REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

URWEGO RUSHINZWE INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU, IMIDARI N'IMPETA BY'ISHIMWE

"CAHIER"

UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

N°5

Kigali, tariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2023

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IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe mu nshingano rufite harimo "gutegura uburyo bwo gushima, gushimira no kurata Abanyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga baranzwe n'ibikorwa by'ubutwari n'ibindi bikorwa by'ingirakamaro kandi bihebuje; kwamamaza ibikorwa by'ubutwari; kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko umuco w'ubutwari".

Hagamijwe gukomeza gutoza Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari, hashyizweho "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI isohokamo inyandiko zinyuranye zigaragaza ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose mu bihe byose u Rwanda rwanyuzemo.

Iyi nomero ya gatanu ya "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI isohotse mu gihe u Rwanda rwizihiza ku nshuro ya 29 umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu, ikubiyemo inyandiko zikurikira:

Inyandiko ya mbere: "**Gashyantare, ukwezi twizihizamo ubutwari mu Rwanda**" isobanura impamvu u Rwanda rwizihiza umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu, imvo n'imvano yo kwizihiza umunsi w'Intwari muri Gashyantare n'uko umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa muri iki gihe.

Inyandiko ya kabiri: "**Ibikorwa by'ubutwari byaranze bimwe mu bitangazamakuru mu kurwanya ubutegetsi bubi bwateguye bukanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994** (**Igice cya mbere**)" igaragaza bimwe mu binyamakuru n'abanyamakuru baranzwe n'ibikorwa by'ubutwari byo guhangana no kurwanya ubutegetsi bubi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri mu Rwanda, batitaye ku ngaruka byashoboraga kubagiraho, harimo no kwicwa.

Inyandiko ya gatatu: "**Politiki y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda, urugero rw'ubuyobozi bufite icyerekezo kandi bureba kure**", igaragaza amahitamo y'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ashingiye ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge, byo nkingi yo kwigira no kwihesha agaciro by'Abanyarwanda.

Inyandiko ya kane: "**Gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari nka bumwe mu buryo bwubaka ubutwari mu rubyiruko"** ikubiyemo ubuhamya bw'abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa ry'abakobwa n'abagore mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi basuye Igicumbi

cy'Intwari z'Igihugu cy'i Remera mu Mujyi wa Kigali, bakaba bagaragaza ukuntu gusura icyo Gicumbi byababereye umusingi nyawo mu guhindura imyifatire no gukora rugamije ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro.

Inyandiko ya gatanu: "**Ubudaheranwa bw'Abanyarwanda babaye mu buhunzi kuva mu mwaka wa 1959 kugera mu mwaka wa 1994**" igaragaza ubutwari n'ubudaherwanwa bw'Abanyarwanda b'impunzi kuva mu myaka ya 1959 kugeza mu 1994. Muri iyi nyandiko hagaragazwa ubumya bw'umwe mu Banyarwandakazi wanyuze mu buzima bw'inzitane ariko agakomeza kurangwa n'ubupfura, kwihangana no kutagamburuzwa n'amananiza.

Twizeye tudashidikanya ko inyandiko ziri muri iyi nomero ya 5 ya "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI zizakomeza gutanga umusanzu mu gutoza Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari.

MUKASARASI Godelieve

Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego/CHENO

I. GASHYANTARE, UKWEZI TWIZIHIZAMO UBUTWARI MU RWANDA

Yateguwe na Bwana NKUSI Deo*

INTANGIRIRO

U Rwanda rwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare buri mwaka. Ni umunsi Abanyarwanda n'inshuti z'u Rwanda bazirikana Intwari z'Igihugu n'ibikorwa by'ikirenga byaziranze. Hashingiwe ku kamaro k'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu kubaka no kurinda u Rwanda kuva rwahangwa kugeza ubu, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yasanze ari ngombwa ko u Rwanda rugira uburyo buhamye bwo gushima no gushimira Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bakoze ibikorwa by'ikirenga bifitiye Igihugu akamaro. Ni muri urwo rwego, Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo ku wa 31 Ukwakira 1995 yashyizeho Komisiyo yihariye yo gushyiraho uburyo bwo gutoranya Intwari z'Igihugu iyiha inshingano eshatu: i) Gushyiraho uburyo bwo guhitamo Intwari z'Igihugu; ii) Kugena umunsi wo kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu; iii) Gushyiraho Itegeko ryerekeye Intwari z'Igihugu.

Muri 2001, hatangajwe Intwari z'Igihugu z'ikubitiro ziri mu byiciro bitatu: Imanzi, Imena, Ingenzi. Kugeza ubu, mu Ntwari z'Imanzi harimo: Umusirikare utazwi Izina na Major General Fred Gisa RWIGEMA. Mu ntwari z'Imena harimo: Umwani Mutara III Rudahigwa, Madamu UWIRINGIYIMANA Agatha, Bwana RWAGASANA Michel, Madamu NIYITEGEKA Felicité n'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange. Mu cyiciro cy'Ingenzi nta muntu wari washyirwamo, ariko ubushakashatsi ku bashobora kujya muri icyo cyiciro ndetse n'ibindi burakomeje[1].

Mu rwego rwo gushimira Intwari z'Igihugu no gusigasira umurage w'Ubutwari zadusigiye, hashyizweho Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa mu gihugu hose tariki ya 1 Gashyantare buri mwaka. Uyu munsi urangwa n'ibikorwa binyuranye bijyanye no kwamamaza, kumenyakanisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari.

* *Bwana NKUSI Deo ni Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe (CHENO).*

Iyi nyandiko igaragaza impamvu u Rwanda rwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu, impamvu uyu munsi washyizwe mu kwezi kwa Gashyantare n'uko umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa muri iki gihe. Ibikubiye muri iyi nyandiko byavuye mu bitabo n'inyandiko binyuranye no mu biganiro twagiranye na bamwe mu bantu b'inararibonye bafite ubumenyi mu mateka y'u Rwanda.

1. MPAMVU U RWANDA RWIZIHIZA UMUNSI W'INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU

Gushima no gushimira abakora ibikorwa by'ikirenga bifitiye Igihugu akamaro ni indangagaciro ikomeye mu muco w'u Rwanda. Kuva kera Abanyarwanda barangwa no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu no mu iterambere ryacyo. Mu Rwanda rwo hambere, hashimirwaga ingabo n'abandi Banyarwanda, abagore n'abagabo bakoze ibikorwa bigamije kurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu, kucyagura no kugiteza imbere. Hashimirwaga kandi n'abakora ibikorwa biteza imbere umuco, imibereho n'imibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda.[2]

Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo ku wa 4 Kamena 2003, nk'uko ryavuguruwe muri 2015 riteganya ko Abanyarwanda dukwiye guhora turata Intwari z'u Rwanda rigira riti: "Duhaye icyubahiro gikwiye abakurambere b'intwari bitanze batizigama bahanga u Rwanda n'intwari zaharaniye umutekano, ubutabera, ubwisanzure, zikanagarura ituze, agaciro n'ishema by'Igihugu cyacu"[3]. Kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ni inshingano z'Abanyarwanda bose kuko tugomba gushima no gushimira Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bagaragaje ibikorwa n'ibitekerezo bifitiye u Rwanda akamaro, abakiriho n'abatabarutse.

Intwari z'Igihugu zasigiye Abanyarwanda umurage wo gukunda Igihugu no kucyitangira. Kuzirikana Intwari z'Igihugu bituma Abanyarwanda bakomeza umuco wo gukunda Igihugu cyabo, kunga ubumwe, kwitangira Igihugu, kubana neza no guharanira icyateza Igihugu imbere.

Kuzirikana Intwari z'u Rwanda ni uburyo bwo gushimangira ibyiza byagezweho mu mibereho n'imibanire myiza by'Abanyarwanda, hashyirwa imbere ibyubaka umuryango wacu nk'Abenegihugu, abanyafurika n'abatuye isi muri rusange.

2 *NKAKA R., "Impeta n'Ingororano mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'Ubukoloni", in* Cahier UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI, *No 1, yo ku ya 1 Gashyantare, 2021, pp.61-88.*

3 *Republic of Rwanda,* Official Gazette n° Special of 24/12/2015, *Kigali, 2015.*

Iyo tuzirikana Intwari, dushima abana b'u Rwanda bitanze batizigama bahanga u Rwanda, abarwubatse, abarubohoye ingoyi y'ubukoroni n'iy'ubutegetsi bubi, ndetse n'abahagaritse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. Tuzirikana kandi abagize ibindi bikorwa by'ubutwari nk'abakomeye ku bunyarwanda n'abarwanyije akarengane n'amacakubiri ayo ari yo yose kuva kera kugeza ubu. Tuzirikana na none abitanga bagamije iterambere mu bukungu, imibereho myiza, imibanire ntamakemwa n'iterambere rusange rya bose.

Kwizihiza umunsi w'Intwari kandi ni uburyo bwiza bwo kuzirikana Intwari z'u Rwanda, iza kera n'iz'ubu kuko zasigiye Abanyarwanda umurage w'ubutwari uhebuje u Rwanda ruzakomeza kubakiraho n'ejo hazaza.

Kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu muri iki gihe ni umwanya mwiza wo kurebera hamwe indangagaciro ziranga Intwari z'Igihugu, Abanyarwanda twese, ababa mu Rwanda no mu mahanga tugaharanira kwigira kuri izo ndangagagaciro, duharanira kugera ikirenge cyacu mu cy'Intwari z'Igihugu. Kwigira ku Ntwari z'Igihugu bizafasha Abanyarwanda kugera ku iterambere rirambye no gukomeza guhesha agaciro Igihugu cyacu mu ruhando rw'ibindi bihugu.

Nk'uko byavuzwe na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda ku itariki ya 1/2/2023, kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ni ukuzirikana ubutwari no gukunda Igihugu by'Abanyarwanda. Ni uburyo bwo kuzirikana ko Abanyarwanda dufite ubushobozi bwo kwikemurira ibibazo no kurinda igihugu cyacu. Yagize ati: "Uyu munsi, turizihiza ubutwari no gukunda igihugu by'Abanyarwanda badusigiye umusingi wo kubakiraho u Rwanda rufite abaturage biyemeje kwigenera ejo hazaza hababereye. Mu gihe duhanganye n'ibibazo bifite aho bihuriye n'akarere duherereyemo ndetse n'isi muri rusange, uyu munsi uratwibutsa ubushobozi bwacu bwo guhagarara ku kuri, kurinda igihugu cyacu, no kubaka umurage w'iterambere ku badukomokaho n'ababakomokaho. Umunsi Mwiza w'Intwari!"[4].

4 *Ubutumwa bwa Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Paul KAGAME kuri Twitter ku itariki ya 1/2/2023 (https://mobile.twitter.com/PaulKagame/status/1620747819073277956)*

2. KUKI UMUNSI W'INTWARI WIZIHIZWA MURI GASHYANTARE?

Mbere yo kugaragaza impamvu Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa muri Gashyantare, turabanza turebere hamwe ibihe (seasons) byo mu Rwanda. Ibyo bihe nibyo abenshi bakunda kwita ibihe by'ihinga. Mu Rwanda tugira ibihe bine mu mwaka ari byo: umuhindo, urugaryi, itumba n'icyi cyangwa impeshyi. Buri gihembwe kigira amezi atatu, n'ubwo hari igishobora kuyarenza, cyangwa se ntikiyuzuze neza.

Mu buryo bwo kubara ibyo bihe, mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni umwaka watangiraga muri Nzeri, ugereranyije, ku itariki ya 15 Nzeri, ugasoza ku wa 15 Nzeri w'umwaka ukurikiyeho. Muri icyo gihe, umwaka watangiranaga n'igihembwe cya mbere cy'ihinga ugasozanya n'icya kane. Aho bitandukanye n'ibihe by'ubu ni uko umwaka utangirana na Mutarama ugasoza mu Ukuboza. Gusa ibihe by'ihinga byo bikomeza gukurikirana nk'uko byahoze mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni. Ibyo bihe bikurikirana mu buryo bukurikira:

1) Umuhindo: Ni igihe cy'imvura nke ivanzemo n'izuba rike, ni igihe haba hahingwa imyaka yerera igihe gito kandi idakenera imvura nyinshi. Igihe cy'umuhindo gitangira ku wa 15 Nzeri kigasoza ku wa 15 Ukuboza.

2) Urugaryi: Ni igihe kigufi cy'izuba, aho riva atari ryinshi, n'irivuye rikaba ridakakaye cyane. Ni igihe abahinzi baba basarura banahunika imyaka bahinze mu bihe by'imvura y'umuhindo. Icyo gihe gitangira ku wa 15 Ukuboza, kigasoza ku wa 15 Werurwe. Iki gihe ni nacyo ukwezi kwa Gashyantare kubarizwamo.

3) Itumba: Ni igihe kirekire cy'imvura nyinshi. Muri iki gihe haba hahingwa ibihingwa bikenera imvura nyinshi. Iki gihe gitangira ku wa 15 Werurwe kigasoza ku wa 15 Kamena.

4) Icyi cyangwa impeshyi: Ni igihe kirekire cy'izuba ryinshi. Muri iki gihe nibwo abantu baba basarura imyaka bahinze mu itumba, ndetse banarimira imyaka bazahinga ku muhindo. Igihe cy'icyi gitangira ku wa 15 Kamena kikageza ku wa 15 Nzeri.

Tugarutse ku mpamvu u Rwanda rwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari muri Gashyantare, Gashyantare ni ukwezi kuri mu gihe cy'urugaryi, kikaba ari gihe kirangwa n'izuba rike ririmo n'invura nke. Muri iki gihe Abanyarwanda baba bejeje, bahunika imyaka bahinze mu gihe cy'umuhindo. Kikaba rero ari igihe cyo kwishimira umusaruro wabonetse mu gihembwe cya mbere cy'ihinga.

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, ukwezi kwa Gashyantare kwahoze ari ukwezi ko kwishimira umusaruro no gushimira abagize uruhare kugira ngo umusaruro uboneke. Mu kiganiro twagiranye, n'umwe mu bantu b'inararibonye mu mateka n'umuco, yavuze ko mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, hagati ya Gashyantare na Werurwe bakoraga umuhango witwaga umurorano cyangwa umunsi w'umurorano, ukaba wari umuhango wo kwishimira umusaruro w'uburo kuko muri icyo gihe uburo bwari mu bihingwa bikomeye bihabwa agaciro mu bukungu bw'u Rwanda.[5]

Uwo muhango w'umurorano wakorwaga muri Gashyantare ukarangwa n'ibirori bikomeye byo kwishimira umusaruro, gutarama no gushimira abantu bose bagize uruhare mu iterambere n'ubukungu bw'igihugu muri rusange. "Umurorano'' benshi bakunze kwita "umuganura w'uburo'', wasobanuraga "gusogongera umuganura''. Mu gukora uyu muhango bifashishaga imbuto nkuru ya Gihanga, ariyo y'uburo, dore ko aho buhingwa muri ibyo bihe bwababaga bweze. Mu Rwanda rwo hambere uburo bwari mu mbuto za mbere zifite agaciro mu mibereho y'Abanyarwanda. Uburo, inzuzi, isogi, ibikoro n'amasaka ni imbuto nkuru mu Rwanda ikaba ari nayo mpamvu zikunda kwitwa imbuto za Gihanga.

Muri uwo muhango w'umurorano, Abambogo[6] bazanaga agakangara k'amasaka avanze n'uburo, noneho umutsima uvuyemo akaba ariwo Umwami aryaho ategura kuzakora "umuganura" nyirizina mu kwezi kwa Nyakanga. Muri Gashyantare **Abambogo** bajyaga i Bwami gufata "**Igitenga**". Igitenga ni ijambo ryihariye bakoreshaga mu Bwiru bavuga igitebo kinini cyabaga cyubashywe cyane cyatwarwaga n'Abiru b'Abambogo bo kwa Musana bari kumwe n'Abiru b'Abatsobe, kikava i Bwami bakakijyana i Bumbogo, kikaba aricyo bazazanamo amasaka y'umuganura azoherezwa na none i Bwami. Cyagendaga iteka kivugirwa n'ingoma, kikakirwa neza aho giciye hose, utacyubashye akaba yabihanirwa cyangwa akanyagwa[7].

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5 *Ikiganiro kuri Telefone na MUVUNANYAMBO Apollinaire, tariki ya 9/2/2023.*

6 *Abiru b'Abambogo bari mu bashinzwe gutegura ibirori by'Umuganura mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni. Mu Rwanda rwo hambere, Abazungu bataraca Imihango y'Ubwiru muri 1924, Imihango y'Umuganura yayoborwaga n'abiru bakurikira: Hari Abiru b'Abatsobe aribo bari bakuru, hagakurira Abiru b'Abambogo bo kwa Musana aribo babibagaimbuto z'umuganura (amasaka n'uburo) kimwe n'Abiru bo kwa Myaka nabo bo mu Bumbogo. (Bumbogo ivugwa ni mu bice bya Shyorongi, igice cya Gakenke, igice cya Rulindo Rulindo by'ubu).*

7 *Nsanzabera Jean de Dieu, "Umunsi mukuru w'Umuganura mu muco no mu mateka y'u Rwanda", in* igihe com, *ku wa 2 Kanama 2019* (https://igihe.com/umuco/amateka/article/umunsi-mukuru-w-umuganura-mu muco-no-mu-mateka-y-u-rwanda *yasuwe ku wa 2/3/2023).*

Umurorano kandi wafatwaga nk'umuhango wo gushimira Imana n'abakurambere ndetse n'Abatabazi (Ruganzu Ndoli n'Abaryankuna) bagize uruhare mu kuvana u Rwanda muri rya curaburindi ry'igihe igihugu cyari cyaroramye cyarigaruriwe n'Abanyabungo. Mu kiganiro twagiranye n'umwe mu bacukumbuzi b'amateka y'u Rwanda, yavuze ko Gashyantare mu muco w'u Rwanda kwari ukwezi kwahariwe abatabazi 46 bitangiye Igihugu mu bihe binyuranye. Gashyantare ikaba yarafatwaga nk'ukwezi kw'intwari n'abandi bantu bitangiye Igihugu[8].

Muri make rero, ukwezi kwa Gashyantare mu mateka y'u Rwanda gusanzwe ari ukwezi Abanyarwanda bishimira umusaruro uba wabonetse mu gihembwe cya mbere cy'ihinga. Ni igihe kandi cyo kwishimira ibyagezweho mu bworozi no mu yindi mirimo ifitiye Abanyarwanda akamaro, bagafata n'ingamba z'ibizakorwa mu mwaka utaha. Gashyantare ni ukwezi ko kwizihiza no kwishimira ibyo igihugu cyagezeho hagashimirwa n'Abanyarwanda bagize uruhare mu bikorwa binyuranye by'iterambere ry'Igihugu. Gashyantare kandi mu mateka y'u Rwanda, ni ukwezi kwarangwaga no gushimira abitangiye igihugu mu bihe binyuranye baharanira ubusugire bwacyo. Ibyo byose bikaba ari zimwe mu mpamvu zatumye, hemezwa ko Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wajya wizihizwa buri mwaka muri Gashyantare ku itariki ya 1.

3. UKO UMUNSI W'INTWARI WIZIHIZWA MURI IKI GIHE

Muri iki gihe, Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu uri mu minsi mikuru ikomeye yizihizwa mu Rwanda. Ni umunsi urangwa n'ibikorwa n'imihango inyuranye igamije kurata, gusingiza no gushimira Intwari z'Igihugu n'abandi Banyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro. Uyu munsi wizihizwa mu gihugu hose no mu mahanga bikozwe n'Abanyarwanda n'inshuti z'u Rwanda.

3.1. Uko umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu utegurwa

Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu utegurwa n'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimzwe ku bufatanye n'izindi nzego zaba iza Leta n'izigenga.

Mu gutegura uyu munsi, hashyirwaho icyumweru cyitwa « Icyumweru cy'Ubutwari » kibanziriza Umunsi w'Intwari, kigasozwa ku itariki ya 31 Mutarama. Icyumweru cy'ubutwari kirangwa n'ibikorwa binyuranye bigamije kwamamaza no gukangurira

8 *Ikganiro kuri Telefone na Lt Col. (Rtd) NYIRIMANZI Gerard, tariki ya 9/2/2023.*

Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Bimwe mu bikorwa biranga icyumweru cy'ubutwari ni ibi bikurikira :

i) **Ibiganiro n'ibiganirompaka ku muco w'ubutwari**. Ibi biganiro bikorwa mu mashuri abanza, ayisumbuye, amakuru na kaminuza. Ibiganiro bikorwa kandi mu bitangazamakuru binyuranye no mu nzego za Leta n'izitari iza Leta.

ii) **Amarushanwa y'ubutwari mu mikino na siporo zinyuranye**. Iyi mikino itegurwa ku bufatanye na Federasiyo z'imikino inyuranye. Iyi mikino iba umwanya mwiza wo guhuriza hamwe abantu, bagasabana, bagahabwa n'ubutumwa bugamije kubakangurira kurangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi no mu mirimo inyuranye bakora. Abanyarwanda bakangurirwa kandi gukina imwe mu mikino gakondo.

iii) **Amarushanwa y'ibihangano binyuranye**. Mu rwego rwo guha umwanya urubyiruko no gushimangira umuco w'u Rwanda, mu migurire y'umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu hakorwa amarushanwa y'ibihangano binyuranye birimo indirimbo, imivugo, ibisigo, ubugeni n'ibindi bihangano birata Intwari z'u Rwanda. Ibyo bihangano nabyo bigira uruhare runini mu gukangurira urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco n'ubutwari.

iv) **Gusura Ibicumbi by'Intwari n'ahandi hantu haranga amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda.** Mu kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu, Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga basura Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu n'izindi « site » zibumbatiye amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda bakarushaho kwigishwa no gusobanurirwa umurage w'ubutwari twasigiwe n'abakurambere bacu.

v) **Igitaramo gisingiza Intwari z'Igihugu.** Igitaramo gisingiza Intwari z'Igihugu gikorwa akenshi hasozwa Icyumweru cy'ubutwari cyangwa n'indi tariki yagenwa. Ni igitaramo gitumirwamo urubyiruko n'abayobozi mu nzego zinyuranye kikarangwa n'ubusabane, imbyino, indirimbo n'ibindi bihangano birata ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda. Igitaramo gikorwa ku rwego rw'Igihugu no mu nzego z'ibanze hagendewe ku bushobozi bwazo.

Uretse ibi bikorwa twagaragaje haruguru mu cyumweru cy'ubutwari hakorwa kandi ingendo zigamije kwishimira ibikorwa by'ubutwari, gutaha ibikorwa by'iterambere binyuranye, Umuganda rusange w'Abanyarwanda bose cyangwa uw'urubyiruko uhuzwa n'Umunsi w'Intwari, gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro, kuremera abatishoboye, guhiga no gufata ingamba zigamije iterambere, ubusabane n'ibindi bikorwa binyuranye bigamije kwizihiza no gushimira Intwari z'Igihugu, izikiriho n'izatabarutse. Inzego zibifitiye ububasha zishobora kugena ibindi bikorwa bijyanye no kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu.

3.2. Uko umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa

Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare buri mwaka. Ku rwego rw'Igihugu hakorwa Umuhango wo guha icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu, ukorerwa ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera mu Mujyi wa Kigali. Uyu muhango utegurwa ku bufatanye n'inzego zinyuranye. Uyoborwa na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ukitabirwa n'Abayobozi bakuru b'Igihugu, abagize Inteko y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Impeta n'Imidari by'Ishimwe (CHENO), imiryango y'Intwari z'Igihugu zatabarutse ndetse n'Intwari zikiriho.

Kuri uyu munsi kandi, mu Midugugu yose y'Igihugu hategurwa ibirori by'Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu. Ahenshi ibi birori birangwa n'ibikorwa binyuranye birimo ubusabane, imikino itandukanye, gutaha ibikorwa/kwishimira ibyagezweho, gushimira ababaye indashyikirwa mu bikorwa runaka, kugabirana, kuremera abatishoboye, gusinya Imihingo, ibiganiro, n'ibindi bikorwa biteza imbere bikanashimangira ubutwari, umuco n'ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda.

Nk'uko bikorwa mu midugudu yose mu gihugu, Abanyarwanda n'inshuti z'u Rwanda baba mu mahanga bizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ku bufatanye na Ambasade z'u Rwanda n'imiryango y'Abanyarwanda n'Inshuti z'u Rwanda mu bihugu binyuranye.

3.3. Insanganyamatsiko zagiye ziranga Umunsi w'Intwari

Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa guhera mu mwaka wa 1995. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1995 kugeza mu wa 2002 wizihizwaga ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira. Umunsi w'Intwari

watangiye kubaho ufite insanganyamatsiko guhera mu mwaka w'i 2004. Urutonde rukurikira rugaragaza insanganyamatsiko zagendeweho mu kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu kuva muri 2004 kugeza muri 2023:

- **2004**: "Dushimire Intwari z'u Rwanda zarwaniye kubaho nizitubere urugero"
- **2005**: "Dukomeze imihigo y'ubutwari, turwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside"
- **2006**: "Dushyire imbere ubutwari n'ubuyobozi bwiza, twubake amajyambere ashingiye ku mubano w'abanyarwanda"
- **2007**: "Dukomeze ubutwari mu mihigo twiyemeje, turengere ubuzima, turwanye n'ubukene"
- **2008**: "Ubutwari mu iterambere"
- **2009**: "Dukomeze imihigo y'ubutwari dushyira imbere indangagaciro z'umuco wacu"
- **2010**: "Dukomeze ubutwari mu mihigo yo guteza imbere u Rwanda"
- **2011**: "Duharanire ubutwari, duheshe agaciro u Rwanda" ; "Let's strive for heroism as we focus on the dignity of Rwanda"
- **2012**: "Duharanire ubutwari, duhashya ihohoterwa rikorerwa abana"
- **2013**: "Ubutwari ni ishingiro ry'agaciro n'iterambere"
- **2014**: "Ndi Umunyarwanda : inkingi y'ubutwari"
- **2015**: "Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda: agaciro kacu"
- **2016**: "Duharanire ubutwari, twubaka ejo hazaza"
- **2017**: "Ubutwari ni uguhitamo ibitubereye"
- 2018: "Dukomeze ubutwari, twubake u Rwanda twifuza"
- 2019: "Dukomeze ubutwari mu cyerekezo twahisemo"
- 2020: "Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu"
- 2021: "Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu"
- 2022: "Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu"
- 2023: "Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu"

UMUSOZO

Gushimira no kwizihiza Intwari z'Igihugu n'abandi bantu bakoze/bakora ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro ni imwe mu ndangagaciro ziranga Abanyarwanda kuva kera kugeza ubu. Ni umurage dukomora ku bakurambere bacu bahoranye umuco wo gushimira no kugororera abakora ibikorwa byiza bigamije iterambere n'ubusugire bw'Igihugu.

Muri iki gihe, Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa tariki ya 1 Gashyantare buri mwaka. Mu mateka y'u Rwada, ukwezi kwa Gashyantare gusanzwe ari ukwezi Abanyarwanda bishimira ibyo bagezeho cyane cyane umusaruro ukomoka ku buhinzi n'ubworozi, bagashimira n'Intwari zitangiye Igihugu mu bikorwa by'iterambere n'izaharaniye ubusugire bw'igihugu. No mu muri iki gihe, Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ni umunsi Abanyarwanda bihaye wo kuzirikana no kwigira ku bikorwa byaranze Intwari z'Igihugu, hagamijwe kubifatiraho urugero rwiza mu guharanira no kubaka iterambere rirambye ry'Igihugu.

Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu urangwa n'ibikorwa binyuranye bigamije kwimakaza no gukangurira Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'ubutwari birimo ibiganiro, imikino, ibitaramo, ibirori n'ubusabane, gushimira abakora ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro, kuremera abatishoboye n'ibindi bikorwa n'Abanyarwanda baba abari mu Rwanda n'abari mu mahanga.

Muri iyi nyandiko twagaragaje impamvu u Rwanda rwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu, impamvu hatoranyijwe ko wizihizwa muri Gashyantare n'uburyo Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu wizihizwa mu Rwanda muri iki gihe.

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3. Nsanzabera Jean de Dieu, "Umunsi mukuru w'Umuganura mu muco no mu mateka y'u Rwanda", in igihe.com, ku wa 2 Kanama 2019.
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ABATANZE AMAKURU:

Bwana MUVUNANYAMBO Apollinaire, tariki ya 9/2/2023

Lt Col. (Rtd) NYIRIMANZI Gerard, tariki ya 9/2/2023.

II. IBIKORWA BY'UBUTWARI BYARANZE BIMWE MU BITANGAZAMAKURU MU KURWANYA UBUTEGETSI BUBI BWATEGUYE BUKANASHYIRA MU BIKORWA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU 1994 (Igice cya mbere)

Yateguwe na Madamu UMUTONI Denise*

INTANGIRIRO

Nyuma y'ubutegetsi Nyubahiriza tegeko, Nshingamategeko ndetse n'Ubucamanza, itangazamakuru rifatwa nk'ubutegetsi bwa kane. Itangazamakuru kandi ryifashishwa nk'umuyoboro ubutegetsi twavuze haruguru bukoresha mu rwego rwo kwigisha abaturage, kumenyekanisha gahunda ziteganijwe no gutanga amakuru kuri buri wese uyakeneye. Mu gihe rikoreshejwe neza rihuza inzego zitandukanye n'abaturage. Ariko na none iyo rikoreshejwe nabi rishobora koreka Igihugu nk'uko byigaragaje hano mu Rwanda, mu bihe by'amacakubiri yagejeje u Rwanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Mu myaka ya 1991, 1992 na 1993, habayeho ishingwa ry'amashyaka menshi ya politiki, biza biherekejwe n'ishingwa ry'ibinyamakuru bitandukanye, birimo ibyafashije ubutegetsi bwariho koreka imbaga y'Abanyarwanda. Ingero twatanga z'ibitangazamakuru byoretse u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda: ni nka RTLM, Kangura n'ibindi.

N'ubwo hari byinshi mu bitangazamakuru byijanditse mu kwigisha urwango hagati y'Abanyarwanda, bishishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi ku mugaragaro, hari n'ibindi binyamakuru byashize amanga birwanya byivuye inyuma iyo migambi mibisha.

Muri iyi nyandiko turabagezaho bimwe mu binyamakuru n'abanyamakuru baranzwe n'ibikorwa by'ubutwari, bahangana kandi barwanya ubutegetsi bubi bwariho, batitaye ku ngaruka byashoboraga kubagiraho, harimo no kwicwa.

Bimwe muri ibyo binyamakuru ni: Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, Kanyarwanda n'ibindi.

** Madamu UMUTONI Denise ni umukozi w'Urwego ushinzwe Ubushakashatsi*

a) BIMWE MU BYANDITSWE MURI RWANDA RUSHYA

Rwanda Rushya ni ikinyamakuru cyashinzwe mu mwaka w'i 1991 na Kameya André cyasohokaga kabiri mu kwezi, cyari cyarafashe umurongo wo kugaragaza ukuri ku byaberaga mu gihugu, cyerekana amakosa, kinenga akarengane n'ubwicanyi byakorwaga na MRND n'abambari bayo.

Ibyo bigaragarira mu nkuru iki kinyamakuru cyandikaga kenshi nk'uko muza kubibona.

Iki kinyamakuru cyerekanaga kenshi ko ubutegetsi bwagendaga biguru ntege mu gukemura ibibazo u Rwanda rufite birimo ibibazo by'ubwicanyi, iby'impunzi, inzara n'ibindi. Urugero ni muri iyi nkuru, "None MRND yaba ari "Inyangarwanda?" igira iti: "Ikigaragara, ni uko MRND itekereza ko ikiri yayindi yavugaga tuti amina, utemeye akubikwaho urusyo. Kubona MRND itekereza nkaho tukiri muri 73, 75 cg 78, biteye agahinda. Niba yaremeye kubangikana n'andi mashyaka, ni uko yemeye ko itakiri kamara, ko ibibazo by'igihugu byayirenze, ko n'abandi bagira ibitekerezo bishya ku bibazo by'ingutu Igihugu gifite. Inkuru ikomeza igira iti: "niba Muvoma ikomeje kumva ko ari kamara, nyamara guverinoma yayo ikaba imaze umwaka ififika, ishyikirana ikaduhisha, bikaba biboneka ko yananiwe, ariko ikagira isoni nke zo kwemeza ko abashaka gutanga indi miti batiza umwanzi umurindi, ubwo mu by'ukuri umwanzi ni nde?"[1].

Ibi kandi binagaragara mu ijambo ry'ibanze ry'iki kinyamakuru Rwanda Rushya n^0 30 yo ku wa 30 Nzeri 1992, aho rigira riti: "U Rwanda rugeze ahakomeye hakwiye abagabo. Ndasaba abagifite agatima gakunda Igihugu kugisigasira ntigisenyuke. Habyarimana ndagusabye, ba Umukuru w'Igihugu wiba Kimari. Reka kureba inyungu zawe rebera Abanyarwanda, kandi bose aho kwikubira kuri bene wanyu. Amagambo uhora wivugisha yo guteranya Abanyarwanda jye sinkubeshya ndayagaya ntakwiye umukuru w'Igihugu. Humuriza Abanyarwanda aho kubahahamura. Reka gukomeza kwigira Ikinani ngo uhindure u Rwanda umuyonga. [….] Banyapolitiki nimusubire mu migambi mureke kwigira ba "ntibitureba" kandi u Rwanda ari mwe ruhanze amaso. Kameya kandi asoza abaza ati: "Bakuru b'amadini mwaburiye he? Igihugu cyabuze gihanura mwaragiye

1 *MUDATSIKIRA J., "None MRND yaba ari Inyangarwanda?"in Rwanda Rushya* n^0 11, Nzeri I 1991. P. 9-10

he? Habure n'uwakwamagana amarorerwa abera hirya no hino y'iwe? Ngo muracyashishoza aho ibintu bigana! Ese kuki bitagana aho mwifuza ko bigana niba muri abantu b'Imana? Ko mwihunza kuba abahanuzi muzasubiza iki Yezu?"[2]

Rwanda Rushya yasohoye inkuru nyinshi zinenga ibikorwa bibi byariho. Urugero ni inyandiko yise "Politiki y'amacenga irarambiranye" igaragaza ko mu mishyikirano y'amahoro ibera Arusha abayirimo batavuga rumwe muri aya magambo:

> "Mu mishyikirano igirwa ubu urwikekwe ni rwose. Umuhutu arikanga Umututsi ati asubiranye ubutegetsi ndabigenza nte? Amoko arikangana Abahutu ntibashaka guhara ibyo bita ibyiza bazaniwe na Revolisiyo ya 59 ari byo gutegeka bonyine. Abakiga nabo ntibashaka kurekura ibyiza bazaniwe n'iyo bise "Revolisiyo mvugururamuco" ya 73. Uri ku isonga ryabo bose ni Habyarimana. IKINANI afitanye inzigo na MDR yambuye ubutegetsi akanabicira abarideri (Leaders). Barashaka kumwiganzura binyuze mu matora na Rukokoma ikamuryoza ibibi yabakoreye. [….] Inkuru ikomeza ivuga ko urwikekwe rw'Umuhutu n'Umututsi, rw'umukiga n'umunyenduga, rw'umumilita n'impirimbanyi ni narwo rutuma amasezerano y'amahoro azaba ingwa irabye ahanduye. Imishyikirano ibera Arusha nta kizere nyifitemo cyane. Ku rupapuro, azashyirwaho umukono ariko ntazakurikizwa azaba agakingirizo kubera ziriya mpamvu zose. Keretse nihaba ugushaka nyako demokarasi ikatubera umuti nyawo. Ubutegetsi buzagabanywa bizafata igihe kirekire ni biba binemewe. Habyarimana ntazemera ko bamusigira igihaha kandi ari igihangange. Abo areberaho turabazi ni EYADEMA na MOBUTU kandi uko bimeze iwabo twarabyumvise. Ntazemera ko ubutegetsi bwe bukorwaho."[3]

Rwanda Rushya kandi yamaganaga ibinyamakuru bibeshya bikanatandukira ku mahame y'itangazamakuru. Kandi kiri ku isonga mu byarwanyije ibinyamakuru bibiba urwango n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda mbere ya Jenoside.

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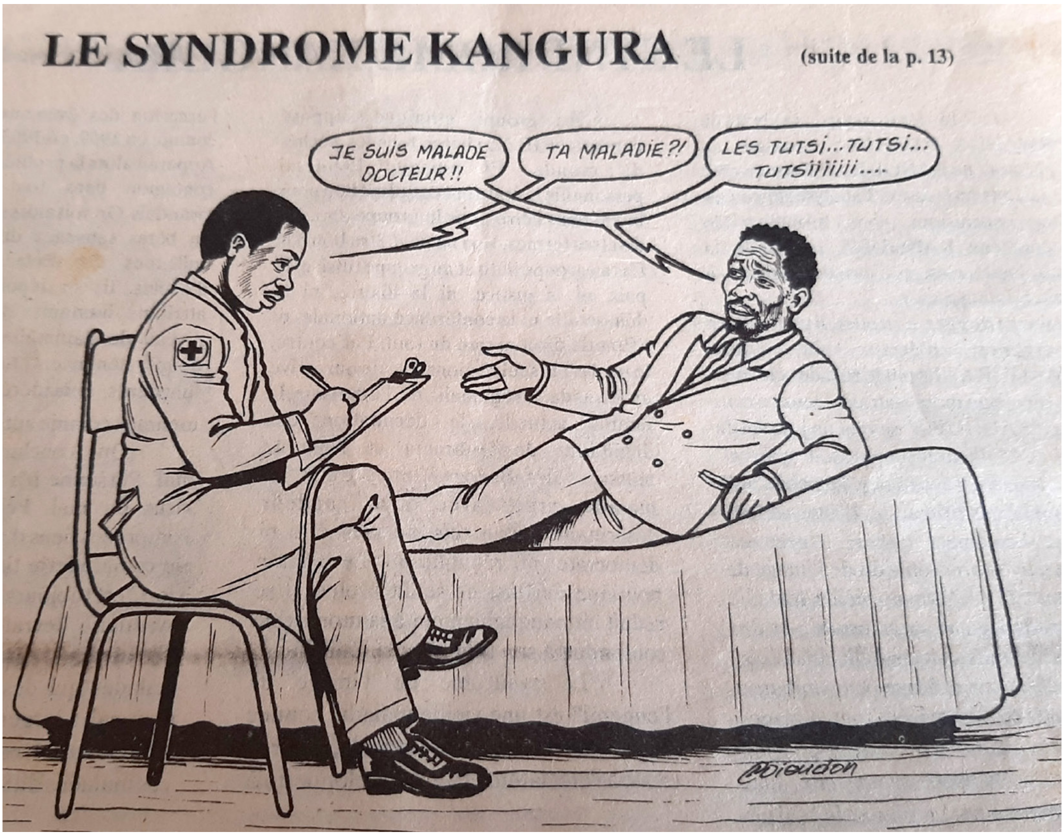
2 *KAMEYA A., "Ijambo ry'ibanze" in Rwanda Rushya n^0 30, Nzeri II 1992. P.1*

3 *KAMEYA A., "Politiki y'amacenga irarambiranye" in Rwanda Rushya n^{0}30, Nzeri II 1992. P. 2;*



Igishushanyo cyasohotse muri Rwanda Rushya n0 16 MUTARAMA I 1992

Iki gishushanyo cyerekana urwango Ikinyamakuru Kangura na NGEZE Hasan bangaga Abatutsi, aho yabazwaga na muganga icyo arwaye akavuga ko arwaye Abatutsi.

Urugero kandi, ni muri iyi nkuru yabwiraga Ngeze Hassan wayoboraga ikinyamakuru Kangura ati: "Ngeze azakomeze kwica tumusekere?"; "iyo ikinyamakuru Kangura cya Ngeze Hassan cyasohotse, abantu usanga bibaza bati noneho yaharabitse nde? Ibyo kuvuga nabi abandi akenshi ababeshyera ngo "mfite ibimenyetso" yabigize inganzo; kwica yabigize intego. Ngeze H. sinkubeshya rwose urica umwuga w'ubwanditsi; urica demokarasi; urica umutekano mu Banyarwanda, urica umubano n'ibihugu duturanye, urica abantu [….]. Kameya akomeza abwira Ngeze ati: "niba unaniwe kwandika neza ngo ukundirwe icyo, hindura umwuga, utangire uwo gukora amasanduku yo guhamba abantu, ndetse unapatane kubahamba kuko wishakiye isoko rihagije uhatira abantu kumarana."[4]

4 *KAMEYA A., "Ngeze azakomeza kwica tumusekere?" in Rwanda Rushya n^0 9, Kanama I 1991. P.2*

Inyandiko z'icyi kinyamakuru ni nyinshi zivuga ku kutubaha inshingano, ku myitwarire n'imikorere mibi y'ubutegetsi bwariho muri icyo gihe. Twabahitiyemo nkeya muri zo.

b) BIMWE MU BYANDITSWE MURI KANGUKA

Ikinyamakuru, Kanguka kibandaga cyane cyane ku kurwanya ubuyobozi bubi, kurwanya akarengane, guharanira uburenganira bwa muntu, kurwanya ruswa, kurwanya ubwicanyi, ihihoterwa n'ivangura byabaga hirya no hino mu gihugu no guharanira ubutabera ku benegihugu. Iki kinyamakuru cyashinzwe na Rwabukwisi Vincent wari uzwi ku izina rya RAVI mu nyandiko ze.

Ingero ni nko muri iyi nkuru ivuga iti: "Aho indwara y'u Rwanda ntiyasuzumwe nabi?". Iyi nkuru inenga ubuyobozi bunanirwa gukemura ibibazo by'impunzi bukabeshya abaturage ko u Rwanda rufite gusa ikibazo cy'inzara. Ikinyamakuru cyasabaga ubuyobozi gukemura ibibazo by'imiyoborere mibi kugira ngo n'inzara iveho.[5]

Kanguka yamaganye ugutegekwa k'u Rwanda n'ibihugu by'Iburayi. Kanguka No 54 yo ku wa 25 Gashyantare 1992 yasohoye inkuru igira iti: "Twanze ubuhake bw'Ababiligi ntitwakwemera ubw'Abafaransa". Kanguka No 61 yo ku wa 30/06/1992 nayo yasohoye inkuru igira iti: "Imyaka 30 u Rwanda rwigobotoye ubukoloni bw'Ababiligi; 19 ishize Habyarimana arushyize mu bukoloni bw'Abafaransa". Izi nkuru zombi zamaganaga uburyo u Rwanda ruvogerwa rukanategekwa n'ibihugu by'Iburayi cyane cyane Ubufaransa bwashyigikiraga gahunda z'ubwicanyi n'ivangura byakorwaga na Leta yariho.

Kanguka yamaganye ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi mu bice bitandukanye by'Igihugu mu myaka ya 1990, 1991 na 1992. Yamaganye ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu Bigogwe, Kibirira na Mukingo, ubu ni mu Turere twa Rubavu, Nyabihu na Ngororero no mu Bugesera. Muri iyo nomero Kanguka yagaragaje urutonde rw'abishwe n'ababishe kandi abenshi bataranahanwe n'ubutegetsi buriho.[6]

5 *RAVI, "Aho indwara y'u Rwanda ntiyasuzumwe nabi?" in Kanguka N° 36 yo muri Mata 1990. P.3*
6 *Kanguka N° 55 yo ku wa 25 Werurwe 1992. P. 6,7,8 na 9*

Kanguka yaharaniye kuvugisha ukuri no kurwanya amacakubiri yarangaga abayobozi b'icyo gihe. Yakanguriraga amashyaka kurangwa n'ubumwe aho gushyira imbere amoko n'ibindi byatanyaga Abanyarwanda. yasohoye inkuru igira iti: "Mutinyakuri hunga naje!". Muri iyi nkuru Rwabukwisi Vincent agira ati: "…Nongere mbisubiremo ukuri kuzatsinda". Ninde wari uzi ko MDR rya shyaka ryatsindiye kuyobora Igihugu kuva iyo za 60 rihiritse ingoma y'Abatutsi ubu ryakwiyambura umwenda wa Gahutu rikambara uwa Kanyarwanda? Ubu rikaba rirombereje inzira ya demokarasi ishingiye ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda buzira ubwironde? Ngukuriya ukuri kuzatsinda …."[7]

Rwabukwisi Vincent yaranzwe no kurwanya irondabwoko haba mu kinyamakuru Kanguka no mu biganiro yagiraga mu bindi bitangazamakuru. Ku wa 12/12/1993, mu kiganiro cyanyuze kuri Radiyo RTLM (Radio Television des Mille Collines) cyari kirimo BARAYAGWIZA Jean Bosco wari uhagarariye ishyaka rya CDR, NKURUNZIZA Charles wahoze ari Minisitiri w'ubutabera, na Madamu MBONAMPEKA MUKAMUGEMA Marie Claire.[8] Rwabukwisi Vincent yamaganye ivangura ry'amoko abo bayobozi bari bashyigikiye. Mu gisubizo yahaye Barayagwiza wari uvuze ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi atari bamwe, ko batandukanye ko batarerwa kimwe akanitangaho urugero ko we ngo yarezwe Gihutu muri aya magambo: "… ubu ng'ubu hari Abahutu bakize bameze neza, kandi bemera ko ari Abahutu. Ubu ng'ubu nta wukivuga ngo ubwo nkize ngo ndi Umututsi. Reka da! Usibye ko hari Abahutu batemera ko ari Abahutu, bamwe bavuga y'uko Abahutu batabaho, Abatutsi batabaho, no mu Bahutu barimo. Ariko icyo ngicyo ntabwo kikiri ikimenyetso cy'Ubututsi, cyahozeho kera. Ikimenyetso cyahozeho kera kandi kikiriho ntabwo ari kamere gusa, ngira ngo ni n'uburere. Icyo bita "culture" mu kizungu, uburere.

> Uzarebe umwana w'Umuhutu. njye ndabyivugiraho ko ndi umwana w'Umuhutu, data ni Umuhutu, sogokuru ni Umuhutu, sogokuruza ni Umuhutu, n'abo kwa mama bose, nzi ibisekuru byanjye kugeza ku gisekuru cya cyenda ahari. Ni Abahutu. Bandeze gihutu, la culture y'Abahutu ni yo narerewemo.

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7 *RAVI, Mutinyakuri hunga naje! In Kanguka N° 60 yo ku wa 17 Kamena 1992*

8 *Uyu Madamu Mbonampeka Mukamugema Marie Claire yari umugore wa Mbonampeka Stanislas wigeze kuba Minisitiri w'Ubutabera akaza kwegura ku itariki ya 30 Ugushyingo 1992 nyuma yo gusabira igihano cyo gufungwa Leon Mugesera bitewe n'ijambo yavugiye ku Kabaya ku itariki ya 22/11/1992. Mukamugema Marie Claire kandi ni umukobwa wa Mbonyumutwa Dominiko wabaye perezida w'agateganyo w'u Rwanda.*

"…. njyewe navutse révolution yo muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda itarabaho, nasanze data akora uburetwa nk'uko Bwana Karoli yabivuze. Nasanze mama ajya kubagarira Umututsikazi, Abatutsi badutegekaga. Nasanze sogukuru atanga amakoro. Ibyo byose narabibonye. Nababaza nti ese kuki mujya guhingira abandi, kuki mujya kubagaririra abandi ibyacu bimeze nabi? Bati "niko bimeze tugomba gukorera Abatutsi". Umututsi bakamurera bavuga y'uko agomba kumenya y'uko ari we mutegetsi, ko umwana w'Umuhutu agomba kumenya y'uko ategekwa. No mu ishuli aho twajyaga mu ishuli, njye nigaga ku bilometero icumi, ahantu hitwa i Busasamana, twagendaga dupfunyitse, bakaduha igihe cyo kurya mu ma saa sita. Nta Muhutu wasangiraga n'Umututsi, byari bibujijwe. Abatutsi babigishaga y'uko batagomba gusangira n'Abahutu, natwe bakatwigisha gutinya Abatutsi."

Rwabukwisi Vincent yamusubije muri aya magambo: "[…] ku bwanjye numva bibabaje, ari na cyo kibazo igihugu cyacu gifite ubu ng'ubu. Abo babyeyi baduhemukiye, bareze abana gihutu abandi bakarera abana gitutsi nibo batumye muri iki gihe dufite ubushyamirane. […] twebwe rero twarezwe gutyo, tuzamuka tuzi yuko Abahutu n'Abatutsi ari ibintu bandika mu bitabo ariko bidafite agaciro mu mibanire y' Abanyarwanda ubwabo. Ubwo rero ni na cyo nakubwiraga nti ni cyo kibazo dufite iki gihe, igihugu cyacu gifite"[9] . Ibi bigaragaza ko Rwabukwisi yamaganaga ivanguramoko ku mugaragaro kandi ntatinye kunyomoza abashyigikiye amoko n'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose.

UMUSOZO

Ibi binyamakuru byombi hamwe n'ibindi tuzavugaho mu gice cya kabiri, byagize uruhare rugaragara mu nyandiko rwo kurwanya ubwicanyi, ihohoterwa n'ivangura byakorwaga muri iyo myaka. Byagaragaje kwimika ukuri badatinya n'ubwo bashoboraga kubizira ndetse benshi mu babyandikagamo baranicwa muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Muri iki gice cya mbere, twibanze kuri zimwe mu nyandiko za Rwanda Rushya na Kanguka. Ubutaha tuzabagezaho, ibindi binyamakuru nabyo byari muri uyu murongo.

9 *Ikiganiro cyanyuze kuri Radiyo RTLM, Kigali, ku wa 12/12/1993*

Kwandika inyandiko nk'iyi ni uburyo bumwe bwo gukangurira abakiri bato ko bakwiye gushyigikira icyiza, bakarwanya ikibi, ko bakwiye kuba abanyakuri, bakaba intangarugero mu bikorwa bizima bibateza imbere bikanateza imbere Igihugu, bakarangwa n'ubupfura mu myifatire, mu mibanire no mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi.

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III. POLITIKI Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA, URUGERO RW'UBUYOBOZI BUFITE ICYEREKEZO KANDI BUREBA KURE

Yateguwe na Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin*

1. INTANGIRIRO

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwasenyutse igihe cy'Abakoloni birakomeza no mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri. Muri ibyo bihe uburyo bw'imitegekere bwaranzwe n'amacakubiri, ivangura n'itotezwa byagejeje u Rwanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yahagaritswe n'ingabo za FPR – Inkotanyi zitsinze urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda, rwatangiye kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994.

Jenoside yasize ishenye Igihugu mu buryo bugaragara, haba mu bigaragarira amaso dore ko inzirakarengane zisaga miliyoni zari zimaze kwicwa, mu gihe abandi Banyarwanda basaga miliyoni ebyiri bari bafashe iy'ubuhungiro barimo n'abari basize bagize uruhare muri ayo mahano ndengakamere. Uburyo bw'intekerezo n'imiyoborere nabwo bwari bwangiritse, inzego z'ubuyobozi zose zari zasenyutse, Igihugu cyabaye umuyonga ku buryo byasaga nko gutangira bundi bushya.

Nyuma ya Politiki y'amacakubiri n'ivangura u Rwanda rwanyuzemo bikarugeza ku kaga ka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta yagiyeho tariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 yahisemo Politiki y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda nk'umusingi ukomeye mu kubaka Igihugu kigatera imbere mu mahoro asesuye. Gufata icyemezo nk'iki mu Gihugu cyari kivuye mu icuraburindi, ibibazo byatewe na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bikiri byose hari n'ababigizemo uruhare batarahanwa, ni urugero rw'ubuyobozi bufite icyerekezo kandi bureba kure.

Abanyarwanda bahisemo ibintu bitatu by'ingenzi biyoboye icyerekezo biyemeje: "Twahisemo ubumwe, kuguma turi umwe aho gucikamo ibice; Twahisemo ko twebwe ubwacu tugomba kwihitiramo ibitubereye kandi ibyo dukora bikagaragarira abo bikorerwa; Twahisemo kureba kure"[1].

* *Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego (CHENO)*

1 *Byatangajwe na Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame, mu muhango wo kwibuka ku nshuro ya 20 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.*

Ibi babishimangiye mu Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu mwaka wa 2003 ryavuguruwe mu mwaka wa 2015 aho mu irangashingiro ryaryo bazirikanye ko amahoro, umutekano, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda ari byo nkingi y'iterambere. Mu "cyerekezo 2020", u Rwanda rwiyemeje kugera ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, bishingiye ahanini ku miyoborere myiza, ku Gihugu kigendera ku mategeko no ku guharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu n'imibereho myiza y'abagituye.

Muri iyi nyandiko turibanda ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda nk'igitekerezo ngenga cyo kubaho kwacu.

2. POLITIKI Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA, URUGERO RW'UBUYOBOZI BUFITE ICYEREKEZO KANDI BUREBA KURE[2]

2.1. IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA MBERE Y'UMWADUKO W'ABAKOLONI

Hari bamwe mu banyamahanga ndetse na bamwe mu Banyarwanda banditse bagaragaza ko ubwicanyi bwabaye mu Rwanda kuva mu mwaka wa 1959 kugeza kuri rurangiza yo mu mwaka wa 1994, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bwashinze imizi mu mibanire mibi n'amakimbirane hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni; ngo byaba byaravutse kuva aho Abatutsi bagereye mu Rwanda.

Impamvu z'iyi myumvire ni nyinshi ariko twavuga nk'izi zikurikira:

- Ubuswa[3]**;**
- Ubunebwe[4]**;**
- Ubusambo[5]
- Gupfa gutekereza nk'abandi
- Hariho abandika bafite ubushake bwo kugira nabi[6];

2 *William Sinclair yagize ati: "Diviser pour mieux régner est l'attitude des faibles, car rassembler les gens malgré leurs divergences n'appartient qu'à ceux qui connaissent la valeur de l'être humain / Gucamo abantu ibice kugira ngo ubategeke ni imigirire y'abanyantege nke, kuko guhuriza abantu hamwe ni imitekerereze y'abazi agaciro k'ikiremwa muntu.*

3 *Abigira inzobere mu mashami y'ubuhanga bwo kumenya umuntu (sciences humaines / social sciences) ariko wareba ibyo bagezeho byagiriye u Rwanda akamaro ugasanga ari ntabyo.*

4 *Kenshi bamwe mu banditsi ntibashishikajwe no gucukumbura, ngo bamenye ibiriho kandi babibyazeho bajora nta kubogama.*

5 *Gushaka guheza abandi no kwikubira ibyiza by'Igihugu.*

6 *Abandika bagamije gutera amakimbirane mu Banyarwanda cyangwa mu batuye Akarere k'Ibiyaga Bigari mu nyungu za Politiki.*

- Hari n'abandi babikora ari ukwanga kuva ku izima[7].

Ukuri kw'amateka ni uko mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni, ni ukuvuga mbere y'umwaka wa 1900, ubwo Abamisiyoneri gatolika batangiye gutura mu gihugu cyacu, basanze haganje ubumwe butajegajega hagati y'Abanyarwanda. Nta ntambara n'imwe y'amoko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bagiranye mbere y'uwo mwaka. Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bose bari bagize icyo abakurambere bitaga "Rubanda rw'Umwami". Bose kandi bari bazi ko ari Abanyarwanda, ko u Rwanda ari Igihugu cyabo, ko ntawe ushobora kuvuga ko akirushaho abandi uburenganzira. N'ubwo bavugaga ko u Rwanda ari urw'Umwami (Nyirurwanda, Nyirigihugu), bahamyaga ko "Umwami agirwa n'ingabo".

Ntabwo dushobora kurondora ibyarangaga ubumwe (ibishyitsi by'ubumwe) ngo "tubivane i Muzingo", kuko buri gishyitsi cyashobora kwiharira agatabo. Turabivuga mu magambo make cyane mu bika bikurikira. Ibitazumvikana neza hazaba umwanya wo kubigarukaho mu buryo burambuye mu nyandiko zizakurikiraho.
Twavuga ko mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni, Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite ubumwe bushingiye ku Mwami[8] umwe n' "urukundo rw'Igihugu"[9], bakavuga ururimi rumwe[27], bakagira umuco[10] umwe, ukwemera[11] kumwe kandi bakihatira gutuza bagaturana[13], bakuzuzanya mu byo bakeneye mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi.

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7 Ni ukuvuga abadashaka ko byagaragara ko bibeshye bagatsimbarara ku bitekerezo byabo.

8 Umwami yari ipfundo ry'Abanyarwanda bose. Abasizi banamwitaga Sebantu (se w'abantu bose bo mu Rwanda). Kandi iyo yamaraga kwima, bavugaga ko atakiri Umututsi, ari Umwami wa rubanda. Mu mibereho ya buri munsi, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bamwishyikiragaho. Cyaraziraga guheza umuntu kubera uko areshya, kubera uko asa, uwashakaga yageraga ku Mwami. Muri gahunda yo kwagura u Rwanda, nta mwanya w'amakimbirane hagati y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Bose Umwami yabahurizaga kuri uwo mugambi.

9 Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite urukundo rw'Igihugu cyabo, bakumva ko bahuriye ku Bunyarwanda. Umuhanga mu by'amateka w'Umufaransa, Louis de Lacger, yatangajwe n'ukuntu Abanyarwanda bo mu bya 1930 barangwaga no kwiyumvisha ko basangiye Igihugu kimwe ko bagikunda ku buryo bugaragara (patriotisme / patriotism).

10 Ikinyarwanda: Umuntu ufite kuzirikana wese ntiyabura kwiyumvisha ko na n'ubu ikinyarwanda kidufatiye runini. Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku rurimi rumwe. Muri Afurika, ibihugu bifite bene ayo mahirwe ni bike.

11 Ni ukuvuga imico, imihango, imigenzo, imiziririzo, ubugeni, ubukorikori, ubuvanganzo, imbyino, ubuvuzi bw'abantu n'ubw'amatungo n'ibindi.

12 Kwemera Imana imwe. Iby'idini bamwe bita "Iyobokamana" bishingiye ku kwemera Imana no kubaha abakurambere, guterekera abazimu, kubandwa, kuraguza. Guterekera byahuzaga abazima n'abapfuye. Kwari ukubibuka.

13 Imiturire: Nta Karere k'Abahutu, nta Karere k'Akabatutsi cyangwa ak'Abatwa. Abo bose bari bavangitiranye mu miturire. Hari ukugobokana kwari gushingiye ku guturana.

Ikindi ni uko kimwe mu byahuzaga Abanyarwanda mu gufashanya, mu kugobokana ari ubwoko (clans)[14]. Umugenzi w'Umusinga yaba Umuhutu, Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa iyo yageraga mu bandi Basinga, yakirwaga neza mbese akisanga. Icyatangaje abantu benshi barimo n'abanditsi ni uko gusangira ubwoko. Umunyarwanda iyo wamubazaga ubwoko bwe yahitaga asubiza atagingimiranyije ko ari Umuzigaba, Umusita cyangwa Umubanda ntiyatekerezaga ko bamubaza niba ari Umutwa, Umututsi cyangwa Umuhutu. Abavuze ko Abanyarwanda barimo amoko atatu (Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa) si ukuri kuko basangiye ibiranga "race" imwe na "ethnie" imwe: ibara ry'uruhu, ururimi, umuco, idini, aho batuye n'ibindi byose biranga "ethnie"[15].

Ntitwakwirengagiza ariko ko hari ibyabangamiye ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda muri iki gihe. Mu Rwanda rw'Abami, Abatwa bahawe akato, baranenwa by'umwihariko. Ariko ntabwo bahejwe i Bwami no mu Batware, ndetse bamwe barongoye abakobwa b'abakomeye, ariko uku kunenwa ntikwazimiye. Icya kabiri cyabangamiye ubumwe ni inzangano n'intambara z'abarwaniraga ingoma[16].

14 *Ayo ni ya moko bakunze kuvuga ko ari 18 n'ubwo umubare wayo ugibwaho impaka kuko nka Musenyeri Alexis Kagame ahamya ko ari 15. Icy'ingenzi ni ukumenya ko Abanyarwanda bose, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bari bahuriye kuri ayo moko uko ari 18. Ayo moko ni aya: Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abungura, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abaha, Abashingo, Abanyakarama, Abasita, Abongera n'Abenengwe.*

15 *Umwarimu w'umunyamahanga wabaye mu Rwanda mbere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ndetse akaba yarigishije muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda na we ahamya adashidikanya ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi atari "ethnies" zitandukanye kandi si we wenyine ubihamya. Agira ati: "Le Rwanda constitue une exception en Afrique car il s'agit d'un Etat-nation multiséculaire qui n'est pas divisé en une multitude d'ethnies. Ses deux composantes humaines, les Tutsi (20% de la population) et les Hutu (environ 80%) parlent la même langue et ont conscience d'appartenir à une seule et unique nation. Leurs différences ne sont donc pas ethniques". (Bernard Lugan, Atlas historique de l'Afrique des origines à nos jours, Ed. du Rocher, 2001, p.219.) N'ubwo uyu mwanditsi nyuma yabaye "négationniste" ntibibujije ko ibyo yari yanditse mbere ari ukuri. Hari n'abandi babyanditseho. Ingero: Mgr Léon Classe yanditse muri 1935 ko ijambo "Abatutsi" rivuga imibereho (conditions sociales) y'umuntu aho yagize ati: "Il est à noter que le nom de Mututsi désigne fréquemment, non l'origine, mais la condition sociale, l'état de fortune, surtout des bêtes à cornes. Quiconque est chef, ou est riche, sera souvent appelé Mututsi". (Mgr Léon Classe, in Revue Grands lacs: Un pays et trois races, 1936, n0 5-6, p.136.) Muri 1957, R. Bourgeois nawe yagize ati: "Le terme Muhutu désigne avant tout un état social….., le vocable Mututsi indique plus une situation sociale qu'un caractère racique. Il est appliqué à tous ceux qui participent au commandement du Pays ainsi qu'à leur famille". Reba: R. Bourgeois, Banyarwanda et Barundi, 1957, t.1, pp.37 et 58 cité dans Revue Dialogue n0 170, Septembre-Octobre 1993, pp. 13-14. Uyu Bourgeois yarakabyaga cyane kuko hari Abatutsi batari muri "commandement" y'Igihugu.*

16 *Urugero rwa hafi ni intambara yo ku Rucunshu (Akarere ka Muhanga, mu Murenge wa Shyogwe). Habaye ubushyamirane hagati y'umugabekazi w'umutsindirano Nyiramibambwe IV Kanjogera n'Umwami Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa wari warazwe ingoma na Rwabugili. Byarangiye abayoboke b'Umugabekazi Kanjogera batsinze intambara yaguyemo Umwami Rutarindwa witwikiye mu nzu, asimburwa na Musinga (Umuhungu wa Rwabugiri na Kanjogera). Ibyo byabaye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1896. Ubwo kandi Abazungu bari barashinze ibirindiro ku nkiko z'u Rwanda i Shangi (Akarere ka Nyamasheke). Umuntu yavuga ko igihe Abazungu bari basatiriye u Rwanda bagamije ubukoloni, naho abamisiyoneri bakazana idini yabo. Abanyarwanda bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bari mu mwiryane nta politiki bahuriyeho: Ibyo byahaye Abakoloni icyuho bitabagoye. Ubumwe Abanyarwanda bari basanganywe bwagiye bukendera buhoro buhoro.*

Igitekerezo cy'uko mu Rwanda hari "amoko" anyuranye, cyabibwe n'Abakoloni bakigera mu Rwanda. Ibyo bitekerezo bisumbanya Abanyarwanda byigishijwe mu mashuri yose abazungu bashinze mu Rwanda. Abayizemo bose barabyigishijwe kandi bose barabyemera.

2.2. UBUMWE BW'ABANYARWANDA MU GIHE CY'UBUKOLONI

Ubukoloni ubwabwo, aho bugeze hose butera imihindukire y'inzego z'ubutegetsi, iz'ubukungu n'iz'imibanire y'abantu. Ikindi ni uko ubukoloni bwazanye n'amadini yo hanze (ubukirisitu n'ubuyisilamu). Ayo madini kandi nayo yagize inkurikizi mu mihindukire y'imibereho y'abantu, mu nzego z'iyobokamana (religion), uburyo bwo gutekereza, ubuzima n'ibidukikije.

1.1.1 Igihe cy'Abadage (1897-1916)

Mu mwaka w'i 1897, i Bwami bemeye kuba ingaruzwamuheto z'Abadage, bajya mu kwaha kwabo[17]. Umwami ntiyari agicunga cyangwa ngo arambagire u Rwanda uko ashaka nk'umutegetsi wigenga. Kimwe mu bigaragaza ibyo ni uko Umwami yagombye guhama hamwe, acisha make, aguma i Nyanza, areka akamenyero kari gasanzwe ku Bami ko guhindura imirwa cyangwa aho batura. Yagombaga kugira aho abonanira n'Abazungu (Abadage cyangwa Abamisiyoneri) hazwi, ari ho i Nyanza. Muri icyo gihe, Abatware nabo batangiye kugira andi mahuriro makuru atari i Bwami (Cour Royale): ku bigo by'ubutegetsi bushya bitaga "Boma" nka Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Shangi, Gatsibo, na Musaho (Rubengera). Ibyo bigaragaza ko Umwami hari icyo yatakaje ku byerekeye ubutegetsi bwe, no kuba ari we muhuza wenyine w'Abanyarwanda. Habonetse abandi baharanira kuyobora politiki, ubutegetsi bwite n'iyobokamana: ubundi Umwami ni we wari Umutambyi Mukuru w'u Rwanda.

Gutakaza ubwigenge n'ubutegetsi busesuye byagaragariye no mu gushinga imipaka y'u Rwanda n'ibihugu birukikije ubu. Byagize ingaruka ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda: Byagaragaye cyane ku baturage bo mu Majyaruguru y'u Rwanda (urugero: abo mu Mulera, mu Bufumbira na Bwisha/Rutchuru) baguye mu rukubo rw'urujya n'uruza rw'Abazungu n'abasirikare babo barwaniraga imipaka no gushinga imambo zayo, nuko bamwe bahinduka Abanyekongo, abandi bahinduka Abanya-Uganda. Ibi byabaye hagati ya 1896 na 1912.

17 *Ubutegetsi bw'Umwami ntibwigeze bubangamira Abadage, ahanini kubera ingufu zabo: bari barabonye isomo ku gitero cy'i Shangi cyaneshejwe n'Ababiligi (Nyakanga 1896) ku ngoma ya Rutarindwa. N'abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda ubwabo bari bafite amakimbirane ashingiye ku butegetsi: Urugero ni nk'ibya Ndungutse na Basebya (1911-1912).*

Uretse ibyo gucunga Igihugu (contrôle) n'ibyo gushyiraho imipaka y'igihugu, Abadage bari bamaze gutangira gushyiraho ubutegetsi bwite bwa gisiviri: Urugero ni Résidence y'u Rwanda yashinzwe mu wa 1908 icungwa na Dr Richard Kant. Ibyo byatumye Kigali iba Umurwa ujya imbizi (concurrente) na Nyanza. Mbere y'umwaka wa 1908, u Rwanda Abadage barutegekeraga Usumbura, Usumbura nayo igategekwa na Dar-es-Salaam ariho hari Gouverneur.

Icyo umuntu yasorezaho ni uko Abadage bashyigikiye Ubwami n'Umwami[18], bakanagira imigambi yo kuzamura igihugu mu majyambere, ariko ntibyabujije ko ubutegetsi bwabo bwa gikoloni bwahungabanyije ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ingero: kuba u Rwanda rwaratakaje ubwigenge, Umwami ntabe akiri ipfundo ry'Abanyarwanda bose no kuba barashyigikiye amadini mashya kandi ntawe uyobewe ko idini rishya ryose rihindura imibereho, umuco n'ubufatanye bw'umuryango.

1.1.2 Igihe cy'Ababiligi (1916-1962)

Kuba Abadage bari bamaze kugenda kandi bari bashyigikiye Umwami Musinga; inzara ya Rumanura yabaye inkurikizi y'intambara, cyane cyane mu Bugoyi; kwikorera imizigo y'Abadage n'abasirikare babo bahungaga; inkeke yo kugaburira abategetsi bashyashya bigaruriye Igihugu (bitaga Abanyekongo) no gukorana no kutavuga rumwe; ibyo byose byashyize Abanyarwanda mu gihirahiro. Yewe n'Umwami asigara atazi aho ahagaze.

Mu bibi byagaragaye hari nk'ibi bikurikira:

- "Abasemyi" (interprètes/interpreters): ni ukuvuga Abanyarwanda bari bazi agaswahili gake, bakagenderaho basemurira Ababiligi, babishatsemo inyungu ikabije, babigiramo n'urugomo: bagakubita abaturage, bagatwara ibintu byabo bitwaje Umubiligi. Batangiye muri 1916 bagera nko muri 1919 baraciye ibintu;
- "Gufaringa" cyangwa "gukinda" ari ko gufata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu ku mugaragaro;

18 *Abadage bakoze iyo bwababaga barwanya abigometse ku Mwami nka Ndungutse na Basebya (1911-1912). Hari n'abapadiri bari babangamiye ubutegetsi bw'Umwami Abadage barabirukanisha: abo ni nka Pouget na Barthéremy.*

- Abaheze ishyanga baragiye bikoreye imizigo y'Abadage.

Mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bwite hari icyahindutse gishyashya. Bashyizeho Intara ngari (provinces unies) n'Umutware umwe[19]. Minisitiri Frank wari Minisitiri wa za Koloni yanditse urwandiko rw'ihame mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda: Ababiligi bagombaga gukoresha ubutegetsi buziguye (administration indirecte/indirect rule), ibyo bikavuga ko bagombaga kwigarurira imbaga y'Abanyarwanda bakoresheje Abatware nk'uko Abadage babikoze. Mu by'ukuri, ubwo butegetsi buziguye ntibwabujije Abazungu kwivanga mu baturage kugeza mu mirenge.

Ku gihe cy'Ababiligi Ubwami bwataye agaciro. Mbere iteka ry'Umwami ntiryasubirwagaho, ntawaricagaho: Umwami yari Nyamugirubutangwa. Mu mwaka w'i 1917, Umwami yategetswe gusinya ko buri Munyarwanda azajya mu idini yishakiye[20]**.** Ababigizemo inyungu ni abanyagatolika. Muri uwo mwaka ni nabwo Ababiligi bambuye Umwami w'u Rwanda uburenganzira bwo kwica. Kuva ubwo nta wari ugitinya ko Umwami yamwica.

Mu wa 1923, Umwami yatakaje ububasha bwo kugabira no kunyaga abatware atabyemerewe n'Ababiligi ni ukuvuga Rezida. Abakoloni basimbuye Umwami mu bubasha no mu cyubahiro. Kubera ibyo, Abatware bamwe na bamwe n'urubyiruko rw'i Bwami batangiye gusuzugura Umwami no kuyoboka Abazungu, ari Abakoloni ari n'Abapadiri.

Mu mwaka wa 1925, kugira ngo Ubwami burusheho guta agaciro, Rezida w'u Rwanda yavanyeho Ubwiru, aca umuhango w'umuganura: Umwami iyo yayoboraga uwo muhango byagaragazaga ko ari we Nyiruburumbuke ari nawe utanga kororoka; muri uwo mwaka, Umutware w'Abiru Gashamura Ababiligi bamucira ishyanga (i Gitega mu Burundi).

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19 *Ubusanzwe, ubutegetsi bwite mu Rwanda bwari bufite akantu k'urusobekerane. Nk'umusozi umwe watwarwaga n'abantu babiri cyangwa batatu: "Umutware w'Ubutaka" wari ushinzwe kuyobora ibyerekeye imirimo, abahinzi n'amakoro y'ibiri mu buhinzi; "Umutware w'Umukenke" wari ushinzwe inka no kuyobora bene zo kimwe n'amakoro yerekeranye n'iby'inka; "Umutware w'Ingabo" wari ushinzwe kwegeranya ingabo igihe cy'intambara azihabwa kenshi na buri nzu. Rimwe na rimwe Umutware yashoboraga gutegeka byombi icyarimwe: Rwabalinda yari Umutware w'Ubutaka n'Umukenke mu Mpala (ahari Cyangugu); Bikotwa yari Umutware w'Ingabo n'Ubutaka mu Buhanga – Ndara (ahari Butare).*

20 *Umwami Musinga ntiyigeze abyemera n'ikimenyimenyi ni uko mbere y'uko anyagwa, tariki ya 05/01/1930, yanditse ibaruwa ikakaye. Muri iyo baruwa yandikiye umukobwa we Musheshambugu amwihanangiriza ko nta mwana we wemerewe kuba umukirisitu, ko n'uzabirengaho azafata umuvumo umuturukaho. Iyo baruwa yari iyo kuvuma umwana we wese uzahirahira arenga ku cyo yavuze akaba umukirisitu kuko nta na rimwe yigeze akunda abapadiri b'abera mu buzima bwe.*

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1926 kugeza 1932, habaye ivugurura rikomeye ry'ubutegetsi bwite mu Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ababigizemo uruhare ni Gouverneur Voisin wari ufite Icyicaro Usumbura na Rezida w'u Rwanda Mortehan, ku buryo iryo vugurura, ku byerekeye u Rwanda, hari abanditse baryita "réforme de Mortehan". Iryo vugurura ryavanyeho Abatware batatu bavuzwe hejuru ribasimbuza umwe rukumbi, ariko iby'ingabo babivanaho bashyiraho ibyabo. Ibyo byatumye abaturage bagwa mu gihirahiro cyo kutamenya umutegetsi nyawe bayoboka.

Mu nkurikizi mbi z'iryo vugurura, umuntu yavuga izi zikurikira;

- Ubutegetsi bwajyanaga n'ibikingi kandi Umutware agashobora kugira ibikingi biri intage ni ukuvuga hirya no hino. Abakoloni bo ubutegetsi bwabo bwagenderaga ku butaka bubumbiye hamwe (territoire/territory);

- Kugeza muri 1926, Abatware bari amoko yose, ab'Abahutu n'Abatwa bavanwaho buhoro buhoro. No mu Burundi ni ko byagenze;

- Abaturage ntibari bagifite kirengera. Bagombaga kumvira abategetsi bashya ahanini impamvu ikaba ari uko abo bategetsi bari bahagarariye Abakoloni, kandi rero Umukoloni yaratinywaga cyane. Yari afite uburyo bunyuranye bwo guhana[21] umusuzuguye uwo ari we wese;

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21 Ikiboko: Cyageze kuri benshi. Ibike by'itegeko byari umunani nk'uwabaga atasasiye ikawa ku buryo buhagije cyangwa uwabaga atarangije igipimo cy'imyumbati. Yubikaga inda bagakuraho umwenda bagakubita wa mubare w'ibiboko. Umukoloni wamamaye muri ibyo bamwise "Kurimpuzu" kubera ko yategekaga ko abakubitwa bagombaga gukura umwenda ku kibuno kugira ngo ikiboko kigere ku mubiri. Ikiboko cyababaje Abanyarwanda kandi cyateye abagikubitaga n'abagikubitishaga kwiyumvamo ko bari hejuru n'abagikubitwaga kwiyumvamo ko bari hasi.

Ihazabu (amende/fine): yagenderaga ku mafaranga akenshi. Kubera ko nta fatizo rigaragara ry'amafaranga yagombaga gutangwa ku wayiciwe ku mabwiriza aya n'aya, kubera kandi ko nta kigenzura mu mishyirire mu bikorwa y'ihazabu, icyo gihano cyakunze kugendana no kurengera (kurenza urugero) bitewe n'ubushake bw'Ikirongozi, Sushefu, Shefu n'abategetsi b'Abakoloni.

Gufungwa: Gufungwa iminsi, amezi cyangwa imyaka byazanywe n'Abakoloni. Uretse ibikorwa bibi byagenwaga n'amategeko ahana yerekeranye n'ibihano, ikintu Abanyarwanda bafungiwe cyane ni ukubura umusoro.

Kunyagwa: Ni ukwamburwa ubutegetsi. Abashefu n'Abasushefu banyagwaga ahanini bitewe n'uko babaga batarinjiye mu murongo w'ubutegetsi bw'Abakoloni kubera kutabishobora cyangwa kutabishaka (kwanga gusererereza ingabo zabo). Twakwibutsa ko Abapadiri banyagishaga abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda bumva ko bababangamiye mu murimo wabo wo guhindura Abanyarwanda Abanyagatolika. Uwatangaga ubutegetsi ni nawe wari ufite uburenganzira bwo kunyaga, yari Umubiligi. Iteka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952, mu byo ryashyizeho, twavuga ko ari ryo ryahaye Umwami w'u Rwanda n'uw'i Burundi uburenganzira bucagase bwo gushyikiriza Abakoloni abashobora gutegeka cyangwa kunyagwa.

Gucibwa (être relegué): Abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda baciwe n'Ababiligi ntabwo bari benshi. Babaye bake ariko bakomeye uhereye ku Mwami Musinga wazize ko ngo yanga Abazungu n'Abakirisitu b'Abagatolika. Mu by'ukuri yazize ko atashoboye kubegurira ubutegetsi bwose uko babishakaga, akaba kandi atarashoboye kwinjira mu murongo w'Ababiligi n'uw'Abapadiri. Hari abandi batware bagiye bacibwa: Gashamura, Umutware w'Abiru waciriwe i Burundi (Gitega) mu wa 1925, hashira umwaka akagwayo; hari na Nyamurasa Kabano IV, Umwami w'Umuganura wo mu Bumbogo waciriwe mu Kinyaga mu mwaka wa 1929. Uko guca abategetsi badashoboye gukorana n'Ababiligi ntabwo byatangiriye mu Rwanda, kuko hari hasanzwe itegeko ribigenga kandi ryakurikizwaga na mbere muri Kongo Mbiligi. Kandi hari n'abandi bakoloni babikoze.

- Ubwo butegetsi bwagendanye n'urugomo rukabije ku baturage. Bitewe n'uko Ibisonga, Abakarani, Abamotsi batari bagenewe umushahara. Urundi rugero rw'urugomo ni uko uwo bakuraga ku butegetsi, ibintu bye bigaragara nk'ikawa n'abagaragu byafatwaga n'umusimbuye, byakuruye amakimbirane akomoka ku masambu n'ibikingi. No mu gice cyarimo ubukonde, bene ayo makimbirane yarahabaye aturutse ku batware bashya;

- Muri ubwo butegetsi bushya umuntu umwe yabaye umutegetsi aba n'umucamanza (administration et justice).

Guhera icyo gihe, Ubwami bwa Musinga na Nyina Kanjogera bwari busigaye ku izina gusa. Kumunyaga ku wa 12 Ugushyingo 1931, kwari nko gusonga iyagaramye. Icyagaragaye ni uko Umwami Musinga atari akiri umuhuza w'Abanyarwanda n'ubwo hari abari bakimukomeyeho kandi na nyuma bakabyerekana. Yemwe n'aho amariye kujyanwa i Kamembe, hari abakomeje kumuyoboka.

Kuva mu wa 1931 kugeza mu wa 1940, Umwami Mutara Rudahigwa yihatiye kubahiriza amategeko y'Ababiligi no gutegeka Abatware kuyubahiriza byanze bikunze. Mu byerekeye idini hari icyo bise "irivuze Umwami" ni ukuvuga itegeko rya Rudahigwa ry'uko Abanyarwanda bose bagomba kuyoboka idini gatolika.

Mu rwego rw'ibitekerezo-remezo (idéologie), Abakoloni n'Abapadiri bamwe na bamwe barwanyije ko Rudahigwa Abanyarwanda bamubonamo Umwami nyakuri (Roi/King) ahubwo bagombaga kumubonamo Umutware usanzwe (Sultan). Umwami nyakuri, Abanyarwanda bagombaga kumenya ko ari we wihariye iryo zina, yari uw'Ababiligi. Rudahigwa agishyirwaho mu wa 1931 si ko Abanyarwanda bose babyishimiye: hari abavuze ko ari "Umwami wo mu isoko" (aho Abazungu bamushyiriyeho); Umwami wimiye ku "mugina" (podium yari ahagazeho avuga ijambo); "umuvuzampiri" (ukubitana)……Guhera mu wa 1940 kugeza mu wa 1948, Rudahigwa yagiye yigarurira isura y'Ubwami yihesha n'icyubahiro muri benshi. Byaramworoheye kuko yanabishyigikiwemo n'Abapadiri: Batisimu ye muri 1943; mu wa 1946 yegurira u Rwanda Kristu Umwami; Papa Pie XII amuha impeta yo kumuhembera ko ashyigikiye ubukristu, ayambikirwa i Kabgayi ku wa 20 Mata 1947 ayambitswe n'intumwa ya Papa muri Kongo Mbiligi na Ruanda-Urundi. Muri rusange Ababiligi bamukundiraga ko akora kandi agakoresha akazi

bashaka. Ariko hari n'abari bamubangamiye (mu ba "évolués / élites" = abasirimu) ngo babe banamusimbura ku butegetsi babifashijwemo na bamwe mu Bakoloni nka Guverineri Jungers na Frère Secundien (Umuyobozi wa Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida). Uyu mufurere ni we wari warakoze urutonde rw'amazina y'abashoboraga gusimbura Rudahigwa ku Bwami. Mu bavugwaga harimo Bwanakweli Porosiperi na Ndazaro Lazaro.

Mu mwaka wa 1948, ubwo intumwa za ONU zasuraga u Rwanda, Ababiligi bari bizeye ko Umwami azabarega kuri izo ntumwa. Rudahigwa nawe abyumva nk'ejo arabizibukira, ahubwo avuga ko yishimiye imitegekere y'Ababiligi, ndetse abwira n'Abatware kutabavuga nabi. Ubwo rero raporo izo ntumwa zajyanye yagiye ivuga neza Ababiligi. Iyo politiki Umwami yakoze yatumye Ababiligi bamuhemba kugenderera Igihugu cyabo mu wa 1949. Bwabaye ubwa mbere Abanyarwanda basura u Burayi ku mugaragaro. Byabaye igitangaza.

N'ubwo raporo y'intumwa za ONU yavugaga neza ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi muri rusange yagize ibintu bibiri by'ingenzi ibunengaho: icya mbere ni ukudindira k'uburezi; icya kabiri ni uko mu rwego rwa politiki n'ubutegetsi bwite nta gahunda n'imwe yagaragaraga yo kuzageza Abanyarwanda ku bwigenge bucagase (autonomie) no ku bwigenge busesuye (indépendance) nyuma.

Rudahigwa nyuma yaje kugirana ubwumvikane buke n'Ababiligi, nawe yari amaze guhumukirwa amajyambere, yabaye nk'akanyoni kagurutse kakamenya iyo bweze. Yasubiye mu Bubiligi mu wa 1955, arongera ajya mu imurika mpuzamahanga (exposition universelle) ryabereye i Bruxelles mu wa 1958 ajyanye n'intore n'abavuzi b'ingoma, u Rwanda ruhaserukana ishema. Ubwo yavuye mu Burayi yarahindutse undi, "ashaka ubwigenge bw'Igihugu cye"[22]. Ibyo byakomeje kumuteranya n'Ababiligi, bakomeza kugirana amakimbirane cyane. Yatanze bitunguranye ari ko bikimeze ku ya 25 Nyakanga 1959. Yatangiye i Bujumbura afite imyaka 48.

1.1.3 Amadini

Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1900 nta dini ryo hanze ryari ryarinjiye mu Rwanda. Mu wa 1900 haje abanyagatolika, mu wa 1907 haza abaprotestanti (lutheriens/Lutherans),

22 *Guharanira ubwigenge muri iki gihe byaharirwaga abitwaga "abakomuniste" kandi ubukomuniste bikavuga kutemera Imana (athéisme / atheism).*

mu wa 1910 ubuyisilamu bwari bumaze kugera mu Rwanda. Nyuma yaho haje andi mashami y'ubukristu.
Amadini mashya yagize icyo ahindura ku kwemera, ku migenzo no ku myifatire n'imihango ya benshi mu Banyarwanda. Ikindi ni uko ayo madini yateye amakimbirane mu Banyarwanda: amakimbirane hagati y'abayoboke n'abatari bo, amakimbirane ari mu madini ndetse no mu matorero y'ubukristu ubwayo. Muri ayo madini iryagaragaye cyane mu gukorana n'Abakoloni ni irya gatolika, kandi ibyo byagize ingaruka nyinshi mu Banyarwanda.

Abanyamadini mashya basuzuguye idini rya Gihanga (gakondo). Abagatolika, Imana bayisimbuza "Mungu"; Abayisilamu bakoresha "Allah"; Abaporotestanti bo bagitangira bakoresheje ijambo Imana. Ibyo byatumye Imana n'akamaro kayo biyoyoka mu mitima ya benshi, kandi yarahuzaga Abanyarwanda bose: yari ipfundo ry'ibanze Abanyarwanda bari bahuriyeho mu kwemera kwabo no mu mibereho yabo. Ubundi imihango yo guterekera no kubandwa yatumaga abazima n'abazimu (abakurambere) bahura, bagashyikirana. Aho amadini aziye arwanya cyane iyo mihango yahuzaga Abanyarwanda. Urugero ni nko kubandwa abaturanyi bahuriragaho muri rusange nta kurobanura Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa.

Izindi ngero z'ibyahindutse: nko kudakomera Umwami amashyi (ahagana mu 1920). Abagatolika bakavuga ko Umwami wabo ari "Yezu"; umwalimu cyangwa umukuru w'inama yiyumvishaga ko agomba kwigana Padiri w'Umuzungu mu myambarire (kwambara ikanzu, kwambara ishapule mu gituza) no mu mvugo.

Imyigishirize y'amadini mashya ntiyakunze kumvikana neza kandi yashenye ukwemera kw'Abanyarwanda n'umuco wabo. Bigera n'aho amazina y'amanyarwanda yitwa amapagani (pagan/paien) naho akomoka iwabo akitwa amakirisitu. N'ubwo hari ababikurikije bikababyarira imbuto nziza, hari abakomatanyije ibya gakondo n'ibishya abandi bahera mu gihirahiro basigara mu cyeragati.

Hari n'amakimbirane yaturutse ku madini mashya. Hari ay'abayoboke n'abatari bo. Mu ikubitiro, abo bayoboke biswe "inyangarwanda" bararwanywa ndetse barananenwa. Ariko mu wa 1907, Abakristu bahabwaga akato bakomorewe na Kabare bamera nk'abandi Banyarwanda. Mu bya 1920, Abapadiri bamaze gushinga ibirindiro kubera ko bari bashyigikiwe n'Ababiligi, abatarayobokaga ni bo batangiye gukekwa no gusuzugurwa, uhereye ku Mwami Musinga. Abatarahakirizwaga ku

Bakoloni bitwaga “Abayoboke, abo bakaba barashyamiranye n’ “Abahababyi”, ari byo kuvuga abashyikiranaga n’Abapadiri n’abandi Bakoloni bakabamenera amabanga y’i Bwami. Hari n’amakimbirane hagati y’amadini ubwayo: nk’abagatolika n’abaprotestanti, abagatolika n’abayisilamu…., barasuzuguranaga, bakarwanira umwanya ugaragara mu gihugu n’abayoboke benshi, bagapfa n’amasambu. Ayo makimbirane bayacengeje no mu bayoboke bayo bigira ingaruka ku bumwe bw’Abanyarwanda. Hari nubwo abatware babaga batari abagatolika banyagwaga kuko banze kuyoboka idini.

By’umwihariko Kiliziya Gatolika, yagize uruhare rukomeye mu rwego rwa politiki bitewe n’uko yari yubashywe n’abategetsi b’Abakoloni n’Abanyarwanda.

1.1.4 Amashuri

Mu Rwanda kimwe n’ahandi hose hakolonijwe, amashuri ubwayo azana ikintu gishyashya. Hari imyumvire y’ibintu, gusobanukirwa ku bintu bimwe na bimwe kurusha abatarayagiyemo, ubuhanga n’ubumenyi bushya. Amashuri kandi ahindura imyifatire. Amashuri acyaduka si ko Abanyarwanda bose bumvise akamaro kayo. Muri rusange abategetsi babanje kuyasuzugura ku buryo birinze koherezamo abana babo. Akamaro kayo kumvikanye buhoro buhoro uhereye mu mwaka wa 1912. Ubusanzwe aho ari ho hose amashuri azana ubusumbane mu bantu bitewe n’uko bamwe bayizemo abandi ntibayakozemo ikirenge.

Mu mwaka wa 1900 ni bwo amashuri ya mbere yatangiye i Save na Nyanza atangijwe n’Abapadiri bera. Naho mu mwaka wa 1930, habaye amasezerano agenga amashuri abanza hagati ya Leta na Misiyoni z’abakristu.
Mu ikubitiro, amashuri gatolika ni yo yari afite ireme, agaragara. Mu ntangiriro inyigisho zo mu ishuri zari zigamije guhindura Abanyarwanda abagatolika. Abapadiri mu byari bibashishikaje harimo gutanguranwa n’Abaporotestanti n’Abayisilamu mu kubona abayoboke. Ni cyo cyatumye ibyigishwaga byari bikeya kubera ko Abapadiri batari bashishikajwe no guha Abanyarwanda ubuhanga n’ubumenyi bushyashya uretse iby’idini. Dore ibyigishwaga: kwandika, gusoma (ariko usoma mu bitabo by’idini), imibare n’igiswahili kuri bamwe na bamwe. Muri uko gushaka abayoboke, Abapadiri bashatse n’ababafasha batangira kubategurira uwo murimo. Amashuri yo ku gihe cy’ubukoloni ntabwo yari agamije cyane guha ubumenyi abakolonijwe, yari agamije cyane cyane kwigisha iby’idini no kwigisha

abazasemurira abakoloni.

Ibyo byatumye bashyiraho amatsinda yihariye (sections spéciales / special divisions) mu mashuri abanza, ayo matsinda agategura abarimu n'abazajya muri seminari. Abanyarwanda ba mbere bagiye muri seminari boherejwe i Rubya (mu burengerazuba bwa Tanzaniya y'ubu). Seminari nto yambere yubatswe mu Rwanda, i Nyaruhengeri (Kansi y'ubu) mu wa 1912, iza kwimukira i Kabgayi mu wa 1913. Seminari nkuru itangirira i Kabgayi mu wa 1913 (ariko yabanje gucumbika muri misiyoni ya Kansi amezi make), irimo abavuye i Hangiro (Tanzaniya) iza kwimukira mu Nyakibanda mu wa 1936 irimo Abanyarwanda, Abarundi n'Abanyekongo.

Mu mwaka wa 1913, i Kabgayi n'i Rwaza, Abapadiri bafunguye "amashuri agenewe Abatutsi"[23] iruhande rw'ayigagamo Abahutu. Iryo shuri baryitaga ishuri ry'intore. Ryahagaze mu wa 1932, kandi ryatanze Abatware (Shefu na Sushefu). Mu mwaka wa 1919, Leta Mbiligi yatangije ishuri i Nyanza ryari rigenewe Abatutsi ariko akenshi baryitaga ishuri ry'abana b'abatware, ubundi bakongeramo n'abandi Batutsi. Mbere y'uwo mwaka Abapadiri bera bari bahafite ishuri rivaho kubera intambara ya Mbere y'Isi. Iryo shuri ryahagaze mu mwaka wa 1935, nyuma y'aho ishuri ryisumbuye rya "Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida" ritangiye mu mwaka wa 1932.

Iryo shuri rya Astrida ryari rifite inshingano zikurikira: kwigisha abazaba abatware, abazaba abakarani (secrétaires) n'abarimu bazigisha mu mashuri ya Leta. Mu mwaka wa 1959, ku ba Shefu 48 batwaraga, 14 gusa bari abize Astrida (Butare), abandi ari abize muri iryo shuri rya Leta ry'i Nyanza no mu yandi mashuri. Muri icyo gihe benshi mu ba Sushefu ni abari muri iryo shuri ry'i Nyanza. Biragaragara ko iryo shuri rya Leta Mbiligi, ryo mu rwego rw'amashuri abanza, ryagize uruhare rukomeye mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda.

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23 *Impamvu zatumye amashuri y'Abatutsi ashyirwaho ni izi zikurikira: Impamvu ya mbere kwari ukubahiriza amabwiriza ya Cardinal Charles Lavigerie washinze umuryango w'Abapadiri bera. Yabategetse ko bazahindura abantu abakristu bahereye ku Batware kandi ari bo bifashishije kugira ngo babone abayoboke benshi bitabagoye. Abapadiri bera bageze mu Rwanda, mu gukurikiza ayo mabwiriza biyumvisha ko Abatware bari Abatutsi gusa, kandi atari ko byari bimeze n'ubwo mu gice kinini cy'u Rwanda abari Abatware mu rwego rwo hejuru abenshi bari Abatutsi.*
Impamvu ya kabiri yo gushyiraho amashuri y'Abatutsi ni uko bakigera mu Rwanda Abapadiri bashyize mu bikorwa ibyari mu nyandiko z'Abazungu baje bashaka gutahura amasoko y'uruzi rwa Nil cyangwa hari ibindi bagamije: abo ni nka Speke, Von Gotzen na Kandt. Muri izo nyandiko banditsemo bahimba ko Abatutsi bazi ubwenge kurusha Abahutu, ko ari bo bashobora gutegeka, ko nta n'igitangaje kuko ngo bari bafitanye isano n'Abazungu, kurya baturutse mu Misiri, Caucase, Ethiopie…Ibyo ni byo byitwa hypothèse hamitique/ hamitic hypothesis ivuga ko ibyiza bikorwa n'abantu muri aka Karere k'Ibiyaga bigari bitashobora gukorwa n'abirabura tsiritsiri, ko ahubwo byahimbwe n'Abatutsi n'abandi bameze nkabo.

Ku itariki ya 1/1/1930, Leta y'u Rwanda yagiranye amasezerano na Kiliziya y'abakristu (gatolika n'abaporotestanti) yerekeye ku mashuri y'amatorero afashwa na Leta (enseignement libre subsidié). Ibyo byatumye abanyeshuri bagenda baba benshi cyane mu mashuri y'Abagatolika. Ariko nta nkurikizi, iyo ari yo yose, ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ahubwo kimwe mu byahungabanyije ubwo bumwe ni ishuri ryitwaga "Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida" (Butare) ryayoborwaga n'aba "Frères de la charité" (Abafurere b'urukundo), rikaba ryarafunguye imiryango mu mwaka wa 1932. Iryo shuri ryisumbuye ryayoborwaga n'Abihayimana rigafashwa na Leta by'umwihariko ryari rigamije gutegura abafasha b'Ababiligi mu nzego zinyuranye: abavuzi b'abantu n'ab'amatungo, abagoronome, abasekereteri n'abazaba abashefu (section administrative). Uretse iyo segisiyo y'ubutegetsi (administration) yigwagamo n'abana b'abashefu, izindi zose abazigagamo bari bavanze (Abahutu n'Abatutsi). Ariko guhera mu mwaka wa 1932 kugera mu mwaka wa 1959, Abatutsi ni bo bakunze kuba benshi. Kwemeza ko bamwe bari benshi abandi bakaba bake bishingiye ku mibare yaturutse mu "gitabo bandikagamo amazina y'abinjira buri mwaka banandikamo ko ari Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi"[24].

Abarangizaga muri iryo shuri bose, Abategetsi b'Ababiligi n'Abafurere babareze babitagaho cyane, kugira ngo bakomeze kuba "Indatwa" (niryo zina bari bafite), bityo babashyire hejuru y'abandi Banyarwanda (élite). Barangizaga bafite umwuga bagahita bakorana n'Abakoloni, bagahabwa inzu bacumbikamo, mu Mijyi nka Kigali na Astrida (Butare), bakagira ahantu hihariye batura ku buryo babatandukanya n'abandi Banyarwanda.

Abavuye mu iseminari bo nta mwuga ugaragara bari barigiye. Uretse bamwe na bamwe bafashwaga na bene wabo b'abatware bagahabwa imirimo y'ubukarani cyangwa Ubusushefu n'abandi bake babaga abarimu mu mashuri abanza, abenshi nta mirimo y'ubuyobozi bahabwaga. Ababishoboraga bajyaga hanze nka Usumbura na Bukavu. Uko kutabona akazi kw'abavuye mu iseminari kwavuyemo akantu k'ishyari kubera ko ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni butari bubitayeho. Ahubwo bigijweyo (marginarisation / frustration). Ubwo busumbane ni kimwe mu byateye amakimbirane hagati y'abize (élites) mbere ya 1959 cyane cyane ko bizwi ko amashuri ari yo atuma umuntu ashobora kubona akazi bitamugoye nk'utayagezemo, cyane

24 *Répartition des élèves admis au Groupe Scolaire et par ethnie 1932-1962 (Ruterana J.M.V, Le Groupe Scolaire de Butare, p. 129).*

amashuri yigisha umwuga.

1.1.5 Imirimo y'agahato

Imirimo y'agahato yatewe ahanini n'uko Abakoloni bari bagamije mbere ya byose inyungu zabo zo kuvoma ibintu binyuranye bakoresheje Abanyarwanda. Bamwe bakagomba kubafasha mu butegetsi, bakageza ku baturage amabwiriza y'Abakoloni kandi bakareba niba yubahirizwa, abatabikoze bagahanwa; ndetse n'abatware ubwabo habagaho ubwo bakubitwa n'Abakoloni. Ibyo bivuga ko abategekwaga byabavunnye bikabije.

Ibitekerezo bibi Ababiligi bari bafite bahereyeho mu gukandamiza Abanyarwanda:

- Basuzuguraga umwirabura ku mpamvu nyinshi zirimo iz'ingezi ebyiri: ngo umwirabura ni igicucu, nta bwenge agira n'ikimenyimenyi ni uko adashobora kwibwiriza icyamugirira akamaro ngo agikore; ngo ni umunebwe kabuhariwe ku buryo agomba guhatirwa gukora byaba ngombwa akabikubitirwa;

- Ntibashakaga gutanga amafaranga yabo ngo bateze igihugu imbere. Ibyo byaterwaga n'uko bari bazi ko igihugu cy'u Rwanda ari indagizo ya SDN[25] na ONU[26], amaherezo bazareka kurutegeka. Ikindi mu buryo bwo gucunga ubukungu n'imari, bari bazi ko ari ngombwa gushora bike ugamije inyungu nyinshi. Kubera iyo mpamvu bakoresheje Abanyarwanda nta mafaranga menshi ya Leta Mbiligi bakoresheje. Amafaranga hafi ya yose bakoresheje yavaga mu maboko y'abaturage, cyangwa abaturage bagakora badahembwa, abatware bagahembwa amafaranga avuye mu misoro;

- Ibyo bikorwa by'agahato, umuturage wese yumvaga imvune yabyo, akumva ububi bwako, kabone n'ubwo kabaga kagamije kumufasha kubona ibimutunga nko guhinga imyumbati, ibijumba n'ibindi.

Bimwe mu bikorwa by'agahato byari ibi bikurikira:

1.1.5.1. Akazi[27]

Akazi byari ibikorwa by'agahato bidahemberwa byazanywe n'ubutegetsi

25 *Nyuma yo kwirukana Abadage habaye ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi bwa gisirikare (1916 – 1926), hakurikiraho igihe cy'indagizo ya Mandat (1926 – 1946).*
26 *Igihe cy'indagizo ya Tutelle (1946 – 1962).*
27 *Corvée / forced labour. Akazi byaturutse ku ijambo ry'Igiswayire "kaazi" bivuga umurimo.*

bw'Abakoloni. Akazi kakoreshejwe ku gitugu, kajyanirana n'ikandamizwa ry'abaturage, kabahoza ku nkeke yo guhamagarwa buri gihe kukajyaho no kutagira umunsi n'umwe umuturage yabaga azi ko yakora gahunda ashaka. Kuba Sushefu yari afite imirimo myinshi ntaboneke byatumye ibirongozi[28] birengera, bikiha uburenganzira busumbye imirimo Sushefu yabihaga. Abakoreshaga Abanyarwanda ku rwego rwo hasi, ni ukuvuga ibirongozi n'abamotsi, ntibahembwaga. Kubera ububi bw'akazi, abaturage bakoraga uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo ntibakajyeho bakaba bajya nko kurarira Shefu.

Ububi bw'akazi kiyongera ku musoro n'ibindi bikorwa by'agahato nka shiku, byatumye Abanyarwanda benshi bahunga ingoma y'Ababiligi bajya cyane cyane mu gihugu cya Uganda (bitaga kujya i Bwongereza) gupagasa bashakayo umusoro, imyenda, itara n'ibindi. Ahagana mu mwaka wa 1930, hari Abanyarwanda ibihumbi basuhukiraga muri Uganda buri mwaka, hafi ya bose bakazagaruka kandi bagasubirayo. Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1959, Abanyarwanda bazwi bari baragiye muri Uganda babarirwaga mu bihumbi magana atatu na mirongo itanu (350,000), abandi ibihumbi mirongo itatu na bitanu (35,000) bari baragiye muri Tanganyika (Tanzaniya y'ubu).[29]

N'ubwo imirimo yakorwaga mu kazi yari ingirakamaro nko kubaka imihanda n'ibiraro, gukora ibibuga, kubaka amashuri, akazi kabangamiraga Abanyarwanda kubera ko bakoreshwaga ku gahato, badahembwa kandi ntibahabwe umwanya wo gukora indi mirimo ibatunga.

1.1.5.2. Uburetwa

Uburetwa ni imirimo abategekwa bakoreraga abategetsi biturutse kuri iryo sano ryonyine ry'ubutegetsi cyangwa imirimo abakene bakoreraga abakire, kandi iyo mirimo ntihemberwe. Hari n'abakunze kwitiranya mu nyandiko zabo uburetwa n'ikoro.[30] Hari n'abagiye bitiranya uburetwa n'ubuhake cyangwa akazi ko mu gihe cy'Abakoloni. Mu by'ukuri imirimo y'ingenzi yakorerwaga umutegetsi mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni ni iyi: guhinga, kubaka (urugero hari abavaga mu Bugoyi bakajya kubaka i Bwami), kurarira, gucana ibishyito, gusenya (gushaka

28 Ibirongozi ni abafashaga abasushefu. Abamotsi ni abahamagariraga abaturage kujya ku kazi ("Isuka n'agatebo, isuka n'agatebo, kare kare !!!).

29 Filip Reyntjens, Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda, p.141.

30 Habagaho ikoro ry'umuheto banitaga iry'ingabo ryatangwaga na buri muryango mugari w'abahinzi n'ikoro ry'ubutaka kubera ko ubutaka bwose bwari ubw'Umwami, ufite akarima ahinga yagombaga kugakodesha.

inkwi), kuvoma, gukuka no guheka abatware.

Mu by'ukuri ntibyoroshye kumenya ku buryo budashidikanywaho igihe uburetwa bwadukiye mu Rwanda. Hari abagiye bemeza ko "uburetwa ari ubwo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri".[31] Hari n'abandi bemeza ko uburetwa bwazanywe n'Abakoloni; bati n'ikimenyimenyi ni iryo jambo uburetwa rikomoka ku giswahili "kuleta", cyangwa ku gifaransa "l'Etat" cyabaye "uburetwa" ari byo kuvuga "ni ibya Leta". Birashoboka kandi ko iryo jambo riva ku Kinyarwanda cya kera, nk'uko Inkoranyamagambo (DIMO: Dictionnaire monolingue) ya I.R.S.T (Butare) ibyerekana: handitsemo ko "uburetwa" ari ijambo rishaje ryavugaga "imibyizi umuretwa (cyangwa ikiretwa) yakoraga ku mutware w'ubutaka". Iyo nkoranyamagambo itanga n'umugani uvuga ngo "umusozi w'uburetwa ukama[32] kare".

N'ubwo ntawahamya ku buryo bw'imvaho aho ijambo uburetwa ryaturutse n'igihe ryaziye, imirimo yakorwaga nk'uburetwa yari iriho ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Birazwi ko Rwabugiri yagize icyo ahindura ku mitegekere y'u Rwanda. Ibyo byatumye imirimo isa n'uburetwa ikwirakwizwa hamwe na hamwe. "Nko mu Bigogwe na Cyingogo bavuga ko ari Seruteganya umutoni wa Rwabugiri waba yaradukanye uburetwa".[33]

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, uburetwa bwagiye bufata isura nshya ari ku mubare w'iminsi bwakorwagaho, ari ku ncungu[34], ari n'agaciro bwafashe mu bikorwa rusange by'agahato ndetse n'uburyo bwakiriwe hirya no hino. Ku byerekeye iminsi, abanditsi benshi cyane cyane Ababiligi, bibanze kuri icyo kibazo cy'iminsi, bashaka kumenyekanisha ngo ukuntu barenganuye Abahutu, bagahamya ko iminsi y'uburetwa yari ibiri ku minsi itanu yari igize icyumweru cya Kinyarwanda kandi ni ko byari bimeze koko ariko nabo batinze kubihindura.

Guhera mu mwaka wa 1936, ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni bwemereye Abanyarwanda bakora mu nganda z'Abakoloni gucungura imirimo y'uburetwa bw'abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda, maze bagatanga amafaranga. Guhera mu mwaka wa 1938, bakurikije icyemezo cyafashwe mu wa 1937, incungu y'uburetwa yahagaze ku ifaranga rimwe ku munsi umwe wo gukora (umubyizi).

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31 *Kimanuka Th., "Uburetwa" et "Akazi" au Marangara de 1916 à 1959, Mémoire de licence, Ruhengeri, 1983*

32 *"Ukama kare" bivuga ko "wuma kare"*

33 *Nkurikiyimfura J. N., Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise, pp. 89-91*

34 *Incungu: ni ikindi kintu umuntu yatangaga mu mwanya wo kujya gukora uburetwa.*

Ibyiciro by'Abanyarwanda byashoboraga kugira uburenganzira bwo gucungura uburetwa batanga amafaranga ni ibi bikurikira: abakozi ba Leta; abakozi batari ba nyakabyizi bakoreraga amasosiyete cyangwa Abakoloni ku giti cyabo; abarimu ba gatigisimu; abanyeshuri bo mu cyiciro cya kabiri cy'amashuri abanza; Abanyarwanda bakize, ni ukuvuga abafite nibura inka icumi; abajyaga gupagasa mu mahanga bagata sheferi yabo nibura amezi icyenda mu mwaka.

Imvune uburetwa bwateye Abanyarwanda babukoraga yumvikana neza uyishyize hamwe n'indi mirimo inyuranye y'ubukoloni nk'akazi na shiku. Umuntu yakongeraho ibindi babazwaga, nk'umugogoro, inka z'ingishywa, inka zatangwaga zo kubagirwa Abakoloni n'ababaherekeje, inkoko, amagi, ibitoki n'ibindi. Mu byatangwaga icyakabije gutera imvune ni umusoro.[35]

2.2.5.3. Shiku

Ijambo shiku rikomoka ku nshinga "gushikura", mu byerekeye ubuhinzi bikavuga guhingisha isuka n'ingufu ahantu h'umushike. Ariko shiku yashoboraga no guhingwa ku gasi (ku mpama), ngombwa bikaba kwegera umuhanda cyangwa aho witegeye. Kwegera umuhanda kwari ukugira ngo umutegetsi w'Umukoloni cyangwa Shefu bahabone vuba, bashime umwete wa Sushefu w'aho hantu, banamuhe amanota. Amashiku yatangiye gukoreshwa mu mwaka wa 1926, ageragezwa imyaka ine yose. Mu mwaka wa 1930, guhinga shiku byabaye itegeko rikomeye; muri uwo mwaka ni bwo agahato ko guhinga imyumbati (bamwe bise "urugamba rw'imyumbati", mu gifaransa "campagne manioc") kateye rwaserera yo kujya kwikorera ibiti byayo no kuyihinga. Byateye imyivumbagatanyo hirya no hino, nko muri Sheferi ya Bumbogo n'agace k'Uburiza, mu turere twa Rulindo na Gasabo by'ubu.

Abakoloni bari barategetse shiku kubera inyungu bwite z'abaturage: twibuke ko mu mwaka wa 1924-1925, inzara bise Gakwege yaciye ibintu. Abakoloni bibwiraga ko shiku izakemura ikibazo cy'inzara ku buryo budasubirwaho. Nta gushidikanya ko muri rusange umusaruro wa shiku wabaye ingirakamaro cyane cyane imyumbati.

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35 Umusoro wo mu gihe cy'ubukoloni wateye ibizo birimo nko kuba hari Abanyarwanda bavuye mu gihugu bakajya mu bihugu nka Repubulika Iharanira Demukarasi ya Kongo, Uganda n'ibindi mu rwego rwo guhunga uwo musoro cyangwa bamwe bakajya muri ibyo bihugu bagiye gukorera amafaranga yo kwishyura iyo misoro.

Ibyo ariko ntibyahagaritse inzara ya Ruzagayura bamwe bise "Matemane" cyangwa "Rudakangwimishanana", mu mwaka wa 1942 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1944. Ibyo ari byo byose shiku yabaye ikintu cyanzwe cyane n'abaturage. Yatwaraga ingufu nyinshi ku musaruro muke, ndetse rimwe na rimwe wa ntawo. Urugero ni nk'iyo ikirongozi cyabwiraga umuturage wahingaga igice cy'igipimo (icyate) akamutegeka kuba yaharangije hose nko mu minsi ibiri, noneho wa muturage agafata igitaka cy'ahahinzwe akacyorosa hejuru y'ibyatsi ku buryo urebera kure asanga umurima wose uhinze. Umugore n'abana nabo bagombaga guhinga shiku no mu gihe umugabo yabaga adahari yaragiye mu ruzinduko cyangwa yaragiye guhaha. Indi mpamvu yatumye shiku yangwa urunuka ni uko akenshi yahingwaga kure y'ingo z'abayihingaga. Bityo bakaruha bajya guhinga no gusarura iyo bigwa, mu gihe byabaga byeze.

Icyo umuntu yasorezaho ni uko ububi bwa shiku bwatewe n'agahato gakabije kazibiranyije akamaro bari bayitezeho. Nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi ni ho abaturage muri rusange bagaragaje ko bumvise akamaro ko guhinga ibijumba n'imyumbati bahingaga muri shiku.[36]

2.2.5.4. Umugogoro

Umugogoro ni inka yatangwaga n'umuturage cyangwa umuryango, ikajya gukamirwa Umukoloni, ndetse n'abamuherekeje, aho yabaga acumbitse ku nkambi. Inka y'umugogoro yagiraga n'ibindi biyiherekeza byatangwaga n'abaturage: inkoko, amagi, ibitoki n'ibindi. Sushefu yategekaga ko abaturage bawutanga abinyujije ku kirongozi nacyo kikabibwira umumotsi.

Uretse inka y'umugogoro hari n'izindi nka Abakoloni bategekaga gutanga zigaterwa ibyapa ku mubiri nko ku itako, bityo zikamenyekana ntihagire uzikoraho mu bazitunze. Igihe bashakiye bakazijyana. Bagatanga udufaranga tw'umuhango, two kwikiza kugira ngo bizavugwe ko zaguzwe.[37]

2.2.5.5. Ikawa

Aba mbere badukanye ikawa mu Rwanda ni Abapadiri bera. Abo ba misiyoneri bari bakeneye ikawa yo kunywa. Guhera mu mwaka wa 1903 ni bwo batangiye kuyihinga muri Misiyoni ya Mibirizi, nyuma ikwira buhoro buhoro mu gihugu. Ariko ikawa yatangiye kwamamara mu mwaka wa 1925, aho ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi

36 *Adriaenssens J., Le droit foncier au Rwanda, Butare, 1962, p.61;*
37 *Diaires za Misiyoni ya Kigali n'iya Rulindo, 1930*

butegetse abaturage kuyihinga.

Guhera mu myaka ya 1933/1934, ni bwo Abanyarwanda bategetswe guhinga ikawa n'ubwo hari abayihingaga ku bushake kubera inyungu babibonagamo. Muri rusange gutera ikawa abantu ntibabyitabiriye kubera impamvu zimwe z'ingenzi zikurikira: Ubutaka: abantu ntibumvaga igituma ubutaka bwiza bwaragombaga kugenerwa ikawa indi myaka ikajya ahasigaye; Mu ntangiriro, uburyo bwo guhinga ikawa bwababayemo gushakisha ku buryo byatonze abaturage. Urugero ni nko gutera ikawa mu rutoke, hanyuma bagatema urutoke ngo ikawa yisanzure; Imirimo y'ikawa ni myinshi kandi ivunanye: hari pepiniere, hari gucukura imyobo, kuzitera, kuzuhira, kuzisasira, kuzikiza udukoko nka "antestiya" (umuturage yagombaga kwereka Sushefu cyangwa ikirongozi ko akenura ikawa yerekana agatebo kuzuyemo udukoko yafashe (imiti itwica yari itaraza), kuzifumbira, kuzisarura, kuzihera, kuzironga no kuzanika. Iyo mvune ntibyari byoroshye kuyihanganira mu gihe batumvaga akamaro k'ikawa, amafaranga bakuragamo yari make cyane kandi iyo mvune yiyongeraga ku bindi bikorwa by'agahato.

2.2.5.6. Umusoro

Ntawahakana akamaro k'umusoro. Na kera mbere y'Abakoloni hariho ikoro ry'Umwami. Hari ikoro ry'umuheto ryatangwaga n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Iryo koro ryanyuzwaga ku Mutware w'Ingabo rigatangwa na buri nzu cyangwa umuryango. Ikoro ry'umuheto ryari rigizwe n'ibi bikurikira: amacumu, imyambi, imitana, imiheto, inkota, intorezo, amayugi, impindu n'ibindi.

Ikoro ry'ubutaka, bitaga "urutete[38]" ryatangwaga n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Ryatangwaga buri mwaka na buri nzu. Ryari rigizwe n'ibiribwa bishobora guhunikwa: ibishyimbo byumye, amashaza, amasaka, uburo. Barisabaga bakurikije ubushobozi bwa buri nzu cyangwa umuryango batanga urutete rumwe cyangwa nyinshi.

Uretse ikoro ry'umuheto n'ubutaka, hari n'ikoro rijyanye n'imirimo yihariye irimo iy'ingezi ikurikira: Aborozi batangaga inka y'i Bwami (inka n'iyayo), bikanyura mu rwego rw'Imitwe y'Ingabo n'iy'Inyambo, ikimasa, intama n'imishwi y'inkoko byo kuragura. Abavumvu batangaga imitsama, Abahigi, nk'Abatwa baturiye ishyamba babazwaga ibijyanye n'umuhigo nk'impu zambarwaga, ibyahi n'ibindi; Ababumbyi

38 *Urutete cyari nk'igitebo kinini.*

batangaga ibibindi, inkono n'ibindi.

Mu mwaka wa 1912, Abadage ni bwo batangiye gukoresha ibarura ryari kuborohereza isoresha. Iryo barura ntacyo ryagezeho kubera ko intambara ya mbere y'Isi (1914 – 1918) yatumye rihagarara. Ababiligi bakiza ntibatinze gusoresha. Mu mwaka wa 1917 ni ho umusoro wabo wadutse.

2.2.5.7. Ubuhake

Ubuhake bwari amasezerano yakorwaga hagati y'umutunzi w'inka n'uwabaga ayikeneye mu Rwanda. Ufite inka yabaga akeneye amaboko naho utayifite, uretse no kuba ashaka inka, yabaga akeneye umutekano kubera kumva ko afite umuhatse, ushobora kumutabara no kumurwanaho. Ushaka inka yitwaga umugaragu naho uyimuha akitwa shebuja.

Ubuhake bwari amasezerano azwi n'ubwo atari yanditse, hagati ya shebuja (nyirinka) n'umugaragu washakaga inka kimwe n'amaboko no gushyikirana n'abandi. Ubuhake bwari bubumbye inzego z'umubano hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja. Mu mibanire yabo hari umurage w'ubudahemukirana. Uko kudahemukirana byagaragariraga mu kugobokana mu byishimo no mu byago cyangwa ku rugamba.

Mu bukungu, uwabaga afite inka yabaga ari umukire, utazifite akaba umukene. Uwazihakirwaga ntazo yari afite, hanyuma akagabana, akaba umukire iyo zabaga zimaze kuba nyinshi. Kubera agaciro inka yari ifite mu Rwanda, uwabaga azitunze byamuheshaga ishema n'icyubahiro mu bandi. Ikindi uwabaga afite inka, cyangwa se asanzwe ari umukungu, yagombaga kugira kirengera ngo batabimutwara kandi nyiramaboko make bahoraga barekereje kumutwara ibintu bye.

Mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi, inka yagize uruhare runini mu kwagura u Rwanda. Inka yatumye Umwami n'abatware bagira ingabo (sujets) zibashyigikira. Ni byo indirimbo y'inanga yitwa "Rukinagiza" yavugaga ngo "Umwami agirwa n'ingabo". Uruhare rw'inka mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi rugaragarira kandi muri politiki yabayeho yo kuboneza imitwe y'inyambo akenshi yari isobekeranye n'imitwe y'ingabo n'ubutegetsi bwite. Mu rwego rw'umuco, ubuhake wari uburyo umuntu yigiragamo kubana n'abandi, kuganira, gutarama, kumenya amateka, n'ibindi, bityo umugaragu ndetse na shebuja bakajijuka. Ubuhake bwari bufite rero uruhare rukomeye mu rwego rw'umuco kimwe n'uko inka bwari bushingiyeho yari ifite agaciro bwite mu rwego rw'umuco, mbese iri mu byaranze umuco nyarwanda.

N'ubwo ukudahemukirana hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja byari ikintu cy'ingenzi, habagaho ubwo shebuja w'umuntu adahaka neza cyangwa akifata nabi, icyo gihe umugaragu yashoboraga kumuvaho akajya guhakwa ahandi: uko kuva kuri shebuja ajya guhakwa ahandi ni byo bitaga "kwimura". Nk'uko uwagabanye inka yashoboraga guhemukira shebuja, akamunyaga.

Hari abakunze kuvuga cyangwa kwandika ko ubuhake ari uruhererekane hagati y'umugabo n'abahungu be bamusimburaga mu buhake. Abahungu bose ntibagombaga kuba byanze bikunze abagaragu aho se yahatswe. Iyo umugaragu yashakaga uzamusimbura mu buhake yashyiragaho umwe mu bana be. Guhabwa umunani cyangwa kuzungura inka y'ubuhake byatumaga biba uruhererekane hagati y'abazitunze n'imiryango bazikomoragaho.

Abasore cyangwa abagabo bo mu Rwanda si ko bose bari mu buhake. Hari ubushakashatsi bwagaragaje ko mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya XX muri Butare, Abatutsi ari bo bari biganje mu buhake kurusha Abahutu. Umushakashatsi yagaragaje ko 8.2 % gusa bya ba sekuru b'abo yabajije 207 bari abagaragu (6.6 % bakaba bari Abahutu, 12.3% bakaba Abatutsi), na 16 % bya ba se (16% bari Abahutu, naho 19.3% bakaba Abatutsi)".[39]

N'aho ubuhake bwari bwiganje mu kinyejana cya XIX, si ko hose ari ubwa kera, kuko hari aho bwatangiye vuba nko mu Kinyaga: ubuhake bwahakomejwe na Rwabugiri n'ingabo ze. Kandi n'inka zose ntizari mu buhake. Ababaga badafite ba shebuja bashoboraga kuba batunze inka zabo zitwaga "imbata" ni ukuvuga izo bihahiye cyangwa babonye ku bundi buryo batazikesha ubuhake.[40]

Hari ibintu bitatu bigaragara: abitwaga abagaragu bari bake; Abatutsi bari abagaragu ni bo bari benshi ku Bahutu n'Abatwa. Ubuhake bwiyongereye kandi bukaza umurego mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, bunahindura isura. Hari abantu batari bahatswe bagiye guhakwa ku bategetsi b'Abanyarwanda kugira ngo babarengere babarinda kujya mu bikorwa by'agahato by'ubukoloni. Ku mirimo abagaragu bari basanzwe bakora, hiyongereyeho indi biturutse kuri ba shebuja: imirimo y'ubugaragu yavanze n'iy'ubukoloni, ibyo byakuruye akarengane ku

39 *Saucier J.F., The Patron – Client relationship in Traditional and Contemporary Southern Rwanda, New York, Columbia University, 1974*

40 *Newbury C., The cohesion of oppression. A century of clientship in Kinyaga, Rwanda, Madison, University of Winsconsin, 1975.*

bagaragu, bituma ubuhake bugenda bugayika. Imirimo imwe n'imwe y'abagaragu yasimbuwe no guha ba shebuja amafaranga. Ubuhake bwaragayitse ku buryo ari Abanyarwanda, ari n'Abakoloni, basanze butajyanye n'ibihe, bugomba kuvaho, ariko byatwaye igihe. Mu mwaka wa 1945 Umwami Mutara Rudahigwa ubwe afata iyambere amenyesha Guverineri wa Ruanda-Urundi Jungers ko icyaruta ari uguca burundu ubuhake, kandi n'abatware hafi bose bari barabigaragaje mu nama bagize ku ya 29 – 30 Ukwakira 1945.

Guverineri Jungers we yemeje ko ibyiza ari ukugenda buhoro ariko ntiyanashyiraho gahunda y'uburyo icyo kibazo cyabonerwa igisubizo. Mu iperereza yategetse ku byerekeye ubuhake, icyagaragaye ni uko benshi mu Banyarwanda bemeje ko ari ngombwa kubuvanaho kubera ko bwari bwarataye agaciro, bwakururaga imanza nyinshi, batagishoboye kubifatanya n'akazi k'Abakoloni cyangwa kwitabira ibikorwa by'amajyambere. Abategetsi b'Ababiligi bakomeje kurwanya ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ariko Umwami Mutara Rudahigwa we akomeza kwemeza ko ubuhake bugomba kuvaho. Yabigaragaje mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu muri izi ngingo: "Ubuhake ni ikintu kibangamiye amajyambere y'igihugu, gifite kuryamira abaturage bakandamizwa na ba shebuja bo mu rwego rwo hejuru, igisigaye ni ukubuvanaho nta gutinya ukwivovota kwa bamwe baba bagamije kurengera inyungu zabo bwite gusa". Iteka ry'Umwami n⁰ 1/54 ryo ku wa 1 Mata 1954, ryavanyeho ubuhake mu Rwanda hose, ariko kurishyira mu bikorwa byatangiriye muri Teritwari ya Nyanza. Nyuma y'iryo vanwaho ry'ubuhake, abagaragu batangiye kugabana inka n'ubutaka na ba shebuja kuva ku itariki ya 15 Mata 1954.

Muri rusange, kuva mu mwaka wa 1916 Ababiligi bagera mu Rwanda, icyabangamiye Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zitandukanye, kikabagira ibikoresho by'abandi ni ibikorwa by'agahato k'ubukoloni, ntabwo ari ubuhake nk'uko byakunze kuvugwa, kwandikwa no kuririmbwa guhera mu mwaka wa 1959 na nyuma kugeza magingo aya.

2.2.5.8. Ubukonde

Mu Majyaruguru y'igihugu (Gisenyi na Ruhengeri) nta buhake bwari buhari, hari ubundi buryo umukungu ufite ahantu hanini yayobokwaga n'abakeneye ubutaka, bukitwa ubukonde. Umukonde yabaga afite abagererwa bamubereye ku butaka, bakabuhinga ariko bakagira imirimo bamukorera, kandi hakaba umugabane w'imyaka yeze bagomba kumuha. Igihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi, hari Abanyarwanda boherejwe gutwara muri utwo Turere tw'Amajyaruguru, bagira

ubutaka, bazana indi sura y'ubukonde: batuzagamo abantu bishakiye. Bene ubwo bukonde hari ababwise "ubukonde politique", ari ukugira ngo babutandukanye n'ubukonde gakondo. Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari yatangiye kwiga ikibazo cy'ubukonde nyuma y'umwaka wa 1954, ariko ntiyakirangije. Ubukonde bwari bukiriho mu myaka ya 1960, ndetse na nyuma bwarakomeje.

1.2 UBUMWE BW'ABANYARWANDA MURI REPUBULIKA YA MBERE N'IYA KABIRI

Nyuma y'ubukoloni ingengabitekerezo y'ivangura n'irondabwoko ni yo yakomeje kuranga ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri zakurikiye ubwigenge. Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) imaze kuvuka hashyizweho inzego z'ubutegetsi zisimbura inzego zari zishingiye ku Ngoma ya Cyami. Ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU ryashyize imbere politiki y'ivangura n'irondakoko binyuze mu bwicanyi bwo mu mwaka wa 1959 kugeza mu mwaka 1962.

Ibi bigaragarira mu mvugo z'abayobozi baryo nk'uko Kayibanda Grégoire wabaye Perezida w'u Rwanda yabishimangiye mu magambo ye ku itariki ya 27 Ugushyingo 1959 agira ati: "U Rwanda ni Igihugu kimwe kirimo bibiri. Abatuye ibi bihugu ntacyo bahuriyeho. Ntibahuje imico! Ababituye bameze nk'abava ahantu hatandukanye cyangwa abaturage b'imigabane itandukanye"[41]. Ibyo kandi byari mu mvugo no mu myandikire, aho uwitwa Gitera Joseph, umuyobozi wa APROSOMA, akaba yaranabaye umuyobozi w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, yanditse amategeko icumi y'Abahutu mu mvugo ze zirangwa n'urwango yari afitiye Abatutsi[42]. Muri make, ikibazo kinini cyari umurongo wayo wa politiki (idewoloji yayo) yimakazaga irondabwoko n'amacakubiri. Kayibanda yashingiye ubutegetsi bwe ku irondabwoko ndetse abishyira mu bikorwa. Yimakaje ingengabitekerezo ya PARMEHUTU (idéologie du Parmehutisme), ntiyaba umuyobozi ureberera Abanyarwanda bose.

Repubulika ya kabiri (1973-1994) nayo yaje ishimangira ingengabitekerezo yari ishingiye ku irondabwoko ndetse n'irondakarere. Yashimangiye umurongo w'imiyoborere wa Repubulika ya mbere n'ubwo mu ntangiriro mu mvugo n'indirimbo, yavugaga ko iharanira amahoro n'ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda. Gusa,

41 *Rutemebesa, F. al, Rwanda Identité et citoyenneté, Butare, 2003, p.128; Ijambo rya Perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 27 Ugushyingo 1959.*

42 *NURC, Histoire du Rwanda: Des origines à la fin du XXe Siècle, 2011, p.397.*

ntibyatinze kugaragara ko iyo mvugo yari ikinyoma.
Habyarimana yigishaga "amahoro, ubumwe n'amajyambere" ariko agaca inyuma akamamaza kandi agakwirakwiza mu baturage ingengabitekerezo ya PARMEHUTU, guhera mu mwaka wa 1984. Yishe Kayibanda, hanyuma amwitirira ikibuga cy'indege cya Kanombe. Yavuze ko atanze amahoro ku Batutsi, ariko ntiyatanga ihumure ngo abahunze bagaruke mu gihugu, basubire mu mashuri no mu kazi, ahubwo ababuza uburenganzira bwabo kugeza kuri Jenoside yabakorewe mu mwaka wa 1994. Yijeje abanyapolitiki yakuyeho muri 1973 ko ntacyo bazaba, hanyuma arabicisha ariko icyo cyaha akigereka kuri Lizinde Théoneste wari umukozi we mukuru ariko Lizinde na we yakomeje kubishinha Habyarimana. Hari ikindi kintu kibi Habyarimana yazanye mu buyobozi: gutegekesha ikinyoma no gukoresha ibyo bitaga "figuration"[43].

Aha twatanga urugero rw'ijambo yavuze ku itariki ya 28/4/1991 aho yagize ati: "Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ntibushoboka, hatabayeho ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi. Nk'uko tubizi, nta Mututsi ubarirwa mu Karere duhereyemo. Ni ngombwa ko Abahutu, rubanda nyamwinshi bashakisha ubumwe kugira ngo tutongera kusubira mu bucakara bwa mwene gatutsi".[44]

Politiki y'ivangura no guteranya Abanyarwanda mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri yakomeje kurangwa n'ibi bikurikira:

- Gushimangira ibitekerezo n'imikorere y'ivangura rya gikoloni;
- Gutoteza Abatutsi no kubacira ishyanga, kubaheza mu buhunzi no kubakumira mu myanya y'ubuyobozi;
- Kwica Abatutsi bari mu gihugu igihe cyose impunzi zaharaniraga gutaha mu gihugu cyabo. Uretse ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi ndetse abenshi bakirukanwa mu gihugu mu mwaka wa 1959 na 1963, Abatutsi bakomeje kwicwa no kwirukanwa mu mwaka wa1973, no kuva mu mwaka wa1990 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994;
- Iringaniza mu mashuri no mu mirimo rishingiye ku moko n'Uturere bitaga "équilibre". Igitekerezo cy'iringaniza igihe cya Kayibanda cyari gishingiye ku

43 *Yafataga Umututsi umwe cyangwa babiri akabaha umwanya ugaragara, maze akavuga ko bahagarariye bene wabo. Ndetse akavuga ko Abatutsi nabo bari mu butegetsi kubera abo Batutsi yahaye umwanya ugaragara. Abo Batutsi berekwaga Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, maze agakunda akavuga ko ashyigikiye "ubumwe, amahoro n'amajyambere". Reba: A. Mugesera, IMIBEREHO Y'ABATUTSI MU RWANDA 1959 – 1990 Itotezwa n'iyicwa bihoraho, 2ème édition Ugushyingo, 2015, p.289.*

44 *Ijyambo rya Perezida Habyarimana muri Kongere ya MRND yoku wa 28 Mata 1991.*

irondakoko, nyuma ku ngoma ya Habyarimana cyashingiye ku irondakoko n'irondakarere. Iringaniza ryagaragazaga Imibare y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mu mashuri yisumbuye kuva mu 1960 kugeza mu 1980; Iringaniza ku bana bose muri rusange muri za Perefegitura; Iringaniza rikandamiza abakobwa; Iringaniza rikandamiza Abatutsi; Iringaniza ryimura abaswa; Iringaniza muri Kaminuza n'igabanuka ry'Abatutsi mu mashuri yisumbuye.[45];

- Gukoresha amoko n'uturere (abakiga, abanyenduga) nk'iturufu yo kugera no kugundira ubutegetsi ndetse no kwikubira ibyiza by'Igihugu[46]**;**

- Gupfukirana ikibazo cy'uburenganzira bwa muntu ku bari imbere mu gihugu no kubuza impunzi gutaha mu Rwanda.

Muri make, bamwe mu bari ku butegetsi, haba kuri Repubulika ya mbere no kuri Repubulika ya kabiri, biyambuye Ubunyarwanda biyambika Ubuhutu. Ibi bibazo n'ibindi byinshi byagiye biranga imiyoborere idaha agaciro buri Munyarwanda byashegeshe Ubunyarwanda n'imibanire Abanyarwanda bari basangiye.

Ibi bibazo by'imitegekere ishingiye ku ivangura, irondakoko, irondakarere, iringaniza, ikandamizwa n'ihezwa ku byiza by'igihugu kwa bamwe, ubwicanyi no guheza bamwe mu Banyarwanda mu buhunzi n'ibindi byinshi byari bibangamiye uburenganzira bwa muntu byarakomeje kugeza ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri butegura bukanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994.

Nyuma y'igihe kirekire Abanyarwanda bigishwa amacakubiri, urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal rwakoreshejwe nk'urwitwazo rwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi wari warateguwe mbere unageragerezwa ahantu hatandukanye mu Rwanda nko mu Bugesera, Kibirira n'ahandi[47]. Ubwicanyi bwatangiriye i Kigali bukwira vuba mu gihugu cyose. Inzego n'uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutsemba Abatutsi byerekana ko umugambi wo gukora

45 *A. Mugesera, IMIBEREHO Y'ABATUTSI MU RWANDA 1959 – 1990 Itotezwa n'iyicwa bihoraho, 2ème édition Ugushyingo, 2015, pp. 289-299*

46 *Philbert Gakwenzire, akiri umunyeshuri muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare, yanditse mu gitabo cye cya "Mémoire" ko Abakiga bitaga abandi Banyarwanda batari Abakiga abanebwe. Yagize ati: "Les Bakiga prennent le reste de la population pour paresseux". Reba: Ph. Gakwenzire, L'impact de l'idéologie divisioniste dans le Bwanacyambwe du nord-est de 1959 à 1994, Butare, déc. 1999, p.48.*

47 *Raporo zakozwe na Dr Iyamuremye Augustin ubwo yari umukozi mukuru muri serivisi za Minisitiri w'Intebe ushinzwe iperereza, 1993.*

Jenoside wateguwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Leta, ushyirwa mu bikorwa n'inzego zayo ari zo: Abategetsi bakuru muri Leta, abategetsi b'inzego z'ibanze, ingabo, abajandarume n'imitwe yitwaraga gisirikare ubutegetsi bwari bwararemye (interahamwe, impuzamugambi, inkuba, turihose, amahindure amasasu,…) buyiha n'ibikoresho bya gisirikare ndetse tutibagiwe n'itangazamakuru.

Jenoside yakozwe mu gihugu hose, ihitana miliyoni irenga y'Abatutsi. Uretse gutakaza abantu, abarokotse basigaye ari impfubyi n'abapfakazi, incike (intwaza), inkomere, abavanywe mu byabo n'impunzi zigera kuri miliyoni eshatu zahungiye mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda. Igihugu cyasigaye ari amatongo, ibikorwa-remezo ndetse n'ubukungu bw'Igihugu bwarahazahariye.

Abatutsi barishwe kugeza ku itariki ya 04 Nyakanga 1994 aho ingabo za FPR Inkotanyi zahagaritse Jenoside mu gihugu hose maze ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 hagashyirwaho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Iyo umuntu ashubije amaso inyuma, akareba akarengane ka buri munsi Abatutsi babayemo kuva muri 1959, ahita yiyumvisha ko Jenoside yo mu myaka ya 1990-1994 itapfuye kwitura ku Batutsi nk'inkuba ikubita itagira amazi; hari imikorere n'imigenzereze byayibanjirije, ndetse byari byarahindutse nk'umuco wakwijwe mu bayobozi b'inzego zose. Kurenganya Abatutsi, kubaharabika no kubita amazina y'ibitutsi abatesha agaciro, byose byateguraga Jenoside n'ubwo ntawari uzi ko izaba n'uko izaba iteye. Ikigaragara ni uko mbere ya Jenoside, Umututsi atari agifatwa nk'umuntu nyamuntu mu Rwanda. Yasaga n'umuja wiseseka mu rugo rutari urwe.

Umwanditsi wacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu myaka ya 1990-1994 witwa Mukagasana Yolande yavuze ko mbere yo kwicwa, Abatutsi bari baragizwe amashitani kandi barambuwe agaciro kabo ku buryo kubica byari bisigaye bifatwa nk'igikorwa cyo "gukunda Igihugu"[48].

Jenoside yabaye ishyano ry'imbuto mbi yari isanzwe yarabibwe kera. Iyo mbuto mbi ni irondabwoko n'akarengane byari bisanzwe bikorwa na Leta ya PARMEHUTU n'iya MRND, bikorerwa Abatutsi buri munsi. Akarengane n'irondakoko byari byarahawe

48 *Yabivuze mu gifaransa ngo: "Les Tutsi étaient assez diabolisés, déshumanisés pour que l'acte de les tuer soit devenu un acte civique à récompenser, un acte patriotique". Reba: Yolande Mukagasana, L'ONU et le chagrin d'une négresse, Editions Aviso, 2014, p.15.*

intebe ku ngoma y'ayo mashyaka ya politiki yombi. U Rwanda rwagize ibyago kuko abari biyemeje kurubohoza (abahawe ubwigenge basimbuye abakoloni) bimitse ingoma y'irondabwoko. Bagize nabi kuko baroshye u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda mu makuba. Ntibarebaga Umunyarwanda wese, bireberaga Umuhutu wemera umurongo wa politiki y'irondabwoko yabo. Ni yo ntandaro y'ibyago n'ibizazane u Rwanda rwabayemo, by'umwihariko Abatutsi.

1.3 IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA NYUMA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI

Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda imaze kujyaho tariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, mu nshingano yari ifite harimo kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda hamwe no guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Umuryango Nyarwanda wari warasenyutse ku buryo butandukanye, impfubyi n'abapfakazi benshi batagira kivurira, impunzi mu mahanga cyane cyane mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, urwango n'urwikekwe, ipfunwe, ihungabana, ibikorwa remezo byarasenyutse, ubukene mu miryango ndetse n'Igihugu muri rusange. Jenoside igihagarikwa, icyizere cy'ubuzima mu Banyarwanda cyari hasi cyane.

Guhera muri Nyakanga 1994, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ijyaho, kugera ubu hamaze gukorwa byinshi mu rwego rwo kugarura no kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, birimo ibi bikurikira:

- Gukura ubwoko mu irangamuntu no mu zindi nyandiko zose[49];

49 *Mu mwaka wa 1932 cyangwa 1933, abakoloni bazanye agatabo k'indangamuntu bitaga "**Ibuku**" yanditsemo ibyo bitaga "amoko" atandukanye. Ibuku yarimo ibintu bibiri: harimo ijambo "ubwoko" ryavugaga neza ubwoko gakondo (Abega, Abasinga, Ababanda,…..); hakabamo n'ijambo "race" ritari rifite igisobanuro mu Kinyarwanda, akaba ari ryo bandikagaho amagambo "Umuhutu", "Umutwa", "Umututsi". Ababiligi batanze itegeko ry'uko umuntu wese wari ufite inka 15 kuzamura aba Umututsi, ufite inka nibura 5 we akaba Umuhutu naho utagira n'imwe we akaba Umutwa. Hari abashatse kuvuguruza Ababiligi bababwira ko bibeshye (Twavuga nka Nturo Paul wayoboraga Akabagari washatse kubyamagana, Rudahigwa akamuha impanuro agira ati: "Nudatanga iyo Buku, ngo ukurikize n'amabwiriza yayo, abazungu bazagushahura. Ibyo urimo guharanira abana bacu ni bo bazabigeraho".) hari abantu bavukana bashyizwe mu bwoko butandukanye ariko banga kuva ku izima. Mu gushakira umuti iki kibazo abazungu ngo bahimbye izindi zabo aho bafataga abari abavandimwe ariko bashyizwe mu moko atandukanye maze umwe bakamwimura bakajya kumutuza kure y'umuryango we. Urugero nk'uwari utuye mu Ruhengeri bakahamuvana bakajya kumutuza nk'i Nyamagabe kandi n'inka nke yari afite bakazimwambura kugira ngo akunde abe Umuhutu utindahaye, kuva ubwo ntiyongeraga kubonana n'abe kuko yasaga nk'ujugunywe. Aya moko yakomejwe n'ubutegetsi bwagiyeho nyuma y'uko abakoloni bavuye mu Rwanda ndetse bayagenderaho mu bikorwa byose akomeza kwandikwa mu ndangamuntu no mu bindi byangombwa. Ibi byasenye ihame rikomeye Abanyarwanda bibonagamo nka Bene Kanyarwanda, ntibongera kwibona nk'abavandimwe. Icyemezo cyo kuvana amoko mu ndangamuntu cyari mu masezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yasinywe hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda yari iyobowe na Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal n'Umuryango FPR-Inkotanyi.*

- Kuvugurura urwego rw'ubutabera[50]. Icyakozwe gikomeye cyane kigaragaza ubudaheranwa n'ubudasa by'Abanyarwanda hakiyongeraho ubuyobozi bureba kure kandi bufite icyerekezo, ni Inkiko Gacaca zafashije guca imanza zari kuzamara imyaka irenga ijana zitararangira kandi zizana ubutabera bwunga hatirengagijwe guca umuco wo kudahana;

- Gufasha imiryango y'abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994[51] itishoboye**;**
- Gusaba no gutanga imbabazi ku bakoze ibyaha n'abahemukiwe muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi;
- Kugarura Itorero ry'Igihugu[52];
- Gushyiraho urubuga runyuzwamo ibitekerezo byimakaza ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda (Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano)[53];

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50 *Kimwe mu byo u Rwanda rwashyize imbere nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ni ubucamanza butanga ubutabera buboneye kuri bose kandi ku gihe, kuko ubutabera butinze buba butakiri ubutabera. U Rwanda rwari rufite ikibazo cy'ingorabahizi cy'imanza z'abari bakurikiranyweho icyaha cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu. Byabaye ngombwa ko hashyirwaho* ***Inkiko Gacaca****, zari zifite umuzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda, zigamije ibi bikurikira:* ***1.*** *Gufasha kumenya ukuri ku byabaye mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi;* ***2.*** *Kwihutisha imanza z'abari bakurikiranyweho icyaha cya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu;* ***3.*** *Guca umuco wo kudahana;* ***4.*** *Gufasha Abanyarwanda kugera ku Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge hakoreshejwe ubutabera bwunga no kugaragaza ubushobozi bw'Abanyarwanda bwo kwikemurira ibibazo. Mu gihe cy'imyaka icumi Inkiko Gacaca zamaze zaciye imanza zigera kuri miliyoni 2. Iyo hifashishwa Inkiko zisanzwe, iki kibazo nticyari gukemuka kabone n'iyo biza kuba mu gihe cy'imyaka irenga ijana. Hari n'ibindi byinshi byakozwe mu rwego rwo kunoza ubutabera nko gutegura abacamanza bafite ubushobozi no gushakira inzego z'ubutabera aho zikorera hatunganye.*

51 *FARG (Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide / Genocide Survivors Assistance Fund) yashinzwe mu mwaka wa 1998, kugira ngo ifashe abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kongera kwiyubaka nyuma y'ibibazo bitaborohete bari bavuyemo. Kuva yajyaho kugeza igihe Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yafataga icyemezo cyo guha inshingano zayo Minisiteri y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda n'inshingano Mboneragihugu, FARG yari imaze kwishyurira ishuri abagenerwabikorwa bagera ku bihumbi 107 mu mashuri yisumbuye batanzweho miliyari 84, mu gihe abagera ku bihumbi 39 ari bo bari bamaze kurangiza amashuri makuru na za Kaminuza bishyuriwe miliyari 90. Yanagize uruhare mu kuvuza abagenerwa bikorwa bayo no kububakira amacumbi ifatanyije n'izindi nzego.*

52 *Ku wa 12/11/2007 ni bwo inama y'Abaminisitiri yafashe icyemezo cyo gusubizaho* ***Itorero ry'Igihugu,*** *maze ku wa 16/11/2007 Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame aritangiza ku mugaragaro imbere y'Imitwe yombi y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko. Icyo gihe yabwiye Abanyarwanda ati: "Twaje gutangiza gahunda y'Itorero ry'Igihugu nk'uburyo twihariye kandi bukomoka ku muco nyarwanda". Akomeza agira ati: "Itorero ry'Igihugu ryari ishuri ryo gutoza Abanyarwanda gukunda Igihugu, kukiyobora neza, guharanira ubutwari, kwanga ubuhemu, gufatanya gukemura ibibazo no kwirinda ubutsimbanyi n'ibindi n'ibindi". Kuva ku itariki ya 15/10/2021, inshingano z'Itorero ry'Igihugu zahawe Minisiteri y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda n'Inshingano Mboneragihugu ifite inshingano zo kubungabunga umurage w'amateka, gushimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda no guteza imbere uburere mboneragihugu.*

53 ***Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano*** *ni inama ihurirwamo n'abayobozi mu nzego za Guverinoma n'Abanyarwanda bari imbere no hanze y'Igihugu aho barebera hamwe ibyagezweho ndetse bakaganira ku mbogamizi zihari n'ingamba zarushaho guteza Igihugu imbere. Umushyikirano ukomoka ku muco no mu migenzo y'Abanyarwanda. Umushyikirano uteganywa n'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu wa 2003 ryavuguruwe mu wa 2015. Umushyikirano washyizweho nka kimwe mu bisubizo by'umwimerere Abanyarwanda twihangiye mu rwego rwo kujyanisha gahunda z'Igihugu z'iterambere n'amateka y'Abanyarwanda.*

- Gushyiraho gahunda zihariye zo kurwanya ubukene (Girinka Munyarwanda, VUP n'Ubudehe)[54];
- Kwimakaza gahunda zo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi[55];
- Guhabwa imyanya mu mashuri no mu kazi hakurikijwe ubushobozi;
- Guha ijambo abaturage no gushishikariza abayobozi kwegera abaturage;
- Gushyira imbere ibiganiro no gusaranganya ubutegetsi[56]**;**
- Guha urubuga Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga ngo nabo bagire uruhare mu kubaka Igihugu (Rwanda Day)[57]**;**
- Ubufatanye bw'abaturage muri gahunda zo kwibuka no komorana ibikomere by'amateka;

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54 ***Gahunda ya Girinka Munyarwanda*** *yatangijwe na Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame, muri 2006, mu rwego rwo guhangana n'ubukene mu miryango yoroheje. Urwo rugamba rukaba rwari ruri muri gahunda zikomeye za Leta, uhereye ku cyerekezo 2020, ukonegeraho na gahunda z'ikinyagihumbi (MDGs). Iyi gahunda yatanze umusaruro ugaragara, abari abakene iyo gahunda yagezeho ubu hari ababaye abakungu, baravuga rikumvikana aho batuye. Leta yashyizeho n'izindi gahunda zo kurengera abatishoboye zikomatanyije zirimo* ***VUP*** *n'****Ubudehe*** *ku buryo zahinduye imibereho yabo ndetse zibakura mu cyiciro cy'abatishoboye.*

55 *Urugendo rwo "****Kwegereza Ubuyobozi n'Ubushobozi Abaturage"*** *mu Rwanda rwatangiye mu wa 2000. Nyuma y'imyaka 22, hatewe intambwe mu nzego zitandukanye: kwegereza ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi abaturage, byatumye ubuyobozi burangwa na demokarasi, habaho urubuga rwo kurera abayobozi barimo abagore n'urubyiruko, hashyirwaho inzego z'ibanze zifite imbaraga binyuze mu mavugurura yazo kandi hahangwa ibishya mu mikorere birimo nk'****imihigo.*** *Hashyizweho kandi urubuga rw'ubukangurambaga mu baturage, kubazwa inshingano zabo no gutuma bagira uruhare mu bibakorerwa. Kuba Abanyarwanda bariyemeje guhindura Igihugu cyabo Igihugu gifite ubukungu buciriritse (middle country) kandi bagahindura imikorere bagamije imibereho myiza, byatumye u Rwanda ruba Igihugu cyihariye gitangarirwa n'amahanga muri byinshi. Politiki yo kwegereza Ubuyobozi n'Ubushobozi Abaturage, yashyize abaturage ku isonga mu miyoborere kandi umusaruro wabonetse kuva yatangira gushyirwa mu bikorwa ni mwinshi cyane.*

56 *Hashyizweho* ***"Ihuriro ry'Igihugu Nyunguranabitekerezo ry'Imitwe ya Politiki"*** *yemewe mu Rwanda. Iryo Huriro ryemejwe n'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu wa 2003, ryavuguruwe mu wa 2015, rikaba rihuza Imitwe ya Politiki yemewe mu Rwanda yabisabye ku bushake kandi yemeye kubahiriza ibiteganywa n'amategeko ngengamikorere y'Ihuriro. Zimwe mu nshingano z'ingenzi z'iri Huriro ni izi zikurikira:* ***1.*** *Kuba urubuga ruhuza Imitwe ya Politiki yabisabye kugira ngo yungurane ibitekerezo bya politiki byakwifashishwa mu miyoborere y'Igihugu;* ***2.*** *Gutuma Imitwe ya Politiki yungurana ibitekerezo ku bibazo biremereye Igihugu, imyanzuro ivuyemo igashyikirizwa, hashingiwe ku miterere y'ikibazo, ukuriye Guverinoma, ukuriye Inteko Ishinga Amategeko Umutwe wa Sena n'Umutwe w'Abadepite cyagwa ukuriye Urwego rw'Ubucamanza, kugira ngo bayifashishe mu miyoborere y'Igihugu;* ***3.*** *Gutuma abari mu Mitwe ya Politiki baba intangarugero muri politiki y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, kurwanya ivangura n'amacakubiri; kandi imikorere yabo igashimangira icyizere abaturage bagirira Imitwe ya Politiki n'abanyapolitiki;* ***4.*** *Gutuma Imitwe ya Politiki irigize ihuriza hamwe imbaraga zo kurwanya ibitekerezo umwanzi w'Igihugu yakoresha atera u Rwanda cyangwa abiba amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda;* ***5.*** *Kunganira Leta mu gukangurira abaturage ubufatanye cyane mu gihe cy'amakuba;* ***6.*** *Gushimangira ihame ryo gusangira ubutegetsi no gutoza abanyapolitiki n'abandi baturage umuco wo kubona ko uwo muhiganwa atari umwanzi ko ahubwo mwafatanya mu bitekerezo byubaka.*

57 ***"Rwanda Day"*** *ni gahunda ihuza Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga na Perezida wa Repubulika n'Abanyarwanda baba imbere mu Gihugu n'inshuti z'u Rwanda, bakaganira kandi bakajya inama kuri gahunda zateza Igihugu imbere. Iyi gahunda imaze kubera mu Mijyi ikurikira: Bruxelles, Chicago, Paris, Boston, London, Toronto, Atlanta, Dallas, Amsterdam, San Francisco, Ghent na Bonn. Icyorezo cya Covid – 19 cyahungabanyije Isi cyakomye mu nkokora iyi gahunda bituma ihagarara ariko igihe nikigera izasubukurwa.*

- Gahunda ya "Ndi Umunyarwanda"[58];
- Gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abahoze ari abasirikare[59]. Igitangaje kandi gikomeye Leta y'u Rwanda yakoze n'ubu igikora, ni uko abahoze ari abarwanyi bahungabanyaga umutekano w'Igihugu, iyo batahutse bajyanwa mu mahugurwa, bakabigisha imyuga ibagirira akamaro, bagasubizwa mu buzima busanzwe, abandi bagashyirwa mu Ngabo z'Igihugu.
- N'izindi gahunda.

2 UMUSOZO

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwahozeho bukaba bwari ishingiro ry'imbaraga n'ishema by'Abanyarwanda. Bwagiye busenyuka buhoro buhoro mu bihe bitandukanye by'amateka y'u Rwanda ariko cyane cyane mu gihe cy'Abakoloni bikomeza muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

Uko gusenyuka k'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kwagize ingaruka ku muryango nyarwanda, amacakubiri ahabwa intebe, asenya umuryango nyarwanda, awugeza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta y'u Rwanda yashyize imbaraga ku biteza imbere ubumwe n'imiyoborere myiza by'Abanyarwanda. Ifatanyije n'izindi nzego ndetse n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange, harwanyijwe ivangura n'itonesha, hashimangirwa Ubunyarwanda.

U Rwanda ni Igihugu twese dufitemo uburenganzira bungana. Aya ni amateka mashya twubaka, tugomba gukomeza tukazayaraga n'abana bacu. Ubumwe ni zo mbaraga z'Igihugu, ni ukwemera gufatanya no kwemera ko muri wowe no mu bandi harimo imbaraga zashyirwa hamwe zikagira akamaro. Ni bwo buryo

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58 *Gahunda ya* ***"Ndi Umunyarwanda"*** *ni ukwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda batewe ishema no kuba Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku gukunda u Rwanda, kururrinda no kuruteza imbere. Ndi Umunyarwanda ishinga imizi mu bunyarwanda bwubakiye ku buryo Umunyarwanda yibona, yiyumva, yitwara kandi akanisanga mu Rwanda no mu Banyarwanda. Kuba Umunyarwanda ni ukugira ingengabitekerezo y'ubunyarwanda: The Rwandan Spririt. Ni ukwemera kuba uw'u Rwanda, rukaba urwawe, mu mateka, mu muco, mu migirire n'imitekerereze, mu cyerekezo n'intego, no mu buryo dutunganya imiyoborere kandi tukikemurira ibibazo. Ndi Umunyarwanda ni no kwiyumvamo imbaraga zica imigozi ikiziritse bamwe mu Banyarwanda ku macakubiri, zigapfundika ipfundo ry'ubwizerane, ubworoherane, uburenganzira bungana kuri bose, ukwishyira ukizana mu gihugu no kuzirikana ko Igihugu ari byose bigatera buri wese kugikunda no kugikorera nta gusigana. Ni gahunda igamije kwimura amacakubiri hakimikwa Ubunyarwanda. Iyi gahunda yatangijwe mu Turere twose tw'Igihugu mu Gushyingo 2013.*

59 *RDRC (Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission / Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Gusezerera no Gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abari Abasirikare) yashyizweho na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda muri 1997.*

bwonyine buteza imbere imibanire n'imibereho myiza. Abanyarwanda muri rusange n'urubyiruko by'umwihariko, bafite inyungu nyinshi mu guhitamo amahoro n'imibanire myiza byo shingiro ry'iterambere.

U Rwanda rw'uyu munsi rwunze ubumwe, ni urw'Abanyarwanda bose kubera imiyoborere myiza ishyira ku isonga umuturage. Ubudaheranwa bw'Abanyarwanda[60] ndetse n'ubushake bwa politiki ni byo byatumye tubasha kwishakamo ibisubizo byadufashije gusohoka mu bihe bigoye twanyuzemo none u Rwanda rukomeje gukataza mu iterambere. Ubudaheranwa ni ikimenyetso kiranga ubutwari, kwihesha agaciro no kwiyemeza gukomeza kubaho.

Nk'uko Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika yabibwiye abayobozi bashya b'inzego z'ibanze bari mu mwiherero i Gishari ku itariki ya 29 Ugushyingo 2021, "Hari ikibazo cy'abantu bitwaza imbuga nkoranyambaga bakavuga ibiharabika Igihugu n'Abanyarwanda. Haba hakwiye no kuboneka ababasubiza bakerekana ukuri".

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IV. GUSURA IGICUMBI CY'INTWARI NKA BUMWE MU BURYO BWUBAKA UBUTWARI MU RUBYIRUKO

Yateguwe na Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve*

INTANGIRIRO

Muri "cahier" Umurage w'Ubutwari n° ya 4, mwasomye ingero z'abagore 3, bari basigaye ari imfubyi z'ababyeyi bombi, ariko ntibazitirwe n'ubupfubyi, cyangwa ngo baheranwe no kutagira umuryango ahubwo bakubakira ku bupfura, ubutwari n'urukundo. Babiri muri bo bari mu bakobwa benshi bafashwe ku ngufu bakabyara ariko biyemeza ubutwari mu nzira yo gufasha abandi kugira icyanga cy'ubuzima.

Muri iyi nyandiko, turabagezaho uburyo gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'u Rwanda[1] i Remera byabaye ifatizo nyaryo ryubakiye ubushobozi urubyiruko rw'abana bavutse mu ihohoterwa ryo mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, mu guhindura imyifatire no gukora rugamije ibikorwa byiza.

Urwo rubyiruko rufite imyaka iyingayinga 28, ni abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa ryakorewe abakobwa n'abagore, bamwe muri bo ari bato abandi ari bakuru, bazira uko bavutse.

Mu nyandiko y' "Icyemezo cy'inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi, 1325 (2000), cy'Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU)", mu ngingo yacyo ya 11: Yibukije ko ibihugu byose bifite inshingano zo guca umuco wo kudahana kandi bigakurikirana abantu bose baregwa ibyaha bya Jenoside n'ibindi bikorwa by'ihohoterwa ry'ikiremwamuntu, ibyaha by'intambara harimo n'ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina n'ibindi bigirirwa abagore n'abana b'abakobwa kandi no kugaragaza ko ibyo byaha by'ubugizi bwa nabi bitagomba kugirirwa imbabazi n'ubutegetsi. Ndetse no ku ngingo ya 16, ivuga ngo: "Isabye Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kwiga ku ngaruka z'intambara ku bagore n'abana b'abakobwa,

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1 Intwari z'u Rwanda ziri mu byiciro bitatu hakurikijwe ibikorwa byindashyikirwa, zakoze bikaba ari byo Imanzi, Imena n'Ingenzi.

uruhare rw'abagore mu kubungabunga amahoro, umubare w'abagore mu mishyikirano y'amahoro no gukemura amakimbirane kandi agatanga raporo ku bizava muri izo nyigo akanabimenyesha ibihugu byose bigize Umuryango w'Abibumbye".

Abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa ryakorewe abakobwa n'abagore mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, bamwe muri bo barangije Kaminuza kandi barihiwe na Leta y'u Rwanda mu byiciro byihariye, bituma bagaragaza umunezero kuko benshi bavugaga ko batarangiza n'amashuri abanza (primaire), barishimye kandi barashima.

1. URUBYIRUKO RWASUYE IGICUMBI CY'INTWARI I REMERA RWAHAVANYE AMASOMO

Mu gihe basuraga Igicumbi cy'Intwari[2] z'Igihugu i Remera, urwo rubyiruko rw'abakobwa n'abahungu bahigiye umuco mwiza bahindura imyumvire, imibonere n'imikorere.

Umwe muri urwo rubyiruko, Jean Claude Mfashijwenimana (Akarere ka Kamonyi) yagize ati : "Hamwe na bagenzi banjye,

- Twasobanukiwe neza Intwari ni muntu ki? Tumenya neza imico n'imyifatire biranga umuntu wabaye Intwari.
- Twasobanuriwe ibyiciro by'Intwari ari byo: Imanzi, Imena n'Ingenzi, kandi ko hari izindi ntwari zitazwi nazo zihabwa agaciro kazo mu bikorwa byiza zakoze.
- Gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari byatumye twiyumvamo ubutwari kuko ibigwi byaranze Intwari natwe twabyitoza bikaturanga.
- Byadufashije kumva ko kwitangira Igihugu uharanira ibyiza ubwabyo ari ubutwari bityo natwe twumva ko twakimenera amaraso aho kukimena umutima.
- Byatumye tugarura ubumuntu mu gutabarana no kutiganyira, twibuka ko abagiye inama Imana ibasanga, kandi ngo uguhiga ubutwari muratabarana.
- Twamenye ko Intwari idapfa ahubwo iratabaruka. Intwari ntisaza nta n'ubwo yibagirana; ijabo ryayo riyiha ijambo.

2 *Intwari ni umuntu ukurikirana ibyo yiyemeje kugeraho bikavamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga gifitiye abandi akamaro, akabikora mu bupfura, mu kwihangana no mu bwitange buhebuje kandi akirinda ubugwari mu migirire ye, ntagamburuzwe n' amananiza*

- Intwari nyayo iharanira inyungu rusange kabone naho yahasiga ubuzima, ihora iharanira gukora ibyiza".

Akomeza agira ati: "Nifuza gusubira ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari kuko nsubiyeyo nahakura ubundi bumenyi bwisumbuyeho mu guharanira kuzaba intwari y'u Rwanda rurangwa n'amata n'ubuki; kongera ubumenyi ngatanga ubutumwa ku bakiri bato kugira ngo nabo bazakure biyumvamo ubutwari; kongera kumenya ko muri iki gihe bitandukanye n'ahahise ishimwe ry'uwo bise Intwari ese haracyakoreshwa ibyitwaga imidari cyangwa hari irindi zina rishya risigaye rikoreshwa? Ko kera habagaho urugamba ukumva ngo kanaka na kanaka bagiye ku rugamba, ese kuri ubu uretse imico n'imyifatire biranga Intwari, cya gice cyo ku rugamba ho bigenda bite? Ese bitandukanye n'icyo twakwita kugwa mu ntambara?

Ati: "Ni byiza ko natwe urubyiruko tuba indashyikirwa mu butwari. Ngo wanga kumenera amaraso Igihugu imbwa zikayanywera ubusa".

Kuba twarasuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari ni ingirakamaro ku rubyiruko kuko:

i) Bidufasha kutadohoka mubyo dukora, haba mu gufashanya cyangwa mu guhana serivisi. Urugero: iyo nkoze neza nk'urubyiruko bimpa icyizere ko nzabisanga imbere kandi ko ibikorwa nakoze byiza bitazibagirana;

ii) Bidufasha guhuza umuhigo, kumva ko ubufatanye n'ubwitange byaranze Intwari zatubanjirije natwe urubyiruko dushoboye kubigeraho;

iii) Bidufasha kwiyumvamo ubutwari tukiri bato;

iv) Bituma tudacika intege;

v) Bidufasha kandi gusobanukirwa amateka yaranze Intwari z'u Rwanda hifashishijwe ibimenyetso turebesha amaso twasuye kuri icyo Gicumbi;

vi) Bidufasha gusobanurira barumuna bacu n'abanyamahanga ukuri ku butwari[3] natwe urubyiruko tuzi neza kuko twigishijwe icyo Intwari aricyo n'icyo twakora ngo tube intwari koko;

vii) Bituremamo icyizere cy'ejo hazaza tukiri bato.

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3 *Ubutwari burangwa no gukurikirana icyo umuntu yiyemeje kugeraho kivamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga kandi gifitiye abandi akamaro. Ibyo bigakorwa mu bupfura, mu kwihangana no mu bwitange buhebuje, kandi ubikoze akirinda ubugwari mu migirire ye, ntagamburuzwe n'amananiza*

Niyitanga Moses (Akarere ka Nyanza) nawe uru mu rubyiruko rwasuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu yagize ati: "ibyo nakuye mu gusura Igicumbi harimo: i) kudaharanira inyungu zawe bwite; ii) gukunda Igihugu n'abagituye bose; iii)ikindi kandi nahakuye ni uko kuba intwari bidasaba imyaka, ubushobozi runaka, igitsina runaka, imbaraga n'amafaranga, ahubwo bisaba urukundo no kwitanga wese iv) ikindi ni uguharanira amahoro y' Igihugu".

Uwimana Clementine (Akarere ka Nyanza) ati: "Nasuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari, nahabonye byinshi kandi byiza. Urugero: ibiranga intwari ko ari ukugira umutima ukomeye, kwitanga, gukunda Igihugu, kuba umunyakuri, kugira ubupfura, kugira ubumuntu. Namenye ibyiciro by'Intwari tuzirikana (Imanzi Imena n'Ingenzi). Nifuza kuhagaruka nkamenya mu buryo bunononsoye ibyaziranze".

Nyinawumuntu Diane (Akarere ka Gasabo) ati: "Gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari bifite akamaro ku rubyiruko ndetse n'abakuru mu byiciro byose. Amasomo byansigiye ubwo mperuka yo harimo: gukunda Iguhugu no kucyitangira, kurwanya amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda ndetse no kwimakaza ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ubunyangamugayo, kugira umutima ukomeye ndetse no kurwanya akarengane, kwitanga no kugira urukundo".

Hari n'abandi bagize icyo bavuga ku bijyanye n'urugendo bagiriye ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera.

Nizeyimana Eric (Akarere ka Muhanga) we ati: "Zimwe mu nyungu nakuye mu gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari harimo: i) kumenya Intwari z'u Rwanda n'amateka yazo; ii) kumenya no gutandukanya ibyiciro byazo; iii) kumenya ibijyanye n'imidari n'impeta z'ishimwe; iiii) namenye kandi ko umuntu uko yaba angana kose yaharanira ubutwari, mutoya cyangwa mukuru yaharanira ubutwari; iv) nakuyeyo icyitegererezo cyanjye aribo bana b'i Nyange aho banyigishije ko ubumwe mu banyarwanda bushoboka, tukamagana amacakubiri kandi urubyiruko tukabigiramo uruhare".

Umuhire Rosine (Akarere ka Nyarugenge) ati: "Nakuyeyo gukunda Igihugu cyacu n'abagituye tukagira urukundo rwatuma twitangira abandi. Kugira ubumwe, kwifatanya n'abandi mu rugendo kugeza ugeze ku cyo wagambiriye n'ubwo waba utakiriho ibikorwa byawe birivugira".

Nishimwe Marthe (Akarere ka Nyarugenge) ati: "Namemye amateka yaranze abarokoye n'abatanze ubuzima bwabo muri Jenoside bimpa "morale" ko ineza

y’umuntu n’ubwo hari abatarabishimiwe ku mugaragaro byibuze hari ubwo yibukwa. Ikindi nabashije gukunda neza no kumenya inkomoko ya Ndi Umunyarwanda. Nashimye kandi nkunda ko hari abantu baranzwe kandi bari bafite umutima w’ubumuntu bumvaga ko mugenzi wabo ari nkabo”.

Muteteri Rose (Akarere ka Gasabo) ati: “Gusura Igicumbi cy’Intwari byatumye menya neza ibi bikurikira: aho giherereye n’ibihakorerwa; amazina atandukanye y’ibyiciro by’Intwari z’Igihugu n’ibisobanuro byayo; kugirango umuntu abe intwari ndetse ashyirwe no mu Gicumbi cyazo ibyo aba yarakoze; amateka atandukanye ku bantu no ku gihugu cyacu”.

Ikindi kandi, kumenya Igicumbi cy’Intwari z’Igihugu byatuma ababyiruka bunguka byinshi birimo kumenya Intwari n’ibikorwa by’ingirakamaro byaziranze. Bakwiga gukora ibyiza bakareka ibibi; bakunda Igihugu ndetse bakakitangira; bakubaha ikiremwa muntu; bakunda amahoro ndetse bakayasakaza; byatuma ababi bahinduka bakiga gukora neza.....

Bamwe mu basuye Igicumbi cy’Intwari z’Igihugu biganjemo urubyiruko, Remera tariki ya 9/8/2018

Bamwe mu basuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu biganjemo urubyiruko, Remera tariki ya 9/8/2018

2. UBUHAMYA BURAMBUYE BWA BAMWE MU RUBYIRUKO

2.1.Ubuhamya bw'Umurizaboro Aline

Aline afite imyaka 28 kuko yavutse ku itariki ya 24 gashyantare 1995, atuye mu karere ka Muhanga. Ni umwe mu rubyiruko rw'abana bavutse ku babyeyi bafashwe ku ngufu muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mwaka w'i 1994. Ati: Mbifashijwemo n'umuryango uduhuza nk'abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa, nabaye umwe mu bagize amahirwe yo gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera. Ubwo nasuraga Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu nahigiye isomo cyane cyane ku Banyeshuri b'i Nyange bari mu cyiciro cy'Intwari z'Imena, nabo bari urubyiruko banga kwicamo ibice ubwo abacengezi bari babibasabye, baravuga bati: "Twese turi Abanyarwanda". Isomo nigiye kuri aba banyeshuri, bahagaze ku bunyarwanda cyane ko nanjye mbishimira kuba ndi Umunyarwanda nkaterwa ishema nabyo. Bitewe n'amateka yanjye kuba Umunyarwanda nibyo bimpumuriza nkumva ko mfite uwambyaye ariwe Igihugu cyanjye.

Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange babaye umwe ntibimika amacakubiri. Kuba u Rwanda rwacu rufite indangagaciro y'ubumwe ni ibyiza turukesha kuko byatumye twisanga rubanda bareka kutwita amazina mabi bashingiye aho dukomoka, twese tugira isano imwe ko turi Abanyarwanda. Bagaragaje indangagaciro zikwiriye kuranga buri Munyarwanda wese harimo gusenyera umugozi umwe, kwitangira abandi no kwitandukanya n'ikibi.

Akomeza agira ati: "Imihigo n'imigambi mfite ni uko ngomba kwirinda no kurwanya amacakubiri muri njye, aho ntuye, ndetse n'abo tubana, nkimika indangagaciro y'Ubunyarwanda. Nanjye nkitandukanya n'ikibi cyose kiganisha ku macakubiri kuko nta cyiza cy'amacakubiri cyane ko jye naciye mu bubi bwayo, ngaca no mu ngaruka zayo, nzi neza ko nta cyiza yangezaho. Hari ibikorwa nkanjye nk'urubyiruko nakora bishimangira indangagaciro y'ubutwari, harimo imirimo y'ubwitange, gufasha abafite imbaraga nkeya, gukemura no kurwanya amakimbirane aho ntuye, gukunda Igihugu no kugikorera, kwimakaza ubumwe no kwirinda amacakubiri, kurwanya ipfobya n'ihakana rya Jenoside".

Gusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu byasigasiye guhinduka muri njye simperanwe n'amateka yanjye. Navutse nk'uko abandi bana bavuka, aho nciriye akenge nisanga

mbana na mama wanjye wenyine tutagira Papa, tubana na barumuna be bato babiri n'abandi bana yareraga babiri. Aho menyeye ubwenge mfite imyaka itanu, natangiye kumubaza aho papa wambyaye aba, gusa mama ntiyajyaga ansubiza icyo kibazo, yari yararuciye yararumize. Menya ko mama wanjye n'abavandimwe be bari bararokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994, ariko abavandimwe be b'abahungu (ba marume) bari barokotse nabo bari baramuciye mu muryango bamuziza kuba yarambyaye, kuko ngo bamusabye gukuramo inda yanjye akabyanga.

Twabayeho mu buzima bubi cyane, cyane ko nari urwibutso rw'amateka mabi kuri mama wanjye no mu muryango mbamo.

Igihe cyaje kugera mfite imyaka irindwi ntangira ishuri. Ariko abarimu bakajya bambaza amazina y'ababyeyi banjye barimo na papa; ndabyibuka niga mu mwaka wa kabiri w'amashuri abanza, umwarimu yambajije izina rya papa mubwiye ko ntarizi, arambwira ngo "Ni gute umuntu ungana nawe atazi izina ry'iwabo"? Ati taha uzagaruke warimenye. Mwarimu aranyirukana ndataha njya kubaza mama. Icyo gihe mama yambwiye izina rya se (ariwe sogokuru) anyikiza aba ariryo mvuga ku ishuri.

Gusa nyuma nabwo naje kumenya ko yambeshye kuko byari bimugoye kumbwira uburyo navutsemo; ahubwo yarambwiye ngo sinzongere kumubaza icyo kibazo, ati: ko so yapfuye uba umbaza iki?

Abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa bahura n'ibibazo byinshi biba imvano y'imikurire mibi. Nanjye nta buto nigeze kubera iyo mpamvu, ndetse no kwiga byarangoraga cyane nkaba umuswa mu ishuri bigatuma nsibira kenshi; bitewe kandi n'ubuzima twari tubayemo burimo ko mama yari afite uburwayi bukomeye bw'igifu maze kugira icyo akora bikaba ingorabahizi, kutagira aho kuba, kuncumbikisha bya hato na hato adashaka ko tugumana kubera ikibazo cy'ihungabana n'igifu yarwaraga ahora mu bitaro kwa Muganga.
Igihe cyaje kugera nisanga ndi mu muryango w'isanamutima no gukira ibikomere ari naho namenyeye amateka y'uburyo navutsemo. Hari mu mwaka wa 2007, twari twasohokeye Kigali na mama mu gikorwa cyari cyateguwe n'uwo muryango.
Ngeze yo ntangira kumva ubutumwa bwavugirwa aho hantu, bujyanye no kwita ku bana bavutse ku babyeyi bafashwe ku ngufu, buvuga ngo ni abana nk'abandi,

ntihakagire ubahungabanya. Bajye bababafata neza, babwirwe amagambo meza abubaka, bashimwe hari icyo bakoze cyiza kandi bakundwe urukundo rw'umwana na nyina, babwizwe ukuri n'uwababyaye. Nibuka ko ababyeyi bacu bageraga kuri mirongo itatu (30), buri mubyeyi yazanye umwana we, bivuga ko natwe abana twari mirongo itatu (30).

Dutashye naramubajije ngo ese nanjye ndi umwe mu bavutse muri buriya buryo (ni ko bavuga ku bana bavutse ku babyeyi bafashwe ku ngufu muri Jenoside), arabwira ngo yego. Numvise binteye ipfunwe n'agahinda kuko ntazigera menya data wambyaye, byanteye ibikomere cyane. Maze musaba ngo azambabarire ntazagire umuntu abibwira n'umwe kuko aho dutuye twari tuhamaze imyaka mike tuhimukiye.

N'ubwo kwakira uko navutse byari bingoye, twageze aho njye na mama dutangira gushyikirana kugeza ubwo tubiganiraho; ari nabwo yambwiye ko basaza be bamuciye kuko akintwita bamusabye gukuramo inda yanjye akabyanga, ni uko baca ukubiri. Yarambwiye ati: "ntabwo nari ngukunze, nta n'ubwo nari nishimiye kukubyara, gusa nari umukirisitu ntabwo nari kukwica kuko kwica ni icyaha….."

Yakomeje kujya ajya mu mahuriro y'abakobwa n'abagore bafashwe ku ngufu bakaba bafite abana, nanjye turi kumwe. Twiga kubana n'ibyo bikomere bitadukomeretsa no gufashanya kubikira. Natwe mu rugo tukaganira akagenda ambwira buke buke amwe mu mateka ye. Yaje kumbwira inkomoko y'izina ryanjye bitewe n'uko ritangaza abantu benshi kandi nanjye mu ntangiriro nararyangagaga, kandi we ashaka ko ariko nitwa. Yari yahinduje iryo nari menyereye: Uwizeyimana. Anyerurira ko yanyise "Umurizaboro" ashaka kubwira basaza be ko n'ubwo batwanze ntacyo tuzaba.

Iryo jambo ry'uko 'ntacyo tuzaba' n'uko twaganiraga numva binteye umurava wo kumwitaho no guharanira kumushimisha mwereka ko kuba yarambyaye ntacyo bitwaye ndetse atari n'amahitamo mabi. Nafashe umugambi wo kugira umuhate wo kwiga nshishikaye, ntangira kumenya ubwenge ngatsinda. Nari ngeze mu mwaka wa mbere w'amashuri yisumbuye (S1). Dutangira kubana neza nta kibazo no komorana ibikomere, n'ubwo tutaburaga guhura n'ingaruka z'amateka mabi n'uburyo navutsemo. Ariko nariyakiriye niga kubana n'ibyo bikomere cyane ko nari mfite n'umubyeyi nk'umuryango waherekezaga mama mu isanamutima, nanjye

umperekeza muri urwo rugendo, maze ibikomere birakira turiyakira.
Igihe cyaje kugera, muri uko kwiyakira ntangira noneho no kuvuga amateka y'uburyo navutsemo mu buhamya numva nta pfunwe binteye kuko naje kumenya ko nta wihitiramo uko akavuka. Mama nawe yariyakiriye ubu yashatse umugabo abyara n'undi mwana, ubu turi umuryango ubanye neza.

Ubu ndi umukobwa urangije kwiga icyiciro cya kabiri cya Kaminuza. Ndashima Imana ndetse nshishikajwe no kugira ejo hazaza heza, kandi mpamya ko ubuzima ari bwiza, ngomba gukomeza kubuharanira nk'uwamenye indagagaciro y'ubutwari no kubusigasira. Muri club ya "Twe urubyiruko dushoboye" mbamo yitwa "Abo imbere mu iterambere" kandi mbereye Umuyobozi, tuzaharanira kandi dukwirakwize umuco w'ubutwari mu rubyiruko n'izindi ndangagaciro z' Umunyarwanda.

2.2. Ubuhamya bwa Wibabara Euleriya

WIBABARA Euleriya, ku itariki 4 Gashyantare 2023 azaba yujuje imyaka 28. Atuye mu karere ka Bugesera.

Euleriya, atangira kumenya ubwenge ngo yisanze abana na mama we na basaza be babiri akabona nta papa bagira. Ageze aho arababaza ati papa wacu yagiye hehe? Ati: ariko icyatumye mbabaza aho papa yagiye ni uko nabonaga mama atamfata nk'abandi bana, abandi bana yarabakundaga cyane ariko nkabona njyewe atankunda. Musaza wanjye mukuru yaje kumbwira ko papa wacu yapfuye muri Jenoside. Ubwo nakuze numva mbabaye nzi ko ndi imfubyi. Ati: mbere y'uko ntangira ishuri mbere ho gato mama yakundaga kunjyana mu masengesho ya burakeye mu ba ma soeur (Ababikira) ariko simenye impamvu. Nasobanukiwe mu gihe cyakurikiyeho, abwira aba ma soeur ko yantoraguye atambyaye, ababwira ko ashaka ko bantwara bakandera. Baje rero kuntwara ngo bajye kundera basanga mama wacu murumuna wa mama ababwira ko ababeshya ndi umwana we, ahubwo yambyaye bamufashe ku ngufu akaba ariyo mpamvu atankunda akaba ashaka kuntanga. Nari aho numva n'ubwo nari umwana kandi hari byinshi ntasobanukiwe ariko menya impamvu atakunda, icyakurikiyeho bamenye ko ndi uwe ntabwo bari bakintwaye. Mama ampa mama wacu nawe wari imfubyi ngo tubane, anjyana i Rwamagana.

Wibabara yaje gutangira ishuri ageze ku ishuri, abarimu bakajya bamubaza ababyeyi,ati bambaza nkavuga mama ariko nkabura papa. Nabaza mama papa, aho kugira ngo ambwire ahubwo akagira agahinda akarira ntagire icyo ansubiza. Ati: muri icyo gihe nakuranye agahinda gakomeye aho ndi hose nkaba nigunze. Musaza wanjye akajya ambwira ngo njye mvuga ko papa wanjye ari Kabanda. Uwo Kabanda ni papa wa basaza banjye, numva mbabaye kandi na none numva n'uwo Kabanda ntamuvuga. Wibabara ati: mu gace twari dutuyemo, numvaga abantu bavuga ko hari umugabo umwe dusa witwa Nepo.

Njyewe nkaharanira kumva namenya uwo Nepo kuko ntabwo nari muzi. Naje kumumenya mu buryo butari bwiza kuko icyo gihe namumenye yari yibye ibitoki bamuzanye ku kagari kacu tugiye gushungera, noneho nyuma y'aho mbaza uwo mama wacu arambwira ati ni amateka maremare cyane ntabwo nanjye mbizi niba ari we papa wawe, keretse mama wawe ariwe ubikubwiye. Mama namubaza akarira adahora kandi agahita ahahamuka. Nkomeza gutitiriza uwo mama wacu aza kumbwira amateka, ko mama uwo mugabo bavuga ko ari papa hamwe n'abandi bagabo baje mu gitero mu rugo mu gihe cya Jenoside bageze nko ku icumi baramujyana. Baramujyanye nk'abandi Batutsi bahigwaga bagiye kumwica; ngo hashira iminsi itatu baziko yapfuye byarangiye, bagiye kubona babona agarukanye n'uwo mugabo Nepo abantu bavugaga ko ari papa. Bageze mu rugo baje baramukubitaguye ahantu hose, baramuhaye kandi baramunywesheje amatabi, ngo araza umusiga aho ari intere. Amakuru nabwiwe avuga ko icyo gihe bamukubise bagiye kumwica uyu mugabo arababwira ati mu mureke uyu nguyu nzamwiyicira amujyana iwabo, bashiki be bamubonye baravuga ngo: iyi nyenzi ntabwo tuyishaka niba utamwishe twebwe tuzamuhamagarira igitero kize kimutwicire. Nibwo ngo yamugaruye aho kwa nyogokuru ubyara mama. Ni uko ngo aba aho ngaho ari igisenzegeri nyuma nibwo yaje kumenya ko atwite agerageza no gukuramo inda, nyogokuru wari ukiriho aramubuza ngo itamuhitana, maze ngo akajya amuba hafi cyane amwitaho. Nyuma nibwo yaje kumbyara, ngo ambyaye anta aho yari yambyariye mu gikoni, arahanta bagiye kumva bumva uruhinja rurarize baje kureba basanga imbwa yari igiye kundya, nabwo ngo bayinkuyeho biba intambara.

Ati: Nkimara kumenya ayo mateka numvise mbabaye cyane numva mama sinshobora no kumubabarira kuko yari yaranze no kumbwira ayo mateka amushengura umutima nk'uko nanjye yawushenguye.

Umunsi umwe ubwo nari ngiye ku ishuri nanyuze mu isenteri twanyuragamo nsanga wa mugabo bitaga Nepo yicaranye na musaza wanjye baba barampamagaye arangije arambwira ngo wa mwana we! N'ubwo mama wawe atankunda ariko ni njyewe so. Icyo gihe nanze kubyemera mpita nigendera. Hari umudamu twari duturanye abwira mama wacu ati: uriya mugabo Nepo yarambwiye ngo nzamugeze kuri uyu mwana. Mama wacu aramubwira ati sinshaka kwibabariza umwana uzabireke. Ariko uwo mudamu yarakomeje n'ubundi arahatiriza kugeza ubwo anjyanye ashyika angejeje kuri uwo mugabo Nepo.

Uwo mugabo nkimugeraho yarambwiye ati : wa mwana we "uri uburiza bwanjye", mama wawe ntabwo yigeze ankunda, uracyari muto ntabwo nakubwira ibyabaye byose ariko umbabarire umbwire icyo wumva ukeneye muri aka kanya nkiguhe. Icyo gihe nakundaga kwiga nigaga mu mwaka wa gatatu, mubwira ko nkeneye ibikoresho by'ishuri, yarabimpaye ndakomeza ndiga. Ariko ku ishuri hakaba umwana umwe wankomeretsaga cyane uko yambonaga ngiye nko gukinana nabo aho babaga bakina yahitaga ambwira ngo nimuve iruhande ngo ndi umwana w'interahamwe. Iryo jambo ryarambabazaga cyane ariko nkomeza kubyihanganira, kenshi nkababara cyane nkakunda no kugira urugomo kubera ako gahinda kose. Nakomeje gukura mbana n'uwo mama wacu kandi nkomeza kumva mama mwanga numva sinshaka kubana nawe namba, nkomeza kubana na mama wacu ntyo.

Nazaga mu Bugesera numva nje kubabaza mama, nkumva ariwo muhigo. Nkibwira ko niba nje kubabaza mama nanjye nkumva aribwo nduhuka. Rimwe naraje ndamubaza nti njyewe ndagira ngo umbwire: papa ni Nepo? Ndongera ndamubaza nti mbwira hagati ya Nepo na Kamana n'abandi nabwirwaga n'abaturanyi ntibuka amazina, papa ni inde muri bo? Yahise ambwirana umujinya ati uramutse unyweye inzoga zisindisha z'ubwoko butandukanye waza kumenya iyagusindishije? Ese uramutse urwaye bakaguha imiti inyuranye yo kwa muganga, bakaguha n'imiti y'ikinyarwanda y'ibyatsi ukagira amahirwe ugakira wamenya umuti wagukijije? Aba arambwiye ati mu bagabo benshi bamfashe ku ngufu ntabwo namenya papa wawe uwari we. Mama yungamo ngo uwo wirirwa akubwira ko ari so uzagende umubaze azabikubwira neza. Icyo gihe kuko nari maze kuba mukuru nahise mubwira nti: ese ubundi waretse muri bariya bagabo bose bahari uko ari

bane bakadufata amaraso tukarebamo papa wanjye? Arangije aba arambwiye ati : Ese ubundi ko ubona bane abandi bakaba barapfuye abandi babiri bakaba baratorotse, muri abo bane nuburamo papa wawe bwo uzatuza? Ndamubwira nti muri abo bane nimburamo papa wanjye nzatuza. Ambwira ababaye ko nta mafaranga yifitiye yo gukora ibyo. Ni uko nanjye ndatuza ndabyakira.

Muri abo babiri batorotse harimo Kamana wari warafunzwe Jenoside ikirangira, aza gufungurwa mu mbabazi zatanzwe na Perezida wa Repubulika nibwo njyewe namumenye, menya n'ibyo byose byabaye. Noneho Kamana n'ubwo yari yafunguwe, muri Gacaca abonye ko icyaha cyo gufata ku ngufu atakireze kizamukoraho akongera agafungwa ahita atoroka. Abandi bari bagihari muri abo bane harimo Nepo n'uwo twitaga Burakari (ni iryo yihimbye muri Jenoside).

Mbere y'uko Kamana atoroka yashatse kunyica kugira ngo asibanganye ibimenyetso, yantangiriye ngiye kuvoma ku Mutembo ndi njyenyine nizinduye ngo nsige amazi mu rugo njye ku ishuri, Imana ikinga ukuboko; yari yihishe mu rubingo rurerure, mpanyuze numvise urubingo runyeganyega, rushabaganya cyane numva umusatsi umvuye ku mutwe, ndiruka. Ngeze hakurya mbona ava muri rwa rubingo afite nanjoro[81], aba arambwiye ngo uncitse uyu munsi ariko niho hahandi ntabwo ubutaha uzancika. Icyo kintu nari nkizi ko uwo mugabo ashaka kuzanyica sinongera kuzinduka njya kuvoma.

Uriya mama wacu yakundaga gusenga, akajya akunda kumbwira ngo Wibabara "uzabaho nabi ariko uzabaho". Akongera akansubiriramo ati : Nta n'impamvu yo kubaho nabi ufite Imana. Uwo munsi niruka, nanjye uwo mugabo ayo magambo nahise nyamusubiriramo ndakomeza ndiruka ndigendera.

Inkiko Gacaca zitangiye, ba bagabo bane nari nzi harimo Nepo wa wundi nitaga papa babakatira burundu bose. Bajuriye babiri muri bo bagirwa abere abandi babiri barakomeza barafungwa, naho Kamana washakaga kunyica yari yaratorotse arabura na n'ubu. Nabwo byarankomerekeje cyane kuko naribajije nti ese wawundi nitaga papa n'ubwo mama atabyemeraga ubu ngubu ndakora iki kugira ngo atahe yo gufungwa? Kuko numvaga n'ubwo ntazi niba ari papa w'ukuri numvaga mukunze kuko wenda we yabaga yananguriye n'iyo kaye n'iyo karamu. Nibuka ko nafashe urupapuro n'ikaramu ndi kumwe" n'umwana twari inshuti aramfasha turamwandikira. Ndandika nti "wambwiye ko uri data ariko simbizi niba uri uwo wambwiye ko mama adakunda, ariko sinzi niba nawe umukunda, kandi ukaba uziko

81 Igikoresho gityaye gikoreshwa mu kwahira ubwatsi.

uri papa kuki utemeye icyaha mu rukiko kugira ngo ugabanyirizwe ibihano bakaba barinze kugukatira burundu? Icyakora njyewe ndagukunda kandi nzakomeza ngukunde, niba wumva koko uri data ukumva mama n'ubwo akwanga wowe ukaba umukunda uzavugishe ukuri mu rukiko ibyabaye. Ndangije ndenzaho ngo nizeye ko nzongera nkakubona ukambwira ukuri ku byabaye byose kuko mama nta mbaraga afite zo kubivuga. Amakuru yangezeho ko ngo bamaze kujurira agarutse mu rukiko rwa rupapuro yararwerekanye ariko icyo gihe bamubwira ko nta myaka mfite yo kuba nakwandika ibyo ngibyo.

Nari nkiga amashuri abanza ariko ntangira kumva kwiga simbikunda, simbishaka. Mama wacu aza gushaka njya kubana nawe nyuma nza kubona ko gukomeza kubana nawe n'umugabo we nabyo bitoroshye, mfata utwenda twanjye mva muri Rwamagana nza kwa mama mu Bugesera.

Ubwo n'abankomeretsa simbabure, harimo na musaza wanjye wakundaga kumbwira iyo yabaga yasinze ngo ndi ikimanyi. Akomeza kujya ambangamira cyane yaza yasinze agatuka mama ngo yazanye andi maraso mu muryango, mama nawe bigatuma atankunda kubera ko byatumaga ashwana n'abana be n'ubwo nanjye nari umwana we nkibuka ko atankundaga kuva kera. Nkomeza kuba muri ubwo buzima kugeza ninjiye mu nyigisho z'umuryango wita ku babyeyi bahohotewe bafite abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa. Najyanaga na mama nkajya mpura n'abandi bana dufite ibibazo bimeze kimwe ndetse hakaba n'abo numvise bafite ibirenze ibyanjye mu mibanire yabo n'ababyeyi babo cyangwa abagabo ba ba nyina, cyangwa abavandimwe babo, mu gihe twaganiraga.

Mu buzima butagira icyanga, nkomeza kwiga njya muri segonderi, ariko uwo musaza wanjye agakomeza antsindagiramo ngo ndi icyimanyi, mama yazanye andi maraso mu muryango ..... nkumva birambabaje cyane, nkiga bitanyoroheye kubera igikomere cyo kumva ko ntagira umuryango, cyo kumva ko nabo mfite nabo batankunda. Nari maze gukura sinari nkibaza mama ibijyanye na papa kuko numvaga ntakinamukeneye. Gusa n'ubundi ntibitume mama atanyereka ko atankunze ariko njyewe nareba ihungabana agira nkumva noneho mugiriye impuhwe.

WIBABARA ati: Naje kumva Mama mugiriye impuhwe, ntangira kumukunda, yajya kwa muganga yahungabanye nkajya kumurwaza. Mama yaje kuvunika mu mwaka wa 2013 njya kumurwaza i Nyamata. Aho yari arwariye hari umwe mu bagororwa nawe wari uharwariye wambaye imyenda y'abagororwa, amukubise

ijisho arahungabana cyane. Mama bamwimuye muri icyo cyumba bamushyira mu kindi cyumba, ndamurwaza bamushyizeho sima turataha tujya mu rugo. Nkomeza kubana na mama mu buzima butoroshye, ahungabana kuko mama iyo habaga nk'ikibazo mu rugo wenda agiranye ikibazo n'abo basaza banjye yahitaga avuga ngo ko byose ari njye ubikora kugeza ubwo mama yigeze kumbwira ngo ndi "ikigeragezo cy'isi yose".

Ubwo byari biturutse ko musaza wanjye yaraje aramubwira ati uko byagenda kose n'ubwo bariya bantu bafunze nta mpamvu yo kugira ngo bazapfe badahawe imbabazi ndashaka ko ujya kubasabira imbabazi. N'ubwo wenda utajyayo, uzandike urupapuro turujyane. Mama akimara kubyumva gutyo yumvise ko ari njyewe wabikoze kandi nyamara nanjye icyo gitekerezo musaza wanjye yari yakingejejeho ndamubwira ngo ntabwo njyewe nabibwira mama wowe uzaze ubimwibwirire. Niko guhita ambwira ngo ndi ikigeragezo cy'isi yose. Icyo gihe byarampangayikishije cyane kuko ndibuka ko namaze nk'amezi atanu narabuze ibitotsi ndara ntasinziriye kandi icyo gihe nari naramaze gushaka umugabo mpunga ibibazo byo kwa mama.

Mu rugo rwanjye n'umugabo, nacungaga agiye mu kazi nkajya mu nzu nkarira. Byasabaga ko nuhura abana twabanaga bakagenda nkajya mu nzu nkarira nkenda kunogoka. Nkomeza ntyo muri ubwo buzima, kandi hose aho mpuriye na mama akantuka ngo wa kigeragezo we. Nza kubimenyera rimwe na rimwe nkabyihanganira nkumva mama uko byagenda kose ngomba kumwumva kuko ibyo yanyuzemo muri Jenoside n'ubwo atarabimbwira neza na n'ubu nawe bitamworoheye. Ngahora ntekereza ko ari ubuzima bwamukomereye bukamusharirira ariyo mpamvu yananiwe kubyakira.

Ubwo nyine byakomeje gutyo nyuma umugabo yaje kumvumbura ko agenda nkarira, ariko nkeka ko ari abaturanyi babimubwiye. Rimwe yaje ambaza ikibazo mfite ndakimubwira arampumuriza ndetse angira inama yo kuba hafi ya mama gake ntavuze nkajya muvomera amazi, nkajya mukorera utuntu duto duto dutuma abona ko mukunda.

Nakurikije izo nama z'umugabo wanjye, narabikoze biza kugera aho bigira umumaro ubu ngubu mama tubanye neza gusa nirinda kugira akantu katuma njyewe nawe dushwana kuko mba numva ntashaka ko asubira muri ubwo buzima. Yemwe twagiye mu nyigisho mu muryango udukurikirana, namusabye imbabazi mu ruhame rwa bose mu bandi babyeyi bafashwe ku ngufu bazanye n'abana babo urubyiruko nkanjye, bimukora ku mutima arambabarira.

Njya nibuka ko kera ntarashaka umugabo turi kumwe ubu, hari ubwo mama yashatse kwiyahura bitewe n'uko hari umuhungu twakundanye ariko iwabo barakoze Jenoside, noneho mama uwo munsi yaraje asanga uwo musore yaje mu rugo kunsura twicaye muri salon araza aravuga ati nanga abahutu, nanga abahutu ariko ukanga ukabanzanira mu rugo. Icyo gihe numvise nanjye bimbabaje, ansesereje, nanjye mubwira amagambo mabi amukomeretsa. Naramubwiye nti: ariko iyo wirirwa uvuga ngo wanga abahutu nimba ubanga kuki wemeye kubyarana nabo iyo wemera ugapfa? Wagakwiriye kuba waranze kubyarana nabo ntukajye uhora umbabariza umutima. Yahise asohoka nyoberwa aho agiye, umugore duturanye yahise aza yiruka guhuruza ngo yamanutse agana ku kiyaga kuko duturanye n'ibiyaga. Arambwira ngo mama wawe agiye yiruka avuga ko agiye kwiyahura, uwo musore amfata ukuboko ati ngwino twirukanke tujye kugarura mama wawe. Nti umva ni "nyoko bukwe mwiruke inyuma njyewe nta mwanya mfite". Kuko icyo gihe numvaga nanjye bimbabaje guhora ambwira ko yanga abahutu kandi nanjye icyo gihe nari naramenye ko nkomoka ku muhutu. Nageze aho ngarura agatima nibuka ko urupfu runturutseho ari rubi, nibuka ko ari mama ni uko turagenda mama turamugarura, twasanze agiye kugera hafi y'ikiyaga turamufata turamugarura, tumushyira mu nzu ababyeyi duturanye bari kumwe n'umukuru w'umudugudu wacu, baraza turaganira barambwira bati n'iyo yaba akubwiye amagambo akubabaza ujye umwihorera aho kumusubiza kuko n'ubwo yakubyaye afite amahirwe kuba agufite kuko hari abandi bagiye bababyara ntibagire amahirwe yo kuba bakiriho. Bati: ugomba rero kumuba hafi nawe arankundira nkajya muba hafi. Yambwira amagambo mabi nkihangana ngo ntakoma rutenderi. Nibuka kandi ko Iyo nakeneraga guca nk'ikirere, icyuma ntari kukibona hafi nahitaga nkoresha amenyo, agakunda kumbwira ngo erega n'ubundi amenyo y'umuhutu acungura umuhoro.

Umunsi umwe mfata ikaye ndandika nti: ariko Mana kubera iki ibi ari njyewe bibaho? koko amenyo yanjye yabaye ay'umuhutu, yacunguye umuhoro ni ukuvuga ngo amenyo y'umuhutu arya abantu, arya buri kintu cyose. Niba hari ikibi nkoze ngo nta muhutu ushimwa kabiri, Mana kubera iki? Kuki? Ubwo haba n'ikibazo ngiranye n'umugabo twashwana ngahita numva ko ari kumbona muri ya shusho nyine y'ubuhutu. Kubera iki ari njyewe ibi byose bibaho? Nyine ntonganya Imana cyane, ndayitonganya ariko nkagira na none ijambo rimwe ryo kuvuga ngo kandi buriya hari umuntu undeba agahita abona ko yifuje kumera nkanjye. Iryo rigahita na none ringarura muri "mood". Uwo mama wacu twabanye yakunze kumbwira

amagambo yo kunyubaka cyane. Twari abakene ari imfubyi ariko agakunda kumenyera buri kintu nkeneye, n'iyo bitaba 100% ariko akambwira ati ujye unyurwa kandi ikindi, ako kajipo wambaye niba utambutse hari umwana wo kwa runaka uba uvuga ati icyampa nanjye aka kajipo ka Euleriya, icyampa nanjye bikagenda kuriya nka kuriya Euleriya ameze. Rero hari igihe mba numva nababaye natannye numva navuye mu budaheranwa, nkahita nibuka iryo jambo mu mutima, nkagaruka mu nzira nziza. Nkibuka ko hari umuntu wifuza kumera nkanjye kandi umuntu wifuza kumera nkanjye, ntabwo yifuza kumera nkanjye abona mbabaye, ahubwo yifuza kumera nkanjye nishimye niyubaka kandi nkora ibinteza imbere.

Uriya muhungu yaje kumbenga bitewe n'ayo magambo, ntabwo byababaga byiza. Noneho ikintu cyatumye nshaka nkiri muto, muri cya gihe mama yari yaravunitse, niga mu wa mbere segonderi ubwo urabyumva ntabwo nabaye nkikomeje segonderi.

Nagombaga kuguma mu rugo nkita kuri mama. Muri icyo gihe namaze ndi mu rugo nibwo naje guterwa inda ndabyara, maze kubyara na mama nawe yaje koroherwa aravuga ati ntabwo wakomeza kunyicarira aha, ati subira ku ishuri. Nsubira ku ishuri ndiga. Ariko n'ubundi nkabona biramvuna. Mama n'ubwo yari yarorohewe ariko yari atarakira neza imirimo imwe n'imwe ninjye wayikoraga harimo no kuba nasiba nkajya gukorera amafranga kugira ngo ndebe ko narya kubera ko nari mfite umwana. Noneho mbona n'ubundi biramvuna cyane. Ngeze mu wa kane segonderi mbona ubwo buzima n'ubundi sinzakomeza kububamo kuko uyu munsi nabaga nize ejo sinize n'ubundi ngacyura amanota make kubera ibyo byose byatumaga nshobora kumara icyumweru ntiga. Niba hari aho bari kubaka nkajya gukorayo nkamara icyumweru nkora nyuma ngasubira kwiga nkabona ibyo bintu bingora, ishuri ndarireka.

Ubwo naje guteretana n'undi musore, ngize amahirwe arambwira ati njyewe mfite inzu yanjye ngwino twibanire, ndavuga ngo aho kugira ngo nzongere mbyarire mu rugo reka ngende mbane nawe. Gusa icyo gihe namuhaye "condition", ndamubwira nti njyewe n'ubwo tugiye kubana mama ni njyewe umumenya ubwo wemere ko n'ubundi tuzajya dufatanya kumenya mama arabinyemerera turabana. Ntabwo twasezeranye kuko kubera igikomere, numvaga ntakwereka mama ibirori.

Abandi bakobwa **bavutse ku ihohoterwa nkanjye**, iyo twaganiraga abenshi bumvaga barananiwe kubabarira abantu bahemukiye ababyeyi babo. ~~None~~ Icyerekezo abenshi babaga bafite bumvaga bashaka kuzandika ibitabo ku nkuru

z'abana bavutse ku babyeyi babo bafashwe ku ngufu muri Jenoside. Ikindi ntibashaka ko ibintu byo kuvuga ngo abana bavutse ku babyeyi babo bafashwe ku ngufu bumva badashaka ko icyo kintu gikomeza kuvugwa kugira ngo babashe kubyibagirwa no kubyakira. Bakumva iryo jambo barishakira iyindi nyito kuko nyine ni abana bavutse nk'abandi bana, n'ubwo numvise ko abandi banyuze mu itorero bafashe izina ryitwa **"Twe urubyiruko dushoboye..."**

Wibabara Euleriya ati: imigabo n'imigambi mfite ubu ngubu mba numva icyo nifuza cya mbere muri njyewe ku giti cyanjye ni amahoro y'umutima, amahoro mu bo tubana, amahoro mu baturanyi, amahoro….. mbega amahoro mu gihugu cyose noneho igihe nzaba mfite amahoro mu mutima no mu mutwe nzaba mfitemo amahoro icyo gihe ngomba gukora ibinteza imbere. Nkashaka ibinteza imbere kandi ibizanteza imbere bizateza imbere igihugu, biteze imbere abaturanyi. Iyo niyo migabo n'imigambi mfite mu myaka yanjye iri imbere Imana niba ikintije ubuzima .

Muri icyo gihe, twe na ba mama n'urundi rubyiruko, twakorewe gahunda n'abadukurikiranaga dusura Igicumbi cy'Intwari. Nari narashatse maze kubyarana umwana umwe n'uwo mugabo. Ndabyibuka icyo gihe nari mfite uruhinja, uko badusobanuriraga ibigwi by'Intwari ni ibintu byanshimishije cyane, biranyura binkora ku mutima kuko naratashye ndabimuratira cyane ndavuga nti nagiye ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari, mwereka agatabo twatahanye ndamubwira nti aka gatabo karimo amateka y'abana b'i Nyange n'Intwari zindi.

Numva ko muri byinshi, icy'ubutwari naba nakoze kuri njyewe, n'ubwo mama atarabasha kumbwira ibyamubayeho mba numva mu mutima wanjye abo bantu bamuhemukiye narababariye, ikindi kandi kuba inshuro nyinshi mama yagiye anyereka ko atankunda ariko njyewe ubungubu nkaba mbasha kumuba hafi yaba arwaye cyangwa yaba ari muzima n'ubwo ntazi neza uri papa w'ukuri, nawe naramubabariye kuko ibyamubayeho nawe ntabwo ariwe.. Nkurikije uko nari niyizi n'uko nari nsanzwe nteye, hari ikindi kintu kindimo, numvaga ko igihe ntari kumwe n'umugabo ntashobora kurya ngo bikunde, nkavuga ngo narya gute? Aba bana nabarera nte? Ariko cya kibatsi cy'ubutwari nungutse, nafashe intego, yagiye twakoraga umwuga w'ubuhinzi bw'imboga ndi no kwiga imyuga. Maze kurangiza kwiga imyuga, inyanya yari asize zimaze kwera mpita nguramo imashini idoda kandi ndongera ndanahinga. Abana igihe cyo kujya ku ishuri mu kwa cyenda cyarageze bajyayo bambaye uniforme n'inkweto kandi bafite amakaye yuzuye. Byanyeretse

ko n'ubwo byambabaje bikankora ku mutima ariko nanjye ndashoboye kandi ko uko byagenda kose ngomba guhagarara gitwari aho naba ndi hose, nkanabyigisha abandi, tugakora tukiteza imbere n'Igihugu cyacu.

Euleriya atanga ubuhamya avuga ati: "Urubyiruko nkanjye mba numva twagira **Indangaciro muri rusange** n'i**bikorwa bishimangira umuco w'ubutwari.** Kandi mbere na mbere kugira ngo dushimangire ubutwari mu ma club duhuriramo mba numva twajya dukunda kuganira ku butwari bwaranze Abanyarwanda bo hambere ndetse tukaganira no ku butwari bwaranze urubyiruko rwo hambere noneho nitubiganiraho, tukabona n'imfashanyigisho zo kwifashisha tukamenya ngo ibyo tuvuga byakomotse aha, byakozwe gutya, … bizadufasha natwe gukora ibikorwa by'ubutwari. Kandi kugira ngo tugire ubutwari ni uko tuzaba dufite ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu bo tubana. Iyo mvuze abo tubana mba mvuze abo mu rugo n'abaturanyi. Nibwo mbona tuzagera ku butwari twifuza nk'urubyiruko".

Kandi njyewe nka kuriya Perezida wa Repuburika y'u Rwanda, mu ma disikuru (discours) ye, aba ashishikariza abantu kugira ubutwari, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, nk'umubyeyi mu Gihugu, mba numva nahura nawe nkamushimira. Kuko iyo ataza kuba we n'abo bari bafatanyije kugira ngo babohore uru Rwanda ubwo rwari mu icuraburindi, ntabwo ubu tuba tuvuga ibyo tuvuga ubu. Namushimira ko akora uko ashoboye ngo abana b'Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko tubashe kumenya amateka y'Igihugu cyacu n'amateka y'Intwari z'u Rwanda. Numva nta kindi nakora uretse kumushimira no kumubwira nti: "ukomereze aho Mubyeyi wacu kandi natwe urubyiruko tukuri inyuma".

Muri Club "Ishema" nabagamo, twaratatanye mu bihe bya Covid 19; bamwe bari muri Kigali bashaka imibereho. Ubu turashaka urundi rubyiruko rwo mu baturanyi maze nabo tukabigisha ibyo twakuye mu mahuriro no mu ngendo shuri, tugasigasisira umuco w'ubutwari. Naho muri club "Umucyo", kuko nayo nyirimo ubungubu turahugurana, turizigamira tukanagurizanya. Dufite amafranga tuzaguramo amatungo magufi y'ingurube n'ihene zo kuragiza buri munyamuryango ubundi tugakora ibikorwa by'urukundo byo gufasha abageze mu zabukuru batishoboye tubakorera ibikorwa bitandukanye nk'isuku, kubavomera amazi no kubamesera; haba hari umurima tukawuhinga. Turi benshi beza biyemeje ibikorwa by'ubwitange n'ubutwari.

Tumaze gukora ibikorwa by'urukundo gatatu muri izi mpera z'umwaka wa 2022, no mu cyumweru cya mbere cy'umwaka wa 2023 dufite ikindi gikorwa cy'urukundo ku mucyecuru warokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Club zombi Euleriya azirimo kuko iyo abarimo aba yumva ari kumwe n'inshuti ze, abantu be, aba yumva yisanzuye, ameze neza. Avuga ko ubuhamya bwe hari abo bufasha nabo bafite intego y'ubutwari nk'iyo nawe afite.

3. **ABANA BAVUTSE KU IHOHOTERWA MU GIHE CYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU RWANDA MU MWAKA W'I 1994 BAVUKIJWE BYINSHI, BIMWE MURI BYO NI IBI BIKURIKIRA:**

- Urukundo rwa kibyeyi kuva mu isamwa, mu buto, mu mabyiruka..., gutyo babura imyubakire y'icyizere;
- Uburere bukwiye n'umutekano kuko benshi muri bo bafatwaga nabi, babwirwa amagambo abasenya, bagahorana agahinda n'ibikomere;
- Kutamenya ba se, kubeshywa ba se bitirirwa nabo bahinduka uko bucyeye, bakabwirwa amazina y'amahimbano cyangwa aya ba sekuru cyangwa ba nyirarume bapfuye. Bakayabwirwa mu gihe biyanzuza[82] cyangwa bagiye gukora ibizamini bakaburagizwa kuko babuze uwo bandika ku ifishi nka se umubyara;
- Kwakirwa nk'abandi bana mu muryango wa ba nyina, bahora bitwa interahamwe, imbuto y'akaga, y'umwanzi, abana bo mu gisambu... n'izindi nyito ziteye ipfunwe, bakabura ubwisanzure, bagahora baheranwa n'ibikomere n'ihungabana, bakaba ibikange;
- Kwisanzura mu muryango mugari nyarwanda kubera ipfunwe no guhishahisha inkomoko yabo... No kudateza imbere ubudaheranwa... ;
- Gutangirizwa amashuri igihe, guhabwa ibikoresho ngombwa n'amafaranga mu kwiga, n'imiryango mike ibafasha ibaha igice, kenshi ntibatangiriraga igihe, birukanwaga kenshi ngo bazane asigaye bata igihe ntibige bagahorana amanota y'agatubyo, bityo bakiyemeza cyangwa bagasabirwa kwiga imyuga y'igihe kitarengeje umwaka... ;
- Kwiga amashuri yisumbuye kwa bamwe muri bake babonye amanota yo kuyiga.
- Ubu bamaze kuba urubyiruko; hari abahawe inkunga na Leta binyuze muri CNLG, ubu barangije Kaminuza, kandi barashima Leta y'u Rwanda.

82 *Kwiyanzuza ni ukwimenyekanisha*

4. IBYATERAGA IHUNGABANA URWO RUBYIRUKO RWAVUTSE KU IHOHOTERWA

Umukobwa cyangwa umugore watwaye inda atifuje mu gihe cy'akaga, mu bihe bibi nka biriya bya Jenoside; ntibyoroheye umwana na nyina, kandi haba ihererekanya ry'ihungabana (transgenerationnal trauma).

- Gusamwa mu mihangayiko , ukabura urukundo rwa kibyeyi... kuva ugisamwa , ukaba inkomoko mu gusambanwa n'abishi . Umukobwa cyangwa umugore agatwita yiteguye gupfa, bamaze kwica abe abireba. ..
- Bamwe bagerageje kuzikuramo incuro nyinshi biranga zigumamo, inda yakonka akikubitaho inshyi ngo arahima ishyano rimurimo.
- Babyara mu bihe bibi bonyine ntawe ubitayeho, batukwa ngo barabyara impyisi zizabarya.
- Kutonswa kwa bamwe no guhohoterwa ku buryo bunyuranye.
- Kutagira inkomoko (origine) izwi, guhora wibaza irangamimerere (identity) ryawe, utabona igisubizo nyakuri.
- Kwireba akibura kubera kuburagizwa, agahora apfobywa.
- Kutabwirwa ukuri mu bibazo yibaza bijyanye na Jenoside.
- Gucyurirwa ngo ni interahamwe, ni akaga nka se atazi kandi atazigera amenya se uwo no kwitirirwa ibibazo biri mu muryango.
- Ipfunwe
- Ubukene bw'umubyeyi n'ihungabana rye rihoraho.
- Kwangwa mu muryango, ndetse na nyina, abo bava inda imwe, ba nyirarume n'abandi bafitanye isano na mama we ....
- Kumva ko uwitwa se yishe , yenda akica n'umuryango wa mama we
- Kumva ko se afunze yaragize uruhare mu kwica mu gihe cya Jenoside
- kumuheza...... n'ibindi

Ibyo bimuhungabanya bikorwa n'umubyeyi we nyina wahungabanye, bene wabo w'abamubyaye, abaturanyi, urungano ndetse no ku mashuri. Ibyo bamubaza kuri se ku ishuri cyangwa mu buyobozi, agahimba amazina ya se, cyangwa akavuga aya sekuru cyanga nyirarume kandi barishwe muri Jenoside ngo niwe se, kuko nyina ariko yamubwiye.

5. BIMWE MU BIMENYETSO BY'IHUNGABANA URUBYIRUKO RUGARAGAZA

- Uburakari kuko ahora atekereza inkomoko ye iyo yibuka ibibi bitamwubaka ahubwo bimusenya, bigatuma nta mwanya aha icyiza.
- Umushiha n'umunabi, kwivumbura kuko ahora atekereza ku buzima bwe, akumva ko bamwanga, baseka akumva ko ariwe basetse.
- Agahinda n'intimba idashira, agahora arira iyo habaye imbarutso cyangwa umuvuze
- Arwara umutwe kenshi kubera "stress"
- Arwara igifu, gusepfura cyane cyane abakobwa, kuruka, iseseme ikabazamukana
- Kugira isereri ndetse akaba yagwa hasi
- Kumva acika intege
- Kubura ibitotsi cyangwa kugira ibitotsi bikabije
- Kudashaka ko bamureba mu maso agahora yubitse umutwe kubera isoni
- Kwishora mu biyobyabwenge .
- Guhungira mu mirimo ahungetwa, yashize.
- Guhungira mu masengesho no mu makorasi.
- Byagaragaye ko bamwe biyandarika, bishora mu busambanyi, barahetse abandi bana
- Abashaka ntiziremya, ingo zihita zisenyuka.
- Bamwe bajya kwiga, ntibakurikire amasomo kubera agahinda k'iyongobeza bugingo.

Ku nzitizi zituma ihungabana ridakira, harimo kutemera ko ufite ikibazo, kutavugisha ukuri kuko wiyunva, ukabeshya umujyanama wawe .. guhora wihebye... , kutakira amateka yawe, kutibabarira.... kwanga kubabarira ngo utange imbabazi n'ibindi ....

Urubyiruko n'ababyeyi babo bahuriye mu iserukiramuco mu mwaka wa 2018

UMUSOZO

Ingendo-shuri no gutembera kw'urubyiruko n'aba mama babo byabaye imbarutso yo kuganira ku mibereho bwite ya bombi, bikaba n'urufatiro rw'ababyeyi mu kubwiza ukuri abana ku nkomoko yabo. Batemberera aho bihitiyemo habaha impumeko nziza, ariko kandi bakahahererwa n'inyigisho nyubaka buzima.

Bamwe muri bo bakoze urugendo shuri ku rwibutso Jenoside rwa Gisozi i Kigali bamenya byimbitse amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda kandi basobanukirwa ibyo imyitwarire ifitanye isano n'ihungabana ya ba mama babo ko ari ingaruka zo gufatwa ku ngufu. Urugendo shuri bakoze ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera rwabubatsemo ubudaheranwa no kugira idangagaciro zo gukunda ilihugu, ubumwe, ubupfura no guhinduka bagasigasira ibyagezweho by'ingirakamaro kandi bakirinda icyo aricyo cyose kibakururira ubugwari ahubwo bagakora ibyiza bibubaka mu butwari, bigira ku bikorwa byiza by'Intwari zatubanjirije cyane cyane Intwari z'Imena z'abana b'i Nyange.

Ubutwari si karemano; burigwa kandi buratozwa, nk'uko bivugwa n'urubyiruko ruhagarariwe na Alina na Euleriya rwaciye mu buzima bubi kubera uko rwavutse. Rwahisemo neza ruhindura imyumvire maze rwiyemeza kutaba nyamwigendaho ahubwo kuba mu bandi, kuba mu muryango nyarwanda utekanye kandi ushyize imbere indangagaciro y'Ubutwari.

Rubyiruko bana bacu, mutere ikirenge mu cy'Intwari zatubanjirije, maze umurage w'ubutwari ube ishingiro ry'ibikorwa bya buri wese.

INYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJWE :

- Icyemezo cy'inama ishinzwe umutekano ku isi, 1325 (2000), cy' umuryango w'abibumbye (ONU), 31 Ukwakira 2000.
- Enquête d'une équipe de la FIDH et de HRW, début 1996, sur les violences sexuelles à grande échelle commises pendant le génocide rwandais et leurs conséquences, - https://www.fidh.org/fr/regions/afrique/rwanda/847-vies-brisees-les-violences...

- Itegeko No 27/2001 ryo mu mwaka wa 2001 ryerekeye uburenganzira, kurengera umwana no kumurinda ihohoterwa, 28 Mata 2001.
- Itegeko n ° 33 bis / 2003 ryo ku ya 6 Nzeri 2003 rihana icyaha cya jenoside, ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu n'ibyaha by'intambara.
- Etude de l'état psychologique des enfants nés des violences sexuelles commises pendant le génocide perpétré contre les Tutsi au Rwanda en 1994, Kigali, Janvier 2016.

UBUHAMYA

Ubuhamya bwa bamwe mu basuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera.

V. UBUDAHERANWA BW'ABANYARWANDA BABAYE MU BUHUNZI KUVA MU MWAKA WA 1959 KUGERA MU MWAKA WA 1994

Yateguwe na Madamu MILENGE Immaculée*

Muri iyi "cahier" ivugwamo umurage w'ubutwari, kuki tugiye kuvuga ku budaheranwa? Ubudaheranwa ni iki? Buhuriye he n'ubutwari?

Umuntu bavuga ngo afite ubudaheranwa ni ushobora kwikura mu ngorane arimo, byamunanira akazihanganira. Ni ushobora kwihanganira akababaro k'umutima n'ak'umubiri. Arasonza ntiyanduranye, ntahemuke, agakomeza agatwaza, agaharanira kubaho... Ubudaheranwa ni nk'ubutwari, ubufite ntatezuka ku cyo yiyemeje kugeraho kandi ntagamburuzwa n'amananiza.

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1959 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994, Abatutsi bo Rwanda, mu bihe bitandukanye, bagiye bahura n'akaga karenze urugero, ari abari baraciriwe i Nyamata ho mu Bugesera, ari n'abaciriwe ishyanga. Kwirukanwa ku kazi cyangwa mu ishuri, ukavanwa mu byawe nta cyaha wakoze; abaturanyi bakaguhinduka nta buhemu wabagiriye, bakagutwikira nk'umugome batarigeze bakuburana umuriro cyangwa amata y'umubyeyi, ibyawe bakabigabana, utagira ukurenganura ubuyobozi burebera. Rubanda bakagushungera, bakagushinyagurira; ukamburwa izina ryawe ukitwa "nyarwanda", "inyenzi" n'"inyangarwanda"! Ukabura amararo ukabura uburyo… Nta wagwiririwa n'ibyago nk'ibi ngo abure guhungabana!

Mu Banyarwanda twaganiriye babaye mu nkambi z'impunzi, kimwe n'abaciriwe mu Bugesera, hari umubyeyi wagize umwihariko w'ubudaheranwa, niyo mpamvu ari we dutangiriyeho, ndetse turamureka abe ariwe utwibwirira inzira y'inzitane yanyuzemo... Ikindi cyatumye ariwe tubanza ni uko ubuhunzi bwe bwa kabiri atubwira butakunze kumenyekana mu mateka y'ubuhunzi bw'Abanyarwanda. Muri iyi nyandiko, aratubwira akaga k'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda birukanywe na Perezida Obote wa Uganda mu mwaka wa 1982, zigarurwa mu Rwanda birukanywemo, bahageze bafatwa nk'inyamaswa, basubira Uganda mu mwaka wa 1986. Uyu mubyeyi aratubwira ubuzima bwe n'umuryango we mu nkambi babayemo Mahega na Nasho, aho bakiriwe nabi bagahabwa akato, bakaba mu mashyamba nta mazi meza, nta buvuzi buhagije, bakarwara, bakahaburira inka n'abantu. Ngo "Akaje karemerwa!", ubwo buzima baje kubumenyera, barabwihanganira, babaho!

* Madamu MILENGE Immaculée ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego (CHENO)

Jeanne Nyiramwiza[1] n'umuryango we babayeho mu buzima bugoye, ariko igihe cyose yamaze mu Rwanda yarwanye ku bana be ari wenyine babaho, umugabo ari muri gereza ya Kigali 1930. Mu ngorane zose yaciyemo, nta na rimwe wumva yihebye cyangwa yanze abantu kubera ibibazo byari bimwugarije; ubutwari n'ubupfura bwe byabaye intangarugero ku baturanyi, bibera abana be impamba y'ubuzima.

Jeanne Nyiramwiza ntiyaheranwe n'ibibazo ngo atinye gukomanga aho yari afite uwo baziranye cyangwa umuvandimwe mu Rwanda; imbaraga z'umutima zatumye nabo batinyuka bamugirira ishyaka bamurwanaho. Abavandimwe be b'i Kigali n'ab'i Nyamata, nubwo nabo bari mu kaga baratinyutse baramwitangira bamufashiriza abana, bariga. N'igihe asubije abana bakuru muri Uganda (mu rugendo rutari rworoshye!) ngo babone uko biga, yitabaje inshuti babanye Nshungerezi baramugoboka yashobewe.

Imyaka ine bamaze mu Rwanda, umugabo we Epimaque Muberuka[2] yayimaze muri gereza "1930" azira gukekwaho ko yaba yarabaye "Inyenzi"! Iyo myaka Jeanne nawe yayimaze asiragira hagati ya Nasho na Nyarugenge, ashakisha uko se w'abana yafungurwa. Iterabwoba, umuco w'indonke, amananiza n'agasuzuguro by'abantu banyuranye yanyuzeho ngo amenye agakuru k'umugabo we ntibyamuhahamuye ngo acike intege. Mutekereze umugore w'impunzi itagira epfo na ruguru uvuye mu nkambi ya Nasho, watinyutse kwinjira mu biro by'abayobozi akagera kwa "Magistrat", kwa "Procureur General" wa Repubulika ndetse ntatinye no gukomanga kwa Minisitiri w'Ubutabera w'icyo gihe! Ubu nibwo budaheranwa, nibwo butwari n'urukundo ababyeyi benshi bagaragaje mu buhunzi bw'imyaka 35.

- Jeanne Nyiramwiza ahunga ubwa kabiri

Jeanne agira ati: "Bavandimwe, ngo iminsi yira ari myinshi, ariko umunsi wo guhunga sinabona izina nywita! Twagiye kumva twumva ngo baratwikira Abanyarwanda, ngo basubire iwabo mu Rwanda. Twabanje kuburabura, tubura aho twakwerekera. Mu Rwanda ko batwirukanye kera, ubu se dusubireyo..? Turashoberwa. Twagiye turara nzira, tugeze ku mupaka naho turahasibira dutegereje imodoka za "bus" zazaga gutwara impunzi. Ubwo imodoka zaje undi munsi batujyana ahitwa Kanyinya. Abari barongoye inka bahagenze n'amaguru, babanyuza inzira y'ishyamba kugira ngo inka zigende zirisha. Twageze aho Kanyinya ku mugoroba, tuva mu modoka tujya ku murongo ngo batwandike".

1 *Iri zina ryarahinduwe kubera impamvu ze bwite.*
2 *Iri zina naryo ryarahinduwe kubera impamvu bwite z'uwatanze ubuhamya.*

"Abagabo babashyira ukwabo, barabandika kandi babababaza ibintu byinshi: aho wavukiye, (niba warize) aho wigiye, icyo wakoraga, n'ibindi...: wavukiye he? Uvuze ko yavukiye mu Ruhengeri, bati: "wowe ufite icyaha kimwe". Uwavukiye i Gitarama we yabaga agowe…., bati: "ufite ibyaha bibiri: kuba uri umututsi ukaba n'umunya Gitarama!". Ubwo bamaze kubandika, bamwe babashyira mu modoka, barabatwara, abasigaye batwereka ihema ngo twicaremo; twicayemo buracya. Ababyeyi batwariye abagabo babo sinavuga uko twaraye..!"

Byageze nka saa ine y'igitondo, turagenda tujya kubaza abategetsi aho abantu bacu bari. Baratubwiye ngo bari hafi kuza, ngo "ahubwo nimugende mubatekere ka cyayi basange gahiye…". Ubwo baratubeshyaga, bari baraye babatwaye, babakwiza muri za gereza zose za Kigali. Ariko bwagiye kwira twabimenye; twararize, bigeze aho turihanagura, dushaka icyo gukora kirabura.

Ku munsi ukurikira, ugaterura ibintu byawe ukareba ahandi higiye yo wabishyira, aho uzaca akaruri ukubaka. Nta mahema baduhaye, umuntu yariyubakiraga. Namaze amezi menshi mba hanze n'abana, hamwe n'abandi batari bafite ababubakira.

Twarahageze abantu barapfa cyane, kandi aho bahambaga hari kure; hagira upfa bagategereza ko intumbi ziba nyinshi ngo imodoka izitwarire hamwe, ngo ntiyatwara imwe gusa. Baravugaga ngo: "Reka intumbi zibanze zigwire…". Nuko ukicarana intumbi y'umuntu wawe nk'iminsi ibiri, cyangwa itatu, mu bushyuhe bukabije!

Aho twari turi nta shyamba ryari rihari, kubona ibiti byo kubaka byari bigoye. Abantu bageze igihe bubaka utuzu duto cyane ngo babone aho bugama izuba. Tumaze yo amezi make, nibuka ko hari kuri Noheli, umuntu umwe ahisha akazu gatwitswe n'akatadowa, kubera ko utwo tuzu twari dufatanye cyane, gakongeza utundi tuzu tugeze nko ku ijana! Nyuma ONU yaje kuduha amahema yo kubamo.

Ubwo bageze aho baratwimura, abatunzi babajyana Mahega hafi ya Nyagatare, abatari bafite inka babajyana Kibondo; nari muri abo bafite inka. Mahega hatubera habi cyane, inka zirasonza zirahashirira, abana barwara iseru na macinya, barapfa hasigara mbarwa! Mbese ngo "Inkuru mbarirano iratuba", niho nongeye kumenya ububi bw'ubuhunzi kandi noneho nitwa ngo ndi iwacu!

Aho twari dutuye nta mazi yahabaga, yari kure cyane, twavomaga Umuvumba. Wajyaga kuvoma mu gitondo kare ukagera aho twabaga saa cyenda z'amanywa. Imvura yaba yaguye tukirukira kuvoma amazi yaretse mu tunogo two mu nzira…

Abantu bagiye batura bakurikije aho bavuye (muri Uganda), kandi no mu miryango; gufashanya no gusurana byadufashije kwihanganira urwo rugendo rw'umuruho utagira izina... Abana bo ntibigeze bigunga, barakinaga bukira.

Akomeza agira ati: Mahega ntawe uzahibagirwa! Abaganga babaga bahari ariko kubera ko twari benshi, imiti ntituyibone twese. Abarwayi babyukaga saa kumi z'ijoro bakajya ku "ivuriro", bakajya ku murongo ngo bucye bawuriho. Bwacya abaganga baza bakavura, isaa sita bagataha bamwe mu baharaye batavuwe. Ubundi bakazataha batabagezeho; n'ejo nuko, n'ejobundi bityo! Ariko Imana yanjye ntiyahumbyaga, nahasanze umuganga wakoranye n'umugabo wanjye akomeza kuturwanaho njye n'abana banjye ndetse n'abandi.

Ubwo hashize igihe, abana n'amatungo bigiye kudushiraho, inka zisigaye bazohereza Nasho. Urugendo rw'inka n'abari bazirongoye rwamaze amezi nk'abiri; inka zirapfa, inyana zananirwa kugenda bakazisiga mu nzira ari nzima… Icyo cyabaye ikintu gikomeye cyane ku buzima bwacu. Wararebaga ukavuga uti: "Mana, Umunyarwanda yakoze iki?..."

Inka zigeze mu ishyamba rya Nasho nibwo imiryango y'abo batunzi yahagurutse irabasanga. Uti wowe se ko umugabo wawe atari ahari, izanyu zarongowe nande? Abantu twari duturanye Rubaare n'umushumba wazo barafatanyijie bazirongorana n'izabo. (Kuko umugabo wanjye Epimaque, abantu ba Rubaare yarabavuraga, akabafasha, bakabimukundira).

Ubwo twageze Nasho nka saa mbili z'ijoro, imodoka ihagarara mu ishyamba rwagati, numva ijwi ngo: "Mukure mo ibintu byanyu, aho mujya murahageze!". Mu mwijima mwinshi, Twarumiwe! Turambura utuntu twacu turaryama. Twabyutse dushaka abazanye inka aho bari. Abakozi ba ONU bahereye ko baha abagabo imihoro batutira ibiti, bahita bagondagonda utuzu, imiryango yabo ijyamo.

Kubera ko buri wese yabanje kwiyubakira, n'abaturanyi bacu baragiye ahandi kure, naraye munsi y'igiti cy'umunyinya kumara amezi abiri! Izindi mpunzi zikajya zibazanya ngo: "Mbese uriya mugore ntagira abavandimwe? Ko aheze munsi y'igiti?" Umugore w'inshuti araza arambwira ati: "kura amaboko mu mifuka…, haguruka wiyubakire". Koko narahagurutse, ndabanza nitwerereza imiganda (ibiti) maze kuyigwiza nitwerereza n'ubwatsi, byose bigwiriye umuntu arambwira ati: "shaka inzoga y'abubatsi mu kajerikani.."

Bwarakeye, nshaka ya nzoga, ndarika abaturanyi, baraza barubaka inzu iruzura. Kandi babikora babikunze. Nari narahunganye udutebe n'igitanda. Akazu ndagategura kaba keza! Naje kumenya ko abaturage bo mu Gisaka iwanjye ngo bahitaga "kwa wa mugore w'umukire ufite intebe mu nzu"!

Aho mu ishyamba rya Nasho habaga inzoka z'insana ziruma umuntu, yaba atabonye umugombora ako kanya agahita apfa! Ariko Imana yacu ntiyahumbyaga, zabaga ari nyinshi tuzireba, tugahora tuhatera imiti ya kinyarwanda, ariko aho twababaga umuntu umwe gusa niwe wariwe n'inzoka! Ariko inka nke zari zarasigaye zo zarahashiriye…

Abantu barahageze bamaze kubaka batangira gushaka imibereho; bashaka uko bacuruza utuntu, babaho... Ndetse tumaze kumenyera twasabye n'amashuri y'abana. Baradusubiza ngo: "muziga musubiye iwanyu!". Ngo: "ese murashaka kwiga ngo mwongere mutegeke"? Abana baje barangije amashuri yisumbuye basabye "bourses" zo kwiga hanze sinzi aho babinyujije, "bourses" zije zinyura ku butegetsi i Kigali, bahamagara abanyeshuri bose bari barangije amashuri ngo baze i Kigali. Bageze yo barabarebye basanze ari bwa bwoko.., barababwira ngo: "mugende tuzabatumira igihe cyo kugenda kigeze". Izo "bourses" baziburijemo baziha ababo, abana bacu babura uko bakomeza amashuri baricara...

Byageze aho dusaba gusubira Uganda! Abari bajijutse muri twe bishyize hamwe barega Uganda muri ONU bavuga ko yirukanye abaturage bayo babita Abanyarwanda. Kandi n'ubundi muri twe hari abanya Uganda birukanwe bazira ubwoko bw'Abanyarwanda cyangwa abasa nabo. Abakuru bacu bajyaga baza kutwigisha uko tuzabwira intumwa za ONU ziramutse zije.

Izo ntumwa zaraje koko, zirimo abantu bava mu bihugu binyuranye, harimo n'abavuye Uganda; bakatubaza ibibazo byinshi kandi buri muntu agomba kwisubiriza. Ngo "vuga abaturage babiri wari uturanye nabo bakwemeza ko uri Umunya Uganda". Abatugiriraga impuhwe baratubwiraga ngo "nuvuga ko uri Umunyarwanda uzaba wihemukiye, uzabura u Rwanda ubure na Uganda". (Kuko bari bazi ko u Rwanda rutadushaka).

Twageze igihe impunzi ziramenyera, zitangira ubuzima nk'ubw'abandi bantu: abakiri bato bageraga nijoro bakagira ibitaramo, bakarara babyina! – Burya umuntu muto iyo yabonye icyo arya, atarwaye nta kindi kiba kimugoye- Ndetse hatangira no kuba ubukwe! Abakwe bagasusuruka, ndetse n'abageni bakambara

agatimba! Twari twegereye Rusumo na Tanzaniya, abantu batangira gucuruza, bakajya Kibungo na Tanzaniya ku magare bakazana utuntu bagacuruza. Imana yahakoze ibikomeye pe!

Mu ntangiro z'umwaka wa 1986, abayobozi b'u Rwanda bamenye ko Museveni yatsinze, baratwirukana ngo nidutahe, ngo "mwene wacu yatsinze…" Nyamara abenshi muri twe bashakaga kuguma mu Rwanda ariko barabangira; bageze n'aho batwima iposho, bakayiha gusa abiyandikishije mu bemeye gusubira muri Uganda. Inzara yakwica ukemera ukiyandikisha kuri urwo rutonde".

Uko nashakiye abana banjye amashuri:

"Twamaze gusaba amashuri yabo, baduhakaniye, ntangira gutekereza uko abana banjye bazamera batize… Mubo twari twarahunganye, abenshi bari batarasobanukirwa no kwigisha abana; njye nagize Imana, data kuva kera yashishikarizaga abana kwiga. Ubwo aho mu buhunzi, papa yantumyeho ngo nohereze abana Nshungerezi bige. We niyo yari yarasigaye. (abari mu nkambi z'impunzi ntibashoboraga kubasubiza mu Rwanda kuko bari barashinganywe na ONU). Nyuma yaho, umuntu w'inshuti yacu nawe yantumyeho ngo nohereze umwana mukuru yige. Byabanje kungora kuko ntari nzi inzira nzanyuramo; ngeze aho mbona abandi bagenda dufatanya inzira, njyana abana babiri. Uw'imfura abanza kwanga ati: ndagusiga muri iri shyamba n'abana bato, bazakumarira iki? Inzu izakugwira bayubake?" Ndamusubiza nti: nutiga ntibazabaho neza; nti nzaba hanze, nurangiza uzanyubakira inzu igaragara".

Narabatunganije ndabatwara, tugera ku mupaka wa Uganda bwije, turara aho. Twari benshi, uwaducumbikiye aduha aho kwicara mu nzu, nta kurya, nta kuryama...

Hari aho twageze dusanga ari ukwambuka umugezi munini. Hari hatambitse umugogo (igiti) ugenda ukandagiraho, ntacyo wafataho ngo wambuke. Narahageze nibaza ibibazo byinshi: nguye muri uyu mugezi abana banjye bajya he?, ko aho mbatwaye ngo bige batakwitwarayo? Nibagwamo se ndajya he? Nuko ndashoberwa! Ndatekereza nti tubireke dusubire inyuma, bazabe biga nyuma. Ubwo abandi bose bari bambutse badutegereje. Nageze aho, ndapfukama ndasenga, ndangije mbwira abana nti nimwambuke. Twese turambuka, turagenda! Iyo nzira y'umusaraba sinzayibagirwa…

Twageze ahitwa Gitwe saa kumi n'ebyiri, niho twaraye. Nabwo aho twaraye twari benshi, badukingurira inzu ngo twicaremo nibucya dufate "bus" yanyuraga Nshungerezi. Twaraye twicaye mu ntebe n'umunaniro mwinshi, ariko nkabona abana bafite ukwihangana gutangaje! Bwarakeye dufata "bus" tugera Nshyungerezi mu gitondo cya kare; niho iwacu babaga. Twarahageze, turatangira turateka, turarya, tubona kuruhuka. Abana bombi mbasigira inshuti zacu, zibakira kibyeyi, nabo bababera abana beza, bariga banatsinda neza. Nshimira Imana ko yaduhaye abana b'abahanga.

Ubwo namaze kuruhuka mfata inzira ndataha. Nkuko nigeze kubivuga, amazu y'impunzi yahoraga ashya, naba ntari imuhira ngatinya ko nzasanga abo nasize barahiriye mu nzu! Rero nahise nsubira Nasho, nsanga ari bazima. Ndongera mfata inzira njya i Kigali gusura uwo muri Gereza, mubwira ko abana nabatwaye kwiga biramushimisha.

Ubwo hari abandi bana babiri bari mu myaka yo kwiga ariko bicaye imuhira. I Bugesera tukaba tuhafite umuryango munini wa bamwe mu batutsi bahoze batuye mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda bazanywe yo mu mwaka wa 1959. Njyayo ndabaganyira, mbabwira ko nabuze uko abana biga. Kubona impapuro zibahesha uburenganzira bwo kwiga byasaga n'ibidashoboka! Ariko baje kundwanaho bahimbahimba impapuro…, abana bashobora kwiga. Kubona ababacumbikira nabyo byabaye ubwitange budasanzwe bw'abo bavandimwe, kuko kubakira bashoboraga kubizira.

Inkuru y'umugabo wanjye Epimaque Muberuka muri gereza:

Nk'uko nabivuze mu ntangiriro, tukigera mu Rwanda hari abagabo 25 bajyanywe muri gereza. Hashize igihe bakagenda barekura bake bake. Umugabo wanjye yaje gusigaranamo n'abandi babiri gusa. Abavagayo bakaza bankomeza bati: "wihangane nawe azavamo". Nahoraga ndira ariko ngeze aho ndihanagura, mpa agaciro kwita ku bana bacu. Ariko abana bagahora bambaza ngo "papa yagiye he?", nkabura icyo mbasubiza... Ku manywa nabaga nkomeye, ariko ijoro rikaba iry'amarira...

Ababaga bafunguwe bambwiye ko babatwaye babita "Inyenzi". Mu myirondoro yabo, abavuze ko bavukiye Uganda barabarekuye hasigaramo abavuze ko bavukiye mu Rwanda. Kandi uwanjye, Epimaque ngo anababwira ko ari naho yize, bati: uyu yari Inyenzi nkuru!

Ubwo maze iminsi, narahagurutse njya i Kigali ngerayo nijoro. Nta hantu nibukaga, nshaka aho kurara ndahabura. Mbaririza ku muvandimwe i Nyamirambo, bambonye ubwoba burabica! Kuko byari bibujijwe gucumbikira impunzi. Babura uko bagira... Bandaje mu bubiko bw'ibikoresho ("store"), ngo hatagira undi umbona. Nari nababwiye ko nje gushaka muramu wanjye ngo amfashe kubona Epimaque. Abo bari bancumbikiye baraye babaririza aho muramu wanjye atuye, bugiye gucya barambyutsa, bati ngwino tukujyane aho washakaga kujya. Bose babaga bafite ubwoba, ngo bacumbikiye impunzi babafunga! Ubwo nagiye ahandi, ariko nsubira i Nasho ntashoboye kumubona.

Sinaretse gukomeza gushakisha; nyuma naragarutse ncumbika kwa mubyara wanjye wari utuye hagati mu mujyi wa Kigali. Arancumbikira kandi mbona nta bwoba bimuteye, aba ariho nkomeza gucumbika uko nje i Kigali, hari na hafi ya gereza, nahagendaga n'amaguru. Naje kubona umuntu w'umuganga wajyaga kuvura abanyururu ambwira ko yamubonye, numva ndaruhutse!

Mubyara wanjye twarajyanye, anyereka umurinzi w'irembo rya gereza, amubwira ko ndi umuvandimwe we. Uyu murinzi akanshyirira Epimaque akabaruwa, nawe akamuha akandi, kanditseho "Ndaho", nkamenya umukono we, nkamenya n'uko akiriho, ubwo ngataha. Habaga ubwo uwo murinzi ambwira ati akeneye imyenda, isukari, amata y'ifu. Nkabigura ntabimuhe, ubundi akamuha bimwe, ibindi akitwarira!

Uwo mubyara wanjye yageze igihe anjyana ku mudamu w'inshuti ye wari uzwi mu bakomeye. Amubwira ibyanjye, andangira "Magistrat" ati uzamubwire ko uri mukuru wa Mary. (Uwo Magistrat bari barabuze urubyaro, bajya i Nairobi Mary arabavuza; nuko nsanga umugore we yenda kubyara). Nageze kwa "Magistrat" nawe arabitinya, najya mu biro bye akambwira ati ngiye kubikoraho mbafunguze... Byageze aho mbona ko ambeshya, ntabyo yakoze.

Hari uwaje kundangira abapadiri ba Caritas, ati wenda bagufasha, njya ku biro byabo, ngeze yo mbibwira uwo mpasanze nawe aratinya ariko anshyira mu modoka angeza hafi y'ibiro bya "Procureur Mukuru" Nkubito, ati ugende umubwire ibyawe, ashobora kugufasha. "Procureur" yanyakiriye neza, ambaza ikingenza ndabimubwira byose. Aratangara ati: "abo bantu Minisitiri yabafunguye kera, hashize umwaka wose tubafunguje!"

Ampa ibaruwa, ati yisome. Ahamagara “Magistrat” kuri telefoni ati uyu mubyeyi kuki umurushya? Ati nta baruwa ya Minisitiri ufite yagombaga kubafunguza, ntihashize igihe? Nkubito yahise antwara mu modoka ye angeza ku Kacyiru mu biro bya “Magistrat”. Uyu arambwira ngo ngaruke mu gitondo. Mu gitondo ngarutse ampa ibaruwa nyishyira Minisitiri w’Ubucamanza, arabafungura! Ubwo nari maze imyaka ine yose mbyirukaho njyenyine!

Abavandimwe bari bamaze gutinyuka bampaga udufaranga; amenshi yabaga ari 1000fr, kandi igihumbi cyari amafaranga menshi.. Abandi bakampa igiceri cya 20, niyo yatangwaga muri taxi zose, aho wajyaga hose muri Kigali. Natahaga ndi umukire, nkagurira abana utwambaro!

Ubwo bahise bafungura muri icyo cyumweru, ariko sinabyemera, ndatekereza nti ibaruwa ya Minisitiri wenda barongera bayibike. Ubwo hari muri “weekend”, nguma i Kigali, nti reka mu cyumweru gitaha nzasubire kwa Minisitiri. Kuwa mbere nasubiye kuri gereza mbaza wa murinzi niba bakirimo, ambwira ko batashye. Ndavuga nti nzabyemera ngeze mu rugo! Inkuru mbarirano iratuba… Sinavuga ukuntu nashimiye Imana! Kandi n’ubu ndacyayishimira.

Nahise njyana na mushiki we i Bugesera kubwira bene wabo iyo nkuru nziza, nabo barishima cyane! Yari amaze muri gereza hafi imyaka ine! Nyuma nsubira i Nasho ndahamusanga, tuhamara igihe gito dusubirana Uganda n’abandi. Ubwo hari mu kwezi kwa cumi 1986".

Umusozo

Abanyarwanda babaye mu buhunzi kuva mu mwaka wa 1959 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994 bahuye n’ibigeragezo byinshi birimo itotezwa, kubuzwa epfo na ruguru, ubukene, inzara n’ibindi bibazo byashoboraga gutuma biheba cyangwa bakagamburuzwa n’amananiza. Bihanganiye ibyo bigeragezo by’ubuzima ntibiheba, bakomeza kugira icyizere cy’ubuzima no kurangwa n’indangagaciro ziranga Abanyarwanda.

Iyo ufite ibibazo ariko ugakomeza kugira icyizere ko wifitemo ubushobozi bwo kuzabibonera ibisubizo, ntuneshwa n’amananiza. Bihanganiye inzara, inyamaswa z’ishyamba, indwara, ubukene, kuba mu kato no gutotezwa, bagira ubutwari bwo gushakisha uburyo bushya bwo kubaho muri ubwo buzima bubi bwababatunguye. Intambara barwanye ntiyari yoroshye, za ndangagaciro zo gufatanya no gutabarana

zagiye zibagoboka. Muri iyo mibereho mibi yo mu nkambi z'impunzi, ababyeyi ntibaheranwe n'akababaro, birinda amaganya bagakomeza gutwaza no kudaheba u Rwanda; ibi byahaye abana babo imbaraga zo kutiheba.

Kwihangana, kuba umunyakuri, kugira ubupfura, urukundo n'ubwitange, gutinyuka no kutagamburuzwa n'amaniza ni umurage w'ubutwari nk'uko twabigarutseho mu buhamya bwa Jeanne Nyiramwiza. Umugore nk'uyu ni urugero rw'ubudaheranwa.

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