

**REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA**  
**PEREZIDANSI YA REPUBULIKA**

**UBUMWE BW'ABANYARWANDA**

~ MBERE Y'ABAZUNGU N'IGIHE CY'UBUKOLONI

~ MU GIHE CYA REPUBULIKA YA MBERE

**KIGALI, KANAMA 1999**

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**UMUSOZO** Ibitekerezo ku bikorwa by'ingenzi byatuma ubumwe bugaruka

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Umugereka 2. Iteka 1/54 ry'umwami Rudahigwa: ivanwaho ry'ubuhake.

Umugereka 3. Amoko y'i Bugoyi n'Abatware baho mbere y'ubutegetsu mbiligi (Kajeguhakwa Valens na Gahigi Denis)

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## IRIBURIRO

Mu rwego rw'inama zibera muri Village Urugwiro buri wa gatandatu kuva ku itariki ya 9 Gicurasi 1998, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika Pasteur BIZIMUNGU, ku wa 27 Kamena 1998, yashyizeho Komite yo kwiga ikibazo cy'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, nyuma y'uko inama yari maze kukiganiraho.

Inshingano iyo Komite y'abantu cumi na batatu yahawe yari iyo gusubiza ibibazo abantu bakunze kugira byerekeranye n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Komite yihutiye gutangira uwo murimo, abayigize bumvikana kuri gahunda y'inama, ku ngingo zigomba kwigwa, maze ibyo guhurira hamwe ibigenera iminsi ibiri mu cyumweru.

Inzira abagize Komite bumvikanyeho kugira ngo barangize inshingano ni iyi: guhurira hamwe bakajya impaka kuri buri ngingo mu gihe gihagije kandi buri muntu akagaragaza ibitekerezo bishingiye ku bumenyi bwe cyangwa kuba ari inararibonye. Nyuma y'impaka abagize komite baratahaga hagasigara Perezida na Visi-Perezida bayo: basigaraga bandika ku buryo busobanutse, bagahuza ibitekerezo byagaragajwe n'abagize Komite, maze ibyo bitekerezo bikongerwaho ibindi bifutura kandi binonosoye by'amateka, bishingiye ahanini ku kujora inyandiko yo mu bitabo cyangwa muri archives ziri i Buruseli mu Bubiligi, i Roma mu Butaliyani, n'ino mu Rwanda.

Ku munsu ukurikira wo guterana, abagize Komite umwandiko bawujyagaho impaka, bakawukosora hanyuma bakawemera bose umaze kunonosorwa, bakabona kwadukira ingingo ikurikira, bityo bityo.

Ikindi ni uko Komite, nk'uko yabigiriwemo inama na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, yitabaje abayunganira bakunze gukurikirana amateka y'Abanyarwanda.

Abo ni aba:

1. Michel Kayihura: ni we wagize umugambi wo kwandika inyandiko yamamaye yitwa "Mise au point"; yamenyesheje Komite bimwe na bimwe mu byakozwe n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu n'umwuka byakozwemo, kandi rero yagize uruhare rugaragara muri iyo Nama kuko yanayibereye Visi-Perezida, ari we wari wungirije umwami Mutara Rudahigwa.
2. Valens Kajeguhakwa na Denis Gahigi: basobanuriye Komite uko abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda bategetse u Bugoyi, bagize amoko anyuranye (Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abagesera, nb.) kandi bakaba Abahutu n'Abatutsi barimo bakavukire. Batanze n'umwandiko ubumbatiye byinshi by'amateka (reba umugeraka 3).

Byari kurushaho kuba byiza iyo tugira n'abandi twitabaza, ariko ntitwabigize kuko twasanze tudafite igihe gihagije cyo gusesengura ibitekerezo byabo no kubijyaho impaka ku buryo bw'ingirakamaro.

Muri aka gatabo hari ingingo Komite yize zijyanye n'inshingano yahawe, nk'uko bigaragarira muri Raporo z'inama zo mu Rugwiro zo ku wa 27/5/1998 no ku wa 11/7/1998:

- Amoko ya Hutu-Twa-Tutsi n'asanzwe 18 n'ukuntu asobekeranye; ibyerekeye akazi; ivuka ry'amashyamba mu bya 1959-1960; Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu n'ukuntu yifashe mu bibazo byariho; iby'ubuhake; **parme hutu** muri politiki y'u Rwanda; uruhare rwa Kiliziya; uruhare rw'ubukoloni; kongeraho ibyerekeye shiku, uburetwa n'umugogoro. - Komite kandi yasabwe gutanga ibitekerezo ku bikorwa by'ingenzi byafasha mu kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Uretse izo ngingo zijyanye n'inshingano, Komite yasuzumye n'izindi zifitanye isano n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kandi zifutura neza inshingano. Bene izo ngingo rero zarasesenguwe nk'uko bigaragarira mu ishakiro.

Ingingo yerekeye "complexes", Komite yayiganiriyeho, ariko mu kwandika, dusanga idakwiye kwiharira umutwe cyangwa igika, dusanga noneho "complexes" z'ubuhake n'ubukoloni zumvikanira mu byanditswe ku buhake no ku bukoloni. Ibyo aribyo byose, "complexe" ni ikintu cya psychologie/psychology, kiba kiri mu zifitanye isano n'umubano, uburere, ubuzima, ubukungu, idini na politiki (ideologie/ideology).

Abari bagize Komite ni aba:

1. MBONIMANA Gamaliel (Perezida)
2. RUTAYISIRE Paul (Historien) (Visi-Perezida)
3. RUTAREMARA Tito
4. SAFARI Stanley
5. MUNYANKUGE Laurent
6. RWANGOMBWA Jean Chrysostome
7. MUNGARURIRE Peter Joseph
8. NSEKALIJE Aloys
9. IYAMUREMYE Augustin
10. KAJEGUHAKWA Valens
11. HABAMENSHI Callixte
12. MUZUNGU Bernardin o.p. (ntiyabonetse kubera impamvu zumvikana)
13. NIBASEKE Lucien (ntiyabonetse).

Abagize Komite bihatiye kurangiza inshingano bahawe, bigeza n'aho bakora muri Weekend yose. Komite yishimiye ukuntu "services" zibishinzwe zo muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika zayifashije kurangiza neza inshingano. Ntitwarangiza tudashimiye byimazeyo Bwana KAYIRANGA Theo Bosco (MININTER) watubaye hafi cyane kuva twatangira inama, akaba yaratwandikiye aka gatabo kuri "Computer" abishyizeho umwete.

Komite ifite icyizere cy'uko itagosoreye mu rucaca, bityo ibitekerezo byayo bikaba byakunganira abashishikajwe n'ubumwe n'amahoro by'Abanyarwanda.

**KOMITE.**

## **CH.I. IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA MBERE Y'ABAZUNGU N'IGIHE CY'UBUKOLONI**

### **1.1. UBUMWE MBERE Y'ABAZUNGU**

Hari abashobora guhamya ko atari ngombwa kwerekana ko ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwahozeho mbere y'Abazungu. Nyamara ni ngombwa, kuko hari abantu benshi bandika muri iki gihe ko ubwicanyi bw'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba bwabaye mu Rwanda kuva mu 1959 kugera kuri rurangiza yo mu wa 1994, bwashinze imizi mu mibanire mibi y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mbere y'umwaduko w'Abazungu. Ibyo byanditswe na bamwe mu Bazungu n'Abanyarwanda.

Ukuri kw'amateka ni uko mbere y'Abazungu, ni ukuvuga mbere y'umwaka wa 1900, ari bwo Abamisiyonari gatolika batangiyeye gutura mu gihugu cyacu, hari haganje ubumwe butajegajega hagati y'Abanyarwanda: nta ntambara n'imwe y'amoko bagiranye mbere y'uwo mwaka. Ibyerekeye ubumwe mbere y'umwaduko w'Abazungu turabisuzuma mu ngingo eshatu: turabanza kuvuga abari bagize ubwo bumwe, dukurikizeho ibyaburangaga (ibishyitsi byabwo), dusozereze ku byari bibubangamiye kuko ngo "nta byera ngo de !".

#### **1.1.1. Ubumwe bwari bugizwe na bande?**

Ubwo bumwe bwari ubw'Abanyarwanda bose: Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Bose bari bagize icyo abakurambere bitaga "Rubanda rw'umwami". Bose kandi bari bazi ko ari Abanyarwanda, ko u Rwanda ari igihugu cyabo, ko nta wushobora kuvuga ko akirushaho abandi uburenganzira. N'ubwo bavugaga ko u Rwanda ari urw'umwami (Nyrurwanda, Nyirigihugu), bahamyaga ko "umwami agirwa n'ingabo".

Hari n'abandi Banyarwanda batari Abahutu ntibabe Abatutsi, ntibabe Abatwa: abo ni Abanyambo, Abahima, Abakiga b'i Ndorwa, Abashi n'abandi. Ibisobanuro by'ubwo bumwe biragaragarira ahanini mu ngingo ikurikira.

#### **1.1.2. Ibyarangaga ubumwe (ibishyitsi by'ubumwe)**

Ntabwo dushobora kubisobanura ngo tubimare yo (ngo tubivane i Muzingo), kuko buri "gishyitsi" cyashobora kwiharira agatabo. Mbere yo gusuzuma ibyarangaga ubumwe igihe cy'abami, reka tubanze tubirondore: ubwoko (amoko, ingero: Abagesera, Abega, Abanyiginya, Abasinga), ururimi, umuco, idini, umwami, imitunganyirize imwe y'inzego (z'ubutegetsu, z'umubano, z'ubukungu, z'agaciro k'ibintu, z'imiturire).

### *Ubwoko (mu byu, "ubwoko" cyangwa "amoko")*

Ayo ni ya moko bakunze kuvuga ko ari 18, n'ubwo umubare wayo ugibwaho impaka, kuko nka Alexis Kagame ahamya ko ari 15. icy'ingenzi ni ukumenya ko Abanyarwanda bose Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa, bari bahuriye kuri ayo moko uko ari 18. Ayo moko ni aya: Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abungura, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abaha, Abashingo, Abanyakarama, Abasita, Abongera n'Abenengwe (rb. M. d'Hertefeldt, Les clans du Rwanda ancien). Abantu benshi, barimo abanditsi, bibajije impamvu y'uko gusangira ubwoko bwe, yahitaga asubiza atagingimiranye ko ari Umusinga, Umuzigaba, Umusindi, Umwega, Umubanda, nb.; ntabwo yatekerezagaga ko bamubaza niba ari Umutwa, Umututsi cyangwa Umuhutu.

Ikindi ni uko kimwe mu byahuzaga Abanyarwanda mu gufashanya, mu kugobokana ari ubwoko (nk'ubwoko bw'Abatsobe, Abungura, Abanyakarama, Abongera, nb.): umugenzi w'Umusinga (yaba Umuhutu, yaba Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa) yageraga mu bandi Basinga, akakirwa neza, mbese akisanga. Ubuse (bushingiye ku bwoko "clans") bwahuzaga Abanyarwanda. Ubuse ni isano abantu baba bafitanye rigaragarira mu mihango nk'iyi gutsirora cyangwa kuzirura, kweza. Ukora iyi mihango akitwa "umuse".

### *Ururimi: Ikinyarwanda*

Hari Inkoranya (= Inkoranyamagambo: dictionnaire) imaze gutunganywa na I.R.S.T. (Butare). Ni amagambo y'ikinyarwanda asobanuye mu kinyarwanda, hakabamo n'ingero nyinshi. Umuntu ufite kuzirikana wese, ntiyabura kwiyumvisha ko na n'ubu ikinyarwanda kidufatiye runini. Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku rurimi rumwe. Muri Afurika, ibihugu bifite bene ayo mahirwe ni bike.

### *Umuco (culture)*

Ni ukuvuga imico, imihango, imigenzo, imiziririzo, ubugeni, ubukorikori, ubuvanganzo, imbyino, ubuvuzi bw'abantu n'ubw'amatungo. nb.

### *Idini: kwemera Imana imwe*

Iby'idini bamwe bita "lyobokamana" bishingiye ku kwemera Imana no kubaha abakurambere, guterekera abazimu, kubandwa, kuraguza. Guterekera byahuzaga abazimu n' abapfuye: kwari ukubibuka.

Ababaga barahuriye mu mandwa, umwe yarabyaye undi mu mandwa, bagiranaga umubano w'umubyeyi n'umwana, ndetse n'abana babo bikabageraho bakamera nk'abavandimwe.



Abahutu, Abatwa n'Abatutsi babandirwaga hamwe nta kurobanura, uwo bereje akabandisha abandi. Uko kutironda guterwa n'uko imandwa (ababandwa), iyo ziri mu muhango wo kubandwa, ziba zitakiri abantu basanzwe ngo zigombe kwifata nkabo. Ubuvandimwe bwo mu mandwa ni ikintu gikomeye cyahuzaga Abanyarwanda.

### *Umwami*

Umwami yari ipfundo ry'Abanyarwanda bose. Abasizi banamwitaga Sebantu (= se w'abantu bose bo mu Rwanda). Kandi iyo yamaraga kwimikwa, bavugaga ko "atakiri umututsi", ari umwami wa rubanda. Kandi mu mibereho ya buri muni, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bishyikiraga ku mwami. Cyaraziraga guheza umuntu kubera uko areshya, kubera uko asa uwabishakaga yageraga ku mwami. Muri gahunda yo kwagura u Rwanda, nta mwanya w'amakimbirane hagati y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Bose umwami yabahurizaga kuri uwo mugambi.

*Imitunganyirize y'inzego zariho: (ubutegets, umubano, ubucamanza).*

- Imitunganyirize ya politiki yari isobekeranye n'iyi kuboneza iby'intambara ku buryo Abanyarwanda bose, Abatutsi, Abahutu, Abatwa bagiraga umutwe w'ingabo bahuriyeho: Abashakamba, Uruyange, Abarasa, nb.
- Nta wakwibagirwa ubuhake aho bwari bwiganje: abantu bahuriraga kuri shebuja umwe bagataramana, bakaganira, bagafashanya.

Ku Banyarwanda bose umukobwa yitwaga "gahuzamiryango", akitwa "nyampinga" yakiraga abantu nta gusuzugura, akaba yagira n'uruhare runini mu gukiranura imiryango ageza ubutumwa bwe muri gacaca, iyo yabaga amaze kurongorwa no kubyara.

Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite urukundo rw'igihugu cyabo, bakumva ko bahuriye ku bunyarwanda. Umuhanga mu mateka w'umufaransa, Louis de Lacger, yatangajwe n'ukuntu Abanyarwanda bo mu bya 1930 barangwaga no kwiyumvisha ko basangiye igihugu kimwe ko bagikunda ku buryo bugaragara (patriotisme/patriotism); uwo mwanditsi ahabya ko bimwe mu byabaye intandaro y'urwo rukundo rw'igihugu, ari ururimi rumwe rukumbi.

### *Imiturire*

Nta karere k'Abahutu, nta karere k'Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa. Abo bose bari bavangitiranye mu miturire. Hari ukugobokana kwari gushingiye ku guturana (kandi ngo: "abaturanyi babyarana abana basa").

Muri make, mbere y'Abazungu, Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite ubumwe bushingiye ku mwami umwe, n'urukundo rw'igihugu, bakavuga ururimi rumwe, bakagira umuco

umwe, ukwemera kumwe kandi bakihatira gutuza bagaturana, bakuzuzanya mu byo bakeneye mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsu. N'umwami yabaga akeneye umupfumu umuterera utuyuzi n'Abiru bamugira inama kandi rero umupfumu bamuhitagamo bakurikije ubushobozi bwe nta kindi.

### **1.1.3. Ibyari bibangamiye ubumwe**

Ntibishoboka kwirengagiza ko mu Rwanda rw'abami, Abatwa bahawe akato, bakanenwa by'umwihariko. Na none ntabwo bahejwe ibwami no mu batware, ndetse bamwe bashyingiwe abakobwa b'abakomeye, ariko uko kunenwa ntikwazimiye.

Icyamba kabiri cyabangamiye ubumwe ni inzangano n'imirwano y'abaharaniraga ingoma. Urugero rwa hafi ni Rucunshu (Komini Nyamabuye - Gitarama) abantu baricanye bitewe n'uko bamwe bashakaga kwica umwami Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa ngo bamusimbuzwe Musinga mwene Kigeri IV Rwabugiri na Kanjogera. Ibyo byabaye mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1896. Ubwo kandi Abazungu bari barashinze ibirindiro ku nkiko y'u Rwanda i Shanghi (muri Cyangugu). Umuntu yavugaga ko igihe Abazungu bari basatiriye u Rwanda bagamije ubukoloni, naho abamisiyonari bakazana idini yabo, Abanyarwanda bo mu rwego rwo hejuru (ibwami n'ibutware) bari mu mwirya nta politiki bahuriyeho: Ibyo byahaye Abazungu icyuho bitabagoye. Ubumwe Abanyarwanda bari basanganywe bwagiye bukendera buhoro buhoro.

## **1.2. UBUMWE MU GIHE CY'UBUKOLONI**

### **1.2.1. Ubwami**

Ubukoloni ubwabwo, aho bugeze bose butera imihindukire y'inzeho z'ubutegetsi, z'ubukungu, z'imibanire y'abantu.

Ikindi ni uko ubukoloni bwazanye n'amadini yo hanze (ubukirisitu n'ubuyisilamu). Ayo madini kandi nayo afite inkurikizi mu mihindukire y'imibereho y'abantu, mu nzego z'iyobokamana (religion) n'uburyo bwo gutekereza n'imyumvire y'ubugingo, n'ubuzima n'ibidukikije.

U Rwanda Abazungu basanze mu mpera y'ikinyajana cya XIX, rwari rufite ibibazo mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi nyuma y'itanga ry'umwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, cyane cyane ibibazo biturutse ku ngaruka za Rucunshu. Muri Werurwe 1897, Kapiteni Ramsay yahaye ibwami bari i Runda, ibendera ry'Abadage n'urwandiko rwo kuragira u Rwanda (Protectorat / Protectorate).

Ariko ibyo bibazo by'ubutegetsi byafashe indi ntera kubera ubukoloni kandi wenda Abanyarwanda bari kubibonera indi nzira, ibindi bisubizo byihariye.

Ubwami bwahinduye isura byanze bikunze; bwatakaje ingufu. Ubwigenge burabura. Bituma umwami atari agishoboye gufata ibyemezo n'ingamba zo kuyobora igihugu uko ashatse.

### **Igihe cy'Abadage**

Ubutegetsu bw'Abadage bwajejeje ubwami ariko ntibwabusenyaye, n'umwami akomeza kugira ububasha (autorite/authority) bumwe na bumwe yari asanganywe. Yakomeje kwica no gukiza, kugabira, kunyaga abo ashatse n'ubwo byagiye bigabanuka. Ikindi ni uko ubwiru bwari igishyitsi cy'ingenzi cy'ubwami bwakomeje kubaho.

Ubutegetsu bw'umwami ntibwigeze bubangamira Abadage, ahanini kubera ingufu zabo: bari barabonye isomo ku gitero cy'i Shangi cyaneshejwe n'Ababiligi (Nyakanga 1896) ku ngoma ya Rutalindwa. N'abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda ubwabo bari bafite amakimbirane ashingiyeye ku butegetsu: Urugero ni nk' ibya Ndungutse na Basebya (1911 - 1912).

### **Igihe cy'Ababiligi**

Ku gihe cy'Ababiligi ubwami bwataye agaciro. Mbere iteka ry'umwami ntiryasubirwagaho, ntawaricagaho: yari Nyamugirubutangwa. Mu wa 1917, umwami yategetswe gusinya ko buri munyarwanda azajya mu idini yishakiye. Ababigizemo inyungu ni abagatolika.

Muli uwo mwaka nyine nibwo Ababiligi bambuye umwami w'u Rwanda uburenganzira bwo guhanisha kwica cyangwa kwica atari ukubera igihano. Kuva ubwo ntawari ugutinye ko umwami yamwica.

Mu wa 1923, umwami yatakaje uburenganzira bwo kugaba no kunyaga abatware atabyemerewe n'Ababiligi (na Rezida). Abakoloni basimbuye umwami mu bubasha no mu cyubahiro. Kubera ibyo, Abatware bamwe na bamwe n'urubyiruko rw'ibwami batangiyeye gusuzugura umwami no kuyoboka Abazungu, ari abakoloni ari n'Abapadiri.

Mu mwaka wa 1925, kugirango ubwami burushaho guta agaciro, Rezida w'u Rwanda yavanyeho ubwiru (twavuze), yacyiye umuhango w'umuganura: umwami yayoboraga uwo muhango bikagaragaza ko ariwe nyiruburumbuke ari nawe utanga kororoka; muri uwo mwaka, umutware w'abiru Gashamura Ababiligi bamucira ishyamba (i Gitega mu Burundi). Guhera icyo gihe, ubwami bwa Musinga na Nyina bwari busigaye kw'izina gusa.

Kumunyaga ku wa 12 Ugushyamba 1931 kwari nko gusongwa iyagaramye.

Ikindi cyagaragaye ni uko Musinga atari akiri umuhuza w'Abanyarwanda n'ubwo hari abari bakimukomeyeho kandi na nyuma bakabyerekana. Yemwe naho amariye kujyanwa i Kamembe, hari abakomeje kumuyoboka.

Kuva mu wa 1931 kugeza mu wa 1940, Mutara Rudahigwa yihatiye kubahiriza amategeko y'Ababiligi no gutegeka abatware kuyakurikiza byanze bikunze. Mu byerekeye idini hari icyo bise "irivuze umwami": ni ukuvuga itegeko rya Rudahigwa ry'uko Abanyarwanda bose bagomba kuyoboka idini gatolika.

Mu rwego rw'ibitekerezo-remezo (ideologie), Abakoloni n'Abapadiri bamwe na bamwe barwanyije ko Rudahigwa Abanyarwanda bamubonamo umwami nyakuri (roi/king), ahubwo bagombaga kumubonamo umutware usanzwe ("sultan"). Umwami nyakuri, Abanyarwanda bagombaga kumenya ko aliwe wihariye iryo zina, yari uw'Ababiligi.

Rudahigwa agishyirwaho mu wa 1931 si ko Abanyarwanda bose babyishimiye: hari abavuze ko ari "umwami wo mw'isoko" (aho Abazungu bamushyiriyeho); "umwami wimiye ku mugina" "podium yari ahagazeho avuga ijambo"; "umuvuzampiri" (ukubitana) ... Guhera mu wa 1940 kugeza mu wa 1948, Rudahigwa yagiye yigarurira isura ry'ubwami yihesha ni icyubahiro muri benshi.

Byaramworoheye kuko yanabishigikiwemo n'Abapadiri: Batisimu muri 1943; mu 1946 yegurira u Rwanda Kristu Umwami; Papa Pie XII amuha impeta yo kumuhemba ko ashyigikiye ubukristu, ayambikirwa i Kabgayi ku wa 20 Mata 1947, ayambitswe n'intumwa ya Papa muri Kongo mbiligi na Ruanda - Urundi. Muri rusange Ababiligi bamukundiraga ko akora kandi agakoresha akazi bashaka. Ariko hari n'abari bamubangamiye (mu ba "evolues" / elites" = abasirimu) ngo babe banamusimbura ku butegegi babifashijwemo na bamwe mu Bazungu (nka Frere Secundien).

Ariko guhera mu 1948 kugeza mu 1959 (aribwo yapfuye), n'ubwo Ababiligi ari bo bakomeje kugira ubutegegi bwuzuye (Souverainete/sovereignty), Rudahigwa ubwe yagiye yiyumvisha uruhare afite ku Banyarwanda nk'umwami, yanabigaraje yihatira guhindura imibereho y'Abanyarwanda mu mibereho ya buri muni (guca ubuhake gukuraho akazi...). Bityo Abanyarwanda ntibabaye impehe (ingabo zitagira umutware).

Yagiye arushaho gutinyuka ubutegegi bwa gikoloni bigeza aho ashaka kubwipakurura bikomera mu wa 1958 avuye muri exposition universelle de Bruxelles.

Muri make, mu ntagiriro y'ubukoloni, ubwami bwagiye buta agaciro, cyane cyane ku ngoma y'Ababiligi, kugeza mu wa 1940. Nyuma y'aho ubwami bwatangiye gukomera no kubahwa kubera Rudahigwa: yagaragaje ubushake bwe mu gukemura ibibazo by'ingutu by'Abanyarwanda. Nabo bakumva ko bafite ubavuganira.

## **1.2.2. UBUTEGETSI BWITE BWA GIKOLONI (Administration Coloniale)**

Igihe cy'Abadage

Mu mwaka wa 1897, ibwami bemeye kuba ingaruzwamuheto z'Abadage: bajya mu kwaha kwabo.

### **Mu byerekeye ubutegetsi bwite (administration), umuntu yavuga ibi bikurikira:**

1. Umwami ntiyari agicunga cyangwa ngo arambagire u Rwanda uko ashaka nk'umutegetsi wigenga. Kimwe mu bigaragaza ibyo ni uko umwami yagombye guhama hamwe, acisha make, aguma i Nyanza, areka akamenyero kari gasanzwe ku bami ko "gutanga ibibanza" (guhindura imirwa cyangwa aho atura): yagombye kuguma i Nyanza, byanze bikunze. Yagombaga kugira aho abonanira n'Abazungu (Abadage cyangwa Abamisiyoneri) hazwi, ariho Nyanza.

Muri icyo gihe, Abatware nabo batangiyeye kugira andi mahuriro makuru atari ibwami (Cour royale): ku bigo by'ubutegetsi bushya (bitaga "boma" nka Gisenyi, Ruhengeri Shangi, Gatsibo, Musaho (Rubengera). Ibyo biragaragaza ko umwami hari icyo yatakaje ku byerekeye ubutegetsi bwe, no kuba ari we muhuza wenyine w'Abanyarwanda. Habonetse abandi baharanira kuyobora politiki, ubutegetsi bwite n'iyobokamana: ubundi umwami niwe wari umutambyi mukuru w'u Rwanda.

2. Gutakaza ubwigenge n'ubutegetsi busesuye byagaragariye no mu gushinga imipaka y'u Rwanda n'ibihugu birukikije ubu. Byagize ingaruka ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda: byagaragaye cyane ku baturage bo mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda (urugero: abo mu mulera, mu Bufumbira, Rutchuru) baguye mu rukubo rw'uruja n'uruza rw'Abazungu n'Abasirikari babo barwaniraga imipaka bari no mu gushinga imambo zayo, nuko bamwe bahinduka Abanyekongo, abandi baba Abanya-Uganda.

Ibyo byabaye hagati ya 1896 na 1912. Uretse ibyo gucunga igihugu (controle) n'ibyo gushyiraho imipaka y'igihugu, Abadage bari bamaze gutangira gushyiraho ubutegetsi bwite bwa gisiviri: urugero ni Residence y'u Rwanda yashinzwe mu wa 1908 icungwa na Richard Kandt. Ibyo byatumye Kigali iba umurwa ujya imbizi (concurrente) na Nyanza.

Mbere y'umwaka wa 1908, u Rwanda Abadage barutegekeraga Usumbura; Usumbura nayo igategekwa na Dar-es-Salaam hari Gouverneur. Politike (policy) y'Abadage yerekeye ubutegetsi bwite yari ubutegetsi bwite buziguye (administration

indirecte/indirect rule). Abadage, mu mitegekere yabo, bashyigikiye umwami n'ubwami kuko bari babifitemo inyungu: bari barumvise ko mu Rwanda ubutegetsu bw'umwami bwari bukomeye, ko bwabafasha kugera ku mugambi wabo wo gukoloniza bitabagoye. Ikindi ni uko bari bakeya cyane bakeneye inkunga y'ubutegetsu kavukire.

Nicyo gituma bakoze iyo bwabaga ngo barwanye abigometse ku mwami nka Ndungutse na Basebya (1911-1912). Hari n'Abapadiri bari babangamiye ubutegetsu bw'umwami, Abadage barabirukanisha: abo ni nka Pouget na Barthelemy. icyo umuntu yasozereza ni uko Abadage bashyigikiye ubwami n'umwami, bakanagira imigambi yo gushyira igihugu mu majyambere, aho ibyo ntibyabujije ko ubutegetsu bwabo bwa gikoloni bwahungabanyije ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ingero: kuba u Rwanda rwarakajye ubwigenge, umwami ntawe akiri ipfundo ry'Abanyarwanda bese. Kuba barashyigikiye Abanyamadini mashya kandi nta we uyobewe ko idini rishya ryose rihindura imibereho, umuco n'ubufatanye bw'umuryango.

## **Igihe cy'Ababiligi**

Ubutegetsu bw'Ababiligi bwagaragaye mu bihe bitatu:

- Igihe cya gisirikare;
- Igihe cy' indagizo ya Mandat;
- Igihe cy' indagizo ya Tutelle.

### ***1) Ubutegetsu bwa gisirikare (1916-1926)***

Kuba Abadage bamaze kugenda kandi bari bashyigikiye Musinga, inzara ya Rumanura yabayeho inkurikizi y'intambara (cyane mu Bugoyi), kwikorera imizigo y'Abadage N'Abasirikare babo bahungaga, inkeke yo kugaburira abategetsu bashyashya bigaruriye igihugu (bitaga "Abanyekongo") no gukorana na bo batavugaga rumwe, ibyo byose byashyize Abanyarwanda mu gihirahiro. Yewe n'umwami asigara atazi aho ahagaze.

Mu bibi byagaragaye hari:

- "abasemyi" (interpretes/interpreters): ni ukuvuga Abanyarwanda bari bazi agaswahili gake, bakakagenderaho basemurira Ababiligi n'Abanyarwanda babishatsemo inyungu ikabije, babigiramo urugomo: bagakubita, bagatwara ibintu bitwaje umubiligi. Batangiye mu 1916 bagera nko mu 1919 baraciye ibintu;
- "gufaringa" cyangwa "gukinda" ari ko gufata abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu ku mugaragaro;

- abaheze ishyamba baragiye bikoreye imizigo y'Abadage.

Mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bwite hari icyahindutse gishyashya. Bashyizeho intara ngari (provinces unies) n'umutware umwe. Minisitiri Frank wari minisitiri wazakoloni yanditse urwandiko rw'ihame mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda: Ababiligi bagombaga gukoresha ubutegetsi buziguze (administration indirect/indirect rule), ibyo bikavugaga ko bagombaga kwigarurira imbaga y'Abanyarwanda bakoresheje Abatutsi.

Mu by' ukuri, ubwo butegetsi buziguze ntibwabujije Abazungu kwivanga mu baturage kugeza ku mirenge.

## **2 Igihe cy'indagizo ya Mandat (1926-1946)**

Ubusanzwe, ubutegetsi bwite mu Rwanda bwari bufite akantu k'urusobekerane. Nk'umusozo umwe watwarwaga n'abatware babiri cyangwa batatu: "umutware w'ubutaka" wari ushinze kuyobora ibyerekeye imirimo, abahinzi n'amakoro y'ibiri mu buhinzi); "umutware w' umukenke" wari ushinze inkanga no kuyobora bene zo kimwe n' amakoro yerekeranye n'iby'inkanga; "umutware w'ingabo" wari ushinze kwegeranya ingabo igihe cy'intambara azihabwaga kenshi na buri nzu.

Rimwe na rimwe umutware yashoboraga gutegeka byombi icyarimwe: Rwabilinda, yari umutware w'ubutaka n'umukenke mu Mpala (Cyangugu); Bikotwa yari umutware w'ingabo n' ubutaka mu Buhanga - Ndara (Butare).

Kuva mu 1926 kugeza mu 1932, habaye ivugurura rikomeye ry'ubutegetsi bwite mu Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ababigizemo uruhare ni Gouverneur Voisin wari ufite icyicaro Usumbura na Resident w'u Rwanda Mortehan, ku buryo iryo vugurura, ku byerekeye u Rwanda, hari abanditse banyita "reform de Mortehan".

Iryo vugurura ryavanyeho abo batware batatu ribasimbuza umwe rukumbi, ariko iby'ingabo babivanyeho bashyiraho ibyabo. Ibyo byatumye abaturage bagwa mu gihirahiro cyo kutamenya umutegetsi nyawe bayoboka.

Mu nkurikizi mbi z'iryo vugurura, umuntu yavugaga nk'uko Abanyarwanda bari bafite imyumvire yabo y'ukuntu baboneza imitegekere myiza (organisation administrative): ubutegetsi bwajyanaga n'ibikingi kandi umutware agashobora kugira ibikingi biri intage, hirya no hino. Abazungu bo ubutegetsi bwabo bwagenderaga ku butaka bubumbiye hamwe (territoire/territory). Ubwo buryo bw'Abazungu ni bwo bwakurikijwe kandi bigira ingaruka mbi ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

- Kugeza mu 1926, abatware bari amoko yose, ab'Abahutu n'Abatwa bavanwaho buhoro buhoro. No mu Burundi ni ko byagenze;
- Abaturage ntibari bagifite kirengera. Bagombaga kumvira abategetsi bashya ahanini impamvu ikaba ari uko abo bategetsi bari bahagarariye Abazungu, kandi rero umuzungu yaratinywaga cyane. Yari afite uburyo

bunyuranye bwo guhana umusuzuguye uwo ariwe wese (murebe hirya ku byerekeye ibihano);

- Ubwo butegetsi bwagendanye n'urugomo rukabije ku baturage. Bitewe n'uko ibisonga, abakarani, abamotsi batari bagenewe umushahara. Urundi rugero rw'urugomo ni uko uwo bakuraga ku butegetsi, ibintu bye bigaragara nk'inka n'abagaragu byafatwaga n'umusimbuye, byakuruye amakimbirane akomoka ku bagabiwe ubutaka bafite bubumbatiye, byakuruye amakimbirane akomoka ku masambu n'ibikingi. No mu gice cyarimo ubukonde, bene ayo makimbirane yarahabaye aturutse ku batware bashya.
- Muri ubwo butegetsi bushya umuntu umwe yabaye umutegetsi aba n'umucamanza (administration et justice).

Ni ngombwa kumva ko iyo mitegekere mishya y'Abazungu yasakaye mu Rwanda hose kandi mbere y'ivugurura twavuze, ubutegetsi bwite bwari bunyuranye, n'ubwo bwari buhuriye ku mwami.

Ikindi ni uko ubutegetsi bwite Abazungu bazanye bwakoresheje inyandiko (amabaruwa, ibitabo, amafishe, indangamuntu...) ziborohera kwigarurira Abanyarwanda babakandamiza mu bukoloni.

Twibutse ko uko gukoresha inyandiko mu butegetsi bwite (bureaucratie) biri mu byatumye bandika "Umututsi, Umuhutu, Umutwa" mu ndangamuntu. Hari n'izindi mpamvu ebyiri zabiteye:

- Bagombaga kumenya neza abo bagomba kugira abafasha babo mu butegetsi abo ari bo;
- Ababiligi bashakaga kugenzura abanyarwanda ngo babakoreshe mu kuvana ibintu mu gihugu, mu kazi, gutanga imisoro, kubakoresha muri za mine, mu cyayi no mu makawa byo muri Kongo mbiligi.

Muri make ubutegetsi bwite bushyashya bwadukanywe n'Ababiligi bwahungabanyije cyane ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, bushyira imbere ubwoko bumwe, uretse ko muri ubwo bwoko hatoneshejwe bake, ikindi gice kinini cy'Abanyarwanda kigakandamizwa bikabije.

**Icyitonderwa:** Ubutegetsi bwite mu gihe cy'indagizo (Tutelle, 1946-1962) buzasuzumwa imbere.

### 1.2.3. Amadini

Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1900 nta dini ryo hanze ryari ryarinjye mu Rwanda. Mu wa 1900 haje abanyagatolika, mu 1907 haza abaprotestanti (lutheriens/lutherans), mu 1910 ubuyisilamu bwari bumaze kugera mu Rwanda. Nyuma y'aho haje andi mashami y'ubukristu.

Amadini mashya yagize icyo ahindura ku kwemera, ku migenco no ku myifatire n'imihango ya benshi mu Banyarwanda. Ikindi n'uko ayo madini yateye amakimbirane



mu Banyarwanda: amakimbirane y'abayoboke n'abatari bo, amakimbirane ari mu madini ndetse no mu matorero (y'ubukristu) ubwayo.

Muri ayo madini iryagaragaye mu gukorana n'abakoloni ni irya gatolika, kandi ibyo byagize ingaruka nyinshi mu Banyarwanda.

### **Ibyo amadini yo hanze yahinduye mu kwemera, imigenzo, imihango n'imyifatire.**

Abanyamadini mashya basuzuguye idini rya Gihanga (gakondo). Abagatolika, Imana bayisimbuza Mungu, Abayisilamu bakoresha "Allah", Abaporotestanti bo bagitangira bakoresheje ijambo "Imana". Ibyo byatumye Imana n'akamaro kayo biyoyoka mu mitima ya benshi, kandi yarahuzaga Abanyarwanda bose: yari ipfundo ry'ibanze Abanyarwanda bari bahuriyeho mu kwemera kwabo no mu mibereho yabo.

Ubundi imihango yo guterekera no kubandwa yatumaga abazima n'abazimu (abakurambere) bahura, bagashyikirana. Aho amadini mashya aziye arwanya cyane iyo mihango yahuzaga Abanyarwanda. Urugero ni nko kubandwa abaturanyi bahuriragaho muri rusange nta kurobanura Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa.

Ingero z'ibyagiye bihinduka nabi mu myifatire ni byinshi: nko kudakomera umwami mu mashyi (mu bya 1920). Abagatolika bakavuga ko umwami wabo ari "Yezu"; umwalimu cyangwa umukuru w'inama yiyumvishaga ko agomba kwigana Padiri w'umuzungu mu myambarire (ngiyo ikanzu, ngiyo ingofero, ngiyo ishapule mu gituzza) no mu mvugo.

Imyigishyirize y'amadini mashya ntiyakunze kumvikana neza kandi yashenye ukwemera kw'Abanyarwanda n'umuco wabo. N'ubwo hari ababikurikije bikababera imbuto nziza, hari abakomataniye ibya gakondo n'ibishya abandi bahera mu gihirahiro basigara bahagaze nk'igiti.

### **Amakimbirane yaturutse ku madini mashya**

Aya makimbirane ari kwinshi. Hari ay'abayoboke n'abatari bo. Mw'ikubitiro, abo bayoboke biswe "inyangarwanda" bararwanywa, ndetse baranenwa. Ariko mu wa 1907 Abakristu bahabwaga akato, bakomorewe na Kabare bamera nk'abandi Banyarwanda. Mu bya 1920 Abapadiri bamaze gushinga ibirindiro kubera ko bari bashyigikiwe n'Ababiligi, abatarabayobokaga ni bo batangiye gukekwa, gusuzugurwa, uhereye ku mwami Musinga. Abatahakirizwaga ku Bazungu bitwaga "Abayoboke", abo bakaba barashyamiranye n' "Abahababyi", ari byo kuvuga abashyikiranaga n'Abapadiri n'abandi Bazungu bakabamenera amabanga y'i Bwami.

Hafi n'amakimbirane y'amadini ubwayo: nk'abagatolika n'abaprotestanti, abagatolika n'abayisilamu... Barasuzuguranaga, bakarwanira umwanya ugaragara mu gihugu n'abayoboke benshi, bapfa n'amasambu. Ayo makimbirane bayacengeje mu bayoboke bayo.

## Amadini n'Ubukoloni

Kuva aho Ababiligi baziye mu Rwanda, ubugatolika bwifashe kandi bufatwa nk'idini rya Leta, cyane cyane ibyo bigaragara kuva mu 1931 igihe cy'irivuze umwami. Abapadiri bagishijwe inama n'abategetsu ba gikoloni, banagira uruhare mu gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza amwe n'amwe: nko gushyirishaho abatware bamwe na bamwe cyangwa kubanyaga.

Ikindi kigaragaza ubufatanye bwa Kiliziya gatolika na Leta ni ukuntu Abazungu kugeza kuri Gouverneur wa Kongo mbiligi na Ruanda - Urundi (bitaga Mburamatari) bitabiraga iminsi mikuru ya Kiliziya nk'ubukwe bwa Rudahigwa na Gicanda (1942), batisimu ya Rudahigwa na Nyina Kankazi (1943), ukwambikwa impeta yoherejwe na Papa Piyo XII (1947), Yubile ya Kiliziya gatolika y'imyaka 50 mu Rwanda (yabereye Astrida, Butare mu 1950).

Kuba Kiliziya gatolika yarashyigikiwe n'ubukoloni, byajyaniranye n'ugukandamizwa kw'andi madini, n'ubwo amwe n'amwe yagiye abona imfashanyo mu rwego rw'ubuvuzi n'amashuri. Urundi ruhare rw'amadini ruzagaragara mu bindi bice byerekeye amashuri n'inzira yo kwigobotora ubukoloni guhera mu wa 1952.

### 1.2.4. Amashuri

Mu Rwanda kimwe n'ahandi hose hakolonijwe, amashuri ubwayo azana ikintu gishyashya. Hari imyumvire y'ibintu, gusobanukirwa ku bintu bimwe na bimwe kurusha abatarayagiyemo, ubuhanga n'ubumenyi bushya. Amashuri kandi ahindura imyifatire. Amashuri acyaduka si ko Abanyarwanda hose bumvise akamaro kayo. Muri rusange abategetsu babanje kuyasuzugura ku buryo birinze koherezamo abana babo. Akamaro kayo kumvikanye buhoro buhoro uherye mu 1912. Ubusanzwe aho ariho hose amashuri azana ubusumbane mu bantu bitewe n'uko bamwe bayizemo abandi ntibayakozemo ikirenge.

Mu Rwanda, amashuri y'amadini, cyane cyane aya Kiliziya gatolika, aruta ubwinshi aya Leta n'ay'andi madini.

Iby'amashuri turabireba mu byiciro bibiri:

- **1900-1930:** mu mwaka wa 1900 ni bwo amashuri ya mbere yatangiye: Save na Nyanza atangijwe n'Abapadiri bera. Naho mu mwaka wa 1930, habaye amasezerano agenga amashuri abanza hagati ya Leta na Misiyoni z'abakristu;

- **1930-1959:** ibya 1930 bimaze gusobanurwa. Byabaye mu wa 1959 nabyo birazwi.

### 1) 1900-1930:

Muri icyo gihe amashuri gatolika ni yo yari afite ireme, agaragara. Mu ntangiriro inyigisho zo mu ishuri zari zigamije guhindura Abanyarwanda abagatolika; Abapadiri mu byari bibashishikaje harimo gutangurana n'Abaporotestanti n'Abayisilamu mu kubona abayoboke. Nicyo gituma ibyigishwaga byari bikeya kubera ko Abapadiri batari bashishikajwe no gushyikiriza Abanyarwanda ubuhanga n'ubumenyi bushyashya uretse iby'idini. Dore ibyigishwaga: kwandika, gusoma (ariko usoma mu bitabo by'idini), imibare n'igiswahili bamwe na bamwe.

Muri uko gushaka abayoboke, Abapadiri bashatse n'ababafasha batangira kubategurira uwo murimo.

Ibyo byatumye bashyiraho amatsinda yihariye (sections speciales/special divisions) mu mashuri abanza, ayo matsinda agategura abarimu n'abajya mu seminari. Abanyarwanda ba mbere bagiye mu seminari boherejwe i (Rubya mu burengerazuba bwa Tanzaniya y'ubu). Seminari nto yambere yubatswe mu Rwanda, i Nyaruhengeri (Kansi y'ubu) mu 1912. Nyuma yimukira i Kabgayi mu 1913. Seminari nkuru nayo itangirira i Kabgayi, irimo abavuye i Hangiro (Tanzaniya yimukira mu Nyakibanda mu 1936 irimo Abanyarwanda, Abarundi n'Abanyekongo.

Abapadiri ba mbere b'Abanyarwanda bagize ubuhanga mu by'idini, ubuhanga bungana n'ubw'Abazungu. Ikimenyimenyi ni nka Padiri Galikani Bushishi wamaze guhabwa ubupadiri mu by'i 1920, bidatinze agahita atorerwa kwigisha teolojiya (ubuhanga bw'iyobokamana) mu seminari nkuru hamwe n'Abapadiri bera.

Ayo mashuri yateguraga abapadiri ntiyarobanuraga Abahutu n'Abatutsi; n'ubwo hari abakunze kwandika ko mu myaka ya mbere abahawe ubupadiri bari Abahutu gusa. Ibyo ni uguhutiraho. Mu mwaka wa 1913, i Kabgayi n'i Rwaza Abapadiri bafunguye amashuri agenewe Abatutsi iruhande rw'ayigwagamo n'Abahutu. Babigishaga kwandika, gusoma (mu bitabo by'idini) n'igiswahili. Nta nyigisho y'idini yari iteganijwe ukwayo. Mu mwaka wa 1914, i Kigali, Abapadiri bera bari bafite ishuli rigenewe Abatutsi iruhande rw'amashuri y'Abahutu. Iryo shuli baryitaga ishuri ry'intore. Iryo shuri ryahagaze mu 1932, kandi ryatanze abatware (shefu na sushefu).

*Impamvu zatumye amashuri y'Abatutsi ashwirwaho ni izi:*

- Impamvu ya mbere ni ukubahiriza amabwiriza ya Cardinal Charles Lavigerie washinze umuryango w'Abapadiri bera. Yabategetse ko bazahindura abantu abakristu bahereye ku batware kandi ari bo bifashishije kugira ngo babone

bitabagoye abayoboke benshi cyane. Abapadiri bera bageze mu Rwanda, mu gukurikiza ayo mabwiriza biyumvisha ko abatware bari Abatutsi gusa, kandi atariko byari bimeze n'ubwo mu gice kinini cy'u Rwanda abari abatware mu rwego rwo hejuru abenshi bari Abatutsi (reba nk'umugereka 3).

- Impamvu ya kabiri yo gushyiraho amashuri y'Abatutsi ni uko bakigera mu Rwanda Abapadiri bashyize mu bikorwa ibyari mu nyandiko z'abazungu baje bashaka gutahura amasoko y'uruzi rwa Nil cyangwa hari ibindi bagamije: nka Speke, von Gotzen na Kandt.

Muri izo nyandiko banditsemo bahimba ko Abatutsi bazi ubwenge kurusha Abahutu, ko ari bo bashobora gutegeka, ko nta n'igitangaje kuko ngo bari bafitanye isano n'abazungu, kurya baturutse mu Misiri, Caucase, Ethiopia... Ibyo ni byo byitwa "hypothese hamitique" (hamitic hypothesis): ivuga ko ibyiza bikorwa n'abantu bari muri aka karere k'ibiyaga bigari bitashobora gukorwa n'abirabura tsiritsiri, ko ahubwo byahimbwe n'Abatutsi n'abandi bameze nkabo.

## **Amashuri ya Leta**

- ***Ishuri ry'i Nyanza***

Iryo shuri ryatangiyeye mu w'i 1919; mbere y'uwo mwaka Abapadiri bera bari bahafite ishuri rivaho kubera intambara. Ni ryo shuri rya mbere Leta mbiligi yashyizeho kandi ryari rigenewe Abatutsi. Ariko akenshi baryitaga ishuri ry' "abana b'abatware", ubundi bakongeraho "n'abandi batutsi". Ryahagaze mu wa 1935, nyuma y'aho ishuri ryisumbuye rya "Groupe scolaire" ry'Astrida ritangiriye.

*Iryo shuri ry'i Nyanza ryari rifite inshingano zikurikira: kwigisha abazaba abatware, abazaba abakarani (secrétaires), n'abarimu bazigisha mu mashuri ya Leta.*

Mu mwaka wa 1959, ku ba shefu 48 batwaraga, 14 gusa bari abize Astrida (Butare), abandi ari abize muri Iryo shuri rya Leta ry'i Nyanza no mu yandi mashuri. Muri icyo gihe benshi mu ba sushefu ni abari barize muri Iryo shuri ry'i Nyanza. Biragaragara ko iryo shuri rya Leta mbiligi, ryo mu rwego rw'amashuri abanza, ryagize uruhare rukomeye mu mitegekere y'u Rwanda.

- ***Andi mashuri***

Ku itariki ya 1/01/1930, Leta y'u Rwanda yagiranye amasezerano na Kiliziya y'abakristu (gatolika n'abaporotestanti) yerekeye ku mashuri y'amatorero afashwa na Leta (enseignement libre subsidie).

Ibyo byatumye abanyeshuli bagenda baba benshi cyane mu mashuri y' Abagatolika. Ariko nta nkurikizi, iyo ari yo yose, ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ahubwo kimwe mu byahungabanyije ubwo bumwe ni ishuri ryitwaga "Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida" (Butare) ryayoborwaga "Freres de la Charite" (Abafurere b'urukundo), rikaba ryarafunguye imiryango mu wa 1932.

Iryo shuri ryisumbuye ryayoborwaga n'Abihayimana rigafashwa na Leta by'umwihariko ryari rigamiye gutegura abafasha b'Ababiligi mu nzego zinyuranye: abavuzi b'abantu n'ab'amatungo, abagoronome, abasekereteri n'abazaba abashefu (section administrative).

Ureste iyo segisiyo y'ubutegetsi bwite (administration) yigwagamo n'abana b'abashefu, izindi zose abazigagamo bari bavanze (Abahutu n'Abatutsi). Ariko guhera mu wa 1932 kugera mu wa 1959, Abatutsi ni bo bakunze kuba benshi. Kwemeza ko bamwe bari benshi abandi bakaba bake bishingiye ku mibare yaturutse mu gitabo bandikagamo amazina y'abinjira buri mwaka banandikaho ko ari Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi (reba umugereka 1).

Abarangizaga muri iryo shuri bose, Abategetsi b'Ababiligi n'Abafurere babareze babitagaho cyane, kugirango bakomeze kuba "Indatwa" (iryo ni izina bari bafite), bityo bisumbukuruzwe abandi Banyarwanda (elite). Barangizaga bafite umwuga bagahita bakorana n'Abazungu. Bagahabwa amazu bacumbikamo, mu mijyi nka Kigali na Astrida (Butare), bakagira ahantu hihariye batura ku buryo bativanga n'abandi Banyarwanda.

Abavuye mu iseminari bo nta mwuga ugaragara bari bazi. Uretse bamwe na bamwe b'Abatutsi bafashwaga na bene wabo Bagahabwa ubusushefu, n'abandi bake babaga abarimu mu mashuri abanza, abenshi barandagaraga. Ababishoboraga bajyaga hanze nka Usumbura, Bukavu. Uko kwandagara kw'abavuye mu iseminari kwavuyemo akantu k'ishyari kubera ko ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni butari bubitayeho. Ahubwo bigijweyo (marginalisation/frustration). Ubwo busumbane ni kimwe mu byateye amakimbirane hagati y'abize (elites) mbere ya 1959.

Mu mwaka wa 1948 habaye ivugurura ry'amashuri mato n'ayisumbuye muri Kongo mbiligi na Ruanda-Urundi. Iryo vugurura umuntu yarivugaho byinshi. icyo twavuga muri make ni icyateye ubusumbane mu bahungu n'abakobwa. Mu gihe abahungu bashoboraga kwiga mu masegisiyo y'imyuga n'ay'inyigisho rusange (enseignement généralisé), abakobwa bo ahanini bagombaga kujya muri za segisiyo zihariye bigamo bike, ngo byazabafasha kumenya gufata urugo neza ku buryo buboneye umugore n'umubyeyi. Urugero ni nk'uko batigaga igifaransa: mu bya 1955 ni ho bene ayo mashuri yihatiye kwigisha agafaransa.

Nyuma y'aho Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu itangiriye imirimo mu kwezi kwa kabili 1954, ikibazo cy'ubusumbane mu myanya y'amashuri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mu mashuri yisumbuye, cyagiweho impaka muri ba "elites", amaherezo ikibazo gishyikirizwa iyo nama. Nta mwanzuro yigeze ifata kuri icyo kibazo, kuko yari Inama ngishwanama kandi icyo kibazo cyaragombaga gukemurwa n'Abategetsi b'Abazungu. Ikindi ni uko amashuri y'icyo gihe yayoborwaga n'abanyamadini.

Bimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi byahungabanyije ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mbere na mbere ni akazi (corvees/forced labor) n'isumbanya ry'Abanyarwanda mu mashuri no mu butegetsi. Bizwi ko amashuri ari yo atuma umuntu ashobora kubona akazi bitamugoye nk'utayagezemo, cyane amashuri yigisha umwuga.

## **CH.II. IBIKORWA BY'AGAHATO MU GIHE CY'UBUKOLONI BW'ABABILIGI**

Ibikorwa byagahato byatewe n'impamvu y'ingenzi ikurikira. Abakoloni bari bagamije mbere ya byose inyungu zabo zo kuvoma ibintu binyuranye bakoresheje Abanyarwanda. Bamwe bakagomba kubafasha mu butegetsi, bakageza ku baturage amabwiriza y'Abazungu kandi bakareba niba yubahirizwa. Abatabikoze bagahanwa; ndetse n'abatware habagaho ubwo bakubitwa n'Abazungu. Abandi (ni ukuvuga abategekwegwa) ibyo bikorwa by'agahato byarabavunnye bikabije.

Ababiligi bari bafite ibitekerezo bibi baheraho muri uko gukandamiza Abanyarwanda:

- Basuzuguraga umwirabura ku mpamvu nyinshi zirimo izingizi ebyiri: ngo umwirabura ni igicucu nta bwenge agira n'ikimenyimenyi n'uko adashobora kwibwiriza icyamugirira akamaro ngo agikore; ngo ni umunebwe kabuhariwe ku buryo agomba guhatirwa gukora byaba ngombwa akabikubitirwa.
- Ababiligi ntibashakaga gutanga amafaranga yabo ngo bateze igihugu imbere. Ibyo byaterwaga n'uko bari bazi ko igihugu cy'u Rwanda ari indagizo ya SDN na ONU, amaherezo bazareka kurutegeka. Ikindi mu buryo bwo gucunga ubukungu n'imari, bazi ko ari ngombwa gushobora bike ugamije inyungu nyinshi. Kubera iyo mpamvu bakoresheje Abanyarwanda nta mafaranga menshi ya Leta mbiligi bakoresheje. Amafaranga hafi yose yakoreshejwe yavaga mu maboko y'abaturage, cyangwa ba nyiri ayo maboko bagakora badahembwa, abatware bagahembwa amafaranga avuye mu misoro.
- Ibyo bikorwa byagahato, umuturage wese yumvaga imvune yabyo, akumva ububi bw'ako gahato, kabone n'ubwo kabaga kagamije kumufasha kubona ibimutunga nko guhinga imyumbati, ibijumba, n'ibindi.

### **2.1. AKAZI (corvee/forced labour)**

Tubanze dusuzume icyo aricyo. Akazi byari Ibikorwa byagahato bidahemberwa, byazanywe n'ubutegetsi bwite bw'Abazungu.

Ingero z'ibyakorwaga:

- gukora imihanda;
- gutera amashyamba (abasore 300 bagombaga gutera nibura hectare imwe y'inturusu mu bya 1930);
- kubaka amazu y'ubutegetsi no gutwara ibikoresho (ibiti, amatafari);
- gucukura imiringoti, nb.

Abakoraga akazi ni bande? Ni abagabo basoraga. Mu bya 1930, ababazwaga imirimo ya Leta n'umusoro babitaga "Homme Adulte Valide (H.A.V)": ni ukuvuga abasore n'abagabo bafite ingufu. Hamwe na hamwe Abatwa nta kazi babasabaga gukora, kimwe n'uko batabarurwaga. Hari ikindi cyiciro amategeko y'akazi yasoneraga: ni abo bitaga "les Notables" bikavuga Abanyacyubahiro bashyikiranaga n'abatware n'umwami, abakoreraga Abazungu ari aba Leta ari n'abanyamadini, abarimu, abakuru b'inama, akenshi n'ababaga batuye mu cyo bitaga "centres extra-coutumiers", ni ukuvuga abasirimu barimo n'abanyamahanga b'abirabura.

### **Abakoreshaga akazi:**

Ku bw'Abazungu abakoreshaga ku mugaragaro akazi ni umwami, abashefu n'abasushefu. Ariko mu by'ukuri, mu migirire ya buri muni, akazi kakoreshwaga cyane cyane n'ibirongozi n' abamotsi.

### **Icyitonderwa:**

- Ubutegetsi buteganywa n'amategeko y'Ababiligi bwagarukiraga kuri sushefu;
- Sushefu yunganirwaga n'ibirongozi, ibirongozi nabyo bikunganirwa n'abamotsi;
- Ibirongozi n'abamotsi ntibahembwaga, ibyo ntibyababuzaga gukora umurimo bashinzwe bashishikaye kubera ko bari babifitemo inyungu: uwo murimo watumaga badakora akazi, ingabo zajyaga kubahingira kandi zikabatumira kunywa inzoga iyo zabaga zahiye. Umumotsi hamwe na hamwe bamwitaga "Ndayuhurume" (inda yuha urume/ikime): ni ukubera ko yajyaga guhamagara abaturage mu museso abashishikariza isuka n'agatebo ngo bajye ku kazi.

### **Ibibi by'akazi**

Akazi kakoreshejwe ku gitugu, kajyanirana n'ikandamizwa ry'abaturage kabahoza ku nkeke yo guhamagarwa buri gihe kukajyaho no kutagira umunsi n'umwe umuturage yabaga azi ko yakora gahunda ashaka. Kuba sushefu yari afite imirimo myinshi ntaboneke byatumye ibirongozi kirengera, kikiha uburenganzira busumbye imirimo sushefu yagihaga.

Abakoreshaga Abanyarwanda mu rwego rwo hasi, ni ukuvuga ibirongozi n' abamotsi, ntibahembwaga. Birumvikana rero ko bihembaga mu by'abaturage. Ibyo byatumye hari abavuga bati: "nta kintu bataguranye gukora akazi", ni ukuvuga ko kubera ububi by'akazi, abaturage bakoraga uko bashoboye kose kugirango bo kukajyaho; bakaba bajya nko kurarira shefu.



Ububi bw'akazi kiyongera ku musoro n'ibindi bikorwa by'agahato nka shiku byatumye Abanyarwanda benshi bahunga ingoma mbiligi bajya cyane cyane Uganda bajya gupagasa; ni ukuvuga gushaka umusoro, akenda, n'utundi tuntu.

Ahagana mu mwaka wa 1930 hari Abanyarwanda ibihumbi 50.000 (ni ukuvuga umusore cyangwa umugabo umwe kuri batandatu) basuhukiraga muri Uganda buri mwaka, hafi bose bakazagaruka kandi bagasubirayo. Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1959, Abanyarwanda bazwi bari baragiye muri Uganda babarirwaga mu bihumbi 350.000. Abandi ibihumbi 35. ( bari baragiye muri Tanganyika (Filip Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p.141). Abo bose bajyaga muri Uganda cyangwa Tanganyika, ntibabiterwaga n'akazi gusa. Hari n'ibindi bahungaga: uburetwa, shiku, guhinga kawa, umusoro n'ibihano byari biteganyirijwe ababa badatunganyije iyo mirimo y'agahato.

N'ubwo Abanyarwanda bari bazi ko ba nyirabayazana b'ako kazi ari Abazungu (n'ikimenyimenyi ni uko bavugaga "akazi k'Abazungu"), ntibari bayobewe ko abo bafitanye ibibazo bya buri muni ari abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda.

Twibuke ko habayeho amategeko agenga akazi: ni ingingo ya 48 y'itegeko (ordonnance legislative) ryo ku ya kane Ukwakira 1943 ryavugaga ko gahunda rusange y'imirimo itegegetswe yagombaga kugenwa buri mwaka na Guverineri (bitaga Mburamatari) ku buryo nta muturage washoboraga guhatirwa gukora imirimo ya Leta iminsi irenze 60 mu mwaka; nyamara byari biteganyijwe ko iyo minsi 60 ishobora kongerwa biturutse ku mirimo ya ngombwa yo kuvanaho cyangwa kurwanya ibibangamiye ubuzima rusange.

## **2.2. UBURETWA**

### **Icyo aricyo:**

Uburetwa ni imirimo abategekwa bakoreraga abategetsu biturutse kuri iryo sano ryonyine ry'ubutegetsu cyangwa abakene bakoreraga abakire, kandi iyo mirimo ntigire ibihembo.

### **Imirimo y'uburetwa yari iyihe?**

Hari abakunze kwitiranya mu nyandiko zabo uburetwa n'ikoro (ryaba iry'umuheto cyangwa iry'ubutaka).

Hari n'abagiye bitiranya uburetwa n'ubuhake cyangwa akazi k'igihe cy'Abazungu. Mu byukuri imirimo y'ingenzi yakorerwaga umutegetsu mbere y'Abazungu ni iyi: guhinga, kuba (urugero hari abavaga i Bugoyi bakajya kubaka ibwami), kurarira, gucana ibishyito, gusenya (gushaka inkwi), kuvoma, gukuka no guheka.

### **Uburetwa bwadutse ryari?**

Mu byukuri ntibyorokeye kumenya ku buryo budashidikanywa igihe uburetwa bwadukiye mu Rwanda. Hari abagiye bemeza ko uburetwa ari ubwo ku ngoma ya Rwabugili (Kimanuka Tharcisse, *Uburetwa et akazi au Marangara de 1916 à 1959*, Memoire de licence, Ruhengeri, 1983). Hari n'abandi bemeza ko uburetwa bwazanywe

n'Abazungu; bati n'ikimenyimenyi ni iryo jambo uburetwa rikomoka ku giswahile "kuleta", cyangwa ku gifaransa "l'Etat" cyabyaye "uburetwa" ari byo kuvuga "ni ibya Leta". Birashoboka kandi ko iryo jambo riva ku kinyarwanda cya kera, nk'uko Inkoranyamagambo (DIMO: dictionnaire monolingue) ya I.R.S.T. (Butare) ibyerekana: handitsemo ko "uburetwa" ari ijambo rishaje ryavugaga "imibyizi umuretwa (cg. Ikiretwa) yakoraga ku mutware w'ubutaka". Iyo nkoranyamagambo itanga n'umugani ngo "umusozi w'uburetwa ukama kare".

N'ubwo ntawahamya ku buryo bw'imvaho aho iryo jambo ryaturutse n'igihe ryaziye, imirimo yakorwaga nk'uburetwa yari iriho ku ngoma ya Rwabugili. Birazwi ko Rwabugili yagize icyo ahindura ku mitegekere y'u Rwanda. Ibyo byatumye imirimo isa n'uburetwa ikwirakwizwa hamwe na hamwe, nko mu Bigogwe na Cyingogo bavuga ko ari Seruteganya umutoni wa Rwabugili waba yarahadukanye uburetwa (*Historique et chronologie du Ruanda*; reba cyane cyane Nkurikiyimfura J.N., *Le gros betail et la societe rwandaise*, pp. 89-91).

### **Uko uburetwa bwahindutse igihe cy'ubukoloni**

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bwagiye bufata isura nshya ari ku mubare w'iminsi bwakorwagaho, ari ku nshungu (rachat), ari n'agaciro bwafashe ku bikorwa rusange by'agahato, ndetse n'ukuntu bwakwiriye hirya no hino.

Ku byerekeye iminsi, abanditsi benshi, cyane cyane Ababiligi, bibanze kuri icyo kibazo cy'iminsi, bashaka kumenyekanisha ngo ukuntu barenganuye Abahutu. Bagahamya ko iminsi y'uburetwa yari ibiri ku minsi itanu yari igize icyumweru cya Kinyarwanda. icyakora ibyo ni byo, ariko Ababiligi bagiye babihindura ku buryo bukurikira:

Abategetsu b'Ababiligi bakoze amavugurura abiri yerekeye iminsi y'uburetwa. Mu mwaka wa 1924 uburetwa babushyize ku minsi 42 mu mwaka kugirango bagere ku minsi ibiri kuri irindwi y'icyumweru cya Kizungu. Ndetse bashyiraho n'ibitabo bandikagamo uko abagombaga kubukora babyubahirizaga.

Mu mwaka wa 1927, Rezida w'u Rwanda uburetwa abuharira umunsi umwe kuri irindwi kuri buri muryango bibazwa, cyangwa iminsi itarenze cumi n'itatu mu mwaka kuri buri musore n'umugabo muzima (H.A.V.). Ibyabazwaga mbere inzu byabajijwe umuntu ku giti cye. Kuri ubwo buryo abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda b'igihe cya gikoloni bungutse amaboko mashya menshi yo kubakorera nta gihembo. Kandi twibuke ko icyo gihe abo bategetsu batafataga umushahara mbere ya za 1940. Biragaragara ko iryo vugurura ryongereye imvune ababazwaga uburetwa.

Guhera mu mwaka wa 1936, ubutegetsu bwa gikoloni bwemereye Abanyarwanda bakora mu nganda z'Abazungu gucungura imirimo y'uburetwa bw'abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda, maze bagatanga amafaranga. Guhera mu mwaka wa 1938, bakurikije icyemezo cyafashwe mu 1937, inshungu y'uburetwa yahagaze

kw'ifaranga rimwe ku munsu umwe wo gukora (umubyizi) ukuvuga amafaranga 13 mu mwaka.

Mu wa 1946, inshungu y'uburetwa yabaye amafaranga 19,50 ku minsi 13 ni ukuvuga 1,50 munsu.

Ibyiciro by'Abanyarwanda byashoboraga kugira uburenganzira bwo gucungura uburetwa batanga amafaranga:

- Abakozi ba Leta;
- Abakozi batari banyakabyizi, bakoreraga amasosiyete cyangwa Abazungu ku giti cyabo
- Abarimu ba gatigisimu;
- Abanyeshuri bo mu cyiciro cya kabiri cy'amashuri abanza;
- Abatutsi bakize, ni ukuvuga abafite nibura inka cumi;
- Abajya gupagasa mu mahanga bagata sheferi yabo nibura amezi cyenda mu mwaka.

Imvune uburetwa bwateye Abanyarwanda babubazwaga yumvikana neza uyishyize hamwe n'indi mirimo inyuranye y'ubukoloni nk'akazi na shiku, ndetse umuntu yakongeraho ibindi byabazwaga, ni ukuvuga umugogoro, inka z'ingishywa, inka zatangwaga zo kubagirwa Abazungu n'ababaherekeje, inkoko, amagi, ibitoki... Mu byatangwaga icyakabije gutera imvune ni umusoro.

### **2.3. SHIKU**

Icyo iryo jambo rivuga

Shiku (ubw. "amashiku") ni ahantu bahingaga ku gahato imirimo (ibipimo) yagenwe n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni kandi igahingwamo imyaka yemejwe n'ubwo butegetsi ngo izarwanye inzara. Shiku bivuga n'umurimo ubwawo wo guhinga ku gahato bene iyo mirimo imyaka yahingwaga ni ibijumba n'imyumbati.

Ijambo shiku rikomoka ku nshinga "gushikura", mu byerekeye ubuhinzi bikavuga guhingisha isuka ukurura n'ingufu ahantu h'umushike (Adiaenssens J., *Le droit foncier au Rwanda*, Butare, 1962, P.61). Ariko shiku yashoboraga no guhingwa ku gasi (ku mpama), ngombwa bikaba kwegera umuhanda cyangwa aho witegeye. Kwegera umuhanda kwari ukugirango umutegetsi w'umuzungu cyangwa shefu bashime umwete wa sushefu w'aho hantu, banamuhe amanota.

Shiku yari ifite irindi zina: habagaho ubwo bayita "akajagari" bigashaka kuvuga urusange rw'imirima yahingwagamo n'abantu benshi, ariko buri muntu akagira igipande/icyate cye. Icyo gipande cyari icye mu gihe uwahingaga atari yasarura, kuko iyo yamaraga gusarura habaga aha susheferi.

## **Igihe shiku yatangiye**

Amashiku yatangiye gukoreshwa mu mwaka wa 1926, ageragezwa imyaka ine yose. Mu mwaka wa 1930, guhinga shiku byabaye itegeko rikomeye; muri uwo mwaka nibwo agahato ko guhinga imyumbati (bamwe bise "urugamba rw'imyumbati", mu gifaransa "campagne manioc") kateye rwaserera yo kujya kwikorera ibiti byayo no kuyihinga. Byateye imyivumbagatanyo hirya no hino, nko muri sheferi ya Bumbogo n'agace k'Uburiza (communes Tare, Mbogo na Musasa): reba za Diaires za misiyoni ya Kigali n'iya Rulindo 1930).

## **Akamaro ka shiku n'ububi bwayo**

Abakoloni bari barategetse shiku kubera inyungu bwite z'abaturage: twibuke ko mu mwaka 1924-1925, inzara bise gakwege yaciye ibintu. Abazungu bibwiraga ko shiku izakemura ikibazo cy'inzara ku buryo budasubirwaho. Nta gushidikanya ko muri rusange umusaruro wa shiku wabaye ingirakamaro cyane cyane imyumbati. Ibyo ariko ntibyahagaritse inzara ya Ruzagayura (bamwe bita "Matemane" cyangwa "Rudakangwimishanana"), mu mwaka wa 1942 kugeza mu 1944.

Ibyo ari byo byose shiku yabaye ikintu cyanzwe cyane n'abaturage. Yatwaraga ingufu nyinshi ku musaruro muke, ndetse rimwe na rimwe wa ntawo. Urugero ni nk'iyi ikirongozi cyabwiraga umuturage wahingaga igice cy'igipimo (icyate) akamutegeka kuba yaharangije hose nko mu minsi ibiri, noneho wa muturage agafata igitaka cy'ahahinzwe akacyorosa hejuru y'ibyatsi ku buryo urebera kure asanga umurima wose uhinze. Umugore n'abana nabo bagombaga guhinga shiku no mu gihe umugabo yabaga adahari yaragiye mu ruzinduko cyangwa yaragiye guhaha.

Indi mpamvu yatumye shiku yangwa urunuka ni uko akenshi yahingwaga kure y'ingo z'abayihingaga. Bityo bakaruha bajya guhinga no gusarura, iyo byabaga byarumbutse.

Icyo umuntu yasozerezaho ni uko ububi bwa shiku bwatewe n'agahato gakabije bwazinzibiraniye akamaro bari bayitezeho: abaturage ntibasobanuriwe bihagije ako kamaro.

Nyuma y'intambara y'isi ya kabiri ni ho abaturage muri rusange bagaragaje ko bumvise akamaro ko guhinga ibijumba n'imyumbati.

## **2.4. UMUGOGORO**

Umugogoro ni inka yatangwaga n'umuturage cyangwa umuryango, ikajya gukamirwa umuzungu (ndetse n'abamuherekeje) aho yabaga acumbitse ku nkambi. Umugogoro byavug n'icyo gikorwa cyo kujyana inka. Bavugaga: kujya ku mugogoro.

Inka y'umugogoro yagiraga n'ibindi biyiherekeza bitangwa n'abaturage: inkoko, amagi, ibitoke... Uwategekaga ko batanga umugogoro n'ibiwuherekeza akenshi abinyujije kirongozi nacyo kikabibwira umumotsi ni sushefu.

Uretse inka y'umugogoro hari n'izindi nka, Abakoloni bategekaga gutanga zo kuba zaterwaga ibyapa ku mubiri nko kwitako bityo zikamenyekana ntihagire uzikoraho mu bazitunze. Igihe bashakiye bakazijyana. Bagatanga udufaranga tw'umuhango, two kwikiza ngo bizavugwe ko zaguzwe.

## **2.5. IKAWA**

Aba mbere badukanye ikawa mu Rwanda ni Abapadiri bera. Abo ba misiyoneri bari bakeneye ikawa yo kunywa. Guhera mu mwaka wa 1903 nibwo batangiye kuyihinga mu misiyoni Mibirizi, nyuma ikwira buhoro buhoro mu gihugu. Ariko ikawa yatangiye kwamamara mu bya 1925, aho ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi butegetse abaturage kuyihinga.

Guhera mu myaka 1933/1934, ni bwo Abanyarwanda batangiye guhinga ikawa ku itege n'ubwo hari ababikoraga ku bushake buke kubera inyungu babibonagamo.

Muri rusange gutera ikawa abantu ntibayitabiriye. Impamvu zimwe z'ingenzi ni izi zikuriki:

- Ubutaka: abantu ntibumvaga igituma ubutaka bwiza bwaragombaga kugenerwa ikawa indi myaka ikajya ahasigaye;
- Mu ntagiriro, uburyo bwo guhinga ikawa bwabayemo gushakisha, byatonze abaturage. Urugero ni nko gutera ikawa mu rutoke, hanyuma bagatema urutoke ngo ikawa zisanzure;
- Imirimo y'ikawa ni myinshi kandi iravuna; hari pepiniere, hari gucukura imyobo, kuzitera, kuzuhira, kuzisasira, kuzikiza udukoko nka "antestiya" (umuturage yagombaga kwereka sushefu cyangwa ikirongozi ko akenura ikawa yerekana agatebo kuzuye udukoko yafashe: imiti itwica yari itaraza), kuzifumbira, kuzisarura, kuzanika
- Iyo mvune ntibyari byoroshye kuyihanganira mu gihe batumvaga akamaro k'ikawa, amafaranga bakuragamo yari make cyane. Iyo mvune yiyongeraga ku bindi bikorwa by'agahato.

## **2.6. UMUSORO**

Nta wahakana akamaro k'umusoro. Na kera mbere y'Abazungu hariho **ikoro ry'umwami**. Hari ikoro ry'umuheto ryatangwaga n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Iryo koro ryanyuzwaga ku mutware w'ingabo. Ryatangwaga na buri nzu (lignage mineur) hariho abayita umuryango.

Ikoro ry'umuheto ryari rigizwe n'ibi bikurikira: amacumu, imyambi, imitana, imiheto, inkota, intorezo, amayugi, impindu, n'ibindi.

**Ikoro ry'ubutaka** ryatangwaga n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Ryatangwaga buri mwaka na buri nzu. Rikagirwa n'ibiribwa bishobora guhunikwa: ibishyimbo byumye, amashaza, amasaka, uburo. Baryitaga "urutete". Barisabaga bakurikije ubushobozi bwa buri nzu/umuryango kuva ku rutete rumwe kugeza kuri nyinshi.

Ku byerekeye ikoro ry'ubutaka habagaho no gutanga umuganura ku batware, urutete ku mwaka yeze.

Uretse ikoro ry'umuheto n'ubutaka, hari n'ikoro rijyanye n'imirimo yihariye; ni myinshi ntawayirondora ngo ayimareyo hano. Ariko twavuga nk'ikurikira:

- Gutanga inka y'ibwami (inka n'iyayo) yatangwaga n'aborozi, cyane bikanyura mu rwego rw'imitwe y'ingabo n'iy'inyambo;
- Imishwi n'intama n'ikimasa zo kuragura;
- Abavumvu batangaga imitsama;
- Abahigi, nk'Abatwa baturiyeye ishyamba, babazwaga ibijyanye n'umuhigo, urugero impu z'ingwe n'inkomo;
- Ababumbyi batangaga ibibindi, inkono, n'ibindi.

### **2.6.1. Umusoro w'Abazungu**

Mu mwaka wa 1912, Abadage nibwo batangiye gukoresha ibarura ryari kuborohera isoresha. Iryo barura ntacyo ryagezeho kubera ko intambara ya mbere y'isi (1914-1918) yatumye rihagarara. Ababiligi bakiza ntibatanzwe gusoresha. Mu mwaka wa 1917 ni ho Umusoro w'Ababiligi wadutse.

Kuva mu wa 1917 kugera mu wa 1927, Umusoro wabazwaga buri musore cyangwa buri mugabo muzima (H.A.V) agatanga amafaranga atatu n'urumiya (3,50 francs). Ariko nyuma y'aho umusoro wagiye utangwa hakurikijwe ubukungu bwa buri Teritwari: mu wa 1927 amafaranga arindwi n'urumiya (7,50 francs) mu wa 1930 amafaranga mirongo itatu

francs), mu wa 1945 amafaranga mirongo ine n'atandatu (46 francs). Ayo mafaranga mwayene rusange kuri za Teritwari zose.

Umusoro ni imwe mu nkingi zikomeye zashyigikiraga ubukoloni. Uburyo bworoshye bwo gukandamiza abaturage mu rwego rw'ubukungu kwari ukubashyirakomeye. Ibyo byakoreshejwe n'abakoloni bose utarobanuye. Babitewe no gushyirakomeye amafaranga, cyangwa ibyaguzwe amafaranga ya nyirarureshwa (nk'inka n'impu), cyangwa kubona abakozi (main-d'oeuvre). Urugero, mu wa 1920 muri Kongo mbiligi, Abakongo barimo abacukuzi b' amabuye y' agaciro bagize ikibazo gikakaye cyo kubona abakozi kavukire. Ni muri icyo gihe, guhera mu wa 1925, Ababiligi bitabaje Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi, ni bwo ibya Gatanga byatangiyeye. Ino Ababiligi, basabye umusoro ku buryo bukabije bituma Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi basa n'abigemura bajya gushyirakomeye amafaranga aho baberetse, ni ukuvuga muri mines, abandi bakajya mu ba misiyoneri, tutibagiwe n'abajyaga muri za koloni z'Abongengereza.

### **2.6.2. Ububi bw'umusoro wa gikoloni (1916-1962)**

Umusoro wagiye wiyongera udakurikijwe ubukungu bw'abawubazwa. Ikindi mbere y'uko umushahara w'abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda uteganywa mu ngengamari y'ubukoloni mu bya 1940, aba bategetsu bagenderaga ku nshungu y'uburetwa n'amafaranga yagerurwaga ku musoro hakurikijwe uwo binjijwe uko ungana. Kugirango abo bategetsu binjize umusoro utubutse, bityo babone igihembo gihagije, bashyiraga ku nkeke umusoro n'umugabo uwo ariwe wese, ntibatinye n'umwana w'imyaka cumi n'ine kugeza kuri cumi n'itandatu. Habagaho n'ubwo bene abo bana bamburwa imyenda kugirango barebe ko bavuye mu bwana. Uko guserereza abagomba gusora byagize intera ndende, itagombye kwibagirana mu bubi bw'ibikorwa by'agahato mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Ababiligi, cyane cyane hagati ya 1931 na 1946.

Ikindi kigaragaza ububi bw'uwo musoro wa gikoloni, ni uko amafaranga yakwaga umuntu (H.A.V) muri Teritwari iyi n'iyi yabaga amwe kuri bese, ntakurobanura abakire n'abakene.

### **2.7. IBIHANO KU BATUBAHIRIJE IBIKORWA BY'AGAHATO**

Ibikorwa by'agahato ntibyari gushobora kubahirizwa iyo bidateganyirizwa ibihano. Ibyo bihano birasumbana. Umuntu yabisesengura uko byagiye bigera ku Banyarwanda benshi.

Icyo mbere ni ikiboko cyageze kuri benshi. Ibike by'itegeko byari umunani bigakubitwa nk'uwabaga atasasiye ikawa ku buryo buhagije cyangwa uwabaga atarangije igipimo cy'imyumbati. Yubikaga inda bagakuraho umwenda bagakubita wa mubare w'ibiboko.

Umuzungu wamamaye muri ibyo bwamise "kurimpuzu", kubera ko yategekaga ko abakubitwa bagombaga gukura umwenda ku kibuno kugirango ikiboko cyinjire mu mubiri. Ikiboko cyababaje Abanyarwanda kandi cyateye abagikubitaga n'abagikubitishaga kwiyumvamo ko bari hejuru, n'abagikubitwaga kwiyumvamo ko bari hasi.

Ikindi ni **ihazabu** (amende/fine) yagendaga mu mafaranga akenshi. Kubera ko nta fatizo rigaragara ry'amafaranga yagombaga gutangwa ku waciye ku mabwiriza aya n'aya, kubera kandi ko nta kigenzura mu mishyirire mu bikorwa y'ihazabu, icyo gihano cyakunze kugendana no kurengeza (kurenza urugero) bitewe n'ubushake bw'ikirongozi, sushefu, shefu n'abategetsu b' Abazungu.

**Gufungwa:** Gufungwa iminsi, amezi cyangwa imyaka byazanywe n'Abazungu. Uretse ibikorwa bibi byagenwaga n'amategeto ahana yerekeranye n'ibihano, ikintu Abanyarwanda bafungirwe cyane ni ukubura umusoro.

**Kunyagwa:** ni ukwamburwa ubutegetsu. Abashefu n'Abasushefu banyagwaga ahanini byabaga bitewe n'uko babaga batarinjiye mu murongo w'ubutegetsu bw'Abakoloni bitewe no kutabishobora cyangwa kutabishaka (kwanga gusesereza ingabo zabo).

Twakwibutsa ko Abapadiri banyagishaga abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda bumva ko bababangamiye mu murimo wabo wo guhindura Abanyarwanda Abanyagatolika.

Uwatangaga ubutegetsu ni nawe wari ufite uburenganzira bwo kunyaga, yari umubiligi. Iteka ryo kuwa 14 Nyakanga 1952 mu byo ryashyizeho, twavugaga ko ariryo ryahaye umwami w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi uburenganzira bucagase bwo gushyikiriza Abazungu abashobora gutegeka cyangwa kunyagwa.

**Gucibwa** (etre relegue): Abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda baciye n'Ababiligi ntabwo bari benshi. Babaye bake ariko bakomeye uherye ku mwami Musinga wazize ko ngo yanga Abazungu n'Abakirisitu b'abagatolika. Mu by'ukuri yazize ko atashatse kandi atashoboye kubegururira ubutegetsu bwose uko babushakaga, akaba kandi atarashoboye kwinjira mu murongo w'Ababiligi n'u Abapadiri.

Hari abandi batware bagiye bacibwa: Gashamura, umutware w'Abiru waciye i Burundi (Gitega) mu wa 1925, hashira umwaka akagwayo; hari na Nyamurasa Kabano IV, umwami w'umuganura wo mu Bumbogo, waciye mu Kinyaga mu mwaka 1929. Uko guca abategetsu badashoboye gukorana n'Ababiligi ntabwo byatangiyeye ino, kuko hari hasanzwe itegeko ribigenga kandi ryakurikizwaga na mbere muri Kongo mbiligi. Kandi hari n'abandi bakoloni babikoze.



## 2.8. UBUHAKE

Icyo aricyo: Ubuhake ni amasezerano azwi n'ubwo atari yanditswe, hagati ya shebuja (nyirinka) n'umugaragu ushaka inka kimwe n'amaboko no gushyikirana n'abandi. Akenshi amukorera imirimo inyuranye.

Ubuhake ni inzira y'umubano byombi n'ubukungu Abanyarwanda bari baraboneje mbere y'umwaduko w'Abazungu, inakomeza igihe cy'Abakoloni ariko igenda ihindagurika. Ubuhake abanditsi benshi, baba Abazungu cyangwa Abanyarwanda, bihatiye kubugereranya ndetse no kubwitiranya n'icyitwa "feodalite/feodality" mu Burayi bwo mu binyejana bya XI-XIV (Moyen Age). Uretse ko abahanga mu mateka bagaragaje ko iyo "feodalite/feodality" iri kwinshi kandi ikaba atari kimwe n'ubuhake.

Bimwe mu byo umuntu yavuga byerekana aho bitaniye ni ibi:

- Feodalite/feodality yari ishingiyeye ku butaka, ubuhake bugashingira ku nka;
- Mu byerekeye politiki, muri feodalite/feodality abo bitaga "vasseaux", bakunze kugereranywa n'abagaragu, bari abantu b'ubacumbikiye mw'isambu ye (akabarinda ababatera), ari we witwaga "seigneur", ari we bakunze kugereranya na "shebuja" mu Rwanda. Nyamara mu buhake hariho umushyikirano hagati ya shebuja n'umugaragu kandi umugaragu ntiyagomba kuba byanze bikunze mu bwatsi bwa shebuja cyangwa mw'isambu ye. Kandi, bese ari shebuja ari umugaragu bari abantu b'umwami, bategekwa n'umutware w'ingabo badahuje cyangwa bahuje. Muri feodalite/feodality uwari "vassal" yabaga agengwa kuri byose na "seigneur" we; naho mu Rwanda umuntu yashoboraga kuba ahatswe ku mwami no ku mutware ukomeye: bavugaga ko afite "amarembo abiri", birumvikana rero ko umuntu yashoboraga guhakwa kuri benshi ari byo bitaga "kugira amarembo menshi".

### 2.8.1. Ubuhake mbere y'ubukoloni

Ubuhake bwari bubumbye inzego z'umubano, ubukungu, ubutegetsu n'umuco.

**Mu rwego rw'umubano**, ubuhake bwazanaga ubusabane hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja ndetse no hagati y'imiryango ya bombi. Mu mibanire yabo hari ikintu cy'ingenzi; ukudahemukirana. Ubwo busabane n'uko kudahemukirana byagaragariraga muri byinshi; nko kugobokana mu byishimo no mu byago cyangwa ku rugamba.

**Mu rwego rw'ubukungu**. Mu kinyarwanda baravugaga ngo "inka mupfana amata", ari kuvuga ko inka itagomba kuba ikirori gusa, n'ubwo bamurikaga inyambo bakazivuga

amazina, icy'ingenzi ni akamaro igirira uyitunze. Uwabaga afite inka yabaga ari umukire, utazifite akaba umukene. Uwahakirwaga inka ntazo yari afite, hanyuma akagabana, yabaga abaye umukire cyane cyane iyo zabaga zimaze kuba nyinshi.

Kubera agaciro inka yari igifite mu Rwanda, uwabaga azifite byamuheshaga ishema n'icyubahiro mu bandi.

Ikindi uwabaga afite inka, cyangwa se asanzwe ari umukungu, yagombaga kugira kirengera ngo batabimutwara (kandi nyiramaboko make bahoraga barekereje ku mutwara ibintu bye).

**Mu rwego rw'ubutegetsu.** Inka yagize uruhare runini mu kwagura u Rwanda. Inka yatumye umwami n'abatware bagira ingabo (*sujets*) zibashyigikira. Ni byo indirimbo y'inanga yitwa "Rukinagiza" yavugaga ngo "umwami agirwa n'ingabo". Uruhare rw'inka mu rwego rw'ubutegetsu runagaragarira kandi muri politiki yabayeho yo kuboneza imitwe y'inyambo akenshi yari isobekeranye n'imitwe y'ingabo n'ubutegetsu bwite.

Mu rwego rw'umuco. Ubuhake bwari ni ishuri umuntu yigiragamo kubana n'abandi, kuganira, gutarama, kumenya amateka, n'ibindi, bityo umugaragu ndetse na shebuja bakajijuka. Ubuhake bwari bufite rero uruhare rukomeye mu rwego rw'umuco kimwe n'uko inka bwari bushingiyeho yari ifite agaciro bwite mu rwego rw'umuco, mbese iri mu byaranze umuco nyarwanda.

N'ubwo ukudahemukirana hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja byari ikintu cy'ingenzi, habagaho ubwo shebuja w'umuntu adahaka neza cyangwa akifata nabi, icyo gihe umugaragu yashoboraga kumuvaho akajya guhakwa ahandi: uko kuva kuri shebuja ajya guhakwa ahandi ni byo bitaga "kwimura".

Hari abakunze kuvuga cyangwa kwandika ko ubuhake ari uruherekane hagati y'umugabo n'abahungu be bamusimbura mu bugaragu. Abahungu bose ntibagombaga kuba byanze bikunze abagaragu aho se wabo yahatswe. Iyo umugaragu yashakaga uzamusimbura mu buhake yashyiragaho umwe mu bana be. Guhabwa umunani cyangwa kuzungura inka y'ubuhake byatumaga biba uruherekane hagati y'abazitunze n'imiryango bazikomoragamo.

Abasore cyangwa abagabo bo mu Rwanda si ko bose bari mu buhake. Hari igice kinini cy'u Rwanda cyari gifite inzira itari iy'inka, ahubwo ikaba ishingiye ku butaka, ni ubukonde (reba igika gikurikira). Hafi ubushakashatsi bwagaragaje ko mu ntagiriro z'ikinyejana cya makumyabiri Abatutsi ari bo bari biganje mu buhake kurusha Abahutu: urugero ni nko muri Butare (*reba Saucier J.F.; The Patrou - client relationship in Traditional and Contemporary Southern Rwanda*, New York, Columbia University, 1974). Uwo mushakashatsi yagaragaje ko 8,2% gusa bya ba sekuru b'abo yabajije 207 bari abagaragu (6,6% bakaba Abahutu, 12,3% bakaba Abatutsi), na 16,0% bya ba se (16% bari Abahutu, naho 19,3% bakaba Abatutsi)

Hari ibintu bitatu bigaragara:

- Abagaragu bari bake;
- Abatutsi bari abagaragu ni bo bari benshi ku Bahutu n'Abatwa;
- Ubuhake bwiyongereye igihe cy'ubukoloni, bwakajije umurego.

Ikindi ni uko umuntu uwo ariwe wese, yaba Umuhutu, Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa, yashoboraga kuba umugaragu w'umwami atagombye kunyura mu rwego rw'abatware.

N'aho ubuhake bwari bwiganje mu kinyajana cya 19 si ko hose ari ubwa kera, kuko hari aho bwatangiyeye vuba nko mu Kinyaga (reba Newbury C., *The Cohesion of oppression. A century of clientship in Kinyaga, Rwanda*, Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1975): ubuhake bwahakomejwe na Rwabugiri n'ingabo ze. Kandi n'inka zose ntizari mu buhake Ababaga badafite ba shebuja bashoboraga kuba batunze inka z'abo zitwaga "imbata": ni ukuvuga izo bihahiye cyangwa babonye ku bundi buryo, batazikesha ubuhake.

### **2.8.2. Ubuhake mu gihe cy'ubukoloni**

Ubuhanze bwahinduye isura mu gihe cy'ubukoloni. Ibyahindutse byose ntitwabimarayo. by'ingenzi twavugaga ibibi bikurikira:

- Hari abantu batari bahatswe bagiye guhakwa ku bategetsi b'Abanyarwanda kugira abo bategetsi babarengere babarinda kujya mu bikorwa by'agahato by'ubukoloni;
- Ku mirimo abagaragu hari basanzwe bakora hiyogeyereho indi biturutse kuri ba shebuja: imirimo y'ubugaragu yavanze n'iy'ubukoloni, ibyo byakuruye akarengane ku bagaragu (exploitation) bituma ubuhake bugenda bugayika.
- Imirimo imwe n'imwe y'abagaragu yasimbuwe no guha ba shebuja amafaranga.

Ubuhanze bwagarayitse ku buryo ari Abanyarwanda, ari Abazungu, basanze butajyanye n'ibihe, bugomba kuvaho. Ariko byatwaye igihe. Mu mwaka w'i 1941, hari Abanyarwanda bamenyesheje umwami akababaro kabo gatewe no kubona abagaragu babo badohoka ku masezerano y'ubuhake. Mu w'i 1945 umwami Mutara Rudahigwa ubwe afata iyambere amenyeshya Guverineri w'u Ruanda-Urundi (Mburamatara) Jungers ko icyaruta ari uguca burundu ubuhake. Kandi n'abatware hafi bese bari barabigaragaje mu nama bagize ku ya 29 – 30 Ukwakira 1945. Jungers we yemeje ko ibyiza ari ukugenda gahoro; uko kudindiza ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ntikwatumye ikibazo gikemuka, nta na gahunda Guverineri yigeze ashiraho ngo kibone igisubizo.

Iperereza Guverineri Jungers yategetse kubyerekeye ubuhake, icyagaragaye ni uko benshi mu Banyarwanda bemeje ko ari ngombwa kuvanaho ubuhake kubera ko bwari bwarataye agaciro. Abanyarwanda, inka bayibonagamo itungo ribafitiye akamaro ahanini mu rwego rw'ubukungu. Ubuhanke kandi, bwakururaga imanza nyinshi. Ntabwo byashobokaga gufatanya izo manza n'akazi k'Abazungu cyangwa kwitabira amajyambere.

Mu mwaka wa 1947, Abanyarwanda batatu, aribo Ruhara S., Rwamasirabo S., na Sendanyoye G., bari barize mu ishuri ry'Indatwa (Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida) batangaje inyandiko igaragaza ko ubuhake ari bubi, butajyanye n'igihe u Rwanda rugezemo, ko bugomba kuvanwaho ("Le Buhake, une coutume essentiellement munyarwanda", in *Bulletin de Jurisprudence des tribunaux indigenes du Ruanda-Urundi*, 1947 p.103-136). Mu ibaruwa n°33/52 yo ku wa 10 Mata 1952, Umwami Mutara Rudahigwa yagaragaje ko ari ngombwa bidashidikanywa kuvanaho ubuhake.

Impamvu yatangaga ni izi:

- Ubuhanke ntibwari bukijyanye n'ibyifuzo n'ibihe Abanyarwanda bari bagezemwo;
- Ubuhanke bwari bubangamiye iterambere mu bukungu;
- Kandi batabigaruriye hafi, ubuhake bwazatera intugunda muri rubanda.

Ngicyo icyatumye amenyesha abantu ko ari ngombwa gufata ibyemezo bihamye byo kuvanaho ubuhake ariko habanje gushakwa inzira byanyuramwo. Ibyo byemezo bikaba byazamenyeshwa bidatinze Abatware n'aba sushefu.

Kugeza icyo gihe Abategetsi b'Ababiligi barwanije ivanwaho ry'ubuhake. Umwami Mutara Rudahigwa we yakomeje kwemeza ko ubuhake bugomba kuvaho. Yabigaragaje mu Nama Nkuru y'igihugu muri zi ngingo: *ubuhake ni ikintu kibangamiye amajyambere y'igihugu, gifite kuryamira abaturage hakandamizwa naba shebuja bo mu rwego rwo hejuru, igisigaye ni ukubuvanaho nta gutinya ukwivovota kwa bamwe baba bagamije kurengera inyungu zabo bwite gusa.*

**(Conseil superieur du pays, P.V. de la lere session, 15-24.2. 1954, p.28).**

Umwami n'abagize Inama Nkuru y'igihugu bemeje ko ubuhake bugomba kuvanwaho nta kuzuyaza. Iteka ry'umwami n°1/54 ryo kw'itariki 1 Mata 1954, ryavanyeho ubuhake mu Rwanda hose, ariko kurishyira mu bikorwa byatangiriye muri Teritwari ya Nyanza (reba urwandiko rw'iryo teka mu mpera z'iki gitabo).

Nyuma y'iryo vanwaho ry'ubuhake, abagaragu batangiye kugabana na ba shebuja kuva kw'itariki 15 Mata 1954. Iryo gabana ryorohereje cyane benshi mu ba garagu na bashobuye.

Muri rusange, kuva 1916 Ababiligi bagera mu Rwanda, icyabangamiye Abanyarwanda bose, kikabagira ibikoresho by'abandi ni ibikorwa by'agahato k'ubukoloni twavuze mbere, ntabwo ari ubuhake nk'uko byakunze kuvugwa, kwandikwa no kuririmbwa guhera mu wa 1959 na nyuma kugeza magingo aya.

## **2.9. UBUKONDE**

Mu majyaruguru y'igihugu (Gisenyi na Ruhengeri) nta buhake bwari buhari, hari ubundi buryo umukungu ufite ahantu hanini yayobokwaga n'abekeneye ubutaka, bukitwa ubukonde.

Umukonde yabaga afite abagererwa bamubereye ku butaka, bakabuhinga ariko bakagira imirimo bamukorera, kandi hakaba umugabane w'imyaka yeze bagomba kumuha.

Igihe cy'ubutegetsu bw'Ababiligi, hari Abanyarwanda boherejwe gutwara muri utwo turere tw'amajyaruguru. Bagira ubutaka, babuha indi sura y'ubukonde: batuzagamwo abantu bishakiye. Bene ubwo bukonde hari ababwize "ubukonde politique", ari ukugira ngo babutandukanye n'ubukonde gakondo.

Inama Nkuru y'igihugu yari yatangiye kwiga ikibazo cy'ubukonde nyuma ya 1954, ariko ntiyakirangije. Ubukonde bwari bukiraho mu bya 1960, ndetse na nyuma bwarakomeje.

## CH.III. INZIRA YO KWIGOBOTORA UBUKOLONI (1952 - 1962)

Iyo myaka cumi irakomeye mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Kumva ibyayibayemo ni kimwe mu byafasha umuntu kumenya amateka mu rwego rwa politiki n'urw'umubano mu Banyarwanda ubwabo. Nicyo gituma ari byiza kureba ibyagize uruhare mu mihindukire y'igihugu, no gusuzuma ibibazo by'ingutu byagiye bigaragara. Abagize uruhare, abantu n'imiryango, ni aba:

- Abaturage (rubanda) bari bafite ibibazo byinshi bimaze kubasaguka;
- Abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda, uherye ku mwami Mutara Rudahigwa bari barambiwe igihugu cy'abakoloni, barangamiye ubwigenge;
- Abategetsi b'abakoloni, bari bafite gahunda yo gutegeka igihugu imyaka myinshi. Kubera ko wenda igihugu cyari indagizo nta gahunda y'iterambere bagaragazaga;
- Abize bari bari mu rwego rw'abitwaga "elites/elites", ni ukuvuga indatwa, indobanure; banabitaga "evolues". Ahanini ni abize mu maseminari (intoya n'inkuru) n'abize muri Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida.
- ONU guhera mu wa 1948, ONU yatangiye kohereza abayirebera imitegekere y'Ababiligi kubera ko uwo muryango wari waragiranye n'Ababiligi, kw'itariki ya 13 Ukuboza 1946, amasezerano yo kugira Rwanda-Urundi indagizo (Accord de Tutelle/Trusteeship);
- Kiliziya gatolika yari ivuye mu myidagaduro yerekana ko ariyo yari iri imbere mu gihugu, inafite uruhare mu buyobozi bwa politiki (isezerano rya Mutara Rudahigwa na Rosalie Gicanda, batisimu y'umwami n'umugabekazi, kwegurira u Rwanda Kristu umwami, guhabwa impeta ya Papa Piyo wa XII, ibirori by'akataraboneka by'imyaka mirongo 50 Kiliziya Gatolika yari imaze mu Rwanda byabereye Astrida mu w'i 1950), hakaba n'umwanya ugaragara Kiliziya gatolika yari itangiye guha abarayiki (laïcs) mu mirimo yayo, n'umwaduko w'indi miryango y'abihayimana kuko kugeza ubwo Abapadiri bera bari barihariye urubuga.

### 3.1. URUHARE RW'ABATURAGE

Kuva aho intambara y'isi ya kabiri irangiriye (1945), ubuzima bw'abaturage bwarushijeho kuba bwiza buke buke muri rusange. icyatumye Abaturage barushaho kumererwa neza ni uko habaye umwete wagaragaye mu kuvura abantu, indwara zikagabanuka (nk'ibinyoro - pian - bigacika), kongera umusaruro w'ibijumba n'imyumbati byahingwaga muri shiku. Habaye kandi n'intambwe yo kongera amashuri yisumbuye (nanone makeya) biturutse kw'ivugurura ry'amashuri ryo mu wa 1948.

N'ubwo hari utwo tuntu duke twafashije abaturage kujya imbere, muri rusange ibibazo by'ingutu byarakomeje: ibikorwa by'agahato byahozaga umuturage ku nkeke, bikamubuza gukora gahunda zindi zamuteza imbere, umuco mubi wo kuyobora abaturage nk'amatungo bagatomera kuko umutegetsu yabivuze (ni "ndiyo bwana")...

Kugeza icyo gihe nta makimbirane y'abitwa Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu yari ariho. Azatangira kugaragara mu bya 1953/1954 nyuma y'amatora y'abajyanama b'inama za susheferi kugera ku Nama Nkuru y'igihugu (reba hirya imbere).

### **3.2. ABATEGETSI B'ABANYARWANDA**

Mu bya 1944 - 1945, niho umwami Mutara Rudahigwa yagaragaje ubushake bwo kwigobotora ubutegetsu bw'Ababiligi. Ibyo byatumye Guverineri Jungers atekereza ku mwicaza (ku munyaga) nk'uko byari byarakorewe se, Musinga: umugambi wari uwo kumusimbuza umuntu wize mu ndatwa (Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida) watojwe umurongo w'Abazungu. Uwo mugambi yari awufatanije na Furere Secundien, umuyobozi wa Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida. Uwo mufurere ni we wari warakoze urutonde (liste/list) rw'amazina y'abashobora gusimbura Rudahigwa ku bwami. Mu bavugwa harimo Bwanakweli Porosiperi na Ndazaro Lazaro.

Mu mwaka wa 1948, ubwo intumwa za ONU zasuraga u Rwanda, Ababiligi bari bizeye ko umwami azabarega kuri izo ntumwa. Rudahigwa nawe abyumva nk'ejo, arabizibukira, ahubwo avuga ko yishimiye imitegekere y'Ababiligi, ndetse abwira n'abatware kutabavuga nabi. Ubwo rero raporo izo ntumwa zajyanye yagiye ivuga neza Ababiligi. Iyo politiki umwami yakoze yatumye Ababiligi bamuhemba kugenderera igihugu cyabo mu wa 1949. Bwabaye ubwa mbere Abanyarwanda basura ku mugaragararo u Burayi. Byabaye igitangaza.

N'ubwo raporo y'intumwa za ONU yavugaga neza ubutegetsu bw'Ababiligi muri rusange yagize ibintu bibili by'ingenzi ibunengaho: icya mbere ni ukudindira k'uburezi, icya kabili uko mu rwego rwa politiki n'ubutegetsu bwite nta gahunda n'imwe yagaragaraga yo kuzageza Abanyarwanda ku bwigenge bucagase (autonomie) no ku bwigenge busesuye nyuma (indepéance).

Rudahigwa yakomeje kugirana ubwumvikane buke n'Ababiligi, nawe yari amaze guhumukirwa amajyambere, yabaye nk'akanyoni kagurutse kakamenya iyo bweze. Yasubiye mu Bubiligi mu wa 1955. Arongera ajya mu imurika mpuzamahanga (exposition internationale) ryabereye i Bruxelles mu wa 1958 ajyanye n'intore n'abavuzi b'ingoma. U Rwanda ruhaserukana ishema. Ubwo yavuye mu Burayi yarahindutse undi, ashaka ubwigenge bw'igihugu. Ibyo byamuteraniye n'Ababiligi, bagirana amakimbirane cyane; Yapfuye bitunguranye ari ko bikimeze ku ya 25 Nyakanga 1959. Yaguye i Bujumbura afite imyaka 48.

Abatware bo bakomeje amatwara bari basanganywe yo gukoresha ibikorwa by'agahato by'ubukoloni, arinako bashaka amaramuko. Abashefu n'Abasushefu bari barahindutse abafongisioneri (abakozi) ba Leta, bahembwa n'Abazungu bashimwa cyangwa bakagawa, bakaburagizwa, ndetse banakubitwa rimwe na rimwe. Akenshi abatware bashimwaga na Leta, bakabandikaho "elite", ni ukuvuga indatwa/inyamibwa, si ko borohereza abaturage kandi si ko abo baturage babashimaga.

Bamwe na bamwe mu batware babonaga neza ububi bw'ubukoloni n'ubw'ibyo bubakoresha, bigatuma bifuza ubwigenge.

Umwuka rusange wa gikoloni wari ubangamiye abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda. Nta butegetsi bugaragara bari bafite: ari ubutegetsi nshingamategeko, ari ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko cyangwa ubutabera, byose byari biri mu maboko y'Abazungu. N'umwami ubwe, Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yayoboraga kuva mu wa 1953 yari inama ngishwanama, nta byemezo yashoboraga gufata.

### **3.3. ABATEGETSI B'ABAKOLONI**

Ababiligi nta gahunda ifutuye bari bafite yo guteza imbere u Rwanda ku buryo bubangutse. Ari mu rwego rw'uburezi (reba igika cyerekeye amashuri), ari mu rwego rwerekeye ubukungu, ari no mu rwego rwa politiki.

Ku byerekeye ubukungu, Guverinoma ya Ruanda-Urundi yanditse igitabo cy'umutumba (kinini) kirimo ibyo iteganywa gukorwa mu gihe ry'imyaka cumi. icyo gitabo cyitwa "*Plan decennal pour le developpement economique et social du Ruanda-Urundi*".

Mu rwego rwa politiki habaye iteka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952 ry'umwami w'Ababiligi rivugurura ubutegetsi muri Ruanda-Urundi. Hari abagiye bandika ko iryo teka ryabaye akataraboneka, ngo kuko ryazanye demokarasi mu Rwanda. Nyamara urebye ryagize inkurikizi mbi: reka tubisobanure muri make.

Kimwe mu by'ingenzi iryo teka ryashyizeho ni inama ku rwego rwa susheferi, urwa sheferi, urwa Teritwari n'urw'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Izo nama zari iz'abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda n'abandi bake bake bongerewemo. Inama zo muri izo nzego zari ingishwanama, Ababiligi akaba aribo bafata ibyemezo burundu.

Inama zose, uretse iya susheferi, muri rusange byagaragaye ko ziganjemo Abatutsi: bitewe n'uko mu nama y'ibanze ya susheferi izindi zashamikiragaho, abajyanama batorwaga ku rutonde rw'amazina yatangajwe na sushefu ubwe. Birumvikana ko we muri rusange, yitoranyirizaga abo bafitanye isano cyangwa abatoni be n'inshuti ze. Kandi abenshi muri abo bose bakaba Abatutsi. Iryo teka ryatumye abantu barangamira abategetsi kurusha mbere babarebamo Abahutu n'Abatutsi: ibinyamakuru ntibyahatanzwe. Abahutu bize, politiki gikoloni yari yaraheje mu butegetsi, bumvise Iryo teka ribashisha kuko ryongerera ububasha umwami n'abatware, bagatinya ko amaherezo bazakandamizwa birenze.



Ibyo aribyo byose Iryo teka nta ntambwe ishimishije cyane ryazaniye Abanyarwanda mu rwego rwo kugera ku bwigenge, n'ubwo Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yabaye koko urubuga Abategetsu n'abandi ba "elites" b'Abanyarwanda bagiragamo impaka, ku bibazo by'igihugu. Hari ibyemezo bafashe byagaragaje ubushake bwabo n'amatwara yo guteza igihugu imbere Ibyo byagaragariye mu kuvanaho ubuhake muri Mata 1954 (reba umugereka 2: ivanwaho ry'ubuhake).

Ikindi cyagaragaye, n'ubwo bitabereye mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu, ni uko abatwara bakoraniye i Nyanza bakiyemeza kwegura kugirango ubutegetsu bw'Ababiligi bubasimbuzwe abo bubona ko bakwiye gutegeka, wenda binyuze mu nzira y'amatora. Ku mpamvu zitazwi Ababiligi icyo cyemezo barakinize, ariko ubu nta gushidikanya ko icyo cyemezo cyabayeho kandi nta no gushidikanya ko kutagishyira mu bikorwa byavukije Abanyarwanda icyajyaga kubahuriza mu butegetsu, baba Abahutu baba Abatutsi. Ibyo byabaye mu wa 1958.

### **3.4. ABIZE (elites/elites)**

Abize tuvuga bagize uruhare mu bibazo byerekeye ukwogobotora ubukoloni ni abangaba:

- Abize mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza (hagati ya 1919 kugeza mu 1935) bitaga abo kwa "Bwanakweli", ari we Lenaerts, umubiligi wariyoboye igihe kirekire;
- Abandi ni abize muri "normale": ni abize mu ishuri ry'inderabarezi ry'icyo gihe (ecole moniteurs);
- Ariko cyane cyane abize mu iseminari ntoya ni inkuru n'abize mu "ndatwa" (Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida).

Twavuze mbere ibyateye ubusumbane hagati y'abize mu seminari n'indatwa. Ibibazo bishingiye kuri ubwo busumbane byagiye bifata intera ndende muri iki gihe dusuzuma ahangaha imbere.

Muri rusange abize, muri Afurika mbiligi, ntibari bishimiye umwanya ubukoloni bwabaha cyane cyane mu byerekeye umushahara no guhezwa ahantu rusange (aho bagera, aho bakinira, mu bubari, muri sinema...). Ibyo byarimo akarengane gashingiye kw'ibara ritandukanya Abazungu n'Abirabura. Ababiligi bari barashyizeho ikarita yitwa "Carte d'immatriculation" yari igenewe guhabwa Umunyekongo, Umunyarwanda cyangwa Umurundi wagaragaje ko yumvira Abazungu, ko yamenye kubigana mu migirire ye, mu myifatire ye, agaca ukubiri n'imico y'abo avukamo.

Kandi Ibyo byose akabigaragaza imyaka myinshi ntacyo arateshukaho na gato. Mu bya 1950, hari Abanyarwanda bake cyane babonye icyitwa "Carte de merite civique", yari ikimenyetso gihabwa umwirabura wagize akamaro mu bukoloni. Bamwe bayihawe bamaze imyaka irenga 20 bakora bashishikaye kandi bifata nk'abaramya umuzungu muri icyo gihe cyose nta makemwa. Ariko icyitwa "Carte d'immatriculation", u Rwanda n'u Burundi byarinze bibona ubwigenge nta n'umwe urashobora kuyigeraho; kandi abayifuzaga ntibari babuze.

Abize bari bafite ibyifuzo byo gutera intambwe mu majyambere bafatanyije n'Abazungu. Nyuma ni bwo haje umwuka wo guharanira ubwigenge. Ibyo byo guharanira ubwigenge byagaragajwe ahanini n'abari bagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Twavuze mbere ukwo iyo nama yagiyeho. Reka dusuzume icyo yavuze muri make ku bwigenge. Ibyo tubisanga mu nyandiko yamamaye yitwa "**Mise au point**" (bivuga: "mu by'ukuri dore uko ibintu bimeze kandi byagombye kumera"). Iyo nyandiko yashyizwe ahagaragara muri Mutarama 1957. Yari igenewe Guverinoma mbiligi.

### **3.4.1. Mise au point**

**Imvano y'iyi nyandiko n'ibyari biyirimo.** Abari bagize Inama Nkuru y' Igihugu, mu wa 1956, bari bamaze gusobanukirwa n'ibibazo by'ingenzi igihugu cyari gifite mu nzira igana ubwigenge bucagase (autonomie/autonomy). Basanze hakiriho inzitizi nyinshi mu nzira yo kwigobotora ubukoloni.

Ibyo byatumye babaza abo yabahaye ONU kubayobora, ni ukuvuga Ababiligi, aho ibintu bigeze n'aho bijya. Babajije icyabaha icyizere cy'uko batazategereza imyaka ijana n'imisago. Babigaragaje mu ngingo enye zikurikira:

- **Uburezi (kwigisha)** College y'i Gatagara bari batangiye kubaka, yaraharaniwe n'umwami Mutara Rudahigwa, Ababiligi n'Abayezuwati bari bayishinzwe bayijyanye i Bujumbura. Ibyo byababaje cyane umwami n'Abanyarwanda benshi cyane abize. Muri urwo rwego nta shuri na rimwe ryisumbuye ryashoboraga kwimurira muri Universite/University nayo itari iriho. Muri rusange inyigisho yari hasi ugereranije n'uko byagombye kumera mu gutegura ubwigenge.
- **Mu byerekeye ubuyobozi** basabaga kugira uruhare rurushijeho kuba runini: nk'umwami Rudahigwa akaba umwami uganje koko (rois constitutionnel). Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu ikarushaho kwisanzura ikaba yafata ibyemezo, mbese Ababiligi bagatinyuka ntibagire isoni n'ubwoba mu gucengeza demokarasi ishingiyeye ku matora y'Abanyarwanda bagejeje igihe (suffrage universel).
- **Gahunda ihamye mu rwego rw'ubukungu n'imibereho y'abaturage.** Iby'ingenzi byasabwe ni ugushinga inganda zahuriramo Abanyamahanga n'u Rwanda. Urebye muri urwo rwego rw'ubukungu ibitekerezo byatanzwe byari bike cyane: biragaragara ko abize batari baratojwe iby'ubukungu kandi nabo barabyivugira muri icyo nyandiko;
- **Kurandura ibitekerezo by'irobanura rishingiye kw'ibara.** Iryo robanura ryabangamira uburenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu. Akarengane gashingiye ku ibara kagaragariraga mu mashuri, mu nzego za politiki; hari amategeko

agenga irobanura ku buryo umuzungu wari mu rwego rwo hasi uru nuru yashoboraga guha amabwiriza umunyarwanda uri mu rwego rwisumbuye, unamurusha amashuri no kuba inararibonye. Hari intera (intaba) iteye isoni hagati y'Abazungu n'Abanyarwanda bize. Bavuze ko hariho ibinyamakuru bibiba ubushyamirane bw'amoko, bifuje kandi ko itangazamakuru ryigenga ry' Abanyarwanda ryari rikwiye kubona umwanya.

"Mise au point" ntivuga ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi n'Abatwa. icyari gishishikaje abayanditse cyari inyungu z'igihugu. Uretse n'ibyo Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari yarasabye ko amazina Muhutu, Mututsi, Mutwa acika mu nyandiko rusange. Ariko rero Ababiligi bo babonaga ko gukemura ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi byari ngombwa mbere yo kwiga ikibazo cy'ubwigenge: ibyo birerekana ko hari ikindi bari bagamije nk'uko turi bubibone imbere. Iyo "Mise au point" yabaye nk'imbarutso y'ibibazo bya politiki, bamwe mu bize cyane cyane Abahutu, iyo nyandiko ntibayishize amakenga: bibwiraga ko ubwo bwigenge bucagase isaba bwazaza bupfukirana akarengane ka "rubanda rugufi", ka "rubanda nyamwinshi".

Iyo nyandiko igamije iterambere ry'igihugu n'ubwigenge bucagase, igomba gushyirwa mu mubare w'izindi nyandiko ziteye kimwe nayo zashyikirijwe abakoloni hirya no hino zaganira abenegihugu, zisaba kwigobotora ubukoloni. Iyo "Mise au point" irangwa n'ibitekerezo bisesenguye neza, bituje, bidatera hejuru abakoloni kandi bidateranya. Ntaho ihuriye n'izindi zayikurikiye nka "Manifeste des Bahutu" n'itangazo ryasinywe n'abiyise "Abagaragu b'ibwami bakuru". Izo nyandiko zizasuzumwa imbere.

Uwakwibaza niba hari icyo inyandiko "Mise au point" yamaze, umuntu yamusubiza ko ntacyo Ababiligi bakoze cyanyuze abayanditse (bamwe mu bari bagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu), cyangwa cyagirira igihugu akamaro. Ibiramambu iyo nyandiko yabaye urwitwazo ubutegetsu bw'Ububiligi bwagendeyeho mu kugenda bahangana n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Yabaye n'urwitwazo rw'abanditse "Manifeste des Bahutu". Mu bateguye iyo "Manifeste" bavugamo abapadiri babiri b'Ababiligi. Birashoboka ko harimo no kurengera inyungu z'Ubukoloni zari zibangamiwe n'ibitekerezo byari muri "Mise au point".

### **3.4.2. Manifeste des Bahutu**

#### **Imvano y'iyi nyandiko**

Yatangajwe kw'itariki ya 24 Werurwe 1957. Mu byukuri Iryo ni izina ryo kwamamaza abanyamakuru bise iyo nyandiko benegusinya bo bise: *"Note sur l'aspect social du probleme racial indigene au Rwanda"*. Iyo nyandiko yaje ikurikira iyo twabonye mbere ariyo "Mise au point". N'ubwo zombi zanditswe mu gihe abantu bari bashishikariye kwigobotora ubukoloni, bugarijwe n'ibibazo rusange byinshi by'ubukungu, by'amashuri, byo kwishyira ukizana, inyandiko "Manifeste y'Abahutu" yo yashyize ku mugaragaro indi myumvire y'ibibazo byariho.

Iyo myumvire ni uko ibibazo byabayeho, byari biriho, uburyo bwo kubikemura, byose byagombaga kugaragarira mu ndorerwamo y'ubwoko. Dukurikije iyo myumvire, imibanire y'Umuhutu n'Umututsi ngo ni yo yari ibumbye ibibazo byose by'u Rwanda.

Mbere yo gusuzuma ibibazo by'ingenzi biri muri iyo nyandiko, reka tugire icyo tuvuga ku bayiteguye n'abayisinye. Ku byerekeye abateguye iyo nyandiko hari abahamya ko barimwo Geregori Kayibanda na Kaliyopi Mulindahabi bafatanyije n'Abapadiri babiri b'Ababiligi. Bavuga ko yandikiwe i Kabgayi. Birashoboka ariko ntagihamya. Dore abayisinye n'amashuri bizemwo:

#### *Seminari nkuru*

1. Geregori Kayibanda
2. Isidori Nzeyimana
3. Yosefu Habyarimana (Gitera)

#### *Seminari ntoya*

4. Magisimiliyani Niyonzima
5. Karaveri Ndahayo
6. Kaliyopi Murindahabi

#### *Ishuri nderabarezi*

7. Godifiridi Sentama

#### *Amashuri abanza*

8. Yozefu Sibomana
9. Silivesitiri Munyambonera

Biragaragara ko bibiri bya gatatu by'abasinye "Manifeste y'Abahutu" ari abize mu iseminari. Twibutse ko abari baravuye mu iseminari bari barateranywe n'ubutegetsu bw'Abakoloni uretse bamwe na bamwe bari barabaye abasushefu kubera ko ari Abatutsi), kimwe n'Abapadiri n'ubwo bari baraciye mu mashuri yabo. icyakora Abapadiri barabitabaje kubera ko bari babakeneye mu mirimo yabo. Muri abo uko ari icyenda, bibiri bya gatatu bakoraga i Kabgayi: bityo mu gihe cy'ikiruhuko cya sasita, cyangwa bavuye mu nama ya "Legion de Marie", cyangwa mu misa, bagashobora guhura, bakavugana ibibazo byabo, ari mu rwego rwa politiki, ari mu rwego rw'ubukungu, ari mu rwego rw'imibereho y'abaturage. N'ubwo bari bafite akarimo bahawe n'Abapadiri, ntibyababujije kugira ingingimira batewe no kubona abize mu Ndatwa (Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida), banabitaga "Abashariti", bari babarushije bihebuje imibereho myiza n'icyubahiro, kandi rimwe na rimwe batabarusha ubwenge bwo gukorana n'abakoloni. Yewe muri abo bize mu seminari, hari abagaragaje ubumenyi n'ubushobozi bakorera neza Abazungu muri za banki n'ahandi, ariko byari ukwirwanaho.

## Ingingo zigaragara ziri muri Manifeste des Bahutu

- Ibyagizwe urwitwazo rwo guheza Abahutu ni bitandatu:
  - 1) "Ngo Abahutu bigeze kuba abatware kera". Manifeste igasubiza ko ari amagambo gusa nta shingiro;
  - 2) "Umututsi yavukiye gutwara kandi bimugaragara";
  - 3) "Abahutu bize ntacyo bamariye benewabo";
  - 4) "Abahutu bari bakwiye gutanga kandidatire kandi bakivanamo kwemera ko ntacyo bashoboye";
  - 5) "Ngo abari ku butegetsi bazakora ibyo bashatse, rubanda rutomere, rukurikire gusa nta kabuza";
  - 6) "kuvuga ko icy'ingenzi ari ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ko ari bwo bwabafasha kugera ku bwigenge bitagoranye, n'aho ibibazo by'Abahutu bireke gutera intugunda".

Ikibazo cy'amoko uko giteye: aho ikibazo kiri ni uko Umututsi, kubera guharirwa amashuri, yahariwe ubutegetsi, aharirwa ubukungu, aharirwa kugira imibereho myiza no kujijuka.

- Uko ibibazo byakemurwa mu maguru mashya. Kugirango ibisubizo bigire akamaro, ni ngombwa ko imiterere rusange ya politiki n'iy'imibereho myiza iri mu gihugu yahinduka vuba kandi biturutse mu mizi yayo, bitari ukwiyuburura gusa cyangwa bya nyirarureshwa. Ibisubizo byatanzwe ni ibi:
  - 1) Kwivana mu mutwe ko Abatutsi (Hamites) ari bo kamara bikitwa umuco w'igihugu;
  - 2) Mu rwego rw'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Kuberako ubutegetsi bw'Abatutsi bubangamiye amajyambere y'Abahutu ibyabikiza ni ibi bikurikira:
    - gukuraho ibikorwa by'agahato;
    - gushyiraho amategeko yemera kandi ashygikira isambu y'umuntu ku giti cye;
    - isanduku y'inguzanyo ku banyacyaro (yazamura ubuhinzi bwa kijyambere n'imyuga);

- mu rwego rw'ubukungu, Afurika mbiligi igomba gufatanya n'Ububiligi;
- ukwishyira ukizana mw'itangazamakuru n'imbere y'inkiko ziyoborwa n'Abatware b'Abatutsi.

3. Mu rwego rwa politiki. Kugirango ubukoloni bw'umuzungu niburamuka buvuyeho butazasimburwa n'ubukoloni burushijeho kuba bubi bwa "Hamite" (Umututsi) ku Muhutu ari nawe musangwabutaka, hakorwa ibi bikurikira:

- Amategeko akoreshwa n'Ababiligi mu Rwanda kimwe n'ibiri ingirakamaro mu mucu bigomba kwandikwa mu gitabo cyizwi, bikaba byasubirwamo bitewe n'aho amajyambere ageze;
- Gushyira Abahutu mu bakozi ba Leta ku buryo bugaragara: kuba shefu, sushefu, abacamanza;
- Ku byerekeye imirimo y'igihugu ishinzwe Abanyarwanda, ni ngombwa gukoresha amatara kugirango Umuhutu abe yabonamo akanya no kvanaho inkurikizi mbi zikururwa no kwiharira ubutegetsu ubuziraherezo (umuntu akaba shefu n'umucamanza imyaka n'imyaka);
- Kuvana abashefu b'intara mu Nama za sheferi mu zashyizweho n'iteka ryo ku nyubahirizategeko n'ubundi busigaye;
- Guhidura imitorere y'abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu, abarimo bagasimbuzwa n'intumwa zatowe muri za sheferi. Buri sheferi ikohereza abayihagarariye hakurikijwe umubare w'abayirimo basora, batibagiwe n'Abazungu baba bariyemeje gutura burundu muri yo sheferi.

Ku byerekeye kwiga:

- Kuberako mu minsi iri imbere hazaba hakora impamyabumenyi (diplome), ni ngombwa kwita ku iringaniza ry'Abahutu n'Abatutsi hakurikijwe ubwoko bwanditswe mu ndangamuntu, aho kugirango amashuri, cyane amashuri yisumbuye, yiharirwe n'Abatutsi;
- Mu bajya kwiga hanze ku mafaranga ya "bourses" acungwa n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu n'Abahutu bashyirwamo. Ibyo kandi, ari amafaranga ari n'abajya kwiga, Guverinoma mbiligi ikabikurikiranira hafi;
- Amashuri makuru ya ngombwa; Abanyarwanda bakoherezwa mu Burayi no muri Kongo mbiligi, nta kwihutira kubaka amashuri makuru mu Rwanda cyane ubwo bavugaga ko amikoro ari make. Ahubwo icyihutirwa ari amashuri y'imyuga n'ikorabuhanga igihugu cyari gikeneye cyane;
- Hagomba kubakwa za "foyers sociaux populaires" zikaba ihuriro ry'abari n'abategarugori bo mu cyaro, kuko badafite ubushobozi bw'abageze mu mashuri y'impfura, ariyo "ecoles menageres", "ecoles de monitrices".

Muri make abasinye Manifeste y'Abahutu basabaga icyabazamura ubwabo, kikanateza imbere Abahutu muri rusange mu nzego z'ubutegetsu, ubukungu, imibereho myiza, bishingiye ku kwiga.

Ibyo umuntu yavugaga ku nyandiko ya Manifeste y'Abahutu yari igenewe Vice-Gouverneur (Harroy) ni byinshi, ariko ibyo twashimangira ni ibi:

- Yari irimo ingingo zifite ishingiro nko kudahaza bamwe mu bategetsi, gutandukanya ubutegetsi uko ari butatu ntibwikubirwe n'umuntu umwe, kutarobanura mu mashuri, kwamagana ibikorwa by'agahato, guha umuntu kugira isambu ye ku giti cyeye ku buryo itavogerwanye ubonetse wese, gushyiraho amashuri y'imyuga n'ikoranabuhanga, kubakira abari n'abategarugori bo mu cyaro za "foyers"...

Mu bibazo "Manifeste" yagaragajwe harimo ibyo ihuriyeho na "Mise au point". Ariko hari n'aho bitandukanye hagaragarira mu ingingo zikurikira:

- Manifeste yirinze kugira icyo ivugaga ku ruhare rubi rw'ubukoloni, dukurikije uko bwigaragajwe mu Rwanda. Mu kwirengagiza urwo ruhare yatangajwe ko nyirabayazana y'ibibazo byari biriho mu wa 1957, yari Umututsi uwo ariwe wese. Nyamara Abatutsi bose si ko batwaraga.
- Ingaruka za Manifeste y'Abahutu zirimo kwenyegereza amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda, kuva ubwo Abatutsi bafashwe nk'aho ari bo bateye ibibazo biranga akarengane k'Abahutu. Iyo mitekerezwe yaherekejwe n'ingiro yagaragajwe kugeza ku bwigenge ndetse na nyuma.
- Ikindi uko Manifeste yaruhuye Abazungu mu gihe bumvise ko atari bo basabwa gusubiza ibibazo, ndetse ko atari bo babiteye. Twibuke ko Abazungu bo mu Burayi na Amerika ya ruguru bari bashyamiranye n'Abasoviyeti (URSS): icyo gihe hari mu cyo bise "guerre froide/cold war" (intambara igitutumba). Abasoviyeti bari bashyigikiye ubwigenge bw'ibihugu byakolonijwe, naho Abanyaburayi bagakomera ku nyungu zabo za gikoloni. Ibitekerezo n'imvugo biri muri Manifeste y'Abahutu ntaho byahutazaga uwitwaga umunyabulayi. Birumvikana rero ko habonetsemo abashyigikiye icyo Manifeste.

Manifeste ariko hari n'aho itanyuze. Barimwo nk'abayise "Abagaragu b'ibwami bakuru" bakwirakwije inyandiko yo kw'itariki ya 17 Gicurasi 1958 ivugaga ko, bakurikije amateka y'u Rwanda, nta sano Abatutsi bafitanye n'Abahutu uretse iry'ubuhake. Kuva kuwa 1957, ikibazo "Muhutu - Mututsi" cyagiye gifata intera ndende, kigaragarira mu mashyirahamwe yavutse nyuma yitwaga "associations" cyangwa "mouvements", gifukiranywe ibibazo by'ingenzi nk'iby'ubukungu, imibereho myiza, ubwigenge byarebaga Abanyarwanda bose. Mu wa 1959 amacakubiri agaragarira no mu mashyamba amwe n'amwe.

### 3.5. O.N.U.

Nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi, ku wa 13 Ukuboza 1946, ONU n'Ububiligi bagiranye amasezerano yo gutegeka Ruanda-Urundi: Ububiligi bwemera gucunga iyo teritwari, naho ONU izajya igenzura imitegekere y'abo Bazungu. Ibyo byatumye buri myaka itatu ONU yaragombaga kohereza intumwa ziyirebera aho ibintu bigeze mu burezi (enseignement/education), muri politiki n'ubutegetsi bwite, mu bukungu n'ibindi. Ngombwa kwari ukureba niba intambwe igezweho muri izo nzego iganisha ku bwigenge bucagase nibura.

Nk'uko twigeze kubivuga mbere, intumwa za mbere na mbere zoherejwe na ONU zaje mu Rwanda mu wa 1948. Zireberaga ibintu uko byifashe, zikabwirwa n'Ababiligi, n'Abamisiyoneri, Abanyarwanda naho bakavuga ikibari ku mutima, ariko cyane cyane bakabigira mu nyandiko babahaga zitwa "petitions". Bavugaga ibibazo biriho, ariko bakanagaya imikorere y'Ababiligi yagaragaragaho kudindiza amajyambere. Mu bamamaye mw'ikubitirio mu kurengera ONU Ababiligi hari Faransisiko Rukeba, Kabondo na Jovite Nzamwita.

Intumwa za ONU Iyo zamaraga gutanga raporo, ONU yashimaga Ababiligi kuri bimwe na bimwe, ariko ikanabihanangiriza ibashishikariza kurushaho gutezimbere inzego bigaragara ko zadindiye, ko batazitayeho arizo izi: kwigisha (cyane amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru), iterambere mu rwego rwa politiki rigamije gutegura ubwigenge bucagase.

Aka gatuna (pression) wenda koroheje katumye Ababiligi bisubiraho buke buke ni nako kabyaye icyo bise "Plan decennal", ni ukuvuga umugambi w'amajyambere mu myaka icumi. Kimwe ni iteka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952 rivugurura imitegekere ya Ruanda-Urundi.

Muri ONU hari ibihugu bitari bishyigikiye ibitekerezo byo kwigobotora ubukoloni mu nzira y'icyo bita "nationalisme" na "patriotisme", ni ukuvuga guharanira inyungu z'igihugu, ukaba washyigikira ibitekerezo bigikuza. Hari n'ibindi bihugu byari bishyigikiye iyo nzira.

Ibintu bigeze mu mahina, kuva aho umwami Rudahigwa apfiiriye, uruhare rwa ONU mu gukemura ibibazo by'u Rwanda rwagiye rugabanuka ahubwo Ababiligi bari mu gihugu bagenzura imigendere yacyo ya buri munsu, ku bari bazi neza abari ku isonga ry'Abanyarwanda bashaka amajyambere, bashaka ko ibintu bihinduka vuba na vuba, ni bo kandi bari bazi uko bashyiraho imitego n'uko bayitegura. Intumwa za ONU zaza zigashinga ikirenge aho bavuye kare. Urugero ni nk'icyo bise "coup d'etat de Gitarama" yo ku wa 28 Mutarama 1961, yakuyeho ubwami igashyiraho Repubulika: iyo "coup d'etat" yabaye intumwa za ONU zasesekeye Usumbura zije gusuzuma ibibazo bya Rwanda-Urundi.



### **3.6. URUHARE RWA KILIZIYA**

Kuri Kiliziya gatolika umuntu yavuga byinshi, ariko turibanda ku rwego rwa politiki, dusuzuma uruhare yagize mu gihe cyo kwigobotora ubukoloni. Ubundi Kiliziya bivuga umuryango w'abatijwe ukwiriye isi yose ukayoborwa na Papa n'abafasha be. Iyo Kiliziya si yo turi buvuge muri iki gika gihariwe Kiliziya gatolika. Iyo twibandaho ni Kiliziya y'abayobozi (Papa, Apepiskopi n'abafasha babo), bamwe n'ibyo bakoresha mu kubwiriza abayoboze babo. Iyo ni yo bita Kiliziya "institution": ni yo yonyine tuvuga rero.

Mu Rwanda, iyo Kiliziya yagize uruhare rukomeye mu rwego rwa politiki bitewe n'uko yari yubashywe n'abategetsi b'abakoloni n'Abanyarwanda, ndetse n'umwami Mutara Rudahigwa. Rudahigwa Abazungu bakimara kumushyira ku butegegi, bwakeye ajya kuyoboka kwa Musenyeri Classe i Kabgayi. Ibyo byarakomeje kugera mu wa 1957, bimaze kugaragara ko Rudahigwa yiyemeje guharanira ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda. Ntiyumvikanye na bamwe muri abo bayobozi. Abazungu bamwe na bamwe, harimo Abamisiyoneri, batangiye kumwishisha. Igitotsi cyaje mu bwumvikane bwari hagati ya Rudahigwa n'abayobozi bamwe ba Kiliziya gatolika, ahanini cyatewe nuko guharanira ubwigenge byaharirwaga abitwaga "abakomuniste": kandi ubukomuniste bikavuga kutemera Imana (atheisme).

Kuva ababiligi binjira mu Rwanda mu wa 1961 kugeza mu iyimikwa rya MRND mu wa 1975, Kiliziya gatolika yabaye nk'aho ari idini rya Leta (Religion d'Etat). Iyo Kiliziya rero icyo yavugaga cyashoboraga kumvikana mu butegegi, cyane cyane kuko yari ifatiye runini igihugu muri ibi bikurikira: uburezi, ubuvuzi, ubukungu, politiki.

Mu rwego rwa politiki, ku byerekeye ibibazo byabayeho mu gihe cyo kwigobotora ubukoloni n'amakimbirane byazanye, Abamisiyoneri baretse umurongo bari basanganywe, bafata undi mushya: mbere bahamyaga ko bagomba guhindura Abanyarwanda abakristu bifashishije abatware b'Abatutsi. Kuva mu wa 1959 umurongo mushya wagaragaye wari uwo gufatanya n'Abahutu. Nta gitangaje rero ko mu bihayimana harimo abashyigikiye Parmehutu ndetse na Aprosoma, bavuga ko yari yiganjemo Abahutu.

Mbere y'uko amacakubiri agaragara mu wa 1959, hari abihayimana b'Abanyarwanda bari baragaragaje ibitekerezo bishya bishyira imbere igihugu n'umuco: umuntu yavuga nk'inyandiko za Padiri Alegisi Kagame, cyane inyandiko yitwa "Le Rwanda et son. roi" yo mu wa 1945, na Padiri Rudoviko Gasore washishikarizaga abize (évolués) kurushaho kumvikana no gufatanya, ngo babone uko bateza u Rwanda imbere. Imwe mu nyandiko ze yakoreshejwe n'abahimbye "Mise au point" (twabigejweho na Michel Kayihura). Inyandiko z'abo Bapadiri bombi ziri mu murongo w'icyitwa "nationalisme/nationalism".

Ku itariki 11 Gashyantare 1959, Musenyeri Andrey Perraudin, umushumba wa Vikariyati ya Kabgayi, yandikiye Abakristu be ibaruwa y'ubushumba y'igisibo (yitwa "Super omnia caritas", ni ukuvuga "urukundo mbere ya byose"). Kimwe mu byo bamwe batishimiye, ni uko yanditse ko mu Rwanda hariho itandukaniro n'ubusumbane bishingiye ahanini ku kudahuza ubwoko (race) kw'Abanyarwanda, hakaba hari ubwoko bwaryamiye ubundi mu nzego ziriho, ko ubwo busumbane n'uburyamirane ari karande, ko kandi atari ngombwa gucira urubanza Ibyo byahise umuntu yiha gushakashaka imvano yabyo.

Iyo baruwa yashyigikiye abasinye Minifeste y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Biragaragara ko yirinze kugira icyo ivuga cyerekeye ubusumbane Abakoloni bakabirije kubera inyungu zabo. Mbese yabaye akabanga nk'uko abasinye Manifeste nabo ntacyo bavuze ku ruhare rubi rw'Ababiligi mu busumbane n'amacakubiri y'Abanyarwanda.

Musenyeri Aloyizi Bigirumwami we si ko yabibonaga. Mu kinyamakuru "Temoignage chretien" yo ku itariki ya 5 Nzeri 1958, yari yaratangaje inyandiko ahamya ko kuba hariho Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa nta kibazo biteye, ko ubusumbane buteye ikibazo ari ubw'Ubukungu, n'uko abana bo muri rubanda rwa giseseka batagera ku butegetsi.

Iyo nyandiko ya Musenyeri Bigirumwami ntabwo yahawe agaciro kayikwiriye, ngo abayobozi ba Kiliziya babe bakurikiza umurongo wayo utari uw'amacakubiri. Yemwe n'abasesenguye amateka y'icyo gihe abibutse kuyivuga ni mbarwa. Nyamara nayo yanditswe n'umushumba wa Kiliziya gatolika wari ukuriye Musenyeri Perraudin kuko ari we wamuhaye ubwepiskopi mu wa 1956. Uwo murongo Musenyeri Bigirumwami ntiyari awihariye, ahubwo yari awufatanije na benshi mu ba Padiri b'Abanyarwanda. Ibyo aribyo byose ntabwo ari wo wakurikijwe nyuma, kuko habonetse ingufu zihariye, zivuye mu ruhanda rw'abari bashyigikiye amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku nyungu zabo: hari abakoloni ubwabo, hari n'agatsiko k'Abamisiyonari, baba abapadiri bera cyangwa bandi baje kubagoboka nyuma ya 1952.

Abagize ako gatsiko, mu Bubiligi bari bafitanye n'imishyikirano y'imiryango y'abakozi (MOC, JOC), n'abakora mu binyamakuru nka "La Cite" na "Vers l'Avenir" n'amashyaka gatolika akomeye. Muri icyo miyira ni ho hahuguwe abanditsi b'imena nka G. Kayibanda (Parmehutu), na A. Munyangaju (Aprosoma). Ibyo binyamakuru byo mu Bubiligi ntibyatezutse mu gushyigikira ibitekerezo bya Parmehutu mbere na nyuma y'ubwigenge. Hari abanditsi bakuririje ko amacakubiri yari mu Bubiligi y'Abafurama n'Abawalo yabaye nk'ateruwe akazanwa mu Banyarwanda, akabyara amacakubiri hagati y'abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Ndetse bamwe bakageza aho bavuga ko Abafurama bari bashyigikiye Abahutu naho Abawalo bagashyigikira Abatutsi. Ibyo byose ni abamabeshyo y'abatazi iby'u Rwanda. Mu bari bashyigikiye Abahutu harimo Abasuwisi, Abataliyani, Abafurama, Abawalo...

Aho amashyaka amariye kuvuka, Abasenyeri bombi, Bigirumwami na Perraudin, bandikiye apadiri babo ibaruwa babihanangiriza kandi babasaba kuryamira amajanja

baca ukubiri na gahunda n'imikorere ya UNAR (inyandiko yo ku itariki ya 24 Nzeri 1959) kubera ko iryo shyaka basangaga rifitanye isano n'ubukomuniste n'ubuyisilamu (ngibyo!).

Na none ku itariki 11 Ukwakira 1959, abo Basenyeri bandikiye abapadiri babo ibaruwa y'ibanga ibabwira kwirinda inyingisho mbi za "Parti Social Hutu" (Ishyaka ry'Abahutu): ni APROSOMA, dore ko yagiye ihindagura amazina. Bavugaga ko iryo shyaka ryari rifite mu nyandiko umutima utari uwa gikirisitu, ko zirangwa n'urwango, kandi rishingiye ku irondakoko.

Abayobozi ba Kiliziya hari ibyo banenga binyuranye, bamwe bakabigirira bamwe, ibindi bakabigira umwe ukwe undi ukwe. icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni uguceceka mu mahina (silence): nta cyavuzwe kuri Parmehutu yari igamije irondakoko, ntacyavuzwe ku butegezi bwa Koloneli Guy Logiest nyamara bwari ubugome bwinshi, harimo ubwicanyi, guteranya Abanyarwanda, igitugu, umuvundo, n'ibindi byinshi. Uretse ukwo guceceka hari inyandiko cyangwa inyigisho zagiye zitangwa akenshi amazi yarenze inkombe, bityo ntizigire icyo ziramira. Aho kwereka ngo zigahangane n'ikibi, zakunze kumemetera.

Inkomyi zatumye Kiliziya itagira uruhare umuntu yakwifuzaga ni nyinshi. Iyi ngenzi twavugaga ni amakimbirane akomeye aba misiyonari bagiranye n'abapadiri kavukire. Kuri bamwe havutsemo kwangana urunuka. Impamvu nazo ziri kwinshi; hari ubufatanye bw'Abamisiyonari n'Abakoloni, hari ibyo gusuzugura Abirabura (ubariyemo n'abategezi b'Abanyarwanda), u Rwanda barubonagamo akarima kabo cyane cyane kubera ko ari naho bazanaga amafaranga. Guharanira kwigobotora ibyo byose kwatumye Abapadiri b'abirabura bahagurukira bihagije ibibazo by'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Bamwe ntibari bafite ukujijuka guhagije ku bibazo bya politiki n'ubwo habonetsemo abitabira ishyamba iri n'iri.

Ariko kandi habonetse abapadiri b'Abanyarwanda n'Abazungu bihatiye ku kurwana ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwe umuntu mu bihe bibi cyane nko mu wa 1959 na nyuma yaho. Hari abitangiye impunzi n'imbabare zo mu wa 1959-1960. Ariko hari n'abandi bashyigikiye amarorerwa y'ubwicanyi n'ubugome mu magambo no mu bikorwa.

Ibimaze gusesengurwa muri make biragaragaza ko bidahagije kuvugaga ngo uruhare rwa Kiliziya rwabaye rubi cyangwa rwiza. Umuntu yarangiza avugaga ko Kiliziya yari ifite ibya ngombwa byose (moyens et influence) kugirango igire uruhare rugaragare mu kubuza ibibi byabaye guhera muri 1959 kugeza mu wa 1994.

### **3.7. AMASHYAKA**

Mbere ya 1959, nta mashyaka (partis politiques / political parties) yari yarigeze kuba mu Rwanda. N'ubwo ijamba "ishyaka" ryo ryari irya kera rikavugaga "umwete wo kurusha abandi", cyangwa "kugira umwete wo kurwanira icyo umuntu yemera kandi akunze". icyakora na kera na kare, habayeho amakimbirane no mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi, kandi ibyo nta gitangaje. Ingero ziriho zigaragaza ukuntu amakimbirane yabyaye ubushyamirane burimo ubwicanyi (urugero ni Rucunshu), n'ubundi bushyamirane butoroshye, n'ubwo butabayemo ubwicanyi: hagati ya 1920 na 1931 kwa Yuhi Musinga habaye ubushyamirane hagati y'abahakirizwaga ku Bazungu bitaga "Abahababyi", ni ukuvugaga abajyaga kurega, n'abitwaga "Abayoboke", ni ukuvufuga abakomeye ku mwami.

Ibyo bice byombi byari bigizwe n'udutsiko turwanira inyungu zatwo mu bushyamirane (factions), ntabwo rero twari tugize amashyaka mu nyito y'ubungubu. Ayo makimbirane n'ubushyamirane ntibyari bishingiye ku moko, ku turere, ku myuga, ku madini nk'uko byagaragaye mu mashyaka yo mu wa 1959.

#### **Amashyaka yo mu wa 1959**

Ayo mashyaka ari ukubiri: hari ayo bamwe bita "partis nationaux", ni ukuvugaga amashyaka yari afite abayoboke benshi, yari asakaye mu gihugu cyangwa mu duce tunini, akagira n'uburyo bugaragara bwo kwamamaza ibitekerezo byayo n'abayobozi batwaye bagaragara. Tuvuge ayo mashyaka ayo ari yo n'igihe yavukiye:

1. APROSOMA	Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse	15/02/1959
2. UNAR	Union Nationale Rwandaise	13/09/1959
3. RADER	Rassemblement Democratique Rwandaise	14/09/1959
4. PARMEHUTU	Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation des Bahutu	09/10/1959

Hari n'andi mashyaka akabakaba makumyabiri ataragize uburemere byayo tumaze kuvuga. Ndetse urebye neza, amwe n'amwe muri ayo mashyaka mato yegamiye ayo ane manini. Ayo mashyaka matoya ni aya:

- 1) ABAKI Alliance des Bakiga
- 2) ABESC Association des Bahutu evluant pour la suppression des castes
- 3) ACR Association des Cultivateurs du Rwanda
- 4) APADEC Association du Parti Democrate Chretien
- 5) APROCOMIN Association des Commerçants Indigenes
- 6) AREDETTWA Association pour le Relevement Democratique des Batwa
- 7) ARUCO Alliance du Ruanda - Urundi et du Congo
- 8) ASSERU Association des Eleveurs du Rwanda
- 9) MOMOR Mouvement Monarchiste Rwandais
- 10) MUR Mouvement pour l'Union Rwandaise
- 11) PAMOPRO Parti Monarchiste Progressiste
- 12) PSCR Parti Social Chretien du Rwanda
- 13) UAARU Union des Aborozi Africains du Rwanda
- 14) UMAR Union des Masses Rwandaises
- 15) UNAFREUROP: Union Afro-Europeenne
- 16) UNINTERCOKI: Union des Interets Communs du Kinyaga

### **Icyitonderwa:**

Habayeho n'utundi dushyaka dutoya, nk'iryaharaniraga ubwigenge bucagase (autonomie) bw'Igisaka.

Iyo usuzumye ibyo ayo mashyaka yari agamije n'uko ateye muri rusange, usanga yari ashingiye kuri ibi bikurikira: inyungu z'Abanyarwanda bose, imyuga, amoko, uturere, amadini, kurega imipaka y'u Rwanda, ubwoko bw'ubutegetsi (regime politique, ubwami).

Ikindi ni uko urebye amazina y'amwe muri ayo mashyaka, usanga kuyumva neza bitari bisobanukiye abayoboke ndetse n'abayahimbye. Urugero ni nka "association du parti...", cyangwa "parti du mouvement..." hari n'amashyirahamwe yiyitaga "association" ariko akigaragaza nk'amashyaka, akitabira amatora ari uguhatanira umwanya muri politiki.

Ayo mashyaka yashoboye kuvuka kubera uburenganzira Guverinoma y'Ububiligi yatanze mu iteka ryo ku wa 8 Gicurasi 1959 ryatangaga uruhusa rwo gushinga amashyaka ya politiki, kandi ryagombaga gukurikizwa ku itariki ya 15 Kanama 1959.

Amashyaka matoya yageze aho arazimira nyuma y'amatora ya komini yo mu wa 1960. Yabonye amajwi make, bituma abura umwanya mu butegetsi, noneho arazimira. Hasigara yayandi ane makuru.

Ariko n'ayongayo, yose si ko yakomeje. Hari abiri yavuyemo: ayo ni RADER na APROSOMA.

**RADER** yavanywemo n'ibintu bibiri by'ingenzi: nta fatizo yari ifite mu baturage, ahanini ryari ishyaka ry' "abasilimu", abize, n'abandi bake bake bo muri rubanda. Ikindi abayobozi b' ayo bakunze gufata impu zombi, umunsi umwe bagafatanyaga na PERMEHUTU na APROSOMA, bwacya bakisunga UNAR, kandi bataretse kwegamira Abazungu. Byari bizwi ko, mbere ya 1950, abayobozi b'imena b'iryo shyaka bari bafitanye amakimbirane n'umwami Rudahigwa. Ibyo rero byari bibateye icyangiro mu rwego rwa politiki mu gihe Abanyarwanda bari bagikomeye ku bwami.

**APROSOMA** yo yazimiye ku butegetsi bwa Repubulika. Yageze igihe ihindaguriza izina bikayobya abayoboze bayo kandi icyaduka yari yaragize ishya ryinshi mu bantu b'ingeri nyinshi. Ikindi ni uko umuyobozi wayo Yohani Habyarimana Gitera yagaragaje kenshi ukudahamya neza umurongo wa politiki w'iryo shyaka: yakunze kujya ahuzagurika.

N'ubwo mu ntangiro yaharaniye inyungu za rubanda rugufi, nk'uko izina ry'ishyaka ribigaragaza, Yohani Habyarimana Gitera yageze igihe urugamba rwe ruhinduka urwa Gahutu na Gatutsi: ku wa 30 Werurwe 1958, yagiye mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu arangaje imbere y'abiyitaga ko bahagarariye Abahutu, bagamije kubaza ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Muri Nzeri n'Ukwakira k'uwo mwaka, yatangaje inyandiko zinenga kandi zisebya Kalinga n'Abiru, akanemeza ko nta buvandimwe bw'Abatutsi n'Abahutu. Iyo mitekerereze ntiyanyuze bamwe mu ngenzi z'ishyaka, bituma APROSOMA icikamo ibice, ingufu zaryo ziba nkeya cyane.

Ubwo hari hasigaye amashyaka abiri ashyamiranye bigaragara: UNAR na PERMEHUTU.

**UNAR.** Guhera mu kwezi kwa 11 muri 1959, ab'ingenzi barirukanywe. Abatware b'Abatutsi bose bavanyweho na Koloneli Logiest, ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo 1959. Byari muri gahunda ya Logiest yo guhanagura UNAR mu baturage, kubera ko yasabaga ubwigenge, ba batware yavanyeho yabasimbuje Abahutu afatanije na Kayibanda, bityo nabo bategura amatwara ya komini yo mu wa 1960. Amatwara yatsinzwe na PERMEHUTU, UNAR yo yari yarifashe. Uretse uko kwifata, ayo matwara yabaye mu mwuka wo gutoteza, guhuguza n'iterabwoba. Tutagiye kure abayoboze ba UNAR bagaragaraga mu gihugu barashwe bamwe n'aba RADER mu wa 1963 ubwo inyenzi ziteye mu Bugesera. Byabaye guhanagura (gutsembatsemba) ku mugaragararo ababangamiye ubutegetsi bwariho.

Icyo umuntu yarangirizaho nuko UNAR yizeraga ko UNU yari ifite ubushobozi bwo gukemura ibibazo by'Abanyarwanda ikaba yatanga ubwigenge itabajije Ububiligi; nyamara byombi byagombaga kumvikana kubera amasezerano ya Accord de Tutelle

yo ku itariki ya 13 Ukuboza 1946. Muri make ng'uko uko PARMEHUTU yasigaye yonyine ari ishyaka rimwe rukumbi.

## PERMEHUTU

PARMEHUTU turayivugaho ibintu bibiri:

- Uruhare rwayo muri politiki y'u Rwanda n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Ibyayifashije kugera ku butegetsi no kubwiharira.

Twibuke ko PARMEHUTU yavutse, kimwe n'andi mashyaka, mu mwuka wo guharanira ubwigenge muri Ruanda-Urundi ndetse no muri Afurika. Ibyo twabitinzeho dusesengura "Mise au point" yakurikiwe na "Manifeste des Bahutu". Hagati aho havutse amashyirahamwe arimo "Mouvement social Muhutu" yashinzwe muri Kamena 1957.

Ibyo birerekana ko PARMEHUTU yavutse hashize imyaka irenga ibiri ibyo gushaka ukwishyirahamwe kw'Abahutu (ubwironde bw'ubwoko) kwaratangiye. Birimo gushaka kurwanya Abatutsi, cyane abatwaraga.

Uko kwironda kwari gufite abagushyigikiye: nk'uko twabivuze mbere harimo bamwe mu bayobozi ba Kiliziya gatolika. Abandi ni abategetsi b'Ababiligi, ariko cyane cyane Koloneli Logiest. We ubwe, mu gitabo cye yanditse (*Mission au Rwanda*), avuga ko, amaze kuganira na Musenyeri Perraudin na Geregori Kayibanda ku bibazo by'imibanire y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, ngo yahise yumva akarengane k'Abahutu bituma yiyemeza kubarenganura byanze bikunze. Birumvikana ko yagombaga kurwanya Abatutsi n'amashyaka yabo. Ibyo yatekereje byo kuburizamo Abatutsi yabigezeho.

Impamvu ziragaragara. Bamugize "Resident Special", ni ukuvuga ko yashoboraga gutegeka akurikije n'amategeko yishyiriyeho, atagombye kugisha inama abayobozi ba Ruanda-Urundi. Ikindi ni uko yari afite ingabo zigizwe n'Ababiligi n'Abanyekongo, zari zifite imbunda z'indege za Kajugujugu (iryo zina ryavutse icyo gihe). Ku itariki ya 13 Nzeri 1960, yashyizeho "Garde Nationale" (Ingabo z'igihugu) ashaka ko iba igizwe n'Abahutu gusa. Yari afite uburyo bwihariye bwo gukwirakwiza inyandiko bita "tracts" (indege zazimishaga mu gihugu hose), nyuma zasimbuwe ni ikinyamakuru "Imvaho" benshi bazi, yahimbwe icyo gihe igamije kurwanya ibitekerezo bya UNAR no kwamamaza amatwara y'ubutegetsi bwe n'aya PERMEHUTU.

Icyo PARMEHUTU yari igamije. Nku'uko twabivuze, abayobozi b'iryo shyaka bari bagamije kuzamura Abahutu, kandi babishyira mu bikorwa (ubutegetsi, amashuri, ingabo, n'ibindi). Ariko ibyo byajyanye no guheza Abatutsi mu nzego nyinshi, kubakandamiza, kubanyaga mu mbwirwaruhame (discours), bigasozwa no kubirukana mu gihugu cyangwa kubica. Ikindi abayobozi b'ishyaka bari bagamije kigaragara ni ukugera ku butegetsi: ariko nk'uko bikunze kugaragara muri Afurika,

bamaze kububona bakora uko bashoboye kose ngo babugumeho kugeza aho bibyara amakimbirane yagaragaye nyuma y'ubwigenge. Uko "guharanira Abahutu" byabaye urwitwazo rwo kugeza ku butegetsi no kubugumana bivanzemo n'ubwoba bwo kubwakwa n'Abatutsi (inyenzi)..

Gukwirakwiza ibitekerezo mu baturage kwajyanye no kubakangurira guhora bitwaje ingabo yabo, ya "rubanda nyamwinshi" bivuga Abahutu. Demokarasi bivuga ubutegetsi bwa "rubanda nyamwinshi" bishingiye ku bwoko kandi atari byo.

Kwamamaza iryo hame kwagaragariye mu mitegekere, mu mvugo (imbwirwaruhame), mu nyandiko nk'igitabo "Ingingo z'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda" cyo mu wa 1972.

Ku byerekeye gukangurira rubanda kwibanda ku bwoko byashimangiwe n' abize (elites). Kwitabira ukwironda k'ubwoko abantu bakurikije uwo mugambi wa PARMEHUTU ntikwahise gucengera mu mitima y'Abahutu bose (hari Abatutsi bagiriwe nabi n'Abahutu) mu ntangiriro bazira ko ngo ari bo bishe umwami). Kurwanira ubuhutu nyakuri, uretse mu mitwe y'abize, byagiye bishimangirwa buhoro buhoro n'ubutegetsi muri rubanda, bigaragarira mw'itsembabwoko ry'Abatutsi cyane i Byumba mu bya 1959 - 1960 (ntabwo bivugwa cyane), Gikongoro mu bya 1963 - 1964, n'ahandi mu Rwanda mu wa 1973, na rurangiza yo 1994.

Dusoze iyamamaza rya PARMEHUTU tuvuga ko kugeza muri za 1959, hari ubumwe bushingiye ku mwami; n'ubwo irondakoko ryari ryaratangiye, n'abanyamashyaka nka G. Kayibanda bemeraga ko hajyaho "monarchie constitutionnelle" (ubwami bushingiye kw'itegekoshingiro). Mu gihe haje ishyamba rya PARMEHUTU, rishingiye kw'irondakoko, ubumwe bwatangiye guhungabana cyane. Amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda yahawe intebe ku mugaragararo mu butegetsi n'ahandi, bijya mu bikorwa hakurikijwe ibyo bise "iringaniza" ari mu mashuri, ari mu mirimo, ari mu ngabo z'igihugu. Iryo rondakoko ryasenyeye ibyari bifitiye Abanyarwanda agaciro nko mu mubano, kugobokana (amagirirane) kwarigushingiye kuri byinshi: ubucuti, itorero rimwe, ubwoko (clan), abavandimwe nb...

Inkurikizi mbi cyane y'irondakoko ni umuze bamwe bita "virus" muri "societe/society" nyarwanda, utuma bamwe babona umuti w'ibibazo mu kurimbura abandi.



## CH.IV INKOMOKO N'IMIBANIRE Y'ABAHUTU, ABATUTSI, N'ABATWA

Muri ibi bihe turimo, imibanire y'Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa yahindutse ikibazo cya babiri: Abatutsi n'Abahutu. Abatwa bo basa n'abibagiranye.

Hari kandi ababona ko atari ngombwa na gato gusuzuma icyo kibazo ku cyerekeye icyo ayo mazina avuga, n'inkomoko y'abayitwa. Nyamara hari inyandiko nyinshi za kera n'iz'ubu zisesengura icyo kibazo, kandi ari nako zisomwa. Bityo ibitekerezo bizirimo bigacengera mu mitwe ya benshi byanze bikunze. Usibye abaturage ba giseseka bagendeye kandi bakigendera kuri ibyo bitekerezo, hari abanyapolitiki babyitwaza kugira ngo bagere ku nyungu zabo. Hari n'abandi benshi bashobora kuba bashimishwa n'uko ibibazo by'amoko batara imidugararo ikaba yahoraho.

Nyamara gusuzuma icyo kibazo no kugisubiza mu kuri ni ngombwa kubera impamvu z'ingenzi ebyiri:

- Iya mbere ni uko icyo kibazo cyateye amacakubiri kigasenya ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda; Impamvu ya kabiri ni uko kugihaza imbere kigapfukirana ibindi bibazo, bidindiza igihugu n'abagituye: Umututsi agahora yibonamo Umuhutu umubangamiye, Umuhutu agahora yibonamo Umuhutu n'Umututsi bashyamiranye, Umutwa nawe agahora yibonamo umuntu baha akato, Bityo bose ntibabe bagira icyo bahuriraho cyatuma batara intambwe bajya imbere, ndetse ntibabe babona n' umwanzi uturutse ishyamba waza abateranya, cyangwa ntibabone n'undi Munyarwanda nkabo wabagirira nabi bombi kubera inyungu ze bwite, nko kwiyubakira "akazu", mu butegetsi, mu bukungu cyangwa mu burezi.

Ikindi gituma icyo kibazo nta wagipfukirana ni uko uherye ku byabaye kuva mu wa 1959 kugeza ku itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ryo muri 94, Abatutsi bishwe kubera ubwoko bwabo, n'Abahutu bakicwa rimwe na rimwe hamwe n'ababo kubera ko batari mu murongo w'irondakoko. Birumvikana rero ko ikibazo kiriho kubera ibyabaye n'inkurikizi zabyo. Nicyo gituma tugiye gusuzuma muri make ibi bikurikira:

1. Ikivugwa ku nkomo y' Abahutu, Abatutsi n' Abatwa;
2. Imibanire yabo mbere y'Abazungu;
3. Imibanire yabo igihe cy'Abakoloni.

### **4.1. INKOMOKO**

Hari abihatiye gushakashaka no kumenya amagambo "Umuhutu", "Umututsi" n' "Umutwa" aho bikomoka. Mu baherutse hari nka Musenyeri Kanyamacumbi, mu gitabo cye cyitwa *Societe, Culture et Pouvoir Politique en Afrique Inter-lacustre. Hutu et Tutsi de l'ancien Rwanda*, Kinshasa, 1995. Yanditse impapuro nyinshi kuri icyo kibazo, cyane cyane ziranga inyandiko nyinshi zacyanditsweho n'agaciro kazo. Ariko nta mwanzuro ushimishije bya gihanga werekeye ku nkomo y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Ibyo yagezeho biri mu rwego rwo gucishiriza (hypothese). Kuri we

ikigaragara ni uko bihagije gushakira inkomoko y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mu karere k' Afurika y'uburengerazuba hamwe n'aka Afurika yo hagati. Abashakashatsi benshi baragenda bagana muri iyo nzira ahanini kubera ibyo ubushakashatsi bumaze kugeraho mu rwego rwo gucukumbura amagufa y'ababayeho n'ibyabayeho kera cyane (archeologie). Kugeza ubu biremezwa ko umuntu wa kera (imyaka imiryoni) kurusha abandi bamusanze mu karere k' Afurika y'uburengerazuba. Si ngombwa rero kwiha gushakira inkomoko y'Abahutu muri za Cameroun na Tchad, ndetse na Australia nk'uko byigeze kwandikwa ngo muri "expansion des Bantu", no kuvana Abatutsi mu Misiri cyangwa muri Aziya (nka Caucase na Arabia...), cyangwa se muri Ethiopia.

Ibyo byo kuvana Abatutsi hirya no hino bibarizwa mu cyo bita "hypothese hamitique"/ hamitic hypothesis. Kimwe mu byo iyo "hypothese" (ugushwaga wemeza) ishingiyeho, ni imiyira y'aho imiryango y'aborozi yaturutse n'inzira yanyuzemo. Ikindi ni uko imitunganyirize y'inzego zimwe nk'iz'ubuyobozi n'umubano, mu gihe zifite urwego rushimishije, ngo byanze bikunze bidashobora kuba byarahimbwe n'Abirabura. Ahubwo ngo ni abafitanye isano n'abera, bakaba barahinduye ibara kubera gushyingirana n'Abirabura. Nguko uko hamwe bemeje ko ubwami bwo muri aka karere k'ibiyaga bigari bwahimbwe n'Abatutsi. Hariho abandi bahinyuza ibyo bemeza ko ubwami bwahimbwe n'Abirabura bita "Bantu", noneho Abatutsi bakaba barabwiganye. icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki: kuki Abanyarwanda, Abatutsi hamwe n'Abahutu n'Abatwa bakaba barafatanije ngo bagire icyo bahimba? Niba barabanye imyaka amagana badashobora gufatanya ngo bagire icyo bahimbira mu gihugu cyabo (innovation), aho hari ikibazo cy'ingutu cyagombye nacyo kubonerwa igisubizo.

Iyo mitekerereze yo gushyira Abatutsi (na ba Masai) hejuru ngo ni uko bafitanye isano n'Abanyaburayi cyangwa Abanyaziya, cyangwa abahimbye "civilisation" ya Misiri, no gushyira hasi Abirabura biswe "negres), yagize ingaruka mbi mu mibanire hagati y'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma yabwo. Bamwe na hamwe mu Batutsi koko bumvise ko bari hejuru ari mu bwenge, mu buyobozi, mu kurwana intambara, naho hamwe na hamwe mu Bahutu biyumvisha ko bari hasi.

Amagambo "Umuhutu", "Umututsi" n' "Umutwa" ntibyoroshye kumenya aho akomoko. icyakora ijambo "Umuhutu" (bw' "Abahutu") rifitanye isano n'andi magambo yo mu ndimi zimwe na zimwe zo muri Kongo (Zaire) avuga umugaragu (serviteur). Naho ijambo "Umututsi" (bw' "Abatutsi") ryaba rifitanye isano n'inshinga "gutuka" bivuga "kuva" cyangwa "gukungahaza" (enrichir). Iyo nyito "signification" n'iyi izwi mu buvanganzo (litterature) bw'igihe cya mbere y'Abazungu Ijambo "Umutwa" (bw. "Abatwa") ryo rifitanye isano n'amazina y'amoko (tribus) ari hirya no hino muri Afurika yo hagati: Batua, Batoa, Batswa, Bcwa, nb. Abenshi batuye muri Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo. Biragaragara ko Abatwa kera bari mu muryango mugari wo muri aka karere.

Icyo umuntu yakwemeza ni uko "Ubuhutu"/"Ubututsi" ari ibyiciro bisumbanye mu rwego rw'ubukungu bikajyanirana n'urwego rw'umubano, ndetse n'urw'ubutegets. Umuhutu wabaga akize akarongora umututsikazi bavugaga ko "yihutuye".

Umututsi nawe wakennye (impamvu ntizari zibuze: hari imize y'inka, hari ukunyagwa n'ibindi) yahindukaga Umuhutu. Abantu bagomba kumenya ko amazina yombi "Gahutu" na "Mututsi" ari aya kera. Tuyasanga mu Bucurabwenge (ni ukuvuga amasekuruza y'abami n'abagabekazi). No mu bisigo by'ingoma ya Cyirima Rujugira mu bya 1650, harimo ayo mazina "Umuhutu", "Umututsi".

Birumvikana ko ikibazo cy'umuzi w'ijambo "Umuhutu", "Umututsi", umuntu atahita yemeza ngo bivuga iki byanze bikunze. Iby'inkomoko ya bombi byo kugeza ubu ni urujijo. Ibyo ari byose kumenya igihugu Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi baturutsemo ntacyo bimaze, nta n'icyemezo ko icyo gihugu cyabayeho.

N'ubwo nta hame ry'inkomoko ya bombi, hari abihaye kwemeza ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi ari amoko (races) abiri atandukanye, adahuje amaraso, uburere (education)... Kimwe mu bishobora kuba byaragize ingaruka mbi, ni uko icyo gitekerezo cyakwirakwijwe na bamwe mu babonye impamyabumenyi zihanitse mu by'uburezi, bakacyigisha mu Rwanda no hanze. Abandi bagikwirakwije ni bamwe mu Bamisiyoneri kuva mu 1900 kugeza ubu. Abandi ni abashakashatsi b'Abazungu.

Abanyarwanda bamwe na bamwe, n'abanyamakuru kenshi bapfa gukoporora Ibyo babonye. Impamvu zateye kandi zigitera kwandika no gukwirakwiza ko Abatutsi n'Abahutu ntaho bahuriye uretse amakimbirane ngo yavutse kuva aho Abatutsi bagereye mu Rwanda, ni nyinshi. Twavugaga nk'izi:

- **Ubuswa:** abigira abazobere (inzobere) mu mashami y'ubuhanga bwo kumenya umuntu ("Sciences humaines") ariko wareba Ibyo bagezeho byagiriye u Rwanda akamaro ugasanga ari ntabyo.
- **Ubunabw:** kenshi abanditsi ntibashimikiriye ngo bamenye ibiriho kandi babyibazeho bajora nta kubogama;
- **Gupfa gutekereza nk'abandi:** ni ukuba nyamuja iyo bijya mu bitekerezo, ni ugukopera inyandiko utazikemanze ugapfa kwemera no kwemeza ibyanditse kimwe n'ibivugwa, nta gushungura;
- **Hariho abandika babitewe n'ubushake bwo kugira nabi:** gutera rwaserera mu Banyarwanda cyangwa mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari.
- Hari n'abandi babikora ari **ukwanga kuva ku izima:** ni ukuvuga abadashaka ko byagaragara ko bibeshye.

Iyo myumvire y'Abanyarwanda hari abayise "approche essentialiste" ni ukuvuga ishyira imbere kamere zidahuye iy'Umuhutu n'iy'Umututsi. Ariko hari n'indi myumvire bamwe bise "fonctionnaliste" ni ukuvuga ngo ibibi byose byagaragaye mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda kuva mu wa 1959 kugeza mu wa 1994 byatewe n'Abazungu, ngo nibo nyirabayazana. Iby'iyi myumvire turabigarukaho mu ngingo zikurikira.

## **4.2. UBUHUTU UBUTUTSI, N'UBUTWA MBERE Y'ABAZUNGU**

Ushaka kumenya neza imibanire y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu mbere y'Abazungu agomba kumva ko igihugu nk'u Rwanda cyagiye kigara, ku buryo kuvuga ngo kera Abanyarwanda bari bazi ko ari Abanyarwanda udafutuye bidahwitse. Urugero rworoshye ni Igisaka. Ingoma y'Igisaka yari imaze imyaka amagana; yatsinzwe n'u Rwanda ku ngoma ya Mutara Rwogera mu bya 1850. Birumvikana ko kugeza icyo gihe Abanyagisaka batiyumvagamwo ko ari Abanyarwanda, kabone n'ubwo bari bafite ururimi, umuco, iyobokamana, amoko (clans), imyuga, ukuboneza inzego z'ubuyobozi, z'umubano n'ibindi byari bihuye n'ibyo mu Rwanda baranashyiringanaga, bagahahirana.

Mu ntangiriro y'iki kinyejana hari Abanyagisaka bari bagifite agatima ko kwamagana abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda bari baroherejwe n'abami Rwabugili na Musinga. Muri make ubunyarwanda kuba bwarabaye kimwe mu biranga Abanyarwanda, byajyaniranye no kwaguka kw'igihugu: bamwe ni ibya kera, ahandi ni ibya vuba, iyo umuntu avuze "ibya vuba" ni ukugeza mbere y'umwaka wa 1910: ari bwo Abazungu bashyizeho umupaka w'iburengerazuba n'amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda (Conference de Bruxelles).

Ibyo ntibishaka gushyigikira abemeza ko amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda, Ruhengeri na Gisenyi, yakumiriye Abatutsi kugeza ku ngoma y'Ababirigi mu bya 1920, ngo kugeza icyo gihe abahatuye barigengaga (rb. Nahimana Ferdinand, *Rwanda Emergence d'un Etat*). Mu by'ukuri u Rwanda rw'umwami rwarangwaga n'ubutegetsu bwite bunyuranye bushingiye ku ikoro ryemezaga ukuyoboka kw' akarere aka n'aka (uturere batwitaga rimwe na rimwe "ibihugu"): hari nk'ahategekwe n'Abiru ntihagire undi ubyivangamo, ahandi hakagira umwami waho, ariko utura umwami w'u Rwanda. Ingero: abami b'abavubyi bo mu Bukunzi na Busozo, abo bami bari bafite ubwigenge bucagase, bavanyweho n' ingoma mbiligi hagati ya 1924 na 1930.

Ni byiza kumenya yuko mu turere tw'amajyaruguru harimo abatware kavukire b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi batari baraturutse mu Nduga. Ingero ni nyinshi nta gushidikanya (reba umugereka 3).

Uko u Rwanda rwagendaga rugara hari ibindi byahuzaga Abanyarwanda (ariko hamwe na hamwe byari bisanzwe). Ibyo ni nk'ubwoko (clan). Nicyo cyashyirwaga imbere (icyo umuntu aricyo) kugeza mu bya 1950. Ikindi cyashyirwaga imbere ni inzu, ni kuvuga ngo "ndi Ikanaka wa Kanaka ka Rugizerute".

Icyakora ubusumbane bwari buriho hagati y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa muri rusange. Uretse ko hamwe bashoboraga kuva mu bukene bagakira, abandi bagakena.

Ibyagiye byemezwa mu mvugo no mu nyandiko ku mibanire y'Abahutu, Abatutsi mbere y'Abazungu hakurikijwe imvugo yo mu buvanganzo (litterature), ari mu migani miremire (contes et légendes), ari mu migani migufi (proverbes), cyangwa ibyo bakunze kwita "mythes" n'ibindi, ntibyabonekaga mu mibereho ya buri muni:

kubana, gushyingirana, gusabana, gufashanya, gutabarira igihugu, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bari babihuriyeho.

#### **4.3. UBUHUTU, UBUTUTSI N'UBUTWA IGIHE CY'UBUKOLONI**

Hariho abakunze kuvuga, nk'uko twabibonye, ko ibibi byose byazanywe n'Abakoloni, cyangwa Abamisiyoneri, cyangwa bombi. Amagorwa, cyangwa amaherere cyangwa ibyago bikomeye nk'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba byagwiririyeye u Rwanda, ntabwo bishobora kugira igisobanuro kimwe rukumbi. Mu byabaye, uruhare rw'Abanyarwanda ruriho kandi rufite urugero rwarwo.

Uruhare rw'Abakoloni ni ingenzi ku byabaye mu Rwanda. Rurakomeye ku buryo ntawavugaga ko rwabaye imbarutso gusa. Ubukoloni bwateye Imanga (cassure) hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bigaragarira mu bitekerezo no mu ngiro, mu bikorwa. Mu bitekerezo, Abakoloni bafatanije n'Abamisiyoneri badukanye ingengabitekerezo (ideologie) twavuze mbere, y'uko Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa ntaho bahuriye, ko abasumbye abandi bagomba gufatanya n'Abazungu gutegeka Abanyarwanda no kubahindura mu bukirisitu.

Ubukoloni ubwabwo bamwe n'imirungire mishya y'ubukungu igendera ku mafaranga aho kugendera ku kugurana ibintu, byanze bikunze bihungabanya imyubakire ya "Societe/Society", maze bikayubaka ku bundi buryo abaturage batisangamo, bubatonda. Bamwe bakagerageza kubirwanya ariko bakarushwa amaboko: uko kurushwa amaboko kwatewe n'imbunda y'Abakoloni n'iy'Abamisiyoneri gatolika mu myaka itandatu ya mbere yabo mu Rwanda. Igitugu cyarakoreshejwe cyane mu kuyobora no guhindura Abanyarwanda abakirisitu. Imanga yacukuwe n'ibikorwa by'agahato nk'akazi (reba inyuma), amashuri (nabyo twabyanditseho mbere), ni ukuvugaga ko ahari abategetsu Abahutu n'Abatutsi, Ababiligi babikoze ku buryo bwabo: dore uko byangenze:

- Hagati ya 1924 kugeza mu wa 1932, Ababiligi, muri politiki yabo yo kuvugurura ubutegetsu bwite mu Rwanda (ndetse no mu Burundi), banyaze abatware b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi batari mu miryango ikomeye. Ingero umuntu yatanga ni nyinshi ariko urwo umuntu yavugaga aha ni mu Bugoyi: abatware b'imiryango bambuwe ubutegetsu n'Ababiligi bagenda basimbuzwa abana b'abatware b'Abatutsi bigiye gutegeka mu mashuri ya Leta. Mu wa 1925 hari abatware kavukire 57 (Abahutu n'Abatutsi), mu wa 1959 hari hasigaye abatware (sushefu) babiri b'Abahutu kuri 19 babarirwaga muri ako karere (rb. Umugereka 3: Kajeguhakwa Valens na Gahigi Denis, *Amoko y'i Bugoyi n'Abatware baho mbere y'ubutegetsu mbiligi, s.l., s.d., Kigali, 1998*).
- Imanga twavuze yatewe n'ibitekerezo yatashye no mu mitima y'Abanyarwanda. Ibyo byageze mu mitima no mu bwonko bw'abize bamwe na bamwe, kurya bo basomye byinshi kandi bifutamyeye, bizira gushungura, kandi n'inyungu zatumye bamwe babikoresha. Ubutandukane bw'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bwagiye bushimangirwa no mu baturage bari bifitiye ibibazo byinshi

basangiye bw'imibereho yabo. Ubwo butandukane bwagiye bwiyongera buhoro buhoro mu mitwe no mu mitima y'abantu: ibyo byafashe intera yihariye mu mwaka wa 1953 nyuma y'amatora y'abajyanama bo mu nzego za susheferi, sheferi, teritwari, n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu, zagiyeho hakurikijwe iteka ry' Ababiligi ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952.

- icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni akamaro ibinyagaciro byari bisanzwe (valeurs) nk'ubupfura, ubutwari, umuryango, ugukunda igihugu, n'ibindi n'ibinyagaciro bishya byazanywe n'Abazungu nk'amahame y'ukwemera n'imigenzo by'ubukirisitu, byamariye Abanyarwanda. Umuntu akaba yakwibaza icyatumye bidahagarika ibibi byabaye guhera mu wa 1959 kugeza ubu; ubwicanyi, ubuhotozi n' ibindi. Ari abemera idini gakondo, ari n'abayoboke b'amadini mashya, abo bose ukwemera ntikwagaragariye mu ngiro. Ibyo hari n'ahandi byabaye: nka "genocide" yakozwe n'Abanazi. Igisobanuro ni uko ukwemera konyine kudahagije mu gukumira amarorerwa mu gihe gupfukiranwe n'umwuka mubi, ibitekerezo bibi, ubutegetsu buvanzwe n'igitugu, cyane cyane iyo umuco gakondo waranduwe ukaba nk' uzimira.

Ibyo umuntu yavugaga ku kibazo y'inkomoko n'imibanire y'Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa ni byinshi. Muri Ibyo, hari iki gitekerezo gikurikira: Abanyarwanda bagomba kwiyumvisha ko kwivuruguta mu buhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa biri mu nzitizi zikomeye mu nzira igana amajyambere. Mbe guhera mu buhutu, mu bututsi no mu butwa nta kindi kizima cy'ingirakamaro umuntu atekereza, bimeze nko kwifungirana mu buvumo ku buryo amaso atareba hanze. Ngombwa ni ukubana, kuzuzanya mu guteza igihugu imbere, Abanyarwanda bagahanga amaso ibibazo by'ingutu basangiye kugira ngo babikemure, bakava muri "narcissisme" bakamenya aho isi igeze.

## UMUSOZO

### IBITEKEREZO KU BIKORWA BY'INGENZI BYATUMA UBUMWE BUGARUKA

Bigomba kumvikana ko ibitekerezo bikurikira byafasha Abanyarwanda kurushaho kubana mu bumwe bw'abatahiriza umugozi umwe, bahuriye ku gihugu kimwe kandi bagiharanira ari nk'ibyifuzo. Ibyo bitekerezo si byo byonyine hari n'ibindi byakwiyongeraho. Ibyakorwa byasuzumwa mu byiciro bibiri. icya kabiri ni icy'ibyakorwa biri mu nzego zinyuranye.

### INGINGO Z'IBANZE

#### 1. *Kubaha ikiremhamuntu*

Kwemera ko abantu bareshya imbere y' amategeko, ko uburenganzira bwabo bugomba

kubahirizwa, ariko bitabangamiye uburenganzira bw'abandi. Kuri ubwo buryo, umuntu areshya n'undi. "Ntabareshya" bavuga, ntiri muri urwo rwego.

2. *Gukunda u Rwanda no gushyira ubunyarwanda imbere*

Gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo "identite nationale" igaruke, ishingye imizi.

## **MU NZEGO ZINYURANYE**

### **Politike**

3. *Kuremya ubuyobozi bwiza n'imiyohorere myiza y'Abanyarwanda*

Ubuyobozi ntibugomba kuba ikintu bahahisha cyangwa ikintu cy'urwitwazo. Kwizimba ku butegezi igihe gikabije, nta gusimburana (alternance) birangiza cyane. Ni ngombwa kugena no kubahiriza uburyo buzwi bwo kugera ku buyobozi no kubuvaho. Kandi demokarasi igomba kumvikana neza.

4. *Kuremya ubuyohozo bwiza n'imiyoborere myiza y'Abanyarwanda*

- Itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba;
- Kudaheza bamwe ku byiza by'igihugu (equité ishingiyeye ku kureshya imbere y'amategeko).

5. *Hagomba kujyaho uburyo bukaze (mecanismes) bwo kugenzura (guca intege) ababangamira ubumwe n'ubutabera.*

### **Ubukungu**

6. *Gushyiraho ibyongera umurimo kandi abantu, cyane urubyiruko, bagatozwa kwihimbira umurimo ubazanira inyungu. Guhindura imihingire. Abafite akamenyero cyangwa umugambi wo gutungwa no kunyunyuzwa amaraso y'abandi bagomba kubicikaho.*

7. *Guhagurukira kugabanya ubukene n'ubusumbane bukabije biturutse ku buyobozi bwiza;*

8. *Gushyiraho "amategeko agenga imibanire" (code de conduite) n'amabwiriza ashyingikira ishyirwa mu bikorwa byayo.*

### **Umuco**

Kimwe mu byo Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho ni umuco. Hari abahamya ko guta umuco cyangwa se kuwuteshwa cyangwa kuba waracubanganye ari ryo shingiro ry'ibyago u Rwanda rwagize kandi rugifite.

Umunyarwanda ufite byinshi bifite ireme twaheraho bikadufasha kugarura ubumwe: kubana, gufashanya, ubwangamugayo, kwiramira, kwihangana, ikibonezamvugo, iyobokamana, imihango n'imiziririzo (reba umugereka 4).



9. *Mu mibanire y'abantu hakorwa ibi ngibi:*

- **Kugira ubupfura:** imigenzereze n'imyifatire ituganye, ishimwa na benshi;
- **Kudashyira inda imbere:** kuko gushyira inda imbere bibyara ubusambo n'ubwikanyize;
- **Gufashanya:** nta kuba nyamwigendaho nk'ubugi bw'intorezo;
- **Gufasha abatishoboye:** urugero ni nk'uko kera amata y'umubyeyi yatangirwaga ubuntu;
- **Kubaha:** abato bakubaha abakuru (bakabimukira ku ntebe...) (reba umugereka 4).

### **Uburezi**

Bumwe mu buryo bwo gufasha Abanyarwanda kubana ni uburezi. Ingando zakomeza. Ariko nta kugosorera mu rucaca.

10. *Kwigisha bigomba kujyana no kugorora imico n'umutimanama.*

### **Amadini na Leta**

11. Leta igomba kuba layiki (Etat laïc): ntivangitirane n'amadini ayo ariyo yose.

**Umugeraka 1. Répartition des élèves admis au Groupe Scolaire et par ethnie 1932-1962 (RUTERANA J.M.V.  
Le Groupe Scolaire de Butare, p. 129)**

PAYS:	RWANDA				BURUNDI					ETRANGERS						CAS TOTAL	
	ANNEES	TUTSI	HUTU	E.N.I	TOTAL	TUTSI	HUTU	BAGANWA	ENI	TOTAL	C	B	G	U	H	Total	Non identifiés
1932	28	1	0	29	1	8	16	1	26							13	68
1933	11	0	0	11	0	0	9	0	9							1	21
1934	16	6	0	22	7	7	3	1	17							1	40
1935	8	0	27	35	3	4	0	9	16							2	53
1936	14	2	0	16	3	8	1	1	13	1				1		0	30
1937	17	3	0	20	8	3	3	0	14							1	35
1938	19	6	0	25	6	6	2	0	14							0	39
1939	20	11	0	31	3	5	6	1	15							0	46
1940	25	6	1	32	9	3	2	5	19							1	52
1941	15	10	0	25	6	12	5	0	23							0	48
1942	21	2	1	24	11	8	6	2	27							3	54
1943	23	3	0	26	12	4	2	1	19	1					1	4	50
1944	25	4	1	30	13	6	1	2	22	1					1	2	55
1945	29	2	0	31	10	6	3	0	19							0	50
1946	27	1	0	28	12	9	4	3	28							0	56
1947	26	4	0	30	19	10	2	0	31							0	61
1948	43	3	0	46	30	11	3	0	44	2					2	0	92
1949	43	6	0	49	39	9	3	0	51							0	100
1950	35	9	0	44	29	12	2	0	43							1	88
1951	52	18	15	85	46	9	-	3	58	1	1				2	0	145
1952	33	7	0	40	24	13		0	37							0	77
1953	40	8	1	49	25	13		1	39							0	88
1954	37	10	0	47	23	13		0	36	3					3		86
1955	50	26	0	76	12	17		0	29	1					1	1	106
1956	40	17	0	57	25	22		0	47		2		1		3	1	108
57/58	42	12	2	56	36	12		2	50		2				2		108
58/59	26	18	19	63	1	1		43	45		1	1		1	3		111
59/60	13	5	33	51	13	5		33	51							2	104
60/61	14	30	19	63	21	17		5	43	2	1				3	3	112
61/62	58	65	1	124	13	24		0	37	3	3				6		167
TOTAL	850	295	120	1.265	460	277	73	112	922	16	10	1	1	1	29	34	2.250
%	37,7	13,0	5,3	56,0	20,5	12,3	3,2	4,0	40,0			0,04	0,04	0,04	1,22	1,5	100

										0, 7	0, 4						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---------	---------	--	--	--	--	--	--

Légende: E.N.I = Ethnie non-identifiée C= Congolaise B = Belge G = Grecs U = Ugandais H = Hindou

Source: Registre des élèves inscrits au Groupe Scolaires, 1932 - 1962

## Umugereka 2

### Iteka 1/54 ry'umwami Ivanwaho ry'ubuhake

#### ***Ingingo ya 1:***

Ku byerekeye ikurikiza ry'ili teka, aya magambo akurikira asobanuye kuli ubu buryo:

1. **Isezerano ry'Ubuhanke:** ni ubushake butalimo agahato, bw'abantu babili, umwe yitwa shebuja, agabira uwa kabili, uwo yitwa umugaragu, inka imwe cyangwa nyinshi, ali ukugira ngo azorore, azikenure, aziteho nkuko umubyeyi yita ku rubyaro rwe, kandi akajya aha shebuja imilimo isobanuwe neza mw'isezerano cyangwa nkuko imico y'igihugu ibigenza.
2. **Umurundo:** ni itegeko rya shebuja w'umugaragu kugira ngo amwereke inka ze zose, kandi ngo amutore, aliko umwe mu buzima bwe.
3. **Inka z'imbata:** ni inka z'umuryango, zitali iz'ubuhake.
4. **Inka z'impahano:** ni inka umuntu yihahiye.
5. **Inka z'ingabo:** ni impahano, cyangwa imbata, cyangwa se ingororano, abahoze ali ingabo batuze ntawazibagabiye.
6. **Inyambo:** n'inka z'ibwami zifitwe n'abatware b'intebe, zifite amategeko adahuje na ay'izindi nka zisanzwe.

#### ***Ingingo ya 2:***

Amasezerano y'ubuhake arangira iyo bagabanye. Iryo gabana rizaba kubabyemeranije bombi: umugaragu na shebuja kandi bahereye hasi, n'ukuvuga umugaragu udafite undi ahatse cyangwa se yarahakishije inka z'ubuhake mu buryo bwo guhisha shebuja. Uretse ibyo, iyo umugaragu adafite undi ahatse na shebuja batuye bombi muli Teritwari ya Nyanza, umwe mulibo ashobora gusaba no kwemererwa ko bagabana.

#### ***Ingingo ya 3:***

Iyo umugaragu udafite abagaragu bandi ahatse apfuye, shebuja ategetswe kugabana inka n'abamuzunguye biturutse ku bushake bwa bombi, cyangwa se batabyemeranije, bigategekwa n'Urukiko. Iryo gabana rigomba kubaho cyangwa gusabwa mu Rukiko mu mezi atandatu akurikiye ipfa ry'umugaragu.

**Ingingo ya 4:**

Mw'igabana ryose, iyo umugaragu atarundiye shebuja, umugaragu ahabwa imigabane ibili, shebuja agahabwa umwe.

Iyo umugaragu yarundiye shebuja, shebuja ahabwa umugabane umwe umugaragu itatu.

**Ingingo ya 5:**

Mu gihe cy'igabana, inka zose z'imbata n'impano n'inka z'ingabo zavanze n'iza ubuhake zigabanirwa hamwe zitabatuwe.

Inka z'imbata z'impahano n'inka z'ingabo zitavanze n'izubuhake ntzigabanwa.

Abashumba b' Inyambo bazagabana na ba shebuja, amategeko yerekeye Inyambo amaze gutangwa.

**Ingingo ya 6:**

Isezerano ry'ubuhake rishya rirabujijwe.

Ku byerekeye abagaragu bakili ku buhange, inkiko izo zizabireba, kugira ngo niba bikwiliye, zibahe indishyi ibakwiye.

**Ingingo ya 7:**

Kurundisha birabujijwe.

**Ingingo ya 8:**

Nibigaragazwa mu rubanza ko umuntu yangiza cyangwa yahishe inka za shebuja kugirango batazigabana, umugabane wa shebuja uzabarwa bakulikije uko inka zanganaga mbere.

Uretse ibihano byateganijwe ku ngingo ya 12, umugaragu wangije cyangwa wahishe inka ku buryo tumaze kuvuga haruguru, igihugu kizamunyaga izo nka zose z'impuguzanyo, havuye mo umugabane wa shebuja.

**Ingingo ya 9:**

Nibigaragazwa n'urubanza ko umugaragu yaguze inka imwe cyangwa nyinshi mbere y'igabana, adafite uruhushya rwa shebuja, azagomba gusubiza shebuja igice cy'ayo mafaranga akulikije imigabane yategetswe, cyangwa zaliha mu nka z'umugabane we, ibyo bidakuyeho ibihano biteganijwe ku ngingo ya 12 y'ili teka.

**Ingingo ya 10:**

Igabana rizandikwa mu gitabo cy'amasezerano kiba mu Rukiko rwaho bagabaniye. Bakandika mu umunsi, aho bagabaniye, buryo bagabanye, kandi iteka bakazajya bandikaho yuko nta masezerano y'ubuhake akiriho ku bamaze gusezerana.

**Ingingo ya 11:**

Ibitabo by' "itanga n'igura ry'inka" abatware b'Intara n'ab'imisozi bategetswe kugira na circulaire y'Umwami n°38 y'umunsi wa 11/11/1953 bizakomeza kubaho kugeza igihe bazaherwa nandi mategeko, bikajya bikurikiza ibyavuzwe ku kibezi cya 2 (kuva kuli a kugeza kuli f) cy'urupapuro rwa 3. Ibyaba bizakorwa kuli circulaire no.38 bizahanishwa ibihano biteganijwe muli ili teka.

**Ingingo ya 12:**

Abatazakulikiza ili teka bazahanishwa igihano cy'igifungo kitarenze ukwezi kumwe, n'amafaranga igihumbi cyangwa kimwe muli byo bihano.

**Ingingo ya 13:**

Amategeko y'Isezerano ry'ubuhake ryo ku munsi wa 1 wa Augusto 1941 atanyuraniye n'ili teka azakomeza gukulikizwa.

**Ingingo ya 14:**

Ili teka lizatangira gukurikizwa ku munsi wa 15 Aprili 1954.

**NYANZA-RUANDA**  
**Kuwa 1 Aprili 1954**

**MUTARA RUDAHIGWA**

### Umugereka 3

#### Amoko y'i Bugoyi n'Abatware baho mbere y'Ubutegetsu mbiligi

Valens Kajeguhakwe na Gahigi Denis

s.l.n.d. (Kigali, 1998)

Mu 1970, twumvise itangazo ry'ishyirwaho rya "Academie Rwandaise de Culture" biradushimisha cyane. Twiyemeza kubigiramo uruhare. Nibwo dushishikariye kumenya neza amateka y'abaturage b'akarere twalimo k'u Bugoyi ndetse n'utundi turere twali hafi yaho. Twibanze cyane cyane ku karere k'u Bugoyi, aka Bwishaza, Kanage n'u Budaha. Twabajije abasaza baliho icyo gihe, Abahutu n'Abatutsi ndetse n'Abatwa bo mu Rugerero, dusoma n'ibitabo.

- icya Padiri Pages cyitwa "Un Royaume Hamite au Centre de l'Afrique édité le 17/11/1930".
- icya Padiri Delmas cyitwa "Généralogies de la Noblesse du Rwanda".

Iyo Akademi nyarwanda yaje kuzimangatana bitewe ahali n'intambara yasubiranishijemo Abarundi mu 1972, n'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda mu 1973. Ni nabyo byahagaritse akazi k'ubushakashatsi twali twatangiye.

Abo twabajije ni:

1. Nyandera ya Birenga (umugesera w'Umututsi), yavukiye i Bwishaza mu 1900, atwara Kanembwe kuva mu 1924 kugera mu 1938;
2. Marembo mwene Mvuye watwaye igice cya Byahi na Gikombe;
3. Ruzuba: Umuhutu ukomoka k'umutware w'Abarashi b'Abacyaba;
4. Gicamugete: Umuhutu ukomoka k'umutware w'umukora (Abungura);
5. Sehene Onesphore mwene Rutebuka: Umuhutu ukomoka i Budaha;
6. Kabayiza Barnabe (ex-s/chef wa Nyamyumba) ka Ruhumuriza rwa Kanimba ka Ruzina rwa Mirimo wa Mparaye: umwegu w'umuhenda.
7. Sefura Ladislav wa Nyamushyota ya Rugina: Umusinga w'umugahe (Tutsi). Yali atuye i Kinunu cya Kanage, yananiwe kwivana mu nzu ngo ahunge kubera

imvune n'ubusaza, yicanywe n'umugore we wanze kumusiga. Ni ababyeyi ba Padiri François Rwigenza wiciwe ku Muhorora mu 1994;

8. Basana, umutware w'Abaguta (Hunde) wali utuye ku Rushayu mu 1971. Sekuruza yategekeye Semirindi wa Mpinda ya Segishyanutsi cya Runyoni rwa Nyakiroli ya Makara (Rwangabami).

Bamwe mu bo twabajije twabafashe amajwi, abandi twagiye twandika ibyo batubwiye tukabishyiringura.

## **A. AMOKO Y'INGENZI Y'I BUGOYI**

Amoko yari yiganje mu Bugoyi ahuriweho n'abahutu n'abatutsi ni aya:

1. Ababanda
2. Abacyaba
3. Abagesera
4. Abasigari aribo Banyoro nk'Indara zo muri Komini Kibayi i Butare
5. Abasindi (Abanyiginya)
6. Abasinga
7. Abanyiginya
8. Abatsobe
9. Abungura
10. Abega.

Kubera kororoka cyane abahutu bari muri ayo moko baje kwiyitirira amazina ava ku bisekuru byabo noneho biba nk'aho bibaye amoko mashya ariko ntibibagirwa ay'inkomoko. Abatutsi bo ntacyo bahinduye ku moko yabo, bakomeje kuyitwa. Ubwoko bwari ihuriro ry'abahutu n'abatutsi cyane cyane mu migendo y'idini no mu matabaro. Mu Bagoyi bari miryango y'ingenzi 57 ifite abatware n'imisozi bingana nayo. Muri abo batware (ibisonga) bari abaserukiraga imiryango yabo i Bwami cyangwa i Butware hakuru. Abatware b'imiryango bambuwe ubutegetsu n'Ababiligi kuva mu 1925-1926, bagenda basimbuzwa abana b'abatware b'abatutsi babyigiyeye mu mashuri ya Leta yari yubatswe mu ntara zimwe z'igihugu zitalimo u Bugoyi. Ababiligi bayirukanyemo abana b'abatutsi bagufi n'abahutu mu 1925 - 1926.

Mu banyeshuri birukanywe icyo gihe harimo umututsi witwaga Kagabo n'abahutu 3 b'umugaragu wa Musinga. Basubiye mu ishuri kubera ko Musinga bahuriye mu nzira bakamuganyirira akarengane bagiriwe agasubirana inyuma nabo akajya kubasabira imbabazi. Kuva ubwo Kagabo yiyitwaga Kagabo ka Musinga. Umuhutu umwe muri babandi yitwaga Madagari.



## B. INKOMOKO Y'AYO MOKO

1. Abambere ni Abasigari aribo Banyoro bahabiye mu ishyamba baneshejwe n'ingabo za Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi hanyuma bakabura aho baca basubira iwabo i Bunyoro. Ni bamwe n'indara zo muri Komini Kibayi i Butare.

Amoko menshi ariko yatangiye kwimukira i Bugoyi kuva ku ngoma ya Cyilima Rujugira (1675-1708) kugeza ku ngoma ya Kigeli wa IV Rwabugili.

Baturukaga mu turere tunyuranye tw'u Rwanda: Bwishaza, Bunyambiriri (i Suti ya Banega) Buhanga, Bushiru, Murera, Bumbogo, Kingogo, Kamuronsi, Bwishya. Abandi batuye mu Gisaka, mu Ndorwa n'i Buyungu.

2. Abambari n'Abahima nibo babanje kuza mu Bugoyi baturutse i Kamuronsi (Sake) ku ngoma ya Cyilima Rujugira (1675-1708). Abambari bakomoka kuri Cyambari naho Abahima bo bakomoka kuri Muhima. Abo bombi bakaba bene Makara (Rwangabami) n'umugore we w'umuhundekazi witwaga Gahombo. Ni Abega rero. Abambari n'Abahima ni amazina y'ibisekuru gusa. Makara (Rwangabami) yababyariye mu buhunzi. N'i Bunyabungo hari abandi bamukomokaho bitwa Abashinjahavu.

I Burundi yababyariye abandi batuye mu i Jenda (Commune Mugongomanga). Makara yiciwe mu Mutara n'ingabo za Cyilima Rujugira ahungukanye n'abahungu be 3: Nkongoli, Ndejuru na Bukuba bapfanye, abandi bombi bakarokoka, bafite imiryango mu Rwanda ibakomokaho.

N.B.: Ubwoko bw'abambari n'abahima nibwo bwiganje mu Bugoyi.

3. Hari ubundi bwoko bw'abiswe "Ibiragi" kubera ururimi rw'igihunde bavugaga abanyarwanda ntibacyumve. Babitaga "ibituku" cyangwa "abera" kubera inzobe yabo yaka. Batuye kuri Rubavu, ku Nkama, Kinigi, Murambi, Mahoko na Nyundo. Basakazaga amazu ibisinde. Niyo mpamvu Babitaga abasakaza-taka, n'i Bugoyi hitwa i Busakazataka.
4. Hakurikiyeho Abwabiwo. Ni abasinga bafite inkomoko mu Ndorwa ariko baje i Bugoyi baturutse i Suti ya Banega mu Bunyambiriri. Abakomoka kuri Migwabiwo batuye muri Muhira, Kizi na Rugarika, bamaze kumenesha Ibiragi twavuze. Macumu mwene Migwabiwo wari ubari ku isonga, ubutwari bwe butuma bamwita Mugoyi ahari kubera ingoyi yari yabohesheje i biragi. Igihugu yigaruriye nacyo cyitwa u Bugoyi aho kwitwa Ubusakazataka. Abagwabiwo batinye Abapadiri bera aho bagereye ku Nyundo kuko baketse ko ari ibituku byenewabo w'Ibiragi bije guhora bibatera ubwoba. Abagwabiwo babaye ibihangange kugeza ubwo

Makombe mwene Macumu yishe Gicuko umuhungu wa Cyilima Rujugira wari ugiye kwiturira i Murambi na Bwiza ho muri Komini Rubavu. Yasabye imbabazi Cyilima II Rujugira arazihabwa ariko inzigo ntiyibagirana, bene umuntu bakomeza kubyibutsa abami kugeza ubwo Yuhi IV Gahindiro atanze Mukiza w'umwuzukuru wa Makombe arahorwa.

5. Abatsobe bo kwa Rutarira baturutse i Bumbogo, Rutarira niwe wakonze Kinyanzovu, Busumba, Ryabizige, igice cya Rwamigega n'icya Bunyogwe. Ni muri komini Rubavu na Rwerere.
6. Abungura baturutse mu Ndorwa baciye i Bwishya.
7. Abahoma ni abagesera batujwe i Mudende.
8. Ababanda baturutse i Gakoma k'Ababanda mu Ndara h'i Butare.
9. Abahunde bo kwa Shamarega bari batikanije na Rutarira w'umutsobe.
10. Abasita b'abatutsi baturutse i Ndorwa batura mu Munigi (RDC).
11. Abahuma ni Abagesera. Batuye ku Runande, mu Rukoko, i Rwerere n'i Kigarama.
12. Abayovu batuye i Rusongati.
13. Abahungira batujwe i Munanira na Rubona ho uri Komini Nyamyumba.
14. Abakora (Abungura) baturutse mu Ndorwa baciye i Rucuru.
15. Abacocori n'Abakono mu Bigogwe.

Abacocori ni Abanyiginya bakomoka kuri Mucocori wa Ndahiro Cyamatare; Mucocori yaciriwe mu ishyamba rya Rwankeri, ajyana na mubyara we Bizimana wahabyariye Abakono baho: Mu byangabo ho mu Rwankeri hitiriwe Ngabo w'umucocori. Ayo moko yombi yakomeje kogoga ishyamba yiragiriye inka mu Bigogwe.

16. Abasindi baturutse i Bumbogo.
17. Abashobyoyi ni Abungura, Baturutse i Buyungu batuzwa ku Nyundo n'i Rubona.  
Hari amoko yandi yaje gutura i Bugoyi ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro.

- 1) Abasinga b'abagahe batuye mu Byahi;
- 2) Abagesera b'abatutsi batuye mu Munigi no mu Byahi;
- 3) Abanyakarama bafite inkomoko i Burundi ariko baba barageze i Bugoyi bava ku Kibuye bafite inkomoko i Burundi ariko baba barageze i Bugoyi bava ku Kibuye, batuye kuri Mont Goma n'ahandi hirya hino;
- 4) Abanyiginya b'Abagunga, Kinanira niwe wahabanje aturutse i Budaha. Umuhungu we Gahama yaharagiye Ingeyo za Rugaju rwa Mutimbo. Abagunga

batuye mu Mbugangali ku Gisenyi, kuri Ngoma (Goma) no ku Mugunga (Umusozi witiriwe Abagunga) aho impunzi z'abanyarwanda za 1994 zari zikambitse. Abandi bimukiye i Bugoyi icyo gihe ni:

- 5) Abega b'Abagagi. Uwambere ni Mpinda mwisengeneza wa Nyirayuhi IV Nyiratunga akaba na musaza wa Gasasa Muka Yuhi IV Gahindiro. Mpinda yageranye i Bugoyi n'umuhungu we Semirindi batuye i Gihango ho mu Bwishaza. Babanje gutura mu Rukoko ho mu Byahi bukeye bimukira ku Rushayu, bahatungira inka zitwaga Abagabo, Yuhi Gahindiro yari yararemeye umugore we Gasasa, wapfuye amaze kuziha musaza we Mpinda. Rugugura mwene Semirindi niwe wanyazwe Abagabo na Kigeli Rwabugiri, amunyaganye n'abandi batutsi bo muri ako karere. Rwabugiri yagabiye Abagabo Ntizimira azita Abazatsinda (Abagabo bazatsinda). Kubera ibitero by'abaryoko bari bayoboje akarere ka Rushayu n'utundi tuyikikije bica abantu bakabarya abandi bakabashorera ari bazima, kubera kandi ibura ry' amazi mu karere kose k' ibirunga ndetse n'ibyorezo bindi Abagagi bashoboye guhonoka bagarutse mu Rukoko ho mu Byahi abandi basubira mu Bwishaza.
- 6) Hari Abega b'abahutu batuye mu nkengero z'ishyamba rya Gishwati bafitanye isano n'ab'i Bushiru.

### **C. ISHYIRAWAHO RY'ABATWARE B'INTEBE MU RWANDA RWA RUGURU**

Cyilima Rujugira niwe wa mbere washyizeho abatware b'Intebe muri ako karere.

Mbere y'ihindurwa ry'ubutegetsu ryagizwe n'Ababiligi mu 1925-1926, u Bugoyi bwategekwe na ba batware 57 b'ubutaka b'imiryango ikomeye y'abahutu. Umwami yaje gushyiraho abatware b'Intebe bategekera i Bwami bahagarariwe n'abo bitoranirije bitwaga Ibisonga, bakaba abahutu cyangwa abatutsi, bari bashinzwe ingabo, ubutaka cyangwa umukenke. Hari abatwaraga imisozi myinshi ndetse rimwe na rimwe itegeranye.

#### **a. ABATWARE B'INTEBE B'UBUGOYI**

1. Sharangabo wa Cyilima Rujugira
2. Biyange bya Ngomiraronka
3. Nkusi ya Yuhi Gahindiro
4. Kabaka ka Kavotwa
5. Rwhimba rwa Kabaka ka Kavotwa
6. Rutebuka rwa Rwhimba
7. Ndagiyihangu
8. Bisangwa bya Rugombituri yatwaraga kuva k'uruzi rwa Kabagali kugera ku Mugunga. Yatwariwe na mwene nyina Nyamukobwa

9. Bushaku yatwariwe na Rwakadigi.

**b. ABATWARE B'INTEBE B'INTARA YA KAMURONSI NA WALEKALE**

1. Munana ya Gihana cya Cyilima Rujugira
2. Marara ya Munana
3. Nyirimigabo ya Marara
4. Nturo ya Nyilimigabo yanyazwe n'Ababiligi igihe cyo gushyiraho imipaka mu 1912. Yatwarirwaga na Ruhunga wasimbuwe n'umuhungu we Buzungu(H).

**c. ABATWARE B'INTEBE B'UBWISHYA**

1. Rugaju rwa Mutimbo
2. Gaga wa Mutezintare wa Sesonga ya Mkara Rwangabami
3. Rwakagara rwa Gaga
4. Nyamushanja wa Rwakagara
5. Sekarubera muka Mutara Rwogera
6. Muhigirwa wa Kigeli Rwabugili
7. Rubega rwa Nkusi ya Yuhi Gahindiro
8. Bayibayi ya Buki bwa Muhabwa (umusinga w'umugahe)
9. Segore wa Nshizirungu
10. Cyaka cya Bihutu bya Nkusi ya Gahindiro.
11. Rwubusisi rwa Cyigenza cya Rwakagara.
  - Gisagari yatwawe na Ntamuhanga (H) umwungura
  - Rugari yatwawe na Rurenga (H)
  - Kibumba yatwawe na Burunga (H)
  - Mugora yatwawe na Bushenda (H).

**d. ABATWARE B'INTEBE B'UBUFUMBIRA**

1. Mureganshuro wa Yuhi Gahindiro
2. Buki bwa Muhabwa
3. Rubare
4. Nyindo

**e. ABATWARE B'INTEBE B'I JOMBA NA BWIZA**

1. Shongoka wa Yuhi Gahindiro
2. Vuningoma
3. Bigandura
4. Mirimo ya Mparaye ya Ruhubira rwa Mashyendegeri.

**D. IBISONGA BY'ABATWARE B'INTEBE BA NYUMA ARIBO BISANGWA NA BUSHAKU**

**a. ABATWARIYE BISANGWA**

1. Abatware b'imiryango 57 bakomeje ubutegetsu bamwe baserukira imiryango yabo i Bwami, abandi i Butware hakuru.
2. Uwali uhagarariye Bisangwa ni mwene nyina Nyamukobwa.

3.	<b>IBISONGA</b>	<b>IMISOZI</b>
1)	Ruzimya	- Gahondo, Kigarama, Gashashi, Kanama
2)	Burahanda (H)	- Nyakiliba
3)	Bizirakuzamba	- Cyeya, Gakora, Kizi, Basa
4)	Biguma (H)	- Kiloji, Nkama, Cyanzarwe
5)	Gatorana ka Biguma	- Kiloji, Nkama, Cyanzarwe (yasimbuye se)
6)	Ruhamankiko	- Kinyanzovu, Ruhengeli
7)	Kabwana	- Murambi
8)	Runiga	- Rugerero, Kabere, Ruvumbu
9)	Segacuruzi (H)	- Kizi na Rubingo
10)	Sebunywero	- Bwitwekere, agace ka Nkama n'aka wa Segacuruzi Kinigi
11)	Kiromba	- Munanira, Nyamyumba, Kiraga, Gatoto, Busasamana, Bushagi
12)	Kajuri (H)	- Rubavu, Rwaza, Gisa, agace ka Kabere
13)	Rumenyamirera	- Byahi
14)	Nteziryayo	- Rwerere
15)	Kamugisha (H)	- Rwerere
16)	Sagatwa (H)	- Rwerere
17)	Sekaziga (H)	- Rwerere
18)	Burunga (Murundi)	- Kabuga (Gahondo)

**b. ABATWARIYE BUSHAKU**

Uwali uhagarariye Bushaku mu Bugoyi ni Rwakadigi.

Ababiligi bageze mu Rwanda Bushaku agitwara u Bugoyi, banyaga ibisonga na ba batware b'imiryango 57. Abahutu bakurwa mu butegetsi buhoro buhoro busigarana abatutsi babyigiye mu mashuri ya Leta nk' uko twabivuze.

**E. ABATWARE B'ABAHUTU BARI BASIGAYE MU BUGOYI KU NGOMA YA MUSINGA**

	<b>IBISONGA</b>	<b>IMISOZI</b>
1)	Macaca	- Tarasi
2)	Kajyibwami	- Kiraga
3)	Sebihaza	- Munanira
4)	Sebacuzi	- Kinigi
5)	Mpeka	- Nyundo
6)	Sebikorera	- Kanama na Rusongati
7)	Sengabo	- Nyakiriba
8)	Mvuye	- Byahi na Rubavu
9)	Ndirishye	- Busoro
10)	Gumiriza	- Gitugutu
11)	Rwerinyange	- Kinyanzovu, Rubavu, Rwerere
12)	Rwamigabo	- Gihinga (Kanage)
13)	Mugabombwa	- Vumbi (Kanage)
14)	Senuma	- Kinigi
15)	Ndinda	- Mwefu
16)	Sagatwa	- Kibumba na Buhumba
17)	Kamugisha	- Rwamigega (Rwerere).

## F. ABATWARE B'UBUGOYI BO KU NGOMA YA RUDAHIGWA

Abatware b'u Bugoyi bakurikira bashyizweho n'Abazungu:

### a. Abashefu

- Gace ka Rwakadigi
- Nyilimbirima ya Nshozamihigo ya Rwabugili (1936-1938). Yanyagishijwe n'abapadiri azize gushaka umugore wa kabiri;
- Kamuzinzi ka Rusagara;
- Kayihura ka Manzi ya Segore (Yanyazwe mu 1959).

### b. Abasushefu

Abasushefu bakurikira barimo abahutu babiri gusa nabo bagabiwe na Rudahigwa mu maremba y'ingoma ye.

Ni Baganizi n'Ugirashebuja wahunganye n'abatutsi mu 1959 ari nabwo aba batware bose banyazwe.

- |     |                         |            |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|
| 1.  | Ruhigira                | Rusiza     |
| 2.  | Sebarema                | Mudende    |
| 3.  | Ruboneka Dominique      | Nyaruteme  |
| 4.  | Murara Augustin         | Bunyogwe   |
| 5.  | Kamanzi Gerard          | Rwamigega  |
| 6.  | Soroza Alphonse         | Busumba    |
| 7.  | Kayitsinga Ananie       | Kinyanzovu |
| 8.  | Itegeri Gabriel         | Rugerero   |
| 9.  | Ngarambe Ildephonse     | Rubavu     |
| 10. | Sabushi Christophe      | Munanira   |
| 11. | Mugunga Deo             | Nyakiriba  |
| 12. | Nyangezi Reverien       | Kanama     |
| 13. | Rwigerezaho Appolinaire | Kigarama   |
| 14. | Ugirashebuja Alain (H)  | Nyundo     |
| 15. | Kabayiza Barnabe        | Nyamyumba  |
| 16. | Rutazibwa Emile         | Kigeyo     |
| 17. | Baganizi Issac (H)      | Busoro     |
| 18. | Bideri Benoit           | Gahondo    |
| 19. | Mpamo Apollinaire       | Rusongati  |



**G. ABATWARE B'ABAHUTU BARI BASIGAYE MU BWISHAZA, BUDAHA, NYANTANGO KU NGOMA YA MUSINGA**

**IBISONGA**

- Batezi
- Rwanyange rwa Mashushe
- W'umuhoryo, wavuye i Suti ya
- Banega

**IMISOZI**

- Murambi wa Rukoko (Budaha)
- Mabanza

Ingoma y' ubwami yayambuwe n' Ababiligi

- Segatwa (Umunyejwi)
  - Rwambibi
  - Kibasha
  - Sebahutu
  - Ntabareshya
- Bizu
  - Shoba (Nyantango)
  - Murunda
  - Mberi (Commune Kivumu)
  - Kiganda (Ramba).

Mu Bagogwe hasigaye umwe witwaga Rucamumpaka.

**Umugereka 4**

**Twakwifashisha umuco ngo tugarure ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda  
M. Kayihura**

Guta cyangwa se guteshwa umuco wacu niryo shingiro ry'ibyago u Rwanda rwagize kandi rugifite.

Abaswahili baravuga ngo "mukosa mila ni mtumwa". Koko lero udafite umuco cyangwa se wawutaye aba ari umucakara. Umuco ufite akamaro mu gihugu kuko wegeranya abagituye (denominateur commun), ukarera abana bacyo, n'ubundi ngo "Uburere buruta ubuvuke". Umuco uyobora abana b'igihugu, bakagira ishyaka ryacyo, bakacyubaka, cyaterwa bakacyitangira.

Umuco nyarwanda ufite byinshi bifite ireme twazura tubihuriyeho bikadufasha kwiyunga no kugarura ubumwe: Kubana - Gufashanya - Ubwangamugayo - Kwiramira - Kwihangana - Ikiboneza-mvugo - Iyoboka-Mana - Imihango n'Imiziririzo.

Hakorwa iki kugira ngo tugandure ibyiza byo mu muco wacu biduhuze?

1. Inganzo y'umuco: Ikwiye gushingwa igahabwa uburyo bwo kwiga no kugaragaza iby'akamaro byo mu muco wacu byaduhuzira -Yashingira kuli Ministere ifite umuco mu nshingano zayo.
2. Uburezi: Umuco ukwiye guhabwa umwanya mu mashuri yo mu nzego zose, ukigishwa, ugatozwa. Ya nganzo y'umuco yatanga abawigisha.
3. Imibanire y'abantu:
  - a) Ubupfura: s'ubwiza bwo ku mubili cyangwa se ubukire - n'imigenzereze n'imyifatire itunganye, ishimwa na benshi. Kwanga umugayo aribyo kudahemuka, kwiramira mu magambo no mu bikorwa - kudashyira inda imbere aribyo bibyara ubusambo n'ubwikanyize. "Igihe umwana w'umunyarwanda atazamenya umugayo icyo ari cyo, ngo mbere yo kumufata azabanze yifate, tumenye ko tuzaba tugosorera mu rucaca".
  - b) Gufashanya: - kubakirana, guhingirana: mur'iki gihe hashimangirwa za cooperatives nta nyamwigendaho nk'ubugi bw'intorezo "umugabo umwe agerwa kuli nyina".
  - c) Gufasha abatishoboye: amata y'umubyeyi yatangirwaga ubuntu, abapfakazi n'imfubyi bagafashwa.
  - d) Kubaha: abato bubahaga abakuru: kubaramutsa, kubimukira ku ntebe.

#### 4. Imihango n'imiziririzo:

Nk'iyo kwita umwana izina halimo gusohora umubyeyi n'umwana akitwa amazina y'amoko yose, bavuye guhinga, imvura y'impimbano ikabacyura bakicara bagasangira ubunyanano. Nk'iyo gushyingira, kwirabura no kwera nk' "umuganura": abategetsi n'ingabo bakaganura umwaka weze: amasaka - ibishyimbo.

5. **Ingando:** zikwiye gukomeza, ni nk'ibitaramo byahoze - Hakigirwamo umuco, amateka, imvugo nziza, ubuhanzi n'ubuhimbi - Muri uko gusabana hazamo ibihuje abantu, ibibatandukanije bakabicoca.
6. **Gacaca:** nubwo ar'izo guca imanza, hazamo no guhuza abantu bishingiye ku muco.
7. **Iyoboka-Mana:** ntabwo ari ugusubira mu mihango yo kubandwa no guterekera ahubwo n'ukwinjiza ivanjili mu muco (inculturation de l'evangile). "Kiliziya ntiyongera gukura kirazira".
8. Umunsi w'ubumwe: ibiduhuje byo mu muco bigahimbazwa.

**UMWANZURO:** Ibivuzwe haruguru mu magambo make byakwigwa binononsoye n'abahanga babitoranirizwa.

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