

# Icyizere



Ikinyamakuru cya Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG) N° 12, 15 Nyakanga-15 Kanama 2011

## Hari abitwaza ko ari intiti bagapfobya Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi



*Nyakubaha Umunyamabanga wa Leta muri Minisiteri y'Uburezi, Bwana Harebamungu Mathias (uwa kabiri uturutse ibumoso), niwe wafunguye inama akikijwe na Mme Tuyisenge Christine, V/P wa CNLG, Hon. Mucyo Jean de Dieu na Prof Karegeye Jean Pierre.*

Ni mu nama y'umunsi umwe yateraniye muri Lemigo Hotel tariki ya 4 Kanama 2011, yateguwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside ku bufatanye na "Interdisciplinary Genocide Studies Center" (IGSC) yahuje impuguke z'abashakashatsi n'abanyeshuri bo muri za Kaminuza zitandukanye kugirango zigire hamwe

icyakorwa ngo hahindurwe imyumvire y'abiyita abanyabwenge bahitamo kugoreka amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Abitabiriye iyi nama mpuzamahanga baturutse mu bihugu bitandukanye birimo Kenya, Senegal, Nigeria, Ubufaransa, Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika ndetse n'u Rwanda rwakiriye iyo nama.

Intego rusange kandi

y'iyi nama ikaba yari ukugaragaza akamaro k'ubushakashatsi bukorwa kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no kurushaho kugaragaza ingamba zakorehwa mu guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenoside haba mu Rwanda no kumugabane w'Afurika muri rusange.

Iyi nama ikaba yarafunguwe ku mugaragaro n'Umunyamabanga wa Leta ushinze amashuri Abanza n'Ayisumbuye Dr HAREBAMUNGU

Mathias. Mu ijamba rye, yatangiye ashimira CNLG na IGSC kuba barateguye inama nk'iyi. Yakomeje agaragazako Letay'Ubumwe yashyize imbere uburezi bw'ibanze bufite ireme ku bana b'Abantarwanda bose, bikaba ari imwe mu ngamba zo kurwanya ko amahano nk'aya Jenoside yakongera kubaho ukundi no gufasha mu buryo bw'imitekerereze ku bibazo bikomeye byasizwe na Jenoside.

*komeza ku rup. 2*

### IBINDI BIRIMO



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## Ijambo ry'Ibanze

**Intambwe idasubira inyuma mu gukemura ibibazo by'imitungo y'imfubyi za Jenoside**

Kuva Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside yavuka mu mwaka w'2008, ikibazo cy'imitungo y'imfubyi za Jenoside ntiyahwemye kubazwa. N'ubwo cyagiye gisesengurwa n'inzego z'Ubuyobozi bwa Leta, ndetse n'ibisubizo bigatekerezwaho, ikigaragara ni uko ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryabyo magingo aya ryari ritarakorwa ku buryo bushimishije.

Iyo mitungo irimo «iyatwawe na Leta mu gihe cyo kubaka imidugudu, cyangwa mu isaranganya ry'amasambu(...)», abo imitungo yabo ifitwen'abobafitanye amasano(...)», n'imitungo irimo kuburanwa mu nkiko» (Raporo y'inama yahuje abarebwa n'ikibazo cy'umutekano w'abacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside, ikibazo cy'amazu yubakirwa Abacitse ku icumu batishoboye n'imitungo yambuwe imfubyi za Jenoside).

Kuri iyi mitungo y'imfubyi za Jenoside hagaragaye ko hari n'amafranga ya pansiyu y'imfubyi bamwe batarabona, ku bari bafite ababyeyi bakoraga kandi biteganyiriza. Usibye ko ngo aho nta yindi nzitizi ihari uretse iy'uko ba nyirubwite batibuka gusaba icyo bafitiye uburenganzira nk'uko byasobanuwe n'ababashinzwe mu kigo cy'ubwitateganyirize bw'abakozi.

Ku bari bafite ababyeyi bari baratse inguzanyo mu mabanki bakicwa mu gihe cya Jenoside batararangiza kwishyura, ubuyobozi bwa FARG bwasobanuye ko itegeko ritaganyira ko icyo kigeza cyiyishyura. Hasobanuwe ko n'abazungura baba barishyuye imyenda y'ababyeyi babo bashobora gusubizwa amafranga batanze.

Ikibazo rero ntikiri cyane kuri buriya by'imyenda yashyirwa na ba nyakwigendera, cyangwa kuba umuntu yavutse uburenganzira kuri pansiyu y'imfubyi, ikibazo kiracyari ku mitungo y'amasambu, bigaragara ko hari abana b'imfubyi benshi bari batarayagaruka, afitwe na bene wabo cyangwa yaravutse na Leta mu buryo bwavuzwe haruguru.

Icyakora urebye imbaraga inzego nkuru za Leta zabishyize muri ibyumuherubishize, umuntu yahamye ako iki kibazo kigiye gukemuka burundu, binagarazwa n'uko hamwe batangiye gushyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo byafashwe mu rwego rwo kurenganura imfubyi za Jenoside. Urugero ni nko mu Murenge wa Rukumberi mu Karere ka Ngoma, Intara y'Uburasirazuba n'abandi bakwiye kureberaho.

Ukurenganura imfubyi ya Jenoside ni ko kuyiremera icyizere. icyifuzo ni uko ibikorwa ubu biba intambwe idasubira inyuma, ku buryo ibyo bibazo bitazongera kuvugwa mu myaka itaha, abantu bose babigizemo uruhare.

Antoine Rwagahirima

**Icyizere**

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## Abahakana Jenoside bakoze ibishoboka kugira ngo bazerekane ko nta mugambi wigeze ucurwa wo gukora Jenoside



**Bwana Jean François Dupaquier ( Imbere ya micro)**

*Nk'uko Jean François Dupaquier, umwe mu bafatanyije gukora filime yiswe «la grande traque des tueurs parmi nous» (Guta muri yombi abicanyi batwihishemo), yabitangariye mu nama mpuzamahanga yabereye i Kigali yigaga ku ngaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku bushakashatsi muri Afurika, kuba Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyirweho u Rwanda (TPIR) rutabasha kubona gihamba z'uko habayeho ugucura umugambi wo gukora Jenoside, igihugu cy'uBufransa kibifitemo uruhare.*

Yabisobanuye mu magambo y'igifransa, duhinduye mu kinyarwanda kugira ngo abatumva igifransa basangizwe icyo gitakerezo :

«nashakaga kubabwira ko habaye ubwumvikane mu Muryango w'Abibumbye, ku byerekeranye n'igihe kizitabwaho n'iperereza ry'ibyaha rizakorwa n'urwo rukiko mpuzamahanga :

Ni ukuvugaga guhera ku itariki ya mbere Mutarama kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994. Mu bintu bitabashije gufutuka neza, ni uBufransa bwategetse ko manda y'urwo Rukiko igarukira aho, kuko rwifuzaga gukora iperereza ku buryo bungana, ku byaha byaba byarakozwe na FPR,

nk'uko Urukiko rwagombaga gukora iperereza ku byaha bya Jenoside.

Ingaruka yo kudatuma hakorwa n'iperereza ku bihe byabanjirije 1994, ni uko Urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyirweho u Rwanda, rutari runafite uburyo bugaragara bwo gukorairyo iperereza kuri ibyo bihe, rutivunnye runashaka ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko hacuzwe umugambi wo gukora Jenoside. Koko kandi uwo mugambi wo gukora Jenoside wacuzwe kuva kera, kuva muri za 59 nk'uko byavuzwe, kandi akaba nta bimenyetso bigaragara bibasha kuboneka by'uwo mugambi, iyo ushakiye mu

myaka yo hagati ya 90 na 94.

Icyo abahakana Jenoside birengagiza kuvugaga ni uko, kuba batarashoboye guhamya abantu icyaha cyo gucira umugambi wo gukora Jenoside, (ni nako byagenze mu rubanza rwa Bagosora), igihugu cy'uBufransa cyabigizemo uruhare runini (nkuko byasobanuwe haruguru).

Bityo abahakana Jenoside bakemeza ko nta mugambi wacuzwe wo gukora Jenoside, ngo kuko urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyirweho u Rwanda rutigeze rubibonera ibimenyetso, nyamara kandi abahakana Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi b'Abafransa akaba ari bo bacuzwe umugambi wo kwima TPIR uburyo yashoboraga gukoresha bwo kugaragaza ibimenyetso by'uwo mugambi wa Jenoside ».

**A.Rwagahilima**

ICYIZERE ni ikinyamakuru cya  
**Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo  
Kurwanya Jenoside**

**Umwanditsi Mukuru:**

Gaspard Gasasira

**Umwanditsi Mukuru Wungiriye:**

Antoine Rwagahirima

**Ushinzwe Maquette:**

Kanzayire Gertrude

**Inama y'ubwanditsi:**

Bideri Diogène,  
Gasasira Gaspard,  
Kanzayire Gertrude,  
Karengera Ildephonse,  
Murekatete Rachel,  
Ndahigwa J.Louis,  
Rutagengwa Philibert,  
Ruzindaza Jean,  
Rwagahirima Antoine,  
Urujeni Solange.

## ITANGAZO

**Komisiyoy'Igihugu yo Kurwanya  
Jenoside irakangurira Ibigo  
bya Leta, Ibigo bitegamiye kuri  
Leta, Ibigo by'Abihayimana  
n'Imiryango Mpuzamahanga  
ikorera mu Rwanda, kujya  
byibuka abari abakozi babo  
bishwe muri Jenoside yakorewe  
Abatutsi muri Mata 1994.  
Ni uburyo bwo kubasubiza  
icyubahiro bambuwe.**

**Ubwanditsi**

# Hari abitwaza ko ari intiti bagapfobya Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi

*Ibikurikira urup 1*

Abatanze ibiganiro bose bagarutse ku itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'uburyo hakomejwe gukwirakwizwa ibihangano n'inyandiko nyinshi bigamije kuyipfobya no kuyihakana. Basabye abitabiriye iyo nama kuba umusemburo wo kumenyekanisha ukuri kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, kugira ngo Jenoside ntizongere kubaho ukundi, haba mu Rwanda, muri Africa no ku isi yose muri rusange. Ibi bikazafasha mu gukumira amakimbirane ayo ariyo yose yaganisha kuri Jenoside.

Izi mpuguke kandi zinenga ibihugu by'amahanga bicumbikira abaregwa ibyaha bya Jenoside. Jean-Francois Dupaquier, umunyamakuru w'umufaransa akaba n'umwanditsi w'ibitabo kuri jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda yemeza ko ibi byorora umuco wo kudahana bikaba byatuma Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yabyo ihemberwa. Yemeza ko na nyuma y'imyaka 17 Jenoside ibaye mu bufaransa hakigaragara ubuhakanyi bukomeye bwa Jenoside kubera umuco wo kudahana.



*Prof. Joelle Vitiello (ibumuso) yatanze ikiganiro.*

Madamu Yolande Mukagasana ni Umwanditsi w'umunyarwanda kazi avuga ko ahora ahanganye n'imwe mu miryango mpuzamahanga kuko yirengagiza ibyo izi kugirango iteranye Abanyarwanda kuko iba ibifitemo inyungu. Ati: "Jye mpora mpanganye n'imiryango nka Human Rights Watch n'indi nkayo kuko bahora bashaka byacitse.

Prof. Joelle Vitiello ni umushakashatsi akaba n'umwarimu muri Kaminuza ya Macalester yo muri leta zunze ubumwe z'amerika, yatanze ikiganiro kivuga ku ruhare rw'abanyabwenge mu gushakira umuti ingaruka za Jenoside" Academic responses to the genocide: from the personal to

the political", avuga ko hakwiye gufatwa ingamba ku bakomeje gukwirakwiza amakuru ahakana Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi hifashishije uburyo bw'ikoranabuhanga rigezweho.

Bwana Mucyo Jean de Dieu, Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside ari nayo yateguye iyi nama avugana n'abanyamakuru yababwiye ko hari abitwaza ko ari intiti bagapfobya Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi. Yagize ati "byagiye bigaragara ko hari abantu bitwaza ko ari intiti, noneho bo bagacurika ubushakashatsi, hari abantu duherutse kuvamva bavugaga ko abatutsi aribo ba nyirabayazana, ugasanga Jenoside yemerwa gusa n'iy'abayahudi. Urumva nkiyo abivuze ari nk'umu Professeur wa Kaminuza akabibwira abanyeshuri, abivugaga hirya no hino, aba acurika amateka."

Iyo nama y'umunsi umwe yashojwe n'igikorwa cyo kwerekana filimi "La Grande Traque: des tueurs parmi nous", yakozwe na Alain Gauthier, Me Faureman na Jean François Dupaquier.



*Mme Mukagasana Yolande yagejeje ubuhamya bwe ku bari mu nama.*

**Gertrude Kanzayire**

# Kigali: Inama mpuzamahanga ku « ngaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku bushakashatsi muri Afurika ».

*Inama yabereye muri Hoteli Lemigo, ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 2011; igahuza abashakashatsi batandukanye (reba inyandiko yo ku rupapuro rwa I) yibajije ibibazo bikomeye, ukuntu umuntu yavugaga kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, akayitekerazaho adakoresheje imitekerereze yazanywe n'abazungu mu kinyejana cya 19 cyane ku birebana n'amoko, ukuntu umuntu yavugaga ibya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi akoresheje ibyandikwa na ba nyirubwite b'abanyarwanda, ukuntu abanyafurika bakumva ko bafite uburenganzira bwo kugena umurongo w'ubushakashatsi bakora ku bijyanye n'amateka yabo n'uburyo bakwiyubakira ibihugu.*



*Bamwe mu bitabiriye inama mpuzamahanga*

Icyo abashakashatsi benshi bahuriyeho, ni uko ibivugwa kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bitakagombye kuguma mu miyoboro y'ibitekerezo byazanywe n'abazungu bishingiye ngo ku makimbirane gakondo y'amoko y'abahutu n'abatutsi.

Inyandiko zakozwe n'abakoloni, zivugaga ku miterere y'ibyo bise

ubwoko bw'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa kuva mu kinyejana cya 19, abashakashatsi bari muri iyo nama basanze atari byo bigomba gukomeza gushingirwaho iyo hasobanurwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ibyo igihugu kigenda kigeraho mu kwisana no kwiyubakira nyuma ya Jenoside.

Abandika bashingire ku

mucu nyarwanda Basanze ko abandika, cyangwa abagira icyo bavugaga kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi byaba byiza habonetse inyandiko z'abanyarwanda abashingiraho aho

gushingira ku nyandiko zakozwe n'abazungu, kenshi bandika bahereye kuri iyo miyoboro y'ibitekerezo abakoloni bashyize ahagaragara hashize imyaka myinshi. Hakaboneka abashakashatsi b'abanyarwanda bandika kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi badashingira kubyo ingirwabashakashatsi z'abanyamahanga zanditse, ahubwo babishingira ku mucu nyarwanda nyakuri. N'ubwo ngo bitoroshye kuvugaga ibyabaye muri Jenoside, kuba uwarokotse abasha kuvugaga uko bishe urw'agashinyaguro umwana cyangwa umubyeyi we.

Byagaragaye ko abahakana Jenoside b'abanyarwanda bakomeza bagakoresha iriya miyoboro y'ibitekerezo

by'abazungu ku byerekeye amoko, nko kuvugaga ko ntacyagombaga kubuza Jenoside mu gihugu (nation) cy'uRwanda, ngo kubera amakimbirane amaze imyaka n'imyaniko hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi, bakirengagiza ko iyo ayo makimbirane aba amaze imyaka n'imyaniko ukobabivugaga, n'uRwanda nk'igihugu ruba rutarabayeho, kuko kugira ngo igihugu kiyubake ari uko kiba cyashoboye kurenga no gukemura bene ayo makimbirane.

Abari mu nama basanze ari ngombwa guca ukubiri n'iyi miyoboro y'ibitekerezo by'abazungu (archive coloniale) byashyizwe mu nyandiko, bimwe byagaragazaga nk'inyandiko za gihanga, ibindi

*komeza ku rup 5*



*Bwana Tom Ndaheho (ibumoso) yagaragaje inyandiko zigoreka amateka zasohowe n'abakoze Jenoside mu nkambi zo muri Kongo.*

# Kigali: Inama mpuzamahanga ku « ngaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku bushakashatsi muri Afurika ».

Ibikorikira urup 4

bikagenda bikoreshwa kandi byigishwa n'abanyapolitiki b'abanyarwanda, mbere y'uko n'abantu bamwe babimira bunguri bakabigira ibyabo.

Abahakana n'abapfobya Jenoside bakoresha ibitekerezo bisenya byadukanywe n'abakoloni

Cyane ko muri iki gihe n'abapfobya Jenoside basubira inyuma bakongera gukoresha inganzo idashira y'ibyo bitekerezo bigaragaza ibyiciro bitandukanye by'abene gi h u g u nk'abanzi kamere cyangwa bikayobya amateka y'igihugu.

Uko kuyobya amateka, babonye ko byakozwe cyane no mu nyandiko zanditswe n'abanyapolitiki, abasilikare bakuru na bamwe bo mu

miryango itagengwa na Leta (société civile), mu gihe bari barahungiyeye mu nkambi zo mu gihugu cya Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo. Ibyo bakaba barabikoraga mu rwego rwo kwihanaguraho icyaha, ariko bahakana cyangwa bapfobya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Basenzen'abanyafurika bagiye bandika kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, usanga batarafashe umwanya wo kumva neza uko iyo Jenoside yagenze. Ku buryo ngo usanga abenshi bashaka kamenya ibyabaye muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, babimenyeshwaga n'ibitabo by'abanditsi b'abanzungu, aho kubimenyeshwaga n'ibitabo byandiswe n'abanyafurika,



Bamwe mubatanze ibiganiro mu nama mpuzamahanga

Abanyarwanda, Abarundi n'abandi.....

Hari abagoreka amateka babigambiriye, hakaba n'ababikorera kubera ubunabwije Hagaragajwe ko abandika bamwe

bakoresha biriya bitekerezo bigoreka amateka y'u Rwanda, babigambiriye, bakabikorera nk'intwari yo guhakana Jenoside cyangwa kuyipfobya, ariko hakaba n'abandi babikoresha nta mugambi mubi bafite, kubera ubunabwije bwo gushakisha ukuri. Icyakora ngo akenshi ibibazo by'afurika usanga abazungu baragiye byabyandikaho batabiha uburemere bikwiye, bakabyandikaho mu buryo bworoheje.

Ku kibazo cy'abantu bakekwaho ibyaha bya Jenoside bidegembya mu bihugu by'i Burayi, kandi bikagaragara ko ibyo kubaburanisha bazarira, bamwe mu bari mu nama basabye ko haboneka abatangabuhamba bahagije baturuka mu

Rwanda bajya baza kubashinja, kugira ngo iburanisha ryabo ryihutishwe.

Iriya namampuzamahanga yerekanye ko abanditsi n'abashakashatsi mu bihugu bya Afurika aribo bakwiye gufata iya mbere mu gusobanura amateka y'ibihugu byabo, bagafata n'iya mbere mu gusobanura icyerekezo baba bashakira kuganamo, aho guharira ijamba abanyamahanga ngo abe ari bo babibasobanurira.

Byegeranyijwe na Antoine Rwagahirima



Mme Mukamazimpaka Hilarie (i buryo) Komiseri muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside.

# Ibisubizo byatanzwe ku kibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside

Ibisubizo byatanzwe ku kibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside/Eugène Rusanganwa, intumwa ya Leta ishinze uburenganzira bwa muntu muri MINJUST

Abana Jenoside n'ibibazo bijyanye ababyeyi babo basize. Ibyo bibazo koko byaragaraye ariko bigaragara abo bana bamaze kugira uburenganzira, bamaze gukura ku buryo babasha kubikurikirana

Bamaze gukura nibwo byagaragaye ko hari abantu batandukanye (bigaruriye imitungo yabo), hari abantu b'abavandimwe bigaruriye imitungo y'ababyeyi babo, cyangwa se abandi

bantu badafite icyo bapfana, cyangwa se aho imiryango yazimye burundu byarabaye ibisigara Leta ikabatangamo imidugudu, cyangwa se ikahakora ibindi bikorwa by'inyungu rusange. Ibyo rero bimaze kugaragara, abana bamaze kugaragaza ikibazo, dore ko bakigezaga mu nzego zitandukanye, ari mu miryango irebera abacitse ku icumu, ari mu nzego za Leta, ikibazo cyari kirekire cyane. Kimaze kuba kirekire nibwo inzego zicaye zikuriye n'ibiro bya Ministre w'Intebe (Primature),

atumiza inama y'inzego ibyo bibazo byagiye bigeramo (Minijust, Minaloc, CNLG, n'ibiro bishinze abatangabuhamya bahohotewe biri mu Bushinjacyaha bukuru, kimwe na Ibuka), noneho



*I Rukumberi abari baratujwe mu by'imfubyi bapimiwe andi masambu, ariko bazagumana amazu yabo.*

izo nzego zose ziricara, zireba uburyo ibyemezo byafatwa kugira ngo imitungo y'abantu ibashe kugaruzwa. Nyine rero mu myanzuro yafashwe muri iyo nama yari iyobowe n'ibiro bya

Minisitiri w'Intebe, ni uko, abo bana, igihe imitungo yigaruriwe n'abantu, igomba gukurikiranwa ikagaruzwa mu buryo bwemewe n'amategeko. Naho imitungo Leta yashyizemo ibikorwa by'inyungu rusange, icyemezo cyafashwe ni uko abo bana bahabwa ingurane, bakagira aho baba bakagira aho batura. Byaragaragaye kandi ko hari ibibazo byari byaramaze kugera mu nkiko, abana bamaze kugira ububasha bwo gukurikirana ibyabo, inama yemeje ko izo manza zigomba kwihutishwa, abana bagasubirana uburenganzira bwabo mu gihe cyihuse. Ibyo byemezo nyamukuru uko ari bitatu bimaze gufatwa, habayeho ingamba zo kubishyira mu bikorwa. Habaho n'inzego zibishinze. Ariko mu kubikurikirana bigaragaye ko harimo

ukuzarira gacye, nibwo Minisitiri y'ubutabera yatekereje gutumiza inama mu buryo bwo gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa by'iyi myanzuro ya Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe. Ubwo rero hatumijwe inama na none na Minisitiri w'Ubutabera (urumva ko habaye inama zitandukanye zireba uburyo ibyo bibazo byageze mu nzego zitandukanye byakurikirana bikarangira).

Ni bwo rero, mu nama nyinshi zayobowe na Minisitiri w'ubutabera, byagaragaye ko ibibazo bitandukanye, noneho hasabwa ko ibibazo byose byagejewe mu nzego byegeranywa. Hagakorwa urutonde rwabyo. Niba nibuka neza ngira ngo urutonde rwakozwe rwari rugizwe n'ibibazo 543, ariko biri mu byiciro bigaragaye ko harimo



*Burya Uburenganzira bw'umuntu butangirira aho ubw'undi burangirira*

# Ibisubizo byatanzwe ku kibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside

Ibikurikira urup 6

bitandukanye. Ni ukuvuga ko byagombaga gukurikiranwa n'inzeho zitandukanye. Hari ibyagaragaye ko byari mu nzego z'abunzi, byari byashinzwe Minisitiri y'ubutabera, ibiri mu nzego z'ibanze, (ni ukuvuga amasambu yashyizwemo ibikorwa by'inyungu rusange) byashinzwe Minisitiri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ibiri mu nkiko byashinzwe urukiko rw'ikirenga (ubugenzuzi bukuru bw'inkiko nabwo bwari bwatumiye muri iyo nama).

Ibibazo bitari byakagera mu rwego na rumwe byakiriwe na IBUKA, CNLG cyangwa se bya biro bishinzwe kurengera a b a t a n g a b u h a m y a byo mu biro by'Ubushinjacyaha bukuru nabyo bavuze ko bishinzwe ize nzego, ko zigomba kubikurikirana, ni ukuvuga, CNLG, Ubushinjacyaha na Ibuka, bakabikurikirana b a k a z a t a n g a umwanzuro. Niko byagenze rero koko, ibibazo birakurikiranwa, ariko bikagaragara ko bitihuta uko byifuzwa mu mikurikiranire yabyo.

Mu kutihuta rero habayeho imbogamizi nyinshi zitandukanye. Imbogamizi ni uko abo bana bagaragaje ibibazo, akenshi wasangaga batagaragaza aho ibibazo biri neza. Mu kubikurikirana aho bavuze biri ugasanga siho biri. Niba umwana

yarerwaga na Nyina wabo atuye wenda mu Karere ka Nyarugenge, akaba wenda yarahinduye abana na se wabo wenda muri Rusizi. « identification » y'abana rero ugasanga iragoye kugirango uyimenye. Aho rero niho mu kubikurikirana inzego nyinshi zahuye n'ibyo bibazo, ku buryo wasangaga aho umwana yavuze ari, kugira ngo usobanure neza utahamusanga, cyangwa aho yavuze ikibazo kiri, ugasanga atari ho kiri. Rimwe na rimwe no mu nzego z'ibanze wenda batamuzi.

Ibyotumazekugaragaza impungenge muri raporo zagaragazaga uburyo bikurikiranwa,

nibwo haje kugaragara ikibazo, nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe arongerera atumiza indi nama yo kureba uburyo imbogamizizabayekugira ngo ibibazo birangire. Nibwo noneho, inzego zagaragaje ko abo bana bagaragaje ibibazo byabo bitandukanye batabasha, kubigaragaza neza kubera ko batagaragara, bataboneka. Hari abari mu mashuri nk'uko benshi barimo kwiga ubungubu, hari abahinduye aho bari batuye, ku buryo kubabona byari bigoye cyane. Ubwo rero umwanzuro wafashwe mu nama na Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe, ni uko CNLG ikora urutonde rw'abo bana cyane cyane

abo bagaragaye, ariko hibandwa cyane cyane ku bibazo byagaragaye bidakemuka. Ubu rero umwanzuro wafashwe, (ubu aho mvugira aha hari urutonde rwakozwe na CNLG, kugira ngo irutanganze mu bitangazamakuru bitandukanye... mu mvaho, ku maradiyo y'abaturage, kuri Radio Rwanda, kugira ngo noneho abana biyumve, bigaragaze ku nzego zitandukanye zishinzwe gukurikirana ibibazo. Hagarutswe cyane cyane ku biro bishinzwe amategeko mu Karere bita MAJ (ibiro bya Minisitiri y'ubutabera bishinzwe gufasha kunganira abaturage mu by'ubutabera).

Hagarukwaho kandi ko bashobora kubigeza ku nzego za Ibuka ku Mirenge, cyangwa ku buyobozi bw'Akarere. Kugeza ubu ni uko ikibazo cyari gihagaze.

Nizera ko ize ngamba zafashwe zizatuma gikemuka burundu, cyane cyane gusubiza uburenganzira bwabo nk'abana.

Ibi ni ibikubiye mu kiganiro cyatanzwe na Eugène Rusanganwa, Intumwa ya Leta ishinzwe uburenganzira bwa muntu muri Minijust

## Ishusho rusange y'ikibazo kijyanye n'imitungo y'imfubyi za Jenoside yigaruriwe n'abandi

**N**ka FARG i k i g e g a cyagenewe gutera inkunga abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, mu by'ukuri hari abantu bagenda batugana batubwira ko bafite ibibazo. Baragenda barushaho gukena, cyangwa kugira ibibazo by'imibereho, kubera ko icyagombaga k u b a f a s h a , kubunganira ari iyo sambu basigiwe n'ababyeyi, ari iyo nzu umuntu yasigiwe n'umugabo we,

cyangwa runaka, mbega umutungo wagombye kumufasha, byatwawe, rimwe na rimwe ugasanga ni umuntu bafite icyo bapfana, ni se wabo ni nyina wabo (babitwaye), cyangwa ugasanga ni umuntu umurera, wamureze akiri muto, noneho uyu muni akavugako uwo mutungo awumureberera, ariko umwana yamara kukura akavuga ati noneho harageze ko nicungira umutungo wanjye. Yagira ati ese uwo mutungo uri hehe? ugasanga ahubwo y a w i y a n d i t s e h o ,

wa wundi witwa ko amurera, wa wundi witwa ngo ni se wabo, nyina wabo, cyangwa yarawugurishije. Ibyo tugenda tubibona hirya no hino. Ariko cyane cyane mu turere turimo abarokotse Jenoside benshi, aho usanga nk'ayo masambu agihari, (kuko nk'ayo urebye mu Bugesera, nk'ayo urebye muri Nyaruguru, Nyamasheke usanga amasambu ari ibisambu abantu barashize).

Nibwo abo bana bagiye bagirwa inama n'inzeho zitandukanye, ari inzego z'ibanze, ariko cyane

cyane imiryango n'asosiyasiyo z'abarokotse jenoside, na CNLG ubwayo bababwirira bati « murebe ukuntu mwajya kuregera ibyanyu, kugira ngo ibyanyu bigaruke. Ubwo rero hari inzego zagiye zikora kuri icyo kibazo, cyane cyane Primature, MINIJUST.

**Ruberangeyo  
Théophile**

# I Rukumberi, imfubyi za Jenoside zigiyeye gusubizwa amasambu y'ababyeyi babo yari yaratujwemo mu gihe cy'isaranganya

I Rukumberi mu Karere ka Ngoma, ikibazo cy'amasambu imfubyi za Jenoside zarokotse nyuma yo kwicirwa ababyeyi bazira ubwoko bwabo mu mwaka w'1994, cyabonye igisubizo nyuma y'inama yahuje tariki ya 26 Nyakanga abaturage barebwa n'icyo kibazo n'Ubuyobozi bw'Akarere ka Ngoma, n'uhagarariye ikigo cy'ubutaka, uhagarariye ingabo n'intumwa ya Komisiyo y'igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside.

**M**u by'ukuri icyo kibazo

cy'amasambu y'izo mfubyi za Jenoside, mu gihugu hose, cyari cyarahawe inzira y'igisubizo n'amabwiriza ya Minisitiri w'Intebe yasohotse mu Gushyamba 2010, ariko inzego z'ibanze zibishinzwe zikaba zarazariye kuyashyira mu bikorwa. icyakora, magingo aya abari mu masambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside aho i Rukumberi bo bagiye gukatirwa amasambu ahitwa i Gituza, basubize imfubyi amasambu y'ababyeyi babo.

**Icy'ibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi**

za Jenoside, muri ako gace gifite umwihariko

Ikibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside afitwe n'abandi gifite umwihariko muri iriya Ntara y'uburasirazuba, cyane muri kariya gace k'icyahozze ari perefegitura ya Kibungo, kubera ko icyo kibazo kigira aho gihurira n'isaranganya ry'amasambu ryakozwe mu mwaka w'1997. N'ubwo hari uwo mwahariko, ibibazo byabonyewe ibisubizo muri iriyana yavuzwe yabereye mu bwisanzure no kubwizanya ukuri hagati y'abaturage n'abayobozi bari bitabiriye iyo nama.

Imiterere y'ikibazo cy'amasambu y'abana bacitse ku



Batangiyeye batumva ukuntu bakwimurwa aho bari batuye, ariko inama yarangiye bumvise uburenganzira bw'imfubyi za Jenoside, bwo kuba mu by'ababyeyi babo.

icumu rya Jenoside aho i Rukumberi, cyasobanurwa neza n'abaturage batandukanye bafashe ijamba muri iriya nama. Mu bafashe ijamba hari umugore umwe wasobanuye ko nyuma ya 94, abantu bari barahungiyeye mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'uRwanda, bahungutse bagasanga muri ibyo bice bya Rukumberi abantu barishwe, hari abarokotse bake, ariko hari n'indi miryango

byagaragaraga ko yazimye, nta muntu bahungukaga bifujye ko babagenera ahantu batura, bakwihangira bushya, ariko abo bacye bari basigaye nyuma y'uko imiryango yabo yicwa, basaba ko abo bari baturutse hanze batuzwa hafi yabo (ngo hari hakirimo n'ikintu cyo gutinyira ko hari interahamwe zaba zarasigaye zabahohotera).

Ngo nibwo berekaga abayobozi amasambu y'imiryango itari isigaranye n'umuntu n'umwe warokotse, kugira ngo ituzwemo abo bari bavuye hanze. Amasambu atuzwamo abantu gutyo, batangira no kuyabyaza umusaruro no kuyakoramo ibikorwa.

Ayo masambu ndetse ni nayo bubatsemo, banabifashwamo na za gahunda zitandukanye zafashaga abantu icyo gihe kubona

icumbi. Uwitwa Muyobozi Wenceslas ati « abayobozi bohereje abatekinisiye bakajya bapimira amasambu abantu, metero ijana ku ijana.

Abana barokotse muri icyo gihe cya 94, bakarererwa mu miryango inyuranye, magingo aya bagize imyaka y'ubukure, bagenda babaza imitungo n'amasambu byari iby'ababyeyi babo. Hamwe bagasanga yaratujwemo abandi.

**Abana barokotse muri 94, ubu bagize imyaka y'ubukure, barakurikirana amasambu y'imiryango yabo**

Nyuma y'uko amabwiriza ya Minisitiri w'Intebe yategekaga ko imfubyi za Jenoside zisubizwa amasambu y'ababyeyi babo

atuwemo n'abandi, naho ku yaba yarubatswemo imidigudu bagahabwa ingurane, i Rukumberi ubuyobozi bw'Akarere

komeza ku rup.9



Bamwe mu mfubyi za Jenoside bifujye ko baborohera nk'uko nabo boroshye bemera guhara ahashyizwe imidugudu.

# I Rukumberi, imfubyi za Jenoside zigiye gusubizwa amasambu y'ababyeyi babo yari yaratujwemo mu gihe cy'isaranganya

Ibukurikira urup. 8

bwari bwafashe icyemezo ko ababa bari mu masambu y'izo mfubyi, aho bazahabwa amasambu ahitwa i Gituza (ni nko mu birometero 15 uturutse aho i Rukumberi). Muri icyo cyemezo bari bahaye abaturage amezi atandatu yo kugira ngo aho bakatiwe hashya babe bahabyaje umusaruro kugirango, nyuma y'icyo gihe basubize ize mfubyi amasambu yazo. Nyamara nk'uko byagaragariye muri iyo nama siko byagenze. Kuri iriya tariki ya 26 Nyakanga bari batararekura iby'abandi.

Ibyo nibyo, muri iyo nama, umwana w'umukobwa uri mu kigero cy'imyaka 20, witwa Mukayisire Vestine wacitse ku icumu yinubiye, anagaya ukuntu mu gihe bo bemeye ko leta ibaha ingurane aho yabaga yarubatswe imidugudu mu masambu yabo, abatujwe mu masambu y'ababyeyi b'izo mfubyi, bo badashaka kuyavamo ngo bajye kubyaza umusaruro aho baberetse, dore ko amazu bari bubatswe muri ayo masambu y'imfubyi yo hari hafashwe umwanzuro ko atazasenywa azakomeza akaba ayabo. Agira ati « uyu muni kuba nanyura iwacu ntafite uburenganzira bwo gukandagira mu itongo

cyangwa umuharuro nakiniragaho mu by'ukuri ntacyo mwaba munyubatsheho (...), arongerera ati « hari hakwiye ukutikunda ».

Icyemezo cyafashwe n'ababyeyi babo zibabatswe mu gihe byabababwirako bari bazindukiye gufatira biriya bibazo umwanzuro ni uko abari mu masambu y'imfubyi bayavamo bakerekwaga amasambu bakatiwe aho i Gituza, ariko inzu zabo zubatswe muri ayo masambu y'imfubyi agakomeza kuba ayabo nkuko byari byanemejwe mbere.

**Hifujwe inama n'abaturage:** « niba nzahinga muni y'urugo rwawe, byaba ari ikibazo turamutse tutumvikana »

Umwana w'umukobwa warokotse witwa Mukankubito Alphonsine yasabye ubuyobozi gukoresha inama zo guhuza abaturage ati « niba nzahinga muni y'urugo rwawe, byaba ari ikibazo turamutse tutumvikana ».

Uko kumvikanisha abaturage nicyo Umuyobozi w'Akarere wungirije yari yahereyeho atangiza inama aho yagize ati: « buri muntu nagire uruhare rwo gukemura ibibazo (...) ntihakagire uwikunda kuko iyo wikunze kuruta mugenzi wawe iteka havuka ibibazo (...) kandi ntizatera

intambwe ijya mbere tutumvikana, tutabanye neza ».

Ibibazo byari bihari byose byafatiwe icyemezo, uretse ikibazo cy'umugore umwe wemezaga ko umwana wasabaga isambu atuyemo nta sano afitanye na nyirisambu yitaga ko

ari se wabo. Hemejwe ko hagiye gukorwa iperereza rizagaragaza ukuri ku isano yaba iri hagati y'uwo mwana n'uwo nyakwigendera. Basanga ihari, uri mu isambu akavamo nta yandi mananiza.

Inama yarangiye abaturage ubona ko bemeye ayo masambu masha bari bagiye

gubabwirako ariko bakifuza ko bareka bakazasarura imyaka basizemo (n'ubwo bari bahawe mbere amezi atandatu ntibayubahirize).

**Antoine Rwagahirima**

## Ikibazo cy'imyenda imfubyi za Jenoside zasigiye n'ababyeyi

**H**ari ryavugururwe muri imyenda 2008, mu mutwe waryo wa 7, ugena abagenerwabikorwa ba FARG ni bande, hari nk'inzu yari yaratanzweho ingwate, bakayigurisha, umurima wari waratanzweho ingwate ukagurishwa na Banki, kandi mu by'ukuri umwana asigaye iheruheru ntamikororo, cyangwa n'iyonzu yaramaze kuyisanzirwa cyangwa kuyisana, ariko ikagurishwa.

Aha rero itegeko rirabarengera, itegeko rishyiraho ikigega cya FARG, ryo muri 98, nk'uko

ibaturururwe muri ibarura rya bese abafite ibibazo ku buryo hashoboye kwishyurwa miliyoni zigera kuri 66, uno mwaka nabwo hari ababashije kuboneka, twishyuye miliyoni esheshatu.

**Ruberangayo Théophile S.E/FARG**

Ni ukuvugako ngo kuva ikigega cyajyaho kugeza uyu muni, amafaranga yabo turayishyura iyo tumaze kumenya, ikibazo tumaze kukigezwaho. Ni ukuvugako ngo, nko muri 2003, habaye

# Mu kwibuka ku nshuro ya 17, ikibazo cy'ihungabana cyagaragaye ku bagore kuruta uko cyagaragaye ku bagabo.

Ibi bigaragarira muriraporo yakozwe na AVEGA-agahozo yitwa « ubufasha ku ihungabana mu cyumweru cyo kwibuka ku nshuro ya 17 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ». Ntabwo iyo raporo ya Avega ari raporo igaragaza ingano y'ikibazo cy'ihungabana mu gihugu hose muri biriya bihe byo kwibuka ku nshuro ya 17, ahubwo ni raporo ituma umuntu agira igitekerezo cy'umubare w'abagize icyo kibazo aho abakozi ba Avega babashije kugera bagatanga ubufasha.

N'ubwo abakozi ba Avega bari mu Turere twose tw'igihugu muri kiriya cyumweru cy'icyunamo, siko babashije kugera ahantu hose abantu

bibukiraga, icyakora ahenshi bari bahari kuburyo bari ku ma « masite » agera kuri 65 ari mu Turere twose tw'igihugu.

Mu gihugu hose babashije gufasha abagize ikibazo cy'ihungabana bagera ku 1657, barimo abagore 1506 n'abagabo 319. Ababashije gufashirizwa ku masite bakoroherwa, bagasubizwa aho batuye ni 1543. Aba ni abari bafite ikibazo cy'ihungabana kidafite ubukana, kuko abangana na 219 bo batabashije gufashwa ngo basubire mu ngo zabo ahubwo boherejwe kwa muganga.

Nk'uko bigaragazwa n'iyi mibare, abagore nibo benshi bagaragaje ikibazo cy'ihungabana. Ariko hari n'uturere twagaragayemo

ihungabana kurusha utundi twagize dufite abagize ikibazo cy'ihungabana barenga 100. Mu karere ka Gatsibo abahungabanye ni 193, Kayonza ni 157, mu Karere ka Rwamagana 153, Akarere ka Gisagara 121, Akarere ka Ruhango 116 naho mu karere ka Kirehe abantu bahungabanye bari 115.

Bigaragara ko Intara y'uburasirazuba ariyo ifite

abantu benshi bahungabanye, igakurikirwan'intara y'amajyepfo. Ibimenyetso byagaragaye by'iryo hungabana ni « amarira, agahinda gakabije, ubwoba, guhunga abicanyi, gutabaza, induru, kwihisha, guta ubwenge, kugwa igihumura, guceceka, kugaragaza indwara z'umubiri: umutwe, igifu, umuvuduko w'amaraso ukaba muto cyangwa munini, kwiyanga kugeza aho kwanga

ibiryo, gushaka kwiyahura n'ibindi... Imibare igaragaza imitere y'ikibazo cy'ihungabana izafasha ababifitemo inshingano kumenya ibyiciro bagomba gushyiramo imbaraga mu bikorwa byo kubategura ibyo ibihe byihariye byo kwibuka bigeze; umuntu akizera ko uko imyaka izagenda itaha ariko icyo kibazo kizagenda kigabanya ubukana.

Antoine R.

## Ngororero : Mu muhango wo kwibuka abishwe muri Jenoside, havuzwe n'amazina y'abari ku isonga y'ubwicanyi

Ni ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 2011, ubwo Abanya Ngororero bibukaga Abatutsi bishwe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, (umwihariko wo muri ako gace akaba ari uko Abatutsi bari baratangiye mbere y'umwaka w'1994, mu bice bya Kibilira). Muri uwo muhango hakozwe n'igikorwa cyo gushyingura mu cyubahiro imibiri y'inzirakarengane yari yarabonetse mu minsi yashize, ikaba yaregerejwe indiyariisanzwe ishyinguye mu rwibutso rushya rwa Ngororero.

Abatanze ubuhamyahamye bahuriye ku mazina y'abantu bigaragaje



Baributse banashyingura mu cyubahiro.

nk'abari bayoboye Shyirambere Innocent wari ubwicanyi: Havuzwe Umukonseye, na Teganya Niyitegeka Bernard wari Innocent wakoraga muri superefe wa superefe Gatumba. ya Ngororero, Nteziryayo Batibagiwe na Mugesera Jean Baptiste wari Léon, ubu uba mu gihugu Burugumesitiri, cya Canada.

Ubwanditsi.



Intumwa za Avega Agahozo zoherejwe mu Turere nizo zabonye ko ikibazo cy'ihungabana kiganje mu b'igitsinagore.

# Inkunga zimwe FARG itera abacitse ku icumu batishoboye zizagenda zihagarara buhoro buhoro.



Ruberangeyo Théophile Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa FARG

Ibyo ni ibyatangarijwe mu kiganiro mbwirwaruhame umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa FARG, bwana Ruberangeyo Théophile yagiranye n'abanyamakuru ku itariki ya 28 Kamena 2011. Muri iyo nama yanagaragaje ibyo Ikigega kigenewe gufasha abacitse ku icumu batishoboye (FARG) yagezeho kuva mu mwaka w'1998 ishinze kugeza ubu, n'ibyo iteganya gukora mu myaka iri imbere.

Nk'ukubyasobanuwe, gahunda zitandukanye za FARG zizagenda zirangira hakurikijwe imiterere ya buri gahunda. Nk'ubufasha FARG igenera abana

b'imfubyi za Jenoside yo kubarihira amashuri, hatangajwe ko izahagarara mu mwaka wa 2015 ku biga mu mashuri yisumbuye, irangire mu mwaka wa 2019 ku biga muri za Kaminuza.

Nk'uko byasobanuwe, abagenerwa bikorwa ba FARG ni abacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside batishoboye, kandi amategeko y'uRwanda ateganya ko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, kugera ku itariki ya 31 Ukuboza 1994. Abo FARG ifasha bavutse mu mwaka w'1994, bazaba barangije amashuri yisumbuye muri 2012, babe barangije Kaminuza muri 2016. Ariko bongeraho indi myaka 3 kugira

ngo ababa baragiye bahagarika amasomo bagacikiza amashuri nabo be gusigara inyuma, akaba ari yo mpamvu batangaje ko FARG izahagarika kurihira amashuri yisumbuye abacitse ku icumu batishoboye mu mwaka wa 2015, na kaminuza muri 2019 kuko bigaragara ko icyo gihe abagenerwa bikorwa babo bose bazaba bararangije.

Muri uwo mwaka wa 2019 ni nabwo bateganya ko bazaba barangije kubarihira amashuri yigisha imyuga, ari amara igihe atanga dipolome ya A1, ari n'amara umwaka cyangwa amezi atandatu.

Bateganya ko Inkunga igendanye n'amacumbi y'abacitse ku icumu

batishoboye izaba yarangiye umwaka utaha (2012), naho inkunga y'imishinga ikazarangiza gutangwa muri 2013. Inkunga izahoraho ni iy'ubwisungane bwo kwivuza.

Aya matariki FARG iteganya kuba yarangiriyeho za gahunda zayo zimwe na zimwe, umunyamabanga nshingwabikorwa yayatanga aje arangije kuvuga bimwe mu bikorwa bigaragara FARG yagezeho muri iyo myaka cumi n'itatu imaze ivutse.

Kubijyanye n'uburezi, kuva yavuka kugeza ku ngengo y'imari ishize, FARG imaze gukoresha miliyari 86 z'amafaranga y'uRwanda, bihwaye na 73 by'ingengo y'imari yose. Ayo mafaranga akaba yarafashije abanyeshuri bagera ku 215.000 kujya ku ntebe y'ishuri.

Amafayangayatanzwe kugeza ubu mu rwego rw'ubuzima, (kuvuza abacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside), ni miliyari 8, naho ay'inkunga y'ingoboka (ibihumbi bitanu bihabwa buri kwezi uwacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside utishoboye) ayari amaze gutangwa ni miliyari 6 z'amafaranga y'uRwanda, yahawe abantu bagera ku bihumbi cumi n'umunani.

Ku byerekeranye n'amacumbi y'abacitse ku icumu batishoboye, umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa FARG yasobanuye ko hari amacumbi yagiye yubakwa na mbere y'uko FARG ijyaho, yubakwa na Caritas, Adra saws, imiganda n'abandi..., ariko ko ingengo y'imari yagenewe FARG ku bigendanye n'ayo macumbi ihwanye na miliyari 19 yakoreshejwe ijana ku ijana.

Ikindi cyakozwe mu gufasha kwifasha abacitse ku icumu batishoboye ni igikorwa cyo kubagabira inka. Hakaba hamaze gutangwainka ibihumbi bibiri (2000), zitanga umukamo. Ku buryo ubuyobozi bwa FARG busanga iyo nkunga izavana abacitse ku icumu mu mubare w'abatishoboye. Yagize ati: «Dutekereza ko abo bacitse ku icumu batishoboye (bahawe inka), inzu batazagaruka muri FARG gusaba inkunga (yo gusakara)», kuko bazaba bafite ubushobozi bwo kuyisakarira. Ni ukuvuga ko ikifuzo aba ari uko abahabwa izo nka z'umukamo mugihe kitarambiranye baba batagikeneye guhabwa inkunga y'ingoboka ihabwa abatishoboye kurusha abandi.

FARG yifuza ko ingengo y'imari

komeza ku rup.12

# Inkunga zimwe FARG itera abacitse ku icumu batishoboye zizagenda zihagarara buhoro buhoro.

*Ibikurikira urup. 1*

igenerwa za « programme » zinyuranye, iy'uburezi ku rwego rw'amashuri yisumbuye, iy'ubuvuzi, amacumbi, n'inkunga y'ingoboka yajya yegerezwa abagenerwa bikorwa bakayifatira ku Turere twabo. Ni ukuvuga ko abayobozi b'ibigo by'amashuri yakira abana barihirwa na FARG bajya bafatira amafranga y'abo bana ku Turere ibyo bigo birimo. Kimwe no ku zindi programmes zose. Ngo mu bihe bya mbere FARG izashyira umukozi

kuri buri Karere uzaba amenyereza abakozi bo ku Karere imitangire myiza y'izo « services », igihe kikazagera uturere akaba ari two tubyikorera.

Ku bijyanye n'ingorane FARG yagiye ihura nazo havuzwecyaneumubare w'abagenerwabikorwa ba FARG wagiye wiyongera aho kugabanuka. Uwatanze ikiganiro yavuze ko byagiye bituruka kuri za Komite zemezaga abo bagenerwabikorwa zagiye zibonekamo abatari inyanga mugayo

baryaga ruswa kugira ngo bashyire ku rutonde abatabikwiriye, ariko FARG ifatanyije n'izindi nzego za Leta zirimo MINALOC, CNLG Ingabo na police bazengurutse Igihugu cyose mu gikorwa cyo kwemeza abagenerwa bikorwa nyabo ba FARG(abacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside batishoboye), iyo ngorane ikaba yarabonewe umuti.

Ikindi kibazo cyavuzwe n'uware uhagarariye umuryango AOCM (Association des Orphelins chefs de menages) wari

witabiriye icyo kiganiro, ni icy'amacumbi n'amasambu yubatsheho amacumbi y'imfubyi za Jenoside zirera, aho abashinzwe ayo macumbi bibazaga ugomba kwandikwaho ayo masambu. Hakaniyongeraho ikindi kibazo cy'uko bamwe mu bana bamaze gukura, baba baca inyuma bagenzi babo, bagatangaho ingwate inzu babanamo mu mabanki basaba inguzanyo. Bigatera umwuka mubi.

Ibyo bibazo inzego zibishinzwe zizafatanyo kubishakira ibisubizo,

ariko icyo umuntu atabuze gutekereza n'undi wese yatekereza, amaze kumva kiriya kiganiro ni uko inkunga FARG itera abacitse ku icumu batishoboye, ari iyo kubafasha kuva mu murongo w'abatishoboye. Kugirango ababona iyo nkunga ibabere imbarutso yo gutera intambwe no kubasha kwibeshaho n'ikindi gihe FARG yaba yahagaritse ibikorwa byayo bimwe.

**Byakiriwe na Antoine Rwahahirima**

## The Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre organized a study tour for students from Monash University (Melbourne, Australia and Johannesburg campuses) in South Africa and Rwanda.



*Some students from Monash University visiting CNLG.*

The Johannesburg study tour for students from Monash University Centre organized a (Melbourne, Australia and Johannesburg

campuses) in South Africa and Rwanda.

The group (26 students and 3 lecturers) were led by Professors Simon Adams and Mark Baker from Monash University were joined with a second group of Aegis-Students, an international student based genocide prevention movement, committed to educating, campaigning and fundraising to end genocide and mass atrocities.

On this Tuesday 13th July, 2011 from 9am to

11am, those two groups have been received by Mr. Karengera Ildephonse, the Director of Unit in charge of Memory and Prevention of Genocide, who was representing the Executive Secretary of the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide - CNLG. He spoke to the group about the realizations of the CNLG from April 2008, the date of its operation to date. Thereafter, he had a discussion about

post genocide issues, challenges and future perspectives of CNLG and the country.

The participants said they will be young ambassadors for Rwanda and against genocide and its ideology in their respective countries.

**By Aloys Uwimana / CNLG**

# Insina ngufi niyo icibwaho urukoma

Uyu mugani bawuca icyo babonye abanyamaboko birengagiza ibyabo bagashaka iby'umunyantege nke. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda yashegeshe abayirokotse ku buryo usibye n'ababo babuze n'ibyabo byasahuwe, yabasigiye no kutaryohereza n'ubuzima no kwiheba. Ni muri uko kwiheba benshi mubarakotse Jenoside batafashe nk'ikintu cy'agaciro imitungo basigiye n'ababyeyi babo, cyane cyane abari bakiri bato. Rimwe na rimwe kubera kudashaka kongera kwibuka abe babitikiriyemo, agahinda se ko kuba byakwangirika abireba n'ibindi.

Bamwe mu bacitse ku icumu babashije

kwakirwa mu miryango ya bene wabo baba abavuye hanze ndetse n'abagize amahirwe yo kurokora ababyeyi, abandi baribana ndetse bamwe kure y'iwabo. Ibyo byose byagiye bituma badaha agaciro inshingano basigaranye yo kurwanira ishyamba ababo babuze, ku buryo imitungo babasigiye bayireba cyangwa batayireba, bagize icyo babikoraho cyangwa ntacyo. Abari mu miryango yabakiriye, yigarurira imitungo y'iwabo, uretse ko ntacyo byari bitwaye icyo bayibareramo ariko ntibayigurishe.

Abandi imitungo yabo yigarurirwa n'abafite imitungo ituranye n'iy'iwabo batanagira icyo bapfana, bamwe basa n'abitoraguriye kuko uwashyigaye yayitaye,

abandi cyane cyane abategetsi n'abafite ingufu mu bundi buryo bayigarurira ku ngufu, icyo nyakamwe yavugaga bakayicecekesha.

"Isi ntigira imbabazi" iri jamba ryavuzwe na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ku ya 7 Mata 2001 i Rukumberi, ahatangizaga icyumweru cy'icyunamo mu rwego rw'Igihugu, rirahagije gusobanura igihirahiro abana h'imfubyi barimo ubu cy'imitungo yabo bambuwe ku ngufu, cyangwa ku buryaryya n'abo bizeraga cyangwa bari baturanye.

Igishobora kuba cyarabaye icyuho ni ukuba abari bakimara kurokoka Jenoside bari barabaye ibikange kubera ubufundo bwari bumaze kubakorerwaho, bityo

bakeka kononeho nyuma yo kwirukankanwa n'ibitero, babonye ishamba ryo guhagararaho cyangwa inkingi yo kwegamira; ko nyuma yo gusaya mu mfuzo no kuharirirwa n'imisindwe bagiye kuva i buzimu bakajya ibuntu.

Bamwe byarabahiriye bakirwa n'abantu bafite ubumuntu ariko abandi ntibyahahiriye kuko nyuma y'abari bagiye kubatsemba bahuye n'ababica bahagaze, babagomwa n'ibyari kuzabarengera.

Uko imyaka yagiye yiyongera ni ko abari barokotse ari bato, bagiye basobanukirwa n'akamaro k'umutungo basigiye n'ababyeyi babo, banuzuzwa n'imyaka yo kutishingirwa, ahubwo bagera mu yo gushingirwa.

Bamwe bagize amahirwe imitungo yabo yari igihari ntibagira imbogamizi bahura nazo, abandi bakiriwe nimiryango y'imfura ibasubiza ibyabo iranabaremera, ariko abandi ntagarurirwo ry'ibyabo ryari rigihari kuko byari byagurishijwe, ibindi byagarurirwe. Bityo rero habaye ah'abagabo kugira ngo basubirane ibyabo, ndetse bamwe n'ubu baracyari mu nkiko; hari n'abazibukiriye barabireka. Amahirwe ni uko itegeko riteganyako imyaka y'ubuzime ari mirongo itatu (30ans), ikaba itarashira, bityo abafite icyo kibazo bakaba bakwisama batarasandara.

Sinasoza ntashimiye Leta y'ubumwe, ibyo yakoze haba mu by'amategeko ndetse no mu mibereho myiza, kugira ngo uwacitse ku icumu asubirane icyizere cy'ejo hazaza na gahunda nyinshi yagiye ishyiraho harimo n'izatangiye twumva ari umuti usharira nk'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Gacaca n'izindi, byatumye agahinda kagenda kimukira icyizere n'ubwo hari abakiri mu bwigunge no mu bukene.

Nyuma yo gushira impumu ni ugutangira kuri ejo hazaza, ari nabyo bituma ubu abacitse ku icumu banyazwe iby'ababyeyi babo batangiye guhagurukira kubaha agaciro basubirana ibyabo ngo bubake iwabo igicaniro cyongere gicumbe bacumbike iwabo ku gicumbi.

Mukwiye Gaspard  
Urwibutso rwa Jenoside/  
Ntarama



Abapfuye bazutse basanga abo basize bari mu bibazo by'inzitane.

# Ntarirarenga, zimwe mu mfubyi za Jenoside zishobora guhabwa amafranga ya pansiyu akomoka ku bwiteganyirize bw'ababyeyi babo.

Icyo ni igisubizo ikinyamakuru Icyizere cyahawe n'abakora mu ishami rya pansiyu, mu kigo cy'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi ubu cyakomatanijwe na RAMA kikitwa RSSB (Rwanda Social Security Board). Iyakora, abashobora kubona ayo mafranga ni gusa imfubyi za Jenoside zatakaje ababyeyi bombi, kubera impamvu basobanuye.

**I** kinyamakuru Icyizere cyari cyegereye ubuyobozi bw'ishami rya pansiyu, kigamije kumenya niba nta mfubyi za Jenoside zaba zaravukijwe uburenganzira bwazo bwo guhabwa amafranga akomoka ku bwiteganyirize bw'ababyeyi babo, nkuko hari n'abandi benshi muri bo bari barambuwe uburenganzira ku masambu basigiwe n'ababyeyi babo kubera ko bari batarakura.

Ubundi ngo ukurikije uko itegeko riteye ubu, uburenganzira bwazo bwo guhabwa amafranga akomoka bukurikiranywa mu gihe cy'imyaka icumi. Bivugaga ko ukurikije iryo tegeko, abana bapfushije ababyeyi muri 94, nyuma y'umwaka wa 2004, nta burenganzira bakagombye kugira bwo gusaba pansiyu y'imfubyi ikomoka ku misanzu ababyeyi babo bari baratanze mu kigo cy'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi, igihe bakoraga mbere ya 94. Kandi abenshi uwo mwaka wa 2004, wageze bataragira imyaka y'ubukure ibemerera kuba bakurikirana ubwo burenganzira bwabo. Urugero nk'abana baciwe ababyeyi muri 94 bafite umwaka umwe, ubu, uyu

**I g i s u b i z o** kidasanzwe, ku bihe bidasanzwe

Nk'uko twabisobanuriye na Bwana O. Munyandekwe umuyobozi w'ishami ry'imisanzu na Bwana J. Nkurunziza ushinze pansiyu. Ikibazo cya pansiyu y'imfubyi za Jenoside ni ikibazo



Ntibubuka gusa abari abakozi ba "Caisse sociale" banakururira imfubyi za Jenoside gusaba uburenganzira bwazo bujanyane na pansiyu.

mwaka wa 2011, ikabafasha kubarera, nibwo bagize imyaka 18, ituma bashobora gukurikirana. Iyo iryo tegeko rikurikizwa uko riteye, nta rundi ruhengekero, imfubyi za Jenoside zari kuba zivukijwe iyo pansiyu.

Bwana Nkurunziza asobanura uko icyo kibazo cyafatiwe umwanzuro:

“t w a j e k u b i t e k e r e z a h o n k ' i s a n d u k u y ' u b w i t e g a n y i r i z e b w ' a b a k o z i , n ' u b w o bitari mu itegeko, turavugaga tuti ese nk'abana bashobora kuba bararokotse, bagasigara ari imfubyi, wenda bakagira imiryango i b a t o r a g u r a ,

ikabafasha kubarera, iyo miryango nta kuntu yarikumenyako ababyeyi b'abo bana wenda bari abakozi, kugira ngo babashe kujya gukurikirana uburenganzira bwabo”. Turibaza tuti ese kuri abo bana iri tegeko twarishyira mu bikorwa dute? Turavugaga tuti ku mwana waba yarapfushije ababyeyi bombi tuzajya tubara ya myaka icumi duhereye kuva igihe agize imyaka y'ubukure, imyaka 21”. Hakozwe amabwiriza yemerera abo bana kubarirwa amafranga ya pansiyu, igihe cyose bafite hagati y'imyaka 21 na 31

Umuntu abishyize mu magambo macye, bikaba bivugaga y'uko imfubyi ya Jenoside yatakaje ababyeyi bombi biteganyirije ifite uburenganzira bwo gukurikirana mu kigo cy'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi (RSSB), amafanga ya pansiyu y'imfubyi igihe cyose yaba atararenza imyaka 31.

Ikindi cyasobanuye ni uko imfubyi ya Jenoside, yapfushije ababyeyi bombi muri Jenoside, iyo ije gusaba pansiyu y'imfubyi, bayibarira amafranga ya pansiyu bahereye

*Komeza ku rup. 15*

# Ntarirarenga, zimwe mu mfubyi za Jenoside zishobora guhabwa amafranga ya pansiyi akomoka ku bwiteganyirize bw'ababyeyi babo.

Ibikorikira urup. 14

igihe umubyeyi we yapfiriye, itariki yaba itazwi neza bakabara bahereye mu kwezi kwa kane 1994.

Ku bana bari bapfushije umubyeyi (wakoraga) mu gihe cya Jenoside, undi mubyeyi akaza kwitaba Imana nyuma atari yarabaye iyo pansiyi, iyo bagiye gusaba amafaranga ya pansiyi ikomoka ku misanzu yatanze n'umubyeyi wabo wakoraga, ntibabara iyo pansiyi bahereye muri 94, bayibara bahereye igihe umubyeyi wari warokotse yapfiriye, kuko uwo mubyeyi aba yarirengagije gusaba ibyo yari afite uburenganzira.

Ikindi cyasobanuwe neza n'ubuyobozi bwa pansiyi, ni uko umwana w'imfubyi ya Jenoside, ugisigaranye umubyeyi umwe, adashobora guhabwa pansiyi ikomoka ku misanzu yari yatanze n'umubyeyi we wishwe muri Jenoside. Iyo aje gusaba iyo pansiyi bamwereka ko umubyeyi we wasigaye yakagombye kuba yarabaye iyo

Ushinzwe pansiyi yagize icyo asobanuro ku gaciro k'amafranga ya pansiyi imfubyi zihabwa

Ibyo yabisobanuye asubiza ikibazo yari abajijwe cy'ukuntu abari bafite ababyeyi batangaga imisanzu kandi icyo gihe wenda bafite imishahara myiza, usanga iyo bagiye gufata pansiyi y'imfubyi bahabwa amafranga y'intica ntikize, atagira icyo abamarira cyane. Icyo kibazo yagishubije muri aya magambo:

Icyo ni ikibazo gifite ishingiro, kandi nacyo gitekerezwaho. Ubundi muri pansiyi, habaho ikintu bita "revalorization" ya pansiyi (ni nko kuzamura agaciro k'ubwiteganyirize". Akenshi byakunze kujya

bikorwa nka nyuma y'imyaka cumi. Bijyana n'ubukungu bw'igihugu ukuntu bwagiye buzamuka, kandi hakaba n'inyigo ziba zarakozwe mu kigo cy'ubwiteganyirize, kugira ngo barebe ese kirimo kirazamuka, gihagaze gite mu bushobozi byacyo.

Bityo rero iyo ibyo byose bimaze guhuzwa, bareba amafaranga bagenda bongera kuri za pansiyi, zatangwaga muri za pourcentage (amajaniha). Noneho "revalorization" duheruka yabaye muri 2001. Yagiye yongera za pansiyi bitewe n'uko zigenda zingana, usanga hari abo bangendaga bongerera hagati ya 15 na 20 %, abandi 30 % gutyo gutyo. Noneho muri 2003 nanone, habayeho ivugurura mu itegeko rya

pansiyi.

Haza itegeko rishya noneho ryasaga nk'aho rivugurura uburyo bwo kubara pansiyi. Muri iryo vugurura rero nanone hari ibyagiye bihindukamo. Birimo nko kuvuga ngo umuntu niba yarakoze imyaka 15 akanayireza, mbere usanga buri mwaka w'inyongera (ku myaka 15) waragendaga wongera rimwe ku ijana, ku mushaharawe, ariko itegeko rya 2003, ryo ryashyizeho 2%, rizamura pansiyi, kandi rivugaga ngo pansiyi noneho byibuzwe ikigo kigomba gutanga ntizajya muni y'amafranga 5200. Ayo umuntu yaba yarahembwaga yose ku kwezi

Ugendeye kuri iyo « période » usanga irindi zamuragaciro rya pansiyi

ryaragombaga kuba muri uyu mwaka wa 2011). Ariko hagati aho ngaho habayeho inyigo, mu mwaka wa 2008, zakozwe n'impuguke zaturutse mu gihugu cya Singapour, noneho barareba basanga tugendeye kuri ubwo buryo dukoresha tubara, n'umubare w'abantu bashobora kujya muri za pansiyi uko ungana, basanga noneho nta zamuragaciro ryashoboka muri iki gihe. (...) Ahubwo batugiriye inama bati ahubwo mwebwe muri iki gihe, ni ugusuzuma umwaka urangiye, mwasanga ikigo cyarakoze neza mugatanga ama « bonus » (inyongera) ku bafata pansiyi.

**Byakiriwe na A. Rwagahirima**

pansiyi bitarenze mu mwaka wa 2004, bakamuhakanira, bahereye kuri rya tegeko rivuga ko pansiyi isabwa mu gihe kitarenze imyaka icumi uhereye igihe umuntu aba ayifiteho uburenganzira. Keretse ngo basanze uwo mubyeyi wasigaye atari afite ubuzima butuma atekereza neza.

Duhereye ku bisobanuro twahawe n'abo mu ishami rya

pansiyi, twakangurira abana b'imfubyi za Jenoside bapfushije ababyeyi bombi muri Jenoside, kandi abo babyeyi harimo nibura umwe witeganyirije, ko bakwihutira gusaba amafaranga ya pansiyi y'imfubyi, niba batararenza imyaka 31.

Ku bana bari babashije gusigarana umubyeyi umwe, nyuma ya Jenoside nawe akaza kwitaba

Imana nyuma, nabo ni kimwe, niba batararenza imyaka 31, bakwihutira gusaba uburenganzira bwabo mu kigo cy'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi.

Nk'uko byasobanuwe, si na ngombwa ko bibazana I Kigali, kuko kuri buri Karere hari ibiro by'isanduku by'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi, ari naho babasobanurira ibyo bakeneye kuzana

kugira ngo buzuze dosiye isaba pansiyi y'imfubyi.

Ku bana b'imfubyi basigaranye umubyeyi umwe akituramira ntasabe pansiyi yabo, igihe cyararenze, ntibakwirirwa bitera umwanya basiragira ku biro bya RSSB, kuko iyo pansiyi ntayo bashobora guhabwa.

**Byakiriwe na Antoine Rwagahirima**

# Academic Responses to the Genocide: from the Personal to the Political



Prof Joelle Vitiello

First of all, I thank the CNLG for inviting me to participate in this conference. It is a great honor. I direct a French and Francophone Studies department in my University, Macalester College, in the United States. I teach contemporary literature and cinema, especially post-colonial materials such as Haitian studies, representations of immigration and of the Algerian war of liberation from France. I have taught the Tutsi Genocide in several courses, primarily in African literature and cinema courses, in culture courses, and in courses about autobiography. My institution has brought several writers such as Boubacar Boris Diop, Abdourahman Waberi, some members of Groupov, to talk about the genocide and its impact, and more recently, we hired my colleague Jean-Pierre Karegeye who teaches courses devoted to the Rwandan genocide and who organized a conference last year about the genocide, performance, and genocide denial.

What I will do in the time I have, is talk briefly about the significance of the representations of the genocide in academia, especially in the humanities, and about some of the trends and issues that define the field today.

In April 1994, just a few days after the beginning of the genocide, when it was so under-reported, unexplained, and decontextualized in the global press, I attended a conference in Quebec where I met a colleague who learnt through a phone call from Belgium that several members of her family in Kigali had been slaughtered. Most of us, her friends and colleagues, were at a loss for words while awakening to the reality of the genocide, its massive scale, and its daily victims. It made us aware from the outset of the devastation it caused, and prompted us to search the media daily for news. At the same time, those following the daily international media witnessed day after day the inability and active refusal of the international community to intervene and prevent the genocide and the realization that petitions, and pressures on our representatives were fruitless. As the days passed and institutional international solidarity with the victims continued to be deferred and debated, and news were all at once scarce, sensationalizing, denying facts, or pushed to the last page of newspapers, it was shocking to see the genocide reappear in the news with the Operation Turquoise presented as a humanitarian intervention, when it was clearly not protecting the victims of the genocide. Few voices were heard clearly for a long time, practically until the journalists who had reported on the genocide continued their work in the form of books. If the genocide could be talked about in class, there was not much material available in French or in English about it.

Just as the genocide has a long history and did not start only in 1994, it also has a history in the way that it is represented, memorialized, and taught. There are many disciplines that have expanded academic research about the genocide, such as History, International Law, Human Rights, African Studies, Political Sciences, Genocide Studies. In the Humanities, beside History, we teach the novels, plays, and films about Rwanda, as well as the academic responses and the critical work done about them. To be sure, we can do this primarily because of the testimonials published, such as that of Yolande Mukagasana, one of the first to be published in the first years that followed the genocide, as well as the novels that came out of the Fest'Africa project in 1998. I won't mention them all but authors such as Boubacar Boris Diop, Abourahman Waberi, Koulsy Lamko, Monique Ilboudo, Veronique Tadjou, or Venuste Kayimahe helped in the transmission of the memory and the memorialization of the genocide. The testimonials, the witnessing of African writers and their creative rendering reached a wide public.

This body of work, along with several popular films, as well as the plays written and staged about the genocide, opened several venues to teach and reflect about the genocide. These works were written primarily in French, for the Fest'Africa project and many individual narratives. When the narratives appeared in English and supplemented historical and social sciences narratives, again, the works

reached a public in and beyond academia.

In my discipline, the teaching of French literature in the United States generally includes the literature written in French from the Caribbean and former French colonies. It was not always the case but at present there is virtually no French department in the US that does not teach literature and culture from the "francophone" areas, no matter how problematic the terms "francophone" or "francographe" remain. The French canonical literature has had to expand and become more inclusive, more so than in France itself. This division between France and the United States – I can also include the French Studies departments in England – also pertains to a body of critical literature that is divided nationally and linguistically. Many studies of the testimonials and novels were published in both languages although they are not necessarily translated into the other languages. The Rwandan scholars living in Canada and the US, especially Beatrice Rangira Gallimore, Chantal Kalisa as well as Josias Semujanga, Eugene Nshiyimana and Jean-Pierre Karegeye are contributing research that goes beyond textual analysis to provide contexts to the reading of testimonials and other forms of representations of the genocide. There are other scholars in France and the US who have also written analyses of accounts of the genocide, among others Laure Adler, Daniel Delas, Amy Hungerford, Alexandre Dauge-Roth, Monique Gasengayire.

By the years 2002-2003, the body of work about the genocide was already the object of critical articles and talks at professional conferences.

Outside of the work done by Rwandan scholars, the first talks I heard about the literature that came out of witnessing were sympathetic to the testimonial literature but often tended to focus on the literary aspects of the narratives, or on their esthetics. The context of the genocide that was at the heart of the writing often disappeared in the analyses. The role of France was not mentioned, only the horror of the violence and the development of characters, or the narrative strategies used to render the unspeakable. It was not an easy topic to present at conferences, even at professional conferences with a focus on African literature. The role of France in the planning and execution of the genocide was often not mentioned for instance. So between the timidity of going outside of the text to contextualize the body of works for scholars and students, and the general academic discomfort to take positions about topics such as the role of France, and the failure of the international community, at the same time as the academic field has grown and more people became interested in the genocide, it also became more controversial and complicated to study the genocide and to speak and write about it.

I will give a couple of brief examples. At the 2004 African Literature Association meeting, which literally coincided with the tenth anniversary of the genocide, there was a double

Komeza urup18

# Mukankusi Concessa yagurishije umutungo y'umwisengeneza warokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

“Mukankusi Concessa ni mushiki wa data wo kwa se wabo, bivuga ko ari masenge. Yanyerekaga ko ndi mwisengeneza we, nanjye namubonaga nk'umuntu umfiteye impuhwe kandi wishimiye ko narokotse. Ariko kugirango abashe kugurisha umutungo data yasize, yabanje kugaragaza ko nta mwana wa data n'umwe wasigaye. Leta ikwiriye kuntabara”. Aya ni amagambo yavuzwe na BYUKUSENGE Anitha, umukobwa wa KAYITANI Emmanuel wabashije kurokoka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda muri Mata 1994, nyuma yo kugurishiriza umutungo n'uwakabaye awumucungira.

Koko rero, muri iyi minsi ku rukiko rwisumbuye rwa Nyamagabe hamaze igihe havugwa iby'urubanza umwana wa Kayitani, BYUKUSENGE Anitha aregamo abantu batandukanye bafite imitungo ya se. Tumaze kumenya ko urubanza ruzaba kuwa 18 Nyakanga 2011, twifuje kujyayo kugirango tumenye iby'ako karengane.

N'ubwo bwose Byukusenge aregaga gusubizwa imitungo ya se, ntawo urubanza rwabashije kuba ngo abaturana binjire mu mizi yarwo kuko avoka wunganira abaregwa, Maitre RWABARINDA Sylvestre yagaragaje ko atemera agaciro k'imitungo urega agaragaza, asaba ko hakwiriye kubanza gukorwa ibarura ry'iyi mitungo no kuyiha agaciro gakwiriye (expertise) kandi bigakorwa n'umuhanga mu kubarura wemewe na Leta.

Umucamanza yasubitse urubanza asaba ko urega ashaka uzaha agaciro iyo mitungo wemewe na Leta, amenyekanisha ko urubanza ruzasubukurwa kuwa 12 Nzeli 2011.

Muri urwo rubanza, hagaragaragamo urega ariwe

BYUKUSENGE Anitha, hakagararamo kandi abaguze iyo mitungo, ariko MUKANKUSI Concessa, ari nawe nyirasenge wa BYUKUSENGE akaba ari nawe wagurishije imitungo ya mwisengeneza we kugeza ubu urukiko rumutumaho igihe cyose ariko yarabuze. Ari urega ari n'abaguze imitungo bavuga ko batazi aho abarizwa, akaba ari nayo mpamvu urubanza rugorana kuko uwagurishije atajya yitaba.

Uru rubanza rwatangiyeye gucibwa kuwa 06 Nzeli 2010 rugasubikwa kuko MUKANKUSI Concessa yari yabuze, ruracyakomeza

gusubikwakubera amananza agenda arugararamo. Aha umuntu yakwibaza icyakorwa kugirango uyu BYUKUSENGE Anitha asubizwe imitungo ya se cyane cyane ko atangiye kugaragaza ko kubona umu “expert” wemewe na Leta wo kugena agaciro k'ibyo aregera bihenze cyane.

Mu by'ukuri, ari inzego za Leta, ari imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, bari bakwiriye kugira icyo bakora kugirango uyu mwana asubizwe imitungo ye. Kuba yaragize amahirwe yo kubaho nyuma y'urupfu rwa se, KAYITANI Emmanuel wiciwe i Murambi

mu karere ka Nyamagabe, ndetse akagira amahirwe yo kubona Nyirasenge, mushiki wase kwa se wabo. Ariko Nyirasenge akamubera umubyeyigito, hari hakwiriye kubaho abandi bagaragaza impuhwe, ubupfura n'ubumuntu bagakora ibishoboka byose kugirango aka karengane gahagarare, n'ubwo nyirasenge wagurishije imitungo itari iye azi neza ko hari umuzungura wa bugufi agaragare.

Ntitwabura kandi gusaba abanyarwanda muri rusange kudahemuka, kuko mu ndangagaciro z'umunyarwanda harimo

ubupfura. Ariko kandi guhemuka, ukarya uwo ugomba kurera byo ni agahomamunwa.

Iby'uru rubanza, tuzongera kubibamenyeshya nyuma y'isubukurwa ry'uru rubanza.

**Nshimiyimana Emmanuel,**  
Umukozi wa CNLG ku Rwibutso rwa Jenoside rwa Murambi

## Inzego zitandukanye za Leta zikwiriye kugira uruhare rurushijeho mu kugaruza imitungo y'abana b'imfubyi za Jenoside.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yo muw'i 1994, Leta y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda yakozwe ibishoboka byose mu guhangana n'ingaruka zayo. Iyi Jenoside yasize imfubyi n'abapfakazi batagira ingano. Byari bigoye cyane kugirango umwana warokotse Jenoside abashe kwiga, ndetse niyo yagiraga amahirwe yo kwiga, kubera ibibazo by'ingutu bitandukanye, kenshi aba bana baratsindwaga. Ni muri urwo rwego Leta yashyizeho gahunda zitandukanye zo gufasha aba bana mu buzima bwa buri muni kugirango bongere kugira icyizere cyo kubaho, kandi bumve ko n'ubwo babuze ababyeyi mu

gihe cya Jenoside, ariko Leta ihari nk'umubyeyi wabo. Aha twakwibutsa ko imiryango itandukanye y'abacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside ifatanyije na Leta bagiye bashishikariza abanyarwanda muri rusange, ariko by'umwihariko abagiye basigara ari bakuru mu miryango y'abo bana kubitaho, kubaba hafi no kubafasha kugira ngo imitungo ababyeyi babo bagiye basiga itazangizwa n'uwariwe wese cyangwa se n'abo bana ubwabo.

Ababyeyi gito bariye abana basigaranye Nyamara kugira amahirwe ukubasha kubona umuvandimwe wawe yarokotse Jenoside, ibi ntibibuzwa ko hariho ababyeyi babonye ko kubura ababo ari nk'amahirwe kuri bo. Birababaje

cyane kubona umuntu mukuru yihandagaza akagurisha imitungo y'uwishwe muri Jenoside kandi aziko hari umwana we ukiriho.

Nyuma ya Jenoside, abana babashije kurokoka, bari bataragira ubushobozi bwo gukurikirana no cunga imitungo basigiwe n'ababyeyi babo. Muri iki gihe umwana wavutse mu mwaka wa 1994, ubu yujuje imyaka 17, abenshi mu bana nk'abo nibwo batangiye gutekereza agaciro k'ubutaka ndetse banibaza ejo hazaza habo. Bamwe muri bo ubu batangiye kubura iyo berekera kuko abo basigaranye nk'ababyeyi babo bagiye bagurisha imitungo yose yari kubagirira akamaro.

Abaguze iyo mitungo, bamwe bagiye bakoreramo ibikorwa bitandukanye cyangwa

se nabo bakayigurisha n'abandi. Bamwe muri abo bana batangiye kwinjira mu manza zo kuburana n'abo babyeyi gito, ariko abenshi birabananira kubera amikoro aba adahagije ndetse n'ubumenyi buke mu by'imanza dore ko n'umyaka yabo iba ikiri mike cyane ku buryo guhangana n'uwagurishije iby'iwabo, ugahangana n'uwabiguze, ari ingorabahizi. Leta, nk'uko n'ubundi yakomeje kuba hafi y'aba bana, yari ikwiriye gutabara hakiri kare kugira ngo aba bana bagarurirwe imitungo basigiwe n'ababyeyi babo.

**Nshimiyimana Emmanuel,**  
Umukozi wa CNLG ku Rwibutso rwa Jenoside rwa Murambi

# Academic Responses to the Genocide: from the Personal to the Political

Ibikurikira urup. 16

Panel on “The Rwandan Genocide, Its Aftermath, and the Congo Crisis”. There was no official panel single or double, about the genocide itself and the inclusion of the Congo crisis in the title steered the discussion in effect toward the idea of a sequential genocide, which was confusing and unhealthy. Another example, more recent is that of the Modern Language Association. The association has professional divisions that organize official sessions. A couple of years ago, the committee for the francophone division to which I was elected discussed doing a panel on violence in the Great Lakes region. The title of the panel was discussed at great length as some members kept insisting on having the word genocide in the plural and it took several intense email exchanges to convince all the members of the committee to change the title. The discussion after the panel was also very intense as the notion of the double genocide (between Rwanda and Congo and Rwandans) was introduced and hotly debated.

In recent years, at the same time as more knowledge has been gathered, acquired, and disseminated about various aspects of the genocide, denial or criticism has also increased in unexpected ways, including in the Humanities.

It is a puzzling phenomenon that takes different forms in France or Europe in general and the United States. I am spending some time on it here because it has dangerous consequences on people, and especially young students who do not have the tools to discriminate about facts and misinformation or lies.

One of the aspects that is usually uncomfortable for students learning about the genocide is the role of the

international community that failed in its solidarity with the victims from the very beginning. The role of France especially, although not exclusively, is particularly difficult to understand. While testimonials and the works of writers, journalists, and filmmakers consistently document it as well as various reports, it has generated very virulent responses in France that deny the role of the French state and rewrite history. In the United States, the denials take both similar and different forms. From the theory of the double genocide that echo infamous words by Francois Mitterrand, to theories that the RPF is responsible for the genocide, most discourses display the same characteristics: they start history in 1994, obliterating the history of the genocide that precedes 1994; they cite a small number of sources that ignore the work of respected scholars; the role of language and France is completely ignored; and they confuse war with genocide. Because these discourses are appearing more and more frequently, they are becoming frequent, mainstream, they create a climate where one has to present the genocide aggressively and in a reactive way. Because they occupy quite a bit of space in the internet, and are therefore rather easily available, they affect all disciplines, including the Humanities.

Even in the Humanities, one hears more and more frequently criticism that makes a parallel between the silence of the victims of the genocide, the fact that they were not heard by the international community, and the construction of a Rwandan identity rather than an ethnic one, reducing the latter to a victimization, as if Rwanda had to remain fixated in its past.

Other discourses insist on criticism about the systemic memorialization of the genocide, what they call a duty of faithfulness to a single narrative. All the while these discourses usually substitute other terms to the word “genocide” to minimize it.

The denials are that much more damaging that they cover the entire political spectrum from conservative to progressive.

At the same time that Human Rights studies are becoming institutionalized almost everywhere, it is disturbing that negationism is so lively. I will give an example of how it does have very tangible effects on how one forms a perception of the genocide. I live and teach in the same city where the US lawyer Peter Erlinder lives and teaches. His positions about Rwanda are well known. Unfortunately, because he was linked to many progressive causes in his work prior to the genocide, his arrest in 2010 gave him a certain notoriety, even a hero status in some quarters, and he was invited to speak to my university. It did not go easily. In spite of sharing many documents with my colleagues that showed that beside holding unpalatable ideas about the genocide, he often distorted the truth in his arguments about the genocide and his clients, he was invited to talk about international human rights and even funded by the Human Rights and Humanitarianism program. This generated a split in the steering committee followed by resignations. We were unsuccessful to prevent him from addressing a class and it is clear that being invited to speak on a campus gives him a form of legitimacy that encourages the spread of noxious ideas. It becomes more difficult and also more imperative to teach about

the genocide from serious sources.

There are today many works available to do just so. Being here at the time of the film festival for instance, learning about the training of filmmakers who produce important visual narratives addressing the long term consequences of the genocide or who document as many voices as possible such as the Kemit project does, viewing films about issues that have not received much attention such as the role of the Muslim communities, or stories of resistance reinforces the idea that cultural representations are important to convey the complexities, the movement and the multiple aspects of the historicization and memorialization of the genocide.

As I have mentioned at the beginning of the paper, one of my fields of expertise is Haitian literature and culture. As you probably know, Haiti has paid a high price for defeating the army of Napoleon and for its independence in 1804. It has been successfully impoverished and its state has been successfully weakened by factors both internal and external. About a year and a half ago, on January 12, 2010, Haiti was further devastated by an earthquake that killed nearly 300,000 people. Haiti and Rwanda have very different histories. In fact, people who work in both countries compare them and portray Rwanda as a model country with a strong state and sovereignty. While the earthquake was a natural disaster rather than a man made one, the magnitude of its consequences that shocked the world reflects the neglect of the country and its infrastructure both by Haitian anti-democratic forces and the international community. The scale of

the sudden losses prompted many, especially in the diaspora, to reflect upon their role, especially as writers, artists, and academics. In her most recent book of essays, called *Create Dangerously*, Edwidge Danticat, an African-Haitian-American writer, describes her self-doubt about the impact of writers' words in face of the consequences of the earthquake. She examines the doubts that every witness and writer has expressed in some fashion or another in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake: “As immigrant artists for whom so much has been sacrificed, so many dreams have been deferred, we already doubt so much. It might have been simpler, safer, to have become the more helpful doctors, lawyers, engineers our parents wanted us to be.” Yet writing, making art, is created, she writes, as though “each piece of art were a stand-in for life, for a soul, for a future.” Creating dangerously embodies a form of witnessing and testimonial, with bodies as sites of performance, muted or speaking, bodies maimed or buried. It makes sure that when they speak, the silenced and the departed, can be heard. Reading then becomes an echo, a relay, an action. Even if it is only to add a perspective, a poetic rendition, a new dimension to one's epistemological vision of the world.

Writing and reading, performing, filming and viewing preserves the memories and gives them life, often a life that touches others beyond expectations, through dissemination and teaching, echoing the title of the Groupov play, Rwanda 94, “une tentative de reparation symbolique envers les morts”

# A reflection on the research in Africa in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi by Prof Wandia Njoya

I want to talk about my personal journey as a Kenyan and an intellectual in issues on the Rwandan genocide. The first thing I will explain is the two identities.

## Kenya

Kenya is a country of 40 million people, and of at least 41 ethnic groups. According to the latest census results, about one is every six Kenyans is Kikuyu. But apart from it being the largest single ethnic group, it is also the most dominant. It has produced two of Kenya's three presidents, and basically dominates the business sector. If Kikuyu are not entrepreneurs, they are ardent agriculturalists, which means that in a country that is half-semi arid, they are the least likely to face starvation.

The Kikuyu attract the resentment. They are stereotyped as hardworking but unsophisticated, and as determined to ensure that no Kenyan other than a Kikuyu becomes president. That impression partly explains the anger of many Kenyans in 2007 when Kibaki was pronounced president.

## Intellectual

According to Lewis Gordon, an Afro-American philosopher, an intellectual is a person who sets out the stage on which events or ideas take place. If we take the example of the genocide, the tensions over history and memory are less over the fact that people killed and people died; rather, they are over the stage on which that event should be viewed. For racists and African pessimists, that stage is the color of our skin, and for conscientious Africans, it is the colonial history of Africa and the very deliberate political process – both internal and external – by which the genocide process was nurtured, theorized and gradually executed between 1959 and 1994.

To build that stage, one needs to do research, spend a lot of time in reflection, an equal amount of time in discussion of the knowledge generated. And that's where the contradictions of an African intellectual become prominent.

The very language an African intellectual uses already pre-determines the stage on which that intellectual will place events. And worse, since there is no stage



**Prof Wandia Njoya**

without an audience, the audience of the African intellectual is also pre-determined. Essentially, working in Western languages means that the African intellectual's audience is Western. But worse, for the Western audience, that audience expects no surprise, no new knowledge and no understanding.

Fanon captures this drama in his famous chapter on the native intellectual in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. In order to resist colonialism, the native intellectual delves into cultural anecdotes and practices to prove that Africans were actually civilized, and occasionally to condemn the colonial occupier. But the colonizer is not bothered by such initiatives; in fact, he encourages them because they are cathartic for colonialism.

But worse is the social environment which the intellectual must contend with. Often our African societies have the same amused attitude of Western audiences. They look at scholars as people wasting their time reading and as people whose only function is to give them certificates so that they can get jobs. I am convinced that this attitude indicates two things: (a) the language in which we work essentially communicates that our research is not for them – even for those who speak that language – (b) we have believed the racist narrative that nothing that happens in Africa requires studying and thinking to understand. Theory, we say, is for the birds because we Africans are more concerned about bread and butter issues. Or so we think, until a student writes a dissertation on media and AIDS in Nyamira district with a five page bibliography that contains less than five African authors, and those five are simply used for anecdotal evidence rather than theory. As Gordon says, in the

world of the academy, theory is white and experience is black.

The Tutsi genocide was the deadly result of this dynamic, as it was founded on Eurocentric theories which were never rigorously responded to until the Tutsi genocide. An important lesson for me from the Tutsi genocide is that theory is important. As Amílcar Cabral said, there is no revolution without a revolutionary theory. African scholars must spend their time in books and in theoretical engagement, not simply in the field collecting quantitative data. Yet the pressure for African scholars to limit themselves to anecdotes and data is very strong, given that Western donors fund the bulk of research in the absence of support from African governments. This has led to a situation in which, in Mamdani's (2011) view, scholars seem to be doing everything according to what is fashionable in the donor world. In other words, global neo-colonialism continues to limit Africans to providing the experience for which the Westerner provides the theoretical tools for interpretation.

## 1994

I was completing my undergraduate degree when the killings in Rwanda started. When CNN began to show bloated bodies floating in the water, I remember remarking that Africans are at it, fighting again. And I went on with my mundane business until I heard then President Moi talk about what was happening in Rwanda.

Moi's regime had been undergoing serious challenges during the wave of democratic change of the 1990's. After sustained pressure from both within and without, he had conceded to multi-party democracy in 1991. But all through that struggle, his basic mantra was that multi-party politics would heighten tribal animosity, and to prove it, he engineered tribal conflict in the Rift Valley between his Kalenjin tribe on one hand, and other communities. This conflict would go in cycles: as each election approached, people were slaughtered and chased away from their homes. Activists appealed to the UN to impress on Kenyan government arrest the violence, but the silence was deafening. That cycle finally caught world attention

in the post-election chaos of 2007. In fact, I suspect that the international community acted faster than it would have had it not been embarrassed by their inaction in the case of Rwanda.

The genocide provided the perfect scenario for Moi to insist that multi-party politics was a mistake. He constantly told us to look at Rwanda to see what would happen to Kenya if we continued to press for pluralism. I read that message as a threat, rather than a warning. After all, every time Moi went to the Rift Valley to supposedly decry tribalism and ask people to unite regardless of their ethnic origin, a fresh cycle of violence would break out.

The affinity Moi had for the Habyrimana regime could also be explained by the fact that his tactic for entrenching control was enhancing ethnic polarization. He would advise Kenyans that they were irredeemably tribalist and would have descended into chaos were it not for his wise leadership. He would clamp down on any move that suggested national cohesion. At one point, the censorship board stopped the performance of a play that featured music and stories from different ethnic Kenyan communities, because it directly contradicted Moi's constant preaching that Kenya was not cohesive (Ndigirigi, 1999).

Another reason Moi probably sympathized with the Hutu supremacist myth of a group of immigrants taking over power and oppressing the indigenous people was because it was similar to the narrative about the indigenous Kalenjin of Rift Valley province having lost their land to outsiders who dominated business and education. And so it was not surprising that he gave passage to the genocide masterminds fleeing to Europe.

Within the political imagination of Kenya, we use the Tutsi genocide to either comfort ourselves that even though we may be tribalist, we are still not as bad as Rwandans, or to scare ourselves into thinking that the same evil could happen in Kenya. The problem is that they often draw shoddy parallels that show a fundamental ignorance of the century old process that culminated in three and a half decades of genocide.

One example of such reasoning comes from Koigi wa Wamwere,

a famous politician. Wamwere has invented the term "negative ethnicity" to distinguish ethnic supremacist thinking from simple cultural pride. Wamwere also treats the Hutu and Tutsi as groups that simply reverse the roles, so that Kagame's regime is basically a Tutsi version of the previous regime, clamping down on Hutus to compensate for the "ethnic cleansing" of Tutsi. In his words, the Tutsi "put down the Hutu who nearly wiped them out."

Another fundamental problem with Wamwere's analysis is that it does not study what happens between when that Europeans invented ethnic groups and the culmination of violence in the genocide. To him, the Europeans simply left a legacy which Africans perfected into hatred due to their ignorance and lack of moral willpower. That means that the impunity following the massacres of 1959 and 1973 and the role that foreign powers like France played in funding the Habyrimana regime do not figure in his analysis.

The fact that Wamwere's work is popular and that the author is often called upon to make analysis of ethnic polarity in Kenya reflects the dangerously simplistic understanding Kenyans have of tribalism. To them, tribalism will end when there is democracy, equal distribution of resources and, most of all, a deliberate moral decision on the part of Kenyans to stop hating each other. However, this is seriously inadequate. What Rwanda's post-genocide regime has shown is that nationhood is only achieved through deliberate ideology and policy, not through relying solely on economics and people's good intentions.

So what impact should the Tutsi genocide have on research in Africa? The genocide demands that African scholars should analyze matters on Africa on a global stage, rather than limit themselves to the borders of villages and maybe of nations. Two, pan-African liberation should be the goal of our research. By liberation I do not mean the simplistic overthrow of colonialism – rather, I mean the affirmation of our dignity, our right to define our own problems and to determine our research agenda.

# Imibiri 15 yavanywe mu byobo by'ubwiherero bwa Hotel Tech yashyinguwe mu cyubahiro mu Rwibutso rwa Gisozi

**I**mibiri yashyinguwe ni iy'abantu bakuwe muw'1994 mu kigo cy'Abayezuwiti aho bari barahungiyeye ababaha higa ababaziza ubwoko bwabo (Abatutsi), bakabazana muri Hotel Tech, icyo gihe yitwaga Total, aho babiciye bakabajugunye mu byobo byari mu nyubako z'iy Hotel.

Kumenya ko hari abantu bishwe muri 94 bakajugunye mu cyahoze ari akabari ka Total, byamenyekanye nyuma y'iperereza ryakozwe n'inzego nyinshi zitandukanye zirimo Police, Ingabo, CNLG na Ibuka.

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe n'Umugore warokeye Jenoside aho ku kigo cy'Abayezuwiti Remera, hagaragajwe ko abari banyiri bar Total, ari bo Barakengera Théodore n'umuhungu we Kamaro William, baba baragize uruhare mu gushishikariza abantu ubwicanyi bw'abari bahungiyeye aho kuri Christus.

Imibiri mishya igenda iboneka, n'uko hari abantu baba baracecetse kugeza icyo gihe kandi bazi aho abantu bajugunye, bageraho



Imibiri yabonetse muri ubwiherero bwa Hotel Tech ni iya bamwe mu bari barahungiyeye mu bayezuwiti

bakisubiraho bakavugaga ukuri bari baryamanye, bakagira iyabo insanganyamatsiko y'u mu mwaka

igira iti "Kwibuka jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi: tuvugishe ukuri, twiheshe agaciro".

Abazi aho abantu bajugunye

bigwa mu mutego w'abiyemeje guhakana no gufobya Jenoside, batange amakuru bafite, abazize Jenoside

bose babashe gushyigurwa mu cyubahiro.

Ubwanditsi



Imibiri yakuwe muri Hotel Tech (yahoze ari bar Total) yashyinguwe ku Rwibutso rwa Kigali ku Gisozi.

## Uruhare rw'abaturage mu gukemura ikibazo cy'amasambu y'imfubyi za Jenoside/ Umunyamabanga Nshinbwabikorwa wa FARG

« Duhen'uruhare n'abaturage ubwabo. Iyo uturanye n'umuntu, ukaba ubizi neza ko yatwaye isambu y'umwana, wa mukuru we wapfuye azize Jenoside, ukaba wicaye aho uzi

ko uwo watwaye iyo sambu ayirimo cyangwa yayigurishije atari iye, ari iya wa mwana, wowe ubwawe wumva umutima nama wawe, nk'umuturage w'umunyarwanda, utagukomanga (...) Hari n'igihe usanga ahubwo ari bantu bava inda imwe ari nka

batatu, baraviriye inda imwe kuri wa mwana, ugasanga isambu barayitwaye, cyangwa bajya no kugabagabana ugasanga umwana baramurenganyije (...) Tubwire abaturage ko kuva kera mu muco wa kinyarwanda nta wanyaga umwana ».