragize mu mashyirahamwe y'ubugizi bwa nabi akorera mu bwihisho nk'AMASASU, Urushamikirane zeru cyangwa se uduco twa nyirarupfu. Ubuhamya ku nama yaba yarakorewe i Butare muri Gashyantare 1994 Bagosora na Nsengiyumva bakayitegurira mo itonde ry'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa basanze butagirirwa icyizere. Urugereko

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[717] *Ibid., reba igika 2.6. « Kurema, gutoza no guha intwaro imitwe y'abasiviri ».*

[718] *Kugira ngo asobanure ingorane zo kugaragaza intangamugabo y' « ubwumvikane », umushinjacyaha ahora yitabaza ingingo y'uko ububasha bwe bwagenewe urubibi rw'igihe kigufi cyane (umwaka wa 1994), urukiko rwahawe n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano, rukarubuza gushakira ibirego kure cyane, agasobanura kandi ko abacamanza bahigika ibirego kubera imyumvire ifunganye y'ayo mananiza.*

[719] *Igitekerezo cy'umushinjacyaha, gishingiye ku mugabo umwe, wahoze ari umuyobozi muri FPR/Inkotanyi, ngo yavuye mu ntumwa za guverinoma y'uRwanda zari ziyobowe na minisitiri wo muri MDR Bonifasi Ngurinzira mu mishyikirano ya Arusha mu Kwakira 1992 ari ukugira ngo yamagane ibintu birenze urugero zari zemereye FPR/Inkotanyi nuko avuga ko asubiye i Kigali « gutegura Umunsi w'imperuka ». Nyamara kuri iyo tariki yari*

rwageze ku mwanzuro umwe ku byerekeye imbwirwaruhame Kabirigi ngo yaba yaratanze kuri jenoside muri Gashyantare 1994 mu Ruhengeri. Ku mpande zimwe zabyo, ibaruwa idasinye yavugaga ko hari ho « umugambi wa Sekibi », n'amakuru yatanzwe na Jean-Pierre bigomba kugirirwa inziganyo[720]. »

Muri za rusanze zabo, abacamanza ntibahakana ko jenoside yashoboraga guteganywa, cyangwa se ko hari ho ibimenyetso by'integuza, nk'urugero, imvugo zuzuye mo urwango na poropagande byajyanye n'iremwa ry'amatsinda no kuyaha intwaro – ibikorwa byari ibicumuro (gutanga intwaro, ubuhisho bw'intwaro, ubuhotozi, nb.) kandi bigakorwa n'abantu ku giti cyabo, n'amatsinda y'abantu, ndetse n'abari bafite ubutegetsi bwa rubanda[721] - , ariko mu gusoza ibisobanuro birebire by'izo ntangamugabo n'ingingo zijyanye na byo, urugereko rwafashe umwanzuro, kimwe n'uko izindi zari zabigenje mbere yarwo, w'uko ikirego cy'ubwumvikane bugamije gukora jenoside kidafite gihamya simusiga « yo hirya y'ubushidikanye bwose bwumvikana ». Urebye urwego rw'abaregwa, kuva ubwo umuntu ashobora gutekereza yuko kuba abacamanza baranze kwemera « umugambi wo gukoresha izo ngufu kugira ngo bakore jenoside », kandi cyane cyane ko ubwumvikane bwabaye mbere yayo bitagishobora gutuma haguma ho imishandikire y'amategeko na gihamya zo mu magambo byasasiye icyo gitekerezo cyari cyaremewe n'inyinshi mu ngeri z'itangazamakuru n'amashyirahamwe menshi aharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu[722]. Kuba abacamanza baranyuze kure cyane y'inzira zisanzwe yo gufata ibyemezo bishimangira ko kuva ubu ibyiyumvo bigomba gutandukanywa

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atarashyirwa mu ntumwa zajyaga Arusha. Ahubwo, yavuye Arusha ku itariki ya 26 Ukuboza, ahamagawe na perezida Habyarimana, n'ubwo minisitiri wari uyoboye intumwa za guverinoma atabishakaga rwose.

[720]*Incamake y'imikirize y'urubanza, op. cit., p. 4. Ku gika cya nyuma cyerekeye umuranguruzi «Yohani – Petero», ni ukureba imigereka 16 na17 ikubiye mo intangamugabo zinyuranye z'iyo ngingo y'ingenzi y'ikirego ibisubizo urugereko rwa 1 rwahawe naJenerari Dallaire mu rubanza rwa Bagosora (cyane cyane mu ibazwa ryo ku itariki ya 22 Mutarama 2004) byagaragaje ko idafite epfo na ruguru kandi hakaba nta genzura na busa ryakozwe ryakwemeza ukuri kw'ibivugwa mo.*

[721]*Reba inyandiko yo ku itariki ya 20 Ugushyingo 1995 yanditswe na Shaharyar M. KHAN wasimbuye Roméo Dallaire ku buyobozi bwa Minuar, Warning of Genocide to UNAMIR[Integuza ya Jenoside yamenyeshejwe MINUAR] (Reba umugereka 134).*

n'intangamugabo ku buryo gugaragara. Ingingo ya kane yerekeye amibukiro abiri akomeye y'ibyabaye. Abacamanza bongeye kwemeza ku mugaragaro ko jenoside yabaye ho ku buryo budashidikanywa :

> « 7. Birerekanwa n'intangamugabo zatanzwe muri uru rubanza ko jenoside, ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu n'ibicumuro by'intambara byakozwe mu Rwanda nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. Imibabaro yashenguye abantu n'itsembatsemba ryakozwe muri icyo kibariro byari bifite ubutumbanya butagerwa mu mizi. Ibyo bicumuro byari byibasiye cyane cyane Abatutsi b'abasiviri, kimwe n'Abahutu barebwaga nk'abashyigikiye FPR/Inkotanyi yari iyobowe n'Abatutsi cyangwa se nk'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwari ho[723].

Baratsindagira kandi bagira bati

> « 8. Abandi bantu batari Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu bashyira mu gaciro na bo bahuye n'imibabaro mu mwaka wa 1994. Kuburanisha urubanza mpanabyaha ntibituma umuntu aheza umurambi wuzuye w'ibyabaye muRwanda byose, yewe no ku idosiye ifite ubutumbanya nk'ubu. Imbago z'ububasha bw'urugereko zagirijwe n'amategeko y'intangamugabo n'imigenzereze ikaniye rugendera ho, kandi no kuba rutegetswe gukubira imirimo yarwo ku baregwa bane no ku ntangamugabo zihariye rwashyikirijwe muri iyi dosiye[724]. »

Mu kwibutsa « indi mibabaro » itarakorewe anketi kandi ngo hagire abayihanirwa, abacamanza baremera ko hari ho inkuru y'uruhande rumwe ku byabaye, inkuru abashinjacyaha batsindagiye ingereko bagunira ikirari cyazo kuri jenoside yakorewe

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[722]*Reba cyane cyane umwe mu myandiko ya vuba cyane Umuryango uharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH watangaje kuri iyo ngingo : « Jenoside yo muRwanda : uko yateguwe », 7 Mata 2006* .

[723]*Incamake y'imikirize y'urubanza, op. cit., p. 2.*

[724]*Ibid.*

Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi gusa. Ingingo ya nyuma irerekana ubushake budashogosha bwo kwitarura imitanisho ya poritiki ibogamye yuhirwa n'ingirwahame y' « itegurwa ». Bityo, icyemezo cyo guhanagura Garasiyani Kabirigi, wagizwe Jenerari wa burigade ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994, ibicumuro byose yari yageretswe ho, birasobanura ku buryo bugaragara ko, usuzumye gihamya zitangwa n'ubushinjacyaha, kuba umuntu yari mu mwanya wo hejuru mu Ngabo z'uRwanda ubwabyo bitavuga ko yishoye mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi. Imikirize y'urubanza irashimangira ko abagize uruhare mu bicumuro badashobora kubigereka no ku bari mu itsinda ryabo bose :

> « 7. […] Mu bakoze ibyo bicumuro habarirwa mo abasirikari, abajandarume, *Interahamwe* n'indi mitwe y'urubyiruko, kimwe n'abaturage basanzwe. Urugereko rurerekana ariko ko intangamugabo zo muri runo rubanza n'amateko y'uru rukiko bigaragaza ko atari abantu bose bari mu matsinda amaze kuvugwa bakoze ibicumuro[725]. »

Ingabo z'uRwanda ntizari ingabo z'abajenosideri, kimwe n'uko Repuburika ya kabiri ya Yuvenari Habyarimana itari « ingoma y'Abanazi » cyangwa ngo uRwanda rube « igihugu cy'abafashisite guhera mu wa 1959 », nk'uko ubungubu uruhande rwatsinze rushaka kugoreka amateka ya vuba[726].

Koko rero, nk'uko iki gitabo n'ibindi byinshi bibyerekana, nta na rumwe mu nzego zari zigize ubutegetsi bw'uRwanda bwa mbere y'itariki ya 6 Mata rwari rwaracengewe n'umushinga wa jenoside, yaba guverinoma, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Ingabo z'igihugu, Inteko ishinga amategeko, ubutegetsi bwo mu rwego rwa

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[725] *Ibid.*

[726] *Ihame ryogezwa n'abayobozi b'uRwanda bo muri kino gihe, ndetse na perezida Kagame ubwe, ryemeza ko habaye ho ingoma y'igitugu n'irondakoko kuva ubutegetsi bwose bwegurirwa abanyagihugu bashyizwe ho n'amatora igihe cy'ubwigenge. Iryo hame ryunganirwa n'igitekerezo cya kabiri gikomoka ku ihame rya mbere : umugambi wa jenoside ushinze imizi mu iremwa ry'amashyaka y'Abahutu yarwanyaga ubutegetsi no mu ishingwa rya Repuburika. Ubushyamirane n'ubwicanyi bishingiye ku moko byo mu myaka ya 1960 na 1973 byaba byarateguzaga « umuti wa rurangiza » wo mu mwaka wa 1994. Muri icyo cyerekezo, ikibazo cy' « itegurwa » rya jenoside nta gaciro cyaba gifite, kuko amateka ya Repuburika yaba yarabaye gusa urukurikirane rw'ibihe byo guhindura Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi ibitambo.*

perefegitura n'urwa komini, cyangwa se amashyaka akomeye, n'irya MRND riri mo[727].

Ni yo mpamvu, nk'uko twabibonye mbere, agatsiko k'abambari b'Akazu ka perezida bagombye kwica abanyaporitiki b'Abahutu n'ab'Abatutsi baharaniraga demokarasi, n'iyugiriza ry'abantu bose bari bashyigikiye amasezerano ya Arusha, mu gisirikari, mu rwego rw'ubutabera, mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta, mu itangazamakuru, mbere y'uko ibinyabubasha biyogoza igihugu. Intangamugabo igaragara ni iy'icyiciro cyabaye ho cyo kubikumira no gucwedeka cyatumye abanyaporitiki n'abasirikari bakuru b'ababezanguni bagomba kwitabaza ubwabo bwite ibikorwa bitabarika by'ubutiriganya na poropagande kugira ngo bakongeze kandi batize ingufu itsembatsemba, kugeza n'aho, mu gice cya kabiri cy'ukwezi kwa Mata, bakoresheje ingendo za Guverinoma y'ubusigire muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo abenshi mu Batutsi bari batuye mo, kugira ngo bakange kandi bahe ibihano abayobozi b'abasiviri n'ab'abasirikari bari bakomeje kwanga « gukora ». Mbere y'uko bagera ku migambi yabo, abatekereje n'abashyigikiye jenoside bagombye guturuka ruhande basenya inkingi ya mwamba y'urunyiriri mbonezamubano (ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta, ubutabera, mbere na mbere) n'amasano yahuzaga amatsinda ndetse n'abantu ku giti cyabo akaba yari yarahonotse imyaka ine yose yo kurebana ay'ingwe.

TPIR ihindurwa igikoresho cya poritiki

Umuntu ashobora gutekereza mu buryo bushyize mu gaciro ko FPR/Inkotanyi yashyigikiye urukiko rwa TPIR rukiremwa ari ukugira ngo uruhande rwatsinzwe ruteshwe agaciro ku buryo budasubirwa ho, no kugira ngo urukiko nirucyura igihe, izegurirwe ibyo itashoboraga kubonera mu yandi mayira kandi mu gihe gito : ubwemerwe mbonezamico bwazatuma, ku ruhande rumwe, icana burundu n'icyiciro cy'ubucamanza badasanzwe mpuzamahanga (ubucamanza bw'urukiko rwa TPIR buyigenzura, n'Inama ishinzwe umutakano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye iyihoza ho ijisho, no ku rundi ruhande, gusubirana ubwigenge bw'ubucamanza bwayo, ibuguranye, nibura ku rwego rw'intego, guhuza urusobe rw'ubutabera bwayo bwerekeye amasezerano

[727]Iyi ni impine y'imvugo « *ingabo zatsinzwe » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri]*.

yasinye n'amategeko yayo bwite n'ingengo mbonera mpuzamahanga.

Ifungwa ry'urukiko rwa TPIR ryatuma abategetsi b'uRwanda busaba ububasha bwo gucira imanza muRwanda abakekwa bose kugira ngo ibihugu bindi byohereze muRwanda Abanyarwanda bafite icyo baregwa, bityo bakikiza amadosiye yo mu bucamanza ababangamiye. Ku bw'abategetsi, ipaji yaba ihinduwe burundu, maze FPR/Inkotanyi ikitura umutwaro w'ibicumuro byayo bwite. N'ubwo igihe ntarengwa cy'impera z'umwaka wa 2010 cyegereje, iryenge rw'umukinamayobera rirasa n'aho ryagize icyo rigera ho mu rwego rw'ubucamanza, ibintu si ko bimeze mu rwego rw'ubwemerwe mbonezamico. Ihagarikwa rya anketi zireba abanyamuryango ba FPR/Inkotanyi no kudatangaza icyo izakozwe zageze ho, ivanirwaho ryo gukurikiranwa ryemewe n'urusobe rw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ubwumvikane bwabaye hagati y'uRwanda n'ibihugu ibi n'ibi mu rwego rwa diporomasi no mu rw'imigenzereze ntibisibanganya amikekwe kandi ntibikingira ikurikiranwa mu gihe kizaza. Mu ngeri ebyiri nibura, abakurikiraniye ibintu hafi benshi batekerezaga ko gupfukirana ukuri n'ubutabera byazahinduka, amaherezo, amakosa akomeye mu rwego rwa poritiki. Bityo, kuba rutarashatse kwigerereza iyobera ry'igico cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 bikomeje kuba ikimenyetso kidasibangana cy'uko ubwo bucamanza mpuzamahanga bwananiwe kuvuga ikiri ukuri, ariko ikibi kurusha ho, bwananiwe gufungura amayira y'ubwiyunge bw'ibihe biri imbere.

Kuva kera, icyo gikorwa gifite umwanya wihariye mu myandiko ishyira imbere ihange ry'ubugambanyi kandi cyahindutse ingingo y'ingenzi y'abiyemeje kurwanya FPR/Inkotanyi babona ko ari yo yakomye imbarutso y'intambara ikanatuma jenoside iba ho. Ku buryo bushinze imizi, ubutoni bwo kutazigera bahanwa bwahawe, mu rwego rw'amategeko no mu ngiro, abantu bose bo mu bwoko bwatsinze n'ububasha butagira urubibi bwemerewe abareganyi byatumye FPR/Inkotanyi yigira ikinani imbere y'inkiko zose zari zitezwe ho kugaragaza ubutabera, ku buryo « abatsinzwe » - abo mu kinyarwanda baha izina rusange ry' « izatsinzwe[728] »– ubungubu batangiye kuvuga ko

[728]Iyi ni impine y'imvugo *« ingabo zatsinzwe » [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimereri]*.

bagomba kurenganurwa. Igitangaje ni uko ubwo bucamanza bwarwaye urukebu bukareba uruhande rumwe gusa buzatera impande zombi z'abacikacumu n'abaregwa babwinubira. Icyo abantu bashobora gutinya cyane rero, ni uko poritiki zo gusoza imirimo z'ubucamanza bw'inzibacyuho zishobora kugongana n'urwibuko rudashira rw'abaturage babona ko bapfunyikiwe amazi n'abandi baharabitswe ubudahwema bashobora kwanga, kubera impamvu ziri amambu, ko intambara irwanya ubudahanwa yaguranwa « ubumwe » n'umutuzo by'igihugu, kandi bagasaba ko ubucamanza bafitiye icyizere amaherezo bwahabwa ijambo. Ishingiro ry'ibyemezo by'ubucamanza ntirishyirwa ho n'iteka cyangwa ngo bwishyire ho. Rigomba kwemerwa rikanasangirwa n'abahuriye ku rukiko rumwe, aha ni ukuvuga abaturage b'uRwanda n' « ijwi rusange ry'abaturage »[729] mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Mu kibariro kirangwa mo ubwoba n'ihahamuka, n'iteranamagambo rikaze mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urw'igenantekerezo, kwibanda kuri jenoside ntibigaragazwa gusa no guhatira abandi imbata y'ibisobanuro batibona mo, ahubwo bituma mu gicucu cyayo havukira ingeri zihisha mo insanganyamatsiko zititawe ho. Kwambura abantu ukwishyirukizana mu bitekerezo n'imyumvire bituma haba ho icyo umuntu yakwita « isoko rya magendu » ry'ibitekerezo n'imbonezamico (nk'urugero, abahakana jenoside bagahabwa urwego rw' « inshingabirindiro ». Ibyo ntibisobanura ko umurimo wakozwe n'urukiko rwa TPIR wabaye imfabusa, cyangwa se ko ibyo rwageze ho bigerwa ku mashyi. Yego, ibyerekeranye n'ukuri ntibyabonewe imfatiro ziboneye maze ntibyanagaragazwa, ndetse umuntu akaba yatekereza ko bishobora kutazigera bishyirwa ahabona bibaho, na none ku buryo buturutse ruhande. Ariko gucukumbura ku buryo bunonosoye ubuhamya bwose na za anketi byakusanyirijwe mu kigega cy'amakuru byaba bihagije kugira ngo umuntu agere ku mateka ahamye y'intambara yo muRwanda adakase mo kabiri nk'ayo twatsindagiwe intambara irangiye, kandi atabuza ko nyuma abantu b'izindi mpugu bazatsimbura bakayagera mu ngeri. Biragaraga neza ko ari abashinjacyaha ari n'abacamanza batari

[729] *Nibura amashyirahamwe « mbonezamico », nk'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu ivuga mu izina ry'abaturage rusange.*

bake bo mu rukiko rwa TPIR batashatse ko ibicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe n'uruhande rwatsinze byakurikiranwa bikanashyikirizwa inkiko mu gihe kimwe n'ibya jenoside byakozwe n'abatsinzwe. Mu guha umwanya w'ibanze kandi udasangirwa « igicumuro cy'ibicumuro » no guhora bihakanira ikirego cyo kubogama, bashatse ko kwamagana jenoside yakorewe Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi biba umurongo ntarengwa mu rwego mbonezamico n'urwa poritiki abantu bose bagomba kubahiriza.

Mu gukora butyo, ubwo bucamanza bwombi bwaremye icyiciro gishya cy'abanyagihugu, indakoreka zizakomeza kubana amikekwe y'ibicumuro ziregwa. Nyamara ariko, ubutoni bw'ubudahanwa ubucamanza bwombi bwahaye indakoreka ntibuhuje kamere. Ku byerekeye inkiko za gacaca n'ubucamanza bw'igihugu busanzwe, igisobanuro cyabwo kiroroshye : butiriwe bushaka no kubihisha, ubwo bucamanza bwa poritiki bunakirira mu rwego rwabwo imikorere y'igitugu FPR/Inkotanyi yatsindagiye buhoro buhoro mu zindi nzego zose z'igihugu kuva yafata ubutegetsi. Ariko, ubutoni bw'ubudahanwa bwatanzwe n'ubucamanza mpuzamahanga bwaturutse ku myitwarire idahwitse y'abashinjacyaha uko bakurikiranye : kubera ko bamwe basangaga iryo kurikirana ritari mu byihutirwa, kubera ko abandi bahuye n'abarirwanya bakomeye cyane, none guhera ubu, kubera ko intangamugabo zaba zidahagije. Biraboneka ko iya nyuma ari yo mpamvu idateza ingorane ariko kandi ikaba ari na yo idashobora kwemerwa mu mpamvu zose z'urwo rukiko rufite rwose imfatiro n'imyandiko biboneye kandi byuzuye kuri iyo dosiye. Koko rero, kubera inshingano rwahawe, urwo rukiko ni rwo mugenerwamurage, ku buryo ubu cyangwa buriya, w'amadosiye yose yakozwe n'abantu ku giti cyabo, n'amashyirahamwe, n'inzego z'ubucamanza bw'ibihugu zihora zihererekanya amakuru na rwo ku buryo buhora ho. Ariko cyane cyane, urwo rukiko rwashoboye kugera kuri raporo zose amashami y'urusobe rwa Loni yagiye akoresha, hari mo n'izifite agaciro gakomeye, raporo zatabitswe, cyane cyane n'Ishami rishinzwe impunzi n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ahantu hatagerwa kugira ngo bashimishe abategetsi b'i Kigali. « Intambara y'urwibuko » izakomeza rero, kuko umurimo wo gutazura ukuri utarangijwe n'urwego rwonyine rwari rufite manda

n'ububasha byo gucira imanza abakoze ibicumuro byose byabaye muri ubwo bushyamirane.

Abashinjacyaha n'Inama ishinzwe umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ni bo bazirengera, mu bihe biri imbere, ubwishingire bw'ubwo buhone, ariko ubw'abategetsi b'uRwanda ntibushobora kurenzwa ho kubera ibyo. Muri icyo cyerekezo, ibintu byose bituma abantu batekereza ko ubwishingire bw'umushinjacyaha wa nyuma uri ho ubungubu buzaba buremereye cyane, kuko ibinegu birusha ibindi gusharira bishobora kuzaturuka ku bavugizi b' « uruhande rwatsinze », niba ibyo basaba ubu byo « gusigirwa » umurage w'urukiko rwa TPIR bitubahirijwe. Nk'uko byagendekeye abamubanjirije, kandi n'ubwo abategetsi b'i Kigali bakomeje kubatsindagira poritiki yabo y'ikurikirana, « ubudashimira » bwabo bwatangiye kugaragarira mu mvugo yabo yo kunnyega :

« Urukiko rwahindutse urubuga rw'ikinamico y'amategeko », nguko uko minisitiri w'ubutabera w'uRwanda, Tarisisi Karugarama, yatangarije kuri Radiyo Rwanda ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2009, ku munsi wo kongerera urugereko rw'ubujurire rwa TPIR manda yo kuzageza ku itariki ya 31 Ukuboza 2012.

« Ubudashima » no gusiga icyaha ni byo musingi wubakiye ho poritiki y'igihugu mu mibanire yacyo n'ibindi bihugu by'amahanga. Tutagombye kugaruka ku myifatire y'ikirumirahabiri abategetsi b'uRwanda bakomeje kugirira urukiko rwa TPIR, ku ruhande rumwe bavuga ko nta bubasha rufite, mu gihe ku rundi ruhande, barusabaga gukora rukurikije amabwiriza yabo, twibuke ko batigeze binjiza amategeko remezo y'urwo rukiko mu rusobe rw'amategeko y'igihugu, kandi ko ubushake bagaragaje vuba aha bwo kugira uwa Leta umutungo warwo rutazaba rugikoresha mu minsi itaha buri mu ngamba zabo zo kurugira igikoresho cya poritiki. Ingamba z'isozamirimo z'urwo rukiko zatsikiye ku buryarya no kwangira by'abategetsi b'uRwanda byatangiranye n'iremwa ryarwo. Koko rero, irangashingiro ry'amahameremezo y'urukiko rwa TPIR rikomoza ku nshingano yo kongerera imbaraga urusobe rw'ubutabera bwo muRwanda, ku buryo

bubangikanye n'ishyirwa ho rw'urwo rukiko[730]. Ariko amahameremezo yirinze kugira icyo avuga ku buryo urukiko rwa TPIR rwazakorana n'izo muRwanda. Amahameremezo yashoboraga kuba yararwigereje ho ateganya ko ruzaca imanza z'abakekwa bose, agashyira ho n'ingingo zagenderwa ho mu igabanamirimo, ibyongibyo uRwanda rukaba rutashoboraga kubyihanganira. Ni yo mpamvu, mu by'ukuri, urukiko rwa TPIR rwitaye gusa ku bakekwa batabaga muRwanda, kandi insobe z'ubucamanza zombi (ku ruhande rw'uRwanda, inkiko zisanzwe n'itegekongenga ryo mu mwaka wa 1996, hanyuma n'inkiko gacaca) zikaba zarabangikanye, rumwe rwirengagiza ko urundi ruri ho, hatagize n'umwe ugira igitekerezo cy'ubufatanye n'ubwuzuzanye bwashoboraga kuba ho. Nta n'ubwo urwo rwego rwa Loni rwagize igicuro cyo gusuzuma imikorere y'urusobe rw'ubucamanza bw'uRwanda n'uburyo abakekwa bo muRwanda bari bafashwe, bamwe muri bo bakaba batari bafite « ubutoneshwe » bwa Arusha (uburyo bafungiye mo, uburyo bwo kuburana, inzego mbonera z'ibihano) kubera gusa ko batari bashoboye guhunga… Naho ku byerekeye urusange rw'abaregwa bo muRwanda, ni ku buryo buziguye cyane, kandi kubera ibyo uRwanda rwari rukeneye gusa, urukiko rwa TPIR amaherezo rwagize icyo ruhindura ku rusobe rw'ubucamanza bw'uRwanda : kuva haza mo ikibazo cyo kwimurira abaregwa muRwanda, Kigali yavugaga ko yiteguye guhara byose, hari mo no kuvana ho igihano cy'urupfu, ivanwaho ry'igiciro kinini kuRwanda, ariko ryagize umumaro wo gusonera icyo gihano izindi mfungwa zitari Arusha. Ibyo ntawabigereranya n'andi mategeko « adasanzwe » yatowe cyangwa ari mo gutegurwa yerekeye abaregwa n'urukiko rwa TPIR, kimwe n'ibindi bihugu, ruzimurira cyangwa ruzohereza ku ngufu muRwanda. Bityo, urugero rw'amasezerano y'ubufatanye uRwanda rwagiranye n'urukiko rwa TPIR, ateganya irangizagihano ribereye muRwanda, uburyo bwo gufungwa kw'abakatiwe ni kimwe n'ubusanzwe mu gihugu : nko gufungira umunyururu mu bwigunge ubuzima bwe bwose, kandi nyamara abacamanza ba Arusha barasanze icyo gihano kinyuranyije n'uburenganzira bwa muntu. Na « *non bis in idem* » [mu kiratini mu

[730] *« Itsindagira ko ubufatanye mpuzamahanga ari ngombwa kugira ngo inkiko n'urusobe rw'ubutabera byo muRwanda byongererwe imbaraga, cyane cyane kubera umubare munini w'abakekwa bazanyura muri izo nkiko… « Inama ishinzwe umutekano, icyemezo 995 [1994] S/RES/955 [1994] cyo ku ya 8 Ugushyingo 1994, New York).*

mwandiko w'umwimereri] (nta wugomba gukurikiranwa cyangwa gucirwa urubanza kabiri ku kirego kimwe) yateganyijwe mu mwandiko biroroshye kuyica inyuma bitwaza « ibikorwa bishya » bazasanga ari ngombwa kugira ngo icyo bashaka bakigere ho. Itonde ry'ingingo zikigibwa ho impaka kandi zigomba gukemurwa mbere y'ifungwa ry'urukiko rwa TPIR ni rirerire. Inama yo gusuzuma ibyagezweho yakorewe i Jeneve muri Nyakanga 2009[731] yarondoye zimwe mu zihutirwa cyane. Ni ngombwa kwizera ko akamaro k'ibiganiro, kubwizanya ukuri n'ubushishozi byaranze uwo mwitozo wo kwinegura bizasaba ubwishingire bw'ababigize mo uruhare kandi ko, uko bishoboka kose, hazaboneka ibisubizo bishimishije mbere y'uko manda y'urwo rukiko irangira.

[731] Conférence internationale « TPIR : modèle ou contre-modèle pour la justice pénale internationale? Le point de vue des acteurs[*TPIR : Intangarugero cyangwa urugero rubi rw'urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ? Uko ababifitemo uruhare babibona*] », Centre international de conférences de Genève, 9-11 juillet 2009. *Reba inyandikomvugo y'impaka kuri* http://fr.hirondellenews.com.

UMWANZURO

Mu gusoza iri sesengura ry'imiyoborere y'intambara n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside, nifuzaga gutsindagira ikintu kimwe nabonye no kongera ho, mpereye ku mirimo yabikozwe ho, icyitegerezo cyanjye bwite ku nshingano zanjye ebyiri zo kuba « umutangabuhamya w'inzobere » n'umushakashatsi.

Icyo nabonye ni amahitamo aterekeranye na busa y'ingamba zafashwe mu mwaka wa 1994 n'abari mu ruhando bose. Ihitamo ryakuruye amahano ryo kwanga amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha ryazitiye, mu gihe cya mbere, ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho. Hanyuma mu gihe cya kabiri, ihitamo ritagize icyo ryitaye ho ryo kwigarurira ubutegetsi gusa no gushyira imbere intambara, ku ruhande rumwe, n'ihitamo riri mo ibisazi ryo kurandura inzego n'ingufu za demokarasi, ryaje guhinduka irimbura ry'Abatutsi b'abasiviri, ku rundi ruhande. Buri gihe iyo byabaga binaniranye gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, ubushyamirane n'ibikangisho byiyongezaga umurego watumaga abantu bumva ko bagomba kwitega imipango yose, ariko ntiyigeze igera ku ntera yo kuba bitagishoboka kuyirinda. Nk'uko twabibonye, ibyemezo byakuruye iyubura ry'intambara muri Mata 1994 kandi bigatuma abategetsi ba Guverinoma y'ubusigire yishyize ho bashoza urugamba rwa kabiri imbere mu gihugu rwibasiye « ibyitso » by'inyeshyamba za FPR/Inkotanyi, byakomotse ku mahitamo y'ingamba no ku mpamvu za mpemuke ndamuke zitari mo iyobera na rimwe. N'ubwo hari ingingo zigikeneye gutazurwa bwose, abanyagikorwa bose bashyizwe ahagaragara, uruhererekane rw'ibyabaye by'ingenzi rwaragaragajwe kandi n'amatariki aramenyekana, umutungo n'ibikoresho byitabajwe byarabaruwe, kimwe n'uko gushakisha « abanzi » byagiye byunguruza, imitungo yagiye ikusanywa n'uburyo bunyuranye bw'imikorere yitabajwe.

Ubwicanyi bwakorewe abanyaporitiki n'icyiciro cya mbere cy'itsembatsemba

byakomotse ku mabwiriza ataziguye yahawe imitwe y'abasirikari b'imikogoto n'amatsinda y'urubyiruko, n'amategeko ataratanzwe nkana kandi yarashoboraga kubibambira no kubihagarika. Ubwo bwicanyi bwari bujyanye n'ingamba zo kwigarurira ubutegetsi zatumye igikundi cy'abasirikari bakuru n'abanyaporitiki, kimwe n'abambari babo b'ibishyitsi bashobora gukontorora, mu minsi cumi gusa, urusobe rwa Leta, gushyira ho guverinoma, kugenzura Ingabo n'ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta, kuyugiriza ubutabera, guha umurongo itangazamakuru… Izo ntego zimaze kugerwa ho, ni abantu bo muri icyo gikundi na none bahinduye umushinga wa jenoside muri poritiki rusange kandi bagakorakoranya uburyo n'ibikoresho byose bya Leta kugira ngo iyo poritiki igerwe ho. Byaba ukurindimuka kwa Leta cyangwa se uburakari bwa rubanda bwatombotse, nta gishobora gusobanura ubwicanyi bwakozwe ku runyiriri, buturutse ruhande, bwamaze amezi n'amezi. Haba mu rwego rwo hejuru haba no mu nzego z'ibanze, « poritiki za jenoside » zashishikarijwe kandi zikagumishwa ho mu byumweru n'ibyumweru, zivuguruza icyitwa amashakaka nyirarupfu avumbukiye aho y'abaturage bagizwe abanyagikorwa rukomatanyo b'itsembatsemba badashobora gutandukanywa.

Ingamba zo gufata bugwate no kurimbura Abatutsi b'abasiviri b'imbere mu gihugu byari mu murage wa Repuburika. Zari zagaragaje ubukana bwazo mu myaka yo muri za 1960 igihe inyeshyamba zitsimbaraye ku bwami zari zagerageje kubugarura, kandi izo ngamba zashoboraga kumvikana neza mu ngeri nyinshi z'abaturage. Ikindi kandi, nyuma y'uko abasirikari b'Abatutsi bishe perezida Ndadaye, « umwitozo » w'Abarundi wo mu Kwakira – Ugushyingo 1993 wari werekanye ko imbere y' « umujinya w'inkubiri w'Abahutu » wakongezwaga n'ibikundi by'abahezanguni, gukomatanya ingufu za poritiki n'iz'imbonezamico zari ziyemeje guhagarika ubuhonyozi, bishyigikiwe n'inkunga yiyemejwe n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga, byari byagamburuje abari bagamije guhirika ubutegetsi n'imitwe y'abasirikari b'Abatutsi ndetse n'amashyaka yakoranaga na bo kubonera ku cyuho cyari kije mu butegetsi. Izo ngufu zishyize hamwe zari zasubije ho abategetsi bemewe kandi zihagarika ubwicanyi ku mirenge.

I Kigali, n'ubwo ipipande cya perezida cyari cyagwiriwe n'amakuba akomeye

gitakaza perezida n'umukuru wa etamajoro, ububasha bwo kwisuganya bw'abagenerwamurage, ubushake bwo guhora, icyifuzo cy'imitwe y'Ingabo irusha iyindi ibikoresho cyo kugumisha ubutegetsi mu bari babusanganywe, ubwihangane buke bw'urubyiruko rwa « Pawa » rwashakaga imirwano, ibyo byose byashoboraga gutuma bamwe bibwira ko gushoza urundi « rugamba » imbere mu gihugu byari kugamburuza FPR/Inkotanyi ikemera umwanzuro unyuze mu nzira z'imishyikirano n'ubwo yari ifite isumbwe rya gisirikari. Nyamara, bari biteze yuko abahiritse ubutegetsi, nyuma yo gushyira ho guverinoma bihitiye mo bakanagenzura mu by'ukuri inzego zose z'ubutegetsi, bari kugana ikirari cyo « gushyira mu gaciro » maze bakazirikana ibibazo bibiri bya ngendanyi :

- Ni iki cyashoboraga kugibwa ho imishyikirano, ni ki cyari kigishobora kuramirwa, inkunga yo kubigera ho yari guturuka he ?
- None se, niba nta cyashoboraga kugibwa ho imishyikirano kandi ntihagire igishobora kuramirwa ako kanya, byari gushoboka bite kuzigamira ingufu ibihe bizaza ?

Muri byose nta cyashobotse. Aha rero ni ho mu by'ukuri hari isomo ritangaje cyane rituruka ku isesengura ry'imfatiro n'ubuhamya byakusanyijwe. Icyemezo cyo gushyigikira ikirari cya jenoside cyari gishingiye ku bushake mpemukendamuke bwo guhatira abasirikari bari banze kuyitabira n'abanyaporitiki bo mu majyepfo kwifatanya n'uwateje ubwicanyi bwakorewe abanyaporitiki n' « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababirigi. Ariko, hirya y'ubwo butiriganya bwa poritiki bwaje kumuhira bugatuma imbumbe ya guverinoma ifatana urunana, bukabona impamvu zo guhuriza hamwe imitwe y'urubyiruko kandi bukagira uruhare, nibura igihe gito, mu kunga « imbaga y'Abahutu nyamwinshi », nta wabura gutembagazwa n'ibusanya rw'ubwiyahuzi ryaranze ingamba zabugendeye ho. Kandi icyo si ikintu kigaragara nk'aho ari cyonyine. Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko twabibonye, hari ibikorwa byinshi byo mu ntambara no muri jenoside yo mu mwaka wa 1994, hirya y'amateka y'ingamba agoretse, byashingiye kuri iyo mibare

itarora kure. Ihuzagurika ry'abanyaporitiki ryaranze imishyikirano yo gushyira ho inzego z'inzibacyuho ryateguriraga ibisazi by'ubwicanyi byaganguriye mu cyuka cy'umukururano n'ubwigunge by'abo banyacyubahiro bose b'abasiviri n'abasirikari, abakuru n'abato, mu bigo byabakiriye by'i Murambi, hanyuma i Muramba, haba mu mazu bari bacumbitse mo haba no mu tubari twari hafi aho. Bamwe kandi bari baratangiriye urugendo rwabo mu kigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida cy' i Kanombe banyujijwe mo, muri ambasade y'uBufaransa, no muri « Hôtel des Diplomates ». Aho ni ho, buri wese atavana ijisho ku bandi, bamariye igihe cyabo mu nama za guverinoma z'urudaca, imishyikirano, ibiganiro byihariye no gucura imigambi, ni ho hungirwaga cyangwa hagasenyerwa ubunywanyi, hagateranirwa amahane adahosha, hakaba ubutati busura urupfu hakanacurirwa ubugambanyi. Muri iyo mikino n'imihigo ya poritiki isobekeranye kandi y'imburamumaro ni ho bakurikiraniraga intambara n'itsembatsemba bari bapanze, babikorana ububasha burenze urugero bwo kwigurutsa amarorerwa yabiberaga mo.

Uko bagendaga batsindwa ku rugamba no muri diporomasi, gukomeza gushishikariza jenoside byari byahindutse intego ubwabyo. N'ubwo abantu birukanwaga ubutitsa mu nzego z'ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta no mu Buyobozi bwa gisirikari, n'abaturage bakagenda barusha ho kugungira mu kubahiriza amabwiriza atabarika bahatirwaga, nta hindura cyangwa ivugurura ry'ingamba bigeze biba ho. Ikirushije ho gutangaza, ni uko mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, mu gihe byagaragaraga ko itsembatsemba nta cyo rimaze, abategetsi bo muri guverinoma basuzumye umushinga w'urwego rwihariye rwo kurihesha agaciro no kuryongerera ingufu. Ntibabonye umwanya wo kuwusohoza, kandi kuwutekereza ho byonyine byashimangiye ubunyamaswa bwabo.

Ineshwa ryabo rya burundu ryabaye rurangiza kubera ko gutsindwa ku rugamba byiyongeye ho kwamaganwa n'isi yose ku byerekeye imyifatire mbonezamico. Ikirari cy'ingamba bahise mo cyabagaragariye nk'inzozi zidashyikirwa ku buryo butangaje. Amaherezo, ikintu cy'imyitwarire y'abo bategetsi giteye kwibaza, ni uko banangiye ku

buryo burenze kamere ntibarebe uko ibintu byifashe kandi ntibemere n'itsindwa ryabo ryagaragariraga buri wese. Kandi, aho kugira ngo ribagarure mu nzira yo gushyira mu gaciro, itsindwa ryabo rya buri kanya bangaga kwemera ryongeraga ubukana bw'irari n'amakimbirane yabo byagendaga birusha ho kubahesha urw'amenyo uko ibyumweru byagendaga byikurikiranya. Mu kudaha agaciro na gake ubuzima bw'umuntu, mu kutagira igicuro cyo kwibaza ku mbonezamico no kutagira isoni zo kugereka ubuhumyi bwabo ku baturage b'abasiviri. Ni nk'aho byari ukurihisha mbere y'igihe ikiguzi cy'itsindwa ryabo abaturage bari bafashwe nk'ibyitso by'umwanzi, cyangwa se bari babaye ibifura mu kumukumira. Kubera ko nta washoboraga gutekereza ko abo bategetsi bajora ishingiro ry'amahitamo bari bikoreye ubwabo.

Ariko, amaherezo ikirushije ho gutera ikimwaro ni ukuntu ingabo z'amahanga nyinshi zari mu gihugu cyangwa hafi aho zarebereye itsembatsemba zikanga guhagarika akanya gato ibyaziteranyaga bidafite shinge na rugero kugira ngo zicikize agatereranzamba k'ubuhonyozi. Nyuma y'imyaka ine zishyigikira mu bikorwa cyangwa se zitagira icyo zikorera kimwe mu bipande bibiri byari bishyamiranye, ambasade zose z'ibihugu bikomeye zemeye cyangwa se zitera inkunga amahitamo y'intambara y'uruhande uru n'uru zari zagize urwazo. Kuva icyo gihe, zabonye amahano yaguye maze zihatira guhishahisha ubutumbanya bwayo bwagaragariraga buri wese ko ari ubugizi bwa nabi. Icya nyuma, mu gusoza nifuzaga kuzuza mu magambo make ibyo navuze mu iriburiro ku ntera y' « ubumenyi » y'uyu murimo ushingiye icyarimwe kuri « anketi y'ubucamanza » no ku bushakashatsi bwo muri kaminuza.

Mu mwaka wa 1994, nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu y'ubushakashatsi mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari byo muri Afurika, nibwiraga ko nari nzi neza ibyaberaga mu bihugu imbere n'imikorere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi[732], cyane cyane mbifashijwe mo n'imirimo nyinshi yakozwe ku ntego zo gutoza abahinziborozi, bari biganje mu baturage, iterambere mu bukungu, mu mibereho mbonezamubano, muri poritiki no mu

[732] Aha navuga *ibihe by'akaga gakabije nk'itsembatsemba ryo muri Kanama mu majyaruguru y'uBurundi cyangwa muRwanda mu mwaka wa 1990.*

igenantekerezo.

Nyamara, n'ubwo nari menyeranye n'abafite uruhare kandi mpora ngenderera ibyo bihugu, ubwinshi n'umuvumba w'ibyarindimutse mu Kwakira 1993 i Burundi n'agahomamunwa ko muri Mata – Nyakanga 1994 muRwanda byatumye mu bwenge bwanjye hazunguruka. Nta giteganyo na kimwe cyangwa urukubo rw'isesengura byashoboraga gusobanura ibyo bihe inzego zose mbonezamubano zaridutse kandi n'abantu ku giti cyabo – kuva ku bahinziborozi kugeza ku bayobozi b'abanyaporitiki – « bari batakiri ho ubwabo », nk'uko bakunze kubivuga. Ikintu kimwe cyari icyo kumva neza no gusobanura ibihe cy'ubushyamirane bukaze mu rwego rwa poritiki n'urw'imbonezamubano, nk'ubwajyaga bwigaragaza rimwe na rimwe muri ako karere, ikindi ni ugutekereza no kuvuga mu magambo izo nzangano zihebuje. Mu ruhando rw'amakuba nk'ayo yo ku ntera gaheza, buri wese yabaga igishagasha imbere y'ibi bintu byose : irondakoko mu busano bwose mbonezamubano, ivumbuka ry'inzangano umuntu atakekaga, guhindura ubusa ubuhonyozi n'ubunyamaswa, ingufu zidakumirwa zo guhuruza rubanda, imisusire itunguranye mu rubuga rwa poritiki, ukwimuka k'ubutitsa kw'inteko z'ubutegetsi, urwijiji rubuditse ku ruherererekane rw'inzego zifatirwa mo ibyemezo, ukwikuba kabiri kw'ibyiciro mbonezamubano n'isaranganya ry'ubutegetsi mu bihe by'intambara. Kuba mu bihugu byayogojwe hatari mo inzego nyagihugu z'ubushakashatsi zikora neza, kuba abashakashatsi b'abanyamahanga bari kure cyane cyangwa se baratandukanye n'ibibera mu gihugu, kandi, mu buryo rusange, imitekerereze ishingiye ku bikundi mu nzego za kaminuza, ibyo byose ntibyatumaga haboneka ibisubizo nyabyo. Ikindi kandi, ubushakashatsi bw'inzobere bwaturukaga mu miryango y'ubutwererane n'amahanga busobanura imizi y'izo ntambara bunerekana uburyo bwo kuzirinda bwasaga n'ubwishakiraga indonke cyangwa se bukagendera ku byifuzo by'ababukoresheje.

Ubwo rero nahise mo gukorera mu byerekezo bibiri icyarimwe, kimwe ari icy'imiryango ishinzwe gahunda zo gutabara byihutirwa no gufasha abashyamiranye kwiyunga, ikindi ari icy'urukiko rwa TPIR rwansabye kwandika imfatiro z'ibanze kugira

ngo imanza za mbere zishobore gutangira, cyangwa se kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere. Kwinjira muri izo nzego byampaga ubushobozi bwo kugumana abo twakoranaga imbere mu gihugu no kubonana n'abo mu rukubo rushya rwa poritiki y'uRwanda. Iyo nsubije amaso inyuma, nsanga iyo mikorere yaramfashije ku buryo butavugwa gukusanya amakuru yose ya ngombwa. Koko rero, kuva natangira kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere mu Biro by'umushinjacyaha cyangwa mu nkiko z'ibihugu ibi n'ibi, nakomeje kugira ububasha bwo gukora kimwe no muri gahunda z'ubushakashatsi bwa kaminuza. Ni ukuvuga gushingira ku kirari n'uburyombonera nihitiye mo ubwanjye, ubw'ingenzi bukaba ubwo gusbobora gukora ubushakashatsi bwanjye mu bwisanzure. Manda nasinyiwe n'urukiko rwa TPIR yatumye nkora anketi z'igihe kirekire, n'ubwo hari mu kibariro cya poritiki y'igitugu idashaka anketi iyo ari yo yose ikozwe mu bwisanzure muri rusange, kandi ngira n'ukwishyirukizana abasesenguzi n'abashakashatsi bake cyane bashoboye kubona muRwanda rwa nyuma ya jenoside. Abategetsi b'uRwanda bampaye ubwo butoni kugeza mu mwaka wa 2003. Bwari bushingiye ku masezerano yatuye ambuza kwitwaza manda yo gukora anketi ku bicumuro bya jenoside ngo nkore n'ubushakashatsi bubangikanye kuri « manda ya kabiri » y'urukiko rwa TPIR, ni ukuvuga ku bicumuro by'intambara n'ibicumuro byibasiye inyokomuntu bishobora kwitirirwa FPR/Inkotanyi. Nyuma y'iyo tariki, iby'ingenzi mu bushakashatsi byakorewe hanze y'uRwanda mbifashijwe mo n'urukiko rwa TPIR. Iki gitabo, kimwe n'ibindi byinshi byakibanjirije, gikubiye mo iby'ingenzi by'ubushakashatsi nashyikirije urukiko nk'intangamugabo mu manza zabereye mu ngereko z'urukiko rwa TPIR.

Iyo nkomoko igaragarira muri kino gitabo ku buryo buvuguruzanya. Ubwa mbere bwerekeye ukuntu umutangabuhamya w'inzobere ategetswe gushingira isesengura ry'ibintu muri rusange ku ngingo zisobanutse no ku bikorwa bishobora kugenzurwa. Iryo tegeko rihora ho ry'ubwizerwe n'ubutagonda bw'amakuru bivuga gushimikira ku buryo busa n'ubudakumirwa imfatiro zanditse no gukusanya ubuhamya n'amakuru bitagira ingano byibukiranya ibyabaye, urukurikirane rwabyo, ibikorwa by'aba na bariya, byerekana neza amatariki, ahantu, amazina cyangwa amatsinda y'abanyagikorwa,

y'ibihande babarurirwa mo, y'ubusano bw'amavuko, nb. Iryo tegeko – risangiwe n'umuryango w'abashakashatsi bose – rigaragarira mu muhate usa n'agakabyo wo kugera ku bintu binonosoye, ariko ku bwanjye, ahubwo ni iturufu. Ibiri amambu, uburyo bwa kabiri bwo ni inzitizi. Gutangaza iyo mirimo igamije gukoreshwa mu nkiko bisaba kwandukura mu yandi magambo akazi karekare kandi karuhije ko kwibukiranya ukuri kw'ibyabaye, kugira ngo hashyirwe ahagaragara igipande cy'ukuri kitashoboraga kugerwa ho mu rwego rwa manda y'inkiko.

Ibyo si nk'utuntu tw'inyongezo gusa, kubera ko nk'uko nagerageje kubigaragaza mu mutwe ubanza, amambu hagati y' « ukuri kw'inkiko », gusigara ho igihe umurimo ukomeye w'inkiko urangiye n' « ukuri k'umushakashatsi » arakomeye, kandi asaba gutandukanywa nyabyo. Itandukaniro rya mbere rigomba kuba mu kwitarura bya gihanga intera zinyuranye, zuzuzanya kandi z'imbusane umutangabuhamya w'inzobere atambagira ho kugira ngo « avuge ukuri » imbere y'ubucamanza : inzobere, umutangabuhamya ufite uko na we yumva ikibazo, n' « umutangabuhamya w'abatangabuhamya ». Itandukaniro rya kabiri rigomba gukorerwa imyumvire ishingiye kuri poritiki gusa y'intambara yo muRwanda Urukiko rushyira imbere rubinyujije muri poritiki yarwo y'ikurikirana no mu manza ruca. Kuri iyo ngingo, nko ku muntu w'umushakashatsi, si ukubogama cyangwa kwirengagiza nkana ingingo z'ukuri, no ku buryo bwaguye, ibipande bitagira uko bingana by'amateka y'intambara yo muRwanda biteye ikibazo, ahubwo ni ukwanga guca umuhigowo mu rwego rw'ubumenyi wagaragazwaga n'imyumvire yimbitse y'imigendekere y'intambara n'inkomoko ya jenoside, ni ubushagasha bwo kumenya isura y'umwimereri kandi iteye impungenge cyane y'iyi jenoside, bwo kumva ishingiro ry'ihurura ryitabiriwe n'imbaga, bwo gushyira mu mwanya waryo nyawo irondakoko, ni ukuvuga kugaragaza umwihariko w'icyo gikorwa gikomeye cyari cyitezwe, ariko kandi kikanatungura abenshi mu banyagikorwa.

Ariko se ni ngombwa kurondora ibinegu bingana bityo by'urukiko rwatumye, kuva mu myaka cumi n'itanu, abari bashishikajwe bose n'amateka y'intambara na jenoside byo

muRwanda, bashobora kugira ubungubu ikigega cy'amakuru kitagira ikikiyinga, rwarundanyije ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'ubuhamya bw'abacikacumu, bw'abajenosideri, bw'abagabo bahagaze ku byabaye, rwakoranyije ubumenyi, ubuhanga n'ubushobozi by'amagana n'amagana y'abashinjacyaha, y'abunganizi, y'abacamanza ? Yewe n'isesengura riri muri kino gitabo nta gicuro cyo kuritekereza iyo hatajya kuba ho imirimo n'amaronko by'urwo rukiko.

Mbese umuntu ntiyavuga gusa ko, ku bashishikajwe no kuvuga ikiri ukuri bose, umuhigo w'ingenzi ugomba kwitabwa ho kuva ubu, mbere y'ifungwa ryegereje ry'urukiko rwa TPIR, ari uwo kubika no kurinda umurage w'imfatiro zarwo uko zakabaye, abantu bakagira uburenganzira bwo gushyikira no gucukumbura amakuru rwarundanyije[733] ? Ku ngingo nyinshi, igihe ntikiragera cyo kwemeranya ku bavuga ikiri cyo n'abavuga ikitari cyo, ariko ibyiciro bizabyiruka ejo bizabaza ibisobanuro byanze bikunze. Bazasoma imyandiko, bazasuzuma ubuhamya kandi bazashungura. Ukuri intiti za kaminuza n'abashakashatsi batezwe ho kugaragaza ntikubereye ho umwaka wa 2004, umwaka wa 2008 cyangwa uwa 2010, hakurikijwe ibihe ntarengwa byagiye byunguruzwa kugira ngo urukiko rwa TPIR rurangize imirimo yarwo. Urukiko ruzafunga, ariko umurimo w'ukuri uzakomeza. Ukuri kuzandikwa cyangwa kuzongera kwandikwe. Kandi n'ubwo amagambo amwe, igihe iki n'iki, atumvikana kubera impamvu za poritiki cyangwa z'igenantekerezo, abazemeza, amaherezo, amateka « y' « ukuri » ni abazaba barakoze ku buryo butabogama kandi bazaba berekanye intangamugabo nyinshi zishyigikira ibitekerezo byabo.

[733] *Iki ni ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa poritiki cyane ku buryo bidashoboka kucyigereza ho. Ariko hari ibindi bibazo bisanzwe, nk'icyakomeje kubazwa ariko ntigisubizwe, cy'uko mbere y'uko urukiko rwa TPIR rufungwa, ikimwaro giterwa no kutagira inyandikomvugo y'ubuhamya bwatanzwe mu kinyarwanda cyakwirindwa, cyane cyane ko ari rwo rurimi 80% by'abatangabuhamya bakoresheje.*

Itonde ry'incamake

1. Incamake ya 1: *Yozefu Nzirorera, rutemikirere ya perezida mu bicu bya poritiki y'uRwanda*
2. *Incamake ya 2: igaruka ry'ibikurankota byo muri 1980*
3. Incamake ya 3 : Édouard Karemera : kuva ku mirimo y'ishyaka kugeza ku ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside
4. Incamake ya 4:amashyaka ya poritiki n'amashyirahamwe yari yemewe mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi
5. *Incamake ya 5: Imiryango ya* Yuvenari Habyarimana n'umugore we Agata Kanziga
6. Incamake ya 6: ukubohoza cyangwa "kuvana" muri MRND ku mbaraga
7. Incamake ya 7: Matayo Ngirumpa, wakekwagaho kuba umuragwangoma
8. Incamake ya *8:* umutwe w'ingabo zirinda perezida
9. Incamake ya ya 9: kuva ku nama itunguranye y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo kugera ku ishyirwa ho ry'abagize komite y'igihe cy'amakuba (6-8 Mata 1994)
10. Incamake ya 10: umubonano Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yagiranye na koroneri tewonesiti bagosora mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994
11. Incamake ya 11: ihotorwa ry' « abanyangofero z'ubururu [ingabo za Loni]» b'ababirigi bari muri Minuar (7 Mata)
12. Incamake ya 12: « guverinoma y'agateganyo » yo ku wa 8 Mata 1994[a]
13. Incamake ya 13: inyandiko ica igikuba Eduwaridi Karemera yagejeje ku baturage ahagana ku itariki ya 12 Mata: «abayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki MRND, MDR, PSD, na PL baratabariza uRwanda »
14. Incamake ya 14: ibyiciro bitatu by'intambara iri muri gahunda yari yitezwe
15. Incamake ya 15:ibyiciro by'ingezi bya jenoside n'abayiguyemo
16. Incamake ya 16*:* Operasiyo "Turquoise" (23 Kamena-21 Kanama 1994)

Itonde y'imigereka

Imigereka myinshi cyane y'iki gitabo iri ku rubuga murandasi **www.rwandadelaguerreaugenocide.fr.** Ushaka kumenya ibikubiye (mu myandiko inyuranye yagaragajwe) mu migereka yarebera ku rubuga murandasi.

1. Ba kamarade b'uwa 5 Nyakanga n'ibyiciro bya mbere by'abawofisiye b'ingabo z'uRwanda
2. Ipiganwa rya Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera muri kongere ya MRND yo muri Nyakanga 1993
3. Igishushanyo-mbonera cy'inzego z'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za APR-FPR (1991-1994)
4. « Igitero » cya Kigali ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1990
5. Raporo y'impuguke kuri jenoside mu Rwanda, OUA, Nyakanga 2000 (ingingo zimwe)
6. Ihindurwa ry'indangamuntu zirimo amoko
7. « Komisiyo Bagosora » [yo kwiga] ku « mwanzi » mu Ukuboza 1991
8. Abagize komisiyo y'igihugu « Rukusanya » ya MRND (1991)
9. Kongere za MRND muri Mata 1992 ma Nyakanga 1993, kuvugurura inzego z'ubuyobozi

10. Ubuyobozi bw'intara mu ntangiriro ya Mata 1994
11. Amasano y'umuryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana
12. Ingorane za « tekiniki » mu gutegura amatora rusange mu 1992
13. Imishyikirano iteruye mu 1992
14. Ibico byibasiye abaturage b'abasiviri (1991-1993)
15. Guhitana abanyaporitiki bakomeye (1993-1994)
16. Poritiki yo guhungabanya inzego hifashishijwe « imbaraga za gatatu »…
17. « Abacengezi» ba FPR
18. Gusubiza Leta ku gahato umutungo w'icyahoze ari ishyaka rukumbi MRND
19. Isimbura rya Juvénal Habyarimana ku buyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihuu (FAR) muri Mata 1992
20. Diskuru ya Juvénal Habyarimana mu Ruhengeri ku wa 15 Ugushyingo 1992
21. Ubwigomeke bw'abasirikari hagati mu mu gihembwe cya kabiri cy'umwaka 1992
22. Imiterere ya Guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi n'iy'inzibacyuho 1992-1994
23. Igitero cya FPR de Gashyantare 1993
24. Iyirukanwa ry'umuyobozi w'intumwa za Guverinoma mu mishyikirano ya Arusha, Boniface Ngulinzira, no kudasubizaho Minisitiri w'Intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye muri 1993
25. Uko MRND yigaruriye ibigo bya Leta. Urugero rwa Cimerwa i Cyangugu na Sorwal i Butare(1991-1994)

26. Gukangisha gusezera muri MRND kwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse muri Gicurasi 1993 n'uko yasimbuye Juvénal Habyarimana ku buperezida bw'ishyaka muri Nyakanga 1993

27. Kwegura no guhungira mu mahanga kwa James Gasana, minisitiri w'Ingabo, ku wa 20 Nyakanga 1993

28. Kwegura muri Guverinoma by'akanya gato kwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Minisitiri w'Intebe, muri kongere ya MDR ku wa 23 Nyakanga 1993

29. Ibibazo « by'ikurikiranwa mu butabera » bya Dismas Nsengiyaremye (1993)

30. Umwandiko w'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha (Kanama 1993)

31. Isumbana ry'ingufu za gisirikari hagati ya APR[Inkotanyi] na FAR[ingabo z'igihugu]

32. Itonde y'abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu zemejwe ku ruhande rwa FAR muri 1994

33. Ivugururwa rito rya bamwe mu bagize inama za komini muri Werurwe na Nzeri1993

34. Mitingi y'ubwiyunge hagati ya MRND n'abambari ba « *Power* » bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi yo ku wa 16 Mutarama 1994 i Kigali

35. Ibaruwa n'impuruza perezida Habyarimana yagejejweho n'ubuyobozi bwa MDR, kuwa 27 Ukwakira 1993 na 4 Ugushyingo 1993, byamagana ishyirwaho rya Faustin Twagiramungu ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe

36. Ipiganwa ryo kugenzura inzego z'inzibacyuho: Ibarura ry'abaminisitiri n'abadepite bemejwe n'amashyaka (Mutarama-Werurwe 1994)

37. Raporo y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye kuwa 5 Mutarama 1994

38. Ukwiheza kwa FPR ku kibazo cy'umudepite wa CDR n'irangira ry'imishyikirano (27-29 Werurwe 1994)

39. Ibihato mu ishyirwaho ry'inzego mu mpera za Werurwe 1994

40. Inama za perefegitura na Minadef[ministeri y'ingabo] ku bwirinzi bw'abaturage i Kigali mu mpera za Werurwe 1994

41. Inama y'abawofisiye mu ngabo z'igihugu(FAR) mu rugo rwa Agata Uwilingiyimana ku wa 1Mata 1994

42. Ikirego cyo kugerageza guhirika ubutegetsi cyageretswe kuri Mathieu Ngirumptase na Augustin Ndindiliyimana ku wa 5 Mata 1994

43. Igishushanyo-mbonera cy'inzego za komite mu rw'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw' *Interahamwe*

44. Igena-nzego ry'ubwirinzi bw'abaturage nyuma y'igitero cyo kuwa 8 Gashyantare 1993 n'imyitozo ya gisirikari mu rubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*

45. Ukudahanwa gukingiwe ikibaba na perezida kw'amabi y'Interahamwe

46. Imiburo ya « Jean-Pierre » nkuko byemezwa na jenerari Dallaire n'abawofisiye bashinzwe iperereza muri Minuar

47. Imari igenewe urubyiruko rw' *Interahamwe* : Inama zo gukusanya imisanzu (*fund raising)*muri hoteri *Rebero-L'Horizon* y'i Kigali.

48. Guha intwaro urubyiruko rw'inkerarugamba

49. Raporo ya Michaël Hourigan, umupererezi wa TPIR, yakorewe Louise Arbour ku gico cyo kuwa 6 Mata 1994 (Mutarama 1997)

50. Sosiyete balinga yitwa ISTO n'igico cyo kuwa 6 Mata 1994

51. Ihitanwa ry'abatangabuhamya ku bugizi bwa nabi bwakozwe na FPR

52. Igico na jenoside

53. Inama itunguranye y'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FAR[ingabo z'igihugu] mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata 1994. Inyandiko-mvugo n'itangazo ry'ingabo z'igihugu.

54. Umwifato w'umuryango wa Habyarimana mu ngoro ya perezida i Kanombe kuva mu ijoro ry'uwa 6 Mata kugeza 9 Mata 1994

55. Uko Édouard Karemera na Mathieu Ngirumpatse bakoresheje igihe cyabo mu ijoro ry'uwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata 1994

56. Inama n'itangazo ry'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo n'abayobozi b'uduce tw'imirwano(OPS) n'imitwe by'ingabo z'u Rwanda (FAR) kuwa 7 Mata 1994

57. Inama yahuje uhagarariye Loni, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, na Théoneste Bagosora mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata 1994

58. Uko abawofisiye bujuje ibyangombwa byo kuyobora etamajoro y'ingabo ya FAR bakurikirana ushingiye ku burambe mu kazi

59. *Ishyirwa rya* koroneri Marcel Gatsinzi kumwanya w'umugaba mukuru wa etamajoro mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata 1994

60. Amanama Dallaire-Bagosora-Ndindiliyimana bagiranye mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata 1994

61. Inyabubiri ya gahunda y'imirimo ya Théoneste Bagosora n'abandi bagize komite ya gisirikari y'ibihe by'amage ku wa 8 Mata 1994 mu gitondo.

62. Impungenge za Mathieu Ngirumpatse zo kugirirwa nabi

63. Izungura rya Juvénal Habyarimana uko biteganywa n'ingingo ya 47 y'agace k'amasezerano kerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi.

64. Inyandiko-mvugo z'amanama hagati ya Bagosora na MRND ku wa 7 na 8 Mata 1994

65. Inyandiko-mvugo z'amanama ya komite y'ibihe by'imidugararo yo ku wa 8 Mata 1994

66. Uko ibyabaye hagati ya 6 na 9 Mata 1994 bibonwa na Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Édouard Karemera

67. Impaka za poritiki n'amategeko ku buryo bwo gusshyiraho inzibacyuho ishingiye ku itegeko-nshinga.

68. Inama y'abahagarariye amashyaka mu mishyikirano yo guhyiraho guverinoma y'agateganyo ku wa 8 Mata 1994

69. Umwanzuro wumvikanyweho n'amashyaka nkuko wavuguruwe ku wa Mata 1994

70. Kuba ntibindeba kw'abayobozi b'amashyaka n'abaminisitiri basubijwe mu mirimo yabo ku wa 8 Mata1994 ku kibazo cy'abagenzi babo « bishwe n'ababuriwe irengero »

71. Amatangazo y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu n'ay'umugaba mukuru wa etamajoro yo ku ya 12, 17 na 18 Mata 1994

72. Kwimuka « giturumbuko » kwa Guverinoma y'agateganyo ijya i Murambi (Gitarama) ku wa 12 Mata 1994

73. Amategeko-teka ashyiraho Minisitiri w'Intebe na Guverinoma y'agateganyo kuwa 8 Mata 1994

74. Inyandiko ica igikuba ihamagarira abaturage kwirwanaho ya Édouard Karemera yo ku wa 12 Mata 1994

75. Raporo ya misiyo Édouard Karemera yakoreye Gisenyi na Ruhengeri kuwa 18 na 19 Mata 1994

76. Ajenda ya Pauline Nyiramasuhuko

77. Ibiganiro byanditse (télécopies) hagati ya Booh-Booh/Dallaire na Kofi Annan mu bunyamabanga bukuru bwa Loni (Mata 1994)

78. Ishyirwaho ry'amabariyeri i Kigali ku wa 7 Mata 1994

79. Kwimurira kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* abana ba Minisitiri w'Intebe, Agata Uwilingiyimana na Ignace Barahira

80. Abanyacyubahiro bakiriwe kuri ambassade y'uBufaransa hagati ya 7 na 12 Mata 1994

81. Kandidatire ya Théodore Sindikubwabo ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika

82. Kwimurira ibikomangoma byari mu nkambi y'ingabo zirinda perezida muri ambasade y'uBufaransa. kuwa 7 Mata

83. Itonde y'abantu 178 bacumbikiwe muri abambasade y'uBufaransa barindiriye kwimurirwa mu mahanga

84. Agatereranzamba k'ihungishwa « ririnzwe » rya Augustin Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'imigambi ya Leta muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, washakishwaga na TPIR

85. Eugène Mbarushimana, uwahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru w'urubyiruko rw' *Interahamwe*, umushyitsi watamaje uBufaransa

86. Ubwicanyi bw'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* i Kigali

87. Amategeko yahawe *Interahamwe nkuko byavuzwe na* Jean Kambanda, Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'agateganyo

88. Agakayi k'inyandiko za Pauline Nyiramasuhuko (9 Mata-27 Gicurasi1994)

89. Itangazo ry'amashyaka ryo kuwa 10 Mata 1994

90. Igikorwa cyo « kugarura amahoro » cyo kuwa 10-12 Mata 1994 i Kigali

91. Uko Théoneste Bagosora yemereye icyumba cya mbere cy'urukiko rwa TPIR kuwa 10 Ugushyingo 2005 ko habayeho jenoside

92. Amatangazo ya minisiteri y'Intebe na MRND yo kuwa 23 na 27 Mata 1994

93. Imibare yemejwe na Leta y'abahitanywe n'intambara

94. Initiators, abateguye ubwicanyi

95. Inyemezabuguzi zitumiza intwaro z'ingabo z'igihugu(FAR)

96. Ikibazo cy'ingutu cy'agashimo k'abayobozi b'amaserire mu gihe cy'intambara

97. Incamake y'ibyakozwe na Guverinoma y'agateganyo (Mata-Ugushyingo1994)

98. Guverinoma yo mu buhungiro yo kuwa 1Ugushyingo 1994

99. Ajenda ya Augustin Ngirabatware

100. Isura rya perefegitura kuwa 17 Mata 1994 n'inyagwa ry'abaperefe « batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi »

101. Amagerageza yo guha amapeti no gusubiza mu gisirikari abawofisiye bari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru mbere y'ivugururwa rya etamajoro ryo kuwa 16 Mata 1994

102. Jenerari Roméo Dallaire biba ngombwa ko agirana imishyikirano n'*Interahamwe*(Gicurasi1994)

103. Édouard Karemera agaruka mu mirimo ya Leta ku mugaragaro mu mpera za Gicurasi1994

104. Amabwiriza ku bwirinzi bw'abaturage yo kuwa 25 Gicurasi1994

105. Imari igenewe ubwirinzi bw'abaturage

106. Ibyishyurwa na Leta n'ibyinjizwa n'abikorera ku giti cyabo:Uko abayobozi ba poritiki n'igisirikari bacunze « umutungo » wa Leta mu ntambara

107. Isoko ryo kugura intwaro

108. Iyegura ryanzwe rya perezida Sindikubwabo kuwa 22 Mata 1994

109. Ibaruwa Édouard Karemera yandikiye Augustin Ndindiliyimana ku batutsi bagendana na we, 26 Mata 1994

110. Inama ya biro poritiki ya MRND ku wa 10-13 Gicurasi1994

111. Ajenda n'udukayi tw'inyandiko bya Jean Kambanda

112. Balinga y'imyanya yahawe koroneri Balthazar Ndengeyinka muri Gicurasi1994

113. «Ugusubizwa » mu ngabo kwa Théoneste Bagosora kuwa 21 Gicurasi1994

114. Impuruza ya perezida Sindikubwabo kuri François Mitterrand

115. Ubusugire bwa Guverinoma y'agateganyo bwemezwa na Loni kuwa 25 Gicurasi1994

116. Icyemezo 938 cy'Inama Ishinzwe amahoro ya Loni cyo kuwa 17 Gicurasi 1994

117. Agakayi k'inyandiko za Édouard Karemera

118. Inama y'abaperefe ku bwirinzi bw'abaturage Yo kuwa 9 Kamena 1994

119. Ukwihagararaho kutitezwe kw'abacitse ku icumu mu misozi ya Bisesero ku Kibuye (Gicurasi1994)

120. Itorwa rya Joseph Nzirorera ku mwanya wa perezida w'Inama y'igihugu i Gisenyi kuwa 4 Nyakanga 1994

121. Inama ya Marlaud na Ngirabatware muri Quai d'Orsay, i Paris, kuwa 4 Nyakanga 1994

122. Itangazo ry'abawofisiye ba FAR ryo kuwa 7 Nyakanga 1994 i Kigeme (Gikongoro)

123. Ingamba zo gusubirana ubutegetsi za Mathieu Ngirumpatse mu buhungiro

124. « Abakurikiranywe » n'ubutabera mu Rwanda

125. Ifatwa ridateguwe rya Protais Zigiranyirazo kuwa 3 Kamena 2001

126. Amaperereza ya TPIR ku bibazo by'imari yahagaritswe mu Rwanda hagati muri Gicurasi 2001

127. Ibyaha bikekwa kuri FPR n'ababikoze

128. Urubanza « ntangarugero » rw'abasirikari ba APR bishe « abasenyeri b'i Kabgayi » (2008-2009)

129. Iterana ry'amagambo ryatewe no kureka burundu k'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR ibirego by'abambari ba FPR hagati muri Gicurasi 2009

130. Kwanga gukora iperereza kwa TPIR ku gico cyo kuwa 6 Mata 1994

131. Impaka zabereye Arusha kuwa 24 Mata 2008 ku kibazo cyo kohereza mu Rwanda abakurikiranywe na TPIR

132. Abawofisiye ba FAR bayobotse, bajujubijwe cyangwa bahitanywe na FPR

133. Incamake y'imyanzuro y'urubanza rwa Bagosora na bagenzi yo kuwa 18 Ukuboza 2008

134. *Warning of Genocide*, inyandiko-fatizo ya Loni yo ku wa 20 Ugushyingo 1995

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera kuri jenoside

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