7

Igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 n'ishyirwaho rya Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina

Ku wa gatatu ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 saa mbiri na makumyabiri n'itanu, indege yari itwaye jenerali-majoro Juvénal Habyarimana na perezida w'Uburundi Cyprien Ntaryamira yarahanuwe. Abo bakuru b'ibihugu bombi baguye muri icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba bavuye i Dar es-Salaam mu nama yari yahuje abakuru b'ibihugu byo mu karere kugira ngo basuzume ibibazo by'umutekano, ariko cyane cyane icy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano yasinyiwe Arusha ku ya 4 Kanama 1993. Perezida w'Uburundi yinjiye ku munota wa nyuma mu ndege Falcon 50 ya perezida w'U Rwanda kubera ko iye yari yagize ikibazo. Mu gihe yarimo kwitegura kugwa ku kibuga mpuzamahanga cy'i Kigali cyitiriwe perezida Grégoire Kayibanda, indege ya perezida yarashwe igisasu gikoreshwa ku butaka no mu kirere ariko kirayihusha. Umupilote yakomeje kugerageza kururutsa indege, ariko hagati aho igisasu cya kabiri kirayihamya, kiyituritsa irimo kwababa hejuru y'umuhanda wayo.

Icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyahitanye abantu cumi na babiri, imirambo yabo igwa mu busitani bw'inzu ya perezida Habyarimana yari iri hafi aho. Muri iyo ndege harimo kandi Abafaransa batatu (majoro Jacky Héraud w'umupilote, koloneli Jean-Pierre Minaberry wari umupilote wungirije na Ajida-shefu Jean-Marie Perrinne wari umukanishi w'indege), jenerali-majoro Deogratias Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda, Ambasaderi Juvénal Renzaho, umujyanama muri Perezidansi, koloneli Élie Sagatwa, umujyanama wihariye na muramu wa perezida, Emmanuel Akingeneye, muganga wihariye wa perezida, majoro Thadée Bagaragaza, umusirikari mukuru urinda perezida,

Cyriaque Simbizi, minisitiri w'Umurundi wari ushinzwe Itumanaho akaba n'umuvugizi wa Guverinoma, na mugenzi we, Bernard Ciza, minisitiri wa leta ushinzwe igenamigambi ry'amajyambere no gusana ibyangiritse.

Uruhuri rw'inzira zo kumenya uwateze igico

Nk'uko nabivuze mu iriburiro, nari i Kigali ku munsi w'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba ndetse no mu minsi yakurikiyeho. Mu mitwe y'iki gitabo ikurikira, ndajya ntanga ubuhamya bw'ibyo niboneye n'ibyo niyumviye nk'umutangabuhamya uvuga ibyo yahagazeho.

Aho mviriye i Kigali, ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, nafatanitanije n'Abanyarwanda benshi – abo muri Kaminuza n'abanyamakuru twateguranaga igitabo – ngerageza gukusanya amakuru yose yashobokaga. Twari twaratangiye, dukurikije ubushobozi bwacu, kwibukiranya ingengabihe y'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakomeye, iy'abayobozi bo mu gipande cya perezida n'abo muri FPR, kugira ngo tumenye neza icyo bakoze mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bityo dushyire abafite uruhare rw'ingenzi mu myanya yabo dukurikije aho bari bari igihe iki n'iki.

Mu gihe twahurizaga hamwe ibyo twari twaragezeho, ubwo hari mu nama twakoreye mu Bubiligi mu cyumweru cya mbere cya Kamena 1994 dufatanyije n'intiti za Kaminuza n'abanyapolitiki benshi, imyanzuro itatu yarigaragaje :

– Ikipi yateguye ikanashyira mu bikorwa cy'iterabwoba yari igizwe n'abantu bake cyane, bakoze batanyuze mu nzira z'inzego zisanzwe za politiki cg iz'ubuyobozi zishobora kubibazwa. Abantu b'ibikomerezwa bari basanzwe ari ibyegera by'abafata ibyemezo ntacyo bari babwiwe kandi nta n'ubwo bashoboye gukeka ikiri bube ;

– Akajagari, ndetse n'igikuba byaranze igipande cya Muvoma/CDR/Akazu igikorwa cy'iterabwoba kimaze kuba byari binyuranye cyane na gahunda iboneye y'ingamba z'abasirikari ba FPR bari muri CND (Inteko ishinga amategeko) ;

– Kubona ambasade zikomeye na serivisi z'iperereza z'amahanga zararuciye zikarumira byagaragaje ubwumvikane bwo kuzinzika ibyabaye[1].

Turebye icyegeranyo rusange cy'ubushakashatsi n'uko nta ngingo gihamya zashobaraga gutuma abantu bagira icyo bemeza gifatika, umwanzuro wabaye ko "uko ibintu byifashe, nta ngingo n'imwe yafasha gukemura cg kuvanaho ibishidikanyo[2]". Mu cyuka cy'amarangamutima cyabayeho kuva ubwo ku bibazo byerekeye U Rwanda, nirinze kugira icyo nemeza cg ngo mpakane.

Igitekerezo cy'uko FPR ari yo yabigizemo uruhare cyaje kugira ireme rihageze ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe [1995] ndi i Kigali ubwo nari maze umwanya munini nungurana ibitekerezo na minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Seth Sendashonga, akambwira amakenga yagaragajwe n'abayobozi benshi b'abasivili n'abasirikari

[1] Igice kimwe cy'iyi misanzu y'ibitekerezo umuntu yagisanga mu gitabo : *André Guichaoua, (dir.), Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwandi [Imidugararo ya politiki mu Burundi no mu Rwanda],* Karthala, Paris, 1995, cyane cyane mu mutwe witwa "L'attentat du 6 Mata contre l'avion du president Habyarimana et Ntaryamira [Igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata ku ndege ya perezida Habyarimana na Ntaryamira]", p. 675- 693.

[2] *Ibid*., 677

ba FFPR bashyiraga mu majwi agatsiko k'ipfundo ry'ingabo za FPR. Amagambo nk'ayo nayabwiwe ku munsi wa kabiri wakurikiyeho, ku itariki ya 25 Werurwe, na minisitiri w'Ubucamanza, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito. Ku itariki ya 6 Gashantare 1997, uyu Nkubito wari umuyobozi mukuru wa Banki ya Kigali icyo gihe kandi akabibangikanya n'ibikorwa byo guharanira uburenganzira bw'kiremwamuntu, yamenyesheje ko atari agishidikanya ku ruhare rwa FPR muri icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba kubera ubuhamya yari yararundanyije. Ubwo buhamya yari yaragiye abukorera inyandiko inonosoye akabushyikiriza ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika yari yarakomeje gukorana nayo. a none muri Gashyantare 1997, mu mpera z'uko kwezi, Michael Hourigan, wari uyoboye ikipi ya TPIR mu Rwanda yari i Kigali kandi ishinzwe gukora anketi, yahagaritswe mu buryo butunguranye mu kazi ko gupererereza ibyerekeye igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata. Ibyo byaturutse ku kiganiro yagiranye n'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR Louise Arbour bakoresheje terefoni yizewe yo muri ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika noneho akavuga ko, ashingiye ku buhamya busobanutse neza bw'abantu batatu, Paul Kagame ari we watanze amabwiriza yerekeye icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba[3].

Nyamara ariko muri Kanama 2002 ni bwo nabonye ko uko gukeka [FPR] bifite ishingiro ridashidikanywaho. Bitewe n'imirimo nakoraga yo kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere mu biro by'umushinjacyaha wa TPIR, icyo gihe nashoboraga kugera ku makuru nyayo ashyigikira igitekerezo cy'uko FPR yagize uruhare mu bikorwa bya gisirikari byinshi cyane hagati ya 1991 na 1994, harimo n'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994. Ayo makuru yari akubiye mu nyandiko yakozwe n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abanyarwanda bari bakiri mu ngabo, bamaze imyaka itatu bakora anketi, hanyuma bakagaragaza ibimenyetso by'ingeri zinyuranye byerekeye icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba kandi bakanatangaza amazina y'abakigizemo uruhare n'ay'abatangabuhamya bemeye kugira icyo babibivugaho. Ayo makuru yari agenewe umushinjacyaha wa TPIR Carla Del Ponte n'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière bari bafatanyije, nibuze ku buryo bw'amategeko, gukurikirana iby'iyo dosiye. Iyo nyandiko rero yashyikirijwe uwo mucamaza w'Umufaransa, maze asangamo ingingo zishimangira ku buryo buhamye ibyo na we yari yarivumburiye. Yahise asaba ko abohereje iyo myandiko bahagarika anketi zose bakareka no kongera kugira uwo babonana na we, ku mpamvu z'umutekano wabo n'uw'abatangabuhamya. Naho umushinjacyaha wa TPIR we, ubwo nashatse kumuhereza iyo nyandiko mu ntoki ze bwite i La Haye ku itariki ya 8 Ukwakira 2002, yarayinteye avuga ngo uretse n'indahiro visi-perezida Kagame yakoreye mu ruhame ko ari umwere, we ubwe yari yahaye urukiko impapuro zikomoka mu Amerika, zikaba zemeza ku buryo budasubirwaho uruhare rw'Ubufaransa, bityo ngo we ni aho azagarukira[4].

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[3] Ku itariki ya 27 Ugushyingo 2006, Michael Hourigan yashyikirije TPIR ubuhamya bukubiyemo anketi yari yarakoze (*reba umugereka 49*).

[4] Iyo ni inyandiko ikomoka mu kigo baringa cyiswe ISTO (International strategical and tactical organization), cyegekaga icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba kuri DGSE, serivisi z'Ubufaransa z'iperereza ryo hanze. Intumwa z'icyo kigo zahaye ambasade y'U Rwanda muri Kanada amazina y'abasirikari b'Abafaransa ngo baba barahanuye indege. Ariko igenzura ryakozwe n'ishami ry'abaporisi bakurikirana dosiye z'ubucamaza risuzumye ibitabo by'imyirondoro n'urutonde rw'amazina y'abasirikari bakuru basohotse mu ishuri rya gisirikari rya Saint-Cyr ntiryagize ikintu rigeraho. Ku ruhande rwayo, Interpol nta kirari na kimwe yabonye cy'icyo kigo ISTO muri Kanada. Anketi igaragaza

Kuva icyo gihe, keretse hagize ubivuguruza, naho ubundi kubona anketi zakozwe ku buryo zitagize aho zihurira ariko zikagaragaza amazina amwe rwose kandi zikabara ku buryo bumwe inkuru y'uko ibintu byakurikiranye, bisobanura yuko imyanzuro yazo ari iyo kwizerwa bihamye. Agaciro k'izo gihamya kaje gushimangirwa ku buryo budasanzwe mu byumweru byakurikiyeho, ubwo abasirikari bakuru benshi bakekwaga kuba baragize uruhare muri izo anketi batangiye guhigwa, bamwe baricwa, abandi barafungwa, abandi bacirwa mu buhungiro cg baburirwa irengero. Twatunguwe nanone n'amananiza twahuye nayo cyane cyane ayo mu rwego rw'ubutabera yabangamiye umurimo wo gukusanya izindi ngingo z'amakuru cg se gihamya z'inyongera, cyane cyane ko ayo mananiza yaturukaga ku bayobozi ba politiki n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ndetse n'abo mu rwego mpuzamahanga bari bashinzwe korohereza izo anketi no gutuma zirangira neza.

Ndibutsa kandi ko mbere, hagati na nyuma y'intambara yo muri 1994, FPR itigeze igingimiranya mu gukoresha uburyo bwose bushoboka bwo gukanga no kureba igitsure abatangabuhamya bashoboraga kumena "amabanga" yayo y'ubugizi bwa nabi bw'urukozasoni yakoze mu ntambara, kabone n'iyo yabaga ibugirira abayoboke bayo barahiriye kutazayigambanira no kubahiriza amabwiriza y'ishyaka. Bityo, abantu babarirwa muri za mirongo barahitanywe ku buryo butaziguye n'ubuziguye, mu rwego rwo gusisibiranya ibyabaye birimo guhitana abanyapolitiki, gukora ibikorwa by'iterabwoba no gutsembatsemba abaturage b'abasivili mu gihe cy'intambara, rurangiza ikaba igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyahanuye indege ya perezida[5]. Abandi bakomeje kugenzurwa cyane mu ngendo zabo no mu bo batumanagaho (iposita, terefone, murandasi…) bakaba bazi ko kuba serivisi z'iperereza zigengwa na Perezidansi zitarabahitana ariko bizwi ko ari bo bonyine babitse amabanga amwe n'amwe, bityo kuyatangaza bikaba ari ukwigerezaho. Dore ibyambayeho ubwanjye : igihe nasozaga ikiganiro nari nagiranye n'umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi ukorera mu Rwanda, namubajije mutunguye niba yibuka ingengabihe y'umunsi runaka mbere y'ukwezi kwa Mata 1994 (icyo gihe Umuhutu ukomeye yari yishwe n'agatero-shuma uwo muntu nabajije yari arimo), nuko mbona igikuba kiracitse.Urundi rugero natanga ni urw'umukomando wo mu ngabo za FPR wafashwe akimara kubona ibaruwa yohererejwe n'umusirikari wari watorotse akisangira izindi ngabo hanyuma akaza no kwicwa urubozo n'abashinzwe

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ko hari abantu CIA [ikigo cy'ubutasi cy'Amerika] yagize ibikoresho (*reba umugereka 50*).

[5] Ndavuga gusa amazina ya bamwe mu bantu bafite icyo bibukirwaho. Perefe Pierre-Claver Rwangabo : yiciwe ku muhanda wa Butare ku ya 4 Werurwe 1995 ; minisitiri Seth Sendashonga : yiciwe i Nairobi kuya 16 Gicurasi 1998 ; musenyeri André Sibomana : yategereje ko ajyanwa kwivuriza i Nairobi, nuko ubutegetsi bumwima pasiporo, maze apfa atyo azize kureregwa ku ya 9 Werurwe 1998 ; minisitiri Alphonse-Marie Nkubito : yaguye iwe ku ya 12 Gashyantare 1997 ; incuti ye, perezida w'Inama ya leta, Vincent Nkezabaganwa : yiciwe i Kigali iminsi ibiri nyuma ya Nkubito, ku ya 14 Gashyantare 1997 ; visiperezida w'Urukiko rw'ikirenga, Augustin Cyiza : yashimuswe ku ya 23 Mata 2003 none yarabuze kuva icyo gihe. Byongeye kandi, huhitana abanyamahanga babonye ubugome n'itsembatsemba byakozwe na FPR byakomeje gukorwa kugeza mu myaka ya vuba : Joachim Vallmajó, umupadiri w'umusipanyoro ku ya 26 Mata 1994 i Byumba ; Claude Simard, uwihaye Imana w'Umunyakanada, ku ya 17 Ukwakira i Butare ; Abafurere malisiti b'Abasipanyoro bane, ku ya 31 Ukwakira 1996 mu nkambi y'impunzi muri Kivu y'Amajyepfo ; abaterankunga b'amajyambere batatu b'Abasipanyoro bakoreraga umuryango w'Abaganga b'Isi (Médecins du monde), ku ya 18 Mutarama 1997 mu Ruhengeri ; Guy Pinard, uwihaye Imana w'Umunyakanada, ku ya 2 Gashyantare 1997mu Ruhengeri ; abakurikirana iby'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu batanu b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku ya 4 Gashyantare 1997 ; umupadiri w'Umukorowate, Curi Vjekoslav, ku ya 31 Ukwakira 1998 ; Isidro Uzcudun, umupadiri w'Umusipanyoro, ku ya 10 Kamena 2000 i Gitarama ; nb. (*reba umugereka 51*).

iperereza rya gisirikari (DMI) bamubazaga.

Bamwe babujijwe burundu kugira aho bajya no kugira uwo babonana. Muri icyo cyuka kiremereye, dore ko n'ibihano biremereye byari byagenewe abasirikari bakuru hafi ya bose bahoze mu ngabo z'U Rwanda – bamfashaga mu gutegura imanza z'itsembabwoko zo mu rukiko rwa Arusha (*reba umutwe wa 14*) –, ku itariki ya 2 Werurwe 2004, namenyesheje minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'U Rwanda, Charles Murigande[6], ko "kuva ubu nzakora anketi nkanavugira mu rumae imbere y'Urukiko ibyerekeye ibyaha by'itsembabwoko n'ibyaha by'intambara ndetse n'ibyibasiye inyoko-muntu byakozwe n'ingabo za FPR". Ubwo nari nibohoye amasezerano yanyoroherezaga gukorera mu Rwanda mu bwisanzure ariko akanzitira mu byo gukora iperereza ku madosiye areba abayoboke ba FPR. Mu nyandiko zikurikirana zatangajwe n'ikinyamakuru *Le Monde* muri icyo gihe, harimo inkuro ica amarenga kuri iyo dosiye y'abasirikari bakuru b'U Rwanda irebana n'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba :

> "N'ubwo yiyise igitambo cy'ingoma y'i Kigali amaze gusezererwa ku mirimo ye muri Nzeri 2003 ("Biragaragara ko byose byatangiye igihe twatekereje ibyo gukora anketi zihariye ku byaha bya FPR"), Madamu Carla Del Ponte, kimwe n'uwamubanjirije muri TPIR, ntiyigeze ashaka kugaragaza uruhare rwa FPR. Amaze kubonana na perezida w'U Rwanda ku ya 28 Kamena 2002 i Kigali, yagize ubushishozi buke amenyesha jenerali Kagame mu buryo bwanditse ko ahagaritse ibyo gukurikirana abantu bo mu ishyaka rye… Nuko no ku itariki ya 8 Ukwakira [2002], kugira ngo ativuguruza ubwe, Carla Del Ponte yanze kwakira idosiye irimo gihamya z'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata, kandi nyamara ayiherejwe n'inzobere yakoraga mu Biro bye. Izo gihamya zakusanyijwe n'abitandukanyije n'ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda, nyuma zabaye umusanzu ukomeye muri anketi y'umucamanza Jean-ouis Bruguière, kimwe n'iz'abatangabuhamya benshi bari barahejwe mu rukiko rw'umuryango w'Abibumbye, bakaza kuzihishurira uwo mucamanza w'i Paris. "Muri ubwo buryo, dushobora kuvuga ko byari ubufatanye bwo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza LONI yatugaragarije", nguko uko umutangabuhamya umenyereye iby'ubugenzacyaha bwo mu Bufaransa yayivugiyeho. "Ku bisigaye bindi, byari amananiza yo kutubangamira gusa[7]".

Ubwo yabazwaga n'ikinyamakuru *Le Monde,* umushinjacyaha wa TPIR yahakanye ko atigeze yanga kwakira iyo nyandiko, hanyuma asaba ko imvugo ye yakosorwa mu buryo bukurikira ndetse agobekamo n'ibango ryanditse mu nyuguti nkuru :"Niba hari ikintu ntashobora kwanga ni inyandiko. Ikigera hano cyose KANDI KIKABA GIKWIRIYE KWAKIRWA, ndagifata kuko gishobora gufasha muri za anketi zanjye cg se no mu z'undi wese[8]".

Nubwo ntashatse na gato kwivanga mu by'amaperereza ku bibazo by'imikorere ahariwe abayobozi bo mu bucamanza, kuva icyo gihe nashishikajwe no gusuzuma ishingiro ry'icyo gitekerezo,cyane cyane kuva mu mpera za 2003, ubwo nagize amahirwe yo kugirana umubano wa hafi n'abatangabuhamya banyuranye bo mu ngabo za FPR, bose kugeza uyu munsi bakaba barashimangiye ibyo twari twagezeho mbere.

Kubera ikiguzi gikanganye cyo gukomera ku kuri, amasezerano nagiranye n'abatangabuhamya ndetse no kwiyemeza kwirengera ingaruka z'amakuru

[6] Twari duhuriye Arusha mu nama y'umuryango w'ibihugu by'Afurika y'iburasirazuba.

[7] Stephen Smith, *Le Monde*, 3 Mata 2004.

[8] Ibyaganiriweho nyuma y'umubonano, 11 Werurwe 2004.

nakusanyije, ibyagaragajwe byose na anketi natangaje kugeza ubu kandi bijyanye n'ubushakashatsi nakoze mu Rwanda cg nakoze ku Rwanda nabitanzeho ubuhamya mu bucamanza cg se bigibwaho impaka mu ruhame mu ngereko za TPIR Arusha. Mu ruhando rw'inzira zinyuranye, ubuhamya na za gahunda z'icengezamatwara bivuguruzanya, ubutabera ni bwo bugomba gushungura agaciro k'umusanzu wa buri wese mu kugaragaza ukuri.

Nanone kandi, n'ubwo igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyahanuye indege ya perezida gifite ingaruka simusiga mu ruhererekane rw'ibyabaye mu mwaka wa 1994, ntabwo ari cyo gisobanuro kamara cy'intambara n'itsembabwoko. Igikorwa cy'iterabwoba gishobora gufatwa nk'intandaro y'itsembabwoko (*reba umugereka 52*), ariko ntikirisobanura (*reba ibiri bukurikire*). Ku bwanjye, aho ni ho nsanga iteka ry'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière[9] ryararengereye mu nzira yo guhamya ukuri ndetse ryangiza byinshi kuko ritagaragaza neza ibikorwa nyabyo byavumbuwe n'iperereza. Ikindi, n'ubwo kwemera no gushakira gihamya ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bwa FPR ari ngombwa kugira ngo twumve neza icyari inyuma y'iyo kabutindi y'intambara, ntibihanagura uruhare rw'ubugizi bwa nabi bwakozwe n'urundi ruhande bari bashyamiranye.

Amahitamo y'ubuyobe n'ubukunguzi atari ngombwa na gato

Urupfu rwa Habyarimana rukimenyekana, ibikorwa n'ibyemezo by'abantu b'ingenzi byakurikiranye mu muvuduko mwinshi. Dore incamake y'ingingo ngiye kwibandaho : mu mugoroba nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege, inama idafite gahunda yahurije muri etamajoro abasirikari bakuru benshi bo mu Buyobozi bw'ingabo bari baje kubaza amakuru hanyuma bakaza gusanga ari ngombwa gufata ibyemezo byihutirwa byo kubungabunga umutekano no kuziba icyuho muri etamajoro. Inyuma y'itoranya ry'abantu hari hikinzemo imigambi ya politiki ikomeye yerekeye isimburwa rya perezida Habyarimana no gukomeza imirimo y'ubutegetsi mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho byabonekaga ko ari ngombwa. N'ubwo abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw'ingabo n'abategekaga uturere twa gisirikari bari bagaragarije hamwe ko bashaka ko leta ikomeza kubaho n'uko hashyirwaho ku buryo bwihutirwa inzego z'inzibacyuho zari zateganyijwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, ashyigikiwe n'abayobozi b'ingenzi ba Muvoma, yagerageje kubahatira icyitwa "Komite ya gisirikari" itubahiriza ibikubiye mu itegekonshinga.

Icyo kirari cyari gihuye n'icy'umuryango wa perezida washakaga mbere na mbere kuryoza urupfu rwa Habyarimana abari bahanganye na we muri politiki, no gushyira ku isonga umusimbura we uzaba wahawe umujyisha. Bityo, kuva mu museke wo ku ya 7 Mata, abagize umutwe urinda perezida (*reba Incamake ya 8*), imitwe y'ingabo "yizewe" n'imitwe y'*Interahamwe* Za Muvoma bagabye ibitero ku batavuga rumwe na Muvoma no ku Batutsi hirya no hino mu tugari, bahotora umuyobozi wa Guverinoma ari we Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana kimwe n'abaminisitiri b'ingenzi n'abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvuma,

[9] Urukiko rukuru rw'Iremezo rw'i Paris, ibiro by'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, itangwa ry'inzandiko zo mu rwego mpuzamahanga zo gufata abashakishwa. Ordonnance de soit-communiqué [Iteka ry'ubushinjacyaha], Paris, 20 Ugushyingo 2006.

bica rw'agashinyaguro "abasirikari ba Loni" [barangwa n'ingofero y'ubururu] b'Ababiligi bari muri Minuar bakaba bari bashinzwe umutekano wa minisitiri w'intebe nk'uko turi bubigarukeho ku buryo burambuye. Bamaze gusesa ibyateganyijwe mu itegekonshinga rishya, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bashinze "Abapawa" ubuyobozi bw'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, nuko bitabaza n'itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991 maze bashyiraho "Guverinoma y'agateganyo" ibwirizwa ibyo igomba gukora kandi ishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa politiki yo guhangana na FPR no gutsembatsemba abaturage b'abasivili b'Abatutsi.

Ku itariki ya 6 Mata nimugoroba, n'ubwo byabonekaga ko intambara yashoboraga kongera kubura, kandi igipande cya perezida cyari cyaciwe umutwe (nta mukuru w'igihugu, nta mukuru wa etamajoro, nta bashefu b'ibiro G2 [ubutasi] n'ibiro G4 [ibikoresho]) kikaba cyaragombaga kurundarunda ivu ry'ubutegetsi bwari bwasandaye no kugerageza gushyiraho izindi ngamba, ingufu nke no gutsindwa byaje kugaragara, amaherezo, ku ngabo z'U Rwanda imbere y'isumbwe rya gisirikari rya FPR, ndetse n'imyifatire yari kuranga za ambasade zikomeye, ibyo byose nta cyo byari byifitemo cy'urwandiko nyirantarengwa. Mu bihe byakurikiye ako kanya ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, ubushake bwo kugumana ubutegetsi inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi zashakaga kwigarurira, bwatumye ingufu zose zishyira hamwe kandi n'ishema ryo gukunda igihugu cg insanganyamatsiko yo kurwanirira "ubumwe bw'Abahutu" byashoboraga kwiganza.

Incamake ya 8

Umutwe w'ingabo zirinda perezida

Umutwe w'ingabo zirinda perezida (GP), kimwe na batayo y' "Abakodo" (Bn "Para"), ndetse na batayo yo gutata ibirindiro by'umwanzi [Abariki], wari indatwa mu ngabo z'U Rwanda. Waremwe nyuma gato ya kudeta yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973 yakuyeho perezida Grégoire Kayibanda ikimika jenerali Juvénal Habyarimana.

Inshingano z'umutwe urinda perezida kwari ukumenya umutekano w'umukuru w'igihugu, w'umuryango we, w'ibyegera bye n'uw'abashyitsi be b'abanyacyubahiro. ubuyobozi bw'uwo mutwe, birumvikana, bwakomeje guhabwa abasirikari bakuru bizewe. Ni kuri ubwo buryo abasirikari bakuru bo ku Gisenyi, akarere perezida akomoka mo, bawusimburanyeho : Deogratias Ndibwami, Léonard Nkundiye, na Protais Mpiranya. Ni uyu wa nyuma wawutegekaga muri Mata 1994, ubwo yari Major.

Kuva ukiremwa, umutwe urinda perezida watujwe mu kigo gishya cyubatswe ku gasozi ka Kimihurura gateganye no mu mujyi rwagati. Uwo Mutwe ni wo warushaga indi yose ibikoresho, ukagira burende zawo, n'abasirikari bawo bakabatoranya babyitondeye cyane, cyane cyane mu basirikari baturuka muri perefegitura zo mu majyaruguru : Gisenyi, Byumba na Ruhengeri. Kuba wari urimo abasirikari hafi igihumbi byawugiraga uwa mbere mu kugira abasirikari benshi mu yindi yose y'ingabo z'U Rwanda.

Umutware w'umutwe urinda perezida ntiyahabwaga amategeko na etamajoro, ahubwo yayahabwaga no koloneli Élie Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida, akaba ari na we ushinzwe umutekano we. etamajoro yatangaga ibikoresho gusa, ikurikije amabwiriza ya koloneli Élie Sagatwa. Ubuhamya bwinshi buvuga ko, inkuru y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ikimenyekana, na Élie Sagatwa akaba mu bayiguye mo, umuyobozi w'umutwe urinda perezida kuva icyo gihe yakurikije amabwiriza aturutse mu muryango wa perezida no

mu wo kwa sebukwe, yari yateraniye i Kanombe mu rugo rwe kubera ibyari bimaze kuba. Uwo mutwe wagombaga kurindira mu kigo cyawo abanyacyubahiro bo ku ngoma ngo ubuzima bwabo bubungwabungwe kurusha ubw'abandi.

Ariko kugira ngo iyo mpuruza y'ubumwe ishobore kwitabirwa, yagombaga guturuka mu buyobozi bufatanye urunana kandi bubona neza intego zigamijwe n'uburyo bwo kuzigeraho. Nyamara ahubwo inyongeramumaro zari zihari zakoreshejwe mu kajagari ku buryo wasangaga umugambi ari uwo kurushaho kongera ingufu z'agatsiko aka n'aka gashingiye ku turere no kubwifatanye bwubakiye ku ruvangitirane rudasobanutse, aho guharanira umutsindo wa politiki cg uwa gisirikari ku gipande bahanganye.

Rimwe mu makosa akomeye y'abo mu pipande cya perezida, ni uko banze kwemera ko gukaza umurego kw'abasirikari no gushyira hamwe kw'abayobozi b'ingabo mu myaka 1992-1993 byatewe n'uko minisitiri James Gasana yari yavuguruye etamajoro kandi agasaranganya ibikoresho mu mitwe yose y'ingabo. Abamurwanyaga bamuhatiye kwegura no guhunga, nuko bahita bisubiza ibyo bari banyazwe, n'abasirikari bakuru bari bamaze gushyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru bakomeza guhatiriza ngo babone uko basubira mu kazi. Dore nko mu isaha yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida, Laurent Serubuga wari iwe ku Gisenyi yahamagaye Théoneste Bagosora amusaba ko we na Pierre-Celestin Rwagafirita baza "kumufasha". Abo bombi ni bo bari barahoze bayobora etamajoro hanyuma bagashyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru na James Gasana. Agatsiko nyamuke k'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa zakorana n'Akazu bari bariye karungu kandi biyemeje gukoresha icy'ingufu. Kuko ntacyo bari gutakaza iyo baramuka biganje, ni bo, nk'uko turi bubibone, batangije ubwicanyi bugambiriwe n'itsembatsemba muri Kigali, bifashishije imitwe y'abasirikari y'i Kigali yarushaga iyindi intwaro, n'iy'*Interahamwe* zari zakamejeje.

Aha niho habaye ikosa rya kabiri rikabije ryakozwe n'abihangishagaho kuba ari bo bonyine bashobora kubungabunga ibyagezweho na "revolisiyo ya rubanda". Mu kugereka ku mirimo yabo yo kurwanirira igihugu (abantu bose bashoboraga kuvugaho rumwe) uwo gutsemba Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma n'Abatutsi b'abasivili, batumye benshi muri etamajoro no mu gipande kinini cy'abaturage bitandukanya nabo, bitesha batyo inkunga bari guhabwa n'amahanga. Aho kwitakana ibyo kubura ibikoresho bya gisirikari, kurebera no kwivaniramo akarenge by'igipande kinini cy'abasivili n'abasirikari bari bashyigikiye ku bushake cg ku gahato iyo politiki y'ubwiyahuzi ni byo byatumye "Abahutu" baneshwa uruhenu. Bityo, n'ubwo nyamara mu mizo ya mbere byari bigishoboka ko ingufu zihindura icyerekezo cy'umunzani, ingamba zitaboneye z'ako gatsiko nyamuke zatumye gatsindwa ubudasubirwaho nk'uko turi bubibone.

Iyo "ntambara mu yindi" yatumye imitwe yitwara gisirikari n'iyo kwirwanaho y'abaturage yibeshya intsinzi ya nyirarureshwa mu kwibasira inzirakarengane zitiranywa n'umwanzi kandi nyamara ingabo z'igihugu zari zacitsemo ibice zari ziri gushushubikanywa n'ibitero by'ingabo za FPR. ingabo za FPR zaboneye

icyuho muri ayo macakubiri maze mu gihe gito cyane ziba ari zo ziyobora umukino. Isumbwe mu bikoresho n'igemurirwa, ubumwe bw'umuryango na gahunda iboneye mu buyobozi no mu migambi isobanutse byatumaga ibitero bya FPR bigera ku ntego zabyo kandi bitagombeye ingufu nyinshi za gisirikari, n'ubwo Abatutsi mu gihugu bagombaga kwirengera ingaruka zo kuba ibitambo. Kugira ngo nirinde isesengura rw'ubusamo n'ivangavanga byagiye bisubiza amaso inyuma bigasa n'ibikomatanyiriza mu gatebo kamwe abantu bose bo mu bwoko bwatsinzwe n'abayobozi bose b'abasirikari n'abasivili, ni ngombwa kugaragaza abayobozi b'ingenzi n'ingufu zari zifite ubutegetsi cg se zagerageje kubwigarurira, no kwerekana uko imyanya yatewe imirwi n'uko imirimo yigabagabanyijwe hagati y'abantu banyuranye bagize uruhare muri ako kangaratete.

Inama idafite gahunday'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo

Ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida rikimenyekana, abasirikari bakuru batangiye kujya muri etamajoro y'ingabo kubaza amakuru no kugira ngo bamenye ikigomba gukorwa muri icyo gihe cy'icyuho[10]. Nta n'umwe washidikanyaga ku ruhare rwa FPR kandi ko n'inshingano yo gusubizaho ubutegetsi yari ngombwa vuba na bwangu kubera iyubura ry'intambara barwanaga n'umwanzi wari umaze kugaragaza ku cy'ingufu ko yari ifite amarari ahanitse. N'ubwo inyota ya FPR ya guhirika ubutegetsi yari yaravumbuwe kuva kera ku buryo itari ikiri itungurana nyaryo, abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bo mu gipande cya perezida, kimwe n'abakoranaga n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma ntibyababujije kubura icyo bafata n'icyo bareka. Bahereye ku byabaye mbere, bose babonaga ko FPR yitabazaga intwaro buri gihe kugira ngo ishimangire ibirindiro byayo cg se ari ukugira ngo yigobotore mu mpatanwa. Nyamara abenshi bibwiraga ko inzego nshya za politiki zari kuyigamburuza ntiyiringire inzira y'intambara gusa.

Mu gukumira FPR yabarushaga ingufu za gisirikari, abo mu gipande cya perezida n'ingufu z'imbere mu gihugu bari bishingikirije iturufu y'umubare munini cyane w'Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu. Ku bw'abayobozi b'iyo nyamwinshi, iyo miterere y'abanyagihugu ntiyari gutuma nyamuke y'Abatutsi baturutse ishyanga bategeka igihugu ku buryo burambye, cyane cyane yuko gukumba Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu byabateshaga inkunga yo mu rwego rwa politiki bari biringiye. Ngibyo ibintu by'ibanze abahamagariwe kuzanzamura leta yari yaciwe umutwe bagenderagaho.

Kwibukiranya iby' iyo nama mpereye ku buhamya bw'abagabo benshi bari bayirimo bigera ku nkuru ikurikira y'ukuntu iryo joro ryagenze[11].

> "Mu minota mirongo itatu yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege, majoro Gérald Ntamagezo wari ku izamu muri etamajoro yabimenyesheje liyetona-koloneli Cyprien Kayumba wari ku izamu kuri minisiteri y'ingabo. Kugira ngo amenye uko byifashe, uyu na we yabajije koloneli Félicien Muberuka wari umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Kanombe akaba ari na we wategekaga akarere k'imirwano k'umujyi wa Kigali. Muberuka yamuhamirije ko indege ya perezida yari yasandaye, kandi ko hari ikipi yari yagiye kugenzura neza aho ibintu

[10] Ushaka kumenya uko ijoro ryagenze muri etamajoro yabisanga mu mugereka 53.

[11] Mpereye ku mpapuro zanditswe, zinonosorwa kandi zinongera gusomwa na liyetona- koloneli Cyprien Kayumba.

byabereye. Cyprien Kayumba wenyine muri minisiteri y'ingabo ni we wagerageje ibyo kuvugana na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora mu rugo iwe ariko ntiyabishobora. Nuko aboneza iyo muri etamajoro, ahasanga majoro Gérald Ntamagezo, liyetona-koloneli Emmanuel Kanyandekwe, koloneli Joseph Murasampongo, na liyetona-koloneli Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza. Hashize akanya gato haje jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana[12], akurikiwe na majoro François-Savier Nzuwonemeye. Nyuma yaho hageze koloneli Théoneste Bagosora ubwo bajyaga mu cyumba cy'inama cyo muri etamajoro. Haziyeho na ba liyetona- koloneli Augustin Rwamanywa, Paul Rwarakabije, na Jean-Marie-Vianney Ndahimana. Hafi saa yine, abayobozi ba Minuar, jenerali Roméo Dallaire na Luc Marchal na bo baba barahageze, bari kumwe na liyetona- koloneli Ephrem Rwabarinda, umusirikari mukuru wari intumwa muri Minuar. koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka yaje kubasanga, aho amenyeye ko hari inama muri etamajoro.

Inama yagiye irogowa n'igendagenda rya bamwe mu bayirimo n'ikubitarubandu (koloneli Félicien Muberuka na Léonidas Rusatira) yarangiye ahagana saa cyenda- saa kumi za mu gitondo. Abasirikari bakuru benshi bagiye iwabo guhindura imyenda no kwitegura gusubira ku kazi. Gérald Ntamagezo, Emmanuel Kanyandekwe na Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza ni bo bonyine bagumye muri etamajoro. Cyprien Kayumba yagarutse muri etamajoro saa kumi n'imwe n'igice, amaze kumenyeshwa na Gérald Ntamagezo ko amasasu ari kumvikana mu mujyi rwagati no ku Kimihurura, aho ikigo cy'umutwe urinda perezida cyari kiri. Ngo ayo masasu yaba yararaswaga na bamwe bo mu mutwe urinda perezida bari ku izamu ku rugo rwa perezida (rwari hepfo ya Katederari Saint Michel), akaba ari na bo bagiye mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe rwari hafi aho, ari ukugira ngo bamubuze kujya kuri Radiyo Rwanda aho yashakaga kugira icyo atangariza abaturage[13]. Muri urwo rufaya rw'amasasu, ngo hari n'uwabonye[14] neza amwe arasirwa muri burende (birashoboka ko yari iy'umutwe urinda perezida).

Mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri- saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice, amasasu yumvikaniye ahantu hose ari na bwo umutwe urinda perezida watangiye itsembatsemba rihera ruhande. Cyprien Kayumba yahamagaye Théoneste Bagosora ngo abimumenyeshe. Abasirikari benshi mu bari bahari ninjoro bagarutse kubaza amakuru muri etamajoro. koloneli Bagosora yakoresheje akanama kugira ngo bagire icyo bavuga ku kibazo cy'umutwe urinda perezida no kugira ngo batange amabwiriza y'icyakorwa. Cyprien Kayumba, umusirikari mukuru wari ku izamu, "atumira abantu bose mu nama muri etamajoro i saa moya". Abahuriye muri iyo nama bemeje gusaba batayo y' "Abariki" (Recce) yari ishinzwe kurinda ahantu h'ingirakamaro "ngo ikumire abo basirikari". Abasirikari bakuru benshi banyuze muri etamajoro mbere yo kujya ku kazi kabo muri minisiteri y'ingabo i saa moya. Bamwe bashoboye kugera yo, abandi babibuzwa n'amasasu. Bose bashakaga kumenya neza ibyarimo kuba. jenerali Ndindiliyimana yahageze inama imaze kurangira, ariko koloneli Bagosora amunyurira mu byemezo byafashwe kugira ngo bagenzure ibirimo

[12] Uyu yahageze mu masaa tatu. Abonye ko koloneli Bagosora adahari, yasabye ko yavugana na we ku murongo wa radiyo. Bagosora yahageze mu minota cumi yakurikiyeho (ubuhamya bwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana bwakiriwe na Filip Reyntjens, Bruxelles, 8 Werurwe 1995).

[13] "Bukeye [ku ya 7 Mata], mu gitondo cya kare, nakiriye indi terefone, iturutse kuri minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Uwilingiyimana wambwiraga ko afite ingorane zo kugera kuri Radiyo ngo atange itangazo kuri iyo mpanuka. Yambwiraga ko arimo kugerageza gutumira inama ya Guverinoma, ko twagombaga kubonana mu kanya gato nyuma yaho, kandi ko nagombaga kugumya kuba hafi, akaza kongera kumpamagara. Ntiyongeyeguhamagara". (ubuhamya bwa Justin Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 44).

[14] Reba n'ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka imbere y'Urukiko mpanabyaha rw'i Bruxelles mu rubanza rwa majoro Ntuyahaga : "Nuko umutangabuhamya avuga ko yagiye saa kumi za mu gitondo, amaze kugena umusirikari mukuru wo gusigara kuri terefone. Yari atuye hafi cyane y'Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikari (ESM), mu nguni y'umuhanda Paul VI n'umuhanda wa Nyarugunga. Mu masaa kumi n'imwe za mu gitondo, yakanguwe n'amasasu, nuko aterefona umusirikari mukuru uri ku izamu, Cyprien Kayumba, waba ngo yaramuhaye amakuru akurikira : "Ni twe dushaka kubuza minisitiri w'intebe kujya kuri Radiyo" (ubuhamya bwa Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, 5 Kamena 2007, *Chronique judiciaire Assises Rwanda 2007 [Igazeti y'ubucamanza : Imanza zerekeye U Rwanda 2007],* nº 7, Bruxelles, p. 3).

kuba."

Icy'ingenzi cyari kigamijwe n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw'ingabo bari muri etamajoro (EM AR) ku mugoroba w'ihanurwa ry'indege, cyari icyo kumenya uzasimbura by'ubusigire abayobozi bari batabarutse, mu gihe bari bagitegereje ko icyerekezo cya gisirikari n'icya politiki bigaragara neza. Ni ukuvuga, mu buryo bufatika, kugeza ku gihe FPR yari kumenyekanisha cyiciro gikurikira cya "gahunda" yayo. Bari bazi kandi ko guhitamo abayobozi b'abasigire byagombaga byanze bikunze kwerekana ishusho y'isaranganya rya politiki ryari kuzakurikiraho. Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata, urubuga rw'insimburantego za politiki rwari rufunguriwe bose, haba mu gipande cya perezida, haba no mu mashyaka yo mu gihugu ataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma, kuko nta shyaka, nta cyerekezo, nta n'itsinda na rimwe byari bifite umukandida witeguye kuzungura. Hafi ya bose y'abari mu nama idafite gahunda y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo – n'ubwo amasezerano ya Arusha atari yateganyije icyo cyuho – babonaga ko ubutegetsi butabuze ubusigarana. Hakurikijwe itegekonshinga, Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, ni yo yakomezaga uburambe bwa leta. Kandi rero, n'inzego z'ubutegetsi za leta, cyane cyane ubuyobozi bwa perefegitura, zashoboraga gutabazwa kugira ngo ibintu byose bisubire mu buryo. Icya nyuma, ku bw'abasirikari bakuru bari bahari, ni Augustin Ndindiliyimana, wari umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, akaba ari na we musirikari mukuru wenyine wari ufite ipeti rya jenerali, wagombaga, ku buryo bwumvikana, gusimbura umukuru w'ingabo z'U Rwanda wari witabye Imana. Kubona ari uko byari bikwiye kugenda hanyuma umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora[15], agatanga igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho "Komite ya gisirikari" isimbura ibiteganyijwe n'amategeko kandi agashaka no kuyiyobora, byeretse bagenzi be ko icyo gitekerezo cyari gishingiye cyane cyane ku bushake bwo kudacikwa n'amahirwe adasanzwe yo kugarura umugambi wa politiki wa mbere (bihawe umujyisha n'agatsiko ka perezida) aho gutangazaga umugambi unoze wo gufata ubutegetsi. N'ubwo jenerali-majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, yajijinganyije imbere y'irari rya koloneli Bagosora, bagenzi be ntibashidikanyije kwerekana ko badashyigikiye uwo mushinga n'uburyo bwo kuwutsindagira abantu bose. Babishyizemo umurego, bateganyaga kwinjira nyabyo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho zahamyaga ibyo kwigiza yo burundu abasirikari bakuru bari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru nuko birengagiza ubwifate bw'umukuru wa etamajoro wa Jandarumori. Ibyo byabaye nk'aho batari bazi icyemezo Théoneste Bagosora yari yafashe, umuhatirizo w'umuryango wa perezida n'impamvu za Augustin Ndindiliyimana zitamuheshaga ishema. Koko rero, kugira ngo umuntu atsinde muri ibyo bihe bidasanzwe, byari ngombwa gushyigikirwa n'Akazu, kwiringira kugenzura ingabo no kwiganza mu rwego rwa politiki.

Byari ngombwa kuzuza ingingo ya mbere, kuko umukondo w'ubutegetsi wari ushingiye mu Kazu ndani, kandi, nibura mu gihe gito, urupfu rwa Habyarimana rwatumye umuryango we wa hafi uhangwa amaso n'ibikomerezwa byose byo

[15] Yagumye mu mwanya we atabyemerewe ku buryo bw'amategeko kuva aho ashyiriwe mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru ku ya 23 Nzeri 1993.

muri politiki, mu gisirikari no muri diporomasi. Iyi ngingo irakomeye by'agahebuzo kandi isobanura imyifatire ya Augustin Ndindiliyimana ku butiriganya bwa Théoneste Bagosora (*reba ibiza gukurikira*). Imyifatire ya Augustin Ndindiliyimana yari nko kugendera ku magi : koko rero, mu minsi mike ishize, yari yashyizwe mu igorane ryo kugomba kwitandukanya na Agathe Uwilingiyimana, nyuma ya poropagande yakozwe na radiyo RTLM n'abo mu ishyaka rya MRND bavugaga ko inama yari yagiranye iwe mu rugo n'abasirikari bakomoka mu majyepfo yari iyo gucumba urugomo – n'ubwo atari yayitumiwemo –. Abenshi mu basirikari bakuru bari bateraniye mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe bashoboraga kurebwa nk'abakorana n'amashyaka y'imbere atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Kwemera kuyobora Komite ya gisirikari, nk'uko babimusabye – kandi asanzwe ari umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, kandi na none mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, ishyirwaho rya Marcel Gatsinzi (Umuhutu, Kigali ngari) nk'umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu rikaba ryari ryatumye ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bujya mu maboko y'abakomoka mu majyepfo- byari kumvikana nk'aho ari ugushyira mu ngiro cg gukomeza gahunda yo "gufata ubutegetsi" yo ku itariki ya 1 Mata yari yaramaganwe…

Byongeye kandi, ikigwirirano cyari cyashatse ko ateganya gahunda y'uko mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata, afatanyije na koloneli Luc Marchal, umuyobozi wungirije wa Minuar, yatangiza amarondo ahuriwemo na Jandarumori y'igihugu n'Igiporisi cya gisivili (Civipol) cya Minuar kugira ngo babungabunge umutekano muri Kigali kandi banashakashake ubuhisho bw'intwaro. Iki gikorwa cyarebaga za depo zakozwe n'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* n'ishyaka rya MRND babifashijwemo na perefegitura ya Kigali n'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa.

Iryo saka ritagiraga icyo rigeraho hafi buri gihe, kubera ko ryabaga ryamenywe mbere y'igihe, ryafatwaga na ba "rutwe rukomeye" bo ku ngoma nk'aho ari agasomborotso. Nuko wakongeraho ko minisitiri w'intebe, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, wakomokaga muri komini imwe na we muri perefegitura ya Butare, ari we mu by'ukuri wari ushinzwe ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko kubera urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu n'ubwo nyamara yari yaranze gutumira inama ya Guverinoma guhera ku ya 5 Mutarama, ugashobora kwiyumvisha ingorane zari zimutegereje. Ku mugoroba w'ihanurwa ry'indege, mu cyuka cy'irengamutima cyari gitewe n'iyicwa rya perezida, ibyo kwemerwa byari biherereye mbere na mbere ku ruhande rw' "umuryango". Uretse ibyo kubafata mu mugongo, byari ngombwa no kumenya vuba cyane uko "mukaperezida" na basaza be bari bakiriye urwo rugogwe rwari rwabagwiriye n'icyo bateganyaga gukora.

Uko umuryango wa perezida wabyifashemo

Imyifatire y'umuryango wa perezida yateye abantu amatsiko kubera ukuntu wamenye iby'urupfu rwa perezida, nk'uko ubuhamya bwa Jean-Luc Habyarimana, umwe mu bahungu b'umukuru w'igihugu bubigaragaza :

"**Bazo** : Mbese waba uzi uwahanuye indege ya so muri uwo mugoroba ?
Subizo : Ku bwanjye, nta gushidikanya na gato kuko hari ibimenyetso byinshi rwose biganisha ahongaho. Ngomba kumenyekanisha ko iminsi itatu mbere y'ihanurwa ryayo, ni

ukuvuga ku ya 3 Mata 1994, nari ndi kumwe na data, na mama, na bashiki banjye babiri ndetse na babyara bacu; twatumiwe n'umuryango wa Higaniro Alphonse ku Gisenyi. Icyo gihe hari na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh wari uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni [ONU] [16] wabwiye data – aha nari mpibereye kandi narabyiyumviye ubwanjye –, nuko abwira data ko Kagame wari… ko intumwa yihariye yari yabonanye na we mu minsi mike ishize, ko Kagame yari yamusabye kubwira data ko yari kuzamwica[17]."

Nguko uko ibintu byari bimeze. Birerekana neza akari ku mutima w'uwo muryango wari ufite ingingo ukomeyeho, n'imyitwarire yashoboye kuziturukaho, nk'uko bigaragara mu buhamya bw'abakobwa b'umuganga wihariye wa perezida, na we waguye muri icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba :

"Mu gihe twaririraga imbere y'umurambo wa data, Madamu Habyarimana yatubwiye ko tutagombaga kurira, kuko abanzi bari kutwigambaho iyo baramuka batubonye. Yongeyeho ko twagombaga gufata imbunda nk'umuhungu we Jean-Luc watemberanaga imbunda "R4".

Mu gihe twarimo gusenga, madamu Agathe Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Habyarimana yasengaga mu ijwi riranguruye asaba ko Interahamwe zifashwa kugira ngo zidukize umwanzi, kandi ko abasirikari b'U Rwanda babona intwaro. Ni ngombwa ko mvuga ko hagati aho bashiki ba perezida b'ababikira na arikiyepisikopi bari bahageze. Twumvise mama Godelive avugira mu gikoni ko byari ngombwa kwica Abatutsi bose. Twumvise Jeanne Habyarimana, nyina ndetse na Séraphin [Rwabukumba] basobanurira kuri terefone ko ari Ababiligi bari bahanuye indege, kandi ko [Ababiligi] barwaniraga uruhande rwa FPR. Ibyo byavugiwe kuri terefone kenshi. Twumvise ibiganiro bagiranye kuri terefone na Mobutu, Mitterrand na ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa. Haje n'ubutumwa bwinshi bwo kwifatanya mu kababaro… Rimwe na rimwe Madamu Habyarimana yadusabaga gusohoka igihe cy'ibiganiro bimwe na bimwe. […]
Njyewe Claire, ndacyibuka ikiganiro cya Madamu Habyarimana, aho yasubizaga ko byari ngombwa kumubaza icyo abitekerezaho mbere yo gufata icyemezo runaka. Icyo gihe hari ku kibazo cyo gushyira Gatsinzi mu mwanya w'umukuru wa etamajoro. […]
Ku munsi wo ku ya 7 Mata 1994, twabonye ko umuryango wose wari wakoranye, n'ababikira bahari, maze bakishima iyo hagiraga uza kubamenyesha urupfu rw'utavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida ni bo bazanaga inzo nkuru, bigamba ubwo bwicanyi[18]."

Abari bafitanye na bo umubano wa hafi bavuze ko iyo Agathe Kanziga yamaraga kugena ingamba z'uko bagomba kwitwara muri icyo gihe cy'akaga, ni musaza we mukuru, Protais Zigiranyirazo, wari ushinzwe guharana ku nyungu za

[16] Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yari azwiho "kujya gutarama" kwa perezida Habyarimana, akaba yari atandukanye na jenerali Roméo Dallaire warebwaga nk'aho ashyigikiye FPR ku mugaragaro. Mu Kuboza 2000, minisitiri w'ubucamanza w' U Rwanda, Jean de Dieu Mucyo, yifuje ko Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yakurikiranwa na TPIR kubera ngo uruhare yaba yaragize mu gukoma imbarutso y'itsembabwoko.

[17] Ubuhamya bwa Jean-Luc HABYARIMANA, TPIR, 6 Nyakanga 2006, p 11- 15. Kuri iyo ngingo, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh aragingimiranya, ariko ntabivuguruza :
"**Bazo** : […] Ikibazo : mbese muri icyo kiganiro mwavuzemo iby'uko ubuzima bwa perezida Habyarimana bwari mu mazi abira?
"**Subizo** : Namubwiye ibijya kumera nk'ibyongibyo, … ndakoresheje imvugo ya diporomasi cyane. Ndibwira ko namubwiye ibintu nk'ibyo, ko impuha… Uzi kandi ko nta serivisi y'iperereza nari mfite muri Minuar. Nuko rero, igihugu cyagenderaga ku bihuha, abantu barazaga, bakagenda, bagasohoka – ibyo nabikubwiye iki gitondo. Bamwe bashoboraga kubifata nk'imvaho, abandi nabo bakabifata nk'ibihuha. Ibyo ari byo byose namukoreye… namuhaye raporo ku bihuha na we ubwe agomba kuba yari azi. Kandi ndanakubwira ko nanjye nari natumiwe i Dar es- Salaam. Sinagiye yo" (ubuhamya bwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, 21 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 69).

[18] Ubuhamya, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Bruxelles, PV no 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, inyandiko ya TPIR yahawe nomero KO074271 n'ibikurikira.

hafi z'umuryango wa perezida, no gutanga amabwiriza yo kubigeraho. Muri iryo joro, ngo yaba ari we wakoze imirimo yari ishinzwe Élie Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida, akaba na mwene se wa Agathe Kanziga, na we akaba yari yahitanywe n'igico : kumenyakanisha amategeko n'ibyifuzo by' "umuryango" kuri terefone. Icyihutirwaga ku bo kwa perezida, ni ukwemeza ku mugaragaro ko batari barimbutse n'ubwo bari batakaje benewabo b'imena, ko inyungu zabo zagombaga gusugira, kandi ko inzira zose zo kumusimbura zitagombaga kwirengagiza ibyo nyakwigendera Habyarimana yari yarateganyije. Ku buryo bwumvikana, kwari ukumenyesha mbere na mbere amahanga, ni ukuvuga ko, n'ubwo bitashobokaga kwihorera ku bafatwaga ku buryo bweruye nk'abagize uruhare rw'ibanze ku buryo ubu n'ubu muri icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba, bagombaga kwihorera ku bari bahanganye na Habyarimana bari bagize uruhare uru n'uru mu rupfu rwe. Ku buryo busobanuye kurushaho, byari ngombwa guhigika abashoboraga kugira icyo bungukira ku rupfu rwe. Icya kabiri, byari ngombwa kwirinda ibindi bitero n'imitego, kubungabunga umutekano n'umutungo by'abagize ako gatsiko. Reka twibutse ko niba indishyi perezida wari umaze gutabaruka yari afite ikaba ari n'imwe mu nzitizi z'ingenzi zo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho, kwari ugutinya gukurikiranwa n'ubutabera kubera iyicwa ry'abayobozi ba Repubulika ya Mbere ; Protais Zigiranyirazo yashoboraga na we guhangayika kubera umwanya wa perefe wa Ruhengeri yari arimo icyo gihe. Yawushyizweho ku ya 24 Ukuboza 1974, amezi make nyuma y'urubanza rwakatiye abo banyacyubahiro ba kera imyaka myinshi y'igifungo muri gereza yarahiriwe yo mu Ruhengeri. Ubwo rero hari ukuntu yakurikiranye buri munsi urupfu rw'urubozo bapfuye.

Icya nyuma, kandi iyi ngingo ifitanye isano n'iyibanziriza, ni uko umuryango utashoboraga kwemera yuko umurage wa politiki wa Repubulika ya Kabiri uba imfabusa cg bakarebera ubutegetsi bubaca mu myanya y'intoki bukajya mu maboko y'abagize uruhare ku buryo bweruye cg buziguye mu kubandavuza.

Niba imiterere y'urusobe rw'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana yari ikomeye bihagije ku buryo yari kuramba kurusha uwayihanze kubera ishyaka ry'abari bayigize n'abari bayishyigikiye, izo nshingano ntizashoboraga kugira undi zihabwa maze ngo umuryango wa perezida ubirebere gusa. Amabwiriza yerekeye ingamba zo kubirwanya yari asobanutse kandi nta wundi washoboraga kuyatanga uretse abafatanye urunana n'umuryango wari usigaranye agace karusimbutse ko ku ruhande rw'umugore : Agathe Kanziga, musaza we Protais Zigiranyirazo, mwene se Séraphin (Rwabukumba), n'abana bwite ba perezida. Ku buryo buhamye, Agathe Kanziga, umuhungu we Jean-Luc na Protais Zigiranyirazo baje kwemeza nyuma ko nta byo kungurana inama nk'ibyo byabayeho hagati yabo mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7, cg se nyuma y'aho umutwe urinda perezida (GP) na batayo y' "Abakodo" bari bazitiye aho indege yaguye n'inzira zigana mu rugo rwa perezida rw'i Kanombe. Uko bo babivuga, ngo Agathe Kanziga ntiyigeze avugana n'abo bantu muri iryo joro kandi ngo yagumanye gusa n'abari basanzwe mu rugo (*reba umugereka 54).*

Nyamara, n'ubwo Agathe Kanziga yaba atari akeneye abavandimwe be mu gufata ibyemezo, nta wakwemera ko abagize umuryango we baba bariheje kandi

na bo ubwabo barumvaga ko bahigwa kimwe na perezida n'abandi baguye mu gikorwa cy'iterabwoba. Nta n'uwatekereza ko mu bihe nk'ibyo abagize umuryango batagaragaza ko bifatanyije na mwene se, na mushiki we, cg abishywa. Ibi kandi Protais Zigiranyirazo ntabihakana :

> "Hari ahagana saa mbiri na mirongo itatu n'itanu [20h35] ubwo murumuna wanjye Rwabukumba yanterefonnye ambwira ko indege ya perezida yari imaze kuraswa. Mu gihe nari ndi mu kayubi, naterefonnye i Kanombe mu rugo rwa perezida.Jean-Luc, umuhungu we muto, yari ataramenya neza ko se yari mu ndege yari imaze gusandarira mu kibanza cyabo. Nyina yari muri shaperi arimo gusenga. Nahamagaye bwana ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa ambwira ko amaze kumva iyo nkuru, ariko ko ataramenya neza niba perezida yari mu ndege imaze guhanurwa. Narongeye mpamagara i Kanombe. Jean-Luc ambwira ko umurambo w'umusirikari mukuru wagendanaga na perezida wari umaze kuboneka, hanyuma ibisigaye narabyibwiye. Twaraye mu nzozi mbi n'icyoba, kuko amasasu yumvikanye ijoro ryose. Sinashoboraga gutinyuka kwishora njyenyine ngo njye i Kanombe, nategereje ko bucya[19]".

Byaba rero bitangaje ko muri iryo joro ridasanzwe, Protais Zigiranyirazo yaba ataravuganye kuri terefone n'abo mu muryango we ku byagombaga gukorwa. Ku bw'abakoloneli babiri bari muri etamajoro ijoro ryose, ibintu byaba byaragenze bitya :

> "Uwa mbere [Théoneste Bagosora] yatangiye amabwiriza ye kuri terefone mu gihe cy'inama ya ninjoro, hanyuma acomeka radiyo yamuhuzaga n'abo bashobora kuvugana (umuyobozi w'umutwe urinda perezida, igiporisi cya gisirikari, batayo y' "Abakodo" n'iy' "Abariki" Recce), uwa kabiri [Joseph Nzirorera] yakoresheje Ephrem Setako – mu buryo butubahirije inzego – nuko ashishikaza umutwe urinda perezida."
>
> "Bagosora yanyuze muri izi nzira : yagiye gushaka amakuru kwa Madamu [Agathe Kanziga] amenya uwapfuye uwo ari we n'ibiri kuri gahunda, mu gihe abandi bagize Komite yo mu gihe cy'amage bari bagitegereje guhabwa amakuru n'umutwe urinda perezida. Bagosora yitabiye mu cyumba cy'inama terefone ya mbere yari ashyikirijwe n'uwari ushinzwe kwakira za terefone, ikiganiro kiba mu ijwi ryo hasi cyane, nuko, mu gihe haje terefone ya kabiri, yasabye ko bayimushyikiririza mu bindi biro. Yitabye nibura terefone eshatu, nuko yicara mu biro bya etamajoro (EM) ; amaze kwitaba terefone ya nyuma, yagarutse mu cyumba cy'inama asaba Cyprien Kayumba kujya kwitaba izakurikiyeho. Kayumba agarutse, yatangaje ko na we ashyigikiye kuva ubwo ko abasirikari bafata ibintu mu maboko yabo[20].

Muri iryo joro Théoneste Bagosora ashobora kuba yarabaye koko umuvugizi w'abo kwa perezida (kwa sebukwe n'abashoboraga kumusimbura) muri Komite ya gisirikari, abyumvikanyeho, kuri terefone kandi ku buryo butaziguye, n'umuryango wa sebukwe wa perezida.

Gahunda yo guhora

Ku byerekeranye no guhora, kimwe n'uburyo bunyuranye bw'isimbura, ntibyari ngombwa kubijyaho impaka ndende cg ngo abantu bagombere kuba bari

[19] Protais ZIGIRANYIRAZO, CV [*Incamake y'ubuzima],* inyibutsamateka za TPIR, inyandiko yashyizwe mu bubiko ku ya 7 Ugushyingo 2001, irangiro KO222712.

[20] Ibyo benubwite biyandikiye, byakiriwe ku ya 30 Gicurasi n'iya 1 Kamena 2009.

kumwe. urutonde rw'abantu bari bazwi cyane n'umuryango rwari mu mutwe wa buri wese kuva kera : hari abataragombaga kuburaho kubera imyanya bateganyirijwe n'itegekonshinga, hari abari baremeye ibyo FPR yifuzaga mu mishyikirano, hari abari bararwanyije perezida ku buryo bukakaye, hari Abatutsi cg Abahutu bari bahisemo gukorana na FPR : Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe "washatse guhirika ubutegetsi", Joseph Kavaruganda (Hutu, Kigali), perezida w'Urukiko rurinda ubusugire bw'itegekonshinga, abagize uruhare mu masezerano ya Arusha (nka Bonifas Ngulinzira [Hutu, Ruhengeri], ba minisitiri bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma (Frédéric Nzamurambaho, Faustin Rucogoza [Hutu, Byumba], abanyapolitiki b'Abatutsi (Landoald Ndasingwa [Tutsi, Kigali], Félicien Ngango (Hutu, Kibungo) na Vénantie Kabageni (Hutu, Gisenyi) bari bateganyijwe kuba perezida na visi-perezida b'Inteko ishingamategeko y'inzibacyuho, nb.

Incuti y'umuryango yemeza ko inama yo kunoza umugambi no gufata icyemezo yabereye mu rugo rw'i Kanombe :

> "Nuko muri icyo gihe, Musabe Pasteur yari amaze kutubwira ko akalisiti gato k'abanyacyubahiro b'i Kigali kari kateguwe na Zigiranyirazo Protais, ari kumwe na Musabe Pasteur, Mpiranya Protais[21], Kanziga Agathe, umukobwa we Jeanne n'abandi. Birashoboka ko Rwabukumba Séraphin na Nyagasaza Matiyasi bari bahari mu gihe cyo gutegura itonde ry'abanyapolitiki, mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994. Na none muri icyo kiganiro twagiranye na Musabe Pasteur, yatubwiye ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Habyarimana, mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, abantu maze kuvuga amazina bashatse guhora urupfu rwe barimbura abanyapolitiki bamwe, kandi ni na ko bari banditse iryo tonde, ryariho abanyapolitiki bakurikira : Uwilingiyimana Agathe, Ndasingwa Landouald, Nzamurambaho Frédéric, Kavaruganda Joseph, Ngango n'abandi. Nuko rero Musabe Pasteur yatubwiye ko Zigiranyirazo Protais yasabye majoro Mpiranya Protais kohereza abasirikari b'umutwe urinda perezida kwica abantu bari kuri lisiti. Amaherezo, bishe abagabo, abagore n'abana, uretse wenda kuri Kavaruganda wenyine kuko umugore we yashoboye kubacika. […] Na none muri ibyo biganiro, twaje kubona ko ibintu byari byafashe intera irenze ukwemera ku buryo, mu by'ukuri, nta washoboraga kubigenzura. […] Icyo gihe rwose ni bwo twabonye ko Zigiranyirazo Protais yakoze amakosa akomeye menshi, kuko ari we wari wabaye uwa mbere mu guhamagarira abantu guhora, akaba ari na we wasabye majoro Mpiranya Protais kujya kwica abantu bari kuri lisiti. Njye na Musabe Pasteur twahuriye ku mwanzuro w'uko ari "Z" n'ihora rye babaye imbarutso y'itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko mu gihugu cyose. Iyo hatabaho ibyo guhamagarira guhora, itsembabwoko ntiriba ryarageze ku ntera ryafashe. Icyo cyemezo cyaremye icyuho mu byateganywaga n'itegekonshinga ku buryo cyahagaritse inzego za leta n'iza Guverinoma. […] Muri icyo gihe, ku bantu nka Zigiranyirazo Protais, Kanziga Agathe, abagize Komite y'igihugu ya Muvoma, kimwe n'abandi banyapolitiki bo ku ngoma, byari byo rwose kumenya "umwanzi" uwo ari we. Byari ngombwa guhorera urupfu rwa Juvénal n'urwa Élie Sagatwa[22].

N'ubwo iyi nkuru ihuje umurongo n'ibyo twabwiwe n'abandi bantu benshi twavuganye, nta wabura kubonamo ubushake bwa nyirayo bwo guharabika no gushinja Protais Zigiranyirazo kandi ibyo kuba yari i Kanombe muri iryo joro bidafite ishingiro. Kanombe yari yagoswe n'umutwe urinda perezida, kandi nta wundi mutwe cg undi muntu washoboraga kwigerezaho ngo ajye yo

[21] Hutu, Gisenyi, majoro wategekaga Umutwe urinda perezida.
[22] Iyumvwa ry'umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, irangiro K0354596-647, p. 74-78.

atabyemerewe n'uwo mutwe. Mu basirikari bakuru bagiye mu rugo kwa perezida, harimo Félicien Muberuka wategekaga akarere k'imirwano (OPS), wabaga mu kigo cyitiriwe Mayuya cy'i Kanombe kandi akaba yari ashinzwe kugenzura ibyaberaga mu karere yakoreraga mo, harimo Laurent Baransaritse, umuyobozi w'ibitaro by'i Kanombe, liyetona-koloneli Stanislas Bangamwabo, mubyara w'umukuru wa etamajoro w'ingabo z'igihugu wari waguye mu ndege, jenerali Deogratias Nsabimana. Na none kandi, hari gihamya y'uko majoro Aloys Ntabakuze, umukuru wa batayo y' "Abakodo", yagiye mu rugo kwa perezida (ndetse yagiyeyo incuro nyinshi) indege ikimara guhanurwa, n'ubwo inkuru z'abo mu muryango zivuguruzanya. Hashize akanya gato, yakurikiwe na majoro Protais Mpiranya, umukuru w'umutwe urinda perezida[23]. Kuba abo basirikari bakuru bombi babarirwaga mu b'indahemuka baragiye mu rugo rwa perezida, bigaragaza ubushake bwo guhamya ko bifatanyije ku buryo bwose n'umuryango wa perezida, n'ubwo kwiherwa amategeko na "nyirubwite" aho kuyagezwaho n'intumwa. Bo ubwabo bimenyeye gahunda Agathe Kanziga yari yemeye. Ubirebye, wasanga Séraphin Rwabukumba na Protais Zigiranyirazo baba bataragiye i Kanombe muri iryo joro, ariko barazindutse "kare" cg "kare cyane mu gitondo", nk'uko abagabo bamwe babihamya[24]. Guhera mu museke, umutwe urinda perezida wajyanye abandi banyapolitiki mu rugo kwa perezida i Kanombe no mu mujyi. Bityo, bamwe bagiye mu gatemeri ko mu bitaro by'i Kanombe kureba umurambo wa Agathe Uwilingiyimana, noneho Séraphin Rwabukumba ajya mu kigo cya Kigali "kureba imirambo y'abasirikari icumi b'Ababiligi bamanukira mu mitaka bari bahiciwe[25]" (*reba ibiri bukurikire*). Ariko inama y'umuryango yarabaye koko ijoro ryose, nk'uko bigaragazwa na ba nyirubwite mu biganiro bagiranye kuri terefone (Agathe Kanziga yitaruraga abandi igihe cy'ibiganiro bimwe na bimwe byo kuri terefone, yashatse ko ibyemezo byose bifatwa ahibereye, kandi amenyesha abo mu muryango we n'abo bavuganye ko ashaka kwihorera).

Uruhare rwa muka perezida mu ihora ryibasiye abanyapolitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma rwatinzweho cyane mu cyemezo cyafashwe na Komisiyo y'Abafaransa yakira ubujurire bw'impunzi, itaramwemereye ubuhungiro kubera uruhare yaba yaragize mu itsembabwoko. Urwo rwego rwatsindagiye cyane ingingo "y'ububasha nyabwo yagize mu masaha yakurikiye igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, n'ukuntu yigaruriye inshingano za leta". Rwemeye kandi amagambo y'umutangabuhamya wavuze ko mu kiganiro kimwe

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[23] Izi ngingo zose zishimangirwa n'ubuhamya bwinshi buri muri TPIR cyane, ndetse n'ibyo abagizemo uruhare b'ingenzi muri icyo gihe bivugiye ubwabo. Uko imanza zagiye ziburanishwa, umuntu abona ko mu makuru yose yakusanyijwe harimo ingingo zuzuzanya. Ku buryo bwihariye, ubuhamya, intego z'ibisobanuro n'ibyireguzo byasuzumwe ku buryo buvuye ruhande mu nyandiko y'ica ry'urubanza rwa Bagosora (*Bagosora, Judgement and Sentence [Isomwa n'ikatwa ry'urubanza]*, TPIR, 18 Ukuboza 2008, umutwe wa 3 : "Events from 6 to 9 April 1994" ["Ibyabaye hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iya 9 Mata1994"], cyane cyane mu gika 3.2 : "Inama").

[24] Protais Zigiranyirazo avuga ko yageze mu rugo kwa perezida ku ya 7 Mata i saa yine za mu gitondo. Yaba yarahagumye kugeza ku ya 9 ubwo umupfakazi wa perezida yahungishwaga, mbere y'uko abandi bo mu muryango bimurirwa ku Gisenyi ku ya 10-11 Mata. Na we yagiye kuba mu nzu ye yo muri Giciye, agahora asiragira ku Gisenyi mu mujyi (aho abo mu majyaruguru bari muri Guverinoma bari bakoraniye, kimwe n'abandi banyapolitiki bafitanye umubano) no kuri Goma (aho yari yacumbikirishirije umugore we w'Umututsikazi). Hagati muri Nyakanga, yaje gutura kuri Goma, hanyuma aza kwimukira mu mujyi witaruye umupaka.

[25] Ubuhamya, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Bruxelles, PV nº 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, gihamya ya TPIR ifite nomero KO074271 n'ibikurikira.

cyo kuri terefone, Agathe Kanziga yaba yaravuze “ko ari ngombwa kubanza kumva igitekerezo cye mbere yo gufata icyemezo[26]”.

Kuba muri iryo joro umupfakazi wa perezida yari afite ijambo rikomeye cyane ni ibintu bidashidikanywa. Kandi, nk’uko biboneka mu bundi buhamya, inkoramutima z’umuryango zaje mu rugo i Kanombe ntizahavaga uko zahaje : “Ntabakuze yari mu bagiye kureba umurambo wa Juvénal. Yari mu bariye karungu[27]”.

Bityo, umuntu yafata ko, guhera mu masaha ya mbere y’ijoro, ikibazo cyo kwikiza abanyapolitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma cyasaga nk’icyakemuwe ku bw’umuryango [wa Habyarimana] n’abifuzaga kumusimbura, Joseph Nzirorera na Théoneste Bagosora[28].

Ntibyari ngombwa kujya impaka ku mazina y’abicwa, ahubwo icy’ingenzi cyari ukwemera kurangiza akazi benshi bari bifiuje gukora kuva kera. Icya ngombwa gusa cyari uko ibyo bikorwa byazatabikwa ku buryo ubu n’ubu n’umuntu cg abantu bazafata ubutegetsi. Ibyo ari byo byose, kutabuza cg gutegeka umutwe urinda perezida guhorera shebuja byari uburyo bwo kubahiriza, nibura by’igice, ingingo ya kabiri yo gutsinda : ubwo inkunga y’Akazu yari imaze kugerwaho, byari ngombwa no kugira ubuganji ku ngabo z’igihugu. Koko rero, gushyira ukwazo ingufu z’uwo Mutwe ugizwe n’abasirikari b’indatwa, wagombaga kuvaho nk’uko amasezerano ya Arusha yabiteganyaga, hanyuma ukabashora mu bikorwa by’ubugizi bwa nabi, byasobanuraga ko uvanywe mu nzego z’ubuyobozi zisanzwe. Ikirushaho kandi, ni uko umutwe urinda perezida wari ufite ubushobozi bwo gukorera iterabwoba, atari abanyapolitiki gusa, ndetse ahubwo

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[26] Icyemezo cya Komisiyo yakira ubujurire bw’impunzi (CRR), 25 Gashyantare 2007, 564776, Madamu Agathe Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Habyarimana (*reba umugereka 54*).

[27] Ikiganiro nagiranye na majoro Augustin Cyiza, umusirikari mukuru mu ngabo z’igihugu, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

[28] Ibiro by’umushinjacyaha wa TPIR byihatiye igihe kirekire gushaka gihamya y’uko Théoneste Bagosora yagiye mu nama zakoreshejwe na Aloys Ntabakuze mu kigo cy’i Kanombe kugira ngo bigaragaze neza umwanya we wo kuba “umucurabwenge [w’itsembabwoko]”, nyamara ibiri amambu, kuba yari kuba ahari ubwabyo byari kuba bitangaje, kubera ko bitari mu nshingano ze na gato. Kuri iyo tariki, Bagosora yari umusivili uri mu kiruhuko cy’iza bukuru. Ntiyari akibarirwa mu nzego za gisirikari kandi nta n’itegeko na rimwe yashoboraga gutanga “ku buryo butaziguye” yitwaje ipeti rye cg se uburambe mu kazi. Nta n’ubwo minisitiri w’ingabo yari yamuhaye ububasha bwo kumusimbura. Mu gihe minisitiri cg abandi basirikari bakuru bo mu butegetsi bwite bwa leta badahari, yashoboraga gutumira abasirikari bakuru akabakoresha inama, ariko ntiyashoboraga kwivanga ku mugaragaro mu byo kuyobora ibikorwa bya gisirikari mu mwanya w’inzego zisanzweho. Ibyo ntibyamubujije kuyobora ubwicanyi n’itsembatsemba, n’ubwo, ibyo ari byo byose, atari we wenyine wabitangiraga amabwiriza. Ariko ibi bituma abantu bumva neza uburyo budateganyijwe bwakoreshejwe mu kubishyira mu ngiro. Bityo, nta gihamya ihari y’uko hari amategeko yihariye yatanzwe kugira ngo hicwe mbere na mbere abari bahagarariye inzego zemewe n’amategeko; abataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma bose baribasiwe, uretse abashoboye kwihisha cg guhunga. Na none kandi, ntiharaboneka gihamya igaragaza uko umugambi wo kwica abasirikari b’Ababiligi bari mu butumwa bwa Loni “abanyangofero z’ubururu” wacuzwe ukanashyirwa mu bikorwa hagamijwe kwirukana Minuar. Imbusane n’ibibazo byasigaye bitabonewe ibisubizo nyuma y’urubanza rwa Ntuyahaga (Bruxelles, Gicurasi- Nyakanga 2007, *reba Incamake ya 11*) n’urwa Bagosora (*reba cyane cyane : Bagosora, Judgement and sentence [Bagosora, Judgement and Sentence [Isomwa n’ikatwa ry’urubanza]], op. cit.*, § 854 n’ibikurikira, na § 864 n’ibikurikira, p. 216) bibyerekana ku buryo burambuye.

n'abasirikari bakuru bose n'imitwe yari kugerageza kuzitira ubwo bwicanyi wari waherewe amategeko. Kubera kutamenya aho uburakari bw'umutwe urinda perezida bwazagarukira, abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma si bo bonyine bafashe ingamba zo kwimenya guhera muri iryo joro ry'iya 6 Mata.

Ibya ngombwa by'izungura

Nguko uko ibintu byari byifashe mu gihe umuryango wa perezida n'abafite intwaro bari ukuboko kwawo kw'iburyo bari bahanganye n'ikibazo cya kabiri cyo muri iryo joro, ikibazo cy'izungura :

> "Impaka zari mu muryango wa perezida zari izo kumenya uwashoboraga gutangaza ngo ''harakabaho umwami'', akurikije abapfuye n'abadahari. Ku ruhande rumwe, hari hapfuye Nsabimana na Sagatwa, ku rundi hari habuze Kabiligi na Ntiwiragabo[29], undi wo mu ntera ya G wari usigaye yakomokaga i Gitarama[30] ! Ubwo rero abasangirangendo Zigiranyirazo na Bagosora bihaye uwo mwanya bishingira ibyo kuvugana n'abantu ninjoro no mu gitondo. Ku bw'Akazu, kuva ku iyicwa rya Stanislas Mayuya muri 1988[31], insimburantego zari zoroshye : "uwa kabiri" nyuma ya Juvénal Habyarimana yari Bagosora niba haragombaga umusirikari, cg se Nzirorera, iyo amasezerano ya Arusha ajya kubahirizwa hifuzwa umusivili[32]."

Ayo marenga yibutsa intanage ikomoka mu bwami bw'Abafaransa bwo mu kinyejana cya 15 ikaba yaramamaye ngo "Umwami yatanze, harakabaho umwami" yari afite icyo asobanura muri ibyo bihe, kuko bishimangira yuko umurimo w'ubwami uramba na nyuma y'itanga ry'umwami. Ku bw'umuryango wa perezida, icyari ku isonga y'ibindi nyuma y'urupfu rutunguranye rwa Juvénal Habyarimana, cyari ukugumana no gukomeza ubutegetsi. Nta cyuho cyashoboraga kubaho, izungura ryagombaga kujyaho ako kanya. Ibyo rero byasabaga kubanza kwemeza abantu igitekerezo cy'umurage mu bakomoka mu nzu imwe, no kumenya abagenerwamurage bemewe, mbere y'uko hagira za kirogoya zibyivanga mo.

N'ubwo ibihe bidasanzwe by'umutekano muke byahaga umusirikari Bagosora amahirwe menshi kurusha Nzirorera w'umusivili, yari asigaje kuzuza icyangombwa cya gatatu kugira ngo atsinde :kugirirwa icyizere n'abanyapolitiki.

[29] Koloneli-Jandarume Aloys Ntiwiragabo (Hutu, Gisenyi) icyo gihe yari G2 muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu. N'ubwo yari mu basirikari batsimbaraye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere, bagenzi be bamutizaga agasanira k'ubututsi, ibyo bikamubera inzitizi.

[30] Mu bakuru b'Ibiro bane bo muri etamajoro, umwe rukumbi wo mu rwego "G" wari usigaye yari koloneli Joseph Murasampongo (Ibiro G1).

[31] Koloneli ukomoka ku Gisenyi babonaga nk'aho ari umugenerwamurage wa Juvénal Habyarimana.

[32] Ikiganiro nagiranye na majoro Augustin Cyiza, umusirikari mukuru mu ngabo z'U Rwanda, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

Ibyo byasobanuraga mbere na mbere guca intege umuzungura "utabyemerewe", uwari waranyaze "umubyeyi w'igihugu" n'ishyaka "rye", akaba kandi yari yararezwe ubugambanyi kuri Juvénal Habyarimana mbere gato y'uko uyu ajya Arusha [Dar es- Salaam], uwo rero akaba yari Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Koko rero, Ngirumpatse yari afite uburenganzira bwo kuba umusimbura agategekana na Agathe Uwilingiyimana kugeza igihe barangirije gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho zateganyijwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Iyo Ngirumpatse na Uwilingiyimana, bombi bakaba bari bavugavuzweho gushaka guhirika ubutegetsi mu cyumweru kibanziriza urupfu rwa perezida – bakaba kandi ari bo bari bafite uburenganzira bwemewe n'amategeko –, iyo bajya kwifatanya mu byo kuzungura, byari kugaragara nk'ubushotoranyi burenze kure udutsiko tw'intagondwa zo muri Muvoma no mu gipande cya perezida. Kuba yari uwa mbere ku itonde ry' "abanzi" akumva n'icyuka cy'irengamutima cyariho muri iryo joro, Mathieu Ngirumpatse ntiyaruhanyije mu guhigama. Yanze rero kuba umusimbura wa perezida Habyarimana.

"Umuryango" wa nyakwigendera perezida washakaga ibitekerezo mu bantu banyuranye, nuko Théoneste Bagosora agakora umurimo wo kubihuriza hamwe, akaba ari na we wari ushinzwe ku buryo bwihariye ibyangombwa by'umutekano no gushishikaza imitwe ifitiwe icyizere. Ntabwo byari ukwikiza abo bahanganye gusa, harimo no gushyira abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma, ni ukuvuga abanyapolitiki bakomeye n'abaminisitiri b'ishyaka rya MRND n'imiryango yabo, mu maboko y'umutwe urinda perezida ngo ucunge umutekano wabo.

Joseph Nzirorera, wari wamenyesheje umukuru wa Minuar akomeje, mu ibaruwa yo ku ya 27 Ukuboza 1993, ko atari yizeye umutekano mu rugo rwe rwari hafi y'Inteko ishinga amategeko (CND), agomba kuba yarabaye mu ba mbere na mbere, niba atari uwa mbere, wahawe abamurinda[33]. Umutwe urinda perezida na wo warashyashyanye mu kwegeranya abaminisitiri ba Muvoma washyize mu kigo cyawo cyari hafi ya CND. majoro Agusitin Cyiza, wari perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisirikari muri 1994, akaba rwose yari umwe mu bantu bari bafite amakuru menshi, yavuze uko byari bimeze muri aya magambo : "Kubera ko bazanwaga n'abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida, abaminisitiri bazaga bibwira ko habaye kudeta, ariko bamara guhabwa amakuru bakitwara nk'inzuki zasinze umutsama bashaka kwihorera kuri FPR [34]." Ari Mathieu Ngirumpatse, ari na Édouard Karemera, nta n'umwe wari mu "bahungishijwe". Uyu wa kabiri yari yagiye mu rugo rw'uwa mbere, n'ubwo ba nyirubwite nyuma batigeze bashishikazwa no kuranga neza ahantu bari bari nibura mu ijoro rya mbere (*Reba umugereka 55*).

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[33] "Ubwo nari ndi mu buhungiro muri Afurika y'Uburengerazuba mu myaka ya 1997-1998, hari ubwo nacumbikiye igihe kiringaniye bwana Nzirorera Joseph iwanjye mu rugo muri Bénin. Hari ubwo twajyaga tuganira ku bintu bimwe byabaye mu Rwanda muri 1994. Ndibuka ko muri uwo mwaka bwana Nzirorera yari atuye mu nzu ye bwite yari iteganye na CND, ku muhanda ugana i Kinyinya. Ndibutsa ko muri Mata 1994 bwana Nzirorera Joseph yari umunyamabanga w'igihugu wa Muvoma, akaba yaragenerwaga abasirikari bo kumurinda igihe babona ari ngombwa. Inzu yari atuyemo yari umutamenwa rwose, kandi abantu bose barabivugaga icyo gihe. Ndibuka ko mu kiganiro kimwe yambwiye ko mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata, ni ukuvuga indege ya perezida imaze guhanurwa, yari yimuwe muri iyo nzu ye bwite n'abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida, bamujyana mu yindi nzu yari afite mu Kiyovu. Sinzi niba yarajyanye n'umugore n'abana. Icyo nshobora kwemeza, ni uko bwana Nzirorera Joseph yari i Kigali mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata 1994 nk'uko yabinyibwiriye" (ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya urinzwe, Gicurasi- Kamena 2003).

[34] Ikiganiro nagiranye na majoro Augustin Cyiza, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

Kureka Théoneste Bagosora akayobora Komite ya gisirikari byabonwaga n'agatsiko gato k'abantu bo mu kazu nk'aho, mu gihe cya mbere, ari bwo buryo bushobotse kandi bwizewe, ariko Bagosora ntiyashoboye kuzuza icyangombwa cya kabiri. Ubusigire bwa jenerali Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro wari waguye mu gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyahanuye indege, bweguriwe ikipi ya etamajoro. Ubusanzwe iyi kipi yagombaga kuyoborwa n'umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi ipeti, ni ukuvuga jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana.

Ibyo ari byo byose, mu gihe nta mukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo mushya wari uhari, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori ntiyagombaga byanze bikunze guhita azamuka mu ntera. Théoneste Bagosora yarwanyije igitekerezo cy'uko bamwemerera kuba perezida wa Komite yo mu gihe cy'amage.

Incamake ya 9

Kuva ku nama itunguranye y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo kugera ku ishyirwaho ry'abagize komite y'ingobokamahina (6-8 Mata 1994)

N'ubwo abari mu nama baganiriye igihe kirekire ku miterere, ku nshingano no ku izina ("komite y'ingobokamahina" cg "komite ya gisirikari" ryahabwa ikoraniro ryabereye muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bisa n'ibyarushahaho kuba byo, byibura ku cyiciro cya mbere cyo kungurana ibitekerezo, umuntu avuze ko yari inama y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu. Iryo koraniro ryari ryaremwe ku buryo budateganyijwe n'itsinda ryari ryiremye rityo gusa, rikabamo abasirikari bakuru bakoraga muri minisiteri y'ingabo no muri etamajoro y'ingabo n'iya Jandarumori. Abo basirikari bakuru bari babimenyeshejwe na bagenzi babo bari bahageze mbere, nka jenerali Ndindiliyimana, cg se bari bibwirije ku giti cyabo (bagashobora no kuhagera) kujya muri etamajoro y'ingabo muri iryo joro. Umubare wabo wagiye uhindagurika uko amasaha yagendaga, kandi benshi muri bo bagiye bahamara akanya gato ari ukugira ngo "bafate amakuru cg amabwiriza" (*reba umugereka 56*).

Mu bari muri iyo nama idateganyijwe cg abaharabutswe, umuntu yavuga :

– jenerali majoro Ndindiliyimana Augustin, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori (wahageze mu ba mbere) ;

– koloneli BEMS[a] Bagosora Théoneste, wari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akaba umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo ;

– koloneli Murasampongo Joseph (Hutu, Gitarama), umukuru w'Ibiro G1 muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda (EM AR) ;

– koloneli BEM Ndengeyinka Balthazar (Hutu, Kibuye, umujyanama wa minisitiri w'ingabo mu mikorere yihariye ;

– liyetona-koloneli Kanyandekwe Emmanuel (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umusirikari mukuru ushinzwe itumanaho mu Biro G3, Em AR ;

– liyetona-koloneli Kayumba Cyprien (Hutu, Byumba), umusirikari mukuru ushinzwe iby'imari muri minisiteri y'ingabo ;

– liyetona-koloneli Ruhorahoza Jean-Bosco (Hutu, Byumba), wakoraga mu Biro G, EM AR, umwanditsi w'inama ;

– liyetona-koloneli Rwabirinda Ephrem (Hutu, Cyangugu), umusirikari mukuru wari intumwa muri Minuar ;

– liyetona-koloneli Rwamanywa Augustin (Hutu, Gikongoro), G4, EM AR ;

– liyetona-koloneli Rwarakabije Paul (Hutu, Ruhengeri), G3 EM Jandarumori (GdN) ;

– liyetona-koloneli Ndahimana Jean-Marie Vianney (Hutu, Kibuye), komanda wa Baze AR Kigali-Kanombe ;

– majoro Ntamagezo Gérald (Hutu, Ruhengeri), wakoraga mi Biro G2, umusirikari mukuru wari ku izamu ;

– majoro Gakara Théophile (Hutu, Byumba), G1, EM Gd N ;

– majoro Nzuwonemeye Cyprien-Xavier (Hutu, Kigali), komanda wa batayo y' "Abariki" (Recce) ;

– koloneli Muberuka Félicien (Hutu, Kigali), komanda w'ikigo " koloneli Mayuya", akayobora n'akarere k'imirwano mu mujyi wa Kigali ;

— koloneli Rusatira Léonidas (Hutu, Ruhengeri), komanda w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari[b] ;

– majoro Hanyurwimana Epifanie (Hutu, Byumba), umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri minisiteri y' ingabo, umwanditsi w'inama (uyu yatangiye uwo murimo mu gitondo kare cy'iya 7 Mata, asimbuye liyetona-koloneli Ruhorahoza).

Mu bandi bantu bakomeye bahanyuze gusa muri iryo joro, ni ngombwa kuvuga jenerali Roméo Dallaire (Umunyakanada), wayoboraga umutwe wa Minuar, na koloneli Luc Marchal (Umubiligi), wayoboraga akarere Kigali ka Minuar. Nyuma, cyane cyane kubera ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, ni bwo abantu bari mu nama muri ESM ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo – inama yari yaguwe itumira n'abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano (OPS) n'ab'imitwe – ni bwo basabwe kungurana ibitekerezo ku ishyirwaho rya "Komite yo mu gihe cy'amage", kugena inshingano zayo n'ububasha bwayo.

Hari ibitekerezo bibiri binyuranye. Icya mbere, cyari gifite ubwiganze cyane, cyabonaga ko "komite" ari urwego rw'agateganyo rushinzwe kubungabunga ubusugire bw'inzego za leta mu gihe abayobozi b'inzibacyuho barangajwe imbere na Agathe Uwilingiyimana bashyiraho bwangu inzego z'inzibacyuho. Icya kabiri, cyari gishyigikiwe na Théoneste Bagosora n'abandi basirikari bakuru bake, hanyuma kikemerwa n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, cyari icyo kwegurira ubutegetsi iyo "komite" yagombaga gusimbura Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yari ihari, hanyuma igakora imishyikirano igamije gushyiraho umuzungura wubahiriza inyungu z'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakomeye bo mu majyaruguru.

Inteko y'abari bahari, ni ukuvuga abasirikari bakuru 50-60, yakoze kandi yemeza itonde ry'abantu 12 bari mu Buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, hiyongeraho n'abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro, nuko biturutse ku cyifuzo cy'Inteko, hinjizwamo n'umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano ka Kigali[c] na perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) – bagombaga kuhaba kubera imirimo yihariye bari bashinzwe yo gucunga umutekano mu murwa mukuru – hanyuma, amaherezo, n'umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) n'uw'ikigo cya ESO. Uyu wa nyuma, koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, yari yagizwe umukuru wa etamajoro w'inzibacyuho muri iryo joro, bitewe n'uburambe mu kazi yarushaga abandi bayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano, ariko yageze i Kigali ahagana mu ma saa kumi ku itariki ya 7 Mata. Yatumirijwe guterana saa kumi n'ebyiri, komite y'ingobokamahina yagenwe ityo yahuye ubwa mbere ahagana mu ma saa moya, itora perezida wayo, jenerali majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Uwo mwitozo urangiye, itonde ry'abagize komite y'ingobokamahina ryari ryemejwe n'abasirikari bakuru mu nama

yabo yo mu gitondo ryari riteye gutya :

– jenerali majoro Ndindiliyimana Augustin (Butare) ;
– koloneli BEMS Bagosora Théoneste (Gisenyi) ;
– koloneli BEM Gatsinzi Marcel (Kigali), wari wagizwe umukuru w'umusimbura wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda mu ijoro ryakeye ;
– koloneli Rusatira Léonidas (Ruhengeri) ;
– koloneli BEM Ndengeyinka Balthazar (Kibuye) ;
– koloneli Muberuka Félicien (Kigali) ;
– koloneli Renzaho Tharcisse (Kibungo), perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) ;
– koloneli Murasampongo Joseph (Gitarama) ;
– liyetona-koloneli Rwabirinda Ephrem (Cyangugu) ;
– liyetona-koloneli Kayumba Cyprien (Byumba) ;
– liyetona-koloneli Rwarakabije Paul (Ruhengeri) ;
– majoro Gakara Théophile (Byumba).

Abenshi muri abo basirikari bakuru bari bagize uruhare mu mpaka za ninjoro kandi "iringaniza ry'uturere ryitaweho kugira ngo perefegitura zose zihagararirwe" (ubuhamya bw'Um koloneli wari uhari). Uretse inama yateganyirijwe itora rya perezida, nyuma nta ngengabihe nta n'ingingo zo ku murongo w'ibyigwa z'inama bigeze bategurira hamwe, kubera ingamba bwite bamwe mu bagize Komite bari bifitiye. Byongeye kandi, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'inyandikomvugo zitaratangazwa z'inama zinyuranye (*reba ibiza gukurikiraho*), nta makuru cg ibisobanuro byigeze bitangwa n' "abafataga ibyemezo" ku rukurikirane rw'ibintu byarimo kuba bikanavurunga inzego za politiki, kandi abenshi mu bagize Komite nta buryo bari bafite bwo kujya mu mujyi ngo birebere ubwabo uko ibintu byifashe. Mu by'ukuri, nzigamiye iyi ngingo ya nyuma, umuntu yavuga ko komite y'ingobokamahina yakoze imirimo yayo hagati y'igihe yagiriyeho, ku wa kane tariki ya 7 ku gicamunsi, n'igihe hashyiriweho Guverinoma y'agateganyo (GI), ku itariki ya 8 mu mugoroba. N'ubwo hari bamwe mu bayigize bitabiriye inama zose mu minsi ibiri yo ku ya 7 n'iya 8, inama ebyiri nyazo zahuje abantu bose ni iyo ku ya 7 nimugoroba yo gutora perezida wa komite n'iyo ku ya 8 ku gicamunsi yo "kwakira" abategetsi b'abasivili bashya b'ubusigire. Ariko, ibiri amambu, muri iyo nama ya kabiri, abagize Komite yo mu gihe cy'amage bigombye kuvuga ko bari muri iyo nama nk'indorerezi, ngo hato batazava aho baregwa kuba barivanze mu byemezo by'abanyapolitiki. Itonde ry'abakandida bo kwinjira mu Nama ya Guverinoma rikimara kwemerwa ahagana mu ma saa tatu cg mu ma saa yine, jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana yatangaje ko komite y'ingobokamahina irangije ubutumwa bwayo. Nyamara mu kanya kakurikiyeho, bagiranye inama ya nyuma na nyuma n'umuyobozi w'umutwe wa Minuar kugira ngo babwirane uko ibintu byifashe mu rwego rwa politiki n'urwa gisirikari (FPR/Inkotanyi, imyifatire y'umutwe urinda perezida, iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki, umumaro wa Komite yo mu gihe cy'amage, nb.)[d].

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a. Mu kwiyibutsa, reba itonde ry'impine mu mpera z'igitabo.
b. Uyu yatumiwe ninjoro, aho Théoneste Bagosora amariye kujya kwa Jacques – Roger Booh-Booh, wari uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye. koloneli Léonidas Rusatira yari umusirikari mukuru wakurikiraga jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana mu burambe mu kazi.
c. Twibutse ko uyu nguyu, koloneli Muberuka, amaze kubona ko hari ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abasirikari bakuru, kandi akaba atarashakaga kurwanya koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, yagiye

aza mu nama byo kwiyerurutsa agahita yigendera.
d. Ku byerekeye ayo matangazo anyuranye, inyandikomvugo z'inama, ibyemezo n'ubuhamya, reba mu mugereka 65 n'iwukurikira.

Mu kwanga bigitangira gufata iya mbere nk'umuyobozi – ahanini yanga kubera koloneli Bagosora intambamyi –,Augustin Ndindiliyimana yatije Bagosora ingufu zo kwiganza, nibura igihe gito. Ariko ikintu kimwe cyari ukuyobora inama, ikindi kikaba icyo gushyiraho Komite ya gisirikari ifite ububasha busesuye yasimbura abayobozi b'abasivili, ibyo rero bikaba byaramaganwe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bahari hafi ya bose[35].

Ntiyanabonye inkunga ya jenerali Roméo Dallaire n'iy'uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh – wari wahindutse Kamara muri iryo joro, kandi Bagosora akaba yarifuzaga ko amushyigikira (*reba umugereka 57*) – yemwe ahari n'inkunga ya za ambasade zikomeye ntiyayibonye. Bityo, nk'uko Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, jenerali Roméo Dallaire na ba ambasaderi bari mu Rwanda hafi ya bose babyumvaga, hari ibintu bibiri bigaragarira buri wese : ku ruhande rumwe, amasezerano ya Arusha yagombaga kwitabwaho kuko Perezidansi yari yageze mu cyiciro "cy'inzibacyuho" ku ya 5 Mutarama 1994, hanyuma ku rundi ruhande, minisitiri w'intebe yari afite umwanya w'imena muri iyo mishyirirweho y'inzego. Iryo sesengura koloneli Bagosora yararimenyeshejwe ku buryo bunoze. Ubwo rero yari abonye ahatiwe kureka igitekerezo cya Komite ya gisirikari yo mu gihe cy'amage yari kwiyoborera, hari hasigaye kuyoboka inzira iteganijwe n'itegeko nshinga, ariko ibyo bigashoboka gusa ari uko abayobozi batamugwa ku nzoka babanza kuvanwa mu nzira.

Théoneste Bagosora ntiyanashoboye gushyira mu mwanya w'umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo koloneli Augustin Bizimungu wari umaze amezi atanu gusa ahawe ipeti rya koloneli. Atanga igitekerezo cyo gutoranya umukuru wa etamajoro mu bayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano yibwiraga ko azashobora gukontorora ingabo zose. Kubera ko yari amaze igihe atumanaho ubutitsa n'abayobozi b'imitwe y'ingabo, ntiyakekeranyaga ibyo kubona inkunga yabo, kandi yari yiringiye kuzitabaza ukwishyirukizana kwabo mu bikorwa bye byihariye, cyane cyane ibyo guhotora abanyapolitiki. Koko rero, umutwe uba utoranyijwe, wibumbiye hamwe, wumvira umuyobozi wawo, ariko hakaba n'ubwo ushobora kutumvira umukuru wa etamajoro.

[35] Uretse koloneli Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza, musanzire wa koloneli Banavanture Buregeya (abagore babo bava inda imwe) kandi akaba yarakoranaga na Théoneste Bagosora, umusirikari mukuru wa etamajoro wenyine wo muri komite y'ingobokamahina washyigikiriye umugambi wa Bagosora wo guhirika ubutegetsi yaba yarabaye liyetona-koloneli Cyprien Kayumba (Byumba). Mu gihe cya mbere yari yabanje kwifatanya n'abandi bagize etamajoro mu kwamagana irari rya Bagosora, ariko yaba yarisubiyeho amaze kugirana ikiganiro kirekire kuri terefone n'umuntu utaramenyekanye.

Incamake ya 10

Umubonano Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yagiranye na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata 1994

Mu buhamya bwe bwo ku ya 21 Ugushyingo 2005 muri TPIR, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh aribuka ikiganiro yagiranye na Théoneste Bagosora :

"**Subizo.** : [...] Ndemera ko ntigeze nibaza ako kanya impamvu ari we [Théoneste Bagosora] waje, kandi hari Abajenerali mu ngabo, kandi hari umukuru wa etamajoro w'ingabo, hari na minisitiri w'ingabo. Ariko nyuma niho baje kumbwira ko umukuru wa etamajoro yaguye mu ndege hamwe na perezida, bambwira n'uko minisitiri w'ingabo yari mu butumwa muri Kameruni[a]. Rwose nari nibajije icyo kibazo gusa ariko sinagiha agaciro kanini. [...]

Bazo. : Mbese ushoba kutubwira uko byagenze guhera icyo gihe ?

Subizo. : Yego. koloneli Bagosora yarambwiye... Yarambwiye ko perezida, indege ye yari imaze kuba... gukora impanuka cg simbizi kandi ko yari yapfuye, ko perezida yari yapfuye. Sinzi niba yaranabivuze no kuri perezida w'Uburundi. Nuko rero, nahise mubwira "Mpore !" mbere yo gukomeza. Nuko ambwira ko abasirikari bateranye bagatora Umukoloneli. Ndabyibuka neza, yavuze Umukoloneli w'i Butare, ibintu nk'ibyo. Nta cyo nabyumvisemo : ese yakomokaga i Butare ? Ese yakoraga i Butare ? Ibyo ari byo byose numvise ikintu kimeze gityo, "ikintu" ntahaye agaciro kanini.

Hari ikintu yavuze : ngo bitoyemo umukuru wabo, intego ari iyo kubungabunga umutuzo, no guhumuriza abaturage mu gihe Minuar n'abanyapolitiki bahugiye mu gushyira amasezerano y'amahoro mu bikorwa. Ariko nahise murogoya ndamubaza nti "Ubwo se ni ukuvuga ko mwakoze kudeta ?" Yaransubije ati "Oya, nta kudeta twakoze na gato, ntibiri muri gahunda yacu, ariko nyamara hakwiriye abantu bo guhumuriza abaturage ba..." Naramubwiye ngo ambabarire, Minuar ntiyazanywe mu Rwanda no gukora muri gahunda nk'iyo. Twaje gukorana n'abasivili, abanyapolitiki. Nuko rero ko ibyo gushyiraho komite cg ikindi nta cyo byari bitwunguye. Kandi nashyigikiwe na jenerali Dallaire wavuze ati "Mu gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi, abasivili... ni abasivili bategeka. Abasirikari bahabwa amabwiriza, amategeko n'abasivili". Ikiganiro ndumva cyarajyaga kumera nk'ibyo, ko umushinga wabo ntacyo wari utumariye. Namubwiye kandi ko agomba kujya kureba "minisitiri w'intebe", kuko mu gitekerezo cyanjye, ko bitabaza Itegekonshinga rya kera cg irishya ryemejwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha,ho mbi umwanya we wari uri mo.

Kandi namubwiye ko bashoboraga kugerageza kuvugana..., ko byari ngombwa kuvugana n'abantu bose. Ubwo navuze Muvoma, kuko perezida yagombaga gutoranywa mu ishyaka rya MRND. Amasezerano y'amahoro yari yateganyije n'ibyo bintu, perezida aramutse atabarutse. Rero, njye ni uko namubwiye, ku bwanjye byari ngombwa ko na FPR igira uruhare mu myiteguro yo gukemura ibibazo by'ingutu by'icyo gihe. Ni uko. koloneli yarambwiye... Ntiyahakanye kugira imibonano yindi yose, ntiyahakanye, ariko yatsembye ku mugaragaro ibyo kugirana umubonano na madamu Agathe. Biragaragara. Yavuze ko adashaka... Ni umugore - mbese umuntu yabivuga ate – wigijwe yo na Guverinoma ye bwite, n'abaturage n'ingabo z'igihugu cye. Ibyo ari byo byose ni muri ubwo buryo ingabo zitamushakaga[b]."

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a. Mu butumwa bwa leta i Yaoundé kuva ku ya 4 kugeza ku ya 8 Mata ku butumire bwa PNUD, minisitiri yari mu nama ya Komite ngishwanama ihoraho y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku bibazo by'umutekano muri Afurika, mbere yo kujya muri Ghana yagombaga kumara ibyumweru bibiri.

b. Ubuhamya bwa Jacques-Roger BOOH-BOOH, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 21 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 80.

Nyamara uturere tuba tugizwe na za batayo zidafite aho zihuriye, haba mu mitegekere yazo, haba no mu basirikari baziri mo. Ariko Théoneste Bagosora ntiyari yibutse ko umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano wari ufite ipeti ryo hejuru

kandi n'uburambe mu kazi mu by'ukuri yari Marcel Gatsinzi wari i Butare, n'ubwo ako karere ka gisirikari – kari kakimara gushyirwaho – kari kataragira imirwano nyayo kagiramo uruhare[36]. Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar Ngengeyinka, bwemejwe n'abenshi mu bari mu nama nashoboye kuganira na bo, burerekana neza ukuntu Bagosora yari asigaye wenyine :

> "1. Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994, […] nahamagaye ku izamu ryo muri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu, bansubiza ko umutwe urinda perezida wari umaze guhamya ayo makuru. Nabajije niba nta nama yarimo kubera muri minisiteri y'ingabo nyuma y'icyo gikorwa kibabaje. Igisubizo bampaye ni uko koko hari abasirikari bakuru bari mu nama muri etamajoro. […] nanjye rero nafashe icyemezo cyo kujya yo. […]
> 2. Aho tumenyeye urupfu rw'umukuru wa etamajoro kandi dukurikije ko ibihe bitari bimeze neza, twasanze ari ngombwa gushyiraho umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusimbura dutegereje ko Guverinoma yari gushyirwaho imwemeza cg se igahitamo undi. jenerali Ndindiliyimana ubwe yafashe ijambo atwibutsa ko inama zose za gisirikari zigira umuyobozi, ko kuri we, kubera ko hari abasirikari bakuru bo muri minisiteri, bo mu ngabo n'abo muri Jandarumori, koloneli Bagosora wari umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo ari we wari ukwiriye kuyobora inama. Nibutse ko icyo gihe abashinzwe ibiro G2 na G3 ari bo koloneli Aloys Ntiwiragabo na koloneli Gratien Kabiligi, na minisitiri w'ingabo, bwana Bizimana Augustin bose bari mu butumwa hanze y'igihugu.
> Twakurikijeho gusuzuma uburyo busanzwe bwo gushyiraho umukuru wa etamajoro. Mu nama ya Guverinoma, minisitiri w'ingabo atanga amazina y'abakandida, noneho inama ya Guverinoma igakuramo umwe, nyuma agashyirwaho ku mugaragaro n'iteka rya perezida. Icyo gihe rero nta perezida, nta minisitiri w'ingabo bari bariho. Ni bwo twafashe icyemezo cyo kumushyiraho ubwacu.
> koloneli Bagosora yatanze igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano warushaga abandi uburambe mu kazi. Nahise numva ako kanya ko yateganyaga koloneli Augustin Bizimungu, wari wahawe ipeti rya koloneli mu Kuboza 1993, bityo kubera ko bari barasimbuye aba kera bose, akaba ari we warushaga abandi uburambe. Nyamara yibagirwaga ko kuva ku midugararo yikurikiranyije mu Burundi nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Ndadaye, akarere ka Butare kayoborwaga na koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, kafatwaga nk'akarere k'imirwano n'ubwo nta mirwano yari yakahabera. Ubwo rero ni koloneli Gatsinzi wari wujuje ibya ngombwa. koloneli Bagosora yarabirwanyije. Namusubije ko nta butabera burimo abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano ari bo babaye abakandida bonyine, ko ahubwo ubusanzwe uwo mwanya ari uw'umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi uburambe mu kazi, ko icyo gihe kandi yari koloneli Rusatira (*reba umugereka 58*)[37]. koloneli Bagosora yahise avuga atazuyaje ko niba ari uko bimeze yahitamo koloneli Gatsinzi aho kuwuha Rusatira. Bityo, koloneli BEM [ipeti rya etamajoro] Gatsinzi agirwa umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusimbura [*reba umugereka 59*].
> 3. Nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'umukuru wa etamajoro, koloneli Bagosora yatanze igitekerezo cyo gusimbuza inzego za leta Komite ya gisirikari, mu by'ukuri, gukora kudeta ya gisirikari. Abari bahari bose barabyamaganye batanga ingingo zishyigikira igitekerezo cyabo. Izo mpaka zamaze igihe.

[36] Umuyobozi w'ishuri ry'abasuzofisiye ry'i Butare bari bakoze ku buryo ashobora kuvugana kuri radiyo n'abari mu tundi turere tw'imirwano, kugira ngo ajye amenya amakuru yo ku rugamba, bityo yitegure ibyo kuyobora akarere kashyirwaho haramutse hari igitero kije muri icyo gice cy'igihugu giturutse i Burundi.

[37] Gahunda iboneye yo gushyirwa mu myanya abari muri izo mpaka bari biteze basanze rwavuyanzwe nta mpamvu, bityo ibyo bikurura ubushyamirane n'ubwumvikane buke mu Buyobozi bw'ingabo mu gihe cyose cy'intambara, kubera kugirwa umukuru wa etamajoro no guhabwa ipeti rya jenerali- majoro ry'Umukoloneli BEM wari umaze amezi make gusa ahawe iryo peti mu nama yari iherutse ya Komisiyo ishinzwe ibyo kuzamura mu ntera. Wongeyeho ihezwa n'ubwikanyize byari bishingiye ku turere n'ipfunwe rimaze igihe mu mitunganyirize z'izamurwa mu ntera, byumvikanisha ukuntu abari bamaze guhabwa amapeti bahise bayazira kubera gushyirwaho ku buryo bunyuranye n'amategeko kandi burwanywa na benshi. Ibyo rero byagize ingaruka mbi mu guhuriza hamwe abasirikari no gukaza umurego ku rugamba.

> koloneli Bagosora yasohokaga kenshi agiye guterefona[38]. Igihe kimwe, Bagosora yaratubwiye ngo ntiyumva impamvu twanga igitekerezo cye kandi ngo abamuterefona bose ari cyo bari kumubwira gusa. Ikindi gihe, liyetona-koloneli Kayumba na we yarasohotse ajya kwitaba telefoni. Yagarutse asa n'uwarubiye, avuga ko na we ashyigikiye ibya kudeta.
> jenerali Dallaire na koloneli Marchall baje kudusanga mu nama, hanyuma tubamenyesha ikibazo dufite. jenerali Dallaire yatubwiye ko nidutana umurongo w'amasezerano ya Arusha nta kindi yari gukora uretse kuva mu gihugu.
> Hari uwagize igitekerezo kirimo ubukenguzi cyo kugisha inama bwana Booh-Booh, intumwa yihariye y'umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni : koloneli Bagosora na liyetona-koloneli Rwabarinda ni bo bahawe ubwo butumwa. Bagarutse, batumenyesheje ko bwana Booh-Booh na we yatugiraga inama yo kuguma mu murongo w'amasezerano ya Arusha.
> Mu gihe intumwa zari zagiye, twahamagaye koloneli Rusatira wari utaje mu nama[39]. Twamusobanuriye uko ibintu bimeze, hanyuma na we ashyigikira uruhande rudashaka kudeta. liyetona-koloneli Kayumba wenyine ni we wagaragaje ko atishimiye icyo gitekerezo.
> 4. Mbere y'uko intumwa zijya kwa bwana Booh – Booh, twumvikanye yuko tuzakurikiza ibyifuzo bizava mu nama tuzagirana n'uwo munyacyubahiro, nuko twiyemeza gutumira abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano n'ab'imitwe yigenga y'i Kigali mu nama yari kuba mu gitondo gikurikiyeho muri ESM, kugira ngo bamenyeshwe uko ibintu byifashe [...] [40]."

Abayobozi b'uturere n'ab'imitwe babwiwe iby'inama muri iryo joro, nuko guhera saa mbiri hashyirwaho ingabo zo kurinda no gutwara abasirikari bakuru batumiwe muri ESM. inama yashoboye gutangira saa yine. Yabaye hari koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana, koloneli Léonidas Rusatira wayoboraga ESM, koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho, perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano, ab'ibigo bya gisirikari, ab'imitwe y'ingabo n'ab'ibigo bya Jandarumori (uretse umukuru w'umutwe urinda perezida, majoro Protais Mpiranya), abakuru b'Ibiro bya za etamajoro, abakuru b'imirimo muri minisiteri y'ingabo, na Roméo Dallaire wahageze inama yenda kurangira. Abari batoranyijwe mu ijoro baremewe.

> "inama yo mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata 1994 yabaye iyo kwibukiranya ibyari byaraye bibaye n'icyari kigamijwe. Ikintu cyadushimishije cyane, ni uko iyibutsa ry'ibyabaye ryakozwe mu manyakuri, ku buryo bunyuranye n'ubwo abantu bari biteze kuri Bagosora. Umuntu umwe gusa ni we wafashe ijambo agira icyo abivugaho, liyetona- koloneli Nkundiye (utari woroshye, kuko ari we warushaga abandi bo mu Bushiru uburambe mu kazi nyuma ya Bagosora kandi akaba yari akiri mu kazi) ashimira Komite ubushishozi buranga ibyemezo byayo[41]."

Iryo jambo ryakurikiye irya koloneli Léonidas Rusatira, wari wasabye akomeje y'uko ingabo zirinda umutekano kandi zigafasha Guverinoma iriho gukomeza imirimo yayo, kandi yari yanasobanuye neza ko yavugaga Guverinoma ya Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Ni muri uwo mwuka w'ubwumvikane inteko yatoranyije abagize icyaje kwemerwa ku mugaragaro nka komite y'ingobokamahina, igira umukuru

[38] Théoneste Bagosora yari afite radiyo ebyiri za Motorola zirimo ubugenge bwatumaga avugana ku buryo butaziguye n'abayobozi b'Imitwe (ibyo nyirubwite yabwiye Filip Reyntjens, ubuhamya, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 15 Nzeri 2004, p. 27).

[39] Jenerali Ndindiliyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, yamuhamagaye hagati ya saa sita na saa saba z'ijoro.

[40] Koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 24 Kanama 2002.

[41] Ubuhamya bwite bwa koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 10 Mata 2005.

wa Jandarumori, jenerali Ndindiriyima, umukuru wayo ishinga na koloneli Bagosora, umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo, gukomeza imishyikirano n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda. Inteko yifuje ko Guverinoma ya Agathe Uwilingiyimana ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ihabwa ako kanya uburyo bwo kuyobora igihugu, kugira ngo ishobore gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho. Ingingo ya kabiri y'itangazo ry'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu ryasoje inama ntirijijinganya kuri iyo ngingo :

> "ni muri urwo rwego Guverinoma iriho isabwe kurangiza neza imirimo yayo; n'inzego za politiki zibishinzwe zisabwe kwihutisha ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho ziteganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha[42].

Abasirikari bakuru benshi bari bahari bavuze ko Rewonaridi Nkundiye wayoboraga akarere k'imirwano k'Umutara yatunguye abantu bose na we ubwe ashyigikira ko byari ngombwa kugarura umutuzo, anasaba umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano ka Kigali kongera gufata mu maboko ye ibikorwa bya gisirikari, akanakurikirana bwangu iyubahirizwa ry'ibyateganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha.

> "Nakomeje kwibuka ijambo rya liyetona–koloneli Nkundiye, ryari intangamugabo y'uko yari yumvise neza ishingiro ryo gukora ibintu muri ubwo buryo, rikanasaba ko inama yasozwa kugira ngo abayobozi banyuranye bajye gusobanurira abasirikari ibyemezo bimaze gufatwa." [43]

Théoneste Bagosora yari atsinzwe igitego cya gatatu. Ariko, ku buryo bwatunguye abantu bose, kandi nk'uko koloneli Rusatira yabivuze, iryo tsindwa yari aryiteze :

> "koloneli Bagosora yasubiye mu byo bari baraye bavuze, hanyuma aha ijambo abari mu nama.
> Natanze igitekerezo ko ingabo zicunga umutekano, zikanafasha Guverinoma iriho gukomeza imirimo yayo. Ndavuga Guverinoma ya Agathe ya Uwilingiyimana.
> Nashyigikiwe na Ntabakuze na Nkundiye. Naje kumenya nyuma ko Agathe yaje kwicwa mbere y'uko inama yacu irangira. Ndibwira ko abo basirikari bakuru bombi bo mu gipande cya Bagosora, bashushe nk'abanshyigikira kandi ahari bari bazi ko icyo gihe minisitiri w'intebe yari yishwe. Inama yari yarogowe n'urusaku rw'amasasu twumvaga atari kure ya ESM hafi y'ikigo cya Kigali[44]. liyetona-koloneli Nubaha wategekaga icyo kigo cya gisirikari yaraje asanga Bagosora agira icyo amwongorera. Ndakeka ko ibyo byabaye mbere y'uko jenerali Dallaire ahagera. Abari mu nama bemeye igitekerezo cyanjye, nuko batoranya n'abagize komite y'ingobokamahina yagombaga gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo byemezo[45].

Nuko mu kanya gato :

> "Inama ijya kurangira, twumvise urusaku rw'amasasu (ayishe "abanyangofero z'ubururu"

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[42] *Reba umugereka 56.*
[43] Koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 24 Kanama 2002.
[44] Koko rero, abasirikari bo mu Mutwe urinda perezida bageze mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe ahagana mu ma saa tatu, hanyuma baza kubona aho yari ari hanyuma baza kumurasa mu ma saa tanu – saa sita, ni ukuvuga mbere gato y'uko inama yo muri ESM irangira.
[45] Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Léonidas RUSATIRA, Bruxelles, TPIR, 4 Werurwe 1999, p. 7-8

[ingabo za Loni])[46].

Nyuma y'inama ni bwo amakuru y'uko umutwe urinda perezida wishe minisitiri w'intebe yaherer ekanywe n'abagize inteko, noneho impamvu z'uko umuyobozi wawo, majoro Mpiranya ataje mu nama ziba zirasobanutse. Icyo gihe ni bwo abari mu nama bumvise neza amambu yari hagati y'ingamba z'agatsiko nyamuke k'abashaka kudeta batifuza uburambe bwa Guverinoma, n'iz'abari bashyigikiye inzira ya politiki yubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha, inzira yatatiwe burundu kuva icyo gihe. Amagambo acisha make kandi ashyira mu gaciro y'abasirikari bakuru bakoranaga cyane n'igipande cya perezida nka Léonard Nkundiye basaga n'abashyigikiye uburambe bwa Guverinoma bwifuzwaga n'abenshi muri bagenzi be, yumvikanye noneho ko yari ayo guhuma abantu amaso.

Kugira ngo iyo myitwarire yumvikane neza, liyetona-koloneli Augustin Cyiza yakoze isesengura rikurikira :

> "Guhera muri 1992, nta bushake bwo kurwana abasirikari bari bafite. Abo mu majyepfo bifuzaga ivangwa ry'ingabo zombi [FAR na APR], abo mu majyaruguru ntibatekereze ko ikibazo cyari mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Ku rugamba, abasirikari nta bushake bwo kurwana bari bagifite, benshi barihungiraga iyo FPR yabaga igabye igitero. Ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, bamwe ntibabonaga uwo bakirwanira nyuma y'urupfu rwa Juvénal Habyarimana. Ku ruhande rumwe abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru bashakaga ko n'igice cy'amajyepfo cyumva na cyo uko intambara imeze. Mu gihe yari umukuru wa etamajoro muri 1992, Laurent Serubuga ni we wahoranaga igitekerezo ngo "noneho amajyepfo ni yo atahiwe" ; ku rundi ruhande, iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo ntiryatumaga hashobora kubaho ikintu cyo "gufatana urunana". Abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo bashakaga guca agasuzuguro k'abo mu majyaruguru".[47] N'ubwo ingabo z'U Rwanda zasaga nizirusha [Inkotanyi] ibikoresho n'ubumenyi-ngiro, amahirwe yazo yo gutsinda yari make cyane. Icya nyuma, ari na cyo gikomeye, ni uko bitashobokaga kugirana ubufatanye n'imishyikirano nyakuri na FPR, kuko agatsiko k'abayobozi bayo kari kagizwe n' "abanyamahanga" badafite amahuriro n'ibyo mu gihugu imbere, badafite abo bazitabaza, kuko inkunga bari bayifite mu Batutsi gusa. Abahutu bayo bari bagoswe kandi bahozwaho ijisho. Ku bwanjye, nguko uko amagambo ya koloneli Nkundiye agomba kumvikana, igihe yashyigikiraga igitekerezo cyo kureka abasivili bakajya ku isonga[48]."

Incamake ya 11

Ihotorwa ry' "abanyangofero z'ubururu [ingabo za Loni]" b'Ababiligi bari muri Minuar (7 Mata)

Urubanza rwa Bernard Ntuyahaga rwabereye mu Rukiko mpanabyaha rw'i Bruxelles ku itariki ya 19 Mata kugeza ku ya 4 Nyakanga 2007 ntirweyuruye ibihu byose bikomeje kubudika ku rukurikirane nyarwo rw'ibintu byabaye no ku bantu bagize uruhare muri ayo marorerwa. Twibuke ko ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, kuba mu Rwanda n'imyitwarire y'ingabo z'Ababiligi zari

[46] Koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 24 Kanama 2002.

[47] Iri sesengura turisanga mu buhamya bwa Roméo Dallaire : "Ni uko. Mu kigereranyo cyanjye, numvaga ko ibyo ari byo byose hari imitwe yifuzaga isubikwa ry'imirwano. Indorerezi n'abaranguruzi banjye banzaniraga amakuru yuko hari igice gifatika... – ariko aha sinashobora kuvuga ko cyari mu kigero cya 40 % cg 70 % – mbese igice kigaragara cy'abasirikari ku rugamba batari bagishaka kurwana, bashakaga amahoro, batashakaga gukomeza kurwana na FPR" (Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 26 Mutarama 2004, p 17-18).

[48] Ikiganiro nagiranye na majoro Augustin Cyiza, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

muri Minuar i Kigali byagibwagaho impaka zishyushye mu gihugu. Ibirego byo kubogamira ku ruhande rwa FPR, n'amacakubiri yari mu bakuriye Misiyo byari byarageze ku karubanda, haba mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi, haba no mu rw'ubucuti bwihariye abasirikari bakuru b'Ababiligi bari bafitanye na bagenzi babo bo mu mpande zombi zishyamiranye. Ayo macakubiri yagaragariye, ku ya 5 Mata, ku "nwandiko wo kurega Dr. Booh – Booh" Alexis Kanyarengwe, perezida wa FPR yoherereje umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye[a]. Iyo nyandiko yari ikubiyemo amakosa baregaga intumwa y'umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, ibirego byashyigikiwe na jenerali Roméo Dallaire wenyine mu bahagarariye Umuryango mpuzamahanga bose, nyuma y'itangazo ryo ku ya 28 Werurwe 1994 ry'intumwa z'ibihugu by'Uburayi n'iz'ibihugu byo mu karere ryasabaga ko amashyaka yose yemewe mu Rwanda (na CDR iri mo) yazagira uyahagarararira mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (*reba umutwe wa 5*).

Urebye icyuka kirimo umurego ndetse n'irengamutima cyari kiriho kuri cyo gihe, aho buri wese yarebuzaga ibikorwa by'abandi bose mu rwikekwe, misiyo itunguranye yahawe « abanyangofero z'ubururu » b'Ababiligi yo guherekeza abahagarariye FPR mu cyanya cy'Akagera ku itariki ya 6 Mata yateye abantu benshi kuyibazaho. Nyuma y'aho indege ya perezida ihanuriwe, ibirego bishinja Ababiligi byaraskaye. TPIR ibara inkuru y'ibyo bintu ku buryo bukurikira :

> "Mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata, nyuma gato y'uko indege ya perezida ihanurwa, Bagosora yayoboye inama mu kigo cya Kigali, inama ya Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina, yari igizwe n'abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo n'aba Jandarumori. jenerali Roméo Dallaire, umuyobozi w'ingabo za Minuar, yagiye muri iyo nama yungura abasirikari igitekerezo cyo kuvugana na minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Yanabamenyesheje ko byari ngombwa ko minisitiri w'intebe agira icyo atangariza abanyagihugu, amaze kubona amakuru y'uko indege ya perezida yari yahanuwe. Bagosora yarabyanze. Nyuma yaho muri iryo joro, Bagosora na Dallaire bagiranye akanama n'intumwa y'umunyamabanga mukuru, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh iwe mu rugo. Bagosora yarongeye yanga ibyo kuvugana na minisitiri w'intebe. [...]
>
> Mu ijoro, jenerali Dallaire yategetse ko ingabo za Minuar ziherekeza minisitiri w'intebe kugira ngo ashobore kugira icyo atangariza kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu gitondo. Ku itariki ya 7 Mata, ahagana mu ma saa kumi n'imwe, "abanyangofero z'ubururu" cumi b'Ababiligi boherejwe mu rugo rwe. Mu masaha ya mbere y'uko icyo cyemezo gifatwa, abasirikari ba batayo y'"Abariki" (Recce) n'ab'umutwe urinda perezida bari bagose urugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe, bakanyuzamo bakarasa ku bajandarume b'U Rwanda no ku "banyangofero z'ubururu" bakomoka muri Ghana bari bashinzwe kurinda minisitiri w'intebe. Ababiligi bamaze kuhagera, basanze urugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe rwari rwagoswe. minisitiri w'intebe yari yahungiye mu rugo bari baturanye. Baramubonye, baramwica, banamukorera ibya mfura mbi. [...]"Abanyangofero z'ubururu" bo mu Bubiligi na Ghana bamburiwe intwaro zabo mu rugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe, nuko bajyanwa mu kigo cya Kigali ahagana mu ma saa tatu. Nyuma yaho gato, igitero cy'abasirikari baturuka mu kigo bagota "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi, nuko batangira kubagirira nabi. Abasirikari bakuru benshi b'Abanyarwanda, harimo na koloneli Nubaha wayoboraga ikigo cya Kigali, bagerageje gucubya ubukanan bw'abo basirikari b'Abanyarwanda.
>
> Mu gihe ibyo byabaga, ahagana mu ma saa yine, Bagosora yari ayoboye inama y'abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo n'aba Jandarumori mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) ryari hafi aho. Abari mu nama barimo kungurana ibitekerezo ku byakurikiye urupfu rwa perezida. Nubaha yavuye mu kigo aza aho inama yaberaga maze amenyesha Bagosora ko abasirikari b'Ababiligi bari mu mazi abira. Inama yarakomeje ariko nyuma abari bayirimo baza kumva urusaku rw'amasasu ruturuka mu cyerekezo cy'ikigo. Nyuma y'inama yo muri ESM, Bagosora yagiye mu kigo cya Kigali. Yabonye imirambo y'abasirikari b'Ababiligi bane, amenya ko n'abandi "banyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi bari mu biro bari bakiri bazima. Yireguza ko igitero cy'abasirikari cyamwanjamye, ndetse bakamwita umugambanyi, bigatuma akuramo ake karenge. Urukiko rurasanga nta ngufu zakoreshejwe kugira ngo bapfubye ibyo bintu byatatumbiraga guturika. Hashize akanya gato Bagosora agiye, abasirikari bo mu kigo bicishije intwaro zikomeye "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi bari basigaye[b]."
>
> Ibyo bikorwa bya gisirikari binyuranye ntibyafatiweho, cg ngo bituruke ku kibatsi cy'uburakari bw'abasirikari. Muri buri cyiciro, amategeko asobanutse kandi yumvikanyweho yaratanzwe, cg

se ahubwo cyane cyane ntiyatanzwe n'abakuru b'imitwe yari yishoye muri ibyo bikorwa ndetsen'inzego zisumbuye. Ayo mategeko ni yo yateye ubwo bwicanyi. Guhorera ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida byagombaga kugerwa mu ndengo y'ibitero bya FPR n' "ibyitso" byayo by'abanyagihugu n'abanyamahanga babiregwaga. N'ubwo bikomeye kumenya niba intera y'ingaruka zo kwica "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi yari yarateganyijwe kandi igapimwa n'abakoze iryo shyano, nyamara ubushake bwo kugaragaza umurego mwinshi muri ibyo bikorwa ntibwashidikanywaho. Ku buryo bwimbitse, ibyari byaraye bibaye byatumaga abantu bibwira ko impande zombi zishyamiranye zari ziteguye intambara ya rurangiza. Kuba ibintu ari uko byabonekaga byagamburuje ingabo za Minuar na za ambasade zikomeye kugira icyo zikora ngo zihagarike ubwicanyi cg ngo zihatire impande zombi imishyikirano. Zimaze guhungisha abanyamahanga, zose zikuriyemo akarenge maze zisiga abarwana bahanganye, zizi ku buryo budasubirwaho, akaga kari gategereje abaturage b'abasivili bari bafashwe bugwate.

a. Murindi, 5 Mata 1994, réf. PR/V.1/0017/94 B.u., ikirego cyageze ku munyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye i New-York ku itariki ya 4 Gicurasi 1994, na teregisi Annan/Booh-Booh 14 97 yo ku ya 6 Gicurasi 1994 n'iya Booh-Booh/Annan MIR 923 yo ku ya 8 Bicurasi 1994 (inyandiko yashyinguwe muri TPIR ifite no 189 na no191 byo ku ya 22 Ugushyingo 2005, *reba umugereka 77*).
b. Umushinjacyaha
c. Théoneste Bagosora n'abandi, dosiye nº ICTR-98-41-T, CI08-0053 (F) 6, *Résumé du jugement rendu en l'affaire Bagosora et consorts [Incamake y'isomwa ry'urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi],* TPIR, 18 Ukuboza 2008.

Igitekerezo koloneli Nkundiye yabwiriye mu ruhame abasirikari bakuru bo mu karere yari ashinzwe agisubira i Gabiro cyari gihuye n'icya bagenzi be benshi batari batinyutse kurwanya ku mugaragaro icyerekezo cya benshi. Nyamara bakomeje gufatanya na Bagosora gutegurira mu ibanga ibikorwa byo kwikiza abo bari bafitanye akantu n'ibyo kwihorera bari bamaze amezi n'amezi barota. Ubwo bakurikizaga amabwiriza Bagosora yabahaye rwihishwa mu gihe cy'inama yo muri ESM yo ku ya 7 mu gitondo : umwe mu basirikari bakuru wari uhari yavuze ko Bagosora yaba yarabwiye ba majoro Nkundiye, Ntabakuze na Nzuwonemeye ngo "*Muhere ruhande* !" Icyabatandukanyaga cyonyine ni uko majoro Nkundiye atashoboraga kuryarya abagize etamajoro ye bari basangiye itabaro mu karere yari ashinzwe. Naho ku byerekeye abandi basirikari bakuru, liyetona-koloneli Aloys Ntabakuze, umukuru wa batayo y' "Abakodo", majoro François-Xavier Nzuwonemeye, umukuru wa batayo y' "Abariki", cg majoro Joel Bararwerekana (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umukuru wa batayo y'Igiporisi cya gisirikari (PM), amagambo yabo yo mu ruhame n'imyitwarire yabo nyakuri byashoboraga kubusana ku buryo bugaragara[49].

Bityo, ku munsi wo ku wa kane tariki ya 7, mu gihe ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bwasabaga batayo y' "Abariki" na batayo "PM" kurema ingamba ngo zihagarike ubwicanyi bwibasira abaturage kandi ngo zikumire umutwe urinda perezida, amatsinda y'abasirikari bo muri izo batayo – batigeze bihakanwa

[49] "Hari umutangabuhamya wavuze ko, [...] muri Kenya, yabonanye n'uwari umuyobozi wungirije wa batayo y'"Abariki", Inosenti Sagahutu. Uyu ngo yaba yaramubwiye ko bwana Nzuwonemeye wahoze ategeka iyo batayo, yari yamuhaye amategeko, mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, yo gushyigikira Umutwe urinda perezida akoresheje burende, ibyo akaba yarabikoze aha Ajida Bizimungu iyo misiyo. Mu gitondo uyu yari yabwiye kapiteni Sagahutu ko Umutwe urinda perezida wari wambuye intwaro "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi, ko bashakaga kwica minisitiri w'intebe, ariko ko mbere yaho byari ngombwa ko "abanyangofero z'ubururu" babanza "kwikura"" (ubuhamya bwa Jean-Baptiste Nsanzimfura, 4 Kamena 2007, *Chrinique judiciaire Assises Rwanda 2007 [Igazeti y'ubucamanza, Imanza zerekeye U Rwanda 2007]*, nº 7, Bruxelles).

n'abayobozi babo, majoro Ntabakuze na Bararwerekana –, bafatanyije n'umutwe urinda perezida kwica abantu, babyemerewe n'umukuru wawo, majoro Protais Mpiranya. Umaze kubura umutware wawo wari warashyiriweho kurinda, uwo mutwe – amasezerano ya Arusha yari yateganyirije guseswa – wumvise ko udategetswe gukurikiza amabwiriza y'inzego zisanzwe, maze ushishikarira kumuhorera uhigira hasi kubura hejuru abantu bose bakekwagaho kutavuga rumwe na we. Naho majoro Nzuwonemeye, umusirikari mukuru "w'umunyenduga" wari usigaye ari wenyine, ntiyashoboye kugira igitekerezo agaragaza, maze ahitamo kumvira amabwiriza avuguruzanya, ni ukuvuga ko yahebeye urwaje. Koko rero, n'ubwo umugambi wa koloneli Bagosora wo gushyiraho Komite ya gisirikari utemewe ninjoro no mu nama yahuje ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo n'abakuru b'imitwe mu gitondo, Bagosora yaranangiye akomeza gutanga amategeko. Ibyo yabikoze umunsi w'itariki ya 7 kugira ngo habeho akavuyo intagondwa zashoboraga kuboneramo icyuho. N'ikimenyimenyi, itangazo ryanditswe nyuma y'inama yarindiriye kurisinya nyuma ya saa sita, kandi ubwicanyi bwibasiye abagize Guverinoma n'abanyapolitiki bo mu mashyaka yo mu gihugu atavuga rumwe na Muvoma bwari bwakwiriye hose. Itangazo ryari ritarasomwa kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu ma saa kumi n'igice, igihe FPR yasohokeye muri CND ishaka kwagura urubuga rwayo rwa gisirikari. komite y'ingobokamahina yahise iterana maze ijya kureba jenerali Dallaire ngo imusabe "gufata ibintu mu maboko ye", no kuvugana na FPR ngo isubire mu kigo cyayo. Abagize Komite bemeye ibyo umukuru wa Minuar yabasabye (gusubiza umutwe urinda perezida mu kigo no guhagarika ubwicanyi). jenerali yari kubona kujya kuvugana na FPR, hanyuma bukeye bwaho akageza kuri komite y'ingobokamahina raporo y'ibyo bavuganye, kugira ngo bagene uburyo bwo gusubika imirwano. Ubwo koloneli Bagosora yari yongeye kujya ku isonga kandi yari yaganjwe mu nama ya ninjoro, nuko atangira guhiga abari barwanyije ibitekerezo bye noneho bari basigaye nta kintu bashobora gukora kubera ko ishyirwaho rya Komite yiganjemo abatabona ibintu kimwe na we ryari ryatinze, ugereranyije n'umubare w'abasirikari bari bakwiriye muri Kigali :

> "Abantu bose bari bazi abafite intwaro muri Kigali abo ari bo. Izo ntwaro rero zari zitunze ku bari batamushyigikiye, kandi benshi muri twe twajyaga kumera kimwe n'abatakiriho. Icyo gihe rero, twari guhangana dute n'umuntu twari tumaze kwambura ubuyobozi bwa Komite yacu, noneho ahubwo akaba yarasaga n'ufatanyije imigambi n'abicanyi. […]
> Abari bagize komite y'ingobokamahina si ko bari bahuje bose ibitekerezo bya politiki n'imitwe y'abarwanyi yari mu mujyi wa Kigali, ari zo ngufu za gisirikari icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose cyagombaga gushingiraho[50]. Impaka zibanze ahanini mu kurwanya ibitekerezo bya Bagosora abandi bagize Komite basangaga byababshora mu bintu batashoboraga kugenzura. Twese twari tuzi ku buryo butajijinganya ko ari FPR yari inyuma y'ubwicanyi bugambiriwe. Twashakaga gufata ibyemezo byatuma dushobora gukurikiranira hafi imigambi ya FPR noneho tugashaka ibisubizo bikwiranye na yo[51]."

Kwanga kubungabunga uburambe bwa leta n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha byari bibusanye n'ibyemezo umuntu yagira ingorane

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[50] Ni ikigo cy'Umutwe urinda perezida cyo ku Kimihurura n'ikigo cy'i Kanombe (burende, imbunda zirasa kure, imizinga, abakodo, nb.).
[51] Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 20 Mata 2005.

zo guhakana ishingiro ryabyo.

Inama y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo muri etamajoro yarumvikanaga ku buryo bwose, kuko yari ihuje n'umuco wo kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri w'uko jenerali-majoro Juvénal Habyarimana yari akomatanyije imirimo ya Perezida wa Repubulika, iya minisitiri w'ingabo n'iy'umukuru wa etamajoro, ibyo byose kandi nta n'umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe uhari. Bityo rero, ntibyari bitangaje ko abakuru y'imitwe y'ingabo bari baramenyereye guhabwa amategeko n' "umubyeyi w'igihugu" kandi akaba ari na we ubwe bagezaho raporo bahurira mu nama kandi inzego z'ubuyobozi zabo zari zasenyutse. Ikindi kandi, bose bari bazi ko amategeko nshinga yashyizweho muri 1962 n'uwa 1991 mu rwego rw'amashyaka menshi yashyize ingabo mu nshingano za minisitiri w'ingabo, agaha raporo minisitiri w'intebe na Guverinoma. Kuba yari umusimbura wa minisitiri w'ingabo, koloneli Bagosora wari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo nta bubasha na buke yari afite bwo kugira icyo atangariza abanyagihugu mu izina ry'ingabo z'igihugu akoresheje kandi kashe ya minisiteri y'ingabo, mu mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wari wabujijwe, ku buryo bugambiriwe, kunyuza kuri radiyo iryo tangazo ubwe, kandi nyamara yari yariteguye.

Bityo, impaka zo mu rwego rw'amategeko zerekeye ukwishyira hamwe kw'amashyaka n'uburyo bwo gusimbura perezida wa Repubulika koloneli Bagosora yasabye kugirana n'abayobozi b'abanyamategeko bo muri Muvoma zari uburyo bwa politiki bugaragara nko gusisibiranya no gukina ku mubyimba, kuko iyo nama abo banyapolitiki batatu, Nzirorera, Ngirumpatse na Karemera bagiranye na Théoneste Bagosora yari igamije guca icyuho mu nzego za leta kitari cyashoboye gucibwa n'urupfu rwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana.

Urebye ibintu bikomeye byari byabaye kuri uwo munsi kandi inama ya mu gitondo yari igamije kubikumira – bitabujije ko abandi bihatira kubishoza –, umubonano komite y'ingobokamahina yagiranye na jenerali Dallaire nyuma ya saa sita wabaye imitsi y'abayirimo yareze : abagize komite y'ingobokamahina basaga n'aho bafashwe bugwate ntibashobore kugira icyo bamenya n'icyo bakora. Cyane cyane ko ikibazo cy'umukuru w'iyo Komite cyari kitarakemuka, kandi Théoneste Bagosora yarihutishwaga no kwiha uwo mwanya, mu gihe Minuar yamutungagaga agatoki imushinja urupfu rw'"abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi, leta y'Ububiligi yari yatangiye gusabira raporo.

> "Kuva inama yarangira, Komite ntiyigeze imenyeshwa ku mugaragaro amakuru y'ibibera mu mujyi. Abenshi mu bayigize ntibari bafite esikoti, bityo rero ntibashoboraga kujya kwirebera ubwabo uko ibintu byifashe. Ariko amakuru bongorerwaga yarimo igikuba : nyuma y'uko n'inama irangira, twari twamenye ko "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi bari bafite ingorane, ko minisitiri w'intebe n'abandi banyapolitiki bahotowe, intagondwa zo mu gatsiko ka perezida na Bagosora yari arimo akaba ari zo zakekwaga. Komite yahisemo kwitandukanya na Bagosora, noneho jenerali Ndindiliyimana yemera bya nyirarureshwa ko agiye kuyiyobora. Uko mbyibuka, koko nta nama n'imwe yigeze ayobora[52]."

[52] Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 20 Mata 2005.

"Ku mugoroba w'uwo munsi, nagiye mu nama ya komite y'ingobokamahina[53] maze aba ariho numva ubwa mbere ko minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana bari bamwishe (ni koloneli Léonidas Rusatira wibukije urwo rugero). Muri iyo nama, twasabye umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo mushya, koloneli Gatsinzi, kujya guha mpore ambasaderi w'Ububiligi ku bw'urupfu rw' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi. Hari n'abafashe ijambo (Comd ESM) basaba gufata ibintu mu maboko kugira ngo bahagarike akaduruvayo kari kariho. [...] Muri iyo nama havuzwe n'ikibazo cy'ubuyobozi bwa komite y'ingobokamahina. koloneli Bagosora yashakaga kuyiyobora, ariko koloneli Rusatira avuga ko, ubwo Komite yari igizwe n'abasirikari bakuru bakiri mu kazi, kandi koloneli Bagosora akaba yari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, ubuyobozi bwayo bwagombaga guharirwa umusirikari urusha abandi uburambe mu ipeti risumba ayandi. Ubwo yaganishaga kuri jenerali Ndindiliyimana[54]."

"Mu nama yo ku ya 7 nimugoroba, numvise Bagosora afitanye amakimbirane n'abandi bari muri Komite kuko Bagosora yashakaga kuyiyobora, kandi yari Komite ya gisirikari. Ntabwo twemeraga ko ayiyobora kubera ko yari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akabarirwa no mu banyapolitiki kuko yari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo. Twashakaga ko ari umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi uburambe mu ipeti risumba ayandi wayiyobora, ni ukuvuga Ndindiliyimana Augustin. Na we kandi yari muri iyo nama. Bagosora yishingikirizaga ko kuba yari umusimbura wa minisitiri wari ushinzwe amashami yombi y'ingabo na Jandarumori byatumaga agomba kuyobora iyo Komite, ibyo rero abari mu nama bakaba bari babimuhakaniye. Ni bwo rero atangiye guterana amagambo n'abasirikari bakuru bamwe ku giti cyabo, nka Rusatira Léonidas avuga ko mu gihe uyu na we yari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri yazaga mbere y'abakuru ba za etamajoro[55]. Twamwumvishije ko icyo gihe ari minisitiri ubwe wabyemereraga umukuru w'Ibiro bye[56]. Amaherezo ni Ndindiliyimana wayoboye inama. Imyanzuro y'inama yari ugushaka uburyo bwo kugarura kuri gahunda umutwe urinda perezida, korohereza imibonano hagati y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, abanyapolitiki na FPR binyujijwe kuri Minuar, kugira ngo bashyireho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho mu rwego rwo kubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha. Ubundi ni umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo wari ushinzwe guhuza abakuru ba gisirikari, inzego zinyuranye za politiki n'iza Guverinoma, bityo agashyira mu ngiro imyanzuro y'inama. etamajoro ntigira umubonano utaziguye n'izo nzego. inama irangiye, Bagosora yasohotse arakaye[57]."

Ku bwa Léonidas Rusatira, igongana yagiranye na Bagosora ku kibazo cyo guhitamo perezida wa komite y'ingobokamahina rikaza gutuma "yivumbura" ndetse agakubitiraho no gusohoka inama itarangiye ryavutse impaka zigitangira,

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[53] Iyo nama yabereye muri ESM, itangira saa moya z'ijoro. Abari bayirimo ni : jenerali-majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, koloneli Ferisiyani Muberuka, koloneli Joseph Murasampongo, koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, koloneli Déogratias Ndibwami, koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho, koloneli Léonidas Rusatira, liyetona-koloneli Augustin Rwamanywa, liyetona-koloneli Cyprien Kayumba, liyetona-koloneli Ephrem Rwabirinda, liyetona-koloneli Paul Rwarakabije na majoro Théophile Gakara. Ibi nta n'ubwo byari ukuri.

[54] Ubuhamya Umukoloneli wari uhari yitangiye ubwe, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 20 Gashyantare 2006.

[55] Ibi nta n'ubwo byari ukuri.

[56] Muri 1973, Léonidas Rusatira, wari liyetona icyo gihe, yari umukuru w'Ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo, Juvénal Habyarimana, kandi akomeza uwo mwanya kugeza muri 1992 n'ubwo Laurent Serubuga yabirwanyaga ku mugaragaro. Ntacyo byamutwaye igihe cyose abasirikari bakuru bakomoka mu Ruhengeri kandi bamurusha amapeti n'uburambe bari bakiri mu kazi : Nyatanyi, Benda, Kanyarengwe, Ntibitura, Mbonampeka, Bangamwabo na Nsengiyumva. Umubano we na Habyarimana wahindutse igihe ari we wari usigaye ari umusirikari mukuru uvuka mu Ruhengeri wari ukiri mu kazi. koloneli Déogratias Nsabimana (icyiciro cya 7) akigirwa umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo, uwo musirikari ukomoka mu Ruhengeri yahise azamurwa ku ipeti rya jenerali. Léonidas Rusatira abonye agumye ku ipeti rya koloneli yatekereje ibyo kwegura, ariko abasirikari bakuru bavuka mu Ruhengeri bakoranye akanama maze bamutumaho koloneli André Kanyamaza kumusaba mu izina ryabo ko abireka, nuko amaherezo arabibemerera.

[57] Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, minisiteri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142. 16 Kamena 1995, p. 4.

kuko ari yo ntego nyakuri yonyine yari igamijwe muri icyo kigoroba, ikaba n'ishingiro ry'izindi ngingo zari kugibwaho impaka.

Amasaha makumyabiri n'ane nyuma y'urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu yarangiye hari imyanzuro ivuguruzanya hagati y'impande ebyiri z'ingabo zari zashyamiraniye ubuyobozi bw'ingobokamahina.

Haba mu ruhande rw'abamwanga urunuka haba no mu rw'abamushyigikiye, bose babonaga koloneli Bagosora nk'aho ari we uyobora umukino ku buryo budasubirwaho. Yari yikijije abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma b'ingenzi, ndetse n'abo intagagondwa z'Abahutu bitaga ibyitso bya FPR ; imitwe y'ingabo yari ku ruhande rwe ni yo yagenzuraga umujyi maze igakwirakwiza iterabwoba mu tugari. Mu kigo cy'i Kanombe, bari batangiye kumwita "perezida". Intagondwa ruharwa za "Hutu *Pawa*" ntizari zigihangayitse, ndetse na we yari yatangiye kwibwira ko arimo gusohoza "umugambi" we.

Nyamara, ku bimureba ku giti cye, ibintu byari bimeze ukundi. Kuba Augustin Bizimana yarabaye minisitiri w'ingabo abasirikari bakuru ba etamajoro, Gratien Kabiligi na Aloys Ntiwiragabo bari mu butumwa mu mahanga, byari byamuvukije inkunga ikomeye yo kumufasha kujya ku isonga rya komite ya gisirikari yo gusimbura abayobozi b'abasivili. Uko kuganzwa ni ko kwatumye akuturanya mu gutanga amabwiriza yo kwica abanyapolitiki bo mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe na Muvoma bagombaga gukomeza uburambe bwa leta, anategeza abasirikari ba Minuar abo mu kigo cya Kigali bari bariye karungu. Impamvu z'uwo mukubitirizo zari zishingiye ku ntego isobanutse ya etamajoro yumvaga ko ari we wenyine washobora kuyigeraho : gukumira ku buryo bwose imigambi ya FPR yo kwigarurira ubutegetsi.

Uretse iby'isesereza ry'ubushotoranyi, Théoneste Bagosora yari yaragaragaje mu gihe kirekire yamaze mu kazi yumvira amategeko ya Juvénal Habyarimana ko na we yari azi amayeri yo kwishongora no gushyira mu gaciro, akamenya no gupima ireme ry'ingufu z'abahanganye. Urebye uko ibintu byari byifashe icyo gihe, yari yiteguye gusaba ingurane ihanitse ibyo yari kwemerera FPR, kimwe n'amashyaka yo mu majyepfo atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ariko agahatira abo bagiranye imishyikirano na ba ambasaderi bari barangamiye amahoro ko hajyaho inzibacyuho ya politiki isubiwemo ku buryo buringaniye.

Ni muri ubwo buryo umuntu yakumva ubukenkemure bwagaragaraga kuri Tewonsiti Bagosora na Augustin Ndindiliyimana mu kiganiro kirekire bagiranye na jenerali Roméo Dallaire nyuma ya saa sita (*reba umugereka 60*). Uyu yatangajwe n'ingufu z'ubuyobozi yabonaga muri Bagosora ("Ni we washoboraga kuvugana n'abantu, nta wundi wo muri Guverinoma washoboraga kugana ngo usange ari umutegetsi koko"), atangazwa n'uko yabonaga ibintu byose abifite mu maboko ye ("Sinigeze mbona umuntu utuje, utakangaranyijwe n'uko ibintu byari byifashe"), ariko atangazwa cyane cyane n' "imbaraga zikwiye ishimo" zimbitswe mu "itangizwa ry'ibikorwa byubaka" kugira ngo ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba bihagarare. Koko rero, urebye uko ibintu byari bimeze nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida, abantu bose basangaga Théoneste Bagosora ari we muyobozi wa gisirikari wenyine washoboraga guhangara kugirana imishyikirano na FPR, ariko cyane cyane ni we musirikari mukuru wenyine washoboraga guha amategeko

imitwe ya gisirikari n'iy'urubyiruko yari yishoye mu bwicanyi kubuhagarika.

Ariko ibyihutirwaga kuri benshi mu bari bitabiriye inama idafite gahunda y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo mu ijoro n'iya komite y'ingobokamahina yo mu kigoroba byari bitandukanye rwose rwose n'ibyo we yabonaga. Banga gushyira Bagosora ku butegetsi cg ku buyobozi bwa Komite yabo, abari bayigize bagaragaje mbere na mbere icyizere gike bafitiye umuntu basangaga yakora ikintu cyose gishoboka kugira ngo ubutegetsi bugume mu maboko y'abaragwamurage b'ingoma bari barashyizwe mu myanya na Juvénal Habyarimana, ni ukuvuga, ku buryo bufatika, kugira ngo abungabunge inyungu z'abasirikari bakuru bo mu Bushiru, ku Gisenyi no mu majyaruguru muri rusange[58]. Ni ukubera iyo mpamvu bagenzi be bamurwanyije, bakamushinja "ubuhezanguni", ariko si uko bibwiraga ko yarimo gutegura itsembabwoko. Koko rero, twibuke ko hagati y'iyo tariki n'iya 12 Mata, umunsi Guverinoma yimukira i Murambi (Gitarama), ubwicanyi bwagarukiraga mu mujyi wa Kigali, muri Kigali ngari no mu makomini amwe n'amwe ya Gisenyi (mu ya perezida), ya Gikongoro na Kibungo. Ni ku matariki 18-19 Mata gusa perefegitura zo mu majyepfo (Gitarama, Butare) "zarindimutse", nyuma y'uko abategetsi bashya b'agateganyo bahakoreye ingendo.

Incuro eshatu zose abasirikari bakuru "bashyira mu gaciro" bimye icyizere Bagosora zarasumbanaga mu ntera. Mu nama idafite gahunda yo mu ijoro ry'iya 6 Mata, ni ikigwirirano cy'uburambe bwari butitaweho cyatumye bahigika umukandida Bagosora bakamusimbuza umwe muri bo nk'umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo. Ubwa kabiri, bitabaje inkunga ya Roméo Dallaire na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh kugira ngo bazitire irari bwite rya Théoneste Bagosora, ariko badatinyutse kumuhangara imbonankubone kuko nta mukandida washoboraga kumwigimba, nuko ahubwo icyemezo bagisunikira inteko y'abasirikari bakuru bayobora ibigo n'uturere tw'imirwano yatumijwe mu nzira zisanzwe. N'ubwo iyo nama b'abasirikari bakuru yashigikiye ikirari cyabo yemeza ku mugaragaro ko byari ngombwa gushyira mu bikorwa bwangu amasezerano ya Arusha, umuganzanyo wabo wabaye uw'igihe gito ubwo inama yarangiraga bagasanga koloneli Bagosora yabatanze imbere akaburizamo imishobokere y'ubwo buryo. Ihigikwa rya gatatu rya kandidatire ya Bagosora muri iryo joro ryabaye nyuma y'impaka zishyushye kandi rigira n'akarusho ko ryabereye ku mugaragaro ubushyamirane bukerekana neza abahanganye abo ari bo. Nyuma y'aho Bagosora agendeye, abamurwanyije bagombye gukora gahunda no guteganya ibikorwa bifatika bijyana n'icyerekezo cyabo, kandi bikaboneka bukeye mu gitondo.

Na none ariko, uko ibintu bibonwa si ko biba bimeze koko. Bahitamo Augustin Ndindriyimana nk'umukuru wa komite y'ingobokamahina, abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma bari bamugize umuvugizi wabo, ari ko mu by'ukuri akaba ataratinyukaga kwitandukanya na Bagosora. Ikindi kandi, n'ubwo bari ku ruhande rwiganje kandi ubwemerwe bwabo bukaba bwaraturukaga ku nama b'abayobozi, ububasha bw'abagize Komite ya gisirikari yari yashyizweho

[58] N'ubwo umuryango wa perezida wari umutezeho ko arengera umurage rusange, wari uzi neza ko igeno ryawo rizahatubira kuko uwo mukeba wa Juvénal Habyarimana yari afite impamvu nyinshi zo kwibona nk' "umurakare" w'uruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi.

amaherezo bwasaga n'aho ari ubuhwahwari : bananiwe gutsimbura no kugamburuza imitwe yigometse n'iy'urubyiruko yari yigaruriye imihanda, bananiwe kurinda umutekano w'abanyapolitiki bashoboraga guhererekanya gahunda yabo, kandi ntibanashoboye kwemerwa na jenerali Dallaire cg na za ambasade nk'abantu bo kugirana na bo imishyikirano.

Icya nyuma, ari na cyo kirusha ibindi gukomera, ntibari basesenguye neza "ubwivumbure" bwa Bagosora wasohotse mu nama amaze kwimwa icyizere na bagenzi be. Amaze kuba wenyine, ubwihare Bagosora yari yagaragaje mu ngamba ze zo kurimbura abanyapolitiki "b'ibyitso" bwahindutse umushibuka. Uretse ambasade y'Ubufaransa yakiriye abanyacyubahiro ba Muvoma n'abarwanashyaka ba "Hutu Pawa" bari baherekejwe n'umutwe urinda perezida (*reba umutwe wa 10*), abahagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye na za ambasade zose zari zifite uruhare mu masezerano (uBudage, Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, Ububiligi, Intumwa ya Papa) bamaganye ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyapolitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma, bashyigikira icyerekezo cya komite y'ingobokamahina bongera gushimangira "ko inzego za politiki zibishinzwe [zihutisha] ishyirwaho ry'amashami y'ubutegetsi by'inzibacyuho ateganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha". Kuva ku munsi ukurikiyeho, iyo mishyirirweho imaze kugibwaho impaka, Bagosora yari kugomba kwisobanura imbere y'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo, imbere y'Umuryango mpuzamahanga n'Ubutabera bw'Ububiligi ku bwicanyi bwari bwabaye uwo munsi. Na we rero yabonaga ko agomba byanze bikunze gufata izindi ngamba nshya (*kuri iyi ngingo, reba umugereka 61*).

Nta kundi kandi byari kugenda, cyane cyane ko FPR yari imaze kwibutsa abantu bose ku buryo bukarabutse ko yinjiye mu ntambara, ubwo nyuma ya saa sita yasohokaga aho yari ikambitse muri CND kugira ngo ihite isakirana n'umutwe urinda perezida wari ufite ikigo cyawo hafi aho :

> "Ingingo ya 4 : Abasirikari ba FPR bari mu kigo cya CND cyari kirinzwe na Minuar bari bakumiriwe n'ingabo za Minuar, ariko bigeze mu ma saa kumi n'igice ku isaha y'U Rwanda, ni ukuvuga mu ma saa yine n'igice ku isaha ya New York, kimwe cya gatatu cyabo, ni ukuvuga hagati y'abasirikari 150 na 200 kuri 600[59] basohotse ku ngufu ; nyuma hakurikiyeho imirwano yo mu mihanda bagiranye n'abasirikari b'umutwe urinda perezida[60]".

Ubwo yari isheshe amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Iryo seswa ryahuruje ako kanya abagize komite y'ingobokamahina bashoboye kuboneka, basaba jenerali Dallaire guhita atangiza mu maguru mashya ibiganiro na FPR, ariko amaherezo byimurirwa mu gitondo cyakurikiyeho.

Bityo, ku itariki ya 7 Mata, hari hitezwe ibintu byose bishobora kubaho. Abantu bose n'abanyamahanga barimo bagombaga kugaragaza aho bahagaze, n'ubwo amakuru y'urukurikirane rw'ibyabaga yageraga, na bwo kandi ku buryo buruhije, ku batari mu dutsiko duto twa ba nyirabayazana. Ibintu byose byatumaga abantu batekereza ko umunsi wo ku ya 8 Mata na wo wari kuba

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[59] Aha umuntu yakwibuka ko mu nyandiko za Minuar bakomeza kuvuga umubare baringa w'abasirikari ba FPR 600 bari bacumbikiwe muri CND, kandi inkuru ari kimomo ko umubare wabo wari wikubye nibura kabiri.

[60] *Outgoing code cable [ubutumwa bwoherezwa hanze] ya* Minuar ifite numero TPIR : L0001689.

simusiga.

Igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cy'ubugome cyabaye akayobero

Mu gusoza inkuru y'uko ibintu byagenze, birakwiye gusesengura impamvu ikibazo cy'uwahanuye indege ya perezida cyakomeje kuzinzikwa mu icuraburindi. Nubwo ntawigeze yigamba icyo gitero, abenshi mu banyapolitiki i Kigali bagishinjaga ku buryo butazuyaza FPR yari isigaye yonyine, kandi yihakanye amasezerano y'amahoro. Nk'uko nashoboye kubibona ubwo nari mpibereye, ni uko abantu bari i Kigali, abanyagihugu n'abanyamahanga, abakozi ba za ambasade n'abanyamakuru, basangaga ibintu ari urusobe. Abantu babonaga ko nta shiti FPR ari bo bonyine bashoboraga gukora iryo shyano, ryari rije rikurikira imihigo yeruye yo guhitana abantu abayobozi bayo bahozaga mu kanwa mu byumweru bishize, ndetse n'iyo guteguza ko bazatsinda intambara vuba na bwangu kandi ku buryo butajijinganya. Ariko kubyemerera ku mugaragaro byateraga umususu cg kwifata, urebye uko abantu bagereranyaga ubushobozi bw'impande zombi zari zishyamiranye. Kuva kera, Juvénal Habyarimana yari yaratsinzwe intambara y'amagambo muri poropagande mu "Bazungu", kandi byari biruhije kwamagana uwo muryango [wa FPR] muri rusange washimagizwaga kubera imiterere n'imikorere yawo yari kuri gahunda iboneye kandi igatuma ugera ku ntego zawo buri gihe. Nta muntu washidikanyaga ko wari gufata ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali vuba cyane iyo ujya kubishaka. Kuba bamwe barirengagije kumenya, abenshi bakanga kuvuga ibyo bari bazi, guhuzagurika no kwikuriramo akarenge by'Umuryango mpuzamahanga byaturutse ku gitero gitumo abantu batigeze batekereza kandi nyamara buri wese yarashoboraga guteganya ubukana bwo gusenya bwacyo burenze urugero. Aho kugaragaza ibimenyetso bya gihamya bifatika buri wese yari ategereje, za ambasade "zikomeye" zaheze mu byo gukekakeka gusa uru cg ruriya mu mpande zari zishyamiranye, cg se zigasa n'izishyira imbere ku mugaragaro ibitekerezo bigamije guhanagura icyaha ku ruhande zari zishyigikiye. Muri ubwo buryo kandi, nubwo mu gihugu hari abanyamakuru mbarwa mpuzamahanga, itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga ryabanje kwihatira gukusanya ibyerekezo binyuranye byari byiganje. Nyamara uko iminsi yagiye yicuma, nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwo mu minsi ya mbere –bwibasiye abanyapolitiki batavuga rumwe na Muvoma ndetse n' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi (r*eba ibiri bukurikire*ho) – n'intera ikataje y'ubwicabyi busesuye bwibasiraga Abatutsi bo mu gihugu n' "ibyitso" byabo, hashyizwe imbere icyerekezo cyo gukeka ko "intagondwa z'Abahutu" ari zo zakoze iryo shyano ngo kubera ko zaba zari zirakajwe n'ibyo Juvénal Habyarimana yaba yari amaze guhara i Dar es – Salaam; icyo gitekerezo cyagizwe kamara maze bivugwa ko kiri mu mujyo w'ubugambanyi bwateguwe. Amahano arenze kamere y'itsembabwoko, kunangira kw'abashyamiranye banze imishyikirano yose ndetse no kubura ubutwari k'Umuryango mpuzamahanga byatumye kwemera uruhare rwa buri wese no kuvuga ukuri binanirana. Kuzinzika iryo shyano ry'akayobero byagezweho mu nzira zinyuranye buhoro buhoro zirimo gukoresha imvugo yo

gutsinda no guca amarenga, ingamba zivuguruzanya zo guhakana ibyaha no kwitana bamwana by'impande zose, kugoragoreka ibimenyetso gihamya, kuzitira cg kuniga imigendekere y'imirimo y'ubutabera.

Bityo rero, n'ubwo uburemere bw'ishyano ryaguye n'ingaruka zaryo bukabije, anketi mpuzamahanga yasabwe na perezida w'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, na Guverinoma y'U Rwanda y'ubusigire, cg n'ibindi bihugu ntiyigeze ikorwa. Guhera ku itariki ya 8 Mata, igihugu cy'Ubufaransa cyari cyayisabye Loni, no ku ya 27 Kamena inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi yari yategetse Umunyamabanga mukuru gukoresha iyo anketi. Ku itariki ya 12 Mata, Guverinoma y'Ububiligi yari yabisabye Umuryango mpuzamahanga w'indege za gisivili (OAIC) maze ubijyaho impaka ku ya 25 Mata. Ku itariki ya 15 Kamena 1994, inama y'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika yabereye i Tunis na yo yatoye icyemezo kiganisha ahongaho. Ubwa nyuma, ku ya 28 Kamena, René Degni-Ségui, intumwa idasanzwe ya Komisiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda, yasabye ko hajyaho ku buryo bwihutirwa komisiyo yo gukora anketi… Ibyo ari byo byose, intambara yarinze irangira muri anketi zose zasabwe nta n'imwe igize gikurikirana. Igisubizo gitangaje kurusha ibindi tugikesha René Degni-Ségui :Kwanga [gukora anketi] byatewe n'uko nta ngengo y'imari Umuryango w'Abibumbye wari wateganyirije icyo gikorwa[61].

Nuko, nyuma y'intsinzi y'inyeshyamba n'ishyirwaho ry'abategetsi bashya, ibyo kongera kugira icyo ubaza kuri iyo dosiye byahindutse inkuru ishaje. Bityo, ku itariki ya 16 Nzeri 1994, mu Nama mpuzamahanga yerekeye U Rwanda yabereye i La Haye, perezida mushya wa Repubulika y'U Rwanda, Pasteur Bizimungu, yavuze ko "nta kamaro" iyo dosiye ifite, ko itari mu byihutirwa muri gahunda z'abategetsi. Aba bahitagamo kuyirekera "mu maboko y'inzego zidafite aho zibogamiye", zihutiye kuyitabika[62]. Uretse ibaruwa yo ku ya 28 Werurwe 1996

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[61] " […] Nasabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye ngo umpe komisiyo y'iperereza irimo inzobere mu by'amasasu kugira ngo nshobore gukora ubushakashatsi. Koko rero hagati aho bari bambwiye ngo Umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe iby'indege za gisivili ntushoboraga gukora anketi, kuko indege itari iya gisivili, ahubwo ngo yari iya gisirikari. Nuko rero byari ngombwa gushyiraho komisiyo y'iperereza. Nayisabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye, hanyuma bansubiza yuko nta ngengo y'imari yari yateganyirijwe ibyo" (ubuhamya bwa René Degni-Ségui, Sena y'Ububiligi, Komisiyo ya sena ishinzwe gukora anketi ku byabaye mu Rwanda, *Raporo yakozwe mu izina rya Komisiyo na ba bwana Mahoux na Verhofstadt*, (534b), Bruxelles, 6 Ukuboza 1997.)

[62] Reba cyane cyane raporo za Loni na OUA ku byabaye mu Rwanda muri 1994 zanditswe n'inzobere zigenga : CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ DES NATIONS UNIES, *Rapport de la commission indépendante d'enquête sur les actions de l'Organisation des Nations unies lors du génocide de 1994 au Rwanda* [*Raporo ya komisiyo yigenga y'iperereza ku bikorwa by'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda muri 1994],* 15 Ukuboza 1999, hakaba n'iy'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika, AUO, *Rwanda : The preventable genocide* [*Rwanda : Itsembabwoko ryashoboraga gukumirwa],* Addis-Abéba, Gicurasi 2000. Raporo ya mbere nta hantu na hamwe ikomoza ku bantu baba ari gatozi y'icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cg se ngo ibe yateganya gukora anketi kuri iki kibazo. Naho iya kabiri, bene kuyikora babanje kugaragaza ingorane zikomeye bahuye na zo basanze hari nk'ubuhuzamugambi mu bantu bwo kutagira icyo batangaza, nuko bakomeza bagira bati "9.14. Kuva icyo gihe, kandi nko ku buryo budashobora gusubikwa, ibihuha n'ibirego bivuguruzanya rwose byarakwirakwijwe ku byerekeye abashobora kuba barabigizemo uruhare. Mu gushakisha ukuntu haboneka urwitwazo rw'igitero cyari kigamije kwibasira abasirikari b'Ababiligi bo muri Minuar, Radiyo RTLMC yahise itunga agatoki Ababiligi, ndetse n'abandi. Kuva ubwo, buri ruhande rwari rubifitemo uruhare rwashinjwe icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba : Akazu, abandi Bahutu b'intagondwa, FPR, Minuar n'Abafaransa. Ukuri ni uko kugeza magingo aya, icyo gikorwa cy'icyamamare mu mateka cyazitswe mu bihuha no mu birego bivuguruzanya, kandi nta gihamya ifatika n'imwe yigeze itangwa. Ku buryo bw'amayobera, nta anketi n'imwe icukumbuye yigeze ikorerwa iyo mpanuka, kandi n'iyo komisiyo ntiyigeze igira ubushobozi bwo kuyikora. Icyo kibazo cy'ingenzi twagishyize no mu byifuzo byacu". Abo banditsi kandi basabye ko hakwitabazwa abandi : "OUA yagombye gusaba Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'abanyamategeko bagatangira anketi yigenga kugira ngo igaragaze gatozi w'ihanurwa ry'indege yari itwaye perezida Juvénal Habyarimana w' U Rwanda na perezida Cyprien Ntaryamira w'Uburundi" (p. 267), ariko nta gisubizo bahawe.

itarasubijwe minisitiri w'U Rwanda wa Taransiporo no gutumanaho yandikiye uhagarariye Umuryango mpuzamahanga w'indege za gisivili mu karere kugira ngo agire uruhare mu gusuzuma indege Falcon ya perezida[63], nta rundi rwego mpuzamahanga rwigeze rushyikirizwa iyo dosiye n'abategetsi b'ibihugu yarebaga – U Rwanda n'Uburundi – (*reba umugereka 130*). Naho iby'urukiko rwa TPIR rwashyizweho ku ya 8 Ugushyingo 1994 n'icyemezo cy'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, kandi "rushinzwe gucira imanza abantu bakekwa kuba baragize uruhare mu bikorwa by'itsembabwoko cg byica ku buryo bukabije amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera ikiremwamuntu" – harimo n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba –, rwasabwe incuro nyinshi kugira icyo rukora kuri icyo kibazo. Ariko abavugizi barwo bakomeje kuvuga ko igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata kitari muri manda yabo. Ibyo ari byo byose ariko, ndatsindagira y'uko abashinjacyaha barwo batatu bakurikirana bagerageje, ariko tabishyizeho umutima, gukora anketi kuri iyo dosiye, no ku buryo bwaguye ku byaha by'intambara n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe n'inyeshyamba, bahisemo kubireka kubera igitsure cy'abategetsi bashya b'U Rwanda, ariko cyane cyane, bahishe ibyo bari bavumbuye cg se barabihindagura. Urwo Rukiko rwakomeje kwanga anketi zose rwasabwe gukora ku gikorwa cy'iterabwoba. (*kugira ngo urusheho kumenya impamvu z'iyo myifatire, reba umutwe wa 14 n'umugereka 130*).

Kuva ubwo, ku rwitwazo rw'uko nta "anketi mpuzamahanga" yakozwe, dosiye n'ibimenyetso gihamya by'icyo Loni itsimbarayeho icyita "impanuka y'indege ya perezida" cg "impanuka y'indege yahitanye perezida w'U Rwanda n'uw'Uburundi[64]", bibundaraweho cyane.

Ku itariki ya 27 Werurwe 1998 gusa, hashize ibyumweru bitatu baremye Komisiyo y'amakuru y'Inteko ishinga amategeko "ishinzwe gukora anketi ku bikorwa bya gisirikari by'Ubufaransa, ibindi bihugu na Loni mu Rwanda hagati y'umwaka wa 1990 n'uwa 1994[65]", ni bwo Ubutabera bw'Ubufaransa, bubisabwe n'imiryango y'Abafaransa bakoraga mu ndege ya perezida, bwatangiye iperereza bukarishinga umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière. Nyuma y'impaka nyinshi no kwisubiraho, iryo perereza ryagaragaje, ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo 2006, ko FPR ari yo nyirabayazana, nuko hakurikiraho za manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata ibyegera cyenda bya perezida Paul Kagame[66] zatangajwe ku itariki ya 22 Ugushyingo 2006. Itangazwa ryazo ryakurikiwe n'uko U Rwanda n'Ubufaransa byacanye umubano ku itariki ya 24 Ugushyingo.

Isozwa ry'iperereza rya Bruguière ryari ryarakomeje kwigizwa yo ryaje kubanzirizwa n'ishyirwaho, i Kigali ku ya 17 Mata 2006, rya Komisiyoy'igihugu y'iperereza iyobowe n'uwahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubutabera Jean de Dieu Mucyo, komisiyo "ishinzwe gukusanya ibimenyetso gihamya by'uruhare Ubufaransa

[63] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, t. II, p. 248.

[64] CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ DES NATIONS UNIES, *Rapport de la commission indépendante d'enquête [Raporo ya komisiyo yigenga y'iperereza ku bikorwa by'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda muri 1994], op. cit.*, p. 17 et 47.

[65] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit*.

[66] Urukiko rwa mbere rukuru rw'i Paris, Ibiro by'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, itangwa rya manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata. Iteka rigomba gutangazwa, Paris, 22 Ugushyingo 2006.

bwagize mu itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994". Iyo komisiyo yasaga n'igisubizo ku birego by'Abafaransa[67]. Raporo yayo yarangiye muri Mata 2008 Amaherezo igatangazwa ku ya 5 Kanama[68], yamenyeshaga ko mu minsi mike hazatangwa manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abafaransa mirongo itatu na batatu. Ku buryo bubangikanye n'iyo komisiyo ya mbere, ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 2007, hashyizweho Komisiyo y'igihugu "ishinzwe gukora anketi ku gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyibasiye indege ya perezida Juvénal Habyarimana mu mugoroba wo ku ya 6 Mata 1994". Imirimo y'iyi komisiyo ya kabiri yari iyobowe n'umucamanza Jean Mutsinzi, yari kuzagaragaza gihamya y'uruhare rw'Abafaransa.

Ikindi kandi, ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare 2008, umucamanza w'Umusipanyori Fernando Andréu Merelles, ashingiye ku bubasha buzira urubibi, yatanze manda zo gufata abayobozi bakuru mirongo ine bo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda abashinja ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko, ibyaha byibasira inyoko muntu, ibyaha by'intambara n'iterabwoba bakoze mu Rwanda no muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo (RDC) hagati y'itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 n'umwaka wa 2002. Mu iteka rye rishingiye ku bimenyetso n'imyanzuro bidatandukanye cyane n'ibyo mu iperereza ry'Umufaransa, umucamanza w'Umusipanyori yashinje ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za APR/Inkotanyi, ariko mbere na mbere Paul Kagame, kuba bararemye "igikorwa cy'iterabwoba kigamije kwambura perezida Juvénal Habyarimana ubuzima bwe [...] mu mugambi wo gutegura igitero cya nyuma cyo kwigarurira ubutegetsi, no gushyiraho ibihe by'intambara[69]".

Ku itariki ya 23 Ukwakira 2008, abacamanza babiri b'Abafaransa basigiwe anketi ya Bruguière, Marc Trévidic na Philippe Coirre, ntibashoboye gukora anketi zo kuzuriza iyabanje kubera ko mu by'ukuri Ubugenzacyaha bw'Ubufaransa bwari bwazihagaritse[70] kuva aho Ubutegetsi bw'i Paris bufatiye

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[67] Mu by'ukuri, serivisi z'iperereza z'U Rwanda zari zaratangiye akazi kazo ko gukusanya amukuru yerekeye uruhare rwitirirwa ingabo z'Ubufaransa guhera muri 2002. minisitiri w'ingabo, Marcel Gatsinzi, washyizweho ku ya 15 Ugushyingo muri uwo mwaka, yasabwe gutahura abahoze ari abasirikari mu ngabo z'U Rwanda baba baragize aho bahurira na "opération Turquoise" ku buryo ubu n'ubu, bakaba bashobora gutanga ubuhamya bwerekeranye n'uruhare rwayo. jenerali Marcel Gatsinzi yategekaga akarere ka gisirikari Butare-Gikongoro mu gihe cy'iyo misiyo. Mu mpera za 2002 ni bwo batangiye gufata abahoze ari abakozi mu nzego za perefegitura na komini zari zigamijwe ndetse n'abanyururu bahoze ari abasirikari mu ngabo z'U Rwanda bagasabwa kuza gutanga ubuhamya « bahereye ruhande ». Uwo murimo watangiye nyuma y'aho Paul Kagame agiriye ibizazane mu nkiko nyuma y'itangazwa ry'igitabo cya Charles Onana cyitwa *Les Secrets du génocide rwandais [Amabanga y'itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda]*, Duboiris, Paris, Ugushyingo 2001. Mu kigwi cya visiperezida w' U Rwanda, ambasaderi w' U Rwanda i Paris, Jacques Bihozagara, yari yareze mu nkiko umwanditsi n'umutangazi b'icyo gitabo, abashinja gusebanya no kutubahiriza ihame ry'uko umuntu utarakatirwa wese afatwa nk'umwere ku bijyanye n'urubanza rw'umucamanza Bruguière. Ibyo birego byatsinzwe ibitego bibiri. Icya mbere cyo muri Mata 2002 ni uko urukiko rw'i Paris rwanze kwakira ikirego kubera ko cyari cyararengeje igihe cyo gushyikirizwa urukiko ; icya kabiri cyo mu Kuboza k'uwo mwaka ni uko nyuma yo kurega bundi bushya, uwari wareze ubwe yasabye ko urubanza rutaba mu gihe yari bugufi guseruka imbere y'abacamanza bagombaga gusuzuma "za gihamya" umunyamakuru yari yatanze zerekeye uruhare rwa Paul Kagame mu gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo kya 6 Mata. Iryo sibisharubanza ryaramamaye cyane, abantu baribonamo uburyo buteruye bwo kwemera icyaha.

[68] Repubulika y' U Rwanda, Komisiyo y'igihugu yigenga ishinzwe gukusanya gihamya z'uruhare rwa leta y'Ubufaransa mu itsembabwoko yakorewe mu Rwanda muri 1994, *Raporo n'imigereka*, Kigali, 15 Ugushyingo 2007.

[69] Administracion de Justicia, Juzgado Central de Instruccion nº 4, Audiencia nacional, Sumario 3/2.008, Madrid, p. 7.

[70] Kuva perezida Nicolas Sarkozy yagera ku butegetsi muri Gicurasi 2007, iyo dosiye yari ibangamiye cyane politiki yo kwigorora n'U Rwanda yari ishyizwe imbere na minisitiri Bernard Kouchner. Ubwo bushake bwo gusubiza ibintu mu buryo bwari bugamije gusubiza Ubufaransa umwanya bwari bwaratakaje muri Afurika yo hagati n'iy'uburasirazuba ukigarurirwa n'Abongereza n'Abanyamerika, cyane cyane ku byerekeye umubano hagati ya Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo n'U Rwanda. Kuva ku nama yahuje abakuru b' ibihugu by'Ubumwe bw'Afurika i Charm el-Cheikh muri Kamena 2008, perezida Kagame yari yafashe iya mbere mu rugamba abakuru b'ibihugu barwanaga

icyemezo cyo umubano n'ubw'i Kigali, bukamenyesha impande zose ko bushaka guhagarika imirimo y'ubugenzacyaha. Icyo kirari cyari gifunguye amarembo aganisha ku rubanza rwo mu ruhame nubwo abaregwa bose batari bahari. Ku itariki ya 28 Ukwakira, Bruno Joubert, umujyanama wa perezida Nicolas Sorkozy ku byerekeye Afurika, na Patrick Ouart, umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri perezidansi ya Repubulika, banyarukiye i Kigali maze bumvikana n'abategetsi b'U Rwanda ku buryo bazafata Roza Kabuye, umuyobozi ushinzwe kwakira abashyitsi muri perezidansi y'U Rwanda, uregwa ubuganbanyi bugamije ubwicanyi burimo iterabwoba, n'ubufatanyacyaha n'agatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi mu gutegura ibikorwa by'iterabwoba. Ku itariki ya 9 Ugushyingo, uyu Kabuye yasuzuguye manda mpuzamahanga yo kumufata, maze yishyira abamuta muri yombi mu Budage, aho yavanywe ajyanwa mu Bufaransa[71]. Roza Kabuye[72] amaze kumenyeshwa ibyo aregwa no kurekurwa ariko ategetswe kujya yitaba ubucamanza, abunganizi be noneho bashoboraga kumenya ibikubiye mu mpapuro zibarirwa mu bihumbi z'idosiye y'ubushinjacyaha bw'Ubufaransa. Abategetsi b'U Rwanda bakurikijeho icyemezo cyo gusubika itangazwa rya "Raporo ya Mutsinzi" – yari itezweho kugaragaza uruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu gikorwa cy'iterabwoba – ryari ryateganyijwe mu Gushyingo 2008 hanyuma rikimurirwa muri Werurwe 2009. Bityo rero, imyaka cumi n'ine nyuma y'igico, impaka zo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza zari zongeye guhabwa urubuga, nta wubona neza igihe zizamara n'ibisabwa kugira ngo zizashobore kurangira. Buri wese yatekerezaga ko ubushake bw'abaregwa n'ubw'abategetsi b'U Rwanda bwo "kumena ikibyimbye" nta yindi ntego bwari bufite itari iyo kuzitira urubanza rwari gucibwa abaregwa badahari, no gushyikira ibikubiye byose muri "anketi ya Bruguière" mbere yo gutangira, babifashijwemo n'ubushinjacyaha, imihango miremire yo mu rukiko izabanziriza umwanzuro wumvikanyweho wo kuzika burundu iyo dosiye.

Icyo cyerekezo cyarushijeho kugira ingufu kuva ku itariki ya 29 Ugushyingo 2009, ubwo ibihugu byombi byongeraga kubyutsa umubano wabyo, nyuma y'ibiganiro umunyamabanga mukuru wo muri Élysée [ingoro ya perezida w'Ubufaransa], Claude Guéant, yagiranye na perezida Kagame i Kigali. Gutendeka mu gihe cy'imyaka myinshi "dosiye ya Bruguière" kugira ngo abunganizi bashobore kubona andi makuru yuzuriza aya mbere nk'uko babisabye, ukongeraho n'uko abacamanza b'Abafaransa bazasubiramo anketi bashingiye ku

"n'uducamanza tw'Abazungu", urwo kurwanya ububasha butagira urubibi bw'inkiko z'i Burayi n'urwo gukoma imbere ububasha bw'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga.

71 "B. Kouchner : Oya, nta nzitizi twigeze dushyira muri iyo anketi. Abanyarwanda badusabye kuvanaho za manda zikurikirana abaturage babo zatanzwe n'umucamanza Bruguière mbere y'uko tugera [ku butegetsi muri Gicurasi 2007]. Twabasubije ko ibyo bidashoboka. Ubucamanza burigenga. Ikipi y'abanyamategeko yasabwe gusuzuma icyo kibazo yavuze ko niba Abanyarwanda bashaka kumenya ibiri mu idosiye, nibuze umwe mu icyenda bakurikiranwe yagombye kuzitaba Ubucamanza bw'Ubufaransa. Ni byo Umuyobozi ushinzwe ibyo kwakira abashyitsi mu biro bya Kagame, Roza Kabuye yakoze" (Ikiganiro cya Bernard Kouchner, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'Ubufaransa, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 5 Gashyantare 2009).

72 Urebye ibirego bishinjwa uregwa, ntiwavuga ko ari icyemezo cyo kurekurwa cy'umucamanza ushinzwe iby'uburenganzira bwo gufunga no gufungura cyatunguye benshi mu bakurikiranye iyo dosiye (nta n'ubwo yari abujijwe kubonana n'abo basangiye ibirego cg n'abatangabuhamya), ahubwo batangajwe n'uko Ubushinjacyaha ubwabwo ari bwo bwari bwamusabiye ubwo butoni. Nguko uko umushinjacyaha yahindukiye ku ijambo ku buryo buteye inkeke kandi nyamara yari yaragaragaje ishyaka ritihishira mu Kwakira 2006, igihe yatangaga manda zo gufata abasirikari bakuru b'Abanyarwanda.

wundi musingi, ibyo byakuyeho igikangisho cyo gukurikirana mu nkiko abasirikari bakuru n'abanyapolitiki b'Abafaransa. Muri icyo cyumweru kandi, nyuma y'uruzinduko umushinjacyaha mukuru w'U Rwanda, Martin Ngoga, yagiriye i Madrid rukaba rwari rwarabanjirijwe n'urw' Umunyamabanga wa leta y'Umusipanyoro ushinzwe Ububanyi n'amahanga, Angelo Lossado, yari yaragiriye i Kigali mu Kwakira, ibinyamakuru bya leta y'U Rwanda byatangaje ukwisubiraho kuziye igihe kw' "abatangabuhamya b'imena" babiri bo mu idosiye y'umucamanza w'Umusipanyoro Merelles. Aha naho harimo ibirungo bisa n'ibyakoreshejwe n'abategetsi b'U Rwanda ku byerekeranye no gukurikirana Abafaransa mu nkiko, kandi birashoboka ko habaye ingurane zo mu rwego rw'ubutabera kuko perezida Kagame, mu bugwaneza bwe, yahise afata icyemezo cyo guha "imbabazi" umushoramari w'Umusipanyoro wari warafunzwe mu bihe bidasanzwe by'ukwezi kwa Mata 2009. Mu bihugu byombi, abategetsi b'abanyapolitiki batangaje ubushake bwabo bwo guhindura ipaji, nyamara kandi bubahiriza urwego rw'ubutabera. Ibyo umukozi mukuru w'Umufaransa yabivuze mu magambo magufi ati "ubutabera burigenga, ariko ni twe dushyiraho ingengabihe".

Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko ababikurikiranira hafi babyumva, igituma impaka zigibwa ubungubu ku gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyahanuye indege ari ugutandukira cg se zigasa na sakirirego, ni intera ihanitse itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko byagikuriye byagezeho. Kandi, nk'uko bigaragarira mu myitwarire n'imvugo y'abanyapolitiki (abasivili, yemwe n'abasirikari) b'Abanyarwanda b'impande zombi, abantu bake ni bo batekerezaga ko icyo gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyari kuba intandaro y'ubugome butagira rutangira cg se ko abanyamahanga bari kubura ingufu zo gukoma imbere ubwicanyi mu gihe rwari kuba rwambikanye hagati y'abashyamiranye bombi. Ubashyize mu rwego rw'ubuhonyozi bwo mu "ntera iciriritse", abaremye igico, abo baba aribo bose, bashobora gufatwa ubungubu nka nyirabayazana w'urugomo rusanzwe, noneho amahanga akihanganira kubana nabo cg se kugirana na bo imishyikirano[73].

[73] Dufashe urugero ku Burundi, abatanze amabwiriza yo guhitana perezida Melchior Ndadaye, abamuhitanye n'ababaye ibyitso ntibigeze bakurikiranwa, kandi ndetse bashoboye kwiyorobeka bahungira i Bugande bamarayo iminsi.