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Filiberi Gakwenzire & Florent Piton

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Kwandika amateka ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda hashingiwe ku bimenyetso ndangamateka byo mu gihugu

Ikiganiro Folorenti Piton* yagiranye na Pahulo Rutayisire**, Karoli Kabwete Mulinda** na Filiberi Gakwenzire**

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** Kaminuza y'u Rwanda.

Bihinduwe mu Kinyarwanda na Bernard Twagirayezu

Kuwa 26 Werurwe 2021 Komisiyo ishinzwe ubushakashatsi ku nyandiko z'Ubufaransa zirebana n'u Rwanda na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (1990-1994) yahaye raporo yayo ya nyuma Perezida Emmanuel Macron. Iyo raporo yiswe «Raporo Duclert».

Hashingiwe kuri ayo makuru, ibinyamakuru *Revue d'histoire contemporaine de l'Afrique* cyangwa RHCA mu mpine (Ikinyamakuru cy'Amateka ya vuba y'Afurika) na *Sources. Materials & Fieldwork in African Studies* (ugenekereje mu Kinyarwanda «Isoko. Ibikoresho n'ahantu mu nyigo za Afurika») byafashe icyemezo cyo kungamo nabyo bikandika. Mu gihe cy'umwaka byasohoye ingingo nyinshi zifitanye isano n'ubushakashatsi ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no ku mateka y'u Rwanda muri rusange. Ibyo binyamakuru byasembuwe na raporo Duclert kugira ngo bigaragaze ibintu bibiri. Icya mbere kinyanye n'imyaka Raporo Duclert (1990-1994) yibanzeho bicukumbura mbere na nyuma yayo. Icya kabiri kiijyanye no kwitaho ni aho ubumenyi bwaturutse hakiyongeraho no kwitaruraimpaka hagati y'Abafaransa ubwabo ku byerekeranye na jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda no kugaragaza ko hari abandi benshi bateye akamo bavuga kuri aya mateka.

Ijambo ry'ibanze rihuriweho n'ibyo binyamakuru byombi warisanga aha:
https://oap.unige.journals/rhca/announcement/view/15 (Ubushyinguranyandiko).

Mu gufata iya mbere muri ubu bufatanye, ikinyamakuru RHCA cyatangaje kuwa 8 Ugushyingo 2021 dosiye yihariye («Kurenga raporo Duclert: Gusunika amateka ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda») harimo ingingo zatangajwe zikurikira:

- Desrosiers, Marie-Eve. 2021. «Le rapport Duclert et le filtre des lendemains génocidaires» (Raporo Duclert no kumva neza ibihe byakurikiye jenoside). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e577.
- Diop, Boubacar Boris. 2021. «Le Rwanda, une obsession française» (u Rwanda, rwibasiriwe n'ubufaransa). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e581.
- Evrard, Camille, Muriel Gomez-Perez, Martin Mourre, Florent Piton, Nathaniel Powell, et Romain Tiquet. 2021. «Au-delà du rapport Duclert : Décentrer l'histoire du génocide des Tutsi du Rwanda» (Kurenga raporo Duclert. Gusunika amateka ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e576.
- Piton, Florent. 2021. «Identifier, haïr, exterminer : Questions de recherche autour du génocide des Tutsi du Rwanda» (Kugaragaza, kwanga, gutsemba: Ibibazo by'ubushakashatsi kuri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e582.
- Rovetta, Ornella. 2021. «Écrire l'histoire en commission: La justice pénale internationale à la lumière des archives françaises» (Kwandika amateka muri Komisiyo. Ubutabera mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga mu kumvikanisha inyandiko z'Ubufaransa). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e578.

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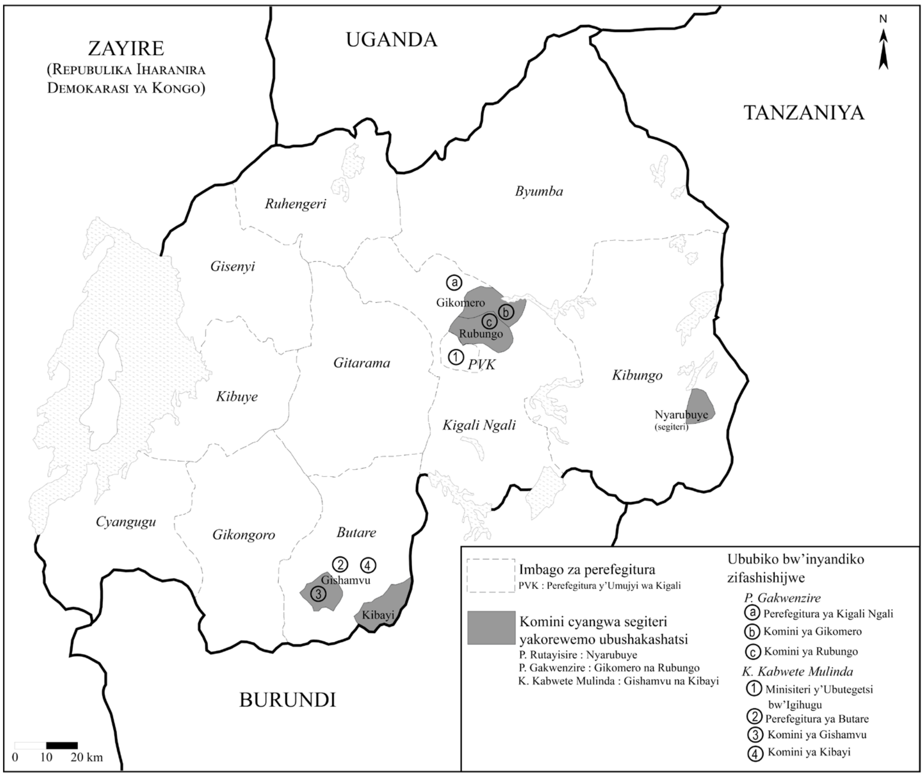
- Sinalo, Caroline Williamson. 2021. «Un génocide dé-genré ? Une analyse sexospécifique du rapport Duclert» (Jenoside itagira ubwoko isesengura rishingiye ku ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina rya raporo Duclert). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e579.
- Smith, Étienne. 2021. «Des mémoires "irréconciliables" du Rwanda au sein de l'armée française ? Le rapport Duclert et les multiples voix de "la grande muette"». (Ibyasigaye mu mitwe y'Abanyarwanda bitababarirwa byakozwe n'ingabo z'Ubufaransa. Raporo Duclert n'amajwi anyuranye y'ingabo). https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2021.e580.

Ikinyamakuru *Sources* cyatangije ubwo bufatanye ubwo Folorenti Piton yagiranaga ikiganiro n'Abanyamateka batatu b'Abanyarwanda: Filiberi Gakwenzire, Karoli Kabwete Mulinda na Pahulo Rutayisire bagaruka ku nzira banyuzemo mu gukoresha inyandiko zo ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi bw'ibanze mu Rwanda n'ibimenyetso ndangamateka bashingiyeho kugira ngo bandike amateka maremare ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.



Uturere tuvugwa n'abatanze ikiganiro
hamwe n'ububiko bw'inyandiko zifashishijwe
Ikarita : Florent Piton.

Iki kiganiro[1] cyavuye mu kungurana ibitekerezo byakozwe kuwa 2 Nyakanga 2021 mu nama yakozwe hifashishijwe ikoranabuhanga yateguwe ku bufatanye bw'Ikigo cy'Ubufaransa gishinzwe ubushakashatsi muri Afurika gikorera i Nayirobi (IFRA-Nayirobi) na Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, n'ikinyamakuru *Sources. Materials & Fieldwork in African Studies* («Isoko. Ibikoresho n'ahantu mu nyigo za Afurika») n'ikinyamakuru *Revue d'histoire contemporaine de l'Afrique* (RHCA).

Abo bahanga mu mateka bari mu byiciro by'imyaka bitandukanye kandi ubushakashatsi bwabo bushingiye ku bintu bitandukanye. Paul Rutayisire yakoze ubushakashatsi bwe bwa mbere mu myaka y' 1980 ku mateka ya Kiliziya na za Misiyoni Gatolika mu Rwanda (Rutayisire 1987).

Nyuma y' 1994 yakomeje ubushakashatsi bwe ku mateka y'iyobokamana asuzuma uruhare rwa Kiliziya mu mugambi wageze kuri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi[2]. Karoli Kabwete Mulinda na Filiberi Gakwenzire bo batangiye inzira y'Amateka mu myaka y' 2000, nyuma ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ari na ryo pfundo ry'ubushakashatsi bwabo ku ikubitiro.

N'ubwo inzira zabo zitandukanye, uko ari batatu bashoboye kwandika amateka ya jenoside y'uduce tw'igihugu twihariye: ari Karoli Kabwete Murinda (Mulinda 2010)[3] na Filiberi Gakwenzire (2017), buri wese yagiye akora ubushakashatsi ku makomine abiri akomatanyije mu gihe Pahulo Rutayisire (Rutayisire na Rutazibwa 2007; Rutayisire 2014) babukoze kuri segiteri imwe (urwego rw'imitegekere y'igihugu rugize Komine).

Ububushakashatsi bushingiye ku biganiro n'abarokotse jenoside, abatangabuhamya cyangwa abakoze jenoside no ku nyandiko z'ubutegetsi bw'ibanze zasuzumanywe ubwitonzi n'ubucukumbuzi.

Kubera imyandikire y'amateka itaragenze neza mu myaka ya za 1970 na 1980 kubw'impamvu zo kwandika amateka agendeye ku ku kuri kwariho mu gihugu[4], ubushakashatsi bwabo bwazanye ubumenyi ku mateka y'u Rwanda atari azwi muri za kaminuza mpuzamahanga ndetse buvuye mu nyandiko zariho mu Rwanda zikungahaye ku makuru.

Ikarita igaragaza uduce twizwe n'aba bashakashatsi n'ubushyinguranyandiko bwakoreshejwe.

***

1. Ikiganiro cyayobowe na Florent Piton, cyasubiwemo na Patience Koribirama.

2. Reba Rutayisire (1995; 1996; 2004; 2009); Rutembesa; Karegeye na Rutayisire (2000); Rutayisire n'abandi (2009). Paul Rutayisire kandi ni umuhuzabikorwa w'amateka y'u Rwanda avugwa muri 2011 (Byanafashe na Rurayisire 2011).

3. Ni iby'umwanditsi umwe, Reba na none Kabwete (2004; 2008).

4. Haratekerezwa kandi ku kwiyongera kwa monogarafi za misiyoni, z'inzu, n'iz'uturere ndangamateka mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe mu gashami k'amateka ka Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. Kuri ubwo bwanditsi bw'amateka wareba Imbs na Piton (2021), Muri rusange ku iyandika ry'amateka y'u Rwanda (Chrétien 2010).

***Florent Piton*. Uko muri batatu mwakoze ubushakashatsi ku rwego rw'ubutegetsi bw'ibanze mukoresheje cyane cyane monogarafi z'amakomine cyangwa amasegiteri ya kera. Mushobora mbere na mbere kugaruka nk'uko mubibona ubwanyu ku nyungu n'umwihariko w'inzira mwakoresheje mu bushakashatsi kuri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?**

***Pahulo Rutayisire*.** Ubu buryo bw'amateka yo ku rwego rw'ibanze ni ingenzi kuko atuma hamenyekana ukuri kose ku mateka ya jenoside. Kwitegereza ku gice gito, bituma wumva neza umwihariko wa buri wese mu bagize uruhare ku byabaye, imbaraga za buri gace n'imikoranire y'uduce tunyuranye ndetse n'urwego rw'igihugu n'ibindi. Bituma umenya uko ubwicanyi bwagenze n'intera bwafashe. Na none bituma ibikorwa bigira amazina n'abagize uruhare bose. Bituma kandi hamenyekana umwihariko wa buri gace kuko iyo bitaba bityo jenoside ntiyari kugira ubukana nk'ubwo tuzi.

***Filiberi Gakwenzire*.** Nk'uko Pahulo Rutayisire amaze kubivuga uhereye ku byanditswe biri mu bushyinguranyandiko bwo ku nzego z'ibanze, wumva neza uko politiki y'igihugu yakorwaga ku rwego rw'ibanze, uburyo ubuyobozi bwa komine bwari umuyoboro w'ibyemezo byafatirwaga ku rwego rwo hejuru n'urusobe rw'inzira zigenda zigaruka kuva ku rwego rumwe ujya ku rundi n'icyuho hagati y'ibyabaga biteganyijwe ku rwego rw'igihugu n'uburyo byumvikanaga bikanashyirwa mu bikorwa ku rwego rw'ibanze.

Kuva mu 1994 ubushakashatsi bwakozwe muri Kaminuza zinyuranye zo ku isi bwagendeye muri uwo muyoboro kandi busuzuma isano hagati y'urwego rw'ibanze, urw'akarere n'urw'igihugu[5].

Uretse izo nzira zo ku rwego rw'ibanze zakoreshejwe ku ntera zinyuranye, mwese uko muri batatu mwashingiye ubushakashatsi bwanyu kuri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 ku cyitegererezo cy'igihe kirekire. Buri wese mu buryo bwe, mwongeye gufata jenoside muhereye ku mizi ya kure yo muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri za Geregori Kayibanda (1962-1973) na Yuvenali Habyarimana (1973-1994), ariko na none iy'igihe cyiswe icy'impinduramatwara guhera mu mpera z'imyaka ya za 1950[6], ndetse na kure y'aho, iy'igihe cy'ubukoloni. Mwatubwira iki ku buryo musesengura iki gihe kirekire mu mateka ya jenoside?

***Filiberi Gakwenzire*.** Ntibishoboka kwandika amateka ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi utitaye ku gihe kirekire kuko jenoside itaza nk'imvura. Ni ngombwa

5. Uretse aba bashakashatsi batatu barebwa n'iki kiganiro, reba:Dumas (2014) (igitabo cyakomotse ku bushakashatsi bwa dogitora bwagaragajwe mu EHESS muri 2013); Kimonyo (2008) (biva ku bushakashatsi bwa dogitora bwagaragajwe muri Kaminuza ya Québec i Montréal muri 2003); Viret (2011). Mu cyerekezo kimwe ariko ku bihe bibanza cyangwa bikurikira:Piton (2020); Rasmont (2019).

6. Hagati ya 1959 na 1961, u Rwanda rwagize impinduramatwara yashyize bwakuyeho ubwami ibusimbuza Repubulika yari yihariwe n'ishyaka rigamije gutera imbere kw'Abahutu (PARMEHUTU). Icyo gihe gifatwa nk'umwanya ukomeye wa politiki y'ivangura rishingiye ku kibazo Hutu-Tutsi.

kugaruka ku gihe cy'ubukoloni no gusesengura uko impera za bwo zagenze. Mu by'ukuri ibikorwa byabaye muri icyo gihe byazanye impinduka mu banyabwenge biba n'imbarutso ya politiki nshya ishingiye ku moko. Kugaruka kuri icyo gihe bituma twumva ibyabaye, no kumva uburemere bw'ibyakozwe muri icyo gihe. Byatumye na none uburyo umuryango nyarwanda wayobowe bya buri gihe mu binyacumi by'imyaka ikurikira, mu gihe cya Geregori Kayibanga na Yuvenali Habyarimana bayoboye igihugu kuva mu 1962 kugeza mu 1994, biba n'impamvu yabyaye ibyabaye mu Rwanda mu 1994.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Nk'uko Filiberi amaze kubivuga, ntabwo wakwirengagiza uruhererekane rw'ibikorwa biganisha kuri jenoside kuko jenoside yateguwe igihe kirekire. Birumvikana, hari igihe byahagararaga, ubundi bigakomeza. Igitekerezo ko bagombaga kwikiza Abatutsi cyagiye gikura uko ibihe byagiye bikurikirana hakaba ubwo gifashe umurindi ubwo habaga hakomwe imbarutso, ubundi bikongera bigatuza. Abagombaga kubishyira mu bikorwa n'ibihe byagiye bihinduka. Ku binyerekeye ni uko gutuza no kongera umurindi nshingiraho.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ni byo kwandika amateka ya jenoside ntibishobora guhera mu gihe yabaga gusa. Ayo mateka atangirana n'igihe ibitekerezo ndetse n'ingengabitekerezo z'urwango bitangirira gusakazwa. Ibyo bihe bibanza si ngombwa ko biba impamvu za jenoside ariko ni bimwe mu bituma twumva neza impamvu, igihe twageze mu 1990 cyangwa 1994 hari umugambi wo kugaruka ku nzangano za 1959.

Mu kwandika kwanyu amateka ya jenoside y'Abatutsi ku rwego rw'ibanze mu gihe kirekire ni izihe nyandiko mwifashishije?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ku byerekeye inyandiko ku nzego z'ibanze, navuga ko atari izo ku makomine gusa, ahubwo hari n'izo ku maperefegitura[7]. Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu yagezaga amabwiriza kuri za Perefegitura noneho ba Perefe na ba Superefe akaba ari bo baha ubutumwa, politiki n'amabwiriza amakomine.

Guhanahana amakuru mu nzego z'imitegekere y'igihugu binyujijwe mu maraporo y'umwaka, ay'igihembwe, amabaruwa n'ibindi byatumye hagaragara uburyo guhana amakuru hagati y'inzego zo hejuru n'izo hasi, izo hagati n'izizikikije byatumaga umuntu abona ukuntu habaga uburyo byo kuvugana no guhana ibitekerezo hagati y'inzego zo hejuru n'izo hasi, inzego zo hagati n'izizikikije. Ubwo buryo ni nabyo kwakurikijwe mu gihe cya jenoside aho amategeko yavaga kuri Minisiteri ajya ku maperefegitura, hanyuma akava aho ajya ku makomine.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Ku cyiyongera ku bushyinguranyandiko bwa Perefegitura Karoli amaze kuvuga, ndashaka kugaruka ku nyandiko zo ku rwego rwa komine (Amasegiteri yo urebye ntiyagiraga ubushyinguranyandiko). Izo nyandiko zo ku rwego rwa komine zari zishingiye cyane cyane ku miyoborere n'ibibazo bya politiki. Wasangagamo inyandikomvugo z'inama z'inzego zinyuranye za komine, inama

7. Igihe cya jenoside inzego z'imitegekere y'u Rwanda zari zigabanije mu maperefegitura, amakomine n'amasegiteri.

iharanira amajyambere, komisiyo tekinike na Komite ya Muvoma Revolisiyoneri iharanira amajyambere y'igihugu[8] (MRND).

Usangamo na none amabaruwa menshi ajyanye n'ibibazo bya buri munsi by'abaturage, kimwe n'inyandiko nyinshi zijyanye n'ibibazo by'ubutabera n'umutekano ku rwego rw'ibanze. Ikindi ni uko inyandiko zo muri Komine zabagamo ibijyanye n'ibarurishamibare ku bijyanye n'ubwiyongere bw'abaturage n'uko imibare yabo igiye igabanije hakurikijwe buri bwoko. Iki kibazo cy'amoko cyagendaga kigaruka mu buyobozi bw'ibanze.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ndashaka kongeraho ikintu kimwe ku buryo ku rwego rwa komine abayobozi n'abakozi b'aho bacungaga ibijyanye n'ibarurishamibare, cyane cyane imibare ijyanye n'ubwiyongere bw'abaturage. Muri raporo z'umwaka n'iz'igihembwe zoherezwaga na komine habagamo imbonerahamwe y'ubwiyongere bw'abaturage: imibare y'abavutse n'abapfuye, umubare w'abaturage bashya binjiye muri komine cyangwa abayivuyemo. Muri ubwo buryo bwo kubara abaturage bagombaga kugaragaza imibare ya buri bwoko. Ndemeza ko iki ari ikintu cy'ingenzi mu kumva neza jenoside.

Buri wese ashobora kugaruka ku bushyinguranyandiko buzwi yifashishije, uburyo bwashyizweho bwo kuzifashisha, uko bufashwe n'uburyo inyandiko zitondetse, uko mwasanze zimeze n'uburyo mwazigezeho ngo muzikoreshe?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ku bwanjye nabanje kujya muri Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu i Kigali[9], aho nashoboye kugera ku maraporo y'umwaka ya Perefegiture ya Butare (mu majyepfo y'igihugu) yo mu myaka ya za 1960 kugeza mu 1990. Sinashoboye kubona raporo z'imyaka ya vuba kuva mu 1991 kugeza 1994. Muri Minisiteri kandi nashoboye kubona monogarafi za komini Gishamvu na Kibayi ari nazo ubushakashatsi bwanjye bw'icyiciro cya 3 cya kaminuza bwarebaga. Izo monogarafi zakorwaga buri mwaka ariko nashoboye kubona izo mu myaka ya za 1980 na nke zo mu myaka ya za 1990. Byongeye nagiye kuri Perefegitura ya Butare. Mu gihe nakoraga ubushakashatsi inyandiko zari zarimuwe: ntizabaga ku cyicaro cya Perefegitura ahubwo zabaga mu yindi nyubako y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ahantu hitwa i Ngoma.

Nagiye bwa mbere ku biro bishya bya Perefegitura i Nyanza (umujyi wo mu majyaruguru ya Butare ku muhanda uva mu murwa mukuru wa Kigali) kuko icyicaro

8. Ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryashinzwe mu 1975, imyaka ibiri nyuma y'ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi ryakozwe na Yuvenali Habyarimana, Muvoma Revolisiyoneri Iharanira amajyambere, MRND mu mpine imwe yahindutse Muvoma y'igihugu Iharanira Repubulika, Demokarasi n'Iterambere igihe cyo kongera kwemerwa kw'amashyaka menshi mu 1991. Mbere ya 1991, inzego za MRND n'iza Leta zari zimwe mu rwego rw'ishyaka rimwe (ryari ryemewe n'Itegeko nshinga) n'iyo mpamvu aha tuzifata nk'inzego za komine.

9. Iyi Minisiteri yakunze guhindura izina izwi mu mpine yayo MINALOC (bishaka kuvuga Ministère de l'administration locale) ihwanye n'icyo bita mu Bufaransa Ministere de l'Intérieur. Nk'uko izina ryayo ribyerekana imicungire y'imiyoborere y'ibanze iri mu nshingano zayo z'ingenzi.

cya Perefegitura ari ho cyari cyarimuriwe[10]. Aho ni ho nasabye uburenganzira bwo kugera ku bushyinguranyandiko. Perefe yarabumpaye n'umukozi wo kumba hafi. Twarajyanye muri iyo nzu i Ngoma aho twamaze hafi icyumweru. Nahasanze karaseri (*classeurs*) zirimo amabaruwa, raporo za komite z'umutekano, raporo z'inama iharanira amajyambere, inyandikomvugo z'inama n'ibindi…

Izo nyandiko zari ahanini mu Kinyarwanda, nkeya ziri mu gifaransa zashoboraga kuba inama zabereye ku rwego rwa perefegitura ariko no mu makomine, hanyuma njye nibanda ku makomine abiri nagombaga gukoreraho ubushakashatsi: ni ukuvuga Kibayi na Gishamvu.

Nyuma y'aho nagiye kureba inyandiko zo muri Komine. Byari bigoye kuzibona, kubera ko zari zaragiye zangizwa cyangwa zikimurwa kubera impamvu z'intambara[11]. Byongeye n'izari zarashoboye kurokoka zari zifashwe nabi, zimwe ziri hasi ku butaka, izindi zarafashwe n'ubukonje. Kuri Gishamvu nashoboye kubona ibintu byinshi ariko si ko byagenze kuri Kibayi. Inyandiko z'iyi komine zari zarimuriwe kuri superefegitura ya Ndora[12], ibyo bikaba byaranteye ikibazo. Mu by'ukuri abakozi bashya ntibari bazi aho inyandiko za kera zimuriwe. Namaze igihe kingana hafi n'ukwezi kose nshakisha aho inyandiko za Komine Kibayi zaba ziherereye muri superefegitura ariko nyuma birangira nshoboye kuzigeraho mu nzu yanakoreshwaga nka kasho y'abafungwa ba komine. Imiterere y'izo nyandiko yari ibabaje. Izari hafi ya kasho zari zarangijwe n'amazi yakoreshwaga n'abafungwa boga. Ayo mazi yinjiraga anyuze mu muryango w'ahabaga inyandiko. Nabanje kuzisukura mbere yo kuzikoresha. Ntabwo nzi uko izo nyandiko zimeze ubu ariko byaba byiza kongera kuzisura umuntu akareba niba zaratabawe cyangwa bitarakozwe.

Iki gisubizo cya mbere kandi kirerekana amakuru menshi kandi anyuranye akubiye mu nyandiko ziboneka mu Rwanda n'ingorane ziriho mu kuzigeraho hamwe n'ingorane zo kuzibika neza bituma hakenerwa kongera kuzisubiraho. Filiberi Gakwenzire mushobora kutubwira namwe uko byabagendekeye mu makomine mwakozeho, ibibazo mwahuye na byo n'uburyo mwashoboye kubyikuramo?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Mbere na mbere ndagira ngo nibutse ko ubushakashatsi bwanjye bw'icyiciro cya gatatu kuri komine ya Gikomero n'iya Rubungo (mu burasirazuba bwa Kigali) bwari ugukomeza ubushakashatsi nakoze mu cyiciro cya kabiri cya kaminuza (Gakwenzire, 2000). Ni ukuvuga ko izo nyandiko zo ku nzego z'ibanze natangiye kuzibona mu 1999. Icyo gihe inyandiko za perefegitura ya Kigali zabaga mu biro byari byarahawe urundi rwego rwa Leta y'aho Minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga yakoreraga. Ibyo biro byari byarigeze kuba icyicaro cya

10. Nyuma ya 1994, amavugurura mu rwego rw'imiyoborere yarakozwe mu Rwanda, biganisha ku kwimura inshingano ku nzego z'imiyoborere.

11. Ku kibazo cy'inyandiko zo mu nzego z'ubuyobozi z'u Rwanda nyuma ya genoside, reba Piton (Ntikirasohoka).

12. Amasuperefegitura menshi yashyizweho mu myaka ya 1970 na 1980 kimwe no muri Perefegitura ya Butare, iya Gisagara yari ifite icyicaro i Ndora ari nayo Komine Kibayi yabarizwagamo.

teritwari ya Kigali, biba ibya perefegitura ya Kigali guhera mu 1961[13]. Kuri ubu aho hantu hari Access Bank. Igihe nahageze mu 1999, iyo nyubako yabagamo icyicaro cya Police ya Perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali(PVK)[14]. Byababaye ngombwa ko njya i Masaka aho ibiro bya Perefegitura ya Kigali Ngali[15] byabaga ari nayo yagengaga amakomine ya Gikomero na Rubungo. Abayobozi banyakiriye neza ndetse Perefe yandikira umuyobozi wa Police sitasiyo y'Umugi wa Kigali kugira ngo mbone uburenganzira bwo gukoresha izi nyandiko. Maze kubona ko izi nyandiko zitari zitondetse neza, nkurikije ubushobozi n'igihe nari mfite cyo gukora ubushakashatsi, nafashe icyemezo cyo kutazikoresha. Ubushakashatsi nabukoze mu bundi buryo ariko nkomeza gutekereza ko izo nyandiko nzazikoresha nyuma.

Igihe ntangiye ubushakashatsi bwanjye bw'icyiciro cya gatatu nabanje kwifuza kumenya aho inyandiko za komine ya Gikomero ziherereye kuko nari nsanzwe nzi ko iza komine ya Rubungo zari zarangijwe. Nagiye ahahoze ibiro bya komine bya kera, nzi neza ko mu ivugurura ry'inzego z'imitegekere y'igihugu rya 2006, urwo rwego rw'imitegekere rwashyizwe mu karere ka Gasabo[16] y'ubu.

Nahasanze karaseri zinyanyagiye zari mu cyahoze ari ubunyamabanga bwa Burugumesitiri. Narazitondetse nkurikije igihe inyandiko zakorewe nifashishije umupulanto[17] w'umurenge wa Bumbogo aho izo nyandiko ziri ubu. Nkizibona nabonye ko izo nyandiko zishobora kumfasha. Nifashishije imashini ifotora inyandiko (*scanner*) igendanwa mfotora inyandiko ziri mu majana.

Nagerageje kandi gushaka kumenya uko byaba byaragendekeye inyandiko za komini ya Rubungo ariko n'ubu sindabyumva. Naribajije nti ese izo nyandiko zaba zaratekeshejwe mu gihe abaturage bagendaga bahunga, cyangwa zaba zarangijwe bigambiriwe? Ibyo nabyibajije kuko numvise abantu bavuga ko nyuma ya jenoside abantu basabye ubutegetsi bushya bwari bumaze kujyaho muri ako karere kwikuraho izo nyandiko bavuga ko ntacyo bimaze gukomeza kuzibika kandi zari izo mu gihe kitakigezweho. Byavugwaga ko abo bantu batumye ubuyobozi bushya bukora iryo kosa bari Abatutsi barokotse jenoside kuko bashakaga kurigisa ibimenyetso by'ibyangombwa bari barabonye mu buryo bwo kwirwanaho kugira ngo bahindure

13. Teritwari zahwanye n'igabanywa rya mbere mu nzego z'imitegekere mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, igihe u Rwanda rwari rwararagijwe Ababiligi. Izo teritwari zahindutse Perefegitura mu 1961 ubwo ubuyobozi n'imitegekere y'inzego z'ubutegetsi zagiye zihindurwa kandi zigahabwa abakozi b'Abanyarwanda.

14. Mu 1990, Perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali yashyizweho (MVK) ihurizwamo amakomine atatu y'ahari hasanzwe ari umujyi muri kapitali kugeza ubwo yabarizwaga muri Perefegitura ya Kigali.

15. Izina ryahawe ahasigaye ha Perefegitura ya Kigali, hagizwe ahanini n'amakomine y'icyaro nyuma y'ishyirwaho rya PVK muri 1990. Ni ugukoresha bisanzwe izina rya «Perefegitura ya Kigali» rikaguma mu itegeko no mu bitabo bya Leta.

16. Ivugurura ry'inzego z'imitegekere rya 2006 rikiriho kugeza n'ubu, ryashushanyije bundi bushya kandi cyane ikarita y'inzego z'imitegekere risimbuza perefegitura n'amakomine, intara n'uturere. Uturere natwo ubwatwo twagabanyijwemo amasegiteri nayo umubare wayo waganyijwemo kane ugereranyije n'imiterere yinzego zo hambere.

17. Umukozi wunganira mu buyobozi ushinzwe cyane cyane imirimo yo kurinda no gusukura.

ubwoko bareke kuba Abatutsi babe Abahutu[18]. Sinigeze mbasha kugera ku gisubizo cy'iryo hurizo kuko byansabaga ubundi bushakashatsi bwimbitse.

Kubura kw'inyandiko za komine ya Rubungo byatumye nsubira mu nyandiko za Perefegitura ya Kigali nari narifuje kureba mu myaka irenga icumi yari ishize. Naje kumenya noneho ko zari mu yari inyubako ya superefegitura ya Murambi iri ubu mu karere ka Rulindo. Nagiye yo mbona icyumba nkeka ko cyari kimaze imyaka irindwi kidafungurwa. Ubuyobozi bw'umurenge wa Murambi bukoresha iyo nyubako ubu bwamfashije gufungura urugi. Nabonyemo karaseri z'impapuro zinyanyagiye muri icyo cyumba. Kuba ntari nshoboye ubwanjye njyenyine umurimo wo kuzivangura no kuzitondeka, negereye umwe mu bo nigeze kwigisha muri Kaminuza ya Kibungo wigishaga mu ishuri ryisumbuye rya Murambi. Namusabye kumbonera abanyeshuri bo kumfasha. Nabahaye uburyo tugomba gukoreramo. Nababwiraga ko nibabona karaseri y'igihe iki n'iki, kuri komine runaka bagomba kuyishyira ukwayo. Najyagayo buri wa gatandatu nkajyana umutobe n'imigati kuko urubyiruko rubikunda. Nakoze gutyo igihe cy'amezi atandatu kandi nabonye amakuru ashimishije cyane yamfashije gukora ubushakashatsi bwanjye bw'icyiciro cya gatatu.

Hari kandi n'izindi mpapuro zinyanyagiye ntashoboraga gukoresha. Uruhare rwanjye rwabaye kongera gutondeka karaseri no gufotora impapuro kugira ngo amakuru abikwe. Kugeza ubu nashoboye kubika amapaji hafi igihumbi. Ku rwego rw'ibanze nakoresheje inyandiko z'aho hantu hombi uko ari habiri. Usangamo inyandikomvugo z'inama z'inzego zinyuranye za komine twavuze mbere n'amabaruwa yavaga ku nzego zo hejuru z'ubuyoborere: ni ukuvuga Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, Perefegitura cyangwa urwego rwari rushinzwe iperereza rwashakishaga abantu bakekwaho guhindura ubwoko n'ibindi. Cyakora sinashoboye kujya kureba inyandiko zo muri Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kubera ko nasiganwaga n'igihe kugira ngo ndangize ubushakashatsi. Mu kazi nk'aka umuntu agomba no kumenya kwinyakura.

Ngizo inyandiko nashoboye gukoresha kandi byari ngombwa, byasabaga igihe, uburyo no kwiyemeza.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Ku binyerekeye njye nashingiye ku bintu bya rusange, ngera ahantu hamwe na hamwe ku makomine na perefegitura bya kera. Ndatekereza ko inyandiko zihari ariko ikibazo ni uko zitigeze zitondekwa muri rusange. Ariko birakomeye kumenya aho ububiko buriho buherereye. Icy'ingenzi umuntu yamenya ni uko inyandiko nyinshi ziriho, uko ibihe bigenda bihita nihatagira igikorwa vuba zishobora kuzazimira. Ubushake bwa Politiki ni ngombwa. Ubu hari ivugurura ry'inzego zishinzwe ako kazi[19]. Ndizera ko mu mezi n'imyaka biri imbere byose bizakorwa. Hagomba no guhugurwa abakozi kuko aho nagiye ni ba pulanto n'abandi babyibwiriza bazifite mu biganza. Muri kaminuza bari kwigisha abantu bazashingwa

18. Filiberi Gakwenzire aratwerekeza ku buryo bwo guhindura ubwoko bwakunze kuvugwa no gukurikiranwa mu myaka yashize no mu binyacumi by'imyaka ibanziriza jenoside.

19. Yashinzwe mu mwaka wa 2014 Rwanda «Archives and Library Authority (RALSA)» yahurijwe mu kigo kimwe mu mwaka wa 2020 n'ibindi bigo bibiri muri Academie du patrimoine culturel du Rwanda ari na yo igenga ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu.

urwo rwego. Bwa nyuma hagomba kubaho ingengo y'imari. Icyitegererezo cyanjye rusange ni uko ibintu bikiri mu kajagari. Ibigomba gukorwa ni byinshi.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Kuri iyi ngingo hari amakuru nshobora kubaha. Urwego rw'igihugu rw'ubushyinguranyandiko rwampaye inshingano yo kugararagaza ahari inyandiko hose mu gihugu. Uretse kuzerekana ngomba no kuvuga aho ziherereye, kuvuga uko zimeze no gukora ikarita y'aho ziri. N'ubwo ako kazi katoroshye kubera ibibazo by'ingendo bishingiye ku bihe turimo bya covid-19 birashoboka ko nzabasha kwerekana aho inyandiko Karoli ashaka ziherereye kandi nzashobora kumenyekanisha uko zimeze. Uko byagenda kose kwerekana izo nyandiko ubwabyo ntibihagije. Hagomba indi ntambwe ijyanye no kuzitaho no kuzitondeka.

Kugeza ubu mwese mwavuze ibimenyetso ndangamateka bishingiye ku nyandiko umuntu ashobora gusanga mu bushyinguranyandiko. Ariko se umuntu ashobora kubona n'ibindi bimenyetso mu bushyinguranyandiko nk'amafoto, ibindi bintu bifatika biranga ubuzima bwa muntu byo muri Leta urugero nk'ibyafatiweho amajwi?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ku ruhande rwanjye sinabonye ubwo bwoko bw'i bikoresho aho nasuye. Birashoboka ko byaba byaratawe n'uko ntabibajije, birashoboka pe ariko sinabibonye.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Nanjye ni uko sinigeze mbona ubwo bwoko bw'ibikoresho, ariko ikibazo cyanyu kinteye kubitekerezaho. Ibiro birimo izo nyandiko za kera bikoreshwa uyu munsi icyo bitari bigenewe muri rusange, simbona neza rero ukuntu ibimenyetso by'ubutegetsi bwavanweho byaba bikibitse. Byongeye kandi inzu za kera zimwe na zimwe aho inyandiko za kera zibitswe ntizigikoreshwa neza. Urugero igihe nagiye i Gikomero ntibyari bikiri ibiro bya komine cyangwa se by'Akarere k'ubu, cyangwa umurenge. Hari ahantu hatakorerwaga ikintu na kimwe, mbese hatawe burundu. Hari ahantu hatakinjirwa kuko ntacyo abantu benda kuhashaka. Uko kutitabwaho bishobora gusobanura ko haba hari ibikoresho bya kera byahazimiriye.

Cyokora mu minsi yashize naganiriye na mugenzi wacu Rémi Korman[20] ambwira ko yabonye ishusho ibumbye ya Perezida Habyarimana mu biro bimwe bya perefegitura y'umugi wa Kigali ari naho hari ibiro bye mbere y'1994. Icyo ni ikimenyetso cy'ibya kera. Nanjye muri Minisiteri y'umuco naguye ku nyandiko yasabaga kubaka urwibutso rwa Revolisiyo n'urwibutso rwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri. Uyu wari umushinga munini w'ubwubatsi. Iyo nyandiko ntiyavugaga neza aho izo nzibutso zagombaga kubakwa. Uwo mushinga wari waranditswe mu mpera y'imyaka ya za 1980, igihe gihura n'itangira ry'intambara no kongera kwemerwa kw'amashyaka menshi, nkaba ntekereza ko ibyo byombi byatumye uwo mushinga udashyirwa mu bikorwa[21].

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20. Rémi Korman akora ubushakashatsi kuva mu myaka igera mu icumi ku mateka ya politiki zo kwibuka mu Rwanda. Reka Korman (2020; 2021).

21. Hagati y'Impera y'imyaka ya za 1980 n'intangiriro y'imyaka ya za 1990, u Rwanda rwagize ibihe by'imidugararo ikomeye yaranzwe mu ruhande rumwe n'itangira ry'intambara

Ibyo byigeze kuvugwaho gato mu kanya ariko ndagira ngo hibandwe ku kibazo cy'indimi muri izo nyandiko z'ubutegetsi. Mwaba mufite igitekerezo ku ngano y'inyandiko ziri mu gifaransa n'iziri mu Kinyarwanda? Ese byaba bigenda bihinduka ukurikije intera z'inzego z'ubutegetsi, ushingiye ko ari inyandiko iva kuri perefegitura, komine cyangwa segiteri?

Pahulo Rutayisire. Nk'uko bagenzi banjye babivuze hari inyandiko mu Kinyarwanda no mu gifaransa, ariko uko ugenda umanuka mu nzego z'imitegekere y'igihugu, ni na ko ikinyarwanda ari cyo gikoreshwa cyane. Ku bashakashatsi bavuga indimi zombi nkatwe nta ngorane n'imwe biteye.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Nk'uko Pahulo Rutayisire amaze kubivuga ku rwego rwa komine inyandiko zari mu Kinyarwanda. Ushobora kubona nk'ibaruwa imwe cyangwa ebyiri ziri mu gifaransa kubera ko zabaga zoherejwe n'umufatanyabikorwa, n'ibindi. Raporo imwe rukumbi nabonye mu gifaransa ku rwego rwa komine yarebanaga n'igenamigambi ry'imyaka itanu. Iyi nyandiko yari mu gifaransa kubera ko ikipe ya komine yafashwaga n'impuguke za Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu kandi inyandiko ikaba yari yaroherejwe no hanze y'igihugu.

Ku rwego rwa Perefegitura ya Kigali, yaje kuba Perefegitura y'Umujyi wa Kigali naje kuhabona inyandiko zimwe na zimwe z'ishyingirwa ry'abanyarwandakazi n'abanyamahanga (Ababiligi, Abafaransa, Abazayirwa). Izo nyandiko zose zari mu gifaransa. Uretse ibyo ibindi byose byari mu Kinyarwanda. Nabonye ibaruwa imwe gusa yanditse mu cyongereza, yari yaranditswe na Paruwasi y'Abapolotesitanti ya Ndera[22] yashakaga gutanga inkunga kuri komine ya Rubungo. Aha byari mu cyongereza kubera ko ururimi rw'itumanaho hagati y'izo nzego zombi rwari gusa icyongereza.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Inyandiko nk'uko bagenzi banjye bamaze kubivuga ziri hafi ya zose mu Kinyarwanda. Nk'umunyarwanda ntibyari ingorane kuri njye kuzikoresha no kuzihindura mu cyongereza (njye nanditse ubushakashatsi bwanjye mu cyongereza) iyo nabaga ngomba kuzishingiraho. Ariko ibyo bishatse kuvuga niba umushakashatsi atazi ikinyarwanda agomba kwifashisha undi muntu. Ibyo nyine bizana izindi mbogamizi kuko umufasha igihe cyose si ko yashobora guhitamo inyandiko zikwiye. Hari ingorane z'uburyo bw'imikorere ku muntu utazi ikinyarwanda.

Mushobora kugira icyo mutubwira ku marangamutima umushakashatsi agira iyo asomye izo nyandiko kandi ahuye n'amateka y'ubuzima ari muri zo? Muratekereza cyangwa ntimutekereza ko hari umwihariko w'ayo marangamutima aturuka ku kazi ko gusoma inyandiko zifitanye isano na jenoside, byongeye, ndakeka, iyo muri gukora ku duce cyangwa amakomine urebye bijyanye n'amateka yanyu ku giti cyanyu cyangwa ay'imiryango yanyu?

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hagati y'ingabo za Leta n'iz'umutwe wa FPR kuva mu ukwakira 1990, ku rundi ruhande no kwiyongera ko gusaba Demokarasi no gutangaza itegeko nshinga ryemera amashyaka menshi muri Kamena 1991.

22. Paruwasi ya Perefegitura ya Kigali bitaga Ngali ari nayo yari iy'abaporoso bo mu gice cy'ubushakashatsi cya Filiberi Gakwenzire.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Nshobora gusubiza iki kibazo nkoresheje urugero rwanteye kwibaza. Mu nyandiko za kera nabonye inyandiko nyinshi zijyanye n'uburyo bwakoreshwaga na bamwe mu bageragezaga gushaka ibyangombwa byatuma bitwa ko ari abahutu. Ibi byatumye mu bushakashatsi bwanjye nshobora kwerekana ko hari ubwoko abantu bose bashakaga guhunga kugira ngo bafate ubundi.

Kugira ngo mbisesengure neza navuze «Ubwoko bwahungwaga (*centrifuge*) n'ubwoko bwahungirwagamo (*centripète*)». Urugero nabonye umuryango wandikiye Perefe ngo akemure ikibazo cyawo kuko Burugumesitiri yatindaga gusubiza. Ibi bireba umuntu wo mu Bumbogo, mu majyaruguru ya Perefegitura ya Kigali wari waragiye gutura muri komine ya Bicumbi ahateganye n'agace nakoreragamo ubushakashatsi. Burugumesitiri yakoze anketi (yabajije abantu) yanzura ko ataba uwundi uretse umututsi hari sewabo watemwe ukuboko azira kuba ari umututsi. Uwasabaga yemezaga ko mu byangombwa by'igihe cy'ubukoloni bya bamwe mu bagize umuryango we hari handitsemo ko ari Abahutu. Ariko abayobozi bafashe icyemezo ku buryo bw'ubugome ko niba sewabo yarahigwaga, ko nta kuntu atari kuba ari umututsi.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ni byo koko mu nyandiko harimo zimwe zitera amarangamutima. Njyewe nabonye urugero rw'umuntu wari umuturage wari utuye Kibayi. Yari yarahungiye Tanzaniya mu myaka ya 1980 hanyuma aza kugaruka mu Rwanda. Mu kwezi k'ukwakira 1990 ubwo FPR yateraga u Rwanda abatutsi kimwe n'Abahutu bamwe barezwe nkana kuba ibyitso bya FPR[23]. Uwo muntu yafunzwe mu bakekwaga kuba ibyitso. Muri izo nyandiko nabonye ibazwa ry'uwo muturage usanzwe. Bamubazaga ibibazo ku rugendo rwe muri Tanzaniya mu myaka yashize, bamubaza icyo yari agiye gukora mu mahanga. Yavugaga ko afite abo mu muryango we yari yaragiye gusura. Yarekewe mu buroko igihe cy'amezi menshi nyuma aza kurekurwa mu 1991. Mu 1994 yaje kwicwa. Mu nyandiko nabonyemo ibaruwa yerekana ibibazo n'ibisubizo by'ibazwa rye. Nyuma nahuye n'umugore we. Ubwo umugore we yavugaga izina rye nahise nibuka ibyo nasomye mu nyandiko za kera mubaza uburyo yafunzwe. Yasubiyemo iyo nkuru. Mu kugereranya inyandiko n'ubuhamya wumva nyine uko ubugome bw'ibyo bihe bwakozwe. Ni ibintu bishobora kuzamura amarangamutima.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Mu gusoma izo nyandiko wumva amarangamutima azamutse cyangwa ukaba wagira imyitwarire y'ubwoko bunyuranye. Hari mbere na mbere gutekereza cyane ku byo wumva: ni uku byagenze? Runaka yavuze atya? Nyuma ariko hari n'agahinda. Urugero njyewe nakoze cyane ku gihe cy'ubukoloni. Iyo urebye uburyo abaturage bo mu gihugu bafatwaga, intekerezo bari babafiteho, uko babonwaga, n'ibindi, bitera umubabaro ndetse no kwivumbura. Wibaza ibibazouti kuki icyemezo iki n'iki cyafashwe? Kuki cyasobanuwe gutya?Ubona ko akarengane kimitswe n'ubuyobozi. Ibyo byose bitera kwibaza. Bica na none intege kubona abantu bitwa ko bazi ubwenge cyangwa ko babyiyumvagamo batyo, abanyarwanda

23. Yashinzwe mu mpera z'imyaka ya za 1980 ihereye ku yindi miryango yari isanzwe, FPR yahuzaga mu gice kinini impunzi zabyawe n'Abatutsi zari mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda kuva mu myaka ya za 1960. Abahutu bamwe batari bishimiye ubutegetsi nabo bayigiyemo.

banyuze mu ishuri, bajijutse babonaga ko ari ibisanzwe ibintu tubona ubu bidakwiye kwihanganirwa.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Karoli yavuze ikibazo cy'ibyitso ni ukuvuga abafatwaga nk'abakoranaga n'abateye igihugu ba FPR mu myaka ya 1990. Kuri icyo gihe, hari ikibazo cy'ingenzi nibaza, cyerekeye kwivumbura vuba na bwangu kwa sosiyeti (umuryango nyarwanda). Uko ibihe byagendagaga ni ko bamwe mu binjizwagamo ingengabitekerezo bagendaga bafata umuturanyi wabo nk'ufite nk'ufite icyo abakinze kijyanye n'urugamba rw'Inkotanyi nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko zimwe na zimwe. Ibyo byatumye nibaza uko nakwita igice cy'umutwe nagombaga kwandikamo ibyo ngibyo mu bushakashatsi bwanjye. Nafashe icyemezo cyo kubitekerezaho mu Kinyarwanda. Kubera iki? Guhera1973 bahoraga bavuga amahoro, ubumwe bw'abatuye igihugu. Nahisemo rero kwita icyo gice nkoresheje umugani wa Kinyarwanda uvuga ngo: «Ubumwe butariho bucibwa n'urutamyi» (*L'unité qui n'en est pas une se coupe par une lamelle d'écorce de papyrus*). Kuri njye kwari ukwerekana uburyo ubwo bumwe n'amahoro byari ibya nyirarureshywa. Byari indirimbo gusa (*slogans*). Mu by'ukuri hagati y' 1990 na 1994 mu muryango nyarwanda ibibazo binyuranye by'umutekano. Urugero, abasirikari batorokaga babangamiraga cyane abaturage. Aho gukemura ikibazo nyacyo nk'iki Leta yahugiraga ku kibazo gifitirano cy'ibyitso. Ibyo bibazo bifitirano by'amoko byabyaye kwiheba, byari bifite n'imbaraga nyinshi ku buryo aho kubona ukuri kwariho hatakajwe imbaraga mu gukemura ibibazo bitariho.

Twakomeje kuvuga kugeza ubu ku nyandiko zishyinguye ku nzego z'ibanze mu ntara n'uturere by'ubu ariko twashoboraga no kugira icyo tuvuga ku bushyinguranyandiko bwo ku rwego rw'igihugu i Kigali. Umwanya wabwo ni uwuhe mu kwandika amateka ya jenoside ndetse no muri rusange kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Ku bwanjye kuvuga «ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu» biteye ikibazo kubera ko ahanini inyandiko zakagombye kuba ziri mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu ziracyari mu buyobozi bwazanditse. Inyandiko ziri mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu kugeza ubu ni izashyizwemo mu myaka ya za 1980[24]. Mu mvugo ijyanye no gushyingura inyandiko twavuga ko gushyingura inyandiko bidakorwa. Inyandiko nyinshi ziracyari muri za Minisiteri no mu nzego zindi zakoze izo nyandiko guhera mu myaka ya za 1960. Mu by'ukuri ngereranyije n'inyandiko zose zihari ku rwego rw'igihugu iziri mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu ni nkeya cyane. Haracyari ikibazoguhuriza hamwe izo nyandiko.

Ibyo ari byo byose ariko mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu harimo inyandiko z'ingirakamaro ndetse harimo n'izo kuva mu gihe cy'ubukoloni kandi zitondetse neza. Binyuranyije n'izo dusanga ku rwego rw'ibanze. Kuri urwo rwego rw'igihugu

24. Urwego rw'igihugu rw'ubushyinguranyandiko bwashinzwe mu 1979. Kugeza vuba aha kubera kutagira politike yo gushyingura inyandiko igaragara, usangamo ahanini inyandiko zo mu gihe cy'ubukoloni.

nibura hari urutonde (*catalogue*) washingiraho mu gihe ushaka inyandiko runaka. Ntabwo bigoye kubona inyandiko ifite akamaro kandi ikindi harimo abakozi babifitiye ubushobozi mu gufasha abantu. Ariko iyo ushaka kwiga ingingo yihariye ntiwashingira aho gusa. Hari amaraporo n'amabaruwa bishobora kuba bihagije mu bijyanye no kwiga ikibazo rusange ariko ushaka kwiga ibibazo byihariye ugomba kujya hirya no hino mu gihugu cyose.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Filiberi yavuze byose igihe yasabwe kubarura ubushyinguranyandiko ku turere. Ndongeraho ko aho ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu buherereye ubu ari iby'agateganyo. Ubu hari kubakwa inzu iijyanye na byo[25]. Ni ukuvuga ubu ibintu bitangiye kugenda neza. Ariko ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu buracyarimo ibyuho nk'uko Filiberi amaze kubivuga. Buracyatatanye ku buryo bigoye kubona buri bwoko bwuzuye neza, urugero nka raporo z'umwaka z'urwego uru n'uru. Hari ibyabuze ku buryo utapfa gusobanura. Byaba ari ugusahurwa? Uburyo bw'imicungire buriho ubu? Ndabizi neza ko iyi myaka ishize ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu bwagize ibibazo by'amikoro n'uburyo bw'imiyoborere ariko ivugururwa ry'inzego rizabikora neza ndabyizeye. Rwose ubushake burahari kandi bugaragarira mu biri gukorwa ubu n'ahazaza.

Byongeye ndatekereza ko ku byerekeye jenoside, habaye gutatana kw'inyandiko hagati y'izagiye muri komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya jenoside (CNLG)[26], izindi ku Gisozi (Geocide Archives of Rwanda)[27]. Sinzi ukuntu guhuza ibikorwa bizagenda, ariko ni ngombwa ko ibyo bikorwa habayeho kuvugana n'ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu, kubera ko mu mateka y'igihugu harimo ayo mateka ababaje ya jenoside.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Mfite ibyo nahuye nabyo ku giti cyanjye mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu. Ubwo nagiye yo nashakaga kureba inyandiko zo mu gihe cya gikoloni n'igihe cya Repubulika zombi, igihe cya Geregori Kayibanda n'igihe cya Yuvenali Habyarimana. Ubwo nasabaga inyandiko zihari naje gusanga ahanini hari izo mu gihe cy'ubukoloni. Ibijyanye n'igihe cya Kayibanda na Habyarimana hari inyandiko z'ibarura ahanini. Igihe cyose nasabaga inyandiko bambwiraga ko zidahari. Nyamara inyandiko z'igihe cy'ubukoloni zose zibitse neza ndetse hari n'urutonde rwo gufasha abashakashatsi, izo mu bihe bya vuba zo si ko zari zimeze. Ku bijyanye n'ibyo bihe ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu si ngombwa ku bwanjye.

25. Hashize imyaka icumi bitangajwe, kubaka inzu nshya y'ubushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu byatangiye mu 2017 kandi byagombaga kurangira vuba aha mu gihe cyo gusohoka kw'ibi biganiro mu mpera za 2021.

26. Nk'uko biteganywa mu itegeko Nshinga rya 2003, igashyirwaho ku buryo bw'amategeko muri 2008, Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya jenoside ishinzwe gushyiraho politiki zo kwibuka no gufata neza inzibutso, ndetse no guhuza porogaramu zo gufasha abarokotse, Reba Korman (2013).

27. Porogaramu yashyizweho muri 2010 igamije gushyiraho ubushyinguranyandiko bugenewe gusa inyandiko zirebana na jenoside y'Abatutsi. Iyi porogaramu igengwa n'urwibutso rwa Gisozi, igacungwa na Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya jenoside na Fondation Aegis Trust y'Abongereza. Reba Réra (2018).

Nk'uko Rutayisire abivuze muri make, hashize imyaka hakozwe imishinga inyuranye yo gukora «ubushyinguranyandiko bw'ibirebana na jenoside» ku rwibutso rwa Gisozi cyangwa kuri Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya jenoside. Mwagaruka kuri iyo mishinga, icyo yakoreshwa cyangwa izakoreshwa, icyo izahindura n'inzitizi?

Pahulo Rutayisire. Kuri Gisozi nari nasabwe gufasha gushyiraho ubwo bushyinguranyandiko. Nari nanahaye ibintu bimwe nari mfite ikipe yafotoraga kugira ngo haboneke kopi zo mu ikoranabuhanga. Nabonye ko hari ubuhamya bwinshi bubitswe cyakora sinongeye gukurikirana inzira yabyo, sinshobora kubaha amakuru ku buryo umuntu yagera kuri izo nyandiko n'uburyo zakoreshwa. Izo mbaraga zashyizwemo zaba zifasha mu kumenyekanisha izo nyandiko no kuzigeza kuri rubanda? Simbizi.

Ku bijyanye na CNLG, nzi ko batangiye umurimo wo kugaragaza inyandiko zifitanye isano itaziguye na jenoside n'itegurwa ryayo. Urugero nabibonye ku nyandiko zo mu yari komine ya Muhazi mu burasirazuba. Nagiye yo bambwira ko umufuka (w'inyandiko) wagiye; wafashwe n'abantu ba CNLG naribwiye nti: ni byo, bagiye ariko nta barura ryakozwe, ntituzamenya ibyajyanwe yo n'ibisigaye aha. Ibyo byarampungabanyije cyane. Naribwiye nti niba ari ukujya gutoranya no gufata ibintu hirya no hino bizagorana kubibarura no kubikusanya. Byongeye kandi sinzi ijanisha ry'imikoreshereze y'ibijyanwe kubikwa kuri CNLG. Inyandiko ni iz'ubuhe bwoko? Ni zingahe*?* Ibyo simbizi.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Ku bijyanye n'akazi ko gushyingura inyandiko kakozwe ku rwibutso rwa Gisozi nzi ko hashize umwaka urwo rwego rufite inshingano zo kubika ku buryo bw'ikoranabuhanga (*numérisation*) uko bishoboka kose ibimenyetso bya jenoside. Usangamo ubuhamya bw'amajwi bushobora gukoreshwa, ndetse bwanangiriye akamaro igihe nakoraga ubushakashatsi. Nta bintu byinshi bihari ariko ubuhamya bushobora kwifashishwa mu bushakashatsi. Ku kijyanye n'inyandiko, icyifuzo cyari kuzibika ku buryo bw'ikoranabuhanga kugira ngo abashakashatsi bajye bazireba aho bazaba bari hose. Ariko akazi gasigaye gukorwa karacyari kenshi. Kugeza ubu ibihari biracyari bike. Urugero nzi ko hari numero zimwe nke z'ibinyamakuru byo mu myaka ya za 1990 nka Kangura, ariko ibihari ntibyuzuye. Hari gusa numero zirimo ibintu bifite icyo bivuze cyane (*sensible*)[28].

Ku bijyanye n'inyandiko navuga ko amapaji yakusanyijwe na CNLG mu biro bya komine za kera, ndakeka ibyo ari impungenge ikomeye kuko inyandiko zo mu bushyinguranyandiko ni nk'ibikoresho bikuwe mu bisigaramatongo. Igomba kubonerwa ibisobanuro kandi igashyirwa mu gihe cyayo ugereranyije n'ibivugwa mbere yo kuyikura mu mwanya wayo. Hari iby'ingenzi bigomba gukurikizwa mbere y'uko inyandiko ivanwa ahantu yakorewe. Ku byo nzi ibyo byose bigomba kwitonderwa ntibyakurikijwe. Kuvana ipaje aho yari iri mu zindi ntabwo ari bwo buryo bwa ngombwa bukwiye gukoreshwa. Ndatekereza ko ibyo bizazana ibibazo nyuma.

28. Kugira ngo ugere kuri izo nyandiko ziri mu ikoranabauhanga: https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Welcome_to_Genocide_Archive_Rwanda.

Dushobora no kugira icyo tuvuga ku nyandiko z'imanza za Gacaca zatumye habaho umutungo w'inyandiko nyinshi zo gushyingura[29]. Ni iki mwatubwira kuri izo nyandiko za Gacaca n'uburyo bwo kuzibika?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Mu kwiga jenoside hari ibihe bifite inyandiko nyinshi. Ni ukuvuga muri make igihe cyabanjirije gukoma imbarutso ya jenoside. Ariko iyo ugeze igihe cya jenoside nyir'izina inyandiko ziba nke. Hari inyandiko cyakora zabonywe na Alison Des Forges mu ntara y'Amajyepfo i Butare (umuryango wita ku burenganzira bwa muntu Human Rights Watch na Federasiyo mpuzamahanga y'imiryango y'uburenganzira bwa muntu 1999[30]). Emmanuel Viret nawe hari izo yabonye za Komine Nyakabanda ariko ntibyakunze kubaho kandi si hose (Viret 2011).

Urugero muri Komine ya Gikomero nakozeho ubushakashatsi yashoboye kubohozwa kare n'abasirikari ba FPR sinashoboye kubona inyandiko n'imwe yo mu gihe cya jenoside. Kubera iyo mpamvu umushakashatsi agomba gukoresha ubuhamya cyangwa kureba inyandiko z'inkiko gacaca zifite amakuru ahagije. Nashoboye kuzigeraho muri 2015.

Ndashaka kwerekana ko ku banyamateka harimo imyanzuro y'inkiko gacaca ariko ikintu cy'ingenzi cyane ni amakaye y'ikusanyamakuru. Akazi karakozwe inzu ku yindi mu gihe cy'imyaka myinshi na mbere y'imanza bifasha kumva imiturire mbere ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'icyuho yateje. Muri ayo makaye usangamo ibyiciro by'abakoze ibyaha bya jenoside: abayikoze, abagize uruhare mu gushyiraho bariyeri n'ibindi. Ibi kandi ni ingenzi. Byongeye ku buryo bworoshye ushobora kubona icyo ushaka kuko amakarito agaragara neza. Birumvikana ko ukurikije uko amakuru yagiye yandikwa uyu murimo usaba kwihangana. Ariko amakuru arahari. Tugomba rero gukora ibishoboka mu kubika izo nyandiko neza, zifite akamaro kugira ngo umenye uko jenoside yakozwe ku mpande zose. Ubu hari akazi ko kubika ku buryo bw'ikoranabuhanga izo nyandiko. Ni hafi ya miliyoni 60 z'amapaji zigomba kubikwa gutyo.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Ndemeranya na Filiberi. Ibyo gacaca zakoze byose ni ingenzi kandi ni ngombwa kubika izo nyandiko. Ariko kuba tuzi amadosiye amwe, ntabwo ibikubiye muri izo nyandiko byose bigomba gufatwa nk'aho ari ndakuka. Tuzi ko habayeho amayeri yo kwangiza ukuri nyako. Ni yo mpamvu tugomba kwitonda. Ni

29. Zashinzwe mu ntangiriro y'imyaka ya za 2000 kandi zigaca imanza hagati ya 2005 na 2012, hafi miliyoni ebyiri z'imanza (zitajyanye byanga byakunda n'umubare w'abaregwa kuko umuntu umwe ashobora kugira dosiye nyinshi), gacaca zari zigamije kwihutisha imanza za jenoside mu kwimura imanza za jenoside mu nkiko zashyiriweho icyo kibazo, zigizwe n'abacamanza batari ab'umwuga batowe n'abaturage. Muri urwo rwego imanza zagombaga kubera aho ibyaha byabereye. Inyandiko za gacaca zagengwaga na Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya jenoside (CNLG), ubu zibitswe muri Polisi y'igihugu ku Kacyiru. Inyinshi zashyizwe mu ikoranabuhanga. Kuri Gacaca reba Clark (2010); Ingelaere (2016).

30. Iki gitabo gikomeje gukoreshwa, cyanditswe no mu cyongereza ni umusaruro wa anketi ihuriweho yayobowe n'Umunyamatekakazi wa Leta zumze ubumwe za Amerika Alison Des Forges.

byo kumenya ukuri kurimo ariko tukakugereranya n'ibindi bihamya. Ikindi hariho izindi mvugo ziriho: izivugwa n'abari abafungwa bagarutse iwabo barangije ibihano bahindura ubuhamya bwabo. Ibyo na byo tugomba kumenya ko bibaho.

Mwabivuze, ikibazo gikomeye mu Rwanda ubu kijyanye n'inyandiko no kuzishyira mu ikoranabuhanga. Ibyo byakozweho imishinga myinshi, mu bushyinguranyandiko bw'igihugu no ku bijyanye n'inyandiko za gacaca nk'uko mumaze kubivuga. Mwaba mwarabigizemo uruhare cyangwa ari ntarwo, n'iki mwatubwira kuri izo politiki z'ikoranabuhanga n'ingaruka zizana ku bijyanye n'imyandikire y'amateka ya jenoside no ku buryo bwa rusange ku mateka y'u Rwanda. Hari icyo bizahindura niba ari byo mutubwire ngo ni mu buhe buryo?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Gushyira inyandiko mu ikoranabuhanga bizadufasha kugera ku ntego ebyiri: mbere na mbere ikoranabuhanga rizadufasha kurokora inyandiko zifatika ubusanzwe zitari zibitswe neza, byongeye inyandiko nizigera mu ikoranabuhanga bizaba byoroshye kuzigeraho. Biroroshye kubika inyandiko mu ikoranabuhanga ushingiye ku habikwa no ku mwanya ukenewe. Ariko tugomba kumenya ko inyandiko zibitse mu ikoranabuhanga zigomba gukoreshwa, kujorwa kimwe n'izindi nyandiko. Kuba zibitse mu ikoranabuhanga ntibituma ziba ibitangaza cyangwa izidasanzwe, ziguma kuba inyandiko zigomba gusesengurwa no kujorwa.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Ndemeranya na bagenzi banjye. Dushingiye ku rugero rw'urukiko rwa Arusha, kugera ku nyandiko n'imanza bituma tuzikoresha n'ubwo tuzi ko byose bidahari. Dushingiye kuri ibyo dushobora kuvuga ko ikoranabuhanga rizadufasha ndetse rikanateza imbere ubushakashatsi.

Muri aya mezi ashize havuzwe cyane ku ruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda[31]. Mushobora kugaruka ku byo umuntu abona mu bushyinguranyandiko mu Rwanda biduha amakuru kuri urwo ruhare rw'Ubufaransa uko rubonwa n'u Rwanda. Ikibazo cyungirije:Birashoboka gukora ubushakashatsi kuri urwo ruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda hadashingiwe kuri izo njyandiko zo mu Rwanda?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Sinigeze mbona mu bushyinguranyandiko ibihamya bivuga ku ruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda. Birashoboka ko impamvu yaba ari uko nakoze ku nyandiko zo ku rwego rw'ibanze gusa. Ibyo bisaba ko dukoresha amahirwe y'ubushyinguranyandiko bwafunguwe mu Bufaransa[32]. Dufite inshingano yo kuzireba.

31. Iki kiganiro cyakozwe hashize amezi nyuma y'itangwa rya raporo ya komisiyo Duclert yari ishinzwe kugenzura inyandiko z'Ubufaransa zijyanye no kugaragaza uruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu nzira yatumye jenoside y'Abatutsi ishoboka.

32. Nyuma y'itangwa rya raporo Duclert, hatanzwe uburenganzira hakurikijwe amateka abiri arebana n'ubushyinguranyandiko bwashyizeho (Inyandiko za Perezida Mitterand na Minisitiri w'Intebe Edouard Balladur hagati ya 1990 na 1994) kandi inyandiko zose zari zarashyinguwe (mbere na mbere inyandiko zavuzwe na raporo ziri mu buryo bwa kopi, hanyuma izavuye muri Minisiteri y'Uburayi n'ububanyi n'amahanga na Minisiteri y'ingabo zavuzwe hasobanurwa inzira yakoreshejwe) reba iteka ryo kuwa 06 Mata 2021 rirebana n'ifungurwa ry'inyandiko zerekeye u Rwanda hagati ya 1990 na 1994, Igazeti ya Repubulika

Mu ntangiriro z'iki cyumweru (Kuwa 29 Kanama 2021) abantu 11 ba Komisiyo Duclert baje i Butare kudusura. Bahuye n'abanyamateka, abashakashatsi mu mategeko, abashakashatsi mu bijyanye n'imitekereze y'abantu, n'abanyeshuri tugirana ibiganiro by'ingirakamaro. Batubwiye ko bagiye gushyiraho ikimeze nk'ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi kandi bemeza ko tuzafatanya, bityo ndizera ko tugiye gushobora kujya dukoresha inyandiko z'Ubufaransa. Bizasaba ko tugirana ibiganiro ku buryo twazajya dukoresha izo nyandiko.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Kimwe na Karoli, sinigeze mbona inyandiko ku rwego rw'ibanze zivuga ku ruhare rw'Ubufaransa. Ariko nzi ko guhera mu 1990 habayeho ibigo bya gisirikari by'Ubufaransa mu karere nakoreyemo ubushakashatsi, cyokora ntacyo nabonye mu bijyanye n'ibyo mu nyandiko zo muri komine cyangwa izo kuri Perefegitura. Ndatekereza ko ari ngombwa kujya kureba muri Minisiteri y'ingabo ariko cyane cyane muri jandarumeri kuko harimo urwego rwihariye rwafashaga jandarumeri n'inzego z'ubutabera mu gukurikirana ibyaha. Muri rusange ubu haravugwa cyane inyandiko z'Ubufaransa zirebana na jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Izo nyandiko zirakenewe rwose ariko ntizakoreshwa ngo zisubize ibibazo byose. Ntabwo inyandiko z'ubwoko bumwe zihagije kugira ngo zitange umucyo kuri icyo kibazo. Kimwe n'izindi ngingo z'ubusakashatsi ni ngombwa kujya hirya no hino, noneho ukagereranya amakuru wabonye. Turemera ko inyandiko z'Ubufaransa zifite akamaro ariko hariho n'izindi zifite akamaro mu Rwanda cyangwa ahandi. Nazo ni ngombwa.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Ndangije gusoma igitabo cya nyuma cya Linda Melvern (2020). Yakoze cyane ku guhakana jenoside kandi inyandiko yakoresheje nyinshi nk'uko Filiberi amaze kubivuga zavuye mu muryango w'Abibumbye, za ambasade, inzego z'ubutasi, n'ahandi. Ibyo bihamya biriho kandi ni ingenzi, bitavanaho ariko ko ku zindi mpamvu hari ibigomba kumvikana neza byujujwe n'ubuhamya nyir'izina bivuye mu Rwanda, harimo n'ibijyanye n'uruhare rw'Ubufaransa.

Raporo ya Mucyo yakusanyije ubuhamya bumwe na bumwe bugaragaza uruhare rw'Abasikari b'Abafaransa, urugero mu bikorwa byo gufata abagore ku ngufu cyangwa muri dosiye ya Bisesero[33] ntekereza ko ari ngombwa gukomeza gukora iperereza ku ruhare rw'Ubufaransa aho ibyaha byabereye.

Mu kurangiza ibijyanye n'iki kibazo cy'inyandiko, mwaba umwe muri mwe cyangwa mwese mwarashoboye gukora ku nyandiko zibareba ku giti cyanyu cyangwa imiryango yanyu kandi biramutse ari byo mwabitubwiraho iki? Murabona zikwiye gukoreshwa iki? Ni iyihe nyungu zifite cyangwa uruhare rwazo rwihariye?

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y'Ubufaransa n° 0156 yo kuwa 7 Nyakanga 2021, kuri murandasi URL : https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000043764067 (Yarebwe kuwa 5 Ugushyingo 2021).

33. Iyi «Komisiyo y'igihugu yigenga ishinzwe kwegeranya ibimenyetso byerekana uruhare rwa Leta y'Ubufaransa mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside yakozwe mu Rwanda muri 1994» yiswe komisiyo Mucyo mu izina rya Perezida wayo, yatanze raporo yayo muri 2008. Uretse raporo ubwayo reba Audoin-Rouzeau (2010).

Pahulo Rutayisire. Ku bwanjye ntibyambayeho ariko maze kubona ko muri ibi bihe abantu benshi banyegereye kugira ngo banyereke ubuhamya bwabo (bwanditse). Ndabona ko hari abantu ku giti cyabo n'imiryango bashyira mu nyandiko amateka yabo.

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Nifuzaga gukora ku nyandiko z'umuryango ariko ntibiranshobokera. Ariko mu 1995 cyangwa 1996 niba nibuka neza nari narasabye mwishywa wanjye gushyira mu nyandiko ubuhamya bwe. Muri icyo gihe byari ukubera ibindi bibazo. Nashakaga kumufasha ku buryo bw'imitekerereze kubera ko nabonaga akunda kwigunga. Imyaka irenga icumi nyuma yaho ubuhamya bwe bwaramfashije mu bushakashatsi bwanjye bw'icyiciro cya gatatu.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Nanjye ni uko sinashoboye kubona inyandiko zo mu muryango ariko mu kubaza abantu mu bijyanye n'ubushakashatsi nakoze ndangiza icyiciro cya 3 nanditse igice ku bijyanye no guhangana na jenoside (Kabwete 2008). Mu bantu nabajije kuri icyo gice hari umuntu wampaye ubuhamya bwe bwanditse. Sinavuga rero ko yari inyandiko yo mu bushyinguranyandiko. Muri rusange rero ku bijyanye n'amateka y'miryango uyasanga mu biganiro ariko atari ku buryo bwanditse. Byaba biterwa n'uko umuco wacu ushingiye ku mvugo atari ku nyandiko. Birashoboka ko cyaba ari ikibazo cyakorwaho ubushakashatsi.

Tubonye ikiraro cyiza ku bikurikira kubera ko mwese uko muri batatu, ku buryo budahuje mwifashishije mu bushakashatsi, gukusanya ubuhamya bw'abarokotse jenoside, abahoze ari abayobozi ba politiki, abaturage basanzwe, n'abakoze jenoside niba ari ko navuga. Mushobora kugaruka ku bunararibonye bwanyu ku giti cyanyu mu gukusanya ubuhamya, umwuka mwabikoreyemo, n'icyo mukoresha ubwo buhamya?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Njywe mu bushakashatsi bwanjye nibanze ku nyandiko kuko numvaga ko kuba nanjye ndebwa na jenoside kandi igahindukira ikaba ingingo y'ubushakashatsi bwanjye narashoboraga guhura n'ibibazo byihariye mu gushaka ubuhamya bw'abarokotse cyangwa abakoze jenoside. Kuri ibyo hiyongeraho ko nakoreye ubushakashatsi mu gace mvukamo. Kuri ibyo mu bushakashatsi bwanjye, ubuhamya buza buje kuzuza ku ngingo zimwe na zimwe nakuye mu nyandiko nabonaga ko zifite icyo zibura. Bityo rero ntabwo ubuhamya ari bwo bwabaye ifatizo mu bushakashatsi bwanjye uretse ku bice bimwe na bimwe. Ariko ubwo buryo nahisemo gukoresha mu bushakashatsi ntibukuraho agaciro mpa ubuhamya bw'abantu.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ku binyerekeye ibiganiro ni byo nibanzeho cyane cyane ku bice by'ubushakashatsi bijyanye n'uko jenoside yakozwe. Ahangaha ubuhamya nashoboye guhabwa n'abakorewe jenoside bwampaye amakuru menshi kurusha ubwo nahawe n'abayikoze ariko bikaba bishingiye ku buryo nabajije abantu. Mu by'ukuri nakusanyije ubuhamya mu mwaka wa 2007, mu gihe imanza za Gacaca zabaga. Ndatekereza ko abakoze jenoside bambonaga nk'umukozi wa Leta ku buryo bambwiraga ibisa n'ibyo bavuze mu manza za gacaca ku bijyanye n'uruhare bagize muri jenoside. Nari nzi rero aho ukuri kw'abagize uruhare muri jenoside kugarukira.

Ariko ku barokotse jenoside nabonye amakuru atubutse. Reka nongereho ko ibiganiro bitamfashije gusa kumenya amakuru y'uko jenoside yakozwe gusa, ahubwo byanamfashije no kumenya ibihe byabanje no kumva amateka y'imiryango kuva mu myaka ya za 1960. Ibyanjye binyuranye n'ibya Filiberi. Ibyanjye ubuhamya nibwo bwari ingenzi naho inyandiko zikuzuza ibyo nakuye mu buhamya. Uzasoma ubushakashatsi bwanjye azabibona ku buryo bworoshye.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Hari ibihe ahantu hamwe na hamwe ibihamya byanditse bitaboneka. Umuntu agomba guhera ku byo afite. Ku bwanjye byabaye kwiga cyane kubera ko mu ntangiriro z'ubushakashatsi bwanjye[34] byabaga ngombwa kwiga ibyanditse kurusha ubuhamya. Nyuma haje ibindi bibazo, nize kwandika amateka nshingiye ku bitekerezo by'ubuzima n'ubuhamya, ibidahuye nk'uko Karoli abivuga. Kuri iyi ngingo ndatekereza ko ari akamenyero umushakashatsi ku giti cye agomba kugerageza. Byongeye bigomba gukorwa bite? Ugomba kwiga cyane kugira ngo ushobore guhitamo abatangabuhamya bashoboye kurenga ibihuha no kwirinda abashobora gutuma hatangwa amakuru atari yo. Ugomba kandi gutuma umutangabuhamya akugirira icyizere kandi nawe ukakimugirira, ni ngombwa cyane. Ni ngombwa kandi kugereranya ubuhamya wabonye kubera ko naje kubona ko hari inkuru zidahinduka ushobora no kumva inkuru nyazo zitahinduwe. Hari kandi abatangabuhamya bahindura ubuhamya ari abiciwe ari n'abishe. Biriho cyane ni ngombwa rero kubugereranya kugira ngo ugerageze gukuramo ukuri no kutita ku bitari byo.

Ku bwa nyuma, ndabona ku giti cyanjye ko ari urugendo rwo kwiga ruhoraho.

Mu kwanzura, mushobora kutubwira mu magambo make umwanya kwandika amateka bifite n'ibigomba gushingirwaho kugira ngo handikwe amateka y'u Rwanda rw'ubu?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Amateka afite uruhare rukomeye ku muryango nyarwanda. Mu buryo bwa rusange umuryango ufite ibyo usaba ku ngeri zose. Mu bijyanye na politiki, amateka agira uruhare mu gusubiza ibibazo byacu. Muri sosiyeti kandi abantu biteguye kwemera amateka yabo. Hari icyo sosiyeti isaba cy'ukuri. Mu banyabwenge naho hari inyungu mu kuyunguranaho ibitekerezo mu nama ziga ibibazo bya politiki cyangwa by'ubumenyi, mu nama z'akazi no mu nama zigamije ubushakashatsi. Urugero ubwo natumiraga bagenzi banjye mu kiganiro cy'uyu munsi nabonye barabyishimiye cyane. Ndabona n'umubare munini w'abari kutwumva ubu[35]. Amateka rero afite umwanya ukomeye mu mibereho y'umuryango nyarwanda, mu rubyiruko narwo rwifuza kumenya ahahise harwo no kugira uruhare mu kungurana ibitekerezo.

Pahulo Rurayisire. Ikintu cya mbere nshaka kuvuga Filiberi yagikomojeho, ni uko amateka akenerwa muri sosiyete yacu. Icyo ni kimwe. Iyo havuzwe ikibazo

34. Ubushakashatsi bwa mbere bwa Pahulo Rutayisire bwarebanaga n'amateka ya Kiliziya ku gihe cy'Ubukoloni.

35. Iki kiganiro cyanditse ni umucapururo wakozwe ku kungura ibitekerezo mu ruhame byabaye ku buryo bw'ikoranabuhaga.

cy'uruhare rw'amateka, simenya ngo ni ayahe mateka, ahubwo bikantera ikibazo. Kubera ko imbwirwaruhame y'amateka turi kuvuga aha si ngombwa ko ari yo yumvikana. Iwacu hari ijambo rusange: amateka: byose birimo: inkuru, imigani, harimo byose. Iyo umunyarwanda akubwiye ngo «njye kumva amateka» (njye kumva inkuru) ntabwo ategereje kumva imbwirwaruhame y'ubwenge, ategereje ikindi kintu cyane cyane igitekerezo gihimbano kivuga ibitarabayeho kijyana ku ndoto kurusha inzira ishobora kujorwa. Njye ubwanjye ni cyo kibazo ndi kurwana na cyo ubu.

Ariko Karoli na Filiberi bazi ko nkunda kukigarukaho, nta banyamateka b'ibitekerezo b'ibihe bizaza mbona, si benshi pe. Kubera ko ku bijyanye no kwiga, byarahagaze muri iyi myaka icumi ku buryo niturangiza akazi tuzaba tutarateguye abazadusimbura. Ni agahinda ariko ndizera ko urubyiruko runyumva ruzamenya uko ruzadusimbura.

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Bagenzi banjye bombi bavuze iby'ingenzi ngiye kongeraho akantu gato kajyanye n'ibyo Pahulo Rutayisire amaze kuvuga. Aha iyo uvuze amateka, iyo ushatse gushingira ku mateka muri sosiyeti yacu, ayo mateka aba afitanye isano n'ibindi bintu by'umuco w'u Rwanda: umurage, indangagaciro, ubuvanganzo nyemvugo ndetse n'iyigandimi-mvugo. Iyo ushingiye kuri ibyo byose, birumvikana, ubona ko sosiyeti iha agaciro kanini amateka. Ariko ayo mateka abantu bayatwara bate? Yitabwaho ate? Ntibiragera ku rugero rwifuzwa. Nta banyamateka dufite, ntibarandika uko babyifuza. N'iyo bakwandika ntibashobora gukora ku ngingo zose. Icya nyuma ni uko abanyeshuri bize amateka bashoboye kugera ku cyiciro cya Dogitora abenshi ntibagaruka mu Rwanda. Si inkuru nziza y'ahazaza. Hifuzwaga ishoramari ryisumbuye mu rwego rwa kaminuza kugira ngo higishwe umubare munini w'abize amateka.

Ikibazo cyanjye cya nyuma cyerekeranye n'umwanya uhabwa abanyamateka b'abanyarwanda mu ruhando rw'abanyabwenge ku rwego mpuzamahanga iki gihe. Mubona mute ubunararibonye bwanyu buri wese, ku mwanya uhabwa abanyamateka b'abanyarwanda n'ubushakashatsi bwanyu ku mateka y'u Rwanda muri urwo ruhando rw'abanyabwenge ku rwego mpuzamahanga?

Filiberi Gakwenzire. Umwanya abanyamateka b'abanyarwanda bafite ku rwego mpuzamahanga ujyanye n'umubare wabo muke. Abariho barazwi hose. Kuba dukorana iki kiganiro ubwabyo birabigaragaza. Gusa ibyo ntibireba inguni zose umuntu yatekerezaho ku mateka y'u Rwanda. Hari izindi ngingo twifuzaga gukoraho ariko ntitubona neza uwabikora. Murabizi kandi neza kundusha, muri kaminuza zikomeye hafi ya zose habamo ibigo by'ubushakashatsi, laboratwari, n'ibindi. Iki ni cyo kibazo kibaho ku ruhande rwacu: izo laboratwari iwacu ntizibaho kandi biragoye kubona bagenzi bacu twajya duhana ibitekerezo. Ngicyo ikibazo kinini dufite. Atari ibyo ariko Abanyamateka b'abanyarwanda b'iki gihe ni Abanyamateka beza bagerageza kugira uruhare mu kugaragaza neza inzego bakoreramo kandi

bakora uko bashoboye kugira ngo ibintu bitere imbere. Ariko ni bangahe?Ese niba nde bazaba Abanyamateka ku bihe bizaza?

Karoli Kabwete Mulinda. Ndatekereza ko ari mwe mwagombye gusubiza iki kibazo. Nk'uko Filiberi yabivuze Abanyamateka b'Abanyarwanda bakorana n'urwego mpuzamahanga, dufite akazi kenshi dukorana n'abandi bashakashatsi, haba muri Afurika n'ahandi ariko uruhare ntirurumvikana uko tubyifuza.

Pahulo Rutayisire. Icya mbere ndatekereza ko Abanyamateka b'abanyarwanda ari bake cyane, hafi yo kuba ari ntabo. Kugera kure kw'ijwi ryacu kujyanye n'umubare wacu nk'uko Filiberi yabivuze.

Icya kabiri ndabona zimwe mu nyandiko zacu zishingirwaho n'abandi bashakashatsi, zirakoreshwa, zirajorwa. Uru ni uruhande rwiza. Ariko icyambabaje ni uko ku rwego rw'iwacu dufite abanditsi benshi bandika ibintu by'ingirakamaro, ariko iyo abanyeshuri bacu bagiye hanze bavuga izo nyandiko ntizifatwe nk'izifite umumaro. Ni ikintu cyagombye gukosorwa no gukoreshwa cyane n'abandi bashakashatsi.

Icya gatatu mfite ubwoba ko tuzagwa mu buryo bw'agahato kavuye hanze twita «Ubufatanye bwa siyansi». Umuntu umwe akaza avuga ati: «Mfite umushinga, ushobora kudufasha tukagendana ?» Abantu bakamukurikira. Ndatekereza ko ari ibyago kubera ko uruhare rwo mu gihugu ruzimirira mu mikoranire rusange yitabwaho n'abantu cyane.

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