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Amacenga yari yihishe mu masezerano y'Arusha n'impamvu gushyiraho inzibacyuho byananiranye

Gahunda yateganywaga n'amasezerano y'Arusha yashyize igihe cy'inzibacyuho ku mezi makumyabiri n'abiri guhera ku munsi ashyizweho umukono (4 Kanama 1993) kandi hifuzwaga ko iba isobanutse neza, yihuta kandi itajenjeka (*reba umugereka wa 30*). Kuva amasezerano adasanzwe yo guhagarika imirwano yashyirwaho umukono ku wa 31 Nyakanga 1992, hari ingingo zimwe na zimwe zari zaragiye zirengagizwa nk'iyateganyaga ifungurwa ry'imfungwa z'intambara n'abantu bose bafashwe nyuma bazira intamabara yagombaga gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu minsi itanu ikurikira iryo sinywa.

Inzego z'inzibacyuho (Perezidansi, Inteko ishinga amategeko na Guverinoma iyobowe na Faustin Twagiramungu) zagombaga gushyirwaho mu minsi mirongo itatu n'irindwi yakurikiraga gusinya amasezerano y'amahoro, ni ukuvuga bitarenze itariki ya 11 Nzeri 1993, kimwe n'Inama nkuru y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo[11]. Hanyuma, abayobozi bose bo mu rwego rw'ibanze (ababurugumesitiri, abasuperefe, abaperefe ba perefegitura) bagombaga kuba barasimbuwe, cg baremejwe mu gihe cy'amezi atatu yari ateganyijwe kugira ngo hashyirweho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Hanyuma, hagombaga gutangira imirimo itatu ikomeye : gutahura impunzi, kuvanga ingabo zombi no gukoresha amatora asesuye.

Ku byerekeye gucyura impunzi mu byiciro[2], icyiciro cya mbere cyagombaga kuhagera mu mezi icyenda akurikira ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma. Muri ayo mezi icyenda, hagombaga kuba harangijwe ibikorwa by'ibarura ry'ababyifuzaga, ahantu ho gutuzwa, kubona imfashanyo y'abaterankunga, gusinya amasezerano n'ibihugu zarimo, nb. Ku byerekeye kuvanga ingabo, hari nanone ingengabihe y'amezi icyenda, iteganya gusezerera mu ngabo abantu bo ku mpande zombi (ingabo z'igihugu n'iz'Inkotanyi) bari kuba batarashyizwe ku rutonde rwa ba

[1] Itahuka ry'ingabo zose z'inyamahanga ryagombaga guhera ko rikurikira ishyirwaho ry'itsinda ry'indorerezi zo mu rwego rwa gisirikari zitagira aho zibogamiye (GOMN), uretse abafatanyabikorwa b'abasirikari bari mu Rwanda kubera amasezerano y'ubufatanye hagati y'ibihugu.

[2] Impunzi zitari zikeneye gufashwa zashoboraga gutaha igihe zibishakiye.

basirikari n'abajandarume ibihumbi cumi n'icyenda (19.000) bagombaga kugumaho. Mu gusoza, ingengabihe y'amatora yagombaga gutangizwa n'ivugururura ry'abahuzabikorwa bo mu makomini amezi atandatu mbere y'irangira ry'inzibacyuho, yagombaga guherako ikurikirwa n'amatora rusange, yagombaga gutegurwa mu mpera z'igihe cy'inzibacyuho y'amezi makumyabiri n'abiri, ni ukuvuga hagati mu mwaka wa 1996[3].

Ku buryo bugaragara, gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'amahoro byasabaga ubwitange bwinshi ku ruhande rw'abari bafite uruhare mu makimbirane. Urubuga rw'ibyashoboraga kugerwaho ahanini rwari rubumbiye mu mvugo y'icyaduka yitwa "*hidden agenda* [imigambi ihishe]". Iyo minyagwa y'imigambi ihishe yavangaga ukuri kw'ibintu n'ibyifuzo, ariko yari ifite akamaro kenshi. Kubera ko byari ngombwa kumenya neza umugambi w'umwanzi, ibyakekwaga byose, biteye ubwoba cyane kandi/cg bikabije ubugome byashoboraga guteganywa kandi muri iyo mikorere bigafatwa nk'aho ari ukuri. Icyari kibabaje, byateraga kwiroha mu migambi yo kwirwanaho, ndetse no guca igikuba. Uko ni ko buri wese yagiraga uruhare mu kongera ibihuha n'amakabyankuru akanahora arenga ku miziro ubundi yakagombye gukumira urugomo rugaragara. Tutagombye kwinjira mu rubuga rw'ikinamico ya politiki, reka twibutse ibintu bike mu byari byihishe inyuma y'urwego rwa politiki akenshi cyane byibagiranye kuva icyo gihe kandi bishobora gutuma umuntu atekereza ko gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'amahoro bitari biteganyijwe na busa.

Gushyira amasezerano mu bikorwa byashishaga bose

Impamvu ya mbere ishingiye ku macenga ya politiki yigaragaje rugikubita mbere gato y'isinywa ry'amasezerano yari agamije kuvana amata mu kanwa itsinda ry'abantu bari baragize uruhare rugaragara mu mishyikirano [y'Arusha"ndetse ari nabo bagennye uburyo yakozwemo; iryo tsinda ryari rishigiye kuri Dismas Nsengiyaremye kandi rinashyigikiwe n'abanyacyubahiro benshi bo muri MRND. Kuboneza uwo mugambi byaburizagamo burundu igitekerezo cy'abanyapolitiki bageragezaga guhanga inzira ya gatatu, ni ukuvuga ku buryo busobanutse neza, intego yo gushyiraho imbaraga za politiki zitagize aho zibogamiye ku mpande zombi z'abari bahanganye ku rugamba rwa gisirikari [MRND na FPR]. Nyamara rero, nkuko urusobe rw'amatiku n'ubufatanye byiganje mu gihe cyo guhigika Dismas Nsengiyaremye, minisitiri w'intebe, mu rubuga rwa politiki byerekanaga ubukana n'ubwigengesere bw'imibanire ya politiki mu bihe byari imbere, ni ngombwa nanone kwibaza ikiguzi "abegukanye intsinzi" bemereye Inkotanyi kugira ngo zishyigikire iryo higikwa. Muri icyo cyerekezo, umuntu yavuga ko kwemera gucumbikira ingabo z'Inkotanyi muri CND (Ingoro y'Inteko ishinga amategeko), mu murwa mukuru rwagati, bifitanye isano n'imibare ya politiki yo kudashishoza ku ruhande rw'abayobozi b'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu. Mathieu Ngirumpatse kuri iyo ngingo atanga ibisobanuro bikurikira :

[3] Ububasha bwo kongererwa igihe inshuro imwe, bitewe n'impamvu zidasanzwe nk'izaje kubangamira ibyo gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda ya Guverinoma bwashoboraga guteganywa.

> "1. Abahagarariye ibihugu byabo [hamwe na] Gahunda y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) biravuga ko kuva ubu, kubera ko amasezerano yashyizweho umukono, ari ngombwa gukorana ibintu byose n'Inkotanyi. Nta wubyanze. Ariko se ni nde waba umuhuza ko Inkotanyi zitari i Kigali, cg mu Nteko, cg muri Guverinoma ? Ibyo tubireke. Inkotanyi, zishyigikiwe na bamwe mu banyamahanga, zirasaba ko tureka Kigali, tugakorera inama za Guverinoma i Byumba, umujyi wo ku mupaka, kuri kirometero 35 uvuye ku mupaka w'i Buganda. Uretse abigometse ku butegetsi bakifatanya n'Inkotanyi, amashyaka ntabishaka kandi aratanga impamvu ebyiri:
> - nta wapfa guta umurwa mukuru gutyo gusa. Igitekerezo cyo guca igihugu mo kabiri kiracyariho kandi bamwe baratinya, nk'uko bisanzwe, ko Byumba yagirwa "umurwa mukuru w'ibice bibiri" naho amaherezo Kigali ikazasigara ari umurwa mukuru usanzwe w' [igice cy'] Abahutu.
> - Inkotanyi zivuga ko zidashobora kuza mu nama i Kigali ku mpamvu z'umutekano wazo. Amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu na yo afite izo mpungenge. Byumba, ni hafi ya Uganda, ni indiri y'Inkotanyi na etamajoro yazo iri ku birometero bike uvuye mu mugi, mu ruganda rw'icyayi rwo ku Mulindi, mu Rwanda. Ni nde washobora kugirira icyizere ahantu nk'aho?
>
> 2. Inkotanyi zivuga ko zidashobora kwishora i Kigali zidafite abazirinda. Gushyiraho ingabo zihuriweho bizafata igihe. Zikeneye rero kwizezwa umutekano. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, turumva ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zihagije kandi ko kuzana abasirikari b'Inkotanyi bizateza umutekano muke ku buryo bugaragara. Baraturega kubuza ibintu kujya mu buryo. Ariko umusomyi azi impamvu andi mashyaka atabangamiwe no kuza kw'abasirikari b'Inkotanyi mu murwa mukuru. Ni ukubera ko atagishyigikiye ingabo z'igihugu, yishyize mu maboko y'Inkotanyi. Nguko uko hemerwa mu bupfapfa n'uburangare buteye ishozi ko batayo y'Inkotanyi iza mu murwa mukuru[4]."

Ariko icyo nyuma yaje kwita "ikosa ryo kwiyahura mu rwego rwa politiki" cyaje gufata intera yindi iyo urebye ibyakurikiyeho. Koko rero, ni MRND ubwayo yanze inzira yari yumvikanyweho n'abo Mathieu Ngirumpatse yita "abigometse ku butegetsi bakifatanya n'Inkotanyi" –ni ukuvuga Boniface Ngulinzira, minisitiri ukomoka muri MDR wari ushinzwe imishyikirano y'Arusha. Iyo nzira yifuzaga ko ingabo z'Inkotanyi ziguma ku Mulindi igihe cyose Minuar yari kuba itarashimangira umutekano muri Kigali kandi ko mu gihe byari kuba ngombwa ko abahagarariye Inkotanyi baba mu nama ya giverinoma, inama yashoboraga kubera i Kinihira (muri perefegitura ya Byumba), mu gace katarangwagamo ibikorwa bya gisirikari. Nyuma yo guhigika Guverinoma ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye, icyo cyifuzo, nyamara cyari cyaremewe n'Inkotanyi, cyongeye gusubizwa mu mishyikirano na Anastase Gasana, minisitiri mushya w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa MDR (uruhande rwa Twagiramungu) wemeye, abyumvikanyeho na MRND, ko batayo y'Inkotanyi iza muri Kigali ibyo bikaba ingurane yo kwandika bidasubirwaho mu masezerano y'amahoro izina rya Faustin Twagiramungu ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe[5]. Mbere y'iryo subirwamo

[4] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie Rwandaise. L'autre face de l'histoire* [*Amarorerwa y'U Rwanda. Urundi ruhande rw'amateka]*, roneo, byandikiwe mu buhungiro, muri za 1996, p. 100-101.

[5] Iryo hitamo ryakuruye urwikekwe rurambye hagati y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu n'abanyapolitiki ryabaye ikosa riremereye mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Abasirikari ntibigeze bishimira uburyo byakozwemo. Bumvaga Inkotanyi zaraje gushinga ibirindiro mu murwa mukuru kugira ngo zibibe umugono [nka kurya abagereki bohereje mu mujyi wa Troie umutako w'ifarasi hihishemo ingabo zaje kuwigarurira], kuko ntibyumvikanaga ukundi kuntu ubuyobozi bw'ingaboz'Inkotanyi bwari gutinyuka gushora abantu 600 gusa hafi y'ikigo cy'Abajepe (Abarinda perezida) kandi nta ngufu zo kubahagarara hagati ziriho kubera ukuntu Minuar yari kure, zitabanje mbere na mbere kwica amasezerano kugira ngo zibone umubare w'abantu n'intwaro bibaha ububasha bwo kurwana nibura bungana n'ubwa batayo y'Abajepe. Ibyaje gukurikiraho byerekanye ko izo mpungenge zari zifite ishingiro.

ry'imishyikirano, byari biteganyijwe ko MDR imenyesha andi mashyaka izina rya minisitiri w'intebe wifuzwa ariko bitari ibyo gushyira izina rye mu nyandiko y'amasezerano.

Ikintu cya kabiri cyari cyihishe inyuma y'urwego rwa politiki gishingiye ku ntera y'amacenga yari yumvikanyweho. Amasezerano y'Arusha yakemuriraga mu mpapuro ihangana ritari rishingiye kuri politiki y'igihe kirekire[6]. Yahaga urubuga uburinganire bw'imbaraga ebyiri za gisirikari : zimwe ntizari zatsinzwe, ariko ntizashoboraga no gutsinda (ndetse no guhangana haramutse habayeho igitero cy'urundi ruhande) hatabayeho gutabarwa n'amahanga ku buryo bugaragara, ibyo bikaba bitari bigishoboka kuva aho ingabo z'Abafaransa zitahukiye ; izindi zari zifite imbaraga nyinshi zizwi kandi zishyigikiwe n'abanyamahanga ku buryo bwizewe. Nyamara, ku rwego rwa politiki, hari intege nke zikabije mu rwego rw'ubufatanye kandi icyari kizwi ni uko Inkotanyi, zishingiye ku bwoko, zitashoboraga kwizera mu gihe gito cg kiringaniye, imizi igaragara mu baturage, yashoboraga kuzizeza ibihe byiza bizaza muri politiki inyuze mu matora. Iryo hurizo ku mpande zombi ryatumaga buri rwose rushakisha inzira z'ubusamo.

Mu gihe cyo gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, guhuriza hamwe ingabo nshya z'igihugu byateganywaga n'"agace k'amasezerano kerekeye ingabo" kasobanuraga neza ko Inkotanyi zagombaga gutanga 40 % by'ingabo no gushyiraho 50 % mu myanya y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo. Twongeyeho itegeko ry'iringaniza ry'uturere ryari kuyobora ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano, uruhande rushyigikiye MRND rwo mu ngabo kugeza ubwo rwari rukabije kugira abantu benshi haba mu basirikari bato haba no mu basirikari bakuru, urebye rwari rucitsemo kabiri. Ureste 40 % zagenerwaga, Inkotanyi zari zifite n'abandi bake mu ngabo z'U Rwanda bazishyigikiye, bityo zikaba zibaye igipande gikomeye cy'ingabo nshya hongeweho icyerekezo cyari gishyigikiye abaharaniraga ihinduka mu gihugu, wasangaga hari umugabane ungana hafi na kimwe cya gatatu cy'abantu bashyigikiye MRND na CDR na bibiri bya gatatu by'abashyigikiye Inkotanyi n'abaharanira ihinduka muri demokarasi (FDC). Umubare munini w'abasirikari bakuru "bakuze" bo mu majayaruguru bagombaga kujya mu biruhuko by'izabukuru, cyane cyane ko, nk'uko ishyirwaho ry'abasirikari bakuru bari batoranirijwe kujya mu Buyobozi Bukuru bwa gisirikari mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 32*) bwabigaragazaga neza, iringaniza mu ngabo ryari rimaze gufata intera nshya.

Abasirikari bakuru bashyirwaga mu byiciro hakurikijwe ibiteganywa n'ingingo z'isuzuma inyandikomvugo zikohererezwa minisiteri y'ingabo ; ariko icyagaragaraga cyane ni uko kwerekana akarere buri wese yakomokagamo byagaragazaga neza ibyari bigiye guhinduka, bamwe babihanze amaso abandi bibateye ubwoba : Mu Rukiga – Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba – bari basigaranye

[6] Uko ni nako jenerali Dallaire yabonaga ibintu ubwo yatangira imirimo ye icyo gihe (*reba umugereka wa 31*). Ni na cyo nanone cyasaga n'aho ari igitekerezo cy'abari bakomeye mu mishyikirano b'Abanyatanzaniya : "minisitiri w'intebe wa Tanzaniya, bwana John Malechela, yanyemereye ibyo bintu Arusha, muri Kanama 1993, amasezerano y'amahoro yaraye ashyizweho umukono, ubwo yansuraga muri hoteli akansaba gushyigikira ayo masezerano. Yanyibwiriye ko yari azi neza ko Inkotanyi zari zasinye ku bw'amaburakindi no ku mbaraga kandi ko igihe icyo ari cyo cyose, zari guhagarika ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano" (ikiganiro cyihariye nagiranye n'umunyacyubahiro w'umunyapolitiki wo murwego rwo hejuru w'Umunyarwanda, ku itariki ya 20 Mutarama 2006).

abahahagarariye bane kuri cumi n'umwe – harimo umwe gusa wo muri Gisenyi... – abandi bose bakaba bari abo mu Nduga – amaperefegitura yandi yose uvanyemo igice cy'amajyaruguru. Ikindi kandi, n'ubwo kutagira aho babogamiye byari ubutwari bwari buhuriweho n'abenshi mu bashyizweho, abenshi mu basirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo bari batoranyijwe ntibahishaga ko bashyigikiye amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Icyo cyari kimwe mu bimenyetso minisitiri w'ingabo yahaye abakuru b'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi mu kugaragaza igisa n'ubumwe bw'igihugu bitabaye ngombwa gushyiraho abayobozi batsimbaraye ku matwara y'impande bashyigikiye. Nyamara n'ubwo abo basirikari batari ingaruzwamuheto z'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida, nta n'umwe muri bo washoboraga mu by'ukuri kubangamira perezida na koloneli Bagosora cg kubavuguruza.

Nkuko za ambasade n'indorerezi zari zarabiketse, abasirikari bakuru n'abantu b'intagondwa bo mu majyaruguru bafashe ako gace k'amasezerano nk'ubushotoranyi maze batangira amatwara akaze. Ikindi kandi, abaturage bose b'imbere mu gihugu bababajwe bikomeye n'uko abari mu mishyikirano ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma bashyize inyungu zabo imbere bakirengagiza umugogoro w'imyaka ine y'intambara ingabo (FAR) n'igihugu cyose baroshyemo n'Inkotanyi : ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abakozweho n'intambara, abakomerekeye ku rugamba, abasivili barenga miliyoni bavanywe mu byabo kandi bari barundanyije mu nkambi, ihamuka ry'abantu n'itakara ry'umutungo bitabarika. Ukurikije icyegeranyo cyaje gukorwa n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, icyo gihe ikibazo nticyari kikiri amacakubiri hagati y'abari mu mishyikirano bo ku ruhande rwa Guverinoma, ahubwo cyari ingaruka zo kudashishoza :

> *"Koko rero, nta handi higeze habaho amasezerano [nk'ay'Arusha] yateguwe ku buryo arushaho kurakaza hafi y'abantu bose bo mu Rwanda bagombaga kuzakorana n'Inkotanyi. Yego ntibyari bihagije ko kuba Abahutu bari 85 % byabahaga ububasha bwo kwishingikiriza demokarasi. Ariko nanone ntibyumvikana ukuntu Abatutsi batari bageze no kuri 15 % bashoboraga kugira uburenganzira bwo guhabwa hafi kimwe cya kabiri cy'ingabo. Yewe ndetse n'Abahutu bacishaga make ubwabo, bari hagati nk'ururimi mu mpande zari zihanganye, bumvaga icyo gitekerezo ari icyo kwamaganwa[7]."*

Aha hakwibutswa ikintu cyari kikiri mu gihirahiro kugeza ubwo imirwano yuburaga ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 : Inkotanyi ntizigeze zishaka na rimwe guhishura amazina y'abasirikari bakuru bazo bagombaga kujya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo zigihugu zateganywaga. Ibyo indorerezi zabibonagamo nibura ubwitonzi bwazo mu gutegura ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha. Uko Inkotanyi zititaga kuri icyo kibazo byari bitandukanye cyane n'impagarara zikabije mu ngabo z'igihugu aho minisitiri wari ubishinzwe yari yaratangiye umushinga w'igishushanyo-mbonera cy'ubuyobozi bushya. Ni muri ibyo bihe hashyizweho imitwe yitwara gisirikari :yari ihamagariwe kunganira intege nke zikabije z'abahagarariye MRND/CDR mu ngabo nshya hakoreshejwe kwitabaza imbaraga z'abaturage zari kunganira ku buryo budasubirwaho itegura ry'amatora.

[7] OUA, *Rapport des experts… [Raporo y'Impuguke…], op. cit.*, § 8.12 no ku buryo rusange § 8.10 à 8.13. Reba umugereka wa 5.

Mu by'ukuri, nyuma y'aho Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD akaba na minisitiri w'Ibikorwa bya leta, yiciwe muri Gashyantare, intambara yaranukaga hagati y'impande zombi za gisirikari zahiganwaga kumenya imbwa n'umugabo : ku ruhande rumwe, urwunge rw'imbaraga z'abasirikari batsimbaraye ku matwara ya gihutu rwari rwifatanije n'abasirikari bakuru b'abakiga b'intagondwa bari baramaze kujya cg biteguye kujya mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, no ku rundi ruhande, ingabo z'Inkotanyi. Ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi, umugambi wo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu za gisirikari wari nta gisibya kandi amaherezo yawo yari azwi kubera ko amasezerano y'Arusha yari amaze kuvanaho inzitizi ya nyuma yarangiranye n'itahuka ryuzuye kandi ryihuta ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa. Ibihe rero byacaga amarenga. Icyari gisigaye yari imbarutso ubundi rukambikana.

Ukwisungana kwa MRND n'abatsimbaraye ku byerekezo bya Hutu Pawa mu ruhande rw'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje mu gihugu

Ku ruhande rwa Perezidansi, itandukana ry'imbaraga ryari mu nyandiko n'imbaraga nyazo mu rwego rwa politiki z'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida – dore ko rutari rufite nibura n'umubare wa ngombwa wo guhagarika ibyemezo – byatumaga batinya kuzakorerwa "kudeta yihishe inyuma y'amategeko" na bakeba babo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Icyari gisigaye rero cyari ukwagura urubuga mu rwego rwa politiki no kurindira igihe cyiza. Kubera iyo mpamvu, byarashobokaga kongera kwifashisha MRND kuko abarwanashyaka bayo bari bongeye kunga ubumwe kubera ko bose amasezerano y'amahoro yabajonjoraga kimwe. Isaranganya ry'imyanya ryari ryemejwe na Kongere y'ishyaka yo muri Nyakanga 1993 ryarindaga MRND kugwa mu mutego w'intureka n'amacakubiri andi mashyaka yivurugutagamo, byongeye kandi ubushishozi n'ubushobozi perezida wa Repubulika yakomezaga kugaragaza byakumiraga intambara hagati y'abaragwangoma bari barigaragaje, Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera.

Nanone kandi, amatora yagaragazaga ko MRND yari ihagaze neza bidashidikanywaho. Mu matora yo gusimbura ababurugumesitiri 38 bakekwagaho "kurya ruswa, ubushobozi buke cg uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi" yabaye ku itariki ya 23 Werurwe 1993 nyuma y'amezi menshi y'impaka z'urudaca higwa uburyo buboneye bwo kuvugurura inzego z'ibanze mu "mucyo", amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubtegetsi ntibyayahiriye uko yabyifuzaga. Gutora intumwa zizatora mu izina ry'abaturage bose[8] byakozwe mu muvundo w'uburiganya n'iterabwoba. Ibyavuye mu matora byagaragaje ukuntu ibogama rishingiye ku irondakarere ryagizemo uruhare rukomeye kandi ko amashyaka abiri akomeye (MRND na MDR) yaguye amaboko ndetse akiganza n'ahari hasanzwe ari ibirindiro by'ayandi mashyaka (*reba umugereka wa 33*). Ayo matora yaciye intege bikomeye abarwanashyaka b'uruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje ruharanira demokarasi. Kuva ubwo, ntibari bacyibeshya ku

[8] Dukurikije amabwiriza ya minisitiri yo ku itariki ya 11 Werurwe 1993, abari kuzatora bari abahagarariye amashyaka n'abanyacyubahiro bavuye mu nzego z'amadini n'amashyirahamwe.

ntsinzi yabo mu matora imbere ya MRND yagendaga ibigaranzura yitonze kandi igwiza abayoboke. Ku ruhande rwa MRND, iryo somo ryari rihagije witegereje imbaraga mu matora z'ayo mashyaka akomeye ashingiye kuri Repubulika. Yagombaga gukina umukino wo koroherana n'abanyacyubahiro bo mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi bari bongeye gushyira mu gaciro, cg bifuzaga kubona uruvugiro, kimwe no mu gihe cy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, byaba ngombwa ikareka abantu b'abarakare cyane bakajya mu mashyaka ayishamikiyeho ikanabegurira ingingo n'uburyo bwo gukangura abaturage bishotorana cyane, kimwe n'ibikorwa bigayitse bijyana no kubogama.

Gukaza umurego kw'icyerekezo cy'ubumwe bw'Abahutu cyiswe "Pawa" [pawa] kubera impungenge zo gutinya intsinzi y'Inkotanyi byafashe intera mu Kwakira 1993, ubwo abasirikari bageragezaga guhirika ubutegetsi i Bujumbura bagahitana perezida Melchior Ndadaye n'abanyacyubahiro b'ingenzi bari ku butegetsi mu Burundi (bari bashyizweho n'amatora yari abaye aya mbere akozwe mu bwisanzure kuva igihugu cyabona ubwigenge). Abantu benshi mu Rwanda icyo gihe bafashe ubwo bwicanyi nk'ubwakorewe umwe mu banyacyubahiro b'ikirenga b'Abanyarwanda. Koko rero umuhutu Melchior Ndadaye yari yarahunze Uburundi mu mwaka wa 1972 yiga amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru mu Rwanda. Itorwa rye ku mwanya wa perezida w'Uburundi ryari ryafashwe nk'intsinzi y' "Umunyarwanda ". Ingaruka z'ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi n'induru byateye mu Rwanda byabaye akaminuramuhini. Guhirika ku mbaraga ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho bwatowe muri demokarasi ku buryo bw'intangarugero ku mugabane wose byabaye ikimenyetso cyo gushyigikira abari basanzwe kimwe n'abimirizaga imbere kwishisha Abatutsi aho bava bakagera, haba mu Burundi cg mu Rwanda, maze muri iyo nkubiri, gahunda yo kwigisha abaturage ibyo kwirengera bifata indi ntera. Muri urwo rwego, isomo ry'Uburundi ryari risobanutse : n'ubwo imiryango mbonezabupfura (amatorero, amashyirahamwe yigenga, nb.) yahagurukiye icyarimwe ndetse n'amahanga agafata iya mbere mu kubamagana, icyabujije abasirikari b'Abatutsi i Burundi kwigarurira ubutegetsi ni uko "abaturage b'Abahutu" bahagurutse ku bwinshi.

Ingaruka z'iyo kudeta zabaye koko agahomamunwa mu Burundi : Kwica abategetsi b'ingenzi ba Frodebu byatumye igihugu gihungabana mu buyobozi maze imyiryane y'amoko ihabwa intebe. Mu maporovensi menshi ibyaro byasigayemo ubwoko bumwe, abaturage b'Abatutsi bata izabo bahunga ubwicanyi, bajya mu nkambi z'abakuwe mu byabo mu nkengero z'imigi aho barindwaga n'ingabo. ingabo na zo zahuka mu bahutu zirarimbagura zihorera "abantu bazo". Ayo makuzungu yahagurukije inkerarugamba za " [Hutu] Pawa" mu Rwanda batangira kwitegura ku mugaragaro kuzarwana bene iyo ntambara.

Impungenge z'abategetsi b'Abahutu b'Abanyarwanda ko Inkotanyi zashakaga kubagusha muri bene uwo mutego zahinduye intambara yo mu rwego rwa politiki, ntiyaba igishyamiranya abari bashyigikiye n'abarwanyaga Habyarimana, ahubwo iba iy'abashyigikiye n'abarwanyaga Inkotanyi. Urwango rwarushijeho kwiyongera nanone igihe hamenyekanaga, nyuma y'ibyumweru bike, ko abenshi mu bagize uruhare mu ihirika ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi bari bahawe ubuhungiro i Kamapala, aho bari bakiriwe neza n'abayobozi ba Uganda. Icyo gihe i Kigali

havugwaga icyoba cy'uko Inkotanyi zateguraga gukomeza amayeri ya "Micombero" n' "umugambi wa Simbananiye[9]" byabaye indahiro y'ibihe by'injyanamuntu mu mateka y'Uburundi bwigenga. Michel Micombero, umusirikari mukuru w'Umurundi wakoze kudeta, yari yarahiritse ingoma ya cyami muri Kamena 1966 maze yica buhoro buhoro abayobozi bose b'Abahutu bo mu ngabo n'abo mu butegetsi bw'igihugu muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1965 no muri Nzeri 1969. Amaherezo, ni we wateguye iyicwa ry'Abahutu basaga 100.000 mu cyiswe "génocide sélectif" [itsembabwoko rirobanura] muri Gicurasi-Kamena 1972.

Ukwiyegeranya k'urubyiruko rw'Abahutu bari mu mashyaka ashyamiranye kwarakomeye icyo gihe hagamijwe guhuriza hamwe imbaraga zo guhangana n' Inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo. Mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy'umwaka wa1993, amashyaka yose yo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'ibyerekezo "Pawa" by'imitwe irwanya ubutegetsi byatunganyije imitwe yabyo yitwaza intwaro kugira ngo ikorere hamwe. Mu maperefegitura yo mu majyaruguru (Ruhengeri, Gisenyi), mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994, abasirikari bakuru bo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda bahaye imyitozo ndetse n'intwaro iyo mitwe. James Gasana, wakomezaga aho yari mu buhungiro gukurikiranira hafi umwuka wo mu gihugu n'uwo muri minisiteri "ye", agira ati :

> "Kuva mu mpera z'Ukwakira 1993, Interahamwe zari zaramaze kwiyegeranya n'indi mitwe y'urubyiruko y'amashyaka MDR na PL. Uko kwiyegeranya kwabaye igihe havukaga icyoba mu banyapolitiki bo ku ruhande rwa Habyarimana, cyatewe n'uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo kwambura ingabo intwaro mu mujyi wa Kigali. ingabo z'igihugu n'Inkotanyi zagombaga kwamburwa intwaro mu "gace katarangwagamo ibikorwa bya gisirikari" k' umurwa mukuru**.** Abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa politiki bo mu byerekezo byose bagombaga kurindwa n' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" [ingabo za loni] zo muri Minuar, ariko abari bahanganye n'Inkotanyi bakomeje kumva ko nta cyemezo na kimwe cyizewe cyari cyarateganyijwe cyo kwambura intwaro imitwe y'abarwanyi bari baracengeye b'Inkotanyi. Uko kwishisha ni ko kwaje kwihutisha imyitozo ya gisirikari igenewe Interahamwe, umurimo Minisiteri y'ingabo yashinze majoro Léonard Nkundiye, umuyobozi wa segiteri ya gisirikari ya Mutara, wahoze ari umuyobozi w'ingabo zirinda perezida, wari ushyigikiwe na yo. Amatsinda y'abinjizwa yateguwe mu Gushyingo n'Ukuboza 1993 yatangajwe muri etamajoro ya Jandarumori y'igihugu na majoro Michel Havugiyaremye, umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Jandarumori cya Rwamagana. Muri rusange, amatsinda atatu aizwe n'abantu 600 buri ryose yahawe inyigisho muri ubwo buryo[10]. Inama y'umutekano iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana, yarateranye kugira ngo yige icyo kibazo, ariko minisitiri w'ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, ahakana ko nta nyigisho sa gisirikari zigeze zibaho[11]."

Mu by'ukuri, uruhare n'imigambi y'Inkotanyi mu karere byari byaratewe

[9] Arthémon Simbananiye, Umututsi w'Umurundi wo muri porovensi ya Bururi – ahakomokaga abasirikari bakuru bafashe ubutegetsi kuva muri 1965 hugeza muri 1993 –, yagenzuye ubuyobozi bw'ubucamanza bw'Uburundi kuva muri 1965 kugeza muri 1972 (nk'umushinjacyaha mukuru wa Repubulika, Umunyamabanga wa leta na minisitiri) mbere yo gukora indi mirimo ikomeye. Mu mutima w'Abahutu b'i Burundi n'abo mu Rwanda, izina rye ryibutsa umugambi wakekwaga wari ugamije kwica umubare munini ushoboka w'Abahutu kugira ngo bagere ku mubare ungana w'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

[10] Ku bisobanuro birambuye, umuntu yareba raporo y'igenzura ya François-Xavier Nsanzuwera, *La Criminalité des* Interahamwe *entre 1992 et Mata 1994 [Ibyaha byakozwe n'Interahamwe hagati ya 1992 na Mata 1994],* TPIR, Arusha, 1997, p. 3 n'izikurikira.

[11] James Gasana, *Rwanda, Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison [Uko Leta y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi yahindutse inkambi ya gisirikari], op. cit.*, p. 226-227.

imbaraga n'impinduka zo mu Burundi, ariko ihinduka ry'imibanire imbere mu gihugu y'imbaraga za politiki mu Rwanda kuva ubwo ryarazibasiraga by'umwihariko. Nanone, Kigali yari mu gitutu cya miliyoni y'abantu bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, bari birunze mu miryango yayo kuva igihe cy'igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 mu maperefegitura ya Byumba na Ruhengeri, kandi n'ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'impunzi z'Abarundi b'Abahutu zinjiraga mu maperefegitura yo ku mipaka yo mu majyepfo.

Amacakubiri y'amoko i Burundi no kwiheba kw'abakuwe mu byabo kimwe n'impunzi zitagiraga uzitaho mu gihugu kidafite uko kimeze hakiyongeraho n'inkuru zavugaga ubwicanyi n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi bwibasiraga abaturage byatije umurindi bidasubirwaho igitekerezo cyo gushimangira "ubumwe bw'Abahutu" byavugwaga ko bubangamiwe n'intambara y'Inkotanyi.Icyo gitekerezo cyasamiwe hejuru n'amashyaka yo mu "ruhande rushyigikiye perezida". Irondakoko rishingiye ku ukwirwanaho ryatije umurindi ibyerekezo bya "Hutu Pawa" bityo riba umuyoboro w'ubufatanye busesuye hagati y'amashyaka yamaganaga ko Inkotanyi zifata ubutegetsi ku ngufu.

Ku itariki ya 16 Mutarama 1994, miyingi ikomeye ya MRND yabereye kuri sitade y'i Nyamirambo i Kigali. MDR "Pawa" na PL "Mugenzi" na bo barayitabiriye. Uwo munsi ni bwo ukwishyira hamwe kw'amashyaka atsimbaraye ku matwara ya gihutu kwatangaje ko kwiganje mu nzego z'inzibacyuho (*reba umugereka wa 34*). Uko kwigaragaza kwerekanaga isubizwaho ry'imibanire yo mu rwego rwa politiki idasobanutse hagati y'abayobozi b'iyo mitwe, n'ubwiyunge hagati ya MRND na MDR "Pawa" bwabuzeho gato ngo bushyirwe mu bikorwa.

Imibonano inyuranye yari yaratangiye mu Kwakira 1993 hagati y'abayobozi bo muri iyo mitwe yombi yarabaye, ituma perezida Habyarimana yemera ukujya kwa benshi mu bayobozi b'ishyaka ryarwanyaga ubutegetsi ku murongo "Pawa". Icyo gihe yamenyesheje ko yifuzaga gushyikirana n'ikipe nshya y'ubuyobozi bwa MDR, yashoboraga kwemera umurongo wa MDR "Pawa" kandi itaragombaga kubamo yaba Faustin Twagiramungu cg Dismas Nsengiyaremye. Jean Kambanda, Froduald *[si Édouard nkuko bivugwa mu nyandiko y'igifaransa]* Karamira na Donat Murego bagerageje icyo gihe gukoranya Kongere y'ishyaka. Dismas Nsengiyaremye yasubiye mu Rwanda mu Kuboza 1993 avuye mu buhungiro mu Bufaansa, agerageza gukosora itandukira rishingiye ku bwoko ry'ishyaka, yiyunga na Faustin Twagiramungu maze bombi bagerageza gutumiza Kongere y'ishyaka yo kwiyunga. Amaherezo, Kongere y'ishyaka ntiyabaye, kubera ko perefegitura zimwe zitohereje abazihagarariye maze umwuka w'igisa n'amayirabiri ukomeza kwiganza.

Ibyinshi mu byabaye mu mateka y'imishyikirano yo mu ibanga hagati ya MDR na MRND kugira ngo basimbure Agathe Uwilingiyimana kandi baheze Faustin Twagiramungu mu buyobozi bwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho kugeza ubu ntibizwi neza, n'ubwo iby'ingenzi bimaze kubonerwa ibimenyetso. Aha umuntu yavuga uruhare rukomeye rwagizwe n'umuntu umwe, Émile Nyungura (Umututsi wihinduye Umuhutu, Butare), umwe mu b'ibanze bashinze PSD, kandi wari warabaye mu bantu ba hafi bari bungirije Félicien Gatabazi. Ubwo yari

umuyobozi mukuru w'ingufu muri minisiteri y'ibikorwa bya leta, yabaye umwe mu barwanashyaka washyizwe mu majwi ku buryo bukaze ubwo– nyuma y'iperereza ryakozwe imbere mu ishyaka – hatangiraga ibikorwa byo kwamagana ibyo kunyereza imitungo ya za minisiteri zishinzwe ubukungu PSD yayoboraga (Ubuhinzi, Ibikorwa bya leta n'Ingufu, Imari)[12]. Émile Nyungura yari afitanye ubucuti n' abanyacyubahiro bo mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida wa Repubulika kandi yari aziranye cyane cyane na Mathieu Ngirumpatse. Yagize uruhare rukomeye mu guhuza Félicien Gatabazi na MRND ariko igitangaje cyane, yabaye umuhuza mu bwumvikane hagati ya Jean Kambanda, wumvaga ari umukandida w'inzego zemewe n'amategeko za MDR ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho wari weguriwe iryo shyaka, na perezida Habyarimana binyuze kuri Élie Sagatwa, umuyobozi w'ibiro, na Alphonse Ntilivamunda, umukwe wa perezida.

N'ubwo irimo ibintu bidasobanutse neza n'ibindi bituzuye (bishobora gusobanurwa n'uko atageraga ahantu hakomeye cyane mu butegetsi), inkuru ya Jean Kambanda, inemezwa n'abandi bo muri MDR bagizemo uruhare, ni iyo kwitabwaho :

> "Ahagana mu Kwakira 1993, umuntu w'inshuti, Émile Nyungura, wapfuye muri Mata 1994[12], wari muri PSD, yambwiye ko yari kunyorohereza kubonana na perezida Habyarimana, umuntu ntari narigeze mpura na we kugeza uwo munsi, kugira ngo tugirane ikiganiro. Yansabye kwitonda ansobanurira ko perezida aramutse ashaka kubonana najye njyenyine, azabinkorera, ambwira ko umuryango ukikije perezida wari mubi cyane kandi ko ngomba kutazagira icyo mvugira imbere y'umugore we na muramu we unamubereye umunyamabanga wihariye, koloneli Élie Sagatwa. Hashize igihe ari ku mugoroba, nagiye kwa perezida Habyarimana, mperekejwe na Émile Nyungura, n'umukwe wa perezida, Alphonse Ntirivamunda n'umuryango we. Guherekezwa n'abo ba nyuma bombi byatworoherezaga uruzinduko kwa perezida. Ikindi kandi, Émile Nyungura na Alphonse Ntirivamunda bari barakoranye muri minisiteri y'imirimo ya leta. Émile Nyungura yari azwi cyane na perezida Habyarimana ; yashoboraga no kumwihamagarira ubwe kuri terefone abishatse. Nsigaranye na perezida twenyine, namubajije uko yashakaga kurengera igihugu. [...]"Nta wukikubona mu micungire y'igihugu", ni ko namubwiye. "Uri perezida, ufite minisitiri w'intebe, ariko nta rwego na rumwe rukora. None rero, ugomba kuvanaho minisitiri w'intebe washyizeho, ugaha inzego kongera gukora. Abantu baririrwa bajya impaka ku bibazo bidafashe. Kuki mucamo amashyaka uduce kugira ngo mubashe kuguma ku butegetsi gusa ? [...] Abantu baratera ubutegetsi muhagarariye bakoresheje intwaro, ubutegetsi bwa rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu kandi abarwanya ubutegetsi bitwaje intwaro bagizwe muri rusange n'Abatutsi. Ibyo bibazo byose ni byo bigomba kubonerwa ibisubizo mu maguru mashya". Yambajije niba cyari igitekerezo cyanjye cg icy'ishyaka ryanjye. Namubwiye ko cyari igitekerezo cyanjye, mpuriyeho n'abagize ishyaka ryanjye. Yambajije impamvu abantu bakubwira gusa ibyo ushaka kumva. "Ni uko bagutinya." [...] Yarambwiye ati : "Unzanire inyandiko yashyizweho umukono n'ishyaka ryawe yemeza ko atari wowe wenyine gusa ufite icyo gitekerezo." Nijoro, Émile Nyungura nanjye twateguye inyandiko yo kugeza kuri Komite mpuzabikorwa ya MDR, yarigizwe...yari isigaranye gusa abantu batatu... Natanze

[12] Bene wabo bo muri PSD, ndetse n'Inkotanyi, zari zimuziho kuba inkoramutima ya Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mukuru w'ishyaka; kimwe na we, yahitanywe hamwe n'umuryango we hafi wose (uretse umuhungu we "Corneille") n'abakomando b'Inkotanyi ku mugoroba wo ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 (reba filimi *Zone libre enquête [Iperereza mu gace kigenga]* ya Raymond Saint-Pierre, muri "Le mystère Corneille", Radio-Télévision Canada, 21 Mata 2006 ndetse n'abatangabuhamya benshi barimo Mathieu Ngirumpatse wafashe uwo mwana wari wacitse ku icumu, TPIR, KT 200 F K012-9149-K012-9173, p. 6).

[incamake] muri [komite nyobozi] ya MDR, mbasaba kwihangana bakaza muri [Biro politiki] ya MDR bukeye bwaho mu gitondo, kandi mbasaba [gukora] inama kugira ngo mbabwire iby'umubonano wanjye na perezida. Banyakiriye uwo munsi, mbereka inyandiko, barayikosora [...]. Iyo nyandiko yaje koherezwa mu byumweru bibiri cg bitatu nyuma yaho [...] kwa perezida Habyarimama[13]."

Nyuma yo kohereza iyo baruwa, perezida yatangije igikorwa cyo kujya inama hagati ya MRND n'ibyerekezo byangaga Inkotanyi byo mu mashyaka MDR, PL, PDC na PSD. Icyo gihe habaye amanama menshi, yakomeje ubwifatanye hagati y'abahagarariye ayo mashyaka kandi yagombaga kurangirana n'isimburwa rya Agathe Uwilingiyimana mu mpera za Mutarama 1994, nk'uko Jean Kambanda abihamya :

"Habaye inama enye hagati y'Ukuboza 1993 na Gashyantare 1994, iya mbere ku biro bya MDR, iya kabiri n'iya gatatu ku biro bya PL muri minisiteri y'Ubukungu, iya kane mu rugo rwa perezida wa MRND.Iya kane yabaye ku munsi w'ishyingurwa rya minisitiri w'Ibikorwa bya leta, Félicien Gatabazi, umwe mu bagize PSD, wiciwe imbere y'iwe avuye mu nama kuri Méridien. Twafashe ibyemezo muri iyo nama : gusaba perezida wa Repubulika kuvanaho Agathe Uwilingiyimana nkamusimbura, gushyiraho Guverinoma ishobora gushyikirana n'Inkotanyi kandi ikora... Iyo PSD, itari yaragiye mu nama, yanga kujya muri Guverinoma, imyanya yayo yari kugabanwa ku buryo bukurikira : ministeri y'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi yari guhabwa PL, iy' Imirimo ya leta igahabwa MDR, iy'Imari igahabwa MRND. Gatabazi yari yarabonanye na Karamira wo muri MDR na Mugenzi wo muri PL na Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND. Yiteguraga, nk'uko bikekwa, kuza muri Guverinoma yacu kandi yaba yari yaramaze kubibwira abarwanashyaka bakomeye bo mu ishyaka rye, ariko ntibyari bizwi ku mugaragaro uretse mu ishyaka rye. Igabana rya minisiteri za PSD ryafatiwe icyemezo nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gatabazi, igihe Guverinoma yagombaga kujyaho byihutirwa, kandi nta kintu cyashoboraga kwizeza ko PSD yabyemera[14]."

Umugambi wo kwigizayo abanyacyubahiro batavugirwamo bo muri MDR na PSD wari uhuriweho n'Inkotanyi na MRND kugira ngo bazigabanye ibyo bambuye ayo mashyaka yombi wari ugamije guheza ku mugaragaro mu rubuga rwa politiki imbaraga zonyine n'abayobozi bonyine bari bafititiwe icyizere gihagije cyo kwemeza ibyari mu masezerano y'amahoro impande zombi za gisirikari na politiki zitashakaga.

Ibyumweru by'injyanamuntu byo mu Kuboza na nyuma amezi atatu ya mbere ya 1994 byibanze ku bushyamirane hagati y'ubuyobozi buhanganye bwa MDR n'ubwa PL, bwasabaga bwombi ububasha bwo gushyiraho abadepite n'abaminisitiri bo guhagararira amashyaka yabo mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Muri MDR, hashyamiranye ku ruhande rumwe Faustin Twagiramungu wari wasezerewe ku mwanya wa perezida ariko agakomeza kwitwaza umwanya wo kuba minisitiri w'intebe w'inzibacyuho (nubwo yaratarabiherwa ububasha ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko) no ku rundi, ubuyobozi bwemewe bwavugirwaga na Disamas Nsengiyaremye, visi-perezida wa mbere, wari ushyigikiwe na

[13] Ni ibaruwa yo ku itariki ya 27 Ukwakira 1993, yashyizweho umukono na Froduald Karamira na Murego Donat kandi ishinja Faustin Twagiramungu ibyo kwica Emmanuel Gapyisi. Yakurikiwe, ku itariki ya 4 Ugushyingo, n'inyandiko y'abantu benshi yihaniza bikomeye Faustin Twagiramungu kubera kwifatanya mu bikorwa bibi n'Inkotanyi inamagana ukuza i Kigali kwa batayo y'Inkotanyi kwari guteganyijwe (reba umugereka wa 35).

[14] Ubuhamya bwa Jean Kambanda, TPIR, T2K7-21 Ku itariki ya 29 Ukuboza 1997.

Froduald Karamira, visi-perezida wa kabiri na Donat Murego, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa. Uwo mukino wabangamiwe n'ubushake bwo kunga n'ibyerekezo bihindagurika bya Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe wariho, kubera ko atashoboraga kubibemeza.

Muri PL, icyuka kibi cyatutumbaga bigaragara hagati y' uruhande rwiganjemo abantu benshi rwari rwegereye umuyobozi wayo wungirije wa mbere Landoald Ndasingwa – wari warakoresheje Kongere y'ishyaka yo ku rwego rw'igihugu ku itariki ya 13 n'iya 14 Ugushyingo – na Kongere y'ishyaka ya kabiri yo ku rwego rw'igihugu ku itariki ya 11 n'iya 12 Ukuboza yahuje abari batowe na Kongere y'ishyaka nshya z'amaperefegitura, zari zatumijwe ku buryo bwihuse kugira ngo zishyigikire perezida w'ishyaka, Justin Mugenzi (wari urangije manda). Abo baperezida – Faustin Twagiramungu (MDR) na Justin Mugenzi (PL) – bari bafite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo abahagararira amashyaka yabo kabone nubwo bari basigaye bashyigikiwe n'abantu mbarwa mu nzego zifata ibyemezo, kandi banazi neza ko ubutabera butari gukemura amakimbirane yabo. Bityo uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, Abanyarwanda bahoze ari abarwanashyaka baharanira demokarasi, baje gusanga ibyiza ari uguhitamo "igitugu cya gahutu" kiyobowe na MRND kuri bamwe, n' "igitugu cya gatutsi" kiyobowe n'Inkotanyi ku bandi.

Amananiza mu gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho

Muri icyo cyuka, ku mpamvu z'impurirane, umugambi wo gucamo kabiri imbaraga za politiki wari wimirijwe imbere n'intagondwa ku mpande zombi wahuriye mu gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo batinze ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho. Hagati aho, buri wese yashakaga koko kugera ku iringaniza ry'imbaraga ku nyungu ze cg inyungu zisesuye. MRND cyane cyane yatinyaga iringaniza riteye ritya : bibiri bya gatatu by'imyanya mu maboko y'Inkotanyi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu gihugu (FDC) naho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rugasigarana gusa kimwe cya gatatu – bityo rukaba rutanafite icyizere cyo kugira ububasha bwa nyamuke bwo kuburizamo ifatwa ry'ibyemezo :

> "Ibivugwa mu masezerano byose bishoba guhinirwa mu ngingo imwe ya : bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko y'igihugu no muri Guverinoma, kimwe no mu itora mu nama y'abaminisitiri, hatabayeho ubwumvikane. Amacenga yose ya politiki, ibogama ry'ibihugu bimwe, ubwicanyi bwakozwe muri icyo gihe, icikamo ry'amashyaka, ibyo byose byabaye ingaruka z'iyo ngingo[15]."

Habayeho urujya n'uruza rwo gutumiza amanama y'inzego ariko yose nta cyo yagezeho kubera kutitabirwa na bose, imyigaragambyo ya CDR n'Interahamwe, kubura umubare ugenwe wo gufata ibyemezo, nb. Uburyo bwose bwo kudindiza ibintu impande zinyuranye zarabukoresheje.

Ku itariki ya 5 Mutarama 1994, umuhango wo kurahira wa perezida Habyarimana warabaye ariko ntiwakurikirwa nkuko byari biteganijwe no kurahira kw'abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) n'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT). Nyamara Juvénal Habyarimana yari yaraye yakiriye Agathe Uwilingiyimana, bumvikana kuri lisiti za nyuma z'abadepite

[15] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie rwandaise [Amarorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 105 (*reba umugereka wa 36*).

nk'uko zari zarakozwe n'abaperezida b'amashyaka (Faustin Twagiranmungu [MDR], Justin Mugenzi[16] [PL], Frédéric Nzamurambaho [PSD]. Ariko, bitinze nimugoroba, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yamenyesheje ibiro bya perezida ko, nyuma y'impaka zagiwe ku ruhande rwe, atari acyemera lisiti ya PL « Mugenzi », yari yanzwe n'uruhande « Ndasingwa » (Landoald Ndasingwa w'umututsi yavugwagaho gushyigikira Inkotanyi) ko yagenderaga kuri lisiti ya nyuma yari yahawe na perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga. Mu gukemura ubwumvikane buke, rwashyigikiye Ndasingwa, rwanga gushyiramo abadepite « Pawa » bari batanzwe n'inzego za PL n'iza MDR. Iro hinduka Juvénal Habyarimana ntiyashoboraga kuryemera.

Perezida amaze kurahira— umuhango Agathe Uwilingiyimana cg abadepite b'Inkotanyi batigeze bitabira—, yahereye ko amenyesha ko imihango iza gukomeza ku gicamunsi hagashyirwaho Inteko y'Inzibacyuho (ANT) na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE). Gushyiraho Inteko y'inzibacyuho byagombaga kubanziriza Guverinmoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye kubera ko abaminsitiri bagombaga kurahirira imbere ya perezida n'abadepite nkuko byateganywaga n'ingingo ya 7 y' « agace kerekeye ibibazo binyuranye n'ibyemezo byanzura ». ingabo zirinda perezida na zo zashinzwe kubuza uruhande « Ndasingwa » gufata ibyicaro. Ku gicamunsi, perezida yibukije ko kubera ko umubare wagenwe utari wuzuye, gushyiraho inzego zisigaye bisubitswe. Icyo gihe yari abaye umuntu rukumbi winjiye mu nzibacyuho nshya. Koko rero mu gitondo, uretse Faustin Twagiramungu wari hafi aho, abadepite ba MDR ishyigikiye Twagiramungu n'aba PL ishyigikiye Ndasingwa ntibari bahari; naho ku gicamunsi, yaba Twagiramungu, yaba Kavaruganda (perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga), zaba Inkotanyi ntawahakandangiye. Kuva icyo gihe, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yumvise ko « kubera ko itinjiye mu nzibacyuho », Guverinoma itashoboraga kongera guterana ku buryo bwemewe (reba umugereka wa 37). Icyo cyemezo nyuma cyagarutsweho inshuro nyinshi mu myigaragambyo ya MRND yo « kurwanya kudeta », ariko cyane cyane, nk'uko tuzabibona, mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 (reba umutwe wa 7).

Impaka nyinshi zibogamye zigamije kwegeka uruhare rw'uko kudashobora kujyaho kw'inzego kuri Juvénal Habyarimana cg nanone ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi zahereye ko zikaza umurego. Urwunge rw'amashyaka ane arwanya ubutegetsi y'imbere mu gihugu hamwe n'Inkotanyi rwongeye kuvuka, ruheza perezida wa PL n'inzego zigizwe n'abantu benshi za MDR, rutera ubwoba rwo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho zishingiye gusa ku cyemezo cya perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga. Ibyo bikangisho uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwabyamaganye ko ari umugambi wa gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu (kudeta).

Ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1994, ibyasabwaga n'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka

[16] Abo baperezida babiri bemewe ba MDR na PL batangaga buri wese lisiti zitandukanye n'izari zakozwe n'inzego ziganjemo abantu benshi z'amashyaka yabo. Muri ubwo bwumvikane, amategekontiyari yishwe, kubera ko abaperezida b'amashyaka batangaga abakandida kandi, mu ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, icyo gikorwa nticyari gifite aho kibogamiye kubera ko buri wese yari ashyigikiye rumwe mu mpande zombi za politiki. Muri iryo kinamico, uwari ufite icyo ahomba ahubwo ni Landoald Ndasingwa, kandi lisiti ye yari nyamara yemewe na Joseph Kavaruganda, perida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga, iya Justin Mugenzi ari yo yanzwe (*reba nanone umugereka wa 37*).

ryari ku butegetsi ntibyahindutse na perezida Habyarimana aranangira ntiyabyemeza. Bityo, n'ubwo hajemo igitutu cy'amahanga na gahunda ya nyuma ikomeye yo kujya inama kugeza mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8, imihango yo gushyiraho Guverinoma n'Inteko y'igihugu ku gicamunsi, yari yategangijwe na minisitirir w'intebe wenyine atagishije inama Guverinoma, yaburiyemo kubera ko perezida Habyarimana wari ushinzwe kuyiyobora atayitabiriye.

Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, intumwa idasanzwe yari ihagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni akanaba n'umukuru wa Minuar, yakomeje imishyikirano y'imfabusa Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari yaratangiye anavugana n'amashyaka yose. Hongeye nanone kuba isubikwa kubera amakimbirane yo muri PL ku itariki ya 14 Mutarama ndetse nanone biba uko ku itariki ya 20 Mutarama.

Ku matariki ya 7, 10 na 13 Gashyantare, inama eshatu zo kungurana ibitekerezo zakorewe ku kicaro cya Minuar ziga ku bagize intumwa za PL maze zishyira umuhango utaha w'ishyirwaho ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare ziha PL igihe cyo kubona igisubizo... Icyo gihe hateganyijwe gushyiraho Guverinoma imyanya imwe yayo – iyari itabashije kumvikanwaho mu mashyaka – ikagumaho itarimo abantu mu gihe hari kuba hagitegerejwe ko inkiko zikemura amakimbirane. Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu banze ubwo buryo, kubera ko baribashyigikiwe n'abantu bake bikabije mu ishyaka ryabo (MDR). Ku itariki ya 14, perezida Habyarimana yatanze icyifuzo cy'amabwiriza y'imyitwarire hagati y'amashyaka n'Inkotanyi mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho, cyateganyaga guhanagurwaho ibyaha muri rusange no kutabogama k'ubuyobozi kugira ngo habeho icyizere cyo gukora amatora anyuze muri demokarasi adakoresheje amatiku cg uburiganya bukomeye bwashoboraga gutuma Inkotanyi zigabiza ubutegetsi. Ayo mabwiriza Inkotanyi zayabonyemo gahunda yo "kwirengagiza ibintu nkana"[17].

Ku itariki ya 17, inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ku isi yongeye gukangisha guhagarika ibikorwa bya Minuar mu gihe inzego z'inzibacyuho zari kuba zitagiyeho. Amaherezo, koroherana no kwigomwa ku mpande zose byatumye habaho amasezerano rusange ashingiye ku mizi isa n'iy'amasezerano yo ku itariki ya 4 Mutarama hagati ya Juvénal Habyarimana na Agathe Uwilingiyimana, cyane cyane ku byerekeye umubare w'abadepite ku mpande zombi zikomeye za politiki : 11 na 12 buri ruhande kuri 11 na 11[18]. Ibindi bibazo by'ingutu na byo byarakemuwe : perezida na visi-perezida b'Inteko, ihitamo ry'abaminisitiri ba PL, ukwemerwa kwa Faustin Twagiramungu na komite nyobozi ya MDR, iyinjizwa ry'umudepite wa CDR nyuma yo gushyira umukono ku mabwiriza y'imyitwarire, n'ibindi.

Icyo gihe, umuntu yashoboraga gutekereza atibeshye ko ubwumvikane busesuye bwari bwagezweho n'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu bwari koko gutuma hashyirwaho Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye.

Koko rero, gukaza umurego kw'ibyerekezo "Pawa" by'amashyaka arwanya

[17] Ubutumwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yohereje Kofi Annan ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare 1994, MIR 345.

[18] Ibipande byitirirwaga « Twagiramungu » na « Ndasingwa » muri MDR na PL byari bifite intebe 6 buri cyose naho bakeba babo bafite eshanu zashoboraga kuziyongeraho imwe yari guhabwa CDR.

ubutegetsi kimwe n'ubufatanye bukomeye bw'amashayaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi ntibyari bicyiganje (kwigarura kwa benshi mu bari bagize Komite nyobozi ya MDR ku ruhande rwa Murego, Karamira, Nsengiyaremye ; gusubira mu mwanya "mu rwego rw'igihugu" kwa Félicien Gatabazi[19] muri PSD; itandukana ry'ubuhuzabikorwa bwa PL, nb.) kandi imbaraga "ziringanijwe" z'inzego zariganzaga haba mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho no muri Guverinomay'inzibacyuho yaguye, ku buryo bunyuranye n'igihe cy'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha muri Kanama 1993 ubwo uruhande rw'abashyigikiye perezida rwari ruryamiwe cyane.

N'ubwo ibyo byose byabayeho, Juvénal Habyarimana ntiyari afitiye icyizere abenshi mu bayobozi kandi yibukaga ukuntu bamwe muri bo bari bahisemo Inkotanyi muri Kamena 1992. Ni yo mpamvu, ku buryo bunyuranye n'abakuru b'ibipande by'amashyaka bya MDR, PSD na PL – ahanini byari bihangayikishijwe n'imyanya byari kubona ubwabwo –, perezida ntabwo ikibazo cy'imyanya n'abayijyamo ari cyo yashyiraga imbere– cyagombaga ku bwe kwigwa mu mpera z'inzibacyuho nyuma yo gukizwa n'amatora – kandi yumvaga icyihutirwa ari ugusobanura amasezerano yo mu rwego rwa politiki ku buryo bunoze hagati y'amashyaka yose hashingiwe ku musingi w' "ubufatanye bugamije kugera kuri demokarasi".

Kugira ngo umuntu yumve neza aho Juvénal Habyarimana yari ahagaze mu ngorane zijyana n'ububasha bwa ba nyamuke bwo guhagarika ibyemezo, kutagirira icyizere abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi no gutsimbarara ku mabwiriza y'imyitwarire myiza, ni byiza kwibanda ku kuntu yatinyaga bikabije kuzakorerwa "kudeta yemewe n'itegeko nshinga", mu gihe abamurwanya baba bishyize hamwe ku mpamvu iyo ari yo yose[20]. Impamvu z'ubwo bwoba ntizashoboraga gusobanurwa ku mugaragaro cg kugibwaho impaka mu ruhame.

Ubwoba bwo kuregwa, bikurikiwe no gusabwa kwegura, yabuterwaga n'igishyika kidafite ishingiro nyurabwenge yari yaratewe cyane cyane n'igaruka rya koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe, mukeba we uhoraho yari yahigitse muri 1980 akaza kuba perezida w'Inkotanyi. Kimwe n'ubwoba bwo kwihorera yaterwaga na Alexis Kanyarengwe, yongererwaga icyoba n'ibyahwihwiswaga ko yashoboraga gushinjwa iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bo muri Repubulika ya Mbere (*reba umugereka wa 36*). Byari ngombwa rero, kugira ngo yirinde urwitwazo urwo ari rwo rwose rwo kumuhirika, gushyira umurimo we mu mutuzo ariko kandi no kugumana ububasha busesuye bwo gukorera mu bwisanzure mu gihe cyose

[19] Yari akimara kumenyesha Juvénal Habyarimana na minisitiri w'intebe ko ibipande bishyigikiye Inkotanyi bya PSD na PL byari byemeye kohereza bamwe mu rubyiruko rwabyo ku Mulindi guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikari kandi ko n'intwaro zari zimaze gutangwa. Yasabaga ko uwo mushinga uburizwamo kandi urubyiruko rw'amashyaka yose rukamburwa intwaro.

[20] *Reba* ingingo ya 11 y'*agace k'amasezerano hagati ya Guverinoma ya Repubulika y' U Rwanda n'Inkotanyi kerekeye ibibazo rusange n'ingingo zisoza* : "Mu gihe habayeho kwica Itegeko-Shingiro ku ruhande rwa perezida wa Repubulika, ikirego gifatirwa icyemezo n'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho ku bwiganze bwa bibiri bya gatatu by'abayigize bahari kandi mu itora ryo mu ibanga. Ariko, mbere yo gukora itora kuri iryo kirego, Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho igomba kugisha inama Komisiyo ya politiki na gisirikari ivugwa mu ngingo ya IV y'amasezerano y i N'sele, nkuko ryahinduriwe i Gbadolite ku itariki ya 6 Nzeri 1991 na Arusha ku itariki ya 12 Nyakanga 1992. Ishobora nanone gusaba igitekerezo cy'Umuhuza. Iyo hemejwe ko ikirego gifite ishingiro, Perezida wa Repubulika akurikiranwa n'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga, rwo rwonyine rufite ububasha bwo gutangaza iyegura rye burundu."

cy'inzibacyuho. Byari ngombwa rero kuri we kugenzura nibura bumwe mu butegetsi butatu bw'ibanze :

- umwanya wa perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga, wari ufitwe na Joseph Kavaruganda, wari ugiye kuwugumana. Nyuma yo kuba umwe mu bari baramushyigikiye byizewe kuva kuri kudeta yo mur 1973, yari amaze kwiyegereza MDR, yumva nta shimwe yahawe ku mirimo yakoze yo kubungabunga iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko. Kandi Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga rwari rufite ububasha bwo kwemeza abiyamamaza mu ipiganirwa ry'imyanya mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho n'ubwo gucira perezida urubanza aramutse arezwe ;

- ubwa kabiri bwari umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutabera, wafatwaga nk'uw'ibanze, kubera ko uwushinzwe yagomabaga kuba azi ibirego bifitanye isano n'iregwa rya perezida. Nyamara uwo mwanya wagombaga kwegukanwa na Aloys Niyoyita, Umututsi wo muri PL igipande cya "Ndasingwa", wari uzwiho gushyigikira Inkotanyi ;

- ubwa gatatu bwari bushingiye ku bwisanzure bwa bibiri bya gatatu mu Nteko y'igihugu y 'inzibacyuho.

Iturufu nkuru y'icyo gihe cy'itegereza yari ishingiye ku myitwarire ya perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'Itegeko-nshinga, wari washyigikiye inshuro nyinshi uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi mu mishyikirano yo kwemeza abaharanira umwanya w'ubudepite. Nta gushidikanya ko iyo Habyarimana aza kwizera uwo mwanya, inzego ziba zaragiriyeho igihe, mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994. Ariko guteza perezida ubwe umutekano muke byari mu by'ukuri mu migambi y'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi. Nanone, bibiri bya gatatu by'amajwi byari bikenewe kugira ngo habeho isezererwa iryo ari ryo ryose cg ishyirwaho ry'abayobozi bakuru ba leta.

Iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi (PSD), ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, ryari rigamije ku mugaragaro kuburizamo ibyiza bikomeye byari bimaze kugerwaho n'amashyaka kandi byongeraga guha igisa na gahunda urubuga rwa politiki rw'imbere mu gihugu. Impuha zibuze shinge na rugero n'urwikekwe rukabije byarubutse maze ibintu si ugucika birayoba hagati y'amashyaka. Ku bwa perezida, iryo yicwa ryahamije ibyo yakekaga.

Ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare, igerageza rya nyuma ryo gushyiraho inzego ryagiye mu gihirahiro kubera ko abahagarariye Inkotanyi na PSD, ba minisitiri b'intebe bombi – uwariho n'uwari kuzaba we – na perezida w'Inama nshingategeko batabyitabiriye. Nyuma, amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi n'Inkotanyi byashinje Prezidansi iryo yicwa.

Ku itariki ya 25 n'iya 27 Gashyantare, perezida yahamagariye impande zose (ba minisitiri b'intebe bombi n'abayobozi b'amashyaka (ayiganje n'atiganje ku ruhande rwa MDR na PL) guhura kugirango ajye impaka ku kibazo cy'ihagararirwa rya PL, ariko Inkotanyi ziranga n'abayobozi bazo bose basubira ku Mulindi[21]. Kuri Perezidansi, ibyari bishishikaje cyane byari ukubuza umukandida wa PL gahabwa minisiteri y'Ubutabera. PL ntiyanyuzwe maze irahezwa. Bityo, itangazo risoza ryatangajwe na Perezidansi ku itariki ya 27

[21] Ubutumwa Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yoherereje Kofi Annan yo ku itariki ya 14 Gashyantare 1994, MIR 441

Gashyantare ryagiraga riti : "Uruhande rutanyuzwe n'ubwumvikane buvuzwe hejuru, rizafatira amasomo ku myanzuro yabuvuyemo kandi buzabyirengere."

Ku itariki ya mbere, Jacque-Roger Booh-Booh yagiye ku Mulindi gusaba Inkotanyi kugaruka mu mishyikirano i Kigali ariko ntiyabigeraho. Ku itariki ya 9 Werurwe, Inkotanyi zemeye amaherezo ko Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho ishyirwaho imyanya ya PL idashyizwemo abantu.

Ku itariki ya 18 Werurwe, nyuma y'imishyikirano iruhije, Faustin Twagiramungu yagejeje kuri perezida lisiti y'abagize Guverinoma bari bemewe n'amashyaka yose byarebaga maze bukeye amugezaho « lisiti ya nyuma» y'abagize Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho bari batoranyijwe. Uyunguyu yatanze ibyifuzo bitatu ku cyemezo cye : yanze nanone ko umwanya wa minisitiri w'Ubutabera uhabwa umuminisitiri wa PL w'Umututsi kandi asaba ishyirwa ry'umudepite wa CDR hamwe n'uw'Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi ya kiyisilamu (PDI)mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho.

Mu gihe nyirizina Inkotanyi na CDR bari mu mishyikirano babifashijwemo na Minuar ku kibazo yo guha CDR intebe imwe, ibyo byifuzo byaramaganywe maze ku itariki ya 25 Werurwe imihango yo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuo iburiramo kubera kutitabirwa n'intumwa z'Inkotanyi ndetse na lisiti y'abadepite Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari yatanze ikaba itarimo uhagarariye CDR (*reba umugereka wa 38*).

Ku itariki ya 28 Werurwe, ubwo Inkotanyi, minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe, Joseph Kavaruganda n'abadepite benshi bangaga kwitabira imihango bityo Perezida Habyarimana ntabe akigiye ku ngoro ya CND, inama y'abahagarariye mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga ibihugu by'indorerezi mu mishyikirano y'Arusha (uhagarariye Papa, ba ambasaderi b'Ubudage, Ububiligi, Uburundi, Leta Zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, Ubufaransa, Ubuganda, Tanzaniya, Zayire) iyobowe na Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, yagaragaje ikomeje kandi mu ijwi rimwe ko bababajwe n'iburizwamo ry'icyo gikorwa Inkotanyi zari zibereye noneho nyirabayazana (*reba umugereka wa 38*). Inkotanyi zari zisigaye zishyigikiwe na jenerali Roméo Dallaire wenyine zarijujuse bikomeye, ziyama abayobozi b'amashyaka yose, zinakangisha guhagarika uruhare rwazo mu mugambi w'amahoro.

Amaherezo, nyuma yo kwihanangirizwa bikomeye n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, wakangishaga gucyura ingabo za Minuar mu gihe nta gihindutse n'iterabwoba rya za ambasade ryo guhagarika imfashanyo, igihe cya nyuma cyashyizwe « mbere y'itariki ya 9 Mata ». Iyo tariki perezida yayimenyesheje umuyobozi w'ibiro bye neza neza mbere yo kujya i Dar- es- Salaam mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1996.

Icyo gihe cyari cyaratakaye nticyapfuye ubusa ku bantu bose : uko ibyumweru byigiraga imbere, abari bahanganye biteguye intambara bagerageza gufata igice kinini gishoboka kandi bitegura ibyari kuba byose. Ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida, umuganbi wari usobanutse, wari uguhindura uko bishoboka kose ihangana ry'imbaraga zirubangamiye mu nzego z'inzibacyuho zari zagenwe n'amasezerano. Habayeho icyo gihe ihindura ry'umukino wo muri 1991-1992, igihe uruhande rurwanya ubutegtsi rwari rwahagaritse imirimo y'inzego kugira

ngo ruburizemo ishyirwaho n'akazi ka Guverinoma ya nyuma y'ishyaka rimwe kandi rugakoresha uburyo bwose bw'ikangura kugira ngo rwagure urubuga rwarwo rwa politiki, runemeze Guverinoma rwari kugenzura. MRND, CDR n'abifatanyije na bo, bashyigikiwe kuva ubwo n'ibyerekezo "Pawa" by'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, batindije ku buryo bwose ishyirwaho ry'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, kugira ngo bahindure ihurizo ry'imishyikirano yabasuzuguzaga kandi bagere ku nyungu bwite za politiki z'abategetsi bari bishyize hamwe. Hifashishijwe itunganya ry'ibyerekezo "Pawa", iterabwoba ry'ubwisanzure bwa bibiri bya gatatu by'abadepite amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu n'Inkotanyi byari byihaye kugira ngo bigenzure burundu inzego z'inzibacyuho kandi bashyirisheho ibyemezo bikomeye bishingiye ku Nteko ryari ryavuyeho.

Kugira ngo harangizwe iterabwoba ry'Inkotanyi, ubufatanye bushya bushyigikiye Abahutu bwari bufite intwaro ikomeye cyane mu ngingo y'amasezerano yateganyaga, kugira ngo habeho ihagararirwa ry'amashyaka akomeye ku rwego rw'igihugu, yagombaga gutanga umukandida muri buri perefegitura. "Aho gutanga ikirundo cy'abarwanashyaka bizewe b'i Gitarama ku ruhande rwa MDR, i Butare ku rwa PSD, amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yariyahuye yemera iyo nzira. Ku Kibuye, Depite wa PSD yari koko umuntu wavuye muri MRND […] [22]." Imibare y'abantu ku giti cyabo yabaye iyo kwishakira inyungu. Icyo gisubizo Mathieu Ngirumpatse yaracyishimiraga akanagifata nk'ingirakamaro mu kwivangura n'Inkotanyi, nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ikiganiro cye kuri Radio Rwanda cyo ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994 :

> "Umunyamakuru : Mathieu Ngirumpatse w'impuguke mu mategeko aragira icyo utubwira ku mishyikirano y'Arusha. Ese uko ibintu bimeze ubu ntibyaba, ku bwanyu, iherezo ry'ibyari byakozwe byose nk'imishyikirano kandi byari byavuzwe ko ari ibihendabana ?
> Uganira (bwana Ngirumpatse) : Yego, mu by'ukuri mfite isoni z'uko ishyaka ryacu ryamaganye buri gihe bimwe mu byemezo by'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ariko nta bushake buke bwarimo, ni uko ayo masezerano y'Arusha, nk'uko yakozwe, yahaga Inkotanyi ububasha bwo kwigarurira ubu butegetsi ku maherere. […] Isezerano, ni igikorwa cy'abantu, rishobora gusa guhinduka ari uko abantu babishatse ariko ibitekerezo by'abantu, ibyo bavuga, ibyo ni ibyo bavuga nyine. Ni bo gusa bashobora kuyahindura. Rero, amasezerano arakemangwa, arenze gukemangwa, igihe Inkotanyi zasabye andi mashyaka kudahindura imvugo kubera ko, bitewe n'abantu bari bahari, zari zizeye imyanya ingana ityo mu Nteko y'igihugu, imyanya ingana ityo muri Guverinoma, kandi kuri zo ubutegetsi bwari mu maboko yazo. Ariko, kubera ko abantu bari bahinduye imvugo, ntizari zigishaka kwemera ayo masezerano. […] Kuva icyo gihe ni bwo byatangiye gushyuha[23]."

"Lisiti ya nyuma" y'abadepite yari yemewe noneho yatumaga hakekwa ko n'ubwiganze budakabije bushyigikiye Inkotanyi n'Imbaraga za demokarasi mu ihinduka (MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, PSR) butari bwizewe. Icyo gihe bari kure cyane y'ubwiganze bwa bibiri bya gatatu byari byaratumye bizera kugira ububasha bukomeye mu mikorere y'inzego no koroshya imigendekere y'ibikorwa byo mu rwego rwa politiki kugeza ku mpera z'ibihe cy'inzibacyuho.

[22] Ubuhamya bw'umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND, inyandiko zanjye bwite, 19 Mutarama 2008.
[23] Iyandukura ry'amajwi yafashwe na Radio Rwanda, 17 Mata 1994, TPIR, K7 RSF0234, K0143818-K0143819.

Kuva ku macakubiri ya politiki kugera ku migambi yo guhagarika ibintu, nta ntera nini cyane yarimo n'ubwo nta na rumwe mu mpande zombi rwagaragazaga ubushake buhagije bwo gukurikiza ayo masezerano : nk'uko Léonidas Rusatira, wahoze ari umuyobozi w'Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari ry'i Kigali (ESM) yabibwiye Sena y'Ububiligi : "umwe yashakaga kugumana ubutegetsi bwose mu gihe undi yashakaga gufata ubutegetsi bwose[24.]" Uwa mbere wari ufite amahirwe agaragara yashyize ingufu ze zose mu gukomeza ububasha bwe mu rubuga rwa politiki y'imbere mu gihugu no kwiha igihe, uwa kabiri akoresha icyo gihe mu kwiha imbaraga za gisirikari no kunoza uburyo bw'itumanaho.

> "Impuha zakwirakwiye i Kigali ko Inkotanyi zimaze kugeza mu mujyi abantu ibihumbi bitatu, harimo 600 bari basanzwe muri CND ku buryo buzwi. Mu majyaruguru, naho hari abasirikari ibihumbi cumi na bitanu b'Inkotanyi bategereje impuruza kugira ngo bafate ubutegetsi bahereye i Kigali. Ibyo bisobanura ukwihangana kwabo no kutita ku byo gushyiraho Guverinoma[25]."

Aya magambo agaragaza ku buryo bworoshye imyitwarire y'Inkotanyi muri ayo mezi y'ishiraniro. "Ukutita ku bintu", byo kujijisha, zagaragazaga zabiterwaga n'urubuga rwa politiki y'igihugu, yari yacagaguwemo burundu n'amahiganwa ashyushye hagati y'abayobozi bo ku rwego rwa politiki n'uduce bashyiragaho kugira ngo bagere ku nyungu zabo kandi bategure amatora yari imbere. Amasezerano y'amahoro amaze gushyirwaho umukono, abari babifitemo uruhare bose mu "rwego rw'igihugu" bari binjye neza mu nzibacyuho kandi batekerezaga gusa ku byari kuzava mu matora, Inkotanyi zitari kugira icyo ziboneramo. Bityo, uko ibyumweru byagiye bihita, kimwe no mu mwaka wa 1992 nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, ukwibanda kw' ubuzima bwa politiki ku bibazo by'imbere mu gihugu byatumaga Inkotanyi zishyirwa mu kato.

Ku bakunzi b'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida, "umwanzi" yari atinyitse kubera gusa iterabwoba rya gisirikari yakangishaga mu migendekere ya politiki mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho n'ububasha bwo gucamo uduce yagaragazaga hagati y'amashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu; ku mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ibyitso byashobokaga by'Inkotanyi, akamaro kazo kari gashingiye gusa, uko ibyumweru byakurikiranaga, ku gikorwa cy'ishyigikira ryarengeraga abanyacyubahiro cg uduce tari twaratakaje abantu kandi ibyemezo by'amasezerano y'Arusha byonyine bikaba ari byo byaduhaga ububasha bwa politiki bw'agateganyo.

Ku bayobozi b'Inkotanyi, byari bizwi ko ubwigaranzure butakekwaga bwo mu mwaka wa 1993 ku rwego rwa gisirikari (mu gitero cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 n'itahuka ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa mu Kuboza), urw'ububanyi n'amahanga (ibyagezweho n'amasezerano y'Arusha) n' urw'akarere (muri kudeta y'i Burundi n'ubucuti bukomeye bwari bwariyongereye hamwe n'abasirikari b'Abatutsi bagenzuraga ingabo) bwari kugira ingorane zikomeye zo gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu rwego rwa politiki rw'imbere mu gihugu. Kuva habaho ihuriro ryagutse rishyigikiye Abahutu nyuma y'iyicwa rya perezida Ndadaye mu Burundi mu

[24] Komosiyo idasanzwe ku Rwanda ya Sena y'Ububiligi, Bruxelles, iyumvwa ryo ku itariki ya 29 Mata, 1997, p. 7.

[25] Liyetona M. Nees, umusirikari mukuru mu ipererza rya Minuar, Loni, KIBAT S2, 11 Gashyantare 1994 (*reba umugereka wa 17*).

kwezi kwa cumi (Ukwakira) 1993, inkunga mu rwego rwa politiki zari zifite zibikesha amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi bwari busigaye gusa ku duce dushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Ku ruhande runini, ingorane zo kugira uruhare mu mpaka n'ibibazo by'igihugu nta mizi ya politiki yazo bwite zigaragaje ku buryo budasobanutse mu bihe zikuraga mu gikorwa cy'imishyikirano, cyakurikiwe n'isubira ku Mulindi ry'abazihagarariye mu mpera za Gashyantare no muri Werurwe 1994. I Kigali koko rero, imishyikirano ikaze hagati y'amashyaka ntiyigeze ihungabana na busa kandi abari mu mishyikirano b'abanyamahanga ni bo bagiye ku Mulindi kugerageza kugarura Inkotanyi mu gikorwa cy'amahoro.

Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe ni bwo abahagarariye ibihugu byabo bumvise neza ko Inkotanyi zahishaga umugambi wazo wo kudindiza ibintu zitwaje imyiryane yacaga ibintu mu ruhande bari bahanganye, iyo myiryane zikaba ndetse zarayitizaga umurindi aho bibaye ngombwa. Urugero rw'imishyikirano zari zatangije ku giti cyazo hamwe na CDR, mukeba wazo bidasubirwaho – mbere yo kongera kuyigira ruvumwa mu gihe impande zose zari zemeye kuyinjiza burundu mu masezerano – icyo gihe rwarabihishuye.

Zitwaje kubeshyera mukeba wazo imbere y'indorerezi zitabizi cg zigaruriye, ko ari we ufite uruhare mu idindira ryo gushyiraho inzego z'Arusha, Inkotanyi zakangishije, nk'uko zari zibimenyereye buri gihe iyo zabaga ziri mu ngorane, kubura intambara.

Umugambi w'Inkotanyi wo guhungabanya urwego rwa politiki mu gihugu imbere

Nk'uko twabibonye, imigambi yo kudindiza no gutinza ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho yashyizwe mu bikorwa n'abari babifitemo uruhare banyuranye yari ishingiye ku gushaka kwinjira mu "nzibacyuho" bafite imbaraga cg mu buryo bubabangamiye buhoro bishoboka. N'ubwo yari yaratekerejwe ku nyungu z'ingufu eshatu za politiki, kuva ubwo amasezerano y'Arusha yagombaga kugarurwa mu ishusho y'impande ebyiri, za ngufu ebyiri zikomeye zari zararashyize hamwe kugira ngo zice intege cg zigarurire amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu. Icyo cyifuzo cyari ngombwa kuri zombi kugira ngo zagure ibirindiro ba politiki zinashobore kuba ku isonga mu mpera z'icyo gikorwa.

Icyo gikorwa cyo guca hasi cyari cyaratangiye kuva ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye muri Mata 1992 gihembera icikamo ibice n'amacakubiri muri ubwo bwifatanye rw'uruvangavange rwahurizaga hamwe umubare munini w'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye n'amashyaka yari atariyubaka neza kandi yifuzaga kwitandukanya n'imikorere ya politiki ishingiye ku ishyaka rimwe. Zakoreshaga nanone uburyo bw'imbaraga kandi kudahishe : iterabwoba ry'amagambo, guhiga no guhohoterwa abaturage basanzwe kimwe n'abarwanashyaka byari byarabaye akamenyero, bikorerwa igihe kimwe n'ubugizi bwa nabi buhiga abantu cg bukozwe gihumyi kandi cyane cyane iyicwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bagaragara. Amezi atatu y'imishyikirano yabanjirije iyubuka ry'intambara muri Mata 1994 yaranzwe n'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'ibikorwa

by'imvururu za politiki hamwe n'ubwiyongere bw'ihangana hagati y'urubyiruko rwitwara gisirikari rw'amashyaka.

"Koroshya" urubuga rwa politiki rwifuzwa byashingiye ku buryo bubiri butandukanye bitewe n'amashyaka yo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida cg urushyigikiye Inkotanyi. Aba mbere binjiye mu gikorwa gikomeye cyo gutanga ibisobanuro byo mu rwego rwa politiki hagamijwe kubona abarwanashyaka n'abakozi bakuru bari banyanyagiye mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Iyo mikorere ityaye yaterwaga n'impungenge kuva icyo gihe zatutumbaga z'ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi hakoreshejwe intwaro ku ruhande rw'Inkotanyi. Yitabiriwe n'abantu benshi ntibyaba ngombwa kwifashisha ibikorwa by'igitangaza cg uburyo bw'imbaraga. Ku rundi ruhande, Inkotanyi, zari zifite ingorane mu rubuga rwa politiki, zibanze ku buryo bwo kwirinda. Ku ruhande rumwe, zashyize imbaraga mu kwiyamamaza mu Batutsi b'imbere mu gihugu n'abo mu bihugu by'abaturanyi, basabwaga kuzinjiramo kandi bakajya mu ngabo zazo (APR) naho ku rundi, zongeye gukora ibikorwa byo guhungabanya urubuga rwa politiki kugira ngo zotse igitutu abifatanyaga na zo cg abahoze bifatanya na zo bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu kugira ngo bahitemo ku mugaragro uruhande rwazo.

Ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1994 i Kigali, iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi, umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD akaba na minisitiri w'Ibikorwa by'igihugu, ryakurikiwe ku itariki ya 23 n'ihotorwa rya Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, byagize uruhare rukomeye mu gushyira politiki mu murongo ukaze, wageze icyo gihe ari mu murwa mukuru ari no muri perefegitura ya Butare. Félicien Gatabazi yari mu itsinda ry'abanyacyubahiro bakomeye kandi b'abahanga cyane mu kazi, bakomokaga mu maperefegitura yo mu majyepfo Habyarimana yari yarashinze za minisiteri mu myaka ya 1970 kugira ngo agabanye ububasha bwa bakeba be bo mu majyaruguru. Nyuma yo gukekwaho guhirika ubutegetsi kwa Théoneste Lizinde na Alexis Kanyarengwe mu mwaka wa 1980, perezida yiyambaje iryo tsinda cyane, ari na ko yashakaga kwegezayo abantu bazwi cyane no kubasimbuza buhoro buhoro abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo bitondaga kubarusha. Ivugurura ry'abaminisitri ryo ku itariki ya 8 Mutarama 1984, ryigijeyo Félicien Gatabazi na Frédéric Nzamurambaho, abanyacyubahiro bubahwaga kurusha abandi bo mu majyepfo, ryateye ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa politiki gikomeye cyane muri Repubulika ya Kabiri. Ku mwaduko w'amashyaka menshi mu mwaka wa 1990, impande zose z'urwego rw'ubugenzuzi bwa politiki bw'ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi muri Butare zasenyutse nabi, byerekanaga urwango rusa n'aho rwari karande rw'igitugu cyakoreshwaga n'agatsiko k'abasirikari hamwe n'abasivili bo mu majyaruguru. Amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yahereyeko yiganza, by'umwihariko PSD, ryari ryarahimbwe na ba banyacyubahiro bari bazwi cyane bo mu majyepfo, basubijwe by'urwiyerurutso minisiteri zabo za kera ubwo hashyirwagaho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye muri Mata 1992.

Ukurikije civipol, igipolisi cy'Umuryango w'abibumbye cyari muri Minuar, iyicwa rya Félicien Gatabazi ryaba ryarakozwe n'abantu begereye Juvénal

Habyarimana. Amazina ya kapiteni Pascal Simbikangwa (Hutu, Gisenyi), wari mu nzego z'iperereza, na Alphonse Ntilivamunda (Hutu, Gisenyi, MRND), umukwe wa perezida yaravuzwe, n'umushoferi wa koloneli Élie Sagatwa, undi muramu wa perezida, waketsweho kuba yaratwaye abicanyi. Nanone, koloneli Laurent Rutayisire, wahoze ari G2[26] wa Jandarumori, icyo gihe wari umuyobozi w'Iperereza ryo hanze, wari ufitanye isano na Félicien Gatabazi[27], na we yashyizwe mu majwi kubera kubangamira ubucamanza no guhisha ibimenyetso : yaba yari afite imbunda ikekwaho kuba yaricishijwe.We na muramu we, Hyacynthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki[28], bari bamaze igihe bakekwaho gushaka kugarura Félicien Gatabazi mu nzira ya perezida.

Nkuko byaje kugaragara mu bushinjacyaha bw'i Kigali, urwo ruvange rudafashe rw'abaregwaga bakomeye (*reba imbere*) n'ibirego byegekwaga ku muryango wa nyakwigendera byashobora gusobanura imyifatire y'abarwanashyaka b'i Butare ba PSD : bukeye bwaho, bishe Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, bahorera urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi. Koko rero, ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1994, Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, yagenzwe runono kuva ku Gikongoro n'imodoka y'umushinga DGB yari itwawe n'abarwanashyaka ba PSD. Amaze kuva i Butare, yanjamwe n'abarwanashyaka ba PSD hamwe n'abaturage baramuhotora. Bamwe muri bo bari muri PSD ariko ari n'abarwanashyaka b'Inkotanyi[29].

Mu cyuka cya politiki rusange, nubwo urwikekwe rwashyizwe rugikubita ku "gaco k'inkoramaraso" ka Perezidansi, abantu benshi baketse ko ubwo bwicanyi bwakozwe n'Inkotanyi zifatantije n'amashumi yazo yo muri PSD. Mu kunganira icyo gitekerezo, kuba Gatabazi mu nama y'ishyaka rye i Butare mu cyumweru kibanziriza icyo yishwemo yari yavuze interuro ikurikira, abenshi bashishoza basanga yari yikururiye urupfu : "PSD, ntiyigeze iba umugaragu wa MRND, ntizemera kuba umugaragu w'Inkotanyi[30]." Aho amariye gusaba kwakirwa na perezida akamugezaho ibyo yibazaga ku giti cye ku byerekeye imyumvire ya demokarasi, mu magambo ye yamaganaga abantu bo mu ishyaka rye batashoboraga kubona imipaka nyayo hagati ya PSD n'Inkotanyi.

Umuntu ashobora gutanga ingingo ziri ukubiri zishyigikira igitekerezo cy'uko yahitanywe n'Inkotanyi.

Ingingo ya mbere, ijyana n'ibihe, yibutsa uko umugambi w'Inkotanyi ushobora kuba wari uteye. Ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ryasabaga ibyitso byizewe by'Inkotanyi, ibyo bikaba mu by'ukuri Félicien Gatabazi Atari kubibarizwamo. Uyunguyu ntiyashakaga na busa gushyigikira igerwaho ry' "umutekano" ryigishwaga n'Inkotanyi, kandi yashoboraga kuba umukeba uteye ubwoba utandukanye na bagenzi be bandi batatu bo mu buyobozi bukuru bwa PSD : Félicien Ngango na Théoneste Gafaranga bari "barigaruriwe" mu gihe Frédéric Nzamurambaho wari wararongoye Umututsikazi yafatwaga

[26] Reba urutonde rw'impine z'amagambo ku mpera z'igitabo.

[27] Abagore babo baravukana.

[28] Yari yararongoye mushiki wa koloneli Rutayisire.

[29] Reba ibyavuye mu iperereza byose muri André Guichaoua, *Butare, la prefecture rebelled [perefegitura yivumbuye], op. cit.,* TPIR, t. 3, umugereka wa 112, p. 53-83.

[30] Reba James Gasana, *op. cit., p.* 246.

nk'ushobora kutagorana. Ku byerekeye imitunganyirize ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, Marc Rugenera na Frédéric Nzamurambaho bagumanaga imyanya yabo y'abaminisitiri. Guhitana Félicien Gatabazi byasigiraga umwanya w'umuminisitiri Théoneste Gafaranga cg Félicien Ngango. Ariko uyu wa nyuma yari yaramaze kwemererwa uwe nk'umukandida watoranyijwe na PSD ku mwanya wa perezida w'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Bityo, yari kuba umunyacyubahiro wa kabiri mu gihugu, ashobora guhamagarirwa gusimbura by'agateganyo perezida wa Repubulika igihe umwanya we waba udafite umuntu uwurimo. Inshuro nyinshi, abo bombi bashakaga imyanya, bari baravuze ko Félicien Gatabazi yabangikanyaga imirimo myinshi n'umwanya ukomeye w'umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa wa PSD, utarajyanaga n'imirimo y'inyongera y'ubuminisitiri. Nyamara nyirubwite na we yari yaratangiye gutekereza cyane ibyo kuba yakwegura ku mwanya we wa minisitiri w'Ibikorwa bya leta akaba umudepite maze akaba yahatanira umwanya wa perezida w'Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho wari waremerewe Félicien Ngango, kandi hagati aho akagumana urwego rwe rw'umunyamabanga mpuzabikorwa w'ishyaka. Muri ubwo buryo, guhitana Félicien Gatabazi kwasubizaga ishyaka mu maboko y'abantu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi, kukarigabanyirizaga imbaraga ku buryo bugaragara mu rwego rw'igihugu kimwe n'ubushobozi bwo kugira umutungo.

Ingingo ya kabiri, yunganira iya mbere, itanga ubundi buryo bwo kumva ibintu byabanjirije gato iyicwa rye. Ku cyumweru, umunsi umwe mbere y'urupfu rwe, Félicien Gatabazi yari yeruriye inshuti ze avuga ko nta mutekano yari afite. Ku wa mbere ku itariki ya 21 Gshyantare, bumaze kwira ubwo yari atashye avuye mu gihugu hagati, yaterefonwe na Faustin Twagiramungu wari kuri hoteli Méridien amutumira ngo amusange muri etaje ya nyuma ya hoteli. Uyunguyu yari yiriranywe mu nama ku cyicaro gikuru cya Minuar n'intumwa idasanzwe yari ihagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, baganira iby'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye ryari riteganyijwe ku munsi ukurikiyeho i saa yine. Muri iyo nama, uretse Faustin Twagiramungu, yarimo kandi Frédéric Nzamurambaho, perezida wa PSD; Landoald Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere wa PL; Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe; Jea-Népomuscène Nayinzira (Hutu, Gisenyi), perezida wa PDC, n'abandi. inama irangiye, abenshi muri bo bagiye mu kabare ka hoteli Méridien maze Faustin Twagiramungu aterefona abanyacyubahiro benshi batari baje mu nama yo ku gicamunsi abasaba kuhabasanga kugira ngo baganire ku byifuzo bya nyuma byagombaga kumvikanwaho no kunononsora imyiteguro y'igikorwa cy'umunsi ukurirkiraho. Froduald Karamira na Donat Murego bo muri MDR ntibashoboye kuboneka, Mathieu Ngirumpatse wo muri MRND na Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL bombi batanga impamvu z'uko bagombaga kubaza mbere na mbere inzego zabo za politiki, banitwaza isaha itinze kugira ngo bange kujyayo. Félicien Gatabazi ni we wenyine wemeye. Amaherezo nta nama yigeze iba kubera ko yasanze Faustin Twagiramungu uwo mugoroba wose yari mu biganiro kuri terefone. Buri wese rero yasubiye iwe. Gatabazi yiciwe ku muhanda ukata ugana mu rugo iwe hafi ya saa yine n'iminota mirongo ine n'itanu (22 h 45). Yashoboye gutwara imodoka kugera ku nzu ye aho yahereyeko agwa.

Ibitoryi by'amasasu bigera kuri mirongo itandatu byasanzwe aho hantu.

Urebye, nk'uko bigaragara mu mugereka wa 15, kuva Félicien Gatabazi ajya kuri hoteli, abari bashinzwe kumuhitana bari batangatanze hafi y'urugo rwe bamenyeshejwe ko ashyitse. Uwari uyoboye ubwo bwicanyi ni Karenzi Karake (Tutsi, Zayire, APR/FPR), umusirikari mukuru wakoranaga na Minuar akaba n'umukuru w'abakomando b'Inkotanyi muri Kigali, icyo gihe wari ucumbitse muri hoteli Méridien hamwe n'abandi basirikari bakuru bane bo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi. Batatu muri bo bari bahatuye : komanda Salton Bahenda (Tutsi, Zayire, APR/FPR), kapiteni Godffrey Butare (Tutsi, Uganda, APR/FPR) na majoro Philbert Rwigamba (Tutsi, Uganda, APR/FPR).

Ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare, ubwo hatangwaga amabwiriza yo kwica Félicien Gatabazi, buri wese yabonaga ko urwo rupfu rwagombaga kugerekwa ku "gaco k'abicanyi" ka Perezidansi. Koko rero, ku munsi ubanza, ku cyumweru ku itariki ya 20, muri mitingi ikaze yari yakoreshejwe i Nyamirambo na Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu kugira ngo berekane imbaraga zabo mu rwego rwa politiki imbere y'ubushotoranyi bwa MDR "Pawa", abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR n'aba MDR "Pawa" bakoresheje amagerenade n'amabuye byo gutera imodoka zari zitwaye ababashyigikiye. Abenshi barakomeretse n'abandi batandatu bicirwa mu Rwampara hafi y'i Nyamirambo. Iyo batabа barinzwe na Minuar, Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Twagiramungu na bo bashoboraga kuhagwa.

Nuko, nk'uko byari byitezwe, ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare, urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi rumaze kumenyekana, perezida wa PSD, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, yamaganye abicanyi bakoreraga mu kwaha kwa Perezidansi. Icyerekezo cyahawe ubugenzacyaha n'abantu ba mbere bafashwe byemeje icyo gitekerezo. Urwikekwe rw'injyanamuntu rwashyizwe ako kanya ku byegera bya perezida Habyarimana.

Uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwo rwashinjaga abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi bari bagiye mu nama yo kuri Méridien. Muri uwo mwuka, iyicwa rya Martin Bucyana, perezida wa CDR, ryagaragaye nk'ikintu gisanzwe kubera ko ryafashwe nk'ingaruka y' "ukwihorera kwikoze".

MRND na CDR zo zumvaga nta kundi gushidikanya : ubugambanyi bwari bwateguwe na Faustin Twagiramungu, Agathe Uwilingiyimana n'abayobozi bashyigikiye Inkotanyi bo muri PSD no muri PL bihimura ihangana rikaze ryatejwe n'abarwanashyaka hamwe n'abitwara gisirikari bo muri MRND n' "abapawa" i Nyamirambo. Mu ntera yakurikiyeho, ubwo gukeka Inkotanyi byari bimaze kuba kimomo, igitekerezo cy'akagambane gasangiwe cyariganje. Mathieu Ngirumpatse abisobanura neza agira ati :

> "Twumvise, rugikubita, ko umugambi wari uwo gukurura mu mutego umwe, abayobozi ba MDR, aba MRND, aba CDR n'aba PL kugira ngo bicirwe ijoro rimwe. Kubera ko Inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo bari bamaze gushinja Perezida Habyarimana kwica abarwanya ubutegetsi, wari nanone umwanya mwiza wo kumushinja kuba yararimbuye uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi akongera akikiza abari "impirimbanyi za demokarasi" kurusha abandi mu ishyaka rye. Ubwo buryo bwari bwarazihiriye igihe cyose zashakaga kwikiza

abantu bose bazibangamiye."[31]

Iri bango rifite akamaro ko kwerekana ukuntu inzangano zari zikomeye hagati y'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa politiki bo mu mashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu n'icyuho bahaga batyo mukeba wabo bose. Mu by'ukuri, Inkotanyi zumvaga zigomba guhindura icyo cyumweru igihe simusiga cyo kurimbura ubuyobozi bwo mu rwego rwa politiki bw'amashyaka no guteza imvuru rusange zibanziriza igitero cyazo cya rurangiza. Kubera ibyo, gutekereza ko haba harabaye akagambane kumvikanyweho hagati ya Twagiramungu n'Inkotanyi nta shingiro bifite : imikorere y'Inkotanyi yari iboneye ku buryo buhamye kandi ifite inzego zabugenewe ku buryo bitashobokaga ko bafatanya gutegura ibikorwa nka biriya n'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi zitari zarigeze na rimwe zizera kandi ndetse zitari zarigeze zigira ikindi kigaragara zifatanya uretse kubacamo ibice.

Kwica Gatabazi na Bucyana byateye imvururu zikaze hagati y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari y'amashyaka zaguyemo abantu 37 i Kigali. Izo mvururu zahoshe aho ubuyobozi bw'ayo mashyaka buboneye neza ko Inkotanyi ari zo zabyungukiragamo. Koko rero, nkuko byari byaragenze muri Mutarama 1993 nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi n'abarwanya ubutegetsi mu maperefegitura ya Gisenyi, Kibuye na Byumba ubwo Inkotanyi zarengaga ku masezerano yo guhagarika imirwano zikagaba ibitero bikaze mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare, Inkotanyi zakangishije kuva ku itariki ya 24 Gashyantare 1994 kuri Radio Muhabura kubura intambara kubera idindiza rya politiki yitiriwe uruhande rushyigikiye perezida. Mu mpera za Gashyantare n'intangiriro ya Werurwe 1994, zakoresheje itangazamakuru ryo mu Buganda mu gucengeza mu bazishyigikye iby'intsinzi zavugaga ko yizewe. Mu itangazo ryo ku itariki ya 28 Gashyantare, perezida w'Inkotanyi, koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe yaranditse ati : "Akaga gakabije kagombaga kuba ku mugoroba wo kuri iyo tariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1994 igihe abicanyi bashyigikiwe na perezida Habyarimana bicaga bwana Gatabazi Félicien, minisitiri w'ibikorwa by'igihugu". Muri *Uganda Confidential* yo ku matariki ya 28 Gashyantare – 7 Werurwe 1994, hasomwamo ngo : "Amahirwe ya Kagame yo gufata Kigali yikubye inshuro 100." Muri *The People* yo ku matariki ya 4-8 Werurwe 1994, hasomwamo ibyavuzwe na Paul Kagame ko afite uburyo, ibikoresho n'ingabo byo gufata Kigali mu munsi umwe kandi ko yiteguye. Ubwo buryo bwo kubona ibintu nyirubwite yabwemereye jenerali Roméo Dallaire, nk'uko uyunguyu abihamya :

> "Roméo Dallaire : Rero, ku bwanjye, izo ngabo zari zaratojwe ku buryo budasanzwe. Ibyo, kuri jye, mu isesengura ryanjye, na mbere y'intambara, byari bivuze ngo niba baritoje cyane bakaba bahagaze neza cyane, ese barakeka ko amasezerano y'amahoro abaho? Maze rero, nyine mu kwezi kwa gatanu, ahagana ku mpera z'ukwa gatanu, jenerali Kagame yanyerekaga ko niba nta muti ubonetse vuba, hari kubaho icyemezo kidasubirwaho cyagombaga gufatwa.
> Ikibazo : Ndakeka ko ari mu kwezi kwa kabiri, atari mu kwa gatanu?
> R. Dallaire : Ukwa kabiri, ukwezi kwa kabiri[32]."

Ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe, ingabo z'Inkotanyi zakomeje igikorwa cyo guhashya

[31] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La tragédie rwandaise [Amarorerwa r' U Rwanda], op. cit., p. 1*16.
[32] Ubuhamya bwa jenerali Roméo Dallaire, urubanza rwa Bagosora n'abandi, TPIR, 24 Mutarama 2004, p. 29.

abakuru b'udutsiko two mu murongo ukaze tw'Abahutu maze zica Alphonse Ingabire bahimbaga "Kayumba", wari uhagarariye CDR i Kigali. Ukurikije amakuru yazo adasohoka, ingabo z'Inkotanyi zari zarashinze icyo gikorwa Kiyago, umukuru w'abakomando b'agace E (urwinjiriro) na serija Mugisha, umukuru w'agace Kosovo (kari kabumbiyemo uturere twa Kicukiro, Remera, Masaka na Ndera twa Kigali). Bari baherekejwe na liyetona Jean-Baptiste Mugwaneza[33].

Biraboneka ko icyo gikorwa cy'ubwicanyi cyashyiraga mu bikorwa gahunda yari yaravuzwe n'abasirikari bakuru banyuranye b'ingabo z'igihugu, ku itariki ya 3 Ukuboza 1993 mu ibaruwa yohererejwe abakuru ba Minuar, ariko ihitanwa ry'abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi icyo gihe ryegekwaga ku mitwe yo ku ruhande rwa perezida…Iyo baruwa itarasinywe kandi yavaga ahantu hatazwi, abayanditse bashobora kuba baragiye gusobanurira impungenge zabo ku buryo burambuye umuyobozi w'inagabo za Minuar (*reba umugereka wa 45*), yaba yarashoboraga, tutitaye ku byayihinduweho bike wenda, kuba gahunda y'imirimo y'abakomandobo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi.

Nkurikije amakuru mfite, icyo gikorwa cy'ubwicanyi cy'Inkotanyi cyagombaga gutangira ku itariki ya 17 Gashyantare 1994, uwahigwaga wa mbere wari warateganyijwe akaba yari Landoald Ndasingwa, visiperezida wa mbere wa PL, wahushijwe inshuro eshatu, iya mbere mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 17, n'izindi ebyiri ku matariki ya18 na 19 Gashyantare.

> "Ikibazo : Ku rutonde rw'abanyacyubahiro bagombaga kwicwa, wari ufite inshingano zihariye, kuri Lando ?
> Igisubizo : Yego, kuri Lando, kubera ko nari ntuye i Remera. Nari ntuye hafi, ariko naritonze. Urebye, sinabyemeraga, naribazaga nti ndicira iki Lando? Icya mbere, ntari mu murongo ukaze, ni Umututsi nkanjye, ni PL, ntarwanya Abatutsi, politiki ye si mbi kuri twe. Ndicira iki Lando ? Ni ubugome. Kuki Umututsi agomba kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'undi Mututsi ? Umututsi udafatanya n'ubutegetsi ? Sinabonaga impamvu. Ariko, urebye, nari noherejwe. Kuri we gusa. Ikindi kandi, bashakaga kumenya icyo mbitekerezaho, wenda. Kugeza ubu, ndibaza impamvu babimenyesheje.
> Bazo : Ni cyo gihe cyonyine baguhaye inshingano igaragara ?
> Subizo : Yego, ahasigaye, bagenzi banjye ni bo bambwiraga cg umukuru wacu wabwiraga buri wese, avuga ko hari operasiyo igomba gukorwa : "Mwitonde. Nihagira ikintu kiba, nibashyiraho bariyeri, nibatangira gusaka amazu, mwitonde cyane." Ni uko twabwirwaga. Ku kibazo nyirizina cya Lando, bampaye iyo misiyo, yo kumugendaho. Amaherezo barambwira bati warangije ubutasi bwawe bwose, washushanyije aho wagombaga gushushanya, kuvuga ibyo washakaga kuvuga. Dukorere umurimo wo kugenda kuri Lando. Tugiye gushaka uburyo bwo kumukuraho. Naratashye nibaza impamvu… amaherezo, ntitwigeze tumwica[34]."

Ingaruka zikomeye z'urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi na Martin Bucyana nyuma zafashwe nk'izihagije bityo gahunda yo huhitana abandi irasubikwa. Mu bandi bahigwaga harimo nka Joseph Kavaruganda, perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo

[33] "Baravugaga, nko mu iyicwa rya Ingabire, baravugaga ibintu birakomeye, mwitegure… Tugiye gukora akantu, buri wese agomba kuba maso. Bakavuga : "Ni iki kigiye kuba ? – Ingabire, tugiye kumwica. – Ni nde ubikora? Kiyago arabikora. Ni byiza nta kibazo"." (Iyandukura ry'ikiganiro cyihariye n'umusirikari mukuru wo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi, 24 Mata 2005, p. 13).
[34] Iyandukura ry'ikiganiro cyiharye hamwe n'umusirikari mukuru wo mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi, 24 Mata, p. 13.

ry'Itegeko-nshinga, Stanislas Mbonampeka wo muri [PL], Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL na Pauline Nyiramasuhuko wo muri MRND. Nk'uko biboneka, ubuyobozi bw'Inkotanyi bwari bwavangavanze abo zahigaga ariko zari zigambiriye guca umutwe PL, irya nyuma mu mashyaka akomeye ryarimo abanyacyubahiro bazwi, muri gahunda yazo yo gusopanya kugira ngo bagenzure Inteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Naho Joseph Kavaruganda we, wari ufite umwanya w'ibanze mu ishyirwaho ry'inzego, ntiyari agicana uwaka na perezida Habyarimana.

Niba twibuka ko amashyaka yose yari afite uruhare mu masezerano y'Arusha n'Inkotanyi zirimo yari yahuye ku itariki ya 21 Gashyantare kugira ngo ashyire umukono ku itangazo ryashyiraga ku munsi ukurikiyeho imihango yo kurahiza Inteko y'igihugu na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye ryashyizwe ahagaragara mu ma saa tatu y'ijoro n'intumwa idasanzwe yari ihagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye, icyemezo no guhitamo igihe cyo guhitana Félicien Gatabazi cyerekanaga neza akamaro kudindiza amasezerano y'amahoro byari bifitiye Inkotanyi.

Bityo, mu mpera za Gashyantare 1994, abakomando ba FPR bari bamaze guca imitwe MDR, PSD na CDR, bateje imvururu zikabije mu buyobozi bw'amashyaka mu gihugu bwari bwasubiwemo biruhanyije kandi bongereye imyiryane ya politiki muri rusange.

MDR isa n'iyarusimbutse ariko isigara ari ishyaka rishingiye ku buyobozi bwacitsemo. Gusimbura Martin Bucyana ku buyobozi bwa CDR nta ngorane byateye (ihitamo ry'umuntu wo mu majyepfo ryari rishingiye ahanini ku rwiyererutso kandi abayobozi nyabo bari abakiga). Nyamara byaragoranye cyane kwigarurira PSD kuko urupfu rwa Félicien Gatabazi rwayisize mu maboko ya peridiza wayo w'icyamamare. Abarwanashyaka bayo bokejwe igitutu gikomeye n'impande zombi zari zihanganye, maze ubushyamirane bwigaragaza mu itora ryo gusimbura Félicien Gatabazi ku mwanya w'ubunyamabanga bukuru bw'ishyaka.

Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe 1994, Augustin Iyamuremye yamamajwe na Frédéric Nzamurambaho wari mu ruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi, biro politiki imwumvikanaho ariko komite y'akarere y' i Butare yagenzurwaga na François Ndungutse na Straton Nsabumukunzi irabyanga. Bo bifuzaga ko uwo mwanya uhabwa Sylvestre Uwibajije, icyo gihe wari ambasaderi i Burundi.

Mu nama ya Kongere y'ishyaka yabereye i Butare ku itariki ya 12 Werurwe, Sylvestre Uwibajije yariyamamaje ariko ishyaka rishyigikira ibyari byaremejwe n'itora rya biro politiki ; nuko uruhande rushyigikiye Inkotanyi rwunguka amaboko mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka atuma badakenera kwizirika ku barwanashyaka bo hanze y'amaperefegitura yo mu majyepfo. Kutavuga rumwe hagati y'abo bakandida Félicien Gatabazi yafataga nk'abafasha be ba hafi kwateye ubwoba abarwanashyaka benshi. Rugikubita, igihe cy'ishyingurwa rya Félicien Gatabazi, Frédéric Nzamurambaho amaze kuvuga mu izina ry'ubuyobozi bwa PSD na Faustin Twagiramungu nyuma ye mu izina ry'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi, Augustin Iyamuremye na Sylvestre Uwibajije basabwe bombi gufata ijambo mu ruhame.

Umugambi wa MRND wo kumunga abatavuga rumwe na yo

Ku ruhande rwayo, MRND ntiyari yarasigaye inyuma mu bintu byo guhungabanya uruhande ruyirwanya. Nyuma y'uko abantu b'ingenzi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi bahigikwa, abayobozi bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bavugaga rumwe ku kibazo cyo gushinja Agathe Uwilingiyimana kudatunganya imirimo ye uko bikwiye (*reba umugereka wa 39*). Ibyo babyuririragaho bagashaka ko yegura kugira ngo areke perezida azibe icyuho mu nzego akurikije uko abishaka. Nyamara ibyo amasezerano y'amahoro [y'Arusha] ntiyabiteganyaga.

Bomboribombori mu mashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu yari imaze guhabwa intebe kubera amacenga ku mpande nyinshi, hakiyongeraho ko kuberako ingengabihe y'inzego yari yaragenwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha yari yegereje, buri wese yari yiteguye gukina umukino wa nyuma. Dore zimwe mu ngero :

> "Ku itariki ya 31 Ukuboza 1993 habaye inama mu rugo kwa minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana yamuhuje na minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe Faustin Twagiramungu n'abaminisitiri bo mu mashyaka agize Imbaraga ziharanira demokarasi [FDC] (MDR, PSD, PL na PDC). Itsinda FDC ryagiranaga imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi zari muri CND kandi ryemeraga ayo masezerano. Iyo mishyikirano yasuzumaga ingamba zinyuranye zatuma batesha agaciro MRND na perezida Habyarimana. Bamwe mu bari bayirimo bifuje ndetse uburyo bwo guhungabanya ingabo, ibyo ndabyanga kubera ko, nibura mu magambo, ukurikije amategeko, ingabo zagengwaga n'ubuyobozi bw'umukuru wa Guverinoma yari iyobowe na minisitiri w'intebe wo muriMDR, yari muri FDC. Guhungabanya ingabo z'igihugu byari kuba igikorwa cyo kwiyahura mu rwego rwa politiki kuri Guverinoma yari imaze kumungwa n'itsinda ry'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND bari baramenyereye kudindiza igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gishobora guhesha ishema minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Nyuma y'impaka, intumwa za FDC zagiye kuri CND guhuza ibyifuzo n'Inkotanyi hakurikijwe ingengabihe zari ziteganyijje kugira ngo hashyirweho inzego z'inzibacyuho [ibyo byari niteganijwe mu minsi itanu ikurikiyeho] [35]."

Iryo jarajara mu ibangikana ry'inzego za politiki ryongereye umuregο nyuma y'irahira rya perezida n'inzitizi zo gushyiraho Inteko na Guverinoma by' "inzibacyuho", kubera ibyifuzo bishya byatanzwe na Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Urujya n'uruza rw'amabaruwa, amwe muri yo atyaye by'umwihariko, hiyongereyeho guterana amagambo kuri radiyo y'igihugu, byashimangiye icyemezo cye cyo kwanga gukoresha ku buryo busanzwe inama ya Guverinoma mu gihe cyose yari itararahira[36]. Yakoreshaga buri gihe inama z'abantu bake hamwe n'abahagarariye amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, iyo byababaga ari ngombwa inama zatumirwagamo abaminisitri barebwa n'ibibazo by'umutekano. Uwo bavuganaga ku buryo busanzwe kubyerekeye ibibazo byagombaga kwigirwa hamwe na MRND yari André Ntagerura, warushaga abandi uburambe muri Guverinoma.

> "Hagati yUkuboza 1993 na Mata 1994, yavuganaga ubwe n'abaminisitiri bamwe hamwe n'abakuru b'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, kugira ngo akoreshe inama zitwaga "inama

[35] Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri Guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, p. 1U.

[36] Reba umugereka wa 41. Ayo magambo yongereweho ibintu byinshi bikomeye mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata.

> zo mu muhezo", zari zigamije guheza MRND, mu gihe inama zisanzwe zagarukiraga ku bafite imyanya irebana n'umutekano. Amaze kugirana amasezerano n'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, minisitiri w'intebe yajyaga guhura n'itsinda ry'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND, André Ntagerura yari abereye umuvugizi, yungirijwe na Casimir Bizimungu[37]."

Ku rundi ruhande, hari umugambi wo "kwivumbagatanya" ugamije guhirika minisitiri w'intebe wari ushyigikiwe n'abantu badashaka ihinduka ry'ibintu bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida kandi abari bawushyigikiye ntibabihishaga. Ndetse uwo mugambi abantu "baharanira ubwisanzure" bo muri MRND ntibawunengaga ku mugaragaro.

Hariho indorerwamo ebyiri zibusana zo kureberamo ibintu. Indorerwamo ya mbere yerekanaga ko perezida Habyarimana yari yaratakaje cyane ubugenzuzi bw'ibintu, ko ukwiyoroshya kwe cg kudafata ibyemezo kwe byamuteranyaga n'abari mu murongo w'intagondwa bo ku ruhande rwe, ko abo bantu bateguraga ku mugaragaro umugambi wo kumwigizayo no gukora kudeta. Ku barebera muri iyo ndorerwamo, Akazu kari kamaze gucengerwa n'amacakubiri kandi umuryango w'umugore we [perezida] waba wari ufite ishyushyu ryo gushyira mu bikorwa uwo mugambi w'ubwiyahuzi. Twibuke ko iyo ndorerwamo yasaga n'ihuriweho n'abari bahagarariye ambasade z'amahanga, babonaga perezida "atagifite ububasha" kandi atakimenya aho ibintu bigeze.

Indorerwamo ya kabiri yo, ku buryo bunyuranye, igaragaza ko kwicecekera ku bwende bwa perezida mu byukuri byajyanaga na kamere ye kandi ibyo bikemezwa na benshi mu byegera bye. Muri ubwo buryo, Juvénal Habyarimana yari yarasubiranye igice kinini cy'ubwamamare bwe mu baturage yari asanzwe ashimangira mu ngendo nyinshi no mu mvugo, kandi yari yarigaruriye ubugenzuzi busesuye bwa MRND akoresheje gushyamiranya perezida wayo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, n'umunyabambanga ku rwego rw'igihugu, Joseph Nzirorera. Ni we wari wubashywe bigaragara n'urubyiruko rw'Interahamwe rwari intwaro yo kuyoboka ishyaka rye. Mu ngabo, abasirikari bakuru bari baramwitangiye bari batangiye gusubirana ubuyobozi busesuye bw'imitwe y'ingabo nyuma y'ihunga rya minisitiri James Gasana[38]. Nanone, ubwiyongere bw'amashyaka n'amatsinda ya politiki afite ibyerekezo bisa n'ibikaze, ndetse bivuguruzanya yose yiyita ayo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bworoshyaga isaranganya ry'imirimo mu rubuga rwa politiki y'imbere mu gihugu, bityo bigatuma perezida ashyirwa mu mwanya wo hagati. Uyunguyu yasimburanyaga inkunga ye ku mpande zose maze akigumira mu mwanya w'umuhuza n'uhagagarariye ubusugire mu rwego rwa politiki iyo imigendere y'ibintu cg ihangana ry'ingufu byabisabaga. N'ubwo abanyacyubahiro benshi bamwegereye batatinyaga kujya impaka cg kwivumbura ku cyemezo iki n'iki cg icyerekezo cya perezida, nta n'umwe wari guhirahira ngo aharanire ihinduka ry'ubutegetsi ryari

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[37] Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri Guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Gashyantare 2005, p. 8.

[38] Intugunda za poliki ntizatumaga koko byoroha gusubiza mu ngabo abawofisye bashyizwe mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru cg hakorwa ivugurura ry'abasirikari bakuru bafatwaga nk'abegereye uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi, ariko mu maperefegitura yose y'igihugu Akazu ka perezida kari gafitemo abantu bakomeye, bakomokaga mu majyaruguru, bari abafasha bizewe : umuyobozi w'ingabo mu ifasi cg umuyobozi wungirije, umusirikari mukuru ushinzwe iperereza no gutumanaho (ni we wakiraga amabwiriza, akayayatunganya maze agahitamo kuyohrerereza uyu n'uyu) cg ushinzwe gucunga ibigemurwa n'ububiko bw'intwaro n'ibikoresho…

kwegezayo Juvénal Habyarimana[39].

Muri icyo cyerekezo, kuri MRND n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwose, umugambi wo kudindiza ibyo gushyiraho inzego warimo inyungu nyinshi. Watumaga mbere na mbere hafatwa igihe mu kureka buri ruhande rukisuganya kugira ngo rwiyegereze abarwanashyaka benshi bishoboka kimwe n'abaturage mu nyungu zarwo ; nanone kandi washoboraga gutuma Inkotanyi zirambirwa zikubura imirwano nkuko zari zaragiye zibigenza kuva muri 1991, bityo zikaba ziyambitse ubusa mu maso y'amahanga n'abaturage.

> "Jyewe ubwanjye, nyuma ya "misa yo gusabira" bwana Bucyana Martin nari nagiyemo [...] ; niyumviye imbere ya kiliziya i Gikondo ikiganiro cy'umukuru wa etamajoro y'ingabo z'U Rwanda, jenerali majoro Déogratias Nsabimana, na we ubwe wari waje muri iyo misa. Uyunguyu yabwiraga itsinda ry'abayobozi ba CDR, barimo Barayagwiza Jean-Bosco na Nahimana Théoneste ko akurikije amakuru yari afite, "Inkotanyi ziteguraga gusubira mu ntambara bidatinze". Nanone, yongeyeho ko yari kugwamo abantu benshi, ariko "Inkotanyi ntizizafata igihugu". Ayo magambo y'umukuru wa etamajoro yasobanuraga icyo ingabo zatekerezaga icyo gihe. Ubwicanyi, gutega ibisasu no kubura imirwano hagati y'Inkotanyi n'ingabo z'igihugu byarateganywaga bikabije, kandi buri ruhande rwihatiraga gukora uko rushoboye kugira ngo rudatungurwa kandi rubashe gutsinda urundi burundu[40]."

Kuba imirwano yari kubura ntibyari biteye ubwoba. Koko rero, abo muri MRND n'abifatanyije na yo bashoboraga kwishingikiriza amasezerano y'amahoro bakirwanaho ku buryo bwose bwemewe bumvisha abaturage n'amahanga ko bari kwitabara. Ariko ikindi gikomeye kurushaho, nk'uko ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri wo muri MRND bubigaragaza, uwo mwanya wari kubaha ububasha bwo kotsa igitutu ku buryo bukomeye bigatuma "hasubirwamo amasezerano y'amahoro" yafatwaga nk'akabije kurengera Inkoyanyi. Uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rwari gutangira inzira yo gusubukura imishyikirano rufite ingufu kubera ko, ukurikije MRND n'abari bifatanyije na yo ukongeraho ubwinshi bw'abaturage n'Interahamwe bari kubashyigikira, Inkotanyi icyo gihe zari kwiboneraho ku rugamba kubera ko zitari kuba zigishobora gucungira ku ngabo

[39] N'ubwo mbere y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) uruhande rushyigikiye perezida rutashoboraga gutekereza ibyo kwicamo ibice imbere y'abakeba barwo, igitekerezo nk'icyo nticyashoboraga ibyo ari byo byose kwirengagizwa mu bihe byari imbere. Ubumenyi buke bwo gukora gahunda bwari buhuriweho n'imitwe yose ya politiki no kutagira icyo uhisha mu ruhando rwa politiki byari byiganje kuva hajyaho amashyaka menshi, byatumaga habaho ubufatanye bw'amoko menshi. Bityo, abantu bake bari barayobotse Inkotanyi, i Kigali bitaga "Inkotanyi *Pawa*" (Abahutu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi), nibo uruhande rw'Akazu ka perezida rwatinyaga cyane kurusha uko zatinyaga Inkotanyi z' "Abatutsi". Koko rero, hagati ya 1992 na 1994, imishyikirano inyuranye yari yatanze imyanya myinshi yo guhura hagati y'abanyacyubahiro bo mu Nkotanyi (Pasteur Bizimungu abarimo), abanyacyubahiro bo muri MRND n'abasirikari bakuru bo mu Ruhengeri. Ariko se abo banyacyubahiro b'Abahutu bo mu Nkotanyi bigeze batuma kuri iyo mpamvu habaho ubwiyunge n'abasirikari bakuru n'abanyacyubahiro bo mu Ruhengeri (Léonidas Rusatura, Jacques Maniraguha...), ndetse n'abantu b' "intagondwa" nka Théoneste Bagosora, utaratinyaga kumenyesha ku giti cye intumwa zari Arusha ibyo atemeranyagaho na Juvénal Habyarimana n'urwego rwe nk' "umurakare" ? Ibyo ari byo byose, igitekerezo cyo kongera kunga ubumwe bukomeye mu rwego rwa politiki mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho ashingiye ku basirikari n'inzego z'ubucuruzi z'Abahutu bo mu majyaruguru – habamo cg hatabamo Habyarimana – cyarateganywaga ku buryo bukomeye. Ubufatanye nk'ubwo n'uruhande rwiswe "Inkotanyi *Pawa*" na rwo rwavugwagaho mu bagize MDR "Twagiramungu", icyo gihe bari barishyize hamwe n'Inkotanyi. Ariko ikiguzi cy'intambara nticyatumaga, nibura icyo gihe, habaho ubwisanzure na bumwe. Ku ruhande rumwe, Juvénal Habyarimana yari agifite imbaraga kandi yakomezaga gutuma habaho ubufatanye bw'uruhande rwari ku butegetsi, ku rundi, abanyacyubahiro b'Abahutu biyegerejwe bari barahuje inzira z'ubuzima bwabo n'iz' ubw'Inkotanyi.

[40] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe*, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 6 Gashyantare - 8 Gicurasi 2006, p. 133.

zazo zari zihishe mu baturage ("urukuta rwa gatanu") zari kuba zajujubijwe n'imbaraga z'abaturage[41]."

Ibi rwose uko bivuzwe ni ko byari biri, kuko kuri ayo matariki neza neza, ya 30 na 31 Werurwe 1994, minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu hamwe na perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali byakoze amanama menshi yo kwitegura agamije gutunganya ukwirwanaho kw'abaturage. Iyo myiteguro yahuzaga abasirikari basezerewe n'abitwara gisirikari batojwe, bahuguraga abaturage bari bashyizwe hamwe mu rwego rw'amasegiteri n'amaserire y'amakomini atatu ya perefagitura y'umujyi wa Kigali (PVK) n'ay'amakomini byegeranye (*reba umugereka wa 40*).

Ariko, icyagaragaye cyane ni uko ubwo bushake bwo gutunganya ibyo kwirinda bwahuriranye n'amanama y'urudaca yo kungurana ibitekerezo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi rw'imbere mu gihugu no hagati yarwo n'Inkotanyi kugira ngo rurinde umutekano w'abarwanashyaka n'abanyacyubahiro barwo. Zatangijwe mu ntangiriro ya Werurwe, akomeza kugeza ku itariki ya 6 Mata ariko yose adafite uburemere bumwe. Imwe muri zo, ari nayo yonyine yatangajwe, yatije umurindi ihuriro ARD [abashyigikiye perezida] na CDR bahurizaga mu gushakisha uburyo bwose Guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi yari iyobowe na Agathe Uwilingiyimana yavaho. Babonye urwaho ku itariki ya 2 Mata 1994 ubwo uyunguyu [Agathe] yaregwaga kugerageza gukora kudeta yo kwigumisha ku mwanya we yifashishije abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo yari yaraye ahurije iwe.

Igitekerezo cyo gukora iyo nama cyaturutse kuri kapiteni Bernard Ndayisaba wari umusirikari mukuru wo mu rwego rushinzwe umutekano muri etamajoro na Jean-Berchmans Habinshuti wari umunyamabanga wihariye w'Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Iyo nama yari igamije guhuza abasirikari "bakomeye" bigaragara cg bashobora gukomera, bo muri perefegitura ya Butare kugira ngo bamenyane ubwabo, baganire ku bibazo byo muri perefegitura yabo, bige ku ivugurura ryateganywaga ry'ingabo, basobanure neza ibyerekeye gahunda yo gusezerera abantu mu ngabo. Bari gubasobanurirwa cyane cyane ko bo ubwabo batari kugerwaho n'ibyo byemezo byarebaga ahanini abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyaruguru. Ikibazo cy'ibyemezo birebana n'umutekano byagombaga gufatwa mu kwitegura ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) na cyo cyavuzweho.

Iyo nama yabimburiye izindi nyinshi yari igamije guhuza abasirikari banyuranye babogamiye ku mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi. Abasirikari bakuru n'abasirikari bacirirtse bagera kuri makumyabiri bari babimenyeshejwe na kapiteni wo muri Jandarumori Jean-Baptiste Iradukunda[43]. Agathe Uwilingiyimana yagombaga ubwe gutumira Abanyabutare babiri barusha abandi amapeti, koloneli Alphonse Nteziryayo na jenerali majoro Augustin Ndindiliyimana. Amaherezo, kubera gukekwaho icyizere gike cg gushobora kubirwanya, nta n'umwe muri bo bombi watumiwe. Ni na ko byagendekeye koloneli François Munyengango, wafatwaga nk'utagira aho ahuriye n'amashyaka na busa. Abasirikari bakuru n'abacirirste cumi na barindwi bo mu majyepfo

[41] Ubuhamya bw'umuminisitiri muri Guverinoma zinyuranye, umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, 24 Nyakanga 2005, p. 9.

baba ari bo bashoboye kwitabira iyo nama (*reba umugereka wa 41*).

Inama ikimara kurangira nijoro, umwe mu basirikari bakuru, Édouard Gasarabwe, yakoreye raporo umukuru we, liyetona koloneli Juvénal Bahufite wari ushinzwe ibikorwa bya gisirikari i Byumba ari na we wari wamuhaye uruhushya rwo kuyijyamo. Na we ubwe yahise abimenyesha Déogratias Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro, nyuma amakuru agera kuri RTLM, yatangije mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru kwamamaza ibyo guhitana minisitiri w'intebe azira kuba yararwanyije yivuye inyuma ko umudepite wa CDR ahabwa umwanya mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho (ANT). Undi wari mu nama, liyetona Pascal Baziruwiha, yahereye ko ahamagazwa ku munsi ukurikiyeho bisabwe na Augustin Ndindiliyimana, wari warakajwe cyane no kumenyeshwa n'umusirikari mukuru we G2 inama yakoreshejwe na Agathe Uwilingiyimana, umuturanyi we, bakomoka muri komini imwe ya Nyaruhengeri muri perefegitura ya Butare. Yahereye ko amuhamagara kugira ngo abimubwire. Nyuma, muri ibyo bihe by'amashiraniro, kubera gutinya kuregwa gushyigikira "iyo kudeta" no kugiririrwa nabi, imiryango ya Augustin Ndindiliyimana (icyo gihe wari muri konji iwabo muri Nyaruhengeri) n'uwa Édouard Karemera, wari ucumbitse iwe, yaba yarashatse guhungira kwa koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, umuyobozi w'akarere ka gisirikari ka Butare-Gikongoro. Ariko kubera ko uyunguyu yari yamaze kwakira umuryango w'uwahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND, Bonaventure Habimana, iyo miryango yasabye kwakirwa n'umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Jandarumori, majoro Cyriaque Habyarabatuma. Kubera kutagira ububasha bwo kwakira imiryango ibiri mu rugo rwe, yabahaye ababarinda babageza mu rugo kwa Augustin Ndindiliyimana banacunga umutekano wabo.

Ubugambanyi mu rwego rwa politiki bwari bwatangiye kandi n'itangazamakuru rigendera ku murongo ukaze ryo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida ryakajije umurego. Aha turagarukira gusa ku nkuru ica igikuba yo muri icyo gihe nyirizina yaje gutangazwa na perezida wa MRND nyuma y'amezi menshi ibyo bibaye :

> "Icyumweru kimwe mbere y'iyicwa rya perezida, itangazamakuru ryo mu Rwanda ryateye bombe : "minisitiri Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari yahurije hamwe abasirikari bakuru bo mu kerere k'iwabo kandi yari yabasabye gukorera kudeta perezida Habyarimana". Abo basirikari bakuru bari batoranyijwe hakurikijwe akarere bavukamo n'ibyerekezo byabo bya politiki. Hakozwe igenzura muri etamajoro, ibintu bigaragara ko ari byo. Abasirikari bakuru bamwe ntavuga amazina, mbere yo kujya muri iyo nama mu rugo kwa minisitiri w'intebe, inama ahari batari bazi icyo yari igamije mbere, babanje kubimenyesha jenerali Nsabimana, umukuru wa etamajoro, kubera ko batashakaga kujya mu nama yateguwe n'umuyobozi wo mu rwego rwa politiki etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu itabizi. jenerali Déogratias Nsabimana yabemereye kujyayo kubera ko, kuri we, nta washoboraga kwanga kujya mu nama atazi icyo igamije. Bavuye mu nama, abo basirikari bakuru bakoreye raporo umukuru wabo. Abasirikari bakuru bamaganye igitekerezo cya kudeta, bumvisha minisitiri w'intebe ibihe bitabemereraga gukoresha imbaraga, mu gihe havugwaga amashyaka menshi n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Namaze kwibutsa ko, n'iyo bari kuba bifuza ko ibintu bihinduka, abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo ntibashakaga kwishyira mu maboko y'Inkotanyi kubera ko bari bakomeye ku ishema ryawe no ku muco wo gukunda igihugu. Icyifuzo nk'icyo cyarabatunguye kandi nta wushobora gukora kudeta arwanisha umutwe. Hagomba gukorwa umugambi no kumenya neza ko igice kinini cy' ingabo cyemera

> impamvu yayo, kandi ibyo nta wari kubyizera na busa. Kubera ko ibintu byihuse, nta perereza rirambuye ryakozwe[42]."

Iyo nkuru yuzuye ibinyoma : ubuhamya bwose bw'bari bahari burabyemeza, nta na rimwe higeze habaho ikibazo cy'umugambi w'imyivumbagatanyo[43]. Mu by'ukuri, n'uwiga guhirika ubutegetsi yari kuba yigwijeho abafasha babizobereyemo kurusha umukumbi we w'abasuzofisiye cg abasirikari bakuru b'abasore badafite ubuzobere mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa politiki kugira ngo agere ku mushinaga nk'uwo. Tuributsa nanone, kugira ngo dusobanure ubumenyi buke bwa minisitiri w'intebe mu byo gukora kudeta, ko umusirikari mukuru umwe rukumbi wari watumiwe, kandi utari ufite aho abogamiye muri politiki, yagize ubwitonzi bwo kwirengera amenyesha urwego rumukuriye, kubera kudahubuka nk'uwanditse iriya mirongo yo hejuru, rwaretse inama ikaba maze ku munsi ukurikiyeho bugaha amakuru RTLM n'itangazamakuru rya biracitse kugira ngo batere "bombe" ititazwa yo mu itangazamakuru. Igice cy'iyo nkuru cyatanzwe na perezida wa MRND, cyari cyaravuzwe mu bindi bihe[44], gishimangira igitekerezo ko, nk'uko bisa n'ibigaragazwa n'amagambo anyuranye y'abayobozi n'abaminisitiri bo muri MRND cg aya Jean Kambanda, ibyo byari amatiku yo ku nshuro ya kenshi yo guhungabanya minisitiri w'intebe yategurwaga n'abamurwanyaga bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida.

Kuri iyi ngingo, Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari atandukanye cyane n'abandi bayobozi ba MDR n'ab'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi; yakoresheje iyo nama nta cyo ahisha na busa ku buryo, utitaye ku byavugwaga hose, atari yarigeze yemera ibyifuzo byo gushyigikira Inkotanyi bya Faustin Twagiramungu. Mu batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje, yari ku buryo budahishe mu "bantu bakunda ubwigenge", kimwe na Emmanuel Gapyisi na Félicien Gatabazi, ni ukuvuga abataremeraga ko Inkotanyi zigarurira ubutegetsi. Ntiyatinyaga, mu biganiro byabo, kubibwira imbonankubone Juvénal Habyarimana : "Sindi Faustin Twagiramungu", "Sindi Inkotanyi", "Mfata ibyemezo nka minisitiri w'intebe[45]",nb.. Nanone, imyitwarire rusange ya Agathe Uwilingiyimana, wafatwaga nk'urwanya perezida wabyiyemeje, yari ishingiye ku biganiro by'imbonankubone akenshi kandi bityaye bagiranaga, bitagiraga aho bihuriye n'amagambo ya « diporomasi » indorerezi zari zimenyereye. Ariko ibyo ntibyabuzaga kujya inama no kugira impungenge zimwe ku bibazo bikomeye.

Hakurikijwe umwuka wa politiki w'icyo gihe, nta wabura nyamara kwibutsa ko kubona minisitiri w'intebe akoresha inama nk'iriya muri biriya bihe ari

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[42] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie Rwandaise [Amarorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op . cit.*p. 156

[43] Reba umugereka wa 41. Biratangaje cyane kuba Misiyo ishinzwe amakuru y'inteko y'Abafaransa yaremeje icyo gitekerezo ikanashyira mu nyandiko yayo ibintu birimo amakosa : "Muri uwo mubonano, minisitiri w'intebe, amaze kubona uko gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'Arusha byadindizwaga kandi ashingiiye ku iterabwoba ryibasiraga abanyacyubahiro batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje, yaba yarahamagariye abasirikari guhirika Juvénal Habyarimana. Abasirikari bakuru baba baramuteye utwatsi, bamwe bakanajya ndetse kubimenyesha perezida. Radio RTLM yatangaje ibyo bintu uko byakabaye." (Assemblée Nationale Française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* t. I, p. 229-230).

[44] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, aherekejwe na Justin Mugenzi mu rugendo i Nairobi ku itariki ya 27 Mata bahagarariye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, yaravuze – nk'uko Filip Reyntjens abitindaho – ngo "minisitiri w'intebe yari yatumije inama [ku itariki ya 4 mu rugo iwe] abasirikari bakuru bake bakuru maze ababwira icyifuzo cye cyo gukorera perezida kudeta" (Filip Reyntjens, *Rwanda : Trois jours qui ont fait basculer l'histoire [Iminsi itatu yahinduye amateka],* CEDAF/L'Harmattan, Paris, 1995, p. 33, icyitonderwa 46).

[45] Ikiganiro kuri terefone n'umunyacyubahiro ukomeye wo muri MRND, 18 Gicurasi 2009.

ikimenyetso cy'ubushishozi buke muri politiki. Kwakira ku mugaragaro mu rugo iwe abasirikari kubera ko bava hamwe byari ugutatira ihame ribuza abasirikari kwivanga mu bya politiki no kugira aho babogamiye[46]. Nubwo nta wahamya ko gushaka kwishongora kuri uwo mugoroba ari byo byatumye Agathe Uwilingiyimana akora ririya kosa, biragaragara ko yari agiye gukururira ishyano abatumirwa be ; gusa rero etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu yasanze kwifashisha itanganzamakuru bihagije mu kurengera inyungu zayo, ntibyaba ngombwa ko kwishyira ku karubanda ifatira ibihano abasuzofisiye n'abasirikari bakuru b'abasore kandi batamenyereye akazi bari bigerejeho bakitwara nk'abihanduzacumu b'abarakare.

Ibyo ari byo byose ingaruka z'iyo nama ntizari zoroshye kandi kuri iyo ngingo, umwanzuro wa Mathieu Ngirumpatse usobanura neza umwuka wa politiki ushyushye bikabije kandi urangwa n'urwikekwe rusange w' icyo gihe :

> "birashoboka kandi ko icyifuzo cya kudeta cyaba cyarateye abanzi ba perezida ubwoba maze bakihutisha umugambi wo kumuhitana, batinya ingaruka mbi zo kuba batahurwa muri ubwo bugambanyi bwari buyobowe na Minsitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana[47]."

Nkuko ubuhamya bwinshi bubyemeza, abantu benshi b' "intagondwa" z'ubutegetsi bari mu bakomeje cg abashatse kwemeza ukuri kw'iryo terabwoba ry' "abanyenduga", cyane cyane kubera ko byahuye n'inama z'abakuru b'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu hamwe n'Inkotanyi. Kuri bo, ubugambanyi bw'abasirikari bo mu majyepfo ntibwashoboraga gutegurwa kandi ngo bugire icyo bugeraho butifatanyije n'Inkotanyi.

Ariko ubugambanyi ntibwagarukiye aho. Muri ako kavuyo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, perezida wa MRND na Augustin Ndindiliyimana, umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori, na bo baketsweho kwifatanya na Agathe Uwilingiyimana (ari na yo mpamvu babibeshyuje bivuye inyuma). Ubwumvikane bwababakekwagaho hamwe n'Abatutsi n' "ibyitso" bizwi bwongeye gushyirwa imbere. Uwa mbere kubera ko yari ashyigikiye ku buryo butajegajega Robert Kajuga – perezida wa Komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'Interahamwe, waregwaga kuba umukozi w'Inkotanyi n'abakiga bo muri "komite ibangikanye" bari bashyizweho na Nzirorera – na Kassim Turatsinze (maneko wa Minuar, "umugambanyi", *reba imbere cyane* [*umutwe wa 6*]), uwa kabiri kubera ubucuti bakekaga ko afitanye na Agathe Uwilingiyimana n'abayobozi bakuru "MDR", kubera abasirikari b'Abatutsi bamurindaga, kubera gufatanya na Minuar ibikorwa byo gushaka ahahishe intwaro z'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe, n'ibindi.

Uretse ko biswe ubwabo nk'abashoboraga kugira inyungu muri kudeta yateguwe n'uruhande rurwanya ubutegtsi hamwe n'abawofiyiye b'abanyanduga (bo mu majyepfo) – bari kwihanganira ko umwe aba umukuru w'igihugu, undi akaba umukuru w'ingabo –, ariko Mathieu Ngirumpatse nanone yarezwe kuba ku isonga ryayo ashyira muri icyo gikorwa Komite yo ku rwego rw'igihugu

[46] Twibutse ariko ko iryo hame ahangaha ryarebaga gusa abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo. Ntibyari kuboneka neza gutangazwa n'uko abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa politiki n' urwa gisirikari bakomoka mu majyaruguru (*Abakiga*) baterana kugira ngo bajye impaka kuri politiki cg nanone, gutekereza kuvuga icyo gihe ubugambanyi cg ukwitandukanya...

[47] Mathieu Ngirumpatse, *La Tragédie rwandaise [Amarorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* p. 156.

y'urubyiruko rw'interahamwe (*reba umugereka wa 42*).

Kubera ko igihe cyo gushyiraho inzego cyari cyegereje, gutaranga abageragezaga kwivumbura byahaga Joseph Nzirorera urwaho atizeraga rwo kwikiza abanyanduga, abantu bashyigikiye Inkotanyi n'abashyigikiye Arusha bo muri MRND n'abifatanyije na bo mu ngabo. Ibirego binyuranye byagejejwe kuri perezida Habyarimana, wasabye ibisobanuro akanatumiza Robert Kajuga ngo azamwitabe ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo ubwo yari kuba yaraye avuye i Dar es- Salaam ; ibi ntibyari bisanzwe ku muntu w' "ingegera" [nka Kajuga] (kandi w'Umututsi).

Ayo macenga ya Joseph Nzirorera yashoboraga kugaragara ku mpamvu nyinshi nk'inzira ya nyuma yo kugaragaza ingufu ze ku cyemezo cya Juvénal Habyarimana cyo kujya cg kutajya mu "nzibacyuho". Yari azi neza ko Juvénal Habyarimana yari yaragize Matihieu Ngirumpatse perezida w'ishyaka mu mugambi wo kugaragaza ko MRND ari ishyaka rifite imizi yaguye mu gihugu hose bityo ibyo bikamuha amahirwe yo kuvana intsinzi mu matora, ibyo bikaba bitarashobokaga ku muntu nka Joseph Nzirorera w'umukiga wasabitswe na politiki y'ivangura. Ariko Joseph Nzirorera, kimwe na Juvénal Habyarimana, yari azi nanone ko nta na rimwe abanyacyubahiro b'abakiga bari ku butegetsi, ari na bo mizi ya politiki nyirizina yabwo, batari kwemera ko ubutegetsi busaranganywa ku buryo bubaca mu myanya y'intoki.

Kuba abasirikari bakuru ndetse na RTLM barahagurukiye kwambika ibara Agathe Uwilingiyimana, abasirikari bakuru b'abanyanduga, Mathieu Ngirumpatse n'umukuru wa etamajoro ya Jandarumori ndetse bagasaba perezida gutanga igihano cy'intangarugero byerekana neza ubushake bwo gusaba perezida guhitamo hagati ya Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera no kurenga irari rye bwite akaziguruka imikino y'iringaniza ndetse mbere yo gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro akabanza akereka neza Inkotanyi aho aghagaze kuko zi zitemeraga imishyikirano. Juvénal Habyarimana amaze gutanga uburenganzira ko gufatira ibihano abasirikari bari kwa Agathe Uwilingiyimana no gutumiza Robert Kajuga, Joseph Nzirorera yashoboraga kumva atsinze ibitego.

Ni yo mpamvu, impungenge za Mathieu Ngirumpatse ku isano hagati y'ibyariho n'iyicwa rya Habyarimana zari ifite ishingiro, kubera ko amakimbirane yeruye ku isonga ry'ishyaka yari gutiza umurindi bomboribombori yari mu gihugu imbere akaba n' intandaro y'imvururu n'imyiryane bitagira rutangira byari gukurikira amasezerano y'Arusha dore ko kuba iryo shyaka ryashinzwe n' «umubyeyi w'igihugu » ukongeraho n'urwibutso ndangamateka ryari rifite byarihaga kuba inkingi rukumbi y'ubusugire bw'igihugu.

Igihe Habyarimana yajyaga i Dar es-Salaam gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro, inzira yari afite zo gukiranura abaragwangoma be zose zari zisangiye inenge yo gutiza umurindi ubushyamirane bushingiye kw'irondakarere no guca ishyaka intege mu rwego rw'igihugu ku buryo butari bwarigeze bubaho. Inzira ya mbere yari iyo guha abaregwa ibyo gushaka kumuhirika umwanya bakiregura kandi agashyigikira umugambi wa Mathieu Ngirumpatse yemera gusinya no gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'Arusha. Ukurikije ibyateganywaga n'amasezerano y'Arusha, gahunda yo gufatanya n'abandi (cyane cyane Faustin

Twagiramungu) Mathieu Ngirumpatse yimirizaga imbere yaguraga amarembo atuma abantu benshi bo mu mashyaka y'imbere mu gihugu bari mu nzego zinyuranye bazitabira guhuriza ingufu hamwe haba mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho cg muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Ibyo bivuga ko amajwi y'abadepite b'Inkotanyi n'ibyifuzo by'abaminisitiri bazo byari kugira imbaraga nke mu gufata byemezo. Inzira ya kabiri yari iyo guhigika Mathieu Ngirumpatse hanyuma, amasezerano y'Arusha yasinywa cg yaburiramo, kwitegura guhangana ku buryo buhamye kandi burambye n'Inkotanyi n'abazishyigikiye mu nzegi z'inzibacyuho akaba ari byo bihabwa intebe.

Nanone ariko, nk'uko byari byitezwe, iyo Juvénal Habyarimana ahitamo kutagira uwo yiteranya na we muri ibyo byegera bye byombi kandi akirinda ko amashiraniro yo kwinjira mu nzibacyuho abiba amacakubiri muri MRND, yari gusaba Mathieu Ngirumpatse kuba yihanganye agacisha make kugirango adakanga rutenderi ashotora uruhande rw' "«intagondwa" rwagombaga kumvishwa ko gusinya amasezerano y'amahoro bitavuga kwemerera Inkotanyi ibyo zifuza byose. Muri ibyo bihe by'injyanamuntu, byongeye nanone kugaragara ko Juvénal Habyarimana ari we wenyine wari ufite ingufu za politiki zo kurenga ayo makimbirane agaha uruhande rushyigikiye perezida amahirwe yo kwambuka inzibacyuho.

Nk'uko tuzabibona, ihangana hagati ya Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Joseph Nzirorera ryaje kwadukira ku buryo buziguye Komite y'Interahamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu n'abagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo, ryagize ingaruka zihebuje ku byemezo byafashwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata mu gitondo mu nama yahuje abayobozi ba MRND naThéoneste Bagossora (reba umutwe wa 7). MRND yasanze ibangamiwe n'abantu babiri "bakekwagaho gushaka guhirika ubutegetsi" (Mathieu Ngirumpatse wari perezida wa MRND n'Agathe Uwilingiyimana wari minisitiri w'intebe wa Guverinoma y'amashyaka menshi yari ishinzwe gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho) dore ko bashyizwe mu gatebo kamwe nkana ndetse bombi bagahuza kugira ububasha busesuye bwemewe n'amategeko [umwe nka perizida w'ishyaka rya perezida undi nka minisitiri w'intebe], ibyo bikaba byari bigiye gutuma bafatanya ku buryo batabigambiriye kugira ngo barangize inshingano zabo.

Muri ibyo bihe by'amanzaganya, Abanyarwanda benshi cyane, ari abaturage kimwe n'abanyapolitiki, bahise bumva ko, babishaka batabishaka, gusimbura Juvénal Habyarimana mu mahoro bitari bigishobotse. Bamwe kubera gutinya ko Inkotanyi zashoboraga gufata ubutegetsi bahisemo kwitabira gahunda yo "kurengera igihugu" y'abo ku ruhande rwa perezida ; abandi biroshye mu maboko y'Inkotanyi kubera gutinya ko ubutegetsi bwigarurirwa n'agatsiko k'intagondwa z'Abahutu.

Ingamba z' "impirimbanyi za demokarasi" zo kwirwanaho mu mahina

Igerageza rya nyuma ryo kwirinda no kwirwanaho mu mahina by'abari ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu ryari ryaratekerejweho mu

byumweru byabanzirije ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho, nk'uko umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND abitangaho ubuhamya :

> "Nta bwo nzi inama yihariye yagenewe ishyirwaho ry'umutwe wo kwihimura mu rwego rwa gisirikare. Ibyo ari byo byose, mu ntangiriro y'ukwezi kwa gatatu 1994, nagiye mu nama y'amashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi yo kumvikana ku cyatuma hashyirwaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Muri iyo nama, havugiwemo ko, niba Guverinoma idashyizweho vuba, hari ubwoba ko imitwe yitwara gisirikari yajya mu bikorwa byo kwica abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi kandi ko, yitwaje akavuyo, perezida yatangaza ibihe bikomeye agasesa ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha, avuga ko abaturage banze ayo masezerano. Dogiteri Théoneste Gafaranga [Umuhutu w'i Gitarama, PSD], yasabye ko uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi rushyiraho umutwe witwara gisirikari wo kwirwanaho kugira ngo urinde abayobozi bawo. Yasabye ko hashakwa urubyiruko rwizewe, rukoherezwa ku Mulindi, aho rwahabwa imyitozo ya ngombwa n'inzobere z'Inkotanyi. Yatanze icyizere ko Inkotanyi zemeraga ubwo buryo. Ariko nta cyemezo cyafashwe muri iyo nama[48]."

Ariko, mbere y'ihererekanya-bubasha mu nzego z'ubutegetsi n'ubushyamirane bwari bwitezwe Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye ikimara kujyaho, abayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi bumvaga rwose ikibazo cyo kwirinda cyihutirwa. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gatatu, ahagana ku itariki ya 28, inama yo kubitegura yabereye kuri Hôtel des Mille Collines harimo Faustin Twagiramungu wo muri MDR n'abayobozi banyuranye b'andi mashyaka, barimo Aaron Makuba wo muri PSD, Landoald Ndasingwa wo muri PL, Frédéric Nzamurambaho wo muri PSD, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi wo muri PSD, Jean-Népomuscène wo muri PDC...kugira ngo batekereze ku buryo bwo gucunga umutekano w'abarwanashyaka n'abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

Icyo gihe ni bwo bagiwe impaka ku itegura ry'inama z'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa politiki hamwe n'abasirikari bakomoka mu maperfegitura yabo begereye amashyaka yabo. Bene izo nama zabimburiwe n'iyo Agathe yakoresheje ku itariki ya 1 Mata ahuza abasirikari bakuru bo mu majyepfo mu rugo iwe. Imwe mu ngingo z'ingenzi z'impaka zaganiriweho mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe, minisitiri w'intebe ashobora kuba ataramenyeshejwe, yari yerekeye ishyirwaho ry'umutwe wo "kwirwanaho hakoreshejwe intwaro". Ntiyari azi nanone ahari ko mu batumirwa be harimo umucuruzi wagemuriraga Inkotanyi intwaro i Kigali. Hari hamaze kugemurwa imbunda 800 zivuye muri Kenya, kandi Inkotanyi zagombaga kwishingira gutoza abayoboke bo mu rubyiruko rw'amashyaka[49].

Muri rusange, Inkotanyi zashyize imbere kutava ku izima kugira ngo zihatire abayobozi bo ku ruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi guhitamo uruhande babogamiraho.

> "Ambasaderi wa Tanzaniya yakoresheje ku itariki ya 2 Mata 1994 inama yahuzaga intumwa z'Inkotanyi n'abahagarariye MDR kugira ngo bumvikane ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye[52]. Nayigiyemo ubwanjye. Intumwa z'Inkotanyi zarimo Seth Sendashonga, Tito Rutaremara na Abdul Harelimana. Sinibuka niba Patrick Mazimpaka yari ahari. Ibibazo byose bitarangiye (abagize Guverinoma, ihezwa

[48] Ubuhamya bw'umunyacyubahiro wo muri MRND, inyandiko bwite, 21 Werurwe 2004.

[49] Dismas Nsengiyaremye, wahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe, Boniface Ngulinzira, wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga na Faustin Twagiramungu, minisitiri w'intebe watoranyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha bari mu nama bahagarariye MDR.

ry'abanyacyubahiro bo mu byerekezo "Hutu Pawa", ubwiyunge muri MDR no mu mashyaka arwanya ubutegetsi, ubufatanye hagati y'Inkotanyi n'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi) byarakemuwe, uretse kimwe : kwinjiza CDR mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Intumwa z'Inkotanyi zarwanyije zivuye inyuma ukwemerwa k'umudepite wo muri CDR mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho, ibyo byica icyizere cyose cyo kuva mu biihe bikomeye. Nibukije intumwa z'Inkotanyi ko icyemezo cyabo cyaganishaga ku idindiza ry'ibintu kandi ko cyashoboraga kuganisha ku isenyuka ry'igikorwa cy'amahoro, rikurikiwe n'ibikorwa by'abagizi bwa nabi. Seth Sendashonga yasubije ko Inkotanyi nta kintu na kimwe zashoboraga kurekura kandi ko ukubaho kw'imvururu nta cyo kwari kubabwiye na busa. Ibyo ari byo byose, "nta wuteka umureti atamennye amagi kandi, MRND niyibeshya igatangiza imirwano, Inkotanyi ziteguye kwihagararaho no gufata ubutegetsi mu gihe kitageze icyumweru." Namubajije niba yari yaratekereje ku nzirakarengane zashoboraga kubigwamo maze yongeraho ngo : "ntizizaba nyinshi : wenda ibihumbi bitanu cg zibaye nyinshi ibihumbi makumyabiri." inama yarangiye mu gahinda gasa, abayijemo batari Inkotanyi bumva amakuba ashobora kubaho kandi yegereje. Nyuma yaho, navuganye na Thaddée Bagaragaza [Hutu, Ruhengeri, MDR] kugira ngo mumenyshe uko ibintu bimeze kandi nshaka indi nzira byanyuramo. Twafashe icyemezo cyo kuvugisha Musenyeri Thadée Nsengiyumva w'i Kabgayi tukamusaba kotsa igitutu Habyarimana kugira ngo ave kuri CDR maze igihugu kireke gusubira mu ntambara. Uwo mubonano wabereye i Kabgayi ku itariki ya 4 y'ukwezi kwa kane (Mata) 1994; Musenyeri Thadée yemeye gukora ubwo butumwa. Sinigeze menya niba yarashoboye kuburangiza, kubera ko ibintu byahereyeko byihuta kandi bigahitana Musenyeri Thadée[50]."

Habaye indi nama ku itariki ya 6 Mata mu mpera z'igicamunsi kuri ambasade ya Tanzaniya (ambasaderi adahari, kubera ko yari yagiye mu nama i Dar es Salaam) yarimo Patrick Mazimpaka, Seth Sendashonga, Tito Rutaremara, Abdul Harelimana, Aaron Makuba, Faustin Twagiramungu, Landouald Ndasingwa na Boniface Ngulinzira. Yari iyo gufata imyanzuro ku bwifatanye hagati y' "abarwanya ubutegetsi" n'uruhande rushyigikiye perezida n'Inkotanyi[51]. Ibangikana ry'impande ebyiri ryari rirangiye.

Haba ku rwego rw'imibare cg urw'inkurikizi za politiki, ikibazo cyo kwinjiza CDR mu nzego z'inzibacyuho cyari ikintu gikomeye : ku ruhande rumwe, ubwiganze bwashakwaga bw'uruhande rurwanya ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi mu Nteko y'igihugu y'inzibacyuho (ANT) bwari bushingiye ku ijwi rimwe cg abiri kandi, ku rundi, ibyari byarakozwe n'ibitekerezo bikaze by'iryo shyaka byarigiraga ikibazo cy'umwihariko. Ariko, imbere y'abari mu mishyikirano bo mu rwego mpuzamahanga n'abavugizi babo, ambasaderi w'Amerika n'uhagarariye Papa, icyihutirwaga kidakuka icyo gihe cyari ugufata imyanzuro vuba no gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho. Witegereje uburemere bw'ibyashoboraga gushyikira icyo gikorwa, byari nanone kuba byiza ko CDR ihyirwamo ku mugaragaro aho kuyigira inzirakarengane ihejwe mu rubuga rwa politiki. Nyuma y'ibiganiro byatangaga icyizere hagati y'abayobozi ba CDR n'ab'Inkotanyi byari

[50] Ubuhamya bw'umuyobozi wo muri MRND, inyandiko bwite, 21 Werurwe 2004.

[51] Kurya inzira itabwira umugenzi, ku itariki ya 6 Mata ku gicamunsi, mu gihe Faustin Twagiramungu yari mu nama zo kungurana ibitekerezo n'Inkotanyi, Agathe Uwilingiyimana we yari ari kujya impaka n'umuyobozi mukuru wo muri MRND ku buryo bwo kumvisha Faustin Twagiramungu kwitandukanya n'Inkotanyi. Koko rero, Agathe ntiyari agishaka "kugwa mu mutego w'Inkotanyi", "kugamburuzwa n'ibyifuzo byazo", "kwemera idindizwa ry'imishyikirano" (ikiganiro cyihariye umwanditsi yagiranye n'uwaganiriye na nyirubwite, 18 Gicurasi 2009). Iyo ngingo ku bwa njye irakomeye cyane kandi irashimangira ibyo twavuze ku mwanya wihariye Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari afite mu bayobozi b'uruhande rurwanya ubutegetsi.

byakoreshejwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu kwezi kwa gatatu hagati, intumwa zari mu mishyikirano zafashe icyemezo cy'Inkotanyi cyo kwanga ku munota wa nyuma ko umudepite wa CDR yinzira mu nzego z'inzibacyuho nka nyirabayazana, cg se nibura nk'imwe mu bihato byo gushyira amasezerano y'Arusha mu bikorwa. Abari mu mishyikirano kabone n'abari basanzwe bashyigikira ibitekerezo by'Inkotanyi batangiye kwibaza bikomeye ku bushake bwazo bwo gushyiraho inzego. Nkuko ba bayobozi babiri b' Umuryango w'Abibumbye bari bashinzwe gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh na Roméo Dallaire, babigaragaje, n'ubwo bari bafite impamvu zitandukanye cyane zo gushingiraho ibyo bavugaga, bahurizaga ku ngingo imwe : Imishyikirano y'amahoro yari imaze urwayo (*reba umugereka wa 39*).

Muri icyo gihe, byagendaga bigaragara ko gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho abari kubigiramo amahirwe agaragara ari perezida Habyarimana, MRND n'abafatanyije na yo. Naho Inkotanyi zo, icyizere cyo kugira umwanya mwiza mu ruhando rwa politiki y'imbere mu gihugu cyagendaga kiyoyoka.

Mu cyiciro cyakurikiyeho, kubura kw'intambara byerekanye ko impungenge z'intumwa zari zihagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye zari zifite ishingiro. Mbere yo gusuzuma iby'iryo birinduka riteye agahinda ariko, ni ngombwa kubanza kugira icyo tuvuga kuri zimwe mu ngufu zikomeye zo mu rwego rwa politiki zagombaga kugira uruhare rukomeye muri uwo mwuka mushya : urubyiruko rwitwara gisirikari.