

## IKIBAZO CY'IRONDAKOKO N'ICY'IRONDAKARERE BIZIGWA KANDI BIBONERWE UMUTI. Padiri Thomas Nahimana.

Publié le samedi 18 mai 2013 08:33



*Ingabo z'ubwoko bumwe Abanyarwanda bazigirira icyizere bate ? Izi ni ingabo z'Agatsiko si iz'igihugu !*

Kugerageza kugaragaza isura nziza y'u Rwanda muri RWANDA DAY ubwabyo si igitekerezo kibi. Ikibazo ni ukwangiza nkana isura y'igihugu warangiza ugashaka kwigamba ubumanzi udafite. Ibyo Kagame n'Agatsiko ke barimo i Londres, nk'uko mu myaka yashize bari i Boston, Paris... ni ubuhendabana budafite agaciro na gake kuko “ u Rwanda-Paradizo” baba bashaka kwereka Abazungu isi yose yarangije kumenya ko rutabaho ! Icyakora bimaze kugaragara ko icyo gikorwa ngarukamwaka ntacyo cyinjiza mu isanduku y'igihugu ahubwo kiba kigamije gusesagura udufaranga twavuye mu misoro ya rubanda mu kwihera ikiraka indege bwite za Kagame no kumwihera we n'inkoramutima ze amafaranga atubutse ya misiyo, bakajya kubyinira Abazungu, nk'aho aricyo kizakiza u Rwanda kikaramira n'imbaga Abanyarwanda bakeneshejwe bakaba bari kwicwa n'inzara !

Mu by'ukuri impamvu nyamukuru ikomeje gutuma ubutegetsi bw'Agatsiko budashobora kugira isura nziza, ari imbere y'Abanyarwanda ndetse n'imbere y'Abanyamahanga, ni politiki ruvumwa y'IRONDAKOKO n'IRONDAKARERE ikomeje guhabwa intebe, igapyinagaza Abenegihugu itaretse no gutesha u Rwanda agaciro mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

### **Icyitonderwa :**

Abanyarwanda bose ntibabona kimwe ikibazo cy'irondakoko n'irondakarere. Niho kibera ingorabahizi. Abo kitabangamiye bibwira ko kitariho ! Ikibazo cyo kuvangurwa kiremerera abo kibayeho (victimes) gusa ! Akenshi abahohoterwa ni abo ubutegetsi buriho buhindura ba NYAMUKE (hashingiwe ku bwoko cyangwa ku ruhande rwa politiki begamiye). Abo nibo bazi uko kuvangurwa no kwigizwayo biryana, ariko iyo babivuze basaba kurenganurwa abo icyo kibazo kitageraho barabanyega cyangwa se bakabyita amakabyankuru.

## I. Ikibazo cyatangiyeye ryari ?

Ntabwo dutinda ku ngoma zabanje kuko nyine zitakiriho bityo tukaba nta muti w'iki kibazo tukizitezeho!

1. Sinirirwa mvuga menshi ku ngoma ya cyami, kuko ntawe uyobewe ko icyo gihe ubutegetsi n'ibyiza byose by'igihugu byari byarikubiwe n'igice gito cy'Abatutsi bari bafite ubwami, benshi mu Batutsi bakabyungukiramo, Abahutu n'Abatwa bo bakogerwaho uburimiro. Twibuke kandi ko ubwami bugeze no mu marembera bwakomeje guhakana nkana ko nta kibazo "**hutu-tutsi**" kiriho.

2. Byakunze kuvugwa ko Repubulika ya mbere yashyize ingufu nyinshi mu guteza imbere "rubanda rugufi" rwari rwiganjemo Abahutu bari baratsikamiwe, ariko Abanyenduga baza gushyirwa ku ibere kurusha abandi. Politiki y'iringaniza yafashwe nk'iyari igamije gutonesha Abahutu no kwigizayo (exclusion) Abatutsi.

3. Repubulika ya kabiri yo ikunze gushinjwa kuba yarahisemo kwiyubaka ishingiyeye ku gisilikari cyiganjemo Abahutu bo mu rukiga, abandi bakabihomberamo. Kuba Habyarimana yarahariye Abatutsi ubucuruzi bw'igihugu kandi akagaragaza ubushake bwo gushyikirana na FPR ku kibazo by'uburenganzira bwa minorité-tutsi, ntibyabujije intambara yatangijwe n'Inkotanyi mu 1990 gukaza umurego no gushyira igihugu mu kaga gakomeye.

4. Repubulika ya Gatatu ya Paul Kagame yo yarushijeho gukomeza ikibazo cy'irondakoko n'irondakarere. Kuyitindaho birakwiye kuko yo ikiriho kandi ikaba ikomeje gusenya igihugu, umunsi ku wundi. Reka twibukiranye bimwe mu byerekana uruhare rwayo mu kwimakaza politiki y'irondakoko n'irondakarere :

(1) Ubutegetsi bwa Kagame bwahisemo kwiyubakira ku bantu bake cyane b'Indobanure z'Abatutsi, b'abasilikari, biyita Abasajya kuko babyirukiye mu buhungiro mu gihugu cya Uganda. Abaturutse Uganda bitwara nk'aho aribo bafite agaciro kurusha abandi Banyarwanda.

(2) Kagame n'Agatsiko ke biyemeje kubakira ubutegetsi ku gisilikari (n'igipolisi) kiyobowe n'Abawofisiye b'Abatutsi gusa.

(3) Bafashe icyemezo cyo gushyira imyanya yose ifatirwamo ibyemezo kimwe n'ihemba amafaranga atubutse (yo mu nzego zose z'ubuzima bw'igihugu) mu maboko y'Abatutsi gusa.

(4) Bahisemo ko Leta irihira amashuri yisumbuye na Kaminuza abana b'Abatutsi bonyine kuko aribo bavugwa ko barokotse jenocide bonyine.

(5) Mu gihe Leta y'Agatsiko yahisemo gushingira politiki yayo ku gitekerezo cya jenocide yita ko yakorewe Abatutsi bonyine, yafashe icyemezo cyo gutwikira ikibazo **hutu-tutsi** ikoresheje ingengabitekerezo yise iy'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'abanyarwanda. Bityo umuhutu urengana iyo abajije ikibazo cye ashinjwa kubangamira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda !

(6) Bahisemo gukoresha Inkiko Gacaca bazishinga gucira Abahutu bonyine imanza zibahamya icyaha cya jenocide hagamijwe gusenya bidasubirwaho umuhutu wese ujijutse cyangwa wifitiye umutungo.

(7) Bahisemo politiki zinyuranye (politiques publiques) zibangamira rubanda rugufi hagamijwe kubicisha inzara no kubabuza umutekano ku buryo buhoraho (kubarandurira imyaka, kubasenyera amazu, kubategeka gutanga imisanzu, amaturu n'amakoro by'urudaca)

(8) Hashyizweho amategeko afititse agamije kubuza ubwinyagamburiro Abahutu (n'Abatutsi bashyira mu gaciro), nuko hahimbwa ibyaha bidasobanutse ariko byacishije benshi umutwe (ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide, gupfobya jenocide, gukorana n'imitwe y'iterabwoba....).

(9) Leta y'Agatsiko yahisemo gushyingura no kwibuka Abatutsi gusa bishwe, ihatira Abahutu kudashyingura mu cyubahiro no kutibuka ababo batagira ingano barimbuwe n'Ingabo za Kagame (Kuvangura amoko kugera no mu kuzimu !)

(10) Agatsiko kafashe icyemezo cyo gusiba amoko mu irangamuntu kugira ngo irondakoko-tutsi rirusheho guhabwa intebe mu rwagasabo.

(11) Kagame n'Agatsiko ke bahisemo gukusanyiriza ibikorwa byose by'iterambere mu Mujyi wa Kigali gusa, icyaro kiribagirana kandi aricyo gituwe na 90% y'abenegihugu, basa n'abahaniwe ko ari rubanda rugufi.

(12) N'ibindi.

## **II. Guceceka ikibazo cy'irondakoko n'irondakarere sibyo bigikemura.**

Biratangaje kubona Leta y'Agatsiko yemera jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ariko ntiyemere ko hariho ikibazo hutu-tutsi. Kuva FPR yashingwa. Kagame n'Agatsiko ke bafashe icyemezo ko ikibazo cy'amoko kitagomba kuganirwaho. Banze ko kivugwaho mu masezerano y'Arusha n'ubu ntibiteguye kukiganiraho. Bahisemo gushuka Abanyarwanda n'Abanyamahanga ko kitakiriho ariko bakungikanya ibikorwa bituma kirushaho gukomera.

### ***Ese ubundi ikibazo ni ubwoko ?***

Mu by'ukuri ikibazo nyakuri si uko Abanyarwanda bamwe ari Abahutu abandi bakaba Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa. Sibyo biremye batyo. Mu bindi bihugu duturanye hari amoko menshi anyuranye, kandi ntibabipfa.

Ikibazo cy'ukuri ni ***ironda-koko n'ironda-karere***; gituruka ku *kubangamirwa k'uburenganzira-shingiro* bwa bamwe hagendewe ku bwoko cyangwa akarere. Ikibazo kivuka iyo hari Agatsiko gashaka **KWIKUBIRA** ubutegetsu n'ibyiza by'igihugu konyine, noneho kagahitamo URWITWAZO rw'ubwoko cyangwa akarere kugira ngo kigizeyo (exclure) abandi benegihugu.

Ikibazo nyakuri rero ni ***ukubangamirwa n'uguhonyorwa k'uburenganzira bwa ba Nyamuke***, hagendewe ku *mubare w'abagize ubwoko (minorité ethnique) cyangwa mu rwego rwa politiki (minorité politique)*. Noneho abatsikamiwe batera hejuru bashaka kwirenganura cyangwa kwirwanaho bigateza imidugararo n'intambara. Mu rurimi rw'igifaransa umuntu yavugaga ngo « **le vrai enjeu de la politique rwandaise : c'est la garantie des droits des minorités ethnique et/ou politique** ». icyo ni cyo kibazo kigomba kwigwa no kubonerwa igisubizo mu maguru mashya .

## **III. Ese kuvuga ko Demokarasi ari cyo gisubizo birahagije ?**

Kuvuga ko gushyiraho ubutegetsu bushingiye kuri demokarasi aricyo gisubizo, nibyo ariko ntibyuzuye.

Nibyo kuko intambwe ya mbere yo gukemura ikibazo cy'ironda-vangura-moko ni ukwemera **KUKIGANIRAHU** nta buhendanyi. Gushyiraho inzego z'ubutegetsu abenegihugu bose

bibonamo nicyo gisubizo ariko uburyo bwo kuzishyiraho bugomba gutekerezwaho cyane, ndetse byashoboka hakaremwa n'"inzego" nshya cyangwa « inzira » z'umwimerere.

Demokarasi bivuga « **ubutegetsu bwa rubanda , bushyizweho na rubanda kandi bukorera rubanda** ». Rubanda si Abahutu bonyine , Abatutsi bonyine cyangwa Abatwa bonyine. Rubanda rwa Kanyarwanda ni abagize ayo matsinda uko ari atatu , ndetse hakiyongeraho n'"abandi banyarwanda babyiyemeje" , (les naturalisés). Ubutegetsi bwazuzugura ibyifuzo n'uburenganzira bwa rimwe muri ayo matsinda, si ubutegetsu bukorera rubanda !

Niyo mpamvu Demokarasi izazahura u Rwanda, idashobora kuzaba iyubakiye ku matora gusa (un homme, une voix), kuko icyo gihe, ababarirwa muri « les minorités » bazakomeza kugira impungenge y'uko inyungu zabo zitazigera zirengerwa n'inzego z'ubutegetsu bw'igihugu batibonamo. Abatutsi benshi (bafatwa kugeza ubu nka minorité ethnique) bemeza ko aricyo bapfa na demokarasi ishingiyeye ku matora. Ariko Abahutu batari inkomamashyi nabo bafite ikibazo cyo kwigizwayo (exclusion) muri iki gihe, kuko bahinduwe « *minorité politique* », bakaba barakumiriwe mu nzego zifata ibyemezo.

#### **IV. IGISUBIZO kizaturuka he ?**

Igisubizo kizaturuka mu BIGANIRO hagati y'Abanyarwanda ubwabo , imyanzuro yabyo ikazandikwa mu Itegekonshinga (*garanties constitutionnelles*), ikagaragaza ku buryo budasubirwaho uko uburenganzira bwa ba Nyamuke (droits des minorités) buzubahirizwa.

Ndashaka gutanga utugero nka tubiri kugira ngo numvikanishe igitekerezo mfite.

#### **Urugero rwa mbere**

Kuba Kiliziya gatolika, nk'ishyirahamwe rigizwe n'abantu, imaze imyaka irenga ibihumbi 2 igihumeka, ibikesha ahanini kuba yarabashije kwiyubakira ku nkingi ebyiri (2 principes) zisa n'izivuguruzanya : **le charisme et l'institution**.

Impano zidasanzwe za buri wese (charisme) zihabwa agaciro gakomeye mu Kiliziya kuko arizo zituma ihora yivugurura (Ecclesia semper reformanda). Nk'abashinze imiryango y'Abihayimana (congrégations religieuses) bari abanyempano, kandi bafashije Kiliziya cyane . Ariko Kiliziya ikeneye n'inzego n'abayobozi bahoraho (Paruwasi, diyosezi, Abapadiri, Apepiskopi, Papa). N'iyi Umwepiskopi wanjye yaba adafite impano nyinshi, ngo abe intwari nk'uko mbyifuzaga... nyamara ni we ushinze kuyobora Diyosezi, agatuma impano za buri wese zigirira akamaro benshi (Pontifex: *il préside à l'unité de la communauté*). Yaba intungane, yaba umunyantegenke, igihe akiriho aba ari Umwepiskopi washyizweho na Papa...! Ahagararira Kiliziya (visibilité), akayiyobora uko abishoboywe, ikabaho neza cyangwa icumbagira ariko ikabaho ! Dore imyaka irenze ibihumbi 2, Kiliziya gatolika yaratotejwe, irazunguzwa ku buryo bunyuranye ariko nyamara iracyariho !

Kugira ngo u Rwanda rukomeze kubaho kandi rukire akageso ko guhora rwikora mu nda (*uboshye wa mugore w'inkoramwuga!*), narwo rugomba kwihangira ubutegetsu bwubakiye ku nkingi ebyiri zisa n'izivuguruzanya : "**le mérite et l'institution**". Agaciro k'impano za buri wese (mérite) kagomba gutezwa imbere kugira ngo zigirire benshi akamaro ariko hakabaho n'inzego zifatika zikumira ivangura(institution).

Mu gihe waba ugiriwe icyizere ugahabwa kuyobora u Rwanda, dore amaso ukwiye kurebeshya igihugu :

*Ni byiza ko umuntu ufite ibigango yajya mu gisilikari, ariko niwemera ko igisilikari kijyamo abo mu majyaruguru gusa, ngo ngaha nibo bonyine babyemera, amaherezo ikibazo kizashyira kivuke . Ukwiyeye kureba hakiri kare uko wabigenza kugira ngo n'abo mu majyepfo bibone muri icyo gisilikari.*

*Birakwiye kurihira amashuri abana b'Abatutsi bababaye imfubyi kubera jenocide yo mu 1994, ariko nibigaragara ko aribo bonyine Leta ifasha bizaba bihindutse ikibazo cyo kuvangura abana no kubasumbanya ! Shaka uko n'izindi mfubyi zafashwa , nibitaba ibyo politiki yawe yo gufasha bamwe irasenya ntiyubaka.*

Ni byiza ko abana babonye amanota ya mbere aribo bajya mu mashuri ya Segonderi afashwa na Leta ndetse na Kaminuza. Ariko nibigaragara ko abahora baba abambere ari Abanyagikongoro gusa, uzagomba kureba uko wabigenza kugira ngo n'abakomoka mu bindi bice by'igihugu nabo bagire uburenganzira bwo kwiga mu mashuri ya Leta.

Iyo politiki wayita uko ushatse (*Iringaniza ryahinduye inyito!*) ariko igomba kubaho. Itabayeho, urwikekwe n'umwiryane biravuka , bigasagamba, bikazashyirwa bisenye igihugu.

### **Urugero rwa kabiri:**

Seminari nto ya Mutagatifu Piyo wa 10 yo ku Nyundo yatangiye mu 1953 ari iya Diyosezi gatolika ya Nyundo (Gisenyi, Kibuye, Cyangugu). Aho Diyosezi ya Cyangugu ivukiye mu 1981, ayo madiyosezi yombi yakomeje kuhararera abana. Ubwo natangiraga kuhiga mu 1986, iyo Seminari yari ifite ubushobozi bwo kwakira abana 60 gusa buri mwaka. Naje kumenya ko mu "kwemerera abatsinze ", amadiyosezi yombi yasaranganyaga imyanya hashingiwe ku mibare iteye itya : Nyundo= 40 (Gisenyi –Kibuye); Cyangugu =20. Ni ukuvuga ko bashoboraga kwakira umwana wa Nyundo watsindiye ku manota 35%, mu gihe hari uw'iCyangugu utafashwe kandi yagize 55% mu kizami cyo kwinjira mu Seminari, kuko nyine i Cyangugu hagombaga kwemererwa abana 20 gusa!

Noneho umuntu akibaza ati : Ese ibi ni ubutabera ? Hari abahita bavugaga bati nta butabera burimo , ariko baritonde ! Seminari nto ryari ishuri ryigenga. Diyosezi ya Nyundo yaritagagaho amafaranga menshi kugira ngo ribeho, hagamijwe ko rikomeza gutegura abana bashobora kuzavamo abapadiri b'iyi Diyosezi ! Ubutabera bwaba buri he Diyosezi ya Nyundo yiriye ikimara kugira ngo itegure abana bazaba abapadiri ba Diyosezi ya Cyangugu gusa, ngo ngaha ni uko bazi gutsinda ibizami kurusha abo ku Nyundo?! Ibi se twabyita iringaniza ritindi ? Ibaze nawe wisubize! Ku batabizi , Diyosezi ya Cyangugu yageze aho nayo irikokora itangiza Seminari nto yayo mu 1997, yitwa Seminari ya Mutagatifu Aloys.

No mu gihugu cy'u Rwanda hakenewe politiki yizwe neza, itadindiza abagaragaje impano zifatika (mérite) ariko ntinatererane (exclusion) abandi benegihugu. Iyo politiki igomba kubaho kandi igashyirwa mu itegekonshinga (légalisation), hakabaho n'inzego zishinzwe kuyishyira mu bikorwa (institutionalisation) kugira ngo ikemure ibibazo by'irondakoko n'irondakarere mu mfuruka zose z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu:

(1) *Mu gisilikari*

(2) *Mu Ntekonshingamategeko*

(3) *Muri Guverinoma*

(4) *Muri nzego z'ubuyobozi (Administration)*

(5) *Mu bigo bya Leta*

(6) Mu guhabwa imyanya mu mashuri ( yo mu Rwanda no mu mahanga)

### **Umwanzuro**

Turambiwe "politiki y'ingumba"(stérile) y'abantu bahora bigiza nkana : abo ni abategetsu bihutira kwishyira ku ngoma nyamara aho kugira ngo bicare bahimbe ibisubizo bikemura ibibazo by'ingutu bitsikamiye abenegihugu, bagahitamo kubuka inabi no gucecekesha rubanda hakoreshejwe iterabwoba rya gisilikari !

Twanze politiki y'Udutsiko duteranya Abanyarwanda (diviser pour régner) kugira ngo dukunde twikubire ubutegetsu n' ibyiza bose by'igihugu.

Ndifuriza Ishyamba Ishema ry'u Rwanda kugira bwangu ubushobozi bwo kuzafasha Abanyarwanda **KUGANIRA nta buhendanyi** kuri ibi bibazo byombi byabaye ingorabahizi (irondakoko n'irondakarere) kugeza bibonewe igisubizo kidakuka.

*Harakabaho u Rwanda rutavangura abana barwo*

*Harakabaho abategetsu bacye ukubiri n'ingeso yo kwikora mu nda.*

*Harakabaho Abanyarwanda bishimiye gusaranganya ibyiza by'Urwababyaye.*

***Padiri Thomas Nahimana***

***Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Ishyamba***

***ISHEMA RY'U RWANDA.***