DUFATANE URUNANA TURWANYE ITERABWOBA MU RWANDA

Tubimbuye iyi nyandiko dufite ishavu n'agahinda kenshi. Ubwo ibyo twifuzaga gusangiza Abanyarwanda byarimo bifata isura nyayo mu ntekerezo, ni bwo n'inkuru y'incamugongo yatugezeho itubikira umuhanzi KIZITO MIHIGO, wa musore wari uzwi cyane muri muzika, nawe akaba akenyuwe n'ubutegetsi gica bwahigiye kubaho butitiza Abanyarwanda bukamena amaraso ubuziraherezo! Iby'urupfu rwe ngo rwabereye muri kasho ya polisi, byaciye igikuba imbaga itabarika. Kandi ni mu gihe, ndetse ni akumiro kuri buri wese, ni akaga katagira ibara gakwiye gushavuza buri wese, usibye nyine ba rukarabankaba bamuhitanye n'ababatumye!

Mu gihe intimba itageruka y'iyicwa rya KIZITO MIHIGO igikomeje guhagarika imitima ya benshi, ni na ko benshi na none turemerewe no kubona abavandimwe bacu bandi, Madame Victoire INGABIRE UMUHOZA, Me Bernard NTAGANDA na Bwanda BARAFINDA SEKIKUBO Fred bakomeje kujujubywa no kubuzwa epfo na ruguru. Abo barazizwa ko bifuza amahoro mu Rwanda, bashakira igihugu ubwisanzure no kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa buri wese. Ni abasangirangendo hamwe natwe mu rugamba rwo kwipakurura ubu butegetsi butwotsa igitutu budutwaza igitugu, bukaba bwarahinduye igihugu cyacu ubukonde. Aba bavandimwe tuvuze ubu bibasiwe cyane n'iyi Leta, barahamagazwa ubutitsa n'Urwego rw'ubushinjacyaha. Baraterwa hejuru n'ubu butegetsi kirimbuzi butihanganira na busa

kuvuguruzwa cyangwa kujorwa mu migirire yabwo, bushaka ko nta ukopfora no mu gihe burimo gukora amarorerwa.

Ikindi na none gifitanye isano n'ibyo tuvuze mbere, kidatandukanye na busa n'imvano y'aya makuba aduteye impagarara, ni inkuru imaze ibyumweru bisaga bibiri y'iyirukanwa ry'umunyamakuru wa BBC witwa Jacques MATAND. Uyu arazizwa ko yakiriye mu kiganiro umwanditsi wasohoye igitabo ku kiswe Operasiyo Turukwaze. Uko kwirukanwa kwa Jacques MATAND na ko kwahagurukije imbaga nyinshi y'abaharanira uburenganzira bwo gutanga ibitekerezo. Ni yo mpamvu hari benshi basinye inyandiko iteza ubwêga, isaba ko uwo munyamakuru yasubizwa ku mirimo ye nta yandi mananiza, bagaragaza ko ibyo yakoze bihuje n'akazi ke.

Muti ese aho ubu si ugutandukira ? Ashwi da ! Izi nkuru zose zifite aho zihuriye, ndetse zisangiye umuzi n'izingiro. KIZITO MIHIGO turirira ubu, bariya bavandimwe babuzwa epfo na ruguru, kimwe n'uyu munyamakuru, bose ni inzirakarengane z'ubutegetsi bw'iterabwoba bwogogoje u Rwanda buhagarikiwe na Perezida Paulo Kagame na FPR-Inkotanyi ye.

Leta ikoresha iterabwoba

Ibi nta wukwiye kubiceceka. Kuva KIZITO MIHIGO yatabwa muri yombi, twese twahise twiyumvisha nta shiti ko ibye birangiye, ko ari mu menyo ya Rubamba. Ku bwacu kandi, dusanga nta mpamvu yo kwirirwa dushakisha tubaza icyo yazize n'uwamwishe. Yiyongereye ku zindi nzirakarengane zitabarika zimaze kwivuganwa n'ubu butegetsi bw'igitugu bukoresha iyicarubozo, bukaba buhoza u Rwanda mu marira no mu miborogo. Nta wakwirirwa yitorora agaragaza urutonde rw'abandi benshi biciwe kuri sitasiyo za polisi hirya no hino, ubutegetsi bugahihibikanira guhuma amaso rubanda bubeshya ngo biyahuye cyangwa ngo bashatse gutoroka.

Na none kandi, bariya bavandimwe twavuze haruguru, kimwe n'abandi benshi baborera mu magereza y'i Rwanda, nka ba Deo MUSHAYIDI, Dr Théoneste NIYITEGEKA, ba ofisiye nka Frank RUSAGARA na Tom BYABAGAMBA n'abandi tutavuze, abafunguwe ariko bagikomeje gucungishwa ijisho nka Diane RWIGARA, imbaga itabarika y'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose baheze ishyanga ku gahato, kimwe na rubanda rwose ruhozwa ku nkeke rukabuzwa amajyo n'inzego z'umutekano zibahutaza ; abo bose ni inzirakarengane z'agatsiko k'iterabwoba kayogoza u Rwanda. Aba bose ni ko bakandamizwa bakagirirwa nabi, kubera gusa ko bashiritse ubwoba bakavuga icyo batekereza. Kubera ko buri umwe mu buryo bwe yagaragaje ko atemeranya n'ubutegetsi bwa « humiriza nkuyobore » ; kubera ko badashobora gukomeza kurebera mu gihe abenegihugu bahinduwe ingaruzwamuheto n'abiyita ko babayoboye ; kubera ko baharanira ubwiyunge nyabwo bw'Abanyarwanda bose.

Aba bose bashinjwa ibyo bise « ingengabitekerezo » z'uburyo bwinshi. Ari ukubera gusa ko bahisemo kwitandukanyua n'imigirire y'abagamije guhoza Abanyarwanda ku ngoyi badashaka ko habaho kubona ibintu ukundi. N'ubwo babagerekaho urusyo bakababahozaho inkota ku gakanu, ntibaragahwema guhangana n'ubutegetsi budutwaza igitugu, aho buhatira buri wese kwikiriza irivuze umwami. Ntibaragahwema kunenga imigirire y'ubu butegetsi bwibera mu kwica amategeko no kubeshya rubanda bugoreka amateka, ari ukugira ngo ako gatsiko karambe ku butegetsi ubuziraherezo. Nyamara kandi, ubwo butegetsi ntawe ugishidikanya ku ruhare rwabwo mu mahano ya genocide yagwiriye u Rwanda, bukaba bwarayihinduye iturufu yo kwica no gukora andi mahano ntawe ukomye. Ubu butegetsi ni bwo nyirabayazana w'ubukene n'amakuba ahejeje benshi mu rwijiji kuva mu myaka 25 yose bumaze.

Ubu butegetsi bwabaye intagereranywa mu gukenesha icyaro. Ng'aho ngo bwazanye gahunda zo guhuza ubutaka zikorwa mu buhubutsi n'agahato, none dore ibyo byateje igihugu inzara ihoraho. Ubu butegetsi busa n'ubutazashira ubworo, bukoresheje icyenewabo kirengeje bwateje

ubusumbane bukabije hagati y’abakize n’abakene, bwiremamo agatsiko k’abaherwe bikubira ububasha bwose n’umutungo wose w’igihugu, abasigaye kakabahindura abakene n’abatindi kubera imisoro ibasiga iheruheru. Bityo abenegihugu bakabaho bagoka umunsi ku wundi nyamara bagokera intanyurwa z’agatsiko kari ku butegetsi. Ubu butegetsi twabukesha kindi ki usibye gusa koreka imbaga hose mu isi aho bujya kwicira Abanyarwanda babuhunze? Ingero z’abo bwahitanye n’abo buhiga bukware si ibyo kubaririza.

Genocide yagizwe urwitwazo rwo kubangamira ubwisanzure no gukwiza hose ikinyoma

Umunyamakuru w’Umuhinde Anjan Sundaram, wanditse igitabo Bad News (Amakuru mabi), aho agaragaza ishusho nyayo y’ubutegetsi bw’u Rwanda, aherutse kugirana ikiganiro na Televiziyo y’Abafaransa France 24, avuga ko ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda ari igitugu gikabije gitsikamira ukuri gikoresheje iterabwoba . Uko ni ko ubwo butegetsi butwikiriza ibinyoma byabwo amateka y’ukuri, bugahatira buri wese kwemera ibyo buvuga cyangwa kuruca bakarumira. Ni yo mpamvu bwiyemeje gutsemba buri wese ushira amanga ashaka kugaragaza uko kuri, cyangwa akagerageza kwerekana isura inyuranye n’ibigwi ubwo butegetsi bukunda kwivuga, bugaragaza u Rwanda nk’igihugu cy’isuku kandi abacyo baguwe neza, nyuma y’aho uwiyita « umucunguzi » Paulo Kagame agikuye ibuzimu akagisubiza ibuntu. Byahe byo kajya ! Ababujijwe kuvuga kimwe n’abatotezwa kubera ko bashatse kugaragaza ukuri ntibagira ingano.

Tugarutse rero kuri Jacques Matand, ingorane yahuye na zo ngo zishingiye ku mpamvu y’uko akimara guhitisha ikiganiro yagiranye na Charles ONANA, ubutegetsi bw’u Rwanda bwahise buteza iyabahanda bugaragaza ko ari sakiriregogutambutsa ikiganiro nk’icyo kuri BBC. Uyu munyamakuru akaba n’umushakashatsi muri politiki yanditse ibitabo bigaragaza indi sura, akavuga ibintu atabigoreka ku mateka ya genocide

yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Akaga ka Jacques Matand rero ntigatandukanye na gato n'ibyabaye ubwo undi munyamakuru wa BBC Jane Corbin yasohoraga ikiganiro [ku iraswa ry'indege] cyiswe The Untold Sory (Inkuru yagizwe ibanga) aho yagaragaje ubuhamya butari bwarigeze buvugwa bugasenya ikinyoma cyari cyarakwijwe hose ari na cyo ubu butegetsi bwubakiyeho. Bwacyeye ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda buvuza impanda kugeza ubwo ibiganiro byo mu Kinyarwanda byakurikirwaga na benshi mu mbaga y'Abanyarwanda bibujijwe kumvikana mu Rwanda. Ng'uko uko Abanyarwanda benshi twavukijwe uburenganzira bwo kumenya amakuru ku gihugu cyacu, kubera ko ubutegetsi bwateye hejuru. Jacques Matand rero si uwa mbere uhuye n'akaga ko gukumirwa mu bitekerezo gatewe n'ubutegetsi burangwa n'iterabwoba bwa Paulo Kagame n'ababimufashamo, ariko twakifuje byibuze ko aba uwa nyuma uhohotewe atyo !

Ni imbaga itabarika haba mu Banyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, bahabwa akato bakanashinjwa ibyaha ngo by'ingengabitekerezo no guhakana genocide, kubera gusa ko bavuze ikitishimiwe n'ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda, kubera ko batanze ubuhamya bunyuranyije n'amateka agoretse ubutegetsi bwandikishije. Ubu butegetsi bwakwije hose ubwoba ku buryo ntawe utinyuka kuvuga kuri genocide n'impamvu zose zayiteye, kimwe n'iby'iraswa ry'indege [1] benshi babona nk'imbarutso idakwiye kwirengagizwa n'umuntu wese ugendereye kuvuga ukuri kuri genocide yabaye mu Rwanda. Haciye imyaka myinshi ibyavuye mu bucukumbuzi mpuzamahanga ku byaha bwakorewe mu karere[2] bihejejwe mu bubiko bisa no gukingira ikibaba ubutegetsi ruvumwa busa n'ubwakomorewe kwica hose ntihagire uvuga. Bigasa no kwirengagiza no kwima ubutabera inzirakarengane bworetse nkana. Ikibabaje ariko kurutaho, ni ukubona kugeza magingo aya, ubwo butegetsi bwiyemeje kugoreka amateka bugikomeje kubona ababuvugira bakabushyigikira mu ntego yabwo yo kuduhatira kumva ibintu uko bwo bubishaka nyamara

[1] Charles ONANA afatanije n'abandi bashakashatsi mpuzamahanga basohoye igitabo cyiswe *« Silence sur un attentat »* cyasohotse mu mwaka wa 2005.

[2] Reba icyiswe *« Rapport du Projet Mapping »* yasohotse muri Kanama 2010

bihabanye n'ibyo abenshi biboneye ubwabo, hatitawe na busa ku bo bwasize iheruheru. Ubwo bugambanyi n'uko kwimakaza umuco wo kudahana byagakwiye gutera buri wese ipfunwe, cyane cyane iyo bikorwa n'abafite ububasha bo mu isi hamwe n'ibihugu byateye imbere.

Uko kwibasirwa kwa hato na hato n'iyi Leta bifite imvano. Icya mbere ni uko ibihugu by'ibihangange bikomeye ku mahame y'ubwisanzure iwabo birenga bikemera ko mu Rwanda ubutegetsi bupyinagaza abenegihugu, bugahonyanga indangagaciro shingiro zemewe ku isi, ntibyite ku batotezwa na bwo akenshi kubera ko birangamiye gusa inyungu bwite zabyo. Ni yo mpamvu byagiye byima amatwi n'amaso amahano ndengakamere yakozwe mu ntambara n'ubutegetsi bwa FPR, ndetse n'ubu hatariho intambara, ntibibabuze kuvunira ibiti mu matwi ngo batumva abataka n'abakomeje kwicwa na bugingo n'ubu. Ikindi ariko, aka kaga duhoramo karaturuka ku mpamvu z'uko natwe ubwacu Abanyarwanda hari benshi muri twe batarumva ko bikenewe guhuza imbaraga kugira ngo twange kandi twitandukanye n'ubutegetsi bw'abicanyi ruharwa bahejeje ku ngoyi Abanyarwanda bakanga kunamura icumu. Genocide bayigize intwaro ikoreshwa hose, bakayitwaza kugira ngo bakore ubwicanyi hose, cyangwa bakayireguza iyo bafatiwe mu cyuho bakagubwa gitumo n'imigambi mibisha bahora bapanga. Abacitse ku icumu rya genocide babahinduye nk'ibicuruzwa byo kwisobanura ku mahano baregwa. N'ubwo bo ubwabo bigeze kwibeshya ko ubu butegetsi bwabarokoye, bityo bamwe muri bo ntibumve amagorwa n'akaga ubu butegetsi bwazaniye u Rwanda, nta gushidikanya ko noneho ubu bamaze kubasobanukirwa neza. Urutonde rw'abacitse ku icumu rya genocide bamaze guhitanwa n'ubu butegetsi bwari bwarababeshye ko bwabarokoye ni rurerure cyane [3] . Niba rutanahagije kugira ngo rwemeze n'uwashidikanyaga ku bubi bw'ubu butegetsi, iyicwa rya KIZITO MIHIGO nawe warokotse genocide muri

[3] Aha twatanga ingero nkeya, ku iyicwa rya Christine Iribagiza, Jean Paul Mwiseneza, Vénuste Rwabukamba, Assiel Kabera, Gustave Makonene, Assinapol Rwigara n'abandi benshi cyane.

1994 bikwiye kutwumvisha vuba na bwangu ko dukwiye kuva ibuzimu tukajya ibuntu !

Ubutegetsi bwica ntibukwiye ijambo mu isi.

IPAD-Umuhuza, ntabwo twitekereza nk'abagomba kugaya byose n'ibitagayitse. Twemera rwose ko hari ibyo ubutegetsi bwa Paulo Kagame bwubatse, bigaragarira amaso ya buri wese kandi bikwiye gushimwa. Ni na byo Leta ye yitwaza hose ijya kureshya amahanga akiyihagazeho. Nyamara ariko, ntiduheranwa n'isura isa neza gusa, ngo dutwarwe n'ibyo bishashagirana ubutegetsi bwubatse, ngo tubeho nk'abatazi ukuri boshye umushyitsi uraye ijoro rimwe. Ibikorwa by'amareshyamugeni ubu butegetsi bwakwije hose bwubaka amahoteli ahenze bukajya no gutagaguza umutungo w'igihugu bushyigikira amkipe y'umupira w'amaguru y'amahanga nyamara akize cyane, mu gihe tuzi neza ko umuturage w'i Rwanda atakigira icyo ashyira munda, n'ugiye guhaha akamera nka wa mugani w'usoroma intagwira utuzuza n'ikiganza kimwe. Ubutegetsi bubeshya ko ari uburyo bwo gukurura abashoramari, ariko twibuke ko abo bashoramari iyo baje badashyira imari yabo mu mishinga y'ubuhinzi ari yo ifitiye benshi akamaro, ahubwo bayashyira mu bikorwa bindi bitungukira abaturage bakennye, nko gushinga amabanki n'ibigo bicuruza telefoni zigendanwa. Iyo migirire yashegeshe ahazaza h'igihugu kubera inkunga zikoreshwa nabi n'amadeni azagorana kwishyurwa.

Nyamara rero kubaka igihugu birenze iby'imyubakire igezweho kandi ihenze cyangwa imihanda isukuye. Ibyo bihinduka ubusa iyo bidakurikiwe n'imibereho myiza cyangwa indangagaciro zitangwa n'uburere n'uburezi bufite ireme. Dufate ingero nke z'ibihugu nka Côte d'Ivoire yabaye intangarugero mu iterambere mu bihe bya Perezida Felix-Houphouët-Boigny. Nigeria, cya gihangange mu bihugu bicukura peteroli muri Afurika, n'ubwo ubu kirimo gutera imbere byihuse, ariko cyamaze imyaka myinshi mu icuraburindi. Repubulika iharanira

Demokarasi ya Congo, mu bunini bwayo no kuba iteretse ku mabuye y'agaciro menshi, na n'ubu ntirakivana mu ngorane. Ibyo byose biterwa no kuba habuze ubumwe, ubwumvikane no kubana mu mahoro hagati y'abenegihugu. Iyo ibyo bidahari, nta shiti ko za nyubako z'agatangaza na ya miturirwa dushima bishobora guhinduka isibaniro bigashyirwa hasi, imigi yari ibitangaza igasigara ari umusaka gusa. Ibi si uguhanura amakuba n'ibyago. Kuko ibyo ari byo abayoboye Sénégal na Tanzaniya bashoboye gukumira mu bihugu byabo. IPAD-Umuhuza yifuza gukoma mu nkokora icyajyana u Rwanda muri iyo nzira. Nk'Ishyaka rigamije guhuza Abanyarwanda, dushishikajwe no kubaka u Rwanda rushyize hamwe, bene rwo biyunze. U Rwanda rufite inzego zikomeye kandi zigenga zikorera Abanyarwanda bose. Icyo ni cyo cyerekezo dufite, ni na zo nzozi zacu. Kandi twiyumvamo ubushobozi bwo kubigeraho.

Perezida Kagame n'ubutegetsi bwe nta cyizere batanga cyo kubaho mu mahoro. Kandi ni mu gihe. Mu nzozi ze no mu ntego ze ntiharimo ibyo kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda. Biri ukundi rwose. Uyu mutegetsi umaranira kwigaragaza nk'umucunguzi kuri bamwe, iyo sura y'ikinyoma yamaze kuyoyoka rugikubita. Abamwibeshyagaho ubu bamaze kumenya neza uwo ari we by'ukuri. IPAD-Umuhuza, si twe ubwacu byahereyeho kugaragaza ko ubutegetsi bwe ari ubw'igitugu birenze urugero. Ariko na twe tubyemeza nta mususu. Tubona nta rindi rage azasiga imusozi usibye gusubiza Abanyarwanda mu mahari adashira no kubabibamo umwiryane w'akarande. We ubwe na wa « Muryango » wabo wa FPR-Inkotanyi usa n'ikiguri cy'ubugome, dore bafashe u Rwanda mpiri barugira urwabo, barutwaza uruhembe rw'umuheto ari na ko bashyira buri wese ku gatsi, ngo kibi na cyiza yemere ibitekerezo byabo kabone n'iyo bidafite ireme ! Ntibarakamenya ko uwicisha inkota ari yo azazira ! Ibi kandi turabivuga atari uko dufite inzika yo kwihorera nk'uko FPR-Inkotanyi yabigize intero kuva yafata igihugu. Turavuga ibyo imigani y'abakuru yahamije. Kuko ubu butegetsi bwa Paulo Kagame butashoboye kuzanira Abanyarwanda amahoro ntibishoboka ko buzavaho mu mahoro. Buri wese arabyibonera ubwe. Ikitubabaza

kurushaho ni uko usanga ubwo butegetsi ruvumwa bugifite gishyigikira mu bihugu bikomeye, mu buryo busa no kwihohora kubera ko ibyo bihugu bitakoze ibikwiye ngo bikumire genocide. Ibi byatumye ibyo bihangange byirengagiza imanza zibogamye zaciwe n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda rwabogamiye ku ruhande rw'abatsinze intambara. Rwashoje imirimo rwanzuranye umugayo haba ku Banyarwanda ndetse no ku bandi bakunda ukuri. Benshi cyane baracyakomeza kunenga imyitwarire y'ayo mahanga akomeye yaruciye akarumira, mu gihe ubutegetsi bwa Paulo Kagame bwayogozaga igihugu bwica umusubizo bukarimbura imbaga mu Rwanda no hanze yarwo, bwitwaje icyaha cya genocide. Ibyo byaha ndengakamere byose ayo mahanga akaba asa n'ayabiteye utwatsi akabifata nk'ibintu byari bikwiye kubaho.

Iyo tuvuga ibi byose, intego yacu si ugutera imbabazi ! Nta na busa. Ahubwo dushimikiriye gusaba ibyo bihugu by'ibihangange byadutereranye mu gihe imihoro na kalachnikov byamaraga abantu mu bunyamaswa bukabije, ngo byoye gukomeza kurebera na none Abanyarwanda bicwa urusorongo kandi bikorwa n'ubutegetsi gica ibyo bihugu bigikomeje gushyigikira no gutiza umurindi mu bikorwa byabwo bibisha. Bukomeje guca ibintu bubeshya ngo burarengera abarokotse genocide. Musigeho ! Ubu butegetsi ntibugikwiye ijambo, kuko nta jabo bufite mu bantu. Ni icyago, ni intaza yubikiriye ibuza igihugu kwinjira neza mu nzira ya demokarasi, ni ihano ritazatuma u Rwanda rurasirwa n'umucyo n'icyizere ku bashegeshwe n'imitegekere yabwo yuje ubugome.

Nk'uko uwo Muryango mpuzamahanga wagize ikimwaro mu gihe wihoreye igihugu kikinjira mu mage n'imiborogo, birakwiye noneho ko uwo Muryango mpuzamahanga udakomeza guceceka no kwica amatwi mu gihe igihugu kidahwema gucura intimba kubera iterabwoba ry'ubu butegetsi buriho mu Rwanda. Byaba ari igisare kabiri kongera gutererana imbaga y'Abanyarwanda ubu igeze mu kangaratete. Turifuza ko Muryango mpuzamahanga mutegera amatwi iyi ntabaza dutabariza

Abanyarwanda bamariwe ku icumu n’ubutegetsi butitaye ku buzima bwacu bwa none n’ejo hazaza.

Amajwi y’Abanyarwanda aniha ni menshi. Arataka ahuruza impande zose ngo twese Abanyarwanda n’abandi mwese duhuje imihigo yo kwimakaza ubumuntu kuva iwacu ukagera ku mpera z’isi yose, ngo duhuze imbaraga turwanire amahoro mu gihugu cyacu, amahoro asesuye agere kuri buri wese. Aho ni ho tuzizera kubona u Rwanda ruyobowe neza kandi rutemba ituze !

Charles Musabyimana, Umunyamabanga Mukuru.