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Ishyirwaho ry'abategetsi b'agateganyo

Gukoresha inama y'abayobozi b'amashyaka byari biruhije, ariko kandi bikanoroha. Byari biruhije kubera ko ibikomerezwa byose by'ingoma, harimo n'abasivili bo mu Kazu, byari byihishe kuva ku ya 6 Mata mu mugoroba, babitewe n'impungenge z'urugomo rutagira gitangira rw'umutwe urinda perezida n'*Interahamwe,* biyumvisha neza ko na Bagosora atashoboraga cg atashakaga kubizeza umutekano. Na we ubwe yari yaragize igihe cyo kutagirirwa icyizere muri za 80 ijya kurangira, akaba yari mu "bamek" [abarakare] bashoboraga kugira ibishuko byo kwihimura mu gihe ibintu byarimo guhinduka. Bose bari bafite impungenge z'ubuzima bwabo n'imitungo yabo, bagashaka kubarura abashoboraga kuba "abanzi" babo. Rumwe mu ngero zigaragara neza ni urwa Jean Kambanda, wari usanzwe ahanganye na Agathe Uwilingiyimana, akaba yari perezida wa MDR y'i Butare, utarigeze yuzuza izo nshingano, akaba n'umukandida w'iryo shyaka ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, awurwanira na Faustin Twagiramungu, umukandida wari watanzwe n'ayandi mashyaka. Kuva ku ya 7 Mata ku manywa, Jean Kambanda n'umuryango we bahungiye mu kigo cya Jandarumori ku Kacyiru bahasanze majoro Gerschom Ngayaberura na majoro Pierre-Claver Karangwa babacumbikiye mu nzu yari hafi y'amarembo y'ikigo. Yumvaga ko ari mu makuba ku buryo bubiri :

> "**Bazo** : Kuki wumvaga hariho ikibazo cy'umutekano, n'icy'umutekano wawe ?
> **Subizo** : Nari umukandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe, umukandida wari ufite, navuga, abakeba muri politiki, kuko ishyaka ryanjye ryari ryaratanze abandi bakandida bari bashyigikiwe, ndetse na FPR. Natinyaga rero guhotorwa na FPR. Ku rundi ruhande, sinavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa perezida Habyarimana. N'intambwe zo

kwiyegeranya twari twarateye twembi ntibyari byakabaye ngombwa kubimenyesha abantu bose. Na none rero, ndibwira ko nashoboraga guhohoterwa n'abari bashyigikiye perezida Habyarimana, cyane cyane nyuma y'iyicwa rye. Bityo rero, numvaga ndi mu makuba ku buryo bubiri[1]."

Igihe yanyarukiraga iwe mu rugo mu gitondo cyo ku ya 8 Mata kugira ngo agire utuntu akura yo ni bwo yamenye ko yagizwe minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'agateganyo[2] :

"Ni byo koko, mu gihe twarimo kwegeranya utuntu two kwitwaza, nabonye imodoka ya gisirikari hafi y'iwanjye, mbona irimo kuza mu rugo ; yari ijipi ya gisirikari. Nk'uko nari… nari namenyeshejwe ko abasirikari bamwe bari bishoye mu bwicanyi, nagize ubwoba. Naribwiye nti ahari ni njye wari utahiwe kwicwa. Nari mfite abajandarume babiri… bacungaga umutekano wanjye. Narabatabaje, nuko igihe imodoka igeze hafi cyane y'iwanjye, irahagarara maze mbona ko umuntu uyisohotsemo nari muzi. Yari Frodouard Karamira. Yarasohotse maze mbonye ko ari we, umutima usubira mu gitereko kuko nibwiraga ko yari incuti. Yaraje, ambwira ko bantegereje mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari, kandi ko ishyaka ryanjye ryari rimaze kuntorera kuba minisitiri w'intebe, mu nama bari bamaze kugirana n'andi mashyaka n'abasirikari mu Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari. Nguko rero uko byagenze[3]."

Uko Guverinoma y' agateganyo yari iteye

Uyirebeye ku isura y'inyuma gusa— dore ko ihangana ry'abanyapolitiki ryari "ryorohejwe" n'iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki b'ingenzi bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na MRND–, Guverinoma y'agateganyo yari yubahirije amasezerano ya Arusha n'iringaniza ryari riteganirijwe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (*reba Incamake ya 12 n'umugereka 22*) : perezida wo muri MRND, minisitiri w'intebe wo muri MDR, abaminisitiri 9 ba MRND (yari yafashe kubera ko "byari ngombwa kandi ku buryo bw'agateganyo" imyanya ya FPR itari ifite abayirimo…), imyanya itatu ya MDR, itatu ya PL, itatu ya PSD n'umwe wa PDC. Nta cyari cyahindutse mu igabagabana ry'imyanya y'abaminisitiri mu mashyaka. Naho ku bindi byayirangagaga, iyo Guverinoma yari yubahirije neza imbata y'abari bayiteguye. Yagombaga kuvanaho amacakubiri yo mu gipande cy'abakomeye ku "buhutu", kugira ngo bahangane n' "Umututsi w'umwanzi" n' "ibyitso" bye, bagombaga kurwanywa mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa politiki[4] cyane cyane.

[1] Ubuhamya bwa Jean Kambanda, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 28.

[2] Ntibyari kumushobokera guhungira i Butare cg kujyana yo umuryango we, kubera ko abaturage bari bagikomeye kuri Agathe Uwilingiyimana bari basanzwe bahanganye akaba yari yishwe mu gitondo cy'iya 7 Mata. Nyamara ku ya 8 yari yamenyesheje Augustin Cyiza ko bukeye bwaho yari kwisunga "komvuwa" yerekeza i Butare uyu yari yateganyije, ariko yaje kwisubiraho mbere gato y'uko bahaguruka, ku itariki ya 9 mu gitondo, amaze kugirwa minisitiri w'intebe.

[3] Ubuhamya bwa Jean Kambanda, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR. 11 Nyakanga 2006, p. 29.

[4] Koko, Abasirikari b' U Rwanda batari bake babonaga ko FPR itagira igitekerezo cyo kubura intambara rurangiza (byashoboka bite ko FPR iserukiye "nyamuke iturutse ishyanga" yagira igicuro cyo gutegeka igihugu cy' "Abahutu" ?), kandi cyane cyane, kuri bo, ntibyumvikanaga ukuntu ibihugu by'amahanga, harimo Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika n'Ubwongereza byarushaga ibindi gutera inkunga FPR, byari kurekera ubutegetsi bwose agatsiko k'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi kari gakabije kuba nyamuke, kandi hari miriyoni z'impunzi z'Abahutu hafi y'umupaka. Muri make, buri wese yibwiraga ko intambara izageza igihe iki n'iki, hanyuma hakiganza umupango w'uko bose bemera amasezerano ya Arusha. Muri icyo cyerekezo kigarukira bugufi n'ahagereranyije, imashaniro nyamukuru ryari mu rwego rwa politiki.

Incamake ya 12

"Guverinoma y'agateganyo" yo ku wa 8 Mata 1994 [a]

Perezida wa Repubulika w'umusimbura : Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo (MRND, Hutu, Butare).
minisitiri w'intebe : Jean Kambanda (MDR, Hutu, Butare).

minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'Ubutwererane : Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka (MDR, Hutu, Ruhengeri).
minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya komini : Faustin Munyazesa (MRND, Hutu, Kigali) (yasubijweho, ariko ntiyafashe uwo mwanya)[b], asimburwa na Édouard Karemera (MRND, Hutu, Kibuye), ku ya 25 Gicurasi 1994.
minisitiri w'Ubutabera : Agnès Ntamabyariro (PL, Hutu, Kibuye) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu : Augustin Bizimana (MRND, Hutu, Byumba) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Ubuhinzi, Ubworozi n'Amashyamba : Dr. Straton Nsabumukunzi, (PSD, Hutu, Butare).
minisitiri w'Amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye : Dr. André Rwamakuba (MDR, Hutu, Kigali).
minisitiri w'Amashuri makuru, Ubushakashatsi mu by'ubuhanga n'Umuco : Dr. Daniel Mbangura (MRND, Hutu, Gikongoro) (yasubijweho), aza gusimburwa na Jean de Dieu Kamuhanda (MRND, Hutu, Kigali), nyuma y'uko agirwa Umuyobozi w'Ibiro bya perezida.
minisitiri w'Imari : Emmanuel Ndindabahizi (PSD, Hutu, Kibuye).
minisitiri w'Abakozi ba leta : Prosper Mugiraneza (MRND, Hutu, Kibungo) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru : Éliezer Niyitegeka (MDR, Hutu, Kibuye).
minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Inganda n'Ubukorikori : Justin Mugenzi (PL, Hutu, Kibungo).
minisitiri w'Imigambi ya leta : Dr. Augustin Ngirabatware (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Ubuzima : Dr. Casimir Bizimungu (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Ubwikorezi n'Itumanaho : André Ntagerura (MRND, Hutu, Cyangugu) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Umurimo n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage : Jean de Dieu Habineza (PL, Hutu, Gisenyi).
minisitiri w'Imirimo ya leta n'Ingufu : Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki (PSD, Hutu, Gisenyi).
minisitiri w'Ubukerarugendo n'Ibidukikije : Gaspard Ruhumuriza (PDC, Hutu, Gitarama) (yasubijweho), yareguye ku ya 12 Kamena 1994.
minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'Abategarugori : Pauline Nyiramasuhuko (MRND, Hutu, Butare) (yasubijweho).
minisitiri w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe : Callixte Nzabonimana (MRND, Hutu, Gitarama) (yasubijweho).

a. Guverinoma bavuga ko yishyizeho kandi itemewe n'amahanga. Nyamara intumwa yayo yayihagarariye mu Nama ishinzwe umutekano w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kugeza aho iyo Guverinoma itsindiwe burundu ku rugamba igahungira muri Zayire kuva ku ya 17 Nyakanga 1994 (*reba umugereka 73*).
b. Yakoreraga mu kibaba cya minisitiri w'intebe. Ubusigire bw'iyi minisiteri bweguriwe nta shiti umuyobozi w'Ibiro byayo wari uriho ku ya 6 Mata, Callixte Kalimanzira.

Izo ntego ebyiri zasabaga, ku ruhande rumwe, gusanasana ubumwe bw'igihugu no kubura iturufu y'ubwoko ya "rubanda nyamwinshi", ku rundi ruhande, guhosha amakimbirane y'uturere bareka amashyaka yiganje mu turere tumwe akagera ku rwego rw'igihugu cyose. Ikimenyetso cya mbere kitihishira, ni icy'uko abari ku isonga bagombaga kuba bahuje ubwoko bose, ibi bikaba byari

mu murage n'umurongo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye yagombaga gusezerera. Umuhango wari umenyerewe wo kugira imbuzakurahira y'umuminisitiri w'Umututsi ntiwari ukirangwaho. Ikimenyetso cya kabiri, cyaje ari gishyashya mu mateka, ni ireme ry'ububasha bahaye abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo no hagati y'igihugu. Perezida na minisitiri w'intebe bombi bakomokaga i Butare. Ku munsi wakurikiye iyicwa rya minisitiri w'intebe wari amizero y'abo mu majyepfo mu gihe yari ahanganye n'urusobe rw'ubutegetsi bwikubiwe na Juvénal Habyarimana, iyo ngurane muri politiki yari itanzwe n'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru yari ifite agaciro kanini.

Bityo, "ibintu byari byujujwe",n'ubumwe bw'icyitiriro mu bakeba bakomoka kuri Repubulika ya Mbere na Repubulika ya Kabiri bwashoboraga gutangazwa : abo mu majyaruguru bari babuze umutware wabo, n'abo mu majyepfo bari bamubuze. Uwa mbere yasimbuwe na perezida w'icyahoze ari Inteko ishinga amategeko wasimburaga perezida nkuko byari biteganijwe n'itegekonshinga ryo muri 1991 ; kandi yari abyishimiye kuko byamuhaga icyizere cy'ahazaza mu rwego rwa politiki. Uwa kabiri yasimbuwe n'uwo bahoraga bahiganirwa umwanya wa perezida wa MDR i Butare wumvaga agenewe uwo mwanya kuko ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka rye mu rwego rw'igihugu bwari bwirukanye minisitiri w'intebe wari wemeye uwo mwanya muri Nyakanga 1993, hanyuma bugatanga Jean Kambanda ho umukandida wemewe wa MDR ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Yaje kuba minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'agateganyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Ubumwe bw'abo mu majyaruguru n'abo mu majyepfo bwari mu igabana ry'inshingano iteye itya : "Abakiga bacunge intambara. […] Abanyanduga bacunge politiki[5]." Ibyo ariko nta shingiro byari bifite :

– Abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo ntibari bizewe. Bityo, umukuru wa etamajoro w'umusimbura, Marcel Gatsinzi, wari washyizweho Théoneste Bagosora atamushaka, yahise asimburwa amaze iminsi cumi gusa kuri uwo mwanya. Byari ngombwa rero kongera kwigarurira ingabo ;

– Mu rwego rwa politiki, byari ngombwa kubona icyizere cy'abo mu majyepfo, kandi urushodekane rwa perezida na minisitiri w'intebe badasobanya ni rwo rwonyine rwashoboraga gutuma iyi ntego igerwaho.

Kuri ubwo buryo, byari ngombwa ko akari kera abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo bagira uruhare mu kwirengera ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyapolitiki i Kigali.

Ubariyemo umwanya wa perezida n'uwa minisitiri w'intebe, amajyepfo yeguriwe minisiteri 13 kuri 19[6]. Perefegitura ya Kibuye, Gitarama na Butare zonyine zari zifite 8. Wagira ngo Kibuye noneho yo kwari ukuyiha impozamarira, kubera ko muri Repubulika ya Kabiri itari yarigeze irenza minisitiri umwe. Iyo perefegitura yari yararyamiwe mu gihe cya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, noneho yari yinjiranye ingufu(ndetse yarushaga Cyangugu). Yagenewe minisiteri zikomeye eshatu ndetse iza kongerwa iya kane : Imari,

[5] Ajenda ya Théoneste Bagosora, Banki ya Kigali, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku ya 15 Gashyantare 1993, irangiro KO239532.

[6] Dore inkomoko za ba minisitiri 19 ushingiye kuri perefegitura : Kibuye, 4 ; Gisenyi, 3 ; Butare, 2 ; Gitarama, 2 ; Kibungo, 2 ; Kigali, 2 ; Ruhengeri, 2 ; Byumba, 1 ; Cyangugu, 1 ; Gikongoro, 0 ; – ni ukuvuga 6 bo mu majyaruguru (perefegitura eshatu za "Rukiga" : Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba) na 13 bo mu majyepfo mu (Nduga").

Itangazamakuru, Ubutabera n'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (bimaze kugaragara ko Faustin Munyazesa atemeye uwo mwanya), cg se, nkoresheje amagambo yabugenewe y'utubyiniriro : *gashozantambara, poropagande, indakoreka, kubumbatira umutuzo no kwenyegeza itsembabwoko.*

Nyamara ariko, hirya y'ingamba za politiki yateganyijwe, uwo murengera w'akarere wafashe intera ndende ku bw'ibigwirirano. Amashyaka yari yasabwe gutanga intumwa zayo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo nuko muri ubwo buryo ishyaka rya PL ritanga Agnès Ntamabyariro, MDR itanga Eliézer Niyitegeka, na PSD itanga Emmanuel Ndindabahizi. Yego ababiri ba mbere bari bazwi neza mu bayobozi ba "*Pawa*" mu rwego rw'igihugu, ariko Emmanuel Ndindabahizi yagwiriwe n'ubuminisitiri kubera gusa ko yari mu rugo kwa Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, umuyobozi wa PSD wo mu majyaruguru, wari ugiye kugirwa minisitiri w'Imirimo ya leta n'Ingufu, igihe Théoneste Bagosora yazaga kumushaka ngo amujyane muri minisiteri y'ingabo.

Icya gatatu kiranga iyo Guverinoma, ni ubushake bwo kurandura ubwifatanye bushingiye kuri politiki no ku turere. Hari ingero zimwe zigaragara neza. Ku ruhembe rw'imbere rw'icyubahiro, hazaga minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'Ubutwererane, Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka wo mu ishyaka MDR, ukomoka mu Ruhengeri. Ku ruhembe rw'inyuma rw'icyubahiro hari minisitiri w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe (umwanya ukomeye mu bihe by'intambara kuko kwitabaza imitwe yitwara gisirikari, kuroba abarwanashyaka mu nsoresore no kubaha imyitozo byari biyifitemo uruhare ndemyacyemezo), umuyoboke wa Muvoma ukomoka i Gitarama mu ndiri y'abatavuga rumwe na yo. Hari na minisitiri w'Umurimo n'Imibereho myiza y'abaturage wo mu ishyaka PL wakomokaga ku Gisenyi, perefegitura yasaga n'iyikubiwe n'ishyaka rya MRND. Uretse n'iryo tangwa ry'imyanya ryari rifite icyo rigaragaza, ubushake bwo gukwira igihugu cyose no kutagira perefegitura ikumirwa ku rugamba bwarabonekaga. Ni ngombwa kandi gutsindagira ko hariho n'icyifuzo cyo kugumisha umubare ufatika w'abaminisitiri mu turere twari nk'igikingi cya Muvoma (Kigali ngari na Kibungo).

Uburemere bw'ikibazo cy'uturere ntibwatumaga hari utekereza ko ubutegetsi bwakwikubirwa n'abo mu majyaruguru, cg se bukahiganza, nk'uko bitari kumvikana ko bwimukira mu majyepfo. Ishyaka rya MRND ntiryifuzaga gutakaza umwanya wa perezida cg se ngo igicumbi cy'uburwanashyaka bwabo mu majyaruguru kidohoke. Kwigomwa imyanya ibiri yo ku isonga igahabwa abantu bakomoka muri perefegitura imwe ya Butare – mu gihe cya mbere abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari benshi bo mu majyaruguru ntibabyumvaga – ahanini byari bigamije kujijisha.

> "Perezida wa Repubulika akomoka mu majyepfo, minisitiri w'intebe na we avuka mu majyepfo, umujyanama ukora imirimo nk'iya minisitiri muri perezidansi ni uwo mu majyepfo [Enock Ruhigira[7]] n'umujyanama mu by'umutekano na we ni uwo mu majyepfo [jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana[8]], bityo, byari ngombwa ko habaho abantu bo

[7] Enock Ruhigira yari yasubijwe mu mirimo yakoreraga Juvénal Habyarimana, ariko uwo mwanya arawanga, ava mu gihugu ku ya 12 Mata. Yasimbujwe Daniel Mbangura.

[8] N'ubwo ari we Théoneste Bagosora yahaye koko inshingano zo kumenya umutekano bwite w'abagize Guverinoma y'agateganyo, we akizigamira ishami ry' "ubugemuzi", Ndindiryimana ntiyigeze agira ibikoresho bya ngombwa

kumvikanisha ijwi ry'amajyaruguru muri »Guverinoma y'agateganyo»[9]."

Kuva mu ntangiriro, perezida wa Repubulika w'umusimbura, Théodore Sindikubwabo, yafatwaga nk' "umuhisi" washoboraga kunyagwa igihe icyo ari cyo cyose. Ni we wagombaga kwirengera ubwicanyi, mu gihe icyahoze ari igipande cya perezida kitarigaragazamo umusimbura uhamye cg atarashyirwaho. Mu mibare yabo, Jean Kambanda ni we wari ngombwa gusa kuko kuva muri 1993 yari yahawe icyizere n'igipande cya MDR "*Pawa*" kandi ni cyo cyari cyiganjemo abayoboke.

Ikimenyetso cya kane kiranga Guverinoma cyerekeye umubano hagati y'abanyapolitiki bari bahuriye kuva ubwo mu giterane giteye ukwawo. Hano niho uburemere bw'urupfu rwa perezida bwumvikanye cyane. Ba minisitiri benshi, aba kera n'abashya, bumvise yuko ibyo inyungu z'igihugu zasabaga, nk'uko abasirikari b'intagondwa zo mu majyaruguru babivugaga, bitari bigishoboka kubijyaho impaka. Politiki y'ubumwe bw'igihugu na yo ntiyemeraga ko habaho abitarura bahereye ku byabacagamo ibice mbere. Bose bagombaga gufata umurongo umwe wo gushishikariza intambara no gukangura abaturage, bagateganya uko ibintu bizagenda byunguruza n'uko intambara izarangira, kugira ngo berekane neza aho bahagaze ubwabo n'uko biteganyiriza ahazaza. Uyirebye ku buryo bucukumbuye, usanga iyo Guverinoma yarakomatanyije abanyapolitiki boroheje n'abakandida b'indatwa cg se ba mpemuke ndamuke bikabije[10]. Kubera ibyo, icy'ingenzi cyari umubano abantu bashoboraga kugirana n'abo bari kumwe, n'abari babashyize muri iyo myanya cg se n'abo bari bahagarariye.

Abanyapolitiki benshi mu Rwanda babonye icyo gihe ko iryo hitamo ryari rifutamye, kandi ko Guverinoma ifite ingufu ari yo yonyine yashoboraga guhangana n'ibihe byariho :

> "Nyamara *Abatabazi* [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerere], baje ari amahano nyakuri. N'ubwo bari bashyizweho ku buryo busa n'ubwubahiriza amategeko, gutoranya abantu byabaye agahomamunwa urebye akandare igihugu cyari kirimo. Agatsiko k'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bo mu Kazu ntibashakaga Guverinoma ifite ingufu kandi igaragaza umusaruro. Ibyo rero byabaye ikosa rikomeye mu gihe icyari ngombwa atari uguhagarika itsembabwoko gusa no kugarura amahoro, kandi byari na ngombwa kuburizamo ubukunguzi FPR yari yishoyemo. Ibikorwa byayo bya mbere byabaye ibyo kwiteza ibibazo byo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga, ishinja Ububiligi kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'abaperezida babiri, mbere y'uko ikusanya ibimenyetso ntangamugabo. Ntiyigeze iboneza ikirari cyo kugarura amahoro mu gihugu, habe yewe n'icya politiki iboneye yo mu rwego rw'amahanga. Kwanga kwamagana no guhagarika itsembabwoko y'Abatutsi byatumye isi yose yitandukanya na yo, binayibyarira gufungirwa intwaro, bityo igihugu igihereza FPR ku maherere[11]."

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n'amakuru y'ingenzi byajyanaga n'uwo murimo : "Umushoborabyose koloneli Bagosora wari wimitse uwo muperezida w'ikiwani [wa komite y'ingobokamahina] ntiyamukuragaho ijisho kandi byose byakorwaga nk'uko abishaka. Nta washoboraga gukora uwo murimo atabyemerewe na Bagosora" (ubuhamya by'umusirikari mukuru wo muri etamajoro utarashatse kwivuga izina, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 23 Gashyantare 2007.

[9] Ikiganiro na majoro Augustin CYIZA, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 11 Mutarama 2001.

[10] Nka Éliezer Niyitegeka wahoze ari umunyamakuru mbere yo kwiyegurira umurimo w'ubucuruzi bwa lisansi ku Kibuye mbere ya 1994.

[11] James GASANA, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.*, p. 255.

Ariko nta wari ugishidikanya ko iyo Guverinoma yari yashyizweho n'udutsiko twa gisivili n'utwa gisirikari two mu Kazu. Yari Guverinoma ihubukiwe kandi idafite umurongo, kimwe n'ibyemezo bikomeye byafashwe Juvénal Habyarimana akimara gupfa, bigamije kugundira ubutegetsi ngo butava mu maboko y'agatsiko ka perezida. Ku isonga ry'iyo Guverinoma hari Casimir Bizimungu wari minisitiri w'Ubuzima, akamaganira kure ko hagira ikintu FPR yakwemererwa, kandi akaba yari amaze hafi imyaka cumi yizembagiza hagati ya minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'iy'Ubuzima. Harimo na Augustin Ngirabatware, minisitiri w'Igenamigambi, wari watumburutse muri politiki no mu mafaranga kuva yarongora umukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga. Iryo zamuka ryari ribangikanye n'ubutagondwa muri politiki : Yakoreye mu kinyiranyindo ibikorwa byinshi byo guhungabanya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ; yateraga inkunga ikomeye abarwaniraga Abahutu ishyaka mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru cyane cyane, aho yacungaga akanasarura igishoro cyimbitswe na sebukwe, Félicien Kabuga. Umuntu yavuga kandi, ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Iterambere ry'abategarugori, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, umurwanashyaka wabyiyemeje wari icyegera cya Agathe Kanziga, akaba n'umugore w'umuyobozi mukuru wa Kaminuza y'U Rwanda, Maurice Ntahobari, wari waranahoze ari perezida w'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND).

N'ubwo atari i Kigali mu gihe cy'irahira ariko akagumishwa ku mwanya we wa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu[12], Augustin Bizimana ntiyigeze acikiza ibikorwa bya gisirikari byari byaratangijwe na Théoneste Bagosora n'ubuyobozi bw'umutwe urinda perezida n'uwa batayo y' "Abakodo". Protais Zigiranyirazo, muramu wa perezida, ni we wari waramugejeje kuri urwo rwego, kandi ubwitange bwe mu gukorera "umuryango" bwari bwuzuye. Aho agarukiye mu murwa mukuru, Augustin Bizimana yazengurutse Kigali aherekejwe n'uruhuri rw'abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro bamwumviraga. Icyo gikundi cya mbere ni cyo cyari gishinzwe, mu by'ukuri, guharanira inyungu z'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru n'iz'abatoni b'ingoma yahirimye. Nanone kandi, hariho abantu bashyiriweho kubahiriza iringaniza ku ntego gusa, bagasabwa gukurikira umuvumba batashoboraga kugira icyo bawukoraho. Muri bo umuntu yavuga minisitiri w'Imari, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, wakoraga mu biro by'igenzuramutungo mbere y'uko yinjira ahanini bimugwiririye muri politiki ubwo yabaga umujyanama wa minisitiri Marc Rugenera wa PSD muri Nyakanga 1993.

Ni kimwe na minisitiri w'Ubuhinzi, dogiteri Straton Nsabumukunzi, umwe mu bayobozi ba PSD, wari umuganga muri Kaminuza y'U Rwanda i Butare : yemeye uwo mwanya cyane cyane ari ukwikingira ubwihimure ishyaka CDR ryashoboraga kumugirira. Koko rero, ni abarwanashyaka ba PSD b'i Butare bari bahotoye umuyobozi mukuru w'ishyaka CDR, Martin Bucyana, byitwa ko bahoreraga urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi. Ku bandi banyapolitiki batari binjiye muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, icyezezi cy'ububasha bwabo n'uburyo bwo kugira uruhare muri politiki byari byayoyotse kubera ihiganwa ry'abarwaniraga imyanya ryizimbaga mu nzego z'ubutegetsi zari zifite ijambo mu gihe

[12] Yavuye muri Kameruni ku ya 10 Mata.

cy'intambara. Ni yo mpamvu Guverinoma y'agateganyo yakurikiraniwe hafi cyane ndetse igahabwa amabwiriza mu gihe cy'iminsi ijana yamaze. Inama ya Guverinoma yasaga n'itagoyora, abayigize bose bahari cg se hari bake, hakurikijwe ibyihutirwa (*reba gahunda z'ibyigwa 1 na 2 mu mutwe wa 12),* akenshi igakorera mu matsinda mato arimo "abatumirwa" bakekwagaho ubushobozi cg se ari "indorerezi" gusa, bitewe n'ingingo ziri ku murongo w'ibyigwa, n'ubumwe bafitanye cg se n'uko byari ngombwa. Ntako Guverinoma y'agateganyo itari kwitabaza iyo mikorere y'urusange kandi idasobanutse neza, kuko yari "ubwifatanye bw'amashyaka bugengwa n'ihame ry'uko ibyemezo byose bigomba gufatwa ku bwumvikane bwa bose[13]."

Iyo Guverinoma yakomeje gusigasirwa n'abasirikari bakuru kimwe n'abanyapolitiki banyuranye, abajyanama bazwi ku mugaragaro n'abatazwi, na bo ubwabo bakururana n'ururandagatane rw'abantu bagenzwa no gushaka amakuru, kugira ibyo bitunganyiriza, kwishingana cg se gusaba impushya z'ubwoko bwose. N'ubwo ibyemezo byose birebana n'ibyerekezo by'ingenzi byo kurwana intambara no gucunga amadosiye ya gisivili bitakomokaga kuri Guverinoma y'agateganyo ubwayo, aho yari ifite icyicaro (i Murambi muri perefegitura ya Gitarama mbere yo kujya i Muramba muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi[14]) hari hakoraniye abantu n'inzego zizwi n'izitazwi zashoboraga kubifata no kubyiyandikaho. Ni muri icyo kibariro abanyapolitiki bakomeye bo mu gipande cya perezida n'abo mu mashyaka bari bafatanyije bitangaga kugira ngo bakomeze imisingi yabo muri politiki. Bityo, buri wese mu bahataniraga umwanya wo ku isonga b'ingenzi – Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Joseph Nzirorera, Augustin Ngirabatware, Casimir Bizimungu, Édouard Karemera na Donat Murego – yaharaniraga kuzigama no kongera amahirwe ye yo mu gihe kizaza. Mathieu Ngirumpatse yagiye gutura i Murambi hamwe n'umuryango we guhera ku itariki ya 12 Mata, kimwe n'abandi bose bagize Guverinoma y'agateganyo. Yahawe umwanya wo kuba umushingwabutumwa wa perezida mu by'Ububanyi n'amahanga, igihe inama ya Guverinoma yateranaga ku itariki ya 19 Gicurasi 1994. Uwo mwanya w'igiciririkanyo wari uturutse ku kibariro cy'icyo gihe :

> "Yego Mathieu yari akiri perezida wa Muvoma, ariko ntiyabonwaga neza mu bashoboraga gusimbura [perezida] : yafatwaga nk'umuntu wishe se kubera ko yari yarigeze atinyuka ibyo guteganya ko Juvénal Habyarimana ashobora kuva ku butegetsi. Yagiye mu ngendo igihe cyose byashobokaga, yafashe umwanya wo kuba umujyanama wa perezida kugira ngo yikingire –kuko yari afite ubwoba -, kugira ngo abe ahategerereje kandi ari n'ahantu

[13] "Icyemezo cyose cyagombaga gufatwa ku bwumvikane bwa bose, naho ubundi nyiracyo yari kukirengera. Bityo, hakurikijwe amategeko ngengamikorere ya Guverinoma, ibyemezo byafatiwe mu nama y'abaminisitiri byagombaga gufatirwa inyandikomvugo. Inyandikomvugo kandi zagombaga kwemezwa ku mugaragaro mu nama y'abaminisitiri, naho inkuro zabyo zikandikwa muri raporo yasinywaga na buri minisitiri" (ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare, 2005).

[14] Mu by'ukuri, abaminisitiri bumvaga nta mutekano bafite kuri paruwasi Muramba. Uretse Jean Kambanda na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko bari bahacumbitse, bahazaga ku wa gatanu gusa, ku munsi w'inama y'abaminisitiri. Abandi baminisitiri bari bacumbitse ku Gisenyi, aho abenshi muri bo bari bameze nk'abatuye muri hoteli Méridien Izuba : "Ni uko hoteli Méridien yari yabaye aho abantu bose bahurira ku Gisenyi…hari igihe, yari ihuriro n'imirimo yose ya Guverinoma n'iy'Inteko, nb., yemwe n'inama. Uzi ko igihe kimwe, nigeze gutorerwa umwanya wa perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko. Hari inama nahayoboreye. […] Ariko nari ndi muri hoteli Méridien kuko, buri munsi, hari imirimo twahakoreraga, kandi hari inama nagiriye… muri hoteli Méridien. Maze gutorerwa kuba perezida w'Inteko ishinga amategeko, naharemesherezaga inama z'abadepite. Ahongaho nari mpafite n'ibiro" (ubuhamya bwa Joseph Nzirorera, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 12 Kamena 2006, p. 24).

> ashobora kwitegereza neza ibintu byose. Ibyo ari byo byose, icyo gihe ntiyari afite abamurwanira ishyaka ngo bamwamamaze. "Kwihoma" kuri Sindikubwabo, guteganyiriza uburambe bwe no kugorora aho yari yatsikiye byamushyiraga mu mwanya utagira uko usa. Mathieu Ngirumpatse, nk'umujyanama wa perezida Sindikubwabo, iryo hitamo ryari ryakoranywe ubwenge cyane. Ari kumwe na Théodore Sindikubwabo, yumvaga ari umuhuza w'abantu bo mu majyepfo n'abo mu majyaruguru nka Murego nawe wari mu bahihibikanira gusimbura perezida. Yari yagiye kunganira perezida ari ukugira ngo ahugirize Nzirorera wari ku isonga ry'abamaranira gusimbura perezida[15]."

Nguko uko Mathieu Ngirumpatse yinjiraga mu bikorwa bya diporomasi, yuzuriza cg se abangikanye n'urusobe rw'amacuti Agathe Kanziga yari kwitabaza kuva yavanwa i Kigali ku itariki ya 9 Mata akajyanwa i Paris (*reba umutwe ukurikira*). Muri icyo gihe kandi yari yarakomeje kwegera abarwanashyaka ba Muvoma bari bamushyigikiye (abayoboke bo mu majyepfo n'igipande cy'*Interahamwe*).

Icyari gishishikaje cyane agatsiko k'abo mu majyaruguru, ni ugufata igihe cyo gutambutsa Joseph Nzirorera. Uyunguyu yakubitirizaga nk'urubori rukaze mu nkubo zose za politiki, za gisirikari, z'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, yitwaje umwanya wo kuba umunyamabanga nshingwabikorwa wa Muvoma. Yari yasubiranye iby'ingenzi mu burenganzira n'ububasha yari afite mu gihe Muvoma yari ikiri ishyaka rukumbi, akaba ndetse yarimo guteganya inteko rusange yo kumwimika.

> "Nzirorera yari umugenerwamurage wemewe ndetse ari n'umuvuganizi wari uhagarariye inyungu z'abo mu makomini Karago – Giciye – Mukingo – Nkuri, ariko yagombaga gukina iturufu y'ubuturanyi ahibereye ubwe, yagombaga kwemarara akagumana igitinyiro, kandi ntiyashoboraga kwishora ubwe kandi ku buryo butaziguye mu mikino ya politiki. Yari afite ibiro bya "kabiri" ku Gisenyi aho yabaga ari kumwe n'abambari b'Akazu, nuko agasigira Bagosora, Ngirabatware, Semanza, nb. ibyo gucunga inyungu z' "umuryango" bari i Murambi. Bagosora yasiragiraga yo rimwe na rimwe aturutse i Kigali, Ngirabatware yahabaga kurenza uko yabyifuzaga, Semanza yari atuye i Murambi ariko akajya i Kigali kenshi, nk'intumwa ifite amababa…kuba ikirumirahabiri byaramuvunaga. Ku ruhande rumwe, yagombaga kugumana ubuyobozi bwa Muvoma mu majyaruguru afatanyije n'insoresore n'abasirikari bahigaga abo mu majyepfo, ku rundi ruhande, yagombaga kubona byibura bake bamugirira icyizere muri perefegitura zo hagati no mu majyepfo[16]."

Umukandida wa gatatu (wari utariyamamaza) yari Augustin Ngirabatware "wari ufite umwanya wo hagati, yari afite ukuntu na we yemewe kubera amasano yari afitanye n'umuryango wa perezida, kubera inkunga ya Félicien Kabuga n'iya Augustin Bizimana. Ubumwe bwe n'umuryango w'i Byumba bwamushyiraga mu buhanuzi bwadukanywe n'umugore wo mu Mayaga muri za 80 bwavugaga ko umugenerwamurage azaturuka muri iyo perefegitura (we bikamwototera kubera amasano y'imiryango)[17]."

Incamake ya 13

Inyandiko ica igikuba Édouard Karemera yagejeje ku baturage ahagana ku itariki ya 12 Mata[a] :

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[15] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma mu rwego rwo hejuru, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 7 Mutarama 2006.
[16] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma mu rwego rwo hejuru, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 7 Mutarama 2006.
[17] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wa Muvoma mu rwego rwo hejuru, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 7 Mutarama 2006.

"Abayobozi b'amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD, na PL baratabariza U Rwanda

Banyarwanda kazi, Banyarwanda, mwese abanyagihugu b'U Rwanda, Nimushikame, murwane kuri Repubulika na Demokarasi mwahawe na "revolisiyo ya rubanda" yo muri 1959 ; *Inkotanyi* zirashaka gusibanganya burundu ibyo mwagezeho, zikabasubiza mu bucakara. Mwebwe, bayobozi b'amakomini n'ab'amashyaka, mwebwe bajyanama ba komini n'abagize komite za serire, nimugire umwete, mukoreshe inama, muburire abaturage, mubamenyeshe ko bugarijwe n'amakuba akomeye.

Banyarwanda-kazi, Banyarwanda, nimufashe hasi amacakubiri, nimwunge imbaraga zanyu kugira ngo mushobore guhangana n'abuzukuru b'Abarunari, biyemeje kongera kubatsikamiza ubucakara. Mu maserire yabo, abaturage basabwe guhita basuzuma inzira n'uburyo bwose, bagatunganya amarondo neza bagashinga na bariyeri, kugira ngo bazibire umwanzi amayira. Aho abaturage bahura n'ingorane, babimenyeshe ingabo z'igihugu. Mugire amahoro."

a. Amaherezo, iri tangazo ntiryanyanyagijwe mu bantu (*reba umwandiko w'umwimerere mu mugereka 74*).

Nyamara ihubuka rye ryamukoresheje ikosa rikomeye ryamutesheje icyizere mu basirikari batari bake nubwo byamaze akanya gato, ubwo yashyigikiraga ko Augustin Bizimungu, uvuka i Byumba, agirwa umukuru wa etamajoro (*reba umutwe wa 12*). Kuba yaragumanye umwanya wa minisitiri w'Igenamigambi byatumaga arebera kandi akavugira abo kwa perezida muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, agashobora no kwigaragaza na we nk'umukandida utegereje, mu gihe yari agishakisha za ambasade zimushyigikira. Muri ubwo buryo, yarushaga amaturufu undi "ambasaderi" wari ufite irari, Casimir Bizimungu.

Kubera ko Casimir Bizimungu yari yigungiye muri minisiteri y'Ubuzima ikibariro cy'icyo gihe nticyatumye abona urubuga rwa politiki rwo kwigaragaza na we.

Édouard Karemera, utari ufite izindi nshingano uretse iyo kuba mu buyobozi bwa Muvoma, ariko akaba yari yemewe cyane muri perefegitura avuka mo, yabaye nk'icumu ricanye muri politiki ya Guverinoma y'agateganyo, ndetse akaziba kenshi icyuho cy'umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu utari uhari. Dore urugero : Édouard Karemera, abyumvikanyeho na minisitiri w'ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, yibwirije kwandikisha mu Icapiro rya gisirikari inyandiko-mpuruza yahamagariraga abaturage bose kugaragaza "ishyaka" mu kurengera "Repubulika na Demokarasi" bahangana n' «abuzukuru ba Lunari (UNAR)[18], ibyo akaba ari ibimenyetso bikomeye [mu mateka y'igihugu]. Iyo nyandiko-mpuruza yagombaga kunyanyagizwa hose hifashishijwe za kajugujugu.

Kubera ko icyo gihe intambara yagarukiraga i Kigali no mu Mutara (*reba Incamake ya 14*), abanzi bahigwaga bari Abatutsi, ku buryo budashidikanywa. Marcel Gatsinzi, umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo, yatangajwe no kubona iyo nyandiko-mpuruza yacapwe [atabizi], n'ubwo yari umukuru wa etamajoro. Yashakishije umwimerere wayo, nuko ashobora gukurikirana amateka yayo :

> Ku byerekeye inyandiko-mpuruza izwi cyane ya Karemera na Bizimana, ni byo koko. Batabimenyesheje, bari bahaye uwategekaga Icapiro rya gisirikari, ajida-shefu [Biyingoma], umwandiko wo gucapa ku rupapuro rukomeye. Ubwo ni hagati y'itariki ya 10 n'iya 15 Mata 1994. Nabimenye bingwiririye, ubwo uwo ajida-shefu yaje kubura

[18] Abashyirahamwe b' U Rwanda (ishyaka ryari rishyigikiye umwami mu gihe cyo kubona ubwigenge).

impapuro zikomeye, nuko akaza kumbaza uko babona izindi, yibwira ko ndi mu mugambi w'iyo gahunda ya Muvoma. Nabujije ko bakomeza gucapa uwo mwandiko, no kuwusubiza abo bagabo. Byabaye mahire kuko byubahirijwe. Maze kwinjizwaga mu ngabo za FPR (APR) muri 1995, nasanze muri iryo capiro ikirundo kitagira uko kingana cya kopi z'iyo mpuruza zikiri nshya, kandi zimwe zipfunyitse. […] Yahamagariraga abaturage gushinga za bariyeri hose kugira ngo bafungire amayira *Inkotanyi*, abana b'inyenzi bari bagarutse kubashyira mu bucakara. Kubera ko nibutse ko, nkiri mu mashuri abanza, inyandiko nk'izo zari zanyanyagijwe na kajugujugu cg utudege duto twahawe akazina ka "*gasurantambara*", ku misozi hose muri 1959-1960 ndetse no mu murwa mukuru nari ndi mo. Ubwo rero nahise nibwira nti "Sinshobora kwemera ko ibyo byongera kubaho, kandi ngo binaturuke muri etamajoro nari nshinzwe icyo gihe. Sinshidikanya ko byabaye imwe mu mpamvu zatumye bamvana kuri uwo mwanya, ntibemeza n'uko ndi umukuru wa etamajoro. Bansimbuje Umukoloneli utari umaranye igihe iryo peti, agashobora no kuba igikoresho cya Muvoma n'icya Guverinoma y'agateganyo[19]."

Kubera ko Marcel Gatsinzi yari yabujije ko iyo nyandiko itangazwa, Édouard Karemera yategereje y'uko abanza kuvanwa ku mwanya we kugira ngo asubukure icyo gikorwa abyemerewe na Guverinoma :

"Ku buryo rusange, intumwa zifite impungenge zo kubona igikorwa cyo gutunganya uko abasivili bakwirwanaho gisa n'aho kidashishikaje cyane Guverinoma, kandi ari yo turufu ya nyuma yo kuzitira umwanzi. […] Kugira ngo imitwe y'abantu itegurwe, itangazo ry'amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD, PD na PL rigomba kunyanyagizwa muri perefegitura zose ku bwinshi, kandi ku buryo bwihuta bushoboka."[20]

Uru rugero ruragaragaza cyane ko visiperezida wa mbere wa Muvoma na minisitiri w'ingabo wo muri Muvoma hari ibikorwa bibwirizaga, ko batangagaga amabwiriza, batangagaga ibikoresho bikenewe, bumvirwaga batagombye kubahiriza amabwiriza ya Guverinoma, y'umukuru wa etamajoro cg se y'ibindi biro bya Muvoma, urebye ko akenshi perezida wayo yabaga yibereye mu ngendo. Mu gihe ryari ryiteguye kujya mbere kandi ryiziritse ku mabwiriza y'abavugizi baryo bafite ijambo, Ishyaka – leta MRND rimaze gufata indi sura[21], ryabaga rizi hakiri kare ko amashyaka na Guverinoma "bazemera" ibyo ryateganyije.

"Ku bireba Guverinoma, yari ifite umutware w'icyubahiro : perezida wa Repubulika, Théodore Sindikubwabo. Yari ifite umutware w'icyitiriro, ari we njye, minisitiri w'intebe. Ku cyemezo cyose kijyanye na porotokori cg se isezerano rigenewe rubanda, baranyitabazaga. Umuyobozi wa Guverinoma nyawe yari Bizimana Augustin, minisitiri w'ingabo. Avuye mu butumwa muri Gabon cg Togo [mu by'ukuri ni muri Kameruni, ku itariki ya 10 Mata], ni bwo nabonye ko ari we mutware. Abo mu ikipi bose twari kumwe barambwiye ngo ubwo agarutse ibintu bigiye kujya mu buryo. Nasanze ari umuntu uzi gushyira ibintu kuri gahunda iboneye, wari ufite impano yo kubwira imbaga mu ruhame. Yari afite n'ubushobozi bwo kugonda abasirikari barushaga abandi gukomera bakamwumvira. Nabonye ko igaruka rye ryahuriranye n'inyenyemba rya Bagosora. Ku giti cyanjye nari mfitanye na we umubano wihariye kuko twari tuziraniye mu kazi, igihe yari perezida w'Inama y'Ubutegetsi ya Banki z'Abaturage. Ni we wangejeje ku basirikari

[19] Marcel GATSINZI, minisitiri w'ingabo, ibaruwa yanyandikiye ku ya 20 Ukwakira 2005.

[20] Édouard KAREMERA, raporo y'ubutumwa yakoreye ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri ku wa 18 na 19 Mata 1994. (*reba umugereka wa 25*).

[21] Iki gisobanuro ni ingirakamaro kugira ngo hatagira uwitiranya "MRND yo ku wa 5 Mata n'iyo ku ya 10 Mata. Hagati y'ayo matariki, hari abatagihari, abishwe n'abari mu bwihisho" (ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wo mu rwego rwo hejuru wa Muvoma, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 7 Mutarama 2006).

ananyerekana mu baminisitiri ba Muvoma[22]."

Iki cyitegerezo cya Jean Kambanda, watangajwe n'ukuntu Augustin Bizimana yari afite igitinyiro mu gisirikari kigomba ibisobanuro bike. Ni byo koko, umwanya uwo muminisitiri w'ingabo yari afite muri Politiki wari wihariye. Ku ruhande rumwe, yari ashyigikiwe na Protais Zigiranyirazo n'umuryango wa perezida, kuko yari mu mwanya w'indemyacyemezo mu ngamba zo kwamamaza Joseph Nzirorera. Ikindi, ni uko nk'Umunyabyumba yari afite akarusho ko mu rwego rwa politiki ko kutitwaza iby'uturere nk'Abanyagisenyi n'Abanyaruhengeri. Ku rundi ruhande, kubera ko umupango wa gisirikari Bagosora yashyiraga imbere wari wabaye karahanyuze, insimburantego ya gisivili yasabaga gusubizaho urubariro rwa koma hagati y'inkingi eshatu zashoboraga kurokora ubutegetsi icyo gihe : ingabo, ishyaka rya MRND n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Byari ngombwa gusubiza mu murongo urwego rwa gisirikari, cyane cyane ubuyobozi bwarwo bukuru bwari bwazonzwe n'amacakubiri bukiremamo impande zishyamiranye, no gukaza ububasha bw'ishyaka ku mitwe y'urubyiruko. Bityo, akigaruka i Kigali, Bizimana ubwe yakiriye mu biro bye muri minisiteri y'ingabo Rubereti Kajuga, perezida w'*Interahamwe*, igikorwa cyateye icyoniki abasirikari bakuru bari bahari, kubera ko mu nsisiro za Kigali, *Interahamwe* zari zihangishijeho ibyo gushyiraho amategeko yazo, zikayaha ndetse n'abasirikari. Nyamara ibyo ntibyari byatumye Augustin Bizimana ahinduka umunyapolitiki w'ingenzi cg se umuntu ufata ibyemezo biremereye. Yashoboraga kwanga amabwiriza ya Théoneste Bagosora kubera gusa ko yari ashyigikiwe n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bifuzaga ko itsindwa rya Bagosora ryibagirana bwangu, hanyuma bakamwumvisha yuko yakwisubira, nk'uko ku itariki ya 16 Mata, yari yagerageje gusaba ko yasubizwa mu gisirikari. Ibyo ntibivuga kandi ko Bagosora yari yashyizwe ku ruhande, ahubwo ntiyari agifite umwanya w'ibanze mu igenerwamirimo rishya. Icyo Augustin Bizimana yakoraga ni ukuvuga gusa ibyoagatsiko ko mu Kazu kifuzaga.

"Koko rero, abagize Akazu babonaga ko batareshya : hariho "abari mu kazu imbere", hakaba n'"abari mu mbuga gusa". Ayo magambo ubwayo ni yo Bagosora yakoresheje, mu Kuboza 1992, ansobanurira umwanya yari afite mu Kazu. Ngo umwanya we wari mu mbuga[23]."

Édouard Karemera, utari warongeye kuba minisitiri kuva kuri Guverinoma yo muri Gicurasi 1987, yasanze ari ngombwa kujya mu mukumbi ugize Guverinoma binyuze mu nzira ziboneye mu mpera za Gicurasi, mu gihe byabonekaga ko ingabo zirimo kugenda zitsindwa urugamba, kandi ibyo gushishikariza itsembabwoko byarimo kugabanya umurego muri perefegitura zo mu majyepfo zari ziganjemo "ibyitso". Basanze ari we wari ushoboye kandi yiyemeje kongera kwigarurira ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, gahunda yo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage, n'isubukura ry'itsembatsemba. Icya nyuma, ni uko na none mu bari barekereje imyanya yo ku isonga, harimo na Donat Murego. N'ubwo atari muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, ni we wari ufite bya nyakuri ishyaka MDR mu maboko ye,

[22] Ibazwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-16, 26 Nzeri 1997.

[23] Ubuhamya bwa Balthazar Ndengeyinka, ikiganiro twagiranye kuri terefone, 30 Nzeri 2008.

akagenda ahanjura inkunga yashakaga yerekana ko rifite ibirindiro bishya “mu gihugu cyose” (Ruhengeri, Kigali, Kibuye, Butare). Yagenderaga ku bushogoshe burambye bw’ishyaka PSD ryari risigaranye abayobozi ba nyamujyiyobijya, kugira ngo yikubire umwanya wose w’amashyaka yahoze atavuga rumwe na Muvoma.

Guhindura isura mu rwego rwa politiki n’urwa gisirikari byatewe n’iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, mu cyuka kirangwamo ubushake bwo kwihorera n’ingamba zo gushyira mu gaciro mu gihe bagihanganye n’umwanzi bahuje, byateguwe mu buryo bwihuse cyane, bishyirwa mu bikorwa mu buryo burimo urugomo, noneho bigenda binonosorwa kandi bigenza amakuru make uko iminsi yakurikiranaga. N’ubwo hari ibintu byinshi byihutirwa n’ibidashobora kugerwaho, n’ubwo mu rwego rw’imikorere harimo ibyo gufatiraho, nta rindimuka ryigeze riboneka mu nzego zafatirwagamo ibyemezo birebana n’ingamba. N’ubwo habayeho itungurwa ry’akanya gato, abari mu gatsiko ka perezida n’itsinda ry’abasirikari n’abanyapolitiki bo mu majyaruguru bagaragaje ubwiyemeze bukomeye, n’Abatware babo bakorana ibintu gahunda iboneye kugira ngo basubirane ububasha bwabo mu ruhererekane rw’ubutegetsi.

Ubufatanye bwabo bwari bushingiye ku ntego eshatu zo mu rwego rwa politiki ariko z’igihe kigufi : gukomeza uburambe bwabo muri politiki no kwikiza abapiganwa na bo, gusana “ubumwe bw’igihugu” kugira ngo bashobore guhangana na FPR, kwigiza yo igihe cyo gutoranya abararikiye umwanya wo gusimbura [perezida]. Ukuntu ubwicanyi n’itsembatsemba byatangiye birerekana neza ibintu bibiri : icya mbere ni uko “abashinzwe ibyo bikorwa” bari bariteguye (ihora n’umujinya w’umuranduranzuzi by’umutwe urinda perezida byari uburyo busanzwe bwo kugaragaza ubwo bumwe nyuma y’uko umutware wabo yicwa[24]), icya kabiri ni uko gahunda ishishikariza abantu kwibasira Abatutsi yari yaracengeye mu *Interahamwe* z’i Kigali no muri perefegitura zigenzurwa mu bya politiki n’abantu “batabonda” bo muri Muvoma (Gisenyi na Ruhengeri). Ubufatanye bunoze bwabaye vuba cyane hagati y’abakuru ba gisirikari bo mu majyaruguru, abayobozi ba Muvoma n’imitwe y’*Interahamwe* ku migambi yo kwihimura no kuramba muri politiki, bwerekana neza ko, muri icyo gihe gikomeye, igabana ry’imirimo ryari ryararangiye kandi ko n’umurongo bagenderaho wari uzwi.

Ibyo gushyira mu bikorwa amategeko yo gutsembatsemba yatangiwe i Kigali ku itariki ya 7 Mata n’abayobozi bishyizeho kandi banyuranye ntibyigeze biruhanya kubigeza ku “bantu bunganira” bari biteguye cg basabwe kubigiramo uruhare mu nsisiro z’umujyi, no muri perefegitura na komini zimwe z’imbere mu gihugu. Icyari gisigaye cyari ugushyiraho politiki isobanuye neza n’abantu bo kuyishyira mu bikorwa.

Kuva ku ihora kugera ku itsembabwoko

[24] Ni ngombwa kwibuka ko inzu y’Inama y’igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) yari icumbikiwemo FPR yari itandukanyijwe n’Ikigo cy’Umutwe urinda perezida na metero magana angahe gusa, kandi ko iryo yegerana ryashyushyaga imitwe buri munsi, iyo bamwe bajyaga ahantu bagahura n’abandi. Buri gihe rwashoboraga kwambikana.

“*Ingoma itica ntihore ni igicuma*»[25] [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w’umwimerere]. Uyu mugani urasobanura neza mu magambo ahinnye ingenantekerezo zakurikijwe nyuma y’iyicwa ry’ “umubyeyi w’igihugu”, ingenantekerezo zari zikubiyemo ingamba zo kwihorera zakwirakwizwaga n’abazishyigikiye, n’amayeri y’ihiganwa rigaragara ryari ryatewe n’isimburana ritateguwe.

Abasivili n’abasirikari bafatanye urunana, agapande k’abashyigikiye perezida kari gakarishye cyane – ari na ko kari gafite ibyo gahomba – kerekanye ku buryo butajegajega ko ubutegetsi butarimo icyuho, kandi ko butari bworoshye nk’igicuma. Ku buryo bubangikanye no gushakisha umupango wakubahiriza amategeko yo gusubiza ishyaka rya MRND ububasha bwaryo nk’Ishyaka- leta, abayobozi baryo baboneye kuri icyo kibariro kidasanzwe maze bikiza buheri heri abanzi batavuga rumwe na bo intagondwa zo mu majyaruguru bari barashatse kwica kuva kera, nuko bibuka ingamba zo mu ntambara zari zaramenyerewe mu myaka ya 1960, maze bakorera Abatutsi itsembatsemba ritagira irindi rigereranywa.

Ikintu kimwe cyari ukwihanganira cg se gushoza urugomo nk’uko bigenda igihe cyose umujyi waguye mu rugote. Ibyo bisobanuye neza mu magambo akurikira :

> “Icyo nzi cyo, ni uko Zigiranyirazo Protais yinjiye muri Gisenyi ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994. Ubwo nashoboye guhura na we, yari yabishe, nk’uko natwe twari tumeze. Mu kiganiro twagiranye, namumenyesheje uko ibintu byari byifashe mu karere, kandi ko *Interahamwe* zarimo kugakora muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi yose. Ubwo yaransubije ngo ni ikintu cyiza, ariko ambwira ko amarorerwa yari yibasiye umuryango we yari akabije. Yongeyeho ko i Kigali abasirikari n’*Interahamwe* bari bakomeje guhorera urupfu rwa perezida wacu twakundaga. Zigiranyirazo Protais yakomeje ambwira ati “Abantu perezida yafashije akabagirira neza ni bo bamwishe.” Yakomeje avuga ko Sagatwa Élie na Habyarimana bari abantu beza, kandi ko Abanyarwanda bagombaga guhorera muramu we na mwene se Sagatwa. Nabonaga agihungabanyijwe n’ibyabaye[26].”

Ikindi kintu cyari ukwata undi murari imbere mu gihugu, ubangikanye n’ibikangisho bya gisirikari by’ingabo za FPR, ukaba ugamije kurimbura abakekwagaho bose kuba ibyitso by’Inkotanyi. Ntibyari bikiri ibyo gukinga cg gusubiza, yari “politiki yo ku mugaragaro” yo gutsemba Abatutsi yashyizweho na leta y’U Rwanda yafashe iyindi sura. Uyu mwanzuro ntiwari urwandiko cg se ikintu cyateganyijwe, wari ikiguzi abayobozi ba Muvoma bemereye koloneli Théoneste Bagosora bamuriha ko yavuye mu ruhando kandi bamwizeza kutazakurikiranwa. Iryo ni isesengura rya majoro Augustin Cyiza wari juji perezida w’Urukiko rwa gisirikari muri cyo gihe[27] akaba yarakoze ibyo yashoboraga byose kugira ngo amenye ibyo koloneli Bagosora yakoze muri iyo minsi ibiri. Ibisobanuro bye bishingiye ku itsindwa n’iyangirwa byazitiye Théoneste Bagosora mu bikorwa binyuranye yagerageje : amaze kunanirwa

[25] Mu kinyarwanda ijambo ingoma rifite inyito ebyiri, ingoma ivuzwa, ubundi rikavuga ubutegetsi. Ingoma ishushanya ubutegetsi ; igicuma cyavuyemo amashywa kimeneka ubusa iyo hari ikigikomyeho.

[26] Ubuhamya bw’umunyapolitiki wo mu rwego rwo hejuru, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 9-13 Nzeri 2004.

[27] Urwo rukiko ntirwigeze ruhabwa uburyo bwo gukora ; ibyo byatumye [Cyiza] abona igihe gihagije cyo kwikorera ibye nta nkomyi. Nk’umuharanizi w’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwamuntu, yari afite byinshi bimuhuza n’abantu ndetse akagira n’uruhare mu guhuza no gukemura amakimbirane.

kubahiriza ibyifuzo by'umuryango wa perezida byo gushyiraho Guverinoma ya gisirikari yo kugirana imishyikirano na FPR no kubungabunga inyungu zawo, amaze kubona ingamba ze zamaganwe n'abadiporomate Booh-Booh na Dallaire, ubwigunge bwe bwari bwagaragaye, kandi bwagize ingaruka ziremereye mu gihe cy'inama y'abakuru b'imitwe y'ingabo n'abayobozi b'uturere tw'imirwano mu gitondo cyo ku ya 7 Mata :

> "Kuba Nkundiye yaramwihakanye ku mugaragaro na Ntabakuze[28] akanga kwifatanya na Bagosora mu kagambane ke byatumye abandi basirikari bakuru bamurwanya. Mu by'ukuri, Bagosora yari yigungiye i Kanombe hamwe n'abari bamushyigikiye, ni ukuvuga abasirikari bamwe bo muri batayo y' "Abakodo" n'abo mu Mutwe urinda perezida. Ariko uyu Mutwe ntiwari ushyigikiye Bagosora, wubahirizaga, utagombye kubibwirizwa, inshingano zawo : kurokora ingoma no guhashya abatavuga rumwe na yo. Naho batayo y' "Abakodo" ya Ntabakuze, yari yarashegeshwe cyane n'intambara, cyane cyane muri 1990 mu gitero cya mbere cya FPR, kandi Ntabakuze yari azi neza ko intambara iramutse yubuye, bari kuyitsindwa. Nyamara, yari yiteguye kuryoza "abagambanyi" bose b'imbere mu gihugu urupfu rwa perezida. Kompanyi nyinshi mu zo yategekaga zari zishyigikiye itsembatsemba.
>
> Mu by'ukuri, icyo baje kwita itsembabwoko nyuma cyatangiye ku ya 8 Mata igihe Semanza[29] na Karera bahaga intwaro abasivili kuri perefegitura. Yabaye inkurikizi itaziguye y'iburiramo rya "kudeta Bagosora". Koko rero, impamvu ebyiri ni zo zabaye indemyacyemezo :
>
> – Imbere mu gihugu, Bagosora yashoboraga guhigikwa kubera urupfu rw'abanyapolitiki batavugaga rumwe na Muvoma. Itsembabwoko yabaye ngombwa kuko ari bwo buryo bwonyine bwashoboraga gushora abantu bose mu itsembatsemba ;
>
> – Inyuma y'igihugu, yashakaga kugurana na FPR ubuzima bw'Abatutsi ihagarikwa ry'imirwano.
>
> Urugogwe rwari rugiye kumugwira [Bagosora]. Ku ruhande rumwe, komite y'ingobokamahina yashakaga guhagarika ubwigomeke mu gisirkari n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abari ku isonga y'abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma, ni ukuvuga, kugumisha mu kigo cyawo ku Kimihurura umutwe urinda perezida wari watangiye guhangana na FPR muri Kigali, no gusaba ku buryo bwihutirwa imishyikirano na FPR Inkotanyi bitabaje inkunga ya jenerali Dallaire na za ambasade. Ku rundi ruhande, yashakaga kubuza ko "ubumwe bw'Abahutu" bumubera igihombo, abanyapolitiki bo mu majyaruguru biyunze n'abo mu majyepfo bari bashyigikiye imishyikirano. Ku bantu bo mu majyepfo, gusana "ubumwe bw'igihugu" byasabaga byanze bikunze ko Bagosora abazwa iby'urupfu rw'ababo yatikije. Ni yo mpamvu byari ngombwa ko ashyiraho byihutirwa Guverinoma y'abasivili b'intagondwa yirengera politiki ye kandi igakomeza guhembera ubushake bwo kwihorera bw'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru. Muri ibyo bigonzi, abayobozi ba Muvoma baramushyigikiye kuko yabahaga ubutegetsi kandi ubwabo bakaba bari guhombera byinshi mu gisubizo cya politiki gishakiwe mu mishyikirano.
>
> Mu gihe komite y'ingobokamahina yari yanze gahunda ye, Bagosora yahamagaye abasirikari bari mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru, akoranya imitwe yitwara gisirikari, asubizaho ingamba zo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage. Ku itariki ya 8 Mata, *Interahamwe* ni bwo zahawe intwaro bwa mbere. Cyari ikirundo cy'intwaro nshya zitari zizwi n'ingabo z'igihugu, zikaba zari zibitse mu cyumba cy'ikuzimu cya perefegitura. Imiterere y'ukwirwanaho

[28] Ibyo abo basirikari bakuru bavugiraga mu ruhame byababaga byitezwe cyane kubera ko bombi bari bafite abagore bakomotse muri Zayire, bagafatwa cg bagakekwa kuba Abatutsi b'Abanyamulenge.

[29] Icyegera cya perezida Habyarimana akaba na burugumesitiri udashyiguka wa Bicumbi, komini yo mu cyaro yarushaga izindi zo mu gihugu cyose ubukungu, iyo ntagondwa kabuhariwe yari perezida wo Komite ya perefegitura ya MRND muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari. Yamamaye cyane ku kazina k' "*inkandagirabitabo*" [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerere] kubera iterabwoba n'urugomo yagiriraga abantu bose bo muri komini ye bari baranze kujya muri Muvoma.

kw'abaturage yari igamije gusubiza mu murongo imitwe yose y'urubyiruko no kuyiha imbunda, kugeza no ku mitwe y'urubyiruko itari iya MRND cg CDR[30]. [...] Imaze gutangizwa, itsembabwoko yarihembereye ubwayo. Abari kuyikora bari bashyizwe mu myanya[31]."

Ubwumvikane hagati y'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikari bw'imbangikane bwari mu maboko y'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa, n'agatsiko k'abakandida ba Muvoma bwagenze neza cyane n'ubwo abari baburi inyuma batabonekaga ku ruhembe rw'imbere rw'umupango wari wagaragajwe, ahubwo bakaba barakoreraga mu bandi bantu. Izo mpande zombi zari zikeneye indi minsi mike kugira ngo zinonosore bwa nyuma amakipi yari mu myanya y'imbere. Théoneste Bagosora yagombye gutegereza kugeza mu kwezi kwa Mata hagati kugira ngo ayugirize burundu abasirikari bakuru bari bakomeye ku mategeko bakaba barigomekaga kuri Guverinoma y'agateganyo, kugira ngo ahe etamajoro indi sura kandi akwirakwize itsembatsemba rusange. Ni ubwo buyobozi bwa gisirikari bw'imbangikane bwakoranyaga bukanatanga inkunga y'abasirikari bakenewe kugira ngo bakorane ubwicanyi n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari kandi bakwirakwize za bariyeri. Hanyuma abasirikari bakuru n'abasuzofisiyeni bo bagenzuraga ko ibyo byose byakozwe uko byagenwe.

"Ku byerekeye ukwirwaho kw'abaturage, biraruhije kumenya uwagenzuraga iyo gahunda mu rwego rw'igihugu, kuko ku ruhande rumwe, inzego zashoboraga kugira imitambiko myinshi cyane, ku rundi ruhande ugasanga ibipande byo mu ntango n'ibanze bidashobora gukorana hagati yabyo byanze bikunze. Nyamara ariko, nshobora kugerageza kumenya umuntu wari wishingiye mbere na mbere buri gipande[32]."

Itonde ry'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa perefegitura ryakozwe na Théoneste Bagosora[33] na Augustin Bizimana babyemeranyijweho n'abayobozi ba Muvoma, ahanini ryari ririho abantu, muri perefegitura nyinshi, bari bibwirije guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata, gucunga ibikorwa bijyanye no guhiga "umwanzi". Iryo tonde ryaje kwemezwa na Guverinoma y'agateganyo.

"Ubuyobozi bwa gahunda yo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage muri perefegitura… Ni Guverinoma yabushyizeho, ikoresheje iteka rya minisitiri ryanditse, abasirikari bakuru bamwe batorewe kuyobora gahunda y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage, ikurikije inama yagiriwe na minisitiri w'ingabo, na we wahabwaga amabwiriza n'ishyaka rye, MRND. Iryo shyaka kandi ryari rihagarariwe n'abanyapolitiki batatu bafite ijambo cyane bari bakurikiye Guverinoma i Gitarama, bakaba bari muri Komite nyobozi yaryo. Abo ni Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Karemera na Nzirorera. Bashyiragaho cyane cyane abasirikari

[30] Ubuhamya bwinshi buhuriza kuri iki cy'uko intwaro nshya (Kalachnikov na Uzi) zahawe imitwe y'urubyiruko ku itariki ya 8 Mata mu nzu ya perefegitura ya Kigali zari zibitse mo, zari zaraturutse i Kanombe aho Théoneste Bagosora yari afite abamushyigikiye cyane. Mbere yo kujyanwa muri minisiteri y'ingabo, yari yarategetse ikigo cyitiriwe "koloneli Mayuya". Ubwo buyobozi bw'icyubahiro cyane cyane bwari ubwo kugenzura imicungire y'ubutegetsi mu kigo cyose cya Kanombe. Icyo kigo cyari kirimo batayo y' "Abakodo" ya Aloys Ntabakuze, batayo y' "Abanyamizinga", batayo y' "Abahanura indege", ibitaro bya gisirikari, amacumbi y'abasirikari n'indi Mitwe yindi.

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

[32] Ibazwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2- T7- 16, 26 Nzeri 1997.

[33] Théoneste Bagosora yarasisibiranyaga ngo asubize mu ngabo, yihereyeho ubwe, abasirikari bakuru bari barashyizwe mu kiruhuko cy'iza bukuru n'uwahoze ari minisitiri w'ingabo, James Gasana.

> bakuru biteguraga kuba abadepite cg se bari basanzwe ari abadepite. I Butare ho hari koloneli Nteziryayo. We ntiyari depite. Yari yarahoze ari umuyobozi w'Igiporisi cya komini muri minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Ku Gikongoro hari majoro Simba. Uyu yahoze ari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973. Yari depite wa Muvoma ku Gikongoro.
> I Cyangugu habaye ikibazo cyo kubona yo umuyobozi nyawe, nuko gahunda yo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage ikurikiranwa na Imanishimwe Samuel, liyetona wari ubonye iryo peti vuba. Yunganirwaga na perefe Bagambiki wahoze ari umuyobozi wa serivisi z'iperereza, akaba yarigeze no kuba perefe wa Kigali.
> I Gitarama, hari majoro Ukurikiyeyezu Jean-Damascène wari depite wa Muvoma. Nyuma yaje kugirwa perefe wa Gitarama ahagana mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994. I Kigali nta mukuru wa gisirikari wari wahashyizwe, ariko umuntu yakumva ko ari koloneli Renzaho, perefe wa perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali wacungaga ibyo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage, abifashijwemo na Komanda Bivamvagara Patrice [Gisenyi], na Komanda Laurent Twagirayezu ngo waba warapfiriye i Butare, we akaba yari ashinzwe imyitozo ku buryo bwihariye. Yari umuyoboke ufite ijambo mu ishyaka MDR.
> Ku Gisenyi nta makuru y'imvaho mpafitiye, ariko ngo abasirikari bakuru batanu ni bo bari bashinzwe gahunda y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage. Babiri b'ingenzi muri bo ni : Laurent Serubuga, wahoze ari umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo wungirije, ku bwa perezida Habyarimana, akaba kandi yari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973 ; na Buregeya Banaventure, wari mu bakamarade b'iya 5 Nyakanga 1973, yari yarabaye umujyanama wa perezida, akaba yarigeze no kuyobora Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ; naho koloneli Nsengiyumva Anatole we yari umukuru w'akarere k'imirwano, akagira uruhare rukomeye mu igemura ry'amasasu no mu korohereza Guverinoma kubona inzira isohoka mu gihugu. [...]
> Ku Kibuye hari minisitiri Karemera w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, akaba na visiperezida wa mbere wa Muvoma, Niyitegeka Éliezer wari minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, bombi bakaba bashinzwe perefegitura yabo. Habaye ubwicanyi bwinshi muri iyo perefegitura. Karemera yashyizweho muri Gicurasi, kuko uwo bari bahaye uwo mwanya, Faustin Munyazesa, atigeze yigaragaza. Buri gihe yari kumwe natwe, ni ukuvuga Guverinoma, kuko yagize uruhare rw'ingenzi mu gushyiraho Guverinoma yacu. [...]
> I Kibungo hari koloneli Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita, akaba yari umukandida wa Muvoma ku mwanya wa depite mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Yigeze kuba minisitiri n'umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori wungirije ku ngoma ya Habyarimana.
> Mu Ruhengeri, hari [ntibyumvikana] Abatutsi ku buryo ntigeze menya imiterere ya gahunda y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage[34]. Ngibyo rero ibyo nzi ku bayobozi ba gahunda y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage[35]. Ngomba kongeraho ko bamwe batashyizweho na Guverinoma, akaba ari ukubera ko ibintu byahuriranye bakaba bari bahari icyo gihe[36]."

Ku ruhande rwabo, inyabutatu y'abayobozi ba Muvoma bagombaga kugenzura ko Guverinoma y'agateganyo igumya kugira isura imwe. Yego, inshingano buri minisitiri yari yahawe mu gihe cy'irahira zari zisobanutse : no mu byo basabwaga harimo ibyo "kuyugiriza umuntu wese wari gushaka gukurura imidugararo mu gihugu[37]." Ariko byari ngombwa gukomeza urunana rw'abarwanashyaka b'impangu ba Muvoma, MDR na PL hamwe n'abari bagifite icyoba kandi batari inararibonye muri politiki bari batoranyijwe bagashyirwa no mu kazi huti huti. Byari ngombwa cyane cyane gushora mu ntambara igihugu cyose, ni ukuvuga gushishikaza abategetsi b'intara no kwigarurira perefegitura zo mu majyepfo.

[34] Ni liyetona-koloneli (ER) Bonavanture Ntibitura (Ruhengeri).

[35] Koloneli Athanase Gasake (Ruhengeri) ni we wacungaga gahunda y'ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage mu rwego rw'igihugu, ahabwa amabwiriza ataziguye na minisiteri y'ingabo.

[36] Ibazwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-7-18, 27 Nzeri 1997.

[37] Ajenda ya Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 9 Mata (Reba umugereka 76).

Nyuma y'ingendo zo gukangura imbaga Guverinoma yakoreye muri perefegitura ziseta ibirenge za Gitarama, Gikongoro na Butare ku ya 18 n'iya 19 Mata, umuntu yavuga ko, mu gihugu cyose, abayobozi ba MRND/CDR bafataga ibyemezo bagatanga n'amabwiriza mu ngeri zose z'imirimo, bakigarurira abigeze kutavuga rumwe na bo igihe kimwe, byaba no ngombwa kandi, bagasabota cg bakica abakozi batumvira cg se bajijinganya gusa. Muri perefegitura na komini, umusanzu w'ingenzi w'abayobozi b'ishyaka rya MRND wabaye uwo kwegeranya ibikoresho n'abakozi ba leta, kuba hafi y'abaturage bakabatoza gushyigikira ingabo n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari kugira ngo "batsinde intambara". Iyo gahunda yatangajwe ku mugaragaro kandi ishyirwa mu bikorwa ku buryo budakebakeba. Icya ngombwa cyari ukuyemera, kandi intera y'ubwitange bwa buri muntu ni yo yari igipimo basuzumiraho abantu, abategetsi cg abategekwa. Nta byo kumvikana byashoboraga kwihanganirwa na gato, kandi nta muntu wari ubiyobewe. Ku buryo bwihariye, abayobotse cg se abagaruwe mu minsi ya vuba bahoraga biteze kuregwa ubugambanyi n'ababarushaga ubutagondwa.

Imishyikirano idashoboka hagati y'abarwana

Muri ibyo bihe, imishyikirano abategetsi bashya bagiranye na FPR yari nk'ikinamico ryabayeho kubera ibyasabwaga n'abahuza b'abanyamahanga. Iyubura ry'imirwano ryerekanaga neza ko abarwanyi batari bitaye ku masinya bari bashyize ku masezerano ya Arusha yari yagezweho biruhanyije. Intagondwa z'impande zombi bari biyemeje kumvana, n'inshoza yo koroherana bakagira icyo bumvikanaho yari itagitekerezwa.

Umuryango mpuzamahanga wonyine ni wo uba warashoboye gukingira cg guhagarika amahano buri wese yari yiteze, kandi ugahatira abarwanyi b'impande zombi ibisubizo bikaze. Biraboneka ko byari gushoboka igihe abasirikari ibihumbi n'ibihumbi b'Ababiligi, Abafaransa n'Abanyamerika basesekaye i Kigali cg i Bujumbura guhera ku itariki ya 9 Mata. Ariko ngo ntibari bazanywe no guhagarika itsembatsemba cg kubungabunga amahoro, cg gutera inkunga Minuar na yo yari yatangiye kugabwaho ibitero nyuma y'amezi n'amezi ishyirwa mu majwi hatagira urevura cg ukurikiranwa. Koko rero, n'ubwo yari ifite abasirikari 2.500 badafite intwaro zikwiye kandi bagendera kuri manda ibazitira cyane, misiyo ya Loni mu Rwanda ntiyari ifite ubushobozi bwo guhagarika itsembatsemba. Nyamara ariko, Abasirikari b'abanyamahanga bari i Kigali (Abakodo b'Abafaransa n'Ababiligi bagera ku gihumbi) cg se bari bakambitse hafi aho (hagati y'abasirikari 1.500 na 2.000) bashoboraga kubigeraho kuko ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'U Rwanda bwari bwiteguye kubibafasha mo, kimwe n'imyinshi mu Mitwe y'ingabo yari yakomeje kubahiriza amategeko.

Twibuke ko mu minsi ya mbere ubwicanyi muri Kigali bwakorwaga n'insoresore zigera ku 2.000 hamwe n'abasirikari b'imikogoto bajya kungana batyo bari batsimbaraye ku gatsiko ka perezida. N'ubwo gutabara bitari kuburamo amakuba bwose, kurinda ahantu Abatutsi n'abataguva rumwe na Muvoma bari bateraniye no kubuza ubwicanyi bw'itetu Minuar yari kubishobora, ifatanyije n'abasirikari baturutse mu mahanga. Ariko, kuva bigitangira,

itsembatsemba ryafashwe nk'aho rijyanye n'intambara, iyingiyi ikaba itari muri manda za Minuar, ntibe yishingiwe n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga wari watanze ibisubizo byo mu rwego rwa politiki bitumvikanwagaho na buke… Indorerezi nyishi z'abasivili n'abasirikari zabonye ko igitekerezo cyo kwanga guhagarara hagati ngo bakumire itsembatsemba cyiganje muri za etamajoro z'ibihugu by'amahanga, bidaturutse ku mpamvu za gisirikari, ariko bitewe no kudashobora guhuza imyifatire : Minuar yibasiye igikorwa cya "operasiyo Amaryllis" (cyo gutabara no gusubiza Abafaransa iwabo), kudashobora gukorera hamwe kw'abasirikari b'Ababiligi n'Abafaransa, kuba koloneli Bagosora yari afitiye umunabi abasirikari b'Ababiligi bari baje, no kuba FPR yari yahaye abanyamahanga itariki ntarengwa yo kuba barangije gukora ibyabazanye. Ariko impamvu nyamukuru ni uko inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yari yananiwe gushyiraho umurongo wo kugenderaho. Kutagira icyo bakora byasobanuraga kureka abasirikari ba FPR bagafata ubutegetsi, ariko na none bakareka ibihumbi amagana by'abagabo, abagore n'abana bagatsembwa.

Ibyari byabaye mu minsi ibanza byari byerekanye ko ku mpande zombi hari ubushake bwo guhangana no kwerekana ingufu ku rugamba dore ko politiki yo kutagira ikintu na kimwe bumvikanaho ari yo yari yimirijwe imbere. Byageze igihe abahuza n'abashyira mu gaciro b'ingeri zose nta jambo bari bafite. Ku buryo bumwe, biraboneka ko umuntu yashobora kwemeza ko intego y'ingenzi y'abarwanyi ku mpande zombi kwari uguca agahigo mu kuburizamo burundu icyizere cy'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'U Rwanda bwageze hagati muri Mata bugishakisha inzira zose za politiki zo guhosha amakuba igihugu cyarimo. Iyo ntera imaze kurengwa, byarashobokaga kuvuga ko ingamba bwite cg rusange za ba gashozantambara zashyizwe mu rwego rw'igihugu cyose. Kuri ubwo buryo, amahano yagombaga gushyika ku ndunduro yayo. Guhera muri 1994, abaje gutsindwa n'abaje gutsinda ntibahwemye kwitana bamwana bashinjana kwanga imishyikirano no kubura intambara nyuma y'iyicwa ry'Umukuru w'igihugu na benshi mu byegera bye. Nta gushidikanya ko iki kibazo kizakomeza gukurura impaka ndende. Ndabanyuriramo gusa uko giteye muri rusange. Icyemezo cyo guhanura indege ya perezida cyahaga FPR umwitangirizwa mu kugena ibikorwa bya gisirikari, bikayiha n'akarusho ko gutegura hakiri kare ingamba zayo n'ibikoresho. Hagati y'umupango w'igisubizo cyo mu ntera iciye bugufi (kuyugiriza igihe gito inteko z'uwo muhanganye zifata ibyemezo bya politiki n'ibya gisirikari no kubona abo muvugana kugira ngo mutegurire Guverinoma y'agateganyo hamwe n'abo muri etamajoro bemera amasezerano ya Arusha, n' ibipande bishyigikiye FPR by'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma, na Minuar, na za ambasade, nb.) n'umupango w'igisubizo gikaragashiye kandi cy'ako kanya giturutse mu Mitwe ya gisirikari iziritse ku gatsiko ka perezida iri i Kigali, cyunganiwe n' "umujinya wa rubanda" ugaragazwa n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, FPR yari yaragize ibyumweru birebire byo gushyira ku munzani no gushungura imipango inyuranye, kugira ngo na yo itegure neza ibisubizo byayo ku buryo buhuje n'umugambi wayo wo gufata ubutegetsi ikabwikubira.

Ubundi kandi, yari izi neza amabanga y'ukuntu abo mu gipande bahanganye bagenda basumbanya ingufu, haba mu basivili haba no mu basirikari. Muri iryo

hangana na FPR, ubushake bw'itsinda ry'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru n'abayobozi ba Muvoma bwo gukumira igitero imbonankubone no kwiyemeza guhanika rugikubita igisubizo cyabo ku ntera yo hejuru, ntibyabujije, kugeza muri Mata hagati, ko abenshi mu basirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro bashakisha ukuntu bahagarika ubwicanyi n'uburyo bwo gutangiza imishyikirano.

Guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata nyuma ya saa sita, jenerali Dallaire yakoresheje ikiganiro kuri telefone hagati ya Seth Sendashonga ku ruhande rwa FPR, Théoneste Bagosora n'umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, jenerali-majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana, ku ruhande rw'ingabo z'U Rwanda. Icyo kiganiro yagikoresheje ahagana saa cyenda z'amanywa :

> "Nagerageje guhuza FPR na Bagosora ngo bavugane, bagamije intego yo kuba bashyira hamwe imbaraga zabo bakanga ko ibintu bigenda birushaho kuba umwanda, bakanga n'uko intambara yashobora kubura.
>
> **Bazo** : Uwo mubonano na Bagosora wamaze igihe kingana iki ?
>
> **Subizo** : Ntabwo yari inama. Nagiye mu biro bye. Mu by'ukuri yari yahaje kugira ngo agire abo ahamagara kuri terefone, kugira ngo avugane n'abanyapolitiki bamwe, nka Seti [Sendashonga, umwe mu bayobozi ba FPR]. Nagerageje guhuza Seti na Bagosora, baravuganye bombi, ariko byarumvikanaga ko nta bushake na buke bwo gushyira hamwe ngo bagarure ituze. Bavuganye mu kinyarwanda. Ndindiliyimana na we yafashe terefone, avuga mu gihe cyisumbuye ho, nuko arangije, avuga ko bitashobokaga gufatanya na FPR. Nkurikije rero amakuru nakusanyije mu ruhande bari bahanganye, cyari … igisubizo… amaherezo bateye utwatsi icyo gitekerezo, inkurikizi yabyo, birumvikana, iba iy'uko itsembatsemba ryakomeje[38]."

Bukeye bwaho, ibiganiro byasubukuwe, mu izina rya komite y'ingobokamahina, no ku munsi wakurikiyeho, na Marcel Gatsinzi, umukuru wa etamajoro w'agateganyo. Kugeza ku itangazo rya nyuma ry'ingabo z'U Rwanda ku itariki ya 18 Mata, wongeyeho n'intabaza y'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo yo ku ya 12 Mata (*reba umugereka 71),* abasirikari bakuru bo muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda ntibahwemye gusaba imishyikirano no kugaragaza ko amarembo yuguruye[39], ibyo ndetse bakabikora baciye inyuma Guverinoma y'agateganyo kandi basa n'abatayitayeho, ari ukugira ngo basabe ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) n'iyubahirizwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha. Umwe mu baminisitiri bo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo arasobanura atya uko ibintu byari bimeze icyo gihe :

> "Nk'uko bivugwa mu masezerano, Guverinoma yagombaga kugirana imishyikirano itaziguye na FPR, ariko iyi yariyangiye. No ku itariki ya 9 Mata, twatsindagiye ko dushaka

[38] Ubuhamya bwa Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 19 Mutarama 2004, p. 43. Reba kandi, mu mugereka 56, itangazo ryanyujijwe kuri radiyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 i saa kumi n'imwe na 20 risaba ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, kugira ngo bagaragaze ko bashyigikiye amasezerano ya Arusha, ariko FPR ntigire ikintu na gito irivugaho.

[39] Ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru kigahita kuri radiyo, umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda yaribukije ati "ingabo z'U Rwanda zirasaba zikomeje kandi ku buryo bwihutirwa abakorana na FPR ko rwose bagaragaza ubushake bwabo buzira amaziri, kugira ngo umwuka w'amahoro n'imishyikirano ugaruke, kandi FPR ireke gushyira imbere intambara kubera ko umuti uturutse ku masasu utazana amahoro, ahubwo ushobora kuba gatindi." Twibuke kandi ko ku itariki ya 11 Mata, jenerali Léonidas Rusatira yashakishije abantu 11 bu muryango wa perezida wa FPR, Alexis Kanyarengwe, akabahungisha, mbere y'uko na we ajya kwihisha muri ambasade y'uBushinwa.

> kohereza intumwa mu mishyikirano. Twahisemo minisitiri w'intebe ngo abe ari we ubikora afashijwe na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Twasabye dukomeje ko Umuryango mpuzamahanga waba uyiri mo. Mu gisubizo yatanze, FPR yamenyesheje neza ko itashakaga kugirana imishyikirano na Guverinoma y'agateganyo itemeraga, ko ahubwo yifuzaga abahagarariye ingabo z'igihugu.
> koloneli Gatsinzi, Rusatira n'abandi basirikari bakuru "bashyira mu gaciro" bari bashyigikiye kubonana ku buryo butaziguye kandi ako kanya na FPR batagombye kubyemererwa na Guverinoma. Ntibashakaga kudeta nyayo, ahubwo bashakaga "gusuzugura Guverinoma" kugira ngo bongere basubukure intambwe ziganisha kuri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Amaherezo, twafashe icyemezo cyo kohereza ingabo z'igihugu mu mishyikirano, ariko mu izina rya giverinoma. Koko rero, itegeko rivuga ko ingabo zikurikiza amabwiriza ya Guverinoma[40]."

Itangazo ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata riragaragaza neza igitekerezo cya etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu, kuko ryasinywe n'umukuru wayo w'agateganyo, koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, n'abakuru b'Ibiro bane bakoranaga (koloneli Joseph Murasampongo [G1] ; koloneli BEMSG Aloys Ntiwiragabo [G2] ; liyetona-koloneli Emmanuel Kanyandekwe – wari umusimbura wa Gratien Kabiligi – [G3] ; liyetona-koloneli BEMS Augustin Rwamanywa [G4]. Ariko ubu bwari ubwa nyuma iyo kipi ivugira ku mugaragaro, kuko kuri iyo tariki Marcel Gatsinzi nta butegetsi yari agifite, kandi n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo abarisinye bumvaga bahagarariye bwari butarashobora kumvirwa n'imitwe yakoraga ubwicanyi, habe no gushyigikirwa n'amashyaka na Guverinoma y'agateganyo, yari yahindutse intagondwa nyuma y'aho barekeye igikorwa cya "operasiyo yo kugarura amahoro" – bari batezeho guhagarika itsembatsemba i Kigali – n'aho bahungiye bakajya i Gitarama. Urebye uko ibintu byagenze, ibibazo byo kwigira nyoni nyinshi by'abasirikari bakuru bafungiwe ubu Arusha bihuye neza n'indenguro y'umugani w'ikinyarwanda ugira uti "*Kwikiriza ntibibuza uwanga kwanga"* [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerere].

> "Birakwiye gutsindagira ko iryo tangazo ryari rishyigikiwe n'ingabo z'igihugu zose. Turabeshyuza umuntu wese watubwira ko haba harabayeho umukuru w'akarere cg umuyobozi w'umutwe waba waramaganye iryo tangazo. None se kuki abasisibiranyi bamwe bitirira iryo tangazo abasirikari bakuru bavugwaho ko "bashyira mu gaciro" ngo baba baritandukanyije na Guverinoma ? Mbese bashobora kutubwira undi musirikari mukuru waba yarabibwiwe hanyuma akarwanya uwo mushinga cg se ntiyemere icyo gitekerezo[41] ?"

Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu bwabonaga ko bidashoboka kubahiriza ingingo z'ibanze FPR yasabaga (gukontorora umutwe urinda perezida no guhagarika ubwicanyi bw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari) hatabanje kubaho mbere na mbere ihagarikwa ry'imirwano. Imirwano yari yubuwe n'ingabo za FPR mu mirari myinshi guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata, zitewe inkunga n'ingabo z'Ubuganda, zikaba zarasatiraga Kigali. Koko rero, ibikorwa byose byari byageragejwe kugira

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

[41] Jenerali-majoro Augustin NDINDIRIYIMANA, Anatole NSENGIYUMVA, jenerali Gratien KABIRIGI, koloneli Tharcisse RENZAHO, liyetona- koloneli Ephrem Setako, majoro Aloys NTABAKUZE, *Observations sur le livre du général Rusatira*, Gereza, Arusha, Ronéo, 23 Mata 2006, p. 14. Ariko ikibazo gishobora guturukwa ku rundi ruhembe : kuki, biramutse ari uko bimeze, abasirikari bakuru "bashyira mu gaciro" baba baranze kwagura urutonde rw'abasinye, kugira ngo intabaza yabo bayiheshe agaciro ?

ngo bagarure umutwe urinda perezida mu buryo ntacyo byari byagezeho [42] kandi ibyo guhashya imitwe yitwara gisirikari byari ugushoza "intambara mu yindi" ingabo z'igihugu zitashoboraga kwishoramo mu rwego rwa politiki cg urwa gisirikari zidafashijwe nibura n'umwe mu barwanyi. Iri sesengura ryari rishingiye ku itandukanya hagati y'intambara yo gufata ubutegetsi cg yo kuburengera, n'itsembatsemba ry'Abatutsi ryahindutse kuva ku itariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata, ingamba z'itsembabwoko ikorwa na leta. Ku by'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu, intagondwa zashyigikiye Abahutu, baba abasirikari cg imitwe yitwara gisirikari, barimo kurwana intambara y'imbangikane yibasiye abatavuga rumwe na Muvoma ariko bagashyigikira FPR, baba Abatutsi cg se Abahutu. Abo bahezanguni bibwiraga, kandi bari mu kuri, nk'uko izina ry' "*Abatabazi*"[43] Guverinoma y'agateganyo yari yihaye ribigaragaza, ko abashishikarizaga iyo ntambara batemeraga ubwabo ko bazatsinda intambara ya FPR. Intego rusange yahuzaga kandi igatera umwete intagondwa zashyigikiye Abahutu yari uko nta n'umwe mu bo bahoze bahanganye b'imbere mu gihugu wari kuzabyina intsinzi ya FPR. Gutsindwa na FPR byashoboraga kwihanganirwa gusa ari uko nta n'umwe mu banzi babo b'Abatutsi n'Abanyanduga, bari barabagambaniye, wagira n'agatanyu aronkera kuri iyo ntsinzi. Abasirikari benshi bakomoka mu karere ka Nyakwigendera perezida Habyarimana, bakoreraga mu bwihisho kugira ngo basabote ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, nta n'ubwo bari bagishaka kurwana na FPR, kuko uwo bari barinze yari yishwe.

Intego yabo yihutirwa yari iyo gutsemba umusingi wa politiki FPR n'abanywanyi bayo bashoboraga gushingiraho. Abo basirikari ntibigeze bashaka gufata ubutegetsi, ariko nyamara iyo babishaka, inkunga yabo iba yarabaye indemyacyemezo mu gushyiraho Komite ya gisirikari yihaye ububasha bwose, mu ijoro ry'iya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata. Mu gihe nta masezerano ya guhagarika imirwano yari ahari, nta muntu wari ugishoboye guhagarika iyo Mitwe yigometse mu bikorwa byayo bya kirimbuzi kuko yari ifite intwaro zikomeye, kandi yashoboraga kwitabaza inkunga y'insoresore za Muvoma zashyushye imitwe. Guhera ku itariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata, gusesekara ku rubuga nyabyo kw'abanyapolitiki bo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo bari biyemeje gushingira ahazaza habo muri politiki ku ndunduro y'intambara no ku itsembabwoko, byerekanye iyunguruza rikomeye ku munzani w'ingufu wagushijemo ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu bwakomeje kugenda bukendera ntibabwiteho. Nk'uko biboneka neza muri taragiti y'amashyaka yahamagariraga ubwibumbe bw'intango burwanya ingoma ya cyami (*reba Incamake ya 13*), ibibazo by'umutekano byagiweho impaka mu nama za Guverinoma zo ku ya 11 n'iya 12 Mata ntibyari bishishikajwe no guhagarika itsembatsemba ry' "abanzi b'imbere", ahubyo byari bihangayikishijwe no guhagarika ubwicanyi hagati y'abavandimwe

[42] Umuyobozi w'akarere k'imirwano k'umujyi wa Kigali, koloneli Félicien Muberuka, yari yagerageje ibyo bikorwa incuro nyinshi, nibura niba yarumvaga ko hari icyo bivuze, nk'uko bigaragazwa na teregaramu nyinshi yohereje etamajoro ku itariki ya 7 Mata asaba ko ibigo byose n'Imitwe yo mu karere bahagarika ibyo "gushyamirana kw'abasirikari n'abaturage» (RT INT/OPS/94/1428 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'ikigo "koloneli Mayuya" ; RT OPS/94/356 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'umukuru w'akarere k'umujyi wa Kigali ; RT INT/OPS/94/353 yo ku ya 7 Mata 1994 y'umukuru w'akarere k'umujyi wa Kigali).

[43] Duhinduye ijambo ku rindi bisobanura "aboherejwe ku itabaro". Biributsa "abatabazi" ba kera batangaga ubuzima bwabo kugira ngo barengere ingoma ya cyami.

b'Abahutu bo mu mashyaka anyuranye, cyane cyane imirwano hagati y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari.

Impuruza zo kubungabunga umutekano w'abaturage, gucunga intambara n'uburyo bwo kuyikumira, gutahura abacengezi, abagambanyi n' "*ibyitso*" [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerere], nb. Byagombaga gushimangira igihango cy'ingufu za "Hutu Pawa" mu kurwanya umwanzi w'Umututsi n'ibyitso bye. inama ya Guverinoma ya mbere hamwe n'abayobozi b'amashyaka yabereye i Murambi ku ya 12 Mata yasezereye ku mugaragaro ijijinganya ry'abaminisitiri maze yimakaza "ubunywanyi bukomeye" bw'amashyaka yitwaga ay'Abahutu (*reba umutwe wa 12*). Ubufatanye bwa MRND na MDR bwari bwarasunutse, ku buryo bwo gushaka amarariro, hagati ya Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Faustin Twagiramungu mu mwaka wa 1993 hagati (igihe Dismas Nsengiyaremye avanwa ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe, noneho Faustin Twagiramungu akaba minisitiri w'intebe wemewe mu masezerano ya Arusha). Bwari bwakomejwe na Frodouard Karamera na Donat Murego bifuzaga kugarura MDR mu maboko yabo babitewemo inkunga na Muvoma igihe Faustin Twagiramungu yagaragaje ko abogamiye kuri FPR muri Nzeri 1993. Ubwo bufatanye bwashyizwe ahagaragara mu Gushyingo 1993 nyuma y'ihotorwa rya perezida w'Umuhutu, Melchior Ndadaye, i Burundi. Ariko kugeza ubwo, bwari ubufatanye budashingiye kuri gahunda cg se ku ngamba. Guhera ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994, ubufatanye "kamere" bwashyizwe mu ngiro koko. Bwahagaritse itsembatsemba riturutse ruhande ry'Abahutu bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Muvoma. Bateganyirije abazabyishoramo ibihano bikaze nyuma y'umutsindo wabo kuri FPR wari mu nzozi gusa, nuko ingufu zose bazimbika mu kurimbura Abatutsi. Na none ni kuva ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994 Donat Murego yafashe ubuyobozi nyabwo bwa MDR, Karamira na Kambanda bakomeza kumujyisha inama nk' "inararibonye" [mu kinyarwanda mu mwandiko w'umwimerere]. Ubwo niho itsembabwoko yatangiye mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

Umuntu yakwibaza niba Théoneste Bagosora na Augustin Ndindiliyimana bataragennye ku bwende bwabo ko Guverinoma y'agateganyo yimurirwa i Murambi (perefegitura ya Gitarama), mbere y'uko uburyo bwose bw'imishyikirano yifuzwaga n'abenshi mu bagize etamajoro burangira. Mu gihe bamwe bari bagitsimbaraye ku mupango wabo w'ubwiyahuzi wivanzemo inyota y'ubutegetsi yashishaga abandi, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bwahatirije gushakisha uko habaho imishyikirano, ibi bikaba byemezwa na teregaramu yo ku ya 13 Mata Roméo Dallaire yohերereje Kofi Annan[44]. Muri urwo rwandiko, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo buragira buti "Ni igihe cyo guhagarika intambara. Kubera ibyo, ubuyobozi bukuru bwemeye ihagarika ry'imirwano nta mananiza guhera ku itariki ya 13/04/1994 i saa sita z'amanywa." Ariko rero, n'ubwo FPR n'ingabo z'U Rwanda basinye kuri iyo tariki ya 13 isubikamirwano ry'amasaha 48, ryari iryo kugira ngo abanyamahanga babanze bave mu nzira, ntabwo ryari rigamije guhagarika itsembatsemba. Na none andi masezerano mashya y'isubikamirwano yasinywe ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 nta kintu na gito yahinduye ku byarimo biba. Yemwe nta n'icyagezweho mu biganiro bya mbere

[44] MIR 750, yatanzwe nka gihamya mu rugereko1rwa TPIR, irango D.NT108.

by'imbonankubone byabaye ku itariki ya 15 Mata 1994 muri hoteli *Méridien* hagati y'abayobozi ba FPR n'ab'ingabo z'U Rwanda, biyobowe n'intumwa yihariye y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh.

Ku ruhande rwayo, FPR yabonaga ko abashyigikiye imishyikirano nta mbaraga zigaragara bari bafite ku buryo bwatanga icyizere ko imyanzuro izayivamo izubahirizwa bityo ikaba yahagarika ibitero byayo. Bityo, impuruza yo mu rwego rwo hejuru jenerali Gatsinzi yoherereje intumwa y'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 17 Mata (*reba umugereka 74*) aho yibutsaga ibitekerezo yari yamugejejeho ku itariki ya 15 Mata[45] yagaragazaga rwose ko yari umukuru wa etamajoro w'iminsi ibaze, dore ko n'ubwo iteka rimuvanaho ryashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 18 Mata, irishyiraho umusimbura we, koloneli Augustin Bizimungu, ryari ryaratangajwe ku ya 15… Ariko umuntu ashobora no gutekereza ko iyo ngingo yari ishingiye ku mibare yizwe neza, urebye ukuntu gukomeza kwanga imishyikirano bya FPR byongereraga ingufu ingamba kirimbuzi za Guverinoma y'agateganyo, kandi bigaca intege buri munsi kurushaho abagize etamajoro bifuzaga umuti wo mu rwego rwa politiki. Igihe FPR amaherezo yemeye ibiganiro hagati y'itariki ya 22 Mata n'iya 14 Gicurasi 1994, yabonaga ko jenerali Gatsinzi, wari utagifite ububasha na buke, ari we yahitamo ko bashyikirana, nuko yanga kubonana n'uhagarariye Guverinoma. Ariko mu by'ukuri nta kintu impande zombi zari zigifite cyo kuganiraho, kandi FPR ntiyari igikozwa ibyo guhagarika imirwano[46].

Incamake ya 14

Ibyiciro bitatu by'intambara iri muri gahunda yari yitezwe

Intambara yaranzwe n'ibitero bibiri by'ingabo za FPR byibasiye Kigali n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ku buryo bubisikanya cg se bukomatanye hatagize ingamba z'ibirindiro zikomeye zibikoma imbere. Mu murwa mukuru gusa niho ingabo z'igihugu zagerageje guhanyanyaza ku buryo bugaragara zibifashijwemo n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Ibyo bitero umuntu yabishyira mu byiciro bitatu.

Kuva ku ya 7 kugeza ku ya 22 Mata : Rwarambikanye hagati y'ingabo zombi

Guhera mu ijoro ry'itariki ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata, mu gihe ingabo z'igihugu zashyiraga bariyeri mu duce dutuwemo n'abifashije ndetse no mu masangano y'imihanda y'i Kigali, ingabo za FPR zari zikambitse hafi y'umupaka w'Ubuganda zafashe inzira zigana i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri, ariko cyane cyane i Kigali kugira ngo zigere ku "basirikari babo 600" bari bacumbikiwe muri CND (mu masezerano havugwamo 600, ariko ababiboneye bagahamya ko bari hagati ya 800 na 1.200).

Isakirana ry'urufaya rw'amasasu menshi ryatangiye mu ma saa kumi za mu gitondo, ariko nyuma ya saa kumi ku gicamunsi ni bwo abarwanyi 200 ba FPR basohotse barinzwe na Minuar, nuko batangira "kwigarurira" uduce dukikije CND, mu gihe mu mujyi abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bari bahugiye mu byo kurimmarima Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje. Ku itariki ya 9 Mata ni bwo abasirikari b'Abafaransa, Ababiligi

[45] "Nejejwe no kubona ko [ibisabwa] biri mu murongo w'itangazo ryacu n'imigambi twifuzaga kuzageraho dufatanyije na FPR, ni ukuvuga kugarura amahoro no gutanga inkunga mu ishyirwaho ribangutse ry'Inzego z'inzibacyuho yaguye" (RL Nº 0624/G3.3.3 yo ku ya 15 Mata 1994 ya EM AR).

[46] Roméo Dallaire, *J'ai serré la Gicurasin du diable. La faillite de l'humanité au Rwanda [Naramukanije na Shitani. Uko isi yose yataye ibara mu Rwanda],* Libre Expression, Outremont/Paris, 2003, p. 412-413. (*reba umugereka 77*).

n'Abanyamerika batangiye ibikorwa byo guhungisha abanyamahanga. Ubwicanyi kirimbuzi bwasakaye igihugu cyose, cyane cyane mu Bugesera mu burasirazuba bw'igihugu. FPR yateye umujyi wa Byumba n'uwa Ruhengeri, itangaza kandi ko yohereje abasirikari 4.000 i Kigali kugira ngo bahagarike ubwicanyi. Kuko yabonaga ko amasezerano ya Arusha yataye agaciro, FPR yavuze ko ingabo z'U Rwanda zashoboraga kwitwara ku buryo butatu : kuyoboka ingabo za FPR, kutagira icyo zikora na busa cg se kuyirwanya. Yasabye kandi ko ingabo z'abanyamahanga zose zaba zavuye mu gihugu mu masaha 48. Ku itariki ya 12 Mata, hamaze kuboneka gihamya y'uko abarwanyi ba FPR baturutse ku Murindi bari bageze mu nkengero z'umurwa mukuru, Guverinoma y'agateganyo, yari imaze iminsi ibiri ishyizweho, yimukiye i Gitarama.

Imirimo yo gutahura abanyamahanga yararimbanyije. Ku itariki ya 14 Mata, FPR/Inkotanyi yatanze agahenge i Kigali bucece kugeza saa sita z'ijoro igira ngo ihe rugari abanyamahanga ba nyuma bakuremo akabo karenge.

Intambara yahise isakara hose haba i Kigali aho FPR yagendaga yagura buhoro buhoro uturere yagenzuraga –n'ubwo ingabo z'U Rwanda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari barwanaga inkundura bayikumira – haba no muri perefegitura za Byumba na Kigali ngari yanyuragamo yihuta. Guverinoma y'agateganyo yo yigaruriye inzego za leta cyane cyane izo mu maperefegitura na komini. Kuva ubwo rero, gutsemba Abatutsi n' "ibyitso" byabo (ijambo ryakoreshwaga muri rusange bavuga abantu bose batemeraga guhiga "umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu") byabaye intero n'inyikirizo ya Guverinoma y'agateganyo bisingira perefegitura z'amajyepfo : Kibuye, Gitarama, hanyuma, guhera ku itariki ya 19 Mata, Gikongoro na Butare. Imirwano n'itsembatsemba byakajije umurego i Kigali bisura itahuka ry' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi ba nyuma ryabaye ku ya 20 Mata. Kubera ko yari isigaranye abantu 270 gusa (icyemezo 912 cy'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye), Minuar yari isigaye gusa ishoboraga gukora imirimo ijyanye na manda yo mu rwego rwa politiki n'ubutabazi (gutegura no gutunganya ibiganiro n'imishyikirano hagati y'abarwanyi, kwitegereza ibikorwa no kubimenyesha abo bigenewe).

Kuva ku ya 21 Mata kugera ku ya 29 Gicurasi : ifungwa ry'umupaka na Tanzaniya n' "inkundura yo muri Kigali"

Ku ya 21 Mata, FPR yafashe umujyi wa Byumba ingabo z'U Rwanda[a] zari zimaze guhunga, yagura igitero cyayo ku ngerero zose zo mu majyaruguru kuva i Byumba kugeza mu Ruhengeri, ikomeza igana mu majyepfo inyuze iburasirazuba nta kiyikomye imbere na gito (*reba umugereka 77*). FPR yaritonze irundanya abaturage b'abasivili maze irabatikiza. Bukeye bwaho, impunzi z'Abahutu 250.000 bashorewe n'abayobozi babo n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari muri komini zabo bambuka umupaka wa Tanzaniya hafi ya Benako maze mu masaha make barema igiterane cyabaye nk' "umujyi wa kabiri mu gihugu". Ishami rya Loni ryita ku mpunzi ryavuze ko iryo hunga «ryakozwe vuba kandi riba rinini kurusha andi yose yabayeho ku isi". Rwamagana, mu majyepfo, yafashwe ku ya 27 Mata, nuko ku ya 1 Gicurasi FPR irangiza kuzitira umupaka w'U Rwanda na Tanzaniya. Yatsinsuye ingabo z'U Rwanda mu birindiro maze izisunika iziganisha iburengerazuba, nuko ikora urugendo rw'agatunambwenu yerekeza i Kibungo. Ku ya 27 Mata mu gitondo, i Kigali hubuye imirwano ikaze cyane, nuko nyuma y'igisa n'isubikamirwano ryo ku ya 2 Gicurasi, rurambikana hagati ya FPR n'umutwe urinda perezida ku ya 3 Gicurasi mu rufaya rw'amasasu y'imizinga yabimburiye "igitero cya Kigali". Nta wari ugihingutsa iby'mishyikirano. FPR yiyamirije umubonano uwo ari wo wose na Guverinoma y'agateganyo, ahubwo yifuje kugirana imishyikirano n'ingabo z'U Rwanda kandi yasangaga itarabasha kugera ku ntego zayo zose ku rugamba ([nko kwigarurira] Gitarama, Kigali). Guverinoma y'agateganyo yakomeje gutsimbarara ku ngingo ebyiri yabonaga zigomba kubanza kubahirizwa kugira ngo ubwicanyi buhagarare : FPR yagombaga kwemera ko iyo Guverinoma yari yubahirije amategeko, kandi hagombaga kubaho isubikamirwano. Kugeza ku itariki ya 4 Gicurasi, amabombe menshi cyane yatewe kuri CND, aho abasirikari ba FPR bari bacumbikiwe, mu gihe FPR yarimo kuboneza igitero cyayo mu nkengero no hagati mu mujyi. Mu minsi ine, imirwano itaretsa yatumye ingabo zayo zishinga

ibirindiro mu duce tunyuranye tw'umujyi. Nyuma yo gutangaza amasubikamirwano abiri atandukanye, imirwano yagabanyije umurego ku itariki ya 8 Gicurasi. Ruhengeri ni yo yabanje kugotwa (7 Gicurasi) mbere ya Kigali. Hagati mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'U Rwanda bwavuye mu murwa mukuru bwimukira i Gitarama. Ku itariki ya 16 Gicurasi, imiyoboro yo gushyikirana no kuvugana n'ab'i Kigali yarasenywe. Ku ya 17 Gicurasi, inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi yafashe icyemezo 918 cyo gufunga intwaro kandi itanga uburenganzira bwo kongera abasirikari ba Minuar bakagera kuri 5.000.

Hagati y'itariki ya 20 n'iya 23 Gicurasi, FPR yasubukuye ibitero byayo ku mujyi wa Kigali. Yafashe ikibuga cy'indege n'ikigo cy'abasirikari cy'i Kanombe (22 Gicurasi), ifata n'ingoro ya perezida (23 Gicurasi). Kuko umuhanda ugana mu majyepfo wari wasigaye udafunze ku bwende, abenshi mu nsoresore bataye Kigali ku ya 27 Gicurasi. Ku ya 29, FPR yarangije igikorwa cyo kugota umurwa mukuru. Kuva ubwo U Rwanda rwari rwacitsemo ibice bibiri. FPR yari ifite igice cy'iburasirazuba n'ikibuga cy'indege cy'i Kigali. ingabo z'U Rwanda zari zikigenzura igipande kimwe cy'umurwa mukuru n'igice cy'iburengerazuba cyarushaga ikindi abaturage.

Kuva ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi kugera ku ya 17 Nyakanga : Gukataza [kw'Inkotanyi] zerekeza hagati, amajyepfo n'amajyaruguru mu gihugu

Guhera muri Gicurasi hagati, nta wari agishidikanya uko intambara izarangira. Nta nkunga mvamahanga yari igishobora kuza gutabara Guverinoma yisize ibara ry' itsembabwoko, kandi FPR nta gitekerezo na mba yari ifite cyo kuba yagira uwo bashyikirana ku byerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi n'abatsinzwe. Nyuma y'uko ingabo z'U Rwanda zifungirwa intwaro, icyashoboraga kugibwaho impaka ni uburyo instinzi izagerwaho n'ibitambo izasiga.

Ibisubizo byose byageragejwe mu rwego rwa diporomasi byafashe ubusa. Ku itariki ya 6 Kamena, igihugu cya Kenya cyatumije inama y'abakuru b'ibihugu byo mu karere, ariko nta gikorwa cyayikurikiye. Isubikamirwano ryari ryumvikanyweho i Tunis ku itariki ya 15 Kamena mu gihe cy'inama y'abakuru b'ibihugu by'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) FPR yahise irirengaho bukeye bwaho isuka amabombe muri Kigali rwagati. Imirwano yarakomeje mu gihe kirenze ukwezi mu duce abaturage benshi b'abasivili bari bagizwemo ingwate. Ku itariki ya 29 Kamena, FPR yafashe Nyanza, yahoze ari yo umurwa mukuru w'ingoma ya cyami, ikomeza igana iya Kabgayi, ihafata ku ya 2 Kamena, bituma Guverinoma y'agateganyo yimuka i Gitarama ijya ku Gisenyi, ku mupaka wa Zayire, mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba. Ku itariki ya 6 Kamena, ingabo z'U Rwanda zagabye igitero cya rurangiza mu karere ka Kabgayi. Cyarapfubye nk'ibyakibanjirije maze Gitarama, umutima w'igihugu n'ikimenyetso cya Repubulika, yigarurirwa ku ya 13 Kamena. Ibirindiro byari byasandaye burundu, nta n'umurongo usigaye wo kwisuganyirizaho. Ni bwo rero hatangiye ishwiragira rya za miliyoni z'abaturage bahungira muri Zayire no mu Burundi.

Ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, nyuma y'iminsi icumi y'imishyikirano ikomeye hagati y'abagize inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Ubufaransa, ari na cyo gihugu cyonyine cyari cyabisabye, bwahawe manda y'amezi abiri yo kugira icyo bwakora mu Rwanda mu gihe hari hagitegerejwe ibyo kohereza abasirikari ba Minuar II. Ku mugoroba ubanziriza icyo cyemezo, ingabo z'Ubufaransa zari zaraye zigeze ku mupaka wa Zayire. Igikorwa kizwi ku izina rya "Operasiyo Turquoise" cyatangiye ku mugaragaro ku itariki ya 23 Kamena, abasirikari 2.500 bafata ibirindiro buhoro buhoro kuri Goma n'i Bukavu muri Zayire. Iyo "Operasiyo" yari ifite inshingano zo kugarura amahoro muri perefegitura nkeya kugira ngo hatagira abaturage miliyoni na miliyoni bahungira mu Burundi cg muri Zayire (*reba Incamake ya 16*).

Hagati aho, FPR yari yakomeje kujya mbere. Yigaruriye burundu agace ko mu mujyi wa Kigali rwagati ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga, nuko ku itariki ya 7 ikibuga cy'indege kirafungurwa. Yafashe Butare ku ya 3 Nyakanga ikomeza yerekeza iya Gikongoro mu burengerazuba, aho yasakiranye n'ingabo z'Ubufaransa zari ziri gushyiraho icyiswe "akarere katarimo imirwano gafashirizwamo abagoberewe" kanganaga na kimwe cya kane cy'igihugu mu majyepfo n'uburengerazuba (perefegitura Gikongoro, Kibuye na Cyangugu), akarere kahise kigabizwa

n'ibihumbi amagana n'amagana by'abantu bahungaga FPR. Ubwo kwigarurira amajyepfo byari bisubitswe, FPR yazamuye ingabo zayo zanjama akarere k'amajyaruguru y'uburengerazuba kari kiganjemo Abahutu, mbere y'uko hagira ibirindiro bishingwa muri duce tw'imisozi miremire tugerwamo biruhije. Abantu ibihumbi amagana n'amagana bahunze berekeza ku mupaka wa Zayire. Ku itariki ya 14 Nyakanga, umujyi wa Ruhengeri wari umaze kugwa mu maboko ya FPR ; ku ya 15, impunzi 500.000 zari zimaze kugera muri Zayire ; ku ya 16, ba minisitiri 13 bo muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo na perezida wa Repubulika wishyizeho babanje guhungira mu karere katarimo imirwano k'Abafaransa mu majyepfo y'igihugu, hanyuma baza kujya i Bukavu (Zayire) ; ku ya 17, FPR yari igeze ku Gisenyi ku mupaka wo mu majyaruguru, igenda ishushubikanya impunzi ibihumbi 600.000, zirundiye mu mujyi wa Goma no mu nkengero zawo. Ariko, indege z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zagemuraga imfashanyo kuri Goma bari bazihagaritse nyuma y'uko FPR itera amabombe ku kibuga cy'indege. Abasirikari bagera kuri 10.000 bo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda na bo bari bambutse umupaka, bivanze n'impunzi.

Kuri uwo munsi, FPR yashyize Pasteur Bizimungu ku mwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika, imuha manda y'imyaka itanu. Na Faustin Twagiramungu, wari waragenwe n'amasezerano ya Arusha kuzaba minisitiri w'intebe, yahise atangira imirimo ye.

Ku ya 18 Nyakanga, FPR yatangaje "ihagarikwa risesuye ry'imirwano". Impunzi zisaga miliyoni zari zambutse umupaka wa Zayire i Goma kuva ku itariki ya 15 Nyakanga. Ku wa kabiri tariki ya 19 Nyakanga, Guverinoma ya Faustin Twagiramungu, yatoranyijwe na FPR, yarahiriye i Kigali. ingabo za FPR na ba *returnees* [abatahutse] bigaruriye imijyi n'ibyaro mu gihugu cyari kitakirangwamo abagera kuri kimwe cya kabiri cy'abaturage : miliyoni bari bapfuye, naho miliyoni eshatu bahunze.

a. Amayeri y'intambara FPR yakoreshaga iteka yari ayo kugota imijyi noneho ikagenda irushaho guhuza impembe zayo ariko igasigira icyanzu abayirwanya batakarizagamo abantu batabarika : "Igitekerezo cyabo, cyari icyo gufata imisozi ikikije Byumba, mbese mu by'ukuri guta Byumba mu rukubo, ariko bagasiga umuhanda munini ujya mu majyepfo ufunguye. Ubwo rero, basukaguraga amabombe kuri Byumba kugira ngo bateze akavuyo mu bo barwana. Nuko igihe kimwe, kubera igihama cyinshi n'ubushobozi buke, ingabo z'U Rwanda zibona ko zitakibashije kugumana Byumba. Zatangiye rero gusubira inyuma zinyuze mu cyanzu FPR yari yazisigiye. FPR yagiye izirasa umugenda, yicamo abarenga… izicamo kandi izikomeretsamo abantu benshi" (Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 26 Mutarama 2004, p. 3).

Ibyo jenerali Dallaire yabyemeje mu butumwa yohereje Kofi Annan ku itariki ya 24 Mata, avugamo iby'ikiganiro yagiranye na Paul Kagame muri aya magambo : "Uyunguyu muri kino gihe arasa n'udatekereza cyane ibyo guhagarika imirwano. Ingabo ze ziratsinda urugamba kandi zizakomeza kurwana igihe cyose zizaba zirimo gutsinda[47]". Kandi koko intambara ni yo yari kuzakiranura abarwanaga. Naho ku byerekeye imishyikirano, nta muti na busa wari uyitezweho. Icyo gitekerezo cyagaragariye i Gbadolite [Zayire] ku itariki ya 24 Mata aho amasezerano y'inyongera yasinywe n'intumwa z'U Rwanda gusa. FPR yari yanze ko minisitiri wa Guverinoma y'agateganyo, ari na we wari umukuru w'intumwa z'U Rwanda, André Ntagerura, ayashyiraho umukono. Tito Rutaremara wagombaga kuza kuyasinya ku ruhande rwa FPR ntiyigeze ahagera. Ibyo kandi byongeye kugaragara Arusha ku itariki ya 30 Mata, mu mishyikirano yari ihagarariwe na minisitiri w'ingabo na minisitiri w'intebe ba Tanzaniya. Intumwa za FPR zari zigizwe na Alexis Kanyarengwe, Pasteur Bizimungu na Tito Rutaremara zanze igitekerezo cya Tanzaniya cyo guhagarika imirwano mu

[47] *Current Assessment of the Situation in Rwanda* [Uko ibintu byifashe kino gihe mu Rwanda], Kigali, 24 Mata 1994, p. 4, § 10 (*reba umugereka 77*).

masaha 48, nuko zigenda nta kintu zisinye. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yasobanuye iyo myifatire muri aya magambo y'uburyoshyakarimi ngo "Nta ruhande na rumwe rwanze imishyikirano. Uretse ko habayeho ingingo z'ibanze zagombaga kubanza kubahirizwa[48]."

Nyuma y'itariki ya 30 Mata, buri ruhande rwihatiye ibikorwa bya diporomasi kugira ngo rushake ingufu zirushyigikira imbere mu gihugu no mu mahanga. FPR, kubera inkunga ya Uganda, nta ngorane yigeze igira zo kugemurirwa intwaro, bityo ikomeza kwanga imishyikirano iyo ari yo yose, cyane cyane yanga ko hagira igihugu cy'amahanga cyivanga mu ntambara, n'ubwo bitagenze uko byari byatanzweho icyizere n'abari bavuze ko bazibanda gusa ku bikorwa byo gutabara no gufasha abaturage b'abasivili (*reba umugereka 77*). Ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma y'agateganyo, ibikorwa bya diporomasi by'ingenzi byabaye ibyo guhagararira igihugu no kugira imibonano igamije gusobanura ingorane zisanzwe zo kubona inkunga n'amafaranga cg se kimwe muri byo byayifasha kurwana intambara. Ibyo bibazo byarebaga ku buryo butaziguye kandi bwenda kuba umwihariko Guverinoma y'agateganyo, nanone ibyo bikaba umwihariko w'abo mu mu ishyaka rya MRND.

Koko rero, n'ubwo minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga yari yarashinzwe Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka wo muri MDR, agatsiko ka MRND/CDR kari gafite ububasha bwose bwo kugena ibikorwa bya diporomasi. minisitiri uri muri uwo mwanya yakomeje gucibwa inyuma n'intumwa zihariye n'izidasanzwe za Guverinoma, zaba abasivili cg abasirikari, muri zo hakaba perezida wa MRND, uwa PL, ariko cyane cyane Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza wo muri CDR wisumbukuruzaga minisitiri ku mugaragaro :

> "**Subizo** : Oya, njye ndibwira ko niba [Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza] yaratoranyirijwe [kujya mu butumwa mu mahanga mu izina rya Guverinoma], ni uko ari we muntu wari uzi neza amadosiye y'ububanyi n'amahanga mu rwego rwa Guverinoma. Kubera ko minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga yari mushya, twari dukeneye umuntu wakoze muri iyo minisiteri kandi twabonaga ko azi iby'amahanga kurusha abandi bose. Yari we rero. Ni yo mpamvu yoherejwe mu butumwa mu mahanga[49]."

Ubundi kandi, n'ubwo bwose yari mu buhungiro i Paris, Agathe Kanziga, umupfakazi wa Juvénal Habyarimana, yakoze ibintu byinshi by'ubuvuganizi ku bakuru b'ibihugu bya Afurika benshi, bashyigikiye Guverinoma y'agateganyo muri diporomasi batagombye kubyasasa.

[48]Ubuhamya bwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 22 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 81.
[49] Ibazwa rya Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2-K7-28 yo ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1997.