REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

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

"CAHIER"

UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

N°3

Kigali, tariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2022

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I. IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Ubutwari ni indangagaciro iranga Abanyarwanda mu muco wabo kuva mu bihe bya kera. Dufatiye urugero ku Ntwari z'Igihugu, dukwiye kubaka Igihugu dushingiye ku muco w'ubutwari tugomba kwigisha urubyiruko, bikaba inshingano z'abarezi twese (ababyeyi, abarezi, abarimu, abayobozi mu nzego zinyuranye, abigisha iyobokamana mu madini atandukanye), tukubaka u Rwanda rufite ubuyobozi bwiza, rwunze ubumwe, ruteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, rurangwa n'umutekano n'amahoro.

Ni muri urwo rwego "CHENO"* yashyizeho ikinyamakuru "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI kugira ngo gifashe gusakaza mu Banyarwanda umuco n'indangagaciro z'ubutwari, cyane cyane mu rubyiruko. "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI Nº 1 yasohotse ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2021 ubwo u Rwanda rwizihizaga Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ku nshuro ya 27 naho "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI Nº 2 yasohotse ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 2021 ubwo u Rwanda rwizihizaga Umunsi wo gukunda Igihugu.

Iyi nomero ya gatatu y'ikinyamakuru cy'Urwego "Cahier" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI ikubiyemo inyandiko (articles) zinyuranye zibanda ku butwari bw'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose no ku gukangurira Abanyarwanda umuco w'ubutwari.

Inyandiko ya mbere **"UBURERE BURUTA UBUVUKE: URUHARE RW'ITORERO RY'IGIHUGU MU GUTOZA NO KWIMAKAZA UMUCO W'UBUTWARI MU RWANDA"** igaragaza imiterere y'Itorero ry'Igihugu mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni, ibyo Abanyarwanda batorezwaga mu itorero, uko Itorero ryasenywe mu gihe cy'Ubukoloni no kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri. Iragaragaza kandi uko Itorero ryagaruwe mu gihe cya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda n'uruhare rigira mu gushimangira uburere n'uburezi ndetse n'umuco wo gukunda Igihugu ku Banyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko.

Inyandiko ya kabiri: **"ABAGORE B'ABANYARWANDAKAZI BAGARAGAJE UBUTWARI MU BUTABERA MPUZAMAHANGA**" igaragaza bamwe mu bagore babaye ingirakamaro, kandi baba abadasanzwe mu bihe bidasanzwe. Abo ni abagize uruhare rukomeye mu butabera mpuzamahanga, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1994. Batanze ubuhamya kugira ngo ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu mu Rwanda bishyirwe ahagaragara, bimenyekane kandi ababikoze babiryozwe.

Inyandiko ya gatatu **"UBUTWARI BWUBATSE U RWANDA**" iribanda ku butwari bw'Abanyarwanda bahanze u Rwanda, bakarurinda, bakanarwagura, ubumwe bwari ishingiro ry'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, ibizazane n'ibibazo u Rwanda rwahuye nabyo rugakizwa n'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, ubutwari bw'ababohoye Igihugu bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ubutwari busabwa mu rugamba rwo kubaka igihugu no kugiteza imbere.

**CHENO: Chancellery for Heroes , National Orders and Decorations of Honour*

Inyandiko ya kane: **“UBUTWARI MU RUGAMBA RWO KUBAKA IGIHUGU, MU CYEREKEZO 2050, URUHARE RW’URUBYIRUKO”** igaragaza ko u Rwanda ari umurage twahawe n’abakurambere bacu, tuzawusigira abandi twashyizeho uruhare rwacu kandi ku buryo bukwiye. Igaragaza ko ubutwari ari indagagaciro izindi zubakiyeho, ko gukunda igihugu ari ugukunda Abanyarwanda. Ishimangira kandi ko uburezi n’uburere bugomba kwibanda ku gutoza urubyiruko umuco n’indangagaciro by’ubutwari.

Mu gihe twizihiza Umunsi w’Intwari z’Igihugu ku nshuro ya 28, iyi nomero ya *“Cahier” UMURAGE W’UBUTWARI igamije gukomeza gukangurira Abanyarwanda kurangwa n’indangagaciro z’umuco w’ubutwari no guharanira kwigira no kwihesha agaciro nk'uko insanganyamatsiko y’uyu mwaka ibishimangira: “Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro Kacu”*.

Turashimira abantu bose bagize uruhare kugira ngo iki kinyamakuru kijye ahagaragara.

MUKASARASI Godelieve

Uwungirije Umukuru w’Urwego/CHENO

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II. UBURERE BURUTA UBUVUKE: URUHARE RW'ITORERO RY'IGIHUGU MU GUTOZA NO KWIMAKAZA UMUCO W'UBUTWARI MU RWANDA

Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin*

1. Intangiriro

N'ubwo mu ntekerezo[1] y'Abanyarwanda umwana yivukira[2], ireme ryo kubaho mu buryo bubereye ikiremwamuntu ntirituruka ahanini ku mivukire, ahubwo rituruka ku burere[3] uwavutse ahabwa.

Hambere, uburere bwari ikintu cyitaweho cyane ku buryo umwana yari uwa bose, umubyeyi wese usanze umwana mu ikosa akamucyaha kuko angana n'uwe, kandi uwo mwana nawe akamwumvira kuko yabaga yaratojwe kubaha buri wese.

Ntabwo uburere umwana yabuhererwaga mu muryango gusa, igihe cyarageraga akabukomereza mu Itorero[4] aho yatorezwaga ibintu birema umutima ntekerezo w'u Rwanda, agatozwa umuco n'ururimi by'u Rwanda.

Umuntu aseruka neza mu mwambaro we ntaseruka mu mwambaro mutirano! Aho Abakoloni baziye mu Rwanda, bahaciye ingando batinda kuhava, bavanaho ingabo, Itorero rirazimira, baca umuganura, baca igihango cy'ubumwe n'izindi ndangagaciro - remezo z'umuco wacu, bityo umutima w'u Rwanda uba urototewe; ba mutima - nda, ba mutima - rwana na ba mutima - muke baragwira ba mitima - igwanye[5] baba bake, hagwira abigishijwe gutanga no gusonga u Rwanda.

Ibyo ni byo byabaye intandaro y'ibibazo bikomeye byagwiririye u Rwanda kugeza no ku ndengakamere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, yadutwaye inzirakarengane zisaga miliyoni, Igihugu kiba umuyonga, ku buryo kugeza n'uyu munsi nyuma y'imyaka 27 ayo mahano atagira izina abaye tugihanganye n'ingaruka zayaturutseho.

Nk'uko Umukuru w'Igihugu cy'u Rwanda, Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame yabivuze, u Rwanda rwarapfuye ariko umutima w'u Rwanda ntiwapfuye. Aha ni ho hashibutse imbaraga zabohoye u Rwanda rurongera ruriyubaka none ruremye mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

Muri iyi nyandiko turibanda ku Itorero ry'Igihugu, dushimira Leta y'u Rwanda yagiyeho nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kuba yararishubijeho, iriha

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

1. Philosophie / philosophy

2 Hari impano karemano umwana avukana (inné / innate, nature) n'umurage akomora ku babyeyi (génotype / genotype)

3 Acquis / nurture, environnement / environment, culture

4 Urubuga rwatorezwagamo Abanyarwanda kugira imyumvire y'indangagaciro na kirazira basangiye mu mibanire yabo, gukunda Igihugu no kugiteza imbere.

5 Ihuje `

agaciro rikwiye, rigera ku Banyarwanda bose. Igisigaye ni ugukomeza kuryubaka kandi nta gushidikanya ko Minisiteri y'Ubumwe n'Inshingano Mboneragihugu iherutse gushyirwaho izateza imbere umuco w'ubutore[6] mu Banyarwanda b'ingeri zose, bityo bizadufashe kugera ku Rwanda rwuje byose, u Rwanda rudaserukamo umwambaro w'umutirano kandi rwarabohowe.

6 Intore ni umuntu watojwe wimakaza indangagaciro na kirazira by'umuco nyarwanda.

2. Itorero ry'Igihugu

U Rwanda kimwe n'ibindi bihugu byo ku isi rufite amateka rwihariye. Kuva rwabaho rwitwa u Rwanda rwa Gasabo rwagiye rwiyubaka, haba mu kwagura imbibi zarwo, haba mu kunoza imiyoborere ndetse no gushimangira "Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda"[7].

2.1. Itorero ry'Igihugu mbere y'Ubukoloni

Mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni, Itorero ry'Igihugu ryari Irerero ry'Igihugu, rikarera Abanyarwanda ribubakamo imico myiza ari yo twita indangagaciro[8] yatumaga bashobora kubana mu mahoro no gusobeka ubumwe bwabo nka bene mugabumwe, nk'abava inda imwe, nka bene Kanyarwanda. Ryareraga kandi abazayobora Igihugu kugira ngo bazayobore neza, bazajye batoza abo bayobora imico myiza, bakabatoza indangagaciro na kirazira[9] by'umuco nyarwanda.

Gutozwa k'Umunyarwanda byaheraga mu muryango mu mirerere ya buri munsi kuva umwana avutse, agakura, akaba ingimbi cyangwa umwangavu. Kuri icyo kigero (imyaka 13-14), abahungu ni bo baganaga Itorero, abakobwa bagakomereza uburere mu Rubohero[10].

Akenshi buri Torero ryabaga rigizwe n'abantu bari mu kigero kimwe kandi Itorero ryose rikagira izina ryaryo. Itorero ntiryavanguraga ryatozaga Abanyarwanda bose.

7 Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwahozeho ibinyejana byinshi mbere y'uko abazungu bagera mu Rwanda. Abazungu bambere bageze mu Rwanda cyane cyane abapadiri, barabyemeje baranabyandika bashingiye ku bushakashatsi bakoze. Ingero twatanga ni P. Léon Delmas, P. Albert Pagès na Chanoine Louis de Lacger. Nk'uko babyanditse guhera muri 1919, bemezaga ko basanze u Rwanda rufite ubumwe butajegajega, bategekwa n'Umwami umwe, bavuga ururimi rumwe, bafite idini rimwe kandi baturanye mu gihugu nta kuvangura kuriho. Chanoine Louis de Lacger abivuga muri aya magambo: "Abaturage bo muri iki gihugu bazi neza ko bari mu muryango umwe w'Abanyarwanda, ari naho iryo zina ry'u Rwanda rituruka. Nk'uko bimeze no mu bindi bihugu bitegekwa n'Abami, gukunda igihugu cyabo bijyana no gukunda Umwami wacyo. Gukunda uwo Mwami wabo biterwa n'uko bishingiye ku idini yabo yo kwemera Imana Rurema. Uwo Mwami rero akaba ari Igisonga cy'Imana mu bantu. Padiri Albert Pagès nawe agakomeza agira ati: Abanyarwanda bari bazi ko igihugu cyabo kiruta ibindi byose, ari mu bugari, ari mu bushobozi ari no mu majyambere. Gukunda igihugu ntibishingiye gusa ku gukunda Umwami, ndetse bijyana no gukunda ibyiza byose byabaye mu mateka y'icyo gihugu. Ikindi gituma urwo rukundo rw'Igihugu rukomera ni ururimi rumwe ruhuza Abaturarwanda bose bo mu turere twose tw'icyo gihugu. Ikindi cyongera ubwo bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ni ukuba bafite umuco umwe, bafite ubutegetsi bumwe mu gihugu, bafite n'idini rimwe". (LE RWANDA, Ce pays qui a traversé le feu et en est sorti plus trenchant, p. 67)

8 Imigenzo myiza y'imbonezabupfura Abanyarwanda bagombaga kubahiriza kugira ngo babashe kubahana, kubana neza, gusobeka Ubumwe, nabwo bukabahesha amahoro. Ibyo byose bikabahesha ishema, icyubahiro n'igitinyiro. Indangagaciro ni igikwiye, icyiyubashye, igikwiye guhabwa agaciro no guharanirwa na buri wese. Ni Muhabura mu by'ukuri kuko ziraturenze, ni twe tugenda tuzisanga ariko buri muco ugira izo ushyira imbere.

9 Indangagaciro ishinzwe gukumira no kurinda ingeso mbi ngo zidatokoza izindi ndangagaciro zikaziteza ubusembwa. Abanyarwanda bagombaga kwirinda ikibi cyose, ingeso mbi zose, imico mibi yose kugira ngo babashe kubahana, kubana neza no gusobeka ubumwe bwabo.

10 Aho abakobwa b'abangavu bahuriraga bakaganira bakora imirimo yo mu rugo nko kuboha, kuvoma, kumesa cyangwa gukubura.

Ibyatozwaga Abanyarwanda mu Itorero

Iyo turebye amateka yanditswe n'abazungu n'ibyo dukomora ku ruhererekanenyemvugo[11], bigaragara ko umushinga wo kubaka u Rwanda wamaze imyaka irenga kure 500[12] utarahungabana kuko Abakurambere b'Intwari bari barawusasiye "indangagaciro zikomeye"[13].

Iyo buri wese yamaraga kwiga izi ndangagaciro yagiraga ati: "Mu maraso yanjye niba hashobora kuba harimo umwuka mubi wo kugambanira u Rwanda, umunsi nzarugambanira niba ari ejo, azameneke uyu munsi mbere y'uko ndugambanira". Ikindi gikomeye nacyo ni icyo abakurambere bacu kuva kuri Gihanga batongeraga abana babo: "Nta mwana w'Umunyarwanda uzemera ko u Rwanda ruba ingaruzwamuheto acyambaye inyama n'amaraso"[14] .

Uyu ni umuhigo buri wese yakoraga mu mushinga wo kubaka u Rwanda ruhamije igitinyiro kandi ruzajya ruhesha Umunyarwanda ijambo atarisabye mu ruhando rw'amahanga nk'uko Abakurambere babitanzemo icyerekezo.

Intore ni zo zavagamo abaturage bafite uburere bwiza n'imico myiza, zikavamo ingabo z'Igihugu n'abatware. Ibyo Abanyarwanda batozwaga byabarangaga mu buzima bwabo bwa buri munsi kandi ubushobozi bagaragaje bugashingirwaho mu guhabwa inshingano mu gihugu.

Umuntu wabaga ataranyuze mu Itorero yabaga afite byinshi atandukaniyeho n'Intore, cyane cyane mu rwego rw'imyumvire, imitekerereze, imyifatire, imivugire n'imigenzereze.

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11 Tradition orale / oral tradition.

12 Niba Gihanga I Ngomijana wahanze u Rwanda yarategetse kuva muri 1091 – 1124 (Kagame A., Un Abrégé de l'Ethno – Histoire du Rwanda, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, Butare, 1972, p.37), Abakoloni bagera mu Rwanda muri 1894, hari hashize imyaka 803!

13 Gukunda Igihugu, Ubumwe, Ubupfura n'Umurimo. Byavuzwe birambuye muri Cahier UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI N0 1 kuva kuri page ya 4 kugera kuri page ya 8.

14 Uyu mutongero Umwami Nsoro I Samukondo (1279 – 1312) yaba yarawutongereye umuhungu we Ruganzu I Bwimba (1312 – 1345) yari asigiye Ingoma akiri muto kandi hari ibibazo. Ruganzu I Bwimba na mushiki we Robwa bapfuye nk'abatabazi banga ko u Rwanda rwigarurirwa n'i Gisaka cyategekwaga na Kimenyi I Musaya. Ubu bwitange butagereranywa bw'Umwami bwabaye urugero ruhebuje ku bayobozi bagomba kwirengera ibibazo bikomereye igihugu batabishyize ku bandi. Ruganzu I Bwimba ni we Mwami w'u Rwanda wenyine watanze nk'umutabazi. Aha ni ho havuye umugani ugira uti: "Abo Ingoma yahaye amata ni bo isaba amaraso". Uwashaka kumenya birambuye iby'ubu butabazi yasoma igitabo cyitwa "Le PATRIOTISME JUSQU'AU SANG" cya Padiri Muzungu Bernardin (pp.3-8). Harimo n'abandi babaye abatabazi mu bihe bitandukanye kuva kuri Rwambali I wababimburiye kugera kuri Ntabyera II waherutse mu buryo buzwi (officiel). Yasoma kandi igitabo cyitwa "Récits historiques" cya A. Coupez na Thomas Kamanzi.

2.2. Itorero ry'Igihugu mu gihe cy'Ubukoloni no mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri

Ubukoroni bw'Abanyaburayi bwahinduye imibereho y'Abanyafurika muri rusange n'Abanyarwanda by'umwihariko.

Ubukoloni ari ubw'Abadage ari ubw'Ababiligi, bwombi bwari bushingiye ku ihame ryo "gucamo Abanyarwanda ibice ngo babone uko babanyunyuza imitsi (babategeka)[115]. Abadage basanze u Rwanda ari Igihugu gifite uko kiyoborwa, maze bagitegekesha igitugu bafatanyije n'abihayimana b'abamisiyoneri; ariko bahanganye n'Abanyarwanda barwanyaga ubwo butegetsi bushya, kandi hari n'igihe cy'amakimbirane ku isi yaje kuvamo Intambara ya mbere y'Isi no gutsindwa kw'Abadage no kuva mu Rwanda kwabo. Ubukoloni bw'Ababiligi bwasimbuye ubw'Abadage, bwahinduye u Rwanda nk'Intara ya Kongo Mbiligi byari byegeranye, cyaba igihe cy'indagizo cya SDN[16] cyaba n'igihe cyaje guhinduka icy'uburezi bw'Ababiligi igihe cya Loni[17]

Abamisiyoneri ba mbere cyane cyane Abapadiri bera, baje bagamije guhindura umuco w'Abanyarwanda, byaba ngombwa bakabikora ku gahato. Bashyiraga mu bikorwa amwe mu mabwiriza yatanzwe na Cardinal Lavigerie ko mbere yo kwigisha Abanyafurika bagomba kubanza kubagira abantu.[18]

Abapadiri baciye imigenzo y'Abanyarwanda, bitwaje ko idahuye n'inyigisho za gikirisitu. Baca kirazira kandi yari umurongo ntarengwa w'imyitwarire y'Abanyarwanda ari ho Abanyarwanda bakomoye imvugo yakwiriye hose ngo "Kiliziya yakuye kirazira".

Padiri Brard yavugaga ko atari ngombwa gushaka mu birabura imigenzo ndangamutima myiza. Ku bwe ndetse no kuri benshi, "Umunyarwanda yari nk'umwana utazi ubwenge, w'ubwenge buke, bikaba bigaragaza icyaha afite cy'umwihariko, umuntu waheranwe n'imico ya gipagani kandi akaba n'umuntu w'umunebwe kamere"[19]. "Iyobokamana ry'Umunyarwanda naryo ryafatwaga nk'iryoroshye, rishingiye ku muco wo gukunda ibintu no gutinya abazimu. Byose bisa n'ibya cyana, bemera badashishoje, kandi bayoborwa n'ubwoba gusa"[20]. Nta cyiza umumisiyoneri yari ategereje ku kiremwa nk'icyo. Ni yo mpamvu yakoze ibishoboka byose ngo "akureho burundu imikorere n'imyemerere y'Umunyarwanda maze amuremere imyemerere mishya"[21].

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15 Diviser pour régner / divide and rule / divide et impera biva ku mugani w'Abaromani uvuga ngo: Abo utegeka jya ubashyiramo amacakubiri kugira ngo bakorohere.

16 Société des Nations / League of Nations/ Ligue des Nations
17 Organisation des Nations Unies / United Nations Organization
18 Chrétien, J.P (2003), L'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Deux mille ans d'Histoire, Paris, Flammarion
19 Brard P., Notes, 1902, pp. 26-27; P. Classe, «A travers l'Afrique Equatoriale», in Les missions Catholiques, 1902, pp. 437-438; Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya XXe, Kigali, 2016, p. 206

20 Brard P., Notes, p. 23; Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2016, op.cit, p. 206
21 Icyo bita mu kilatini gukora «tabura rasa» (table rase / clean slate or scraped tablet). Mu Kinyarwanda twabyita koza ubwonko. Mu Rwanda bavanyeho bwa bumwe n'imyemerere basanganye Abanyarwanda.

Itorero ryavuyeho muri "réforme" y'Ababiligi yo mu mwaka wa 1926 yitiriwe Rezida "Georges Mortehan" kubera ko bavanyeho ingabo kandi itorero ari zo ryabarizwagamo. Uburezi bwasigaye bwihariwe n'abapadiri bera n'amashuri yabo.

Muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri, umurongo wa politiki wari ushingiye ku byerekezo bya MDR PARMEHUTU kandi MDR PARMEHUTU yahinyuraga umuco w'Abanyarwanda kuberako mu ishingwa ry'iryo shyaka Kayibanda yarwanyaga ibikorwa bishingiye ku muco w'Abanyarwanda. Ibyerekeye umuco w'Abanyarwanda bya mbere y'ubukoloni babyitiranyaga n'ingoma ya gihake na gikoloni[22].

Umuco wari wemewe wari ushingiye ku guteza imbere uwo bitaga uwa demokarasi ugamije kurengera "rubanda rugufi" yaje kwitwa "rubanda nyamwinshi" kuri Leta ya Habyarimana.

Repubulika zombi zakomeje gushyira imbere umurongo w'Abakoloni wo gucamo ibice Abanyarwanda.

2.3. Itorero ry'Igihugu mu gihe cya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Ingabo zari iza FPR Inkotanyi[23] zimaze guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi hagiyeho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Iyo Guverinoma yakomeje guharanira icyatuma Igihugu cyongera kwiyubaka; Abanyarwanda bakongera kunga ubumwe.

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".

Kugira ngo Itorero ry'Igihugu rigere ku nshingano zaryo, hashyizweho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero nk'urwego rushinzwe imitunganyirize yaryo ihabwa intego rusange yo kubaka Umunyarwanda ukunda Igihugu, ufite indangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco Nyarwanda kandi ufite umuco w'ubutore. Itegeko N[0] 41/2013 ryo ku wa 16/06/2013 ryashyizeho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero, rigena inshingano, imiterere n'imikorere byayo.

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22 Kayibanda G., "Ruyereje urundi", Kinyamateka N0 258, April 1954, p.8

23 Iri zina ryasubiye ku izina rya kera ry'Inkotanyi za Rwabugili (Inkotanyi cyane Rukayababisha, Inkatazakurekera) zari zarahungabanyije amahanga.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero yahawe inshingano zikurikira:

1. Gutoza Abanyarwanda:
   a) kugira imyumvire y'indangagaciro na kirazira mu mibanire yabo, gukunda Igihugu no kugiteza imbere;
   b) kumenya no gusobanukirwa imigambi y'Igihugu n'uburyo bwo kuyigeraho;
   c) kwigirira icyizere cyo kwikemurira ibibazo no kwihesha agaciro;
   d) kuba Intore[24] zibereye Igihugu zigaragara mu byiciro byose kandi zikaba umusemburo w'impinduka nziza;
   e) kugira umuco w'ubwitange mu gukorera Igihugu;
   f) kugira umuco w'ishyaka n'ishema ryo guhiga no kwivuga ibigwi.

2. Gutoza abayobozi kuyoborana indangagaciro no kugira ishyaka ryo kuba indashyikirwa;

3. Gutoza Abanyarwanda kwimakaza indangagaciro na kirazira byubakirwaho imibanire n'iterambere ry'Igihugu;

4. Gukorana no kugisha inama izindi nzego za Leta, izigenga n'imiryango itari iya Leta bitanga inyigisho ku ndangagaciro na kirazira;

5. Gutegura no gukurikirana ibikorwa bya gahunda y'urugerero mu gihugu.

Kugira ngo Itorero ry'Igihugu rigere ku nshingano zaryo, ritoreza mu nzego zikurikira:

a. Mu Midugudu;
   Mu mashuri;
b. Ku Rugerero;
c. Mu nzego z'imirimo.

N'ubwo itegeko rishyiraho Komisiyo y'Itorero ry'Igihugu ryakuweho n'Itegeko N⁰ 069/2021 ryo ku wa 15/10/2021, inshingano z'Itorero ry'Igihugu zahawe Minisiteri y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda n'Inshingano Mboneragihugu.[25] Iyi Minisiteri ifite inshingano zo kubungabunga umurage w'amateka, gushimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda no gutoza uburere mboneragihugu.

24 Ibyo Intore zitozwa: a. Indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda, b. Amateka y'u Rwanda, c. Politiki n'iterambere by'u Rwanda, d. Ubwirinzi bw'ibanze n'umuco w'ubwitange, e. Imyumvire y'isi n'imihindagurikire yayo.
25 MINUBUMWE yashyizweho n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo ku wa 12 Nyakanga 2021.

3. Umusozo

Kuba Abanyarwanda barubahutse gukora amahano ndengakamere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ni uko babuze uburere bubatoza indangagaciro na kirazira byarangaga umuco nyarwanda, no kuba barabuze ubatongera umuco wo kwanga ikibi no gukunda icyiza.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta y'u Rwanda yakoze byinshi birebana n'uburere harimo nko gusubizaho Itorero no kwimakaza umuco w'ubutwari, guteza imbere umuryango n'uburere bw'ibanze bw'abana, kurengera urubyiruko no gukumira no kurwanya ihohoterwa.

Umuco uracuya kandi ukarembera iyo abenshi mu bo wagateye ishema batacyibona mu ndangagaciro zawo ahubwo bakabaho bazibererekera cyangwa bazita ibyashaje. Umuco uranakura bitandukanye no gusaza. Ariko iyo uvuze gukura bisobanuye ko hari ukunguka bivuze ko hari ibishya biza n'ibitakara byanze bikunze. N'ubwo umuco utikingirana ahubwo ukingura amarembo, guhitamo bisaba gushungura. Twirangayeho umuco wacu ukaducika, twarindagira tugatsiribiza.

Ubutwari ntibuvukanwa, buraharanirwa mu gukora cyane kandi buratozwa. Mureke turinde indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda maze twiyubakire Igihugu cyacu.

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III. ABAGORE B'ABANYARWANDAKAZI BAGARAGAJE UBUTWARI MU BUTABERA MPUZAMAHANGA

*Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve**

1. INTANGIRIRO

Uruhare rw'Abanyarwandakazi mu bikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu Rwanda ni byinshi kandi buri wese ubimenye agira ibyo yunguka mu mitekerereze n'imigirire inoze, bikamwubaka kandi akabifataho urugero mu bigwi by'ubutwari yaba mu Rwanda, yaba no mu mahanga.

Muri iyi nyandiko turabagezaho bamwe mu bagore babaye ingirakamaro, kandi baba abadasanzwe mu bihe bidasanzwe. Abo ni abagize uruhare rukomeye mu butabera mpuzamahanga, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1994. Guhera mu kwezi kwa 4 kugeza mu kwa 7 mu mwaka wa 1994, muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, hishwe by'urubozo Abatutsi barenga miliyoni. Ihohoterwa ndengakamere mu gihe cya Jenoside ryafashe uburyo bunyuranye hakurikijwe igitsina, rigira inkurikizi zinyuranye ku bagabo no ku bagore, dore ko interahamwe, abasivili n'Abasirikare (Ex-Far) bagize abagore n'abakobwa ingaruzwamuheto.

Abagore bavugwa muri iyi nyandiko baritanze bikomeye kuko bagize ubushake bwo gutanga umuganda ukomeye kugirango ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu mu Rwanda bishyirwe ahagaragara, bimenyekane kandi ababikoze bahanwe. Dore ko byababaye ubwa mbere mu mateka y'isi hagaragazwa ko icyaha cyo gusambanya umugore n'umukobwa mu gihe cya Jenoside ari icyaha cyibasiye inyoko muntu.

Ubuhamya bwabo bwatanzwe mu Rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR), rwashyizweho n'Umwanzuro 955 wo kuwa 8 Ugushyingo 1994, rwakoreraga Arusha muri Tanzania; rwagiyeho nyuma gato y'ihagarikwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Rufunga imiryango mu mwaka wa 2015, rusimburwa n'Urwego Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho gukora imirimo yasizwe n'Inkiko Mpanabyaha.

No mu mwaka wa 1992 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1995 habaye kandi Jenoside mu gihugu cya Bosnia i Burayi, ho abayikoze bo baburanishijwe n' Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho icyahoze ari Yugosilaviya (TPIY).

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*Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego, akaba yungirije Umukuru w'Urwego

Muri buri gihugu hagiye haba umwihariko, ariko bimwe mubyahuriweho ni ihohoterwa ryuzuye ubugome bukabije ririmo isambanywa ku gahato ry'abagore n'abakobwa, hatitawe ku kigero cy 'imyaka bafite, rikabasigira ipfunwe n'ibikomere bidakira, ihungabana, abana bavutse batifuzwa, ubumuga n'indwara bikabaviramo n'urupfu.

Nk'uko bigaragara muri raporo yo mu mwaka 1996 ya « Raporteur Spécial » wa Loni (ONU) ku Rwanda yagaragaje ko abagore barenga 250.000 bafashwe ku ngufu mu gihe cya Jenoside.

Ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina ryakorewe abagore n'abakobwa ryigaragaje mu buryo bunyuranye burimo gusambanywa ku gahato umwe umwe, gusambanya ku ngufu mu gikumbi, kubinjiza ibikoresho mu gitsina nk'inkoni, ibisongo, imbunda n'ibindi, ubuhake bushingiye ku gitsina, urushako ku gahato, ikatwa ry'imyanya ndangagitsina, gukoreshwa imirimo ku gahato, n'ubundi bugome ndengakamere…

Ihohoterwa ryakorewe abagore n'abakobwa muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ni kimwe mu bikomere bikomeye bagize ; akenshi nyuma yo kubashyira ku nkeke cyangwa kwica rubozo ababo n'abo mu miryango yabo, nyuma yo kubasenyera amazu ngo n'ucika kw'icumu abure aho yerekeza. Hari n'abo bishe bamaze kubasambanya no kubangiza igitsina.

Abo bagore bahuye n'uruva gusenya, bangijwe umubiri bikomeye, bashengurwa umutima n'imitekerereze ku buryo ntasibangana, bahorana intimba y'iyongoboza bugingo n'ibikomere ndengakamere.

Muri bo uko gusambanywa n'abishi byabaviriyemo gutwara inda batifuje ; maze bamwe muri bo babyara nta kivurira, abana bamwe bitaga 'abana b'interahamwe', 'abana bo mu bisambu', 'abana b'urwango', 'abana b'urwibutso rubi', 'abana b'akaga' n'andi mazina atesha agaciro baterwa n'agahinda.

Gahunda y'imiyoborere myiza ya Leta y'ubumwe ishimwe, ubu abo bana barakuze bafite imyaka iyingayinga 27, kuko abenshi bavutse mu gihembwe cya mbere mu mwaka wa 1995. Ubu ni abasore n'inkumi nk'urubyiruko rwiyemeje ko rushoboye kandi ari amaboko mahire yubaka u Rwanda mu cyizere cyiza cy'iterambere nta pfunwe.

Mu bagore bakorewe ibya mfura mbi, harimo abatewe indwara zidakira zirimo SIDA, ubu bafite uburwayi cyangwa babyaye abana banduye ; bamwe muri abo bagore cyangwa abana babo barapfuye bazize ibyuririzi bya SIDA naho abandi ubu barafata imiti igabanya ubukana bwayo.

Hari kandi n'abagore bamwe n'abakobwa basambanyijwe ku gahato n'abahoze ari abasirikare ba Ex-FAR ari nako babagira abacakara babo, ubundi bakabagira abagore babo ku gahato, bakabahungana mu bihugu bahungiyemo nko muri Republika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo.

BAMWE MU BAGORE BABAYE INTWARI MU BUTABERA MPUZAMAHANGA

Hari ijambo rya Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame yavuze ati: "Nta muntu ushobora kuguha agaciro, agaciro ni ukukiha kuko ni uburenganzira bwanyu kandi biri mu bushobozi bwanyu. Bikwiye rero kuba no mu bushake bwanyu kugira ngo mubigereho".

Abanyarwandakazi ntibatanzwe mu bigwi ngiro kuko nyuma y'ishavu n'agahinda k'iyongobeza bugingo, agaciro baragahawe barakakira kandi barakiha, bagaha Igihugu cyacu ndetse n'isi yose. Berekana ubudasa bashingiye ku ndangagaciro z'Abanyarwanda ari ishema kandi biyemeza ko ubudahanwa bwari bwarashinze imizi burandurwe no kureka guceceka, ukuri ku byabaye ku Banyarwanda muri Jenoside ku gashyirwa ahagaragara n'abayikorewe bakayirokoka.

Abo bagore n'abakobwa bagaragaje iryo shema ry'u Rwanda n' ubwo butwari bagera kuri 60, ariko turagaragaza ubuhamya bwa 4 muri bo. Mu rwego rw'umutekano nk' abatangabuhamya mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR), turisegura ko amazina yabo atari yo twanditse. Amazina tubita si yo mazina yabo bwite.

1. Jeanne Giramahoro, mu rubanza rwa Akayesu Jean Paul[26]

Atuye i Rukoma mu Karere ka Kamonyi.

Ni Umunyarwandakazi ufite imyaka 60. Yize gusa amashuri atandatu abanza. Ubwo muri Jenoside yari afite imyaka 27. Ubuhamya yatanze Arusha ku cyaha cya Jenoside yakoreweho ubwe no ku Banyarwandakazi b 'Abatutsikazi nk'intwaro ya Jenoside, ni ihohoterwa ku gitsina gore. Gutinyuka gutanga ubuhamya abona ari ubutwari kuko abenshi byabananiye we akabitinyuka.

Nta bwoba byamuteye kuko ibyo yavugaga byari ukuri. Avuga ababaye ku mateka y'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryatangiye kuva mu myaka ya kera, muri 1959, 1963, 1973…. Kandi no muri ibyo bihe Abatutsikazi barahohoterwaga bakabura uwo babwira, ati: ariko twe twagize Imana n'ubuyobozi bwiza tubona uko tuvuga n'abo tubibwira. Ati : « kera muri iyo myaka nta tegeko ryarengeraga ababohojwe n'abafashwe ku ngufu, ariko twe Leta y'ubumwe yaradufashije itujya imbere turayikurikira mu miyoborere myiza tubona uko tuvuga ibibi byari byarabaye akamenyero ku mugore».

Mu mvugo ye yagize ati : ukuri kwacu twaragushimangiye dufasha ubutabera; ubutabera bukora akazi kabwo, ukuri kwacu kuratsinda.

Ubwo butwari bw'abagore b'i Taba bwatinyuye benshi kuko ubutabera bumaze gukora akazi kabwo ukuri kumaze gutsinda, icyaha cyo gusambanya umugore n'umukobwa twaharaniye ko gihanirwa, ubu kirahanirwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Ni itsinzi ikomeye ku bagore kandi ni itsinzi ntagereranywa ku Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda.

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26 Akayesu Jean Paul yari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Taba

Hari benshi bari baracecetse kubera ko bumvaga ko ari ibitavugwa, abandi bakumva ari akumiro. Nyuma baradukurikije nabo bavuga ibyababayeho hirya no hino mu Rwanda, ibyo bakorewe nk'abagore n'abakobwa muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. Gutinyuka kubivuga babikesha ubuyobozi bwiza n'ababitagaho mu icungahungabana.

Jeanne Giramahoro agira ati : Sinarondora ibyankorewe mu gihe cya Jenoside kuko sibyo bigenderewe, ariko njye njya mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, Arusha muri Tanzaniya, ntibyari binyoroheye kuko nari maze icyumweru mbyaye, mfata uruhinja nta rutege, ntitaye ku burwayi bwa Malaria nari nkirutse ntarakira neza n'ububyeyibyeyi ubusanzwe burushya, njya kuri urwo rugamba rwo guca ukubiri n'ubudahanwa bwari bwaramunze u Rwanda. Mu rukiko si ugukina, navugaga imbyambayeho n'ibyabaye ku Batutsi ndeba.

Yakomeje avuga ko yavugiye umubyeyi wandaritswe ngo ubutabera bube kandi umugore ye kuba isibaniro ry'urugamba : « Ndibuka ko hariyo Umucamanza muremure cyane kandi munini abanza kuntera ubwoba, nari mfite umusemuzi w'umunyarwandakazi ariko ubwoba burantaha bwamvuyemo nta nkuru. Hari kandi Umwunganizi mu rubanza Pierre-Richard Prosper[27] anyibutsa kutagira ubwoba no kudakuka umutima n'ubwo bitari binyoroheye ».

Umwunganizi w'Akayesu Jean Paul ati : wa mugore we urabeshya nta Jenoside yabaye, nta mugore wasambanyijwe ku gahato. Nibutse ibyabaye byose mbanza guta ibitekerezo ariko agatima karankompanga gati humura ntugakangirwe mu mahanga, bimpa imbaraga zo kuvuga ubuhamya bwanjye ntategwa, uko twagabijwe interahamwe, amagambo yose yavuzwe ngo batwigabize batwambike ubusa…..

Kuburana byamaze iminsi, ari nako nsubira mu byo navugaga, burya iyo uvuga icyo wahagazeho, imbaraga ziraboneka n'iyo ari mu mahina nk'ayo kuburana usubizwa ububisi. Iyo wiyemeje ugira imbaraga n'ubutwari ugakomera ukarenga ibikomere ufite, ukuzuza neza umurimo wakujyanye, gusa nyuma ugomba kugira umwanya wa « counseilling » ngo ukomeze ubuzima.

Yakomeje agira ati : nshima Intwari z 'u Rwanda kuko iyo twizihiza Intwari z'Igihugu numwa ko bahagarariye twe n'abandi. Mbibona ko zakoze ibikomeye nanjye nigiraho nko kwitanga udategereje inyungu. Natwe abatangabuhamya mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha ntibyari byoroshye gutanga ubuhamya mu gihugu cy'amahanga, bavuga igifaransa n'icyongereza tutazi, twagenderaga ku cyizere dukomora ku bayobozi mu miyoborere myiza kandi dufite kivugira, ntawe ukiduhiga….. »

Ati : Njye nifuza ko abandi Banyarwandakazi nabo baba intwari bitinyuka, bakoresha ukuri, bamenya ikibi bakakivugira ahabona bakacyamagana ngo gisimbuzwe icyiza.

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27 Pierre-Richard Prosper is an American lawyer, prosecutor and former government official. He served as the second United States Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues under President George W. Bush from 2001 to 2005.

Ati : ubundi se ba mutima w'urugo ko Nyakubahwa Umukuru w'Igihugu cyacu yaduhaye ijambo adusubiza agaciro, twabuzwa n'iki guharanira kuba intwari twubaka igihugu mu butwari nk'abagore kandi dufatanyije n'abagabo.

Ati : Nibuka ko kubera intego mfite y 'ubutwari nk'umugore wiyemeje, mu mwaka wa 2016, naratumiwe njya mu gihugu cya Mali mu nama mpuzamahanga y'abagore, nshimishwa no gufata ijambo mbabwira uko abagore bavuye mu kaga ka jenoside mu Rwanda twiyubaka binyuze mu kwibumbira mu matsinda bakorera hamwe biteza imbere kandi bateza imbere igihugu cyababyaye. Nabyo byaranyubatse kuko niyumvisemo ko ndi uwo umumaro kandi ko nyuma y'ibikomere ubuzima bukomeza.

Ati : Nishima ko nashoboye kurihira amashuri bamwe mu bana banjye bakarangiza amashuri, mu mutungo ngenda nshakisha mu mirimo nkora aho ntuye. Ubu noroye inka kandi ndahinga, ngahingisha abakozi kuko ntabyishoboza kubera imvune z'impiri nakubiswe muri Jenoside. Nta nzara iwanjye nsagurira isoko ngafasha n'abashonje duturanye. Avuga ko atanga « mituelle » y'ubuzima ku gihe kandi yarababariye, abana na bose mu mahoro. Ati Niyunze n'abanyiciye, narababariye mbikuye ku mutima, turafatanya mu bikorwa nzamura mibereho n'ubukungu binyuze mu itsinda rya Tuzamurane ririmo abantu 70 abenshi b'abagore kandi dukora neza dufatanyije mu rukundo twatojwe.

2. Nadine Nyirarukundo mu rubanza rwa Akayesu Jean Paul

Ni umugore utuye i Kabuga mu karere ka Gasabo mu mugi wa Kigali, akaba afite ubu imyaka 42. Mu gihe cya Jenoside yari umwangavu afite imyaka igera kuri 15.

Ati : kujya gutanga ubuhamya cyari ikintu gikomeye ku mwana nariwe kandi wari ufite ihungabana rikomeye natewe n'ibyo nakorewe mu gihe cya Jenoside, kimwe n'abandi bagore n'abakobwa bahigwaga. Nari ngifite ibikomere ku mutima nta « counseilling » nari narakorewe, ngifite n'ibikomere ku mubiri cyane cyane mu myanya ndangagitsina. Kumva ko ugiye guhura no kuburana n'uwagize nabi ntibyari binyoroheye mu myumvire n'imitekerereze, kandi umutima ugikomeretse. No kudasobanukirwa icyari kigambiriwe kugerwaho nk'umwana wo mu cyaro. Nari mfite igishyika, numvaga ngiye kwishyira hanze, nkavuga ku ngingo nahishaga ntashakaga ko hari uwundi wamenya kubera icyo gisebo twari twakorewe nk'abangavu….

Gufata umwanzuro wo kwemera gutanga ubuhamya rwari urugamba ku muntu ufite imyaka 17, wapfushije abantu bose atagira epfo na ruguru, atagira hirya no hino. Byari urugamba rukomeye nawe ubyumve.

Kugenda utazi aho ugiye, nta wundi nigeze numva ngo wavuyeyo, ujyanwa n'abantu utazi utigeze ubona mbere….Nta no gutekereza ku cyizere cy'umutekano. Gutegereza muri Hoteli ari ubwa mbere ngeze i Kigali, kujya mu modoka utabona hanze kubyakira ntibyari byoroshye, ntazi aho nyura…. Kwari nko kuba ibiharamagara, Kubona indege nabonaga hejuru iyo mu kirere iparitse ku kibuga bwari ubwa mbere, kujya mu ndege bwa mbere, indege ifashe ikirere byari biteye ubwoba, ntekereza ko aho banyakiriye simpazi n'aho banjyanye simpazi, kwari ukwihangana no kwihagararaho pe. Ngezeyo kwari ukuba mu gipangu, Nibuka

ko n'imibereho yaho yari igoye, uba mu gipangu nta kureba hanze gusa nabonaga urusozi ruhagaze hakurya; abagutekera mudahuje ururimi, ibiryo utamenyereye biboneka nk 'ubuzima bwari bugoranye kuri njye kuko nari mfite kandi umwana urwaye, mvuye mu bitaro, ngeze Arusha arandembana banjyana kwa muganga bamuha imiti nkomeza ibyari binjyanye. Icyiza twari itsinda (groupe) ry'abantu twari twajyanye. Ati : Nageze aho nshira impugenge, numva ko ari ibigendereye ubutabera ngo abakoze ibyaha babihanirwe. Kwari ukwiyemeza no kwitanga ngo ubutabera buboneke.

« Mbere yo kwinjira mu rukiko nongeye kubunza umutima, nibaza byinshi, cyane ko kwari ukwitangaho ubuhamya wivuga ibibi, kubara inkuru ikubabaje, mu bisanzwe abandi bivuga ibigwi, utekereza kujya kwishyira ku mugaragaro ngo rubanda bakubone… »

Mu rukiko no mu rubanza byari binkomereye cyane, nibaza ko ngiye guhura n'umugizi wa nabi, w'umuhemu, wayoboye abandi mu bibi…naherukaga kubona mu gihe cy'akaga kuri Komini aho twari twahungiye, ntigeze mvugana nawe, ariko nahoranaga mu ishusho.

Nari ngiye guhagarara mvugana n'abantu bateye ubwoba, bize, bazi amategeko kandi bavugira igihanda[28] kandi bavuga mu ndimi ntazi nsemurirwa, ari ubwa mbere ngiye mu rukiko, ntari nigeze mbona aho baburana na rimwe… Kandi ngomba kwivugaho uko byangendekeye binyibutsa igihe cy'akaga ka Jenoside.

Mu rubanza nabwo ntibyari byoroshye kubazwa ibibazo barasa ku bigukomeretsa, bikwibutsa ibibi wakorewe nk'umukobwa ukiri muto, utazi iby'imibonano mpuzabitsina…

Ariko umutima n'ubwenge bwaragararutse nkabazwa ngasubiza.

Ati: Ubu iyo ibirebana n'urukiko mpanabyaha byose mbigarutseho, mbona naragize ubutwari. Kandi ubutwari bwanjye mbubona muri urwo rugendo rwose nakoze ngo abakoze icyaha cya Jenoside n'ibyo bakoze bijye ahagaragara babihanirwe; kandi mbikora ari uguhara ubuzima ntazi ngo uzampiga ni nde, niba ari ugupfa nzapfe niba ari ukubaho nzabeho, nta kiguzi gusa ntitirije ko ubutabera buba.

Ubu nishima ko habonetse abajya gutanga ubuhamya maze icyaha cya Jenoside kikamenyekana n'ababigizemo uruhare bagahanwa.

Asoza agira ati : Ubutumwa naha abandi Banyarwandakazi ni uko twajya duhagarara gitwari aho rukomeye ntidutinye kuvugisha ukuri mu gihe ikiremwa muntu cyahungabanye, duharanira indangagaciro y'ubupfura n'ubutwari, duhagarare mu kuri dushikame mu kuri buri gihe. Ndetse no kubabarira nabyo n'ubutwari bukomeye. Kandi no guharanira kwigira kandi tukabitoza abana bacu, cyane cyane abakobwa.

28 Igihanda bivuga umugome

3. Evelina Zimurinda, mu rubanza rw'abasirikare ba Ex-FAR

Ni umugore utuye ku Kimihurura mu Mujyi wa Kigali. Ubu afite imyaka 47, yize amashuri 3 yisumbuye. Mu gihe cya Jenoside yari afite imyaka 19. Yatanze ubuhamya mu rubanza rw'abasirikare ba Ex-FAR mu mwaka wa 2005.

Ati: Kujya muri urwo rubanza n'uko nari maze kwakira ibyambayeho kubera ubuhamya nari mfite bwerekeranye n'uburyo nabuze abanjye mu gihe cya Jenoside ngasigarana na mukuru wanjye umwe rukumbi mu bana 11, nkahamba abantu bakireba mbitegetswe n'abishi; ngafatwa ku ngufu n'abasirikare aho nari nahungiye i Kabgayi. Byaturutse mu biganiro nagiranye n'abadusuraga nkavuga ko nafashwe n'abasirikare bagombaga kuturinda bakaba ari bo batwica urubozo… Ati: Abadusuraga babonaga uko turira, bumvaga uko tuvuga ku byatubayeho twarahahamutse kandi mu by'ukuri tudakuze ... hanyuma abakozi bakoreraga urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwa Arusha i Kigali nabo baza kumva ibyacu.

Ati rimwe bantumiye kuri TPIR*, nkaganira nabo bagahora bansubizamo, nyuma baduhaye abatwunganira badutinyura kuvuga mu ruhame… Byatangiye ngirango ni ukuganira n'abanyamahanga bangiriye impuhwe, nyuma bambwiye ko nzarenga impinga nkajya Arusha bibanza kuntera ubwoba kuko kuvuga mu ruhame ibyo guhohoterwa kw'abakobwa byari ingorabahizi kuko byari ukwivuga amage.

Byanteye ubwoba kandi kuko bwari ubwa mbere njya mu rukiko, kandi ari n'urukiko mpuzamahanga, kure y'iwacu kuko aho nari nzi gusa i Kigali ni kuri Sainte Famille.

Ati: Twagiye tutaziranye, njye n'abandi bantu 2 nanjye wa gatatu. Nagize ubwoba kubera uko batwakiriye ku kibuga bakadutwara mu modoka z'umukara, badushyiraho uburinzi bukomeye nta wundi muntu ugomba kumbona. Ngeze Arusha byarankomereye numva umutima utari mu gitereko, umutwe urandenga… ibyo kuko abo natangagaho ubuhamya shinja bari abasirikare bo mu butegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana bansambanyije ku gahato, banyica urubozo, bambaye "uniformes" za gisirikare aho twari mu buhungiro i Kabgayi, nta bundi buhungiro, dutegereje kwicwa. Arusha badutwaraga mu rubanza mu modoka, byari ikibazo ari ukwitonda kuko n'abashinjura twarahahuriye.

Tugeze Arusha batweretse urukiko uko ruhagaze, aho abacamanza bicara, aho abatangabuhamya bicara, aho ababuranyi bicara, mbese umwanya wa buri wese.

Kujya mu rukiko twagendaga n'imodoka tukagaruka n'imodoka bikantera ubwoba simbifate mu mutwe wanjye. Ariko nkihangana ngo ijwi ry'umugore ryumvikane kandi rigere kure, ibyo badukoreye batwica rubozo mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda ntibizongere ukundi.

Nibuka ko mu bari bagiye gushinja Arusha hari 2 bagarutse batagiye mu rubanza.

Nagize ubwoba cyane ngeze mu rubanza bambwiye ko niburanira ku giti cyanjye, unyunganira akanyunganira bigeze aho rukomeye. Kandi mu cyumba cy'urukiko hari abantu benshi cyane bakumva, baguhanze amaso. Abazaga kumva urubanza babaga bari inyuma ya "Rideau" igaragara nk'iremereye.

**TPIR bivuga Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda*

Bambazaga ibibazo byinshi bintesha umutwe nko kungerageza ngo ndindangire… Urugero: nk'Umucamanza yagize ati, nanjye nari i Kabgayi, i Kabgayi nta muntu wahaguye nari mpari, bigaragara ko ari Leta y'u Rwanda yagutumye ngo ubeshye… Ngo kuri Kayumbu n'ahandi wavuze ntawahiciwe …. ngo nta Jenoside yabaye, ngo nta muntu wapfuye…
Ubwo nkakanaguzwa nibuka ibyo nabonye bikancanganyikisha, kuko iyo byagendaga gutyo natekerezaga abantu bapfuye ndeba, nkarira gusa sinshobore kongera kuvuga kubera ihahamuka n'ibitekerezo bincanze; urubanza bakarusubika.

Barusubitse kabiri, ubwa gatatu Umwunganizi ati ukomere ukomere ku kuri kwawe utishinze amagambo bakubwira ngo ubabare…. Ubwo kuri ubwo bwa gatatu nishatsemo imbaraga, naraburanye ariko amagambo akomeretsa ko nafashwe ku ngufu n'abasirikare abacamanza bayagira ubusa. Bageza aho bagira bati: namwe mwarabishakaga. Bati mbese ubwo bakurongoye incuro zingahe? Bagasobekeranya byinshi bati nawe warabishakaga, kuki wemeye izo ncuro nyinshi?

Sinari nzi iyo mitego mu rubanza. Naburanye umunsi wose imbaraga nyamuntu zinshiramo, nsigara ndi igihwehwete, ariko nkikomeza ngo ntitura hasi nkarutanga.

Abo twaburanaga babaga bambaye costume, bafite na "ecouteur" mu matwi, ama "laptop" abari imbere, bicaranye n'aba "avocat" babo …. Naho njye nibonamo nyakamwe mu mahanga. Abacamanza bagushinja ibitarabaye bakugerezaho ngo utane kandi twari tugifite ibikomere by'umutima n'iby'imitekerereze bibisi bitari byakavuwe, nyamara sinabivamo n'ubwo byankomerekeje. Nibutse ko ndi mu mahanga ndakomera mpagarara ku kuri.

Ati: kuri njye, kujya mu rubanza rw'abasirikare batwangije ni ubutwari kuko ijwi ryacu nk'abatangabuhamya ryarumvikanye, kandi nk'abakobwa ryarumvikanye, ukuri kujya ahagaragara, icyaha cyo gufatwa ku ngufu, ukaba umucakara kubera igitsina, cyitabwaho n'ubutabera, ubuhamya buhabwa agaciro…

Ubu mbitekerejeho binyibutsa ko mu gihe hategurwaga itegeko ngenga ry'u Rwanda kuri Jenoside[29] abakobwa n'abagore bamwe bakoze ubuvugizi ku gika cyo gushyira abashinjwa mu nzego zitandukanye. Aho abafashe ku ngufu abagore n'abakobwa bari mu rwego rwa 4 nk'umuntu wakoze ibyaha byerekeye ku mutungo, nuko bajya mu rwego rwa 1.

Evelina Zimurinda agira ati: Gufatwa ku ngufu byari bisanzwe mu rwiherero bigacecekwa, waba wasambanyijwe ugakomereka ukavira mu nda nk'ikirondwe. Ubu umugore n'umukobwa bahabwa ijambo, bakivugira ibibi byababayeho, ubudahanwa bugacika, ubutabera bukaganza mu Rwanda no mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

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29 Itegeko N° 8/96 ryo ku wa 30/8/1996 Itegeko ngenga rigena imitunganyirize y'ikurikirana ry'ibyaha bigize icyaha cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba cyangwa ibyaha byibasiye inyoko-muntu byakozwe kuva tanki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990

Arongera ati: Abanyarwandakazi bahuye n'ibibazo nk'ibyanjye ndabakomeje, mbasaba kudakomera ku muco na kirazira byatubuzaga kuvuga ibibi byadukorewe, ahubwo bagahagarara ku kuri kwabo bakirwanirira. Abagabo babi ntibatugire ingaruzwamuheto. Tukagendera muri politiki ya Leta y'u Rwanda yahaye umugore agaciro, uruvugiro n'ijambo, imuvana mu bwigunge n'itsikamirwa. Iramurengera mu rwego rw'amategeko imurinda kugumya gutsikamirwa. Yamuhaye umwanya wo kubivuga ataniganwe ijambo, ubu ntawe ukizira uko ari, uko yavutse, twese turi Abanyarwanda, itegeko riturengera kimwe. Ubu twambariye iterambere, umugore yategagа amaboko no kubaho k'umugabo gusa none byarahindutse. Nanjye nk'umugore narwaniriye ko umwana wanjye wavutse kubera ibyo bibi nakorewe muri Jenoside yiga, arangije Kaminuza. Nkora ibituma njyambere mu iterambere ryifuzwa ngira umuriro w'amashanyarazi mu nzu n'amazi hafi kandi mu bumenyi nagiye ngira niyemeza guteza abandi bagore imbere no guharanira ubutabera. Nari mutwarasibo, kandi ndi Umwunzi kuva mu mwaka wa 2004, mbikora neza kuko ukuri niko nimitse imbere. Mu butwari natojwe mpagarariye Forumu y'abagore bahahotewe mu gihe cya Jenoside kandi twariyakiriye, twakira abana bacu. Aho ntuye nyoboye itsinda Abahiriwe ririmo abagore bafite abagabo hagamijwe amahoro n'iterambere ry'ingo.

4. Forotunata Akimana mu rubanza rw'abanya Butare

Ni umugore utuye i Sovu mu Karere ka Huye. Ubu afite imyaka 50, yize amashuri 5 yisumbuye. Mu gihe cya Jenoside yari afite imyaka 22. Yatanze ubuhamya mu rubanza rw'abanya Butare barimo Nyiramasuhuko Paulina n'umuhungu we Ntahobari Shalom, Kanyabashi wari Burugumesitiri na Kambanda wari Minisitiri w'Intebe, rwabaye mu mwaka wa 2003.

Avuga ko yagiye wenyine asize abana 3 bato, harimo n'uwonka, abasigira umukozi bashatse ako kanya afatanyije n'abo muri TPIR, abasigira kandi umugabo we wari urwaye, afite ubumuga n'ihahamuka ryo mu rwego rwo hejuru kubera ingaruka za Jenoside nk'umugabo wajujubijwe kugeza ubwo aba muri "plafond" y'inzu akaremarira yo.

Agira ati: Mu mwaka wa 1997, niho umuzungu wari ucumbitse muri hoteli yo kwa Madamu Paulina, wari waradufotoye mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, njye mba mu gipangu cy'umugabo ahitwaga kwa Muhiza aho Abatutsi 6 bari bihishe. Muri plafond habagamo abagabo, uyu mugore nk'umutangabuhamya we yabaga mu nzu y'inkoko n'undi mukobwa. Babafotoye we n'uwo mukobwa Shalom abashoreye. Kandi uwo muzungu yabaye umutangabuhamya mu rubanza rwa Nyiramasubuko.

Yibuka ko babonanye n'abakozi ba TPIR bakamujyana mu rubanza. Mu kuva i Butare, abo kuri TPIR harimo uwitwa William baje kumutwara huti huti nta nteguza. Dore ko ari mu bagore n'abakobwa b'i Butare batotejwe bari mu mujyi wa Butare mu gihe cya Jenoside, nyuma bahungira kuri Perefegitura.

Abo bo kuri TPIR baje kubareba atuye i Ngoma, yemwe anatwite umwana we wa 2, bari kumwe n'umuzungu ari kumwe n'uwitwa Domitira n'umusemuzi, bafite n'iyo foto, ari nabwo yababwiye mu magambo arambuye ibikorwa bibi byo kwica

rubozo Abatutsi no gusambanya abagore n'abakobwa. Yongeye kugaruka muri 2003, ubundi hagaruka Williamu basubira mu buhamya, anamuteguza ko hari "Avocat" uzaza avuye Arusha. Nuko nyuma koko araza baravugana, bagaruka baje kumujyana Arusha, bamubaza ko yabyemeye arabibemerera, aranabasinyira.

Ati: ndibuka ko imodoka yatunyujije kuri TPIR (aho yakoreraga i Remera), bahita bamuha indi modoka imujyana ku Kibuga cy'indege i Kanombe. Twahagarutse nko mu ma saa cyenda tugera Arusha mu mugoroba. Yumva yanegekaye, arwaye igifu, dore ko bwari ubwa mbere agiye mu ndege. Yahuriye mu ndege n'umugabo wari uvuye ku Kibuye bagendana nk'abanyamahanga nta n'umwe uzi undi. Byari biteye agahinda nibaza aho ngiye nisigiye abana ariko nageraho ngakomezwa n'uko ngiye gutanga umuganda mvuga ukuri ku byo niboneye n'amaso yanjye, ku byo nakorewe ku gahato n'ibindi…..

Ati: twasohotse mu ndege, batujyana mu modoka y'umukara, itujyana ku icumbi ntawe uvuga twaruciye tukarumira. Nibuka ko kw'icumbi twasanze abatangabuhamya bandi nka 7 barimo umunya Byumba n'umuyisilamu waturutse i Kigali, n'umukobwa wavuye ku Kibuye, nkababonamo abanyamahanga, nabo bakambonamo umunyamahanga kubera ko buri wese yacecekaga gusa. Twakiriwe n'abakozi ba TPIR basimburanaga igitondo n'ikigoroba, tugatekerwa n'aba Tanzaniya. Ubwo twe babiri baduha buri wese icyumba kuko abo twasanze bo bari bafite ibyumba. Ndibuka ko bwakeye narwaye, igifu cyindembeje, banjyana kwivuza i Dar es Salaam, nyuma y'iminsi 3 numva norohewe, Dufata umwanya dusubira muri dosiye y'ubuhamya bwanjye n'umu "Avocat" w'umunyamahanga mfashwa n'umusemuzi. Bwarakeye bantwara mu modoka y'umukara njya gutanga ubuhamya. Ninjiyemo mbona bamwe bari imbere abandi bari inyuma ngo bacungiye umutekano, bazimya amatara ngira ubwoba ariko ndikomeza mu butwari nari niyemeje, baratwereka turicara, baduha "micro" tuvugiramo na Perezida w'urukiko aje abandi bahagurutse nanjye ndahaguruka kandi mfite ubwoba n'igifu kitanyoroheye. Mu kanya nk'ako guhumbya bavuga imyirondoro yanjye "Avocat" asaba ko tuburanira mu muhezo. Numva imirindi y'abantu basohoka ntekereza ko bangirira nabi ariko mbirengaho ndikomeza.

Ubwo urubanza ruba ruratangiye, Umucamanza abanza kumbaza ngo iyi sinya n'iyanjye? Brayinzanira ndareba ariko mpinda umushyitsi imbere y'abanyamahanga, Ndavuga ngo yego. Akomeza kunsomera ibyo navuze, "Avocat" wa Paulina arahaguruka, ndibuka ko yavuze ngo ko nciriritse Nyiramasubuko akomeye naba muzi nte? Nti muzi kera atuye kw'i Taba ataraba Minisitiri kandi n'aho babanje kuba i Kibabara nari muzi we n'umugabo we Ntahobari.

Umucamanza yongera kumbaza ibyo mu mugi i Butare kwa Sebukangaga, no ku bandi bakire b'i Butare, nkasubiza neza kuko nari mbazi. Nkumva ari ugutinza urubanza, ngira Imana "Avocat" wanjye amugarura mu rubanza, Perezida w'urukiko azana amafoto bafotoye umugi wose wa Butare, umuhanda wo ko igaraje rya MSM no ku ishusho rya Bikira Mariya no ku muhanda ujya ku bitaro, n'ahandi…..

Mbanza kuburana na Nyiramasubuko na Shaloom, nyuma ku munsi wa 3 mburana na Kambanda we ati ibyo uwo mwana avuga ni ukuri. Banyitaga umwana kuko nari nanutse nyamara mfite imyaka 24. Ku munsi wa gatatu nsubira mu rubanza rwa Paulina na Shaloom ku byerekeranye n'umuntu bavanye mu modoka bakajya kumwicira mu nsi ya EER. Bambaza no ku byo aba MINUAR kuko nabonye Shaloom aniga umuzungu akamuhereza uwitwa Kazungu.

Ibyo byose byanyibutsaga byinshi bikampahamura, ikiniga kikaza kuko abo bicanyi bandwaniye banjyana aho abakobwa ba Bihira bari bari dore ko we yari yahunganye abahungu, abakobwa akabasigira Paulina. Ubwo badusambanyaga ku gahato tuvuza induru nta wadutabara.

Umuzungu wababuraniraga ati: Bagusambanyije incuro zingahe? Bikantera isoni ariko nkishakamo imbaraga nkababwira ukuri ko ari igihe cyose yashakaga.

Mu rubanza , ndibuka ko twasoreje ku rubanza rwa Kanyabashi yemera ibyo navuze ko ari ukuri.

Byarangiye nashize amanga ukuri nakuvuze nguhagazeho n'amaguru abiri, n'ubwo ba "Avocat" b'ababuranyi banjye batanyoroheraga. Ariko ngahagarara gitwari.

Aho twari ducumbitse ntitwaganiraga ku byo mu rukiko, twari nk'ibiragi. Gusa njye nari mpangayikiye abana nasigiye umukozi batamenyeranye, numva ibyo urubanza byarangira ngo ntahe.

Byongeye kandi mu mwaka wa 2005, bongeye kuza kuntwara nsubira mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, nsanga ubuhamya ari bwa bundi natanze abacamanza bongeyeho urubanza rw'umusirikare Nepomusceni nari navuzeho no mu buhamya bwa mbere, kuko yasambanyaga abagore n'abakobwa b'i Butare. Byabaye ngombwa ko bampamagara urubanza rwe rugezweho.

Uwo mu "Avocat" w'umuzungu ndibuka ko yambazaga ngo Leta y'u Rwanda yakwemereye amafaranga angahe ngo ubeshye kuko ngo iwacu twari abakene?, kandi ngo ntitwageraga mu mujyi? Nababwiye ko nigaga i Butare Gatorika ntaha mu i Rango nta hantu na hamwe nyobewe. Yongera ati kwa Amandin Rugira urahazi? Musubiza ko mpazi hejuru yo ku Mukoni ko nawe muzi. Nti kuba mvuka i Maraba bidasobanura ko ndi umukene, ko naje nk'umutangabuhamya ngo ubutabera bube, ko nta Leta yantumye.

Na n'ubu ndibuka uko bampangayikishije maze "Avocat" wanjye akampumuriza ati wirakara ahubwo niwumva abacamanza bagusesereje wicecekere.

Nibuka ko Urubanza rurangiye bambajije icyo nongeraho mvuga ko abo dutangaho ubuhamya bakwemera icyaha kuko bakoze nabi, bakabisabira imbabazi.

Ubu nariyubatse mu bitekerezo kuko kugeza mu mwaka wa 2005 nari mfite ihungabana rikabije ryagaragazwaga no guhora ndangaye. Mu rugo bitagenda neza, hari ubukene, ariko kubera inyigisho zirimo kwiyubaka no kwiteza imbere, igiti cy'urugo mu iterambere nigishijwe, ubu urugo twese twateye imbere: ubu

twiyishyurira mituweli ku gihe, dukorana n'amatsinda ya "Micro finance", twarihiye amashuri abana bacu bariga bafite ubumenyi n'ibyo bakora bibateza imbere.

Icyifuzo cyange ni uko Abanyarwandakazi twese twakwamagana ihohoterwa n'akarengane, nk'umurage w'ubutwari tukubaka Igihugu kitagira umugayo.

UMUSOZO

Abanyarwandakazi biyemeje kuba intwari mu nzego zinyuranye z'ubuzima. Abagore n'abakobwa bagize uruhare mu butabera mpuzamahanga ni benshi kandi imyato yabo nibere abagore batuye isi urugero. Kwitangaho ubuhamya ku byakubayeho ntibyari byoroshye cyane ko ibikomere byari bikiri bibisi, bagihungabanye kandi bakiri mu bibazo by'imibereho igoranye n'ubukene bukabije ntacyo batunze kuko ibyabo n'iby'ababyeyi babo byanyazwe bicwa mu gihe cya jenoside. Ntibizeraga ko ubuhamya bwabo buhabwa agaciro, nta n'indonke bari bategereje ku rukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda, ariko bagize uruhare mu butabera ku bwitange n'ubushake bwabo, bagacunaguzwa mu rukiko ariko ntibivumbure ngo bitahire.

Ubutwari bw'abo bagore bane twavuze n'abandi tutavuze bwagize uruhare mu butabera mpuzamahanga ni urugero fatizo ababyiruka bakwigiraho.

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- Itegeko N° 8/96 ryo ku wa 30/8/1996 Itegeko ngenga rigena imitunganyirize y'ikurikirana ry'ibyaha bigize icyaha cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba cyangwa ibyaha byibasiye inyoko-muntu byakozwe kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990

FILM ZIFASHISHIJWE

- The uncondemned documentary film[30]
- Vingt ans après, paroles des femmes

UBUHAMYA

Ubuhamya bw'Abagore nk'abatanga buhamya muri TPIR.

30 The Uncondemned is a 2015 documentary film produced by Film at Eleven Media. Co-directed by Michele Mitchell and Nick Louvel, the film examines the first trial that prosecuted rape as a war crime and an act of genocide. Rape was declared a war crime in 1919 but was not tried in court until 1997 during the trial of Jean-Paul Akayesu as a part of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Shot in Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Netherlands and the United States, The Uncondemned premiered at the Hamptons International Film Festival on October 9, 2015

IV. UBUTWARI BWUBATSE U RWANDA

NKUSI Deo*

Intangiriro

U Rwanda ni igihugu cyahanzwe n'Abanyarwanda, baracyagura, bagiteza imbere. Ni igihugu cyanyuze mu bizazane bikomeye, buri gihe kikagobokwa n'Abanyarwanda.

Irangashingiro ry'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo ku wa 04 Kamena 2003 nk'uko ryavuguruwe mu mwaka wa 2015, riha agaciro ibikorwa by'ubutwari: « Twebwe, Abanyarwanda, 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».

Indirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu, mu gitero cyayo cya gatatu tugira duti: "… Abakurambere b'Intwari bitanze batizigama, baraguhanga uvamo ubukombe, utsinda ubukoloni na mpatsibihugu […] none uraganje mu bwigenge […]". Ubutwari ni indangagaciro yashingiweho mu guhanga, mu kwagura no mu guteza imbere u Rwanda. Ubutwari nibwo bwatabaye Igihugu mu bihe by'amage cyanyuzemo.

Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko bagomba kuzirikana ko umurage w'ubutwari twarazwe n'Abakurambere b'Intwari ariwo musingi n'ishingiro ryo kubaka no guteza imbere u Rwanda ubu no mu bihe biri imbere.

Iyi nyandiko iragaragaza mu buryo bw'incamake ibi bikurikira:

a) Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda bahanze u Rwanda bakanarwagura,
b) Ubumwe, ishingiro ry'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda,
c) Ibizazane n'ibibazo u Rwanda rwahuye nabyo rugakizwa n'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda,
d) Ubutwari bw'abahagaritse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bakanabohora Igihugu,
e) Ubutwari busabwa mu rugamba rwo kubaka Igihugu no kugiteza imbere.

**NKUSI Deo ni Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego/CHENO*

1.UBUTWARI BW'ABANYARWANDA BAHANZE U RWANDA BAKANARWAGURA

Amateka ashingiye ku bitekerezo agaragaza ko u Rwanda rwahanzwe na Gihanga Ngomijana ahagana mu myaka ya 970 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu ari nawe warwise u Rwanda, bisobanuye igihugu cyaguka kandi kinini.[31]

Umurage wa Gihanga ushingiye ku kuba ari we wahanze u Rwanda akaruha icyerekezo gihamye mu butegetsi, ubukungu, imibanire n'imibereho. Abanditsi bamwe banamwita Gihanga cyahanze Inka n'Ingoma. Amwe mu mahame yaranze ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni akomoka kuri Gihanga ni aya akurikira:

- Igitekerezo cy'uko Ubutegetsi bwose buva ku Mana rurema;
- Igitekerezo cy'Ubutegetsi buri mu biganza by'abantu babiri: Umwami n'Umugabekazi kandi bufite n'Abajyanama (abiru);
- Imitekerereze y'uko Igihugu kigomba kwaguka muri byose kigakwira ku isi yose (u Rwanda/ Kwanda);
- Kurinda ubusugire bw'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, kugwiza ubukire n'uburumbuke mu gihugu byari inshingano z'abami b'u Rwanda.[32]

Uko u Rwanda rwagutse

N'ubwo amateka y'u Rwanda avugwa mu bitekerezo, imigani n'uruhererekane nyemvugo, abanditsi b'amateka benshi bagaragaza ko byageze mu ntangiriro z'Ikinyejana cya XIV u Rwanda ari Igihugu gifite imiyoborere ihamye, kiyoborwa n'abami b'Abanyiginya.

Umwami wa mbere w'Umunyiginya abashakashatsi b'amateka bahurizaho kandi bafitiye ibimenyetso bifatika ni Ruganzu I Bwimba wategetse u Rwanda ahagana 1312-1345.

Mu kwagura u Rwanda abami barwo ahanini bakoresheje intwaro ariko hari naho bakoreshaga ubwumvikane. Uko kwaguka kwatewe n'uko rwagize intwari zarwitangiye, maze rukigarurira impugu nyinshi.

Mu mpera z'Ikinyejana cya XIV u Rwanda rwari rumaze kwigarurira Nduga yose; imaze kuba u Rwanda bikozwe n'umwami Kigeri I Mukobanya n'umuhungu we Mibambwe I Sekarongoro I Mutabazi I. Umwami wabakurikiye ariwe Yuhi II Gahima wategetse u Rwanda hagati ya 1444-1477 yakomereje ku cyerekezo bari bafite, agaba ibitero byaguye u Rwanda rugera ku birunga bya Muhabura, Karisimbi, Sabyinyo, Gahinga na Bisoke mu Majyaruguru no ku Kiyaga cya Kivu mu Karere k'u Bwishaza, ubu ni Karongi.[33]

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31 MUZUNGU, B., La Croissance de la Nation Rwandaise dans une monarchie théocratique, in Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés, No 52 Janvier 2015, p.114

32 MUZUNGU, B., La Croissance de la Nation Rwandaise dans une monarchie théocratique, in Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés, No 52 Janvier 2015, p.146-147

33 Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda. Kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p. 93-94

Ikinyejana cya XVI kirangira u Rwanda rwari rumaze kwigarurira impugu z'u Busanza, u Bungwe n'u Bufundu mu majyepfo aho ruhana imbibi n'u Burundi; iburengerazuba rwaramaze kurenga umugezi wa Rusizi, naho mu majyaruguru rwarageze ku Kiyaga cya Rwicanzige (Lake Edouard).

Ikinyejana cya XVIII cyarangiye u Rwanda ruhana imbibi na Tanzaniya y'ubu nyuma yo kwigarurira i Ndorwa n'u Mubari byakozwe na Kigeri III Ndabarasa, ndetse n'igice cy'amajyaruguru y'u Bugesera cyari cyarigaruriwe n'u Rwanda bikozwe na Mibambwe III Sentabyo. Mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya 19, umwami Mutara II Rwogera yigaruriye i Gisaka.

Muri iki kinyejana kandi umwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri yagabye ibitero byinshi by'intambara zo kwagura u Rwanda, agarura impugu zose zari zarigometse ku bami b'u Rwanda, zirimo Ijwi n'u Bufumbira.[34]

Ubutwari, gukunda igihugu birangwa no kucyitangira no kukirwanira ishyaka ni indangagaciro zikomeye zafashije mu kwagura u Rwanda no kurinda ubusugire n'imbibi byarwo. Abakurambere bahanze u Rwanda bakanarwagura baranzwe n'indangagaciro zirimo ubutwari, gukunda Igihugu, kugira ubwitange, guhanga udushya no kugira icyerekezo cyo kubaka igihugu kigari kizaramba kandi kizakomeza kwanda.

Ikarita y'u Rwanda igaragaza imbibi zarwo ku ngoma y'Umwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri

34 *Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda. Kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p. 103*

Aho byavuye: Alexis Kagame, 1975

U Rwanda rwa none rwubahiriza imipaka yemejwe n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika, runemera ko Abanyafurika bose ari abavandimwe, duhereye ku baturanyi.

2. UBUMWE, ISHINGIRO RY'UBUTWARI BW'ABANYARWANDA

Ubumwe n'ubufatanye byarangaga Abanyarwanda byatumye u Rwanda ruba igihugu cy'igihangange mu karere, ku buryo ibihugu byahoze bituranye narwo kuva kera biruzi nk'ishyanga ritisukirwa.

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni mu Rwanda, ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwagaragariraga mu mitegekere y'igihugu, mu mibereho n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Ndetse no ku rugamba rwo kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyangwa kucyagura.

Mu miyoborere

Kuva rwahangwa, u Rwanda rwari Igihugu gifite ubutegetsi buhamye kandi bukorera Abanyarwanda bose. Uko u Rwanda rwagendaga rukura mu binyejana byinshi ni ko rwagendaga rwiyubaka mu birebana n'ubutegetsi bwa politiki, bw'ingabo, bw'ubukungu, n'ubw'imibanire n'umuco.

Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite urukundo rw'igihugu cyabo, bakumva ko bahuriye ku bunyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bari bazi ko basangiye igihugu kimwe kandi ko bagomba kugikunda, bagafatanya kukirinda no kucyitangira.[35]

Ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni bwababaga bufite inshingano yo guhuza Abanyarwanda, kubateza imbere no kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu n'abagituye.

Umwami yari ipfundo ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Abasizi banamwitaga Sebantu (= se w'abantu bose bo mu Rwanda). Abami b'u Rwanda bose bavaga mu bwoko bw'Abanyiginya ariko iyo yamaraga kwimikwa, bavugaga ko "atakiri Umunyiginya", ari umwami wa rubanda. Umwami yari uw'Abanyarwanda bose kandi bose bizeraga ko umwami azabaha ubutabera kimwe, nta kuvangura cyangwa kubogama. Abanyarwanda bizeraga kandi ko Umwami wabo ari umuhuza wabo n'Imana.[36] Kwemera imana imwe nabyo byashimangiraga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ba mbere y'ubukoloni.

Ubutabera

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, Umwami yari ishingiro ry'ubutabera ku Banyarwanda bose. Yari umwami w'Abanyarwanda kandi bakizera ko nta Munyarwanda warenganya undi mu gihe umwami ahari. Abanyarwanda bizeraga ko umwami afite inshingano yo guha ubutabera buri Muturarwanda wese nta kubogama. Mu nshingano z'ibanze z'umwami habagamo no guca imanza z'abaturage.

Kuva ku rwego rw'urugo, umuryango kugeza ku rwego rw'Igihugu hariho inzego zifasha gukemura amakimbirane no guteza imbere imibanire myiza hagati y'Abanyarwanda. Aha twatanga Urugero rwa Gacaca[37].

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35 Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999, p.7

36 Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda. Kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p. 154

37 Gacaca: Rwari urubuga rwo gukemura amakimbirane binyuze mu biganiro n'ubuhuza. Gacaca yari ishingiye ku biganiro biyobowe n'abantu bakuze b'inyangamugayo bigamije kunga no gukemura amakimbirane ku bayagiranye. Abanyarwanda b'ibyiciro byose, abakuru n'abato bitabiraga ibyo biganiro, bakaganira ku kibazo cy'abagiranye amakimbirane kugeza igihe habonekeye umwanzuro ubereye buri ruhande. Byakorwaga mu bwumvikane hatagamijwe guhana, ahubwo hagamijwe gufasha abagiranye amakimbirane gukomeza kubana mu mahoro.

Imibereho n'imibanire

U Rwanda rwahoze ari igihugu kirangwa n'ubumwe kuva mbere y'igihe cy'ubukoloni, gituwe n'Abanyarwanda basangiye umuco.

Ubumwe bwari inkingi y'imibanire myiza mu Banyarwanda bose. Abanyarwanda bose bari bagize icyo abakurambere bitaga "Rubanda rw'Umwami". Bose kandi bari bazi ko ari Abanyarwanda, ko u Rwanda ari igihugu cyabo, ko nta muntu wavuga ko afite uburenganzira bw'ikirenga (kurusha abandi) ku gihugu. Igihugu cyari icyabo ndetse nabo ari ab'igihugu.[38] Ibyaje kwitwa amoko n'Abakoloni; ubundi byari inzego z'imibereho n'imirimo abantu bakora , ibatunze. Ahubwo ubwoko bunyuranye bw'Abanyarwanda, mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni bwahurirwagaho n'Abanyarwanda bakize n'abakennye, bakora imirimo inyuranye.

Ibyarangaga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda:

Ubwoko

Buri munyarwanda yabarizwaga mu muryango, imiryango ikarema inzu, inzu zitandukanye zikarema ubwoko. Bumwe mu bwoko bwariho ni: Abasinga, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Ababanda, Abungura, Abashambo, Abega, Abanyakarama, Abongera, Abenengwe, Abasita, Abashingo, Abahondogo … n'abandi.

Abanyarwanda babaga mu byiciro bitatu by'imibereho mu by'ubukungu: Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa. Habagaho impinduka mu mibereho, aho umuntu yashoboraga guhindura icyiciro cy'imibereho mu bukungu bitewe no kwiyongera cyangwa igabanuka ry'ubutunzi bwe. Iyo umunyarwanda yabazwaga ibijyanye n'ubwoko bwe, igisubizo cyari izina ry'ubwoko bwe: Umusinga, Umuzigaba, Umusindi, Umubanda, Umwega n'ubundi.[39]

Ururimi: Ikinyarwanda

Umunyarwanda yahoranye ururimi rumwe kavukire: Ikinyarwanda. Kugeza ubu, Ikinyarwanda ni ururimi ruhuza umuryango nyarwanda; **"Ururimi rwacu ruraduhuza".**

Imyemerere/Idini/Iyobokamana: kwemera Imana imwe rukumbi

Idini ry'Abanyarwanda ryari rishingiye ku gitekerezo cy'Imana imwe rukumbi. Abanyarwanda bose bahuriraga mu migenzo n'imihango bakoraga. Ibyo nabyo biri mu byashimangiraga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

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38 Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999.

39 Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999.

Ubukungu

Abanyarwanda bari bafite imyuga inyuranye kandi yuzuzanya. Imirimo n'imyuga Abanyarwanda bakoraga yagiraga uruhare mu bukungu n'iterambere ry'Igihugu. Imirimo y'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cya mbere y'ubukoloni yari ishingiye ku buhinzi, ubworozi, imyuga n'ubukorikori bunyuranye. Kugira imyuga inyuranye byatumaga Abanyarwanda bahahirana kandi buri Munyarwanda akumva ko akeneye undi.

Ibikoresho bakeneraga mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi barabyikoreraga.

3. BIMWE MU BIZAZANE/AMAGE U RWANDA RWANYUZEMO

Kuva ruhangwa, u Rwanda rwahuye n'ibibazo byinshi byaba ibyavaga hanze y'u Rwanda cyangwa ibyavaga mu gihugu imbere. U Rwanda rwavuye mu bibazo rwanyuzemo kubera gukunda igihugu, ubutwari n'ubwitange biranga abana barwo kuva kera kugeza ubu.

3.1. U Rwanda rwigarurirwa n'Abanyabungo ku Ngoma ya Ndahiro II Cyamatare

Ahagana mu mwaka w'i 1477 Umwami w'u Rwanda Yuhi II Gahima amaze gutanga, abana be barwaniye ingoma, banga kuyoboka Ndahiro II Cyamatare wari umaze kwima ingoma asimbuye Se. Ndahiro Cyamatare yagize amakenga afata igikomangoma Ndoli wagombaga kuzamusimbura ku ngoma amuhungishiriza kwa nyirasenge Nyabunyana i Karagwe, muri Tanzaniya y'ubu, kugira ngo umuryango we utazashira, u Rwanda rukabura umwami.

Muri icyo gihe, Nsibura Nyebunga umwami w'i Bushi yateye u Rwanda, Ndahiro II Cyamatare agwa ku rugamba, i Rugarama ahaje kwitwa i Rubi rw'i Nyundo muri Kingogo yambutse umugezi wa Kibilira. Ingoma Ngabe "Rwoga" iranyagwa, Umwamikazi Nyabacuzi n'abandi bantu b'i bwami bafatwa mpiri bicirwa ahaje kwitwa mu Miko y'Abakobwa.

Nyuma yo kubona neza ko igihugu cyubamye, cyacitsemo ibice nta garuriro, bamwe mu Banyarwanda b'intwari bazwi ku izina ry'Abaryankuna bafashe icyemezo cyo guhangana n'Abashi bigabije u Rwanda bashyiraho uburyo bwo guhanahana amakuru kuva mu Rwanda kugera i Karagwe aho Ndori, waje kuba umwami Ruganzu Ndori yari abundiye, akajya agezwaho amakuru yose y'uko igihugu kimeze, kugeza ubwo yagarutse akagarura ingoma mu Rwanda nyuma y'imyaka 11 yose rwarigaruriwe n'amahanga. Umwami Ruganzu Ndori n'igambo z'u Rwanda baguye Igihugu, bagisubiza icyubahiro gikomeye mu Karere.

3.2. Ubukoloni n'ingaruka zabwo

Kimwe n'ibindi bihugu byinshi by'Afurika, ubukoloni ni amwe mu mage yagwiriye u Rwanda. Abakoloni bageze mu Rwanda, bashenye umuco n'ibyarangaga

imyemerere n'ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda. Abakoloni bashenye kandi ibyarangaga imitegekere y'u Rwanda.

Ikibazo cy'ubwoko no kubiba amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda

Nk'uko byagaragajwe haruguru, mbere y'umwaduko w'Abakoloni Abanyarwanda bari mu byiciro bitatu bishingiye ku mibereho n'urwego rw'ubukire buri muntu yabaga afite.[40]

Amavugurura yitiriwe Rezida Mortehan (1926-1931) yashyizeho ikiswe ibuku *(indangamuntu)* yanditsemo icyo abakoloni bise amoko *(hutu-twa-tutsi)* ashingiye ku miterere y'umuntu *(imiterere y'izuru, indeshyo n'ibindi)* n'ubukungu *(inka umuntu atunze).*

Abanyarwanda baciwemo ibice maze ibyari ibyiciro by'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda byitwa amoko. Ikindi abakoloni bakoze ni uguteranya Abanyarwanda binyuze muri gahunda ya "Divide and Rule" bifashishaga mu gutanya abenegihugu mu rwego rwo kugira ngo babayoboke.

Abakoloni batoranyije bake mu bavuka mu miryango yari isanzwe mu butegetsi bw'Igihugu, maze babaharira ubutegetsi. Byatumye banyaga Abatware bose bari basanzweho cyane cyane abakomoka mu miryango ikennye y'Abatutsi, Abatware b'Abahutu ndetse n'Abatwa. Mu nyandiko, Les Problèmes des races au Rwanda ya Padiri Muzungu Bernardin. (in cahiers lumières et société, No 42, Mars 2009), page ya 9 agaragaza urutonde rw'Abasushefu 40 b'Abatwa banyazwe n'Abakoloni b'Ababiligi bishingiye ku itegeko ryo mu mwaka w'i 1926 binyuze mu cyiswe Amavugurura ya Mortehan (1926-1931).[41]

3.3. Ivangura na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nyuma y'Ubwigenge

Nyuma yo guhabwa ubwigenge, Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) yaranzwe n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko, uturere ndetse tutibagiwe n'amadini, iheza ishyanga Abatutsi bari mu buhungiro ndetse n'abasigaye mu gihugu bakomeza kwicwa no gutotezwa. Repubulika ya Kabiri (1973-1994) nayo yashyize imbere ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n'uturere.

Muri icyo gihe, nubwo bivugwa ko u Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge, ubutegetsi bwakomeje gukorera mu kwaha kwa ba gashakabuhake. Dore bimwe mu bintu bibi twavuga byaranze Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri:

- Ingengabitekerezo y'irondabwoko;
- Leta yimakaje amacakubiri nk'umurongo ngenderwaho wa politiki;
- Indangamuntu ishingiye ku moko yagumyeho;
- Guheza bamwe mu Banyarwanda byagumyeho, ndetse bifata intera ikomeye kuko byamamajwe mu baturage basanzwe;
- Irondakarere n'irondabwoko mu mashuri no mirimo ryimaga amahirwe angana abana b'u Rwanda (Politiki y'iringaniza ry'amako n'uturere);
- Kwica no gutoteza Abatutsi mu bice bitandukanye by'Igihugu;
- Kwanga ko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zitahuka mu gihugu ku neza;
- Kurema imitwe y'abagizi ba nabi;

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40 MUZUNGU B., Les problèmes des races au Rwanda, in in cahiers lumières at société, No 42, Mars 2009, p.15
41 Idem, p.9

- Gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994.

4. UBUTWARI BW'ABANYARWANDA BAHAGARITSE JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI BAKANABOHORA IGIHUGU

Amavu n'amavuko y'urugamba

Nyuma y'ubutegetsi bw'Abakoroni mu Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwakurikiyeho bwakurikije umurongo w'Abakoroni w'ivangura n'Itotezwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda. Ubutegetsi bwa MDR PARMEHUTU (1962-1973), n'ubwa MRND ya Habyarimana (1973-1994) bwakomeje inyigisho z'abakoroni zari zigamije gusenya ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Abanyarwanda bari barirukanywe mu gihugu cyabo ntako batagize ngo bakigarukemo, nyamara ubutegetsi bwariho burabyanga. Hakozwe ibiganiro ndetse n'imishyikirano, ariko byose biba iby'ubusa. Hari hasigaye gukoresha imbaraga mu gusubiza agaciro Abanyarwanda.

Impamvu z'urugamba:

- Kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Kubumbatira ubusugire bw'Igihugu n'umutekano w'abantu n'ibintu byabo;
- Kubaka ubuyobozi bushingiye kuri demokarasi;
- Kubaka ubukungu bushingiye ku mutungo bwite w'Igihugu;
- Guca ruswa, gutonesha n'imicungire mibi y'umutungo w'Igihugu;
- Kuzamura imibereho myiza y'abaturage;
- Guca burundu impamvu zitera ubuhunzi no gucyura impunzi z'Abanyarwanda;
- Guharanira umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu ushingiye ku bwubahane, ubufatanye n'ubuhahirane.

Kuri izi mpamvu z'urugamba haje kwiyongeraho iyo guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994; no kurwanya ingengabitekerezo yateye Jenoside.

Mu mwaka wa 1979, bamwe mu Banyarwanda biganjemo urubyiruko barateranye, basuzuma ibibazo byari byugarije u Rwanda, maze biyemeza gushyira hamwe imbaraga zabo mu gutangiza Umutwe wa Politiki witwaga RANU (Rwandese Alliance for National Unity) wari ugamije gukemura ibibazo by'u Rwanda.

Mu mwaka wa 1987, hafashwe icyemezo cyo kwagura RANU, maze Abanyarwanda bose bakunda igihugu, abaharanira demokarasi, amahoro, ubumwe n'iterambere ry'u Rwanda, bishyira hamwe RANU iba "Front Patriotique Rwandais, Inkotanyi/ Rwandese Patriotic Front Inkotanyi" (FPR-Inkotanyi/RPF-Inkotanyi).

Ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 ni bwo FPR yahagurutse, maze itangira urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda. Ku wa 2 Ukwakira 1990 Maj. Gen. Fred GISA RWIGEMA wari uyoboye urugamba yahise agwa ku rugamba i Kagitumba, ku musozi wa

Nyampeke i Nyabwishongwezi mu Karere ka Nyagatare.

Ku wa 20 Ukwakira 1990, Paul KAGAME yavuye muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika (USA) aho yari mu ishuri rya gisirikare, maze aza gukomeza kuyobora urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda. Urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda rwasojwe ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, ari na bwo Ingabo zari iza FPR-Inkotanyi zahagaritse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 hashyizweho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ihuriwemo n'amashyaka ataragize uruhare muri Jenoside.

Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwasabye ubwitange buhebuje bw'abana b'u Rwanda biyemeje kubohora u Rwanda ingoyi y'igitugu, bagacyura impunzi, bagahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, batangira gahunda yo kubaka no guteza imbere Igihugu. Uru rugamba rwaranzwe kandi n'ubushishozi n'ubwitange ntagereranywa rw'abayobozi barwo barangajwe imbere na Nyakubahwa Paul KAGAME, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda.

5. UBUTWARI BUSABWA MU RUGAMBA RWO KUBAKA IGIHUGU NO KUGITEZA IMBERE

Nyuma y'urugamba rwo guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994 no kubohora Igihugu, hatangiye urugamba rwo gusana no kubaka u Rwanda rushya. Ni urugamba rugikomeza.

Ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994, hashyizweho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda y'inzibacyuho yagejeje muri 2003. Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho gahunda z'igihe kigufi n'igihe kirekire zigamije gukemura ibibazo no kubaka iterambere rirambye zirimo "Vision 2020", EDPRSI&II, "Vision 2050", NST1 n'izindi.

Icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda gikubiyemo ingamba z'igihe kirambye z'icyerekezo cy' "u Rwanda twifuza", kimwe n'uburyo bwo kugera kuri iyo ntego. U Rwanda rwubakiye ku byagezweho mu myaka ishize no ku masomo rwakuye ku ngorane rwagiye ruhura nazo. U Rwanda ubu rufite intego yo guhindura no kuzamura ubukungu bwarwo ndetse no guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'Abaturarwanda nkuko biri mu Cyerekezo 2050.[42]

Ibyo Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko basabwa mu rugamba rwo kubaka Igihugu no kugiteza imbere muri iki gihe no mu gihe kizaza ni ibi bikurikira:

a) **Gukomeza gushingira ku muco wacu n'indangacaciro ziwugize**

Umuco twawugereranya na moteri y'iterambere rya muntu ku buryo nta wakwishyira hanze yawo ngo yizere ko azatera imbere. Umuco wifashishijwe neza wihutisha iterambere nk'uko iterambere naryo rishobora kuzamura agaciro k'umuco uranga abantu runaka.

42 Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Icyerekezo 2050, Kigali, 2020, p.5

Igihugu cyifuza kugera ku iterambere rirambye kibanza kumenya bimwe mu bigize umuco wacyo bishobora kuba imbogamizi z'iterambere maze kikabisimbuza indangagaciro zishobora gutuma iterambere ryihuta. Umuco ni inkingi mwikorezi y'iterambere.[43] Ni imizi kandi ituma ritajegajezwa n'ibyaduka.

b) **Gukomeza kwigira ku ntwari z'igihugu cyacu zirimo izahanze u Rwanda, izarwaguye n'izarukuye mu bihe bibi rwanyuzemo kuva kera kugeza ubu.**

c) **Guhanga ibishya bigamije iterambere n'imibereho myiza y'Abanyarwanda.**

d) **Gukora cyane no gukora umurimo unoze; kugira icyerekezo no gukomeza guharanira kwigira.**

e) **Kwiyungura ubumenyi: kwiga no guhaha ubumenyi dushyira imbere uburezi n'uburere bushingiye ku muco n'indangagaciro z'umuco wacu.**

f) **Gukomeza gushyigikira ubumwe n'ubufatanye bw'Abanyarwanda. "Abashyize hamwe Imana irabasanga".**

g) **Guha agaciro iby'iwacu, tukabikunda, tukabiteza imbere.**

h) **Kwimakaza ubupfura buturinda ingeso mbi zidindiza iterambere zirmo: ubusambo, ubunebwe, ivangura, gutonesha, kwishyira hejuru, kwirarira, uburangare, kwirara, gukoresha ibiyobyabwenge, kugira umwanda, gukoresha nabi ibya rubanda, ruswa n'izindi.**

i) **Kumenya ikizira, icyasenya Igihugu no kucyirinda. Kumenya indangagaciro n'icyubaka Igihugu kigahabwa icyicaro mu muryango w'u Rwanda.**

j) **Gushyira imbere ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga.**

k) **Gusigasira ibyagezweho no kubishingiraho tujya imbere.**

Umusozo

Mu gusoza iyi nyandiko twakora isesengura (SWOT Analysis) rigamje kwerekana ibibazo, imbogamizi, ibisubizo n'amahirwe bihari mu rugamba rwo gusana no kubaka Igihugu, ubu no mu gihe kiri imbere:

43 Inteko Nyarwanda y'Ururimi n'Umuco, Inkingi z'Umuco w'u Rwanda zihutisha iterambere, Kigali, 2016, p.10-11

Aho dufite imbaraga (Strengths):	Aho dufite imbaraga nke (Weaknesses):
-Umuco dusangiye, -Ururimi ruduhuza, -Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda (gufatanya), -Indangagaciro (Gukunda Igihugu, Ubumwe, Umurimo, ubupfura, ubumuntu, ishyaka, ubwitange,…).	-Amacakubiri yigishijwe igihe kinini, -Ubujiji, -Ubusambo; inda nini, -Ingaruka z'ubukoloni, -Kutiyoroshya, -Akarengane/kurenganya.
Amahirwe ahari (Opportunities):	**Imbogamizi (Threats):**
-Ubuyobozi bwiza, -Igihugu gifite intwari zo kwigiraho n'izo kucyitangira, -Ibyagezweho byaba umusingi wo gukomerazaho, - Gahunda zihamye z'iterambere no kuzamura imibereho myiza y'abaturage.	-Abatunzwe no gusenya, -Ingeso yo kwisuzugura no kutigirira icyizere, -Ibibi byo mu mico y'ahandi, -Kudakunda kwiga/kumenya, -Kurarikira ibyo utakoreye.

Ingamba (Strategies)

- Kuvoma mu muco wacu ibyafasha mu iterambere ry'igihugu no mu gukemura ibibazo Igihugu gifite (Home grown solutions);

-Uburezi, uburere no kwiyungura ubumenyi;

-Imiyoborere myiza: kuyimakaza no kuyikomeza;

-Ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubuhahirane;

-Ubukangurambaga; kwigisha ; gusobanura;

-Kunga ubumwe no gufatanya mu nyungu ya bose;

-Guha intebe indangagaciro z'umuco w'u Rwanda no kwirinda za kirazira;

-Gushyira imbere ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga byubakiye ku muco.

ZIMWE MU NYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJWE

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V. UBUTWARI MU RUGAMBA RWO KUBAKA IGIHUGU, MU CYEREKEZO 2050, URUHARE RW'URUBYIRUKO

Padiri Augustin KAREKEZI s.j *

Intangiriro

Abantu bakunze kugera ku byo bifuza ni abafite ubutwari kandi ntibatezuke ku ntego biyemeje kugeraho. Ni ukuvuga ko ubutwari ari inkingi byose byubakiyeho. Kimwe n'ibindi bihugu, ariko ku buryo bwacu bw'umwihariko, u Rwanda rwagiye rwiha icyerekezo, none tugiye kwinjira muri "Vision 2050". Kuva cyera, igihugu cyacu cyubatswe n'intwari no mu bihe bizaza kizubakwa n'intwari. Ni yo mpamvu umuco w'ubutwari ari ipfundo ry'ukubaho k'uRwanda.

Dushyize imbere urubyiruko kuko icyerekezo u Rwanda rwihaye kigaragaza neza ko urubyiruko rufite uruhare rukomeye mu rugamba rwo kubaka igihugu. Hari ibintu byinshi uwo mugambi ushingiyeho. Icya mbere: Igihugu cyacu gifite umubare munini w'urubyiruko nk'uko ibarura riherutse ryabyerekanye. Icya kabiri: Urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda rufite imbaraga zo guhimba udushya. Icya gatatu: Icyerekezo cya 2050 ni icy'abo tubarira mu rubyiruko rw'ubu; n'abavutse uyu munsi bazaba bafite igihagararo gihamye, maze bamurike ibyo u Rwanda ruzaba rwagezeho mu myaka iri imbere. Izo mpamvu zirahagije kugira ngo twumve neza ko kwigisha umuco w'ubutwari no kuwutoza urubyiruko ari ukurema u Rwanda. Ntabwo ari ikivi dutangiye ubu, kuko dusanzwe turi ku rugamba, ahubwo ni ugushishikariza urubyiruko kumva neza ko ibihe biha ibindi. Abana b'u Rwanda bishimiye ibyagezweho, ariko bashobora kudamarara, bakirara maze bakibagirwa ko ari urugamba ruhoraho. Ikigomba gushishikaza umunyarwanda wese, muri iki gihe, ni ukubungabunga ibyagezweho no guhimba uburyo bushya bwo guhangana n'ibihe biri imbere, tuvoma imbaraga mu ndangagaciro z'umwimerere ziranga umuco nyarwanda.

Indirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu cyacu iduha interuro ibumbiyemo ingingo za ngombwa zitwibutsa abo turi bo n'aho tugomba kwerekeza umutima n'ubwenge. Ni amagambo akwiye kwitabwaho, ni imfashanyigisho mu burezi kuko atwibutsa inshingano zo gukunda u Rwanda no kururwanira ishyaka. Amagambo nk'aya arazwi kandi azirikanwa cyane mu gihe cyo kwimakaza umuco w'ubutwari, bigafasha Abanyarwanda kwibumbira hamwe bakindikije Ubutwari:

"Rwanda nziza, gihugu cyacu,... wowe utubumbiye hamwe twese Abanyarwanda uko watubyaye. Horana Imana murage mwiza. Ibyo tugukesha ntibishyikirwa: umuco dusangiye uraturanga, ururimi rwacu rukaduhuza. Ubwenge, umutima, amaboko yacu, nibigukungahaze uko bikwiye, ni uko utere imbere ubutitsa. Duhagurukiye kukwitangira".

** S.j: Société de Jesus (Ibiri muri iyi nyandiko ni ikiganiro cyatanzwe mu nama nyunguranabitekerezo ku muco w'ubutwari yateguwe na CHENO ku wa 25 Mutarama 2019)*

1°Ubutwari ni indagagaciro izindi zubakiyeho.

Ubupfura, urukundo, kwitangira abandi, kwihangana, ishyaka, guharanira icyiza no kwanga ikibi, kugira umutima, n'ibindi. Iyo migenzo myiza turata mu ndirimbo yubahiriza igihugu cyacu ni yo iduha kuba Abanyarwanda no kubaka igihugu gifite umwihariko mu bindi bihugu. Uwaha urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda kumva neza ayo magambo, kuyakunda no kuyagira intego, nta shiti twaba turera intwari.

Umunyarwanda wese uko ari n'aho ari, mu rugero rwe, ahamagarirwa kuba intwari kandi arabishobora. Martin Luther King, muri Amerika, yabwiye abirabura, bari bugarijwe n'ivangurakoko, ati: "icyo ukoze cyose, ujye ugikora uharanira gusigira abandi umurage mwiza. Niba ukubura umuhanda, bazandike ku mva yawe bati: aha harukiye umuntu wakuburaga imihanda neza, abishyize ku mutima. Bityo n'undi murimo wose uhawe gukora cyangwa uhisemo ku bwawe, ujye uwukora ufite ishyaka kandi uharanira kuba intangarugero". Umuntu nk'uwo, ari mu rwego rw'intwari kuko yubaka igihugu kandi akora umurimo ashinzwe ku buryo bunoze, aharanira inyungu za bose. Ese twarera dute urubyiruko ngo rukure rufite uwo murava wo gukora neza ibyo rushinzwe ?

2° Rwanda rwacu, igihugu cyiza, umurage mwiza

Dufite igihugu cyiza. Ni byo koko, umuntu wese akunda iby'iwabo. Ariko se tuzi ubwiza bw'u Rwanda? Ese dukunda igihugu cyacu, cyangwa dukunda gusa ibyo kiduha ? Kugira igihugu ni umugisha; niho imizi yacu ishinze. Gukunda u Rwanda, tugashimishwa n'uko ruteye ni inzira y'ubumwe n'amajyambere kuko biduha guharanira kuba heza no kuhabana neza. Yewe, n'uwahitamo kuba ahandi, azahora yibuka iwabo, ajye akumbura u Rwanda kuko yitirirwa aho akomoka. Guharanira ko u Rwanda ruba rwiza ni inshingano ikomeye.

Ese twatoza dute urubyiruko gukunda ibyiza by'u Rwanda ? U Rwanda ni umurage twahawe n'abakurambere bacu. Uwo murage tuzawuhereza abandi tubanje gushyiraho akacu kandi ku buryo bukwiye. Wakora iki ngo u Rwanda rurusheho kuba rwiza ? Aha twakwibuka inshingano zo kubungabunga ibidukikije, isuku n'imiterere myiza y'igihugu cyacu.

3°Gukunda igihugu ni ugukunda Abanyarwanda, gukunda ab'iwacu

Hari umuntu babajije icyo akunda, asubiza agira ati: "Nkunda abana b'iwacu n'igitaka cyaho". Gukunda u Rwanda ni ugukunda igihugu n'abagituye. Muri iki gihe cyacu, dufite imbaraga nyishi ariko dufite n'ibyonnyi birarikiye kudusubiza mu bukoloni burimo ubwenge n'amayeri: indirimbo, imyambaro, imbyino zigezweho ndetse n'imvugo ngo ijyanye n'igihe. Ese none iby'ahandi byaganza iby'iwacu, kandi ko bishoboka ? Igiti kigororwa kikiri gito". None rero, dutoza dute urubyiruko gukunda Abanyarwanda, gukunda "umuco uturanga n'ururimi ruduhuza" ?

Iyo tuvuga uruhare rw'urubyiruko mu kwimakaza umuco w'ubutwari, tugomba kureba uburyo abakuru, ababyeyi, abarezi mu nzego zinyuranye, bahagaze muri iki gihe. Ese koko twumva neza izo nshingano zo gutoza urubyiruko umuco w'ubutwari ? Hari byinshi byagezweho mu gihugu cyacu, ariko hari ibindi tugomba gusubiza mu buryo ndetse n'ibyo tugomba kurwanya kuko bitwononera. Reka mvuge ibintu bitatu bidusaba imbaraga nyinshi:

(a) Umuryango wugarijwe na byinshi biwumunga. Tugomba gukomera ku rugamba. Amakimbirane mu ngo arakora amahano hirya no hino. Ibyo biradindiza abihutira kwimakaza umuco w'ubutwari. Indagagaciro zirema umuntu ziragenda zikendera kandi tuzi neza ko igihugu kidafite umuco ukiranga nticyamenya inzira y'amajyambere. Ngo ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise. Ese twakora iki ngo intego yacu ibe iyo gutegura urubyiruko ruzubaka umuryango nyarwanda, urubyiruko ruteza imbere indangagaciro z'umwimerere ?

(b) Guharanira ukuri ni urundi rugamba rukomeye. Ikinyoma kiranga kikamunga imitima n'imibireho myiza y'abantu. Niho usanga bya bindi bise gutekinika no kwihutira kunguka, umuntu atagombye kuvunika. Ubutwari burangwa no kudatezuka k'ukuri.

(c) Gukorera ijisho, gushaka kugaragara, umuntu yibagiwe ko "kami ka muntu ari umutima we", ni izindi ndwara zitwugarije. Ibyiza twagezeho ntibishobora kuba umuco tunyuze muri iyo nzira. Tuvuge nk'isuku mu gihugu. Muri iki gihe ni ikintu kitagirwaho impaka. Ariko ntibiraba umuco igihe abantu bavuga ngo ni "gahunda za Leta" nkaho izo gahunda zidafitiye akamaro umuturage ubwe. Leta iramukorera, Leta imuha uburyo bwo kwimenya no kwihesha agaciro. Ese uburezi mu mashuri bufasha bute urubyiruko kugendera kuri gahunda no kuzagorora ibyo dusobanya, muri iki gihe ?

4° Ubuyobozi bwiza burera intwari

Ubuyobozi bufite uruhare rukomeye mu kwimakaza umuco w'ubutwari. Hari ingero zerekana ko ubuyobozi bubi bugira abantu babi, maze abantu babaye babi bakavamo abayobozi babi. Ibanga ry'u Rwanda muri iyi myaka ishize ni ubuyobozi bwiza. Ishyaka ryo guhamya ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, kubahesha agaciro, kwihutisha ibikorwa by'amajyambere, gushaka inshuti no gushyira imbere igihesha igihugu cyacu Ijambo mu mahanga, ibyo byose byashobotse kubera ubuyobozi bwiza kandi bufite icyerekezo. Intambwe igihugu cyateye n'uko gihagaze ubungubu bishingiye kuri ubwo buyobozi bwiza. Icyo dusabwa muri iki gihe rero ni ukwirinda kubiririmba gusa tutarebye imbaraga, ubutwari, gukunda umurimo n'ubwitange byatumye ibyo byiza byose bigerwaho.

5° Uburere bwiza ni ryo shuri rikuru ry'ubutwari

Ese twakwigisha dute urubyiruko kuba intwari ? Ubutwari ntibwigwa mu bitabo, n'ubwo kwiga ari ngombwa. Kumenya amateka bifite akamaro gakomeye kandi koko birakenewe. Icyakora umuco w'ubutwari n'izindi ndangagaciro ziwushamikiyeho abantu bawigira cyane cyane mw'ishuri ry'ubuzima. Ni umwitozo uhoraho. Abantu biga barebera ku bandi. Ni ko twiga imico myiza. Ese abo dusingiza nk'intwari z'u Rwanda, babigezeho bate ? Reka duhere ku rubyiruko: abanyeshuri b'i Nyange baharaniye ubumwe bw'abana b'u Rwanda, bakemera guhara ubuzima bwabo, ubwo butwari babwigiye he?. Urwo rugero rw'urukundo no kwanga amacacubiri babyigiye he ? Iwabo mu rugo? Kw'ishuri ? Aho basengera? Ibyo ari byo byose, ni umutimanama ugororotse wabahaye guhitamo neza igihe kigeze. Ni ukuvuga ko kurera umutima ari intego ikomeye. Ese urubyiruko rwafashe intwaro rukajya ku rugamba kandi benshi bagatanga ubuzima bwabo, ubwo butwari babwigiye he?

Ni ya mvugo igira iti: “kora ndebe, iruta vuga numve”. Bahamagawe n’inshuti, bareba urugero rw’ababyeyi na bakuru babo maze bayoborwa n’umutima ufite ishyaka ryo kwitangira igihugu.

Twatoza dute urubyiruko gukura ruharanira izo ndangagaciro ?

Tugarutse ku ndirimbo yubahiriza igihu cyacu, irimo amagambo meza aduha icyerekezo: gukunda u Rwanda no kurwitangira, gukunda Abanyarwanda no guharanira icyabahesha agaciro, umuco uturanga n’ururimi ruduhuza, guharanira amajyambere twerekeza aho twifuza kugera nk’igihugu, kugira ijambo hagati y’amahanga. Nguwo umuhigo w’urubyiruko rw’u Rwanda mu bihe biri imbere. Ni ukuvuga guhera uyu munsi.

VI. UMUSOZO

Mu muco w'u Rwanda, ubutwari bugaragarira mu bikorwa umuntu yakoze, akamaro byagize ndetse n'urugero byatanze. Igikorwa cy'ubutwari gishobora kugaragarira mu byiciro byose by'imibereho y'abantu n'iy'igihugu, nko kugitabarira, kukirengera no kugiteza imbere mu bukungu, mu mibereho myiza, mu buyobozi bwiza, mu butabera, mu mibanire myiza, mu bumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga no mu byerekeye umutekano n'amahoro.

Imwe mu nshingano z'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe ni ugukangurira Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Ibyo bijyana kandi no gutoza abakiri bato kurangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu mitekerereze, mu mikorere no mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi.

Cahiers "UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI" N° 3 ikubiyemo inyandiko zinyuranye zigamije gutoza Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko umuco w'ubutwari. Izo nyandiko zigaragaza amateka n'ibigwi by'Abanyarwanda, abagabo n'abagore, abakuru n'abato baranzwe n'ubutwari n'ibindi bikorwa by'ingiramakaro. Zitwereka Abanyarwanda bitangiye Igihugu, abagiteje imbere, abagikuye mu mage mu bihe bitandukanye ndetse n'abaharanira ko gikomeza kuba Igihugu gifite agaciro mu ruhando rw'ibindi bihugu. Zitwigisha kandi uburyo bwo gutoza no kurera abazavamo Intwari z'Igihugu mu gihe kiri imbere.

Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rwizeye ko iyi nomero ya gatatu ya Cahiers "UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI", nayo ari umusanzu mu gukomeza kubaka Umunyarwanda wuzuye urangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu byo akora byose no mu mibereho n'imibanire n'abandi.

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