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## *Intambara, inzira yo gukiranura abahataniraga kuzungura*

**K**imwe n’uko intambara yahungabanije bikabije inzego zisanzwe zagengaga kimibanire n’ubukungu hagati y’abantu ku giti cyabo ku misozi no mu migi, no kuba ubutegetsu n’ubutunzi byarashoboraga guca mu myanya y’intoki ababifite igihe icyo ari cyose mu buryo bw’igitugu ndetse kwigabiza ibitagira ba nyirabyo bikaba byari ubwabyo intego y’intambara, gusahaguranwa umutungo wa leta no kurunda iminyago y’intambara byahagurukiwe na benshi mu mashyaka anyuranye.

Gusaranganya umutungo (imyanya, amafaranga, ibintu), washoboraga kuba muke cg utubutse bitewe n’uko wagerwagaho, byari impamvu yo kuyoboka kandi byagabanyaga umururumba.

Ibyo bintu byagize uruhare rukomeye mu ihiganwa hagati y’amashyaka n’abanyacyubahiro no mu ishyamirana ry’abifuzaga kuzungura.

### ***Kwigabanganya umutungo w’igihugu***

Amashyaka yagombaga gukangurira abarwanashyaka bayo ibya politiki n’icengezamatwara. Kubona abakozi bakuru n’abayobozi b’amaserire bemera kwitanga batizigamye ni yo yari intambwe y’ibanze yo gukangura abaturage. Kugira ngo bigerweho, byari ngombwa ko bahabwa ibyerekezo bigaragara by’ibihe byari imbere, ni ukuvuga ku buryo busobanutse neza kubaha amaronko muri ibyo bihe byari amashiraniro kuri bose. Kwegurira ishyamba minisiteri iyi n’iyi cg ikigo iki n’iki cya leta, hakurikijwe ubushobozi bwacyo bwo gutanga amaronko byari bifite akamaro katagereranywa. Intambara icyo yakoze ni ukongera irari rya bene ayo maronko.

Icyo gihe havutse ingeso z’ibyaduka zo gufata impu zombi hagati y’umuho wo

guhakirizwa wari inkingi y'ingoma ya Habyarimana n'ibibazo byakuruwe n'intambara. Kugira ngo habeho "ubwumvikane bw'amashyaka", Guverinoma yagombaga guhaza umururumba w'abanyacyubahiro bifuzaga umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika cg indi nshingano ikomeye (nko kubafasha kuriha ingendo, gutegura inama, gukoresha mitingiri) no kugusha neza umukuru uyu n'uyu w'ishyaka.

Bene iyo myanya ni yo yakoreshejwe mu mirimo ikomeye y'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubucuruzi aho abanyacyubahiro bo mu mashyaka bashingwaga kujya kugurisha umusaruro w'ubuhinzi n'inganda abandi cyane cyane bagatumwa kugura intwari. Inyandiko z'Inama ya Guverinoma dufite (cyane cyane izakozwe na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko) n'ubuhamya bwinshi byerekana ingero zituma hagereranywa agaciro k'amafaranga yavuyemo n'abantu b'ingenzi bayikubiye.

Ku isonga usangamo abategetsi bakuru bari bashishikajwe no kwigwizaho imitungo bo ubwabo n'ishyaka ryabo. MRND birumvikana ko ari yo yahungukiraga cyane, ikoresheje umwanya w'umwihariko wari wahawe koloneli Ephrem Setako, umusirikari mukuru wagendanaga na perezida akaba n'umutoni wa Nzirorera bakomokaga hamwe, agasahura ashyira mu mifuka ya shebuja n'aya MRND atibagiwe aye bwite. Hakurikiraho Joseph Nzirorera ubwe<sup>1</sup> na Casimir Bizimungu, hanyuma Protais Zigiranyirazo wakurikiranaga ibyo kohereza mu mahanga pyrèthre [ibireti]. Ariko usanga nanone ku isoko ry'intwari abakuru b'amashyaka babiri b'ingenzi bazwi mu bikorwa byo kwigwizaho imitungo : Froduald Karemera wo muri MDR na Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL. Hyacinthe Rafiki Nsengiyumva wo muri PSD ntiyasigaye inyuma : Yahawe na Guverinoma, mu mwanya wa Straton Nsabumukunzi –minisitiri w'Ubuhanzi bavaga mu ishyaka rimwe—<sup>2</sup> ububasha bwo kugurisha umusaruro w'ikawa. Amwe mu mafaranga yavuyemo minisitiri yari agiye gushyira kuri konti ya Banki nkuru y'igihugu (BNR) yashowe yose mu kuriha "ingendo z'abanyacyubahiro bari mu butumwa". Mugenzi we mu ishyaka, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, yagumanye we amadorari ibihumbi 84 na yo akomoka ku igurishwa ry'ikawa. Ku itariki ya 15 Kamena 1994, nta faranga ry'amahanga (amadovize) ryari rikirangwa muri BNR. Amafaranga "yaburiwe irengero", yitwariwe n'umunyacyubahiro uyu n'uyu, yageraga ku madolari ibihumbi 151. Ayasigaye ku musaruro w'ikawa yari agenewe ubucuruzi yimuwe na Rwandex-Gisenyi agurishirizwa i Goma na Eugène Mbarushimana, umunyamabanga mukuru w'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe*, afatanyije na masanzire ye Augustin Ndirabatware na sebukwe wabo bombi, Félicien Kabuga. Amafaranga atarashyirijwe mu isandugu ya leta agera ku madolari ibihumbi 600. Minisitiri Callixte Nzabonimana yeguriwe ibyo kugurisha gasegereti. Amafaranga yavuyemo agera ku madolari ibihumbi 470, nta n'urumiya rwageze mu isandugu

<sup>1</sup> Imibare yatangajwe na Guverinoma y'inziyacuho yo mu buhungiro igereranya umutungo wishyuzwa – ni ukuvuga utarakoreshejwe kandi utarashyirijwe leta nyuma yo kuva mu butumwa –Joseph Nzirorera, wari watumwe ku "mucuruzi wo muri Repubulika y'Afurika y'Epfo" ubarirwa mu madorari ibihumbi 900 (*reba Raporo ku miterere y'umutungo*, yakozwe bisabwe na perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo, na Innocent Habamenshi, minisitiri w'Umutungo n'Ibikorere muri Guverinoma y'inziyacuho yo mu buhungiro, ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1995, umugereka wa 106).

<sup>2</sup> Uyu yari yamaze kwivaniramo umugabane we mu igurishwa ry'ibintu binyuranye bifite agaciro kagera ku madorari ibihumbi ijana (100.000).

ya leta. Ubwo yotswaga igitutu mu buhungiro, Nzabonimana “yasubije” amadolari ibihumbi 50 bihabwa minisitiri w’intebe Jean Kambanda wari uyakeneye cyane<sup>3</sup>.

Hanyuma, abasirikari bo bari mu mwanya mwiza wo kuvana indonke ku masoko y’intwaro. “Abegereye Bagosora” ni bo basakiwe, barimo koloneli Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza, liyetona koloneli Cyprien Kayumba na Théoneste Bagosora ubwe. Koloneli Cyprien Kayumba yashinzwe dosiye yo kugemura intwaro n’amasasu bivuye muri sosiyete OMI ashyira mu mufuka we miliyoni y’amadorari.

Ubwo butumwa bwose budasanze bwatwarwanirwa by’umwihariko, atari ukubera insimburamubyizi y’amafaranga ibihumbi 11 na magana arindwi (11.700) – amadolari 110 y’icyo gihe – ahubwo kubera ko muri ubwo bucuruzi hakoreshwaga amafaranga y’amabarano yishyurwa ako kanya nta nyemezabuguzi dore ko intwaro zagurishwaga rwihishwa n’abiyemeje kurenga ku ikomanyirizwa mpuzamahanga. Uburyo bwo guhabwa inyoroshyo n’indoke rero byari byizewe.

Ingendo Théoneste Bagosora, Jean-Bosco Ruhorahoza na Joseph Nzirorera bakoze mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994 zahaye icyuho ubusahuzi bukabije mu isandugu ya leta. Ku itariki ya 23 Gicurasi, uko ari batatu bagiye i Kinshasa, batumwe kurebera hamwe n’abategetsi ba Zaire ikibazo cyo kugura intwaro barenze ku ikomanyirizwa mpuzamahanga ryemejwe n’ inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi. Joseph Nzirorera yakomereje urugendo rwe muri Afurika y’epfo kuva ku itariki ya 27 Gicurasi kugeza ku ya 9 Kamena, aza gusangwayo na Théoneste Bagosora wamushyikije ku itariki ya 3 Kamena miliyoni imwe y’amadorari ivunje muri sheki z’ingendo. Ariko ntibashoboye kumvikana n’abagurisha intwaro bashakaga kwishyurwa amafaranga abaze kubera ko amabanki yanze kwakira sheki z’ingendo.

Amaherezo, ambasade y’U Rwanda i Kinshasa yatanze igisubizo cyo kohereza ku buryo butaziguye umubare w’amafaranga yasabwaga. Icyo gisubizo cyaje kubahirizwa neza ku itariki ya 14 Nyakanga...bamaze gukwira imishwara, nuko Guverinoma ya Zaire aba ari yo ibyungukiramo dore ko byari byakozwe mu izina ryayo. Ariko amateka ntahagararira aho, kubera ko umubare w’amafaranga angana n’ayo yaje kwishyurwa inshuro ebyiri : imwe muri sheki yahawe Joseph Nzirorera, n’indi mu buryo bw’amayeri yakozwe babifashijwemo n’ambasade y’U Rwanda i Kinshasa. N’ubwo zitakoreshejwe, izo sheki z’ingendo ntizasubijwe mu isandugu ya leta.

Nk’uko Jean Kambanda abivuga, amafaranga yacunzwe gusa – nta genzura na rimwe rya guverinoma – na minisitiri w’ingabo z’igihugu, ari na we mu ba mbere babonye kuri iyo “mana” ya rubanda (*reba umugereka wa 107*).

“Urugero rwa karindwi : Bizimana, minisitiri w’ingabo z’igihugu. Yagombaga gucunga umubare munini cyane w’amafaranga wo gutumiza ibikoreshe bya gisirikari. Muri urwo rwego, yacunze umubare utarigeze usobanuka. Ibyo nandikiranye na we mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1994 bigaragaza neza amafaranga atarakoreshejwe mu matumizwa atatu yamaze

<sup>3</sup> Imibare yose yavuzwe ni iyo muri 1994 gusa. *Reba Rapport sur la situation du patrimoine [Raporo ku miterere y’umutungo]*, op. cit.,

kwishyurwa ariko ntatugereho agomba gusobanuka. Ahwanye n'akayabo ka miliyoni y'amadolari y'Amanyamerika yahawe Umushinwa wa Hong Kong. Ayo masezerano yari yashyizweho umukono na Kabiligi i Nairobi mbere gato y'intambara. Akandi kayabo ka miliyoni y'amadorari y'Amanyamerika yishyurwa muri Afurika y'epfo, ku bwoko bumwe bw'ibyari byatumijwe n'uwo muyobozi Nzirorera, bikishyurwa mbere yo guhunga, ariko bigahagarikirwa mu nzira ahagana ku mpera za 1994 n'intangiriro za 1995<sup>4</sup>."

Ajenda ya minisitiri Pauline Nyiramasuhuko itanga imbonerahamwe isobanutse yo ku itariki ya 3 Kanama 1994 :

"Intwaro-Bagosora

– Kayumba

– Mugenzi

– Nzirorera 7 byarashobotse

– Ruhorahoza

Kajeguhakwa aradutwara café [ikawa] yose yongera ibiciro buri muni.

Umwikorezi w'ibintu Duchâteau si uwo kwizerwa, ariko ashyigikiwe n'Ayishashe ari na we "Transmit".

Hasigaye isosiyete y'Ababiligi ibyo ari byo byose ?

Amafaranga : miliyoni 6<sup>5</sup>."

"Umutungo :

Amabuye y'agaciro + 200.000 \$ Mijeuma

Icyayi n'ikawa biva i Cyangugu ?

Igihombo cy'amafaranga miliyoni 62

11.000 \$ – 8.000 \$<sup>6</sup>."

Izi ngingo zirerekana ibikorwa by'ubusahuzi ba rusahurira mu nduru bashya n'aba kera bishoyemo muri Guverinoma yagombaga kuziba icyuho. Ibyo bikorwa bishobora gushyirwa mu rwego rumwe n'ibyemezo by'ubugome by'abigabije amafaranga y'isandugu y'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi ba Kaminuza y'U Rwanda cg se abasahuye umutungo mu mafaranga y'amanyamahanga (amadovize) cg se ubusahuzi bw'imishahara y'abakozi n'imisoro itagoyora yanyunyuzaga imitsi abacuruzi n'abaturage. Iyo migirire igayitse yagize ingaruka mu gutuma ingabo z'igihugu zibura intwaro bityo inagira uruhare runini mu kwihutisha itsindwa ryazo, inagaragaza ubugome n'umutima w'ibuye wa ba rusaruriramunduru bashyize inda zabo imbere batitaye ku rugogwe rwagwiraga abaturage bahatirwaga kwigomwa ngo barengere inyungu rusange z'igihugu. Umuntu yakwibutsa nanone ko, uretse ahari Justin Mugenzi wenyine, abasahuye amafaranga menshi cyane hafi ya bose ni abaminisitiri n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru, kandi n'ubundi abavuka muri ayo maperefegitura atatu ari nabo bari barihariye ubugenzuzi bw'amasosiyete n'ibigo bishamikiye kuri leta hafi ya byose<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Iyumvwa rya Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-72, 1997 (*reba n'umugereka wa 107*).

<sup>5</sup> Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya 1 n'ya 2 Nyakanga 1994 (*reba umugereka wa 97*).

<sup>6</sup> Inama hamwe na minisitiri w'intebe, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASULUKO, TPIR, Impapuro zo ku itariki ya 3 Kanama 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Umuyobozi wa Banki y'igihugu y' U Rwanda, Denis Ntirugirimabazi, wakomokaga mu Ruhengeri, yarezwe kenshi kwimurira umutungo wa banki y'U Rwanda muri Zayire, muri Kenya na nyuma muri Luxembourg na umenye uwo cg abo ugenewe.

## ***Nduga ihanganye na Rukiga***

Amayeri yakoreshejwe mu gushyira abasivili b'abanyenduga ku buyobozi bw'inzego za politiki yanyuranyaga n'itegeko ritanditse rya Repubulika ryerekeye kwirinda kurundanya ubutegetsi bwose mu majyaruguru, cg se mu majyepfo. Ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru ntibyayumvise, bigahoza Guverinoma ku nkeke idashira. Byayigerekagaho kugira uruhare mu bibazo bya gisirikari, iby'umutekano, ibyo mu rwego mpuzamahanga n'urw'ubukungu. Guverinoma muri rusange na bamwe mu bayigize by'umwihariko baraneguwe buri gihe kubera ubushobozi buke bwabo mu gukumira ibitero by'Inkotanyi cg guhashya ibyitso by'imbere mu gihugu. Kuririmba iby'ubumwe bw'Abahutu ahanini byamamazwaga n'intagondwa za MRND na CDR zo mu majyaruguru zahoraga zihiga urwaho rwo gushinja abayoboze bashya bo mu nduga ibyo kudohoka dore ko babasuzuguraga ndetse ntibabagirire icyizere gihamye. Kuba abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo bari beguriwe ubutegetsi, ibyo ari byo byose byari iby'agateganyo, bigomba kumara iminsi itarenga 90 ndetse byaba ngombwa ikagabanywa cyane.

Perezida Théodore Sindikubwabo, wari ufite umugore w'Umututsikazi, yari umunyapolitiki w'inararibonye wari waratewe hejuru mu buyobozi bw'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND – Inteko ishingamategeko) aho yari yarashyizwe na perezida Habyarimana, yashenguwe n'agasuzuguro ndetse n'ubushotoranyi yagirirwaga ariko bikaba ngombwa ko yicecekera. Kubera intege nje z'ubusaza n'uburwayi, hari abasangaga adakwiye kuyobora muri ibyo bihe bagashaka ko yegura imburagihe kugira ngo ahe rugari umukandida "wabigenewe" ari we Joseph Nzirorera. Yego uyu wa nyuma nta mpamvu yari afite yo kugaragaza amashyushyu, ariko hari abatarakozwaga ibyo gutegereza.

Nguko uko ikibazo gikomeye cyavutse guhera ku itariki ya 22 Mata 1994, nyuma y'iminsi itatu perezida Sindikubwabo avuye gutangiza ubwicanyi muri perefegitura ye, ubwo yamenyeshaga minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu na nyuma yaho inama y'abaminisitiri, icyifuzo cye cyo kwegura. Mu kiganiro bagiranye, yasabye Augustin Bizimana gufata ibyemero byo kongera uburinzi bw'abagize umuryango we bari i Butare<sup>8</sup> batotezwaga buri gihe, "ariko undi ntiyabyitaho" :

"Nkeneye, bwana minisitiri, kubibutsa ko umwe mu bantu bo mu muryango wanjye, mufite kuri lisiti, aramutse yishwe na kariya gatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi, nkeneye kubibutsa ko byaba binkomereye cyane gukomeza gupfusha imbaraga zanjye ubusa nkorera abadashima n'abagambanyi<sup>9</sup> ? "

Imvugo rukomatanyo "agatsiko k'abagizi ba nabi" n'ubukana buri muri iyi nyandiko birahishura neza ko atemeraga na busa ko ubugizi bwa nabi bwakorwaga atari ibintu by'ibigwirirano. Ingingo ya gatatu y'inyandiko ye yo irerura iti :

"Byaba bibabaje kurushaho, bwana minisitiri, niba impuha zihwihwiswa ko abantu

<sup>8</sup> Yakomokaga i Shyamba.

<sup>9</sup> Ibaruwa Théodore SINDIKUBWABO, Perezida wa Repubulika, yandikiye Augustin Bizimana, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, 22 Mata 1994 (*reba umugereka wa 108*).

bamwe bitwaza ibihe bibi kugira ngo bikize Abanyanduga bababangamiye, ntibyaba bibabaje gusa ahubwo byaba ari ishyano, kubera ko icyo gihe intego y'umwanzi yaba igezweho nta ngorane, ni ukuvuga gucikamo ibice, kuryana no kumarana kw'Abahutu."

Impuha zikomozwahao zirerekeza ku gace k'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki b'abakiga kifuzaga kubabaza cyane perezida Sindikubwabo kagizwe by'umwihariko na Joseph Nzirorera na Augusti Bizimana ubwe bifuzaga ko acyura igihe imburagihe. Nubwo Guverinoma yagaragaje ko imushyigikiye, uwo mwitangirizwa ntacyo wamaze : ku itariki ya 26 Mata, sebukwe w'umukobwa we, Claver Mpakaniye yivuganywe n' "intagondwa" no ku itariki ya 27 inzu ya Emmanuel Kayiranga, umuvandimwe w'umukwe we irasenywa nyuma yo kuyisahura bakayeza<sup>10</sup>.

Ubusanzwe, Théodore Sindikubwabo n'ubwo yari amaranye igihe na perezida Habyarimana<sup>11</sup> ndetse azwiho n'amateka yo kurwana ishyaka nyakoko, udutsiko tw'intagondwa z'abakiga twamubarira mu ntantu bashobora kurwanya ingoma iganje. Koko rero yakoresheje ingabo zirinda perezida mu rugo rwe bwite I Nyaruhengeri arwana ku mukwe we Augustin Iyamuremye, wahoze ari umuyobozi w'inzego zishinzwe iperereza mu Biro bya minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye n'Agathe Uwilinguyimana akanaba umusimbura wa Félicien Gatabazi ku bunyamabanga bukuru bw'ishyaka PSD, mu ruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Yanakekwagaho kugira "intege nke" muri perefegitura ye. Urwo rwikekwe rwatizwaga umurindi nuko yashatse kwegura yaraye akubutse mu ruzinduko muri superefegitura ya Gisagara muri komini Ndora<sup>12</sup>. Mu ngendo ze bwite zo ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994, yari yakoresheje amagambo yavuzweho byinshi : "Buri wese agomba kurinda umutekano w'umuturanyi we." Nyamara, mu ruzinduko yaje kugirira nyuma yaho muri superefegitura ya Busoro, yongeye gutsindagira imvugo ya gashozantambara.

Ntabwo byari bikenewe na busa gushora ubuyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu mu ntugunda mu gihe Guverinoma yamaganwaga bikomeye mu mahanga yari iri gukora ibishoboka ngo ibone abayishyigikira mu gihugu no hanze yacyo; ni yo mpamvu Guverinoma "yifataniye" na perezida Sindikubwabo.

Nyamara ibyabaye kuri perezida ntibyari umwihariko. Urwikekwe rushingiye ku turere n'amakenga ashingiye ku moko byarakomeje. Kugaragaza abagambanyi b' "imbere mu gihugu" byakomeje kwiyongera. Ku itariki ya 26 Mata, Édouard Karemera yasanze bifite akamaro "guha amakuru ku giti cye kugira ngo agenzurwe" umuyobozi wa Jandarumori y'igihugu, Augustin Ndindiliyimana; mu by'ukuri yamusabaga kwikiza Abatutsi bari mu bamurindaga (*reba umugereka wa 109*). Hashize iminsi mike, mu "nama y'umutekano" yabereye ku Kibuye ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, wari uharekejwe na Édouard Karemera, visiperezida wa mbere wa MRND n'abahagarariye PSD na MDR, havuzwe Amagambo yavuzwe yahishuraga icyo

<sup>10</sup> Emmanuel Kayiranga, umucuruzi, mukuru w'umucuruzi ukomeye w'i Butare, Etienne Gakwaya bahimbaga *Mwami*, icyo gihe yari yarahungiyeye i Burundi n'umuryango we. Nyuma yaje kujya akora ingendo hagati ya Bujumbura na Butare akurikirana ibicuruzwa bye aza kwicirwa mu nzira.

<sup>11</sup> Yari yarabaye umuganga w'abana be.

<sup>12</sup> Yari yarabaye umufasha wa muganga (umuforomo) ku ivuriro ry'i Ndora agitangira gukora mbere yo kuba burugumesitiri.

ahatse :

“yavuze [minisitiri w’intebe] ko Guverinoma ari iy’Abanyarwanda, kandi ko abaskaka gufasha Inkotanyi bagomba kuzisanga ku Mulindi bakazazana na zo muri Guverinoma yaguye nizemera kuyijyamo. Yasabye abanyapolitiki bakonje kuvuga aho bahagaze : bashyigikiye inyungu z’abaturage, cg bashyigikiye ibitekerezo by’Inkotanyi, kubera ko umuntu utagaragaza aho ahagaze ntagomba kwizera kuzabona umwanya amahoro nagaruka<sup>13</sup>.”

Kwibasira perezida w’agateganyo byongeye kuburwa na visi-perezida wa mbere w’ishyaka rya MRND, watumije ku itariki ya 10 Gicurasi inama ya biro politiki y’ishyaka mu kigo cy’ i Murambi. Iyo nama yari igamije kungurana ibitekerezo ku bibazo bya politiki n’igisirikari, kungurana inama ku mitunganyirize y’ukwirinda kw’abasivili ariko cyane cyane gusuzuma, mu ngingo y’ibygwa yiswe “ibintu n’ibindi”, ibyo kwihutisha inzibacyuho yemewe n’amategeko. Inama kandi yarimo Visiperezidante wa CND, Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, umusimbura wa perezida mu gihe yaba ananiwe, n’abaminisitiri ba MRND. Mu minsi ibiri ikurikirana ku matariki ya 12 na 13 Gicurasi, impaka zarakomeye noneho zisozwa n’itangazo rikomeye rya biro politiki ryasomwe kuri Radio Rwanda n’abayobozi babiri bikiranya, Édouard Karemera na Joseph Nzirorera (*reba umugereka wa 110*).

Ingingo ikomeye ni iyamenyeshaga ko itegeko nshinga ryari rigiye kuvugururwa “kugira ngo bishoboke kuziba icyuho cyari mu nzego z’ubuyobozi mu gihe cy’amezi atatu yari ateganyijwe”, ariko ibiteganywa n’amategeko byabaye nk’ibishyirwa ku ruhande ahubwo hashyirwa imbere ibyo “gushyira vuba na bwangu abantu mu myanya irimo icyuho : Perezidansi na CND”. Iyo myanya nyamara yari ifitwe n’abemerewe kuyimaramo iminsi 90...

Mu by’ukuri icyihutirwaga cyari ahandi. Théodore Sindikubwabo yari arwaye kandi afite intege nke. Byarahwihwiswaga ko atagishoboye gukomeza imirimo ye. Ariko igikomeye cyane nanone, “Biro politiki ya MRND yasabye Guverinoma gushyiraho komite y’amahina yo gucunga neza intambara” hamwe na “komite ihuriweho n’inzego nyinshi yo gutekereza ku bibazo by’insobe bya politiki, ubukungu n’imibereho myiza y’abaturage byugarije igihugu no guha Guverinoma ibisubizo<sup>14</sup>.”

Ku buryo busobanutse Guverinoma byagaragaraga ko imaze kuba imburamumaro mu nzego zose kandi MRND yari irambiwe ubushobozi buke bwa Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho mu guhangana n’Inkotanyi ku rugamba rwa gisirikari n’urw’ububanyi n’amahanga. Imishyikirano yo guhagarika intambara yari imaze kunanirana n’ingendo zo kunoza umubano Mathieu Ndirumapatse na Justin Mugenzi bari bakubutse mu bihugu by’Afurika zari zagize akamaro gake cyane. Byagendaga bigaragara ko abantu bari gushiduka nta kintu na kimwe kigishoboye kugibwaho imishyikirano. Igihe cyo kwigira nyoni nyishi no kurebera gusa cyari kimaze kurambirana.

Hari hakenewe ivugurura ryo guha ingufu ingabo z’igihugu zari zigeze habi kimwe no kubyutsa mu maguru mashya ukwirinda kw’abasivili kugira ngo

<sup>13</sup> Iyandukurwa ry’ijambo rya Jean KAMBANDA, 3 Gicurasi 1994, Ishakiro K0246608-09 (*reba umugereka wa 103*).

<sup>14</sup> Ibyatangajwe mu mihango yo gusoza Biro politiki ya MRND, 13 Gicurasi 1994.

bunganire ingabo, uko kwirinda kwari kwaratatangijwe mu gikorwa cyo “kugarura amahoro” ariko ingegera n’abagizi ba nabi ni bo basaga n’abigaruriye icyo gikorwa<sup>15</sup>.

Muri Gicurasi hagati, ibintu byabaye umwaku rwose mu gisirikari ku buryo etamajoro y’ingabo z’igihugu yari imaze kumungwa n’inzanagano zitihishira byabaye ngombwa ko ihungira i Gitarama kubera ko umurwa mukuru wari hafi kwigarurirwa n’Inkotanyi zawotsaga igitutu.

Mu gihe ku rugamba ntawari agishidikanya ko Inkotanyi zari kuzarutsinda, ibihugu by’ibihangange n’Umuryango w’Abibumbye byongeye guhaguruka kugira ngo bigire ijamba mu bihe byo kurangiza intambara. Inzira zo gushaka amaboko mu mahanga ku mpande zombi ariko zaravuguruzanyaga ku buryo bukabije. Intambara yo mu itangazamakuru yari yamaze kwegurira intsinzi inyeshyamba z’Abatutsi kandi yandagaje bikabije uruhande rw’Abahutu rwendaga gutsindwa. Ku ruhande rumwe, kugira ngo itsembabwoko n’itsembatsemba bihagarare, hari hakenewe gukomeza gushyikirana n’abayobozi [ba Guverinoma] bari bamaze kuba “ruvumwa”. Igishyika cy’itsembabwoko n’ubugome bwo guseniyagura byose Guverinoma yari yishoyemo byatumaga nta gihugu na kimwe cyari kwigerezaho ngo kiyitabare cg kiyiheshe agahenge, kabone n’ubwo yari igifite benshi bayishyigikiye cyane cyane muri Afurika. Ku rundi ruhande, abantu babonaga ko intagondwa zimakaza ubuhutu nizitsindwa uruhenu zizashora imbaga y’abaturage hafi ya bose mu buhungiro, ibyo bikazabyara ingorane zidasanzwe ndetse bikaba intandaro y’umutekano muke uhoraho mu karere kose<sup>16</sup>.

### ***Ishwanyuka rya burundu ryo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi***

Muri Gicurasi hagati, mu gihe hari hategerejwe ibyemezo byihutirwa by’Inama ishinze amahoro n’inama ya gatatu idasanzwe ya Komisiyo y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu y’Umuryango w’Abibumbye i Genève ku byabereye mu Rwanda, abayobozi barahagurutse barahagarara.

Nyuma yo kuva mu butumwa kw’abaminisitiri bane, Gaspard Ruhumuliza, André Ntagerura na Agnès Ntamabyariro (bagarutse ku itariki ya 14 Gicurasi) na Justin Mugenzi (ku itariki ya 15), ibyari ku murogo w’ibyigwa w’Inama ya Guverinoma yabereye i Murambi ku wa kabiri tariki ya 17 Gicurasi, amasaha make mbere y’uko Inama y’umutekano iterana i New York wariho by’umwihariko ibintu byinshi :

- Amabwiriza ku kwirinda kw’abasivili ;
- umusanzu wo guha ingabo z’igihugu ;
- ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro ;

<sup>15</sup> “Nimunyumve, icyo gihe, nta na minisitiri w’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu wabagaho. Minisitiri w’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu yashyizwe, ndakeka, ku itariki ya 25... ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994. Minisitiri w’intebe ni we wari ushinze iyo minisiteri uko mbizi. Nta minisitiri w’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu wabagaho” (iyumvwa rya Emmanuel N DINDABAHIZI, wahoze ari minisitiri w’Imari, TPIR, 27 Ugushyamba 2003, p. 18).

<sup>16</sup> Inkuru y’ako kaga yari yakuye umutima abanyamakuru ku itariki ya 22 Mata mbere yuko impunzi 250 000 z’Abahutu zahungaga Inkotanyi zambuka mu masaha make umupaka wa Tanzaniya (reba umutwe wa 9).



- inyandiko ya V-P [Visi Perezida] wa CND<sup>17</sup>;
- ishyirwaho ry’abacamanza;
- Gusimbuza ababurugumesitiri n’abasuperefe;
- ishyirwaho by’abagize ibiro bya perezida wa Repubulika;
- raporo ku ngendo Justin Mugenzi na Mathieu Ngirumpatse bakubutsemo i Kayiro n’i Rabat baciye i Nairobi [...] <sup>18</sup>.”

Iyo nama yarimo perezida wari umaze gushegeshwa n’uburwayi na Jean Kambanda warangwaga n’umushiha n’ubukana, minisitiri w’intebe yayitangije yerekeye ibizazane by’urudaca Guverinoma yari imaze kugira :

- “Minuar A<sup>19</sup>, mu byerekezo byayo, ntiduha icyizere cy’uko Inkotanyi zitazadutera.
- Ikomanyirizwa ribangamiye Guverinoma, ntiribangamiye Inkotanyi.
  - Ifatwa ry’ikibuga cy’indege cy’i Kanombe.
  - Ibintu birakomeye. Ikiraro cya Rwabusoro cyasenywe, kubera iyo mpamvu nta buryo bushoka bwo gukorana na Kigali, Kibungo na Byumba.
  - Kwanga kwa Dallaire kuyobora Minuar A. [...]
  - Gufungirana, inzego zose zifite uruhare mu kugura intwari zigomba gukora iyo bwabaga. Minadef.Minifin, BNR. Ambassade zacu zirenda gufunga, zigomba guhabwa uburyo.
  - Ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro.
  - FPR yatesheje icyizere Guverinoma, yateranyije abanyenganda b’abanyamahanga ibizeza ko izakorana na bo kubera ko yiteguye gufata ubutegetsu i Kigali.
  - Kutagira amafaranga.
  - Kutagira uburyo bwo gutumanaho.
  - Kutamenya abacuruza intwari.
  - Umubano na Zayire ntuhanye, Zayire niyemere kutubera umuhuza.
  - Imishyikirano yo guhagarika imirwano.
- Inkotanyi ntizashyize umukono ku mpapuro zimwe n’iza Guverinoma y’U Rwanda. Intumwa z’impande zombi ntizakoreye hamwe.
- Inkotanyi zirashaka guteranya Guverinoma y’U Rwanda n’umworoshya-nzira n’umuhuza<sup>20</sup>.
- Kugira umusirikari uba muri Zayire agashingwayo ikibazo cy’intwari<sup>21</sup>.
  - Terefone yabo kugira ngo duhore tuvugana. [...]
  - Mugenzi+Ngirumpatse i Kayiro n’i Rabat banyuze i Nairobi babonye na Minafet na perezida Arap Moi.
  - Ba ambasaderi bibera i Nairobi kandi bafite icyicaro mu Rwanda.
  - Bangladesh ivuga ko *dufite ibyitso* mu ngabo zacu.
  - Abazungu baratugurishije, ni ngombwa gushaka abandi tugirane umubano<sup>22</sup>.”

Urwo rudubi rw’inkuru mbi, nk’uko bisanzwe, rwasamiwe hejuru n’abifuzaga gukaza umurego bundi bushya no kongera ubukana ku buryo butajenjeka. Ibyo byabanje kugaragarira mu ngingo y’ibanze yagombaga kugibwaho impaka, ni ukuvuga umushinga wo kwirinda kw’abasivili wari warateguwe mu minsi ibanza

<sup>17</sup> Ni visi perzidante w’Inamacyamba Igihugu Ihariyira Amajyambere (CND), Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana.

<sup>18</sup> Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASULUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya 22 kugeza ku ya 28 Gashyantare 2004 (*reba umugereka wa 76*).

<sup>19</sup> Byibutsa Minuar B (cg Minuar 2), yagombaga gusimbura iyari ihari kugeza icyo gihe.

<sup>20</sup> Umworoshya-nzira [facilitateur] (perezida wa Zayire) : Sese Seko Mobutu ; umuhuza [mediateur] (perezida wa Tanzaniya) : Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

<sup>21</sup> Ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, inama y’abaminisitiri yagize koloneli Ephrek Setako umuhuzabikorwa w’ingabo (muri ambassade) i Kinshasa.

<sup>22</sup> Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASULUKO, TPIR, impapuro so ku itariki ya 22 kugeza ku ya 28 Gashyantare 2004.

na Biro politiki ya MRND, kandi minisitiri w'intebe n'abayobozi ba MRND bari basabwe ko wigwa nk'umushinga w'itegeko. Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera bari batumiwe mu nama kimwe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu Édouard Karemera, dore ko ari we wari wateguye umushings w'amabwiriza. Ijambo rya minisitiri w'intebe ryambimburiye impaka zishyushye mu rwego rw'amategeko, zerekeye ikibazo cy'uko Guverinoma nta bubasha yari ifite bwo gushyiraho amategeko mu mwanya w'Inteko ishingira amategeko. Baje kumvikana ku gisubizo cyo kwemeza iyo gahunda nk'amabwiriza ya minisitiri w'intebe yuzuzwa n'amateka ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ayashyira mu bikorwa :

“Nagize uruhare mu mpaka ku kibazo cy'kwirinda kw'abasivili mu nama ya Guverinoma n'abakuru b'amashyaka yabaye hagati muri Gicurasi 1994. Abakuru b'amashyaka bari batumiriwe kugira uruhare mu mpaka kugira ngo bahuze ibitekerezo. icyo gihe, Ngirumpatse wari uhagarariye MRND, na we ubwe yashyigikiye uwo mushinga, kubera ko ubundi, wari wateguwe n'ishyaka rye dore ko kimwe n'umushinga w'iteka rya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu<sup>23</sup>, wari wateguwe neza kandi ugatangwa biturutse kuri MRND, umuntu akurikije imikorere yari igezweho mu mashyaka yari muri Guverinoma. Nzirorera na we yari ahari. minisitiri w'intebe ni we wari waburaniye uwo mushinga w'itegeko.

Muri icyo nama, narwanyije uwo mushinga w'itegeko, mvuga ko bwari uburyo bwo kwemeza itangwa ry'intwari no guha rugari gutyo imitwe yitwara gisirikari yakoraga ubwicanyi. Nanone, minisitiri w'intebe ntiyari afite ububasha bwo gushyiraho amategeko muri urwo rwego, kubera ko bwari bufitwe n'urwego rushinga amategeko.

Kugaragaza ibitekerezo byanjye byamviriyemo kunegurwa na bamwe, bandegaga gukabya kugendera ku mategeko. Kambanda yababajwe n'uko nari natinyutse kugira icyo mvuga anakora kuri masotera ye yari ku mukandara, avuga ko bitashobokaga gukora revolisiyo hamwe n'abantu nkanjye.

Kubera kudashobora guhitisha uwo mushinga mu Nama y'abaminisitiri, abawushyigikiye biyambaje amayeri y'ibwiriza rya minisitiri w'intebe, ryuzuzwa n'amateka cg amabwiriza yo kuyashyira mu bikorwa ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, yose ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994.

Nyamara, abari bashyigikiye umushinga w'itegeko ntibari babaye, kubera ko gahinda yo kwiwinda kw'abasivili yari yaramaze gutangira kandi ntiyari igikeneye uruhushya urwo ari rwo rwose rwa Guverinoma kugira ngo ibeho. Ibwiriza rya minisitiri w'intebe n'amateka ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu byagiraga itegako ibyari bisanzweho, kukomigiuhe yafatwaga, imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'amashyaka yari yarteranyije ikorera hamwe. Nanone, intwari zari zaratanze mu baturage kandi zigitangwa.

Rero, uko mbitekereza, ibyo byemezo byari uburyo bwo guha ububasha bw'amategeko rugikubita itangwa ry'intwari mu baturage, bityo guha rugari abicanyi, bitwaje kurwanya umwanzi, utari anasobanutse neza<sup>24</sup>.”

Inonosora ry'ibyemezo, ryajyanye n'isezererwa ry'abaperefefe benshi, ryimuriwe ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi. Za minisitiri z'ingabo z'igihugu, Umuryango n'iterambere ry'abagore, Urubyiruko n'amakoperative, Ubukerarugendo n'ibidukikije, Amashuri abanza zari zishinzwe gufasha minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu mu murumo wo gukangirira kwirinda kw'abasivili. Inyandiko ikurikira irerekana urutonde rwa za minisitiri zagize uruhare cyane mu ikangura

<sup>23</sup> Ni Édouard Karemera, minisitiri wari uteganyijwe, winjiye mu mirimo ye nyabyo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, umunsi hatangazwa ayo mabwiriza.

<sup>24</sup> Iyumvwa ry'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inziyacyuho, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, p. 18-19.

ry'abaturage...

“ (3) Kwirinda kw'abaturage -> Minadef  
Mifaprof, Mijeuma, Mineto, Mineprisec.  
Ibyo ku wa gatanu [20 Gicurasi] :  
Ishyirwaho ry'abaturugumesitiri n'abasuperefe  
Imodoka za leta  
Kwirinda kw'abasivili  
Ishyirwaho ry'abacamanza<sup>25</sup>.”

Gutanguranwa byari bigezweho n'ibindi byiciro by'abakozi byari biteganyijwe kugira ngo bakomeze ubwicanyi.

Reka twerekane izindi ngingo ebyiri zikomeye zo ku murongo w'ibyigwa : inama ya Guverinoma yumvise ijamba ry Visiperezidante wa CND, Immaculée Nyirabizeyimana, ku gucyura igihe kw'inzego, naa perezida Sindikubwabo amanyisha inamaivugurura ry'ibiro bye :

“Ijamba rya Perezida wa Repubulika :  
-Umuyobozi w'ibiro : Mbangura<sup>26</sup>  
-Ushinze ubutumwa : Ngirumpatse  
-Uburezi : Kayinamura  
-Ubukungu : Mukamanzi Monique, Umujyanama mu byerekeye  
ubukungu  
-Igenamigambi : Niragire Jean<sup>27</sup>.”

Imirimo y' “ushinzwe ubutumwa” yashyiraga Mathieu Ngirumpatse mu rwego rw'ambasaderi woherezwa mu ngendo kandi ntiyari rifite ingaruka za politiki ziziguye. Nyamara, mu kwiyegezeza Théodore Sindikubwabo kwe, bitandukanye na Nzirorera-wari waramuhunze-byamushyiraga mu rwego rw'umushishozi ukomeye mu iteganya ry'ibikorwa birebana n'amategeko ryari gukurikiraho. Aho abantu bageze hagendaga hasobanuka kandi umwanzuro wari wegereje, nk'uko byagaragajwe n'icyemezo, cyari gitegerejwe cyane, cy'Inama y'umutekano ku mugoroba wo ku itasrki ya 17 Gicurasi.

Koko rero mu gutora icyemezo no 918—cyategakaga ikomanyirizwa ku ntwaro zoherezwaga mu Rwanda kikanateganya kohereza ingabo mpuzamahanga zigera ku bihumbi bitanu magana atanu zo kujya hagati y'abarwana no gutabara abaturage, inama ishinze amahoro ku isi yari ihaye umujyisha bidasubirwaho migendekere ya nyuma y'intambara no ku buryo bwihuse iy'ubuzima bw'abayobozi b'inzibacyuho<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Agenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapaur rwo ku kitariki ya 20 Gashyantare 1994.

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Mbangura, umwarimu muri UNR kandi wari umuyobozi wungirije w'ikigo cya kaminuza cyo mu Ruhengeri mu gice cya kabiri cy'inyaka ya 1980 yari yarazamuye na perezida Habyarimana muri Komite Nyobozi ya MRND muri 1989. Muri icyo gihe yinjiye mu Nama ya Guverinoma, aho yabafashe umwanya wa minisitiri w'Amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye kugeza ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'amashyamba menshi muri Mata 1992. Yari umwe mu banyacyubahiraho bo mu majyepfo bari barayobotse MRND.

<sup>27</sup> Si ubwa mbere yarahawe uwo mwanya. Kuva mu myaka myinshi, Jean Niragire yahoranye uwo mwanya muri perezidansi ya Repubulika (ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, urupapuro rwo ku itariki ya 27 Gashyantare 1994).

<sup>28</sup> Ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu mu Muryango w'Abibumbye yafashe nta tora ribaye icyemezo gishyiraho umwanditsi udasanzwe ushinze gukora raporo ku burenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu no gukora iperereza ku ihohoterwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu n'amategeko mpuzamahanga y'ubutabazi. Yongerewe igihe ku itariki ya 8 Kamena, n'icyemezo 925 cy'Inama ishinze umutekano,

## ***Kwirukana abasirikari bakuru no gutangiza bundi bushya ukwirinda kw'abasivili***

Ariko umunsi wari utararangira kandi wari ugihishe ibindi bitangaza. Bababajwe n'inkuru mbi yari ibagize ibigwari kandi batabasha gufata ibyemezo bihuje n'ibyo bari bakeneye gukora, abagize Guverinoma baguye mu gahundwe kongerwaga n'umwiryane wo kutinyagambura aho bari bacumbitse mu kigo cy'amahugurwa i Murambi. Umuriro waratse mu ruhandu rwa politiki n'igisirikari, "abagambanyi" bagomba kurimburwa baratarangwa.

Nyuma y'inama ya Komisiyo y'imicungire y'intambara yo ku itariki ya 17 saa cyenda<sup>29</sup>, yarimo abagize Guverinoma n'abayobozi b'amashyamba nka Laurent Semanza na Mathieu Ngirumpatse bo muri MRND, "lisiti y'abasirikari bakuru cumi na babiri b'ibitso yashyikirijwe kuri uwo mugoroba Théodore Sindikubwabo. Ni koloneli Théoneste Bagosora na minisitiri w'ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, wari umaze kongera kwemererwa n'inama ya Guverinoma<sup>30</sup> umwanya we w'umuhuzabikorwa w'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, bayimushyikirije.

Ababaye kandi azi neza icyo abakoze lisiti bagamije, Théodore Sindikubwabo yatumiye ako kanya Augustin Ndindiliyimana – na we wari kuri iyo lisiti – i Murambi ku munsi ukurikiyeho mu gitondo, kugira ngo amumenyeshe iryo terabwoba anamugishe inama.

Abanje kuvugana na Jean Kambanda, perezida yamenyesheje jenerali Augustin Ndindiliyimana ibyifuzo bya Komisiyo y'imicungire y'intambara,<sup>31</sup> maze nawe ababwira iby'ubuzima bwe.

Akigera i Kigali, ku itariki ya 19 Gicurasi, mu masaa kumi-saa kumi n'imwe zo mu gitondo, Ndindiliyimana yahamagaje mu biro bye koloneli Laurent Rutayisire na majoro Pierre-Claver Karangwa kugira ngo abagire inama yo gufata ibyemezo byo kwirinda, ariko atabasobanuriye impamvu ku buryo bugaragara. Na we ubwe yahise ategura ibyo guhungisha umuryango na we areba iyo ajya...

Ukurikije ibyemezwa n'abasirikari bakuru benshi, Théodore noneho yateguye ibaruwa ya kabiri yo kwegura ku mirimo ishobora kuba yaragiweho impaka ndende n'abagize inama ya Guverinoma batandukanye. Bamwe mu basirikari baregwaga bamenyeshejwe mu ibanga icyemezo cyo kubavanamo cg cyo kubica cyari cyafashwe n'abantu bari mu nama kugira ngo bafate ibyemezo bya ngombwa. Bityo, Laurent Semanza yabimenyesheje koloneli Félicien Muberuka, bavaga muri komini imwe kandi banafitanye isano<sup>32</sup>, ariko abajijwe nyuma yahakanye ibyizwe muri iyo nama :

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yemezaga ko "ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko byari byarakozwe mu Rwanda " kandi yibutsaga muri urwo rwego, ko itsembabwoko ari icyaha gihanwa n'ubutabera mpuzamahanga.

<sup>29</sup> Ajenda ya Jean KAMBANDA BK, TPIR, ishakiro KA000209 CZ (*reba umugereka wa 111*).

<sup>30</sup> Iyo ngingo ikomeye y'amakimbirane mu Buyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu nashoboye kuyinonosora nifashishijwe ubuhamywa bw'abawofisiye hafi ya bose byarebaga : Augustin Cyiza, Félicien Muberuka, Balthazar Ndengeyinka, Léonidas Rusatira, Marcel Gatsinzi, Pierre-Claver Karangwa, Laurent Rutayisire, Emmanuel Habyarimana na Anselme Nshizirungu. Ephrem Rwabalinda na Innocent Bavugamenshi bo barapfuye, umwe muri Nyakanga 1994, undi mu Kwakira 1996. Ubuhamya bwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana ntibwashoye kuboneka.

<sup>31</sup> Ajenda ya Jean KAMBANDA, BK, TPIR, ishakiro K000209 DA (*reba umugereka wa 111*).

<sup>32</sup> Bombi bari bafite sekuru umwe (ba se baravukanaga).

“Muri icyo minsi nagiyeye i Gitarama ; nahuye na koloneli Muberuka. Yamenyesheje ko yari yabwiye n’inshuti ye Laurent Semanza, wahoze ari burugumesitiri wa Bicumbi, ko Guverinoma yari yakozwe ilisiti y’abasirikari bakuru 12 (barimo we nanjye) bagombaga kwicwa, kubera ko bari babangamiye imigendekere myiza y’intambara. Nagiye (nk’uko yari amaze kubikora) i Murambi aho nasanze bwana Mathieu Ngirumpatse, wahunze igisubizo icyo ari cyo cyose gisobanutse ahubwo yibanda ku kuntu abasirikari bagomba kurushaho kugira imbaraga mu guhangana n’Inkotanyi. Niyemeje kumubwira nabi<sup>33</sup>.”

“Ngo Sindikubwabo yaba yaramenyeshyeje uwo mugambi jenerali Ndindiliyimana wari waramaze kohereza umuryango we ku Kibuye kwa Karemera (MRND)<sup>34</sup>. koloneli Muberuka na we yari yohereje uwe kwa majoro (depite) Ukurikiyeyezu, wari wabayeho perefe wa Gitarama nyuma y’ukurwaho rya Fidèle Uwizeye<sup>35</sup>. Nari mbabayeho cyane kuko abo basirikari bakuru bombi nta cyo bigeze bambwira kuri uwo mugambi. Nyamara bari mu nshuti zanjye zikomeye, cyane cyane Félicien Muberuka<sup>36</sup>.”

Ikibazo cyo gukura umwanda mu ngabo z’igihugu z’U Rwanda cyari ingingo yahoraga igarukwaho mu nama z’Inama ya Guverinoma<sup>37</sup>, kandi amagambo atera ubwoba yari yarabwiye kenshi abasirikari bakuru benshi, cyane cyane “abataravugaga rumwe n’ubutegetsi” bo mu majyepfo. Kugerageza kwica cyane cyane Augustin Cyiza, Marcel Gatsinzi na Léonidas Rusatira byari byarabayeho kenshi cyane. Iterabwoba ntirabayeho mu mvugo gusa : ukurikije amagambo ya Laurent Rutayisire, hari harageragejwe ibyo kumutsinda ku kiraro cya Nyabarongo. Ariko urutonde rwo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi rwerekana ko etamajoro yanze kuva ku izima –mu mbaraga no mu byemezo – mu guhiga abasirikari bakuru byavugwaga ko “bari ku ruhande rw’ Inkotanyi”. Muribo harimo : majoro Augustin Cyiza (Cyangugu)<sup>38</sup>, majoro BEM Emmanuel Habyarimana (Byumba)<sup>39</sup>, majoro w’umujandarume Pierre-Claver Karangwa (Gitarama)<sup>40</sup>, Liyotona koloneli BEM Ephrem Rwabalinda (Cyangugu)<sup>41</sup>, liyotona

<sup>33</sup> Ubuhamya bwa koloneli Balthazar NDENGEYINKA, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 24 Kanama 2004.

<sup>34</sup> Nyuma y’igihe yamaze i Nyaruhengeri mu rugo rwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana, icyo miryango yombi yimukiye ku Kibuye kwa Édouard Karemera ku itariki ya 24 Mata. Kwa Ndindiliyimana bari koko rero barabyaye muri batisimu umuhungu wa Karemera. Umuryango wa Ndindiliyimana wagiyeye i Burundi ku itariki ya 14 Kamena.

<sup>35</sup> Félicien Muberuka n’umuryango we bagumye kwa majoro Jean-Damascène Ukurikiyeyezu kuva ku itariki ya 12 Mata kugeza ku ihungira ryabo ku Gisenyi ahagana ku itariki ya 26 Gicurasi.

<sup>36</sup> Inkuru dukesha jenerali Marcel GATSINZI, Kigali Kamena 2002, inyandiko zanjye bwite.

<sup>37</sup> Koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, wari warashyizwe ku buyobozi bw’akarere ka gisirikari katabagaho ahagana ku itariki ya 16 Gicurasi yagizwe umuyobozi w’akarere k’ibikorwa bya gisirikari ka Bugesera kugeza nko ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi, itariki yirukanyweho ku mirimo ye agasimbuzwa liyotona koloneli BEM Gasarabwe. Ku itariki ya 12 Kamena, yahagaritswe ku mirimo ya gisirikari (*reba umugereka wa 112*).

<sup>38</sup> Augustin Cyiza yari Perezida w’Urukiko rwa gisirikare kandi yari afite umwanya uasanzwe mu rwego rwa gisirikari kubera inyabubiri y’ubushobozi bwe bwo kuba umusirikari mukuru n’impuguke mu by’amategeko. Ubwo yari umujyanama mu by’amategeko wa minisitiri w’ingabo, James Gasana, yagize uruhare mu mishyikirano inyuranye n’Inkotanyi mu rwego rw’itsinda ry’indorezezi za Gisirikari zitagira aho zibogamiye z’Umuryango w’Ubumwe bw’Afurika (GOMN).

<sup>39</sup> Emmanuel Habyarimana icyo gihe yari umusirikari mukuru wari mu karere ka gisirikari ka Mutara. Usibye ibihuha ku gushaka kwikiza abantu “bacisha make” mu ngabo, ntiyegeze ubwe amenyeshwa icyo cyemezo. Mu mpera z’ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, mu rugendo yakozwe aha i Butare ajya ku Kigeme mu Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikari (ESM), yafatiwe kuri bariyeri ku Gikongoro, ariko ashobora gucika. Yahungiyeye kwa jenerali Rusatira mu kigo cyo ku Kigeme na we wari umaze kwirukanwa.

<sup>40</sup> Pierre-Claver Karangwa wari ushinze ibiri bya G2 muri jandarumori, yari yarashyizwe icyo gihe muri Minuar. Ndindiliyimana ubwe ni we wamumenyesheje ko yavanyweho agasimbuzwa majoro Stanislas Kinyoni (Kigali ngari), wari warasezerewe hanyuma agasubizwa mu gisirikari.

<sup>41</sup> Ephrem Rwabalinda yari umujyanama w’umuyobozi wa etamajoro y’ingabo; yari yagiye mu ruzinduko i Paris kubonana n’abayobozi b’Abafaransa kuva ku itariki ya 9 kugeza ku ya 13 Gicurasi 1994. Yaguye mu gico yatezwe n’ingabo z’Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 7 Nyakanga i Gitarama.

koloneli Innocent Bavugamenshi (Cyangugu)<sup>42</sup>, koloneli BMES Félicien Muberuka (Kigali), koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka (Kibuye)<sup>43</sup>, koloneli Anselme Nshizirungu (Kigali)<sup>44</sup>, koloneli w’umujandarume Laurent Rutayisire (Gikongoro)<sup>45</sup>, jenerali wa burigade BEM Marcel Gatsinzi (Kigali)<sup>46</sup>, jenerali wa burigade Léonidas Rusatira (Ruhengeri)<sup>47</sup>, jenerali majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana (Butare).

Urwo rutonde nanone rwarondoraga abasirikari bakuru bari baragize uruhare mu mishyikirano y’Arusha. Uretse babiri gusa abandi bose bakomokaga mu maperefegitura yo mu Majyepho. Umwe ni we washoboraga gushyirwa mu bakomoka mu karere ka perezida (OTP). Birashoboka nanone gukuka ko Théoneste Bagosora yashakaga gucecekesha burundu abatangabuhamyi bari bazi uko yitwaye muri Komite y’ibihe by’imidugararo nka Ndindiliyimana, Rusatira na Gatsinzi batari baragize bo uruhare mu mishyikirano y’Arusha. Uyisangaho nanone abateguye itangazo ry’ingabo z’igihugu ryo ku itariki ya 12 Mata, ryari ryavumbuye umujinya wa Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho. Nyuma yo gutsindwa, abenshi muri abo basirikari bakuru bashyizwe kuri lisiti y’ “abagambanyi” yakorewe i Bukavu na Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yari mu buhungiro.

Nk’uko umuntu wahoze ari umusirikari mukuru mu ngabo z’igihugu abivuga mu magambo make :

“Abo basirikari bakuru bose 12 bari bibasiwe kubera ko :

- bakekwagaho kuba mu basirikari bakuru batemera amabwiriza ya Guverinoma yishyizeho ;
- bari bababangamiye muri gahunda zabo ;
- bari bazi ibintu bigushamo abakoze itsembabwoko ;
- bari bararwanyije mbere Bagosora cg amabwiriza amwe n’amwe ;
- bashoboraga guhiganwa na bo ;

<sup>42</sup> Innocent Bavugamenshi (Cyangugu) yabaye umuyobozi w’umutwe w’abajandarume wari ushinze umutekano w’abanyacyubahiro b’Abanyarwanda. Ubwo yoherezwaga kurinda minisitiri rw’intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye muri 1992-1993, yarezwe kugirana ubucuti n’uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Kubera iterabwoba yashyizweho mu minsi ya mbere y’ubwicanyi, yasabye guhindurirwa imirimo aba umuyobozi w’ikigo cy’abajandarume i Cyangugu. Nubwo yahasanze iterabwoba rikomeye ry’abasirikari, yitandukanije bigaragara amatwara y’ubwicanyi yarangaga uwo yari asimbuye, majoro Munyarugerero (Ruhengeri); yanagerageje gukoma imbere ubwicanyi muri perefegitura [ya Cyangugu] abifashijwemo na majoro Cyiza nubwo ntacyo bagezeho kigaragara. Yapfuye mu Kwakira 1996.

<sup>43</sup> Balthazar Ndengeyinka, wahoze ari umujyanama mu rwego rw’ubumenyi-ngiro wa minisitiri w’inbago, James Gasana, yari umuyobozi w’ibikorwa bya gisirikari i Gitarama muri Mata 1994. Yabonye mu ntangiriro za Nyakanga ibaruwa imuhagarika ku kazi kubera impamvu z’umutekano ayoherejwe na minisitiri w’ingabo ivuye ku Gisenyi. Yaburiwe na koloneli Muberuka ko hari igerageza ryo kumwicwa, na we ubwe abimenyeshejwe na Laurent Semanza. Abajijwe, uyunguyu yanze kuvuga impamvu z’inama, bitandukanye na Mathieu Ndirumapatse, wabyemereye bamwe.

<sup>44</sup> Anselme Nshizirungu yari umujyanama mu rwego rwa gisirikari wa Agathe Uwilingiyimana.

<sup>45</sup> Yahoze ari umuyobozi w’urwego rw’iperereza ryo hanze y’igihugu muri etamajoro, Laurent Rutayisire yari yasubijwe.

<sup>46</sup> Marcel Gatsinzi yabaye umuyobozi wa etamajoro y’ingabo z’igihugu wihitira hagati y’itariki ya 8 Mata n’iya 14 Mata 1994.

<sup>47</sup> Léonidas Rusatira wabaye umuyobozi w’Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM) kuva muri 1992, yagaragaje ku buryo bweruye ko arwanya bikomeye “kudeta” ya BAGOSORA yo hagati y’itariki ya 6 n’iya 8 Mata 1994 kandi byabaye ngombwa ko yihisha muri ambasade y’ Ubushinwa nyuma y’itariki ya 12 Mata. Yaje kujya kuba ku Kigeme (Gikongoro), aho Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ryari ryimuriwe. Yamenyeshejwe n’umukuru wa etamajoro, Augusti Bizimungu, ko ari kuri lisiti y’abahigwa, bituma afata ingamba zo kwirengera bikwiye. Yirukanywe mu ngabo z’igihugu ku itariki ya 10 Nyakanga 1994, ahungira i Bukavu ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga ahashyirwa n’abasirikari b’Abafaransa bo muri operasiyo “Turquoise”. Yasubiye mu Rwanda ku itariki ya 29 Nyakanga ayoboka Inkotanyi.

- bateraga bamwe ishyari ;
- bose bari abo mu majyepfo, ukuyemo koloneli Rusatira (Ruhengeri) na majoro Habyarimana (Byumba), ibyo bikaba byari intangiriro yo kwikiza abakomoka mu majyepfo ;
- bafatwaga nk’ababangamiye intsinzi y’abakoraga itsembabwoko<sup>48</sup>.”

Hakurikijwe ubutumwa bw’umwe mu basirikari bakuru ubizi, umwe mu baminisitiri wari mu nama ya Komisiyo ku micungire y’intambara, ubuyobozi bw’abajandarume na Théoneste Bagosora, ariko yagumye aho nta kazi. Yamenyeshejwe ibimutegereje na Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Yaba yaravuze ngo : “Ibyitso by’abasivili byarishwe, hasigaye ibyitso by’abasirikari kugira ngo dutsinde intambara<sup>49</sup>.”

Uwo muni uteye ubwoba wo ku itariki ya 17 Giurasi, indi lisiti y’abasirikari bakuru yagiweho impaka igaragaza ukumvikana guke cyane n’ugukabya hagati y’abafaga ibyemezo i Murambi, ariko ibyari biyikubiyemo byamenyekanye gusa mu mpera z’icyumweru. Ashyigikiwe na perezida Sindikubwabo, minisitiriri w’ingabo yari yasabye za etamajoro, imitwe y’ingabo, abayobozi b’ibikorwa bya gisirikari, gutumaho abasirikari bakuru bari mu kirihuko cy’iza bukuru kugira ngo babasabe gusubira mu kazi. Igihe lisiti y’abari bongeye gusubizwa mu gisirikari yatangazwaga, ahari ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi, buri wese yashoboye kubona ko koloneli Bagosora, umuyobozi w’ibiro bye ubwe, atari ayiriho kandi yaranze kuva mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1992 gushyirwa mu kiruhuko cy’izabukuru kandi yari agejeje ku myaka yemewe n’amategeko ndetse akaba yari yaranagerageje inshuro nyinshi gukora ibishoboka ngo agume mu ngabo.

Ubuhamya bwa Joseph Nzirorera bwerekeye icyo gihe busobanura ku buryo bw’umwikariko uburyo bwo gufata ibyemezo mu nzego z’ubutegetsu, bwibanda ku mwanya w’ibanze w’abakuru b’amashyamba mbere y’abaminisitiri no ku ruhande rwa MRND, icyemezo cya ngombwa cy’abagize umuryango ufutanye ishyari ariko ushyize hamwe wa Nzirorera/Ngirumpatse wayiyoboraga :

**“Sbz :** Ku buryo butangaje, izina rya Bagosora ntiriyari kuri lisiti, kandi na we ubwe yari muri urwo rwego. Rero, ndakeka ko Bagosora ubwe yumvise avanguwe n’icyo cyemezo cya minisitiri w’ingabo. Muri ibyo bihe ni bwo Bagosora yanyegereye nk’umunyamabanga mu rwego rw’igihugu, anegera perezida Mathieu Ndirumpatse, twese hamwe. Yatwegereye twembi.

**Bz :** Ngiye kubasaba ibisobanuro bike. icya mbere : mwatubwiye mu kanya ko byaba byarabereye i Gitarama; ese mushobora kutubwira neza ahanu, i Gitarama, haba harabereye icyo gikorwa ?

**Sbz :** Twari i Gitarama mu kigo gishinzwe amahugurwa y’abakozi cy’i Murambi-niho Guverinoma yari yarahungiyeye- igihe yari avuye muri Guverinoma ku itariki ya 12 Mata.

**Bz :** Ese mwaba mwibuka igihe koloneli Bagosora yabegereye kuri icyo kibazo ?

**Sbz :** [...] Ni uk itariki ya 21 Gicurasi. [...]

**Bz :** Mwavuze mu kanya -kandi nifuzaga kubibasobanura-ko MRND yacungaga minisitiri y’ingabo; ese mushobora kudasobanurira ?

**Sbz :** Oya, ni ukuvuga ko minisitiri y’ingabo, mu rwego rw’ubwumvikane bwo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1992, [...] minisitiri y’ingabo yari ku rutonde rw’imyanya ifitwe na MRND.

<sup>48</sup> Ubuhamya bw’umujenarali, minisitiri w’ingabo, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 21 Ukwakira 2005.

<sup>49</sup> Ubuhamya bw’umwe mu bakoloneli, inyandiko zanjye bwite.

minisitiri rero w'ingabo yagenwaga n'ishyaka MRND kuri uwo mwanya. Ni muri urwo rwego Bagosora yaje kutureba kugira ngo atugezeho...kugira ngo areba niba dushobora kurangiza icyo kibazo hamwe na minisitiri w'ingabo wo mu ruhande rwa MRND.

**Bz** : Hanyuma mwagiye cg ntimwagiye kureba minisitiri w'ingabo ?

**Sbz** : Mathieu nanjye twagiye kumureba, yari afite ibiro bito i Gitarama, twaramubonye; turamubaza. Urebye ntiyagoranye, yatubwiye ko yari bukemure iby'uwo mwamya, ikibazo cya Bagosora.

**Bz** : Ese mushobora kugereranya -mwatubwiye ko guhura na Bagosora byabaye ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi-ese ni ryari mwaba mwarabonye na minisitiri w'ingabo ?

**Sbz** : Ni uwo muni.

**Bz** : Ese, igihe mwahuraga na Bagosora cg ese igihe mwahuraga na bwana Bizimana, mwasabye cg mwabonye ibisobanuro ku mpamvu hari icyo kibazo ?

**Sbz** : Oya, Bizimana nta kintu yatubwiye. Twaramubajije : "Bagosora afite ibibazo ?" Yakitugejejeho, tumubwira ko twifuzaga ko yakwirinda kugirana na we ibibazo, nka minisitiri, n'undi ari umuyobozi w'ibiro. Nanone kandi, ryari ivangura risa n'irigaragaza kubona ko abasirikari bakuru bose bari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru bahamagawe gusubira mu gisirikari, kandi Bagosora, umubereye...umuyobozi w'ibiro...bakorana ku buryo butaziguye, atari kuri lisiti. Hari ikintu gisa...Kandi yumvise vuba cyane ko n'ishyaka ryari ryabibonye<sup>50</sup>.

Ubu buhamya bwemeza ko abafata ibyemezo bose barebwaga no gukora lisiti z' "abasirikari bakuru bagomba kwicwa" bari bari kandi bakusanyijwe i Murambi ku matariki yagenwe, kandi ko byari ngombwa "kwirinda ibibazo" bikomeye na Théoneste Bagosora mu gihe Joseph Nzirorera na we bagombaga kujyana ku itariki ya 22 Gicurasi, kugura intwari mu mahanga.

Augustin Bizimana yabyemeye atabyemeye : Bagosora yasubijwe ako kanya mu ngabo, ariko isubizwamo rye ritajyanye n'izamurwa yari yaramaraniye ryo kubona ipeti rya jenerali (*reba umugereka wa 113*).

Ako gasuzuguro kandi kuri Théoneste Bagosora kerekanaga ukuntu ububasha bwe mu rwego rwa politiki bwari bwaragabanutse kandi n'ibyo yavugaga ku basivili nta cyo byari bikivuze. Uruhare rutari ruto mu bizazane mu rwego rwa gisirikari ingabo z'igihugu zari zifite rwashoboraga kumugerekwaho kubera kuba nyamwigendaho mu ngabo no kutabasha kwe kuzibera umuhuza. Ariko, nk'uko Joseph Nzirorera yabivugaga, ntibyashobokaga gutekereza kugirana ibindi bibazo n'umusirikari mukuru wari ufite ahantu ho gukorera imyitozo yo kurinda Kigali, ahari ibirindiro by'imitwe ifite ibikoresho kurusha indi mu ngabo, komite mu rwego rw'igihugu y'*Interahamwe*, n'umutungo wa prerefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) (*reba umutwe wa 12*).

Ubwo guverinoma yari ihaye rugari ishyirwaho ry'umugambi wo kurengera rubanda no kongera gutangira guhamagarira abaturage kwitabira ukwirinda kw'abasivili, kwari kongeye gutunganywa ku nkunga ya Édouard Karemera-wari wizinjyemo noneho ku mugaragaro nka minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu-kandi kwashinzwe ubuyobozi bwa koloneli Gasake<sup>51</sup>. Amabwiriza ya minisitiri yerekeye Ukwirinda kw'abasivili yasabaga ihuzwa ry'abaturage bari bakusanyijwe na MRND, n'urubyiruko rwatozwaga n'abasirikari bakuru ba kera basubijwemo biyobowe n'abaperefe. Ariko kwari, mu gihe kimwe, ukwihutisha

<sup>50</sup> Ubuhamya bwa Joseph NZIRORERA, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 16 Mata 2006.

<sup>51</sup> Uyu yahawe minisitiri y'ingabo muri Guverinoma y'Abatabazi mu buhungiro.



ihike cya Guverinoma y' "inzibacyuho", kvanaho perezida Sindikubwabo no gushyira ku mugaragaro Joseph Nzirorera ku butegetsi bitari byatinda.

Icyo gihe cyo kwihorera no kwigaragaza mu rwego rwa politiki gishobora gufatwa nk'igihe giha ibindi kubaho ku mpamvu nyinshi. Kibanziriza gato ihungira ry'igice kimwe cya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho i Muramba (perefegitura ya Gisenyi) kivuye i Murambi, nyuma y'ifatwa rya Nyanza n'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi 1994. Itsindwa mu rwego rwa gisirikari rygendaga ritangira, hagarazwa bwa nyuma mu buryo budaafite gahunda gukiza icyari kigishobora gukizwa.

Muri uwo mwuka niho perezida Sindikubwabo yiyambaje nyuma perezida François Mitterrand amumenyesha ko ingabo z'igihugu zitashoboraga guhangana n'Inkotanyi kandi ko ubwicanyi bukabije bwashoboraga kubura (*reba umugereka wa 114*). Ariko umugambi ugaragara wari uwo guhuza igenzura ryo murwego rwa politiki n'urwa gisirikari n'iyubura ry'ubwicanyi busesuye bw'Abatutsi. N'ubwo amahirwe yo kubasha gusubirana ubugenzuzi yari make cyane, ubwicanyi bwo bwari mu bubasha bwuzuye bw'Abatabazi.

### ***Ubufatanye bw'amaburakindi bwa Édouard Karemera na Joseph Nzirorera***

Muri uwo mvundo, Édouard Karemera yinjiye ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yubahiriza inshingano ze nyakuri mu rwego rwe (minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu).

Kuva mu ntangiriro y'intambara, ntiyize areka gushyigikira ibyo gushaka amaboko, gukangura imbaga no kugira abantu inama. Bityo, muri *Raporo y'ubutumwa yagiriye ku Gisenyi no mu Ruhengeri kuva ku itariki ya 18 kugeza ku ya 19 Mata 1994* afatanyije na minisitiri w'ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, yasabye icyo gihe Guverinoma, cyane cyane minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, kwita bikomeye ku kwirinda kw'abasivili... Bishimiraga uko ibyo bari basabye muri izo perefegitura zombi byashyirwaga mu bikorwa :

"mu rwego rwo gutunganya ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili byasaga n'ibyahereyeke bikurikirwa n'ibikorwa bifatika. Ibihumbi by'urubyiruko bari mu itizwa haba mu Bigogwe no mu Ruhengeri. [...] Amabwiriza asobanutse agomba gutangwa bidatinze mu bayobozi b'amakomini kugira ngo bahitemo urubyiruko rubishaka ruhabwe iryo hugurwa, no mu bayobozi b'imitwe ya gisirikari yo mu maperefegitura kugira ngo mbashyireho uburyo bwo kwigisha gukoresha intwari mu bihe bya vuba cyane. Guverinoma igomba gutegura mu maguru mashya igitekerzo cyo kongerera ingabo zacu imbaraga mu murwa mukuru, yoherezayo amatsinda y'urubyiruko ruklorera ubushake ruvuye mu maperefegitura, nk'uko bamwe bamaze bkubiyifuzwa<sup>52</sup>."

Itandukira ry'*Interahamwe*, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo, ryateraga Édouard Karemera akantu; ibyo byatumye yihutira gufata iya mbere mu guharanira ko uwo mutwe wa gisivili wari usanganywe imikorere yihariye n'intwari wagengwa n'inzego za gisirikari. Kuba visiperezida wa mbere wa

<sup>52</sup> Reba umugereka wa 75.

MRND yari yinjiye muri iyo Guverinoma yanengwaga byayiminjiriyemo agafu, kandi n'ubwo bamwe mu bayigize babonaga iri mu marembera, ibyo byabaye ikimenyetso ko ibikorwa bikomeye byo mu minsi ya nyuma byari bitangiye.

Koko rero imirwano yari igeze ahakomeye : Inkotanyi zakazaga umurego ku buryo budasubira inyuma kandi kuba leta yari imaze gukomanyirizwa mu kugura intwari byagaragaraga ko igihugu cyakuweho amaboko. Gusa rero Guverinoma y'inziyacyuho yagombaga kwerekana ko hatabayeho imishyikirano, itari gupfa kwemera gutsindwa gusa. Mu rwego rw'intambara, iyo imishyikirano nta kindi yari kugeraho kitari ugucamo igihugu kabiri : Ahari hamaze kwigarurirwa n'Inkotanyi mu Burasirazuba, n'ibice by'imisozi byari mu maboko y'Abahutu mu Burengerazuba. Ubwo imishyikirano y'Arusha yashoboraga kuba yubahirijwe mu rwego rwo "kugabana ubutegetsi", cyane cyane ku rwego rw'ingabo rwateganyaga igabana rya 50-50. Hari hasigaye ibyo ari byo byose kwemeza icyo gisubizo amahanga yashoboraga nanone kubibonamo inyungu<sup>53</sup>.

Mu by'ukuri, muri ayo macenga, ibyo guhiganwa hagati y'abifuzaga kuzungura ryari kuba ryeguriwe Joseph Nzirorera wiyumvaga kuba ku isonga ry'igice cy'Abahutu bo mu Rwanda rugabanyijemo kabiri. Nyamara muri ayo macenga, Karemera nta cyo yatakazaga. Koko rero, ubwo Mathieu Ndirumapfashye yirirwaga yimena umutwe mu mibare ye y'umunyabwenge utazi icyo afata n'icyo areka kandi yarabashije kubona ukuntu Guverinoma yari abereye umuvugizi mu mahanga yari imaze guta agaciro, Édouard Karemera we yumvaga ari ngombwa kugaragaza ubwitange bukomeye no kwimenyekanisha ashira imbere ibikorwa by'ukwirinda kwa gisivili mu rwego rwo gukoma imbere intsinzi y'Inkotanyi yagendaga yigaragaza<sup>54</sup>. Yitwazaga intambara kugira ngo yigire intwari bityo yiteganyirize umwana mwiza mu ivugurura ry'inzego za MRND ryagomba byanze bikunze kuba intambara irangiye. Ariko nanone yari azi gushyira mu gaciro : guhangana na Nzirorera n'igikingi cye cy'abakiga byari ukudashishoza. Byari ngombwa rero kumushyigikira, ari na ko afata umwana munini mu ishyamba. Mu gukora imirimi ikomeye kandi ikenewe, yashoboraga kwizera ko igihe nikigera ashobora kuzagumura "abarwanya Nzirorera". Iri sesengura ryasobanuwe neza na minisitiri w'intebe Jean Kambanda ku itariki ya 3 Gicurasi 1994 ku Kibuye ari kumwe na Édouard Karemera.

Kugaruka mu rubuga kwa Karemera biri mu mujyirizi umwe n'uburyo inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya mbere Kamena (*reba umugereka wa 97*) yazamuye bitunguranye koloneli Félicien Muberuka, umusirikari mukuru w'umwirasi wo muri Kigali ngari wari uzwiho kuba umwe mu ba koloneli "basuzuguraga ubutegetsi bwa minisitiri [w'ingabo]". Gushyirwa na Guverinoma ku buyobozi bwa etamajoro y'abajandarume asimbuye Augustin Ndindiliyimana byatewe n'amayeri ya politiki ahwanye n'ayakoreshwaga na Édouard Karemera : "Nidutsindwa, tuzagumana nibura igice cy'igihugu" kandi "tuzasubizaho inzego

<sup>53</sup> Akazi kasaga n'ahakomeye umuntu arebye amagambo yakururwa n'ibaruwa Perezida Sindikubwabo yandikiye mugenzi we w'Umufaransa ku itariki ya 23 Gicurasi (*reba umugereka wa 114*). Ariko, iyo Guverinoma yari yaratereranywe, iyo urebye aho inzego z'ubutabera z'Umuryango w'Abibumye zari zihagaze, ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi, usanga bisobanutse neza ko iyo Guverinoma y'inziyacyuho yari yemewe n'amategako. (*reba umugereka wa 115*), kabone nubwo hatowe icyemezo cyo ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi kiyikomanyiriza intwari ndetse n'inama y'umutekano ikabitsimbararaho.

<sup>54</sup> Amayeri amaze atyo yari yamaze kuboneka ku ruhande rwa Donat Murego mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi.

za gisirikarare nyazo mu ngabo”. Ubusanzwe yari umwe mu basirikari bakuru byavugwaga ko “barwanya ubutegets” – yari kuri listi y’abasirikari bakuru 12 b’ *ibiyitso* – ariko kandi umwanya we mu ngabo z’igihugu wari inziramakemwa : n’ubwo yari “umunyayanduga” ariko, kuzamuka mu ntera yabikesheje umugore we wavukaga mu Ruhengeri<sup>55</sup>.

Nyuma y’icyemezo 918 cy’Inama ishinze amahoro (17 Gicurasi) gitegeka gukomanyiriza ingabo z’igihugu mu kugura intwari kandi kikagena ibyo kohereza mu gihugu Minuar II (ya kabiri), nta mwanya wo kujijinganya wari ukiriho (*reba umugereka wa 116*). N’ubwo gukoma imbere intsinzi y’Inkotanyi ku rugamba bitari bigishobotse ndetse n’abahagarariye ibihugu byabo bakaba bari bamaze kuzinukwa ibyo kubyutsa imishyikirano kuko uruhande rw’Abahutu rwari rumaze guta agaciro, byari bigishoboka kurengera byibura agace gato mu ngingo zireba politiki ziteganijwe mu masezerano y’Arusha, kari gutuma igabana ry’ubutegets bw’igihugu rishoboka ku buryo ubu n’ubu abayobozi b’ “Abahutu” bakagira agace k’igihugu bagenzura kandi ibikorwa byo gutabara abatwaga na byo bigahabwa urubuga. Icyo cyizere cyatumye abayobozi b’inzibacyuho bagerageza guhanyanyaza mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Ku itariki ya 18 Gicurasi mu Bufaransa, minisitiri w’Ububanyi n’amahanga Alain Juppé yasabye Inteko ishingira amategeko gutegura inama ihuza Abakuru h’ibihugu bituranye n’U Rwanda anakira i Paris ku itariki ya 20, Faustin Twagiramungu, minisitiri w’intebe wari watoranyirijwe kuyobora Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Nanone ku itariki ya 20, ambasaderi w’Ububiligi mu Rwanda, Johan Swinnen, yatangiye urugendo ngishwanamo mu bihugu byinshi by’Afurika; ndetse n’impuruza Théodore Sindikubwabo yohereje Mitterrand yakiriwe neza i Paris.

Inkotanyi zo zumvaga zigomba kwihutisha imirwano kugira ngo zitsinde burundu. Ibyo byatumye uwo munsu zirara zigaruriye ikibuga cy’indege cy’i Kigali n’ikigo cy’abasirikari cy’i Kanombe.

Hanyuma bukeye bwaho, mu gihe hakirwaga ku Mulindi (icyicaro cy’Inkotanyi), intumwa yihariye y’umunyamabanga mukuru w’Abibumbye (Loni), Iqbal Riza, wari ushinze kuganira ku iyoherezwa i Kigali ry’abasirikari ba Loni 500 bakomoka muri Ghana (soma Gana) bari bategereje i Nairobi, Paul Kagame ubwe yaneguye bikomeye uwo muriyango anatega ingabo ze gufata ako kanya urugo rwa perezida i Kigali. Ni muri icyo cyerekezo hashobora gukorwa isesengura ry’ukuntu impande zombi zanze kuva ku izima.

Kuba Karemera, umugabo utajarajara, yari yinjiye mu ruhando rwa politiki

<sup>55</sup> Félicien Muberuka yari amaze igihe mu bashoboraga kuba abakuru ba etamajoro. Ishyirwaho rye nk’umukuru wa etamajoro y’abajandarume ryashyigikiwe na Mathieu Ndirumapfwe (na we wabakomokaga muri Kigali ngari) ndetse ahari ntiranyirwanyijwe na Théoneste Bagosora, n’ubwo Muberuka yerekanyaga ku mugaragarako ko arwanya umukuru wa etamajoro y’ingabo, jenerali majoro Augustin Bizimungu. Ibyo bituma umuntu atekereza ko byari bikomeye kuzamura mu ntera utari umunyAkazu. Muri rusange, umwuga we wabaye mwiza mu rugero, n’ubwo hari akantu mu bawofisiye bo mu Bushiru, barakazwaga no kubona umuntu ukomoka mu majyepfo ahabwa imyanya yifuzwaga kubera ubucuti bw’umugore we Roza na perezida. Uyu yari inshuti y’umugore wa Thaddée Bagaragaza; bombi babaye amahabara ya Juvénal Habyarimana. Nk’urugero, yagizwe umuyobozi wa batayo y’ “Abakomando” yo mu Ruhengeri hagati ya 1980-1981, hanyuma yoherezwa mu ihugurwa mu Ishuri rikuru ry’intamabara ry’ i Paris, aho yavanye impamyabumenyi y’amashuri makuru ya gisirikari. Kuva muri 1989 kugeza muri 1992, yashyizwe ku mirimo ya G4 muri etamajoro y’ingabo z’U Rwanda, hanyuma asimburako koloneli Bagosora ku buyobozi bw’ikigo cyitiriwe “Mayuya” i Kanombe n’ubw’umuyobozi w’akarere k’ibikorwa bya gisirikari by’umujyi wa Kigali. Imirimo ye ntiyatinze kubera ibibazo mu girikari n’ihungira rya Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho ku Gisenyi.

hakiyongeraho koloneli wari uhawe kuyobora abajandarume – wahereye ko atangaza umunsi ashwirwaho ko intambara nirangira yifuza ko abirasi ku buyobozi bw'ingabo (cyane cyane jenerali Augustin Bizimungu) bazahita bavanwaho –, ibyo byashoboraga gufatwa icyarimwe nk'ikimenyetso c'inzira nshya mu guhangana n'inyeshyamba ariko nanone bikaba ikimenyetso cyo kugururira amarembo [abatari basanzwe mu kazu]. Ayo macenga mashya yashoboraga mu by'ukuri gushimisha abasirikari bakuru benshi b'Abafaransa bari bazi neza Félicien Muberuka, wari warize mu mashuri meza ya gisirikari yo mu Bufaransa kandi bari barakoranye na we ari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari muri Kigali wari uzwiho kwitandukanya n'intagondwa z'Abahutu zayoboraga imitwe ifite ibikoresho byinshi i Kigali. Mu rwego rw'ibikorwa by'ubutabazi byayoborwaga n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mbere y'ishwirwaho rya Minuar II (ya kabiri) bigamije kugarura amahoro mu bice byari bitarafatwa n'Inkotanyi, Karemera na Muberuka bari mu mwanya mwiza wo kuba bajya mu mishyikirano mu gihe kuyisubukura byari kuba bishobotse.

Mu gihe hari hakigwa ibibazo by'inze, ubuyobozi n'intego icyo gikorwa mpuzamahanga [cy'ubutabazi], abo bagabo bombi bihatye kugaragaza ubwitange. N'ubwo yari yarakomeretse ku itariki ya 21 Gicurasi 1994, Félicien Muberuka yashoboye gukorana urugendo na Édouard Karemera muri perefegitura ya Kibuye akimara gushwirwaho.

Mu rwego rwa minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, abakozi bakuru b'iyo minisiteri bari barahize mu gihirahiro mu gihe kirekire kandi kidasobanutse cy'ubusigire bwa minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, bahamagariwe igikorwa cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivili cyari gisigaye ari cyo kamara, Karemera aherako yinjira mu byo gufasha Joseph Nzirorera kwegukana izungura.

### ***Ishwirwaho ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili***

Ku idosiye y'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, Édouard Karemera ntiyazuyaje kuyikora, nk'uko bigaragara mu gatabo ke k'inyandiko (*reba umugereka wa 117*) : kuva ku itariki ya 25, hatangajwe amabwiriza ya minisitiri w'intebe yerekeye ukwirinda kw'abasivili hanyuma, nyuma y'iminsi itatu yatumiye abaperefe bose i Gitarama kugira ngo amenye aho ishirwa mu bikorwa ry'amabwiriza ye ryari rigeze, amare impungenge ku isimbura ry'abayobozi b'amakomini, anajye na bo impaka ku mibereho y'abavanywe mu byabo (*reba umugereka wa 118*). Ku itariki ya 9 Kamena, yateje ubwega muri asaba ukwitanga gukomeye kw'ingabo z'igihugu mu kwirinda kw'abaturage, anatangiza "iyamamaza rikaze ku maradiyo n'ibinyamakuru byandikwa kugira ngo yumvishe Abanyarwanda akamaro ko kwirwanaho ndetse n'ako kugaba ibitero ku mwanzi rusange aho guhunga buri gihe"<sup>56</sup>.

Ubwitange bwa Édouard Karemera mu ishirwaho ry' ukwirinda kw'abasivili ntibwatewe gusa n'ingorane z'ibihe. Asohora amabwiriza yo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, yashakaga kurangiza urujijo mu rwego rw'amategeko rwarangaga

<sup>56</sup> Reba umugereka wa 97.

uwo mutwe w'urubyiruko, noneho yari ashyize ku buryo bwemewe muri icyo kimashini gishya cyari cyashyizweho. Mu kugira imitwe yitwara gisirikari amaboko yitwaje intwari imbere mu gihugu ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, "numero ya gatatu" mu ishyamba MRND yari nanone arangije amakimbirane yo kuyobora ishyamba yari hagati ya Mathieu Ndirumapfukije na Joseph Nzirorera.

Uko kwemerwa n'amategeko k'urubyiruko rwa MRND, kwasobanuraga neza ubushake bwa Édouard Karemera bwo kongera kwigarurira urwo urwego buri gihe yagiranaga na rwo umubano udasobanutse, kuva ubwo abarurimo bagiraga uruhare rukomeye mu itsindwa rye ku buyobozi bwa MRND mu ihuriro rusange ryo muri Mata 1992 :

" Uretse muri za mitingi mu migi mikuru inyuranye, uretse mu myigiragambye ya politiki, sinigeze mbona bwana Karemera yigaragaza muri Komite. Ngomba ndetse kuvuga ko mu itangira ry'Interahamwe, mbere y'ihuriro rusange ryo muri Mata 1992, bwana Karemera... ku byo nabonye, ntiyemeraga Interahamwe kandi na zo zarabimwishyuraga. Rero, ziyamamarizaga Mathieu aho kwamamaza Karemera"<sup>57</sup>.

Ariko uko kwigarurirwa ntikwari kubura ingurane, kubera ko ukwemerwa gushobora kuboneka nk'igikorwa cyo guhanagurwaho icyaha kweretswe abakuru b'abitwara gisirikari bari batumiwe icyo gihe n'uwiyerekanaga nk'umuntu mushya "uhagarariye" urwo rubyiruko.

**Bz :** Mwavuze ko intego z'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, igihe mwajyaga mu nama yo hagati muri Gicurasi iyobowe na koloneli Gasake, yari iyo kuvanga Interahamwe n'indi mitwe y'urubyiruko mu mutwe w'ukwirinda kw'abasivili. Ikoreshwa ry'iyi mitwe ryagize iyihe ngaruka mu rwego rwo kwirinda kw'abasivili ?

**Sbz :** Ubundi igitekerezo cyanyije ni uko icyo cyemezo wenda cyaje gitinze niba cyari kigamije gukiza ubuzima, ariko naketse ko icyo cyemezo cyasaga n'icyemerwa mu rwego rw'amategeko ibyari byabaye ku itariki [ntibyumvikana] Mata, ku buryo imitwe imwe y'abantu yibwiye ko, kubera ko ukwirinda kwari kwemejwe n'amategeko kandi tukaba twari twarakoze mu rwego rwo kwirengera, byari nk'aho babonaga ubwo bwicanyi cg ibyari byarakozwe bimaze kwemerwa n'amategeko. Ni ko mbibona ku giti cyanyije<sup>58</sup>."

Ako ni ko kabaye akamaro gakubye kabiri k'iyemerwa : gutunganya ubushobozi bw'abitwara gisirikari no kwemerwa ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byamenyekanishaga kandi bigahesha ishema "abakunda igihugu nyabo batemeraga iyo ntambara kandi bari bashyigikiye ingabo z'igihugu" :

"Ubundi, ku bwanjye—ni igitekerezo cyanyije— ndebye Guverinoma, ndebye ukuntu mbere y'itariki ya 6 Mata, hari habajijwe icyo kibazo cy'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, cyari buri gihe cyagiye cg, cg kikabikwa, icyo gihe, bemeje iyo gahunda y'ukwirinda kw'abasivili, yahereyeko yemeza cg ishyiraho, iha ububasha bw'amategeko, ihanagura ibyaha urebye abari barakoze ubwicanyi; icyo gihe, itegutse ryari rihinduye ku buryo bwemewe ukwirinda kw'abasivili n'ubwo ubwicanyi bwari icyaha"<sup>59</sup>.

Igihe na cyo cyahaye Édouard Karemera umwanya wo kujya mu bikorwa

<sup>57</sup> Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 24 Gicurasi 2006, p. 34.

<sup>58</sup> Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 26 Gicurasi 2006, p. 22-24.

<sup>59</sup> Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, urubanza rwa Karemera n'abandi, TPIR, 6 Kamena 2006, p. 26.

bifatika nk'umuyobozi w'intambara muri perefegitura y'iwabo ya Kibuye. Iyo perefegitura yari yarabayemo ubwicanyi bukabije kubera umubare munini w'Abatutsi bari bayituyemo na politiki y'ubushotoranyi yaoreshwaga na Clément Kayishema. Kuva mu mpera z'igice cya mbere cya Gicurasi, imisozi ya Bisesero yabaye ihuriro ry'abasivili b'Abatutsi bahigwaga kandi bari bafungiwe uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo guhunga, haba mu majyaruguru werekera ku Gisenyi, mu burengerazuba werekera ku kiyaga cya Kivu cg mu majyepfo werekera i Cyangugu. Abo bacikacumu biyemeje kwirwanaho kugeza ku munota wa nyuma bifashishije uburyo bwashoboraga kuboneka, ubwo bari bafite n'ubwo bikoreye ubwabo ahongaho : imyambi, imiheto, amacumu cg amabuye. Uko kwirwanaho kurangwa n'ubutwari, abashinzwe umutekano baho n'abitwara gisirikari bo muri perefegitura yose hanyuma n'abo mu maperefegitura byegeranye batashoboraga gutsinda, kwashajije abo ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma, noneho irimburwa ryabo rigirwa inshimgano y'igihugu (*reba umugereka wa 119*).

Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena yari yahangayikishijwe n'ibyo bintu ntiyashobora gufata icyemezo :

- “– Abahutu benshi binjiwemo n'Inkotanyi muri Kibuye.
- Ibibazo byo gufunga isoko ku nkengero z'ikiyaga cya Kivu.
- Rwamatamu, burugumesitiri ni umuvandimwe wa Sendashonga<sup>60</sup>.
- Ikibazo cy'Inyenzi mu Bisesero [abacengezi b'Inkotanyi]<sup>61</sup>.”

Iyo ngingo yongeye gushyirwa ku murongo w'ibyigwa n'inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 14 Kamena bafite ubushake bugaragara bwo kuyirangiza. Kugira ngo isobanure ubwinshi bw'ibikoreshe bya gisikare n'ibya gisivili yafashe icyemezo cyo koherezayo, Guverinoma yitwaje ingirwa ngingo z' “amateka” n'amayeri ya gisirikari yo mu rwego rwo hejuru :

“Uko ibintu bimeze (mu rwego rwa gisirikari, urwo kwirinda kw'abasivili, abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, urwa politiki n'ububanyi n'amahanga). Ibura ry'intwari.

Komini Gishyita segiteri Biseserohari inyenzi.

– Rwamatamu na majoro Jabo baburijemo igikorwa gihuriweho kubira ngo birangire. Uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Gisovu rufite abajandarume babiri gusa. abarezerivisite bakwiye kuharinda hose abantu 20.

Kuwisumo Umushinga GTZ

Abasesero, ni abatasi ba kera b'ingabo z'abami. Mu Nkotanyi, Polisi Denis... Rwigara ni abo muri ako karere, kandi Bisesero yahiswemo na Biseruka [*reba incamake ya 2*] kubera ko azi ko ari ahantu hafite akamaro mu rwego rwa gisikare. Gisenyi izaterwa biturutse mu Bisesero na Kabuhanga <Gisenyi>. Hakenewe ibikorwa bikomeye. Gisenyi ifite batayo imwe gusa, iya 42<sup>62</sup>.”

Inkuru yitaweho na Édouard Karemera muri ajenda ye igaragaza uyu mwanzuro :

“Inama y'Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17.06.1994.

Ibyemezo byafashwe :

Guverinoma yemeje ko igitero gikaze kigomba gukorwa i Bisesero bibaye ngombwa

<sup>60</sup> Abel Furere yari umuvandimwe wa Seth Sendashonga, Inkotanyi ikaba na minisitiri watoranyijwe w'Urubirukoko n'Amakoperative muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye.

<sup>61</sup> Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKE, TPIR, urupapuro rwo kuri 31 Gicurasi (*reba umugereka wa 76*).

<sup>62</sup> Ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKE, TPIR, impapuro zo kuri 18, 19 Gicurasi, 4 na 9 Kamena.

ifashijwe na Gisenyi kandi ibyo, bitarenze itariki ya 20/06/1994.

Mu rwego rwo kurinda ibikorwa by'amajyambere muri gace k'imisozi miremire, Guverinoma yemeje ko abayobozi b'ibyo bigo bandikirwa (Electrogaz – uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Gisovu-anteni ya Karongi, umushinga wa Crête Zayire-Nil), ni ngombwa guha akazi abahozze mu gisirikari bagabahembwa ku ngengo y'amari ya Guverinoma bibaye ngombwa kandi Guverinoma izatanga intwaro ku zatumijwe mu rwego rw'ukwirinda kw'abasivili <sup>63</sup>."

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko zose zashoboye kuboneka zerekeye icyo gihe cyo gutsemba abaturage b'abasivili, minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ni we koko wayoboraga icyo ubwe yari yise "igitero gikaze", afatanyije na perefere n'umuyobozi w'ikigo cy'abajandarume. Ku itariki ya 20 Kamena, ashiniye ku cyemezo cy'Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 17 Kamena, ni na we mu izina rya Guverinoma, kubera minisitiri w'ingabo atari ahari, wategetse liyetona koloneli Anatole Nsengiyumva, umuyobozi w'akarere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikari ka Gisenyi, gufasha ikigo cy'abajandarume cyo ku Kibuye, kugeza icyo gihe kitari cyarashoboye guhashya abari barokotse. Yamuhaye igihe cy'iminsi itatu kugira ngo abe yarangije igikorwa cyo kubahiga. Yabimenyesheje perefere, anamusaba kumukorera raporo ku migendere y'ibintu mu makomini ya Gishyita, Gisovu na Gitesi mu mpera z'ukwezi (*reba umugereka wa 119*). Twibutse hagati aho ko ingabo zo mu gikorwa "Turquoise" zahageze ku itariki ya 22 Kamena zasanze icyo gitero cyari cyahurujwe cyari cyitaragera ku ntogo zacyo.

Nguwo umusanze wa Édouard Karemera mu ntambara. Ibi biramuhama kuko ari we wasabye guhera mu ntangiriro ya Mata ko abasirikari (ntiyibeshyaga ku mbaraga zabo kimwe n'abasirikari bakuru benshi ba etamajoro) bunganirwa no guhagurutsa abaturage ndetse no guha intwaro intagondwa zikaze zo mu rubyiruko rw'Abahutu. Icyo cyemezo, n'ubwo kitari icy'umwimerere, cyasaga urebye n'aho ari cyo cyonyine cyashoboraga guhangana, nibura mu gihe gito, n'imbaraga za gisirikari nyinshi z'Inkotanyi no kuburizamo cg gutera ubwoba abashoboraga kuzishyigikira b'imbere mu gihugu.

Kubera ko ingabo zari zifite akazi kenshi zitabasha no kwivana mu bibazo byazo bwite na Guverinoma y'inziyacyuho igaragaza intege nke cyane mu gucyamurira imitwe yitwara gisirikari mu duce tutagenzurwaga ako kanya n'abasirikari b'abazzeriviste cg abakiri mu kazi, imitunganyirize y'ukwirwanaho kw'abasivili, yari mu maboko y'impande ebyiri urw'amapererefe gitura n'urw'ingabo, yasaga n'amahirwe ya nyuma yo gutinza intsinsi. "uburyo bwa Karemera" bwungaga byuzuye imitwe yitwara gisirikari burema imitwe y'ingoboka iyoborwa n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi ryari ryisubije ubutegetsi. Nanone ubwo buryo bwakuragaho urujijo, rwari rwaramaze kwirengagizwa mu maperefegitura ashigikiye MRND, rwemeza ku mugaragaro itangwa ry'intwaro mu basivili n'abitwara gisirikari ryari ryararwanyijwe n'abanyacyubahiro benshi kugeza icyo gihe :

"Imikoranire ya Guverinoma n'ingabo z'igihugu :

Abasirikari barumva baratereranywe na Guverinoma, isa n'ishamba kwihisha hafi y'umupaka ititaye ku gishakira ingabo z'igihugu ibikoreshe.

<sup>63</sup> Édouard KAREMERA, inyandiko za TPIR, ishakiye KA0100403E (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

Ntibishoboka kwemera ko bashaka kuvangira (kudindiza) igikorwa cya Guverinoma kandi nta cyo itakoze kandi n'abayobozi ba gisirikari bazi ibikorwa byose muri urwo rwego<sup>64</sup>.”

“6. Uko ibintu bimeze ku mabariyeri :

Itangazo ku baperefe kugira ngo imbunda na za gerenade ntibyerekanwe. Kugabanya uko bishoboka amabariyeri hagasigara gusa ashobora gusobanurwa”.

“7. Uko ibintu bimeze mu gisirikari :

– Kigali yose iragosome.

– Itangwa ry'ibkoresho ntirigenda neza na busa n'ubwo hatanzwe icyizere. [...]

Ibintu birakomeye. Kugira ngo hirindwe ibyago, habomba kuboneka amasasu no kubasha kwinjiza mu ngabo abantu nibura 5.000.”

“– Kuvanaho imitwe yitwara gisirikari igahindurwa imitwe irwana, igenzurwa n'ingabo.

– Hakenewe uburyo nyabwo bwo kwemeza Inkotanyi kujya mu mishyikirano.

– Ishyirwaho ry'urwego rwa politiki rwo gutekereza ku ngingo z'imibanire y'abaturage na politiki.

– Kwirinda kurwanira imyanya<sup>65</sup>.

– Ubutumwa bwoherejwe mu mahanga gushaka intwari.

– Itunganywa ry'ukwirinda kw'abasivili rireba Mininter na Minadef, Iyo ya nyuma ni yo igomba kwifashisha abajyanama ba gisirikari bshinzwe kutubwira icyemezo cyatuma ingabo zigenzura imitwe yitwara gisirikari kugira ngo ziyahindure abarwanyu kimwe nabasirikari basanzwe.

– Kurinda Kigali na Gisenyi

– Gucengera mu bari inyuma y'ingabo z'umwanzi.

– Urwego ruhoro rworoshya imikoranyu hagati y'urwego rwa politiki n'urwa gisirikari.

– Gutabaza mu cyerekezo cya Paris kugira ngo badufashe byihutirwa.”

Igitero ku misozi ya Bisesero gitanga ishusho y'ibikorwa by'ubwicanyu biyobowe n'umuyobozi w'akarere k'ibikorwa bya gisirikari, bikitabirwa n'ibigo by'abajandarume, igipolisi cya komini n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari ivuye hirya no hino mu gihugu. Ariko nk'uko n'amagambo ya minisitiri Karemera abihamya, intambara ni igikoresho cya politiki gusa. Igitero cyo mu Bisesero cyasubizaga ingorane zihutirwa zo gushyira mu bikorwa intego ebyiri zifitanye isano yari yarumvikanyeho na Joseph Nzirorera :

– kubura mu “bwenge” ubwicanyu n'intambara kugira ngo haboneke impamvu y'imishyikirano (“Hakenewe uburyo bwihariye bwo kwemeza Inkotanyi gushyikirana<sup>66</sup>”) no

– gufata igihe cyo kurangiza inzibacyuho yo mu rwego rw'amategeko we ubwe yari yagize uruhare mu itegurwa ryayo ku matariki ya 7 na 8 Mata.

<sup>64</sup> Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, iyibutsa ry'uduce tume : inama y'Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17 Kamena 1994 : ishakiro KA0100403G; Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994 : ishakiro KA0100403L ; KA0100403M-K01004030 na KA0100403M-KA01004030 (*reba umugereka wa117*).

<sup>65</sup> Igitekerezo cyasubiwemo mu Nama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 mu gihe hageragezwaga “ishyirwaho ry'itsinda rya politiki ryo gutanga ibitekerezo ku birebana n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage na politiki : kwirinda kubyiganira imyanya” (agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, ishakiro KA01104030). Ku ruhando rw'inzego z'ubutegetsi, igihe cy'iminsi 90 yatangaga impamvu ihagije yo gutangiza ku mugaragaro dosiye yo gusimbura Théodore Sindikubwabo.

<sup>66</sup> Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994, TPIR, ishakiro KA0104030.



## ***Iyimikwa rya nyirarureshwa rya Joseph Nzirorera***

Atagira imirimo ye ya minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Édouard Karemera yari asigaranye gusa ibyumweru bitandatu byo gutezura irangizwa ry'igihe cy'inzibacyuho, ni ukuvuga mu buryo bufatika gutoresha Joseph Nzirorera ku buyobozi bw'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'igihugu kugira ngo amushyire mu mwanya wo gusimbura Théodore Sindikubwabo.

Ubusimbure bwe kuri Perezidansi bwagombaga kumara amezi atatu gusa. Muri uwo mwuka w'intambara, ububasha bwo gukora bwari buhagije kandi yagombaga gutera inambwe ku mbaraga. Zishobora gusubirwamo uhereye ku nyandiko bwite za minisitiri :

"Inama y'amashyaka atanu ari muri Guverinoma yo ku Gisenyi ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena.

Ibyemezo byafashwe :

Aho gusubira inyuma, kandi hari imbogamizi zo mu rwego rw'amategeko n'urwa politiki zigaragara, abari mu nama bemeje kujya mu cyerekezo cy'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha aho gusubizaho CND nk'uko byari byifujwe mu nama y'abaperezida [b'amashyaka].

Humvikanyweho gutangaza ibyagezweho n'ibyemezo byafashwe na Guverinoma kugira ngo bishyirwe mu bikorwa.

Ishyirwaho ry'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho ishingiyeye ku masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha ;

Gushyirwaho uburyo bwo gusimbura Perezida wa Repubulika witabye Imana muri urwo rwego. Mu gihe cya kabiri, nyuma yo kugisha inama, gushyiraho Guverinoma<sup>67</sup>."

"Inama y'Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena 1994

Ibyemezo byafashwe :

[...] 4.

– Kwemezwa na Guverinoma kw'itangazo ry'amashyaka MRND-MDR-PSD-PDC na PL, ryakorewe ku Gisenyi ku itariki ya 7 Kamena 1994 nyuma y'inama yayo yo ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena 1994.

– Itegurwa ry'inama hagati ya minisitiri w'intebe n'amashyaka ahamagarirwa kujya mu Nzego z'inzibacyuho.

– Birifuzwa ko abayobozi b'amashyaka batanga lisiti y'abadepite babo mu Ntekom ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Ibaruwa ya Minisitiri w'intebe izakurikiraho."

Inyandikomvugo irambuye y'iyo Nama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 10 itangwa na minisitiri Augustin Ndirabatsire :

"Isuzuma ry'itangazo ry'amashyaka ryo ku matariki ya 6-7 Kamena 1994.

Muri iryo tangazo, ingingo ya 4 ni yo shingiro ry'iyo nyandiko naho ingingo ya 5 itegerezwa ry'umuryango mpuzamahanga n'Inkotanyi.

Iteganyabihe ry'ibintu nimikurikiranire yabyo :

Kwakirwa kw'itangazo mu bitekerezo by'imbere mu gihugu.

Igigomba kwitabwaho :

Ishyirwaho rya Perezida w'urukiko rusasa imanza.

Gusaba amashyaka abakandida (abaperezida n'abadepite).

<sup>67</sup>Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, KAOI0403A na KAOI0403D (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

Ihindurwa ry'itegeko nshinga (Twagiramungu, isaranganya)

Gusaba minisitiri w'intebe gushyiraho Guverinoma nshya.

Isaranganya rya za minisitiri.

Abagize amashyaka.

Igihe ntarengwa cy'ibyumweru bitatu kugira ngo ibyo bikorwa bizabe byarangiye.

Inama ya Kongere y'ubucamanza izaba ahagana mu mpera z'icyumweru gitaha.

Ni nde ushyikirizwa lisiti y'abadepte ?

Guverinoma ni yo ishyiraho Inzego, minisitiri w'intebe yandikira amashyaka;ayo yohereza amalisiti noneho minisitiri w'intebe akayageza kuri Perezida <sup>68</sup>."

"Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17 Kamena 1994

[...] 6. Lisiti y'abadepte :

Amashyaka amwe yamaze gutanga amalisiti yayo n'ubwo atuzuye.

MRND na MDR ntzirayatanga kimwe n'amashyaka atari muri Guverinoma<sup>69</sup>."

"Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1994

1. Inzego

Ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'igihugu guhera ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanaga, hakurikijwe icyemezo cyafashwe n'amashyaka mu nama yayo yo ku itariki ya 30 Kamena 1994.

Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (Mininter) izita ku itunganya ry'ibintu bizakenerwa muri uwo muhango, Minisitiri y'Ubutabera (Minijust) izita ku byangombwa birebana n'amategeko kugira ngo uwo muhango utungane.

Amalisiti y'abadepte ba buri shyamba amaze gushyikirizwa minisitiri w'intebe, azatangaza abyumvikanyeho na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (Mininter) lisiti ntakuka yo gutanagaza<sup>70</sup>."

Ihindagura ry'inyandiko z'amategeko mu rwego rwa politiki, byifuzwaga na minisitiri Karemera kugira ngo atoreshe Nziroreza byari binyuranye burundu n'ibyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata : kugirango ashimishe umuryango mpuzamahanga – utari ugifite icyo utegereje kuri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho –, byari noneho ngombwa kwimika Joseph Nziroreza nka Perezida mushya w'Inteko y'igihugu ishingira amategeko "wemewe", ni ukuvuga washyizweho bikurikije amasezerano y'Arusha, akanaherwa hamwe ububasha ibyemezo by'iteteko nshinga ryo muri 1991 byafatanyaga n'urwego rwa Perezida w'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) : ubwo gusimbura Perezida wa Repubulika mu gihe ubutegetsi budafite ubuhagarariye<sup>71</sup>.

Ahangaha, ihitamo ry'uburyo bw'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT) butari ubw'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) bwari ngombwa mu kurangiza ikibazo cya visiperezidante wa CND, umukandida wari ugenewe gusimbura Perezida, agasabwa guhagararira by'agateganyo umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND (wari kuba yazamuwe ku buyobozi bw'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT). Hagombaga nanone gusimbuza, hakurikijwe amategeko, abari bagize CND abahagarariye urwego rufite imbaraga rw'abarwanashyamba ba MRND. Bityo, wasangaga mu badepte bashya batoranyirijwe guhagarira ishyamba muri ANT, intagondwa zari zaragize uruhare rukomeye mu bwicanyi nka Laurent Semanza (Kigali ngari), Adalbert

<sup>68</sup> Ajenda ya Augustin NGIRABATWARE, TPIR, ishakiye K0243644 (*reba umugereka wa 99*).

<sup>69</sup> Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR ishakiye KA 010403 G (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

<sup>70</sup> Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR ishakiye KA 010403 J (*reba umugereka wa 117*).

<sup>71</sup> Inama nyinshi z'abaminisitiri zahariwe isuzuma ry'amavugurura ry'itegeko-nshinga ashingiye cyane cyane ku isaranganya rishya ry'abadepte mu mashyamba, yemejwe mbere yo guhindura ibiro (*reba umugereka wa 98*).

Muhutu (Butare), Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita (Kibungo)...Amaherezo, imiryango y'Inteko ishingira amategeko yari ifunguriwe amashyamba mashya y' "Abahutu Pawa". icyari gisigaye kwari ukugena abahagarariye buri wese no gukemura ikibazo cya CDR, yari yarangiye kuba muri ANT hagati ya Werurwe-Mata 1994. Bityo, mu mahindagurika yari yatangiye mu isaranganya ry'imyanya ugereranyije n'itonde rya mbere yari yarakozwe mbere y'iyubura ry'intambara na Joseph Kavaruganda, perezida w'Urukiko rusya imanza wishwe, twavugamo iyemerwa ry'abinjijwe babiri bashya : Ishyamba riharanira demokarasi ya gikirisitu (PDC) n'Ishyamba riharanira demokarasi (PD).

Imishyikirano ikomeye ni yo yayoboye isaranganya ry'imyanya, yatangwaga hakurikijwe imbaraga za buri shyamba n'ubwumvikane hagati n'icyahoze ari uruhande rushyigikiye perezida (MRND, CDR n'itsinda ry'udushyamba two ku ruhande twari twarahimbwe na MRND kugira ngo yagure ihagararirwa ryayo) n'amashyamba yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi. Yageze ku isobanura ry'ibice bine byahawe uko bikurikirana abadepite 44, 14, 6 na 6.

Amashyamba ane "akomeye" – MRND, MDR, PSD, PL – yagumanye buri ryose imyanya 11 maze uruhare rw'Inkotanyi rusaranganywa mu itsinda ry'andi mashyamba. Hanyuma, andi mashyamba 13 yemejwe yafashwe ku buryo butandukanye :

CDR : 5, PDC : 4, Peco na PDI : 3 <sup>72</sup>

RTD, Pader, Parti démocrate : 2 buri shyamba

MFBP, PRD, Unisodec, UDPR, Parerwa, PPJR Rama Rwanda : 1 buri Shyamba.

Ihangana hagati y'icyahoze ari uruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'amashyamba yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi kuva ubwo byari byahindutse ikintu kimwe gishyigikiye MRND ryarivuguruye rero ku buryo bugaragara. Amaherezo imyanya 31 yahawe itsinda rya mbere, 40 ihabwa irya kabiri <sup>73</sup>. Kugira ngo habeho icyizere gisesuye mu guhuza iyo nteko n'icyifuzo cy'abayihyizeho hashinzwe izindi nkingi z'inyongera. Nk'uko Édouard Karemera abyandika, minisitiri w'intebe na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ni bo bemeje ubwa nyuma ihitamo ry'abakandida.

Itegura ry'amatora, Sylvestre Matunguru (MDR Kibungo) yagizemo uruhare runini, ryabaye rirerire kandi rikubiyemo ibintu byinshi. Hagombaga gushyirwaho uburyo bwo gusura inkambi z'impunzi muri Tanzaniya no gutegura uko abadepite bemejwe bahurira ku Gisenyi. Kugira ngo ibyemezo bikomeye bityo bifatwe, umubare wa ngombwa wari ukenewe wari munini koko : byari ngombwa kumenya neza ko abadepite 53 bazaba bahari.

Abadepite 54 – nkuko inyandiko=mvugo zibyemeza – ni bo bari bahari ku ya 4 Nyakanga, bateranira mu ngoro ya MRND ku Gisenyi hafi ya *Palm Beach*, barahirira imbere ya Charles Nkurunziza, umunyamabanga mukuru wa Guverinoma, wari wagizwe perezida w'Urukiko rusya imanza ubwo akaba ari na we uyobora urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga (asimbuye Joseph Kavaruganda). N'ubwo inzira yasaga n'ibonetse, ngo abadepite batatu baba barabanje guhatanira umwanya wa perezida w'inteko : Joseph Nzirorera (MRND),

<sup>72</sup> Gushingira kuri 14 amaherezo ntibyubahirijwe.

<sup>73</sup> Ibi byagezweho bivuye mu nzira zinyuranye cyane cyane ubuhamya, ariko intangamugabo igaragara iri muri ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO (*reba André GUICHAOUA, Rwanda 1994, op. cit., p. 422-425 (reba umugereka wa 97).*

Stanislas Mbonampeka (PL) na François Ndungutse (PSD). Ariko byabaye ngombwa guhamya ubumwe bwari bumaze kuvuka hagati y'abahoze mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'amashyaka yahoze arwanya ubutegetsi bityo hemezwa umukandida umwe rukumbi, Joseph Nzirore, watowe n'amajwi 43 kuri 54 y'abatoye. Yungirijwe na ba visiperezida babiri, bavuye umwe muri PSD, undi muri RTD, naho umunyamabanga aya muri CDR (*reba umugereka wa 120*).

Nyuma y'ayo matora - yari yimitse ubwiganze busesuye bw'urubande MRND/CDR, binyuranyije n'ibyifuzo by'amashyaka na Guverinoma -, ikitarashoboye kugerwaho ni ugusimbura « nyakwigendera perezida » ari nabyo byari gutuma hajyaho Guverinoma nshya. Kuri icyo tariki koko rero, byabaye ngombwa ko Joseph Nzirore ahindura imigambi ye [yo gusimbura perezida] kubera ingorane zari zibugariye.

Ingorane ya mbere yari gishingiye ku bihe bibi bya girikare ingabo z'igihugu zarimo kuva aho igitero cyazo cyo kwihimura cya nyuma cyo ku itariki ya 6 Kamena kibereye imfabusa. Igitekerezo cy'urukuta rwo kwirinda cyo mu misizi miremire ya Zaire-Nil n'amashyamba nticyari kikibaho : ingabo zacitse intege zasubiraga inyuma zitarwanye zigana ku mpaka ya Zaire. Nanone inshingano z'igikorwa "Turquoise" (*reba incamake ya 16*)

) zagarukiraga ku buryo bugaragara ku bikorwa birambuye by'ubuhungu. Abayobozi ba FPR bari batangiye gucisha make ku gikorwa cy'Abafaransa kigamije kugoboka abatwaga nyuma y'imibonano myinshi ikurikiranye bagiranye n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa : ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud, yari yagarutse i Kigali ku itariki ya 19 Kamena "gusobanura imigambi" y'icyo gikorwa cy'ubutabazi kandi ndetse ku itariki ya 22 Kamena bucya hatangira ku buryo bwemewe igikorwa "Turquoise", minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga, Alain Juppé, yari yakiriye i Paris ariko bigoranye Jacques Bihozagara wari icyo gihe umuvugizi w'Inkotanyi mu Burundi. Ku rundi ruhande nyamara, guhanyanyaza [kwa Guverinoma y'inziyacyaho] ari mu ruzinduko Stanislas Mbonampeka yagiriye i Bruxelles ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, ari na mishyikirano Augustin Ndirabatswe, minisitiri w'Imigambi ya leta, yagiranye ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga muri minisiteri y'Abafaransa y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'ambasaderi Marlaud (*reba umugereka wa 121*), nta cyizere na gito byatangaga ku bubasha bwo kurokora ingoma yari yimitswe n'urubande rw'abahoze bashyigikiye perezida [Habyarimana].

## **Incamake ya 16**

### **Operasiyo "Turquoise" (23 Kamena-21 Kanama 1994)**

Ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, hashize iminsi icumi y'imishyikirano igoye hagati y'abagize inama y'umutekano y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, iyi yatoye icyemezo 929 giteganyaga gushyiraho igikorwa cy'ubutabazi mpuzamahanga cyo gufasha abasivili, gifite uburenganzira bwo gukoresha ingufu. Kiyobowe n'Ubufaransa-Ubufaransa ni bwo bwonyine bwabishakaga, operasiyo "Turquoise" cyari giteguye ku buryo cyagombaga kumara igihe cy'amezi abiri, mu gihe Loni yari kuba yohereza abantu 5.500 ba Minuar 2, iyoherezwa ryabo ryari ryemejwe ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi (icyemezo cya 918). N'ubwo Ubufaransa bwabitsimbarayeho imbere y'abao bakorana b'abanyaburayi n'abanyafurika, ingabo za Senegali ni zo zonyine zasanze aho

hantu abasirikari 2.494 b'Abafaransa.

Ziturutse mu birindiro byazo i Goma n'i Bukavu muri Zayire, ingabo z'Abafaransa zinjiye ku butaka bw'U Rwanda ku itariki ya 23 Kamena zikwira buhoro buhoro muri kimwe cyane cy'amajyepfo y'igihugu. Ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga, nyuma y'ifatwa rya Kigali na Butare ziri mu maboko y'Inkotanyi, zahashyize "agace ko gufashirizamo kizewe", kahungiwemo n'amagana y'ibihumbi by'abasivili, baherekejwe n'ibihumbi by'abitwara gisirikari n'abasirikari baregwaga "itsembabwoko iteguye kandi idatoranya" na raporo ya Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu ya Loni yo ku itariki ya 30 Kamena. Iyo raporo yari yanamaganye ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'ibihugu bimwe na bimwe by'ibinyamahanga byakomezaga gufasha mu rwego rw'ibikoresho no mu rw'ubukungu abayobozi b'inzibacyuho bari mu mirimo. Ku ruhande rw'abayobozi b'Abafaransa, barebwaga ku nburyo butaziguye n'icyo kirego, icyo gikorwa cy'ubutabazi cyitwaje intwari cyatewe mu by'ukuri n'umubabaro bari basangiye imbere y'ubwicanyi. Cyongeraga amagerageza ya mbere yo kwikura mu isoni (kimwari) imbere y'ibitekerezo byo mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

Yanzwe n'Umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika n'abayobozi ba Minuar 1, yamaganywe n'abayobozi b'Inkotanyi, ikekwa iby'ishya mu rwego rwa politiki n'imiryango myinshi itegamiye kuri leta yari aho, operasiyo "Turquoise" yahuriye vubavuba aho hantu n'ibibazo ahari itashoboraga kwivanamo. Yashoboye mu by'ukuri kurokora ibihumbi bike by'abantu, kandi, cyane cyane kandi irinda Uburundi ihungabana uruvunge rw'amagana y'ibihumbi by'impunzi ryari gutera byanze bikunze. Ariko, nyuma y'itatana ry'ingabo z'igihugu zari rahuriye mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, ntiyashoboye kwikiza "amakuba mu rwego rw'ubutabazi" yatinyaga. Abasivili bakoreshejwe ku mugaragaro mu guhisha ihunga ry'ingabo za Guverinoma zatsinzwe, hanyuma n'aho zigereye mu nkambi z'impunzi, baremwamo imitwe y'inyeshyamba z'Abahutu zo kurwanira gusubirana igihugu mu bihe bizaza.

Mu mpamvu z'ubwo bubasha buke, harimo uburyo budahwitse bw'ingabo zo ku isonga mu itunganya ry'imirimo y'ubutabazi, gukuramo akarengye ku buryo bwihisha cy'ubugaragara kw'inzego zabizobereyemo (imiryango itagengwa na leta (ONG) n'amashyirahamwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbuye) nibura mu bihe bya mbere, ariko cyane cyane iyangwa ry'Ubufaransa mu buhuza ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo mu rwego rwa politiki n'urwa gisirikari kubera ukwivanga kw'ingabo nyinshi zabwo zinjijwe muri Kamena 1994 mu bikorwa bya gisirikari byakozwe ku ruhande rw'ingabo z'igihugu zihanganye n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi mu myaka yari yabanje.

Ahanini, igikorwa cy'Abafaransa babihereye ububasha na Loni nticyabashije kurenga ibyo kuvanagamo intego zabo za politiki<sup>a</sup> n'ubwoba bw'ibihugu by'ibihanganye bwo kwinjira mu karere karimo ibibazo bikomeye. MUbufaransa, n'ubwo intege zakoreshejwe zasaga n'izoroheje umutima mubi w'abantu kandi zigatuma abagize Guverinoma batabishakaga na etamajoro bagaragaza ko bifatanyije n' "abayobozi b'akajagari", abantu bashishoza ntibibeshye kuri icyo gikorwa cyaje gitinze cyo "kwigira abere" mu by'ubutabazi, buteye ishema, ariko bw'imburamumaro (butagira icyo bugeraho).

Ku rwego mpuzamahanga, n'ubwo nta bufatanye bwagaragaraga, haba mu Burayi cy'umuri Afurika, Ubufaransa bwari bwashyirahamwe ishusho y' "igihugu cy'igihanganye", "cy'intwari kandi gifite ubushake" ugereranyije n' "ubugwari" bw'abo bafatanyaga b'ingenzi b'abanyaburayi n'abo mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri Afurika, bwari bwerekanye ko i Paris hari hakiri "politiki ireba Afurika" kandi bwari bwivanyaga mu byo "kwisuzugura" (complexe de Fachoda).

Mu mpera za Nyakanga, igihe amakuba mu rwego rw'ubutabazi yari amaze kumenyerwa (icyorezo cya korera cyagaritse mu minsi mike ibihumbi by'ingogo muri miliyoni y'impunzi zitagira intege kandi zishonje zari ziroshye mu ntara ya Kivu y'amajyaruguru muri Zayire) n'ikindi gihe kubera igitutu cy'ibitangazamakuru, imfashanyo ku rwego mpuzamahanga yaje kwiyongera no gutunganywa. By'umwihariko, Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, zitwaje ubucuti bw'abayobozi bashya b'Inkotanyi bari bashyizwe i Kigali, batanze ibintu byinshi cyane byo mu rwego rw'ubutabazi na politiki kugira ngo zihagarike ibibazo byo gusubira mu rudubi mu bihe bizaza. Gatebe gatoki n'iterana hejuru ririmo inyungu mu micungire y'amakimbirane y'U Rwanda ku rwego mpuzamahanga byambitse ubusa bikabije ububasha buke bw'Umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika n'ubw'imiryango ishinze "imitunganyirize mishya y'inzego mpuzamahanga" bwo gusaba imbaraga zo gutabara cy'ubuhungu ku bundi buryo mu bihugu

bya gashakabuhake bihora byiteguye kurengera inyungu zabyo z'umwihariko mu izina ry'umuryango mpuzamahanga.

a Gushaka gushyiraho agace k'ubutabazi kizewe (ZHS) mu "ntara y'Abahutu irimo umutekano" no gushyikirana muri iyo nzira ku bwumvikane bwo mu rwego rwa politiki bwaha ubusha bwo guhoraho ibyo bintu byasabaga birumvikana gushobora kwiyambaza abayobozi badashobora gushyirwa mu majwi. N'ubwo abenshi mu bavuganaga n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abafaransa buzuzaga icyo cyitegererezo, ntacyageragejwe nibura kugira ngo baburizemo abatuzuzaga ibikenewe. Ni byo koko uhagarariye Ubufaransa i Goma ntiyemeye igitutu cy' "abayobozi bo ku Gisenyi" (yitandukanyije na bo ku itariki ya 6 Nyakanga, imisi icumi mbere yo gutsindwa) bamusabaga bahatiriza kugeza agace k'ubutabazi kizewe (ZHS) mu maperefegitura yose "afite ubwisanzure" yo mu majyaruguru y'Uburengerazuba (ni ukuvuga yari atarafatwa n'Inkotanyi). Nyamara imaze guhabwa amabwiriza yo kubuza kwinjira mu gace k'ubutabazi kizewe abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bashakaga kuhahungira, oprasiyo "Turquoise" ntiyabafungiyeye inzira kandi ntiyabafashe cg ngo ibafungishe ijisho : "Umurimo nk'uwo ushobora kutuvana mu kutagira aho tubogamira kwacu" (ibyavuzwe na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga byo ku itariki ya 16 Nyakanga 1994, biri mu INTEKO ISHINGA AMATEGEKO Y'IGIHUGU CY'U BUFARANSI, *Iperereza ku marorerwa yo mu Rwaznda*, tuumb. I, urupap. 325). Ntiyigeze inabasha kwambura intwari imitwe yitwara gisirikari cg kwambura intwari ingabo za Guverinoma, "inyinshi muri zo (10.00 ku 30.00) zajyanye intwari zao muri Zayire" (icyo gitabo, urupap. 327).

Abayobozi ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari bazi neza, nk'uko Édouard Karemera yabyibukije mu Nama ya guerinoma yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga :

"Ubutumwa bwo mu rwego rw'ubutabazi bw'Abafaransa  
Operasiyo "Turquoise" yemejwe gusa n'Ubufaransa butitaye ku gitekerezo cya Guverinoma n'Inkotanyi.  
Hakweha ko ari koko iy'ubutabazi, ariko kandi ifite imigambi. Yaba igamije ahanini kurengera Zayire ya mareshali Mobutu n'U Rwanda ku buryo bw'inyongera.  
Ubufaransa bwisanzwe imbere ya mugenzi wabwo wasaga n'utakiriho. Ubufaransa ntibushobora, bwonyine, kudufasha gutsinda intaambara. Buzakora mu by'ukuri bwita ku bisabwa n'Ububiligi na Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika.  
Ntibwizera ububasha bwacu bwo gushyira ibintu mu buryo.Ni twe bireba kwerekana ko, nka Guverinoma, turangwa n'ubushake bwo kubigeraho n'ubwo hari imbogamizi zikomeye tugomba kwemera mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urw'ububanyi n'amahanga.  
Impaka  
Inyandiko yo gusaba gufashwa mu rwego rw'ubutabazi igomba gushyikirizwa ku buryo bwemewe ubutumwa "Turquoise" igaragaza imibare y'ababangamiwe, ahantu bacumbikiwe abavanywe mu byabo.  
Amakuru atangazwa n' amashusho yerekanwa atubereye imbogamizi. Hagomba kubaho ibeshyuza.  
Komisiyo yo kubikurikirana kugira ngo tugerageze kubona amakuru menshi ashoboka ku cyo agamije kugeraho.  
Amabeshyuza agomba guterwa inkunga.  
Iki kibazo cyagombye kuba ku murongo w'ibyigwa wa buri Nama y'abaminisitiri mu rwego rwo guhana amakuru. Ndetse, Minafet na Mininfor zagombye gushyiraho urwego rwo ruzihuza rugenzura abanyamakuru<sup>74</sup>."

Amaherezo hari n'ikibazo gikomeye cyane cy'uburyo abahagarariye ibihugu byabo b'abanyamahanga bakomeza "kwegera" abayobozi b'inzibacyuho. kibazo cyabakurikiranye kugeza mu buhungiro : "Ese nidukuraho inzego zizwi : Guverinoma n'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'iguhugu tuzagirirwa icyizere

<sup>74</sup> Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 28 Kanama 1994 (Bukavu, Zayire), ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHURO, TPIR, impapuro zo kuri 14, 15, 16 Kanama 1994.

kurushaho<sup>75</sup>.

Icyizere ku rwego mpuzamahanga cya “Guverinoma y’abanyapolitiki n’abasirikari” Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho yagerageje gushyira imbere imaze guhungira muri Zayire ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga cyasabaga ko habaho abantu bashya “batanduye”, nk’uko minisitiri Pauline Nyiramasuhuko yabyanditse. Usibye ukwemerwa mu rwego rw’imyitwarire, icyerekezo cyo gukurikiranwa mu bucamanza byagaragara ko ari ntarengwa kuva aho hatorewe icyemezo 925 cy’Inama ishinze amahoro ku isi y’Umuryango w’Abibumye yo ku itariki ya 8 Kamena, yitaye ku bikorwa by’itsembabwoko, yakurikiwe ku itariki ya 12 Kamena n’iyamagana ry’Umuryango w’ubumwe bw’Afurika ry’ “ibikorwa bibangamiye inyoko muntu” byakozwe mu Rwanda, ariko cyane cyane nyuma y’itangwa, ku itariki ya 28 Kamena muri Komisiyo y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu y’Umuryango w’Abibumbye, rya raporo ya René Degni-Ségui ku kuntu uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu bwari bwifashe mu Rwanda<sup>76</sup>. Hanyuma, ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga, Inama ishinze umutekano ya Loni, yitaye ku makururu yari imaze kwegeranya, yashyizeho “byihutirwa komisiyo idafite aho ibogamiye y’impuguke”, ari yo komisiyo yo gukora perereza (anketi) ku bikorwa by’itsembabwoko mu Rwanda. Icyo cyari icyiciro kibanziriza icya nyuma cy’igikorwa cyo “kumenya abagize uruhare mu bikorwa by’itsembabwoko mu Rwanda<sup>77</sup>.

Joseph Nzirorera yakomezaga kumva ikorwa ry’ imishyikirano ridashobora kwirengagizwa. Yagombaga kwemeza ku mugaragaro mu bihe bizaza ko yemerewe guhagararira impunzi n’ “abagumye mu birindiro” (abakomeza kurwana). Yirinze ariko kugeza aho yiyita Perezida wa Repubulika byari kugaragara nk’ugutandukira ukurikije ishviragira ry’ingabo zo ku ruhande rwe, kandi na Faustin Twagiramungu, mu izina ry’Inkotanyi, yariteguraga gutangiza ku mugaragaro ibiganiro byerekeye ishvirwaho rya Guverinoma nshya y’ubumwe bw’igihugu (6 Nyakanga), n’abasirikari bakuru bo hejuru bari bitandukanyije ku buryo bwemewe n’abayobozi b’inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 120*).

Icyo cyizere cyo kugumana ububasha bwo guhagararira abandi mu rwego rwa politiki cyarakomeye, kubera ko ingingo imwe y’ibyari ku murongo w’ibygirwa w’Inama ya Guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 11 Nyakanga yongeye kukigarukaho :

“Amakuru ya Minaffet

[...] Guverinoma yacu yataye agaciro burundu.

Abaturage b’abasivili baratabarwa bate ?

Guverinoma yataye agaciro : ni nde uzabavugira

– ? Imyifatire ya Guverinoma yacu imbere ya Twagiramungu

– Itangazo ry’i La Baule

<sup>75</sup> CM du 28 août 1994 (Bukavu, Zaïre), agenda de Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKE, TPIR, pages des 14, 15, 16 Kanama 1994.

<sup>76</sup> Rapport sur la situation des droits de l’homme au Rwanda [*Raporo ku miterere y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu mu Rwanda*], yatanze na bwana René DEGNI-SÉGUI, umukozi udasanzwe ushinze gutegura raporo wa Komisiyo y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu, hakurikijwe igika cya 20 cy’umwanzuro 1994 S-3/1 wa Komisiyo wo ku ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, Umuryango w’Abibumbye, anakama gashinzwe ubukungu n’imibereho myiza, E/CN.4/1995/7, 28 Kamena 1994.

<sup>77</sup> Ishvirwaho rya komisiyo mpuzamahanga yo gukora iperereza yemejwe n’Umuryango w’Abibumbye ibyumweru bitatu nyuma yaho, ku itariki ya 28 Nyakanga 1994.

Ibyifuzo

kubahiriza igika cya 20 cy'icyemezo 1994S-3/1 cya Komisiyo, ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994, Umuryango w'Abibumbye, inama y'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, E/CN.4/1995/7, 28 Nyakanga 1994.

Intambara ku rwego rwa politiki n'ububanyi n'amahanga : Ubufaransa burashaka abo bakorana mu Nkotanyi no muri Guverinoma.

Umuti

– Ivugurura rya za minisiteri n'igabanya ry'umubare wazo.

– Gushyira hamwe kw'Abahutu.

– Ubutumwa bwa minisitiri w'intebe kuri minisitiri w'intebe Baladur.

– Ubutumwa bwa Perezida wa Repubulika kuri Perezida Mitterrand.

– Ubutumwa bwazanywe n'abanyamadini.

– Akazi ko mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga kakozwe na ba ambasaderi bacu.

minisitiri w'intebe

– Ni akahe kamaro k'ivugurura rya za minisiteri ?

Mininfor : ivugura n'igabanya nta kamaro byagira.

Miniprisc : nta vugurura.

Mitraso : ivugurura rya minisiteri si ngombwa<sup>78</sup>.”

Mu izina ry'iyimikwa rye ku buyobozi bw'iyo Nteko ishingamutegeko y'inziyacyaho idasanzwe, Joseph Nzirorera yabaye ibyo ari byo byose umuyobozi w' "agace k'ubukangurambaga k'amajyaruguru" k'abaturage bahungiyeye muri Zaire byemejwe n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri ba Guverinoma yo mu buhungiro ku itariki ya 27 Nyakanga.

“Goma (Zaire)

27 Nyakanga 1994 : inama y'Inama y'abaminisitiri

Hafashwe icyemezo cyo gushyiraho uduce tubiri two kuyobora abaturage. Agace k'amajyepfo, i Bukavu, abayobozi bako ni Perezida wa Repubulika na minisitiri w'intebe.

Agace k'amajyaruguru, i Goma, umuyobozi wako ni perezida w'Inteko ishingamutegeko y'igihugu(AN), bwana Joseph Nzirorera.

Inama yifuje ko habaho komite y'ihuzabikorwa idahoraho irimo :

Perezida wa Repubulika

minisitiri w'intebe

Perezida wa AN [Inteko ishingamutegeko]

Umuyobozi wa etamajoro y'ingabo<sup>79</sup>.”

Abagize iyo nteko y'igihugu ya nyirarureshwa bashobora nyuma kuba barateranye incuro nke mu nkambi z'impunzi mu gace ka Goma ariko nta cyo bagaraho gifatika. Buri gace kagumye ubwo mu buyobozi bw'abakuru babo bagatuyemo. Mu buryo bw'iyimikwa ritagize icyo rimaze, abayobozi n'abaturage bari mu buhungiro bavugishaga Joseph Nzirorera bamwita “bwana Perezida”.

Mu gusoma iyi nkuru y'irari rikomeye ry'ubutegetsi, twibutse ko imibanire y'abayobozi bo mu majyaruguru (bari i Goma) n'abo mu majyepfo (bari i Bukavu) yahoragamo amahane ku buryo bw'umwihariko, yahaga urubuga ihangana no kwihorera bikaze. Abayobozi b'i Bukavu, nka perezida Sindikubwabo na minisitiri w'intebe, batinyaga kujya i Goma batinyaga ko babatsindayo. Iby'urupfu rwa Théodore Sindikubwabo rwabaye icyo gihe na n'ubu bikomeje kugibwaho impaka. Ubuzima bwe bwari bwarashegeshwe na mbere yo kujya mu buhungiro,

<sup>78</sup> Ajenda ya Augustin NGIRABATWARE, TPIR, ishakiro K0243653-54 (reba umugereka wa 99).

<sup>79</sup> Agatabo k'inyandiko ka Édouard KAREMERA, TPIR, ishakiro KA010403R (reba umugereka wa 117).



byaba byaramubujije ahari kwivuza, bishobora kwemeza igitekerezo cy'urupfu rw'ikirago. Ariko nta makuru na make ahari ku hantu n'uburyo yapfuyemo n'icyabaye ku murambo we. Nyamara icyo gihe yafashwaga n'umuliyetona wari ushinze kumuherekeza no kyobora abamurinda, abari muri ubwo burinzi bashoboraga gutanga ubuhamya ku byabaye.

Kwishyira hamwe ku mbaraga ko mu kwezi kwa Mata kwarangijwe n'amacakubiri akomeye, yatumaga gucunga itsindwa byari bikomeye kurusha gucunga intambara. Inkotanyi zari zafashe ubugenzuzi bw'igihugu cyayogojwe kandi cyashizemo abantu : uretse amagana y'ibihumbi by'abasizwe iheruheru n'itsembabwoko n'intambara, hafi miliyoni eshatu z'impunzi kuva ubwo zari mu nkambi ku mupaka zitegekwe n'abo bayobozi ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. U Rwanda n'akarere rurimo byahindutse igicumbi kirunzemo impunzi kinini kurusha ibindi ku isi cyitabwagaho n'umuryango mpuzamahanga icyo gihe wagombaga gutabara...

### ***Abahataniraga kuzungura amaherezo barasaranganyijwe nyuma... baranyagwa***

Dushingiye kuri icyo shusho-mbonera y'ibyabaye, birakwiye gusubiza amaso inyuma tukavugaga tukareba inzira zanyuzwemo n'abantu b'ingenzi baje guhuza urugwiro ubufatanye bwabo bugatuma ibintu birindimuka ku buryo butagira rutangira. Turibanda kuri Mathieu Ndirumapfwe, Édouard Karemera na Joseph Ndirorera, ba bayobozi batatu ba MRND bakoranye mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu biro bya Théoneste Bagosora<sup>80</sup>.

Bose uko ari batatu bari abakozi bari baranyuze buri wese uko mu nzira z'ubusamo mu myanya y'icyubahiriro nuko amasangano yazo aba imyanya myiza bahawe mu ntangiriro y'intambara muri 1990 yatumye bagira urubuga rwisanzuye mu buzima bw'igihugu cyose. Mathieu Ndirumapfwe wari mu "bajyambere" b'imena bigaragaje nyuma y'ubwigenge, yari ageze igihe cyo kubanza umusaruro uburambe yari afite muri politiki aho yari yaragaragaje ubushobozi buzwi cyane cyane mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga. Ariko rero yari afite inzitizi y'uko abandi babonaga ari ikirumirahabiri. Yari azwiho kuba intyozza izi gusesengura ibibazo, akarangwa n'ubupfura mu mibanire y'abandi, agashimwa na bese ari abanyabwenge ndetse n'abaturage cyane cyane abakomoka mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo atisukirwaga ndetse ubutegetsu buhatinye. Nyamara ariko intore zo mu duce tw'intavugirwamo mu majyaruguru twari twiganjemo abasirikari n'abacuruzi twamubonagamo umuntu w'indyadya kandi ufite intege nke. Abantu bitwazaga ukwiyoroshya kwe kimwe n'ibibazo by'urushako yari yaragize bakannyega ubushobozi bwe bwo kugira igitinyiro no gutegeka.

Ibyo nyamara ntibavugaga ko yigeze agaragaza ubupfura bumutandukanya n'abandi banyapolitiki mu Rwanda. Nubwo kenshi yahitagamo ndetse agakenere kwiyorobeka, ubuhemu n'umururumba hari ubwo byamuganzaga ku buryo

<sup>80</sup> Ferdinand Kabagema yarapfuye. Uwo muvisiperezida wa kabiri wa MRND, ntigize agaragara ibyo kumaranira imyanya yo mu rwego rwo hejuru.

atitanyaga kwijandika mu ngeso zimenyerewe zo kuregana, kunnyega no gutukurira abo yabaga ashaka kwikiza. Gusa aho yari atandukaniye n'intagondwa kabuhariwe ni uko yari azwiho kwisanzura cyane muri byose akamenya kwijandika mu bintu bigayitse ariko kandi akiha akabanga ntiyishyire ku karubanda. Iyo myitwarire ni yagaragaje mu guteza imbere urubyiruko rw'ishyaka atazuyaje gushora mu bikorwa byo kurengera ku buryo bukaze inyungu z'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ndetse akanarushora mu bikorwa bigayitse mu gihe cy'intambara. Mu by'ukuri kutagira aho ashinze ibirindiro muri Repubulika ya Kabiri yari mu maboko y'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari b'Abakiga byatumaga yiyorobeka kugira ngo ashobore guhangana n'abandi batari bafite ikibazitira mu birindiro byabo.

Koko rero, umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi n'inzira (iciriritse cyane) ya demokarasi byo mu ntangiriro ya za 1990 byamuhaye rugari bituma agira icyizere ko ashobora kuzimikwa n'abaturage mu gihe byari gushoboka ko inzego z'ishyaka zimutangaho umukandida. Muri urwo rwego, guhitamo kwizirika ku cyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryari riri kwivugurura no kuyoboka bigaragara perezida Habyarimana byari icyemezo yatekerejeho neza. Ariko umururumba w'ubutegetsi waramuganje cyane bituma akora ikosa rikomeye yihutira gutunarika perezida fondateri ngo amwegurire ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka. Nanone, kuba intambara yarateke amakimbirane akabije mu banyapolitiki byari bibangamiye umugambi we wo gufungura amarembo ya politiki buhoro buhoro ku buryo bugenzuwe. Nyuma y'imyaka makumyabiri yari ishize abo mu majyaruguru bigwizaho ubukire n'ubutegetsi, guhitamo umukandida wo hagati na hagati mu rwego rw'uturere na politiki byashoboraga kuba intego itoroshye ariko iboneye. Gusa rero kwigira "inuma" ihanganye na za "sakabaka" (ni yo mvugo yakundaga gukoresha kurusha izimenyerewe za "moderes [abacisha make]" na "extremistes [intagondwa]") byaje kugenda bitakaza agaciro uko amezi ashira andi agataha biba impitagihe mu ruhande rw'inzitizi zaterwa n'intambara dore ko ibyo yavugaga byavuguruzwaga na politiki nyakuri y'ishyaka yayoboraga.

Ukuri kwamwigaragaraje mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata kwashimangiye akamaro k'ubwitonzi n'ubushobozi bwo kumenya guhitamo igikwiye mu bihe bikomeye. Yakomeje kuba uwo yari we : Kugira intege nke no kutamenya gufata icyemezo gihamye byatumye yigurutsa uburenganzira bwe bwo gusimbura [perezida], yemera ko "abari inzitizi" barimburwa ndetse ataba mu nama impirimbanyi za demokarasi zo muri MRND. Nk'uko abari bahanganye na we bari babyiteze, iyo nyabwenge y'umunyabwoba ntiyatinyutse kwigerezaho ngo ashyire umururumba we ku isonga ry'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Mu ntureka zidasanzwe zihariye urubuga ku itariki ya 6 Mata, yashoboraga koko gushyira imbere inzira ya politiki "y'ubwisanzure" ihuye n'ibyo yavugaga ko ahagarariye, akaba ibirindiro by'abaharanira amahoro na demokarasi arwanirira amasezerano y'Arusha akanakoma imbere ba gashozantambara. Ntiyari kubura abifatanya na we, ariko ntiyanagerageje kugira uwo abisaba.

Rwagati mu marorerwa, yikomereje imirimo ye yo kuba perezida wa MRND arwana ku nyungu zidafashe zajyanaga n'uwo mwanya kandi uko bishobotse

kose akabungabunga icyubahiro cye yihishahisha mu mirimo yo guserukira igihugu mu mahanga, akarwanira ishyaka Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho asobanura imigambi yayo. Uko kwibombarika ariko nanone ntacyo kwamumariye. Iyo yabaga akubutse mu mahanga, Mathieu Ngirumpatse ntiyakingiraga ikibaba gusa "abategetsi b'inzibacyuho" mu bwicanyi bwabo ndengakamere, ahubwo yagerekagaho kwishyira imbere agaragaza ndetse ko na we yemeraga uwo mugambi. Mu gihe cyose itsembabwoko ryamaze, nta nyandiko n'imwe nzi cg itangazo yigeze agaragarizamo ko yitandukanyije na politiki yari yemewe cg yamagana ibikorwa by'abitwara gisirikari, kandi yari umukuru wabo. Kubera kutagira icyerekezo cya politiki, yaje kubura byose kugeza ubwo, aho bagereye mu nkambi z'impunzi, yatakaje n'icyubahiro cyajyanaga n'umwanya we [perezida wa MRND]. Mu buryo bwo kwigiza nkana cg kudatinya umugayo, yumvishaga abantu ko yari yashoboye "kuziba icyuho" cyari cyasizwe na nyakwigendera perezida fondateri, gukomeza ubwumvikane no kumbungabunga ishyaka...ritate kabiri nyuma yo gutsindwa.

Kuri iyo ngingo nibura, Édouard Karemera yagaragaje imyitwarire itandukanye cyane [n'iya Ngirumpatse] mu kwitanga atahwemaga kwerekana. Na we ubwe yari yarabanje kunyemezwe n'abo mu kazu ka perezida ubwo yagaragazaga amashagaga ye, ariko imibanire ye na Juvénal Habyarimana yagumye mu rwego rw'imirimo yamushinze nta bindi ashyuhagujwemo. Édouard Karemera yari yarumvise neza ko yagombaga kwita ku kamaramaza k'amategeko y'umukino n'urusobe rw'ubusumbane mu butegetsi bwarengaga cyane perezida ubwe n'umuryango we. Ubwo yatoranywaga na perezida kugira ngo atsimbataze ibirindiro bya MRND ivuguruye, yaritanze asohoza uwo murimo utoroshye mu bushishozi n'ubushobozi, yegeranya abamushyigikiye benshi ndetse bimuviramo gushimwa bivanze no gutinywa na bagenzi be bapiganwaga. Mu by'ukuri n'ubwo byagaragaraga ko afite amashagaga yo kuzahatanira ubuyobozi, yiyeguriye MRND kandi, kimwe Ngirumpatse, acisha make yitegura amahindura yari ategerejwe aho abakomoka mu majyepfo bagombaga kuzagira uruhare rugaragara. N'ubwo yakekaga ko perezida fondateri w'ishyaka yashoboraga kutamugororera bigaragara amwitura ibyiza yakoreye ishyaka, ntiyari yiteze ko Juvénal Habyarimana yamujugunya akamusimbuza Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Amaronko yaje kugenerwa ubwo yari yigiriye mu mwuga we mushya wo kuburanira abantu (avoka) byerekanye ibyo ari byo byose ko yabonwaga nk'umunyapolitiki utarashoboraga kubura mu mubare(mu mvugo isanzwe n'izimije) [w'abakenewe] ; amaherezo kugaruka mu birindiro kwe muri Kongere yo muri 1993 bwamusubije mu mubare w'abashoboraga guhatanira ubuyobozi, ariko batari ku isonga.

Nyuma y'urupfu rutunguranye rwa perezida, iburiramo rya Mathieu Ngirumpatse ryahaga urubuga rurambye umukandida ufite ubushake n'ubushobozi bwo guhagararira amahame-remezo ya Repubulika n'ibyifuzo by'abo mu majyepfo bityo agahangana n'umuragwangoma wari waratoranyijwe, Joseph Nzirorera. Umugambi wo kwitarura izungura, wahuriweho n'inyabutatu yayoboraga MRND mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 6 n'iy 7 Mata, waramufashaga kurusha Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Mu myitwarire ye no mu nyungu ze, yitabiriye

ubwicanyi nk'intwari yemewe, igomba kwitabazwa mu ruhando rwa politiki. Nta cyo byari bimubwiye kugaraga nk'umuntu "wanduye". Kimwe na Nziroreza, yitanze atizigamye mu gushakisha ingufu aho zaba ziri hose no guharanira umwanya uhoraho mu buyobozi bukuru bwa MRND. Yumvaga atari byiza guharira abo mu majyaruguru amahirwe yo kuyobora urugamba rwo guhangana n'umwanzi ndetse ubushobozi yagaragaje mu kubona abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo bashyigikira uwo mugambi byarashimwe cyane.

Ubwo yinjiraga ku mugaragararo muri Guverinoma muri Gicurasi, icyo yakoze gusa ni ugufata ubuyobozi bw'ibikorwa mu gihe cy'amashiraniro maze ajya ku isonga ry'ibikorwa by'ubutwari mu rwego rw'igihugu bigamije "gukumira" umwanzi. N'ubwo bitashobotse gusubiza ibintu mu buryo no kugera ku mishyikirano yo gukubitwa inshuro, ibikorwa bye yarinze ahunga intagondwa zitarabigaya, ndetse n'abanyacyubahiro b'impunzi baramwubashye baramukurikira.

Kugeza ku ndunduro ndetse no mu buhungiro, Édouard Karemera ntiyigeze ashidikanya ku kuri kw'impamvu yarwaniraga, nk'uko atigeze anashidikanya ku kamaro n'agaciro by'ingamba zakoreshezwaga. Ahubwo, gusubira inyuma yumvaga biterwa no kudashishikaza abaturage bihagije kuko yasangaga ari byo byasiba icyaho cyari mu ngabo. icy'ingenzi cyamubabazaga – kandi yagizemo uruhare – ni ugushyiraho mu ikubito Guverinoma y'intege nke itarashoboye kugira amatwara ahamye n'ubwitange bihwaye n'iby'umwanzi bari bahanganye.

Muri icyo mbonerahamwe, Joseph Nziroreza agaragara nk'umwana w'ikirara ariko watoneshejwe n'"umubyeyi w'igihugu", akamara imyaka akama ingoma bikabije bikamuhira. Ntiyigeze akenera gutera imbabazi cg kugira uwo aryoshyaryoshya, icyari ngombwa kuri we ni ugukomera ku cyizere yari yaragiriwe no kurwana ku mwanya yari yarahawe agashyamba abageragezaga kuwumwambura. Ibihe by'impagarara za politiki byatangijwe n'induru ya demokarasi n'umwaduko w'amashyamba menshi byatumye yitarura by'agateganyo uruhando rwa politiki maze yitangira bisesuye urugamba rwo kurengera ingoma yari imaze gucika intege. Ingamba yafashe zabaye izo gutimbarara no kurengera ibyo we na bagenzi be bari barakamye kandi akitwara mbere ya byose nk'umuragwangoma rukumbi [wo gusimbura perezida]. Muri urwo rwego, ikibazo cy'ingenzi yari afite muri ayo mashiraniro ntiyari icyo gutangiza inzira y'izungura, ahubwo cyari icyo kuzibira amayira abashoboraga guhiganwa na we igihe byari kuba bibaye ngombwa ko bamusaba gusaranganya ibyo buri wese yari afiteye "uburenganzira bwo kwemererwa".

Afataniye n'umuryango wa perezida, uburyo yashoboye kwitwararika nyuma y'urupfu rwa nyakwigendera byabaye mu buhanga bukataje ku buryo mu minsi icumi yakurikiyeho, yari yihariye urubuga rwo kuba umusimbura wemewe kandi ingoma yabo nayo ifite icyizere kigaragara cyo gusugira. Kubera ko igihugu cyari gihawe perezida udafashije ugaragiwe n'ibyigakurunga, abaminisitiri bo muri MRND bagumye muri Guverinoma bakaba bari abayoboke be, nta kibazo na kimwe byari biteye ahubwo yari yihaye amahirwe akomeye mu bihe byari imbere ku buryo bubiri : Kubanza kugereka icyaha cyo guhitana abari bemerewe

guhatanira ubutegetsu ku “bayobozi b’inzibacyuho” hanyuma akazihitiramo ubwe itariki yo kumwimika. N’ubwo yari umunyamayeri ugaragara, ingamba yahisemo zari ukwibeshya. Gukangisha umwanzi [FPR] gutsemba abantu [bayo] mu gihugu ntacyo byamaze ahubwo ndetse byabaye kwigerezaho ku buryo butagira igaruriro. Nguko uko uwo mwana bajeyi wo mu nda y’ingoma nta kindi yashoboye gukora uretse guhanyanyaza ngo arengere icyari kigishoboraga kurengerwa mu kuzungura ingoma “umwanzi” yakozagaho imitwe y’intoki.

Icyizere cyo gusaranganya kimaze kuyoyoka, yiyambaje uburyo bwo gusiga amatongo. Mu gusoza ubwo bwiya huzi kimbuzi, aho kugira ngo aterwe ubwoba n’imbaga yari imaze kuhatikirira, yateguye ibyo kwiyimika bya nyirarureshwa aba perezida w’Inteko ishingamategeko y’igihugu kandi akomera ku murage w’akabyiniriro ke ka “Total [Rugengabyose]”<sup>81</sup>.

Muri ayo mateka y’ubukunguzi, usanga abo banyapolitiki batatu b’ibinya barabereye ubwicanyi n’itsembabwoko ntibigire icyo bibabwira na busa ahubwo ndetse bakabibonamo kuba inzira nk’izindi zose zo kubona amaronko n’amaramuko muri politiki n’umururumba wabo bwite. Indunduro y’amarorerwa ni uko aho bagereye mu buhungiro bafashe abaturage b’impunzi babagira ingwate kugira ngo babone urwaho rwo gukomeza intambara babyita ko ari izindi ngamba zikomeye zo kurwana urugamba (*reba umugereka wa 123*), kugeza ubwo barinze batsindwa uruhenu batarasobanukirwa : “ndacyemera ko ubwo bwicanyi ari impanuka, ni umurage mutindi udakwiye gusubirwa ukundi”<sup>82</sup>.

Umuntu wa kane w’ingenzi, koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, yaketse vuba cyane ko noneho yari agiye gusimbura Juvénal Habyarimana. Ibyo bicuro yari yarabigize guhera mu myaka ya za 1980 ubwo imiryango ikomeye y’abasirikari b’abakiga basubiranagamo maze Juvénal Habyarimana yabona ashegeshwe akizirika ku bo mu muryango we n’akarere ke. Yitwaje uko kwegerana no kuba abasirikari barashyizwe imbere mu gihe cy’intambara, Bagosora yabashije mu minsi mike kwigira umutware ariko ntiyabasha kugwiza abayoboke bandi uretse abo mu kazu ka perezida n’abandi batitijwe n’urugomo rwe. Kubera ubwigunge n’icyoba cyo kuzaryozwa amabi yo guhitana abayobozi bemewe, yatangiye urundi rugamba rwo kurwanya umwanzi w’imbere mu gihugu, ashinga icyo yise Guverinoma “ye”. Ubuhotozi n’ubwicanyi byajyanye no guhorera “umubyeyi w’igihugu” n’intambara y’izungura byazinzitswe mu gihu cya politiki y’tsembabwoko ry’akamaramaza. Bityo rero ibikorwa bye by’ubugizi bwa nabi yabyoroshe ibindi by’ubunyamaswa bukabije kurushaho yashoyemo abo yihiteyemo afatanije n’abayobozi ba MRND kugira ngo babe bayobora mu gihe

<sup>81</sup> Ageze mu buhungiro yasabye umwe mu banyacyubahiro yiganaga mu ngiro n’ingendo kumufasha kurinda umutungo we dore ko yari umwe mu bigabije ibya leta. Kimwe n’abamibisitiri bahunganye imari z’ibigo bikomeye n’abandi banyacyubahiro bari bashinzwe kugura intwari ku isoko rya forode mu gihe cy’ikomanyirizwa ryemejwe n’Inama ishinze amahoro ku isi ku itariki ya 17 Gicurasi 1994 (Justin Mugenzi, Froduald Karamira, Casimir Bizimungu, n’abandi), yizigamiye ku ruhande igice cy’umutungo udakorwaho. Bityo, amafaranga yahawe aya mu butumwa muri Afurika y’Epfo ari muri sheki z’ingendo Thomas-Cook yamutunze mu buhungiro kugeza ubwo banki yazanze mu ntangiriro za 1998. Akurikiranywe n’ubutabera bwo muri Bénin (niho yabaga icyo gihe) kubera gutanga sheki zitazigamiye, yagombye kwishyura amadeni abamugurije banyuranye (reba inama y’abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga, ajenda ya Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, TPIR, impapuro zo ku itariki ya 1 n’ya 2 Nyakanga n’ubuhamya bw’umutangabuhamya urinzwe ku mugereka wa 97).

<sup>82</sup> Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

yari arindiriye ko urugamba rwa politiki na gisirikari ruhosha n'abahatanira kuzungura bakigaragaza. Koko rero, kubera kudashobora kwigabanya imyanya y'ubutegetsi, abahataniraga izungura bari bihaye igihe nzibacyuho cyemewe n'itegeko nshinga cy'iminsi 90 cyatumaga bibwira ko bashobora kwirinda kwikorera umutwara w'amarorerwa bari barashoyemo abandi ...itsembabwoko ryo gukiranura abahatanira kuzungura!

Nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu, bese uko ari batatu bongeye guhurira muri gereza y'Arusha kugira ngo ubwa nyuma basaranganywe...n'abacamanza bo mu byumba by'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR). Théoneste Bagosora yafatiwe ku itariki ya 6 Werurwe 1996 muri Kameruni bisabwe na TPIR, yoherezwa Arusha ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga 1997, aho yarezwe itsembabwoko, kumvikana gukora itsembabwoko, guhamagarira ku mugaragaro abantu gukora itsembabwoko, ibyaha byibasiye inyoko-muntu, kurenga ku masezerano y'i Genève. Koloneli Bagosora aregwa ibyaha bimwe n'uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikari ka Gisenyi, liyetona koloneli Anatole Nsengiyumva; uwahoze ari umuyobozi wa batayo "Paracommandos" i Kigali, majoro Aloys Ntabakuze; n'uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari muri etamajoroo y'ingabo z'U Rwanda, jenerali Gratien Kabiligi. Nyuma yo gutangira nabi ku itariki ya 2 Mata 2002, amashyamba menshi n'iyimurirwa mu cyumba kiyoborwa n'umucamanza wo muri Norvège Erik Mose, urubanza rwiswe "urw'abasirikari rwa mbere" rwatangiyeye nyabyo ku itariki ya 16 Kamena 2003 kandi rwafatiwe imyanzuro ku itariki ya 19 Ukuboza 2009 mu isomwa ry'urubanza ryarekuye Gratien Kabiligi, rigakatira abo bandi batatu igifungo cya burundu. Kuva icyo gihe urubanza rwarajuririye.

Édouard Karemera, Mathieu Ndirumapfukije na Joseph Nzirorera bese uko ari batatu bafatiwe hamwe ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1998, uko bakurikirana, muri Togo, Bénin na Mali, bajyanwa Arusha. Nyuma y'amapereza menshi, urubanza rwa mbere baburanishirijwemo hamwe n'undi munyacyubahiro rwasheshwe n'icyumba cy'ubujurire mu Kwakira 2004, bamaze umwaka baburanishwa. Urundi rubanza bahuriyeho rwatangiyeye ku itariki ya 19 Nzeri 2005. Baregwa kumvikana gukora itsembabwoko, guhamagarira gukora itsembabwoko, ubugambanyi mu itsembabwoko, gufata ku ngufu, kurimbura abantu no kurenga bikomeye ku masezerano y'i Genève, umushinjacyaha akaba yaremeje ko ibyo byaha bishyirwa mu "mpamvu y'umugambi w'ubugizi bwa nabi rusange" cg bigize "ingaruka zisanze kandi ziteganywa z'ikorwa ryawo". Ni byo yita "uburyo bwaguye" bw'umugambi w'ubugizi bwa nabi rusange, bugamije kurimbura Abatutsi mu Rwanda "bwatangijwe mbere ya Mutarama 1994 kandi bwakomeje kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994 nibura" (ibiregwa abayobozi ba MRND). Ukurikije ikirego, mu gukora ibyo byaha hakoreshejwe inzego za MRND, umutwe wayo w'*Interahamwe*, ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'umutungo wabwo, n'itangazamakuru. Urwo rubanza rwahagaritswe muri Kanama 2008 kubera uburwayi bw'umwe mu baregwa, ni urwa mbere irangizwa ryarwo ryimuriye nyuma ya 2009, umwaka wo kurangiza imirimo y'urukiko.

Izo manza zombi z'akarorero nizirangira, mu myaka cumi rumaze, Urukiko rw'Arusha rwagombye kuzaba rurangije uw'ingenzi mu mirimo abashinjacyaha

barwo bakurikiranye bari bateganyije mu rwego rwagenwe n'Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, "yemera ko, mu bintu by'umwihariko byiganje mu Rwanda, gukurikirana mu nkiko abantu bakekwaho kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'itsembabwoko cg kwica bikabije amasezeramo mpuzamahanga y'ubutabazi bishobora gutuma iyo ntego igerwaho kandi ko byagira uruhare mu gikorwa cy'ubwiyunge mu gihugu kimwe no mu kugarura no kubungabunga amahoro." Kuva ubu, ibimaze kugerwaho bishobora gusuzumwa hitawe ku biri muri iki gitabo kugira ngo hagereranywe ibyo ubutabera bwashoboye kugeraho "birenze ishidikanya iryo ari ryo ryose rishoboka" ku migendekere y'ibintu n'imyitwarire y'ababigizemo uruhare.

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