11

Kuva ku itsembatsemba kugera ku itsembabwoko

Gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa ubwicanyi kirimbuzi, nk'uko twabibonye, byari bishingiye ku mitwe y'ingabo z'igihugu zizewe kimwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'i Kigali yagengwaga ku buryo butaziguye n'abantu b'ingenzi bafataga ibyemezo mu bihe bikomeye : abasirikari bakuru n'abagize Akazu ka perezida. Uburyo imitwe yitwara gisirikari yisuganije i Kigali guhera mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 7 Mata byarabigaragaje ku buryo budasubirwaho. Ingabo, cyane cyane ingabo zirinda perezida, zashyizeho vuba bariyeri zo kurinda ibice byarimo Perezidansi, abanyacyubahiro barinzwe, ibigo bya gisirikari n'amazu y'ingenzi nka banki (Kanombe, Kimihurura, Kiyovu n'ahandi), hanyuma yibanda ku gukoma imbere ingabo za Minuar no kuzitira amayira mu duce twari dutuyemo abanyacyubahiro bagombaga kwibasirwa n'ihora ry'akazu ka perezida. Ni na zo zashyizeho kare kare mu gitondo amatsinda ya mbere y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari (abenshi muri bo bakomokaga ubwabo mu ngabo zirinda perezida—GP). Mu mpera z'igitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 ni bwo basakaye mu duce tunyuranye tw'umujyi guhiga "abanzi", hanyuma ku manywa ubwicanyi bukomeye bwabereye ku mabariyeri yari yashyizwe ku mihanda minini y'umurwa mukuru**.** Amabariyeri y' "abasivili**"**, bivugwa ko yashyizweho huti huti atari yitezwe, yariyongereye mu mihanda mito kugira ngo ahagarike ibyo kwinjira no gusohoka mu duce dutuwe n'abaturage benshi.

Guhiga "abanzi b'imbere mu gihugu" ku buryo bweruye byari bitaratangira gukorwa ku mabariyeri. Koko rero, amatsinda y'*Interahamwe* yibanze cyane mu duce tunyuranye tw'umujyi kugira ngo ahashye "abacengezi n'ibyitso" bya FPR[1]

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[1] Inkotanyi zatsimbataje ibirindiro byazo zizana rwihishwa intwaro n'amagana menshi y'ingabo i Kigali kugira ngo zunganire abasirikari 600 bari bemewe n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ibyo kandi byakajije umurego nanone mu rwego

mu mazu azwi yari yaragenzuwe kera.
Mu duce utwo ari two twose tw'umujyi n'imihanda, umurimo wari umwe : inzu zikekwaho guhisha "abanzi" n'izari zituwemo n'imiryango yari ifite umuntu ukekwaho kuba yaragiye mu ngabo za FPR yahereyeko yibasirwa, abayatuyemo bakicwa kenshi na kenshi bikozwe n'abasirikari. Aha niho hagaragaye ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili kwari kwateguwe na perefe Tharcisse Renzaho hamwe na minisiteri y'ingabo (*reba umugereka wa 40).* Hanyuma, ubwo mu mpera z'igitondo inkuru yabaga kimomo ko abayobozi b'Abahutu n'abandi batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bamaze kwicwa, abategetsi bashyizeho kandi bayobora amakipe y' amarondo y'umutekano agizwe n'abaturage batuye uduce tunyuranye tw'umujyi. 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" ryahawe inyito yagutse rikoreshwa mu kuvuga Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, no ku buryo bwihuse cyane, abantu bose batari bashyigikiye ubwicanyi. Abahutu cg Abatutsi bo mu makipe "avanze[2]" bagerageje kubyanga na bo barishwe, utavuze ukwihimura 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 : Mu bihugu byombi, urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu rwahaye intagondwa z'Abahutu urwaho rwo guhembera ku buryo butihishira "uburakari bw'abaturage" burenze ihaniro.

Itangazo rya minisiteri y'ingabo ryasinywe na Théoneste Bagosora rigahita kuri radiyo ahagana saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice mu gitondo, rifite uburemere bw'ikirenga (*reba umugereka wa 53).* Aho iryo tangazo rivuga ibyo "kwibutsa nanone abaturage kuguma mu ngo zabo mu gihe hategerejwe andi mabwiriza", iyo nteruro mu by'ukuri yategekaga abaturage bose bari bafite ubwoba bwo kwicwa gutegerereza abicanyi mu rugo cg ku baturanyi babo, kandi abagerageje guhunga byarabagoye cyane kubera amabariyeri yari arinzwe hose mu nsisiro z'umujyi.

Ubwicanyi no gushyiraho amabariyeri byatangiye nyabyo kare kare mu gitondo cy'itariki ya 7 kandi ntibyabaye ngombwa guha imitwe yitwara gisirikari impapuro zibaha uburenganzira bwo guherako batangira gukora no kumva ko bari mu bihe bikomeye byo "kwirwanaho". Abayobozi bari barashyizeho imitwe yitwara gisirikari, bakayisigasira ikagwiza imbaraga, nabo ubwabo batunguwe n'ubushobozi zagaragaje.

"Nababwiye ibikorwa byacu nk'umwe mu bagize Komite y'igihugu y' *Interahamwe ZA*

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rwa politiki, 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. Abanyapolitiki bakuru bajyaga mu ndiri y'Inkotanyi guhabwa imyitozo basubiraga iwabo bakihutira gushaka abayoboke bashya. Mu ntangiriro za Mata, Inkotanyi zari zifite ibirindiro 600 mu gihugu cyose, harimo 147 i Kigali. Buri birindiro byabaga bifite abantu 6 cg 12, bihwanye n'igiteranyo cy'abantu hagati ya 3600 na 7200, bagaragaje byeruye cg ku buryo bwabo bwite gushyikira Inkotanyi, Umubare munini kurusha indi, hagati ya 700 na 1400 bari mu murwa mukuru " (Human Rights Watch/FIDH, Ikiganiro kuri terefone n'uwahoze ari mu buyobozi bwa MINUAR, Plainsboro, New Jersey, 13 Kamena 1996 ; Nairobi, 22 Werurwe, 1996 ; Kigali, 14 Gashyantare 1997).

[2] Ni ukuvuga arimo Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Aho bene ayo marondo yabaga yari atandukanye bigaragara n'amarondo y'ubwoko bumwe bw'Abahutu, yari muri rusange urundi ruhande rutaziguye rw'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka.

> *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 y'impamba bibaye ngombwa kandi hakurikijwe ubushobozi bwa buri wese[3]."

Bityo, mu gihe hari umukwabu wari waratangajwe na Bagosora, ni bwo abasirikari bo mu ngabo zirinda perezida, bagombaga kubaha ababategeka, hamwe n'abasivili b'*Interahamwe* baciye ibintu mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 7 n'iya 8, ku buryo abayobozi b'imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu nsisiro z'umujyi bubahirije umukwabu bukeye bwaho bafashwe nk'abanyabwoba cg "abateshutse ku nshingano"... Abasirikari nanone bafanije kandi barinda abagize komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* "mu kazi". Ibikorwa byabo byatangazwaga n'abanyamakuru ba RTLM, bavugaga umubare w'abapfuye, bakanashima ubushobozi buteye ubwoba bw'ababityayemo[4]. Abishwe mbere ni abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, ibyitso n'intasi zari zaramaze gutahurwa no kwandikwa :

> "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[5]."

I Kigali, Komite y'*Interahamwe* yabaye nka etamajoro. Ingufu z'abitwara gisirikari zageze aho zihangana n'imitwe y'ingabo yarawanyaga ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abaturage b'abasivili b'Abatutsi, cg kubuza abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki cg abasirikari kugira iyo bajya. Ariko uko kwikorera uko zishatse, *Interahamwe* zabikeshaga uburenganzira n'inkunga zahabwaga ku mugaragaro n'abakuru b'amashyaka.

> "Kuva mu kwezi kwa Gashyantare, *Interahamwe* zetegetswe gukorana n'Inkuba, umutwe w'urubyiruko witwara gisirikari wa MDR "*Pawa*" ariko mu minsi ya mbere y'itsembabwoko, abari muri MDR benshi – harimo abari barigaragaje muri MDR "*Pawa*" – barwanyije *Interahamwe* n'Impuzamugambi. Nyamara, nyuma y'ubutumwa bwanyuze kuri radiyo ku itariki ya 12 Mata butanzwe na Froduald Karamira no kubera amabwiriza asa na bwo yatanzwe n'abandi bayobozi b'ishyaka, amatsinda y'urubyiruko rwa MDR yifatanije n'Interahamwe. Bityo, bashyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza yavugaga ko igihe cyari

[3] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicurasi 2006.

[4] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicurasi 2006.

[5] Gucunga no gushyira abantu ku malisiti byaritondewe : "Urubyiruko rw'amashyaka amwe, nka PL na PSD, nyine urubyiruko rwa PL n'*Abakombozi* ba PSD, abenshi muri "bo" bari baragiye kwitoreza ibya gisirikari 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 yaza, hadutse imyifatire itihishira, abantu bari bashyigikiye umwanzi bajyaga muri CND kuva mu gitondo kugeza saa kumi n'ebyiri ndetse zirenga, baragendaga bakagaruka, kandi uko ni ko byabaye impamo ko abasirikari bamwe b'Inkotanyi bashoboye gucengera mu baturage babeshya ko abo bantu babaga bagiye gusura ari bo babaga bagarutse, nyamara kandi, ayo mayeri yo gucengera ni ko yakorwaga. Kandi abantu bajyaga muri CND baragenzurwaga" (ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T*,* urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi*,* TPIR*,* 31 Gicurasi 2006, urupasp. 4, *reba umugereka 86*).

kigeze cyo “kwibagirwa ubuyoboke[6].”

Abantu b’intagondwa rurangiranwa mu mashyaka bageze aho bavanga imitwe yitwara gisikare bashyiraho ubuyobozi bumwe buyobowe n’ishyaka MRND. Mu maperefegitura yose y’imbere mu gihugu, ubwo buyobozi bwagombaga gukurikiza ububasha n’inyugu by’abakuru b’amashyaka n’iz’abatangaga amafaranga mu turere bagengaga urubyiruko “rwabo” bakanarengera ubusugire bwo kuyoboka no kwitanga kwabo mu ntambara za politiki zari zibategereje. Ububasha bwa leta ku mitwe yose yitwara gisirikari bwariho koko, kandi ibyemezo bisobanutse binatanzwe n’abahagarariye byemewe ubutegetsi bw’igihugu ni byo byakoresheje amarushanwa yo kugumura abantu yahembereye akanaha ubukana ibikorwa by’ubwicanyi by’urubyiruko rw’imitwe yitwara gisirikari :

“Iyo abayobozi b’igihugu bashaka mu by’ukuri kurengera abaturage, abo bategetsi bafatanyije n’ingabo, abajandarume n’abapolisi ba komini, bashoboraga gufata imitwe yose yitwara gisikari. 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[7].”

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, abatangaga amabwiriza ya gisirikari n’abakuru b’amashyaka : “abayobozi” bakoreshaga ububasha bwabo ari na ko bitabira ibyo guha rugari imitwe yitwara gisikare. Kugira nabi, gusahura no kurya ivandu byari igihembo cyo gukomeza kurundanya imitwe yitwara gisirikari, ku rundi ruhande nanone, iterabwoba ryari ryimakajwe ryazibyaga abantu bacisha make cg abashoboraga kubirwanya mu basirikari, abanyapolitiki n’abakozi bakuru ba leta Guverinoma yashakaga gushyira mu gatebo kamwe. Abakuru b’imitwe yitwara gisirikari bari barabaye kamara mu guhangana n’umwanzi, nta rwego na rumwe bifuzaga gukumirwamo mu byo bakoraga, ariko ntibanashoboraga gukomeza gukora badashyigikiwe n’abayobozi bakuru, ari na bo bonyine bashoboraga kubizeza kutazigera bahanwa.

Mu buhamya bwe busesuye, Jean Kambanda asobanura neza urusobekerane rw’iyo mikoranire, uko bari bashyigikiwe n’ububasha bari bareguriwe n’abategetsi b’amashyaka (*reba umugereka wa 87*).

Kuba abayobozi babo ku rugamba bari babari hafi mu nsisiro z’umujyi zose no ku mabariyeri, inyungu babikuragamo n’icyizere cyo kudahanwa byari bihagije : kwica byahindutse noneho umurimo buri wese akora uko abyumva, kubera ko abanyapolitiki babategekaga batari bakibaha amabwiriza kandi “akazi ko gukora kakaba kari kagabanutse” kubera ko abakekwagaho kuba “abanzi” bari bamaze kugabanuka, imitwe yitwara gisirikari yakoresheje imbaraga zayo mu gusubiranamo baricana ubwabo :

“**Bz** : Ku matariki ya 13, 14, 15, na 16 Mata, ubwicanyi bwarakomeje ku mabariyeri yo ku

[6] Iyumvwa ry’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi-Kamena 2003.

[7] Iyumvwa ry’umuyobozi w’*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi-Kamena 2003.

mihanda (yo) mu mujyi wa Kigali ?
Sbz : Ubundi, nyakubahwa mwunganizi, 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[8]."

"**Bz** : Hanyuma uko igihe cyagiye kigenda n'ibyakurikiyeho mu ntambara, mbese Interahamwe nyinshi zifatanyije n'ingabo zizitiza umurindi ?
Sbz : Murambabarira niba ibyo ngiye kubabwira bisa n'ibigaragaramo ubugome. Hari igihe, i Kigali, hatari hakiri wenda abanzi bo kwica, ku buryo *Interahamwe* zimwe na zimwe zatangiye gusubiranamo : "Wowe wishe benshi, wa… ", (ibintu byo) isubiranamo. Byatumye ndetse, igihe kimwe, bamwe mu bagize Komite bavuga bati : "Dore rero, nta bwo abantu bo ku mabariyeri bagomba kuva mu nsisiro zabo ngo bajye kwihimura mu zindi nsisiro. Abantu bo mu rusisiro baraziranye neza kuri bariyeri, kandi bazi uri cg utari uwaho[9]."

Ni uko, nyuma y'imisi itatu y'ikibatsi cy'uburakari n'ubwicanyi kirimbuzi butagira rutangira, ubwicanyi bwagabanyije ubukana kubera umunaniro w'abicanyi, ukugabanuka kw'abahigwa, gukenera gukora akazi ko mu rugo gasanzwe no guhaha, ariko kandi no kugomba kuvanaho imirambo yari itangiye kuborera mu mazu no ku mihanda, kugabana ibyasahuwe no gusaranganya n'abaturanyi ibintu bitagira ba nyirabyo. N'ubwo gushishikaza abicanyi byakazaga umurego, bo bari mu gihirahiro. RTLM yabahamagariraga kwica, ariko bakabona neza ko hari amacakubiri mu bafata ibyemezo, ko etamajoro n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bitari bishyigikiye ubwicanyi, kimwe n'abanyapolitiki ndetse amadini. Amabwiriza avuguruzanya yariganje. Muri urwo rwego, ku itariki ya 10 Mata hatangajwe ibyemezo byo guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugenzura insisiro z'umujyi wa Kigali, mbese bigaragara ko abantu bifuzaga ko hashyirwaho inzibacyuho ya gisivili barutaga kure abashakaga ibyo "gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu za gisirikari" : minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu,Augustin Bizimana, yagarutse mu gihugu [ava mu mahanga], Perefe Renzaho yahannnye abasirikari bishoye mu bikorwa by'urugomo rukabije muri Kigali, komite y'ingobokamahina yakoranye inama na RTLM kugira ngo ihagarike ibyo guhamagarira abantu kwica (*reba* umugereka *wa 65*), ministeri y'imirimo ya leta yanyujije kuri Radiyo Rwanda itangazo rihamagarira abashoferi bayo gusubira ku mirimo kuva bukeye bwaho ku itariki ya 11 Mata mu gitondo[10].

Guhera mu gitondo cya kare uwo munsi, abantu batewe igishyika no kubona ibihumbi by'imirambo y'abiswe "abanzi" yegeranyagwa ikarundwa hamwe kugira ngo amakamyo ya Minitrape ayitunde ku masangano y'inzira no ku mihanda minini yose inyura mu nsisiro z'umujyi no mu duce dutuwe twa Kigali.

[8] Ibyatagajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 74.
[9] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 31 Gicurasi 2006, p. 8.
[10] Abari bateze amatwi bumvise ko byari ugutoragura intumbi. Abahagarariye imitwe yitwara gisirikari basabye abari ku mabariyeri gufatanya n'abaturage kuyora intumbi no kuzishyira hafi y'imihanda.

Mu gihe amahanga yakazaga umurego mu kwamagana ubwicanyi naho ambasade zo zitegura kwivaniramo akarenge, ingabo za FPR zavuye mu birindiro byazo ku Mulindi zigaruriraga amakomini ahana imbibi na Kigali Ngari ndetse zambukiranya umujyi zikomeza zerekeza mu majyepfo; ibyo byahangayikishije ndetse bitera ubwoba abayobozi ba gisirikari n'aba politki bari bakijya ku butegetsi. Ni muri urwo rwego abategetsi ba MRND n'abakuru b'amashyaka bahamagaje abagize komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* kugira ngo babasabe guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga mu nzira nyabagendwa.

Uwo munsi w'agahenge kagereranije mu nkubiri y'ubwicanyi waranzwe n'igihirahiro dore ko ibintu byasaga n'ibigifite igaruriro.

Ku ruhande rumwe, abakuru b'amashyaka n'abategetsi bashoboraga kugarura amahoro bari mu cyeragati hagati y'inzira za politiki zasaga n'izibaca mu myanya y'intoki no gukomeza intambara yasaga n'aho bari bamaze kuyitsindwa. Abaminisitiri bashya bari bashyizweho birindaga ibyo kugerekwaho umutwaro w'itsembatsemba n'ubwicanyi bari kuzabazwa byanze bikunze, ariko ntibaniyumvishaga ko bashobora kubyamagana cg kugira icyo bahindura. Nanone, abaperefe bateraniye i Kigali ntibashobora kumvikana, ibyo bigashimangirwa nuko hari abatari bitabiriye iyo nama. Naho ku ruhande rw'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo aho abenshi mu bari babugize bahigwaga cg banyazwe ububasha, bageragezaga kwifashisha Minuar ngo yumvishe FPR yemere ibyo guhagarika intambara nta yandi mananiza.

Ku rundi ruhande, igice gikomeye cy'abanyacyubahiro bari batangije itsembatsemba n'ubwicanyi, mu b'ikubitiro harimo Bagosora, Ntabakuze, Mpiranya na Nzirorera, ntibashoboraga kwihanganira ko hagira igisubizo cya politiki gishoboka. Icyo bari bahuriyeho ni ugutinya ko ibikorwa byo kugarura "amahoro" byashoboka batabirimo maze bakazaryozwa uruhare rwabo mu bwicanyi bwatumye intambara yubura. Ibyo byatumye abasirikari n'abasivili bari "bigaruriye ubutegetsi" mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata barushaho kwiroha mu rwobo birabahira.

Uwo munsi, amabwiriza abaperefe bahawe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, guhunga kwa Guverinoma bwakeye yageze i Gitarama hamwe n'itegeko ryatanzwe na Nzirorera ryo guha intwaro imitwe yitwara gisirikari ku mabariyeri byongeye guhembera ubwicanyi. Zahinduye imirishyo burundu rero, maze agatsiko ka Bagosora na Nzirorera n'abagashyigikiye b'intagondwa karaganza bidasubirwaho.

Uburumirahahabiri n'intege nke bya Guverinoma mu bwicanyi

Nta shiti, abaminisitiri bashya bari basobanukiwe neza abagengaga by'ukuri iyo Guverinoma n'icyo bashakaga kuyikoresha. Yego ntibari basobanukiwe neza inzira zose zari zakoreshejwe mu kubaha imyanya, ariko bari bemeye imirimo bari bashinzwe. Ibyo ari byose, 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 cg 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 ntiyari akeneye amabwiriza yanditse kugira ngo akore, mu gihe yari azi ko amategeko, amabwiriza cg ibigomba gukurikizwa byavaga ku buyobozi. Nanone, MRND yagenzuraga cg yahinduraga bikomeye imitetekerereze y'abashinzwe ubuyobozi bw'igihugu (ba perefe, ababurugumesitiri, abajyanama, n'abashinzwe komite z'amaserire [abaserire] kandi nta cyo kubaho kw'amashyaka menshi byari byarabihinduyeho[11]."

N'ubwo Guverinoma yitanze itizigamye, iminsi ya mbere yarayigoye cyane. Abasirikari n'abasivili bahanze Guverinoma bamaze kuyiha rugari bakitarura, abaminisitiri bari bashyizweho bashoboye cg 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 bwa mbere ku itariki ya 9 Mata. Abaminisitiri hafi ya bose bafashe ijambo, baganira muri rusange ku mpumeko ya politiki 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. Bwana Booh-Booh yagiye muri iyo mihango, aho perezida Sindikubwabo, minisitiri w'intebe Jean Kambanda na Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, visi-perezida [w'inteko ishinga amategeko] bafashe ijambo. Nyuma y'imihango, twateraniye 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, naho we agahuza ibyarebaga minisiteri y'ingabo byose[12]."

Nyuma y'inama, minisitiri w'intebe yemeje imirimo n' ingengabihe byashyiraga mu byihutirwa kurusha ibindi muri porogaramu ya Guverinoma imirimo y'ububanyi n'amahanga no "kugarura amahoro". Byari ngombwa gushinga ibirindiro by'ubutegetsi mu gihugu hose : "ku wa mbere : abaperefe; ku wa kabiri : ababurugumesitiri; ku wa gatatu : abajyanama; ku wa kane :abaturage[13]." Mu by'ukuri, ibakwe ry'abaminisitiri ba MRND bari basubijweho ryatumye bose bagira umurava kabone n'ubwo abenshi ndetse ubariyemo na minisitiri w'intebe bari ibyigakurunga.

Nyamara ntibyatinze kwigaragaza 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 cg itatu, ariko nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma, ntibyakumvikana ukuntu abasivili n'abasirikari bakomeza guteza akajagari (urubyiruko rw'amashyaka na rwo ruri muri urwo rwego rugomba kugenzurwa). Kumvikana n'abasirikari, bagaragaza imbaraga, n'abanyapolitiki

[11] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.
[12] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.
[13] Inyandiko za Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, TPIR, ishakiro K0045913 (*reba umugereka wa 88*).

bafite ibitekerezo. Bariyeri zigenzurwa n'abasirikari zigomba kugumaho, ariko abaturage bishyiriyeho bariyeri zabo[14]."

Abahungabanyaga umutekano n'abakoraga ubwicanyi bari bamaze gutahurwa neza : "Abasirikari", urubyiruko rw'amashyaka"(*Interahamwe* za MRND), RTLM na Radio Rwanda. Ubwo yashyirwaga mu majwi ku buryo butaziguye na FPR yamaganaga "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[15]."

Muri ayo mashiraniro, umwanzuro wa nyuma w'Inama ya Guverinoma mu rwego rwo kugarura amahoro usa no kwivugira gusa, kubera ko uha ububasha bwo kuwushyira mu bikorwa abafite "ingufu", ukaba utanagaragaza byeruye "ubushake" bwa Guverinoma : "ingabo zagombye gufata abicana, abasahura kandi zikabahana binyuze mu mategeko[16].

Iyo ni imwe mu ngingo zikomeye zagize ingaruka ku myivugururire y'abagize Guverinoma. Kubera ko bari barinzwe n'abasirikari kandi bifitiye ubwoba, 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 bagezwagaho n' "ababarindaga" cg, 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 cg uburyo bwo gukorera hamwe byashyizweho kugira ngo bigeze ku baminisitiri amakuru ku byaberaga mu mujyi 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 w'ibiro bya minisitiri wasimburaga minisitiri Faustin Munyazesa wari wabaye ikigwari, afatanyije n'ubuyobozi bwa MRND bwakoranaga buri gihe na Radio Rwanda bwari bumaze kwigarurira hamwe rero na RTLM.

Kugira ngo hatabaho gushidikanya ku kigero cy'amakuru yageraga ku baminisitiri, ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko inama ya guverinoma yakorewe kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* yabaye hari abayobozi ba MRND, bashoboraga kuboneka buri

[14] 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.

[15] 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.

[16] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

gihe dore ko abenshi nabo ari aho bari bacumbitse.

Ni muri uro rwego abaminisitiri banze ku itariki ya 10 Mata ko radiyo ihitisha amatangazo ya Kiliziya Gatolika yateguwe 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 mu Rwanda :

> "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 wihaye Imana, 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 mu Rwanda, 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[17]."

Icyo cyemezo minisitiri wari ushinzwe itangazamakuru, Éliezer Niyitegeka, intagondwa rurangiranwa mu kurwanya Abatutsi, yagizemo uruhare rukomeye, kigaragaza neza imbibi z'imbaraga zakoreshwaga na Guverinoma mu gucunga "umutekano" no guteza imbere "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro". Ni no muri bene ubwo buryo abaminisitiri bamenye ko abenshi mu bagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, abayobozi b'imitwe y'ingabo ndetse n'abo mu turere tw'ibikorwa bya gisirikari batari barashimye uburyo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yashyizweho kandi ko abakuru b'ingabo bari bari kugerageza kugirana imishyikirano na FPR. Bahagurukiye rero kurwana ku nshingano zabo : Umwe mu baminisitiri yanditse muri ajenda ye ati : "Guverinoma kugira ngo 'igumane' imishyikirano", atsindagira ukuntu Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ari yo yagombaga kugumana ububasha bwo gushyikirana na FPR.

Ku itariki ya 11 Mata, "inama ihuza Guverinoma n'abaperefe ba za perefegitura" yabafashije gupima uburemere bw'akaduruvayo n'ubwicanyi muri za perefegitura zari zihagarariwe, dore ko abenshi mu baperefe bayitabiriye bari baratangiye kwitabira ibikorwa byo guhashya "ibyitso" by'imbere mu gihugu. Nkuko imbonerahamwe rusange y'uko ibintu byari byifashe mu gihugu hose yabyerekanaga, abenshi bunze mu rya koloneli Renzaho wavugaga ko abaturage bahagurukanye ibakwe n'ubukaka bagahangana n'abacengezi n'ibitero bya FPR.

Kubera intugunda ziyongeraga n'ubukana bw'intambara bwagendaga bwigaragaza, abenshi mu bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bagendaga babogamira ku bitekerezo by'abantu b'intagondwa bashyiraga imbere intambara; nyamara ibyo ntibyabujije amacakubiri gukomeza ashingiye cyane cyane ku maperefegitura y'amajyepfo ahari higanje MDR na PSD yanze kwitabira bigaragara ubwicanyi ndetse inzego z'ibanze zigashyigikira aperefe i Gitarama, Butare na Gikongoro. Kuba perefe wo muri MDR, uwo muri PL w'Umututsi n'uwa MRND bari bafatanije kwigomeka byari ikibazo gikomeye : Uwa mbere yavugiye ku mugaragaro mu nama ko yamaganye ubwicanyi, naho uwa kabiri kubera ko yari afite ubwoba yanze kugira aho ajya ariko afatanya na mugenzi we wo ku

[17] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-14 na 15, 26 Mzeri 1997.

Gikongoro gucisha kuri radiyo itangazo ryamagana ubwicanyi. Byabaye ngombwa kubuza ko ayo makuru asakara !

> "**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 amakuru acecekwa."
> **Sbz** : Yego. […]
> **Bz** : Ni nde wababujije gukora raporo yanditse, wabagiriye inama ?
> **Sbz** : Ni minisitiri w'ingabo. […]
> **Bz** : Bwana Bizimana mu by'ukuri ntiyashoboraga kubategeka ikintu nk'icyo atabasobanuriye impamvu cg atisobanuye ?
> **Sbz** : Yari yambwiye ko bitari byiza ko ayo makuru akwirakwira.
> **Bz** : Ese ayo makuru yari ukuri ?
> **Sbz** : Ayo makuru yari ukuri.
> **Bz** : Kubera iki, nk'uko yabivuze, atagombaga gukwirakwira ?
> **Sbz** : Nta gisobanuro yampaye, uretse kuba yarambwiye ati : "Jyewe ndabona ku nyungu za Guverinoma aya makuru atagomba gukwirakwira."Nabonye ibindi bisobanuro… […]
> **Bz** : 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 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 ibyo yari yarakoze, ni uwa Gitarama, wavugaga ko yari yabashije kubuza abantu kuvogera 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 ibyo yari amaze gutangaza, amaze kuvuga ibyahaberaga, yarasimbujwe, ni byo ?
> **Sbz** : Si ako kanya[18]."

Minisitiri w'intebe yatanze umwanzuro asoza inama : "sinzi niba hashobora kubaho ibihe bikomeye kurusha ibyo turimo ubungubu[19]."

Muri uwo muvundo uteye kwiheba niho habaye igikorwa gitunguranye 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 abari babacumbikiye bamaze kwivaniramo akabo karenge. Abandi bari bateshejwe umutwe n'ibihuha, urusaku rw'amasasu, abasirikari bajagataga mu murwa mukuru ndetse n' "abacengezi" [ba FPR] bahwihwiswaga. Abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki bagengaga iyo Guverinoma bateguye ku buryo butunguranye ibyo kuyimurira imbere mu gihugu, i Gitarama; kubera ko ihunga ry'iyo Guverinoma ryabaye mu gihe abasirikari ba FPR bari bari gusatira umurwa mukuru, ibyo byarushijeho gutuma abantu babona ko nta bubasha n'intege yari yifitiye. Muri icyo gihe cy'icyoba rusange kiyongeraga buri munsi – ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) zakomeje kugenzura igice kinini cy'umujyi ibyumweru byinshi –

[18] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-14 na 15, 26 Mzeri 1997.
[19] Inyandiko za Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 11 Mata 1994, ishakiro K0045915.

niho umuntu abona neza aho inzego zifata ibyemezo zari zihagaze no kumenya 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 politiki rya mbere ryerekanaga mu by'ukuri kudakomera k'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, Joseph Nzirorera na Théoneste Bagosora bavanyeho iryo jarajara. Icyitwa "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" cyari cyibagiranye mu buryo nta rujijo rwari rukirangwa kuri politiki bifuzaga gushyira mu bikorwa. Itsembabwoko ryashoboraga rero, nkurikije amagambo ya Augustin Cyiza "kwigaburira", mbere y'uko ryitabwaho 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 muri gahunda y' "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" kandi babyemeje nta n'umwe ukopfoye mu nama ya mbere y'Inama ya Guverinoma yabereye i Murambi. Urujijo rw'imvugo y'urusobe "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" rworoherezaga buri wese muri bo kuyishyigikira no gukora nk'utazi ko kuva ubwo bene izo mvugo zari zihishe igisobanuro kimwe : kurimbura umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu.

Gahunda yiswe "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" yo kuva ku itariki 10 kugeza ku ya 12

Iyi ngingo ikomeye ishobora noneho kurondorwa neza kubera ubuhamya bw'abantu benshi bagizemo uruhare rutaziguye, butuma nta mpungenge umuntu asigarana ku kuntu ibintu byagenze n'ababigizemo uruhare. Harimo bamwe, nka Mathieu Ngirumpatse[20], nyuma y'ifatwa ryabo bisabwe n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda (TPIR), bamaze igihe bahakana bagatsemba [ko nta ruhare bafitemo]. Gahunda yiswe "kugarura amahoro" ni ingirakamaro mu kumva no kumenya ibihe byaranze umugambi wo kurimbagura abasivili b'Abatutsi. Mu gihe nyirabayazana koloneli Théoneste Bagosora yashakaga kurimbura abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki n'itsembatsemba muri rusange bigerekwa ku bayobozi bashya b'abasivili, abaminisitiri benshi barifashe, amahanga akaza umurego mu kwamagana ubwicanyi, maze Guverinoma igerageza kubugenzura n'ubwo itagize ubutwari bwo kubuhagarika.

> "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

[20] "Nababwiye ko kuva ku rupfu rwa perezida ntongeye kubonana na Komite" (ibyatangajwe na Mathieu Ngirumpatse, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, K0129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1 Ukwakira 1999).

bya Guverinoma, ari byo umutekano n'ubwicanyi[21] ; ubwo hemejwe muri rusange ko abatezaga imvururu n'abicanyi bagombaga kumenyekana bagahanwa by'intangarugero. Abasirikari bitwaraga nabi bo mu mitwe inyuranye n'Interahamwe za MRND bashyizwe mu majwi. 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'ingabo kubera ko minisitiri w'ingabo atari mu gihugu. Justin Mugenzi yahawe n'inama ububasha bwo kuvugana n'abategetsi ba MRND akabasaba guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorwaga n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, ari rwo Interahamwe. Ni muri urwo rwego Mugenzi yahuye na Mathieu Ngirumpatse, nyuma yaho ahura na Joseph Nzirorera, abagabo bari ku isonga muri iryo shyaka MRND ariko batari bari muri Guverinoma. Nzirorera yatumije inama y'abayobozi b'Interahamwe, harimo uyu mutangabuhamya ushinja. Nzirorera yabwiye abo bayobozi, Mugenzi ahibereye[22], ko Guverinoma yategetse ko ubwicanyi buherako buhagara. Nzirorera yahamije ko, ubundi, yabyemeraga.Yahaye abayobozi b'Interahamwe amabwiriza yo kujya mu mujyi no kumenya neza ko, mu mpera z'amanywa, ayo mabwiriza aba yageze ku bayobozi ba buri tsinda; nanone yasabye kumukorera 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 bashoboye kuvugana nabo bari bemeye kurangiza cg guhagarika ubwicanyi[23]."

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'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* usanga ubutumwa bwabo buhuza (*reba umugereka wa 90*).

"Ni nko mu masaa tatu mu gitondo, ku wa cg ahagana ku wa 10/04/1994, bwana Maniragaba Bernard, umwe mu bari bagize Komite y'igihugu yaguye (umujyanama) y'Interahamwe Za Muvoma yageze kwa Ephrem Nkezabera, na we wari muri iyo Komite, kutumenyesha inama abayobozi b'ishyaka MRND, ba bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nzirorera Joseph, bashakaga gukorana 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 amahanga yarwanyaga Guverinoma kubera ibyo." Bwana Mugenzi Justin yakomeje atwiyama "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 gutunganya "ibikorwa byo 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

[21] Édouard 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.

[22] Ibyatangajwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Justin Mugenzi, ku wa kabiri tariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 2005. Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005 (*reba umugereka wa 89*).

[23] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005 (*reba umugereka wa 89*).

> *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[24]."

Asa n'uwamenye impungenge z'abayobozi b'imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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 y' "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro", bwana Nzirorera yabonanye na koloneli Bagosora kugira ngo atubonere uburinzi bw'abasirikari, ni ukuvuga ijipi ifite ibara rya gisirikari n'abasirikari batatu bose bitwaje intwaro, harimo n'umushoferi. Urebye imyambarire yabo, abo basirikari bose uko ari 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[25]."

Ariko imyumvire y'ubutumwa bwatanzwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari yakomeje guhindagurika. Bamwe basaga n'abemera ubutegetsi bw'ingabo na Guverinoma[26] :

> "Ubutumwa bwakiriwe neza n'Interahamwe, kandi babyakiriye neza kubera ko uwabubagezagaho yari umwe muri bo. Noneho, kubera ko zitari zatunguwe, Interahamwe ntizagaragaje impungenge zidasanzwe. Urebye, byari ibintu bizwi neza n'umwe mu bacu[27]."

Abandi bamaganye bidasubirwaho ubwo buryo :

> "Tumaze gusohoza ubwo butumwa, *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'abasirikari, tuba twarahuye n'ingorane zikabije. Abasirikari baturindaga byabaye ngombwa nanone ko bitegura kwirwanaho, bagahora biteguye icyo bakora kugira ngo badutabare. Abari ku iyo bariyeri bibanze ku kuntu Guverinoma yagombaga ahubwo kubaha intwaro zo kwirwanaho aho kubunza ibigambo.[28]"

Ni muri icyo cyuka cyo kutishima bikabije abayobozi b'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bahaye mu masaa kumi n'imwe za nimugoroba, incamake 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 asaba ko dutera "Abatutsi bakomeye" mu gihe ubutumwa twari twategetswe gutanga bwari ubwo guhagarika ubwicanyi.

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[24] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 85.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 91.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 92.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 98.
[28] *Ibid.,* p. 85.

Hari ikindi kintu cyo kwitondera : ba bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nzirorera Joseph, mu kudutumiza muri iyo nama yo kugarura amahoro 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[29]."

"Umurimo bari badushinze ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 wari uw'urwiyerurutso. Koko rero, kuberako ingabo n'abajandarume batubahirizaga izo ntego, byatumye dukeka ko ayo mabwiriza atari yagejejwe ku bayobozi babifitiye ububasha. Urundi rugero, ni 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"[30]."

Mu gihe abaturage bari basabwe kurundarunda ku mihanda minini no mu masangano y'inzira imirambo y'abantu bishwe kugira ngo inzego zishinzwe imihanda ziyihavane, ubukana bw'ubwicanyi bwabaye hirya no hino bwakuye abantu umutima. 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, Édouard Karemera yabyifashemo ate ?
Sbz : Nk'uko nabibabwiye, iimyifatire nabonye kuri bwana Karemera, kwari ukwiheba bivanzemo no guhebera urwaje : "Murumva, ni urwaje… ", ikintu cyo kubura uko ugira. Ni nk'aho umuntu yari kuba ahanganye n'ikintu ntarengwa cyari kimaze guca ibintu.
Bz : Hari umuntu wanejejwe cg wari ufite ibyishimo ku buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose ukurikije ibyabaga ku batutsi ?
Sbz : Umva, sinshaka wenda gusesengura kwitaza ibintu kwa bwana Nzirorera, ariko 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… ntawababajwe 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 ko FPR yari yivuganye numero ya cumi n'umwe. Ariko nanze ubwo bukonje bwagaragaraga ku byari byabaye kuri perezida wacu[31]."

Ibyo ari byo byose 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 (ni na bo bari abayobozi b'Interahamwe za MRND) twari twumvikanye gukomeza umurimo kugeza urangiye[32]."

Baratangaye cyane, bagarutse ku itariki ya 12 ku manywa, basanze hagati aho Guverinoma yahunze kandi Nzirorera wenyine gusa ari we uri kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates.* Yariho yimura ibintu bye, noneho bahageze aboneraho akanya ko kubasaba inkunga yo kubimutwarira :

[29] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobzi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, wiswe KO502624.
[30] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro KO502624.
[31] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 70-71.
[32] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 101.

> "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 kurusimbuka kubera bwana Nzirorera kandi yari yashoboye kwita kuri ibyo byifuzo, yashoboye kutubonera intwaro, kandi abantu bakomezaga guhunga Kigali. Ariko *Interahamwe* nyinshi zo kuri bariyeri zarahagumye. Urebye ni imiryango… abantu b'intege nke bavagaga muri Kigali, kubera ko na Guverinoma yari yamaze kuva i Kigali. Kandi, kubera igitutu cy'intambara, abantu bagendaga bumva nta mutekano bafite. Ngibyo. Ngibyo uko twagambaniwe n'abantu bari baraturoshye mu bintu byafatwaga, ubundi, nk'igikorwa cyiza cyo kugoboka abari mu kaga[33]."

Mu gihe bari bashinzwe kwigisha ibyo guhosha ubwicanyi, batahanye ikirundo cy'intwaro n'amasasu byo guha imitwe yitwara gisirikari !

Iyo nzira idasobanutse yerekana neza ukuntu igihugu cyaguye mu mutego w'ingamba zikaze zo guhangana ari nabyo byabyaye itsembabwoko ryemejwe na Nzirorera na Bagosora. Kuri benshi, itariki ya 12 Mata yabaye umunsi udasanzwe : ni bwo ambasade hafi ya zose zafunze, ni bwo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yimukiye i Gitarama, ni bwo yigaruriwe n'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki bari bayishyizeho, ni bwo kandi cyane cyane ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'U Rwanda bwashyize ahagaragara itangazo (*reba umugereka wa71*). Ubwo buyobozi bwingingagaga FPR na Minuar kugira ngo imirwano ihagarare n'agahenge kaboneke kugira ngo ingabo "zishyigikiye ubutegetsi" zibone uko zihagarika ubwicanyi no gucubya imitwe yitwara gisirikari hamwe n'imitwe y'abasirikari yaziyoboraga.

Iryo tangazo, ari na ryo rya nyuma ryasinywe mu izina rya etamajoro yari yarashyizweho n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw' ingabo mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 rihyira iya 7 Mata, ryashimangiye ikimenyetso cyo gutsindwa akabiri kombi. N'ubwo ryashimangiraga ko Bagosora n'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bari bahawe akato mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, ryerekanaga nanone ububasha buke abasirikari bakuru bari bafite ku mitwe yitwara gisirikari no ku mitwe yari yaranze kubayoboka (cyane cyane ingabo zarindaga perezida, n'amabatayo yitwaga "Paracommandos" na "Recce"), ryerekanaga nanone ububasha buke bwo gukebura abandi basirikari bakuru benshi batari babyitayeho kimwe n'ubwo kugira ubwemarare bwo gushyikirana na FPR mu biganiro byo guhagarika intambara. Ubwo FPR yahaga abanyamahanga bari mu bikorwa by'ubutabazi igihe ntarengwa cyo kurangiza guhungisha abantu babo na Minuar bigaragara ko nta cyo ikimaze, igihe cyo guhangana imbonankubone cyari cyegereje. Nzirorera na Bagosora bagombaga kugereka ku gihugu cyose inzira ikomeye bari barahisemo mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata no kuyihatira abantu bose kuva ubwo.

Ubuhamya bwose bw'abayobozi b'*Interahamwe* buruzuzanya mu kurondora neza ukuntu icyemezo cyo guha intwaro imitwe yitwara gisirikari cyafashwe :

[33] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 71.

cyari ikimenyetso cy'ubwumvikane abafataga ibyemezo bari bagiranye. Ubwo bwumvikane bwagombaga gukomeza kubaho kugeza igihe intambara izararangirira. Nguko uko ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 mu masaa munani n'igice, ba bantu batatu bari bagize Komite y'igihugu, Ephrem Nkezabera, Bernard Maniragaba na Jean-Pierre Sebanetsi, bagiye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates,* gusobanurira abayobozi uko ubutumwa bwagenze no gusaba intwaro zigenewe abo mu mitwe yitwara gisirikari bo kuri bariyeri. Ku bwumvikane bwa Joseph Nzirorera na koloneli Bagosora, bashoboye kwivuganira n'uwo wa nyuma :

> "Noneho, Nzirorera Joseph yahaye Bernard numero ya terefone[34]...Uwo ni we wakoraga nk'umuhuza hagati ya koloneli Bagosora n'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, kugira ngo tubone intwaro[35].
>
> "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, 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 nabivuga. Aho rero niho, 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 mu Rwanda bitaga… [ntibyumikana] imbunda z'Abajepe (GP)[36]; bukeye ni bwo twashoboye 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 bikabonerwa ibisubizo". Nyine, ku itariki ya 13 ahubwo ni bwo twatanze intwaro, ariko twari twazibonye ku mugoroba wo kuri 12 Mata[37]."

Indimi ebyiri n'intege nke bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byari igikoresho cy'abayishyizeho kandi rero ntiyari ifite na mba icyifuzo cg ubushake bwo

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[34] Bernard Maniragaba akomoka mu Ruhengeri kimwe na Joseph Nzirorera wari waramushinze imirimo myinshi irimo gucunga umutungo no kuba umubitsi muri komite ibangikanye n'iyari yemewe : "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).

[35] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Bruxelles, TPIR, 19 Gicurasi 2004, p. 28.

[36] 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 n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 63).

[37] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 71-72.

kwibwiriza kugira icyo ikora cy'ingirakamaro mu buryo n'ububasha bwayo ngo igarure umutekano kandi icubye intagondwa. Mu gihe *Interahamwe* zari zarakataje kuva umunsi wa mbere mu gukwirakwiza no gutegura ubwicanyi, n'ubwo zari zaragaye amabwiriza y'"ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro", zabonaga adasobanutse, ntibyababujije kuyakwirakwiza bihishe inyuma y'ibyarangaga ubutegetsi (abasirikari bakuru 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 gisirikari no kwitwaza imbunda mbere y'uko intambara yubura. Ikintu cyose kitari kibujijwe ku buryo buzwi kandi ngo ginahanwe bikomeye cyari cyemewe, cyane cyane iyo ibikorwa bigikomotseho byabaga bihuje n'impamvu uwo mutwe witwara gisirikari wari warashyiriweho ukanahabwa imyitozo guhera hagati y'umwaka wa 1993. Ntibatunguwe rero n'ivuguruzanya z'ibyo basabwaga. Iryo gerageza rya mbere ahubwo ni ryo ryokamye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho :

> "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 ugukurikiza ubutumwa ibyemezo bikomeye. Ibyo byemezo bikomeye, mu bihe nk'ibyo, bireba ahanini abajandarume, bireba ahanini ingabo. Ku bwanjye, icyo gikorwa cyunganira ubutumwa bari badusabye gutanga cyari kuba ingirakamaro kuko byarashobokaga gukanga wifashishije imbaraga z'abajandarume cg z'ingabo ; n'ubwo byose bitari guhagarara ako kanya, ariko byari gukanga bikanaca intege. Kuki mvuga ibyo ? Ndavuga ibyo, kubera ko, ubwo nanyuraga mu gace kahariwe ubucuruzi [quartier commercial] i Kigali, twabonye intumbi zambaye imyambaro ya gisirikari kandi namenye ko abo bantu bari bishwe bitegetswe na perefe wa Kigali. Rero, abapolisi ba komini ba perefegitura ya Kigali bari bafite itegeko ryo kwica abasirikari bahitagamo kwishora mu busahuzi aho kujya ku rugamba. Kubera iyo mpamvu, agace k'ubucuruzi nta cyo kabaye. Intumbi, ndakeka ko zahamaze iminsi ibiri cg itatu. Hanyuma ndakeka ko icyemezo nk'icyo cyari kunganira ubutumwa abo bayobozi bari badusabye gutanga. Ku bwanjye, icyo 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 ikindi cyatumaga ibintu biba ingorabahizi ari FPR n'icyokere cyayo cya gisirikari yashyiraga ku baturage no ku ngabo z'igihugu, nyine. Hari ibyemezo ishyano ryose kandi abayobozi ni bo bagombaga kubimenya[38]."

Bityo, Guverinoma nshya ikijyaho yasanze nta bubasha burambye ifite, kandi birumvikana neza ko mu ntamabara imibanire y'iyo "Guverinoma y'impunzi"[39] n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari itaremeraga ubuyobozi n'ishingiro ryayo itari shyashya :

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[38] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 73.

[39] "Nta cyambuza kuvuga ko abagize Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe za MRND* bumvise bagambaniwe kandi banasizwe bonyine, igihe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahungaga ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 iva i Kigali ijya i Murambi, nyuma ikava i Murambi ijya ku Gisenyi (Kamena 1994) aho yavuye yerekeza Bukavu-Zayire (Nyakanaga 1994)" (iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi witwara gisirikari, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Bruxelles, 19 Gicurasi 2004, p. 28).

> "Kugenda, birumvikana, ariko kugenda umuntu atavuze, adateguje, nta butumwa na bumwe atanze kuri radiyo, mumbabarire kubabwira akandi ku mutima kanagaragaza nanone ikiri ku mutima wa bagenzi banjye n'abandi Banyarwanda ku myitwarire idahwitse twanenze iyo Guverinoma[40]."

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, Joseph 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 bakabishoramo ku gahato abayobozi ba Guverinoma bahisemo kutiteranya.

Mu gihe itari yaragerageje gukoresha ingufu kugira ngo ihagarike ubwicanyi bigishoboka, ahubwo abagize imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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 cyo gucapa taragite ihamagarira abaturage guhaguruka (*reba incamake ya 13),* ni abayobozi ba MRND n'abasimburaga abayobozi b'ingabo bifatiye ubwabo ibyemezo bikomeye, bitananyuze mu nzego za MRND cg mu rundi rwego urwo ari rwo rwose rwemewe n'amategeko cg ruhuriweho na benshi. Kwitanga kuri uru rugero byari bihanitse. Ibikorwa byo "kugarura amahoro" ntibyari kubura kugenda nabi, dore ko nta bushake cg uburyo bufatika byigeze bihabwa. Ibyasabwaga na Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* byari byatunganye : imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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, ibyabaye n'icyo umuntu yakwita amahina mu rubanza rwa koloneli Bagosora birahura. Izi nteruro nke yivugiye ubwe hari aho usanga zirenga ibyo kwiregura no kwisobanura zigafata intera yo kwiyemerera icyaha :

> "**Bz** : [...] Icyo nshaka kumenya : mbese mwemera cg muhakana ko mu gihe iki n'iki, Abatutsi bishwe kubera gusa ko bari Abatutsi ?
> **Sbz** : Mu gihe kimwe bishwe kubera ko ari Abatutsi. Mu kindi gihe, … mu kindi gihe, byaracitse… ibisazi… hanyuma, waba umututsi 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[41] ; kuri jye ni

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[40] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe T, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi*, TPIR, 30 Gicurasi 2006, p. 64.

[41] Mu nkambi z'abavanywe mu byabo bari barahunze imirwano nu bice byigaruriwe n'Inkotanyi kuva muri 1991, inkambi ya Nyacyonga -kuri kirometero zigera ku icyenda mu mjyaruguru **y'**umurwa mukuru - ahari 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 mu murwa mukuru**.** Ku itariki ya 12, mu mpera z'igitondo, bumvise ko Guverinoma

> cyo cyitegererezo, icyo gihe, nta muntu ugenzura undi. Hari miliyoni 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, ndababwira ko kuva ku itariki ya 12, ihunga rya Guverinoma, iseswa ry'inkambi z'abavanywe mu byabo i Nyacyonga, bakiroha mu baturage imbere, jye nshobora gufata iyo tariki nk'intangiriro y'umwuzure […] [42]."

Ihitamo ry' itsembabwoko ryari noneho rimaze kwemezwa nta nkomyi kandi nta bwo ryigeze ryibazwaho kugeza batsinzwe. Hakoreshejwe imvugo ebyiri zitandukanye, iyo gushimira imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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 abanyapolitiki bafite ubwoba cg "bakonje", bwatanze uburyo bwo guhagarika amabi yakozwe hifashishijwe ibirangantego n'umwambaro wa MRND.

Ibibazo by'ingutu n'abagize uruhare mu itsembabwoko

Ubu noneho birashoboka gusobanura uko "akagambane" k'itsembabwoko gateye, gushyira mu ngengabihe ibyiciro byaryo, kugaragaza umwuka ryatangiyemo, no kugaragaza abantu banyuranye barigizemo uruhare.

Incamake ya 15

Ibyiciro by'ingezi by'itsembabwoko n'abariguyemo

Imibare tuvuga hano yerekeye igihe cy'intambara yo mu mezi ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994, n'ubwo byumvikana neza ko abapfuye benshi cyane ushaka kubabarura yahera 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, ubwicanyi bugambiriwe, abakuwe mu byabo) ariko cyane cyane nyuma y'intambara nyirizina FPR igenzura igihugu cyose igashyiraho gahunda zo gucyura za miliyoni z'impunzi z'Abahutu zari ku mipaka ndetse ikanigarurira uturere tuhegereye.

Ubwicanyi bujyanye n'ibyiciro binyuranye by'intamabara

Kwica Abatutsi no guhitana bamwe mu batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje n' "ibyitso" mu nsisiro za Kigali byatangiye guhera mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 ishyira iya 7 Mata 1994 nyuma gato y'aho amahano y'indege ya perezida Habyarimana amenyekaniye. Ku munsi ukurikiyeho hatahiwe za segiteri na za komini zayoborwaga cg zagenzurwaga n'intagondwa zitsimbaraye ku irondakoko ryimakaza Abahutu, nko muri za perefegitura zo mu majyaruguru no mu

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y'inzibacyuho yahunze, biroshye ikivunge mu muhanda nabo berekeza i Gitarama. Iryo hunga ryo mu cyoba ryabayemo ubugizi bwa nabi bwinshi cyane (gusahura kugira ngo babone ibyo kurya) ariko cyane kwangiza ibintu 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.

[42] Ubuhamya bwa Théoneste Bagosora, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 10 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 22. Umugereka wa 91 uranga 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 ibyariho 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 cg bigahakanwa.

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 9 Mata, mu nsisiro zose za Kigali, ari ahatuwe n'abakire kimwe n'ahatuwe na rubanda rugufi, abasirikari b'ingabo zirinda perezida, ab'amabatayo y' "Abaparakomando", "Ubutasi" n'indi mitwe bagabye ibitero bikaze mu ngo z'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje 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 maparafo, mu tubati, munsi 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 mujyi ku itariki ya 11Mata (Umuryango w'Abibumbye uvuga ko imirambo yageraga ku bihumbi 20).

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 yitwara gisirikari 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 yibasiwe by'umwihariko ni ayarimo umubare munini w'Abatutsi (Butare, amajyepfo ya Kibuye, Gikongoro).

Nyuma y'itariki ya 20 Mata, nta hantu na hamwe harinzwe hari hakiri mu gihugu cyose. Ahantu hose, ahahurira abantu benshi (za kiliziya, amashuri, ibitaro, ibiro bya komini cg za perefegitura) abayobozi bari basabye Abatutsi kuhateranira haratewe hose abari bahari baricwa, akenshi ari ibihumbi n'ibihumbi.Kubera ko yari ihangayikishijwe n'ingaruka ku rwego mpuzamahanga z'iryo tsembatsemba n'ubusahuzi, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yasabye abayobozi b'ibanze kugenzura ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byakorwaga n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Politiki yiswe iyo "kugarura amahoro" 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 abagera ku bihumbi 200 bari bamaze kwicwa mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Mata). Mbere na mbere ibyo byaterwaga n'impamvu z'imikorere. Uretse ko n'abicanyi bari bamaze kurambirwa, "akazi" k'ingenzi kari karangiye kandi, uretse mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo, ntibyari bicyoroshye kubona "abanzi" n' "ibyitso" byo kwica.

Ubwicanyi bwongeye gukaza umurego cyane mu gice cya kabiri cy'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, mu igerageza rya nyuma ryo "kwirwanaho mu gihugu" mu gihe ibitero bya FPR byabaryaga isataburenge; ubwicanyi bwakoreshwaga nk'intwaro yo gukoma imbere ingabo za FPR. Guhiga no kurimbura umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu byashyizwe ku isonga n'amabwiriza ya Guverinoma yo kwirwanaho kw'abasivili yo ku wa 25 Gicurasi yadukanywe na Édouard Karemera amaze kwegurirwa ubuyobozi bwa minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Mu maperefegitura yo hagati, mu majyepfo no mu majyepfo ashyira Uburengerazuba, kwiyongera kw'impunzi zashushubikanywaga n'ibitero by'Inkotanyi ryatumye abantu birunda hamwe. Abayobozi bashakaga kurangiza "akazi", ni ukuvuga kumaraho abari bararengewe kugeza ubwo (abasaza, abagore, abapadiri n'ababikira, abaganga, n'abandi) kimwe no guhashya burundu abari bakigerageza kwirwanaho mu misozi ya Bisesero muri komini Gishyita na Gisovu za perefegitura ya Kibuye.

Ahantu hose kandi mu kwezi kose kwa Kamena, habayeho ibyo guhiga ku buryo bwitondewe mu mirima, mu bihuru, mu bishanga, mu mashyamba no mu migezi kugira ngo bamareho Abatutsi barokotse. Guhera ku itariki ya 23 Kamena, gushyiraho "akarere k'ubutabazi kizewe" kagenzurwaga n' Abafaransa byatumye abavanywe mu byabo amagana n'amagana baguma hamwe binatuma ingabo za FPR zihuta cyane zigana mu majyaruguru, zinahagarika itsembabwoko ry'Abatutsi.

Imibare myinshi akenshi ivuguruzanya

Umubare wavuzwe w'abishwe mu itsembabwoko wakomeje buri gihe gucishirizwa, ushyirwa hagati y'ikigereranyo gito n'ikinini cy'ibihumbi 500 na miliyoni 2 zirenga. Koko rero, n'ubwo amabarura yose yakozwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, n'abayozi bashya nyuma yaho, yemeza ubwinshi bukabije bw'abishwe, nta na rimwe rituma hakwemezwa bifatika ikigereranyo iki n'iki.

Imibare ya mbere yatangwaga nyuma y'intambara yari mu bihumbi 500 kandi yari ishingiye ku mubare w'Abatutsi wari wabaruwe muri 1991 n'abari barokotse. Hakurikiyeho nyuma ibiteranyo byakozwe n'abayobozi bashya, iby'ingenzi bivugwamo akaba ari tugiye kwerekana :

- Mu kwezi ku Ukuboza 1994, raporo y'Ishami ry'ibarura rya minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu y'ingoma nshya yatangagaga umubare wa miliyoni ebyiri n'ibihumbi ijana (2.100.000) z'abishwe mu itsembabwoko. 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 mu Rwanda (800.000) ku giteranyo rusange cya miliyoni 2 z'impunzi zabarurwaga hanze y'imipaka y'U Rwanda. Igiteranyo cyabonetse (miliyoni 5,92), kikaba ari cyo cyacishirizaga umubare "nyawo" w'abantu bari bakiriho, cyagereranyijwe n'umubare "ukekwa" w'abantu 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 itsembabwoko n'ubwicanyi bwo muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994* yatangajwe muri Gashyantare 1996. Igiteranyo cy'abishwe cyageraga icyo gihe kuri miliyoni n'ibihumbi magana atatu na mirongo itandatu na bine na makumyabiri (1.364.020)[c].

- Nyuma y'ibarura ryakozwe muri Nyakanga 2000, icyegeranyo cyemewe cya minisiteri y'U Rwanda y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu cyatangajwe muri 2002 cyerekanye ko itsembabwoko ryahitanye miliyoni imwe n'ibihumbi mirongo irindwi na bine na cumi na barindwi (1.074.017). Ariko rero mu bishwe bose 934.218 gusa ni bo bamenyekanye nyabyo. Ukurikije anketi zakozwe, 93,7 % by'abishwe mu itsembabwoko bishwe kubera ko babonwagaho kuba Abatutsi, 1 % bazize ko bafitanye isano yo mu muryango, y'ishyingirana cg y'ubucuti n'Abatutsi, 0,8 % bazira ko bafite isura y'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 bibasiwe cyane kurusha abagore (43,3). Mu rwego 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 aho abishwe bari 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 (12,1 %). 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 muri 2003 yegereje, bashingiye ku mibare isa n'iyo mu Kuboza 1994, abategetsi batangaje ko abaturage b'U Rwanda bageraga kuri miliyoni 8,2. Bahereye ku mibare y'ibarura ryo muri 1991 no ku burumbuke busanzwe bwa 3,2 %, "igihombo cy'abantu" gikomoka ku makimbirane icyo gihe cyafatwaga nka miliyoni 2,3.

- Muri Mata 2004**,** ibarura ryakozwe na minisiteri y'U Rwanda y'Urubyiruko, Umuco na Siporo kandi rigafata gusa igice cy'intambara y'imyiryane yo muri 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 managa cyenda mirongo itatu na birindwi (937.000) harimo Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe

n'ingoma iganje b'Abahutu" (ibyatangajwe 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 mu itsembabwoko wafatwaga nka miliyoni imwe(1.000.000).

Miliyoni imwe ivugwa n'ubayobozi b'U Rwanda cg Komite Mpuzamahanga y'umuryango utabara imbabare (CICR)[e] n'ibihumbi magana inani (800.000) bivugwa n'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'anketi zakozwe mu turere tuzwi neza.

Ibarura ry'abazize itsembabwoko n'abazize intambara

Amagereranya cg amahuzagurika agaragara muri izo anketi ashingiye ku bibazo by'uburyo bwo gukora (ntarengwa muri rusange) no gusobanura abishwe abo ari bo. Ariko by'umwihariko, hari ingorane ebyiri mu by'ukuri zidashobora kwirengagizwa.

Iya mbere, niba amabarura abiri rusange y'abaturage yo muri 1978 no muri 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 politiki 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 itsembabwoko n'abazize intambara (imirwano hagati y'ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) n'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR), kimwe n'uw'abaturage b'abahutu bishwe n'ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR)**.**Urugero : ku itarikiya 16 Nzeri 1994 mu nama Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda 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 mu itsembabwoko", ariko ubuhamya n'intangamugabo byose byakusanyijwe byo byabaruraga Abahutu ibihumbi mirongo 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].

Ayo mabwiriza yategekaga kwica abafatiwe ku rugamba [aho kubagira imfungwa z'intambara], kuvana abaturage mu duce tumaze kwigarurirwa ndetse, nkuko byagaragaye 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 byobo rusange byari bisanzwe biriho, zabaruriwe nyuma hamwe n'imbaga y'abazize itsembabwoko. N'ubwo habayeho ibintu byo gushaka byanze bikunze guhakana iyo mikorere no gusibanganya ibimenyetso ntangamugabo, nkuko igitabo cya HRW/FDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre [Ntimusige n'uwo kubara inkuru]* kibivuga, "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 ibyabaye ku bakuwe mu byabo bo muri zone Turquoise[i], igihe Inkotanyi zahafataga (cya cyane mu nkambi y'i Kibeho, muri Mata 1995) ; kwicwa bunyamaswa kw'impunzi zacyuwe ku mbaraga ziva muri Zayire muri 1996 ; ubwicanyi budasanzwe bw'impunzi zahungaga zerekeza i Gisangani n'i Kinshasa hagati ya1996 na 1997, cg 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 n'itsembabwoko yakozwe n'abanditsi benshi (Filip Reytjens[i], 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 bahitanywe, twavuga nanone ba "basirikari 10 ba Loni" b'Ababiligi, bishwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Nyuma abandi "basirikari ba Loni" 12 bahasize ubuzima, kimwe n'indorerezi eshatu za gisirikari, n'umwe mu bagize igipolisi cy'abasivili**.**

N'ubwo hari amakuru menshi yakomotse ahantu henshi cyane kandi yashyizwe mu madosiye akomeye n'ibiro by'umushinjacyaha w'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR), kwanga gukurikirana abatangije ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bwo mu ntambara n'ubwicanyi bwibasira ikiremwamuntu byakozwe n'ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) ntibizatuma intugunda zikaze kandi zihoraho zirangira (*reba umutwe wa 14*).

[a.] Mu mubonano hagati y'abahagarariye Inkotanyi n'ingabo z'igihugu ku itariki yaa 30 Gicurasi 1994 ku cyicaro gikuru cya Minuar i Remera (Kigali), etamajoro 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, 1.360.970 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) ; Umujyi wa Kigali (56.052) ; Ruhegeri (43.143).

[d.] Nyamara hakozwe ibarura rusange ry'abaturage muri Kanama 2002 ku nkunga ya Komisiyo y'Uburayi, ibihugu by'ibiterankunga (u Bwongereza n'u Buholandi) na FNUAP. Biratangaje cyane kuba ritarashoboye gutanga imibare nyayo ku ngaruka z'intambara n'itsembabwoko 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 : Reports of killings and abductions by the Rwandese Patriotic Army [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 ba HCR [Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ryita ku mpunzi] n'indorerezi z'imiryango irengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu.

[h.] HRW/FIDH*, Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda [Ntimusige n'uwo kubara inkuru. Itsembabwoko mu Rwanda],* Karthala, 1999, p. 852. Inkotanyi zikimara kugera ku butegetsi, Robert Garsony yagiye mu Rwanda atumwe na HCR gusuzuma ibibazo byo gucyura impunzi. Muri urwo rugendo, hagati y'itariki ya 1 Kanama n'iya 15 Nzeri, we n'abo bari kumwe bakusanyije ubuhamya bwinshi n'amakuru mu makomoni 41 basuye (kuri 145 zariho) ku bwicanyi bw'abantu benshi bwakorewe abaturage b'Abahutu (UNHCR, *Note. La situation au Rwanda*, confidentiel [inyandiko y'ibanga.*Uko ibintu byifashe* mu Rwanda] 23 Nzeri 1994). Ubwicanyi nanone bwakorewe raporo imbere mu matsinda ya HCR yahakoreraga. Abayobozi bamaganye bashikamye "raporo ya Garsony" maze HCR n'ubunyamabanga bukuru bw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bubemerera ko ayo makuru azagirwa ibanga. N'ubwo iby'ingenzi mu byari mu "ncamake" ya R. Garsony byanyerejwe bikagera mu itangazamakuru, HCR yanze gushyikiriza iyo raporo intumwa y'uwari ushinzwe gukora raporo ku Rwanda, 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, *Aucun temoin ne doit survivre [Ntimusige n'uwo kubara inkuru], op. cit.,* p. 842-848.

[i.] Kugira ngo umuntu amenye byinshi kuri operasiyo "Turquoise", reba Incamake ya 16 (umutwe wa 13).

[j.] Filip Reyntjens, « Estimation du nombre de personnes tuées au Rwanda en 1994 [Gucishiriza umubare w'abantu bishwe mu Rwanda muri 1994] », muri *Annuaire des Grands Lacs 1997-1998,* L'Harmattan, Paris, 1997, p. 179-186

[k.] James Gasana, *Rwanda. Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [[Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi*

yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.

l. Reba umugereka wa 93 ugaragaza imbonerahamwe zakozwe nyuma y'iperereza ry'amezi menshi n'igereranya byakozwe n'Abdul Joshua Ruzibiza, umuliyetona mu ngabo z' Inkotanyi, acishiriza umubare w'abaturage b'Abahutu bishwe mu mwaka umwe gusa wa 1994 (450 000).

Ese FPR yatunguwe n'uko itsembabwoko ryashoboraga kuba cg yabyirengagije nkana ?

FPR ntibuze kuba yarabonaga neza ko ubwicanyi bukabije bwagombaga kuba.Koko rero, kubura imirwano ntibyabaye icyemezo gitunguranye cg amaburakindi, ahubwo cyari icyemezo cyo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wa politiki watekerejweho binononsoye, ugategurwa, ugasuzumwa kandi ugashyirwa mu bikorwa nyuma y'integuza nyinshi. Nkuko byahoraga bigarukwaho muri politiki y'igihugu mu birego by'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje bo mu gihugu imbere kimwe ndetse na FPR, nta wari uyobewe ko udutsiko tw'intagondwa z'Abahutu dufatanyije na bamwe mu basirikari twari twaratangiye kwisuganya ku mugaragaro mu mpera z'umwaka wa1993 no guha intwaro imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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 bo n'abanyamahanga babafashaga bakoze ikosa rigaragara mu isesengura ry'imiterere y'imbaraga biteguraga guhangana na zo. Hariho ibitekerezo bibiri by'ingenzi.

Ukurikije bamwe mu baburimo cg bigeze kububamo, ishyuhaguzwa mu gufata ingamba ry'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FPR ryari rishingiye ku gitekerezo cy'abibwiraga cg bagakeka ko perezida Habyarimana yari afite intege nke, ko atashoboraga gushyira ibintu mu buryo no gushimangira ububasha bwe ku mashyaka n'ibyerekezo bya politiki byo ku ruhande rwe. Nyuma yo guca imitwe amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje ndetse 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 ubutegetsi yaremye kandi bumushingiyeho buhita buhirima – cg nkuko umwe mu basirikari bakuru 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'ingoma iganje. Nkuko inama yabereye muri ambasade ya Tanzaniya mu gihe nyirizina cy'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba [cyo guhanura indege ya perezida] yabigaragaje, aba [batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje] bari barahiye ubwoba ndetse FPR yari yabemereye kurinda umutekano wabo (*reba umutwe wa 5*). Uretse abanyacyubahiro mbarwa nk'Agathe Uwilingiyimana, bihagararagaho bakanga kwihoma kuri rumwe mu mpande zari zifite ingabo, abatari barihomye ku mpande zishyize imbere ubuhutu hafi ya bose bari bateze amakiriro yabo kuri FPR.

Nta utazi ukuntu abayobozi ba FPR basuzuguraga Akazu, "impirimbanyi za demokarasi" n' "inzibacyuho inyuze muri demokarasi". Kumenya bihamye intugunda z'amahindura ya politiki imbere mu gihugu, nubwo byari ibya vuba ariko bikongerwa n'ibyo babwirwaga n'ibyitso byo mu gihugu, ntibyatangaga ishusho nziza y'abanyapolitiki ba Repubulika ya Kabiri mu bayobozi ba FPR. Aho niho 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 ibihugu by'amahanga wahaga agaciro abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje imbere mu gihugu. FPR yari izi ko bizayigirira akamaro kuba ambasade nyinshi zikomeye zari kwifata cg se zikanga kwivanga mu ntambara mu gihe yari kuba yongeye kubura.

Ibyo ari byo byose, abibeshyaga bose ku isenyuka ry'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida cg ku icecekeshwa ryarwo by'agateganyo, baribeshyaga cyane. Ibyo kandi, n'ubwo bafashijwe bidasobanutse n'ibihe bidasanzwe byatumye abakoze amarorerwa, usibye guca igihugu umutwe, baranawuciye n'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR), ayo marorerwa yahitanye icyarimwe 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 gisirikari, Aloys Ntiwiragabo, n'umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari, Gratien Kabiligi 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'abanyapolitiki, noneho bari bamaze gukizwa "umunyagitugu" ntibishoboke. Nta senyuka ry'inzego z'ubutegetsi cg ishwiragira ry'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo byabaye, yewe ndetse n'abasirikari bakuru 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 abagize imitwe yitwara gisirikari 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, imitwe yitwara gisirikari yatsembye ku buryo bugambiriwe kandi busesuye abayoboke n'ibyitso bya FPR mu nsisiro z'umujyi 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'imitwe yitwara gisirikari], 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 cg kwemera icyakoma imbere amahirwe yo gufata ubutegetsi burundu.

Dukurikije icyo gitekerezo, ikosa ry'isesengura rya FPR ryasobanurwa no

kutamenya neza umukino wa politiki, bitewewe n'uko zari zifite icyizere ku bushobozi bwazo bwa gisirikari, 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 cy'Abahutu byari bishingiye ahanini ku kuntu cyarengaga cyane imipaka y' "igice gishyigikiye perezida", yari yarashyizweho mu itangira rya politiki y'amashyaka menshi. Urugero, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yemeraga ubwe ko, n'ubwo abarwanashyaka b'i Butare bamufataga nka perezida wa MDR mu rwego rwa perefegitura kubera kumukunda, umurongo we wa politiki 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 politiki 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, babonaga FPR ari yo nyirabayazana. Ku buryo bw'ibanze, imbaraga zinyuranye Juvénal Habyarimana yageragezaga gufatanya zari zarivanguye bihagije kandi zaritandukanyije ku buryo zitashoboraga kurokoka nyuma ye uko igikorwa cya politiki cg cya gisirikari cyari kuba kimeze kose. Na MRND ubwayo ntiyari ibuze abakandida bo kumusimbura iteganya ibihe by'amatora byari bitegerejwe cyane.

Mu gihe cy'amezi menshi, gahunda yo guhuriza hamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu ibyerekezo "*pawa*" bya MDR, PL, na PSD, hamwe n'amashyaka yo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida zarigaragazaga bikabije hasi mu baturage mu iyamamaza ryo mu rwego rwa politki. Icyizere cya nyirarureshwa cyo gutsinda amatora nyuma y'igihe cy'inzibacyuho cyatangaga inzira za politiki z'amoko menshi cyane. Bityo, abashoboraga kurwanira ubutegetsi nka Mathieu Ngirumpatse cg Édouard Karemera, bashoboraga gutekereza ko babona urwaho rwo guhuza 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 bimenyekanisha mu turere no mu majwi y'abatora…

Muri urwo rwego, byarashobokaga gukeka ko gufata Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu ho ingwate no kubica byerekanwaga ku mugaragaro nk'intwaro idasubirwaho y'intagondwa z'Abahutu kugira ngo zice FPR intege zo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, nta muyobozi n'umwe mu mashyaka yari yarasinye amasezerano y'Arusha wakekaga ko ibyo (gufata ubutegetsi) byashoboka amahanga arebera, kubera ko bumvaga bitabaho ko FPR yabasha kwemeza birambye ubutegetsi bwayo mu gihugu abaturage b'Abahutu bari biganjemo cyane, kandi bari baniganjemo abayirwanya mu rwego rwa politiki. Muri ubwo buryo, inzira y'itsembabwoko yari ishingiye cyane rero ku rwego rwo guca intege kurusha ku itegurwa rigambiriwe, yemwe no ku ruhande rw'abahozaga mu kanwa kubura intambara byanze bikunze nyine batizaga umurindi ibyo gutoza imitwe yitwara gisirikari.

Ikintu gikomeje kwibazwaho ni ukumenya niba ukutamenya cg ukutagereranya bikwiye imiterere y'ingufu zashoboraga kuyibera imbogamizi ari byo byateye ikosa mu migambi ya FPR cg 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 politiki na gisirikari 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 gisirikari kugeza igihe bari gufatira ubutegetsi. Muri iyo nzira, kuva ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko bimaze gukara na FPR yabashije kubimenyekanisha ku rwego mpuzamahanga muri Gicurasi hagati, umwanzuro wari ubonetse. Icyemezo cyafashwe n'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi 1994 cyo gutegeka ko ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) zikumirwa kugura intwaro cyahaga FPR icyizere cy' intsinzi. Mu gukora ibyo, nta kundi amahanga yari yemeje intego yazo yo guhirika ubutegetsi, kandi yari ahaye FPR ubwemarare 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'U Rwanda yemejwe n'uruhande rwatsinze kuva intambara irangiye, ihishira ikintu cy'ibanze ku myumvire y' ibyabaye : Inyeshyamba zikomoka ku 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 cg bikemerwa na FPR, agace k'abasirikari bakuru n'abanyapolitiki bari bifatanyije n'akazu ka perezida ni ko kagomba kuryozwa kuba karatangije ubwicanyi bwibasiye abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje n' « abanzi » b'imbere mu gihugu, no kuba karategetse kakanayobora irimburwa ryabo : ibyo ntibabikoze bagamije "kurokora Repubulika", ahubwo bashakaga gukemura burundu ikibazo cyo kuziba icyuho cy'iyicwa rya perezida bashyira ubutegetsi mu maboko y'intagondwa ku buryo budasubirwaho. Nubwo bari bonyine kandi ari bake, 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 y'itsembabwoko" yagombye gukusanya umutungo w'igihugu wose mu izina ry'ubumwe bw'igihugu (ingabo, ubuyobozi, amashyaka, itangazamakuru, amashyirahamwe ya "gisivili", abaturage) kugira ngo bushyire itsembabwoko mu bikorwa, umushinga w'itsembabwoko 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 politiki 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 inzangano zari zimaze igihe zitutumba urwaho rwo gusandara 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 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 cg se byaba ngombwa ukabatera inkunga ku mugaragaro kubera inyungu, kurambirwa, ubwoba cg ubushobozi buke. By'umwihariko, nubwo ibi bitari byigwa cyane, habayeho uburyo bwinshi bwo kurwanya ubwicanyi, uretse ko kenshi abantu babizize bakicanwa n'abahigwaga. Ku mugaragaro cg rwihishwa, ibikorwa by'ubufatanye byabayeho, inzira zo kurokora abaturanyi cg abavandimwe zarakoreshejwe zigamije guca intege cg kwimira ibikorwa by' ikimashini cyayoboraga itsembabwoko.

Paul Kagame, umuyobozi w'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi kuva mu Kwakira 1990[43] wabaye Umukuru w'igihugu muri 2000, atanga igitekerezo ko umushinga nkomoko w'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry' itsembabwoko ari revolisiyo yo muri 1959 ishobora kuba yaremejwe mu rwego rw'ingengabitekerezo. Icyo gitekerezo gishimangira ko habayeho kuva kera ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko byahoraga bihemberwa mu karere kandi hakaba hariho ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko[44]. Ibyo ari byo byose, n'ubwo icyo gitekerezo gihuriweho n'intore nshya ziri ku butegetsi, igitekerezo cy'ingengabitekerezo karemano y'intore zo ku ngoma zabanje ntigihagije mu gutanga ibisobanuro ku mitekerereze yo mu rwego rwa politiki mpuzamubano n'ubutegetsi yagushije ku itsembabwoko ryashyizwe mu bikorwa[45].

Koko rero, uretse ibyo gushaka kubogama no guhuza ibintu by'impitagihe, biragaragara ko bikomeye cyane kwerekana ukuri ku "bugambanyi" bw' itsembabwoko burambye, kuvuga igihe bwabereye no kugaragaza neza ababugizemo uruhare n'itegurwa ryabwo rifatika ; ibyo biterwa n'impamvu ebyiri.

Iya mbere ishingiye ku kuntu hatabayeho ubugambanyi bwa leta nk'uko hatanabayeho ingoma yiyemeje gushyira itsembabwoko muri politiki yayo

[43] "Ariko iryo hanuka [ry'indege] si ryo ryateje itsembabwoko...Itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda ryatangiye mu myaka ya 1960. Ni ngombwa kurishakira mu ngengabitekerezo yaryo, icyo kintu cyariho noneho, muri 1994, kigera ku ndunduro. Ni ibintu byamaze igihe kirekire… (ikiganiro na Paul Kagame, *Le Soir*, 6 Mutarama 2006).

[44] Nk'uko twabikomojeho mu ntangiriro, ibi si umwihariko w' U Rwanda, kandi intagondwa z'Abahutu ntizari zibyihariye.

[45] Reba umugereka wa 5 (OUA, *Rapport des experts sur le génocide au Rwanda [Raporo y'impuguke ku itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* umutwe wa 7 werekeye ibyiswe "itegurwa ry' itsembabwoko", p. 56-64).

y'iterambere[46] : ntibyabayeho haba muri 1990 ubwo nyuma y'igitero cya FPR hafungwaga ibihumbi by'Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje, haba hagati ya 1990 na Mata 1994, haba mu ntambara cg se itsembabwoko nyirizina ritangira. 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. Dukurikije ibimenyetso ntangamugabo, turakeka ko bishoboka cyane ko igitekerezo cyavutse buhoro buhoro ahagana muri 1990 ariko ko cyakajije umurego kikanihutirwa muri 1994. […]
> 7.6. Kuba Guverinoma y'U Rwanda yaramaganye bikomeye igitero nta cyo ubwabyo bihamya ku bitekerezo by'itsembabwoko; 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 rw' itsembabwoko[47]."

Ibyo na 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 igihugu umutwe, ni ukuvuga urwego rwose rw'ubuyobozi rugizwe n'Abahutu bacisha make. Nanone muri rusange, ni byo bintu twagaragaje; byari bimeze nk'aho bagombaga kwikiza urwego rwose rw'ubuyobozi rucisha make, kandi igitutu twokejwe…amakuru twabonye, wabonaga basa n'abageze ku ntego yabo[48]."

Mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, koko Guverinoma yari iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe wakomokaga mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje kandi wari ushyigikiwe n'abaminisitiri benshi bazwiho gucisha make; ingabo, etamajoro yazo n'ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo ntibyari byarinjiwemo n'ubwoko bw'ibitekerezo by'itsembabwoko[49]. Nanone, ubuyobozi bw'intara bwari "bwarasaranganyijwe" mu mashyaka anyuranye, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura n'amakomini yarimo Abatutsi benshi; ndetse imitwe yitwara gisirikari nta hantu na hamwe yagaragazaga imbaraga zihagije zo guhindura "ibintu" no kwiganzura ahantu hari hatuye abaturage yahigaga. Uwo mwuka wa politiki waragaragaraga ku buryo ahubwo abayobozi bari bahanganye gusa, mu gihe cy'imyaka ine, n'intambara yaturukaga inyuma y'igihugu kandi igatizwa umurindi n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba mu baturage n'iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki, muri byo ibyari biteye ubwoba kurusha ibindi bikaba byarakorwaga na FPR. Cyane cyane, abayobozi bagombaga kwita ku bakuwe mu byabo barenga miliyoni bari barahunze ubwicanyi bwibasira abaturage b'Abahutu mu makomini yari

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[46] Cyangwa, nk'uko byavuganywe ubugome, nk'ingoma "yo mu bwoko bw'abanazi [abayoboke ba Hitireri]", nk'uko abayobozi benshi bariho ubu babyemeza.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Ubuhamya bwa Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 20 Mutarama 2004, p. 52.

[49] Akaga katavugwa 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'abasirikari 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, cg kwivuna basyiraho Guverinoma y'abasivili**.** Bari gushyiraho ako kanya Komite y'abasirikari batagishije inama z'ubusa. Nanone, umukino w' "abasivili " wabaye ngombwa kubera ko Bagosora atashoboye kwigarurira ingabo.

yarafashwe n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi.

Impamvu ya kabiri iroroshye kandi inateye ubwoba : ubwicanyi bw'ikivunge 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 by'itsembabwoko", nyuma y'ibyumweru byinshi by'ubwicanyi[50], 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. Ariko se ni nde wari gutekereza ko intagondwa zari gutinyuka kandi ko zari kwiroha mu gitero cy'itsembabwoko gikomeye cyane gihiga Abatutsi bose bo mu gihugu ? […]
> 7.13. Ibyo ari byo byose igice kinini cy'ababyitegereje nticyatekerezaga ko itsembabwoko ryashoboraga kuba. Mbega, ntibashoboraga kwiyemeza kubyiyumisha[51]."

Jenerali Roméo Dallaire ararondora ibintu bijyanye n'ibyo :

> "**Bz** : Muri videwo, muravuga ko hashobora kubaho itegura ry'irimbura ry'abanyapolitiki barwanya ubutegetsi, ry'abo mwita "abacisha make ", 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 yitwara gisirikari yari irimo, kandi ko byakomerezaga hamwe n'amatsinda yo kwirwanaho yishe benshi; ibyo ku bwanjye, ni byo, byarakorwaga. Ariko se umugambi wari uriho cg, ese byari biteguwe byanze bikunze ko bari kwica kandi ko batekerezaga kwica miliyoni 1,5 y'Abatutsi cg miliyoni 1 y'Abatutsi cg ibihumbi 800 cg 500 ? Ku bwanjye agace nabonaga muri iyo ntera,kwari ukurimbura (Holocauste), ubundi, sinashoboraga kumva ko byashoboraga kubaho kandi ko nabihagazeho.
> **Bz** : Rero, niba mbyumva neza- biraba n'ikibazo cyanjye cya kabiri : igitekerezo cyanyu cg 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 abantiu ibihumbi 800 cg 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

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[50] NATIONS UNIES et CONSEIL ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL, *Rapport sur la situation des droits de l'homme au Rwanda [Raporo ku miterere y'uburengazira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda],* yatanzwe na bwana R. Degni Ségui, intumwa idasanzwe yari ishinzwe gukorera raporo Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, ashyira mu bikorwa porogaramu ya 20 y'icyemezo 1994S-3/1 cy'iyo Komisiyo, ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, p. E/CN.4/1995/7, New York, 28 Kamena 1994.

[51] OUA, *Rapport des experts sur le génocide au Rwanda [Raporo y'impuguke ku itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* Iyo mvugo isa n'iy'abakoze raporo ya Misiyoy'abadepite b'Abafaransa ihina ibyavuzwe n'abantu bumviswe : "Kuba ryaratangajwe inshuro zitabarika kuva muri 1990, ishoboka ry' itsembabwoko ryaragaragaraga mu ntangiriro za 1994 ariko utarihamya" (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, Tom. I p. 281).

no kuyobora, bindenze[52]."

Ubwicanyi na gahunda yo kwibasira 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, perezida w'umuhutu Melchior Ndadaye w'i Burundi amaze guhitanwa n'abasirikari b'Abatutsi, ibihumbi by'Abatutsi byaratikijwe bizira "umujinya wa rubanda" rw'Abahutu, byakurikiwe n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu barimbaguwe n'abasirikari; nubwo ibyo byerekaga abaturanyi b'Abanyarwanda intera y'ibihumbi mirongo byashoboaga guhitanwa n'ubwicanyi, ubwicanyi bw'i Burundi bwahoshejwe mu gihe gito abanyamatiku bahemberaga urwango barahashywa.

Abanyapolitiki bakuru bayoboye ubwicanyi bwibasira Abatutsi i Burundi bahorera perezida wabo wari ubaye uwa mbere utowe mu nzira ya demukarasi bari bake cyane kandi ntibari barigeze bagira ububasha na buke bw'umwihariko ku baturage bar mu mpera z'inzibacyuho y'intangarugero yari yabahaye urubuga rwo gukoresha mu mutuzo n'ubushake uburenganzira bwabo [bwo kwihitiramo abayobozi] ku nshuro ya mbere kuva babonye ubwigenge. Ibintu ntibyari bitandukanye cyane n'ibyo mu Rwanda muri Mata 1994, umuntu akoze ibarura ry'abatangije ubwicanyi n'itsembabwoko : 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*).

Ariko imyaka ine y'intambara yari yabigishije byinshi baba inararibonye. Bari mbere na mbere barabonye ko kumenya neza urwego rwa politiki y'igihugu ndetse n'intambara ikaba yari irambiranye byarabashyiraga mu mwanya mwiza mu gihe FPR yari icungiye gusa ku mbaraga za gisirikari. Mu gihe imishyikirano ya politiki yabaga inaniranye, ingabo za FPR zari zimaze kugaba ibitero[53] incuro eshatu zose, buri gihe ingabo z'amahanga akaba ari zo zizikoma imbere ziri bugufi kwigarurira Kigali. Kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994 nyuma y'uko ingabo z'Abafaransa zisubiriye iwabo, Inkotanyi zongeyе gukangisha ko zifite ubushobozi bwo kuvanaho "umunyagitugu [Habyarimana]" mu masaha 48, kandi Minuar si yo yari kwiha ibyo gukumira intsinzi yazo ku rugamba. Nanone ariko, umuntu agarutse ku bwicanyi kirimbuzi bwo mu myaka ya 1991 na 1992, abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bari baramaze gupima ubuhanga bwabo bwo guhitana uwo bashatse nta nkomyi, amahanga agasakuza bigafata ubusa.

Bahoraga bogeza ko Inkotanyi zitashakaga amahoro ahubwo ko zari zirekereje gufata ubutegetsi bwose ku ngufu igihe cyose bishobotse. Iyicwa rya Juvénal Habyarimana rero ryahamije icyo gitekerezo bityo rishyira izo ntagondwa ku isonga ry'abambariye kurengera bivuye inyuma umurage w'"ibyagezweho na revolisiyo ya 1959". Berekaniye rero icyarimwe ubushake buhagije bwo kugerageza ubwabo kwigarurira ubutegtsi no kuryoza FPR intsinzi zakozagaho imitwe y'intoki. Nta muntu n'umwe washatse kwivanga cg gushyikirana muri iyo

[52] Iyumvwa rya jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,* TPIR, 23 Mutarama 2004, p. 66-67.

[53] 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.

ntambara yagaragaraga ko ari rurangiza, nuko igihugu kimara amezi atatu gicura imiborogo.

Gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa n'ababiteguye

Nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana ryakurikiwe n'iminsi itandatu y'amayeri ya politiki yuje ubugome, ni bwo ako gatsiko k'intagondwa kashoboye gushyiraho ku ngufu umugambi w'itsembabwoko witiriwe uwo kwirwanaho ndetse kawuhindura politiki yemewe ya leta irangajwe imbere na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Ubwicanyi n'itsembabwoko rero, ku buryo busobanutse neza, ni igikorwa cy'ako gatsiko K'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru mu kazu ka perezida, kigaruriye ingabo z'igihugu (Abarinda perezida, igipolisi cya gisirikari, Batayo y'"Abaparakomando" *n'iy'Imbanziriza gutabara "Recce")* n'ubuyobozi bwa MRND maze kigarurira buhoro buhoro imiyoboro y'ubutegetsi kuva ku matariki ya 7 na 8 Mata mu guhamya "ubumwe" bw'Abahutu bose, bo mu majyaruguru no mu majyepfo. Ako gatsiko kitabiriwe n'abantu bahuje nako ibyiyumviro cyagwa bishakira indonke barimo abahoze ari abaminisitiri ba MRND, intagondwa zo mu buyobozi bwa MRND mu maperefegitura n'abayobozi b'« aba*pawa* » bari basangiye uwo muambi mu mashyaka anyuranye barimo.

Nk'uko twabibonye uko ibintu byagiye bikurikirana nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida, birumvikana impamvu gushyira mu bikorw' itsembabwoko nta rwego rumwe rukumbi rufite abayobozi bemewe wavuga ko rwafataga ibyemezo byose mu nzira ihamwe, ihuriweho na bose.

Iyo ni nayo mpamvu mu majyaruguru no mu murwa mukuru ari ho usanga abambari b'itsembabwoko bari "biteguye" naho amaperefegitura yo hagati no mu majyepfo – ahari higanje abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje – akaba yarayitabiriye ari uko abategetsi ba Guverinoma bahashyiriye abakozi bashya. Ni yo mpamvu nanone ibyari bikenewe mu gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa (kwifashisha abicanyi babyiyemeje, igenzura ry'ingufu za leta, iyamamazamatwara rikataje, ibikoresho byo kwica byabugenewe n'ibindi) byagiye bishyirwaho uko abantu biboneye. Abitabiriye itsembabwoko bisuganije gahoro gahoro, mu murava n'ubwitange, bakoresha zimwe mu ngamba zihamye guhera hagati y'itariki ya 10 n'iya 12 Mata zivanzemo ibikorwa bitunguranye rimwe na rimwe bikabageza ku ntego bifuza cg bikazibangamira.

Ibikorwa bitunguranye kenshi byababaga bigamije gusaba cg gutegeka abandi kwitabira umushinga w'itsembabwoko. Isesengura ry'uburyo ibintu byakurikiranye n'inzira zifatirwamo ibyemezo zavuyemo zabimburiwe no guhitana abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje zikageza ku bwicanyi kirimbuzi busesuye ryerekana ko abantu ku giti cyabo, amatsinda y'abantu, ibikoresho n'ibikorwa bigamije kurimbura "abanzi" – muri rusange cg se bamwe bazwi neza – no gukoma imbere ubushotoranyi bwa FPR ryerekana ko hari gahunda ihamye yari yarateguwe yo kurimbura abashoboraga kuba abanzi cg gukekwaho kuba ibyitso byabo.

Guhuza ibikorwa, guhamya ubufatanye kimwe no kwitandukanya no

guhangana hagati y'abantu ubwabo cg se amatsinda y'abantu byahurijwe hamwe, ni ukuvuga ko byabangikanijwe n'ubwicanyi bwakorwaga hakurikijwe ingamba zagenwe, abahigwa, imigambi yihariye y'amatsinda anyuranye yagendaga itandukana muri buri gace k'umujyi, mu makomini, mu maperefegitura bitewe n'amabwiriza yabaga yatanzwe cg se rero kubera kutagira amabwiriza na busa aho imburagihana ari zo zabaga zica zigakiza.

Mu minsi ya mbere, mbere y'uko guhitana abantu bagenderewe no kurimbura abandi mu kivunge byimakazwa ku mugaragaro hanyuma bigashyirwa mu bikorwa n'abayobozi bishingikirije inzego zemewe n'amategeko kandi zisa n'izibifitiye ububasha, imwe mu mpamvu nyakuri y'ubwicanyi n'umugambi kirimbuzi kwari ugushimangira ubusumbane bw'inzego hagati y'izo nkoramaraso, kwigabanya ahantu n'ububasha no kugabana iminyago (ibisahurano, ibyabohojwe, abagore). Ryari isibaniro rero riteye inkeke aho kugarura amahoro no guca akajagari mu maguru mashya byasaga n'ibidashoboka cyane cyane ko ingabo zirinda perezida zari zeguriye imitwe y'*Interahamwe* (cyane cyane iyiganjemo abahoze ari abasirikari) ububasha busesuye mu gice kinini cy'umujyi wa Kigali gihe ariko nanone urundi rubyiruko rw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari na rwo rwari rwarashinze ibirindiro mu tundi duce.

Bityo, igitekerezo ko itsembabwoko ryateguranywe ubushishozi nta shingiro gishobora kubona iyo witegereje ukuntu benshi mu bayobozi b'abasivili n'abasirikari b'Abahutu bakunze gushyirwa mu majwi ko ari bo bayiteguye bakwiriye imishwaro buri wese akiza amagara ye. Cyane cyane iri shingiro ribura umutwe n'ikibuno iyo hashyizwe imbere icyaje kwitwa, ku mugaragaro cg se mu buryo buteruye, ikimenyetso simusiga cy' "itegurwa" [rya jenocide], ni ukuvuga igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyatezwe indege ya perezida cyabaye imbarutso y'itsembabwoko bikavugwa ko byakozwe n'intagondwa z'Abahutu kugeza ubu zitari zakurikiranwa n'ubucamanza bwo mu gihugu cg bwo mu rwego mpuzamahanga kubera ko bataramenyekana.

Nyamara rero ibyakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ntibyari "byitezwe" na busa nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ingorane abitirirwa ubwicanyi n'itsembabwoko bahuye na zo kugira ngo bashobore kuvugana mu masaha ya mbere ku buryo butaziguye; inama itunguranye y'abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo – "bamenyeye amakuru kuri etamajoro" ; gushyiraho giturumbuko umuyobozi mushya wa etamajoro, wabonetse ku mahirwe y'uburambe mu kazi; uburyo ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bwamaganye uwo benshi ubu bita "ubwonko" [bwa jenocide] ubwo yageragezaga gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu; uburyo mu gusimbura [perezida] habuze umusimbura witeguye bikaba ngombwa gutegura imibonano n'inama bya hutihuti no gushakisha, kumenya aho babarizwa no gushyiraho abakandida bemeranijweho; ingorane zo kubona abanyapolitiki biteguye imyanya y'ubuyobozi, ibyo bigasobanura ingingimira ya bamwe mu bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaje gusa n'ikomwa mu nkokora bamwe mu bayigize bataranarahira.

Ibyiciro bitandukanye bigaragaza ndetse imyitwarire yo guta umutwe cg yo gukwira imishwaro : aha umuntu yavuga amasasu yarashwe mu byerekezo byose n'abasirikari bo mu ngabo zirinda perezida mu rugo rwa perezida i Kanombe

indege ikimara guhanuka; guhuriza hamwe nijoro mu kigo cy' ingabo zirinda perezida (GP) abari bagice uruhande rw'intagondwa muri Guverinoma; gushakisha no guhungira hutihuti bukeye ahantu hafite umutekano (ahabonetse ni ambasade y'Ubufaransa) ; kuba perezida w'ishyaka MRND yarahamagariwe gusimbura Umukuru w'igihugu akagira ubwoba bwo gutakaza ubuzima ndetse akanga kugira uruhare urwo ari rwo rwose muri politiki; 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'abasirikari; kwiheba kw'abaminisitiri bibagiranye bashakisha uburyo bwo kubatwara hamwe na lisansi kugira ngo bajye gushakisha bagenzi babo. Hari ikindi kintu cya nyuma, gitangaje, na cyo kigomba kuvugwa. Koko rero, kuba umuryango wa perezida warahamagaye utabaza ubutitsa aho wari watereranywe mu rugo i Kanombe, bagasaba ambasade y'Ubufaransa kubahungisha hanyuma umupfakazi wa perezida akaboneza ajya i Bangui mbere yo kujya i Paris, btandukanye rwose n'ishusho yamamaye y'umugore mukaperezida, umunyabushishozi ufite igitinyiro, ushobora kuba yaratanze igitekerezo cg ndetse yaremeje iyicwa ry'umugabo we kugira ngo ahagarike ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imishyikirano y'Arusha, anigarurire ubutegetsi ! Nanone nta shema ryagaragaye kurushaho mu buryo abandi ba nyirabayazana b'ubwicanyi, basaza b'Agathe Kanziga na musaza we wo kwa mukase n'abo mu muryango basohotse mu gihugu, kubera ko ubwo liyetona-koloneli Grégoire de Saint-Quintin yajyaga i Kanombe kubimura ku itariki ya 11 Mata, ntibari bagihari ahubwo bari bageze ku Gisenyi birwanyeho kugira ngo bagere aho bizeye umutekano.

Niba itegura, uko ryaba rinononsoye kose, rihura buri gihe na kirogoya, itungurana ryo ryari ryageze mu nzego zirenze ukwemera. Koko rero, kugira ngo umushinga w'itsembabwoko ugire ireme, ukure kandi uhinduke urwego rwa politiki ruteguye neza[54,] abawutangije bagombye kunyura mu cyiciro cya mbere cyo gushaka ingufu zo guhanga "inkambi" nibura zenda gusa : iz' abasirikari, iz'abasivili n'abasirikari, 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 ry' itsembabwoko rishokoba, kubera ko ibintu byinshi nyuma yaho byisukiranyije vuba vuba boshye uruvange rw'umusemburo wa gihanga. Intagonwa z'Abahutu byazitwaye icyumweru kimwe gusa kugira ngo zishyire mu bikorwa umushinga w'itsembabwoko 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 bikorw' itsembabwoko ntibabikoze kubera ko habayeho ayo marorerwa, ahubwo (babikoze) kugira ngo barengere imyanya yabo ya politiki yari yugarijwe bikabije ku mpande nyinshi mu gihe ibyo bageragezaga kurengera bashora abaturage mu bikorwa byo kwiengera ku buryo bukaze byashoboraga

[54] Ku cyitegererezo gisesuye, reba André Guichaoua, *Rwanda 1994. Les politiques de génocide a Butare [Politiki z'itsembabwoko i Butare], op. cit.,*

kutagira icyo bigeraho.

Ku ruhande rw'abayobozi ba FPR, nubwo kwanga inzira iyo ari yo yose ya politiki inyuze mu mishyikirano byatumye gushyira mu bikorwa itsembabwoko bishoboka, amarorerwa [yo guhanura indege] ubwayo ntashobora gufatwa nk'imbarutso y'itsembabwoko. Itsembabwoko ni umwanzuro w'imigambi ya politiki, yashyizwe mu bikorwa n'imitwe y'intagondwa z'Abahutu zibwiraga ko ayo marorerwa, imirwano ndetse n'intambara yagombaga gukurikiraho byanze bikunze byabahaga urwaho rwo kurangiza hakoreshejwe intwaro ubushyamirane bari bafitanye na FPR no gukurira inzira ku murima ingufu za politiki zari ziyishyigikiye imbere mu gihugu. Kugira uruhare muri uwo mushinga w'itsembabwoko 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. Ayo mahitamo ariko amaherezo yayo kwari ugutsindwa kubera ko atari akijyanye 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' abanyapolitiki) byaje gutiza umurindi nzira zikaze zari zemejwe n'intagondwa nkuru mu gihe cy' "intambara rurangiza".

Duhereye aho, itandukaniro rigaragara rishobora gukorwa hagati y'ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi busesuye bufitanye isano n'itsembabwoko byakozwe kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata, n'ibyakurikiye itangira ry'imirimo nyirizina ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho nyuma y'itariki ya 9 Mata. Muri iyo minsi ya mbere, ibikorwa by'ubugome by'abantu ku giti cyabo cg 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 politiki z'abantu b'intagondwa, baboneye akanya ku cyuho mu butegetsi kugira ngo bihe ububasha bwo gukora ihangagana ryari ryitezwe hagati yabo na FPR.

Icyo kintu kiranga iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro n'ubwicanyi butavangura bw'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje n'Abatutsi kigaragarira bikomeye mu buhamya :

> "Bz : jenerali [Dallaire], mwadusobanuriye ko mwabonye amakuru yerekeye ukuntu abarinda perezida bazengurukaga hirya no hino mu mujyi bitwaje amalisiti. Ese mushobora kutugaragariza neza aho mwakuye ayo makuru?
> Sbz : Indorerezi zanjye, zari mu mugi, hamwe n'abasirikari bo muri Ghana, bari mu mwanya w'imbere, no mu mujyi, 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 barasohotse hanyuma bajya ku nzugi ebyiri, eshatu, ibintu nk'ibyo, barataha, kandi bene ibyo bintu byaje kongera gukorwa.
>
> **Bz** : Ni byo. Niba numvise neza, ni ibikorwa bivugwa mu mujyi 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, nta wa… ingabo zanjye ntizari zihari.
Bz : Ese byaba bihuye na…n'iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro cg ni abandi bantu ? Ndavuga…
Sbz : Isesengura ryakorwaga icyo gihe nyine, byaragaragaga ko bari abantu bo mu buyobozi kandi basaga n'abari ku ruhande, mu bantu twashoye kumenya, ku ruhande rw'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje cg abacisha make.
Bz : Ni byo. Ese mwakwemeranya nanjye mukuvuga ko bitari ubwicanyi rusange, ahubwo ubwicanyi cg guhitana abari bagambiriwe? Ni ibyo mushaka kudusobanurira ?
Sbz : Yego. Izo raporo zerekanaga ubwicanyi, ni ukvuga guhitana abantu bagambiriwe. Ndetese, njye, nagaragaje muri raporo yanjye ko, n'ubwo hariho bariyeri kandi… hakaba n' abantu bari biciwe kuri bariyeri, icyo gihe, icyabonekaga kwari uguca umutwe burundu ubuyobozi bwo ku ruhande rucisha make, Abahutu 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. Gukoresha ijambo "ubwoko" ku cyicaro cyanjye gikuru, byaje hashize iminsi mike[55]."

"Ubuhamya [bwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh] : N'ubwo Komite y'ibihe bikomeye ya gisirikari itanga icyizere cyo kwemera amasezerano y'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 amahoro. Interahamwe 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 gisirikari ahari ntishaka kugenzura igice kinini cy'ingabo zayo cg se na yo yiroshye muri ibyo bikorwa by'iterabwoba[56]."

Nyuma y'iminsi itatu y'igihirahiro mu rwego rwa politiki, no kubera ko Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari maze kwimurirwa i Gitarama kandi igenzurirwa hafi n'abayobozi b'amashyaka, abayigize bemeye ku mugaragaro, batunganya kandi basakaza ikorwa ry'ubwicanyi bukabije, bwaje nyuma kwitwa mu mategeko mpuzamahanga ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko.

Koko rero, ibyavugwaga mbere ntibyari bigihagije mu guha izina ubwo bugizi bwa nabi : ntibyari bikiri imvururu n'ubwicanyi byateguwe n'amatsinda y'intagondwa cg ubuyobozi bwishyizeho ku mpamvu zo kwihorera cg kwihimura kugira ngo bugenzure ubutegetsi, ahubwo yari politiki ifite icyo igamije, yizwe neza kandi abaturage bose bagombaga kugiramo uruhare buri wese ku giti cye, yo kurimbura abantu bahuriye ku bwoko bumwe. Kuva ku itariki ya 12 Mata kugeza hagati muri Nyakanga, mu rwego rwa "politiki ya rubanda nyamwinshi" yakusanyaga umutungo wose wa leta, iyobowe kandi igenzurwa na Guverinoma, ababikoraga bagombaga buri munsi, aho bakoreraga kandi bakurikije umurimo bashinzwe, kuvugurura ubufatanye bwabo muri iyo politiki n'ibikorwa biyitiza umurindi, bituma ubungubu umuntu yabasha gucishiriza imyitwarire ya bamwe muri bo muri ibyo bihe.

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[55] Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi*, TPIR, 23 Mata 2004, p. 33.
[56] 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 wungirije ushinzwe ibya politiki) na Hansen (umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije ushinzwe ubutabazi), Umuryango w'Abibumbye, New York, iyibukiro MIR 727, ishakiro TPIR : L0004279-4282.

Ishyamirana rikabije ry'abanyapolitiki, akagambane k'abayobozi, ikusanya n'itegura ry'abarwanyi mu nzego za gisirikari byoroshyaga ukwiroha mu ntambara, mu bwicanyi no mu itsembabwoko. 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 bishyira imbere intambara ya rurangiza byariganje kubera ko abari babifitemo uruhare banze indi nzira iyo ari yo yose; byongeye ibyasabwaga ari abantu ari n'ibikoresho ntibyari bikabije iyo ugereranije n'intego zari zigamijwe, hanyuma nanone habaye amakosa mu kugereranya ingufu zari zihanganye.

Kwemeza ko gushwiragira kw'amahanga byatumye kwitwaza intambara bidashoboka ni ukuri. Igitekerezo cy'uko kuba abanyamahanga byarebaga baranze kwivanga muri politiki cg bagafunga amaso byatije umurindi ubwicanyi n'itsembabwoko na cyo gifite ireme, ariko ubukana bw'amakimbirane, gushaka guhangana kugeza ku ndunduro byakomotse ku byemezo byafashwe buri munsi n'abantu nyirizina, bo mu mpande zombi, bari bashinzwe kuyobora intambara n'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 rw' itsembabwoko" cg "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 cg mu buryo buhamye, bayoboraga iyo "ntambara mu yindi", ni ngombwa gutondekanya inzira buri wese yanyuzemo n'imigenzereze rusange byashoye inzego n'abayobozi bazo mu mvururu, na nyuma yaho mu gushyira mu bikorwa politiki ya kirimbuzi.