Ijambo ly'umuhuza bikorwa bya convention ya mbere yahuje imilyango y'abishwe urubozo nyuma y'ihilikwa ly'ubutegetsi mu Rwanda taliki ya 05 nyakanga 1973

Babyeyi, bavandimwe, nshuti, namwe mwese mwaje kudufata mu mugongo,
Nimugire ikaze !

Nta magambo twabona yo gusobanura ibyishimo mwaduteye muli uyu muhango wo guherekeza abacu mu masengesho tumaze gusoza. Mu Kinyarwanda, upfushije abika ku mugaragaro, ngo hato hatazagira inshuti, abavandimwe, umuturanyi ndetse n'undi wese ubyifuza, uzabura mu guherekeza Nyakwigendera. Urupfu rw'abaduteranyilije aha, rwali amabanga ya Leta. Ibikwa lyabo ntilyigeze libaho mu manyakuli. Ibyo byali binyuranyije n'umuco nyarwanda, n'amategeko y'IMANA ndetse no gushyira mu gaciro bisanzwe. Bwali kandi ubulyo bwo guhishira amahano yakorerwaga mu gikali cy'ubumwe n'amahoro.

Abacu baduteranyilije aha uyu munsi, si bose bali abanyapolitique nkuko biswe. Nkuko umusilikare uzize impanuka, aba ataguye ku rugamba, n'abanyapolitique balimo si politique bazize. Abaduteranyilije hano bose bazize ubunyamaswa bwali bwaralitse mu bwonko bw'ababacishije mu lyoya. Abo kandi, mbere yo gukora ayo mahano, nta nama n'imwe izwi, bakoresheje imilyango yabo bwite cyangwa abakomoka mu karere bavukagamo. Umaze guherekeza uwe, umuco wacu umutegeka gutandukana nawe akabifashwamo n'umuhango wo kuyaga cyangwa gukaraba itaka. Ibyo bîbukira kuli Nyakwigendera, iminsi ye ya nyuma, bikaganirwaho, bagasoza icyo gihe cy'ishavu, ubuzima bugakomeza. Ni muli uwo mwanya, habazwa birambuye ibibazo. Byatangiye bite? Yararembye? Yigendeye lyali? N'ibindi.

Imibereho ya nyuma y'abacu, yagizwe kadakomwa (tabou) ku mpamvu zavuzwe haruguru. Ingaruka mbi cyane yabyo, ni uko, aho kugira ngo dutandukane nabo, byabafungiye mu mitwe yacu. Uyu munsi ni intangiliro yo gukuraho ubwo budakomwa. Iyo mibereho tuyiziho bike. Hali abayizi kuturusha, tulifuza gufatanya kubimenya, kuko nabo, bakeneye kudakomeza kuba imbohe z'ayo mabanga y'umubyeyi w'igihugu. Ikindi kandi ni uko umuntu muli kamere ye yibagirwa icyo azi, yamenye. Ubwo burenganzira bwa buli wese, kuli bamwe, bukanaba n'inshingano y'ukwemera kwacu kw'ikiragano gishya cya Bibliya, twarabuvukijwe.

Taliki ya 5 nyakanga 1973, uwazindutse yigize umukiza ndetse n'umubyeyi w'igihugu kuli radio : agahinduka Uruberangabo mu basilikare, kuli twe nkuko abatugezagaho inkôngôro y'ubumwe n'amahoro yali yatugeneye, batubwiraga ko ali Nyilitaka. **Hejuru y'abapolisi b'ibitekerezo, yinjije mu mitwe y'Abanyarwanda, akoresheje animation, propagande n'iterabwoba twali duhuliyeho ; by'umwihaliko, twagizwe imfungwa ze ku misozi abaduteranyilije aha bakomokagaho. Twali dufite ba Mwumvaneza badushinzwe. Ibitureba byose, byitwaga amabanga y'igihugu, aliko mu by'ukuli, yali amabanga ya Nyilitaka, kuko ayo mategeko U-Rwanda rutigeze ruyagira.**

Nta kwezi Nyilitaka afashe igihugu, aba mbere mu baduteranyilije aha bahise banyuzwa mu lyoya. Abafasha babo bamenyeshejwe urupfu rw'abo bali barashakanye muli kanama 1973 : nibwo presidence yamenyesheje umufasha w'uwabimbuliye abandi kwamburwa ubuzima, ko uwo bali barashakanye yanogotse. Presidence yamukuye iwe, banyura kuli komine bamusabira laissez-passer imuvana muli komine ye. Agezwa kuli prefecture, ahabwa ihamukura ajya kuli présidence, aho yahawe uburenganzira bwo kujya ku Gisenyi. Nta kabulimbo zali zakagera mu mihanda miremire yanyuzemo. **Byatumye agera ku Gisenyi igicuku kinihira, amenyeshwa ko uwo bashakanye yashyinguwe. Bamuha isaha yo ku kaboko yambaraga, ategekwa kuruca akarumira, ategereza ko bucya, arakimirana arataha. Umubyeyi wa kabili, ali nawe wabikiwe bwa nyuma, nawe urugendo ni uko rwamugendekeye. Ntiyigeze anahingukilizwa ko uwo bali barashakanye apfutse amaso n'igitambaro, abohewe amaboko inyuma nka bagenzi be, bali bicaranye mu ikamyo ya gisilikare, bimuliwe mu Ruhengeli, yagiye ahondaho umusaya ku ipneu ya reserve y'iyo kamyo, yataka abasilikare bagakubita ; bigeza ubwo ashiramo umwuka.**

Cyakora, hali abihanduzacumu bake cyane barenze kuli ilyo tegeko, bakikora mu gicuku, n'akenda cyangwa akandi kantu k'uwo aje kubika, agakomangira umufasha we, akamubwira ko byarangiye, atamuzi, ataligeze amubona. Abitewe gusa n'uko nawe ali umubyeyi. Yifuza ko aliwe bibayeho, umulyango we wabimenyeshwa. **Ubwiwe, yararucaga akarumira, agashinga amavi mu cyumba, agasabira uwo babaga barashakanye. Nta kuyagirwa, ntagukaraba itaka nkuko tulimo kubikora. Ngo utoneka uwo asuzuguye, agira ati : « *Cyinsize amashyira*». Mu gihe Nyilitaka yabaga alimo gutegeka ayo mahano, uwo mubyeyi w'igihugu kuli radio, mu mpera z'umwaka, yabaga atanga imbabazi ku mfungwa. Akajya mu kiliziya, akicara ku ntebe y'imbere, ukaristiya agahazwa, divayi akirenza, bwacya agasohoka mu mvaho ku rupapuro rwa mbere.**

Hali na none imponoke zasohowe muri gereza ya Ruhengeli. Mu ibanga likomeye, zajyaga zitanga ubuhamya ku bunyamaswa zabaga zaraboneyemo. Umwe nzi nta gihembwe yamaze hanze. Abandi bagiye batabaruka nyuma, emwe hali n'abakiliho. Mu buzima busanzwe nabo, wasangaga, limwe na limwe, byali kuba byiza iyo bigendera, bakiruhukira. **Babonye byinshi, bilimo nko kwinjira muri kasho itabona, akumva ibintu bitose. Yakoraho akihumuliza akumva ni amaraso. Yakora ku nkuta, agasanga hamanitseho akaboko cyangwa ibiganza by'umuntu, bijojoba amaraso. Ni ugupfa uhagaze.** N'ubwo babaga batakili muli gereza, uwatabarukaga ishyingurwa lye lyabaga ali amabanga ya leta, kimwe n'ubukwe busanzwe cyangwa undi muhango, presidence ntiyahaburaga haba mu gihe cy'amahoro cyangwa U-Rwanda ruli mu ntambara. Nubwo nta liste wabasangaho, tuli kumwe nabo hano kuko tudatandukanya uwo aliwe wese wazize aliya mahano.

Muli make, nguko uko abaduteranyilije aha, babujijwe kujya mu Isi yabo, bafungirwa na Nyilitaka mu mitwe y'ababo. Nyilitaka amaze guhura n'imikâka y'Isi, bamwe muli twe twabashije kwigobotara abapolisi be bo mu mutwe, yali yalinjije mu

Banyarwanda. **Kuba tuli aho dushobora gufata uburenganzira bwacu, ntawe tugomba kubyakira uruhusa. Ntawe kandi twumva dukomeretsa, uretse ugifata nk'ukuli, sinema y'ikinyoma cya politique ya Bukolikoli bwa Nzikoraho, ali we Nyilitaka.**

Byaje gute ngo abaduteranyilije aha, barare ali Abanyarwanda nk'abandi, aliko ni bucya taliki ya 05 nyakanga 1973, bahindurwe abanzi b'amahoro, batangire bicwe urubozo, bunyamaswa ? Guhera umwaka wa 1972, U-Rwanda rwatangiye kurangwa n'urukulikirane rw'ibikorwa binyuranyije n'amategeko y'igihugu byali bigamije guha amateka y'U-Rwanda, umuvuduko utali usanzwe. Ibyo bikorwa byarangwaga kandi no kongerera ubutegetsi n'ingufu umugaba w'ingabo w'icyo gihe, bigahindanya kandi bigasuzuguza umukuru w'igihugu na Leta yali ayoboye, kugeza ubwo akurwa ku buyobozi bw'igihugu yali asigaranye. Iyo utondekanyije ibyo bikorwa ukulikije amataliki byakoreweho; ukagenda wongeramo ibyo umukuru w'igihugu yakoraga ngo agarure igihugu mu ntego yali yalihaye, -aliyo kubohora abana b'IMANA n'inshingano yo kongera no gusaranganya ibyiza by'igihugu- ; ugafata n'ibikorwa bya Bukolikoli bwa Nzikoraho, ubwo atangiye kulyalyatwa n'irali ly'ubutegetsi, yadukanye intego y'uko ntawe uragira izo adakama. Ukageza taliki ya 11 kamena 1975, ubwo akoresheje iteka no c556101, yemereraga abanyapolitiques, abasilikare, abakozi ba leta, gushora amafaranga mu bikorwa bibyara inyungu, bakilinda gusa kutabicunga buli munsi, uhita ubona impamvu nyamukuru y'uwa 5 nyakanga 1973. Kandi ukuye uwa 05-07-1973 kuli urwo rutonde, ntukuremo ishyaka lyayoboraga igihugu, nta Mukuru w'U-Rwanda washoboraga gusinya liliya teka ngo no mu ijambo lye abwire Abanyarwanda ngo abasilikare ni abaturage basanzwe, nabo bemerewe gushaka no gutunga ibintu kuko nta masezerano y'ubukene (vœux de pauvreté) basinye. Inshingano nk'iyi, yo kwigabiza ibyiza by'igihugu kw'abakomeye nta shema itera. Byabaye ngombwa ko uwa 05 nyakanga 1973 usatirwa, Bukolikoli ayihishiliye n'intego ye ikeye.

Icyo nicyo gisobanuro cy'ibikorwa twavuze haruguru. Lyali ikinamico cyangwa sinema yakomeje na nyuma y'iliya taliki. Ubusanzwe, abakora sinema biba koko ali umukino. Muli sinema y'agahomamunwa ya Bukolikoli bwa Nzikoraho, abakinnyi bali abantu basanzwe, bumva, bareba, bahumeka kandi batekereza. Ubwo muli sinema upfuye none, ejo ashobora gukina indi cyangwa ikaba n'iya nyuma ; muli sinema y'agahomamunwa ya Nyilitaka uwapfaga byabaga birangiye. **Uwicishijwe inzara, koko ikamunogonora. Uwo bakonesheje amashanyarazi bikaba ali ukuli. Uhambwe abona, akaba neza neza areba kandi atabaza ! Bukolikoli bwa Nzikoraho yali yaravukanye impano idasanzwe yo kuzambya icyo akozeho cyose. Akagira ubugenge bwo gukora hafi ya byose uko bidakorwa. Nta soni kandi byamuteraga kubeshya, n'ibyo n'umwana abona ko ali ikinyoma.**

Ingero ni nyinshi, aliko tugaruke kuli izi ebyili z'urukozasoni. Ngo taliki 04 nyakanga 1973, -ubwo kuli bamwe mu baduteranyilije aha, bo, ihilikwa ly'ubutegetsi lyali lyabagezeho-, ngo yaba yarashakishijwe n'umukuru w'igihugu kuva saa ine z'amanywa, kugeza mu gicuku. Uwo munsi, yaba umukuru w'igihugu n'abafasha be, nta n'umwe wibutse ko igihugu gitunze za kajugujugu, ngo ayimwohererereze cyangwa

ngo abwire muramu we wali ushinzwe itumanaho mu ngabo, amuhamagare cyangwa ahamagare ku kigo cyegereye umugaba w'ingabo, utarashoboraga kuboneka, mu bihe by'umutekano muke ! Umurashi, ahamya ikintu kili muli metero 400 n'imbunda isanzwe. Yaba afite ibikoresho, no muli metero 1800, ntahusha. Umurashi kandi ashobora kumara amasaha 24 yihishe, yubikiye icyo ategereje. Mu mugani w'ikinyoma cya Leta ya Bukolikoli ; ngo yaba yarageze ku icumbi ly'umukuru w'igihugu ku ma saha umukuru w'igihugu yali akili ku kazi muli présidence. Bukolikoli kuli ayo ma saha, wali nawe mu biro by'umukuru w'igihugu, yabonye umurashi capitaine Bizimana wali mu rugo iwe, amubona yihishe ku icumbi ly'umukuru w'igihugu, nyamara capitaine Bizimana atarahakandagije ikirenge cye uwo munsi. Ali muli présidence, bamwe mu bakozi bakuru ba Leta bali kumwe aho, Bukolikoli ababona nabo ku icumbi ly'umukuru w'igihugu bagambiliye kumwica. Agigana nabo, umurashi capitaine Bizimana amuhusha ubugira gatatu, nta metero 5 zibatandukanyije! Hali abemera ko igiti kibaho, bakumva uyu mugani ushoboka. Birasaba aliko ibisobanuro ukuntu icyo giti cyamulinze amasasu amwegereye, kitabashije kumulinda aturutse mu bilometero, cyangwa ngo ayakwepe ubugira kabili, ali mu kirere aliko yanageze iwe muli salon! Bukolikoli, umutangabuhamya umwe rukumbi w'ilyo joro ly'uwa 5 nyakanga 1973, mu bugeni bwe iyo avuga uko uwo munsi wagenze : uwise « umunsi nta kintu na kimwe cyagenze uko ubusanzwe bigenda », ntabwo waba ubeshye.

Mbere yo guhorahoza abaduteranyilije aha, Bukolikoli yabanje kubita agatsiko k'inkozi z'ibibi, izina rusange likaba abanzi b'amahoro. Ibi bikaba byali bigamije gutegura ko kwamburwa ubuzima imburagihe hakoreshejwe iyicwa rubozo bizakirwe neza. **Ayo mazina uretse kubahindanya, yanahise abica mu buzima busanzwe. Bivuze ko icyo bakorerwa cyose, cyali kiza, ntanugomba kugira icyo abyibazaho.** Uretse ibaruwa imwirukana ku kazi, umwanzi w'amahoro yabonaga n'indi ya Bukolikoli, imutegeka kuva muli Kigali, kuko adashakwa (élément indésirable dans la ville de Kigali). Uwo mwanzi w'igihugu, nta n'utinyuka kumwimura. Umugore w'umwanzi w'igihugu, wabyaye none abazwe, agombe asohoke mu bitaro ahite ava muli Kigali. Umwana w'umwanzi w'igihugu, nta burenganzira agira ku rukingo, kandi igihugu kizibona ari imfashanyo. Keretse iyo ibitaro bili muli komine avukamo. Naho ubundi, hagomba laissez-passer ngo asohoke muli komine, yake uruhusa kuli prefecture rwo kujya mu yindi komine cyangwa rwo kujya kwaka uruhusa ku biro bya Bukolikoli rwo gusohoka muli préfecture, iyo ibitaro byabaga bili mu yindi prefecture. **Ingaruka ni impfu cyangwa ubumuga nk'imbasa bitali ngombwa byibasiye impinja z'abagizwe abanzi b'amahoro.**

I Gitarama hali hafi kuli benshi mu baduteranyilije aha, hali huzuye ibohero batashoboraga gucika. Bukolikoli yabanje kuvana abagororwa bali ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeli, alibazanamo, abaduteranyilije aha abajyana aho abo bali bafungiye, kure y'imilyango yabo, nayo ifungiye ku misozi bakomokagaho. Mu bushishozi bwe, byali bikwiye kandi binatunganye ko, amabanga y'igihugu asakara mu bagororwa ba gereza ya Ruhengeli, bakoresheje intiku; Nyilitaka yibereye munsi y'umutavu anuguna. **Mu bushishozi bwe, Uruberangabo yasanze abasivili bagomba kuburanishwa batunganiwe mu rukiko rudasanzwe rwa gisilikare, rutagiraga urwego**

rw'ubujulire. Arushyiraho taliki 27 kanama 1973. Taliki 07 kamena 1974, ka gatsiko Kayibanda yavugaga guhera werurwe 1973, kashakaga gufata ubutegetsi kakanamena amaraso, gasaba Abanyarwanda gukomera ku mahoro, no kutita ku cya batanya. Taliki 12 kamena 1974 imanza ziratangira. Benshi mu baduteranyilije aha, mu ibazwa, bashyiliwe ku ngoyi ibikorwa twavuze haruguru, byamburaga Kayibanda buhoro buhoro ubutegetsi bikanamusuzuguza. **Mu bantu barenga 60 bazwi bali bafashwe, 35 bonyine nibo muli icyo gihe kitageze ku kwezi, banyuze imbere y'urwo rukiko. Taliki ya 02 nyakanga 1974, Nyakwigendera Kayibanda na batandatu mu baduteranyilije aha, bakatirwa urwo kunyongwa. Taliki 05 nyakanga 1974, ngo kubera impamvu zo gutekereza n'ubwiyunge (réflexion et réconciliation), umubyeyi w'igihugu abafunga burundu. Taliki 19 z'uko kwezi abishyira mu itegeko.**

Nyilitaka aliko we, asesa urukiko rutarangije akazi karwo, ategeka ko hafatwa akanyundo bagatangira kubacoca. N'ubwo bicwaga n'intiganda, hakulikijwe amabwiliza ya Nyilitaka-Uruberangabo, -aliwe mubyeyi w'igihugu-, ngo ntacyo yarabutswe. Birumvikana kuko yali ahugiye mu gufungura no kuzamura mu ntera, ndetse no kugira ibyegera bye, abo muli sinema ye yali yarashinze gutwika igihugu guhera taliki 15 gashyantare 1973. **Iyicarubozo lyarushijeho gukara. Abashizemo umwûka imirambo ikajugunywa mu kiyaga cya Karago, mu Rwâbayanga cyangwa igatabwa i Nyamagumba n'ahandi.**

Arangajwe no gukama akamasa, Nyilitaka yibagiwe kugena iminsi abaduteranyilije aha batatu bagombaga kuvira kuli iyi Isi. Muli 1978, Uruberangabo ahinduranyije intiganda yo kuyobora gereza ya Ruhengeli, inshyashya yabajije icyo ikoresha abo bantu, batagiraga dossier. Uwo yali asimbuye amubwira ko iyo dossier ireba Uruberangabo ubwe. Yatse amabwiliza yo gukulikiza kuli icyo kibazo. Nyilitaka yamubwiranye uburakali ko uwo mwanda yarazi ko utakiba aho. Umuyobozi mushya yabajije uko ubusanzwe bikorwa. Atangira kubishyira mu bikorwa. **Igihe cyo gushyingura cyagera akajya yaka umukuru w'ikigo cya gisilikare cya Ruhengeli, intiganda zo guherekeza abanyururu bakajyana umurâmbo mu mva babaga bacukuye ku manywa. Nibyo.**

Babyeyi, bavandimwe, nshuti zacu muduteranyilije hano uyu munsi,
Igikomeye turagikoze !

Tumaze kubaherekeresha amasengesho. Abanyu n'inshuti zanyu kandi, babidufashijemo nkuko umuco ubidutegeka. Tuliruhukije, aliko intambwe iracyali ndende kuko dukeneye kandi twiyemeje kumenya imibereho yanyu ya nyuma, tukiha uburenganzira twavukijwe bwo kwibagirwa. Nkuko twâbishyize mu itangazo libabika, twiyemeje na none kubagarulira icyubahiro cya muntu mwateshejwe ku bulyo budasubirwaho ubwo umufasha w'umwe mwatabarukanye, yinjijwe muli gereza n'uruhinja yaramaze kwibaruka. **Icyubahiro cya muntu cyanyu na none cyaranyukanyutswe ubwo abali n'abategarugoli mwali mubohanywe, bategekwaga kwiyambura, imbere y'abasilikare babashyiraga amasegereti acanye mu gituza, akazimywa n'umushongi w'ibikomere by'ubushye. Icyubahiro**

cya muntu cyayoyotse na none ubwo imbohe z'abagabo zategekwaga kwiyambura, zikanyuzwa amashanyarazi mu bugabo, hakoreshejwe *radios de campagne* za gisilikare. Dukomeye kandi ku cyubahiro cya muntu, kubera urugero rw'ubutwali no gupfa kigabo kandi umuntu yambaye, Agnès, umukobwa uzwi waguye muli gereza yadusigiye. Apfutse igitambaro, yimuliwe mu Ruhengeli. Agnès yinjiye muli gereza aziko musaza we yaguye muli urwo rugendo. Abyalira muli gereza. We, Ntaganzwa na Nyabuhene bibagiranira muli gereza. **Muli 1978, Uruberangabo ategeka ko bahorahozwa.** Isahane ye ihinduka agapfundikizo ka primus. Yimwa amazi, ategereza umunsi we wa nyuma. Mu ntege nke yali asigaranya, yasabye abagororwa bagenzi be urushinge n'urudodo. Barabimuboneye. Ikanzu ye arayikata, ayidodamo ikabutura ategereza urupfu ayambaye. Byamulinze kwandagara kurushaho. **Ubwo mu minsi mirongo itanu irenga ategereje ko inzara imunogonora, abambali yohererezwaga n'umubyeyi w'igihugu bamuhonyoraga yambaye.**

- Duhereye kuli aba bagororwa, tukanyura kuli zimwe mu ntumwa za Nyilitaka, zilinze gufata no kubohera bamwe mu baduteranyilije aha imbere y'ibitambambuga, imbere y'imilyango yabo, mu isoko, cyangwa misa irangiye;
- Tukanyura ku bagererwa bahaga Kayibanda icyubahiro cye, aboshywe ajyanywe mu ibazwa ;
- Tutirengagije bamwe muli bake cyane mu ntumwa z'Uruberangabo, babikiye cyangwa bagejeje ku milyango yabo akantu, ako aliko kose bahawe na ba Nyakwigendera ;
- Ntitwibagirwe n'intwali yanze kujya muli Leta yakoraga ayo mahano, ndetse niya sohotsemo kubera ayo mahano ;

Turabibashimiye tubikuye ku mutima.

Kuli uyu munsi, turashimira byimazeyo :

- Abaturanyi bo ku misozi dukomokaho,
- Kimwe n'abantu abo alibo bose batigeze bemera ko twali abanzi b'amahoro, bakatwakira kandi bakadufasha nk'abavandimwe n'inshuti, cyangwa abantu basanzwe, bakadukoreshaho amategeko asanzwe.

Turashimira na none inshuti zikomoka mu gihugu hose, zirengagije sinema, zigatinyuka kwisiga icyaha nka kiliya, zikatubera nyanshuti cyangwa abafasha.

Ntidushobora kwibagirwa gushimira uwo aliwe wese watugaye bikadutinyura cyangwa bikaduhwitulira gutegura no kugera kuli uyu munsi. Nkaba nsoje nongera gushimira buli wese wawitabiliye kimwe n'utabishoboye aliko akatuzilikana.

Murakarama !

Bruxelles, kuwa 16 kanama 2014

Munyandamutsa Alphonse
Umuhuza bikorwa by'uyu munsi