

Inzibacyuho muri politiki y'amaburakindi

Imyaka ya 1991-1993 yiswe «inzibacyuho ishyira demokarasi» yabaye imyaka yo kubaka umusingi. Kwisanzura muri demokarasi kwabaye inzira yo gukangurira rubanda guharanira uburenganzira yari yaravukijwe mu nzego zose z'ubuzima bw'igihugu. Kubigeraho byasabaga ingufu ku mpande ebyiri. Ku ruhande rumwe kwari ugusobanurira abaturage uburenganzira bwabo no gushyiraho inzego z'ubutegetsi zishobora kuburengera igihe cyose. Ku rundi ruhande kandi bikorewe icyarimwe kwari ugushyiraho imbago n'ibimenyetso bifasha kumenya neza ko abari basanzwe batsimabaraye ku butegetsi batabigenderaho bayobya abaturage kugirango bakomeze kubagira ingaruzwamuheto.

Kugirango byumvikane byashyirwa mu bihe bibiri mbere na nyuma yaho FPR igabye igitero cyo muri Gashyantare 1993. Ni ukuvuga igihe urubuga rwa politiki imbere mu gihugu rwasaga naho rwihariwe n'amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi n'igihe FPR Inkotanyi yerekanaga ubudasumbwa bwayo mu ngufu za gisirikari n'ubufatanye bwayo n'andi mashyaka bityo hagatangira kwishushanya impande 2 zihanganye ari nazo zavuyemo intambara ya rurangiza yo muri 1994.

Habyarimana abonye ko agoswe impande zose haba inyuma n'imbere mu gihugu, yibutse ibanga yakoresheje muri 1973 atangira kwikundisha ku "Bahutu" bo mu giturage. Ubwo kandi ni nako yageragezaga kwereka amahanga ko ariwe wenyine kamara washoboraga guhagara hagati y'ubutagondwa bw'impande zombi : Ubw'Abahutu bwagaragaraga mu nzego z'ubutegetsi busanzwe no mu nzego za gisirikari n'ubw'Abatutsi cyane cyane abari barahungiyeye mu gihugu cya Uganda, byavugwaga ko bagitsimbaraye cyane ku mugambi wo kugarura ingoma ya cyami mu Rwanda. Uko gukangurira abaturage ivanguramoko byatijwe

umurindi n' impagarara zariho ari mu bukungu, imibereho y'abaturage na politiki.

Nanone ariko zimwe mu nzego z'ubuyobozi (itangazamakuru, inzego z'umutekano n'ingabo z'igihugu, n'iz'ubutabera) zatangiye gahunda yo kurwanya ibitekerezo by'intagondwa; iyo gahunda yari igamije kwerekana ishusho y'ubworoherane "umubyeyi w'igihugu" yashakaga kugumana kugira ngo akomeze guhabwa imfashanyo itubutse mu bya gisirikari n'ubukungu abaterankunga bamuhaga ariko banamuhatira kufungura marembo ya politiki.

Byaba ari ukuri cg impuha, bivugwa ko Perezida yaba yarashatse gukoresha intambara y'Inkotanyi nk'inzira yo gucecekesha burundu abamurwanyaga mu gihugu cg se ndetse akagura urubuga rwa politiki ya Repubulika ya kabiri yinjizamo bamwe mu mpunzi z'Abatutsi bemeye kugirana na we imishyikirano ; ibyo ari byo byose, uwo mugambi waburiyemo kubera ko ingabo z'igihugu zawamaganye dore ko n'ubuyobozi bukuru bwazo bwabyinaga intsinsi mu mpera y'ukwakira 1990. Nyamara kwiyitirira iyo ntsinsi nta shingiro byari bifite. Akajagari gakabije kari mu buyobozi bw'ingabo kagiye ku karubanda maze abantu bararengana karahava : gushyira mu kato abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo, iyicwa ridasobanutse rya bamwe mu basirikari bakuru b'abahanga bakomoka mu majyaruguru, ibirego byo kugambanira igihugu n'imigambi yo guhirika ubutegetsu, ifungwa rya bamwe mu basirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru bakekwaho kumena amabanga, n'ibindi.

Uwo mwuka mubi uri mu bisobanura impamvu ingabo zari zihagaze nabi ku rugamba muri kiriya gihe. Aho intambara yari igeze, buri wese mu barwana yabonaga ko izamara igihe kirekire buri gice rero kigasesengura kigatangira kwishakamo ingufu no guteganya uko bizagenda muri urwo rugendo rw'igihe kirekire. Mu gihugu, abo ku Gisenyi no mu Ruhengeri bishyize hamwe kugira ngo bakomeze kwiharira ubutegetsu bwose bari basanzwe bafite maze bahindura akarere kabo "umutamenwa" abandi bose baturuka ahandi bari bahejwemo. Nguko uko bahisemo kwigunga no gutsimbarara ku nyungu zabo bwite kubera ko kwemera amashyamba menshi ya politiki bitari bigishoboye gusubizwa inyuma kandi biha abaturuka mu majyepfo kwigaragaza no kwipakurura gukandamizwa n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi, MRND. Nyamara kandi imibare yose yarerekanye ko politiki y'iringaniza yabagize ba "nyamuke batoneshejwe birenze urugero"¹.

Ntagushidikanya rero, irondakarere ryarushaga ubukana irondakoko ku buryo ryashyamiyanyaga ku mugaragaro ibyegera bya Perezida byo mujyaruguru n'abaharanira kwisanzura. Kuri izo mpande zombi, ikibazo cy'irondakoko cyari nk'iturufu yabafasha kugira "ubwiganze" mu bitekerezo. Mu gihe intagondwa zasabitswe n'irondakarere n'irondakoko zavugaga ko abarwanyaga ubutegetsu bose nta kuvangura ari abanzi b'igihugu ko kandi bagomba kurwanyirizwa hamwe, Habyarimana we yari ashigikiye abayoboze ba MRND bifuzaga ko yaba ishyamba rihuza Abanyarwanda bose aho gufatwa nk'imbata y'abo mu majyaruguru gusa kuko yabonaga ko ari ngombwa gukomeza gushyigikira inyungu z'Abatutsi bize kandi bakoranaga mu gihugu hose kugira ngo agabanye ingufu zashoboraga

¹ Abize ntibatinyaga icyo gihe kwamagana Abashiru (abakomoka mu Bushiru, agace Perezida avukamo, kagizwe n'amakomini abiri, Karago na Giciye) bavugaga ko bari agatsiko ka "nyamuke (batageze ku baturage ibihumbi 100) cyane kurusha Abatutsi (hafi ibihumbi 800)".

guturuka mu kwiyuburura kwa MDR-Parmehutu mu majyepfo y'igihugu (MDR-Parmehutu ni ryo shyaka rikomeye ryahangamuye ingoma ya cyami mu Rwanda muri 1959). Uko gufatanya imirongo 2 ya politiki idahuye ryari ibanga ry'umwihariko rya Perezida wenyine kandi yagumanye kugeza ubwo apfuye kuwa 6 ukwakira 1994.

Muri FPR bo, bose babonaga nta shiti ko ingoma ya Habyarimana iri mu marembera, ariko rero bihutira kumurwanya no kuvana ingabo ze mu birindiro byazo kuko batinyaga ko amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu yasaba ko inzira ya demokarasi yihutishwa bityo akabatanga kugera ku butegetsi. Ubu bwoba ko amashyaka mashya yakwisuganya FPR yari ibuhuriyeho n'ibikomangoma bya Repubulika ya Kabiri.

Iyabateraga ubwoba cyane cg se iyo babonaga ishobora kuzabagora ni MDR (ishyaka riharanira demokarasi muri Repubulika) dore ko yabonwagamo kuba urunani rugamije kurwanya abo mu majyaruguru, rushinze imizi mu mateka (revolisio ya 59) ndetse ikaba n'amizero ya rubanda. Irindi shyaka batinyaga ni PSD (ishyaka riharanira demokarasi n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage ryarangwaga n'amatwara mashya atandukanye n'ayagendeweho muri repubulika zambere zombi), yari ishyigikiwe cyane n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bo maperefegitura 2 yo mu majyepfo, Butare na Gikongoro, arangajwe imbere n'abavugizi babiri b'ibyamamare : Félicien Gatabazi na Frédéric Nzamurambaho.

Uko gushyigikiwe byari imbogamizi ikomeye kuri FPR kuko byayibuzaga amahirwe yo gushinga imizi mu maperefegitura yariyiganjemo Abatutsi.

Iyo mbogamizi nanone yari iyifite kuri PL (ishyaka riharanira ubwisanzure, ryari ryiganjemo Abatutsi) ryari rishinze ibirindiro mu maperefegitura ya Kibungo na Kigali ngari ariyo yari ku ntera ya 2 mu guturwamo n'Abatutsi benshi mu gihugu.

Ku mpande zombi, "intagondwa" zahawe rugari : ku ruhande rumwe, Paul Kagame yazunguye Fred Rwigyema, ashimangira umurongo w'ubukana n'ubutagamburuzwa ; ku rundi ruhande, hagati y' "abapawa" n' "abaharanira ubwisanzure" rubura gica barwana "intambara mu yindi".

Amavuko ya MRND ivuguruye

Kuwa 5 nyakanga 1990, Habyarimana yamenyesheje Abanyarwanda ko inzira ya demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi igiye gutangira. Ku wa 1 nzeri, Édouard Karemera yashinzwe kuyobora Komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo (*reba umugereka wa 8*) ku mpinduramatwara ya politiki Perezida yari yazezeraniye abaturage.

Ibyavuye muri iyo komisiyo byagiweho impaka biza kubyara imbanziriza-mushinga y'itegeko ryo mu wa 1991. Kuwa icyo gihe, Édouard Karemera yahawe izina rya *Rukusanya*, "umuhuza" (w'ibitekerezo) ndetse aza no guhemberwa ibyiza uwo murimo wagezeho (*reba incamake ya 3*).

Nyuma y'amezi atatu, kuwa 5 nyakanga 1991, MRND ivuguruye yemeje amategeko mashya ayigenga muri kongere y'ishyaka yayo yabereye kuri Stade Amahoro ; ubuyobozi bwashyizweho bwari buteye butya : Perezida Habyarimana

yashinzwe guhagararira ishyaka mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho kugeza igihe MRND ivuguruye (Muvoma iharanira demokarasi, Repubulika n'amajyambere) izagiraho ku mugaragaro, naho Édouard Karemera ashingwa gushyiraho inzego zose z'ibanze z'ishyaka no kuyobora buri muni ibokorwa byose by'ishyaka kugeza igihe Kongere y'ishyaka yari kuzatora abayobozi bashya. Mu by'ukuri niwe wari uyibereye umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu.

Abayobozi bo mu maperefegitura no mu makomini bari barashoboye gushaka no kohereza abayoboze bashya gushinga MRND ivuguruye bahawe inshingano zo gushyigikira ikipi ya Édouard Karemera no kwemera kuba ba Perezida b'agateganyo b'ishyaka rivuguruye mu maperefegitura. Kuvugurura inzego za komite mu makomini no mu maperefegitura byarangiyeye muri Gashyantare 1992 (*reba umugereka wa 9.3*).

Nyuma y'amatora muri za komite za Perefegitura niho MRND ivuguruye yagize "Biro politiki" yari igizwe n'abaperezida 11 bayihagarariye mu maperefegitura. Habyarimana yakoresheje inama ya Biro politiki gake cyane, nabwo ari igihe ari ngombwa gufata ibyemezo bikomeye kugeza igihe inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu zigiriyeho ku mugaragaro².

Mu by'ukuri nkuko byari byarabayeye umuco w'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, Perezida n'inzego za leta – dore ko n'ubundi ubutegetsi bwa leta bwari bukiri mu maboko ya MRND – nibo bayoboze iyo nzibacyuho yo kuvugurura ishyaka.

Perezida yagize uruhare rw'ikirenga : gushaka abayoboze, kubatumira, kugirana imishyikirano na bamwe ndetse no guhamba no kugira ibyo yemerera abandi. icyari kimushyikaje cyane kwari ukugumana muri MRND, abategetsi, abakozi n'ibikomerezwa byo hirya no hino mu gihugu ari nabo yateganyaga kuzifashisha. Iyo mirimo abaperefe barayitabiriye cyane, dore ko nubwo ubutegetsi bwabo bwari bumaze kujegera, bari bagifite igitsure cyane cyane ba burugumesitiri. Ku ruhande rwabo, abaminisitiri bakoreshaga ububasha n'uburyo bwose bari bafite mu kwigarurira abakozi bakuru ba leta, abayobozi b'ibigo byigenga bishamikiye kuri leta n'abayobora imishinga y'amajyambere.

Uwo murimo wo kuvugurura ishyaka ntiwari woroshye kandi wari uwo kwitonderwa kuko byasabaga byanze bikunze gushyira mu myanya abantu bashya, bagombaga kuzahagararira MRND ivuguruye mu ma perefegitura no kuzayobora urugamba rw'amatora mu ruhande rw'abashyigikiye Perezida mu gihe ubushobozi bwo gutonesha no kugabira abayoboze bwagendaga bukendera. Gushakisha no gushyiraho abahuzabikorwa n'abagize za biro zo mu maperefegitura kimwe no gushakisha "abarwanashyaka b'ifatizo" bo gushyira umukono ku mategeko mashya ya MRND³ baturutse mu maperefegitura anyuranye no mu nzego z'akazi n'ubutegetsi binyuranye byatanganga isura yihuse yuko ubutegetsi bwagomba kuzaba buhagaze mu gihe cyari imbere. Inkubiri y'amatora yabazaga abantu "bakunzwe n'abaturage", ibyo bikagabanyiriza amahirwe abarwanashyaka bo mu biro bari barashyizweho na ba perefe mu nzego z'ibanze bashizwe kwiba amajwi no guhindura ibyavuye mu matora uko leta ishaka.

² Uko byari biri kose, nubwo "Biro politiki" yari itaremerwa ku mugaragaro, ni rwo rwego Perezida Habyarimana yiyambaje cyane mugufata ibyemezo bikomeye.

³ Ishyaka ryaje kongera kwemerwa ku mugaragaro ku wa 31 Nyakanga 1992.

Birumvikana rero ko umuntu wari ukenewe ngo ayobore MRND ivuguruye ari umunyapolitiki ubifitemo uburambe kandi uzi gufindura ibyo Perezida n'ibyegeza bye bifuzwa, ibyo bigasaba nanone ubushobozi gatozi bugaragara mu gusesengura ibiriho no kuja impaka mu mishyikirano.

Édouard Karemera yakoze neza akazi bari bamushinze ndetse arabashimirwa bituma asigara ari we uri ku isonga mu banyapolitiki bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Nyamara amacakubiri yari yagaragaye muri komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo yahuriranye nuko hari ibyo Perezidansi itashakaga nuko biba impamvu yo kumukumira ngo atavaho yishyira hejuru. Kongere y'ishyaka yo muri Mata 1992 yashyizeho ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka mu rwego rw'igihugu, Perezida akomeza kuba Habyarimana, Visi-Perezida wa mbere aba Amandin Rugira (Hutu, Butare) Visi-Perezida wa kabiri aba Kabagema Ferdinand (Hutu, Kibungo) naho Mathieu Ndirumapfwe (Hutu, Kigali) aba umunyamabanga mukuru mu rwego rw'igihugu (*reba umugereka 9*). Mu bari bashinzwe kuyobora ishyaka mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho kugeza kuri iriya Kongere y'ishyaka nta numwe wagiye mu buyobozi bushya⁴. Uwabuze muri ubwo buyobozi bigatangaza benshi ni Édouard Karemera.

Kwivugurura mu ruhande rw'amashyaka menshi

Kwivugurura kwa MRND mu nzira y'amashyaka menshi byabaye ahanini kubera kotswa igitutu giturutse ku ntambara igihugu cyarimo. Hari nanone mu gihe cyo guhangana n'amashyaka menshi yari amaze kuvuka no kuvavanura n'akamenyero ko gukoresha amajyambere nka gatigisimu buri wese agomba kwemera cyane cyane mu gihe ubukene bwanumaga no kwizirika umukanda bibangamiye benshi.

Ntibyari bigihagije gusa rero kuriramba intero nshya z'inzira ya demokarasi, cyari igihe cyo kurenga "interu yo gukomeza umurage wa revolisiyo yo muri 1959 n'uwa revolisiyo mvugururamuco yo ku wa 5 nyakanga 1973" hagashakwa utundi turango twa politiki abantu bahagurukira.

Incamake ya 3

Édouard Karemera : Kuva ku mirimo y'ishyaka kugeza ku ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'itsembabwoko

Édouard Karemera yavukiye muri Komini Mwendo, perefegitura ya Kibuye ku wa 1 nzeri 1951 ; yize muri Koleji Kristu-Umwami y'i Nyanza guhera muri 1964, aho akaba ari naho n'abandi bantu bakomeye benshi bize amashuri yisumbuye. Yaje kubona impamyabumenyi ihanitse mu by'amategeko muri kaminuza gatorika ya Louvain [mu Bubiligi]. Agarutse mu Rwanda muri 1976, yahawe umwanya muri Minisieri y'ubutabera

⁴ Abantu 2 bakomeye binjijwe mu nzego nkuru z'ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka ni Léon Mugesera (Hutu, Gisenyi) wari uhagarariye ku buryo bwuzuye inyungu z'intagondwa zo mu majyaruguru na Anastase Gasana (Hutu, Kigali ngari) umunyapolitiki w'umuhunahunnyi waje kuyoboka MDR.

ariko agakorera mu biryo bya perezida w'urukiko rw'ikirenga, Fulgence Seminega (Hutu, Byumba). Seminega yamusabiye ko azamurwa mu ntera akaba "umujyanama mukuru mu rukiko rusesa imanza"^a. Iteka rya Perezida ryo kuwa 11 mutarama 1977 ryaje kumugira umujyanama mu by'amategeko muri Ministeri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yayoborwaga na liyetona koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe. Ku wa 5 kamena 1978, kubera "ibikorwa bitangaje kandi bidasanze"^b Édouard Karemera yagizwe umuyamabanga mukuru muri Ministeri y'imirimo n'abakozi ba leta, aho yavuye adatinze ku wa 16 mutarama 1979 akimurirwa muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika mu ishami rishinzwe amategeko. Yayoborwaga Siméon Nteziryayo (Cyangugu) wari minisitiri muri Perezidansi, umwanya wagereranywa n'uwa minisitiri w'intebe ariko udafite ijamba ku baminisitiri ; yaje kuba minisitiri muri Guverinoma yashyizweho kuwa 29 werurwe 1981. Ibi byabaye kuzamuka mu ntera ku buryo bukataje ndetse budasanze kuko hagati aho Édouard Karemera yari yaranatoranijwe na Perezida Fondateri kuba umwe mu bambere binjiye muri komite nyobozi y'igihugu ya MRND muri 1979. Yongeye nanone kugirirwa icyizere cyo kuguma muri Komite nyobozi yaguye ya MRND yashyizweho na Kongere y'ishyamba ya 3 isanzwe yo mu Ukuboza 1980.

Minisitiri y'imirimo n'abakozi ba leta yashinzwe kuyobora mu wa 1981 yari ministeri ikomeye cyane mu gihugu akazi kose no kuzamurwa mu ntera mu myanya yose ikomeye y'igihugu byakorwaga na leta kuko ari yo hafi yonyine yatangaga akazi gahemba umushahara. Byose rero byaturukaga cg bikerekezwa kwa Perezida wabicungiraga hafi.

Kuri uwo mwanya Édouard Karemera yakoze ibitangaza kuko nyuma y'amezi 10 gusa, ubwo Guverinoma yavugururwaga kuwa 8 gashyantare 1982 hamaze kujyaho inteko nshya ishinga amategeko, Édouard Karemera yagizwe no ya 2 mu butegetsi agirwa minisitiri muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika ushinze ibibazo bya politiki, ubutegetsi n'imikoranyire y'inzego z'ubutegetsi. "Uwamubyaye muri batisimu ya politiki", ministiri Siméon Nteziryayo asigara ashinzwe gusa ibyerekeye ubukungu n'icungamari. Mu by'ukuri ntibyoroshye kumva uko ibintu byari biteye icyo gihe : kimwe na Siméon Nteziryayo, Karemera yakoranaga na perezida mu buryo butaziguye, ashinzwe kuyobora igice kimwe cy'abayobozi n'abajyanama banyuranye banyuranagamo mu ruvunganzoka rw'inzego za perezidansi ariko nanone ku buryo nta zibangamira izindi ; nanone akongera akaba umuhuza kamara hagati ya Perezida n'abaminisitiri. Habayeho rero igabana ry'akazi hagati ya Siméon Nteziryayo wari inararibonye n'impuguke mu mibare y'ubucungamari akagerekaho no kwiyizera mu byo ashinzwe, na Édouard Karemera, wari ukomatanije ubuhanga bwo kuba impuguke mu by'amategeko n'umunyapolitiki ushabutse, w'umunyamurava kandi "witeguye gukora ibyo asabwe byose". Uwa mbere, utarakundaga kwigaragaza kandi akubahwa nk'umuntu "w'imfura", yaramenyereye cyane ibyo gushyikirana n'abaterankunga kurusha guhiganwa mu bya politiki. Nubwo ibibazo byose bikomeye cyane cyane ibirebana n'ubukungu ari we byanyuragaho, ntiyaragishoboye kuba umuhuza uboneye muri ibyo bihe by'amashiraniro aho gushyiraho inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND) byasabaga ko "umubyeyi w'igihugu" agira urubuga rweruye rwo gushyikirana n'abaturage bose aho guhinira amarembo ku miryango ikomeye yo mu Ruhengeri yamuryaga isataburenge. Uwo ni wo murimo w'ibanze wari ubereye Édouard Karemera washyizwe imbere na perezida kugira ngo arangurure ku buryo bwuzuye amabwiriza ya Perezida kandi akurikirane uko ashirwa mu bikorwa mu ruhando rw'urubuga rushya rw'abanyapolitiki rwari rumaze kwemezwa n'itora rusange ry'abaturage.

Kuba yaravukiye mu misozi miremire (inkiga) ya Mwendu, byatumaga Karemera agaragara nk' "umukiga" (wo mu majyaruguru) cg se byibura nk'utari "umunyanduga" cyane nk'abandi bakomoka mu majyepfo.

Yashimirwaga nanone imico ye yo kugira ibakwe no kudatindiganya ndetse no kugendera kure abanuganunwagaho kurwanya ubutegetsi nka Frédéric Nzamurambaho wari minisitiri w'ubuhinzi, na we akomoka mu majyepfo ; ibyo rero bigatanga icyizero ko

nta bufatanye bushingiye ku karere (k'abanyanduga) yari kujyamo. Abambari b'ubutegetsi bamufataga nk'umugererwa wa Perezida utagira ikindi yakora kidahuje n'ugushaka kwa shebuja. Yewe n'iyoyari kuba ararikira kwigira igihangange, perefegitura avukamo n'idini rye ntibyari gutuma abigeraho. Urunana rwa Nteziryayo-Karemera rwagumyeho kugeza muri 1989, ruri ku isonga y'imyaka y'amata n'ubuki y'ingoma ya Habyarimana yari ishingiyeye ku muryango we n'akarere ke, mbere yuko ihubirana n'ibibazo by'imibereho y'abaturage, iby'ubukungu ndetse haza kwiyongeraho n'ibya politiki.

Ubwo byari bimaze kugaragara ko abo bagabo bombi batari bakijya imbizi, Siméon Nteziryayo yasubiranye imirimo ye ya kera yo kuba minisitiri muri Perezidansi, Édouard Karemera agirwa igitambo, "ashumbushwa umwanya wa politiki [kuba depite]"^c.

Gusa rero, Perezida wari umaze gutangaza ubwe ko inzira ya politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi yari nta gisibya, ibyo akaba yarabivuze muri disikuru yo gusozza amatora muri Mutarama 1989, ntiyashoboraga kwibeshya ngo ahe Édouard Karemera urwaho rwo kujya ku isonga ry'abarwanya ubutegetsi bo mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Ngicyo icyatumye amugira Perezida wa komisiyo y'igihugu yo gukusanya ibitekerezo byaje kuvamo imbanzira-mushinga w'imbonerahamwe y'ibitekerezo rusange ku mahame ya politiki yaje kwibaruka itegeko nshinga ryo kuwa 10 kamena 1991.

Nyuma yaho yaje kumugira Perezida wa Komite y'igihugu ishinze gushyiraho inzego za Muvoma ivuguruye hakukijwe amategeko mashya ayigenga yari yashyirahwe kuwa 5 nyakanga 1991, nuko amwigarurira atyo kandi amuha n'ubushobozi bwo kumenya no kugira uruhare mu "byemezo n'ibyifuzo" bijyana no kongera gusaranganya imyanya mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Édouard Karemera rero yari ageze ku ndunduro y'umwuga w'ubunyapolitiki : yari ahawe isumbwe ryo gukomeza kuba umunyacyubahiro mu ishyamba riri ku butegetsi - dore ko icyo gihe uwo mwanya wajyanaga n'ibihembo bitubutse - kandi imirimo yari ashinze yasumbaga kure iy'abaminisitiri n'abandi banyapolitiki. Ibyo byatumye abanza kwizera ko umurimo we uzamuhesha indi myanya y'ikirenga mu buyobozi bw'igihugu, ariko amaso ahera mu kirere.

Bimaze kugaragara - ku mpamvu zifatika cy'amabwire - ko Karemera yashoboraga guhuza ibyifuzo by'abakomoka mu majyepfo akabarangaza imbere, yahise yigizwayo, Perezida amusimbuza abandi bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo badafite inyota y'ubutegetsi bemejwe na Kongere y'ishyamba y'igihugu ya MRND yo muri Mata 1992.

Amaze kubona imyanya y'ubutegetsi imuciyeye mu myanya y'intoki, Karemera yirwanyeho ku giti cy'ashinga ibiro byo kunganira abantu mu manza, ariko nanone Perezidansi imuha ikiraka cyo kunganira mu manza amasosiyete agengwa na leta (Bacar, Sorwal n'andi), ibyo bituma agira umutungo uruta kure umushahara yari kuba ahembwa mu mirimo ya leta. Ibyo byose byakozwe kugira ngo adahinduka "umu-mec" [umurakare] agatiza umurindi abarwanya ubutegetsi.

Muri kongere y'ishyamba yo muri Nyakanga 1993, Karemera yashoboye kongera kwinjira mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyamba bityo ajya mu bantu bashoboraga gusimbura Habyarimana. Yerekanye ndetse n'ubuhangange bwe ubwo yatorerwaga kuba depite uhagarariye Kibuye kuri lisiti yagombaga gutangwa na MRND ivuguruye mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inzi bacyuho.

Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994, igihe buri wese yabonaga ko ubutegetsi buri mu marembera, yafashe umwanya wa minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya Komini (hari habuze uwufata) aherako ashyirahwe inzego za gisivili zo kwirengera. Nguko rero uko yegukanye umwanya wo kuba minisitiri ushinze gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa (*reba umutwe wa 7*). Yafatiwe muri Togo mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1998, yoherezwa muri gereza y'umuryango w'abibumbuye Arusha mu kwa karindwi k'uwo mwaka ubu akaba ari ho aburanishirizwa.

a. Ibaruwa n° 331.10.41 yo kuwa 1 Ukuboza 1976.

b. Iteka rya Perezidal 200/09.

c. Iteka rya perezida 805/03 ryo kuwa 14 ugushyirye 1989.

Nubwo umugambi wo kuvugurura ishyamba ndetse n'impaka zisesuye byabaye mu rwego rw'igihugu, amategeko mashya y'ishyamba yagaragaje ko inzira yo kwivugurura yari ikiri kure nk'ukwezi. Ayo mategeko yashyize imbere ibi bikurikira⁵:

- Guharanira no gukomeza ibyiza bikomoka kuri Revolisiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959 na Revolisiyo mvugururamuco yo kuwa 5 Nyakanga 1973 no gushimangira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri Repubilika ;
- Guteza imbere ibyiza bigize umuco nyarwanda no gukomeza ubumwe, amahoro n'ubufatanye hagati y'Abanyarwanda no kurandura burundu ibisigisigi bishingiye ku ngoma ya gihake ;
- Guharanira ubumwe buzira ivangura, kongera imbaraga z'abayoboke ba Muvoma kugira ngo bagere ku majyambere abereye Abanyarwanda bose mu bumwe, mu mahoro, mu bwumvikane no muri demokarasi hakurikijwe amahame ya Muvoma ;
- Guha abaturage bo mu cyaro ijamba mu byerekeye amajyambere yabo n'imibereho myiza no guteza imbere ibikorwa bishyigikira iterambere ry'abagore, urubyiruko, n'ibigamije kurengera abana ;
- Guharanira ubutabera, ubwisanzure mu bitekererezo n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu ;
- Kurinda no guteza imbere ibikorwa birinda ubusugire bw'ubutegetsi n'imkorere y'inzego za leta muri demokarasi ;
- Gucunga neza umutungo w'igihugu no gukoresha neza ibiwugize ;
- Gutanga umusanzu mu bikorwa bigamije kurengera umutekano, ubwigenge n'ubusugire bw'igihugu ;
- Gukomeza ubumwe buzira umuze hagati y'abayoboke ba Muvoma kugira ngo bashobore kugera ku ntego zayo ;
- Gukomeza ubufatanye n'umubano mwiza mu rwego mpuzamahanga."

Iyo ntero ihararutswe n'imvugo iziga birumvikana ko ntaho byari bihuriye n'uruhuri rw'ibyifuzo binyuranye by'abayoboke n'abayobozi. Kuba ariko "kwinigura" byarahawe umwanya, ntibivuga ko abayoboke ba MRND bose batari bishimiye uko yari isanzwe ikora.

Benshi mu bayobozi b'ishyamba harimo n'abadakomoka Gisenyi na Ruhengeri babonaga ko Ishyamba riweme rukumbi ryari ryarageze kuri byinshi k'uburyo Benshi mu bayobozi bakuru, ndetse n'abadakomoka Gisenyi na Ruhengeri, bumvaga ibyagezweho n'ishyamba rukumbi bishimishije kandi bakumva rwose ko abarwanya ubutegetsi nta ngufu bari bafite.

Nyamara ariko, wasanganga intero za Muvoma ivuguruye zari zishinze imizi mu bya kera (ubumwe, kwishyira hamwe) ku buryo bwose, ntihabemo

⁵ Ingingo ya 5 y'amategeko ngenga ya Muvoma, *Igazeti ya Leta*, n° 16 yo kuwa 15 Kanama 1991.

umushinga koko uboneye wo gushimangira ubufatanye hagati y'amoko n'uturere twose tw'igihugu.

Icyarazaga ishingira [abayobozi ba Muvoma] yari intego yo kuburizamo ivugururwa rya MDR-Parmehutu, bityo kwiyitirira umurage w'amateka bigafata umwanya wa mbere kugira ngo bakome imbere abashakaga kuwuiriraho. Byongeye kandi, byari ngombwa gukumira abo mu majyepfo ngo batisuganya kandi byanze bikunze hakaburizwamo izuka ry'ubufatanye bw'apanyapolitiki b'i Gitarama na Ruhengeri bwo kuri Repubulika ya Mbere. Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ko ubwoba bwari bwashyamba ubwenge kubera ko Habyimana yagombaga guhangana n'ikibazo cyo kuba yaricishije abanyapolitiki bo muri perefegitura ya Gitarama baharaniye revolisiyo n'ikibazo cy'inyota y'ubutegetsi yaranganga imiryango y'abahinza n'abasirikari bakomoka mu Ruhengeri.

Bityo rero, inyota yo kugumana ubutegetsi byariganje, bimira ubushake bwo guhitamo politiki iboneye, ubwo gutomora umurongo ngengamatwara, muri make, hapfubye ubushake bwo kuvavanura n'imategekere y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi.

Icyagoranye muri Muvoma ivuguruye ni uko mu gihe ibintu byaganishaga ku irondakoko n'irondakarere yo yagombaga kwagura amarembo kuri bose no kwakira ibitekerezo bituruka impande zose. Nkuko James Gasana⁶ abivugaga komite zo mu maperefegitura zageretswe hejuru y'inzego z'igihugu zari zisanzweho no hejuru y'abakozi bahoraho bari basanzwe bakora muri muvoma hiyongeraho n'uruburiko rw'interahamwe zarimo abashyigikiye FPR n'intagondwa zitavugirwamo z'Abahutu ari nabo baje kwivangura bahinduka impuzamugambi za (CDR).

Nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwabereye mu Bugesera muri Werurwe na Mata niho Abatutsi batangiyeye kuva muri MRND bajya mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi cyane cyane bajya muri PL biyongereye (*kugira ngo ubyumve neza wasoma inyandiko zindi ziri imbere muri iki gitabo*).

Kubera kubura imigambi mishya y'umwimerere, icyashyizwe imbere ni ukureshyeshya imwe mu myanya yari ifitwe na MRND abanyapolitiki byagaragaraga ko bashobora gushinga ayabo mashyaka cg se bakifatanya n'inganga z'abakomoka mu majyepfo bari bahujwe no kurwanya ubutegetsi. Kandi koko Juvénal Habyimana yari akeneye "abaganduzi" bakomoka mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Ku buryo bweruye, byarihutirwaga kubuza ko habaho abantu benshi bagira inyota y'ubuperezida no kubima urwinyagamburiro.

Uretse iyo nkubiri yo guhatanira ubuperezida yari imaze kuba kimomo, kuba Abo mu majyaruguru batarakozwaga ibyo kugurura amarembo ndetse n'amakenga y'abahatanira ubuperezida, ikindi umuntu atabura kuvuga ni uburyo ububasha by'abayobora MRND bwari bwarakendereye ku buryo ubuyobozi bukuru butari bugishoboye guhuza ibipande by'abayoboze bihanganye.

Inyabubiri y'ibyaho mu rubuga rwa politiki

Intege nke zagaragaye mu myivugururire ya Muvoma zari mu mujyo umwe

⁶ James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari]*, op. cit., p. 86.

w'amahindura inkubiri ya politiki amashyaka menshi yari yadukanye mu gihugu. Abashinze amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsu bari "abarakare" bashya cg bamaze igihe, bahoze muri MRND. Wasangagamo abari barabuze imyanya myiza bifuzaga cg se abavukijwe kuba abayobozi b'ishyaka mu turere bashoboraga gutorwamo. Politiki y'amashyaka menshi yabaye rero uburyo bwo gushyiraho inzira ebyiri zitandukanye mu rwego rwa politiki : Imbere muri MRND hari intambara yo kuzungura no kubohoza icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi hagati y'ibikomangoma n'abayoboze bashya ; naho inyuma hari intambara yo guhuriza hamwe abari barakumiriwe muri MRND kubera ubwoko bwabo cg akarere baturukamo. Gahunda yo kubyutsa MDR-Parmehutu cg se igisa nayo hagamiywe gushyiraho ishyaka rimwe rikomeye riwanya ubutegetsu rihuza abo mu gihugu hagati n'amajyepfo yaburiyemo kubera ko bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru bifashe babisabwe na Perezida wabasezeranyaga ingurane⁷, naho abandi bagasanga kujya mu kigare kimwe gihuje abarwanya ubutegetsu bose bitazabaha urubuga rwo kugera ku migambi nyakuri yabo bwite. Abandi benshi bahisemo kwinyurira mu nzira zoroheje ariko zabo bwite kandi bagenzura aho kwigerezaho bishora mu ihangana rihoraho ry'ibihangane⁸. Aha twakwibutsa nanone igice cya gatatu cy'amayirabiri mu rubuga rwa politiki : Guhera muri 1992, impande zari zihanganye zasanze uburyo bworoshye bwo kugwiza amaboko mu nzego z'ubutegetsu ari ukwihisha inyuma y'udushyaka twa nyirarureshwa twitabirwa n'abanyapolitiki b'inda nini.

Incamake ya 4

Amashyaka n'amashyirahamwe yari yemewe mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi

Muri Kamena 1991, Itegeko nshinga ryemera amashyaka menshi ryaremejwe. Habanje kwemerwa amashyaka atanu n'amategeko-shingiro yayo atangazwa mu *Igazeti ya Leta*^a.

MDR (Muvoma iharanira demokarasi na Repubulika) niyo yavutse mbere yemerwa muri werurwe 1991. Mu minsi mike yakurikiyeho havutse **PSD** (Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage), **PL** (Ishyaka riharanira ubwisanzure), **PDC** (Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi n'amatwara ya gikirisitu) na **PSR** (Ishyaka riharanira abakozi). Ayo mashyaka yahise ahyiraho amabwiriza y'ubwumvikane atuma ashobora guhangana na **MRNDD** (Muvoma Revolisiyoneli iharanira Demokarasi n'Amajyambere).

Haje kuvuka andi mashyaka yakurikiranye atya : **RTD** (Iharanira guhuza ingufu z'abakozi na demokarasi), **PDI** (Iharanira demokarasi n'amatwara ya kisilamu), **PECO** (Iharanira kurengera ibidukikije) **PPJR-Rama Rwanda** (Iharanira iterambere ry'urubyiruko) **Parerwa** (iharanira Repubulika mu Rwanda) **Pader** (Iharanira demokarasi mu Rwanda) ; amenshi muriyo yashyizweho na MRNDD.

Kugera muri Gashyantare 1992^b hari hamaze kwemerwa amashyaka 12 ariko muri Werurwe 1994 hari hamaze kwemerwa andi mashyaka 6 : **PD** (Iharanira demokarasi), **CDR**

⁷ Ni ngombwa kwiyumvisha ko kuva muri Muvoma bajya mu yandi mashyaka bitavuga kwitandukanya cg kuvavavanura burundu n'imigenzo mibi yakorwaga mu mitegekere y'igihugu (inyungu zishingiye ku kazu, ku karere no guhakishwa abandi). Igihe cyose icyabaga cyarabyaye inzangano cyashoboraga kuvaho, kongera gufatanyaga no kwisubiraho hagati y'abantu byarashobokaga.

⁸ Ntwakwibagirwa nanone uruhare rwa za ambasade n'impuzamashyaka mpuzamahanga (nka Internationale démocrate-Chrétienne) yafashaga abanyapolitiki bamwe mu nyungu zabo bwite, igamije kuzagira inshuti ifiteho ijamba. Ariko mu buryo bufatika kandi budasubirwaho mu gihe nka kiriya cy'imvururu za politiki zasakaye mu maperefejitura yose no mu baturage, U Rwanda ntirwari rugishoboye kubuza ubwisanzure mu bitekerezo binyuranye (n'ingaruka zabyo zitari nziza) bitaranga amarangamutima yose n'imyitwarire bijyanye n'akarengane no gupfukiranwa kwa rubanda byari bimaze imyaka n'imyaniko.

(Urugaga rw'abaharanira kurengera Repubulika), **UDPR** (Iharanira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda muri demokarasi), **MFBP** (Muvoma iharanira abategarugori na rubanda rugufi), **PRD** (Iharanira kuvugurura demokarasi ikaba yari ishyigikiye MRND na MDR PAWA), **Unisodec** (Urugaga rwa rubanda ruharanira demokarasi ya gikirisitu). FPR ntaho yagaragaraga kubera ko yitwaraga nkaho atari ishyaka mu gihe yari igitegereje ko ingabo zayo zinjizwa mu ngabo z'igihugu. Uhereye ku matwara n'imigambi yayo, ayo mashyaka yose ashobora guhurizwa mu mpuzamashyirahamwe 3 nini :

1. ARD, impuzamashyirahamwe igamije gutsimbataza demokarasi yavutse ku wa 12 Ugushyngoye 1992 ihuza amashyaka akurikira uhereye ku ngufu yari afite, MRND, CDR, Peco, Parerwa na Pader :

- **MRNDD** (yahoze ari Muvoma kera yayoboye igihugu kuva 1975-1991 ikaza kwemezwa kuwa 31 nyakanga 1991). Perezida : Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE (Hutu, Kigali ngari).
- **CDR** (yari yahimbwe akazina ka "Muvoma y'Akazu"). Perezida : Martin BUCYANA (Hutu, Cyangugu) waje kwicirwa i Butare kuwa 23 gashyantare 1993 agasimburwa na Théoneste Nahimana (Hutu, Gisenyi).

Ayo mashyaka yombi yari afite ingaga z'urubyiruko ziyashyigikiye arizo :

- **Interahamwe** ("abashyize imbaraga zabo hamwe"), 1991, Perezida : Robert KAJUGA (Tutsi, Kibungo), *reba umutwe wa 6*.
- **Impuzamugambi**, 1993, Perezida : Stanilas SIMBIZI (Hutu, Gisenyi).

Habayeho n'andi mashyaka yagiye ashingwa mu rwego rwo kwamamaza no gushyigikira Perezida akibumbira mu cyo bise "urugaga rw'abambari ba Perezida" twavugaga nka :

- **Peco**, Perezida : Dr Jean-Baptiste BUTERA (Hutu, Kibungo).
- **Parerwa**, Perezida : Agustin MUTAMBA (Hutu, Kigali ngari), Visi-Perezida : Augustin SEMUCYO (Hutu, Kigali ngari).
- **Pader**, Umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu : Jean-Baptiste NTAGUNGIRA (Hutu, Kigali ngari).

Nubwo atari muri ruriya rugaga, amashyaka akurikira nayo yabarirwaga mu bambari ba Perezida :

- **MFBP**, Perezida : Gaudence Nyirahabimana (Hutu, Gisenyi).
- **PDI**, Perezida : Omar HAMIDU (Hutu, Kigali) ; Umuhuzabikorwa mu rwego rw'igihugu : André BUMAYA (Hutu, Cyangugu).
- **PRD**, Perezida : Alexis NSABIMANA (Hutu, Gitarama).
- **Unisodec**, Perezida : Célestin MUTABARUKA (Hutu, Gikogoro).

2. FDC : Impuzamashyirahamwe y'abaharanira impinduramatwara yari igizwe na (MDR, PSD, PL, PDC na PSR) :

- **MDR**, Perezida : Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, (waje kuyirukanwamo kuwa 23 nyakanga 1993), visi- Perezida wa mbere : Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE.

Guhera hagati mu mwaka wa 1993 MDR yacitsemu ibipande 2 kimwe gishyigikiye FPR cyitwa "Amajyogi" kiyobowe na Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU n'ikindi cyitwa "Abapawa" kiyobowe na Froduald KARAMIRA (Hutu, Gitarama) na Donat MUREGO (Hutu, Ruhengeri).

- JDR [urugaga rw'urubyiruko rwa MDR rwitwaga] Inkuba rwavutse ku wa 6 nyakanga 1993, Perezida : Bernardin NDAYISHIMYE (Hutu, Gitarama).

- **PL**, Perezida : Justin Mugenzi (Hutu, Kibungo), Visi-Perezida wa mbere : Landoald NDASINGWA (Tutsi, Kigali), Visi-Perezida wa kabiri : Stanislas MBONAMPEKA (Hutu, Ruhengeri), umunyamabanga mukuru : Agnès NTAMABYARIRO (Hutu, Kibuye). Muri PL naho haje kuvukamo amacakubiri asa nayo muri MDR nayo icikamo ibice 2 mu Ukuboza 1993^d.
- **PSD**, Perezida : Frédéric NZAMURAMBAHO (Hutu, Gikongoro), Visi-Perezida wa mbere : Félicien NGANGO (Hutu, Kibungo), Visi-Perezida wa kabiri : Théoneste GAFARANGA (Hutu, Gitarama), umunyamabanga mukuru : Félicien GATABAZI (Hutu, Butare).
- **PDC**, Perezida : Jean-Népomuscène NAYINZIRA (Hutu, Gisenyi), Visi-Perezida wa mbere: Théobald GAKWAYA RWAKA (Hutu, Cyangugu).
- **PSR**, Perezida : Dr Antoine NTEZILYIMANA (Hutu, Gikongoro), Visi-Perezida wa mbere : Médard RUTIJANWA (Tutsi, Kigali).

PL, PSD na PDC nayo yari yarashyizeho inzego z’uruburiko ziyashyigikiye PSD yari ifite “**Abakombozi**” PDC ifite **Jeunes Démocrates Chrétiens** abo muri PL bo nta zina ry’umwihariko bari bafite.

3. Amashyaka adafite “aho abogamiye” : PD, PPJR Rama Rwanda, RTD na UDPR :

- **PD**, Perezida : Ildephonse NAYIGIZENTE (Hutu, Byumba).
- **PPJR-Rama Rwanda**, umunyamabanga mukuru wa mbere : André HAKIZIMANA (Hutu, Gitarama).
- **RTD**, Perezida : Emmanuel NIZEYIMANA (Hutu, Byumba).
- **UDPR**, Perezida : Vincent RWABUKWISI (Hutu, Gitarama).

Waje kwicwa muri Mata 1994. Amashyaka 3 ya mbere yari afitanye umubano mwiza na ARD naho UDPR yegereye FDC.

a. N° 16 yo muri Kanama 1991.

b. N° 4 yo muri Gashyantare 1992.

c. Ijambo ryasobanuraga ibyegera bya Perezida.

d. Mu by’ukuri kuwa 12 Ukuboza 1993 niho habayeho kongere ya mbere ari nayo yonyine y’igihugu ya PL ; kongere yari yayibanjirije mu Ugushyingo itumiwe na Landouard Ndasingwa yagizwe impfabusa mu Ugushyingo kuko itari ikurikije amategeko y’ishyaka.

e. “*Abakombozi*”, cg “*Nkomboha [sic]*” mu giswahili biva ku nshinga “*kukombo*” bivuga kubohoza. Ni imvugo yakoreshwaga n’abasirikari bo muri Tanzaniya bavanyeho ingoma y’igitugu ya Idi Amin Dada muri Uganda muri 1979.

Isura nshya y’ubutegetsu “busaranganjwe”

Birakomeye kumenya neza ingufu amashyaka yari afite kuko nta matora yigeze aba ngo abigaragaze. Ariko uko ibintu byari byifashe birumvikana ko iryahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi – ryari ryikubiye ubutegetsu bwose muri politiki n’ubuyobozi bw’inzego zose mu nyabubiri ya leta n’ishyaka – ryakomeje kwikubira hafi ubutegetsu bwose ahenshi uretse aho ahari harigarurirwe n’abarirwanya. Guverinoma y’inziyacyaho ikijyaho muri Mata 1992 nyuma y’imishyikirano iruhaniye cyane, impande zombi zagwaga miswi mu ngufu z’ubutegetsu bwo hejuru, ariko nanone ahandi hose imyanya yari ikiri mu maboko ya MRND. Mu Nama Iharanira Amajyambere (Inteko ishingira amategeko), mu badepite bari baherutse guturwa mu Ukuboza 1989 mu rwego rw’ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, bamwe bitabiriye amashyaka atavugaga rumwe n’ingoma iganje, ariko abandi benshi bakomeza kwibera muri Muvoma cg bakaba mu cyeragati. Mu bucamanza no mu gisirikari aho byari bibujijwe kujya muri

politiki, bake nibo berekanye akanyamuneza ku mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsu ariko abandi bishimiraga ko noneho bagiye gukora imirimo yabo mu bwigenge, ugasanga rero MRND yari ikirusha andi mashyaka yose ingufu bidasubirwaho. icyuho cyagaragaye cyane mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze dore ko abayobozi n'abayoboze [ba Muvoma] bari bamwe. Ubwo hashyirwagaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho muri Werurwe 1992, imyanya y'abaperefe yahise igabanganywa hagati ya MRND n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe nayo. Ariko ku byerekeye abaturugumesitiri siko byagenze. Ahantu hose abaturage bashoboraga kwigobotora ubutegetsu [bwa Muvoma] cyane cyane nko mu maperefegitura amwe yo muri Gitarama, abaturugumesitiri bayo baribwirizaga bakegura. Ahenshi ntibanarindiriye ko Guverinoma ikoresha amatora y'abaturugumesitiri bashya batorwaga "abahagarariye abandi" mu bajyanama ba komini.

Iyo nkubiri yo "kuvugurura" inzego z'ibanze yabaye mu makomini 38 muri werurwe 1993, hiyongeraho andi 8 muri nzeri 1993, ariko ntiyakataza ngo ivane MRND mu byimbo uko byari byitezwe. Bityo rero, muri 1994, MRND yari igifite ubutegetsu bukomeye mu nzego zo hasi ku buryo yabonekaga nkaho yemewe na bese. Yategekaga amakomini 100 kuri 145 yose yariho mu gihugu mu gihe MDR yo yari ifite 24 gusa PSD ifite 15 naho PL ifite 1, andi makomin 5 yasaga naho ntaho abogamiye kubera imiterere yayo (nko kuyoborwa na burugumesitiri udafite aho "abogamiye" kutagira burugumesitiri cg se kuba iyobowe k'uburyo bw'agateganyo) (*reba umugereka wa 10*).⁹

Ubutegetsu bwa Perezida

Hari izindi ngingo zigomba kwitabwaho mu gusesengura imiterere y'ubutegetsu bwa Perezida, uherye no ku muga abuganishaho. Kugeza ubu hakunze gukoresha amagambo menshi mu kuranga "igicumbi" cy'ubutegetsu : Perezida, Perezidansi, abo kwa perezida, umuryango wa perezida cg uwo kwa sebukwe, ibyegera bye, iwabo wa perezida n'abahakomoka [icyo bitaga mu gifaransa OTP ari byo bivuga Originaires du Terroir Presidentiel, ni ukuvuga ngo abakomoka mu karere ka perezida], intumwa ze; iyo ugiye ku yindi ntera havugwa : ishyaka rya perezida, amashyaka ashyigikiye perezida; nanone wajya ku ntera yisumbuye ukahasanga : urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida, nb, ubwinshi bw'izo nyito bushobora gufatwa nk'inyabubiri y'kimenyetso cy'ubutegetsu bushingiye ku muntu umwe kandi butsitse ahantu hamwe. Tutiriwe tujya mu byo gusesengura imiterere y'ubutegetsu n'uko kwasagambye kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri, ni ngombwa kugira icyo dusobanura ku ikoresha ryayo magambo muri iki gitabo. Gukoresha imvugo zagutse cg rukomatanyo nkuko byakoreshwaga n'abaganiraga na perezida n'abari bashinzwe

⁹ Yego hariho uburyo bwa hato na hato bwo kuva muri MRND ukajya mu mashyaka ayirwanya nkuko byagaragye hagati ya 1992-1993 cg se ukayavamo ukisubirira muri MRND nkuko byagenze mu mpera ya 1993 kugeza Mata 1994, ndetse yewe hariho n'uburyo bwo kwiyoboroka mu yandi mashyaka ashyigikiye MRND nka CDR cg se mu mashyaka ayirwanya. Ibyo byose ariko ntacyo bihindura ku bivugwa muri rusange muri iri sesengura. Mu ibarura twakoze amakomini atari afite abayabwora ku buryo bwa burundu mu maperefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Byumba na Kibungo twayabaze nk'aya MRND kuko yari ayobowe by'agateganyo n'abantu bayo. Twavuze n'andi makomini amwe n'amwe yari afite ibibazo byihariye mu mu mugereka wa 10.

kumutegurira ibyo avuga bisaba kubanza kumenya neza umuyoboro ngenderwaho w'ibianiro wagenwe na Perezida n'abari bashinzwe gusohozza ibyifuzo bya perezida (rimwe na rimwe n'ibyo yabaga aseruye mu mvugo iteruye). Hari ibisobanuro bimwe byadufasha kumvikanisha neza iyi ngingo.

Ubutegetsu rwamwa, urusobe rw'indanguruzi

Duhereye kuri Perezida, ikibazo cya mbere ni ukumenya uburyo amakuru yamugeragaho, icya kabiri ni ukumenya uwari ufite ububasha bwo kumuvugira ibyo atekereza, ariko cyane cyane uwashoboraga kumenyekanisha ibyifuzo n'ibyemezo bya perezida. Ku byerekeye uko Perezida yabonaga amakuru, birahagije kumenya umugeraho akamugezaho – ni ukuvuga ushungura kandi agasohozza – amakuru agenewe perezida, ari arebana n'imigendekere y'akazi cg politiki, ari ayanyuze mu nzira zizwi cg mu rufefeko.

Uwari ku isonga muri abo rero yari umuyamabanga we wihariye – akaba na muramu we –, Élie Sagatwa, wakoze uwo murimo guhera 1973 ; hiyongeraho ababaye ba minisitiri muri Perezidansi uko basimburanye kuva aho umwanya w' "ubunyamabanga bukuru muri Perezidansi" wari ufitwe na koloneli Bonaventure Buregeya (Hutu, Gisenyi) uviriyeho muri Mata 1980; hagataho umuyobozi w'ibiro bya perezida n'abagaba bungirije (uw'ingabo n'uwa Jandarumori) ; umukuru w'ibiro by'iperereza mu gihugu ; hanyuma mu rwego ruciriritse, hakaza umunyamabanga mukuru muri ministeri y'ingabo wari ushinzwe gusa ibibazo by'abakozi nta jambo riremereye afite muri politiki no ku ngabo z'igihugu. Juvénal Habyarimana ubwe ni we wari minisitiri w'ingabo akabikomatanya no kuba umugaba w'ingabo n'uwa Jandarumori, ari na byo byari bigize ingabo z'igihugu kugeza ku mwaduko w'amashyamba menshi ku buryo nyabwo kugeza ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe Sylvetsre Nsanzimana mu Ukuboza 1991. Ntitugomba kandi kwibagirwa uruhare kenshi rwari kamara rw'ibishyitsi nk'umusuwisi Jean-Charles Jeanneret, umujyanama mu by'ubukungu kugeza muri 1993, wari ufite uburenganzira busesuye bwo kubonana na perezida igihe cyose ashakiye. Yamugezagaho dosiye zose – kenshi zanditse mu mvugo itaziguye kandi idakebakeba – zitashoboraga kumugeraho mu zindi nzira. Abandi mu byegera bye bageragezaga kwibeta Élie Sagatwa ku kibazo iki n'iki bakageza kuri perezida utubaruwa cg amakuru.

Uretse iryo tsinda ry'abakozi bafatanyaga akazi ka leta no guhakirizwa kuri perezida, Juvénal Habyarimana yari afite ubundi buryo abonamo amakuru : inzego z'iperereza, abayobozi b'ishyamba yari abereye perezida-fondateri, umuminisitiri uyu n'uyu, nb., hakiyongeraho abo yahuraga nabo cg se yatimiraga mu cyo yumvaga ari "ubuzima bwite"¹⁰. Mu kindi cyerekezo, ibyo kumenyekanisha ibyo perezida yifuza byari umwihariko wa Élie Sagatwa, nk'umunyamabanga wihariye wa perezida akaba n'umushyiguzi w'amabanga

¹⁰ Imibonano ijyanye « n'ubuzima bwite » mu rwego rwa politiki, ni ukuvuga yitaruye Akazu (benewabo n'ibyegera by'umuryango uri ku ngoma) n'inzego za leta, yakundaga kubera mu gikari cya hoteli *Rebero cg* muri village Urugwiro, na rimwe na rimwe muri imwe mu ngoro ze yari ku Kiyaga cya Kivu ku Gisenyi, mu muhezo utagerwamo n'abashinzwe kumwakira, abajyanamo yewe ndetse n'umunyamabanga we wihariye. Inama zifashe impu zombi hagati ya leta n'iby'umuryango we, kenshi zitabirwaga n'umugore we, zakundaga kubera iwe mu mazu yari Kanombe, Kiyovu (Kigali ville) cg Rambura (Gisenyi).

ye, ari areba ubutumwa bugenewe perezida asanga atari ngombwa kubumugezaho, ari ayo aba yagejejweho n'abandi buri wese mu byo ashinzwe, ari ndetse n'ayo yabaga agomba gutangaho ibisubizo mu izina rya perezida.

Ingorabahizi rero kwari ukumenya koko niba ibyifuzo bya perezida byarageraga ku bo bigenewe uko byakabaye no kumenya uko abantu bashoboraga kwemera ko ibyo babwiwe n'ururandagatane rw'intumwa bihwanye koko n'ibyifuzo cg ibisubizo bya perezida. Umuntu ashobora gutandukanya abahabwaga ububasha cg se inshingano iyi n'iyi mu gihe kigenwe n'abari bafite uburenganzira budakumirwa bwo gutangaza icyo perezida atekereza. Muri iki cyiciro cya kabiri, dusangamo ibyegera bye n'umuryango we, no ku buryo rusange, abo bivugwa ko bari amatwi n'abatoni ba perezida. Byaba amategeko, amatangazo, ibyifuzo, amabwiriza cg se impuha, intumwa ni zo zagombaga gusigura igipfuritse mu butumwa ubu n'ubu, kenshi buba buri mu mvugo ijimije ndetse ifashe impu zombi.

Bityo, birumvikana ko Élie Sagatwa atashoboraga kuba afite ububasha bwose rubanda bamuvugaho. Perezida yari yaragennye byose, ashyiraho gahunda yo kugenzura byose we ubwe, ibyegera bye bikaba gusa ibyo kumubera "umuyoboro wo kwakira no gusohoza ubutumwa". Yari afite rero urwunge rw'imiyoboro y'amakuru ku buryo amategeko ye atashoboraga kuvanwaho ibango cg ngo akerenswe. Ni yo mpamvu yari yarahisemo kuyobora ubwe inzego zose zifatirwamo ibyemezo ari iza politiki ari n'iza gisirikari. Nanone kandi, Élie Sagatwa azwiho kuba atari nyamwigendaho cg umuguruguru nk'abandi bene wabo. Perezida yatangaga imyanya akurikije gahunda ye bwite kandi ashingiyeye ku nyungu yabaga abifitemo.

Tugarutse rero ku kibazo cy'amatangazo n'ibikorwa bya perezida, ni ngombwa kwiyumvisha ko, kimwe n'ahandi hose, ibintu ntibyari agasani gaseye, nta n'ubwo byari byoroshye kumva cg gusesengurwa.

Yego ubutegetsu ntibwari bukennye ku magambo ngenantego n'ubutumwa bwa perezida byasakazwaga na radiyo n'itangazamakuru rya leta. Ibyo ndetse byunganirwaga n'imbwirwaruhame zigenewe abanyamakuru, amatangazo anyuranye agenewe kumenyesha abaturage ibikorwa bya perezida, amadisikuru perezida yivugiraga ubwe cg abandi bakayasoma mu izina rye kimwe n'amatangazo ya ba minisitiri muri perezidansi bari abavugizi be. Gusigura urwo ruhuri rw'imiyoboro byasabaga umurimo ukomeye w'isesengura rishize amanga, dore ko hafi buri gihe usanga inyuma ya buri ngingo hagobetsemo ubushake butihishira bwo kwitarura "amatiku na politiki" ndetse n'impaka za ngo turwane. Yaharaniraga guhorana amarembo yuguruye muri byose ndetse agashaka kugaragaza ko na we ahangayikishijwe n'ibiraza ishingira abo yavuganaga nabo mu nzira ziziguye cg zitaziguye, kabone nubwo ibyo [gushaka gufata impu zose] byatumaga kenshi yivuguruza bitihishira. Nanone ariko byari bikomeye kumenya ireme nyakuri z'ibyemezo n'ubutumwa mbwirwaruhame iyo byabaga bisiguwe cg bivugurujwe n'abandi banyacyubahiro, mu mvugo cg mu ngiro (nk'ibyemezo bigaragara bigomba gushyirwa mu bikorwa n'inzego nyobozi za leta cg igisirikari). Icyo nyuma, imwe mu nenge zikomeye yakunze kugaragara mu ihererekanya-butumwa ry'abategetsu b'U Rwanda, ni icyuho hagati y'ibyo

perezida cg abavugizi be babwiraga amahanga n'ibyo babwiraga abaturage mu gihugu. Byagaragaye kenshi ko bene icyo cyaho cyarangwaga ahanini mu ngamba za MRND zatangazwaga ku buryo bunyuranye na radiyo n'itangamakuru rya leta mu gifaransa n'ikinyarwanda, ibyatangazwaga mu binyamakuru bitari ibya leta cg se amatangazo y'ingabo z'igihugu.

Mu by'ukuri, umuntu asanga ingamba kenshi zitagira amahuriro, yewe ndetse zigongana ku mugaragaro, zihurizwa hamwe mu butegetsi bumwe, mu rugaga rw'abambari ba perezida, uruhare nyakuri rwa perezida rukaba guhuza byose muri gahunda imwe, bitabujije ko areka buri wese cg urwego uru n'uru guhinira ahamunogeye, bipfa gusa kuba byafasha kwigarurira urubuga rwa politiki aho bishoboka hose. Nta washidikanya ko perezida "yamenyeshwaga neza" kandi yari azi gutega amatwi, ko yari azi n'akari i murori mu rubuga rwe rwa politiki, ko yamenyaga uko ipiganwa ry'ingufu rihagaze n'aho ryerekeraga mu rugaga rw'insobe n'uruja n'uruza yari yarubatswe ubwe, ko yari azi igihe cyo kwiyegereza uruhuri rw'abamushyigikiye n'abamurwanya, ko yari intagamburuzwa. Ikibazo rero nticyari ukumenya niba Habyarimana yari impirimbanyi ya demokarasi, niba yari abogamiye ku Batutsi, niba yari abogamiye kuri Mathieu cg Nzirorera, nb., cg se niba yari ikinyuranyo cy'ibyo byose, noneho ngo ahasigaye umuntu ashakisha gihamba iboneye, akurikije uburyo abakurikirira hafi ibintu basesengura politiki ye. Ikibazo nyakuri kwari ukumva uburyo ingaga zihariye zamwiyitiriraga zabashaga buri rwose gushimangira ibirindiro mu rubuga rwa politiki, hanyuma, mu gihe cy'umwaduko w'amashyamba menshi, kugira icyicaro cyiza mu ruhande rw'ibihanzwe n'ibihinduka kugira ngo bashobore kurenga ibihato byabuzaga ingoma iganje kujya mbere.

Ibi bigaragaramo imyanzuro ibiri. Uwa mbere ni uko hariho uruhuri rw'amagambo akoresheye mu kuranga abari abavugizi b'ingoma ya Habyarimana. Uwa kabiri ni uko, yarinze apfa akiyumvamo ko ari we shingiro rw'urubuga rwa politiki, kandi ko ari we wenyine wari ushoboye kuziba icyaho giteye inkeke cyari hagati y'abari bahanganye mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida ndetse akaba yarumvaga ko ari we wenyine ushobora kubahuriza hamwe.

Mu buryo busesuye, yakunze kwiyumvamo ko umwanya wo kuba perezida wamugiraga mu maso y'abaturage benshi ipfundo "ry'ubumwe bw'igihugu". Muri ubwo buryo, ni we wenyine washoboraga kugena uko amahoro agerwaho n'uko abungwabungwa.

Perezida yari nk'izingiro ry'urusobe rw'inziga z'ubutegetsi umuntu yavugaga mu magambo avunaguye ku buryo bukurikira.

Uruziga rwa mbere rurimo Akazu

Akazu kari kubakiye ku muryango wa bugufi wa perezida no kwa sebukwe, kakabamo ibikomangoma by'abasirikari n'abasivili cyane cyane abakomoka mu makomuni ya Karago na Giciye muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Uko imyaka yagiye ikurikirana, uretse imirimo buri wese yari ashinzwe, abagize akazu bari bagize urwego rwihariye rw'ubutegetsi mu gisirikari, mu ishyamba [MRND] no mu gisirikari bakagerekaho n'ububasha bwo kumunga no

kunyunyuzwa umutugo w'igihugu.

Koko rero, abakomoka mu muryango wa perezida n'ibyegera bye nibo wasangaga muri Banki nkuru y'igihugu [BNR], banki y'ubucuruzi y'U Rwanda [BCR], banki y'umugabane w'Afurika mu Rwanda (BACAR) na Banki ya Kigali (BK). Ibyo kandi ni ko byari bimeze mu bigo bya leta (uruganda [Ocir] rw'ikawa n'urw'icyayi), amasosiyete leta ifitemo imigabane, imishinga yo guteza imbere icyaro (Gishwati-Butare-Kigali, n'ahandi), n'ibigo bitumiza bikanajyana ibicuruzwa mu mahanga (La Centrale, La Rwandaise, Kipharma, Agrotec, garage NAHV, n'ibindi).

Dore abantu ahanini bashyirwa mu majwi ko ari bo bicaga bagakiza :Protais Zigiranyirazo, koloneli Élie Sagatwa, Séraphin Rwabukumba uko ari batatu bakaba “baramu” ba perezida ; koloneli Laurent Serubuga (wahoze ari umugaba wungirije w'ingabo) ; dogiteri Séraphin Bararengana, murumuna wa perezida ; dogiteri Charles Nzabagerageza, mubyara wa perezida, wabayeye perefere wa Ruhengeri ; Alphonse Ntirivamunda, umukwe wa perezida na Joseph Nzirorera. Umwanya wihariye nanone wari ufitwe na depite Noel Mbonabaryi, wari warabyaye perezida muri batisimu¹¹.

Abagize isonga ry'akazu gashingiye kuri Élie Sagatwa, Protais Zigiranyirazo na Joseph Nzirorera kaje no gukomeza kubaho nyuma y'umwaduko w'amashyamba menshi baturaga kenshi bafata ibyemezo by'ingutu. Élie Sagatwa na Joseph Nzirorera bakoraga na none akazi ko guhuza urwo ruhande n'abasirikari. Ubwo Habyarimana yari atangiye gukorana n'itsinda ry' “abibohoye” ari na ryo ryaje gutorera Mathieu Ndirumpatse kuba perezida wa MRND, umukino warushijeho kuba insobe kuko byabayeye ngombwa ko perezida atagira aho abogamira mu mpande ebyiri zari zishyiditse zirangajwe imbere na Mathieu Ndirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera. Juvénal Habyarimana yari asigaye rero agisha inama abagize akanama gato karimo abo bagabo bombi bari bashyiditse wongeyeho abandi bake yahitagamo akurikije ibigomba kwigwa cy'ubucuruzi mu bikorwa. Nyamara rero nta na rimwe Mathieu Ndirumpatse yigeze afatwa nk'umwe mu bagize “akazu” n'ubwo bwose inkuru yari kimomo ko umugore we Rose yari yarigarurirwe na Juvénal Habyarimana.

¹¹ Uyu yamaze igihe kinini afite umwanya utagereranywa w'umuyobozi mukuru w'umurimo muri minisiteri y'abakozi ba leta n'umurimo. Ni we wagomba kwemeza cy'ubucuruzi abakozi bakuru b'ibigo byigenga. Yakoranaga bya hafi n'urwego rw'ubutasi bwari bufite ijamba rikomeye mu guha akazi abakozi bo ku ntera y'ubuyobozi muri leta no mu bigo byigenga utaretse no mu myanya ya politiki. Kuva muri 1973 kugera muri 1980, urwo rwego rwabayeye igikoresheho cyo guhonyora abantu ku buryo buteye ubwoba ubwo rwayoborwaga na Theoneste Lizinde. Noel Mbonabaryi yaje gupfa mu ntangiriro za 1994.

Incamake ya 5

Imiryango ya Juvénal Habyarimana n'umugore we Agathe Kanziga

Juvénal Habyarimana (yavukiye i Rambura, Gisenyi ; 8 werurwe 1937-6 mata 1994). Nyuma y'amashuri abanza i Rambura n'umwaka wa nyuma yize kuri paruwasi ya Nyundo, yinjiye mu iseminari nto i Kabgayi. Aho gukomeza iby'ubupadiri, yagiye muri koleji y'uruvange rw'amoko ya Saint-Paul i Bukavu, aho yakuye impamyabushobozi y'amashuri yisumbuye mbere yuko yinjira mu ishuri ry'ubuvuzi i Kinshasa (aho yavuye atarangije). Muri 1960, yinjiye mu ishuri ryari rigitangira rya gisirikari aho yarangije nyuma y'umwaka ari we uri ku isonga, ahita ahabwa ipeti rya suliyetona.

Se : Jean-Baptiste Ntibazirikana wo mu bwoko bw'Abungura b'abashusha. Yari umwalimu wa gatigisimu kuri paruwasi ya Rambura (Gisenyi).

Nyina : Suzana Nyirazuba wo mu nzu y'umwami w'Ubushiru Nyamakwa, ari nayo ikomokamo Agathe Kanziga, umugore wa Juvénal Habyarimana.

Abavandimwe be (kuva ku mukuru kugera ku muto) :

- Cyrina Ahobamboneye^a, yashatse kandi atura i Buganda ;
- Concessa Nturoziraga, yabaye umubikira yitwa Mama Télésphore mu muryango wa Benebikira. Yakoraga muri minisiteri y'urubyiruko ashinzwe amashyirahamwe y'urubyiruko musaza we yari abereye perezida^b ;
- Joséphine Barushwanubusa, uzwi ku izina rya Mama GodÉlieve-Marie, umubikira w'umuforomo mu Benebikira, yigishije mu ishuri ry'abaforomo i Rwamagana; aba umugenzuzi w'inyigisho z'abafasha b'ubuvuzi muri minisiteri y'ubuzima anayobora ishuri ryigenga Apaper ry'i Kigali ;
- Mélaïne Nzabakikante, umujyanama muri komini Karago. Umukobwa we yarongowe na Joseph Nzabonimpa, umukozi w'ibiro by'iperereza. Umuhungu we Ildephonse Gashumba yabaye umuyobozi ushinze ivunja ry'amafaranga muri banki nkuru y'igihugu (BNR), aho yari afite ububasha bukomeye mu rwego rwo gutumiza no kohereza hanze ibicuruzwa ;
- Euphrasie Bandiho, umuhinzi. Yarongowe n'uwari kaporari mu ngabo z'igihugu ; batuye i Gisenyi ;
- Séraphin Bararengana, umuganga w'impuguke mu byo kubaga, yigishaga mu ishuri ry'ubuvuzi muri Kaminuza i Butare. Yari azwiho ubuhanga bwo gutahura abantu b'intyoza mu ntiti za Kaminuza (UNR). Umugore we, Cathérine Mukamusoni, yari umukozi mukuru muri Banki y'ubucuruzi y'U Rwanda (Butare), akaba murumuna wa Agathe Kanziga.
- Télésphore Uwayezu, umucuruzi(yitabye Imana).

Agathe KANZIGA (yavutse kuwa 1 Ugushyirwa 1942 i Giciye, Gisenyi ; yarongowe na Juvénal Habyarimana kuwa 17 Kanama 1963).

Se : Gervais Magera^c w'umugesera. Akomoka ku mwami w'Ubushiru Nyamakwa (ni mwisengeneza wa Suzana Nyirazuba, nyina wa Juvénal Habyarimana).

Nyina : Joséphine Nyiranshakiye (1916-2003).

Abavandimwe :

- Protais Zigiranyirazo, perefefe wa Ruhengeri (1973-1989). Yari azwi ku kabyiniriro ka "Z", yari perefefe w'abaperefefe bese, akaba umwe mu bantu ushaka kugera kuri perezida yagomba kunyuraho. Yari azwiho kuba umwe mu bikomangoma biri ku isonga ry' "uruziga rwa mbere" rukikije perezida ;
- Cathérine Mukamusoni, umugore wa Séraphin Bararengana (*reba hejuru*) ;
- Marie-Rose Kamugisha, umugore wa koloneli Théoneste Ntuyahaga (Gisenyi), bombi bitabye Imana ;
- Agnès Kampundu, umugore wa Denis Bigilimana, umujyanama w'ambassade y' U

Rwanda mu Budage.

Bene se^d :

– Élie Sagatwa, umunyamabanga wihariye wa Juvénal Habyarimana kuva yafata ubutegetsu. Ni we muhuza kamara abashaka kugera kuri perezida bagombaga kunyuraho (yapfanye na perezida mu ndege yahanuwe kuwa 6 Mata 1994) ;

– Séraphin Rwabukumba, uzwi ku kazina ka “La Centrale”, yakoraga ahanini umwuga wo kujyana no kuvana ibicuruzwa hanze akoresheje isosiyete yitwa iryo zina. Umugore we yari afite abavandimwe babiri bari bararongowe, umwe na Antoine Ibambasi, wari umujyanama wa Augustin Ndirabatware, minisitiri w’imigambi ya leta, undi na André Sebataware, wigeze kuba minisitiri w’ubutegetsu bw’igihugu na perefere wa Kigali ;

– Joseph Buhirike, umucuruzi ukomeye.

Abana b’urugo rwa perezida (kuva ku mukuru kugeza kuri bucuha) :

– Jean-Pierre Habyarimana, yarongoye Bernadette Uwamariya, umukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga, umucuruzi ukomoka i Byumba. Yaguye mu Bufaransa muri 1997 ;

– Jeanne Habyarimana, yarongoye na Alphonse Ntilivamunda, umuhungu wa Gaspard Munyampeta, umucuruzi ukomoka mu Ruhengeri, umuyobozi mukuru w’amateme n’imihanda ;

– Jean-Claude Désiré Habyarimana, yaguye mu Bufaransa muri 2007 ;

– Marie-Rose Habyarimana ;

– Léon Habyarimana, yarongoye Françoise Mukanziza, undi mukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga;

– Bernard Habyarimana ;

– Jean-Luc Habyarimana ;

– Marie-Merci Habyarimana.

(Hariho andi masano, ya hafi cyaziguye, asobanuye mu mugereka wa 11.)

a. Mu Rwanda abana ntabwo ubusanzwe bafata amazina y’ababyeyi babo. Ku gihe cya gikoloni, aho gatorika itangiriyeho gukwira, imiryango imwe yatangiye kwita abana amazina ya ba se.

b. Uretse aho bisobanuye ukundi, imirimo ivugwa n’iyo abantu bakoraga ku ngoma ya Habyarimana.

c. Gervais Magera yari afite undi mugore babyaranye abana babibiri.

d. Abana ba Joséphine Nyiranshakiye, nyina wa Agathe Kanziga na Fidèle Semapfa (wapfuye), umuvandimwe wa Gervais Magera, se wa Agathe Kanziga.

Juvénal Habyarimana nanone birazwi ko yakoranaga n’abandi bantu bafite imyitwarire icyiye ukubiri n’iyabo mu kazu, abo barimo abakozi bakuru bo mu biro bya Léonidas Rusatira na Enock Ruhigira, cyane ibikomerezwa nka Siméon Ntezilyayo wahoze ari minisitiri muri perezidansi, n’abandi; gusa rero ibyo bwari uburyo perezida yakoresheye mu kwiyegereza ababona ibintu ku bundi buryo, abava mu zindi ntara no mu zindi ngaga, ndetse ibyo bigatuma yisanzura ntabe imfungwa y’abo mu muryango we.

Inkubiri y’amashyamba menshi yatumye ubwikanyize bw’umuryango wa perezida n’ibyegeye bya mu rubuga rw’ubutegetsu n’ubukungu bushegeshwa cyane. Gushyirwa mu majwi byarushijeho gusakazwa n’itangazamakuru ubwo abayoboze ba MDR batangiraga gukoresha muri za mitingi zabo ijamba “akazu” mu mpera za 1991 batungaga agatoki umuryango wa perezida.

Ubundi iryo jambo mu Rwanda rwo hambere ryavugaga i “bwami”,

ibikomangoma n'ibyegeza byo mu muryango uri ku ngoma, naho iyi yo rero ni inyito y'icyitiriro, ivuga akazu kari konyine kitaruye inzu nini ubundi kari kagenewe gushyirwamo abarwaye indwara zanduzwa ; iyo nyito rero ni yo yahaye ijambo "akazu" intero yo kwamagana inarigira rurangiranwa¹².

Ingufu z'iryo jambo zari zishingiye ku bushobozi bw'impuha bwo kwinjiza cg kuvana umuntu uyu n'uyu mu itsinda ry'abagize indiri y' "ubutegetsi" bagombaga kugenderwa kure [nk'abarwaye ibinyoro]. icyo amasesengura y'imiterere y'ubutegetsi mu myaka ya nyuma y'ingoma ya Habyarimana ahurizaho, ni uko akazu kari ahantu nyirizina hafatirwaga ibyemezo byose bikomeye ku buryo budasubirwaho.

Umuryango w'umugore wa perezida ahanini ni wo wabonwagamo kuganza perezida wavukaga mu muryango w'intamenyekana akaba yarageze ku butegetsi gusa abikesha uburambe bwe mu gisirikari.

Bityo, bamwe bavuga ko ijambo "Akazu" ryerekeza gusa ku itsinda rigarukira ku muryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida :

"Bari abagize Akazu nka : Protais Zigiranyirazo, Élie Sagatwa, Séraphin Rwabukumba na Agathe Kanziga. Ubw'amambere, ndemeza ko abantu maze kubabwira bagenzuraga ububasha bwa politiki mu Rwanda. Gusa rero, kubera ko abo bantu mvuze hejuru batari bafite ubushobozi bwose bwa ngombwa, bashakishije abafite bne ubwo bushobozi mu gihugu cyose, nanone ariko bakabikora ku buryo bagenzura abo batahuye. Twari mu butegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi : ubutegetsi bw'ingoma y'igitugu. Ububasha bwa politiki bwagenzurirwaga mu nzego zariho aho buri wese yakanirwaga urumukwiye zirimo : CND, ubucamanza n'ubutegetsi bwa leta¹³".

Muri bose, muramu wa perezida birazwi ku buryo budashidikanywa ko ari we wari kamara : perefite Protais Zigiranyirazo yari "intebe y'abiru" [abanyamabanga b'imihango bakaba n'abajyanama bakuru b'umwami ku ngoma ya cyami] : Iyo [abagize akazu] babaga basabye Juvénal gukora iki n'iki, hanyuma ntagikore, Protais Zigiranyirazo yarebaga umugaba w'ingabo cg Élie Sagatwa. Nuko bose bakarindira ko Sagatwa aterefona agira ati : "Perezida wa Repubulika yanshinze ...", nkuko twabibwiye n'umuminisitiri utarashatse ko tumuvuga izina.

Nguko uko bwana Z abonwa nk' "umubyeyi" nyakuri w'ikiguri cy'ibisahiranda byari byihariye urubuga rubumbye ndetse rugasumbya amaboko urwa perezida ubwe : Umwe mu batangabuhamya ati : "Inkuru ni kimomo, biravugwa ko "Z" ari we washyiragaho cg akavanaho abakozi bakuru ba leta utaretse na ba minisitiri".

Muri rusange, abashyira Protais Zigiranyirazo mu majwi bamushyira mu gatebo kamwe na Joseph Nzirorera, "wari wariremewe muri politiki" na perezida (reba *incamake ya 1*). Inyabubiri y'ubutoni bwabo (amasano ya hafi ku ruhande rumwe, gutoneshwa na perezida ku rundi) yaruzuzanyaga bya hatu na hatu mu kwigarurira Ruhengeri. Uko imyaka yagiye ishira indi igataha, ubufatanye bw'inyabubiri Zigiranyirazo-Nzirorera bwashingiye ku nyungu zigaragara bari

¹² Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka (MDR, minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane muri Guverinoma y'abatabazi) avugaga ko ubwo bari mu nama ya komisiyo y' "ubushakashatsi n'igenamigambi" muri Gashyantare 1992, Boniface Ngulinzira, impuguke mu by'iyigandimi n'umwe mu bayobozi ba MDR, ari we waba yaratanze igitekerezo cyo kwita "Akazu" ibikomerezwa bikikije perezida bidakora umurimo uzwi cg utorerwa. Iryo jambo ryaba rero ryaraje kwemezwa n'inama nyobozi ya MDR no gukoreshwa mu matangazo anyuranye mbere yuko abarwanyu ubutegetsi bose baritora (reba ubuhamya bwa Clément-Jérôme BICAMUMPAKA, TPIR, 17 Nzeri 2007).

¹³ Ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya utaratangajwe izina kubera impamvu z'umutekano we, "umwe mu bari bagize Akazu", TPIR, 29 Kanama 2005.

bahuriyeho utaretse n’ubusabane bw’agahebuzo bushingiye ku myitwarire n’imibereho bari basangiye (igitugu, kuryoherwa n’ubutegets, gukunda amafaranga n’abagore...).

Hariho andi magambo yogeye¹⁴ yibasiraga nayo mbere na mbere umuryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida ; agamije gusobanura imikorere, ari ku mugaragaro ari n’ihishe, yagengaga urubuga rw’ibikomangoma ikanaranga urujya n’uruza rw’intera n’amasano hagati y’abarugize. Gusa rero nanone gusesengura izingiro ry’urubuga rw’ubutegets ntabwo ryagarukira gusa ku bikomangoma bibonwa na bose. Ni ngombwa kwirinda gupfobya cg gukabiriza uburemere bwa politiki bw’abagize umuryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida. Iyo witegereje impagarara zahoragaho hagati y’imiryango yombi, ntacyakwemeza ku buryo budasubirwaho ko umuryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana wari waraganjwe n’uwa Agathe Kanziga.

Perezida ntiyari abuze imbaraga zo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo bye kandi yagenzuraga inzego zose za nombwa. Ntabwo kandi byaba biboneye kwibwira ko agakungu ko kwibonekeza k’abitwa “baramu” ba perezida n’ibibi bahoraga bakora ari ikimenyetso cy’uko bagenzuraga inzego zinyuranye z’ubutegets.

Urugero rw’imikorere y’ “umuryango” rwerekana neza uko ubufatanye bwiganza byanze bikunze. Kuva muri 1975, umwaka mpuzamahanga w’abari n’abategarugori, Agathe Kanziga, yatangiye gushyiraho ku buryo bwa bucece “urugaga rw’abagore” mu Rwanda. Urwo rugaga yarushyizeho ahereye ku rwunge rw’amasano yari asanganywe cyane cyane ashingiye ku ishuri mbonezamubano rya Karubanda¹⁵ abikomereza muri “serire Kiyovu”.

Iryo tsinda ryari rirangajwe imbere na Agathe Kanziga ryahurizaga hamwe abagore b’abaminisitiri n’abandi banyacyubahiro mu bikorwa by’umuganda wakorwaga na buri muturage aho ava akagera ku wa gatandatu mu gitondo. Muri bo, itsinda ry’abagore b’ibikomerezwa bari bagaragiye Agathe Kanziga ryari rigize icyaje kwitwa “Guverinoma y’abagore”, yagabiraga ndetse ikananyaga abadepite, igashishikariza abagore kujya mu myanya ikomeye ndetse ku buryo bw’umwihariko ikagenzura amashyirahamwe y’abagore ashamikiye kuri leta, dore ko ari nayo yonyine yari yemewe. “minisitiri w’intebe” [wa Guverinoma y’abagore] yari ku buryo budashidikanywaho Gaudence Nyirasafari Habimana (Hutu, Gisenyi, ariko washatse mu Ruhengeri), umwe mu bari bagize komite nyobozi ya MRND, akaba umuyobozi wa Onapo n’umwe mu bagize urubuga rwa mbere rw’ Akazu¹⁶. Hakurikiragaho Imaculée Nyirabizeyimana (Hutu, Byumba), warangije mu ishuri mbonezamubano [Karubanda] muri 1971, abanza kuba umudepite w’umusimbura, bukeye atorera kuba depite mbere yuko, nyuma y’amatora ya gatatu y’abadepite, yegukana umwanya wa visiperezida wa CND ku

¹⁴ Rimwe muri ayo mazina ni “réseau zéro”, yamamaye nyuma yaho Kirisitofori Mfizi, umwe mu bikomerezwa byipakuruye Muvoma, yandikiye perezida Habyarimana ibaruwa ifunguye asezera mu ishyamba MRND (*Le Réseau zéro*, Kigali, 15 août 1992). Iyo mvugo yaje kuyisimbura intero yise “ordre zédiste” igenekereza ikiguri cyubakiye kuri Protais Zigiranyirazo n’abandi bagize umuryango wo kwa sebukwe wa perezida.

¹⁵ Agathe Kanziga, umwe mu babonye impamyabushobozi bwa mbere U Rwanda rumaze kubona ubwigenge (1962), uretse abo mu rungano rwe, yahagurukiye kuzamura abagiye barangiza mu ishuri mbonezamubano [Karubanda]. Hashyizweho ishishikarizwa ryo guhuza abasohotse muri iryo shuri akaba ariho amenyera ab’intyoza.

¹⁶ Gaudence Nyirasafari Habimana yari yariganye amashuri abanza na Juvénal Habyarimana kuri paruwasi ya Rambura i Gisenyi, hanyuma akomereza amashuri i Burayi, ayo akaba yari amahirwe adasanzwe ku munyarwandakazi wo muri icyo gihe. Bivugwa ko ari we Juvénal Habyarimana yabanje kureshya. Ikindi twakwibutsa ni uko umugabo wa Gaudence Nyirasafari Habimana, Phocas Habimana, yayoboye radiyo RTLM.

wa 8 Mutarama 1989. Ibyo yari abifatanije no kuba perezida w'ishyirahamwe Duterimbere, ryari rigamije gushyigikira abagore mu bikorwa byo kwihangira imirimo cyane cyane ibafasha kubona inguzanyo.

Louise Mukasine (Hutu, Ruhengeri), wabaye muri 1988 perezida wa mbere wa URAMA (*Urunana rw'Abanyarwandakazi mu majyambere*), urugaga rwa Muvoma rwari rubumbye abagore, akaba yari na mwene wabo w'umugabo wa Gaudence Nyirasafari Habimana. Byongeye kandi, nyinawabo wa Louise Mukasine yari umugore wa koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe.

Nubwo iyi politiki ya bucece yo mu "gikari" itagiye ku karubanda, yagize uruhare rukomeye cyane cyane mu cyiciro cya kabiri cya Repubulika ya Kabiri. Gusa nta na rimwe Agathe Kanziga yigeze ubwe agira perefefu cg se minisitiri yivanga mu mirimo ye agira icyo amusaba. Mu by'ukuri, yagiraga uruhare mu nzego nyinshi zinyuranye za leta abinyujije ku mugabo we, uyu yaba abyanze, akitabaza basaza be na babyara be. Nyamara rero, kubifuzaga kugera i bukuru, "bagezaga ikibazo" kuri "madame wa perezida" na we "akabyumvisha" umugabo we.

Nubwo umuryango wa perezida n'ibyegera bye ari bo bari ku isonga ry'ubutegetsi, icyicaro, amahame y'imikorere no kuramba kw'ingoma byari bishingiye ahanini ku bushobozi ikiguri cy'ubuhake perezida yari yarashyizeho cyari cyifitemo bwo kugaba amashami hirya no hino, gushimangira ubuyobohe bw'abo cyakamiraga no gushinga imizi mu baturage. Bake gusa bo mu muryango we ni bo bashoboraga kugira abo bahaka kandi bagatanga amabwiriza akurikizwa.

Uruziga rw'akarere

Uruziga rwa kabiri rw'abambari b'ingoma rwari rugizwe n'akarere ka Bushiru-kari kagizwe by'umwihariko na komini Karago et Giciye -, kabaye koko "ivuko rya perezida", kaba isoko ivubura abambari bo kuyoboka akazu. Hagiye haduka izindi ntero nka OTP "originaires du terroir présidentiel [abakomoka ku ivuko rya perezida] ¹⁷". Imbibi z'ivuko rya perezida nanone zagendaga zihindagurika mu kugena "ibimenyetsofatizo by'ubusumbane" ari nabyo byaje kuba imbarutso ya politiki y'iringaniza byavugwaga ko igamije kvanaho ubusumbane mu moko n'uturere mu nzego zose z'igihugu. Uretse komini zari zigize Bushiru, kwagura amaboko y'ivuko rya perezida byabyaye indiri nshya y'ubutegetsi ihuriweho na Ruhengeri (Buhoma, Umurera, Rwankeri, Bukonya, Bugarura, Buberuka) na Gisenyi (Bushiru, Bugoyi, Kanage, Cyingogo) [*reba ikarita mu mugereka wa 1*].

Uko ingoma yagenda yagura cg igahina amarembo, aha niho havaga abakozi bakuru ba leta n'abayobozi b'ingabo bazamurwa mu ntera cg bashingwa imyanya yabaga inyazwe abayobohe bamwe mu gihe hagishakwa abandi bashya bo guhaka.

Akarere ka Rwankeli kavugwagaho kuba "ivuko rya perezida ryaguye", kari kagizwe na komini Mukingo na Nkuli, muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Kiswe gutyo nyuma y'aho umukobwa w'imfura wa perezida Habyarimana arongorewe

¹⁷ James GASANA, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari]*, op. cit., p. 37.

ku buryo bw'amacenga na Alphonse Ntilivamunda (umuyobozi mukuru muri minisiteri y'imirimo ya leta), wari umuhungu w'umucuruzi ukomeye muri ako karere, Gaspard Munyampeta.

Munyampeta yari nk'uwabyaye Joseph Nzirorera mu mandwa, dore ko ari na we wari waramurihiye amashuri. Mu gutegura ubukwe, Joseph Nzirorera yabereye Alphonse Ntilivamunda se wo mu batisimu, maze kuva ubwo, umuryango wa Habyarimana utangira kwita by'akabyiniriro uwa Nzirorera "bamwana", ni ukuvuga umuryango bafitemo umukwe.

Ariko nkuko abanditsi benshi babishimangiye, ingufu z'iyi ngoma rwiziringa zari zishingiye mu bushobozi bwayo bwo kurenga kure urwego rw'umuryango n'ivuko rya perezida ikagaba amashami mu turere twose n'inzego zinyuranye z'igihugu. Ubwinshi bw'umutungo wa leta n'imfashanyo z'abaterankunga byari umusingi w'ubusugire bw'ingoma n'ubwiyongere bw'abo itunze ari nabo bari bayibeshejeho. Ingoma yatangiye guhura n'ingorane mu butegetsi ubwo ubukungu bwahungabanaga n'imfashanyo z'abaterankunga zikagabanuka hagati mu myaka ya za 1980 ; amasoko yuhiraga ubutegetsi yatangiye gukama maze kwamagana ikiguri cy'abakamiwe n'ingoma yihariwe n'abo mu majyaruguru bikaza umurego.

Urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida

Hanyuma, mu rwego rw'urubuga rwa politiki rwemewe n'amategeko rwa nyuma y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, umuntu yakwibutsa umugambi wo kongera umubare w'amashyaka ari mu kwaha kw'icyaje kwitwa "urugaga rw'abambari ba perezida" kuva mu mwaka wa 1992. Iyo mikorere yahaga uruvugiro ibyerekezo bitahishaga ko biri mu murongo w'intagondwa kandi igaha n'urubuga mu rwego rwa politiki igice gihishe cyo ku ruhande rwa perezida. Koko rero MRND ivuguruye yakomeje kuba umutwe utagira gahunda ihamye, wari ushishikajwe ahanini no guhembera irondakarere n'irondakoko by'ibikomerezwa byawo bitabarika kurusha kwihangira icyerekezo cya politiki no kuvugurura abarwanashyaka n'abakozi bawo bakuru.

Hakurikijwe imiterere ya buri perefegitura, hashyizweho amashyaka ya nyirarureshwa yari ashinzwe gukoma imbere amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi no kwagura urubuga rwo kugwiriza MRND abayoboke : umuntu yavugaga cyane cyane nka Parerwa, Pader na CDR. Parerwa yaterwaga inkunga na Laurent Semanza (Hutu, Kigali ngari, MRND), wari ufitanye ubushuti bwihariye n'umuryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana akaba na burugumesitiri wa komini yo mu cyaro ikize kurusha izindi mu gihugu¹⁸. Pader yahimbwe na Jean-Baptiste Gatete (Hutu, Byumba, MRND), burugumesitiri wa komini Murambi kugeza mu mwaka wa 1993¹⁹. Habonetse na none ku ruhande rwa MRND ibikorwa byo kuniga (kubuza

¹⁸ Reba André GUICHAOUA, *Laurent Semanza, le "grand bourgmestre [burugumesitiri w'igihangange]"*, TPIR, Arusha, Mata 2001.

¹⁹ N'ubwo yatangajwe mu mazina y'amahimbaho, ayo mashyaka yombi yahimbwe n'abo baburugumesitiri babiri, bibiri bya gatau by' abayiyitiriraga bakomokaga mu baturage b'amakomini atatu ya Bicumbi, Gikoro (muri perefegitura ya Kigali ngari) na Murambi (perrefegitura ya Byumba). Perezida w'irya mbere yakomokaga muri komini Bicumbi, uw'irya kabiri muri Gikoro, komini byegeranye, zombi zayoborwa mu rwego rwa politiki rutaziguye na Laurent Semanza. Uyu mugabo wari warabaye burugumesitiri wa Bicumbi kuva mu mwaka wa 1970 kugeza ubwo

guhumeke, kumira) inzego za perefegitura z'amahyaka amwe n'amwe arwanya ubutegetsi nka PDC. Hanyuma ishyirwaho ry'imitwe yitwara gisirikari *Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi* ryongerera umurego ikwirakwira n'ububasha bwo gukora bya MRND, iba urwego rwo kuvugiramo rwemewe n'amategeko kandi rushingiye ku matwara yubaka.

Muri rusange, ibyerekezo bya politiki bibiri by'ingenzi byigabanganije uruhande rushyigikiye perezida byarigaragaje. Kimwe cyafatwaga nk'ikidashaka ihinduka ry'ibintu cyahuzaga abantu bose bitangiraga buri munsu kandi ku buryo bunoze kurinda ubutegetsi n'umutungo bakeshaga Repubulika ya Kabiri. Aha wasangamo ahanini abantu bakomoka mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru dore ko ubwikanyize bwabo no kugira igihugu akarima kabo byamaganwaga bikomeye. Ikindi gice cyahuzaga "abashaka impinduramatwara" kigashyira imbere guhanga inzira yo kuvugurura ubutegetsi. Aba bashyiraga imbere ko ishyaka ryagura amarembo, rigashingira ku baturage mu gihugu cyose, "ubunyagihugu" n'umucyo ukaganza mu nzego z'igihugu kigendera ku mategeko kimwe no mu ngabo z'igihugu no mu butabera. Bashingiye ku cyubahiro perezida Habyarimana yari afite mu baturage n'ububasha inzego za MRND zari zaragumanye mu gihugu no mu rwego rw'ubukungu, babonaga ihinduka rishingiye kuri demokarasi ridashobora kugerwaho MRND ubwayo itabanje kuzamo demokarasi. Bumvaga ko, gushinga imizi kwayo n'ikwirakwira ryayo n'amatwara yayo yubaka uko bishobotse byarahaga MRND amahirwe yo guhagarara neza kurusha amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi mu ruhando rwo guteza imbere ku buryo bunoze, ubwisanzure mu rwego rwa demokarasi. Abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri urwo ruhanda rw'iterambere bakomeje kugirana umubano wihariye n'abayobozi b'amashyaka mashya arwanya ubutegetsi.

Nanone kandi, politiki y'amashyaka menshi yabaye inzira y'ubusamo ku barwanashyaka bashya biyongeraga buri munsu yo kugwiza umutungo n'indonke zitabarika. Abo "bayoboze" bashya baremerezaga umutwara wo kwita ku nzego za politiki bakanotsa igitutu ibigo bya leta n'ibygenga byagombaga gutanga umusanzu. Amahugurwa y'abanyacyubahiro baguzwe, ba ruvumwa cg ba rusarurira mu nduru, amashyaka yose yiroshyemo²⁰ icyo gihe, yimitse isoko rishya ryarimo inyungu itubutse. Abenshi basabye ku mugaragaro gushyira demokarasi mu kugera ku isaranganya ry'ubuhake, ni ukuvuga mu bikorwa byo gushyiraho amahirwe angana mu buryo bwo kwigwizaho umutungo cg bwa ruswa. Kubera ibyo, kandi iyi ngingo ntigomba gusuzugurwa, amashyaka menshi

asimbuwe mu mwaka wa 1993, yabashije kwiyongeza, akomeza kuyobora komini no kuyimikamo iterabwoba. Intambara yubuye muri Mata 1994 iyi komini yabayemo ubwicanyi bukomeye. Yafatiwe muri Kameruni ku itariki ya 26 Werurwe 1996, ayanwa muri gereza y'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR) ku itariki ya 19 Ugushyungu 1997. Ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi 2005, yakatiwe n'icyumba cy'ubujurire cya TPIR igifungo cy'imyaka mirongo itatu n'itanu. Jean- Baptiste Gatete wari burugumesitiri wa Murambi kuva mu mwaka wa 1987 kugeza muri 1993 akanaba umwe mu bagize inama yo mu rwego rw'igihugu ya MRND, yavanywe ku mirimo ye mu mwaka wa 1993 nyuma y'ibikorwa by'ubugome byibasira Abatutsi yahishiriyeho akoresheje ubutegetsi bwe, ariko yakomeje kugira ububasha buhoraho ku nzego za komini Murambi n'imitwe yitwaza intwara yo mu karere ke. Kimwe no muri komini Bicumbi, guhiga abarwanya ubutegetsi n'abatwaga b'Abatutsi byahatangiye ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Yafatiwe ku itariki ya 11 Nzeri muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Congo ayanwa muri gereza ya TPIR Arusha. Nyamara mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2009 ni bwo urubanza rwe rwashoboye gutangira.

²⁰ Ukuyoboka Inkotanyi kw'abahoze ari ibikomerezwa bya Repubulika ya Kabiri binyuze mu mishyikirano byari byaratangije icyo gikorwa kuva mu mwaka wa 1990.

n'itangazwa ry'amatora asesuye byagize uruhare mu gukangura igihugu byinjijwemo amaperefegitura n'amakomini yose yo mu gihugu, yakekaga ko noneho azagira uruhare ku buryo bungana mu nzego za politiki z'igihugu. Nk'uko Mathieu Ngirumpatse yabivuze :

“umwuka mushya ubereye benshi mu banyapolitiki bakuru, waguye umukino winjizamo uturere twasigaye inyuma mu isaranganya ry'imyanya, ariko ntiwahinduye bigaragara amategeko y'umukino cg imico mbonezabupfura y'abanyapolitiki ari mu gukora politiki, ari mu guhitamo abantu, cg mu gusobanura ingamba za politiki²¹.”

Ntabwo byari bitangaje ko abenshi mu banyapolitiki nta gahunda na busa bari bafite abandi bakagira iza nyirarureshwa, ibi byatumye hatabaho itandukaniro ry'ibitekerezo rifatika hagati y'amashyaka. Ni yo mpamvu, mu mwuka w'umutekano muke n'ikendera riteye ubwoba ry'umutungo, ubwisanzure mu rwego rwa demokarasi ryabaye imbarutso simusiga y'ihiganwa rya politiki rishingiye ku makimbirane ya kera y'uturere, hiyongereyeho irondakoko ryakuruwe n'igitero cy'Inkotanyi mu Kwakira 1990 (icyo cyorezo cyaje kongera umurego mu mpera za 1993, ubwo havukaga impande zishyira imbere gahutu ziswe “Power [pawa]”, cg, ku rundi ruhande, izishyigikiye Inkotanyi mu mashyaka atandukanye). Ku isonga ryayo hari abanyacyubahiro bakomeye mu turere twabo, amashyaka agendera ku mizi yo kureshya ishingiyeye ku karere nkomoko (“ba kavukire”) cg ubwoko. Ku rwego rw'imisozi, kubera kutagira ibimenyetso byo kwigaragaza mu rwego rwa politiki bishingiye ku mishinga yubaka igihugu, ubwoko cg icyubahiro byatumaga muri rusange habaho ukwitanga burundu kandi kudasubira inyuma. Bityo, aho gukomeza ubufatanye bushingiyeye ku kureshya kw'abantu, “demokarasi” yasambuye imibanire y'abantu inashyiraho imbibi z'amatsinda yarebanaga nk'abakeba ahubwo ndetse nk'abanzi.

Abanyapolitiki bari mu myanya n'umwuka mushya wa politiki umaze gutungana, hagombaga nanone kugaragazwa amabwiriza mashya y'umukino agenga ihiganwa. Ku rwego rw'amabwiriza shingiro, ibyagezweho mu bitekerezo byari bisobanutse : mu kwemera amashyaka menshi, inzibacyuho iciye muri demokarasi yagombaga gusimbuza imihango y'amatora yo kwemeza ingoma ya Habyarimana icyemezo kinyuze mu mucyo cya gahunda za politiki zinyuze mu itora rusange kandi mu rwego rw'ihiganwa rikoresheje ingufu zingana.

Amatora rusange n'uruvugiro rw' “impirimbanyi za demokarasi”

Ahangaha haragaragazwa ikibazo gikomeye cy'ububasha bw'amashyaka yitwa “arwanya ubutegetsi mu rwego rwa demokarasi”. Nk'uko twabibonye, icya mbere ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi ryakozwe n'icikamo ry'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi n'itangizwa ry'amashyaka ashingiyeye ku turere cg ubwoko, atarashoboraga, mu gice cya mbere cy'ishyirwaho ryayo n'imenyekana

²¹ Ikiganiro nagiranye na Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines*, Kigali, kuwa 8 Gicurasi 1993, saa tanu z'amanywa.

ry'abakuru bayo, guhangana afite amahirwe nyayo yo gutsinda amatora mu rwego rw'igihugu. icya kabiri, kuba ihiganwa rya politiki ryarashingira cyane ku kurwanya ubutegetsi no kwishyira hamwe kubera inyungu z'abanyacyubahiro bashobora kuba abaperezida kurusha [kurishingira] ku mishinga yo kubaka igihugu na gahunda za politiki byatumaga abakozi bakuru bahibikanyirizwa guhabwa imyanya no kwishyira hamwe, maze ibyo bikabuza ishyamba gushinga imizi mu gihugu, kugenzurira abayobozi hasi no gukangura abaturage biyambazwaga gusa by'ukuri mu gukemura ubushyamba mu buyobozi bwo hejuru, mu makomini cyari iyo habaga mitingiro zikomeye ku rwego rw'igihugu. Ikintu cyari nyuma, cyari rurangira, ni uko abashoboraga kuba abaperezida bahisemo, ku mbaraga cyari ku bushake, kwipakurura MRND ivuguruye, basangaga nta ntege bafite mu by'ubuyobozi kandi ku buryo buhoraho ugereranyije n'abakandida bagumye mu myanya y'icyahozeho ari ishyamba ry'igihugu, mu gihe batari bagifite ubufatanye "busanzwe"-bwa ngombwa kugira ngo bizere gutsinda-mu ngabo, mu nzego zihana n'izishinzwe umutekano, mu butegetsi bw'igihugu, mu nteko ishingira amategeko, mu butabera²² no mu rwego rw'ubukungu (rwari rwiganjemo uruhande rwa leta n'uruyegamiyeho).

Perezidansi na nyuma yaho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ntibyigeze bitinye gukoresha iterabwoba ku "baharanira demokarasi", ku mugaragararo nko mu mwaka wa 1990 cyari gukoresha urugomo hatwo na hatwo nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi muri Mata 1992. Kuvugurura izo nzego zose ni byo byonyine byashoboraga guhosha ihangana ku mpande zose. Ariko ibihe bibi by'intambara yakuruwe na FPR byari imbogamizi ikomeye, dore ko akajagari ako ari ko kose byanze bikunze kacaga kashegeshaga imbaraga z'ingabo, abajandarume n'inzego z'iperereza kandi nyine izo mbaraga ari zo zari zikenewe mu guhangana n'umwami ku rugamba. Ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu, hari inzira ebyiri gusa : amatora cyari gukoresha imbaraga, ni ukuvuga gushyigikiye Inkotanyi n'intambara simusiga zarimo.

Nubwo amatora nta ngingo yateganyaga yo mu itegeko nshya rishya ryari muri Kamena 1991 ryemera amashyamba menshi, hari inzira nyinshi zo kuyakoresha. Muri izo nzira hari higanje ibitekerezo bibiri bishyamba. Ku ruhande rwa perezida Habyarimana na MRND, bemeraga ko amatora yaba ndetse bagateganyaga ko yaba mu mwaka wa 1992, ariko ntibari bashishikariye ko habaho ingengabihe yihutirwa kubera ko ishyamba rimwe rukumbi ryari rikigenzura inzego z'ubutegetsi nkuko byagaragaye mu mishyikirano igoye yo kurebera hamwe n'amashyamba mashya arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu uko amatora yategurwa. Ku rundi ruhande, amashyamba mashya yari agikeneye kubanza kwisuganya no gushinga imizi yashyiraga imbere by'umwihariko ibyo gukoresha inama mu rwego rw'igihugu (rukokoma) ryari gutuma habaho isaranganya ryumvikanyweho ry'ubutegetsi n'umutungo hagati y'amashyamba mbere yo gutegura amatora. Koko rero, icyumweru ku kindi, inkubiri ikomeye y'abaturage bashyigikiye uruhande rurwanya ishyamba ryari ku butegetsi ryarushagaho kongera umurego - ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abantu byakoze

²² Nubwo bari barinjijwe muri izo mpaka n'amakimbarane bya politiki, abakozi b'izo nzego ntibemerewe kujya mu mashyamba, bituma habaho ukwifata mu magambo yo guhangana.

imyigaragambyo i Kigali ku itariki ya 17 ugushyirahamwe 1991 – ku buryo kuyikomana imbere byasaga n’ibidashoboka.

Mu kugira Sylvestre Nsanzimana – umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND wemerwaga na bese – minisitiri w’intebe mu Kwakira 1991 waje gushyirahamwe ku itariki ya 30 Ukuboza Guverinoma yiswe “ihuriweho n’amashyamba menshi” ariko nyamara irimo umuminisitiri umwe gusa utari muri MRND, Perezidansi yerekanaga ku mugaragararo ubushake bwayo bwo gutegura amatwara rusange idatakajwe ubugenzuzi bwayo muri icyo gikorwa kandi idatumye hari uyitwara ubwoba. N’ubwo ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1992 habayeho imyigaragambyo ikaze yo kwamagana iyo Guverinoma, minisitiri w’intebe wari umaze amezi abiri agirana imishyikirano n’amashyamba arwanya ubutegetsi yahereyeko asaba minisitiri w’ubutegetsi bw’igihugu, Faustin Munyazesa, gutegura umushyamba w’itegeko rigenga amatwara – dore ko irya kera ryari rimaze gutwara agaciro mu ruhande rw’amashyamba menshi.

Ubwo minisitwari yatangiye kwegera abanyemari kugira ngo batwara inkunga itunganya ry’uwo mushyamba (abahanga, amahuriro...). Itsinda rihuzwaga za minisitwari rigizwe n’abahagarariye Perezidansi, Minisitwari y’intebe na Minisitwari y’Ubutabera ryashinzwe gukora inyandiko irimo ibitekerezo by’ingenzi by’itegeko rigenga amatwara, imbonerahamwe y’irangashyamba no gutwara umushyamba. Uwo mushyamba w’itegeko washyikirijwe amashyamba yose yemewe na minisitwari y’Ubutegwari bw’igihugu ku itariki ya 27 Mutarama 1992 kugira ngo awusuzume, akaba yari afite amezi abiri yo kuwukosora mbere y’uko inama rusange yo kuwemeza itwara...

Uwo mushyamba w’itegeko wahagurukije amashyamba maze hafi ya yose ashirahamwe utunama twihariye twa kuwusuzuma. Ariko gukoresha inama yo kuwiga kimwe no gutwara impaka mu ruhande ntibyahuraga n’ibyari bishishikajwe uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegwari dore ko abayobozwari benshi b’ubwo ruhande bumvaga icyo gihe bashobora gukoresha imyivumbagatanyo y’abaturage bagahatira Juvénal Habyarimana kwegwara ku butegwari.

Nyuma y’ibyumweru byaranzwe n’imvururu zikomeye no kurebana ay’ingwe, uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegwari rwokejwe igitutu na za ambasade²³ rureka ibyo gutsimbarara ku nama Rukokoma ; noneho ku itariki ya 3 Mata 1992 perezida nawe yemera gushyirahamwe Guverinoma ihuriweho n’amashyamba menshi (aho ishamba rye ritari rikiganje) iyobowe na minisitwari w’intebe uvuye mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, Dismas Nsengiyaremye wari visiperezida wa mbere w’ishamba MDR. Perezida yemeye kandi gahunda yo kuyobora ku buryo bwumvikanyweho yagabanyaga budasubirwaho ububasha itegeko nshamba ryari risanzwe rimwemerera. Iyo gahunda yatwara yagabanyaga inzibacyuho y’igihe kigufi cyane (umwaka umwe) yo gutegwara amatwara y’abayobozwari ba za komini, ay’abadepite n’aya perezida. Kwinjira mu butegwari amashyamba arwanya ubutegetsi yabifashe nk’ikimenyetso cy’intsinzi inyuze mu

²³ Amatsinda yihariye akenshi yagize uruhare rw’intagereranywaga mu kwihutisha cg kuvana inzitizi mu mishyikirano. Havugwaga by’umwihariko “*prayer breakfast*” yahujwe Juvénal Renzaho, Enoch Ruhigira, Faustin Munyazesa, abapasitori Malachie Munyaneza, Tharcisse Gatwara na James Gasana kandi ibikorwaga byayoyamamazwaga n’umudepite w’umudage Rudolf Dreyer n’ambasaderi w’Amerika David Rawson.

mishyikirano yo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu nzego z'amashyaka, bituma atibanda ku bibazo byo gusaranganya ubutegetsu cy' ngo yerekane ingamba za politiki n'ihinduka mu mibereho myiza n'ubukungu yashyiraga imbere.

Kubera ko gukangura abaturage no guhamya ubumwe mu bayoboze bayo ari byo bari imbere, yumvaga yizeye gutsinda amatora. Muri icyo gihe cya Guverinoma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye, minisitiri y'Ubutegetsu bw'igihugu yakoresheje inama muri Hôtel des Diplomates, andi mashyamba yose arayitabira uretse MDR na PL. Nyuma y'ibyumweru bike, raporo ya nyuma kimwe n'imbanzirizamushinga y'itegeko rishya rigenga amatora byashyikirijwe Minisitiri y'intebe, Perezidansi, abagize Guverinoma bose n'amashyamba yose.

Minisitiri y'intebe ni yo yagombaga gusaba Perezida gushyira uwo mushinga kuri gahunda y'imwe mu nama za Guverinoma—gahunda bateguriraga hamwe. Ibyo amaherezo ntibyabaye kubera ko, n'ubwo amashyamba yose yemeraga gahunda y'uko amatora yagombaga gukurikirana (kubanza ay'amakomini n'ay'abadepite hagataho aya Perezida), ingingo nyinshi ku nzira zari gukoreshwa mu matora ntizigeze zumvikanwaho (*reba umugereka wa 12*). Mu byumweru byakurikiyeho, kubera ko abahanganye na Perezida bari bamaze kwinjira muri Guverinoma itarashoboraga kunyuranya n'ibyo yifuzaga, kumenya neza amahirwe yo gutorwa bafite mu baturage ugereranyije n'ishyamba rya Perezida cy' se guhuriza hamwe ibyerekezo byabo binyuranye ntibyari bikibashishikaje. Icyo bari bimiriye imbere ni ugufatanyaga n'Inkotanyi. Ibyo rero byatumye minisitiri y'intebe n'amashyamba arwanya iryari ku butegetsu bahitamo gutegereza ishambirwaho ry'inzego z'inziyacyuho zari zirakugibwaho imishyikirano. Bumva ga nibiba ngombwa bazitabaza ingufu zigaragara za gisirikari z'Inkotanyi [mu guhirika Habyarimana]. Naho Perezida na MRND bon ta cyizere bari bafite cyo gutsinda amatora.

Nanone kandi, abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegetsu batinyaga ko inzira y'itora yagenzurwaga gusa n'ubuyobozi bw'icyahozze ari ishamba rimwe rukumbi, ryari rigikomeye. Koko rero, MRND yari ifite uburambe mu kwigarurira abaturage kandi ubutegetsu bw'igihugu ku ruhanda runini bwari bukiri ubwaryo, uretse mu maperefegitura amwe n'amwe yo mu majyepfo. Mu [maperefegitura] ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibungo na Byumba, amakomini yose yayoborwaga n'abaturugumesitiri bo muri MRND, mu maperefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali, Kigali ngari na Cyangugu, ubwiganze bwaryo bwari butarakorwaho dore ko, muri ayo maperefegitura uko akurikirana, komini imwe kuri eshatu, imwe kuri cumi n'esheshatu n'ebiyiri kuri cumi n'imwe guza ari zo zayoborwaga n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsu. Amaperefegitura atatu gusa ni yo yari yarayobotse uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegetsu ku bwishyamba : Gitarama (14 MDR, 3 MRND), Butare (14 uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegetsu, 6 MRND), Gikongoro (6 uruhande rurwanya ishamba ryari ku butegetsu, 4 MRND) (*reba umugereka wa 10*).

Bityo, impamvu nshya zahoraga zitangwa kugira ngo higitwe icyemezo icyo ari cyo cyose kiganisha ku matora. Usubije amaso inyuma, usanga impaka ku itegura ry'amatora asesuye mu rwego rw'amashyamba menshi zishobora gufatwaga nk'intera ya politiki iruta izindi igihugu cyagezeho, mu gihe cyari cyayobotse

inzira ya demokarasi. Imibare mu rwego rwa politiki yaburijemo itegura ry'ayo matora kandi, igitangaje, abiyitaga "impirimanyi za demokarasi" bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi ari na bo nyamara gushyigikirwa n'itora ry'abaturage byari bibereye isoko imwe rukumbi yo mu rwego rwa politiki- batije umurindi abari bashyigikiye inzira za gisirikari.

Icyo gihe ntawateganyaga ko Inkotanyi, umuryango w'innyeshyamba zifite intwari, zakwitabira amatora. Kuri icyo gihe, ukurikije umurego w'ikanguka ry'abaturage bashyigikiye uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi, ikorwa ry'amatora ashingiye ku mashyaka menshi kuri zo ahubwo ni ryo ryari imbogamizi yagombaga kwigizwayo. Ku ruhande rumwe, kubera ko igikorwa cyo gutora cyahaga urubuga kongera kwita ku bibazo bya politiki by'imbere mu gihugu n'iyigizwayo, nibura by'agateganyo, ry'ibibazo by'impunzi. Ku rundi, kubera ko amajwi y'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, yari agitatanye mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, kandi ikomera ry'amashyaka nk' ishyaka rihanira ubwisanzure (PL) - ryakusanyaga abarwanashyaka benshi b'Abatutsi-yabatandukanyaga n'Inkotanyi zafatwaga nk'iziva i Buganda. Zabonga neza intege nke zazo mu rwego rwa politiki, haba imbere ya MRND cg imbere y'ububasha bwiyongeraga bw'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi - rwarimo MDR "ivuguruye" yari ifite umwanya ukomeye cyane. Uko amatora yari gukorwa kose, ubwiganze bw'Abahutu bwabahaga icyizere cyo gutsinda : MRND mu majyaruguru na MDR/PSD mu majyepfo. Nanone, itora risesuye mu matora y'abadepite ryashoboraga gutuma Abahutu bo mu Nkotanyi, iyo biyamamaza, bari kubona uko bazigobotora kubera ko bemerwaga n'abaturage bidashidikanywa (Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Sendashonga²⁴). N'ubwo nta cyemezaga ko bari gutorwa, ibyo ari byo byose ni bo bonyine babishoboraga. Ibyo bikavuga ko ibitekerezo by'abo banyacyubahiro b'Abahutu ari byo byagombaga kwiganza.

Kubera kudashobora guhangana n'abakeba babiri icyarimwe, Inkotanyi ziyegereje MDR kugira ngo zigizeyo Juvénal Habyarimana na MRND noneho zongere kandi zoroshye ibikorwa byazo bya gisirikari zirwanya ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Abayobozi bazo ba gisirikari bemeraga ko bahagarariye umuyoboro umwe rukumbi wizewe ushobora "gukura Abanyarwanda ku ngoyi y'agaco ka politiki na gisirikari gategekeshya igitugu²⁵" kari ku butegetsi kandi ntibatekerezaga ko MDR n'andi mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yashoboraga kubangamira imigambi yabo nyuma y'intsinzi isesuye y'umuryango wabo.

Muri urwo rwego, MRND, icyo gihe yari yaravukijwe inyungu zo kuba ishyaka rimwe rukumbi kandi yabonwaga na benshi nk'iyatsinzwe witegereje ukuntu amashyaka yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi yari ashigikiye n'abaturage, cyane cyane na za ambasade z'inyamahanga-icyo gihe zavugiraga icyarimwe-, yari igeze aharindimuka. Ishyaka ku bwaryo ntiryashoboraga kurwanya amatora, ariko Perezida waryo yari agifite ububasha bwo kwemeza ingengabihe. Icyihuturwaga cyane kwari ukwihangana kugira ngo inkubiri y'umuyaga ibanze ihite no gusimbukira ku dukosa tw'ubusabusa dukozwe n'abakeba. Ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi ryo muri Mata 1992 ryabaye, muri uwo

²⁴ Seth Sendashonga ni umuhutu w'impuguke winjiye mu Nkotanyi hagati mu mwaka wa 1990 ndetse aza kuba umwe mu bayobozi bazo bakuru.

mwuka, gusubira inyuma kimwe n'inzira, yabonekaga nk'irimo ibibazo bike ugereranyije n'amatora yashoboraga guhitana ibintu byose cg kugwa mu bihe by'intugunda haramutse hakozwe inama rukokoma (Ihuriro mu rwego rw'igihugu). Nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'iyu Guverinoma, MRND yashoboraga nanone guharanira ku mugaragaro gutunganya amatora hakurikijwe ingengabihe ya vuba vuba, kubera ko amaherezo yari isigaye ari ryo shyaka ryabyifuzaga ryonyine.

Ku bw'abayobozi ba MRND, ntibyari nyamara icyerekezo cyo gusahurira mu nduru gusa. Bitegereje amacakubiri yari ayirimo, umurava w'abakozi bakuru utarumvwaga n'abayoborwa, guta igihe ngo barahosha imyigaragambyo ikomeye y'abaturage (ikintu kidasanze mu Rwanda), uburyo bushaje bw'urwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga n'urwa politiki yo gutumanaho, ukutagaragara bihagije kw'ibikorwa by'abanyabwenge bo mu gihugu, abenshi muri bo baboneye icyarimwe ko igihe cyo kongera gukangura no kuvugurura cyari ngombwa. Mu gusaba kwihutisha ibyo gutegura amatora, bifuzaga kurokora ibitekerezo byari bigishobora kurokorwa mbere y'uko umutego w'ubwiyunge bw'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi n'Inkotanyi ushibuka.

Iyo gahunda y'amatora yaburijwemo yateye icyuho hagati y'abaturage n'ibikomerezwa by'abanyapolitiki b'i Kigali, kubera ko itumvikanaga ku mbaga y'abaturage bari barakanguriwe ibikorwa byo kwinjira muri demokarasi kandi batari bamenyereye imico y'inzego za politiki zo mu murwa mukuru. Mu gihe nta mabwiriza yari ateganyijwe yo gutegura isimburana ku butegetsi hanyuma bamwe bakanga iby'amatora abandi bakanga iby'ihuriro rukokoma ku rwego rw'igihugu, abarwanyaga ubutegetsi bageze ubwo bemeza amabwiriza yabo ubwabo : habayeho ku buryo bugaragara isaranganya ribogamye rya za minisitiri n'igerageza ryo kwirukana abakozi mu bigo bya leta n'amasosiyete leta ifitemo imigabane rikozwe na za minisitiri bishamikiyeho.

Mu ikubitiro, diskuru ya mbere ya minisitiri w'intebe yaciye cyane Perezida Intege. Koko rero Dismas nta kintu na kimwe yatanzeho icyifuzo cyari kuba ishingiye rya gahunda nto ishoboka y'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu cyari gihankanye na FPR. Juvénal Habyarimana yari akomeye ku byo kugirana ubwiyunge buciriritse na MDR, bushingiye ku byifuzo rusange bigaragajwe neza byashoboraga gutuma FPR ihishura imigambi yayo. Kuri icyo ntera nibura, yashakaga ko habaho impande ebyiri gusa ku rubuga rwa politiki ruvuguruye, kubera ko yari azi ko Inkotanyi zashakaga ubutegetsi bwose. MDR yo yashakaga impande eshatu, ikeka ko Inkotanyi zari gushimishwa no kwemererwa uburenganzira bwa nyamuke. Ni uko Perezida yarakajwe no kubona Nsengiyaremye yanga kwamagana muri Kamena 1992 amanama y'i Bruxelles hagati y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi MRND itarimo kandi Komite nyobozi ya MDR yari yarafashe icyemezo cyo kwitandukanya n'icyo cyerekezo.

Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi nyuma yaho yashyize ingufu nyinshi mu kwishyira imbere mu buyobozi mu ruhande rushya rw'ibibazo by'ingorabahizi mu mibereho y'abaturage n'ubukungu ariko batagaragaza aho batandukaniye n'ubutegetsi bashakaga gusimbura. Mu gihe abaturage mbere ya byose bari bashishikajwe n'isimbura by'ababurugumesitiri bitwaraga nabi kandi

bakoreshaga igitugu no kongera kugira ubwisanzure iwabo, ibikomerezwa byo byahihibikaniraga by'umwihariko kwigwizaho imigabane y'umutungo w'ubuhake bari bahawe. Uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, ayo mashyaka yaranzwe n'imyiriyane, agenda atakaza abari bayashyigikiye n'imbaraga yari akeneye kugira ngo ashyire mu bikorwa ihinduka ry'ibintu yizezaga. Bityo, aho gusaba ko hajyaho inzira yo guha abaturage urubuga rwo kwihitiramo mu matora asesuye ababahagararira, yaketse ko yashoboraga gufata ubutegetsu vuba, ndetse ko yashoboraga kubukoresha nta we baburwanira abifashijwemo n'Inkotanyi. Bityo, basunitse ibyo gutegura amatora babishyira nyuma y'imishyikirano y'amahoro bagira ngo bazikubire ibyiza byari kuva mu mishyikirano y'amahoro yo kurangiza intambara. Abanyacyubahiro benshi cyane bo ku ruhande rurwanyu ubutegetsu bari bashyigikiye imishyikirano yihutirwa n'Inkotanyi, bamwe ndetse bifuzaga agashyamba ka gisirikari ka nyuma. Nguko uko ubujiji budasobanutse mu rwego rwa politiki bwatumye bishyira mu maboko y'Inkotanyi zitwaje imbunda kugira ngo bace intege ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana maze bagure umwanyu wabo mu rubuga rwa politiki²⁵. Nyamara Inkotanyi ni zo zari zaragennye uko imishyikirano yagombaga kugenda zinateza rugikubita akajagari muri Guverinoma y'amashyamba menshi.

Ku itariki ya 5 kamena 1992, mugihe rwagati cy'imishyikirano ya mbere hamwe n'amashyamba yo ku ruhande rurwanyu ubutegetsu yonyine, Inkotanyi zagabye igitero muri perefegitura Byumba; n'ubwo kitari gikaze, cyageze ku byo zifuzaga.

Amacakubiri muri Guverinoma yarigaragaje ku buryo butihishiriye. Amashyamba arwanyu ubutegetsu, ashaka gukomeza imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi, yagombye kurwana intambura ebyiri, kubera ko yariho atakaza ishyigikirwa ry'igice kinini cy'abaturage, cyarwanyaga intambura yatejwe n'Inkotanyi kandi yari yatakaje agaciro imbere y'ingabo z'igihugu. Kuva ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga kugeza ku ya 4 kamena 1993, imishyikirano igoranye yasubije mu buryo ubuzima mu rwego rwa politiki inasimbura ikibazo cy'amatora. Inkotanyi ziganje mu rubuga rwa politiki y'imbere mu gihugu zikina imikino yo guca uduce mu mashyamba kandi zisimburanyu inzira za politiki cy'ibikorwa bya gisirikari n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba.

Kubera kudashobora gutegura ibyifuzo bya politiki bahuriyeho, bamwe mu bayobozi bo mu ruhande rurwanyu ubutegetsu ntibatinye gushakisha inkunga y'Inkotanyi kugira ngo bakomeze kugira uruvugiro. Bityo, baha inyeshyamba ububasha mu rubuga rwa politiki rw'imbere mu gihugu, ndetse ku buryo budasobanutse baharira urubuga MRND, yari ikirango ruvumwa cy'ubutegetsu bw'igitugu bw'umuntu umwe, rwo guharanira ubwisanzure bwa demokarasi inyuze mu matora asesuye n'urwo kwigarurira ingabo z'igihugu.

Ikibazo cyo kugenzura itangazamakuru

²⁵ Mu ruhande rurwanyu ubutegetsu, byaravugwaga kenshi ko Inkotanyi zari kubakiza Juvénal Habyarimana zikamutsimbura mu majyaruguru zikoresheje abayoboze bazo bakuru b'Abahutu (Alexis Kanyarengwe, Pasteur Bizimungu, Theoneste Lizinde...) bashoboraga kugira benshi bakurura Inkotanyi zitari kugeraho ubwazo. Naho bo [abarwanyu ubutegetsu mu gihugu] bumvaga umugambi wo kubohoza (ibikorwa byo kwamagana ubutegetsu no guteza akajari, *reba umutwe ukurikira*) wari kubafasha kwigarurira amakomini yo mu majyepfo.

Kugerageza kwibohora

Itangazamakuru ritagira mukeba ryari ryaratsimbataje ingoma y'igitugu mu buryo bwose bukenewe, ibyo rikabikesha umurava n'ubwitange by'umuyobozi mukuru, Christophe Mfizi (Hutu, Gisenyi), wabaye intayega mu myaka cumi n'itanu yamaze ku buyobozi bw'ikigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe itangazamakuru (Orinfor). Dukurikije ibisobanura byahoraga byibutswa n'umukuru w'igihugu nkuko tubibwirwa n'uwo mugabo [Mfizi], «Ikigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe itangazamakuru (Orinfor) kimwe n'ikigo gikuru gishinzwe ipereza (SCR) byari ibikoresho by'Umukuru w'igihugu, kimwe kiri haruguru, ikindi kiri hepfo²⁶ ». Iryo bangikana rishize amanga ry'ibigo bibiri ryagaragazaga neza ubwoko bw'amakuru bwari butegerejwe ku bakozi b'itangazamakuru rya leta cy'igihugu, ari iryandika ari na radiyo, ryari rishinzwe gukurikirana no gutangazanya icyubahiro ubutumwa, imbwirwaruhame n'ibikorwa bya Perezida n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi. Uretse Radio Rwanda yari yemewe, itangazamakuru ryandika ryo mu Rwanda ryagarukiraga ku binyamakuru bike nk'Imvaho na La Relève. Umuntu yakongeraho Kinyamateka yagengwaga n'Inama y'abasenyeri bo mu Rwanda, ikaba ari na cyo kinyamamuru kirambye kurusha ibindi mu gihugu (cyavutse mu mwaka wa 1933) ; kimwe n'ibindi binyamakuru, yashyigikiraga ku buryo budasubirwaho ibyifuzo n'ibikorwa bya Guverinoma. Haje nanone kuvuka ikinyamakuru Dialogue cy'abapadiri bera, cyasohokaga rimwe mu kwezi, cyageragezaga gutangiza impaka gikurikije imbibi ntarengwa cyagenerwaga n'ubutegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe mu gihugu.

Mu myaka ya 1980, padiri Sylvio Sindambiwe, wakomokaga i Gitarama, yabaye umuyobozi mushya wa Kinyamateka, yadukana ibyo kunegura bitashimishije abayobozi. Kiliziya gatolika yitandukanyije buhoro buhoro n'ibyandikwaga, Sylvio Sindambiwe biba ngombwa ko yegura mu Kuboza 1985²⁷. Kubera kugaruka ku muco wo gushungura no gutinya gutangaza amakuru nyayo, Kinyamateka yataje vuba abayisomaga, mu gihe ikindi kinyamakuru gishya, Kanguka, cyari kidafite amikoro ariko cyigenga kandi kigamije guhindura ibintu, cyafashe urumuri rwo kwanga amafuti maze gishimisha abantu ku buryo burambuye. Mu Kwakira 1988, inama y'abasenyeri yashyize ku buyobozi bw'ikinyamakuru cyayo (cyasohokaga buri cyumweru) cyari kigeze aharindimuka undi mupadiri wakomokaga i Gitarama, André Sibomana, na we waje kwanga vuba cyane kwiyemeza gupfukamira no kwigengesera byasabwaga n'abategetsi.

Nubwo yamaganwaga n'inzego nkuru za kiliziya gatolika ariko ishyigikiwe n'abihaye imana bo mu maparuwasi, ikipe nshya y'ubwanditsi yashoboye gukangura abasomyi benshi maze vuba vuba ishyirwa mu bahigwaga n'ubutegetsi n'ikigo gikuru gishinzwe iperereza (SCR).

Muri Nyakanga 1990, umwanditsi mukuru wa Kanguka yarafashwe, hanyuma akatirwa igifungo cy'imyaka cumi n'irindwi. Muri Kanama 1990, abayobozi

²⁶ Christophe Mfizi, *Le Réseau zéro (B), fossoyeur de la démocratie et de la République au Rwanda [Ikiguri-ninga, umutabyi wa demokarasi na Repubulika mu Rwanda] (1975-1994)*, TPIR, Arusha, Werurwe 2006, p. 54.

²⁷ Yaguye i Butare mu Gushyamba 1989, azize impanuka yo mu muhanda abenshi bakeka ko ari igikorwa cy'urugomo rw'abashinzwe umutekano.

bateye intambwe nshya badukira Musenyeri Vincent Nsengiyumva wari inshuti magara ya perezida akaba n'umwe mu bagize Komite Nyobozi ya MRND; bamureze ko Kinyamateka yari ishinzwe gusebanya, bagira ngo arushaho kuyishyiraho igitsure. Si ko byagenze ariko kuko ikipe y'ubwanditsi yiyemeje guhangana ibifashijwemo n'amashyirahamwe yigenga (ONGs) arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu yari agitangira hamwe na za ambasade zose n'abaterankunga bari bahagarariwe i Kigali. Ubwo bagezwaga imbere y'ubucamanza muri Nzeri ngo biregure, abanyamakuru basabye ku mugaragaro ko uburenganzira bw'itangazamakuru bwubahirizwa. Mu rwego rwo kwanga guhara ishema, byabaye ngombwa ko abayobozi b'igihugu basubukura umushinga wo gutegura itegeko rigenga itangazamakuru wari warigeze gushingwa Christophe Mfizi mu mwaka wa 1978.

Nyuma y'aho amashyaka menshi yemerejwe muri Kamena 1991, ku itariki ya 1 Ukuboza uwo mwaka itegeko rishya rigenga itangazamakuru ryatangajwe. Nubwo ryari ririmo amananiza, ariko ryoroshyaga ku buryo bugaragara ingoyi y'ubutegetsi ku itangazamakuru. Nanone ariko abanyakazu bakajije umurego bashirwa bavanishijeho umuyobozi wa Orinfor wari usigaye noneho ashyigikiye ubwisanzure mu itangazamakuru rya leta n'ubwinshi bw'ibinyamakuru.

Mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma "idashingiye ku ishyaka rimwe" ku itariki ya 31 ugushyiraho 1991, ku nshuro ya mbere kuva mu mwaka wa 1976, hashyizweho minisitiri y'itangazamakuru ndetse na Orinfor yari iyishamikiyeho iva mu bugenzuzi bwa perezidansi ya Repubulika. Mu gihe cya mbere, ubuyobozi bw'ikigo na minisitiri y'itangazamakuru byashinzwe abanyacyubahiro bakomoka muri MRND, ari bo Ferdinand Nahimana (Hutu, Ruhengeri) na Fidèle Nkundabagenzi (Hutu, cyangugu), bahagurukiye kuburizamo ubwisanzuriro ubwo ari bwo bwose. Bityo, mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1991, mu gihe umubare w'ibinyamakuru byandikwaga wiyongeraga cyane, kwibasira abanyamakuru bigenga byariyongereye cyane, abenshi bagahitishwamo hagati yo kwihisha no kwitaba inzego zishinzwe umutekano. Ndetse byageze aho Ferdinand Nahimana akoresha ku mugaragaro radiyo y'igihugu nk'urwego rwo kurwana intambara y'amarangamutima, ntatinye gusimburanya ibinyoma bivuga iby'ubugambanyi bw' "umwanzi" n'abarwanya ubutegetsi.

Ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1992, ubwo hashyirwagaha Guverinoma ihuriweho [n'amashyaka menshi] yari iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsegiyaremye, minisitiri y'itangazamakuru yahawe umuyobozi na we ukomoka muri MDR ari we Pascal Ndengejeho (Hutu, Kigali). Kuva mu mpera za Mata 1992, Ferdinand Nahimana yakuwe ku mirimo bitewe n'igitutu cy'amashyamba ya politiki arwanya ubutegetsi nyuma y' uko Radio Rwanda ihitisha itangazo ryafashwe nk'iryatije umurindi ubwicanyi bw'abasivili b'Abatutsi bo mu karere ka Bugesera²⁸.

²⁸ Ku itariki ya 2 Werurwe 1992, itangazo rya Orinfor, rishingiye ku nyandiko yavuye i Nairobi yanditswe n'abantu bataramenyekana kugeza uyu muni, ryavugaga ko hariho imyiteguro y'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba Inkotanyi zari zifatanyije na PL (cyane cyane iyo guhitana abanyacyubahiro 22 b'Abahutu), ryahamagariye abantu kwitonda kugira ngo "baburizemo imigambi mibisha y'umwanzi *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*". Iryo tangazo ryahitishijwe bukeye kuri Radio Rwanda umunsi wose. Mu ijoro ryo ku ya 4 n'ya 5 Werurwe 1992, abaturage, cyane cyane Abatutsi, bo mu karere ka Bugesera bagabwaho ibitero n'Abahutu bo muri ako karere n'amatsinda y'abantu batamenyekanye. Abantu benshi barishwe - inzego za leta zivugaga mirongo itatu, amashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu akavugaga abarenga 300 ; ubusahuzi n'inkongi z'umuriro byangije amazu abarirwa muri magana; abantu hagati y'ibihumbi 10 na 15 bataye izabo bahungira ku maparuwasi. Abategetsi bashyizeho umukwabu, ariko uburyo

Yasimbuwe, by'agateganyo, na Musemakweli Prosper, umwe mu bagize MDR.

Ubugenzuzi bw'abakozi bakuru bo muri MRND kuri za gahunda za Radio Rwanda bwaragabanutse. Amashyaka yahawe igihe cyo kuvugira kuri radiyo, aho yavugiraga ibyo ashaka. Urujya n'uruza rw'ibikorwa n'amagambo bya perezida byahoraga kuri Radio Rwanda byarahagaritswe; ibindi byahagaritswe n' "ijambo ry'ibanze" rya perezida ryabanzirizaga amakuru kuri radiyo kimwe n'imbwirwaruhame n'ubutumwa bw'abayobozi by'urudaca.

Iyo mikorere mishya yaguye nabi cyane abambari b'ingoma n'abayoboze babo batari bamenyereye kuvuguruzwa ndetse noneho bakaba bari bageze aho abanyamakuru bashoboraga no kubirengagiza. Ntibyabujije ariko ko abayamakuru bakomeza kuregwa na bamwe ko badaha umwanya uhagije abarwanya ubutegetsu, abandi bakabarega kugira abo bima ijambo. Uko byari kose ariko, urubuga rw'itanagazamakuru rwari rwihariwe ku buryo butagibwaho impaka na Radio Rwanda n'Imvaho, ibikoresho bibiri bitagereranywa byari bimaze kujya mu maboko y'uruhande rurwanya ishyamba ryari ku butegetsu. Ibi byatumye Akazu ka perezida na MRND bafata izindi ngamba zo guhangana n'iki kibazo²⁹.

Uko uruhande rwa perezida rwisubije itangazamakuru

Séraphin Rwabukumba, muramu wa perezida, yari yagerageje gushyiraho ikinyamakuru cyitwa Intera mu mwaka wa 1989, ariko icyo gikorwa nticyashoboye kugerwaho. Kangura yashyizweho ikanayoborwa na Hassan Ngeze (1990), nubwo yari ishyigikiye n'ibikomerezwa byo butegetsu yabanje kugira ingorane mu ntangiriro. Mu gihe byari bimaze kugaragara ko guhangana na Kanguka ihembera urwango rwibasira abarwanya ubutegetsu bitari bihagije ngo biyikundishe abasomyi, igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo mu Kwakira 1990 cyatumye "intagondwa" zo mu butegetsu zizura icyo kinyamakuru cyari kigeze aharindimuka. Mu gihe izindi nzego z'itangazamakuru n'abanyamakuru bari bakiri mu byo kwamagana ubushotoranyi bw'Inkotanyi no gusesengura ingaruka zabwo, Kangura yahise ihitamo umurongo wayo rugikubita yigira intwararumuri y'ibitekerezo by'intambara, iby'irondakoko n'ivanguramoko, itizwa umurindi n'ibindi binyamakuru bitari bizwi cyane. Ariko muri rusange, ibyandikwaga byegereye uruhande rurwanya ishyamba ryari ku butegetsu, ku mwanya wa mbere hari Kinyamateka ya Kiliziya Gatolika, Kanguka ya Vincent Rwabukwisi, Isibo ya Sixbert Musangamfura, Ikindi cya Thaddée Nsengiyaremye, Rwanda Rushya cya André Kameya, Le Tribun du Peuple [Umuwugizi wa rubanda] cya Jean-Pierre Mugabe byari bifite umwanya ukomeye, tutibagiwe Radio Muhabura y'Inkotanyi yumvaga na bake cyane.

Nanone, icyo gihe umushinga wo gushyiraho Televiziyo y'U Rwanda (TVR) wari waratangijwe mu myaka ya 1989 wari umaze kunozwa. Guhitamo uburyo bw'imikorere n'ibikoresho byari byarangiye na gahunda yo gutangiza imirimo yari imaze gutunganywa haba kuri TVR ya leta ndetse no kuri sosiyete yo gufata

ubuyobozi bw'akarere bwitwaga ku bahohotewe byabaye urujijo ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Iyo myirane yatumye habaho guteran amagambo hagati y'umuyobozi wa Orinfor na MRND ku ruhande rumwe, n'imitwe ya politiki yari yashyizwe mu majwi (PL na MDR), ku rundi.

amajwi n'amashusho yari yaratewe inkunga na Séraphin Rwabukumba.

Intambara mu rwego rw'itumanaho rero yari igeze mu mahina kandi kuyitsinda byasabaga kumenya neza iby'ikoranabuhanga rishya, n'ubwo bwose gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda kimwe n'intambara y'Inkotanyi byashoboraga gutinza ibyo gushyira mu bikorwa umushinga wa TVR dore ko wasabaga igishoro n'imbaraga bihagije.

Nkuko Christophe Mfizi yabisobanuye, kuba Perezida atarihuriye gushyigikira ko uwo mushinga ushyirwa mu bikorwa yabitewe n'amakenga ko abarwanya ubutegetsi bashoboraga kwigarurira icyo gikoresho gishya. Ibyo ahubwo byatumye ashya imbere amayeri yo gutiza umushinga nkana no gutegura izindi ngamba zo gushyiraho televiziyo yigenga.

Bityo, nk'uko Joseph Nzirorera yari yagizwe minisitiri w'Inganda n'Ubukorikori muri 1990 kugira ngo ashya abantu bizewe mu myanya ikomeye yo kugenzura ibigo no gukama ibigo bya leta basuka mu kigega cya MRND itari igifite umugati wa leta (reba umugereka wa 25), Nahimana yaba yarashyizwe ku kuyobozi bwa Orinfor kugira ngo, igihe byari kuba ari ngombwa, akoreshe umutungo n'ubuzobere bwa Radio Rwanda mu gushyiraho urwego rw'itangazamakuru ryigenga rigenzurwa na MRND. Muri urwo rwego, Perezida yari kuba yarangije kwemeza bya vuba inyandiko y'itegeko rigenga itangazamakuru riha amaradiyo na televiziyo ubwisanzure busumbye kure ubw'itangazamakuru ryandikwa.

Gutakaza itangazamakuru rya leta mu by'ukuri niyo mpamvu ya mbere isobanura impamvu hashyizweho radiyo "yigenga". Abari bashyigikiye icyahozze ari ishyamba rimwe rukumbi batinyaga gusigara ari bonyine badafite urubuga rwihariye dore ko kuva muri 1991 Inkotanyi zari zifite Radio Muhabura yavugiraga ku mirongo migufi i Buganda ariko ikumvikana biciriritse mu Rwanda ndetse no mu gace gato ko hanze y'igihugu. Ikindi kandi, batinyaga kutazabona uruhushya rwo gushyiraho indi radiyo yigenga mu gihe cy'amatora ya nyuma y'inziyacyuho.

Ishyashyamba ryo gutangiza radiyo yigenga ikorera MRND ryadutse ubwo Ferdinand Nahimana yahabwaga ubuyobozi bwa Orinfor mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1991 ariko umushinga wihutishwa ubwo yari akuweho. Mu Kwakira 1992, Ferdinand Nahimana yavuganye na Joseph Serugendo ku bibazo byo gutunganya uwo mushinga mbere yo kujya mu Budage no mu Bubiligi mu butumwa bwo kunoza gahunda no gushyiraho ibikoresho bya radiyo mu kwezi kwakurikiyeho.

Ni bwo Komite yo gushinga RTLM yatunganyijwe neza. Yarimo mu ikubitiro abantu umunani, nta n'umwe muri bo wakoreraga icyo sosiyete :

- Félicien Kabuga (Byumba), Perezida wa Komite, umucuruzi wari ufitanye isano n'umuryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana ;

- Charles Nzabagerageza (Gisenyi), Umuyobozi w'ibiro bya ministeri yo gutwara abantu no gutumanaho, mwene wabo na Perezida, wahoze ari perefere wa Ruhengeri ;

- Ferdinand Nahimana (Ruhengeri), umwe mu bagize Komite ya perefegitura ya MRND mu Ruhengeri, wahoze ari umuyobozi wa Orinfor ;

- Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (Gisenyi), umuyobozi muri minisitiri y'Ububanyi

n'amahanga, umujyanama wa CDR ;

- Ephrem Nkezabera (Gisenyi), Umuyobozi w' amashami ya Banki y'Ubucuruzi y'U Rwanda (BCR), umujyanama muri Komite y'igihugu y'urubwiruko rw'Interahamwe ;

- Joseph Serugendo (Gisenyi), umukuru w'ishami ry'ubuhanga bw'ibyuma muri Orinfor/Radio Rwanda, umujyanama muri Komite y'igihugu y'urubwiruko rw'interahamwe²⁹ ;

- Augustin Hatari (Ruhengeri), umukuru w'ishami rya gahunda za Orinfor/Radio Rwanda ;

- Ignace Temahagali (Byumba), umukozi wa sosiyete y'igihugu y'ubwishingizi mu Rwanda (Sonarwa).

Abari bayirimo bafite uruhare runini cyane, kubera ubumenyi bwabo n'ubuzobere, ni Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (ku birebana n'amategeko) ; Josph Serugendo (ku birebana ubuhanga bw'ibyuma) ; Ephrem Nkezabera (wari ushinze urwego rw'ishoramari n'ubucungamari) ; Ferdinand Nahimana (ushinze ibibazo by'ubuyobozi n'itegurwa rya gahunda). Yari ashinze nanone ubuhuzabikorwa bw'imirimo yose akanaba "umuyobozi wungirije" wa Komite yo gutangiza ry'umushinga. N'ubwo yiswe Perezida w'icyubahiro mu gihe hashyirwaga umukono imbere ya *noteri* ku mategeko y'umuryango ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1993 muri Village Urugwiro, Félicien Kabuga ntiyagize uruhare ku mugaragaro mu mikorere ya buri munsu ya Komite y'itangiza kandi ntiyajyaga mu manama yose. Ibibazo yagezwagaho hakurikijwe uko byihutirwa byari ibifitanye isano no gutera inkunga yo kugura ibikoresho kimwe n'iby'imibanire n'inzego z'ubutegetsi.

Inama rusange ya mbere y'abanyamuryango ba RTLM yabaye ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga 1993 kuri Hôtel Amahoro i Remera, nyuma y'iminsi ibiri radiyo imaze gutangira ibiganiro byayo. Iyo nama yayobowe na Félicien Kabuga akikijwe n'abagize Komite y'itangizwa yahuje abantu basaga magana atandatu isozwa n'umwanya wahariwe kugura imigabane wayobowe na Ephrem Nkezabera na Georges Gakeri, wari wafunguye aho hantu agashami ka Banki y'Ubucuruzi y'U Rwanda (BCR). Imigabane yakiriwe icyo gihe yageze kuri hafi miliyoni indwi z'amafaranga y'U Rwanda (FRw). Iryo yakira ryarakomeje kugeza ubwo mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1994 yari igeze kuri miliyoni 15 z'amafaranga y'U Rwanda.

RTLM yatangiye gukora rero mu gihe gisa n'igituje ku rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa politiki, cyaranzwe n'ishyirwaho umukono ku masezerano y'Arusha mu ntangiriro ya Kanama 1993 (*reba umutwe ukurikira*).

Amakuru ashyushye menshi, afitanye isano n'amasezerano y'amahoro n'uburyo bushya bwadukanywe na RTLM bwo kuvugira aho nta kwigengesera ndetse ntibatinye no gukoresha imvugo nyandagazi byahaye iyo radiyo kwamamara ku buryo abayobozi bayo batatinyaga kwihandagaza ko abumvaga

²⁹ Biragaragara ko nta muntu n'umwe mu bagize Komite mpuzabikorwa yemewe n'amategeko y'urubwiruko rw'Interahamwe yashyizweho na Désiré Murenzi, uri kuri urwo rutonde ; babiri mu bayobozi bazo tumaze kuvuga ni abari mu bikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru bari bashyizweho n'ibyegera bya Habyalimana akaba ari nabo bafashe ubuyobozi bw'umutwe w'Interahamwe muri 1992 (*reba umutwe wa 6*).

RTLTM aho yashoboraga kugera banganaga n'abumva Radio Rwanda.

Ibihe RTLTM yavutsemo byayishyiraga mu cyerekezo cya radiyo yo gucengeza amatwara ya MRND nkuko radiyo Muhabura yamamazaga Inkotanyi. Iyo mitwe yombi ni yo rero yonyine yari ifite igikoresho cy'itumanaho rigera kuri benshi, ryari ingirakamaro cyane kurusha itangazamakuru ryandikwa kandi ryakoreshaga ubushishozi rikanahangana kurusha Radio Rwanda. Koko rero, Radio Rwanda yagenzurwaga ku buryo bubiri na Orinfor hamwe na minisiteri y'itangazamakuru kandi, nk'iradiyo ya leta, yagombaga kubaha iringaniza riciriritse mu ruhando rw'ubutegetsi bwari bwaracitsemo uduce tutagira ingano kugira ngo isobanure uko Guverinoma ihagaze. Bityo, yatangazaga muri rusange imvugo yigengesera, idatomoye neza mu gihe abo yabwiraga bari baramenyereye guhabwa amabwiriza adaca ku ruhande.

Nk'uko igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyari cyarahaye ikinyamakuru cy'intagondwa cya Kangura urwaho rwo gucengeza ibitekerezo by'ivanguramoko, RTLTM yigaruriye urubuga rw'itangazamakuru nyuma yaho ingabo z'Uburundi zihitaniye perezida Melchior Ndadaye ku itariki ya 21 ukwakira 1993. Iryo yicwa [rya Ndadaye] ryashegeshe bikomeye impirimanyi za demokarasi ari Abarundi ari n'Abanyarwanda, bari bishimiye intambwe y'intangarugero muri demokarasi Uburundi bwari bumaze gutera; ahubwo riha urwaho intagondwa z'Abahutu hakurya no hakuno y'Akanyaru. Ku ruhande rumwe, i Burundi udutsiko tw'intavugirwamo twamaganaga ubutegetsi bwa Frodebu yari yitabiriye inzira y'amatora ihangana n'ingoma y'abasirikari b'Abatutsi bari barikubiye ubutegetsi kuva hagati mu myaka ya za 1960; ku rundi ruhande, abashyira imbere amatwara ya gahutu mu Rwanda barwanyaga ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha yakekwagaho gushyira igihugu mu maboko y'Inkotanyi. Mu gihe Radio Rwanda, nka radiyo ya leta, yagenzurirwaga hafi n'ubutegetsi ngo idatokoza umubano w'ibihugu byombi wari mu mazi abira, RTLTM yipakuruye ibyo kwigengesera ivugira ku mugaragaro ibyo yemeraga. Yongereye vuba igihe cyo gutangaza kugira ngo ikurikiranire hafi ibyaberaga i Burundi kandi imenyekanishe buri kanya uko byagendaga bihindagurika. Yibanze cyane ku nzira y'ikinamico, igaha ijambo abantu aho bari, ari abayobozi n'abaturage basanzwe, bakavugira aho batagombye gutegurwa ari mu magambo cg isesengura, bakavuga iribaniga, ari ibyifuzo ndetse n'urwango bafite. Ku buryo butari bwarigeze bubaho muri ako karere, amagana y'ibihumbi by'abateze amatwi bashoboye gukurikira ku buryo buhoraho kandi mu magambo ataziguye imigendekere y'ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa politiki gikomeye kandi cyari giteye inkeke cyane.

Indorerezi nke zumvise uburemere bw'icyo gikorwa kidasanzwe kandi cy'ibanze ku mpamvu nyinshi mu ikangurambaga mu rwego rw'ibitekerezo n'urwa politiki. Gukurikirana ikibazo cy'i Burundi byahesheje RTLTM icyizere no gutegwa amatwi bidashobora gusa gufatwa nk'ubuhanga budasanzwe bwo mu rwego rw'iyamamaza rigenewe imbaga y'abaturage ibyakira kandi idashishoza. RTLTM yafashe ikibazo cy'i Burundi nk' "ifumba ya batisimu", mbese ikigira imbarutso idasanzwe yo kwigaranzura itangazamakuru rya leta ndetse ahubwo ubuzobere buke bwayo mu mwuga w'itangazamakuru n'imitunganyirize

idahwitse muri gahunda zayo biyibera intwaro z'ingirakamaro. Gutoranya abo iha ijambo, gutandukanya impuha n'inkuru z'impamo cg kubona amakuru aca igikuba n'abogamye ntibyari bikiri ikibazo. Kugereranya RTLTM na Radio Rwanda – dore ko noneho kwinumira, kutagira amakuru ahagije no kwirinda gutangaza ibyo ifite ari byo yari yahisemo – byari bihagije ngo biheshe amakuru ashyushye ya RTLTM icyizere cyarushagaho kongerwa n'igishyika cy'amakuba yari yagwiririye Uburundi.

Nyuma y'ibyumweru bike gusa imaze gushingwa muri Nyakanga 1993, RTLTM yari imaze kugwiza abayumva benshi mu nkambi z'impunzi zari mu nkengero y'umurwa mukuru, dore ko yatarangaga yivuye inyuma amarorerwa y'ibitero by'Inkotanyi byari byatumye amagana y'ibihumbi by'abantu bahunga agace k'umupaka zari zarigaruriye mu majyaruguru kuva muri 1992 na nyuma y'igitero cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 ; yibandaga cyane nanone ku bukene bw'abakuwe mu byabo n'intambara bari bamaze amezi n'amezi baratereranywe, bari ku gasi kandi nta cyizere namba bafite. Nubwo bene ibyo biganira bitaburaga gushisha bamwe, dore ko byari bishyize imbere kureshya no gushyushya abantu imitwe, abakuru b'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe bari mu buyobozi bwa RTLTM bari barayigize umuyoboro wo kureshya no gushishikariza urubyiruko rw'imburamukoro kwitabira imyitozo ya gisirikari. Aho bicikiye i Burundi, abenshi mu bari basanzwe bumva Radiyo Rwanda bashidukiye inkuru zishyushye za RTLTM ku byaberaga i Burundi, harimo ndetse n'abari basanzwe banenga ibogama ryayo. Nguko uko abantu batangiye kumenyera gushakira kuri RTLTM amakuru batabonaga kuri Radio Rwanda, yewe ndetse bikaba naho abanyamakuru ba Radio Rwanda ubwabo basubiraga mu makuru RTLTM yabaga yarangije gutangaza kare.

Hashize ibyumweru byinshi inkuru zishyushye za RTLTM nta kindi zivuga atari ibibazo by'Uburundi n'amasomo Abanyarwanda bagombaga kubivanamo, bityo ibyo bituma yamamara cyane kandi bitiza umurindi ibitekerezo by'irondakoko itafashaga hasi. Amatangazo yamamaza n'inkunga byarushijeho kwiyongera kuri RTLTM.

Uhereye ku kibazo cy'Uburundi, nkuko umwe mu bayobozi b'Interahamwe yabisobanuye neza, "mu by'ukuri inkuru za RTLTM zose zari zihuriye ku mugambi umwe rukumbi : kurwanya umwanzi. Nta washoboraga kwigobotora icyo cyerekezo kereka ashaka kwitwa "icyitso" cy'umwanzi akanirengera ingaruka zabyo, rimwe na rimwe zashoboraga kumuhitana ndetse zikarimbura n'umuryango we wose"³⁰.

Ku ya 26 ugushyirahamwe 1993, nkuko byari byarasabwe n'inama rusange yo ku ya 13 Nyakanga 1993, Komite y'ishyirwaho rya RTLTM yaraguwe iva ku bayigize 8 igera kuri mirongo itatu, yinjizwamo abanyacyubahiro benshi. Icyo cyemezo cyagombaga gutuma hihutishwa ishyirwaho rya sosiyete [y'abagize RTLTM], inama rusange yo gushyiraho inzego zihoraho ikaba yari iteganiye mu Kuboza 1993. Nyamara iyo komite y'itangiza yaguye n'utunama tunyuranye ntibyagiyeho, kubera ko inama rusange yabanje kwimurirwa muri Gashyantare

³⁰ Ubuhamya bw'umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Kamena-8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 42.

Rwanda, kuva ku ntambara kugera ku itsembabwoko

1994, nyuma yimurirwa ku muni utazwi. Aiko abayobozi ntibashoboraga na busa gutinyuka gukurikirana RTLIM mu butabera.

