
Ubuyobozi bw'agateganyo bwa gisivili

Ku ruhande rwa perezida, byabaye ngombwa ko Théoneste Bagosora yitabaza Kigisubizo cy' "abanyapolitiki"¹ kugira ngo azibe icyuho cyo kuganzwa yari yiteze guhera mu gicuku. Icyo gisubizo cyari gifite inyungu yo kudaheza koloneli Bagosora mu rubuga rwa politiki ndetse ahubwo akanashobora gusunika umukandida we Joseph Nzirorera. Ariko kugira ngo ibyo bishoboke, byari ngombwa kuburizamo burundu gahunda iboneye yagenwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha dore ko ibiri amambu iyo gahunda yahaga amahirwe abantu babiri akazu n'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru bangaga urunuka : Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Mathieu Ndirumpatse. Kuba Ndirumpatse yari gufata umwanya wa perezida agategekana na Uwilingiyimana ari minisitiri w'intebe ni ko kaga gakabije bashoboraga gutekereza. ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwari kuba buri mu maboko y' "Abanyanduga" babiri, Agathe babonagamo ubugambanyi, na Mathieu wari warahangaye nyakwigendera perezida.

Kwitarura amasezerano ya Arusha

Kwigiza yo Agathe Uwilingiyimana ntibyari bigoye. Nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida, guhigika cg kwikiza minisitiri w'intebe byari mu murongo w'uko ibintu byagombaga kumera. Nta muntu wo mu gipande cya perezida washoboraga kwemera ko "igihugu kigabizwa abantu bashyigikiye FPR", cg se ngo bibe umwaku cyegurirwe umugore utarigeze ashidikanya mu gukoresha imvugo irimo agasuzuguro, ndetse inakomeretsa perezida, n'umuryango wo kwa sebukwe cyane cyane. Uyu muryango na wo rero wamwangaga urunuka :

¹ "Ni byo byemezo bya mbere byafashwe ninjoro hamwe n'umuryango wa perezida : gushyiraho Guverinoma ya gisirikari yo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR no kubungabunga ibyo bari baragezeho ; kumvisha ba ambasaderi na Dallaire ko ari yo ishoboye gukemura ibibazo ; gushyira ingabo ku ruhande rwayo. Bagosora yatsinzwe kuri izo ngingo zose uko ari eshatu." (ikiganiro na Augustin CYIZA, ibyo nandukuye, 11 Mutarama 2001).

“Ndibuka ko Jean-Luc yari yitwaje imbunda; naramwiboneye igihe twajyaga kureba umurambo wa madamu minisitiri w’intebe mu buruhukiro bw’ibitaro by’ikigo [cya gisirikari] cy’i Kanombe. Ndaye ko yari yambaye igikwembe gusa, asa n’uwambaye ubusa arambaraye hasi. Najyanyeyo na Jean-Luc, Séraphin n’abanyezamu. Hari mu masaa saba z’amanywa; ndabyibuka kuko nagarutse ngasanga mushiki wanjye Alphonsine yandakariye. Ariko sinkibuka umunsi uwo ari wo.

Ni Jean-Luc washakaga kujya kureba umurambo we ngo amenye neza ko yapfuye koko, kandi naramuherekeje. Ndahamya ko Jean-Luc yaba yaragerageje kurasa umurambo wa Agathe, ariko naramubujije, ntinya ko abasirikari bari mu kigo bari kubibona nabi. Nabonye ko abasirikari baciriye ku murambo wa Agathe.

Ku kibazo umbajije cyo kumenya niba Jean-Luc yari afitiye akantu Agathe, ndagusubiza nemeza ko ari byo kubera ko, uko mbyumva, yari mu ishyamba ritavugaga rumwe na MRND, ku bwanjye ryari rifatanyije n’*Inkotanyi* [abarwanyani ba FPR] ².”

Ariko, nk’uko Mathieu Ngirumpatse yabyanditse, ikibazo cyo “gutoranya umukuru w’igihugu no kumenya itegeko rigomba gukurikizwa ni cyo cyari ipfundo ry’ibindi bibazo byose abantu bari bafite³” Kugira ngo Perezida wa Muvoma yiheze noneho bashyireho ikirari gishingiye ku mategeko ariko kinyuranye n’amasezerano ya Arusha, byasabaga ko nyirubwite “abyumva”, kandi n’abandi bayobozi ba Muvoma bakabyemera. Ibyo byari bishingiye ku mutima w’ubwitange, ku bw’inyungu z’ubumwe bw’igihugu, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yari kugaragaza, ndetse kimwe n’abandi baharaniraga umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika basabwaga na bo kwibagirwa, nibura igihe gito, inyota yabo bwite. Koko rero, nibura abanyapolitiki batanu bo muri Muvoma barimo gutyaza irari ryabo cg se bari baranagaragaje ko bifuzaga umwanya wa Perezida. Kuri uwo mugoroba, buri wese muri bo yibazaga uko agiye kuzamera. Ni ukuvugaga, ku buryo bufatika, kumenya abasirikari yashoboraga kwiringira ko bazarinda umutekano we, ndetse bakaba banamushyigikira.

Abo ni aba :

– Édouard Karemera, “inyenyeri itumbagira” yo muri 1991. Mu by’ukuri, ntiyari akiri mu ihiganwa kuva aho Perezida Habyarimana amuhigikiye ku buyobozi bwa Muvoma muri 1992 akamusimbuza Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Ikindi kandi, uwari umushyigikiye cyane mu gisirikari, jenerali-majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana, yari amaze kongera kugaragaza imyitwarire ye irangwa no kujijita, n’ubushobozi buke bwo kwihesha igitinyiro⁴. Nyamara ariko, nk’umuntu ushyira mu gaciro kandi utagamburuzwa, mu gihe yari agitegereje ngo arebe aho

² Ubuhamya, umugereka wa n° 257777/2003, dosiye 1007/02, Polisi y’igihugu, Bruxelles, 7 Ugushyungu 2003, imyandiko ifite irango TPIR :K0074271 n’ibikurikira. Jean-Luc Habyarimana yahakanye atsembe ibyamuvuzweho (ubuhamya bwo ku 6 Nyakanga 2006, urubanza rwa Bagosora n’abandi, TPIR, p. 50).

³ Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, *La Tragédie Rwandaise [Amahano yo mu Rwanda]*, op. cit., p. 168.

⁴ Reka nibutse n’aka gakuru gafite icyo kavuga : “Mu ntangiro za 1994, Guverinoma yari iri hafi gutangaza uzaba umukuru wa etamajoro y’ingabo nk’uko amasezerano ya Arusha yabiteganyaga. Minisitiri w’intebe, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yatekereje Augustin Ndindiliyimana, umugabo ukomoka iwabo, nuko abimugezaho. Icyo cyifuzo yacyakiriye neza. Mu gihe cy’Inama ya Guverinoma, Perezida Habyarimana yagejejweho icyo cyifuzo maze arasubiza ngo nta wahatira umuntu gukora umurimo wenda adashaka, ko byari ngombwa kubanza kugira icyo babimubazaho. Ubwo inama yari igikomeje, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yaterefonnye Augustin Ndindiliyimana, noneho uyu aramuhakanira. Nyamara Perezida wari wamenye mbere icyifuzo cya minisitiri w’intebe yari afite umukandida we, jenerali-majoro Déogratias Nsabimana. Yari yarasabye Ndindiliyimana kutemera umwanya Agathe yashakaga kumuha, ahubwo amusezeranya kuzamugira ambasaderi mu Budage” (ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, imyandiko zanjye bwite, 20 Gicurasi 2004).

ibintu bigana, yari yiteguye kwinjira mu kirari cyo kwirengagiza amasezerano ya Arusha nk'uko byari byifujwe n'abo ku ruhande rwa Perezida, ni ukuvuga, kwigaragaza nk'umuntu wo mu majyepfo uharanira inyungu z'Abahutu ku buryo bw'intagondwa ;

– Augustin Ndirabatware, intyozza yari ifitiwe icyizere cyose n'ibyegera bya Perezida. Yari minisitiri w'imigambi ya leta, akaba n'umukwe w'igikomerezwa Kabuga wari bamwana wa Perezida. Yari asanzwe ari umujyanama w'umuryango. Kandi rero, mu bihe by'igihirahiro nk'ibyo, umuryango ukikije Agathe Kanziga wari ukeneye umuntu uwereka icyerekezo. Ikindi na none, kuva yakwinjizwa mu muryango no muri politiki mu minsi ya vuba yari yashoye byinshi kugira ngo aronke ubutoni bw'abasirikari bakuru bakomoka mu karere ka Perezida. Ariko nta hantu na hamwe yari afite abantu be bwite kandi nta n'ireme yari afite muri Muvoma, uretse inkunga yashoboraga guterwa na sebukwe w'umuhurwe ukomoka i Byumba ;

– Casimir Bizimungu umunyapolitiki ukerebutse kandi wubashywe, wasunitswe kandi agakingirwa ikibaba na murumuna wa Perezida, Séraphin Bararengana. Juvénal Habyarimana yamubonaga nk'umuntu ushobora kumusimbura, kandi abari mu kazu bagahora bamwishisha. Casimir Bizimungu yabonaga na Perezida bimugoye kubera gukumirwa na Élie Sagatwa – wari waritangiye Joseph Nzirorera. Bizimungu ariko yari afite inkunga itari nto mu basirikari bakuru bo mu Ruhengeri bahiganwaga n'aba Joseph Nzirorera⁵. Na none ku buryo bwa rusange, yabonwaga neza n'abasirikari bakuru “bifuzako ibintu byahinduka” bo mu Rukiga n'abo mu Nduga. Ariko rero bari bamushyigikiye ku buryo butigaragaza. Nyuma y'aho James Gasana ahungiyeye, kandi bimaze kugaragara ko amahirwe ya Casimir yo kumusimbura muri minisiteri y'ingabo yari arimo gukendera, yatakaje abari bamushyigikiye bo mu ngabo hafi ya bose, begamira ku mugaragaro ku ruhande rwa Joseph Nzirorera. Nyamara kandi, iyo haba hariho uburyo bwo gutora bwemerewe buri wese, Casimir Bizimungu nta shiti yari mu bakandida bake cyane bo mu majyaruguru bashoboraga kubona amajwi mu zindi perefegitura zitari mu Rukiga.

– Abakandida babiri ba nyuma ku mwanya wa Perezida bari bitaweho muri uwo mugoroba, Mathieu Ndirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera, bari bamaze imyaka myinshi baragaragaje irari ryabo kandi bahangana ku mugaragaro nk'abakeba. Ariko rero, mu ntugunda za politiki zikomoka ku rupfu rutunguranye rwa Perezida Habyarimana, uwa mbere yabonaga ko ibyo ari byo byose Akazu kazamuhigika. Abari bashyigikiye inzira yo gushyiraho Perezida ku buryo bwubahirije amategeko babonaga Mathieu Ndirumpatse ari inganzwa, umurarikizi n'indashima. Inama zakozwe ninjoro hagati y'umuryango wa Habyarimana n'ibyegera byawo ntizatumaga hagira ushidikanya ko intego yihutirwa y'urubandemurira Perezida yari iyo kubuza byanze bikunze ko inzibacyuho ijya mu maboko ya Perezida wa Muvoma nubwo bwose ari we

⁵ Kwicamo ibice ahanini byari bishingiye ku “turere” : abasirikari bakuru bose bo ku Gisenyi, kimwe n'abo mu makomini ya Ruhengeri yegereye Gisenyi (Mukingo, Nkuri, Nyakinama, Nyamutera), “abadakurwa ku izima” n'abambari b'Akazu bagombaga gushyigikiye Joseph Nzirorera (Buregeya, Serubuga, Setako, Nkundiye, Ntabakuze...), naho Casimir Bizimungu yari ashigikiye n'abasirikari bakuru bakomoka muri superefegitura ye ya Kirambo (yegereye Byumba), no muri rusange agashyigikiye n'abavuka muri komini Nyamutera, Butaro, Cyeru, no mu karere k'uBukonya mu majyepfo ya perefegitura.

wazaga ku isonga mu biteganijwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Uburakari abo mu Kazu bari bamufitiye bwatumaga umuntu yibwira, nk'uko na we ubwe abyivugira, ko iyo Mathieu Ngirumpatse ajya kwibeshya ntakuremo ake karenge, yari gushumurizwa ako kanya abarakare bo mu mutwe urinda perezida maze akaba igitambo cy'"uburakari bwa rubanda" nkuko byagendekeye "abagambanyi" bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Mathieu Ngirumpatse yanatekerezaga ko, ubwo FPR yari imaze kwerekana ko idatinya guhangana imbonankubone, itari kwihanganira ko yitambika mu nzira yayo⁶. Inkunga yari afite mu ngabo ntizari zifashe. Abasirikari bakuru bo muri perefegitura ye, nka Marcel Gatsinzi na Félicien Muberuka, nta cyo bari cyo imbere y'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa zo mu majyaruguru. Na none kandi, abari basanzwe bamushyigikira muri Muvoma muri icyo gihe bari bameze nk'abadafitse ireme : kugenzura ibikorwa by'abarwanashyaka byari byareguriwe umunyamabanga w'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu, Joseph Nzirorera, wumvirwaga n' "Interahamwe zo mu Kazu" zari zariye karungu muri ibyo bihe. Kuba yaremerwaga n'intiti zo mu ishyaka ndetse n'abataravugaga rumwe na Muvoma bo mu majyepfo ko ari we mukandida wo mu "rwego rw'igihugu" wa Muvoma ku mwanya wa perezida haramutse habayeho itora ritagira uwo riheza, iryo turufu ahubwo ryamubereye kidobya mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 Mata.

Muri make, mu bakandida batanu ba MRND, Joseph Nzirorera ni we wenyine wari wujuje ibya ngombwa bitatu twabonye mbere : gushyigikirwa n'Akazu, kwemerwa n'ingabo, no kwihesha igitinyiro muri politiki. Kandi ibyo byahuriranaga n'uko yari ashigikiwe na Théoneste Bagosora wari umaze kuzeyuka ibyo kuba umukandida! Nguko uko umugambi udahushwa w'uruhande rwa perezida wari uteye - n'uw'abasirikari n'abasivili bo mu majyaruguru - mu nama Théoneste Bagosora yagiranye n'abayobozi ba Muvoma (ku ya 7 Mata saa mbiri za mu gitondo). Bisabwe n'intumwa idasanzwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, iyo nama ndemyacyemezo yari yateganyijwe mbere y'iy'abakuru ba gisirikari bagombaga kumenyeshwa neza ibyerekezo bya politiki bisobanutse. Hakurikijwe amasezerano ya Arusha, umuntu wari kuba perezida wa Repubulika yagombaga guturuka muri Muvoma⁷.

Abayobozi bose ba Muvoma Théoneste Bagosora yari yatumiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata guhera saa saba z'ijoro batangaje, mu buhamwa batanze nyuma, ko batari bazi gahunda y'inama, ko nta kintu bari bunguranyeho ibitekerezo mbere yayo - habe no kuri terefone - ndetse ko basohotse muri iryo koranimo nta kintu na kimwe bagiyeho impaka nta n'icyo bemeje, uretse icyizere bahaye Théoneste Bagosora kugira ngo afatanye na Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina gutunganya iby'inzibacyuho⁸. Mathieu Ngirumpatse we ngo "yanibagiwe" rwose

⁶ "Ariko nyewe, kuva nakwinjira muri iyo nama yashyizeho Guverinoma [ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo], sinigeze nsubira iwanjye, nta n'ubwo nigeze nsohoka. Kubera ko numvaga ndi umuntu ushakishwa n'impande zombi, ndabibabwiye ! Nabibabwiye : impande zombi. Bityo rero, sinashoboraga kwigerezaho" (Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, ubuhamya bwafashwe mu cyuma n'abagenzacyaha ba TPIR mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999 i Bamako, *reba umugereka* 62).

⁷ *Reba* ingingo ya 47 n'ya 48 y' "amasezerano hagati ya Guverinoma ya Repubulika y' U Rwanda na FPR ku byerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsu mu rwego rwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriwemo n'amashyamba menshi" (yasinyiwe Arusha ku ya 9 Mutarama 1993, akurikira amasezerano yasinywe ku ya 30 Ukwakira 1992 (*reba umugereka* 63)).

⁸ Dufite inyandikomvugo irambuye y'iyiyo nama n'iy'izindi nyinshi zayikurikiye. Izo raporo zifite akamaro gakomeye cyane ariko zikaba zari zaribagiranye zabonetse muri Gicurasi 2002 maze zishyirwa ahagaragara. Uko ari eshanu, zikubiyemo ibyavugiwe mu nama za Komite ya gisirikari y'igihe cy'amakuba ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo kugeza ku

n'uko iyo nama yabayeho, yemeza kandi ko yaterefonnye rimwe gusa hagati y'igihe yamenyesherejwe iby'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba n'icy'inama y'amashyaka yaba yarabaye ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo :

“Nuko rero ni umuyobozi w'Iburo bya minisitiri wambwiye iby'urupfu rwa Perezida. Yarambwiye ati “Ntituzi niba yapfuye, ariko indege ye yahanuwe.” [...] Hashize igihe gito, habaye itangazo rya gisirikari risaba abantu kugumana ituze no guhama mu ngo zabo. Kuko nari ndi umusivili, nagumye mu rugo. Na bukeye bwaho nagumye mu rugo [...]”⁹.”

“ [...] Mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7, nagerageje guterefona mugenzi wanjye visiperezida w'ishyamba ryacu, bwana Kabagema, witabye Imana, mvugana na we, ndamubwira ngo agerageze gusohoka kuko byari bikomeye, nuko aransubiza ati “Ntibishoboka, muri kino gihe sinshobora gusohoka” kuko barasaga impande zose, hafi y'iwe. Uretse ibyo nta wundi naterefonnye kuko bitigeze binzamo; abandi nahuriye na bo mu nama¹⁰.”

Kuva icyo gihe, hari izindi nkuru kuri iyo nama na zo mu by'ukuri zidatandukanye cyane n'iyo y'urufefeko :

Bazo. : Mbese mu gusoza iyo nama hari ibyemezo byafashwe?

Subizo. : Bon, ibyemezo nyabyemezo, nta cyemezo cyahabaye, nta cyemezo na kimwe gifatika [ntibyumvikana] ; nta ... nta cyemezo na kimwe cyafashwe. Gusa, turi... twari turi aho, turavuga. Kandi...kandi urabizi, igihe umukuru w'igihugu yari yatabarutse, bon, na ... na Bagosora ubwe akaba yari yabitumenyesheje mu ma saa tatu, kandi ko yari afite indi gahunda yo kujya muri ambasade ya ... ya leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika guhera saa mbiri n'igice, bitinze. Nuko, nyuma y'uko dutandukana, yatubwiye ko tu... tuza kongera kuvugana nyuma haramutse habonetse amakuru mashya. [...]

Bazo. : Ikibazo cya nyuma kuri iyo nama : mbese hari ubwo mwigeze mugira icyo muvugaga kuri minisitiri w'intebe muri iyo nama ?

Subizo. : Reka da ! Nta n'amarenga... yerekeza kuri minisitiri w'intebe¹¹.”

Ibyo binyoma byose bizinzika kandi bikanusura amakuru y'impamo byatangaza abanyapolitiki bose n'abo muri rubanda rusanzwe, kimwe na bo, bamaze ijoro ryose baterefona, bakaba bari bazi kandi ko guhera saa kumi n'imwe z'igitondo, abakomando b'umutwe urinda Perezida n'abasirikari bari batangiyeye kugakora mu tugari. Mu by'ukuri ninjoro bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo kubivuganaho n'abari babashyigikiye. Bari bazi neza cyane uko ibintu bimeze kandi babifite mu maboko yabo ku buryo ibyemezo bafashe byari bihujwe n'ibyo bari bategerejweho : Joseph Nzirorera na Mathieu Ndirumpatse, abakandida bahanganye, “ku bwende bwabo” banze kwigabanya ubutegetsu (*reba umugereka 64*). Perezida wa Muvoma yahise atangaza rugikubita icyemezo cye kugira ngo ahumurize hakiri kare abaterwaga impungenge n'ibyo amategeko yateganyaga, nuko, inzitizi zimaze kuva mu nzira, bese batangariza icyarimwe ko, mu izina

ya 8 Mata nimugoroba. Ni njye ubwanjye wandukuye iyo myandiko yose, yongera gusomwa no gukosorwa na bene kuyandika uko ari babiri, hanyuma na bo bagira icyo bayivugaho mbere yo kuyinshyikiriza ku ya 13 Ugushyamba 2002. Nayandikishije muri TPIR mu gihe natangaga raporo yanjye y'inzobere kuri dosiye ya Karemera n'abandi, muri Gashyantare 2006 (irango ni K0365916 kugeza kuri K0365950, K0365961 kugeza kuri K0365979, K0365987 kugeza kuri K0365992). Inyandiko y'umwimerere ubu ifitwe na Epifane Hanyurwimana (*reba umugereka 64 n'uwa 65*).

⁹ Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999 (*reba umugereka 66*).

¹⁰ Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Nzeri 1999.

¹¹ Ubuhamya bwa Joseph NZIRORERA, Urubanza rwa Bagosora na bagenzi be, TPIR, 16 Werurwe 2006, p. 76.

ry'ishyaka rya MRND, bahaye Théoneste Bagosora uburenganzira bwo gutunganya iby'inzibacyuho.

Ku buryo bufatika, ibyo bisobanura ko bari bemeje icyiciro cya mbere cya gahunda yari yaraye yemejwe ninjoro n'abo mu muryango wa Perezida n'ibyegera byawo babyumvikanyeho na Théoneste Bagosora, ni ukuvuga gahunda yo kwica abanyapolitiki batari mu murongo wabo. Ku banyamategeko bombi bari muri iyo kipi, kubona nta n'uwigeze "asunutsa" izina rya Agathe Uwilingiyimana wahabwaga n'itegeko ububasha bwo gukurikirana imirimo ya leta isanzwe, byasobanuraga ku buryo butaziguye ko urwe rwari rwarangiye¹². Bisabwe na Bagosora, abasirikari ntibari bazitiye minisitiri w'intebe gusa bamubuza kujya kuri Radiyo Rwanda kugira icyo atangariza abaturage, ahubwo bari bakumiriye undi wese washoboraga gufata ijamba ryibutsa "ibiteganywa n'amategeko"¹³. Dukurikije ibyaje kuvugwa nyuma n'umuntu ukomeye wari muri ako gatsiko abibwira abo mu muryango we, ngo umwe mu bari bahari yaravuze ati "Nta zina rishobora gutangwa igihe minisitiri w'intebe akiriho", mbere yo kongeraho ko igisubizo bose bari bategereje cyahise kiboneka ako kanya : "Mathieu ntiyagundiye". Kubera gutinya yuko Mathieu Ngirumpatse yaza kugaragaza ubutwari butunguranye, kandi urebye gahunda yari yateguwe ninjoro n' "abariye karungu" bo mu Kazu - nkuko byavugwaga na benshi mu basirikari bakuru -, ibyo guhitana bucece abanyapolitiki batashakwaga na we byashoboraga kumugeraho kuko ingingo ya 15 y'amategeko-remezo ya Muvoma yateganyaga ko mu gihe Perezida w'ishyaka adahari yashoboraga gusimburwa n'umunyamabanga w'igihugu..., ni ukuvuga Joseph Nzirorera. Umuti wo gukemura ibibazo kuri ubwo buryo uba waratumye birinda ibyo guhandura amategeko nk'uko byagenze, uba warahise ushyira imbere ako kanya umukandida "nyirubwite" ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika, ariko cyane cyane uba warashyizeho inzibacyuho ihuje mahwi n'ibyo Umuryango mpuzamahanga wabonaga ko byubahirije amasezerano ya Arusha.

Muri ibyo bihe by'ubudahanwa no kwihimura ku bafitanye ibibazo (imanza

¹² Kugira ngo ngaragaze agaciro izo ngingo zahabwaga, ndibutsa ko umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya Perezida yari yohereje, mu izina ry'umukuru w'igihugu, ibaruwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana ku itariki ya 6 Mutarama 1994 imusaba gukoranya inama y'abaminisitiri : "Amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi ateganywa, mu ngingo zayo za 4, 15, 16 na 17, ko 'ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko busangiwe na Perezida wa Repubulika na Guverinoma'. [...] Itegekoshinga riguha ububasha, ndetse ahubwo rigutegeka gutumiza inama y'abaminisitiri. Ni wowe uyobora inama y'igihugu y'umutekano. Ni wowe ugenzura inzego z'iperereza.' Izo nshingano kandi yari yongeye kuzibutswa ku mugaragaro n'abaminisitiri bakomoka muri Muvoma ku itariki ya 16 Mutarama yakurikiyeho : "Kuri ibyongibyo, turakwibutsa ko umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya Perezida wa Repubulika, mu ibaruwa ye n° 0050113 yo ku ya 6 Mutarama 1994, yakugejejeho ubutumire bwa Perezida wa Repubulika bwagusabaga gukoranya inama y'abaminisitiri ngo irebe aho dosiye yo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho igeze, isuzume inzitizi zibangamiye icyo gikorwa, inashake icyo Guverinoma yakora kugira ngo zive mu nzira. [...] madamu minisitiri w'intebe, tugomba kukwibutsa y'uko hariho, nta shiti, uburyo buteganyijwe n'amategeko bwo gukoranya inama y'abaminisitiri. Bugenwa n'ingingo ya 8 y'amasezerano ya Arusha ivuga ko Guverinoma iriho ubu igumaho kugeza igihe hazashyirirwaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi."

¹³ Mu nama yo mu ijoro ry'ya 6 rishyira ya 7 Mata muri etamajoro, "ndebye ukuntu [Bagosora] yakomeje kwanga ko minisitiri w'intebe ari we yaharirwa umurimo wo kumenyesha abaturage urupfu rwa Perezida no kubasaba gukomeza kugira umutuzo, navuze izina rya Enock Ruhigira, umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya Perezida, maze Bagosora ahita abyamagana ngo arambiwe abasivili. Ruhigira akomoka ku Kibuye, ariko akaba umuyoboze ufite ijamba muri Muvoma n'icyegera cya Perezida kuva kera. [Nyuma y'iminsi mike, Ruhigira yarahunze] Umuntu yasobanura ate iyo myifatire? Yaba se ari iy'umurwanashyamba usanzwe wa Muvoma? Yaba se ahubwo ari iy'umurwanashyamba w'icyamamare "Hutu Pawa"? Yaba se ari iy'umusirikari mukuru utegura kudeta ya gisirikari abihishe bagenzi be, cg se iy'umuntu waharaniraga yivuye inyuma ko ubutegetsi bwaguma mu maboko y'abagize agatsiko ka Perezida gusa?" (Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, inyandiko zanyije bwite, 20 Mata 2005).

mu muryango, mu bucuruzi, kurwanira abagore), igitekerezo cyo guhitana Mathieu Ngirumpatse cyarumvikanaga rwose dore ko intagondwa zitandukanye zari zigabije imihanda ku buryo ubugizi bwa nabi nk'ubwo bwari kwitirirwa kwibeshya, amabandi cg se FPR¹⁴. Kugena ibikurikiraho byari gukemurirwa "ikambere" mu banyamategeko, mu gisirikari no mu banyapolitiki. Raporo y'inama abayobozi ba Muvoma bagiranye na Bagosora irabigaragaza neza (*reba umugereka 64*).

Perezida Mathieu Ngirumpatse yatsindagiye rugikubita ko ibya ngombwa kugira ngo ishyaka rya MRND rishyireho abakandida baryo ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika bitashobokaga na gato (gutoresha abayoboze, ni ukuvuga gukoresha Kongere y'ishyaka, kwemerwa n'andi mashyaka). Yatinyaga ko icyo gikorwa cyateza akajagari n'uburangare mu basirikari. Visiperezida wa mbere, Édouard Karemera, yungamo yemezo ko ingabo z'igihugu ari zo zonyine zashoboraga kubumbatira ubusugire bwa leta. Umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Joseph Nzirorera, we ahubwo yongera mu isesengura rye igitekerezo cy'uko ari mu gihe cy'intambara : yateganyaga gukurikiza amategeko y'ingobokamahina, "kuburizamo ingufu zose z'ikibi" no kubanza gushyira ituze mu gihugu no mu baturage mbere yo gusubukura ibikorwa bya politiki. Umwanzuro wa Mathieu Ngirumpatse washimangiye ubwo bwumvikane bunoze, nyamara kandi arekera Bagosora ububasha bwo gukora ibyo yibwirije : "Ntabwo byaba ari kudeta kuko ari Guverinoma yumvikanyweho. Mu rwego rw'amategeko, si Guverinoma yemewe. Guhubuka byonona byinshi. [...] Ni ngombwa rero gusobanurira amahanga ko umutekano ari cyo kintu cy'ibanze." Ingingo ebyiri z'ibyo biganirwo zahawe agaciro kihariye. Mathieu Ngirumpatse yahise atangaza ihame shingiro ryo kugenderaho : "Hagomba abakandida babiri", ryungaga mu rindi rigira riti "Ibyo basaba ishyaka rya MRND ntibishoboka muri kino gihe. Kubera ko tugomba kwitegura (gukora Kongere y'ishyaka, nb.) kugira ngo dutange abakandida babiri." Kandi rero koko, amasezerano ya Arusha ntiyajijanyaga, umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika wari ugenewe ishyaka rya MRND, yagombaga gutanga abakandida babiri batoranywamo perezida. Mathieu Ngirumpatse wari umaze amezi cyenda ashyizwe na Kongere y'ishyaka ku mwanya wa perezida waryo, yashoboraga gushingira ku byo amategeko yamwemereraga agasaba ko ari we inzego z'igihugu za Muvoma zitangaho umukandida : guhera muri 1992, ni zo zari zisanze zifata ibyemezo by'ingenzi (biro politiki yonyine, biro politiki yiyongeyeho ba perezida 11 ba komite za perefegitura)¹⁵. Kwifata kwe nta

¹⁴ Urugero, Laurent Serubuga, wahoze ari umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu, yari afitiye umwenda umucuruzi ukomeye w'Umututsi bari bafatanyije ishoramari, Bertin Makuza, uyu akaba ari we wari ufite imigabane myinshi muri Rwandafoam no mu yandi masosiyete anyuranye. Mu gihe Bertin Makuza yari mu kaga urupfu rumugera amajanja, Serubuga yamutegetse kumwegurira imigabane ye yose. Makuza yarabyemeye, ariko kubera gutinya ko ibyo ari byo byose bari bumuhitane, yitabaje undi mu bo bari bafatanyije mu ishoramari, majoro Pascal Ngirumpatse wakoresheje imodoka Mercedes 4 x 4 ya Laurent Serubuga, nuko amukura i Remera amujyana muri *Mille Collines* hamwe n'abandi bantu makumyabiri na bane bo mu muryango we.

¹⁵ Kuva ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, umunsi amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yasinyiweho, aya ni yo yari yemewe nk'Itegekoshingiro. Itegekoshingiro ryo muri 1991 ryari ricyubahirizwa mu ngingo zaryo zitari zitaweho cg zitari "zibumbatiwe" n'ayo masezerano, ariko ayangaya ni yo yiganzaga mu gihe habayeho ingingo zayo zivuguruzanya n'Itegekoshingiro. Ingingo ya 43, 3° y' "amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi" yateganyaga ko, mu byumweru bitatu nyuma yo kubona ko nta wuri mu mwanya wa perezida, ishyaka ryazatangira abakandida babiri. Mu cyumweru cya kane, itora ryakorera mu cyiciro gihuriwemo na bose, kiyobowe na perezida w'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Mu gihe ishyaka ryaba ridatanze umukandida, amashyaka yose agashobora kumutanga nyuma

mpamvu yindi byari bifite, uretse kwanga kugirana ibiganiro n'izindi mpande zose zasinye amasezerano ya Arusha...

Ingaruka z'uko gusubira incuro ebyiri (kuba umukandida no kwitaza amasezerano ya Arusha) zahise zigaragaza ako kanya. Édouard Karemera yaravuze ati "Minuar ntigomba gukangisha amasezerano, bagomba na bo kutubonera ibisubizo ku buryo bwihuse", Joseph Nzirorera yungamo ati "hagomba ingamba zidasanzwe mbere yo gusoma amasezerano ya Arusha (ingobokamahina)." Kugira ngo akureho ubwumvirane bwose, Édouard Karemera yashoje agira ati : "*Umwanzuro* : - Ni ngombwa ko abanyapolitiki b'impande zose bagirana ibiganiro, uretse Guverinoma iriho ubungubu¹⁶."

Édouard Karemera atanga igitekerezo ko inzibacyuho ku mwanya wa Perezida yashingwa Perezida w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko (CND) mu minsi mirongo cyenda, ashingiye ku itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991. Kuva ubwo rero Théoneste Bagosora yashoboraga gutangira gahunda ze. "Uburenganzira" bwari butanzwe bwo kwica abanyapolitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma, babonwaga nk'abafatanyije na FPR kandi bakabangamira iyo gahunda, kugira ngo hashyirweho Guverinoma ifite isura ya Muvoma n'iy'igipande cya "*Pawa*".

Uretse no kubahiriza itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991, izamurwa rya Perezida mushya w'umusimbura, Théodore Sindikubwabo, ryarimo inyungu zinyuranye ari nazo Juvénal Habyarimana yari yasanze muri uwo munyapolitiki. Uwo muyoboze wa Muvoma ukomoka mu majyepfo, yari ikimenyetso cy'uko iryo shyamba riri mu turere twose, kandi ari n'umuntu ujijita akanagondeka. Ikindi kandi, muri 1994, yari ashaje kandi arwaye. Mu by'ukuri yatumaga ubutegetsi bujya mu maboko y'umukuru nyawe wa Muvoma, umunyamabanga w'igihugu, Joseph Nzirorera, akoresheje inzego z'icyahoze ari ishyamba rukumbi, kandi atiriwe ategereza ko ibintu byose bitunganywa mu nzira z'amategeko. Joseph Nzirorera, yishingikirije umurage w'itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991, yari arangamiye umwanya wa Perezida w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko kugira ngo azasimbure, mu gihe kigenwe, Théodore Sindikubwayo. Ku ruhande rwe, Mathieu Ndirumpatse, wari watakaje byinshi muri iyo gahunda, yari yiteganyirije indi myanya mu gihe kizaza. Yashoboraga gukora imibare ko, usibye igihe ingabo zaba zitsinzwe vuba cyane, nyuma y'amezi atatu Sindikubwabo yari yahawe mu bucurategeko bwa Édouard Karemera, byari ngombwa kuzagaruka ku masezerano ya Arusha, kandi noneho nta washoboraga kumuhigika. Jean Kambanda minisitiri w'intebe washyizweho na Théoneste Bagosora ku ya 8 Mata, yasesenguranye ubushishozi ingingo z'amategeko abayobozi ba Muvoma bitwaje kugira ngo bigarurire ibintu byose kandi "batiyanduje" :

"Subizo. : Nuko rero igisubizo, nabonye nishakiye amakuru ubwanjye¹⁷, ni umwanzuro nagezeho maze gushyira ibitekerezo ku murongo, ni uko icyo gihe ibintu byari bimeze nabi cyane ku buryo abayobozi ba Muvoma basanze ari byo byiza kutirirwa bitangamo

y'ibyumweru bitandatu by'ubuho, itora rigakorwa mu cyumweru kimwe nyuma yaho, irahizwa rikaba mu minsi munani nyuma y'itoro.

¹⁶ Uku kwifata kwatunguranye cyane cyane ko abanyamashyamba bari mu mishyikirano, uherye ku ba Muvoma, bukeye bwaho batangajwe n'uko abayobozi bishyizeho b'ishyamba PSD ryari ryaciwe umutwe bifashe ku ngingo y'ukuntu inzego zari zigiyeye gushyirwaho n'abantu batabihereye ubutumwa !

¹⁷ Jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana.

umukandida. Kandi kugira ngo babihunge, babonye amayeri yo gushyiraho undi, ariko mu gihe gito kugira ngo hagati aho bashobore gukontorora uko ibintu byifashe, maze bakazigaragaza ari uko hari igihindutse. Nuko rero, bansobanuriye ko, kubera kuba umunyamategeko n'umwunganizi, ni Édouard Karemera wavumbuye ayo mayeri, atanga igitekerezo cyo gukurikiza itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991. Kugira ngo ibyo bishoboke, byari ngombwa kubona ingingo zituma amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha atubahirizwa. Izo ngingo zarabonetse : ubwa mbere bwo, ni uko aya masezerano bari bamaze kuyarengaho..., icya kabiri ni uko bitashobokaga gutumiza Kongere y'ishyaka kugira ngo itore umukandida wa Muvoma, icya gatatu ni uko ibintu byihutirwaga cyane. Izo ngingo eshatu ni zo zashyizwe ku mugaragaro kugira ngo basobanure impamvu bakurikije itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991 aho kubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Ni byo byatanzwe ku mugaragaro nk'igisobanuro cy'ukuntu bahisemo umukandida Sindikubwabo.

Njyewe, nara..., ndebye hirya y'ibyavuzwe, mbitekerejeho kandi nitegereje ibyabaga, njye naribwiye nti ni amayeri, nti impamvu nyayo ni uko ibintu byari bimeze nabi cyane ku buryo batashakaga kubivumbikamo akarenge, ko bagombaga kureka abandi bikabakaranga mu gihe kigereranyije cyatumaga bo bashobora kongera kujya ku isonga ibintu bimaze gusa n'ibituzza. Ibi kandi nabitekerezaga kubera yuko, mu nshingano bo ubwabo bari bahaye Guverinoma, harimo iyo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR yagombaga kugarura ku rubuga amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bityo Perezida cg ishyaka rya MRND bakabona uko batanga umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika.

Bazo. : Kubera ko, ngaha aho iryenge rihereye, hakurikijwe itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991, byasaba gushaka Perezida wacu mu Inteko ishingamutegeko (CND), ni byo ?

Subizo. : Yego.

Bazo. : Nuko, hakurikijwe amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bikaba ngombwa kujya gushakira...

Subizo. : Mu ishyaka rya MRND.

Bazo. : Hanyuma ibyo ntibabyifuze.

Subizo. : Ibyo ntibabishakaga, rero byari ngombwa gushakira ahandi, nuko bafata Perezida wa CND, bamugira Perezida, ariko bazi ko, ibyo ari byo byose hakurikijwe itegekonshinga, ni iminsi 60 [90], rero, umuntu ashobora kwihanganira kutaba Perezida wa Repubulika mu minsi 60 [90], ariko byumvikana ko yazabigeraho nyuma. Nguko uko njyewe, nakoze iryo sesengura¹⁸.

Icyo kabiri, bahaye Guverinoma inshingano nyine zo kugarura ku rubuga amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha, bityo no kugarura abantu banze gutanga kandidatire zabo icyo gihe. Icyo gatatu, ni imyifatire yabo mu ntambara. Kubera ko barangamiye umwanya ukomeye, nta cyo bakora, nta cyo bavuga. Bityo bari [ntibyumvikana] barategereje. Ngibyo¹⁹."

Yakurikijeho gusesengura ku buryo bwihariye imyifatire ya Perezida wa Muvoma ubwe, Mathieu Ndirumapfwe : "Imyifatire ye muri icyo gihe cyose yagaragaje ko ari umuntu witeganyirije, adashaka guhungabanya ahazaza he muri politiki. Nta jambo atangaza, ntaho yiyerekana ku mugaragaro, nta cyo atangariza abanyamakuru, nb. Ariko mu ibanga, ibintu byinshi bigakorwa ku nyungu ze, ibindi akabyikorera, cg ibindi bigakorwa ari uko abyemeye²⁰."

Inama y'abayobozi ba Muvoma ihumuje, Théoneste Bagosora yari afunguriwe amayira n'itego ebyiri zagombaga kugerwaho zisobanutse neza : hari

¹⁸ Iri sesengura rishobora kugereranywa n'ibiyihohoro bitagira epfo na ruguru byatanzwe muri Mata 1994 n'abari bateguye ayo mayeri yo kugoreka amategeko ku nyungu zabo. Umuntu yarebera cyane cyane ku biganiriro bya Radiyo Charles Ntampaka yandukuye muri raporo ye yashyikirije TPIR (*reba umugereka 67*, p. 23 n'ibikurikira), aho asuzuma ingingo z'itegeko-nshingamutegeko abanyamategeko ba MRND bashingiyeho, kimwe n'ingingo Joseph Nzirorera yashingiyeho yiregura (*reba umugereka 67*).

¹⁹ Ubuhamya bwa Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-18 bwo ku ya 27 Nzeri 1997.

²⁰ Ubuhamya bwa Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-62 bwo ku ya 18 Gicurasi 1998.

ugushyiraho ingobokamahina no guha ububasha bwose Komite ya gisirikari ishyigikiwe na Muvoma ukurikije uko yashoboraga kumenyekanisha igitekerezo cyayo mu gitondo cy'ya 7 Mata ; cg se, na none bishyigikiwe n'ishyaka rya MRND, kuvugurura itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991 bikajyana no gusesa Guverinoma yari iriho no kwanga gushyiraho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Mu migambi yombi, iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki b'imbogamizi ryarashobokaga, bahereye mbere na mbere ku bagombaga kubungabunga ubusugire bw'inzego z'ubutegetsi uvanyemo perezida wa Muvoma : Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe, perezida w'Urukiko rurinda itegekonshinga, Joseph Kavaruganda n'abari bateganyirijwe kuba abakandinda ku mwanya wa perezida w'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho, Landouald Ndasingwa wo muri PL na Félicien Ngango wo muri PSD. Uruhande rushyigikiye perezida na Théoneste Bagosora bakoze ibintu ku buryo buturutse ruhande.

Mu gihe Théoneste Bagosora yabonana na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, hagati ya saa tanu n'igice na saa sita mu ijoro ry'ya 6 rishyira ya 7 Mata, bari bananiranywe kumvikana ku kibazo cya minisitiri w'intebe. Ku bwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, uyu yari afite ububasha bwo kubungabunga ubusugire bw'inzego z'ubutegetsi no kugeza ku baturage itangazo ribahumuriza. Nyuma y'ako kanama, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yahamagaye Agathe Uwilingiyimana amumenyesha ko akora ku buryo amufasha kugera kuri Radiyo Rwanda mu ma saa kumi n'imwe n'igice za mu gitondo ku ya 7 Mata. Ahagana saa munani na mirongo ine z'ijoro, Komanda Lotin n' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" icyenda b'Ababiligi yari ayoboye bari bamaze kuva ku kibuga cy'indege berekeza mu rugo kwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana kugira ngo bamuherekeze kugera kuri Radiyo [Rwanda] aho yashakaga gutangira itangazo. Kubera bariyeri bagombaga kunyuraho, bahageze i saa kumi n'imwe na makumyabiri, basanganirwa n'urufaya rw'amasasu. Ayo masasu yaraswaga n'abasirikari b'umutwe urinda perezida bari ku izamu ku rugo rwa perezida (rwari inyuma ya Kiliziya ya Mutagatifu Mikayire), Ahagana saa kumi n'imwe, abo basirikari bari bimutse bagana ku rugo rwegeranye n'urwa minisitiri w'intebe, kugira ngo bamubuze kugera kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Hashize iminota cumi, burende y'ingabo z'igihugu yashinze ibirindiro hafi aho maze irasa amasasu iyerekeza ku rugo rwa minisitiri w'intebe no ku "banyangofero z'ubururu" bayobowe na komanda Lotin²¹. I saa mbiri na makumyabiri, abonye ari mu menyo ya rubamba kandi atagishoboye kurenga umutaru, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yanyuze mu cyanzu ahungira ku muturanyi. Abasirikari ba Minuar ntibamukurikiyeyo, kimwe n'abasirikari b'U Rwanda bari bashinzwe kurinda minisitiri w'intebe, ahubwo batatanywe nyuma yaho gato n'abasirikari b'umutwe urinda perezida babajyanye mu kigo cya Kigali babatwaye muri minibisi. "Abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi bishwe mu gihe mu ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) ryari hafi aho harimo kubera inama ihuje ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu n'abategeka uturere tw'imirwano.

²¹ Abakobwa ba muganga Akingeneye bagiye i Kanombe baherekejwe n'ingabo zo mu mutwe urinda perezida bagiye gutahura umurambo wa se, bavuga ko bumvise ayo masasu i saa moya : "Mu gihe twasohokaga, twumvise amasasu. Ajida Turatsinze wari waje kudushaka yaratubwiye ngo twoye kugira impungenge, kuko barasaga imizinga kwa Agathe [minisitiri w'intebe] kugira ngo bamubuze gusohoka iwe", ubuhamya, Urukiko rwa gisirikari, Bruxelles, PV no 1013, 22 Kamena 1994, inyandiko ifite irango TPIR K0074271 n'ibikurikira.)

minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana yahungiyeye mu nkambi y'ingabo za Loni yari hafi y'iwe. Dallaire yahise aterefona Iqbal Riza i New York, amumenyeshako wenda byari kuba ngombwa gukoresha ingufu kugira ngo batabare minisitiri w'intebe. "Riza icyo yakoze gusa ni ugushimangira amabwiriza twagombaga kubahiriza : abasirikari ba Minuar bagombaga gukoresha intwari zabo ari uko batewe gusa²²." Ubwo rero abicanyi nta washoboraga kubakoma imbere : igihe cyose batari kugaba ibitero ku "banyangofero z'ubururu", bashoboraga kwica abo bashaka. Hashize nk'iminota 40 Dallaire amaze guhamagara Riza, ni ukuvuga ahagana saa tanu, abasirikari b'U Rwanda binjiye mu nkambi ya Loni, basangamo minisitiri w'intebe, nuko baramwica²³, hamwe n'umugabo we Ignance Barahira, n'umujyanama we Ignance Magorane.

Kuri icyo saha abenshi mu bandi banyapolitiki bahigwaga bari bamaze kwicwa. Mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri za mu gitondo, abasirikari bagiye mu rugo rwa Joseph Kavaruganda, Perezida w'Urukiko rurinda itegekonshinga, nuko bamusaba kubaherekeza. Uyunguyu yaranze, ahubwo atabaza abasirikari ba Minuar bari ahantu hanyuranye ngo bamuvune. Mu isaha yakurikiyeho, abasirikari baramusingiriye maze bamujyana mu kigo cy'umutwe urinda Perezida ku Kimihurura, aba ariho bamwicira. Ahagana mu ma saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice za mu gitondo, urugo rwa Félicien Ngango, visiperezida wa mbere wa PSD, rwaratewe maze baramwica. Mu ma saa moya y'igitondo, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, Perezida wa PSD, yarasiye mu rugo iwe. Nyuma gato ya saa moya, cg se nyuma muri icyo gitondo, nk'uko abandi batangabuhamya babivuze, abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda Perezida bagera kuri makumyabiri bagiye mu rugo rwa Landouald Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere w'ishyamba PL, nuko baramwica, hamwe n'umugore we w'Umunyakanada Hélène Pinski n'abana babo. N'abandi benshi bapfuye rumwe na bo, nka Faustin Rucogoza, minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, wajyanywe mu kigo cy'umutwe urinda Perezida mu ma saa yine akicirwayo. Muri icyo gihe, nibwo ingabo zishinzwe umutekano w'abategetsi zahazanaga abaminisitiri ba Muvoma kuhabarindira.

Amaze kwicisha Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Joseph Kavaruganda, Théoneste Bagosora yari akemuye impaka abayobozi batatu ba Muvoma bari bashoje ku byerekeye iyemerwa rishingiye ku mategeko ry'abo bateganyaga gushyira ku butegetsi²⁴. Bamaze no kwica abayobozi bo mu mashyamba atavugaga rumwe na

²² « The Prime Minister took refuge in a different house from her family. The UNVs informed Mr. Le Moal, the acting designated security official, at about 08.30. According to Dallaire's report to Headquarters, he called Riza at 09.20 to inform him that UNAMIR might have to use force to save the Prime Minister. Riza confirmed the rules of engagement : that UNAMIR was not to fire until fired upon [“minisitiri w'intebe yahungiyeye mu yindi nzu itari iy'umuryango we. Ahajya kuba saa mbiri n'igice, umukazi wa Loni UNVs yabimenyeshesheje bwana Le Moal, wari washinzwe iby'umutekano. Nk'uko biboneka muri raporo Dallaire yohereje ku Cyicaro gikuru, yahamagaye Riza saa tatu na makumyabiri amumenyeshako ko Minuar yagombaga kwitabaza ingufu kugira ngo irokore minisitiri w'intebe. Riza yashimangiyeye amabwiriza y'uko bagomba kwitwara : ngo Minuar ntiyashoboraga kurasa, kugeza igihe bayirasiyeho] » (*Raporo ya anketi yigenga yerekeye ibyo Umuryango w'Abibumbye wakoze ku gihe cy'itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda muri 1994*, Umuryango w'Abibumbye, New York, 15 Ukuboza, 1999, p. 6).

²³ OUA, *Rapport des experts [Raporo y'inzobere] ...*, op. cit., § 15.4, p. 126 (*reba umugereka 5*).

²⁴ “Frodouard Karamira, visiperezida wa MDR, yarambwiye, ndabyibuka neza, igihe yaje kunshaka iwanjye ku Kacyiru [yari aharekeje Théoneste Bagosora] ati “Ibya Agathe byabaye ngombwa ko tubirangiza ngo tubone uko dushyiraho Guverinoma”. Ibyo yarabimbwiye, kuko yibwiraga ko kuri we no kuri nyje icyo yari inkuru nziza, kubera ko nashoboraga noneho kugera ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe” (Ubuhamya bwa Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-66 bwo

Muvoma bashinjwaga kubogamira kuri FPR, icyo bari basigaje gusa ni uguhitamo mu banyapolitiki b'abanywanyi cg se bemera ko hajyaho Guverinoma y'abasivili ariko igomba guhabwa amategeko. Bityo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Édouard Karemera na Joseph Nzirorera, bavuga ko batigeze bava iwabo ku muni w'iya 7 Mata, bashoboraga gutunganya "inzibacyuho" ya politiki uko bayishaka, bakajya n'impaka n'abandi baminititiri ba Muvoma. Kubera ko bari bahungishirijwe muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa nta gishobora kubakoma, bari bashoboye kubarura abanyapolitiki bishwe no gukusanya amakuru ya nyuma²⁵.

Mu nama y'abaminisitiri bari bahari yabaye bukeye bwaho saa tatu za mu gitondo bisabwe na ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa²⁶, Jean-Michel Marlaud, uyu :

" [...] yaduhaye amakuru ya nyuma y'uko ibintu byifashe, y'uko ibintu byari byagenze, akurikije amakuru ambasade y'Ubufaransa yari yakusanyije, nk'uko yari yabagezeho. Ni we waduhaye inkuru y'impamo ku mazina y'abaminisitiri bari bapfuye. Ni we watumenyesheje uko ibintu byari byifashe mu muji. Yashishikarije abaminisitiri bari bamukikije kugeregeza kureba icyo bakora ngo bakure igihugu mu kaduruvayo cyari kiri kurohamamo²⁷."

Birumvikana ko nta minisitiri n'umwe mu bari bahari wari ugitekereza iby'uko Faustin Twagiramungu ari we wari wemewe nka minisitiri w'intebe washyizweho n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Ibyo bahise babyibagirwa burundu n'ubwo Perezida wa Muvoma, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, yaje kubihakana nyuma y'igihe :

"Ndashaka gushimangira ko ishyaka, nk'umutwe, nta kintu kibi ryakoze, nta mabwiriza yo kwica ryigeze ritanga cg se ayo kugira nabi, kubera ko kuva Perezida yapfa nta nama y'ishyaka yigeze iterana. Perezida yapfuye ku ya 6 Mata. Kuva ubwo, abenshi mu bayoboze b'ishyaka barahunze, abandi bakoranira muri za ambasade, abandi bagerageza kurwana ku miryango yabo, ku buryo mu by'ukuri bitashobokaga gukora inama iyo ari yo yose yo gutanga ayo mabwiriza. Kuva na none icyo gihe, sinahakana ko umuyoboze w'ishyaka ashobora kuba... yarishoye mu bikorwa bigayitse. Ariko ni ngombwa kubashakisha, ibyo babikoze ku giti cyabo si mu izina ry'ishyaka²⁸."

Bamaze kubyemeranyaho n'abo ku ruhande rwa Perezida n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, abasirikari bakuru "bari biyemeje gukora kudeta" bageze ku mugambi wabo wo gufata ubutegetsi wari wapfubye mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, bakoresheje ubundi buryo. Uwo mugambi n'inama yahuje Komite ya gisirikari yo mu gihe cy'amage, abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano n'abakuru b'imitwe yari yawuteye utwatsi mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata, mu gihe abakuru b'imitwe bamwe n'aba za kompani barimo gutanga amabwiriza mu ibanga yo kwica

ku ya 19 Gicurasi 1998).

²⁵ "Mu biganiriro twagiranye n'abantu nahasanze, ni byo, amakuru yarazengurukaga avuga abantu bapfuye. Ni kuri ubwo buryo twamenye ko Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari yishwe, ko na Kavaruganda yari yishwe, ndetse ko hari n'abandi baminititiri bishwe" (ubuhamya bwa Justin MUGENZI, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyungu 2005, p. 46).

²⁶ Dukurikije uko ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa yabivuze, ngo inama yabaye ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo "abaminisitiri bamaze kuhagera". Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko twabibonye, abaminisitiri n'abanyapolitiki ba Muvoma ndetse n'abo muri "Hutu Pawa" bari bashyitse muri ambasade ku itariki ya 7, bityo bakaba bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo kuhategurira inzibacyuho ya politiki "yabo" (*reba umutwe wa 10*).

²⁷ Ubuhamya bwa Justin MUGENZI, urubanza rwa C. Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 8 Ugushyungu 2005.

²⁸ Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, TPIR, Bamako, K7 KT 00-0199, irango K0129132-133, 27 Nzeri-1 Ukwakira 1999.

abanyapolitiki, cg bagikomeje itsembatsemba ry'abasivili ryari ryatangiye ninjoro, kugira ngo amahano abure gitangira. Muri iyo mitwe uwazaga mbere ni uw'abarinda Perezida wari wigize "akari-aha-kajya-he", kugira ngo utume Théoneste Bagosora n'Abahutu b'intagondwa bashobora gukora ibyo batari kwirengera ku mugaragaro, nuko hagati aho batayo y'igiporisi cya gisirikari [PM], batayo y' "Abakodo [Paracommandos]", batayo y' "Abariki [Recce]", kompani y' "Abatezi [Genie]" yayoborwaga na majoro Ladislas Munyampotore (Ruhengeri), na batayo y' "Abazinga [Artillerie de Campagne]" yayoborwaga na majoro Aloys Mutabera (Gisenyi). Kubera ibyo, ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, imitwe yose yari i Kanombe ntiyashidikanyaga ko uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'icyo kigo, Théoneste Bagosora, yari yabaye Perezida !

Ikigo cya Kanombe ni cyo cyari cyabaye indiri n'inteko y'abakomye imbarutso y'itsembatsemba, n'iy'abasirikari bakuru n'imitwe yari yigometse ku buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, igahangana n'abasirikari bashakaga kubungabunga ubutegetsi.

"Guhera ku ya 8, nabonye ko nta bwumvikane bwari hagati y'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki, kandi ko ari ko byari bimeze ahantu hose, mu gihe nje nari nshishikariye imirwano yari yongeye kudushyamiranya na FPR.

Uko nje nabonaga ibikorwa bya gisirikari muri icyo gihe, ku ruhande rumwe hari ibya gisirikari nyabyo byari bijyanye n'intambara twarwanaga na FPR, ku rundi ruhande hakaba ibyakorwaga n'abasirikari, higanjemo abo mu mutwe urinda Perezida, byari bigamije gusoza umugambi wateguwe mbere hose, ukaba wari uzwi gusa n'urusobe rw'abakorera mu bwihisho. Ibi bya nyuma ntacyo nashoboraga kubikoraho. Nyamara ibyo ku rugamba byo nari nzi neza uko byifashe n'uko bikorwa.

Ni umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikari k'umuji wa Kigali wari ufite inshingano zo kuremesha iyo mitwe yose ingamba zo kurinda no kurwana ku muji wa Kigali. Naramuhamagaye ndamubaza ansubiza ko atazi ukuntu abasirikari bamwe boherezwaga mu duce tunyuranye gukorera yo ubwo bwicanyi. Ni uko yahamagariye kuri radiyo igendanwa umuyobozi w'umutwe urinda Perezida kugira ngo amubaze impamvu abasirikari ayoboye bari banyanyagiye mu muji. Undi yaramusubije ngo abasirikari be bose bari mu kigo imbere. Umutwe urinda Perezida wari ufite misiyo ebyiri, kurinda Perezida no kurwana ku bari mu gipande cye, ibyo bikinjira muri gahunda yo kwirwanaho muri rusange. Amasezerano ya Arusha yateganyaga gusesa uwo mutwe ugasimburwa n'umutwe urinda abategetsi ba leta.

Naje kumenyera nyuma mu kiganiro cyo mu ruhamye, igihe nari ndi muri *Reorganistion School* i Gako, mu Kuboza 1994, mbibwiwe na koloneli Bavugamenshi, ko bari bamubwiye kutirirwa ahangayikira ibyo kurinda abategetsi bakomeye mu gihe imirwano yari kuba yubuye, ngo kuko abo bategetsi bari kurindwa n'imitwe y'abasirikari yari aho bari. Ku buryo bufatika bivugako, dufashe urugero rwa minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana, kumurinda byagombaga kuba byarakozwe n'abasirikari mu mu kigo cya Kigali. Icyo nzi cyo ni uko abo basirikari ari bo bamwishe.

Twaje kumenya nyuma ko Bagosora yari afite umurongo wa radiyo yihariye, ubangikanye n'umurongo wa gisirikari usanzwe. Akoresheje uwo murongo, yashoboraga kuvugana ku buryo butaziguye n'umutwe urinda Perezida, batayo y' "Abakodo" na batayo y' "Abariki". Agomba kuba yarakoresheje uwo murongo kugira ngo ahe amabwiriza iyo mitwe, abayobozi b'ingabo batabizi. Koloneli Ndengeyinka wari umujyanama mu by'ubumenyi-ngiro muri minisitiri y'ingabo z'igihugu yabitangira gihamya²⁹.

²⁹ Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Marcel GATSINZI, minisitiri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142, 16 Kamena 1995, p. 7.

Gushora abasivili imbere

Hakurikijwe icyifuzo cya benshi mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo cyo gushyiraho vuba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho – icyifuzo cyari cyashimangiwe ku mugaragaro na Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina mu mugoroba wo ku ya 8 Mata – guhitamo Guverinoma y'abasivili byari bifitiye inyungu nyinshi itsinda ry'abasirikari bakoranaga n'Akazu, bo mu by'ukuri bari barishyiriyeho amategeko yabo kuva ku itariki ya 6 nimugoroba. Ku bwabo, byari bihagije gutoranya abasivili bazashyira mu bikorwa gahunda ya politiki yabo, ariko nanone byari ngombwa ko iyo Guverinoma ikingira ikibaba abasirikari, yirengera ubwayo itsembatsemba n'ubundi bugizi bwa nabi. icya nyuma, ni uko iyo Guverinoma, kurusha ubutegetsu bw'abasirikari bari kuregwa ko bakoze kudeta, yashoboraga kubona ako kanya ububasha bw'icyitiriro bw'ubutegetsu bwemewe n'amategeko. Ibi rero byari ngombwa cyane ko bigaragarira ibihugu by'amahanga byari byishingiye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha. Ku bw'abagenda ingamba bo mu Kazu, gushyiraho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byari ukugaragaza igipande cy' "imbere mu gihugu" cya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, hubahirijwe iby'ingenzi mu igabana ry'ubutegetsu ribogamye nk'uko byari byateganyijwe.

Muri urwo rwego, inzira yo gushyiraho abayobozi yari ifite umwanya w'ibanze. koloneli Bagosora yitanze atizigamye mu gutunganya iyo gahunda ku mpamvu ze bwite n'inyungu z'ingamba rusange. Kubera ko abagize Komite ya gisirikari bari bamuteye utwatsi, yari yabonye ko asigaye mu bwigunge ndetse ko abamurwanyaga bahibikanyiraga kumutsinsura burundu.

Nyamara, bitewe n'uko yari yakomeje umuhati kandi akagumana ingamba ze zo gutunguza abantu ibyo yarangije kare zari zamuhiriye mu gitondo cy'uwo munsu, mu mugoroba w'ya 7 Mata, Bagosora yari yarangije gukora gahunda y'inama zari kuba bukeye kugira ngo yihutishe itegura ry'imbangikane ryo gushyiraho icyo yise Guverinoma "ye". Bagenzi be bo muri komite y'ingobokamahina bo bifuzaga kwirinda ikintu cyose cyatiza umurindi amacakubiri, bashishikajwe n'ibyo kuzashyiraho Perezida wabo :

"Ku itariki ya 8 Mata saa kumi n'ebyiri za mu gitondo, [Augustin Ndindiliyimana] yagiranye inama n'umukuru wa etamajoro w'inzibacyuho kugira ngo barebere hamwe uko ibintu byifashe, mbere yo gusanga abo muri komite y'ingobokamahina yemeye kubera Perezida kugira ngo ahoshe ubwigomeke bw'abashakaga guhigika koloneli Bagosora³⁰."

koloneli Bagosora yarabaretse bajya impaka, bayobowe na jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana na jenerali Dallaire, ku ngingo z'ibanze zagenwe nyuma yo kumva igitekerezo cya FPR aho imariye gusohokera muri CND ikanatera ikigo cy'umutwe urinda Perezida :

"Ibikorwa bya komite y'ingobokamahina ku itariki ya 8 Mata byibanze ku mirimo yo gutabara mu duce dutandukanye tw'umujyi wa Kigali twari mu kaga, n'iyi gukurikiranira hafi imirwano [yari yaraye itangiye hagati ya FPR n'imitwe y'ingabo z'igihugu yo mu

³⁰ Dosiye ya Augustin Ndindiliyimana, icyemezo n° 96/771/F629/cd cyo ku ya 28 Gicurasi 1998 cya Komisiyo ihoraho y'ubujurire bw'impunzi, Bruxelles, p. 3.

karere ka Kigali]. Uwo muni, komite y'ingobokamahina yakomeje gushakisha ukuntu yasinyana na FPR amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano.³¹

Naho Théoneste Bagosora we yari ahugiye mu byo gushyiraho Guverinoma y'agateganyo yajyaho mu mwanya wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho guhera mu gitondo cy'iya 8 Mata, abanje kubijyamo inama na Joseph Nzirorera, hanyuma n'abandi bayobozi b'ishyaka rya MRND. Babyemeranyijweho bose ko bashoboraga kwiha uburenganzira bwo guhitamo ubwabo abahagararira amashyaka yari atezweho kuba yasimbura abanyapolitiki bayo bahigitswe cg se bishwe, nuko bajya n'impaka no ku birebana n'amategeko.

Bazo : Mbese igihe koloneli Bagosora yababwiye ko abanyapolitiki bagomba guhura kugira ngo bashake umuti w'icyuho cyari kiri mu butegetsi, yabivuze mu izina rya Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh nk'uko byari bayaraye bigenze, cg se yabivuze mu izina rye bwite, cg se mu izina ry'undi uwari we wese ?

Subizo : Oya, yatekerezaga... – n'ubundi ariko, ndibwira ko igitekerezo cye cyagaragariye ku buryo bwatuye mu itangazo nyuma –, yavuze ko ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo na Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina bifuzaga ko abanyapolitiki bita ku nshingano zabo mu bireba politiki.

Bazo : Mbese, muhereye ku byo koloneli yari amaze kuvuga, wowe ubwawe cg se abandi bazaga mu nama, hari icyo mwaba mwarasubije ?

Subizo : Yego, twarasubije, twamubwiye ko iyo bavuze abanyapolitiki baba batavuze ishyaka rya MRND. Guverinoma y'U Rwanda yari igizwe n'amashyaka atanu. Nuko rero twamubwiye ko twiteguye kubahiriza inshingano zacu, mu gihe andi mashyaka yaba ahari na yo. [...]

Bazo : Hanyuma se koloneli Bagosora yasubije iki ku cyitegerezo cyanyu ?

Subizo : Yavuze ko agiye kubashaka.

Bazo : Hanyuma se, amaze kubabwira ko agiye kubashaka, byagenze bite : yaragiye cg se yagumanye namwe ?

Subizo : Oya, ntiyagumanye natwe, kubera ko turebye iyo ibintu byaganaga, twari dufite icyo tugomba kubyibazaho ; kubera ko byari byiza kuzana amashyaka muri iyo nama, ariko se amashyaka yari kuvuga iki ? Nuko rero twasigaye dutekereza ku gisubizo kinyuze mu buryo bw'amategeko n'ubutegetsi.

Bazo : Wavuze ko mwatangiye gutekereza, mbese washobora kumbwira neza igihe byabatwaye, niba kandi haba hari imyanzuro icyo gitekerezo cyagezeho, mu nama yanyu ya batatu ?

Subizo : Uko twari batatu, umwanzuro twagezeho ni uko byari ngombwa gushaka igisubizo mu itegekonshinga ryo ku ya 10 Kamena 1991. Iryo tegekonshinga ni ryo ryateganyaga uburyo bwo gusimbura Perezida mu gihe agize imiziro, apfuye, nb."³²

Hamaze kujyaho amategeko agondagonzwe hakurikijwe "iyo ibintu bigana", icyari gisigaye kwari ukugabagabana imirimo yo guharirikanya hagati ya Théoneste Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma. Mu gihe abo batatu barimo kungurana ibitekerezo na Théodore Sindikubwabo, abayobozi bashya batowe mu gipande cya "Pawa" cy'amashyaka yaciwe imitwe yahoze ahanganye na Muvoma, barimo "kuvanwa" mu ngo zabo na koloneli Bagosora ubwe cg n'abasirikari boherejwe na koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho, perefere wa perefegitura y'umuji wa

³¹ Liyetona-koloneli utarashatse ko izina rye ritangazwa, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 9 Gicurasi 2006 (*reba umugereka 61*).

³² Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 5 Nyakanga 2005.

Kigali, abifashijwemo na superefe wa Kigali ngari, Cyprien Karera³³. Mu gihe Jean Kambanda watoraguye na mugenzi we Frodouald Karamira wari mu modoka ya gisirikari akamusobanurira uko ibintu byifashe, abaminisitiri benshi bajanywe muri minisitiri y'ingabo nta gisobanuro na gito bahawe. Kuri bamwe ntibyari ngombwa kuko byabonekaga ko izo ntumwa zari zitegerejwe (MDR na PL "Pawa"). Abandi bo baratunguwe cyane kandi ntibumvaga iyo bijya. Inkuru ya Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, waje guhabwa umwanya wa minisitiri w'Imari muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, irabigaragaza neza (*umugereka 68*).

Ku birebana n'ishyaka rya PDC, ibintu byari birushijeho gato kuba insobe. Koko rero, Perezida w'iryo shyamba, Jean-Népomscène Nayinzira, yari yabogamiye kuri FPR kandi yaremewe nka minisitiri uhagarariye PDC muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Guhera ku ya 7 Mata mu gitondo, bavuze ko ngo "ataboneka", nuko koloneli Bagosora yohereza abantu gushaka iwe mu rugo Gaspard Ruhumuriza, minisitiri wa PDC wari uriho, kugira ngo aze mu nama y'abahagarariye amashyamba yo ku ya 8 Mata mu gitondo. Uyu rero yasabye ko ajyana yo na ambasaderi Celestin Kabanda (Hutu, Butare) na Cyprien Harerimana (Hutu, Gisenyi, wari ushyigikiye CDR), abo bombi bari muri Biro politiki ya PDC. Kubera ko bitashobotse kubona Cyprien Harerimana, Gaspard Ruhumuriza hamwe n'abasirikari bari kumwe babonye Jean-Marie Vianney Sibomana (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umwe mu bagize Komite nyobozi ya PDC, nuko bamujyana mu nama y'amashyamba...

Nyamara, n'ubwo kuba mu mubare w'abatowe byateye benshi impungenge, icyagaragaye cyane ni uko bamaze guterana, "abanyamishyikirano" basubije agatima mu nda bakajya n'impaka nk'aho babona ibintu biri mu buryo bwabyo, n'ubwo iyimikwa ryabo ryari rishingiye ku ibanga ry'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa n'abayobozi ba MRND, kandi n'urupfu rw'abahotowe rukaba rwari rukibaremereye :

"Twagerageje kubahiriza rwose amasezerano yo ku ya 7 Mata 1992 nk'uko yahinduwe ku ya 8 Mata 1994 (*reba umugereka 69*), ibi bikaba byaratumye binanirana gushyiraho Guverinoma ifite ingufu, kubera ko amashyamba yahisemo abakandida bayo mu bwisanzure, yego, ariko mu by'ukuri abumvikanye kujya muri iyo Guverinoma bari batungujwe ibintu byarangiye kera, kuko abanyapolitiki b'imena bari bapfuye cyane ngo bataboneka. Ibyo byatumye Guverinoma imera nk'ikiyemvikanweho gusa, izitwe cyane mu mikorere yayo. Ubutegetsi nyabwo bwari bwibereye ahandi. Ishyamba rya MRND ryari ryiganje mu nzego z'ubutegetsi, n'abasirikari bakorana n'igipande cya Perezida biganje mu ngabo z'igihugu. N'ubundi kandi, muri ibyo byakorwaga byose, abantu bumvaga ko Ngirumpatse, Karemera, Nzirorera na Bagosora bakoreraga mu ibanga, bakagenda ibyarimo kuba byose, ariko ntibashake kwigaragaza mu ruhamwe. Abantu bamwe batekerezeza ko ishyamba rya MRND ryari rifite ingamba zihamye zo gushyirahira imbere abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo mu gihe cy'amage, riteganyaga ko abanyapolitiki bakomeye bo mu majyaruguru bazabiganzura inzego z'inzibacyuho zimaze kujyaho. Mu mugoroba, Ngirumpatse yatubajije niba Guverinoma nshya yaragombaga kujyaho ako kanya. Namusubije ko twagombaga gutumira abahagarariye ibihugu by'amahanga mu mihango yo kuyishyiraho niba twarashakaga ko iyo Guverinoma yemerwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Karamira we yashakaga kuba ategereje ko umukandida we aba ahari,

³³ Ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994, Cyprien Karera yashinzwe kuyobora perefegitura ya Kigali ngari yari imaze amezi menshi itagira umuyobozi. Umwambari w'ingoma w'indarikizi cyane, yari yashoboye gushyingira umuhungu we w'ikineye mwishywa wa Agathe Kanziga.

ariko abandi, nk'aba Muvoma n'abaminisitiri bashya ba MDR na PSD, bari bashyigikiye ko ishyirwaho ako kanya³⁴."

Nta muntu n'umwe utarabonaga ikinamico y' "agatsiko ka bane" – Ngirumpatse, Karemera, Nzirorera na Bagosora – bahawe ako kazina n'umwe mu banyamishyikirano b'amashyaka - kanonosoye itangazo uko kabyifuza kugeza ahagana mu ma saa cyenda, bagitegereje ko abanyuma bahagera, abahagarariye ishyaka PSD, bakoze gusa ibyo gushyira umukono wabo ku nyandiko yateguwe kare.

Bazo : Ni uko. Turi ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994, ni saa cyenda, mugeze muri minisitiri y'ingabo ; ahongaho ni nde wabakiriye ?

Subizo : Munyamategeko, mbese wibwira ko twakiriye ? Ntitwakiriye, twarahageze, ngo tuhagere, dusanga abantu mu cyumba cy'inama, bamwe bahagaze, abandi bicaye, ni ibyo gusa. Nta byo kwakirwa byahabaye, nta bashinzwe kwakira abantu twahabonye. [...]

Bazo : None se, amaherezo, byagenze bite muri minisitiri y'ingabo kuri uwo munsu ? Mbese hari umuntu wagize icyo ababwira ? Mbese hari umuntu wagize igitekerezo abagezaho ? Mwakoze iki ? Tubwire uko byagenze muri iyo nama.

Subizo : Nta nama yari irimo igihe twahageraga. Ndakubwira ko bamwe bari bahagaze, abandi bicaye. None se ibyo ni ko bigenda mu nama ? Oya da ! inama yari yarangiye, ikintu cya mbere batubwiye bagize bati : "Ah ! PSD irahageze ! PSD irahageze ! Twarangije gushyiraho Guverinoma, ni bande bagomba kuyobora minisitiri zanyu, minisitiri babageneye ? " Ngayo amagambo batubwiye. [...]

Mu gihe twe twabajije aho abaminisitiri bacu ba mbere bagiye, numvise bwana Mugenzi avuga ngo "Niba batapfuye bazimiye". Ngicyo igisubizo baduhaye.

Kandi abantu bose bari mu nzu barabitsindagiye, kubera ko abayoboze bose b'amashyaka bari bahari... abagize za biro politiki... za komite, abagize komite z'amashyaka yari muri Guverinoma y'ubushize, amashyaka yose yari ahagarariwe, uretse PSD. Nuko rero, baratubwiye bati "Ngibyho, bagabo, twebwe, twe twarangije, twamaze gutanga amazina y'abaminisitiri bacu, hasigaye minisitiri za PSD. Nuko rero, nimwe mugomba kuvuga abaminisitiri basimbura abanyu bapfuye cg bazimiye." Ngibyho³⁵."

Uko Guverinoma yari iteye byahise byemerwa nta zindi mpaka mbere y'uko abari bahari bose bajyanwa muri ESM kugira ngo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho imurikirwe abagize komite y'ingobokamahina bari bahari (batari banatumiwe ku mugaragaro) n'abaminisitiri ba Muvoma bari bagumanye imyanya yabo kandi bakaba bari begeranyijwe n'abasirikari.

Uwo muhango wagenze neza, dukurikije uko Mathieu Ngirumpatse abivuga, we wari umuhuzabikorwa n'umuvugizi :

Bazo : Igihe intumwa [za PSD] zageze [mu nama y'amashyaka yabereye muri minisitiri y'ingabo kugira ngo ihitemo abajya muri Guverinoma], ushobora kubwira Urukiko uko byagenze ?

Subizo : Izo ntumwa zemeye amasezerano twari twateguye... andi mashyaka yari yateguye. Barayasinye na bo, ariko bashyiraho inziganyo ; baravuze bati "Tugomba kubaza inzego z'ubuyobozi zacu kugira ngo zemere amasinyo yacu." Kubera ko bari muri biro politiki, ariko batari muri komite nyobozi. Ariko barasinye, bashyizeho inziganyo. [...]

Bazo : Mbese ushobora no kugira icyo utubwira kuri iyo Guverinoma ?

³⁴ Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare, 2005.

³⁵ Ubuhamya bwa Emmanuel NDINDABAHIZI, Urubanza rwa Ndindabahizi, TPIR, 25 Ugushyungu 2003, p. 36 n'ibikurikira (*reba umugereka 70*).

Subizo : Yego. Guverinoma igomba kugira minisitiri w'intebe – nibura, dukurikije itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991, hagomba minisitiri w'intebe. Twasabye ishyaka rya MDR – rigomba gutanga minisitiri w'intebe – kumenyekanisha umukandida waryo.

Bazo : Ni byo. Hanyuma se ishyaka rya MDR ryakoze iki ?

Subizo : Ah ! Ryaratubwiye ngo ni Jean Kambanda wari gushyirwaho. Kandi ndibwira ko bagiye kumushaka.

Bazo : Mbese waba wibuka niba amashyaka yaragombye kubigirana aho imishyikirano ?

Subizo : Oya. Ni ibintu byari mu buryo.

Bazo : Mbese, uretse umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe, ushobora kugira icyo ubwira Urukiko ku yindi myanya y'abaminisitiri ?

Subizo : Muri Muvoma, ntacyo twahinduye, twakomeje ikipi yari isanzweho. Twaravuze duti “Ubwo iyi Guverinoma itazamaraho igihe, ntacyo bimaze guhindura.” Twagumishijeho ikipi yari isanzweho.

Bazo : Na hose ku byerekeye izindi ntumwa ?

Subizo : Abandi, ndibwira ko PSP yahinduye, hanyuma na MDR igahinduramo abantu bamwe... Yego, abandi, barahinduye. Mu by'ukuri, PDC na yo ntiyahinduye, kuko ministiri wa PDC yari Gaspard Ruhumuriza ; yagumanye umwanya we.

Bazo : Ikibazo : Mbese ni icyo gihe abaminisitiri bashyiriweho ?

Subizo : Yego. Yego, rwose. Buri shyaka ryatanze lisiti yaryo. Nta mpaka twagiye ku bantu ubwabo, kubera ko twemeraga ko amashyaka akora ibintu abishyizeho umutima. Kandi rero, n'ubundi, urebye uko ibintu byari bimeze, ntiyari igihe cyo kujya mu mpaka zidafite ishingiro. [...] Nyuma y'inama, twasabye ko bajya kubimenyesha komite y'ingobokamahina n'abandi banyapolitiki bifuzaga kumenya imyanzuro. Nuko rero, amashyaka yagiye mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari kugira ngo atangaze imyanzuro yari yagezeho. [...]

Bazo : Yego. Ndashaka kurangiriza ku ngingo ebyiri. Iya mbere : Mbese ushobora kutubwira abari mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari igihe mwajyaga yo ?

Subizo : Yego. Hari Sindikubwabo, birumvikana, perezida w'agateganyo; ndakeka ko Kambanda na we yari yahageze. Ariko hari, uretse abahagarariye amashyaka, hari n'abasirikari bakuru benshi, abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro, abasirikari bakuru... Abenshi ntitwari tubazi, twari tuzimo bamwe, ariko bari benshi, bari bahari. Rusatira yari ahari, Ndindiliyimana yari ahari; hari abasirikari bakuru benshi, benshi. [...]

Bazo : Mbese ushobora gusobanura neza uko byagenze, icyo gihe, ni ukuvuga igihe mwageraga hamwe n'abahagarariye amashyaka mu nama yo mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ?

Subizo : Nashinzwe gutangaza imyanzuro twari twagezeho. Nyuma yo kuyitangaza, abantu bakomye amashyi, bayemeye mu by'ukuri nta mpaka³⁶.”

Ni yo nama yonyine ikomeye umuntu yavugaga ko “yayobowe” na perezida wa komite y'ingobokamahina, Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Na none ni we wahaye ijambo Théoneste Bagosora ngo yerekane Guverinoma “ye” mbere y'uko Mathieu Ndirumapatse asobanura uburyo yemewe n'amategeko n'imikorere yayo. Dore uko Jean Kambanda abara icyo nkuru :

“**Bazo** : Igihe ugeze mu nama, uherekejwe na bwana Karamira [Frodouald, visiperezida wa MDR], mbese ushobora kutubwira uko byagenze ?

Subizo : Mu by'ukuri, batangiye bavugaga buri wese uwo ari we. Ariko perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina, jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana, yafashe ijambo adushimira ko twaje, nb., muri uwo muhango, nuko ahita aha ijambo koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, avugaga ko ari we wari wakurikiranye iyo dosiye kuva mu ntangiriro, ko ari we uzi... ufite ibisobanuro ashobora kuduha. Nuko rero koloneli Théoneste Bagosora afata ijambo, nyuma ya Ndindiliyimana.

Bazo : Ikibazo cyo gusobanura neza : uravuze ngo jenerali Ndindiliyimana yari perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina ; mbese ni ko yimenyekanishije cg se ni

³⁶ Ubuhamya bwa Mathieu NDIRUMPATSE, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 5 Nyakanga 2005, p. 76-77.

amakuru wabonye nyuma ? Mbese ntiwatekereje ko undi muntu ari we wari Perezida icyo gihe ? Ushobora se kududusobanurira neza iyo ngingo ?

Subizo : Abantu bose bari bazi ko, mu nzego za gisirikari, ni umusirikari mukuru usumbye abandi ipeti uba ari ku isonga, ni ko bimeze. Sinibuka niba yarigeze avuga ubwe ko ari Perezida wa Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina, ariko igihe yafataga ijamba, ntibyadutangaje kubera ko twari tuzi ko ari we musirikari mukuru wo mu gihugu cyacu warushaga abandi ipeti.

Bazo : Wavuze ko koloneli Théoneste Bagosora yafashe ijamba ; mbese washobora kutubwira igihe yamaze avuga, n'icyo yavuze, ukurikije uko ubyibuka ?

Subizo : Nk'uko nabivuze, biraruhije cyane ko uyu muni, nyuma y'imyaka cumi, nibuka igihe yamaze avuga. Yaravuze. icyo nzi, ni uko yadusobanuriye uko ibintu byagenze kuva ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana. Yatubwiye iby'inama yagiranye n'abadiporomate, iby'iyi yagiranye n'abasirikari, iby'ishyirwaho rya Komite ya gisirikari y'ingobokamahina. Nyuma yaje no kudusobanurira impamvu twari ahongaho, impamvu byabaye ngombwa ko batwitabaza.

Bazo : Mbese, uko ubyibuka, nta bandi bantu bagize icyo bavuga muri iyo nama ?

Subizo : Yego, hari Perezida w'ishyamba rya MRND wafashe ijamba, kubera ko ari we wadusobanuriye, inzira zo gutoranya abakandida no gushyiraho iyo Guverinoma [...] kandi nta wundi muntu nibuka wafashe ijamba nyuma ya Mathieu Ndirumapfwe. Nuko rero, icyari gisigaye kwari ugutegereza irahira ryari ritaganyijwe bukeye, kuko Guverinoma yari imaze gushyirwaho. icyakozwe rero, ni uko abakuru b'amashyamba berekanye abakandida... banyeretse abakandida, buri wese avuga ati : "Uyu ni kanaka, azaba minisitiri wa ... w'iyi minisitiri ahagarariye ishyamba rye", ariko njye ubwanjye nta jambo nafashe³⁷."

Mu by'ukuri, minisitiri w'intebe yategereje irahira kugira ngo ashimire ingabo z'igihugu uruhare rwazo mu ishyirwaho ry'iyi Guverinoma ikurikije icyerekezo cya politiki nshya yifuzwaga, politiki yari afitemo umwanya w'ibanze kubera ko uwo bari barakomeje guhiganwa, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, yari yishwe.

Ingaruka zo kumenyesha abantu ibyamaze kwemezwa kera

Nk'uko ubuhamya bwose bubigaragaza, abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro na komite y'ingobokamahina bari bahejwe burundu mu byakorwaga. Igitondo cyabo bari bakimaze bagerageza kubona uburyo bwo gushyikirana na FPR, nyuma ya saa sita bungurana ibitekerezo ku buryo bwo guhagarika ubwicanyi. Ibikorwa bya Théoneste Bagosora n'abayobozi ba Muvoma babyakiriye bibagaragara ko batunguwe kandi ko batabishyigikiye (*reba umugereka 68*).

"Bukeye mu gitondo [ku ya 8 Mata], Ndindiliyimana yadutumiye mu nama yo kutumenyesha ko Bagosora yari yakoranyije abanyapolitiki kugira ngo bashyireho Guverinoma y'agateganyo. Tukiri muri iyo nama Bagosora yazanye n'abagize iyo Guverinoma, hanyuma tubona ko ari we ubwe wari watoranyije abantu, kandi ko bitari bihuje n'imyanzuro y'inama yari yaraye ibaye. Iyo Guverinoma yari yiganjemo abaminisitiri b'ishyamba rya MRND (abaminisitiri 9). Hari abandi baminisitiri icyenda b'amashyamba ane ya MDR, PSD, PL na PDC. Twatungujwe ibyari byararangijwe kera³⁸."

"Igihe Bagosora azana abantu be bagombaga kuba ba minisitiri, byari akumiro : iyo kipi yari irimo abantu benshi batanzwe barimo minisitiri w'intebe ; nta gisobanuro yatanze ku

³⁷ Ubuhamya bwa Jean KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 32-33.

³⁸ Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Marcel GATSINZI, minisitiri y'Ubutabera, Kigali, PV 0142, 16 Kamena 1995, p. 3-5.

byerekeye abatari bahari ; ababazi neza bakatwongorera ko bose ari “ *Abapawa*”³⁹.”

“Abandi basirikari bakuru, barimo koloneli Rusatira, batangajwe n’uko kwivuguruza gukabije, nuko kubera gutsimbarara ku byo bari bumvikanyeho, bisanga byaba ari ishyano gushyiraho Guverinoma ku buryo buciye ukubiri burundu n’amasezerano ya Arusha⁴⁰. Babigaragarije mu nama (umuntu yavuga ko yari iya kabiri ya komite y’ingobokamahina) bagiranye n’abanyapolitiki ku itariki ya 8 Mata. Abo basirikari bakuru bari bakomeje gushyigikira amasezerano ya Arusha basubijwe y’uko iyo Guverinoma nshya yari ifite nyine inshingano zo gushyikirana na FPR kugira ngo barebe uko ayo masezerano yakubahirizwa. Abo basirikari bakuru bafashwe nk’ibygomeke ntibita ku byo bavuze, ndetse ntibanatumirwa mu muhango wo kurahiza Guverinoma y’agateganyo bo babonaga ko nta mizero yari izaniye igihugu. Ibyakurikiyeho byerekanye ko bari mu kuri. Itangazo ryashyizweho umukono n’abasirikari bakuru 12, harimo n’umukuru wa etamajoro w’umusimbura, Marcel Gatsinzi, [na Léonidas Rusatira], rigaragaza neza icyuka cyariho muri ibyo bihe. N’ubwo abo basirikari bakuru batari muri etamajoro bose, iryo tangazo ryitiriwe ubuyobozi bw’ingabo kubera ko umukuru wa etamajoro yari mu mubare w’abarisinye⁴¹.”

Ariko nyine ibintu byari byigaragaje, kudeta y’abasirikari bo mu “kazu” ka Perezida n’abayobozi ba Muvoma yari yageze ku ntego yayo ihitana abatavuga rumwe na bo, abandi ibashyiraho iterabwoba :

“Uwo muni, ahagana saa tatu-saa yine za ninjoro, Muri ESM, amaze kumenya ilisiti y’abakandida ku bumunsi, jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana yamenyesheje, mu izina rya bagenzi be bo mu Buyobozi bukuru bw’ingabo, ko misiyo ya komite y’ingobokamahina irangiye⁴².”

Nyuma y’ayo macenga, icyo abasirikari bakuru bo mu Buyobozi bw’ingabo bari basigaje gukora, kwari uguhanyanyaza by’impitagihe bakirema agatima ko bazashyigikirwa n’abandi bagikomeye ku masezerano ya Arusha, ni ukuvuga za ambasade z’ibihugu bikomeye na FPR. Nyamara ari ri ambasade ari na FPR, ntawabagobotse. N’ubwo bahigwaga, bahigitswe cg se bakwijwe imishwara nyuma y’uko ingufu zibogamiye mu ruhande rubarwanya, abasirikari bakuru benshi banze gutunguzwa ibyarangijwe kera maze basaba ku mugaragaro mu itangazo ryabo ryo ku ya 12 Mata 1994⁴³ gutangira ibiganiro na FPR no guhagarika imirwano. Icyo kirari cyakomerejwe mu ibaruwa umukuru wa etamajoro y’ingabo, jenerali Marcel Gatsinzi, yandikiye Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994. Muri iyo baruwa, yamugezagaho igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho gahunda yo gukorera hamwe amarondo, kwambura intwara abantu bose bari bazitunze ku buryo bunyuranyije n’amategeko, no kugenzura ibiganiro n’ibitangazwa kuri radiyo⁴⁴.

Nyamara urunana rw’abayobozi ba MRND bo babonaga urubuga rwari rwamaze gutamururwa ku buryo burengeje ibyo bari bizeye. Mu rwego rwa

³⁹ Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 20 Mata 2005.

⁴⁰ *Reba umugereka* 30.

⁴¹ Léonidas RUSATIRA, *Rwanda, le droit à l’espoir [uburenganzira bwo kudata icyizere]*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 2005, p. 54 n’ibikurikira.

⁴² Ubuhamya bw’umunsi muri Guverinoma y’agateganyo, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005.

⁴³ *Itangazo ry’ubuyobozi bw’ingabo z’U Rwanda*, 12 Mata 1994. Reba umugereka wa 71 ugaragaza uko iryo tangazo ryakiriwe n’impande zitandukanye.

⁴⁴ Ibaruwa ya jenerali Marcel GATSINZI yo ku ya 17 Mata 1994, TPIR, irango K0196126 (*reba umugereka* 71).

politiki, bayoboraga umukino bawihariye bonyine, mu gihe bari bafite perezida wo muri Muvoma, minisitiri w'intebe w' "umupawa", abaminisitiri bose ba Muvoma basubijweho kandi bagize kimwe cya kabiri cya Guverinoma. Gahunda rero yari itunganye ku buryo buhuje n'ibyifuzwaga : kwitabaza abantu b'i Butare, Kibuye, ndetse muri rusange abakomoka muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo byatumaga ari bo begekwa amarorerwa, mu gihe abayobozi batatu – Ngirumpatse, Nzirorera na Karemera – bifatanyije na Bagosora, bari bibereye ahitaruye, bagitegereje kureba uko ibintu bigenda ngo babone kuboneza ingamba zabo bwite. Dore uko uwahoze ari minisitiri wa MRND yabisobanuye atabiciye iruhande :

“Koko rero, hariho politiki yo gukorera mu ibanga, igashora imbere abantu batazi gahunda z'amahano zategurwaga cg zigakorwa rwihishwa. N'ubwo yakorerwaga mu kinyiranyindo, ni yo yari ifite ubutegetsu nyabwo, uburyo n'ibikoresho, imishyikirano n'itumanaho. Ntibari bashyizwe imbere ngo batabonwa n'abahoterwaga n'abandi bose, no kugira ngo batazaryoza nyuma ibyaha n'ibikorwa byabo⁴⁵.”

Ku itariki ya 8 Mata nimugoroba, nyuma y'amasaha mirongo ine n'umunani indege ya perezida imaze guhanurwa, abagize Guverinoma y'agateganyo baboneje bose iya *Hôtel des Diplomates*, baherekejwe n'abasirikari bo mu mutwe urinda perezida, mbere y'uko barahira bukeye bwaho mu gitondo no guhita basakirana n'akazi. Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera, ndetse na Théoneste Bagosora, Marcel Gatsinzi na etamajoro y'ingabo baje kuba muri hoteli ku itariki ya 9, nk'uko bivugwa na Paul Rusesabagina wacungaga iyo hoteli yigabijwe na leta. Kugeza aho ibintu byari mu nzira nziza rwose⁴⁶.

Ikintu kimwe ni cyo cyari gisigaye giteye ubwoba, ubwoba kandi bukomeye cyane. Ubwo bwoba bugaragara muri raporo yakozwe na majoro Epifane Hanyurwimana (*reba umugereka 65*), raporo y'inama ya komite y'ingobokamahina n'abayobozi b'amashyamba, bari kumwe n'abatorewe kujya muri Guverinoma nzibacyuho, inama yabaye ku itariki ya 8 Mata ku gicamunsi. Ikintu cyo kwitabwaho cyane muri iyo nyandiko gikubiye mu mirongo mike yongewe hepfo y'urutonde rw'abari bahari, imirongo yerekana amagambo yavuzwe na jenerali Ndindiliyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, nyuma y'inama bagiranye n'abagize Guverinoma nshya, kandi mbere y'uko bakora inama y'abaminisitiri yabo ya mbere :

“Umukuru wa EMGdN [etamajoro ya Jandarumori y'igihugu]

Wabemeza ute ?

Niba Guverinoma ijenjetse : umutekano ntiwagaruka ~~Abaturage~~ [Ha population].

- Ntacyo bishoboreye

- Ni ngombwa gutsindagira ingingo y'umutekano. N'abo ba minisitiri bagomba kuguma mu rugo

- Ni ngombwa kubazana kubashyira imbere ibyarangije kwemezwa kera

- Dukabije kwitwararika no kujenjeka

⁴⁵ Ubuhamywa bw'umuntu utarashatse ko izina rye ritangazwa, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Gicurasi 2005.

⁴⁶ Théoneste Bagosora yari ari mu cyumba 205 yagumyemo igihe "*Hôtel des Diplomates* ihinduka nk'igikari cy'urunyero rw'ikigo cya gisirikari", kandi yaragikomeje kugeza igihe Kigali ihungiyeye (ikiganiro na Paul RUSESABAGINA, diregiteri wa hoteli, 23 Ugushingo 2007).

- Naho ubundi ingabo z'igihugu zizatakaza icyizere cyose
- Nti ~~mubaka~~ mufata ubutegetsu.”

Mu mpera z'umunsi w'imishyikirano n'abasivili babonetse cg bafatiriwe ngo bakomeze imirimo ya komite y'ingobokamahina, aya magambo yerekanaga ko, abasirikari bakuru bari bayoboye ishyirwaho ry'iyu Guverinoma, n'ubwo yari yatoranyirijwe abantu b'intagondwa batezweho kwemera umurongo wabo wa politiki, bari bafite ipfunwe n'ubwoba bw'uko batazayisangana uburwanashyaka bukaze bari bayitezeho. Kuba abagize Guverinoma bari bajenjetse batitabira ibyo gutsembatsemba byari byatangiye gutera impungenge no kwamaganwa, icyizere mu ngabo z'igihugu cyari mu bigeragezo... Nk'uko byanditswe n'umwe mu basirikari bakuru wari uhari, “ntabwo nkibuka neza ibyabaye byose, ariko ndibuka ko igitekerezo cyo 'gukonjesha' Guverinoma y'agateganyo cyavutse ikijyaho ⁴⁷”, kandi igitangaje, ni uko ari Augustin Ndindiliyimana, umusirikari mukuru “ucisha make” wo mu majyepfo wavuze ayo magambo.

Koko rero, n'ubwo abo baminisitiri b'abasivili bose, abenshi ari abanyamashuri menshi, bari bumvise neza misiyo yo “kuba udukingirizo” bari bashinzwe, abatari bake muri bo bari bakeneye igihe kugira ngo bamenye intera y'ubwicanyi n'itsembatsemba abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari yabasabaga kwirengera. Ntabwo bari bagasobanukiwe imigambi kirimbuzi bagombaga gushyira mu bikorwa kandi bari bafite n'impamvu zo kujijinganya ku buryo intambara izarangira. N'ubwo kuri uwo munsi no kuri iyo saha abagize Guverinoma y'agateganyo batari bazi neza uko ibintu bizakurikirana, bashoboraga nibura kubona ko umutwe urinda Perezida, imitwe yindi n'*Interahamwe* zakoranaga na wo yari yanangiye guhagarika ubwicanyi, kandi ko Guverinoma y'abasivili iyobowe n'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo nta mahirwe na make yari ifite yo kumvikanisha imigambi yayo, n'iyi ijya kubishaka.

Abasirikari n'abayobozi b'amashyaka abiri akomeye, MRND na MDR, bafashe ibyicarwo mu nama za Guverinoma y'agateganyo kandi bakabunganira mu myitoto y'ubutegetsu. Kugira ngo ikipe igume mu cyerekezo kimwe kandi n'abagitinyatinya bashire amanga, byari ngombwa kubajandika rwose mu mirimo yabo no kubatandukanya n'ijijinganya ry'abanyamujyi ryabadindizaga. Kubera ibyo, ku itariki ya 11 Mata hafashwe icyemezo cyo kwimurira Guverinoma y'agateganyo imbere mu gihugu. Ese aho umuntu ntiyatekereza ko iryo yimurwa ryafatwa nk'uburyo bwo kugumisha mu kigo abanyeshuri bataracengerwa n'inyigisho ?

Inkuru ikurikira y'ibibazo by'ingenzi minisitiri w'Imari, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, yabarijwe muri TPIR iragaragaza neza ibyo abaminisitiri bagombaga kwicengezamo mu maguru mashya.

“Bazo : Mbese hari izindi nama wagiranye n'abandi bari muri Guverinoma igihe yari ikiri i Kigali ? Ntituvuga inama yo ku itariki ya 9 Mata gusa, bwana Ndindabahizi, turavuga n'indi minsi Guverinoma yari ikiri i Kigali.

Subizo : Ku ya 10, ni ukuvuga bukeye bwaho, hongeye kuba inama y'abaminisitiri, kandi nari nyirimo. Ku ya 11 Mata, na bwo habaye indi nama, yatumiwemo ba perefefu ba za perefefitura, kandi na yo nari nyirimo. Muri make, habayeho inama ebyiri, ku itariki ya 10

⁴⁷ Inyandiko y'umukoloneli wo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 21 Werurwe2006.

n'ya 11.

Bazo : Ni izihe ngingo zari ku murongo w'ibygwa w'izo nama ?

Subizo : Ku itariki ya 10, ndibuka ko ikibazo cyari icyo kumenyeshwa uko umutekano wifashe imbere mu gihugu. Nuko rero, hafashwe icyemezo cyo gutumira... cyo gutumiza ba perefere ngo tubiganireho. Ba perefere baje bukeye, ni ukuvuga ku ya 11. Na none twakomeje kuvuga iby'umutekano ; nta kindi iyo nama yari igamije, nta kindi twagombaga gukora. Igihugu cyaragururiraga, cyane cyane muri Kigali, ubwo rero byari ngombwa kumenya ibintu birimo kuba. Ngiyo impamvu y'izo nama.

Bazo : Guverinoma yagumye i Kigali kugeza ryari ?

Subizo : Guverinoma yagumye i Kigali kugeza ku itariki ya 12 Mata mu gitondo, mu gitondo cy'ya 12 Mata.

Bazo : Kuki se byabaye ngombwa ko Guverinoma iva mu murwa mukuru ?

Subizo : Guverinoma yavuye mu murwa mukuru ku ya 12 Mata mu gitondo, ariko nk'uko mbizi, nta mpamvu n'imwe yari yatanze. Nuko rero, nagiyeye kureba abana banjye bari mu rugo rw'incuti mu Kiyovu, hari nko muri metero 500 uturutse kuri hoteli. Aho ngarukiye, nasanze abandi bose bandurutse, bari bagiye. Nabajije abari basigaye nti : "Ni ibiki ?" Barambwiye bati : "Umva, bagiye." Bityo rero nta makuru yatanze ku buryo buzwi.

Bazo : Ibyo ndabyumva. None se ni izihe mpamvu zatumye Guverinoma iva i Kigali ?

Subizo : Yavuye i Kigali batatubwiye ibyo ari byo, hanyuma turakurikira, ibyo gusa. Nyuma niho twaje kumenya ko byatewe n'impamvu z'umutekano⁴⁸."

Hari n'abaminisitiri batatu "bahibagiriwe" :

Subizo : Navuye i Kigali ku ya 12, mu gitondo.

Bazo : Kubera iki?

Subizo : Ibyo birumvikana : Ni ukubera impungenge zerekeye umutekano. Narabyutse mu gitondo nsanga abandi bose bagiye; usibye abaminisitiri babiri, abandi bari bagiye.

Bazo : Abaminisitiri babiri bandi bari bagihari ni bande ?

Subizo : Abo baminisitiri ni Pauline Nyiramasuhuko na minisitiri Mugenzi. [...] Ngeze i Gitarama, nagiyeye mu rugo kwa perefere wa Gitarama kumubaza niba yari azi aho abandi baminisitiri bacumbitse, ambwira ko bari i Murambi. [...]

Bazo : Aho i Murambi bari ahagana he ?

Subizo : Sinashobora kuvuga ahantu aha n'aha. Abantu bageragezaga gushaka aho bikinga, aho bacumbika; hari mu kigo cyari i Murambi. [...] Muzi ko bitari biteganyijwe, byari bitunguranye⁴⁹."

Bazo : Ese... Mbabarira. Wavuze yuko, nyuma, waje kubona ko kuva i Kigali byabaye ikosa ? Kuki, ku bwawe, byari ikosa ?

Subizo : Kubera ko Kigali ari yo yari umurwa mukuru wacu, niho hantu twari dufite aderesi zizwi, hari ahantu twashoboraga kubonana n'abo muri za ambasade zo hanze. Mu gihe twari mu mudugudu - kuko Murambi, hari nk'umudugudu -, twari twatandukanye na byose. Njye rero nasangaga ari intangiro yo gutsindwa kwacu⁵⁰."

Kuba baratunguwe n'icyo cyemezo "cyabaguye hejuru" hitwajwe ku buryo bukabirijwe ko umutekano wabo wari ugeraniwe birumvikana. Ikigaragara ni uko icyo cyemezo ahanini cyatewe no guca igikuba aho gushingira ku byago nyabyo byari byibasiye umurwa mukuru n'abategetsu. Niba twibuka ko umutekano wa Guverinoma wari ushinze jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana, twanakwibuka amagambo ubwe yivugiye ku itariki ya 8 Mata, aganisha ku

⁴⁸ Ubuhamya bwa Emmanuel NDINDABAHIZI, urubanza rwa Ndindabahizi, TPIR, 25 Ugushyino 2004, p. 38.

⁴⁹ Ubuhamya bwa Agnès NTAMABYARIRO, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Kanama 2006, p. 3 (*reba umugereka 72*).

⁵⁰ Ubuhamya bwa Jean KAMBANDA, urubanza rwa BAGOSORA n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 36-37.

“kivunge” cy’abagize Guverinoma yari imaze gushyirwaho : “Washobora kugira ute icyo ubemeza? Ntacyo bishoboreye. Ni ngombwa gutsindagira ikibazo cy’umutekano. N’abo baminisitiri bagomba kuguma mu ngo zabo. Ni ngombwa kubatungura.”

Nk’uko Jean Kambanda abivuga, icyo gikorwa cyabaye “intangiriro yo gutsindwa”, itsindwa we n’abandi bake batashakaga kwemera kimwe n’bari mu mugambi wo kwigarurira ubutegetsu ku ngufu bo ku ruhande rwa perezida, bari bigerejeho bakuraho inzego z’ubutegetsu zishingiye ku mategeko kugira ngo bagumane ubutegetsu ibyo byaba byanze bakarindimukana n’igihugu cyose mu itsindwa ryabo.