REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

URWEGO RUSHINZWE INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU, IMIDARI N'IMPETA BY'ISHIMWE

"CAHIER"

UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

N°4

Kigali, 1 Ukwakira 2022

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IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza gutoza Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko umuco n'indangagaciro, Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rwashyizeho "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI*. Isohoka kabiri mu mwaka: ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare, umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu no ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira, Umunsi wo gukunda Igihugu.

"Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* isomwa n'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose. Itangwa nk'imfashanyigisho muri Club z'Umuco n'Ubutwari ziba mu mashuri abanza, ayisumbuye ndetse n'amwe mu mashuri makuru na Kaminuza. Ishyirwa kuri "website" y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe (www.cheno.gov.rw) kugira ngo isomwe n'abantu benshi.

Iyi Nomero ya 4 ya "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* ikubiyemo inyandiko z'amateka n'umuco by'u Rwanda.

Inyandiko ibanza: "***Abakurambere b'intwari dukomoraho 'Ndi Umunyarwanda' kamerano",*** iribanda ku bikorwa n'ibigwi by'intwari za kera cyane bivugwa ko 'zahanze' u Rwanda, 'zikanarwitangira zitizigama' kugeza ubwo rubaye 'ubukombe'. Iyi nyandiko iribanda cyane ku bikorwa by'umwami Gihanga I Ngomijana, bivugwa ko ari we wahanze u Rwanda, hamwe n'umuhungu we Kanyarwanda Gahima wamusimbuye ku ngoma, akaba ari nawe twese dukomoraho kuba Abanyarwanda.

Inyandiko ya kabiri: "***Amoko mahimbano yasenye u Rwanda"*** igaragaza uburyo amoko yashyizweho n'abakoloni yashenye Igihugu. Muri iyi nyandiko haragaragazwa uko u Rwanda rwari ruyobowe mbere y'ubukoloni, ubwoko bwo mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, uko abakoloni baduhatiye amoko maremano agamije kuvangura no guteranya Abanyarwanda. Iragaragaza kandi uko ayo moko yakomeje guhabwa intebe mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma y'ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994 n'ingaruka yagize ku Rwanda no ku Banyarwanda muri rusange.

Inyandiko ya gatatu: "***Yuhi V Musinga mu bushyamirane n'ubutegetsi bw'Ububiligi n'ubw'Abapadiri bera***" iribanda ku bikorwa by'Umwami w'u Rwanda Yuhi V Musinga. Iragaragaza uburyo yahanganye n'Abakoloni b'Ababiligi bari bagamije gusenya igihugu haba mu buryo bwa politiki, umuco no mu myemerere, kugeza ubwo aciwe mu Gihugu.

Inyandiko ya kane: "***Ubutwari mu Rugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi***" iragaragaza ubutwari bwaranze Inkotanyi zabohoye Igihugu zikanahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Iribanda ku mpamvu z'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu n'ibihe by'ingenzi byaruranze kuva mu mwaka wa 1990 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994.

Inyandiko ya gatanu: "***Uruhare rw'abakobwa basigaye ari imfubyi za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu bikorwa bifasha abandi***", iragararaza ubuhamya bw'abagore 3, bari abakobwa mu gihe cya Jenoside, ubu bafasha bagenzi babo mu turere tunyuranye, nyuma yo gukira ibikomere, biyemeje kurangwa n'indangagaciro y'ubutwari, baharanira kubaho.

Inyandiko ya gatandatu: "***Uruhare rw'ababyeyi mu gutoza no kubungabunga umuco w'ubutwari mu Rwanda"***. Iribanda ku ruhare rw'ababyeyi bafite inshingano zo gutoza abana indangagaciro z'umuco bagamije ibyatuma baba abantu nyabantu. Iyi nyandiko iragaragaza kandi bimwe mu bibazo byugarije uburere n'uburezi mu bana b'u Rwanda, igatanga n'inama zo gukemura ibyo bibazo.

Turashimira abantu bose bagize uruhare kugira ngo iyi nyandiko ijye ahagaragara. Turakangurira Abanyarwanda gusoma inyandiko zikubiye muri iyi "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI*. Turasaba kandi abanditsi n'abashakashatsi babishaka kugira uruhare bandika inyandiko zijya muri "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI; zigamije kubaka umuryango nyarwanda n'u Rwanda muri rusange.*

MUKASARASI Godelieve
Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego/CHENO

I. ABAKURAMBERE B'INTWARI DUKOMORAHO "NDI-UMUNYARWANDA" KAMERANO

Lt. Col (Rtd.) NYIRIMANZI Gérard*

Mu ndirimbo yubahiriza igihugu cyacu, tugira tuti: "*Abakurambere b'intwari, bitanze batizigama, baraguhanga uvamo ubukombe, utsinda ubukoloni na mpatsibihugu*…". Kubera ko amateka y'abo bakurambere b'intwari "batsinze ubukoloni na mpatsibihugu" amaze kumenyekana bihagije, kuko intwari zo mu bihe bya vuba by'ubukoloni no guharanira kubutsinda zimaze kuvugwaho cyane muri iyi nyandiko turagaruka ku ntwari za kera cyane bivugwa ko "zahanze" u Rwanda, "zikarwitangira zitizigama", kugeza ubwo rubaye "ubukombe". Witegereje neza, abo bakurambere b'intwari za kera nibo dukomoraho "Ndi Umunyarwanda" kandi ntiheranwe n'ingaruka z'amage[1] yagwiriye u Rwanda.

Muri abo bakurambere b'intwari z'ikubitiro, uwa mbere ni Gihanga Ngomijana, bivugwa ko ariwe wahanze u Rwanda, hamwe n'umuhungu we Kanyarwanda Gahima wamusimbuye ku ngoma, akaba ari nawe twese dukomoraho kwitwa Abanyarwanda. Kuba ibyo ari ukuri kw'amateka ntibikwiye gushidikanywaho na gato kuko byemezwa n'umurage nyemvugo w'u Rwanda ugizwe ahanini n'ubwiru, ubucurabwenge n'ubusizi. Abanditsi ba mbere b' Abanyarwanda nka Mgr Alexis Kagame[2] nabo barabihamya.

**Lt. Col. (Rtd.) NYIRIMANZI Gérard ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego*

1 *Amage yo mu bihe bya vuba ni Ubukoroni na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.*

2. *Reba 'Ijambo ry'Ibanze' umushakashatsi Israel Ntaganzwa yanditse ku Nganji Kalinga ya Alexis Kagame, Vol.1, New York 2015, pp.3-4.*

Reka twibande kuri Kanyarwanda twitiriwe, kuko ari we dukomoraho "Ubunyarwanda", dore ko Gihanga we, ibihugu[3] yari abereye Umwami w'isangano birenze u Rwanda rw'ubu.

Ubwiru bw'u Rwanda butamenywe na bose buvuga ko Gihanga ukomoka mu Banyiginya yarazwe ingoma y'Abarenge[4] yageraga ubu ahavugwa Ikinyarwanda hose ndetse n'Ikirundi[5] bihuje inkomoko.

Kanyarwanda-Gahima, Muhuzansibo[6]

Mu by'ukuri amateka y'abo bakurambere b'Abanyarwanda yose ntiyamenyekanye kuko inteko y'abiru itayabwiye yose Alexis Kagame, ubwo Umwami Mutara III Rudahingwa yabibategekaga. Abarebakure bari muri iyo nteko y'abiru babonye ko ubwiru bw'u Rwanda buzibwa n'abakoloni - kandi koko niko byaje kugenda[7], bahitamo kumubwira igice ngo amabanga u Rwanda rwubakiyeho yose atazamenwa![8] Urebye rero bamubwiye "Inzira" z'ubwiru (Procédures du Code ésoterique), ntibamubwira ubwiru nyabwo! (Le Code ésoterique). Alexis Kagame nawe yiyemerera ko hari ibyo atabashije kumenya nk'*Inzira y'Amapfiz*i[9]. Ndetse n'abamwibye ubwiru yari yarabashije gushyira mu nyandiko abubwiwe n'abiru ntibabumwibye bwose.

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3. Mu Bwiru bivugwa ko ibihugu by'Abanyagihanga uretse u Rwanda harimo n'u Bugesera, i Gisaka, i Ndorwa, u Bungwe, u Bunyabungo, u Bushubi, u Bugufi, n'ibindi bihugu Gihanga yazunguye by'Abarenge harimo ibyaje kuba u Bwishya n'Igisigari, ndetse n' u Burundi. Ikigaragaza ibyo ni uko abemeraga ko ari Abanyagihanga bazanaga inkuyo z'inka zabo ku gicaniro cy'i Rwanda igihe cyose Umwami w'u Rwanda mushya yimaga. Abatazizanye bakaba bigometse, bagomba "kugarurwa ku ntango y'ubumwe" haba mu nzira y'imishyikirano (nko gushyingirana ari na byo Gihanga we yakoreshaga), cyangwa hakoreshejwe ingufu za gisirikare (kuva ku ngoma ya Kigeri I Mukobanya kugera ku ya Kigeri IV Rwabugiri abakoloni baza). Mu kinyejana cya 19 abakoloni baza basanze ibihugu byinshi by'Abanyagihanga byaramaze kugarurwa n'u Rwanda, ibindi bitaragarurwa (nk'u Burundi, u Bugufi, n'u Buha).

4 Mbere y'umwaduko w'Abanyiginya, Abarenge bakomoka kwa Rurenge I bategekaga ibihugu byinshi birimo n'u Rwanda rw'ubu. Ikimenyetso gifatika ni izina 'Umurenge' w'ubu (sector) kera wabaga utegekwa nyine n'umutware ukomoka kwa Rurenge. N'ahitirirwa uwo musokuruza mu Rwanda no mu bihugu bidukikije ni henshi.

5 I Burundi, Abarenge bitwa "Abarengwe". Umwami wabo wa nyuma ni Jambwe ukomoka kwa Mungwe wa Rurenge. Jambwe niwe wasimbuwe na Ntare I Rushatsi (Karemera ka Sinzi wa Nyamuhanzi).

6 Reba Nyirishema Céléstin, Urwanamiza TV Online, "Kanyarwanda Gahima Muhuzansibo"/Indasano, yo kuwa 28 Mata 2022.

7 Ubwiru (La Royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda) bwaje gusohorwa nk'igitabo n'umuzungu Marcel d'Hertfelt afatanije na André Coupez babwibye Mgr Alexis Kagame wari ugitegereje ko abiru bose basaza ngo abusohore nk'uko bari barabimusabye!

8 N'ubundi baca umugani ngo "ibanga ry'ingoma rimenywa n'abiru na nyirayo". Abiru rero ntibagombaga kumena amabanga y'ingoma cyangwa kuyabwira undi utari Umwami nyirayo. Kandi bavugaga ubwiru bari hamwe ngo babwibukiranye kandi hatagira ukosa akayobya u Rwanda n'ubuyobozi bwarwo!

9 Reba Alexis Kagame, Inganji Kalinga (1947) cyangwa Kagame, A., "Le code ésotérique de la dynastie du Rwanda," Zaire, I/4 (1947).

Birazwi ko batatwaye *Irage ry'Abami*, *Umurage w'Ingoma*, n'*Intekerezo z'ubwiru*, kandi urebye ni ryo pfundo ry'ubwiru[10].

Amateka ya Kanyarwanda-Gahima, Muhuzansibo, ari mu bwiru butibwe; bityo ntibwamenywa na bose. Ni nayo mpamvu nyakuri Alexis Kagame nawe yibeshye akemeza ko mu Rwanda hari amoko (races/ethnies) y'aba "Bantu" n'aba "Hamite", aho kuba "Abanyarwanda" gusa! Nawe bigaragara ko atamenye ko amoko nyakuri y'Abanyarwanda uko ari 18 ahuzwa na Kanyarwanda-Gahima, ari we mu bwiru bita "Muhuzansibo". Ibyo bikaba bivuga ko insibo (amoko) z'Abanyarwanda zose uko ari 18 ari we uzihuza. Insibo 9 zikomoka ku bimanuka[11] by'ibanze, izindi 9 zigakomoka ku bimanuka bya kabiri.

Insibo 9 zikomoka mu bimanuka by'ibanze

Kanyarwanda Gahima ni mwene Gihanga Ngomijana (Umunyiginya ukomoka kwa Munyiginya wa Gahima) na Nyirakanyarwanda Nyamususa, wa Jeni rya Rurenge (Umusingakazi w'Umurenge). Akaba rero afite amaraso y'Abanyiginya bakomoka kwa Gahima (Kibamba) n'ay'Abarenge bo kwa Jeni rya Rurenge (ukomoka kuri Rurenge I). Niyo mpamvu yiswe 'Kanyarwanda-Gahima'. Gahima ka Kazigaba na Rurenge I bari mu bimanuka bya mbere aribyo bikomokwaho n'amoko cyangwa insibo icyenda zikurikira: *Abazigaba, Abazirankende, Abagesera, Abasinga, Ababanda, Abasita, Abongera, Abahinda, Abanyiginya.*

1) *Abazigaba* bakomoka kwa ***Kazigaba*** warongoye mushiki we Nyirankende babyara Kabeja, Kimenyi-Kagesera, Gahima, Muzirankende, na Nyirabasinga. Ibimanuka bya kabiri (Sabizeze, Mututsi na Nyampundu) biza ngo byasanze Abazigaba batuye mu Mubali wategekwaga n'umwami wabo Kabeja. Bityo abazigaba bakitwa Abasangwabutaka kuko baje mbere y'Abanyiginya.

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10 Reba Marcel d' Hertefelt A. Coupez, La Royauté Sacrée de l'Ancien Rwanda, Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, Tervuren, 1964

11 Abanyarwanda ba kera bumvaga ko ari abana b'Imana (Benimana) aho kuba ibiremwa byayo nk'uko amadini mashya abitwigisha. Bumvaga kandi ko baje ku isi (bamanutse mu ijuru akaba ariyo mpamvu biswe Ibimanuka) bafite inshingano yo 'gusakaza' cyangwa kwogeza ingoma y'Imana ku isi. Niyo mpamvu aho bamanukiye bwa mbere hitwa i "Sakara". Na n'ubu i Sakara ni mu Karere ka 'Ngoma'. Ayo mazina yombi yemeza nyine "gusakaza ingoma y'Imana". Ibimanuka bya mbere (Rurenge, Kazigaba na Nyirankende) binafite imisozi ibyitirirwa cyangwa yitirirwa ababikomokaho (nka Gahima). Icyiza ni uko amateka y'u Rwanda yabitswe ma mazina y'abantu n'imisozi birugize!

2) *Abasinga* bakomoka kwa ***Nyirabasinga*** washyingiwe Rurenge[12] (nyirarume) bakabyara Jeni, Mungwe, Nyirazuba, Nyirampigi na Nyirambwenu. Niyo mpamvu bitwa Abasinga b'Abarenge. Nabo ni Abasangwabutaka kuko bariho mbere y'Abanyiginya.
3) *Abagesera* bakomoka kwa ***Kagesera*** Kimenyi warongoye Nyirambwenu (wa Rurenge) bakabyara Kugesera (Bugesera), Nduru (Rundu), Cyambwe, Mbwana, na Nyinawumuntu. Nabo ni abasangwabutaka.
4) *Abahinda* bakomoka kwa ***Ruhinda*** rwa Muzirankende (wa Kazigaba) washyingiwe Nyirumuringa (wa Mungwe). Ruhinda wimye ingoma y'i Karagwe akanakomokwaho n'abami b'u Buswi n'u Bujinja.
5) *Abahima* bakomoka kwa ***Gahima***[13] (ka Kazigaba) warongoye Nyirazuba (wa Rurenge) babyara Menge, Gahu, Gakara, Azika (Akazi), Huzingabo na Nyiranyenyeri. Abahima batuye cyane mu Mubali w'Amajyaruguru no hakurya yawo.
6) *Abanyiginya* bakomoka kwa ***Munyiginya*** wa Menge wa Gahima ka Kazigaba.
7) *Abongera* bakomoka kwa ***Mwongere*** wa Cyambwe cya Kimenyi-Kagesera wa Kazigaba.
8) *Ababanda* bakomoka kwa ***Kibanda*** cya Cyenge cya Bamenya ba Menge wa Gahima ka Kazigaba. Baje gufata ingoma y'i Nduga bayambuye bene Kimezamiryango ukomoka kwa Rurenge.
9) *Abasita* bakomoka kwa ***Musita*** (Mutasi) wa Bamenya ba Menge wa Gahima ka Kazigaba. Bari bafite ingoma y'u Bunyoro.

Insibo 9 zikomoka ku bimanuka bya kabiri

Ibimanuka bya kabiri by'Abanyiginya*,* bikomoka kwa Munyiginya wa Menge wa Gahima. Niyo mpamvu byiswe kandi bigategekwa n'Abanyiginya bo kwa *Sabizeze* na *Nyampundu* bakomokwaho n'abagabe, naho abagabekazi bakava kwa *Mututsi* na *Sukiranya*. Ubucurabwenge bugaragaza amasekuruza y'abami n'abagabekazi babo bagombaga gukomoka kuri abo basekuruza ba mbere. Ingoma y'abagabe unyuze kuri Gihanga yahawe

12 Mu Rwanda ndetse no hirya yarwo haracyari imisozi myinshi yitwa Rurenge uwo mukurambere cyangwa abamukomokaho batuyeho. Ingoma y'Abarenge yasize ibisigisigi ku Murenge w'ubu.

13 Mu Karere ka Ngoma n'ubu haracyari umusozi na Diyosezi byitwa izina rya "Gahima", uwo mukurambere yatuyeho.

abakomoka kwa Sabizeze naho iy'abagabekazi ihabwa abakomoka kwa Mututsi. Ni uko bagabanaga ubuyobozi.

1) *Abacyaba* bakomoka kwa ***Nyirarucyab***a wa Gihanga ukomoka kwa Sabizeze (Kigwa).
2) *Abasindi* bakomoka kwa ***Musindi*** wa Kanyarwanda ka Gihanga (ukomokwaho n'abami b'u Rwanda). Ariko hari n'abandi *Basindi* bakomoka kwa Basindi (uva inda imwe na Kibanda cya Cyenge cya Bamenya ba Menge wa Gahima). Hari imvugo igira ngo « Kanaka akomeye nk'inono ya Basindi na Kibanda ».
3) *Abatsobe* bakomoka kwa ***Rutsobe*** rwa Gihanga (na Nyirampingiye ariwe Nyirarutsobe). Nibo bimikaga umwami w'u Rwanda.
4) *Abagesera* b'Abahondogo bakomoka kwa ***Muhondogo*** wa Kagesera (Mugondo) umwe mu bahungu ba Gihanga warazwe u Bugesera.
5) *Abashingo/ngwe* bakomoka kwa ***Gashingo*** ariwe Gafomo ka Gihanga na Nyirampirangwe.
6) *Abanyabungo* bakomoka kwa ***Kanyabungo*** Ngabo wa Gihanga (na Nyirangabo Nyangobero).
7) *Abashubi* bakomoka kwa ***Gashubi*** ka Gihanga (Gashubi ni wawundi bavuga ko « yakanze Rutenderi »).
8) *Abenengwe* bakomoka kwa ***Nyirampirangwe*** *wa Rwamba* warongowe na Gihanga ngo acungure abakomoka kwa Mungwe[14].
9) *Abega, Abaha, n'Abakono* ni Abega (ba kurya) bakomoka kwa Serwega rwa Mututsi. Basimburanaga ku ngoma y'abagabekazi mu Bami b'Ibitekerezo nk'uko abakomoka ku basangwabutaka (Abazigaba n'Abasinga) basimburanaga ku ngoma y'Abagabekazi mu gihe cy'Abami b'Ibimanuka n'ab'Umushumi. Ni uko ubwiru bwagenaga isaranganya ry'ubuyobozi bwa cyami.

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14 *Mungwe mu bwiru bavuga ko ariwe wazanye amacakubiri mu bimanuka bya mbere yanga kunywera ku ntango y'ubumwe. Nibyo bita mu mvugo y'ubwiru "Imungu ya Mungwe". Mungwe ngo yishingikirizaga inkanda ya nyirakuru Nyirankende yari yararazwe. Iyo nkanda yarikoze ngo yari itabye "ku Rutabo rwa Nkanda". Umutabazi Kibogo, umugabe Kazi n'Umwami w'isangano Gihanga ngo baje guca ayo macakubiri ya bene Mungwe (ndetse n'ay'ibigina n'abagina bakurikiyeho) bashishikariza Abanyarwanda gusubira kunywera ku ntango y'ubumwe!*

Isoko ya "Ndi-Umunyarwanda" kamerano

Nk'uko bigaragara, mbere ya Kanyarwanda na nyuma ye hari insibo icyenda. Uwo mubare ufite icyo uvuga mu bwiru[15]. Kanyarwanda-Gahima niwe ubwiru bwita **Muhuzansibo** kuko ariwe insibo zose zihuriramo nk'uwarazwe ingoma y'u Rwanda akanarwitiririrwa! Niwe rero uhuje intango ngari y'ubumwe bwa Benimana kuko ahuza abakomoka kwa Gihanga n'aba mbere ya Gihanga mu bimanuka by'ibanze (bikomoka kuri Rurenge na Kazigaba).

Gihanga nawe yarongoye abagore benshi ngo ahurize insibo z'Abanyarwanda mu buyobozi bwa Cyami. Yashyingiwe *Nyamususa* ukomokwaho n'Abasindi, Abacyaba, Abatsobe, Abahondogo, n'Abashambo; arongora na *Nyirangabo* ukomokwaho n'Abanyabungo, *Nyirampingiye* wo mu Bahinda ukomokwaho n'Abatsobe, na *Nyirampirangwe* ukomokwaho n'Abenengwe. By'umwihariko yabanje guhuza amaraso na Nyirampirangwe wa Rwamba ukomoka kwa Mungwe, ngo azacungure abamukomokaho. Ni nako guhana igihango ku musozi wa Gihango[16] n'ubu ukibyitiririrwa!

Gihanga, se wa Kanyarwanda, rero yahanze u Rwanda arongora muri iriya miryango yose (ngo 'ayigarure ku ntango y'ubumwe'), ndetse anaraga abana be ingoma, inyinshi muri zo zaje kurema u Rwanda: Kanyarwanda Gahima ubyara Yuhi I Musindi (ukomokwaho n'Abasindi) aragwa u Rwanda rwa Gasabo; Kanyandorwa Sabugabo ubyara Mushambo (Abashambo) aragwa i Ndorwa, Kanyabugesera Mugondo ubyara Muhondogo (Abahondogo) aragwa u Bugesera, Nyirarucyaba ubyara Abacyaba aragwa u Bugara (bwitiriwe Kagara ukomoka kwa Nyirarucyaba). Gashubi ukomokwaho n'Abashubi aragwa u Bushubi, Kanyabungo Ngabo ubyara Abanyabungo (bategekwaga n'Abatsibura) aragwa u Bunyabungo. Na Rutsobe ngo yaba yari yarazwe i Gisaka Abazirankende bakaza kukimutwara kubera guhora ibwami. Ubwami bw'Abanyiginya Gihanga yarazwe na Kazi kandi ngo bwasimbuye ubw'Abarenge kuko bari barazanye amacakubiri (*Imungu ya Mungwe*[17]).

15 Icyenda cyenda inka n'abana.

16 Gihango ni igisozi kirekire kiri hafi y'igisi cya Nyakizu (aho Rwamba yari atuye). Ubu iyo misozi yombi iri mu Karere ka Nyaruguru hafi ya Paruwasi ya Cyahinda.

17 Imungu ya Mungwe: Ni Mungwe wa Rurenge I wazanye amacakubiri n'amagomerane yanga kunywera ku ntango y'ubumwe kubera ko yari yararazwe inkanda ya Nyirankende.

Ikimenyimenyi ni uko umwami wa nyuma w'Abarenge, Jeni, ubwe niwe wimitse Gihanga akanamuha abiru be bakuru, Rubunga na Nyirampingiye, ngo bazamubwire ubwiru bw'Abarenge.

Ubumwe bw'Abanyagihanga rero ni ihame ndakuka dukomora kwa Gihanga[18], naho "Ubunyarwanda" bwo tubukomora kwa Kanyarwanda-Gahima warazwe u Rwanda akanahuza insibo zose z'Abanyarwanda bafite isoko mu bimanuka bya mbere (ibikomoka kwa Gahima[19]) n'ibya kabiri (ibikomoka kwa Sabizeze). "Ndi Umunyarwanda" kuyumva muri ubwo buryo kamerano, biri mu byatuma igumya kudaheranwa n'amacakubiri yagwiriye u Rwanda kuva kera na kare, ariko akabyara ishyano ritabanguriye mu mwaka wa 1994. "Twese turi Abanyarwanda" rero nta shiti, nk'uko Intwari z'Imena z'i Nyange zihora zibitwibutsa, uhereye igihe zemeraga kwitanga!

"Ndi Umunyarwanda" ikwiye rero kutwibutsa ko twese turi bene Kanyarwanda Gahima "Muhuzansibo" zose Abanyarwanda dukomokamo. Ikwiye kandi kutwibutsa ko isano y'amaraso dufite iruta ibindi byose bidutandukanya byaba uturere dukomokamo cyangwa ibyiciro by'ubukire turimo, dore ko byinshi ntawe ubihitamo.

Uretse kuduha inkomoko imwe (common ancestry) Ndi Umunyarwanda ni akaranga (identity) Abanyarwanda twese dusangiye. Ikwiye kandi kutubera urugendo rw'ubuzima (process) bwa buri Munyarwanda, aho kuba "gahunda" (program) irangira nyuma y'igihe runaka.

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18 Gihanga ubwe ngo niwe wagize ati "Nshinze umwe ndasakara" ubu byabaye imvugo cyangwa igisakuzo. Ngo yabivuze amaze gukora umuhango wo guha amata abatware be batatu ashaka kumenya uzamusimbura ku ngoma.

19 Niyo mpamvu yiswe Kanyarwanda Gahima nyine ngo yibutse inkomoko y'igisekuru cye.

II. AMOKO MAHIMBANO YASENYE U RWANDA

NKUSI Deo*

Intangiriro

U Rwanda ni igihugu kimaze imyaka myinshi kiriho, amateka agaragaza ko rwayobowe guhera ahagana 1091 ku ngoma ya Gihanga.[1] Abashakashatsi bemezaga ko Abanyarwanda bose bakomoka ku mukurambere umwe ari we Shyerezo, abandi bita Sabizeze; bityo bakemeza ko Abanyarwanda bose basangiye isano muzi.

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, iyo umuryango wagezaga muri rusange ku bantu 100 witwaga Inzu; wagera ku bantu 1000 ugahabwa ingoma, ukitwa Ubwoko. Mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni, Abanyarwanda bari bagize umuryango wunze ubumwe, basangiye igihugu, bahuje ururimi n'umuco. Abanyarwanda bose bafatanyaga kurinda Igihugu cyabo no kucyagura.

Abanyarwanda biyumvaga nk'abavandimwe; bose biyitaga bene Kanyarwanda, bakavuga ko u Rwanda ari ingobyi ibahetse. Bari bahuriye kandi ku mateka yabo, imyemerere, bemera Imana imwe, bahuje umwami wabo, basangiye imihango, imigenzo, imiziro n'imiziririzo. Bahuzwaga kandi n'indangagaciro basangiye nko kugira ishyaka, gukunda igihugu, ubutwari, ubwitange, ubupfura, kurangwa n'ukuri, ubwangamugayo, gutabarana, ubumuntu, kubaha, kugira umurava, gufatanya, kwitabira umurimo n'izindi ndangagaciro. Ibyo byose byashimangiraga ubumwe mu Banyarwanda.

Abakoloni bageze mu Rwanda, batesheje agaciro umuco w'u Rwanda n'ibyashimangiraga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda haba mu mibereho ya buri munsi, mu myemerere no mu mitegekere. Abakoloni bafashe ibyiciro by'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda babihindura amoko; babyita mu gifaransa "race" , nyuma babyita "ethnie" birengagije ubundi icyo bisobanuye; maze batangira umugambi weruye wo gutanya no guteranya Abanyarwanda. Ubundi koko nta muntu utagira ubwoko kuko buri muntu afite ababyeyi

** NKUSI Deo ni Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego (CHENO)*

1 KAGAME Alexis, Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda, Butare, EUNR, 1972

akomokaho, nabo bafite abababyara, bityo bityo. Ariko mu Banyarwanda bo hambere, ubuhutu, ubutwa n'ubututsi byari ibyiciro by'imirimo n'imibereho (ubukungu). Umuntu yashoboraga kuva mu cyiciro kimwe akajya mu kindi bitewe n'uko ubukungu bwe bwiyongereye cyangwa bwagabanutse.

Nyuma y'ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda, abategetsi ba Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri nabo bakomeje imyumvire y'Abakoloni bimika ivangura rishingiye ku byo bise "amoko" barazwe n'abakoloni. Ibyo byatumye u Rwanda ruhura n'ibibazo byinshi birimo ivangura rishingiye ku byiswe amoko ndetse hiyongeraho n'ivangura rishingiye ku turere. Itotezwa n'iyicwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda n'ibibazo by'ubuhunzi byari byaraburiwe igisubizo. Politiki yo kwimakaza ubwoko n'ivangura ni yo yateje u Rwanda akaga ka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi; yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ubutegetsi bwariho.

Muri iyi nyandiko, tugiye kugaragaza uburyo ayo moko mahimbano yashenye Igihugu. Turagaragaza by'umwihariko uko u Rwanda rwari ruyobowe mbere y'ubukoloni; ubwoko bwo mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni; uko abakoloni bazanye amoko atandukanye n'ayo Abanyarwanda bavukamo, n'uko amoko maremano yakomeje guhabwa intebe mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma yo guhabwa ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994. Turagaragaza kandi ingaruka z'amoko mahimbano yimitswe n'abakoloni agashyigikirwa na Leta z'u Rwanda zakurikiye ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994. Mu musozo w'iyi nyandiko turagaragaza bimwe mu byakozwe na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu kugarura ubumwe bwasenywe n'amoko mahimbano.

1. Imitegekere y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'Ubukoloni

Ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni bwari bushingiye ku bwami. U Rwanda rwayoborwaga n'Umwami afatanyije n'Umugabekazi.[2]

Umwami yafashwaga n'abatware bari mu byiciro bitatu by'ingenzi ari byo: Umutware w'umukenke wari ushinzwe ibirebana n'ubworozi bw'inka;

2 *Umugabekazi: nyina w'umwami*

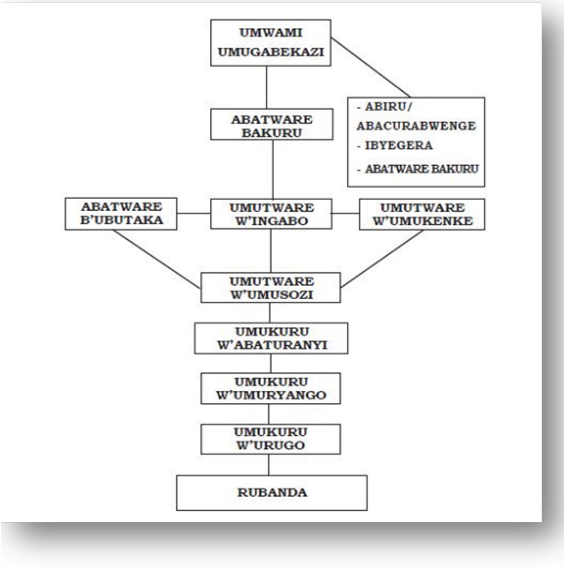
umutware w'ubutaka wari ushinzwe ubuhinzi n'umutware w'Ingabo wari ushinzwe ibijyanye no kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu.

Umwami ni we wari umugaba w'ikirenga w'ingabo. Twibuke ko buri mugabo mu Rwanda yari ingabo y'Igihugu. Iyo impuruza yavugaga yagombaga gutabarira u Rwanda.

Mbere y'ubukoloni, abatware bakomokaga mu miryango yose, ariko siko byakomeje kuba guhera mu mwaka wa 1926. Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko umwami ari umuhuza wabo n'Imana. Yari afite ububasha ntagereranywa ariko yagombaga gushyira imbere ya byose inyungu z'Igihugu; inyungu z'Abanyarwanda bose; bakabimwubahira.

Umwami yari uwa rubanda; rubanda narwo rukaba urw'umwami. Nk'uko u Rwanda ari urw'Abanyarwanda; nabo kandi bakaba ab'u Rwanda (abanya-Rwanda; ben-u-Rwanda). Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, nta macakubiri ahanganisha rubanda yigeze abaho. Amakimbirane azwi yabayeho ni ay'abahanganiraga ubutegetsi. Umwami yafatanyaga gutegeka n'Umugabekazi, abiru n'abatware.[3]

Igishushanyo kigaragaza imitegekere y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni



3 *CNUR, Amateka y'u Rwanda kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p.120*

2. Ubwoko mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni

Umuryango w'Abanyarwanda wari ugizwe n'inzego eshatu: Urugo, Inzu, Ubwoko. Buri bwoko mu Rwanda rwo hambere, bwari bugizwe n'abantu bafite izina rimwe ry'ubwoko, basangiye inkomoko imwe ya kera. Bagiraga kandi ikirangabwoko cy'inyamaswa.

Kuri Marcel d'Hertfelt, umushakashatsi n'umwanditsi w'amateka, mu Rwanda hari imiryango/amoko 18; hari n'abandi bashakashatsi bagaragaje ko ari 16, abandi 20 cyangwa arenga. Amwe muri ayo moko/imiryango uyasanga no mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda.

Ayo moko hafi ya yose arimo bya byiciro bitatu by'Abanyarwanda bishingiye ku butunzi; ari nabyo abakoloni baje kwita amoko: Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa. Bamwe bari abatunzi, abandi abahinzi ndetse n'ababumbyi.[4] Icyakora kuva u Rwanda rwabaho, bose bitwaga Abanyarwanda; bene Kanyarwanda. Ubukungu bw'umuntu bwahinduka, imirimo imutunze igahinduka, nawe agahindura icyiciro yabarizwagamo.

Imbonerahamwe ikurikira igaragaza amoko yo mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, imibare y'abatunzi (Tutsi), abahinzi (Hutu) n'ababumbyi (Twa) muri buri bwoko; ishingiye ku nyandiko "Les Clans du Rwanda Ancien" (1971) ya Marcel d'Hertefelt ndetse n'iya Bernardin Muzungu, "L'Histoire du Rwanda pre-Nyiginya'' (2017) isobanura neza imibare yo mu nyandiko ya Marcel d'Hertefelt.[5]

UBWOKO	IJANISHA %	UMUBARE W'ABATURAGE	UBUTUNZI		
			Abatunzi %	Abahinzi %	Ababumbyi %
1. Abanyiginya (Abasindi +Abanyiginya)	24,23	2.907.600	34,56	22,37	15,12
2. Abasinga	14,60	1.752.000	12,49	15,08	6,30
3. Abazigaba	11,46	1.375.200	4,41	12,86	9,24

4 *MUZUNGU, B. , L'Histoire du Rwanda pré-Nyiginya, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 57, Gicurasi 2017*

5 *MUZUNGU, B. , L'Histoire du Rwanda pré-Nyiginya, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 57, Gicurasi 2017, p.18*

UBWOKO	IJANISHA %	UMUBARE W'ABATURAGE	UBUTUNZI		
			Abatunzi %	Abahinzi %	Ababumbyi %
4. Abagesera*	11,04	1.324.800	6,36	11,94	24,79
5. Abega	8,00	960.000	10,74	7,49	11,76
6. Ababanda	6,69	802.800	1,65	7,64	18,48
7. Abacyaba	6,46	775.200	5,74	6,64	2,52
8. Abungura	5,84	700.800	0,76	6,84	3,36
9. Abashambo	3,94	472.800	9,00	2,99	3,36
10. Abatsobe	0,86	103.200	1,99	0,65	0,42
11. Abakono	0,68	81.600	3,05	0,23	-
12. Abaha	0,55	66.000	2,01	0,27	-
13. Abashingo	0,43	51.600	1,99	0,14	-
14. Abanyakarama	0,28	33.600	1,04	0,13	-
15. Abasita	0,14	16.800	0,45	0,08	-
16. Abongera	0,11	13.200	0,22	0,09	-
17. Abenengwe	0,004	480	0,01	0,003	-
18. Abataramenyekanye (Abandi)	4,686	562.320	3,51	4,686	-

Imiryango y'Abanyarwanda, uhereye ku bushakashatsi bwa Marcel d'Hertfelt, nk'uko byanditswe kandi na Padiri Bernardin Muzungu (Les Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés No 52, Mutarama 2015 na No 57, Gicurasi 2017).

* *Marcel d'Hertfelt yashyize Abagesera bari biganje mu Gisaka n'Abanyabugesera, abatuye mu Bugesera bari biganjemo abo mu bwoko bw'Abahondogo, bose yabise Abagesera.*

Usanga hafi mu moko yose harimo abatunzi (Tutsi), abahinzi (Hutu) n'ababumbyi (Twa), kandi umuntu yashoboraga kuva mu cyiciro kimwe akajya mu kindi bitewe n'uko ubukire bwe bwahindutse. Padiri B. Muzungu asobanura neza ko abo d'Hertfelt yita amoko: Tutsi, Hutu, Twa atari byo, ahubwo ko ari ibyiciro by'imirimo ibatunze n'ubukungu bwabo ; akavuga ko ari abatunzi, abahinzi n'ababumbyi.

Ikindi ni uko buri bwoko bugira ikirangabwoko; inyamaswa buziririza, iyo niyo bita mu gifaransa "totem".[6] Abanyarwanda bavugaga ko iyo nyamaswa itagomba kugirirwa nabi, kwicwa cyangwa kuribwa n'umuntu wo muri ubwo bwoko.

Imbonerahamwe ikurikira igaragagaza ibirangabwoko bya bumwe mu bwoko bwo mu Rwanda[7]

UBWOKO	"TOTEM"
Abanyiginya-Abatsobe	Umusambi (la grue couronnée)
Abasinga	Sakabaka (le Milan)
Abazigaba-Abenengwe	Ingwe (le Léopard)
Abagesera	Inyamanza (La Bergeronnette)
Abega-Abakono-Abaha	Igikeri (Le Crapaud)
Ababanda-Abacyaba	Impyisi (L'hyène)
Abungura	Inyombya (Le Mésange)
Abashambo	Intare (Le Lion)
Abasita	Umuhari (Le Chacal)
Abongera	Isha (La Gazelle)
Abahondogo	Ishwima (Le Pic-boeuf)

6 *D'HERTFELT M., Les Clans du Rwanda Ancien, Tervuren, 1971.*

7 *MUZUNGU, B. , L'Histoire du Rwanda pré-Nyiginya, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 57, Gicurasi 2017, p.16*

3. Impinduka zikomeye mu gihe cy'ubukoloni n'amoko mahimbano yoretse u Rwanda

Ubukoloni ku bihugu by'Afurika bwemerejwe mu nama yabereye i Berlin mu Budage yahuje ibihugu by'Iburayi kuva ku itariki ya 15/11/1884 kugeza ku itariki ya 26/02/1885. Iyi nama yemeje uburyo Uburayi bwigarurira ibihugu by'Afurika. Muri iyo nama kandi niho ibihugu by'Uburayi byagabagabanye ibihugu bya Afurika. U Rwanda rwagabanyirijwe intara zarwo rwari rufite icyo gihe; igice kimwe gisigara kuri Kongo Mbiligi ikindi kijya ku Bugande; igice cyasigaye cyitwa u Rwanda cyahawe Abadage baje gusimburwa n'Ababiligi mu mwaka wa 1916, nyuma y'uko Abadage batsinzwe mu Rwanda, mu ntambara ya mbere y'isi.[8]

Uretse no mu Rwanda, Ubukoloni mu bihugu byinshi by'Afurika bwaranzwe no gusuzugura no gutesha agaciro umuco w'Abanyafurika, gusenya cyangwa kugabanya ubushobozi bw'inzego z'ubutegetsi z'ibihugu by'Afurika no gucamo ibice abenegihugu kugira ngo babategeke biboroheye. Ibi byari bishingiye kuri politiki y'Ubukoloni izwi nka "Divide and Rule/Diviser pour Régner".

3.1. Gutesha agaciro ibyarangaga imyemerere, imibereho, imibanire, imitegekere n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Mu Rwanda, Abakoloni bashenye ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, bakuraho n'ibyabahuzaga. Bahinduye imitegekere, imyemerere, imyumvire, imitekerereze n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Bashenye umuco n'imyemerere byariho bazana ibyabo. Bavanyeho inzego z'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda banatesha agaciro umwami Yuhi V Musinga mu rwego rwo gusenya ubumwe n'imitegekere y'Abanyarwanda. Hashyirwa imbere inyungu n'amategeko y'Abakoloni n'abamisiyoneri cyane cyane "Abapadiri bera" ba Kiliziya Gatolika bakoranaga bya hafi n'ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni.[9]

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8 CNLG, Ikiganiro: Uruhare rw'imiyoborere muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no mu kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya jenoisde yakorewe Abatutsi, Kigali, 2017

9 CNLG, Ikiganiro: Uruhare rw'imiyoborere muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no mu kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya jenoisde yakorewe Abatutsi, Kigali, 2017

Dore ko bamwe mu banditsi bavuga ko Abakoloni baje bambaye "M" eshatu ari zo: M: 'Missionnaire'-kwigisha idini; M: 'Militaire'-gutegekesha igitsure na M: 'Marchand'-gucuruza, gusahura. Bose bari bagamije guteza imbere ubukungu bw'iwabo, batitaye na gato ku mibereho y'Abanyafurika.

Mu mwaka wa 1917, umwami yategetswe gusinya ko buri Munyarwanda azajya mu idini yishakiye. Ababigizemo inyungu ahanini ni abagatolika binyuze mu bapadiri bera. Mu mwaka wa 1923, umwami yambuwe uburenganzira bwo kugabira no kunyaga abatware. Abakoloni basimbuye umwami mu bubasha no mu cyubahiro. Kubera ibyo, Abatware bamwe na bamwe batangiye gusuzugura umwami no kuyoboka abakoloni n'abapadiri bera.[10]

Mu mwaka wa 1925, kugira ngo ubwami burusheho guta agaciro, Ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi bwaciriye i Burundi umutware w'abiru Gashamura ka Rukangirashyamba wari umukuru w'umuhango w'umuganura no kwimika umwami. Ku wa 12 Ugushyingo 1931, Umwami Musinga yanyazwe ingoma ku mugaragaro, ajyanwa i Kamembe, Abanyarwanda bakomeza kumusangayo no kumuyoboka, nyuma acirwa ishyanga, i Moba muri Congo Mbiligi mu mwaka wa 1940, ari naho yatangiye.

3.2. Abakoloni bahaye icyicaro amoko mahimbano

Uretse gusuzugura no gutesha agaciro umuco n'inzego z'ubutegetsi z'u Rwanda, abakoloni bakomeje kwigisha ko Abanyarwanda atari bamwe, batava hamwe kandi ko bataziye rimwe mu Rwanda, ko badateye kimwe, bafite imico n'imyitwarire itandukanye. Batangiye gupima indeshyo, amazuru n'umutwe ndetse bakandika n'inyandiko zitwaga iz'abashakashatsi zishimangira ibyo bitekerezo bivangura kandi biteranya Abanyarwanda. Aho kureba Umunyarwanda muri rusange, abakoloni baremye ishusho nshya bitiriye Umututsi, Umuhutu n'Umutwa, ariko bidafite aho bihuriye n'ukuri.[11]
Baheraho bemeza Abanyarwanda ko bari mu moko (races) atatu kandi ko ntacyo bapfana.

10 *Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999.*

11 *CNLG, Ikiganiro: Uruhare rw'imiyoborere muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no mu kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya jenoisde yakorewe Abatutsi, Kigali, 2017*

Birigishwa mu mashuri no mu nzego zinyuranye, birashimangirwa; babyemeza benshi mu Banyarwanda.

Abakoloni bafatanije n'Abamisiyoneri badukanye ingengabitekerezo y'uko Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa ntaho bahuriye, ko abasumbye abandi bagomba gufatanya n'Abazungu gutegeka Abanyarwanda no kubahindura bakajya mu bukirisitu, bakabatoza umuco w' abazungu.

Ingero za zimwe mu nyandiko z'abashakashatsi babo zatandukanyaga Abanyarwanda:

Inyinshi muri izo nyandiko zavugaga ko Abanyarwanda badakomoka hamwe, ko badasa, ko batanganya ubwenge kandi ko bataziye mu Rwanda rimwe; kandi bamwe muri bo bari bazi ko ibyo bigisha ntaho bihuriye n'ukuri:

- Alexandre Arnoux mu gitabo yise *Les Pères Blancs aux sources du Nil*, Paris, 1950, p.18 agira ati: "Abatutsi bafitanye isano n'Ababisiniya kandi baje mu Rwanda nyuma y'andi moko yose ahari. Muri bo abatigeze bivanga n'abirabura usanga bagifite isura isa n'iy'abakomoka kuri Semi. Baba bafite mu maso hakeye kandi harambuye. Bafite uruhu rw'umubiri rukeye kurusha urw'abirabura. Bafite igihagararo cyemye, kigera nko ku burebure bwa 1m80".[12]
- Georges Sandrart, mu gitabo yise *Une curiosité de l'Afrique*, 1955, p.59-64 yagize ati: "Umututsi ni umunyabwenge, umwirasi, utagira uwo yizera, uvuga make, umunyagasuzuguro, uzi gutegeka".[13]
- Albert Pages, mu nyandiko yise *La vie intellectuelle des Noirs du Rwanda*, 1934, p.657 yagize ati: "Umuhutu ni mugufi mu gihagararo, akagira mu maso hatarambutse, akaba munini kurusha umututsi. Ntagira uburanga, ahorana ubwoba, akagira n'ikinyabupfura gike."[14]
- R. Delvaux, mu gitabo yise *Races de l'Afrique Centrale: Ruanda-Urundi*, 1930, p.10 agira ati: "Abahutu ni ubwoko bw'abacakara. Bafite isura idatunganye kandi idacyeye.
- Ariko bakaba abantu boroheje kandi batagira amayeri nk'Abatutsi."[15]

12 *Muzungu, B., A qui profite encore la zizanie entre les Rwandais, in Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés, No 47, 2011 P.63*

13 *Muzungu, B., A qui profite encore la zizanie entre les Rwandais, in Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés, No 47, 2011*

14 *Muzungu, B., A qui profite encore la zizanie entre les Rwandais, in Cahiers Lumières et Sociétés, No 47, 2011 p.64*

15 *Idem*

Ingero z'abashakashatsi b'Abanyaburayi banditse inyandiko zitanya Abanyarwanda ni nyinshi. Icyo bose bahurizagaho ni ugushimangira ibitekerezo by'Abakoloni ko Abanyarwanda atari bamwe, batanganya ubwenge kandi badakomoka hamwe.

Abakoloni b'Ababiligi bazanye kandi indangamuntu yanditsemo ibyo bitaga amoko ("races"). Indangamuntu y'igihe cy'ubukoloni yitwaga "ibuku" yarimo ijambo ubwoko ryagaragazaga neza ubwoko Abanyarwanda basanzwe bemera (Abega, Abasinga, Ababanda, Abazigaba….); hakabamo n'ijambo "race" ritari rifite igisobanuro mu Kinyarwanda ari naryo bandikagaho ijambo "Umuhutu", "Umututsi" cyangwa "Umutwa". Nyamara bari bazi neza ko ntaho ubundi bihuriye n'icyitwa "race".

3.3. Amavugurura y'inzego z'Igihugu yashimangiye ivangura rishingiye ku moko maremano

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1926 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1932, habaye ivugurura rikomeye ry'ubutegetsi bwite mu Rwanda. Iryo vugurura ryakozwe n'ubutegetsi bw'Ububiligi rishyirwa mu bikorwa na Resident w'u Rwanda Georges Mortehan, ku buryo iryo vugurura, ku byerekeye u Rwanda, hari abanditsi baryita "Reforme Mortehan" cyangwa Ivugurura rya Mortehan (1926).

Iryo vugurura ryavanyeho uburyo bw'imitegekere bwari busanzwe, rizana ubundi buryo bushya bushyira imbere Abatutsi. Bashyizeho "Territoire" iyoborwa n'Umubiligi, "Chefferie" iyoborwa na "Chef w'Umunyarwanda na "Sous-Chefferie" iyoborwa na "Sous-chef" w'Umunyarwanda. Icyo gihe nibwo umutware w'ingabo, uw'umukenke n'uw' ubutaka bavuyeho, bituma abaturage bagwa mu gihirahiro cyo kutamenya umutegetsi nyawe bayoboka.

Mu nkurikizi mbi z'iryo vugurura ni uko ryashyize imbere ivangura rishingiye ku "moko" mu kugena abatware n'abandi bategetsi. Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1926, abatware bavaga mu byiciro byose; ariko nyuma y'ayo mavugurura

Abatware bari mu cyiciro cy'Abahutu n'abitwaga Abatwa batangiye kuvanwa mu myanya buhoro buhoro; ngo hasigare Abatutsi gusa; nabo baturuka mu miryango imwe n'imwe.[16]

3.4. Uko abakoloni basobanuraga ijambo ubwoko binyuranye n'ukuri

Ikibazo cya mbere kigaragaza uko abakoloni bahimbye amoko (Hutu-Tutsi-Twa) mu muryango nyarwanda ni uko abakoloni bakoresheje ijambo "ubwoko" barihuza n'amagambo yo mu zindi ndimi cyane cyane igifaransa. Ayo magambo abakoloni bise ko asobanura ubwoko ni ijambo "race"; ariko nyuma baje kurisimbuza "ethnie".[17]

Ijambo "race" rivuga kamere y'ikintu uko cyaremwe ku buryo gitandukanye n'ibindi. Abahanga bavuga ko ikintu gikomeye kiranga abantu cyangwa ibintu bihuje "race" ni ukubyarana (interfecondité); ibintu bihuje "race" birabyarana, naho ibidahuje "race" ntibibyarana.[18]

Ijambo "ethnie" ryakoreshejwe n'abakoloni mu Rwanda basa nk'aho bashaka koroshya ijambo "race" ryari risanzwe rikoreshwa. Inkoranyamagambo ya "Petit Larousse" ivuga ko ijambo "ethnie" risobanura itsinda ry'abantu basangiye ururimi n'umuco gakondo; wabyitegereza neza, ugendeye kuri icyo gisobanuro, ugasanga Abanyarwanda bose ari "ethnie" imwe, ariko si ko Abakoloni babishakaga.

Ibyo bisobanuro byombi, ryaba ijambo "race" cyangwa "ethnie" nta na rimwe ryari rihuje n'imiterere y'umuryango nyarwanda. Gukoresha ayo magambo yombi uvuga Abanyarwanda byari ikosa kuko Abanyarwanda bose basangiye ururimi n'umuco gakondo. Nta gice cyo mu Rwanda cyari gifite umuco wacyo cyangwa ururimi rwacyo rwihariye. Ukurikije ibisobanuro by'ijambo "ethnie", Abanyarwanda bari kuba bafite ubwoko bumwe; ntabwo yari kuba atatu. Ikindi mu Rwanda nta rurimi cyangwa umuco wari wihariwe n'Abahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa ku buryo ntawari kuvuga ko batandukanije "ethnie".[19]

16 *Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999.*

17 *MUZUNGU, B. , Le problème des races au Rwanda, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 40, Werurwe 2009*

18 *MUZUNGU, B., Le problème des races au Rwanda, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 40, Werurwe 2009*

19 *MUZUNGU, B., Le problème des races au Rwanda, in Cahiers Lumière et société No 40, Werurwe 2009 P*

Ku Banyarwanda, mu mvugo isanzwe, ijambo ubwoko rivuga abantu bakomoka ku mukurambere umwe. Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni iyo wabazaga umunyarwanda ubwoko bwe yagusubizaga bumwe muri ya moko 18. Ntawatekerezaga kugusubiza ko ari Umutwa cyangwa Umuhutu cyangwa Umututsi.

Mu mvugo y'abakoloni, ijambo ubwoko ryahawe imyumvire mishya. Birashoboka ko batari bazi icyo risanzwe rivuga cyangwa se bikaba bararigoretse nkana kuko babonaga bizababafasha muri gahunda z'ubukoloni zishingiye ku gutanya abenegihugu kugira ngo ubategeke uko ushaka (Divide and Rule/Diviser pour Regner).

Ayo mazina uko ari atatu (Hutu, Tutsi Twa) ntavuga kamere yabo cyangwa imiterere yabo itandukanye nk'uko Abakoloni babisobanuye bakoresheje ijambo "race". Ayo mazina avuga imibereho yabo cyane cyane hashingiwe ku myuga cyangwa imirimo yari ibatunze no ku bukire bari bafite. Izina Abatwa rivuga ababumbyi, izina abahutu rikavuga abahinzi naho abatutsi rikavuga aborozi cyangwa abatunzi. Kubera akamaro iyo myuga yari ifite mu gihe cyo hambere, ayo mazina yerekanaga ubukire buri tsinda ryari rifite. Gushyirwa muri ayo matsinda byashoboraga guhinduka bitewe n'uko umuntu arushaho gukira cyangwa gukena. Umuntu yashoboraga kuva mu cyiciro kimwe akajya mu kindi.[20]

4. Ingaruka z'amoko mahimbano mu Rwanda n'uburyo yashenye Igihugu

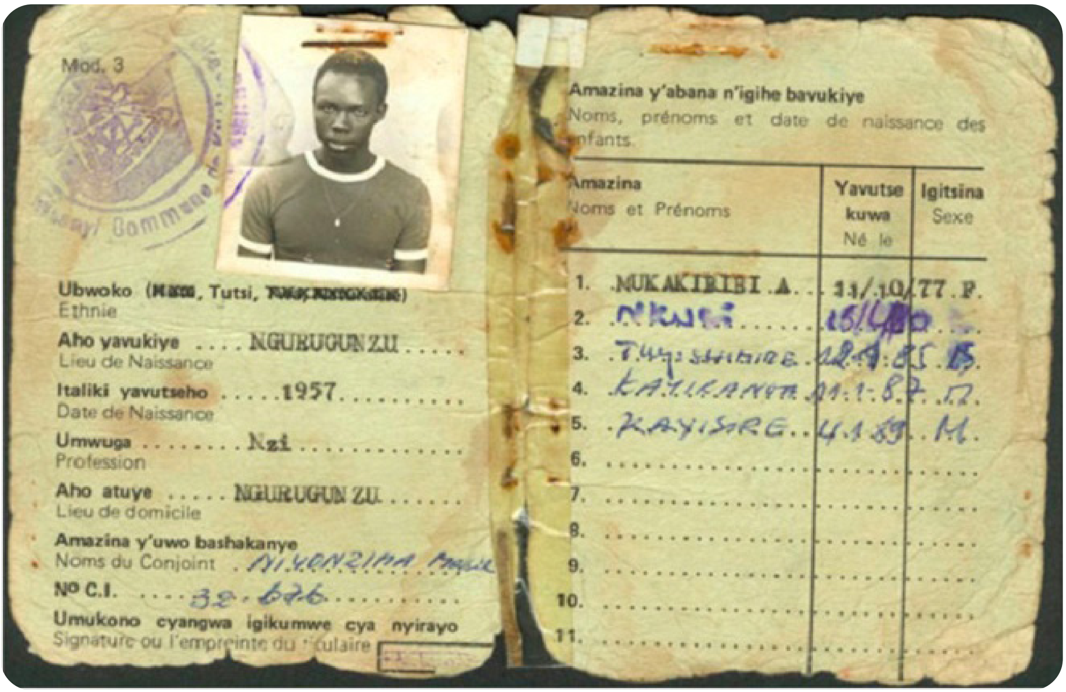
Kwimika ivangura rishingiye ku byiswe amoko yahimbwe n'abakoloni byagize ingaruka mu mitegekere, imibereho n'imibanirie by'abanyarwanda kuva mu gihe cy'ubukoloni kugeza ubu.

4.1. Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni

Muri iki gihe nibwo hatangiye gushyirwaho inzego z'ubutegetsi n'abatware hagendewe ku "bwoko" bwabo. Binyuze muri rya vugurura ry'ubutegetsi ryitiriwe Rezida Mortehan, abakoloni batangiye gukuraho abatware b'"Abahutu" n' "Abatwa" bashyira imbere abatware b'Abatutsi.

20 MUZUNGU, B., Le problème des races au Rwanda, in Cahiers Lumière et societe No 40, Werurwe 2009 P

Muri iki gihe kandi nibwo hatangiye gukoreshwa amoko mu nyandiko z'ubuyobozi (document officiel) mu buryo bweruye. Urugero rukomeye ni urw'indangamuntu igaragaza ubwoko yashyizweho n'Abakoloni. Abakoloni b'Ababiligi bashyizeho indangamuntu "ibuku" yaje kuvamo indangamuntu y'urupapuro nayo yari yanditsemo ayo amoko. Ibyo gushyira "ubwoko" mu indangamuntu byakomeje no gukoreshwa na nyuma y'ubwigenge kuri Repubulika ya Mbere n'iya kabiri (1962-1994).


Mod. 3
Ubwoko (Tutsi,) Ethnie
Aho yavukiye .... NGURUGUNZU ..... Lieu de Naissance
Italiki yavutseho .....1957.......... Date de Naissance
Umwuga .... Nzi .... Profession
Aho atuye ..... NGURUGUNZU ...... Lieu de domicile
Amazina y'uwo bashakanye Noms du Conjoint
Nº C.I. ....32.626..........
Umukono cyangwa igikumwe cya nyirayo Signature ou l'empreinte du titulaire

Amazina y'abana n'igihe bavukiye
Noms, prénoms et date de naissance des enfants

Amazina Noms et Prénoms	Yavutse kuwa Né le	Igitsina Sexe
1. MUKAKIBIBI A.	11/10/77	F.
2.		
3.		
4.		
5. KAYISIRE		M.
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		

Ifoto 1: Ifoto igaragaza indangamuntu irimo ubwoko (**Aho byavuye**: TABARO Jean de la Croix, *The Passport To Death: Story Of Rwanda's Notorious ID*, KT Press, 13/07/2015 available at: https://www.ktpress.rw/2015/07/the-passport-to-death-story-of-rwandas-notorious-id/)

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni nibwo hatangiye inyigisho n'inyandiko zitwaga ko ari iz'abashakashatsi zagaragazaga ko Abanyarwanda nta sano bafitanye; ko badakomoka hamwe. Ibi byigishwaga mu mashuri, bikandikwa mu bitabo by'abashakashatsi kandi bikigishwa abaturage bose.

Indi ngaruka ikomeye y'amako mahimbano mu gusenya Igihugu ni uko mu gihe cyo gushaka ubwigenge, mu Rwanda hadutse amashyaka, amwe

ashingiye ku moko. Mu mwaka wa 1959 nibwo mu Rwanda hadutse amashyaka. Amenshi mu mashyaka yaje muri icyo gihe yari ashingiye ku bwoko. Amwe mu mashyaka yadutse mu mwaka wa 1959 ni aya akurikira:

-APROSOMA: Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse ryashinzwe ku itariki ya 15/2/1959
- RADER: Rassemblement Democratique Rwandaise ryashinzwe ku itariki ya 14/9/1959

-**PARMEHUTU**: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation des Bahutu ryashinzwe ku itariki ya 9/10/1959

-Hari kandi ishyaka rya **UNAR**: Union Nationale Rwandaise ryashinzwe ku itariki ya 13/9/1959. Iri rizwi kuba ritari rishamikiye ku bwoko kandi ryari rishyigikiye ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, rinasaba ubwigenge bw'ako kanya; mu gihe hari andi mashyaka nka PARMEHUTU batasabaga ubwigenge. Bavugaga ko atari cyo cyihutirwa ngo "n'iyo babubona mu myaka 30 iri mbere nta kibazo". Ibyo byatumye Ababiligi bahitamo guha ubwigenge abatabusabaga ariko bemera gukomeza kubayoboka.

Hari n'andi mashyaka menshi mato ataragize uburemere cyangwa ngo amenyekane cyane. Amwe muri ayo mashyaka mato wasangaga yegamiye kuri ayo mashyaka ane manini twagaragaje mbere; ahanini zari za "Associations" cyangwa "Cooperatives" zahindutse amashyaka.

Ingero:

-ABAKI: Alliance des Bakiga
-ABESC: Association des Bahutu évoluant pour la suppression des castes
-ACR: Association des Cultivateurs du Rwanda
-APADEC: Association du Parti Démocrate Chrétien
-APROCOMIN: Association des Commerçants Indigènes
-AREDETWA: Association pour le Relevement Démocratique des Batwa

-ARUCO: Alliance du Ruanda - Urundi et du Congo
-ASSERU: Association des Eleveurs du Rwanda
-MOMOR: Mouvement Monarchiste Rwandais
- MUR: Mouvement pour l'Union Rwandaise
-PAMOPRO: Parti Monarchiste Progressiste
-UAARU: Union des Aborozi Africains du Rwanda
-UMAR: Union des Masses Rwandaises
-UNAFREUROP: Union Afro-Européenne
-UNINTERCOKI: Union des Intérêts Communs du Kinyaga.[21]

4.2. Mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) n'iya kabiri (1973-1994)

Mu gihe cyo guha u Rwanda "ubwigenge", abakoloni bahisemo gushyira ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda mu maboko y'amashyaka yari ashyize imbere "ubwoko" n'ivangura rishingiye ku moko. Ibyo byatumye na nyuma y'ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda amoko mahimbano akomeza guhabwa intebe mu Rwanda bikajyana n'ivangura ryo guheza, gutoteza igice kimwe cy'Abanyarwanda batari mu "bwoko" buri ku butegetsi cyane cyane abitwaga Abatutsi.

Iki gihe cyaranzwe kandi no gushyira imbere ivangura rishingiye ku moko ndetse n'uturere bikanagenderwaho mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo bya Leta binyuranye. Urugero: Gahunda y'iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere mu mashuri no mu mirimo.

-Gutoteza no kwica Abatutsi

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1959, Abatutsi bakomeje gutotezwa no kwicwa ku buryo hishwe abari hagati ya 25,000 na 35,000 mu mwaka ya 1963-1964.[22]
Mu myaka ya 1972-1973, abakozi n'abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi birukanwe mu mashuri no mu mirimo inyuranye. Ibyo byatumye Abatutsi benshi bahungira

21 Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Kigali, 1999.

22 CNLG, Ikiganiro: Uruhare rw'imiyoborere muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no mu kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya jenoisde yakorewe Abatutsi, Kigali, 2017

mu bihugu binyuranye, cyane cyane ibihana imbibi n'u Rwanda, biteza ikibazo cy'ubuhunzi na cyo kitabonewe igisubizo na Repubulika zombi, iya mbere n'iya kabiri zitari zinafite ubushake bwo kugikemura.

Muri icyo gihe kandi abagiraga uruhare mu bwicanyi no mu gutoteza Abatutsi ntabwo bahanwaga; ahubwo bamwe barashimirwaga ndetse n'abaturage bakishimira gutwara imitungo y'Abatutsi babaga bameneshejwe cyangwa bishwe.[23]

-Ibibazo by'ubuhunzi:

Kuva mu 1959, igihe cy'amashyaka menshi n'imvururu yazanye, Abanyarwanda benshi bo mu "bwoko" bw'Abatutsi birukanwe mu gihugu bamwe barahunga kubera itotezwa, kwicwa, gusahurwa, gutemerwa amatungo n'intoki no gutwikirwa amazu bakorerwaga. Ibyo byaturutse ku mvururu n'amakimbirane baterwaga n'amashyaka kandi nayo yabaga ashyigikiwe n'abakoloni b'Ababiligi. Na nyuma ya 1959 Abatutsi bakomeje guhunga no kwirukanwa mu Rwanda kubera itotezwa n'ivangura bakorerwaga n'ubutegetsi bwariho bwa MDR-Parmehutu. Twibuke ko guverinoma ya mbere ya MDR-Parmehutu yarimo abaminisitiri b'Ababiligi, bari Abakoloni.

Aha twakwibutsa ko mu mpunzi zo mu mwaka wa 1959 harimo n'abakomoka mu yandi "moko" ariko bari bashyigikiye umwami cyangwa bashyigikiye ko u Rwanda rubona ubwigenge bw'ako kanya.

-Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Ingaruka ikomeye y'amoko mahimbano yimitswe n'abakoloni agashyigikirwa n'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) n'iya kabiri (1973-1994) ni Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ubugetsi bwariho.

23 *CNLG, Ikiganiro: Uruhare rw'imiyoborere muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no mu kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya jenoisde yakorewe Abatutsi, Kigali, 2017*

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1994 yahitanye abantu basaga miliyoni (1,000,000). Kugeza ubu, u Rwanda ruracyahanganye n'ingaruka zayo zirimo ibibazo by'ubupfubyi, abapfakazi, ihungabana n'ibikomere ku barokotse Jenoside, urwikekwe ndetse n'indwara batewe bigenderewe.

Ntawakwirengagiza kandi ikibazo cy'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikigaragara kuri bamwe mu Banyarwanda, n'ikibazo cy'abantu bagipfobya cyangwa bahakana Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi; nabyo bishobora gusubiza inyuma intambwe u Rwanda rwari rumaze gutera mu nzira yo kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda no guteza imbere Igihugu mu bukungu, imibereho myiza n'ubuyobozi bwiza.

Witegereje, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatangiye kugeragezwa no gukorwa mu mwaka wa 1959; rurangiza iba mu mwaka wa 1994. Yashobotse kubera ingengabitekerezo yigishijwe n'Abakoloni, ikomezwa kandi ishimangirwa n'abategetsi ba Repubulika ya 1 n'iya 2, bayicengeza mu rubyiruko no mu Banyarwanda muri rusange.

Umusozo

Amako yahimbwe n'abakoloni agashyigikirwa na bamwe mu Banyarwanda yagize uruhare runini mu gusenya u Rwanda. Kwimika ayo moko byabaye intandaro y'ibibazo bikomeye birimo ivangura rishingiye ku moko, ubwicanyi bwibasiye igice kimwe cy'Abanyarwanda, ibibazo by'ubuhunzi, itotezwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nta Munyarwanda itagizeho ingaruka mbi. Ingengabitekerezo itandukanya, ikavangura, ikanateranya Abanyarwanda yatangiranye n'igitekerezo gikomoka ku mushakashatsi Captaine John-Hanning Speke, ikuzwa n'inyigisho zatanzwe n'abakoloni n'Abapadiri bera, ikomezwa n'ubutegetsi bwa PARMEHUTU, inozwa n'ubwa MRND, bunayikoresha rurangiza ari yo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994.

Ibyo bibazo byose nibyo byatumye FPR-Inkotanyi ivuka. Ni nabyo byabaye intandaro y'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwatangijwe na RPF-Inkotanyi mu mwaka wa 1990 kugeza mu wa 1994. Urugamba rwaranzwe n'ubutwari bukomeye no kugira ubuyobozi ntangarugero. Nyuma y'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yatangiye urugamba rwo kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwasenywe igihe kirekire; no kubaka Igihugu mu nzego zose; hagamijwe kubaka Igihugu cyunze ubumwe, kandi giteye imbere.

Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho ingamba na gahunda zinyuranye zigamije kubaka u Rwanda rwa bose, ruzira ivangura kandi ruhesha ishema Abanyarwanda bose. Hashyizweho gahunda y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Inkiko Gacaca zashimangiye ubutabera bwunga; gahunda ya "Ndi Umunyarwanda" nk'urubuga rwimakaza isano y'ubunyarwanda twese dusangiye. Hashyizweho kandi politiki zinyuranye zigamije gushingira ku muco wacu tukishakamo ibisubizo, tukigira, tukihesha agaciro, tukagahesha n'abandi. U Rwanda rugatera imbere mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza; ndetse n'Akarere n'Umugabane wa Afurika.

Urugamba rwo kubaka no guteza imbere Igihugu ni urugamba rw'igihe kirekire. Ni urugamba rusaba kubaka Igihugu mu buyobozi bwiza, mu bukungu, iterambere n'imibereho myiza, mu butabera, mu bubanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwerarane, mu mutekano no mu mibereho n'imibanire myiza. Abanyarwanda twese turasabwa gufatanya no kunga ubumwe tukirinda icyatugarura mu bihe by'amacakubiri byatugejeje ahabi, bigasenya Igihugu cyacu, bikadusubiza inyuma; bikatudindiza. Turasabwa gukunda Igihugu; kwitabira umurimo no kuwunoza; kunga ubumwe no kurangwa n'ubupfura. Uru rugamba rudusaba ubutwari n'indangagaciro z'umuco zubatse Igihugu kuva cyabaho. Ni urugamba rurerure, rukomeye ariko rushoboka kandi rw'ingirakamaro. Abanyarwanda twese, mu bufatanye, tugomba kuruhagurukira, tukarurwana; kandi tuzarutsinda!

“[…] ibyo byarabaye, ntitwashoboye kubikumira. Byarabaye, ntitwabisubiza inyuma. Ariko uyu munsi twagira icyo dukora. Icyo dushobora gukora ubu ni ukwiyemeza ko bitazongera kubaho ukundi. Nta bantu bazongera gutotezwa **“ -** Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y’u Rwanda Paul Kagame, Kwibuka 23, **Kigali,** tariki ya **7 Mata 2017**

Zimwe mu nyandiko zakoreshejwe:

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III• YUHI V MUSINGA MU BUSHYAMIRANE N'UBUTEGETSI BW'UBUBILIGI N'UBW'ABAPADIRI BERA

Dr NKAKA Raphael*

I. Intangiriro

Yuhi V Musinga yabaye umwami wa Rubanda kuva mu mwaka wa 1897 kugeza mu wa 1931. Ni mwene Kigeri IV Rwabugiri na Kanjogera. Yavutse mu mwaka wa 1878 cyangwa se mu wa 1879. Rwabugiri yamenye inkuru nziza y'ivuka ry'umwana igihe bari batabaye mu gitero cy'i Gikore mu misozi y'uburengerazuba bwa Kabare muri Kigezi ya Uganda y'ubu[1] . Yimye ingoma muri Mutarama 1897 i Runda hafi y'uruzi rwa Nyabarongo. Nyuma yo kwima ingoma, yimukiye ahantu henshi mbere yo gutura i Nyanza bihoraho kuva mu mwaka wa 1899 kugeza mu wa 1931 igihe ingoma mbirigi imukuye ku ngoma, ikamutuza ku ngufu i Kamembe mbere yo kumucira ishyanga muri Kongo Mbirigi mu mwaka wa 1940. Yuhi V Musinga yatanze ku ya 25/12/1944 i Moba muri Kongo.

Musinga yimye ingoma nyuma y'intambara yo ku Rucunshu mu Karere k'ubu ka Muhanga mu Ukuboza 1896 yashyamiranyije Nyiramibambwe IV Kajongera n'umwami Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa. Bombi bari barimitswe mu mwaka wa 1889 ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri i Ngeri mu Karere k'ubu ka Nyaruguru. Ubushyamirane bwa Kanjogera na Rutarindwa bari basangiye ingoma, bwabyaye intambara yabereye ku Rucunshu yarangiye abayoboke b'umugabekazi Kanjogera batsinze intambara yaguyemo umwami Rutarindwa witwikiye mu nzu.

**Dr. NKAKA Raphael ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego/CHENO*

1 *Kagame,A., Un abrégé de l'Histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda,1975, p.56. Iyo ni imyaka icishirije Kagame Alegisi yagezeho nyuma yo gukora urutonde rw'aho ibirori by'umunsi mukuru w'umuganura byagiye bibera ku ngoma ya Kigeri IV Rwabugiri agendeye ku byo umwiru w'umunyakabagari/Umwenenyabirungu/Umutege Sezibera ya Rutikanga yamubwiye. Uwo mwiru Rutikanga yagize uruhare rukomeye mu kwimika Musinga, kuko iyo atabaneka ntabwo Musinga aba yarimitswe biciye mu muco. Yashoboraga kutaboneka kuko yari ku ruhande rushyigikiye Rutarindwa. Byasabye ko abatsinze ku Rucunshu barimo Ruhinankiko bashyikirana na we bakamwinginga, akabona kwemera.*

Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Rutarindwa, hagombaga kubaho umusimbura ku ngoma. Mu bashoboraga kumusimbura, amahirwe menshi yahabwaga Musinga kubera impamvu zikurikira: Yari umuhungu w'Umwami Rwabugiri na Kanjogera wari umugabekazi bidashidikanywaho. Ibyo byonyine byaheshaga Musinga uburenganzira busesuye bwo kwima ingoma. Musinga yari ashyigikiwe n'ingabo zatsinze intambara ndetse n'abiru bakuru mu gihe uwari umaze kuganzwa atari umuhungu bwite wa Rwabugiri, ntabe kandi n'umuhungu w'umugabekazi Kanjogera. Mu bahungu ba Rwabugiri, nta n'umwe wari wujuje ibisabwa byose kurusha Musinga kugira ngo yime ingoma. Ntabwo rero Musinga yimye ingoma ku ngufu nk'uko bijya bivugwa, kuko yimitswe hakurikijwe umuhango w'ubwimika wemewe mu bwiru.[2]

Ntabwo ninjiye mu mpaka zikunze kuba zishinja Rwabugiri kuba yarakoze amakosa yo kwimika Rutarindwa n'umugabekazi Kanjogera utari nyina, kandi ufite umwana w'umuhungu wujuje ibisabwa byo kwima ingoma, kuko bitavuze ko ari yo mpamvu yatumye Rutarindwa atsindwa. Rutarindwa yashoboraga gutsinda intambara bidafite aho bihuriye n'uburyo yimye ingoma. Nta muyoboro ugaragara hagati yo kwima ingoma kwa Rutarindwa no gutsindwa kwe ku Rucunshu.

Nanze kandi kujya mu mpaka z'ubushyamirane hagati y'Abega n'Abanyiginya bukunze kuvugwa muri iyo ntambara. Intambara yashyamiranyije ingabo, ntabwo yashyamiranyije Abega n'Abanyiginya kuko nta ngabo zabo zihariye zabagaho. Ibyo bigaragazwa n'uko Musinga wabyungukiyemo yari umunyiginya wujuje ibisabwa byo kwima ingoma n'uko kandi hari abandi bahungu bene se batigeze bagwa ku rugamba cyangwa ngo bicwe barimo nka Sharagangabo, Nshozamihigo, Cyitatire, Nyindo. Ibyo nzabigarukaho mu yindi nyandiko.

2 *D'Hertefelt, M. COUPEZ, A.,(1964), La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda. Texte, traduction et commentaire de son rituel, Tervuren, MRAC.*

II. Imikoranire ya Musinga n'abapadiri bera ku gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Ubudage (1900-1916)

II.1. Imyitwarire y'abapadiri bera

Abapadiri bera bageze i Nyanza ku itariki ya 2/2/1900. Basaba ibwami gutura mu majyepfo ya Nyanza, barahahabwa. Bahitamo kubaka no gutura i Save. Ibwami baremeye kuko ntakundi barikugira abo bashyitsi bashyigikiwe bikomeye n'ubukoloni bw'Ubudage. Ni ngombwa kumenya ko baje mu Rwanda babanje guca i Bujumbura gusaba uruhushya rwo kuza gukorera mu Rwanda. Bahawe abasirikari babiri bo kubaherekeza. Baca mu burengerazuba bw'Amajyepfo y'u Rwanda bataha aho Umutware Rwabirinda yari yubatse. Uwo mutware abaha intumwa yo kubayobora i Nyanza. N'ubwo ibwami babemereye gushinga za misiyoni, Musinga yababwiye ko azafatanya nabo, ariko ko atazemera ko baza kwigisha iby'idini i bwami.Yabasabye gushinga ishuri i Nyanza bazajya bigishamo gusa igiswahiri, gusoma no kwandika, hanyuma ko na we azabafasha kubaka za misiyoni. Iryo shuri ryafunguye imiryango mu mwaka wa 1905 maze Musinga arariyoboka bikomeye kuko atasibaga na rimwe kandi akahagerera igihe buri munsi. Byatanze umusaruro kuko yabimenye mbere y'abandi. Ibyo yabasezeranije na we yabishyize mu bikorwa, kuko kugeza mu mwaka wa 1903, abapadiri bari bamaze kubaka misiyoni 5 ari zo Save, Zaza, Nyundo, Rwaza na Mibirizi. Ntabwo yashakaga ko batura i Nyanza. Ariko nabo ntibashakaga kuhatura kubera gutinya kwegera abami bakomeye. Bari barabibonyemo isomo, dore ko baje bahunga Buganda, kandi bari baragize n'ibihe bibi kwa Mukotanyi umwami wa Kiziba no kwa Kasusura, umwami w'u Busubi. Aho baciye hose barabamaganaga[3] .

Kuba Musinga yarasabye ko baza gufungura ishuri i Nyanza, ni uko atabarwanyaga bidasubirwaho, ahubwo yashakaga ko bakorana mu bwubahane. Mu myaka yose yabanye n'abapadiri bera, ntabwo yaranzwe no kubarwanya, kuko hari n'igihe bahanaga amaturo.Urugero: Mu mwaka wa 1905, Musinga yatuye Padri Brard ihembe ry'inzovu ngo ritagira uko risa[4] .

3 MINNAERT,S. LES Pères blancs et la société rwandaise durant l'époque coloniale allemande (1900 – 1916) une rencontre entre cultures et religions.

4 Heremans,R, Ntezimana,E."le journal de la mission de Save (1899-1905), Ruhengeri, p.149

Abapadiri bera bari bafite ingengabitekerezo yo gusuzugura abirabura muri rusange. Bari bakigendera ku ihame rya mbere ya “Concile de Trente (1545)” ryigishaga ko nta gakiriro kabaho kadatanzwe na Kiriziya[5] . Icyo kwigisha idini byari bigamije kwari ugukiza roho, kandi gukiza roho byasabaga bitavuguruzwa kumenya isengesho rya “credo”, guhabwa amasakramentu, cyane cyane irya batisimu, kubahiriza amategeko 10 ya kiliziya no gusenga. Byaje guhinduka mu mwaka wa 1919 ubwo Papa Benedigito ashyira imbere kwemera Yezu Kristu. Bari barasomye ibitabo bivangura abantu byari bigezweho i Burayi byasuzuguraga abirabura, byaje gushimangirwa na raporo za ba “Explorers” zatoneshaga ivanguramoko muri Afrika muri rusange no mu Rwanda by’umwihariko aho bitaga "*races*" Abahutu, Abatutsi n’Abatwa. Bari bafite gahunda yo kogeza icyo bitaga inkuru nziza muri Afrika yo muri “Equateur/Ecuador”, aho ngo bagombaga guhindura abaturage abantu mbere yo kubigisha[6] .

Baje bemera batabanje gusuzuma ko Abanyafurika batagira imico myiza, barangwa no kudashyira mu gaciro, barangwa kandi n’ubutegetsi ngo bwaribushingiye ku kurenganya abaturage no kubagira uko bashaka, hamwe no kugira abagore benshi no kwimakaza ubucakara. Ku bwabo, abirabura bari abantu batagira roho, bari abana bavumwe na "Cham" wo muri Bibiriya. Ngo ntibagira ukwemera nta n’imigenzo myiza bagira. Abapadiri bera bafataga abirabura nk’abantu batagira umuco, batagira uburenganzira na bumwe kandi badashobora na rimwe kugira ibitekerezo bizima. Cardinari Lavigerie washinze uwo muryango w’abapadiri bera, yari yarabasabye gukunda abo bana bakuru “grands enfants” ko ariko bagomba no kubashyiraho igitsure.[7]

Niyo mpamvu abapadiri bera bumvaga bagomba kwigisha inkuru nziza bakoresheje imbunda. Byarabaye ku Nyundo, Rwaza n’i Save, bagiye bica abantu. Bigaruriye amajyaruguru babanje kwica abaturage[8] . Mu mwaka wa 1904, Padri Classe yishe abaturage benshi mu Murera abeshya ko ashaka kugarura umutekano abifashijwemo na ba Padri Bartolomayo na Loupias

5 “Hors de l’eglise, point de salut”/Outside the church, there is no salvation

6 Chretien,J.P., L’Afrique des Grands Lacs. Deux mille ans d’Histoire, Paris, Flammarion, p.

7 MINNAERT,S.,op.cit.

8 MINNAERT,S. op.cit. p.3

bari ku Nyundo. Uwo Loupias na we aza kwicwa n'Abarashi ba Rukara rwa Bishingwe. Byatumye umupadri wera witwa Malet ababazwa n'uko Padri Classe agizwe Musenyeri noneho ariko ikibi kurushaho akagirwa "Vicaire Délégué de Mgr Hirth" mu mwaka wa 1907. Ntiyumvaga ukuntu umuntu nk'uwo wakoze amarorerwa mu Murera yagirwa Umuyobozi wa Kiriziya Gatolika mu Rwanda[9]. Muri uwo mwaka kandi Padri Pages yishe umuntu ku Nyundo akomeretsa undi. Mu majyepfo i Save, boherezaga abakateshiste b'abaganda kujya guhiga abo kuyoboka idini bitwaje imbunda.

Kuri za misiyoni abapadri bera bashyiraga imbere kwigarurira abaturage bagamije kubangisha umwami n'abatware. Bakabaha ibintu byo kubashukashuka harimo imyenda, amasaro, ibiryo, abavuye kure bakabacumbikira. Babigishaga ubukristu, ubundi bakabaha akazi bakanabahemba, nk'uburyo bwo kubareshya. Babigishaga kandi gusoma no kwandika kugirango bazabashe gusoma bibiriya. Ntabwo bashakaga abazabasaba akazi karambye kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'umukozi. Ahubwo bashyiraga imbere abaza kwiga ariko bakazatungwa no guhinga. Ngo umukristu mwiza ni uzi guhinga neza imirima ye no gufata neza urutoki. Babigishaga ko abatarabatijwe ari abantu batagira umuco. Bityo bakabumvisha ko basumba cyane abatarabatizwa batukaga babita abapagani bivuze abanyamusozi batagira umuco w'abantu.

Aho bubakaga misiyoni bigiraga "utumana", bakereka abaturage ko ari bo bazabakiza. Bakabatoza gusuzugura abatware b'Umwami kugeza n'aho bacaga imanza mu mwanya w'abatware bashyizweho n'Umwami. Binjiye mu buhake aho bashatse inka nyinshi bakajya baziha abaturage bagamije kubangisha ba shebuja ngo bahinduke abagaragu babo. Ibyo byari bigamije kwigarurira abaturage, babangisha abatware na Musinga. Bitwazaga ko ari ugukiza Abahutu ingoyi y'Abatutsi. Mu myumvire yabo, Abatutsi ni abategekaga, naho Abahutu bakaba rubanda rwose rwategekwaga.

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9 *Lettre du P. Malet du 21 août 1908 à Mgr Livinhac, A.G.M.Afr., N° 096584-096586 in MINNAERT,S. op.cit. p.3"Quant au vicaire général, le P. Classe, sans doute que je lui obéis comme à notre Vicaire aposto-lique, mais pour vous le dire franchement, je crois que je ne pourrais jamais avoir confiance en lui et je ne suis pas le seul ; d'ailleurs à cause de ses exploits au Mulera, il sera toujours ici un péril vivant pour nos missions. Je crois aussi que la meilleure diplomatie et politique pour un missionnaire est de faire en sorte qu'on ne puisse rien vous reprocher, et non pas l'art de bien dire, de biaiser, de dissimuler et même de rendre adroitement suspects d'autres confrères pour se tirer soi-même d'affaire ».*

Ntabwo bavugaga ko hari Abahutu b'abatware cyangwa se Abatutsi muri rubanda n'ubwo babyemeraga. Babyicaga nkana, kuko bivugiye ko iyo babajije abaturage ubwoko bwabo bavuga amoko (clans), hakabaho ubwo bavuga iby'ubuhutu n'ubututsi ariko ngo atari byo bashyize imbere. Bari bazi neza ko mu Bahutu no mu Batutsi habamo abatware ariko bakabizinzika.

II. 2. Imikoranire ya Musinga n'abapadiri bera

Bakimara gushinga ishuri i Nyanza, hajyagayo umupadri inshuro ebyiri mu cyumweru avuye i Save. Byageze aho abapadri basanga bidahagije kwigisha muri iryo shuri, bagahora basaba Musinga kuzajya gutura ibwami. Ariko buri gihe akabahakanira. Byageze aho Umutware Rwidegembya ababwira ngo niba mushaka kwigisha ibwami, tuzahamagara abantu bose baze i bwami, tububakire inzu nini nk'uko mubyifuza, maze mubabwire ibyo mushaka byose, ariko ntimuzahatura[10]. Byageze n'aho batanga impano ariko Musinga aza gusanga ari ruswa. Hari inyandiko iri muri "diaire" (aho abapadiri bandikaga ibintu byabaye buri munsi) ya Save ivuga ngo nahaye imyenda myiza cyane Musinga na ba nyirarume Kabare na Rwidegembya kuko nasanze ari bwo buryo bwiza bwo kubagira inshuti. Umwami yarayakiriye. Mu gihe abari bayizanye bamusezeyeho, yahise afata ya myenda arayibasubiza avuga ngo afite ubwoba ko ari amayeri y'Abazungu bakoresheje bagamije kumuhakwaho ngo bakunde birire igihugu.[11] Icyari cyaramurakaje cyane ni uburyo Padri Van Thiel yaje kubuza Musinga guhamagaza ibwami umutware wo mu Gisaka kuko yakekaga ko yagirira ibyago i Nyanza kuko yakomokaga mu nzu y'ingoma yo mu Gisaka. Byarakaje Musinga. Guhera ubwo Umwami amufata nk'ikigomeke, bituma abuza abatware kujya bajya i Save. Ntiyihanganiraga abazaga kumubwira uko agomba kugenga u Rwanda.[12]

Bamaze kubura ikibanza ibwami nibwo bagize umugambi wo gushinga misiyoni ya Kabgayi bumvaga ko izaba yubatse kwa Musinga nyir'izina kuko bafataga Nduga nk'ubwatsi bwite bwa Musinga.

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10 *Diaire ya Kabgayi,21/7/1911, Kagambirwa Wellars, Les autorités rwandaises face aux pouvoirs européens à Nyanza (1900-1946), Mémoire de Licence en Histoire,1979, p.38*

11 *Diaire de Save, Nov.1904, Kagambirwa, W. , p.40*

12 *Kagambirwa,W. p.41*

Ikibazo kiba ko Musinga yari yararahiye kandi yemeranya n'Abadage ko nta butaka bw'i Nduga azaha abapadiri, bituma Lieutenant Von Nordeck, umukuru w'Abadage bari mu Rwanda, abwira abapadiri ko bemerewe kubaka, usibye aho Musinga adashaka.Von Nordeck yari yarabwiye abapadiri ko atabona impamvu barwanira kubaka i Nyanza. Baramusubiza ngo ni ukugirango bazane ubutabera mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda, maze arabaseka ngo n'i Burayi nta butabera bubayo[13] . Byarabarakaje. Hagati aho mu mwaka wa 1905, Diregiteri wa za coloni, Dr. Stiebler asaba Abadage bari muri Afrika kwirinda gushyamirana n'amadini. Bituma Von Nordeck ahindura politiki atanga Kabgayi.

Von Nordeck yemeye gutanga Kabgayi mu mwanya wa Nyanza. Mu kwimana Nyanza yangaga kurakaza Musinga, naho gutanga Kabgayi kwari ukwanga kurakaza Abapadri bera. Byatumye Nyanza ivanwa muri misiyoni ya Save ishyirwa mu ya Kabgayi. Hagati aho Padri Classe yagizweVicaire Délégué Apostolique maze ahitamo gutura i Kabgayi mu mwaka wa 1907. Guhera icyo gihe Kabgayi iba mukeba wa Nyanza, ari byo kuvuga ko Mgr Classe yabaye mukeba wa Musinga. Guhera ubwo, Nyanza ishushanya ingoma, mu gihe Kabgayi yari ihindutse ishusho ry'ubukristu bw'abapadiri bera. Mu mwaka wa 1910, Richard Kant yatanze imirongo migari y'ubutegetsi bw'ubukoloni. Ingingo ya 13 yemereraga Abanyarwanda uburenganzira bwo guhitamo idini bashaka, asaba Musinga kubyubahiriza, ariko yongeraho ko n' "abapagani" batagomba guhatirwa kuba Abakristu. Mu ngingo ya 14, Dr Kandt yahaye amadini uburenganzira busesuye bwo kubaka mu Rwanda, ariko yongeraho ko Musinga afite uburenganzira bwo kubangira kubaka aho adashaka.[14] Abapadri bera bahataga Musinga kubemerera kubaka i Nyanza babaga barenze ku mabwiriza ya Dr. Richard Kandt. Bivuze ko Musinga yarushije abapadiri bera gukurikiza amabwiriza y'Abadage.

13 *Kagambirwa,W. p.44*

14 *Reinhart, B. Le Rwanda vu à travers lle portrait biographique de l'officier, explorateur de l'Afrique et gouverneur imperial Gustave Adolph comte Von Gotzen (1866-1910), Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag,1992*

II.3. Uko Musinga yakoranye n'andi madini

Nta bibazo bishingiye ku mikoranire Musinga yagiranye n'Abaprotestanti n'Abadventisti.

Abaprotestanti bo muri "Société des Missions évangeliques" bageze i Nyanza ku ya 22/7/1907 barinzwe n'umusirikari bahawe i Burundi na Von Grawert. Ku ya 2/8/1907, Musinga yemerera ba Pasteri Johanssen na Rucius gushinga misiyoni ya Zinga hafi ya Rwamagana. Yanga kubaha Kigali barababara. Abahitishamo hagati ya Nyanza n'ikiyaga cya Kivu, batoranya Kirinda (1907) na Rubengera (1909). Nyuma bakurikizaho Remera (1912) na Rukira (1914). Bavuze ko basuye Musinga bakaganira. Ngo Umwami ntiyitaga ku bibazo by'idini, ahubwo yashakaga kumenya amakuru ku bazungu na gahunda bafitiye ahazaza h'u Rwanda. Yashakaga ko hakorwa icyateza imbere u Rwanda kuko ngo Abanyarwanda bafite ubumenyi bwinshi. Yabasabye guteza imbere ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, maze bamwizeza kuzubaka vuba ishuri ry'ubuhinzi.[15] Ku byerekeye abadventiste, yari yararetse Pasteur Meunier Abanyarwanda bitaga Munnyeri kuza i Nyanza igihe ashakiye akigisha ibyo ashaka guhera mu mwaka wa 1919.

II.4. Imikoranire ya Musinga n'ubukoloni bw'u Bubiligi.

Intambara ya mbere y'isi yashyamiranyije muri Afrika y'iburasirazuba[16] u Budage ku ruhande rumwe n'Ububirigi n'Ubwongereza ku rundi. Musinga yarwanye ku ruhande rw'Abadage. Muri "colonies" z'Abadage, Abadage bitwazaga icyo bita "Protection letter" mu cyongereza. Iyo baruwa yagombaga kwemezwa n'uruhande rugiye gukolonizwa, yabaga ikubiyemo ko Abadage bazashyigikira ubutegetsi basanze, bakazaburinda ababurwanya, ariko na bwo bukazabutabara mu gihe bwugarijwe n'ibitero by'intambara cyangwa no kwivumbagatanya kw'abaturage. Ni muri urwo rwego Abadage bafashije Musinga gutsinda ba Rukara, Basebya na Ndungutse bari bayogoje amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda, hanyuma na Musinga akaza gufasha Abadage mu ntambara ya mbere y'isi.

15 Mbonimama,G& Ntezimana,E, "Peres Blancs et missionnaires de Bethel. Implantations des missions chrétiennes "HONKE, G., (ed.) Au plus profond de l'Afrique. Le Rwanda et la colonisation allemande 1885-1919, Wuppertal, Peters Hammer Verlag GmbH, 1990, pp. 97-109.

16 Afrika y'Iburasizuba yari igizwe n'Igihugu cya Tanganyika, u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Ingabo z’Ababiligi n’Abanyekongo zatsinze intambara ariko zirangwa no gusahura imitungo y’abaturage, kwica inka no gufata abagore ku ngufu.

Ingabo zafashe Nyanza zaje zituruka i Bukavu, maze Major Muller afata Nyanza mu ijoro ryo ku ya 19/5/1916. Bukeye Musinga yandikira Mburamatare ari we wari "Haut Commissaire Royal" General Malfeyt wari umukuru w’izo ngabo ufite icyicaro i Kigoma (Tanganyika), maze amubwira ko yemeye kumuyoboka ariko amusaba kureka gusenya igihugu nta mpamvu, kutica inka, no kurinda umutekano w’abagore[17]. General Malfeyt arabimwemerera ku buryo ingabo zagabanyije ku buryo bugaragara ibikorwa by’urugomo n’ubugome bikabije.

Ntibyahagarariye aho, abasirikari bakuru bari batsinze urugamba bakomeje gusaba Musinga imbunda zabarasaga, ariko Musinga akababwira buri gihe ko nta mbunda n’amasasu afite, ko ingabo zakurikiye Abadage. Bagiye kumusaka, bahasanga gusa “pistol” imwe. Musinga yari yarasabye Indugaruga[18] kuzataba imbunda ahitwa i Buhimba, mu Karere k’ubu ka Huye mu Murenge wa Rusatira maze bakazagaruka i Nyanza bambaye imyenda isanzwe ubwo bazaba bavuye ku ruzi rw’Akanyaru basezeye ku ngabo z’Abadage. Captain Wintgens w’umudage yabasezeyeho neza, abashimira ubutwari bagize, maze abasaba gusubira i Nyanza. Mu gutaha nibwo bahishe imbunda aho twababwiye, maze bagera i Nyanza urusorongo bameze nk’abaturage basanzwe.[19]

Kuba Musinga yarabarwanyije, yamara no gutsindwa akanga kubaha imbunda byarakaje Ababirigi. Bashatse no kumufunga, ariko General Malfeyt arabyanga, atari ukubabarira Musinga, ahubwo kubera ko yarebye kure agasanga nta burenganzira bafite bwo kumufunga. Ibyo byabaye mu mwaka wa 1916, intambara y’isi itaraganya kurangira. Kubera ko byari bizwi ko nyuma y’intambara hazabaho amasezerano y’amahoro, General yirinze kugira ikosa akora ngo ejo bitabangamira inyungu bari kuzaharanira muri ayo masezerano. Ahubwo yihutiye gushyiraho inzego z’ubuyobozi ashingiye ku bubasha yahawe n’Umwami w’Ababirigi.

18 Ingabo z’abirabura zarwanaga ku ruhande rw’Abadage.

19 Rumiya, J. De la royauté au sultanat belge du Rwanda, 1916-1931, Vol.1, Paris, Thèse de doctorat, Histoire, Universite Pantheon-Sorbonne,1983

Uwari "Haut Commissaire Royal" yari yarashyizweho n'iteka ry'Umwami w'Ababirigi ryo ku wa 22/11/1916. Yakurikijeho kugabanya ubutaka yatsindiye mu bihugu 4: "Residence" y'u Rwanda, "Residence" y'u Burundi, "Territoire" y'u Busubi na "District" ya Ujiji.

General Malfeyt yihutira gushinga "Residence belge du Rwanda" biciye mu itegeko "Ordonnance législative no 2/5" ryo muri Mata 1917 ryemezaga uko ubutegetsi bugomba kuba buteye. Ingingo ya 4 yemeraga ko Musinga ari we muyobozi w'ikirenga w'umunyarwanda ariko akazaba ari munsi ya "Resident" mu bikorwa bya politiki n'iby'ubucamanza mu buryo bushingiye ku muco no ku mabwiriza ya "Commissaire Royal"[20] . Iyo ordonnance ni yo yagenze imitegekere ya Ruanda-Urundi kugeza mu mwaka wa 1943, risimbuwe n'Iteka (ordonnance legislative) no 347/A.I.M.O. ryo ku ya 4 Ukwakira.

Iryo Teka ryo mu mwaka wa 1917 ryerekanye ku mugaragaro ko Ububirigi bwemera inzego z' ubuyobozi busanze mu Rwanda, ariko bugapfobya ingoma kuko butitaga Musinga umwami ahubwo bwamufataga nk'umukozi usanzwe, umutware w'agahugu kari muri "Territoire" ya Ruanda-Urundi ari we "sultan".Ntibyatinze General Malfeyt agira Major De Clerk "Resident" wa mbere w'u Bubirigi maze "Resident" atangira imirimo i Kigali ku ya 30 Mata 1917.

Iryo Teka ryatezaga ikibazo gikomeye mu butegetsi:

- Kwemera inzego z'ubuyobozi usanze, warangiza ugapfobya umukuru w'izo nzego;
- Guha umuyobozi mukuru kuzuza inshingano za politiki n'iz'ubutabera yemererwa n'umuco kandi ukamusaba kumvira "Resident" na "Commissaire royal" b'Ababirigi;
- Kwitwa Umwami w'u Rwanda kandi uvugirwamo na "Resident" na "Commissaire royal".

20 *Art.4 "Dans les circonscriptions constituées en sultanats, les Résidents représentent le gouvernement d'occupation. Ils veillent au maintien de l'ordre et de la sécurité publique. Les Sultans exercent sous la direction du Résident, leurs attributs politiques et judiciaires dans la mesure et la manière fixées par la coutume indigène et les instructions du Commissaire Royal" Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, no 4, 1924, p.5*

Iryo Teka ribeshya ko riha umuntu ububasha rikanabumwambura yabaye intandaro y'ubushyamirane hagati ya Musinga n'ubutegetsi bw'uBubirigi.

Ubushyamirane bwatangiye kugaragara haje "Resident" wa mbere w'umusiviri Van den Eede asimbuye Major Declerck mu 1919. Van den Eede yasanze atakomeza gukorera i Nyanza kuko yasanze "Residence Belge" yarimuriwe i Nyanza. Amaze kubona ko Musinga atamushaka i Nyanza, yahisemo gusubiza "Residence" i Kigali. Musinga ntiyashakaga uza kumutegekera i Nyanza. Ntacyo byahinduye kuko muri buri "Territoire" habagaho uwo bitaga "Délégué du Resident". Ariko i Nyanza hari undi bitaga "Délégué du Resident auprès du sultan". Uwo ni we wasigaye ashyamirana na Musinga. Abazwi cyane ni Defawe na Lenaerts (Bwanakweri). Musinga yashoboye kwirukanisha Defawe i Nyanza, ariko ntiyashobora kwirukanisha Lenaerts.

Lenaerts yashakaga kumenya buri gihe icyabereye kwa Musinga cyose. Uko kuneka Musinga byamuviriyemo izina rya Rurenge, bivuze umuntu ugenda buhoro buhoro yomboka asa n'uwihisha ngo abantu batamubona. Lenaerts yahanganye cyane na Musinga, ku buryo bari baragabanye abayoboke, kuko bamwe mu batware bageze aho bayoboka Lenearts kuko babonaga Musinga atazamushobora.[21]

Uko guhanganira abayoboke kandi, kugaragara muri za raporo za ba Residents. Muri raporo "Resident" Coubeau yakoreye "Commissaire royal" mu mwaka wa 1924 yavuze ko Musinga yigaruriwe n'abapfumu b'Abatwa n'Abahutu bahinduwe Abatutsi kuva kera. Yongeraho ko abo bapfumu babarwanya kandi bitambika imbere y'ibikorwa bigamije guhindura Musinga. Ngo ni bene abo bantu tugomba guhigika tutababarira. Nta na kimwe tuzageraho mu Rwanda tutageze kuri iyo ntego[22] .

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21 Rumiya,J. op.cit, 1992, 171-172

22 « Musinga est sous l'emprise des devins, qui chose curieuse, sont à peu près tous des Batwa ou des Bahutu anoblis autrefois. Et ces bapfumu nous sont hostiles et cherchent toujours à contrecarrer notre action, notre influence sur le mwami ….C'est ce groupe de mauvais conseillers du mwami qu'il faut briser. La réussite de notre politique au Ruanda est intimement liée à cette action ». Lettre du Résident a.i du 25 juillet 1924 à M. le Commissaire Royal, no 1281/P./I/180, AAB, RA/RU 1(66) byandukuwe na Nkaka, R. L'emprise d'une logique raciale sur la société rwandaise, 1894-1994, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 1 Panthéon -Sorbonne, 2013, p.98

Muri raporo ya "Territoire" y'Akanyaru, "Resident" w'u Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1924 yavuze ko abatware bato cyane cyane b'Abahutu bakunda kujya kwa Musinga, ko ari bo baburizamo cyane iterambere ry'igihugu[23] .

II.5 Ubutegetsi bw'ububirigi n'Abapadiri bera mu nzira yo guhirika Musinga ku ngoma.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Abadage, Musinga yashoboraga gukora uko abyumva atabangamiye cyane imirongo migari y'ubukoloni. Hari n'ikindi kibazo cy'uko Abapadiri bera benshi bari Abafaransa batumvikanaga n'abakoloni b'Abadage n'ubwo ari bo bari barabazanye. Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni cy'Ububirigi, Kiriziya gatorika yabaye umufatanyabikorwa ukomeye w'Ababirigi. Byashimangirwaga n'uko iryo dini ryari ryiganje mu Bubirigi aho abakoloni bakomokaga kandi ryiganje no mu Bufaransa, iwabo wa Mgr Classe, n' ubwo akarere ka Alsace-Lorraine yari yaravukiyemo mu 1874 kari karigarurwe n'Ubudage kuva mu mwaka wa 1871 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1918.

Mu myaka ya 1920 habaye ibintu bikomeye byaganishaga mu kuganza Musinga. Mu mwaka wa 1922, Mgr Classe yagizwe "Vicaire Apostolique du Rwanda", bivuze ko yagizwe umuyobozi w'ikirenga wa Kiriziya Gatolika mu Rwanda. Mu mwaka wa 1923, "League of Nations" iha "mandate" u Bubirigi bwo gukoloniza Ruanda-Urundi, mbere y'uko Inteko ishinga amategeko y'u Bubirigi ibyemeza mu mwaka wa 1924. Ibyo byari bivuze ko u Bubirigi bwari buhawe gutegeka u Rwanda biciye mu mategeko mpuzamahanga. Mbere y'uko byemezwa na "League of Nations", Ububiligi nta bubasha na buke bwari bufite bwo gutegeka u Rwanda. Ntibyatinze Ububirigi bushyiraho itegeko rigenga ubutegetsi bwa Ruanda -Urundi, ari ryo tegeko ryo ku ya 2/8/1925, ryashyizwe mu bikorwa guhera ku ya 1/3/1926.

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23 *Presque tous les petits sous-chefs dépendant de Musinga, surtout ceux de race Muhutu, partent à Nyanza dès qu'ils sont convoqués pour une palabre ou autre chose. Ce sont les plus hostiles à l'évolution du pays de par le fait qu'ils ne rêvent que d'une chose : tâcher de maintenir la situation avec les abus d'autrefois afin de pouvoir agrandir sans risques leurs possessions au détriment d'un chef ou d'un sous-chef, ayant perdu les faveurs du sultan ». RESDU RUANDA, Territoire de l' Akanyaru , Rapport Annuel 1924, AAB, RA/RU,1(66), byandukuwe na Nkaka, R. L'emprise d'une logique raciale sur la société rwandaise, 1894-1994, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 1 Panthéon -Sorbonne, 2013, p.98*

Byari bivuze ko Musinga abaye nk'uguye mu rwasaya rw'intare n'ingwe. Musinga wari usanzwe atumvikana na bamwe mu bapadiri bera bafataga ibyemezo, yongereyeho kutumvikana n'ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi. Bivuze ngo yari afite abanzi babiri b'ibigugu. Abapadiri ngo aratinza igikorwa cyo gukwiza ivanjiri mu Rwanda, mu gihe Ababirigi bavuga ko yitambika imbere ya politiki yabo, ko bityo yitambika imbere y'iterambere ry'igihugu. Ariko byose byari ukubeshya, kuko imibare yerekana ko abakristu bari bamaze kwiyongera muri za 1920, kandi ko nta gikorwa cy'u Bubirigi cy'iterambere yigeze arwanya[24]. Byatumye batangira ibikorwa byo kumuca intege ariko bamurega ibinyoma.

5.1. Ibikorwa byo guca intege Musinga

a. Bafunze Gashamura ka Rukangirashyamba mbere yo kumucira ishyanga. Gashamura yari umwiru w'umutsobe, bityo akaba yari uwa kabiri mu cyubahiro nyuma y'Umwami n'Umugabekazi. Umwiru w'umutsobe yayoboraga ibikorwa byose bitegura ibirori by'Umuganura i bwami. Yari afite kandi n'umwanya ukomeye mu muhango wo kwimika Umwami. Uwamubonye bamufata witwa Murobyi Dismas wari utuye ku Mayaga ahahoze ari komini Mugina yagize ati:" Ikiraro cye cyari kibangikanye n'icya databuja Zimurinda wa Semurima ya Sayinzoga. Bamufashe ndeba narindaga umurima we ku Mugonzi, witwa Gakondo. Haza abasirikari babiri, umwe yitwaga Gaparaya, bamujyana i Kabare. Abandi baraseka ngo ntazatindayo. Musinga ajya kumwaka, baramumwima. Arabagurira, abaha amata, amavuta, ihene, baranga. Nyuma y'iminsi ibiri mu gifungo i Kabare, aragenda. Nta kundi kugaruka. Abazungu bakabeshya Musinga ngo Gashamura wawe azaba aza"[25]. Byabaye inkuru ikomeye cyane ku buryo uwajyaga mu rukiko kuburana yarahiraga avuga ngo niba mbeshya, muzanshyire hirya ya Gashamura. Uwitwa Sendekwe we ati: "Bafunze Gashamura. Ababirigi barwanyaga imihango y'ibwami. Na Cyenge bamufashe bamubwira ngo

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24 Nkaka,R. op.cit.2013, p.97

25 Rutagarama, L. Le reveil de la conscience politique des masses populaires au Mayaga,1931-1951, Mémoire d'Histoire, Univesite Nationale du Rwanda, 1988,p.

navuge ko Karinga iroga. Yari umwiru mukuru. Bajya kumufunga bagira ngo bimike iyabo ngoma". Ibirori by'umuganura byahuzaga Abanyarwanda hagati yabo no hagati y'umwami na Rubanda mu birori by'ubusabane. Gufunga no guca Gashamura wari umukuru w'uwo muhango kwari ukurwanya umuco w'u Rwanda no kurwanya ubumwe bw' Abanyarwanda. Umuturage witwaga Gashumba na we w'ahahoze ari muri Komini Mugina yari abizi. Yagize ati: "Abazungu ni abagome, kandi byongeye ni abagabo. Batwambuye umwami, bakuraho imihango yari ibumbye u Rwanda."[26]

b) Bambuye Musinga ububasha bwo gushyiraho abatware guhera mu mwaka wa 1923 kugirango bereke abanyarwanda ko ari bo bategeka. Ibyo kandi byari binyuranyije na ya ngingo ya 4 ya "ordonnance législative" yo mu mwaka wa 1917 yari igifite agaciro.[27]

c) Batumye mu batware hacikamo ibice bibiri, kimwe gishyigikira Musinga kiyobowe na Bandora, ikindi kimurwanya kiyobowe n'Umutware Kayondo ka Mbazabigwi wa Rwakagara. Kayondo yari muramu wa Musinga wari ufite ibyo apfa na Musinga maze bifata intera ya politiki yatumye ajya ku ruhande rw'Ababirigi. Kayondo yabaye umutware w'u Busanza kuva mwaka wa 1905 aho yari abufatanyije n'indi misozi, nyuma aza kugirwa chef wa chefferie ya Busanza mu ivugururwa ry'ubutegetsi ryo mu mwaka wa 1926. Ugukomera kwe kwari gushingiye ku kuba Kanjogera yari nyirasenge, ku gutwara igihe kirekire "chefferie" yabarizwagamo Nyanza. Bikaba bivuze ko Nyanza yari muri chefferie ya Busanza. Kayondo yari umuntu ukomeye ku buryo na n'ubu mu mwaka wa 2022 hari abaturage bakimuvuga neza i Maza aho yari atuye[28]. Byageze aho Ababirigi bakajya bareba nabi abatware bashyigikiye Musinga, ku buryo mu mwaka wa 1929, Gouverneri yoherereje ba "administrateurs de territoire" mu Rwanda urutonde rw'ibibazo bisaba kuzuza umwirondoro wa buri

26 Ubwo buhamya bwose buboneka muri memoire ya Rutagarama, L. ibid

27 RESIDENCE DU RWANDA, Historique et Chronologie, Kabgayi, 1956, p.70

28 Umusore witwa Jef Upendi utarengeje imyaka 25 avuga ko azi ko Kayondo ari we wabahaye inka zabareze. Atuye i Giseke hakurya y'i Maza aho Kayondo yari atuye. Ni mu murenge wa Kinazi mu Karere ka Huye. Ni ubuhamya yatanze mu kwezi kwa Gashyantare 2022. Ibyo byerekana ukuntu Kayondo yari umutware w'ikirangirire. Umutware yabaga ikirangirire bitewe n'uko yagabiragaabaturage inka bakajya bamwirahira hirya no hino.

mutware. Muri ibyo bibazo habaga harimo kumenya uko akorana na Musinga.[29] Iyo byagaragaga ko uwo mutware yumvira Musinga, byamuviragamo kwirukanwa, maze bakabeshya ko adindiza iterambere. Abari barayobotse Ababirigi n'abapadiri bafashaga Mgr Classe kwigisha ninjoro gatikisimu abasore bari mu Itorero i bwami ngo babangishe Musinga. Abari ku isonga muri uwo mugambi harimo umutware Rwabutogo n'umwarimu wo muri iryo shuri witwaga Gishoma Tadeyo.[30]

5.2. Ibirego by'ibinyoma bashinje Musinga

Muri raporo y'ubutegetsi bw'u Bubirigi yo mu mwaka wa 1926, bavuga ko Musinga ari umwami utagira agatege, washaje imburagihe, wemera cyane abapfumu.[31] Mu mwaka wa 1928 ngo Musinga afite inyota nyinshi yo gukomera, kandi ngo ntiyita ku miyoborere y'igihugu, nta n'ubwo ajya aboneka mu rukiko rw'umwami. Bakabisobanura ngo ni ukubera "fatalisme" cyangwa "inertie du Noir", bikaba bivuze ko abiterwa no kwemera ibizamubaho uko yabigenza kose, cyangwa se bituruka ku "kutagira ubushobozi bwo kuva aho bari "biranga umwirabura". Muri uwo mwaka kandi bavuze ko ari umuyoboke w'ibyahise, ko yanga u Bubirigi, ubukristu kimwe n'imico y'i Burayi[32]. Iyo bavugaga ibyo babaga bivuguruje. Nyuma yo kwakirwa na Musinga i Nyanza mu mwaka wa 1920, Ministre wa za "colonies" yagiye amushimagiza ngo afite ubushake bwo guteza imbere igihugu, mu gihe raporo yo mu mwaka wa 1925 yaratagaga ko ari inshuti y'amajyambere, kandi ko yumvira cyane Ababirigi ».[33]

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29 *Rapport etabli en reponse au questionnaire adresse en 1929 par le gouverneur du Ruanda-Urundi a l'administrateur de territore de …. , Papiers Derscheid., voir Rumiya J. , op.cit 1983, T.II*

30 *Linden,J., Christianisme et pouvoirs au Rwanda (1900-1990), Paris, Karthala, 1999; Rumiya, J.,*

31 *"roi sans énergie, usé et vieilli avant l'âge,… d'une invraisemblable crédulité concernant la divination, les sortilèges et les maléfices et se soumet aveuglément aux injonctions des sorciers » Rapport de l'Administrtion Belge du Ruanda-Urundi (RABRU), 1926, p.66*

32 *Mémorandum Franck, Ministre des colonies du 17 juin 1920 à Coquilhatville expédié à M. le Ministre des colonies a.i. Bruxelles, à M. le commissaire, a.i. à Kigoma, et aux 2 résidents, AAB, RWA (4370) 6 bis, Politique indigène en Territoires occupés.(1920)*

33 *" ami du progrès, dévoué aux représentants de la Belgique" RABRU1925, p.66*

Ku ngingo yo kurwanya imico y'i Burayi, Chanoine de Lacger , inshuti ikomeye ya Mgr Classe utarakundaga na gato Musinga, ntiyabuze kumwandikaho ibikurikira:

Musinga yambikaga abana nk'abazungu, na we ubwe akambara "redingote", casque,isaha n'amadarubindi afite ibirahure binini kandi yari atunze imodoka nziza. Yari azi kandi kwakira abazungu neza ku buryo batahaga banyuzwe.[34] Yahaye abapadiri bera ubutaka bunini bwo kubakaho za Misiyoni usibye Kabgayi. Ibyo kwimana Kabgayi kandi ntibyamubujije gutaha kiriziya nshya y'i Kabgayi ku ya 8 /4/1922. Yahingutse i Kabgayi aherekejwe n'abana be hamwe n'amatorero y'ababyinnyi n'abantu benshi b'urujya n'uruza bamukomeraga amashyi y'urufaya[35]. Nk'uko bigaragara, ibirego baregaga Musinga byavuguruzwaga n'ibisingizo bamuhaga mbere yo gushyamirana nawe. Bikaba bivuze ko ibirego byabo nta shingiro byababaga bifite.

5.3. Kwambura Musinga ingoma n'uko byakiriwe n'abaturage

Myr Classe ntiyihanganiraga kudashinga Misiyoni i Nyanza kandi Ababirigi barayifashe. Byatumye acura umugambi mubisha wo kuzavana Musinga ku ngoma afatanyije na Gouverneur Voisin wa Ruanda-Urundi. Bamaze kunoza umugambi, bakurikizaho kunanirwa kumvikana ku uzamusimbura. Ababirigi bashakaga Rwigemera mu gihe Mgr Classe yashakaga Rudahigwa. Abo babirigi bashaka kugira abo bahungu be abatware ariko Musinga akanga. Umwami ntiyashakaga ko Rwigemera aba "chef" kandi" yaramaze kuyoboka abazungu. Ntiyashakaga ko Rudahigwa agirwa "chef kandi yari umukarani we. Musinga yari yarabonye koko ko bashaka kubamwambura kugirango asigare wenyine. Inama ya nyuma yo kumuhirika yabereye i Kabgayi hagati ya 11 na 13 Nzeri 1931. Yari yahuje General Tilkens wa Congo Belge, Gouverneur wa Ruanda-Urundi Charles Voisin na Mgr Classe. Iyo nama yafashe icyemezo cya nyuma yari ifite umugisha w'ingabo, umugisha w'umunyapolitiki mukuru n'uw'amasengesho ya Musenyeri. Ni nde muntu wari kucyitambika imbere?

34 De Lacger,L., Le p.525-526

35 De Lacger, L. op.cit. p.525-526

Ku itariki ya 12/11/1931, nibwo Gouverneur Voisin yagiye i Nyanza aherekejwe n'abasirikari 30, yahamagaje Musinga amumenyesha ko atakiri umwami w'u Rwanda ko agomba guhaguruka vuba akajya gutura i Kamembe. Ni nabyo yabwiye Nyirayuhi Kanjogera. Nyuma y'iminsi ibiri, ku ya 14/11/1931 Musinga n'abamuherekeje bahagurutse i Nyanza, "Gouverneur" yimika Rudahigwa.

5.3.1.Abaturage batabaye Musinga birananirana

Nta bukangurambaga bwo kurwanya abazungu cyangwa kubashyigikira bwari buhari, kuko abashefu bose ntibabyumvaga kimwe kandi bari batumiwe mu nama i Kigali ngo babarangaze bo kumenya ibiriho bikorerwa i Nyanza. Ariko Musinga yanze ko barwana nk'uko ubuhamya bukurikira bubivuga: "Induru irwana n'ingoma? Byari bigiye kuba, Musinga arabyanga. Umunsi w'ihaguruka rye biba byaracitse. Rubanda twaramuherekeje tugera i Gacu. Yajyanwe n'abasirikari bageze kuri 30"[36]. Gashumba yemeje ko yari mu gitero cyavuye ku Mayaga kigiye gutabara Musinga agira ati:

"Twarahuruye Mututu yose. Dutabaye. Twageze ku muhanda mukuru i Karama, bati" byarangiye nimwisubirireyo. Biba byaracitse. Naratabaye. Hari ab'amahembe, ab'amacumu, n'ab'imiheto. Ibitero biva i Mututu, Rubona, Mpanda, Kareba, Shango, Nyamiyaga, Shari, Rutabo, Munyinya na Ntyazo. Dusanga Kavumu yuzuye. Bati" Abazungu batababona muri ibitero. Umwami amaze guhaguruka, bahise bohereza abaza kutubuza. Ibitero birahomboka, bamwe bapfurika intwaro zabo bajya i Nyanza kumva umwuka waho, abandi barataha"[37]. Turangirize ku buhamya bwa Bununguri aho agira ati" Abantu bari ab'umwami. Bagerageje kumutabara birananirana. Umwami arabihagarika. Ati" ntimwarwana n'abazungu. Wowe wareka kurwana kuri shobuja?"[38]

5.3.2 Uko abaturage bakiriye inyagwa ry'Umwami Musinga

Abakoloni bamaze kuvanaho Umwami Musinga, banditse ko abaturage bishimye. Nyamara ntabwo byari byo nk'uko ubuhamya bukurikira bubyerekana.

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36 *Kabayi in Rutagarama, L., op.cit. p.?*

37 *Gashumba*

38 *Bununguri*

Gashumba ati "Twishima? Wakwishima so yapfuye? Ko ntawe yicaga!" Kaberuka ati" Yewe nta bwishimwe! Rubanda bavugije induru, bacura imiborogo. Haba umubabaro utoroshye. Twaraye nze kabiri. Abakuru bati "turashize". Biraro ati" Barishimye bamwe, abandi ntibishima, abo atakijije. Rubanda bamwe bararira. Ariko abashatse kurwana yarababujije. Yari azi ko Rudahigwa azamusimbura"

5.3.3 Impamvu yatumye Musinga ava ku ngoma

5. 3.3.1. Uko abaturage babibona

Umutsobe witwaga Vuninka yasanze Musinga yarazize byinshi ari byo bikurikira:

- Yanze gushyira hamwe n'abazungu cyane cyane Bwanakweri (Lenaerts)
- Yanze kwiga gatigisimu, yanze gusoma impeta ya Musenyeri i Kabgayi ndeba
- Yakundaga Abadage

Hamamaye indirimbo (imbyino) yitwaga "Jyewe ndaciwe". Amabango abanza agira ati"

Jyewe ndaciwe
Nciriwe ishyanga
Inyuma y'ishyamba
Kandi ubwo nciwe ntagira igicumuro
Na kinzizinya na gito cyane
Uretse Padri nakoze mu bwanwa
Nabwo nsinzi ko ari igicumuro[39]

Ubwo buhamya bw'abaturage n'iyo ndirimbo ikomoka mu baturage ni ikigaragaza ubushishozi abaturage bagira mu gusesengura imiyoborere. Buravuguruza kandi bikomeye ibyagiye bivugwa n'abakoloni ko kumuvana ku ngoma byashimishije abaturage.

39 *Rutagarama ,L. op.cit.1988*

5.3.2 Uko abashakashatsi babibona

Ntabwo dushobora kuvuga abashakashatsi bose. Twahisemo kwandukura igitekerezo cy'ingenzi cya Karibwami Justin":

"Musinga ntiyahwemye kuba umunyafrika ukunda igihugu cye. Haba mu buryo bwa politiki, bw'umuco no mu bwo kwemera, yumvaga cyane icyo bivuze kurangwa n'ubwenegihugu."[40] Ayo magambo make ya Karibwami aragaragaza urwego Musinga yari ariho mu nshingano ze zo kuba Umwami w'u Rwanda.

40 *Musinga, pour ceux qui l'ont connu, était restéun Grand nationaliste africain. Du point de vue politique, mais aussi culturel et spirituel, il avait une grande conscience de ce que représentait l'identité nationale", Kalibwami, J., Le catholicisme et la société rwandaise, Paris, Présence Africaine,1911, p.158*

IV. UBUTWARI MU RUGAMBA RWO KUBOHORA U RWANDA NO GUHAGARIKA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI

RWAKA Nicolas*

Intangiriro

Urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda ni kimwe mu bihe byagaragayemo ubutwari buhebuje bw'Abanyarwanda. Urwo rugamba rwagaragaje gukunda Igihugu, ubwitange, umurava n'ubushishozi bihanitse. Nyuma y'ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni mu Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwakurikiyeho, haba kuri Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) no kuri Repubulika ya kabiri (1973-1994) bwakurikije umurongo wa politiki y'abakoloni w'ivangura cyane cyane rishingiye ku byiswe amoko n'itotezwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bari barirukanywe mu gihugu, hakozwe ibiganiro n'imishyikirano y'amahoro ngo bashobore gutaha mu gihugu cyabo, ariko byose birananirana. Hari hasigaye gukoresha ingufu za gisirikare mu gusubiza agaciro Abanyarwanda.

Tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ingabo za RPA[1] zatangije Urugamba rwo Kubohora u Rwanda ndetse ziza no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. Ni urugendo rukomeye rw'imyaka ine rwasojwe no gufata Umujyi wa Kigali ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, ndetse no guhunga kwa Guverinoma yakoze Jenoside.

1. Amavu n'amavuko y'Urugamba rwo Kubohora u Rwanda

Imvururu zatangiye mu mwaka wa 1959 zatumye ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda bahungira mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda abenshi batuzwa mu nkambi z'impunzi.[2] Mu mwaka wa 1962, u Rwanda rwahawe ubwigenge mu bihe byarangwaga n'imvururu zishingiye ku macakubiri yari ashyigikiwe n'Ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni b'Ababiligi n'Abamisiyoneri.

** RWAKA Nicolas ni Umuyobozi w'Ishami ry'Ubushakashatsi muri CHENO*

1 RPA: Rwanda Patriotic Army (Ingabo za FPR – Inkotanyi)

2 UNHCR (1964), Report of Economic and Social Council to General Assembly, UNHCR

Ubwigenge u Rwanda rwahawe ntibwakemuye ibibazo byari bihari kuko bamwe mu Banyarwanda bari baraciriwe ishyanga mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda birimo u Burundi, Uganda, Congo (Congo-Kinshasa) na Tanzaniya nkuko bigaragazwa na raporo y'Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ryita ku Mpunzi (UNHCR, 1964)[3]. Iyi raporo igaragaza impunzi zirenga ibihumbi ijana na mirongo itanu (150,000) byiganjemo Abatutsi bahungiye mu bihugu byavuzwe haruguru, uretse ko uyu mubare ushobora no kwikuba kabiri kuko bamwe batabaruwe.[4]

Abatutsi b'imbere mu gihugu bagiye bacirwa ahandi habi hadatuwe nka Rukumberi na Bugesera kandi hegeranye n'amashyamba kimeza yabaga arimo isazi ya "Tsetse". Ibi byatumye amatungo yabo abashiraho kubera ubushyuhe bwinshi, imibu itera indwara ya Malariya n'iyo sazi ya "Tsetse" yicamo benshi.

Abanyarwanda b'imbere mu gihugu b'Abatutsi nabo bari barabujijwe epfo na ruguru. Abenshi ntibemererwaga kwiga mu mashuri bashingiye kuri "politiki y'iringaniza[5]", kubona akazi, kujya mu gisirikari no mu kijandarume.[6] Abanyarwanda nabo bahungiye hanze y'u Rwanda mu bihugu bitandukanye byavuzwe haruguru ntiborohewe n'ubuzima ku kagambane k'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

Abahungiye muri Uganda bo bari bananzwe birushijeho kubera ubucuti bwari hagati ya Perezida Kayibanda na Perezida Milton Obote. Ndetse no ku bwa Perezida Iddi Amini Dada hashyizweho itegeko ritemerera Abanyarwanda kwiga imyuga ndetse n'uwize kubona akazi muri Leta bikaba ingume.[7] Na none ku ngoma ya kabiri ya Perezida Milton Obote mu mwaka wa 1982, Abanyarwanda bari barahungiye Uganda baratotejwe, barafungwa ndetse banirukanwa mu gihugu. Bageze no mu Rwanda banga kubakira, Perezida

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3 UNHCR (1964), Report of Economic and Social Council to General Assembly, UNHCR

4 Kamukama D. 1993, p32 (Abatabaruwe ni abatari mu nkambi z'impunzi bigiriye mu miryango ya bene wabo yabaga muri ibyo bihugu)

5 Iyi Politiki y'Iringaniza yatangiye ku ngoma ya Kayibanda yitwa…… ikomereza ku ya Habyarimana (reba Mugesera A., Imibereho y'abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri 1959-1990.

6 Ndahiro L., Inzira y'inzitane yo kwibohora kw'Abanyarwanda, Palloti Presse, Kigali, 2018

7 Ndahiro L., Inzira y'inzitane yo kwibohora kw'Abanyarwanda, Palloti Presse, Kigali, 2018, P16

Habyarimana asaba ibihugu bahungiyemo kubatuza kubera ko ngo "u Rwanda rwuzuye atabona aho abatuza"[8]; abandi bashyirwa mu nkambi[9] ku gahato, abenshi bahasiga ubuzima abandi ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana buranabirukana.

Abanyarwanda bari mu Burundi nabo ntibari borohewe n'ubuzima. Ntibigeze bemererwa kwiga kimwe n'abenegihugu no kubona akazi nk'abandi. Abenshi batujwe mu mashyamba y'inzitane atagira ibikorwa remezo (Urugero: Inkambi za Mushiha, Kayongozi na Kigamba).

Abari muri Congo, ku kagambane ka Perezida Habyarimana Juvenal wari inshuti ya Perezida Mobutu Joseph Désiré, bashyizwemo umwiryane w'amacakubiri[10] hagati y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu ubundi bari basanzwe babanye mu mahoro mu bice bya Masisi, Rutshuru no muri Kivu y'Amajyepfo.

Abari muri Tanzaniya, n'ubwo Perezida Nyerere yari yarabahaye ubuhungiro n'ubwenegihugu, ariko ntabwo bigeze bagira ubwisanzure mu kubona akazi, kuko bamwe mu Banyarwanda batsinze mu mashuri ku rwego rw'Intara basimbuzwaga Abatanzaniya ba kavukire bakaba ari bo bakomeza.

Ni muri urwo rwego impunzi z'Abanyarwanda bari babangamiwe n'imigirire n'imikorere ihabanye, bishyize hamwe bagamije guhuza Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose aho bari hose, ngo babakangurire gusenyera umugozi umwe, hagamijwe gushyiraho imiyoborere ishingiye kuri Demokarasi nyayo, kwigobotora ba gashakabuhake no guteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'Abanyarwanda bose.[11]

Mu bihe bya mbere by'ubuhunzi (1962-1968) umutwe w'Inyenzi wagabye ibitero ushaka kugarura impunzi mu gihugu ariko ntibyashoboka. Ibi byavuyemo ko Leta yariho yatangiye gutoteza no kwica Abatutsi batahunze bitwaga "ibyitso" by'Inyezi. Ibi byatumye impunzi n'abakuwe mu byabo biyongera.

Impunzi zari mu mahanga zasabye gutaha kenshi Leta y'u Rwanda ivunira ibiti mu matwi.

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8 Le soir du 4 Octobre 1990
9 Inkambi ya Kibondo na Nasho aho impunzi z'Abanyarwanda birukanywe na Obote bashyizwe.
10 MAGRIVI: Mutuelle des Agriculteurs de Virunga (ngo yaba yaratangiye ku kagambane k'u Rwanda)
11 Idem, 2018, P20.

Ibibazo bya Politiki byari muri Uganda mu mwaka wa 1982 byatumye Obote yirukana Abanyarwanda, bituma abenshi mu rubyiruko rw'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda bitabira intambara ya Yoweri Museveni yo kubohora Uganda. Urwo rugamba rwarangiye Kampala ifashwe mu mwaka wa 1986. Iyo mibereho mibi y'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, wongeyeho politiki mbi ya Perezida Habyarimana no kutagira icyizere cy'ejo hazaza ku mpunzi ndetse n'abari mu Rwanda batotezwa, byababaye intandaro y'urugamba rwo kwibohora rwatangiye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990.

2. Ishingwa rya RPF-Inkotanyi

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1979, Abanyarwanda bari barahungiye mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda batangiye kwisuganya no gushyira hamwe ibitekerezo bagamije kwikemurira ibibazo bibugarije. Mu mwaka wa 1979, Abanyarwanda bari hanze y'Igihugu bishyize hamwe bashinga ishyirahamwe ryitwa RANU (Rwandese Alliance for National Unity) ryari rifite icyicaro mu gihugu cya Kenya. Iri shyirahamwe ryari rigamije gukemura ibibazo byugarije u Rwanda byatewe n'isenywa ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Kubera ibibazo by'umutekano, RANU yatangiye ikorera mu ibanga, ibinyujije mu mashyirahamwe y'uburezi n'umuco nk'iryitwa INTORE Society muri Kenya, ishuri rya St Albert mu Burundi na RRWF (Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation) muri Uganda.

RANU yanashinze ibinyamakuru bibiri, kimwe kitwaga "Alliancer" cyandikirwaga muri Kenya, ikindi kitwa "INKOTANYI" cyandikirwaga muri Uganda. Ibyo binyamakuru yabishinze nk'umuyoboro uyifasha kumenyekanisha ibitekerezo byayo n'intego zayo.

Mu mwaka wa 1987, RANU yimuriye icyicaro cyayo muri Uganda kuko hari umubare munini w'Abanyarwanda bashyigikiye umugambi wa RANU kandi bagize uruhare mu kubohora igihugu cya Uganda bafatanyije na Perezida Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. Ibyo byabongereye imbaraga babona ko n'urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda rushoboka.

Kuva ku itariki ya 25 kugeza ku itariki 27 z'Ukuboza 1987, muri Kongere "Congress" ya 5 ya RANU yateraniye muri Uganda ahitwa Mbuya (Kampala) nibwo hashyizweho RPF-INKOTANYI (Rwandese Patriotic Front) n'Umutwe wayo wa Gisirikari wiswe "RPA" (Rwandese Patriotic Army) bihabwa umurongo mushya wa Politiki, inshingano nshya n'imikorere mishya. Ishingwa rya RPF-INKOTANYI nk'Umuryango byari bishingiye ku ntekerezo yo guhuza Abanyarwanda bose bakunda u Rwanda, bagamije gukemura ibibazo byarwo no kuzanira ineza Abanyarwanda aho bari hose. Kugira ngo ibi bigerweho, hemejwe ibi bikurikira:

- Mu muryango (Front), abantu bagomba guhuza intego, guharanira kuzigeraho kandi bafatanye urunana.
- Mu muryango (Front), uwatanze umusanzu munini ntabwo aruta uwatanze muke ukurikije uko yifite.
- Mu muryango (Front), abanyamuryango bose barareshya, waba uri ku rugamba urwana cyangwa uri umunyamuryango usanzwe, upfa kuba ushyigikiye ibyo bose baharanira.
- Mu muryango (Front), ntabwo icy'ingenzi ari amashuri wize, umutungo ufite, ahubwo ibikorwa byawe bigamije inyungu rusange.
- Mu muryango (Front), abantu baba bashyize hamwe, bagamije gahunda imwe, bakemurira hamwe ibibazo bibabangamiye, badasigana kandi badasigaana.

Intego 8 za RPF- Inkotanyi:

1. Kugarura Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda
2. Guharanira Ubusugire n'Umutekano w'Abantu n'ibyabo
3. Guharanira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi
4. Guharanira ubukungu bushingiye ku mutungo bwite w'Igihugu
5. Kurwanya ruswa no gutonesha
6. Guharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage
7. Gucyura impunzi no gukuraho impamvu zitera ubuhunzi
8. Guharanira ububanyi n'amahanga bushingiye ku buhahirane, ubufatanye n'ubwubahane.

Nyuma ya Jenoside, hiyongereyeho intego ya 9: Kurwanya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo.

Guhuza Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose (abasivili n'abasirikare) bari mu bihugu bitandukanye, mu ibanga rikomeye, nta mikoro ahagije ahari, ndetse na politiki y'ibihugu byo mu Karere itaborohereza, byabasabye ubutwari, ibanga, ubwitange n'ubushishozi buhambaye.

3. Urugamba rwo Kubohora u Rwanda no kwiyubaka

Kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ubu, habayeho urugendo rwo kubohora Igihugu, guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no kubaka u Rwanda rushya. Nyuma y'uko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari mu bihugu bitandukanye zibujijwe gutaha mu Gihugu cyabo mu mahoro, indi nzira yari isigaye yari iyo gutaha hifashishijwe ingufu za gisirikare. Ni muri urwo rwego hatangijwe urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990.

Mu rugendo rwo kubohora Igihugu, habayeho ubufatanye bw'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose; abari ku rugamba n'ababatera ingabo mu bitugu. Ibi bigaragazwa n'uruhare rwa buri Munyarwanda aho yari ari hose, haba mu Rwanda no hanze yarwo bijyanye n'ubushobozi yari afite.

Ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, hatangijwe urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda rutangirizwa ku mupaka wa Kagitumba, ruyobowe na Maj. Gen. Fred GISA RWIGEMA, Umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo za RPA, akaba na Chairman wa RPF-Inkotanyi. Atangiza urugamba, Maj. Gen. Fred Gisa RWIGEMA yagize ati: "*U Rwanda rugomba kuva mu karengane byanze bikunze, n'ubwo byazageza ryari ndetse naho bamwe muri twe twaba twarapfuye*" .

Ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 1990, urugamba rwakomwe mu nkokora n'itabaruka rya Maj. Gen. Fred GISA RWIGEMA, warasiwe n'umwanzi ku musozi wa Nyampeke (ubu wiswe Agasozi k'Intwari) uherereye, mu Kagari ka Kanyonza, Umurenge wa Matimba, Akarere ka Nyagatare.

Nyuma y'itabaruka rya Maj. Gen. Fred GISA RWIGEMA, RPA yakomeje urugamba ruyobowe na Maj. Gen. Paul KAGAME wari ufite intego

y'urugamba igira iti: "Nta gutsindwa, nta gusubira inyuma (*No retreat, no surrender*)". Ubwo butwari bwatumye batsinda urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu.

Uru rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwakozwe mu byiciro bine (4) bikurikira:

(1) Gutangiza urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu.
(2) Kwisuganya no gutangiza uburyo bushya bw'urugamba.
(3) Kubaka no guhamya ibirindiro ku butaka bw'u Rwanda.
(4) Guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no gutabara abicwaga.

3.1. Ibihe by'ingenzi mu rugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda

i) Gutangiza urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda

Intambwe yatewe mu rugamba mu mwaka wa 1990 (Ukwakira):
-Gutangira urugamba bafungura umupaka wa Kagitumba;
-Gufata ibice bimwe by'Umutara (Nyagatare, Ryabega, Gabiro);

Inzitizi mu rugamba muri 1990 (Ukwakira):
-Imfu z'abayobozi bakuru zashegeshe RPA, ariko urugamba rurakomeza

Maj. Gen. Fred Gisa RWIGEMA
(Umugaba Mukuru w'Ingabo na Chairman wa RPF)

Maj. Peter BAYINGANA

Capt. BITAMAZIRE Boniface

Maj. Chris BUNYENYEZI.

-Ingabo z'ibihugu by'amahanga[12] zatabaye ubutegetsi bwariho

-Kutamenya neza imiterere y'Igihugu barwaniraho

ii) Kwisuganya no gutangiza uburyo bushya bw'intambara

Iki gihe cyaje nyuma yo gupfa kwa bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru ba RPA bishwe n'umwanzi. Iki gihe kandi cyaranzwe n'ubuyobozi bushya bwazanye impinduka mu mitegurire y'urugamba.

12 *Ingabo za Zaire (DSP: Division Spéciale Présidentielle), iz'Ubufaransa (muri Opération Noroît), iz'Ububiligi n'iza Kenya.*

Ibikorwa "Commander" Kagame Paul yagaragaje:

"Commander" KAGAME Paul yagaragaje ibikorwa byinshi bigaragaza ubwitange buhanitse, harimo nko gushyiraho ubuyobozi bukomeye ndetse anavugurura bimwe mu bikurikira: gutanga icyerekezo n'intego bishya kandi bisobanutse; imikorere iganisha ku ntego no kumenyekanisha neza iyo ntego; kuba intangarugero mu kwerekana ingamba zibyara intego; kuvugurura inzego z'ubuyobozi kugira ngo intego n'icyerekezo bigerweho; kongera umurava n'ubushake mu bagize inzego zose; gufata ibyemezo bikarishye mu gusubiza ibibazo byariho; ubuhanga bwo guhangana n'impinduka n'amakimbirane; guteza imbere ububasha bwo kuyobora mubo bakorana; gusubira inyuma (Umuyobozi mushya yasabye ko ingabo za RPA zigaruka Kagitumba, yimura ibirindiro kandi ahindura isura y'urugamba); kujyana urugamba mu birunga n'imisozi miremire; urugamba rw'ibiteroshuma rutesha umwanzi umutwe; kubaka no gukoresha indaki.

Indake ya Gikoba mu Karere ka Nyagatare

Izindi ngamba zafashwe muri iki gihe ni ukongera umubare w'ingabo; gutangiza imyitozo yongerera ingabo ubushobozi mu bya gisirikare no kubashakira ibikoresho. Ibi byatumye abari inyeshyamba bagira ubunyamwuga mu kazi.

Intambwe ku rugamba mu mwaka wa 1992 – 1993

RPA yakomeje gutwaza ijya imbere, biba ngombwa ko umwanzi asubira inyuma, anemera inzira y'imishyikirano. Nibwo habonetse "Igihugu mu kindi" (aho RPA yari yarabohoye). Ibyo byatumye imishyikirano itangira, iza kurangizwa n'Amasezerano ya Arusha yasinywe ku tariki 4/8/1993. Ayo Masezerano akubiyemo iby'ingenzi bikurikira:

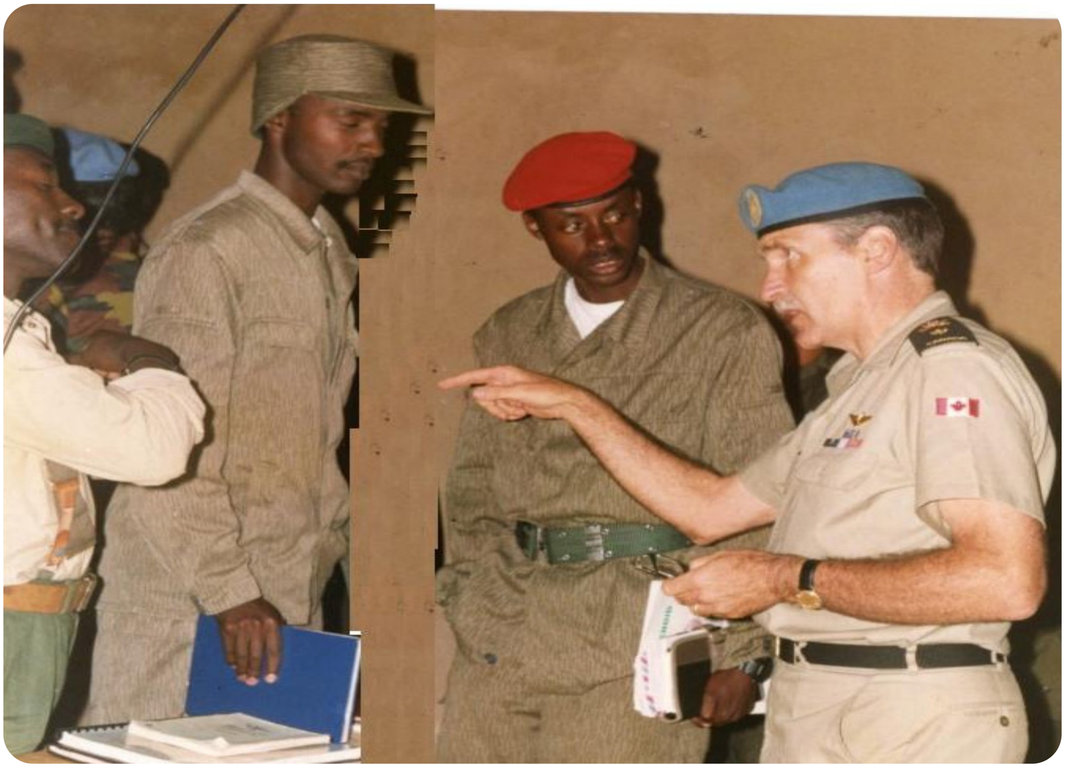
- Isaranganya ry'ubutegetsi mu mashyaka menshi[13] ;
- Abasirikare 600 bajya Kigali kurinda abayobozi ba FPR bazajya muri Leta y'inzibacyuho;
- Kuvanga ingabo, Leta igatanga 60%, FPR 40%;
- Gushyiraho Komisiyo z'Uburenganzira bwa muntu; Iyo gucyura impunzi; iyo gusezerera abavuye ku rugerero; Iy' ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'izindi;
- Kugira Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko (Rule of law);
- Buri Munyarwanda gutura aho ashaka (Gukuraho "permis de residence");
- Gushyiraho Leta y'inzibacyuho y'imyaka 5 izakurikirwa n'amatora, n'ibindi.

13 Habyarimana nka Perezida (MRND), Twagiramungu nka Minisitiri w'Intebe (MDR), Kanyarengwe nka Minisitiri w'Intebe Wungirije (RPF), n'andi mashyaka (PL, PSD, UDPL, PDI, PDC) ahabwa imyanya.

Ingabo za RPA ziza guhagarika Jenoside

Abayobozi ba RPF/RPA bajya inama bari Arusha

Tariki 25/12/1993 RPA bambitswe impeta z'Igihugu bitegura kuvanga n'ingabo za Leta



Imbogamizi mu rugamba:

-Kwanga kubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha;

-Leta y'u Rwanda yari igifite ingufu;

-Leta y'u Rwanda yari ishyikigiwe n'amahanga cyane cyane Ubufaransa.

iii) Kubaka no guhamya ibirindiro ku butaka bw'u Rwanda

Intambwe n'inzitizi z'urugamba mu myaka ya 1993 – 1994

RPA yakomeje urugamba kandi ikomeza gutsinda. Inzitizi ikomeye yabaye kutubahiriza Amasezerano ya Arusha byakozwe na Leta ya Habyarimana. Indi nzitizi yabaye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yategurwaga na Leta yariho. Ibyo byasabye ko Ingabo za RPA zirwana urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu n'urugamba rwo guhagarika Jenoside, bikajyana no kugerageza gutabara no gukiza abahigwaga bose. Indi nzitizi ikomeye ni ubufasha mu bya gisirikare n'uruhare rukomeye Leta y'Ubufaransa yagize mu gihe cyo gutegura no gukora Jenoside. Ibi byahaga Leta ya Habyarimana imbaraga.

Ingabo z'abafaransa zitoza Interahamwe

Ingabo z'abafaransa zahagarikiye Interahamwe

Mu rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu hagaragaye uruhare rwa buri Munyarwanda mu byiciro bitandukanye (abato, abasore, inkumi, abakuze). Urwo ruhare rwari ukujya ku rugamba, gutanga umusanzu, gusobanura impamvu y'urugamba no kwita ku mibereho myiza y'abari ku rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu.

Muri rusange uru rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwashobotse kubera umurage duca ku bakurambere bacu b'Intwari wo kwitangira Igihugu utizigama, ugahangana n'ibihe uko byaba bimeze kose kandi ukabitsinda; kwiha intego kandi ukiyemeza kuyigeraho. By'umwihariko, Urugamba rwo Kubohora Igihugu no Guhagarika Jenoside rwaranzwe n'ibi bikurikira: ubumwe, ubwitange, ubutwari, umurava n'ishyaka, urukundo rw'Igihugu, gukora igikwiye no kurangwa n'imyitwarire ntamakemwa.

iv) Guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Igikorwa cyo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi, cyateye intambwe ikomeye ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, habohorwa Umurwa Mukuru Kigali, hanyuma urugamba rukomereza mu tundi turere tw'Igihugu hagamijwe kurokora abicwaga.

Iyi Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi bari imbere mu gihugu yari yateguwe, inashyirwa mu bikorwa ku mugaragaro guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 na Leta yari iriho icyo gihe yaje kwiyita Leta y'abatabazi.

Iyi Leta igamije ibintu bibiri (2) bikurikira: (1) Kwica Abatutsi bose no kurimbura abatavuga rumwe na Leta b'imbere mu gihugu, kugira ngo himikwe irondabwoko nk'uburyo rukumbi bushoboka bwo kuyobora ibitekerezo bya politiki n'imibereho. (2) Gutuma FPR yubura imirwano kugira ngo haburizwemo burundu Amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yari yarasinywe tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993.

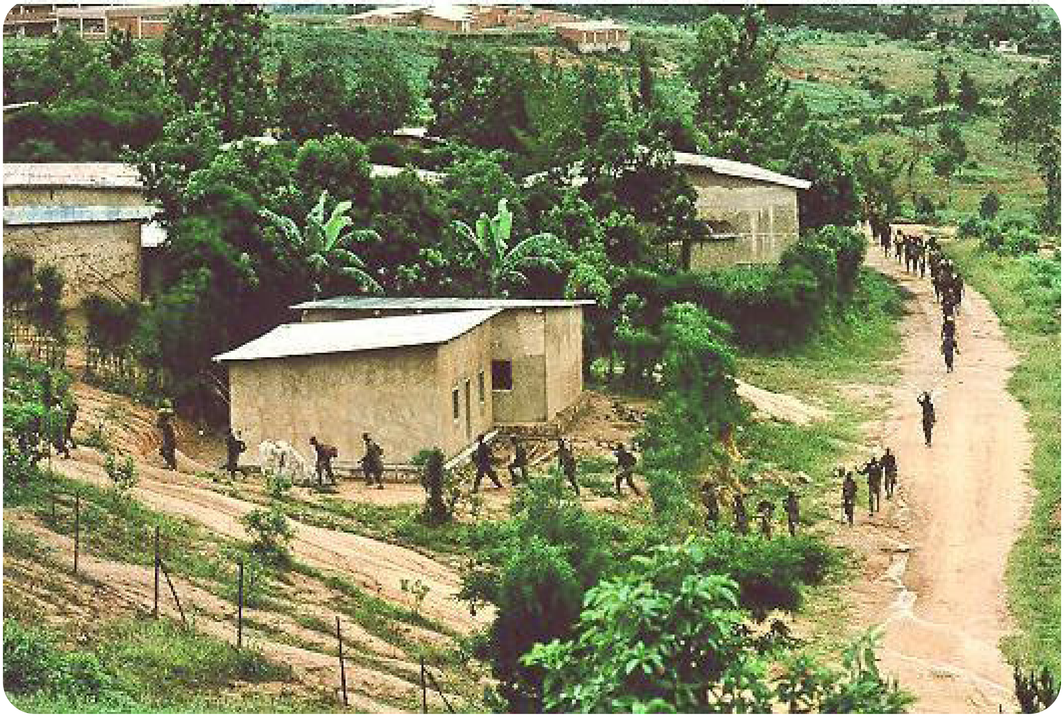
Ubutumwa bwihutirwa bwo guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bwatanzwe n'Umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo za RPA-Inkotanyi, Maj. Gen. Paul KAGAME ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 buri mu byiciro bitatu bikurikira:[14]

14 *JB KEGEL, July 2019, P249. (Reba ibyanditse mu Ngoro y'Amateka y'Urugamba rwo Guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi)*

- Guhuza imbaraga n'Abasirikari 600 bari muri CND i Kigali (Ubu ni mu Nteko Ishingamategeko umutwe w'Abadepite na Sena.
- Gutabara no kurokora Abatutsi n'Abayobozi batavugaga rumwe na Leta.
- Guca intege ingabo zirinda Umukuru w'Igihugu (G.P.) no gutsinda umwanzi (FAR).

Hashingiwe ku butumwa bwari bwatanzwe n'Umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo za RPA-Inkotanyi, Maj. Gen Paul KAGAME, abari ku rugamba rwo guhagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi bafatanyije n'abandi Banyarwanda bari imbere mu Gihugu batari bashyigikiye umugambi mubisha wo kurimbura Abatutsi barokora, banakiza abatari bake bari mu kaga.

Abasirikari bari ku rugamba rwo guhagarika Jenoside no gutabara abicwaga baranzwe no kubahiriza umurongo wari watanzwe n'Umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo za RPA-Inkotanyi ko ntawe ugomba kwihorera cyangwa guhohotera umuturage, ikaba ari nayo mpamvu usanga, aho banyuraga hose baharaniraga kurokora, gukiza, kuvura no kwita ku mibereho y'abo barokoye muri rusange.



Ingabo za RPA mu guhagarika jenoside mbere yo gufata Kigali

4) Gusana no kubaka Igihugu nyuma y'Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu

Nyuma y'intambara yo guhagarika Jenoside no gutahuka kw'impunzi u Rwanda rwatangiye gahunda nyinshi zigamije kubaka Igihugu, zimwe muri zo zikaba izi zikurikira:

a. Kubaka inzego z'ubuyobozi
b. Kwimakaza Imiyoborere myiza
c. Kugendera ku mategeko n'ubutabera
d. Kurwanya ruswa n'itonesha
e. Gukorera mu mucyo
f. Gushyigikira Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge
g. Guharanira Iterambere mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza
h. Kugarura Umutekano usesuye w'abantu n'ibintu

Amasomo dukura mu rugamba rwo Kubohora Igihugu no Guhagarika Jenoside:

- ✓ Intsinzi ntituruka gusa ku mbaraga zitsinze umwanzi ahubwo inaturuka ku kwihutisha kugira umudendezo no kuwurinda.
- ✓ Urukundo rw'Igihugu n'abagituye ni intwaro ikomeye mu rugamba rwo kwibohora;
- ✓ Intambara ntirwanwa n'ingabo gusa ahubwo ni ubufatanye bw'abenegihugu muri rusange;
- ✓ Guhuza imbaraga bituruka ku kugira icyerekezo kimwe kandi gisobanutse.
- ✓ Urugamba rw'iterambere mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza ruhoraho.

Umusozo

Mu rugendo rwo kongera kubaka Igihugu, u Rwanda rumaze kugera kuri byinshi. Intambara nyinshi zasojwe n'intsinzi: Jenoside yarahagaritswe; Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge burakomeje, haremwe umutwe umwe w'ingabo z'Igihugu, Igihugu kiriyubaka bundi bushya kandi gifite ingabo zikomeye zirinda ubusugire bwacyo. Inzego z'umutekano kandi zigira uruhare mu iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abenegihugu muri rusange.

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V. URUHARE RW'ABAKOBWA BASIGAYE ARI IMFUBYI ZA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU BIKORWA BIFASHA ABANDI

MUKASARASI Godelieve*

Intangiriro

U Rwanda rwasinye amasezerano mpuzamahanga arwemeza kwita ku buryo ababujijwe uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, barimo abasambanyijwe ku gahato, bagira aho bageza ibibazo byabo kandi bagahabwa indishyi, ndetse bikaba byahindura imibereho yabo. Ayo masezerano arimo iryerekeranye n'ivanwaho ry'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose rikorerwa abagore (CEDAW[1]), Amasezerano (Pacte) yerekeranye n'uburenganzira bw'abaturage muri politiki (PIDCP[2]), Amasezerano (Pacte) yerekeranye n'uburenganzira bw'ubukungu, imibereho n'umuco (PIDESC[3]), Amasezerano yerekeranye n'uburenganzira bw'abana, Amasezerano nyafurika ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu n'abaturage[4] n'Amasezerano Nyafurika ku burenganzira n'imibereho myiza y'umwana[5].

Raporo yo mu mwaka w'i 1996 y'Umuvugizi udasanzwe w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU) ku Rwanda yagenekereje ko nibura abagore 250.000 basambanyijwe ku gahato muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994. Amoko y'ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina[6] yari anyuranye, harimo gusambanywa ku gahato, gusambanywa mu ruhame, kujombwa mu gitsina inkoni, imbunda cyangwa ibindi bintu, kuba ingaruzwamuheto, guhatirwa gushaka umugabo, imirimo y'agahato no kwangizwa imyanya ndangagitsina.

Ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina ryari kimwe mu bikomere byinshi byakorerwaga abagore n'abakobwa b'abanyarwandakazi, kenshi bakorerwa ubwo bugome bukabije bamaze kubona uko bishe by'agashinyaguro abo mu miryango yabo n'uko bashenye bakamaraho inzu babagamo. Hakurikijwe imvugo bwite nyinshi z'abahamya ku byerekeranye na Jenoside, abagome bakoze ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina, bishe benshi mu bagore bamaze kubangiza igitsina.

**MUKASARASI Godelieve ni Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego /CHENO*

1 *CEDAW : Convention sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes*
2 *PIDCP : Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques*
3 *PIDESC: Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels*
4 *la Charte africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples*
5 *la Charte africaine des droits et du bien-être de l'enfant*
6 *Ku bagabo no ku bagore*

Ibikorwa by'ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina byagize ingaruka mbi cyane ku buzima, ku mitekerereze no ku mibereho ku Banyarwandakazi. Abagore n'abakobwa bandujwe indwara zandurira mu mibonano mpuzabitsina, zirimo na VIH/SIDA; batwaye inda zitifuzwa bagira n'inzitizi zijyanye nazo zikurikira: kuvanamo inda, guterwa indwara, gukatwa imyanya ndangagitsina n'ibindi bibi nka fisitule (fistules), ibibazo byo muri nyababyeyi, no mu myanya ndangagitsina, ndetse n'inkovu z'ibisebe. Kugeza ku myaka 10 nyuma y'ibyo byabaye, abakorewe iryo hohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina, by'umwihariko ababyaye kubera gusambanywa ku gahato cyangwa abafite ubumuga bwo ku mubiri bwabaye karande burimo ubwa VIH/SIDA, bahora bahahamutse kubera ibyababayeho, bakaguma bahungabanye, bagahabwa akato kandi bagahora bigunze. Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994, ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina ryakoreshejwe nk'intwaro ya politiki. Mbere no mu gihe cya Jenoside, ubukangurambaga ndengakamere bwasuzuguzaga abagore b'Abatutsikazi kubera ko ari abagore no kubera ubwoko bwabo[7].

1. Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwandakazi bahohotewe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Abagore b'Abanyarwandakazi bagaragaje ubutwari mu bihe binyuranye. Icyo kwirata no kuratira abandi ni uko abari abakobwa mu gihe cya Jenoside bamaze gukura ndetse no gushaka, ubu biyemeje gufasha abandi kubaho, n'ubwo bamwe muri bo bakorewe ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu mu Rwanda. Biyemeje kandi kunga mu rya bagenzi babo baharaniye ubutabera, bariyakira, biha agaciro kandi bariyubaka. Byose babikora bishingikirije umuco w'ubutwari nk'uko twabyanditse muri "Cahiers" *Umurage w'Ubutwari* Nº3[8].

Ubusanzwe ubutwari bushingira ku bwitange bwihariye bubyara ibikorwa bidasanzwe. Ubutwari buba bugamije guhindura imibereho y'umuryango ngo irusheho kuba myiza kabone n'ubwo uwabikoze yaba atakiriho. Ubutwari bwagaragaye buhinduka isomo muri icyo gihe no mu bihe bizaza cyane cyane ku rubyiruko, rugaharanira gutera ikirenge mu cy'intwari zarubanjirije. Ubutwari buba bugamije kandi kurwanya ikibi, guhangana n'icyahohotera abaturage giturutse ku bandi cyangwa ku bidukikije. Ubutwari kandi bugaragarira mu bice byose bigize ubuzima bw'Igihugu (politiki, imiyoborere, ubukungu, ubutabera, imikorere n'imikoranire, imibanire n'ibindi).[9]

7 *Toujours en lutte: la justice, un parcours semé d'obstacles pour les victimes de viol au Rwanda, Human Rights Watch septembre 2004 Vol. 16, No. 10(A)*

8 *CHENO, Cahiers UMURAGE w'UBUTWARI No 3, ku wa 1/2/2022*

9 *Ubutwari mu mfashanyigisho yo gutoza indangagaciro, y'ubutwari, Kamena 2014, p 40*

Twibuke kandi ko «Intwari» ari umuntu ukurikirana icyo yiyemeje kandi atabibwirijwe kugera ubwo kivamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga kandi gifitiye abandi akamaro. Abikora mu bupfura n'ubwitange bihebuje, akirinda ubugwari no kugamburuzwa n'amananiza. Abikora agamije inyungu rusange kurusha inyungu ze bwite, dore ko abikora nta gihembo ategereje kandi akabikora azi ko yanabizira.

Muri iyi nyandiko, muragezwaho ubuhamya bw'abagore batatu, bari abakobwa mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ubu bafasha bagenzi babo mu Turere tunyuranye. Nyuma yo gukira ibikomere, biyemeje indangaciro y'ubutwari, baharanira kubaho nk'abagore bafite agaciro kanini.

1.1. Mukawera Mariam mu rugendo rwo kwiyubaka no gufasha abandi mu karere ka Kirehe

Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994, Mukawera[10] yari umukobwa w'imyaka 20, ari umunyeshuri mu mwaka wa kane w'amashuri yisumbuye. Jenoside yamugizeho ingaruka zikomeye.

Jenoside yatangiye Mukawera ari mu rugo iwabo, ahita ahungana n'abandi bari baturanye, bajya ku ishuri ry'i Mushishiro. We na musaza we wo kwa se wabo babonye ko Abatutsi b'i Buringa batangiye kubajonjora aho bari bahungiye ngo babajyane kubaroha muri Nyabarongo, Mukawera yagiriye inama musaza we ko bahunga bakagenda bihishahisha, umwe aha, undi hariya.

Muri urwo rugendo, abo bahunganye bagiye bicwa n'Interahamwe umugenda. Yaje kwisanga ari wenyine, nyuma yibuka ko yigeze kumva ko Abatutsi bahungira i Kabgayi[11], yiyemeza guhungirayo.

Mu buhamya bwe, avuga ko yibuka ko yari ageze mu bice bya Mushubati, nyuma akomeza urugendo atazi neza iyo agana. Ati: "nagendaga ninjoro, ku manywa nkihisha, ntanazi n'aho njya". Yarakomeje, kubera kutamenya inzira, arenga i Kabgayi agera i Mbuye. Agira ati: "Mu gihuru nari nihishemo nahasanze undi uhihishe, ambwira ko aho turi ari i Mbuye."

Akomeza agira ati: "Muri urwo rugendo ngereranya n''inzira y'umusaraba', nahahuriye n'ibintu byinshi birimo kurara mu ntumbi, kurarana n'ibisimba biryana mu bihuru, kunyagirwa n'imvura n'ubwo yo yari igisubizo cyacu kuko twayigendagamo ntawe udutangira, gufatwa ku ngufu n'ibindi..."..

10 Izina twakoresheje mu rwego rwo gusigasira ubudaheranwa bwe n'ubudahangarwa tumugomba

11 Kabgayi ni muru karere ka Muhanga mu majyepfo. Ni Diocezi yahungiweho Abatitsi mu gihe cya jenoside mu mwaka w'i 1994. Mu mazu anyuranye yayo, yaba ibigo by'amashuri, yaba ibitaro…..

Mu kuva i Mbuye bajya i Kabgayi bafashwe n'Interahamwe. Mu bibi bikomeye byamubayeho kurusha ibindi ni uko yafashwe ku ngufu. Agira ati: "nibuka interahamwe yari iri kuri bariyeri igaragara nk'aho iziyoboye ibwira izindi ngo uyu ni uwanjye ntihagire umunteraho ndamwitwarira." Mukawera Avuga ko yabanye n'iyo nterahamwe nk'iminsi itanu. Ati: "Iyo nterahamwe ikajya kwica no kuri bariyeri isize inkingiranye ikahansanga ninjoro yasinze ibiyobyabwenge. Naje kunguka akenge ko kumucika nyuze mu kadirishya… Naje guhura n'abandi Batutsi berekeza i Kabgayi nkomeza urwo rugendo kugera ubwo ngera i Kabgayi ari naho narokokeye".

Mukawera avuga ko i Kabgayi naho bahahuriye n'ibibazo bikomeye kuko naho ubwicanyi bwarakomeje interahamwe zazaga kujyana abakobwa n'abagore bakiri bato zifata ku ngufu; zigatwara n'abandi bantu zijya kwica. Agira ati: "Na musaza wanjye nahasanze wari uri mu kigero cy'imyaka 25 bamujyanye muri imwe mu modoka z'amabisi (bus) babajyanagamo babanje kubacuza no kubambika ubusa bagiye kwicwa no kurohwa muri Nyabarongo, ku Cyome ugana mu Ngororero."

Yongeraho ati: "Nyuma twenda kunogoka kubera inzara n'inyota, nta buzima, Abasirikare ba FPR Inkotanyi ni bo baturokoye ku itariki ya 2 Kamena batujyana mu Bugesera. Kabgayi twahavuye tugenda n'amaguru turi kumwe n' Inkotanyi tukirirwa tugenda umugoroba wagera tukarara aho tugeze, babona twananiwe aho turaye tukahamara iminsi nk'ibiri, kugeza batugejeje mu Bugesera".

Avuga ko muri Jenoside, yarokotse ari imfubyi kuko ababyeyi be bari barabishe. Nyuma yaje kubona bamwe mu bavandimwe nabo barokotse, afata inshingano yo kubarera. Agira ati: "Bari abana batatu b'imfubyi bari basigaye mu miryango abahungu 3 barimo musaza wanjye 1 wari muto iwacu, 2 bo kwa data wacu, n'umukobwa umwe we ntacyo twapfanaga, yari yaraburanye n'iwabo. Ntabwo byari byoroshye kuko ntaho kuba nari mfite, n'iwacu i Buringa ntawe nahasangaga kandi n'inzu zari zihari bari barazishenye. Abandi basubiye iwabo iyo bavuka, njye nigumira mu Bugesera. Ducumbika mu mashuri nyuma tubona inzu itarimo abantu kuri Centeri y'ubucuruzi ya Rilima tuba aho ngaho kandi nta n'ibyo kudutunga byari bihari. Nazindukaga njya kubishaka, gutyo gutyo, iminsi irashira indi irataha. Muri Mutarama 1995 nibwo nashatse umugabo, ubu dufitanye abana batatu."

Ku itariki ya 28 Gashyantare 1995, Mukawera yaje kubyara umwana w'umuhungu w'inda yatewe n'interahamwe yamufashe ku ngufu, akomeza kubaho muri ubwo buzima bw'umubabaro n'agahinda kenshi, hageretseho n'uwo mwana yabyaye. Agira ati: "Nariyanze kuko nta cyizere cyo kubaho

nari ngifite. Ariko nagaruye akenge abo bana nareraga mbasubiza mu ishuri bariga; ariko wa mukobwa nareraga (witwaga Ugirumurengera), yaje gutsinda ikizamini cya Leta bamwohereza kwiga muri ESB Buringa, hahandi nanjye nabaye nihisha mu gihe cya Jenoside, maze abacengezi baramwica. Nabyo binsubiza ibubisi, noneho mba mu gahinda gakomeye, mbunza umutima ngo natwe bazaza kutwica."

Akomeza agira ati: "Ariko nta bapfira gushira! Kubera ubuyobozi bwiza, ba bahungu babiri twarokokanye bo barangije kwiga amashuri yisumbuye, umwe ubu ari mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, undi atwara imodoka; naho umuhungu wanjye aritegura kurangiza Kaminuza."

Mu gihe cy'Inkiko Gacaca, Mukawera yashoboye kuzijyamo igihe gito, kuko igihe kimwe yazigiyemo interahamwe zikigamba abo zishe , ndetse iyitwa Claver ivuga ko abo yishe atazi umubare, arahungabana bikomeye.

Ati : "muri za 2009 nibwo naje kujya mu muryango utari uwa Leta ukorana n'imfubyi n'abapfakazi n'undi ukora ku burenganzira bwa muntu. Najyanywemo na Marie Josée twari duturanye, wari warayimenye nk'umutangabuhamya mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha ku Rwanda (TPIR) kuko yari azi agahinda k'iyongobezabugingo mporana. Ni agahinda gakomeye kendaga kunturitsa umutima. Nari narumiwe, ntavuga, ndaseka njunjamye gusa".

Avuga ko Marie Josée yamujyanye i Remera ya Kigali, akahasanga abandi bahuje ibibazo byo gufatwa ku ngufu no kubyara abana batazi ba Se. Abo bantu bahuje ibibazo baturutse hirya no hino mu Rwanda. Abo avuga ko yibuka ni abaturutse mu Bugesera, Kirehe, Nyarugenge , Kicukiro, Gasabo, Huye, Kamonyi na Ngororero.

Agira ati: "Twagiyeyo kenshi, baratuganiriza uko duhuye, baraduhugura mu bijyanye no kwiyakira n'isanamitima n'ibindi bizahura umugore wahuye n'akaga nk'ako. Twongera kubona urukundo twari twarabuze. Buhoro buhoro ngenda niyakira mbona imbaraga numva ndakomeye, ndatwaza, niyumvamo akanyamuneza ko kubaho, no kugira ubutwari bwo gukora, kwikunda ngo mbe umuntu, gukunda umwana nabyaye mu buryo budasanzwe no gukunda abandi."

Akomeza agira ati: "Kuri izo mbaraga nakuye muri iyo miryango, cyane cyane umuryango ukorana n'imfubyi n'abagore bari abakobwa bagafatwa ku ngufu bakabyara. Ibyo bantoje byampaye imbaraga zo kugira imyumvire iboneye, numva ko ngomba gusubira mu ishuri nkarangiza nibura amashuri yisumbuye. Nasubiye mu ishuri, ndiga ndarangiza, mbona akazi k'ubwarimu mu Bugesera. Aho banyohereje gukora hari kure y'aho ntaha. Byansabaga

kubyuka saa kumi zo mu rukerera, nataha ndangije akazi nkagera mu rugo saa mbiri z'ijoro, kubera kugenda n'amaguru nkikira ikiyaga. Kubera kuruha, naje kureka ako kazi, niyemeza kwitangira abagore bababaye. Numva ko hari icyo nakora ngafasha abandi bagore bahuye n'ibibazo nk'ibyanjye nabo bakabasha kubisohokamo."

Mukawera avuga ko yari afite umwanya kuko yari yararetse akazi k'ubwarimu. Agira ati: "Nasabye umurimo w'ubukorerabushake uhagarariye umuryango wita ku bahohotewe bafite abana, ngo mbafashe gukira ibikomere nk'uko nanjye nabikize nsigaye niyumvamo ibyishimo, agaciro n'umumaro, arabinyemerera. Ubwo mfata iyo nshingano nishimye kandi mbikunze. Ubu nkaba mfasha abo bagore bo mu karere ka Kirehe na Bugesera nabo bakaba bamaze kwiyakira barimo guharanira kugera ku iterambere nk'uko tubikesha Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kandi yahaye umugore ijambo. Uwarihawe akaryakira, aba agomba gufasha abandi kurigira."

Mukawera ahamya ko kugira ijambo byatumye yiyumvamo ubushobozi kuko imyumvire ye yazamutse maze yiyemeza gukora byose biganisha ku iterambere, birimo gukorana umurava n'ubutwari. Abagore bo mu karere ka Kirehe akorana nabo ni ijana na makumyabiri na babiri (112) bari mu matsinda 8 y'ubufatanye n'ubufashanye. Ayo matsinda ni nk'imbarutso yo kwigishanya, komorana ibikomere, abayagize bakiha agaciro, bagakumira ihohoterwa ribakorerwa nk'abagore, bakagira uruhare mu kubaka ingo z'amahoro nk'imiryango itekanye kandi ishoboye, noneho abandi bakabarebeeraho.

Abagize ayo matsinda bakora imirimo itandukanye: hari ababoha amatapi, ibikapu, ibiseke n'imisambi. Bafite n'ígikorwa cyo kubitsa no kugurizanya kuko bakanguriwe ibikorwa by'iterambere, kugurirana ibikoresho byo mu rugo, imirimo y'amaboko irimo guhinga imboga n'imbuto, ibigori, ubuhinzi bwa Kawa n'ibindi. Abo bagore kandi bahurira ku guhana icyo bise "Agaseke k'Amahoro". Ako gaseke kakabafasha kugoboka abatagira ababasura kubera ko babuze ababo bishwe mu gihe cya Jenoside. Mu bafashwa ni abababaho mu bwigunge bukabije, nk'abari mu kato: babyara ntibahembwe, bagira ibyago ntibabone ubabwira ngo komera!

Byasubije ibibazo bari bafite nk'imfubyi zitagiraga kivurira, kuko uwabyaraga ntiyabonaga umubyeyi cyangwa umuvandimwe wamusura cyangwa wamuhemba, none nabo ubwabo babaye umuryango babikora nk'abagize amatsinda bakizengurukamo bagenda basurana hagati yabo, bityo basubirana isura y'ubucuti muzi mu muco nyarwanda.

Naho abagore bo mu Karere ka Bugesera ni mirongo irindwi na bane (74) bari mu matsinda y'ubufatanye atandatu. Bahura bahugurana kandi bakora imirimo y'amaboko itandukanye irimo kuboha ibikapu, gutaka amasakoshi, gukora imitako y'imigongo. Ibyo ni Mukawera wabibigishije yarabyigiye i Kirehe. Bari no mu bimina byo kugurizanya amafranga no kugabirana amatungo magufi, guhana Agaseke k'Amahoro nk'umuco wari umaze gucika. Ndetse baratarama bakaboneraho guhiga no guhigura. Banafashanya kubona ibikoresho byo mu rugo birimo amagodora mu kunoza isuku y'aho barara. Bagurirana ibitenge bahana nk'impano iyo basuranye kuko benshi batagiraga ubitaho ngo abahe impano. Iyo bahuye baridagadura, bagasenga, bagaseka ku buryo umuryango mugari nyarwanda ubigiraho ubumwe n'urukundo n'ibikorwa nyongera musaruro.

Mukawera yiyemeje gukorana umurava n'ubutwari. Yemeza ko afite n'imbaraga yavomye mu muryango wamutuye umuruho n'umubabaro, agakira ibikomere we na bagenzi be, ukamuha ubumenyi kuri politiki na gahunda za Leta kandi akurikiza. Ati:''numvise hari icyo nakora kugirango n'abandi bakibana n'ibyo bikomere babashe kubisohokamo kandi nzakomeza. Ati "ikindi cyatumye nshimangira ubutwari ni ukugirango abaduhemukiye bo kutubona tubabaye cyangwa dukennye, ahubwo bajye bababazwa n'uko batubona tumeze neza, bicuze basabe imbabazi kandi tuzibahe nta mbereka, maze tubane nk'Abanyarwanda bunze ubumwe, duharanire amahoro n'iterambere ryacu bwite n'iry'Igihugu cyacu".

Akaba ahumuriza n'abandi bagiheranwe n'ibikomere ko bagomba kwishakamo imbaraga n'ibisubizo, ibibazo bakabisohokamo bagakomera, kuko dufite ubuyobozi bwiza na Leta y'ubumwe itwigisha kandi yaduhaye byinshi birimo kugira ijambo.

1.2. Umukundwa Tasiyana mu rugendo rwo kwiyubaka no gufasha abandi mu Karere ka Muhanga

Umukundwa[12] yari inkumi afite imyaka 22 mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Yari yarize amashuri atanu yisumbuye. Yavuye mu rugo iwabo ubwo interahamwe zifite intwaro zitandukanye (imbunda, "grenade", imihoro n'ibindi) zari zibateye ahagana saa yine za mu gitondo. Abateye baje batwika basenya, batema insina zegereye urugo. Umukundwa ati: "Ubwo nahise nsohoka nurira urugo kugira ngo mbone uko nsohoka kuko bari basatiriye amarembo. Nurirana gusa umwana w'umuhungu nari mpetse wari ufite imyaka ine, warererwaga iwacu kubera ko nyina yari yahise asama umwana akiri muto, nyina aza no kugira uburwayi bukomeye bw'amara.

12 Izina twakoresheje mu rwego rwo gusigasira ubudaheranwa n'ubudahangarwa bwe

“Twageze i Kabgayi ntacyo duhunganye, nta biribwa, nta myambaro, nta gakoresho na kamwe, mbese nta kintu na kimwe cyashoboraga kuturengera twari dufite. Ariko twahasanze Furere Charles waje kuturwanaho atubonera ibyo kurya bike. Nyuma interahamwe zaje guca amatiyo y’amazi kugira ngo twicwe n’inyota, inzara n’umwanda.

Furere yagerageje kujya ajya kutuvomera n’imodoka, ariko interahamwe zigeze aho zirayimwambura n’amazi zirayamena”.

“Kandi ubwo interahamwe n’abasirikare ni ko batwirirwagaho badufata ku ngufu muri iyo mibereho imeze ityo, batitaye ku buryo twahindanye, kandi dufite inzara n’inyota. Abasirikare ba FPR Inkotanyi nibo badutabaye kuwa 2 Kamena 1994 ubwo babohoraga Kabgayi.

Kubera imbaraga nke, guheka no gushorera abana bazahaye, twagendaga inyuma y’abandi. Ariko abasirikare ba FPR Inkotanyi bagiye badufasha banatubwira amagambo aduhumuriza. Ni nabwo jye bampaye umuti wo kunyomora mu gitsina kuko bari barankomerekeje cyane. Mu rugendo rw’ihurizo kuri jye, twabanje mu Byimana dukomeza twerekeza mu Ruhango, aho twamaze nk’icyumweru. Aho hose Inkotanyi zaduhaga ibyo kurya, tukabona n’umwanya wo gukaraba, kwikuraho imisatsi yari yaratwereyeho kandi baduhaye n’imyenda yo kwambara”.

“Twakomeje twerekeza i Ntongwe. Ni urugendo nakoze iminsi ibiri kubera kuzahara ariko abandi bahagenze umunsi umwe. Nagezeyo nenda kunogoka kubera igikomere cyo mu gitsina na ba bana nagendanaga nabo; ariko nyuma ndaruhuka ngarura akabaraga, ndetse ngirirwa ubuntu n’amahirwe bidasanzwe maze guhura na musaza wanjye. Akibona uko tumerewe yarumiwe ariko ntiyahita atujyana kubera akazi ahubwo atwizeza ko Imana nibishaka azagaruka kudutwara”.

Tasiyana agira ati: “Uwo musaza wanjye yabaga ashinzwe imodoka yatwaraga amasasu. Iyo modoka ni yo twagiyemo nkeka ko yari igiye kuyazana i Byumba. Nyuma y’icyumweru ngira ngo ni bwo yagarutse, kuko kubara iminsi ntitwabyibukaga kubera umubabaro no kubaho mu kaga, utazi iyo werekeza. Ubwo ni bwo musaza wanjye yaje aradutwara. Tugenda twakomeje mu Bugesera duhinguka i Kibungo, turazenguruka, turaza duhinguka i Ndera. Ntibyari byoroshye kunyura mu nzira zisanzwe kuko ahandi ntihanyurwaga kubera Interahamwe zacaga ibintu”.

“Gusa tujya i Byumba, sinibuka neza aho twanyuze ariko twahingutse i Kabuye kuko ntabwo twigeze tugera mu bice bya Remera. Mbese byari ukunyura inkereramucyamo. I Byumba namazeyo nk’ukwezi kumwe, kuko umunsi wo gutangaza intsinzi y’Inkotanyi ari bwo navuyeyo, nibuka ko hari muri Nyakanga, nkeka ko hari mu matariki 20.”

Akomeza agira ati “nsubiye inyuma gato, aho i Kabgayi ni ho nangirijwe bikomeye, mfatwa ku ngufu n’abasirikare ba FAR ndetse n’interahamwe, bazaga ari benshi kandi kenshi, ni ukuvuga inshuro nyinshi kandi ntabwo nabaga mbazi. Si nanjye jyenyine, abakobwa benshi n’abagore bato bari baradufashe bunyago, batitaye ku kababaro twarimo. Akaga gakabije twahuye nako navuga ko twahuye n'uruva gusenya! Birenze kubyita “icyaha cyibasiye inyokomuntu”.

Tasiyana akomeza agira ati:”Nyuma numvise ntwite, inda irakura ariko ngerageza kuyihisha uretse ko itari no kugaragara kubera uburebure bwanjye. Umwana akivuka nabonaga rwose nta kibazo, ariko abandi bakanyereka ko ari mubi cyane. Ibyo byatumye ntandukana n’umuntu wese nabonaga dushobora kubiganiraho. Ngahora mbunga, mba hirya no hino, mpindura aho kuba nk’inzerezi”!

“Gusa uwo mwana yakuze agira amahane cyane, kandi kubera ko abantu bakunze kumumbwiraho ibintu bibi sinatandukanaga nawe ngo ntamuha urwaho rwo kubyumva. Atangiye kwiga amahane yarakomeje, akarwana bikabije, ntiyabasha no kwiga neza kuko yarangije amashuri y’icyiciro rusange gusa, ahita yiga ibijyanye no gukora amazi (plomberie); hanyuma yiga gutwara imodoka kandi byose abikora neza. Yarahindutse cyane, areka amahane, ubu ni umunyamurava akaba n’umujyanama wanjye”.

Umukundwa Tasiyana yaje guhamagarwa n’umukozi ushinzwe imibereho myiza mu Karere ka Muhanga, amuhuza n’imiryango itari iya Leta ibiri ikorana n’abahohotewe ari abakobwa kandi babyaye. Nuko ajyanamo n’abandi bagore bane bari baturanye ariko nta n’umwe uzi ibyababaye kuri mugenzi we kubera ubwingunge no kutavuga. Ahubwo ibyo bahuye nabyo, babiganiriyeho bahuriye mu Ishyirahamwe Abiyubaka, maze bafatanya urugendo rwo gukomezanya no gusigasira ubudaheranwa. Igihe bahuzwaga ntibari ab’i Muhanga gusa, ahubwo hari n’abo ku Kamonyi, i Karongi, ku Nyundo ya Rubavu, ndetse n’ab’i Rukara ya Kayonza.

Yakomeje agira ati: “ndibuka ko byageze aho tukajya duhura n’abandi baturutse hirya no hino mu Rwanda bityo turamenyana, twumva ko atari twe twenyine twagushije ishyano, tukagirwa ingaruzwamuheto. Hari n’igihe twatemberezwaga ahantu heza ku mazi nko ku Karwa k’Amahoro

mu Kiyaga cya Kivu i Karongi, ku kibuga cy'indege, ku Irebero n'ahandi… kandi turi kumwe n'abana bacu bavutse ku ihohoterwa. Byababaga ari byiza tukaboneraho mu rugendo nyubakabuzima kuganira n'abo bana bacu bari bamaze gukura batubaza ngo tubabwire ba Se, kandi nabo hagati yabo bakaganira".

"Twahawe ubujyanama (Counselling), twize imyitozo ikangura ubwonko, twahuguwe ku buryo bwo gucunga ihungabana no gukira ibikomere, kwiyubaha no kubaha abandi. Twize uburenganzira bwa muntu nk'abagore, ubw'abana bacu, n'ubwa muntu muri rusange, imikurire y'ubwonko n'izindi nyigisho ndemamutima n'imitekerereze ya muntu."

By'umwihariko kubakira ku ndangagaciro zirimo urukundo, ubwitange, ubutwari n'ukuri ari naho twakuye kandi kwiga kubwiza abana bacu ukuri ku nkomoko yabo n'imibereho yabo, gusaba no gutanga imbabazi n'ibindi. Ndibuka ko maze guhugurwa nigishaga abana bacu uko ari batanu mfatanyije na ba Nyina, imibereho yacu bakayikina nk'ikinamico. Twayerekanaga mu mahuriro twateraniragamo i Kigali. Abakozi b'iyo miryango itari iya Leta baduhuzaga turi benshi ugasanga ari ingeri zitandukanye kandi twaturutse ahantu hatandukanye, atari abari abakobwa mu gihe cya Jenoside bagasigara ari imfubyi, ahubwo harimo n'abakuze barokotse basigaye ari abapfakazi cyangwa barokotse bafite abagabo barokakanye. Twabaga duhuriye ku kubyara no kurera abana bavutse ku ihohoterwa. Ndibuka ko twagiraga igihe cyo kuganira duhana ubuhamya, tugenda dufashanya turakomera. Ibi ni nabyo byagiye bihindura abana bacu.

Habaga n'igihe cyo kuduhuza n'abandi bafatanyabikorwa barimo abayobozi bahagarariye inzego za Leta zinyuranye, gutyo hakaba ubuvugizi busaba kutumenya, kutwitaho n'abana bacu. Batuganirizaga uko dukwiye kubana n'abana bacu tukabereka urukundo kandi tukababwiza ukuri, kugira ngo tubashe kubaka ubumwe hagati yacu n'abana kandi byarakunze. Byanatubereye n'ifatizo yo kugira uruhare mu kugira ubumwe n'abandi banyarwanda barimo abatugiriye ubugome ndengakamere mu gihe cya jenoside na nyuma yaho.

No mu gihe cy'inkiko Gacaca, ubwo Igihugu cyacu cyashyiragaho ubucamanza bwunga (Gacaca), naburanye n'umuntu umwe nari nzi muri benshi ntamenye. Bamukatiye igifungo cya burundu. Ariko byari bikomeye kuko uwo muntu yari ahari ariko ntiyigeze yitaba na rimwe urukiko Gacaca, kandi nubwo byababaga ari mu muhezo, ibyo navuze byose nabyumvanaga bashiki be. Kandi bakarakara cyane nanjye bakangirira umujinya w'umuranduranzuzi mbese bakabona narabahemukiye cyane ko ntaretse musaza wabo ngo yidegembye nk'umwere nk'aho nta butabera bugomba

kubaho, nta tegeko Igihugu kigomba kubahiriza…. Gusa bamukatiye yarangije gutoroka. Ariko n'ubwo yatorotse, abacamanza ba Gacaca bakoze ibyo bagombaga gukora mu butabera.

Umukundwa asoza agira ati: "Nishimiye ko ba bana nahunganye nabo i Kabgayi, bakuze kandi bize baranaminuza. Umukobwa yize ibyerekeranye na farumasi, umuhungu yiga ubwubatsi bw'amateme n'imihanda, kandi bishyuriwe na FARG. Nishimiye kandi ko abo bagore bagenzi banjye, umunsi haba amatora y'uduhagararira mu ihuriro Abiyubaka, bangiriye ikizere bantorera kubabera umuyobozi. Niyumvisemo kubikorana imbaraga mfite zose ntitaye ku burwayi mfite budakira nandujwe muri Jenoside. Maze gufata icyemezo cyo gufasha bagenzi banjye, nkabona birakunze, nahise niyumvamo izindi mbaraga. Byanteye ingufu bimbera nk'urundi rugingo rw'umubiri wanjye rutuma nkora neza cyane".

Bagenzi banjye mbafashiriza mu matsinda y'ubufatanye atandukanye, akorera aho batuye mu mirenge y'Akarere ka Muhanga. Bafashirizwa mu matsinda ya kera muri za 2008 kugeza no ku y'ubu muri 2022, hakiyongeraho no kubasura mu ngo by'umwihariko hagamijwe ko ingo zabo zirangwa n'amahoro n'iterambere, kandi bagafasha n'abo baturanye kuva mu makimbirane no kwifata neza mu buzima, cyane cyane ku bafite uburwayi budakira".

Arangiza agira ati:" Noneho twagize amahirwe yo gusura igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera kandi turi kumwe n'abana bacu. Ubu abo bana bamaze gukura no kwiyemeza gukunda Igihugu, ndetse no kugikorera ngo gitere imbere. Uko twakiriwe ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari n'ibisobanuro ku butwari byaranyuze. Twiyemeje gusigasira no kugera ikirenge mu cy'Intwari zatubanjirije, twiyemeza kandi gukurikiza no kurangwa n'umuco w'ubutwari harimo no kubyigisha abandi. Bityo ubutwari bukaturanga mu buzima bwacu bwa buri munsi.

1.3. Uwamahoro Savera mu rugendo rwo kwiyubaka no gufasha abandi mu Karere ka Ngororero

Uwamahoro Savera[13] ni impfubyi ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'i 1994. Icyo gihe yari afite imyaka 15. Yari umwana wa gatanu mu muryango w'abana umunani, hapfa abasore batatu n'umukobwa umwe, hamwe na Se na Nyina. Iwabo bari batuye i Nyanza ya Butare.

Jenoside itangira, Se ni we yabanje guhungisha amujyana i Burundi kubera ko batangiye kwihisha, Uwamahoro yihambiriye kuri se ngo bihishe hamwe kuko yumvaga ko bari kumwe ntacyo yaba. Se ahita yiyemeza kumuhungisha

13 *Izina twakoresheje mu rwego rwo gusigasira ubudaheranwa n'ubudahangarwa bwe*

ngo aticwa. Baragiye bageze ku Kanyaru barambuka, ariko Se atekereza ku muryango asize inyuma kandi abona ko abandi Batutsi benshi bakomeza guhunga, nibwo bageze ku musozi wa Kiyonza Se yiyemeza gusubira i Nyanza gushaka abo muryango we yasize.

Yabwiye Uwamahoro ati: “Mwana wanjye, ngiye gusubira mu rugo njye kuzana nyoko n’abavandimwe bawe, ejo cyangwa ejobundi uzabona tugeze aha’’. Arongera aramubwira ati: “ubonye tutaje, i Bujumbura hariyo mukuru wanjye ariwe So wanyu uzamusange”. Amubwira amazina na aderesi ye, aramusengera, aramubwira ati: “Humura, ukomere uzabe intwari, kandi ureke bwa butesi bwawe, dore byakomeye mwana wanjye ibyo i Rwanda byabaye ibindi”. Amusezeraho ababaye aragaruka asubira i Nyanza. Uwamahoro yasigaranye agahinda kenshi arira ari wenyine atabona icyerekezo, ariko ageze aho yisunga abandi bari bahunze.

Bwakeye kabiri ategereza ko bamugeraho burira buracya, burongera burira buracya, iminsi iba myinshi. Amaso yaheze mu kirere, igikomye cyose ati bene mama na mama na papa baraje. Iyo yabonaga abaje yibwiraga ko harimo ab’iwabo ariko ntababonemo. Nuko atangira guta umutwe agahinda karamwica arumirwa, araruca ararumira. Byageze aho wa Sewabo wabaga i Bujumbura yaje kureba ko yabona murumuna we n’abana be, aza abariza mu mpunzi avuga izina rya Se w’Uwamahoro, nuko aramwiyereka n’amarira menshi, nibwo yahise amujyana iwe i Bujumbura, abayo mu gihe cya Jenoside cyose, adakoma yarumiwe.

Jenoside irangiye abari i Burundi bitegura gutaha, nibwo inkuru y’incamugongo yabagezeho ko ab’iwabo wa Uwamahoro bishwe hagasigara mukuru we w’imyaka 23, musaza we batahise babona na murumuna we w’imyaka 8. Abyumvise yararize cyane yibaza impamvu Se yasubiye i Nyanza. Mu bimushengura ni uko ari we watumye amujyana i Burundi kubera kumwizirikaho, kuko iyo adasubirayo aba atarahitanywe n’abicanyi. Uretse kwibuka ko iyo Se arokoka bari kuba kumwe ntabe ari imfubyi, yongera kuzirikana amasengesho yamusengeye amutongera ngo akomere azabe intwari.

Sewabo w’Uwamahoro n’umuryango we nabo biteguye gutaha. Abana be bashakaga ko bajya kuba i Kigali nk’abandi babaga Bujumbura, ariko we aranga aravuga ati nzajya i Nyanza nshyingure murumuna wanjye nimbona umurambo we kandi ndere abana be. Ng’uko uko Uwamahoro yagarutse i Nyanza mu marira gusa. Icyo gihe umuntu iyo yabonaga undi yaramubazaga ati: Uracyariho?

Mu kubaririza aho abantu baguye kugira ngo bashyingurwe, nibwo bayobewe aho nyina yaguye. Abo babajije bose bakavuga ngo yanyuze aha ntitwongeye kumubona, undi ati yanyuze aha, gutyo gutyo…..duheba ubwo!

Uwamahoro yaje gutekereza ati: “Ubwo mama ntiyaje kugaruka akatubura?" Ati: "mama yakundaga kujya mu misa." Niba yaratubuze ntiyabura kujya mu misa. Yigiriye inama yo kujya abyuka akajya mu misa ya mbere, ya mu gitondo. Mu by’ukuri icyari kimujyanye ni ukugira ngo ashake nyina. Yarazindukaga akajya mu misa mu kiliziya i Nyanza akicara aho ari bubone abantu bose bajya guhazwa. Nta gukurikira misa reka da! Igihe cyo guhazwa cyarageraga, akitegereza abagore boseee, cyane cyane abakenyeye igitenge bakitera ikindi nk’uko abo mu cyaro bakunda kubyambara. Hari igihe yikangaga abonye ibitenge bisa n’ibya nyina, akamugendaho yakwitegereza neza agasanga si we, intimba ikamushengura. Basohoka, nabwo agashakisha, akazenguruka mu bagore bose abitegereza, akamubura. Iminsi yabaye myinshi abura nyina burundu. Yumvaga ubuzima busharira n’ubwo we na mukuru we na murumuna we babaga kwa Sewabo. Sewabo yaje kubona umubiri wa mwene nyina, amushyingura mu cyubahiro ndetse n’abana be, ariko umubiri wa nyina barawubura burundu. Mukuru w’Uwamahoro nawe yaje gushaka umugabo mu mwaka w’i 1995, naho we na murumuna we bajya kwiga i Nyanza.

Icyamubabaje na none kikamushengura umutima, Sewabo yaje gupfa noneho biramushobera. Ntiyakundaga kuvuga, nta no guseka, yari yarumiwe yarashegeshwe n’intimba. Bagumye aho kwa muka sewabo mu buzima bugoranye, ariko barihangana kuko nta handi bari kubona ho kuba. Ntibari kujya kwa mukuru wabo nawe washatse kubera kubura uko abigenza. Uwamahoro yajyaga abwira murumuna we ati: “Tujye twihangana ariko tuhabe dore ntahandi twajya”. Baje kwibuka ko bari bafite musaza wabo wagiye mu basirikari ba FPR Inkotanyi batamenyaga amakuru ye, bayamenya mu mwaka w’i 1997 ari mu bitaro i Kanombe, bibaha icyizere n’akanyamuneza ko bazabonana.

Muri kwa gushakisha aho nyina yaba yariciwe ngo bamushyingure mu cyubahiro, bamubuze burundu, yatangiye indi ngamba, akajya ajya gushyingura ahantu hose bashyinguye, yibwira ko wenda nyina yaba yarahageze akahagwa. Ageze aho aribwira ati: mama wanjye ndarambiwe, ndagushyinguye. Kugeza n’uyu munsi ababazwa n’uko atashyinguye nyina mu cyubahiro nk’abandi.

Uwamahoro n’abo bava inda imwe, ngo iyo bajyaga ku matongo y’iwabo i Nyanza byababaga ari amarira gusa, bose basangiye nk’abana barokotse

Jenoside, ariko we yarariraga ntahore! Uko imyaka yagiye ihita yagendaga akomera kuko yongeraga kwibuka ijambo rya nyuma Se yamubwiye agira ati: “Uzabe intwari mwana wanjye, ureke bwa butesi bwawe”.

Yize amashuri yisumbuye arihirwa na FARG arayirangiza, ayakomereza muri kaminuza mu ishami rya “Sociologie”. Amaze kurangiza, agerageza kubahiriza umurage wa Se wo kuba intwari akareka ubutesi. Yaje kubona akazi k’Ushinzwe Imibereho myiza y’abaturage mu kigo nderabuzima cya Gakoma. Yahise afata inshingano zo kwita kuri murumuna we na mukuru we wari warashatse. Aho niho yaje kugarurira icyizere, agira imbaraga nyinshi.

Mu gihe cyo kwibuka abazize Jenoside, yajyanaga n’abandi bakozi bakoranaga gufasha abahungabanye. Cyakora muri icyo gihe akababara cyane ariko agashinyiriza ntarire, akihangana ngo hatagira ubona amarira ye atemba ku matama. Akenshi byarangiraga arwaye umutwe cyane akawumarana igihe kubera intimba n’agahinda. Nyuma y’igihe byabaye ngombwa ko akomera akajya afasha abantu, ntihagire n’umutwe arwara. Mu gihe cy’Inkiko Gacaca, yashoboye kujyayo gake; nabwo akavayo yahungabanye. Hakajya hajyayo mukuru we na musaza we.

Uwamahoro yashatse umugabo, ubu ni umugore uharanira kubaho neza no kubeshaho abandi mu mahoro. Mukuru we yari asigaranye yaje gupfa, asiga abana babiri, umuhungu n’umukobwa. Mu gahinda kenshi, yafashe abo bana arabarera, abitaho ubu barakura neza. Ubu anakorana n’impfubyi za Jenoside, cyane cyane abari abakobwa Jenoside itangira, nyuma bagashaka abagabo. Ibyo bikorwa byo kubafasha kubaho amaze imyaka ibiri abikorera mu Karere ka Ngororero, mu Ntara y’Iburengerazuba. Ubu abikomereje mu Karere ka Nyanza mu Ntara y’Amajyepfo.

Mu Karere ka Ngororero, yafashije imfubyi n’abapfakazi gukira ibikomere n’ihungabana. Yabafashije kandi gusana imitima no guteza imbere imibereho myiza, anabatoza kubaka ingo zirimo amahoro. Izo ngo abazirimo bari bafite ibikomere byinshi, cyane ko muri ako Karere hari mu hageragerejwe Jenoside. Mu buhamya abo bagore batanga, bavuga ko barokotse ubugira kabiri, kuko hari abo iwabo basenyewe mu w’1990 kandi abenshi bakicwa, byagera mu w’i 1994 noneho bagatsemba, hagasigara abo bakobwa bo kubara inkuru. Mu mikoranire ye n’izo mfubyi, Uwamahoro abatega amatwi, bakamwisanzuraho atitaye ku bye bamwibutsa. We arabumva, akababahumuriza, akanabashishikariza gukora no kwiyitaho mu rwego rwo kwiyubaka.

Abo afasha ni abagore magana abiri (200) bakorera mu matsinda cumi n'arindwi (17) ari mu Mirenge itandukanye y'Akarere ka Ngororero. Abafasha guhura bakaganira ku byabasubiranya imitima yabo, bikabamara intimba. Ubu baragenda bomorana ibikomere, bagaseka, bakabyina. Bahurira kandi mu bikorwa byo kwiteza imbere ndetse no mu gusurana bahana "Agaseke k'Amahoro". Ibyo bigamije guhemba utarahembwe kuko nta nyina, nta nyirasenge cyangwa umuvandimwe wa hafi. Bityo bagafashanya kwivana mu bwigunge batewe n'imiryango bashatsemo yabakwenaga ngo niba Nyakamwe. Ndetse naba Nyirabukwe babangiraga ko batagira iyo bava, ngo nta giseke cyinjira iwabo. Uwamahoro akunda kujyana nabo bagasabana bakishima bagaseka, bagashira intimba n'ikiniga, bakavuga akabari ku mutima, bakumva bari umwe nta cyabasitaza. Noneho Komera ikababa ku munwa no ku mutima. Kumva hari umuntu ubahora hafi, birabanezeza, bakumva batuje. Nawe byamumaze intimba, ubu aravuga, agaseka, agakangurira n'abandi iby'uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Mu karere ka Nyanza, naho yatangiye gukorana n'impfubyi kandi zahohotewe mu gihe cya Jenoside. Bamwe ni abafashwe ku ngufu n'abandi ni abahatiwe gushaka ku maherere kubera kubura aho berekeza. Muri abo, hari abashatse batwite inda batazi abazibateye, nyuma bakabyara mu w'i 1995 cyangwa mu w'i 1996. Bamwe muri bo bashatse abagabo batarokotse Jenoside nkabo ari ukwigura. Ibyo bibatera ipfunwe no kwigunga, bagahorana ihungabana bibuka ibikomere byinshi batewe. Uwamahoro abatega amatwi akihangana akabyumva, akabahumuriza muri ubwo buhamya bwabo bukomeye kandi bubabaje. Ubu bishimira ko babonye abantu babwira ibyababayeho, n'ubwo hashize imyaka 28, bakagira umuryango mushya w'abavandimwe. Ubundi babanaga nabyo imyaka yose ishize Jenoside irangiye bakumva ko ari ibanga bihariye; bagahitamo kubana n'ishavu no kwigunga. Muri abo bagore, hari umwe wabanye n'umugabo afite imyaka 14. Ibyo byatewe n'uko mu gihe cya Jenoside mu rugo aho bari bamuhishe umuhungu waho yamugize umugore we; maze mu mwaka w'i 1995 abyara umwana afite nyine imyaka 15 gusa. Nyuma abo muri urwo rugo bategereza ko yuzuza imyaka y'ubukure, noneho bababafasha gusezerana byemewe n'amategeko, n'ubu baracyabana.

Uwamahoro ubu arakomeye kandi akomeje imihigo mu rugendo rwo kwiyubaka; aharanira kubaho kandi neza. Aharanira gukomeza umurage w'ubutwari yasigiwe na se igihe yamubwiraga ati: "Ukomere mwana wanjye kandi uzabe intwari". Mu byo akora byose, yiyumvamo ubutwari, impuhwe n'urukundo ku bantu bababaye.

Umusozo

Ubutwari bw'abo bagore basigaye ari imfubyi za Jenoside bushingiye ku kudaherwanwa n'agahinda, kwitangira abo bahuje ibibazo, bikabera urugero rwiza ruhoraho urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda n'urw'ahandi.

Ibyago bikomeye byababayeho byarabashenguye, ariko ntibashengabara hashibukamo imbaraga zidasanzwe zo kwiyubaka ubwabo no gusana imitima y'abandi bahuje ibibazo. Abo nibo mbaraga zaturutse ku butagamburuzwa nk'indangagaciro ubutwari bushingiyeho.

<u>INYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJWE :</u>

- Toujours en lutte: la justice, un parcours semé d'obstacles pour les victimes de viol au Rwanda, Human Rights Watch, septembre 2004 Vol. 16, No. 10 (A)

- Ubutwari mu mfashanyigisho yo gutoza indangagaciro, y'ubutwari, Kamena 2014

- Itegeko N° 16/2004 ryo ku wa 19/6/2004 1 Itegeko Ngenga rigena imiterere, ububasha n'imikorere by'Inkiko Gacaca zishinzwe gukurikirana no gucira imanza abakoze ibyaha bya jenoside n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu byakozwe hagati y'itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 n'iya 31 Ukuboza 1994.

<u>UBUHAMYA</u>

Ubuhamya bw'Abagore bavugwa muri iyi nyandiko.

VI. URUHARE RW'ABABYEYI MU GUTOZA NO KUBUNGABUNGA UMUCO W'UBUTWARI MU RWANDA

Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin*

I. Intangiriro

Ubutwari ntibuvukanwa, buraharanirwa mu gukora cyane kandi buratozwa. Iki gitekerezo twakivuzeho muri ″Cahier″ UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI N^0 3 yasohotse ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2022 mu nyandiko twise ″**UBURERE BURUTA UBUVUKE: URUHARE RW'ITORERO RY'IGIHUGU MU GUTOZA NO KWIMAKAZA UMUCO W'UBUTWARI MU RWANDA″.**

Muri iyi nyandiko turibanda ku ruhare rw'ababyeyi bafite inshingano zo gutoza umwana indangagaciro z'umuco[1] bagamije ibyatuma yitwara nk'umuntu nyamuntu. Umuco utorezwa no mu zindi nzego z'ubuzima nko mu muryango mugari, mu mashuri, mu madini n'amatorero, mu bitangazamakuru n'ahandi. Izo nzego ziza zunganira umuryango ndetse zigomba gukorana n'ababyeyi kugira ngo barinde umwana guhuzagurika cyangwa gutora ingeso mbi.

Umwana agomba kurindwa ibyamuyobya, kugira ngo akure neza kugeza igihe nawe azashobora kwifatira ibyemezo. Abamukuriye rero, bagomba kuba intangarugero kugira ngo aramutse anateshutse bamukebure nta pfunwe.

Twakwibaza niba uyu munsi umuco w'ubutwari ugitozwa abana mu miryango. Ese ababyeyi n'abandi bantu bakuze babera abana urugero

**Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego/CHENO*

1 Nk'uko bivugwa na UNESCO, ″umuco ni uruhurirane rw'uburyo n'ubushobozi abantu bubaka amateka y'imibereho n'imibanire byabo bahereye ku bumenyi bakomora ku basekuru n'abasekuruza babo. Ubwo bumenyi bugaragarira mu bimenyetso by'ubugeni, ubuhanzi, ururimi n'amarenga bakoresha mu kuganira no guhererekanya amakuru cyangwa gutumanaho. Ibyo byose bikababera nk'igicumbi shingiro cy'imihango n'imigenzo bemeranywaho, ibafasha kubaho no kwitwara neza ndetse no gukora ibikwiye mu muryango wabo″. Twakongeraho ko umuco ari wo shingiro remezo ry'ubumwe bw'abenegihugu kuko bawusangiye, ukabaranga. Umuco ni ishingiro ry'ituze mu muryango w'abantu kuko uhuza abenegihugu mu mikorere, mu mihango, mu migenzo no mu bihangano byabo. Umuco ni wo uyobora abawusangiye mu ruhando rw'amahanga bigatuma abenegihugu bagira uko bateye n'imyifatire ibatandukanya n'abandi. Umuco w'umuntu ntuvukanwa, utandukanye na kamere muntu kuko ari imyitwarire, imitekerereze, ubumenyi, imyemerere umuntu agenda ahererekanya n'abandi bitewe n'ahantu batuye, amateka yabo n'ibibakikije. Umuco twawita indangagihugu akaba ari yo mpamvu bavuga ngo: ″Agahugu umuco, akandi umuco″.

rwiza ku buryo baharanira kugera ikirenge mu cyabo? Hakorwa iki ngo ibyo tubona bidahwitse bikosorwe, Igihugu kigwize intwari uyu munsi n'ejo hazaza?

II. Uruhare rw'ababyeyi mu gutoza abana umuco w'ubutwari no kuwubungabunga

Muri rusange, abantu batekereza ko uburezi bufite agaciro gakomeye mu mibereho y'umuntu ari ubutangirwa mu ishuri, nyamara uburezi bwose bushingira ku musingi wubatswe n'ababyeyi cyangwa abarezi mbere yo gutangira ishuri. Uburere bw'abana aho bavuka ni ingenzi cyane kuri bo, ku muryango no ku gihugu muri rusange. Bityo rero, birakwiye ko buri mubyeyi amenya neza ko afite uruhare rukomeye mu burere n'uburezi bw'umwana kandi ko ari inshingano agomba gusohoza neza.

Abanyarwanda baca umugani ngo: ″Igiti kigororwa kikiri gito″ kandi ngo: ″Umwana apfa mu iterura″. Ibi bigaragaza ko abo hambere bari basobanukiwe neza ko izingiro ryo kuba ingirakamaro mu buzima rishingira cyane ku burere umuntu ahabwa akiri muto. Ababyeyi nibo bafite uruhare rw'ingenzi mu kubaka umuco mbonera mu bana.

Umubyeyi agomba gutoza umwana imico mbonera n'indangagaciro z'umuryango mugari, agaharanira kwereka umwana itandukaniro riri hagati y'ikibi n'icyiza kandi akamushishikariza gukunda icyiza no kwanga ikibi. Uburyo bwiza buruta ubundi bwo kwigisha umwana ikintu cyose ni ukugikora areba. Burya iyo ukoze ikintu umwana akureba cyangwa akumva uba umwigisha kugikora ndetse ashobora kugikora mu buryo burenze uko wowe wabitekerezaga. Imico yose ushaka kwigisha umwana ikwiriye kuba ikuranga, kugira ngo na we ashobore kuyiga no kuyigenderaho. Muri make, umubyeyi agomba kubera umwana urugero rwiza rw'imico ikwiye ndetse akagaragaza indangagaciro zibereye kugira ngo umwana amwigireho.
N'iyo umubyeyi akoze ibizira umwana amureba, nabwo ashobora kumwigana muri ibyo bikorwa bibi. Ni ho Abanyarwanda bakurije kuvuga ko "uwiba ahetse aba abwiriza uri mu mugongo".

Muri iki gihe, twumva kandi tubona ibikorwa n'imvugo binengwa na benshi; ibikorwa usanga binyuranye n'imigirire ikwiriye mu muryango mugari, kandi bikorwa mu ngeri zose. U Rwanda rwugarijwe n'ibibazo bitandukanye nk'inda ziterwa abangavu[2], uburara n'ubwomanzi no kunywa ibiyobyabwenge[3] cyane cyane mu rubyiruko, icuruzwa ry'abantu, imikorere mibi ya bamwe mu bakozi n'abakoresha mu nzego za Leta n'iz'abikorera, amakimbirane mu miryango, gutandukana kw'abashakanye ndetse n'ubwicanyi mu miryango n'ibindi bisa nk' "ibigezweho". N'ubwo ibi bihari, inzego z'ubuyobozi ntizihwema gukora ubukangurambaga bubyamagana no guhana zihanukiriye abakora bimwe muri ibi bikorwa bigize ibyaha bihanwa n'amategeko.

N'ubwo bikorwa bityo ariko, biragaragara ko ibyo bibazo bitigera bikemuka ahubwo akenshi imibare y'ababikora irushaho kuzamuka, Umunyarwanda ati: ″Ingeso ntikurwa na reka″. Muri iyi nyandiko ntitugiye kujora ingamba n'ibyemezo ubuyobozi bwa Leta bufata kuko n'ubwo zidakemura ikibazo burundu ariko zitanga umusaruro kandi ugaragarira buri wese. Twe turagaruka ku cyo tubona nk'impamvu-muzi y'ibyo bibazo byose tunagaragaze mu mwanzuro ibyo tubona nk'intsinzi igana umutsindo wabyo. Ni inzira isaba guhuguka kw'intekerezo no kwisuzuma kwa buri wese. Uburere ni iremezo ryo kubaho riyobora imitekerereze n'imigirire ya muntu, Umunyarwanda ati: ″Uburere buruta ubuvuke″. Bivuze ko ishingiro ryo kubaho mu buryo bukwiriye ridaturuka aho uvuka, ahubwo rituruka mu burere uwavutse ahabwa. Nyamara muri iki gihe biragaragara ko dufite umuvuduko n'ubushake bwinshi mu kubyara ariko nta mwanya dufata wo kurera; iyi mvugo bisa nk'aho twayicuritse ikaba ″Ubuvuke buruta uburere″.

2 MIGEPROF yatangaje ko abana ibihumbi 23 bari munsi y'imyaka 18 ari bo batewe inda muri 2021, Intara y'Iburasirazuba yihariye umubare munini. Iyi mibare yatangarijwe mu Nama Mpuzabikorwa y'Intara y'Iburasirazuba yabaye tariki ya 17 Gashyantare 2022, yari igamije kuganira ku bibazo byugarije umuryango. Uturere tuza ku isonga mu byaha byo gusambanya abana ni Nyagatare, Gatsibo, Gasabo na Kirehe.

3 Ku itariki ya 01 Mata 2022, Urwego rw'Igihugu rw'Ubugenzacyaha (RIB) rwatangaje imibare igaragaza ko ibyaha byo gusambanya abana, gukoresha ibiyobyabwenge n'icuruzwa ry'abantu biza ku isonga mu bigeramiye urubyiruko cyane cyane ururi hagati y'imyaka 14 na 17! Urugero nk'abana bari muri iki kigero, mu myaka itatu ishize, abasambanyijwe bonyine bihariye 53.2 % rya dosiye zakiriwe na RIB. Ibyaha by'ibiyobyabwenge byagiye binagaragara mu mashuri amwe n'amwe nko mu Karere ka Muhanga, i Kigali n'ahandi nka Musanze ari yo mpamvu bigomba guhagurukirwa cyane. Ingero: "Ku itariki ya 16 Gashyantare 2022, ku ishuri rimwe muri Kimironko abanyeshuri batandatu bafatanywe udupfunyika tw'urumogi bajyanywe gupimwa muri Laburatwari y'ibimenyetso bya gihanga bose basanzwemo ibipimo byo hejuru ko bari basanzwe bakoresha urumogi". "Ku itariki ya 19 Gashyantare 2022 rimwe mu mashuri riherereye mu Karere ka Muhanga hafashwe umunyeshuri afite udupfunyika 46 tw'urumogi aje kuducuruza ku ishuri. Abanyeshuri batatu bafashwe bagapimwa basanzwemo ibiyobyabwenge biri hejuru mu maraso". "Uko kwezi kandi mu Karere ka Musanze mu kigo cy'ishuri umunyeshuri yafatanywe udupfunyika 11 tw'urumogi atujyanye aho barara agamije kugurisha bagenzi be, ukekwa yemera ko yari asanzwe anyway urumogi, uyu yakorewe dosiye". "Mu Murenge wa Nyarugunga mu Karere ka Kicukiro mu kigo kimwe cy'ishuri, abanyeshuri 10 bagaragaye barwaye, hatahurwa ko hari ibintu bari bariye, bapimwe hasanzwe bariye za biswi zirimo urumogi".

Nyamara n'ubwo dukora ibi, ntiduhwema kugerwaho n'ingaruka zabyo n'ubwo benshi dusa n'aho tutazibonera ikimenyetso cy'uko turiho tutariho; kuko umuntu uriho yumva uburibwe ntaryame, akarara ashaka ikimukiza.

Hambere, uburere bwari ikintu cyitaweho cyane ku buryo agaciro k'umubyeyi kari inshingano yo kurera kurusha uko kabarirwa ku mubare w'imbyaro ze gusa. Umwana yari uwa bose, umubyeyi wese umusanze mu ikosa akamucyaha kuko angana uwe; umwana nawe akamwumvira kuko yabaga yaratojwe kubaha abakuru. Ariko muri iki gihe si ko biri: gucyaha umwana w'undi umusanze mu makosa ni ukuba witeranyije n'ababyeyi be! Na none kandi, hakunze gutangwa inzitwazo z'uko ababyeyi babuze umwanya wo kurera, ariko ibi ntibikwiye kuko niba n'uwo mwanya ubura, waba waraburiye mu byo twe tubona nk'uburangare, kutamenya no kutita ku nshingano.

Hari n'abahorana n'abana babo ariko ntibibabuze kuba ibirara. Ingero z'ibi ni uko hari ababyeyi barangiza imirimo yabo, ku bayifite, bakirukankira mu tubari, mu bigare by'amatsinda yo ku mbuga nkoranyambaga, mu masengesho n'amateraniro byo mu nsengero, kureba za filime, imipira, imiziki n'ibindi. Turebye neza twasanga ibi bidafite agaciro kangana no kwita ku bo wabyaye. Hari aho usanga abana barerwa n'abayaya, za televiziyo ndetse n'ibindi bigare byo hanze nabyo birimo abarezwe batyo; ingaruka zikaba kujya mu biyobyabwenge, ubusambanyi n'izindi ngeso, maze tukavuza induru ngo abana baratunaniye! Bya he ko babuze ababyeyi!!! Icyuho cy'ahari kujya bwa burere bari guhabwa kikazibwa na za ngeso mbi z'uburara n'ibindi byose babona ahabazengurutse! Na none ingero z'uko abana babuze ababyeyi muzazumva aho abana birirwa bahamagara ku maradiyo bagisha inama ku bintu bakaganiriye n'ababyeyi babo cyangwa abandi babarera.
Ibyitwa kunanirana kw'abato tubibona nko kudashobora cyangwa kudashoboka kw'abakuru; ba babyeyi basangaga umwana akosa bakamucyaha, ubu bamwe muri bo ni bo baboshya gukora ibibi.

Urugero ni nk'aho usanga "umugabo cyangwa umugore"[4] ukuze ari we akenshi ufatanwa utwana tukiri duto adusambanya! Ese mwene uwo azaha abana be icyo atifitemo? Ese umwana wavukiye mu makimbirane y'ababyeyi ntaganirizwe, ntatozwe indangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco nyarwanda, we azashinga urugo rumeze rute kandi arere ate abo azabyara? Umuyobozi utarahawe uburere bwo kubaha no gutega amatwi buri wese, ntatozwe kunyurwa n'ibyo afite, ahubwo agashyirwa mu buyobozi kuko ari umuhanga mu by'amashuri, uwo azatanga musaruro ki? Ntawe akwiye gutungura mu gihe atakira uko bikwiye abamugana, mu gihe adacunga neza ibya rubanda, mu gihe yaka ruswa n'andi makosa abantu bakunze kugwamo! Tubona aya makosa ahanini ari ingaruka zo kubura uburere mu muryango mugari wacu.

Ibi byose ni ibibazo duterwa n'uburere buke, uburangare bw'ababyeyi, ubujiji, ubusambo, umururumba, kutanyurwa n'ibindi. Nyamara kubikemura ntibyadusaba ingengo y'imari nk'iyo Igihugu gitanga mu kugorora abana babaye ibirara no gukora ubukangurambaga butandukanye; twibuke kandi ko "Igiti kigororwa kikiri gito". Ibi ni bike mu bibazo tugira byinshi kandi twiteza, kubikemura bitagombera amashuri, ntibigombe amafaranga, ntibinasuzuguze ubigize, wa mugani w'umuhanzi. Ni ibibazo bidakemurwa n'amasengesho nk'uko benshi babyibwira ahubwo bikemurwa no gufata umwanya, tukamenya icyo dushaka n'icyo bidusaba kugira ngo tubigereho kuko icyo ushaka ukibonera umwanya.

Nyamara n'ubwo twavuze ibi, ntitwakwirengagiza ko hari umubare utari muto w'ababyeyi babayeho mu buzima bugoye ku buryo kubona umwanya wo kwita ku burere bw'abana babo bitaborohera. Hari kandi n'ababyeyi nabo ubwabo bafite ibibazo by'ihungabana, agahinda gakabije (depression) n'ibindi bibazo bijyanye n'ubuzima n'imibereho. Ibi bikaba hari igihe bigira ingaruka ku bana.

4 *Aba bamenyerewe ku mazina ya Shugadadi na Shugamami / pedophilia*

III. Umusozo

Twageze aha dute? Abana bacu nibaba ibyomanzi by'ibihindugembe[5] bizabazwa nde?
Mu kwanzura iyi nyandiko twifuje gutanga inama twumva zakunganira ingamba zisanzwe ziriho zo gushakira umuti ibibazo byavuzwe haruguru byugarije umuryango nyarwanda:

a) Ababyeyi bakwiriye gusubiza agatima impembero bakamenya ko inshingano nkuru bafite ari ukurera, bakamenya ko ibiryo n'ibinyobwa bikuza umubiri bidakuza umutima. Kubyara gusa ukajugunya n'inzoka zirabikora, ntacyo uba uzirushije.

   Buri mubyeyi wese akwiriye guterwa ipfunwe no kuvuga ko abana bananiranye kuko niba umwana yakunaniye si ikibazo cye, ni ikibazo cyawe wowe wananiwe kumurera uko bikwiye. Ukwiye kwishakamo impamvu yatumye unanirwa ibyo wagombaga gukora, ukikosora. Dukwiye kandi gusubira ku muco wo kurera abana bose nk'abacu, tukamenya ko turerera Igihugu n'ejo hazaza hacu. Dukwiye gutandukana n'uburangare ubwo ari bwo bwose. Niba unogewe no kubana nabwo, rangara ariko ureke kubyara, uzabyare wahugutse ubifitiye umwanya. Ababyeyi tureke kuba ba "ntibindeba" ejo tutazamera nk'umuserebanya babwiye bati inzu iri gushya nawo uti: "nimucane niryamire bahora bayicanamo!"

b) Ku rubyiruko, rugomba kwirinda kwiroha mu by'ahandi babijyanyemo ubuswa, bakirinda gusuzugura iby'iwabo, kuko byaba aka wa mugani ngo: "Wabonye isha itamba uta n'urwo wari wambaye!". Byabasiga mu gihirahiro, badafite aho begamye. Icyo bakwiye gukora kugira ngo babe Abanyarwanda bazima, bazi ubwenge, ni ugufata ibya kizungu n'indi mico bakabyuzurisha Ubunyarwanda bwabo aho butari bwuzuye.

c) Ubuyobozi bwa Leta bukwiye gutekereza uburyo bwo gutoza ababyiruka ubuzima bukwiye kandi bw'ingeri zose mu gihe kirekire binyuze mu Itorero ry'Igihugu, abana bagatozwa politiki y'Igihugu, imibanire n'imibereho mu ngeri zose. Ibi bikozwe mu gihe kirekire, twakunguka abantu bafite ishyaka ry'Igihugu mu buryo bwose, nk'uko byahoze mu mwimerere w'Itorero ntibifatwe nk'umugenzo nk'uko bamwe babifata ubu.

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5 *Abantu batagira umuco*

d) Abanyarwanda muri rusange bakwiye gukomera ku muco w'ubufatanye mu rwego rwo gukemura ibibazo bibangamiye umuryango nyarwanda, cyane cyane ubukene. Buri muntu wese agize icyo yigomwa abantu bose babona ikibatunga. Nta muntu n'umwe wabura icyo arya kugera ubwo hari abicwa n'inzara kandi na Leta iba yagerageje gukora ibishoboka mu rwego rwo gufasha abatishoboye.

e) Inzego zishinzwe gutuma amategeko yubahirizwa zifite inshingano ziremereye mu kutajenjekera abateshuka ku nshingano zabo zo kurera n'abakora ibyaha bijyana urubyiruko mu ngeso mbi nko gufata abana ku ngufu, kubaha ibiyobyabwenge n'ibindi.

f) Ababyeyi bongere uruhare rwabo mu gufatanya n'abarezi mu burere n'uburezi bw'abana babo, aho kumva ko inshingano yo kurera ari iy'amashuri n'abarezi gusa.

INYANDIKO ZIFASHISHIJWE

1. Kagame Alexis, INGANJI KARINGA, icapwa rya kabiri, Kabgayi, 1959;
2. Inkuru yo ku **igihe.com** yo ku wa 17 Gashyantare 2022, igaragaza imibare y'abana batewe inda mu mwaka wa 2021 yatangajwe na MIGEPROF;
3. Inkuru yo ku **umuseke.rw** yo ku wa 1 Mata 2022, igaragaza ibyo Urwego rw'Igihugu rw'Ubugenzacyaha (RIB) bwatangaje ku isambanywa rw'abana baterwa inda n'urubyiruko rwishora mu biyobyabwenge;
4. MIGEPROF, Annual Narrative Report 2018-2019;
5. MIGEPROF, Final Report on the Study on Knowledge, Attitude and Practices on GBV, Perceived GBV Root Causes and IOSC Service Delivery, Kigali, July, 2019.

UMWANZURO

Ubutwari ni indangagaciro iranga Abanyarwanda kuva kera kugeza ubu. Ubutwari ni indangagaciro ikomeye mu muco w'u Rwanda. Niyo mpamvu ari ngombwa gutoza abakiri bato umuco w'ubutwari, bagakura baharanira kugera ikirenge mu cy'Intwari z'Igihugu n'abandi Banyarwanda bakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu bihe binyuranye.

"Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* yashyizweho mu rwego rwo gukomeza gutoza Abanyarwanda bose, cyane cyane urubyiruko amateka n'umuco by'u Rwanda n'indangagaciro zawo cyane cyane iy'ubutwari. Iyi nomero ya 4 ya "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* ikubiyemo inyandiko zibanda ku butwari bw'Abanyarwanda mu bihe bitandukanye n'uburyo ababyeyi bakwiye kugira uruhare mu gutoza abakiri bato kuba intwari.

Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rwizeye ko iyi nomero ya 4 ya "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* nayo itanga umusanzu mu gukomeza gutoza no kwigisha Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari.

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