

**Guide de la Réconciliation pour la Paix □ Umuyobozi w'Ubwiyunge mu Mahoro**

*Ubwiyunge buyobowe n'Amategeko, bunyuze mu Ukuri, Ubutabera n'Imbabazi*

*La Réconciliation par le Droit, la Vérité, la Justice et le Pardon*

*Umushinga wigenga utabogamiye kuri politiki y'amashyaka n'ubutegets!*

*Uharanira politiki mpuzabanyarwanda n'ubutabera mpuzabantu*

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Impinduka nziza ikorwa n'ibitekerezo bishya !

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## **RWANDA :**

**Impinduka y'ubwiyunge nyakuri, ubwigenge busesuye  
n'ubwisanzure mu Banyarwanda**

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**Aloys MUSOMESHA**

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**Iyi nyandiko nyituye**

**abanyarwanda baharanira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri, ubwisanzure n'ubwigenge busesuye**

**25 Nyakanga 2020 – 28 Mutarama 2021**

## Igice cya 1 : Impinduka y'ubwisanzure n'ubwigenge busesuye bw'abanyarwanda

Umunyarwanda yagize ati:

« Ntabwo kuva ku ngoma ya Cyami twigeze tubona ingoma ishobora kwemera uvuga ibidahuye nayo. »

### I. Ukwezi kw'impinduka za politiki mu Rwanda

Kuva Urwanda rwabona ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika yavanyeho ingoma ya Cyami tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, twagize izindi mpinduka za politiki 3 zose zabaye ari mu kwezi kwa karindwi.

1° Tariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1962 URwanda rwabonye ubwigenge kuko ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni bwavuyeho, maze rushyiraho politiki ya demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka.

2° Tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere bw'abasivili bwahirtswe ku ngufu za gisilikare n'ingabo z'igihugu zashyizaho ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi.

3° Tariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994 FPR-Inkotanyi yari igizwe n'impunderi z'abanyarwanda yafashe ubutegetsi ikoreshje nayo ingufu za gisilikare imaze gutsinda intambara yatangije tariki ya 1 ukwakira 1990. Iyo ntambara yahitanye abantu benshi kandi iherekezwa n'ubwicanyi ndimburambaga bw'indengakamere burimo itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994.

Izo ngoma z'ubutegetsi zose zubakiwe kuri politki y'Inyabutatu-ngirwamoko *Hutu-Tutsi-Twa*. None ko bigaragara ko ukwezi kwa karindwi ari ukw'impinduka za politiki, umunsi w'amahoro uzahuza kandi ukunga abanyarwanda bakagira ubumwe uzaba uwuhe ?

Nyuma y'ishingwa rya Repubulika, twabonye **ubwigenge bw'igihugu** mu butegetsi ariko ntitwabonye **ubwigenge bw'abenegihugu** kuko abanyarwanda twagumanye bimwe mu bitekerezo by'ingoma za cyami na gikoloni. Impinduka za politiki iyobwe n'abasilikare nazo kandi ntizatugejeje ku bwigenge n'ubwisanzure kuko nta **bumwe** nyakuri twashoboye kugira. Twakwibohora dute ibyo bitekerezo kugirango tugere kuri ubwo bumwe n'ubwigenge busesuye ?

Kuva aho intambara yatangiye 1990 n'itsembabwoko birangiriye muri 1994, icyunamo cy'amezi 3 twibukamo abazize ubwo bwicanyi gikurikirwa n'umunsi w'isabukuru y'ubwigenge bw'igihugu cyacu tariki ya 1 Nyakanga. Uwo munsi ariko bamwe mu banyarwanda ntibawibonamo kuko utashoboye kuduhuza twese. Koko rero, ubwo bwigenge bw'igihugu bwagezweho abanyarwanda bamwe, barimo abenshi b'abatutsi, bamaze guhunga imiyivumbagatanyo y'abahutu bashakaga iyo Repubulika yatangiranye na Revolisiyo yo muri 1959. Ari nacyo gituma uwo munsi utizihizwa uko bikwiye, kuko **igihugu cyabonye ubwigenge nta bumwe dufite**. Kubera izo mpamvu, buri munyarwanda wese akaba akwiye kwibaza icyakorwa kugirango tugere noneho kuri ubwo bumwe bwatuma tugira ubwigenge busesuye bw'Abanyarwanda. **Ibiganiro ku ngirwamoko y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa rero birakenewe.**

Muri uyu mushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri DVJP<sup>1</sup>, dusanga ubwo bumwe butashoboka mu gihe tugifite indwara y'irondakoko n'ivangura ryatugejeje kuri iryo tsembabwoko n'ubundi bwicanyi bushingiye ku ngirwamoko y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa nita ko ari *ingirwamoko ya politiki*<sup>2</sup>. Niyo mpamvu dukwiye guharanira **politiki mpuzabanyarwanda** dushaka umuti n'urukingo by'yo ndwara, tukayoboka inzira y'Ukuri n'iy'Ubutabera **bwigenga** kandi **tukababarirana** kugirango twiyunge by'ukuri. Ubumwe n'ubwigenge busesuye tuzabugeraho nidutsinda politiki y'Inyabutatu-gatanya-gateranya, tukubaka Repubulika yunze ubumwe y'abanyarwanda.

<sup>1</sup> Uyu mushinga ugendera ku mahame ane (4 principes): nta ruhande ubogamiyeho (neutralité active), urigenga (indépendance), ibitekerezo byawo ntawe bibera (impartialité) kandi ugendera ku bwizerane (confiance).

<sup>2</sup> HUTU, TUTSI na TWA ni INGIRWAMOKO kuko atari amoko mu by'ukuri. Yagizwe AMOKO na politiki. Niyo mpamvu ari INGIRWAMOKO YA POLITIKI nkuko nza kubisobanura mu cyika cya II.3.2 . Inyito "INGIRWAMOKO" ni yo mvugo mu by'ukuri ishobora kuyatandukanya n'amoko yo mu muco nyarwanda.

## II. Dushake umuti n'urukingo by'irondakoko n'ivangurabanyarwanda maze twubake ubumwe mu bwigenge busesuye

### 1. Irondakoko n'ivanguramoko bisobanura iki ?

Ibisubizo kuri icyo kibazo turabisanga mu ingingo ya 2 y'Itangazo rya UNESCO (Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rishinzwe uburezi, ubumenyi n'umuco) ryo kuwa 27 Ugushyingo 1978 ku bwoko n'akarengane gashingiye ku moko (Article 2 de la Déclaration de l'UNESCO du 27 novembre 1978 sur la race et les préjugés raciaux). Kubera ko iyo ngingo nayivanye mu rulimi rw'igifaransa nkayihinduza mu rulimi rwacu rw'lkinyarwanda, nahisemo kuyivuga muri izo ndimi zombi, kuko buri wese ashobora gukoresha andi amagambo adahuye nayo nakoresheje.

1°. Toute théorie faisant état de la supériorité ou de l'infériorité intrinsèque de groupes raciaux ou ethniques qui donnerait aux uns le droit de dominer ou d'éliminer les autres, inférieurs présumés, ou fondant des jugements de valeur sur une différence raciale, est sans fondement scientifique et contraire aux principes moraux et éthiques de l'humanité.

*Inyigisho iyo ariyo yose igereranya kandi igasumbanisha inkomoko n'amoko by'abantu, ku buryo iha bamwe ubwibone n'ubuzare bwo kuyobora abandi no kuba babishatse bashobora kubatsema nk'aho bo atari abantu buzuye, isumbanya abantu, bene iyo nyigisho nta reme ifite ntinashobora kugumaho kuko nta mpamvu n'imwe ishingiyeho ikaba ahubwo yototera amahame-remezo n'imigenzo myiza biranga inyoko-muntu.*

2°. Le racisme englobe les idéologies racistes, les attitudes fondées sur les préjugés raciaux, les comportements discriminatoires, les dispositions structurelles et les pratiques institutionnalisées qui provoquent l'inégalité raciale, ainsi que l'idée fallacieuse que les relations discriminatoires entre groupes sont moralement et scientifiquement justifiables; il se manifeste par des dispositions législatives ou réglementaires et par des pratiques discriminatoires, ainsi que par des **croyances** et des actes antisociaux; il entrave le développement de ses victimes, pervertit ceux qui le mettent en pratique, divise les nations au sein d'elles mêmes, constitue un obstacle à la coopération internationale, et crée des tensions politiques entre les peuples; il est contraire aux principes fondamentaux du droit international et, par conséquent, il trouble gravement la paix et la sécurité internationales.

*Irondakoko rigirwa n'intekerezo zose zishingiye ku mavuko n'ubwoko, imyifatire igendera ku karengane gassingiye ku moko, n'imyumvire ivangura ; iryo rondakoko rikagaragarira na none kandi mu mabwiliza, amategeko, imigenzo, n'imigilire y'inzezo za Leta ziba zarashyiriweho kwimakaza ubusumbane mu bantu ku buryo hahoraho **imyumvire ififitse** mu mikorere n'imibanire y'abantu bihereye ku busumbane bwitwa ko bufite impamvu zumvikana. Iryo rondakoko kandi rinagaragazwa n'amategeko cyangwa amabwiriza bihumeka ivangura, rikagaragazwa kandi n'**imyumvire** kimwe n'ibikorwa byototera umubano mu bantu. Iryo rondakoko ni inzitizi ku iterambere n'ubwisanzure by'abarigirirwa, kandi rituma abarikuririza bakanarigenderaho bagenda baba babi kurushaho, rikagonganisha abaturage hagati yabo rikaba kandi n'inzitizi mu butwererane hagati y'ibihugu ku buryo rishyamiranya abaturage ; iryo rondakoko rinyuranye cyane n'amahame-remezo agenga amategeko mpuza-mahanga kandi rikaba riburizamo amahoro n'umutekano by'abatuye Isi.*

3°. Le préjugé racial, historiquement lié aux inégalités de pouvoir, se renforçant en raison des différences économiques et sociales entre les individus et les groupes humains, et visant encore aujourd'hui à justifier de telles inégalités, est totalement injustifié.

*Akarengane rero gassingiye ku moko, witegereje amateka yako, usanga karakomotse ku bwiganze bwa bamwe bikubiye ubutegetsi ; ku buryo ako karengane kagiye gashinga imizi bitewe n'ubusumbane mu butunzi bw'abantu no mu mibanire yabo n'imiryango yabo, iryo vangura rikaba rigamije, no mu gihe tugezemo, guhamya ubusumbane mu bantu ; bene iryo vangura rero ntiryagombye kugumaho kuko nta mpamvu n'imwe ishingiyeho<sup>3</sup>.*

<sup>3</sup> Byahinduwe mu Kinyarwanda n'umunyarwanda tutavuze amazina.

## 2. Irondakoko n'ivangura-ngirwamoko ya politiki mu Banyarwanda

Iyo dusesenguye amateka, dusanga igihugu cyacu U Rwanda cyarayobowe n'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi cyangwa bw'abahutu, haba mu nzego za politiki cyangwa mu ngabo z'ighugu, ari mu Bwami n'igihe cy'ubukoloni cyangwa muri Repubulika. Ingaruka z'ubwo buyobozi twarazibonye. Ingoma n'ingabo z'abatutsi zakandamije abahutu n'abatwa, iz'abahutu nazo zikandamiza abatutsi n'abatwa. Ndetse muri ubwo butegetsi bwose, bamwe mu bahutu n'abatutsi barahohotewe abandi baricwa, abatwa bakomeza gukandamizwa, bose bazira ingirwamoko barimo.

Izo ngoma zose rero zaranzwe n'irondakoko n'ivangura-ngirwamoko ya politiki y'Inyabutatu. Niyo mpamvu abanyarwanda tudashobora kureshya imbere y'amategeko mu gihe abari mu *ngirwabwoko bwa politiki* bumwe batoneshwa, abandi bagakandamizwa.

Muri iyi nyandiko ngiye kwerekana uburyo twakoresha kugirango iryo rondakoko n'iryo vangura—"moko" ya politiki bicike burundi. Bitari ukubivuga mu ma disikuru na za programu z'amashyaka ya politiki gusa cyangwa kubyandika mu mategeko y'ighugu ariko ntibishyirwe mu bikorwa. Politiki yahuza abanyarwanda yaba iyihe rero ?

Ntabwo hano nsesengura amateka y'abagizwe abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa uko yanditswe n'abandi, ariko icyo mpamya ni uko ayo mateka arimo ibinyoma binyuranye byacuzwe n'ubutegetsi uko bwagiye busimburana. Kimwe muri ibyo binyoma, ni uko abakoloni bavuze ko abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa mu rulimi rw'igifaransa ngo ari « ethnies », ibyo babyemeza ngo bashingiye ku miterere y'imibiri y'abanyarwanda: ngo abatutsi ni barebare kandi bafite amazuru maremare, ngo abahutu ni bagufi kandi bafite amazuru magufi, naho abatwa ngo bakaba ari bagufi cyane kuri abo bandi. Nyamara muri urwo rulimi rw'igifaransa abo bakoloni baje bavuga bakanarutwigisha, iryo jambo « ethnies » *risobanura abantu bahujwe n'uko basangiye urulimi, umuco, inkomoko cyangwa batuye hamwe mu gihugu. Kandi abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa basangiye ibyo byose*<sup>4</sup>.

Iyo urebye neza rero, usanga ahubwo iyo nyito « ethnie » abakoloni bakoresheje barayigoretse kuko mu by'ukuri bashakaga kuvuga ko abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa ari « race »<sup>5</sup> ukurikije icyo iryo jambo rivuga mu rulimi rw'igifaransa, ariko wenda batinya ko baregwa gukora irondakoko « racisme » kandi mu by'ukuri ari ryo barimo kubiba mu banyarwanda, babishaka cyangwa batabishaka. Iryo jambo « race » *risobanura « igice cy'abantu bamwe bahuriyeho kuba basa ku miterere imwe y'imibiri yabo cyangwa y'umuco wabo bidafite icyo bishingiye cyumvikana, kandi imikoreshereze yabyo ikaba ariyo isasira irondakoko n'ibikorwa byaryo »*.

Iki ni kimwe mu bimenyetso byerekana ko ayo ngirwamoko ari aya politiki nkuko mbivuga, cyane ko ari abanyepolitiki bemeje ko ngo ari « amoko » nyine. Ibyo bimenyetso bisobanuye muri iki gice cya II.3.2. Inyito « *ingirwamoko ya politiki* » ni yo rero irimo ukuri. Kubera ko abanyarwanda tutigeze twiga iki kibazo cy'ayo ngirwamoko ngo tukiganireho, ntitugifiteho n'imyumvire imwe.

Ibyo ari byo byose, byaba « ethnie » cyangwa « race », muri ayo magambo yose nta na rimwe rikwiriye abanyarwanda. Icyo kinyoma cy'abakoloni kivuga ko *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ngo ari « ethnies », abanyepolitiki bacu baracyemeye maze nabo bacyemeza abanyarwanda, kandi bari basanzwe bazi neza ko bitwaga gutyo bitewe gusa n'ubutunzi bwabo n'imibanire yabo mu miryango yabo, ibyo mu gifaransa bita "classes sociales". Maze bemeza Rubanda ko *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ngo nabyo bibaye « amoko », kandi iryo jambo « amoko » ryarasobanuraga yayandi ya gakondo y'abanyiginya, *abasinga, abagesera, n'ayandi ubu twibagiwe*. Iyo ubajije umuhutu n'umututsi ikibatandukaya nta gisubizo ubona, nubwo mu mitwe yabo bombi baba bafite bimwe navuze by'abakoloni ariko bagatinya kubivuga kuko bazi neza ko biteye isoni kandi ko nta shingiro bifite (une théorie honteuse et sans fondement scientifique).

<sup>4</sup> Reka mbereke icyo iryo jambo « ethnie » rivuga ku bumva urulimi rw'igifaransa maze namwe mwiyumvire ko ntaho bihuriye n'ibyo bavuze. Ibitangazwa na Wikipédia: « Une ethnie ou un groupe ethnique est une population humaine qui considère avoir en commun une ascendance, une histoire (historique, mythologique), une culture, une langue ou un dialecte, un mode de vie ; bien souvent tous ces éléments à la fois. L'appartenance à une ethnie ou ethnicité est liée à un patrimoine commun, que ce soit la tradition, des coutumes, la culture, l'ascendance, le rôle social, l'origine géographique, la langue ou le dialecte, l'idéologie, la philosophie, la religion, la mythologie, la cuisine, l'habillement, la musique... »

<sup>5</sup> Dictionnaire Larousse: "Race" est une « catégorie de classement de l'espèce humaine selon des critères morphologiques ou culturels, sans aucune base scientifique et dont l'emploi est au fondement des divers racismes et de leurs pratiques. »

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Kubeshya ko ibyari *classes sociales* bibaye *ethnies* byari muri ya ntego ya politiki yo gutanya abantu kugirango ubone uko ubategeka (*diviser pour régner*). Kuko ntibyakwumvikana ukuntu abanyamahanga bazi urulimi rw'igifaransa kurusha abanyarwanda bayoberwa icyo ijambo « *ethnie* » risobanura. Na n'ubu, muri iki gihe tugezemo, nubwo abanyarwanda twageze mu mashuri, turacyakomeza kwemeza ko *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ngo ari « *ethnies* ». Ndetse no mu rwego mpuzamahanga, icyo KINYOMA cyahawe inteve, ku buryo cyemejwe nkaho ari UKURI. Iki kinyoma tuzacyivanamo bigenze gute? Twibuke ko icyo kinyoma kiri mu byagendewehe n'abicanyi bishe *abahutu* kimwe n'abishe *abatutsi* babaziza ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki. Ibi bintu murabona tudakwiye kubivamo koko !

### 3. Ibimenyetso byerekana ko INYABUTATU igizwe n'amoko ya politiki

Mbere y'uko nsobanura uburyo *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ari *ingirwamoko ya politiki*, nagirango mbibutse **amoko y'ukuri dusanga mu muco karande w'abanyarwanda**. Hari: *abasinga, abasindi, abazigaba, abagesera, abanyiginya, abega, ababanda, abacyaba, abungura, abashambo, abatsobe, abakono, abaha, abashingwe, abanyakarama, abasita, abongera, abenengwe* n'ayandi nshobora kuba nibagiwe. Mu gifarasana, ayo moko yiswe « **clans** » akaba ari ay'imiryango gakondo y'abanyarwanda.

#### 3.1 Ubuhamya bwanje

- ◆ Niga mu mashuri abanza, nigeze kubaza mwalimu igitandukanya ayo moko yo mu muco nyarwanda n'ay'*abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa*. Nti kuki yose yitwa "AMOKO"? Yanshubije ko ayo ya mbere uko ari 18 yitwa ko ari UBWOKO naho ayongayo atatu (3) ya kabiri akaba ariyo yitwa AMOKO. Mubwiye ko jye numvaga ayo 3 ariyo akwiye kwitwa UBWOKO kuko ari make, naho ayo 18 akaba ariyo yakwitwa AMOKO kuko ari yo menshi, ambwira ko ngomba kubifata uko abimbwiye. Ni uko mbyemera ariko ntabyemeye.
- ◆ Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, Prezida wa Repubulika yaraye yishwe, nagiriyiye inama umunyarwanda guhisha indangamuntu yari afite kuko yari yanditsemo ko ari *umututsi*, mubwira ko turi bubwire abaza kumubaza ibyangongwa ko ari *umuhutu*, ko irangamuntu ye bayimwibiye aho bategera imodoka (gare routière), kuwa 6 Mata aje kunsura<sup>6</sup>. Mubwira ko guhera uwo munsi agomba kwumva ko abaye *umuhutu*. Yabanje kubyanga kubera ubwoba ariko aza kubyemera, indangamuntu ye turayishisha. Uwitwa Nyumbakumi aje mu rugo kutubarura ni ko twamubwiye arabyemera, yandika ko ari umuhutu, nyuma aza kurokoka itsembabwoko. Nashoboye kandi kwemeza umuyobozi wo muri ari gace nari ntuyemo, mu giterane cy'abaturage, ko undi munyarwanda w'iwacu kavukire wari waje gusura umuturanyi wanje ari umuhutu. Abo baturage b'aho ntibari bamuzi. Ariko we yiyouvagamo ko ari umututsi. Nanone icyo gihe cy'itsembabwoko, hari abandi banyarwanda 3 (nabo biyumvagamo ko ari abatutsi) nzi neza bari bafite amarangamuntu yanditsemo ko ari abahutu banyuze kuri za barrières z'interahamwe berekana amarangamuntu yabo, bava i Kigali bagera Cyangugu barambuka bahungira muri Zaïre bararokoka. Abo bose ariko Imana bagize ni uko batari bari iwabo kavukire aho bari bazwi ko ari abatutsi. Ibyo maze kuvuga nabihagazeho.

#### 3.2. Bimwe mu bimenyetso by'uko HUTU, TUTSI na TWA ari INGIRWAMOKO YA POLITIKI

- ◆ Ibyiswe ko ari inkomoko z'ayo ngirwamoko n'ibiyaranga

**Ingingo ya 1.** Buri ngirwabwoko bw'Inyabutatu nta bisekuru bugira. *Abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ntibagira abo bakomokaho batandukanye bazwi. Ni cyo kigaragaza ko ya ngengabitekerezo ivuga ko ngo abatutsi bakomoka muli « *Ethiopie* », *abahutu* ngo muli « *Tchad* », abatwa bakaba ari bo gakondo mu Rwanda, ari ikinyoma kuko ibyo byari uburyo bwo kuyobya amarari. Ese ayo ngirwamoko yose ko avuga Ikinyarwanda, muri ibyobihugu bya *Ethiopie* na *Tchad* naho bavuga (ga) ururimi rw'Ikinyarwanda? Niba se abahutu n'abatutsi barigiye urwo rurimi rw'Ikinyarwanda ku batwa basanze mu Rwanda, izindi ndimi baje bavuga ni izihe ko tutigeze tuzumva?

**Ingingo ya 2.** Ibyiswe ko biranga *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ntabwo bihora ari bimwe buri gihe, yemwe ndetse no ku bitwa ko bahuje ingirwabwoko, kandi nta shingiro bifite. Nta kintu cyumvikana kiranga ayo

<sup>6</sup> Mw'ijoro ryo kuwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata ni bwo indege yari itwaye prezida w'U Rwanda n'uw'U Burundi n'abo bari kumwe bose yari yaraye ihanuwe, bose bakitaba Imana. Mu rugo iwanje twabimenye mu gitondo kare dukanguwe n'urusaku rw'amasasu.

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ngirwamoko. Rimwe abanye politiki batubwiye ko ngo ibiyaranga ari uko *abahutu* bari abahinzi, *abatutsi* bakaba aborozi, abatwa bakaba ababumbyi b'inkono. Nyamara muri iki gihe abanyarwanda bensi bayiyumvamo kandi nta mulimo n'umwe muri iyo bakora. Ubundi abanye politiki batubwiye ko ngo *abahutu* ari abanyarwanda bafite amazuru magufi kandi bakaba bagufi, naho *abatutsi* bakaba barebare kandi bakagira amazuru maremare, naho *abatwa* ngo bakaba ari bagufi kuri abo bose. Iryo "NGIRWATEKA" ngo ryashyizweho n'abakoloni. Ubwo se twakwemera iki tukareka iki? Kandi ibyo byose ntaho bihuriye n'igisobanuro cy'ijambo "*ethnie*" ryo mu rulimi rw'igifaransa ryemejwe ko ngo ari ryo rikwiriye muri urwo rulimi rw'abazungu. Icyo gikorwa cy'urukozasoni cyo gupima abanyarwanda cyadutesheje agaciro k'ubumuntu bwacu.

Irindi kosa abanye politiki bakoze ni uko bigishije Rubanda ko ngo umunyarwanda wese avukana ingirwabwoko bwa se, nkuko bimeze kuri ya moko yo mu muco nyarwanda. Nyamara iyo nyigisho ivuguruza biriya byitiriwe ko biranga *abahutu*, *abatutsi n'abatwa* kuko umwana adashobora kuvuka ari umuhinzi cyangwa umworozi cyangwa umubumbyi w'inkono. Iyo ni imyuga buri muntu wese ashobora gukora kandi si ngombwa ko umwana akora umwuga wa se. Nta munyarwanda wigeze avukana isuka, itungo cyangwa inkono nka byandi batubeshye ngo umwami avukana imbuto ...

Uretse n'abanyarwanda bageze mu mashuri, umuntu wese uciye akenge azi neza ko, kubera ko umwana abyarwa n'ababyeyi babiri, umubiri we ugira imvange y'amaraso y'abo babyeyi bombi.

Iki kimenyetso kirerekana ko kuvuga ko biriya ari byo biranga *abahutu*, *abatutsi n'abatwa* ari ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa !

**Ingingo ya 3.** Nta na hamwe abanye politiki bigeze basobanura ayo ngirwamoko icyo aricyo, nta tegeko bashyizeho riyasobanura ngo rivuge ikiyatandukanya kuko ntakibaho. Kuba batabikora ni uko bazi neza ko atari amoko mu by'ukuri, uretse muri politiki yabo. Ahubwo babesheye Rubanda bemeza kuyashyira mu ndangamuntu nyarwanda no mu zindi nyandiko zo mu butegetsi nkaho ari kimwe mu biranga ubunyarwanda. Kandi ntibigeze bashyiramo ya moko gakondo y'umuco nyarwanda. Niba atari amoko ya politiki kuki yashyizwe mw'irangamuntu? Kugeza muri 1994, indangamuntu y'umunyarwanda yari n'indanga-ngirwabwoko ya politiki. Yari nk'ikarita y'ishyaka rya politiki. Turazi ko ibyo byorohereje ivangura-banyarwanda kugeza ku itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994. Ni byiza ko ayo ngirwamoko twayavanye mu ndangamuntu ariko igisigaye ari nacyo gikomeye, ni ukuyavana muri politiki no mu mitwe yacu, kandi nayo tukayavanamo politki.

**Ingingo ya 4.** Guhindura ingirwabwoko ugafata ubundi biremewe kandi byahozezo kuva kera kugeza n'ubu. Ni nko guhindura ishyaka rya politiki muri iki gihe, kuko ari uburenganzira bwa buri wese ushaka gukora politiki. Ariko, kera umunyarwanda yahinduraga ingirwabwoko ngo bitewe n'umubare w'inka ngo yabaga amaze kugira, zaba hejuru ya 10 ukaba *umututsi* ngo zaba hasi yazo ukaba *umuhutu*. Munyumbire namwe! Nyuma yaho abanyarwanda bahinduye ingirwabwoko kugirango bagire uburenganzira nk'ubwo abari ku butegetsi bafite, kugirango babone akazi, babone umwanya mu butegetsi, babone amashuri,... kugirango babeho, kugirango baticwa. Kandi nyamara ibyo byose ari uburenganzira bw'umuntu uwariwe wese. Ni uko bakitabaza ubundi ngirwabwoko kugirango bashobore kuramuka. Iyo mpamvu nayo irebana na politiki. Murumva rero ko ya mibare ivuga ko ngo *abahutu* ari 85/100, *abatutsi* bakaba 14/100 naho *abatwa* ngo bakaba 1/100 ari ikinyoma cya politiki kandi ko iryo barura ryakoze ivangura ry'abanyarwanda. Ko *umuhutu* ashobora guhinduka *umututsi*, *umututsi* agahinduka *umuhutu*, ariko se mwari mwumva umunyiginya wahindutse umuzigaba, cyangwa umwega wahindutse umugesera ? Guhindura ubwoko gakondo ntibyigeze bibaho, ntibinashoboka.

**Ingingo ya 5.** Amoko y'umuco nyarwanda ntahinduka ahora ari amwe, ariko ingirwamoko y'*abahutu*, *abatutsi*, *n'abatwa* yo arahinduka kubera politiki nayo iba yahindutse. Kubera intambara ya 1990-94 havutse andi ngirwamoko ya politiki: *Hutu modéré*, *Hutu Power* na *Tutsi light*. Hari n'abandi bitwa *Abahutsi* cyangwa *imvange z'abahutu n'abatutsi*. Ariko se abavuka ku *muhutu* no ku *mutwa* bazitwa *Hutwa*, maze abavuka ku *mututsi* no ku *mutwa* bazitwe *Tutwa*? Kuki abo batavugwa? *Hutu*, *Tutsi* na *Twa* aramatse ari amoko nyamoko yakwivanga ate kandi mu muco nyarwanda ibyo bitabaho? Ushobora kuba *umusinga w'umuzigaba* kuko so ari *umusinga* nyoko akaba *umuzigaba*, ariko ntiwavuga ko uri imvange y'ayo moko uko ari abiri. Ibyo ntibivugwa mu Kinyarwanda.

**Ingingo ya 6.** Nta muntu ushobora kugira ubwoko bubiri. Niba abanyarwanda tuvuga ko dufite amoko gakondo y'umuco tukagira n'ay'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa, ni uko amwe muri yo atari amoko mu by'ukuri. Kuba muri buri bwoko gakondo habamo ayo ngirwamoko atatu yandi, ni ikimenyetso cy'uko HUTU, TUTSI na TWA ari aya politiki kandi ari n'amahimbano<sup>7</sup>.

**Ingingo ya 7.** Nta bintu bifatika kandi mbyumvikana cyangwa bigaragarira buri wese ko bitandukanya abiyumvamo ko ari abatutsi n'abiyumvamo ko ari abahutu n'abiyumvamo ko ari abatwa. Iki ni cyo cyakijije bariya banyarwanda navuze mu buhamya bwanje (I.3.1.)

#### ◆ Tujye muri politiki y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu

**Ingingo ya 8.** Kuba hari abavuga cyangwa bemera ko abanye-politiki bagomba kugabana ubutegetsi hakurikijwe ingirwamoko, ubwabyo, icyo ni ikimenyetso cy'uko ari aya politiki koko, mbese ko ari ay'abanye-politiki, abatari abanye-politiki akaba atagombye kubareba. Twazamenya dute ingirwamoko y'abo bategetsi? Kutubwira ko ari abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa ntibihagije, bazatwereke ibimenyetso byayo, badusobanurire intego zayo kimwe n'uko berekana ibirangantego by'amashyaka ya politiki barimo. Cyangwa se, bazatubwire niba bakwemera gupimwa igihagararo cyabo n'amazuru ndetse ko imitungo yabo yabarurwa kugirango tumenye neza ingirwabwoko barimo! Ni nde wabyemera? Ni nde munyarwanda wakwemera gukora ako kazi k'urukozasoni ? Ni nde munyarwanda wemera amahame y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu wakwemera ko ibyo byongera kubaho? Ntibizongera kubaho. Hari kera tutarajijuka! Biramutse bibayeho, igihugu nticyagendera ku mategeko. Ibimenyetso by'ayo ngirwamoko ntabyo babona rero, kuko aba mu mitwe y'abayiyumvamo kandi nta muntu ushobora kumenya ikiri mu mutwe w'undi. None se twasubizaho indanga-ngirwabwoko? Twaba dusubiye inyuma. Ibyo byaba ari ugusondeka abanyarwanda no kubapfunyikira amazi !

Hari umuyobozi w'ishyaka rya politiki watangaje umushinga muri ubwo buryo asaba abanyarwanda kugira icyo bawuvugaho. Naramwandikiye mwereka ingaruka mbi uwo mushinga wateza abanyarwanda uramutse wemejwe kandi ugashyirwa mu bikorwa. Naboneyeho umwanya wo kumusobanura ko ahubwo ayo ngirwamoko dukwiye kuyavana muri politiki aho kuyongeramo. Namugejejeho ibitekerezo by'yu mushinga mwereka ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko ibyo atari byo byadukiza ingoma z'igitugu kuko igihugu kitagendera ku mategeko kandi ari byo twifusa.

Hari abavuga ko mu Rwanda twagombye gukora nk'ababiligi cyangwa abarundi. Abo nababwira ko mu Bubiligi nta moko « ethnies » ahaba, haba ibyo bita « communautés linguistiques », kandi ko i Burundi ikibazo cyabo kitacyemutse kuko indwara y'irondakoko n'ivanguramoko itarakira ndetse impunzi zikaba zicyuzuye i Shyanga ! Nanje nti: kuki ababiligi batabikoze bakiri mu Rwanda? Ariko ubundi se kuki bavuze ko abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa ari ethnies, kandi n'iwabo badahuje urulimi nabo ubwabo batiyita "ethnies" ? Nitureke kwigana politiki z'ibindibihugu, dutinyuke dushake ibisubizo bibereye URWANDA n'ABANYARWANDA. Urwo rwiganwa ni rwo twazize.

**Ingingo ya 9.** Ikibazo cy'ingirwamoko abanye-politiki batinya kukiganiraho kuko buri ruhande ruba rwanga ko inyungu zarwo zibangamirwa. Mu mishyikirano y'amahoro yabereye muri Tanzaniya mu mujyi wa Arusha, ntibigeze bagishakira umuti kandi cyari ikibazo gikomeye kigaragara. Ikimenyimenyi ni uko ayo masezerano atashyizwe mu bikorwa yakurikiwe n'itsembabwoko. Na n'ubu hari abavuga ko icyo kibazo ntagihari ! Aho kugishakira umuti n'urukingo, bakagihunga. Niba ayo ngirwamoko atari aya politiki, ikibazo cyayo bagihungira iki?

**Ingingo ya 10.** Ubwoko bwatsindwa bute, cyangwa bugatsinda bute, buramutse atari ubwa politiki cyangwa butari « ishyaka » rya politiki? Bamwe ngo: « Turatsinze ga ye! », abandi ngo: « Intsinzi bana b'Urwanda intsinzi! ». Abo ni abiswe ABAHUTU n'ABATUTSI.

**Ingingo ya 11.** Abategetsi b'abanye-politiki ni bo bashoza intambara hagati y'ingirwamoko, ni bo bajya kw'isonga, ni bo bayobora izo ntambara. Ibyo byaha ntibishobora gukorwa abanye-politiki atari bo ba mbere babigizemo uruhare. Nta na rimwe byigeze bibaho. Mu gihe cy'amahoro, nta kibazo kibaho hagati y'abiyumvamo ayo ngirwamoko kuko abanyarwanda baranayibagirwa. Bayibuka ari uko abanye-politiki bongeye kuyazura no kuyakoresha kugirango bagere cyangwa bagume ku butegetsi.

<sup>7</sup> HUTU, TUTSI et TWA sont des ethnies politiques et artificielles: des fausses ethnies

**Ingingo ya 12.** Nyuma y'aho tuboneye ubwigenge, abanyepolitiki bashingiye amashyaka yabo kuri ayo ngirwamoko: *Aredetwa* (Twa), *Runari* (Tutsi), na *Parmehutu* (Hutu) yaje kumira ayandi yose (*Aprosoma*, *Rader*, ...). Nyuma haje *Muvoma* ngo « itaravanguraga amoko » maze ishyiraho icyo yise « iringanizamoko » ritigeze rishoboka mu Rwanda. Waringaniza ute ibantu bihinduka buri gihe ?

**Ingingo ya 13.** Umwami Rudahigwa yaba ngo ari we washyizeho politiki y'« *Imbaga y'Inyabutatu ijya mbere* » (ikirangantergo) y'*Abahutu*, *Abatutsi* n'*Abatwa*. Ubutegetsi bwa Cyami bumaze kuvalo, iyo *Nyabutatu* yagombaga nayo kugendana nabwo, kuko twari tumaze kubona ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika y'amashyaka menshi na demokarasi (démocratie). Aho gushingira kuri ayo ngirwamoko, amashyaka ya politiki mashya yagombaga kuyavanaho, akayasimbura, abifuza gukora politiki bahoze ari *abahutu*, *abatutsi* n'*abatwa* bakisanga mu mashyaka anyuranye bitewe n'ibitekerezo bya politiki byayo, bityo tukagira ubumwe nyabwo. Ni ahongaho ibantu byapfiriye kuko Repubulika yagumanye *Inyabutatu*.

**Ingingo ya 14.** Kugeza ubu, ingoma zose zagiye zijiyo kandi zishaka kugumaho zishingiye ku ngirwamoko y'*abahutu* n'*abatutsi*. Na n'ubu nkuko nabivuze mu ngingo ya 8, hari abashaka kuzajya mu butegetsi ari uko bagabanye imyanya hakurikijwe ayo ngirwamoko yabo biyumvamo. Nkaho ari amashyaka ya politiki cyangwa abanyarwanda bose bategetswe kuyajyamo.

- **Tujye mu mategeko no mu bucamanza**

**Ingingo ya 15.** Ibyaha byakorewe abanyarwanda bazira kuba *abahutu*, *abatutsi* n'*abatwa*, byitwa ko ari **ibyaha bya politiki**. Niba ari ibyaha bya politiki rero, ni uko ingirwamoko yakorewe ibyo byaha n'ayakoreshejwe mu kubikora ari aya politiki. Ikibigaragaza nanone ni uko hashyizweho inkiko zihariye (tribunaux spéciaux) zo guhana ibyo byaha, bityo rero **izo manza zikaba iza politiki**. Ndavuga inkiko Gacaca n'urukiko mpuzamahanga rwa Arusha (TPIR: Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda). Kandi izo nkiko ntizigeze zihana abanyabyaha bose, ahubwo zakoze ivangura zikurikirana gusa ingirwabwoko bw'*abahutu* kuko ari bwo bwatsinzwe muri politiki zirengagije amaraporu y'imiryango mpuzamahanga yagaragaje ko hari n'*abatutsi* bishe *abahutu*. Ibyo ntibyashobotse kuko ubutegetsi bwari bumaze gufatwa n'*abatutsi*. Izo nkiko rero zavanguye ibyaha zivangura n'abanyabyaha ndetsse n'inzirakarengane. Iyo ivanguramoko rigeze mu butabera bw'ubucamanza, ibantu biba bigeze kure !

**Ingingo ya 16.** Mbere ya 1994, nta tegeko nyarwanda rihana ibyaha by'itsembabwoko mu buryo bwihariye ryabagaho, ariko hariho itegeko rihana abanyabyaha (Code pénal rwandais). Mu mategeko mpuzamahanga harimo amasezerano mpuzamahanga yerekerye n'icyaha cya génocide (Convention sur le génocide). Itegeko ryashyiriweho guhana ibyaha by'itsembakwoko ryagiyeo iyo génocide yarabaye, nyamara amahame mpuzamahanga y'amategeko y'inshinjabyaha avuga ko umuntu wese ucyekwaho icyaha adashobora guhanishwa itegeko ryagiyeo nyuma y'uko akora icyo cyaha (principe de non-rétroactivité de la loi pénale).

**Ingingo ya 17.** Kuba nyuma y'ubwigenge hari ubutegetsi bwagiye butanga ibyo bwitaga "Imbabazi" kuri bamwe bakoze ibyaha birebana n'ayo ngirwamoko, nabyo bigaragaza ko ibyo byaha ari ibya politiki, bityo n'izo "mbabazi" nazo zikaba zaratanze mu nyungu za politiki. Bityo zikaba *imbabazi za politiki*.

**Ingingo ya 18.** Itsembabwoko ryakorewe abatutsi ryategetswe na bamwe mu banyepolitiki b'*abahutu* bashakaga kurengera ingirwabwoko bwa politiki bwabo mu nyungu zo kugirango bagume ku butegetsi. Mu ntambara ya 1990-1994 kimwe no mu bindi bihe byose impunzi zagabaga ibitero ku Rwanda, abategetsi babwiraga abari mu gihugu ko *abatutsi* bateye Urwanda bagamije kugarura Umwami n'ubwami kugirango *abahutu* basubizwe mu buhake, ku mpamvu zo kwangisha *abahutu* abo *batutsi* hagamijwe kugirango badasangira ubutegetsi nabo (impamvu ya politiki).

**Ingingo ya 19.** Nyuma y'aho intambara ya 1990-1994 irangiriye, bamwe mu *batutsi* bahoze ari impunzi nabo baje bavuga ko ngo *abahutu* bose bagize uruhare mw'itsembabwoko ryakorewe *abatutsi*, mu nyungu zo kugirango bagere ku butegetsi maze basimbure abo *bahutu* ntibazongere kugira ijambo mu butegetsi. Hari umunyepolitiki wabyiyemereye avuga ko yagendaga mu mahanga yose ari byo yamamaza. N'ikimenyimenyi, ni uko hashyizweho gahunda ya politiki ivuga ko *umuhutu* wese ngo

agomba « gusaba imbabazi mw'izina ry'ubwoko bwe kubera jenosite yakorewe *abatutsi* » kandi yarakozwe na bamwe mu *bahutu*. Bamwe mu banyamahanga nabo génocide bayigize impamvu yo gushyigikira cyangwa kurwanya bamwe mu banyepolitiki b'abanyarwanda, bitewe n'ingirwamoko barimo, kugeza n'aho abo banyamahanga bibagirwa uruhare bagize muri iyo génocide. Birababaje kubona «HUTU-TUTSI » bikoreshwa mu buryo bw'iterabwoba cyangwa mubw'inyungu zo gushaka ubutegetsi.

**Ingingo ya 20.** Ijambo « ethnie » ni urulimi rw'igifaransa kandi tuzi ko urwo rulimi rwazanywe n'ababiligi mu Rwanda kuko Abanyarwanda ntarwo bari bazi. Amagambo « abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa » ni ayo mu rulimi rw'lkinyarwanda, bivuze ko ababiligi batayavanye i Burayi kuko urwo rulimi rutari urwabo. Amagambo « ubwoko - amoko » nayo yabagaho mu rulimi rw'lkinyarwanda mbere yuko ababiligi bagera mu Rwanda kuko yasobanuraga ya yandi y'abanyiginya, abasiga, ababanda, n'ayandi yari mu muco karande w'lkinyarwanda navuze. Ababiligi bamaze kwemeza ko « abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa » ngo ari « ethnies », bashatse igisobanuro cy'iryo jambo mu rulimi rw'lkinyarwanda, ni uko bifatira ya magambo « ubwoko-amoko »; ari nayo mpamvu ayo « moko » mashya yahise ahabwa agaciro kurusha yayandi gakondo abanyarwanda benshi ubu bibagiwe.

Kubera ko abanyarwanda bamye bagira umuco wo kwubaha abakuru muri byose, no guhakwa bakemera n'ibyo babona bidakwiye, bemeye ibyo abazungu bababwiye cyangwa babategetse. Ababiligi bari bazi neza icyo ijambu « ethnie » rivuga, kandi bari bazi neza ko *abahutu*, *abatutsi* n'abatwa basangije urulimi rw'lkinyarwanda. Birumvikana rero ko kuvuga ko abo banyarwanda ari « ethnies » ("amoko") bari bazi neza ko atari UKURI, babikoze rero kubera impamvu za politiki. Ni ikosa rikomeye bakoze. Ndetsese n'iwabo mu Bubiligi, nubwo abavuga igifarama (flamands), igifaransa (wallons) n'ikidage (germanophones) badasangije urulimi n'umuco, ntabwo bitwa ko ari « ethnies », bitwa « communautés linguistiques ».

**Ingingo ya 21.** Hari abavuga ko ngo mu ntambara ya 1990-94 hari *abatutsi* b'inkotanyi bihinduye interahamwe bafatanya nazo kwica abandi *batutsi* bari mu Rwanda. Biramutse byemejwe ko ari byo, abo batutsi b'inkotanyi baba barabikoze kuko bari bazi ko ntacyo bahuriyeho n'abo bicwaga kibatandukanya n'*abahutu*. Baba barabishe rero kuko bishakiraga impamvu ya politiki yatuma bagera ku butegetsi.

**Ingingo ya 22.** *Abatutsi* b'inkotanyi bahoze ari impunzi bageze mu Rwanda nyuma yo gutsinda intambara, bavugaga ko *abatutsi* basigaye mu Rwanda mu gihe bo bahungaga, bari barahindutse abahutu kuko ubutegetsi bwariho bwari ubw'*abahutu*. Twibuke ko benshi muri abo *batutsi* b'imbere mu gihugu babanaga neza n'*abahutu* muri rusange. Na ndetse, bivugwa ko bamwe mu *batutsi* bavuye mu Rwanda bajya ku rugamba bishwe n'Inkotanyi zabitaga ko ari *abahutu* cyangwa *ibyitso byabo*. Biramutse byemejwe ko ari byo, ibi byaba bigaragaza ko abo *batutsi* bari mu buhungiro bumvaga ntacyo bahuriyeho n'*abatutsi* bari mu gihugu. Bisobanuye ko, kuba bose baritwaga ko ari *abatutsi* bitavuze ko bari babayeho kimwe, haba mu buzima busanzwe no muri politiki, cyangwa ko bari bafite ibibazo bimwe. Birumvikana rero ko *abatutsi* bari mu gihugu batari bafite imyumvire imwe n'*abatutsi* bari mu buhungiro ku birebana n'ayo ngirwamoko. Abari mu Rwanda bo bumvaga bose bahuje "ubwoko" bw'*Abatutsi* naho abari mu buhungiro bo bumvaga abandi barabaye *Abahutu* bitewe na politiki. None ubu havutse indi mvugo ku bacikacumu: ngo hari "abemewe n'*abatemewe*" !

Uwhakana ibi bimenyetso, yazatanga ibibivuguruza ingingo ku yindi noneho nyuma tukazabiganiraho. Ndacyakomeza gushaka n'ibindi.

### **3.3 Ubumwe nyakuri tuzabugeraho dute ?**

Tujye twibuka ko ba Sogokuru na ba Nyogokuru batari barageze mu mashuri kuko ntayabagaho. Nitureke rero kwemera ibyo batubwiye byose kuko nabo bakurikiraga ibyo bategekwaga n'abategetsi bariho icyo gihe, ntawari ufite uburenganzira bwo kubivuguruza, cyane abakoloni b'abazungu bafatwaga ko bazi ubwenge kurusha abirabura. Ntacyo bashoboraga kubavuguruzaho. Ibyo bikivanga na wa muco wa gihake. Yemwe n'igihe *Abahutu* bigaranzuraga *Abatutsi*, ntibashoboye gukosora iryo kosa ry'abakoloni kubera ko icyo kinyoma bakibonagamo inyungu za politiki kuko babonaga ari benshi bityo bikazaborohera gutsinda amatora hakurikijwe ya demokarasi bigishijwe n'abo bakoloni ko ishyaka ritsinze amatora rifata byose ayandi akaburiramo. Gatebe Gatoki. Ngibyo iby'ingirwamoko ya politiki ! Igihe cyo kuyavana muri politiki rero kirageze.

Ababyeyi bacu batwohereje mw'ishuri kugirango tumenye ubwenge ndetse tube twanavuguruza ibyo batubwiye mu gihe dusanze bidahuye n'UKURI. Kuvuga gusa ngo data yarambwiye ngo « ... », ntabwo bihagije, reba niba bihuye n'UKURI. Kandi tujye twibuka ko hari abanyarwanda batigeze bamenya ababyeyi babo ku mpamvu zinyuranye. Abo ingirwamoko yabo yaba ayahe ?

Nituvuga ko HUTU, TUTSI na TWA ari « amoko », tujye twongeraho ko ari **aya politiki** kandi ko aba mu ngengabitekerezo ziri mu mitwe y'abayemera. Ariko nitunavuga ko atari « amoko » tujye twemeza ko ari **INGIRWAMOKO** tunigishe abakiri bato AMOKO Y'UKURI ayariyo, ni ukuvuga yayandi ya gakondo navuze kuko ariyo ari mu muco nyarwanda. Ni yo mpamvu ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki ariho atariho. Harabura ikintu kimwe gusa kugirango azimangatane burundi. Harabura politiki ihamye irengera ikanubahiriza umuco nyarwanda n'uburenganzira bwa buri wese kuko ingengabitekerezo z'ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki zibereyeho kubihonyora. Icyo gihe nikigera, abacuzi n'abacuruzi b'izo ngengabitekerezo bazaburiramo kuko bazagira igihombo gikomeye, naho abacuzwaga ibyabo kubera ayo ngirwamoko bahabonere inyungu itubutse. Bityo Rubanda rwiruhutse.

Gushyira ingirwamoko ya politiki y'ABAHUTU, ABATUTSI n'ABATWA imbere y'AMOKO y'UMUCO NYARWANDA ni ukugenda GICURI. Ni nko kugendesha amaboko kandi dufite amaguru !

Muri iyi nyandiko, nerekanye ko INYABUTATU igizwe n'ingirwamoko ya politiki kandi ko abatubwiye ko HUTU, TUTSI na TWA ari amoko y'abanyarwanda batatubeshye gusa ahubwo batuboshye, baradufunga, baturenganya<sup>8</sup>. Nuko badutera ubwoba ngo « niba udashaka kuba umuhutu, umututsi cyangwa umutwa ngo ubwo nturi umunyarwanda ». Guhatira abanyarwanda kuba mu "*Imbaga y'Inyabutatu*", ibyo ni igitugu. Ikindi gitugu nanone ni uguhatira abanyarwanda kuba mw'ishyaka rimwe ngo ni uko ari ryo riri ku butegetsi. Ibyo nabyo abanyarwanda turabizi. Uko ingoma z'ubutegetsi zagiye zisimburana, ni nako zakomeje kutubeshya no kutuboha. Bamwe ngo abanyarwanda twese turi mu Mbaga y'Inyabubatu « ibumbye amoko », abandi ngo twibumbiye mu *Bwato bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi* « *ritavangura amoko* », abandi ngo twese turi mu muryango umwe w'abanyarwanda « utagira amoko », n'ibindi... Abo bose, ubutegetsi bwabo bakabushingira kuri ayo ngirwamoko. Rubanda turashukika koko! Ibyo binyoma bigomba kuranduka burundi abanyarwanda tukibohora by'ukuri.

Ingingo ya 2 y'Itangazo rya UNESCO ryo kuwa 27 Ugushyingo 1978 ku bwoko n'akarengane gashingiye ku moko navuze iragaraza neza ko *Inyabutatu* nayo yuzuyemo irondakoko ry'ubundi bwoko kandi ivangura abanyarwanda.

Muri iki gihe, Impinduramatwara (Révolution) dukeneye ni iy'ibitekerezo bya politiki, ni iyo **kuvana ingirwamoko muri politiki kandi nayo tukayavamo politiki**. Ntabwo ari REVOLUTION ya Gatebe gatoki, ahubwo n'iyio kwivanamo ibinyoma biri mu ngengabitekerezo z'ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki y'INYABUTATU tukimakaza UKURI kw'amoko y'abakurambere bacu yo mu muco nyarwanda. Ingirwamoko y'INYABUTATU nasimburwe n'amashyaka ya politiki kuko bidashobora kubangikana. Ni yo mpamvu agomba kuva muri politiki akabisa amashyaka. Gushakira ibibazo n'ibisubizo byose ku ngirwamoko nabyo, ni ukuyaha ingufu za politiki adafite.

Ayo ngirwamoko nava muri politiki, niho abanyarwanda batazongera kuyiyumvamo kuko ntacyo azaba akibamariye. Umunyarwanda yiyumvamo ingirwabwoko ubu n'ubu kubera inyungu za politiki ariko rimwe na rimwe mu buryo atagambiriye cyangwa atatekereje. Impungenge zo gukandamizwa no kwimwa imyanya mu butegetsi n'iyindi milimo ku biswe ko ari ba RUBANDA NYAMUCYE (minorités "ethniques" = abatutsi n'abatwa) - ari byo byitwa irondakoko n'ivanguramoko - ntizizongera kubaho. Abazakomeza kuyatsimbararaho, bazayiyumvamo ku giti cyabo ariko batemerewe kuyagira umurato n'ibikangisho mu ruhame. **Ya mibare ya 85/100 by'abahutu, 14/100 by'abatutsi na 1/100 by'abatwa yavanguraga abanyarwanda nta gaciro izongera kugira ndetse na ya makimbirane yo kutumvikana ku bagomba KWIBUKWA mu mihangi y'icyunamo n'imibare y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa bishwe, ntazongera kubaho. TUZABIBUKIRA HAMWE kuko icyatumaga bavangurwa kizaba kitakiriho.**

Kandi nanone, ku banyepolitiki bakoraga iryo vangurabanyarwanda, izo ntwaro ntazo bazaba bagifite kuko n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ubutabera, ubwiyunge, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu

<sup>8</sup> Une pure manipulation politique.

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n'itangazamakuru bakoreshaga bazazamburwa. **UBUMWE** bw'Abanyarwanda ni uko tuzabugeraho. Ibyo bizatuma abanyarwanda bareshya imbere y'amategeko KUKO INZEGO ZISHINZWE KURENGERA AYO MATEGEKO zizayoborwa na Sosiyete sivil yigenga isanzwe irengera abantu bose itavanguye (igice 2).

Twibohoye ingoma za cyami na gikolonize ariko bimwe mu bitekerezo byazo turacyabifite mu mitwe yacu. Nitubyibohora ni bwo tuzaba tugeze ku bumwe nyabwo, ku bwigenge bwuzuye kandi busesuye ndetse no ku bwiyunge nyakuri. Ibi ni byo abanyarwanda tuzira kuko tugifite bimwe mu bitekerezo bya gihake. Ingero: gutinya guhakana ibyo umutegetsi cyangwa uwahoze ari umutegetsi avuze nubwo byaba binyuranyije n'ukuri, gutinya kuvuguruza umuntu "mukuru" (umubyeyi watubyaye, mwalimu wacu, umutegetsi n'abandi).

Uretse intambara n'imvururu za 1959, 1963-64, 1973, 1990-1994 mu Rwanda, na 1996-98 muri Congo n'izindi zayobowe n'abanyepolitiki, nta kindi gitandukanya *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa*. Nta kintu kiranga bamwe abandi badafite. Abensi mu banyarwanda barushaho kwiyumvamo ko ari *abahutu* cyangwa *abatutsi* kubera izo ntambara. Ibyo ni ukugwa mu mutego w'abashoza izo ntambara kuko nyine baba bifuza kubona abayoboke kugirango bagire ingufu zo guhangana n'abo bashyamiranye, noneho abo banyarwanda bakicamo ibice bibili, ubumwe bwabo bugasandara.

Ubwo **bumwe** bw'abanyarwanda rero buzagerwaho umunsi tuzavana ingirwamoko *y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* muri politiki kandi nayo tukayavanamo politiki kugirango abanyepolitiki batazongera kuyakoresha bashoza izo ntambara hagati *y'abanyarwanda*.

Natangiye mvuga uburyo nabwiye mwalimu wanje ko ntumva ukuntu abanyarwanda twagira AMOKO y'ubwoko BUBIRI. Mwiboneye ko ibyo ari IKINYOMA. Ikinyoma cyagizwe UKURI, naho UKURI kwabaye IKINYOMA. Ni ngombwa guhindura iyo myumvire, tukabicurukura.

Kumenya ubwoko bishingiye ku bipimo by'ibice by'umubiri nta shingiro bifite kandi byatesheje abanyarwanda agaciro. Ubwo se, akoloni bashoboraga no kudupima amatwi nkaho turi imbeba koko ? Natwe kwemera ibyo ni ukwitesha agaciro kacu k'ubumuntu (dignité humaine), ni ukwisuzugura.

Icyo uyu mushinga ugamije rero muri iyi gahunda y'ubwiyunge nyakuri bw'abanyarwanda, ni ugushaka, mu buryo bunyuze mu mategeko, umuti n'urukingo by'indwara y'irondakoko n'ivangura twatewe no gushyira iyo myumvire y'ayo ngirwamoko muri politiki igakoreshwa mu gutanya, gutteranya no gusumbanya abanyarwanda kugeza ubwo iyo ndwara iduteye ibisazi byo kwicana hagati yacu.

Ndabizi ko uwo umuti utaryohera bamwe mu banyarwanda cyane cyane abanyepolitiki, ariko burya ngo "indwara ikizwa n'umuti usharira".

### 4. Umuti n'urukingo by'indwara y'irondakoko n'ivangura-ngirwamoko ya politiki

#### 4.1. Umuti

Umuti nyawo, ni uko buri munyarwanda wese akiyi kwibohora ibinyoma biri mu ngengabitekerezo z'ingirwamoko *y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa*, kuko nta shingiro bifite. Nkuko mbivuga muri uyu mushinga, inzira ya mbere y'ubwiyunge ni UKURI. Kiriya kinyoma cy'uko Hutu, Tutsi na Twa ngo ari « ethnies » kinyuranye rero n'ukwo UKURI, niyo mpamvu tugomba kukivana mu myumvire (croyance) yacu, tukacyibohora. Abensi ibyo birabagora kubera kugira isoni zo kwemera ko bashutswe n'abanyepolitiki (manipulation politique). Nidutinyuke tugane ukuri maze tureke ibinyoma by'Inyabutatu.

#### 4.2. Urukingo

Urukingo rwo tugomba kurushakira mu banyepolitiki. Bityo, ni ngombwa ko hakorwa ibi bikurikira:

##### 4.2.1 Kuvana ingirwamoko muri politiki kandi nayo tukayavanamo politiki

Amashyaka ntagomba kuba ashingiye ku *ngirwamoko*. Kubera ko ikibazo cy'irondakoko n'ivangura gitanya kandi giteranya abanyarwanda bitewe n'abanyepolitiki, ariko kikaba atari cyo cyonyine

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kibangamira uburenganzira bw'abenegihugu, muri uyu mushinga tubona urukingo rw'yo ndwara ari uko inzego za Leta zose zirebana n'icyo kibazo zikwiye kuyoborwa n'abandi banyarwanda badakora politiki igamije ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, bityo izo nzego zikava mu maboko y'abapolitisiye (politiciens). Izo nzego ni izishinzwe kurengera: **umuco nyarwanda, ubwisanzure bw'itangazamakuru n'amadini, amateka y'igihugu, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge hamwe n'uburenganzira bwo KWIBUKA amahano y'ubwicanyi bushingiye ku ngirwamoko n'ubwo kubabarirana, uburenganzira bw'impunzi n'abimukira**, kimwe n'izindi nshingano zishamikiye kuri izo zose.

Kugeza ubu, ari ubutegetsi **bw'abahutu**, ari n'ubutegetsi **bw'abatutsi**, guhuza abanyarwanda byarabunaniye. Iribazo cy'impunzi kirabigaragaza. Kugirango ibyo noneho bibe byashoboka, birasaba ko habaho impinduka mu miterere n'imikorere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu (changement du système politique dans le fonctionnement des institutions publiques), kugirango dusezerere ingoma z'igitugu maze igihugu kigendere ku mategeko. Itegeko-nshinga ryateganya ko *Sosiyete sivil nyarwanda yigenga* ari yo ikwiye kuyobora ziriya nzego navuze.

Abanyarwanda bari mu muryango ya sosiyete sivil (mu mashyirahamwe cyangwa ku giti cyabo) bifusa iyo mpinduka rero ntibagomba kuba mu mashyaka ya politiki cyangwa kuyabogamiraho. Bityo, ni bwo bagira ingufu zo kurwanya ibyaha by'irondakoko n'ivangura-ngirwamoko ya politiki.

Dore uko iki gitekerezo cyanjemo (ubuhamya). Mbere yo kuva mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1998, nakoraga akazi k'ubwavoka kandi ndi n'umunyamuryango w'ishyirahamwe rya sosiyete sivil riharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu ryitwa LIPRODHOR<sup>9</sup>. Icyo gihe ku butumire bw'uwo muryango, najyaga ntanga ibiganiro byerekeranye n'amategeko agenga ifatwa n'ifungwa muri gahunda yo kwigisha abaturage, kugirango bamene uburenganzirwa bwabo: umuntu afungwa ryari, afungirwa he, ashobora gufungirwa ibihe byaha, abafite uburenganzira bwo gufunga ni bande, igithe umuntu ashobora kumara muri gereza ataraburana kingana iki, ibihano byemewe n'amategeko ni ibihe, n'ibindi. Izo nyigisho natangaga ariko zarakaje bamwe mu bafungagaabantu mu buryo bunyuraniwe n'ayo mategeko, kandi ari bo bashinzwe kuyubahiriza. Nkaho ayo mategeko nigishaga ari jye wayanditse! Kandi nyamara, ibyo nakoraga byari mu nshingano zanje nk'umwavoka ugomba kurengera Rubanda no kugirango ayo mategeko yubahirizwe.

Abakozi ba Leta bakurikiranywe n'inkiko kubera ko bafungiye abantu ubusa cyangwa mu buryo bunyuranyije n'amategeko babariwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Ibyo nabyanditseho igitabo ndangiza amashuri makuru mukwa gatandatu muw'1990. Muri ibyo bihe nabwo, icyo kibazo cyari kiriho, ndetse cyaje gukomera intambara yo mu Ukwakira 1990 itangiye igithe hafungwaga abo bitaga « ibyitso by'inkotanyi » bamwe baziraga gusa ko ari **abatutsi**, bigakomeza na nyuma yaho mu ntambara. Icyo kibazo cyaje kurenga urugero mu bwicanyi bwo mu ntambara n'ubw'itsembabwoko, ndetse na nyuma yaho ubwo hari bamwe mu **bahutu** bafunzwe bazira gusa ko ari **abahutu**, barengana, bagafungwa hamwe na ba bicanyi babahigaga babaziza ko bahisha **abatutsi**.

Ibyo byose rero byanyumvishije ko kurengera uburenganzira bwa muntu n'amategeko bidahagije, ko abanyarwanda dukeneye guhindura imyumvire ya politiki n'izindi nyigisho ku bwiyunge nyakuri.

Ingirwamoko aramutse avanywe muri politiki, abanyarwanda ntibayashyira mu ruhame ngo bayarate cyangwa bayagire igikangisho. Nta mpamvu yumvikana ikwiye gutuma umunyarwanda arata ingirwabwoko bwe kuko ari we bwagombye kureba wenyine, mu gihe bwaba ari ubwoko mu by'ukuri. Kandi siko bimeze. Kimwe n'amadini, ntacyo ingirwabwoko bw'umwe bumarira abandi.

### 4.2.2. Amashyaka ya politiki ntagomba kugira ingabo z'igisirikare n'iza gisivili

Abanyarwanda bifusa kuba ingabo z'igihugu rero nabo ntibagomba kuba mu mashyaka ya politiki cyangwa kuyabogamiraho. Nta munyepolitiki ukwiye kuba umusilikare, nta n'umusikare ugomba gukora politiki. Ntibibaho muri demokarasi. Iyi ngingo kurayigarukaho birambuye mu cyika cya 4.2.3.1.

Kubera izo mpamvu zose, impungenge z'uko **abatwa** n'abatutsi bashobora kubuzwa uburenganzira

<sup>9</sup> Ligue pour la Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme

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bwabo no guhezwa mu butegetsi ku mpamvu y'uko ngo ari bo bacye ku *bahutu*, izo mpungenge ntizakwongera kubaho kuko ziriya nzego ziyobowe na sosiyete sivili n'amadini navuze hejuru zaba zigenga, zitabogamiye kuri politiki, kandi n'ingabo za gisilikare zaba ari iz'igihugu, atari iz'amashyaka, nazo zidafite aho zibogamiye muri politiki.

Izi ngingo zose zumvikanyweho hagati y'amashyaka ya politiki na Sosiyete sivili, icyo gihe ingirwamoko yava muri politiki kuko yareka kuba igikoresho cy'abanye politiki, kandi nayo akavamo politiki kuko *abahutu, abatutsi* n'abatwa bareka kwiyumvamo ko hari ikibatandukanya. Abanyarwanda baba bamaze gusobanukirwa ikinyoma cy'abanye politiki bakoresheje ingirwamoko mu nyungu zabo bagamije gusa ubutegetsi, bityo abo benegihugu bakabana neza batishishanya.

Ibi byose ariko birasaba ko abaturage babihabwaho inyigisho zihagije. Reka mbisobanure mu magambo ahinnye (ibisobanuro birambuuye biri mu gice cya 2).

- Kuba umuhutu, umututsi cyangwa umutwa ntawe byahesha cyangwa byabuza akazi, ntawe byahesha cyangwa byabuza umwanya mu butegetsi, kandi ntawe byabuza uburengazira yemererwa n'amategeko, kuko wa mutegetsi cyangwa wa munyepolitiki nawe ataba yarageze kuri wa mwanya kubera ingirwabwoko afite, ahubwo ari ukubera ubushobozi bwe, yaratsinze ipiganwa (ikizamini) cyangwa yaragize amajwi menshi mu matora.
- Mu butabera, nta munyepolitiki washobora kwongera gukingira ikibaba umunyacyaha ngo kuko bahuje ingirwabwoko cyangwa gufungisha umuntu urengana kubera impamvu za politiki, kuko umucamanza ataba ategekwa n'uwo munyepolitiki. Inzego za politiki n'iz'ubutabera zaba zitandukanye.
- Akazi k'abagize sosiyete sivili kakwiyongera kugirango amategeko arusheho kugira ingufu, maze nkuko umugani ubivuga, noneho ayo mategeko akarusha amabuye kuremera koko. Abagize Sosiyete sivili baba bafite ububasha bwo kurwanya ubwabo akarengane bamagana aho kubisaba abanye politiki mu mabaruwa atabonerwa ibisubizo.
- Urugero ni uko nk'amaraporo y'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamantu yajya atangwa mu nzego z'ubushinja-cyaha kugirango buhite bukora iperereza ku byaha biri muri ayo maraporo, aho kuyohererereza abanye politiki kuko n'ubundi atari bo bashinzwe ubutabera, kandi rimwe na rimwe bamwe muri bo baba bacyekwaho ibyo byaha. Ngo "ntawe urega uwo aregaho".

### 4.2.3 Ingabo ntizigira amashyaka n'ingirwamoko ya politiki kuko zidakora politiki

Maze kwerekana ko urukingo rumwe rureba abanye politiki, nsobanura ko bakwiye kurekura inzego za Leta zose zirebana n'ubutabera, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamantu n'ubwiyunge maze zikayoborwa na Sosiyete sivili yigenga, ariya ngirwamoko akava muri politiki kandi nayo akavanwamo politiki. Kugirango ibyo bishoboke, abanyarwanda bagize umuryango wa sosiyete sivili nabo ntibagomba kujya mu mashyaka ya politiki kugirango bagire ubwigenge bwuzuye.

Urukingo rwa gatatu rukwiye gufatwa n'abanyarwanda bifuza kuba **ingabo zishinzwe umutekano w'igihugu**, nabo bakemera kutajya muri politiki. Bijyanye n'uko, amashyaka ya politiki atagomba kugira ingabo nkuko nabivuze, zaba iza gisivili cyangwa iz'igisirikare.

Ku ngoma zose zabayeho mu Rwanda, abategetsi bakunze gukoresha intwaro ebyili kugirango bagere cyangwa bagume ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi: intwaro za gisilikare n'intwaro z'ingirwamoko. Muri iki gihe, mu buryo ngo bwo gucyemura ibibazo bishingiye kuri ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki, hari abavuga ko ingabo z'igihugu zikwiye gushyirwaho ngo hakurikijwe *ubuhutu, ubututsi* n'ubutwa ziyumvamo, ngo hakagenwa imibare yumvikanyweho n'abanye politiki mw'igabana ry'imyanya y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu.

Nyamara, icyo gitekerezo nacyo kirimo ivangura nkuko tuza kubireba. Muri uyu mushinga nshyigikiye ahubwo ko abasilikari, abapolisi n'abandi bagize inzego z'umutekano w'igihugu muri rusange, batagomba gukora politiki no kwibonamo ingirwamoko ya politiki. Ni byo tugiye kureba.

#### 4.2.3.1 Abashinzwe umutekano w'igihugu ntibagomba gukora politiki

Mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu, tuzi ko hari imitwe ya politiki yagiye ishinga ingabo, zaba iza gisivili cyangwa iza gilikare. Na n'ubu usanga abanye politiki nta kintu babihinduraho nkaho bikwiye kuzakomeza gutyo

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iteka ryose. Niko byagenze kuva Urwanda rwatangira kuyoborwa n'abasirikare muri 1973. Kuva icyo gihe kugeza ubu, twagiye tugira abasilikare mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi uko ari 3, ni ukuvuga Ubutegetsi nshingamategeko, ubutegetsi nyubahirizamategeko, ndetse no mu butabera.

Ibyo kandi twarabyemeye – nako twarabyemejwe – birakomeza imyaka irashira indi irataha, turicecekera, turabiményera, nkaho ari ibintu bisanzwe, muri wa muco mubi wacu. Kugeza n'uyu munsi, hari abumva ko ntacyo bitwaye kuba abasikare nabo baba abanyeapolitiki cyangwa abanyeapolitiki bakaba abasirikare, kuko ari ko byamenyerewe. Ariko bakirengangiza ingaruka zabyo twabonye kuva kiriya gihe. Nyamara abashyigikira amashyaka ya politiki afite ingabo z'igisirikare barahindukira bakayarega ko atubahiriza demokarasi, kandi bari bazi neza ko ingabo z'igihugu zitagomba kuba iz'ayo amashyaka. Twibaze amashyaka yose y'abanyarwanda aramutse agize imitwe itandukanye y'igisirikare uko byagenda. Bigenze bityo, abatari mu mashyaka ya politiki bo barengerwa na nde ? Hari ndetse n'abemera ko ngo ingabo zishobora kwitirirwa umukuru w'igihugu. Ni akumiro !

Ibyo mvuze ariko si umwihariko w'abanyarwanda gusa, ariko twe dushyiraho akarusho. Mu bindibihugu nabyo bitaragera kuri demokarasi nyayo, bamwe muri abo banyeapolitiki b'abasirikare babeshya abenegihugu n'amahanga ko ngo nibamara gufata ubutegetsi bazabuzubiza abasivili nyuma y'igihe cy'inzibacyuho. Bakavuga gutyo kugirango bibonere imfashanyo z'abo banyamahanga. Bamara kubugeraho, bagahindura imvugo, bakanga kuburekura. Abanyarwanda bo, iyo nzibacyuho abanyeapolitiki b'abasikare ntibirirwa bayibeshya abaturage. Ahubwo babwira Rubanda ko ubutegetsi ari bo babwifatiye, babwihaye baioresheje imbunda, ari nayo mpamvu bagomba kubugumaho, kuko atari abasivili babubahaye, bityo bakaba ntacyo bagomba kubishyuza. Demokarasi urahenda koko !

Ba banyamahanga b'abahanga muri demokarasi nabo bakaturega ko nta demokarasi tugira nyamara ari bo baha intwaro izo ngabo bazi neza ko ari iz'amashyaka ya politiki, kandi iwabo ibyo ntabibayo. Barangiza, bat: ariko kuki mutagira demokarasi nk'iyanu? Ibi mu gifaransa babyita « hypocrisie ». Abo banyamahanga rero, hagati y'ibintu bibiri bakwiye guhitamo kimwe: gushyigikira abanyarwanda bifuza ubutegetsi buyobowe na demokarasi cyangwa bakerura bakavuga ko badashaka demokarasi mu gihugu cyacu, bityo bakareka kubeshya. Ariko se nanone, abo banyamahanga tubabajije impamvu ituma badukorera ibyo bakadusubiza ko "usenya urwe umutiza umuhoro", twabasubiza ko uwo mugani tutawuzi? Natwe abanyarwanda rero, nitureke kugira indimi ebyiri. Niduharanire ko igihugu cyacu Urwanda kiyoborwa n'amategeko maze akarengane gashire, cyangwa se ko kiyoborwa n'imbunda maze twemere dushire. Twakora iki ?

- Icyo mbere dukwiye gukora ni ugutinyuka tugashaka ibitekerezo bishya bya politiki kandi tugahindura uburyo bwo gukora politiki. Kimwe n'uko muri uyu mushinga mbwira abanyarwanda bari muri Sosiyete sivil kutaba mu mashyaka ya politiki kugirango bashobore kurengera neza amategeko na Rubanda rwose kandi bagire ubwigenge; dukwiye kubwiza ukuri abifuza kuba ingabo zirinda umutekano w'igihugu kudakorera amashyaka ya politiki, kimwe n'abanyeapolitiki n'abifuza kuyikora kutayibangikanya n'imilimo y'igisilikare n'igipolisi, kugirango izo ngabo zibe iz'abanyarwanda twese.
- Icyo kabiri ni ukuvanaho impamvu zose zituma abanyeapolitiki bitabaza intwaro za gisilikare kugirango bagere ku butegetsi. Intambara yo muri 1990-94 ikwiye kutubera isomo maze tugashaka ibisubizo ku bibazo byayiteye kandi n'ubu bikiriho, ibisubizo bivuye mu biganiro.

### 4.2.3.2 Abashinzwe umutekano w'igihugu ntibagomba kwibonamo ingirwamoko ya politiki

Nkuko nabivuze, dukwiye kuvana ingirwamoko y'INYABUTATU muri politiki kandi nayo tukayavanamo politiki, kugirango abanyeapolitiki bareke kuyagira intwaro z'ubutegetsi. Abahakana ko ariya ngirwamoko ari aya politiki, nibayagumane ku giti cyabo ariko bareke kuyacuruza no kuyagira ibikangisha n'intwaro z'iterabwoba, bityo bahe amahoro abandi banyarwanda. Niba atari ibyo, ni uko bemera ko ari aya politiki nyine bakayashakamo inyungu z'ubutegetsi. Ikibigaragaza ni uko hari bamwe bigira abavugizi b'ingirwabwoko barimo, ibibazo byose by'igihugu bakaba ari yo babishingiraho. Abo bagomba kumenya ko *ubuhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa* atari amashyirahamwe cyangwa amashyaka ya politiki. Uwiyumvamo kuba *umuhutu, umututsi* cyangwa *umutwa*, niwe bireba ntawundi bireba, kandi ubwabyo nta burenganzira bimoha burenze ubw'abandi. Ntagomba kubirata cyangwa kubikandagiza abandi. Ni umuntu nk'abandi.

Ku birebana n'ingabo zishinzwe umutekano, hari abanyepolitiki nanone bumva ko ngo igisubizo ari uko izo ngabo zashyirwaho hakurikijwe ayo ngirwamoko ziyumvamo, ngo hakagenwa imibare y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa nkuko nabivuze. Hari uwo nabajije niba ibyo yumva biberanye na demokarasi, ambwira ko ngo byaba ari iby'igihe gito cy'inzibacyuho, ngo nyuma hakazabaho ubutegetsi budashingiye ku ngirwamoko tumaze kwinjira muri iyo demokarasi nyayo. Ndongera ndamubaza nti: "kuki mutakwinjira muri iyo demokarasi ako kanya mutarinze gutegereza iyo myaka y'inzibacyuho"? Nanone nti: "kuki ibyo mwumva mwazakora nyuma y'inzibacyuho mutabikora ubu ? Iyo demokarasi muzayinjiramo mute"? Igisubizo nyacyo kikabura. Abavuga ibyo ukumva ari ya Mayeri ya politiki yo gushaka guhora mu nzibacyuho itarangira, cyangwa ari kwa gutinya gushaka ibisubizo bishya, maze bagahitamo kwigana politiki z'ibindi bihugu bitari ibyabo.

Nkuko nabisobanuye, NYABUTATU NYARWANDA ntiyubahiriza amahame y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu kuko irimo irondakoko n'ivangurabanyarwanda. Abanyepolitiki baramutse bashyizeho ingabo bashingiye ku ngirwamoko ziyumvamo, izo ngabo zarengera mbere na mbere ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki kuko ari yo yaba yarazihesheje imyanya zaba zirimo, aho kurengera igihugu n'abenegihugu bose. Ikindi ni uko icyo gitekerezo kirimo ivangura rikomeye kuko hari abanyarwanda benshi batazi ayo ngirwamoko kuko batarayamenya, hakaba n'abatayiyumvamo kuko batayemera ndetse n'abatayashaka. Abo bose kandi kuba ingabo z'igihugu nabo ni uburenganzira bwabo. Nabo batemerewe kuba abasilikare cyangwa abapolisi byaba ari akarengane. Tuvugishije ukuri rero, izo ngabo ntizaba ari iz'igihugu ahubwo zaba ari iz'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka n'ingirwamoko yabo baba bakoresheje kugirango babone uko bagera ku butegetsi. **Urwanda ni urw'abanyarwanda twese, ntabwo ari urw'Inyabutatu.**

Ingabo zishinzwe kurinda umutekano n'ubusugire bw'igihugu, naho Sosiyete sivili ikaba ishinchwe kuba ijwi n'iijisho rya Rubanda kandi ikarengera amategeko. Mu by'ukuri, kubwira abanyarwanda ngo uzakoresha intwaro z'ingirwamoko ya politiki ngo kugirango ubazanire demokarasi ni ukubabeshya.

#### **4.2.3.3 Hakorwa iki kugirango ingabo zishinzwe umutekano zireke kuba iz'amashyaka n'ingirwamoko ya politiki?**<sup>10</sup>

**Ingingo ya 1.** Nkuko nabivuze, dukwiye kuvana politiki mu ngirwamoko y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa. Urugero natanga ni uko: kwitirira bamwe mubo mudahuje ingirwabwoko ibyaha byakozwe n'abandi ubabeshyera, kimwe no kwiyitirira akababaro ka bamwe mubo muhuje ingirwabwoko wibwira ko ufite uburenganzira kurusha abo bandi ubeshyera, iyo ni politiki y'irondakoko. Nta muntu ukwiye gutwerera undi munyarwanda ingirwabwoko butari ubwe. Ibyo tugomba kubirenga. Ubwo ni uburyo bumwe bwo kurwanya irondakoko.

**Ingingo ya 2.** Dukwiye kandi kuvana ingirwamoko muri politiki, kugirango amashyaka atayashingiraho kuko guhuza ingirwabwoko bitavuze kugira ibitekerezo bya politiki bimwe. Nkuko tubizi, politiki y'INYABUTATU yari iya Cyami kandi, nkuko nabivuze, ABAHUTU, ABATUTSI n'ABATWA biswe ko ari AMOKO n'ingoma ya Gikoloni mu gifaransa bavuga ko ngo ari « ethnies » kandi atari byo. Nyamara ingoma ya Cyami n'iya Gikoloni twarazisezereye, zisimburwa na Repubulika ishingiye kuri politiki y'AMASHYAKA. Niyo mpamvu *Inyabutatu* yagombaga gusimburwa n'amashyaka kuko bidashobora kubangikana. Ni kimwe cyangwa ikindi. **INYABUTATU NTIYUBAHIRZA AMAHAME YA DEMOKARASI**<sup>11</sup>, kuko itubakiye ku bitekerezo bya politiki nkuko bimeze ku MASHYAKA; ivangura abanyarwanda kandi ikanabasumbanya, mu gihe politiki y'amashyaka yo igendera ku mahame y'uburenganzira bwa muntu ahuza abantu kugirango bareshye imbere y'amategeko. INYABUTATU nta gahunda ya politiki (programme politique) igira. Amakimbirane twagize ni aho yaturutse. Ndahamya ko izo ngingo 2 zubahirijwe ayo ngirwamoko yava no mu mitwe y'abanyarwanda bakiyyumvamo.

**Ingingo ya 3.** Kuvana ingabo zishinzwe umutekano (igisilikare n'igipolisi) muri politiki. Nta shyaka rigomba kugira ingabo kandi ingabo ntizigomba gukora politiki kuko ari iz'abanyarwanda bose, kuko zigomba kurengera bose. Iyo ingabo zibaye iz'amashyaka, zirengera abashyigikiye cyangwa abayoboke b'ayo mashyaka gusa, abandi bakaharenganira. Icyo gihe rero, izo ngabo ntizakwitwa ko ari iz'igihugu.

<sup>10</sup> Comment dépolitiser et déséthniciser l'armée et la police?

<sup>11</sup> Le système politique INYABUTATU est anti-démocratique et ne respecte pas la dignité humaine.

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**Ingingo ya 4.** Ingingo ya 2 n'iya 3 maze kuvuga zirerekana ko amashyaka aramutse adashingiye ku ngirwamoko ya politiki maze ntabe ay'INYABUTATU kandi ntagire ingabo, ahubwo akagendera ku bitekerezo bya politki, izo ngabo nazo ntizagira ayo ngirwamoko kuko zitaba iz'INYABUTATU, kandi ntizakora politiki, ahubwo zashyirwaho hakurikijwe ubushake n'ubushobozzi zifite bwo kurengera umutekano w'abanyarwanda bose no gukunda igihugu. Ni bwo rero zaba ingabo z'igihugu nyine koko aho kuba iz'amashyaka cyangwa iz'ingirwamoko ya politiki.

Mu magambo ahinnye ndagira nti: Ingabo zivuye muli politiki, ingirwamoko *y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* nayo akava muri politiki kandi akavanwamo politiki, izo ingabo ntizakwiyumvamo ayo ngirwamoko kandi nibwo zahinduka ingabo z'igihugu n'abanyarwanda bose.

Ingabo ntizigomba kuba mu mashyaka, ntizinakwiye kwibonamo ubuhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa kuko zitagomba gukora politiki. Dukeneye ingabo zitarangwa n'ayo NGIRWAMOKO YA POLITIKI.

### 5. Niturinde uburezi n'urubyiruko irondakoko n'ivangura-ngirwamoko ya politiki

Inyigisho zimwe z'ivangura n'irondakoko ziva mu miryango yacu, mu mashuri no muri politiki n'amadisikuru ya bamwe mu bayobozi. Nkoko nabyererekanye ingirwamoko *y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ntari mu muco nyarwanda kuko ari aya politiki. Abanyarwanda bayiyumvamo kuko bayacenjejwemo n'ababyeyi, abarimu ndetse n'abategetsi bitewe n'ingengabitekerezo za politiki. Ibyo nitubirinde abana bacu ndetse n'urubyiruko.

#### 5.1 Inyigisho zo mu miryango y'abanyarwanda

##### 5.1.1 Ubuhamya bwanje

- Mu muryango mvukamo umwe mu babyeyi banje yakundaga kutuganiza ku moko gakondo *y'umuco nyarwanda*, naho ay'Inyabutatu ntagire umwanya ayagenera muri ibyo biganiro, undi mubyeyi we nkaba ntaramumenye kubera politiki mbi *y'igihugu* yari yaradutanyije kuko yari impunzi. Ibi mbyangizeho ingaruka mu buzima bwanje kuko hari inshuti zanje ntari nzi ingirwamoko yabo kandi bo baribwiraga ko duhuje « ubwoko ». Hari uwigeze kumbwira ko ngo mbere yo kugira mugenzi we inshuti abanza kumenya niba buhuje ingirwabwoko. Ni uko abonye ntangaye agwa mu kantu ahita abona ko yanyibeshye.
- Ubundi buhamya navuga ni uburebana n'ishuti yanje Védaste twabanye igihe kinini kuva mu mashuri yisumbuye na nyuma nyaho, wishwe muri génocide. Sinigeze menya niba yari umuhutu cyangwa *umututsi* kuko ntari narabyitayeho kubera ko tutigeze tubiganiraho, kandi nawe, nkurikije urukundo rwacu, sinemeza ko hari ingirwabwoko ubu n'ubu yanyitiriraga.

##### 5.1.2 Uburerere buruta ubuvuke kandi ingirwamoko ya politiki ntavukanwa

Uretse no kuba tuzi ko UBURERE BURUTA UBUVUKE nkoko umugani w'Ikinyarwanda ubivuga, amoko y'INYABUTATU **ntavukanwa** nkoko babitubeshye. Nta munyarwanda uvuka ari *umuhutu, umututsi* cyangwa *umutwa*, ahubwo arabyigishwa noneho yamara kubyemera akiyumvamo ko nawe agize bumwe muri ayo ngirwamoko (psychologie). Ababyeyi b'umwana batamubwiye ingirwabwoko bw'Inyabutatu bemera ko bafite maze ngo banamubwire ko umunyarwanda afata ubwoko bw'umwe mu babyeyi be, nta na bumwe uwo mwana yakiyumvamo ubuzima bwe bwose. Ahubwo ababwigishijwe n'ababyeyi babo ni bo batwerera cyangwa bitirira abandi ingirwamoko bitewe n'ibyo babeshywe ko ngo biyatandukanya. Abana b'abanyarwanda batagize amahirwe yo kumenya ababyeyi babo cyangwa ntibakurire mu miryango yigisha ayo **ngirwamoko**, yaba imiryango y'abanyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga barerewemo, abo ntibiyumvamo ko ari *abahutu, abatutsi* cyangwa *abatwa*, uretse kuyumva mu nyigisho z'amateka y'U Rwanda.

##### 5.2 Inyigisho zo mu mashuri

Navuga ko imibereho yo mu buto bwanje ari yo isobanura impamvu ndangiza amashuri abanza natinyutse gusobanuza mwalimu itandukanyirizo riri hagati y'amoko yo mu muco nyarwanda n'ay'Inyabutatu, nkamubaza impamvu ayo yose yitwa izina rimwe (amoko), ariko igisubizo yampaye

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kikaba kitaranyuze nkuko nabivuze. Hari muri cya gihe cy'imvururu zo muri 1973 ubwo abanyeshuli b'abatutsi birukanwaga mu bigo by'amashuri.

Mu mashuri bigisha amateka y'igihugu. Kubera ko ayo mateka yagiye agorekwa kubera inyungu za politiki, kandi ku ngoma zose izo politiki zikaba zarubakiwe ku ngirwamoko, ayo mateka akwiye guzasubirwamo. Ingaruka z'ibyo, ni uko hari abanyarwanda bakunze kwibona mu butegetsi bw'imwe mu ngoma zayoboye Urwanda bitewe n'ingirwabwoko bibonamo mbere yo kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda. Hakwiye kuzandikwa rero andi mateka mashya atagize ingoma ya politiki abogamiraho kandi atarimo ibinyoma. Ni yo mpamvu muri uyu mushinga nshyigikiye ko hakwiye kuzabaho **inama mu rwego w'igihugu** irimo abanyarwanda bo mu mpande zose kugirango baganire ku kibazo cy'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa maze bandike amateka mashya y'ukuri.

### 5.3 Ingengabitekerezo za politiki zigishwa n'abayobozi

Kimwe n'uko abanyarwanda batavukana ingirwamoko nkuko nabisobanuye, nta n'ukwiye kubeshyerwa ko avukana ibitekerezo by'intagondwa cyangwa by'ubuhezanguni bitewe n'urwango rw'abo badahuje ingirwabwoko, nubwo ibyo bitekerezo byaba bifitwe n'ababyeyi be. Inzangano n'inzigoo zishingiye ku ngirwamoko y'Inyabutatu zituruka cyane ku banyepolitiki, noneho ababyeyi bemera ingengabitekerezo zabo bakazigisha abana babo. Ibyo nabyo rero birigishwa. Ngo "umwana apfira mw'iterura". Aha ni ho umuntu abonera **ikinyoma cy'umuco wa politiki** wemeje ko ngo ariya **ngirwamoko** avukanwa. Kimwe n'uko politiki itavukanwa, ingirwamoko ya politiki y'Inyabutatu nayo ntashobora kuvukanwa. Amagambo « amoko-inkomoko » afitanye isano. Amoko gakondo y'umuco nyarwanda ni ay'imiryango dukomokamo. Nta bwibone cyangwa ubuhezanguni usanga muri ayo moko gakondo kuko areba abanyarwanda ku giti cyabo, mu miryango yabo.

Indi ngengabitekerezo y'ikinyoma irimo ivangura ni iy'abavuga ko *abahutu*, *abatutsi* n'abatwa ngo badahuje amaraso. Ibi ababivuga babivana he koko? Imvugo ikunze gukoreshwa ko ngo abana bavuka ku bahutu n'abatutsi ari "*imvange*", ntabwo ikwiye mu by'ukuri kuko ayo ngirwamoko ataba mu maraso, ahubwo aba mu myumvire, mu mitekerereze ya politiki no mu mitwe y'abanyarwanda. Amaraso y'umuntu ntahinduka ariko imyumvire n'ibitekerezo bye bishobora guhinduka, niyo mpamvu *umuhutu* ashobora guhinduka *umututsi* cyangwa *umututsi* agahinduka *umuhutu*.

Muri iki gihe, hari abiha kugereranya politiki z'U Rwanda n'z'ibindi bihugu kugera aho bagereranya bamwe mu *bahutu* n'ABANAZI b'abadage, abatutsi n'ABAYAHUDI bo muri Israël bashaka kuvuga ko génocides 2 zakorewe abo ba nyuma zabaye kimwe. Ikibabaje ni uko abo bita bamwe mu *bahutu* abana b'ABANAZI bafite ubwenegihugu bw'Ububiliyi cya gihugu cyakolonije Urwanda, abo bakoloni bakaba ari bo babeshye ko Hutu, Tutsi na Twa ngo ari « ethnies » bamaze gupima abanyarwanda bimwe mu bice by'imibiri yabo, aho kubabaza ingirwabwoko biyumvamo ubwaribwo. Iyo abo bakoloni baza kubigenza gutyo, abanyarwanda bari kwandikisha amoko yo mu muco karande. Icyo gikorwa cy'urukozasoni kibi cyatesheje Abanyarwanda agaciro k'ubumuntu bwabo ubwo bemeraga ko ibyo abakoloni bababwiye ari ukuri kandi nyamara ari ikinyoma.

Abo bita bamwe mu *bahutu* abana b'ABANAZI bakwiye ahubwo kwibuka amateka n'uruhare politiki y'igihugu cyabo yagize mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Urwanda mu gutanya, gutteranya no kwanganisha Abanyarwanda, bakabisabira imbabazi maze ibihugu byombi bikiyunga, aho gukomeza iyo politiki mbi ya gateranya. Ibyo kandi birareba n'abandi banyamahanga bigira abavugizi b'*abahutu* cyangwa b'*abatutsi* ntawabibatumye, bagacuruza izo ngirwamoko bagamije kubashyamiranya kubera inyungu zabo bwite, kuko izo ntambara iyo zibaye iwacu nta n'umwe muri abo uza kudutabara. Kubera iyo mpamvu rero, nubwo abo banyamahanga bazi ko dusangije urulimi, umuco n'igihugu, ntibashobora kureka kutwita « ethnies » mu gihe natwe ubwacu tukibyemera. Kwivanamo ibitekerezo bya gihake na gikoloni ni twebwe Abanyarwanda bireba.

Ibindi bidakwiye ni ukwitirira umwana uwariwe wese ibyaha byaba byarakozwe n'umubyeyi we. Birababaje kandi biteye agahinda kubona hari abantu bagitekereza, mu gihe tugezemo, ko umuntu yahanirwa icyaha cy'undi. Ibikorwa byo guhora, kwihorera no guhorera abandi ni ibyo mu muco wa kera w'ingoma za Cyami. Abatekereza batyo aho kujya imbere barasubira inyuma. Niyo mpamvu urubyiruko rw'ubu rukwiye kugira uruhare runini mu kwamagana ibyo bitekerezo bishaje bihungabanya uburenganzirwa bw'ikiremwamuntu kuko bivangura abanyarwanda.

Ingero zimwe zirebana n'icyaha cy'itsembabwoko (génocide):

- guhakana ko nta bakoze icyaha cy'itsembabwoko kandi hari abagikoze babyiyemerera nta terabwoba bahyzweho ushaka kubarengera kugirango badahanwa;
- guhimbira umunyarwanda icyaha cy'itsembabwoko umubeshyera kandi ubizi neza kubera gusa ko ari *umuhutu*;
- gushyiraho umuntu icyaha cya génocide kugirango azahanwe mu mwanya w'uwigikoze;
- gutegeka bamwe mu *bahutu* gusaba imbabazi z'ibyaha bya génocide batakoze;
- gutegeka bamwe mu *bahutu* gusaba imbabazi z'ibyaha bya génocide mu mwanya w'ababikoze;
- n'ibindi.

## 5.4 Ingirwamoko ya politiki y'Inyabutatu siyo aranga abanyarwanda

### 5.4.1 Ubuhamya bwanjye

- Nigeze kuganira n'umunyarwanda warokotse génocide kuby'ingirwamoko ya politiki y'*Inyabutatu* noneho nsobanura imwe mu mpamvu zatumye nshyiraho uyu mushinga. Mubwira muri make imibereho yanje, kandi musobanurira ko nifuje kwumva impamvu bamwe mu barokotse itsembabwoko ryakorewe *abatutsi* barihoreye kuri bamwe mu *bahutu* bazi neza ko batigeze barigiramo uruhare, ndetse bamwe barabafashije kurokoka. Maze kumuha ubwo buhamya, yambwiye ko **ntari umuhutu simbe n'umututsi**. Namushimiye ko nibura we atarebye isura yanje cyangwa ngo ambaze ingirwamoko y'ababyeyi banje kugirango abone kunyita *umuhutu* cyangwa *umututsi*. Ahubwo yavuze ibyo amaze kwumva ibitekerezo byanje n'ukuntu nabayeho, amaze kundeba mu mutwe !

### 5.4.2 Ingirwamoko ya politiki si amasano kandi siyo aranga abanyarwanda

Ni ukuvuga rero ko hariho abanyarwanda badafite ayo ngirwamoko. Ikindi nishimiye ni uko ubwo buhamya bwashoboye kwumvisha uwo munyarwanda ko ingirwabwoko bwe atari bwo akwiye gushyira imbere kandi ko ibyo bitamuba kuva ko yarokotse itsembabwoko ry'abatutsi. Ibyo byongeye gushimangira ko ingirwamoko ya politiki y'*Inyabutatu* aba mu mitwe y'abayiyumvamo kandi ko atavukanwa nkuko nabivuze. Bityo rero, ntawo ari amasano nkuko bamwe bakunze gushuka abandi ngo ni "bene wabo". Ngo "uriya ni uwacu"! Abiyumvaho *ubuhutu* nta kindi bapfana uretse **ubumuntu n'ubunyarwanda**.

Abiyumvamo *ubututsi* cyangwa *ubutwa*, nabyo ni ikimwe. **Ibi ni byo nkangurira urubyiruko kugirango rureke gushukwa na bamwe mu banyepolitiki bananiwe kwivanamo icyo kinyoma cy'ingoma ya cyami nyamara bavuga ko basezereye**. Ndemeza rero ko hari abanyarwanda benshi batari *abahutu*, *abatutsi* ntibabe n'abatwa kuko batigeze babwirwa izo ngirwamoko (urubyiruko) cyangwa kuko bataramenya ubwenge (abana bakiri bato), bityo ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki y'*Inyabutatu* akaba atari mu mitwe yabo. Abo babajijwe ingirwabwoko bwabo bavuga ko batabuzi cyangwa ntihagire n'icyo basubiza kuko baba bataragira uko kwemera ngo babe abayoboke b'ingengabitekerezo yabwo.

Abanyarwanda batigeze bacengezwamo ingengabitekerezo z'ingirwamoko ya politiki n'ababyeyi babo, abarimu, inshuti zabo cyangwa abanyepolitiki, abongabo ntibashobora kuyavangura kuko baba batayazi. Ni yo mpamvu abanyepolitiki bahera ku rubyiruko bakarukongezamo ingengabitekerezo z'ivangura iyo bashaka gutanya abanyarwanda.

Ingirwamoko y'*Inyabutatu* afitwe rero n'abayemera, ariko abatayemera n'abatayazi ntayo bafite. Urubyiruko ni mwebwe RWANDA RW'EJO. Nimukanguke mushishoze mureke kwemera ibitekerezo bishaje bamwe mu banyepolitiki, abarimu n'ababyeyi babashyiramo, mubahate ibibazo kugeza igihe musobanukiwe n'ibinyoma byaranze amateka y'igihugu cyacu. Nimushake namwe ibitekerezo bishya bya politiki bizaca burundi irondakoko n'ivangura. Kubera ko nta nenge mufite zishingiye kuri politiki zatanyije kandi zigateranya Abanyarwanda, ni mwe muzahindura Urwanda. Abanyepolitiki nibabagirire icyizere kandi twese Abanyarwanda tubashyigikire.

### III. Ukuri, imbabazi n'ubwiyunge biva mu biganiro

Tumaze kubona ko ingirwamoko ya politiki *y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ashingiye ku binyoma by'abashaka(ga) gutanya abanyarwanda. Buri wese amaze kwumva ko abanyarwanda bagizwe *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* ari ukubera impamvu za politiki, byamufasha kwibabarira ubwe no kubabarira uwamuhemukiye amuziza ingirwabwoko bwe, kuko imyumvire yaba imaze guhinduka.

Ubumwe nyabwo, ubwigenge n'ubwiyunge nyakuri tuzabugeraho nituva muri « gereza » ya politiki y'Inyabutatu tugasenya ibinyoma byayo. Kugirango bishoboke, tugomba kugira ibyo twigomwa (sacrifice). Nitumara kwibohora nibwo tuzashobora kugira ubwisanzure nyabwo (liberté). Abanyarwanda bagifungiranye muri iyo gereza ya politiki ni abagishyira *ubuhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa* imbere, kuko batarahumuka ngo babone ko ayo ngirwamoko ari intwarz abanyepolitiki bakoresha igihe bashakiye bitewe n'inyungu zabo z'ubutegetsi. Niyo mpamvu dukwiye guhindura système politique (imiyoborere y'igihugu) twasigiwe n'abakoloni kugirango inzego z'ubutegetsi zose abanyepolitki bakoresha bahungabanya abanyarwanda bazirekure maze zihinduke iz'ubuyobozi bwa Sosiyete sivili yigenga.

Hari Abanyarwanda biyita *abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa* kandi bazi neza ko izo nyito atari amoko y'ukuri, ariko bakabiterwa n'impamvu za politiki y'ubutegetsi cyangwa iy'imbanire yabo n'abandi kuko ari byo twamenyereye kwumva. Dukwiye gutinyuka **tukabiganiraho** kugirango dushake UKURI nyakuri. Ibyo biganiro rero birakenewe.

Mu ndirimbo yabo yitwa « *Mbwira Munyarwanda* »<sup>12</sup>, abagize Groupe « *Icyubahiro* » bahamagariye abandi banyarwanda kwitabira ibiganiro bagira bat:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. "Ngwino muvandimwe munyarwanda<br>Ngwino shirika ubwoba unsange<br>Ngwino renga ubwoko utinga<br>Nanje ndaje maze duhere<br>Tuvuge byose tutibeshya<br>Jye ndaje, ndaje shenge | 2. Nituvuge ibyateye ariya mahano<br>Tubivuge imizi n'imihamuro<br>Tureke kwitwaza ayo moko<br>Nayo kera azabe umugani ucibwa<br>Ngwino twegerane dusabane<br>Niturangiza duce ku nda |
| 3. Maze intego yacu ibe iy'umubano"   |   |

### IV. Icyifuzo cy'Umushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri DVJP

Kilizya gatolika yizihiza ivuka rya Yezu Kristu n'ubumwe bw'abakristu tariki ya **25 Ukuboza**. Mu mateka y'URwanda, Kizito Mihigo w'i Kibeho nawe yakoze ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa byo kwunga abanyarwanda kugirango bagire ubumwe ashingiye ku nyigisho za Yezu Kristu (urukundo, imbabazi, ubwiyunge, n'amahoro), atwubakira umusingi w'inzu y'amahoro: Fondation KMP (Kizito Mihigo pour la Paix). Nkuko yigishaga imbabazi adusaba kubabarirana, abo yaba yarakoreye ibyaha bamubabarira kimwe n'uko nawe ybabariye ababimukoreye. Kubera iyo mpamvu rero, ibyo bishobotse, tariki ya **25 Nyakanga** twibukiraho ivuka rya Kizito Mihigo w'i Kibeho yagirwa: « *Umunsi w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nyakuri bw'Abanyarwanda – Journée Rwandaise pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation authentique* ».

Ubwo bumwe tuzabugeraho byuzuye nitubona **ubwisanzure n'ubwigenge busesuye**. Uwo munsi w'amahoro arambye tuzawizihiza nidusohoka muri gereza ya politiki y'Inyabutatu-ngirwamoko tugasenya inkuta ngengabitekerezo Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, tukabana neza mu nzu y'amahoro izira amahano yubakishijwe UKURI-UBUTABERA-IMBABAZI. Uwo munsi w'impinduka y'ubwigenge bushya ni wo dutegereje.

Ibibazo bidasanzwe b icyemurwa n'umuti udasanzwe, kandi impinduka nziza ikorwa n'ibitekerezo bishya !

**HARAKABAHO UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE NYAKURI !**

**HARAKABAHO UBWISANZURE N'UBWIGENGE BUSESUYE BW'ABANYARWANDA !**

***Bishyizweho umukono tariki ya 25 Nyakanga 2020 bitangazwa kuya 31 y'uko kwezi***

<sup>12</sup> Le Groupe de dialogue “ICYUBAHIRO”, Belgique, 2003

## Igice cya 2 : Impinduka y'ubwiyunge bwa Repubulika n'Ubwami mu Banyarwanda

28.01.1961 – 28.01.2021 : imyaka 60 ya Repubulika y'U Rwanda

### I. Ibihe bisa birasimburana : 1950-1962 na 2010-2022

Muri iki cyika cya mbere, ngiye kwerekana ibikorwa bya politiki y'impinduka byabaye mu buryo busa, kandi bitandukanyijwe n'imyaka 60.

Kuva Repubulika yashingwa mu mwaka wa 1961, imyaka 60 irarangije. Inkundura yo kuvanaho Ubwami yabereye rimwe n'iyo gushaka ubwigenge bw'U Rwanda mu myaka ya za **1950** mu gihe Umuryango w'abibumye ONU wari utangiye kugaragaza ko ibihugu byakolonijwe bikwiye kubona ubwo bwigenge. Ibyo byabayeho intambara y'Isi yose ya 1940-45 irangiye, *Itangazo mpuzamahanga ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu (Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme)* rimaze kwemezwa tariki ya **10 Ukuboza 1948**. Byatumye abanyabwenge batangira guharanira ukwisyira ukizana, ubwisanzure, uburinganire n'iuyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu. Nyuma y'imyaka 7 intambara y'Isi irangiye, mu Rwanda, tariki ya **14 Nyakanga 1952** nibwo hatangajwe bwa mbere *Iteka rishyiraho inzego z'ubuyobozi binyuze mu matora* (Inama za sous-chefferies, iza chefferies, iza Territoires, n'lnama nkuru y'igihugu)<sup>13</sup>. Umwaka wa 2010 wabayemo ibikorwa 3 by'ingenzi:

Nyuma y'imyaka 60 habaye ibindi **bikorwa** bisa n'ukwo gutangiza demokarasi mu Rwanda kuko mu mwaka wa **2010** ari bwo abanye politiki banyuranye ndetse na bamwe mu bagize umuryango wa Sosiyete sivil batangiye guharanira ko abanyarwanda bishyira bakizana kandi bakareshya imbere y'amategeko. Kimwe muri ibyo bikorwa bikomeye ni ishingwa rya *Fondation Kizito Mihigo pour la Paix (KMP)*. Uwo muryango washyizweho na **Kizito Mihigo (Société civile)** avuye mu Bubiligi aje mu Rwanda guharanira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri bw'abanyarwanda.

Ibyo bikorwa by'impinduka ya politiki y'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda byakurikiwe n'ikindi cyo mu rwego rw'ubutabera mpuzamahanga cy'itangazwa rya *Raporo ya Projet Mapping* tariki ya **1 Ukwakira 2010** kw'ihonyorwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu ryakorewe muri Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo (RDC) hagati ya 1993-2003<sup>14</sup>. Ni ukuvuga nanone imyaka 7 nyuma ya 2003<sup>15</sup>. Kimwe n'uko muri iriya myaka ya za 1950 abanyarwanda bari bayobowe n'abakoloni bategekeraga mu butegetsi bw'ingoma y'Ubwami, nanone birazwi ko muri iyo myaka ya **2010** ubutegetsi b'U Rwanda bwari bushygikiwe n'ibihugu by'ibihangange nyuma y'itsembabwoko n'ubundi bwicanyi ndengakamere byakozwe birebera, ntihagire icyo bikora, kandi ingabo zabyo ziri muri icyo gihugu. [1950-2010]

Tariki ya 13 Gashyantare **1954 Umwami** Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa<sup>16</sup> yavuze **disikuru** ikomeye ubwo yatangazaga ko ari ngombwa kuvanaho inzego z'ubutegetsi zishaje kugirango zisimburwe n'iza Leta nshya ijyanye n'igihe kigizweho. Tariki ya **1 Mata 1954** uwo mwami yaciye ubuhake (l'abolition de la féodalité), bityo atangiza **igikorwa** cyo kuvanaho ubusumbane hagati y'abiswe *abahutu n'abatutsi*.

<sup>13</sup> 14 juillet 1952: Publication du Décret instituant les Conseils élus à savoir : les Conseils des Sous-chefferies, les Conseils de Chefferies, les Conseil de Territoires, le Conseil Supérieur du Pays (Innocent Nsengimana, *Rwanda . La marche vers l'indépendance 1952-1962*, page 195).

<sup>14</sup> ONU, *Rapport Projet Mapping* sur les violations des droits humains commises en RDC entre 1993-2003. Iyi raporo yatangajwe kuwa 1/10/2010 umunsi w'isabukuru ya 16 y'itangizwa ry'intambara ya FPR-Inkotanyi mu Rwanda. Nta gushidikanya ko ibi bifite icyo bivuze muri politiki.

<sup>15</sup> Umwaka wa 2003 niwo herezo ry'igihe fatizo cyafashwe hakorwa raporo Projet Mapping. Uwo mwaka kandi ni wo wabayemo amatora ya mbere ya Prezida wa Repubulika mu Rwanda nyuma y'intambara ya 1990-1994.

<sup>16</sup> [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mutara\\_III](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mutara_III) Byasomwe kuwa 29.11.2021

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Nanone nyuma y'imyaka 60, tariki ya 5 Werurwe **2014<sup>17</sup>** umuhanzi n'umuririmbyi Kizito Mihigo yasohoye indirimbo yise « *Igisobanuro cy'urupfu* » avugamo ko « *nta rupfu rwiza rubaho, yaba génocide cyangwa intambara, uwishwe n'abihorera (...)* » kandi ko kimwe n'abatutsi bishwe muri génocide mu mwaka wa 1994, « *abandi bantu bazize urugomo rutiswe génocide* » nabo ari abantu abasabira, abakomeza kandi abazirikana<sup>18</sup>; icyo gikorwa cye gikurikirwa n'ifungwa rye kuva tariki ya 6/4/2014 kugeza 15/09/2018. [1954-2014]

**Igikorwa** cy'umwami w'umukristu Rudahigwa cyo guca ubuhake muw'1954 cyatangije impinduka mu miyoborere n'inzezo z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Tariki ya 22 *Gashyantare 1957* ariko, abagize *Inama nkuru y'igihugu (Conseil Supérieur du Pays)* bashygikiye kandi bakomeye ku Bwami basohoye inyandiko yitwa « *mise au point* » ivuga ko *abahutu* badashobora kureshya n'abatutsi<sup>19</sup>. Ni bo baje gushinga ishyaka UNAR<sup>20</sup>. Abo bashefu bakuru b'Ubwami bashakaga ko igihugu kibona ubwigenge ariko bagahakana ko hariho ikibazo Hutu-Tutsi.

Tariki ya 24 *Werurwe 1957*, abagize « *Mouvement social Muhutu* » nabo basohoye inyandiko yiswe « *Manifeste y'abahutu* » basaba ko ikibazo cy'ubusumbane hagati *y'abahutu n'abatutsi* gicyemurwa mbere y'uko igihugu kibona ubwigenge. **Habyarimana Joseph Gitera** wari kw'isonga ry'icyo **gikorwa** yaharaniraga **uburinganire no guca akarengane** kakowaga n'ubutegetsi bw'ingoma ya Cyami. Umwami Rudahigwa amaze kubona ko Habyarimana Gitera atewe hejuru n'ibyegera bye kubera icyo kibazo yagejeje i Bwami, ni bwo yagize ati « **aho kwica Gitera, mwice ikibimutera** ». Umuryango w'abibumbye ONU, Ububiligi ndetse n'ubutegetsi bw'Ubwami ntibize rero icyo kibazo kugirango bakibonere umuti. Iyo « *mouvement* » niyo yavuyemo Aprosoma na MDR-Parmehutu ishyaka ryiganje mu butegetsi bwa **Repubulika y'Inyabutatu-Cyami**.

**Igikorwa** cy'umukristu **Kizito Mihigo** (Société civile) – gisa n'icy'umwami Rudahigwa cyo guca ubuhake – yagaragaje mu ndilimbo « *Igisobanuro cy'urupfu* » cyabangamiye ubutegetsi. Nyuma y'igihe gito gusa cyakurikiyeho, abaturage bashyiriye Inteko ishinga amategeko inyandiko ziysisaba guhindura itegeko-nshinga kugirango umukuru w'igihugu ashobore kwongera kwiyamariza uwo mwanya w'ubutegetsi kuko iryo tegeko ritabimwemereraga. Tariki ya **4/08/2017** Prezida wa Repubulika akaba n'umukandida wa FPR-Inkotanyi yongeye gutorerwa kuyobora igihugu. Iryo tegeko rimaze guhindurwa, bamwe mu Banyarwanda bavuze ko itegeko-nshinga rishya ritangije « *Ubwami muri Repubulika* » hakoreshejwe amategeko n'inzezo bisa n'ibya demokarasi mu buryo byakwumvikana ko ari ku bushake bwa Rubanda; nk'igihe cya *Manifeste y'Abahutu* ubwo hatangizwaga *Repubulika y'Inyabutatu-Cyami*. [1957-2017]

Umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa yatanze (yitabye Imana) kuwa **25 Nyakanga** 1959 agwa mu bitaro i Bujumbura. Twibutse ko, kimwe n'ishyaka UNAR, uwo mwami yashakaga byihuse ubwigenge bw'igihugu. Yasimbuwe na murumuna we Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa wategetse igihe gito kuko yaje kuba impunzi, kimwe na bamwe mu banyarwanda biganjemo *abatutsi* nyuma y'imvururu zahitanye abantu benshi muri uwo mwaka. Nyuma y'imyaka 20 Repubulika yimitswe, kuwa **25 Nyakanga** 1981 nibwo Kizito Mihigo yavukiraga i Kibeho muri Nyaruguru, amezi ane mbere y'uko umwamikazi Bikira Mariya ahabonekera (28/11/1981).

Kimwe n'uko Umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa yafashijwe n'abakoloni ndetse na Kilizya Gatolika kugera ku butegetsi<sup>21</sup>, Kizito Mihigo nawe yafashijwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Leta ndetse n'ubuyobozi bwa Kilizya Gatolika bwashygikiye umushinga we w'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'umuryango KMP (Kizito Mihigo pour la Paix). Tariki ya **17 Gashyantare 2020** ni bwo hatangajwe ko Kizito yaraye afiriye muri kasho yari afungiyemo kuva tariki ya 13 z'uko kwezi, maze Leta y'U Rwanda ivuga ko

<sup>17</sup> Kuwa gatatu w'isigwa ry'ivu (mercredi des cendres): umunsi w'itangizwa ry'igisibo muri Kilizya Gatolika.

<sup>18</sup> Kizito Mihigo, RWANDA. EMBRASSER LA RECONCILIATION. Pour vivre en Paix et mourrir Heureux, éditions Amazon, 2020, 299 pages

<sup>19</sup> Nsengimana Innocent, *La marche vers l'indépendance 1952-1962*, pages 35 à 37.

<sup>20</sup> UNAR : Union Nationale Rwandaise

<sup>21</sup> Tariki ya 12 Ugushyingo 1931 nibwo abakoloni bavanye umwami Musinga ku ngoma y'ubutegetsi bamutegeka kujya kuba i Cyangugu, bigeze mu mwaka w'1940 bamucira i Shyanga muri Congo mbiligi. <https://www.musabyimana.net/20080225-la-deportation-du-roi-yuhi-musinga/>

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ngo yiyahuye yinigishije ishuka ariko yanga ko hakorwa anketi yigenga kuri urwo rupfu. Ibyo byateye bamwe kwemeza ko yishwe. Ibitari impaka ni uko Kizito Mihigo yaguye mu maboko y'inzego zari zishinzwe umutekano we.

Impfu z'abo bagabo babiri Rudahigwa na Kizito nazo zija gusa kuko zababaje abanyarwanda cyane ndetse zigateza n'ihungabana rya benshi. Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Rudahigwa, murumuna we Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa wari mu ruzinduko i Kinshasa muri Congo, abakoloni bamubujije gutaha mu Rwanda ngo akomeze kuba umwami bituma ahinduka impunzi. Mu gihe gito nyuma y'urupfu rwa Kizito nabwo, umuryango KMP yashinze nawo ntiwashoboye gukomeza gukorera mu gihugu biwuviramo guhunga.

Nyuma y'imyaka 4 *Manifeste y'Abahutu* imaze gutangazwa, abakoloni b'ababiligi bafashije MDR-Parmehutu gushyiraho Repubulika yimitswe ku ngufu tariki ya **28 Mutarama 1961** mu buryo bunyuranyije n'ibyemezo (résolutions) bya ONU. Ni byo bise « *Coup d'Etat y'i Gitarama* ». Nanone mu myaka 4 ya mandat y'umukuru w'igihugu wongeye gutorwa kuwa 4/8/2017, ibihugu by'ibihangange byakomeje gufasha ishyaka rye FPR-Inkotanyi kwimika icyo bamwe bita « *Ubwami muri Repubulika* ».

Repubulika ijyaho kuwa 28/01/1961 igihugu cyari mu nkundura yo guharanira ubwigenge. Nyuma y'isabukuru y'imyaka 60 iyo Repubulika ishinzwe, hakorwa iki kugirango tugire ubumwe kandi kugere ku bwiyunge nyakuri, ubwisanzure n'ubwigenge busesuye ? Iyo myaka 60 idusigiye iki ? Ikbazo Hutu-Tutsi-Twa ubu giteye gute, tugicyemure dute? Nyuma y'amahano twagize, ntidukwiye gukomeza kurimira ku rwiri twirengangiza kandi tuzizinga icyo kibazo. Twizere ko tariki ya **1 Nyakanga 2022** tuzizihiza isabukuru y'imyaka 60 y'ubwigenge ibikorwa byo kwibohora *Inyabututu-ngrwamoko* no kwubaka *inzu y'amahoro ahoraho* byararangiye.

## II. Rwanda nziza si umubyeyi gito

Kuva kera, muri politiki y'abanyarwanda twigishijwe gusingiza abategetsi bacu, bitwibagiza gusingiza igihugu cyacu. Mu gihe cy'Ubwami ngo Umwami yitwaga NYAGASANI, nave kubera iyo mpamvu akica agakiza. Agafatwa nk'IMANA, akaba nk'ikigirwamana: *Imana y'i Rwanda*. Abari bashygikiye Ubwami bati byari bihebuje, naho ababurwanyije bati byari biteye kwiheba.

Repubulika imaze kwimikwa, Urwanda rubonye ubwigenge, indirimbo yubahiriza igihugu yatangiraga ivuga iti: « *Rwanda rwacu Rwanda gihugu cyambyaye ...* ». Iyo nayiririmbaga hamwe n'abandi banyeshuri, tuzamura ibendera ry'igihugu, ubwo nigaga mu mashuri abanza, numvaga mfite ishema ryo kuba umunyarwanda. Nkarushaho kumva nkunze U Rwanda (patriotisme) ariko nibukaga ko hari abandi bana barwo batashoboraga kuyiririmba kubera ko bari hanze y'igihugu. Nyuma y'imyaka 40, iyo ndirimbo yubahiriza igihugu rero yaje gusimburwa n'indi igira iti: « *Rwanda nziza gihugu cyacu,... Abanyarwanda uko watubyaye. Berwa, sugira, singizwa iteka... Horana Imana, murage mwiza... Umuco dusangiye uraturanga, ururimi rwacu rukaduhuza ...* ».

Izo ndirimbo zombi zivuga ko Urwanda ari igihugu cyacu kandi cyatubyaye. ABANYARWANDA TWESE. Ibyo bikaba bivuze ko turi ABAVANDIMWE. Iya kabiri yo igashyiraho akarusho kuko itura U Rwanda Imana. Nyamara muri izo ndirimbo zose nta n'imwe yigeze iririmbwa n'abo bavandimwe bose bari kumwe, kubera ko hari ababaga bari hanze y'igihugu mu buhungiro nkuko nabivuze, na n'ubu (ubwo nandika iyi nyandiko) bikaba ari uko. Ntabwo ari ukubera ko U Rwanda rutabashaka (ga), ahubwo ni ukubera impamvu za politiki mbi ya bamwe muri abo bana barwo, igamije kubateranya no kubatanya. Ntimuzarubeshyere!

### 1. Ibihe biha ibindi

Umusaza **Bihibindi** twagiranye ikiganiro kuri politiki, ni uko arambaza ati ariko mwana wa, ati: « *mwe*

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*mwageze mu mashuli, Ubwami na Repubulika bitandukanira he? » Nti: « kubera iki mubyeyi wanje? » Ati: « dore icyo mpfa n'abantu bize ni uko bakubaza ikibazo bataragusubiza icyo ubabajije. » Nuko ndamusobanurira, ndagije nti: « Ubwami butegekwa n'Umwami, Repubulika igategekwa na Perezida. » Ati: « bose si ababyeyi b'igihugu se? » Nanje ndamubaza nti: « ko ubushize wambwiye ko abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka bapfa ubutegetsi, twe tutari mu mashyaka dupfa iki? » Ati: « ubusa. » Nti: « ugize ngo iki? » Ndongera nti: « ko hari abavuga ko ari amoko se? » Ati: « abana mwize mwumva nabi! » Ati mvuze ko: « mupfa ubusa ». Nti: « dupfana iki rero? » Ati « mwese muri abantu kandi mwese muri bene Kanyarwanda. »*

Nkuko mubyiyumviye rero, uwo musaza ntabona aho Ubwami na Repubulika bitandukaniye, kubera ko kuri izo ngoma z'ubutegetsi zose umukuru w'igihugu bamwise umubyeyi w'abanyarwanda bose. Ariko arangiza avuga ko abanyarwanda twese turi bene Kanyarwanda. Ubwami bwavuyeho ntaravuka sinzi uko baririmba Umwami, ariko ngo baramusingizaga ndetse bakamuramya. Indirimbo nibuka ni iyo abaparmehetu baririmbye bavuga ko ngo umwe mubo abanyarwanda bise NYAGASANI yashatse kurimbura U Rwanda. Ukibaza ukuntu "umubyeyi" w'abana yagira ubugome bugera aho ashaka kubarimbura bose bikakuyobera. Abo barwanashyaka bagiraga bat: "*Karahabaye bahungu mwe, karahabaye ni ukuri iyo tutaza kuhaba rwari rurimbutse. Kigeri yari yarahize yuko azarurimbura, iyo tutaza kuhaba rwari rurimbutse...*" Muri iyo Repubulika ya mbere yavanyeho Ubwami, umukuru w'igihugu baramurimbye ndetse bamwe bemeza ko ari Imana yamatumye maze iramubwira ngo: "...genda unshingire pariti (ishyaka Parimehetu), inkurire abana bave mu buja." Ni uko nawe aba yiswe UMUKIZA...

Muri Repubulika ya kabiri nabwo byagenze uko, abari mu gihugu baririmbye umukuru wayo barahanika, mu byitwaga animasiyo (animation) y'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryitwaga « *Muvoma* ». Iyo animasiyo yakorwaga rimwe mu cyumweru. Bakamuvuga ibigwi bigatinda! Bamwe mu baririmbyi bagakora mu nganzo maze si ukumutaka bakivayo, imiryu w'inanga za gakondo n'iza kijyambere bakayikaraga hafi kuyituritsa! Abategetsi nabo umudiho bakawuceka reka sinakubwira, bakamubyinira ivumbi rigatumuka! Wakwibeshya ntujye gutumura no kurya iryo vumbi cyangwa gukoma amashyi kugirango uwo mudiho uryohe, ukitwa *inyangarwanda* bugacya bakwirukanye ku kazi ndetse bakagutwara intambike uziritse amapingu maze bakaguta muri gereza. Bakakubikira imbehe ariko kugirango bazayubure ukabanza kwigura... Uzize nde? Ntabwo ari wa wundi bitaga « umubyeyi w'abanyarwanda », ahubwo ni inkundarubyino, kugirango zirebwe neza. Ukaba uzize iki? Ubusa. Ubusa gusa ! Nka bwa busa dupfa buri gihe. Ngo wanze kuba inkundarubyino n'inkomamashyi. Akaga kagwirira abagabo koko !

Aho gusingiza igihugu nkuko indirimbo icyubahiriza ibivuga, abanyarwanda bagasingiza umukuru wacyo. Ni uko bakitiranya igihugu n'umuyobozi wacyo. Uretse mu Rwanda, hari ahandi mwigeze mwumva bavuga ko umuyobozi w'igihugu ari Nyagasaki cyangwa umubyeyi w'abenegihugu, ko no mu masomo ya demokarasi twahawe n'abanyamahanga iyo nyigisho itarimo ? Biriya bintu byarakunguraga koko.

Umuntu akaba yakwibaza ibibazo bikurikira:

Abitaga umukuru w'igihugu ko ari umubyeyi wabo kuko bari baramureze ko yigiraga Nyagasaki, bo babaga bayobewe ibyo indirimbo yubahiriza igihugu ivuga ? Ko nta muntu wibyara kandi umukuru w'igihugu nawe akaba ari umuntu, bumvaga ko umubyeyi we yari nde ? Kerekwa uwo mukuru w'igihugu abaye ari IMANA koko, nawe akaba ahindutse Nyagasaki rero ! Kandi ni byo Repubulika yareze Ubwami.

Abarwanyije ubwo butegetsi bwose uko bwakurikiranye ko bakunze kuvuga ko akarengane katerwaga n'Umukuru w'igihugu kuko yategekaga byose, bavuga ko Rubanda n'abategetsi bafataga uwo muntu nk'Ikigirwamana bo nta makosa babaga bafite? Yari kubuzwa n'iki se gukora ibyo ashaka mu gihe abandi bategetsi bafatanyije ndetse n'abaturage bo mu gihugu bari babimushyigikiyemo? Reka tureke kuvuga ko kwita umukuru w'igihugu umubyeyi ari ukumubehya kuko ntawe ureba mu mitima y'abantu, ariko twemere ko atari ukumubwiza ukuri. Kuki se batamubwizaga ukuri?

Bamwe bagira bat: impamu ni ugushakira imibereho mu guhakirizwa. Mu gihe cy'Ubwami ibyo byapfa kwumvikana kuko hari hakiriho ubuhake. Muri Repubulika se ko ingoyi ya gihake twayiciye, yaba

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yaragarutse ite? Abandi bati ni ukubera ubwoba kuko abaturage babaga bishakira amaramuko. Biramutse ari ibyo koko, uwo mutegetsi yari akiyi kubamara ubwoba, maze bakamubwiza ukuri, nawe akabashimira. Ku rundi ruhande nanone, yagombaga gushimira abatamwita umubyeyi bo bamubwizaga ukuri kuko bamwerekaga amakosa akora, kugirango ayikosore; ahubwo akabagaya kuba batarabikoze mbere hose agitangira kuyakora. Hano ni ho umuntu yumbira agaciro k'umurage uri mu mvugo y'umwami Rudahigwa wagize ati : « aho kwica Gitera nimwice ikibimutera ».

Umuntu ukubwiza ukuri, ndavuga ukuri kudasesereza, kudasebanya, kudatukana kandi kutica umutumirano, kutarimo inzika n'urwango, kutari ukwa politiki ya "vaho ngeho", aba agukunda kuko akugira inama nziza (igice 2 icyika 1). Hari ababifata nabi, ariko si byo. Abantu babwiza ukuri abategetsi babereka amakosa bakora, ni uko baba babakunda kandi bakunda igihugu, babifuriza gutegeka neza. Ibi ni byo abashinzwe kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu bakora. Umuntu ukuririmba, akakubyinira ndetse akagukomera amashyi kugirango akwerekere ko agushyigikiye nyuma akaguca inyuma akajya kuvuga amakosa yaye ayabwira abandi kandi ashobora kuyakwibwirira imbone nkubone, uwonguwo ashobora no kukubeshyera, akaba yaguhemukira.

Hagati ya 1990-1994 bamwe bitaga umukuru w'igihugu ko ari *umubyeyi* wabo bakamukomera amashyi ndetse bakamubyinira baje kumuhindukirana, bamugaragara ko batamubwizaga ukuri. Ab'inkwakuzi bashinga amashyaka arwanya iry (rimwe bahozemo), abandi barayayoboka maze bajya mu mianda bati: « vaho ntitugushaka ». Ibyahoze ari indirimbo n'imbyino z'ibisingizo bihindukamo indirimbo n'imbyino z'ibisebyo. Kugera aho bamubwiye ku mugaragaro ngo nava ku butegetsi impundu zizavuga. Ashobora kuba yarabajije impamvu batamubwije ukuri mbere hose ! Ariko se twavuga ko we yari abiybewe. Ibyabaye icyo gihe ntawakekaga ko byashoboraga kuzaba. Iby'lsi ni amabanga koko !

### 2. Ingoma zigira isano

Repubulika ya kabiri ikimara kuvaho, Bihibindi nongeye kumubaza nti: « *ko hari abavuga ko ingoma zisa ntacyo zipfana, ni byo* »? Ati: « *abo barabeshya. Kuva ku Bwami kugeza kuri Repubulika, mu Rwanda wigeze se wumva umutegetsi washatse kurekura ingoma* »? Nti: « *oya* ». Ati: « *none se ubwo urumva izo ngoma zidafitanye isano yuko ubutegetsi bwose bukundwa* »? Koko rero, igihe cy'Ubwami, abami bavagaho ari uko batanze (bitabye Imana). Muri Repubulika naho, abakuru b'igihugu bagiye bakurwa ku butegetsi ku ngufu n'ababarwanyije, kuko batashakaga ko babusangira, noneho hakamena amaraso y'abanyarwanda.

Abashyigikiraga umukuru w'igihugu bamwitaga *umubyeyi* mwiza udasimburwa kandi atazahoraho iteka ryose, naho abatamushyigikiye bakamwita umubyeyi gito, kuko yikubiraga ubutegetsi. Nyamara bamwe muri abo bamurwanyije nabo mbere baramwitaga umubyeyi. Mu gihe akiraho bose bakamuha ingufu kurusha umwanya w'ubutegetsi arimo n'izindi nzego z'ubutegetsi, bakamuramya, nyuma bakazamwitakanwa bavuga ko ari we wihaye izo ngufu kandi ari bo bazimuhaye. Bitabaye ari ibyo, mwasobanura gute ko umuntu umwe, ufite umutwe umwe, igihimba kimwe, amaboko abiri n'amaguru abiri nk'abandi bantu, ashobora kugira ingufu zirushije uburemere iz'inzezo z'ubutegetsi ? Ni uko ugasanga bamwita "**umunyagitugu**" kandi ari bo babimugize, ariko ntibemere ayo makosa yabo. Ngo kuko bashwanye nawe bagashyira ahagaragara amakosa ye, bakwumva ko ibyo bibagira abere ! Intungane da ! Rubanda narwo rugakurikira, rukagwa mu mutego. N'abemeye ibyaha bakoze ntibagire ubutwari bwo kwishyikiriza inkiko ngo bazisobanurire uko bubatse icyo gitugu.

Abanyarwanda twagorwa ye ! Bagashyigikira cyangwa bakarwanya umuntu ku giti cye aho gushyigikira cyangwa kurwanya imikorere myiza cyangwa mibi y'izo nzego z'ubutegetsi (institutions politiques). Ni uko nawe akigira igihangange nkaho ari we wishyize ku butegetsi cyangwa wihaye izo ngufu, agatigisa abazimuhaye ukagirango azazihorana, ntazirikane ko abongabo asuzugura ari nabo bazazimwambura igihe nikigera, akibagirwa ko ibihe biha ibindi... Akaba nka wa murundi wigeze kuvuga ngo "nishyizeko nzikurako" (niba baratamubeshyeye). Wa mutegetsi mukuru yamara kuvaho za ndirimbo zamusingizaga zikibagirana burundi, na ba bahanzi bazihimbye bakaburiramo. Ni uko byatugendekeye abanyarwanda. Rimwe na rimwe abantu turakanura kuko tubona hafi yacu ariko ntiturebe kure ! Ntidushishoza buri gihe. Abanyarwanda bo wagirango biri muri kamere yacu.

Reka ntange urugero rumwe. Repubulika ya mbere yagiye nyuma y'imyivumbagatanyo (révolution) ya 1959 n'imvururu zakurikiye kandi zahitanye abanyarwanda benshi. Ariko izo nzirakarengane ntizigeze zibukwa mbere y'ubutegetsi bwagiye nyuma y'itsembabwoko ry'abatutsi ryo muri 1994. Mu mihangyo kwibuka abahitanywe n'iro tsembabwoko niho bamwe baboneyeho kwibuka ababo bishwe mu myaka ya 1959, 1963, 1973. Ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kibili bwari ubw'igisirikare bwagiye ku ngufu muri 1973 mu buryo bunyuranyije n'amategeko, abanyarwanda bamwe baricwa, barimo abanyepoliti b'abasivili. Abo banyarwanda nabo ntibigeze baririrwa cyangwa ngo bibukwe ku mugaragaro. Tariki ya **16 Kanama 2014** ni bwo habayeho mu Bubiligi umuhango wa mbere wo kwibuka abanyepolitiki bazize ubwo bwicanyi, uwo muhango ukaba warateguwe n'imiryango yabo. Abanyarwanda bamwe baba hanze y'igihugu ntibabifashe neza kuko bavuze ngo ibyo ni ugucamo ibice abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali; nyamara kandi nabo barega abari ku butegetsi mu Rwanda ko batareka *abahutu* biciwe kwibuka ababo.

Ibi nabyo ni amayobera. Kuki abo banyarwanda bari muri izo impande za politiki batemera ko izo nzirakarengane nazo zibukwa ? Hari abavuga ko abadashaka ko bamwe mu bazize ubwicanyi bibukwa ari uko baba baragize uruhare muli ubwo bwicanyi cyangwa ko bari babushyigikiye. Ibi bikwiye gusesengurwa ariko harimo n'impamu za politiki birumvikana. Gusa ibyo biragaragaza ko abanyarwanda bamwe bashaka ko akababaro kabo kumvikana nyamara ntibashake kwumva akababaro k'abandi (manque de compassion et de reconnaissance de la souffrance des autres victimes). Ndetse hariho n'abumva ko ngo bababaye kurusha abandi ariko ntiberekane umunzani babipimiraho, bakabivuga ku mugaragaro mu buryo bw'itebwoba bashaka impamu yo kwishyira hejuru y'abandi banyarwanda no kuvuga ko bazarusha uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu nkaho abandi bo atari abantu. Ibyo byose bibangamira ubwiyunge nyakuri.

Nta tegeko-nshinga ryemera imvururu cyangwa kuvanaho ubutegetsi hakoreshejwe ingufu (coup d'Etat) n'intambara. Ibyo birazwi. Ariko abanyarwanda ntibabitinda(ga)ho cyane kuko ubwo butegetsi barabwemeye - nako barabwemejwe - maze barangaza amaso ku mukuru w'igihugu ku giti cye gusa aho kureba niba imiyoborere y'ubwo butegetsi iberanye na demokarasi. Bakwumva ko ibyo ari ibantu bisanzwe, kandi atari ko byagombye. Ndetse navuga ko hari abari baradamaraye. Ishyaka rimwe ryari ryemewe mu gihugu (Parimehutu) ryasimbuwe n'irindi rimwe rukumbi (Muvoma) kugeza muri 1991 ! Ndetse n'abarwanyije uwo mukuru w'igihugu mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi (1991-1994), ntibigeze bashaka kuvanaho iyo mpamu yatumaga agira ingufu kurusha inzego z'ubutegetsi ubwazo, ahubwo bavugaga ko navaho - byonyine gusa - ibibazo byose bizahita bicyemuka.

Ni ko byagenze se ? Kandi ntiyavuye ku butegetsi gusa ahubwo ntakiri no kuri iyi Si y'Imana n'abantu. Ahubwo ubu hariho bamwe muri abo bamurwanyaga bicuza ibyo bakoze ndetse basigaye bamwifuza batakimubonye, nkaho iyo aza kuba akiraho agasubira ku butegetsi bya bibazo byose yahita abibonera umuti. None se yacyemura ibyo bibazo gute niba ari we wabitezaga wenyine ? Kuki atakwongera agakora nk'ibyo bamuregaga ? Ibi ni byo bikwiye kwereka abo bamurwanyije ko uburyo bakoresheje kandi bakoresha n'ubu barwanya ubutegetsi, atari bwo bukwiye, bityo bakabona bagahindura imikorere yabo ya politiki.

Umwanya w'ubutegetsi ni urwego rw'igihugu rutadukanye n'umuntu ushyirwa muri uwo mwanya. Abantu benshi barabyitiranya bagafata umuntu ku giti cye nk'urwego rw'igihugu kandi atari byo. Intebe y'ubutegetsi ihoraho, aribo abategetsi ntibayihoraho, barasimburana.

Uretse abanyepolitiki bavanyeho Ubwami bo banze ingoyi ya gihake batarwanya umwami gusa, abarwanyije Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kibili, bose bavugaga ko abakuru b'igihugu bariho ari bo bateraga ibibazo byose, ariko badashaka kuvanaho Repubulika-Cyami. Nyamara n'aho baviriyemo, nubwo ibibazo bimwe byacyemutse, havutse ibindi bisa n'ibya mbere, ndetse bimwe birushije uburemure. Byumvikana rero ko tudashakira ibibazo n'ibisubizo aho biri hose.

Muri Repubulika ya gatatu se byifashe bite ? Ese iyo mikorere ya Rubanda n'abanyepolitiki bacu, ari abari ku butegetsi n'abatavuga rumwe nabo, yaba yarahindutse ? Amasomo twasigiwe n'ibyatubayeho ni ayahe ? Reka mbe mbaretse namwe mwisubirize ibyo bibazo mugereranyije n'ibyabaye nasobanuye, maze mushishoze murebe igikwiye gukorwa. Muraza kureba niba ibyo nabonye ari ko namwe mubibona.

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Jye mbwira bose nubwo bamwe mu banyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka bavuga ngo iyo utabashyigikiye uba ubarwanya cyangwa ushyigikiye abo barwanya. Nkaho nta bundi buryo bwabaho bwo kwubaka demokarasi utabogamiye ku ruhande uru n'uru rwa politiki y'amashyaka. Ubwo buryo bushya ni bwo uyu mushinga wiyemeje gukoresha: gukangurira abantu kureba uruhare rwabo mu bibazo bafitanye, impande zose, batarebye urw'abandi gusa, kugirango bashobore kubyicyemurira. Kurwana ishyaka rya demokarasi si ukuba mw'ishyaka rya politiki gusa !

Sinarangiza iki gika ariko ntavuze ko bitangaje kwumva abanyepolitiki bamwe bemeza ko batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bavuga ku mugaragaro ko bashaka kubuvanaho banyuze mu nzira ababuriho nabo banyuzemo, ni ukuvuga intambara. Bibaye ari byo se baba babarwanyiriza iki niba bashaka gukora nk'ibyo nabo bakoze kandi babona ko inzira banyuzemo ari nziza ? Ibyo ni bimwe bituma abanyepolitiki nkabo batagirirwa icyizere kuko umuntu adasobanukirwa icyo bagamije. Politiki y'abanyarwanda nayo ni amayobera...

### 3. U Rwanda si igihugu gito

Kuva Urwanda rwabaho ko twagize abakuru b'igihugu benshi, ubwo abanyarwanda twaba tumaze kugira « ababyeyi » bangahe baramutse biswe gutyo ? Kandi tuzagira n'abandi benshi. Abo bose se bakwitwa « ababyeyi » bacu kandi umuntu wese avuka ku babyeyi babiri gusa ? Niyo abaye impfubyi akabona usimbura ababyeyi be, ntabwo uyu yitwa ko ari we wamubyaye. Muri politiki nabyo ni kimwe. Nubwo umunyarwanda yabona ubundi bwenegihugu, ntibivuze ko icyo gihugu cyamureze kiba cyaramubyaye. Tuvugishe ukuri, kwita umukuru w'igihugu « umubyeyi » wacyo ntibiberanye na demokarasi, yaba iyo twigishijwe n'abanyamahanga, yaba n'iyanu nshya dushaka, ni ukuvuga **demokarasi nyarwanda**.

Abanyarwanda BABAYEHO, ABARIHO N'ABAZAHO, dufite ababyeyi babiri bazahoraho iteka. Muri demokarasi, umukuru w'igihugu atorwa n'abaturage, ni bo bamuhitamo hakurikijwe amategeko uko abigena. Kimwe n'uko nta muntu uhitamo umubyeyi uzamubyara, nta n'uhitamo igihugu azavukamo. Ntibibaho. Abategetsi barasimburana, ntibahoraho nk'Imana cyangwa igihugu. U Rwanda ni rwo mubyeyi w'abanyarwanda kuko ari rwo rwatubyaye. Ku bemera Imana, nayo ni umubyeyi w'abanyarwanda kimwe n'abandi bantu bose batuye Isi, bityo abantu twese tukaba abana b'lmana, baremwe mw'ishusho ryayo. Dusangiye ubumuntu. Ibyo abanyarwanda tubirengaho kandi tubizi neza.

Igikwiye gukorwa rero ni ukuvanaho impamu zishobora gutuma Rubanda na bamwe mu bategetsi batabwiza ukuri abayobozi bakuru b'igihugu. Kwubaha abategetsi ni ngombwa, kuko baba bahagarariye inzego z'igihugu. Utubashye umukuru w'igihugu, ntiwaba wubashye n'igihugu cyawe aba ahagarariye. Ariko hari uburyo n'imvugo zabigenewe nko kumwakira neza no kumwita Nyakubahwa, agahabwa icyubahiro kimukwiye. Ibyo ariko bisaba ko abategetsi nabo bubaha abenegihugu kuko ari bo babashyira ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi, kandi nabo bakiyubaha. Bityo bose bakagomba kwubahana. Bitaba ibyo, icyizere kigatakara. U Rwanda ntabwo ari igihugu gito, twese tugomba kuzarubanamo kandi tuzarukwirwamo kuko ari urwacu twese. Byanze bikunze. U Rwanda si umubyeyi gito kuko ntacyo rwigeze rutwima, ahubwo ni uko tunanirwa gusangira ibyiza rufite. Nitureke uwo mwiryane maze tubane neza. Genda Rwanda uri nziza!

### III. Sosiyete sivil yigenga n'amadini nayo yubaka demokarasi

Ku birebana na demokarasi nyarwanda, ngiye kwerekana uburyo amashyaka yonyine adashobora kwubaka demokarasi nyayo mu banyarwanda, kabone niyo yaba ashyize hamwe. Ntabwo ngamije kurwanya amashyaka ahubwo ndashaka kuyunganira nerekana uko imwe mu mikorere yayo idashobora gutuma abanyarwanda **bunga ubumwe**. Bityo nkasobanura ubundi buryo bushya bushoboka, bwakwunganira ibikorwa by'amashyaka, bukagarurira abanyarwanda icyizere n'ukwemera muri politiki. Ibyo bitekerezo bishya tubishyize hamwe n'iby'abandi, ndahamya ko ubumwe n'amahoro twabigeraho.

## 1. Ubumwe mu mashyaka ya politiki ?

Muri kamere yacu, abanyarwanda dukunda gukorera hamwe, gushyira hamwe. Dukunda ubumwe. Umenya ariyo mpamvu kuva amashaka yaduka mu Rwanda, yagiye ahindukamo ishyaka rimwe gusa kubera ko ayatsinzwe yamizwe n'ishyaka rinini ryabaga ryatsinze. Abyanze akajya gukorera mu buhungiro. Abadashoboye guhunga bakayoboka iryatsinze, kugirango baramuke. Bakabwirwa ko ari ukugirango bashyre hamwe, bagire ubumwe. Ugasanga ishyaka rimwe ni ryo abanyarwanda bose bayobotse. Kugera aho abayobozi b'iro shaka bategeka abanyarwanda bose kurijyamo. Umuntu akitwa ko ari mw'ishyaka rukana, ngo akaba umurwanashyaka kandi atarigeze asaba cyangwa ashaka kurijyamo. Ukaba wakwibaza niba icyo gihe riba rikwiye gukomeza kwitwa ishyaka koko. Bamwe mu barwanashayaka iyo bahunze bakagera hanze y'igihugu, bashyira amashyaka yabo hamwe kugirango bahuze impunzi maze barwanye ubutegetsi bahunze. Abari mu butegetsi nabo bagashyira abaturage bose hamwe ngo barwanye uwo bita « umwanzi », ni ukuvuga utavuga rumwe nabo wese. Ni uko byagenze kuva kera amashyaka yakwaduka.

Amashyaka yabayeho mu Rwanda ni menshi cyane. Hari abanyarwanda bagiye bajya mu mashyaka atandukanye, rimwe na rimwe ukayoberwa iryo barimo mu by'ukuri. Bamwe bagakurikira abantu bayarimo kubera ibyo bahuriyeho nka ya ngirwamoko ya politiki Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, akarere, ubucuti, n'ibindi, kandi batazi imigambi nyayo y'ayo mashyaka, nyuma bakazabona ko bibeshye. Abayobozi b'amashyaka nabo bagiye bahindura amazina y'amashyaka yabo, ngo bakayavugurura. Nyamara ku babizi, ngo gahunda zayo zigumya kuba zimwe kuko ibitekerezo by'abayashinga bidahinduka. Muri iryo vugururwa, bamwe batu ishyaka ryacu rrimo *abahutu n'abatutsi*. Nkaho iyo bagiye gushaka abayoboke bababaza ingirwamoko yabo. Ngo baba bashaka ubumwe. Ubwo ngo iryo shaka riba ribonye icyo rirusha ayandi, kandi n'iryo barwanya riri ku butegetsi ayo ngirwamoko yose arimo ndetse n'abatwa, ni ukuvuga abanyarwanda bari mu gihugu bose, nkuko maze kubivuga. Bakavugurura amashyaka aho kuvugurura politiki rusange yageza abanyarwanda bose kuri demokarasi.

Kuva amashyaka yatangira kubaho, yagiye ashingwa kubera amabwiriza y'abanyamahanga badutegeka ko tugira demokarasi nk'iyabo, bakatwotsa igititu batubwira ko nta mfashanyo, nta mafranga y'inguzanyo bazaduha hatagiye amashyaka menshi. Amashyaka y'abanyarwanda akaguranwa amafranga. Ni uko bamara kutubiza icyuya tukemera ibyo batubwiye byose, nta na kimwe twongeyeho cyangwa tuvanyeho. Ibyo mbigereranya nko kwemera kwambara umwambaro utagukwiriye kuko uwuhawe kubera inguzanyo, ukawambara utongeye kuwusubiramo ngo ugukwire. Ngo kuko ari umwambaro mushya ujyanye n'ighe tugezemo (mu rwego mpuzamahanga !). Ukambara umwenda utakubereye kubera ko utagukwiriye, ngo kuko nta mafranga ahagije ufite yo kwishoneshereze uwawe, kandi utabuze make yo kuwusubirishamo ! Amashyaka akavuga ari menshi, kubera ko tubibwirijwe. Nyamara iyo demokarasi ntituyigereho uko tubishaka, ndetse n'uko abaduhaye inguzanyo cyangwa imfashanyo babishaka. Hakabura n'umwe wumva anyuzwe. Kugira demokarasi biramutse ari ukugira amashyaka menshi gusa, muri iki gihe nandika iyi nyandiko, abanyarwanda twabona umudari wa zahabu, abadusaba kugira iyo demokarasi ntihagire n'umudari n'umwe babona! Ndemeza ko abanyarwanda nubwo tutari inzobere muri politiki **tutabuze ubwenge n'ubushobozibwo kuvugurura iyo politiki ya demokarasi kugirango iberane n'umuco wacu.**

Ba banyamahanga ariko bagera aho bakabona ko demokarasi itagezwaho. Abanyarwanda batu si amashyaka mwashaka, batu ntituyafite se ? Abandi nabo bakabasubiza ko ibyo bidahagije kuko uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu butubahirizwa, ko abantu bafungirwa ubuswa, ko abandi bazira ibitekerezo byabo, ko habuze ubwisanzure mw'itangazamakuru kuko rihohoterwa, ko ubutabera budakora neza, ko abantu bafungwa bazira ibitekerezo byabo bya politiki, ko impunzi zishaka gutaha, n'ibindi n'ibindi... Abategetsi bacu nabo batu ibyo se kandi bije bite? Nk'aho ibyo bitari mu nshingano zabo. Abazungu bakomeza kubotsa igititu, abandi batu ibyo nabyo? Bagashyiraho za komisiyo z'ubwoko bwose ngo zishinzwe gukemura ibyo bibazo, bakubaka izindi gereza, ndetse bagashyiraho n'izindi nkiko. Maze amafranga akisuka. Nk'amahindu ! Ibyo byose bikayoborwa na nde? N'abanye politiki bo mu mashyaka. Ariko demokarasi ikanga ikabura. Ntabwo nsobanura mu buryo bunonosoye icyo demokarasi ari cyo mu buryo burambuye, ariko buri wese afite bicye ayizaho, nk'ibyo maze kuvuga. Ndashaka kwerekana gusa ko uburyo dukoresha kugirango tuyubake bidahagije, cyangwa bitatubereye. Ari nayo mpamvu tutayigeraho mu buryo busesuye.

Ese uwo muco wa politiki y'amashyaka ubundi turawugira koko? Nkuko nabivuze, amashyaka twayazaniwe n'abazungu. Byagiye bigaragara ko abanyarwanda bamwe bagiye bapfa ko badahuje amashyaka, nkaho bagombye guhuza ibitekerezo bagakorera hamwe. Kutayoboka ishyaka ryatsinze cyangwa ntukurikize amabwiriza yatanzwe n'umuyobozi waryo, kuko utemera ibitekerezo byaryo, bikaba ari icyaha cyagucisha umutwe. Abantu benshi barabizize, baricwa, barafungwa, barahunga, bamburwa ibyabo, n'ibindi. Ngo ni uko batayobotse ishyaka ryagiye ku butegetsi. Abandi bakazira ko bashinze amashyaka yabo mashya. Ibyo bigaragaza rero ko iyo demokarasi itaraducengeramo. Byaba se ari ukubera wa muco dufite wo gushyira hamwe, bigatuma twifusa gushyira ibitekerezo byacu hamwe koko? Kugira ibitekerezo bimwe igihe cyose byo ntibishoboka. Nyamara kuva igihugu cy'U Rwanda cyabona ubwigenge, Ubwami bumaze kuvanwaho hakimikwa Repubulika, itegeko-nshinga ryemeje demokarasi y'amashyaka menshi.

Kubera uko kudakora neza kw'amashyaka, kimwe n'uko mu gihe cyo kubona ubwigenge bamwe mu banyarwanda bavuze ngo « nta Runari, nta Loni », hari n'abandi ubu bihebye (ariko si ibyihebe), ndetse bazineutswe n'izo politiki, kugera ubwo bavuga ngo « nta Bwami, nta Repubrika », bati « byose kimwe »! Ni uko byose bakavuma. Abazungu bati: ntitwababwiye ! Bati ubwigenge twabubahaye igihe kitaragera. Abanye politiki bo mu mashyaka basubiza iki abo banyarwanda cyangwa abo banyamahanga ? Babagarurira bate icyizere muri politiki bakora ? Bamwe bakavuga bati : « ikibazo ni abategetsi aba n'aba », abandi nabo bati : « ikibazo ni abaturwanya ». Bose baktana bamwana. Abaturage se bo ubwabo bumva byagenda gute ? Bamwe mu banyepolitiki batanga ibindi bisubizo ntavuze hano, ariko nanone bakigana politiki ya bimwe mu bindibihugu. Nkaho ibyo bihugu ari Urwanda. Bati « twongere tugerageze ». Tuzahora mu biggeragezo ? Twaragerageje kandi twarageragejwe bihajije.

Ibyo byose birerekana ko abanyarwanda bamwe batakaje ukwemera n'icyizere (confiance) muli politiki no muri bo ubwabo. Barihebye (ils ont perdu l'espoir). Hari n'uwambwiye ko atakijya muri meeting y'ishyaka rye ! Hari abigeze mu mashyaka nabo bayavuyemo kuko bacitse intege (ils ont perdu le courage). Ikigaraza ibyo ni uko bamwe bayobotse ukundi kwemera kwitwa « indagu ». Bagashaka icyizere mu ndagu. Mu biganiro byabo birebana na politiki, bikaba ari yo mvugo, ngo bategereje igihe ibikubiye mu ndagu bemera bizasohorera. Amaso agahera mi kirere. Ni uko bakituramira, kandi badatuje, bati ibizaba bizaba, umupfumu cyangwa umuhanuzi runaka yavuze ibi n'ibi ntacyo twe twabihinduraho. Bati nta kundi twabigenza. Nkaho bategereza undi Mukiza... Bakumva ko izo ndagu ari zo zizakiza U Rwanda. Ngo zagombye gusohora vuba na bwangu ! Ngo ibintu birambiranye ! Wababaza uti ese ni ibiki birambiranye, bakakureba ariko bakicecekera.

Hari n'umunyamahanga ukomoka mu gihugu kimwe cy'i Burayi, kavukire w'icyo gihugu, wandika inzandiko zigaragaza ko yayobotse nawe ukwemera mu ndagu. Ibi binyibutsa ba banyamahanga bamwe babaye *abahutu n'abatutsi* kurusha abanyarwanda (ibyo nabyo ni ukundi kwemera)... Cyangwa ni uko abona ko abafite uko kwemera bamaze kuba benshi ! Ni uko indagu zigatwara amashyaka abayoboke! Amanywa ava ! Kuva kera, hari n'ibihuha byagiye bivuga ko bamwe mu bategetsi bajyaga kuraguza, ngo kugirango bashake intsinzi ! Intsinzi ! Biramatse ari byo koko – kuko nta gihama – wakwemera ute ko politiki yawe ari yo izatsinda warangiza ukajya gushakira intsinzi mu ndagu ? Ayo mayobera si amatagatifu ! Abanyarwanda tugeze kure.

Ibyo byose mvuze ntabwo ari ukunenga abemera indagu kuko ari uburenganzira bwabo mu gihe ntacyo bibangamiyeho abatazameru. Nyamara bamwe bahungira mu ndagu kandi bafite ukwemera mu mashyirahamwe no mu madini basanzwemo. Abanyamahanga nabo ntibacyizeza n'abaturage kuko twabonye isomo ! Bamwe mu bemera Imana bo nibura bavuga ko ari yo izakiza abanyarwanda. Ariko Imana irafashwa. Mu madini yabo bashobora kwitabaza Umukiza basanzwe bemera kugirango adukize akaga twahuye nako, ariko bakamufasha. Nkaho ukwemera basanganywe ntacyo kwabamarira mu kwubaka demokarasi. Nkaho demokarasi yubakwa n'amashyaka gusa. Ntabwo ari byo. Hari abumva ko badashobora guhindura ibintu batanyuze mu nzira z'amashyaka. Ngo amashyaka ni yo yonyine agomba gukora politiki. Biterwa na politiki iy'ariyo. Abanyamashyaka nabo bakigisha ibyo nk'ihame cyangwa nk'ivanjiri. Ibyo bitekerezo bishaje nk'iyi Si dutuyeho. Ndetsye iyo myumvire ntiberanye na demokarasi kuko ifungiraho imiryango ibitekerezo by'abandi aho kuyifungura (ouvrir les portes) kugirango nabyo babyumve maze babishyre hamwe n'ibyabo. Nkaho ibyabo ari byo byiza kuruta ibindi. Ndemeza ko amashyaka atarusha sosiyete sivil n'amadini kwubaka demokarasi.

Ntidushobora se kugira amashyaka menshi ya politiki kandi tukanashyira hamwe twese muri demokarasi nyarwanda ? BIRASHOBOKA. Reka turebe rero ukundi byagenda. Ntabwo ari *intsinzi* ntanga ariko, kuko ntaragura ...

## **2. Ubumwe bwa Sosiyete sivili n'amadini na demokarasi**

Sosiyete sivili igizwe n'amashyirahamwe ndetse n'abandi banyarwanda bose badakora politiki igamije kugera ku butegetsi bw'ighugu.

Umntu uwariwe wese akunda amahoro, ubutabera, ukwishiira ukizana, yifuza ko uburenganzira bwe bwubahizizwa hose kandi igithe cyose. Ndetsse amashyaka yose iyo ava akagera, yemera ayo mahame y'uburenganzira bwa muntu, ku buryo ari yo ashingiraho iyo ashyiraho amategeko n'ubutegetsi.

Aho ibantu bigeze, gukemura ibibazo birebana n'akarengane abanyarwanda twagize birasaba ingufu z'abantu benshi. Abanyarwanda twese. Kuvugurura politiki kugirango tugere kuri demokarasi nyayo, ntabwo bikwiye gukorwa kubera amabwiriza y'abanyamahanga, ntabwo bizakorwa n'indagu z'umupfumu kanaka cyangwa kanaka, nta n'ubwo bikwiye gukorwa n'amashyaka ya politiki gusa. Oya. Twese tugomba kubigiramo uruhare. Nta n'umwe usigaye inyuma.

Mu kiganiro ku bwiyunge nayoboye tariki ya 11 Ukwakira 2014 ahitwa Mesvin hafi y'umujiyi wa Mons mu Bubiligi, hari umubiligi kavukire wambwiye iyi nkuru. Ngo amaze kumenyeshwa ikiganiro akamenya ko kizatangwa n'umunyarwanda, yagiye kureba inshuti ye y'umunyarwanda maze amusaba ko bajana kucyumva. Undi amaze kubona amazina yanje, abonye atanzi, aramubwira ngo uyu munyepolitiki se ko ntamuzi ? Ngo ari mu rihe shyaka ? Umubiligi ati nanje uwo muntu simuzi ati ariko ngwino tuyane nyine umenye uwariwe, twumve n'ibitekerezo bye ku bwiyunge. Umubiligi abona ndetse uwo munyarwanda ngo atangiye kunkeka amababa... Yibagirwa ko uwo mubiligi nawe nta shyaka ry'abanyarwanda arimo kandi ko ubutumire muri icyo kiganiro nari nabugeneye abantu bose ntavanguye. Ni uko ngo aramureka yiyizira kwumva ikiganiro. Ni bwo umubiligi yambwiraga ati abanyarwanda muracyafite ibibazo. Nti ndabizi niyo mpamvu nanje mvuga ku *bwiyunge nyakuri*. Ikiganiro kirangiye umubiligi ataha anezerewe, umuvandimwe wacu w'umunyarwanda yisigariye mu rugo, wenda yireberaga kuri internet aho indagu z'umupfumu yemera zigeze zisohora... Ararengana ariko si we wenylene, abantu benshi nyine bamenyereye ko ubwiyunge buvugwa gusa n'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka. Bati ntibishoboka ko hari undi muntu wabuvuga ! Ntibabyumva.

Ku banyepolitiki bamwe nabo, demokarasi irebana n'ubutegetsi gusa ! Abayoboke ba sosiyete sivili iyo babonye ko akarengane ari kenshi, bamwe baya mu mashyaka ariko ugasanga ibyo bashakaga guhindura birabananiye, bagakora ibyo batemera. Bakaba barayobotse, kandi nta gitugu, nta terabwoba bashyizweho. Bakareka ibyo bemeraga, bagakora ibyo batemera. Ntibanagire ubutwari bwo kwegura ngo barebe igitumye badashoboye guhindura ibyo barwanyaga. Ugasanga bavuga ngo « ntawe ukinira politiki hanze y'ikibuga » ! Nyamara bamwe bagera aho « bagaterwa ishoti », bagahabwa ikarita itukura maze bakirukanwa, cyangwa bakicazwa ku ntebe y'abasimbura (banc des réservistes) ! Urubuga rwa politiki rugahinduka ikibuga cy'umupira w'amaguru ! Ku ngoma zose zabayeho mu Rwanda, abanyepolitiki beguye ku butegetsi babarirwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Nyamara abaguma muri ubwo butegetsi ntibavuga ko ari impamvu y'uko ubumwe na demokarasi biba biganje, kandi abanyarwanda ibihumbi n'ibihumbi baba buzuye i Shyanga.

Iyo abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka bagiye mu mishyikirano yo « kugabana ubutegetsi » (aho kubusangira) rero, ntibatumira abayobozi ba sosiyete sivili n'amadini, barabaheza bakabima ijambo kuko babafungiraho imiryango, nkaho batagira uruhare mu kwubaka demokarasi. Ntibanabemerere kuba indorerezi. Kandi imyigaragambyo baba barabajyemo ari yo iba yaratume yio mishyikirano ishobora kubaho. Ariko se kuki abo bayobozi ba sosiyete sivili n'amadini bo batabisaba ? Umenya ari uko baba badashyize hamwe ? Ni uko muri izo nama hakigwa ibibazo birebana n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, ubutabera, ubwiyunge, ukwishiira ukizana kw'itangazamakuru,... abo bayobozi maze kuvuga badahari kandi imiryango bahagarariye ari yo irengera ayo mahame ya demokarasi buri munsi.

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Byatera kibili ariko ba banyepolitiki bakwongera bagashwana, ibyari umukino wa politiki bigahindukamo imirwano. Ni uko bagasohoka muri cya kibuga cyabo, bakajya guteranya ba baturage bo muri sosiyete sivili n'amadini ngo nabo nibasubiranemo kandi ntaho baba babogamiye muri politiki, nkaho bababwiye ngo babakize maze babafashe kwiyunga. Ahubwo bagatabaza abanyamahanga babahaye ya mafranga y'ingurane y'amashyaka yabo. Bakanga gukinira politiki hanze y'ikibuga, bananirwa kwumvikana bakagisohokamo, bakaba ari ho barwanira. Kuki batakigumamo ? Abaturage nabo bakemera kwivanga mu byo batazi.

Ni uko byagenze mu mishyikirano yari igamije gucyura impunzi no kugabana ubutegetsi yabereye i Arusha muri Tanzaniya na nyuma yaho. Munyumve neza, ntabwo mvuze ko ari cyo cyatumye ayo masezerano adashyirwa mu bikorwa uko byagombaga. Reka twizere ko ibyo bitazongera.

Aho kujya mu mashyaka ugahindura imvugo wavugaga ukiri mw'ishyirahamwe, kuki utaguma aho uri ugashaka uburyo wakorerayo indi politiki udahinduye ibitekerezo byawe byiza kandi wemera ? Aho kuguma mu butegetsi ukora politiki utedera, kuki utakwegura ngo ujye gushaka impamvu yatumye bikunanira guhindura iyo politiki ? Mu bwigenge ariko... Ngo ntibishoka gukorera politiki muri sosiyete sivili. Ibyo nanje ndabyemera iyo ari politiki igamije ubutegetsi. Ariko iyo ari *politiki iharanira ubumwe, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge, BIRASHOBOKA*. Abagize Sosiyete sivili n'amadini bakwiye kwishyira hamwe, mu muryango umwe, kugirango bagere kuri iyo nteto. Nk'uko amashyaka abigenza muli politiki iharanira ubutegetsi.

Hari igihe kigera ingoma zigahindura imirishyo. Imirishyo gusa ! Iyo zimaze guhindura iyo mirishyo cyangwa iyo abanyepolitiki basezerewe, abarwanya ubutegetsi bashyira mu majwi bamwe mu banyepolitiki bakavuga ko ari bo ba nyirabayazana b'ibibazo byose, kandi bamwe muri bo baba barafatanyije gushyiraho ubwo butegetsi barwanya, ariko ntibemere uruhare rwabo muri ibyo bibazo. Nyamara umwe muri abo bita nyirabayazana nawe iyo agiranye ibibazo n'ubutegetsi, arahindukira akabasanga, babandi bakamwakirana ineza n'urugwiro. Bati: urakaza neza urisanga ! Ni uko bakagira ubumwe. Ni n'uko bigenda iyo abarwanyaga ubutegetsi buriho bahindukiye bakajya kubukorera. Kabone n'iyo abo bahindura izo mpande zombi za politiki bitwa ba « Ruharwa » ! Ababakiriye bagira bat « umuntu wese yitwa umwere igihe cyose urukiko rutaramuhanya icyaha ». Iryo hame ni ryo koko. Ariko iryo hame ntibaryubahiriza kubo barwanya. Iyo ni imwe mu mpamvu abantu bavuga ko abo banyepolitiki baba bagamije kubona imyanya gusa. Ibyo biri mu bituma abantu bamwe batifuza gukora politiki. Bagata cya cyizere.

Muri Sosiyete sivili no mu madini, ho harimo abantu b'ingeri zose: abari mu mashyaka ariko batari mu buyobozi bwayo ndetse n'abatayabamo. Abihaye Imana bo ntibyemewe ko baba mu mashyaka. Ariko ugasanga bamwe muri bo (bacye cyane) bagiye mw'ishyaka rya politiki runaka, bakabona n'imyanya ikomeye, kandi batagomba kugira aho babogamira muri politiki. Ndabaretse mwifindurire ingero zimwe zabayeho mu mateka ya politiki y'U Rwanda.

Amashyaka iyo ashaka kujya ku butegetsi, yiyambaza abagize Sosiyete sivili ndetse n'amadini, abajyana mu myigaragambyo nkuko nabivuze, ngo nibabafashe « guhirika » ubutegetsi buriho. Bamara nabo kubugeraho bagakora ibyo barwanyaga ndetse bagasuzugura babandi babafashije kubugeraho, ariko byabakomerana bakongera kubitabaza ! Ngo : « nimudutore ». Bakabafasha kugera ku butegetsi, babugeraho nabo, bamwe bakabafunga babarenganya, abandi bakabata mu rwobo, nkaho ari cyo babatoreye. Inyiturano y'abanyepolitiki bacu ikaba iyo ! Umuntu avuze ko Sosiyete sivili rimwe na rimwe ikorera abanyepolitiki kurusha uko yikorera yaba abeshye ? Umenya ari nayo mpamvu abayoboke bayo bahutazwa n'abanyepolitiki igihe babishakiye cyose ? Ubwo se iyo Sosiyete sivili iba yigenga koko? Ni uko abaturage bagahozwa mu mianda. Bazahora mu mianda kugeza ryari? Kuki bashobora kwishyira hamwe bafasha abanyamashyaka kugera ku butegetsi, bo ntibashobore kwishyira hamwe ngo bifashe kugera ku buyobozi (butari ubutegetsi) maze babone ingufu zo kwirengera kandi babona abanyepolitiki batabikora ?

Bamwe no mu bahanga mu bumenyi bw'amadini nabo ntibemera ko amategeko y'Imana yerekeranye n'imbabazi n'ubwiyunge ashobora gushyirwa mu mategeko y'igihugu, agahindura imikorere y'ubutabera, kandi ari bo ba mbere bagombye kubishyigikira. Hari abo nabibwiye barisetsa cyane kandi nyamara hari

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abandi babishyigikiye. Ngo ibyo ntibishoboka. Ibyo gusa. Bakambwira ko bidashoboka ariko ntibambwire impamvu. Nabo nta cyizere bigirira ubwabo ko bashobora gukoresha amategeko y'Imana kugirango barwanye akarengane. Umenya ariko bo bataragira ukwemera mu ndagu... **Namwe muti ibyo nta handi byabaye. Nanje nti nta handi byabaye kuko nta bandi bantu bari bwabivuge. Kuki bitaba iwacu bwa mbere abandi nabo bakazatureberaho ? Kuki tugomba kurebera ku bandi gusa ? Ibyabaye iwacu i Rwanda se hari ahandi byabaye ? Mwigeze mutekereza ko ariya mahano yabaye iwacu yashoboraga kuba ? Kuki se tutakwubaka amahoro ahabereye amahano ? Abantu dushobora gukora ibibi kimwe n'uko dushobora gukora ibyiza. Abanyarwanda nitureke kureba gusa ingero z'abandi twigana ibyo bakoze, kandi bimwe bitajyanye n'umuco wacu. Tureke urwigana, tugire ubutwari bwo guhimba ibyacu. Ngo ingendo y'undi iravuna. Kandi yaratuvunye koko. Abanyarwanda natwe dushobora kuba intangarugero mu byiza. Ibyo BIRASHOBOKA. Kuko hari ukundi byagenda.**

### 3. Demokarasi muri Repubulika iyobowe n'amashyaka gusa iratunaniye

Kugirango habeho uburinganire bw'ingufu z'amashyaka ya politiki n'iza Sosiyete sivili, bikwiye kwumvikana neza ko demokarasi atari umwihariko w'amashyaka gusa.

Nyuma y'imyaka 60 ya Repubulika y'amashyaka, demokarasi iranzwe iratunaniye. Abanyarwanda dukwiye kwemera ko iyo Repubulika itatubereye kuko kuyobora ighugu dukoresheje ayo amashyaka ya politiki gusa tutabishoboye. Bityo tukemera ko iyo Repubulika itadukwiriye kandi tukemeranywa ko ighihe twayibayemo cyari icyo **kuyigerageza** (essai) maze tukishyiriraho ubundi buryo bwo kuyobora ighugu. Ayo mashyaka ya politiki rero agomba kugabanyirizwa ingufu kugirango abaturage nabo bashobore kuyobora zimwe mu nzego z'ighugu batarinze kujya muri ayo mashyaka. Ibyo bigakorwa n'**Umuryango wa Sosiyete Sivili n'amadini** wahuza abanyarwanda mu mahoro, ugaharanira ubumwe, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge nyakuri. Uwo muryango uzagarurira abanyarwanda icyizere muri bo ubwabo no mu mashyaka ya politiki, maze bemere ko bashobora guhindura ighugu. **BIRASHOBOKA** igasimbura « **ntibishoboka** ». Demokarasi irahenda koko!

## IV. Niduharanire ko abanyarwanda bareshya imbere y'amategeko

### 1. Sosiyete Sivili yigenga mu mpinduka y'uburinganire bw'abanyarwanda

Mu kiganiro n'inyandiko nise « *Ni iyihe mpinduka izacyemura burundu ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda* »<sup>22</sup> navuze ko abanyarwanda bari muri Sosiyete sivili yigenga bakwiye kwunganira abanyepolitiki mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ighugu zirebana n'imilimo bakora irengera inyungu rusange z'abanyarwanda. Ibyo kugirango bazashobore gusohoza intego yo guhuza no kubanisha neza abanyarwanda bose mu gihugu cyabo, kuko abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka batayisohoje. Narangije ngira nti: « *Iyo mpinduka yagerwaho ite, yashyirwa ite mu bikorwa ?* »

Bimwe mu byo abanyepoliti bo mu mashyaka n'abanyarwanda bagize Sosiyete sivili bahuriraho ni uko bose bavuga ko barengera Rubanda kandi bakanaharanira ko abanyarwanda bose bareshya imbere y'amategeko. Nyamara wareba ugasanga, mu by'ukuri, n'abo ubwabo batareshya imbere y'ayo mategeko. Koko rero, birazwi neza ko abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka ari bo bonyine bayobora imilimo yose irebana n'ubutegetsi bw'Ighugu, harimo ndetse n'yo abagize sosiyete sivili bakora mu milimo biyemeje mu buryo bwo kurengera Rubanda. Urugero rumwe natanga ni imilimo ijyanye n'ubutabera. Ntibiyumvikana ukuntu Ministeri y'ubutabera yategekwa n'ishyaka rya politiki riri no muri Guvernoma, mu gihe bizwi neza ko abanyarwannda banyuranye bo mu mashyirahamwe n'abatayarimo ariko nabo bari muri Sosiyete sivili aribo baharanira buri munsi uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu hamwe n'ubwo butabera. Kuki ubutabera bwayoborwa n'umunyepolitiki kandi bizwi neza ko abacamanza badakora politiki ? Ubutabera buyobowe n'abanyepolitiki bwakwigenga bute ?

<sup>22</sup> <http://projet-dvjp.net/2017/01/ni-iyihe-mpinduka-izacyemura-burundu-ikibazo-cyimpunzi-aloys-musomesha/>

Ubwo busumbane hagati y'abagize umuryango wa Sosiyete sivil n'abagize umuryango w'amashyaka ya politiki ni bwo butuma abari muri ayo mashyaka bagira ingufu nyinshi, bakwumva ko bari hejuru y'abandi banyarwanda, kugera naho bamwe ndetse bishyira hejuru y'amategeko. Bakabikora bitwaje ya mpamvu yuko ngo amashyaka ari yo yonyine yemerewe kujya mu butegetsi. Ibyo ni bimwe mu bituma bamwe mu bagize ayo mashyaka, iyo bageze kuri ubwo butegetsi, bakandamiza abanyarwanda bo muri Sosiyete sivil barwanya akarengane abo bategetsi bakorera Rubanda. Ni uko ba baturage bakabura kirengera kuko iyo Sosiyete sivil ibura ingufu zo guhagarika ako karengane. Amabarwa n'amaraporu y'intababaza yoherezwa abo banyepolitiki b'abanyagihugu cyangwa b'abanyamahanga, agafungiranwa mu bubati bw'ibiro byabo, yamara gutora uruhumbu bakayashyingura burundi. Kandi koko, ngo « ntawe urega uwo aregaho ! » Mu buryo bwo kwamagana ako karengane nanone, abagize Sosiyete sivil bakajya mu mihanda, ariko nabyo bakabizira, kandi kwigaragambya ari uburenganzira bwabo bahabwa n'amategeko.

Ibibazo by'ubusumbane hagati y'icyiswe amoko y'Inyabutatu jye nita ko ari ingirwamoko ya politiki, ni ukuvuga ya yandi y'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa, nabyo ni aho biva. Muti gute ? Ku ngoma za Cyami, umuryango w'abanyepolitiki (classe politique) wari ugizwe n'abatutsi, naho abahutu n'abatwa bakaba abo bitaga Rubanda « rugufi ». Aho ya ngengabitekerezo twigishijwe ivuga ko ngo abahutu n'abatwa ari « bagufi » naho abatutsi ngo bakaba « barebare » ntiyaba ari aho ikomoka ? Icyo gihe rero nta munyarwanda watinyukaga kwamagana akarengane kakorwaga n'abo bategetsi. Mu gihe igihugu cyaharaniraga kubona ubwigenge, Rubanda rw'abahutu rwari rwarakandamijwe, rwaricajwe kuko rwari rwaragizwe rugufi, rwiyemeje guhaguruka maze rurahagarara, ruharanira narwo kujya mu butegetsi, kugirango rwirengere. Abo bahutu bamaze gufata ubutegetsi ariko nabo bicaje ba batutsi, babahindura Rubanda rugufi. Ubusumbane hagati y'abanyarwanda burakomeza. Ikibabaje ariko ni uko ibyo bice by'abanyarwanda bishingiye ku mibereho yabo byaje kwitwa ko ngo ari andi moko.

Buri mwaka twizihiza isabukuru y'ubwigenge bw'Urwanda kuko rutakiyobowe n'ibihugu by'amahanga. Nyamara Rubanda ntiyigeze ibona ubwigenge busesuye kugeza ubu kuko yakomeje gukandamizwa na bamwe mu banyepolitiki b'abanyarwanda bishyira hejuru y'amategeko nkuko nabivuze. Wavuga ute ko abaturage bigenga mu gihe bakubitwa ibiboko kandi nta gihano cyo gukubitwa kibaho mu mategeko y'U Rwanda ? Tubyibazeho. Muri Werurwe 1957 hatangiye révolution y'abahutu yageze ku ntsinzi muri mutarama 1961, naho mu Ukwakira 1990 hatangira iy'abatutsi yageze ku ntsinzi muri Nyakanga 1994. Mwari muzi ko izo révolutions zombi zakozwe mu gihe kingana ? Imyaka 3 n'amezi icumi, hafi imyaka 4 !

## 2. Uburinganire bw'umuryango ya Sosiyete sivil n'uwan'mashyaka ya politiki

Aho kwica Gitera ica ikibimutera<sup>23</sup>. Muri 1994, bamwe mu bahutu bishe abatutsi bahinduye zero révolution yabo. Ya révolution y'abatutsi nayo, bamwe muri abo batutsi nabo bari kuyihindura zero. Politiki ishingiye ku ngirwamoko ya politiki Hutu-Tutsi-Twa iyariyo yose rero, irisenya. Abarota ko ngo kugabana ubutegetsi hakurikijwe ayo ngirwamoko ari byo byavanaho ubusumbane bw'abanyarwanda rero, nabo bamenye ko bibeshya, kuko ubwo butegetsi nabwo bwahita bwisenya. Noneho, umenza nta n'umunyarwanda wasigara !

Biragaragara rero ko dukeneye indi « révolution » ya 3 ariko ikozwe n'abanyarwanda twese kandi idashingiye ku ngirwamoko ya politiki, ahubwo ku mategeko n'amahame mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu. Iyo révolution ikayoborwa n'abanyarwanda batagira ingirwamoko ya politiki. Iyo ni yo politiki izarama, igakiza abanyarwanda kuko izatuma Rubanda rubona ubwigenge busesuye nkuko nabisobanuye mu buryo burambuye mu gice cya mbere ku mpinduka y'ubwo bwigenge bushya bw'abanyarwanda. **Uburinganire n'ubumwe** bwacu buzashoboka nitwibohora ingengabitekerezo by'ingirwamoko Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, tukayavana muri politiki kandi nayo tukayavanamo politiki, bityo tukava muri gereza y'Inyabutatu noneho tukayisenya.

Kuvuka kw'amashyaka ya politiki muri Repubulika byakurikiweho no kuvuka kw'imiryango ya Sosiyete sivil itabogamiye ku butegetsi. Ayo mashyaka ya politiki nayo kandi yatangiye nk'amashyirahamwe.

<sup>23</sup> Indilimbo ya Karasira Aimable

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Nubwo amashyirahamwe macye yitwa ko atabogamiye kuri Leta yaje kuvuka ariko, ntabwo ijwi ryayo ryumvikanye cyane kuko abanyepolitiki bose bagiye ku butegetsi, baba abiyita cyangwa abitwa *abahutu* cyangwa *abatutsi*, bakomeje gukandamiza Rubanda rugufi nkuko nabivuze. Ni uko abanyepoliti batari ku butegetsi nabo (opposition) bagafatwa nk'abanzi kuko batavuga rumwe n'ababuriho baba batinya kubuvaho ngo nabo badahinduka Rubanda rugufi. Ibibazo hagati y'abategetsi ni aho biva.

Kugeza ubu, byaragaragaye ko ibibazo by'ayo mashyaka ari ibibazo by'ubutegetsi. Nkuko mpura mbivuga, icyo abanyepolitiki bapfa ni nacyo bapfana, ni : ubutegetsi. Iyo badasangiye ubutegetsi barashyamirana, ariko babusangira bakwumvikana. Muri demukarasi amashyaka menshi ni ngombwa, ariko igisubizo cy'akarengane k'abanyarwanda ntikigomba gushakirwa mu gushinga uruhuli rw'amashyaka cyangwa kugabana imyanya y'ubutegetsi hakurikijwe amashyaka ya politiki gusa. Niyo abagize ayo mashyaka babugabana mu buryo bwiza bumvikanyeho, ibyo si byo byonyine byaha Rubanda icyizere cy'amahoro.

Muri iki gihe tugezemo, umuntu yavuga ko Rubanda « rugufi » igizwe na ba banyarwanda batagira ijambo, batemerewe kuvuga ibibi ubutegetsi bukora, badafite uburenganzira bw'ibanze amahame mpuzamahanga arengera ikiremwamuntu abemerera, bari muri ya ngirwamoko ya politiki uko ari atatu ndetse n'abatarayamenya n'abatayemera. Ku byerekeranye n'ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki navuze, ikibazo ni uko iyo abitwa *abahutu* cyangwa *abatutsi* bafashe ubutegetsi bashaka kwumvisha abaturage bahuje ingirwabwoko ko ubutegetsi bafite nabo ari ubwabo, kandi atari byo, ni uko bakabeshyera abo badahuje ingirwabwoko ko ari bo ba nyirabayazana b'ibibazo byose, bakivanaho ibibazo bakabishyira ku bandi, kandi ari bo bafite ubutegetsi.

Rubanda rugufi nayo, kubera kutagira ubushishozi (manipulé), igakurikira. Akazi ka Sosiyete sivil ni aha kari, ni ukuba ijwi n'ijisho bya Rubanda. Impunzi z'abanyarwanda zirimo ingirwamoko yose. Kubera impamvu za politiki kandi, ari abitwa *abatutsi*, *abahutu* cyangwa *abatwa* bose barishwe, abandi barafungwa. Mu by'ukuri rero, nta na rimwe abanyarwanda bigeze bareshya imbere y'amategeko, kuko politiki zayoboye igihugu zose zagiye zisumbanya abanyarwanda.

Tuzi neza ko abanyepolitiki bafata bamwe mu bayoboke ba Sosiyete sivile bakabashyira mu butegetsi bamaze kubandikisha mu mashyaka yabo ako kanya. Kuki abo bayoboke batakora politiki yo kurengera Rubanda batarinze kuva muri sosiyete sivil barimo? Ibyo si byo byaba byiza aho kujya gukora no kuvuga ibitandukanye n'ibyo bavugaga kandi bakoraga batarayivamo ? Nyamara amashyaka ya politiki nayo ni amashyirahamwe ! Umuco wa politiki twazaniwe n'abazungu uvuga ko ngo amashyaka ari yo yemerewe gukora politiki gusa urashaje. Na ndetse muri iki gihe, n'abo banyamahanga b'abahanga muri demokarasi twawurebeyeho bari kuwuvugurura iwabo. Twe dutegereje iki ? Iwacu i Rwanda naho rero, ni ko bikwiye kugenda, ariko tukabikora mu buryo bubereye abanyarwanda, tutiganye abo banyamahanga. Bityo, politiki y'abagize Sosiyete sivil n'iy'abanyamashyaka zigatandukana ariko zikwuzuzanya. Ntangira kuvuga iki gitekerezo hari abambwiraga ko ndi kurota. Nyamara, ubu hari ibimenyetso bigaragaza neza ko iyo nzira ariyo turi kujyamo.

Muri iki gihe hari abanyarwanda ku giti cyabo basigaye bakora politiki itari iy'ubutegetsi bw'ighugu, batarinze gushinga amashyaka, kandi ibitekerezo byabo bikumvikana neza. Hari abafite ibitekerezo by'ijo mpinduka ya politiki batangiye kubigaragaza, kandi batari mu mashyaka ya politiki. Umuntu avuze ko iyo mpinduka ya gatatu yatangiye yaba abeshye ? Ubwo buryo ni bwo nemera ko bushobora kutugeza ku mahoro nyayo kandi arambye. Iyo politiki nshya ni yo nita « **Politiki mpuzabanyarwanda** » kuko ihuza abenegihugu aho kubatanya, kandi ikaba ariyo yageza Rubanda ku bwigenge nyakuri, bityo bakareshye imbere y'amategeko. Ntabwo abanyarwanda twese dushobora kujya mu mashyaka ya politiki, ariko abatayarimo bose bakwiye kwitabira iyo politiki mpuzabanyarwanda.

## V. Politiki mpuzabanyarwanda niyunge Ubwami na Repubulika

« Ni byiza ko rero Sosiyete y'abanyarwanda iyoborwa n'ubwenge n'urumuli aho kuyoborwa na propaganda ya politiki haba ku ruhande rumwe cyangwa urundi »<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Ngendahimana: <https://youtu.be/ujKaxoDI5JY>. Byakuwe muri iki kiganiro kuwa 8 Ukuboza 2020

Politiki y'Inyabutatu-ngirwamoko ya Cyami yatumye Repubulika nayo icikamo ibice. Mu guhangana kwabo, abanyepolitiki b'abahutu bakabwira abatutsi ngo : « tubarusha ubwinshi, mu matora tukabatsinda ». Abanyepolitiki b'abatutsi nabo bagasubiza ngo : « natwe tubarusha intwarz, ku rugamba tukabatsinda ». Nubwo Ubwami bwavuyeho, hari imikorere myinshi y'ingoma ya Cyami yakomeje mu butegetsi bwa Repubulika. Imvange y'ubwo butegetsi bwa Repubulika na Cyami niyo yabyaye ingoma z'IGITUGU ni ukuvuga **Repubulika ya Cyami**. IGITUGU = CYAMI + REPUBLIKA. Dore ibimenyetso.

## 1. Igitugu cy'ishyaka rifashe ubutegetsi

Repubulika zose zagiye mu buryo bunyuranyije n'amategeko. Tuzi neza kandi ko, mu ba prezida bose bategetse U Rwanda, nta n'umwe wigeze avaho mu buryo buteganywa n'ltegeko-nshinga rya Repubulika. Abo ba prezida bose kandi nta n'umwe wigeze yemerera andi mashyaka gusangira ubutegetsi n'ishyaka rye, cyangwa ngo yemerere utavuga rumwe naryo gukora yisanzuye mu gihugu. Igihe cyose ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika bwayobowe n'ishyaka rimwe gusa.

Amashyaka yose yafashe ubutegetsi akoreshsheje politiki y'Inyabutatu ngirwamoko Hutu-Tutsi-Twa yahoze ari iy'ubutegetsi bw'ingoma ya Cyami kandi Repubulika yari imaze kuyisimbura. Iyo Repubulika yavanyeho koko ingoma ya Cyami ariko ntiyavanaho imikorere n'imigenzo y'Inyabutatu. Akaga abanyarwanda twagize ni hano gaturuka. **Ntibyumvikana ukuntu abitwaga ko ari abahutu ku ngoma ya Cyami bashyizeho Repubulika ariko bagakomeza kwiyita ABAHUTU kandi batari bakiri abagaragu b'ABATUTSI bari bamaze kuvana ku butegetsi**. None se bari bakiri abahutu ba nde kandi ubuhake bwari bumaze gucibwa ? Ikibazo cyanje ni iki rero: kuvanaho Inyabutatu ko byari bimaze kubananira, kuki Abaparmehutu bateruye ngo biyite ABATUTSI ko bari babonye ubutegetsi ? Impamvu ntiyaba ari uko bashakaga kuzajya babona amajwi muri Rubanda rw'abahutu kuko ari bo benshi kugirango bazajye batsinda amatora ?

Twibuke ko abakoloni b'ababiligi aribo batuzaniye iyo Repubulika. Kuki abo babiligi badusanganye Ubwami bagakorana nabwo, bahisemo kuduha Repubulika aho kudufasha gushyiraho ubutegetsi bw'amashyaka mu Bwami bushingiye kw'ltegeko-nshinga (monarchie constitutionnelle) nk'ubw'iwabo? Nyamara amategeko batwigishije bayavanye iwabo mu Bubiligi. Abakoloni bagomba kuba bari bafitanye ikibazo n'Ubwami, ikibigaragaza ni uko umwami KIGERI V NDAHINDURWA amaze kujya muri Kongo batamwemereye gusubira mu Rwanda. Repubulika yimitswe adahari kimwe n'abandi banyarwanda benshi bari bamaze guhunga igihugu cyabo, kandi abo bakoloni bo bakiri muri icyo gihugu kitari icyabo.

Nkuko nabivuze mu gice cya mbere ku *mpinduka y'ubwigenge busesuye bw'abanyarwanda*, twabonye Repubulika ndetse n'ubwigenge nta bumwe abanyarwanda dufite. Muri icyo gihe, nkeka ko Ubwami bushingiye kw'ltegeko-nshinga ari bwo bwashoboraga gutuma tugira ubwo bumwe. Ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kibili bwayobowe n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi MRND-Muvoma. Kimwe n'ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu ryayoboye Repubulika ya mbere, izina MUVOMA ntiryigeze ribonera wa igisobanuro mu rulimi rw'Ikinyarwanda. Iyo MUVOMA yo ngo yaringaniza abahutu n'abatutsi ndetse ngo n'abatwa ikoreshsheje politiki y'iringaniza ! Nyamara ariko, kimwe na PARMEHUTU, iryo shyaka ntiryemereye abanyarwanda bo muri iyo NYABUTATU kugira andi mashyaka ya politiki nkuko bigenda muri DEMOKARASI ya Repubulika. Abanyarwanda baringanira bate badafite uburenganzira bungana ? Icyo cyari ikinyoma.

Ubutegetsi bwa Leta ya MRND bwemeye andi mashyaka atavuga rumwe nabwo gukora muw'1991 ku mabwiriza y'igihugu cy'Ubuvaransa bitewe n'igitutu cy'intambara ya FPR-Inkotanyi yashinjaga iryo shyaka gukoresha IGITUGU. Mu mishyikirano ya Arusha muri Tanzaniya hagati ya Leta y'URwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi, ntabwo ibibazo by'ingirwamoko y'Inyabutatu ya Cyami byigeze bivugwa. FPR-Inkotanyi kandi ntiyigeze yanga kuzakorera muri Repubulika. Ari nayo mpamvu umuntu ashobora kwibaza icyatumye ishoza intambara niba inzego za Repubulika ntacyo yazinengaga. **Nta kwiyunga hagati ya FPR-Inkotanyi n'abategetsi ba Repubulika bwabereye i Arusha**. Impande zombi zarangaje imbere ubutegetsi gusa. Ari nayo mpamvu ayo masezerano atigeze yubahirizwa.

Ishyaka FPR-Inkotanyi rifashe ubutegetsi, **ryemeye Repubulika** riyikoreramo, kandi abayobozi baryo

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batigeze bayitora, ndetse baranayiregaga ko ari yo yibirukanye mu gihugu. Aho kuyivanaho cyangwa ngo bayivugurure, ahubwo ishyaka FPR barihinduye nk'umuryango w'abanyarwanda bose. None ubu bamwe bagira bati « ntitwababwiraga ko bazagarura Ubwami »! Bakongeraho bati « ICYAMA ni CYAMI ivuguruye » ! Inkotanyi zemereye abanyarwanda n'amahanga ko zemera Repubulika. Amashyaka yemerewe gukora, uretse Parmehutu na Muvoma, ariko ashyirwa mu cyiswe FORUMU. Hari uwo nabajije nti « FORUMU bivuze iki », ati « FORUMU ni MUVOMA y'AMASHYAKA ». Nti kandi Muvoma itakibaho ? Nawe ati nanje umbaze nkubaze !

Ikindi FPR-Inkotanyi yakoze kidasanzwe ni uko yavuze ko ndetse ivanyeho INYABUTATU kuko yavanye Hutu-Tutsi-Twa mu ndangamuntu ! Nyamara abazi amateka y'u Rwanda batubwiye ko iyo Nyabutatu yahozehe na kera Abera (abazungu) bataragera mu Rwanda, n'izo ndangamuntu zitarabaho ! Bivuze ko INYABUTATU yashyizweho n'Ubwami. Ikibazo cyanje rero nanone kikaba iki: kuki abayobozi b'ICYAMA bateruye nabo ngo biyite ABATUTSI kandi bari basubiye ku butegetsi abo bakomokaho bari bafite ku ngoma ya Cyami ? Cyane ko bari bamaze kwitsindira intambara y'amamasu ? Batinye iki ? Hari uwo nabajije icyo kibazo wambwiye ngo batinye guzatsindwa n'abahutu mu matora ! Nanje nti: ubwo bwoba se ni ubw'iki kandi baravuze ko INYABUTATU bayivanyeho ! Ibyo si ukwivuguruza ? Ukuri kuri he ?

### 2. Igitugu cy'amwe mu mashyaka yo hanze y'igihugu

Hanze y'igihugu mu buhungiro byagenze gute cyangwa se ubu byifashe bite ? Mu nkundura ya Révolution yazanye amashyaka ya Repubulika, abanyarwanda bahunze igihugu bageze hanze ngo bagira amashyaka anyuranye ariko atari menshi, nyuma aza kwishyira hamwe yibumbira mu cyo bise umuryango FPR-Inkotanyi ndetse bawuha akarusho kuko wabaye umutwe wa politiki n'igisilikare. Bamaze gutera igihugu cy'u Rwanda, batsinze ingabo zacyo muri politiki no ku rugamba rw'intambara. Ibi nabyo ntibisanzwe. Niyo mpamvu bamwe mu bahanga muri politiki no mu gisilikare bavuze ko U Rwanda rutarwanaga na FPR-Inkotanyi gusa.

FPR-Inkotanyi aho ifatiye ubutegetsi abanyarwanda twagize izindi mpunzi nyinshi ndetse n'amashyaka menshi. Hanze y'igihugu noneho ubu ngo hari amashyaka arenga 20, hakaba na za FORUMU z'amashyaka nyinshi. Izo Forumu abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bo bazita **Plate-formes** cyangwa **IMPUZAMASHYAKA** mu gihe mu gihugu cy'U Rwanda ho hariyo imwe gusa ! Hari ndetse na FORUMU ya za plate-formes z'amashyaka! Amwe muri ayo mashyaka bivugwa ko afite ingabo z'igisikare ndetse ko abahutu n'abatutsi ngo bishyize hamwe, bivuga ko ngo INYABUTATU yo mu buhungiro yiyunze !

Bamwe mu bahoze mu butegetsi mu Rwanda rw'Inyabutatu ngirwamoko nibo bagikomeje kuyobora ayo mashyaka. Amwe muri yo akomoka kuri *Parmehutu*, *Muvoma* na *FPR-Inkotanyi* kandi akora mu buryo bumwe n'ayo akomokaho kuko akgendera ku ngengabitekerezo zayo ndetse n'iza Cyami. Mu gihugu, ishyaka riri ku butegetsi ryita abatavuga rumwe naryo « *abanzi b'igihugu* ». Abari mu mashyaka yo hanze nabo bakavuga ko ngo abatayafasha kurwanya FPR-Inkotanyi bose ari « *abagambanyi* », ngo « *bayitiza umurindi* » (collaborateurs). Iyo mvugo igaragaza ko nabo ari abanyagitugu. Nyamara abensi muri bo batuye mu bihugu by'i Buraya na Amerika byateye imbere muri demokarasi ! None se ubwo izo mvugo zose zitaniye he ? Ariko nta gitangaza kuko, nkuko maze kubivuga, bamwe mu bayobozi y'ayo mashyaka yo hanze baba bakomoka muri rya shyaka ryahoze cyangwa rikiri ku butegetsi. Izo mpande za politiki zombi zizahurira he, ziziyunga gute ? Iyo mikorere mibi ni yo itera benshi kuvuga ko impinduka nziza ikwiye gukorwa n'abaturage bo muri Sosiyete sivil yigenga, batari mu mashyaka.

Mu mashyaka yo mu buhungiro, hari abakomeza kwiyita no kwitwa amazina y'ibybahiryo by'imyanya y'ubutegetsi batakiburiho. Ibyo nabyo ni imikorere y'ingoma ya Cyami. Abo uretse no kutemera kwegura iyo bakiri mu butegetsi, niyo birukanywe cyangwa bagahunze igihugu, ni bo banga kurekura imyanya y'ibybahiryo – nkuko maze kubivuga – kabone niyo baba baratsinzwe ku rugamba rw'intambara. Bakomeza kwitwa no kwiyita abategetsi b'impunzi, bakumvikanisha ko aribo bagomba kuyobora amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi ndetse n'imiryango itabwegamiyeho ariko yegamiye kuri ayo mashyaka. Ikibabaje ni uko, iyo miryango itegamiye ku butegetsi nayo ikora nk'amashyaka ya politiki ya opposition, bityo ikabura ubwigenge.

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Ibyo mvuze ariko ntibiba kuri bose. Hari bamwe mu banyepolitiki bahoze mu butegetsi bagera mu buhungiro bakemera kwicisha bugufi. Abo nibo ba démocrates, ni abo gushimwa. Nibashyire imbere urubyiruko muri politiki kugirango ruzabasimbure, bitababujije gukomeza gutanga ibitekerezo bya politiki.

Ku ngoma za Repubulika zose, biragaragara rero ko abategetsi batigeze bamenya cyangwa bemera kuyobora igihugu mu buryo bwa demokarasi y'amashyaka. Babyemejwe ku ngufu z'abanyamahanga. Ari nayo mpamvu amashyaka yayoboye ubutegetsi (MDR Parmehutu, MRND na FPR-Inkotanyi) yamye agira ingufu nyinshi kuko yikubiye ubutegetsi bwose ndetse agakandamiza Rubanda. Kandi Repubulika irangwa na demokarasi ni ukuvuga ubutegetsi bw'abaturage bishyiriye. Nyamara nta Repubulika n'imwe yigeze ishyirwaho na Rubanda, ku bushake cyangwa ku bwumvikane bw'abanyarwanda, kuko zose zagiye ho nyuma y'imvururu n'intambara.

Nkuko nabivuze, Repubulika ya mbere twayizaniwe n'abakoloni b'ababiligi kandi ijyaho abanyarwanda bamwe bamaze guhunga igihugu, irengereye ibyemezo bya ONU. Iya kabiri n'iya gatatu nazo zagiye ho ku ngufu za gisilikare. Kuva Ubwami bwavaho – ariko *Inyabutatu* yabwo ikagumaho – abanyarwanda ntiturashobora kwumvikana uburyo bw'imiyyoborere y'igihugu cyacu (système de gouvernance politique).

### 3. Inyabutatu-Cyami yakomeje gusumbanya abanyarwanda muri Repubulika

Systèmes z'Ubwami na Repubulika rero zakomeje kugongana ku buryo ba prezida bose bategetse nk'abami, uko amatora akorwa nanone kurabigaragaza. Amategeko n'inzezo z'ubutegetsi twazaniwe n'abakoloni bisa n'ibya Repubulika, ariko abategetsi ntibabikurikiza kuko imiyoborere yabo yamye ari iya Cyami. **Niyo mpamvu Sosiyete sivil i gomba kuvana Inyabutatu ya Cyami muri Repubulika kugirango irengere ayo mategeko.** Abanyarwanda nitwemere ko tutigeze twiyumvamo Repubulika.

Igihe ingoma ya Repubulika imazeho kingana n'icyo ingoma y'abakoloni nayo yamazeho : imyaka 60.  
Guhera tariki ya 28 Mutarama 2021 niduharanire kuvana Inyabutatu-Cyami muri REPUBLIKA.

Biragaragara rero neza ko amashyaka ya politiki muri DEMOKARASI ya REPUBLIKA adashobora gukorera mu ngirwamoko ya politiki y'INYABUTATU ya CYAMI ngo tuzagire amahoro. Ibi bintu bikurikira ntibishobora kubangikana. Ni kimwe cyangwa ikindi:

- ◆ nta ngirwamoko ya politiki mu moko gakondo y'ikiryango
- ◆ nta ngirwamoko ya politiki mu mashyaka ya politiki
- ◆ nta Inyabutatu ngirwamoko muri Demokarasi nyarwanda
- ◆ nta Bwami muri Repubulika.

Sosiyete sivil ariko yo ishobora kubangikana n'amashyaka ya politiki mu bwuzuzanye. Nidushake rero uburyo butubereye bwo kuyobora igihugu kandi bujyanye n'igihe tugezemo, ingufu z'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka zigabanuke kuko bazikoresheje nabi. Ibibazo biri hagati y'abifusa ubutegetsi na Rubanda.

Akarengane kakorewe abanyarwanda ntikagomba kwitirirwa ingirwabwoko, ahubwo kakomba kwitirirwa abanyepolitiki bo mu butegetsi kuko ari bo bakandamiza Rubanda, bakarubeshya ko ikibazo kiri hagati y'ingirwamoko yabo, bakivanaho icyo kibazo bakaba ariyo bakitirira. Iyo mikorere nicike burundi.

## VI. Ubuyobozi bushya muri Repubulika yunze Ubumwe<sup>25</sup>

Ku byerekeranye n'imanza, ngiye kwerekana ukuntu abanyarwanda twagira ubutabera mpuzabantu (médiation) bwunganira ubutabera busanzweho ndetse ubwiyunge nabwo bukagira ubuyobozi n'amategeko abugenga kugirango bushobore kugerwaho by'ukuri.

<sup>25</sup> République Rwandaise Refondée

## **1. Ubutabera mpuzabantu bw'abanyarwanda**

Ibihugu byinshi byateye imbere byamaze kubona ko ubucamanza busanzwe bufite ibibazo, bityo ababuranyi bamwe bakaba binubira imwe mu mikorere yabwo kuko babona ko ubwo bucamanza butabarengera uko bikwiye. Niba rero abaturage bo muri ibyo bihugu barabonye ko ubwo butabera bufite ibibazo, abo mu bihugu byakolonijwe (cyane cyane ibyo muri Afurika) bagombye nabo kubona ko ibyo bibazo iwabo byarenze kamere. Kandi ni mu gihe, kuko ubwo bucamanza bwabo babuzaniwe n'abakoloni. Ubwo burakare bw'abaturage ni imwe mu mpamvu zatumye, kuva muri 1985, Umuryango w'abibumbye (ONU) ushishikariza ibihugu byose byo kw'Isi gushyiraho ubundi buryo bwunganira ubucamanza busanzwe mu gukemura ibibazo byabo. Uwo muryango usaba ibyo bihugu gushyiraho ndetse za gahunda zo guteza imbere ubutabera buhuza abantu hamwe n'ubutabera bubafasha kwiyunga (les programmes de médiation et de justice réparatrice).

Ibyo ntibyanagombye kugora abanyarwanda kuko mu muco karande wa kera bari bafite ubwo butabera mbere y'uko busimburwa n'ubwazanywe n'abakoloni. Igikomeye kikaba ari ukubuhuza n'umuco wacu w'iki gihe wivante n'uwabo. Kugirango byumvikane neza ukuntu ubwo butabera bushya bushoboka iwacu i Rwanda, ndabigereranya n'ukuntu urugaga rw'abavoka (barreau des avocats) rwa mbere rwagiye. Ngiye gukora icyo kigereranyo kuko abavoka (les avocats) bafite umulimo ufitiye abaturage akamaro wo kunganira ababuranyi mu nkiko no mu zindi nzego z'ubayobozi bityo bagafasha ubucamanza n'abayobozi gukora akazi neza mu buryo buhuje n'amategeko. Ubutabera mpuzabantu nabwo bwunganira ubucamanza busanzwe mu kurwanya akarengane. Mu bindi bihugu aho ubutabera mpuzabantu bwatangiye gushinga imizi, abahuza (les médiateurs, conciliateurs) nabo bagira ndetse uruhare mu gukomeza no gushimangira uwigenge bw'ubutabera. Bafasha abantu bafitanye ibibazo kubyikemurira batarinze kunya imbere y'abacamanza.

### **1.1. Ishyirwaho ry'Urugaga rw'abavoka mu Rwanda**

Guhera mu myaka yegera 1988, mu Rwanda niho abantu bamwe bacye batangiye gukora akazi ko gufasha ababuranyi mu bibazo bafite mu nkiko ariko batababuranira kuko nta tegeko ryabibemereraga. Icyo gihe bari nka ba "démarcheurs". Nyamara kandi itegeko rishyiraho inkiko ryateganyaga ko ababuranyi bashobora guhagarariwa cyangwa kwunganirwa n'abavoka, ariko nta tegeko rwashyiragaho urugaga rw'abavoka ryabagaho. Kubera ko ababuranyi baba badasobanukiwe n'amategeko kandi ari n'uburenganzira bwabo bwo kugira ababururanira, byatumye abo batangiye uwo murimo babona ko abaturage bakeneye gufashwa mu manza kugirango zicibwe neza. Ibyo byatumye Ministeri y'ubutabera ishyiraho itegeko-teka ryemera umwuga wo kunganira no kuburanira abandi mu nkiko (mandataire professionnel en justice) ibisabwe n'abashakaga gukora uwo mwuga.

Iryo tegeko-teka ryateganyaga ibyangombwa uwasabaga gukora uwo mwuga yagombaga kwuzuza. Uburanira abandi yagombaga kwerekana mu nkiko ikarita yahawe na Ministri w'ubutabera imwemerera gukora ako kazi kugirango ashobore kwunganira cyangwa kuburanira umuburanyi. Nyuma abakoraga uwo mwuga mushya wari umaze kwemerwa twishyize hamwe mw'ishyirahamwe (association des mandataires professionnels en justice). Abari muri iryo shyirahamwe ariko si ko bose bari bafite impamyabushobozi ihanitse mu by'amategeko (licence en droit). Harimo abari baremerewe gukora uwo mwuga kubera uburambe bafite mu kazi kajyanye n'amatekego cyangwa n'ubutabera (expérience professionnelle dans les fonctions juridiques ou judiciaires). Abize amategeko bari bacye kandi bari banakenewe mu nkiko no mu yindi mirimo ya Leta cyangwa mu bigo byigenga byayo.

Intambara ya 1990 yatangiye mu gihe gushyiraho urugaga rwa ba Avoka byari bikiri mu mushinga. Nyuma y'intambara ya 1990-1994, abakoraga uwo mwuga wo kunganira no kuburanira abandi mu nkiko twishyize hamwe mw'ishyirahamwe ryacu dusaba ko hajyaho itegeko rishyiraho urugaga rwa ba Avoka mu Rwanda. Abavoka bahungutse bahoze mu ngaga (barreaux) z'abavoka mu bihugu byo hanze babidufashijemo cyane. Ni abo gushimirwa. Iryo tegeko ryateguwe na Ministeri y'ubutabera ifatanyije n'iro shyirahamamwe, rishyikirizwa Inteko ishinga amategeko iraryemeza, risohoka kuwa 19 werurwe 1997, abagize urugaga rwa ba Avoka rwa mbere turahira tariki ya 30 Kanama 1997. Abatari bafite

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impamyabushoboz mu by'amategeko bari bemerewe kuburana gusa mu nkiko za Kanto n'iza mbere z'iremezo ariko ntibaburane mu zindi nkiko zo hejuru nk'urukiko rw'ubujurire, n'urusesa imanza. Uwo mwaka ntuzibagirana mu mateka y'ubutabera kuko ni intambwe URwanda rwateye nyuma y'imyaka yose ubutabera bwamaze butagira urugaga rw'aba Avoka, kuva igihugu cyabona ubwigenge, kandi kugira Avoka ari uburenganzira ku muburanyi wese.

### 1.2. Ubutabera mpuza-nunga-bantu n'urugaga rw'Abahuza

Muri uyu mushinga w'ubwiyunge nyakuri DVJP sinshidikanya ko ubutabera mpuzabantu (médiation) n'ubutabera nungabantu (justice réparatrice) buramutse bugiye mu Rwanda bwacyemura ibibazo byinshi byamunze ubucamanza kuva kera cyane. Bwakwihutisha kandi bukagabanya imanza mu nkiko, amagereza akareka kwuzuramo abantu bataraburana cyangwa batagira amadosiye, ruswa zigacika mu nkiko (kuko abafitanye ibibazo bashobora kubyicyemurira), abanyarwanda bakabona ubutabera bubegereye kandi butabahenze, ababuranyi bakarushaho kwumva ko ikibazo bafitanye ari bo kireba mbere na mbere, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu bukubahirizwa kuri buri wese, hakabaho ubutabera bubereye bose, hose kandi igihe cyose. Ku buryo bw'umwihariko, ubwo butabera bushya bwacyemura neza mu biganiro ibibazo birebana n'ibyaha byakozwe mu guhohotera abanyarwanda kubera ingirwamoko yabo (infractions à caractère « ethnique ») bitigeze biburanishwa n'izindi nkiko. Ubwo butabera busubiza abantu ubumuntu batakaje kubera ibyo byaha maze ubwiyunge nyakuri bukagerwaho.

Kugirango ubwo butabera bushya bushobore gukora neza, nkuko mu mashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru harimo amashami yigisha amategeko akoresha mu bucamanza, hagombye nabwo kuzajyaho andi mashami yigisha ubwo bumenyi bwo guhuza abantu bafitanye ibibazo kandi bifuza kubicyemura. Abafite impamyabushoboz muri ubwo bumenyi (médiation) bakazakora umwuga w'umuuhuza (médiateur). Ku mirenge hose, abaturage batageze muri ayo mashuri ntibahezwa gukora uwo mwuga. Abifuza kuwukora ariko batashoboye kwiga ayo mashuri muri ubwo bumenyi, bahabwa amahugurwa, bakaba abahuza (conciliateurs) ariko batari mu rwego rumwe n'ababifitiye impamyabushoboz (médiateurs). Imikorere y'abahuza bahuguwe (conciliateurs) ntiyaba imwe n'iy'abahuza babifitiye impamyabushoboz. Itegeko ryasobanura kandi rigatandukanya imikorere yabo kandi hagashyirwaho **urugaga rw'Abahuza**.

Kuba umuhuza (médiateur, conciliateur) ntibisaba kuba warize amategeko kubera ko uwo mwuga utandukanye n'ubucamanza. Umucamanza ashinzwe gufata icyemezo ku mpaka ababuranyi bafitanye yifashishiye amategeko, ariko umuhuza we nta cyemezo afata ahubwo afasha abantu gucyemura ubwabo ikibazo kibareba, bakaba ari bo ubwabo bakibonera igisubizo, bakabyemeza mu masezerano. Dukurikije rero ko abanyarwanda benshi ndetse na Leta nta mikoro bafite yo guhemba aba avoka igihe cyose kandi n'abize amategeko akaba ari bacye kandi imanza ari nyinshi, biragaragara ko ubwo buryo bwo gucyemura ibibazo bubereye Rubanda.

Nongereho ko ubwo butabera bushobora guhuza abantu benshi (médiation élargie) iyo ikibazo nabo kibareba, nk'imiryango y'uwakoze icyaha n'uwigikorewe, ndetse n'abaturanyi bo ku murenge. Ibyo bituma abo nabo bamanya ukuri kandi bagashobora kwiyunga n'umunyacyaha, bityo amahoro arambye akagaruka muri rubanda. Muri "**Mpuzabantu**", abafitanye ikibazo bashobora kandi guhuzwa n'umuuhuza umwe cyangwa benshi bafatanyije. Ikindi ni uko ubwo butabera bucyemura igihe cyose ibibazo byose nta kuvangura gushingiye ku buremere bwabyo cyangwa ku nyito zabyo, bugahuza ababwiyambaje nk'abantu basangiye ubumuntu. Abanyarwanda duharanira ubwiyunge nyakuri dukwiye kwishyira hamwe tukungurana ibitekerezo by'ukuntu bwagerwaho. Kubera ko ubutabera mpuzabantu ari imwe mu nzira zatugeza kuri ubwo bwiyunge dushaka, twagombye nabwo kubushyigikira. Niduharanire rero ubutabera bubereye bose kuri byose, hose kandi igihe cyose.

### 2. Ubwiyunge nyakuri bukeneye ubuyobozi n'amategeko abugenga

Biragaragara ko hari abantu benshi bamaze kubona ko ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ari kimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi bigomba kwitabwaho kugirango dushobore kubana mu mahoro arambye. Ni yo mpamvu bamwe muri bo bafite ibikorwa biharanira ubwo bwiyunge. Hashyizweho komisiyo y'igihugu

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y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, hari abakoze inyandiko cyangwa banditse ibitabo ku bwiyunge, hari abahanzi baburirimba, hari ababukoraho ubushakashatsi ndetse n'ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, abandi bashyizeho imishinga cyangwa amashyirahamwe yo kubuharanira, hari abasaba imbabazi n'abazitanga hakaba n'ababafasha kubigeraho, hari abatanga ubuhamya bugaragaza uko biyunze, n'ibindi n'ibindi.

Ibyo byose birerekana ko dukeneye ubwo bwiyunge koko, nyamara ariko ugasanga abanyarwanda tutavuga rumwe ku byerekeye uburyo bukwiye kugerwaho. Tukabuvuga mu buryo butandukanye bitewe no kudasobanukirwa cyangwa se n'inyungu buri muntu ku giti cye yabubonamo, hakiyongeraho n'akababaro buri wese aba afite. Byagera muli politiki ho bikarushaho ! Urugero rumwe ni uko hari abavuga ko *umuhutu* wese yagombye gusaba imbabazi mw'izina ry'ingirwabwoko bwe kubera iohohoterwa n'iycwa ry'*abatutsi* byakozwe kuva kera na bamwe mu *bahutu* babaziza ingirwabwoko bwabo; abandi nabo bati niba ari uko , ibyo byagombye no kuba uko ku *mututsi* wese kubera ko hari n'*abahutu* bakandamijwe cyangwa bakicwa na bamwe mu *batutsi* nabo babaziza ingirwabwoko bwabo. Ikibazo umuntu yabaza izo mpande zombi kikaba ari ukumenya ukuntu izo mbabazi zageza abanyarwanda ku bwiyunge nyakuri. Nyamara hari abandi bavuga bati KIRAZIRA nta muntu ukwiye gusaba imbabazi z'icyaha atakoze ku giti cye kuko icyaha ari gatozi, nkuko amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu abiteganya ndetse n'amategeko mpanabyaha y'igihugu akabyemeza.

Ni uko impaka zikaba urudaca ! • Ese ubwiyunge ni iki, hiyunga nde na nde, biyunga bate, biyunga ryari, biyungira he, inzira z'ubwiyunge ni izihe ? • Ubwiyunge butaniye he n'imbabazi, butandukanira he n'ubutabera ? • Imbabazi ni iki, zisabwa gute, zitangwa gute, zitangwa na nde, zihabwa nde, zitangirwa he, zitangwa cyangwa zisabwa ryari, bitewe n'iki ? • Ese imbabazi zisimbura igihano ? • Ese umuntu ashobora gusabira imbabazi ubwoko bwe ? • Uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu n'ubwiyunge bitandukanira he,bihuzwa n'iki ? • Abashaka kwiyunga babigeraho bate, babifashwamo na nde ? • Ni bande bakwiye gusabira abanyarwanda imbabazi ibyaha bakoreye abanyamahanga cyangwa ibyo abo abanyamahanga bakoreye abanyarwanda ? • Ni ryari umuntu ashobora gusabira undi imbabazi ? • N'ibindi, n'ibindi. Ibyo byose ni ibibazo abanyarwanda bibaza kandi badafitiye ibisubizo bimwe. Ni nde wagombye kubaha ibisobanuro bikwiye ndetse agakiza izo mpaka ? Yashingira kuki ? Ibyo bisobanuro yabivana he ? Byagenda gute rero ? Reka ngerageze kugereranya iyo **politiki y'ubwiyunge nyakuri** n'ubutabera mpuzabantu.

### 2.1. Gufasha abashaka kwiyunga mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi

Nkuko nasobanuye ukuntu ubutabera mpuzabantu bufasha abashaka kwiyunga, abahuza si abacamanza kandi ntibagira uruhande babogamiraho. Ariko bunganira abacamanza kugirango ubutabera bugerweho neza. Nubwo ari imwe mu nzira z'ubwiyunge, ubucamanza busanzwe ntibuhuza abantu. Ubutabera nyabwo ni ubutuma abantu bashobora kwiyunga bakongera kubana. Ku byerekeranye na politiki nabyo, abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka nabo bakora politiki y'ubwiyunge butari ubwiyunge nyakuri iyo bayiganisha ku nyungu z'amashyaka yabo aba agamije ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, aho kuyiganisha ku nyungu za rubanda rwose batavanguye. Niyo mpamvu kugirango ubwiyunge nyakuri bushobore kugerwaho bukwiye kuyoborwa n'abandi bantu badakora politiki igamije ubutegetsi. Muri uyu mushinga DVJP, abo ni bo nita **abayobozi b'ubwiyunge**. Ni nayo mpamvu uyu mushinga nawise "Umuyobozi w'Ubwiyunge mu Mahoro" (Guide de la Réconciliation pour la Paix) kuko ugamiye gusobanurira abantu imbabazi n'ubwiyunge wifashishije abahaha babizobereyemo. Kimwe n'uko abayobozi mu butegetsi bw'igihugu abategetsi bakomoka mu mashyaka, mu buyobozi bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge, abayobozi babwo nabo bagomba kuva muri Sosiyete sivil n'amadini kuko ntaho abogamira muli politiki y'ubwo butegetsi.

Hano umuntu yakwibaza icyo abo bayobozi b'ubwiyunge bakora. Akazi kabo kaba akahe? Hari ibibazo byinshi birebana n'ihungabanywa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu cyane cyane iryagiye rikorwa n'abashinzwe kwubahiriza amategeko ndetse n'abanyepolitiki bitwaje imyanya yabo, ugasanga ubutabera bunanirwa kubicyemura kubera kubura uwigenge. Ibyo byose ugasanga Sosiyete sivil n'amadini ari yo abyamagana ariko akaura ingufu zo kurwanya ako karengane kandi n'ubutabera

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ntibubishobore kuko buba butegekwa n'abanyepolitiki. Abayobozi ba Sosiyete sivili n'amadini babura izo ngufu kubera ko batari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Ni yo mpamvu hakwiye kujyaho amategeko yatuma bagira ubwo bushobozi bwo kurandura ubwabo ako karengane bamaganana aho kubisaba abanyepolitiki. Hateganya ko umuryango wa Sosiyete sivili n'amadini nawo utanga intumwa zigize kimwe cya kabiri ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) cy'Inteko ishinga amategeko na Sénat (Pouvoir législatif) kandi ukayobora ubutabera n'ubwiyunge (Pouvoir de la Justice et de la Réconciliation). Ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko (Pouvoir exécutif) bwo bwayoborwa n'amashyaka ya politiki gusa (kureba igice 2 icyika VII.2). **Abayobozi b'ubwiyunge** ni nabo basobanurira Rubanda uburyo imbabazi n'ubwiyunge byagerwaho, maze bakarengera ubumwe bw'abaturage.

### 2.2 Amategeko-nyobozi y'ubwiyunge

Kugirango imbabazi n'ubwiyunge byumvikane mu buryo bumwe butari ubw'amadisikuru atandukanye cyangwa yivuguruzanya y'abanyepolitiki, ibyo nabyo birasaba ko hajyaho amategeko agenga uburyo ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bikwiye kugerwaho. Ni ukuvuga amategeko-nyobozi y'ubwiyunge. Ayo mategeko ntawbo yategeka abantu gusaba imbabazi cyangwa kuzitanga kuko imbabazi ziva ku mutima w'umuntu, nta nubwo yabategeka kwiyunga, ahubwo yabasobanurira kandi akabayobora abereka uburyo bakwiye kubigeraho. Ayo mategeko yarandura umuco mubi w'ikinyoma, uwo guhora, kwhiorera, guhorera no kutagorora abanyabyaha (kudahana) bituma habaho insubiracyaha. Ni nayo yatanga ibisubizo kuri biriya bibazo abantu bensi batavugaho rumwe. Abayobozi b'ubwiyunge baba bashinzwe kuyubahiriza, muri ubwo buryo bakunganira abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka, nkuko abahuza bakwunganira abacamanza mu butabera.

### 2.3 Umuryango uhuza abaharanira n'abashaka ubwiyunge nyakuri

Igihe kirageze rero ngo abaharanira ubwiyunge batekereze ku buryo ibikorwa byabo byakwumvikana neza. Uburyo uyu mushinga DVJP ubona nyabwo ni ukwemera bagakora politiki mpuzabanyarwanda y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri itagamije ubutegetsi ahubwo igamije guhuza abaturage no kubayobora muri ubwo bwiyunge. Iyo politiki itandukanye n'iy'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka kuko, nkuko izina ryayo ribivuga, iyo politiki nshya yo igamije ubumwe nyakuri. Abifuza kuyoboka iyo politiki bakwisyira hamwe mu muryango umwe mugali ubahuza (Organisation de la Société Civile et des Cultes).

Uwo muryango wayoborwa n'intumwa za Sosiyete sivili n'amadini kimwe n'abandi bantu baharanira ubwiyunge ku giti cyabo (Abiyunze n'ukuri), bityo abaturage bakawushyigikira kandi bakawuyoboka kuko bawukeneye. Izo ntumwa ntizaba zitereranye abanyamuryango b'amashyirahamwe n'amadini bahagarariye ahubwo ni uburyo bwo kubarengera kurushaho. Sosiyete sivil yo nta n'izindi nyungu iharanira uretse iza rubanda kuko itarwanira ubutegetsi. Ni yo mpamvu ari yo ikwiye kuyobora ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Uwo muryango ni nawo wategura umushinga w'amategeko-nyobozi y'ubwiyunge nyakuri yasobanurira rubanda uburyo bukwiye kugerwaho.

**Nkuko ubutabera mpuzabantu bwakwunganira ubucamanza busanzweho, uwo muryango nawo wazunganira amashyaka ya politiki mu milimo y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu irebana n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.** Uwo muryango ni nawo waba umuhuza w'amashyaka ya politiki n'abanyepolitiki ku bibazo birebana n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, aho kwitabaza abanyamahanga kuko batazi ibibazo byacu kuturusha. Abo bayobozi b'ubwiyunge bakorana n'izindi nzego zisanzweho z'ubucamanza n'iz'ubutabera mpuzabantu mu Buyobozi bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge. Itegeko ryagena ububasha n'imikorere yabo ndetse n'uburyo bashyirwaho.

Abanyarwanda bamwe bamaze gushishoza bamenya ko ntacyo bapfa hagati yabo mu by'ukuri, ko ibibazo tugirana biterwa na politiki mbi zadutanyije zikoreshjeje ingirwamoko ya politiki ndetse n'uturere.

Abageze ku bikorwa by'ubwiyunge ku bwabo cyangwa hamwe n'abandi banyarwanda, ni ukubera ko bashoboye kwiyubaka maze barenga ibibazo bya ya ngirwamoko ya politiki. Ni abo gushimirwa. Uriya

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muryango wabafasha guhuza ibyo bikorwa n'ibitekerezo byiza bafite byubaka umubano w'abanyarwanda kandi ukagarurira rubanda icyizere mu banyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka, bityo bose bakabyungukiramo. Kwishyira hamwe byagabanya ingufu z'abashaka kubatanya. Abagize Sosiyete sivili n'amadini bakwiye kubona cyizere (garantie) cy'uko abanyeapolitiki bifusa ubutegetsi batazongera gukora politiki mbi yo gutanya no guteranya banyarwanda. Nta kiindi cyizere rero nyacyo babona uretse kuba ari bo ubwabo bayobora politiki yo guhuza abanyarwanda.

Kimwe n'uko mu butabera abahuza batagira uruhande (ubo) babogamiraho, no mu rwego rwa politiki **abayobozi b'ubwiyunge** nabo nta shyaka babogamiraho kuko baharanira ubumwe n'umubano mwiza w'abanyarwanda. Kutabogama, kutabera, ubwigenge, icyizere no kwizerana ni byo byabaranga mu milimo yabo.

## VII. Inzego nkuru z'Ubuyobozi n'Ubutegetsi mu Rwanda Rwiyunze

Tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961 nibwo twabonye Repubulika, nyuma y'imyaka 60 y'ubukoloni. Tariki ya 28 Mutarama 2021 iyo Repubulika nayo yujuje imyaka 60 tuyobowe n'ubutegetsi budafite demokarasi nyayo, nta bumwe dufite. Niyo mpamvu, abanyarwanda dukwiriye kugira **Repubulika yunze Ubumwe**.

### 1. Demokarasi nyarwanda mu mpinduramatwara nshya ya Sosiyete sivil

Igisubizo cya demokarasi ibereye abanyarwanda ntabwo kigomba gushakwa n'amashyaka **gusa**. Nkuko nabivuze, abari ku butegetsi bafata amashyaka atavuga rumwe nabwo nk'amashyirahamwe adakora politiki kuko bayaheza muri ubwo butegetsi. Bitabaye ibyo, bakwemera bakabusangira. Niyo mpamvu, gutekereza ko amashyaka yonyine ari yo azarenganura "Rubanda rugufi" rwa Sosiyete sivil ari ukwibeshya kuko nta kibigaragaza. Iyo igihe kigeze abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bakabugeraho, nabo bakora nk'ibyo abo basimbuye bakoze. Amateka arabitwereka. Ni yo mpamvu Rubanda rugufi ariyo ikwiye nanone gufata iya mbere kugirango iharanire uburenganzira bwayo bwo kujya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi. Iyo révolution nshya aho itandukaniye n'iyo muri 1959 ni uko Sosiyete Sivil yo itavanaho inzego z'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika n'amashyaka, ahubwo yafatanya n'abanyeapolitki, mu buryo buringaniye, kwubaka no kuyobora Repubulika nshya abanyarwanda bose bibonamo.

Ibyo kandi ntibizashoboka igithe cyose iyo Sosiyete Sivil itazaba iri mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Nibitagenda gutyo, ubwo busumbane buzahoraho. Igihe cya Révolution yo muli 1959 *abahutu* (Rubanda rugufi) nabo baharaniye kujya mu butegetsi kugirango bagire uburenganzira bumwe n'ubw'abatutsi bari bafite, ariko babikora nabi kuko birukanye abo *batutsi* ku butegetsi noneho bakabwikubira bwose, aho kubusangira. Nanone ariko, bamwe muri abo *batutsi* nabo bakaba batashakaga gutegekana n'abahutu baberekaga nyamara ko bakandamijwe kuva kera ariko abo *batutsi* ntibumve akababaro kabo.

Muri iki gihe tugezemo, **Sosiyete Sivil niyo Rubanda rugufi rw'abanyarwanda** kuko igizwe n'abanyarwanda batari mu butegetsi bw'igihugu ndetse badaharanira kubugeraho. Sosiyete sivil ariko yo ntigomba gusimbura umuryango w'amashyaka ku butegetsi, ahubwo igomba kwumvikanisha ibitekerezo byayo igaharanira **uburinganire** bwayo n'ayo amashyaka, binyuze mu nzego z'ubuyobozi (za Sosiyete sivil yigenga) n'iz'ubutegetsi (bw'amashyaka).

Mu masezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha (1993) yabaye hagati y'amashyaka yari ku butegetsi n'amashyaka yaburwanyaga, Sosiyete Sivil ntiyatumiwe muri iyo mishyikirano. Ayo masezerano ntiyubahirije. Muri iki gihe turimo, igikwiye gukorwa ni amasezerano y'ubwuzuzanye hagati y'abanyeapolitiki bo mu mashyaka n'abanyarwanda bagize **Sosiyete Sivil yigenga**. Uwo muryango wa Sosiyete sivile umaze kujuhaho washyiraho umushinga w'amategeko avugurura système politique, akavanaho impamvu zose zitera ubuhunzi. Sosiyete sivili iharanira inyungu rusange za Rubanda, mu gihe amwe mu mashyaka ashirira inyungu zayo n'iza bamwe mu banyamahanga imbere y'inyungu za Rubanda rw'abanyarwanda. Iyo système politique rero igomba guhinduka.

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Kimwe mu bikorwa by'uyu Mushinga w'ubwiyunge nyakuri DVJP ni uguharanira ko Sosiyete Sivili yigenga ifatanya n'amashyaka ya politiki kuyobora inzego z'ighugu. Ntibyumvikana ukuntu Umuryango wa Sosiyete sivili utagira intumwa za Rubanda mu Nteko inshinga amategeko kandi ushinzwe kurengera Rubanda nyine. Ntibyumvika nanone ukuntu uwo muryango warengera Rubanda uko bikwiye utagira intumwa mu nzego z'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge. Hakwiye kujyaho rero amategeko ateganya ko muri izo nzego z'ubuyobozi habamo intumwa zivuye mu muryango urengera inyungu za Rubanda (Sosiyete Sivili). Ibyo bikandikwa mw'ltegeko-nshinga.

### 2. Sosiyete sivili yigenga nivaneho Inyabutatu-Cyami muri Repubulika

Kubw'izo mpamvu zose, Umushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri DVJP usanga hakwiye kubaho ivuguruwa ry'inzego z'ubutegetsi n'ubuyobozi kugirango bukorere Rubanda by'ukuri.

Politiki mpuzabanyarwanda imaze kwunga Repubulika, imikorere ya Cyami nta mwanya yakwongera kugira mu butegetsi. Abanyarwanda twagira **Repubulika yunze Ubumwe y'U Rwanda Rwiyunze** (République Unie du Rwanda Réconcilié = RURR), bityo abayobowe n'ingoma zose twagize bakiyunga. Muri iyo Repubulika nshya, *politiki mpuzabanyarwanda ya Sosiyete sivili yigenga yasimbura politiki y'Inyabutatu ngirwamoko Hutu-Tutsi-Twa y'ingoma ya Cyami*, iyo Nyabutatu igasenyuka burundi. Ikindi kandi, imikorere mishya ya gikoloni kuri bamwe mu banyepolitiki bakoreswa n'abanyamahanga yahita icika burundi. Umuryango wigenga wa Sosiyete sivili n'amadini waba ufite ingufu zihagije zo kurengera no kurenganura abanyarwanda igihe cyose, maze inyungu za rubanda zikaba ari zo zishyirwa imbere.

Igitekerezo cy'uyu mushinga w'ubwiyunge nyakuri giteye gitye:

Kimwe cya kabi cy'abagize Inteko ishinga amategeko na Sena cyaba Kigizwe n'Intumwa za Rubanda zikomoka muri Sosiyete sivili nyarwanda yigenga, ni ukuvuga abanyamuryango b'amashyirahamwe yigenga n'abandi banyarwanda ku giti cyabo batari mu mashyaka ya politiki kandi batigeze bakora politiki y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi. Sosiyete Sivili igiye mu Nteko ishinga amategeko kandi byatumwa iyo Nteko igenzura neza ibikorwa bya Guvernoma kubera ko yaba ikora mu bwigenge. Abanyarwanda ni bwo babona ubwigenge busesuye bakareka gukomeza gukoronizwa na bamwe mu banyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka n'ingabo, kandi izo ngabo zikaba iz'ighugu koko nkuko nabivuze mu gice cya mbere.

Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza bwahinduka **Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge** (*Pouvoir de la Justice et de la Réconciliation*) maze bukayoborwa na wa muryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda wa Sosiyete sivili n'amadini (Organisation de la Société Civile et des cultes). Kugirango ubwo Buyobozi bushobore kugira ingufu zingana n'iza Guvernoma, umubare w'inzego za **Misiyo** (missions) zibugize zaba zingana n'uw'iza Ministeri zigize iyo Guvernoma. Abayobozi bakuru b'izo Misiyo ni bo baba bagize **Inama nkuru y'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge** (*Conseil National de la Justice et de la Réconciliation*) nkuko abaministri ari bo bagize Guvernoma. Izo misiyo zishingwa ni izi : ubucamanza bwicaye (magistrature assise), ubucammanza buhagaze (magistrature debout), kurengera abaturage mu butabera (défense judiciaire), ubutabera mpuzabantu n'ubutabera nungabantu (médiation et justice réparatrice), ubwiyunge nyakuri, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamantu, itangazamakuru ryigenga, gusigasira no kurengera umuco nyarwanda, guteza imbere imbereho myiza y'abanyarwanda, iyobokamana n'amadini, ...

### VIII. Umwanzuro: Dutekereze kandi twitegerezre neza

Nyuma yo kwimika Repubulika tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961 tubifashijwemo n'ababiligi, twabonye ubwigenge tariliki ya 1 Nyakanga 1962. Mu by'ukuri, izo mpinduka zombi zakozwe gicuri kuko iyo Repubulika yagiyeo tukiri mu bukoloni. Hagombaga kubanza ubwigenge, abakoloni bakagenda noneho abanyarwanda twamara kugira ubumwe tukabona kwishyiriraho ubutegetsi bwacu twumvikanyeho bugizwe n'inzego nshya za Repubulika cyangwa ubundi butegetsi.

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Ubwo bumwe ntibwagezweho kuko abagize *Inama nkuru y'igihugu* (Conseil Supérieur du Pays) n'ubutegetsi bw'Umwami batemeraga ko hari « ikibazo Muhutu-Mututsi », ahubwo bakaba barashakaga ubwigenge bwiuse no gushyiraho Ubwami bugendera kw'itegeko-nshinga. Abayobozi ba « Mouvement social Muhutu » bo bemezaga ko icyo kibazo gihari kandi gikomeye, ndetse bashaka ko kibonerwa umuti mbere yo kubona ubwo bwigenge. Izo mpande zombi ntizashoboye kwumvikana. Abayobozi b'amashyaka yashakaga impinduka y'ubutegetsi bamenyeshejwe ibyemezo bibiri (2) bya ONU byo kuwa 20 ukuba 1960; kimwe muri byo cyasabaga ko Umwami Kigeri wa V Ndahindurwa wari muri Congo agaruka mu Rwanda hakabaho amatora yo kwemeza urwego rw'ubutegetsi bw'Umwami (*référendum sur l'institution du Mwami*). Aho kwubahiriza ibyo byemeko, tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, abo bayobozi b'amashyaka bateranyirije mu nama i Gitarama abayobozi b'amakomini bose bari bamaze gutorwa maze bemeza gushyiraho ubutegetsi bushya bwa Repubulika. Ni byo bise Coup d'Etat y'i Gitarama.

**Ubukoloni bwamaze imyaka 60, none Repubulika nayo imaze indi myaka 60** nyamara turacyafite bimwe mu bitekerezo n'imikorere by'Ubwami na Gikoloni. Amashyaka yose yayoboye ubutegetsi bw'U Rwanda (MDR-Parmehutu, MRND-Muvoma na FPR-Inkotanyi) yemeye iyo Repubulika, nyamara iyo Repubulika yakomeje gutanya abanyarwanda kuko batashoboye kubana bose mu gihugu. Niyo mpamvu igomba guhinduka kugirango abanyarwanda babone ubwiyunge nyakuri n'ubumwe nyabwo, ubwigenge n'ubwisanzure busesuye. Ntitwavanaho ariko iyo Repubulika tuyisimbuza ubundi butegetsi kuko abanyarwanda hafi ya bose bemeye ko ibayobora. Ntitwasubizaho kandi Ubwami kuko abanyarwanda benshi babwanze binyunze mu matora kandi ayo matora akaba atasubirwamo.

Kuva 28/1/1961 kugeza kw'isabukuri y'imyaka 60, Repubulika y'**ishyaka rimwe** rya MDR-Parmehutu yasimbuwe na MRND-Muvoma yashyizweho na za coups d'Etat kugeza igihe Itegeko-nshinga ryemeye amashyaka menshi<sup>26</sup> (**28/1/1961-10/06/1991**). Ubwo butegetsi bunganya igihe n'ubw'ishyaka rya FPR-Inkotanyi kuva rigeze mu Rwanda kuwa 1/10/1990<sup>27</sup> kugeza tariki ya 28/1/2021: **imyaka 30 n'amezi 4**. Impinduka yabanjirije ubutegetsi bw'abahutu (**24/3/1957-28/1/1961**) ijya kungana kandi n'iyakozwe n'abatutsi (**1/10/1990-4/7/1994**).

Manifeste y'**Abahutu** yashyizweho umukono tariki ya 24/3/1957. Kuva kuri iyo tariki kugera 28/1/1961 harimo **imyaka 3 n'amezi 4**. Tariki ya 4/8/2017 Prezida wa Repubulika yongeye gutorerwa kuyobora indi mandat nyuma y'aho itegeko-nshinga rihinduriwe rimwemerera kwongera kwiyamamariza uwo mwanya w'ubutegetsi. Kuva kuri iyo tariki kugeza kuwa 28/1/2021, harimo **imyaka 3 n'amezi 6**. Hagati y'ayo matariki yombi, buri gihe habayeho **imyivumbagatanyo n'uburakari bw'abanyarwanda** bitewe n'uko abo mu ruhande rumwe batemeye uburyo izo mpinduka za politiki zakozwemo.

Koko rero, nyuma y'isinywa rya *Manifeste y'Abahutu* kuwa 24/3/1957 hatangiye Révolution yabagejeje ku butegetsi bwa **Repubulika yitiriwe Abahutu**, ariko bamwe mu banyarwanda barayamaganye ndetse bahunga igihugu, abenshi bakaba bari rubanda rw'abatutsi n'abanyepolitiki bategekaga mu gihe cy'ingoma y'Ubwami. Nyuma yo gutorerwa indi mandat kwa Prezida wa Repubulika tariki ya 4/8/2017 itegeko-nshinga rikamwemerera gukomeza gutegeka **Repubulika yitiriwe Abatutsi**, abandi banyarwanda barimo impunzi bamaganye ayo matora ndetse bamwe barabizira, abenshi bakaba bari abahutu, cyane cyane abanyepoliki batavuga rumwe n'ubwo butegetsi.

Ubutegetsi bwa Cyami bumaze kuvaho, iyo Nyabutatu yagombaga nayo kugendana nabwo, kuko twari tumaze kubona ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika y'amashyaka menshi na demokarasi (démocratie). Aho gushingira kuri ayo ngirwamoko, amashyaka ya politiki mashya yagombaga kuyavanaho, akayasimbura, abifusa gukora politiki bahoze ari *abahutu*, *abatutsi* n'abatwa bakisanga mu mashyaka anyuranye bitewe n'ibitekerezo bya politiki byayo, bityo tukagira ubumwe nyabwo. Ibi ni byo bikwiye gukorwa muri iki gihe.

Muri iyi myaka turimo, hari abanyarwanda benshi batari mu mashyaka ya politiki bafite imishinga n'ibikorwa byiza biganisha ku mpinduka y'imiyoborere n'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu cyacu cy'U Rwanda, haba mu mashyirahamwe yigenga atabogamiye ku butegetsi n'amashyaka ya politiki, cyangwa n'abandi ku giti

<sup>26</sup> Amashyaka menshi yemewe n'Itegeko-nshinga rya Repulika ryo kuwa 10/6/1991

<sup>27</sup> FPR-Inkotanyi igeze ku butaka bw'U Rwanda kuwa 1/10/1990 yahise ikora nk'ishyaka rya politki. U Rwanda rwahise rugira amashyaka 2 kuko abanyarwanda bo mu gihugu bari mw'ishyaka rimwe MRND-Muvoma.

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cyabo bigenga mu bitekerezo (libres penseurs) kandi barengera Rubanda, ndetse n'abashakashatsi. Ibyo bikorwa byagaragaye cyane nyuma y'urupfu rw'umuririmbyi n'umuhanzi Kizito Mihigo waharaniye ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri bw'abanyarwanda. Abo bose nibitegure gufatanya muri wa muryango mushya kandi wigenga wa Sosiyete sivil n'amadini uzavanaho Inyabutatu ngirwamoko muri politiki.

Amashyaka ya politki ari mu butegetsi kimwe n'ataburimo, akwiriye nayo guhindura imikorere yayo akitegura iyo mpinduka yo kuzafatanya n'uwo muryango wigenga wa Sosiyete sivil n'amadini mu nzego nshya z'ubuyobozi n'ubutegetsi nkuko byasobanuwe haruguru.

Biragaragara rero neza ko, ku Banyarwanda, igihe kigeze cyo kuzana iyo mpinduka nshya ikozwe n'ibitekerezo, mu bundi buryo butari ubw'intambara kandi butari ubw'amashyaka gusa. **Sosiyete sivil yigenda** ikwiye kugira uruhare runini mu kwimika **Repubulika yunze ubumwe y'U Rwanda rwiyunze**.

Nkuko nabivuze mu gice cya mbere, uyu Mushinga DVJP wasabye abanyarwanda ko itariki ya **25 Nyakanga** twibukiraho ivuka rya Kizito Mihigo w'i Kibeho yagirwa: « **Umunsi w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nyakuri bw'Abanyarwanda – Journée Rwandaise pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation authentique** ». Kuva tariki ya 3.05.2020, Kizito Mihigo yabaye umuyobozi wa Roho w'ubwiyunge w'uyu mushinga DVJP.

Kubera izo mpamvu, uyu mushinga urasaba abanyarwanda ko itariki ya **17 Gashyantare** twibukiraho urupfu rwa Kizito Mihigo yaba « **umunsi wo kwibohora Inyabutatu-ngirwamoko ya politiki** ». Kubera ko yatubereye igitambo kugirango dukire inzangano zishingiye ku ngirwamoko, natwe nitwibohore ayo ngirwamoko ya politiki maze tumwitire urukundo yadukunze.

Ibibazo bidasanzwe bicyemurwa n'umuti udasanzwe, kandi impinduka nziza ikorwa n'ibitekerezo bishya !

**HARAKABAHO UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE NYAKURI !  
HARAKABAHO UBWISANZURE N'UBWIGENGE BUSESUYE BW'ABANYARWANDA !**

***Bishyizweho umukono kuwa 28 Mutarama 2021  
Bitangajwe kuwa 17 Gashyantare 2021***<sup>28</sup>

Umuyobozi n'Umuhuza w'Umushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri DVJP  
MUSOMESHA Aloys<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Tariki ya 17 Gashyantare 2021 ni kuwa gatatu w'isigwa ry'ivu (mercredi des cendres): umunsi w'itangizwa ry'igisibo muri Kiliziya Gatolika. Iyi nyandiko yatangajwe iminsi 20 nyuma yo kuyishyiraho umukono.

<sup>29</sup> Navutse muw'1961 niga amashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye mu rulimi rw'igifaransa.

Humanités pédagogiques et licence en droit

Stage de formation de « Magistrats des Sièges »

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I n g i n g o z i g i z e i n y a n d i k o

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**Impinduka y'Ubwiyunge nyakuri, ubwigenge busesuye n'ubwisanzure mu Banyarwanda**

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