Ukuli niyo "*ciment*" y' ubumwe bw' umutamenwa

Maze kumva ibisobanuro, Eugène Ndahayo, umunyamateka akaba n' umunyapolitike, yatanze ku mpamvu z' ikenyuka ry' ubutegetsi yise ubw'Abahutu; na maze gusoma uburyo Madeleine Bicamumpaka, niba ntibeshya, akaba ari umunyamakuru ndetse akaba anaboneka mu mashyirahamwe no muri politike y' u Rwanda mu buhungiro; nifuje guhita ngaragaza icyo nakuye mu bitekerezo byabo. Cyane cyane ibirebana na Nyakwigendera Aminadab Kanani, wishwe nyuma y' ifata ku ngufu ry' ubutegetsi n' abasilikare bari bayobowe na Général-Major Juvénal Habyarimana. Ntibyankundiye kubera ko akanya kambanye ingume.

Ubwo M.Ndahayo asanga isesengura ry' byabaye cg ibyahimbwe bikitwa amateka, ari shinganwa ngo politike yubakirwe ku rutare rw' ukuli, Mme Bicamumpaka yumva ibyo byakurura amakimbirane hagati y' uturere. Bikaba byaba ari bibi mu gihe i Gihugu kiri mu kangaratete. Muri iyi nyandiko ndagaragaza inyungu ziri mu kumenya ejo hashize, ngo ejo hazaza hitegurwe neza, amakosa yakozwe Rubanda ibashe kuyizibukira. Ndanatanga ibyo nkeka ko abanyapolitike babicengeye, hari intambwe byateza u Rwanda na Rubanda. Alphonse Munyandamutsa

Abakurambere bacu baravuze ngo "***abishyize hamwe, Imana irabasanga***". Icyo gikorwa cyo kwisuganya, abantu bakunga ubumwe n' Imana ikaba ibishyigikiye, nta muntu ushyira mu gaciro wakirwanya. Mu nyandiko, ku maradiyo,...etc Abanyarwanda barimo kugushishikariza abandi. Bikaba ari ikimenyetso ko nta bumwe buhagije buri hagati yabo. Akaba kandi atari ibya none aha. Haba ku gihe cya Cyami na nyuma yaho, iyo ntero yamye iriho. Abari ku butegetsi na Rubanda bagiye bitabiriza abandi ubumwe batigeze bumwa kimwe. Muri rusange:

– Umwami n' abari bahagarariye Cyami bumvaga ko ubumwe byasobanuraga kubahiriza itegeko rivuye hejuru. Wakopfora, ukaba ubaye urumampfu rurwanya ubumwe bw' Inyabutatu Nyarwanda (Abahutu, Abatutsi n' Abatwa). Umuti ukaba wari ukururandura rugatwikwa[1];

– Rubanda n' abavugizi bayo bumvaga ko ubumwe ari umwe mu bigize umutungo rusange w' Abanyarwanda ndetse n' Ikiremwa-muntu aho kiva kikagera; kuko bemeraga ko umuntu wese yaremwe n' Imana mu ishusho yayo. Ibyo bikaba bibagira Abavandimwe, cg Abana b' Imana[2].

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[1] **Ku Bwami:** imiryango ibiri y' Abatutsi; naho ku Mwaduko w' Abazungu ya miryango ibiri, abana b' abatware n' Abakoloni nibo bari bafite ingufu n' ubutegetsi,... (hard power), bari no mu mwanya wo gushyira iriya principe y' ubumwe mu bikorwa biturutse mu bushorishori bw'ubuyobozi bw' i Gihugu. Ubwami bwanakoreshaga Abanyempara b' i Bwami (medium de Ryangombe) nk' ubutegetsi bwiyorobetse (soft power) ngo bashimangire icyo bitaga ubumwe na hard power. Abazungu bagakoresha, iterambere mu muco (gusoma no kwandika...), muri tekinologie (intwaro, inyubako,...) mu idini, etc. nka soft power. Ubwo bumwe bushingiye ku kwinangira, iterabwoba n' uburyarya bwarasandaye hameneka amaraso, igihugu gicura imiborogo.

Mu turere twarwanyaga u Bwami mbere y' umwaduko w' Abazungu cg mu myaka ya mbere yawo: mu Gisaka no mu Majyaruguru, ingufu n' ubutegetsi byari mu maboko y' abategetsi gakondo naho ubutegetsi bwiyorobetse buri mu maboko y' abamedium ba Nyabingi, bari bafite ubwisanzure kurusha aba Ryangombe bumviraga Umwami, wari nk'imana yo ku isi.

Muri za 1912, Igikomangoma Ndungutse wa Rutalindwa (wari waraguye ku Rucunshu) ateye Musinga yari kumwe na Nyiramuhumuza, umupadirikazi wa Nyabingi (aho kuba mushikiwe nk' uko nigeze kubyandika ahandi muri 2004). Abapadiri Bera babyita Révolution ya Nyabingi. Ivugururwa ry' ubutegetsi bemezaga ko bari buzakore, ryagombaga kuvanaho akarenganyo rikaba ryari ikindi gikoresho cyo kunga ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda.

Intambara y' *Inyenzi* no kutumva kimwe politike mu turere twose tw' u Rwanda, ayo matwara ntanashyirwe mu bikorwa uko yatekerejwe, byazitiye ko ubwo bumwe bugerwaho;

– Abasilikare bakuru bishyize hamwe guhera 1968, bakambura Rubanda ubutegetsi bwayo kuwa 05.07.1973, nabo bari bafite imyumvire yabo y' ubumwe muri Repubulika bafomojemo amahame yayo. Mu magambo, bashakaga ubumwe bita bwa kivandimwe, nk' Abana b' u Rwanda. Bijya gusa no haruguru ko abagiranaga ubwo bumwe, kubera ubuvandimwe bwo kuvuka mu gihugu kimwe, baba bareshyaga imbere y' amategeko[3]. Mu bikorwa wasangaga ubwo bumwe bisobanura kutitambika imbere y' inyungu zabo bwite[4];

– FPR n' APR baza bavuga ubumwe nk' ubu. Ibikorwa byabo byo bikagaragaza ko abayobozi nyakuri b' u Rwanda (l'état profond cg **leta yihishe muri leta**) bagomba kunga ubumwe, ahasigaye bakumvisha Abanyarwanda ko kubahiriza inyungu *leta yihishe muri Leta* ishaka aribwo bumwe[5].

Muri make, Umwami n' ibikomangoma; Yuvenali Habyarimana n' abambari be; Paul Kagame na leta yahishe muri Leta nyakuri iriho; bamwe ku giti cyabo, bumvako ubumwe ari ugusigasira inyungu zabo bwite hagati yabo mu bushorishori bw' i Gihugu. Rubanda bakayumvisha mu magambo ko igizwe n' Abavandimwe: Bene Kanyarwanda. Tukaba twabwita ubumwe bw' abifite, biyegereza Rubanda ngo inyungu zabo zidacubangana. Tunabwise ingirwa-bumwe nta kinyoma cyaba kirimo:

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[2] **Kuri Repubulika:** Abarwanashyaka bumvikanye ko ubutegetsi bushyikirizwa Rubanda, bose bibaturutse; mo bakunga ubumwe bya kivandimwe. Mu gice kimwe cy' u Rwanda bushyirwa koko mu maboko ya Rubanda, mu kindi busubira mu y'Abakuru b' imiryango yari yarabwambuwe muri za 1920. Imibanire ikaba umutware (n' ibyegera bye) n' ''abagaragu'' be. (relation: chef et son obligé). Ubwo "bumwe" nabwo bwarasandaye.

[3] Umuhanga JJ Rousseau yatanze urugero rushushanya ikigaragaza ko abantu bareshya imbere y' amategeko. Ncishilije yaragize ati:'' *Niba akana kinjiye mu iduka n' udusentimu twako, kaje kugura akabombo; hakinjira igikomerezwa (notaire,etc) afite ingufu za muntu n' izimitungo ye, n' amafranga atagira ingano, nawe azanywe no guhaha, Nyiriduka nabanza kwakira udusenti twa ka kana kuko ariko kaje mbere, akagaha bombon yako kakigendera, icyo gihe imbere y' amategeko ka kana na cyagikomerezwa bazaba bareshya.*''

[4] **Kuri Repubulika yafomojwemo amahame yayo:** Ubumwe buturutse mu bushorishori bw' i Gihugu bwaratanzwe. Byatangiye Abatutsi n' Abahutu bamwe babanje gusahurwa, gutwikirwa, kwirukanwa ku mirimo no koherezwa ishyanga (ku Batutsi). Ababuhaga Abanyarwanda, ntibigeze bakoresha ubucamanza cg indi nzira nka hard power bari bafite ngo bakosore, ibyo bari bakoresheje *comités de salut public* zari inyuma y' ayo marorerwa. Kayibanda na bamwe mu bemeraga kandi baharaniraga ko Rubanda ariyo nyir' ubutegetsi, barimo banyongwa. Repubulika igeza ubwo ihinduka akalima ka Habyarimana. Akoresheje hard power na soft power cyane cyane animation, asindisha Rubanda ubumwe. Bugiye gusandara bugusha kuri Génocide, itorongera n' iyicwa ry' impunzi mu mashyamba hirya no hino, etc.

[5] **Kuri mafia** yasimbuye Habyarimana: hatari ho iterabwoba ry' abasilikare ku misozi, abambuwe ibyabo n' abo " bita ko biyunze" 99.99%; abafungiye ubusa; abakwa imisoro yo kunezeza runaka uri muri mafiya, ababona abana baba mu mihanda batwikwa cg bajugunyirwa ingona, etc. basandaza iyo ngirwa bumwe. Kandi niyo maherezo.

Amateka atwereka ko ubumwe budaturutse muri Rubanda, ngo bukomoke muri buri muntu imbere muri we (intrinsèque) icyo bwamariye u Rwanda ari icuraburindi, inkongi, imiborogo, ubuhunzi n' imeneka ry' amaraso. Iyi mpamvu irahagije ngo hashakishwe ubundi buryo bwo kubaka ubumwe, nk' umutungo rusange (bien commun) nk' uko byigishwa n' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* (Justice sociale chrétienne) yari yageneye Rubanda n'ubutegetsi yari yihitiye mo cg hubahirijwe ubwitwararike busesuye (Morale Universelle).

– Umwami yari nyir' ibintu byose, akica agakiza, agacungirwa n'ibikomangoma. Imibanire hagati y' Abanyarwanda yari iy' umutegetsi n' utegekwa mu iterabwoba, nti byari ubumwe. Kuko mu ntangiriro ubutegetsi Umwami yari yarabuhawe n' inkota ye n' icumu rye. Nyuma imigani ibyita ko avukana imbuto kuko Imana iba yamuhisemo ngo ayobore Rubanda nayo yari mu mitungo ye[6]. **Utegekwa akabyemera kuko yatsinzwe**. Mu kubandwa ariko (soft power) Rubanda n' abayikuriye bakumvishwa ko mu isi y' Abazimu bareshyaga, mu gihe mu iy' abantu, ibinyita byabo byambikwaga Kalinga.

– Mu ijambo rya Ministre Nsekalije (uwari uwa gatatu mu bugambanyi bwo kuwa 05.07.1973) aho yagize ati: " *Umwana wa Bourgmestre ntiyabura umwanya mu ishuli kandi avunika ayubaka" ;* iragaragaza neza isura y' ubumwe bw' icyo gihe. Umuturage nawe yitabiraga gutanga imisoro, agatanga umuganda wo kubaka ayo mashuri, etc. Ni nawe wari ukennye kurusha Bourgmestre, nta bushobozi bwo kurihira umwana we amashuri yigenga. Niba ariwe utsinze ikizami cyo kwinjira mu ishuri ryisumbuye, mu gihugu abantu bashyize hamwe kandi bangana imbere y' amategeko, uwo mwana niwe wagombaga kujya kwiga. Nsekalije ntiyigeze abyamaganirwa. Bivuzeko ubumwe Habyarimana yari ashyigikiye bwari hagati y' abamucungira Rubanda mu kuyikoresha mu gusigasira inyungu ze na bagenzi be. Animation(soft power) ariko ikumvisha abaturage ko bose bareshya imbere y' amategeko kandi bunze ubumwe.

– Ingero z' ingirwa-bumwe Kagame na *leta yihishe muri Leta* bashishikariza Abanyarwanda bugaragarira nko mu ivangura ry' impfubyi n' abapfakazi, mu gucucura Rubanda ngo Nkunzi avuyarare, mu kwikoreza Rubanda uruboho rw' imyenda itagize icyo iyimariye, mu kuyitatanya ngo babone uko bayiyobora, … n' ibindi. Mu mvugo, mu ndilimbo n' imbyino, amadini amukorera cg atinya ingaruka yagira avuze ukuri (ibyo bikaba biyagira soft power ye), ubumwe bwasendereye i Gihugu.

Iruhande rw' ubumwe hagati y' ibikomerezwa n' abifite (élites), habayeho n' ubumwe hagati y' Abanyarwanda hakurikijwe uko Rubanda yabwumvaga. Ikoresheje indorerwamo z' ***Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*** (La Justise Sociale Chrétienne), Rubanda yashyize Abanyarwanda bose ku rugero rumwe, umuyobozi aho kuba umutegetsi akaba umugaragu wa Rubanda (serviteur du Peuple)[7], bose bakunga ubumwe bushingiye ku buvandimwe bw' Abana b' Imana. Ubumwe bwubakiye ku mahame y'Ivanjiri, butambutse ubwo muri ubu buzima bufatika, bukanagera mu bw' abatakiri kuri iy'isi.

Duhinnye amagambo, twavuga ko iyo Rubanda yasabaga ubumwe yabaga yaka ubw' Abanyarwanda (ndetse n' abandi baturanyi babo aho bava bakagera) nk' Abana b' Imana kuko baremwe mu ishusho yayo. Haba imbere y' amategeko abareshyeshya ku isi ndetse no mu buzima buri inyuma y' ubu bwo ku isi, ubwo buvandimwe n' ubumwe burakomeza. Uyu akaba ariwo mwikamire(essence) w' ubumwe bwa Rubanda. Rubanda ikaba yari hejuru y'Ibikomerezwa n' abifite (élites) **bubahirizaga** *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu.* Izo Élites zikayibera abagaragu. Mu gihe ubutegetsi bwari mu maboko y'ibikomerezwa n' abifite (élites), – akaba ari nako biri ubu – , umwikamire w' ubumwe aba ari ukwisuganya hejuru mu bushorishori bw' ubutegetsi, ubundi Ibikomerezwa n' abifite bakinyunyuriza Rubanda, bayumvisha ko bunze ubumwe kandi bareshya:

– mu isi y' abazimu, hakoreshwaga imihango yo kubandwa ku birebana n' ubwami,
– no muri iyi si hakoreshejwe animation (Habyarimana), n' ibisa nkayo (Kagame), amadini akorera ubutegetsi bwo ku isi aho gukorera Ubuhoraho bwo mu Ijuru.

Amateka y' u Rwanda yashatse ko Ubwami buba butakiri ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi; Rubanda ikabwamburwa na Habyarimana n' abambari be; nawe agahirikwa na Kagame. Muri make,

[6] Mu mvugo "*Rubanda rw' umwami*", ibyo bikubiyemo.

[7] Kuwa Kane Mutagatifu, Yezu yoza ibirenge intumwa ze yazibwiye ko ushaka kuba mukuru muri bagenzi be, abigirwa no kubabera umugaragu.

abahamagarira Abanyarwanda kunga ubumwe bigeze kububatoza bari mu buyobozi bw' i Gihugu. Umwikamire(essence) w' ubumwe bifuza ubu, ni wa wundi, – atari mu magambo ahubwo **mu bikorwa – ,** cyangwa warahindutse? Ubwo bumwe buzagerwaho gute? Ni iki kizagaragariza Abanyarwanda ko biyunze mu manyakuri? Ubwo bumwe bugomba gushingira kuki?

Ibi bibazo si ibyo kurangaza uwo ariwe wese mu gihe ingufu zose zikenewe muri iki gihe cyo kwitangira u Rwanda, Abanyarwanda n' Ejo hazaza habo. Mbigarutseho kuko Abanyarwanda bigaragarira buri wese ko tutavuga rumwe ku bibazo byinshi. Bigaterwa n' uko nta kwinegura (inventaire politique) kwakorewe hamwe uko ubutegetsi bwasimburanye ku buyobozi bw' i Gihugu. Bikaba byaratumye batagira imibonere imwe ku makosa cg ibyiswe amakosa bamwe bakoze cg baba barakoreye abandi. Bamwe bagakomeza kubona abandi uko bakeka ko baba bateye, cg uko bifuza ko baba bameze ngo bitsure imbere inyungu zabo bwite; aho kubabona uko bateye koko.

Ubumwe(unité), amahoro, ubufatanye(solidarité), amategeko, etc ni bimwe bigize umutungo rusange nk' uko *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* ribiteganya. Uwarwanyije kimwe muri ibyo, cg akagishyigikira mu magambo ariko anakirwanya mu bikorwa, iyo yumvikanishije ko ubu agishaka, kumugirira ikizere ntibyoroha. Kuko, mu gihe yayoboraga uko yagishyize mu bikorwa biba bikibukwa. Bitera no kwibaza impumvu, niba koko ubu avugisha ukuri ko ashaka gukorera Rubanda, atashyigikira umutungo-rusange wayo, uko Rubanda, – Nyir' ubutegetsi, Nyir'ukubutanga yabyifuzaga ariko ikabivutswa. Ibi na none ariko ntibivuze ko Abanyarwanda badakwiye kugira imitekerereze inyuranye. Igikenewe ni uko ayo magambo meza[8], akubiyemo imigambi myiza, acengerwa agasesengurwa, ingero zigatangwa, ubwubahirize bwayo bukamenyekana, Rubanda ikamenya guhitamo umushinga uyinogeye. Inkingi zitajegajega zikaba ari kureshya imbere y' amategeko(égalité) n' ubuvandimwe nka Bene Kanyarwanda, ndetse nk' Abana b' Imana. Ingero nyinshi zigaragaza uko kunyuranya mu mitekerereze.

A- Ibiri mu kiganiro cya Eugene Ndahayo no mu nyandiko ya Madeleine Bicamumpaka

Gutekereza kwandika iyi nyandiko nabitewe n' ikiganiro cyahise tariki ya 01.11.2017 kuri "***Radio Ishakwe***", Eugene Ndahayo yise ngo:**" *Kuki Ubutegetsi bw' Abahutu butarengeje imyaka 32?* "** Hadaciye kabiri, Madeleine Bicamumpaka yanyujije kuri "***The Rwandan***" inyandiko yise " ***Kuki Ubutegetsi bw' Abahutu butarengeje imyaka 32: Ibisobanuro bya Madeleine Bicamumpaka"***. Ubwo M. Ndahayo usanga ashishikajwe no kumva intandaro y' amacakubili yaje kugusha ubutegetsi yise ubw' Abahutu, Mme Bicamumpaka atanga ibyo akeka ko ari ibisobanuro bikwiye gufatwa nk'ukuri kudakuka. Ubundi muri ibi bihe i Gihugu kiri mu kangaratete koko, akumvikanisha ko Abanyarwanda bakwiye kunga ubumwe. Mme Bicamumpaka ntatanga ubumwe bukenewe ubwo aribwo, icyo bugomba gushingiraho n' inzira y' uko bugomba kugerwaho. Iyi nyandiko iragaruka ku myumvire yanjye y' ikiganiro cya M. Ndahayo. Iranageragezа kwerekana ko bigoye ko ukuri kuva mu kanwa k' umaze kerenga ku mategeko (Habyarimana n' abambari be) kuba kutagerwa ku mashyi. Urugero rw' ingenzi iyi nyandiko ifatiraho akaba urwatanzwe na Mme Bicamumpaka rwa Nyakwigendera Aminadab Kanani, umwe mu bantu bishwe nyuma ya "*putsch*" yo kuwa 05.07.1973.

[8] Byagiye bibaho mu mateka yacu, aho ubucabiranya muri politike (démagogie) yagiye igira bamwe inama yo gufata amagambo meza kubera uruhare mu mateka y' i Gihugu, ikigamijwe atari uko gukurikira ibyo byiza no kubyongera, ahubwo hagamijwe kuyashakisha amajwi muri Rubanda. Urugero rubangutse ni urw' **interahamwe**. Iryo jambo ryibutsaga impirimbanyi zitanze zitizigama nk' uko Abanyuramatwi babiririmbaga ngo Repubulika ishingwe. Amashyaka yongeye kwemerwa, mu rwego rwo gusahuranwa abarwanashyaka, rihindurwa milices zitazwi neza na mba.

Mu kiganiro cye muri make, Ndahayo yemeje ko Révolution[9] iba muri 1959, Abahutu (bari benshi muri Rubanda[10]), bari bahujwe n' akarengane katasaga ukurikije akarere babaga bakomokamo. Bakaba ariko nta ngenga-bitekerezo (idéologie) ibahuje bari bafite. Icyari kuzabahuza kikanahuza na Rubanda yo mu yandi moko, akaba yari amatwara (doctrine cg idéologie): *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* (La Justise Sociale Chretienne)[11]. Tariki y' uwa 05.07.1973, ubwo Repubulika yafomozwagamo iyi doctrine, Ndahayo agasanga ari ubugambanyi ku ihindura-matwara ryo muri 1959, ryaje kuzuzwa rikanasenderezwa n' ifatwa ry' ubutegetsi na FPR mu Rwanda muri 1994. Ubwo bugambanyi agasanga bwari bwaratangiye kera, ubwo inshingano zari zarihawe mbere ya 1959, zitigeze zishyirwa mu bikorwa uko zakabaye.

Mu minsi yakurikiyeho, Mme Madeleine Bicamumpaka mu nyandiko ye, yasangaga Ndahayo yarahaye uruhare ruremereye ikibazo cy' imitegekere gakondo mu isenywa rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda. Yanasabye ko muri iki gihe i Gihugu kiri mu kangaratete abanyarwanda batagombye kurangazwa n' ikibazo nk' icyo. Agasanga ikibazo cy' iyubakwa ry' inzego za Leta n' abarwanashyaka batatangiriye rimwe, "*abaje nyuma" (*biboneka ko yari conflit de générations), amayida (cg se ubucabiranya) ya politique, … ndetse n' icyo umuntu yakwita imikorere idahwitse biri mu byashegeshe Repubulika y' u Rwanda. Mu minsi yakurikiyeho, Ndahayo yaje kongera gusubiza ibibazo byinshi ikiganiro cye cyateje ndetse na *Radio Ishakwe* ibigarukaho ubugira kabili.

Maze gutega amatwi ikiganiro cya M. Ndahayo, numvise nshaka kugaragaza imyumvire yanjye kuri icyo kiganiro kubirebana n' ibyari mu nyito yacyo. Naho ku nyandiko ya Mme Madeleine Bicamumpaka hari byinshi numvise mu bisobanuro bye bitanyuze. Ngasanga ahanini bituruka kubyo abantu bakeka kuri bagenzi babo (clichés) na propagande byaranze cyane amateka y' u Rwanda. Inyandiko yanjye ikaba ishaka 1) kugaragaza ko uko gukeka uko undi yaba ateye atari inzozi kandi bidindiza Abanyarwanda muri byinshi; 2) no gutanga umusanzu ku bibazo biriho mu gihe cy' akangaratete nk' uko Mme Madeleine Bicamumpaka yifuje ko byahabwa agaciro.

A.1- Repubulika na **Repubulika bafomojemo amahame yayo (**cg **Régime ya Habyarimana)**

Mu nyito y' ikiganiro cye, Eugène Ndahayo yakoresheje "*ubutegetsi bw' Abahutu"* avuga ubutegetsi bwabayeho mu Rwanda kuva muri 1959 nyuma ya Revolisiyo, kugeza FPR ifashe ubutegetsi. Ibyo bituma haba mu gihe Kayibanda na Habyarimana bari Président, ubuyobozi bwabo bwakwitwa "*régime hutu*". Ibimenyetso byinshi bigaragaza ko, mu gihe Kayibanda yayoboraga u Rwanda, i Gihugu cyari Repubulika (itari ibuze inenge), naho ku bwa Habyarimana Repubulika yafomojwemo amahame(éventrée de sa doctrine) yayo igahinduka " *régime hutu*" ikagenda ikura ihinduka Régime (akalima) ya Habyarimana. Uti gute?

Nk' uko byanditswe na Jean-Paul Harroy wabaye Gouveneur wa nyuma w' u Rwanda, Imyivumbagatanyo yo muri 1959 yatangijwe n' Abatutsi tariki 01.10.1959 kuya 12.10.1959 irangizwa n'abasilikare b' Abanyekongo bayobowe n' Ababiligi. Izo ngabo zikaba zaritwaga: *"Force Publique"*. Asanga Révolution nyir'izina yaramaze iminsi itatu Mbonyumutwa amaze gukubitwa. Urwitwazo UNAR yashakaga rumaze kuboneka, tariki 04.10.1959, UNAR yatangiye gushakisha uruhindu abayobozi b' Abahutu biswe bose ab' APROSOMA, barimo Sagahutu Jean Baptiste, bakoherezwa i Bwami gukorerwa iyicwa rubozi no kwicwa (*contre-révolution*). Ku mugaragaro Ingabo z' i Bwami zinjira muri rwaserera na UNAR nayo yanatwikiraga n'abashefu b'

[9]Ihinduka mu mizi ry' ubutegetsi

[10] Nk' uko impirimbanyi zabyemeje i Bwami mu gihe higwaga ikibazo cy' amoko mu Rwanda guhera muri 1957 bikanashyirwa no mu Ndilimbo yubahiliza i Gihugu, Rubanda igizwe na: Gahutu, Gatwa na Gatutsi (cg Abatutsi batari mu miryango ibiri y' ibikomangoma byayoboraga u Rwanda, ntibanabe no mu bana b' abatware bakoreraga ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi bitaga ''*Administration Indigène''*.

[11] Sinzi niba mbishyize mu Kinyarwanda nyacyo. Hari abakoresha kandi "Doctrine sociale de l' Église cg Christianisme sociale", uwo ariwe wese yakoresha ikimubangukiye.

Abatutsi batajyaga nayo imbizi. Nyuma yaho, *"Force Publique"* yari imaze kubona abantu bahagije, ibasha guhagarika imvururu(*Répression*). Hari hamaze gupfa abantu 13 nk' uko inkiko za Gisilikare zabigaragaje, hatwitswe n' amazu menshi, Abatutsi bahungira kuri za "*Missions*". Muri icyo gihe ariko, tariki ya 06.10.1959 i Rubengera ku Kibuye, haguye abantu hagati ya 60 na 100 b' Abahutu bakomokaga ku Gisenyi, bari basinze bagenda basahura banatwika. Bishwe n' abandi Bahutu barengera Mission yabo.

Nk' uko bigaragara mu byo tumaze kubona, kwigobotora ubutegetsi bwa Cyami (Émancipation) byashoboraga gukorwa mu ituze ariko byaje gukongezwa mo imvururu na UNAR biteza inkongi n' imena ry' amaraso. Ntiyari gahunda yo guheza Abatutsi (nabo barimo Rubanda mu kigereranyo cya 95%) n' Abatwa bari hafi 100% Rubanda. Icyarwanywaga kari akarengane. Izo mvururu zateshaga agaciro icyifuzo cya Rubanda, zigashakira abayoboke UNAR yaziheragaho ikumvisha Abatutsi ko imvururu yashoje banazize zari nk' umugambi wo kubarimbura.

Révolution ariko, bivuze ihinduka mu mizi ry' ubutegetsi. Iy' Abafransa yabatwaye imyaka hagati ya 10 na 15. Mu Rwanda ho, Abatware bahungaga intara zabo, Abahutu bahitaga babasimbura ku buyobozi ku buryo mu ntangiriro za 1960 ku bashefu 45, 23 bari basimbuwe. Ku basushefu 489, 158 bari basimbuwe. Basimburwaga n' Abahutu bamurikiwe n' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu***.** No mu zindi nzego, bene abo Bahutu babashije kuzinjiramo. Irindi hinduka ryimbitse ry' ubutegetsi twavuga ni:

– Ubwigenge bucagase ubwo Kayibanda yagirwaga Premier-Ministre tariki 26.10.1960,
– tariki 28.01.1961 ubwo Abanyarwanda bagaragaje ko bifuza Repubulika, bakanayishyiraho, Dominique Mbonyumutwa akagirwa President w' Agateganyo, etc.

Gusa ONU yaje kubyitambikamo. Kamarampaka irabikiranura tariki 25.09.1961. Muri iki gihe, Révolution yari igikomeza. Nta maraso yari akimeneka. Ishyirwaho ry' inzego nshya nta maraso menshi zamennye nk' ahandi hose ku isi. Ibi kandi bikaba bitavuzeko ayamenetse yo atababaje cg se ko bidakwiye kwamaganwa.

Ariko, intambara zirwanya révolution, igihugu kigaterwa n' abavuye hanze na zo zamennye amaraso atagira ingano aho zabaye hose. Si urugero rwiza rwo gukurikira, gusa nicyo kigaragara mu nyandiko z' icyo gihe. Ingero ni nka Révolution y' Abafransa cg iy' Abarusiya. Ubwami nabwo uko bwarwanyaga ibyo, byari Contre-révolution yaje kugusha ku ntambara y' *Inyenzi*. Iyi ntambara yarimo iterabwoba rikabije,ikaba ariyo yazanye ubwicanyi bukabije bwo kwihorera ku nzirakarengane bikaba nabyo ari ibyo kwamaganwa. Bikaba bikwiye kumvikana ko, haba mu mitekerereze, mu ishyirwaho no mu mikorere, Repubulika ntiyari ifite inshingano zo guheza Abatutsi, 95% babo nabo bari Rubanda. Guhera muri 1957 mu gihe cy' iyigwa ry' ikibazo cy'amoko mu Rwanda, Abahutu bakaba bari baragaragaje ko Abatutsi kimwe n' Abatwa bose ari Abavandimwe. Bashingiraga ku muco w' i Gihugu(Bene Kanyarwanda) no ku Ihame ry' Ubumuntu (principe de dignité humaine) ry' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* ryemeza ko abantu bose iyo bava bakagera, baremwe mu ishusho y' Imana, ku bw' ibyo bakaba ari abavandimwe.

Mu gihe MDR-Parmehutu yari ifite amajwi ahagije yo gushyiraho guvernoma nta rindi shyaka bafatanyije, yarimo abaministre b'Abatutsi banashyigikiye u Bwami. Muri bo harimo abari muri UNAR kandi iryo shyaka ryari rifite igice kimwe cyateraga u Rwanda mu ntambara y' i *Inyenzi*[12]. Bigeze nyuma, RADER nayo ifatanya na UNAR itataye kuri icyo kibazo. Ubuyobozi bw'

[12] Daesh ntiyagereranywa na UNAR kuko hari byinshi bibitandukanya. Bigahuzwa ariko n' ubwoko bw' intambara y' iterabwoba (terrorisme) umuntu ashobora kubonera amafoto ku mbuga nko kuri www.jkanya.free.fr. Umuntu agerageje kwishushanyiriza mu mutwe we: kuba uri muri Leta unayitera cg ufatanyije n' uyitera, bikurura urwikekwe mu bantu. Uwakwikanga umuntu nk' uyu, yaba atari ukumwihanganira? Yamugarurira ikizere ate, utamagana uwo bafatanyije urimo gukora iterabwoba? Ikibi ni uko amaherezo bikurura imena ry' amaraso mu butegetsi bushya bukijegajega ndetse zimwe mu nzego zabwo zitwa ko zigenga ariko imyanya ikomeye ikiri mu maboko y' amahanga mu gihe cy' Intambara y' Ubutita (Guerre Froide).

ayo mashyaka yombi, bwashoboraga gufata icyemezo cyo gusesa umubano n' ishyaka ritera igihugu. UNAR yo mu gihugu ndetse ikanahindura izina. Bombi bagakomeza bagashyigikira u Bwami bari muri Repubulika. Gusa ariko nabo kuribo, ubutegetsi na politique byari bishya, ubushobozi n' ubushishozi byari bike. Ku buryo mbere y' ishyirwaho ry' amashyaka, abari barize mu Batutsi aribo ba mbere babanje gusaba gutegurirwa ubuyobozi bw' igihugu. Abahutu nabo byari uko. Ku Batutsi Ingamba yari imaze igihe (stratégie obsolète) yari iyo ku gihe cy' Ubwami, ko : *" U Rwanda rutera rudaterwa".* Hari mo kurwanwa intambara y' ubwoko bwa Gikomunisti yo gutera u Rwanda (la Guerre de Libération). Iterabwoba rikaba ari kimwe mu bikoresho bikomeye by' iyo ntambara. Intambara yakomeje kurimbanya, amaraso menshi arameneka mu nzego zose ndetse no mu bategetsi bo hejuru. Hari abumva ko ku bwizo mpamvu, ibyo byatuma Repubulika y' icyo gihe yakwitwa iy' Abahutu. Hari impavu nyinshi zibinyomoza:

– Intambara ya Kabiri y' isi itangiye, muri Amerika barwanaga n' Ubuyapani, uwitwa Umuyapani yarafashwe, ijyanwa mu nkambi aho batabayeho neza na busa. Inarangiye, bamwe baribagiranye bakomeza kuhababarira. Kera karabaye bararekurwa. Bitinze Leta yemera ko agateka ka muntu kahungabanyijwe ku buryo bukabije muri icyo gihe. Ibyo ariko ntibyahinduye Leta Zunze Ubumwe z' Amerika, Leta Zunze Ubumwe bw' abaturage bazo uretse Abayapani. Iyi ni imwe mu mpamvu ituma nemeza ko Repubulika y' u Rwanda itari iy' Abahutu (régime hutu), ariko mu gihe cyayo habayeho ubwicanyi bw' Abatutsi mu ntambara y' *Inyenzi*. Ikaba yararwanywe mbere na nyuma y' ubwigenge. Ibi bikaba byarateye urwikekwe, Abatutsi bari muri gouvernement bakirukanwamo, bikanabimisha amajwi mu matora.

– Guhera tariki 15.02 kugera muri mata 1973, mu Rwanda habayeho ***Muyaga*** ihera ku Batutsi, igera no ku Bahutu batakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba bw' i Gihugu. Twibutse ko nk'uko byanditswe na Ministre André Sebatware, kuva muri 1968 ba Officiers bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba y' u Rwanda, bari bashyigikiye kwiha mu ibanga ububasha bwo guhindura Itegeko-Nshinga. Aka kazi ubusanzwe gakorwa ku mugaragaro n' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, itorwa n' abaturage; ibisabwe na Gouvernement cyangwa ku bwayo. Abo basirikare ntibigeze bakumira iyo *Muyaga* nk' uko Repubulika yabibategekaga. Iki kikaba atari igikorwa cyayo ahubwo cyari ubwicanyi bwayikuragaho. Byabazwa Régime ya Habyarimana yarimo gufata ubutegetsi.

Ngarutse kuri Repubulika, muri 1973 ***Comités de salut public*** zamennye amaraso y' Abatutsi, zikabasenyera ndetse zikanabohereza mu buhungiro **zazizaga Kayibanda, wari President wa Repubulika ko ngo yaba yaratoneshaga Abatutsi**[13]. Ntushobora kurega umuntu ikintu n' ikinyuranyo cyacyo ngo byombi bibe ari ukuri. Imibare ya statistiques, kimwe n' indi mibare ntibeshya. Abatutsi ntibari bikubiye byose nko ku gihe cy' u Bwami, ariko na none ugereranyije n' Abahutu bari imbere. Atari uko Kayibanda abatonesha, gusa ari uko nk' ahandi ikosorwa ry' ubusumbane rikozwe ryubahirije amategeko kandi mu bwitonzi, ritwara igihe. Ingero zigaragara, ni uko President Zuma wa Afrique du Sud nawe ushobora kumurega umubeshyera gutonesha Abazungu kuko baracyari imbere. Muri Amerika, bamaze imyaka isaga magana abili bavanyeho ivangura, banashyizeho gahunda zifasha Abirabura ariko ntibibabuza kuba bakiri inyuma muri byinshi.

Muri make, Repubulika itangira, Abatutsi bari no muri Leta ndetse no mu Nteko Ishinga-amategeko. Intambara y' *Inyenzi*, amakosa y' abanyapolitike bari bashya mu kazi kabo baba Abatutsi bari mu ishyaka ritera i Gihugu cg abandi bafatanyije naryo cg se Abahutu batashoboye gukumira kwihimura kw' abaturage (répressions populaires abominables et intolérables) kimwe

[13] Umudage wazobereye muri politike wanabaye no mu Rwanda, Helmut Strizek yemeza ko kuba umufasha wa Kayibanda yari yaramushatse mu bwoko bw' Abatutsi, ari ikimenyetso ko mu mikorere ye ya politique yari mugushakisha imibanire myize y' ubufatanye bw' amoko. (collaboration). Pr Mureme yemeza ko no mu Baministre byari uko. Ubutegetsi bwiswe régime ntibushaka ubufatanye, nurapyinagaza(domination).

n' abazenyegeje batabuze. Muri icyo gihe cy' Intambara y' Ubutita (Guerre Froide), Uburengerazuba bw' isi mu Rwanda bwareberwaga n' abajyanama b'Ababiligi bari mu nzego za Gisilikare na Surete Nationale. Doctrine yakoreshwaga yari iy' intambara ndwanya hindura-matwara(Lutte contre-révolutionnaire cg lutte contre-insurrection). Ingaruka ni uko Kayibanda avanwa ku butegetsi, nta Mututsi wari muri Leta ye guhera muri za mirongo itandatu. Iyo ngaruka y' urwikekwe ariko ntabwo umuntu yayiheraho ngo yite Repubulika iy' Abahutu:

– Nyuma ya Ministre Isidore Sebazungu mu Ngabo, byatwaye igihe kugira ngo Umunyakibungo abe Ministre muri gouvernement (11 za Kayibanda). Impamvu atari uko Repubulika yangaga Abanyakibungo ahubwo bitewe n' amakenga yaterwaga n' ishyaka ryari rihari muri 1959 ryahariniraga inyungu z' i Gisaka. Hafi y' u Burundi, umupaka wari ugoye cyane mu gihe cy' *Inyenzi.* Icyikangwaga muri icyo gihe ni ubufatanye bwashoboraga kuvuka hagati yabahoze ari abayoboke baryo n' *Inyenzi*; i Cyangugu nabyo igisobanuro ni kimwe. Munyangaju yari yarahacengeje bihagije APROSOMA (ishyaka ryarwaniraga ubutegetsi na MDR-Parmehutu); hakaba haranahoze ishyaka INTERCOKI. Mu karere k' umupaka ugoranye, byari ngombwa gushishoza ngo umuyoboke ugiye muri Leta abe koko ari uw' ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu. Birumvikana ko, inyito y' *Ubutegetsi bw' Abahutu* ifashweho ukuri, yagombye no kongerwamo *bakomoka mu Rwanda uvanyemo Kibungo, Cyangugu,....* Wanakomeza ndetse usubira mu ntangiriro aho icya kabili cy' Abaministre bari Ababiligi ukanuzuzaho ko *batoneshaga Ububiligi.* Bikaba byaba ari ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa.

– Hari muri Révolution, Repubulika byaragoranye kugira ngo igerweho, Kayibanda akaba atari Umunyapolitike ushaka gushyira inyungu ze imbere y' izi Gihugu, akaba yari **Homme d' Etat.** Uwo yagiraga Ministre akaba atari ku ifoto ubundi ngo aze kumuvugira mo cg amuhe abayiyobora bari munsi ye. Akaba atarazi gupfurika ahubwo yararanzwe ku ruhande rwe n' ubufatanye buzira uburyarya "*franche collaboration*". Ari uwise umuntu wo mu bwoko bw' Abatwa ko ari Umutwa, akanamuha ibyo amategeko amugenera n' umwise Uwashigajwe inyuma n' amateka ariko ntagire icyo amupimira, muri abo bombi haba harimo uheza Abatwa, atabyerura n' uwubaha ko bariho akubaha n' uburenganzira bwabo[14]. Uvuze ko nta moko ariho, ubutegetsi n' ingabo akabushyira mu maboko y' agaco k' abantu bava mu bwoko bumwe, bakaba ari nabo bikubiye byose, abakomoka mu yandi moko akabashyira mu myanya igaragara yo gufotorerwamo nta butegetsi bafite, ahubwo bayoborwa n' abo bakuriye bo muri ka gaco cg uwigeze gushyira abantu muri leta akabakuramo kubera urwikekwe rwumvikana, akarinda uburenganzira bwa buri wese mu bushobozi bw' i Gihugu, umwe muri bo aba atavangura ariko yishisha kubera icyarimbura Leta (menace existentielle). Kayibanda yarangwaga n' ubushishozi, ndetse n' ubwitonzi. Azi agaciro k' i Gihugu yari yarashinzwe na Rubanda kukiyobora. Yitonderaga buri kantu kose ngo hato u Rwanda rudasubira kugwa mu ntoki z'Abifite n' Ibikomerezwa rugahinduka akarima kabo. Kandi ntiyabikoreraga uyu n' uyu. Yafataga abantu bose kimwe haba mu ntangiriro no mu mpera za Repubulika. Ibyo byose nibyo bituma nemezako Kayibanda ari President, u Rwanda rwari Repubulika, iri mu ntangiriro zayo, harimo byinshi byari bikijegajega. Nshobora kuba nibeshya, gusa mu gihe ntarabona ibisobanuro byabingaragariza, ni ibyo nsanga ari ukuri.

[14] Mu minsi yashize hari ikiganiro nasomye inyito, ntibuka neza (ndakeka kuri Gahuzamiryango) ivuga ko "*kunena Abatwa ngo byaba byarazanye na Repubulika"* (yagiyeho nyuma ya 1959). Bimwe mu byatumaga Abatwa banenwa kwari uko baryaga intama kandi uruhu rwayo rwarakoshwagamo ingobyi, ikaba yari yubashywe cyane. Ingombyi kandi kuva yatangira gukoshwa, inyama zigahabwa Abatwa ni kera cyane n' u Rwanda rutarabaho. Abanyarwanda banabishishaga kubera ko aribo bari abishi b' i Bwami kuva imyaka amagana n' andi. Iyo mitekerereze y' abakurambere b' Abanyarwanda yari iyo mu gihe cyabo kandi idahwitse. Abifuzaga gushyiraho Repubulika bo basangaga ari abavandimwe nk' abandi bose kuko ***Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*** ryari rimurikiye Repubulika ryemeza ko abantu bose ari Abana b' imana, bakaba abavandimwe nka buri wese. Mu kinyarwanda baravuga ngo:'' *utageze we ntagereranya*''! Cg ngo '' *icyo kiranyagisha*''! No muri rusange bakongera ho ko iyo wemeza ibintu bidasanzwe, ari ngombwa gutanga n' ibimenyetso bidasanzwe. Nta kintu kidasanzwe nabonye cyagaragajwe; cyaba cyaratumye Abatwa, banenwagwa mbere y' ivuka ry' u Rwanda, ruriho ku gihe cy' Ubwami, baba baratangiye kunenwa ari uko buvuyeho busimbuwe na Repubulika, yabagiraga abavandimwe.

A.2- Nyirashangasha yiswe kanani siyo Nyakwigendera Aminadab Kanani

Mu nyandiko ye isubiza Ndahayo, Madeleine Bicamumpaka agenekereje avuga ko Nyakwigendera Aminadab Kanani, – umwe mu bishwe mu nyuma y' aho Habyarimana akoresheje intwaro, yambuye Rubanda ubutegetsi – , yaba yaragiye mu kazi yari ashinzwe mu Ruhengeri ko kuba Umukuru w' Urukiko Rusesimanza afite na gahunda yo gutoteza Balthazar Bicamumpaka akibaza niba bwari ubutumwa. Muri ibyo byombi yibaza, nta na kimwe cy' ukuli kirimo. Kandi igisubizo kiri mu bisobanuro yatanze. Urugero rudakomoka muri politike nirwo nsanze nahera ho ngo mbashe kumvikanisha iyi ngingo. Si ukurangaza umusomyi cg gutandukira, ni ukugerageza kumushushanyiriza kimwe n' abandi bafite izo mpungenge, ukuntu bimwe twitiranya n' ukuri mu mateka yacu, mu buzima busanzwe bidashoboka. Ikibazo kikaba impamvu bifatwaho ukuri ni iyihe?

Muri za 1974 na nyuma yaho gato, mu karere kacu(sinzi n' iba hari n' ahandi uyu mukino wabaye) habayeho marionnette (cg ubwoko bwa guignoles) abanyeshuri bakinishaga. Bari barazise ***Nyirashangasha***. Rimwe babaga bahagaze, indodo ziziritse guignoles ziri mu ntoki cg bicaye bazifatishije amano, bakikubita ku matako banaririmba. Umwe mu nzobere bazikinishaga witwaga Ruhorobya mwene Burakeye ku Karambi (izina nyakuri sindyibuka) yari umuhanga byahebuje mu kuzicejesha. Akazicejesha ibyo ashaka, akazikinisha udukinamico (sketch), ndetse akazirwanisha, …. Ibyo ariko ntiyabikoreraga ubusa. Ruhorobya yari afite ibiboho bibiri yuzuzagamo *Nyirashangasha,* agapfukisha amakayi abili n' ibipapuro bya ciment. Ukaba wagira ngo yitwaje amakayi menshi. Kwari ukwishisha abarimu. Ikiboho kimwe cyabagamo za *Nyirashangasha* ikindi cyuzuye imbuto: izibwe n' abanyeshyuri cg izo bavanye mu rugo, aho kuzirya bagakora commande y'indirimbo cg sketch, Ruhorobya akayibakinira, abamukikije bose bakifata mu nda bagaseka, amansonza akababunga mu maso. Abo twitaga abaruru cg abigaga igitondo cg ikigoroba gusa, nta gushidikanya bemeragako *Nyirashangasha* ariyo iririmba, igaceza, igatera ingumi, etc. N' abantu bakuru byarabasetsaga. Rimwe *Nyirashangasha* zikiza, umwalimu umwe yabonye akaziga k' abanyeshuri agiye kureba igituma badakina, asanga iciririkanya rirangiye Ruhorobya atangiye akazi. Aririmba ati: " *Mbe Nyirashangasha ceza ndebe!" Nyirashangasha* ikamusubiza (Ruhorobya akisubiza) iti: " *Nta mabuno ngira! Niyo nayagira, sinagukatiraho".* Etc. Mwarimu yipfutse umunwa, yifata mu nda aragenda ageze mu bandi arashwanyuka araseka. Nabo baza kureba, abanyeshuri bari birutse bahunga wa mwarimu waje mbere, nabo bakajya bagaruka bakirebera.

Muri make, ukinisha Nyirashangasha, niwe uyigenera icyo ikina cg ikora cyose. Akaririmba icyo ashatse kikayitirirwa. Mu bitureba *Nyirashangasha* zakinishwaga na Ruhorobya arimo kubahiriza commande yahawe. Nta Ruhorobya[15] cg undi munyabugeni, nta *Nyirashangasha*. Kimwe n' uko ibivugishwa guignoles zitwa kanaka, aba atari kanaka ubivuze cg avatar umuntu yakoze ngo akinishe mu mikino ya video, ikinishwa na nyirayo. Ibyavuzwe na Madeleine Bicamumpaka kuri Aminadab Kanini, n'ubwo ntahakana ko yabyumvise, ntaho bitaniye n' ibi. Akaba aribyo ngira ngo nsobanure hasi aha.

1- Ibivugishwa cg ibikoreshwa *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani

Ku isi hose, ibihugu byose cg inkiko mpuzamahanga zifite uko zitangiza imanza, uko ziyoborwa ndetse n' uko zisozwa (formules officielles). Iyo kimwe muri ibi kitujujwe, ni impamvu ihagije yo gusesa urubanza cyabuzemo. Iyo Aminadab Kanani haba hari n' ibura urubanza rumwe yari kwibagirwamo ijambo rimwe rirusoza uko amategeko yabiteganyaga, ntibyari kutamenyekana. Iyo agira urwo aca uko bivugwa mu nyandiko turimo gusuzuma yongeramo ngo:

[15] Aka kabyiniriro yari yaragakuye bwa mbere mu kujya mu kabari mu gihe cyo gukina ajyanywe no kugura utuntu abana bakundaga kurya twitwaga imisongo. Ntibyari byemewe. Yafashwe n' umwarimu aza kumuhanira imbere y' abandi avuga ko yamusanze ahorobya mu kabali. Izina ryaje gufata cyane kuko nyuma yo gukinisha *Nyirashangasha*, Ruhorobya yagombaga kurya vuba na bwangu zimwe mu mbuto yabaga amaze gukorera ngo asubire mu ishuri mu nda harimo akaremera.

"*Njye Kanani imana yo ku isi, ndarukase n' Imana yo mu ijuru ntabwo yarusubiramo*" byari kumwirukanisha. Donat Murego ukomoka mu Ruhengeri yari Vice-President w' Urukiko rw' Ikirenga ushinzwe inkiko, niwe buri mwaka wahaga amanota abacamanza uhereye ku mikorere yabo. Yari azwi kutavugirwamo, no gucukumbura buri kantu (méticuleux). Nta manota mabi yigeze aha Aminadab Kanani cg ngo amutumize amubaze icyari kuba ari ukudakata urubanza uko biteganyijwe muri Repubulika. Dr Fulgence Seminega wakomokaga mu majyaruguru y' u Rwanda yari President wa Cour Suprême. Iyo ibyo biba byarabayeho, bigaca mu rihuye Vice-president Murego, bikalicamo Vice-president ushinzwe gusesa imanza, ntibyari kumucaho. Ziriya manza zivugwa muri iyo nyandiko, n' ubwo zitabayeho, abari bashishikajwe no guhindanya Aminadab Kanani baharaze cg babaje *Nyirashangasha* bayita kanani, bakayikoresha ibidashoboka byose muri Repubulika, gusa bigasigira icyasha Aminadab Kanani bayitiriye.

Ibi binyoma iyo bivugishijwe *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani, bishimangira ko Umukuru w' i Gihugu yaba yari afite mu bakozi bakuru abamurushaga ubutegetsi, bakaba baba banari no hejuru y' amategeko yagengaga Repubulika. Ntibyigeze bibaho. Nk'uko Abashinje Iraki kuba yarifite intwaro za kirimbuzi bari bazi neza ko ntazo ifite, abashinja Kanani guhindura formule officielle yo gusoza urubanza, bazi neza ko bitigeze bibaho, bitanashobokaga. Cyakora biha ingirwa-ngufu itangazo ryo kuwa 05.07.1973 rikabona imbago zituma rihagarara. Ikinyoma ku biswe icyo gihe abanzi b' i Gihugu cg agatsiko k' inkozi z' ibibi kaba kari karajishe Umukuru w' i Gihugu n'inzara zako kikagira uruhengekero cg ingirwa-reme. Kugambanira Repubulika, Itegeko-Nshinga, Umukuru w' i Gihugu, gutatira Indahiro nka Ministre cg Officier ntibyibazweho, kuko nk' abaruru, Rubanda yabanje guterwa ubwoba na *Muyaga*, igahahamurwa n' agasuzuguro kari gakorewe Intwari yabo n' Ishyaka yarizi aho ryayikuye, ikabyakirana ubwoba. Kugira ngo itazahuga ikabyibazaho, bakanabiyibyinisha ibinyoma uko umwaka utashye kuri iyo tariki.

2- Aminadab Kanani, President w' Urukiko rw' Ubujurire mu Ruhengeri

Abarundi baravuga ngo: ***"n' uwanga agakwavu, mugabo ntahakana ko kazi kunyaruka".*** Aminadab Kanani yari mu bacamanza batari barenze batanu bari barabyigiye. Abandi bakaba baragiye bakora cours accélérés, stages, etc. Ubucamanza yari yarabwigiye mu Ishuli ry' Ubucamanza i Strasbourg ho muri France. Rubanda isanzwe yo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba bw' u Rwanda yo yakabyaga inkuru ko ngo *"ubucamanza yari yarabwigiye ku musenyi munsi y' inyanja"* Cg ko ngo ariho yabanzaga akajya kugarama akabona akarukata . Ibyo babiterwaga n' uko imanza yacaga zari zuzuyemo ubwenge kamere, ubwo mu bitabo n' imvugo yakoreshaga amagambo arobanuye kandi nta mususu.

Mbere yo kujya gutangira akazi ke, nk' uko bisanzwe ku Mukozi Mukuru woherejwe mu Butumwa bukomeye, hejuru y' inyandiko za ngombwa zimusobanurira ubwo butumwa, Umukuru w' Igihugu abonana nawe akamuha inyongera y' ibisobanuro mu magambo. Prefecture Ruhengeri yari irimo ibibazo by' ingutu. Kimwe muri byo akaba ari kuba umuryango umwe munini waho (14% w' abaturage bose) wari ufite ubutegetsi bwose ndetse n' ubucamanza(reba). Guhera muri 1963, Leta yashakaga gukosora icyo kibazo, yoherezayo abategetsi bakuru bakomoka mu tundi turere kandi banacengewe n' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu,* ngo bajye kubayo abagaragu ba Rubanda. Aminadab Kanani niwe mutegetsi mukuru wenyine byashobotse. Prefet wa mbere ukomoka ahandi wayoboye Ruhengeri ni Kabanda ukomoka i Butare wahabaye Prefet nyuma ya putsch ya Habyarimana (1973-1975). Ubucamanza bwari bwaragugariwe kubera imanza nyinshi zakomokaga ku butegetsi gakondo. By' umwihariko Kayibanda yamusabye kutazatinya kubahiriza amategeko ya Repubulika kubera gitinya uburemere bw' uwo muco. Muri make Aminadab Kanani yibukijwe guca imanza akurikije amategeko ya Repubulika aho kubahiriza ay' umuco yari aremereye Abagererwa, batagiraga ubutaka, abatari bashoboye kwirwanaho (démunis, faibles et incapables de se défendre eux-mêmes). Ari Kayibanda, ari na Kanani buri wese yari mu kazi ke. Nta toteza iryo ariryo ryose iyo mirimo yemera.

Kayibanda yari azi neza ko imanza zari zihuzuye zari izarebanaga n' amasambu. Anazi neza ko abacuruzi ari abantu bafunguye mu mitwe yabo, batinyuka (prendre des risques) , bazi

kwibariza kandi banafite n' ubushobozi. Nta mpamvu yagombaga kwibutsa Aminadab Kanani, gushishikarira ikibazo kitariho. Cyakora ntawahakana ko *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kayibanda, ndetse n' iyiswe kanani zaba zaraganiriye kuri icyo kibazo kitariho.

Aminadab Kanani, **President w'Urukiko rw' Ubujulire mu Ruhengeri**, yari azi neza ko imanza zamugeragaho, zari iz' **ubujurire**. Zabaga zizanywe na Procureur, umwe mu baburanyi cg bombi iyo baba batemera uko zaciwe n' urukiko rwo hasi, **babaga bararegeye**. Babaga banenga imikirize y' urubanza nk' uko yabaga yemejwe n'umucamanza wazikiranuye mu rukiko rwa mbere rw' iremezo. Niwe wabaga yararegewe urwo rubanza. Cyangwa se irega rikaba ryarabaye mu rukiko rwa Canton, urubanza rukagenda ruzamuka. **Aminadab Kanani yarajuririrwaga, ntiyaregerwaga**. Birumvikana ko atari kubaza umucuruzi igikocamye kandi kidashoboka. Ibyo ariko ntibivuze ko *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani itashoboraga gukora ibyo bitabaho. Iyo Aminadab Kanani aba *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani, yari kubanza akamenya neza niba uwo mucuruzi adakomoka muri 14% by' ubwoko bwari bwikubiye ubutegetsi n' ubucamanza, niba atari atuye mu isambu yabwo cg ya banywanyi babwo. Ubundi akabwira uwo mucuruzi, ati: "*jya muri Canton cg Mu rwa Mbere rw' Iremezo, urege Bicamumpaka iki n' iki, mukururukane maze uzanjuririre"*. Ibi ariko no mu nzozi, Aminadab Kanani ntiyari kubikora: yari azi akazi ke, agakunda, yubahiriza amategeko ya Repubulika, yeranacengewe n'*Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*.

By' umwihariko, Aminadab Kanani yari azi ubucuti Kayibanda na Bicamumpaka bari bafitanye. Ikindi ni uko mu bivugwa kuri Kayibanda, ubucabiranya butabamo! Ntiyari kurenga ku bucuti bukomeye yari afitanye na Bicamumpaka ngo narangiza amwohereereze *Nyirashangasha* uko yakwitwa kose ngo imutoteze. Tuvugeko amadayimoni amuteye agasaba Aminadab Kanani kujya gutoteza Bicamumpaka, Kanani ntiyari kubikora kuko yari kubibonamo ikigeragezo! Ikibazo umuntu yakwibaza ni mpamvu ki, Mme Madeleine Bicamumpaka ashidikanya ku bucuti bwa Grégoire Kayibanda na Balthazar Bicamumpaka? Rimwe akabwemeza akomeje, ubundi agakeka Kayibanda ibitazwi mu mateka ye. Iyi si imwe mu mpamvu y' uko **ukuli** kwajya ahagaragara urwo rwikekwe rukavaho, hakubakwa ubumwe butajegajega; biturutse ku gukekakeka?

3- Aminadab Kanani n' uwa 05.07.1973

Mu nyandiko ye, Madame Marie-Madeleine Bicamumpaka yemezako kare mu gitondo cy' uriya munsi, Aminadab Kanani yaba yarazindukiye hafi yo kwa Bicamumpaka akabaza abahisi n' abagenzi ko muri urwo rugo ari amahoro, niba ntacyaraye kihabaye, cg nta bantu benshi bari bariyo. Mu yandi magambo, nyiri inyandiko ivugwa, yemerako mu ijoro ry' iriya tariki haba harabayeho liste y' abari bakomeye muri politike, mu ngabo no mu yindi mirimo bagombaga kwicwa, putsch ya Habyarimana ikaba ariyo yaba yarabiburijemo. Ndetse n' ikimenyi menyi *Nyirashangasha* yiswe Cpt André Bizimana, Habyarimana akoresheje judo akaba yarayirishije itaka, ikamurasa imuhusha amasasu atatu atarigeze yumvikanisha urusaku. Habyarimana bari begeranye akaba yaba yaranayakwepye akabonwa n' umushoferi mu gitondo. Ndemera ko *Nyirashangasha* yiswe Cpt André Bizimana n' ubu Cpt André Bizimana atakiri muri iyi si, ibi yabikora, ndetse ikaba yanakwirasa ikipfumura amano. Cyakora Nyakwigendera Cpt André Bizimana wari tireur d' élite ntiyari kumuhusha muri metero imwe rudori cg ngo amasasu (arme du crime) abe ataragaragaye mu Rukiko rwa Gisilikare rwamuburanishije.

Iyo liste itarabayeho ivugwa haruguru, ntiyigeze ishyirwa ahagaragara habe n' umunsi n' umwe. Kandi putsch ibaye, abishwe nta rupapuro batwitse. Thaddée Bagaragaza, ukomoka mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba wari President w' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, yemeje ko Habyarimana atigeze ayimwereka ariko yamubwiye ko ngo yaba yari ayiriho. Ntiyigeze abyemera kuko yari azi neza Kayibanda n' ubucuti bari bafitanye. Iyo liste itarabayeho, yagizwe urwitwazo rwo kuyirega no kwica abo ubutegetsi butifuzaga. Aminadab Kanani niwe wikorejwe birambuye iryo shyiga ryagurumanaga. Ubwo ni *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani yayanditse wenda. Byaje bite?

Mbere ya putsch Aminadab Kanani yandikiye Grégoire Kayibanda wari Umukuru w'i Gihugu, urwandiko aranarwizanira aje muri Indépendance. Abasha kubonana n' Umukuru w' i

Giguhu, amusobanurira uko yananizwaga mu kazi ke n' abamunanizaga, umwuka mubi wari uhari n' aho yabonaga uva, muri make amubwira ko atari agishoboye gukora akazi ke mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba. Yasagabaga ko yakwimurirwa ahandi byaba ngombwa agahindurirwa imirimo, akazi yakoraga katabashije kuboneka ahandi. Bitashoboka akegura ku mirimo ye. Aminadab Kanani yasubiye ku kazi ajyanywe no gufunga imizigo ye. Nta gitekerezo n' umwanya yari afite cyo kuzindukira kwa Bicamumpaka mu gitondo cy' uwa 05.07.1973. Cyakora *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani yo yaba yarabikoze.

Igihe cye kigeze, Aminadab Kanani yarafahwe, akorerwa iyica-rubozo ngo yemere liste y' abagombaga kwicwa yaba yarakoze ku munsi atari azi. Iyo yasumbirizwaga n' ububabare yameraga ibyo *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani ishobora gukoreshwa byose, yahorerwa akemezako inyandiko azi yanditse ari ibaruwa yarimo ibibazo byariho, amazina y'abo yabonaga ari intandaro yabyo akayandikira Umukuru w' i Gihugu, amusaba kuhamukura cg akemera ko yegura. Bakongera bagahonda. Ari mu bantu bake babashije kohereza agapapuro iwe, yasobanuye ko ibyo yashinjwaga byari amazimwe, bitabayeho.

Aminadab Kanani yarashinyaguriwe cyane ku bikorwa byaba byarakozwe na *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani. Habyarimana yohereje mu rugo iwe i Kigoma ba mwumva-neza n' abasilikare, bafata Nyakwigendere bari barubakanye, n' uruhinja rw' icyumweru gisaga. Bamaze kubazengurutsa muri Commune, babajyana muri Prison Centrale mu Ruhengeri bamarayo imyaka ibili. Uyu mubyeyi na ruriya ruhinja, bari bahuriyehe n' ibikorwa bitabayeho byakozwe na *Nyirashangasha* yiswe kanani? Nta na hamwe. Abantu bashaka kwiyunga ntibashinyagurirana, cg kubyoroga uruhindu mu nkovu. Ahubwo bamagana agashinyaguro kandi bakamenya kwishyira mu mwanya w' undi.

Iyo nsomye inyandiko ku ihanurwa y' indege y' u Rwanda yatwaraga kandi yari itwaye President Habyarimana, nkurikije ibimenyetso byashyizwe ahabona, sinshidikanya ko yarashwe na FPR-APR. Unanyemeje ariko ko *Nyirashangasha* z' ab' extremistes b' Abahutu, arizo zamuvugije urusoro, – icyo gikorwa cyagombye gutuma zitakaza ubutegetsi – , ariko kuko ari *Nyirashangasha* zikaba zari zizi ko byari gutuma zifata ubutegetsi, numva ari agashinyaguro mu kandi. Nk' uko umufasha we yavuze ko " *kunshinja urupfu rw' umugabo wanjye ntaho bitaniye no kunyica ubugira kabiri* "! Uru rugero rurahagije kugira ngo buri wese yumve ko **ukuli** gukwiye guhabwa agaciro. Ibya *Nyirashangasha* bikazihariwa n'abanyabugeni bazo. Ingengabitekerezo ya buri wese ikamenyekana, kimwe n' umushinga buri wese afitiye u Rwanda, Itegeko nshinga, stratégie (n' ibihugu bizishyira ahagaragara ntibigire icyo bibihungabanyaho,… Tactique (diplomatie, programme immédiat (kuko niba abantu biyemeje gukora ishyaka, bagomba no kugira programme ya mandat) cg programme yo hirya gato(moyen terme) bikaba aribyo bishyirwa mu mabanga y' ishyaka hategerejwe ko igihe kigera ngo zitangarizwe buri wese. Byatuma abantu bafatanya bahereye ku bitekerezo bifatika. Utandukiriye bikagaragara hakiri kare. Rubanda ikabasha kugereranya no guhitamo neza.

Muri make rero, icyo Aminadab Kanani yanditse ni ibaruwa yavuzwe. Bamwe mu basilikare bafashe Presidence bayisanzemo ikiri ku biro. Mu ijoro ryo kuwa 04.07.1973, Habyarimana ageze muri Presidence yeretswe tract "*Choisis ton camp Camarade*"[16] ! yari yasohowe na bagenzi be bari biyemeje gutangiza putsch. Bamukekagaho ubugambanyi kuko tract " *SOS Mon Général* "! bari bamwandikiye mbere ngo atangize kwiba Rubanda ubutegetsi, ntacyo yatanze. Byari biteye ikimwaro Habyarimana kuba yitirirwa putsch yakoreye commande kuva muri 1968, ariko akaza kujijita kugeza ubwo bagenzi be bamwohererereza tract. Bakanayitangiza aturagurwa muri Ambassade y' Ababiligi aho yahungiye yibutse abasilikare yanyuzeho aje muri Presidence

[16] Iyi tract yarimo organigramme nshya, abagombaga gufatwa banafashwe nyuma ya putsch ndetse n' urupfu bagombaga kwicwa(sort). Kuri Habyarimana ibyo byari bivuze ko ahita mo kuguma muri organigramme agatangiza putsch niba niba adashaka gupfa gutyo. Kuri Kayibanda wari umutego wo gukora amakosa ngo atanguranwe no gusimbuka urwo rupfu, bityo impamvu n' ikirego biboneke. Ari Habyarimana ntiyatangije coup d' Etat, yahungiye muri Ambassade y' Ababiligi, ari na Gouvernement ntiyaguye muri uwo mutego. Yakoze uko yarisanzwe ikora.

akanabona tract "*Choisis ton camp Camarade"* ! We yari yabonye mbere. Byari na none kuri we ikinegu gikomeye ngo aboneke muri Rubanda nka Yuda wa Kayibanda, n'uw' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*. Mu kwikuraho ubwo bugambanyi nyabwo bwombi, Habyarimana, amaze kugarurwa muri bagenzi be n' Ambassadeur w' u Bubiligi, yubakira kuri ya barwa liste, itarabayeho, atanabashije no kugira uwo ayereka cg ngo ayimwemeze bifate. Iyi akaba ariyo mpamvu yarinze apfa atanayeretse byibura Ministre Bagaragaza bari kumwe muri gouvernement yavanyweho, akaba yari yanamushyize mu ye ya mbere. Iyo igaragazwa, ni irihe banga ry' i Gihugu ryari kumeneka?

4- Aminadab Kanani afite ibyo yavuze abamuhindanya bubakira ho

Rimwe Aminadab Kanani ari mu kazi ke – amaze gusoma urubanza – , umwe mu baburanyi ntiyabashije kwihangana amubwira ko bitashoboraga kurangirira aho kuko ngo *yigereragayo*. Kanani yari yitondeye cyane urwo rubanza rwarimo umwe mu bakomeye mu rwego rw' abategetsi-gakondo; akumva ko nta buryo bwo kurusesa ngo rube rwakongera rukaburanishwa. Cyakora mu byo abakuru b' imiryango babaga bashinzwe yari azi ko habagamo gukoresha imihango irebana n' abasekuruza b' umuryango mu isi yabo(Abazimu). Abakuru b' imiryango bahanganaga na roho-mbisha bahinduka ingabo ikingira abagize umuryango. Kanani yumvise ari aho uwo muburanyi yavugaga ko yigerera. Niko kumusubiza amagambo ajya gusa n' ayavuzwe na Mme Bicamumpaka. Bisetsa abaje mu Rukiko ariko biranabakangaranya kuko mu kandi kazi Abakuru b' imiryango babaga banashinzwe ngo harimo kugusha imvura cg kuyikumira mu rwego rw' ibihano. Abaturage bakumva ko uko kurakaza uwo muburanyi kwashoboraga kuzabateza amapfa. Bituma inkuru ikwira iba kimomo, abantu bakajya bazindurwa no kuza kumva urubanza Kanani yabaga arimo.

Inkuru yageze kuri Kayibanda yarahinduwe ngo biboneshe ko Kanani yaba yarigize ikigirwamana. Umwe mu bakoraga muri Presidence yabajije Kanani ukuri kw' ibyo yaregwaga. Kanani amusubiza ko ikibazo yari azi cyari icy' umuburanyi utarishimiye imikirize y' urubanza akamubwira ko yaba afitanye telephone rouge n' Imana, ko bidashobora gucira aho. Nawe akamusubuza ko yitondeye urubanza bihagije, ko iyo mana atayitinya. Kanani yagiriwe inama yo kuzaza gusobanurira Umukuru w' i Gihugu icyo kibazo, aho kugira ngo azabe ariwe umutumiza. Niko byagenze, igihe kigeze Kayibanda wari warakajwe n' ibyo yumvaga ahabwa ibisobanuro abwira Kanani ko umuturage yumva ibintu ku rwego rwe. Akaba ari uwo gusobanurirwa, atari uwo kurakarirwa. Kanani siwe wenyine mubakomeye warakaye ari mu kazi ke arimo agakora neza[17]. N' ubwo atari byiza, ntibinabe n' urugero rwo gukurikizwa ni ikosa ry' agahomamunwa iyo ubwo burakari bukozwe n' umutegetsi urimo kwica amategeko[18].

[17]– Muri za 1960, umenya ngo barashakaga gukuriraho impozamarira Ubudage bw' Iburengerazuba bwagombaga Abasoviets kubera ibyabo Intambara ya Kabili y' isi yari yarabononeye. Muri ONU Kroutchev wayoboraga URSS ntiyabyihanganiye, akuramo bottines ze azihonda ku meza yavugiragaho. Ntibiribagirana mu babibonye.

– Muri za 1980, hari umu clown wigeze kuzana n' abacuranzi b' aba Zaïrois, wabyinaga neza anasetsa cyane cyane mu ndilimbo yarimo refaim yavugwagamo ijambo Andeere, andeere kenshi. Sinibuka impamvu ariko Vice-Recteur i Ruhande abanyeshuri baje kumuhimba iryo zina, ari naryo bitaga uwo mu clown ndetse n' iyo ndilimbo. Rimwe Vice-Recteur yaje kwishimana n' abanyeshuri mu muziki. Arawuconga bose barishima ariko banashyizemo ya ndilimbo banarisubiramo cyane. Aho Vice-Recteur amenyeye ko ariwe barimo kuvuga n' icyo byasobanuraga, yakubise urushyi uwari ubishyushyemo ariko aramuhusha, amukurikiza umugeri anamubwira ko Andere ari nyi... Byashimishije abanyeshuri kuko babonye ko yari umuntu nkabo, ashobora kurakara no kwishima. Gusa kuko bitari gukunda, ubundi bumvaga bakwisuganya(pondérer) ngo ashakirwe ibihembo académiques. Ntawigeze abikuririza.

[18] Rimwe mu mpera ya za 1980, mu nama y' abanyamakuru Juvenal Habyarimana yarimo yahagurukije Nyakwigendera Mgr André Sibomana wari Umuyobozi wa Kinyamateka, amurakariye cyane kubera *Bazumva ryari* cg Umuntu utarabayeho (personnage) Kinyamateka yakoreshaga ngo anenge ibyari bikabije kwigararaza ko yari amakosa. Habyarimana araza aramwegera amubwirako yari azi ko atari azi ko ari uko yareshyaga, nta nase n' uko yasaga. Sibomana yakuyemo ko kuba yari umuhutu

B- Umuyaga ni igaju!?

Madame Madeleine Bicamumpaka yagarutse ku bibazo bimwe na bimwe, bigaragara ko ari propagande (yo ku gihe cy' Ubwami no ku bwa Habyarimana) cg uburyo abanyapolitike bakoresha ibinyoma by' ubakiye ku bisa n' ukuri ngo Rubanda, ndetse n'amahanga bibashe kubashyigikira.

Birazwi ko propagande yicumba imbago ebyili:

– ubwoba cg se guhahamura Rubanda ngo ibone ko ikwiye gukora icyo ibwiwe kandi icyemere kuko igaragarizwa ko irimo kwigoboka;

– **urwango** ruhabwa isura y' umwanzi, ushobora kuba umuntu, igihugu cg politike idashakwa. Agatungwa agatoki, Rubanda, kubera ubwoba ntishishoze igakurikira.

Ubwoba n' urwango biba bikubiye mu kinyoma cya propagande inyarutse bihirika inkuta z' ubushishozi n' ubusesenguzi busanzwe ku wo igenewe. Akabyemera uko byakabaye kabone n' ubwo biba bidashoboka. Buri wese azi neza ko umuyaga nta bara ugira. Kimwe n' umubeshyi w' ikinyoma, propagande ishobora kwemeza uwo igenewe ko ***umuyaga ari igaju***! Ndetse agasigara yibaza impamvu atari yarabibonye na mbere hose!

Ukorera Rubanda ni we ukwiye kugaragariza imikorere ye Rubanda cg Amateka akazaba ariyo ayibigaragariza. Muri Repubulika, akaba nta gikorwa na kimwe giha umuntu mandat y' ubuziraherezo kuri Rubanda, ni ngombwa ko Homme d' Etat G. Kayibanda, kimwe n'abanyapolitike bandi, tugomba kubemera tureba ibikobwa byabo byose, amadiskuru yabo, inama zabo n' uko bashyize mu bikorwa gahunda bari bafite. Niba batarayishyize mu bikorwa, ariko bagasobanura ko hagiye gukorwa indi politike kubera impamvu zigaragara nabyo tukareba umusaruro uvuyemo. Bityo tukabasha kubaha icyubahiro bakwiye, kubitegererezaho no kwirinda propagandes zikurura amacakubili.

Kayibanda ntiyigeze ashyiraho Direction général ishinzwe animation n' icengeza matwara. Ibyo yemeraga byose, yabigaragarishaga ibikorwa yatangiye mbere yo kuyobora igihugu. Ibi bikatwumvisha ko kugira ngo ube ''Homme d' Etat'' nta nzira y' ubusamo yabyo ibaho. Bisaba ubwitange, ugushaka guhamye(force de la volonté), ukudakura mu rujye (persistance),etc Nta nzira y' ubusamo k' urwana n'agahonyoro! Ubyiyemeje aba aboshywe ninyungu iz' i Gihugu cye cyonyine. Bimusaba kwemera akababaro no kuba yabizira ariko ntahindure ingamba nyamukuru. Akaba yabura byose nta gihembo ategereje. Kayibanda yari uwo! Imiryango yose yashinze, yari ihuriyeho kuba yari irimo amahame remezo y' *Isaranganya Mboneza mubano rya Gikristu.* Iyo yamaraga gutangira kwikoresha yarekaga ubuyobozi, agashinga indi. Ibyo Rubanda yarabyiboneraga, ikabona ko abikora nta gihembo ategereje. Yabimukundira, biyiturutse ku mutima.

Ikindi ni uko, bigaragara ko Kayibanda yakoreraga koko Rubanda. Gahunda ye yose yari ishingiye ku Munyarwanda, utari wishoboye. Bakaba aribo bari benshi mu Gihugu. Gukemura ibibazo byabo, bikaba byari bihwanye no gukemura ibibazo by' i Gihugu. Afata Umunyarwanda uko yari muri kamere ye: umuntu ufite ukwemera gukuru akaba no mu muco we yifite mo gusaranganya no gushyigikirana. Ntiyivunnye ngo atekereze ingengabitekerezo. Yafashe *Isaranganya Mboneza mubano rya Gikristu* rikubiyemo ukwemera, ubuvandimwe, ubufatanye kwiyobora, agaciro gakomeye k' umuryango, etc. abihuza n' umuco nyarwanda. Rubanda ihita yisanga muri iyo ngengabitekerezo. Umujinya n' akababaro yaterwaga n' akababaro n'

byanagaragaraga ho cyane yagombaga guharira Abatutsi kuba aribo bamagana ibibi ubutegetsi bwari mo gukora (solidarité ethnique dans la bêtise). Byaramutangaje kuko ububi bw' ikintu butagenwa n' ugikoze. Ikintu kiba kiza (cg kibi) ugereranyije n' ikibi (cg ikiza)!

akarenganyo bibonerwa igisubizo muri Révolution yo muri 1959. Ntiyari akeneye propagande ngo Rubanda yari abereye umugaragu, imwumve. Ukuli kwe muri byose kwarigaragazaga.

Siko byari bimeze kuri Habyarimana watangiye akabaguza gahunda yo gufata ubutegetsi muri 1968. We n' abo bari bafatanyije ntibari Rubanda. Bari Abahutu bifashije bari hejuru ya Rubanda, banafite inyungu zitari iza Rubanda. Ibibazo byabo ntibyari ibya Rubanda, byarabarebaga ubwabo. Binareba n' abandi bifite. Nti byari n' iby' akarere bakomokaga mo, kuko naho Rubanda yaho yari ihuje ibibazo ndetse biyikomereye nk' iy' ahandi hose mu Gihugu. Ariko kuko Ubutegetsi ari ubwa Rubanda, akaba ari nayo ibutanga, bari bakeneye kwereka Rubanda ko Ubutegetsi bambuye Uwo yari yarabuhaye, ari Rubanda ibwishubije aribo ikoresheje. Ibi bigaragarira mu itangazo rya nyuma ya coup d' État, aho bagira bati: ''*Banyarwanda, Ingabo z' i Gihugu, Abana banyu* ''… ntibabeshyaga, Ingabo ni abana b' Abanyarwanda. Ariko Repubulika si Ubwami, umwana asimbura umubyeyi. Binyura mu matora. Ingabo kandi, ntibisobanura Habyarimana n'abari **koko** mu mugambi we, kuko hari n' abawinjijwe mo batazi iyo bijya n' iyo biva. Muri make Habyarimana yari ahagarariye inyungu ze n' iz' abo yari akeneye. Yari anakeneye ariko ko, Rubanda yibeshya ko ariyo akorera. Nawe byamusabaga kugira ingengabitekerezo imuhuza by' urwiyerurutso na Rubanda, ndetse n' umugambi we. Nta kintu yari yarakoze kiyigaragaza ngo Rubanda iyibone. Ntibyari no gushoboka kuko *Isaranganya Mboneza mubano rya Gikristu* ritemera ironda koko, kwigwizaho umutungo, ... byaje kugaragara ko byari bigamijwe haba mu gufata ubutegetsi haba no mukubukomeza.

Ingero z' ibyo Mme Bicamumpaka yatanze, byinshi bikubiye mu bintu koko byabaye cg bifite ibijya gusa byabaye. Gusa propagande ariyo byaturukaga ho cg yarabyuririye ho ikabiha insiguro, iha isura nziza ubugambanyi, igahindanya ubwitange utizigama kandi nta kiguzi utegereje. Umuntu wese ashobora kwibeshya agafata ho ukuri ikinyoma kizwe neza ngo kigirwe propagande. Biba ikibazo iyo, kera kabaye icyarwanirwaga kitakiriho, umuntu asanga kumenya ukuri ntacyo bimaze. Ndetse nk' uko umwana ujishiye mu mugongo w' umuhetse, areba gusa mu ruhande yajishwe arebamo, ugasanga Rubanda ihitirwamo ibyo imenya n' ibyo idakwiye kumenya ku Gihugu cyayo. Kumenya ikibi cyabaye n' ingaruka zacyo, bituma kibonerwa umuti cg ikikirusha kuba cyiza kigashakishwa mu gihe hagitegerejwe umuti. Kumva ko ikibazo cyateranyije abantu bari basanzwe bumvikana mu gihe cy' intambara, nta handi byigeze biba ku isi[19], ingaruka zikaba zigaragariza buri wese, cyaba cyararangiye, kidakwiye gucocwa ngo kive mu nzira, ukuli guhabwe agaciro, ni ubwoba budafututse buzambya ibintu. Abantu bagatera umugongo igitekerezo kivuga ko gutsinda icyo kibazo bishoboka. Ntibifuze ingamba cg ibisubizo, ahubwo bakamagana buri kantu. Ntibanibaze umusanzu batanga ngo icyo kibazo kibonerwe igisubizo, kive mu nzira. Muri *Muyaga* yo muri 1973, mu bisa nk' ibi President Kayibanda yabyise ''***Nihilisme***''. Birakwiye guca ukubili nayo.

1- Ikibazo cy'Uturere n' Amatiku mu Rwanda no mu Banyarwanda

Ibimenyetso byinshi biremeranya na Madame Bicamumpaka ko ikibazo cy' uturere ndetse n'amatiku byabayeho ku gihe cya Repubulika. Gusa kubirebana n'igihe byaba byaratangiriye hari ibigaragaza ko ari kera cyane ku gihe cya Cyami, ndetse no mu gihe cy' Umwaduko w' Abazungu na Repubulika mbere ya 1968, umwaka we asanga ariwo byaba byaratangiriye mo.

Dusoma mu nyandiko ya Madame Bicamumpaka ko muri za 1940 ariho ba Nyakubahwa Dominique Mbonyumutwa na Balthazar Bicamumpaka batangiye kuvugira Rubanda (menu peuple). Ntibari kuyivugira itariho. Guhera muri 1956, abarwanashyaka bagiye mu nama y' ikibazo cy' amoko i Bwami basobanura ko bativugiraga ahubwo bavugiraga Rubanda bitaga Gahutu, Gatwa na Gatutsi. Bavugaga ko bari bafitanye ikibazo n' Umututsi. Byari bivuze imiryango ibiri yayoboraga u Rwanda ifatanyije n' abakozi b' ubutegetsi bw' abanyagihugu (autorité indigène)

[19] Ndavuga ukuntu bamwe mu Banyarwanda, bari mu myanya yo gufata ibyemezo bikomeye, bari muri Repubulika, bikangaga ingabo zayo kurusha izirimo ziyitera.

bigaga mu Ndatwa Astrida batoranyijwe mu bana b' abatware. Muri iyo Rubanda nayo yarimo ibice byinshi icya nyuma kikaba icy' **abacanshuro(**Pasteur Overscheld**)**[20].

Muri 1968, tariki 04.07 ni ukuvuga nyuma y' imyaka makumyabili, Nyakubahwa Balthazar Bicamumpaka yiyemeje kurengera Rubanda, hanashize n' imyaka icumi ari mu bushorishori bwa Repubulika. Yubahirije umwanzuro w' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko yashyiraga ho akanama ko kureba uko igihugu cyari kimeze. Kageze mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba, kahasanze ibyo kise gihake gasaba ko ikwiye gukurwaho. Rubanda yakomokaga muri ako karere idashoboye kwihanganira ubusumbane bukabije mu bukungu no mumategeko byaturukaga ku kutagira ubutaka kandi rimwe na rimwe ibumazeho imyaka amagana ibutuyeho, yahitaga mo kubuhungira muri za paysannat nko muri za Mugina ho muri Gitarama, ndetse no mu Bugesera. Abo bantu si *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* bahungaga. Mwibaze nko kuba waba utuye mu gihugu, ibisekuruza bitatu nta bwenegihugu ugifite mo kandi nta kintu na kimwe kirebana n' amategeko utigeze wubahiriza! Ababaye impunzi barumva icyo bivuze.

Nyuma ya 1959, ahandi mu Gihugu, ikibazo nk' iki cyahise kivaho. Mu majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba, umuco w' ubukonde wakumiriye ikemurwa ryacyo. Birazwi ko politiki ari umukino rusange (jeu collectif). Ese abantu bibutsaga iki kibazo koko babaga batoteza abantu bakomoka muri ako karere? None se ko ihame ry' icyubahiro cya muntu (dignité humaine) ry' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*, ryemeza ko umuntu wese yaremwe n' Imana mu ishusho ryayo, bityo twese tukaba turi abavandimwe, abavugiraga nk'abacanshuro iyo baceceka ngo bititwa "*gutikura*" bari kuba baryubahirije? Ihame ry'iyo ngengabitekerezo risobanura iby' umutungo rusange, ugomba kurengera mbere na mbere abanyantege nke (destination préférentielle du bien et Bien Commun aux démunis) ryubahirizwaga n' abifuzaga amategeko akuraho iki kibazo cg ababirwanyaga? Mu ntego ya Repubulika hari mo kwishyira ukizana (liberté), umucanshuro yari afite iyihe? Koko rero amatiku yariho, ariko ashakirwa aho atabaga.

Ingoma z' abahutu zari zimaze imyaka amagana zaravuyeho ahandi mu Rwanda, n' imyaka 40 irenga Ubwami bwinjijwe mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba. Abahutu bari barize bakomokaga ahandi mu Rwanda ntaho bari bahuriye n' ubutegetsi bwa Cyami, ngo babe bazi guhangana n' amatiku aturutse hasi muri Rubanda ngo bayakemure. Bari bamwe muri Rubanda. Bigahumira no ku mirari kuko, benshi bari barize muri za Seminaire. Ukaba wababaza cyane, ibirebana n' Ivanjili no gokora utijana. N' ubwo Ubwami bwinjiye mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba, abakuru b' imiryango bakomeje gukemura ibibazo by' inzitane byinshi byavaga hasi mubo babaga basangiye ubwoko cg abatagiraga ubutaka babaga baratujwe ku isambu y' umuryango.

Abatware b' i Bwami nabo bari bafite ubunararibonye mu guharaga no kunagura amatiku. Utari i Bwami yazaza agasanga yaranyazwe, cg akanyagwa ahari byari nk' umukino wo kwagura ubutegetsi(jeu d' influence), kwikiza uwo badashaka. N' ibindi. Ni nabwo buryo bwakoreshejwe kuva 1912 kugeza muri 1920 bigabiza ubutaka mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba nk' uko byari byaragenze ahandi. Bihaga ubutegetsi buri hejuru y' ubw' umukuru w' umuryango, bagasopanya

[20] ***Ubucanshuro:*** « *Par contre, umucanshuro niwe wafatwaga nk' umutindi kurusha abandi kandi unababaye kubarusha. Kugira ngo we n' umuryango we bagire amaramuko, adafite isambu, yagombaga, umunsi ku wundi kujya gushakisha uwakwemera kumuha ikiraka cy' umunsi. Yitwaje isuka ye, yazindukaga iya rubika akajya ku muturage, yamwemerera gukora, akageza saa sita akorera agashahara gato kagizwe n' imyaka, utujumba cg udushyimbo twa magabari, mbese ibihagije ku igaburo rya nimugoroba ry' umuryango we. Kuko nta suka yahabwaga n' umukoresha we w' uwo munsi, kuko yabaga yitwaje iye, ntacyamuhuzaga n' umukoresha we. Imibanire yabo yaraboneranaga(nta mukoresha, nta n' umukozi ku bw' amasezerano). Umucanshuro yabaga ahitaruye abandi; yari mu rwego rutazwi kandi rusuzuguritse hasi ya buri wese. Kenshi ndetse, ntiyemeraga ko yitwaje isuka ye, yikodeshaga ku bandi, akabihishira kugira ngo abashe kwikinga ikimwaro. Mu byukuri, imibereho ye ntiyari itandukanye no gusabiriza: ntiyasabirizaga ibiryo, ahubwo yasabirizaga akazi gafite ingirwa mushahara. Imibereho ye ntacyo yari ishingiyeho, yararegaregaga, ntaho byari bitaniye no kurenza umunsi ».* [Ni twe tubihinduye mu kinyarwanda)]

wajya n' i Bwami i Nyanza ugatsindwa kuko bahakurusha amaboko. Muri 1968, nta Bwami bwari bukiriho mu Rwanda. Uretse gukomoka mu karere kamwe n' abatware bari barakoze ayo mafuti, abategetsi bamwe bariho nta kindi cyabahuzaga n' ayo matiku yo muri za 1920[21]. N' iyo bajya kuba abana cg abuzukuru babo, ni amahano kuryoza cg gushinja umwana amakosa yakozwe n' ababyeyi, cg abasekuruza be. Icyaha kireba nyirukugikora n' abo yafatanyije nabo. Muri make, nta muntu uwo ariwe wese waturuka aho ariho hose ngo akunyage bigushimishe. Abaturage bo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba banyazwe n' abatware b' Abatutsi bahageze bavuye i Bwami. Ikibazo cy' amoko n' akarere bikaba atari ibihimbano. Mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba iminyago ba nyira byo babyishubije muri 1959. Iyo abakomokaga ahandi bahereye ku *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* basabaga ko Rubanda yarimo Abacanshuro n' abandi batagiraga ubutaka bari bababaje, baturwa umutwaro w' ibibazo. Mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba babibonaga – nkana- nk' amayeri yo kunyagwa bwa kabiri kw' ibikomerezwa n' abifite. Ibi byatangiranye na Repubulika.

2- Kayibanda niba yari azi gukama, yarabihishe cyane kuko ntawe ubimuziho

Mu bushorishori bwa Repubulika, Madame Bicamumpaka Madeleine atubwirako umubyeyi we yashyizemo abantu batatu bakomoka mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba: Bagaragaza Thaddée wabaye Ministre muri guverinoma nyinshi ndetse Repubulika ihirikwa, akaba yari Perezida w' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko. Hakaba Lazare Mpakaniye wabaye Secrétaire -Executif wa MDR-Parmehutu, Ministre ndetse na Député hafi ya byose incuro nyinshi. Hakaba na André Sebatware, wabaye Ministre. Yakomeje avugako bamwe muri abo "*baje nyuma"*[22] baje kugaragaza ishyushyu no gushaka kwigaranzura uwahabagejeje.

Igihugu cyari mu bihe bikomeye by' impinduramatwara (Révolution). Inzego zakagombye kugenzurira Ubutegetsi ko abayobozi bwifuza gushinga imirimo ikomeye, bemera Repubulika n' *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* (loyauté à la République et à la justice sociale chrétienne) zarimo zigishingwa, abakozi ari bake, etc. Kugoboka ishyaka n' i Gihugu mu bihe nk' ibyo ni ubutwari bwo gushimirwa. Ahari Démocratie, inzego zaramaze kubakwa, ushoboye umulimo kurusha abandi niwe uwujyamo kenshi binyuze muri concours. Ku mwanya wa politike, inzego z' ishyaka n' iz'igihugu zigasuzuma kudatatira politike yatowe no kudatatira i Gihugu. Ugeze mu mwanya, akora ku buryo ibimwitezweho biboneka bitaba ibyo akawuvanwaho hagashyirwaho undi wujuje izo ngingo. Iyo akoze neza, ashobora no gukomeza akazamuka. Si uyobora igihugu icyo gihe uba **umukamiye**, ni ubushobozi bwe buba bwaratumye amenyekana bukanamuzamura[23] nkuko bushobora kubura agasimburwa.

Simfite hafi Rapports z' inteko ishinga amategeko ngo mbe nanyomoza ibyanditswe na Munyarugerero birebana no kubohora Rubanda ku butegetsi bwa gakondo: Émancipation du

[21] Si ibinyoma ko umutware Rwakadigi wakomokaga muri Butare y' iki gihe, yayogoje Amajyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba, Ubwami bwinjizwayo na Gikolonize hagati ya 1912 na 1920. Ariko se iyi ni impamvu yo kubiziza Umunyabutare muri 1973? *Comités de salut public* zayogoje i Gihugu muri 1973, ese iyi ni impamvu yo kubitotereza abakomoka mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba? Igisubizo ni oya! Kuko Repubulika n' n' umuco Nyarwanda bitemera akarenganyo.

[22] Nta gihugu kizwi abaturage bacyo bavukiye rimwe, ngo babashe gukorera ibintu icyarimwe. Bamwe baravuka, bakakirwa n' abavutse mbere, bagatura ikivi cyabo, bagatabaruka. Abandi gutyo gutyo. Ik' ingenzi si igihe umuntu yavukiye, icyangombwa ni ikivi cye. Ntashobora kwakwa ikivi kandi ataravuka cg niba yaravutse, atarageza igihe cyo kugitanga. Nta tegeko kandi ribaho ko, uje gutanga ikivi igihe cye kigeze, niba yiyumva mo ubushobozi, agomba kwirinda gutanga igisumbye icyo abamubanjirije batanze.

[23] Ibi binaba ho ndetse n' aho igihugu na Rubanda bakamwa n' abakiri ku isonga. Nandika ino nyandiko nibutse nka Ministre Augustin Ngirabatware. Aje kwigisha muri Université i Butare, byahise bimenyekana ko haje umwarimu w' umuhanga bidasanzwe. Rimwe na rimwe mu isomo yatangaga rya Economie politique mu Ishami ry' Ubukungu n' Imbonezamubano ndetse n' Amategeko hari, n' abantu tutigaga muri ayo mashami twajya kwiyumvira kandi umuntu ukagira ako utahana. Abaye Ministre ntawe byatangaje kabone n' ubwo Habyarimana we yarazi gukamira abantu bamwe na bamwe.

menu peuple mu gihe cya Repubulika. Uko abo barwanashyaka batatu bagiye batora uko icyo kibazo cyagiye kigaruka mu nteko ntabwo nigeze ncukumbura ngo ndebe. Rapport yasomye, yasanze baratoraga bashyigikiye ubutegetsi bwa gakondo, aho gutora Émancipation ya Rubanda.

Muri Congres ya kabili ya MRND, politike ya Habyarimana yasobanuwe ko ari :" ***Libéralisme planifié***" (abize économie bavugako ari doctrines 2 zitandukanye, udashobora gushyira hamwe.) Mu yandi magambo n' ubwo Habyarimana yavugaga ko putsch ye yarengeraga Ibyiza bya Révolution ya 1959 (yari ishingiye ku ***Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu*** justice sociale Chrétienne), ntibyari ukuri kuko iyi ngenga-bitekerezo yashyizweho nk' umuti hagati ya "***libéralisme effréné***" *na "****communisme***" byakandamizaga Rubanda. Iya mbere kubera ubunyamwigendaho bukabije bw' abifite banyunyuzaga Rubanda, iya kabili kubera gushyira inzego z' ubutegetsi imbere cyane y' umuntu n' umuryango we (bureaucratie étatique écrasante). Bitewe *n' uko "communisme"* yitabiriwe cyane abakozi bifuza icyabakiza "*libéralisme effréné",* bikaba byarana kururaga icyuka cya Révolution, "*libéralisme''* yabaye **"régulé".** Itangira kumva ibibazo bya Rubanda, ko ikwiye akaruhuko, kuvuzwa, ubushomeri, amacumbi, etc. Ubukungu bwari bwifashe neza, hariho isaranganya ricirititse ryabwo, abaturage bafite ijambo mu buzima bw' i Gihugu. Aho *"communisme"* itsindiwe muri 1991, capitalisme irongera irekura feri zose. Ni uko 1% z' abakire usanga barusha umutungo 2/3 by' abatuye isi ndetse banawurusha na za leta. Abantu batora uko bidashakwa, bakabisubirishamo noneho hagatora abadeputes. Kubagura biroroshye iyo bashaka kwibera muri élite. Tugarutse ku Rwanda, muri make, ubwo 1959 yakozwe ngo abantu basaranganye, 05.07.1973 yimikaga "*libéralisme''* iteye icyuhagiro. Kuko ibyemezo byo mu gihe kidasanzwe, byinjijwe mu mategeko ya gisivili (itegeko nshinga & MRND), "*libéralisme''* ikagira uko yitwa, ariko igakora uko bisanzwe. Kwigwizaho umutungo, nk' ahandi hose bikabanzirizwa no gupfobya demokarasi. Abaturage bakabura ijambo mu gihugu ku byemezo bibareba bo ubwabo ndetse no ku bireba i Gihugu muri rusange. Habyarimana yakoresheje politique politicienne, anenga démocratie. Abantu bakagabanya umurego mu kwibariza, bakibera ba ntibindeba. Ingengabitekerezo ikaba ariyo ibibagezaho. Urubyiruko ntirutekereze rwisanzuye, ntirushakishe amakuru, ibitekerezo cg ngo rwamagane ibitagenda. Wakwamagana ibitagenda ugahindurwa umwanzi w' igihugu.

Duhinnye amagambo twavuga ko muri rusange, ubusumbane bukabije, bukurura umwiryane hagati y' abakire n' abakene, bukaba bwanagusha no kuri Révolution, bufite ibisubizo bibiri:

a) **kugabanya démocratie.** Agatsiko kugwizaho ibyo gakeneye, ubundi hakoreshejwe itangazamakuru, iterabwoba, ingengabitekerezo, propagande, kakumvisha Rubanda ko bahuje ibibazo kandi kabiyibereyemo. Ubusumbane bugasagamba. Uyu muti akaba ariwo Habyarimana na bagenzi be bashyize ku ntebe tariki y' uwa 05.07.1973. Uwo muti, ukaba waraturutse mu bifite, ari nabo watezaga imbere, banyunyuza Rubanda.

b) cg **kugabanya ubwo busumbane.** Révolution ya 1959 ikaba ari cyo yari igamije, yifashishije *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu* . Yaturutse muri Rubanda, abayireberaga, bumva umujinya wayo yaterwaga n' akababaro n'akarenganyo, bawuha isura (théorisation).

Ambassadeur Kabanda atubwira ko Lazare Mpakaniye ariwe wanditse statuts za MRND(" *Libéralisme planifié").* Mu mvugo na Rubanda yumva, yayambuye ijambo, aryongerera ibikomerezwa. Ibyo tukaba twabonyeko ari intambwe ibanziriza kwigwizaho umutungo. Hari muri 1975. Muri **1968**, politike ikorwa ari: *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu* ubwo yari Secretaire Executif wa MDR-Parmehutu, yaretse ishyaka rigenzurwa na Commission y' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, bitabaho ku isi. Ishyaka rifite inzego ziricunga, iyo rirenze ku mategeko bijyanwa mu nkiko. Muri rapport yasohotse, hasabwaga ko mandat ziva ku myaka 4, zikagera kuri itandatu. Kwari ukwambura Rubanda kuba bakwikiza vuba umuyobozi batifuza. Iyo rapport yanasabaga ko, Inteko Ishinga Amategeko icunga ubundi butegetsi (Nyubahiriza tegeko n' ubw' Ubucamanza). Iri naryo ryari igabanywa rya Démocratie ryasabwaga. Ukaba ari umuti wa *Libéralisme,* utitaye ku cyuhagiro cyose wayitera.

Sebatware yiyandikiye, anivugira kuri youtube ko President Kayibanda wari uzwiho ubushishozi n' ubwitonzi bwinshi yamutumije saa cyenda z' ijoro, imvururu za 1973 zirimbanyije, akamwita umugambanyi. Undi ibyo bintu byabayeho ni uwasomye Yezu ku wa kane mutagatifu. Na none muri icyo gihe, mu nama President Kayibanda abajije abari bashinzwe umutekano icyaburaga ngo umutekano ugaruke, Sebatware yashubije ko MDR-Parmehutu(*saranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu*) ivuyeho byakunda. Kayibanda avanywe ku Butegetsi, ajyanwa gufungirwa kwa Sebatware[24].

Muri make twavugako Bagaragaza yari yujuje ibyasabwaga kujya mu mwanya yagiye mo, akanajya no mu mwanya uwuri hejuru (loyauté à la République et à l' idéologie du Parti). Kuri Mpakaniye kudatatira *Isaranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu* ya MDR-Parmehutu bikaba biteye kwibazwaho; naho Sebatware ntacyo umuntu yarenza kubyavuzwe na Nyakubahwa G. Kayibanda. Mu yandi magambo 66,6% by' abantu batatu bashyizwe mu bushoroshori bwa Repubulika binyuze kuri Nyakubahwa Balthazar Bicamumpaka bakoraga indi politike, inyuranye n' iyo Rubanda yabashinze. Birashoboka ko kuramba mu myanya yabo cg kuzamuka mu ntera baba barabitewe mo inkunga n' ikibazo cy' ***Inyenzi***; zarwanywaga n' abasirikare bayobowe na benshi bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba; n' impungenge zo kuba ako karere kari gaturanye n' aho zaturukaga. Byasabaga Kayibanda ubwibombalike.

Sebatware akaba ariwe waba yari ahejeje inguni cyane mu kurwanya ***I****saranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu.* Mu kiganiro cye, yanenze Kayibanda ko yaba yarabereye Padiri Dejemeppe indashima kandi yaramujyanye i Burayi[25]. Ibyo avuga ntaho bitaniye n' ibyanditswe na JP Harroy asobanura ukuntu Kayibanda yarakajwe cyane kandi agatangira kwishisha Ababiligi ntaguhishahisha abitewe n' iburizwamo rya 28.01.1961. Yanarenguriraga kandi ku kwangira Ababiligi kugira ibigo ku mupaka na Congo (Zaïre) n' uko Kayibanda, wishishaga abaframaso(Franc-maçons) yasabye Umwami Baudoin gusimbuza JP Harroy, Vice-Gouverneur w' umukristu. Muri make kuri Sebatware, inyugu ze bwite zibaye zubahirijwe, iz' i Gihugu n' iza Rubanda zirakagwa iyo giterwa inkingi!

I Burayi, Kayibanda yagiyeyo mu rwego rw' akazi (JOC) ubundi no mu ihugura nkalishya-bwenge. Iyo mu kazi ke habonekamo undi umurusha ubushobozi, niwe wari kujyanwayo. Kayibanda yagiye asobanurira Padiri Dejemeppe ibibazo biriho, amwumvisha ko igihugu cyasatiraga Révolution. Dejemeppe agarutse yandikiye bagenzi be ko bashobora kuzabura Abakristu nk' uko *communisme* yari yaratwaye Kiliziya abakozi. N' ubwo bombi bemeraga ***I****saranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu,* harimo itandukanyirizo. Dejemeppe nawe yarabibonaga ariko akumva ko iryo saranganya ryaturuka ku gushaka kw' abifite. Kayibanda akaba mu Bakristu babonye ko ibyo ntacyo bikemura, ko ahubwo icyiza ari uko Abakristu barenga Action Catholique, bakaninjira muri politiki ngo bahindure ibitagenda, bakore iryo saranganya. Umuti Dejemeppe yari yarafashe, kwari ugushaka guhuza Abatutsi n' Abahutu bifite, ndetse n' Ababiligi kandi bashaka ko ibintu byazahinduka (réformistes)bagashyirwa hagati y' u Bwami n' ibikomangoma byinangiye na Rubanda yijujutaga bagakora **Tiers- État(**soupape de décompression**)**. Abaturage bakabibonamo bibeshya, kuko mu by' ukuri bari kuba bahagarariye inyungu zabo. Bityo amahindura ntazabeho ariko n' isaranganya ntiribeho. Ubusumbane bugahabwa indi sura. Ni muri urwo rwego yari yaranashyizeho muri Gicurasi 1951 i Buhambe ho muri Byumba, *mutualité* ya mbere yageneraga 400 fr abayirimo mu gihe hari umwana avutse mu muryango wabo na 1000 fr hagize upfa. Abakonde, abarimu, abashefu n' abasushefu b' Abatutsi bari bafite ubwo bushobozi. Ni aho mu gushakisha gushyiraho Tiers- État, Prosper Bwanakweri yahuriye na Kayibanda. Muri 1954, u Bwami bwarwanyaga cyane icyo gitekerezo bushaka gucira

[24] Dr Nkiko kuri Radio Ishakwe.

[25] Mbere yo kuba Ministre, Sebatware yabonye bourse muzari zahawe Leta, ajya gukarishya ubwenge i Burayi ajyanye na Félicien Kwigira, ukomoka i Gitarama. Kwigira yashinzwe kuyobora Prefecture, undi agirwa Ministre na President Kayibanda, ngo waba yararondaga agatoteza abo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba. Nk' uko Kayibanda yareberaga Rubanda, Dejemeppe yareberaga Kiliziya Gatolika.

Bwanakweri muri Congo. Kayibanda asanga iyo nzira, yanarwanywa Abatutsi bifuzaga ko ubusumbane bwari bukabije bwagabanuka, yarashakaga gupfukirana inyungu za Rubanda, abivamo. Kuri Sebatware, iyi miterere y' ikibazo ntiyari ihagije ngo Kayibanda yumvikane na Dejemeppe bisanzwe ariko mu nyungu za Rubanda n' u Rwanda, abe yashishoreza Rubanda! Iyi myitegerereze igaragazwa na Sebatware yari imwe mu byo Kayibanda yitaga ibisigisigi bya Gihake na Gikolonize.

Kugira ibitekerezo bitandukanye si ukugusha ishyano, ni ubukungu butagereranywa. Ntibibuza kandi Rubanda kwishyira hamwe ngo irengere inyungu zayo. Binyuranye n' uko agatsiko aka n' aka kitiranya inyungu zako n' iza Rubanda, kakayumvisha ko arizo ikurikira. Ako gatsiko gashobora kubigeraho, iyo gahisha Rubanda umushinga wako (projet de société). Uyifite bituma ataba igikinisho cy' ibihe(événements) cg cy'inyungu zitari iza Rubanda. Binabaho ko hari ubwo agatsiko kerekana projet de société ariko kakirinda kuyisobanura cg kagasobanura kaguna. Kandi Rubanda ikeneye kumenya ibyo ishishikarizwa. Ubusanzwe, byorohera umuntu kwibuka ibibi yabonye kurusha ibyiza. Uvuze ko ashaka Ubwami, umwumvise atari igikomangoma nta nabe n' umwe mubari bagize ubutegetsi bw' abanyagihugu (autorité indigène), yumva ko uburetwa, ubuhake, shiku, ikiboko, ingoyi, … byugarije. Niba hari uvuze ko ashaka Repubulika, ikiza bwangu mu mutwe wa Gatutsi, ni inkongi, imiborogo, n' imeneka ry' amaraso mu gihe cy' ibitero by'*Inyenzi* na *Muyaga* yo muri 1973. Wavuga ko wifuza ubwato rukumbi, utari mu nda y' ingoma akumva, *Muyaga*, iyicwa rya Kayibanda n' abafungiwe uwa Gatanu Nyakanga, ihambwa rya bamwe babona, ironda karere, intambara y' ukwakira 1990, Génocide, n' ubuhunzi; wavugako wifuza kugarura ibitekerezo bya FPR yo mwikubitiro, hakumvikana intambara, Nyacyonga, mines, grenades, Génocide, ubuhunzi, irondakazu, etc. Ibisobanuro birambuye ku magambo ukoresha biba ari ngombwa ngo urwikekwe ruveho. Guhitiramo abantu ku ngufu ibyo baganiraho, ni terrorisme intellectuel. Ibi ni ibindi bigaragaza ko ukuli ari ngombwa kubifuza kugira icyo bafatanya.

Isoko yo kwibohora nta busamo igira

Ubutwari buhoraho n' ubumuntu ni intwaro yo gusenya igitugu. Ubyifitemo, bimuha kwitanga nta nyungu ategereje. Akaba yavutswa ubuzima igihe icyo aricyo cyose. Ntibireba umuntu ku giti cye. Yitangira Rubanda. Izo ntwaro zituma atajijita ku nshingano umuntu aba yihaye. Ntibishoboka kandi gukumira Rubanda iyo yiyemeje kwitanga mo ibitambo (sacrifice) no kwishyira hamwe mu biyireba nyakuri. Kwigobotora mu nzara z' agatsiko nti byoroshye kandi nta nzira y' ubusamo bifite cg igitangaza cyabyo kibaho. Biragoye na none, guheza abantu mu bunyamwigendaho iyo ibikorwa byabo biyobowe n' umuntu cg abantu bifitemo **ubutwari buhoraho n' ubumuntu**. Bisaba kwiyuha icyuya; kwemera kwitanga; guteganya ejo hazaza ukareba kure; kutarambirwa; gufatanya; gushyira mu bikorwa ibyemerenyijweho; ubutwari, gucya ku mutima, n' ubugiraneza (bonté). Kayibanda n' abandi bemeraga ***I****saranganya mbonezamubano rya Gikirisitu* bari bujuje ibi bya ngombwa, Rubanda nayo yiyemeje kwitanga mo ibitambo. Ni uko muri 1959, isaranganya ryabaye umuti rigatsinda igabanywa rya démocratie.

3- Irobanura mu ngabo

Mu nyandiko ye, Madame Bicamumpaka yibajije niba ubuke bw' aba Officiers bakomokaga ahatari mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba ataribo bwabaga buturutseho. N'ubwo ateruye ngo abe aliko abivuga, uwasoma inyandikoye akaba yasomamo ko baba batarakundaga igihugu kurusha inyungu zabo(manque de patriotisme). Udacukumbuye icyo kibazo ngo urebe umuzi wacyo, ushobora kugwa kuri uwo mwanzuro udafite aho uhuriye n' ukuli. Ariko iyo ukurikiranye, usanga ari politike yariho kandi yateguwe mbere ya Repubulika.

Ishuli Rikuru rya Gisilikare (Ecole des Officiers) yabaga i Kigali, hagati mu gihugu. Hari igisobanuro gifatika kiriho ku mpamvu kumenyekanisha iyinjira mu Gisilikare byakorwaga mu bwiru kandi itoranywa ryabo rikabera i Nemba mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba? Pr Mureme atubwira ko Nyakwigendera Bizindoli Louis wakomokaga i Gitarama(wari waraniganye na

Habyarimana Juvenal mu Seminari i Kagbayi) aritaye mu gutwi yabashije kugera i Nemba agakumirwa gukora ibizamini? Uretse ubwo bwiru n'iryo kumira, hanabayeho gushishikariza cyane abakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba, hafi y' umupaka wa Congo – igihugu ububiligi bwari bwirukanywemo huti huti- .

Urugero rugaragara ku rusha izindi, ni urwa Habyarimana. Shimamungu Eugene yemeza ko yimwe bourse aho yigaga muri Congo igihugu cyari mu kajagari kegereza intambara n' urwikekwe ku banyamahanga. Ibyo kandi nta wundi munyeshuli uzwi byabayeho. Akora stage ukwezi mu itangazamakuru, ubundi ataha mu Rwanda ahurirana n'iyinjizwa mu Gisilikare. Muri 1956 (niba nibuka neza) Sergent-Comptable Mobutu arangije kontaro ye mu Gisilikare, yakoze stage mu itangazamakuru. Yinjira muri MNC, Patrice Lumumba wari ufunze(mu ntangiriro za 1959) yarimo, ishyaka byagaragaraga ko rizayobora igihugu, yoherezwa i Bruxelles aho Abanyekongo bari mu mishyikirano. Abasha kumvikanisha ko Inama yabo hagati n' u Bubiligi itabaho Lumumba adafunguwe. Byarakunze. Uko niko Lumumba yamenyanye na Mobutu. Yageze ku butegetsi amwongerera amapeti amushinga ingabo. Nyuma y' amezi atatu, ntiyari akiri Premier Ministre. Mobutu yaramuboshye amwoherereza Moise Tsombe warwaniraga ukwigenga kwa Katanga yiyomora kuri Congo. Ikidashidikanywaho ubu ni uko nyiri itangazamakuru ryari rishyigikiye bidasubirwaho polititi ya gikolonise na gikolonize nshya (neo-colonialisme) Mobutu yakoreye, yakoreraga inzego z' ubutasi z' u Bubiligi, akaba kandi ari nawe wari inyuma ya Tsombe. Ku mugaragaro byitwaga ko mu rwego rwa Congo, Mobutu yarwanyaga Tsombé. Mu bwiru, bategekwaga n' umuntu umwe bakurikiye inyungu zimwe.

Tugaruke kuri Habyarimana. Ubwoko bw' itangazamakuru yakozemo stage ntibwatangajwe. Ikigaragara ni uko yafungiwe imiryango yose, uretse umusubiza mu Rwanda. Ubuzima bumubana umuliro(enfer) akinguye wa muryango, abona stage, irangiye asubira mu Rwanda ahurirana n' iyinjiza mu Gisilikare. Uwavuga ko Habyarimana yashishikarijwe kwinjira mu Gisilikare, mu gihe hari abakumirwaga yaba abeshye? Impamvu yari akenewe cyane nayo iraboneka. Ubwo mu Rwanda Rubanda yari imaze kwibohora u Bwami, Kigeli III Ndahindurwa yasuye abanyeshuri bigaga muri Congo. Bagenzi ba Habyarimana bakubiswe n' inkuba bamubonye muri délégation ya Kigeli, ariwe bakoreye ibipfurumba n' amavalisi ye[26]. Uwaje kuba Ir Claver Iyamuremye ntiyabyihanganiye kuko yaje kumunyatura urushyi. Kubari bashyigikiye gikolonise, Habyarimana, – Pr Mureme yemezako yari no mu rubyiruko rwa UNAR- , yari iturufu: inyungu ze zubahirijwe, yashoboraga kurengera izabo kurusha abari bashyigikiye *Isaranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*, Habyarimana yemezako ritigeze rimujyamo. Yavugaga socialisme muri rusange, bivuzeko na socialisme ya Gikristu yayivuzemo[27]:

: « *En octobre 1974, Habyarimana reçoit en audience le comité de l' AGER. Il ironise sur les options socialistes de l' association: '' **Vous en guérirez. Ce sont des illusions de jeunesse! ''** … Habyarimana laisse éclater sa colère: « Toi aussi [Sendashonga, chef de la délégation, Ndlr], fils d' un leader hutu, tu crois a ces choses la!» … Sur ce, le comité de l AGER se retire avec un constat de désaccord sur toute la ligne avec le gouvernement et en fait rapport a toutes les sections. Celle-ci dénoncent les intimidations du chef de l' état sur le comité ».*

« Mu Kwakira 1974, Habyarimana yakiriye komite y' AGER[Ishyirahamwe ry' abanyeshuli b' Abanyarwanda, nitwe tubyongeyemo]. Annyenga amatwara ya gisosiyalisti y' uwo muryango: '' Muzabikira. Ni inzozi za gisore!'' … Habyarimana atombokeshwa n' umujinya we:'' Nawe koko [yavugaga Sendashonga wari uyoboye izo ntumwa, nitwe tubyongeyemo], umwana w' impirimbanyi y' umuhutu, ibyo bintu urabyemera!'' … Basubkira aho, Komite y'AGER yikubura idashidikanya ko ntabwumvikane na buke yagirana na gouvernement ikorera rapport amashami yose. Aya yamagana iterabwoba ry' umukuru w' i Gihugu kuri Komite»

[26] Lizinde
[27] F-X. Munyarugerero

Habyarimana, yemeraga ***libéralisme "planifiée" na clientélisme***– kwinjira mu gisilikare no kugitera mo intera bye bikaba byarasigasiwe cyane n' Abaconseillers techniques Belges(protection de sa carrière). Ni iyihe mpamvu yari kumushishikariza kwiyegereza mu ngabo aba Officiers batsimbaraye ku ***Isaranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu*** *(Justice sociale Chrétienne)* ***na Émancipation*** *(ya Rubanda)* azi neza ko byarakaza abo yakoreraga mu manyakuri*?* Nta n' imwe. Iki kiratwereka ko mu njijuke, mu bifite, … b' Abanyarwanda utarebye ubwoko, hari mo abashishikajwe n' inyungu zabo mbere y' iza Rubanda ndetse n' i Gihugu.

Iyi niyo mpamvu Umuhutu Rukeba ibikomerezwa by' Abatutsi bo muri UNAR, byarimo intagondwa byemeraga akabiyobora. Bikaba uko kuri Colonel Kanyarengwe na FPR cg Pasteur Bizimungu. Kandi intagondwa zo muri FPR zari zizi neza ntagushidikanya, ko Kanyarengwe mu Gisilikare na Bizimungu mu Gisivili aribo bari bayoboye itikizwa ry' Abatutsi muri *Muyaga yo muri 1973*. Bose baba bazi ko baryaryana, ariko banemera ko inyungu umwe ku giti cye akurikiye yazigeraho bimworoheye ari uko bisuganyije. Iki kigatera kwibaza niba iyo Abanyarwanda[28] dusuzuma ibibazo byacu, tukajya mu moko no mu turere, tutaba dusuzuma ikibazo kitari cg dushakira umuti aho utari!

4- Ubudakomwa (Exceptionnalisme)[29]

''*Comité de salut public''* zavugaga ko zirengera ibyagezweho na Révolution yo muri 1959. Kimwe muri ibyo kwari ugukuraho Ubwami. President wazo muri Kaminuza, Umuhutu Pasteur Bizimungu ahatangiriza *Muyaga* yo muri 1973 yatangiye tariki 15.02.1973. Leta ishatse kumuhana, abasilikare baje gufata ubutegetsi le 05.07.1973 babiburizamo, yoherezwa kwiga[30]. Atsinzwe, arihirwa n' Umututsi Kajeguhakwa Valens, wishakira Ubwami kandi wahungetaga za *Comité de salut public* muri *Muyaga* ubwo abandi Batutsi bazihunganga iyo baticwaga[31]. Yari abisabwe n' abo basilikare. Muri 1990 kurya umureti bikenewe[32], FPR iba ari Bizimungu ishyira ku buyobozi bw' i Gihugu. Gushinyagurira Gatutsi (menu peuple Tutsi) kurenze uku ni ukuhe? Sinzi niba mwibuka amashusho ye kuri television, ari i Kibeho ahiciwe na FPR ibihumbi by'impunzi z' Abahutu, ari hagati y' imirambo, arimo atongana n' umu capitaine w' Umuzambiya! Gushinyagurira Gahutu kurenze uku kubaho?

Ukuli kudashobora guhishirwa muri ibi bimaze kuvugwa, ni uko bamwe mu bifite baba Abahutu n' Abatutsi, bumvikanira kuri Rubanda yagowe. Bose kandi baba bavuga ko ariyo bakorera. Igitangaje ni uko President Kayibanda washatse guhana abakoze *Muyaga* ahereye kuri Pasteur Bizimungu, yakumiriwe n' abamushinje ko atitaye kuri Rubanda. Ikindi, ni uko Abatutsi bifite bumva Bizimungu, wariye umuleti wa Gatutsi, ari intwari ndetse na Habyarimana wari inyuma ya *Muyaga* yaba yarabakundaga kurusha Kayibanda wayizimyaga. Ntibisanzwe! Ntibaba babeshya kuko inyungu zabo, zarasagambye abapfa bamaze guhambwa.

Guhera 21.01.1994, Amerika mu mibare icirirtse, yari ifite ikigereranyo cy' abantu 500.000 bashoboraga kuvutswa ubuzima bwabo iyo imirwano yari kongera kubura mu Rwanda. Yongeye kubura nyuma y' iyicwa rya President Habyarimana Juvenal n' abo bari kumwe tariki 06.04.1994.

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[28] Ndahera ku rugero rwa Madeleine Bicamumpaka wibajije agenekereje niba ubuke bw' Abasilikare bakuru batakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba butaba bwaraturukaga kukutagira urukundo rw'i Gihugu.

[29] Ijambo numva rikwiye ni ubudasazwe, gusa iryo jambo muri iki gihe FPR irarikoresha cyane kandi mu bidafite aho bihuriye n' igisobanuro kijyanye n' iyi nyandiko.

[30] Musabyimana atanga ibyo bisobanuro, gusa ashyira Muyaga muri 1972 kandi yaratangiye ku mugaragaro tariki 15.02.1973 muri Université Nationale y' u Rwanda. Cyakora muri 1970, comites de salut pubic ikaba yari iriho nk' uko byemejwe kuri BBC mu biganiro byakurikiye Umuhango wo Guherekeza mu Cyubahiro Abaziza Uwa Gatanu Nyakanga.

[31] Ni Valens Kajeguhakwa ubyemeza mu gitabo cye.

[32] Gutura Abatutsi ho igitambo ngo FPR ifate ubutegetsi. Byavuye ku mugani ngo: ''*ntushobora kurya umureti utamennye amagi''* wagizwe igisubizo ku munyamakuru wari ubajije FPR, impamvu itatabaye Abatutsi bicwaga kandi yari ibifitiye ubushobozi.

Gouvernement yaratabaje, isaba ihagarikwa ry' imirwano ngo haboneke ingabo zo kujya guhosha ubwicanyi ku misozi. Muri ONU, Ubufransa bwasabaga itabarwa ry' Abanyarwanda ni nabwo bwa mbere bwemeje ko mu Rwanda harimo gukorwa Génocide(Alain Juppe). Claude Dusayidi na Charles Muligande mu izina rya FPR, bemezagako FPR yari guhagarika ubwicanyi ubwayo, ndetse ko nta n' Abatutsi bari bakiriho bo gutabarwa. Ingabo za ONU (MINUAR) zivanwa mu Rwanda. Génocide irangiye, Lieutenant Abdoul Ruzibiza, na nyuma y' aho n' abandi basilikare ba FPR, bemeje ko FPR yababujije gutabara abicwaga. Kuba Colonel Bagosora Theoneste wari Directeur de Cabinet muri Ministeri y' Ingabo n' Abajandarume afungiye abantu bishwe n' abasilikare[33] muri kiriya gihe; naho FPR yarifite iriya mibare y' abantu bagombaga kuvutswa ubuzima, imyitwarire yayo ikaba yaratumye imibare yaraje kwikuba kabili ikagera kuri miliyoni, akaba nta muntu wabikurikiranwe, nabyo ntibisanzwe. Byarashobokaga ko MINUAR iguma mu gihugu, abasilikare b' Abafransa, ab' Ababiligi ndetse n' Abataliyani baje guhungisha abantu babo bashoboraga guhindurwa renforts za MINUAR iyo FPR yari kubyemera. Nta muntu wayo ubifungiye. Ibi nabyo ntibisanzwe!

Habyarimana, Sebatware yemezako muri 1968[34], we n' abandi basilikare bo mu Majyaruguru (y' Uburengerazuba, précision ni iy' umwanditsi) bari barasohotse mu Itegeko-Nshinga, baramaze gutatira Indahiro ya Gisilikare yo kurengera Leta n' Inzego zayo. By' umwihariko, Habyarimana we yari yaramaze no gutatira Indahiro ye nka Ministre yo kubahiriza Itegeko Nshinga n' Umukuru w' i Gihugu. Tariki 05.07.1973, bahirika Leta babyita “ubutwari” no kwirengera. Iterabwoba ribyemeza gutyo.

Ukurikije ama plans yabo ya mbere, tariki 19.05.1973 yari wo munsi Habyarimana (atahutse igitaraganya ava mu mahanga) na bagenzi be bagombaga gufatiraho ubutegetsi[35]. Mu rwego rwo kurwanya ubwo bugambanyi (semer la confusion dans le camp des conjurés), tariki 18.05.1973 Athanase Mbarubukeye, wari Secrétaire-Exécutif wa MDR-Parmehutu yagiye mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko, yari ifite ububasha bwo guhindura Itegeko-Nshinga. Asaba aba Deputes ko bakwiye kongera mandat y' Umukuru w' i Gihugu mu mpamvu yasobanuye mu marenga buri wese yumvise. Kuko gushishikariza abantu kugambanira Rubanda (''mot d' ordre d' agitation'') kwari ukureba imiryango yabo ubundi bagahitamo hagati y' umu President urimo kwamburwa Ubutegetsi n'uwarimo kubumwambura. Muri Werurwe 1967, abo basilikare Umukuru w' i Gihugu yari yarabihanangirije anabasobanurira ibya coup d' État n' uko yayibonaga; bakaba batari bakimwumvira kabone n' ubwo yari yarabongeje amapeti tariki 01.04.1973 (guvernoma ikabyemeza 04.04.1973) ngo igihugu kibe cyasohoka mu miborogo (sortie de crise par le haut). Tariki 04.04.1973 Habyarimana akoranya Abayobozi bashya umukuru w' i Gihugu yashyizeho guhera 20.03.1973, akoresheje ''mot d' ordre d' agitation'' abumvisha ko nta mahitamo bafite. Igihugu cyari kijishwe n' urunturuntu: Habyarimana afite ubushobozi bwo gufata ubutegetsi kandi ari nabyo agamije; ariko atabufata. Kuko nawe yari akeneye ***kurya umuleti*** n' ibigwi mu bugambanyi bwe*:* byagombaga kutaboneka ko hari aho ahuriye na putsch. Igihugu kigacura imiborogo n' ingogo zikagwa we ari mu mahanga. Mu bagombaga kwicwa, harimo Umukuru w' i Gihugu Kayibanda n' abaje kugirwa ibitambo nyuma y' uwa 05.07.1973. Bigasobanurwa ko bari kuba baguye mu mirwano hagati y' abasilikare batavukaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba (bakaba baraje no kwicwa muri 1974) bari gushinjwa gushaka gukuraho Kayibanda, n' abavuka mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba bari kwishyira mu mwanya w' abarwaniriraga Repubulika, ariko mu by' ukuri barimo gushyira ku Butegetsi Habyarimana,

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[33] Mu nyandiko ihinnye y' Urubanza rwa Bagosora na bagenzi be, TIPR-98-41-T, rwasomwe 18 Ukuboza 2008, p.1, ibimenyetso 40 byo kwemeza ko watekereje Génocide, byose byateshejwe agaciro mu rubanza. Kuba ntahandi iryo tekerezwa rishakirwa ni urujijo rwa nkana.

[34] Mu gitabo cye, n' ubwo atari byo ijana ku ijana, Sebatware yemeza ko ab'Officiers bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru bose bari bashyigikiye coup d' État. Igitekerezo cya coup d' Etat cyo Habyarimana akaba yari agifite muri 1968, ndetse anakiganira ho na Mobutu. Inzitizi kuri we ikaba yari MDR-Parmehutu.

[35] Coup d' Etat yaburijwemo ya mbere yo ni iyo kuwa 12 werurwe 1973. Yari itewe n' uko bene kuyikora bakekaga batibeshya ko ubugambanyi bwabo bwari bwaramenyekanye. Ntiyari ikurikije ama plans ya mbere.

banasibanganya ***I****saranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* igasimbuzwa *libéralisme "planifiée" na clientélisme*. Habyarimana akagaruka mu Rwanda yitwaje imifuka yuzuye amahoro akayasesekaza ku Banyarwanda. Ng' uko uko yatangiye gushotora u Burundi, yari abiziranyeho n' intagondwa Colonel Micombero. Umushumuliza impunzi zamucitse, biha undi mwanya iyo ntagondwa wo kwirara na none mu Barundi irarimarima. Akurikije ama plans, tariki 16.05.1973 Habyarimana atitaye ku ntambara yatutumbaga ku batari bazi ko ari ikinamico, ajya gusinyisha impapuro zimwemerera gukora urugendo(ordre de mission) mu Bubiligi no mu Budage bw' i Burengerazuba. Perezida Kayibanda wari waribiwe iryo banga amusubiza ko : ''*uko umutekano umeze ku mupaka w' amajyepfo, bitemerera Ministre w' i Ngabo gusohoka mu Gihugu*''. N'ubwo Kayibanda yumvaga, ibi bihagije kuri Habyarimana ngo yibaze aho inyungu z' i Gihugu zari zihereye, Inzego z' Umutekano zagaragazaga ko ntacyo byahinduye, nta n'icyakorwa neza uko byari bisanzwe no mu bindi. Ng'uko uko Athanase Mbarubukeye Secrétaire-Exécutif wa MDR-Parmehutu mu rwego rw' akazi ke yagiye mu Nteko ku birebana n' Itegeko Nshinga. Kayibanda akavuga ko yari buzarisinye iyongerwa rya mandat, ko ariko we atari kuryubahiriza, kuko ryari kumugira umunyagitugu.

Uko kwiyambaza igisubizo cya gisivile ku kibazo cya gisilikare-gisivile (militaro-civile), kwatumye amaraso yagombaga kumeneka hakurikijwe amaplans ya mbere atameneka. Tutitaye kuri propagande, hagati y' umusilikare w' umugambanyi wiyemeje guhindura Itegeko-Nshinga, akoresheje urwego yishyiriyeho n' ingufu z' igihugu zikoreshwa mu kukirinda, wamaze kumena amaraso na *Muyaga* , n' uri mu nshingano ze, arwanya iryo mena maraso akoresheje uburyo budahagije ariko bwemewe n' amategeko, intwari cg umunyamafuti ni nde?

Izi ngero n' izindi undi wese ubyibajijeho yabona, ziragaragaza ko muri twe Abanyarwanda, hari ibibazo tugeraho tukumva amategeko asanzwe akoreshwa agomba guhagarikwa, hagakora ubudasanzwe bw' abantu ku giti cyabo cg udutsiko. Bivuzeko tutangana imbere y' amategeko. Si inzira yo gukomeza gututiramo kabone n' ubwo bamwe iyo bageze ku kibazo nk' icyo, basa n' abakurikiza principe anglo-saxon:" *right or wrong, is my country*"(kwaba ukuri cg ikosa , ni igihugu cyanjye! Bo ariko, baba bafite inzego zitajegajega, zigenzura bya nyabyo amakosa akaba make. Iyo, iyo principe ibaye: " *ryaba ikosa cg ukuri, ni ubwoko bwanjye cg akomoka iwacu*"; ntakwikosora kuba kugishoboka. Rubanda ikaba ariyo ihagwa. Intima y' iki kibazo yaba ari iyihe? Birashoboka ko imyitegerereze (grille de lecture) y' abakomunisti yadufasha kucyumva.

Muri rusange, abakomuniste bakurikije ubukire bw' abatuye igihugu, kwiga n' uburere byabo, … bagabanyaga abaturage mo[36]:

– **abakire cg abatunze(**détenteurs du capital**):** abanyamafaranga, abakire ku mitungo itimukanwa, abafite uburyo bworoshye bwo kuyashaka akaboneka (abacuruzi, abategetsi, abaganga, abacamanza,...). Mu bakire cg ''***bourgeoisie***'' (ari nabo ku buryo butandukanye baba ari ba nyir' ubutegetsi) hakabamo abaherwe, abakire, n' abagisohoka mu bukene.

– na **Rubanda** usangamo abakozi boroheje, abahinzi borozi bato, abanyamyuga basanzwe, etc...Rubanda (**prolétariat**) ikoresheje ingufu zayo, yiyushye akuya, ikaba ariyo ituma igihugu gikungahara, abakire bakongera ubutunzi bwabo. Ubundi bakayigenera igihembo uko babyumva bitwaje ko nta capital yari ifite. Rubanda nayo ntiba ikennye kimwe: habamo abifashije, abaduyaduya, n'abakene.

Ibyo byiciro by'abaturage : Rubanda n' Abatunze bikitwa klase sosiyale (classes sociales). Umwe mu bahanga bo mwikubitiro banditse kuri iyi miterere y' ibihugu n' ababituye, Karl Marx yemeza ko, – kandi ni ukuri – , amateka y' igihugu iki n' iki ari uko izo klase zigenda zirwanira ubutegetsi. Urugero umuntu yatanga ni nka Révolution y' Abafransa. Mu bari batunze,

[36]Mu gusobanura *''lumpenprolétariat''* , kimwe mu kiciro cyo munsi ya Rubanda, umwaditsi yifashishije inkoranya-bumenyi wikipédia.

ubutegetsi bwari bufitwe n' ubwami, ibikomangoma (la monarchie et la haute noblesse) ndetse na Kiliziya Gatolika. "*Bourgeoisie "* nayo ubukire bwayo bwayiheshaga ubutegetsi, ikabasha kwirengera imbere y' amategeko n' ibindi. Liberalisme igaragazwa n' izamuka cg imanuka ry' ibiciro bivuye ku ugurisha n' ugura akaba ariyo ishyigikira kuko ituma irushaho gikira bwangu. Bitewe no gushaka ukwishyira ukizana mu bucuruzi[37], imyenda y' intambara, ubwami ubusanzwe bwashyiragaho ibiciro by' ibintu by' ibanze, bwaguye mu mutego wa "*Bourgeoisie ",* bufata imyenda yayo iyo politike ishyirwa mu bikorwa, Rubanda ibura ubushobozi bwo kwigurira umugati. Isuhukira mu mijyi cyane cyane i Paris. Igihe kigeze, "*Bourgeoisie "* yigira umuvugizi wa Rubanda, iyijya imbere bakata imitwe ingahe hirya no hino, impindura-matwara yamaze imyaka icumi irenga iba iratangiye. Irangira Ubwami na Kiliziya Gatolika byarambuwe ubutegetsi, bujya mu maboko ya "*Bourgeoisie ",* ariko Rubanda yarigeze kumva ko buri muri yo. Muri make kuko abakire baba bashaka kurushaho gukira, abakene nabo bashaka isaranganya ku bukire ingufu zabo zibyara, amakimbirane abaho hagati y' izo klase zombi. Révolution ikorwa na Rubanda. Iyo abavugizi bayo bayiturutsemo cg bagaturuka muri "*Bourgeoisie "* ari inyangamugayo zidafite indimi ebyiri, Rubanda nyir' ubutegetsi niyo ibufata. Iyo atariko bimeze, bujya mu maboko ya bamwe muri "*Bourgeoisie "* ariko ikabeshywa kandi igakeka ko ariyo ibufite.

Amateka Rubanda ihuriyeho na klase zo hejuru yayo, niyo mateka y' igihugu. Ibireba klase zo hejuru n' imibereho yazo n' ubwo bigira ingaruka ku gihugu cyose, ni amateka y' izo klase. Amateka Rubanda ihuriyeho na klase zo hejuru yayo mu gihe abavugizi ba Rubanda baba batayikomoka mo cg ngo babe koko ariyo bavugira, nayo aba ari amateka y' ibyiciro cg klase abavugizi ba Rubanda baba bakomoka mo. Amateka yo hejuru ya mbere, aba asesengura ibibazo nyakuri by' igihugu muri rusange. Aya kabiri agasesengura ibibazo by' igihugu ikurikije uko klase iri kubutegetsi yabibonaga, uko yabugezeho n' uko iyobora. Rubanda nyir' ubutegetsi ikibagirana. Aya gatatu yo, asobanura uko klase ifite ubutegetsi yitwaje nyir' ubutegetsi ariyo Rubanda, ikabugeraho. Anasobanura uko iyo klase ikomeza kiyirimanganya ko ariyo irebera. Duhereye ku makuru ya vuba aha y' u Rwanda:

– Uwa 05.07.1973, Habyarimana n' agatsiko ke bise *révolution mvugurura-muco (* révolution morale), ni uburiganya (escroquerie) yaturutse mu bifite, bakomokaga muri Rubanda ariko bari barinjiye muri "*Bourgeoisie ".* Muri 1968 bumva bakeneye kwiyongeza ubutegetsi n' ubukire, benyegeza umunyotwe muri bimwe mu bibazo nyakuri igihugu cyari gifite, umuriro uraka, bafata ubutegetsi. Rubanda ikomeza kibyinishwa ko buri mu maboko yayo, ntibashe gukurikira ngo ihagarike isahurwa ryayo.

– Uwa 04.07.1994 FPR nyuma y' intambara yari yaratangije muri 1990, nyuma ya Genocide , ubwicanyi n' ubundi bugizibwanabi ndenga-kamere, nka *révolution mvugurura-muco* yafashe ubutegetsi mu izina rya Rubanda. N' ubu ikaba ikibeshwa ko ariyo irimo kwigwizaho umutungo n' ubutegetsi[38]. Ariko iyo witegereje, Gatutsi wari mu Rwanda yatanze ikiguzi cy' amaraso ye (umuleti)ngo abakire n' ibikomerezwa bya FPR byigabize i Gihugu. Aho wajya ku isi hose, nta muntu n' umwe wakwemera ubwitange butagize icyo bumarira igihugu cye nawe ubwe. Bivuzeko iyo Gatutsi abazwa, itari kwemera ko ubuzima bwe buzagirwa fondation y' ubutegetsi bwa "*Bourgeoisie "* . Hari uwakwibaza impamvu ntakoresheje "*Bourgeoisie "* tutsi. Ni uko nka Kanyarengwe, umuhutu wari uyoboye FPR, icyo kiguzi umuryango we utagisabwe. Uretse umwana we umwe FPR yaje guhungisha ntimusange mu rugo, abandi bose barahungishijwe mbere y' uko Habyarimana yicwa ngo Génocide itangire. Kimwe n' Abatutsi bifite bari bazi icyari

[37] *Libéralisme* ishyigikirako ibiciro bizamuka cg bikamanuka biturutse ku kumvikana k' ugura n' ugurisha. Mu gihe cya Revolution y' u Rwanda, mu biganiro hari abatebyaga ngo ni ukwishyira ukizana nk' ubugabo bw' umuhazi. Uyu akaba yari umunyamwuga watunganyaga uruhu (ni narwo icyo gihe bambaraga), akaruharura ho utunyama tuba twasigayeho ngo rutazajya rurya urwambaye. Uko ahagaze ku maguru ye (prendre appui sur les jambe), anaharura, mu ruhu yambaye, iby' iwe nabyo bizamuka binamanuka. Abahutu batangiye kwaka kwishyira bakizana, Abatutsi bamwe bakabavugira ho ko bakunguraga ngo kuba bashaka kwigira nk' ama i grec a y' umuhazi.

[38] Ngo nta mukene waba ukiri mu Rwanda.

mu nda ya FPR, baraburiwe barihungira. Gatutsi cg Abatutsi bo muri Rubanda cg batemeraga umushinga wa FPR, batikirira mu Gihugu.

Tugarutse kuri klase. Ukomeje ukamanuka mu bukene, munsi y' abakene hari abandi babonabonnye, batabona n' umwanya wo gutekereza ku karengane gakomoka ku mitegekere (cg ingeso zabo) iba yarabashyizemo. Ugenekereje babise ba **Bucocero cg *Lumpenprolétariat*[39].** Lumpeni prolétariat iba igizwe n' abantu bahangayikishijwe no kubona ubushobozi bwo kurenza umunsi. Uyisangamo: abo utamenya aho werekeza, abiryabakimara kugira ngo babashe kurenza umunsi, abashomeri baburambyemo igihe, abatarigeze babona akazi, ingeruza, ba masikini, abajura, mafia, abasilikare birukanywe, abacitse gereza, abatekamutwe, abakina urusimbi, abacuruza indaya, forode, ibiyobyabwenge … Ubwo Rubanda iba izi neza klase yayo inafite ugushaka ko bihinduka *''lumpenprolétariat''* yo ntacyo iba ibiziho(aucune conscience sociale), ntiba inashaka no kubimenya. Baba ari abantu bafite amakuru make ku bibazo biriho kandi barihebye. Bamwe bagasanga idashobora no kuba yarwana intambara ya politike iboneye. Kuko ''*Bourgeoisie*'' ihera ku bunebwe, ku gutinyuka byose (aventurisme), ku kutagira uburere, ku kutagira discipline, ku mahane no guhindagurika mu ndangagaciro bya ''*lumpenprolétariat''* ikayikoresha mu ntambara yo kwimikaza akarenganyo kuri Rubanda, ikumira isaranganya ry' ubutegetsi n'ubukire.

Abandi banditsi barimo Bakounine bo basanga urubyiruko rwize rudafite akazi, abarurira muri ''*lumpenprolétariat''* ari urumuli n' ingufu za révolution Rubanda n' abavugizi bayo bakoresha ngo bakore impindura-matwara. Naho Frantz Fanon agasanga ''*lumpenprolétariat''* ari iyo kwitonderwa kuko ishobora gukoreshwa na Rubanda nk' icumu ry'impinduramatwara (Révolution) cg inkota mbirindura impindura-matwara (contre-révolutionnaire), na "*Bourgeoisie "* . Kuyegera no kuyigisha birambuye aho inyungu zayo zihererye bikaba ari ngombwa cyane. Kuko ivamo impirimbanyi nyazo iyo ziteye umugongo ibikorwa ndwanya-mbonezamubano (activités anti-sociales).

Iyo witegereje neza, mu baherwe, mu bakire, bifashije, mu badafite icyo bataka, naho usanga habamo abantu bafite imitekerereze n' imyitwarire karemano nk' iy' abagize *''lumpenprolétariat''* . Ugasanga umuntu wiyubashye, ufite amikoro, ubutegetsi, …. aramutse atabifite wasanga anejejwe no guhotora, gukata amashu, gukindura abantu n' amarozi[40] cg ku bundi buryo, kubomora amazu, umwicanyi wabigize umwuga (tueur a gage) cg biryohera(serial killer). Mu kazi ke ntatinye kwitwaza itegeko cg ubushobozi ngo yirenze uwo ashatse. Isanduku y' igihugu igahinduka iye. Kubita ***" lumpencapitalisti"*** biratworohereza gukomeza ibisobanuro byacu. Ingero ni nyinshi mu mateka yacu:

Ku gihe cy' Ubwami

Iyo umutware utuye ku nkiko aha n' aha yashakaga kongera ubukire n' ubutegetsi, yashoboraga gukora agatero-shuma, agatera igihugu cy' abaturanyi, akica agashahura, agasahura agatahukana iminyago bamuririmba ko ari intwari. Ibi bikorwa ntaho bitaniye n' ibya ''*lumpenprolétariat''* nkaba Rutare, Ruteruzi, Kazagwa (bo mu gihe cya Repubulika) cg Saruhara rwa Nkomokomo. Uyu wa nyuma ibyiswe amateka bitubwirako yishyiriyeho nawe kwirira amakoro y' abaturage, nk' Umwami. We bamwita umwami w' ibishwi n' ibisiga, Ubwami bwohereza abishi, aranyongwa. Muri make, Saruhara ntiyazize ibikorwa bye, yazize icyo yari cyo mu bice abaturage babarurirwaga mo:''*lumpenprolétariat''.* Umutware wabaga yagabye agatero shuma yitwaga intwari atari ukubera ibikorwa bw' urukozasoni yabaga amaze gukora, ahubwo ari uko yabaga abikoze ari uwo muri *''lumpencapitalisti''.* Hakubahirizwa uburyarya ngo: ***ntibavuga, bavuga***[41]***.***

[39] *Lumpen* mu Kidage bisobanura ubucocero cg *haillon* mu Gifransa.

[40] Nkoma ya Nkondogoro

Urundi rugero umuntu yatanga, ni urwa Nkoma ya Nkondogoro. Ngo yaba yarabayeho mu gihe Abanyoro bari baratsinze u Rwanda bafite ubutegetsi. Umwuga we ukaba wari ukurogo anabona komande z' i Bwami. Akaba yari inzobere ibifitiye n' icyivugo[42]:

Nkoma ya Nkondogoro Ikirozi cyo mu Marangara,
kirogera ubusa, waburya nturare, warara ntiwirirwe.
Kireba ibisiga bigahanantuka byapfuye,
Wakwituma aho kigera,
Rubanda ikakuburira, ukituma wegura!

Muri icyo gihe, ibikomangoma byari byarabuze amajyo byashakishaga Nkoma nawe wari warameneshejwe, ngo azajye ku itongo rye akokore uburozi mu bijyo abe yabakiza Abanyoro. Mu Kinyarwanda baravuga ngo ''*nta mwuga mubi uretse kwiba no kuroga*''. Ni ibintu bikorwa na ''*lumpenprolétariat''.* Ariko kuko Nkoma atari muri Rubanda, anafitiye abifitiye bagenzi be akamaro bikaba intandaro y' igitinyiro n' ikuzo. Ni uko yari *''lumpencapitalisti''.*

Ku gihe cya Repubulika na mbere yaho gato

''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' kimwe na ''*lumpenprolétariat''* ntibagira ubwoko bwihariye bagomba kuvukamo. Urugero rubangukiye umwanditsi, n' urw'umutware azi[43] wari mushya nyuma ya Révolution yo muri 1959. *Inyenzi* ziteye, bahawe imbunda ngo babashe kurinda rubanda. Akoranya inama y' abaturage, abwira Umututsi wari ufite imfizi nziza, utari wahunze, mu yandi magambo yemeye ihinduka ry' ubutegetsi. Afata pistolet arayirasa irapfa, imbere y' abaturage. Ubundi arababwira ati: ''*Murabyiboneye. Iyi ni masotera. Uzazana iby' ubunyezi hano ibye bizahinduka nk' iriya mfizi''.* Abaturage bakwira imishwaro! Ubundi abwira abasigaye ngo bayigabagabane, bayirye. Nyirayo haba kumwishyura n' urumiya. Inkuru yaraye igeze kuri Perefe Athanase Mbarubukeye. Bwakeye aza gukoresha inama, Rubanda isobanurirwa ko imbunda ari izo kuyirinda, atari izo kuyica cg kuyikura umutima. R (uwo mutware) ahita asezererwa. Yaziraga ko yari ashatse kwigira *''lumpencapitalisti''* mu butegetsi bwa Rubanda[44]. XR siwe mutware wenyine wanyazwe vuba na bwangu n' abo Rubanda yari imaze gushinga kuyimulikira. YM we agizwe umutwe mu Bunyambiliri, ubu *''lumpencapitalisti''* bwe yabugaragaje akoresha Abatutsi ku muheka mu maceri yitwaje ngo Abahutu nabo bahetse Abatutsi ibinyejana bine. Iyo bamubazaga n' iba nta soni byari bimuteye, yavugaga ko icyamubabaje ari uko yanyazwe ataragura igare ngo agire Abatutsi bamusunika, abamutwaje inzoga ari bunywe umupando urangiye, n'abari buhinduke feri atangiye kumanuka. Agatanga urugero ku mutware wabikoraga muri Gitarama, muri icyo gihe wari warahungiye muri Congo (Zaire). Ugahita wumva koko ari

[41] Amata nta meneka, arabogama, umutware ntapfa aratanga,... Si mu Kinyarwanda gusa biba no mu zindi ndimi, mu bipara bibamo: umutware ntakosa, aribeshya, ntarya arihezura (le chef ne commet pas de faute, il se trompe; il ne mange pas, il se légale; il n' est pas en retard, il est excusé,...). Unongeyeho ko batavuga ko Rubanda, Repubulika n' Itegeko-Nshinga bagambaniwe, ahubwo bavugako Kayibanda yananiwe, byaba biri muri urwo rwego!

[42] Niba umwanditsi adashidikanya ko imikarago itatu ya mbere yacyo ari nyakuri, ibiri ya nyuma arashidikanya ko ari ibipara abanyeshuri biganaga bongeyeho ubwo muri za 1980 mu isomo ry' Ikinyarwanda bigaga Nkoma.

[43] XR. ntavuzwe izina kuko umwanditsi atazi niba akiriho, n'aho ari n' uko umutekano we wifashe.

[44] Aha niho wibaza aho Phillipe Reyntjens yaba yarakuye amakuru yemeza ko muri 1973, President Kayibanda na Mbarubukeye Secrétaire-Exécutif wa MDR-Parmehutu, bakomokaga i Gitarama, baba barakoze ama listes y' abanyeshuri bagombaga kwirukanwa na comité *de salut public,* zari ziyobowe n'abanyeshuri bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' i Burengerazuba bw' u Rwanda. Bamwe bakaba bari bafitanye amasano n' abasilikare bari baratangiye kugambanira Repubulika na Leta muri 1968, bagafata ubutegetsi kuwa 05.07.1973. Ikindi kidasobanutse kandi kitanashoboka ni impamvu ki, abategetsi bakomeye kuriya, bajya gukora amalisti y' abantu batazi kandi bashobora kuyasaba bifashishije inzego z' ubutegetsi n' abafasha babo. Iyo bajya kuyakenera, bakoresheje telefoni cg bohereje intumwa, bashoboraga kuyaka Ministre w' Uburezi, Gaspard Harelimana, bisangagaho. Yabonaga iyo mibare muri rapport zitangiza umwaka zamugeragaho mbere y' uko igihembwe cya mbere gishira. Cg bakayaka muri Ministeri y' Igenamigambi(MInisteri ya plan).

lumpen: umuntu ajyanywe no guhumuriza Rubanda muri Gikongoro avuye muri Gitarama. Abatutsi bo ku Gikongoro batazi ibyabereye i Kayenzi, akajya kubatura inzika badafite aho bahuriye nayo. Kandi nawe ntacyo biri bumumarire! Ntaho bitaniye n' ingabo zitwara mu gihugu nk' iziri mu mahanga, ibyo bihakora no mu mahanga byabarirwa mu byaha bya gisilikare! Ndavuga nk' abenyegezaga *Muyaga* cg abatikije abantu i Kibeho.

Abagize ''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' kimwe na ''*lumpenprolétariat''* ntibagira kandi akarere bavukamo. *Muyaga* yo muri 1973 irimbanyije, rimwe ku wa gatanu ku kagoroba hari umunyabutare wari wujuje inzu munsi y' isoko rya Kigali. Bikaba byaragaragaraga ko itari ivuye mu bushobozi bwe. Inzoga zimaze kumujijura, ayijya hejuru, aratura aririmba ibigwi by' abaparmehutu yibanda kuri amwe mu magambo yayo ''*ibyiza twagezeho''!* Nkuko muri Werurwe 1973, President Kayibanda yabigenje kuri Major Aloys Nsekalije akamuvana ku buyobozi bw' Igipolisi cy' i Gihugu ngo enquêtes zagombaga kumenya impamvu kitabashije kumenya (prevenir) ko *Muyaga* yarimo itutumba, yaba ntikiyikumire(répression), zikorwe mu bwisanzure akoherezwa mu yindi milimo; nkuko icyemezo nk' icyo cyafatiwe Major Kanyarengwe wayoboraga Iperereza nawe mu gihe kimwe, kikanafatirwa na Directeur wa Cabinet muri Ministere y' Uburezi woherejwe muri ETO Kicukiro, uwo Munyabutare yoherejwe muri Minitrape ku Kibuye.

Iyo Rubanda yifuza kumenya ibyayibayeho, byinshi bikaba byaratewe na za *lumpeni,* ntiba yigiza nkana. Amatsiko yayo aba afite ishingiro, urugero rukurikira rushobora kubigaragaza neza: Ku ivuko, hari umukobwa mwiza cyane warambagizwaga n' umukapitaine. Rimwe umuntu bari bumvikanye aza kumufata mu rugo iwabo ngo bakorane urugendo asubiye muri Kigali aho yakoraga. Bakigera ku kagezi kitwa Nyakambu (niba nibuka neza), kubera kubura feri imodoka ihagwa yibirinduye. Abashumba n' abandi bagize ''*lumpenprolétariat''* baba aribo bahagera mbere. Batangira kuvana abantu, batari banakomeretse mu modoka. Umugabo wari utwaye ''*lumpenprolétariat''* imukuramo umutwe ariwo uri imbere. Umukobwa, ijya gushakisha amaguru, nawe arwana yikinga imyambaro ye. Aba ariyo isohoramo mbere, igihimba kirakurikira. Ubwo ngo yashakaga kureba aho amaguruye atereye ku gihimba. Nyina ahagera bakiri muri urwo aratesha. Reka bizagere kuri se wari umwarimu nk' umugore we. Bimutera intimba ikomeye cyane. Uwo bahuye, akamutekerereza ishyano ryamugwiririye ati: ''*Wahora n' iki! Kugira ngo ingeruza bugeruza zibone ibintu bya* ***Capitaine mu Ngabo z' u Rwanda****!* Byageze ku kagoroba yamaze kuborerwa kuko yarasuwe cyane. Abantu kandi bibaturutse ku mutima n' ubwo byanabasetsaga. Umunsi wira noneho arimo avuga ngo: '' *n' uwa nyina!* '' Akibaza impamvu byibura atamwibukije gushyiramo ipantalo ari ku rugendo.

Uru rugero rubabaje ariko runashekeje, ntirutanzwe kugira ngo umuntu atebye. Ni ukugira ngo rugaragaze uko Rubanda muri yo yahaga agaciro Leta n' Inzego zayo (le sens de l' État). Ibaze noneho agaciro, icyubahiro Rubanda yageneraga Major, Colonel, Général cg Umukuru w' i Gihugu. Kubera irari rizira rutangira, muri 1968 Major akegeranya bagenzi be ngo bazatere gatarina Repubulika! Muri 1973, ari Colonel, abana b' abanyeshuri badafite icyo bapfa na bagenzi babo, akabahindura ''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' batabimusabye, bakica, bagakubita, bagasahura, bagatwika,… Muri uwo mwaka muri Gicurasi yaramaze kuba Général muri Mata, akumva ko inyota ye y' amaraso itarashira, akaduka mu mpunzi z' Abarundi ngo nazo amaraso yazo kimwe n' Abahutu b' i Burundi amaraso yaba ameneke. Umugambi we ari umwe gusa: kwiyongeza ubutegetsi n' ubukira! Ari abo bana baziranenge igihe cyose batari bakwinjira muri *comité de salut public,* ari aba Officiers yashyize mu bugambanyi bwe guhera muri 1968, ni nde washoboraga kumuhakanira akaramuka? Nta nama izwi abaturage bo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba baba barakoze ngo bamusabe kumena amaraso; ngo ahindure rumwe mu rubyiruko rwabo ''*Lumpencapitalisti* ''. Uretse utuvungukira twabatarukiraga, ubukire yiyongereye niwe bwagiriye akamaro! Uru ruhererekane rw' amakosa yoretse u Rwanda, Rubanda ikwiye kurumenya, igafata ingamba kugira ngo abandi izashinga kuyirebera batazayakora. Bagatuka cg bakagayisha umwanya w' icyubahiro bagomba kujyamo.

''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' iyo ifite hard power, iba izi neza ko Rubanda ishyira mu gaciro kandi ari inyangamugayo. Ikaba izi ko yo ari indyadya n' ababeshyi. Ariko ibyo ikabibonamo ikimenyetso

cyo kuba iri hejuru y' abandi Banyarwanda. Ukuri ku mateka y' u Rwanda, irakuzi. Cyakora ntacyo kuba kuyibwiye. Kenshi n' iyo nta hard power igifite, yumva ari nk' aho ikiyifite:

– Nta muntu yumva itagura;
– Uwo yumva itagura, yumva yamukanga;
– Utakangika ikumva yamwica
– Kuko yumva ntacyo yikanga, ntijya ihanwa.

Ibi si umwihariko w' Abanyarwanda. Amateka y' u Budage ku gihe cya Hitler, cg Mussolini mu Butaliyani arabyerekana. Ibyegera byabo bya hafi babikuye muri ''*lumpenprolétariat*'' , birarikoroza bigeze hejuru, ahari huzuye n' abandi bifite bakennye kubera crise y' icyo gihe, bihinduka ''*Lumpencapitalisti* '', ibyakurikiyeho ni Intambara ya Kabili y' Isi n'amarorerwa yayibayemo, harimo Génocide. Niyo mpamvu kurinda u Rwanda na Rubanda Lumpeni zombi byihutirwa mu mitekerereze ya gahunda z' abanyamashyaka. Hari wenda abakeka ko ari ugukuririza ikibazo kitariho cg kitanabayeho. Amateka yacu arabanyomoza.

Ku gihe cy'ibitugu bya gisilikare

Aho abasilikare bakoresheje intwaro za Rubanda, bagabye igitero kuri Leta n' Inzego zayo cg aho bakigabye ku bihugu byabo, basobanuraga ayo mahano ko bayaterwaga n' inshingano z' ikiremwa-muntu zo gushyira mu gaciro (responsabilité morale) ingabo zivuga ko zifite, zigasohoka mu mategeko ariho zitwaje ''kurengera Rubanda iyo ipyinagajwe na leta'' ndetse no kurengera indangagaciro n' inyugu z' i Gihugu. Iyo uyitegereje usanga nta tegeko na mba ishingiyeho, kandi no kugira ngo umuntu yemere icyo gisobanuro, bimusaba kwirengagiza ukuri ku busahiranda muri politike (opportunisme politique); akibagirwa mategeko yagengaga coup d' Etat mu gihe cy' Intambara y' Ubutita (Guerre Froide) ndetse ntanagire n'icyo yibaza ku ntambara nyakuri (la guerre juste) ndetse n' iyemewe n' amategeko mpuzamahanga. Ikigaragara nyuma y' iryo ngirwa tabara, ni ikandamizwa rya Rubanda n' iyicwa rya bamwe muri izo ngirwa batabazi na bagenzi bazo. Bigatera kwibaza ukwiye mu by' ukuli kubungabunga umutekano wa Rubanda, agasigasira uwa Leta ndetse n'uw'ingabo. Akabarinda indiragukinduka (opportuniste), ziba mu by' ukuri ziri inyuma y' ibi byose.

''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' yarisanzuye, irasugira irasagamba, ndetse inatera imbera. Ikibazo cy'amashuri, cyari gikomeye ariko bitatuma abantu batemagurwa, bagasenyerwa, bagasahurwa, bagatwikirwa, bakoherezwa i shyanga kwa Ngara. Nta n' impamvu bamwe mu bagerageje gukumira ayo mahano bagombaga gukorerwa iyica rubozo, ngo bahambwe ari bazima cg bicishwe inzara. Kugira ngo nyuma y' amahano nk' aya **Umukoloneli mu Ngabo z' u Rwanda** yigabize imyanya mu mashuri igurishwe n' amahabara ye, ni agahoma munwa. Amafranga yakuragamo, nta kintu kizwi cyubakiwe abaturage bo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba bw' u Rwanda. Zari inyungu za Colonel. Ushatse kumenya ibyo cg kubisesengura, ngo byirindwe ku buryo budasubirwaho, ntaba yanga Abaturage bo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba. Kimwe n' uwibajije ukuntu ama devises avanwa muri Banki Nkuru y' i Gihugu, agacuruzwa ahenze ku Banyarwanda bamwe, mu gihe hari abemerewe kuyagura acyiritse muri iyo Banki. N' iki Rubanda itabonye? Colonel muzima, akoresheje kajugujugu ya leta, itwawe na **Lieutenant mu Ngabo z' u Rwanda,** azenguruka igihugu asahura amafranga y' ishyaka rya Rubanda yarangiza akicisha Lieutenant-pilote Afya, wabonye ayo mahano! Nta muturage uzwi wo mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba amafranga yasahuwe MDR-Parmehutu yagize icyo amarira wundi. Gushaka kumenya aya mahano, ni uburyo bwo kwirinda kugwa mu busubira-cyaha. Kuba nta invetaire politique yabaye, byateye Colonel gukora ubusubira cyaha, ajya kwikodesha aho yabonaga akayabo ngo yongere agambanire u Rwanda.

''*Lumpencapitalisti* '' yakurikiye iya Habyarimana yo yaje ari agahebuzo. Ubwo hari nyuma y'intambara, Rubanda icacanamo, yerekeza i Burengerazuba, mu Majyepfo, mu Burasirazuba ndetse no mu Majyaruguru. N' imizigo yayo ibaza aho abayo bari, yaberekezaho amasasu akavuga, yagaruka igahura n' abavuye mu cyerekezo gitandukanye n' aho ivuye, iyo Rubanda nayo

ihunga amasasu, zose zayobewe aho **abayo nyakuri bari baherereye**. Umuntu ujyana ikamyo ye gusahura acuranwa na ''*lumpenprolétariat''* , ntabwo aba abiterwa n' ubukene. Biba ari ingeso. Kwica ari ukugira ngo winezeze, kwica umuntu ukamucuza, gukora iyica-rubozo, gufungira abantu muri contenaires, etc. … ibyo byose Rubanda ikwiye kumenya iko byageze mu mitwe y' abemeza ko ariyo bakoreraga. Gushaka kubicengera si ukwanga ubwoko bw' Abatutsi cg kurwanya i Gihugu. Kuko nta nama izwi, Abatutsi bateraniye mo ngo bahe izo nkoramahano ubwo butumwa. Babwihaye mu nyungu zabo. Abakora ayo mahano kandi sibo Gihugu! Ubarwanyije ntaba arwanya i Gihugu!

Ikindi ni uko byagenda kose, ari Abatutsi, Abatwa, n' Abahutu, abakomoka mu Majyaruguru cg mu Majyepfo, abavuka i Burengerazuba cg i Burasirazuba, bose ni Abanyarwanda ku rugero rumwe, hagomba kuboneka igisubizo ku mibanire ihwitse yabo. Abanyapolitiki n' ingabo, bakwirakwiza umwiryane mu nyungu zabo ni abo kwitonderwa. Uretse umuco w' ubunyamaswa[45], nta bumwe bashobora guha i Gihugu. Guceceka no gushyigikira wivuye inyuma iyo nzira, ni ubugambanyi mu bundi. Rubanda igatandukanywa n' agatsiko kayiyitirira, Leta ikagaragaza uko iri koko, imvugo igahuzwa n' ingiro. Kakabura uko kihisha inyuma y' inyungu nyakuri z' i Gihugu zitabuze n' urukundo umuturage agenera igihugu cyamubyaye. Bityo, ukarwanyije, ntiyitwe *umwanzi w' i Gihugu!* Niba agatsiko aka n' aka, gashyuhijwe n'*uburira-gukinduka*, kakiyemeza kwirengagiza inyungu z' i Gihugu, iza Rubanda, ndetse n' indangagaciro zacyo, kakiyemeza kugaba igitero kuri Leta cg ku Gihugu, ni byiza ko kabikora ubwako, kadahinduye urubyiruko abicanyi bo kwirenza abifuza isaranganya ry' ibyiza by' i Gihugu, ubwigenge no kwishyira ukuzana. Ibi ariko ntibigomba gutambamira intambara yemewe '' *guerre juste*'' kimwe n' iyemewe n' amategeko ya ONU, igihe ariwo muti rukumbi usigaye.

Ngo: ''*iyakitse, ntawe utayikikura''* ! Ku bw' ibyo, kuba natanga inzira nkeka ko zishobora kugira akamaro, akaba nta kibi mbibona mo. Hari uwasanga ari inzira idafite aho yerekeza. Nabyo nta kibi kirimo. Bavuga ko iyo ibitekerezo bigonganye, havukamo ibisubizo. Cyakora ndisegura, simbona akanya gahagije ngo nkomeze gushyigikira ibyo numva ari umuti.

Muri make clichés, propagandes, terrorisme intellectuel, iyicarubozo, … bikwiye kandi bigomba kurandurwa muri politike y' u Rwanda hakoreshejwe ukuli. Umutungo rusange wa Rubanda, harimo ufatika n' udafatika nk' ubumwe, ubwubahane, ukwishyira ukuzana, amahoro bikagengwa n' amategeko ashingiye ku buvandimwe bwa hano ku isi ndetse n' ubwa nyuma y' ubu buzima kuko muri kamere ye Umunyarwanda ari umuntu wemera. Amategeko asaranganya uwo mutungo rusange w' Abanyarwanda arahagije ngo akize Rubanda '' *lumpenprolétariat*'' ibikomora ku busumbane bukabije hagati y' abifite na Rubanda. '' *Lumpenprolétariat''* ibikomora ku ngeso karemano, hakwiye andi mategeko yihariye ayireba. Aho *'' Lumpencapitalisti''* yageze mu bushorishori bw' i Gihugu, byarangiriye mu mahano. Ukuli ku mayeri yayo yose kugomba kumenyekana igakumirwa. Kimwe n' abifite (élite) biyitiranya n' inyungu za Rubanda ariko bashishikajwe n' izabo bwite, bazigeraho rimwe na rimwe bisuganyije muri Tiers-Etat bakumvisha Rubanda ku bayibiyereye mo.

Iyi niyo nzira Rubanda ishobora kongera gusubirana ijambo ku biyireba. Ikaba yakwemera guhumiriza, imibanire mishya igahera ku ntangiriro ishingiye ku kuli. Mu kwirinda kuba hakongera kuba itandukira, igishanga cya politike kiriho ubu kikazakamurwa n' igihano cy' urupfu ku biyemeje gukora politike cg kurinda i Gihugu bazabibonamo inzira yo kugitatira mu nyungu zabo. Amashyaka agakorera mu mucyo, impaka zikagibwa ku mishinga afitiye Rubanda n' u Rwanda. Hakabaho igipimo cyo kureba intambwe iterwa, inyunyuza ry' imitsi ya Rubanda rikamaganirwa kure kandi hakigwa gusubiza bamwe muri Rubanda uburenganzira bavukijwe no kubaha impozamarira z' ako karenganyo. Mu magambo arambuye:

4.1- Umuti wa mbere ni uguhumiriza

[45] Guhamba abantu babona, kubakatakata, kubicisha inzara, kubaboha, kubaroga, etc

Biragaragara ko hatabaye ho ukuli ku mateka yacu, clichés bamwe bafite ku bandi ngo zishyirwe ku ruhande, ijambo rimwe ribashe kugira igisobanuro kimwe kuri buri wese, kumvikana kwaba kubakiye ku musenyi, ubumwe bugasenywa n' ikibonetse cyose. Kandi ntibibuze.

Biranaboneka na none ko akema (fierté) katatuma uko kuri, izo clichés zivaho ngo n' imvugo ibe imwe. Keretse bizwi n' impande zose zivugana ko uko kuri kutazakoreshwa mu gupfurika igihe turimo cg ejo hazaza (se servir de la vérité historique pour manipuler le présent ou l' avenir). Ibyo byose bigakorwa mu rwego rwo gukuramo **inama n' amasomo** yarinda Abanyarwanda kongera gukora amakosa asa n' ayakozwe ejo hashize. Birasaba ukunda koko u Rwanda kongera iminota itarenze 15 kuyo yarugeneraga buri munsi. Gukunda u Rwanda kandi si ukwita ushishikajwe n' ukuri inyangabirama mu gihe cy' amage. Aba arwanira ko imishinga yabiyemeje kurebera Rubanda yubakirwe ku rutare.

Bityo rero, kugira ngo abantu ku bwende bwabo, bidaturutse ku iterabwoba ry' abize (terrorisme intellectuel), ku kinyoma cg propagande, babashe kwicarana, barebe mu cyerekezo kimwe baterere intambwe icyarimwe, birasaba ko:

– Umutusti wumva ko aruta Abanyarwanda bagenzi be kuko abasekuruza be baba baramanutse mu ijuru bakitura hasi, Abahutu n' Abatwa bahasanze bakagwa igihumura bakemera gutegekwa cg uwumva yararindishijwe amata ntasinzire ngo ayamene bikamuhesha ubutegetsi kuri bagenzi be, kimwe n' uwumva ko iterabwoba(violence) rishingiye ku ishahura ry' uwatsinzwe bimuhesha ubutegetsi ubuziraherezo akumva ko ari impamvu, urwitwazo, umugani (pretexe & mythes) nta kuri kurimo. Niba kurimo tekinologie yo gukora ibyogajuru yagiyehe?

– Umuhutu wumva ko yongeye kugira agaciro ka muntu mu nzira y' amatora yabanjirijwe n' imvururu mpindura-matwara nawe ntiyitwaze ko kuko abasekuruza be baba baraguye igihumura, baramennye amata cg barashahuwe, agasobanukirwa ko ibyo bibiri bya mbere ari imigani; ko abashahuye batakiriho. Ibyo bakoze bikaba bidashobora kubazwa abana babo bikaba bitanabazwa ababakomoka ho nyuma y' imyaka amagana;

– Igikomerezwa, uwifite, uwize,... wumva ko afite ingufu kandi azi gucabiranya, bikaba bimuhesha uburenganzira bwo kugambanira icyemezo Rubanda yihitiyemo, akibuka ko Rubanda atari agashwi kandi ko iyo i Gihugu (La Nation) kigeze mu mahina, gikeneye ingufu z' abana bacyo zose, iyo abanyantege nke bamwigannye bagacabiranya cg bagahemuka ngo baramuke, i Gihugu gihinduka umuyonga;

– N'uwumva na none ko afite ingufu kandi azi gucabiranya ingufu adafite mu gihugu, ashobora kuzishakira mu mahanga akihimura ibibi yaba yarakorewe n' ibyo akeka ko yakorewe akumva ko ari inzira n' abandi bamwigannye bagakora umushinga nk' uwe, bakemera gukaraba inkaba, igihugu kigwa mu icuraburindi.

Kugira ngo iyi mitekerereze ihagarare, birasaba ubutwari bwo guhumiriza aho gukomeza kubihembera. Kuko Abanyarwanda barahimukiranye birenze urugero. Abanyarwanda bakemeranya ko batangiye bundi bushya imibanire ishingiye ku kuri kuzira uburyarya, igitugu, n' ibindi bisobanuzwa byose mu nyungu za bamwe. Inzira ni ndende ariko irashoboka, intambwe-shinganwa zitewe. Ntizizaterwa ejo hazaza; kuko ejo niba uri ku butegetsi, buri munsi haba havuka ibibazo bikomeye bishya nabyo bigomba ibisubizo. Uretse k'ushaka gusahurira mu nduru, biragaragara ko ibisubizo bidahushuye ari ubu byagombye gushakwa.

Guhumiriza nibyo bizatuma uwishe n' uwiciwe; ufungiye ubusa n' uwamufungishije; uwasahuye n' uwasahuwe; uwagambanye n' uwagambaniwe; uwateye n' uwatewe; uwabeshyeye undi n' uwabeshye; uwakoze iyicarubozo n' uwarikorewe cg n' abe; uwagundiriwe n' uwagundiriye; uwateshejwe agaciro n' uwakamutesheje babasha kwicarana, bashingiye ku kuri, bakiga uko hakubakwa u Rwanda bifuza. Bakumva ibintu kimwe, bagatangira kugira intwari zimwe, ubunyurane, ubudakomwa,... bugacika. Mwibaze nk' umuntu ufungiye ibigize aho bihurira

n'ikiswe ''*Guerre civile*'' yo muri 1990, kandi cyujuje ibyangombwa byose bya ''*Guerre d' agression*'' ariko kuko Habyarimana ateze amatwi inyungu ze, abisabwe n' Ububiligi yabihinduye uko biri. Nk' uwo muntu ufungiye icyaha uretse mu kuri kwa diplomatie n' uk' ubucamanza bwaburanishije uruhande rumwe kuri iryo terwa, atarengeje ho yakwicarana ate n' abita Habyarimana intwari? Abo bantu bangana iki? Babuze mu bumwe nyakuri bwaba bwuzuye? Ingero ni nyinshi! Mwibaze nk' uwo abe bariwe umuleti! Uwavuye i Byumba akaba ageze nko muri Maroko cg akiri mu mashyamba ya Congo, yaratanze imisoro yose yatswe ngo igihugu kirndwe, abanyamurengwe bakayavuyarara mo, cyanaterwa bikireguza kobatabimenye! Kandi barashyizwe mu myanya ngo babimenye, ariko kazi! Niba aba bantu basabwa kunga ubumwe n' abatarahuye n' akandare nk' akabo, ni uko ubwo bumwe buba buzitira inzira zose ayo mahano yakongera kunyuramo. Muri make zizwi. Kuzimenya ni ko kuli gukenewe! Kubuza Rubanda kukumenya ni *nihilisme*. Si iyo gushyigikirwa.

4.2- Gusubiza Rubanda ubutegetsi

Uretse igihe cy' Ubwami, nyuma yaho ibikorwa byose byitirirwa Rubanda ariko siko byose ari ukuri. Muri 1959, Rubanda yari imaze igihe isobanurirwa uburenganzira bwayo, yashyize ku butegetsi abari bayihagararirye: abatware bahunze imvururu zakomokaga ku kwinangira k' Ubwami[46], bahise basimburwa. Amatora aje ahagarariwe na ONU n' Ububiligi bwayiyoboreraga, atsindagira iyo nzira ya Repubulika, bourgmestre agatorwa, uko byakundaga bigitangira ba Ministres n' abandi bategetsi Bakuru bakava mu Baconseillers bo muri Commune. Ntibyari mama wararaye, mais yari intangiriro nziza. Aho amashyaka aharanira Ubwami yari afite aba Ministres muri gouvernement no mu ba Deputes. Muri 1973, urubyiruko rwakoreraga agatsiko kari karafashe icyemezo cyo guhindura Itegeko-nshinga muri 1968 rwari rwibumbiye muri *comités de salut public* rwasahuraga, rugasenya, rugatwika, rukohereza impuzi ishyanga cg kuri za paroisses, rukanica rwavugaga ko rurebera Rubanda, – **itarigeze irutuma** – . Rwamaganaga Kayibanda n' abo bari bafatanyije ngo bararangaye ku birebana na 1959. Gusa rero, ihame ntakuka rya 1959 ni uko buri munyarwanda (muntu), yaremwe mu ishusho y' Imana. Abantu bose bakaba ari abavandimwe nk' uko *Isaranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* ibyemeza. Tariki 05.07.1973, Habyarimana Rubanda yari yarashinze kurinda Igihugu, Itegeko-Nshinga, n' Inzego za leta ahiritse ubutegetsi, avuga ko abikoze mu nyugu z' i Gihugu (Rubanda), anemeza ko igitugu cye ari Rubanda. Akayiha ababourgmestres n' abandi bategetsi bose rimwe na rimwe binyuze mu ngirwa-matora. Tariki 01.10.1990, Inkotanyi zitera zavugaga ko uretse gutahuka zinazanywe no kubohora u Rwanda (Rubanda). Ubwo mbere ya 1959, imiryango ikomeye ibiri ariyo yayoboraga i Gihugu, ubutegetsi buyobowe na Kagame muri iki gihe, bwashyizweho n' Inkotanyi si Rubanda bufitiye inyungu, niwe bukorera.

Birakwiye ko amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka mu Itegeko-Nshinga, projet de société, programme, etc zizatoresha iki kibazo gisobanuka. Rubanda igasubirana ijambo ku biyireba aho kwikorezwa imyenda itigeze imenya uko yaje n' icyo yamaze. Ikarindwa umutego wo kuba ingaruzwa-muheto ya Tiers-États cg abifite byaba bigaragara ko bakomoka mu moko yose, bashobora kwisuganya bagaharanira inyugu zabo bumvisha Rubanda ko ariyo bakorera.

4.3- Indemnisation

Amateka y' u Rwanda yateje amarira n' imiborogo myinshi. Anatera akarengane katari gake. Hari abiciwe, abasizwe iheruheru, abafungiye akamama, abafungiye ukuri ariko bafatwa bunyamaswa, abakorewe cg bakorerwa iyica-rubozo, etc. Amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka bagomba gusuzuma mu maguru mashya uko ako karengane kazavanwaho n' uko abakagiriwe bahabwa impozamarira.

[46] Muri iriya myaka byagaragariraga buri wese ko i Gihugu cyerekezaga kuri Révolution. Icyashoboraga kuyihagarika cyari ivugururwa ryimbitse ry' ubutegetsi. Inama nyisnhi zaratanzwe, nka Gaspard Cyimana yanditse avuga ko uburyo bwiza bwo kwirinda Révolution (kuko imena amaraso, *byongewemo n' umwanditsi*) kwari ukuyikora(ikozwe n' ubwami mu mutuzo, *nabyo byongewemo n' umwanditsi*).

– Madame Carla Del Ponte yavuze ko ni byemezwa ko FPR ariyo yahanuye indege y' u Rwanda, yatwaraga Perezida, amateka agomba kwandikwa bundi bushya. Amakuru aturuka mu bahoze ari abayobozi b' APR akaba yemeza ko FPR ariyo yakongeje i Gihugu. Si ngombwa gutegereza ko urubanza ruzacibwa ngo ukuri kwandikwe. Abafungiye icyo gikorwa batashoboraga gukora kuko batigeze baba abayoboke ba FPR ngo babe barakoze iryo shyano riruta irya gashyantare, bakarenganurwa kuri icyo cyaha[47].

– TIPR yari ifite inshingano zo kunga Abanyarwanda. Sindasoma aho byanditse ko yabigezeho. Kandi kubera kuburanisha uruhande rumwe, ntiyashoboraga kubigeraho. Muri make nta kuri nyakuri Abanyarwanda bayitezeho. Kimwe n' imashini iyisoza (mechanisme zisoza TIPR) Amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka bazayobora i Gihugu bafite igice kimwe cy' abicanyi n' inzirakarengane mu magereza n' abandi bibereye hanze. Umuti ni uko bose bagomba kuba hamwe: hanze cg se mu mazu y' abagororwa. Gusa rero, inyeshyamba iziko ntaho yacikira[48] kuyifata ukayijyana mu ibohero, bishobora kongera gutuma amaraso ameneka. Abafite ubunararibonye muri ibyo nibo bazi icyakorwa. Niba umuti ubaye gushyira hanze abafunze, hazavuka ikibazo cyo kubaha impozamarira kugira ngo bajye kukigero kimwe na bagenzi babo nabo bicanye ariko bari hanze bikorera. Ni gute icyemezo nk' iki cyaba ikiguzi cy' ubwiyunge kizumvishwa abaturage? Muri Liberia byabaye ikiguzi cy' Amahoro. Babarekeye hanze. Wenda hari icyo bakungura amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka. Akabona icyo azageza ku baturage gifatika, kuko nibo biyunga bigomba kuba bibaturutse mo, ariko kandi banabishishikarijwe. Abasuwisi bakwiye kubera Abanyarwanda ikitegererezo. Intambara n' imyiryane byari bigiye kuzabarimbura, biyemeza kwimenya. Ubu barubashywe kandi n' ingamba nyinshi cg imiryango y' Amahoro niho ifite icyicaro, yavukiye se cg ihitamo gukorera inama.

Ibikorwa byose ariko, ijambo rya nyuma ni irya Rubanda. Niba idashobora guhumiriza, ikumva idashobora kubabarira uwo ariwe wese, ni ukubifata gutyo. Niyo bigomba guturukaho. Kuko niyo nyir' Ubutegetsi.

4.4- Igihano cy' urupfu ku Banyapolitike no ku Ngabo

Aho abasilikare bakoresheje intwaro za Rubanda, bagabye igitero kuri Leta n' Inzego zayo cg aho bakigabye ku bihugu byabo, basobanuraga ayo mahano ko bayaterwaga n' inshingano z' ikiremwa-muntu zo gushyira mu gaciro (responsabilité morale) ingabo zivuga ko zifite, zigasohoka mu mategeko ariho zitwaje ''kurengera Rubanda iyo ipyinagajwe na leta''. Iyo uyitegereje usanga nta tegeko na mba ishingiyeho, kandi no kugira ngo umuntu yemere icyo gisobanuro, bimusaba kwirengagiza ukuri ku busahiranda muri politike (opportunisme politique); akibagirwa amategeko yagengaga coup d' Etat mu gihe cy' Intambara y' Ubutita (Guerre Froide) ndetse ntanagire n'icyo yibaza ku ntambara nyakuri (la guerre juste) ndetse n' iyemewe n' amategeko mpuzamahanga. Ikigaragara nyuma y' iryo ngirwa tabara, ni ikandamizwa rya Rubanda n' iyicwa rya bamwe muri izo ngirwa batabazi na bagenzi bazo. Bigatera kwibaza ukwiye

[47] Muri 1946, i Nuremberg mu Rukiko rwaburanishije Abanazi, bemejeko icyaha cyo gutera igihugu, aricyo kibi kurusha ibindi, kikaba cyanakwitwa nyina w' ibindi byaha kuko biba bikibumbiye mo. Muri 1990, u Rwanda rwaratewe byari mu manyakuri ''*Guerre d' agression*''. Ariko kuko ngo umugambanyi ntagambana rimwe, Habyarimana abisabwe n' Ababiligi bari baramugize icyo yari cyo, abihindura ''*Guerre civile*'' binyuze muri diplomatie(une bêtise diplomatique), na Arusha ibishingira ho(vérité juridique). Ukuri k' ubucamanza kuri ho, amategeko ariho avugako kugomba kubahirizwa. Ntibibuza ushaka kumenya ukuri, gucukumbura ngo arebe icyo kub aguhatse. Kuri mu mutungo rusange w' Abanyarwanda. Ukuri ni ''*Guerre d' agression*'' si bimwe mu byayibaye mo irangira. Kwirinda ko byakongera kuba, binyura mu kuyisesengura amavu n' amavuko, kimwe n' ibyayibayemo byose.

[48] Abasomye fuites za Wikileaks mwabonye ko Sekereteri d' Etat H.R. Clinton yashimiye u Rwanda ko rwatanze données biométriques z' ibikomerezwa byarwo. Abo bantu barabizi kandi baziko Bin Laden mbere y' uko yicwa, ADN ye yabanje gushakishwa. Ni iki kibabwira ko iryo kusanya ritagamije igisa n' ibyo?

mu by' ukuli kubungabunga umutekano wa Rubanda, agasigasira uwa Leta ndetse n'uw'ingabo. Akabarinda indiragukinduka (opportuniste), ziba mu by' ukuri ziri inyuma y' ibi byose.

Igihano cy' urupfu ndakeka cyarakuwe ho n' ubwo bitabuza abicwa kwicwa. Binyuze muri Referendum, Rubanda ikabazwa niba ku Banyapolitike n' Ingabo kidakwiye kugarurwa kugira ngo *igishanga cya politike* gikamurwemo inzarwe n' isayo[49]. Kuko, ibibazo byinshi ni amakosa cg uruhererekane rw'amafuti anyuranye: uburiganya cg démagogie nk' uko Kayibanda yakunze kubyita, urukundo rucirirtse rw' i Gihugu, ubugambanyi, ironda (koko, karere, rwego ou classe sociale), gutega amatwi cyane ibyo ubwirwa na porte-monaie kurusha inyungu z' igihugu, ugasanga ntaho bataniye na magendu cg Nyirarunyonga wo muri politike[50], etc. Aya makosa yicishije abantu batari bake, atesha agaciro abatari ngerere barimo abari n' ababyeyi[51], ayogoza igihugu, yohereza Abanyarwanda ishyanga, bamwe bagwa mu mashyamba, etc. Imyanya baba barimo, iyo bakoze ikosa n' iyo ari rito, ingaruka zaryo ziba ziremereye i Gihugu. Byafasha u Rwanda abantu bagiye muri politike cg mu ngabo uko koko bagamije gukora politike(avoir le sens de l' État) cg kwitangira i Gihugu (esprit de sacrifice). Bafite kudatatira ku Gihugu (loyauté a la Nation) no kuri idéologie y' ishyaka ryabo(icyakwitwa umugozi uri mu bitekerezo uhuza abemera ibyo bitekerezo n' imibereho yabo bwite kandi nyakuri, atari imyitirirano). Umuntu akamenya abo aribo koko, akamenya uko abahitamo, icyo amahame y' ingengabitekerezo bakurikiye yemeza, icyo bemera kikagereranywa n' icyo bavuga ndetse n' icyo bakora, etc.

Inyungu ziri ku gihano cy' urupfu ku Banyapolitike n' Abasilikare ni uko bazajya bajyanwa muri politike n' ubwitange budafite ikiguzi, bajyanywe no kurebera kure igihugu, imvugo yabo ikaba ingiro[52], bakazamuka ari benshi bava mu Banyapolitike[53], bagasanga Nyakubahwa G.

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[49] Iyi mvugo umwanditsi yayitiye Donald Trump.

[50] Ni umukobwa cg umugore wo mu birari by' insigamigani. Umuntu acishirije yamwita " *féministe avant l' heure*" cg abaharanira ko abari n' abategarugori bataryamirwa muri byose. We ariko usanga ari mu rwego rw' abiyise "*femens*" barwanira icyubahiro cyabo bikura ishati, amabere akishyira akizana. Rimwe ngo abasheshe akanguhe basanze Nyirarunyonga ari hejuru y' umuhungu, yihandura akamuryaga mu ihururu ye. Barakaye bamubaza impamvu akirana n' abahungu, bitabaga ho mu Kinyarwanda. Ati:" *Ntimugire ikibazo, ndimo kubatina"* . Mu gihe, bakiri mu kantu bagushijwe mo n'iyo mvugo nyandagazi isobanura gukizwa ubusugi ku bahungu; imigirigiri yari itoye umurongo ikomeza gusakabaka ngo: " *Nanjye ntina "*. Abo bahungu cg *imfizi itimirwa* nk' uko umuco wabivugaga, bari bazi ko Nyirarunyonga nta nyungu ze arimo aharanira, ko yibereye muri bénévolat. Ntibanakamenye ko basubira mu rugo batakiri uko bavuyeyo. Na Rubanda ibwirwa byinshi n' abanyapolitike mbere ya mandat, igasubira mu rugo yishimye, umunyapolitike nawe ari uko kuko inyungu ze yazigezeho. Mbere ya mandat ikurikiyeho , abanyapolitike bakagaruka Rubanda igakubita ikuzura. Nko kwa Magendu. Nawe baba bazi ko ntaho yabyize, akoresha imiti yarengeje igihe iyo atari agafu k' imyumbati yise penicelline,etc. Ubundi akabatoza umurongo, ubabara ku ino ngurwo urushinge rwaho, utaka amatwi, akayapfumura, etc bose bagataha bishimye banamwishyuye bemeza ko muganga ari uwo nta wundi!

[51] Mwibaze umubare w'abari n' abategarugori b' abanyarwanda n' abanyamahanga bagundiriwe kubera ingufu z' itegeko ry' ingufu kuva 1973 kugeza ubu! Bambitswe ubusa imbere y' urubyaro muri Génocide, bahunguka bava Kibeho, ababikorewe mu midugudu yo muri Afrique aho banyuze bacuzwa buri kantu bari kumwe n' urubyaro bagasigarira aho, ababonye abana babo bagundirwa, etc.

[52] Nti byumvikana ukuntu umuntu uzi akazi ke kuko yakize akaminuza ndetse anagafitemo uburambe, asabwa kuririmba no kubyina ko umugaba w' Ingabo ari uruberangabo kandi we azi neza ko i Gihugu gifite amasasu yarengeje igihe, nta bumwe, intwaro n' inshuti zihagije gifite, etc. aho kubaza ibyo bibazo byatuma i Gihugu gitsindwa (kandi mu Kinyarwanda ari igitusti), akawucinya! Kumenya ukuli kuri ibi bitabaho ahandi hose, byo gutegura itsindwa ry' i Gihugu ni inshingano y' ukunda koko u Rwanda. Bityo narwo rukabyirinda. Nta ronda iryo ariryo ryose ririmo.

[53] N' ubwo yaba Umunyapolitike na ''*Homme d'État*'', bombi baba bakora politike, Umunyapolitike aba acungana n' imyaka micye ya mandat ye, ategura amatora azakurikira ayamushyize, ugasanga kenshi aruma ahuha ngo azongerwe mandat. ''*Homme d'État*'' imvugo iba ingiro burigihe, inyungu z' i Gihugu nizo ziba ziri imbere. Kandi ibyemezo bye, ubwitange bwe ntaba abutezeho igihembo cg igisubizo cy' ako kanya,

Kayibanda mu rwego rw' aba "**Homme d' État**" b' Abanyarwanda. Igihano cy' urupfu kandi kizakumira ba Rusahurira mu nduru, na ba Gashakafayida(affairiste) gucengera muri Politike. Kuko gusahura ibyo utazarya nta mushinga uba ukirimo.

Ikindi kiza cy' igihano cy' urupfyu ku Banyapolitike, ni uko cyabunga na Rubanda, ubundi ibashyira mu kebo kamwe k' intandaro y' ishavu n' ingorane zayo. Ababasha kubaho mu rwego rwa politike kubera umwiryane hagati mu ishaka cg mu mashyaka, cg abawushakira hanze y' ishyaka kandi ibikorwa by' ibanze bireba ishyaka bibyagiye byarariranye, kimwe n' abitiranya politike no gucunga imibanire y' abo bakorana(huiler les relations en lieu et place d' oser imaginer une alternative viable, d' éviter les fautes a la Nation, de prevenir l'avenir etc) bashakisha abo bata ku munigo uwo ariwo wose, cg uwo bahindanya,... ibi byose byatuma bagira umusaruro ku mishinga ireba u Rwanda itabuze cg bakava muri politike. Ubumwe bukoroha gushyirwa mu bikorwa.

Ni ngombwa na none ko abanyapolitike bashishikarizwa kunga Abanyrwanda, bakimakaza **Ukuri.** Niba banditse, bagatanga inkuru aho kwireguza ibinyoma, cg kwandika ingirwamateka bakoresheje isebanya. Nk' uwahoze ari Ministre w' Ubutegetsi bw' i Gihugu n' Ubucamanza muri *Muyaga* kugira ngo yandikire Rubanda, ibyo yabonye mu mwanya Rubanda yari yaramushinze, ugasanga ntakiyifitiye akamaro yabonye haba na kimwe:

– Ni umwe mu ba Ministre batatu bakemuye ikibazo cy' impunzi z' Abahindi n' iz' Abarundi:

a) Umunyarwanda akeneye kumenya uko iz' Abarundi zavuye mu Bugesera n' ahandi, zikoherezwa mu Mutara. Gusa rero Umunyarwanda nabimenya, arumva icyatumye saa munani kuwa 05.07.1973, Habyarimana yarashimiwe gukora putsch na Micombero(winjizaga impunzi z' Abatutsi amwohereereje mu gisilikare cye). Yanasobanukirwa n' icyo byeri basangiye muri Nzeri uwo mwaka i Bujumbura yasobanuraga, impamvu Habyarimana yavanye budget yo kwitabara kuri 3,7% akayigira 1,5%; akanasobanukirwa icyatumaga Habyarimana agenda amukinguriza imiryango mu mahanga. Ikaba yari yarafunzwe kubera irimbura ry'abize b' Abahutu Micombero yakoze muri 1972. Impunzi yahungiye i Burundi muri 1994, yakumva icyateye Abahutu baho bari barahungiye mu Rwanda icyo gihe, bagombaga kubakira kuko bari bafite ijambo mu butegetsi, bakaba barabashubije mu Rwanda ikubagahu. Habyarimana yarapfuye, amakosa ye aracyateza ibibazo, kuki Abanyarwanda bashaka kwiyunga, bavutswa kuyakuramo amasomo, bikazabarinda kuba bakongera kuyakora. Nta gukubura ngo umwanda uwuhishe munsi y' umusambi!

b) Ministre Sebatware yagiranye imibonano na Wright, wari uhagarariye HCR mu Rwanda. Kuki adasobanurira Abanyarwanda ikibazo cy' Abahindi n' Abapakistanais, uko bavuye muri Ouganda, uko bavuye mu Rwanda nyuma ya putsch ari Prefet wa Kigali, icyatumye hari abari mu Rwanda bakirukanwa bivuye mu nkiko? Abisobanuye ariko, igipirizo cy' ikinyoma cy' icyaha cya nationalisation y' ubukomunisti cyarezwe Kayibanda cyasandara! Umunyarwanda akamenya uko inyungu za Rubanda zaguye mu matsa zizira irari rizira gitangira.

c) Nyakwigendera Ministre w' Ubutegetsi bw' i Gihugu(bwonyine), Seth Sendashonga mu gihe cy' umwaka umwe yanditse amabaruwa 720 atabariza Rubanda yahohoterwaga ikanicwa na FPR, ishyaka yari abereye umuyoboke. Kuva tariki 15.02.1973 kugeza muri Mata uwo mwaka, ni amezi yujuje igihembwe, i Gihugu kiri muri Muyaga. Ministre w' Ubutegetsi bw' i Gihugu **n' Ubucamanza** Sebatware, niba koko atari umugambanyi nkuko yemeje ko Kayibanda yabimwise, yagombye byibura kuba yarashyize ahagaragara icya gatatu cy' ariya mabaruwa atabariza Rubanda. Cyane cyane ko wumva abatakomokaga mu Majyaruguru baba bari bafite ingufu, bikaba byarashobokaga ngo babimugerekeho. Mu bihe nk' ibi umuntu wese aririnda, ati ''*Natunganyije akazi kanjye*; *dore ibyo nakoze, byapfiriye ahandi* ''! Mu gitabo cye nta n' imwe irangwamo! Ibi bibe aribyo bifatwaho ukuri ko kubakirwa ho ubwiyunge butajegajega?

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bishobora kuba bizasarurwa n' abana be n' abo bari mu kigero kimwe cyangwa abuzukuru babo.

Amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka bakwiye kandi no kwiga uko hazajya ho itegeko ritegeka abanyapolitike mu gihe bari mu kazi ka Rubanda, komeka ''*logo*'' cg ''*auto-collant*'' z' ababari inyuma batari Rubanda. Ibyo byaca amazimwe. Nk' iyo, Habyarimana ajya kuba yarazaga mu nama yambaye za *logo* za Micombero, Simbananiye, Franc-maçons loge belge, abategetsi gakondo, … cg Sebatware akaza nawe yambaye ize, impaka zari koroha, imiti y' ibibazo byariho ikaboneka vuba aho gucengana. Havuka ikibazo ariko umunyapolitike yumvira porte-monnaie ye n'inyungu zikabije kuba nyinshi. Urebye nk' iziha Kagame ibikome, logos zose zabyara burqua kandi henshi amategeko atazemera mu ruhame !

Kunga Abanyarwanda n' ikinyoma, bitaniyehe no kubakira ku musenyi? Bifate uko mbishaka cg nguhindanye! Ni " **ubumwe au rabais**" ivanze na terrorisme intellectuel, umuntu nta gomba kwinjira mo yububa kandi ntakibuze ngo ubumwe bizira uburyarya kandi mu bwubahane bubeho.

4.5- Projet de société

Ibyo abanyapolitike bakora, baba babikorera Rubanda. Birakwiye ko abatarabikora kandi ni benshi, bagaragariza Rubanda umunyarwanda bifuza uko azaba yifashe byibura mu myaka 50 iri imbere, i Gihugu azaba arimo uko kizaba kitwaye n' amategeko azaba akigenga, uko kizaba kibanye n' amahanga, etc, uburyo bizagerwaho (stratégie cg plan d' actions). Bityo bikorohereza buri wese kubasha guhita mo umushinga unogeye u Rwanda. Hari abavuga ko kubigaragaza ari ugukorera abandi. Sibyo. Stratégie ireba kera cyane cg kure hazaza (le long terme) nta mpamvu yo kubihisha abo uhashakira. Vuba aha (l' avenir proche) cg ejo higiyeyo (moyen terme), umuntu yageze muri programme na tactiques zo kugira ngo umushinga we ube ariwo wemerwa na Rubanda, hari ibikwiye kugirwa ibanga ku muntu utari mu ishyaka, ndetse n' abari mu ishyaka kuko politike ari uguhiganwa (compétition). Ni byiza ko politike y' u Rwanda itangira kurebana cyane n' imishinga buri wese afitiye igihugu kurusha uko biri ubu, aho akarere, ubwoko, ubucuti nabyo bitagomba kwirengagizwa ariko na none ntibishyirwe imbere y' inyungu rusange z' i Gihugu. Umuntu akamenya igitekerezo cy' undi, icyo yemera ko ari ukuri cg gifitiye u Rwanda akamaro (opinion), uwo bajya impaka nawe akamenya umushinga w'undi. Ubashije kwereka mugenzi we ko yibeshya cg hari ibyiza kurushaho undi nawe akabyibonera. Intambwe igaterwa.

Ese Itegeko-Nshinga ririho, niryo rizakomeza, ishyaka rizakosora mo iki? Ibi rwose ni ibintu byagombye kuva mu nzira ubu, ubutegetsi bushya bugahita buhagurukana imbaduko ishimishije. Niba umuntu yiyemeje gushinga ishaka, iruhanda rwa stratégie aba akwiye no kugaragaza programme ya vuba aha. Nibyo bitwara abanyapolitike umwanya bagenera ubucuti ndetse kuri bamwe n' uwo bagenera démagogie, … ariko niba bakorera Rubanda koko, buri munsi ntibabura iminota 15 ngo bashyire ahabona ibikenewe.

4.6- Observatoire politique

Hari abatinya ba Kazagwa[54] ko bababomorera mudasobwa cg se ku bundi buryo bakabiba ibitekerezo. Biriho cyane ndetse abakurikira amaradio ari kuri mudasobwa, mujya mwumva aho iki n' iki cyahavugiwe, mu cyumweru gikurikiyeho kikigirwa mu Nteko y' Abadeputes, ariko habe gutinyuka kuvuga aho cyavuye. Ibi bishobora kurwanywa ishyaka cg impuzamashyaka zishyizeho observatoires bwite cg zihuriyeho. Ikajya ipima ubutegetsi imaze kugira ku Nteko (Gihugu), ikagaragariza Abanyarwanda igihe igitekerezo cyaryo cyasohokeye, niba Inteko yubahirije icyemezo uko cyakabaye (bimwe bavuga ngo umuntu yakopeye akopera n' izina) cg hari ibyo yakuyemo cg yongeyemo. Abanyarwanda si injiji hagati ya kopi na original bazi guhitamo.

4.7- Umwenda w' umuburagasani (Dette odieuse)

[54] Ni umujura wigeze kwamamara cyane mu Rwanda muri za Mirongwirindwi, amera nk' umuntu wo mu migani.

U Rwanda ruri mu bihugu bifite umwenda ukabije kuremerera Rubanda watswe mu izina ryayo ariko ukaba ntacyo wakoreshejwe kiyireba. Amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka bakwiye gusuzuma bakareba niba uyu mwenda hari icyo ubura mu bisabwa kugira ngo umwenda warwo ube wakwitwa umuburagasani (dette odieuse) kuko nyir' ukuwutanga yawutanze azi neza ko nta bushobozi bwo kuwishura Rubanda yacujwe twose ifite bwo kwishyura, ko icyo wakiwe ataricyo wakoreshwejwe,etc. Ariko biri, yaba ari amahirwe nk' ay' injangwe ifashe imbeba yariye umunyu; kuko uyu mwenda utishyurwa. Byaba atari uko biri ibyawo nabyo bigakurikiranwa mu nyungu za Rubanda. Kubyiga ntacyo bigomba gutegereza kandi ntacyo byadindiza.

Ikindi kibazo kijyana n' iki, n' icy' umutungo wasahuwe Congo. Ntiwaba ushaka ubutabera ngo ubwime abandi. Birakwiye ko amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka begera Congo bakarebera hamwe uko bazayifasha kugaruza umutungo wayo. Byabarinda kuzatungurwa, ibyo kuwugaruza biturutse kuri Congo kuko bashobora gusanga bategeka igihugu kitagira Capitale, bibaye ngombwa ko haba ifatira. Nko mu gihe Congo yaba ireze abasilikare bazwi barwanye yo mu izina rya FPR.

Umwanzuro

Général C. De Gaulle yaragize ati: «*Icyo umuntu ashaka, aba akunda ingaruka zacyo»*. Hagati y' ibibi bamwe bakeka ku bandi (clichés), ibyabaye (faits), ibikorwa by' amahano n' amagambo byabisasiye (prétexte et propagande proactive), ibikorwa n' amagambo byabigurishije muri Rubanda cg se mu batera-nkunga (prétexte et propagande comme service après vente), dukwiye gusigarana ibyabaye ari ko kuri cg amateka yacu. Ibindi tukabirekera mu ruhande rwa za *Nyirashangasha* tugakuramo amasomo yo kutazongera kubigwamo. Ibyo ariko birasaba guhumiriza, – niba Rubanda ibyemeye kuko niyo nyir' Ubutegetsi – , ngo hagire intambwe ifatika kandi ishimangiye yaterwa.

Abanyapolitike bitwa ko barangaje imbere Rubanda bakiri mu bwiru bakwiye kubusohokamo. Icyo bateganyiriza u Rwanda kikajya ahabona, igahitamo izi aho ihera n' icyo ihisemo. Ikabasha no kubagenzura ngo imenye niba bagikomeye ku Gihugu, amategeko n' amahame y' amashyaka yabo. Gutangaza ko abantu cg amashyaka afatanyije, ntawugaragaza icyo yemera n'icyo atemera byakururiye ibibazo bitari bike i Gihugu n' abantu ku giti cyabo. Niba dushaka guhora muri ibyo bibazo, ubwo dukwiye kuzibukira imikorere itomoye, tukaguma muri démagogie, Nyakubahwa G. Kayibanda – tuzi aho yagejeje u Rwanda – , yaziraga ariko ku bw' urukundo ruke rw' i Gihugu rwa bamwe, akaba ariwe uyizira.

Baravuga ngo: *“ Shitani yihisha mu ducogocogo”* (le diable est dans les détails). Amatangazo kimwe n' izindi nyandiko by' amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka byacu, bigaragaza iby' ingenzi (grandes lignes). Ahasigaye umwe akabyumva ukwe. Ntibihagije ngo amashyaka n' impuzamashyaka bibe imitamenwa. Gutegura no gutangariza abayoboke détails zitari amabanga y' ishyaka n' impuzamashyaka mu nyandiko zavuzwe haruguru birakenewe. Wavuga uti mfatanyije na runaka, bikaba ari muri grandes lignes ndetse no muri détails zizwi. Yatera intambwe yerekera ku mushinga wawe, nawe ugatera ireba umushinga we itanyuranyije n' amahame wemera. Mukagirana andi masezerano azwi, aho kuzitwaza déclaration itanakinibukwa kuko abayisinye, nta n' umwe uba yeretse undi umushinga we haba muri grandes lignes (na détails zitari amabanga y' ishyaka), maze ikavugishwa ikibonetse cyose.

Ibi ntibivuze ko nta kiza kirimo gukorwa. Ndetse umuntu yanavuga ko hari byinshi. Nk' abanyamakuru ku maradio, ku mbuga nkoranya-mbaga, n' ahandi amakuru barayashaka; bagaha urubuga ubishatse akisomora. Ikindi kiza ni uko bahora batyaza ibikoresho byabo (inventivité). Niba batanze ibibazo, bagatanga imibare, n' ibyo bakeka ko byaba imiti ku kibazo cy' u Rwanda; abanyapolitike baba bafite ibikenewe byose n' umwanya uhagije wo kubitekerezaho ngo bagaragaze imishinga yabo bafitiye i Gihugu, bakanahora bayishyira ku gihe(actualisation).

Abanyarwanda dufite muri twe kwigana ikigenda kurusha guhanga. Niba mwibuka, kera iyo umukire yashyiraga taxi mu muhanda, abari mu rwego rwe bwacyaga bazishyizemo izindi, kandi rimwe na rimwe zinari no mu muhanda umwe. Undi yafungura Pharmacie, bika uko rimwe na rimwe ku ba clients bamwe. Muri politique naho hari ukwiganana kutari guke. Tactique naka yakoresheje nyuma y' imyaka iyi n' iyi ishize, umuntu akumva amateka azisubiramo, nawe akayikoresha ikamuhira. Ndetse akanakora n' ibishoboka byose agafasha iyo scenario kuba yaba. Kuko itangazamakuru ariryo rigenda neza muri iki gihe (travail formidable), ugasanga bashishikajwe n' ibisubizo bibangutse binatanzwe kubera akanya kabonetse, bakikura imbere y' umunyamakuru rimwe narimwe ikivuzwe batagitekereza (ari posture), byarangira bakumva ko bihagije. Ibisubizo byasesenguwe kandi byizweho birambuye (position) ntibabigenere igihe. Ngo ubishatse, cyane cyane Rubanda ibibone. Ni byiza ko Abanyapolitike, bagaragaza posture niba nta position bafite ku kibazo kivutse cg kiriho. Ariko ntako bisa, gutekerereza Rubanda, bakayimulikira kure, ntihuzagurike. Bizanabafasha kugwa mu makosa make kandi adakomeye, binatume bikura, baakure u Rwanda mu nzitane z' ibibazo rutabuze.

Sinarangiza ntifurije buri wese uzasoma iyi nyandiko, umwaka mushya muhire

A. Munyandamutsa
Nederland, 25 januari 2018