
*Ikibazo cy'impunzi
n'impamvu FPR yahisemo intambara*

Mbere yo gukomeza gusesengura uko politiki y'imbere mu gihugu yagendaga ihinduka, ni ngombwa kumenya uburyo umuryango wa FPR Inkotanyi wafashe icyemezo cyo gutangiza intambara ukoresheje ingabo zawo (APR) – mu by'ukuri APR ntikunze kuvugwa kuko byombi byuzuzanya.

Ku itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, intambara yateye iturutse i Buganda igizwe n'ibihumbi by'abarwanyi ba FPR¹ yahungabanije ku buryo bukomeye ubutegetsu bwa Perezida Habyarimana cyane cyane ko abo barwanyi baturukaga mu gisirikari cya Uganda cyari kigizwe ahanini n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari zarahungiyeye muri icyo gihugu cy'abaturanyi guhera mu myaka ya za 1960. Bari bararwaniye Yoweri Museveni akiri inyeshyamba bamugeza ku butegetsu muri Uganda kandi bose bari bayobowe n'abasirikari bakuru bari bafite imyanya ikomeye mu gisirikari cya Uganda (NRA).

Kugeza ubu hazwi ibintu bike cyane ku byerekeye ibikorwa byabanjirije iriya ntambara n'uburyo yagenze. Inzego z'iperereza za Perezidansi n'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo mu Rwanda bari bazi neza iby'imyiteguro y'intambara yategurwaga n'impunzi z'Abatutsi bari i Buganda. Ubundi kandi Perezidansi ihereye kuri ayo makuru, yari yaratangiye kubonana mu ibanga n'abahagarariye impunzi z'Abatutsi ibinyujije ku bantu bamwe yizeye b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Uretse abasivili nka Charles Shamukiga cg André Katarwa, twavugaga n'abanyamadini bo muri Kiliziya gatorika y'i Roma barimo umushumba wa diyosezi ya Kabare Barnabas. R. Harer'Imana cg se umupadiri w'umuyezu witi Chrisologue Mahame

¹ Umubare w'abatangiye intambara ugenda uhindagurika hagati ya 1500 na 7000 bitewe n'aho amakuru aturutse. Iyo urebye neza usanga abari ku rugamba mu byumweru bibiri bya mbere by'intambara batari barenze batayo enye ni ukuvugaga abantu batarenze 1 500. Undi mubare uvugwa ni igiteranyo cy'abasirikari 4 000 by'Inkotanyi zari zisanze mu gisirikari cya Uganda n'abandi hafi 3 000 b'abasivili abenshi bari bagizwe n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda hakiyongeraho n'abandi bose bavugaga ikinyarwanda n'abasirikari bakuru ba Uganda bari basigaye nta bantu bafite kuko babaga batorotse bagiyeye mu nkotanyi.

wari wubashywe cyane muri bagenzi be b'abapadri b'Abatutsi.

Bamwe mubo twavuganye bambwiye ko ndetse hari harabayeho amasezerano hagati ya Perezida w'U Rwanda n'uwa Uganda asobanura uko ingabo z'Inkotanyi zagombaga kwinjizwa mu gisirikari cy'U Rwanda akanateganya za ministeri zagombaga kugenerwa Inkotanyi. Ngo ayo masezerano yateganyaga ko zari kugenerwa ministeri y'imari n'iyinganda². Ibyo ari byo byose, urupfu rutunguranye rw'umukuru w'Inkotanyi Fred Rwigyema urugamba rugitangira no kuba abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru kandi b'ibyegera bya Perezida batarakozwaga na busa icyo gitekerezo cy'igabangana ry'ubutegetsu byaburijemo ku buryo budasubirwaho inzira zose z'ubwumvikane. Ubushake Perezida yari amaze iminsi agaragaje bwo kuvugurura imiyoborere y'igihugu, uko byavugwaga ko atangiye kwinjiza Abatutsi mu butegetsu ndetse no korohera abari batangiye kumurwanya hagati ya 1988-1989 ntibyakirwaga neza n'ibyegera bye n'abasirikari bo mu majyaruguru babibonagamo intangiriro yo kumunga inyungu zabo.

Intambara y'uwa mbere Ukwakira 1990 yateye urujijo cyane. Byabaye ngombwa kwitabaza abasirikari bo mu Bufaransa, mu Bubiligi no muri Zayire kugirango ubutegetsu buhangane n'ibitero kandi bugarure umutekano mu gihugu wari umaze guhungabanywa cyane n'iyi ntambara kimwe n'impagarara za politiki mu mpera za 1990. Nubwo amacakubiri yari asanzwe hagati y'utuzu tw'abaturuka mu majyepfo nabo mu majyaruguru yakomeje, noneho hiyongereyeho ibindi bibazo by'ingutu bya politiki bishingiye ku nkubiri ya demokarasi imbere mu gihugu no ku bibazo byihariye by'Abatutsi bateraga igihugu bavuye hanze.

Umukinnyi mushya utunguranye mu ruhandu rwa Politiki

Nkuko amakuru yavaga i Kampala yabyerekanaga, iby'igitero cyashoboraga kuva Uganda byari bizwi kandi byahoraga bigibwaho impaka kenshi mu buyobozi bw'ingabo z'U Rwanda. Gusa rero iby'icyo gitero byari inkuru y'incamugongo [m U Rwanda] kuko byagaragazaga ko abashaka gutera bifuzwa kugira uruhare mu butegetsu kandi bikerekana neza aho ubushobozi bw'ingabo zombi bwari buhagaze.

Icyarushijeho gutungura abayobozi b'U Rwanda ni uko impunzi zabaga i Buganda zagabye igitero mu gihe umwuka w'amahoro wari uganje mu karere kandi ndetse n'imishyikirano ihagarariwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yo kugira ngo impunzi zitahe mu mahoro yari yarangiye mu kwezi kwa Kanama 1990. Iyo mishyikirano yari yemeje ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zemewe n'umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinze impunzi (HCR) zatahuka ku bushake nta nkomyi. Ikindi cyatunguranye ni impinduka zakurikiye urupfu rw'umukuru w'Inkotanyi, icyamamare Fred Rwigyema, ku munsu wa kabiri imirwano itangiye, Inkotanyi

² Abarwanyaga Habyarimana bakunda kwibutsa ko muri 1987 yagiye gusura ku mugaragaro igihugu cya Uganda akajya mu muhango wo kwambika amapeti abasirikari bo mu ngabo za NRA harimo n'ipeti rya jenerali majoro ringana n'iryo yari afite we ubwe ryambitswe Fred Rwigyema. Bari barakajwe cyane n'uko muri uwo muhango wari wateguwe na Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Museveni, Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yaguye mu mutego w'umwanzi. Kugira ngo umuntu yumve uburemere bwa kiriya gikorwa, ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko abasirikari bakuru b' U Rwanda bari barahataniye kugera kuri iryo peti « rya kirazira » bikananirana [kuko ryari « umwihariko » wa Habyarimana].

zigahita ziba impehe. Ibyo byatumye imigambi ya gisirikari y'Inkotanyi isubirwamo, ifata indi sura. icyatangaje nanone ni ubushobozi buke bwagaragaye ku ngabo z'U Rwanda ku rugamba, haba mu mirwano haba no mu buhanga bwo kwitegura gukoma imbere ibitero. Ikindi kitabuze gutangaza ni imyitwarire ya Habyarimana mu rwego rwa politiki kuri icyo ntambara yatangiye ari mu ruzinduko mu mahanga. Ubwo yatahukaga huti huti yanyuze gato i Bruxelles kuwa 3 Ukwakira gusaba igihugu cy'Ububiligi imfashanyo ya gisirikari. Nyuma yaho gato ubwo Kigali yaterwaga (mu ijoro ryo kuwa 4 Ukwakira) n'abakomando bakekwa kuba bari ibyitso by'umwanzi, yategetse ko hafungwa abantu benshi cyane baba abamurwanya koko cg ababikekwaho gusa.

Nyuma yaho abasirikari ba mbere bo mu Bufaransa no mu Bubiligi bahagereye, hakiyongeraho n'abo muri Zaire, gutsinda kw'Inkotanyi kwavuye mu biganiro³ hasigara gusa impaka ku ngaruka z'icyo ntambara mu karere no mu gihugu imbere, dore ko yari yanatumye havuka urwanganano rukomeye hagati ya Perezida wa Uganda na Perezida w'U Rwanda. Hagati aho ariko, Abatutsi bo muri NRA bari bashoboye kwiyegereza Abahutu bamwe b'ibyamamare (*reba incamake ya 2*) bituma batagaragara nk'abavuganira impunzi gusa ahubwo bigatanga isura nziza ko politiki yabo ihuriweho n'Abanyarwanda bose.

Mu rwego rwa gisirikari ariko, ubufatanye butihishira bw'ingabo za Uganda n'izari zateye bwari buhagije kugira ngo Habyarimana abwuririreho ahurize hamwe imbaraga z'Abanyarwanada bose mu rugamba rwo kurwanya igitero kivuye hanze, kandi ndetse bikamuha n'uburenganzira bwo kwiyambaza ingufu za gisirikari zo hanze. Byazaga no gutuma ashigikirwa n'imiryango mpuzamahanga irimo ndetse n'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika dore ko abari bawugize icyo gihe batashoboraga gushyigikira inyeshyamba zishaka gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu kabone n'ubwo icyo gihe uwo muriyango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika wari uyobowe na perezida Yoweri Museveni wa Uganda ubwe.

³ Ingabo z'U Rwanda zigaruriye Gabiro n'akarere kayo kose mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa cumi. ingabo z'abanyekongo zari zasubiye iwabo hagati mu kwezi kwa cumi hakurikiraho izo mu Bubiligi mu kwezi kwa 11 ariko ingabo z'Ubufaransa zisigara mu butumwa bwiswe "Noroît" kuko URwanda rwari rwiteze ibitero bikomeye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1990.

Incamake ya 2

Igaruka ry'abari inyuma ya kudeta yo muri 1980

Mbere y'uko intambara yo kuwa 1 Ukwakira itangira, Habyarimana yashegeshwe no kubona Kanyarengwe Alexis wahoze ari n° 2 muri komite y'ubumwe n'amahoro yifatanya n'Inkotanyi. Mu wa 1987, abigiriwemo inama na Charles Shamukiga (Tutsi, Byumba) wari uhagarariye by'icyubahiro igihugu cya Luxembourg mu Rwanda, na rwiyemezamirimo Antoine Sebera (Tutsi, Butare), Rwigyema yari yaratumye abantu kuri Kanyarengwe Alexis amusaba gufatanya n'Inkotanyi zarimo zitegura igitero icyo gihe. Hagati mu kwezi kwa 9 Aloysie Inyumba wari umwe mu bagize komite nyobozi ya FPR aherekejwe n'umucuruzi witwaga Karimba boherejwe Dar es Salaam kuzana Kanyarengwe ngo asange Inkotanyi i Kampala. Kanyarengwe ubwe byose yagiye abimenyeshya Habyarimana ariko we akicecekeraga. Kanyarengwe yaje kwemera gufatanya n'Inkotanyi nuko kuwa 28/09/1990, iminsi 2 gusa mbere yo kugaba igitero, agirwa umukuru wungirije w'Inkotanyi ari Visi-Perezida wa Rwigyema. Nyuma y'urupfu rudasobanutse rwa Fred Rwigyema, Paul Kagame wahoraga amaranira kuba umukuru w'Inkotanyi, yashyize Kanyarengwe ku buyobozi bwa FPR abifashijwemo na Perezida Museveni. Kubona umwanzu wari usanzwe azwiho kwanga Abatutsi ari we ujya ku isonga rya FPR byashegeshe cyane perezida Habyarimana dore ko byasuraga ukwisuganya kw'abasirikari bakuru bari bashatse kumuhirika muri za 1980.

Byaje kuba impamo y'inzozo mbi kuwa 23 Mutarama 1991 ubwo Inkotanyi zafataga gereza ya Ruhengeri zikavanamo imfungwa 2 za politiki majoro Lizinde Théoneste (Hutu, Gisenyi) na Komanda Biseruka Stanislas (Hutu, Gisenyi) zari zarabaye ibyamamare ku ngoma ya Repubulika ya Kabiri mu cyiswe agatsiko ka Lizinde" muri 1980. Mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1991 nyuma y'amezi atatu batwawe n'Inkotanyi binjizwe mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'Inkotanyi i Byumba aho Inkotanyi zari zarashinze ibirindiro guhera muri Mutarama 1991. Aho niho Lizinde yabaye umujyanama wa Paul Kagame asubira mu mirimo ye y'ubutasi (*reba umugeraka n°3*). Kwakira Kanyarengwe na Lizinde mu ngabo zayo byahaye FPR iturufu rikomeye mu rwego rwa politiki y'igihugu, kuko byaremaga agatima abari basanzwe bashyigiyeye abo bagabo mu gihugu ndetse bikaza no kuba akarusho, ubwo mu masezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yashyizweho umukono muri Kanama 1993 ku byerekeye kugabana imyanya mu ngabo z'igihugu abo bagabo bombi b'ibyigomeke kuri Habyarimana binjizwaga mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo ku ruhande rwa FPR.

Aha nanone reka tuvuge undi mugabo, Pasteur Bizimungu (Hutu, Gisenyi), nawe wari urambiwe politiki yo guhakirizwa akaba yari n'umuyobozi mukuru w'ikigo gitanga amazi n'amashanyarazi mu gihugu wahungiyeye muri Uganda akigira mu Nkotanyi kandi akaza kugira uruhare rukomeye cyane rwo guhagagaririra FPR-Inkotanyi mu mishyikirano. Ubwo bufatanye bw'Inkotanyi n'Abahutu kimwe n'andi macenga ya politiki byabereye urujijo Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu bari basanzwe bashyigikiye FPR. Ntwashidikanya rero ko ibyo ari byo byatumye mu minsi ya mbere Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu baba bifashe mu kuyoboka FPR, ahubwo bagahitamo kuyoboka amashyamba yarwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu.

Ikibazo cy'abavuga ikinyarwanda muri Zayire na Uganda

Haba mu karere kose cyose imbere mu gihugu, uburenganzira bw'impunzi bwo gutahuka mu gihugu cyabo wasangaga atari ikibazo gishishikajye cyane abavuga ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda, by'umwihariko ababaga muri Zayire na Uganda.

Amateka y'imiturire y'abantu bari baturiyeye akarere k'imisozi miremire igabanya uruzi rwa Zayire n'urwa Nili, cyane cyane ku Banyarwanda, ntaho ahuriye n'imipaka y'ibihugu yashyizweho n'abakoloni hagati ya 1885 na 1910.

Iyo mipaka ishyirwaho ntibitaye ku kibazo cy'abantu bavugaga ikinyarwanda bari bamaze imyaka irenga ijana cg maganabiri baba iburengerazuba bw'imisozi miremire y'ibirunga⁴ n'abandi babaga Goma na Rutshuru muri Kivu yo mu majyaruguru⁵.

Ibiganiro kuri izo ntara n'abazituye⁶ byaririndwaga cyane kuko nkuko bivugwa n'abanyamateka bemewe byagushaga byanze bikunze ku mipaka yariho mbere y'ubukoloni. Ariko ibyo nabyo nta shingiro bifite kuko n'ubundi abo bantu bumvaga bahujwe n'umuco, ururimi ndetse n'ibibazo by'ubukungu bari basangiye kuruta kuba bakumva bahuriye ku gihugu kimwe.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni hagiye habaho urujya n'uruza rw'abimukira bitewe n'ubushake cg se biturutse kuri politiki y'ubukoloni yo kubyaza ubukungu akarere ka Shaba na Kivu muri Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo muri iki gihe. Byagaragaye cyane ku bihugu byari bikolonijwe n'Abongereza ubwo ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abarundi n'Abanyarwanda bambutswaga inzuzi bajyanwa gutura ahandi mbere gato y'ubwigenge bw'ibyo bihugu. Gutuzwa kw'Abanyarwanda muri Zayire bikozwe n'Ababiligi byatangiye muri 1937 ariko bifata intera ndende muri 1949. Guverineri wa Kivu yahawe inshingano yo gutuza Abanyarwanda (MIB) kuri Ha 150.000. Igihe cy'ubwigenge habarurwaga imiryango 40 000 yatujwe ni ukuvuga abantu hafi 200 000 ; abenshi ari Abahutu kandi muri bo 70 % ari abatujwe ku buryo buhujwe n'amategeko naho 30 % ari abitujwe ubwabo gusa. Guhera icyo gihe birakomeye cyane ndetse ntibinashoboka kumenya neza imibare yerekeye imyororekere y'abo bantu kubera intege nke z'ubutegetsu bwa Zayire. Duhereye ku bushakashatsi bwakozwe na A. Gatanazi⁷, Abanyarwanda bagiye gutura muri Zayire mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1970 bageraga kuri 1.350.000 babarirwamo hagati ya 600.000 na 700.000 bari baratuye ku buryo busanzwe bwa gihanga mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na mbere yaho.

Mu ntangiriro ya za 1990, umuntu abaze abiyongereyeho bavuye hanze n'ubwiyongere busanzwe bw'abaturage, Abanyarwanda babaga mu Burasirazuba bwa Zayire ugereraniye bageraga kuri 1.600.000⁸.

Muri Uganda, ibarura rya nyuma ryakozwe nyuma ya revolisiyo yo muri 1959

⁴ Akarere ka Kigezi mu Bufumbira muri Uganda ni ukuvuga akarere kari hagati y'ikiyaga cya Kivu n'ikiyaga Édouard [Rwicanzige].

⁵ Reba André GUICHAOUA, *Le Problème des réfugiés Rwandais et des populations banyarwanda dans la région des Grands Lacs africains*, [Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda n'abavugaga ikinyarwanda mu karere k'Afurika y'Ibiyaga Bigari], UNHCR, Genève, Werurwe 1991 (byongeye gutangazwa na André GUICHAOUA muri, *Exilés, déplacés, réfugiés en Afrique centrale et orientale* [Abaciriwe ishyanga, impunzi, abavanywe mu byabo muri Afurika yo hagati n'iy'uburasirazuba], Karthala, Paris, 2004, annexe 8, p. 817-872).

⁶ Ubukoloni burangiye babarurirwaga hagati ya 400.000 na 500.000 muri Zayire na 200.000 muri Uganda.

⁷ A. GATANAZI, "L'émigration et sa place dans l'évolution de l'équilibre démo-économique et social au Rwanda [Ikibazo cy'abimukira n'umwanya wacyo mu buringanire bw'imiturire, ubukungu n'imibereho y'abaturage mu Rwanda], "Carrefour d'Afrique, 12, 1973.

⁸ André GUICHAOUA, *Les flux migratoires dans les zones limitrophes de la CEPGL dans l'optique de l'application de la Convention sur la libre circulation des biens et des personnes* [Urujya n'uruza rw'abimukira mu nkenero z'ibihugu bya CPGL mu gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano yerekeye gutambuka kw'abantu n'ibintu nta nkomyi], BIT-PECTA/CEPGL, Addis-Abéba/Gisenyi, Gicurasi 1987. Jyewe ubwanjye, nakoze ubushakashatsi kuri ibyo bibazo hagati ya 1986-1992, mbisabwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga igihe cyo gushyira mu ngiro amasezerano yerekeranye n'ubwisanzure bwo kugenda kw'ibintu n'abantu mu muryangow'ubukungu w'ibihugu bituriye ibiyaga bigari by'Afurika no mu gihe cyo gukurikirana imirimo ya Komisiyo yihariye ku bibazo by'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda no muri Komite y'abaministri ihuriweho n'URwanda na Uganda yigaga ku bibazo by'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zabaga Uganda. Hanyuma nanone mbikoraho mu gihe cyo gukora inyandiko ikusanya ibibazo byose by'impunzi z'abanyarwanda (reba André GUICHAOUA, *Le problème des réfugiés rwanda* [Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda], op. cit.).

ryerekanye ko hariyo Abanyarwanda 350.000 bahahungiyeye mu gihe cya gikoloni⁹ bitwaga abasuhutse kubera ubukene (*Abapagasi*). Catherine Watson mu kigereranyo cyeye avugako mu ntangiriro z'imyaka ya 1990 abantu bari bamaze kugera kuri 650.000 ; wakongeraho abari bahasanzwe bavugako ikinyarwanda¹⁰ bakaba 1.100.000. Hari higanjemo Abahutu batuye mu Bufumbira bitwaga Abafumbira. Ariko kubera ibura ry'amasambu benshi bagiye bimukira mu murwa mukuru. Hagiye hiyongeraho n'impunzi z'Abatutsi bavugako mu Rwanda. Nkuko twabivuze hagati y'Ugushyamba 1959 n'Ukwakira 1961, ubwicanyi n'umutekano muke mu Rwanda byatumye ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza by'Abanyarwanda bahungira i Buganda; mbere habanje guhunga Abahutu n'Abatutsi nyuma hakajya hahungira Abatutsi gusa. Ku munsu wo gutangaza Ubwigenge, abavanywe mu byabo bari 180.000 naho abahunze ari 120.000. Mu myaka irenga 12 yakurikiye ubwigenge, impagarara zitasibaga zatumye habaho impunzi nyinshi zerekezaga cyane mu Burundi, i Buganda, muri Tanzaniya no muri Zaire. Mu wa 1964, ibarura ryakozwe n'umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinze impunzi HCR ufatanije na Croix Rouge mu nkambi bagenzuraga ryerekanaga ko imibare y'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ziganjemo Abatutsi yari iteye itya : 200.000 mu Burundi, 78.000 muri Uganda, 36.000 muri Tanzaniya na 22.000 muri Zaire.

Mu ntangiriro za Repubulika ya Kabiri, nubwo muri 1973 habayeho izindi mpunzi, HCR yemeza ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari zageraga kuri 300.000. Hiyongeragaho abari barahungiyeye Kenya no muri Afurika y'iburengerazuba, i Burayi cyane cyane mu Bubiligi no muri Amerika yo mu majyaruguru.

Impamvu z'igabanuka ry'imibare y'impunzi zizwi zirimo kumenyera kubana neza n'abazakiriye no guhabwa ubwenegihugu i Buganda, Tanzaniya na Zaire. Muri Zaire abari basabye ubwenegihugu bose barabuhawe muri 1971. Muri rusange kubona indangamuntu yo muri Zaire byari byoroshye cyane, byabazaga amezi gusa ku buryo Abanyarwanda babaga muri Zaire wasangaga bafite indangamuntu 2. Muri Uganda, impunzi nyinshi zari zarivanze cyane n'abavugako ikinyarwanda bakagenda babona ubwenegihugu kenshi bahinduye izina gusa. Kuva muri 1960 umubare w'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda wasaga naho udahinduka cyane (hafi 70.000). Ariko waje kwiyongera aho Yoweri Museveni afatiye ubutegetsi muri 1986 ubwo impunzi zari zarirukanywe mu Bugandahagati ya 1982-1983 (*uzabisanga mu nyandiko z'inyuma*) zagarakaga zikaza kugera kuri 150.000 mu mwaka wa 1990 nyamara muri uwo mwaka ibarura rya HCR ryari ryerekanye ko umubare w'impunzi wari waragabanutse ukagera kuri 82.200. Iyo wongeyeho umubare w'impunzi z'abanyarwanda HCR yagaragazaga mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1990 ni ukuvugako 12.596 muri Zaire, 67.684 mu Burundi, 22.297 bari basigaye muri Tanzaniya¹¹ ukongeraho n'ibindi bihumbi by'impunzi

⁹ Jean-Pierre CHRETIEN, "Des sédentaires devenus migrants; les motifs des départs des Burundais et des Rwandais vers l'Ouganda [Abaturage bahindutse abimukira ; impamvu zatumye abarundi n'Abanyarwanda bajya i Buganda], 1920-1960", *Cultures et développement*, 10, 1, 1978, p. 71-101.

¹⁰ Catherine WATSON, "Exile from Rwanda : Background to an invasion" [Impunzi zikomoka mu Rwanda : Ibyabanjirije igitero], *Issue paper*, The US Committee for Refugees, Washington DC, décembre 1991.

¹¹ Abanyarwanda 25.000 kandi benshi bahoze ari impunzi babonye ubwenegihugu babikesheje amasezerano hagati ya Tanzania n'U Rwanda yo muri 1981.

zabarurirwaga muri Kenya, Afurika y'iburengerazuba n'ahandi umubare w'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zemewe n'amategeko mpuzamahanga zose hamwe zageraga kuri 200.000¹².

Kubera kubura ubundi buryo bwo kubara ntakwibeshya, umuntu yagera ku kigereranyo nyacyo akoresheje ubundi buryo 2 bwuzuzanya. Uhereye ku mubare w'impunzi zabaruwe mbere y'ubwigenge usanga muri kiriya gihe zari kuba 550.000; wahera ku mubare w'impunzi zabaruwe mu myaka ya za1960 ugasanga zari kuba 590.000.

Iyi mibare, ari nayo koko yegereye ukuri nyako, itandukanye cyane n'umubare wa 2.000.000 wagiye uvugwa n'Abanyarwanda baba hanze¹³ wazamuraga cyane umubare w'impunzi zikomoka ku batutsi zikagera ku kigereranyo kitigeze kigaragazwa n'ibarura na rimwe mu yakozwe yose keretse ahari ushyizemo n'abantu bavuga ikinyarwanda b'i Buganda batigeze bagira na rimwe ubwenegihugu bw'U Rwanda. Iyo ubirebeye hamwe usanga urusobekerane n'imvange ya biriya bibazo byose yarazitiraga cyane ubushake bwose bwo kubarura nta kubogama; ndetse no ku ruhande rwa HCR niko byari bimeze nkuko byerekanwa n'imyigaragambyo myinshi yakorwaga n'abashyigikiye FPR. Inzira ziruhaniye z'igenzura rikabije, riherekejwe m'imikorere ya gipolisi babaga baranyuzemo mu gihe cy'imyaka n'imyaka kugira ngo bemerewe ubuhunzi byatumaga batinya ko batakaza ibyabavunnye cyane mu nzira ndende HCR ibanyuzamo.

Ubirebye ku buryo bwagutse, hari ibice bitatu : Abantu bavuga ikinyarwanda kandi babayeho mbere y'ubukoloni; abimutse mu gihe cy'ubukoloni; n'impunzi zavuye mu Rwanda nyuma yaho hashyirirweho imipaka izwi muri iki gihe; ibi ni na byo byabayemo ingorane cyane gutandukanya abantu bahuje umuco cg basangiye umuryango uhereye ku bihe binyuranye bagiye bagerera mu gihugu cg se ku mategeko abagenga kandi byose bikomatanye.

Imishyikirano y'Akarere yatangiye muri 1988

Muri 1982 kwirukana impunzi z'Abanyarwanda mu Buganda byatunguye U Rwanda bituma rufunga imipaka rwanga ko abana barwo barwinjiramo (*niba ushaka kubyumva neza kurushaho uzabisanga mu nyandiko zizakurikira*). Nyuma yaho ariko, hashyizweho urwego rwo kwiga icyo kibazo Komite nyobozi ya MRND imaze kwemeza muri kongere yayo yo kuwa 26/07/1986 ko impunzi zifite uburenganzira bwo gutahuka.

Muri Gashyantare 1988, hashyizweho Komite ihuje abaminisitiri b'U Rwanda

¹² Kugena no gutangaza umubare w'impunzi wakuririzwaga cyane ku mpamvu za politiki byagiye bikorwa mu icuraburindi muri buri gihugu. Urugero twatanga ni nk'urwo mUburundi nanakomojeho mbere, igihe muri 1987 hatangazwaga ko mUburundi hari impunzi z'Abanyarwanda 266.000 HCR ntibivuguruzwe na rimwe ku mugaragaro ndetse bikaza no kuvamo amakimbirane akomeye mu rwego rwa politiki. Impamvu yo kwigerekaho uwo mutwaro kwari ugushaka imfashanyo hanze kuko HCR yo icyo gihe yabaruraga gusa 67.684 ; izo mpaka zari zaratangiyemo mu mpera y'imyaka ya 1970 hagati ya HCR n'Uburundi zaje kumarwa n'ibarura rusange ry'abatwaga muri 1979 ; nuko muri 1990 byose bimaze kumvikanwaho n'ibyongerwaho byose birangiye hemezwa ko umubare w'impunzi utashoboraga kurenga 80.000.

¹³ Dore urugero : "These refugees are the largest on the African continent. They number around 2 000 000 and the majority of them live in city slums and refugee camps in asylum countries", ibi ni ibyavuzwe n'ishyirahamwe ry'Abanyarwanda babaga hanze; Washington, ku wa 12 Ugushyamba 1990. Hariho n'izindi nyandiko zagiye zipfobya cyane umubare nyawo w'impunzi zikemeza umubare ungana na kimwe cya gatatu cy'umubare nyakuri.

na Uganda igamije kwiga ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda. Nyuma yo kongera gutorwa kwa Habyarimana Juvénal no gutangaza ku mugaragaro gahunda ya Guverinoma 1989-1994, leta yashyizeho Komisiyo yihariye ku bibazo by'Abanyarwanda b' "abimukira"¹⁴.

Byagombye ariko gufata umwaka wose kugira ngo abari bashinzwe imishyikirano bumve neza imiterere y'icyo kibazo kandi bashobore nu kumvikana ku byifuzo by'impande zombi. Ni muri icyo gihe nanone mu Burundi habaye impinduka za politiki zkomeye kandi zagize ingaruka mu Rwanda. Mu kwezi kwa Kanama 1988 hadutse isubiranamo ry'amoko mu makomini 2 yo mu majyaruguru y'Uburundi abasirikari bakoresha ingufu zivanzemo urugomo n'ivangura mu kurihosha. Mu guhangana n'icyo kibazo, ubutegetsi bushya bwa majoro Pierre Buyoya (1987) bwahise busubiza abasirikari mu bigo byabo bushyiraho ingamba nshya zirimo kugarura amahoro ku buryo "bwunvikanyweho", gutangiza imishyikirano igamije gucyura impunzi (z'Abahutu) no gusana byihutirwa ahangijwe n'imvururu. Mu buryo bwagutse, Pierre Buyoya yatangiye inzira yo gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kugirana imishyikirano n'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi bwe babaga hanze ndetse abenshi mu bemeye gutahuka bitabira gahunda yo guhabwa imyanya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyamba rukumbi, UPRONA, ryari ku ubutegetsi.

Mu gihe ishyirahamwe ry'ibihugu by'i Burayi, Banki y'isi, n'ikigega mpuzamahanga gitanga inguzanyo byitabiraga ku buryo bugaragara ndetse bikagena n'intumwa zo gukurikirana buri gihe no kujya inama ku by'iyi nzira nshya ya politiki mu Burundi, Perezida Habyarimana nawe ubwe yabishyizemo ingufu ashyigikira byimazeyo ubutegetsi bw'i Bujumbura mu ngamba zo gukemura vuba kiriya kibazo n'umugambi wo gucyura vuba impunzi z'Abarundi zari mu Rwanda ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Nguko uko mu mpunzi z'Abarundi, ubundi zari zisanzwe zishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi, igisirikari ndetse na Kiliziya mu Rwanda, 60.000 bashoboye gutahuka ku bwumvikane mu gihe cy'amezi make cyane, naho izigera ku 2000 zanze kuva ku izima zimurirwa mu majyaruguru y'igihugu kure y'umupaka w'Uburundi¹⁵. Nubwo imyitwarire ya Perezida Habyarimana kuri kiriya kibazo yashimwe cyane ikamugaragaza nk'umuntu witonda¹⁶ kandi wiyoroshya, byagize izindi ngaruka zikomeye kuri Politiki ye mu gihugu no ku mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda.

Nkuko abategetsi bo mu Burundi bari babigenje, abo mu Rwanda nabo mu ngendo zabo mu mahanga batangiyeye kuganira na bamwe mu mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda bakabashishikariza gutaha. Gusa rero ibyo byaciriye aho kuko nta muhate wundi wari ubirimo. Mu Ugushyirahamwe 1989 niho Guverinoma yatangiye kuganira n'impunzi ku mugaragaro ari nabwo Casimir Bizimungu wari minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga akaba na Perezida wa komisiyo yihariye kuri icyo kibazo yatangaje ko guhera muri 1986 hari imupunzi 300 zasabye gutahuka

¹⁴ Mu ndimi z'amahanga hakunze gukoreshwa ijambo "émigrés" [abimukira] ariko impunzi z'abanyarwanda zo zakunze kuryirinda.

¹⁵ Reba André GUICHAOUA, "La région des événements" [Akarere k'ibibazo], muri Jean-Pierre CHRETIEN, André GUICHAOUA na Gabriel LE JEUNE, "La crise d'août 1988 aUburundi" [Imidugararo yo muri Kanama 1988 mu Burundi], *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁶ Ibi byerekanaga ahanini ko kwitsitsa ku by'amoko nta gaciro byari bifite cyane mu mpaka za politiki y'igihugu muri biriya bihe.

buri wese ku giti cye.

Nyuma yo gutanga raporo yayo ya mbere mu kwa gatanu 1990, iyo Komisiyo yashyizeho gahunda n'ingengabihe y'ibyagombaga gukorwa kugira ngo ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda babaga Uganda kirangire burundu. Biteguwe kandi babifashijwemo na HCR, hakozwe ibarura ryegereye cyane ukuri ryagaragaza ko hariho 40.000 by'impunzi zemewe n'amategeko zari zagaragaje ubushake bwazo bwo gutahuka. Mu gihe inzobere za HCR zari zirangije uwo murimo ndetse ziteguye kuzana n'abahagarariye impunzi mu Rwanda hagati y'amatariki ya 27 Nzeri na 10 Ukwakira 1990, kugira ngo barebe uko imyiteguro yo kubakira n'umutekano wabo biteganijwe¹⁷ niho abari bahagarariye leta ya Uganda bivanye mu mishyikirano ubwabo bonyine mbere y'uko ubwo butumwa butangira. Ni muri icyo gihe kandi FPR yahisemo gushoza intambara. Aha niho bigaragara ko gutera U Rwanda ku wa 1 Ukwakira byari bigamije kuburizamo imishyikirano yakorwaga. Mu by'ukuri amahirwe yo gushyira mu ngiro iyo gahunda yo gutahuka kw'impunzi z'Abatutsi bakomoka mu byaro, kandi yashoboraga kurangiza ikibazo cy'impunzi cyari hagati y'U Rwanda na Uganda¹⁸, ntiyashimishaga na busa abakuru b'ingabo za FPR babaga muri Uganda.¹⁹ Imyanzuro y'imishyikirano iruhije ariko yakoranywe ubwitonzi n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yari ibabangamiye cyane. Abifuzaga gutaha botswaga igitutu kugira ngo batiyandikisha ku rutonde rwa HCR rw'impunzi. Kubera umugambi ngenderwaho wari warafashwe "Twahungiyeye hamwe, tuzatahukira hamwe", abatinyukaga kunyuranya n'uwo mugambi bahabwaga akato²⁰.

Inkizamurego mu ngabo z'Abatutsi b'i Buganda rero zahisemo kwishora mu ntambara zitanguranywe n'igihe mu buryo bwose bushoboka²¹ kubera impamvu zinyuranye zirimo ko gahunda yo gucya impunzi ya HCR yaburizagamo umugambi wazo wo kubona abarwanyu (dore ko abenshi bavaga mu cyaro), kuba zari zihangayikishijwe n'ubwumvikane bwari bumaze kuvuka hagati ya Perezida wa Uganda na Perezida w'U Rwanda (bari bakataje mu mishyikirano n'Abatutsi bo hanze no mu gihugu imbere), ndetse zikaba kandi nta mishyikirano igaragara zari zifitanye n'abahataniraga ko politiki mu Rwanda ihinduka mu maguru

¹⁷ Amahitamo yari aya : gutahuka mu Rwanda, kuguma mu Buganda utegereje guhabwa ubwenegihugu, cg gutuzwa mu kindi gihugu.

¹⁸ Hakurya y'imipaka yombi, haba aho impunzi zabaga naho zagomba kujya gutuzwa, ikibazo cyamasambu cyari ingorabahizi.

¹⁹ Iyi ngingo nta n'umwe mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo wayivuguruye kandi Habyarimana yumvikanye neza cyane muri disikuru yavugiyeye imbere y'abagenzi be abakuru b'ibihugu na za leta bari bateraniye mu nama yabo ya 27 y'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika, aho yagize ati : «Abanyarwanda bese hamwe n'indorererezi z'inzobere uyu muni baremeza badashidikanya ko kubera ko ikibazo cy'impunzi hagati y' U Rwanda na Uganda cyari kiri hafi kurangira burundu, kubera ko inzira ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi yatangiye kandi ikaba idashobora gusubira inyuma, kubera ko ubukungu bw'igihugu bwongeye kuzanzamuka kubera amasezerano U Rwanda rwagiranye na Banki y'isi yose n'ikigega mpuzamahanga gitanga inguzanyo bya Bretton Woods, ko kubera ibyo byose byakozwe ariyo mpamvu abo duhanganye (FPR) bahisemo gutangiza intambara kubera ko byose byaburizagamo imigambi yabo » (Abuja, 4 Kamena 1991).

²⁰ Kutiyandikisha ku rutonde rw'abatahuka byaterwaga na none n'ubwoba bwo gutakaza amasambu yabo mu Buganda kandi badashobora kuzayasubizwa mu gihe gutuzwa mu Rwanda byaba bitabanogeye.

²¹ Bamwe mu bo twaganiriyeye bemeza ko Fred Rwigyema yishwe agambaniye, batubwira ko ariho umugambi wo kumuhitana watangiye gutegurwa (reba Abdul Joshua RUIZIBIZA, *Rwanda. l'histoire secrète [amateka yagizwe ibanga]*, Panama, Paris, 2005, p. 108, 121-122). Aha twibutse ko Fred Rwigyema yari yarateguye umugambi we w'intambara igihe kirekire, agategura n'ingabo ze mu ibanga nubwo Museveni atari abimushyigikiyemo ndetse Paul Kagame icyo gihe wari mu mahugurwa muri Leta Zunze ubumwe z'amerika ubwe akaba yari yerekanye ko nta mpamvu y'iyi ntambara mu gihe yari hafi cyane gutangira.

mashya bari bifitiye izindi nzira za politiki barimo.

Inzitizi «mu ngamba zo gutahuka»

Guhitamo intambara kuri FPR byatewe n'impamvu nyinshi umuntu yavugaho muri make. Iyambere ishingiyeye ku burakari bw'impunzi zari mu bihugu bituranye n'U Rwanda ari nazo zari zimaze igihe kinini mu buhunzi ku isi yose zitagira amategeko azigenga nta n'amizero yo kubaho ukundi muri ibyo bihugu nabyo ubwabyo byahoragamo imidugararo. Mu buryo bwumvikana, babazwaga no kumva baratereranwe n'abo basangiye igihugu batitaga na gato ku kibazo cyabo. Mu gihe U Rwanda rwiyezaga kuyoboka inzira ya demokarasi isesuye (reba igika gikurikira) kandi ishyigikiwe *p. cit.* bashyashya haba muri politiki cg se mu zindi nzego z'igihugu (amashyaka, amashyirahamwe, itangazamakuru...) kandi Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu babifitemo uruhare rukomeye, bo bumvaga basigaye iheruheru nta sano bagifitanye nabo mu gihugu. Iryo phunwe bari bafite narisobanuza amwe mu magambo nahawemo ubuhamya muri 1991 agira ati : «*Igihugu cya ndakuzi iyo kitagutabaye kiragutabariza*»²². Mu gihe no mu buryo uwo twavugana yarimo yashakaga kumvikanisha ko «igihugu uzwimo neza iyo kitagutabaye kiragutabariza iyo kitagutabarije nibura kirakubika iyo wapfuye». Mu yandi magambo : «Iyo abawe batagutabaye baba bishimiye ko upfa».

Inzira yo gutahuka no gusubizwa mu byabo nayo nta mizero bayibonagamo cyane nubwo mu rwego rwa politiki byagendaga bijya mu buryo bwiza. Mu by'ukuri mu gihe bari kuba batahutse mu rwego rwa politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyaka menshi umubare wabo muto cyane ntiwashoboraga gutuma bihagararaho ngo barengere inyungu zabo.

Ni yo mpamvu komisiyo ihuriweho n'U Rwanda na Uganda yari yarasabye HCR gutangaza umubare udakuka w'impunzi yahoraga mu mpaka z'urudaca.

Hari icyuho kidasibangana hagati y'umubare uhanitse cyane wari waratangajwe n'abakuru ba FPR-Inkotanyi biyerekanaga nk'abahagarariye abavuga ikinyarwanda bose muri kariya gace n'umubare w'impunzi watangazwaga na HCR kuva 1959-1966 no hagati ya 1966-1973 habarurirwemo n'urubyaro rwabo. Ku ruhande rwa FPR havugwaga miliyoni ebyiri ku ruhande rwa HCR havugwa ibihumbi magana abiri. Duhereye kuri uyu mubare wa HCR w'impunzi zemewe n'amategeko ari nazo zagombaga gutahuka nta mizero na busa yariho yabaha amahirwe yo kwihagaraho muri demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyaka menshi.

Mu by'ukuri amizero ya FPR yagerwaga ku mashyi mu ruhande rwa demokarasi, mu gihugu abayobokeye bayo batari bazi neza, haba mu by'imibereho y'abaturage, ibya politiki se ndetse n'ingengabitekerezo. Nyuma yo kugira uruhare rukomeye mu kugeza Yoweri Museveni ku ubutegetsi i Kampala (1986), abo bancancuro ba kera ba NRA bari baragiye bigizwayo buhoro buhoro abandi bagashyirwa mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru. Kubera ko batari barigeze bamenyera

²² Ubihinduye ijamba ku ijamba : « Kugira inshuti ni byiza iyo idashoboye kugoboka ubwayo ngo igufashe ibwira abandi bakabigufashamo ». Cg se : « Iyo utewe cg uri mu byago inshuti yawe ikaba idashoboye kugutabara iraguhururiza abandi bakagutabara ». Indi nsobanuro yava ku gace ka kabiri k'uriya mugani : « Iyo upfuye inshuti yawe ntishobore kugutabara irakubika abandi bakagushyirura. »

umuco wa demokarasi, kwisukira bene iyo nzira byari bibari kure nk'ukwezi. Byongeye kandi, inzira y'imishyikirano y'amahoro kimwe no gutuza impunzi mu bihugu byazakiriye yahaga ku buryo budasubirwaho amahirwe menshi abasivili n'abize biberaga mu mahanga cyane cyane ababaga I Burayi no muri Amerika yo mu majyaruguru, bityo ikambura ababaga i Buganda, bari baragize intambara umwuga, amahirwe yo kuba ku isonga rya FPR.

Guhitamo inzira y'intambara byaterwaga nanone n'ipfunwe ryo kuba bamwe mu bari bakomeye mu nyeshyamba za NRA batarabonaga neza icyo imyanya bagenerwaga [mu Rwanda] izabamarira. Koko rero, hari imyanya ikomeye ya politiki Habyarimana yari yaremereye abayobozi bakuru b'inyeshyamba abinyujije ku bo yazitumagaho ariko nanone ugasanga ari mike cyane kubera ko amasezerano ya gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda (PAS) igihugu cyari kimaze gusinya yacaga intege impunzi z'impuguke zari zisanzwe zifite imyanya myiza muri leta ya Uganda cg se mu miryango mpuzamahanga zikaba zari zizeye kubona indi myanya myiza kurushaho mu Rwanda.

Icyagaragaraga nanone ni uko muri za minisiteri no mu bigo bya leta byashoboraga guhabwa abantu ba FPR, gukorana n'abakozi bahasanze byashoboraga kutoroha kubera gusuzugurana. Ikindi kibazo cyari gikomeye cyane kwari uguhuza ingabo za FPR Inkotanyi zitwaraga kinyeshyamba n'ingabo z'igihugu muri icyo gihe zasabwaga gukurikiza byanze bikunze ingamba za Banki y'Isi yose zerekeye kubaka igisirikari cy'umwuga. Ngiyo rero impamvu nyakuri abari bashishikajwe n'inzira y'imishyikirano ari Abatutsi bake b'abacururuzi bo mu gihugu no hanze bari bafitanye umubano wihariye na Perezida Habyarimana ku buryo ndetse byarakazaga ibyegera bye²³.

Ubuhamya bw'abantu benshi bwemeza ko mu mishyikirano yabaga mu rwego rwo hejuru hagati ya Perezidansi y'U Rwanda n'ya Uganda babinyujie ku ntumwa zahuzaga Habyarimana Juvénal n'abayobozi ba FPR ko Habyarimana yaba yaragumye mu gihirahiro cy'amayirabiri anyuranye cyane. Hari "uruhande rwa gisirikari rwashakaga gufata ubutegetsi bwose ku ngufu hakaba n'uruhande rw'abanyapolitiki bashyiraga imbere kugabana ubutegetsi, kwemeza uburenganzira bw'Abatutsi nka banyamuke n'itahuka ry'impunzi mu mahoro²⁴".

Ni ngombwa kandi kwibutsa ko mu mishyikirano y'ubwisanzure bw'urujya n'uruza rw'abantu n'ibintu mu karere k'umuryango w'ibihugu bituriye Ibiyaga Bigari (CEPGL) yashyizweho umukono muri 1985, ikibazo cy'itahuka ry'impunzi "zifite amikoro" kitigeze kiruhanya na busa.

Muri urwo rwego, ubusabane bushingiye ku bwuzuzanye hagati y'abanyemari b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi b'i Kigali ndetse no kuba amasosiyete mpuzamahanga

²³ "Ubufatanye bwa FPR na Habyarimana ni ubwa kera; byatangijwe na Perezida Museveni, biza gukomezwa n'inshuti za Habyarimana z'Abatutsi barimo Valens Kajeguhakwa, André Katabarwa na Charles Shamukiga. Ubundi kandi intagondwa zo muri MRND, zihereye ku bushuti bwari hagati ya Museveni, Fred Rwigyema na Juvénal Habyarimana, zifata Habyarimana nk'umwe mu "bashinze umuryango wa FPR" ndetse zikemeza ko intambara y'Ukwakira 1990 yari ikinamico hagati y'abo bagabo uko ari batatu igamije gusobanura no kumvikanisha impamvu impunzi zagombaga gutahuka zigahabwa imyanya ikomeye muri politiki no mu gisirikari Habyarimana yari yarazemereye mu ibanga [kuko] nta bundi buryo bwa politiki yari afite bwo kubishyira mu bikorwa." (ubuhamya bw'umwe mu banyapolitiki bakomeye cyane, inyandiko zanjye bwite.)

²⁴ Ubuhamya nahawe n'undi munyapolitiki ukomeye, inyandiko zanjye bwite. Ibyo aribyo byose nkuko twabibonye mu ncamake ya 2, kwifatanyaga kwa FPR na babasirikari bakuru b'ibiyigomeke byatumaga hashobora kubaho andi mabanga y'ubufatanye.

y'ubucuruzi yari ahanini mu maboko y'Abatutsi b'impunzi bwatangaga icyizere cy'ubusabane burambye mu karere kose.

Gusa rero bene icyo cyizere ntibari bagisangiye n'ingabo za FPR zitari zarashoboye kugira uruhare rugaragara mu butunzi bw'igihugu nka bagenzi babo b'Abaganda n'Abanyankole kandi bose bari barafashije Museveni gufata ubutegetsu.

Nguko uko benshi mu ngabo za FPR yakomeje kwihagararaho, by'amaburakindi cg se ubupfura, zikigaragaza nk'intwari ziharanira impinduramatwara kandi zizi kwizirika umukanda mu gihugu kwigwizaho umutungo mu nzira zisanzuye ari yo yari intero n'inyikirizo.

Nanone muri icyo gihe, impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zabaga mu bihugu bindi bituranye n'U Rwanda kimwe n'izabaga mu Burayi no muri Amerika yo mumajyaruguru zarajijinganyaga cyane mu kwitabira no gutera inkunga imigambi ya FPR "y'i Buganda".

Hariho nanone icyuho kinini muri gahunda ya FPR ikubiye mu ngingo umunani yatangajwe mu Ukwakira 1990, yakomozaga ku bibazo byose mu buryo rusange, bityo ntihabe hagira ubona neza icyo anenga cg ashima hagati yo gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi mu mahoro no gushoza intambara ihutiyeho :

- gushimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ;
- gushyiraho inzira n'inzeho z'ubutegetsu zishingiye kuri demokarasi ;
- kubaka no guteza imbere ubukungu bw'igihugu ;
- kurwanya ruswa, gucunga nabi umutungo w'igihugu, n'igitugu mu butegetsu ;
- uburenganzira budakumirwa bw'impunzi bwo gutahuka mu gihugu ;
- guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage mu byerekeye ubuvuzi, uburezi, gutura neza, gutwara abantu, n'ibindi ;

- uburenganzira bwo kurengera umutekano w'abaturage kandi nabo bakabigiramo

Uruhare ;

- guteza imbere ubufatanye mu by'ubukungu mu karere.

Izo ngingo zari zisanzwe n'ubundi zigibwaho impaka imbere mu gihugu kandi ntagishya cyakwerekana amatwara yihariye ya FPR (uretse ingingo ya 7 yavugaga k'umutekano bityo ikaganisha ku kibazo gikomeye cyo kuvanga ingabo hakurikijwe amoko) kandi ari nacyo cyari gishishikaje cyane impunzi. Ntibitangaje rero ko abantu bakomeye n'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu batewe amakenga, ndetse bagerageza gukumira intambara yashojwe na FPR ku wa 1 Ukwakira. Ubwo byari bimaze kumenyekana ko igitero cyapfubye, ingaruka mu gihugu zateye icyoba cyinshi. Ifungwa ry'abantu benshi mu "barwanyaga" ubutegetsu mu Rwanda naryo ryabaye indi mpamvu yo kwishisha inyeshyamba [za FPR]. Kutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje byaracwekereye ndetse Abatutsi benshi bize b'imbere mu gihugu bumvaga ntaho bahuriye n'izo "nyeshyamba" bahitamo kwitabira imyigaragambyo yo gushyigikira "ubumwe bw'igihugu".

Kwitandukanya n'imigambi ya FPR nanone byongeye gutizwa umurindi n'umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi, ubwo bamwe mu batutsi bakomeye bihitiragamo ayo bayoboka. Bamwe bahisemo kwigumira muri MRND cyane cyane mu bihe bya mbere, ariko abenshi bayoboka ku mugaragara amashyaka

ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu ndetse bayagiramo n'uruhare rugaragara, dore ko icyo gihe Abanyarwanda hafi ya bose bahaga ihuriro ry'amashyamba atavugaga rumwe n'ingoma iganje (FDC)²⁵ amahirwe yo gutsinda amatora mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Abakomeje gushyigikira FPR – n'inzira y'imirwano muri rusange – ni abari hanze y'igihugu ahanini kubera ko bari bahuje ubwoko n'inyeshyamba za FPR yikaba kandi zari zatinyutse kuba imbanzaguseruka ku rugamba. Gushyigikira FPR byaje kugenda byiyongera gahoro gahoro uko yagendaga igaragaza ingufu zayo ku rugamba.

Ingaruka z'uburemere bw'ibibazo by' "i Buganda"

Nkuko Abanyarwanda bari barimukiye mu Bugandamu bihe bya kera n'ibya vuba bari banyuranye, ni nako umubano wabo n'abaturage b'igihugu cyabakiriye n'icyo bakomotsemo yari itandukanye ; nyamara uruhererekane rw'imidugararo mu Bugandaguhera muri 1966 yatumye ibibazo by'abakomoka mu Rwanda byivanga n'iby'abaturanyi babo b'Abaganda kavukire (kuva mu Bufumbira kugera ku nkiko z'amajyepfo y'uburasirazuba bw'ingoma ya Buganda no muri Ankole).

Mu buzima bwa buri muni, buri gihe uko abanyapolitiki b'i Buganda batsimbaraye ku matwara y'ubwironde bw'abanyagihugu bibasiraga Abanyarwanda, abafitanye isano n'Abanyarwanda kimwe n'ababyitirwa bose baribasirwaga nta n'umwe uvuyemo. Nanone, ubwo abaturage bashushubikanywaga kubera amakimbirane hagati ya Uganda n'U Rwanda, ntihigeze hatandukanywa abasuhuke n'impunzi cy se abakomoka mu Rwanda n'Abaganda "bavuga ikinyarwanda".

Mu ntangiriro za 1980 ubwo ibintu byacikaga i Buganda – ibihumbi by'abaturage bo mu bwoko bw'Abanyarwanda bibasiwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari yari ishyigikiye Milton Obote wari ku butegetsu icyo gihe – bigatuma abakomoka mu Rwanda aho bari hirya no hino mu bindi bihugu bisuganya, ni bwo ikibazo cy'impunzi cyongeye guhagurukirwa ku buryo bugaragara binyujijwe ku miryango mpuzamahanga y'ubutabazi²⁶.

Muri 1982, nyuma y'aho benshi mu rubyiruko rw'abakomoka mu Rwanda – cyane cyane abavukaga ku babyeyi b'impunzi – bameneshejwe n'abashyigikiye Obote bashakaga no kujya mu Rwanda bagakumirirwa ku mupaka²⁷, basanze kujya mu ngabo z' "inyeshyamba" za NRA ya Yoweri Museveni ari yo nzira yonyine yariho icyo gihe yo gukemura ibibazo byabo.

²⁵ FDC yahuzaga amashyamba yose atavugaga rumwe n'ingoma iganje naho ARD, ihuriro ry'amashyamba aharanira gukomeza demokarasi, yakoreraga mu kwaha kwa MRND (*reba incamake ya 4*).

²⁶ Urugero umuntu yareba ni ibyavugiye mu nama mpuzamahanga ku kibazo cyo kurengera impunzi zo muri Afurika yabereye i Dakar muri 1982.

²⁷ Hagati y'Ukwakira 1982 n'intangiriro za 1983, Abanyarwanda bagera ku bihumbi mirongo ine bahunze Uganda berekeza mu Rwanda. Hagatiy'ibihumbi bitandatu n'umunani muri bo bamaze amezi banamye ku gasozi kuko URwanda rwari rwabambiye imipaka. "izo mpunzi zirukanywe" hafi ya zose zashoboye gusubira mu Buganda Yoweri Museveni amaze gufata ubutegetsu mu mpera za 1985. Abandi banyarwanda ibihumbi mirongo inani bari barundanjwe mu nkambi zo mu majyepfo i Buganda, abagera ku bihumbi mirongo itatu muri bo baza kwimurirwa nyuma y'aho mu tundi duce.

Aho Museveni afatiye ubutegetsu mu kwa mbere 1986, abavugaga ikinyarwanda bari barinjijye muri NRA batashye itsinzi bahabwa imyanya myiza mu gisirikari no mu butegetsu bw'igihugu kimwe n'Abaganda n'Abanyankole bose. Babiri muri bo bari barabaye ibyamamare kandi bakaba mu banyamuryango b'ikubitiro bashinze NRA ni Fred Rwigyema na Paul Kagame; uwa mbere yabaye umugaba mukuru w'ingabo za Uganda uwa kabiri aba umukuru w'inzego z'umutekano mu gisirikari. Ariko Perezida mushya [Museveni], ubwo yari amaze gushyiraho minisitiri w'intebe ukomoka mu mamajyaruguru y'igihugu, ntiyari kubura guterwa impungenge n'abamunengaga kuba ingaruzwamuheto y'abavugaga ikinyarwanda bari biganje mu byegera bye haba mu butegetsu cg muri NRA. Ndeste nawe ubwe abamurwanya bakekaga ko akomoka mu Rwanda nkuko no mu Rwanda bamwe bakekaga ko umuryango wa Habyarimana nawo ukomoka i Buganda.

Ibiri amambu, nguko uko hagati y'izo ntore z' "intararutsi" zari zikiri mu ntsinzi havutse amahitamo simusiga hagati yo gutura bagatuza nk'abandi baturage i Buganda no gutahuka ku ruhembe rw'umuheto mu rwababyaye. Mu by'ukuri amahitamo yari yoroshye hagati yo guhabwa ubwenegihugu mu Buganda no kurwanya ingabo z'U Rwanda zitari zimenyereye intambara ndetse zitanafe ubushobozi bugaragara bwo kurwana. Gusa rero Museveni ntiyari ashigikiye igitekerezo cyo gutera U Rwanda, dore ko yari ashishikajwe no gutsimbataza ubutegetsu bwe mu gihugu, bityo agatinya ko gushoza indi ntambara byagabanyaga ingufu mu gisirikari cyane cyari kigizwe ahanini n'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda. Nyamara nanone imyanya myiza Abanyarwanda bari bafite mu gisirikari n'ubwishongore bwabo byatizaga umurindi amakimbirane ashingiyeye ku guhiga ubutwari hagati y'Abaganda n'Abanyakole ari nabo Museveni avukamo. Birumvikana rero ko Abanyarwanda bari mu myanya myiza ya gisirikari aribo bari bafite byinshi byo gutakaza dore ko gushyira imbere inyungu z'abaturage gakondo no gushyira mu majwi ubwikanyize bw'abasirikari b'abanyamahanga byagendaga bihabwa intebe.

Ikindi nanone gusubiza abarwanyu mu buzima busanzwe bwa gisivili byari biruhaniye cyane kubera ko ikibazo cy'amasambu cyakomezaga kubyutsa intugunda zahemberwaga n'abarwanyu ubutegetsu hagati ya ba kavukire n'abavugaga ikinyarwanda.

Mu gukemura ibibazo bijyanye no gutuza ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abaganda batahukaga mu gihugu cyabo, Museveni yagombye kotsa igitutu impunzi z'Abanyarwanda (ndetse n'U Rwanda) kugira ngo nabo bumve uburemere bw'ikibazo cy'impunzi kandi bagishakire umuti vuba. Ibi byatumye impunzi zitekereza kurushaho ku buryo zakwivana muri ibyo bibazo by'inzitane.

Ni muri urwo rwego, mu Ugushyiraho 1989, Fred Rwigyema n'abandi basirikari bakuru b'Abanyarwanda basezerewe mu ngabo za NRA. Iryo sezererwa rikubitiyeho n'ibibazo bikomeye byavugwaga mu butegetsu bwa Habyarimana kandi byiyongeraga buri muni byatumye igitekerezo cy'intambara kibona ingufu gitangira no gutekerezwaho ku buryo bwa gihanga. Aha si ngombwa kujya mu mpaka zo kumenya uruhare nyarwo rwa Museveni ubwe mu « mugambi » wo gutera U Rwanda ; gusa ikizwi ni uko ibi byose bitari gushoboka bidashyigikiwe

n'abategetsu bo hejuru; kandi rero kwigaragaza mu bikorwa cyo kubirwanya si byo bihamya ko ubishyigikiye cyo utabishyigikiye. Buri wese yari azi icyo undi ashaka n'ingorane azahura nazo kugirango akigereho kandi buri wese yari afite uburyo yakoresha ku wundi kugirango ibyo ashaka abigereho. Hari imyumvire itandukanye mu bijyanye no gusesengura neza imiterere ya politiki yo mu Rwanda hagati ya Perezidansi ya Uganda n'ibyari mu mitwe y'abifuzaga imirwano. Hariho nanone ukutumvikana ku migambi y'iyi ntambara.

Iminsi ya mbere y'urugamba yagaragaje ko nubwo intambara yari yarateguwe yitondewe hatabuzemo ubuhubutsi butunguranye kubera gusiganwa n'igihe no gushaska kuburizamo impaka zashoboraga gukomeza kubacamo ibice kandi zari zimaze kurambirana no kuba urudaca. Mbese yari kamarampaka hagati y'abashyigikiye intambara n'abatayishyigiyeye.

Nubwo intambara yatangiye mu kaduruvayo mu bya politiki n'igisirikari, Kagame Paul yigaruriye ubuyobozi bwose bw'intambara nyuma y'urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema ayigaragazamo koko ubuhanga n'ubushobozi Abanyarwanda bari bamaze kubamo inzobere ku rugamba.

Ibyo nanone byavanyeho burundu ingingimira z'uko Museveni yashoboraga kwanga kubashyigikiye mu rugamba bari bashoje. Koko rero, nubwo ubutegetsu bwa Uganda bwakomezaga kwinumira, ntawahakana ko bwafashaga Inkotanyi mu kuziha abasirikari, ibikoresho by'intambara no kubaha aho bashinga ibirindiro, ibyo bikagaragazwa cyane n'uburyo FPR yarenze ku masezerano yo guhagarika intambara yari yashyizeho umukono ku wa 5 Kamena 1992 ikanafunga amayira yose yo mu majyaruguru ari rwo rurembo ibicuruzwa mu Rwanda hafi ya byose byacagamo. Ariko ibyo nanone ntibivuguruza cyo ngo bivaneho ko intambara yateguwe kandi ikanatangizwa n'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi aho kuba byakwitwaga ko ari igihugu cy'Uganda cyateye U Rwanda kitwikiriye impunzi z'Abanyarwanda.

Ntibishidikanywa ko ari FPR [Inkotanyi] ubwayo yafataga ibyemezo kandi igashyiraho ingamba zayo yifashishije ububasha n'ubushobozi yari ifite i Buganda : ibyitso by'ibishyitsi mu butegetsu bwa Uganda, inkunga inyuranye y'abaturage bakomoka mu Rwanda, abategetsu bakuru b'Abanyenkole Perezida Museveni avukamo. Nkuko twabivuze, nubwo abayobozi b'Inkotanyi bihutishije cyane icyemezo cyabo cyo gutera U Rwanda kugira ngo bakome imbere impunzi zifuzaga gutaha ku bushake hakurikijwe umugambi wa HCR, byaje kugaragara ko FPR ntaho yari ihuye na busa, yewe ndetse ntiyari izi namba imiterere y'ibibazo igihugu cyarimo. Gusa icya ngombwa kuri bo cyari uko abagaba b'ingabo baturuka i Buganda bari bigize abavugizi n'abaharanizi b'inyungu z'impunzi z'Abatutsi b'Abanyarwanda bose bemewe hose gutyo. Ni mu gihe kandi, kuko nubwo izo mpunzi zari zaragerageje kenshi kurenga ibyazitandukanyaga yewe ndetse zikanabinenga, zari zarananiwe kubyivamo²⁸. Mu mpaka zose bagiranaga nta narimwe bari barigeze bahuriza ku mugambi unoze kandi usobanutse wa Politiki bifuzaga kuzana mu Rwanda. Ariko nkuko byagaragaye guhera mu Ukwakira 1990, igitutu gikaze cy'ubufatanye cyagiye gituma habaho ubwumvikane ku bibazo by'ingenzi igihe cyose byabaga bibaye ngombwa

²⁸ Byagaragaye cyane mu ikoraniryo rusange ry'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ry'i Washington, Kanama 1988.

kurengera inyungu rusange bahuriyeho.

Nguko uko abambari b'ingoma ntutsi barimo abashyigikiye ubwami, abacuruzi na ba rwiyemezamirimo b'Abatutsi bakoranaga ubucuruzi n'ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana n'abandi bose bumvaga babonye uburyo bwo gutahuka batangiye buhoro buhoro kwiyegereza ka gatsiko k'abasirikari kugirango babone inzira yo gusubirana uburenganzira bwabo.

Nubwo mu ntangiriro gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi hagati ya Uganda n'U Rwanda byari bishyizwe imbere, Abanyarwanda bo mu bihugu bituranye n'U Rwanda kimwe n'ibyo mu majyaruguru y'isi bakiriye intambara ya FPR-Inkotanyi nk'ikimenyetso cyumvikana cyo kwiheba, nubwo bwose bitatumye bahita bayitabira. Gusa uko iminsi yagendaga yicuma, ubuyobozi n'ingamba bya FPR – cyane cyane mu gihe Paul Kagame yaragishakisha uko ayigarurira ku buryo bwose – ntibyagiye bivugwaho rumwe nubwo ntawigeze abyasasa ku mugaragaro haba muri FPR ubwayo – nkuko bigaragazwa n'itandukaniro mu byagiye bitangazwa ku mugaragaro n'abavugizi be – haba no mpunzi zari mu mahanga muri rusange.

Nubwo nta butumwa bwo guhagararira impunzi bari bafite ndetse nta n'ububasha bafite bwo kuzigenga, abakuru b'inyeshyamba z'i Buganda bayoboranye urugamba umurava udasanze n'ubuhanga bari baratojwe muri NRA mbere yuko nneho babugaragaza mu kurengera inyungu zabo bwite.

Nkuko ibibazo byihariye by'abandi batutsi babaga hanze ntacyo byari bibabwiye (cyane cyane ab'i Burundi na Zaire)²⁹ cg se "abasivili bo muri FPR"³⁰, bahakanye burundu ibyo gushyikirana n'Abanyarwanda b'imbere mu gihugu bari bahangayikishijwe n'icyo kibazo cy'ubuhunzi.

Uko intambara yadukiriye akarere mu rujya n'uruza rw'ibihe

Nubwo FPR yari mu bwigunge nyuma yo gutsindwa uruhenu mu gitero cya mbere, yari igifite amaturufu mu mufuka : kumenyera bidasubirwaho ubuzima bw'intambara ya kinyeshyamba, ibirindiro bitavogerwa muri Uganda ari naho bavanaga intwari. Nanone kandi, mu guhitamo imigambi ya vuba n'iyi mu bihe birambye, FPR yari ifite uruhare runini mu bibazo bya buri gihugu (Uganda n'U Rwanda) ndetse no mu karere kose. Ibyo rero byayihaga ubushobozi bwo gutwara imbangikane ingamba za politiki n'iza gisirikari ikurikije uko abo bahanganye bahagaze ku rugamba. Ikihutirwaga ariko kwari ugushinga imizi mu karere kubera ko, nkuko Perezida Habyarimana ubwe yahoraga abishimangira, ibitero byo mu Ukwakira 1990 byari byaburijwemo kubera ko U Rwanda "rutari rwatewe ruturutswe mu mpande zose".

Kubera ko itashoboraga kwinjira mu ruhande rwa politiki imbere mu gihugu, FPR yahisemo gutangira gushaka abayoboze mu mpunzi zo mu karere kose ari

²⁹ Ubwo FPR yari imaze gufata ubutegetsu, kugira ibirindiro bikomeye "mu Baganda" byayifashije kuziba icyuho cyo kubona abantu ishyira mu myanya i Kigali ndetse no kuzengurura igihugu cyose. Nguko rero uko abavugaga ikinyarwanda bakomoka i Buganda bitabajwe bakazamura umubare wa *returnees* [impunzi zatahutse] zivuye i Buganda kugira ngo batamirwa n'ubwinshi bw'Abatutsi b' "Abarundi", ab' "Abazayirwa" n'Abanyarwanda bacitse ku icumu.

³⁰ Ijambo "FPR y'abasivili" rikoresheye mu kuvuga impuguke z'Abatutsi binjiye mu muryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi benshi baturutse mu bihugu by'i Burayi n'Amerika batigeze bakora ibya gisirikari.

nako igenda ibigisha, ibacengezamo imigambi yayo. Mu ikubitiro, inyigisho za FPR ntizakiriwe neza n'impunzi zabaga muri Tanzaniya na Zayire. Muri rusange zahurizaga ku cyifuzo cyo kwirinda urwikekwe mu baturage b'ibihugu byabakiriye kandi bari basanzwe babana neza. Nyamara umwaduko w'amashyaka menshi muri Zayire n'igitutu amashyaka mashya yotsaga abavuga ikinyarwanda agamije kubaheza mu bya politiki mu rwego rw'igihugu n'urw'intara watumye benshi batangira kwitabira urugamba rwo gutahuka.

Mu Burundi ho icyo gihe ibintu byari binyuranye cyane. Mu murwa mukuru, impunzi z'Abatutsi b'Abanyarwanda bakomeye, zarigengeseraga cyane bitewe n'imihindukire ya politiki imbere mu gihugu. Ariko ntibyabujije benshi muri bo gutinya no gukemanga politikiya Guverinoma ya Sibomana Adrien, benshi bitaga "hutsi" yo kwagura no kuringaniza imyanya ya politiki "hakurikijwe amoko". Ibyo byatumye batangira kwitabira cyane ibiganiro bya politiki no kwishakira inshuti mu ntagondwa zo mu gisirikari cy'Uburundi no mu bakozzi ba leta mu gihe bari bategereje ikizava muri politiki y'iringaniza ry'uturere. Nguko ukoho ngeye kubuka ubufatanye bushingiye ku irondakoko hagati y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu mu Rwanda no mu Burundi.

Buri gice cyari gifite inyungu mu guteza akaduruvayo mu buyobozi bw'kindi gihugu.

Kwivanga kw'impunzi mu bibazo bya politiki byabaye nko guteza urutambi mu bihugu byombi kuko noneho aho gushaka gutahuka mu mahoro icyari gishyizwe imbere kwari uguhirika ku ngufu ubutegetsu busanzweho. Ikindi cyari gihambaye cyane nanone ni uko ikibazo cy'impunzi zose zo mu karere cyari gisigaye gusa mu maboko y'intagondwa zo hanze zunganiwe n'izisanzwe imbere mu gihugu. Ni muri ubwo buryo mu bibazo byose byakuruye ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abayobozi ba FPR na Perezida w'Uburundi Buyoya harimo kuba yarashenye ibirindiro by'agaco k'abacengezi b'Inkotanyi kakorerega mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'Uburundi mu ntara ya Cibitoke yayoborwaga na Antoine Baza. Byatumye FPR itongera gutinyuka gushinga ibirindiro mu Burundi kandi byari kuyifasha cyane mu ngamba zayo za gisirikari. Kubera iyo mpamvu no kugenzurwa cyane n'abategetsu b'Uburundi, abashakaga kwinjira mu Nkotanyi bazisangaga Uganda cg se bakazisanga mu majyaruguru y'igihugu cy'U Rwanda. Hagati mu mwaka wa 1993, umubare w'abavaga mu Burundi bajya mu nkotanyi, kandi mu by'ukuri ari nabo bari benshi kandi bariteguye neza kandi ku buryo buhagije, wariyongereye cyane kuko byari bimaze kugaragara mu rwego mpuzamahanga ko FPR ariyo yari yihariye ububasha bwo guhagararira no kuvuganira ku buryo bwemewe kandi buhoraho impunzi zose z'Abanyarwanda. Ariko bizeraga ko ubwinshi bwabo bugeretseho n'ubumenyi bwo mu mashuri binakubitiyeho ko abacuruzi bo mu Burundi aribo batangaga amafranga menshi ku rugamba ibyo byose byajyaga gutuma bagira ijamba rikomeye ku basirikari nyuma yo gutsinda urugamba. Mu gihe ibyo byakorwaga ibice binyuranye by'Abahutu nabyo byarisuganyaga mu Rwanda no mu Burundi. Mu wa 1991, ubutegetsu bw'U Rwanda bwagize uruhare mu myivumbagatanyo yaje kuburizwamo mu ntara zo mu majyaruguru y'Uburundi (Muyinga na Cibitoke) yari yateguwe na Palipehutu yari yiganjemo impunzi zabaga mu Rwanda kandi

babishyigikiwemo n'ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali "kugira ngo bisubize igihugu bari barambuwe n'Abatutsi imyaka 400"³¹.

Ubutegetsu bw'Uburundi bwashoboye guhosha izo mvururu z'udutsiko tw'Abahutu bukoreshye ingufu n'urugomo by'igisirikari cyari kigizwe ahanini n'Abatutsi. Ibyo nanone babifashijwemo nuko Abahutu benshi bahaga akato uduco tw'abarwanyu. Koko rero, muri icyo gihe Abahutu benshi ntibifuzaga imirwano kuko babonaga politiki y'iringaniza mu myanya ya politiki hakurikijwe amoko yagombaga kuzagusha ku matora ashingiye kuri demokarasi kandi bizeraga gutsinda bagendeye kuri nyamwinshi yabo. Nubwo ibitero bya Palipehutu mu Ukuboza 1991 i Bujumbura byari akataraboneka, byerekanye ko inzira y'intambara yari ifite icyizere gike cyane mu baturage. Bamaze gutakaza icyizere ku bari babashyigikiye mu mijyi no mu nzego z'ubutegetsu bwo hejuru, intagondwa z'Abahutu zahisemo noneho gucengera mu baturage bo mu cyaro kugira ngo bambike ubusa politiki y'iringaniza Abatutsi bari bari gushyira imbere ariko bitababujije gukomeza kwiharira igisirikari, ubutegetsu bwo hejuru, no kwirundaho bonyine ubukungu bw'igihugu cyose bari bararundaniye mu myaka 30.

Mu gihe rero Abarundi benshi bari bashyigikiye inzira y'amahoro aganisha kuri demokarasi, abandi nabo baratanguranyaga bagakora ibishoboka byose ngo bayiburizemo. Batangiye rero kwigisha abaturage kwirwanaho n'uburyo bwo kwirengera bwangu kandi neza mu gihe baba batewe n'ingabo z'igihugu.

Nyuma y'imishyikirano myinshi inyuranye yagiye ihuza abakuru b'ibihugu bituranye n'U Rwanda hageretseho n'igitutu cy'abaterankunga mpuzamahanga mu rwego rw'imari, haje kwemezwa amasezerano y'agahenge yo guhagarika imirwano yashyizweho umukono kuwa 29 Werurwe 1991, iyubahirizwa ryayo rishingwa umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika hakurikijwe ibyemezo by'inama yari yabereye Dar es Salaam kuwa 19 Gashyantare ari nayo yari yashyize ahagaragara itangazo rikomeye rikubiyemo "imyanzuro idakuka igamije gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda". Iyo politiki y'ubwisanzure yateganywaga mu karere yahuraga n'inzitizi zikomeye imbere mu gihugu kuko abategetsu batari bafite ingufu zihagije zo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo bemeye. FPR yo ntiyemeraga na busa ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana kimwe n'ubwa Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi yifuzwaga n'abatavuga rumwe nawe.

Intambara n'inzira ya demokarasi mu gihugu

Imbere mu gihugu, intambara yo mu Ukwakira 1990 no ku buryo bw'umwihariko igitero cy'amayobera cyitiriwe abacengezi b'Inkotanyi cyo mu ijoro ryo ku wa 4 rishyira uwa 5 Ukwakira i Kigali byahamuye abantu ku buryo bukomereye. Urufaya rw'amasasu rwumvikanye hagati ya saa munani z'ijoro na saa kumi n'ebiri za mugitindo mu bigo bya gisirikari bya Kanombe, Kimihurura, Kigali na Kacyiru byakuye abaturage umutima. Icyo gitero n'abaminisitiri ubwabo bise "ikinamico" na nubwo kiracyakurura impaka z'urudaca (*reba ikarita*

³¹ Kangura, n° 30, Mutarama 1992, p. 9.

y'umujiyi wa Kigali mu ntangiriro y'iki gitabo). Ibitekerezo bibiri by'ingenzi bitandukanye cyane ni byo bukunze gushyirwa imbere mu gusobanura iby'icyo gitero : icya mbere gisa n'igihuriweho na benshi mu babibonye kivuga ko ari ikinamico ryaba ryarakozwe n'abagaba 2 bungirije b'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo na Jandarumori, koloneli Serubuga Laurent na koloneli Rwagafirita Pierre Célestin³² kandi bikavugwa ko batari kubikora badahawe uruhusa na Perezida. Igitekerezo cya kabiri kivuga ko icyo gitero cyagabwe n'abakomando ba FPR bari baracengeye imbere mu gihugu. icyo nicyo cyemezwa n'ubutegetsu kandi kikaba gishyigikiwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora (Gisenyi). Ikindi gitekerezo cya gatatu cyagaragaye vuba aha ni igitangwa na ba maneko b'igisirikari cy'Ubufaransa³³ bavuga ko kubera icyoba, abasirikari b'U Rwanda baba bararasanyeho bibagwiririyeye bityo hakabaho ururandagatane rw'amasasu mu bigo. Ariko uko byasobanurwa kose nta na kimwe cyasobanura urugomo rukabije rwakurikiyeho.

Ubwoba bwatashye mu baturage bwabaye impamvu yo guha abasirikari ububasha bwo kubahohotera no kubafungira ubusa baba abarwanya ubutegetsu koko cg se ababikekwaho gusa : abanyamakuru, abibumbiye mu mashyirahamwe anyuranye, abacamanza n'abandi, biganjemo Abahutu ariko cyane cyane Abatutsi³⁴ bari bamaze iminsi batinyuka kwandika no kuvuga ibitagenda neza mu gihugu.

Nkuko bikunze kugenda mu bihe by'imidugararo, abafunzwe bazize ahanini amabwire, urwikwekwe, n'amashyari hagati y'abacuruzi bapiganira inyungu batari bafite aho bahuriye n'ibya politiki.

Ubwinsi bw'abafunzwe³⁵ icyo gihe bakarundanyirizwa hamwe muri stade ya Kigali kimwe n'urugomo n'ubugome bagiriwe byaroshye igihugu mu cyoba gikabije.

Amabwiriza yo kuri Radio-Rwanda akangurira abaturage kuregana no kwitabira inzangano zishingiye ku moko, yakwirakwizwaga n'abategetsu bo mu nzego za perefegitura n'izo hasi kugira ngo agere kuri bese cyane mu majyaruguru y'igihugu no mu burasirazuba bwacyo. Ibyo byose byateye inkeke n'ubwoba budashira mu gihugu hose. Ubutumwa bw'umukuru w'igihugu

³² Reba Jean-Baptiste NSANZIMFURA & François-Xavier NSANZUWERA, *Le Génocide des Rwandais tutsi : un plan politico-militaire [Itsembabwoko y'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi :Umugambi wa politiki na gisirikari]*, ronéo, Ukuboza 2003. Inkuru ya koloneli Léonidas Rusatira wahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru muri ministeri y'ingabo z'igihugu akaba ari nawe wari wasimbuye umukuru w'igihugu nk'umugaba w'ikirenga w'ingabo kugeza akubutse muri Kanada yo igaragaza umugambi washyizwe mu bikorwa bimaze kwemezwa « n'inzego nkuru z'umutekano w'igihugu ».

³³ Tubikesha Bernard LUGAN, *Rwanda. Contre-enquête sur le génocide [Kuvuguruzwa anketi ku itsembabwoko]*, Privat, Paris, 2007, p. 42 n'izikurikiyeho.

³⁴ Mu gihe abantu benshi bakomeye bemezaga ko abafunzwe, baba Abahutu cg Abatutsi, baziraga gukekwa kuba mubateguraga gushinga amashyamba arwanya ubutegetsu, abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda bo bavugaga ko mu bafunzwe 90 % bari Abatutsi gusa. Inzobere z'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika zo zagize ziti : "Gufunga bantu byahise bitangira ako kanya, abantu 13.000 barafungwa. Muri bo harimo Abahutu bake ubutegetsu bwifuzaga gucecekesha cyangwa gutegeka gushyigikira Perezida." OUA, *Rapport des experts sur le génocide au Rwanda [Raporo y'Impuguke ku itsembabwoko mu Rwanda]*, Addis-Abéba, 2000, § 7.8 [reba umugereka wa 5]. Ubushakashatsi twikoreye muri Perefegitura ya Butare bukubiyeye muri André GUICHAUOA, *Butare, la préfecture rebelle [perefegitura yigometse]*, TPIR, 2004, t. 3, annexe 6, p. 30 n'izikurikiyeho, bwerekana neza ko buri muni hafungwaga Abahutu n'Abatutsi bazira cyane kuba bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu ; aha rero niho bigaragara ko icyari kigamijwe kitari ugufunga Abatutsi ahubwo kwari ugufunga abarwanya ubutegetsu.

³⁵ Ibigereranyo byatanzwe n'imiryango yigenga ivuga ko abafunzwe barengaga 8.000 utabariyemo abagiye bafungirwa muri za kasho z'amakomini.

bugamije guhumuriza Abanyarwanda bwari bunyuranye cyane n'ibyakorwaga ndetse hamwe na hamwe bwateraga urujjo. Nguko uko yashinze minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu Jean Marie Vianney Mugemana guhosha ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi muri Superefegitura ya Ngororero.

Byabaye ngombwa ko Superefe wa Ngororero Bernard Niyitegeka na Burugumesitiri wa komini Ramba M. Nteziryayo bahagarikwa ku mirimo yabo bakanafungwa bazira kuba batarashoboye guhagarika ubwo bwicanyi. Superefe yaje kugwa muri gereza ku buryo bw'amayobera kandi nta anketi yigeze ikorwa ku rupfu rwe ngo igaragaze icyo yaba yarazize. Imicungirey'amadosiye y'abafunzwe mu Ukwakira 1990 nayo yajemo urujjo n'amacenga menshi bamwe bifuzaga ko ibintu bikemuka mu mucyo hakurikijwe amategeko abandi batabishaka. Byaje kuba umwaku aho Prokireri Mukuru mu rukiko rurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu Alphonse Marie Nkubito yigijweyo azira ko aca inkoni izamba. Imanza z'ibitso zabaye hari umwuka mubi cyane kubera ko zabaye nyuma y'uko FPR igabye igitero gikaze mu Ruhengeri kuwa 22 Mutarama 1991 igafunguza Théoneste Lizinde ikanamwinjiza mu ngabo zayo (*reba incamake n°2*).

Mu mezi menshi yakurikiyeho byasaga naho hari udutsiko tw'abakomoka mu majyaruguru twari twarihayeho ubushobozi n'ububasha mu mirimo ikomeye y'igihugu itarahabwaga ubonetse wese (ibiro bikuru by'iperereza, udutsiko dutsimbaraye cyane ku moko muri MRND no mu gisirikari). Ni muri ubwo buryo intagondwa zashoboye gukoresha itangazamakuru ryigenga rigaharabika bamwe mu bategetsi bakomeye mu gihugu babita ku mugaragaro "ibitso by'umwanzi" (guhaha Mutarama 1989 abaminisitiri bakomoka mu majyepfo bari bavuye kuri 10 bagera kuri 12 kuri 17 bari bagize Guverinoma yose). Icyo kibazo cyo gusuzugura Guverinoma cyose bamwe mu bayigize cyarakomeje kugeza n'igihe Perezida avugururiye leta ye kuwa 7/2/1991.

Bitewe nuko abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda bamwotsaga igitutu no kubera amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yagombaga gushyirwaho umukono kuwa 29 Werurwe 1991, Perezida yagize Nsanzimana Sylvestre minisitiri w'ubutabera bituma hafungurwa abantu 3.500 bari bagifungiyeho kuba ibitso, 8 muri bo bari bakatiwe igihano cyo kwicwa, mu iteka rye ryo kuwa 18 Mata, Perezida arabaduhorera, aghindura gufungwa burundu.

Ibyo bibazo byari byagiweho impaka cyane mu itangazamakuru ryigenga no mu banyamadini, impaka zatijwe umurindi kandi zisakazwa n'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu yari imaze kuvuka. Ardho, Umuryango nyarwanda uharanira kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu washinzwe kuwa 30 Nzeri 1990, wahereye ubona akazi kenshi cyane.

Mu mwaka wa 1991, hagiye hafatwa ibyemezo by'ubwisanzure harimo nko kuvana imirimo yo gutanga ibyangombwa byo kujya mu mahanga mu maboko y'inzego z'iperereza bikajya bitangwa na ministeri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ndetse n'umunyarwanda wese w'impunzi ubishatse byemezwa ko yagombaga guhabwa (mu gihe kigenwe) ibyangombwa by'inzira.

Ikindi tutabura kuvuga ni inama yahuje amashyamba yose ya politiki igamije kwigira hamwe ibyasabwaga na FPR mu rwego rwa politiki, gushyiraho itegeko

nsibacyaha rishya mu Ukuboza 1991 (abantu 5 872 bakaza guhanagurwaho icyaha muri Gashyantare 1992) no gushaka no kugena amasambu yo kwakira impunzi no gushyiraho urwego rwa leta rushinzwe icyo kibazo.

Ikindi kandi politiki y'iringaniza hakurikijwe amoko yagombaga kuba yavuyeho guhera Ugushyingo 1990 kimwe n'ibijyanye no kwandika amoko mu ndangamuntu.

Ibi byose byari ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko gukemura ibibazo byariho byari mu nzira. Nubwo inzira yo kugarura amahoro mu baturage yari imaze kuboneka kandi ishyigikiwe cyane n'amahanga, kuyigeraho byabazaga ingamba n'ubushake bw'abategetsi b'igihugu mu kuyishyira mu bikorwa. Aha rero niho ibintu bimwe na bimwe byateraga amakenga. Muri ibyo twavugaga nka Guverinoma igizwe n'abantu bamwe gusa yari yashyizweho n' "ibikonyozi" kuwa 4 Gashyantare 1991, amananiza yo mu mishyikirano yo gucyura impunzi, gutinza amatora yategurwaga no kudasubiza mu kazi abari barafungirwe kuba ibyitso bari bamaze gufungurwa muri Werurwe na Mata 1991, indangamuntu nshya zari zitarajya ahagaragara (ipiganwa ry'ibiciro by'amacapiro ryatinze gutangazwa bigeza mu Ukuboza 1991, ibyo bikagaragaza ko imikorere mibi ya kera yari igifite intebe³⁶ ...); kongera kwandika amoko mu ibarura rusange ryabaye hagati muri 1991aho kimwe mu bibazo by'umugereka cyarebaga iby'ubwenegihugu; imvugo n'inyandiko zibasiraga Abatutsi zagagaragara mu itanganzamakuru ryikwitwaga ko "ryigenga". Bene utwo tubazo twagabanije icyizere ku mpunzi zifuzaga gutahuka mu mutuzo. icyaje gutera inkeke kurushaho nanone ni urugomo rwakorerwaga Abatutsi bo mu cyaro, iyo FPR yabaga yateye cg se nyuma yaho ubwo bamwe bari batangiyeye kuyoboka amashyamba mashya.

Abantu benshi barishwe, abandi baranyerezwa; ibyashoboye kumenyekana birimo ibyabaye ku wa 11 Ukwakira 1990 i Kibirira muri Gisenyi (Abatutsi 383 barishwe), muri Kinigi (hishwe Abatutsi b'abagogwe 261 [abagogwe ni Abatutsi bo mu majyaruguru y'i burengerazuba bw'U Rwanda]), birakomeza mu makomini ya Mukingo Nkuli na Mutura muri Mutarama na Gashyantare 1991, bisatira Kanzenze muri Kigali mu Ukwakira 1991 bigera Murambi ya Byumba mu Ugushyingo 1991, muri Werurwe 1992 nanone birongera muri Kanzenze hapfa Abatutsi 30 birakomeza n'ahandi.

Ubwo bwicanyi ntibwari bushingiye ku burakari rusange bw'abaturage ubwabo banganga abatusi, ahubwo bwaturukaga ku nyigisho zatangwaga n'abategetsi bo hasi nabo babicengezwagamo n'inzego zimwe zo mu butegetsi bwo hejuru. Ibi bikaba byerekana ukuntu ubutegetsi bwagendaga bwiyandarika bugata isura nziza kugera no mu cyaro. Ibinyamakuru byagiye bitaganza inkuru z'imvaho³⁷ ku bwicanyi bwagiye bukorwa hirya no hino inzego z'ubutegetsi n'izubutabera zo mu cyaro ntizigire icyo zikora. Ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiraga ahanini Abatutsi "bakize", abacuruzi, abarimu cg se abatunzwe n'umushahara uzwi n'abandi baturage b' "abakungu". Benshi mu bakurikiraniraga hafi ibibera

³⁶ Murabisanga mu mugereka wa 6 uvuga ku buryo bwuzuye ibintu byinshi byazinzitswe birebana n'impaka n'ingorane zatumye indangamuntu zagombaga gutangwa mbere yuko hajyaho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi yo muri 1994 zitajya mu icapiro.

³⁷ Reba ibivugwa mu kinyamakuru cya kiliziya gatolika *Kinyamateka* n° 1357 yo ku wa 1 Ugushyingo 1991 ("Abategetsi bamwe ni bo bayoboye imvururu muri Murambi"; hari n'izindi nkuru zagiye zerekana urutonde rw'abantu banyerejwe mu Bugesera.

mu Rwanda bemeje ko ubutegetsu aho kurwanya Inkotanyi “z’amarere” nkuko ziyitaga, bwahisemo gufata Abatutsi b’imbere mu gihugu ho ingwate. Nguko uko Abatutsi bakuwemo umutima n’ urugomo rw’abasirikari n’abaporisi maze urwikekwe hagati y’amoko ruhabwa intebe mu nzego zose.

Amakimbirane mu gisirikari n’igenanyito y’ «umwanzi» icyo ari cyo

Mu gihe inkubiri yo kwagura amarembo ya politiki yakazaga umurego buri muni, abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw’ingabo, babishyigikiwemo n’ibikomerezwa by’ubutegetsu, berekanye ku mugargaro kandi ku buryo budasanzwe uburakari bwabo.

Kuwa 1 ukuboza 1991, hasohotse itangazo risinywe na liyetona koloneli Anatole Nsengiyumva mu izina ry’ “ubuyobozi bushinzwe imirwano mu ngabo z’U Rwanda” ryamaganaga akajagari kagenda kiyongera mu gihugu n’uburyo *Inyenzi*³⁸ zikaza umurego. Nyuma y’iminsi 3, ku wa 4 Ukuboza, Juvénal Habyarimana yakoresheje inama ihuza abayobozi bose b’uduce tuberamo imirwano, abashinzwe imitwe inyuranye ya gisirikari, abayobozi b’ibigo bya gisirikari, abasirikari bakuru bo muri minisiteri y’ingabo n’abo mu buyobozi bw’umugaba mukuru w’ingabo ngo barebere hamwe ibyari bimaze gukorwa n’ibiteganijwe kuzakorwa nyuma y’umwaka umwe w’intambara.

Inama yabaye mu muhezo ariko irangwamo umwuka mubi cyane aho abasirikari bamwe bamaganye abayobozi b’amashyamba atavugaga rumwe n’ingoma iganje babashinja kugambanira igihugu, gufasha umwanzi n’amadisikuru aca intege ingabo z’igihugu.

Perezida Habyarimana yahereye ko ashiraho komisiyo ishinze kwiga no gutekereza kuri icyo kibazo ikazamushyikiriza imyanzuro yayo mu gihe kitarenze ukwezi. Iyo komisiyo bamwe bayise «Komisiyo Bagosora» bayitirira koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, umusirikari mukuru wari ukuriye abandi kuri iryo peti ari nawe wayiyoboraga. Harimo n’abandi basirikari 9 bakomeye barimo abambari b’ubutegetsu n’abandi bigenga cyane bashyigikiye demokarasi isesuye (reba umugereka n° 7). Raporo yanditswe mu gihe kitarenze ibyumweru 3, imaze gusomwa no gukosorwa na majoro Agustin Cyiza, yemezwa n’abagize komisiyo bose ishikirizwa Perezida Habyarimana nawe atageka ko igomba gutangarizwa abo ireba gusa ntisakazwe.

Igice cya mbere cy’iyi raporo cyavugaga ikibazo cy’ «umwanzi» mu gihugu no hanze kiri mu byashoboraga gukurura intugunda (kandi koko ni nako byaje kugenda ubwo agapande kayo kamwe katangazwaga muri Nzeri 1992).

Nyamara icyo si cyo cyabujije Perezida gukumira isakazwa rya raporo ; icyabimuteye ahanini ni ingingo zanengaga ukuntu ubuyobozi bw’ingabo bwari bumaze imyaka butavugururwa, uburyo budahwitse bwakoreshwaga mu micungire y’ingabo, ndetse n’umwanzuro wavugaga ko gufungura amarembo ya politiki ari yo nzira iboneye yo kurangiza intambara.

³⁸ *Inyenzi* ni ijamba ryakoreshejwe n’abarwanyu b’Abatutsi barwaniraga kugarura ubwami mu Rwanda mu myaka ya za 1960 ; ni izina biyise rihinye rishaka kuvuga mu magambo arambuye «*Ingangururugo yiyemeje kuba ingenzi*». Ingangururugo zari ingabo zikomeye cyane ku ngoma y’umwami Rwabugiri.

Nk'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu, perezida yashavujwe cyane no kubona raporo igaya uburyo ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo butari bwarigeze na rimwe buvugururwa ndetse n'uburyo ubwo buyobozi bwananiwe kwitegura igitero cy'Inkotanyi ; nuko mu minsi mike agira Sylvestre Nsanzimana minisitiri w'intebe ndetse na we areka ibyo gukomatanya imirimo y'umukuru w'igihugu n'iyo kuba minisitiri w'ingabo n'umuyobozi wa etamajoro.

Ibyo byatumye bamwe bizera ko abari banenzwe ku mugaragaro³⁹ bari bagiye guhita banyagwa, barimo koloneli Rwagafirita Pierre Célestin wari umugaba wungirije wa Jandarumori kuva 1979, koloneli Serubuga Laurent wari umugaba w'ingabo wungirije kuva 1973, n'umunyamabanga mukuru muri ministeri y'ingabo koloneli Léonidas Rusatira kuva 1970⁴⁰.

Hagati aho, kubera amakenga yari itewe n'iryo yagurwa ry'amarembo ya politiki mu Rwanda, FPR yahinduye ingamba ishyira imbere kwitegura "intambara y'igihe kirekire", isigara gusa ikora udutero-shuma tutari dukanganye na busa mu rwego rwa gisirikari, uretse rimwe na rimwe iyo ingabo za Uganda zabaga ziyigobotse nkuko bari byagenze muri 1990.

Nyamara icyari gishishikaje igihugu cyane cyari ingaruka [z'intambara] ku bukungu bw'igihugu kubera ifungwa ry'amayira'ibicuruzwa byavaga mu byambu byo ku nyanja y'ubuhindi (inzira y'amajyaruguru anyura Uganda na Kenya akagera Mombassa n'inzira yo hagati inyura Tanzaniya kugera ku cyambu cya Dar es Salaam) ; wongeyeho amafaranga yo gushora mu ntambara (cyane cyane kongera umubare w'abasirikari no kugura ibikoresho), ibyo byose byari biteye inkeke cyane ku busugire n'izanzamuka ry'ubukungu mu gahugu gato kari mu bwigunge.

Mu rwego rwa politiki, udutero-shuma Inkotanyi zahoraga zitera twabangamiraga ubwumvikane bwari bunasanzwe budafashije hagati y'amashyaka yari yarishyize hamwe imbere mu gihugu ngo arwanye ubutegetsu bwariho n'ishyaka MRND ryari ryikubiye ubutegetsu, agaharanira ko habaho inama yo mu rwego rw'igihugu ifite ububasha busesuye (bitaga «*rukokoma*» mu kinyarwanda).

³⁹ Yashyizwe kuri uwo mwanya na Perezida wa mbere Grégoire Kayibanda ubwo Habyarimana Juvénal yari minisitiri w'ingabo, awugumaho kugeza muri 1992 aho yabaye umuyobozi w'ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari muri Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

⁴⁰ Uburemere n'impaka zabereye muri iyo komisiyo urazisanga mu mugereka wa 7.

