Ijambo ry'ibanze

Itsembabwoko* **n'intambara**** ni ibyorezo bibiri, bimatanye, byateye icyunamo imiryango myinshi kandi biyogoza U Rwanda, "paradizo y'Afurika". Ayo marorerwa yahitanye imbaga y'abantu ni gihamya ko amahanga yarebereye gusa mu gihe igihugu cyari gikeneye gutabarwa. Gusesengura iby'ayo mahano ntibyigeze bigoyora mu gukurura impaka zikarishye kugeza magingo aya.

Iki gitabo Mwalimu André Guichaoua amaze kwandika nyuma y' imyaka cumi n'itanu hashinzwe Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda mu Ugushyingo 1994, kigamije kugaragaza ukuri, ari ko nkingi ikomeye y'ubutabera nyakuri. Ntawabura rero kucyishimira.

Ku ruhande rwanjye, nari narakoze iperereza mu Rwanda, ndi intumwa yihariye ya Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, kandi ku itariki ya 28 Kamena 1994 nasabye ko, "mu gihe urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ruhoraho rugitegerejwe, hashyirwaho urukiko mpuzamahanga rwo gukurikirana ibyaha no gucira imanza abo bihama". Nishimiye cyane kubona inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ifata icyemezo cyo gukurikirana abantu « bakekwaho kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'itsembabwoko [« acts of genocide » mu cyongereza cg « actes de genocide » mu gifaransa] ».

* Ubwicanyi bwayogoje igihugu hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994 Guverinoma yabukurikiye yabwise « ITSEMBABWOKO N'ITSEMBATSEMBA ». Ibyo bigaragaza ubushake yari ifite bwo gusobanura ibyiciro bibiri by'abibasiwe n'ubwo bwicanyi : Abatavugaga rumwe n'ingoma ya Habyarimana ku ruhande rumwe, n'abatutsi ku rundi. Iyo mvugo yaje gushimangirwa mu rwego rw'amategeko n' « *Itegeko Ngenga* n° 08/96 ryo ku wa 30 Kanama 1996 ryerekeye imitunganyirize y'ikurikirana ry'ibyaha bigize icyaha cy'*itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba* cyangwa ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu ». Guhera muri 2004, ibyitwaga « ITSEMBABWOKO N' ITSEMBATSEMBA » leta yategetse ko byitwa « JENOSIDE » ndetse nyuma gato hongerwaho ko byitwa « JENOSIDE Y'ABATUTSI ». Muri iki gitabo, « ITSEMBABWOKO N' ITSEMBATSEMBA » bisobanura ubwicanyi bwabaye hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga muri rusange naho « ITSEMBABWOKO » rigasobanura ubwicanyi bwibasiye ABATUTSI muri ayo mezi atatu.

** Icyo bita « guerre civile » mu gifaransa muri iki gitabo ni intambara yashojwe na FPR Inkotanyi ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 irangira

muri Nyakanga 1994. Dukurikije imvugo abaturage basanzwe bakoresha, muri iki gitabo ijambo « intambara » tuzarikoresha tuvuga « guerre civile » tutagombye kongeraho ibindi bigenekerezo nka « isubiranamo », « imyiryane mu baturage », « amagomerane », nb.

"**Ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko**" ! Kugena ingeri z'ibyaha, cyane cyane ibifitanye isano n'ubwicanyi kirimbuzi bwabaye guhera ku itariki ya gatandatu Mata 1994, byararuhanyije. Byagombye rero guharanirwa cyane. Nta gutinda mu mpaka ku magambo, inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi yemeje gukoresha imvugo « ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko », itarenze aho ngo ibyite « itsembabwoko». Mu by'ukuri urwo rwego rw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rushinzwe kubumbatira amahoro ku isi rwasanze kwita ubwo bwicanyi kirimbuzi « ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko » bihagije.

Ku bw'amahirwe, iriya nyito kuba igizwe n'amagambo atandukanye nta ngaruka zo mu rwego rw'amategeko byakuruye : kimwe n'«itsembabwoko », ibikorwa bifitanye isano na ryo na byo bigenerwa ibihano.

Gushaka aho ukuri guherereye ni "umurimo" ugomba igihe kirekire ugasaba ubwihangane bwinshi no kutayingayinga. Abashakashatsi muri rusange n'abanyamategeko by'umwihariko babizi neza. Bityo rero, kuba igitabo cya Mwalimu André Gishaoua gisohotse ubungubu ni indi mpamvu yo kwishimira. Iyi mpamvu kandi ifite ishingiro, dore ko gihuriranye n'isozwa ry'urubanza rwa Théoneste Bagosora ukekwaho kuba mu bantu b'ingenzi bacuze umugambi w'itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi rwasomwe ku itariki ya 18 Ukuboza 2008 n'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda.

Iki gitabo rero ni indunduro y'amaperereza yakozwe ku bufatanye bw'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda. Koko rero, ni ngombwa kwibuka ko kuva urwo Rukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwihariye rushyizweho, umwanditsi w'iki gitabo yamaze imyaka myinshi akorera ubushinjacyaha amapereza mu mirimo yashinzwe n'urukiko yo kurubera umutangabuhamya w'inzobere. Ni ngombwa kandi kwibutsa ko uyu umwanditsi yari i Kigali, umurwa mukuru w'U Rwanda ku ya 6 Mata 1994, umunsi w'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ari naryo ryabaye imbarutso y'ubwicanyi kirimbuzi n'imyiryane mu baturage. Ibyo umwanditsi avuga rero muri iki gitabo arabivuga nk'inzobere n'umutangabuhamya uvuga ibyo yahagazeho.

Ntitwakwibagirwa no guha urubuga muri iki gitabo nyakwigendera Alison Des Forges witanze cyane akanagaragariza umutima w'impuhwe inzirakarengane z' itsembabwoko, ari nabyo byamuteye gufatanya ku buryo bwa hafi cyane na Mwalimu André Guichaoua. Reka kano kanya twibukane icyuhahiro uwo muharanizi ukomeye w'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu witanze atizigamye mu gushakisha ukuri ku mahano yayogoje U Rwanda.

Bityo rero, uyu murimo Mwalimu André Guichaoua atangaje none,ukaba uje ukurikira ibindi bitabo byinshi n'inyandiko ku karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari, tuwakiranye ubwuzu. Urangwa na byinshi bigaragaza ko ufite agaciro gakomeye. Nubwo bidashoboka kurondora ibyiza byose biri muri iki gitabo muri iri jambo ry'ibanze rigufi, ntitwabura gushimangira bimwe muri byo twihuta.

Icyiza kiruta ibindi gihita cyigaragaza ni ubukungu butsitse muri iki gitabo, bushingiye ku "buganzamarumbo" bwacyo. Kirimo amapaji ayinga 600, hakiyongeraho andi arenga 2000 y'inyandiko z'imigereka (*ziri ku rubuga*

murandasi ruherekeza igitabo), yose hamwe akagera ku mapaji 3000. Uretse ubuganzamarumbo bwacyo n'ubwinshi bw'amapaji gifite, umuntu atahuramo insanganyamatsiko zibumbye urunyurane rw'ibintu, ahantu n'ibihe. Izo nsanganyamatsiko muri make usanga zihera ku isesengura "ry'imibereho y'abaturage na politiki", "ikibazo cy'impunzi n'icy'uko FPR yahisemo inzira y'imirwano" muri 1990, zikagusha ku ngingo y'ukuntu "intambara yagizwe igikoresho cyo kugena abakandida" bo gusimbura Juvénal Habyarimana binyuze ku "gikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo ku ya 6 Mata" n'uko "ubwicanyi kirimbuzi bwabyaye itsembabwoko"...

Amakuru yaturutse ahantu hanyuranye, cyane cyane inyandiko zari zitaragira ahandi zitangazwa umwanditsi akesha ubufatanye bwe n'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda, ntibishidikanywa ko ari ikigega cy'agaciro gahebuje. Izo nyandiko hamwe n'insanganyamatsiko zashyizwe ahagaragara bizagira akamaro cyane mu kungura abantu ibitekerezo binoza imyumvire yabo ku itsembabwoko muri rusange n'itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi by'umwihariko.

Ikintu cy'akarusho cya kabiri umuntu asanga muri uyu murimo ni umwimerere mu kumva no gusobanura ibyabaye harimo n'itsembabwoko. Umwanditsi ashyira imbere ibirari bibiri by'imbangikane : "ikirari gikomatanya n'ibirindurasesengura". Ikirari cya mbere gisesengura imibereho y'abaturage mu Rwanda, haba mu buzima bw'igihugu haba no mu buzima bwite ; mu rwego rwo gusesengura uko abantu bahatanira ubutegetsi, isesengura ryibanda ku "ruhando rw'abanyapolitiki b'imbere mu gihugu" no ku "ntambara kirimbuzi yari ishyamiranyije ingabo z'igihugu n'inyeshyamba [Inkotanyi]". Ikirari cya kabiri kirangwa no kwitarura ibyo gushyira imbere ibikorwa by'abantu aba n'aba mu gusobanura uruhare rwabo, ahubwo cyikibanda ku bantu nyirizina bafite uruhare mu byabaye. Iyo isesengura rigeze mu rubuga rwa politiki rwagati, ku rwego rwo hejuru rufatirwamo ibyemezo, rishingira ku "ngamba n'intego z'abari bashyamiranye" kugira ngo rigerageze kumvikanisha uruhare rwabo.

Yego nta wakwihandagaza ngo ahamye ko iki cyerekezo gishobora kuva imuzingo ibibazo byose, ariko rero ni ingirakamaro ku buryo bubiri kuko gifasha gusobanura ibyabaye muri rusange (itsembabwoko n'intambara) kikongera kigafasha gusobanura ingamba z'ababigizemo uruhare ndetse n'uruhare bwite rwa buri wese. Bityo, dutanze gusa ingero nkeya, umwanya w'ibanze uharirwa abagize uruhare rw'ingenzi, ubusumbane bw'inzego zabo, n'uruhererekane rw'imiyoborere rugengwa n' ''amategeko y'urusobe rw'ubuhake".

Ikintu cy'akarusho cya gatatu kigaragara muri uyu murimo ni uburyo bwo guhuza ubumenyi mu mibereho n'imibanire y'abantu n'ubumenyi mu by'amategeko, nanone kandi ibyo bikuzuzanya mu kugaragaza ukuri. Urunana rw'ubwo bwuzuzanye ni gihamya ko abayobozi n'abashakashatsi muri izo ngeri z'ubumenyi bashyize ingufu zabo hamwe byafasha kurushaho kumva no gusobanura neza amahano ndengankamere nk'itsembabwoko.

Ku bw'intangamugabo, reka twibutse ko iki gitabo cyibanda cyane cyane ku rwego rw'abayobozi bakuru mu nzego za politiki n'igisirikari, ba bandi bagiye bafata ibyemezo bikomeye byabaye intandaro y' imidugararo n'ubwicanyi bw'

itsembabwoko.

Bamwe muri abo bayobozi bashyikirijwe Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda baranaburanishwa. Ku wakwifuza ingingo zo gusigura amateka y'itsembabwoko yasanga imanza zabo ari ikigega cyuzuye amakuru atagereranywa. Nyamara ariko, umurimo wo gucukumbura ukuri ushingiye ku zindi ngeri z'intangamugabo n'intego z'ubumenyi zititabazwa n'umuderi w'imikorere y'ubucamanza. Umushakashatsi ni we ugomba gushishoza akamenya ubwe ingamba zinyuranye zafashwe n'abagize uruhare mu byabaye kimwe n'uruhererekane rw'ibyemezo byabyaye itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko. Uwo murimo wo gucukumbura witabaza abantu benshi n'imyifatire itabarika, ariko ibi imanza zonyine ntizishobora kubigaragaza. Mwalimu André Guichaoua yihatiye gukora ubwo bucukumbuzi, bikaba ari na byo bisobanura, nk'uko twabitsindagiye, ubuganzamarumbo n'urusobe biboneka mu gitabo cye.

Kuri ibyo hiyongeraho kumenyesha umusomyi andi makuru yari ataragira ahandi atangazwa, ari na yo umwanditsi yashingiyeho igitabo, nkuko tubisanga mu migereka y'iki gitabo ifite agaciro kanini.

Mu by'ukuri ibitabo n'izindi nyandiko zigamije kumenyekanisha mu buryo bw'ubuhanga amahano yagwiriye U Rwanda ni ititi n'agasani. Ariko umwihariko w'iki gitabo ni uko gifitanye isano n'amateka y'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda. Gusa rero, intego z'iki gitabo zuje ubwisanzure kandi zitandukanye rwose n'iz'ubushinjacyaha. Nk'umunyamategeko utewe ubwuzu n' "ubuganzamarumbo" bwerekana ko iki gitabo ari indashyikirwa nk'ibikorwa bya [cya gihangange cyo mu Bugereki] Hercule, sinabura kwishimira rwose umubano mwiza mfitanye n'umwanditsi wacyo.

René DEGNI-SÉGUI [Rene Denyi Segi]
Mwalimu w'amategeko rusange,
akaba yarigeze no kuba intumwa idasanzwe y'Umuryango
w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda.

Abidjan, ku ya 26 Ugushyingo 2009

Iriburiro

Nyuma y'imyaka irenga cumi n'itanu ribaye, itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi riracyizimba mu ndanguruzi z'amashusho n'ubumenyi zerekeye ako gahugu gato ko muri Afurika yo hagati kabarurwamo abaturage bakabakaba miliyoni icumi. Na none, ubuhahamuke bwatewe n'amahano yo muri 1994 bukomeje kuranga ubuzima n'imyitwarire y'abaturage b'U Rwanda, kimwe n'amahanga yanze kugira icyo akora ngo ahagarike ubwicanyi kirimbuzi.

Muri kino gihe ikigaragara nyamara ni icyuho cy'urujijo kirangwa ku ruhande rumwe n'ukuntu ibikorwa byo gusana igihugu mu maguru mashya n'ishoramari ritubutse byahinduye ku buryo budasubirwaho imisusire – cyane cyane y'imigi –, nyamara ku rundi ruhande imiyoborere ya politiki ikarangwa n'igitugu gikabije. Ingaruka y'icyo cyuho ni uko "amarangamutima" akomeza kugira Abanyarwanda ingwate aho guhoshwa n'amahindura akomeye mu rwego rw'ubukungu na politiki yimakajwe n'ingoma nshya yiganjemo Abatutsi. Icyo cyuho kiratangaje kubera ko abo bayobozi bashya intero yabo ari ugutsimbataza bidasubirwaho politiki bivugwa ko ari iy'"ukuri, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge" bakoresheje urusobe rutangaje rw'amabwiriza atagira ingano yo gushimangira "ubumwe bw'igihugu" mu nzira zikomatanya amareshyamugeni n'iterabwoba.

Icyuka giterwa n'amarangamutima gikomeje kwiganza gishobora gusobanurwa n'impamvu zitandukanye zizasuzumwa uko imitwe y'igitabo izagenda ikurikirana. Muri izo mpamvu zose ariko, iyo twatsindagira hano n'iy'uko kuva muri 1994 hakomeje kuba impaka zikarishye mu gusobanura ibyabaye. No kuri iyi ngingo kandi, n'ubwo habayeho anketi nyinshi na za komisiyo mpuzamahanga ndetse n'izo mu rwego rw'igihugu zigamije gutahura neza impamvu zateye itsembabwoko n'abarigizemo uruhare, byinshi mu byerekeye intambara yadutse mu Kwakira 1990 ntibirajya ahagaragara, nta n'ubwo yewe birasuzumwa ngo dushobore gusobanukirwa neza n'uruhererekane rw'ibikorwa byakuruye amarorerwa.

Bityo, kubera ko abafata ibyemezo mu rwego mpuzamahanga bagize akagambane kadasobanutse ko kwanga ko umurimo wo gucukumbura ukuri ugera ku mwanzuro nyakuri mu gihe ubutegetsi bushya bwo buhihibikanira kurandura ikintu cyose ndetse no guca intege abatangabuhamya bashobora kugira icyo banyuranyaho n'ibitekerano byo "kubohora igihugu" ubutegetsi bukwirakwiza, intambara ikomereza mu rwego rwa poropagande. Ubutegetsi buri i Kigali bukura ishingiro ryabwo ku nsinzi y'intambara bwarwanye n'abo bwita "abajenosideri" [abakoze itsembabwoko]. Buhoza kandi ku nkeke abantu bose barebereye itsembabwoko ntibariburizemo. Hagati aho, abagitsimbaraye ku gihande cy'abagize uruhare mu itsembabwoko nabo ni ko bamagana imyitwarire ya mpatsibihugu y'igihande cyatsinze intambara, haba imbere mu gihugu cg se mu rwego rw'akarere. Mu gusibanganya cg se kubonera inyoroshyo cg insobanuro amabi bakoze, bibanda mu gukoresha ukuri gucagase iyo bashyira hanze ibintu byazinzikiranywe cg se byahakanywe.

Kugira ngo umuntu yumve neza imvo n'imvano y'umwihariko udasanzwe w'ibibera mu Rwanda, ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko ishyamirana ririho rifitanye isano n'inzira za politiki igihugu cyanyuzemo kimwe n'amakosa yagiye akorwa mu kuzisesengura. Umurimo usumba iyindi rero muri iki gihe ni ukugaragaza ingingo z'"ukuri" zidashidikanywaho cg izikigibwaho impaka uko imyaka itashye n'uko ubushakashatsi bugenda butera intambwe. Izo ngingo zimaze kuba nyinshi bihagije kandi zirasobanutse ku buryo zishobora kurema imbata yo gukora isesengura rigiye umujyo umwe. Mbere yo kwadukira uwo murimo, reka tubanze twibutse amwe mu mateka y'imyaka ya nyuma ya Repubulika ya Kabiri, dore ko ari bwo ibintu byabirindutse.

Ku itariki ya mbere Nyakanga 1987, imihango yo kwizihiza isabukuru y'imyaka 25 y'ubwigenge bw'U Rwanda yitabiriwe n'abashyitsi basaga ijana bahagarariye ibihugu n'imiryango mpuzamahanga, bose mu nzego zinyuranye barimo bahurizaga ku gushimagiza ibikorwa ako gahugu kangana urwara kagezeho mu guteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Mu buryo bwaguye kandi butagononwa, bishimiraga uko ingoma ya Habyarimana ishyira mu ngiro inshoza nshyashya y'"imiyoborere" yari ishyizwe imbere n'imiryango y'ubutwerane mpuzamahanga yashakishaga abanyeshuri b'indatwa bo kubera isi yose urugero mu by'amajyambere.

Ku buryo bw'igereranya, uretse imigenzo ya nyirarureshwa yo kwiyerekana no kubeshyana isanzwe iranga ububanyi mpuzamahanga, ibirori byabereye i Bujumbura kuri uwo munsi byo kwibuka isabukuru y'imyaka cumi ya Repubulika ya Kabiri mu Burundi ntiyari ishamaje na busa. Ubutegetsi bwa koloneli Jean Baptiste Bagaza bwari mu marembera (bwaje guhirikwa n'abasirikari ku itariki ya 3 Nzeri uwo mwaka) kandi ikinyuranyo cyari kinini : Mu gihe i Burundi inzego zishinzwe umutekano zari zimaze kuba ruvumwa kubera kurunda abantu mu magereza, mu Rwanda Juvénal Habyarimana yari amaze gusinya iteka rya perezida ritanga imbabazi, arekura imfungwa zigera ku bihumbi bine. Ku buryo budashidikanywaho, niba Habyarimana atari we wari ku ibere ry'amahanga, byibura ni we amahanga yabonaga ari "Misekigoroye" mu banyagitugu batatu bari batezweho kubumbatira umutekano mu karere (Bagaza,

Habyarimana na Mobutu muri Zayire).

Ishingwa rya Repubulika ya Mbere mu Rwanda iyobowe na perezida Grégoire Kayibanda ryadutse mu ruhando rw'intambara zo guharanira ubwigenge, nyuma y'ihirima ry'ingoma ntutsi ya cyami yari yaratsimbatajwe n'igikoloni cy'Ababiligi. Muri Nyakanga 1973, koloneli Juvénal Habyarimana yakoze kudeta avanaho iyo Repubulika ya Mbere.

Mu gushyira imbere imigambi y'amajyambere, ingoma ya Habyarimana yongerewe ingufu n'inkunga igaragara y'ibihugu byose by'i Burayi, uhereye ku Bubiligi n'Ubufaransa, ukongeraho Ubusuwisi na Kanada ndetse n'inzego z'ubutwererane bw' "iterambere" zo mu bihugu by'amajyaruguru y'Uburayi.

Nanone kandi hariho inkunga itubutse y'ibigega mpuzamahanga (kuva ku Muryango w'ubumwe bw'Uburayi kugeza kuri Banki y'isi yose), n'imiryango itegamiye kuri leta ivuye imihanda yose – yari yashyize U Rwanda ku mwanya wa kabiri wo kuba "paradizo ya Afurika" nyuma ya Burukinafaso – tutibagiwe cyane cyane na Kiliziya gatorika yari yarafatanije n'inzego za leta kuyobora igihugu kuva cyabona ubwigenge.

Nyamara ariko, ku buryo bushinze imizi, kwikundwakaza ku baturage ku buryo bw'igitsure kibakangurira kugira uruhare mu bikorwa, guhatira inshingano abafite uruhare mu bikorwa by'amajyambere, no kwiyegereza mu cyayenge rubanda rwo mu cyaro, ibyo byose byareshyaga abaterankunga bashyiraga imbere kutivanga mu bya politiki no kwizimba ku mikorere yihariye mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere. Iyo mikorere ni yo yari ipfundo ry'ibitekerezo by'amashyaka aharanira demokarasi ya gikirisitu. Nguko uko U Rwanda rwabaye ikirangirire rwegukana izina ryo kwitwa "igihugu cy'abaterankunga ibihumbi".

Nyamara rero, ibyo birori byo kwizihiza itariki ya 1 Nyakanga muri 1987 ni byo byashoje imyaka y'umudamararo ya Repubulika ya Kabiri mu Rwanda yagengwaga n'ishyaka-leta rya MRND (Muvoma revolisiyoneri iharanira amajyambere y'igihugu) na perezida fondateri waryo, Juvénal Habyarimana. Imyaka yakurikiyeho yabaye iy'ingorane zirimo kwizirika umukanda cyane mu by'ubukungu, kuvuka kw'ingaga z'abaturage [societe civile], gutera hejuru kw' "impirimbanyi za demokarasi", akaminuramuhini kaba igitero cyo ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 cya FPR, umuryango ukomatanya politiki n'igisirikari washinzwe n'Abatutsi bari barahungiye i Buganda mu gihe cy'imyivumbagatanyo yabimburiye ubwigenge. Hakurikiyeho intambara ndende yaje koreka igihugu mu mahano yakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 ryakurikiwe n'amezi atatu y'imirwano ikaze ikiguzi cyayo kiba itsembabwoko.

Ikirari rukomatanyo n'ibirindurasesengura

Nyuma yo gutangaza ibyagezweho n'ubushakashatsi bwinshi nakoze ku makimbirane ya politiki yo mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari by'Afurika, ku ntambara no ku itsembabwoko byo mu Rwanda – ubushakashatsi bwerekanye ukuntu ari ngombwa kwihutira gukusanya ubuhamya bw'abacitse ku icumu n'abagabo

bahagaze kuri ibyo bintu no kugaragaza ku buryo mbonera kandi budashogosha ubuhonyozi bwajyanye na byo —, uyu murimo uje wuzuriza ubwo bushakashatsi ariko kandi ufite byinshi biwutandukanya na bwo.

Mu rwego rwuzuzanya n'imirimo y'isesengura nakoze vuba aha ku makimbirane yo mu karere no mu Rwanda[1] kuri "politiki z'itsembabwoko" zakoreshejwe mu nzego za komini na perefegitura, mu bigo bigengwa na leta na za minisiteri[2], uyu murimo urasuzuma ukuntu intambara yo mu Rwanda yagenze mu rwego rusumba izindi : urwego rw'abayobozi n'abafata ibyemezo.

Ikirari kizibanda ku mikorere ya leta, urusobekerane rw'ubutegetsi rwadukanywe n'amashyaka menshi, imigendekere y'intambara mu rwego rwa politiki no mu rwa gisirikari (kurema amatsinda abogamiye ku ruhande rumwe, amacenga ya politiki, imishyikirano, ivugururwa ry' inzego za leta, ubwicanyi bugambiriwe, gutega ibico, itsembatsemba, nb.). Igice kinini cy'iki gitabo birumvikana ko cyibanda ku ishyaka ryahoze ari rukumbi, nyuma y'icyeragati kigufi cy'amashyaka menshi yemewe ku ya 10 Kamena 1991 hakurikijwe itegekonshinga rishya ryari rimaze kujyaho. Nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'agateganyo ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1994, iryo shyaka [MRND] ryasubiranye ubutegetsi nyakuri hafi ya bwose. Ryihariye kandi ububasha bwo kuvugira "imbaga y'Abahutu" ryishingikirije ibyo gutabara igihugu cyari mu ntambara. Ikirari kizashingira ahanini ku myitwarire y'abanyapolitiki bamwe bakomokaga mu ishyaka rya MRND, bakaba kandi bari baragiye bakora imirimo ihanitse mu gihe cyose cya Repubulika ya Kabiri.

Kimwe n'ibindi bitabo byawubanjirije, uyu murimo urihatira cyane cyane kwerekana neza ibyabaye no gutahura ingamba zakoreshejwe. Uragereranya ubuhamya bwinshi cyane bwatanzwe n'abasivili n'abasirikari bagize uruhare mu byabaye. Uragenera umwanya mugari isesengura rya za "ajenda", mu nyito zombi z'iryo jambo (amakaye yandikwamo ibikorwa, na gahunda y'imirimo ya ba nyirayo), n'isuzuma ry'imyitwarire y'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari mu gihe cy'intambara n'itsembabwoko nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ryaciye umutwe inzego za leta.

Abazasoma iki gitabo bazagenda bibonera ibyiciro n'ibikorwa byari bitarasobanuka kugeza magingo aya cg byari bizwi nabi. Bazasobanukirwa cyane cyane ibijyanye no gusesengura imyitwarire y'abari ku isonga, imigambi bwite cg rusange kuri buri wese, n'uko buri wese mu bagize uruhare ku buryo bwa hafi mu byabaye yumvaga icyo intambara yari igamije. Ntitwasoza tutavuze ko ubu bushakashatsi bugamije guhuriza hamwe imbonerahamwe z'ingeri zitabarika z'ibyari byihishe inyuma y'iyo ntambara simusiga. Muri urwo rwego iki gitabo kirugurura amarembo mashya.

Irembo rya mbere rijyanye n'isesengura ry'urwego rw'abari bafite ubutegetsi mu gihugu n'urw'amashyaka yari ahanganye na bwo yaje kugabagabana — nubwo bitamaze kabiri — zimwe mu nzego za leta, igihe ubutegetsi bushingiye

[1] André Guichaoua, *Exilés, réfugiés, déplacés en Afrique centrale et orientale [Abaciriwe ishyanga, impunzi, abavanywe mu byabo muri Afurika yo hagati n'iy'uburasirazuba],* Karthala, Paris, 2004.

[2] André Guichaoua, *Rwanda 1994. Les politiques du génocide à Butare [Politiki z'itsembabwoko i Butare],* Karthala, Paris, 2005.

ku mashyaka menshi bwari bumaze kwemerwa muri 1991. Kuri iyi ngingo, ni ngombwa kwitabaza ikirari rukomatanyo kuko ishyaka rukumbi n'abayobozi baryo bagenzuraga kugeza icyo gihe impande zose z'ubuzima rusange, n'igice kinini cy'ubuzima bwite bw'abaturage b'U Rwanda. Ubwo bwiganze bwarakomeje no mu gihe cy'amashyaka menshi. Mu gihe cy'ubwiganze bw'amashyaka menshi - n'intambara - (1991-1994), ikibazo cyahoraga kigaruka mu mpaka zose cyari icy'uko abayobozi n'abayoboke b'iryo shyaka [MRND] bari barikubiye urujya n'uruza rw'ubutegetsi n'ubukungu, bityo bakanagira ubushobozi bwo gukuraho cg kugabanya ubwo bwikubire.

"Abo ku ruhande rwa perezida"[3] bakomeje kwiganza mu butegetsi bw'igihugu, kandi n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje yagenaga amatwara yayo abanje kureba uko bahagaze. Uretse abari ku isonga ry' ubutegetsi, ahandi hose abaturage binjiye mu rujya n'uruza rw'agatereranzamba k'inkubiri yapfubye yo gushimangira imikorere ya demokarasi mu ngeri zose z'imibanire y'abaturage. Iyo nkubiri yagendaga ikaza cg itakaza umurego hakurikijwe uko intambara [hagati y'ingabo za leta n'Inkotanyi] yagendaga ndetse n'igipimo cy'ingufu z'impande ebyiri z'ingenzi zari zishyamiranye : ubutegetsi bwa perezida (bwamaganwaga i Kigali), n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi. Izo mpande zombi ntizemeraga na gato ko habaho ubwisanzure bw'amashyaka zitashoboraga kugenzura n'igabana nyakuri ry'ubutegetsi. Kubera ingingo z'isesengura zibonetse vuba aha[4] z'uburyo FPR yayoboye intambara, ubu noneho dushobora kumenya ku buryo buhamye uko ibintu byari byifashe muri icyo gihe. Nzagira n'icyo mvuga ku banyamahanga, abo mu karere n'abo mu mahanga ya kure, ari abikorera ku giti cyabo n'abakorera leta, bagize uruhare rusa n'urutaziguye mu byabaye. Nubwo ntagamije gucukumbura iby'izo mpande zose, nzerekana aho zagiye zigonganira ku buryo budashidikanywaho.

Ku buryo bufatika, nzihatira gusesengurira hamwe amakimbirane y'abamaraniraga ubutegetsi imbere mu gihugu n'intambara kirimbuzi hagati ya leta n'Inkotanyi ; uko amezi yahitaga andi agataha, uruhande rwa mbere rwibumbiye ku basirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bo mu majyaruguru bakamiwe na Repubulika ya Kabiri, naho urwa kabiri rwari rugizwe n'ingabo za FPR. Byumvikane ko kuva mu Kwakira 1990 intego nyamukuru yo kugumana cg gufata ubutegetsi ari yo yashyamiranyije inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi b'impunzi zari zishinze ibirindiro i Buganda, amashyaka n'imiryango itavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje byari byarashinzwe nyuma y'iyemerwa ry'amashyaka menshi muri 1991, n'ingufu z'ingeri zitandukanye zari zibumbiye hamwe mu cyitwa "uruhande rwa

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[3] Nyuma y'uko amashyaka menshi yemerwa, iryo bango risobanura ku buryo rusange imiryango n'abanyapolitiki biyemeje gukomeza kuba abambari n'ibyegera bya perezida Habyarimana.

[4] Guhera mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1990, abantu benshi bo muri FPR cg se bo mu nzego zigenga bagiye bamenyekanisha amakuru n'ubuhamya byerekeye ishusho-mbonera ry'imiterere y'ingabo za FPR n'ingamba jenerali Paul Kagame yakoresheje mu gufata ubutegetsi (reba *Memorandum* ya Michaël Hourigane, umupererezi wa TPIR, yanditswe muri 1997). Nyamara guhera mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 2000 (ubuhamya bwa *Jean-Pierre Mugabe ku iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana*, The International Strategic Studies Association, 21 Mata 2000, cg se inyandiko ya majoro Alphonse Furuma, 23 Mutarama 2001) ariko cyane cyane mu mwaka wa 2004 (reba Abdul Ruzibiza, *Rwanda, Histoire secrète [amateka yagizwe ibanga]*, Panama, Paris, 2005), ni bwo byashobotse kubona amakuru yuzuzanya ku buryo buboneye kandi budashogosha. Mu buryo bubangikanye, hari amaperereza aboneye yakozwe na TPIR, umucamanza w'Umufaransa Jean-Louis Bruguière, n'ubucamanza bwa Espagne, nb., mu rwego rwo gukurikirana ibyaha by'intambara n'ibyibasiye inyoko muntu. Kuri iyi ngingo, reba umutwe wa 7 n'uwa 14.

perezida".

Irembo rya kabiri rijyanye n'ibirindurasesengura. Mbivuze mu magambo yoroshye, kugeza ubu nari nashyize imbere ikirari cy'ibifatika, cyatangiriraga ku bikorwa kikaronda ba nyirabyo, kikagaragaza imyanya yabo, amasano n'uruhare rwabo mu byabaye. Ku bwanjye, mbona iki kirari cyari kiboneye mu kumvikanisha ukuntu imyitwarire y'abantu bo mu nzego zisumbana - muri rusange iziciye bugufi -, imirimo bashinzwe, urubibi rw' ububasha bwabo, byashoboraga gusobanuka no gutandukanywa ku buryo butaziguye.

Ariko ibyo bitandukanye n'iby'abantu bari mu myanya ikomeye ifata ibyemezo mu butegetsi cg itanga amategeko ya gisirikari.
Icyari kibashishikaje ni ibikorwa byabo byakomatanyaga buri gihe intego yo kongerera ingufu umwanya wabo bwite mu rusobe rw'ubutegetsi no gukora ku buryo ubwo butegetsi bukomeza kuganza. Mu buryo rusange no ku rwego rwa buri wese, inyungu bwite z'umuntu ku giti cye n' "inyungu zihanitse z'igihugu" zari uruvange. Urwo ruvange ndetse rwarushijeho gukomera cyane cyane ko abayobozi b'ingenzi badushishikaje hano bari bafite imyanya ikomeye cyane mu nzego ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya Kabiri bwari bushingiyeho ari na zo zashyiragaho amabwiriza yo kubungabunga imigendekere myiza y'ubuzima bw'igihugu. Bityo, abo bayobozi bahoraga bibwira ko bashobora gushyika ku myanya yo ku isonga, ndetse bakagira n' "ubwamamare mu gihugu hose".

Intambwe ya mbere aha ni ukumva neza iby'amacenga y'urusobe rw'ubuhake mu gihe cy'amarembera ya Rebubulika ya Kabiri n'uburyo bwihariye bwakoreshwaga mu guha imyanya no gutoranya abajya mu nzego za leta no mu mfuruka z'ubutegetsi aho buri wese yahataniraga inyungu ze. Intambwe ya kabiri ni ukumenya uburyo hashyirwagaho ingamba zo guhatanira imyanya mu ruhererekane rw'ubutegetsi no gufata ndetse no kugira ingufu mu butegetsi (kugira ijambo mu ishyaka no mu nzego za leta), mu by'imari n'ubukungu (imigabane inyuranye ku musaruro n'ikwirakwizwa ry'amafaranga, kugena ibikoresho no gusaranganya umutungo), mu gisirikari (gutunganya urunana rw'imikoranire, kugira ibitwaro bya hambavu), mu bubanyi n'amahanga (inkunga ya za ambasade z'ibihugu bikomeye n'iyabaterankunga) n'uko izo ngamba zahinduraga ayo macenga ndetse zigahindagura gahunda z'ibigamijwe.

Perezida Habyarimana yari we zingiro ry'urusobe rukomeye yari yarubakanye ubwitonzi ; nanone ariko na we ubwe yagengwaga n'urwo rusobe dore ko buri wese mu bagize urwo rusobe yabaga ari urubariro rw'ingoma iganje ariko nanone akaba yashobora kuba ipfundo ry'amashagaga yo kuyirwanya. Mu bihe by'amahoro, byari byoroshye gucunga amashagaga ya buri wese. Icya ngombwa cyari ugusaranganya ubukungu n'imyanya byafunguraga amayira yo kubigeraho no kubitubura,byombi bikagengwa n'ingufu z'amasano buri wese afitanye n'abagize ipfundo ry'urusobe rw'ubuhake. Bene ayo masano Juvénal Habyarimana yashoboraga kuyacikiza cg kuyagura uko abishatse.

Mu bihe by'inkubiri y'amashyaka menshi n'intambara, ingufu n'imicungire by'urwo rubuga byagiye bihindagurika uko iminsi ihita indi igataha. Bityo rero, uko ubutegetsi bwagendaga bujegera, kugenzura urwo rusobekerane byabaye ingorabahizi. Ku buryo bwihariye, intera z'ingufu za politiki buri wese mu bari

bahanganye mu ntambara yashoboraga kuronka zari ziyongereye ku buryo bugaragara. Muri izo ntera z'ingufu, umuntu ashatse kuzitandukanya yavugamo uburyo "bwemewe n'amategeko", imikorere y'irengayobora cg se isanzwe ibujijwe nk'ibikorwa "bya ruharwa".

Kurema amatsinda y'insoresore mu mashyaka n'ubukana byakoranywe byerekana ku buryo bw'intangarugero uko ibintu byagendaga bifata intera ikabije : mu ikubitiro abayoboke b'amashyaka bashishikazwaga binyuze mu bikorwa by'imbonezamubano, uburezi cg imikino ngororamubiri; mu ntera yisumbuyeho abayoboke bashingwaga ibyo kubahiriza umutekano no gufasha mu bikorwa by'ikangurambaga ryamamaza ishyaka, kurema imitwe no gukora imyitozo ya gisirikari ; naho ku ntera ya gatatu, hadutse ibyo guhemba imitwe yitwaje intwaro n'inzego zikora "ku giti cyazo" no kwiyongera kw'udutsiko turangwa n'ibikorwa by'ubujura butihishira.

Nyamara rero, abahanganye bagize ubugizi bwa nabi intwaro yo kugera ku ntego zabo, icyari kuba "kwica amategeko" gihinduka igikorwa cy'intambara. Icyo gihe, "kwica amategeko" - gukwirakwiza no gukongeza urwango hagati y'amoko, guhungabanya imitungo n'abantu, gusahura, guhotora, kurema ibico, gutsembatsemba bikagera aho kurimbura abantu bo mu bwoko runaka ubita abanzi -, bifatwa nk'aho ari ngombwa mu mikorere yabo dore ko biba bishingiye ku byemezo by'ingamba zo kwirwanaho.

Kurundarunda ibyo bigufu n'ibikoresho byose byari byihariwe gusa n'abantu bari bafite ububasha kandi bashoboraga kurenga imiziro mboneramuco n'imigenzo y'igihugu kigendera ku mategeko. Ni muri ubwo buryo abategetsi cg abayobozi ba gisirikari bakoze ku bitwaro by'intambara by'amoko yose bateganya kandi bategeka kurimbura umuntu wese cg itsinda ry'abantu babonwagaho kubangamira imigambi ya politiki yari ishyizwe imbere.

Twibutse kandi ko urugomo n'ubutagondwa byabaye nk'umukino muri ako karere k'amajyepfo y'Afurika kashegeshwe n'uruhererekane rw'imidugararo ya politiki n'intambara z'imyiryane. Iyo midugararo irangwa n'intego zihora zihinduka yatangiranye n'inzibacyuho ziganisha ku bwigenge zapfubye, kenshi zagiye zijyana n'urugomo rurenze kamere rwahitanye abantu n'ibintu bitabarika (i Buganda, Santarafurika, Kongo-Zayire, mu Burundi no mu Rwanda, nh.). Iyo midugararo yagiye isembura kandi igakongeza indi yiyanditse mu gihe no mu nzibutso by'abanyagihugu, kuva ku isonga kugera mu nzego zose z'abaturage, buri wese ayifata nk'ibintu bisanzwe cg se bitagira gitangira.

Uko ibintu byari byifashe nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 byatumye abateye igihugu bahanika imihigo yabo, bityo bagomorora ingufu z'Ahahutu b'intagondwa bari bambariye guhangana imbonankubone na FPR n'Abatutsi guhera mu gihembwe cya kabiri cy'umwaka wa 1993. Mu masaha yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege, bariye karungu maze bakindagura abari ku isonga y'abanyapolitiki bacisha make batavugaga rumwe na perezida kugira ngo bafate ubutegetsi. Nyuma ubwo byari bimaze kugaragara ko amahanga (Minuar - Misiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yo gufasha U Rwanda[5]) yanze nkana ndetse ku buryo bw'akagambane kugira icyo akora,

[5] Minuar yashyizweho n'Icyemezo 872 cy'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku itariki ya 5

icyizere cy'imishyikirano yo guhagarika intambara ku bwumvikane cyahise kiyoyoka maze intambara ifata isura ya rurangiza : impande zombi zivugiraga ko ari "iya nyuma". Nta rubibi na rumwe rwari rukibuza abashyamiranye guhitamo ibikoresho no kugira aho bagarukiriza ibikorwa byo kubageza ku ntsinzi.

Bityo rero, iki kirari gishingiye ku ngamba n'intego z'abari bashyamiranye kugira ngo kitwumvishe neza uburyo n'intera byakoreshwaga mu kugwiza ingufu uko ibyiciro by'intambara byagiye bikurikirana, kiranyura mu nzira itandukanye n'izisanzwe zikoreshwa mu gusuzuma ibikunze kwitwa mu mategeko "gucura umugambi" w'ubugizi bwa nabi cg "ubwumvikane" bwaba bwarabanjirije uwo mugambi. Dushingiye ku kwibukiranya neza ibyabaye, turerekana ku buryo budahinyuka ukuntu imigendekere y'intambara n'ibijyana na yo, iyubura ry'imirwano mu ijoro ryo ku ya 6 rishyira iya 7 Mata n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry' itsembabwoko, bidashobora gusuzumwa intatane. Ibi bizadufasha cyane cyane gushobora kumenya ku buryo budahusha igihe itsembabwoko nyirizina ryatangiriye n'abatumye rishoboka.

Ubuhamya n'inyandiko : ingingo z'uburyo mbonera

Ubushakashatsi nk'ubu busaba kwigerera ku makuru y' umwimerere no ku buhamya nyagaciro bw'abahagaze ku byabaye. Kurusha uko byagenze ku bitabo byabanje, nahawe umusanzu ukomeye n'abatangabuhamya benshi n'abagize uruhare rutaziguye mu byabaye. Ibi byaranyoroheye kuko nari nsanzwe ubwanye nzi benshi muri bo kuva mbere ya 1994.

Kuva muri 1979, mu murimo wanjye w'ubushakashatsi nari naragiye ngereranya ibyaro byo muri Afurika yo hagati, nkajya no mu butumwa kenshi cyane nk'inzobere y'imiryango mpuzamahanga cg se nyagihugu y'ubutwererane n'amajyambere (BIT, Banki y'Isi, PNUD, ubutwererane bw'u Busuwisi, nd.). Guhera mu myaka ya 1984-1986, imirimo yo gukurikiranira hafi gahunda z'amajyambere y'ubuhinzi mu Burundi no mu Rwanda yatumye mpamara igihe kirekire nyoboye anketi n'ubushakashatsi bunyuranye. Ibyo byose byatumye menya neza amakomini hafi ya yose yo muri ibyo bihugu. Muri ako karere 90 % by'abaturage batunzwe n'ubuhinzi ndetse n'abatagikozwa isuka bakomeza kwizirika ku butaka bwabo kavukire; kumara igihe muri ako karere byatumye ngirana umubano ukomeye kandi urambye n'imiryango myinshi ku mpande zombi z'umupaka, ndetse no ku buryo bwaguye, mu ntara zo hakurya mu burasirazuba bw'icyahoze cyitwa Zayire. Mu gihe amakimbirane yubuye muri 1987 bigatuma abimukira birukanwa igihiriri bagasubizwa mu bihugu byabo, nasabwe kwiga ku buryo bwimbitse ingingo nyinshi z'ayo makimbirane

Ukwakira 1993 irangiza imirimo yayo ku itariki ya 8 Werurwe 1996. Yari ifite inshingano zo gutera inkunga mu kubungabunga umutekano mu mujyi wa Kigali, kugenzura uko amasezerano yo guhosha intambara yashyiragaho urubibi rushya rw'akarere katarangwamo imirwano yubahirizwa, gushyiraho ingamba zo gusubiza abasirikari mu gisivili no gucunga umutekano rusange mu gihe cyo gusoza imirimo ya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'amatora yari ateganijwe hagati mu mwaka wa 1996. Yagombaga kugira uruhare mu gutaburura ibisasu no gutera inkunga ibikorwa by'imfashanyo bijyana n'imirimo y'ubutabazi. Umukuru wa gisirikari w'iyo Misiyo yari jenerali Roméo Dallaire (Kanada) wakoze uwo murimo kuva mu ntangiro kugeza ku itariki ya 20 Kanama 1994. Yari akuriwe na bwana Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh (Kameruni), intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, akaba ari na we wayoboye iyo Misiyo kuva ku ya 23 Ugushyingo 1993 kugeza ku ya 15 Kamena 1994.

yabuzaga isinywa ry'Amasezerano yo kwishyira ukizana kw'ibintu n'abantu mu Muryango w'ubukungu w'ibihugu byo mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari (CEPGL, ihuriwemo na Burundi, Rwanda na Zayire). Kubera ibyo, nashishikariye ikibazo cy'abimukira (ba kera n'aba vuba) bimwaga uburenganzira bwo gutura n'ubwenegihugu. Nitaye cyane cyane ku ngaruka z'amakimbirane y'ukuntu impunzi amagana z'urunyuranyurane muri ibyo bihugu zari zitegereje, zimwe guhera muri za 1950, ko hafatwa umwanzuro ku kibazo cyabo bakamenya icyo bagenewe. Uretse inzego za leta, nashoboye kandi kubonana n'abantu benshi mu myaka ya 1990 babaga bitabiriye imishyikirano ibahuza n'abategetsi mu izina ry'amatsinda ya politiki atavuga rumwe na leta cg se ry'imitwe yitwaje intwaro yari ifite igice kinini cy'abayobozi n'abarwanashyaka bayo mu mahanga. Uruhare nagize mu mishyikirano n'inama zinyuranye muri 1991 na 1992, kimwe no gukurikirana gahunda z'imfashanyo zihutirwa, byampaye umwanya wo gukurikiranaga ibyabaga ku buryo bwimbitse, kabone no mu bihe cg imidugararo yabuzaga abanyamahanga kwidegembya mu karere. Ni muri ubwo buryo nari ndi i Kigali muri Werurwe – Mata 1994. Icyo gihe nari mu Rwanda mu butumwa butari buke bwerekeye ubushakashatsi n'inkunga mbonezabikorwa nakoreraga ubuyobozi bw'ubutwererane n'amajyambere (DDC) bwo muri Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga yo mu Busuwisi, nkaba naragombaga kuhamara ibyumweru bitatu. Icyari kigamijwe rwari ugusuzuma gahunda z'amajyambere z'ubwo butwererane mu Rwanda, no gutunganya iby'ihererekanyabubasha ry'abaminisitiri bashya bashinzwe kubukurikirana.

Mu buryo bwinshi, kuba nari ndi mu Rwanda icyo gihe byasize ikimenyetso kidasibangana mu buzima bwanjye. Ibyo ahanini bigaragarira mbere na mbere mu ruhare bwite nagize icyo gihe no mu byumweru byakurikiyeho, ndetse na nyuma y'aho mu mezi menshi nagiye mara muri ako karere kuva ubwo kugeza vuba aha. Uretse ubutumwa bw'imishyikirano n'ubutwererane, ubutumire bukomeye kurusha ubundi bwaturutse mu Rukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda n'Inama ishinzwe amahoro ku isi y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Gushyingo 1994, kimwe no mu nkiko z'ibihugu byinshi zari zashinzwe guca imanza z'ibyaha byakozwe muri iyo myaka y'intambara. Kugeza uyu munsi, natanze ubuhamya mu miburanishirize y'imanza mirongo itatu z'abaregwa itsembabwoko, nk'"umugabo uvuga ibyo yagazeho" kandi nk' "umutangabuhamya w'inzobere". Uretse kandi imyifatire mboneramuco y'uko abashakashatsi bazobereye muri aka karere bategekwa gutanga ubuhamya ku byo bazi ku miterere y'ahantu n'abagize uruhare mu byabaye (ndetse no ku baregwa), ubwo bwitange bukomeye buturuka ku nshingano yo mu rwego rw'amategeko ihabwa abagabo bahagaze ku byabaye dore ko nanjye nari mu butumwa i Kigali muri Werurwe – Mata 1994.

Muri urwo rwego, misiyo zibarirwa mu macumi n'amezi menshi namaze nkora ubushakashatsi aho hantu, isesengura ry'ishyinguramurage rinini cyane n'uburenganzira budasanzwe bwo kugera ku isoko y'amakuru afite uwo ahariwe cg atarigeze agira icyo amazwa, ibyo byose byamfashije gukora ubushakashatsi ku mateka y'ubuzima bw'abantu mu rwego rw'akarere cg se rw'insanganyamatsiko, ubwo bushakashatsi bukaba bwarabaye ishingiro

ry'ubuhamya natanze n'ibitabo natangaje.

Umubano ukomeye mfitanye n'abantu bo muri ako karere kuva mu myaka mirongo itatu ishize watumye ngirana ibiganiro n'abantu benshi cyane nkanababaza ku ngingo ubundi zifatwa nk'imiziro. Nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu ibintu bibaye, benshi muri bo bifuzaga noneho gufata ijambo, kugira ngo nibura bashyire ahagaragara igice cy'amakuru n'inyibutsamateka bafite.

Ibyo ahanini nabibonye ku bayobozi benshi b'abasirikari n'abasivili bafite amakuru menshi bagize umuhate wo kuyibuka no kuyasesengura, bikaba byaratumye gukora ubushakashatsi no gukusanya gihamya byaronyoroheye. Ubwo bushake bushya bw'abari batarigeze bifuza kugira icyo batangaza kugeza ubu bukwiriye kwitabwaho. Ubwo bushake ahanini buterwa n'uko ababufite basanga igihe cyegereje amaherezo "ukuri" ku ngingo z'intambara zikiri mu gihu kukajya ahagaragara ndetse kugasobanuka; nanone ubwo bwitange bashobora kuburyozwa cyane cyane ko gutahura bene abo bantu byoroheye cyane bagenzi babo[6].

N'ubwo byumvikana ko ndashobora kurondora bene abo bantu bose, sinabura kuvuga ukuntu umusanzu wa buri wese wabaye ingirakamaro :baba abo twakomeje guhererekanya amakuru kuva mu myaka ya 1990 kandi bakaba barambereye indahemuka mu bushakashatsi bwanjye bunyuranye, rimwe na rimwe harimo n'ubusaba kwigengesera bikomeye, baba n'abasabwe amakuru igihe gito bakemera gusubiza ibibazo bimwe bigufi ariko bikemura impaka. Abo bantu bose bazi uburyo nzirikana kandi mbashimira icyizere bangiriye.

Ndabashimira ndetse kubera yuko ibirari nagereranyije byatumye nkoresha neza amakuru n'ubusesenguzi nari nararundanyije mu myaka icumi ishize, mbifashijwemo n'abantu banyuranye. Ayo makuru n'ubusesenguzi akenshi nabyumvaga nabi kuko kuri njye byari urusobe ruhishe byinshi. Gusobanukirwa n'urubuga rwa politiki bisaba kumenya ku buryo bunononsoye imiterere y'abantu n'urushamikirane rw'inzego barimo zirangwa n'amacenga yo kuvuga uziga, gukorera mu gihu no guhishahisha. Ikindi kandi, ubwo nakoraga ubushakashatsi ku ntambara n'itsembabwoko mu rwego rwa za perefegitura na komini, nashingiraga ku bunararibonye buhagije nkesha ibyo nari narakoze kuva kera mu bushakashatsi bwanjye bujyanye n'ubumenyi nyamubano n'ubukungu mu cyaro. Kandi nashoboraga gusubira aho nakoze kera nkongera nkabonana n'abantu barokotse, cg se nkamara iminsi nshatse ku magereza nganira n'abari mu maboko y'ubucamanza, ari abazira ibyo bakoze ari n'abarengana. Muri icyo gihe, byarashobokaga gutazura vuba impamvu zo mu rwego nyamubano,

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[6] Hano ngomba kuvuga liyetona-koloneli Augustin Cyiza waguranye ubuzima bwe kwitangira ukuri. Uwo musirikari mukuru kandi w'inzobere mu bumenyi bw'iby'amategeko yabaye umwe mu bantu bagize ubushishozi bwinshi muri icyo gihe. Ni umwe mu bantu bake cyane bakurikiranye ibyabaye, akaba yarashoboye kugirana n'impande zose zishyamiranye imishyikirano ya hafi cyane kandi isobanutse, kuko atigeze aba gashozantambara cg umunyapolitiki. Uwo musirikari mukuru utagiraga igice abogamiraho kandi wishyiraga akizana ibyo bigatuma ahora ahabwa imyanya ya nyirarureshwa — yari perezida w'Urukiko rwa gisirikari rutabagaho —, yaharaniraga amahoro abyiyemeje kandi abikuye ku mutima. Ubuhanga mu gusesengura, ugushyira mu gaciro n'imvugo ye itarya amagambo byahoraga bitamaza abo bavuganaga kuko yashyiraga ku karubanda amayeri yabo. Gukora ibyo ku muntu udafite ikimurengera byamubyariye inzangano nyinshi. Yashimuswe n'abakozi ba serivisi z'iperereza zo mu Rwanda ku itariki ya 23 Mata 2003 none kuva icyo gihe nta washoboye kumenya irengero rye (rb. André Guichaoua, "Postface. Le 23 Mata 2003", mu gitabo Augustin Cyiza*, Un homme libre au Rwanda [umuntu wishyiraga akizana mu Rwanda],* Karthala, Paris, 2004, p. 209-213 ; reba kandi umugereka 51).

kumenya aho abantu babaye, ibi bikaba ari ingingo z'ingirakamaro zituma umuntu arushaho gusobanukirwa.

Nyamara imikorere nk'iyo ntiyari igishoboka ubwo natunganyaga iki gitabo kubera ko ibyo abantu bari bashinzwe byari byinshi kandi bidasobanutse neza, kubera ingeri zitabarika z'imirimo bari bafitemo uruhare, no kubera ko urushamikirane rw'inzego zitandukanye z'ibikorwa byabo rutari rusobanutse. Aha rero akaba ariho amambu yo kuba umushakashatsi w'umunyamahanga abera akamaramaza. Ku ruhande rumwe, muri rusange ashobora kurundanya amakuru atabarika abenshi mu banyagihugu badashobora gukusanya kubera kubura amikoro ndetse no kubera imyanya yabo bwite n'aho bahagaze (mu rwego rw'imiryango, uturere, imirimo n'imibanire, amadini, ingengabitekerezo na politiki). Ku rundi ruhande, ibyo abantu bafite mu mitima yabo atumva neza kandi "atabonesha amaso" biba bimuri kure nk'ukwezi. Uko kuba kure nk'ukwezi bisobanurwa neza n'uyu mugani wa kinyarwanda ugira uti : *"Agahinda k'inkoko kamenywa n'inkike yatoyemo*" [umwimerere mu gitabo].

Uyu mugani uratsindagira cyane ingorane zo kumva neza ukuri kw'iriya ntambara, n'ibishuko bikabije bitera indorerezi gusimbuza ibura ry'amakuru afite gihamya n'isesengura ridafatika, amahame y'imvugo za rubanda. Nyamara imyifatire y'umushakashatsi w'umunyamahanga ishobora kugira akarusho karenze kure ibyo gukusanya amakuru, kumenya ibyabaye n'abagizemo uruhare, kuko imuha kwitarura ururandagatane rw'amabwire n'ibisobanuro rukomatanyo kimwe n'ibitekerano ndetse n'ingamba zo kwizibukira imitego bikunze kwitirirwa abantu nkana ku buryo budakuka. N'ubwo haciye imyaka, inkuru nshya ibonetse cg itahurwa ry'ibintu bitari bizwi igusha ku cyiyumviro ko hakiri byinshi bitarajya ahagaragara kandi ko ubushakashatsi butuzuye. Bene icyo cyiyumviro ariko nanone umuntu ashobora kucyitaza yishingikirije icyo Hannah Arendt yita "expériences de vérité [indanguruzi z'ukuri]" ziranga aho ibikenewe biherereye ari nako zifasha gutandukanya ibikwiye guhabwa agaciro n'ibidafite umutwe n'ikibuno, ibyo bigatanga umucyaho wo gutekereza no kumva umushike w'amasinde agikeneye gucukumburwa.

Hariho ariko ingorane ebyiri cg imbibi ntarengwa zakomeje kubera ubu bushakashatsi imbogamizi. Iya mbere, kandi iremereye, iterwa n'uko bamwe mu bagize uruhare bu byabaye badashobora cg badashaka kugira icyo batangaza, kubera imirimo n'inshingano bari bafite icyo gihe cg ubungubu. Amananiza yo mu rwego rw'ubucamanza abibuza ku buryo bugaragara abakurikiranwe n'inkiko cg abafunzwe, ndetse n'abashobora kubigirirwa. Ariko, mu buryo rusange, iterabwoba n'ibikangisho bikoreshwa ku buryo busesuye n'inzego za politiki n'iz'ubucamanza, bikaba byarabaye intwaro abategetsi bashya bitabaza bacecekesha abatangabuhamya bashobora kugira icyo bavuga ku byabaye, bibatera kwifata cyane. Icyerekezo rusange cy'uko ubutegetsi bushaka kwandika amateka y'itsembabwoko n'ibyaribanjirije uko bwishakiye noneho cyaremejwe kugira ngo gihamye ishingiro ry'inshoza y'intambara n'iyo gufata ubutegetsi ukabwikubira, kugira ngo gisobanure impamvu abanyagihugu bagengwa n'igitugu kandi bagapakirwamo inyigisho z'ibitekerano. Abo bayobozi bashyizeho urwungikane rw'amategeko ahana abateshuka ku murongo wa

politiki n'ingenabitekerezo, ibyo bikababafasha kugamburuza ku buryo budasubirwaho uwagerageza kwipakurura amateka yemejwe. Ku by'umwihariko, bashobora kubangamira isesenguramateka ryose ryakwiyemeza gushyira itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994 mu murongo w'intambara yashojwe na FPR, no gusuzuma imyifatire ya FPR muri iyo ntambara. Bene iryo zinzika nanone riboneka ku rundi ruhande mu bari bagize akazu ka perezida no mu byegera bya Nyakwigendera Juvénal Habyarimana, bashoboye kubambira neza neza abagira ibishuko byo "kwigobotora" bakavuga ukuri. Iryo hishira urisanga no mu biyemeje kurishyigikira bari muri za ambasade z'impande zose zari zifite inyungu mu ntambara, badashaka gushyirwa cg gusubizwa mu ruhando rw'iteranamagambo rihora rihemberwa n'amarangamutima y'Abanyarwanda ahora aryenyegeza.

Imbogamizi ya kabiri ishingiye ku mubare muto cyane w'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe ku ntambara ubwayo, cyane cyane ubwo twaba dukesha abanditsi b'Abanyarwanda bazi neza ibyabaye; ibiri amambu, ibitabo usangamo ibimenyetso ntangamugabo kandi bifatika bishimangira ibyanditsemo ni mbarwa. Iki gitabo kiragerageza gukosora izo nenge gikusanya inyandiko z'icyo gihe n'ubuhamya butaratangazwa cyane cg butagerwaho ku buryo bworoshye. Na none, uko imyaka igenda ihita ni na ko abatangabuhamya bakunze kwitarura amakuru batanze ku byabaye, bakongeramo ibivugwa cg ibyo babwiwe, ibyo bemera cg bashaka kwemeza. Gusobanura uruvange rw'inzibuko z'ukuri n'izidafite ishingiro bishobora kuruhanya, ariko bitagombye gutuma duhakana ko uwihatira kwibuka avuga yeruye irimuri ku mutima cg ko akwiriye kwemerwa. Ikibazo cyo kumenya niba ibyavuzwe ari amanyakuri kirushaho gukomera iyo nyir'ukuvuga, ku buryo ubu n'ubu, aba azwiho kuba yarahohotewe kandi na we akaba ari ko yiyumva. Ubwo rero haba hasigaye gutahura ikiri "ukuri" no kugitandukanya n'uburyo abahohotewe basesekaza ubuhungabane bwabo, uko batoranya ibyo bavuga n'ibyo baziga mu buhamya bwabo ndetse n'uko bagirwa ingwate n'ibitekerano byemerwa hose nk'ukuri kimomo. Ariko icya ngombwa kurushaho ni ugutahura ubutitsa igipande cyibagiranye cy'ibintu byabaye ntibihabwe agaciro, cy'ibyazinzitswe, cy'ibyahakanwe, cy'amabanga abitswe kubera inyungu zigambiriwe cg se ko ari ngombwa, kuko birashoboka kumenya amavu n'amavuko y'ikintu iki n'iki cyabaye ndeste no kubona abandi batangabuhamya bacyemeza cg bagihakana. Nk'uko tuzabibona nyuma, igice kinini cyahariwe gutahura no guhambura amapfundo n'amacenga by'ubutiriganya bwa politiki bugenda burushaho kuba urusobekerane. Urujya n'uruza rwa bene ubwo butiriganya bwakunze gushobera benshi mu ndorerezi n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo biboneraga gusa ibiri ku karubanda.

Nyamara nubwo ibisobanuro byinshi bigenda bitangwa ndetse n'isesengura rikaba ryarateye intambwe igaragara, Abanyarwanda bagize uruhare mu byabaye (cg ababigiriwe) buri munsi ntibazabura gusigarana ipfunwe ritihishira. Kuri iyi ngingo, simvuga abazarakazwa n'uko isesengura rivuguruza amateka y'amahimbano, ahubwo ndavuga icyuho kizakomeza kuba byanze bikunze hagati y'ibyabaye n'ibishobora kumenyekana. Koko rero, n'ubwo magingo aya bigaragara ko ibikorwa n'ibyemezo by'impande zose tumaze gutahura biri mu

nyurabwenge iboneye, yewe ndetse n'ubwo [tugaragaza ko] ibyaje kuba byinshi byanyuze mu nzira bene byo babaga barateganije, icyo nzibandaho ni ukuntu uko ibihe biha ibindi ibyo abantu babaga bagamije n'ibyo bifuzaga byagiye bihinduka ndetse akenshi ibyo bikagira n'icyo bihindura ku migendekere y'ibyabaye.

Kuri iyi ngingo, sinabura kwibutsa ibyo bamwe mu bo twagiye tuganira kimwe n'abasomye inyandiko zanjye bambwiye kenshi ko hari ibyemezo bimwe byagize ingaruka zikomeye "batari bagambiriye" cg "batari biteze" ndetse bakicuza ko hari igihe barenze kirazira ku buryo butagira igaruriro. Akenshi ibyo babimpereye intangamugabo n'izindi gihamya zidakemangwa. Iyo witegereje neza amahano mburabuntu yabaye n'uruhare bwite cg rusange abantu bayagizemo, usanga ari ngomba guha agaciro bene iyi mvugo nziganyo mu gutsimbataza isesengura rironda umujyo w'ibyabaye uko byagenze aho kwimakaza imigirire imenyerewe yo guhimba injyana nyurabwenge yo gusobanura by'imburagihe isano iri hagati y'ikintu runaka cyabaye n'ingamba zitwa ko zashyiriweho kukigeraho. N'ubwo atari umurimo woroshye, gutahura urujijo ruri – ndetse rudashobora kubura – mu ruhererekane rw'ibyabye ni ngombwa kubanza kumva neza ababigizemo uruhare no gutahura "ukuri nyakuri".

Koko rero, nk'uko ubwinshi bw'ubuhamya bubigaragaza, abanyapolitiki bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bashyamiranaga kubera impamvu nyinshi zirimo ibyo bakoraga ku buryo bugambiriwe, imyanya bari bafite cg se kuri "kamere" ya buri wese.

Kujya inama, gufatanya cg se guhangana byashoboraga kuburizwamo n'ijambo rihubukiwe, umujinya, uruhurirane rutunguranye rw'ibikorwa cg se bigatizwa umurindi n'"amagambo asize umunyu", imvugo y'igikatu cg ubworoherane. Aha umuntu yatanga ingero z'ibyemezo byinshi byagiye bigerwaho nyamara binyuranye n'"inyungu nyakuri" za benshi mubabishyigikiye, kenshi biturutse ku manjwe yo guhatanira imyanya y'icyubahiro cg se kurungurirwa. Bene ibi bintu kenshi ntibihabwa agaciro, cg se bikirengagizwa mu makuru rusange akusanywa, nyamara usanga biba byaragize uruhare rukomeye mu gihe byababaga. Ikindi kandi, abantu benshi twaganiriye bifuje ko nakwibutsa icyuho gikabije cyari mu ruhando rwa politiki ari mu kumenya amakuru ari no mu kumenyera impaka zinyuze mu mucyo wa "demokarasi". Amakimbirane yakuruwe n'intambara yagize ingaruka nyinshi ku bantu, ndetse yadukira amashyaka yari agihuzagurika, ari mu byo gupiganwa hagati yayo, ari no mu byo gushyiraho amabwiriza n'inshingano bigenga buri shyaka n'imikoranire yaryo n'abandi. Abari basanzwe ari abayoboke b'ishyaka rukumbi [MRND], nubwo bamwe bayobotse amashyaka ayirwanya cg ayishyigikiye muri za 1991 na 1992, bakomeje kugirana umubano wa hafi hagati yabo, umubano wari ushingiye ku karere, ku miryango, ku madini, ku bucuti bw'abiganye mu mashuri n'ubw'abahuje ishyaka. Baragenderanaga, bagaturana, bagashyamirana, buri wese akamenya (mu nyito nyirizina n'iziguye) uwo basangiye isano n'ubucuti kimwe n'abakeba n'abo bashyiditse. Urwo rubuga rudasesuye ntirwigeze ruvaho, abantu barahuraga bagasabana basangira mu mpera z'icyumweru cyane cyane mu tubari cg se mu minsi mikuru n'indi mihango, ariko baba basubiye mu kazi ku

wa mbere bagakomeza impaka zubaka cg za ngo turwane ku byo batumvikanaho muri politiki.

Mu gusesengura iby'abayobozi bakuru n'intumwa za FPR, ikirari cy'isesengura kiranyurana gato kubera ko, kabone n'aho hari abo twagiranye umubano wihariye wa bugufi, hariho umuco wa politiki wihariye uranga uwo mutwe w'inyeshyamba. Icyo cyuho kidasibangana hagati y'abayobozi b'imbere mu Rwanda [n'aba FPR Inkotanyi] gishingiye ku bice bibiri : icya mbere kigizwe n'"abasivili", kabone n'iyo babaga bambaye gisirikari; icya kabiri kirangwa n'imikorere ya gisirikari ifite amategeko n'ibihano bikurikizwa kimwe ku buryo budashogosha ku basivili bose binjiye mu gisirikari. Kubera ibyo, gusesengura ingamba abantu bakurikije n'imigambi bari bashyize imbere biroroha cyane kuko bivanaho ku buryo bugaragara ingorane ziterwa n'igihu cy'urujijo rw'ibidateganyijwe kandi bigakoma imbere ubwiganze bw'ibikorwa by'abantu ku giti cyabo. Koko rero, nubwo mu gusuzuma ibiriho no gutangiza igikorwa iki n'iki hashoboraga kubaho kwibeshya cg gukorwa ku buryo bukwanjitse cg bw'imbusane, iyo imigambi yabaga yemejwe n'ibikorwa bigeze hagati, nta kabuza habonekaga gahunda rusange, hakaba ubushake bwa benshi ndetse n'ihururu ryo kuyitabira kuberako "abataye umurongo" bahigikwaga.

Ingingo ngira ngo nsozerezeho ni iy'ubwinshi bw'inyandiko n'ubuhamya biri mu gitabo. Ntabwo ari iby'umurimbo, ahubwo ni intangamugabo n'ibyuzuzo bya ngombwa bisobanura ibyanditswe bitaretse no kugira akandi karusho. Muri izo nyandiko harimo ibintu byihariye - akenshi bitaratangazwa - ariko bikenewe cyane mu kumvikanisha neza ibyabaye. Kubera inyungu n'akamaro kazo, niyemeje guha izo nyandiko umwanya mu gitabo (mu gihe umwanya udahagije, nzigira imigereka iri ku rubuga rwa murandasi rujyana n'igitabo), kugira ngo abasomyi bisuzumire ubwabo ukuri zibumbatiye.

Ibi bituma imyandikire n'igitabo ubwacyo biba koko umwimerere. Koko rero, kugira ngo ushobore gufindura ibintu bimwe bitagaragara neza, cg se ngo werekane urujya n'uruza umuntu atakeka, tugaragaza henshi mu gitabo ibisobanuro byinshi byerekeye ubuzima bwite bw'abantu, imikurikiranire y'ibihe, nb., bituma intego itandukana rwose n'iy'ibitekerezo abasomyi basanzwe bamenyereye. Gushyiraho urubuga rwa murandasi dushishikariza abasomyi kujyaho kenshi dore ko hakusanyirijwe imigereka irenga ijana y'iki gitabo, bifite umugambi umwe. Ku bwanjye nabonaga ari ngombwa ko abazasoma iki gitabo bashobora kwibonera ubwabo intangamugabo "z'umwimerere" zikubiyemo (urugero : inyandiko ziri mu kinyarwanda – cyane cyane za ajenda – ziherekejwe n'isemura mu gifaransa). Ni yo mpamvu na none, iyo ubuhamya bwinshi bwo mu gitabo bubara inkuru y'ibikorwa bimwe, ndabubangikanya kugira ngo ngaragaze aho butandukanira, aho buhuriza n'aho buvuguruzanya.Ibyo kandi bifasha abantu kumenya ibisigaye gukorwa kugira ngo ubuhamya bwose bucukumburwe ku buryo bwuzuye.

Nk'uko umusomyi azabyibonera, isesengura n'igereranya by'amakuru byakozwe ku buryo budakebakeba, nyamara ariko n'ubwo hakozwe ibishoboka byose ari mu gushakira amakuru ahantu hizewe, ari mu kubonera gihamya amakuru twakusanije, ari mu kugenzura no gukosora inyandiko ya nyuma y'iki

gitabo, sinshidikanya ko hariho byanze bikunze amakosa yansobye kimwe n'ibintu bivuzwe ku buryo bugenekereje. Mbaye nsabye abasomyi kubimbabarira.