6

Ipiganwa ryo kwigarurira imitwe yitwara gisirikari

Ku bwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse, perezida wa Muvoma uri mu bashimangira ko amatsinda y'insoresore zitwara gisirikari kimwe n'itsembatsemba nta wabiteguye, byari ngombwa kwemeza ko politiki mu gihugu yari ishingiye ku bitekerezo bishyize mu gaciro kandi ko abanyapolitiki baharaniraga imyanya ku buryo bwemewe bajyaga impaka za gihanga zaganishaga ku kwegurira buri wese ibihwanye n'imirimo yakoze n'ubushobozi yagaragaje kurusha abandi. Avuga ko itsinda rya politiki ry'*Interahamwe* ryiremye ubwaryo :

> "Nuko rero hari hariho n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka rya MRND, Interahamwe, rutaremwe n'ishyaka, kandi ibi ndabitsindagira cyane. Abantu ntibakwiriye kugumana urujijo mu mitwe yabo. Interahamwe, urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, ntizaremwe n'ishyaka. Ni abasore biyemeje ubwabo kwiremamo ishyaka"[1].

> "Ni bo bitoreye ubwabo komite nyobozi yabo, bashyikiriza perezida Habyarimana umushinga wabo, hanyuma bawugeza no ku nzego z'ishyaka. Ni iki cyababwirije gukora ibyongibyo ? Ni irari kamere ryo kwirwanaho gusa. Koko rero, gahunda z'andi mashyaka zari izo gukoresha iterabwoba kugira ngo bahatire Abanyarwanda kuyoboka ishyaka rya FPR, irya MDR n'irya PSD, cg se gutera umugongo Muvoma. [...] Abasore benshi ntibihanganiye ako gasuzuguro"[2].

Unarebye gusa amateka y'izo nsoresore, usanga aya mahomvu ku muntu w'inararibonye nka we [Ngirumpatse] atunguranye ndetse uburyo yisobanuramo buraruhije kubwumva. Koko rero, ishyaka ry'abaziremye ryari riteye agashyari abandi bayobozi b'abanyapolitiki bashakaga abarwanashyaka muri ibyo bihe bitoroshye. *Interahamwe* zaremwe mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy'umwaka wa 1991. Itsinda ry'ikubitiro ryari rigizwe n'abasore b'i Kigali,

[1] Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, KO129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1Ukwakira 1999.

[2] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie rwandaise [Amarorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 69.

Abahutu n'Abatutsi, bari mu ikipi y'umupira w'amaguru yitwaga "Loisirs" yari ishyigikiwe na Désiré Murenzi, wari umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo PetroRwanda, akaba no muri komite ya perefegitura y'ishyaka rya MRND muri Kigali ngari[3]. Muri icyo gihe, we yashakaga kurema, afatiye ku rugero rw'amashyirahamwe, amatsinda y'abarwanashyaka bo mu rwego rw'ibanze bashoboraga kurebera ku mikorere y'ikangurambaga ry'Abahamya ba Yehova, kugira ngo bamamaze amatwara ya Muvoma.

Yari agamije no kubumbira hamwe abasore bifuzaga kurwanya ihohoterwa ry'abayoboke ba Muvoma ryari ryiganje mu duce tumwe na tumwe tw'i Kigali nka za Nyamirambo, mu mugambi ugira uti "Abakiga basubire mu Rukiga". Désiré Murenzi yari akikijwe na Robert Kajuga, perezida w'ikipi y'umupira, Eriki Karekezi[4], n'abaje kurema Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe, nka Eugène Mbarushimana[5] na Dieudonné Niyitegeka[6]. Aba ni bo bari bagize icyaje kwitwa Komite nshingwabikorwa yemewe n'amategeko. Abari muri iyo Komite ubusanzwe bahuriraga mu nama ku wa gatatu nyuma ya saasita, mu nzu iri hafi ya minisiteri y'Imigambi ya leta, ikaba iya Vedasiti Rubangura, umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi w'i Kigali, wari waremereye ishyaka rya MRND gukoresha igipande kimwe cy'ibyumba byari muri iyo nzu[7].Inama zahuzaga abantu bagera kuri magana abiri, badashabukiye cyane ibya politiki, bakomoka mu nzego zinyuranye, bari baziranyi neza kandi bagahuzwa n'imikino ngororamubiri cg se ibikorwa biterekeye akazi kabo.

Uko inama zikurikiranyaga kandi abazitabira bagenda barushaho kuba benshi, abanyapolitiki bo muri Muvoma babibonyemo inyungu maze na bo bagira umwete wo kuziza mo. Muri bo habonekaga cyane cyane Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Charles Nyandwi, François Karera, superefe ushinzwe ibya politiki n'ubutegetsi muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari[8], Enock Ruhigira, umukuru w'ibiro bya Perezida. Abo banyapolitiki bakomeye bazaga gutara amakuru bakanashishikazwa no gukurikirana icyo gikorwa gishyashya Désiré Murenzi

[3] Inshuti ya Charles Nyandwi, umwe mu banyapolitiki bakomeye ba perefegitura ya Kigali, wabaye minisitiri mu myaka ya 1981 n'umudepite utanyeganyezwa, Désiré Murenzi na we yabaye umwe mu bagize Komitey'igihugu ya Muvoma kuva muri Kongere yo muri Mata 1992.

[4] Umututsi w'i Kigali, muramu wa Bonavanture Habimana (Kigali ngari), umunyamabanga mukuru wa Muvoma kuva muri 1975 kugeza muri 1991.

[5] Eugène Mbarushimana akomoka mu muryango ukomeye wo mu Bugoyi. Yarongoye umwe mu bakobwa ba Félicien Kabuga, Winnie Musabeyezu. "Sekuruza" wabo yabyaranye n'abagore benshi abana bagera kuri mirongo itatu hanyuma bose abitirira izina rye.

[6] Dieudonné Niyitegeka (Umuhutu ufite nyina w'Umututsikazi, komini Shyanda, Butare, MRND), yarezwe n'umuryango wa Aloys Munyangaju (Astrida). Uyu yari mu bagize inama y'igihugu ya mbere yashyizweho n'abategetsi b'Ababiligi muri 1953, akaba n'umwe mu bashinze ishyaka rya Aprosoma hamwe na Théodore Sindikubwabo. Dieudonné Niyitegeka yarongoye murumuna w'umugore wa Juvénal Renzaho (Ruhengeri, MRND). Uyu yari umujyanama mu bya politiki muri perezidansi ya Repubulika. Yitabye Imana ku ya 6 Mata 1994 hamwe na perezida Habyarimana yaherekezaga mu ngendo ze.

[7] Édouard Karemera na we yari ahafite ibiro nk'umwunganizi mu by'amategeko wikorera ku giti cye.

[8] Ni we watanze igitekerezo cy'izina *Interahamwe* Za Muvoma. Kwinjira mu *Iterahamwe* kwa Georges Rutaganda na Phénéas Ruhumuriza ni perezida Habyarimana ubwe wabyigiriye mo, kandi nyamara Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari perezida wa MRND muri perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali. Ubwo perezida yabonaga ari ngombwa rwose kugira aho gushinga ibirindiro mu "banzi" bo muri perefegitura ya Gitarama. Amafaranga ya mbere yashowe muri icyo gikorwa yatanzwe na Pasteur Musabe, umuyobozi mukuru wa BACAR (Banki y'Umusi wa Afurika mu Rwanda), akaba na muramu wa koloneli Théoneste Bagosora. Uretse Georges Rutaganda na Phénéas Ruhumuriza, ikipi ishinzwe iby'*Interahamwe* muri Gitarama yari ihagaze neza kuko harimo na Isaac Kamali (undi muramu wa koloneli Théoneste Bagosora) na Jean-Marie Vianney Mudahinyuka bahimba "Zuzu" (Reba : André GUICHAOUA, *Butare, la préfecture rebelle [perefegitura y'icyigomeke], op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 89-90).

yibwirije. Igihe babaga bagendereye urwo rubyiruko rwari rwaranze kwimukira mu gipande cy'amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, abo bayobozi bababwiraga amagambo yo kubatera akanyabugabo.

> "Kuva nakwinjira mu mutwe w'Interahamwe Za Muvoma, nibwiye ko bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nyandwi Charles bari ababyeyi ba Murenzi Désiré muri politiki. Uko ari batatu bakomokaga muri Kigali ngari, kandi Ngirumpatse Mathieu na Nyandwi Charles babonaga ko, kubera ikigero cye, Murenzi Désiré yashoboraga kuba umukangurambaga mwiza w'urubyiruko[9]."

Mu Kuboza 1991, Désiré Murenzi na Mathieu Ngirumpatse wari perezida wa Muvoma muri perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali icyo gihe, babwiye abakangurambaga ko perezida Habyarimana yifuzaga kubonana n'intumwa zabo icumi kugira ngo baganire ku ntego n'ibikorwa by'urwo rubyiruko. Ziyobowe na Désiré Murenzi, izo ntumwa zari zigizwe na Robert Kajuga, Georges Rutaganda, Phénéas Ruhumuriza, Eugène Mbarushimana, Dieudonné Niyitegeka, Ephrem Nkezabera, Ismael Kayitare, Jean-Marie-Vianney Mudahinyuka, Alphonse Kanimba na Joseph Serugendo. Umubonano wabereye muri hoteli *Urugwiro* ku Kacyiru. Ibiganiro byaranzwe n'ubwisanzure no kuvuga iriri ku mutima. Perezida yababwiye ko yumvise imigambi yabo kandi abasezeranya n'inkunga. "Nuko, mu kwezi kw'Ukuboza, muri zimwe mu nama zacu, bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu yari yamenyesheje ko perezida wa Repubulika, akaba kandi na perezida-fondateri wa Muvoma, yari yarumvise bavuga iby'urubyiruko rushyigikiye imigambi y'ishyaka rya MRND, bityo rero akaba yari yatumenyesheje icyifuzo cya perezida cyo kwakira intumwa zarwo ngo baganire.

> "Yatubwiye kandi ko mu mibonano nk'uwo ari ngombwa kwitwaza inyandiko ikubiyemo ingingo z'ingenzi ziri buganirweho. [...] Bityo rero, twakoze itonde ry'ibyo Muvoma idakora neza, ibyo ikora neza bigomba kongererwa ingufu, n'ibyo bayikemanga ku byerekeye isaranganya ry'imyanya ya za minisiteri n'ibindi bigo bya leta abatavuga rumwe na yo bari barabonyemo iturufu y'urugamba rwabo. Nuko rero, twamugejejeho ibyifuzo byacu yuko niba ashaka kubahiriza politiki ye y'iringaniza yagombaga kuvugurura umurongo w'imyifatire ye kuri icyo kibazo kugira ngo dushobore kumushyigikira no kugira ngo azashobore gutsinda amatora mu bihe by'amashyaka menshi yari amaze kwemerwa n'itegeko. Hanyuma rero mu kwezi kw'Ukuboza, ndakeka ko hari ku wa gatandatu nyuma ya saasita ahagana saakumi, perezida yakiriye intumwa zari ziyobowe na Désiré Murenzi, nk'uko nabivuze wari waremye uwo mutwe. Inyandiko intumwa zari zitwaje yarasomwe, yunguranwaho ibitekerezo, nuko perezida yumva aranyuzwe rwose, yemera ku mugaragaro ko azatera inkunga urwo rubyiruko rushyigikiye ishyaka rye, kandi anasezeranya ko azubahiriza ingingo zikubiye mu nyandiko bamushyikirije. [...] Nyuma y'uwo mubonano ni bwo hiyandikishije abasore b'abayoboke batagira ingano kuko bari bumvise ko perezida Habyarimana yari yiyemeje kubatera inkunga ku buryo budasubirwaho [10]."

Uwo mutwe rero witoranyirije izina, iniforume n'ikirangantego, kandi ushyiraho na Komite y'agateganyo yongeweho abandi bantu batari mu gatsinda k'ikubitiro k'abayobozi bawuremye : Robert Kajuga (Tutsi, Kibungo) agirwa

[9] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 42-43.

[10] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 45.

perezida, Phénéas Ruhumuriza (Hutu, Gitarama) na Georges Tutaganda (Hutu, Gitarama) bagirwa ba visiperezida, Eugène Mbarushimana (Hutu, Gisenyi) aba umunyamabanga mukuru naho Dieudonné Niyitegeka (Hutu, Butare) aba umubitsi. Iyo Komite yashyizeho "abajyanama" bo kuyobora za komisiyo zijya gusa na baringa zikoporora igishushanyo mbonera cy'inzego za Muvoma (*Reba umugereka 43*). Baje no gutekereza ibyo kwagurira uwo mutwe mu tundi turere tutari Kigali y'umujyi :

> "Mu by'ukuri, mu kwezi kwa Mutarama bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu, yari yarasabye abagize Komite y'igihugu gushyiraho amashami y'umutwe w'Interahamwe mu yandi maperefegitura. Ni kuri ubwo buryo ahagana muri Mutarama- Gashyantare [1992], abantu batatu bagiye muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi bahatangiza ishami ry'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe Za Muvoma[11] ; iryo shami barishyizeho bakurikije uko byari bimeze i Kigali. […], Nuko, hakurikiraho ibyo kugerageza gushyira mu bikorwa icyifuza cya bwana Ngirumpatse : Ahagana muri Werurwe- Mata, intumwa zagiye i Butare zikoran'inama n'abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza y'U Rwanda zibifashijwemo n'uhagarariye Muvoma mu rwego rwa perefegitura, akaba yari n'umwalimu muri Kaminuza[12]. Byari ngombwa kwinjiza icyo gitekerezo mu banyeshuri kugira ngo babambire urubyiruko rwa PSD rwari rwiganje cyane muri iyo perefegitura. Ngibyo ibyari byarageragejwe kugeza muri Mata ku birebana n'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za Muvoma[13]."

Mu cyiciro cya kabiri, ubuyobozi bwari bwarashyizweho bwagombaga gusozwa n'itora ry'abagize inzego z'igihugu, perefegitura na komini – itora ritigeze ribaho.

Nyuma y'uwo mubonano wa mbere wagaragaje ko ibintu bizagenda neza, mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1992 perezida Habyarimana yatumiye Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe za Muvoma n'abandi bayoboke benshi, mbese abantu barenze magana abiri, muri hoteli *Rebero L''Horizon* i Kigali kugira ngo abifurize umwaka mushya muhire. Nuko muri icyo gitaramo perezida ashimira I*nterahamwe* umwete n'ubwitange bwazo, ariko ntiyakomoza na gato ku bushyamirane n'imirwano hagati y'imitwe y'amashyaka byari ikimenyetso cyo gutana k'urubyiruko Désiré Murenzi yarwanyaga ashimitse. Yabonaga ko uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko wari urimo kwigarurirwa n'ibyegera bya perezida kandi we yarabinengaga. Nyuma y'aho Élie Sagatwa amuhamagariye kandi akamushyiraho iterabwoba, igitero cyitwaje gerenade cyibasiye imodoka itwara abakozi yari ihagaze muri parikingi ya Petrorwanda muri Kamena 1992. Amaze kubona uwo muburo, Désiré Murenzi yamenyesheje abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda banyuranye impungenge afite z'umutekano we (yasabye ubuhungiro mu Burayi) maze ajya kumara iminsi nka cumi n'itanu mu Bubiligi. Aho agarukiye, yamenyeshejwe na Kasimu Turatsinze (uwaje kwitwa umutangabuhamya "Jean-Pierre" wa Minuar, *reba ibiri bukurikire*ho) ko hariho umugambi wo kumuhitana. Bimaze kugaragara ko inzego za leta zakagombye kubungabunga umutekano we nta byo zari zishoboreye, umuvugizi w'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda yari yatekerereje ibye yahise avunyisha kwa perezida Habyarimana noneho

[11] Perezida w'iryo shami yagizwe Bernard Munyagishari, umusifuzi w'umupira w'amaguru mu rwego rw'igihugu.
[12] Uwo ni Jean-Gualbert Rumiya (Tutsi, Butare, MRND).
[13] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi, 2006, p. 45.

amugezaho atabiciye ku ruhande inkeke abantu bari bafitiye ibyegera bye. Muri icyo kiganiro, perezida yakomeje kugaragaza ko bimuhangayikishije, ariko arahangaza ahakana atsemba ko nta ruhare abifitemo. Désiré Murenzi abonye nta kintu perezida amumariye yumva ko yambuwe icyizere, hanyuma ahitamo kuvanamo ake karenge ngo akize amagara ye. Yasezeye mu ishyaka rya MRND mu mpera za Nyakanga 1992, hanyuma ava no ku mwanya w'ubuyobozi bwa Petrorwanda.

Hagati aho, Robert Kajuga yari yagiranye umubano ukomeye n'abana ba perezida Habyarimana – cyane cyane umuhungu we Jean-Pierre – n'ibyegera bye nka Séraphin Rwabukumba na Protais Zigiranyirazo.Inama z'umutwe w'urubyiruko ubwo zaberaga mu cyumba cyabugenewe cya minisiteri y'imigambi ya leta, yayoborwaga n'umuminisitiri wa Muvoma wo ku Gisenyi, Augustin Ngirabatware. Ubwo ni mbere y'uko sebukwe, Félicien Kabuga, umucuruzi, umushoramari wa Muvoma kandi bamwana wa perezida, abacumbikira muri imwe mu mazu ye.

Uruhuri rw'abahihibikaniraga kuba "ba shebuja" b'Interahamwe

Kuba Juvénal Habyarimana n'ibyegera bye baragendaga barushaho kwigarurira uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko byari ingamba nshya za perezida. Kubera ko ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriwemo n'amashyaka menshi byari bimugabanirije umugogoro wo gukurikiranira hafi ibikorwa bya Guverinoma (nta nubwo yashakaga gusangira na yo umugayo wari uyitegereje) no kuba yarasezeye mu ngabo z'igihugu ku itariki ya 22 Mata 1992, Juvénal Habyarimana yashakaga kugira umwanya uhamye muri politiki no guhangana muri Muvoma n'abibwiraga ko ashobora guhara ubuperezida. Mu kwiyegereza urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, perezida yabonaga ko ingufu Muvoma yari irimo kwisubiza zaturukaga ku ibakwe yari yongeyeye kugaragaza. Muri icyo gihe kandi, umutwe w'*Interahamwe* wari waragaragaje kuva waremwa ko ari "pepinyeri" y'abarwanashyaka biyemeje gukoma imbere ibikorwa by'amashyaka mashya atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Bamaze kunyagwa ingufu z'igitugu bahabwaga n'ubutegetsi, abakomokaga mu karere ka perezida [OTP] n'abafite ibitekerezo by'intagondwa bo muri Muvoma bafatiye Guverinoma n'ayandi mashyaka ingamba nk'iz'amashyaka mashya arwanya Muvoma. Bakoresheje imyigaragambyo irimo urugomo kandi banogereza ingamba zabo zo kurwanya *ukubohoza (reba Incamake ya 6) Interahamwe* zacengeye ku bwinshi imitwe yitwara gisirikari rw'andi mashyaka kugira ngo ziyatere icyasha kandi ziyambure abarwanashyaka bayo b'imena.

Urebye ukuntu perezida yari yarigaruriye urwo rubyiruko atitaye ku nzego zinyuranye z'ishyaka, ubwitange Mathieu Ngirumpatse yakomezaga kugaragariza abayobozi b'uwo mutwe ntibwari ku busa. Yari yarumvise neza ko kwigarurira *Interahamwe* byari byarahindutse umuhigo uhanitse mu gitekerezo cy'abanyapolitiki bifuzaga inkunga y'abo barwanashyaka mu kurwanira imyanya muri Muvoma no mu kwiyamamaza mu matora yari ateganyijwe.

Koko rero, mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi, kutarangwaho umurage

w'uburwanashyaka no kutagira aho bashinze ibirindiro byabo bwite byatumaga "abanyapolitiki bato bato" badafite *Interahamwe* batarashoboraga kurota imyanya ikomeye cg se kuba minisitiri… Yari azi kandi ko intagondwa zo mu majyaruguru zitashoboraga kwihanganirako urwego rwiganjemo abarwanashyaka bakomoka mu maperefegitura yo mu Nduga (Kajuga, Ruhumuriza, Rutaganda, Niyitegeka, Mudahinyuka, Mwalimu, nb.) rugira ingufu. Ubwo hashyirwaho Komite y'agateganyo, kubangikanya abayobozi bagize umutwe w'urubyiruko n'abandi bayobozi ba za komisiyo biganjemo abo mu majyaruguru byagaragazaga ubushake bwo kuringaniza ingufu mu "muryango". Ni muri urwo rwego havutse ipiganwa hagati y'abayobozi ba Muvoma bahraniraga kwigarurira iryo turufu [Interahamwe] batagombye gukoma rutenderi. Ababyungukiyemo ni abayobozi b'urwo rubyiruko bahanitse ikiguzi ari mu rwego rw'ibihembo ari no mu zindi nyungu zinyuranye.

Koko rero, n'ubwo Juvénal Habyarimana yashyigikiraga ibikorwa bya Mathieu Ngirumpatse kugira ngo amufashe kuganza muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) no muri Muvoma ivuguruye, ntiyaburaga no kuzitira irari rye, agahugukira kugenzura ubwe uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko ku rwego rw'igihugu arushakira abarwishingira benshi mu maperefegitura. Ku ruhande rwe, Mathieu Ngirumpatse ntabwo yihanganiraga ibyo kwamburwa intabire kandi yari yarabaye mu ba mbere bashotse umushike.

Kuko abayoboke ku mpande zose bashakaga kuyigarurira, Komite y'igihugu yaheze hagati nk'ururimi inanirwa kwiganza kubera ko nta buyobozi bukomeye yari ifite, no kubera amakimbirane akabije yari hagati y'abanyapolitiki bashakaga gushimangira imyanya yabo muri perefegitura.

> "Komite nyobozi y'Interahamwe z'i Kigali ijya kwiyita "Komite y'igihugu" yabonaga ko ifite ububasha bwo kuyobora uwo mutwe mushya, kandi nyamara Muvoma yo yaribwiraga ko Interahamwe zakagombye kwinjizwa mu ishyaka ndetse zikagengwa n'inzego zaryo (perefegitura, komini, segiteri). Bityo rero ibyo gukwirakwiza amashami y'Interahamwe mu gihugu hose byakozwe ku buryo bwisanzuye. Nyamara ariko, Komite y'Interahamwe z'i Kigali yakomeje kwtwa "Komite y'igihugu" nk'uko byari biri mu mushinga wa mbere. Ku buryo bw'ihange, ubwo bari bahisemo ubuyobozi bwisanzuye, gukomeza kwita Komite y'i Kigali "Komite y'igihugu" nta shingiro byari bigifite. Ni kimwe n'amatora y'abagize biro na za Komisiyo zajyanaga na byo. Nyamara, n'ubwo bitashobotse gushyiraho za Komisiyo, abajyanama bari barashyizweho mu buryo budasobanutse bagumyeho, bagafasha Komite gukemura ibibazo bya buri munsi. Na none, ni ngombwa kuvuga ko abajyanama bamwe b'Interahamwe ba "bikwakwanya" bitwaje iryo zina bakibarira mu "bagize Komite y'igihugu" kandi ari ukurengera. Ibyo byaterwaga n'amarari anyuranye yakuruye ubwumvikane buke muri Komite[14]".

Kuva mu mezi ya mbere y'umwaka wa 1992, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yagombye kwitanga cyane mu gukumira abarwanashyaka b'*Interahamwe* bari bitabiriye ibitekerezo by'urwango n'irondakoko byari byadukanywe na CDR yari ikimara gushingwa. Ni bwo yamaganye abashakaga "kwambara ingofero ebyiri", iya CDR n'iya MRND. Kugira ngo ashimangire ubudahemuka bwabo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yemerewe ko abayobozi b'ingenzi b'umutwe w'urubyiruko

[14] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare- 8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 17.

batumirwa nk'indeberezi muri kongere y'ishyaka y'igihugu ya Muvoma yo muri Mata 1992 yabereye mu Ngoro y'Inteko ishinga amategeko (CND) iyobowe n'umukuru w'igihugu. Iyo Kongere y'ishyaka ni yo yahinduye izina ry'ishyaka rikitwa MRNDD, ishyiraho inzego nshya kandi itora n'abagize ubuyobozi "buvuguruye". Ubwo butumire bwari bufitiye Mathieu Ngirumpatse akamaro kanini, kuko yari akeneye inkunga y'umutwe w'urubyiruko kugira ngo agumane ubuyobozi bw' ishyaka mu mujyi wa Kigali abahiganwa na we bifuzaga, no kugira ngo ategure neza ibyo kwiyamamariza umwanya wo kuba umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma yahataniraga na Édouard Karemera akawumutsindira ku bwa burembe. Uwabaga ari muri uwo mwanya yayoboraga Biro politiki akingiwe ikibaba na perezida Habyarimana, bityo akaba ari we muhuzabikorwa nyakuri w'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka.

> "Mbere y'uko iyo Kongere y'ishyaka iterana, bwana Ngirumatse Mathieu yari yatumiye Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo ngo izayizemo nk'indorerezi. Abenshi mu bagize iyo Komite, usibye babiri cg batatu, bitabiriye iyo Kongere; abagize Kongere bashimagije umutwe w'Interahamwe ; bashima ibikorwa by'urwo rubyiruko mu kuvugurura ishyaka, bityo rero no mu matora, nk'uko bisanzwe – ubwumvikane burimo ubutiriganya, gushyira abandi mu kinyiranyindo –, Interahamwe zari zihari zamamazaga bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu, nk'umutware wazo. Ngako akazi zakoreye mu cyayenge, Mathieu akegukana uwo mwanya akawutsindira, ku majwi make cyane, bwana Édouard Karemera bawuhiganiraga. Ni ukubera… Numvaga… Ndibwira ko, ari ukubera umukino w'ikinyiranyindo muri iryo yamamaza ryakozwe rero n'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'Interahamwe bari bahari kandi bari bishimiwe n'abagize Kongere y'ishyaka, bwana Mathieu yegukanye uwo mwanya, ku majwi make, awutsindiye bwana Karemera Édouard bawuhataniraga.[15]"

Mu ruhame abayobozi b'ingenzi bose bakoranye, Kongere y'ishyaka yafashe icyemezo cyo gushyigikira ku buryo bwose urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* kandi isaba umunyamabanga w'igihugu na ba perezida ba za komite z'amaperefegitura kwihutisha ibyo gushinga amashami y'*Interahamwe* mu turere bashinzwe.

Nk'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka rya MRND, umutwe w'*Interahamwe* wagumye mu maboko ya perezida fondateri, utarashakaga na gato ko zigengwa n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu ngo zimutize ingufu. Umukuru w'igihugu yari amaze guhigika ku buryo busa n'ubw'indashima Édouard Karemera kandi ntiyashakaga guhangana vuba cyane n'umuyobozi mushya ufite inyota yo kwigarurira uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko.

Nk'umuyobozi w'ubunyamabanga bw'ishyaka, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari afite urubuga rutagereranywa rutuma aba icyamamare mu gihugu cyose no kunogereza ubutore bwe mu ngendo zo mu maperefegitura yose, mu magambo avugiwe mu nama cg ibirori byateguwe mu izina ry'ishyaka, cg se kubera gusa ko agendana na perezida akamuba hafi. Cyane cyane yamuherekeje mu Ruhengeri mu Gushyingo 1992 muri mitingi ya Muvoma Juvénal Habyarimana yashimagirijemo urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*. Ariko, kimwe na Édouard Karemera mbere ye, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yagenzurirwaga hafi na Perezidansi

[15] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 48-49.

n'abakomoka mu karere ka perezida bari bazi ko "gushyira politiki ku ntera y'ibihe" uko ari ko kose n'ubushake bwo kurema ishyaka "ryo mu rwego rw'igihugu" byari kubashyira mu bwigunge. Intagondwa zari zifite ingufu nke mu ishyaka–aho ubwisungane hagati y'igihande cy'abaharanira ubwisanzure n'icy'abatavuga rumwe n'Abakiga bwari bwiganje. Ndetse no mu ngabo z'igihugu baryaga bari menge kuko gahunda yo kurema igisirikari cy'umwuga n'iyo kuvugurura ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo byari byaratangijwe na minisitiri w'ingabo ureba kure, ari we James Gasana, yari irimo kugaragaza ibikorwa bifatika, ikanaheza abari basanzwe ari ibikoresho bya perezida. Na bo babonaga *Interahamwe* ari nk'ikiraro kibafasha gukomeza kugenzura inzego z'ishyaka, kongera ingufu z'ubukangurambaga muri rubanda, no kwishyiriraho umutwe w'abarwanashyaka bafite intwaro. *Interahamwe* zari mu masangano y'umukino w'ubutiriganya hagati y'ibikomerezwa mu ishyaka byashakaga kwiyegereza amatsinda y'*Interahamwe* bifashishije abo muri Komite y'igihugu babashyigikiye.

> "Guhera hagati mu mwaka wa 1992, Interahamwe zigabanyijemo amatsinda ku buryo bugaragara zikajya gushengerera abanyapolitiki bakize kandi bafitanye umubano n'ibyegera bya Habyarimana. [...] Ayo matsinda ntiyari mu rwego rwa perefegitura kuko abaperefe batinyaga ibihano bya Guverinoma. N'ubwo muri rusange amatsinda yari mu rwego rwa komini, hari ayagiye avuka mu rwego rwa segiteri muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali no mu nkengero zawo. Imirwano hagati y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu mujyi wa Kigali akenshi yashyamiranyaga utugari[16]".

Mu by'ukuri, umutwe w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* ntiwigeze ugira izindi nshingano uretse izo kwicengezamo no gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza n'imirimo byatanzwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma, cg ku buryo bugaragara kandi bitewe n'ibihe, n'abo urwo rubyiruko rwabonaga ari ibyegera bya Habyarimana bakaba kandi "n'ibikomerezwa" bya Muvoma. Ni ukuvuga abafataga ibyemezo kandi bakababahemba, ari bo umunyamabanga w'igihugu na perezida w'ishyaka cg umwe muri bo, abaperezida bo mu rwego rwa perefegitura, abakuru b'ibigo cg abacuruzi bakomeye.

Kudashaka guha uwo mutwe ubuzima gatozi no kudasobanura neza isano ufitanye n'ishyaka byari bifitiye Muvoma inyungu nyinshi cyane kuko byatumaga ikomeza kuwushyira mu kibaba cyayo ku bw'imikorere no kwishingira "iposho" ry'urwo rubyiruko mu gihugu cyose. Ibyo abayobozi bawo benshi bavuga yuko "ibyemezo byose byaturukaga hanze" mbona bifite ishingiro, n'ubwo ukurikije imyumvire abayobozi ba komite za perefegitura, hari abashoboraga kutemeranya na byo.

> "Twakoraga ibyo abayobozi b'ishyaka MRND ariko cyane cyane umukuru waryo, bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu batubwiraga, nko kwandika amatangazo, gushyushya igitaramo aho ishyaka rya MRND ryabaga ryateganyije mitingi, gukurikirana nk'indorerezi Kongere y'ishyaka cg inama zo mu rwego rwo hejuru, no kwitabira imyigaragambyo inyuranye ubuyobozi bwababaga bwasabiye hakiri kare impushya za ngombwa. Nta mbwirwaruhame zerekeye politiki twigeze dukora. Nta kintu twigeze twibwiriza uretse ibyo abo bayobozi badusabaga[17]".

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[16] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, t. I, p. 97.
[17] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.

Amazina y'abayobozi batatu ni yo akunze kuvugwa : Mathieu Ngirumpatse wakurikiraniye hafi uwo Mutwe kuva waremwa, akanatunganya n'imikorere yawo mu rwego rw'igihugu guhera mu mwaka wa 1992, hagataho Joseph Nzirorera, "umuminisitiri w'igihangange ku ngoma ya Habyarimana", hagaheruka Jean-Pierre Habyarimana, umuhungu w'umukuru w'igihugu, wahaga inkunga y'amafaranga urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* z'i Kigali akanishingira n'ingendo zabo : "No mu gihe cyo gushyushya urugamba muri za mitingi, yatangaga inkunga ariha ibiribwa, ibinyobwa n'ibindi byose byasabaga amafaranga mu kabari kitwa *Tam-Tam* no mu rubyiniro rwitwa *Kigali Night*[18]." Abana ba Félicien Kabuga na bo bari mu mubare w'abafatwaga nk'abahagarariye abayobozi b'ishyaka.

Uko abarwanashyaka bahindutse interahamwe

Urebye abo bishingizi bashya, urasanga umushinga w'ikubitiro wo kurema umutwe w'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe – kuzana amaraso mashya n'ibitekerezo bishya mu ishyaka rya MRND – bari bararangije kuwuyobya. Nta matwara ya politiki yari agihiganwa hagati y'abashaka ubwisanzure n'abatsimbaraye ku bitekerezo bitunguruza. "Urubyiruko" rwari rubereyeho gutanga imbaraga abarwanashyaka "bakuze" batari bagifite. Ingamba n'ibikenewe by'abayobozi byashyize umutekano no kwirwanaho kw'abaturage ku murongo wa mbere w'ibyihutirwa.

Abarwanashayaka bashya bafite ingufu bahamagarirwaga umurimo usanzwe wo gucunga umutekano, hanyuma bagashorwa mu gatereranzamba k'ubuhonyozi bwajyanye n'ibikorwa ishyaka ryateganyije byo guhungabanya no gusabota Guverinoma nshya ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi. Abaminisitiri b'ishyaka MRND ntibashoboraga kuyobora ibyo bikorwa ku mugaragaro. Ni uko wasangaga Mathieu Ngirumpatse ku murongo wa mbere mu myigaragambyo y'ishyaka n'iy'urubyiruko rwaryo yaranzwe n'urugomo. Yari ahari igihe basahuraga muri Kigali nyuma y'imyigaragambyo y'abaturage yateguwe na Muvoma ku Kimihurura, ku rubuga ruteganye n'ingoro ya minisitiri w'intebe, ku itariki ya 6 Kamena 1992 (Pentekositi). Iyo myigaragambyo rukundura yari igamije kwamagana imishyikirano itaziguye abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bari batangiye kugirana na FPR i Bruxelles[19]. Abari mu rubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* bafashe imihoro, amasuka, udushoka, impiri, imiheto, imyambi n'amabuye maze berekeza iyo mu mujyi wa Kigali rwagati, Nyamirambo, Nyakabanda, Kimisagara n'utundi tugari, reka si ukuhayogoza.

> "**R.** : [...] Hari mu mpera z'icyumweru cya Pentekositi, ubwo habaga imirwano imena amaraso itari yarigeze ibaho muri Kigali. Interahamwe na Muvoma bavugaga ko FPR zari zafashe icyemezo cyo kwirukana Interahamwe muri Kigali, hanyuma Interahamwe

[18] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.

[19] Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1992, hari amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yasinyiwe i Bruxelles hagati ya FPR n'amashyaka atatu yo muri Guverinoma yari yishyize hamwe mu cyitwaga "Ingufu za demokarasi zigamije ihinduramatwara", n'ubwo ishyaka rya MRND ryo ritabyemeraga. Yahise akurikirwa n'iyubura ry'imirwano hagati ya FPR n'ingabo z'U Rwanda muri perefegitura ya Byumba, ishyaka rya MRND riyigira intangamugabo y'ubunywanyi bwa FPR n'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu atavuga rumwe n'irya perezida.

zikazibambira ari mu buryo bwo kwirwanaho. Uru ni urugero rw'imirwano imena amaraso, kandi byantangaza iyo mirwano yo mu mpera z'icyumweru cya Pentekositi itaraguyemo abantu.
Bazo : Haba hari Interahamwe uzi yaba yarakurikiranwe kubera urugomo cg kwica umuntu igihe icyo ari cyo cyose mu mwaka wa 1992 cg se nyuma yaho ?
Subizo : Muri rusange, ahanini iyo Interahamwe zabaga zafashwe… iyo zabaga zafashwe n'inzego z'ubucamanza, habagaho abazaga kuba… [ntibyumvikana], nk'uko ku buryo bumwe ariko mu rugero rworoheje, abo mu rubyiruko rw'ishyaka MDR cg PSD bafatwaga na komini – iyo byabaga – cg bagafatwa n'inzego z'ubucamanza, yego, abayobozi b'amashyaka anyuranye babijyagamo kugira ngo barekuze izo "mburamukoro" zabaga zafashwe – niba nshobora gukoresha ijambo "imburamukoro", nta muntu nshaka gutuka.
Bazo : Ni nde mwunganizi w'ingenzi, muri Muvoma, wavuganiraga Interahamwe zabaga zafashwe ?
Subizo : bwana Karemera Édouard ni we waburanaga inyungu za Muvoma, kubera ibyo rero, nzi ko ku buryo bwemewe kandi mu izina ry'ishyaka, yarekuzaga Interahamwe zafatirwaga mu… mu mirwano imwe n'imwe, byibuze muri Kigali. Ngibyo… ibyo nshobora kuvuga[20]."

Ni Mathieu Ngirumpatse, amaherezo, wahamagariye abayoboke bose b'ishyaka n'urubyiruko rwaryo gukora imyigaragambyo karundura mu gihugu cyose kugira ngo bamagane, ku bwa Muvoma, amasezerano akocamye ya Arusha. Iyo myigaragambyo akenshi yahindukagamo ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ibyo kwigomeka ku butegetsi, ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka bukitana bamwana bwitwaza ingingo yo kwirwanaho. Ibyo byari byoroheye *Interahamwe* kuko muri rusange abategetsi b'inzego za leta barazihanganiraga cyane, iyo ubwabo batazihaga ibyo zikeneye byose. Uko amezi yahitaga, imirimo yo gucunga umutekano yariyongereye, maze urubyiruko rugira uruhare rw'ingenzi mu kugenzura utugari, cyane cyane i Kigali, rugatanga raporo ku bantu batahazwi, ku byo kujya mu myitozo ya gisirikari n'ukugaruka kw'abasore b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'irya perezida kandi yanywanye na FPR, ku myitwarire itarangwamo ubucuti, nb. Bityo, nk'uko James Gasana yabyanditse :

"Buhoro buhoro, urubyiruko rw'amashyaka rwaretse ibya politiki rugenda rwishora mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi. Abayoboke bavanaga ikibatunga mu byaha. Bari bakeneye ubakingira ikibaba ngo badakurikiranwa n'ubucamanza. Ibyaha n'urugomo rwa politiki byari byabaye insobekerane. Amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD na CDR yabaye ingabo ikingira abanyarugomo. Na FPR na PL ni ko yari ameze, kuko urubyiruko rw'ayo mashyaka rwari rwariyoberanyirije muri PSD. Kuri benshi muri izo nzererezi n'abatagira kivurira, byaba atari byo kubitirira ingenabitekerezo iyi n'iyi. Kwiyandikisha mu mutwe runaka cg se muri myinshi icyarimwe byari bibafitiye inyungu. Iby'ubucengezi byaje kuba urujya n'uruza mu mitwe y'urubyiruko yose[21]."

Gushaka abayoboke ntibyari bigishingiye ku ngenabitekerezo cg ku mahame yihariye, nta musanzu wasabwaga, kandi amaronko basezeranywaga yagenwaga hakurikijwe icyo bategereje kuri buri mukurutu. Urubyiruko rw'imburamukoro, cyane cyane urwari mu nkambi z'impunzi ni rwo bakuragamo abayoboke, kimwe n'abavuye mu gisirikari. Abasore bari bahunze intambara ya FPR bavagamo

[20] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 65.
[21] James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.,* p. 134.

abayoboke babyitabiriye, badafite ikibarangaza kandi badasaba byinshi[22]. Bose babonaga ko “ibyo kwica akanyota” (inzoga bahabwaga nyuma ya za mitingi zigenewe rubanda), gutwarwa mu modoka ku buntu, kurihirwa ingendo mu murwa mukuru, kubonana n’abanyapolitiki n’abayobozi bafite ijambo mu ishyaka rya MRND, byari amahirwe yo guteza imbere imibereho yabo n’iy’imiryango yabo (Reba ibiza gukurikiraho muri uyu mutwe).

N’ubundi umubare w’abavanywe mu byabo n’intambara wari munini mu mpera za 1992, ariko wageze kuri miliyoni nyuma y’igitero cya FPR cyo muri Gashyantare 1993. Hafi ya bose bari bashyizwe mu nkambi zagondagonzwe hafi cyane ya Kigali. Muri perefegitura ya Byumba, amakomini 13 kuri 17 yari yashizemo abaturage bayo ; kandi ni na ko byari byagendekeye amakomini menshi yo mu Ruhengeri. Mu Kwakira 1993, amakomini ahana imbibi n’Uburundi yakiriye impunzi hagati ya 200.000 na 300.000 nyuma y’imirwano n’itsembatsemba byakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida w’Uburundi muri uko kwezi. Mu basore bo muri izo nkambi, abanyapolitiki nta ngorane na nke bagiraga zo kubona abitabira imyitozo ya gisirikari, bityo rero ibyo gushakisha intwaro birahugukirwa. Ni muri ibyo bihe byo muri 1993, Muvoma yemeye, amaherezo, ariko itinze, kubahiriza amasezerano perezida yari yarahaye abaturage bo ku mupaka mu mpera za 1991yo kubaha intwaro “bagacubya ubwibone n’ubwishongore bw’Inkotanyi” [ingabo za FPR]. Mathieu Ngirumpatse wari perezida wayo icyo gihe yavugaga ko icyo gikorwa cyo guhuruza abaturage cyari kiboneye kandi cyubahirije itegeko. Uhereye ku byanditswe na Théoneste Bagosora, ni muri Gashyantare – nyuma y’igitero cya FPR mu Ruhengeri -, batangiye kurema amatsinda y’imitwe yitwaje intwaro (*Reba umugereka wa 44*).

Urubyiruko rw’Interahamwe, umutwe “ushamikiye” kuri Muvoma

Ikibazo cy’amategeko yagengaga urubyiruko rwa Muvoma cyakomeje kugaruka kandi nticyigeze gikemuka ku mugaragaro. Urwo ruhande rwerekeranye na politiki ntirwari mu byihutirwa kandi rwarebaga gusa abayobozi bo mu rwego rw’igihugu bari bashishikajwe no kubona icyakoranyiriza hamwe ayo matsinda y’intage.

> “Turebeye ku byakorwaga mu rwego… rw’ishyaka MDR ryari rifite umutwe w’urubyiruko wiyandikishije kandi wemewe n’amategeko, twari twarasabye bwana Ngirumatse Mathieu kubinyuza muri icyo cyerekezo. Yasezeranye ko azabyitaho, ariko kugeza muri Mata [1992] twari tutaragira amategekoremezo ; n’ubundi kandi ndashaka kuvuga ko umutwe w’*Interahamwe* utigeze ugira amategeko yemewe. None se ni ukubera iki ? Ibisubizo byari mu ngeri zinyuranye : abantu bibwiraga ko bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu watonganyaga umukuru w’ishyaka MDR igihe imitwe yitwara gisirikari rw’amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma yakoraga ubushotoranyi, cyane cyane JDR/Inkuba – urubyiruko rw’ishyaka MDR –, nuko rero abantu bavugaga ko Mathieu yashakaga kuzitira andi mashyaka ngo atazakora kimwe na we mu gihe abayoboke bamwe b’*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bari kuba baguye mu makosa. Ku bwanjye, mbona nta kintu byari bibangamiyeho Komite kugira cg kutagira amategekoremezo yemewe ; ibyo ari byo byose,

[22] Nk’uko byatangajwe n’umuntu wigeze kuba minisitiri wa MRND : “Wapfaga kubasezeranya ibyo kurya bagahita bahurura” (ikiganiro nagiranye na nyirubwite, Ukuboza 2007).

twari ku bwishingire bwa Muvoma, kandi ibyo nta wigeze abirwanya[23]."

Muri make, ingingo z'impaka zari ziteye zitya : Juvénal Habyarimana yari yarakomeje kwanga ko *Interahamwe* ziba urwego rw'ishyaka. We yashakaga amatsinda y'abarwanashyaka ari ukwayo, agasa n'akoreshwa bucancuro kandi yishingiwe n'abantu bakomeye yagenzuraga. Ibyo byatumaga akomeza gukontorora urusobe rwa gihake rwari rumukikije we n'umuryango we, agashobora gucubya irari rya Mathieu Ngirumpatse ryo gushyira ibintu ku murongo w'igihe. Ngirumpatse yashakaga kwinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka kugira ngo abone uko zimufasha gutsinda amatora, kandi nyamara *Interahamwe* zari zikubiye ku banyamafaranga bifuzaga kugumana ububasha Juvénal Habyarimana yabemereraga kuzigiraho. Abandi bake, ariko na bo bakomeye, ni ababonaga ko kwinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka ku buryo bw'amategeko byari guha ingufu umunyamabanga w'igihugu bikagabanya iza Juvénal Habyarimana wari gutakaza ububasha bwo kuziha amategeko ku buryo butaziguye. Bityo, hagati ya Kongere y'ishyaka ya Muvoma yo muri 1992 n'iyo muri 1993, ihiganwa ntiryigeze rihosha kuko umukuru w'igihugu n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma bashakaga, buri wese ku ruhande rwe, gushaka no kongera amajwi mu barwanashyaka. Iryo higanwa ryongerewe ingufu n'iryahanganishaga Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera. Hari ukuntu ayo mahiganwa n'irari Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari afitiye umwanya wa perezida ari byo bisobanura imbaraga nyinshi *Interahamwe* zagize, bikerekana ku buryo bw'amambu imbaraga nke perezida w'ishyaka yari afite. Kutinjiza *Interahamwe* mu ishyaka byagize ingaruka iziguye yagaragajwe n'ubusumbane mu byo kuryozwa ibyo wakoze, ugereranyije n'uko indi mitwe y'urubyiruko yafatwaga. Kubera ko yo yari yarasabye kwemererwa ubuzima gatozi, yagombaga kwishingira ibyangiritse byose. Ibi rero byatumaga abaporisi ba komini, abajandarume n'abashinjacyaha ba Repubulika bashobora kugenzura ku buryo bworoshye ibikorwa by'abigaragambya. Amafaranga bashoboraga gucibwa mu kuriha ibyangiritse yari akanganye cyane ku buryo yashoboraga no gutera isenyuka ry'iyo mitwe y'urubyiruko. Nyamara, kubera ko *Interahamwe* zitari zifite ubuzima gatozi, ntizibe zarashyizwe muri Muvoma ku buryo bugaragara binyuze ku cyemezo cya Kongere y'ishyaka no ku ngingo y'amategekoremezo y'ishyaka igira icyo izivugaho, zo ntizikangaga bene ibyo bihano. Buri wese mu bayoboke bazo yaryozwaga ku giti cye ibyo yakoze mu gihe cy'imirwano yabashyamiranyaga n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari rw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ndetse no mu bindi bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byose.

Muri icyo gihe, abayoboke benshi b'*Interahamwe* bari barafashwe kandi barimo gukorerwa anketi nk'uko byari byasabwe na minisitiri w'ingabo, James Gasana. Ubwoba bwabo bwari bufite ishingiro, n'ubwo muri rusange barekurwaga vuba kubera ubugiraneza bwa perezida w'urukiko rw'iremezo rwa Kigali, Jean Damascène Hategekimana. Ariko amenshi mu madosiye ntiyarindaga kugera iyo yose kubera abanyagatuza babyivangaga mo. Ni muri ubwo buryo perezida Habyarimana yatumije ubwe minisitiri w'ingabo, anahuruza ibyegera

[23] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 45.

bye kugira ngo baburizemo dosiye y'ubwicanyi yakurikiranaga Séraphin Twahirwa, umukuru w'*Interahamwe* z'i Gikondo akaba na mubyara wa Juvénal Habyarimana (*Reba umugereka 45*). Ni Kongere y'ishyaka yo muri Nyakanga 1993 yakemuye – na ko yanze gukemura – icyo kibazo, yirengagije raporo yari yakozwe na Joseph Serugendo abisabwe na Mathieu Ngirumpatse wifuzaga ko *Interahamwe* zinjizwa mu ishyaka. Iki cyemezo cyari gikomeye cyane, kuko cyamburaga ku mugaragaro Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo y'*Interahamwe* – abayigize bose bari batuye muri Kigali y'umujyi kandi ari naho bakorera – ububasha bwose kuri za komite za perefegitura mu gihugu cyose. Ubusumbane bw'inzego muri za komite, kimwe n'uruhererekane rw'amakuru byakomokaga mu ishyaka rya MRND. Mu by'ukuri, Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* yari mu maboko ya perezida w'ishyaka, kimwe n'uko indi mitwe y'urubyiruko yakora ga ukwayo yagengwaga n'abahagarariye komite nyobozi za perefegitura z'ishyaka rya MRND, n'izindi nzego z'ishyaka (komini, segiteri, serire). Amatsinda yo hasi y'*Interahamwe* yagengwaga n'uruhererekane rw'ubusumbane rusange rwa Muvoma, bityo imikoranire y'inzego zinyuranye ikagenzurwa na Komite y'igihugu cg "biro politiki" ya Muvoma. Iyo miterere irasobanurwa n'umuyobozi wo muri Komite y'igihugu mu magambo amwe neza neza n'ay'uwahoze ari minisitiri muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo :

> "Ku byerekeye imiterere y'umutwe w'*Interahamwe*, utari unafite ubuzima gatozi, inzego yawo zakoraga ukwazo, ku buryo Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* yari ifite icyicaro i Kigali yasaga n'idafite ububasha butaziguye kandi bwuzuye kuri komite za perefegitura. Gukurikirana ibikorwa bya komite za perefegitura byari bigenewe ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma mu rwego rw'igihugu, bwari mu maboko ya perezida cg y'umunyamabanga w'igihugu wari ushinzwe imicungire ya buri munsi y'ishyaka. Abo bayobozi bombi, bari bafite ijambo rikomeye ku *Nterahamwe,* banyuzaga amabwiriza yabo mu nzego z'ibanze zari zinyanyagiye mu gihugu cyose[24]."
>
> "Mu by'ukuri, ubushobozi bwa Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo y'*Interahamwe* […] bwagarukiraga gusa muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali n'inkengero zawo za hafi, za hafi cyane. Naho urubyiruko rwo mu gihugu hagati rwagengwaga [na komite ya perefegitura ya Muvoma], nk'uko byari byarafashweho umwanzuro. Urugero : ubwo bamwe mu bahagarariye Komite bagiye ku Gisenyi gushyiraho, gutangiza ishami ry'urubyiruko, bagombye kubahiriza amabwiriza y'abategetsi baho, abategetsi b'akarere b'ishyaka rya MRND. N'ubundi kandi, ibyo byabaye nk'uko byagendekeraga Komite y'igihugu y'agateganyo yari i Kigali mu mikoranire yabo n'abategetsi baho, uretse ko bo bari abayobozi b'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu[25]."

Uko ibi bintu bisobanuwe birasaba yuko umwihariko wa buri perefegitura mu rwego rwa politiki witabwaho, kugira ngo kuvuka, ingufu n'inshingano nyabyo by'urwo rubyiruko bimenyekane neza. I Kigali, ikintu kidasanzwe ni uko umutwe waho wishyizeho ukigenera n'imikorere ubwawo mbere y'uko abanyapolitiki babibonamo inyungu bawishingira. N'ubwo yari mu kibaba cya komite ya Muvoma muri perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) – iyobowe na Jean Habyarimana, wari wasimbuye Mathieu Ngirumpatse –, Komite y'igihugu yari ifite abantu benshi bashakaga kuyishingira, ku buryo yashoboraga gusaba

[24] Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2005.

[25] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, uurbanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Gicurasi 2006, p. 45.

inkunga mu banyemari batagira ingano (umunyapolitiki uyu n'uyu mu tugari, kugirana umubano utaziguye n'abayobozi ba perefegitura n'aba gisirikari cyane cyane, kubera umubare w'abavuye mu gisirikari babaye abayoboke guhera muri 1993…). Uvuye muri Kigali, ukarenga n'abayobozi ba komite za perefegitura z'ishyaka MRND babyemerewe, ni ngombwa gusuzuma ingufu za politiki n'imyifatire y'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, imikoranire y'umutwe w'urubyiruko n'ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu karere ariko bigakorera mu murwa mukuru, umwanya wa Muvoma mu rwego rwa politiki uyigereranyije n'andi mashyaka, utibagiwe n'imyifatire n'igitinyiro bya perefe uhari, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura ayoborwa n'abantu bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma.

Bityo, ubwo Laurent Semanza yasimburaga Charles Nyandwi ku buyobozi bwa komite ya perefegitura ya Kigali ngari, itsinda ry'urubyiruko ryahindutse vuba cyane umutwe ushinzwe gukumira ukoresheje ingufu uwo ari we wese utavuga rumwe na Muvoma, wiringiye ubudahanwa busa n'ubwuzuye[26]. Muri perefegitura ya Byumba – aho Muvoma ikuriwe na Augustin Ruzindana yari ishyigikiwe cyane n'abaturage bakozweho n'intambara –, *Interahamwe* zari zifite indiri ikomeye y'abayoboke mu bavanywe mu byabo. *Interahamwe* kandi zari zifite abayoboke benshi n'imikorere ihamye mu zindi perefegitura ebyiri zisa n'izituwe n'Abahutu gusa ari zo Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Muri iyi perefegitura ya nyuma, *Interahamwe* zaboneraga ku ihiganwa rya Casimir Bizimungu na Joseph Nzirorera bahataniraga ubuyobozi muri komite ya perefegitura y'ishyaka[27]. Muri perefegitura ya Kibuye ariko ho byari urusobe bitewe n'uko byari byifashe muri komini (Abatutsi bari benshi mu majyepfo) no muri perefegitura ya Cyangugu, aho abasore bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bageragezaga gucogoza ubwiganze bwa MRND – Siméon Nteziryayo atashoboraga gukurikiranira hafi kandi yari perezida wa komite ya perefegitura. N'i Kibungo naho, imitwe yitwara gisirikari rwa Muvoma yashyamiranaga kenshi n'imitwe y'ayandi mashyaka ihatanira kwigarurira ubuyobozi bwa za komini. Mu kurangiza, ni ngombwa gutsindagira amambu y'uko mu zindi perefegitura zo mu majyepfo urubyiruko rwa Muvoma rwasaga n'aho rudahari cg se ugasanga rufite ingufu nkeya cyane. Bityo, muri perefegitura ya Gikongoro, n'ubwo Aloys Simba yacuraganaga nk'umuyobozi wa komite ya perefegitura, urubyiruko rwa Muvoma ntirwashoboye kujya mbere muri komini zari ziganjemo amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Kimwe no mu ya Butare yari iyobowe na perefe Jean Baptiste Habyarimana (Tutsi, PL), amarwanirirashyaka n'urugomo rw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari byacungiwe hafi cyane kandi bigenerwa ibihano bikaze. Muri perefegitura ya Gitarama ho Muvoma ntiyari ikihasunutsa ubuzuru kubera ubwiganze burunduye bw'urubyiruko rwa MDR. Atatu muri ayo maperefegitura yayoborwaga n'abaperefe bakomoka mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bavanyweho cg bishwe ubwo imirwano yongeraga kubura muri Mata 1994. Mu

[26] Reba : André Guichaoua, *Laurent Semanza, le "grand bourgmestre [burugumesitiri w'igihangange]"*, TPIR, Arusha, 2001, 30 p.

[27] Ingufu nkeya Casimir Bizimungu yari afite muri perefegitura ye zemejwe igihe avanwa mu bakandida bo kwinjizwa muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye agasimbuzwa Ferdinand Nahimana, intagondwa itihishira yari ishyigikiwe na Joseph Nzirorera.

buryo bufatika, ubwishingire Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari afitiye *Interahamwe* ni bumwe n'ubwo yagaragarije ishyaka ryose. Yari afite ingufu muri Kigali y'umujyi kubera umubano wa kera kandi udahungabana yari afitanye n'abenshi mu bagize Komite y'igihugu. Nyamara kubera ko *Interahamwe* zacungwaga ku buryo bwitaruye n'abanyapolitiki bakomeye bari abambari b'ingoma yabahaye gukira, ibyo byatumaga perezida Habyarimana agumana ingufu z'ingenzi mu maboko ye, cyane cyane muri perefegitura zo mu majyaruguru. Mu gusoza, ndabamenyesha ko benshi mu bayoboke ba Muvoma batifuzaga kugira icyo bavuga kuri iyi dosiye, kandi bakagaya abahizi bombi bashakaga kubigarurira. Koko rero, n'ubwo bari bashyigikiye igitekerezo cy'uko ishyaka ryagira umutwe w'urubyiruko, bamaganaga urugomo *Interahamwe* zakoraga ku buryo bukabije n'iterabwoba ribogamye cyane zari zarimakaje. Guhiganwa ingufu byatangiye, Kongere y'ishyaka yo muri Nyakanga 1993 ikirangira, hagati ya Mathieu Ngirumpatse, perezida w'ishyaka kandi wagaragaraga nk' "umutware w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma", na Joseph Nzirorera, intagondwa yo mu Kazu akaba n'umutware nyakuri wa Muvoma, – abo bagabo bavuzwe batyo mu buhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe* – byashyize abagize Komite y'igihugu ku nkeke y'amabwiriza avuguruzanya bahabwaga n'abantu ku giti cyabo :

> Kugira ngo nsobanure ibyo bintu, ndatanga ingero ebyiri. Urwa mbere, ni urwa bwana Turatsinze Kasimu, wahoze ari umushoferi wa bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu akiri mu mwanya w'umunyamabanga w'igihugu. Kasimu Turatsinze yeguye ku kazi ke mu rusaku rwinshi yanga ku mugaragaro kuba umushoferi wa bwana Joseph Nzirorera. Ku bwa Turatsinze, ngo bwana Joseph Nzirorera yamuhaga amategeko adashobora kwemerwa kandi akabishyiramo agatsinuzo. Amakuru yavugwaga icyo gihe ko imyifatire ya bwana Joseph Nzirorera yasaga n'iyemeza ko Turatsinze Kasimu yari igikoresho na maneko wa bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu.Turatsinze Kasimu yari umukangurambaga mukuru w'Interahamwe za perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, akanacunga ibikoresho bya poropagande n'ubukangurambaga by'Interahamwe Za Muvoma. Amaze kwegura ku kazi, Kasimu Turatsinze yasubiye gukorera bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu. Itsitsurana hagati y'abo bagabo bombi ryakuruye iterana ry'amagambo mu mutwe w'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za Muvoma[28]."

Uru rugero ruteye amatsiko cyane, kuko Kasim Aboubacar Turatsinze uzwi cyane ku rihimbano rya "Jean-Pierre", umutangabuhamya wamamaye wa Minuar. "Ibyo yahishuriye" koloneli Marchal mu ntangiro ya Mutarama 1994 (ubuhisho bw'intwaro bwa MRND, imyitozo y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, amalisiti y'Abatutsi [bo kwica]) nyuma y'intambara byafashwe nk'imwe muri gihamya z'ingenzi z'igitekerezo cy'uko itsembabwoko ryateguwe (*reba umutwe wa 14 n'umugereka 46*). Turatsinze wavukiye i Shyorongi (perefegitura ya Kigali ngari) akagira se w'Umuhutu na nyina w'Umututsikazi yarerewe kwa nyina mu gace ka Biryogo i Kigali. Nyina yari azwiho kuba umurwanashyaka ushishikaye wa Muvoma. Turatsinze yakoze muri serivisi z'iperereza (SCR). Yarongoye umugore w'Umututsikazi ukomoka i Gitesi, ubwo yari umushoferi kuri perefegitura ya Kibuye mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1980. Ntabwo yigeze abarirwa mu mutwe w' "abakodo" cg w'abashinzwe kurinda perezida – kandi ntiyigeze aba ofisiye mu ngabo z'igihugu, ibyo bikavuga ko atigeze ashingwa kurinda umutekano wa

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[28] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Gicurasi - Kamena 2003.

perezida Habyarimana. Yaburiwe irengero nyuma y' "ibyo yahishuye" muri Mutarama 1994, yongera kugaragara akanya gato i Kigali nyuma gato y'aho FPR ifatiye ubutegetsi. Kuva icyo gihe "yarazimiye" burundu. Ibintu bitagira umutwe n'ikibuno biri mu buhamya bwe no kudashakira gihamya ibyavuzwe n'uwo mutangabuhamya jenerali Dallaire n'abasirikari bakuru bashinzwe iperereza muri Minuar bari baragize kamara byaratamajwe mu gihe cyo kunyomoza abagabo imbere y'ingereko za TPIR (*reba umugereka 46*).

> Kuri iki kibazo, umunsi umwe Nzirorera na we yatubwiye ko Abahutu bazize ubugambanyi bwa Turatsinze Jean-Pierre wari warashinzwe mu minsi ya mbere ubukangurambaga mu rubyiruko rwa Muvoma. Yatubwiye ko Turatsinze yajyaga agemura amabanga y'Interahamwe kwa Dallaire wayoboraga ingabo za Minuar, no kwa Twagiramungu wo muri MDR. Kubera izo mpamvu, ubwo yashatse kumwirukana mu biro by'igihugu, Mathieu Ngirumpatse wari perezida w'ishyaka MRND icyo gihe yarabyanze kuko yamwemeraga cyane. Ibyo ari byo byose yashoboye kumukura ku mwanya w'umuyobozi ushinzwe ubukangurambaga amuha indi mirimo. Nzirorera yagaye ukuntu Mathieu atemeye icyo gihe ko Turatsinze asezererwa, kuko biba byarabarinze ibizazane bagiranye na Minuar nyuma y'aho Turatsinze agendeye. Turatsinze yari incuti ya Ngirumpatse, perezida wa Muvoma, kandi Nzirorera yaharaniraga gushyira undi muntu muri uwo mwanya, umuntu washoboraga gusohoza imigambi y'intagondwa atagombye kubimenyesha Ngirumpatse wari ufite kamere icisha make[29]".

Kwigarurira ahakomoka imari hose

Ku buryo budashidikanywaho, kuri uru rwego niho hari impamvu ya kabiri ikomeye y'ubushyamirane mu micungire y'urubyiruko rwa Muvoma, kuko ububasha bwo kugera ku mafaranga yakusanyijwe n'umubare wayo ari byo byagenaga ubushobozi bwo kunyonya abayoboke no gushimangira ubudahemuka bw' "abarwanashyaka"[30]. Ikibazo cy'amafaranga y'umutwe w'urubyiruko cyahagurukiwe n'inzego zose ya Muvoma kugira ngo haboneke agahimbazamusyi gafatika ko gukomeza abarwanashyaka badahamye cg guhemba abatajegajega bazwiho ubwitange, ubwamamare n'ubukangurambaga buhageze : kubona akazi, kuronka amafaranga ku buryo bunyuranye. Muri ubwo buryo, harimo ubwo guhabwa inguzanyo mu mabanki : Bacar (iyobowe na Pasteur Musabe), BCR (iyobowe na Claver Mvuyekure) cg BK (iyobowe na Viyateri Mvuyekure, waje gusimburwa na Cyrille Bizimungu). Minisiteri, ibigo bya leta n'ibyo leta ifitemo imigabane byose byari mu maboko y'abayoke ba Muvoma byasabwe umusanzu ku buryo ubu n'ubu, cyane cyane ubuyobozi bw'amateme n'imihanda bwo muri minisiteri y'Imirimo ya leta (bwari bushinzwe Alphonse Ntirivamunda, umukwe w'umukuru w'igihugu akaba n'umuyobozi w' Ikigega cy'imihanda umuntu atamenyaga imikorere yacyo), Electrogaz (iyoborwa

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[29] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi, 2004.

[30] Hano haravugwa gusa ibyashyizwe kuri gahunda iboneye ku rwego rw'igihugu. Kurondora ibyakorwaga mu nzego zicirirtse bigaragaza uburyo bwinshi bunyuranye, harimo gucuza amafaranga hakoreshejwe iterabwoba, kugeza no ku manyanga ahanitse yo kunyereza imari n'umutungo bya leta (ibaruramari mu bigo, gutanga amasoko, kuvunjisha amadovize, nb.), utibagiwe ubujura n'ubusahuzi. Tutagombye kugaruka kuri izi ngingo, ni ngombwa ariko gutsindagira ko, kugira ngo ubwo buryo bw'imicungire "ishingiye ku mashami y'ibanze" burambe, bwagombaga kwemerwa no kwishingirwa n'abayobozi b'abanyapolitiki bo ku cyicaro gikuru. Aba ntibashoboraga gukurikirana buri gikorwa cg buri mutwe, ariko na none nta na kimwe muri ibyo cyashoboraga kuramba kidafite ubwishingire bw'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma, n'inkunga ya Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*.

na Donat Munyanganizi), Sorwal (iyoborwa na Alphonse Higaniro), Ocir-Ishami ry'icyayi (riyoborwa na Michel Bagaragaza), Magerwa (Ibigega rusange by'U Rwanda, biyobowe na Cleophas Kanyarwanda), nb. Ibigo bimwe nka Onatracom (Ikigo cya leta gishinzwe gutwara abantu, Ikaragiro rya Nyabisindu, Cimerwa y'i Cyangugu, ORTPN (ikigo cy'U Rwanda cy'ubukerarugendo n'ibyanya cyimeza[31]) byashakishaga ku mugaragaro abakandida bo guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikari y'*Interahamwe*. I Cyangugu, Yusufu Munyakazi, umukonde ukungahaye akaba n'umucuruzi, yari atungiye mu mazu ye ahunikwamo ibintu *Interahamwe* zibarirwa muri za mirongo. Ni ngombwa kandi kongeraho abakozi bo mu rugo b'abayobozi b'inzego za Muvoma. Hari ubufatanye bukomeye hagati y'abacuruzi n'abashoramari bahaga *Interahamwe* inkunga y'amafaranga, bagatoneshwa mu itanga ry'amasoko n'ipiganirwa ry' imirimo byabonekaga, tuvuge, nko mu magereza no mu bigo bya gisirikari[32].Ubuhamya bwinshi bugaragaza neza uko byakorwaga :

> "Urugero rwa kabiri rwerekeye imicungire y'amafaranga yaturukaga hirya no hino mu bari bafite ubushobozi bwo gutera inkunga urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe Za Muvoma. Abo ni ibishyitsi bya Muvoma, birimo ibyegera bya hafi bya perezida Habyarimana. Ayo mafaranga bateganyaga ko ashyirwa kuri konti yafunguwe muri Banki ya Kigali, mu izina ry'Interahamwe kandi agacungwa n'umubitsi w'Interahamwe Za Muvoma, Niyitegeka Dieudonné.
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> Mu by'ukuri ariko byakorwaga ku bundi buryo. Nk'urugero, perezida wacu Robert Kajuga yarazaga akatubwira ko yahawe amafaranga menshi na bwana Nzirorera Joseph, rimwe ibihumbi 50.000 Frw, ubundi ibihumbi 100.000 Frw. Iyo habaga hari ikibazo kigomba gukemurwa, nko kuriha ingendo z'abayoboke cg Interahamwe zakangishaga kuva muri Muvoma zikigira mu ishyaka rindi nka CDR, cg se guha inyoroshyo abayoboke b'amashyaka bahanganye ngo biyizire muri Muvoma, cg na none guha inkunga y'amafaranga umurwanashyaka wo mu mutwe uyu n'uyu wo mu tundi tugari wabaga ari mu ngorane, Robert Kajuga yagezaga ibyo bibazo kuri bwana Joseph Nzirorera wari uzwiho kuba rugabishabirenge. Yatangaga atitangiriye itama kugira ngo arusheho kwamamara, no kugira ngo ashyigikire ibikorwa by'ishyaka n'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma, bityo abasore bacu bagakomeza kuba abayoboke.
>
> Byongeye kandi, muri icyo gihe nyirizina amikekwe hagati y'uturere n'amoko yari yongeye kubura. Ibi byari bigiye guhungabanya ubumwe bw'abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma, bamwe bageza aho kuvuga ko Kajuga Robert na Ruhumuriza Phénéas ari Abatutsi, abandi bakavuga ko mu bajyanama higanjemo abo mu Rukiga, cg se ko ba visi-perezida bombi ari abanyanduga.
>
> Ibyo niyiziye ubwanjye, ni uko abagize Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bose bumvise ko ayo matiku yashoboraga kugira ingaruka mbi ku ishyaka, akanaca umutwe w'urubyirukomo uduce, bakoze uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo batsinde icyo kigeragezo, nuko bakomeza gushyira hamwe kugeza ku ndunduro. Ibi bisobanura yuko, kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994, twakomeje kwemera ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka rya MRND. Perezida waryo,

[31] Igikingi cya Protais Zigiranyirazo na Charles Bunani, umukuru w'ishami ry'ubuyobozi wari umukwe wa Noel Mbonabaryi, uyu akaba se wa batisimu wa perezida Habyarimana.

[32] Ku byerekeye ingamba zinyuranye zo gusaruza inkunga z' Interahamwe, ni ukureba mu mugereka wa 25 wahariwe uburyo abayobozi bazo bahabwaga amafaranga n'ikigo Sorwal cy'i Butare Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari abereye perezida w'Inama y'ubutegetsi, Édouard Karemera akakibera umwunganizi n'umujyanama. Mu rugabagabane rw'imirimo rw'agashobero no mu myanya inyuranye, ku ruhande rumwe usangamo ibikomerezwa byose byo mu butegetsi : ibyegera bya perezida, abayobozi ba Muvoma, abaminisitiri benshi, abanyamabanki, no ku rundi ruhande hakaba abayobozi hafi ya bose b'Interahamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu, ndetse, ariko iki ni cyo kirushijeho gutangaza, ababitsi b'inzego za politiki z'ibanze zinyuranye cg se zifitanye ubucuti, nk'ishyaka rya CDR. Umuntu ashobora kubonamo gihamya y'uko rwari urusobe rupanze neza rw'inzego zihujwe no kunyereza imitungo ziyisaranganya amashyaka yari yibumbiye mu cyitwa ARD.

bwana Ngirumpates Mathieu, twamwemeraga nk'umutware wacu ku buryo butavuguruzwa. Imicungire n'isaranganya ry'impano n'imirage byari bishinzwe umunyamabanga w'igihugu mushya, bwana Nzirorera Joseph. Uyu yahaga perezida Kajuga Robert n'abavisi- perezida be, Ruhumuriza Phénéas na Rutaganda Georges, ndetse n'abari bafitanye na we umubano wihariye. Urugero ni nka bwana Maniragaba Bernard wajyaga kwibonanira ubwe n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu, hanyuma na we agasaranganya amafaranga yahawe mu gace ka Gitega n'ahandi. Andi matsinda y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma z'i Gikondo n'Inyange z'i Remera zahabwaga inkunga y'amafaranga na Bagaragaza Michael wo muri OCIR-Ishami ry'icyayi nta wundi binyuzeho. Itsinda ry'Interahamwe z'i Kanombe ryari rimaze kuremwa ryishingiwe n'umukuru w'igihugu, bwana Habyarimana Juvénal, nk'uko yari yabitumenyesheje ubwo yatwakiraga muri hoteli Rebero/L'Horizon y'i Kigali, asaba kuba umunyamuryango w'icyubahiro w'Interahamwe Za Muvoma[33]."

Kuri iyi ngingo, ubuhamya bugenda bwuzuzanya, ku byerekeye inama zakorewe muri hoteli *Rebero/L'Horizon* i Kigali yari iya perezida Habyarimana. Imwe muri zo yaba yarahabereye muri Nyakanga 1993, umugambi ari uwo gukusanya amafaranga yo gutegura mitingi yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura bateganyaga gukorera ku Gisenyi. Ibyo gukoresha iyo mitingi harimo utubazo duteye amatsiko.

Kuko perezida Habyarimana yari yabyanze, bagombye gukoresha amayeri kugira ngo bitagaragara ko ari we wakoresheje inama ibogamiye ku ruhande rw'ishyaka rye gusa.

Subizo : Ni ukubera ko, icyo gihe, euh… ni perezida Habyarimana, utarashakaga ko bavuga ko ari we uyoboye inama yo gukusanya amafaranga. Ntiyashakaga ko babivuga, ko babitangaza ku mugaragaro. Ni uko rero, byitiriwe umuhungu we kugira ngo bavuge ko ari we wakiriye abantu bo mu Nterahamwe.
Bazo : Kuki se Habyarimana atashakaga ko bamuvuga muri icyo gikorwa cyo gukusanya amafaranga ? […]
Subizo : Ku bwanjye, icyo navanye muri ibyo, ni uko icyo gihe yari perezida wa Repubulika, kandi ndibwira yuko icyo gihe yari atakiri perezida w'ishyaka. Amasezerano ya Arusha ntiyemeraga ko perezida wa Repubulika yinjira cyane mu by'ishyaka rye. Icyo gihe, ndakeka ko yari yarasezeye mu ngabo no ku mwanya wa perezida wa Muvoma[34]".

Nyamara ubwo bwitange bwa perezida ubwe n'abo mu "muryango we" byari ngombwa kugira ngo haboneke abatumire benshi no kugira ngo bagaragaze ubwitange bwabo no gutanga umusanzu bataguniriza. Byumvikanishaga ukuntu ubwishingire bwa perezida bwabonwa nko gushyigikira ibikorwa n'imirimo bateganyiriza *Interahamwe* n'uburyo buziguye bwo kubakingira ikibaba. Ubusumbane nyabwo bw'abanyapolitiki bo hafi ya Juvénal Habyarimana busobanuye neza mu nkuru ikurikira :

"Twari dufite ibibazo by'amafaranga kandi abantu bamwe bo mu Kazu bari bafite ingingimira zo gutanga ayo gushyigikira ibikorwa by'Interahamwe. Ni muri ubwo buryo Ngirumpatse Mathieu yasabye Kajuga Robert gutumira abagize Komite y'igihugu bose. Hatabuzemo n'umwe, bose bitabiriye ubutumire ndetse n'intumwa z'Interahamwe zo mu nsisiro z'i Kigali baza mu nama yarimo perezida Habyarimana ubwe. Ingamba zari zoroshye. bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu yaba yaragiriye inama perezida wa Muvoma

[33] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004.
[34] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Werurwe 1997.

gutumira abayobozi bakuru bamwe n'abandi banyemari bo muri Muvoma ngo baze mu nama bari bateganyijemo ibyo gukusanya amafaranga. Bityo, abatumiwe ntibashoboraga kubura mu nama no kudatanga umusanzu bari imbere ya perezida. […] Muri iyo nama bashoboye gusarura amafaranga y'U Rwanda miliyoni imwe[35]".

Kuba ibyo gutanga amafaranga byari bishingiye ku bayobozi ubwabo, ipiganwa ry'abanyapolitiki mu micungire y'*Interahamwe* ryakwiriye mu gihugu hose ku nzego z'akarere n'utugari. Amacakubiri mu ishyaka n'amakimbirane hagati y'abanyapolitiki bitekererezaga iby'amatora ari imbere yagize ingaruka mbi mu gusaruza no gusaranganya amafaranga. Hari amakimbirane hagati y'abayobozi bo ku isonga y'ishyaka, cyane cyane nyuma y'imihindukire yo muri Nyakanga 1993 yashyize ahabona ibyerekezo bibiri mu rwego rw'igihugu biturutse ku makimbirane yari hagati ya perezida mushya, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Joseph Nzirorera, amakimbirane ashingiye ku by'akarere. Ubwo rero havutse indi komite ibangikanye na Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, iyo komite igizwe n'abayoboke bakomoka muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri zo mu majyaruguru, ikaba yari igamije kuburizamo ububasha Mathieu yari afite ku mutwe w'urubyiruko.

"Nari naraganiriye na perezida wa Repubulika ku bibazo by'imbere mu ishyaka byerekeye urubyiruko. Komite y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* yari igizwe mu by'ukuri n'abantu bo mu turere twose, nk'uko byari akamenyero mu mikorere y'ishyaka. Nyamara, ku bw'amahirwe make, ndibwira ko agakundi ko ku Gisenyi kari karashyizeho komite ikorera mu bwihisho igatera ibibazo Komite yemewe. […] Ariko muri icyo gihe, sinavuga ko bwari ubushyamirane busa n'aho bwari kuzambya ishyaka. Icyo nashakaga gutsindagira gusa, ni uko hagomba kuba hariho udustiko ntashoboye gushyira kuri gahunda iboneye[36]."

Ingorane iremereye cyane yatewe n'iremwa rya komite y'imbangikane yumvikanye ku ngingo y'amafaranga : amafaranga y'abo mu majyaruguru yashyikirizwaga abarwanashyaka bo mu Rukiga ! Bityo, mu gihe cya mitingi yakoreshejwe na perezida, amafaranga ibihumbi 200.000 Frw gusa yatanzwe kashi ni yo yashyikirijwe umubitsi ashyirwa kuri konti y'umutwe w'urubyiruko. Sheki z'amafaranga hafi miliyoni zafashwe n'umwe mu bagize komite y'imbangikane ku giti cye, kandi ntihagira raporo ihabwa abayobozi y'ukuntu ayo mafaranga yakoreshejwe (*reba umugereka 47*). Ntibyari bitangaje rero ko umubitsi wa Komite y'igihugu, Dieudonné Niyitegeka yagombye, kuva muri 1992, kwinubira ku munyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma ibirego yagerekwagaho by'uko harimo ikinyuranyo hagati y'ubusabusa bw'amafaranga yari kuri konti yo muri Banki ya Kigali n'umubare utubutse w'amafaranga nyayo abayobozi b'umutwe w'urubyiruko babaga basaruje. Nyamara uwo munyaButare si we wenyine winubaga. Abayobozi bose bo mu majyepfo bari bahuriye ku bibazo nk'ibyo :

"Bityo, ntanze nk'urugero, umunsi umwe numvise minisitiri Daniyeri Mbangura [Hutu,

[35] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004 (reba umwandiko wuzuye mu mugereka 47).

[36] Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse, TPIR, ishakiro K7 KT 00-0200, icyumweru cy'iya 27 Nzeri kugeza ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1999.

> Gikongoro] yinubira umubare udashimishije w'Interahamwe, mu by'ijana, yari yashoboye kunyonya ku Gikongoro bitewe n'amikoro make. Ngomba kuvuga ko uko gushaka abayoboke kwaranzwemo ikintu gisa n'ivangura. Buri muyobozi yari afite bije yagenewe na Muvoma kugira ngo yegeranye ibikenewe n'Interahamwe byose. Uko iyo bije yanganaga byaterwaga cyane n'inarijye y'umubobozi bireba[37]."

Ibi by'uko *Interahamwe* n'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo batari bafitiwe icyizere bisobanura ubusumbane mu itezambere ry'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* mu gihugu cyose. Bisobanura kandi umubare muto w'*Interahamwe* zahawe imyitozo ya gisirikari kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, uretse mu bigo bya leta n'iby'ifitemo imigabane, n'ubwo byari muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo, byayoborwaga n'abo muri Muvoma bakomoka mu majyaruguru (nka Sorwal i Butare, Cimerwa i Cyangugu cg Ikaragiro ry'i Nyabisindu, nb.).

Imyitozo ya gisirikari no gutanga intwaro

Guha urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* imyitozo ya gisirikari byatangiye mu gice cya kabiri cy'umwaka wa 1993, nuko bihita bisakara hose vuba cyane, n'ubwo abakuru ba gisirikari n'abayobozi ba Muvoma babihakanaga :

> "Abantu bashoboraga kubumva batahuka muri za mitingi, bahanamye ku makamyo na za bisi bahanitse amajwi baririmba, kandi nta wuri bugire icyo abakoraho, ngo "Tuzabatsembatsemba"[38]. Bari bazi icyo bavuga, cyane cyane ko imbwirwaruhame twibukije mbere zasaga n'aho zabibakanguriye. Kandi no kuba barihangishagaho imvugo nk'iyo, ni uko bumvaga babyemerewe kandi barinzwe[39]."

Ku bari batuye i Kigali, imyitozo yaberaga mu bigo bya gisirikari byo mu Bugesera no mu Mutara, mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu. *Interahamwe* zatwarwaga muri tobisi za Onatracom zafatiriwe, mu makamyo y'abasirikari, cg mu makamyoneti yatiwe cg yakodeshejwe abikorera ku giti cyabo. Gutoranya abarwanashyaka byari bishinzwe abayobozi b'ibiro nshingwabikorwa by'ishyaka, b'ubunyamabanga bw'igihugu nyirizina, babifashijwemo n'abasirikari bakuru b'i Kanombe n'ab'umutwe urinda perezida. Bashingiraga ku miterere n'ubushobozi by'umubiri w'abiyandikishije, abahoze ari ba rezerivisiti n'abavuye mu gisirikari bagashyirwa imbere kubera kuba inararibonye mu by'igisirikari.

Mu buhamya bwe bwombi, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yemera rwose ko iyo gahunda y'imyitozo ya gisirikari yabayeho, ariko akayiharira abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo z'igihugu. Ngo ntibatoje gusa abasore bari babisabwe "ku giti cyabo", ahubwo ngo no muri icyo gihe batoranyaga no mu basirikari. Ku bwe, ngo *Interahamwe* zaje koherezwa ku rugamba, ngo ntizagira uruhare mu kwica abaturage b'abasivili byakozwe n' "abantu bo mu baturage ubwabo".

> "Abo basore ntibahawe imyitozo nk'abayoboke b'ishyaka. Batojwe n'ingabo. Mu buryo busanzwe. Kubera ko nakubwiye ko Minuar yari yananiwe guhagarika imyitozo ya FPR, ingabo na zo zagize ziti "Ariko se, ni byiza ko twasinyanye amasezerano na bariya bantu,

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

[38] Interuro ishobora no guhindurwa ngo "Tuzabatsembatsemba" [bo cg mwebwe !].

[39] Inkuru y'ubuhamya bwa jenerali Léonidas Rusatira, Komisiyo idasanzwe ya Sena y'Ububiligi ku Rwanda, Bruxelles, 29 Mata 1997.

> kuki bakomeza guha imyitozo [ntibyumvikana] ?". Batoje abasore babishatse ku bwabo. Ntibyari nk'aho ari abayoboke ba Muvoma, kuko bari abasore bemeraga. [...] Abantu baritoje, batagamije, nk'uko babivuga, kwica abantu ku mirenge. Ibyo si byo rwose ! Kwari ukurwana intambara. N'ubundi kandi, nshobora kubikubwira, Interahamwe nyazo ntizari ku mirenge, ahubwo zari hamwe n'ingabo ku rugamba. Ntabwo ari Interahamwe zakoresheje imipanga, ibyo ni abantu bo mu baturage, ni ibyo ! Abari barahawe imyitozo ntibari imbere mu gihugu, bari ku rugamba hamwe n'abasirikari[40]".
>
> "Ikidashidikanywa, ni uko igitekerezo cyo guha abaturage imyitozo kugira ngo birwaneho bahangana n'ibitero bya FPR/ Inkotanyi cyatangiye muri za 1991. Kandi nibwira ko ari uburenganzira bwa buri Guverinoma bwo kurinda abaturage bayo no guhuruza abasore ngo batabare igihugu cyabo. Naho ku byerekeye imyitozo yatanzwe muri 1993, ni ibintu byumvikana, ni ukubera yuko FPR yohejwe cg ikingiwe ikibaba na Minuar, yari yakomeje kwigisha abayoboke bayo no kubaha imyitozo ya gisirikari. Imyitozo rero yatanzwe na Guverinoma yari iyobowe na Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Ishyaka ryari ribifitemo nyungu ki zo kwivanga mu kibazo cya Guverinoma ? Kuki minisitiri w'intebe atahagaritse iyo myitozo ? Niba hari abasore b'ishyaka batoranyijwe, ntibyatewe n'uko ari abayoboke b'ishyaka, ariko kubera ingenagaciro zabo bwite[41]."

Uretse ko n'ibyo kuvuga mu buryo budasobanutse ngo abagize uruhare ni "abaturage" byavugurujwe cyane n'amaperereza yakozwe mu gihugu cyose, ibikorwa byose bya Mathieu Ngirumpatse mu mirimo ye inyuranye y'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma birahamya ko, ibiri amambu, atahwemye guharanira ko imitwe yitwara gisirikari igwiza ingufu zo kugira nabi, akigarurira ingufu z'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, agakora ku buryo abayoboke bakurikiranweho « icyaha cyo kwangiza iby'abandi[42] » badahanwa ndetse akagaragaza ubushake butihishira bwo kurindagiza igenzura ryakorwaga na Minuar ibifashijwemo na Guverinoma kugira ngo ihagarike ibyo gukwirakwiza intwaro mu rubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*. Ibaruwa tuzi isobanura neza ibyo bintu ni iyandikiwe perezida Habyarimana mu buryo bw'ibanga ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1993 imumenyesha ngo :

> "Biro politiki yanasabye ko hashyirwaho imitwe yo kwirwanaho mu bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara no muri perefegitura zugarijwe. Ibi ntibyakozwe. Impamu zatanzwe zo kudaha abasivili intwaro ni amafuti, kandi imyifatire nk'iyo, ikunze kuranga abasirikari b'umwuga, ishobora kuzadukorera ishyano. Ibyo nyamara ntibyabujije amashyaka na FPR kuturega kugira imitwe yitwara gisirikari ! Ku bwanjye, birihutirwa cyane guha abasore imyitozo (mu ibanga, birumvikana) kuko tuzi ko umugambi w'ibanze urimo gusohozwa ari uwo kwigarurira U Rwanda, Uburundi, n'uburasirazuba bwa Zayire. Guhagurukirwa n'abanyagihugu bose ni byo byonyine bishobora kuwuburizamo[43]".

Abatangabuhamya benshi cyane bemeza ko icyo cyifuzo cyakurikijwe, kandi ko abayobozi b'imena ba Muvoma bashishikariye ubwabo gupanga, babifashijwemo n'abakuru ba gisirikari bari bashyigikiye iyo politiki (nka Léonard Nkundiye i Gabiro) iyo myitozo ya gisirikari, ariko cyane cyane ko

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[40] Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse, TPIR, TPIR, K7 KT 00-0199, irangiroKO129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1Ukwakira 1999.

[41] Mathieu N Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie rwandaise. L'autre face de l'histoire [Amarorerwa yo mu Rwanda. Urundi ruhande rw'amateka],* nta tariki, p. 69-70.

[42] Ibaruwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse yandikiye perezida Juvénal Habyarimana ku ya 23 Ugushyingo 1992, TPIR, irangiro KO0504602 (*reba umugereka 36*).

[43] Ibaruwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse yandikiye perezida Juvénal Habyarimana ku ya 15 Gashyantare 1993, TPIR, KO0503817 (*reba umugereka 48*).

umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma anyanyagiza intwaro mu bavuye mu myitozo (*reba umugereka 48*).

Na none, mu nyandiko n'ubuhamya byinshi, habonekamo ibisobanuro nyirizina by'igikorwa gikomeye gishimangira uruhare rwa perezidansi ya Muvoma n'urwa Komite y'igihugu y'umutwe w'urubyiruko mu gukwirakwiza intwaro. Koko rero, kuva mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 ni bwo Mathieu Ngirumpatse yafatanyije n'abayobozi bo muri Komite y'igihugu batangira kugirana na Minuar umukino wo guhishahisha intwaro zifitwe n'abarwanashyaka, bityo bagakontorora gahunda ya Minuar yo "gutororokanya intwaro zitunzwe ku buryo bunyuranyije n'amategako". Ibyo Minuar yabikoraga isaka abantu bose bashoboraga gukekwa, ni ukuvuga cyane cyane urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*.

> "Mu nama ya Komite y'igihugu y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma yabaye ku buryo rusange ku wa gatatu [itariki ntizwi], bwana Ngirumpatse Mathieu yabamenyeshe ku mugaragaro ko Minuar ifite uburenganzira bwo gusaka, igihe icyo ari cyo cyose no mu rugo urwo ari rwo rwose, ubuhisho bw'intwaro no kuzifata. Kubera ibyo, yaburiye *Interahamwe* Za Muvoma kandi asaba izifite intwaro kwikandagira cyane no kuzihisha ku buryo abantu ba Minuar badashobora kuzibona. Yarabihanangirije ababwira y'uko ishyaka rya MRND nta cyo rizashobora kunganiraho uzaba yafashwe[44]."

Igihe umwe mu bayobozi b'*Interahamwe* yari yitabye urukiko Arusha muri Kamena 2006, abunganizi ba Mathieu Ngirumpatse bahakanye batsemba uruhare rw'uwo baburanira mu gutanga intwaro. Dore ingingo ebyiri uwo muyobozi w'*Interahamwe* yahaye umwanya w'ibanze. Iya mbere yerekeye uburyo bwo kubona intwaro :

> "**Bazo** : bwana Mutangabuhamya, mbese wari icyegera cya nomero ya mbere?
> **Subizo** : Yego, Munyamategeko.
> **Bazo** : Mwigeze se muvugana ibyo gutanga intwaro ?
> **Subizo** : Yego, twavuganye ibyo … gutanga intwaro, yego.
> **Bazo** : Wamubajije se aho zavaga ?
> **Subizo** : Munyamategeko, sinashoboraga kumubaza ibibazo nk'uko urimo kubicamo amarenga. Uko ibintu byari byifashe, n'uko byari bimenyerewe mu gihugu - ndabyibutsa kandi nari nabivuze na mbere -, ni uko aho intwaro zaturukaga hari hamwe gusa mu Rwanda : gutunga intwaro byari bihariwe abasirikari gusa. Nta bucuruzi buhari… nta bucuruzi bwisanzuye bw'intwaro bwari buhari, oya[45]."

Koko rero, n'ubwo hari mu bihe by'intambara, gutunga imbunda mu Rwanda byari "umwihariko w'abasirikari". "Nta soko ry'intwaro" ryari ryemewe kandi kuzigeraho byashorwaga na bake (*reba umugereka 48*).

Ibyo guha intwaro abaturage byari byarageragejwe mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1992, ariko ntibyagira icyo bigeraho. Bitangiriye muri komini Muvumba mu Mutara, hari gahunda yo gufasha abanyacyaro kwirwanaho yari yakwijwe muri komini nyinshi zindi zagirijwe n'imirwano, ariko izo ntwaro, hafi ya zose, zaguye mu maboko ya FPR/Inkotanyi. Igikorwa cyihutirwa James Gasana yashishikariye

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[44] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, Gicurasi 2004. Mu mugereka wa 48 harimo inkuro zinyuranye z'amaraporo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye n'ubuhamya bw'abagabo.

[45] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 1 Kamena 2006, p. 5.

akigirwa minisitiri w'ingabo muri Mata 1992, cyabaye icyo gukosora imikorere idahwitse no kudakurikiza amabwiriza ya disipurini byarangwaga mu nzego zose z'ingabo, ahanini bitewe n'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'umubare w'abasirikari bashya binjijwe bageze mu bihumbi – babitaga "abakenzejuru" ari ugushimangira ukuntu imyitoreze yabo yari migufi cyane – bakaba ari na bo bihutiraga kugurisha imbunda zabo, gerenade zabo batangira n'ubucuruzi bwakwirakwije intwaro mu migi minini. Kubera amashyaka menshi n'icyemezo cya James Gasana[46], gahunda yo guha intwaro abasivili yaracogoye kugeza igihe Gasana yahungiye noneho minisiteri y'ingabo ikigarurirwa n'umuyoboke wa Muvoma "wizewe", n'abasirikari b'intagondwa. Kuva icyo gihe, abahabwaga intwaro bashungurwaga n'uruhererekane rw'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki bo mu gipande cya perezida : ni abari bagize amatsinda yo "kwirwanaho kw'abaturage", n'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* zahawe imyitozo n'intwaro, hatarangwamo n'uwa kirazira mu barwanashyaka bo mu majyepfo. Icya kabiri, n'ubwo mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 hari hatewe intambwe mu kwifatanya n'urubyiruko rwa "Hutu Pawa" rwo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ubwo bufatanye ntibwageze ku ntera yatuma umuntu yibwira ko amacakubiri ashingiye ku turere yavuyeho, cg se ko intwaro zitari kongera gukoreshwa mu mirwano ishyamiranya abavandimwe :

"*Kwigisha abantu kwirwanaho ngo ni ukwigisha abakiga ngo bazamare abanyenduga* [47]*!!*" Iyo nteruro yagaragazaga urwikekwe rukomeye rwari hagati y'Abakiga n'Abanyenduga, no mu byerekeye imiyoborere y'intambara no kwirwanaho kw'abaturage. Mu by'ukuri, imitwe y'*Interahamwe* yabayeho nyabyo muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo igihe byagaragaye ko bitagishobotse gukumira isibo ya FPR kandi ko gutsindwa byari byegereje (r*eba umugereka13*). Intwaro z'*Interahamwe* zari zirimo : imbunda R4, G3, Kalashnikov, gerenade, masotera n'intwaro gakondo. Kasimu Turatsinze, uzwi no ku izina rya "Jean-Pierre", umurwanashyaka wari umushoferi wa Mathieu Ngirumpatse akaba yari anashinzwe ibyo gucunga intwaro, yagereranyaga ko imbunda zahawe *Interahamwe* z'i Kigali zari zarahawe imyitozo ya gisirikari "zakabakabaga umubare wa magana atandatu". Mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1994, imyitozo *Interahamwe* zahabwaga n'abasirikari yariyongereye mu mitwe yari ishyigikiye ibikorwa byazo kandi habaho n'inkunga ya minisitiri w'ingabo wari uwa Muvoma, Augustin Bizimana. Udutsiko twitwaraga gisirikari twari twiganje cyane cyane i Remera, aho *Interahamwe* zari zigizwe n'umubare urenga 60 % w'abarezerivisiti kandi zikanashyigikirwa n'abakuru b'umutwe urinda perezida.

[46] Ndibutsa ko Juvénal Habyarimana yari yarakomeje kwanga gahunda iyo ari yo yose yo gutoza urubyiruko ibya gisirikari, kuko yari gutuma n'urubyiruko rwo mu turere twose tw'igihugu rushobora kwinjira mu ngabo. Nyamaar nyuma y'igitero cya FPR cyo muri Gashyantare 1993, yavuze amadisikuru anyuranye yakanguriraga abaturage gushyiraho ingamba zo kwirwanaho, bityo akavuguruza minisitiri w'ingabo. Uyunguyu yarwanyaga cyane gahunda zo gutanga intwaro koloneli Bagosora, wayoboraga ikigo cya gisirikari gikomeye cy'i Kanombe ya Kigali, yari yaratangije guhera muri Mutarama 1993, yubikiye ko minisitiri yari adahari (ku buryo buhutiyeho, yari yashinzwe kubobora intumwa za Guverinoma mu mishyikirano ya Arusha). Aho agarukiye, gahunda yo kugaruza izo ntwaro yayishinze koloneli Laurent Rutayisire, ariko cyane cyane majoro Ruti Kankwanzi. Ni no muri uko kwezi kwa Gashyantare minisitiri w'ingabo yategetse gufunga ako kanya ikigo cyari mu Bugesera gitorezwamo abakurutu 3 000 batoranyijwe mu nkambi z'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara mu gihe yari atari mu gihugu.

[47] Ajenda ya Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, TPIR, ku magaji yerekana amatariki ya 31 Mutarama, 19-20 Gashyantare, na 22 Gashyantare 1994 (*reba umugereka 76*).

Wadusangaga i Kanombe aho *Interahamwe* zari zigizwe hafi zose n'abahoze ari abasirikari, ndetse no ku Kicukiro. Ni zo zari imenerabahizi mu bikorwa, ukabona zitandukanye cyane n'insoresore bapfaga gutoragura ngo zize "gukora ikinamico".

Mu gihugu bavugaga ko izo nsoresore zari izo gukontorora "imigendo y'imbeba" ("*panya road*" mu giswayire). Inshingano z'*Interahamwe* zari zaragenwe ku buryo busobanutse neza, haba ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma n'urwa Komite y'igihugu, haba ku nzego zose za perefegitura, komini na segiteri, ndetse n'aho abanyapolitiki bazihongeraga amafaranga kugira ngo zicunge umutekano wabo kandi zinabashyigikire mu bya politiki. Ibigo bikomeye byose bya leta n'ibyo yari ifitemo imigabane byayoborwaga n'abari ku ruhande rwa perezida byari byarashyizeho imitwe yitwaje intwaro kandi bikayigenera umushahara (Cimerwa, Sorwal, Ocir- Ishami ry'Icyayi n'Ishami ry'Ikawa, Isar, Onatracom, Ikaragiro rya Nyabisindu, nb.) Mu izina rya MRND/CDR, iyo mitwe yishingiraga ibikorwa by'umutekano cg iby'iterabwoba ahantu n'igihe abayobozi babiyisabaga.

Ubwo yasezeraga ku buyobozi bw'urubyiruko ndetse akaza no gusezera mu nzego za Muvoma no ku mwanya wamuhaga amafaranga yari yarashyizwemo, Désiré Murenzi yerekanye ko atemeranya na perezida n'ibyegera bye ku ngingo isobanutse neza yo gukoresha imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu kurinda umutekano bwite w'abanyapolitiki. Nyuma y'imyaka itatu urwo rubyiruko rwigishwa ibyo kuba indwanyi ku buryo bwari buzwi neza n'abayobozi ba Muvoma rwaje guhinduka inkoramaraso.