

Ibibazo By'Abakiga N'Abanyenduga

*Dr. Seth Naza
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Atlanta, Georgia
USA*

Email: SethBLaw@outlook.com

Abanyarwanda bose bazi imvugo iri hanze aha y'ibibazo biri hagati y'abakiga n'abanyenduga, akaba ari bimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi bikibaziritse ku gitugu cya Kagame. Kera abantu bari barijewe ko ngo hazabaho inama yitwa "Rukokoma", ibyo bibazo bigashyirwa hasi bakabicocagura, ikarangira bumvikanye. Iyo nama rero hashize imyaka 25 itaraba, ariko usanga hari benshi bacyizera cyangwa bacyizewe ko izaba igakemura biriya bibazo.

Banyarwanda rero, iyo abantu bagomba kubana, bagakomeza kuvuga ko bazumvikana ari uko hari ibintu bibanje gutunganwa ariko ntawe uri kubitunganya, icyo umwe aba ahisha undi ni uko nta bwumvikane ashaka, cyangwa se agishakisha ukundi yabigenza ngo agere kubyo yifuza amukikiye. Hari abantu bavugira mu ruhame ukumva bizera ko umuntu yabana n'undi bangana imyaka 40 igashira ntacyo babikoraho, bakaba bakora inama imwe ikabihindura bakaba inshuti zizerana. Ibi byose ni ibinyoma bigamije gutezura abanyarwanda ku ntego yo gushyiraho igihugu twese tuzishimira kubamo mu mahoro kandi twisanzuye. Gukomeza kuzirika abantu bawe ku ngoyi y'ibyahise ni ikosa rikomeye, kuko kudasobanukirwa kwawe ntacyo bihindura ku ngaruka mbi zakwo, cyane ku bantu bose baguteze amatwi kandi bakakwizera.

Mu rwego rw'ibibazo by'abakiga n'abanyenduga, iyi nyandiko irerekana ko bene ibyo bibazo atari ibyo gukemurwa n'inama cyangwa inkiko nk'uko bamwe babyijewe. Kugirango ibyo bibazo bishire, hari ibintu bitatu bigomba gukorwa kandi bijyanye n'igihe tugezemo:

- Icyamba mbere ni ukubwizanya ukuri, tukavugira uko ibintu byagenze n'uko ibibazo dufite biteye nta gukikira, hanyuma ahubwo tugafata igihe gikenewe tugahangana n'ingaruka zabyo.
- Icyamba kabiri ni uko kugirango ingingo ya mbere ishoboke neza, abanyapolitike bagomba gukora uko bashoboye bakajya bahuza abakiga n'abanyenduga basobanukiwe neza n'imiterere y'ibibazo biri hagati yabo. Umugambi ukaba gushakira hamwe uburyo basenya ibirindiro bikomeye biri mu mitekerereze n'imyifatire yabo, bagakingura inzugi z'ubusabane n'ubwifatanye bwaguye, bakareka kwishisha ko hari igihe umwe ashobora kuzubikira undi akamukorera ibidakorwa.
- Icyamba gatatu ni uguhindura imitegekere y'igihugu ku buryo abakiga, abanyenduga, n'ibindi bice by'banyarwanda bizera badashidikanya ko iyo mitegekere mishya izatuma ibibi bakorewe cyangwa se bakoze bitazongera gushoboka. Iyi ni imwe mu mpamvu zikomeye zizatuma ibirindiro tumaze kuvugira biva mu nzira, imibanire myiza ikiyongera.

Ibi byose ntabwo byoroshye, ariko igihe kirageze ngo natwe abanyarwanda tunyuzemo twiyemeze kugera ku bintu byiza tuzi neza ko bikomeye, kandi turuhuke tubigezeho.

1. Intandaro

Ntabwo iyi nyandiko igamije kuvuga ko nta kintu cyabaye kigatuma havuka ubwumvikane buke ndetse n'inzangano hagati y'abakiga n'abanyenduga. Ibi ariko nta kintu kirimo umuntu yavuga ko ari ibanga rigomba gutegereza imyaka isaga 20 y'ubuhunzi kugirango rimenwe, maze haboneke ibisubizo bituma dutera intambwe ijya imbere mu rwego rwa politike no mu mibanire y'abanyarwanda. Ku bakiri bato, dore uko ibintu biteye:

Ku itariki ya 5-7-1973, Generali Majoro Juvenal Habyarimana wari umukuru w'ingabo z'u Rwanda yahiritse ku ngufu ubutegetsu bwa Prezida Gregoire Kayibanda wari warategetse u Rwanda kuva rubonye ubwigenge mu 1962. Kayibanda yavukaga mu majyepfo y'u Rwanda (muri pefegitura ya Gitarama), Habyarimana akavuka mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda (muri pefegitura ya Gisenyi). Nyuma y'iyi "Coup D' Etat" abategetsu barenze 50 bo hejuru benshi bavukaga muri pefegitura ya Gitarama barafashwe bashyirwa mu buroko. Baburanishijwe hutihuti, bamwe muri bo bakatirwa urwo gupfa ariko nyuma ruza guhindurwamo burundu nk'iyi abasigaye bari babonye. Ntabwo hashize igihe kirekire abanyarwanda bumva inkuru y'incamugongo ko abo bantu hafi ya bese bamaze kwicwa. Hiyongeraho ko ngo bishwe mu buryo butari bwiza, n'ubwo nta buryo buzwi umuntu yicamo undi neza. Banyarwanda mwari mukiri bato cyangwa mutaravuka, n'abandi batabikurikiye hafi, ngiyo inkomoko y'ibibazo birebire twita iby'abakiga n'abanyenduga.

Ntihagire uwibwira ko hari ibanga rimenetse, kuko abari baciye akenge muri za mirongo irindwi bazi ko ibi byose byanyuze kuri radiyo Rwanda, no mu mbere bikaganirwa. Abantu rero bakomeje kwijujuta mu gihugu no hanze y'u Rwanda, bigeze aho Habyarimana yemera ko imanza zicibwa. Major Lizinde Theoneste wategekaga iperereza icyo gihe ibyaha byaramufashe, nawe ntiyabihakana. Lizinde yarakatiwe, afungwa burundu ya kabiri kuko yari amaze gukatirwa indi burundu yo kunanirwa guhirika ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Ku byerekeranye n'ubutabera byo, imiryango y'abishwe isa n'aho itemeye uko imanza zakaswe, kuko bikomeye kwemeza ko Lizinde yabikoze wenyine akurikiye inyungu ze bwite. N'abandi banyarwanda benshi ni uko babibonye, ariko baranuma ngo bucyeye kabiri.

Ikintu kigaragara cyavuye muri izo manza, ni uko ubutegetsu bwariho bwatanze indishyi z'akababaro ku miryango yose y'abantu bishwe. Bivugwa ko buri muriyango wabonye amafaranga y'u Rwanda arenze miliyoni imwe (1 000 000FRW), akaba yari amadolari y'amanyamerika asaga ibihumbi cumi na bibiri by'icyo gihe (12 000 USD). Ikintu kitasobanuwe ni impamvu z'ariya mafaranga kuko urukiko rwakatiye Lizinde rutategetse ubutegetsu kuyatanga. Ntabwo tuzi uwazanye kiriya gitekerezo, uwashyizeho umubare, n'uwateguye uko azashyikirizwa abo yagenewe kuko bitabereye mu ruhame. Byaba byiza ababizi neza basobanuriye abanyarwanda bese imigambi y'ubutegetsu, n'amagambo yakoreshejwe mu kuyatanga n'aho yaba ataranditswe, ukuri kwabyo kukajya mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ntituzi niba mu rwiherero barimo hari uwo babwiye bati *mutubabarire twarabacumuriye kuko Lizinde yari umukozi w'ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda. Nta buryo dufite bwo gubisubiza inyuma ibyo yakoze kuko tubishoboye twabikora, ariko iyi bahasha tubahaye irimo impozamarira zituvuye ku mutima. Ubutegetsu bwacu ntabwo buzongera gukora ibintu nka biriya kuko atari byiza.*

Iyo biriya bikorwa rwihishwa nabwo byari kuba ari byiza, ariko ntabwo byari kuvanaho ingorane zo mu rwego rwa politike icyicwa rya bariya bategetsy ryateje. Muri make, Habyarimana wafashe ubutegetsy muri coup d'etat ntiyigeze yemera ko yari azi ko bariya bantu bari kugenda bicwa, kuko batishwe mu munsu umwe. Ariko kandi icyo yemera ko yabimenye ntagire icyo abikoraho, yari kugomba kwisobanura imbere y'abanyarwanda bose n'ibindi bihugu by'inshuti, bikaba bitari kumworohera kuko ari we ririya icyicwa ryagize icyo ryungura. Niyo mpamvu twibwira ko yahisemo kwifata nk'aho ryabaye mw'ibanga ritamugezeho.

None ko ubwicanyi bwemewe, imanza zigakatwa, hagatangwa indishyi z'akababaro, ndetse na ba nyirubwite aribo Habyarimana na Lizinde bakaba bamaze imyaka myinshi bapfuye, ni kuki biriya bibazo bitashize mu mibanire y'abakiga n'abanyenduga kugeza magingo aya? Impamvu igaragara ni uko ruriya rugomo rwarimo gutatira ubucuti, ba nyirabayazana bakirengagiza ko nta bibazo mu bantu byikemura cyangwa se ngo bipfe kwibagirana. Birangira gusa icyo hagize abantu biyemeza guhaguruka bagakora ibishoboka byose kugirango ibintu bisubire mu murongo. Naho ubundi bihinduka inzigo bikaba akarande mu miryango, mu bwoko, cyangwa se mu turere, bigahabwa intebe mu burere bw'abana bari gukura. Iyo Habyarimana agira ubutwari buhagije, agatinyuka gutumira imiryango y'abishwe akabaka imbabazi biherereye, ntabwo dushidikanya ko batari kuzimuha, kuko abategetsy 50 bo mu karere kamwe ari benshi cyane. Icyo twakwemeza ni uko imitima n'imitekerereze yabo byari guhinduka mu buryo bwiza, kuko tuzi neza ko ari abantu bafite imitima y'abantu. Bimwe mu magambo mabi yavuzwe, n'ihinduka twabonye mu mibanire yabo n'abakiga nabyo ntabwo byari kugera aho byageze.

Dore icyatumye abanyenduga bababara cyane: Kayibanda yari afite inshuti nyinshi mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda. Abanyenduga basuranaga n'abakiga (*soma ubusobanuro bw'ayo magambo hepfo**), barashyingiranye, barabyaranye n'abana. icyababaje abanyenduga rero, ni uko benshi muri abo bakiga b'inshuti zabo bafashe imyanya ihanitse mu butegetsy bushya, ariko ntibashyire ikirenge hasi ngo babwire Lizinde na Habyarimana bati nibyo ubutegetsy twarabufashe kandi dushaka kubugumana, ariko nimushake ukundi mubigeraho mutishe inshuti n'imiryango byacu. Abanyenduga bizeraga ko icyo izo nshuti zabo ziza kubikora Habyarimana atari gutinyuka kureka abantu bose bishwe bapfa, dore ko ngo yari yarabyaye mu batisimu umwe mu bana ba Kayibanda, kandi ko ngo na Kayibanda ubwe yamukundaga. Ni ukuvuga rero ko na Habyarimana yari inshuti abanyenduga bari bizeye, batakekaga ko ibyababayeho byari gushoboka ariwe utegeka igihugu.

Muri make rero, gukemura ibibazo byarirengagijwe, ba bana bavutse mu bucuti bw'abakiga n'abanyenduga bamwe bagahindurwa imfubyi barakuze, ubu ni abagore n'abagabo bujukuruje. Benshi muri ba bandi bakoze amahano, ababyeyi bagizwe abapfakazi, ndetse na za nshuti zatereye agati mu ryinyo bamaze kwitaba Imana. Kuba biriya bibazo bikiriho rero, ni uko nta bantu bahagurukiye kubikemura babishyizeho umwete, none bikaba bisa n'ibyamaze kugera ku rwego rw'ururhererekane mu burezi bw'abana. Niyo mpamvu tugomba guhaguruka twese tugashaka ibisubizo by'ibi bibazo niba dushaka ko abakiga n'abanyenduga bazabana neza mu Rwanda ruzaza. Nta gihe cya Rukokoma tugifite, kandi hari benshi batigeze bayitegaho byinshi.

**Mbere y'uko dukomeza, reka dusobanure aho ijambo "Abakiga" n' ijambo "Abanyenduga" byaturutse mu byerekeranye n'ibibazo byo ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana, kuko hari bamwe batabizi. Kera u Rwanda rutarigenga hariho uturere twinshi, buri karere kagategekwa n'umutware. Nyuma y'ubwigenge uturere twabumbiwe muri za Prefegitura. Hariho akarere k'Urukiga mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, hakabaho n'akarere ka Nduga mu majyepfo. Hari Abatutsi b'abakiga n'abatutsi b'abanyenduga, ariko ntabwo babarwa mu bibazo byo ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana mbere y'1990, kuko nta ruhare rugaragara bari babifitemo.*

Ubundi "Abakiga" nyabo ni abantu bari biganje mu karere k'Urukiga muri prefegitura ya Byumba, ukambuka ujya i Buganda aho bashobora kuba ari benshi kurenza mu Rwanda. Amateka amwe avuga ko ari abimukira bakomoka muri Kigali ya ruguru, kandi se wa Habyarimana akaba yaravutse mu bakiga b'i Bugande mbere y'uko yimukira ku Gisenyi aho Habyarimana yavukiye. Naho ubundi nta mwami uzwi abakiga bigeze bagira ngo yamamare kurenza uko Habyarimana yabigezeho. icyo amateka abavugaho ni uko baserereje abami b'u Rwanda igihe kirerekire. Umugabo "Basebya" yari umutware wabo wigomekaga ku mwami, akaba yarishwe n'abadage aho bagereye mu Rwanda bagategeka abakiga gutuza bakayoboka umwami ku ngufu. Ikindi kizwi ni uko ubwoko bw'Abungura ari bwo bwari bukomeye mu moko y'Abakiga. Habyarimana ubwe bivugwa ko yari umwungura.

Nduga yo yari igihugu kinini cyane cyatsinzwe n'umwami w'u Rwanda nticyongera kubyutsa umutwe. Uko bizwi, prefegitura yose ya Gitarama n'uturere tumwe tuyegereye byari mu Nduga, kandi ubwoko bw'Ababanda nibwo bwategekaga. Abami b'i Nduga bari batuye i Nyanza ya Nyabisindu, Mashira akaba ariwe twumva cyane kubera umukobwa w'igishongore yari afite witwaga Bwiza.

Murabona rero ko kwita abantu bose bo mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda abakiga kwari ugutambikira cyane, kuko abakiga nyabo biganje muri prefegitura ya Byumba n'i Bugande, hakaba bake mu Ruhengeri, nta na busa ku Gisenyi. Ruhengeri na Gisenyi zituwe n'andi moko menshi akomeye, ariko bisa n'aho nta ruhare bayahaye mu mvugo zo ku ngoma ya Habyarimana. Aho wenda byumvikanira ni uko abanyenduga babivuze ku ngoma ya Habyarimana bashakaga kwerekana uduce tw'u Rwanda turi kw'ibere, biborohera ari uko bakubiye amajyaruguru yose y'u Rwanda mu bwoko bumwe bw'abakiga, aribwo bwa Habyarimana. Uko iminsi yagiye yicuma abantu barabimenyereye barabyemera, ndetse abakiga benshi batari bo barabirisha.

Ibi rero by'abakiga n'abanyenduga uko babifashe kwose ntacyo bitwungura kubitindaho, kuko ntacyo bihindura ku miterere y'ibibazo biri hagati yabo. icyo tuzi ni uko abanyenduga bazi neza ko nta nama yigeze ibaho y'abo bita abakiga igamije kwica bariya bantu bishwe. Ahubwo ibirindiro tuzi byashinzwe mu myifatire aho ubwicanyi bugaragariye, abakiga bashyirwa mu nkambi yabo n'abanyenduga mu yabo ari uburyo bwo kwifatanya ngo bahangane bafite umubare ugaragara. Ibi byose rero byagize ingaruka mbi ku banyarwanda bose, kuko abakiga n'abanyenduga atari bo batuye u Rwanda bonyine. Uturere twose tw'u Rwanda dutuwe n'andi moko menshi afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho neza mu mahoro, akisanzura, kandi akagira uruhare rugaragara mu butegetsi bwarwo.

2. Ingaruka z'iyicwa ry'abategetsi bavukaga i Gitarama

Mbere y'uko amashyaka menshi agaruka mu Rwanda mu 1989, ibibazo by'abakiga n'abanyenguga byariho ariko bidasakuzwa cyane. Hari agahenge umuntu yavuga ko kazanywe n'ubwoba abari ku butegetsi batewe n'iyicwa ry'abategetsi bavukaga i Gitarama. Habyarimana na bagenzi be bagomba kuba barasanze ibintu bakoze ari amarorerwa, bagahitamo kubihagarika inzira zikigendwa kandi badashakuje, ndetse n'itotezwa ry'abatutsi ryariho mu minsi yabanjirije coup d'etat rirahagarara. Umuntu abifashe gutya, yavuga ko amaraso ya bariya bantu yakingiyeye abanyarwanda kw'iyicwa by'urugomo rw'ubutegetsi kugeza mu 1990, aho inkotanyi zitereye u Rwanda ziturutse muri Uganda.

Indi ngaruka tudatindaho, ni uko kuva abategetsi b'i Gitarama bishwe, nta bundi buryo ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwashoboraga kuramba budakoresheje igitugu. Ntabwo igitugu ari ukwica gusa, kuko hari uburyo bwinshi ubutegetsi bushobora gukoresha kugirango buribate uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure bw'abenegihugu, bugakomeza kwibwira ko ntacyo bashobora kubikoraho. Nibyo koko abanyagitugu hari igihe bamara abantu babafitiye ubwoba, ariko uko iminsi igenda yicuma batangira kubona ibyanzu byinshi banyuramo bakigobotora. Na Habyarimana niko byamugendekeye kuko ari abatutsi, abanyenduga, n'abandi benshi batamwumvaga bamuviriyeho inda imwe, ubutegetsi bwe baruhuka babuhiritse.

Umuntu yagereranya ubusobekerane bw'ibibazo byariho mu 1990 n'ubw'ibibazo byariho mu 1960. Muri za mirongo 50 zirangira, habayeho imyivumbagatanyo mu bihugu byinshi byakolonizwaga n'ibihugu bimwe by'iburayi. Iyo myivumbagatanyo natwe yatugezeyo irangira u Rwanda rubonye ubwigenge mu 1962. Hagati aho ariko, mu kwaka ubwigenge haziyemo ikibazo cyo kwanga ubwami, burangiza buvuyeho. Ibi byatumye abatutsi batisanzura ngo bishimire ubwigenge twabonye, kubera ko ivanwaho ry'ubwami ryatumye bamwe muri bo bahunga abandi baricwa, ibyo bikomeza kuba igitotsi mu maso y'abasigaye mu gihugu. No mu mpera ya za mirongo 80 rero habayeho inkundura ikomeye yo kugarura demokarasi mu bihugu byinshi byari byaravanyeho. Natwe byatugezeho, amashyaka arashingwa karahava. Ubwo bwisanzure bushya ntabwo twaburiye kabiri, kubera ko ba batutsi bahunze ingaruka z'ivanwaho ry'ubwami bitambitsemu hagati bagatera u Rwanda, bikarangira bafashe ubutegetsi mu 1994. Ku bahutu, igaruka rya demokarasi risa n'aho ntacyo ryabamariye, kuko kwisubiranamo kwajyanye naryo kwatumye bose hamwe batakaza ubutegetsi n'ubusugire bari bafite, benshi baricwa, abandi bafata inzira ihunga babisikana n'abatutsi bari guhunguka.

Impamvu ibi tubivuze hano, ni uko kugirango ubwami bushobore kuvaho habayeho ubwifatanye bukomeye mu bahutu benshi bo mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda. Ntabwo umuntu yakwemeza ko abahutu b'abanyenduga bonyine bari gushobora kuvanaho ubwami mu Rwanda, n'ubwo icyicaro cyabwo cyari mu Nduga. Ubwami bw'u Rwanda bwari bukomeye, ntabwo akarere kamwe bari kubwifasha. Iryo shyirahamye ry'abahutu rero ryatangiyeye dushaka ubwigenge ryarangiyeye ubutetsi bwa Habyarimana bwishe abahutu b'i Gitarama mu 1973-1974. N'ubwo abahutu benshi batangiyeye guta umurongo mu mpera ya za 60, iyicwa ry'abanyagitarama niryoye ryarirangijye. Birumvikana rero ko ryarangiyeye abanyenduga batakaje byinshi kuko abishwe bari abategetsi imiryango n'uturere bakomokamo bari bahanze amaso.

No mu 1994 ni nk’uko byagenze. Ntabwo ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana byari byoroshye kubuvanaho, kuko ariwe wari warategetse igisirikare kuva u Rwanda rwigenze, akagikora ku buryo kimukunda kandi kikamwumvira. Ikindi ni uko kuva aho abategetsu b’i Gitarama biciwe, guhuta abantu byagabanyutse cyane, bigatuma bitoroha kwumvisha abaturage ko bagomba guhaguruka bakarwanira ubwisanzure bwabo. Nicyo cyatumye kugarura amashyamba byonyine bitashoboye kuvanaho Habyarimana, ahubwo agakurwaho n’intabwari yatangiye n’abatutsi bari barahunze. Aba batutsi nabo ntabwo intabwari bapfuye kuyitsinda, ahubwo habaye ukwifatanya gukomeye hagati yabo n’abanyarwanda b’imbere mu gihugu batari bishimiye ubutegetsu buriho. Ubwo bwifatanye nibwo bwatumye haboneka ibyitso bihagije mu Rwanda hose, bigatanga inkunga bishoboye kubona, bikanatunga agatoki aho byizewe ko kuhakomeretsa bizihutisha ivanwaho rya Habyarimana, kandi koko birangira yishwe.

Ubwifatanye bw’abahutu bamwe n’abatutsi bafashe intwari ngo bavaneho Habyarimana ntabwo bwari bushingiye ku mugambi umwe wo gutunganya igihugu ngo bagitegekere hamwe. Ahubwo icyo bari bahuriyeho cyonine kwari ukuvanaho Habyarimana ibindi bakazabireba nyuma. Abatutsi bashakaga kwigarurira uburenganzira bwabo bwo kuba mu Rwanda mu mahoro, bishobotse bakaba banarutegeka (iki cyifuzo cy’abatutsi cyari kirenze ivanwaho ry’ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana). Abahutu benshi bitirirwa abanyenduga bo bashakaga ko Habyarimana avaho, byaba bishoboka bagasenywa n’igisirikari cye. Uko byavugwaga, ngo hari abibwiraga ko bizashoboka ko abahutu bazongera bakishyira hamwe vuba vuba bakigaranzura ubutegetsu bw’abatutsi kubera ubwinshi bwabo. Aho intabwari irangiriye rero, byahise bigaragara ko itsindwa rya Habyarimana ari itsindwa ry’abahutu, ubwo barahungira guterana amagambo hagati yabo: Abakiga bamwe ngo abanyenduga bagurishije u Rwanda, abanyenduga bandi ngo iyo babishobora bari guhunga ukwabo bonyine, kuko ngo byose ari abakiga batumye bigera hariya.

Ntabwo umuntu yavugaga ko hari inyungu igaragara abanyenduga bavanye mw’ihirikwa ry’ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana, keretse ahari akanezamutima ko gusohozwa intego bari bariyemeje yo guhorera abantu babo kuri we. Ntabwo bashoboye kwumvikana n’ubutegetsu bw’abatutsi ngo basangire bareshya, nta n’ubwo bashoboye kwumvikana n’abakiga babanye mu buhungiro ngo nibura bafatanirize hamwe kuvanaho ubutegetsu bwa Kagame. Dore imyaka irenze 20 Kagame afashe ubutegetsu, ategukeshye igitungu n’urugomo bidasanzwe, ariko bisa n’aho hari ikirindiro cy’abakiga n’icy’abanyenduga bitandukanijwe n’umurongo utukura bese batinye kurenga ngo bifatanye bavaneho Kagame.

3. Imizi remezo y’ibibazo by’u Rwanda

Twibwira ko nta munyarwanda ushidikanyaga ko gukemura ibibazo by’abakiga n’abanyenduga ari intego itoroshye tugomba kwiyemeza gusohozwa. Aho ikomereye ni uko ababigizemo uruhare runini batakirihohotse kandi aribo twari kwikingira ngo bakore uko bashoboye bahure, ni biba ngombwa basabane imbabazi bamaze kwemeranwa ku bibi bakoze cyangwa se bakorewe. Twatakaje igihe kirekire ku buryo ibi bisa n’ibitagishoboka. Igihe tugezemo ni icy’abuzukuru, cya kindi cy’inziho basigaye bavugaga ngo uriya mukobwa utangiye kugendana n’uriya musore ntazi ko sekuru yishwe kubera sekuru w’uriya musore? Yego ntawabuza umuntu kurinda abo

akunda cyangwa bahuje amaraso, kuko nibo bishimana kandi bakamwitaho nta kiguzi iyo ageze mu ngorane zikomeye. Ikibazo gusa ni uko iyo umubare munini w’abenegihugu wishishana bikabije birangira biteye ingorane zikomeye mu mitegekere yacyo bikononera bese.

Yego ikibazo cy’abakiga n’abanyenduga kirihutirwa gukemurwa kugirango ivanwaho ry’ubutegetsi bwa Kagame rizorohe, kandi ubutegetsi bushya buzashobore gushinga imizi myiza. Ibi ariko ntabwo bivuga ko aricyo kibazo cyonyine gikomeye abanyarwanda bafite. Ikibazo cy’abahutu n’abatutsi nacyo kiri mu rwego rumwe, ndetse ukongeraho n’ikibazo cy’ubwami. Ku byerekeranye n’ubwami twatanze igisubizo cyumvikana (<http://ikazeiwacu.fr/2014/07/21/rwanda-ikibazo-cyubwami/>) kandi twumvise abanyarwanda batarabonye ari amahano, n’ubwo benshi muri bo byabatunguye. Muri iyi nyandiko turashaka kubagezaho ibitekerezo dukeka ko byaha icyizere abakiga n’abanyenduga kugirango bashobore gushyira hamwe, bifatanye n’abandi gushyiraho ubutegetsi bunogeye abanyarwanda bese.

Mbere yo kuvuga uko tubona ibintu byagombye kugenda, reka dusubize amaso inyuma turebe intandaro remezo z’amahano yagiye atubaho kuva aho tuboneye ubwigenge u Rwanda rukaba Republika yigenga. Turasanga ibibazo by’abakiga n’abanyenduga bigaragara ukundi, maze bidufashe kubona icyo twabikoraho:

- Abanyarwanda bese bazi ko Gregoire Kayibanda yabaye Prezida w’u Rwanda atsinze amatora y’amashyaka menshi mu mpera z’1961, akabona manda ye ya mbere. Mu bibazo yagombaga gukemura harimo icy’ubwami bwari bumaze kuvanwaho bigatuma abatutsi benshi bahungira hanze, bimwe mu bihugu bahungiyemo nka Uganda bikabafata nabi bigatuma bahora bakora ibishoboka byose ngo batahe, n’ubwo bari barasize amazu yabo agurumana. Kuba Kayibanda ari we wanditse inyandiko yaje kwitwa “Manifeste y’Abahutu” byagombye kuba byaramugiyeye ku mutima ko yego agomba kuzamura imibereho y’abahutu uko ashoboye kose, ariko ntiyirengagize ko iy’abatutsi bahunze yabaye mibi cyane bikaba bishobora kuzateza ingorane nyinshi. Uko yategetse rero byagize ingaruka z’igihe kirekire.
- Amatora ya mbere u Rwanda rumaze kwigenga yabaye mu 1965 aha Kayibanda manda ya kabiri. Muri ayo matora ishyaka MDR rya Kayibanda niryo ryonyine ryabonye imyanya mu nteko ishingana amategekako. Umuntu yakwibaza uko ibi byashobotse kubera ko n’amashyaka y’abahutu yazimye muri manda ya mbere ya Kayibanda. Birashoboka se ko abahutu bese bari bishimye bakumva badakeneye kugira andi mashyaka? Ibi ntawabihamya kuko mu 1963 ngo hari abantu bo mu majyepfo y’u Rwanda (muri prefegitura ya Butare) bashatse guhirika ubutegetsi birabananira. Ibyo byiswe “Affaire Nzeruka”, akaba ari ukuvuga Nzeyimana, Rugira, na Kalinijabo, bizana umwuka mubi hagati ya Prefegitura ya Butare n’iya Gitarama, ku buryo abategetsi bakomeye b’i Butare batakaje imirimo yabo. Izo ngorane zatangiye u Rwanda rumaze kwigenga zahesheje Kayibanda ubutegetsi bwuzuye muri manda ye ya mbere, ishyaka rya Aprosoma ryashinzwe na Habyarimana Joseph Gitera wavukaga i Butare rirazima, igitugu gihabwa intebe. Ubwo rero Kayibanda yatangiye manda ye ya kabiri y’imyaka 4 nta muntu umuvuguruza.
- Itegekako Nshinga ryo mu 1962 ryemeraga manda eshatu gusa. Ni ukuvuga ko Kayibanda yari agishobora kwiyamamariza amatora yo mu 1969. Mbere y’uko ayo matora aba, mu 1968,

abahutu bamwe bagaragaje ko batishimiye inzira ubutegetsu bwafashe. Bakuwe ku mirimo yabo bavuga ko ngo “Bataye Umurongo”. Benshi mu bategetsu bataye umurongo bakomokaga mu majyaruguru y’u Rwanda, cyane muri prefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Ibyo byatumye Kayibanda yiyamamaza nta nkomyi abona manda ye ya nyuma.

- Hari abanyapolitike benshi badakunda igihe kuko kidahagarara kugenda. Kayibanda yagize atya abona igihe cye cyo gutegeka kuri kurangira, amatora yo mu 1973 aregereje. Yabuze uko abyifatamo kubera ko abantu yari yaratesheje umurongo bose bari bakiri aho bategereje ko avaho. Gukomeza gutesha abantu umurongo nabyo ntacyo byari bikimumariye kubera ko atari yemerewe kwiyamamaza. Ubwo umushinga mushya wabaye guhindura Itegeko Nshinga ngo rimwemerere kwongera kwiyamamaza. Mu basivili yari kubishobora, ariko ingorane zivuka mu gisirikare. Agomba kuba yarabonye coup d’etat za gisirikare zimaze kuba nyinshi muri Afrika, kandi ibihugu bikomeye kw’isi bizemera, agasanga naramuka atesheje umurongo abasirikare bashobora kumuvanaho bikemerwa. Imbogamizi ikomeye ni uko abasirikare benshi bakomokaga mu majyaruguru y’u Rwanda. Habyarimana umutware wabo nawe niho yakomokaga, n’ubwo bavuga ko Kayibanda yamukundaga nawe akamwubaha. Iki nicyo kibazo Kayibanda yakomeje kurwana nacyo kugeza aho manda ye ya gatatu irangiriye mu 1973 atarashobora kugikemura, abasirikare bakamuvanaho akijijinganya gusinya Itegeko Nshinga rishya inteko ishingamutegeko yari imaze gutora, rikaba ryaramwemereraga kwongera akiyamamaza.
- Generali Majoro Habyarimana afata ubutegetsu yari azi ibyo abanyarwanda bifuzaga arabibemerera, baratuzaga bamuha uburyo bwo gusohozwa amasezerano ye. Mu byo yari yabasezeraniye harimo kuvanaho ubwikubire bwa bamwe, ubwironde bw’ubwoko n’ubw’uturere, maze abanyarwanda bose bakaringanira bakisanzura. Igikomeye cyane ariko, yasezeranye ko nyuma y’imyaka itanu azasubiza ubutegetsu mu maboko y’abasivili binyuze mu matora. Mu gihe gitoya, mbese hagati y’iyicwa ry’abategetsu b’igitarama n’iherezo rya ya myaka itanu yabaye nk’ugarura amahoro mu gihugu, ariko hagati aho nawe ahura n’ingorane z’ukuntu azarenza imyaka itanu ku butegetsu kandi yaremeye abanyarwanda ko atazayirenta. Kubera ko yari yarahagaritse ishyamba rya MDR, mu 1975 Habyarimana yashinze ishyamba rimwe rukumbi ariya MRND, avugaga ko abanyarwanda bose baririmo. Ubwo yabaye umuyobozi w’arwanya, bituma ariwe wenyine uba umukandida rukumbi mu matora y’uzamusimbura nk’uko yari yabishyize mw’itegeko ririgenga. Uko bigaragara, ishyamba rya MRND ryatangiyeye ubutegetsu bw’igitugu bushya, kuko benshi bahise babona ko Habyarimana atazigera avaho, kubera ko yari yarishe abo yasimbuye.
- Habyarimana abantu bamwe bamubwiye bijujuta ko nta bushishozi buri mu gushyira miliyoni zose z’abanyarwanda mu bwato (niko bitaga MRND) bumwe, kuko umuhengeri n’uza hafi ya bose bazarohama. Habyarimana yatsimbaraye ku migambi ye ku buryo ya myaka itanu imaze gushyira, mu 1978, abantu barimo Lizinde bagerageje gukora coup d’etat biranga bamwe barafungwa abandi barahungu, Habyarimana atsinda amatora aba Prezida. Mu bahunze hari abatahukanye n’abatutsi aho bafatiye ubutegetsu. Kuva rero Habyarimana yari yarishe abategetsu bavukaga i Gitarama, hanyuma ababimufashijemo nabo akabafunga abandi bagahungu, nta nzira yari asigaranye yo kuva ku butegetsu mu mahoro, ahubwo gushakisha inzira zo kumuvanaho byagiye byiyongera. Hari abajya babeshya ngo we yari

kuvaho, ahubwo yabibuzwaga n’umugore we afatanije na basaza be. Ibi ni ukubeshya kuko abategetsi b’igitugu bose hari ukuntu batekereza kimwe. Kuba barakoze ubwicanyi bwinshi no kugira urugomo ntibibahindura ibicucu, ahubwo ubwonko bwabo burabara cyane, bukabumvisha ko amarorerwa yose bakoze nta muntu ushobora kuyabababarira, kandi nibyo. Nizo mpamvu basanga nta bundi buzima bashobora kubaho igihe cyose abo bahemukiye bakiriho, ndetse n’ababakomokaho. Ingaruka z’iyo ntekerezo rero ni uko kugirango baveho hagomba gukoreshwa ingufu, kenshi bikarangira bapfuye, kuko guhunga cyangwa kujya mu munyururu baba batabishaka. Habyarimana nawe nibyo yahisemo, bimuviramo kugwa iwe mu rugo yicaye mu bisate by’indege ye yari imaze kuraswa.

Muri make rero, imibare umwami yakoze yatumye ubwami buvaho bwose, imibare Kayibanda yakoze imuviramo gupfa bucece, naho iya Habyarimana imuviramo kwicirwa mu ndege ye bayirashe. Iyo Kagame ari gukora ubungubu ntabwo tuzi ikizamuviramo, ariko ntabwo twibwira ko gitandukanye cyane n’ibyabaye ku bamubanjirije. Reka ibya Kagame tubyihorere kuko atari ibibazo by’abakiga n’abanyenduga.

Ibi tumaze gusesengura hejuru biratwerekana neza ko ibibazo by’abakiga n’abanyenduga biriho koko, ariko imizi remezo yabyo, kimwe n’ibindi bibazo byinshi abanyarwanda bahuye nabyo, ari imitegekere y’igihugu itigwa neza ngo isubize ibibazo byacu. Amategeko tugenderaho nayo usanga adahana yihanukiriye abategetsi cyangwa abasirikare bo hejuru bica amategeko bashinzwe kwubahiriza. Niyo mpamvu twasanze intera ya mbere mu gukemura biriya bibazo ari ugushyiraho imiterere mishya y’ubutegetsi twese twemera kandi twize twisanzuye tugasanga izakemura ibibazo byacu. icy’ibanze muri ibyo byose, ni Itegeko Nshinga rishingiye ku bushake bw’abenegihugu, hakaba nta muntu ushobora kurijya hejuru cyangwa ngo arikikire, n’aho yaba ari Prezida watowe, inteko ishingana amategeko, cyangwa abasirikare. Abanyarwanda bose, aribo bene igihugu, iyo bashyize hamwe nibo bonyine bajya hejuru yaryo bakariha agaciro ngo ribagenge. Igice remezo cy’Itegeko Nshinga twamaze kugitangaza (kanda hano usome: <http://ikazeiwacu.fr/2014/03/27/proposal-basic-law-for-the-republic-of-rwanda/>), kandi mw’iyandikwa ryacyo twari dufite ku mutima gushyiraho amategeko azatuma ibyabaye ku bice bimwe by’abanyarwanda nk’abanyenduga n’abatutsi bitazongera gushoboka.

4. Ubutegetsi bushya buzakemura ibibazo twibwira ko byananiranye

Kugirango ibibazo remezo twavuze ko byagiye biteza amahano mu Rwanda bitazongera kugaruka, hari ingingo zibihosha zashyizwe mw’itekego remezo twatangaje, kugirango kwizerana kw’abanyarwanda barimo abakiga n’abanyenduga kuzabe impamo. Dore bimwe mu birimo:

- A. Mu gice cya gatatu (C) cy’Itegeko Remezo, ingingo yacyo ya kane (4) ivuga ko umuperezida uzanga kuva ku butegetsi igihe abaturage bamuhaye kirangiye azaba akoze ubugambanyi bukomeye, akagomba gukurwa ku butegetsi n’umuntu uwo ari we wese ubishoboye hakoreshejwe uburyo bwose bushoboka. Nta kurikiranwa rizabaho imbere y’amategeko. Hiyongeyeho ko guhwihwisa kwa bamwe, ngo Itegeko Nshinga ryagombye gihindurwa kugirango umuperezida uriho abone uko aguma ku butegetsi, ari impamvu ihagije yo guhita

avanwaho niba adahise abyamaganira kure. Itegeko Remezo kandi riteganya uko umuperezida uvanweho ku ngufu azajya asimburwa.

Iyo itegeko nk'iri riza kubaho Kayibanda akiri Prezida, ubu twashoboraga kuba dufite umukambwe wahoze ari Prezida tukamwisangaho twese. Ntabwo biba byarabayeho ngombwa ko abantu bamwe batangira guta umurungo muri za 60, ndetse n'abatutsi benshi bahunze mw'itangira rya za 70 bashoboraga kutirirwa bahungu, ahubwo n'abahunze kera bagahunguka. Hari n'ubwo tutari kuzigera tumenya ingaruka za coup d'etat cyangwa ubutegetsu bw'abasirikare.

Iyo rihaba kandi, Kayibanda yashoboraga kuvanwaho ku ngufu zubahirije amategeko, amateka ye akarangirira aho ntacyo bitwaye abandi banyarwanda barimo abakiga n'abanyenduga. Kuba itegeko nk'iri ritarabayeho kera rero, ni kimwe bu bintu bikomeye byatumye ibintu bigenda uko byagenze ku ngoma ya Kayibanda, harimo iyicwa rye ryahindutse urugomo bikagira ingaruka mbi ku banyarwanda bose.

Iyo itegeko nk'iri riza kubaho ku ngoma ya Habyarimana, ntabwo byari kuba ngombwa ko abanyagitarama bicwa kuko ntawe byari kugira icyo byungura. Ntabwo twari kuzigera tumenya MRND, ba Kanyarengwe ntibaba barahunze, ndetse hari n'ubwo itsembatsembariyo muri za 90 ritari kuzigera ribaho. Iri tegeko rero ntirabayeho, bituma ibintu bigenda uko byagenze abakiriho twabonye, uyu munsu tukaba tukirwana n'ingaruka mbi zabyo.

Iyo itegeko nk'iri riba ririhwo uyu munsu mu Rwanda, hari ibintu byinshi bibi biri kubaho bitari gushoboka. Ariko nk'uko twavuze haruguru, ibya Kagame reka tube tubishyize ku ruhande.

B. Ikindi gitekerezo twagize nyuma y'aho Itegeko Remezo ritangarijwe tugasanga nacyo cyari gikiye kubamo, ni uko hari amashyamba agomba gucibwa burundu mu butegetsu bw'u Rwanda buzaza. Ayo mashyamba ni: UNAR, MDR, MRND, na FPR. Yose dufite icyo tuyanenga mu mateka y'u Rwanda, akaba atagomba kugaruka mu butegetsu buzaza:

- UNAR: Iri shyamba riranengwa ko ryatsimbaraye ku bwami bw'igitugu, rikarwanya ko abahutu bagira imibereho ireshya n'iy'abatutsi rikoresheje urugomo rukomeye. Ibi byatumye abatutsi batwikirwa, barahungu, ndetse bamwe muribo baricwa. Iyo iri shyamba riza kwitwara ukundi, hari ubwo abatutsi batari kuzigera bahungu ngo babeho nabi nk'uko byabagendekeye. Hari n'ubwo batari kuzigera bava mu butegetsu bw'u Rwanda nk'uko byagenze kuva twigenze kugeza mu 1994. Ababyibuka bazi ko UNAR ariyo yanze ko hajyaho ubwami bw'icyubahiro, ngo hashyirweho Ministri w'Intebe wari guturwa akaba umuhutu cyangwa umututsi biturutse ku bushake bw'abaturage n'amategeko agenga amashyamba. Inzira yahisemo kunyura niyo ahanini yatumye urugomo rwiyongera kugeza abatutsi bahunze, kuko abahutu batatangiye basaba ivanwaho ry'ubwami.
- MDR: Yego MDR yakozwe uko ishoboye ngo izamure imibereho y'abahutu, itsinda amatara ku mugaragaro, ariko hari ibintu byayigushijemo cyane mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ntabwo yashoboye kwumvikana n'abatutsi bahunze ngo bagaruke mu Rwanda ku

bushake bwabo, bishimire ubwigenge rwabonye hamwe n’abandi banyarwanda bose. Kuba kandi yarageze aho ikikubira ubutegetsu bwose byatumye tugira ubutegetsu bw’igitugu kandi ari kimwe mu byo twazizaga ubwami. Yanatumye tumenya za coup d’etat z’abasirikare n’ingaruka mbi zazo, kuko iryo shyamba ritasabye Kayibanda kwubahiriza Itegeko Nshinga ryamushyizeho, kugeza ubwo avanwe ku butegetsu ku ngufu mu 1973 igihe cyane kirangiye ataremera kurekura ubutegetsu.

- MRND: Iri shyamba ryo rinengwa ko ryavutse rihumye, kubera ko umugambi waryo ukomeye kwari uguha umusirikare wakoze coup d’etat uburyo bwo kugumana ubutegetsu buvuguruzanya ibyombwe ubwe yari yasezeraniye abanyarwanda abufata. Inengwa kandi ko yavuze ko abanyarwanda bose bayirimo itababajije, ikemeza mu by’ukuri ko batekereza kimwe ibabeshyera. Ikindi tuyinenga ni uko itigeze irangiza ibibazo byatewe n’iyicwa ry’abategetsu bavukaga i Gitarama, tukaba tukigomba guhangana nabyo nyuma y’imyaka isaga 40 bibaye. Ikindi izira ni agasuzuguro yakiranye abanyarwanda baduhungiyeho birukanwe muri Uganda, izi neza ko ari inshuti n’abavandimwe, bigatuma bagomba gufata intwari ngo biboheze ku ngufu. Turayinenga kandi iyicwa ry’abanyarwanda hagati y’1990 n’1994, kuko hari benshi batari bafite uruhare mu mirwano yariho.
- FPR: N’ubwo inzira imanuka ya FPR igikomeza, ibikorwa yamaze kwerekana ni bibi bihagije kugirango icyibwe mu butegetsu buzaza. Irazira iyicwa ry’abanyarwanda baba abatutsi cyangwa abahutu, haba ku mugaragaro cyangwa mu rwihisho, ryabaye kuva aho itereye u Rwanda mu 1990 kugeza magingo aya. Irazira kandi ubugambane ihora ikorera abanyarwanda bayihungiyeye mu bindi bihugu, ikababuzanya kugira ubuzima bugaragara. Bamwe ibabuzanya ibyabwo bavunikiye, abandi ikabafungisha, abandi ikabacisha iyo idashoboye kubiyicira. Irazira kandi ikaregwa miliyoni nyinshi z’abanyarwanda n’abanyekongo yiciye muri Kongo/Zaire. Uko bigaragara, iri yicwa rimeze nka rya rindi ry’abanyagitarama kuko rizatwara abana bacu imyaka myinshi bisobanura ku rugomo batagizemo uruhari.

Irazira kandi guhora yigamba ko yubatswe igihugu, kandi izi neza ko amafaranga abikora iyavanya mu rugomo ikora muri Kongo, cyangwa mw’igurishwa ry’icyubahiriro cy’abahutu igeragezanya gutera imbabazi zidashira kw’isi yose. Mbese ibyabwo ni nka bya bindi bya kera muri Bibiliya igihe Yesu yajyaga i Yerusalemu, hanyuma abantu bakamuratira ukuntu uwo muji wubatswe neza bitabaho. Yesu yumvise ibyombwe byose bari kumuratira, aho kwishyamba ararira. Abanyarwanda benshi nabo icyo batekereje inyishyamba y’ibintu Kagame akora cyangwa arata ko yagezeho amarira abazenganya mu maso.

Ntabwo muri icyo gihe guca FPR ikigundiriyeye ubutegetsu bihagije. Ahubwo n’abantu ikoresheye mu gukomeza kubuzanya abanyarwanda kubaho bisanzuye bagomba kuzacibwanya mu butegetsu bw’u Rwanda butaha. Ntabwo twashyirahye ubutegetsu twese twumvikanyeho, ngo noneho dusabwanya cyangwa twemerere abantu bigaragarirye ko batemera ishingiro n’itekerezo zabwo kuba aribo babwubakanya. Imiterere y’ubutegetsu butaha yaratangajwe n’ubwo itarasinywanya, ku buryo ubishyamba wese yamaze kumenyanya

ibizaba byemewe cyangwa bitemewe. Urugero twatanga ni nk'abantu bamamaza cyangwa bamamaje ko Itegeko Nshinga rigomba guhindurwa kugirango Kagame abone uko aramba ku butegetsi. Niba abo bantu batarishimiye Itegeko Nshinga ryatangaga manda ebyiri z'imyaka irindwi (imyaka 14 uteranije), twabakoresha dute niba iryo dushaka gushyiraho rikarishye kurenza iryo bafite? Ingingo ya C4 y'Itegeko Remezo ivuga neza ko ibyo bikorwa biri mu rwego rw'ubugambanyi bukomeye. Niba babona imyaka 14 idahagije, ntabwo bashobora kuzigera babona imyaka 8 Itegeko Remezo rishya ritanga ihagije. Bene abo bantu rero mujye mubamenya kugirango igihe nikigera bazacibwe mu bantu bemerewe gukorera igihugu kugeza bamaze kwerekana ko imitekerereze yabo kw'ihindura ry'abategetsi yahindutse by'ukuri. Tugomba guhora twibuka ko ibikorwa nk'ibi aribyo byabaye intandaro ikomeye y'ivanwaho rya Kayibanda, n'ingaruka zose zakurikiye tukirwana nazo.

Abanyarwanda ntibagomba gutangazwa n'iri cibwa kuko atari ubwa mbere ribaye mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ubucurabwenge bw'u Rwanda buvuga ko kera byabaye ngombwa ko baca amazina abiri y'abami: Ruganzu na Ndahiro. Izina Ruganzu ryazize ko abami bose baryiswe bishwe n'abanzi, naho izina Ndahiro rizira ko umwami Ndahiro II Cyamatara yatakaje igihugu, na Rwoga ariyo ngoma Nyiginya yari yimye i Rwanda ikanyagwa. Cyamatara we ubwe yapfuye ahunga.

- C. Ikindi kibazo abantu benshi bibaza ni ukuntu tuzashobora gutunganya igihugu Kagame amaze kugenda, niba duciye ariya mashyaka, ariko abantu bo hanze bagatahuka bafite amashyaka yabo menshi atandukanye twese tuzi. Ndetse bamwe bongeraho ko ayo mashyaka atavuga rumwe, kuko usanga menshi asa n'ashingiye ku nyungu zinyuranye cyane harimo ubwoko n'uturere.

Ibi bibazo twarabyize tubibonera igisubizo cyagiye mw'Itegeko Remezo. Ntabwo mu minsi ya mbere ikurikira ivanwaho rya Kagame ubutegetsi buzaba bushingiye ku mashyaka menshi. Impamvu ni uko tutizera ko ishingiro n'intekerezo remezo z'amashyaka ariho ubungubu binonosoye bihagije, ku buryo umuntu yakwizera ko ayo mashyaka yabona abayoboze benshi nta buryamirane, nta n'ibindi bibazo ateje mu gihugu byadusubiza inyuma y'aho tuzaba tuvuye. Ibi nibyo byatumye dushyiraho ubutegetsi bw'inzigabacyuho mu minsi ya mbere, ariko bukaba budashobora kurenza imyaka ine. Ubwo butegetsi buzaba bufite Prezida na Vice-Prezida abantu babishoboye bumvikanyeho kubera ubushobozi bwabo n'icyizere babafitiye, cyane cyane mu kwubahiriza amategeko abagenga, ari ryo tegeko remezo rizagurwa ku butegetsi bwabo rikavamo Itegeko Nshinga. N'abandi bategetsi benshi bo hejuru bazafatwa kubera icyizere n'ubushobozi bwabo gusa.

N'ubwo tuvuye ubushobozi n'icyizere mu butegetsi bw'inzigabacyuho, hari ibintu byinshi byashyizwe mw'Itegeko Remezo ngo bibutangatange butazahinduka ubutegetsi bw'igitugu nk'ubwo twagize kugeza ubu, n'ingaruka mbi zabwo:

- Prezida na Vice-Prezida b'ubutegetsi bw'inzigabacyuho ntibemerewe kuba aribo bazashyiraho umunsi amashyaka azatangirira gukora, n'umunsi amatora rusange azabera. Ubwo bubasha Itegeko Remezo ryabuhaye uzaba ashinzwe kuyobora komisiyo

ishinzwe kugarura umuco w'inraribonye mu banyarwanda. Niwe wenyine uzajya areba aho imikorere ya komisiyo ashinzwe igeze, noneho yabona ibyo imaze kugeraho bihagije agatangaza ko abashaka gukora amashyaka batangira imirimo yabo ku mugaragaro, bagashaka abayoboze, bakitegura n'amatora. icyo gihe ni nabwo azatangaza umunsi amatora azaberaho. Hagati aho rero, umwaguro w'Itegeko Remezo uzaba wararangiye, kandi usobanura imikorere y'amashyaka azashingwa.

- Prezida na Vice-Prezida we b'ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho ntibemerewe kwiyamamariza umwanya uwo ariwo wose mu butegetsi buzabakurikira, kugirango abantu batazajya kurwanira iyo myanya bagambiriye kwimenyekanisha ngo bizaborohere gushyiraho amashyaka azashobora guhita atsinda amatora. Twasanze ndetse bishobora kuba akarusho abo bategetsi batagize ishyaka na rimwe biyandikishamo cyangwa bashyigikira ku mugaragaro mbere y'amatora, n'ubwo tutabisabye mw'Itegeko Remezo twatangaje.
 - Amashyaka mashya azashingwa mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho afite ibintu byinshi azagomba kwuzuzwa bitari bisanzwe mu butegetsi bw'u Rwanda. Kugirango inteko ishingira amategeko itazuzuramo udushyaka dutoya twinshi dushingiye ku nyungu zitari iz'igihugu cyose, Itegeko Remezo (Ingingo ya A7) risaba ko ishyaka rizajya mu nteko ishingira amategeko ari uko rigize nibura ibice bitanu kw'ijana (5%) by'amajwi yose yabaruwe. Nibigaragara ko amashyaka abiri ariyo yonyine yarengeje 5%, ishyaka rikurikiye mu majwi naryo rizajya mu nteko ishingira amategeko, ku buryo u Rwanda rutazigera rugira inteko ishingira amategeko irimo amashyaka ari munsi y'atatu. Twasanze nta shyamba rizashobora kwuzuzwa ibintu byose bisabwa n'iyi ngingo ni rityamamaza hose mu gihugu kugira ngo rihabone abayoboze bahagije. Amashyaka azabona atabishoboye bizaba ngombwa ko avugurura intekerezo zayo (zimwe zikurura ibibazo bisa n'iby'abakiga n'abanyenduga) kugirango ashobore kwiyunga n'andi yo hirya no hino mu gihugu agere kuri 5% zisabwa. Kuba ibi bisabwa byarashyizwe ahagaragara ku gihe mw'Itegeko Remezo, bizatuma abakora politike benshi batangira kwibaza niba intekerezo bagenderaho zizatuma bagera ku butegetsi, cyangwa niba zizatuma bahera mu kwiyamamaza kutazagira icyo kubagezaho. Twizera ko bene uko kwibaza arikwo kuzatuma batangira guhindura imigambi yabo hakiri kare, ubufatanye bw'abanyarwanda bukiyongera, noneho Kagame akavaho byihuse ntakurikirwe n'urugomo rusa n'urwo yakoze.
- D. Hari benshi bavuye ko gukemura ibibazo by'abakiga n'abanyenduga bitazoroha, igihe cyose ikibazo cy'abasirikare kidashyizwe mu murongo. Izo ngingimira zifite ishingiro kubera uruhare rutari rwiza abasirikare bagize mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda haba ku ngoma ya Habyarimana cyangwa ku ya Kagame. Ibi bituma hari abishisha abasirikare kugeza aho wumva batekereza ko dushobora kugira igihugu batarimo.

Mw'Itegeko Remezo, ikibazo cy'abasirikare bo hejuru (Ofisiye) cyashyizwe mu maboko ya komisiyo izaba ishinze kugarura umuco w'inraribonye mu banyarwanda. Iyo niyo izanonosora uko igisirikare kizakora, kandi ikanagira ububasha bwo kwumva ibirego ku

basirikare bo hejuru basanzwe mu gihugu n’abazaba bavuye hanze nko muri FDLR. Abo iyo komisiyo izasanga bagomba kuvanwa mu gisirikare bazavamo, kandi nta bujurire buzabaho.

N’ubwo ibi byose bizakorwa, ntabwo igihugu icyo aricyo cyose gishobora kubaho nta basirikare bo kukirinda. Impamvu ni uko iyo abantu biyemeje kwishyira hamwe bagakora igihugu, bagikorera iruhande rw’ibindi bihugu bimwe bizaba inshuti, ibindi ntibibe zo. Iyo ibihugu bimwe bibonye hari ikintu mufite bikeneye, cyangwa hari ubushobozi mufite nabyo bishaka kugeraho, biba bifite amahitamo abiri: Guhahirana namwe bakajya babigura niba bafite ikiguzi cyo gutanga kandi namwe mukaba mushaka kugurisha. Iyo ibi bidashobotse, bashobora guhitamo kubatera bagafata ibyo bifuzwa ku ngufu, igihugu cyanyu kigatakaza ubusugire bwacyo, namwe ubwanyu abo basize ari bazima bakabaho nk’abagererwa, abatabishoboye bagahunga, kugeza aho bashoboreye kwitunganya bakagerageza kwibohozza.

Ntabwo kugira igisirikare bivuga ko mutazaterwa, ariko bitewe n’ubukomere bwacyo, bituma uwashaka kubatera abanza kubiterekezaho kabiri, akamenya ko mutazapfa kwicwa nk’ibimonyo. Niyo mpamvu kugirango mutazapfa guterwa, abaturage biyemeje gushyiraho igihugu (abenegihugu) baniyemeza gutanga abana babo kugirango ubutegetsu bashyizeho bubatoze hakiri kare uko bazarinda igihugu bijyanye n’abanzi bikanga. Abanzi b’abenegihugu bo ntabwo bareba igisirikare, kuko ibibazo byabo ari iby’umutekano usanga bijyanye n’imitegekere mibi idashoboye gukemura ibibazo biriho mu gihugu, harimo no guhakana ko biriho. Igihe cyemewe abasirikare bashobora gukoreshwa mu gihugu imbere, ni iyo bari kugoboka abantu bugarijwe n’impanuka z’isi, cyangwa iyo hari abantu bashaka gusatura igihugu mo ibipande byigenga.

Abatifuza igisirikare gikomeye ugereranije n’abanzi dushobora kugira bazarebe amarorerwa abasirikare b’u Rwanda bakoze muri Kongo. None Kongo iramutse ibyukije umutwe u Rwanda rutarinze murabona yakora iki? Kwambika igihugu ubusa ni ikosa rikomeye nta muntu ukora politike wagombye kubishyigikira, habe no kubitekereza. N’ubwo twizera ko u Rwanda rushya ruzakora uko rushoboye ngo rukemure ibibazo ubutegetsu bwa Kagame bwateje hanze, ntabwo ibi bigomba kudushuka ngo twibwire ko u Rwanda ruzabaho mu mahoro rutarinzwe n’abana barwo babitojwe bihagije. Ni ngombwa cyane ko twumvisha abana bacu ko nihatagira umubare uhagije muri bo wiyemeza kurinda igihugu cyacu, nta gihamba dufite ko ibibi twakoreye abandi tutazabikorera, kandi ibyo bishobora kuba n’aho nta kibi twaba twarakoze (Kongo byayibayeho ntacyo yakoze). Ikintu cya ngombwa ni uko abasirikare bumva kandi bakemera ko boherejwe n’abaturage kurinda igihugu, kandi ko nta kintu bemerewe gukora batabiherewe uburenganzira n’abanyapolitike abenegihugu babyemereye. Aho bashobora kwemererwa kugira icyo bakora ku bushake bwabo, ni iyo umukuru w’igihugu akandagiye Itegeko Nshinga mu buryo bwumvikana neza. Ingingo ya (A9) yo mw’Itegeko Remezo ibibahera uburenganzira.

Ikibazo cyakomeje kubaho mu gisirikare cy’u Rwanda, ni icy’uburinganire bw’amako n’uturere. Abanyenduga bumva mu kuri ko Habyarimana atari gupfa gukora ibyo yabakoreye, iyo ku ngoma ya Kayibanda baza kugira abasirikare benda kungana n’abo

abakiga bari bafite. N’abatutsi nabo kandi ni uko. Iyo baza guhabwa abasirikare bahagije ku ngoma ya Kayibanda, ntabwo ubutegetsi bwari gutinyuka gukora ibintu bituma bahora bahunga. No ku ngoma ya Kagame rero ibibazo ni nk’uko biteye. Bimwe mu bisubizo by’ibi bibazo, ni uko inteko ishingira amategeko igomba guhora igenzura uko abantu bashya binjizwa mu gisirikare, uturere cyangwa ubwoko bidafite umubare uhagije bigashyirwa imbere. Inteko ishingira amategeko igomba no guhora igenzura niba nta buryamirane buriho mw’itangwa ry’amapeti, cyane ayo mu rwego rwo hejuru. Ingingo ya (A20) ivuga ko nibura 30% by’abasirikare bagomba kuva muri mu moko atari nyamwinshi.

- E. Igice cya kabiri (B) cy’Itegeko Remezo cyahariwe uburenganzira bw’ibanze bwa buri munyarwanda wese ku giti cye, akaba adashobora kubuvutswa. Ni byiza ko abanyarwanda bigishwa uburenganzira bwabo kugira ngo nihagira ubukandagira babe bazi ko bafite amategeko y’ibanze abarengera. Muri urwo rwego twabitekerejeho cyane, dusanga amategeko yose twashyiraho hari bamwe muri twe bazakora uko bashoboye ngo bayabonemo inenge, bikaba byatuma tujya impaka z’urudaca. Niyo mpamvu twiyemeje gufata amategeko y’umuryango w’abibumbye agenga “Uburenganzira Bw’Ikiremwa Muntu”. Ayo mategeko twayafashe uko ari, ndetse twongeramo n’andi make. Nyuma ya Kagame rero, ubwisanzure bwa buri munyarwanda buzaba bungana n’ubwo ibindi bihugu byisanzuye byahaye abaturage babyo.

Ingingo ya (B1) y’Itegeko Remezo ivuga ko abanyarwanda bose bafite uburenganzira bungana. N’ubwo ubwoko bumwe cyangwa akarere kamwe bishobora gusaba inkunga idasanzwe iturutse mu butegetsi bw’igihugu, nta muntu ufite uburenganzira bwo gusaba ikintu adashobora kwemerera abandi. Mbese ni nka bya bindi byo muri Bibiliya, aho bavugaga ko ibyo mushaka ko abantu babagirira aribyo namwe mugomba kubagirira.

- F. Ikindi cyitaweho ni uguhosha uburyamirane bw’amoko n’ubw’uturere, ndetse no kugendera ku cyenewabo. Kugirango ibyo bitazagaruka, Itegeko Remezo ryasobanuye uko ubutegetsi bugomba gutandukanya ibi bintu bibiri: Umuryango muto n’umuryango mugari.
- Umuryango muto ni kimwe n’urugo rw’umuntu, ukaba ugizwe n’abantu bose umuntu abana nabo mu nzu. Urugo rw’umuntu ntiruvogerwa: N’ukuvuga ko nta muntu wemerewe kwinjira mu rugo rw’abandi, abarubamo batabimuhereye uburenganzira. Abubahiriza umutekano nabo bagomba kubisabira uruhusa mu nzego z’ubutegetsi zibishinzwe. icyakora abantu bashobora kwinjira mu rugo rw’umuntu iyo bari gutabara bigaragara ko hari umuntu ushobora gupfa ni bidakorwa byihutirwa. Ibyo ni nk’iyo abantu bari kurwanira mu nzu hari induru itabaza, cyangwa inzu ihaye bigaragara ko harimo abana bato badashobora kwitabara.
 - Umuryango waguye ukozwe na bene wabo b’umuntu ba hafi. Ni ukuvuga ko ugizwe n’imiryango mito yose irimo abantu bahuje ababyeyi, sekuru, nyirakuru, cyangwa imvange zabo (ba sewabo, ba nyirarume, n’abandi). Ubaze usanga umuryango mugari urangirira ku babyara n’ibyenesese. Iyo ubutegetsi bugenzura umuryango waguye, ntabwo ari igitsina gabo kibara gusa, ahubwo ibitsina byombi bibara kimwe.

Impamvu ibi byakozwe ni uko hari ingingo mw'Itegeko Remezo ivuga ko abantu bari mu buyobozi bwo hejuru badashobora gusimburwa n'abantu bari mu muryango waguye umwe (C6). Ni ukuvuga ko nta muntu ushobora gusimburwa n'umuvandimwe we, se wabo, nyirarume, umwana we, mubyara we, umwuzukuru we, umwishywa, n'abandi nk'abo.

Kugirango ibibazo byo kugundira ubutegetsu mu bwoko bumwe biveho, hari ingingo y'Itegeko Remezo (Ingingo ya A11) ivuga ko nta bwoko bushobora kugumana umwanya wa Prezida ngo burenze manda ebyiri (x2) zikurikiranye, keretse Prezida uri ku butegetsu ari kwiyamamariza manda ya kabiri. Ni biba ngombwa ko ubwoko buhinduka kandi, amashyamba yose azagomba gutanga abakandida bo mu bwoko budahuye n'ubwa Prezida uriho. Kubera ko manda enye zikurikiranye n'ivanwaho rya Kagame zizaba zityongezwa, ni ukuvuga ko u Rwanda rudashobora kuzarenza imyaka icumi rutegekwa n'ubwoko bumwe.

Naho ku byerekeranye n'uturere, hari ingingo y'Itegeko Remezo (Ingingo ya C2) ivuga ko Prezida na vice-Prezida we badashobora kuva mu karere kamwe, cyangwa mu bwoko bumwe, cyangwa ngo bawe mu muryango waguye umwe.

Ikindi kandi, ni uko ingingo ya A12 y'Itegeko Remezo ivuga ko nta shyamba rishobora kuguma ku butegetsu ngo rirenze manda enye (x4) zikurikiranye. Izo manda nizishira Prezida uriho akaba atari kwiyamamariza manda ya kabiri, ishamba rye ntabwo rizatanga umukandida mu matora akurikiyeho. Nyuma yaho ariko rishobora kwongera rikiyamamaza bisanzwe.

Murabona rero ko ibi bintu byose byashyiriweho gukomera ibibazo nk'ibyo twagize kuva twigenze kugeza ubu. Twizera ko nitubikurikiza nta bibazo by'abakiga n'abanyenduga cyangwa iby'abahutu n'abatutsi abanyarwanda bazongera kugira.

5. Umwanzuro

Mw'Itegeko Remezo twavuze ko abanyarwanda bagomba kwiyemeza gushyira amateka yabo mu murongo, ntitube ari twe dusigara kw'isi tugendera ku mateka atari yo, cyane ku bintu byabaye abakiturimo bakuze babibona. Ntabwo tuzashobora gucira imanza abakoze ibyaha batakiraho, ariko dushobora kuzaraga abana bacu amateka yacu y'ukuri, ntibazajye bajya mw'ishuri ngo bige ibintu bivuguruzwa ibyo ababyeyi babo bababwirako byababaye, cyangwa se bivuguruzwa ibyo basoma mu nyandiko zindi zatangajwe hirya no hino n'abantu babihagazeho. Hari urugomo rubaho akaba ntawaruhakana kubera ko buri wese aba yarubonye. Ariko hari ibindi bintu ubutegetsu bukora bwitonze, bigatuma ibintu bizarangirira mu maraso kandi hari abantu babonaga ko ariko bizagenda. Niyo mpamvu kwandika amateka yose ari byiza, ntuvuge ibyabaye wirengagije ibyabiteye, kuko aribyo abana bari gukura bigiraho, bagakora uko bashoboye ngo babyirinde bitazabaviramo amarorerwa nk'ayo babwiwe. Guhora duhindura abategetsu duherereye hejuru nabyo bizatuma bene ibyo bintu bihagarara bitarateza ingorane zikabije.

Kayibanda n'abapfanye nawe bari abanyarwanda buzuye, bafite uburenganzira bwose bw'ikiremwa muntu u Rwanda rwemeye ko ruzubahiriza mu muryango w'abibumbye. Habyarimana kandi yivugiyeho ko ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsu bwa Kayibanda ryabaye nta maraso

amenetse. Kuba rero abo yavanyeho barishwe hashize iminsi bavanwe ku butegetsi, baranaburanye, bivuga ko bishwe mu gihe cy'amahoro kuko nta rukiko ruzwi rwabitegetse. Iki cyaha Habyarimana kiramufata, akaba nta muntu wagombye kubisobanura ukundi. Ingorane dufite ni uko abakiriho tukigomba kuvana mu nzira ingaruka z'urwo rugomo, kuko ari rwo rwitambitse hagati y'abakiga n'abanyenduga kugeza magingo aya. Ntabwo tuzashobora kwubaka u Rwanda twifuzza niba gukemura iki kibazo bikomeje kutunanira.

Abanyarwanda bavugaga ko umwana apfa mw'iterura. Nidutangira nabi ubutegetsi butaha, tukabutangirana ibibazo n'imiterere ishobora kudasubiza aho tuzaba tuvuye, nta gihamya dufite y'uko tuzashobora kubikosora hanyuma. Tuzarwana nabyo kugeza bidukubise hasi. Ntawahakana ko ubusabane bw'abakiga n'abanyenduga bwiyoungereye kuva aho bombi babereye impunzi, ariko mu rwego rwa politike imbeho iracyahari. Niyo mpamvu, nitudakemura iki kibazo muri urwo rwego, tutazashobora kwubaka u Rwanda rushya ngo turuhe abasirikare dushaka, tugire Prezida w'umukiga watowe n'abanyenduga benshi, cyangwa Prezida w'umunyenduga abakiga bahundagajeho amajwi yabo kubera ubushobozi bamubonamo. Tuzi neza ko hari abantu bakeka ko bakuze cyane ku buryo batagishobora guhindura imitekerereze yabo ku bakiga cyangwa ku banyenduga. Ibyo birumvihanaga kuko umuntu asazana n'ubwonko bwe, ariko ikosa tutazemera gukora n'ukwemera ko abo bantu bagira imyanya bafata mu buyobozi bwa politike, kuko twibwira ko bazatinza amajyambere menshi, kandi tukaba tudashobora kubarenganiriza ko bashaje. Ibi ariko ntabwo bivugaga ko tuzanga kwicarana nabo hasi ngo tubatege amatwi twumve icyo bashakaga kutubwira nibabidusaba.

Mu byukuri, imyifatire y'abakiga n'abanyenduga ni nk'iy'abandi abantu bose. Ababyize cyane batanga imigenzereze ibiri abantu bakunze kugiramo ingorane nyinshi kubera impungenge baterwa no kutamenya ingaruka z'ibyo bashakaga gukora. Imibereho y'abanyarwanda nayo igaragaza ko ibice bibarimo byagiye byerekana bene icyo myifatire: *Kwemera ko wakosheje ukaka imbabazi, no kwanga ko ibintu bihinduka kandi ubona neza ko ibyo utsimbarayeho ntacyo bizageraho*. Ingaruka abantu benshi batinyaga ni uko nta gihamya babona z'uko nibatsimbura ikirenge cyabo ho gatoya, bakemera ikosa cyangwa ko ibintu bihinduka, abo bari bahanganye nabo batazashakaga kubihimuraho bikabije bitwaje ko ukuri kuri mu ruhande rwabo. Ibi bibaho kandi ingero ni nyinshi cyane. Niyo mpamvu abanyapolitike hamwe n'ubugenzacyaha bwo mu minsi ya mbere y'ubutegetsi bushyira bazagomba guhora basuzuma ingaruka z'ibihano bitangwa ku mibereho y'abenegihugu bose, cyane niba abantu benshi bagaragayeho amakosa baturuka mu bwoko cyangwa mu karere kamwe. Ubutegetsi, cyane inteko ishingira amategeko, bugomba kumenya igihe agatsiko k'abantu bari guhanwa cyane gakeneye inkunga idasanzwe kugirango abakagize basubire mu murungo, aho gukomeza kubahata ibihano bizarangiza biteye umwuka mubi mu gihugu.

Nta kintu cy'umwihariko twashoboye kwemerera abanyenduga kubera urugomo bakorewe. Tubikoze twaba turyamiye andi moko y'abanyarwanda ndetse n'abandi bantu benshi biciwe abantu n'ubutegetsi mu myaka yashize, kandi bikababwirira bigikomeza. Ibyo ariko nta mpungenge biduteye kubera ko abanyenduga atari abantu tubwirwaga ahubwo tuzi neza. Nibabona ubwisanzure buhagije, nta gushidikanyaga ko tuzababona mu Rwanda n'ahandi hose ari abantu

b'ingirakamaro bageze kuri byinshi, twese tukishimira ko baturimo. Gusa ibyababayeho bigomba kubera isomo abanyarwanda bose: *Kwinumira, cyangwa ugashyigikira urugomo ubutegetsu bukorerwa igice cy'abenegihugu kubera ubwoko cyangwa akarere baturukamo ni ubugwari abanyarwanda twagombye guca mu migenzereze yacu.* Twibwira ko hari inshuti za Habyarimana cyangwa Lizinde zamenye ko bariya bantu bagiye cyangwa se ko batangiyeye kwicwa. N'iyi zitari gushobora kubabuzwa, ariko zigakora ku buryo uwo mugambi umenyekana hose, ntabwo Habyarimana yari gutuma bariya bantu bapfa dukurikije uko twamubonye mu myaka yose yamaze ku butegetsu. Uyu muni niba muri abo bantu hari abakiriho, bazasubize amaso inyuma barebe ibintu byose abanyarwanda banyuzemo kubera guceceka kwabo, bazasanga imyifatire yabo yararoshye igihugu, n'ubwo nta muntu bagiriye nabi. Ntibazibagirwe gusiga babwiye abana babo ko kutagira icyo ukora urugamba utahamagaye rukugeze imbere bishobora kugukorerwa umutwaro uzarinda upfa ucyikoreye, akaba nta muntu n'umwe ushobora kuwuguturira.