
Imibereho y'abaturage na politiki

Iki gice gikubiyemo zimwe mu ngingo z'uturango tw'ingenzi tw'imiterere y'U Rwanda igaragaza umwihariko nyakuri w'akarere k'imisozi miremire yo muri Afurika yo hagati kazwiho kuba umutima w'Afurika. Iyo miterere y'umwihariko yakunze gutera amatsiko abashakashatsi b'abanyamahanga bashishikarira kumva impamvu y'ubwicucike bukabije bw'abaturage n'imiturire itatanye. Nubwo ubushakashatsi bwa gihanga bwagiye butandukana cyane uko ibihe biha ibindi, usanga icyo buhuriyeho ari ukwimakaza ibyiyumviro bishingiye ku isano hagati y'abaturage n'aho batuye cg ibishingiye ku itsimbatazamuco. Muri ubwo bushakashatsi, amazina akunze guhabwa abaturage ("abantu baturaye ibiyaga", "abakiga", "abanyamusozi", "ba nyamwigendaho", "abagundira-butaka") usanga ahanini ashaka kumvikanisha ko hariho isano ya bugufi hagati y'imyitwarire y'umuntu n'ubwoko bwe, iyo sano igashingira ku bibazo by'imiturire – ubwiyongere bukabije bw'abaturage, ubuke bw'amasambu n'ihihikana ry'ubuzima bwa buri muni –, ibyo akaba ari nabyo bikunze gushyirwa imbere mu gusobanura urudaca rw'intambara ziyogoza aka karere. Bene iyo mitekerereze isangiye inenge yo kuba ishingiyeye ku mateka n'ibiyumviro by'uko abantu bashakira kubona ibintu; nubwo iyo mitekerereze atari baringa cg imburamumaro, nta mwanya ikwiriye mu bushakashatsi bwa gihanga.

Imibanire n'imiturire y'abaturage

Rwagati mu mutima w'Afurika, U Rwanda ni igihugu gito cy'imisozi, gifite ubuso bw'ibirometero ibihumbi makumyabiri na bitandatu na magana atatu na

mirongo itatu n'umunani (26 338 km²), gikikijwe n'ibihugu by'inganzamarumbo; nubwo nta mutungo kamere gifite, gikize ku nsimburanyabihe y'izuba n'imvura mu rugero ruringaniye ndetse n'ubutaka burumbuka. Abahinzi ni abanyamurava cyane, umusaruro wabo ushimishije ni wo nkingi y'ubukungu bw'U Rwanda bugizwe ku ruhande rumwe n'ibihingwa ngandurarugo (ibitoke, ibishyimbo, amasaka, ...) no ku rundi ruhande, n'ibihingwa bibiri ngengabukungu, ikawa n'icyayi, ari byo bigize hafi umusaruro wose igihugu kivana ku masoko mpuzamahanga. Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994, U Rwanda rwari rutuwe n'abantu bakabakaba miliyoni zirindwi n'ibihumbi magana cyenda, ni ukuvuga ubucucike bw'abaturage bwa 300/km². Ubwiyongere busanzwe bw'abaturage bwarihutaga cyane buri ku ntera ya 3,1 %. Hakurikijwe imibare igaragazwa n'ibarura rusange ryakozwe mu mwaka wa 1991, abaturage bari batuye mu mijyi babarirwaga mu bihumbi 400 kandi muri bo 3/4 bari batuye mu murwa mukuru wa Kigali. 91 % by'abaturage bari batanzwe n'ubuhinzi. Iyo ugereranije uwo mubare n'ubutaka buhingwa usanga ubucucike bw'abari batanzwe n'ubuhinzi bungana na 417/km² ndetse mu misozi miremire yera cyane hari aho ubwo bucucike bwikubaga incuro zirenze 2 ibyo bikaba ari ibintu bidasanzwe mu bihugu by'Afurika byo mu majyepfo ya Sahara. Kuba ubutaka buhingwa bwariyongere bwiyongera bukava kuri hegitari (Ha) 500 000 bukagera kuri Ha 800 000 hagati y'umwaka wa 1974 n'umwaka wa 1994 si ukuvuga ko habonetse ubundi butaka "bushya" ahubwo byaturutse ku igabanuka ry'inzuri n'imishike. Mu by'ukuri igihugu cyagendaga gifata isura y' "igihugu cyuzuye kugeza ku musozo". Kubera ibura rikabije ry'amasambu mu maperefegitura yo mu burengerazuba, usanga guhera mu mwaka wa 1970 harabayeho abimukira benshi imbere mu gihugu berekezaga mu maperefegitura yo mu burasirazuba yari asanzwe adatuwe cyane cyane mu Mayaga (hagati mu gihugu) no mu Bugesera (mu majyepfo y'iburasirazuba).

Habayeho n'izindi mpamvu zitandukanye zatumye habaho imiturire yihariye mu turere tumwe na tumwe tw'igihugu. Ubwo igihugu cyasubizwaga ubwigenge (muri 1962), umutima w'igihugu ari mu miturire, mu bukungu no muri politiki wari mu majyepfo mu ntara y' Astrida yaje kugabanywamo perefegitura ya Butare na Gikongoro. Abanyapolitiki n'abandi bari barize babarizwaga i Nyanza (icyicaro cy'ubutegetsi bwa Cyami kugeza mu mwaka wa 1961), Ngoma ya Butare (umujyi w'impuguke) na Kigali - umurwa mukuru w'ubutegetsi. Kuri Repubulika ya Mbere (1961-1973), amakimbirane n'ihindagurika rya politiki byatumye umupaka w'U Rwanda na Burundi kimwe n'uw'igihugu cya Kongo n'U Rwanda mu majyepfo yawo hafi y'umujyi wa Bukavu isa naho ihora ifunze; ibyo byatumye imijyi yo mu majyepfo idindira cyane, bityo imijyi yo hagati (Gitarama na Kigali) irahazamukira. Repubulika ya Kabiri (yadutse muri 1973) yakajije umurego mu kugira Kigali umurwa rukumbi nyakuri, iwutuzamo ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu majyaruguru y'U Rwanda dore ko aribo bari bamaze kwigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Nanone muri icyo gihe niho amaperefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri yateye imbere cyane kuko ibikorwa by'amajyambere byinshi ariho byerekezawaga.

Mu by'ukuri Repubulika ya Kabiri yatsimbataje amakimbirane hagati

y'amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo n'ayo mu majyaruguru. Amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba yibumbiye mu "Rukiga", andi yose atari mu majyaruguru akomatanyirizwa ku izina rya "Nduga" cg "Nduga yaguye". Mu gihe cy'amahoro, irondakarere ryasimbuye gahoro gahoro irondakoko.

Nyamara kandi irondakoko ntiriyazimiye burundu dore ko ubwinshi bw'Abatutsi bwari umwihariko ukomeye w'amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo. Iyo urebye nk'imibare yo mu ibarura ry'abaturage ryakozwe n'inzeho z'ubuyobozi mu myaka ya 1980¹, usanga amaperefegitura ya Rukiga yarimo gusa 7 % by'Abatutsi bo mu gihugu cyose. Dufashe urugero rwa Ruhengeri, habarurwaga gusa 0,6 % by'Abatutsi bose². Nyamara mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo nka Butare yonyine yabarurwagamo 25 % by'Abatutsi mu gihe andi maperefegitura yarimo Abatutsi hagati ya 10 % na 20 %. Ni ukuvuga ko kimwe cya kane cy'Abatutsi bari mu gihugu, abantu bagera ku bihumbi 130, bari batuye muri perefegitura ya Butare. Uhereye ku cyegeranyo cy'ayo mibare usanga mu mwaka wa 1994 U Rwanda rwari rutuwe n'Abatutsi bakabakaba ibihumbi 800.

Imiturire y'Abatutsi muri 1994 ukurikije buri Perefegitura (nkuko bigaragara ku makarita ari mu ntangiriro z'iki gitabo) yerekana ukuntu amakimbirane ashingiye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere yari ashamikanye nubwo imyumvire n'ingaruka zayo byaterwaga ahanini n'amateka y'urusobekerane y'uturere kenshi tudahuye n'imbibi z'amaperefegitura (impugu z'abahinza, uturere nyamwimerere, ibikingi, inkambi z'abakoloni, ubukonde bw'imiryango migari, amasoko, n'ibindi). Ariko nanone ntawabura kuvuga ko ikibazo cy'imiturire y'abantu hakurikijwe ubwoko bwabo kitumvikana kimwe cg ngo kigire uburemere bumwe ku bantu batandukanye aha n'aha.

Nkuko nzagenda mbigarukaho muri iki gitabo, ni ngombwa guhoza ku mutima imiterere y'ibi bibazo kuko ariyo ahanini yagiye ishingirwaho mu gushyiraho ingamba za politiki n'iza gisirikari mu ntambara nyinshi zibasiye aka karere kuva mu bihe by'ubwigenge mu myaka ya za 1960.

Imyiryanse y'akarande, urugomo ruhemberewe

Muri make, ndagira ngo mbanze nibutse imwe mu mizi n'imizo y'uruhererekane rw'amakimbirane rukomoka ku karande k'ihungabana ry'umutekano mu rwego rw'akarere kasabitswe n'impagarara za politiki y'irondakoko mu duhugu duta Rwanda na Burundi dukikijwe n'ibihugu binini nabyo byaranzwe cyane n'imidugararo ikomeye (Uganda na Kongo yitwaga Zaire). Kwibuka izo ngingo bifasha kandi kumva ubukana bw'amahamuka aterwa n'intambara zihoraho za hatu na hatu zijyana n'ibikorwa by'ubugome bukabije.

Mbere y'ibyo ariko ni ngombwa kwibutsa amateka n'ikibazo cy'imiterere

¹ Iri barura ryirengagije umubare w'Abatutsi bakomoka mu miryango yaguzwe ubwoko. Gusa na none ikinyuranyo cyari gito cyane kandi kinahindagurika buri mwaka.

² Abatutsi bakomokaga muri iyi perefegitura barayihunze hafi ya bese kubera imvururu zikomeye zahabaye muri Revolisiyo ya Rubanda yo muri 1959 mu myaka ya mbere y'ubutegetsu bwa Repubulika. Benshi bagiye bajya gutura mu turere twa perefegitura ya Kigali tutari dutuwe cyane nko mu Bugesera.

y'amoko mu baturage bo muri aka karere. Nubwo mbere y'ubukoloni, amagambo hutu, tutsi na twa yari uturango abantu ku giti cyabo no mu miryango yabo bahuriragaho cg bagatandukaniraho mu rwego rw'umuryango nyagihugu bari bahuriyeho bose, Ubukoloni bwahaye utwo turango isura y'irondakoko yishingikirije ubushakashatsi bwa gihanga. Iyo sura y'irondakoko ubu isigaye yarabaye indorerwamo abaturage benshi cyane cyane ab'impuguke bireberamo, Ishinze imizi mu gitekerezo cy'uko Abatutsi ari intararutsi zakomotse ishyanga. Muri ubwo buryo, Abahutu (bitirwa abahinzi bo mu bwoko bwa "Bantu") bivugwa ko ari bo baremye impugu zari zarakonzwe n'abasangwabutaka b'Abatwa bitwa impunyu [*pygmoïdes*]. Bivugwa rero ko Abahutu n'Abatwa baje kuzwamo n'aborozi (Tutsi, Hima) baje kwiganza gahoro gahoro umwami wabo yigarurira impugu zo mu karere k'Afurika y'ibiyaga bigari.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, iyo myumvire ishingiye ku macakubiri hagati y'Abatutsi b'abahima baturutse ahandi bakaza kwigarura igihugu cy'Abahutu bakabagira ingaruzwamuheto ni nayo yashingiweho mu gutoranya no gushyiraho abategetsi bo gufasha abakoloni kuyobora igihugu. Nguko rero uko imirimo yose y'ingenzi mu by'ubutegetsi, ikoranabuhanga n'ubukungu yahariwe Abatutsi gusa.

Iryo toneshwa rishingiye ku moko ryatumye Abatutsi biyumvamo ingufu nyinshi cyane batangira guhimba no kubaka ingengabitekerezo yo guhamya ko basumba abandi muri byose bashingiye ku mateka, ku bwoko no ku idini. Nguko uko mu mwaka wa 1946, ubwami bumaze kuyoboka Kiliziya gatorika bweguriye U Rwanda Kristu-Umwami maze kuva icyo gihe ruhinduka indorerwamo n'igipimo cy'ubukristu muri Afurika.

Umurage mutindi wa politiki

Rwanda na Burundi ni ibihugu bifite uturango twinshi bisangiye (ingano y'ubuso bwabyo, imiterere n'ingano y'ababituyemo Abahutu akaba aribo nyamwinshi, ubutunzi buteye kimwe, ingoma karande za cyami zamaze imyaka amagana, igikoloni cyaje gitinze, nb.); umwaduko w'ingoma z'ibitugu zishingiye ku ivanguramoko(ubwikanyize bw'Abatutsi i Burundi n'ubw'Abahutu mu Rwanda) n'urugomo rukabije byaziranye ushinze imizi mu ntambara n'imidugararo ijyanye n'imategekere y'abakoloni b'Ababiligi mbere y'uko U Rwanda rwigenga muri Nyakanga 1962.

Nyuma gato y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose, hatangajwe ku mugaragaro inzira yo kvanaho ubukoloni bugasimburwa n'ubutegetsi bugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi. Amatora ya mbere mu Rwanda yabaye mu mwaka wa 1950 yahaye "abajyambere"³ b'Abahutu umwanya wo kuvugira rubanda bamagana akarengane n'umuco wo kunyunyuza abaturage imitsi byakorwaga n'agatsiko k'Abatutsi bari ku butegetsi. Urupfu rw'umwami [Mutara Rudahigwa] muri 1959 n'izungurwa rye ryakuruye impaka zatumye habaho impagarara nyinshi no kudohoka k'ubutegetsi, bitanga icyuho cyo gushinga amashyirahamwe yaje kwibaruka amashyaka. Nyuma y'ibyumweru by'imidugararo n'ingamba zo kuyihosha zafatwaga n'abashyigikiye ubwami, umwe mu bayobozi b'Abahutu

³ "Abajyambere" ni ijamba rigenekereza icyo ku ngoma ya gikoloni bitaga "évolués", ni ukuvuga urubyiruko rwatojwe gusoma no kwandika ari na rwo rwaje gukorera icyo ngoma.

[Dominiko Mbonyumutwa] yarasagariwe bituma abaturage b'Abahutu mu gihugu hose bakora imyivumbagatanyo ivanzemo n'ubwicanyi bukomeye. Nibyo byiswe Revolisiyo ya Rubanda yo mu Ugushyingo 1959. Iyo revolisiyo yarakomeje ishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsu bw'abakoloni bwagendaga bushyiraho abategetsu bashya mu makomini biganjemo Abahutu. Nubwo amatora yo mu makomini yabaye muri Kamena na Nyakanga 1960 atemewe na bese kubera uburyo yakozwemo, hiyongereyeho n'amatora ya Kamarampaka yo muri Nzeri 1961 yimakaje ubutegetsu bwa Repubulika n'amatora y'abadepite byatumye ubutegetsu bw'Abahutu bwari bumaze kujyaho bugaragara nkaho aribwo buhagarariye by'ukuri inyungu za rubanda.

Mu myaka mirongo itatu yakurikiyeho, amatora menshi yabaye yatumye ubutegetsu bufata isura nziza bwemerwa na bese ku buryo budasubirwaho nubwo nyamara butarekaga gukoresha igitugu gishingiye ku irondakoko rya rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu. Iyo ngengabitekerezo yatumye Abatutsi bafatwa nk'abagererwa mu gihugu.

Koko rero, mu myumvire ya MDR-Parmehutu (Ishyamba riharanira Demokarasi na Repubulika n'ukwishyira ukizana kw'Abahutu) ari naryo shyamba ryari rikomeye kurusha ayandi, icyari kigamijwe si ukurwanya no kuvanaho akarengane katerwaga n'ubutegetsu bw'Abatutsi muri politiki n'ubutunzi, ahubwo harimo no gusubiza igihugu "benecyo", ni ukuvuga Abahutu. Ibyo bitekerezo bishingiye ku marangamutima kandi byari bishyigikiwe n'abakoloni ni byo byakuruye urugomo rwaranze Revolisiyo ya rubanda n'itangwa ry'ubwigenge bituma Abatutsi ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza bahungira mu bihugu bihana imbibe n'U Rwanda.

Kubera ko impunzi nyinshi zakomeje guhungira mu Burundi, amakimbirane yo mu Rwanda yaje gutokozwa no kwanduza inzira yo kwibohora igikoloni mu Burundi kandi nyamara yari yaratangiye neza. Guhera muri Nyakanga 1963, ibitero by'Abatutsi bifuzaga gusubirana ubutegetsu byagiye bigabwa mu Rwanda incuro nyinshi bivuye mu nkambi z'i Burundi. Buri gitero cyatumaga umutekano w'imbere mu gihugu uhungabana bigatuma Abatutsi bahigwa bakanicwa abandi benshi bakongera bagahunga. Mu Ukuboza 1963, kimwe mu bitero bikomeye by'Abatutsi bari barahungiyeye mu Burundi cyageze i Kigali, gisubizwa inyuma ku kaburembe kigeze mu marembo y'umurwa mukuru ku kiraro cya Kanzeze. Kubera ubwoba bwinshi bwari bwatashye mu mitima y'abaturage, habayeho ubwicanyi bukabije bwibasiye Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu bakekwaho kuba intasi cy'ibitso by'icyo gitero. Imvururu z'icyo gihe zahitanye Abatutsi bakabakaba hafi 10 000 harimo n'abayobozi b'amashyamba yari ashigikiye ubwami. Ibyo byatumye nanone hahungira Abatutsi babarirwa mu bihumbi mirongo.

Muri 1966 na 1967, imitwe y'abarwanyu b'impunzi bongeye kubura intambara bashyigikiwe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bamaze gufata ubutegetsu mu Burundi; ibitero byaturukaga i Burundi kandi iteka bigakurikirwa n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi imbere mu gihugu. Ibyo byatumye nanone impunzi nyinshi zihungira mu bihugu bikikije U Rwanda ari na byo byaje gutuma habaho imishyikirano yaje kwibaruka amasezerano yo kuburizamo burundu ibikorwa by'intambara byakorwaga

n'impuzi z'Abanyarwanda mu Burundi. Ku mirenge ubwicanyi bwibasiraga Abatutsi muri rusange bwafatwaga nk'uburyo bwo kwirengera, guhana no guca umwanzi intege; bwakorwaga n'abaturage ariko cyane cyane insoresore z'ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu zabaga zishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi maze zikagaba ibitero mu ngo z'Abatutsi zikabica, zikabasahura zikanabatwikira amazu. Mu by'ukuri icyabaga kigenderewe kwari ukuvana ku isi umuryango wose cg kuwutorongeza wose no gusibanganya ikitwa ikimenyetso cyose cyatuma nyirumutungo yongerera kugaragara kugirango ibintu bye byose byongere bigabwe bundi bushya nk'ibitagira nyirabyo.

Nkuko inkuru zakwirakwizwaga mu Burundi n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda kuva 1959-1966 zari zagiye zitera ubwoba bwinshi Abatutsi b'i Burundi bikanabangamira cyane inzego z'ubutegetsi zari zagiyeho nyuma y'ubwigenge, hagati mu myaka ya za 1960 ubwoba n'urugomo i Burundi byafashe inzira inyuranye n'iyo mu Rwanda, Abatutsi (nyamuke) bikubira ubutegetsi bwose kugirango birinde ko ibyabaye ku batutsi bo mu Rwanda nabo byababaho. Nguko uko uruhererekane rw'icyuka cy'ubwoba cyaritse mu mitwe y'Abayobozi b'U Rwanda ko ingabo z'i Burundi zihora zirekereje zishaka urwaho rwo gutera U Rwanda no kugarura ingoma ya cyami. Ibyo byashimangiwe n'ibintu byinshi birimo : iyicwa ry'abayobozi bakuru b'Abahutu nyuma y'umugambi wapfubye wo guhirika ubutegetsi mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1965 i Bujumbura; ubugome ndengarugero n'ingamba kirimuzi zo kugarura amahoro mu gihugu zadukanywe na kapiteni Michael Micombero (washyizeho Repubulika mu Burundi muri 1966 mbere yo kwigira Perezida) ; itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abahutu ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza hagati ya Mata na Kamena 1972⁴, n'impuzi z'Abahutu babarirwa mu bihumbi batatanye bagahungira mu bihugu bihana imbibi n' Uburundi. Ibyo bitekerezo bishingiye ku bwoba byakwirakwijwe mu Rwanda hose bituma Abahutu barwanya ubutegetsi bw'i Burundi batangira kwitegura intambara.

Nyuma yaho abasirakari bafatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu mu bihugu byombi mu myaka ya za 1970 hakaduka icyiswe Repubulika ya Kabiri, ubwicanyi bw'insobekerane bwayogoje kariya karere bwaracubye ariko ntihagira igihinduka ku byerekeye ubwikanyize no kwikubira ubutegetsi bushingiye ku moko muri ibyo bihugu byombi. Gusa ubushake buke bwo guhindura ibintu uko bikwiye no gusangira intero n'inyikirizo mu byerekeye imigambi yo gutsura amajyambere byagabanije amakimbirane hagati y'ibihugu byombi.

Uhereye ku by'ingenzi bivugwa muri iki gitabo usanga igihe nyirabayazana cyateguwemo imigambi mibisha n'ibyayikoreshejwemo byose kimwe

⁴ Ibyo bakunze kwita « événements de 1972 [imidugararo ya 1972] », byerekana intera y'ikirenga y'ubwicanyi bukaze (hapfuye nibura abantu bagera ku bihumbi ijana) buturuka ku ruhuri rw'intambara z'urudaca n'amakimbirane afite imizi mu muco, mu bukoloni no muri politiki yakurikiye ubwigenge (amashyamba menshi, imikorere y'intumwa za rubanda n'ibindi). Amacakubiri hagati y'imiryango y'ibikomangoma, imyiryane hagati y'abashyigikiye ubwami n'abashaka Repubulika, amakimbirane ashingiye ku turere no ku bwoko byafashe intera ndende bamwe bagakurura cyane bifuzaga ko bimera nko mu Rwanda abandi bagasunika cyane batinya ko ibyabaye mu Rwanda byabageraho. Ubukana ubwo bwicanyi bwakoranywe n'amarangamutima yabugaragayemo byatunguye abanyamahanga benshi ndetse n'Abarundi ubwabo. Gutondekanya uko ibintu byagiye bigenda n'urusobe rw'impamvu zabiteye ntawashobora kubivuga mu magambo avunaguye. Icyo twavugaga gusa hano ni uko Abarundi bahababariye cyane kandi ko bakandamijwe bitavugwaga mu gihe cy'imyaka iyirya 20 n'akazu kubakiye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere - akazu k'Abatutsi b'i Burundi.

n'ababigizemo uruhare bose byarateguwe mu mpera y'imyaka ya za 1980. Gushyiraho ubutegetsi bukomeye kandi burambye mu Buganda (1986), kudohoka bikabije by'ubutegetsi bukuru bwa Zayire mu ntara z'icyo gihugu (1989-1990), iherikwa ry'ubutegetsi bwa Jean Baptiste Bagaza bwari bumaze kuba ruvumwa mu Burundi (1987), kwemerera amashyaka akomeye arwanya ubutegetsi gukorera mu bwisanzure mu Rwanda mu mpera za 1980 byahinduye bikomeye isura ya politiki yo mu karere.

Gufungura amarembo ya politiki byibanze mbere na mbere ku kibazo cy'impunzi cyari cyaragizwe kirazira uretse aho cyigeze gutungwaho agatoki mu masezerano yerekeye kujya no kuza mu bwisanzure kw'ibintu n'abantu mu karere k'umuryango w'ubukungu w'Ibiyaga Bigari (CEPGL) yashyizweho umukono mu Ukuboza 1985 hagati y'Uburundi, U Rwanda na Zayire. Icyo kibazo cyari cyaraganiriweho hagati y'U Rwanda n'abategetsi bashya ba Uganda guhera 1986 (reba umutwe wa kabiri).

Ni muri ubwo buryo Abaganda bagera ku bihumbi magana atandatu (600.000) bari barahungiyeye mu bihugu bituranyiye Uganda batahutse hagati ya 1989-1990, impunzi z'abazayirwa mu bihugu bituranye na Zayire hafi ya zose ziratahuka, impunzi ibihumbi mironko itandatu (60.000) z'Abarundi bari barahungiyeye mu Rwanda nyuma y'ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko bwari bwabaye muri Kanama 1988 basubira iwabo mu mwaka wakurikiyeho. Hari hasigaye gusa ikibazo cy'impunzi za kera z'Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi.

Muri ibyo bihe, abanyapolitiki benshi bo mu gihugu n'indorerenzi mvamahanga zakurikiranaga ibibera mu karere, babonaga ko noneho byashobokaga kujya impaka no kuganira ku kibazo byose byakomotse ku murage mutindi w'irondakoko no ku ihererekanya ry'ubutegetsi mu gihe cy'ubwigenge, byagiye byibaruka ingoma zishingiye ku dutsiko ndondakoko. Icyari cyitezwe rero sicyo cyabaye.

Ibiri amambu, ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko bwabaye mu makomini 2 yo mu majyaruguru y'Uburundi bwashubije ibintu irudubi ku byerekeye ikibazo cyo kurenga ivanguramoko no kwimakaza umuco wa demokarasi. Ubwo bwicanyi bukaze kandi butunguranye (hafuye abantu ibihumbi makumyabiri mu minsi 15 gusa) bwerekanye ku mugaragaro ko impfundikirane y'ibibazo bidakemuka kandi mu ntango yabyo byari byoroshye ishobora kuba intandaro y'intambara zikomeye kandi zihuriye ku mateka mabi y'ibya kera. Aha umuntu yavugaga nk'urusobekerane rw'ibibazo bisa mu bihugu byombi, umurava n'ibwirizamatwara byakozwe n'abari barahungiyeye mu Rwanda n'ubufatanye bw'umuwihariko hagati yabo n'ubutegetsi bw'U Rwanda.

Haba muri kariya karere cg mu rwego mpuzamahanga izo ntambara zishingiye ku moko zarasakujwe cyane⁵ bituma umusirikari mukuru w'umututsi wari umaze gufata ubutegetsi, Pierre Buyoya, yiyemeza gufungura amarembo ya politiki mu Burundi no kuyoboka inzira ya demokarasi. Mu by'ukuri kongera kugwa mu mutego w'intambara zishingiye ku ivanguramoko byerekanye inenge y'inyabubiri. Inenge ya mbere ari nayo iteye inkeke ni ukwibeshya

⁵ Reba ibyanditswe na Jean-Pierre CHRETIEN, André GUICHAOUA na Gabriel LE JEUNE, "La crise d'août 1988 au Burundi [Imidugararo yo muri Kanama 1998 mu Burundi]", *Les Cahiers du CRA, AFERA/Karthala, Paris, 1989.*

kw'abanyamahanga batangaga imfashanyo kimwe n' impuguke zo mu gihugu bose bibwiraga ko ibikorwa by'iterambere byihutaga cyane mu Burundi, ubusabane bwagaragaraga mu bihugu byo muri kariya karere n'umubano mwiza mpuzamahanga byari gutuma habaho imihindukire myiza mu rwego rwa politiki no kubana neza mu mahoro hagati y'Abarundi bose. Nyamara nubwo imiryango mpuzamahanga yunganiwe n'uruhuri rw'imiryango idaharanira inyungu itegamiye kuri leta yari yaratumye kwibanda ku bikorwa by'amajyambere bigaragaza umusaruro ushimishije mu rwego rw'ubukungu na politiki n'ubutwererane ndetse no mu ishoramari, nyuma y'imyaka 20 yose niho ibyiswe « atavismes séculaires [inzigo z'akarande] » na « violence barbare [urugomo mburabuntu] » byongeye kuvumbukana ubukana. Inenge ya kabiri yabaye iyo gutsindwa kwa politiki ya Jean Baptiste Bagaza y'ubwirasi no guhakana ikibazo cy'amoko mu Burundi nyuma y'imyaka icumi agerageza guhatira Abahutu kwemera buhumyi politiki ye y'igitugu.

Ku buryo bwimbitse, ingoma za gisirikari mu bihugu byombi zari zarashoboye kuzinga no gupfundikira ibibazo byose bya politiki mu gaseke ku buryo bukomeye hasigara havugwa gusa ibyerekeye ikoranabuhanga n'inzira zo gutsura amajyambere dore ko n'ibyakorwaga byose muri urwo rwego mu bihugu byombi byasaga nk'intobo. Nyamara kandi byari bizwi neza ko ako gahenge k'amajyambere kari gashingiye gusa ku mpurirane z'igihe gito z'imiterere y'ubukungu mu Rwanda no mu Burundi. Mu Rwanda, nyuma y'imyaka 12 igihugu kiyobowe n'abanyenduga baturuka mu majyepfo, n'indi myaka hafi 20 kiyobowe n'abakiga baturuka mu majyaruguru, byari bimaze kugaragara ko demokarasi itakomeza kuba urubuga cg se imbata y'abanyaduga n'abakiga gusa ko ahubwo byari ngombwa kumva no kwita ku bitekerezo bya ba nyamuke. Mu Burundi, nyuma y'imyaka 25 abasirikari bakuru b'Abatutsi bakomoka ku mirenge inyuranye yo mu ntara ya Bururi bamaranira ubutegetsu no kwigwizaho ubukungu, byari bimaze kugaragara ko « inzira yo gusangira ubutegetsu » n'Abahutu idashobora gusubizwa inyuma. Mu bihugu byombi inkubiri yo guharanira demokarasi yamaganaga ubwikanyize bushingiye ku dutsiko tw'ubutegetsu tugendera ku moko hutu cyangawa tutsi. Iyo nkubiri yarwanyaga cyane kandi ihereye mu mizi ubwikanyize bushingiye ku «kazu, irondakoko n'irondakarere» byafatwaga nk'ihame ridakuka ubutegetsu bugenderaho.

Nyamara ariko nanone, uko iyo nkubiri ya demokarasi yotsaga igitutu ubwo bwikanyize ni nako ubutegetsu bwariho bwarushagaho gushimangira igitugu bwari bushingiyeho. Ni muri urwo rwego, ku buryo bufititse cg se busesuye hakurikije imiterere ya buri gihugu, ubwikanyize n'ivangura byabaye kamara mu ngamba zakoreshwaga muri politiki ikomoka ku murage mubi w'ubukoloni.

Ni muri uwo murage kandi, mu bihugu byombi, abategetsu bavomaga ingufu zo kwikanyiza bunga ubumwe hagati y'udutsiko n'utuzu twabo bakaboneraho no gukomeza ubufatanye hagati y'abagize amoko yabo kugirango babanyunyuze imitsi kandi ariko ntibashore kurabukwa no kwivumbura ngo batavaho batatira ubwoko abategetsu babayobora bakomokamo. Amatati ashingiye ku moko yashoboraga kuvumbuka no gukoreshwa igihe cyose havutse ibibazo bishingiye kuri politiki, ku bukungu, ku mibanire y'abantu cg ku nyungu zindi zishingiye ku

tuntu tw'ubusabusa.

Icyuka gihoraho cy'urwikekwe cyatumaga akantu kose gashobora gufata isura y'ironakoko abaturanyi «bakarebana ay'ingwe», bityo haba mu basangiye akazi badahuje amoko, abasangiye idini badahuje amoko, mu masoko, mu tubari no mu nsengeru hakaba havuka amakimbirane cg ndetse no gushyamirana, guhigana no kwicana.

Ariko se intambara kirimuzi yari « nta gisibya » ?

Ngiyo impamvu rero bidahagije gushyira imbere gusa icengezamatwara, koshywa no gushyigikirwa n'ubutegetsi, isindwe no kunywa ibiyobya bwenge, ubwana n'ubusore by'abicanyi kugira ngo usobanure ubukana n'ubugome buvanze n'ubuhumyi byibasiye inzirakarengane. Mu mahano ateye ubwoba yibasiye ibi bihugu, hagaragara nanone imyitwarire yari yarashinze imizi mu mitima y'ababikoraga kuko mu burakari bwabo bwo kwica ubonamo uruhererekane rw'ibikorwa bifatanye isano-muzi n'ibikorwa bibi bya politiki n'imikorere ishinzwe imizi mu bya kera byatumaga abantu bakora buhumyi ibyo batumva bigasa naho icyazuraga cyose uburakari bwo kwica, cyibutsaga ibyari bisanzwe mu mitwe y'abantu, bityo rero bigasa nko kwiyibutsa umwuga no kugabana imirimo kuri buri gikorwa. Mu bihugu byombi, muri buri rungano no muri buri muryango, uko baganiraga ku byababayeho mu mibereho yabo, bikababaza ndetse bikabakura n'umutima mu bihe binyuranye, ni nako mu bwonko hagendaga hasigaramo imbuto y'umurage mubi wo kwica. Iyo mbuto niyo yibarutse inzangano n'amakimbirane hagati y'abaturage buri gihe bakibona nk'abantu bagize ibice bibiri bihora bishyamiranye.

Ubwicanyi bwibasira imbaga bwagiye buba kenshi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi batuye hakurya no hakuno y'uruzi rwitwa Kanyaru cg Akanyaru bitewe n'imvugo ya buri gihugu, urwo ruzi rukaba n'umupaka ugabanya Rwanda na Burundi, bwagiye bubura rutangira bugasakara nk'icyorezo mu bihugu byombi. Guhora bavugaga ku mateka y'ibya kera arangwa n'ubwoba buhoraho buturuka ku marangamutima yo kwiheba byagiye bihembera ubwicanyi bwa «dutanguranwe» noneho hakivangamo na politiki bikaba nk'umusemburo w'ubwicanyi. Kuva ibihugu byombi byabona ubwigenge hagiye habaho udutsiko tw'intagondwa mu mashyamba yose ya politiki duhora ducura imigambi y'ubwicanyi, tukitwara nk'abapfumu bahoza abaturage ku kidodo no ku nkeke y'ubwicanyi ngo bwabaga bwarahanuwe. Kuva muri 1959, hatangiye gatebe gatoki y'intambara hagati y'amoko.

Ibyo bigaragazwa cyane n'uburyo abantu bitwaye ku giti cyabo mu bwicanyi bwabaye mu Burundi hagati y'Ukwakira n'Ukubozza 1993. icyo gihe niho Melchior Ndadadaye Perezida wa mbere wo mu bwoko bw'Abahutu wari watowe muri demokarasi isesuye yahiritswe ku butegetsi akanicwa urubozo amaze amezi atatu gusa ku butegetsi. Ibyo byakuruye intambara y'urudaca ndetse yamennye amaraso menshi mu Burundi irangizwa n'uko umutwe w'abarwanyi b'Abahutu ugeze ku butegetsi ukoresheje ingufu ukaza no gutsinda amatora yakurikiyeho.

Ni nako byagenze mu Rwanda kuva aho intambara yari yahagaze yongeye

kubura hagati y'ukwezi kwa Mata na Nyakanga 1994, aho ubwicanyi bw'itsembabwoko bwafashe intera itari yarigeze ibaho na rimwe. Iyo ntambara kandi yaje gukwira akarere kose ibyara icyiswe « Intambara ya mbere ikomeye y'Afurika ». umutwe w'Abatutsi [Inkotanyi] bari bamaza gufata ubutegetsu i Kigali wifuzaga kwigizayo burundu icyezezi cy'irindi tsembabwoko ryashoboraga guturuka ku bahoze ari ingabo z'igihugu kimwe n'impunzi z'Abahutu zari mu makambi anyanyagiye ku mupaka wose wa Zayire. Inkotanyi zashakaga nanone gushyiraho ubutegetsu buzinogeye i Kinshasa kugirango zigarurire amasambu n'umutungo kamere w'icyo gihugu kinini cy'abaturanyi. icyateye amayobera ni uko muri icyo gihe ari naho ubutegetsu bwa Kigali bwagendaga bushyigikira umutwe w'Abahutu bari bamaze kwigarurira ubutegetsu i Bujumbura babwambuye Abatutsi bari babumaranye imyaka 30 nta nkomyi. Ingabo z'umugambwe wo guhabuza demokarasi (CNDD-FDD) ari na zo zagize uruhare rugaragara mu ntambara yayogoje Uburundi, zashyizweho na Léonard Nyangoma i Bukavu ku itariki ya 14 Kanama 1994, nyuma gato yaho Inkotanyi za FPR zifatiye ubutegetsu i Kigali. Ingabo z'U Rwanda za kera zari mu makambi muri Zayire nizo zagize uruhare rukomeye mu gushinga umutwe w'abarwanyi b'iryo shyamba.

Ukomatanije intambara zabaye mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari by'Afurika hagati y'imyaka ya 1990-2000 zikaza no kwadukira akarere kose k'Afurika yo hagati usanga arizo zahitanye abantu benshi ku isi nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose. Hapfuye abantu barenga miliyoni 4 baguye mu mirwano cyane cyane biturutse ku ngaruka z'intambara kandi benshi ari abaturage cyane cyane mu Burundi, mu Rwanda no muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo, utabariyemo amamiliyoni y'impunzi y'abavanywe mu byabo biyongera ku bari basanzwe⁶.

Ni muri iyi ndorerwamo dukwiye kureberamo za politiki za mpemuke ndamuke n'abazigizemo uruhare bose mu mahano yabayeho. Mu by'ukuri, nko mu Rwanda ntawatinyuka kuvuga ko abarwanaga batari bazi amahano ashobora kubaho no kuyahagarika batagombye gutegereza indeshyamba n'ubukana bwayo, muri make ntacyatunguranye. Nyamara nkuko byagiye bigaragara, agahenge kose ko guhagarika intambara kakoreshwaga mu kwibasira abaturage n'imitungo yabo, kwica abaturage, kubatega imitego hagamijwe gutuma biheba no gutyaza inzangano hagati yabo, nkaho nta yandi mizero y'amahoro no kubana neza yazaga gushoboka. Bene ubu buryo ni bwo bwakoreshejwe muri 1994. Intambara imaze kubura n'ubwicanyi burimbanije, impande zombi zishyimiranye zirinze inzira y'imishyikirano kandi yari igifite igaruriro, bigasa no kwerekana ko buri wese yahibikaniraga kumvisha abaturage ko nta yandi makiriro uretse guhitamo uruhande buri wese abogamiraho. Nguko uko ya mbuto y'amacakubiri yabibwe kuva kera, iherekejwe n'ingengabitekerezo, n'imibabaro inyuranye ikomoka ku ntambara byatumye urubyiruko rw'icyo gihe rwumva ko intambara kirimbuzi itari gusa amaburakindi ahubwo yari yo

⁶ Mu by'ukuri, kuva mu ntangiriro z'ubwigenge, habayeho impunzi nyinshi cyane, ndetse zimwe zitazwi na busa, cyane cyane izavuye mu Rwanda, Burundi, Kongo na Uganda. Uretse Arigeriya, U Rwanda ni cyo gihugu cy'Afurika cyagiye impunzi nyinshi zabarurwe ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko mpuzamahanga. Izo mpunzi kandi zagize ziyongera buri gihe uko habaga imidugararo mu gihugu (1963, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1973, etc.). Kugeza mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2000, aka karere [k'ibiyaga bigari] kari kamwe mu hantu hacumbikiye impunzi nyinshi ku isi yose.

makiriro.

Imikorere y'ingoma ya Habyarimana

Tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, Perezida wa mbere wa Repubulika kuva igihugu kibonye ubwigenge, Grégoire Kayibanda (Hutu, Gitarama), yahiritswe ku butegetsi, bufatwa n'umukuru w'ingabo Juvénal Habyarimana (Hutu, Gisenyi) noneho igicumbi cy'ubutegetsi bushingiye ku irondakarere cyimukira mu maboko y'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru ari nabo nyine ahanini bari bagize ingabo z'igihugu⁷. Umukuru w'igihugu yigaragaje nk'ushaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bose, ubumwe yavugaga ko bwatatiwe na MDR-Parmehutu. Muri icyo gihe hafashwe ibyemezo byinshi bigamije kugabanya kwikubira ubutegetsi, muri byo havugwa nk'iringaniza ryari rigamije gutanga imyanya mu rwego rwo kuzamura ba nyamuke no gutangiza politiki yo gusaranganya ishingiye ku turere n'amoko. Mu buryo bwagutse, abaturage bashishikarizwaga kwitabira umurimo n'amajyambere no kureka ibibatanya byose.

Impinduramatwara yo muri 1973 yahamagariraga abanyagihugu bose, abaturage, abakozi ba leta n'abayobozi kwishyira hamwe. « Imirimo rusange » (umuganda) yakanguriraga abasirimu kwitabira imirimo y'amaboko no gukomeza ubufatanye hagati yabo n'abaturage bo mu cyaro.

Mu rwego rwa politiki ariko, byaje kugera aho itsinda ry'abahiritse ubutegetsi ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973 bari biyise «ba Kamarade b'uwa gatanu Nyakanga» (barimo ahanini Théoneste Lizinde na Alexis Kanyarengwe, *reba umugereka wa 1*) rigashyira Juvénal Habyarimana ku butegetsi, ritangira kurwanya ku mugaragaro ko Perezida yakomeza kwiharira ubutegetsi bwose wenyine. Kugira ngo yikize abamurwanya anacecekeshe burundu abari bagitsimbaraye ku matwara ya MDR-Parmehutu, Habyarimana Juvénal yashyizeho umutwe wa politiki yise MRND (Muvoma Revolisiyoneri iharanira amajyambere y'igihugu) ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1975. Uwo mutwe ni nawo waje kuba igikoresho cye bwite mu rwego rwa politiki.

Guhatira buri wese kuba muri Muvoma byanze bikunze bwari bwo buryo bwo guhuriza Abanyarwanda hamwe nta vangura rishingiye ku moko, ku turere cg ku madini. Hashingiwe cyane ku iterambere ryo mu cyaro no gucunga neza ibikomoka mu gihugu, ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwatsinze ibitego bidashidikanywaho nko kutaroha igihugu mu madeni menshi, kubahiriza ibipimo ngengabukungu, gutuma ifaranga ridata agaciro no kwihaza mu biribwa ku buryo buciriritse kugeza mu mpera ya za 1980. Ibi ni nabyo bisobanura neza impamvu mu rwego rw'ubutwererane mpuzamahanga igihugu cyarashimwaga cyane n'imiryango nterankunga yegamiye kuri leta ndetse n'iyigenga. Igice cya

⁷ Umukuru w'iperereza mu gihugu Alexis Kanyarengwe niwe wshyizeho ingamba zishingiye ku irondakoko agamije gutuma abaturage basubiranamo ngo abone impamvu yo guhirika ubutegetsi avuga ko agaruye umutekano mu gihugu. Abanyeshuri bo mu mashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye, abakozi ba leta n'abo mu bigo byigenga babwirijwe kwirukana bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi mu mirimo yose no mu rwego rw'uburezi, ndetse hamwe na hamwe byakuruye n'ubwicanyi. Hakurikiyeho ihunga ry'Abatutsi biyongerega ku bari barahunze mbere hagati ya 1959-1963. Byose byakozwe mu mugambi wo gutesha agaciro abayobozi bakuru bakomokaga mu majyepfo bafatwaga nk'inshuti z'Abatutsi bakagenda basimburwa n'abo mu majyaruguru. Kubera ko iryo hirikwa ry'ubutegetsi ritari rishingiye ku byifuzo bya rubanda, ryafatwa nk'isubiranamo hagati y'udutsiko tumaranira ubutegetsi.

kabiri cyo mu myaka ya za 1970 n'icyambere cyo mu myaka ya za 1980 cyabaye icy'uburumbuke bushimishije mu rwego rw'ubukungu. Ubukungu bw'igihugu bwageraga kuri buri cyiciro cy'abaturage : uburyo bwo kugeza amafaranga ku baturage bwariyongereye, ubucuruzi bw'ibikomoka ku buhinzi bwateye imbere, habonetse akazi gatanga umushahara mu cyaro, haboneka akazi mu bucuruzi n'ubukorikori ndetse na leta ishobora gutanga akazi no guhamba abakozi bayo ku buryo budahindagurika, n'ibindi... Gusa rero, izo ngamba zo guhangana n'ibibazo by'ubukungu zari zihishe irindi banga rikomeye ry'ubusumbane bukabije mu baturage ritavugwaga. Ubwo busumbane bwatoneshaga abakomoka «iwabo wa Perezida» no ku buryo bwagutse ibindi bikomerezwa byagabiwe ubutegetsu.

Uko demokarasi ishingiyeye ku iringaniza yagendaga yinjizwa buhoro buhoro mu mitwe y'Abanyarwanda byatumaga ubutegetsu nabwo bwemeza hose ko ikibazo cy'amoko cyarangiyeye burundu. Uretse impunzi zabaga mu mahanga n'Abatutsi bamwe babaga mu mijyi, nta wundi wabonaga icyo yaveba iyi nzira ya politiki mu gihe byashoboraga gukomeza no kuramba.

Ni mu gihe kandi kuko ntawashoboraga kwigobotora ingoyi y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi MRND : kuvuka uri umunyarwanda byari bihagije ngo ube ubarirwa mu bayoboze bayo wanze ukunze; yewe nta n'ubwo abayoboze basabwaga kugaragaza umurava w'icengezamatwara rikataje, dore ko nta n'ingengabitekerezo yihariye yariho. Gutanga umusanzu, kujya mu muganda, kujya muri animasiyo ukavuga amagambo yatoranijwe n'inzego nkuru (kuva ku mivugo yamamaza gusasira ikawa kugera ku isuku y'abana bajya ku ishuri) byabaga bihagije. Umwihariko w'iyo ngoma n'abaryankuna bayo kwari ukwitaka no kwemeza ko ari yo yonyine ikora neza kandi ishoboye kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda ku buryo burambye. Gukoresha ijambo "Umubyeyi w'igihugu" bashaka kuvuga Perezida Habyarimana byerekana neza uko yifuzaga gufatwa n'abo ateguka.

Abategetsu bagenzuraga cyane abaturage mu mirimo yabo mu cyaro ndetse no mu mijyi bakababuzaga kuva mu maperefegitura yabo bajya mu yandi cyane cyane mu mujyi wa Kigali, bagashyiraho imisoro ku bicuruzwa binyura mu cyaro, bakabumbira umusaruro w'abaturage mu dushyirahamwe duto duto, n'ibindi. Impamvu nyayo y'iryo genzura rihoraho kandi kenshi rishingiyeye ku gitugu kwabaga ari ukuzirika abasirimu ku cyaro kuko aricyo cyabahaga amaramuko ava ku musaruro uvunanye cyane w'ingufu z'abaturage. Kubera ubwigunge bw'igihugu kidafite n'umutungo kamere wabyazwa umusaruro hariho igihe byaba ngombwa koko gushakira amakiriro ku mbaraga z'abaturage, ariko ibi na byo bifite aho bitarenga kubera ubuto bukabije bw'ahaturuka umusaruro n'ubukene bukabije bw'abaturage bamwe.

Ni yo mpamvu kwemeza ko hariho «ubwuzuzanye mpuzabikorwa» bushingiyeye ku rugwiro hagati y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi na leta (byazanywe na Repubulika ya Kabiri) atari byo kubera ko ubuhangange n'ubutavugirwamo bya leta byari biherekejwe n'imvugo nkene ya politiki itagira kivuguruza ku migambi yabaga yafashwe.

Mu by'ukuri, abayobozi bakuru b'ishyaka MRND ntibashyirwagaho

hakurikijwe uburemere n'ingufu za politiki babaga bafite mu baturage. Nta munyapolitiki numwe wabonaga ko ari ngombwa kugendera ku mbaraga zivuye mu baturage b'akarere aturukamo ngo bigaragare ko ako karere kamukunze kandi kamwizeye. Bake cyane bagerageje kunyuranya n'ayo mabwiriza (Félicien Gatabazi, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, Alexis Kanyarengwe, Félicula Nyiramutarambirwa hagati ya 1975-1985) bagiye bacibwa intege cg bagahitanwa. Imyanya yose n'ibikorwa byose byagenwaga n'inzezo zo hejuru zari zarashyizeho ibyagombaga kuba byujijwe kugira ngo naka cg nyirana ahabwe umwanya w'icyubahiro cg uhemba neza.

Abiyemezaga guhatanira imyanya nk'iyi babanzaga gukora ibishoboka byose bakigaragaza nk'abashishikajwe cyane no gukora imirimo bashinzwe bativanze mu politiki, bagasizora barushanwa kwibonekeza muri byose mu gutanga ingufu no guharanira inyungu z'ubutegetsi.

Kugira ngo ube Burugumesitiri cg Perefefu, minisitiri cg umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo kigengwa na leta byasabaga ibintu 2 by'ingenzi :

- Kuba ushyigikiwe na Perezida ;

- Kwiyemeza gukurikiza amabwiriza yose atangwa na we hatavuye n'ibango.

Ibyo byari bihagije ngo wemerwe nk'umunyapolitiki cg umukozi ushoboye akazi. Niyo mpamvu usanga hari icyuho gikabije hagati y'abaturage n'abatirirwaga kuba babahagarariye mu matora. Urugero ni uko muri 1981, 92 % by'abadepite bari bagize inama ishingamutegekako (CND) bose baturukaga mu nzego za leta, nta numwe wari uhagarariye imbaga y'abahinzi borozi bari bagize 95 % by'abaturage bose. Harimo Abatutsi babiri gusa n'umutwa umwe. Muri 1988, abagize CND baravuguruwe; ku bari bayigize 68 kuri 70 bari abahoze ari ba minisitiri mbere (15 kuri 16 bari bagikora icyo mirimo) 44 bari basanzwe ari abadepite abandi babaga barabaye abaperefefu, abasuperefefu, abaturugumesitiri cg se abakozi bakuru ba leta, kandi Abatutsi bakomeje kuba babiri gusa. Mu Ukuboza 1988, Perezida Habyarimana wari umukandida umwe rukumbi yatowe ku majwi 99 % mu gihugu hose ndetse no mu majyepfo y'igihugu aho batamuhumekaga neza.

Kujya mu nzego nkuru z'ishyamba MRND cyari ikimenyetso gikomereye cy'ubuhungu kuko byerekanaga igipimo cy'icyizere kidasanzwe Perezida agufitiye kandi bikaguha n'amahirwe yo kugera mu nda y'ingoma y'amayobera menshi ari naho hafatirwaga ibyemezo bikomeye biyobora igihugu. Aho ninaho hagaragarira ubufatanye mu gusangira indonke mu mutuzo hagati y'abayobozi bakuru bo muri ubwo butegetsi. Ruswa yagaragariraga cyane mu masoko atangwa na leta, mu mishinga y'ubwikorezi no gutwara abantu, kubaka amazu no kugura ibikoresho bya leta, n'indi mishinga inyuranye yakorerwaga mu maperefegitura kandi igakoreshwa ku buryo bwo guhemba abagaragu bayo hirya no hino mu gihugu.

Ijambo "dictature [ingoma y'igitugu]" ntirisobanura neza bene icyo sano yihariye hagati y'abaturage bo mu cyaro n'inzezo za leta, aho abaturage mu by'ukuri baba bahagarariye n'abana babo baba bamaze kugabirwa imyanya mishya y'ubuyobozi (mu myaka ya za 1980, abantu bari barengeje igisekuru kimwe mu mujyi bari mbarwa). Ijambo riboneye kurushaho ni "totalitarime

[ingoma rugengabyose]” kubera ko nubwo rubanda rwa giseseka batagiraga urwinyagamburiro mu butegetsi bubagose cg ngo bagire uwo batakira mu gihe bubarenganiye, hariho icyambu hagati y’abaturage n’inzego zinyuranye zibagenga. Uruhuri rw’amabanga basangiye, ibyo bafataniye, imihango n’imigenzo, urwibutso se rwa “Revolisiyo ya rubanda” yewe ndetse n’uburyo abaturage bahoraga basabwa kuba ba “nyamujiya iyo bigiye” byatumaga ubutegetsi bwirinda igitugu cyeruye cyabuteranya n’imbaga y’abaturage.

Muri rusange, imiyoborere y’U Rwanda muri kiriya gihe wayigereranya n’imibanire y’abayobozi b’amadini n’abayoboze babo. Muri urwo rwego, twavuga ko hariho “ingoma y’igitugu yo kujijura abaturage” aho abize bafata abaturage nk’injiji zigomba guhora zigishwa, no guhozwaho ijisho bityo bagakora gusa ibyo babwirijwe n’ubutegetsi, bagahora bakangurwa kugira ngo bakore icy’ubutegetsi bwifuzza ndetse mu gihe batabikoze bakaba banahanwa kandi byose byitwa ko bikorwa mu nyungu zabo.

Iyo miyoborere byavugwaga ko ari inzira mvugururamuco idashogoshya ni yo yagize uruhare rukomeye mu kureshya no gukurura abaterankunga n’indi miryango mpuzamahanga ifasha abaturage⁸. Koko rero, iyo miryango yashoboraga kwegera abaturage ku buryo buyoroheye ibinyujije kuri leta mu nzego zayo zose kuva hejuru kugera hasi.

Ikibazo cy’amoko n’ivangura rinyuranye mu gihugu

Ushubije amaso inyuma usanga mu mpera ya za 1980 ibibazo by’ingutu byavugwaga cyane bitarimo ivanguramoko. Abahutu n’Abatutsi ba rubanda rugufi, cyane cyane abaturage batagira amasambu, abana batagize amahirwe yo kwiga n’abagore, bari basangiye ibibazo. Mu rwego rwa politiki, Abanyarwanda bo mu turere twose tw’igihugu banengaga kimwe ubwikanyize na ruswa byari byihariwe n’Abahutu bo mu majyaruguru n’Abatutsi b’ibyegera by’umubyeyi w’igihugu.

Ntibyoroshye rero kwiyumvisha ukuntu itsembabwoko ry’ikirenga nka ririya ryaje gushoboka nyuma y’imyaka icumi amakimbirane hagati y’amoko asa naho yibagiranye, ugereraniye nuko byari bimeze nyuma y’ubukoloni, binakubitiyeho ko Abahutu n’Abatutsi bize bari bamaze kugera ku ntera yo gukora no guhiganwa mu kwishakira imibereho myiza mu nzira zizira irondakoko. Mu nkubiri yo gukorera mu mashyirahamwe yatangiye muri za 1980, wasangaga Abatutsi n’Abahutu bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo na Kigali bahujwe cyane no guharanira amajyambere yo mu turere bakomokamo kuruta ibindi byose.

Gusa nanone ntawashidikanya ko ubutegetsi bwose bwari bufitwe n’Abahutu kuko bwari bushingiye kuri nyamwinshi y’ubwoko kandi n’iringanizwa ryakorwaga rikaba ryari rishingiye ku bantu ku giti cyabo haba gutanga

⁸ Abanyamahanga bumvaga bene iyo miyoborere y’igitugu yo kwita cyane ku baturage no kubafata nk’ibitambambuga ari bwo buryo buboneye bwo kugeza abaturage ku ntego zigamijwe ku buryo bubahuma amaso, bityo bakiyibagiza ndetse bakirengagiza nkana iby’akarengane kakorerwaga abaturage. Ibyo byatumye ubwicanyi bukomeye n’ivanguramoko byagiye byibasira abaturage mu bihe binyuranye bitabuza ko Rwanda na Burundi bikomeza gufatwa nk’ibihugu by’intangarugero mu rwego rw’umutekano n’amahoro mu karere k’ibihugu bihoramo intambara n’akaduruvayo.

amashuri, akazi n'indi mirimo yose ikomeye kandi ihesha icyubahiro⁹.

Nyamara nubwo politiki y'iringaniza yari yarashyiriweho gukemura ibibazo by'ubusumbane byariho, nayo ubwayo yaje guhinduka buhoro buhoro ikibazo gikomeye kuko yahemberaga ikibazo cy'amoko ndetse ikagitsimbataza. Iringaniza mu mashuri ryabaye agahomamunwa kuko indangamuntu abanyeshuri bakomora ku babyeyi babo yababereye umusaraba mu myigire yabo yose. Kuja mu mashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru ntibyari bigikurikiza amanota atsindirwaho mu gihugu cyose, hakurikizwaga izindi mpamvu mu byukuri zitazwi kandi zikorwa mu ibanga. Amashuri yisumbuye, amaseminari na Kaminuza byari byarabaye indiri n'isibaniro y'ivanguramoko. Kandi si aho gusa wasangaga hari n'imirimo runaka igenewe abo mu bwoko bumwe gusa. Abatutsi wasangaga bohereza abana babo aho igenzura ryabaga ridakaze cyane : mu bikorera ku giti cyabo muri rusange ; abanyamadini, abakora imyuga yigenga cg se gukorera abanyamahanga n'imiryango mpuzamahanga.

Mu byukuri, iringaniza ryaje kuba intwari ikomeye kandi ishaje yakoreshwaga n'intayega zitsimbaraye ku bya kera zari ku butegetsi zitifuzaga ko hagira igihinduka. Mu bihe bikomeye by'ihungabana ry'ubukungu, iringaniza ryakoreshejwe mu kurengera abaturage bamwe b'indobanure no gukumira abadaturuka mu majyaruguru y'igihugu mu mirimo ihemba neza cg ifatirwamo ibyemezo bikomeye (igisirikari, inama ishingira amategeko, Komite nyobozi, ibigo bigengwa na leta). Dore urugero : nubwo Perezidansi yageragezaga gusaranganya imyanya myiza mu bahutu n'Abatutsi bari batonye ku ngoma (imiryango imwe ikomeye y'Abatutsi bari mu bucuruzi n'ubwikorezi bw'ibiva n'ibijya mu mahanga bakingigirwaga ikibaba ku buryo bukabije), ibiro by'iperereza bishinzwe kugenzura iby'amoko mbere yo guha abakozi ba leta akazi byakundaga gukora amaraporo yibasira Abatutsi. Ahanini bene ayo amaraporo yabaga agamije kurengera inyungu z'abari mu myanya myiza yagendaga ikendera kubera gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda amahanga yategekaga igihugu kujyamo. Nguko uko politiki yo gusaranganya ibyiza by'igihugu yari yagiriye gushimangira ingoma yariho yaje kuba imbarutso yo kwamagana ku mugaragaro uburyo abakomoka ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri bikubiye ibyiza by'igihugu ku buryo buteye isoni.

Uko MRND yananiwe guhosha ubushyamirane bushingiye ku irondakarere

Muri ibyo bihe by'amashiraniro, MRND yaciye ukubiri n'ibyo yigishaga. Koko rero MRND yavutse igamije gushimangira ibyiza byazanywe n'impinduramatwara yo muri 1959 ikoresheje icyo yise "Revolisiyo mvugururamuco" yo guhuriza Abanyarwanda bose hamwe bakazibukira irondakoko n'irondakarere. Umugambi w' "amahoro n'ubumwe" yahoraga iririmba witabiriwe ku buryo bugaragara n'abaturage ndetse n'igice kikini

⁹ Uretse koloneli Epimache Ruhashya, umutusi umwe rukumbi wari mu rwego rw'abasirikari bakuru akaba no muri Komite y'ubumwe n'amahoro n'abandi batutsi 2 bari mu nteko ishingira amategeko, abaperefe bose na ba burugumesitiri b'icyo gihe bose bari Abahutu n'abakekwaho kuba batari Abahutu bagombaga kuba bafite indangamuntu z'ubuhutu.

cy'abayobozi bari bamaze kurambirwa amacakubiri ya MDR-Parmehutu. Yewe ntibyanaruhaniye na busa kugira ngo MRND yinjire mu mitwe ya rubanda dore ko Perezaida Habyarimana yahagaritse amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko hagati y'Abanyarwanda bikanamuhesha igikundiro mu batutsi b'imbere mu gihugu.

Nyamara nubwo yari yashoboye gucubya amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko mu gipande cy'abamushyigikiye, yananiwe kurenga amacakubiri ashingiye ku ironakarere, ndetse anakingira ikibaba ihotorwa ry'abanyepolitiki bo kuri Repubulika ya Mbere. Ibyo byamubuyariye urwango rukomeye rw'abaturuka mu majyepfo y'igihugu nubwo yakoraga ibishoboka byose ngo yibagize amahano akomeye yo kwica uwari waramubereye "se" muri politiki¹⁰.

Gutsindwa kwa perezida Habyarimana nanone kwagaragariye mu bushake bwe bwo guhindura MRND akarima yororeramo abanyapolitiki bamushyigikiye gusa kandi bashobora kumwitangira, agashimishwa gusa no kubahoza mu ipiganwa ryo kumukeza ngo abihere imyanya myiza mu butegetsi. Iryo piganwa hagati y'ibikomerezwa bikomoka mu majyepfo no mu majyaruguru ryarakaje cyane abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru bari bamushyize ku butegetsi. Byaje kurushaho kuba bibi aho hagariyeho itegekonshinga ryo kuwa 28 Ukuboza 1978 ryeguriraga ubutegetsi bwose Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana. Mu gihe yari asanzwe akomataniye imirimo yo kuba umukuru w'igihugu, n'uwa Guverinoma ndets akaba na minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu n'umugaba mukuru wazo, itegeko nshinga rishya ryaje kumwongereraho kuba Perezida wa Muvoma ari na we wenyine washoboraga kwiyamamaza ubuziraherezo ku mwanya wo kuba Perezida w'igihugu. Ku bushyamirane bwari hagati y'abakomoka ku Gisenyi n'abakomoka mu Ruhengeri hiyongereyeho no kutumvikana hagati y'abaturuka mu turere tubiri twa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Bushiru na Bugoyi, ari naho havuye umugambi waje gupfuba wo guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana ugahitana na bamwe mu b'imena muri ba Kamarade b'uwa 5 Nyakanga 1973 (Alexis Kanyarengwe na Théoneste Lizinde).

Nta byinshi bizwi ku byaba byarateye ayo makimbirane yakurikiwe n'ururandagatane rw'insobe. Gusa icyo twavuga ni uko hari igipande cyari gishyigikiye Habyarimana Juvénal¹¹ mu gisirikari no mu banyapolitiki b'abasivili cyari gishyiditse n'icyari gishyigikiye, cyane cyane mu gisirikari, Kanyarengwe Alexis wari minisitiri w'igihangange w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Ipiganwa ryagaragaraga cyane cyane mu gukeza Perezida kugira ngo bagire uruhare mu byemezo bikomeye yafataga.

¹⁰ Grégoire Kayibanda amaze guhirikwa ku butegetsi, hashyizweho urukiko rukuru rw gisirikari maze rumukatira we na bagenzi be 7 muri Kamena 1974 igihano cyo kwicwa. Yaje gufungirwa iwe mu rugo aza kuhagwa mu buryo butigeze busobanuka. Abanyapolitiki babarirwa muri mirongo bari bakomeye ku ngoma ya Repubulika ya Mbere bishwe urubozo. Ibyo byabaye cyane ku bari bafungiyemo mu kato muri gereza ya Ruhengeri mu maboko ya majoro Théoneste Lizinde ubwe. Ubwo bwicanyi budasobanutse bwatumye abaturage n'abakozi ba leta benshi bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu bijundika ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana.

¹¹ Muri iki gice twavugamo Alphonse Libanje wari umyobozi mukuru wa Ofisi y'icyayi mu Rwanda (OCIR-Thé) Jean-Berchmans Birara (wari umyobozi wa Banki nkuru y'igihugu), Aloys Bizimana (umwe mu bayobozi bakomeye ba Banki ya Kigali) bese bakomoka mu Bugoyi na Jean-Bosco Rugigana (umunyamabanga mukuru muri Ministeri y'imari ukomoka i Byumba), hakaba rero n'abasirikari bakuru bari bakomeye kuri Habyarimana barimo koloneli Serubuga Laurent (umugaba mukuru wungirije w'ingabo z'igihugu), koloneli Buregeya Bonaventure (wari Umunyamabanga mukuru muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika, ariko waje kuvanwaho kuwa 16 Mata 1980) hakaba nanone Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita (wari umugaba wungirije wa Jandarumori).

Bimaze kugaragara ko Kanyarengwe Alexis arwanya ubutegetsi ku mugaragaro, Perezida Habyarimana yagize impungenge ko n'abari bamushyigikiye bashobora kumuvaho bakayoboka Kanyarengwe Alexis. Ni yo mpamvu mu kwezi kwa Mata 1980 yafunze majoro Théoneste Lizinde, igikurankota cyari gikuriye iperereza mu guhugu. Kuwa 28 Ukuboza yirukanye Kanyarengwe Alexis muri Guverinoma na we ahitamo guhungira mu gihugu cya Tanzaniya kuko yatinyaga ko yafungwa. Nyuma y'aho Habyarimana yaketse ko mu gutoroka igihugu Kanyarengwe Alexis yaba yaraburiwe na majoro Jacques Maniraguha ukomoka mu Buhoma mu Ruhengeri kandi wari ushinzwe kwakira abashyitsi muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika maze nawe aramufunga. Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1981 Théoneste Lizinde yaciriwe urubanza akatirwa igihano cyo kwicwa afungirwa muri gereza ikomeye ya Ruhengeri. Ubwo kandi ni nabwo urwikekwe rwakomezaga ku bantu bari bacuditse n'abategetsi bari bamaze kuvanwaho¹².

Kwigizayo burundu agatsiko k'abarakare bo mu majyaruguru byarushijeho kwagura icyuho cyari cyaratangiriye mu majyepfo. Mu by'ukuri nyuma yo guhutora no kunyereza abanyapolitiki bo ku ngoma ya Repubulika ya Mbere, Juvénal Habyarimana yagerageje kubaka guhera mu mpera z'imyaka ya za 1970 ikipi y'abanyapolitiki b'abahanga bakomoka mu mamajyepfo y'igihugu¹³ ariko nabo akagenda abigizayo buhoro buhoro igihe cyose babaga bagaragaje ko batemera amatwara asa n'ay'ubuhake yagenderwagaho muri MRND. Abageragezaga kugira igikundiro n'icyizere gikomeye mu baturage baho bakomoka kugirango bigaragaze nk'abanyapolitiki nyakuri bafite imbaraga mu baturage bahitaga bigizwayo. Urugero rufatika ni urw'abagabo babiri nyamara bari batandukanye cyane mu mikorere yabo : Nzamurambaho Frédéric na Gatabazi Félicien birukaniwe rimwe. Uwa mbere yabaye umuminisitiri w'umunyamurava wegeraga abaturage iwabo mu cyaro akababwiza ukuri. Ibyo byatumye aba icyamamare bigera naho bagenzi be bo mu nteko ishingira amategeko bahagurukira kumugira Perezida w'iyo inteko. Nyamara ahubwo ibyo byamubuyariye ishyari ibyegera by'umukuru w'igihugu biburizamo uwo mugambi byitwaje ko ari umuntu utakwizerwa kuko kumukoresha cg kumukoreramo bitajyaga gushoboka. Uwa kabiri we yari intyoza izi gukina no kunyura mu makoni yose ya politiki. Yaje kuvanwaho kubera ko yari yatinyutse guhangara imbonankubone Nsekaliye Aloys wari umwe mu basirikari bakuru bo mu kazu ko kwa Perezida kandi ibyo akaba yari abishyigikiwemo na Nzamurambaho Frédéric n'abandi banyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo y'igihugu¹⁴.

Aha ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru

¹² Reba umugereka wa 1 werekana uko ibyiciro by'abarangije ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari byagiye bisimburana bizagufasha no kumva neza uko uzagenda usoma iki gitabo imiterere y'ikibazo cy'ironakarere.

¹³ Reka tuvugemo bamwe mu b'ingenzi : Martin Bucyana (Hutu, Cyangugu), Félicien Gatabazi (Hutu, Butare), Thomas Habanabakize (Hutu, Gitarama) Cléophas Kanyarwanda (Hutu, Gitarama) Jean-Chrysostome Nduhungirehe (Hutu, Butare), Siméon Nteziryayo (Hutu, Cyangugu), Frédéric Nzamurambaho (Hutu, Gikongoro).

¹⁴ Nubwo Perezida yumvaga neza ko impamvu bamurwanya zidashyigikiye gusa ku ipigana risanzwe ryo guhatana muri politiki, biriya bikorwa byatumye acana burundu n'abari bamushyigikiye. Gukomatanya no kwigerekaho ariya makosa yo mu rwego rwa politiki byatumye abo mu majyepfo y'igihugu bongera kugira impungenge zikomeye maze nawe atangira kujya afata ibyemezo bisa naho bishingiye ku marangamutima gusa. Ibyo byaje na none gukurikirwa n'ibikorwa byo gutoteza abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo harimo n'ubwicanyi budasobanutse mu mpera y'imyaka yaza 1980 byose kandi bishingiye kuri politiki yo gusuzuguzwa no gutesha agaciro abanyapolitiki bose baturuka mu majyepfo y'igihugu.

y'igihugu, abaturage baho bakomeje kugirana ubufatanye bushingiye ku muco wabo w'ibikingi n'uturere kamere bakomokamo. Ibyo byose byagiye bigira ingaruka zinyuranye mu mitegekere yo ku ngoma za Repubulika ya Mbere n'ya Kabiri, kuko iyo havukaga ikibazo imiryango minini yo mumajyaruguru yihagararagaho ikanga kuva ku izima ku kintu cyose cyashoboraga guhungabanya inyungu zayo. Aha umuntu yavugaga nk'abanyabikingi bo mu Buhoma na Bukonya mu Ruhengeri, abo mu Bugoyi ku Gisenyi bari bakomeye cyane kubera ubukungu burangwa mu turere twabo mu gihe akarere ko mu Bushiru ko kari gakennye kandi gasuzuguritse (reba umugereka w'ikarita ya 1).

Umurindi wo gushimangira ubutegetsu bushingiye kuri we wenyine watumye Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana asigara mu bwigunge. Kwirukana Théoneste Lizinde na Alexis Kanyarengwe byatumye atongera gucana uwaka n'abaturuka mu Bugoyi (barimo Alphonse Libanje, Stanislas Biseruka, Jean Berchmas Birara) no mu Ruhengeri. Inkingi z'ubutegetsu bwe zimaze guhirima izindi zikajegera yahisemo kwisunga no kwibumbira ku nkoramutima ze gusa. Ingufu zikomeye z'ubutegetsu bwe zari zisanzwe zishingiye ahanini ku bufatanye buzira umuze hagati y'abasirikari n'abanyapolitiki baturuka mu Ruhengeri no ku Gisenyi, ziba zisimbuwe gusa no gufatanya n'abo mu muryango we n'uw'umugore we hiyongreyeho n'Abashiru b'iwabo aho akomoka. Politiki y'iringaniza ishingiyeye ku moko n'uturere Perezida yari yaragize intwari ikomeye ku butegetsu bwe iburiramo ityo kubera kubogamira cyane ku bantu be gusa.

Ibi byabereye jenerali Perezida ihurizo rikomeye kubera ko yagombaga kwirinda impanvu zose zakomeza guhembera uburakari bw'abasirikari n'abahinza bo mujyaruguru bakaba bahirika ubutegetsu bwe, kandi nanone agomba kwikiza ab'ingenzi muri bo ariko adatakaje ingufu z'abanyaruhengeri kandi zari kamara mu gutsimbataza ubutegetsu bwe. Habyarimana Juvénal yatinye kuba yagira undi musirikari mukuru cy'umunyapolitiki ukomeye wo mu Ruhengeri akoraho, ahubwo ahitamo kubashyiraho ingenza zibacunga buri muni, abifashijwemo cyane na koloneli Serubuga Laurent wari intayegayezwa ku mwanya wo kuba umugaba wungirije w'ingabo z'U Rwanda, Élie Sagatwa wari umunyamabanga wihariye wa Perezida ari na we wakoreraga mu kwaha iimirimo nyakuri y'umugaba w'ingabo, hamwe na muramu we Zigiranyirazo Protais wari nyirububasha bwose muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri (yategetse kuva tariki ya 24 Ukuboza 1974 kugeza tariki ya 13 Ukwakira 1989).

Byaje rero kuba ngombwa ko Habyarimana Juvénal avana mu kato akarere ka Bukonya (aho Alexis Kanyarengwe yakomokaga) maze agashumbusha gushyira muri Komite nyobozi ya MRND koloneli Rusatira Léonidas na François Ngarukiyintwari wari minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane. Muri Werurwe 1981, undi muntu ukomeye mu Bukonya, Jean Damascène Hategekimana, yagizwe minisitiri w'imari.

Agahebuzo kaje kuba icyemezo gishobora kuba ari kimwe mu bikomeye byo mu gihe cyose Habyarimana yategetse kandi cyari kigamije gusibanganya Kanyarengwe Alexis, cyabaye icyo kuzamura umwe mu basivili b'intamenyekana, Joseph Nzirorera, agirwa umuyobozi w'ikirenga uvuka muri iyo ntara kandi ashingwa kuyihindura mu myumvire kugira ngo iyoboze ku buryo burambye.

Izamurwa rye mu ntera ryihuse nk'umurabyo, ryabaye kandi inzira yo kunoza umubano n'ubufatanye hagati y'amaperefegitura yombi yo mu majyaruguru : Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Uburyo Joseph Nzirorera, umusore w'amashagaga wasabitswe na ruswa, yakuwe mu busa akagera mu bushorishori bw'igihugu ni indorerwamo nyakuri y'ingoma [ya Habyarimana] ari mu ntambwe ishimishije yateje igihugu ari no mu bibi birenze urugero byayirunduye.

Incamake ya 1

Joseph Nzirorera, Rutemikirere ya Perezida mu bicu bya politiki y'U Rwanda

Joseph Nzirorera yavukiye i Busogo komini Mukingo mu mwaka wa 1950. Muri 1975 niho yabonye impamyabushobozi ihanitse mu by'ubwubatsi muri Kaminuza y'U Rwanda i Butare. Yahise atangira igeragezwa ku kazi ka leta nk'abandi bose ku ntera y'umunyamabanga mukuru w'ubuyobozi aza kwemerwa burundu nk'umukozi wa leta kuwa 15 Ugushyungu 1977.

Nyamara hagati aho atararangiza n'igihe giteganijwe cy'igeragezwa, ku itariki ya 30 Kamena 1976, Joseph Nzirorera yagizwe umyobozi mukuru w'ikigo gishinzwe amateme n'imihanda, kimwe mu bigo byatanganga akazi kenshi mu gihugu kubera ingengo y'imari itubutse cyagenerwaga mu rwego rwo gukora imirimo ya leta, gutanga amasoko n'ibindi bikorwa bishamikiyeho. Aho niho yabonye uburyo bwo kwigwizaho umutungo anyereza ibya leta bituma ndetse ministiri mushya w'imirimo ya leta, ingufu n'ibikoresho, umunyabutare Gatabazi Félicien amugaya amuha amanota mabi ku byerekeye ishimwe ku kazi kugira ngo amugarure ku murongo. Gatabazi yari yagizwe minisitiri muri 1977 aza ari nk'inyenyeri izamuka imurikira abanyapolitiki baturuka mu majyepfo. Hagati aho byaje kuba nk'amayobera ubwo mu mwaka wa 1980 Nzirorera Joseph yaje gukorera indi mbonerahamwe ndanga-mikorere myiza ku kazi ke imuhanaguraho bwa busembwa bwose kugira ngo ashobore gukomeza kuzamuka mu ntera z'abakozi ba leta nta nkomyi. Muri Mata 1980, Siméon Nteziryayo wari wasimbuye Gatabazi muri Minitrape yagizwe minisitiri muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika maze Minitrape isigara idafite umuyobozi kugeza ubwo hashyirwaho Guverinoma yo kuwa 29 Werurwe 1981. Kuva icyo gihe kugeza ubwo hashyirwaho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi kuwa 31 Ukuboza 1991 iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, Joseph Nzirorera ntiyigeze abura muri Guverinoma n'imwe kandi nubwo yayoboye ministeri zinyuranye wasangaga yarashinze ibirindiro muri ministeri y'imirimo ya leta n'ibikoresho hakiyongeraho ndetse ingufu n'amazi. Hamwe n'ibyo kandi yari n'intumwa ya rubanda, kuri manda eshatu zose zabayeho 1981, 1983 na 1989. Yaje no gushyirwa muri Komite nyobozi ya MRND muri kongere y'ishyamba yo kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1983 aba umwe mu bagize komisiyo ikomeye cyane ariyo ya politiki.

Mu by'ukuri usibye ubushake bwa Perezida Habyarimana, Joseph Nzirorera yari gukomeza kuba intamenyekana ariko aho azamuriwe yabaye icyatwa aba umuhuza kamara hagati ya perefegitura ye na Perezidansi. Kuva yarangiza Kaminuza, Joseph yabaye umuhuzabikorwa ushinze "kunyereza umutungo" wa leta; kuba minisitiri w'imirimo ya leta byo byamugize ishingiro ry' "ikiguri rwiziringa"^a - cy'ubuhake bwubakiye kuri Perezida bugahemba abagaragu b'akazu ke butibagiwe ishimo rikwiye umuryango w'umugore we ariko cyane cyane Zigiranyirazo Protais wari Perefe wa Ruhengeri akaba n'inshuti magara ya Nzirorera Joseph dore ko ari we wanamuzamuye muri politiki akanamugira indakorwaho.

Nzirorera Joseph yari kamara muri byose kandi yari yareguriwe ububasha bwo kugira abamugaragira be bwite. Yari umushoborabyose nko mu gutanga akazi, gutanga inguzanyo n'ibindi byose bifitanye isano na ministeri yayoboraga. Ni yo mpamvu yashoboye kubaka akazu ke k'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru ariko cyane cyane abakomoka mu Ruhengeri. Hejuru yo kuba Rugaba wa byose yari yemerewe no kwigwizaho umutungo no kuwusaranganya mu bo ashatse nta wumucunga. ibyo byari byaratumye bamuhimba akazina ka "TOTAL".

Uretse abo mu kazu ko mu muryango wa Habyarimana twavuga ko mu bategetsi bo muri Repubulika ya Kabiri ari bake cyane bari bemerewe ubutoni nk'ubw'uwo mugabo. Ubwo buhangange ku ngoma bwaje kurushaho gukomezwa n'amasano ya bugufi yagendaga yubakwa. Twavuga nka muramukazi wa Joseph Nzirorera Béatrice wakoraga muri Banki y'ubucuruzi y'U Rwanda (BCR) washyngiwe mwishywa wa Habyarimana, Ildéfonse Gashumba, wari umuyobozi wa serivisi y'ivunjisha muri Banki Nkuru y'igihugu - umwanya ukomeye cyane ku bijyanye no kumenya no gucuga amafanga y'amahanga (amadovize). Andi masano yaje kubakwa ubwo Marie Jeanne Umukobwa wa Perezida Habyarimana yarongorwaga na Alphonse Ntirivamunda wari umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo gishinzwe amateme n'imihanda nawe ukomoka muri Mukingo. Nzirorera Joseph ni we wabayeye umukuru w'imihango y'ubukwe.

Kwimurira Joseph Nzirorera muri Ministeri y'inganda n'ubukorikori muri Guverinoma ebyiri zabanjirije ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi mu Rwanda byagushije hasi isura ye ya politiki kuko byari bigamije gucubya uburakari bw'abaterankunga binubiraga ko imfashanyo batanga icungwa nabi cyane haba muri ministeri ubwaho haba no mu yindi mishinga myinshi yakorwaga mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru. Ibyo byageze kuri Perezida biramubabaza kubera irari by'ibyubahiro rikabije Nzirorera yihundagazagaho. Yatabawe gusa nuko baramu ba Perezida bahagurutse bagakomakoma ngo atirukanwa muri Guverinoma. Ibyinshi Nzirorera Joseph yabibwirwaga na Sagatwa Élie, muramu wa Perezida Habyarimana wari n'umunyamabanga we wihariye wamugezagaho ibirego byose bimureba byabaga byageze i bukuru nawe agashaka abantu b'intyoza mu gutarama no kuvuga neza akabohereza ubutitsa kumuvuganira no gucururutsa uburakari bw'i bukuru.

Amaherezo perezida yageze aho afata ibyemezo bibiri biciriritse. icya mbere ni icyo kwinjiza muri Guverinoma yo muri Gashyantare 1991 abantu bashya "bazira ubwandu" : Enock Ruhigira (hutu, Kibuye), James Gasana (hutu, Byumba), Agustin Ngirabatware (hutu, Gisenyi) wari usanzwe muri Guverinoma kuva ku wa 10 Nyakanga 1990 na Nzabahimana (hutu, Gitarama).

Icyemezo cya kabiri cyabayeye icyo kwimurira Nzirorera Joseph muri ministeri y'inganda n'ubukorikori (Minimart) itari ifite byinshi yavugwaho cyane muri ibyo bihe. Itangazamakuru ryigenga ryari rishyushye icyo gihe ryakomeje kwerekana uruhare rubi rwa Nzirorera muri Minitrape hagati aho ariko ibyemezo bya Perezida byashimwe n'abaterankunga banishimiye abayobozi bashya bo mu mishinga y'amajyambere.

Ubwo hajyagaho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi iyobowe na Nsengiyaremye Dismas kuwa 16 Mata 1992 (nkuko muzabisoma mu bika bikurikira) uwahoze afite intebe y'ikirenga ari igikomangoma kwa Habyarimana yavuye mu rubuga rwa politiki ku mugaragaro. Ndetse yiheje no mu nzego za MRND mu gihe abaharanira ko ibintu bihinduka banengaga imikorere y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Nzirorera ariko yabonye urwaho ku ntege za perezida maze yigira umuvugizi w'intagondwa zaharaniraga kugundira ibyari biri kubaca mu myanya y'intoki.

Muri kongere ya MRND yabayeye ku matariki ya 3 na 4 Nyakanga, nyuma gato y'aho ku wa 30 Werurwe 1993 umukuru w'igihugu yeguriye ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka mu rwego rwo kudakomeza gukomatanywa imirimo, abaharaniraga kuvugurura ishyaka bibwiye ko babonye umwanya wo gukora politiki mu bwisanzure maze batorera Ngirumpatse Mathieu, na we wari warazamuwe na Habyarimana (reba incamake n°7), kuba perezida w'ishyaka. Umwanya wahataniwe bitangaje ariko ni uw'ubunyamabanga bukuru dore ko wifuzwaga by'ihabya na Nzirorera Joseph. Twibutse ko, mu buryo bunyuranye na Ngirumpatse Mathieu, Joseph Nzirorera yari agitonnye cyane ku mukuru w'igihugu.

Nyuma y'amacenga menshi, yegukanye uwo mwanya maze bifateye kabiri atangira kwigwizaho ibyubahiro byose mu izina ry'ishyaka Mathieu Ngirumpatse asigara ari Perezida ku izina gusa (reba umugereka wa 2).

Mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inziyacyuho ishingiyeye ku masezerano ya Arusha (reba umutwe wa 5), Nzirorera yari ku rutonde rwemejwe burundu rw'abadepite, ari umwe mu bahagarariye perefegitura Ruhengeri.

Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana yirinze kujya muri Guverinoma y'agateganyo ahubwo atangira gutegura izungura nyaryo. Yabigezeho ubwo ku wa 4 Nyakanga 1994 ku Gisenyi yateraniye abagize inama ishingira amategeko bakamutorera kuyibera Perezida. Hari hasigaye gusa kweguza Perezida w'agateganyo Sindikubwabo Théodore kugira ngo yemezwe nka Perezida wa Repubulika. Umuvuduko wa FPR wo gufata ubutegetsu hamwe no kuba yaranze umyanya mbere byamubujije kwicara ku ntebe y'ikirenga. Igihe isonga ry'ubutegetsu bwamureze yarikozagaho imitwe y'intoki ni naho bwahirimye burundu. icyakora yashoboye gutegeka inkambi z'impunzi zo muri Kivu yo mu majyaruguru.

Aho atangiriye gushakishwa n'Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriyeho U Rwanda [TPIR], yafatiwe mu gihugu cya Benin yoherezwa Arusha kuhaburanishirizwa.

a "Ikiguri rwiziringa" biragenekereza ibyo uwahoze ari minisitiri mu Rwanda James Gasana yise mu gifaransa "systeme rhizomatique". Reba James Gasana, Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], L'Harmattan, Paris, 2002, p. 36.

Mu mpera ya za 1980, nyuma y'imyaka 10 ubutegetsu bwikubiye n'intore zo mu majyepfo n'imyaka hafi 20 bufitwe n'izo mu majyaruguru, byaragaragaraga ko ubutegetsu bunaniwe. Abanyarwanda benshi bari bamaze kubona ko « Demokarasi » itakomeza kuba umukino wa gatebe gatoki hagati y'utuzu tw'abo mu majyepfo n'amajyarugu twiyitirira « rubanda nyamwinshi ». Ntabwo ariko ibibazo by'ingutu mu gihugu byari uburambirane cyane se idohoka ry'ubutegetsu gusa. Inkubiri y' « impirimbanyi za demokarasi » nyakuri yamaganaga cyane umuco w'ubuyobozi w'amacakubiri no kurema utuzu bishingiye ku nyabutatu y' « ubuhake, irondakoko n'irondakarere ». Iyo nkubiri kandi yaharaniraga ko buri wese, Abahutu, Abatutsi no ku buryo bw'umwihariko abaturage bahejwe n'abatagira kivugira, bagira uburenganzira busesuye bwo gutangaza ibitekerezo byabo ku miyoborere y'igihugu. Imbogamizi ya mbere muri uru ruhando yari uko abanyapolitiki, ari abarwanyaga ubutegetsu byeruye cyane rwihishwa, bese bari bakiboshywe n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi, MRND, kandi basangiye umurage umwe w'ubutegetsu bw'intavuguruzwa, buyobora abantu buhumye kandi budashingiye ku byifuzo by'abaturage. Ikindi ni uko mu by'ukuri kurwanya imikorere ya gihake bitari byimirijwe imbere, dore ko ahubwo iyo mikorere yarushijeho guhabwa intebe uko ubutegetsu busanzweho bwagendaga bufungura amarembo. Imbogamizi ya kabiri ni uko nta mutegetsu n'umwe cyane se urwego rw'ubuyobozi wari ufite urubuga, ijamba no kwemerwa n'abantu bese mu rwego rw'igihugu. Imbogamizi ya gatatu ni uko abanyapolitiki bese mu isesengura ryabo kandi ritabuze ishingiro, bahurizaga ku ngingo ko habanza inzira ya demokarasi naho ikibazo cy'amoko kikazigwa nyuma kuko cyari gifite imitego myinshi yashoboraga gushibukana abihaye kukibyutsa. Mu by'ukuri abayobozi ku mpande zose, kubera ingorane buri wese yari yifitiye, bahisemo kuzagira intwari zo kwitabaza bibaye ngombwa bene ibyo bibazo bitatinyukwaga kuvugwa (irondakoko) cyagwa se byahishahishwaga (irondakarere).

Akaminuramuhini kabaye imyitwarire y'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyaruguru. Bimaze kugaragara ko inkubiri y'amahindura ikajije umurego kandi ko ubutegetsu bwari busanzweho bwari butangiye kujegajega, inzego zose zegereye n'izishamikiye ku kazu zashyizeho ingamba zo kwirwanaho mu buryo bwose bushobotse.