AMATEKA Y'IMIYOBORERE MU RWANDA:

URUHARE RW'ABANYAPOLITIKI MU GUSENYA NO KUBAKA IGIHUGU

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Gabiro, kuwa 11 Ukwakira 2013

Intangiriro

Intego y'iki kiganiro

Kugaragaza uruhare rw'ubuyobozi n'imiyoborere mu bihe bitandukanye mu gusenya no kubaka u Rwanda

Isoko y'ikiganiro

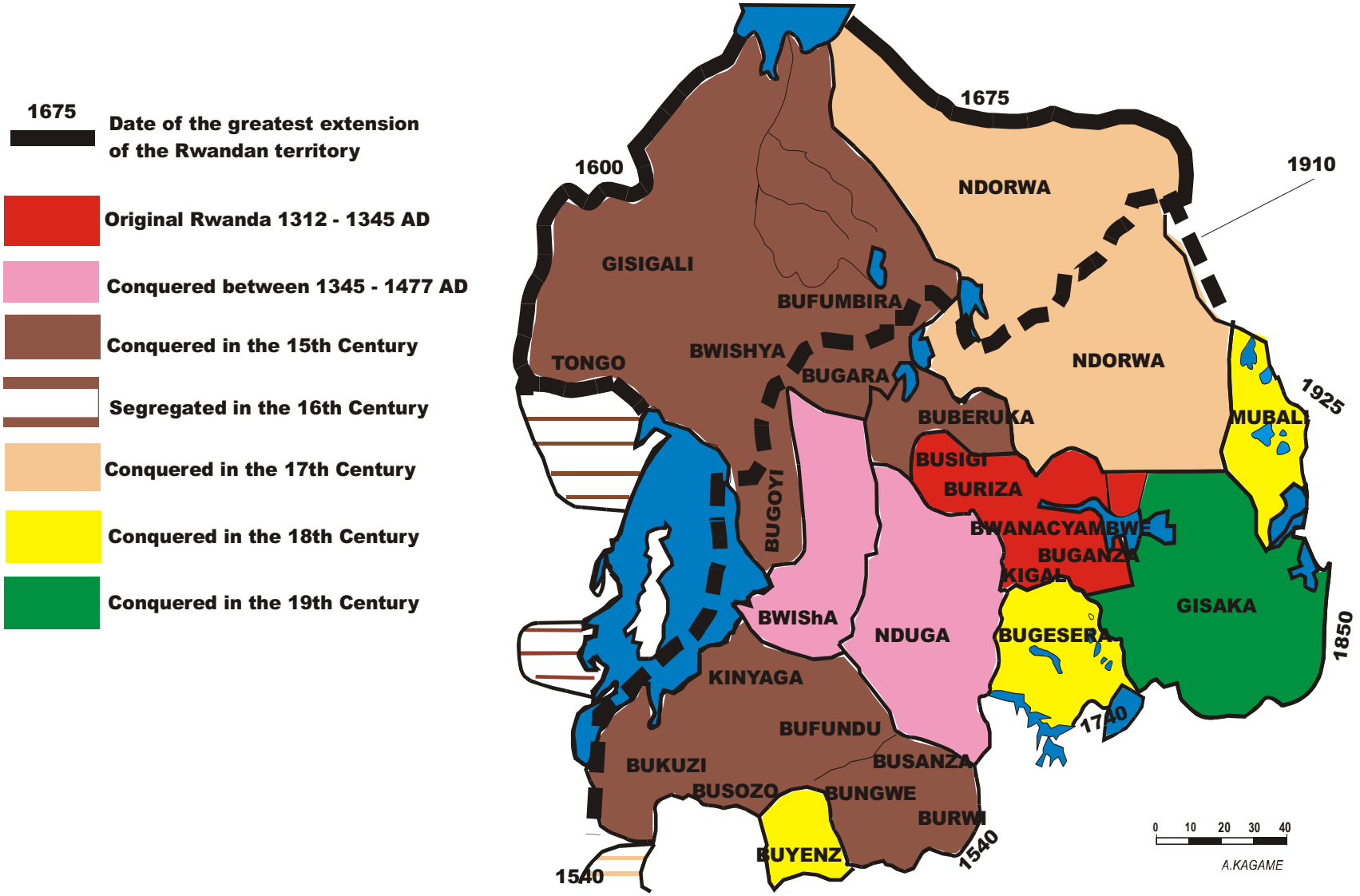
Igitabo nanditse ku miyoborere mu Rwanda: "RWANDA: BUILDING A MODEL NATION-STATE, Apidam Ediciones, 2013"

Iki gitabo nahisemo kugishyira ahagaragara uyu munsi ngo kibe umusanzu wanjye mu gushimangira gahunda ya "Ndi Umunyarwanda".

IGICE CYA MBERE: RWANDA RUGARI RWUNZE UBUMWE MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI

- **U Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni rwari rugari kurusha uko rumeze uyu munsi.**
- **Uhereye ku musozi wa Gasabo U Rwanda rwagiye rwaguka kugera ubwo Abazungu barwambuye zimwe mu Ntara zarwo mu mwaka wa 1885 (Berlin conference).**
- **Intara u Rwanda rwambuwe ni Bufumbira, Ndorwa na Mpororo zometswe kuri Uganda; Rucuru, Bunyabungo n'Ijwi zashyizwe kuri Congo Mbiligi (RDC).**

Ikarita igaragaza uko u Rwanda rwanganaga mbere y'abakoloni



UBUMWE BW'ABANYARWANDA MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI

U Rwanda kuva rwashingwa kugeza ku kiswe "revolution sociale" yo muri 1959 rwayoborwaga n'Abami bakomoka mu muryango w'Abanyiginya.
Abanyiginya ni bumwe mu moko gakondo 18 yarangaga Abanyarwanda

AMOKO GAKONDO 18 AKURIKIRA:

1. Abasinga
2. Abasindi
3. Abega
4. Abashambo
5. Abaha
6. Abasita
7. Abazigaba
8. Ababanda
9. Abacyaba
10. Abatsobe
11. Abashingo
12. Abongera
13. Abagesera
14. Abanyiginya
15. Abungura
16. Abakono
17. Abanyakarama
18. Abenengwe

NB:

Hashingiwe ku miterere y'imirimo y'imibereho aya moko gakondo 18 yagabanyijwemo ibice 3:

1. Abatutsi: Bari abatunzi b'inka. Inka yari ikimenyetso cy'ubukire.
2. Abahutu: Bari abahinzi.
3. Abatwa: Bari abantu batungwaga cyane cyane n'ububumbyi no guhiga.

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mbere y'Ubukoloni (Con'd)

- Hariho ubumwe butajegajega mu Rwanda.
- Umwami yari ipfundo ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.
- Abanyarwanda bose bibonaga nka rubanda rw'umwami kandi nawe akamenya ko umwami agirwa n'ingabo ze.
- Bari bahuriye ku moko gakondo, ururimi, umuco, imyemerere n'imitunganyirize y'inzego z'ubutegetsi, z'umubano, ubukungu, imiturire n'agaciro k'ibintu.
- Nta ntambara hagati y'amoko yigeze ibaho.
- Abanyarwanda bagiraga umutwe w'ingabo bahuriyeho.
- Nta gace k'abahutu, abatutsi cyangwa abatwa kabagaho.
- Amoko yose yagaragaraga mu mirimo itandukanye ijyanye n'imiyoborere n'imihango y'Igihugu.
- Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko ari bene Kanyarwanda ka Gihanga bafite inkomoko imwe.

Uko ubutegetsi bwari buhuriweho n'Abanyarwanda

Ku rwego rw'Igihugu:

- Umwami,
- Umugabekazi,
- Abiru,
- Umutware w'Ingabo,
- Abapfumu,
- Abacurabwenge,
- Abajyanama.

Ku rwego rw'Intara

- Umutware w'Ingabo
- Umutware w'Umukenke
- Umutware w'Ubutaka

Ibisonga byungirizwaga n'abatware b'Imisozi

Ku rwego rw'umuryango

- Umukuru w'umuryango akabumba ibyo byose.

Ku rwego rw'inzu

- Umukuru w'Inzu

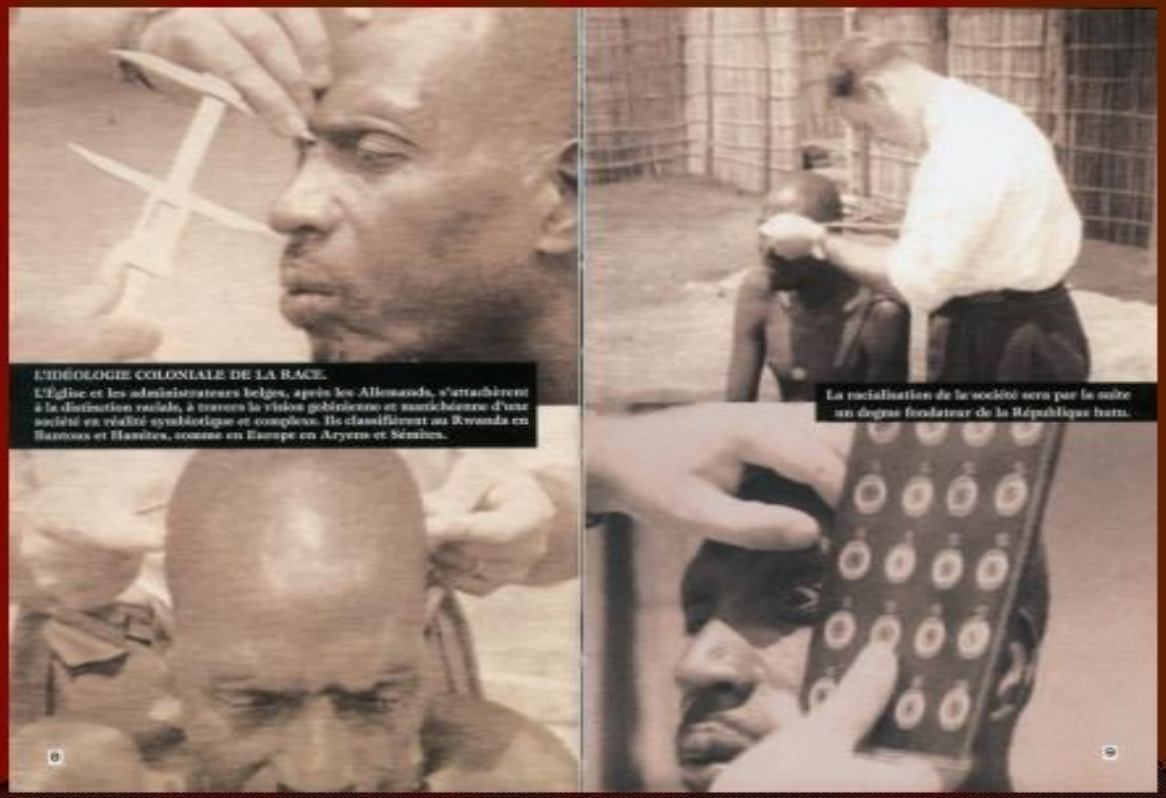
RUBANDA(Abahutu, Abatwa n'Abatutsi)

Bimwe mu bitari shyashya

Intambara zo gusimburana ku butegetsi hagati y’ibikomangoma (Rucunshu).

Uruhare rw’abakoloni mu guteranya Abanyarwanda

What a research!!!
Discrimination process



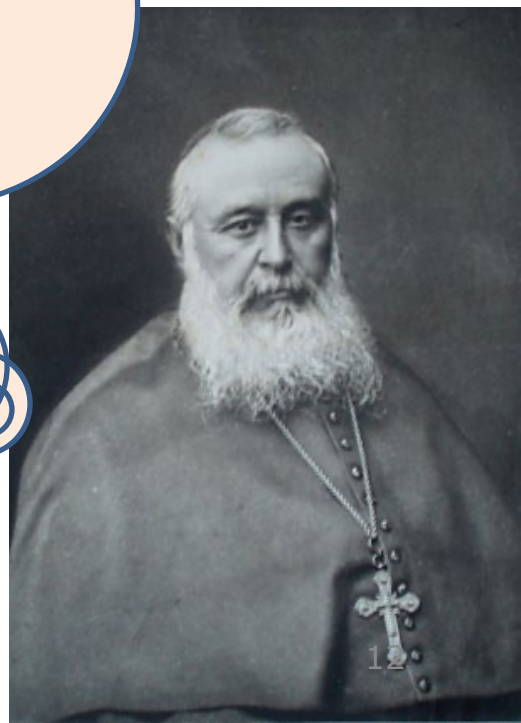
Uruhare rw'abakoloni mu guteranya Abanyarwanda (Con'd)

- Abakoloni bambuye umwami ububasha yari afite.
- Basimbuye umwami mu bubasha no mu cyubahiro, kunyaga no kugaba;
- Bavanyeho ubwiru n'umuco w'umuganura.
- Bashenye ubunyarwanda ibyari ibyiciro by'imibereho babigira ubwoko.
- Bashyizeho imipaka mishya y'u Rwanda bararugabanya.

- **Bazanye ikiboko na shiku.**
- **Bashyizeho n’ibuku irimo amoko.**
- **Bashyizeho umusoro;**
- **Bashenye imyemerere y’abanyarwanda, imigenzo n’imiziririzo**

Umurongo w'Ubukoloni: Ubutumwa Caridinari Lavigerie yandikiye Abapadiri Bera mu 1900 burabigaragaza

Abategetsi (Abatutsi)bafite ububasha bwatuma ijambo ry'Imana rikwirakwira. Ni ngombwa rero ko dufatanya nabo kugira ngo badufahe gukwirakwiza ijambo ry'Imana.



Kalibwami, *Le Catholicisme et la société Rwandaise*, 1991, p.177.
Ibi byatumye Abakoloni bafata abatutsi nk'abantu badasanzwe ko bafitanye isano n'abazungu barabatonesha

Abatutsi ni ubwoko butandukanye cyane n'abahutu, kandi bafite inkomoko yihariye. Bakaba bafite imbuto yo kuyobora itagirwa n'abahutu. Nibo bakwiye kwifashishwa kugera ku nyungu z'ubukoloni.

Bishop Classe's Letter to Governor Mortehan

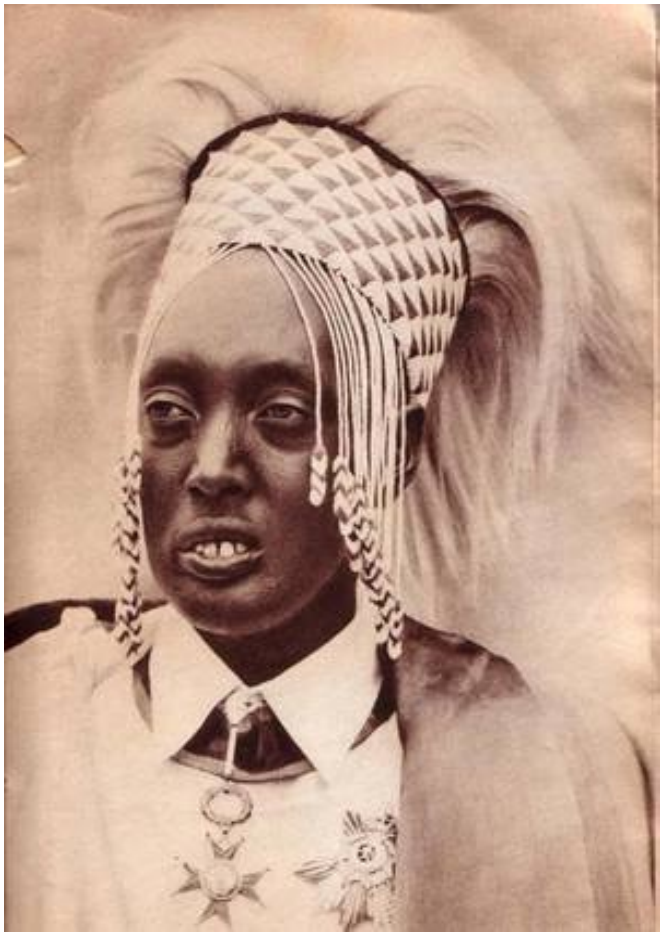
- *"If we want to position ourselves at the practical point of view and seek the country's interest, we have in the Mututsi youth an incomparable element of progress, which no one who knows Rwanda can underestimate".* -de Lacger, *Rwanda*, pp.22-23

Musenyeri Peraudin mu ibaruwa y’igisibo yo ku wa 11/2/1959 yashimangiye ko abahutu bakwiye kwigaranzura ubutegetsi bw’abatutsi akaba ari nabo bagira uruhare ku byiza by’igihugu kubera ubwinshi bwabo.

mythe hamitique

- Ubutugetsi bw'Abakoloni bwubakiye kuri mythe hamitique butonesha ubwoko bw'abatutsi (uburezi, imyanya y'ubuyobozi).
- Hagati ya 1926-1932 Resident Mortehan na Guverini Voisin bakoze amavugurura, abatware b'ingabo, ab'umukenke n'ab'ubutaka basimbuzwa umwe rukumbi bigizayo abatware b'abahutu n'abatwa bari mu buyobozi.

Mutara wa III Rudahigwa mu mpinduramatwara ya politike mu Rwanda



- ✓ Hagati ya 1940-1948, Umwami Rudahigwa yigaruriye isura y'Ubwami yihesha n'icyubahiro atinyuka ubutegetsi bw'Abakoloni kugeza n'aho ashaka kubwipakurura.
- ✓ Yumvise ko agomba kugira uruhare mu mibereho myiza y'Abanyarwanda.(guca ubuhake, gutegeka igabana, kwohereza abanyeshuri kwiga hanze ntavangura, guca inkuke…
- ✓ Ibi byatumye Abakoloni bareka gutonesha abatutsi ahubwo batangira gushyigikira abahutu bashaka no kubasimbuza abatutsi (Residant Logiest na Musenyeri Péraudin.
- ✓ Mu mwaka wa 1956 bamwe mu banyabwenge b'abahutu batangiye gusaba ko ibyakandamizaga abahutu bivanwaho **(Hutu manifesto of March, 23,1957)**

- ✓Habayeho kutumvikana kw’abanyabwenge b’ababahutu n’ab’abatutsi, aho abatutsi bashyiraga imbere ikibazo cy’ubwigenge ibibazo bindi bikazakemuka nyuma; n’aho ab’ababahutu bashyiraga imbere ko hakwiye kubanza gukemura ikibazo cyo gukemura ubusumbane no gusaranganya ubutegetsi indepandanse ikaza nyuma.Batinyaga ko abatutsi bazabihererana abazungu bagiye.

- Iyo abahagarariye impande zombi bashobora kumvikana ku bibazo byavugwaga bakemera kudatsimbarara buri wese ku byo yifuzaga ahubwo bakemera kugira icyo bigomwa, ntabwo u Rwanda rwari kuba rwaragize ibibazo nk'ibyo rwagize kuva muri 1959.
- Akanama kashyizweho n'Umwami Rudahigwa kagizwe n'abatutsi 8 n'abahutu 8 kagiyeho amazi yararenze inkombe kuko kubera inkunga y'Ababiligi abahutu bari bamaze kugira imbaraga, ku buryo babujije inyumwa zabo kumvikana kugabana ubutegetsi.

- ✓Amashyaka menshi yari ashingiye ku moko no ku bwironde nayo yabigizemo uruhare (MDR PARMEHUTU N'APROSOMA).
- ✓Itanga ry'Umwami Rudahigwa ku buryo butunguranye kandi budasobanutse i Bujumbura ku italiki ya 25/7/1959 naryo byatumye impinduka mu gihugu zihuta.

- ✓Abayobozi ba Kiliziya Gatolika basaba abayoboke babo kwirinda ishyaka rya UNAR kuko bavugaga ko ari ishyaka ry'Abakomunisite.
- ✓Ikubitwa rya Dominique Mbonyumutwa wari shefu wa Ndiza (1/11/1959) "n'insoresore z'abatutsi" ryabaye urwitwazo rwo gutwikira abatutsi mu gihugu hose no gutuma bahunga ari benshi nyuma yo kwica abarenga 20.000.

✓Coup d'Etat de Gitarama yabaye kuwa 28/1/1961. Yitabiriwe n'abajyanama barenga 2800 baturutse mu Rwanda hose babifashijwemo n'ubutegetsi bw'Ububiligi (Col. Logiest). Iyi coup d'Etat niyo yabaye intangiriro y'ubutegetsi bwikubiwe n'agatsiko k'abahutu bibumbiye muri MDR Parmehutu na Aprosoma, bakuraho Umwami, Karinga n'ubutegetsi bwa Cyami.

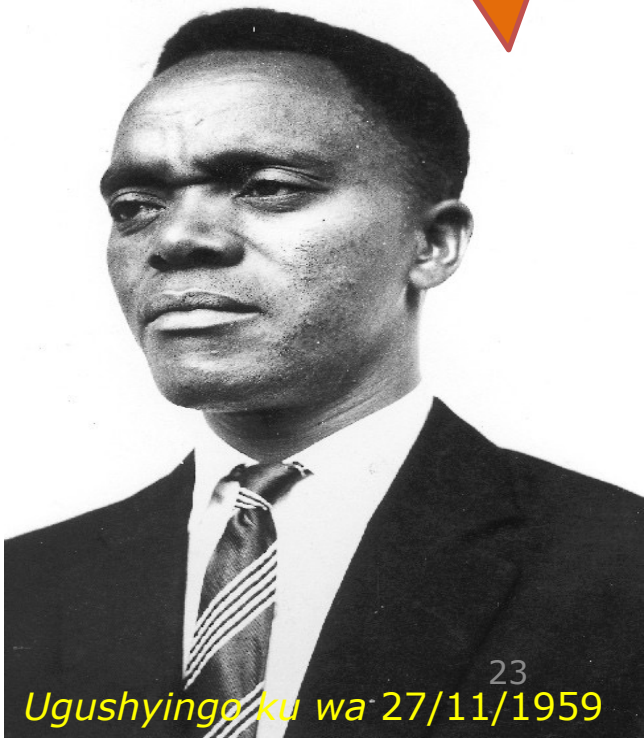
- Icyiswe revolution ya 1959 yari kuba revolution iyo iharanira inyungu z'Abanyarwanda bose,ikanasangiza ubutegetsi Abanyarwanda bo mu moko yose n'amashyaka yose igaha abaturage bose ituze ntawuhutajwe cyangwa ngo avutswe uburenganzire bwe. Muri icyo gihe twabuze nka ba Mandela babasha kurenga ibyabatandukanyaga bagashyira imbere inyungu z'igihugu kandi bakababarira.

IGICE CYA III: Gusenyuka k'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda muri Repubulika ya I&II

igira ingaruka mbi ku gihugu n'abagituye.

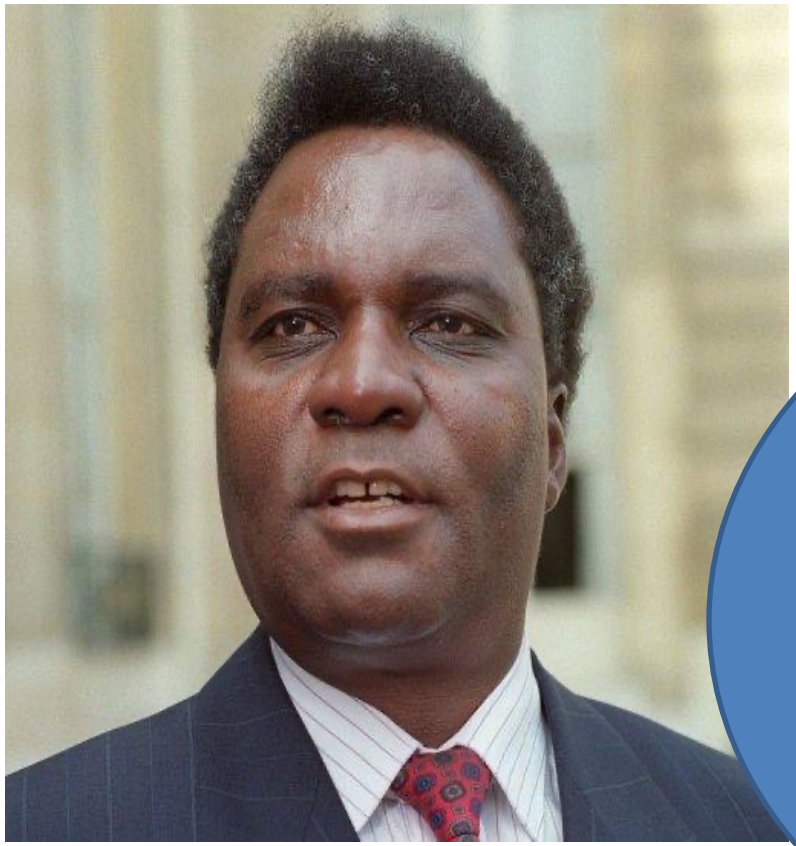
- ✓"Igihugu n'ibikirimo ni iby'abahutu kuko aribo banyarwanda b'ukuri"
- ✓Uko Inyenzi zateraga niko abatutsi basigaye mu gihugu batotezwaga.
- ✓Kwirukana no kumenesha abatutsi mu kazi no mu mashuri cyane cyane ayisumbuye na kaminuza

U Rwanda ni igihugu kimwe kirimo bibiri. Abatuye ibi bihugu nta bahuriyeho. Ntibahuj imico! Ababituye bame nk'abava ahantu batandukanye cyangw abaturage b'imigaba itandukanye!"



Ugushyingo ku wa 27/11/1959

Habyarimana nawe yarwanyaga icyahuza Abanyarwanda



"Nzabahorera"

"Nzazambika ziberwe, hanyuma zimanuke"

"ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda ntibushoboka rubanda nyamwinshi (Abahutu) itabigizemo uruhare.Impamvu ni uko abatutsi batibona nk'abatuye akarere.abahutu bagomba gushyira hamwe ngo birinde icyo aricyo cyosecyashaka kubasubiza ku ngoyi ya gihake na gikolonize"

Abatutsi bategetse u Rwanda bakoresheje kubeshya, ko ari ibimanuka, ko bavukanye imbuto….Revolution yo muri 1959 yemeje ko abahutu aribo bayobora u Rwanda kubera ko aribo benshi. Abatutsi bishongora ko bahutu bagomba kumenya ko haramutse habaye imvururu aribo ba mbere zizagira ho ingaruka. (1976)

Aho kubaha agace k'ubutaka bwacu, uko kaba kangana kose, tuzemera turwane kugera ku wanyuma mbere y'uko igihugu cyacu gisubira ku ngoma y'ubutegetsi bwa cyami!
Abatutsi barashaka kugarura ubundi buhake kugira ngo bigarurire aka karere.
(1/10/1990)

U Rwanda ruruzuye nk'ikirahure gisendereye amazi. Ntaho twabona tubashyira. Ntabyo gukomeza kwitwaza ubuhunzi. Bazake ubwenegihugu aho bari muri Uganda na Zayire. Ubwo nibwo bezemererwa kuza mu gihugu nabwo igihe kigufi baje gusura benewabo. (Interview with *Le Soir*, 4.10.1990

- Hagiyeho system ya quota. Abahutu bagombaga guhabwa imyanya 85% mu mashuri cyangwa mu kazi, abatutsi bagahabwa 14% naho abatwa bagahwabwa 1%.
- Hongewe ingufu mu ironda karere (Nduga-Kiga).
- Hashyizweho Politiki y'Akazu.
- Kujya mu ngabo byasigaye ari akarima k'abakiga hashyirwaho n'uburyo bwo kubuza abasirikare b'Abahutu kurongora abatutsikazi.
- Ingero z'ivangura: Hagati ya 1978-1990 Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kigali byahawe ingengo y'imari ingana na 51% by'ingengo y'imari rusange y'igihugu cyose.

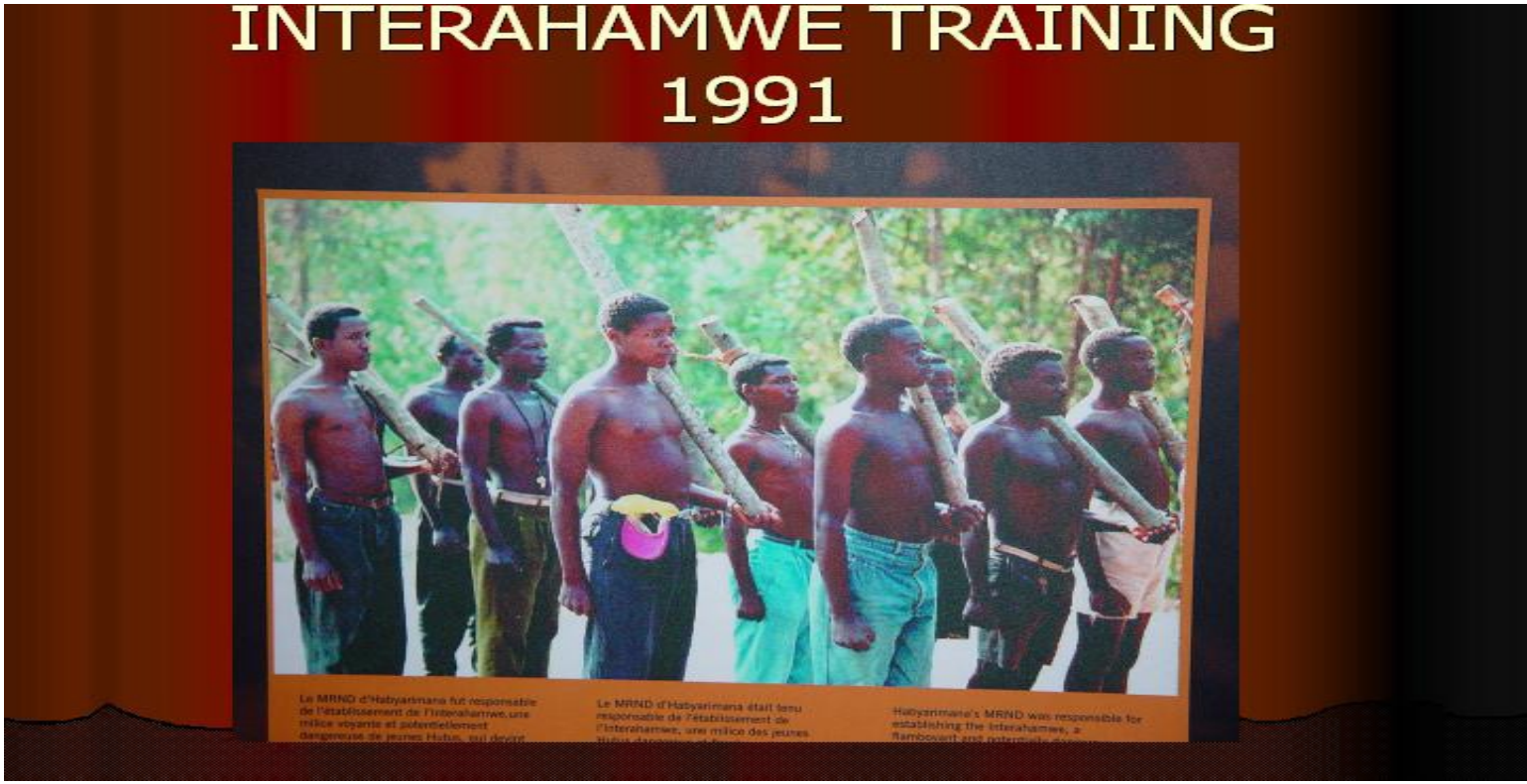
- ✓ Mu mashuri ntihabagaho gutsinda ahubwo habagaho kwemererwa. Urugero: Mu 1989 mu cyari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi bagombaga kubona imyanya 649 bakurikije umubare w'abaturage. Babahaye imyanya 1045 ubwo barengejeho imyanya 396 kuyo bari kubona! Butare bagombaga kubona imyanya 836. Babonye 696. Ubwo babatwaye imyanya 140!

- 1981-82 muri Perefegitura ya Butare, abatutsi bari batsindiye kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye bari 44, hemerewe 6 gusa. By'umwihariko muri Komini ya Huye hatsinze Abatutsi 21 hemererwa umwe.
- Buruse zabajyaga kwiga hanze, ku ma Perefegitura 10, Gisenyi yari yihariye 39.2%. Abatutsi bo rwose byari inzozi! Nabageragezaga kuzishakira ku bundi buryo kubona impapuro z'inzira byari bikomeye !
- Mu ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikare, abatutsi bari 1.6%.
- Ku bayobozi b'Ibigo 62, Gisenyi na Ruhengeri bari bafite 60%.
- Mu masosiyete 15 yari akomeye mu Rwanda, abatutsi bari 4.5%!
- Ku Badepite 70 u Rwanda rwari rufite, Abatutsi bari 2!
- Ku bayobozi ba Perefergitura na makomini kubona umututsi harimo umututsi umwe.
- Kubona n'umwanya w'ubuyobozi mu madini nabyo byashingiraga ku moko. Muri make ubushobozi ntacyo bwari buvuze.

Itegurwa n’ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Ngiye gutegura Apolalypse

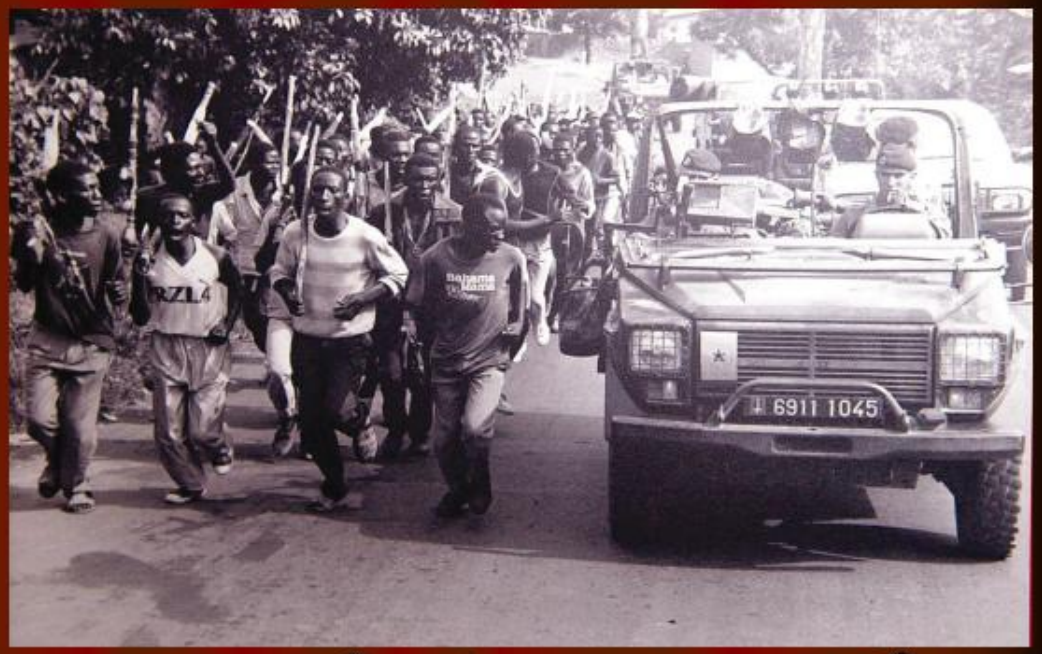
Col.BAGOSORA



"Umwazi nyakuri ni umututsi ari uri mu gihugu cyangwa hanze y'igihugu w'intagondwa uhora ashaka ubutegetsi, akaba atarigeze yemera na rimwe kugeza na n'ubu revolution yo muri 1959 ndetse n'ibyitso bye biri mu mpunzi z'abatutsi bari mu gihugu n'abahutu batishimiye ubutegetsi, inkorabusa z'imbere mu gihugu no hanze ndetse n'abanyamahanga barongoye abatutsikazi"

(Definition y'umwanzi yatanzwe na Minisiteri y'Ingabo ku wa 21/9/1992)

Interahamwe trained by French Troops in 1991



Uruhare rw’abize mu gutegura jenoside

Mperutse kubwira umuntu wari unyiraseho ngo ni za PL. Ndamubwira nti : "ikosa twakoze muri 59, nubwo nari umwana, nuko twabaretse mugasohoka". Mubaza niba atarumvishe inkuru y‘Abafalasha, basubiye iwabo muri Israheli bavuye muli Ethiopiya ambwira ko atayizi, nti : "Ntabwo uzi kwumva no gusoma ? Jye ndakumenyesha ko iwanyu ari muri Ethiopiya, ko tuzabanyuza muri Nyabarongo mukagera yo bwangu" **Ijambo rya Mugesera Léon, yavugiye muli mitingi yo ku Kabaya, taliki 22/11/1992**

Perezida Sindikubwabo akongeza jenoside muri Perefegitura ya Butare

Umenya ahari mutarumvise amabwiriza twatanze. Cyangwa ntimwumvise icyo tubasaba, cyangwa se mwarabyumvise mwanga kubishyira mu bikorwa…Ba ntibindeba, abadashaka kurangiza inshingano zabo,abashaka kurebera mu gihe abandi bakora, abo bose nibave mu nzira. Abashinzwe kubadukiza babigire vuba kugira ngo abafite ku mutima ubushake bwo gukora batangire akazi. Bavandimwe ndagira ngo amagambo tuyahinire aha,kandi ndagira ngo mbibutse kujya musobanukirwa neza ibyo tuba tubabwira n'impamvu tuba tubivuga gutya. Ibihe birakomeye. Muve mu rwenya n'imikino ahubwo mutangire akazi. (Ijambo rya Perezida Sindikubwabo mu muhango wo kwimika Perefe Sylvain Nsabimana asimbura Jean Baptiste Habyarimana wazize Jenoside, 16.4.1994)

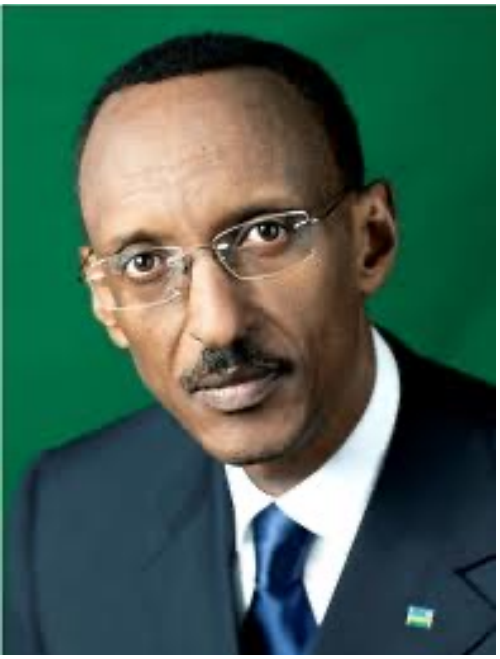
Minisitiri w’Intebe Kambanda yashishikarije abaturage kwitabira ubwicanyi abaha imbunda

Intambara turwana ni iyanyu mwese..Inkotanyi ntizishaka ubutegetsi gusa. Namwe zirabashaka. Zirashaka kubamarira ku icumu. Aho zanyuze hose zagiye zica abantu. Niyo mwamvu mugomba kwiga imbunda mukikiza umwanzi. Mugashirika ubwoba bakubita isasu ntubunde. Imbunda si iy’umusirikari gusa. Dore nanjye ndayifite. Buri gihe.Ng’iyi. None se ziriya nsoresore z’abatutsi zibarusha iki?Si imbunda,Si ubwinshi si n’ibigango.

IGICE CYA IV: Ubuyobozi bufite icyerekezo cyo kubaka ubunyarwanda

- ✓FPR ishyiraho Leta (19/7/1994) ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi
- ✓Gushyiraho ingamba

Muri make abanyapolitike b'uyu munsi bavoma impanuro mu cyerekezo cya H.E Paul Kagame:



Icyerekezo cyanjye ku Rwanda, ni Igihugu kirangwa n'ubumwe, cyibona mu bihugu bigikikije, Igihugu giteye imbere, cyaranduye ubukene, kirangwa na demokarasi, ariko ikiruta byose kikaba Igihugu kirangwamo umutekano kandi kibanye neza n'abaturanyi. Nitwe bantu ba mbere bafite inshingano zo kubaka u Rwanda rwashegeshwe na jenoside. Ibi ni ibyo twemereye abazadukomokaho n'isi yose.

Boston, USA, 2005

- Ntidushobora gusubiza igihe inyuma cyangwa ngo tuvaneho ibibi byatubayeho ariko dufite ubushobozi bwo kugena ejo heza hazaza h’u Rwanda no gutuma ibyabaye bitazongera kuba ukundi.

- Kuba umunyarwanda muzima niyo politike twese dukwiye kugenderaho. Politike y’ikinyoma yishe u Rwanda, Afurika n’isi muri rusange.Ntabwo twe Abanyarwanda twapfa kabiri. Twapfuye rimwe kandi rirahagije. Byaba ari ishyano twemeye gupfa kabiri.Kudapfa bwa kabiri rero turashaka abanyarwanda b’abayobozi bazima bumva ko tutapfa kabiri.

Umwanzuro

✓Ndagije mbasaba guhora tuzirikana iyi mpanuro ikomeye nsorejeho twahawe na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ihuye na gahunda turimo uyu munsi yo kubaka ubunyarwanda.

Murakoze
Murakarama