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Imishyikirano y'Arusha na bomboribombori mu mashyaka

Nyuma gato y'igitero cy'Inkotanyi mu Kwakira 1990, hatangiye imishyikirano mu ibanga hagati y'impande zari zihanganye, nyuma ijya ku mugaragaro. Iyo mishyikirano yaje gukomereza ahantu hanyuranye, ihuza intumwa zitabarika, izizwi n'izitazwi, iza kugeza ku masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha, yashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993. Kuva ku munsi wa mbere w' igitero cy'Inkotanyi, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) n'abakuru b'ibihugu bo mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari bahise biyemeza gufata iya mbere mu kuyobora imishyikirano, n'ubwo icyo gihe hatari hakabayeho uburyo buhamye bwo guhosha amakimbirane. Raporo y'ibyagezweho na OUA itanga ubuhamya ku nzitizi nyinshi iyo mishyikirano yahuye nazo.

> "Umuryango [OUA] wumvaga udafite ubwemarare buhagije bwo kwamagana igitero cy'Inkotanyi ariko nanone [ntiwari] wishimiye ko icyo gitero gihungabanya Guverinoma ya Habyarimana. Icya kabiri, perezida wa Uganda Museveni ni we wari perezida w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, Habyarimana akaba yaremezaga buri gihe ko afasha Inkotanyi. Habyarimana yemezaga ko igihugu cye cyatewe na Uganda. […] Na nyuma y'uko perezidansi ya OUA yegurirwa undi, Museveni yakomeje kugira uruhare rukomeye mu bikorwa by'akarere U Rwanda rurimo, ibyo bikaba byarakomeje kurakaza Habyarimana kugeza apfuye. […] Abakuru ba FPR bo bishishaga Mobutu wa Zayire kubera umubano ukomeye yari afitanye na Habyarimana. Kimwe na Habyarimana, Mobutu yumvaga Museveni ari waremye umutwe w'Inkotanyi. Nanone ariko Mobutu ni we perezida wari urambye ku butegetsi kurusha abandi muri Afurika, akaba yari na perezida w'umuryango w'Ihihugu bituriye Ibiyaga Bigari.
>
> Mu rwego rwo kubungabunga amahoro, imyaka ya 1990 yabaye urubuga rw'inzozi nziza, kungurana ibikerezo, amanama y'urudaca, gushyigikira no kwitandukanya. Urwo rujya n'uruza rw'ibikorwa ni ishusho y'imikorere nyakuri y'Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango

w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, utagira ububasha bwo gufata ibyemezo bitanyuze ku bihugu biwugize kandi butanashobora gutegeka ibihugu biwugize gukora ibyo wemeje cg guhana uwo ari we wese wirengagiza ibyo ushaka. Icyo Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika ushobora gukora gusa, ni ugutumiza amanama, kwizera ko abatumirwa baza no kwifuza ko bayazamo bubaha ibyo biyemeje[1]".

Muri Nyakanga 1992 ni bwo noneho umuhuza [mediateur], perezida wa Tanzaniya Ali Hassan Mwinyi n'umworoshya-nzira [facilitateur], perezida wa Zayire Mobutu Sese Seko, bashoboye gutangiza imishyikirano ku buryo buhwitse. Iyo mishyikirano yari ishyigikiwe n'Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, abayobozi bo mu karere (Tanzaniya, Uganda, Zayire n'Uburundi), ambasade zikomeye z'ibihugu by'i Burayi na Amerika nk'iy'u Bubiligi, Ubudage, Ubufransa na Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, kimwe n'imiryango mpuzamahanga n'iyo mu karere.

Mu Banyafurika bagize uruhare mu gutegura inzira y'iyo mishyikirano, nta wakwibagirwa uruhare rw'ingirakamaro abahagarariye amadini bagize nyuma y'aho igitekerezo cy'amashyaka menshi kigiriye ku mugaragaro mu mpera za 1991 ubwo Sylvestre Nsanzimana wari uzwiho kugurura amarembo yashingwaga kuyobora Guverinoma. Ku itariki ya 3 mutarama 1992, abasenyeri b'abaporotesitanti bakoranye inama n'abahagarariye amashyaka yose ya politiki. Iyo nama yakomereje i Londres mu ibanga ihuza abahagarariye CETA (Inama y'Amatorero y'Afurika yose afite icyicaro i Nairobi akaba ahuriwemo n'amatorero yose azwi ku isi yo ku mugabane w'afurika) n'Inkotanyi, ndetse atangiza imibonano ya mbere i Kigali hagati ya CETA, MDR, PL na PSD. CETA yahuye n'abaminisitiri na perezida wa Repubulika, hanyuma ku itariki ya 22 Mutarama ikoresha inama y'abahagarariye amadini anyuranye kugira ngo bategure umugambi wo kunga abashyamiranye. Ku itariki ya 27 Mutarama, akanama gahuriweho n'abayobozi b'abanyagatolika n'abaporotesitanti katangiye imibonano n'abahagarariye amashyaka, yaje gukomeza ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare. Nyuma y'aho inama yo mu ibanga yabereye i Nairobi ihuza Inkotanyi na Komite y'imibonano (amadini n'abanyacyubahiro).

Muri uko kwezi kwa Gashyantare, ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikari bw'Inkotanyi zari zitaremererwa gukorera mu gihugu bwatangiye ibyo kubangikanya imishyikirano myinshi yihariye yateguraga inzira y'imishyikirano itaziguye (*reba umugereka wa 13*) no gushyiraho mugambi w'inyabubiri wavangaga igitutu cya gisirikari giturutse hanze y'igihugu n'ibikorwa by'iterabwoba byo guhungabanya Guverinoma nshya y'imbere mu gihugu. Ingufu nke z'inzego za leta z'ipereza n'ihangana hagati y'abanyapolitiki bo mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'ingoma ya Habyarimana byatumye FPR inyanyagiza abakomando bayo mu gihugu inongera ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byo gutega za mine n'ibindi bisasu nta nkomyi. Ngiyo imwe mu mpamvu zatumye ibikorwa byose by'iterabwoba, ubariyemo n'ibyakozwe n'Inkotanyi (*reba imbere cyane muri uyu mutwe*), hafi ya buri gihe byaritiriwe "imitwe y'ubwicanyi" cg "ingufu za gatatu" ziyoberanyaga byose bikegekwa ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida.

[1] OUA, *Rwanda, Le génocide qu'on aurait pu stopper [itsembabwoko ryashobaraga guhagarikwa],* Addis-Abéba, 7 Nyakanga 2000, chapitre 11, "Avant le génocide : le rôle de l'OUA [umutwe wa 11, "Mbere y'itsembabwoko : uruhare rwa OUA"]", reba umugereka wa 5.

Hamaze kujyaho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ku itariki ya 16 mata 1992 ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byikubye kabiri. Abakomando b'Inkotanyi batangiye ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi mu kivunge, bibasira imbaga y'abasivili (*reba umugereka wa 14*).

Imishyikirano ku gitutu cy'ingufu za gisirikari

Kwishisha Perezidansi na MRND byatumye abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi bihutira gushyira itangizwa ry'imishyikirano kuri gahunda ya politiki ya leta. Ku buryo bweruye, imishyikirano yatangiye ku itariki ya 24 gicurasi 1992 i Kampala, mu mibonano ya mbere hagati ya Guverinoma y'U Rwanda, yari ihagarariwe na Bonifas Ngulinzira, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wo muri MDR, n'Inkotanyi, yatangirijwemo ingengabihe y'imishyikirano. Ibiganiro by'amahoro hagati y'Inkotanyi, ku ruhande rumwe, MDR, PSD na PL, ku rundi, yatangijwe nyuma i Bruxelles ku itariki ya 29 Gicurasi, muri icyo gihe ari nabwo habaye imyigaragambyo yajyanye n'ubusahuzi mu maperefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Gisenyi ikozwe n'abasirikari batinyaga kuzasezererwa amasezerano y'amahoro amaze gushyirwaho umukono. Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena, nanone i Bruxelles, mu gihe inyeshyamba na ya mashyaka atatu yo muri Guverinoma yishyize hamwe yari mu mishyikirano y'amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano binyuranyije n'icyifuzo cya MRND, Inkotanyi zubuye imirwano cyane cyane muri perefegitura ya Byumba. Ingabo zigendera mu mitaka zo mu mutwe wa 8 w'ingabo zo mu mazi (RIPMa) z'Abafaransa, zari mu gikorwa cya gisirikari kitiriwe Noroît[2] cyarimo hafi abantu 170, zafashije ingabo z'U Rwanda kurwanya icyo gitero.

Imishyikirano yongeye kubura ku matariki ya 6 na 7 Kamena i Paris. Yageze ku masezerano aha urubuga MRND kandi ateganya itangizwa muri Tanzaniya ku itariki ya 10 Nyakanga [1992] ibiganiro by'amahoro ku bibazo by'ubumwe bw'igihugu, umuco wa demokarasi, ivangwa ry'ingabo zombi rari zihanganye, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, n'ibindi. minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, James Gasana, icyo gihe yagize ububasha ku ngabo kubera gusezererwa kw'abayobozi ba etamajoro bungirije b'ingabo n'abajandarume, batashoboye guhosha imyigaragambyo n'ibikorwa bibi. Nyuma yaho gato, habayeho ibyiciro bitatu by'imishyikirano biyobowe n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), bibera uko bikurikirana Arusha, Addis-Abeba na Arusha nanone ku matariki ya 12, 26 Nyakanga n'iya 11 Kanama. Mu byayivuyemo, havugwa ishyirwa mu bikorwa

[2] Igikorwa cya gisirikari cy'Abafaransa cyitiriwe "Noroît [Noruwa]" cyatangiye ku itariki ya 4 ukwakira 1990 bisabwe na perezida Habyalimana amaze guterwa n'Inkotanyi. Uwo mutwe wari ugizwe na etamajoro y'abahanga mu bya gisirikari y'abantu 40 n'amatorero abiri – irya 1 n'irya 3 y'ingabo z'umutwe wa 8 RPIMa – buri torero rigizwe n'abantu 137. Igikorwa cyari kigamije kurinda umutekano w'ambasade y'Ubufaransa n'abantu bakomoka mu Bufaransa no kubimura bibaye ngombwa. Hagati y'itariki ya 5 n'iya 12 Ukwakira, Abafaransa 313 bavuye koko mu Rwanda. "Umutwe Noroît nanone wakoze ibikorwa binyuranye, nko kubarura intwaro n'ibikoresho byahabwaga ingabo z'U Rwanda ndetse no kuzihugura byakorwaga n'umusirikari mukuru wazobereye mu by'ubumenyi-ngiro wigishaga ibijyanye no guhangana n'impanuka za mine n'imitego." Icyagaragaye nanone ni "uko guhurura ku mutwe w'ingabo z'amahanga, n'iyo zitarwana, bigira uruhare mu kugarura ituze no kurema agatima ubutegetsi buba bugeraniwe n'igitero kivuye hanze kandi bwugarijwe n'imyiryane ishingiye ku moko cg ibibazo bya politiki. Mu Ukubozo 1990, itorero rimwe ni ryo ryasigaye i Kigali abandi baratahа. (reba raporo ya jenerali Jean-Claude THOMANN, muri, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [anketi ku marorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda] (1990-1994)*, Paris, 1998, t. II : *Annexes*, p. 138).

ry'ihagarikwa ry'imirwano ryagezweho ku itariki ya 1 Kanama, rikurikirwa ku itariki ya 18 Kanama n'ishyirwaho umukono ku gace k'amasezerano kerekeye "igihugu kigendera ku mategeko"[3]. Mu gihe imbere mu gihugu havugwaga itutumba ry'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byibasira abaturage, ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa, Georges Martre, na minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Boniface Ngulinzira bashyize umukono, ku itariki ya 26 Kanama 1992, ku bwumvikane bw' "amasezerano adasanzwe y'ubufatanye mu rwego rwa gisirikari" bw'Ubufaransa bwerekeye gutunganya no gutoza Jandarumori y'U Rwanda bwari bwaratangijwe muri Nyakanga 1975. Ubwo bwumvikane bwaguye ububasha bw'amasezerano yari asanzweho hongerwamo ingabo z'igihugu zose.

Ku itariki ya 30 Ukwakira, akandi gace k'amasezerano "ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi" kashyizweho umukono n'impande zose[4]. Nyuma byabaye ngombwa gutegereza amezi umunani mbere y'uko agace ka gatatu gategurwa kakanemezwa, muri icyo gihe abarwanaga batera urusaku rukabije. Impera z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1993 zabayemo imyigaragambyo ya MRND mu gihugu cyose n'ubwicanyi bwinshi bwibasira Abatutsi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye na Byumba. Hanyuma, ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare, icyumweru kimwe nyuma y'umubonano wavuzwe cyane mu bitangazamakuru hagati ya ba perezida Habyarimana na Museveni i Entebbe, Inkotanyi, zitwaje imvururu zishingiye ku moko na politiki zo muri Mutarama[5], zarenze ku ihagarikwa ry'imirwano zigaba igitero gikomeye mu masuperefegitura ya Kirambo (Ruhengeri) na Kinihira (Byumba).

Icyo gitero gishya cy'Inkotanyi aho ingabo zazo zageze ku birometero nka makumyabiri mu majyaruguru ya Kigali, cyashoboraga kuba rurangiza iyo Abafaransa batahaba ngo bagoboke ingabo z'igihugu[6]. Nyuma y'aho abasirikari

[3] Ako gace k'amasazerano karimo imitwe ine : "ubumwe bw'igihugu", "Demokarasi", "Ukubaho kw'amashyaka menshi", "n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu".

[4] Aka gace ka kabiri k'amasezerano kari kagabanyijemo ibice bitanu : "Inzego za leta", "Perezida wa Repubulika", "Guverinoma yaguye", "Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho"n' "Inzego z'ubutabera". Kamburaga perezida wa Repubulika ubwinshi mu bubasha bwe byegurirwa inama nyubahirizategeko. Urwego rwubahiriza itegekokuva ubwo rwari rushinzwe inama y'abaminisitiri rwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yagombaga kujyaho, amashyaka yose akomeye yari kugiramo abayahagarariye.

[5] "Icyo gitero cy'inyeshyamba cyari gikomotse ku bwicanyi bwari buherutse kwibasira Abatutsi ; "urwo rugomo rwaberaga mu Rwanda mu by'ukuri nta sano nyayo rwari rufitanye n'imishyikirano yaberaga i kantarage", (OUA, *Rapport des experts [Raporo y'impuguke] …*, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

[6] Ku itariki ya 9 Gashyantare, i Kigali hasesekaye Abafaransa ba mbere mu bari baje gufasha mu bikorwa bya gisirikari byiswe EFAO bo mu mutwe wa 21 RIMa. Ku itariki ya 10 Gashyantare habaye igikorwa cya gisirikari cyiswe "Volcan [Ikirunga]" cyo kugoboka abanyamahanga bari mu Ruhengeri. Ku itariki ya 20 Gashyantare haje umutwe wa kabiri w'abasirikari barwanira mi kirere uvuye i Bangui n'i Libreville, no ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, haza abarwanisha imbunda nini za morotsiye za EFAO. Itsinda ry'abasirikari bazobereye mu bikorwa bidasanzwe byo kurwanira mu kirere (RAPAS) ryo mu mutwe wa 1 wa RiMa wabumbiye hamwe imitwe yose yari iri aho mu gikorwa cyiswe "Chimère [Balinga]" maze utera inkuga ingabo z'igihugu mu bikorwa bya gisikare kuva ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare kugeza ku ya 28 Werurwe 1993. Icyo gikorwa kidasanzwe, cyarimo abasirikari bo mu rwego rwa "ofisiye" bagera kuri makumyabiri n'abahanga bo mu mutwe wa 1 RPMa cyahurije hamwe abasirikari bose ba Dami (Umutwe ushinzwe inkunga ya gisirikari n'amahugurwa), ni ukuvuga abantu 69 bose hamwe n'abiyongeragaho bo muri Noroît (umubare wabo wageze ku bantu 688). Uwo mutwe w'ingabo "Chimère" wari ufite inshingano nyinshi zirimo kongerera ubushobozi etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu n'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo byibura mu duce tubiri tw'imirwano ; kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubutasi kure y'aho umutwe Noroît ukorera, guhugura impuguke zo mu ngabo z'igihugu mu bikoresho bya gihanga; guhugura inzobere z'ingabo z'igihugu mu gukoresha ibikoresho bishya kimwe n'ubushobozi mu kuyobora no gukoresha indege. Muri rusange, Abasirikari b'Ubufaransa bafashaga ku buryo bwa hafi ingabo z'U Rwanda zigera ku bihumbi ndetse bigasa n'aho ari bo baziyobora (reba ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* t. I, p. 157).

b'Abafaransa barwanira mu kirere baba i Bangui basesekariye i Kigali, barimo n'itsinda ryazobereye mu gukoresha ibibunda bya rutura byo mu bwoko bwa mortier [morotsiye], Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) na Tanzaniya byafashije impande zombi zirwana kwemera guhagarika imirwano ku itariki ya 22 gashyantare 1993. Kubera igitutu gikomeye cya za ambasade n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo bari babishyizemo umwete kurusha abandi (Ububiligi, Ubufaransa, ubudage, Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, ndetse n'intumwa ya Papa n'Ubusuwisi), imishyikirano yarasubukuwe mu rwego rwo hejuru ku itariki ya 6 Werurwe i Dar Es Salaam hagati y'intumwa za Guverinoma y'U Rwanda ziyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, Dismas Nsengiyaremye, na perezida w'Inkotanyi, Alexis Kanyarengwe.

Icyizere cy'uko intambara yari hafi kurangira cyatumye byinshi bihinduka mu ivugurura rya politiki y'imbere mu gihugu. Ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe, jenerali majoro akaba n'umukuru w'igihugu, Habyarimana, yeguye ku mirimo ya perezida wa MRND kugira ngo atavanga imirimo y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'ubw'amashyaka. Nanone, ku itariki ya 15 Mata, igihe cya Guverinoma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye cyongereweho amezi atatu kubera ko byari byananiranye guhitamo minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari itegerejwe wagombaga kuva muri MDR. Muri icyo cyuka cy'urunturuntu ni bwo ku itariki ya 18 Gicurasi, agaco k'Inkotanyi kahitanaga Emmanuel Gapyisi (*reba umugereka wa 15*), wari umwe mu bayobozi ba MDR, wari umaze gushinga ihuriro ryitwa "Paix et Democratie [Amahoro na Demokarasi]", ahamagarira uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kurwanya ku buryo bumwe ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana n'Inkotanyi, akaba n'umwe mu bakandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wari umaze kwigaragaza cyane. Muri icyo gihe, ihuriro ry'amatorero ya gikirisitu ryakanguranye umurava imbaraga zayo zo mu karere (CETA y'i Nairobi hamwe na Kiliziya gatolika[7]), kugira ngo bihutishe imishyikirano y'amahoro.

Nyuma yo gushyira umukono ku gace ka gagatatu k'amasezerano "kerekeye gucyura no gutuza impunzi hamwe no gutuza abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara" ku itariki ya 9 kamena 1993 mu mujyi wa Arusha, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wongereye Itsinda ry'indorerezi za gisirikari zitagira aho zibogamiye (GOMN) z'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) mu ishyirwaho, ku itariki ya 22 Kamena, ry'umutwe w'indorerezi uhuriweho n'Ubuganda n'U Rwanda, ushinzwe kugenzura umupaka. Ubutiriganya bwa politiki bwahereyeko bwiyongera harimo, ku ruhande rumwe, ivugurura ry ;ubuyobozi bwa MRND (Inama rusange yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga i Kigali), ku rundi, ivanwaho rya minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye (MDR), ryakurikiwe n'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma nshya iyobowe na Agathe Uwilingiyimana (MDR) ku itariki ya 18 Nyakanga. Iteraniye mu nama idasanzwe ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga, MDR yamaganye iryo shyirwaho inafata icyemezo cyo guhagarika mu ishyaka abaminisitiri bose bo muri MDR bari muri iyo Guverinoma nshya hamwe na Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida wayo. Abantu benshi mu b'imena bari

[7] Karidinali Roger Etchegaray, perezida w'akanama "Ubutabera n'amahoro" yoherejweyo na Papa kuva ku itariki ya 6 kugeza ku ya 13 Gicurasi asa n'utegura imirimo y'Inama y'abasenyeri gatolika bo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi, yateranye hagati y'itariki ya 27 na 28 Gicurasi i Kigali.

bashyigikiye igikorwa cy'imishyikirano ubwo bavanywe mu rubuga rwa politiki (cyane cyane minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, Boniface Ngulinzira [MDR]), ndetse biba ngombwa ko bahunga igihugu kubera iterabwoba (minisitiri w'ingabo, James Gasana [MRND], minisitiri w'intebe wari wavanyweho Dismas Nsengiyaremye) (*kuri ibyo bihe binyuranye, reba imbere muri uyu mutwe*).

Ku itariki ya 3, inyandiko y'igice cya kane cy'amasezerano – "cyerekeye ivanga ry'ingabo z'impande zombi zihanganye" – n'iy'igice cya gatanu – "cyerekeye ibibazo binyuranye n'ingingo zisoza[8]" yumvikanyweho burundu bityo bukeye bwaho habaho umuhango wo gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro hagati y'Inkotanyi na Guverinoma y'U Rwanda. Byakurikiwe no kwemeza ku itariki ya 5 Faustin Twagiramungu ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Amasezerano yashimangiraga ku buryo budasubirwaho inzego za politiki n'iza gisirikiare zari zigiye mu maboko y'amashyaka arwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi afatanije n'Inkotanyi.

Nubwo abaturage bashobora kuba bariruhukije, ariko ntibigeze mu by'ukuri bagaragaza ibyishimo. Ntibari na rimwe barigeze batumirwa kugira icyo bavuga ku itegurwa ry'amasezerano cg mu kuyemeza, kandi bari bahangayikishijwe cyane n'iamacenga ya politiki n'ubwiyunge budasobanutse bwakorwaga, kimwe n'iyicwa rya Emmanuel Gapyisi – uwa mbere ku rutonde rw'ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyapolitiki – bwasakujwe cyane.

Icyemezo cy'ingenzi cy'amasezerano cyari cyerekeye kohereza mu Rwanda ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, cyemejwe n'Inama y'Umutekano ku itariki ya 5 ukwakira 1993[9]. Minuar (Ubutumwa bw'Umuryango w 'Abibumbye bwo kunganira U Rwanda) yasimbuye ubutumwa bwo mu rwego rw'ubugenzuzi bwari bwarashyizweho muri Kamena uwo mwaka. Inshingano zayo, zateganywaga mu gihe cy'amezi atandatu, zarebaga igenzura ry'ihagarika ry'imirwano ryari ryarashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 8 gashyantare 1993 hagati ya guverinmoma y'U Rwanda n'Inkotanyi, kugenzura icyurwa ry'impunzi n'ituzwa ry'abavanywe mu byabo, hamwe no gukura ingabo muri Kigali. Mu ntangiriro yari igizwe n'abasirikari 1260, 81 muri bo barashyizwe ku mupaka w'Ubuganda. inama y'Umutekano yafashe icyemezo cyo kohereza umutwe w'ingabo w'inyongera mu cyemezo cyayo cya mbere cy'umwaka wa 1994[10], cyafashwe na bose. Ingabo zayo zageraga kuri 2500 zivuye mu bihugu 24 kandi zayoborwaga na jenerali w'Umunyakanada Roméo Dallaire. Bangladesh yari yatanze 937, Ghana 841, Ububiligi 428. Kubera ko Inkotanyi zari zanze burundu uruhare rw'ingabo z'Abafaransa mu ngabo za Minuar mu itunganya ry'imishyijkirano y'Arusha, ingabo z'Ababiligi ni zo zagiye "ku isonga".

Ingabo za Minuar zatangiye kuza ku itariki ya 1 ugushyingo 1993, noneho ku itariki ya 15 Ukuboza umutwe wa gisirikari w'Abafaransa Noroît urataha, usigaza gusa abasirikari 24, bari bashinzwe gufasha ingabo z'igihugu mu mirimo isaba ubuhanga bwihariye. Nyuma y'inkubiri ikaze yahungabanije imitwe ya politiki irwanya ubutegetsi (inama rusange ebyiri zihanganye za PL, inama rusange ya

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[8] Muri izo ngingo zisoza harimo ivanwaho ry'ubwoko mu ndangamuntu no kwemera ishyirwa ry'amasezerano mpuzamahanga yerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu mategeko y'imbere mu gihugu.

[9] Icyemezo n° 872.

[10] Icyemezo n° 893 cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mutarama 1994.

PSD, itegura ry'inama idasanzwe yiswe "iy'ubwiyunge" muri MDR, n'ibindi), ingabo n'abahagarariye Inkotanyi bageze i Kigali ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza bafata ibirindiro mu ngoro y'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND). Impaka ku mubare w'abari muri CND na n'ubu uracyagibwaho impaka. Amasezerano yateganyaga abantu 600, hakaba abandi bavuga 800...

Uretse ibikorwa bya politiki byari bifitanye isano ya hafi cg bikomoka ku mishyikirano y'Arusha, umwaka wa 1993, wari wahariwe amasezerano, warangiranye za bomboribombori mu mashyaka. Izo bomboribombori zatewe n'ibirinduka ry'ingufu mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'amaraso mashya mu mpande zari zihanganye.

Akarusho k'ibirindiro by'Inkotanyi

Ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi, imishyikirano yari ivanyeho ku buryo burambye urwitwazo rw'amatora zatinyaga bidasubirwaho. Nanone, zabonaga umugambi wazo wo guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana ushyigikiwe ku buryo bwose n' "impirimbanyi za demokarasi" zitiriwe ubwazo zisobanura umushinga uwo ari wo wose wo kubaka igihugu cg zikora imishyikirano ku ntego za politiki zisobanutse. Zibifatanyije n'ibitero bya gisirikari, zari zashyize ingufu mu bikorwa byo guhungabanya urwego rwa politiki rw'imbere mu gihugu kandi zibasha kubyegeka ku ntagondwa za MRND. Koko rero, abo ntibatinyaga na bo gutegura ubwicanyi bugambiriwe n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abasivili b'Abatutsi bwihishwe inyuma n'abategetsi.

Ibikorwa by'urugomo rw'Inkotanyi byibasira abasivili byashoboye kumenyekana neza bitinze (*reba umugereka wa 14*). Hagati ya Nyakanga 1991 na Nzeri 1992, ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi 45 byakoreshejwe mine zitega ibimodoka by'intambara cg bitegwa abantu byarabaruwe binabonerwa ibimenyetso na Jandarumori y'igihugu, n'ubwo itari izobereye mu bikorwa by'iperereza, yari yagaragaje ibimenyetso rusange bike ibifashijwemo n'abashinjacyaha ba Repubulika. Raporo zavuye muri Jandarumori y'U Rwanda zibanze icyo gihe kuri ibi :

- isimburana ry'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi imbere mu gihugu n'imirwano hagati y'ingabo z'Inkotanyi n' ingabo z'igihugu ku rugamba ;
- intego yo kurushaho gutiza umurindi amakimbirane muri Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye no mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida ubwarwo[11] ;
- kwiyongera kw'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi mu turere twarimo abaturage benshi b'Abatutsi, bashoboraga gukekwagaho kuzagira uruhare mu gukangurira abantu gushyigikira Inkotanyi, by'umwihariko mu maperefegitura zitabashaga gushingamo ibirindiro (nka Butare) ;
- havuzwe kandi ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byinshi byibasiraga ahantu

[11] Muri Mata 1992, umuyobozi wa Orinfor, Christophe Mfizi, yatangaje inyandiko ityaye irwanya icyo yise "*Réseau zero* [ikiguri-nunga]" yemeza ko hariho "imitwe y'ubwicanyi" yaterwaga inkunga na Perezidansi kandi yari yimirije imbere gusenya uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi. Reka twibutse urugero rw' igikorwa cy'ubugizi bwa nabi cya mbere cyitiriwe Inkotanyi cyo ku itariki ya 6 Gicurasi 1992 i Butare cyibasiye Hoteli Faucon yari yabereyemo imwe mu nama za mbere z'abayobozi ba MDR ku rwego rwa perefegitura nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

h'ingirakamaro (nk'ubwikorezi bwa lisansi n'urugomero rw'amashanyarazi rw'i Cyangugu).

Twibuke nanone ko ahantu hibasirwaga cyane (amasoko, gari – inshuro ebyiri –, iposita nkuru y'i Kigali, minibisi, amatagisi, amahoteli n'utubari) hagaragazaga ko byari bigamije guhitana abasivili benshi cyane. Ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bibiri gusa ni byo byibasiye minibisi za gisirikari (komini Gashora, Kigali ngari, muri Gashyantare na Werurwe 1992).

Icyiciro cya mbere cy'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi cyakajije umurego mu gihe cy'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuruweho n'amashyaka menshi muri Mata 1992 ; ibyo bikorwa byarakomeje kugeza mu mpera z'umwaka, hanyuma birahagara rwose mu ntangiriro yumwaka wa 1993 mbere y'uko Inkotanyi zigaba igitero mu maperfegitura yo mu majyaruguru muri Gashyantare. Icyiciro cya kabiri cyabaye hanyuma, hagati ya Werurwe na Gicurasi 1993. Ifatwa ry'abantu benshi bambukanaga za mine ku mipaka ya Tanzaniya na Zayire mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992 ryerekanye ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'Inkotanyi (*reba umugereka wa 14*), ibyo bikaba byaratumye ahari zihindura uburyo bwo gukora. Muri icyo gihe hubuye ubugizi bwa nabi bwiganjemo udutero-shuma, ubusahuzi n'ubwicanyi byari bigoye cyane kumenya ababiri inyuma (*reba umugereka wa 15*).

Twibutse ariko ko uburyo bwo gucengera mu mashyaka (cyane cyane mu rubyiruko rwa PSD), hanyuma no kuba i Kigali byemewe kw'Inkotanyi byazongereye uburyo bushya bwo gukora. Bityo, iyo habaga ubwicanyi bukomeye, Inkotanyi zatungwaga agatoki cyane cyane mu nzego za Jandarumori y'U Rwanda. Urugero twavuga rw'ibikorwa byitiriwe abakomando bo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi harimo urutonde rw'ibitero byo mu Gushyingo 1993. Koko rero Inkotanyi zivumburanye ubugome ku ivugurura binyuze mu matora ry'inzego nshingwabikorwa za komini, ryabaye muri Nzeri 1993 mu karere kari karavanywemo ingabo ko mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, zari zarigaruriye mu gihe cy'amezi menshi. N'ubwo zari zaritanze bikomeye mu bikorwa byo kwiyamamaza, Inkotanyi zatsinzwe ahantu hose n'abayoboke ba MRND. Iryo somo ryo ku karubanda ryahinduye ibintu, ryongera urwango rukabije rw'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'Inkotanyi ku "baharanira demokarasi", ryongera nanone kurwanya ibikorwa by'amatora byateganywaga n'amasezerano y'Arusha mu mpera z'inzibacyuho. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 17 rishyira iya 18 Ugushyingo, hagati y'abantu 40 na 55[12] bishwe mu makomini ya Nyamugari, Cyeru, Kidaho na Nkumba ya Superefegitura ya Kirambo (Ruhengeri). Abenshi mu bibasirwaga ni abari bahagarariye MRND na CDR bari batsinze ayo matora hamwe n'abantu bo mu miryango yabo.

Havugwa nanone uruhare rw'agaco k'abakomando b'Inkotanyi mu mvururu hagati y'amoko zabaye kuva ku itariki ya 26 kugeza ku ya 29 Ugushyingo muri 1993 mu Bugesera, zikagwamo abantu batanu abandi 300 bagahungira kuri paruwasi gatolika ya Ruhuha. Abo bakomando baturukaga i Renga, ku rundi ruhande rw'umupaka w'Uburundi muri komini Busoni, porovensi ya Kirundo, ahari zimwe mu nzira z'ingenzi abavaga mu Rwanda bajya mu Nkotanyi banyuragamo.

[12] Uwo mubare ni uwatanzwe n'akanama k'iperereza kari kabishinzwe muri Minuar.

Twavuga nanone ibyabaye mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 30 Ugushyingo rishyira iya 1 ukuboza 1993, ubwo habaga ubwicanyi bw'abasivili 17 ku Kabatwa, muri komini Mutura, muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Iryo tsinda ry'abakomando, rigizwe n'abantu bagera kuri 20 bo mu mutwe w'ingabo z'Inkotanyi "Charly" wabaga muri Butaro, ryari riyobowe na majoro Gashayija Bagirigomwa hamwe na kapiteni Moses Rubimbura (reba umugereka wa 16). Kuri ubwo bwicanyi bwa nyuma, Minuar yari yarageze ku mwanzuro ko Inkotanyi ari zo zari zakoze ubwo muri superefegitura ya Kirambo, yahisemo kudakora iperereza, nkuko byivugiwe na jenerali Roméo Dallaire, icyo gihe wari umuyobozi wa Minuar :

> "Iyo dukora iperereza tukabona gihamya yizewe ko Inkotanyi ari zo zakoze ibyo byaha, twashoboraga kwirahuriraho ibishirira, kubera ko umwe mu barwana yari kuboneka nk'ushaka guhungabanya igihugu ku bwende. Nyamara kandi, iyo bitadushobokera kugaragaza ko Inkotanyi ari zo nyirabayazana, ibinyamakuru, by'umwihariko RTLM, byari kudufata nk'abashyikiye Inkotanyi cg abatagira icyo bamaze na busa [13]".

Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare, 2004, majoro Brent Beardsley, wahoze yungirije jenerali Dallaire yatanze ubuhamya bukurikira imbere y'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR) :

> "Mu Gushyingo 1993, twavumbuye ko izindi mbaraga za gatatu zakoranaga n'uruhande rwa Guverinoma y'U Rwanda. […] Zari zariyemeje gusebya Minuar no kuburizamo amasezerano y'amahoro. Zari ziteguye kwica kubera iyo mpamvu. […] Ibikorwa binyuranye byatugejeje kuri uwo mwanzuro. Ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi, umutekano muke mu majyepfo y'igihugu, amagambo yibasira Ababiligi kuri RTLM na bwa bwicanyi bubiri bwo mu Gushyingo byatumye dufata umwanzuro ko hariho agatsiko kari kariyemeje guhagarika ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha[14]."

Imyanzuro ya Brent Beardsley ni ukuri ku byerekeye ukubaho kw' "imbaraga za gatatu" zari zariyemeje guhagarika igikorwa cy'amahoro. Ariko igitekerezo cye gishingiye ku bushake bwo kuvangitiranya ibintu nkana kubera impamvu tumaze kuvuga (reba ibyavuzwe na Dallaire). Nk'uko tuzabibona imbere cyane, iryo bogama ryo kwemeza ibyo udafitiye gihamya ni ryo ryaje kuba inkingi y'ibindi bisobanuro bibuze epfo na ruguru.

Nyamara, ibyo ntibivuguruza na busa ukubaho kw'ibitero n'ibikorwa by'ubugome byateguwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, cg amarorerwa yakozwe n'abasirikari bo mu ngabo z'igihugu. Mu makomini menshi ya MRND, kimwe no mu yandi yari mu maboko y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ibikorwa by'iterabwoba ribogamye ntibyasibaga kwibasira abaturage benshi barimo abarwanya ubutegetsi cg abanga gusa kwemera ubwambuzi n'ibigambo binyuranye by'iterabwoba. Muri ibyo bikorwa harimo ibitero bya buri gihe byakoreshaga za gerenade akenshi bitewe n'ubusambo busanzwe. Abashakaga gerenade bose bazibonaga ku biciro byoroheje. Inyandiko za minisiteri y'ingabo zerekana ko hari umubare munini wa za gerenade zatewe n'abasirikari baboneraga urwaho ku muco wo kudahana wariho bagakora ibikorwa byo kwihimura.

[13] Ubuhamya, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 21 Mutarama 2004, p. 70 (*reba umugereka wa 16*).

[14] Ubuhamya bwa majoro Brent Beardley, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 4 Mutarama 2004 (*reba umugereka wa16*).

Ukuri ni uko hari imbaraga za "gatatu" n'iza "kane", zimwe ku ruhande rw'intagondwa zo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, izindi ku rw'Inkotanyi, nubwo zari ku mpande zihanganye, zari zihuriye ku kutagira inyungu n'imwe mu kubona amasezerano y'Arusha ashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Bityo, zaba Inkotanyi, baba bakeba bazo bo mu ruhande rushyikiye perezida bose bakoresheje ibikorwa by'iterabwoba bakurikije gahunda iteguye kandi ijyana n'ibindi bikorwa bya gisirikari na politiki. Ariko, nk'uko bisobanuye mu mugereka wa 14, ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byakoresheje za mine zishwanyaguza ibimodoka by'intambara n'izica abantu byakorewe abaturage b'abasivili hagati y'umwaka wa 1991 no hagati mu mwaka wa 1993 zishobora gufatwa nk'ikimenyetso cyihariye cy'Inkotanyi mu ntambara yo kuryanisha Abanyarwanda. Mu ntangiriro za 1994, Minuar yabaruye mu bice yakoreragamo cyane cyane mu mujyi wa Kigali "abacengezi" [b'Inkotanyi] amagana, nyuma yaho ndetse igeza ku bihumbi, ariko ntiyigeze na busa yibaza ku ntwaro bari bitwaje kandi byari mu nshingano zayo (*umugereka wa17*).

Kubera uruhare zari zeguriwe nk' "umukiranuzi" w'impande zishyamiranye [imbere mu gihugu], Inkotanyi zabonye urwaho rwo gusarurira mu nduru y'ihangana ry'abakeba bazo, bityo zikagenda zifatanya na bamwe guharanira inyungu izi n'izi uko ibihe biha ibindi ari nako zikataza mu gushyira i rudubi ubukana bw'amakimbirane ya politiki, ubukungu n'imibanire y'abaturage. Icyari kigambiriwe kwari ugutesha agaciro no guca intege abazirwanyaga mu gihe zari zigihihibikanira kwemerwa hose ko ari zo zonyine zashoboraga kuba ingurane nyakuri y'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana[15] ari nako zitegura igitero rurangiza.

Isandara ry'urukuta rw'imbere mu gihugu

Nyuma yo guhanyanyaza cyane, Juvénal Habyarimana yaje kwemera, muri Mata 1992, "minisitiri w'intebe wo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi" noneho yibanda ku bugenzuzi bw'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida na MRND, aho abari bafite irari ry' ubutegetsi bahanganye batinyukaga noneho kujya ku karubanda.

Incamake ya 6

Ukubohoza cg "kuvana" muri MRND ku mbaraga

Ku bakozi bakuru bo mu buyobozi bw'ishyaka rya leta, inkubiri y'amahindura yadukanywe n'amashyaka menshi yafashwe nko kunyagwa akabiri kombi, bitera benshi guhahamuka cyane cyane mu nzego zegereye abaturage. Kunyagwa kwa mbere kwari kujyanye n'amategeko mashya yahagarikaga ivanga ry'ubuyobozi bwite bwa leta n'ubw'inzego z'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Ku buryo busobanutse neza, MRND ntiyari igifite ububasha bwo kwigenera no

[15] "Nanone biratangaje ko ibikomerezwa byinshi by'Inkotanyi ubu biri mu mahanga. Kanyarengwe na Sendashonga ubu bari i Washington ku butumire bwa sena y'Abanyamerika" (inyandiko liyetona Nees yakoreye icyicaro gikuru cya Minuar, ku itariki ya 9 Gashyantare 1994, (*reba umugereka wa 17*).

gukoresha umutungo wa leta, cyane cyane amashimwe yawuvagamo[a]. Kunyagwa kwa kabiri yari inkubiri y'*ukubohoza*, yajyanaga no kwibasira ku buryo bunyuranije n'amategeko imirimo, ibintu n'imitungo bwite by'abarwanashyaka ba MRND aho yari igishinze ibirindiro.

Ukubohoza[b] ni izina ryadutse mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi, rikagenekereza ibikorwa bya MDR, ndetse na PSD na PL, byo kwamagana no guhungabanya ahanini abakozi bakomeye bo mu cyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, no ku buryo bwaguye, abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Kubuhoza abantu byavugaga "kubabohora" ingoyi n'ibyiyumviro bibaziritse, kwigabiza umutungo wo mu rwego rwa politiki bagenzuraga, ndetse no kubirukana mu byabo.

Aho amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yari akomeye, ababurugumesitiri, abajyanama ba segiteri bavanyweho muri ubwo buryo barasimbuzwa. Iyo nkubiri yabanzirizaga amatora yifuzwaga kandi ikaba yari mu mugambi uganisha ku nama *rukokoma*. Bityo, haba mu nsisiro z'umujyi wa Kigali cg ku misozi yo mu makomini yo mu giturage, habayeho ingero nyinshi z'ibikorwa by'urugomo byahanganishije urubyiruko rushya rw'Inkuba za MDR n'urwa MRND. Bityo, ufashe urugero ku maperefegitura ya Gitarama cg Butare, MRND yahagaritse ibikorwa byayo mu makomini menshi, ndestse iyavamo ku mugaragaro. Abakozi bakuru benshi bagiye muri MDR cg PSD. Urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe za MRND bavugaga ibyo gusubiramo ibohoza mu bikorwa byabo byo "kubohora" abarwanya ubutegetsi mu turere twarimo bake, bitwaga kuborohereza kugaruka muri MRND.

Édouard Karemera, wari ushinzwe inzibacyuho hagati ya MRND ya kera na MRND ivuguruye, asobanura ingaruka z'iyo nkubiri agira ati :

> "Byaravugwaga, cyane cyane ko abakeba bacu bo muri MDR, PSD na PL bari baratangije politiki mbi – ndavuga koko politiki "mbi" – yitwaga kubohoza – mu kinyarwanda, ni ukuvuga kugandisha abaturage. Kandi iyo politiki yo kubohoza, yageze mu gihugu cyose. Yibasiraga abayobozi ; MDR n'abo bifatanyije ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bashakaga abayoboke ku mbaraga. Iyo wabaga uri burugumesitiri, barakubazaga bati : "Urahitamo kuva muri MRND winjire mu ishyaka ryacu, cg witegure ko tukuvana ku mbaraga muri iryo shyaka ry'igitugu." [...] Kandi ntibyarangiriraga aho. Kubohoza, iyo politiki mbi yari ishyigikiwe na minisitiri w'intebe ubwe, Nsengiyaremye Dismas, yibasiraga ibikorwa byose by'amajyambere byari byarakozwe mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi[c]."

Ubwo bugizi bwa nabi no gusenya ibikorwa rusange byitirirwaga "MRND" (amahegitari magana angahe y'amashyamba n'amazu menshi byatwitswe) byakiriwe nabi cyane n'abaterankunga b'abanyamahanga, mu myaka ya 1991-1992 bamagana ku mugaragaro uwo mugambi wo kugumuka ku ruhande rw'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi rwari rutangiye kuvuka. Nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye (Mata 1992), kutabasha kwayo kurwanya ihangana rya politiki byayigabanyirije cyane icyizere hamwe n'inkunga yahabwaga abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

a. Ubuhamya bwa Édouard Karemera, TPIR, 18 Gicurasi 2009, impap. 26-28 (*umugereka wa 18*).

b. Iryo jambo ry'ikinyarwanda ryatiriwe mu giswahili, ijambo rikomokaho *kukomboa* ("kuvana ku ngoyi") ryahinduwe ku buryo butuzuye "*kubohoza*" (*reba nanone, mu ncamake ya 4, igisobanuro cy'ijambo* abakombozi).

c. Ubuhamya bwa Édouard Karemera, TPIR, 18 gicurasi 2009, ururpap. 33.

Ivugurura ry'inzego z'ubuyobozi, itatana ry'inzego z'iperereza no gucikamo uduce mu ngabo z'igihugu byahungabanyije bikomeye ubutegetsi bwa perezida, bikanamugabanyiriza ububasha. Kugira ngo abashe kugumaho, yagombaga mbere na mbere kongera kwigarurira MRND dore ko benshi mu bikomerezwa bifuzaga, nubwo batabyeruraga, ko yakwegura ku buyobozi bwayo. Yagombaga nanone gushyigikirwa n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka, rwari ingirakamaro cyane mu kureshya abarwanashyaka. Ku itariki ya 22 Mata, Juvénal Habyarimana yeguye ku mwanya w'umukuru w'ingabo anatangaza ko afashe ikiruhuko cy'izabukuru mu ngabo z'igihugu kugira ngo agume ku buyobozi bwa MRND kandi

yiyamamarize kuba perezida wa Repubulika. Ku buryo bubangikanye, yiyemeje kugenzura Interahamwe anashyirishaho ubuyobozi bwazo bushya. Icyo gitugu cyo kwikubira imyanya nticyashimishije uwari watangije “umuryango w’urubyiruko” rwa MRND, Désiré Murenzi, umwe mu bari bagize Komite y’ishayaka mu rwego rw’igihugu, wahisemo kuyivamo.

Ibintu mu rwego rwa politiki byari bikomeye ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, rwotswaga igitutu n’amashyakayo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, yageragezaga gutsimbataza ibirindiro byayo mu makomini akoresheje inkubiri yo kubohoza no kwirukana abayategekaga. Nanone uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ubwarwo rwari rwaracitsemo ibice bibiri, kimwe cyashyiraga imbere umugambi wo gufungura amarembo no kuvugurura abakozi bakuru bo mu majyaruguru, ikindi kigizwe n’abari batsimbaraye ku kurengera bivuye inyuma ibyo bari baragezeho ari nabo baje kuyoboka CDR ku bwinshi. Ku ntambara y’inyuma n’imbere mu gihugu hiyongereyeho imishyikirano y’Arusha, aho ubwiyunge bw’amashyaka yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi n’Inkotanyi byashegeshaga bikomeye inzego za MRND. Kuri buri ntambwe mu mishyikirano, uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwumvaga runyazwe inshuro ebyiri. Mu buryo bwo kunegura, abanyacyubahiro benshi bitaga icyo gikorwa “imishyikirano hagati y’Inkotanyi n’Inkotanyi”, agace ka MRND kakifata nk’agahejwe.

Ku ruhande rumwe, batinyaga ko abarwanya ubutegetsi ari bo bonyine bitirirwa itungana ry’icyo gikorwa. Ibi byagaragaye ubwo Guverinoma n’Inkotanyi bashyiraga umukono ku masezerano yo guhagarika imirwano ku itariki ya 12 nyakanga 1992, abaturage bakiruhutsa dore ko bari barambiwe intambara. Ku rundi ruhande, bumvaga ko imishyikirano yari igamije kubaburizamo mu rwego rwa politiki, nk’uko babitangaje ubwo hashyirwaga umukono ku gace k’amasezerano yerekeye igabana ry’ubutegetsi, ku itariki ya 30 ukwakira 1992.

Muri izo mpagarara, ubutegetsi bwa Juvénal Habyarimana bwagendaga butsindwa mpaga maze abambari babwo, harimo n’abo mu ngabo, bagaterwa impungenge n’imbaraga nke, yewe ndetse n’ubushobozi buke yagaragazaga. Ikinegu gikomeye yagejejweho n’abantu b’intagondwa, cyane cyane mu bari bamugaragiye bya hafi ni ukutabasha kugira igitsure ku ntumwa za Guverinoma zari zishinzwe imishyikirano :

> “Urwego rw’ububanyi n’mahanga rwa Guverinoma ntirwajyaga imbizi n’ubutegetsi bwa kera, kimwe na perezida n’abamugaragiye. Mu buhamya bwe, indorerezi y’Ubufaransa mu mishyikirano y’Arusha, bwana Jean-Christophe Belliard, na we yavuze ko intumwa za Guverinoma y’ U Rwanda, zari zigizwe na Boniface Ngulinzira, wari icyo gihe minisitiri w’Ububanyi n’amahanga w’U Rwanda, aherekejwe na bwana Claver Kanyarushoki, icyo gihe wari ambasaderi w’U Rwanda mu Buganda hamwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora, “zahoraga mu bwumvikane buke, mbega nta mbaraga zifite muri iyo mishyikirano”. Yasobanuye ko hari nk’ubwo “minisitiri Ngulinzira babonanaga buri gihe kandi imbonankubone, yagiraga ibyo amwemerera mu mvugo, ariko akanamwibutsa ko atari we wafataga ibyemezo, ko yagombaga kubibwira bwana Claver Kanyarushoki. Yagombaga rero kujya impaka n’ambasaderi Claver Kanyarushoki, ibyo bikaba byari umwanya ukomeye mu kazi ke. Iyo bwana Claver Kanyarushoki yasobanukirwaga, yageragaho agatanga icyifuzo cye n’icya perezida Juvénal Habyarimana, ariko akongeraho ko yagombaga gusobanurira koloneli Théoneste Bagosora”. Yongeyeho ko hari n’ubwo

> yiboneye aho ubwumvikane buke hagati y'intumwa [za Guverinoma] butuma ibikorwa by'imishyikirano bihagarikwa noneho impaka zikimurirwa ku wundi munsi[16]."

koloneli Théoneste Bagosora wari umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo, yari azwiho kunenga [imishyikirano] no kuba umwe mu bantu b'ingenzi wagomba kugira uruhare mu bibazo bya politiki ari nako yatezaga ubwega ashaka guhabwa ipeti rya jenerali majoro ryari ryarabaye umwihariko wa Juvénal Habyarimana gusa mbere y'uko asezera mu ngabo agafata ikiruhuko cy'iza bukuru. Ibi biragusha ku ruhare rwa minisiteri y'ingabo n'urw'ingabo z'igihugu mu mwuka mushya w'intambara n'inzibacyuho yo mu rwego rwa politiki. Koko rero, ingabo zabaye bidasubirwaho urubuga amacakubiri yo mu rwego rw'igihugu yigaragarijemo ku buryo bw'ubukana bwinshi ndetse bwa kirimbuzi. Ni ngombwa kubyibutsa mu magambo make kugira ngo umuntu yumve imikomerere n'ingaruka zabyo.

Ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikari

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1973, ikibazo gikuru cya jenerali majoro Juvénal Habyarimana cyabaye kugenzura ibikorwa n'irari ry'ubutegetsi rya bagenzi be – ubu noneho bari basigaye ari abagererwa be – bari baramushyize ku butegetsi (*reba umugereka wa 1*), cg se mu by'ukuri, abo yari yibye umugono agafata ubutegetsi bakamwemerera noneho na we akabakinga akababi mu maso abagabiramo imyanya. Uko biri kose, habanje kuba ihiganwa ndondakarere hagati y'abasirikari bakuru bo ku Gisenyi n'abo mu Ruhengeri. Ni yo mpamvu, muri Nyakanga 1975, perezida yishyiriyeho nk'umuyoboro wa politiki yitegekera bisesuye. Mu gukora atyo, kandi atirengagije ingabo, yari ahaye Repubulika ya Kabiri ibyicaro bibiri ku rwego rwa gisivili n'urwa gisirikari, yashoboraga kwiyambariza icyarimwe cg abisimburanya, ndetse akaba yabigonganisha.

Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1980, ubwo umugambi wo guhirika ubutegetsi wari umaze gupfuba[17], majoro Théoneste Lizinde agafungwa na koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe agahunga, ibyo kwica cg kwigizayo abamurwanyaga ku mugaragaro cg mu rufefeko byarahagaze. koloneli Laurent Serubuga, wari umwungirije muri etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda akanaba "nomero ya kabiri" mu rwego rwa gisirikari nyuma ya Juvénal Habyarimana, yari rwose mu mwanya mwiza cyane, ariko ntiyari yujuje ibya ngombwa byo kuba yamusimbura. Nk' umuntu utarakundwaga kandi utarigaragazaga, yari igikoresho cya perezida. Umuntu rero yakeka ko kuramba kwe ku buyobozi bwa etamajoro kwari koko gufitanye isano n'ubwitonzi bwe, bwari butandukanye n'irari ry'ubutegetsi ryagaragazwaga n'ibikomerezwa byo mu cyiciro cya gatatu (1962-1964) cyo mu ishuri ry'abasirikari bakuru (EO), cyarimo Théoneste Lizinde, Stanislas Mbonampeka, Théoneste Bagosora cg Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita (*reba umugereka wa 1*).

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[16] Raporo ya Pierre BRANA na Bernard CAZENEUVE, muri, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* t. 1, p. 102

[17] Ukuri kuri uwo mugambi wo kugerageza guhirika ubutegetsi na nubu kuracyagibwabaho impaka. Koko rero, nta perereza ryigeze rikorwa.

Nyuma yaho, abasirikari bakuru babiri bavuka mu kazu ka perezida baje kwigaragaza. Abo ni koloneli Stanislas Mayuya na koloneli Aloys Nsekalije. Uwa mbere yari umugabo w'inyangamugayo kandi wubahwaga wakomokaga ku Gisenyi, wari mu cyiciro cya 4 cy'ishuri ry'abasirikari bakuru (EO) ; yabaye umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Kanombe n'uw'umutwe w' "abaparakomando" wari uzwiho kuba umwe mu mitwe ikomeye y'ingabo z'U Rwanda. Uwa kabiri yari mu cyiciro cya mbere cya EO kimwe na perezida Habyarimana, yakomokaga mu muryango wari ukomeye wo mu Bushiru wari warahaye ikibanza abapadiri b'abanyagatolika bubatsemo misiyoni ya Rambura ndetse wakira umuryango wa Habyarimana wari waraje ukurikiye abo bapadiri mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya XX. Uwo mugabo wari mu bakamarade b'uwa 5 Nyakanga bake bagumye ku ibere, yari yarigize ikimana anafite ku mugaragaro abagererwa be bwite, aba minisitiri udakorwaho igihe kirekire mbere yo gusigarana umwanya w'ubudepite gusa.

Stanislas Mayuya yarashwe muri Werurwe 1988 na serija Birori wari umukuru w'abarindaga ikigo, amutsinda imbere y'ibiro bye amaze kumuterera isaruti. Mu bugenzacyaha, urupfu rwe rwateye impuha nyinshi ku bari baruri inyuma. Urwikekwe rwari kuri koloneli Serubuga, umukuru wa etamajoro wungirije, rwarayobejwe maze abasirikari bakuru batatu barafatwa ariko ntibigera bacirwa urubanza[18]. Uwa kabiri we, koloneli Nsekalije, yigijweyo muri 1990 asigarira ku budepite.

Mu byukuri rero, abasirikari barwanye intambara mu gihe bari bamaze kugira intege nke no kuba ibikoresho by'abanyapolitiki b'ingeri zose – abasirikari bakuru ntibari bagitinya kugaragaza aho babogamiye muri politiki, ku migendekere y'intambara, ku bakuru babo – ; hiyongeraho ko "ibikomerezwa" byo mu majyaruguru byagerageje kubaminjiramo agafu bakoresheje irondakoko nkuko byari byaragenze muri za 1960. Igisirikari cyarimo koko abasirikari bakuru benshi b'abasore, bamwe muri bo barize mu mashuri ya gisirikari yo mu mahanga ndetse bamwe bayobora inzego zifuzwaga cyane (umutwe w'abaparakomando, umutwe w'iperereza, nb.), ariko na bo ubwabo bari barashowe mu mikorere ya gihake, irondakoko, n'irondakarere yari imaze kwimakazwa mu buyobozi bwa gisirikari no kububibamo amacakubiri.

Muri Gashyantare 1991, kimwe mu byemezo bya mbere bya Sylvestre Nsanzimana, wari wagizwe minisitiri w'ubutabera[19], cyabaye kurekura ba basirikari bakuru batatu bari barageretsweho urupfu rwa koloneli Mayuya. Nyuma basubijwe mu gisirikari n'icyemezo cy'inama ya Guverinoma ku itariki ya 21 Ukwakira 1992, kimwe n'abandi bagera kuri makumyabiri na bo bari birukanwe mu gisirikari bazira ubusa. Ku ruhande rwe, minisitiri mushya w'ingabo z'igihugu, James Gasana, umusivili wo muri MRND, yagerageje gupfundura ingoyi z'izo ngabo zari zaraboshywe n'uduco two ku ruhande rwa

[18] koloneli Théoneste Bagosora yeguriwe icyo gihe ubuyobozi bw'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe, ariko ntiyahabwa icy'umutwe w' "Abaparakomando", biramubabaza cyane.

[19] Uwo mugabo wubashywe ukomoka ku Gikongoro, wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa Grégoire Kayibanda akanaza kuba Umuyobozi wa mbere w'Umunyarwanda wa Kaminuza y'igihugu, yari mu mwanya w'Umunyamabanga wungirije w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) ubwo yasabwaga na perezida Habyarimana gukemura ibibazo by'ihangana byari byugarije igihugu.

perezida. Yihatiye kubaka bundi bushya igisirikari cy' "igihugu" no kuminjira abasirikarimo agafu. Ashyigikiwe na Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye yashyizweho muri Mata 1992, yavuguruye bikomeye ubuyobozi bw'ingabo, atunganya bundi bushya inzego z'iperereza, asaranganya ibikoresho mu mitwe y'ingabo. Muri Mata 1992, nyuma y'isezera mu ngabo rya Juvénal Habyarimana (*reba umugereka wa 19*), ibibazo byafashe indi ntera iremereye cyane ku isonga hari ikibazo cyo guhatanira umwanya w'umukuru wa etamajoro n'ipeti rya jenerali majoro (ritari ryakagize undi urihabwa). Muri Gicurasi, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu na minisitiri w'intebe bamaze kwanga ko Laurent Serubuga aba umunyamabanga wa minisitiri w'ingabo, Juvénal Habyarimana yashatse kugira Théoneste Bagosora umugaba w'ingabo.[20] James Gasana yanze kuva ku izima ahubwo atangaza bidasubirwaho ibyo gushyira mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru ba koloneli Serubuga (Gisenyi), Rwagafirita (Kibungo), Bagosora (Gisenyi), Sagatwa (Gisenyi), Nshizirungu (Kigali ngari) n'abandi basirikari bakuru benshi, ateza intambara yeruye y'ibikomerezwa byo mu majyaruguru hamwe n'agace "k'intagondwa" zo mu gisirikari zari zirangajwe imbere na koloneli Serubuga. minisitiri na Guverinoma batsimbaraye kuri kandidatire ya koloneli Déogratias Nsabimana (Ruhengeri), wari wagaragaje ubutwari ku rugamba muri 1990 kandi akaba azwiho kutaniganwa ijambo. Mu rwego rw'ubworoherane, aho gushyira mu bikorwa icyemezo cya Guverinoma cyo hushyira mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru abari bagejeje igihe, koloneli Bagosora, Sagatwa na Nshizirungu bongerewe igihe cy'umwaka umwe ku itariki ya 9 kamena 1992. Ariko kubera ko atari yishimiye inzira Théoneste Bagosora yari yakoresheje ngo agume mu gisirikari, minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu yamwambuye umurimo uwo ari wo wose w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari, amugenera imirimo yo mu rwego rw'umukozi wa leta w' "umusivili" mu mwanya w'umuyobozi w'ibiro bya minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu[21]. Nguko uko Théoneste Bagosora yasigaye mu "basaza" mbarwa bo mu basirikari bakuru bo mu Bushiru bityo aba "ijisho" rya perezida muri Minadef afite inshingano zo kugenzura minisitiri we, James Gasana, wakekwagaho, n'ubwo yari umuyoboke wa MRND, kumaranira umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika.

Bityo rero, ubwo ubuyobozi bwa etamajoro y'ingabo n'iya jandarumori byahabwaga aba jenerali bo mu cyiciro cya karindwi cy'ishuri ry'abasirikari bakuru (EO), Déogratias Nsabimana na Augustin Ndindiliyimana (Butare), byagaragaye ko ibikomerezwa hafi ya byose byakekwagaho kwihisha inyuma y'abafasha ba hafi ba perezida bari bahigitswe burundu ndetse bateshejwe agaciro.

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[20] Uko kuzamurwa mu mapeti nyirubwite yarabishakaga bitavugwa ; iyo ahabwa ipeti rya jenerali yari kuba akwepye inzitizi y'imyaka 50, akaba kandi abaye umusirikari mukuru urusha abandi bose imyaka. Ariko nanone kuri Habyarimana, bwari uburyo bwo gushyiraho umuhuza w'abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru, agakumira ububasha bwa minisitiri w'ingabo, kandi ariko cyane cyane agashobora kugenzura Bagosora ku buryo butaziguye. Inkurikizi z'ikibazo cya Mayuya n'ubutiriganya bwajyanye na cyo byari byaratumye Bagosora aba "umurakare" ku buryo, nkuko hari umutangabuhamya yahishuriye iryo banga, muri Kanama 1990 yari yiteguye gukurikira Valens Kajeguhakwa na Pasteur Bizimungu akayoboka Inkotanyi i Kampala.

[21] Icyemezo cyo ku wa 23 Nzeri 1993 cyo kumushyira mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru cyahamijwe burundu ku itariki ya 1 Mutarama 1994 [*si 1993 nkuko biri mu nyandiko y'umwimerere*] mu "cyemezo cya gisirikari" cyashyizweho umukono n'umukuru wa etamajoro. Icyo cyemezo kiri mu nyandiko yariho abasirikari bakuru bose hakurikijwe inzego bakoramo n'ahantu bakorera (reba inyadiko D. NS 15, TPIR, Arusha).

Nubwo iyo nkubiri yasize nta mukandida n'umwe ushyigikiwe na Juvénal Habyarimana wabonye ipeti rya jenerali – n'imirimo ijyana na ryo – ryari kubarinda kujya mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, Théoneste Bagosora yari afite umwanya ukomeye wo kwitegereza no gucungira hafi ibyabaga byose. Ntibyamutindiye kugwiza amaboko kubera ko muri Nyakanga 1993 byabaye ngombwa ko minisitiri Gasana ahunga ubwo yari ageraniwe n'intagondwa zirusha izindi ubukana zo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida. Yasimbujwe umusivili bishyiriyeho kandi utazi ibya gisirikari, Augustin Bizimana. Kwisuganya byakozwe mu maguru mashya, maze kuva ubwo Théoneste Bagosora areka imyambaro ya gisirikari ariko aba inkingi ikomeye y' "intavugirwamo" z'ingoma muri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu.

Kwisuganya kwa MRND no kunguka imbaraga kwa perezida

Ku rwego rwa politiki naho ibintu byaracikaga. Abaturage bari bategereje ibintu byinshi kuri "Guverinoma yo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi" yo muri Mata 1992, cyana cyane kugira ngo bave mu bibazo by'ubukungu n'imibanire yabo byarushagaho gukomera, ariko mu ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi, babonaga intege nke zikabije za leta n'ubwiyongere bw'ibikorwa by'ubugome ku rwego rwa politiki. Koko rero, uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi rwagaragazaga imbaraga zarwo kandi rwari rwarageze kuri byinshi, ariko inkubiri yo gukangura abantu yari yabibagejejeho, mu iteganya ry'amatora anyuze muri demokarasi, yari yaracitse. Gukangurira abantu ibyo kubohoza mu rwego rw'uturere byarakorwaga bigaragara ariko byarebaga gusa abarwanashyaka b'impirimbanyi bari biteguye guhangana n'aba MRND. Abenshi mu baturage bagayaga akajagari byateraga ndetse bagahangayikishwa n'icumbagira ry'inzego z'ubuyobozi ryaterwaga n'isaranganya rya za minisiteri mu mashyaka. Muri buri minisiteri intambara zikaze zarashozwaga kugira ngo ishyaka ryigarurire minisiteri ryari ryeguriwe : kugenzura imyanya, ingengo z'imari n'izindi ndonke zinyuranye. Uko gucika intege cg kuzinukwa byagiriraga akamaro MRND, yari ihagarariye ibyahozeho kandi yakomezaga gusaba itegura ry'amatora. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992, byagaragaraga neza ko, imbere y'umutekano muke wiyongeraga n'isakara ry'ihangana rishingiye ku marangamutima, umugambi w'ukwishyira hamwe mu kurwanya MRND utari usobanutse.

Icyo gihe cyari amashiraniro mu rwego rwa politiki, kubera ko inzira z'ingufu zari guhangana nyuma zimaze kwigaragaza. MRND yabonaga neza ingingo yashoboraga gushingiraho mu kongera kwigarurira abaturage ngo bayishyigikire : kugarura amahoro, demokarasi, amajyambere. Ubumwe, imwe mu nkingi z'intego ya MRND, bwari bwaravuye mu mbwirwaruhame bitewe n'igitutu cy'abakiga n'akazu. Mu gihe ihuriro ry'amashyaka aharanira demokarasi mu guhindura ibintu (FDC), ryari rifite ibibazo imbere mu gihugu, ryerekezaga imbaraga zabo nyinshi mu gutsinda bisesuye uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ku meza y'imishyikirano— dore ko zitari zikizera kubona intsinzi mu matora— kuko MRND na perezida bari bongeye kugirirwa icyizere na "rubanda

nyamwinshi".

Itandukana hagati y' "ubwiganze mu rwego rwa politiki" n' "ubwiganze bushingiye ku bwoko" Inkotanyi zitwazaga kugira ngo zisobanure impamvu zanga amatora rusange dore ko zitizeraga ubushishozi bw'abaturage mu rwego rwa politiki, ryarushagaho gutiza imbaraga ibitekerezo "bya demokarasi [ya rubanda nyamwinshi]" byitwazwaga n'ababogamiye kuri MRND.

Amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yo muri Nyakanga 1992 amaze gushyirwaho umukono, MRND yashimishijwe no kwibutsa uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi ko, n'ubwo rwari rwisubiyeho ku cyifuzo cyarwo cy'ingenzi cyo kwanga amatora, yari yahisemo kuva ubwo kwiyambaza amasezerano hagati y'amashyaka mu mwanya w'uburenganzira bw'abaturage. Ibyo ni byo perezida ubwe yamaganye mu ijambo rye yavugiye ku buryo butunguranye muri mitingi ya MRND mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992, imbere y'abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi ubwo yateruraga ati :

> "Ninjira hano, nabonye ikintu : maze kumva noneho impamvu abo bantu bafite ubwoba bw'amatora [amashyi, amafirimbi n'imirishyo y'ingoma]. Baribeshya ko batsinze, ariko ntibashaka amatora [amashyi, amafirimbi n'imirishyo y'ingoma]. Nimunyumvire namwe ! Ubu maze kumva impamvu badashaka amatora. […] Abahinziborozi ni bo bagize imizi y'ishyaka ryacu. Mubegere muganire na bo kugira ngo mumenye ibitekerezo byabo n'ibibazo byabo. Mubegere haba mu byishimo cg mu byago, bityo ishyaka ryacu rizakomera kurushaho. Nsabye rero abayobozi bo mu nzego zose kwegera abahinziborozi bagafatanya na bo. Abahinziborozi ni bo musingi w'ishyaka ryacu. Ni bo barwanashyaka bacu[22]."

Nubwo Juvénal Habyarimana atari ashishikajwe cyane no kuyobora bya hafi ishyaka ryari mu ntambara yo kwisanzura ariko kandi ririmo amacakubiri, yashakaga gukoresha umwanya we [wa perezida] n'igikundiro cye bwite kugira ngo yongere yiyunge n' "imbaga y'abaturage" yari igishimishwa n'imvugo ye ishyira abaturage imbere. Muri icyo gihe, yashyiraga imbaraga ze ku buryo bugaragara mu gukomeza umuryango w'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe rwari isoko y'abarwanashyaka bari baritangiye MRND burundu. Yashakiraga urwo rubyiruko imfashanyo mu bigo bya leta cg mu bikorera ku giti cyabo bityo zikagira ubushobozi bwo gutiza umurindi abanyapolitiki yifuzaga gushyigikira. Uwo mugambi wo gukwirakwiza abarwanashyaka wari inzira yo guhangana n'inkubiri yo kubohoza kimwe n'ingamba zo kwirengera byakorwaga ahanini n'urubyiruko rwa MDR mu maperefegitura yo hagati mu gihugu n'ayo mu majyepfo. Nyuma y'umwaka umwe gusa hatangiye ibyo kuvugurura ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryari ikimenyetso ruvumwa cy'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bushaje, MRND yashoboye kugera koko ku ihinduka ridasanzwe : Guharanira "demokarasi" – mu nyito zinyuranye ukurikije imyumvire y'abashaka guhindura ibintu cg abatsimbaraye ku bya kera – ni byo byari intero yayo n'inyikirizo ndetse ahubwo ni mo yari iteze amakiriro.

Icyari giteye amakenga muri MRND ni umugambi wayo mu rwego rwa gisirikari.

[22] Zimwe mu ngingo zo mu ijambo perezida Juvénal Habyarimana yavugiye muri mitingi ya MRND mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992, TPIR, Arusha, KV00-0392E (*reba umugereka wa 20*).

Abaharaniraga kujya mbere ntibemeraga ko imbunda zizakemura ibibazo kandi bumvaga ko byari ngombwa kurangiza imishyikirano vuba kugira ngo bajye mu matora yari kugaragaza imbaraga z'impade zose. Abatsimbararaga ku bya kera kimwe n'intagondwa batinyaga gutakaza byose bakomezaga gukeka ko byari bigishoboka guhashya ingabo z'Inkotanyi bakanahindura imigendekere y'imishyikirano dore ko bavugaga ko ibasaba kwigomwa byinshi ariko bo ntibagire icyo bayivanamo.

Umuntu yakeka ko perezida Habyarimana yari azi neza ko ishyaka rye MRND ryari rimaze kongera gutora agatege. Ntiyari agikozwa iby'imishyikirano yo kumwabura umwanya we wa perezida. Nk'uko yabivuze adategwa mu ijambo rye ryo ku itariki ya 15 ugushyingo 1992 mu Ruhengeri, ntiyateganyaga na busa kwemera ibyo guterwa ubwoba ngo yemere ibyasabwaga n'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu n'Inkotanyi.

Iri jambo [yavugiye mu Ruhengeri] ritandukanye cyane na menshi mu matangazo n'amadiskuru yari akunze kuvuga, kuko ryo rirangwa no kuba ritanyura inkereramucyamo kandi rigashyira imbere icyemezo gihamye. Perezida yagaragaje ku buryo busonutse ukuntu yari ashishikajwe no gukangurira MRND – ahereye mbere na mbere ku barwanashyaka b'imena ari bo Interahamwe – urugamba rwari ruri imbere, cyane cyane itora ryateganywaga rya perezida wa Repubulika :

> "Ndashimira abayobozi b'ishyaka hano mu Ruhengeri, abarwanashyaka ba MRND muri aka karere. Ntimugire ubwoba ! Icy'ingenzi ni ugutsinda amatora kandi tuzayatsinda kubera ko muyakomeyeho hano n'ahandi mu maperefegitura [amashyi, amafirimbi, imirishyo y'ingoma]. […] Igihe nikigera, nzabohereza ubutumwa. Nzasaba Interahamwe kumperekeza. Bambwiye ko, mu kwiyamamaza kwanjye nzitwaza abasirikari banjye kugira ngo banyamamaze. Hari ikibazo gihari babikoze ? [amashyi, amafirimbi, imirishyo y'ingoma]. Nyamara nzi ko ari cyane cyane Interahamwe zizanyamamaza, kubera ko turi kumwe. Mbifurije kugira ubuzima burambye[23]."

Amagambo nk'ayo yavugwaga n'abayobozi ba MRND mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992 yavuzweho byinshi kandi ahora yibutswa n'abashishikajwe no kugaragaza ubushake buke bwo kujya mu mishyikirano bwa perezida n'ishyaka rye, MRND. Nyamara amasesengura agaragaza gake ukutumvikana gukabije kwashoboraga kwiganza hagati y'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa politiki bizeye ukwamamara kwabo mu baturage no kugira ababahagarariye, n'abari mu mishyikirano Arusha. Abo, mu izina ry'amashyaka n'ingabo z'inyeshyamba, batunganyaga ibyo bumvikanyeho bagamije kuniga ubutegetsi bw'ingoma abayifitemo uruhare bose bemeraga ko yari kuzava mu matora ya rubanda yarushijeho gukomera no kwemerwa. Ni byo James Gasana ashaka gusobanura iyo yamagana "ibitekerezo byo kwifuza" n' "urwango bivugwa ko perezida yari afitiye amasezerano y'amahoro" n'interuro ya perezida yabaye ikirangirire y' "ibipapuro" :

> "Igihe yavugaga ko gushyira umukono ku rupapuro bitari bihagije mu kugarura amahoro, ni uko yabonaga ko uwashyikiranaga ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma (minisitiri Boniface

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[23] *Ibid.* (*Reba umugereka wa 20).*

> Ngulinzira wo muri MDR) yirengagizaga ubusugire bw'abaturage n'ukuntu bifuzaga demokarasi. Ku bwe, amasezerano y'Arusha ntiyagombaga gusimbura ijwi rya rubanda, ahubwo kwiga uburyo abaturage bagenzura ibintu. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, demokarasi ntiyagenaga gusa amabwiriza yo kugera ku butegetsi, yanagenaga abawiriza yo kubuvaho. Ntibyashobokaga rero gutanga ubutegetsi kubera igitutu cy'imbunda, cg icy'imikino yaberaga mu mishyikirano y'Arusha[24]."

Aho niho hari ikinyuranyo ntarengwa hagati y'inyabubiri y'uburenganzira, uburenganzira bushingiye kuri demokarasi ya rubanda nyamwinshi n'uburenganzira bwo gutaha bwa rubanda nyamuke. Twibuke nanone ko gutangaza uburyo perezida yashakaga kwifashisha bwumvikanaga rugikubita. Inyungu z'ingabo z'Inkotanyi n'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi zagerwagaho ku meza y'imishyikirano mu rwewgo rw'amasezerano yashyizweho n'iterabwoba ry'imbunda, Juvénal Habyarimana yatangaje adategwa ko, ku munsi w'isaranganya rya nyuma rinyuze mu matora, azahangana na zo akoresheje ukwitabira amatora ku bwinshi kw'abahinziborozi, baherekejwe n'Interahamwe ze hamwe n'abasirikari be.

Ibyo ariko kwari ukwibeshya gukomeye nkuko minisitiri w'intebe Nsengiyaremye yabivuze mu ibaruwa ikaze yo kubyamagana yohererеje perezida ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo (reba umugereka wa 20). Iyo baruwa inenga uburyo perezida yashyize mu majwi bikabije amasezerano ya Arusha, ikanibutsa icyuka kibi cyatutumbaga mu gihugu kubera intagondwa z'abasirikari, ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari ya MRND zasakazaga iterabwoba zinagerageza guhungabanya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi. Yamaganye kandi akomeje ukuntu ingabo zahamagariwe "kwamamaza" perezida hirengagijwe ihame ryo kwifata ryagenwaga n'itegeko, kimwe n'umuco wo kudahana warengeraga abatezaga imvururu mu bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi muri Kibilira, mu Bugesera no ku Kibuye. Nanone yamaganye ibyakorwaga mu guhembera imyigaragambyo ya gisirikari yari irangajwe imbere n'umutwe wayoborwaga na majoro Ntabakuze mu kigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe mu ijoro ryo ku wa 21 rishyira uwa 22 ukwakira 1992. Iyo myigaragambyo nta muntu n'umwe wayirwanyije ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida uhereye ku bayobozi ba MRND kabone nubwo uwo yari yibasiye, James Gasana, wari minisitiri w'ingabo yari umuyoboke wa MRND (reba umugereka wa 21).

Mu gusoza, ibaruwa [ya minisitiri w'intebe] yibanda ku gikorwa kigayitse cyasakujwe cyane mu baturage, cy'uruhare rwarushagaho gukomera rw'imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'Interahamwe n'ukuntu zitahanwaga :

> "Nanone, mu gihe Guverinoma isaba ko imitwe y'amashyaka yitwaje intwaro ivaho, murahamagarira Interahamwe gukora umutwe w'abarwanyi mu ngendo zanyu zo kwiyamamaza. Sinzi niba ari ngombwa kwibutsa ko ibikorwa byo kwamamaza bitaratangizwa ku mugaragaro kandi ko iyo myitwarire inyuranyije n'amategeko ? Naho Interahamwe zo, hibukijwe inshuro zitabarika ko urwo rubyiruko rurimo abantu bafite intwaro kandi ko kubera ibyo rugomba kuvaho hakurikijwe amategeko agenga amashyaka

[24] James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.*, p. 168.

mu Rwanda [25]."

Iryo hangana ryafashe intera idasanzwe. Nk'uko James Gasana abyibutsa, guhera mu ntangiriro y'igice cya kabiri cy'Ugushyingo, Guverinoma yagize icyo irivugaho :

> "minisitiri w'intebe yateguye inama y'abaminisitiri bari bafite mu nshingano zabo umutuzo mu gihugu n'umutekano, n'abakuru b'amashyaka yari muri Guverinoma, kugira ngo hafatwe ibyemezo byo kurwanya ibikorwa by'urugomo by'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka. Kubera ko abakuru b'amashyaka babyemeye bakabyitangira, ibikorwa bya Jandarumori birwanya ibikorwa by'urugomo byo mu rwego rwa politiki byabaye ingirakamaro maze, mu mpera z'umwaka, hari abakekwaho ibyaha b'Interahamwe 79 bari bafunzwe n'abandi 9 bashakishwaga kubera ibyaha binyuranye[26]."

Perezida yafashe iryo fungwa nk'umumugambi wa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu wo kwibasira urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe. Nyamara minisitiri we yumvaga Jandarumori nta kindi yakoze kirenze gufata abanyarugomo bitwazaga kuba mu nterahamwe bagakora amarorerwa. Kuri icyo kibazo mu by'ukuri habayeho ubwumvikane buke.

Ubushyamirane hagati y'abo bagabo bombi bwarushijeho gukomera ubwo minisitiri yasabaga Jandarumori gukaza ibikorwa byo kurwanya ibyo gutunga imbunda zitemewe n'amategeko noneho mu mukwabu wabaye ku Kicukiro, Jandarumori igafata imbunda ikomeye mu rugo rw'umukwe wa se wa batisimu wa perezida akanaba umukuru w'Interahamwe zaho. Nyir'ugufatanwa imbunda yabashije guhunga ndetse ntiyigera atabwa muri yombi nubwo bwose ubushinjacyaha bwari bwasohoye urupapuro rwo kumufata...

Uwo muco wo kudahana Juvénal Habyarimana yakomezaga gutsimbataza akingira ikibaba abantu be bafite uruhare mu marorerwa cyane cyane Interahamwe byatumye urubyiruko rwinshi rwitabira ibikorwa by'urugomo.

Agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi

Inyandiko yasubiwemo y'agace kerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi, kashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 9 Mutarama 1993, yateye umutima mubi abayobozi ba MRND. Icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi cyagenewe gusa perezidansi ya Repubulika na minisiteri eshanu ku myanya makumyabiri n'ibiri iteganijwe muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Nanone, mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko yaguye (ANT), yabashije kugira imyanya cumi n'umwe gusa kimwe na buri mutwe ukomeye wo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi (FPR, PL, PSD, MDR). Ayo mahindura yanashyiragaho umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wungirije wagenewe Inkotanyi. Hagiyeho kandi itegeko ku "myitwarire ya politiki" yagomabaga gushyirwaho umukono n'imitwe ya politiki itari mu mishyikirano y'Arusha, buri wose ukaba wari ugenewe umwanya umwe umwe mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'igihugu. Bityo, Inkotanyi n'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi mu gihugu byari byiyeguriye ubutegetsi busesuye kandi ubwiganze

[25] Ibaruwa ya minisitiri w'intebe, Dismas Nsengiyaremye, yandikiye perezida wa Repubulika ku wa 17 ugushyingo 1992.

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

bwa bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko bwabahaga ndetse ububasha bwo guhindura amategeko agenderwaho. Icyo MRND na CDR zise "kudeta y'Inkotanyi na Ngulinzira" (izina rya minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wo muri MDR, wari uhagarariye Guverinoma mu mishyikirano y'Arusha) kigaragaza neza imbibi hagati z'impande zariho.

Mbere na mbere hazaga abari batsinze icyo gihe : MDR n'abifatanyije na yo, bari biganzuye mu by'ukuri uruhande rushyigikiye perezida bafatanyije n'Inkotanyi. Imibare y'amatora yahaga MDR mu bice byayo bitatanye icyizere cyo kwiganza birambuye imbere y'Inkotanyi zitari zifite imizi ihagije mu baturage ku buryo zagira imbaraga mu rwego rwa politiki.

Ku ruhande rwa kabiri, uhasanga MRND, yari yatsindiwe ku meza y'imishyikirano. Ariko yari yariteguye guhangana n'iryo tsindwa. Kubera ko bari bizeye guhagararirwa neza no kugira imbaraga mu giturage, abenshi mu bayobozi ba MRND bashoboraga kwihanganira igihe cy'inzibacyuho maze bakaziganzura mu bihe by'amatora yari ateganyijwe n'ubwo bwose yari gutinda. Bumvaga ko bitari gushobokera amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi gushyira mu bikorwa mu gihugu intsinzi yari yavanye mu mpapuro, kandi ntibatekerezaga ko yashoboraga gushinga imizi mu ndiri za MRND kandi zishingiye ku bwoko bumwe zo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru. I Kigali n'i Kibungo, ku Kibuye n'i Cyangugu naho MRND yari ihafite imizi kandi ihagarariwe n'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye mu nzego za politiki, ubukungu n'igisirikari. Perefegiutra za Gitarama na Butare ni zo zonyine itari ifitemo ijambo. Ibyo ari byo byose, uburemere bwo gutsindwa mu mishyikirano ya Arusha bwasabaga ko hateganywa uburyo bwo kuriha igihombo cy'ibikomerezwa byo muri Repubulika ya Kabiri (ubuyobozi bukuru, abayobozi b'ibigo bya leta, abasirikari bakuru, n'abandi) byari gutakaza burundu imyanya yabyo ku mpamvu zo gucyura igihe cg bisabwe n'abaminisitiri bashya. Kubera ko bari bake cyane batumva ukuntu barengera imitungo n'imyanya yabo babinyujije mu nzira za politiki kandi bakaba bataremeraga kwigizwayo nkuko byari biteganyijwe, biyemeje kudindiza imishyikirano ndetse bitegura kuba banahirika ubutegetsi.

Ikindi kandi, ya myanya itanu ya minisiteri yari yagenewe Inkotanyi, ukuyemo ishyirwaho ry'umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wungirije n'umunyamabanga wa leta ushinzwe gucyura impunzi, yose yari yavanywe ku yari isanzwe ari iya MRND, bityo ikegurira Inkotanyi imyanya ine yarimo minisiteri ikomeye y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu (*reba umugereka wa 22*).

Umujinya wa MRND n'abakunzi bayo warenze inkombe. Ku itariki ya 19 mutarama 1993, MRND na CDR byakoresheje imyigaragambyo mu gihugu cyose yo kurwanya amasezerano, haza kuba agahenge kubera Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'iperereza ku ihohoterwa ry'burenganzia bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda [27] yaje mu gihugu. Ubwo iyo Komisiyo yasozaga imirimo yayo ku itariki ya 21 Mutarama, igihe nyirizina umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND

[27] Izo ntumwa zari mu Rwanda kuva ku itariki ya 7 kugeza ku ya 21 Mutarama 1993 (reba *Rapport de la Commission internationale d'enquête sur les violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Ukwakira1990 [Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga kuri anketi ku ihungabana ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda guhera ku itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990] ya* Fédération internationale des ligues des droits de l'homme/Africa Watch/Union interafricaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples/Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement démocratique, 8 Werurwe 1993).

yatangazaga ko ishyaka rye ryanze ku buryo bwose amasezerano, imyigaragambyo yarubuye. Mu gihe cy'iminsi itandatu, ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byakozwe n'abitwara gisirikari b'intagondwa bafatanyije n'abaturage b'uturere tunyuranye byayogoje amajyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'U Rwanda :

> "Ishyigikiwe n'abayobozi b'uturere, MRND yakoresheje imyigaragambyo irimo ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi mu gihugu cyose kuva ku itariki ya 20 kugeza ku ya 22 mutarama 1993 itangaza icyifuzo cyayo cyo guhagarika imirimo yose. Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi ntiyemeye guterwa ubwoba na yo akoresha imyigaragambyo iyirwanya yagamburuje intagondwa za MRND n'udushami twayo, mu maperefegitura ya Byumba, Kibungo, Umujyi wa Kigali, Kigali ngari, Gitarama, Gikongoro, Cyangugu na Kibuye (uretse muri komini Rutsiro). Mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kigali ngari (agace ka Bumbogo n'u Buliza), Byumba (komini Tumba) na Kibuye (komini Rutsiro), iyo myigaragambyo yahindutse vuba imvururu abitwaga ko bigaragambya batangira kwica Abatutsi n'abandi bantu bo mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Hapfuye abantu bagera kuri 400 n'abandi 20 000 bakurwa mu byabo[28]."

Uruhande rwa gatatu rwari urw'Inkotanyi, kuva ubwo zari zishyigikiwe n'Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu, bari bizeye ko nibura agace k'ubutegetsi kari kuba akabo mu bihe bya vuba. Uko ibikorwa by'ubugome byibasiraga Abatutsi byakorwaga na CDR n'imitwe y'Abahutu bitwara gisirikari byiyongeraga, ni ko urubyiruko rwinshi rw'Abatutsi rwinjiraga mu Nkotanyi aho rwari rufitiye icyizere cyane cyo kubona umutekano kurusha uko rwinjiraga mu mashyaka y'Abahutu cg ayiganjemo Abatutsi mu gihugu.

Kubera kwigaragaza mu maso y'amahanga nk'imbaraga zikomeye mu rwego rwa politiki kandi zizeye ingufu zazo nyinshi mu rwego rwa gisirikari (zongerwaga no gushyigikirwa bitagoyora na NRA y'i Buganda), Inkotanyi zitwaje ibikorwa by'ubugome byibasira Abatutsi zigaba igitero cya gisirikari gikomeye i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare. ingabo z'Ubufaransa zarahagobotse zikoma imbere igitero, nuko ingabo z'Inkotanyi zireka ibyo gufata Kigali, zisubira inyuma muri Werurwe, ariko zimaze kugaragaza ingufu zazo ku buryo amaperefegitura yose yo ku mipaka, na Gisenyi irimo, yatangiye kugira ubwoba bwo kugwa mu ntambara yari imaze guhitana inzirakarengane nyinshi no gusiga iheruheru ibihumbi amagana by'abakuwe mu byabo.

Muri rusange, intagondwa za CDR na MRND ntizari zigishidikanya ko inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi zifite ubushobozi bwo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Ibyo byashimangiye ubumwe bwari bwongeye kugaruka mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida Habyarimana wabonwaga muri icyo gihe kuba urukuta rukumira Inkotanyi zashakaga kwigarurira ubutegetsi ku mbaraga. Ubushobozi bw'Inkotanyi ariko bwari nanone buhangayikishije abashyigikiye kimwe n'abayoboke n'abakozi bakuru b'amashyaka aharanira ko ibintu bihinduka (FDC). Ingaruka zabaye nyinshi by'umwihariko mu maperefegitura yo mu

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[28] Ubuhamya bwa Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE (mu nama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 3 Gashyantare 1993), muri *Raporo ya Komisiyo yo mu rwego rwa politiki n'ubuyobozi ku mvururu mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye*. Iyo komisiyo yari iyobowe na Augustin Iyamuremye (PSD), icyo gihe wai ushinzwe urwego rw'iperereza mu Biro bya minisitiri w'intebe.

majyaruguru, aho MDR na PSD byari byaragize ibibazo byinshi byo gushinga imizi. Bitewe n'imyumvire, igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyashoboraga gufatwa nk'intsinzi cg inzitizi. Ibi byatumye ibintu birushaho kuba umwaku ku nzirakarengane z'abasivili ibihumbi n'ibihumbi – n'ubwo umubare rusange ukigibwaho impaka – no ku buryo bw'umwihariko ku bantu baying miliyoni bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara bakanama ku gasi mu nkengero z'umujyi wa Kigali. Icyo abakurikiranye ibyabaye icyo gihe bahurizaho ni uko ari bwo bamwe mu bitaga Inkotanyi "abatabazi"[29] ari bwo batangiye kwipakurura icyo gitekerezo ku mugaragaro. Ni muri urwo rwego abayobozi b'ayomashyaka mu rwego rw'amaperefegitura, nka Donat Murego, umunyamabanga wa MDR mu rwego rw'igihugu akaba na perezida wa komite nyobozi yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Stanislas Mbonampeka[30], visiperezida wa kabiri wa PL akaba na perezida wayo mu Ruhengeri cg Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa mu rwego rwa perefegitura wa PSD ku Gisenyi akaba yari ashinzwe ibiro bya minisitiri Félicien Gatabazi, bayobotse inzira yemerwaga na benshi mu bayoboke b'amashyaka yabo batangira gushyikirana n'abayobozi ba MRND mu nzego zo mu maperefegitura.

Itutumba ry'ubushyamirane no kujarajara mu ruhando rwa politiki

Inyagwa rya Dismas Nsengiyaremye

Mu kwezi kumwe, "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi" n'igitero cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare byatumye irari ry'ubutegetsi n'ubushobozi bw'abari babifitemo uruhare banyuranye bisobanuka neza. Amayeri yabo yo guhangana icyo gihe yigaragaje ku buryo buteguye neza. Uwabihombeyemo wa mbere ni MDR aho visi-perezida wa mbere wayo akaba na minisitiri w'intebe, Dismas Nsengiyaremye witeguraga gusarura inyungu za politiki mu isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro kandi wizeraga gushobora kwiyongeza afata ubuyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Kwimika "MDR Gitarama", aho Dismas Nsengiyaremye yakomoka, byari bibangamiye irari ry'abandi bo mu ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bifuzaga ubuperezida, barimo Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida w'ishyaka akaba n'umukwe wa nyakwigendera perezida Grégoire Kayibanda, Emmanuel Gapyisi, perezida wa komisiyo ya politiki ya MDR na we akaba umukwe wa Grégoire Kayibanda, ndetse n'abakuru ba PSD na PL, Félicien Gatabazi na Justin Mugenzi.

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[29] ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda],* t. I, p. 109-110 n'izikurikira (*reba nanone umugereka wa 23*).

[30] Stanislas Mbonampeka wari mu cyiciro cya 3 cy'ishuri rya gisirikari, yari umuyobozi w'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kigali muri Nyakanga 1973. Icyo kigo cyarimo icyo gihe umutwe ushinzwe iperereza (Recce), umutwe w'igipolisi cya gisirikari (PM), umutwe w'icyicaro gikuru (QG) – wayoboraga abasirikari bakoreraga inzego z'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikari – n'ikigega cy'ibikoresho bya gisirikari (base militaire). N'ubwo guhirika ubutegetsi byatangiriye mu kigo cya gisirikari cya Kigali, asa n'utaragizemo uruhare rw'umwihariko. Umuyobozi w'ikigo ntiyari afite ububasha na buke mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi cg urw'ibikorwa bya gisirikari ku mitwe yabaga mu kigo, yagenzurwaga ku buryo butaziguye na etamajoro. Stanislas Mbonampeka yari yararongoye Marie-Claire Mukamugema, umukobwa wa Domonique Mbonyumutwa, perezida wa mbere wa Repubulika y' U Rwanda yashyizweho ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961.

Ikindi kandi, ingingo y' "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi", yateganyaga ko umukandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe yari "gutangwa n'umutwe wa politiki wari kuba watoranyijwe icyo gihe kandi wemejwe n'impande zombi zari mu mishyikirano[31]" kandi ko umwirondoro we wari kumenyekana mbere yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro, yahaga Juvénal Habyarimana ububasha bukomeye bwo guhembera amacakubiri hagati y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi no muri yo ubwayo. Mu bakandida benshi bashoboraga kwiyegereza perezida Juvénal Habyarimana kugira ngo baburizemo Dismas Nsengiyaremye wari ubateye icyugazi, uw'ibanze muri bo wari ushyiditse na Nsengiyaremye yari Faustin Twagiramungu kabone n'ubwo yari ashyigikiye ubufatanye n'Inkotanyi ndetse abayoboke be mu ishyaka bakaba bari mbarwa. Icyo gihe ni bwo hadutse amacenga yoroheje n'akataje, yatangiye nta wushobora kumenya neza icyo ahatse, yaje gutuma abagize uruhando rwa politiki bavavanura na bamwe bakifatanya n'abandi ku buryo budasubirwaho. Igice cya mbere cyabaye icyo kwirukana muri Mutarama 1993 Boniface Ngulinzira, minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga, ku mwanya we w'umukuru w'intumwa za Guverinoma Arusha – yari yarabaye "umwanzi ukomeye" wa MRND uko imishyikirano yajyaga mbere – ; hatagombeye ibyo kugisha inama minisitiri w'intebe, [Ngulinzira] yasimbujwe James Gasana wari minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu "kubera ko igice cy'imishyikirano y'Arusha cyakurikiragaho, cyari gusuzuma ahanini iyinjizwa ry'abarwanyi b'Inkotanyi mu ngabo z'igihugu[32]."

Mu gufata icyo cyemezo, Juvénal Habyarimana yari agabanyije bidasubirwaho ububasha bwa Dismas Nsengiyaremye kandi yambuye MDR ububasha bwo gusaba imigabane yo mu rwego rwa politiki yari itegereje muri ayo masezerano, cyane cyane mu byo kumenyekana mu baturage. Ariko cyane cyane yari yisubije ububasha bwo gukomeza kugenzura minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu abinyujije ku muyobozi w'ibiro bye, Théoneste Bagosora. Dismas Nsengiyaremye na James Gasana banze bivuye inyuma iryo hindagura. Ntibari bazi nyamara ko Juvénal Habyarimana yari ashyigikiwe na ba perezida ba MDR, PL, PSD ndetse n'Inkotanyi, noneho biba ngombwa ko bicisha bugufi (reba umugereka wa 24). Muri MDR, Faustin Twagiramungu yari akeye inkunga ya Juvénal Habyarimana kugira ngo ahagarike itangwa rya kandidatire ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) kandi, ku buryo bwaguye, kwisungana kwa kwa Habyarimana, Twagiramungu na Mugenzi (PL) byasuraga igikorwa cyari kuzagera ku ihinduka rigaragara mu rwego rw'ubufatanye. Naho ku ruhande rw'abayobozi ba PSD, Frédéric Nzamurambaho na Félicien Gatabazi, bashakaga kuburizamo igaruka ku butegetsi rya "Gitarama".

Ubwo imishyikirano yuburaga muri Gashyantare, Inkotanyi zarwanyije ububasha bwa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu nk'umukuru mushya w'intumwa za Guverinoma, kandi zigaba igitero mu Ruhengeri, zikeka ko amacakubiri yo mu rwego rwa politiki yari kwadukira n'ingabo kandi ko ibyo zari zaragezeho bikomeye mu rwego rwa gisirikari byari gukomeza ku buryo bw'ingirakamaro

[31] Ingingo ya 51 y' "agace k'imishyikirano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi".
[32] Ibaruwa Enoch Ruhigira yandikiye minisitiri w'intebe ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1993.

ubufatanye bwazo n'ihuriro riharanira demokarasi n'ihinduka (FDC : MDR, PSD, PL na PDC). Amacakubiri hagati y'abemeraga n'abarwanyaga Inkotanyi mu mugambi wazo wo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu ni cyo cyabaye ikibazo cy'ingenzi mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu. Mu gushaka koroshya no gukurura buri wese yishyira urubuga rwa politiki, abakeba bombi bari bahanganye muri politiki no ku rugamba [MRND na FPR] bari bahuriye ku ntego rusange yo guhigika MDR yari inkingi y'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kandi yashakaga guhamya ubwigenge bwayo hagati y'abo bakeba bombi.

Perezida yamaze igihe kirekire yibwira ko Komite nyobozi ya MDR yari gutsimbarara bidakuka kuri kandidatire ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku buyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)[33]. Ukurikije ibyavuzwe n'umwe mu bari begereye Juvénal Hbayarimana, mu ntangiriro za Nyakanga ni bwo yaba yaragize umujinya agafata icyemezo cyo kumuvanaho amaboko ubwo yakiraga ambasaderi wa Tanzaniya wari waje kubaza ibyerekeye itariki yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano yari kwemeza itangazwa rya minisitiri w'intebe. Mu gihe perezida yari amaze kuvuga ko yemera igitekerezo cya kandidatire ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye akanasaba inyandiko ndakuka zari gushyirwaho umukono, uwo ambasaderi yiyemereye ko zari zitaraboneka. Perezida yumvise ko kuba Dismas Nsengiyaremye yari ari kwiyamamaza muri za ambasade ashakisha amaboko yo gushyigikira kandidatire ye byamuteshaga agaciro ndetse bikanagabanya ingufu ze. Bityo, icyo gihe yari yiteguye gushyiraho umunyacyubahiro uwo ari we wese, kabone n'iyo yaba Félicien Gatabazi, perezida wa PSD, n'ubwo byari kuba ngombwa kuri iyo mpamvu guhindura "agace k'amasezerano".

Ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga, Biro nshingwabikorwa ya MRND ku bwumvikane busesuye yohereje Perezida wa Repubulika ibaruwa iha na kopi abayobozi bose b'amashyaka yari muri Guverinoma, ibamenyesha ko MDR "itari ifite ububasha bwo gutsindirira abakoranaga na yo umukandida [Dismas Nsengiyaremye] utari ushoboye kugeza inzibacyuho ku matora yizewe kandi akozwe mu mucyo, mu mahoro n'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu[34]." Ku itariki ya 15 nyakanga 1993, Biro politiki ya MDR yasabye ko Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yari icyuhe igihe igumaho kugeza ku isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro kandi yongera kwemeza kandidatire ye ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE).

Nyamara bwakeye Dismas Nsengiyaremye n'uwari uyoboye imishyikirano Boniface Ngulinzira basimbuwe. Juvénal Habyarimana yari yabonye ko Inkotanyi zitari zigishaka Dismas Nsengiyaremye, wari utsimbaraye ku gitekerezo cyo kurangiza byanze bikunze imishyikirano mbere y'irangira rya manda ye ku itariki ya 23 Nyakanga. Ukurikije ibyavuzwe n'umwe mu bari begereye perezida, iyo uyu ubwe amusaba inkunga, Juvénal Habyarimana yari kuyimwemerera,

[33] Juvénal Habyarimana yahoraga abwira abamwegereye ko atumvaga impamvu Dismas Nsengiyaremye yangaga gufata ubuyobozi bwa MDR mu mwanya wa Faustin Twagiramungu. Ihitamo rye ryari ryigaragaje neza ubwo yatangira imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1992, ubwo Faustin Twagiramungu yashyiraga imbere umugambi wo kwifatanya by'umwihariko n'Inkotanyi, anyuranyije na Dismas Nsengiyaremye na cyane cyane Donat Murego na Froduald Karamira, bamaganye icyo cyerekezo.

[34] *Reba umugereka wa 24.*

kubera ko inkunga nk'iyo yari kugabanya ukwishisha Inkotanyi zari zimufitiye. Mu kwihagararaho "by'umuntu wishyira akizana", Dismas ahubwo yabuze byose.

Faustin Twagiramungu, wari ushyigikiwe n'Inkotanyi, icyo gihe yamamaje Agathe Uwilingiyimana wayoboraga MDR i Butare ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe, yitegurira ubwe kuzaba minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) yari iteganijwe mu masezerano y'amahoro. Ubwo MDR yahereyeko icikamo ibice bibiri mu rwego rw'igihugu. ubuyobozi bwayo bwemewe n'amategeko n'icyicaro cyayo byari bibonye urubuga rwo kwifatanya n'abarwanya Inkotanyi, kandi Faustin Twagiramungu yari asigaye ahagarariye ubuyobozi bushyigikiwe na bake.

Kongere y'ishyaka rya MRND ku itariki ya 3 n' iya 4 Nyakanga 1993

Kugira ngo hasesengurwe iryo hindagurika ry'ubufatanye n'ingaruka zaryo ku ruhande rwa Juvénal Habyarimana, ni ngombwa kugaruka gato ku byibanzweho muri kongere y'ishyaka MRND yari imaze gukorwa ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga n'umwuka wayikomotseho.

Iyo Kongere y'ishyaka yari yabayemo ihangana ry' "abaharanira ubwisanzure" n' "abadashaka ko ibintu bihinduka", ariko n'ubwo iryo nyuranya ry'ibitekerezo ryatangaga ishusho y'igihagararo cy'impande zari zihanganye, ibyerekezo by'imigambi byari bifite ibindi bishingiyeho, kandi na byo by'ingirakamaro. Bityo, muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, MRND yakomeje kuba mbere na mbere igikoresho cy'abakomokaga mu kazu ka perezida (OTP) kugira ngo irengere ibyo bamaze kugeraho. Ariko umugambi nyakuri w'Akazu n'abayobozi b'uturere ba MRND wari uhishe byinshi. Mu guteganya ibyo kugabana ubutegetsi, byari ngombwa kuvanaho ubwigunge bwa MRND no guha indi sura inzira ya politiki kugira ngo haboneke amashyaka yifatanya na yo kandi haburizwemo gushinga imizi kw'imitwe iyirwanya. Wabaye umurimo wa Joseph Nzirorera, wigaragaje nk'urukuta, umuvugizi w' "abafite icyerekezo gikaze" bo ku ngoma, wari ufite ububasha burenze imbibi za MRND yonyine gusa. Kubera ko yakekwagaho kuba umuragwa w'ingoma ya Juvénal Habyarimana dore ko ari we wasohozaga ibyifuzo bye, ni we washyize mu bikorwa umugambi wo kwagura uruhande rushyigikiye perezida ahimba CDR (ishyaka riharanira Repubulika) iba ishyirahamwe ry'intagondwa za MRND n'amashyaka yayigenderagaho. Nanone ni we wahuzaga ibikorwa by'inkunga akanishyura ibijyanye n'amasezerano n'ibikorwa binyuranye byababaga byumvikanyweho mu gihe cyo kwifatanya. Uwo mwanya wamugize urebye umuntu wari ufite icyerekezo cyaguye kurusha abandi kandi gisobanutse mu mashami y'ubutegetsi bwa perezida.

Ibyo "kugabana imirimo" hagati ya MRND na CDR ahanini byari bishingiye ku kibazo cy'ubwoko. CDR yavugiraga ku mugaragaro ibyo MRND itifuzaga kugaragaza kubera impamvu yari ishingiyeho kugira ngo igumane, nibura mu gihe gito, ishusho yayo yo kudaheza kimwe no kutiteranya n'Abatutsi bashoboraga kuzayitora. Imvugo ishingiye ku bwoko na yo ariko yayizaniraga abarwanashyaka benshi bashyigikiye ibitekerezo bya CDR batashoboraga na busa kujya ku ruhande rwa MRND. Nanone, ku buryo butangaje, gutera hejuru

kwa CDR byari bifite ababishyigikiye ku mpande zihanganye muri MRND, ari abari batsimbaraye ku bya kera ari n'abaharaniraga ko ibintu bihinduka. CDR yongereraga ingufu aba ba mbere ikababera igikoresho cyo kotsa igitutu imbere mu gihugu. Uruhande rwashakaga ihinduka rwo rwabonaga muri CDR impamvu yo guca intege abantu b'intagondwa bavaga muri MRND bakayigana.

Ibyo ari byo byose, n'ubwo muri ayo mashyaka yombi abenshi mu bayoboke bayo babonaga gusa inyungu muri ubwo bwuzuzanye, abakozi bakuru bo muri CDR bifuzaga kwibohora kurerwa n'icyahoze ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi maze bakamagana uko MRND yanga kwiteranya kandi ikegurira igihugu Inkotanyi n' "ibyitso byazo". Bityo, ubwo perezidansi yahitishaka kuri radiyo ku itariki ya 9 Werurwe 1993 itangazo ryashyigikiraga ibyo gukomereza imishyikirano i Dar es Salaam, CDR yaregeye icyarimwe perezida na minisitiri w'intebe ubugambanyi. Amashyaka yombi yateranye amagambo maze CDR isezera mu rugaga rw'abaharanira gukomeza demokarasi (ARD) ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe. Umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu wa MRND yagaye ku mugaragaro CDR kubera umurongo wayo ushingiye ku irondakoko anamagana uruhare rwayo mu bwicanyi bwo ku Gisenyi mu Kuboza 1992 no muri Mutarama 1993. Nyamara kandi ubwo bushyamirane ntibwashoboraga kumara igihe, kubera ko ubufatanye hagati y'iyo mitwe yombi bwari bukomeye cyane. CDR yari irenze cyane urwego rw'ishyaka ry'abavuye mu yandi. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, ubwiganze bwayo bwarengaga cyane perefegitura ya Gisenyi n'uruhande rw'abatsimbaraye ku bya kera muri MRND.

Muri MRND nanone ibintu ntibyari byoroshye mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru. Intambara n'amashyaka menshi byari bifite ingaruka zikomeye kuri MRND muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, no ku buryo bufitanye isano, ku bufatanye bwiza na Gisenyi. Koko rero MRND yari ihanganye na Kanyarengwe, umuhutu wari wabaye perezida w'Inkotanyi. Byarahwihwiswaga ko uruhande rw' "Inkotanyi Pawa" rwashoboraga kwifatanya na MDR bagasubiranya ubufatanye bwa Ruhengeri na Gitarama ubutegetsi bwa MDR-Parmehutu bwari bwarashingiyeho muri Repubulika ya Mbere. Ikindi kandi, MRND muri ako karere yari ibangamiwe n'ihiganwa ridasanzwe mu bayoboke bayo.

[Mu Ruhengeri] byaracikaga hagati y'abanyacyubahiro babiri : Joseph Nzirorera na Casimir Bizimungu. Uwa mbere yari mu kazu ka perezida rwagati dore ko iyo bavugaga "akazu ka perezida", Mukingo, komini ye y'amavuko muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, yabaga buri gihe irimo.

minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu yarwanyije ubwikanyize [bwa Nzirorera] mu bwatsi bwe bwite maze aramutsinsura abifashijwemo ku buryo budasubirwaho n'umudepite Boniface Rucagu : bityo, mu matora ya komite ya perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yo muri Gashyantare 1992, Joseph Nzirorera yabaye uwa kabiri. Muri kongere y'ishyaka yo ku itariki ya 18 mata 1992, ntiyashoboye kujya muri Komite nyobozi cg muri Biro politiki. Iyo Kongere y'ishyaka yaranzwe n'igaruka rya Mathieu Ngirumpatse (*reba incamake ya 7*), na Casimir bizimungu yinjira muri Biro politiki.

Uwo munyacyubahiro wa kabiri, wakomokaga muri komini Nyamugari, yari yaratoranyijwe muri Mata 1987 n' "umushyingira we", Dogiteri Séraphin

Bararengana wari umukuru w'ishami ry'ubuvuzi akaba n'umuvandimwe wa perezida, aba minisitiri w'Ubuvuzi, nyuma aba minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Mu gihe perezida yari ari guhuzagurika, Bizimungu yarwanije byimazeyo "igitero cy'Abaganda", ibyo abishimirwa by'umwihariko n'abaturage bo mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru yari abangamiwe n'ingabo z'Inkotanyi ndetse bimuhesha icyubahiro gikomeye mu ngabo [z'igihugu]. Abasirikari bakuru benshi bo mu Ruhengeri bumvaga ingoma ya Gisenyi iri mu marembera kandi Ruhengeri ari yo itahiwe.

Ukwamamara bwite kwa Casimir Bizimungu, kwakomezwaga n'umwanya we wa minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga no kumenyana kwe n'abashinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga, ukuntu yagaragaraga nk' umunyacyubahiro "mushya" uhanganye na Joseph Nzirorera n'ubucuti bwe na MDR yo mu rwego rwa perefegitura byateye ubwoba cyane perezida, wahisemo icyo gihe, kugira ngo amucishe bugufi, guha iyo minisiteri uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi rwo muri Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yo muri Mata 1992. Yanarwanyije ko igitekerezo cyo kumuha minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu – Casimir Bizimungu yashakaga – ihabwa umusivili James Gasana, wakomokaga i Byumba. Iyo perefegitura yari ifite uruhare runini muri MRND kandi yaboneraga urwaho ku makimbirane hagati ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri igakomeza ubwigenge bwayo ikanashaka ubufatanye hanze y'amajyaruguru, cyane cyane mu maperefegitura yari abangamiwe n'umutwaro w'intambara : Kigali na Kibungo. Kubera ko yari ku ruhande rwa MRND rwaharaniraga kujya mbere, urwo ruhande rwari rushingiye kuri James Gasana.

Icyatunguye benshi, uyunguyu yabashije vuba na bwangu kwigaragaza mu ngabo kandi acecekesha abantu bagenderaga mu murongo w'intagondwa bo mu kazu ka perezida. Kuyobora minisiteri mu mucyo n'ubuhanga byamuhesheje icyubahiro mu bakuru b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi. Ibyo byose byatumye perezida n'abakomoka mu kazu ka perezida bamubonamo imbogamizi ikomeye. Amatiku aremereye yo muri Perezidansi yatumye areka ibyo kwiyamamaza ku mwanya wa visiperezida wa MRND muri kongere yo ku itariki ya 18 Mata 1992. Ibikorwa bisa n'ibyo byarasubiriye muri kongere yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga 1993.

Igikuru cyari kigamijwe muri iyo Kongere ya MRND cyari isaranganya rusange ry'imyanya hagati y'abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma hakurikijwe ibyasabwaga n' "agace k'amasezerano ku igabana ry'ubutegetsi". Kubera ko Juvénal Habyarimana yagombaga kugumana umwanya w'umukuru w'igihugu, "Gisenyi yari isubijwe" kandi, n'ubwo yotswaga igitutu n'ibyegera bye, yasezeye ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka ku mugaragaro ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe. Icyari gisigaye kwari ugushyiraho ubuyobozi bushya no gushaka abahabwa ya myanaya itanu y'abaminisitiri yari yeguriwe MRND.

Abenshi babonaga umwanya w'umukuru w'ishyaka warashoboraga guha uwufite amahirwe yo kuzahatanira umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika,bikaba rero byari biteye akantu ko washoboraga kwegukanwa n'umuntu udakomoka ku Gisenyi. Uko ni ko Mathieu Ngirumpatse yabonaga ibintu : Yari yigerejeho mu mpera za Gashyantare cg mu ntangiriro za Werurwe [1993] yoherereza ibaruwa

Juvénal Habyarimana wari ukijijta amwibitsa icyemezo cye cyo kwegura ku buyobozi bwa MRND, iyo baruwa yeretswe benshi mu bari bamwegereye (reba umugereka wa 26).

Ubwo buryo bwo kwigira icyigenge kandi cyane cyane butari busanzwe bwo kwerekana irari ry'ubutegetsi ahangana na perezida bwateye akantu kandi busiga inkovu n'ubwo bwashoboraga kumvikana mu mwuka w'icyo gihe, aho amakimbirane y'amoko yose kandi no mu nzego zose (abakuru b'amaserire, abakonseye [abajyanama] ba segiteri na cyane cyane mu baburugumesitiri, na bo ubwabo bari bahanganye n'abandi bifuzaga imyanya) yari yiyongereye kubera igabanuka ry'imyanya. Nyuma yo kugerageza ku buryo bwose kuburizamo Kongere y'ishyaka babangamira ikusanywa ry'amafaranga, abantu batari bashyigiye ihinduka bari bazi neza ko nta gisibya ubuyobozi bwa MRND bwari bugiye kujya mu maboko y'abaharanira ko ibintu bihinduka Koko rero, Mathieu Ngirumpatse ntiyigeze agira ingorane zo kugwiza amajwi yabo no gutorwa. Akazu kasigaye gahangayikishijwe no kuringaniza ubutegetsi ku buryo kagumana igitsure ku ishyaka kandi umukandida wako, Joseph Nzirorera, agahabwa umwanya w'ubunyamabanga bukuru mu rwego rw'igihugu.

Imibare yose yerekezaga icyo gihe ku kibazo cyo gusaranganya imyanya itanu yari yeguriwe MRND muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) kandi yashoboraga koroshywa itya : Gisenyi yari ifite umwanaya wa perezida wa Repubulika, Byumba ifite ingabo z'igihugu, Ruhengeri ifite gusa umwanya wo hasi (Amashuri makuru n'ubushakashatsi mu by'ubuhanga) ikaba yarasabaga rero ubunyamabanga bukuru bwa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu (kugira ngo ikomeze igenzurwe n'amajyaruguru). Ihiganwa ryahindutse icyo gihe ihangana hagati ya Casimir Bizimungu, perezida wa komite mu rwego rwa perefegitura ya MRND mu Ruhengeri, na Joseph Nzirorera ari na we waje gutsinda. Urebye, mu macenga agoye, abari muri kongere y'ishyaka bakemuye impaka batora Mathieu Ngirumpatse – byabonekaga ko ashobora gusimbura perezida Juvénal Habyarimana – bityo baba beguriye inzego z'ishyaka uwo abarwanashyaka bose bari bazi bidashidikanywa ko ari we mukandida Juvénal Habyarimana yari gushyigikira ubwe biramutse bibaye ngombwa ngo yegura. James Gasana, wari icyo gihe minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, asobanura muri aya magambo ibyavuye muri iyo nama nkuru y'ishyaka :

> "Intsinzi y'abari bashyigikiye ihinduka ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka yari n'instinzi y'abaharaniraga ko ibintu bihinduka mu gihugu bari bafashe umwanya wa perezida mu gihe abatsimbaraye ku bya kera bari bafashe ubunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu. Abanyakazu n'abambari babo bo bumvaga batsinzwe uruhenu bakibaza uko bazongera kugenzura ishyaka. Nyamara iyo nama nkuru y'ishyaka yarangiranye n'inzozi zo gushimangira umwuka mushya wa demokarasi muri MRND. Koko rero, itorwa ry'umuntu wegereye akazu ku mwanya w'umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu byatumye abamushyigikiye bigarurira ishyaka burundu. Ubunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu kuva ubwo bwakoze butitaye ku nama z'inzego z'ishyaka. Bityo, Nzirorera aba umusimbura ndakuka wa Habyarimana ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka mu kigwi cya Ngirumpatse wari umusimbura wemewe n'amategeko[35]."

[35] Reba James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.,* p. 208-209 n'umugereka wa 2. Amaherezo, Biro y'igihugu yatowe mu gihe cya kongere yo ku itariki ya3 b'iya 4 Nyakanga yari igizwe na Mathieu Ngirumpatse (Kigali), perezida; Édouard Karemera (Kibuye),

Mu kugaragaza uko ibintu byari byifashe nyuma ya Kongere y'ishyaka, reka twongereho ukuntu ibintu byadogereye bikarenga urugero rushobora kwihanganirwa mu ruhurirane rw'amayeri n'iterabwoba ritihishira byari bigamije kuvana James Gasana kuri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu wari ashyigikiwe bigaragara n'ingabo (abasirikari bakuru n'abasirikari bato) kandi agaragaza ubwisanzure buhagije mu maso ya Juvénal Habyarimana. Mu gihe abo mu kazu ka perezida bamukangishaga kumuhitana, ni nako yahigirwaga hasi kubura hejuru n'Inkotanyi kubera uruhare rwe mu gushimangira ubumwe bw'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) : Byari ngombwa rero kumwibasira kugira ngo ingabo zitakaze umurego zari zimaze kongera kugaragaza ku rugamba. Icyo gihe yohereje umuryango we mu Busuwisi anamenyesha minisitiri w'intebe na perezida icyifuzo cye cyo kujya kuruhukira muri icyo gihugu. Ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga, yemeye mu magambo isubizwa rye muri Guverinoma y'Agathe Uwilingiyimana, ava mu Rwanda ku itariki ya 20 Nyakanga ajya mu Bufaransa, aho yabonye muri Kanama uruhushya rwo kumara igihe kirekire mu Busuwisi[36]. Yamenyesheje Guverinoma ko yeguye kuri 23 (*reba umugereka wa 27*).

Icyo gihe ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu bwasubiye mu maboko y'abo mu kazu kandi abari mu murongo w'intagondwa baherako bazigarurira. James Gasana amaze kugenda, abaharaniraga ko ibintu bihinduka mu ngabo, muri Guverinoma, mu ishayaka ishyaka, mu mihanda no ku misozi ntibongeye kugira kirengera. Kuva ubwo, ibitekerezo bibogamye n'ishyushyamitwe byashoboraga kwigaragaza nta nkomyi mu ngabo z'igihugu bigatizwa umurindi n'undi muminisitiri mushya w'umugoronome, Augustin Bizimana, na we wakomokaga i Byumba[37].

> "Ni umuntu ukabije guhakirizwa, umunyamurava w'igihubutsi wo muri MRND winjiye muri Minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu. Ubwo yasuraga bwa mbere inzego za minisiteri y'ingabo, ni bwo bwa mbere twari tubonanye, ansaba kumumenyesha abasirikari bakuru bo ku ruhande rwa MRND bari mu biro. Namusubije ko muri minisiteri y'ingabo, kimwe no mu ngabo, abasirikari bakuru batari mu mashyaka kandi ko bagombaga kutagira aho babogamira, ko ibyo ari byo byose iyo ari yo politiki minisiteri y'ingabo yari ifite mu bakozi bayo b'abasirikari. Kuva ubwo, yirinze kungisha inama ku kintu icyo ari cyo cyose[38]."

Ubusabane hagati y'abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bwarakomeye (imyitozo, itangwa ry'intwaro, amahugurwa). minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Faustin Munyazesa, ntiyari agifite ububasha bwo kwanga itandukira ry'izo

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visiperezida wa mbere; Ferdinand Kabagema (Kibungo), visiperezida wa kabiri na Joseph Nzirorera (Ruhengeri), umunyamabanga ku rwego rw'igihugu.

[36] Twibutse ko, ku itariki ya 15 Nyakanga, ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa ubwe, yamusuye bya gicuti mu biro bye kuri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu. Amaze kumenya umugambi we wo kujya mu Busuwisi, Jean-Michel Marlaud yamugiriye inama yo kwaka viza y'Ubufaransa yo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga ; iyo viza yayihawe bukeye bwaho, iriho umukono w'ambasaderi ubwe kandi ifite agaciro ko kumara amezi atatu.

[37] Augustin Bizimana wari umuyobozi w'umushinga w'itunganya ry'ibibaya byo mu Mutara, yakoze mu mwaka wa 1987 ihugurwa mu icungamutungo muri Canada, aho yahuriye na Zigiranyirazo, na we wakoraga ihugurwa nk'iryo. Agaruste, "bwana Z" yamushyirishije ku mwanya w'umuyobozi wa Opyrwa (Ofisi ya pireteri y' U Rwanda) mu Ruhengeri. Amaze kuzamurwa mu ntera ya perefe wa Byumba muri Nyakanga 1992, yari abaye umugabo Perezidansi yashoboraga kwizera. Nyuma yo guhunga kwa James Gasana, kumuha [Bizimana] ubuyobozi bwa minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu ku itariki ya 30 Nyakanga 1993 byari bifite icyo gihe inyungu kuri perefegitura akomokamo no ku rwego rwe kugira ngo bajijishe ko nta cyahindutse muri iyo minisiteri.

[38] Ubuhamya bwihariye bwa koloneli Balthazar Ndengeyinka, inyandiko zanjye bwite.

mbaraga, zari zishyigikiwe na perezidansi hamwe na MRND na minisiteri y'ingabo.

Joseph Nzirorera yari afite inzego za MRND mu biganza kandi nta rwego rwemewe na rumwe rw'ishyaka rwari rugiterana. Muri uwo mwuka, Juvénal Habyarimana yongeye kuba umukuru nyakuri w'ishayaka. Icyari gisigaye ku ruhande rwa perezida ku izina, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, kwari uguharanira kugumana inyungu ze no kugerageza gutuma hibagirana ukubahuka no kuba indashima yari yaragaragarije "umubyeyi w'igihugu".

Kongere idasanzwe ya MDR yo ku itariki ya 23 n'iya 24 Nyakanga 1993

Amacenga yo gusimbuza Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana n'ubwo abenshi muri MDR bari babyanze ariko agashyigikirwa bidasanzwe n'abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri MRND (cyane cyane amasezerano hagahti ya perezida mushya wa MRND, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, na Faustin Twagiramungu) ashobora gufatwa nk'ikimenyetso gikomeye cy'umubano mushya wadukanywe n'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi yo muri Mata 1992.

Gucikamo ibice bibiri kwa MDR byakoreraga inyuma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye (visi-perezida wa mbere), ku ruhande rumwe, na Faustin Twagiramungu (perezida) ku rundi, byatewe n'ingingo yo mu masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yateganyaga ishyirwaho rya minisitiri w'intebe mbere y'uko asinywa. Uwa mbere wari muri uwo mwanya kuva muri Mata 1992, yashakaga kuwugumana. Faustin Twagiramungu yari yaratangiye gushaka amaboko muri MRND no mu Nkotanyi kuva mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993. Kugira ngo ashobore gukora "kudeta" muri MDR – aho abari bashyigikiye ihinduranya ry'ubufatanye bukajya ku ruhande rwa MRND barushagaho kwiyongera nyuma y' igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare –, Faustin Twagiramungu yakoresheje umwanya we wa perezida w'ishyaka noneho yitangaho kuba "umukandida watoranyijwe ku buyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)" ashyigikiwe na ya mashyaka yose uko ari ane (MRND, PSD, PL na PDC).

Amaze gushyirwa hanze y'umukino wa politiki n'amatiku y'ubutegetsi, visi-perezida wa MDR, Dismas Nsengiyaremye, yatumije icyo gihe Kongere y'ishyaka idasanzwe ya MDR ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 Nyakanga kugira ngo agaruke mu rubuga rwa politiki abikesheje abarwanashyaka kandi yigizeyo Faustin Twagiramungu n'Agathe Uwilingiyimana wari umaze kuzamurwa akagirwa minisitiri w'intebe. Kubera ko yari ashyigikiwe n'abarwanashyaka mbarwa, Faustin Twagiramungu, perezida wa MDR, yafatanije na Mathieu Ngirumpatse, perezida wa MRND, bacura umugambi wo kuburizamo iyo nama nkuru y'ishyaka maze perefe wa Kigali, koloneli Tharcisse Renzaho (Hutu, Kibungo) arabagoboka afata icyemezo cyo kuyikoma imbere. Amaze kubona ko abari muri kongere y'ishyaka basuzuguye icyemezo cyo kuyiburizamo naho abashyigikiye Faustin Twagiramungu bakaba bari bageraniwe, Matihieu Ngirumpatse yohereje Interahamwe gufunga amayira yajyaga ku kigo Iwacu [Kabusunzu] no kuburizamo imirimo y'iyo Kongere y'ishyaka.

Incamake ya 7

Mathieu Ngirumpatse, wakekwagaho kuba umuragwangoma

Mathieu Ngirumpatse yavutse ku itariki ya 1 Ukuboza 1939 i Rulindo, komini Tare (perefegitura ya Kigali). Atararangiza kwiga amasomo y'amategeko, yahawe akazi na minisiteri y'Ubutabera y'U Rwanda rwigenga. Yazamutse mu ntera kugeza ubwo aba umukuru wa parike (urwego rw'ubushinjacyaha) i Butare n' i Kigali. Mu mwaka wa 1972, yigishije amasomo y'ubucamanza mu ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ESM), n'ubwo icyo gihe yari afite gusa impamyabushobozi y'ishami ry'ikilatini yahawe na Koleji Saint-Paul y'i Bukavu.

Kuri Repubulika ya Kabiri, yimuriwe ku itariki ya 15 Gashyantare 1974 muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane, icyo gihe yayoborwaga na majoro Aloys Nsekalije (Hutu, Gisenyi). Uyunguyu yamugize ambasaderi muri Ethiyopiya, aho yari ahagarariye igihugu no muri Sudani no mu Muryango w'Ubumwe bw 'Afurika (OUA) kugeza mu mwaka wa 1979, mbere yo kwimurirwa muri ambasade y'U Rwanda mu Budage.

Kubera guhungabanywa n'ingorane zo mu rugo, yishyize mu muhezo maze mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1982 abona uruhushya rwo kwiyandikisha muri kaminuza y'i Strasbourg, aho yatsindiye impamyabushobozi yo mu cyiciro cya gatatu cy'amashuri makuru amaze kumurika ku wa 15 Ukwakira 1985 umurimo yise *Le Système de la dot ou l'Inkwano en droit rwandais* [Uburyo bwo gukwa cg *Inkwano mu mategeko y'U Rwanda*] [a].

Yasubiye mu buyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu ku itariki ya 18 Gashyantare 1986 ashyirwa mu rwego rw'Ububanyi n'amahanga rwa perezidansi ya Repubulika ayoborwa na minisitiri Siméon Nteziryayo. Icyo gihe yashinzwe imirimo y'ingorabahizi irimo iyo gutegura amanama ya komite yo mu rwego rw'abaminisitiri ihuza U Rwanda n'Ubuganda ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda (Kigali, 15-17 gashyantare 1989). Yagumye mu rwego rw'Ububanyi n'amahanga kugeza ku itariki ya 16 werurwe 1990, ubwo yashyirwaga muri minisiteri y'Imari akagirwa umuyobozi wa Sonarwa, umwanya washakwaga cyane kubera ko warimo inyungu ku buryo bw'umwihariko.

Ku itariki ya 31 ukuboza 1991, yasimbuye Sylvestre Nsanzimana ku buyobozi bwa minisiteri y'Ubutabera, ariko biba ngombwa ko ava ku mwanya we guhera ku itariki ya 16 Mata yakurikiyeho, kubera impamvu z'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ya mbere ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

Ku rwego rw'ibikorwa by'uburwanashyaka, yashyizwe mu bunyamabanga bwa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu muri kongere y'ishyaka yo muri Mata 1992 yatangije MRND ivuguruye, atunganya imirimo ya Biro politiki. Itorwa rye ku mwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka muri kongere y'ishyaka yo ku itariki ya 3 n'iya 4 nyakanga 1993 ryarwanyijwe cg rinnyegwa n'ibyegera bya perezida Habyarimana bumvaga ishyaka riri kwigarurirwa n'ab'i "Kigali"; iyo ntsinzi ariko yacubijwe n'ishyirwa rya Joseph Nzirorera mu mwanya w' ubunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa. Nyuma yahoo, ku itariki ya 15 kamena 1993, yasabye kuba ahagaritse imirimo ku mpamvu ze bwite, kubera ko imirimo ye mishya " itamwemereraga kuguma mu rwego rw'umukozi wa leta". Kimwe na Édouard Karemera igihe gito mbere ye, yafunguye ibiro byo kunganira abantu mu manza [avoka].

Mu mpera z'umwaka, kubera guhigwa n'abantu bo mu majyaruguru, yeguye ku

mwanya wa perezida w'ishyaka maze abimenysha perezida Habyarimana. Édouard Karemera yamugiriye inama yo kwisubiraho. Iryo simburana ryo kurwanira imyanya no kwishyira mu muhezo akenshi ryafashwe nk' ikimenyetso cyo kujarajara kwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Umwe mu bashishozi bakomeye wo mu banyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa politiki mu Rwanda avuga mu magambo make ibyababaye imbaraga n'intege nke bye : "Yari yariremewe na Juvénal, wamukundaga cyane kandi wari waramurengeye kenshi."

Ku itariki ya 7 mata 1994 mu gitondo, yanze gusimbura by'agateganyo perezida Habyarimana, wari waraye yishwe, ariko agira uruhare rukomeye mu gushyiraho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Yakoze nyuma yaho ubutumwa bunyuranye bwo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga asobanura politiki

y'iyo Guverinoma. inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki ya 17 gicurasi 1994 yemeje ishyirwaho ry'abantu bashya bari bagize ibiro bya Théodore Sindikubwabo. Muri bo harimo Mathieu Ngirumpatse wabaye umuyobozi ushinzwe ubutumwa mu by'Ububanyi n'amahanga. Yagumye muri uwo mwanya w'indeberezi kugeza igihe ahungiye muri Zayire Guverinoma imaze gutsindwa.

a. Uretse iyo mpamyabushobozi izwi, yemezwa na kaminuza iyitangiye kandi ikatanga uburenganzira k'ubugenerwa impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga, nta yindi dipolome ya kaminuza iri mu idosiye yo mu buyobozi cg mu mwirondoro we. Inyandiko zo kwiyandikisha muri kaminuza zonyine zitigeze zemezwa cg amahugurwa anyuranye ni yo abonekamo.

Jandarumori ni yo yaje guhosha izo mvururu no kugarura amahoro aho hantu ibisabwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora – icyo gihe wasimburaga by'agateganyo minisitiri w'ingabo wari mu buhungiro. Kongere y'ishyaka ya MDR yarashyize yemeza umwanzuro wo kwirukana mu ishyaka Twagiramungu n'abaminisitiri bashya bo muri MDR Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Faustin Rucogoza (Hutu, Byumba), Anastase Gasana (Hutu, Kigali ngari), Jean-Marie Vanney Mbonimpa (Hutu, Kibuye) kimwe n'abayobozi b'ibiro byabo n'abajyanama babo; hanyuma itora Jean Kambanda[39], wari ushyiditse na Agathe Uwilingiyimana muri MDR i Butare, aba umukandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE).

minisitiri w'intebe, Agathe Uwilingiyimana (wari kuri uwo mwanya kuva muri Nyakanga 1993), yamenyeshejwe iryo tora maze, nyuma yo kungurana ibitekerezo n'abahagarariye MDR i Butare, yemera mu nyandiko kwegura muri Guverinoma (*reba umugereka wa 28*). Ubwo yari agarutse iwe mu rugo ariko, yasanze intumwa zikomeye zimutegereje zirimo Faustin Twagiramungu, Justin Mugenzi, Ferdinand Kabagema, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Frédéric Nzamurambaho na koloneli Bagosora, zimusaba kwisubiraho. Izo ntumwa z'abakuru b'amashyaka zifashishije umugabo we, Ignace Barahira, zimwemeza kwandika itangazo rinyuzwa kuri radiyo risobanura ko yari yeguye kubera igitutu cy'abari muri kongere y'ishyaka[40]. Dismas Nsengiyaremye icyo gihe yari yigijweyo burundu, Nuko Agathe Uwilingiyimana, utari mu by'ukuri umuntu washakwaga na perezida Habyarimana, yongera kuba minisitiri w'intebe abikesha amacenga ahuriweho na Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Faustin Twagiramungu n'uruhare rwihariye rwa koloneli Bagosora ubwe.

Uwo muvundo n'ibyawuvuyemo birerekana neza agaciro k'uwo munsi mu mateka y'ibyakurikiyeho : byerekana na none uburumirahabiri bwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana, kuko nubwo yari azwiho gukomera ku bitekerezo bye, yageraga aho akagamburuzwa mu mahina. Nk'ahangaha, icyemezo cye cya nyuma ntigisobanurwa cyane n'ihitamo rishishoza ry'icyerekezo cya politiki, kurusha

[39] Jean Kambanda yavukiye muri komini Gishamvu, perefegitura ya Butare ku itariki ya 9 ukwakira 1955 ; afite impamyabumenyi ya enjeniyeri yo mu ishuri ry'Inyigisho zo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu by'ubucuruzi ry' i liege [mu Bubiligi]. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1985 kugeza muri 1989, yakoraga mu Isandugu y'ubwubatsi y'U Rwanda mbere yo kujya muri Banki z'Abaturage. Muri Mata 1994, yari ashinzwe ubuyobozi bwa Banki z'Abaturage akaba ari na we munyarwanda wari ufitemo umwanya wo hejuru mu buyobozi. Yari umuyoboke wa MDR akaba mu batangije iryo shyaka muri perefegitura ya Butare. Kugeza muri Gicarsi 1993, yari afatanije na Dismas Nsengiyaremye. Nyuma y'aho Agathe Uwilingiyimana yirukaniwe mu ishyaka, yafashe ubuyobozi bw'uruhande rwa "Pawa". Muri Banki z'Abaturage, yahoranaga na Augustin Bizimana, perefe wo muri MRND w'i Byumba akaba na minisitiri w'ingabo, wari umwe mu bagize inama y'ubuyobozi.

[40] Kuri iyi ngingo, umuntu yareba igitabo cya James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.*, p. 216.

ukuntu atabonaga icyo yari kuba cyo muri MDR aramutse yitandukanyije na Faustin Twagiramungu. Muri rusange, ibyagezweho byari bikomereye MDR : ubumwe bw'ishyaka MDR bwari mu mazi abira ku buryo budasubirwaho, na Nsengiyaremye ari hanze y'ikibuga.

Hashize iminsi mike, ku itariki ya 31 Nyakanga, mu gihe byahwihwiswaga ko yashoboraga gufungwa akurikiranyweho kugira uruhare mu inyereza ry'ibyari bigenewe abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara – amakuru dufite yemeza ko ibyo byaba ari akagambane yagiriwe na Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Faustin Twagiramungu (reba umugereka wa 29) –, Dismas Nsengiyaremye yavuye mu gihugu asanga James Gasana icyo gihe wari ucumbitse mu Bufaransa.

Ibindi bivugwa kuri icyo gihe cya rurangiza aho MRND yagize uruhare rukomeye mu gutuma MDR ikomeza gushwanyagurika umuntu yabihinira muri aya magambo : "Ngirumpatse : kwigizayo Dismas, kuzamura Faustin no kubikiza bombi[41]."

Kuba Mathieu Ngirumpatse yarahagurukiye cyane ibyo kwigizayo Dismas Nsengiyaremye mu ruhando rwa politiki y'U Rwanda yabiterwaga n'ubwoba bwo kutagera ku mushinga w'ubufatanye hagati ya MDR na MRND. Kuri we, icyo gikorwa cyari ingenzi. Urebye intege nke yari yifitiye mu buyobozi bwa MRND "nkiga", kwifatanya n'abo mu gihugu hagati no mu majyepfo bwagombaga byanze bikunze guca kuri MDR. Ubufatanye busesuye hagati ya MDR na MRND ni bwo bwonyine bwashoboraga gutsinda Inkotanyi haba ku rwego rwa gisirikari ("agace k'amasezerano ku isaranganya ry'ingabo" kategekaga ubwo bufatanye hagati y'abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru no mu majyepfo, begamiye kuri MRND cg MDR) n'urwa politiki (abayoboke ba MDR na MRND ubashyize hamwe ni bo bari benshi mu gihugu cyose, uretse ahari i Butare).

Mu ntangiriro, yaketse ku buryo bugaragara ko ashyigikiye Faustin Twagiramungu byimazeyo, yashoboraga kuzamwinjiza burundu mu maboko y'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida nk'uko yari yabigezeho kuri Justin Mugenzi, perezida wa PL. Nyuma yaho, bimaze kumenyekana ko Faustin Twagiramungu yari ikirumirahabiri, Mathieu Ngirumpatse yegereye Froduald Karamira na Donat Murego abumvisha ko yashoboraga kubafasha gusubirana uburenganzira bwa MDR Faustin Twagiramungu yari yarabavukije, uyu akaba yaragombaga kwamburwa kuyobora Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byanze bikunze. Nyamara uwo ari we wese bavuganaga, yamwumvishaga ko Dismas Nsengiyaremye wari wararwanyije ubufatanye hagati ya MDR na MRND adashoboraga kongera guhabwa umwanya kabone "n'iyo hababaho igitutu cy'inshuti z'U Rwanda rwigenga z'Ababiligi cg z'Abafaransa". Ngaho ahavuye icyifuzo cyo kumuheza hanze y'igihugu ndetse no kumuhambira icyaha cyo kuba inyuma y'urupfu rwa Emmanuel Gapyisi – icyaha cyoroherezaga ahubwo MRND kwigarurira inshuti za Gapyisi.

Nkuko bigaragara, inzego za politiki zari zarayobotswe n'abantu benshi kuva muri za 1991 ari na zo zatumye hemerwa politiki y'amashyaka menshi, kuzihungabanya hakoreshejwe iyicwa rya bamwe n'amacenga ya politiki ku

[41] Icyegeranyo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gicurasi 1993 nyuma y'ikiganiro kirekire umwanditsi yagiranye na Mathieu Ngirumpatse.

bandi byasohoje umugambi w'agatereranzamba wacuzwe igihe kirekire n'abashyigikiye perezida na MRND, ku ruhande rumwe, n'Inkotanyi ku rundi, wo gutatanya no kwigarurira urubuga rwa politiki n'urwa gisirikari. Muri Kanama 1993, igihe hashyirwaga umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro, igitekerezo cy'impande ebyiri cyagenderwagaho mu "gace k'amasezerano ku isaranganya ry'ingabo[42]" cyashoboraga no gukoreshwa ku rubuga rwa politiki rwose muri rusange. Ibyemezo bibiri bikomeye kuva ubwo byari bifite imbaraga mu mahitamo n'ubufatanye mu rwego rwa politiki : kimwe cyari gishingiye ku kuntu imbaraga nshya za politiki zagombaga kubahiriza imigambi n'amahirwe yo gutsinda by'impande zombi za gisirikari zari zihanganye, aho abafite ingabo ari bo bazaga ku isonga muri buri ruhande; icya kabiri cyari gishingiye ku ruhare rw'abanyamahanga – abo mu karere n'ab'abazungu – botsaga igitutu impande zombi babinyujije mu mishyikirano y'amahoro.

Muri urwo rubuga rwa politiki aho benshi bari bakishakashaka, habuze abanyapoliki baseruka ngo bagaragaze imbaraga zihamye cyane cyane nko mu rwego rwo gukangura abaturage byari byarararanze imyaka ya 1991-1992. Urubyiruko rwitwaza intwaro rw'amashyaka n'abanyapolitiki bari barishyize hejuru nibo basigaye bihariye ijambo bakiyitirira kuba ijwi rya rubanda. Kubera ko gusubiza abarwanashyaka ububasha bwo kugenzura inzego z'amashyaka mu mucyo wa demokarasi byari byarakendereye mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1993, amatiku yafashe intera iruta iy'ibyerekezo bya politiki. Abari bahanganye mu ntambara y'amasasu [MRND na FPR] nibo "biranguriye" – mu mvugo ishushanya ndetse n'itaziguye – abo banyapolitiki bitwaga mu mvugo innyega "impirimbanyi za demokarasi", nuko bombi barashyidika mu gukoresha iterabwoba rijya imbu n'amareshyamugeni, basibanganya icyahozeho cyose cyagiraga icyo cyibutsaga mu rwego rw'ubufatanye, ari nako bakataza mu macakubiri ashingiye ku turere, ubwoko na politiki. Baba abanyacyubahiro bo mu byerekezo "Hutu Pawa [Hutu pawa]" by'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi cg "Abahutu bacisha make" bari barishyize hamwe n'Inkotanyi, abihomaga batahiye kuba udukeregeshwa tw'inyongera.

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[42] Agace kerekeye igisirikari k'amasezerano y'Arusha kateganyaga ko ihuriza hamwe ry'abahoze ari abarwanyi b'Inkotanyi n'aba Guverinoma mu ngabo (umubare mbumbe w'abazigize kuva ubwo wari kuba abantu 13 000) no muri jandarumori (6 000 bose hamwe mu bihe byari imbere) ryakorwa ku buryo banganya ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi kandi hakurikijwe isaranganya rya 40/60 mu bwiganze bw'abasirikari. Inkotanyi zagaragazaga abantu 15 000, na Guverinoma 40 000, ni ukuvuga 35 000 bagombaga gusezererwa mu ngabo (*reba umutwe ukurikiraho*).