# 12

## *Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu nda y'ingoma*

Imaze kwimurirwa [mu kigo cy'amahugurwa] i Murambi, igihe cyayo cyo guhugurwa cyarangiriye aho. Yahise isabwa kurwana "intambara ya nyuma". Abaminisitiri bahereyeko batangira imirimo, bafatanyije n'abakuru bose b'amashyaka na bo bari bageze i Murambi. Abanyapolitiki b'inararibonye bafashe iya mbere inama ya mbere ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho iterana nyuma gato yo kugera mu kigo cy'amahugurwa ku itariki ya 12 Mata aho abaminisitiri bashoboraga gucumbika. Ku buryo bufite icyo buhishura, iyo nama yiswe "icyiciro cy'akazi" cg "Inama y'abaminisitiri n'amashyaka".

Umurongo wa mbere w'inyandiko y'inama yakozwe na minisitiri Nyiramasuhuko ugizwe n'urutonde rw'ibyari byimirijwe imbere : "*Intambara, ubushake, ubushobozi, ubwitonzi"*[1]*.*

Intero yari ibonetse. Bari kure bihagije y'ahaberaga imirwano, ubwoba bwari bushize, igihe cyo gufata ibyemezo cyari kigeze. Ingingo zabonetse mu nyandiko mvugo zose z'inama za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (CG) kugeza ku ishwiragira ryayo rya nyuma zagiraga ziti : kumvisha abantu imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo, ibikoresho n'inkunga by'intambara, umutekano kuva ubwo witwaga "icungwa ry'intambara n'ukwirwanaho", gutahura abacengezi, abagambanyi n'*ibyitso.* Hatangiye nanone urutonde rw'ingendo mu mahanga, zo kugura intwaro[2]. Iyo nama ya mbere ya Guverinoma n'amashyaka yabaye intangarugero,

[1] Inama ya Guverinoma (CG) yo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, ishakiro K0045916 (*reba umugereka wa 88*).

[2] Itumizwa rya mbere ryihutirwa ryari ryamaze gukorwa na Guverinoma muri sosiyete yo mu Bwongereza kuva ku itariki ya 10 Mata (Myl/Tec, ishakiro TPIR K005-7496-K005-7534, *reba umugereka wa 95*).

kubera ko yatangije ku mugaragaro uburyo bwo gukora bwiganje mu mezi atatu yakurikiyeho. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yakoreraga hamwe n' "amashyaka" bisigasiwe na MRND n'abagabo batatu bayiyoboraga. Urwo ruhare rwerekanwaga neza n'imvugo shusho inegurana iteye itya mu kinyarwanda : "*Bakora kigare*" cg "*Bakora kigorofani",* mu yandi magambo twavuga ngo "bakora nk'igare", "nk'ingorofani". Iyo mvugo-shusho isobanura abantu b'ibikoresho, bayoborwa n'abandi, babaheka cg bakabashyigikira na bo ubwabo batazi iyo bajya.

## *Uko abaminisitiri bageze aho bagashyira mu ngiro "inshingano nyayo" ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho [GG]*

minisitiri w'intebe, niba umuntu yakwemera amagambo yaje kwivugira ubwe, yiyemeje kuzuza "inshingano nyakuri" uko yakabaye. Guverinoma yari ishinzwe gutunganya ubwicanyi yifashishije *Interahamwe.* Gukurikirana no kugenzura politiki yayo byakomeje gukorwa n'agace k'abayobozi bakuru b'ingabo n'abayobozi ba MRND berekezaga ibintu aho bashaka kuva perezida Habyarimana apfuye. Abo ubwabo ni bo bahaye umujyisha ibyo kubura ubwicanyi ku itariki ya 12 Mata ku buryo bubiri : Augustin Bizimana, minisitiri w'ingabo, n'abandi banyapolitiki bakomeye babikoze babinyujije mu matangazo ahita kuri radiyo yahamagaririraga ubumwe bw'Abahutu : nk'uko babyivugira, byari ngombwa gushyira inyungu za buri wese ku ruhande kugira ngo barwanye umwanzi rusange, Umututsi; Nzirorera, umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu wa MRND yabishyizemo "umurava" naho Ngirumpatse, perezida wa MRND, abikora "yirengagiza". Nubwo Nzirorera na visiperezida Karemera barangwaga no gukorana umurimo wabo ubuhanga n'ubwitange batitaye ku marangamutima, naho Ngirunpatse we akarangwa no kujijita, bose bahuje umugambi barafatanya, basigara batandukanijwe gusa n'irari rya buri wese ryo kugera ku butegetsi.

Gushyira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Murambi, hafi y'i Gitarama, mu gihugu rwagati, ntibyapfuye gukorwa. Byashoboraga gufatwa nk'iuburyo bwo gusembura abayobozi bashya kandi ndetse ryagaragazaga neza ibyihutirwaga icyo gihe. Ubwicanyi bwari butaratangira mu maperefegitura y'amajyepfo kandi perefe wa Gitarama ntiyari yatinye kuburwanya ku munsi ubanza, ubwo yari yahamagajwe mu nama ya Guverinoma. [Gitarama] yari kandi perefegitura MRND itari ifitemo ibirindiro kuva ubuyobozi bw'amakomini yose bweguriwe abatowe bo muri MDR muri 1993, nta n'umuyobozi n'umwe wo muri MRND watinyukaga kuhaca n'imodoka ajya muri perefegitura ya Kibuye. Nanone urubyiruko rwa MDR ntirwifuzaga kwegurira *Interahamwe* za MRND ubuyobozi bwarwo. Kuroha Gitarama mu ntambara, ni byo byari umurimo wa mbere wagombaga kwitabwaho na Jean Kambanda, minisitiri w'intebe wa MDR "*Pawa".* Mu gihe atari kuba yashyizeho "ubumwe bw'Abahutu" muri perefegitura yari yibarutse MDR kandi yanatangiriyemo "Revolisiyo ya rubanda" yo muri 1959, byari kumugora byanze bikunze guhangana na Butare, perefegitura ye ubwe. Impamvu zari nyinshi : MDR yarimo abantu bake kandi idafite ingufu mu makomini y'igiturage ; kwica Agathe Uwilingiyimana byari byababaje cyane

abantu, kandi na perefe, Umututsi wo mu ishyaka PL, yari yanze ku bwende kujya mu nama ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho umunsi ubanza, amenyesha minisitiri w'intebe ko atemeraga ubutegetsi bwe kimwe n'ubwa Guverinoma yayoboraga.

Ibintu byari bikomeye rero, kubera ko *Abatabazi* basangaga inzira y'intambara atari iyo gushakirwa i Kigali, ahubwo imbere mu gihugu muri "rubanda nyamwishi". Gushinga imizi yemewe ya leta ivuguruye byasabaga kuyisubiza icyicaro nk'icyo yahoranye mu baturage mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi no gusubizaho imikorere n'ubumenyi-ngiro bwari buzwi gusa na MRND, ifatanyije n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu kuva mu rwego rwo hejuru kugeza ku rwego rwa serire, ku misozi yose y'igihugu.

Iyo ntego igaragarira mu cyifuzo cyatanzwe mu ikubitiro n'abaminisitiri ba MRND cyo gusubizaho imishahara yahembwaga abayobozi ba za komite z'amaserire mu gihugu hose mbere y'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi (*reba umugereka wa 96). Icyo* kibazo gikomeye cyo guha agahimbazamusyi inkerarugamba zegereye abaturage, cyabanje kwigwa mu nama ya kabiri yo ku ya 10 Mata, hanyuma kigarukwaho mu yo ku itariki ya 14 Mata i Gitarama :

> Mbere na mbere *guhagurutsa* amaserire [akitabira] kwirwanaho kw'abasivili.
> Icyemezo
> a- Amashyaka yose, kugarura amahoro, kujyana abaturage mu bikorwa byo kwirwanaho, *kurwanya umwanzi*
> Itangazo ryo kugeza ku bagize amaserire *kuko badufasha kurwana intambara ko gvt [Guverinoma] yemera ko ari umwenda*[3]."

N'ubwo minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu atari ahari, akaba ataranagarutse ava i Dar-es-Salaam aho yari yaherekeje Umukuru w'igihugu, kwigarurira ubuyobozi bw'inzego zo hasi byari mu nzira nziza, dore ko ari bwo muyobora usumba iyindi wo kugera ku baturage.

Bamaze gushyira agatima impembero no kumenya ibibazo by'ingutu ndetse no kubona ko ntaho babihungira, abagize Guverinoma bigaruriwe n'abakuru b'amashyaka maze ibiri amambu baba aba mbere mu kwambarira urugamba. Bitaruye cyane abasirikari bari bakirimo uduce maze ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'inama yabo ya mbere yabereye i Gitarama bashyiraho "umugambo wa Rusatira-Gatsinzi na bagenzi babo bitwa "abacisha make"" (*reba umugereka wa 97, itariki ya 12 Mata),* ndetse n'ikibazo cyo guha ububasha ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) zagombaga kugirana imishyikirano na FPR.

## *Ubuhirimbanyi bukataje*

Mbere yo gukomeza gusesengura ibikorwa nyirizina bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ibisobanuro rusange bike ku mirimo yayo n'imikorere yayo biratuyobora gahoro. Imirimo ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari myinshi, irimo nibura inama za Guverinoma 37 mu minsi ijana yabayeho (*reba imbonerahamwe ya 1*), mu kigereranyo nibura inama imwe buri minsi itatu, utabariyemo ibangikana rihoraho ry'impaka zagibwaga mu nama zidasanzwe zaterwaga no

[3] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 14 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, Ishakiro KOO45915 (*reba imigereka ya 88 na 97, Itariki ya 14 Mata*).

gushaka ubwumvikane hagati y'amashyaka. Ibihe by'imirimo myinshi byiganjemo ibice bibiri. Igice cya mbere gihera ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma n'iyubura ry'intambara, nk'uko byemezwa n'abari babifitemo uruhare :

> "Nagiye mu nama kuva zitangira, ni ukuvuga kuva ku irahira ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, no ku itariki ya 10, ni ukuvuga bukeye bwaho; no ku itarikiya 11, habaye inama; hanyuma ku itariki ya 12, twarahavuye, tujya kuba i Gitarama; n'igihe twari i i Gitarama inama z'Inama (ya Guverinoma) zakomeje kubaho hafi ya buri munsi. Ndibuka ko twagize inama ndetse ku itariki ya 14, iya 15, iya 16, inama ikomeye twakoze ku itariki ya 16, n'iya 17, hari n'indi nama, kugeza ku mpera za Mata, habaga…habaga inama kenshi[4]."

Igice cya kabiri kiri mbere gato y'itsindwa rya burundu no guhungira muri Zayire. Hagati y'ibyo bice byombi, hakozwe inama za buri cyumweru, mbere zabaga ku wa kane hanyuma ku wa gatanu, n'izindi nama z'inyongera, tutibagiwe n'inama nyunguranabitekerezo y'iminsi itatu yabaye mu mpera za Mata.

Amatariki y'inama afite ibimenyetso byuzuye ni yo yonyine yavuzwe, ni ukuvuga ku buryo bwumvikana igihe cyose hashoboye kuboneka ahanditse amazina "Inama y'Abaminisitiri" cg "Inama ya Guverinoma" mu nyandiko na ajenda z'Abaminisitiri, ari zo dukesha amakuru ku mirimo ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 97*). Nanone hitawe ku "nama zaguye" (ku baperefe, abakuru b'amashyaka, abadepite, abayobozi b'ingabo) n' "inama zo mu muhezo".

"Inama zo mu muhezo" zabangikanaga n'izindi kugira ngo hanonosorwe ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa cg hakemurwe ibibazo by'ingutu byababaga bitarabonerwa umuti. Akenshi zarebaga ibibazo bwite by'umuntu uyu n'uyu mu bagize Guverinoma cg se umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu, ibikorwa byo gusohora umutungo, akenshi nanone zikareba ibikoresho bya gisirikari byihutirwa. Aha nabwo ariko, n'iyo "inama zidasanzwe", zabaga zashyizwe muri jenda, inama nyinshi "zihuza minisiteri" zakorwaga mu "matsinda mato", mbere gato cg nyuma y'Inama za Guverinoma, bitewe n'ingingo zigwa cg zitegurwa, hagize abatumirwa baza i Murambi, ariko cyane cyane mu gihe cy'imirimo myinshi ya Guverinoma, ubwo Guverinoma yateranaga hafi buri munsi. Urebye abaminisitiri bari babifitemo uruhare cg bireba ni bo bonyine bazijyagamo, kandi zabaga zizwe n'abantu bake, hiyongeragaho abatumirwa ba hato na hato babaga bazanywe no gushaka amakuru cg bazijemo. Izi ngingo zizagarukwaho mu isesengura ry'imikorere y'ubutegetsi mu gihe cy'intambara.

Bityo rero, ntibyoroshye kumenya niba uyu n'uyu yaragiye mu nama yose cg mu gice cyayo, no mu gihe ingingo zimureba zabaga zigibwaho impaka. Ibyo ari byo byose, mu rwego rw' "ubwumvikane hagati y'amashyaka", inama nyishi zikomeye zakorwaga nyuma y'inama zizibanziriza z'abahagarariye amashyaka – zateguraga ibyemezo – cg zigakomereza mu nama nk'izo zashyigikiraga ibyemezo byazo. Kubera ko ubwumvikane bwagombaga byanze bikunze kubaho ku ngingo zose zigoranye cg zikomeye, imikoranire hagati ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'amashyaka yari iteye ku buryo kuba minisitiri bitari n'ikimenyetso kamara mu mikorere ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Na none, nta

[4] Ubuhamya bwa Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, minisitiri w'Ubukungu, TPIR, itariki ya 28 Ugushyingo 2003, p. 1.

wakwizera ko ibyerekezo cg ibyemezo byashoboraga kuvuguruza ibyo abanyacyubahiro bativangaga mu bintu ku bwende bwabo, nka Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Joseph Nzirorera, Donat Murego, Frodouald Karamira cg Stanislas Mbonampeka byabashaga gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni yo mpamvu ari Perezida wa Repubulika ari na minisitiri w'intebe bahoraga bagisha inama mbere cg nyuma y'izo nama, na none badahinduye inama ya Guverinoma icyumba cyo guterwamo iperu nk'uko uburemere bw'impaka zahaberaga bubyemeza.

**Imbonerahamwe ya 1 :** *Inama za Guverinoma zakozwe na GI mu gihe yamazeho*[5]

| **1994** | Kuwa 1 | Kuwa 2 | Kuwa 3 | Kuwa 4 | Kuwa 5 | Kuwa 6 | Ku 7 | Inama | Iminsi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mata | | | 6 | 7 | 8 | **9** | **10** | | |
| | **11** | **12** | **13** | **14** | **15** | **16** | **17** | | |
| | 18 | 19 | 20 | **21** | **22** | **23** | 24 | | |
| | 25 | 26 | **27** | **28** | **29** | 30 | | 15 | 22 |
| Gicurasi | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| | 2 | 3 | 4 | **5** | 6 | **7** | 8 | | |
| | 9 | **10** | 11 | **12** | 13 | 14 | 15 | | |
| | 16 | **17** | 18 | 19 | **20** | 21 | 22 | | |
| | 23 | 24 | **25** | 26 | **27** | 28 | 29 | | |
| | 30 | 31 | | | | | | 8 | 31 |
| Kamena | | | **1** | 2 | 3 | **4** | 5 | | |
| | **6** | 7 | 8 | 9 | **10** | 11 | 12 | | |
| | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | **17** | 18 | 19 | | |
| | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | | | | 6 | 30 |
| Nyakanga | | | | | **1** | 2 | 3 | | |
| | **4** | **5** | **6** | **7** | **8** | **9** | **10** | | |
| | **11** | **12** | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | | |
| | 18 | | | | 1 | | | 10 | 18 |
| **Byose** | | | | | | | | **39** | **101** |

[5] Kuva ku irahira ry'abagize Guverinoma i Kigali kugeza perezida, minisitiri w'intebe n'abaminsitiri ba nyuma bari bahungiye i Cyangugu muri *zone Turquoise bajya i Bukavu(*ibara ry'ikijuju*)*. Ibara ry'umukara rirerekana amatariki yakoreweho inama.

**Imbonerahamwe ya 2 :** *Inama za Guverinoma i Bukavu n' i Goma mbere y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma yo mu buhungiro*[6]

| **1994** | Kuwa 1 | Kuwa 2 | Ku wa 3 | Ku wa 4 | Ku wa 5 | Ku wa 6 | Ku 7 | Inama | Iminsi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nyakanga | | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | **23** | 24 | | |
| | **25** | 26 | **27** | 28 | **29** | 30 | 31 | 4 | 13 |
| Kanama | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | | |
| | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | **13** | 14 | | |
| | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | | |
| | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | **28** | | |
| | 29 | 30 | 31 | | | | | 2 | 31 |
| Nzeri | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | | |
| | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | **17** | **18** | | |
| | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | **24** | 25 | | |
| | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | | | 14 | 30 |
| Ukwakira | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | |
| | 3 | 4 | 5 | **6** | 7 | 8 | 9 | | |
| | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | | |
| | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | | |
| | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 8 | 31 |
| | 31 | | | | | | | | |
| Ugushyingo | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | **28** | **105** |

Ikindi kandi, kubera ko minisiteri zari "zareguriwe" abaminisitiri batanzwe n'amashyaka yabo, imicungire ya buri minisiteri yashoboraga, bitewe n'imyitwarire ya buri muminisitiri cg umwanya afite mu ishyaka, kuba itaziguye cg yiyambaza abandi, inyura inzira imwe cg inzira zitandukanye[7].

Bityo, n'ubwo yari yashyizwe mu nshingano za minisitiri w'intebe, wo muri MDR – kubera kutahaba kwa minisitiri uyishinzwe, wari wasubijweho mu gihe hari hagitegerejwe ko ashobora kugaruka – minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'iguhugu yakoze ku buryo busanzwe itegekwa n'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka MRND, ku buryo busobanutse itegekwa n'umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu na visi-perezida, babikoranye ubwitange. Kuba umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri Callixte Kalimanzira, wari usanzwe amenyereye kugendera ku mabwiriza y'Akazu ubwo Faustin Munyazesa yari minisitiri, yarakoze imirimo y'ubusigire ntibyatumye umwanya arimo ubamo icyuho cg imirimo igende nabi. Nyuma yaho, ubwo Édouard Karemera yafataga iyo minisiteri (ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi) ntibyasobanuraga kugaya imicungire yahozeho, ahubwo byagaragazaga ihinduka ry'imigambi yo gukomeza intambara : cyari igihe cyo guhagurukiriza icya rimwe abaturage kugira ngo bunganire ingabo zarangwaga n'amacakubiri no gusubira

[6] Ni ukuvuga hagati y'itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, umunsi wa mbere abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari bageze mu buhungiro muri Zayire n'itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1994, itariki y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma yo mu buhungiro. Ibisa n'ikijuju, ni inama z'akazi za buri munsi, zayoborwaga na perezida wa Repubulika na minisitiri w'intebe, abaminisitiri, abahagarariye amashyaka n'abasirikari bakuru bari i Bukavu ku mivugururire ya za minisiteri n'ishiyrwaho rya Guverinoma yo mu buhungiro (*reba umugereka wa 98).*

[7] Ibya Gaspard Ruhumuliza muri urwo rwego ntibisanzwe, kubera ko yabaye buri gihe umuntu umwe rukumbi uhagarariye ishyaka rye PDC, wari i Murambi.

inyuma. Byari na none uburyo bwo gutangira hakiri kare gushyiraho ingamba za poyizewe zo gusimbuza inzego z'ubuyobozi no gutegura imirwano izakurikiraho mu gihe ingabo zari kuba zitsinzwe. Nanone, abaminisitiri bafite intege nke cg bashyiriweho gusa kubera umubare uteganyirijwe amashyaka hashyizweho ku mugaragaro abandi bo kubunganira bo mu mu mashyaka yabo cg bakungirizwa n'abantu cg andi matsinda yabugenewe.

Iyo mikorere yibanzweho ahanini mu nzego ebyiri za ngombwa, ububanyi n'amahanga n'ibibazo bya gisirikari. Aho hombi, hariho inzego nyinshi zibangikanye mu butegetsi cg mu gufata ibyemezo zashoboraga gutambamira abaminisitiri kandi/cg ibiro byabo hakurikijwe uburemere bw'ibibazo n'inzego bireba. Ndetse Perezida na minisitiri w'intebe bahaye uburenganzira intumwa zishinzwe kubahagararira cg kujya mu mishyikirano mu mwanya w'abaminisitiri babishinzwe. Ibi byasabaga ahanini kwigengesera iyo byabaga ngombwa kujya kumvisha amahanga ingingo iyi n'iyi hakurikijwe abo umuntu avugana nabo, cg nanone, iyo ubuyobozi bwari bushinzwe itsembabwoko byabaga ngombwa ko bucubya umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu bukamwohereza mu butumwa. Umuntu yakeka nanone ko abaminisitiri bishimiraga izo ngendo kubera ko batemeraga politiki ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho cg zimwe mu ngingo zayo, kandi cyane cyane kubera ko izo ngendo zo hanze zabafashaga gutegura imigambi y'urwitwazo mu bikorwa bya politki byari kuzakurikiraho baramutse bagize ibyo babazwa ku byerekeye ubwicanyi bwari bwateguwe.

Muri rusange, kwisibira hato na hato byitabiriwe vuba n'abaminisitiri batari bategeye amararo n'amaramuko bidasanzwe mu myanya yabo, cg se ku baminisitiri b'abahanga mu rwego rw'ubumenyi-ngiro bacibwaga intege no kubura ibikoresho ndetse n'ingaruka z'intambara, ibyo bikaba byari byiganje i Murambi bikaza gukomereza i Muramba (muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi). Bamaze kwitoza kuvuga make ariko na none batagaya ibyo Guverinoma yakoraga, bamwe ntibakundaga kwigaragaza mu makoraniro y'abantu benshi, kuvugira imbwirwaruhame kuri radiyo cg kuvuga amagambo atyaye mu nama z'amaperefegitura cg z'ibiterane barimo. Gusiba hato na hato byafashaga nanone gukwepa ibyo kwitaba iperu i Kigali cg ingendo zo "kugarura amahoro", aho byari ngombwa gushyigikira ku mugaragaro politiki y'ubwicanyi imbere y'imbaga nyamwinshi, cg guhishira ku buryo butaziguye ibyakorwaga. Abaminisitiri benshi b'inararibonye, kubera kutagirira icyizere ibihe bizaza bya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, batajyaga mu gasitwe k'amatiku n'ubugambanyi abari bacumbitse i Murambi bahoragamo, binubiye ihihibikana ry'imburamumaro ryarangaga imikorere ya Guverinoma. Bityo, kimwe n'abandi bahisemo kuba muri perefegitura z'iwabo mu majyaruguru, Augustin Ngirabatware yarivumbuye mu Nama y'Abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 6 Kamena : "*Kugabana aho abantu bagomba kujya* no kudakora inama z'abaminisitiri buri munsi[8]."

## *Ishyirwaho ry'umugambi uhuriweho n'abagize Guverinoma bose*

[8] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 6 Kamena, ajenda ya Augustin Ngirabatware, TPIR, ishakiro K0243007 (*reba umugereka wa 99*).

Mu ntangiriro za Guverinoma, inama ndende za buri munsi zari zishingiye ku mpamvu z'imikorere ijyanye no kumenyereza abantu no kuvugurura inzego z'imirimo byahuriranye n'ibibazo by'ihutirwa byaterwaga n'intambara. Ibintu byose bigaragaza ko akamaro kazo kari ako guhana amakuru ku bayigize, babikesha uburinzi bwa gisirikari bari bafite, buri kuva ubwo mu bantu bake batoneshejwe bashoboraga kugira aho bajya, guterefona no kugirana ibiganiro n'abari "bafite ibyo bazi". Nyamara, ijambo ry'abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku byabaga ryakomezaga kuba rito kandi ibyemezo byinshi byafatirwaga ahandi : Ubyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo, cg ubuyobozi bubangikanye na bwo butegekwa na Théoneste Bagosora, ubuyobozi bwa MRND n'ubw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, cg nanone abaterankunga b'abanyamahanga. Inzego zitandukanye za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho zagombaga kumva neza ibyo abafata ibyemezo bari bazitegerejeho no gutunganya imikorere yazo, n'ubwo iyo Guverinoma yatumaga inzego z'ububanyi n'amahanga zifata ndetse na FPR ikayamagana.

Inama icyenda za Guverinoma zabaye hagati y'itariki ya 9 n'iya 17 Mata zashingiye ku "bumenyi bwa cyimeza" bw'itsinda, ariko kandi igice cy'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND n'ubuyobozi bwabo bwo mu rwego rwa politiki bahereyeko bakora banabasha kugenzura buhoro buhoro amahuriro y'ubutegetsi yari yirigaragaje mu masaha yakurikiye ibura ry'Umukuru w'igihugu n'umuyobozi wa etamajoro. Kuva ku itariki ya 11 ni bwo gahunda y'akazi yasaga n'itunganye yatangijwe, igenda yivugurura nyuma yo kwimurira Guverinoma i Murambi. Guverinoma yatangiriye ku gushimangira ububasha bwayo mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu iteranya abaperefe ku itariki ya 11 Mata, nyuma yaho ikoranya ababurugumesitiri. Ibibazo by'umutekano ni byo byihutirwaga bidasubirwaho : kurwanya ubucengezi bwa FPR, kurinda umutekano w'abaturage no gutega amatwi raporo z'abaperefe ku bwicanyi (*reba incamake n'inyandiko by'ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa by'Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata mu mugereka wa 97*). Guverinoma yagaraje ingufu zayo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, mu nama yahuriwemo n'abakuru b'amashyaka – buri gihe yibanda ku ntamabara no guhagurutsa abaturage imbere mu gihugu no hanze – (poropagande n'ububanyi n'amahanga – Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU), Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw' Afurika (OUA), Ububiligi na Minuar –), ibikoresho n'inkunga y'intambara (gutegura ingendo zo kugura intwaro mu mahanga), "gucunga intambara n'ukwirwanaho", kuvumbura intasi (abacengezi), abagambanyi n'*ibyitso (reba Umurongo w'ibyigwa w 'Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 12 Mata mu mugereka wa 97).* Aha byari ugusaranganya ku buryo bufatika imirimo ya buri wese mu bagize n'abatagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 13 Mata yatangije ikindi cyiciro, mu by'ukuri gikomeye cyane, kuko intego kwari ugushyiraho ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bushyigikiye politiki nshya no kongerera ingufu minisitiri w'ingabo wo muri MRND, Augustin Bizimana, avuye mu mahanga. We n'abakuru b'ishyaka bari bafite icyifuzo cyo gusobanura imirimo ya koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, n'ubwo yari yanyazwe amahirwe yo gusimbura perezida, akaba yaregeranyaga udutsiko twe asaba ko abasirikari bakuru bacyuye igihe (yari mu ba mbere) basubizwa mu ngabo anatunganya urwego rwo kwirwanaho. Augustin Bizimana

na Théoneste Bagosora bahuriraga nibura ku ngingo imwe, iyo byanze bikunze gucecekesha mu maguru mashya ubuyobozi bukuru na etamajoro nk'uko bari bishyizeho ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu izina rya Komite ya gisirikari y'ibihe bibi. Ibyari kuri gahunda y'ibyigwa y'inama ya Guverinoma byasuraga isimburwa rya koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, no gushimangira ububasha Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari ifite ku Buyobozi Bukuru bw'ingabo bwari bwaraye bwihaye ibyo kugirana imishyikirano itaziguye na FPR : kujya inama hagati ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'abayobozi b'ingabo, ishyirwaho ry'umusanzu ku bushake wo gushyigikira ingabo, gushyiraho "etamajoro y'ibihe bibi igizwe n'abasirikari + Guverinoma", kugira ngo hashyirwe imbaraga mu bwitange bwabo no mu mibanire yabo n'abaturage (*reba Ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'Inama ya* Guverinoma *mu mugereka wa 97*). Hakurikiyeho ku matariki ya 14 na 15 Mata, inama ebyiri za Guverinoma zahariwe ibibazo by'ibikoresho n'imikorere (igemura, inkunga n'ibindi) zakomerejwe mu nama nyinshi zibangikanye zerekeye ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi bw'uturere na etamajoro, umwanzuro wazo ugibwaho impaka mu nama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 16 Mata. Impaka zarangiye umunsi ukurikiyeho. Guverinoma yari yarangije gutegura icyari kuba politiki yayo mu mezi atatu yo kubaho kwayo yanemeje "porogaramu y'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ibyemezo".

Igikuru muri ibyo byemezo cyarebanaga n'ishyirwaho ry'abaperefe. Cyakorewe itangazo ryasomwe kuri Radio Rwanda na Éliezer Niyitegeka, minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru n'umuvugizi wa Guverinoma, washimiye abaperefe bakoranaga ubwitange "imirimo" yabo anamenyesha ikurwaho ry'abaperefe bahoze muri Kaminuza bo mu "ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje (uwa Butare n'uwa Kibungo) (*reba umugereka wa 100*). Byari ngombwa kuva ubwo gushimangira ubutegetsi bwa Guverinoma mu gihugu, aho "ubutumwa" butakirwaga cg bwakirwaga nabi. Icyo gihe hateguwe hanashyirwa mu bikorwa ingendo z'iminsi itatu za benshi mu bagize Guverinoma n'abakuru b'amashyaka kugira ngo bamenyeshe ku mugaragaro ubuyobozi bw'uturere bw'i Gitarama no ku Gikongoro (ku itariki ya 18 Mata mu gitondo no ku gicamunsi), nyuma yaho ubw'i Butare (ku matariki ya 19-20 Mata), intego ikaba yari uko ayo maperefegitura yari yarinangiye na yo "yakamo umuriro". Muri perefegitura ya Butare, yirukanye nta rundi rubanza abarwanyaga itsembabwoko inatera ubwoba abakozi ba leta (abasirikari n'abasivili) bari bayigometseho.

Iyo nshingano kamara ya Guverinoma – kubona mu gihugu abafasha bazayunganira badatezuka – byakoranywe ubwitange bafatanyije cg buri wese ku giti cye[9] barangajwe imbere n'abaminisiritiri bari bashinzwe "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" muri za perefegitura zabo, na minisitiri w'intebe wasuye kenshi uturere. Kugira ngo ubwo buyobozi bw'intabibazwa bugwize abayoboke babwizera, guhindagura abakozi bafite ububasha mu makomini n'amaperefegitura byakomeje gukorwa mu gihe cyose cy'intambara kandi kandi byahoraga bigarukwaho mu nama za Guverinoma, nk'uko inyandiko zakozwe n'abaminisitiri zibyemeza (*reba urugero rw'ibiri ku murongo w'ibyigwa w'Inama*

[9] Nk'uko twabyizeho igihe kinini, aya mabwiriza yageze ku ntego zayo kandi mu minsi mike amakomoni yose yari amaze kwitabira ubwicanyi (*reba* André GUICHAOUA, *Rwanda 1994. Les politiques du génocide à Butare [Politiki z'itsembabwoko i Butare], op. cit.*, umutwe wa 7 n'uwa 8).

*ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena mu mugereka wa 97*).

> "Yari inama [yakozwe ku itariki ya 11 Kamena] yajemo abantu icumi gusa. Bari abaminisitiri bonyine, cyane ko inama yagombaga kwiga ibibazo by'ubuyobozi, ari byo : Gushyiraho cg guhinduranya abasuperefe bo mu maperfegitura. Impaka zagiwe koko kuri iryo shyirwaho, ariko no ku iyoherezwa ry'abaminisitiri mu maperefegitura bavukamo cg mu yandi maperefegitura mu "bukangurambaga" cg "ihuzwa" ry'abaturage. Nyine, abaminisitiri bagombaga gukoresha mitingi bakigishamo ukwihanganirana n'uguturana mu mahoro kw'amoko n'amashyaka, gusaba guhagarika ubwicanyi n'izindi mvururu, gusobanura uko umutekano umeze mu gihugu n'ukuntu Guverinoma yateganyaga kurengera abaturage. […] Sinizeraga ubushake nyabwo bwa Guverinoma bwo guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugera ku zindi ntego zateguwe mu itangazo n'inyandiko y'ubwumvikane byo ku itariki ya 8 Mata. […] Kuri ibyo hiyongeragaho ko byari bitunguranye gufata icyemezo cyo kohereza Abaminisitiri mu giturage kandi Guverinoma ari bwo ikijyaho. Abaminisitiri batari muri iyo nama, bari mu butumwa mu mahanga, cg bari bari hirya no hino mu gihugu bashyira mu bikorwa iyo gahunda [10]."

Ariko, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ibyemezo byafashwe n'Inama ya Guverinoma ku itariki ya 16 n'iya 17 Mata, ukwiganzura kwa Guverinoma mu nzego za leta ntibyagarukiye gusa ku buyobozi bw'abaturage. Nubwo kwinjiza muri yo ubwayo no mu matsinda yabugenewe abayobozi b'amashyaka – bari banabibangikanyije n'ubuyobozi bw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari – n'abasirikari bakuru bari bashinzwe kuyobora intambara bitahaye Guverinoma ububasha bwo kwigarurira nyabyo inzego zose zifata ibyemezo, ibyo ari byo byose byatumye iba umuhuza w'ubutegetsi bwose. Bityo, inama yo ku itariki ya 16 Mata yateje imbere bikomeye imikoranire ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'urwego rwa gisirikari.

## *Ingabo zigenzurwa n'abasivili ?*

N'ubwo ibihe bya mbere byari bikomeye, igabana ry'imirimo ryashyizwe mu bikorwa nkuko ryari ryemejwe na koloneli Léonard Nkundiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, ubwo yashyigikiraga igitekerezo cyo "kurekera abasivili ku murongo w'imbere"[11], abasirikari bariho bagacunga intambara.

Mu gushyiraho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, abari bayisigasiye b'abasirikari n'abasivili basubijeho imikorere y'ishyaka rukumbi MRND aho ingabo byanze bikunze zari zifite uruhare rukomeye kubera impamvu z'ibihe by'intambara. Kwiyegeranya byabaye ingirakamaro : kuva ku itariki ya 9 Mata, jenerali Augustin Nindiliyimana yajyaga mu nama y'abaminisitiri akanatunganya, mu gihe minisitiri w'ingabo atari ahari, imibonano hagati ya minisitiri w'intebe n'abayobozi b'imitwe inyuranye y'ingabo kugira ngo bahagarike ibikorwa bibi n'ubwicanyi. Hamwe na bagenzi be, na we ku itariki ya 12, nta we abajije, yafashe icyemezo cyo kwimurira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Murambi. Nyuma yaho ku itariki ya 13 Mata, nyuma y'inama hamwe n'amashyaka, hakurikiyeho umwanya w'abasirikari bakuru bari baragize uruhare mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma

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[10] Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005. amaherezo ryari ryashyizweho nta mikururano ikomeye.

[11] Bityo, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko avuga mu nyandiko ze z'inama ya mbere y'Inama y'abaminisitiri ko hagomba "kubaho ubutwari bwo kwangira abayobozi b'abasivili bashaka kwivanga mu rwego rw'ubumenyi-ngiro ya gisirikari" (inyandiko za Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, TPIR, ishakiro K0045913, *reba uumugereka wa 97*).

y'inzibacyuho wo kujya inama nayo kugira ngo bakore "etamajoro y'ibihe bibi igizwe n'abasirikari + Guverinoma" ku mpamvu zo "kongera ubwitange bwabo n'imikoranire yabo n'abaturage" igihe "bari ku mabariyeri yose bagenzura imodoka[12]."

Avuye mu butumwa ku itariki ya 10 Mata, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu wo muri MRND, Augustin Bizimana, yahubiranye n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo buvuguruye bidasanzwe ariko butatanye. Abayobozi bakuru bari bahanganye ku mugaragaro ndetse abari ku isonga bari bashyiditse bitihishira. Ku rugamba ho, mu majyaruguru no mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu, ibintu byarushagaho kuba bibi buri munsi :

> "Ruhengeri : iragenzurwa kugera muri Cyeru
> Byumba : iragoswe
> Kigali : imirwano ku Irebero, i Gikondo
> Mutara : ingabo z'igihugu (FAR)zashwiragiye
> Ibihumbi 20 bapfuye ku ruhande rwacu, bishwe na FPR[13]."

Ibyemezo bye bya mbere byafashwe akihagera, byasaga n'umugambi wari uhuriweho na koloneli Bagosora n'abakuru ba MRND : yasinyishije umukuru wa etamajoro icyemezo cyo gusubizaho abasirikari bakuru bari barasezerewe n'uwamubanjirije anazamura mu ntera ku buryo bwihuse bamwe mu basirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru nka Léonard Nkundiye (*reba umugereka wa 101*). Bivuye ku wo bitaga "Yego-Yego" w'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa, ayo mabwiriza yahereyeko ateza umwuka mubi cyane mu basirikari bakuru benshi, mbere y'uko Guverinoma, imenyeshejwe ibyo byemezo, yisubiraho, itinya ko igice kitari gito cy'imitwe y'ingabo n'abasirikari ahanini bakomoka mu majyepfo cyadohoka ku rugamba.

N'ubwo minisitiri w'intebe yemeranywaga na Augustin Bizimana gusimbura umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, yari azi ko, umukandida uwo ari we wese inama y'abaminisitiri yari guhitamo, umukuru wa etamajoro mushya atari kwemerwa na bose kandi ko ingaruka z'iryo shyirwaho zari kuba zikomeye. Ikindi kandi, bitandukanye n'ibyo yibwiraga, icyifuzo bwite cya Augustin Bizimana nta mbaraga cyari gifite mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Mu gihirahiro gikomoka ku rupfu rw'Umukuru w'igihugu hamwe n'umukuru wa etamajoro, n'iyubura ry'intambara, umuminisitiri w'umusivili utari unafite igitinyiro nk'icy'uwo yasimbuye, James Gasana, ntiyari afite ububasha buhagije bwo kwemeza umukuru wa etamajoro yihitiyemo.

Mu itegurwa ry'Inama ya Guverinoma yari kujya impaka ku iyeguzwa n'isimburwa rya Marcel Gatsinzi ku mwanya w'umumkuru wa etamajoro, hagombaga nibura abakandida babiri. minisitiri Augustin Bizimana yahisemo babiri bamuri bugufi kugira ngo atagira uwo atera ishyari, ariko afite umukandida we w'umutoni. Yatanze Gratien Kabiligi (Cyangugu) na Augustin Bizimungu (Byumba). Uwa mbere yari umuyobozi w'agace k'imirwano ka

[12] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 13 Mata, Inyandiko za Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, ishakiro K0045919 (*reba umugereka wa 97*).
[13] Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itarki ya 16 Mata, 1994, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, p. zo ku itariki ya 1 n'iya 2 Gashyantare (*reba umugereka 97*).

Byumba ubwo na we ubwe yari perefe (kuva muri Nyakanga 1992 kugeza muri Nyakanga 1993), kandi yari amaze gushingwa inyigisho n'ibikorwa bya gisirikari (G3) muri etamajoro, ariko yari azwiho kuba "umuyobozi w'agace gato k'ingabo (peloto)" kurusha uko yaba umukuru wa etamajoro. Augustin Bizimungu we, akaba umusirikari mwiza, uzwi cyane. Ntiyarushaga Gratien Kabiligi kumenya neza urusobekerane rw'inzego za etamajoro, ariko ntiyari afite inenge mu rwego rw'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, mu gihe uwo wundi we yafatwaga ku mugaragaro nk'ushinzwe kwigisha *Interahamwe.* Nanone, kandi iyi ngingo si amakabyankuru gusa, yari umuntu uvuka i Byumba kimwe na Augustin Bizimana, bigahuza n'ibyari byaravuzwe n'umuhanuzikazi ko "umugabo w'i Byumba" yari kuzasimbura Habyarimana.

Inama ya Guverinoma yemeye ihitamo rya minisitiri, izamura Augustin Bizimungu ku ipeti rya jenerali-majoro mu iteka ryo ku itariki ya 18 Mata, kubera ko yari agizwe umukuru wa etamajoro. Muri icyo gihe, koloneli Gratien Kabiligi yagizwe jenerali wa burugade. Mu nyuma kandi muri uwo mwuka, ba koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi na Lénidas Rusatira na bo bazamuwe ku ipeti rya jenerali kugira ngo bazibe icyuho Mu izamurwa ry'uwa mbere n'amazamurwa mu ntera atangaje nako ateye isoni yabikomotseho. Asobanura iby'iyo myanya, minisitiri Élieézer Niyitegeka yaravuze ati :

> "Twe, "Guverinoma", twarobye Bizimungu inyuma y'abandi bakoloneli, agomba rero kudukorera. […] jenerali Augustin Bizimungu yamamajwe na minisitiri Bizimana n'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND, jenerali Gatsinzi na Rustira baharanirwa n'abaminisitiri b'ayandi mashyaka[14]."

Ugaragara wabuze ku rutonde rw'abazamuwe ni Théoneste Bagosora, wahoraga nyamara amaranira ipeti rya jenerali kuva kera[15]. Guverinoma yabonaga ko nyuma y' itsindwa rye ryo ku itariki ya 7 Mata, izamurwa nk'iryo nta kindi ryari kumara uretse gukomeza gucamo uduce ubuyobozi bukuru. Ntiyigeze anabishyigikirwamo n' "umuryango [wa perezida]". Augustin Ngirabatware, wari ufitanye isano n'umuryango wa Félicien Kabuga, umwe mu bantu bagaragaraga kurusha abandi mu bacuruzi bakuru bari bafitanye umubano n'ingoma ya Habyarimana, yitangiye bikomeye Augustin Bizimungu, wafatwaga nk' "umwana" wa Félicien Kabuga kandi wari waroherejwe mu Ishuri ry'intambara i Bruxelles ari we ubisabye. Gushyigikirwa n'ab'i Byumba (Kabuga, Bizimana) hiyongereyeho umujyisha w'ab'i Gisenyi (Ngirabatware, Protais Zigiranyirazo) nuko umukuru mushya wa etamajoro akomerwa yombi n'abasirikari bakuru bakomeye bo mu kazu ka perezida (OTP).

Iryo tanga ry'amapeti n'ubutiriganya bwajyanye na ryo, nta kibazo na kimwe cya kera byigeze bikemura, ahubwo byarabyongereye. Koko rero, mu izamurwa rya Agustin Ndindiliyimana na Déogratias Nsabimana ku ipeti rya jenerali-majoro mu Kuboza 1993, uretse ingingo y'imikorere yaterwaga no guhitamo umusirikari mukuru uvuye mu bajandarume n'undi uvuye mu ngabo, iringaniza ryari ryafashe umwanya munini hagati y'umukandida w'amajyaruguru,

[14] Ubuhamya bw'umusirikari mukuru wari uhari, inyandiko ze bwite, 5 Mutarama 2008.

[15] Kubera iyo mpamvu, ntiyakoze urugendo rw'i Murambi, binyuranye n'ibyo Jean Kamanda yagerageje kwemeza (*reba umugereka wa 101*).

n'umukandida w'amajyepfo.

Izo ngingo zari zasumbije agaciro iy'uburambe ku kazi kuri iryo peti. N'ubwo yari umusirikari mukuru wa kera, Léonidas Rusatira ntiyari yemerewe na Perezidansi – yari yifitiye umukandida "wayo" wo mu majyaruguru ari we Nsabimana – n'uruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje rwo mu majyepfo – umukandida warwo usanzwe, Ndindiliyimana, atarengwaho. Ishyirwa ku ipeti rya jenerali wa burigade rya ba koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonodas Rusatira ryasabwe mu Nama ya Guverinoma n'abantu, bafite isoni, bagenderaga ku gucisha make.

Ntiryashyigikiwe na minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, Augustin Bizimana, utari wanejejwe n'itangazo ry'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, Gatsinzi na Rusatira bari bagize uruhare rukomeye mu itegurwa ryaryo. Amakuru anyuranye avuga ko Théoneste Bagosora yaba yaramaganye bikomeye izamurwa ry'abo bantu bombi. Nyamara rero, igitangaje, ishyirwaho rya Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonodas rishobora gusonurwa n'uruhare rwabo mu ishoka ry'iryo tangazo ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata. Icyo Guverinoma yifuzaga nta shiti cyari ukubasubiza mu bandi, ariko imyanya ikomeye. Abari bafite ubutegetsi bashya bagombaga kugumishaho umutuzo nibura w'icyiyerurutso mu basirikari bakuru bakuru bamaze igihe ku kazi, bamwe muri bo bakaba barangaga kubaha jenerali majoro mushya banasaba ko "amahano mu kazi" agomba gukosorwa. koloneli Léonidas Rusatira yari yarasigaye inyuma inshuro nyinshi kandi, muri 1994, yari amaze imyaka umunani y'uburambe ku ipeti rya koloneli, akaba rero muri urwo rwego yaruzuzaga kuva igihe cy'imyaka ine ibyasabwaga kugira ngo agere ku ipeti rya jenerali wa burigade. Ingingo zindi ebyiri zariganje mu izamurwa rya Léonidas Rusatira. Iya mbere, kuko yafatwaga nk' "ushyigikiye MDR", kwari ugushimisha abantu bashya bo muri MDR bari bashyizwe muri Guverinoma. Nanone, byari ngombwa kuringaniza izamurwa ry'umukiga w'i Byumba (Augustin Bizimungu) n'iry'umukiga wo mu Ruhengeri. Kuri Marcel Gatsinzi, wari ubuzeho amazi make kugira ngo "ageze igihe", ni ukuvuga kugira uburambe bwa ngombwa kugira ngo asabe ipeti ryo hejuru, byari ngombwa koroshya uko yakiriye iyegezwayo rye ryihuse kandi ribabaje muri etamajoro. Abo bazamuwe bombi bahawe gusa uburenganzira bwo mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bujyana n'ipeti, ariko ntibahabwa imirimo nyayo.

Ku byerekeye ba bakoloneli babiri b'abasore bari bazamuriwe rimwe mu Kuboza 1993, Augustin Bizimungu na Gratien Kabiligi, bakomokaga uko bakurikirana mu byiciro bya 13 na 12 by'Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikari, inyuma cyane ya ba bakoloneli ba kera (icyiciro cya 6 kuri Léonidas Rusatira n'icya 9 kuri Marcel Gatsinzi). Nta n'umwe muri bo wari kuri lisiti y'abasirikari bakuru "bageze igihe" [cyo kuzamuka mu ntera]. Gratien Kabiligi yari yarageze ku ipeti rya koloneli muri 1993, kandi yari ku mwanya wa 12 kuri lisiti y'abaliyetona koloneli bashoboraga kuzamurwa. Bombi bari barigeze guhabwa imirimo yo mu rwego rwo hejuru. Augustin Bizimungu yari amaze kugirwa umuyobozi w'imwe muri burigade enye zateganywaga n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha na Gratien Kabiligi yari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari muri etamajoro. Izamuka, ku ruhande rwabo, ryari rifatanye isano n'imirimo ikomeye cyane

y'umukuru wa etamajoro y'abajandarume ku ruhande rw'umwe, n'umuyobozi w'agace k'ibikorwa bya gisirikari ka Ruhengeri ku rw'undi, asimbuye Augustin Bizimungu.

Kubona umuntu utari ku rutonde rw'abagomba kuzamurwa mu ntera ahabwa ku ngufu ipeti rya jenerali majoro kandi akayobora ba bakoloneli "ba kera" bagizwe ba jenerali ba burigade, Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonidas Rusatira, byari agahomamunwa. Agasuzuguro kari gakabije kubera ko Léonidas Rusatira ubwe yari umukuru w'icyiciro cye (umusirikari mukuru warushije abandi amanota mu cyiciro cye), mu gihe Augustin Bizimungu yari uwa nyuma mu cye. Nanone, guha ipeti rya jenerali wa buribage liyetona koloneli utari ufite umwanya w'imbere ku rutonde rw'abagomba kuzamurwa ryateye ipfunwe abandi bakoloneli.

Nkuko byari bimenyerewe ko abasirikari bakuru bakuru bategereza kuzamurwa mu ntera bagaheba – kubera impamvu za politiki zakumiraga uburenganzira bwabo –, ayo macabiranya ku murimo yazambyaga n'imibanire irangwa n'icyubahiro hagati y'abantu. Ntibyaba rero ari ugukabya kwemeza ko ibyemezo bitumvikanyweho byafashwe n'abasivili (minisitiri Bizimana n'abaminisitiri ba MRND) binyuranyije n'umurongo wa gisirikari bisobanura, ku ruhande rutari ruto, ubushobozi buke mu rwego rwa gisirikari bw'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) mu ntambara.

Iryo vugurura ry'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikari rirangiye, imibanire hagati y'abasivili n'abasirikari yari yarateye imbere ku buryo bugaragara mu gihe cy'iminsi icumi. Igabana ry'umurimo ryari ryahindutse : "abasivili" bari beguriwe gukemura impaka z'urwego rwa gisirikari rwari rwacitsemo ibice ku buryo bukomeye kandi rufite ingorane ku rugamba.

Umuntu ashobora rero kuvuga ko hagati muri Mata Guverinoma y'amashyaka yari yaterateranyijwe n'abasirikari, iyo Théoneste Bagosora yitaga "Guverinoma yanjye", yari ihagarariye "ubutegetsi" haba imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo. N'ubwo atari yo yonyine yari yabweguriwe, ni yo yari umutima wabwo :

I Murambi niho hafatirwaga ibyemezo bikomeye. Izindi mpande zari zifite uburyo burambuye, ariko zidahanganye na Guverinoma : etamajoro nshya y'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) na perefegitura ya Kigali mu rwego rwo kwirinda n'urw'ubwicanyi ; uruhande rwo ku Gisenyi[16] – hamwe n'abegereye umuryango wa perezida, bari bagumanye ububasha bwo gutanga icyerekezo n'ingufu mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga bafatanyije n'umupfakazi wa perezida wari mu mahanga; inzego z'ibanze z'amashyaka zari zarayobotse abanyacyubahiro cg abaterankunga bari bafite inyungu zinyuranye; hanyuma, imitwe yitwara gisirikari yitiranyaga kurinda igihugu n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi.

Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yitaga ku cyitwaga ubwisanzure ku murimo bw'izo ngufu zitandukanye zari zishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa politiki "yayo". Uruhande rushya rwa Théoneste Bagosora rugaragaza neza iyo mibanire ifite ibyerekezo bibiri.

[16] Nyuma y'aho Agathe Kanziga agiriye mu Bufaransa ku itariki ya 9 Mata, abagize umuryango wa perezida batimuwe biyegeranyirije ku Gisenyi ku itariki ya 11, aho abandi babegereye nka Félicien Kabuga babasanze. Hoteli *Méridien Izuba* ni yo yabaye icumbi ryabo n'ahantu ho kwiherera, bateranyiriza hamwe ababegereye n'abafata ibyemezo baba abanyapolitiki cg abasirikari bafitanye isano n'Akazu.

### *Ubwisanzure bubungabunzwe bwa Théoneste Bagosora*

Nk'uwari mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi yarafashe ikiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, yaragumye nta cyemezo kimushyiraho mu mirimo ye ya diregiteri w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, yaravanywe mu bashoboraga gusubizwa mu ngabo (bityo kuzamurwa mu mapeti bitagishobotse), abuzwa uburyo kenshi na minisitiri we, uwari yigaruriye ubutegetsi akamaganwa na bagenzi be benshi ntiyari agishoboye kuba mu mwanya w'imbere y'abandi. Ariko kandi yari agifite ijambo mu gice kinini cy'ingabo. Hari haciye amezi hadutse imibanire yihariye hagati y'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bo mu majyaruguru, bari mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo, na perefe Renzaho, wagenzuraga umurwa mukuru[17]. Nanone, ingufu z'amabwiriza yatangwaga na Guverinoma yari i Murambi kuri etamajoro yari yaragumye i Kigali ntizashoboraga kwizerwa witegereje ingorane zikomeye zo mu rwego rw'ibikoresho no kugemurirwa etamajoro yari ishinzwe kuyobora bya nyabyo imirwano yari ihanganye na zo.

Dukurikije ubuhamya bwinshi bw'abasirikari n'abasirikari bakuru, kuva ku itariki ya 7 Mata, inama zakorewe kuri perefegitura, kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates,* muri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu, muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu cg mu ngo za bamwe mu bagize ingabo cg abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki nk'Interahamwe Claver Kamana cg nanone mu "cyicaro gikuru", Angéline Mukandutiye, umwe mu bari bagize komite ya perefegitura ya MRND akaba na perezidante w'*Interahamwe* za segiteri Rugenge. Izo nama ni gihamya ko hariho urwego ngishwanama "rusanzwe", rugizwe n'abafata ibyemezo bakomeye, baziranye bose, bashyigikiye umurongo urwanya imbonankubone Inkotanyi n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha.

Wayasangagamo, bitewe n'ahantu n'iminsi, ba koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho, Théoneste Bagosora na Gratien Kabiligi, ba majoro Morgan Hategekimana wo mu barindaga perezida na Protais Bivanvagara, wari ushinzwe ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili, liyetona Miruho wo mu kigo Huye, François Karera, ba kapiteni Innocent Sagahutu na Pascal Simbikangwa, minisitiri Élieézer Niyitegeka, Stanislas Simbikangwa na Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza wo muri CDR, cg nanone abagize Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*.

koloneli perefe Tharcisse Renzaho urebye yakusanyaga byose : mu bihe by'intambara, yashoboye gukoresha ububasha bwe bwa gisirikari n'ibyo yemerewe mu rwego rwa gisivili kandi, nk'uwari ushyigikiye MRND by'umwihariko yiyambaje urbyiruko rwitwaza intwaro. Biraboneka rero ukuntu gukangura rugikubita urwego rw'ikimenyane rwari rumukikije byikubye kabiri, kuva ku itariki ya 7 n'iya 8 Mata, yifashishije kubyinjizamo abari bashyushye cyane mu bakozi bakuru bo mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi yategekaga.

> "Abakonseye ba segiteri n'abayobozi ba serire ni bo ba mbere bashinzwe umutekano w'abaturage mu rwego rwa segiteri. […] Murumva neza ubwo ko abakonseye nta handi bari gukura intwaro atari mu buyobozi bubakuriye, ari bwo perefegitura. Abakonseye ba segiteri bahawe rero imbunda nyuma y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. […]

[17] Nk'urugero ku itariki ya 7 Werurwe 1994, nyuma y'inama hagati ya etamajoro na perefe wa Kigali, Tharcisse Renzaho, yohereje ibaruwa perezida na minisitiri w'ingabo, anaha kopi abasirikari, ariko ntiyabimenyesha minisitiri w'intebe. Iyo baruwa yasabaga guha abaturage intwaro no gutegura intambara (*reba umugereka wa 40*).

Nanone, abakonseye ba segiteri batumiwe mu nama kuri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, ahanini binyuze mu matangazo kuri radiyo. [...] Perefe Renzaho Tharcisse ndetse yashyizeho urupapuro rw'inzira rugenewe imodoka rufasha kugenda no gusohoka mu mujyi wa Kigali. Rwafashaga cyane cyane gukumira ubucengezi bw'umwanzi n'ingendo z'abaturage. ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikari ni bwo bwafashe icyemezo cy'umukwabu n'icyo gushyiraho za bariyeri.
Byaba rero ngombwa kumenya ukuri ku kuntu ishyaka MRND na/cg Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'Interahamwe za MRND bitari inzego zemerewe gufata icyemezo cyo gushyiraho za bariyeri. Ishyirwaho rya za bariyeri (z'abasivili) mu gihugu no ku by'umwihariko mu murwa mukuru ni icyifuzo cy'abayobozi bakuru b'igihugu, ari bo ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikari na/cg perefe w'umujyi wa Kigali, koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse, abifashijwemo n'abakonseye ba segiteri bari bashinzwe kuyobora abaturage mu nsisiro z'umujyi. [...]
Nkurikije uko nabonaga ibintu icyo gihe kandi nshingiye ku matangazo yahitaga kuri radiyo, abaturage bashyizwe kuri za bariyeri biturutse ku cyemezo cya perefe, bikozwe n'abakonseye ba segiteri bafatanyije ku buryo bwikoze n'abayobozi bamwe b'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka batuye aho. Ibyo kandi byemezwa n'ibyabonetse mu turere mu gihe cy'ingendo zo kugarura amahoro mu duce tutarimo Interahamwe nyinshi. Wahasangaga ibyo ari byo byose za bariyeri zimwe na zimwe, cyane cyane mu nsisiro za Nyamirambo sitade (ku kibuga) na Nyakabanda, zitarinzwe n'abitwara gisirikari b'Interahamwe za MRND[18]."

"Nyamara, ku itariki ntibuka neza, ariko mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994, nagiye mu nama yakoreshejwe ku biro bya segiteri Gitega/Kigali, na koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse hamwe na majoro Twagirayezu Ephrem [Laurent]. Iyo nama yari yahuje abaturage ba Gitega n'abahegereye. Yarimo nanone urubyiruko rw'amashyaka yose nta kurobanura. Abatanze ibiganiro Renzaho na Twagirayezu basobanuye intego n'imigambi yo kwirinda kw'abasivili, nk'uko zari zaremejwe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, banavuga amazina y'abantu batoranyijwe kuyobora uko kwirinda kw'abaturage mu maperefegitura anyuranye.
Mu rwego rwa Kigali, koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse yavuze koloneli Gasake, nk'uko nigeze kubibabwira, wayoboye mu minsi yakurikiyeho inama yahuje urubyiruko rwa MDR (Mugenzi Joseph), urwa CDR (Simbizi Stanislas) n'urwa MRND, inama nigiriyemo ubwanjye. Mu bandi bagize Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'Interahamwe za MRND niba nibuka neza, hari Maniragaba Bernard, Niyitegeka Dieu-Donné, Sebanetsi Jean-Pierre na Nkezabera Ephrem[19]."

Umuntu yongeyeho ko koloneli Renzaho yari umugabo w'inararibonye kandi ushoboye imirimo, asobanukirwa neza imikorere y'iyo myiteguro yo kwirinda yakoze mu murwa mukuru. Igitekerezo gihinnye neza gitya :

"Kigali ni perefegitura yakoreshwaga na Théoneste Bagosora, Tharcisse Renzaho n'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa nka ka Guverinoma kabo. Umutungo uhagije yari ifite wayishyiraga ku rwego rwa "minisiteri y'imari", abakozi bayo n'ubundi bushobozi bituma bashyiraho ubunyamabanga kandi babona ibikoresho byose bakeneye[20]."

Théoneste Bagosora yari ayoboye agatsiko k'ingabo kabangikanye n'ingabo z'igihugu kari karatangiye gukora mbere y'itariki ya 6 Mata ariko kagira uruhare

[18] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 111-114.
[19] Iyumvwa ry'umuhyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 21 Gicurasi 2004, ishakiro K0502743, p. 158.
[20] Ikiganiro na majoro Augustin Cyiza, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

rukomeye muri iryo joro cyane cyane mu rwego rwo guhererekanya amakuru ndetse kaza gukomeza gufata ibyemezo abari bagize etamajoro batigeraga bamenyeshwa.

> "VIII. Ahagana ku itariki ya 13/05/1994, nasubiye i Kigali byitwa ko ndi umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari mu gace ka Gikoro. Nyamara [ako gace ka Gikoro] ntikabagaho muri myanya iteganijwe na etamajoro y'ingabo. Umuyobozi w'agace ka Kigali, koloneli Félicien Muberuka, wagombaga kuba agenzura Gikoro, na we ntiyari abizi. Muri icyo gihe, nabonye ku idirishya rya Minadef iradiyo ya Motorola (y'ubwoko bw'Abarindaga perezida), yari yometseho urupapuro rwanditseho umuyoboro w'abantu batanu bahanaga amakuru (koloneli Bagosora, majoro Mpiranya, majoro Bararwerekana, majoro Ntabakuze, majoro Nzuwonemeye) :
>
> – Icyicaro gikuru : diregiteri w'ibiro wa Minadef (+ izina ryemejwe)
>
> – Ibyicaro byungirije :
>
> - Umuyobozi wa "batayo y'abarinda perezida" (+ izina ryemejwe)
> - Umuyobozi wa batayo "igipolisi cya gisirikari" (+ izina ryemejwe)
> - Umuyobozi wa batayo "Para komando" (+ izina ryemejwe)
> - Umuyobozi wa batayo "Recce" + izina ryemejwe)[21]
>
> Nabibwiye koloneli Muberuka, umuyobozi w'agace k'ibikorwa bya gisikare muri Kigali, wari ufite mu buyobozi bwe abo bungiriza bane bavuzwe mbere. Amaze kunyibwirira ko atari azi impamvu z'umuyoboro nk'uwo, namugiriye inama yo gusaba ibisobanuro umuyobozi wa batayo "Recce" (majoro Nzuwonemeye, bakomokaga muri komini imwe). Nyuma yaho, koloneli Muberuka yambwiye ko majoro Nzuwonemeye yivugiye ko atari azi uwo muyoboro[22]."

Ibikoresho n'ububasha bwo gufata ibyemezo byo byatangwaga bikanagenzurwa na perefe koloneli Renzaho witwaraga, nk'uko minisitiri w'intebe abivuga, nka "minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu" nyawe n' "umutware wa bose" :

> "Amaperefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali na Kigali ngari urebye byakoreraga hamwe. Karera François, wahoze ari burugumesititiri wa Nyarugenge, yari yarabaye icyo gihe umujyi wa Kigali, yakoreraga muri Kigali ngari naho koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho ari ku isonga rya PVK, perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali. Ku birebana n'umujyi, koloneli Renzaho yitwaraga cyane nka minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kurusha uko yitwaraga nka perefe. Raporo ye yasaga n'amabwiriza, urugero : "Mwirinde kuvuga ahabaye ubwicanyi" ; "abaminisitiri bagomba kugaragariza kuri radiyo ishusho nziza y'igihugu kurusha ibyo babonaga mu by'ukuri". We, ku ruhande rwe, yavugiraga kuri radiyo uko yishakiye, nk'aho yari umuvugizi wa Guverinoma nta na rimwe ahabwa amabwiriza. Yasaga n'uwavanyeho ubutegetsi bwa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, kubera ko uwo mwanya wamaze igihe kirekire udafite umuyobozi. Ntiyaduhaga raporo ku rwego rw'ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi, yabicaga hirya. Ababurugumesitiri n'abakonseye babanaga na Renzaho mu nzu imwe, nahuye na we, narababonye bari kumwe. Ntiyigeze abihingutsa, yavugaga ko yatsinsuraga umwanzi. Nzi ko yasuraga za bariyeri, yarabyirataga kuri radiyo. Yari yarafashe amaduka meza kurusha ayandi nka *Ali-Rwanda*. Yari yarishyiriyeho burigade irwanya ibisambo, ariko abyemerewe na Guverinoma. Ku beyerekeye *Petit Kigali*, […] nari narahageze mbere y'ibikorwa by'ubugome byo muri 1994, bambwiye ko ariho hari "ubwonko bw'*Interahamwe*". […] Nta muntu washobaraga kwiberaho atyo i Kigali, atabyemerewe na Renzaho witwaraga nk'umuhuzabikorwa w'*Interahamwe* muri Kigali. Ni we muyobozi wo

[21] Bari abasirikari bakuru bakurikira : majoro Protais Mpiranya, majoro Joël Bararwerekana, majoro Aloys Ntabakuze na majoro François-Xavier Nzuwonemeye.

[22] Ubuhamya bwite bwa Kloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, 24 Kanama 2002.

> mu rwego rwa politiki wagumye i Kigali. Yari umusirikari n'umunyapolitiki icyarimwe. Nta buyobozi bwariho, nta bakozi ba leta bari i Kigali. Intambara yari ikibazo cy'abasirikari, kwirinda kw'abasivili byari ikibazo cye. Yari rero umuntu wo gushimwa mu gice cyacu, yari impirimbanyi. Yari kandi umunyamayeri. Renzaho yitwaraga nk'umutware w'abantu bose. Nta gitangaza ko abasirikari bo mu rwego rwe n'imyaka ye ari bo batoranywaga kuyobora ukwirinda kw'abasivili, no mu tundi duce. Bafite icyubahiro, kuba bararwanye kera, bafite akamenyero kandi bazi intambara, bari bazi akarere kabo"[23].

Nyuma y'intambara, kimwe n'abandi basirikari bakuru nka Ephrem Setako, yari yarahawe akazina kadashimishije ka rusahurira-mu-nduru, kubera kwigarurira abinyujije mu nzego za perefegitura, imitungo y'abacuruzi bari barahunze.

Kuri uru rwego rw'isesengura, umuntu yakeka ko ubwiganzure bwa Guverinoma
ku ngabo, cg se ku buryo bunyuranye, gutegekwa kwayo n'ingabo bidafite ishingiro, n'ubwo habayeho imvugo ihindagurika ya minisitiri w'intebe Kambanda[24]. Koko rero, politiki ya "Guverinoma ya Bagosora" ni yo iyo Guverinoma yashyiraga mu bikorwa, iyari yateganyijwe na minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu na bagenzi be bo muri MRND na minisitiri w'intebe wazaga imbere ya minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu mu buyobozi. Nta mikorere mibi cg ukutumvikana hagati y'abakuru b'ingabo n'abashinzwe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byigeze bigira icyo bitwara ibyerekezo by'ingamba zafashwe cg birenga ku nshingano zisanzwe ku murongo w'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo mu bihe by'intamabara, umuntu yitegereje urwego rw'imitunganyirize n'ububasha bwo kugira ibikoresho by'izo nzego zombi.

Igitekerezo nk'icyo gishobora gukoreshwa muri rusange ku byerekeye imikoranire n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Ariko uretse mu gisirikari honyine, ahandi hose kutagira ubuyobozi bukuru bushyize hamwe byatumye ibintu bigenda bitandukana mu turere tunyuranye.

## *Ikibazo cy'igenzura ry'imitwe yitwara gisirikari*

Guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata, abitwara gisirikari bagize ubwigenge buciriritse ku buryo bugaragara hirya no hino mu gihugu ndetse abayobozi ba komite ku rwego rw'igihugu b'i Kigali bitabira intambara ariko batitaye ku byo gukumira urugomo – dore ko na bo ubwabo barwungukiragamo –, kandi rero ntacyajyaga gutuma bakumira imvururu dore ko nta n'umwe mu basirikari n'abajandarume bagiraga uruhare mu kuziteza wari wigeze ahanwa. Amatangazo ya nyirarureshwa y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo ndetse na Guverinoma y'agateganyo yo kugarura ituze usanga mu by'ukuri yarahaga urwaho abari bashishikariye kugaragaza "umujinya" no gufata Abatutsi ho ingwate. Mu gihe kitari gito, imitwe

[23] Ibyavuzwe na Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2K7-18 byo ku itariki ya 27 Nzeri 1997.

[24] "Bz : Mukurikije ibyo mwabonye nka minisitiri w'intebe, wakwemeranywa nanjye ko ubutegetsi bwari cyane mu maboko y'abasirikari kurusha mu y'abanyapolitiki ?
Sbz : Ndakeka ko atari ibiba gusa mu Rwanda ; mu bihe byose "mu" ntambara, umuntu ufite intwaro ni we uba afite ubutegetsi nyabwo, ni ukuri" (ibyatangajwe na Jean Kambanda, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,* 13 Nyakanga 2006, p. 24-25).

yitwara gisirikari ni yo yari mu birindiro ihanganye n' "umwanzi" kandi ihashya abakekwaho kuba ibyitso bye, mu gihe "umwanzi" we yasuganyaga mu buhanga buhanitse ingabo ze. ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwashimangiraga kandi bukagaragaza ku buryo bushimishije icyitwa ubumwe bw'Abahutu, mu gihe byacikaga bikayoba hagati y'abakiga n'abanyenduga, hagati y'abashyigikiye intambara isesuye n'abantu barwanyaga uwo mugambi w'ubwiyahuzi batashoboraga kurwanya uduco tw'intagondwa twakomaga mu nkokora inzira iyo ari yo yose ya politiki inyuze mu mishyikirano.

Akazu ka perezida n'abambari bako, abasirikari b'intagondwa n'abayobozi ba MRND bamaze gusimbura komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina no kwigarurira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho na etamajoro, ni bo bagenzuraga bakanashyigikira ingabo zari ku rugamba ; bamaze kuvanga abasirikari, abajandarume n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari yari ikataje mu bwicanyi kandi igenzura imihanda yose ya Kigali, batangiye gushinga imizi y'ubutegetsi bwabo mu yandi maperefegitura. Muri uko gufata impu zombi ariko nanone bagakenera kugira abo bihisha inyuma no kwigaragaza nk'abantu badafite ubwandu bakwiye kwizerwa mu maso y'amahanga, abategetsi b'igihugu ntibajijinganyije gushinga abayobozi b'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* ubutumwa bwo kubahagararira no kujya mu mishyikirano !

> "**Bz** : Mwavuze ko mwabonye Karemera, Nzirorera na Ngirumpatse ahantu Guverinoma yari yimukiye i Murambi. Bite ibya Bagosora ? Ese mwaramubonye nyuma y'itariki ya 17 Mata ?
> **Sbz** : Yego, nahuye na koloneli Bagosora nyuma y'itariki ya 17 Mata inshuro nyinshi.
> **Bz** : Ese hari ikintu icyo ari cyo cyose waganiriye na Bagosora ? Niba ari yego, cyari cyerekeye iki ?
> **Sbz** : Twaganiriye ahanini ku bibazo byari bifitanye isano n'ubutumwa nagombaga kujyamo hanze y'U Rwanda mu rwego…mu rwego rwo gukora imirimo yanjye. Noneho, inshuro ya kabiri, cyari ikibazo cy'imibonano yari yateguwe hagati y'*Interahamwe* na jenerali Dallaire. […]
> **Bz** : Reka tuvuge ku byerekeye inama mwagiranye na jenerali Dallaire. Iyo nama yabaye ku yihe tariki? Kuki kandi ni nde wundi wari uhari ?
> **Sbz** : Nkurikije ibyo nibuka,iyo nama yaba yarabaye ku itariki ya 24 Mata 1994. Cyari ikibazo cy'inama twagiranye na jenerali Dallaire, wasabye *Interahamwe* kuvanaho bariyeri zabo, kureka abantu bakagenda mu mutuzo kandi, nyine byabaye ikibazo cy'abantu batashoboraga kugira aho bajya, cyane cyane abantu…Abatutsi bari bahejejwe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'ibindi bibazo byabajijwe n'Interahamwe byerekeye Abahutu bari bagoswe kandi bariho [ntibyumvikana] ndetse kuri sitade Amahoro, i Remera, bikozwe n'Ikotanyi (FPR). Nyine, impaka zose zibanze ku byabaga, ivanwaho rya za bariyeri, kureka abantu bakagenda mu mutuzo, igurana ry'imfungwa. Ngibyo muri make ibibazo byagiweho impaka muri iyo nama ya jenerali Dallaire n'*Interahamwe*. Hanyuma mwabazaga abantu bari bahari. Nomero ya mbere yari kumwe n'abagize Komite ku rwego rw'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Nomero gatanu yari ahari. Nomero umunani yari ahari. Nomero icyenda yari ahari. N'abandi bashinzwe Interahamwe bo muri komite z'uduce tunyuranye twa Kigali[25].
> **Bz** : Icyemezo cyo gusenya bariyeri cyaba cyarafashwe icyo gihe ?
> **Sbz** : Cyarahagaze nyine kubera ko Interahamwe zasabye, noneho icyemezo cyo gukuraho, cyo kuvanaho bariyeri nticyagezweho kubera ko *Interahamwe* zabongaga ari ukwiyahura, zivuga nyine FPR n'abacengezi bazo, uburyo bwonyine bwo kubagenzura

[25] Reba umugereka wa 102.

bwari ukurekeraho za bariyeri. Icyo cyemezo, nibura…sinzi niba, no mu nama yakurikiyeho, icyemezo cyo kuvanaho za bariyeri cyarafashwe.
**Bz** : Iyo icyemezo cyo gukuraho bariyeri zo ku mihanda kiza kuba cyarafashwe, biba byarashobotse ko Komite y'*Interahamwe* n'abashinzwe *Interahamwe* bo mu matsinda atandukanye bavanaho bariyeri ? […]
**Sbz** : Niba numvise neza ikibazo cyanyu, ibyo ari byo byose abagize Komite yo ku rwego rw'igihugu y'agateganyo nta bubasha bari bafite bwo gutegeka ivanwaho rya za bariyeri zo ku mihanda. Kandi nk'uko maze kubibabwira, ibyo byavuzwe ntibyashoboraga kujya muri iyo nzira igihe cyose imirwano yacaga ibintu, igihe cyose ibikorwa by'ubugome byakomezaga i Kigali. Ariko kugira ngo nsubize neza ikibazo cyanyu, abagize Komite y'igihugu ntibashoboraga gutegeka ivanwaho rya za bariyeri, cyane ko atari bo bari barategetse ishyirwaho ry'izo bariyeri…izo baraje zo ku mihanda.
**Bz** : Ni nde rero wari ufite ububasha bwo gufata icyo cyemezo, ni ukuvuga kuvanaho bariyeri zo ku mihanda ?
**Sbz** : Biragaragara ko Guverinoma yari yashyizweho. Iyo Guverinoma yatangaga amabwiriza, ibigomba gukurikizwa n'abaturage ibinyujije mu matangazo yo kuri radiyo. Rero, uruhare rw'igihugu, rwo kuyobora igihugu, ibyemezo [ntibyumvikana] n'abaturage bibarwa kuri Guverinoma yashyizweho ku buryo bwemewe, yarahijwe, yeretswe abaturage[26]."

Inkuru ikurikira nanditse maze kuva i Kigali, muri Mata 1994, itanga ishusho kandi igafasha gusobanukirwa neza uwatangaga amabwiriza n'uwo *Interahamwe* z'i Kigali zubahaga.

"Nyuma y'itahuka ry'abanyamahanga, umurwa mukuru wigabijwe n'abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari noneho kapiteni Mbaye Diagne [wo muri Minuar] biba ngombwa ko ategereza ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 16 kugira ngo atunganye igerageza ryo gukura [abarokotse bari bihishe] muri Mille Collines. Jenerali Dallaire yabashije kubona abantu 10 ariko […] [biba ngombwa ko] asubira inyuma guhera nimugoroba. […]
Irindi gerageza ryakurikiyeho ryabaye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi kandi rireba impunzi 62 […], imodoka zibatwaye, n'ubwo hari uburinzi bwikubye kabiri bwa Minuar n'ingabo z'igihugu n'abajandarume, zatewe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'Interahamwe kuri metero magana angahe za hoteli […]. Jenerali Dallaire yari nyamara, nk'uko bikekwa, yatanze amabwiriza asobanutse yo kwirwanaho baramutse batewe. Abagenzi bose bagombye gusohoka no kwicara ku butaka baterwa ubwoba n'abitwara gisiskare. [Minuar yabuze uko ibigenza]. Abisabwe, Bruno Delaye, wari ushinzwe agace k'Afurika ko muri Elysée [perezidansi y'Ubufaransa] yatumye umujenerali n'umukoloneli b'Abafaransa bo muri etamajoro, bavugana na jenerali Augustin Bizimungu, umukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu i Kigali. Mu ma saa moya ba bantu 62 basubiye kuri hoteli, bakijijwe "ku munota wa nyuma" na Augustin Bizimungu, wiherekereje ubwe amamodoka. […]
Ku wa gatatu tariki ya 11 Gicurasi, abagize imitwe yitwara gisirikari benshi hamwe n'abasirikari binjiye ku ngufu muri hoteli kugira ngo bitwaze "igurana" ry'imfungwa ryahwihwiswaga [hamwe na FPR], imibare y'abacumbikwe ikaba yarageraga ku bantu magana atanu[27]. Minuar imaze gusabwa bikomeye n'Ubufaransa gucunga umutekano wa hoteli, FPR yateye hejuru yamagana uko Ubufaransa bwivanga mu bintu.
[Nyuma yaho ku itariki ya 12 Gicurasi i Kigali habereye umubonano] hagati ya Komiseri mukuru wo mu Muryango w'Abibumbye ushinzwe uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, José Ayala Lasso na jenerali Augustin Bizimungu. Habayeho amasezerano na etamajoro y'U Rwanda yo kwimura abari muri Hôtel des Mille Collines, ariko nanone ntiyarebaga

[26] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 26 Gicurasi, urpap. 16.
[27] Kuri bo, bwari uburyo bwo kurekura abari barahungiye muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines bakabatangaho ingurane y'*umutekeno wabo ubwabo n'uw'imiryango yabo mu nkengero za Kigali zari zitarigarurirwa n'Inkotanyi.

imitwe yitwara gisirikari, basabaga ko "abanyamahanga bose" (ni ukuvuga n'imiryango yabo gusa) bimurwa.

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 27 Gicurasi, amaherezo, abasivili 240 b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi "baraguranywe", bamwe bajya mu bice bya FPR, abandi baherekeza abasirikari mu ihunga ryabo"[28].

Hano biraboneka neza ukuntu umugambi wo gufata imfungwa z' "abanzi" ukora bitewe n'imishyikirano y'ababikora b'abagambanyi, kugeza ubwo, amaze ku byo yifuza, perezida wa MRND yategetse ko imvururu zihagarara :

"**Bz** : Ubiherewe uburenganzira kandi ubifashijwemo n'icyumba, waba wibuka ijambo rya bwana Ngirumpatse ryahise kuri radiyo rirebana na *Hôtel des Mille Collines* […].

"Ishyaka MRND koko rero ryakiriye icyemezo cya Guverinoma cyo kureka abantu bari baheze ahantu hamaze kuvugwa kuva aho hantu, cyane cyane kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*… cg icyo gihe kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*. Ndashaka gusaba abarwanashyaka bacu, cyane cyane urubyiruko, ndabasaba kuva ubu kurekura abo banyacyubahiro bahejejwe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'ahandi. Niba bashyigikiye Guverinoma, bagomba gukurikiza ibyemezo bya Guverinoma. Ishyaka MRND rirahagarariwe muri Guverinoma kandi icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose cya Guverinoma kiba ari n'icyemezo cya MRND. Mbisubiremo, nifuzaga gusaba abarwanashyaka bacu kurekura abo bantu bakimara kumva ubu butumwa."

**Sbz** : Ibyavuye muri ayo makururana kuri icyo kibazo byatumye, niba nkibuka neza, ahagana ku itariki ya 23 cg ahagana ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi, habaye igurana ryorohejwe, ndakeka, na Minuar ry'abantu bari barabuze aho banyura bo ku mpande zose, ni ukuvuga Abatutsi bari baraheze kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'Abahutu bari baraheze kuri sitade Amahoro. Habayeho igurana, kandi, muri ubwo buryo, ni irangizwa ry'amakururana, ni irangizwa ry'ibyo biganiro byose.

**Bz** : Nyuma y'ihitishwa ry'amabwiriza ya bwana Ngirumpatse, abantu bari kuri Hôtel des Mille Collines baba barashoboye kurenga bariyeri zo ku mihanda ?

**Sbz** : Yego, igurana ryashyizwe mu bikorwa, igurana ryaratunganye. Rero nsubije nemera[29]."

Ku mpamvu zinyuranye, imitwe yitwara gisirikari ni zo zari ingufu zabyiyemeje kandi zidasubira inyuma zari zigamije gushyira mu bikorwa inshingano ya mbere ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yo kwica Abatutsi n' "ibyitso". Imyitwarire mibi y'iyo mitwe n'urugomo bijyana byari nk'ikiguzi cy'akazi batunganije. Iki gitekerezo twari twakomojeho mu isesengura ryakozwe mu mutwe wa 6, rivuguruza bidasubirwaho ibivugwa ko imitwe yitwara gisirikari yaba yarishyizeho nta bayobozi bayiri inyuma, ari abanyapolitiki cg abasirikari, ikaba ari yo ikwiye kuryozwa itsembabwoko n'ubundi bwicanyi. Abashyigikira izo mvugo bishingikiriza ku kuntu ubwicanyi bwakozwe ku mugaragaro akenshi ku mihanda nyabagendwa ahari harunze intumbi z'abishwe. Ibyo nanone babitsindagira bavuga ko muri ibyo bihe buri wese yashoboraga kwambura, guhutaza cg kwica uwo ari we wese atagombye kubaza 'ababishinzwe' hakurikijwe imbaraga z'amatsinda y'abantu cg uduco byari bitandukanye mu rwego rw'imico n'imikorere nubwo yasaga n'akorera ku mabwiriza y'abakuru cg abayobozi. Bivugwa ko kubera ko hatariho ubuhuzabikorwa ku rwego rw'igihugu bwo gukurikirana no gucunga ibikoresho, iyo myitwarire mibi n'inyungu

[28] André Guichaoua (dir.), *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda [Imidugararo yo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi] (1993-1994)*, *op. cit.*, p. 707-708.

[29] Ibyatangajwe n'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera *n'abandi,* TPIR, 26 Gicurasi 2006, p. 16-17.

abicanyi babikuragamo ari byo nyirabayazana y'ubwicanyi dore ko ababwishoragamo babonagamo agahimbazamusyi. Nyamara iyo ukurikije umwihariko w'ibyaberaga mu maperefegitura, usanga abasirikari bakaze (nk'i Kigali), abasirikari bakuru basubijwe mu gisirikari bashinzwe ukwirinda kw'abasivili, n'abandi bantu b'ibikomerezwa mu gace kabo (abanyapolitiki, abacuruzi bakomeye, n'abandi) ari bo bashishikazaga abaicanyi bakabaha n'ibya ngombwa byose byakenerwaga. Nanone urutonde rw'ibyagombaga gukorwa (hakurikijwe ibyihutirwa)rwakorwaga buri gihe n'inama z'umutekano mu rwego rwa perefegitura cg amatsinda yavugaga mu izina ryazo.

Nyuma y'intambara, ubwisanzure bw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari n'uburemere bw'icyuho [cyakurikiye urupfu rwa perezida] byakunzwe gushyirwa imbere cyane cyane mu manza z'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakurikirayweho ibyaha. Koko rero birororshye kugereka ku mitwe yitwara gisirikari ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi ku buryo butaziguye (kandi koko barabukoze) dore ko abenshi mu bari muri iyo mitwe baburanishijwe n'inkiko z'U Rwanda aho batari bafite uburyo buhagije bwo kwiregura nkuko bimeze kubaburanira Arusha. Nanone kandi, iriya mvugo yitabazwa cyane n'abantu ndetse na za leta zagiranye imishyikirano – cg zashyigikiye – abayobozi ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho babonwaga nk'abayobozi nyakuri ari ko bari bari bafite ingorane zo gukoma imbere "uburakari bw'abaturage".

## *Indi ntera mu miyoborere y'ukwirinda kw'abaturage*

Hakurikijwe iteka rya minisitiri ryo ku wa 12 Mata, Guverinoma yari yashyizeho abasirikari bakuru bashinzwe ukwirinda kw'abasivili bari bagenwe na minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu wo muri MRND. MRND n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru bari babonye urwaho rwo kongera kwigarurira abasirikari bakuru bari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru nka majoro Aloys Simba, wahoze ari muri ba "kamarade b'uwa 5 Nyakanga [1973]" akaba na depite wa MRND ku Gikongoro; majoro Jean-Damascène Ukulikiyeyezu, depite wa MRND waje kugirwa perefe wa Gitarama ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 1994[30]; koloneli Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita, umukandida depite wa MRND w'i Kibungo mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho akaba yarahoze ari umuyobozi wungirije wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori. I Kigali hari koloneli Athanase Gasake; i Butare, koloneli Alphonse Nteziryayo, wari n'umuyobozi w'igipolisi cya komini muri minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kandi waje kugirwa perefe wa Butare ku itariki ya 17 Kamena bisabwe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, mu izina rya PSD kugira ngo bajijishe ko iyo perefegitura yari ikomeye kuri iryo shyaka…Nanone, itsembabwoko ryari ribaye igikorwa cy'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, abasirikari b'abanyapolitiki (Théoneste Bagosora na Augustin Bizimana, Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita) kandi ndetse ku nzego zose za MRND n'iz'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe.*

Ubwo ubuyobozi bwa MRND bwahaga "*Interahamwe* za MRND ubutumwa budasanzwe" ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi mu nama ikomeye y'umutekano

[30] Jean-Damascène Ukulikiyeyezu asimbura atyo Fidèle Uwizeye, wari wahunze mu mpera za Gicurasi kandi yarirukanywe ku mugaragaro ku itariki ya 14 Kamena 1994.

yari iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, bwari bwaramaze kunoza umugambi :

> "Muri ubwo butumwa, *Interahamwe* zirasabwa kurushaho guhiga, kwigizayo no kurwanya umwanzi zifatanyije n'urubyiruko rw'andi mashyaka ashaka amahoro mu Rwanda.Yabasabye kuba ku isonga ryo guteza imbere igikorwa kigamije kurinda U Rwanda (Kwirinda kw'abasivili) no gufata mpiri umugizi wa nabi wese uzagambanira rubanda yihishe inyuma y'umwambaro w'*Interahamwe*[31]."

Ubwo Édouard Karemera yatangiraga imirimo abaye minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu akohereza abaperefe amabwiriza avuye muri Guverinoma, politiki yarahindutse kandi irushaho kugira ubukana. Édouard Karemera ni umugabo ugira gahunda, ushoboye imirimo kandi witanga[32]. Urugero kuri perefegitura ya Kigali rwatanzwe hejuru rwari mu by'ukuri mu mutwe we ubwo byagaragaraga ko ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bukabije byakorwaga n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu gihugu cyose, byagendaga birambira abaturage, na bo ubwabo bikabatera umutekano muke. Ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, minisitiri w'intebe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu basohoye inyandiko hamwe n'amabwiriza byo gushyira mu bikorwa ivugurura ry' ukwirinda kw'abasivili (*reba umugereka wa 104*), zari zifite umugambi w'ibanze wo guhuriza hamwe imbaraga kirimbuzi z'imitwe yitwara gisirikari no kuzikoresha neza. Mu gushinga abaperefe ukwirinda kw'abasivili, bamwe muri bo ari abasirikari, abayobozi bageragezaga nanone kubyutsa imbaraga z'abadohotse baziganisha muri politiki y'ubwicanyi no gutangiza inkubiri ya nyuma mu rwego rw'igihugu mbere yo gutsindwa uruhenu. Mbese ukwirinda kw'abasivili wari umushinga washyiriweho guhuriza hamwe imbaraga z'abaturage, Guverinoma yishyizeho, ingabo, amashyaka n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari.

Hakurikijwe amabwiriza yo "kwisuganya no kwirinda kw'abasivili", urubyiruko rw'*Interahmwe rwasabwaga* gutanga mu gihugu, mu makomini yose na segiteri, abakenewe mu "bantu b'inzobere bagombaga kwigisha abagize igice gikomeye cyo kwirinda kw'abasivili mu rwego rwa politiki n'ibitekerezo", kubera ko bari bujuje kurusha abandi, "ibikenewe byose mu guhitamo urubyiruko rwo kwigisha" kandi bakaba bari basanganywe abavuye mu gisirikari bari bateganyijwe n'inyandiko ya minisitiri (ibaruwa igenewe ba perefe) yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi. Kwari ugushyira umubare munini w'urubyiruko mu myitozo ya girikari.

Ugereranyije na gahunda yo "kugarura amahoro" yari yaramamaye kugeza ubwo, intego ntiyahindukaga (iyo mvugo yakomezaga gusobanura gukora ubwicanyi), ariko harimo gukoresha neza imbaraga no kwihutisha irimburwa ry'"abanzi" mu gihe nyamara ingabo z'Inkotanyi zasatiraga bigaragara Kigali,

[31] Inyandikomvugo y'inama y'akanama gashinzwe umutekano ku Kibuye yo ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994, iyandukura ry'ijambo rya Édouard Karemera, TPIR, ishakiro K0246609-10.

[32] Uko kutajarajara kuboneka mu bikorwa bye byose n'amagambo ye (*reba umugereka wa 103*). Urugero : umuntu yareba ijambo rye yavugiye ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994 ku bibazo by'umutekano. Imwe mu nteruro ze za mbere yibutsa, mu itanagazo rye ryo ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, ko "Guverinoma yemeye kuzahemba abayobozi b'amaserire ariko ko na bo bagomba kurushaho kwita ku murimo kandi bagacunga umutekano." Arangiza ijambo rye, yanavuze ku ngingo ifatika cyane, ikibazo cy'imitungo itarakoreshwaga y'abishwe n'amakibirane yaterwaga no kuyigarurira mu kajagari : "Yasabye ko abaturage bakora inama kugira ngo batange ibitekerezo bigomba gufasha abayobozi gucunga ibyo bintu ku buryo bubereye rubanda nyamwinshi" (TPIR, ishakiro K0246608 na 010, *reba umugereka wa 103).* Uwo munyapolitiki w'inzobere, wahoranaga n'abaturage, yari azi neza abo abwira kandi yari afite ubuhanga bukomeye mu rwego rwo gukangura imbaga n'urw'akamaro k'ibintu.

Gitarama n'inkengero za perefegitura ya Butare. Umuntu yabibonamo kwimikwa kw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Abasirikari bakuru bashyizweho kugira ngo bayobore za komite z'ukwirinda muri buri perefegitura, batunganye imyitozo ya gisirikari kandi bahe intwaro imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Bityo, inyandiko yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yerekeye "Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amabwiriza ya minisitiri w'intebe ku itunganya ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili" yahaga ku mugaragaro abashinzwe komite z'ukwirinda, ububasha bwo kwica bagakiza ku baturage bose bashoboraga gukekwaho gucika intege cg kugira ubwoba mu "kurinda igihugu kiri mu makuba" (*reba umugereka wa 104*). Nk'uko umunyamateka Alison De Forges yabisesenguye[33], ishyirwaho ry'urwego rwo kwirinda kw'abasivili rugizwe n'abaturage ryari rifite cyane cyane akamaro ko guhigikira icyarimwe amashyaka, inzego za gisirikari n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu kugira ngo himikwe ku buryo bugaragara ububasha n'imyemererwe by'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, ni ukuvuga abashyikiye ubwicanyi babyitangira kurusha abandi. Nta tegeko na rimwe, nta rwego na rumwe byari bigishoboye gukoreshwa mu kwimira umurava w'abarwanashyaka bashoboraga gutera abantu bose, ku buryo ubu n'ubu, bahagarikaga imigendekere y'ukwirinda. Kamwe mu kamaro k'ingenzi k'ayo mabwiriza kari ukotsa igitutu "abananiwe", bari benshi mu buyobozi, ndetse no mu ngabo, bari batangiye kwibaza ku kamaro k'ubwo bwicanyi bwose, igitekerezo Abanyarwanda bose bashoboraga guhuriraho mu gihe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahungiraga mu majyaruguru.

Imyitozo yitaweho mu kwirinda kw'abasivili yoroshyaga igenzura rya bugufi ry'imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu myitwarire ya kinyamaswa yabarangaga. Kwiyambaza bikomeye abakozi ba minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'abakozi bakuru bo mu buyobozi bw'uturere byari bigamije kongera guhuruza abaturage bajyaga ku marondo ariko barahariye igenzura rya za bariyeri imitwe yitwara gisirikari cg ingegera.

Gushyira "imyitozo yo kwirinda kwa gisivili" mu matsinda mato byitabiriwe n'abantu benshi bashishikazwaga cyane cyane no kubona amahirwe yo gutunga imbunda. Wasangagamo abaturage b'inzego zose, abacuruza muri za butiki, abacuruzi, abakozi ba leta, abakozi ba kaminuza, abashakashatsi n'abarimu muri kaminuza. Uretse imirimo yo "kugarura amahoro" yari igenewe abari bagize ukwirinda kw'abasivili, abo bakorerabushake banibwiraga ko bashobora no kugira uruhare ku mutekano wabo bwite, bakanarinda imitungo yabo.

*Interahamwe* rero zabaye mu bantu b'ingenzi bahawe intwaro zatanzwe na minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu muri Kamena—minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yafasheho kimwe cya kane (imbunda 2500) zigenewe kwirinda. Nyamara kwigisha hutihuti urubyiruko rushya byakorwaga n'abashinzwe ubuyobozi bw'amakomini nta cyo byamaze na busa ubwo ubuyobozi bwa gisirikari bwiyambazaga imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu kugerageza gukoma imbere ingabo z'Inkotanyi (APR) zasatiraga Gitarama mu ntangiriro za Kamena. Mu mirwano yabereye mu makomini yo mu majyaruguru ya Butare haguye abantu benshi cyane mu ngabo za leta binagaragaza ko ukwirinda kw'abasivili gukozwe n'abaturage ntacyo byafashaga kigaragara ku rugamba.

[33] HRW-FIDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre [Ntimusige n'uwo kubara inkuru], op. cit.*, p. 325.

> "Twajyaga impaka ku migendekere y'ubwicanyi muri buri perefegitura. Izo nama zagabanywamo ibyiciro bibiri. Icya mbere kuva muri Mata kugeza mu mpera za Gicurasi : abaminisitiri bose nta n'umwe uvuyemo basabiraga perefegitura bavukamo intwaro nyinshi zishoboka zo guha abaturage babo ngo basohoze umugambi utavugwaga wo kurimbura abatutsi. Muri icyo cyiciro cya mbere, ingabo zari zigifite umwihariko ku ntwaro. Intwaro zatangwaga ku buryo budakabije ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma, zigahabwa ababana n' n'abasirikari. Impaka zagibwaga mu nama za Guverinoma zari uko buri muminisitiri yababazwaga no kuba atarahawe intwaro zihagije zo gukwirakwiza muri perefegitura avukamo. I Kigali ibyo ntibyari bikiri ikibazo, abantu bari bararangije guhabwa intwaro. Mu cyiciro cya kabiri, cyo mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1994, twabonye intwaro ibihumbi icumi (10.000) zo gutanga by'umwihariko mu kwirinda kw'abasivili. Kubera igitutu cy'intambara, ingabo z'igihugu zafashemo ibihumbi birindwi magana atanu (7.500). 2.500 zasigaye zeguriwe Karemera, minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ziharirwa ibyo kwirinda kw'abasivili. Sinzi uko zatanzwe. Ariko nshobora kuvuga ko 250 muri izo ntwaro zagombaga guhabwa Butare zinyujijwe kuri jenerali wa burigade Gatsinzi, ariko ntizigeze zigerayo. Mu Nama y'abaminisitiri, buri wese yasabaga intwaro zo kurinda perefegitura ye ibitero by'Inkotanyi. Ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko, no mu cyiciro cya mbere, bitigeze bivugwa ko perefegitura ya buri wese ihabwa intwaro zo kurimbura Abatutsi ku buryo buzwi n'ubuyobozi. Byavugwaga ko ari izo kurwanya Inkotanyi, ni ukuvuga umwanzi witwaje intwaro. N'ubwo ubu byagaragaye ko izo ntwaro zakoreshejwe mu kurimbura abasivili b'Abatutsi, nta muminisitiri n'umwe wigeze abisaba ku mugaragaro mu nama za Guverinoma.Ngibyo rero ibirebana n'inama z'abaperefe[34]."

Ni muri iyo nama ya nyuma ya Guverinoma nanone minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yasabye "kohereza" buri muminisitiri muri perefegitura y'iwabo kugira ngo ayobore ubwe ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda yo kumvisha no gutoza abaturage. N'ubwo nta n'umwe watinyutse kurwanya ku mugaragaro ayo mabwiriza ab' intagondwa muri bo bari baramaze gutangiza, abenshi barifashe. Ibi bigaragazwa nuko ayomabwiriza (yashyizwe ahagaragara mu iyumvwa ry'abaregwa) nta n'umwe wayavuzeho muri ajenda cg mu nyandiko ze.

[34] Iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2 K7-18, 27 Nzeri 1997.

## *"Guverinoma y'itsembabwoko"*

N'ubwo ari imvugo iremereye, kwita Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho "Guverinoma y'itsembabwoko" birahwitse. minisitiri w'intebe wayo ni we ubwe wasohoje iyo nshingano ubwo yari amaze kubona ko "yashyiriweho kujya gukora ubwicanyi[35]" akihisha inyuma yo gukora imirimo yemewe n'amategeko. Nubwo kimwe na bagenzi be atari mu bashyizeho iyo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, yasohoje "inshingano nyazo" zayo ubwo yiyemezaga kuvana ku izima abari biyemeje kunangira mu maperefegitura menshi yo mu majyepfo. Gukaza umurego k'ubwicyanyi kwajyanaga n'imigendekere y'intambara : kuva ubwo byari ngombwa gukomera ku rugamba rwo guhangana n'Inkotanyi muri kapitali no mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu, aho yasatiraga vuba vuba, no guhagurutsa igihugu cyose.

Imvugo "Guverinoma y'itsembabwoko" nanone ariko isaba ibindi bisobanuro. Igisobanuro cya mbere ni ukuvuguruza abavuga ko kuva ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, ndetse na mbere, habaye icyuho mu butegetsi [*failed state*] ; mu by'ukuri ikigaragara ni ko hatigeze na rimwe habaho icyuho mu butegetsi mu Rwanda – aha umuntu yatanga urugero ku ibakwe n'ubuhirimbanyi bukabije bw'abagerageje gukora kudeta mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata. N'ubwo ibihe byo guhangana byiganje kubera abahihibikaniraga gusimbura perezida Habyarimana amaze kwicwa, abashyigikiye abari bahanganye mu bice byombi by'abasisirikari n'amatsinda y'abasivili ntibigeze batakaza ubugenzuzi bwa politiki y'imbere mu gihugu. Ahubwo ndetse ni bo bateganyije injyabihe n'ubukana bw'imyiryane n'intambara, batangiza cg batiza umurindi ibikorwa by'urugomo(imyigaragambyo, inyandiko zisebanya n'amatangazo, iterabwoba, amarorerwa, ubwicanyi) byatumaga ibintu bijya i rudubi cg bagahungabanya imigambi rusange yo kwigarurira cg yo kugumana ubutegetsi. Nanone, haba mu murwa mukuru cg mu maperefegitura y'imbere mu gihugu, n'ubwo kubura ibikoresho byagize ingaruka zigaragara ku nzego nkuru, cyane cyane kubera ko Guverimnoma yari yahungiye i Murambi, no ku buryo bukomeye inzego z'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, ubuyobozi bwakomeje gukora bisanzwe aho ari ho hose – nkuko byemezwa n'ibirundo byinshi by'impapuro inzego zinyuranye zohererezanyaga – cyane cyane mu rwego rwo gutoza cg rwo gushora abaturage mu bikorwa by'intambara.

Iki gitekerezo nanone ntikivuguruza abavuga ko mu banyacyubahiro bari bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bamwe barangwaga n'ubuswa cg akamenyero gake ndetse hakaba hariho ubutegetsi bubangikanye.

Byaragaragaye ku buryo butihishira ko abenshi mu baminisitiri imirimo yabatonze ndetse bamwe bakagaragaraho ubuswa bukabije. Aha umuntu

[35] "Kubera ko… mu ntangiriro, igihe jye nagirwaga minisitiri w'intebe, sinibaraga nk'umuntu washyiriweho kujya gikora ubwicanyi, numvaga ndi umuntu washyiriweho kuba minisitiri w'intebe w'igihugu cyose no kuzana amahoro n'umutekano, kandi ni zo nshingano zari zahawe Guverinoma, kandi muri urwo rwego nabishyizemo ubushake, mvuga nti bampaye inshingano eshatu : kugarura amahoro mu gihugu, kugirana imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi kugira ngo nsubize mu buryo ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha hanyuma no kurengera abaturage n'ibindi…kwita ku mpunzi. Ibyo ni byo byari ubushake bwanjye" (iyumvwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-68, 20 Gicurasi 1998).

yakwibaza ukuntu perefegitura ya Kibuye yasaga n'itarigeze igira uyihagarariye muri Guverinoma kuva Repubulika ijyaho yagize itya igahabwa abaminisitiri bane mu bakomeye cyane[36], cg se akibaza impamvu, mu bihe by'intambara, abakorerabushake bashoboye kwitangira imyanya irusha iyindi kutagira akamaro ari abavaga mu maperefegitura yari yaratereranywe, aho abageragezaga kugaragaza inyota y'ubutegetsi bari baravukijwe imyaka n'imyaka. Abazamuwe mu ntera bashya bagaragaye mu bagize umwete mwinshi mu kurangiza inshingano zabo, mu gihe abari bamenyereye gutegeka bajijinganyaga kuzirangiza cg babyangaga ku bushake.

Ariko rero abaminisitiri benshi ntibari bakigira uruhare mu rwego rw'imikorere isanzwe irebana n'inshingano zabo (uburezi, ubuhinzi, umuryango n'imibereho y'abagore…). Bavugaga nk'abahagarariye ishyaka ryabo n'amaperefegitura bavukamo, bakibanda ku kibazo cy'ingorabahizi cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivili no kugarura amahoro. Icyo gihe, akamaro k'umuminisitiri kapimirwaga ku kwitanga mu gushyigikira politiki ya Guverinoma, ni ukuvuga mu bikorwa, mu igenzura no mu ihitamo ry'abakozi ba leta bashoboraga guhuruza abaturage mu kwitangira intambara. Ni kuri izo ngingo abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bajyaga impaka buri gihe bikajyana n'iyirukanwa n'ishyirwaho byageraga ku rwego rw'abakonseye ba segiteri.

Nanone, igitekerezo kivuga ko Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yasaga n'ikora idahari kubera isiba rihoraho rya bamwe mu bayigize ryajyanaga n'uburyo bwo kujya inama ku "butumire" (inama zitunguranye, impaka z'urudaca, ukwiyongera kw'inama zidasanzwe) nticyabuzaga ko yayoborwaga cg ikiyegerezwa n'agace k'intagondwa, zihaga ubutegetsi bukomeye mu izina ryayo cg mu izina ry'izindi nzego zubahiriza ubutegetsi zibangikanye na yo, nk'ibiro bya perezida n'ibya minisitiri w'intebe byarimo abajyanama batabarika.

Uko kwifata kose kujyana na politiki yakurikizwaga, ubuhirimbanyi bw'abayigize, guhabwa agaciro gake hanze, ariko ntikugira icyo gutwara ubuhanga bwayo mu kwica n'o kutava ku izima, n'iyo byaba ari ukwiyahura, mu gushyira mu bikorwa intego zayo. Icyo gitekerezo kigaragarira ku buryo rimwe na rimwe butagira icyo buhishe, mu nyandiko mvugo n'inyandiko zihariye z'abazijyagamo :

> "Urwego rw'impaka hagati y'abo bayobozi ba Guverinoma y'igihugu n'abakuru b'amashyaka rwari hasi cyane kandi mu by'ukuri byarababazaga kumva bamwe mu banyabwenge bakomeye bo mu gihugu bavuga ibyababaga nk'aho barimo gukora indi revolisiyo y'abaturage ya kabiri. Urugero, ndibuka bwana Donat Murego, nyamara wari dogiteri mu buhanga bw'ibya politiki, arimo kuvuga ubwicanyi n'intambara "nk'uburyo bwo kurangiza revolisiyo yo muri 1959" n'inzira y'ishyaka rye mu mwanya mu matora yo mu bihe bizaza. […] Inama yemwe y'abaminisistri nagiyemo i Muramba (Gisenyi) [ku itariki ya 11 Kamena], yarambabaje cyane. […] Muri iyo nama, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, yasabye abateraniye aho niba Guverinoma yarashoboraga kwemera icyifuzo cy'abasirikari cyo kwica abasenyeri babiri b'Abatutsi, Musenyeri Gahamanyi Jean-Baptiste wa Butare na Musenyeri Kalibushi Wenceslas wa Nyundo, bombi bari bahungiye ku Gisenyi, kugira ngo bahorere abasenyeri batatu b'Abahutu bari barishwe n'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 5 Kamena, ari bo Thaddée Nsengiyummva wa Kabgayi, Joseph Ruzindana wa

[36] Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (kugarura amahoro, itsembabwoko), Ubukungu (imbaraga z'intambara), Itangazamakuru (poropagande) n'Ubutabera (ukudahana).

> Byumba na Vincent Nsengiyumva wa Kigali. Numvaga mbabajwe bikomeye n'ukuntu impaka nk'izo zishobora kugibwa ku mugaragaro mu nama y'abaminisitiri noneho ngaragaza ko nanze bidasubirwaho icyifuzo cya minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu. Ndakeka ko iyo nama yabaye umunsi wo gushyingura nyina wa Protais Zigiranyirazo, cg ikintu nk'icyo cyari cyabaye. Kambanda yasoje inama arakaye kugira ngo ajye muri uwo muhango, yizeza kongera kudutumira. Mu bantu bari bahari, ndibuka Mugenzi, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Karemera na Mugiraneza. Ndakeka ko Augustin Ngirabatware, wari washinzwe perefegitura ya Gisenyi, na we yari ahari, ariko sinabihamya[37]."

Kuri iyo ngingo naho, birasa n'aho nta tandukanyirizo nyaryo hagati y'abahabwaga icyubahiro cy'abize n'abari bazamuwe mu ntera. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko yatandukanyaga, ku ruhande rumwe, "abanyapolitiki bafite ibitekerezo", ni ukuvuga abakuru b'amashyaka, ku rwego intambara yari igezemo, bahitagamo kwitarura imikorere ya buri munsi y'inzego za leta, bagahugira ahanini ku itegura ry'ibihe bizakurikiraho, hanyuma ku rundi ruhande abacungaga intambara no "kugarura amahoro". Muri abo bose, hashoboraga gutoranywamo, ku ruhande rumwe, abaminisitiri bakorana ubushake kurusha abandi kandi bashyushye : Éliezer Niyitegeka, Callixte Nzabonimana[38], Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Rafiki Nsengiyumva, babihariye ahanini igihe cyabo n'imbaraga zabo, ku rundi, ba nyakabyizi (Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, Straton Nsabumukunzi, André Rwamakuba…) n' "ingirwabanya-politki", nk'uko biswe na Jean Kambanda, ari bo batigaragazaga (Gaspard Ruhumuliza, Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Jean de Dieu Kamuhanda…).

Abenshi muri bo ntibagawe : Guverinoma yarakoraga, yarateranaga, yashakaga amakuru, yafataga imyanzuro, yafataga ibyemezo ikanatanga amabwiriza ku bintu byose kabone n'ibireba abasirikari itari imenyereye byanze bikunze kandi yari ifiteho ububasha buke cyane. Uko kwemerwa n'ububasha byajyanaga byarifuzwaga bikomeye, na nyuma hagati ya Nyakanga, nyuma y'inzozi z'ubutegetsi zagumyeho n'ubwo yari yahigitswe kandi iri mu buhungiro.

Ingingo imwe ishobora kwemerwa ni ivuga ko abafataga ibyemezo barushijeho gukomera bakaba barabonye uburyo bwo gukoresha ibyo bashatse abaminisitiri mu kuboneza inshingano zabo. Iyo ngingo ishobora guhinirwa mu nkuru ebyiri. Inkuru ya mbere ibumbiye mu magambo akurikira ya Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh :

> "**Bz** : Havugwa ko batari bagaragaza ko bari bafite ububasha bwo kugenzura ubutegetsi mu gihugu. Hari iminsi itandatu nyuma y'aho bagiriye i Gitarama ; nifuzaga rero ko musobanura icyo mushaka kuvuga ahongaho.
> **Sbz** : Oya, nta kintu mfite cyo gusobanura. Ndakeka ko byumvikana neza ko Guverinoma isanzwe iba i Kigali [nyuma] ikiyemeza kujya [kuba] i Gitarama ari uko [igomba kuba] ifite ibibazo. Murashaka ko mbabwira iki? Kubera ko Kigali ari yo murwa mukuru, niho hari inzego zose z'itumanaho, iz'ubuyobozi cg iza Guverinoma kugira ngo igihugu kigire ubuyobozi. Iyo Guverinoma ivuye mu murwa mukuru ikajya mu mujyi wo mu giturage,

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

[38] "Mu kurangiza, nagiraga ngo mbabwire ko, ubwo nari mu buhungiro muri Bénin, bwana Nzirorera Joseph ko uwo mugabo, n'ubwo yari mu rwego rw'umuminisitiri, na we ubwe yinjiye mu bwicanyi bwo muri 1994. Ngo abari bamwegereye mu butegetsi baba baramuhimbaga *Bwarayaze,* ni ukuvuga "umusazi" (iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Ukuboza 2005, p. 92).

turabibona. Murashaka ko mbabwira iki bwana Maître [mwunganizi mu mategeko] [39] ?"

[Iyi nkuru] ifite koko ireme [iyo urebye ibyabaye] mu minsi ya mbere yo kubaho no kutumvikana kwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ubwo ukwigarura kw' ''abagiriwe icyizere" kwari kutarizerwa : koko rero, kugeza ku irahira ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata, umuntu yakwemera ko yarimo abanyacyubahiro babonaga bashobora gupfa baramuste banze kubera ko intego nkuru yo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu (Bagosora n'abandi) yari iyo guhitana abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje. Nanone, bamaze kuvumbura ko bari batoranyijwe kugira ngo bagerekweho umutwaro w'ibikorwa bya mbere by'ubugizi bwa nabi n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye abantu bo mu majyepfo, cg se nibura bagabane uwo mugogoro, abenshi barifashe ntibitabira ubwicanyi.

Nyamara rero aho bamariye kwimurirwa i Gitarama ni bwo abaminisitiri bafashe iya mbere mu gushishikariza abantu ubwicanyi kandi bashyira mu bikorwa politiki yari ibategerejweho aho yagombaga kubera, ni ukuvuga ku misozi mu gihugu hagati.

Inkuru ya kabiri ni iy'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, utubwira iby'ubutegetsi bukorera mu bwiru bugatambamira ibyifuzo byiza bwitirira iyo Guverinoma :

> "Kubera ko ubwicanyi bwakomeje, icyo nakekaga ni uko hari ubutegetsi bwemewe bwasaga n'ubudafite imbaraga iruhande rw'ubutegetsi bukorera mu bwiru bukomeye kurushaho, bugizwe n'abari mu Kazu nka Bagosora, Nzirorera, Casimir Bizimungu, Augustin Ngirabatware n'abandi, kandi bari bafite imiyoboro ikomeye imbere mu gihugu, ndetse no mu mahanga, kubera ko, n'ubwo hariho amabwiriza yacu n'ibyemezo minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu yavugaga ko yayafatiye, ubwicanyi bwarakomeje[40]."

Icyo gitekerezo ni cyo mu rwego rw'imibanire y'ubutegetsi bwemewe n'ububangikanye na bwo, ariko nta cyatuma umuntu yemeza ko habayeho inyuranya rikomeye hagati y'ubwo butegetsi. Nk'uko Alison Des Forges yabigaragaje, abakuru b'amashyaka bakoranaga inama muri rusange n'abagize Guverinoma kandi abaminisitiri bavugaga mu izina ry'ishyaka ryabo ritarangwamo ushobora kurirwanya uwo ari we wese. Yeho byarashobokaga ko habaho agace k'umukino wa politiki gacika abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ariko politiki mu rwego rwo kugarura amahoro yo yakorerwaga mu bwumvikane busesuye :

> "Abayobozi b'amashyaka, nka Karemera wo muri MRND na Murego wo muri MDR "*Pawa*", bajyaga mu Nama y'abaminisitiri, naho abandi, nka Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND, bahagarariraga Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu mahanga, bashinzwe ubutumwa bwo gusobanura itsembabwoko. minisitiri w'intebe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bategetse abaperefe gukoresha abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki batuye [mu maperefegitura yabo] kugira uruhare mu bikorwa, kugira ngo bubahirize "umutekano". Barumviye kandi bakora ku buryo ababungirije na bo babigenza batyo. Kimwe n'abari mu buyobozi, abakuru b'amashyaka akomeye barindwaga n'abasirikari kandi kimwe na bo, bajyaga mu misozi kugira ngo bageze ubutumwa bwa Guverinoma ku baturage[41]."

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[39] Ubuhamya bwa Jacques-Roger BOOH-BOOH, urubanza rwa Bagosora *n'abandi,* 22 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 50.

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

[41] HRW-FIDH, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre* [Ntimusige n'uwo kubara inkuru], *op. cit.,* p. 262.

Indi ngingo isa n'iyo ishobora gutangwa ku kibazo cy'uko abaminisitiri batabonaga amakuru ahagije buri gihe. Umwe muri bo ashyigikira ko "ku byo azi, Guverinoma nk'urwego rukorera hamwe, itabonaga raporo ku migendekere y'ubwicanyi, uretse izatanzwe n'abaperefe mu nama yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata[42]."

Nyamara gahunda z'ibyigwa zose mu nama za Guverinoma zabagamo ingingo "poropagande" : abaminisitiri ni bo mu by'ukuri bari bayishinzwe. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yahaye ku buryo butunganye umwanya munini icunga ry'itangazamakuru ku bikorwa byayo, n'ubwo ibyavuyemo bitari bishimishije. Bityo, mu iteganya ry'amatsinda y'akazi mato y'abaminisitiri, itangazamakuru ryari igice cyihariye. Ku buryo bubangikanye, ubutumwa bwinshi bwo gusobanura mu mahanga bwarateguwe, ubutumwa abaminisitiri cg abavugizi babiherewe ububasha bakozemo umurimo wo kuba abashinzwe ingendo kugira ngo basabe imfashanyo cg intwaro.

Ntibyoroshye, biraboneka, guhakana ko "abasivili bashyizwe imbere", kandi ko, nibura bafatiwe mu mukino :

– ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwagenzurwaga na Guverinoma ku buryo bwa hafi kandi ku buryo busobanutse neza bwagenzurwaga n'abanyacyubahiro bari bashinzwe "ibikorwa byo kugarura amahoro" mu maperefegitura. Amahiganwa hagati y'abantu ku giti cyabo no hagati y'amashyaka kugira ngo agenzure amaperefegitura, amakomini n'amasegiteri yatumaga mu by'ukuri ibintu bikomera kandi yashoboraga kubyara amakimbirane mu karere, ariko gusubiza ibintu mu buryo byakorerwaga hagati y'amashyaka muri Guverinoma. Ahubwo ndetse ububasha bwa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'abaperefe bwariyongeraga mu gihe cy'amakimbirane kubera agahimbazamusyi k'intambara kahaga ububasha nyabwo abakozi ba leta bafite umwete bititaye ku mategeko asanzwe y'inzego ;

– Amashyaka n'umwiryane wayo byagenaga mu byukuri imibereho ya buri munsi ya Guverinoma, ariko, inyuma y'amakimbirane ashingiye ku igabana ry'umutungo n'imyanya, ubufatanye bwiganzaga ku byeyerekeye intego n'uburyo. Uko guhuza kwashingiraga ku buryo butumvikana ku mbaraga zidasubira inyuma za MRND, yari ifite abayishyigikiye bahagije mu ngabo n'ubwiganze busesuye mu buyobozi bw'igihugu ku hantu haruta bibiri bya gatatu by'igihugu. Nanone MRND yahoraga icungishije perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo abajyanama be. Abayobozi ba MRND ni na bo bagenzuraga Radio Rwanda kandi no bari barashinze RTLM[43] ;

– Ukwiyorobeka k'umuryango wa perezida wari warimukiye ku Gisenyi no kuba umukuru wayo yari yarabaye igitambo, byongeraga ishyaka rya perezida ubwemarare n'ingufu. Uvanyemo abajyanama b' "umuryango" bari bahagarariwe na Augustin Ngirabatware muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, n'imishyikirano mu

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

[43] Hano nta wareka kwibutsa ko ku rutonde rw'abari bafite imigabane muri iyo radiyo "yigenga", wasangagamo ukurikije irutanwa ry'imigabane bari bafitemo : Habyarimana Juvénal, 1.000.000 Frw ; Basabose Pierre, 600.000 Frw ; Kabuga Félicien, 500.000 Frw ; Musabe Pasteur, 500.000 ; Nzirorera Joseph, 500.000 ; Rwabukumba Séraphin, 500.000 Frw ; Kamana Claver, 300.000 Frw ; Bagosora Théoneste, 250.000 Frw. Kandi, kugira hatagira n'umwe ubura, mu bashyizemo imigabane bato harimo Madamu wa Karemera Édouard (25.000 Frw) na Ngirumpatse Mathieu (5.000 Frw).

rwego mpuzamahanga bakomeje kugirana n'abakuru b'ibiguhugu bamwe na bamwe, "itsinda ryo ku Gisenyi" ryigaragaje ku itariki ya 25 Mata ritangiza ikigega cyo kurinda igihugu, cyari gishinzwe guha Guverinoma imfashanyo (kugura intwaro, imodoka, imyenda y'ingabo n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari). Mu bagiteraga inkunga, harimo Félicien Kabuga, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Édouard Karemera, Anatole Nsengiyumva. Ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, Félicien Kabuga yamenyesheje ku mugaragaro Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itangizwa ry'icyo kigega anasobanura uburyo bwo gukoresha umutungo (*reba umugereka wa 105);*

– Icya nyuma kandi kirushijeho gukomera, itsembabwoko rimaze gutangizwa, byabaye ngombwa kurihatiriza ku ngufu hakibasirwa abarirwanyaga kimwe n'abanyapolitiki "bajenjetse" n'abakozi bakuru b' "abanyabwoba" babarizwaga cyane cyane mu ngabo z'igihugu no mu maperefegitura yari yiganjemo abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje. Buri gihe ibi byarongeraga bigahagurukirwa iyo imbaraga n'ingamba zo gushishikariza abantu itsembabwoko byabaga bigize aho bidohoka. Uretse kwegeranya abantu, ibikoresho n'ibintu bya ngombwa byo gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa, Guverinoma yahoraga ishyira imbere uko bishobotse igitekerano cy' "uburakari bw'abaturage" imbere no hanze y'igihugu. Kubera iyo mpamvu, yagombaga guhoza ingingo n'akamaro mu rwego rwa politiki mu mvugo inoze (kugarura amahoro, ukwirinda kw'abasivili, n'izindi), kugira ngo ubwo bwicanyi butavaho bubonwa kuri za bariyeri no ku misozi nk'ibikorwa mburabuntu, ubusambo bukabije se cg ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi busanzwe.

Ahanini koko rero, rimaze gutangira "itsembabwoko ryarigaburiye ubwaryo, ubwicanyi ntibwakeneye 'gutegurwa' ", bwatunganywaga uko bwije n'uko bukeye[44]. Imitwe yitwara gisirikari imaze kuvuka, igahabwa ububasha ku ntego zoroshye kandi "igasonerwa" iby'inkeke yo guhanwa n'amategeko, ntiyari ikeneye kongera "gushyirwa kuri gahunda". Icy'ingenzi kwari uguhozaho no guhembera buri gihe imbaraga n'inyungu zinyuranye (ubwambuzi, ubusahuzi, gufata ku ngufu, ibihembo by'ako kanya cg ibintu bitangwa).

Nkuko yashyizweho ikenewe kandi byihutirwa, mu gihe yamaze kuva ku ya 9 Mata kugeza ku ya 19 Nyakanga, Guverinoma yabaye itsinda "ryihariye", ryarimo ingufu z'abantu koko zitandukanye, ariko, ku mpamvu zinyuraranye, buri wese yiyumvagamo. Nubwo itagenzuye Inzego zose z'ubutegetsi (by'umwihariko, udutsiko tw'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki bayiyoboreraga hanze cg kure), yibwiye ko yari yemewe mu mategeko kandi ntiyigeze ishaka kwitandukanya n'ubwo butegetsi bwinshi bwo mu bwiru : Akazu n'abo kanyuragaho mu mahanga, Théoneste Bagosora n'abasirikari b'abakiga bari bamushyigikiye, inyabune yayoboraga MRND, abayobozi b'amaperefegitura (Renzaho i Kigali, Rwagafirita i

[44] Twibutse ko ubwicanyi bwo muri Kibirira cg ubwo mu Bugesera butiyambaje urwego rukuru urwo ari rwo rwose rwihariye. Bwakoreshejwe ibikoresho bike ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi na politiki : abahagarariye abayobozi bingingaga kandi bakanatwara inkundarubyino zabyiyemeje zo muri MRND zari zarasizwe iheruheru n'intambara … Nubwo bwose ubutegetsi bwashoboraga guhuruza giturumbuko ingabo, abajandarume, igipolisi n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, ubushobozi buke bwagaragaye mu gutsemba Abatutsi bo muri perefegitura ya Kibuye birwanyeho bitavugwa mi misozi ya Bisesero muri Gicurasi na Kamena 1994 bikaba ngombwa guhuruza ingabo zo mu yandi maperefegitura bigaragaza neza ko nta myiteguro ihamye yo kuyobora ubwicanyi yari yarabayeho.

Kibungo, Nseniyumva ku Gisenyi, n'abandi)[45]. Ahubwo buri gihe yatanguranwaga gushyira mu bikorwa ibyifuzo byabo cg gushyigikira politiki mbi za ruvumwa. Nguko uko ubuyobozi bwa gisivili buteguye neza kandi bufatika bwaguye mu mutego w'intagondwa z'abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari zari zigambiriye kuburizamo uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose butunganye bwo kurwanya umushinga w'itsembabwoko (amashyirahamwe ategamiye kuri leta, amadini…) no gusubiranyamo abaturage bari basanzwe bibanira batitaye ku ku nkomoko n'amoko yabo.

Muri rusange, icyafashije inzego za leta kurangiza inshingano zazo kirimbuzi muri ayo mezi atatu cyari gishingiye ku mpamvu z'uko imibereho y'abari bafitemo uruhare ba leta n'abafashwaga na leta, yari ifitanye isano n'intambara bari bazi ko bamaze gutsindwa, kandi ko imyiryane ya politiki n'uturere yagabanyaga ingufu za politiki bari bahuriyeho, yageraga muri buri gace kari kabashyikiye. Ubwumvikane rusange bwakomokaga nanone mu masano ya hafi yakomokaga ku murage w'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, yahuzaga inzego za gisirikari, abanyapolitiki n'ubuyobozi. Bwaba ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda cg ubwa Habyarimana, bwose bwari bushingiye ku banyabwenge bafite byinshi bibatandukanya noneho intambara ibabera imbarutso yo kongera kunga ubumwe : Ingabo z'igihugu ku ruhande rumwe, abakuru b'amashyaka abiri akomeye ku rundi : Nzirorera, Karemera na Ngirumpatse muri MRND, Murego na Karamira muri MDR. Ayo mashyaka yombi yarase ubumwe yari yasubiranye mu guhuza urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* n'*Inkuba* ndetse na nyuma yaho mu kwirinda kw'abasivili.

Umwiryane kirimbuzi warunduye ingoma wari ushinze imizi mu makimbirane ya Nduga na Kiga ataragize ubasha kuyigobotora, yaba MRND, ingabo se, cg ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Koko rero, abakozi ba leta bakuru bo mu majyepfo, abasivili cg abasirikari, bumvaga nta tandukaniro ririmo hagati yo gushyira ubutegetsi mu maboko y'umuntu nka Nzirorera – wari indorerwamo y'ibibi byose bya Repubulika ya Kabiri uvanyemo urukundo abaturage bari bafitiye Habyarimana– no kujya munsi y'ikirenge cy'ingabo ntutsi za FPR. Uretse "intambara" zombi zacaga ibintu, iyo hanze n'imbere imbere mu gihugu, udutsiko tw'abahutu twazijanditsemo twashwanyaguraniye mu ntambara y'ubwiko yo kuzungura yabereye bose simusiga.

[45] Imbere y'iyo mashini y'intambara ikomeye yahuruzaga imbaga y'abayoboke ba MRND, abayobozi bo muri MRND ni bo bonyine bari bafite ububasha bwihariye bwo kujya mu mishyikirano yo mu rwego rwa politiki.