Politiki n'amoko mu Rwanda

yandistwe na Inosenti Nsengimana

Ingingo irebana n'amoko mu Rwanda ikomeje kugibwaho impaka n'abantu b'ingeri nyinshi. Ahanini ingorane zikunze guturuka ku kutamenya amateka y'imihindagurikire y'ikoreshwa ry'ijambo « ubwoko » ku bijyanye n'umuryango nyarwanda. Ikindi gitera ingorane ni ukutamenya itandukanyirizo lili hagati y'ibyitwa ubu « amoko », ni ukuvuga abasinga, abazigaba, abatutsi, abatwa, abahutu, ababanda, abacyaba, abasindi…, isano bifitanye n'ukuntu byakoreshejwe muri politiki. Iyi nyandiko iragaruka kuri izi ngorane ari nako hagenda hagaragazwa ibisubizo ku bibazo bizikomokaho.

Ubundi ijambo *ubwoko* ku birebana n'abantu, likoreshwa bashaka kuvuga *inkomoko.* Ku bijyanye n'umuryango nyarwanda, iyo babajije umuntu *ubwoko* bwe baba bashaka kumenya inkomoko ye. Gusa aha igisubizo gitagwa akenshi ntabwo kiba kimwe ku banyarwanda bose: umwe ashobora kukubwira ati ndi umuzigaba, ndi umusinga, ndi umusindi…; undi akakubwira ati: ndi umututsi ndi umuhutu, ndi umutwa… Aha umuntu yakwibaza ibibazo bibili by'ingenzi:

1-Byagenze bite kugirango ibyo byose byitwe amoko?

2-Ali abo bazigaba, abasinga, abasindi ari n'abatutsi, abahutu, abatwa, ni bande biyitirira inyito y' abandi?

I. Amoko gakondo y'Abanyarwanda ni ayahe ?

Iyo tugiye mu mateka yanditswe kuri kariya karere u Rwanda rw'ubu rwubatseho, hari byinshi dusangamo bitwereka ko abanyarwanda bo hambere (aha reka tuvuge mbere y'umwanduko w'abazungu) bavugaga inkomoko yabo bashingiye ahanini ku moko. Ayo moko abanyarwanda bibonagamo yageraga

kuri 20 : abasinga, abasindi, abazigaba, abagesera, ababanda, abacyaba, abega, abungura, abashambo, abatsobe, abakono, abaha n'ayandi… Ubuzima mbonezamubano ndetse n'ubujyanye na politike muri rusange bwari bushingiye kuri ayo moko. Umuntu yanavuga ko ariyo ubuzima muri rusange bwari bwubakiyeho…

Ibi bishobora gusobanurwa n'ingingo zikurikira :

Reka dutangirire ku bihugu bya mbere byari hariya u Rwanda rw'ubu ruri, ibyo bihugu byari byubakiye ku moko : Mubali w'abazigaba, Gisaka cy'abagesera, Nduga y'ababanda…n'ibindi.

Mugushaka kuvuga abaturage babanjilije abandi hariya u Rwanda rw'ubu ruri, ni ukuvuga abasangwabutaka naho hakoreshwaga ayo moko ; bavugaga ko cyangwa bavuga ko abasinga aribo basangwabutaka

Ibyo gushyingirana nabyo byagenderaga kuri ayo moko : Reba nko mu bami b'abanyiginya baravugaga bati turafata abageni mu bakono, mu baha, mu bega, mu basinga… Muri uru rwego rwo gushyingirana, Bwana Fawustini Kabanza, mu kiganiro yagiranye na Gaspard Musabyimana kuri Radiyo Inkingi ku ya 19 mata 2020 yatanze ingero. Yavuze Nyirantobwa umukobwa w'umwami Mibambwe Sekarongoro warongowe kwa Mashira, avuga Bwiza bwa Mashira warongowe na Gahindiro bivugwa ko yari umuhungu w'uwo Mibambwe Sekarongoro… Kuri uru rutonde twakongeraho Mageni bivugwa ko yari umwuzukuru wa Nsoro Bihembe wategekaga u Bugesera ngo akaba yarazanye na Nyanguge atwite Mukobanya. Uwo Mageni yarongowe kwa Ngoga wo mu Nduga ya Mashira. Abo bose, nk'uko Kabanza abivuga, ntawagiye mu rugo rw'undi gushaka umugeni ari umututsi, ari umuhutu cyangwa se umutwa.

Urundi rugero ni rwa Ruganzu Bwimba igihe bavuga ko yari amaze gufata icyemezo cyo kujya gupfira mu Gisaka nk'umutabazi, yagize ati: „*Umusindi*

yarenze akarwa…“ ashaka kuvuga ko nk’umusindi adashobora gusubira ku cyemezo yafashe. Izi ngero zose zirerekana ko mugushaka kugaragaza inkomoko ye, umunyarwanda wo hambere ni amoko abasinga, ababanda, abagesera,… yashyiraga imbere.

Ntawashyiraga imbere ubututsi, ubuhutu cyangwa ubutwa kuko nkeka ko bwari butaraza (ndashaka kuvuga muri icyo gihe cya Ruganzu Bwimba amateka avuga ko yabayeho mu kinyejana cya cumi nagatanu). Bishatse kuvuga ko ariya moko (abasinga, abazigaba, ababanda,…) yabayeho mbere y’ubututsi, ubuhutu n‘ubutwa. Aha naho ndahahurira na Kabanza wari muri kiriya kiganiro navuze haruguru. Iyi ngingo ni ingenzi kuyumva neza kuko idufasha kumva impamvu dusanga abatutsi, abahutu, abatwa mu bazigaba, abasinga, ababanda n’ahandi mu yandi moko…

II. Abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu twavuga ko batangiye kuvugwa ryari?

Ntibyoroshye gusubiza iki kibazo. Iyo umuntu asomye amateka yerekeranye n‘ariya moko (abazigaba, abasinga, ababanda…) yari aturiye hariya u Rwanda rw’ubu ruri ndetse no muri kariya karere k’ibiyaga bigari kose akayasesengura arinako ayagereranya, usanga ahagana mu kinyejana cya cumi na gatandatu gishyira icya cumi na kalindwi gitangira ibintu byaratangiye guhinduka. Amoko amwe yashatse kubaka ibihugu binini, birenze akagali kiyitirira ubwoko bumwe. Ahangaha umuntu ashobora kuvuga ko bariya basindi ba mbere ni ukuvuga ba Bwimba aribwo bashobora kuba baratangiye kwagura akagali kabo kazavamo u Rwanda tuzi ubu…

Ugutera imbere by’ako kagari kwaranzwe n’ibintu bibiri by’igenzi:

-Gusenya ibihugu bishingiye ku moko bikomekwa kuri icyo cy’abasindi byagize ingaruka mbi kuri ayo moko kuko akenshi abagize ayo moko, bamwe baricwaga abandi bagatorongera;

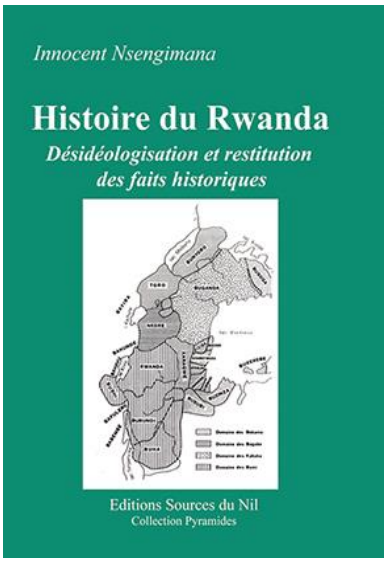
-Havutse ingenabitekerezo nshya ishingiye kuri politiki y'imiyoborere y'icyo gihugu cyari gitangiye kuba kinini cyangwa se kwaguka inajyanye kandi n'ingamba zo kwigarurira ibindi bihugu. Ni muri uru rwego rujyanye niyo ngengabitekerezo ya politique n'uko yagiye ikura nkeka ko amagambo abahutu, abatutsi, abatwa ashobora kuba yaratangiye gukoreshwa.

Mu gitabo cye *Intwari z'Imbanza zubatse u Rwanda rugahamya igitinyiro. Amateka y'umushinga wo kubaka u Rwanda, umaze imyaka 926 (1091-2017),* Yohani wa Mungu Nsanzabera avuga ko ari ku gihe cy'umwami Cyilima Rugwe (bavuga ko yabayeho ahagana mu kinyejana cya cumi na gatandatu) ayo magambo yinjijwe mu mibereho y'abanyarwanda asobanura ibyiciro by'ubudehe mu rwego rw'ubworozi bw'inka...

Vansina we, mu gitabo cye "*Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya"* akavuga ko ari ku gihe cy'umwami Cyilima Rujugira (bavuga ko yabayeho ahagana mu kinyejana cya cumi n'umunani) ayo magambo yakoreshejwe mu rwego rw'intambara. Bashaka gutandukanya abarasanaga ku rugamba bitaga abatutsi n'abatwaraga ibikoresho, impamba… bitaga abahutu.

Biragoye kwemeza ko biriya bice (abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu) byariho ku gihe cya Rugwe nk'uko Nsanzabera abivuga kubera ko twabonye haruguru ko muri biriya bihe bya Bwimba bivugwa ko ariwe wabyaye Rugwe, amoko abasinga, ababanda, abasindi… ariyo yakoreshwaga. Ko ibyo bice byaba byaratangiye gukoreshwa ku buryo bwimbitse mu buzima mbonezamubano no muri politiki ku gihe cya Rujugira birashoboka. Nanone ahangaha naho ariko ntabwo ubushakashatsi bwari bwatangaza itariki idakuka.

Icyigenzi aba bashakashatsi bahuriyeho, ni uko ayo magambo yabayeho kuva mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu; kandi ko yadutse asobanura catégories sociales. Erega si hariya u Rwanda ruri gusa ayo magambo yakoreshejwe avuga catégories sociales. Abanyanga, Abamongo bo muri Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo nabo barayakoreshaga…Uwaba ashaka kumenya neza ibyerekeranye nabo *banyanga* cyangwa abo *bamongo*, yabisanga mu gitabo mperutse gusohora cyitwa *Histoire du Rwanda. Désidéologisation et restitution des faits historiques*… Editions Sources du Nil, Lille, 2020.



Ukwaduka kw'amagambo abahutu, abatutsi, abatwa n'ikoreshwa ryayo bigaragara ko bishobora kuba byabayeho nyuma ya Ruganzu Bwimba bivugwa ko uyu yabayeho ahagana mu kinyejana cya cumi na gatandatu ntibigomba gufatwa nk'intangiriro y'amateka y'u Rwanda cyangwa se aya kariya karere u Rwanda rw'ubu rwubatseho. Mbere y'icyo kinyejana, ako karere kariho n'amateka yako, gatuwe n'amoko gakondo: ababanda, abacyaba, abasindi, abazigaba, abasinga, abagesera…yarangwaga n'imirimo inyuranye: ubuhinzi, ubworozi, ubucuzi… Haruguru twabonye ko amoko amwe yari yarashoboye no kubaka ibihugu yigengagaho. Ibyo bikorwa byose ntibyavumbukiyeho gutyo gusa; byatanzwe n'iterambere ubushakashatsi buvana ahagana imyaka 500.000 mbere y'umwaduko wa Kristu.

Ibindi bintu bibili by'igenzi umuntu yavuga ahereye kuri buriya bushakatsi bwa Nsanzabera na Vansina ni uko izo nyito z'ubuhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa zaje nyuma y'amoko (abasindi, ababanda…) kandi ko abinjiye cyangwa abinjijwe mu byiciro izo nyito zasobanuraga, batavaga muri za Kameruni, za Tchad cyangwa se muri za Abisiniya…

Gushingira gusa ngo ko abantu basa maze umuntu akabahuza inkomoko ntabwo bihagije. Niyo mpamvu guhuza abahutu n'abakamerune, abatutsi n'abapeule cyangwa n'abosomali, ukongeraho ko baje mu Rwanda ariyo baturutse bakahasanga abatwa ataribyo. Ese niba ubu abo bahutu, abo batututsi bavuga ururimi rumwe rw'Ikinyarwanda, muri ibyo bihugu bya Kameruni, Tchad, Somalie… naho bavuga cyangwa bavugaga ururimi rw'Ikinyarwanda? Niba se abahutu n'abatutsi barigiye urwo rurimi rw'Ikinyarwanda ku batwa basanze mu Rwanda, izindi ndimi baje bavuga ni izihe? Ese hari ibisigisigi byazo dusanga mu Kinyarwanda? Kugeza ubu abahanga mu ndimi ntabyo barerekana. Izo nkomoko zihabwa abo banyarwanda ni impimbano, ntaho zihuriye n'ukuri; zatangajwe mu rwego rwo gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo ya politiki igamije gufata ubutegetsi, kubugundira no kubuheza ho abandi nk'uko ubu hari abanyarwanda bashaka kwisanisha n'abayahudi mu rwego rwo gushaka kwitandukanya n'abandi banyarwanda kugirango bashobore kubatsikamira…

III. None umuntu yasobanura ate ukuntu abatutsi, abatwa, abahutu bahurira mu moko?

Niba ibyo bice (abatutsi, abatwa, abahutu) byaraje nyuma y'amoko (abazigaba, ababanda, abasinga, n'ayandi …) birumvikana ko byagiye bivana abantu muri ayo moko yariho bitewe n'imilimo babaga bahamagariwe gukora. Ahangaha umuntu yavuga ko byagiye byoroshwa ni uko abari bagize ubwoko ubu n'ubu batari bafite ubumenyi bumwe ku bijyanye n'imibereho mbonezamubano na politiki, ntibakoraga imilimo imwe kandi ntibari bakungahaye kimwe. Umuntu yavuga ko bagiye binjira cyangwa se binjizwa muri ibyo bice bitewe ni uko babayeho cyangwa n'icyo bazanye. Mu basinga hashoboraga kuboneka abinjira cyangwa se abinjizwa muri catégorie y'abatutsi, iy'abahutu n'iy'abatwa. Mu basindi, mu bazigaba n'ahandi mu yandi moko naho byashoboraga kuba uko...

Ikindi gisobanura uruhurirane rw'abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa mu moko ni uko ari ayo moko cyangwa se ibyo bice by'abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi nta gipande na kimwe cyari gifunze. Abanyarwanda binjiraga mu bwoko cyangwa mu gice iki n'iki bakagisohokamo kubera impamvu zinyuranye: gushyingirana, ubuhake, … Politiki nayo hari igihe yabigiragamo uruhare. Urugero twavuga ahangaha n'urw'umuryango wa Padiri Kagame Alegisi dusanga mu gitabo cya Antoine Nyagahene. Ku rupapro rwa 252 Bwana Nyagahene avuga ko umuryango wa Padiri Alexis Kagame w'abahabwa wo mu bwoko bw'abasinga winjijwe mu batutsi n'umwami w'abanyiginya Kigeli Rwabugili mu kinyejyana cya cumi n'icyenda bitewe nuko Buki, sekuru wa Padiri Kagame yafashije uwo mwami mu bitero yagabye mu karere yari atuyemo ko mu Ndorwa.

IV. Abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu baje kuba *amoko* bigenze gute?

Amagambo «abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa» ni ayo mu rulimi rw'Ikinyarwanda, bivuze ko ntaho ahuriye n'umwaduko w'bazungu mu Rwanda; yariho kandi yarakoreshwaga mbere y'ukuza kwabo mu Rwanda. Amagambo « ubwoko – amoko » nayo yabagaho mbere yuko abazungu bagera mu Rwanda kuko yakoreshwaga ku basinga, ababanda, abasindi, abazigaba,… Abazungu bamaze kwemeza ko « abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa » ari za « ethnies », cyangwa se «races» no kubavangura hakurikijwe isura bashatse igisobanuro cy'ayo magambo mu Kinyarwanda, ni uko bafata ya magambo « ubwoko-amoko »; kubera ingufu bari bafite, abazungu bemeje iyo nyito nshya y'amagambo « abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa »; abategetsi b'abanyarwanda bategekanaga nabo, ni ukuvuga abami b'abanyiginya barayakira, abiru babo barayikwirakwiza. Muri make rero, umuntu yavuga ko ayo «moko mashya» yazanywe kandi ashyigikirwa n'abari bafite ingufu mu rwego rwa politiki no mu rw'ubukungu. Niyo mpamvu ayo «moko mashya» yahise ahabwa agaciro kurusha yayandi gakondo abanyarwanda bibonagamo.

Ugutakaza agaciro kw'amoko cyangwa uguta imbaraga kwayo kubera impamvu za politique byatumye ibyo bice bindi by'abanyarwanda (abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu) biza imbere mu mibereho mbonezamubano no muri politiki. Uko kuza imbere kw'ibyo bice kwagiye kuza buhoro buhoro: Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu ibyo bice byarakoreshejwe: tubisanga mu bitekerezo bikubiye mu gitabo cyandistwe na André Coupez na Kamanzi; mu bucurabwenge, cyane cyane muri cya gisigo cyaratag ibisekuru by'abami b'abanyiginya bivugwa ko abashinzwe uwo murimo bagizwe abakozi bakuru b'ibwami kuva ku ngoma ya Kigeli Mukobanya. Iyo abacurabwenge bavugaga icyo gisigo batangiriraga ku mwami uriho. Nk'iyo bakivugaga ku ngoma ya Mutara Rudahigwa, bagira bati: *„uyu mwami twimitse ni Mutara. Izina rye ry'ubututsi ni Rudahigwa. Nyina umubyara ni Nyiramavugo. Izina rye ry'ubututsi ni Kankazi… "*; bagakomeza batyo kugeza kuri Gihanga bavugaga ko ariwe wahimbye ingoma yabo.

Mu gihe cya gikolonize no mu gihe cya za Repubulika: iya mbere, iya kabili n'iya gatatu ubu nandika iyi nyandiko turimo, naho ibyo bice byarakoreshejwe ndetse bihabwa n'ingufu kuko byakoreshejwe cyane n'abanyapolitike kugirango bagere ku nyungu zabo. Uko kuza imbere kw'ibyo bice kwagiye gusubiza inyuma amoko abanyarwanda bibonagamo ni ukuvuga abazigaba, abasinga, abasindi… ari nako ibyo bice byagiye bifata izina *ubwoko* ku buryo muri iki gihe iyo ikibazo cyerekeranye n'ubwoko kibajijwe ntabwo ari kenshi umuntu yumva abasinga, abazigaba…; akenshi umuntu yumva abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu…

Ijambo *ubwoko* twavuga rero ko ryakoreshwaga mbere na mbere kuri ariya moko gakondo abasinga, ababanda, abega, abasindi… ariko ko ryaje gukoreshwa ku abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu ahanini bitewe n'abanyapolitiki bashakaga gukurakuza inyungu zabo…

V. Ayo moko gakondo twavuga ko yatangiye kuvugwa ryari?

Kimwe n'uko haruguru navuze ko bitoroshye kubona italiki amagambo abatwa, abatutsi, abatwa yatangiriyeho gukoreshwa mu mibereho mbonezamubano no muri politiki by'abanyarwanda ndagiragango aha naho ku berebana n'ariya moko gakondo mvuge ko bigoye gutanga igihe yavukiye n'ubwo bwose bigaragara ko yabanjirije abahutu, abatwa, abatutsi. Icyo umuntu yavuga ni uko bishoboka ko yabayeho akomotse ku iterambere mbonezamubano ry'abaturage bari baturiye kariya karere u Rwanda rw'ubu rwubatseho niry'utundi turere tugakikije. Ikindi umuntu yavuga ni uko ayo moko yavuye mu baturage bamwe, bari bamaze kumenyerana, barangwa n'umuco umwe banavuga ururimi rumwe ruzaba mu iterambere ryago Ikinyarwanda, Ikirundi, Igishi… Amwe muri ayo moko yavukiye muri kariya karere u Rwanda rw'ubu ruri, andi hanze yako.

Uko imyaka yagendaga ishira indi igataha ni nako ayo moko yagendaga ahindura isura, amwe akimuka agahindura inturo; byageze naho amoko amwe akomera maze yubaka ibihugu. Muri kariya karere u Rwanda rw'ubu ruri, nk'uko biboneka hejuru muri iyi nyandiko umuntu yavuga u Mubali w'abazigaba, Nduga y'ababanda, u Bugara bw'abacyaba…

Kuri ibi birebana no kwimuka kw'amoko, ayaje gutura muri ako karere aturutse ahandi, ntabwo yavuye kure yako kuko mu muco uranga abagatuye ubu nta bimenyetso bibyerekana. Imibanire hagati y'amoko yategekaga ibihugu byayo ntabwo buri gihe yari myiza. Mu gushaka kwagura ibihugu byayo, amoko amwe yashoje intambara ku yandi moko maze ibihugu by'atsinzwe bikomekwa ku by'atsinze.

Ni muri urwo rwego ibihugu bimwe byagutse ibindi bigasenyuka burundu. Uku gusenyuka kw'ibihugu bimwe kwakulikirwaga n'ugutakaza ingufu kw'amoko yabiyoboraga. Mu by'ukuri, izi ntambara nizo zatangiye kwaka ingufu amoko

k’ishingigiro ryubakirwaho ibihugu. Abatsindaga intambara, ibihugu byabo bikaguka, bashatse izindi nkingi z’ubutegetsi bwabo, maze bashyiraho ingamba n’ingengabitekerezo zituma bayobora ibyo bihugu byabo byagenda byaguka ari nako zigenda zigabanya ingufu z’amoko. Byabaye ngombwa ko bashyiraho ibyiciro mu baturage bituma babayobora; muri kariya karere u Rwanda rw’ubu rwubatseho ibyo byiciro nibyo byiswe abatwa, abahutu, abatutsi. Ibi nabyo byaje biturutse mu baturage bamwe, bafite umuco umwe kandi banavuga ururimi rumwe. Birashoboka kandi ko ayo moko n’ibyo byiciro ari ibya vuba (nanone aha byumvikane ku rwego rw’amateka) ugereranije n’u Rwanda gakondo n’ururimi rwarwo Ikinyarwanda rwabibanjirije.

Umwanzuro

Mu gusoza, icyo twavana muri aya mateka y’amoko: abasinga, abazigaba, abasindi… cyangwa no muri ariya yerekeranye na biriya bice bindi abatwa, abatutsi, abahutu ni uko byose byakomotse ku iterambere ry‘imbonezamubano, ry‘ubukungu cyangwa rya politike ry’umuryango nyarwanda. Bishatse kuvuga ko Abanyarwanda muri iryo terambere ryabo aribo batanze, ku bihe bitandukanye na none, ayo moko yose n’ibyo bice byose. Niyo mpamvu ayo moko yose n’ibyo bice byose bihuriye ku muco umwe: ururimi rumwe, gushyingirana, guturana bivanze mu gihugu, indyo imwe, imyambalire imwe, n’ibindi. Muri make Abanyarwanda ni bamwe! Atari ibyo byagorana gusobanura ukuntu abahutu, abatutsi n‘abatwa (niba atari bamwe) baboneka mu bwoko bumwe nk’ubw’abazigaba aho abawugize bavuga ko bukomoka ku mukurambere umwe bita Kazigaba...

Mu mateka y’abanyarwanda, habayeho politiki mbi zishingiye ku ngengabitekerezo z’irondakoko zabagabanyijemo ibice.

Ingaruka zizo politiki zaranzwe n'ibibi byinshi: ubwicanyi, guhunga igihugu, kwikubira ibyiza by'igihugu…Ariko icyagararagaye ni uko kuva mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu izo politiki zajyaho, nta bwoko cyangwa igice na kimwe cyitandukanije n'abandi banyarwanda ngo gituye mu gipande cyacyo cy'igihugu cy'u Rwanda, ngo gishyireho ururumi rwacyo, imyambalire yacyo, indyo yacyo…kubera ko wa muco umwe ubaranga wakomeje kubagira umwe. Uyu muco w'ubumwe hagati mu Banyarwanda ni ubere imbaraga abakiri bato, barwanire guha u Rwanda icyerekezo cy'ubumuntu kizira amacakubili aho yaturuka aho ariho hose kuko ubwo bumuntu aribwo soko y'iterambere rirambye.

Inosenti Nsengimana
Kanama 2020