

**KWIBUKA KU NSHURO YA 19 JENOSIDE YAKOREWE  
ABATUTSI**

**Imfashanyigisho ku buryo bwo gukumira no  
kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya rya Jenoside**

# Intangiriro

Muri iyi myaka cumi n'icyenda nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, habaye ibikorwa byinshi mu Rwanda ndetse no mu mahanga bigamije kuyihakana. Ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bamenya impamvu zituma abantu bashakaga guhakana Jenocide kandi yarakozwe ku mugaragaro, ndetse ikemerwa n'isi yose. Igihe kikaba kigeze ngo Abanyarwanda bamenya uruhare runini ubwo buhakanyi bugira mu kwenyegereza amacakubiri n'urwango.

Iyi nyandiko igamije kwerekana uburemere bw'icyaha cyo guhakana Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi gikunze kwitiranywa n'ibindi byaha by'ivangura n'ihohotera bikorerwa mu Rwanda cyangwa ku banyarwanda. Aho icyaha cya Jenocide cyakorewe hose kw'isi, cyari kigamije kurimbura ubwoko, itsinda ry'abantu runaka bazira uko bavutse. Ku bihakana nabyo bikorerwa mu buryo busa.

Kurwanya ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide ni imwe mu ngamba zo kuyikumira. Iyo budakumiriwe mu maguru mashya, buhembera urwango, bukabangamira igikorwa cyo kwibuka no kwita by'umwihariko ku bacitse kw'icumu kandi abenshi bibagora kugirango bongere baharanire kubaho nyuma yo guteshwa agaciro kariya kageni.

Nyuma Jenocide, ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide bwahise bwigaragaza, butangirira mu bayiteguye, abanyapolitiki bo mu mahanga bashyigikiye Leta yateguye ubwicanyi, ndetse n'abandi benshi kubera ko badafite amakuru ahagije cyangwa bakabikora ku nyungu zabo bwite. Abishe nabo bahakana Jenocide bagirango birwaneho, bahishe ukuri, bacike ubutabera, boroshye icyaha bakoze.

Nk'uko biza kugarukwaho, ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bwakunze gushingira ku bintu bibiri:

- Abagerageje kwemeza ko Jenocide itateguwe, ko ahubwo bwari ubwicanyi bwatewe n'ihanuka ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana. Aba ni abanyepolitiki bashakaga guhakana uruhare rwa Leta bari bayoboye. Aha twakwibuka ko kugirango ubwicanyi

bwitwe Jenocide ari uko haba habayeho umugambi wateguwe na Leta kandi ikawushyira mu bikorwa.

- Abanyamahanga bakunze gushaka kwerekana ko muri Afurika amoko asubiranamo akicana ; abandi bakemera ko Jenocide yabaye ariko yabaye ku mpande zombi (double génocide) bagamije nabo kwiregura kuko ubundi amasezerano mpuzamahanga ibihugu byinshi byemeye avuga ko bafite inshingano zo gutabara aho Jenocide yabera aho ari ho hose kw'isi.

Ibikorwa, amagambo, n'ibimenyetso bigamije guhakana Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi tubisanga mu bitabo, mu nyandiko zitandukanye, mu mvugo (discours), kuri Internet, mu manza zibera Arusha, muri Gacaca, by'umwihariko, ndetse ubushakashatsi bugenda bwerekana ko mu Rwanda, imiryango, amashyamba n'amashyirahamwe bifite uruhare mu gusakaza umurongo ngenderwaho wo guhakana Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

Kurwanya ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide ni ngombwa, n'ubwo bitoroshye kandi bikaba bisaba imbaraga nyinshi. Ushaka kurwanya ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide yitegura guhura n'ingorane zibanze zikurikira:

- Imibanire y'abantu iba yarasenyutse, kubangikanya guhana no kunga umuryango bikaba ingorabahizi kandi byombi bigomba gukorwa kugirango i Gihugu cyongere kibeho, ibikorwa by'amajyambere bikomeze.
- Mu mategeko ahana asanzwe ntaho icyo cyaha kiba giteganyijwe. Mu Rwanda itegeko rihana ubuhakanyi ryaje kongerwa mu itegeko rihana icyaha cya Jenocide mu 2004 nyuma y'imyaka icumi yose Jenocide ibaye. Naho rigiriyeho bisaba igihe kugirango rishyirwe mu bikorwa. Ubuhananyi bwa Jenocide ni icyaha gisaba ubushishozi bw'abacamanza kuko gikunze gukorwa n'abantu bakuru, babahanga, bazi kwiregura ahubwo akenshi bakwirakwiza ku mayeri ibyo bitekerezo, ukabibwirwa n'ibimenyetso ushobora gusangana abana nk'uko twabibonye mu mashuri amwe n'amwe mu Rwanda.

Mu kurwanya ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside hashyirwa imbere ubutabera, kwibuka, kwigisha amateka ya Jenoside, kubika ibimenyetso byayo n'ubuhamya, kurwanya akarengane n'ubusumbane, kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu no kwita by'umwihariko ku bacitse kw'icumu batishoboye.

## **Ibice bigize iyi mfashanyigisho**

Igice cya 1: Gusobanura «Jenoside», «Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside»

Igice cya 2: Uburyo bukunze gukoreshwa mu guhakana Jenoside

Igice cya 3: Ibimenyetso by'ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside

Igice cya 4: Ingaruka z'ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside

Igice cya 5: Amategko ahana icyaha cyo guhakana Jenoside

Igice cya 6: Ingamba zikwiye gufatwa mu kurwanya Jenoside

## **Intego**

Ikigenderewe ni ukugirango muri iki gihe icyunamo cyegereje:

- dukangukire gukumira no kurwanya ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside iyo buva bukagera mu Rwanda ;
- turusheho kugira uruhare mu gikorwa cyo kwibuka ;
- natwe tubyigishe mu miryango yacu, mu mashyirahamwe tubarizwamo, n'aho dukorera ;
- dushyire mu bikorwa ingamba zidushobokeye zo gukumira ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside.

## **Icyitonderwa**

1. Iyi mfashanyigisho yanditswe mbwa mbere mu gifaransa, niba hari amagambo atumvikana neza uyifashisha afite uburenganzira bwo kuyasimbuza ayumvikana kurusha akurikije urwego abo abwira barimo. Iyi nyandiko yibanze cyane kandi kw'ihakana n'ipfobya bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'uburyo bikorwa, ariko rimwe na

rimwe byabaye ngombwa ko dufata n'ingeru z'ibyabereye ahandi kugirango birusheho kumvikana.

2. Mu guhitamo aya magambo « ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide » (négationnisme/denial) twifashijije abahanga mu rurimi rw'ikinyarwanda kugirango bisobanuke neza ko ari ikgikorwa kitari icy'akanya gato ahubwo ari umurongo (mouvement/movement) wubakwa ugakurikizwa ukanagira ingaruka z'igihe kirekire.

3. Uwanya uramutse ubaye muto wo kuganira birambuye kuri izi ngingo zose, utanga ikiganiro yashyira mu gaciro agakuramo iby'ingenzi akibanda cyane cyane ku mvugo isezereza abantu bakwiye kwirinda kuko mu Rwanda usanga ifata umwanya munini kandi iruhije kurwanya. Ariko nanone habonetse umwanya uhagije, utanga ikiganiro yavuga birambuye ku ruhare rw'amahanga mw'ihakana n'ipfobya rya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi byahawe umwanya muto muri iyi nyandiko.

3. Mu Karere/Umurenge/Akagali, utanga ikiganiro ashobora gusaba ko abantu batanga ingero zo muri ako gace kugirango barusheho kumenya ibimenyetso, ibikorwa n'imvugo bakwiye kwirinda.

# Igice cya 1: Dusobanukirwe n'aya magambo



## *Jenoside ni iki ?*

Iri jambo ryakoreshejwe bwa mbere mu 1944 igihe habaga amarorerwa yibasiye abayahudi i Burayi, andi magambo yakoreshwaga icyo gihe adasobanura neza **umugambi wo kurimbura ubwoko, wateguwe ugashyirwa mu bikorwa** wihishe inyuma ya Jenoside. Icyo cyaha kidasanzwe cyashyizwe mu mategeko mpuzamahanga mu 1948 nk'icyaha gitandukanwa n'ibundi bwicanyi kubera umugambi n'ubushake bwo kurimbura abantu bazira icyo bari cyo (ubwoko).

Jenoside itegurwa na Leta kuko niyo yonyine ifite uburyo n'ubushobozi bwo gufata icyemezo cyo kurimbura itsinda ry'abantu. Mu bihe bisanzwe, uwafata icyo cyemezo Leta itabishyigikiye yamuhagarika ikarengera abaturage ishinzwe kurinda. Jenoside ni icyaha kidasaza, gihanirwa aho ariho hose kw'isi. Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU/UN) wemeje, mu Gushyirahamwe 1994, ko amarorerwa yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda yitwa Jenoside, unafata icyemezo (Résolution) numero 955 cyo gushyiraho urukiko mpuzamahanga (TPIR/ICTR) rukurikirana abaregwaho icyaha cya jenocide.



## *Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenoside buvuze iki ?*

Mu bisanzwe, umuntu wese, cyane cyane umubyeyi, yifuza gusiga umurage mwiza kw'isi, ku bamukomokaho. Niyo mpamvu ugiye gukora amahano ashakisha uburyo bwose kugirango ibikorwa bye bibi bitazamenyekana.

Inzobere mu mateka ya Jenocide zihamya ko ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide butangira umugambi wo kurimbura itsinda ry'abantu runaka ugicurwa. Akenshi abategura Jenocide baba biga amayeri y'ukuntu bitazamenyekana. Mu gihe cyo kwica bagerageza guhisha imirambo n'imva kuko n'ubwo Leta iba ibahagarikiye muri ubwo bwicanyi, batinya ubutabera mpuzamahanga kuko ibihugu byose bifite inshingano zo gutabara ahabereye Jenocide aho ariho hose kw'isi.

Kugeza ubu mu bihugu byinshi byo kw'isi hagiye haba ubwicanyi bukabije twavugaga nko mu bihugu bya Cambodge na Arménia byo muri Asia, muri Afrika twavugaga Namibia (itsinda ry'abantu bitwa aba Herero), n'ubwicanyi buriho bubera Darfour muri Sudan. Ariko ubwicanyi bwose bukabije siko bwitwaga Jenocide. Kugeza ubu ubwicanyi bwibasiye abayahudi, n'Abatutsi nibwo bwemejwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ko bwakwitwaga jenocide ahanini kubera umugambi (intention) wo kurimbura n'uburyo wateguwe.

Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide rero ni **umurongo ngenderwaho** ugambiriye guhisha ukuri ; ni nayo mpamvu tutakoresha inshinga **guhakana** kuko itaba yereka umugambi wacuzwe nyuma ugashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide busobanurwa nk'uburyo bwo kwirwanaho, ni ikinyoma gishingiye ku mvugo igoretse cyangwa ibikorwa bikorewe mu bwiru bigamije guhishira amakuru n'ibimenyetso bya Jenocide.



### ***Ipfobya rya Jenocide risobanuye iki ?***

Ubusanzwe Ipfobya (Révisionnisme/revisionism) rikunze gukoreshwa mu Mateka no mu Bucamanza aho usanga abantu barwana no

kugabanyiriza uburemere ikintu runaka cyabaye. Ku bujyanye na Jenocide ariko ni icyaha gifite uburemere nk'icyaha cyo kuyihakana burundu. Akenshi rero bagerageza kwandika cyangwa kuvuga amateka ya Jenocide atariyo.

Akenshi ihakana n'ipfobya bya Jenocide bakunze kutabitandukanya kuko ipfobya riganisha kuguhana. Jenocide ntiba nto cyangwa nini yitwa uko kubera umugambi wo kurimbura ubwoko cyangwa istinda runaka ry'abantu bazira icyo baricyo. Gushaka gusubiramo nokwandika mateka yayo uko atari biba bigendereye kuzerekana ko icyabaye ari ikindi kitari Jenocide.



# Igice cya 2: Uburyo bukunze gukoreshwa mu guhakana Jenoside

## *Kubeshya, kugoreka amateka ya Jenoside*

### *1. Kubeshya<sup>1</sup>*

Ikinyoma gikomeye kinaranga abahakanyi benshi ba Jenoside y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda ni ukuvuga ko n'Abahutu bapfuye muri 1994 bazize ubwoko bwabo, ko habaye umugambi wo kubarimbura nk'uko byagendekeye Abatutsi.

Byakunze kandi kugaragara mu manza za Gacaca mu byo bise «Kugura agasozi» aho umuntu ufite gihamya ko yishe yumvikana n'abandi bafatanije kwica batabonye ubashinja yigerekaho ibyaha byose ariko abo bafatanije bakemera kurwana ku muryango we ndetse nawe bagashakisha uburyo bwose yafungurwa cyangwa akagabanirizwa icyaha. Cyangwa se akabagura bese iyo bo ari abere bakamushinjura.

Hagiye habaho no guhimba inkuru ndende y'ubwicanyi bwabereye ahantu runaka bakabigereka byose ku bantu bazi neza ko bapfuye. Hari no guceceka ngo bativamo bashinja abo mu muryango wabo, abaturanyi, inshuti... Bose bagaceceka kuri ako kagambane.

### *2. Guhera ku nkuru yabaye ukayivuga uko itari / ukayigoreka*

Ni uburyo bukunze gukoreshwa n'abahanga mu kuvuga inkuru cyangwa kwandika. Babyandika neza, mu magambo arambuye, akurikiranye ku buryo utabizi neza yahita abyemera. Urugero: Hari abavuga birambuye ukuntu barwanye ku batusti benshi bagasimbuka umwe bishe cyangwa bakamuvuga ariko bagahisha uruhare babigizemo. Abandi bagerageza gukora neza nyuma ya Jenoside ariko bagahisha amakuru bazi ku byabaye.

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Henri Levi, Philip Val n'abandi bavuga ko Jenoside iba igikomeza igihe cyose hakiri abantu bayihakana mu ruhame bikihanganirwa.

Ikindi abahanga bashyira muri uru rwego ni abacamanza bahita banga ubuhamyi bwose bwatanzwe iyo umutangabuhamyi, kubera ubwoba, agahinda, agize akantu gato yibagirwa mu byo yaba yaravuze mbere, yisobanuye nabi cyangwa agatangira inkuru ntayirangize.

### ***3. Gusibanganya imva***

Abicanyi bakunze guhisha aho bashyize imirambo, byagiye bigenda buhoro buhoro, bisa naho ari ukwiringa, kabone nubwo baba barafunguwe, barababariwe ibyaha. Hari n'abihutiye kubaka hejuru y'imisarane irimo imirambo, n'ahandi henshi hakorewe ibindi bikorwa hejuru y'imirambo ngo itamenyekana (twibaze impamvu nyuma y'imyaka 15 tugishakisha imirambo y'abazize Jenoside kandi hari abantu bafite amakuru bakicecekerana).

### ***4. Kutita by'umwihariko ku bacitse kw'icumu***

Ubundi ikintu gifasha umuntu kwihanganira ububabare bw'umuntu yakundaga wapfuye ni umuryango umuba hafi akawuturira aghinda afite, nawo ukamufasha, ukamugira inama iyo uwapfuye ariwe yari arambirijeho.

Muri Jenoside rero hagiye harimbuka umuryango wose hagasigara abana, abasaza, abakecuru, ibimuga. Iyo hatabayeho kubitaho by'umwihariko nk'abana bashobora guhinduka ibikange, ibyihebe n'i Gihugu kikahahombera.

# ***Igice cya 3: Uburyo bukunze gukoreshwa mu Gupfobya Jenoside yakorewe***

## ***Abatutsi***

N'ubwo umubare w'abantu bapfuye atari cyo cyemeza ko ubwicanyi bwabaye bwitwa Jenoside, abantu benshi bakuze gutubya umubare w'inzirakarenga zazize Jenoside. Kuba Abatutsi barapfuye ari benshi, bakicirwa hantu hatandukanye mu gihugu hose, ntibyatumye mw'ikubitiro umubare w'abapfuye uhita umenyekana. Umuryango w'Abibumbye niwo wambere wahise ugereranya utanga umubare w'ibihumbi magana inani (800.000). Mu 1997, Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'i gihugu yakoze ibarura mu gihugu hose itangaza umubare wa miliyoni imwe n'ibihumbi mirongo irindwi na bine na mirongo itanu n'abarindwi (1 074 057). Nyuma yaho ariko ntibyabujije abahakanyi ba Jenoside gukomeza kwandika no kuvuga ko yahitanye abantu ibihumbi magana atatu (300 000) cyangwa magana atanu (500 000) gusa.

Gupfobya Jenoside kandi bigaragarira mu kuvuguruza nkana ubuhamya bwatanzwe. icyakunze kugaragara mu Rwanda n'Abahutu bari barashakanye n'Abatutsi ubu bakaba bashinja imiryano yabo yabiciye abagabo, abagore, cyagwa abana. Hari aho bumvikana (conspiration /conspiracy) bakemeza ko ahubwo ubarega ariwe wiyiciye / wagambaniye umuryango we !

Hari kandi no kugerageza gutesha umutwe abatanga buhamya (destabilisation, humiliation) nk'ubuhamya bujyanye no gufatwa ku ngufu, kwambikwa ubusa, gushinyagururwa mu buryo bunyuranye, abantu bakavuga ko ari ukubesya bitashoboka, bakabishyira mu rwenya. Ni kimwe no gushinyagurira abahungabanye kubera uburemere bw'ubuhamya bafite cyangwa bagiye gutanga mu gihe cy'imanza, cyo kwibuka, cyangwa bagize igituma babyibuka.

Gupfobya Jenoside bigaragarira no mu guhisha ibimenyetso: inyandiko nyinshi zashoboraga kwemeza umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi zaraciwe, ibimenyetso byerekana ko intwari zaguzwe ku bwinshi byarasibanganijwe. Kwica abacitse kw'icumu burya ahanini baba bishe umutangabuhamya. Uwishe ntajya agira amahoro ahora yikanga ko umunsi umwe haba hari umutu wamubonye cyangwa wabyumvise wazamuvamo agashyikirizwa ubutabera, ashobora rero kwica uwamubonye koko, ariko ashobora no kwica n'undi wese akeka ko yaba abizi nubwo byaba ataribyoye.

Ikintu kibabaje cyavuzwe kuri Jenoside y'Abatutsi mu buryo bwo kuyipfobya kwabaye kuvuga ko habaye kurimbura Abatutsi nyuma hakarimburwa Abahutu (double Jenoside). Nubwo ibyo bitekerezo byavuzwe cyane n'abafaransa kubera uruhare rwabo, byagize ingaruka nini ku banyarwanda n'abandi banyamahanga

batazi neza u Rwanda. N'ubu hari abakibyandika. Ni urugamba tugomba gukomeza kurwana, dutanga ubuhamy, tuvugisha ukuri, twamagana ababyandika n'ababivuga.

## Igice cya 4: Ibimenyetso by'ihakana n'ipfobya bya Jenoside



### *Bimwe mu bimenyetso mu Rwanda no mu no mu mahanga*

Kuba Jenoside yaremewe mu Rwanda no kw'isi hose, hakajyaho n'amatekeko ahana icyo cyaha, imanza zikaba zicibwa, ntibibuza abahakanyi ba Jenoside gukomeza. Abahakana n'abapfobya Jenoside babicisha mu nyandiko, cyangwa bakabivugira mu ruhame bigafatwa mu majwi, bikagira ingaruka nini kandi z'igihe kirekire kuko byumvwa na benshi, bikazasomwa n'abantu benshi.

N'uyu muni turacyasoma inyandiko zavugaga ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda basuburanyemo bakarwana (guerre civile/Civil war). Abashatse gusobanura ikibazo bakakivuga uko kitari bati: harwanye aborozi n'abahinzi cyangwa bati: ni Abanyarwanda barwana n'abakavantara.

Kuvuga ko Abanyarwanda bishe abandi banyarwanda, cyangwa Jenoside y'Abanyarwanda (génocide rwandais/ rwandan genocide) biranditse mu bitabo byinshi by'u Rwanda n'iby'amahanga kubera kwanga no gutinya kwemeza ko mu Rwanda Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi gusa nk'aho ari ukwiteranya n'Abahutu yitiriwe cyangwa kwishyiraho icyaha (amahanga) cyo kudatabara.

Gushyira imbere intambara ya FPR/RPF nka bwa buryo twavuze haruguru bwo gukabiriza inkuru nyayo cyangwa ukayigorerka. Ni uburyo bwo gushakira abandi ibyaha no kuyobya uburari (renverser la responsabilité/conspiracy). Aha twanga n'urugero rwa «Mandants d'arrêt/ Arrest warrant» zatanzwe ku bayobozi bakuru b'u Rwanda.

Hari igihe mu Rukiko rw'Arusha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, hamaze igihe abashinjwa baburana ko Jenocide itateguwe, ko rwose ari ubaturage bashatse kwirwanaho (autodéfense populaire/people's self defence) nyuma Umucamanza mukuru aza kubihagarika. Abaregwaga kuba barayiteguye barwanaga no kwikuraho icyo kirego kiremereye bakerekana ko nta bushobozi bari bafite bwo kubahagarika (légitimer l'action/to legitimise an action).

Abafite Internet bakunze gusoma aho bandika ko muri 1994 hapfuye Abahutu benshi kuruta Abatutsi. Nubwo umubare atariwo kamara, harimo ubushake bwo gupfobya Jenocide no gukomeretsa abayirokotse.

Hari kandi no kugerageza gutesha agaciro inyandiko zishyira mu kuri zikavuga uko byagenze. Usanga barashyizwe mu byiciro bibiri: bamwe ngo ni inshuti z'Abatutsi /RPF/FPR, abandi ngo ni abakunda Abahutu cyangwa bavugira ubutegetsi bwariho mbere ya 1994.

Iterabwoba, kubyina ku mubyimba, gushinyagura, byose n'ibimenyetso bishirwa mu rwego rw'icyaha cy'ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide. Hari amagambo kera yari ananditse mu nkoranyamagambo y'igifaransa yasebyaga abayahudi ubu yavuyemo kuko yahemberaga urwango: urugero "gukunda amafaranga nk'umuyahudi = être radin comme un juif/ As stingy as a jew". No mu Rwanda imvugo isesereza ikwiye gucika burundu: kwica umututsi si icyaha, icyaha ni ukutagisabira imbabazi, agasuzuguro k'umututsi ntakindi kari gakwiye uretse agafuni, Abatutsi basigaye bakunda amagufa kurusha imbwa, icyampa ngo iyi mvura ihinduke amaraso y'Abatutsi, abishe Abatutsi bagira amahirwe kuko byo babisabira imbabazi hagowe abariye inka, abatwaye amabati n'abasahuye intebe kuko byo bazabyishyura, Abatutsi ntibarashira baracyabarirwa muri magana... Hari n'ibikorwa bitesha agaciro abazize Jenocide nko kwambaka imbwa agatambaro twambara igihe cy'akababaro (foulard mauve/ Mourning scarf).

Buri mwaka havugwa umubare w'abatangabuhamyi bishwe (17 mu mwaka w'i 2008) ariko hari ingero nyinshi zerekana itotezwa ry'abacitse kw'icumu bakubitwa, baterwa amabuye hejuru y'inzu, bashimutirwa amatungo, bononerwa imyaka, n'inyandiko (tractes/ tracts) zibateguza kwicwa.

Ikindi kigaragara mu bimenyetso ni ukutitabira kwibuka, kutifatanya n'abacitse kw'icumu, abantu bakikomereza ibindi bikorwa birimo no kwidagadura igihe cyo kunamira abazize Jenoside. Ntabwo kwibuka bikwiye guharirwa abacitse kw'icumu n'abayobozi gusa, twese biratureba.

## Igice cya 5: Ingaruka z'ubuhakanyi



*ubwiyunge*

### *Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide bubangamira*

Nkuko tubizi, nyuma y'amarorerwa nka Jenocide biba bikomeye ko abantu basubiza amaso inyuma ngo bagerageze kureba kimwe amateka yayo kuko iba yarbagizeho ingaruka zitandukanye. Abayirokotse baba bafite ibikomere bikabije, abayikoze cyangwa bayigizemo uruhare baba bafite ubwoba bwo gushyikirizwa ubutabera, abayobozi baba bashishikajwe no kugarura amahoro, gusana ibyangiritse, kubaka imibanire y'abantu kugirango i gihugu cyongere kubaho no gutera imbere.

Ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide rero bushingira kuri ibyo, bukagira ingaruka zikomeye mu mibanire y'abantu: bwenyegeza urwango rushingiye ku moko kugirango abenegihugu bakomeze kwibonamo ibice bibiri (abishe n'abiciwe). Bubangamira bikomeye ubutabera muri kwa guhisha ibimenyetso no kutavugisha ukuri, bubangamira cyane igikorwa cyo kwibuka kuko ubusanzwe Abanyarwanda bose baba bakwiye gufatana mu mugongo bakibukira hamwe amarorerwa yabaye, bakayamagana, bagahumuriza abarokotse, bagafata umugambi wo gukumira Jenocide.

Uhakana Jenocide abangamira bikomeye ubumwe n'ubwiyunge kuko aba atesheje agaciro igikorwa cyo kwemera icyaha, kugisabira imbabazi, gutanga icyiru/indishyi... Mu bisanzwe ibyo nibyo bishingirwaho kugirango uwakorewe icyaha abashe nawe gutanga imbabazi.

Ndetse abahanga mu mibanire y'abantu bahamya ko haramutse habaye uburangare bw'abayobozi, ubuhakanyi bwa Jenocide bugafata intera ndende bushobora kugoreka amateka yayo no



kuyikumira bikaba byananirana, abatotezwaga bagakomeza bagatotezwa cyangwa bakanakomeza bakicwa urusorongo<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Bernard Henri Levi, Philip Val n'abandi bavuga ko Jenocide iba igikomeza igihe cyose hakiri abantu bayihakana mu ruhame bikihanganirwa.

## Igice cya 6: Amategeko



### *Ubugukanyu buwa Jenoside ni icyaha gihanwa n'amategeko*

Mw'itegeko rihana icyaha cya Jenoside, mu ngingo yaryo ya 4, havugwamo igihano giteganyirijwe uhakana cyangwa agapfobya Jenoside. Iyo ngingo ivuga ko uzagaragaza ho mu ruhame ko ahakana, apfobya **Jenoside yabaye** akoresheje imvugo, inyandiko, amashusho, amarenga cyangwa ibindi bimenyetso, akagerageza gusobanura ko ifite ishingiro, agahisha ibimenyetso cyangwa akabisibanganya, ahanirwa igifungo cy'imyaka 10 kugeza kuri 20.

U Rwanda rufite n'andi mategeko afasha guhangana n'abahakanyu ba Jenoside. Aha twavugaga nk'itegeko nshinga rishimangira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda ; itegeko ryihariye rihana icyaha cy'ivangura, itegeko rihana ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside hamwe n'itegeko rihana icyaha cy'ihohoterana.

# Igice cya 7: Ingamba zikwiye gufatwa



## *Kurwanira ku mpande zose*

### 1. Kubahiriza ikiremwa muntu n'ubutabera

Hari icyakosowe gikomeye cyo guha abana bose uburenganzira bungana bwo kwiga, bwo kujya mu gisilikare, mw'iseminari, no mu gutanga imirimo ya Leta. Ibi bituma abantu bose bumva ko bareshya ko Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana.

Kwitabaza amategeko ahari ahana abarenga kuri ayo mahame.

Mu Rwanda umuco wo kudahana wabaye umwe mu mpamvu zatumye abantu batinyuka kwica Abatutsi kuko kuva muri 1959, bakomeje guhohoterwa haba mu mvugo haba no mu bikorwa kandi ababigizemo uruhare ntibashyikirizwe ubutabera. Nyamara ubutabera bufite uruhare runini kugirango hagati y'abishe n'abiciwe bemeranye ko habaye ibintu bidasanze, bidakwiye gusubira.

Mu bihugu byinshi byabereyemo ubwicanyi bukomeye, akenshi ubucamanza burananirwa kubera umubare munini w'ababigizemo uruhare niyo mpamvu Leta zishakisha uburyo bwihariye nka Gacaca mu Rwanda, mu bindi bihugu byahohoteye bikomeye uburenganzira bwa muntu hagiye habaho za komisiyo zifasha mu butabera, kumenya ukuri n'ubwiyunge. Twataga ingero zo muri Afurika y'Epfo na Liberiya.

### 2. Kwibuka

*Primo Lévi avuga kuri Jenocide y'abayahudi yarandiste ati: »Ntimwibagizwe ko byabaye, Oya ntimubyibagirwe: Aya magambo muyahoze ku mutima, mubitekerezeho iwanyu, muri ku rugendo, mugiyeye ku ryama, mubyutse, mubisubiriremo abana banyu, n'ubwo inzu yabagwa hejuru, n'ubwo mwaba mushegeshwe n'indwara, kugirango abana banyu batazavaho bakora nka mwe».*

*Hitler we muri 1939 mu gihugu cya Pologne yabwiye abasilikare abashikariza kwica abayahudi ati: «Ni nde ukibuka aba Armeniya ?»*

Aha turavuga cyane cyane kwibuka nk'Abanyarwanda kuko umuntu ku giti cye we agira igihe yibuka abe ku itariki bapfiriyeho, iyo hagize ikibamwibutsa ... akagira nuko yibuka bimunogeye.

Ningomba ko Abanyarwanda bose bibuka ko ikiremwa muntu cyahohotewe birenze kamere mu Rwanda mu gihe cya Jenocide. Igikorwa cyo kwibuka cyatangiyeye gikwiye gushyigikirwa kikagenda kirushaho kwitabirwa n'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose uko umwaka utashye. Dukwiye gusigira abana bacu umurage mwiza tugahora twamagana ikibi. Bimwe mu bifasha kwibuka ni ukwandika ubuhamya bwa Jenocide, kwegeranya ibimenyetso (amajwi, inyandiko, ibikoresho byakoreshejwe mu kwica, indangamuntu z'abapfuye, amafoto yabo n'ibindi. Guha icyubahiro inzirakarengane twubaka imva neza kandi ku buryo zitakwangirika.

Hakwiriye gukomeza kwandikwa amateka ya Jenocide duhereye ku buhamya, n'ibimenyetso byayo kugirango abayihakana banyomorwe. Gukomeza kuyisobanurira Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, no kwigisha amateka yayo urubyiruko. Gusaba Radiyo na Televisiyo y'u Rwanda kubika neza amakuru n'mashusho ajyanye na Jenocide bigakorna na Komisiyo kuburyo amakuru menshi bafite ntazatakare.

Kubwumwihariko kubika neza inyandiko za Gacaca nk'igikorwa cyakozwe hose mu Rwanda cyerekana kurusha ubundi buhamya bwose uko byagenze byivugirwa n'ababaigizemo uruhare.

### 3. Kwita ku bibazo by'abacitse kw'icumu

U Rwanda rwagerageje kwita ku bacitse kw'icumu batishoboye cyane cyane rwafashije abana b'ipfubye kwiga, gufasha bahungabanye ndetse hani miryango itegamiye kuri Leta nayo yagiye igira uruhare mu kubitaho. Umunyarwanda wese yari akwiye kumva ko bimureba mu bushobozi bwe akagira icyo afashamo: kubasura, kubagira inama, gusabana, kurwaza, gutabarana, n'izindi nkunga zose zishoboka.

# Umusozo

Hari izindi ngamba zishobora gufatwa zihereye ku buryo ihakana n'ipfobyabya Jenoside biteye mu karere/Umurenge... Ni byiza ko abaganira bahabwa umwanya wo gutanga ubwabo umuti babona ukwiriye, n'uruhare bo ubwabo bakwiye kubigiramo kugirango turusheho guhangana n'ibi bibazo. Ni kimwe n'uko mu Rwanda haba hari ibindi bimenyetso bitavuzwe cyangwa bitaranamenyekana. Abaganira bashobora gukomeza kubyerekana, iyi nyandiko ikazajya igenda yuzuzwa.