REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

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

"CAHIER"

UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

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IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Imwe mu nshingano z'ingenzi z'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe (CHENO) ni ukurata intwari z'igihugu no kwamamaza ibikorwa by'ubutwari byaziranze kugira ngo Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose, cyane cyane urubyiruko, bigire ku mateka yaranze intwari z'u Rwanda ari nako baharanira gutera ikirenge mu cyazo. Ni muri urwo rwego CHENO yatekereje gushyiraho ikinyamakuru cy'Urwego kugira ngo gifashe gusakaza umuco n'indangagaciro z'ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, cyane cyane muri ibi bihe twugarijwe n'icyorezo cya Covid-19 aho gusoma ibyanditswe ari imwe mu nzira zidufasha kugera ku Banyarwanda benshi kandi twirinda ikwirakwizwa ry'iyo virusi irushaho gufata abari mu materaniro ayo ariyo yose.

Iyi nimero ya mbere y'ikinyamakuru cy'Urwego cyiswe "**Umurage w'Ubutwari**" iravuga ku butwari mu Banyarwanda b'ibyiciro byose: abakuru n'abato, abagore n'abagabo, abayobozi n'abayoborwa, ikagerageza no gutanga ingero z'ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa izo ntwari zakoze. Ikigenderewe muri izi ngero ni ukwerekana ko ubutwari mu Banyarwanda bwari umuco w'abanyagihugu b'ibyiciro byose. Bityo n'Abanyarwanda b'iki gihe bakaba bakangurirwa kugera ikirenge mu cy'izo ntwari zakoze ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa.

Inyandiko y'ibanze, ***"Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu",*** uretse no kuba yitiranwa n'insanganyamatsiko y'uyu mwaka, iribanda ku butwari mu mateka y'isi, indangagaciro dusanga mu muco w'u Rwanda, ubutwari n'ubumwe byubatse u Rwanda, n'ubwakuye Igihugu mu kaga mu bihe bitandukanye; bukaba ari nabwo butuma Igihugu cyacu gikomeza gutera imbere.

Inyandiko ya kabiri, "***Ubutwari no kwitangira Igihugu birajyana"*** iragaruka ku bikorwa by'ubutwari bw' "Abakurambere b'intwari bitanze batizigama" bahanga u Rwanda, bararwubaka, kugeza ubwo rubaye ubukombe, nk'uko Indirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu cyacu ibitwibutsa. Abo bakurambere b'intwari bitanze, abenshi ni abiswe *Abacengeri* n'*Abatabazi* bakaba barabayeho ku ngoma hafi ya zose z'u Rwanda. Iyo nyandiko iratubwira bamwe muri bo n'impamvu zatumye bamenera

Igihugu amaraso, ari byo byerekana ko ubutwari koko bujyana no kwitangira igihugu.

Inyandiko ya gatatu "***Ubutwari bw'abagore mu Rwanda"*** iribanda ku butwari bw'Abanyarwandakazi, yerakana ko nabo batatanzwe mu bikorwa by'ubutwari mu Rwanda mu bihe byose rwabayeho nk'igihugu cyigenga. Ikigamijwe ni ukwerekana ko Abanyarwanda b'ibitsina byombi bashobora kuba intwari kuko kwitangira igihugu atari umwihariko wa bamwe.

Inyandiko ya kane, "***Ubutwari mu bana, umurage w'ababyeyi***" iravuga ku butwari mu bakiri bato. N'ubwo umuntu yakwibwira ko umwana ataba intwari, hari ingero mu mateka ya vuba y'u Rwanda, zerekana ko abana bakoze ibikorwa by'ubutwari abandi bana bafatiraho urugero. Abo ni nk'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange banze kwitandukanya ndetse n'abana b'imfubyi bireze bakarera n'abandi bana nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ubu bakaba bari mu bateza imbere Igihugu.

Inyandiko ya gatanu, "***Ubutwari mu buyobozi bw'u Rwanda si umugani biri mu murage***" iragaruka ku butwari mu bayobozi b'Igihugu muri rusange. Igaragaza intwari zahanze u Rwanda, izarugobotse mu bihe by'amage n'izarurinze kuba ingaruzwamuheto y'abanyamahanga cyangwa y'amacakubiri mu bana barwo.

Inyandiko ya gatandatu, "***Impeta n'ingororano mu Rwanda mbere y'ubukoloni"*** iribanda ku buryo Igihugu cyashimiraga intwari z'u Rwanda zarwaniye Igihugu n'ukuntu umwaduko w'Abakoloni watumye uwo muco w'ubutwari ugenda ukendera mu Rwanda, dore ko n'urwego rwarindaga Igihugu narwo rwari rwavanyweho.

Inyandiko isoza, "***Gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu mateka y'u Rwanda kuva mbere y'ubukoloni kugeza ubu"*** iragaragaza impeta zatangwaga mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoroni, izahabwaga abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma y'ubwigenge, n'uburyo bwo gushima no gushimira abagaragaje ibikorwa by'ubutwari mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi na nyuma yayo.

Muri ibi bihe twizihiza Intwari z'u Rwanda, izi nyandiko zigamije gukangurira Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose gukomeza kurangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Iyi nyandiko izajya isohoka kabiri mu mwaka: ku ya 1 Gashyantare twizihiza *Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu*, no ku ya 1 Ukwakira twizihiza *Umunsi wo Gukunda Igihugu*. Tukaba duhamagarira buri munyarwanda wese ukunda Igihugu kugira uruhare muri iki kinyamakuru cy'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe, atwoherereza inyandiko zisingiza Intwari z'u Rwanda zinarata ibikorwa byazo byabera abandi Banyarwanda urugero.

Tuboneyeho no gushimira abantu bose bagize uruhare kugira ngo iki kinyamakuru kijye ahagaragara.

Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve

Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego

I. UBUTWARI MU BANYARWANDA, AGACIRO KACU

NKUSI Déo*

INTANGIRIRO

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda ubutwari ni imwe mu ndangagaciro ziranga Abanyarwanda. Kugira ngo u Rwanda rushobore kubaho kuva rugihangwa kugeza ubu, ni uko rwagize intwari zarwitangiye zikarurwanaho mu buryo bwose, zaba izatabarutse n'izikiriho.

Intwari z'igihugu zagize uruhare mu guhanga u Rwanda, kuruha icyerekezo gihamye no kururinda ababisha bahoraga bashaka kurwigarurira. Abanyarwanda kandi bagaragaje ubutwari mu kubohora u Rwanda ingoyi y'amacakubiri n'akandi karengane kose katumaga rwisenya, ndetse no mu kuruteza imbere mu ngeri zose kugera ubwo rubaye ubukombe mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

Ubutwari ni indangagaciro igaragarira mu mibereho yacu ya buri munsi, kuko bujyana n'ibyo umuntu yiyemeje kugeraho bikavamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga gifitiye abandi akamaro gahanitse; akabikora mu bupfura, mu kwihangana no mu bwitange buhebuje; kandi akirinda ubugwari mu migirire ye ntagamburuzwe n'amananiza. Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda nibwo butuma bagira agaciro kuva kera kugeza n'ubu. Ni nabwo buzatuma dukomeza kubaka u Rwanda twifuza mu gihe kiri imbere.

Iyi nyandiko igaragaza ubutwari mu mateka y'isi, indangagaciro dusanga mu muco w'u Rwanda, ubutwari n'ubumwe byubatse u Rwanda, ubutwari bwakuye Igihugu mu kaga mu bihe bitandukanye, n'ubutwari mu kubaka no guteza imbere u Rwanda.

1. Ubutwari mu mateka y'isi

Kuva kera, ubutwari ni indangagaciro igaragara mu muco w'imiryango y'abantu (sosiyete) itandukanye ituye isi. Buri muryango w'abantu ugira intwari zawo. Buri muryango w'abantu kandi ufite uko ufata

*NKUSI Déo ni Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego

intwari zawo mu buryo bwihariye. Hari ibiranga ubutwari bihurirwaho n'abantu ku isi yose, hari n'ibindi by'umwihariko biba muri buri muryango/igihugu.

Mu myumvire y'abari batuye isi mu binyejana byahise, ubutwari bwajyanaga n'imbaraga z'umubiri (ibigango) hamwe n'iza gisirikari (imyitwarire ku rugamba). Uko ijambo ubutwari ryagiye ryumvikana mu mpande zitandukanye z'isi, abantu benshi bafashe ko risobanura ubwitange n'ubutwari ku rugamba. Nta tandukaniro rinini ry'imyumvire mu bihugu binyuranye aho ubutwari bwajyanaga no kwitanga kurusha abandi ku rugamba.[1]

Ubutwari bwagiye buva mu byerekeye urugamba bugenda bureberwa mu bikorwa byose bihebuje kandi bifitiye umuryango w'abantu akamaro; nko mu bumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga, mu buzima, mu bikorwa binyuranye bigamije iterambere n'imibereho myiza, mu mibanire myiza, mu miyoborere myiza, mu mutekano n'amahoro, n'ahandi.

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni, ubutwari ni indangagaciro yashingirwagaho cyane mu mibereho y'Abanyarwanda. Ijambo ubutwari rigaragara mu bice byinshi by'umurage nyemvugo nko mu migani, ibyivugo, ibitekerezo, imigani migufi, amazina y'inka n'ibindi. Abanditsi benshi barabyerekanye mu nyandiko zabo zitandukanye zisesengura umuco n'amateka by'Abanyarwanda. Ubutwari bwatorezwaga mu muryango, mu muryango mugari harimo n'abaturanyi no mu Itorero.[2]

Mu myumvire y'Abanyarwanda ubutwari burangwa n'ishyaka, gukunda igihugu, ubwitange, ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa, kuba inyangamugayo, kuba umunyakuri, gutinyuka kurwanya ikibi no gushyigikira icyiza, gukorera mu mucyo no kugira ubumuntu.[3]

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[1]Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe, Umuco w'ubutwari mu Rwanda, Kigali, 2018, p.10

[2]Ibid., p.11

[3]Ibid.

2. Indangagaciro zuzuzanya mu muco w'u Rwanda

Mu mibereho n'imyumvire y'Abanyarwanda, ubutwari busobekeranye n'umuco n'indangagaciro byaranze Abanyarwanda mu bihe bitandukanye. Indangagaciro ni ibimenyetso ngiro n'imyifatire myiza biranga abantu batuye igihugu iki n'iki. Ni ibikorwa ndangamuco abanyagihugu bemera kandi bifuza ko byahora bibaranga bikanabitiririrwa uko ibihe biha ibindi, bikaba amahame y'uburere atozwa abato.[4]

Indangagaciro remezo[5] Leta y'u Rwanda yasanze ari zo z'ingenzi zikwiye kuranga Abanyarwanda mu mibereho yabo kugira ngo bagere ku iterambere rirambye ni izi zikurikira :

- *Gukunda Igihugu,*
- *Ubumwe* (kunga ubumwe) ;
- *Umurimo* (gukunda umurimo unoze) ;
- *Ubupfura* (kurangwa n'ubupfura).

Izi ndangaciro zifite izindi zizishamikiyeho, ndetse na kirazira zigendana nazo.

2.1. Gukunda Igihugu

Gukunda Igihugu ni ugukunda bene cyo. Ni ugukunda abagituye nta kuvangura, gukunda ibikigize byose nk'ubutaka, amazi, ibidukikije, ururimi, umuco, amateka ; kugikorera, kubumbatira umutekano n'ubusugire bwacyo ; kukitangira byaba ngombwa ukaba wanagipfira.[6]

Indangagaciro zishamikiye ku gukunda Igihugu ni izi zikurikira : *kubaha ubuyobozi, kugira ubwitange, kurangwa n'ubutwari, kugira ishyaka, kugira ubushishozi, kubungabunga umutekano, kwagura amarembo, kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'Igihugu, gucunga neza ibya rubanda,*

[4] Minisiteri ya Siporo n'Umuco, Indangagaciro z'Umuco w'u Rwanda, igitabo nyobozi, Kigali, 2018

[5] Ibid

[6] Minisiteri ya Siporo n'Umuco, Indangagaciro z'Umuco w'u Rwanda, igitabo nyobozi, Kigali, 2018

kurwanya ruswa n'akarengane, guharanira ubutabera, uburinganire n'ubwuzuzanye, n'izindi.

Kirazira zerekeye ku gukunda Igihugu ni izi zikurikira : *gutatira Igihugu, kuyobora nabi, kuba ikigwari, kugenzwa n'inyungu zawe bwite, kugira inda nini n'umururumba, gukoresha nabi ibya rubanda, gusambira ibyaduka,* n'izindi.

2.2. Ubumwe

Abanyarwanda babona ubumwe nk'imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco n'uburenganzira bungana, barangwa n'ubwizerane, ubworoherane, ubwubahane, uburinganire, ukuri, komorana ibikomere kugira ngo bashobore kwiteza imbere mu mahoro asesuye.[7]

Indangagaciro zishamikiye ku bumwe ni izi zikurikira : *kubaha ubuzima, kubaha umuryango, kubana, kubaha no kurangwa n'ikinyabupfura, gufatanya, gutabarana, gusabana, kwizerana no kujya inama, gucudika, kugira ubwuzu, kugira ubuntu, kuzirikana abandi, kuganura*, n'izindi.

Kirazira zerekeye ubumwe ni izi zikurikira : *kugira ivangura no kubiba amacakubiri, gusuzugura, kwishishanya, kwironda*, *gutonesha, gukorera mu dutsiko, kubogama, kurangwa n'ihohotera, gutsimbarara ku kibi*.

2.3. Ubupfura

Ni ipfundo rikubiyemo imyitwarire myiza : nk'ubwangamugayo, ubudahemuka, kwiyubaha no kubaha abandi, kwicisha bugufi, kuba umwizerwa n'umunyakuri. Abanyarwanda bemera ko kuba imfura umuntu abitozwa. Mu muco w'u Rwanda, kugira uburere bwiza ni byo bituma umuntu agera ku ntera ndende y'ubupfura.

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[7] NURC, Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2007.

Indangagaciro zishamikiye ku bupfura ni izi zikurikira : *kugira umutima, kurangwa n'ubumuntu, kwitonda, kwanga umugayo, kwiyubaha, kwiyoroshya no kwicisha bugufi, kuba umunyakuri, kwihangana, kurangwa n'ubumanzi, kwiramira no kwitsinda, kuzuza amasezerano, kugira ijambo ryiza, gushima no gushimira.*

Kirazira zerekeye ku bupfura ni izi zikurikira : *guhemuka, kwiyandarika, kubeshya, kwikuza no kwirata, guteranya, kuvunda, kugira umururumba n'ubusambo, kutanyurwa, ishyari*.

2.4. Umurimo

Gukora ni inshingano ya buri wese mu muryango w'abantu. Umurimo utunga kandi ukiza uwukora, umuhesha agaciro, wungura ubwenge iyo ukoranywe ubuhanga. Umurimo uhesha agaciro uwukora akumva ubwe ko hari icyo yigejejeho cyangwa agejeje ku bandi no ku gihugu. Umurimo ukoze neza uhesha ishema uwawukoze, ukamushimisha kandi ukamutera kwigirira ikizere, agashyikira intego yo kwigira aho gutegereza « ak'imuhana » ngo « kaza imvura ihise » kandi ngo « amazi masabano nayo atamara imbyiro ».

Indangagaciro zishamikiye ku murimo ni izi zikurikira : *kugira umurava, gukorera ku ntego, kuri gahunda no ku gihe, gukora umurimo unoze, gukorera hamwe, guhanga imirimo mishya no kuvugurura imikorere, gucunga neza umutungo.*

Kirazira zerekeye ku murimo ni izi zikurikira : *kunebwa, gusuzugura umurimo, kutigirira ikizere, kwiyemera, kutagira gahunda, gusesagura, kutanoza umurimo ushinzwe, kudasoza inshingano nta mpamvu*.[8]

Abanyarwanda bagira bati : « Aho werekeje amaboko, uherekeze umutima n'ubwenge » ; nibyo bitanga umurimo unoze.

Muri izi ndangagaciro remezo zavuzwe haruguru, ijyanye n'ubutwari cyane n'iyo « gukunda Igihugu » n'abagituye bose kuko ubutwari bujyana no kwitangira abandi.

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[8] Minisiteri ya Siporo n'Umuco, Indangagaciro z'Umuco w'u Rwanda, igitabo nyobozi, Kigali, 2018

3. Ubutwari n'ubumwe byubatse u Rwanda

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoloni Abanyarwanda bose bari bazi ko u Rwanda ari igihugu cyabo ntawe uhejwe, kandi ko ntawe ushobora kuvuga ko akirushaho abandi uburenganzira. Ibyo byatumaga bafatanya mu kurinda ubusugire bwacyo, mu kugikorera no kugiteza imbere.[9]Kuva u Rwanda rwahangwa kugeza ubu, Abanyarwanda baharanira kunga ubumwe k'u Rwanda, kuganza amahanga, kugira igitinyiro no kwihesha agaciro. Abanyarwanda bose bari bafite umugambi umwe wo kurwanira ubusugire bw`igihugu cyabo, bari bakomeye ku muco wabo kandi bose biyumvamo isano y`ubunyarwanda.

3.1. Ubufatanye mu kwagura igihugu

U Rwanda rwa mbere rwitwaga u Rwanda rwa Gasabo rwari agahugu gato kari mu karere k'ubu ka Gasabo, ahari hakikije ikiyaga cya Muhazi. Uko u Rwanda rwagendaga rukura mu binyejana byinshi ni ko rwagendaga rwiyubaka mu birebana n'ubutegetsi bwa politiki, bw'ingabo, bw'ubukungu, n'ubw'imibanire n'umuco.

Mu myumvire y'abakurambere bahanze Igihugu cyacu, u Rwanda rwaharaniraga kuba igihugu "kigari" kigomba kugera "iyo riterwa inkingi n'inkenke", bivuga ko rwagombaga kutagira iherezo. Birerekana ko kwaguka k'u Rwanda byari bimenyerewe n'Abanyarwanda bose bakanabigiramo uruhare. Uko kwaguka kwatewe n'uko rwagiye rwigarurira ibihugu byinshi bya bene Gihanga mu bihe bitandukanye**.** <u>Ingero:</u> i Nduga y'Ababanda, u Bungwe bw'Abenengwe, u Mubari w'Abazigaba, u Bugesera bw'Abahondogo, i Ndorwa y'Abashambo, Ubushiru n'Ubugoyi by'Abasinga, i Gisaka cy'Abagesera n'ibindi bihugu by'abene Gihanga.

Kwaguka kw'igihugu ntabwo ari ukwagura ubutaka gusa. Iyo Umunyarwanda ageze ahantu akahageza umuco we n'indangagaciro, akabana neza n'abaho nabwo aba yaguye Igihugu. Ni nacyo gisabwa Abanyarwanda b'ubu kuko imbibi z'Igihugu zo ntizicyaguka.

[9] Perezidansi ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda, <u>Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda</u>, Kigali, 1999

Ubumwe n'ubufatanye byarangaga Abanyarwanda byatumye u Rwanda ruba igihugu cy'igihangange mu karere, gito mu buso ariko kikaba kinini mu mitekerereze ku buryo ibihugu byahoze bituranye narwo kuva kera biruzi nk'ishyanga ritisukirwa.

3.2. Ubufatanye mu kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu

Abanyarwanda bose bafatanyaga mu kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu ngo kitigarurirwa n'amahanga. Ubutegetsi bwafatanyaga n'abaturage mu gushyiraho uburyo bwo kurinda igihugu ibitero by'abanzi/ababisha hagamijwe kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu ; ni ukuvuga ubusugire bw'abagore n'abagabo (abaturage), ubusugire bw'ingoma (ubuyobozi) n'ubusugire bw'inka (ubukungu). Ibyo nibyo byari bigize u Rwanda rwa Gihanga.

Urugero ni nk'urwo ku ngoma y'Umwami Cyilima II Rujugira (1675-1708) wagaragaje ubuhanga bwo gukingira no kurinda igihugu, akabuza ababisha kukivogera. Ku ngoma ye, u Burundi, u Bugesera, i Gisaka n'i Ndorwa byibumbiye hamwe ngo byigarurire u Rwanda birabinanira.

Umwami Cyilima II Rujugira yumvishije Abanyarwanda bose ko bagomba kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu ndetse ashyiraho ingerero abagabo hafi ya bose bajya mu ngabo z'Igihugu kugira ngo bimire ibitero by'abanzi bavaga impande zose. Binyuze ku ruhare yahaye abanyarwanda bose mu ngabo z'Igihugu, yaremye imitwe y'ingabo cumi n'umwe ayikwirakwiza ku nkiko z'u Rwanda.

Zimwe mu ngerero zashyizweho ni izi zikurikira :

1) Mututu (Muyira) : yari igizwe n'ingabo z'Abarima zayoborwaga n'igikomangoma Gihana, mwene Cyirima II Rujugira;

2) Gakoma (Muyaga) : yari igizwe n'ingabo z'Ababanda bayobowe n'igikomangoma Nyarwaya mwene Yuhi II Mazimpaka;

3) Buhanga-Ndara (Kirarambogo) : yari igizwe n'Indara zayoborwaga na Rwasamanzi wa Mukungu wa Yuhi Mazimpaka;

4) Imvejuru (Nyaruhengeri/Save) : Imvejuru zari ziyobowe na Byavu;

5) Nyakare (Kigembe) : Hari ingabo z'Inyakare zayoborwaga na Nkoko wo mu muryango w'Abashingo;

6) Bashumba (Nyakizu) : zari zigizwe n'Abashumba bayobowe n'igikomangoma Kimanuka mwene Kigeli III Ndabarasa;

7) Nyaruguru : hari imitwe irimo Inyaruguru zari i Coko ziyobowe n'igikomangoma Rwamahe rwa Cyirima Rujugira, Indirira zayoborwaga n'igikomangoma Mukwiye wa Yuhi Mazimpaka zari i Runyinya, n'Abadehemuka bayoborwaga na Rubona wa Rusimbi w'Umutsobe bari i Giseke. Rubona yaguye mu Buyenzi nk'Umutabazi.[10]

Uretse ingerero zari ku nkiko z'u Burundi, Umwami Cyilima II Rujugira yashyize izindi ngerero aha hakurikira :

- Yashyize urugerero i Munyaga (Abakemba) rwo kurwanya i Gisaka;
- Yashyizeho ingerero i Makuta na Rutare mu Buganza zo kwimira abanya Ndorwa.

Izo ngerero zahigitse ibitero by'Uburundi, i Gisaka n'i Ndorwa hanyuma ingabo ziyobowe n'umuhungu we Sharangabo zitera i Gisaka naho Ndorwa iterwa n'iziyobowe n'undi muhungu we Ndabarasa.[11] Kuva ku ngoma ya Cyilima II Rujugira niho imvugo yamamaye ngo "u Rwanda ruratera ntiruterwa".

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[10] Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda. Kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p. 100

[11] Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, Amateka y'u Rwanda. Kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX, Kigali, 2016, p. 100

4. Ubutwari bwakuye mu kaga Igihugu mu bihe bitandukanye

Kuva ruhangwa, u Rwanda rwahuye n'ibibazo byinshi byaba ibyavaga hanze y'u Rwanda cyangwa ibyavaga mu gihugu imbere. U Rwanda rwavuye mu bibazo byose rwanyuzemo kubera gukunda igihugu, ubutwari n'ubwitange biranga Abanyarwanda kuva kera kugeza ubu.

Zimwe mu ngero tugarukaho muri iyi nyandiko ni urw'Abaryankuna batabaye u Rwanda rwari rumaze imyaka 11 rwigaruriwe n'Abanyabungo ku ngoma ya Ndahiro II Cyamatare; urw'abatabazi/abacengeri bitangiye u Rwanda mu bihe bitandukanye; n'urw'Abanyarwanda babohoye u Rwanda bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994.

4.1. Abaryankuna batabaye u Rwanda rwari rumaze imyaka 11 rwigaruriwe n'amahanga

Ahagana mu mwaka wa 1477 Umwami w'u Rwanda Yuhi II Gahima amaze gutanga, abana be barwaniye ingoma, banga kuyoboka Ndahiro II Cyamatare wari umaze kwima ingoma asimbuye se. Ndahiro Cyamatare yagize amakenga afata umuhungu we Ndoli wagombaga kuzamusimbura ku ngoma amuhungishiriza kwa nyirasenge Nyabunyana i Karagwe, muri Tanzaniya y'ubu, kugira ngo umuryango we utazashira, u Rwanda rukabura umwami.

Muri icyo gihe, Nsibura Nyebunga umwami wa Bunyabungo yateye u Rwanda afatanyije na Nzira ya Muramira w'u Bugara, ndetse n'Abanyabyinshi bya Bamara mwene se wa Ndahiro. Umwami Ndahiro II Cyamatare agwa ku rugamba ku musozi wa Rugarama ahaje kwitwa i Rubi rw'i Nyundo muri Kingogo (mu Karere ka Ngororero) amaze kwambuka umugezi wa Kibilira. Ingoma Ngabe "Rwoga" iranyagwa, Umwamikazi Nyabacuzi n'abandi bakobwa b'ibwami bafatwa mpiri bicirwa ahaje kwitwa mu "Miko y'Abakobwa"; u Rwanda bararuyogoza. Mu barokotse harimo umugabo witwaga Kavuna w'umuryankuna wafatanyije n'abandi bagenzi be bagera kuri 16 banga gukomeza kurebera ibibi byakorwaga n'Abanyabungo ndetse n'Abahinza bigabije u Rwanda mu gihe kingana n'imyaka 11. Abo nibo bari bagize itsinda

ryaje kwitwa Abaryankuna[12].

Nyuma yo kubona neza ko Igihugu cyubamye, cyacitsemo ibice nta garuriro, Abaryankuna bafashe icyemezo cyo guhangana n'abari bigaruriye Igihugu bakoresheje uburyo bwose bwari mu bushobozi buke bwabo nk'abaturage, dore ko batari na benshi. Abaryankuna bashyizeho uburyo bwo guhanahana amakuru kuva mu Rwanda kugera i Karagwe aho Ndoli yari abundiye[13], akajya agezwaho amakuru yose y'uko Igihugu kimeze, kugeza ubwo yagarutse akabohora Igihugu nyuma y'imyaka 11 yose cyarigaruriwe n'amahanga.

4.2. Abatabazi/Abacengeri bitangiye u Rwanda mu bihe bitandukanye

Abacengeri n'Abatabazi bagaragaje ubutwari bw'ikirenga batanga ubuzima bwabo barengera ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyangwa baharanira inyungu zacyo. Abacengeri bitangiraga u Rwanda bazi neza ko bagiye gupfa, bitangiye Igihugu.[14]

Ikigaragaza umwanya wihariye w'ubutwari mu muco w'Abanyarwanda ni umubare munini w'abitanze kuva mu bihe bya kera kugeza mu kinyejana cya 19. Ikindi ni urwego bavagamo; bamwe mu batabazi batanze ubuzima bwabo kugira ngo barengere Igihugu harimo Umwami Ruganzu Bwimba, ibikomangoma (nka Robwa, Gatambira, Forongo, Binama, Gihana), abatware bakuru b'ingabo (nka Rubona umutware w'Abadahemuka) cyangwa abakuru bashinzwe imihango mikuru y'ubwami (nka Rwambari wari umwiru mukuru w'umutsobe) n'abandi.

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[12] Abandi Baryankuna bavugwa ni nka Minyaruko wa Nyamikenke (Umusindi), Mpande ya Rusanga (Umutsobe), Mpyisi ya Sagisengo (Umutsobe), Nkoma ya Nkondogoro (Umusinga wo mu Marangara ya Mushubati), Mugobe wa Ngwije (Umukobwa), Mihwabaro (umutwa w'umwiru w'i Kanyinya), Karangana ko mu Kona ka Mashyoza, Kimomo cya Gashakamba wo mu Kabagari, Gitandura muto, Mateke (Umwiru w'Umusindi), Nyirarumaga (Umusingakazi), Nkima III wa Butare II (Umukono), Nyabunyana (mushiki w'Umwami Ndahiro II), Nyiragahira wo ku Mukingo na Mwanabire n'Umwami Ruganzu Ndoli.

[13] Guhunga k'umwami byitwa kubunda mu Kinyarwanda nyacyo.

[14] MUZUNGU, B., Le patriotisme jusqu'au sang, in *Cahiers Lumière et Société*, No 36, Kigali, Decembre 2006

Ibi bivuga ko abayobozi bagomba iteka gufata iya mbere mu kubahiriza inshingano zabo, ntibazishyire ku bandi, byaba ngombwa bakitanga. Hari umugani uvuga ngo: « *Abo ingoma yahaye amata ni bo isaba amaraso* ». Abanyarwanda bavuga kandi ko « *Wima Igihugu amaraso, imbwa zikayanywera ubusa* ».

4.3. Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda babohoye u Rwanda bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu ni kimwe mu bihe byagaragayemo ubutwari buhebuje bw'Abanyarwanda. Urugamba rwagaragaje gukunda Igihugu, ubwitange n'ubushishozi bihanitse.

Nyuma y'ubutegetsi bw'Abakoroni mu Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwakurikiyeho bwakurikije umurongo w'Abakoroni w'ivangura n'itotezwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bari barirukanywe mu gihugu bagerageje inzira y'ibiganiro n'imishyikirano ngo babe batahuka, habeho ubumwe mu Gihugu n'uburenganzira bwa buri wese, ndetse n'ubuyobozi bwiza. Ariko byose biba iby'ubusa. Icyari gisigaye gusa kwari ugukoresha imbaraga za gisirikare kugira ngo Abanyarwanda basubizwe agaciro kabo.

Mu mwaka wa 1979, bamwe mu banyarwanda batangije umutwe wa Politiki witwaga RANU (Rwandese Alliance for National Unity) wari ugamije gukemura ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Mu mwaka wa 1987, RANU yahindutse "Front Patriotique Rwandais/Inkotanyi, cyangwa Rwandese Patriotic Front/Inkotanyi" aribyo FPR-Inkotanyi/RPF-Inkotanyi.

Ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ni bwo Umuryango wa FPR watangije urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda. Kuwa 2 Ukwakira 1990 Maj. Gen. Fred GISA RWIGEMA wari ukuriye uwo muryango yahise agwa ku rugamba i Kagitumba ku musozi wa Nyabwishongwezi mu Karere ka Nyagatare.

Nyuma y'urupfu rw'Umugaba Mukuru w'Inkotanyi; Paul KAGAME wari umwungirije, yavuye muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika (USA) aho yari mu ishuri rya gisirikare, maze aza gukomeza kuyobora urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda. Urwo rugamba rwamaze imyaka ine, rusozwa

no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, no gushyiraho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994.

Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwasabye ubwitange buhebuje bw'abana b'u Rwanda biyemeje kubohora Igihugu ingoyi y'igitugu, amacakubiri, ubuhunzi, n'ubwicanyi bwaje kuvamo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Hatangira gahunda yo gusana Igihugu no kugiteza imbere. Uru rugamba rwaranzwe kandi n'ubushishozi ntagereranywa rw'abayobozi barwo barangajwe imbere na Nyakubahwa Paul KAGAME, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda.

5. Ubutwari mu kubaka no guteza imbere Igihugu

Mu Rwanda, indangagaciro y'ubutwari yahozeho mu muco w'Abanyarwanda. Kuva kera, abana b'u Rwanda batozwaga kwishakira ibisubizo no guhora bumva ko ari bo bagomba kwikemurira ibibazo bijyanye n'imibereho yabo ndetse n'iterambere.

Mu myaka 27 ishize u Rwanda rubohowe, Abanyarwanda bafite byinshi byo kwishimira bagezeho bashingiye ku cyerekekezo cyiza bahisemo cyo gushimangira ubumwe, guharanira kwigira n'iterambere rirambye.

Abanyarwanda tugomba gukomeza kwihesha agaciro mu rwego rwo gushyigikira no kwimakaza uwo murage wo kwishakamo ibisubizo twarazwe n'izo ntwari za vuba n'abakurambere muri rusange. Uko kwihesha agaciro dukesha Intwari zitangiye u Rwanda mu bihe bitandukanye bizatuma twihitiramo ibyiza biteza imbere igihugu cyacu. Bizatuma kandi Abanyarwanda bagira ishema ryo kuba Abanyarwanda; bakomeza ubumwe n'ubufatanye mu rugamba rwo kubaka Igihugu bifuza.

Indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari zikangurira Abanyarwanda kwigira no guharanira gukora ibikorwa byiza bifitiye Igihugu akamaro. Mu gukomeza guharanira iterambere no kwigira kw'Igihugu cyacu muri iki gihe no mu bihe biri imbere, Abanyarwanda bose, cyane cyane urubyiruko, barasabwa ibi bikirikira:

a) Gukomeza guha agaciro umuco wacu n'ururimi rwacu. "Umuco dusangiye uraturanga, ururimi rwacu rukaduhuza". Umuco wacu niwo tuvomamo indangagaciro zo kwigira no kwihesha agaciro. Niwo musingi ukomeye w'iterambere rirambye.

b) Gusigasira ibyagezweho no kubiteza imbere, mu bwinshi no mu bwiza;

c) Guhanga ibishya bigamije iterambere n'imibereho myiza y'abaturarwanda;

d) Gukora cyane no gukora umurimo unoze;

e) Gukunda kwiga no guhaha ubumenyi n'ubumenyi ngiro;

f) Gukomeza gushyigikira ubumwe n'ubufatanye bw'Abanyarwanda. "Abashyize hamwe Imana irabasanga";

g) Gushyigikira gahunda zijyanye n'iterambere ry'Igihugu no guhesha agaciro Abanyarwanda;

h) Kwirinda ingeso mbi n'imyitwarire idahwitse bidindiza iterambere, birimo ibi bikurikira:

- Ubunebwe no kudakunda umurimo;
- Ivangura, akarengane no gutonesha;
- Ruswa, ubusambo no gucunga nabi ibya rubanda;
- Uburangare no kwirara;
- Kudaha agaciro iby'iwanyu;
- Kwishyira hejuru, kutubaha abantu no kutiyubaha;
- Kutanyurwa;
- Kutoroherana;

- Kudakunda kwiyungura ubumenyi;
- Kutirinda no kutarinda abandi indwara, umwanda, ubujyahabi n'ibindi;
- Gukorana n'abagamije gusenya cyangwa kudindiza Igihugu cyangwa kigisubiza inyuma;
- Ihohotera iryo ari ryo ryose cyane cyane gusambanya abana;
- Gukoresha ibiyobyabwenge n'izindi ngeso mbi;
- Gushyira imbere ubusambo, inda nini, kwironda n'umururumba.

UMUSOZO

Indangagaciro y'ubutwari ishishikariza Abanyarwanda guhora buri gihe bafatanya mu guharanira iterambere ry'Igihugu aho gutegera ibiganza Abanyamahanga. Abanyarwanda bakumva ko bazagera ku iterambere baharaniye.

Ibihugu byinshi byakomeye mu bukungu, imibereho n'imiyoborere myiza, igisirikare n'izindi nzego bibikesha uguhitamo kwiza n'icyerekezo nyacyo bifata. U Rwanda narwo rwahanzwe n'Abanyarwanda, baba aribo barwagura. Igihe kandi u Rwanda rwari mu bihe bibi, cyane cyane mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'amacakubiri na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, rwatabawe n'abana barwo, abanyamahanga bikuriyemo akabo karenge.

Mu gihe tugezemo, Abanyarwanda barasabwa kurangwa n'ubutwari mu rugamba rw'iterambere. Abanyarwanda turasabwa kurangwa n'ubutwari mu byo dukora byose bigamije iterambere no kwigira kw'Igihugu cyacu, dushingiye ku ndangagaciro remezo zituranga arizo gukunda Igihugu, ubumwe, ubupfura, umurimo, kandi unoze.

Na none ariko, u Rwanda rushimangire ubufatanye, ubutwererane, ubuhahirane n'umubano mwiza n'ibindi bihugu, duhereye ku baturanyi kandi bishingiye ku bwubahane.

II. UBUTWARI NO KWITANGIRA IGIHUGU BIRAJYANA

Lt Col. (Rtd) Gerard NYIRIMANZI*

INTANGIRIRO

Baca umugani mu Kinyarwanda ngo *"Iyo amagara atewe hejuru buri wese asama aye"*. Intwari yo siko ibigenza. Ahubwo yihutira gusama amagara y'abandi; ndetse kenshi yirengagije ayayo! Ibi ni ukuvuga ko intwari iteka yitangira inyungu z'Igihugu n'iz'abandi kurusha izayo bwite. Niyo mpamvu urwego rwa mbere rw'Intwari z'u Rwanda, ***IMANZI***, rugizwe gusa n'intwari zitakiriho zitangiye igihugu n'abandi Banyarwanda. Naho intwari zikurikiraho, ***IMENA*** n'***INGENZI***, zikaba zo atari ngombwa ko ziba zitakiriho.

Ubutwari kenshi bujyana no kwitangira igihugu kandi byari umuco mu Rwanda mbere y'uko umuco wacu uvangirwa n'imico y'ahandi. Kugira ubutwari ku rugamba urwo ari rwo rwose ni umuco wa kera mu gihugu cyacu, kuko iyo ubigenzuye neza usanga u Rwanda rwarubatswe ku ruhembe rw'umuheto mbere y'uko abakoloni barwigabiza mu kinyejana cya 19. Mbere yaho kuva u Rwanda ruhangwa na Gihanga (1091-1124) kugeza mu mwaka wa 1894 abakoloni ba mbere baza, u Rwanda rwagize abarwitangira haba mu kururinda ababisha ngo rube ntavogerwa, cyangwa se mu kurwagura. Byasabye rero ko habaho intwari zirwitangira, kuko iyo zitabaho, u Rwanda ntirugire intwari zirugoboka aho rukomeye, ruba rwaragizwe ingaruzwamuheto y'ibindi bihugu birurusha imbaraga[15] byo mu karere nk'uko byagendekeye ibihugu bitakiriho. Aha twatanga ingero nk'u Buha, u Bushubi, u Bugufi, u Bunyabungo n'ibindi bihugu, byaba iby'Abanyagihanga[16] cyangwa ibitari byo.

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

[15]Abanyoro (reba Bunyoro-Kitara Empire) n'Abanyabungo (Eastern Congo) mu bihe bitandukanye bigeze gutera u Rwanda barugira ingaruzwamuheto: ku ngoma ya Mibambwe I Sekarongoro Mutabazi (1411-1444) no ku ya Ndahiro II Cyamatare (1477-1510). Reba (Kagame A., 1972, p.77& 88)

[16]Ibihugu by'*Abanyagihanga* ni ibyo Gihanga yategekaga aza no kubiraga abana be. Byemeraga ko Umwami w'u Rwanda ariwe mutware mukuru Gihanga yabasigiye. Ni nayo mpamvu nyamukuru ibitarabyemeraga bikigomeka ku mwami w'u Rwanda byaterwaga ngo byigarurirwe!

Ni naho havuye umugani ngo "*Uguhiga ubutwari muratabarana*". Iyo yakurushaga ubutwari n'ubwitange nyine yagutwaraga igihugu cyawe, akaba araguhize! Ariko iyo igihugu cyabonaga abacyitangira, aribo batabazi cyangwa abacengeri, cyakomezaga kubaho.

1. Abatabazi/Abacengeri

Mu ntwari z'ibanze mu Rwanda kuva na kera kugeza ubu, usanga inyinshi zaritanze ku rugamba urwo ari rwo rwose zariho. Byaba kwitanga ku bushake nk'Abatabazi n'Abacengeri[17], cyangwa se kugwa ku rugamba utabiteganyaga uzize ababisha. Ni yo mpamvu mu muco nyarwanda mu ntwari z'igihugu habanza abagitabariye aribo batabazi cyangwa abacengeri, kuko bo babaga biteguye kwitangira igihugu "nta kabuza, kandi ku bushake bwabo nta n'agahato"; cyaba gitewe (abatabazi) cyangwa se giteye amahanga (abacengeri). Bigaragara rero ko babaga barumvise neza umugani Abanyarwanda baca bagira bati "*Wanga kumenera igihugu cyawe amaraso imbwa zikayanywera ubusa*"! Bo rero bayameneraga u Rwanda kuko bumvaga ko n'ubundi batazabaho ubuziraherezo!

Abatabazi rero bahitagamo kumenera igihugu amaraso yabo ku neza y'Abanyarwanda bose ngo kitagirwa ingaruzwamuheto n'amahanga, cyangwa se ngo kibemo amacakubiri hagati ya bene Gihanga! Aha kandi ni ngombwa kumva neza ko gutera amahanga ngo uyigarurire ari byo byari bigezweho ku isi yose mbere y'uko habaho Amasezerano ya Westaphalia mu mwaka wa 1666. Mu Karere u Rwanda rurimo ariko ayo masezerano ntiyamenyekanye ngo bayubahirize kuko intambara z'u Rwanda n'ibihugu duturanye zarikomereje[18] kugera igihe abakoloni baziye mu mwaka wa 1894.

[17]*Abatabazi* bitangaga u Rwanda rutewe ngo rutigarurirwa, naho *Abacengeri* bo bakitanga ari rwo ruteye amahanga ngo ruyigarurire. N'ubwo ibi byari bijyanye n'imyumvire y'icyo gihe kitari icya Demokarasi nk'ubu, ariko byatumye u Rwanda rutagirwa ingaruzwamuheto y'amahanga. Iyo myumvire yo kwanga kuneshwa n'ubu irakenewe.

[18]U Rwanda rwateye Nkole mu mwaka w'i 1893 ngo rugarure inyambo zarwo umwami wa Nkole Ntare Rwamigereka yari yanyaze. Rwanateye u Buhunde mu mwaka w'i 1874 ngo rugarure inka (Imisagara) Muvunyi wa Kalinda yari yanyaze zaragishiye i Kamuronsi.

2. Intwari zitangiye u Rwanda

Intwari zitangiye Igihugu ku rugamba kuva kera kugeza ubu ni nyinshi cyane ntawazirondora ngo azimare. Niyo mpamvu ubu zose zihagarariwe n'umusirikare utazwi izina, akaba ahagarariye zose: izamenyekanye n'izitamenyekanye, iza kera n'iza vuba, ndetse n'izizitanga mu bihe bizaza mu gihe u Rwanda rukiriho. Aha rero tuributsa intwari zamamaye cyane mu mateka y'u Rwanda, nyinshi usanga ziganjemo abatabazi n'abacengeri, dore ko ari nazo zagororerwaga imisozi ikazitirirwa n'ubu.

a) ***Umwami Ruganzu I Bwimba na mushiki we Robwa***

Kuva amateka y'u Rwanda atangiye kumenyekana neza mu kinyejana cya 14 ku ngoma ya Ruganzu I Bwimba (1312-1345), nibwo uyu mwami ndetse na mushiki we Robwa Nyiramateke bitangiye u Rwanda ngo i Gisaka kitarwigarurira. Icyo gihe i Gisaka cyari igihugu ukwacyo gitegekwa n'umwami Kimenyi I Musaya, umugesera w'umuzirankende, wari wararongoye umukobwa w'u Rwanda (rwa Gasabo) ngo umwana bazabyarana azarwigarurire arwomeke ku Gisaka. Niho Abanyarwanda bahereye baca umugani ngo "*Urugumye rugomba nyirarwo*". Bigaragaza ko umwami ari we wa mbere wabaga yiteguye kwitangira igihugu yarazwe. No mu iyimikwa rye ngo abiru bamubazaga niba iyo ngoma y'u Rwanda yiteguye "kuzayivira" cyangwa "kuzayipfira" nibiba ngombwa. Iyo atabyemeraga ngo ntibamwimikaga![19] Naho Robwa we aho kubyara umwana uzigarurira u Rwanda nk'uko byavugwaga, yahisemo kwitura ku ngoma (Rukurura) Kimenyi yari amuhaye amwereka ko umwana atwite ari we uzayima. Nuko umwana wari mu nda apfana na nyina, u Rwanda ruba rubonye Abatabazi batatu.

b) ***Igikomangoma Forongo***

Ku ngoma ya Kigeli I Mukobanya (1378-1411) n'iy'umuhungu we Mibambwe I Sekarongoro Mutabazi (1411-1444) nabwo u Rwanda rwagize intwari n'umutabazi arukiza Abanyoro baruvogereye inshuro ebyiri zose. Mu gitero cya mbere cy'Abanyoro, igikomangoma Sekarongoro ubwe niwe wabaye intwari ku rugamba kurusha izindi

[19] Reba Ubwiru, *Inzira yo Kwimika (La Royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda)*

kuko yanakomeretse mu gahanga yitirirwa atyo 'Mutabazi'. Naho mu gitero cya kabiri cy'Abanyoro, cyari cyaje ari simusiga, igikomangoma Forongo umuhungu wa Mibambwe I niwe witanze arutsindira Abanyoro. Ni nako kumwita "Ngabitsinze" (Abanyoro), abamukomokaho bagahabwa "Remera y'Abaforongo" ho ingororano.

c) ***Gihana-Nyamihana, umutware w'Abalima***

Mu kinyejana cya 17 ku ngoma ya Cyilima II Rujugira (1675-1708) u Rwanda rwongeye kwitangirwa n'intwari z'abatabazi nyinshi ngo ibihugu birukikije, cyane cyane u Burundi, bitarwigabagabanya. Icyo gihe igikomangoma Gihana Nyamihana umuhungu wa Cyilima II niwe wabaye umutabazi mu Burundi, aza no gukurikirwa n'umutware Rubona rwa Rusimbi wiyemeje gusanga Gihana ikuzimu ngo amwibutse inshingano yapfuye afite[20]! Ikigaragaza ayo mateka ubu ni ahantu hitwa "mu rya Gihana" mu Mayaga, hagororewe Abahana kubera ubwitange bw'uwo musekuru wabo.

d) ***Bisangwa bya Rugombituri, Umutware w'Inganguraruro***

Indi ntwari yitangiye u Rwanda abakoloni bagisesekara mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1896 ni Bisangwa bya Rugombituri wategekaga *Ingangurarugo*. Icyo gihe Ababiligi bari barigabije Kongo-Mbiligi hamwe n'abanyekongo bari kumwe bateye i Shangi biba ngombwa ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zitabara ngo batarugira nka Kongo. Ariko kubera gukoresha imbunda za kizungu Ababiligi bica abanyarwanda barwanishaga imiheto n'amacumu; intwari nyinshi zo mu Nyaruguru no mu Ngangurarugo zirahashirira, harimo n'umugaba mukuru wazo Bisangwa bya Rugombituri. Aha niho havuye umugani ngo *"Amata y'i Rurembo yishyurwa amaraso*", bivuga ko uwakamiwe n'ibwami ariwe wa mbere ukwiye gutabarira ingoma. Na n'ubu abayobozi nibo bakwiye kurangwa n'ubutwari no kwitangira abo bayobora kurusha abandi.

[20] Abarundi ngo nabo bari batanze umutabazi witwa Rulinda rwa Gakamba, ndetse ngo banaterekera Gihana bamwubakira indaro nziza banamuha inka nk'izo yari atunze ngo baneze umuzimu we. Nibwo Rubona yemeye kwitanga ajya kwibutsa Gihana inshingano ze, ngo amubwire ko Abarundi bamushutse!

e) ***Izindi ntwari zitanze mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma yaho***

Mu gihe cy'Ubukoloni nacyo kitari cyoroshye u Rwanda rwagize intwari nyinshi n'ubwo zitasubiriye guhangana ku rugamba n'abakoloni kubera kutagira imbunda. Ariko ntibyabujije guharanira ubwigenge no kwanga akarengane kugera ubwo zimwe zinabizira. Aha twavuga nk'Umwami Yuhi IV Musinga wagerageje kwanga ibyo abakoloni n'abamisiyoneri bakoraga bitajyanye n'umuco nyarwanda n'imyemerere gakondo; ariko akaza kurushwa ingufu akemera gucirwa i Shangi mu Kinyaga (hahandi haguye Bisangwa); ndetse aza no kwimurirwa ishyanga muri Kongo (Moba) aho yaje kugwa nyuma. Nubwo yasimbuwe ku ngoma n'umuhungu we Mutara III Rudahigwa waje guca bugufi[21] mu bihe bya mbere yemera gukorana n'abakoloni ngo batamwirenza nka se, ariko nyuma yaje gusanga ntacyo acyera abarwanya yivuye inyuma. Niko kumwicira i Bujumbura aho yari agiye gushaka ibyangombwa bizamugeza muri LONI ngo yake ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda.

Mu bihe bya vuba byo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nabwo habonetse intwari nyinshi ku rugamba. Ariko iz'ibanze ni izitangiye igihugu zirimo Major Gen Fred Gisa Rwigema watangije urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda akanarugwaho ku munsi wa kabiri. Mu bihe bya Jenoside na nyuma yaho gato nabwo intwari zirimo Niyitegeka Feresita, Uwiringiyimana Agata n'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange, nabo bemeye kwitangira abandi bahara ubuzima bwabo. Urugero batanze rwerekana ko ubutwari n'ubwitange bitagombera igitsina gabo, imyaka myinshi, ubukire cyangwa se idini runaka.

UMWANZURO

Nk'uko bigaragara, ubutwari no kwitangira igihugu kenshi birajyana. Kandi byari byarabaye umuco mu Rwanda mbere y'uko abakoloni bawusenya. Naho ubundi mbere, nta gihe u Rwanda rutagize abarwitangira kandi bakomoka mu ngeri zose z'Abanyarwanda: umwami, ibikomangoma, abayobozi n'abayoborwa, abagabo n'abagore, abakuru n'abato. Nyuma y'ubukoloni nabwo u Rwanda

[21]Abazi Rudahigwa neza bemeza ko kwemera kubatizwa no gutura u Rwanda Kristu-Umwami byari uguca bugufi ngo abaciye se batamugira nka we. Nabyo si bibi guca bugufi n'ubundi ngo "I*ntege nke zitera imico myiza!*"

rwagize abarwitangira batari bake kubera ko uwo muco wari utarashira burundu. Ariko umuntu yakwibaza impamvu Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe igihe kirekire ikarinda ishyirwa no mu bikorwa ntawe uritanga ngo ayikumire itaraba! Ese iyo hataba ubwitange bw'Inkotanyi zari mu rundi rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, aho kuyihagarika byo byari gushoboka? Iyo hataba se Abanyarwanda bitangiye abandi nk'Abarinzi b'Igihango, aho hari n'uwari kurokoka? Ubu se bwo habuze ubwitange bw'Ingabo z'u Rwanda (RDF) abarusenye bakibigerageza n'ubu ntibasubira? Ni ngombwa rero kugumya gutoza uwo muco w'ubutwari no kwitangira igihugu n'abagituye bose ngo u Rwanda rwoye kuzaba ingaruzwamuheto y'amahanga, cyangwa se iy'amacakubiri nayo yarusize iheruheru n'ubu ingaruka zayo zikaba zikiboneka.

III. UBUTWARI BW'ABAGORE MU RWANDA

Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve*

na Madamu MILENGE Immaculée*

INTANGIRIRO

Amateka y'u Rwanda agaragaza ko kuva kera Abanyarwanda bagiye barangwa n'ubutwari. Ibyo byagaragariraga mu mibanire yabo ubwabo, ndetse no mu mibanire n'ibihugu baturanye. Gihamya ni mu ndirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu cyacu, aho turirimba tugira duti: «Abakurambere b'Intwari bitanze batizigama, baraguhanga uvamo ubukombe, utsinda ubukoroni na mpatsibihugu, byayogoje Afurika yose, none uraganje mu bwigenge, tugukomeyeho uko turi twese… »

Mu mateka y'abakurambere bacu, ubutwari ni imwe mu ndangagaciro ziranga Abanyarwanda. Ibyo byagaragariraga mu myitwarire yabo ya buri munsi, kandi bigakorwa n'abantu b'ingeri zose batojwe uwo muco w'ubutwari. Kandi no mu bihe bya vuba, bamwe mu Banyarwanda bagaragaje ubutwari buhebuje, aho babohoraga abandi Banyarwanda bari bibasiwe n'ingoma y'igitugu, kugeza aho bamwe muri bo bemera guhara amagara yabo kugira ngo barokore inzirakarengane.

Ibikorwa by'ubutwari ubu ndetse no kubigaragaza tubikesha Leta y'Ubumwe, irangajwe imbere n'Umuryango wa FPR-INKOTANYI. Imaze kubona ingaruka zikomeye zatewe n'amahano ya Jenoside yatewe n'ubutegetsi bubi, ubujiji bw'abaturage, kutagira umuco wo gukunda Igihugu n'uw'ubutwari bwo kwanga ikibi, yashyizeho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero itoza Abanyarwanda indangangaciro z'ubunyarwanda, gukunda Igihugu, ubwangamugayo, ubutwari, ubwitange, gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza, kunga ubumwe no kwihesha agaciro. Ariko kandi izi ndangagaciro zishamikiyeho izindi ndangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda zitandukanye.

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*Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego akaba yungirije Umukuru w'Urwego

*Madamu MILENGE Immaculée ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego

Ubutwari ni imwe mu ndangagaciro ikomeye mu muco nyarwanda, bushingira ku buhanga bwihariye bubyara ibikorwa by'ubwitange. Buba bugamije guhindura imibereho y'umuryango ikarushaho kuba myiza kabone n'ubwo uwabikoze yaba atakiriho. Ndetse bugamije no kurwanya ikibi, icyahohotera abaturage giturutse ku bandi, cyangwa ku bidukikije. Ubutwari kandi bugaragarira mu bice byose bigize ubuzima bw'Igihugu (Politiki, imiyoborere, ubukungu, ubutabera, imikorere n'imikoranire n'ibindi…).

Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'itegeko n° 13bis/2009 ryo kuwa 16/06/2009 rigena Inshingano, Imiterere n'Imikorere by'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe, ubutwari burangwa no gukurikirana icyo umuntu yiyemeje kugeraho kivamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga kandi gifitiye abandi akamaro. Ibyo bigakorwa mu bupfura, mu kwihangana no mu bwitange buhebuje, kandi ubikoze akirinda ubugwari mu migirire ye, ntagamburuzwe n'amananiza.

Si abagabo gusa bagiye bagaragaza ubutwari, ahubwo n'abagore babaye intwari kandi mu bihe bitandukanye by'amateka yacu. Amateka y'ubutwari bw'umugore mu Rwanda ni aya kera kandi ni maremare. Abagore bakoze ibikorwa bihanitse kuva mu ihangwa ry'u Rwanda kugeza magingo aya, kandi ibigwi byabo biracyarimbanyije. Iyi nyandiko rero murasangamo amwe mu mateka y'ubutwari bw'abagore, aba kera n'abo muri iki gihe.

1. BAMWE MU BAGORE B'INTWARI MU RWANDA RWO HAMBERE

a. Nyirarucyaba

Nyirarucyaba ni umukobwa wa Gihanga na Nyamususa, akaba umukobwa umwe rukumbi mu bahungu umunani Umwami Gihanga cyahanze u Rwanda yabyaye ku bagore batandukanye. Ni umugore mu Rwanda wabaye imbanza mu Ntwari kuko yabimburiye abandi mu kugaragaza ubuhangange n'ubudashyikirwa ku ikubitiro ry'ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda. Nyirarucyaba amaze gukura yashyingiwe mu bikomangoma by'Abazigaba bagengaga Ingoma y'u Rweya i Mubali, aho nyirakuru Nyirarukangaga yakomokaga. Amateka y'u Rwanda agaragaza ko amaze

gushyingirwa yakomeje kuba umwe mu banyamirimo b'ibwami ku ngoma ya se. Bityo yabaye umuyobozi w'umugore wa mbere mu nzego zo hejuru z'Igihugu. Niwe wari umutware w'ingabo zitwaga "Abahiza" wari umutwe w'ingabo zifite inshingano zo kwikorera imitwaro yose y'ibwami n'indi mirimo yose ijyanye n'ibyo mu gikoni, gutegura iminsi mikuru, gusya, kuvoma n'iyindi. Ubutwari, ubuhangange n'ibigwi bye ni byo byatumye abana be bamwitiririrwa (Abacyaba) n'ubwo se wabo yabarirwaga mu Bazigaba, ariko Gihanga abagira abe, bahabwa umurage umwe n'abakomoka mu Banyiginya bagengaga ingoma y'i Gasabo.

Ubuhangange bwa Nyirarucyaba buzwi kandi mu bitekerezo by'ibimanuka, aho bivugwa ko ari we wakwirakwije inka mu Rwanda. Ngo yazanye icyo gisimba (inka), agikamira se wari urwaye, Gihanga Ngomijana anyoye amata arakira maze abwira Nyirarucyaba ati "Jya kuzana ibyo bisimba hano". Nuko akwirakwiza inka mu Rwanda. Ibyo byatumye mu migani bamugira inkomoko y'inka mu Rwanda. Nyirarucyaba ni icyitegererezo cy'ubuhangange, kutigaya no kutisuzugura, byatumye ahabwa ubutware bungana n'ubwa basaza be, kandi ubuyobozi bwe butanga umusaruro.

b. Robwa Nyiramateke

Robwa Nyiramateke yari umukobwa wa Nsoro I Samukondo, umwe mu bami b'u Rwanda wategetse kuva mu mwaka wa 1279 kugeza mu mwaka wa 1312. Nsoro akaba yaramubyaranye na Nyiraruganzu I Nyakanga. Robwa yari mushiki w'Umwami Ruganzu I Bwimba uzwiho kuba yarabaye intwari yemera kumena amaraso mu buryo bw'ubucengeri. Robwa yagize ubutwari n'ubudahemuka budasanzwe, yemera guhara icyubahiro cyo kuba umwamikazi n'umugabekazi w'ingoma y'i Gisaka aho yari yarashyingiwe, ahitamo gupfira u Rwanda nk'intwari ihebuje.

Hagati y'umwaka wa 1313 na 1345, ubwo u Rwanda rwa Gasabo rwari rubanye nabi n'i Gisaka, Robwa na musaza we Ruganzu Bwimba bahisemo kwitangira Igihugu bamena amaraso kugira ngo u Rwanda rubashe kubaho kandi ruzigarurire i Gisaka. Ibi yabikoze atwite inda y'imvutsi y'umwana w'umuhungu w'umwami Kimenyi wa Gisaka wari ufite inyota yo kwigarurira ingoma y'i Gasabo. Ngo yahanuje

abajyanama n'abapfumu b'i Gisaka, berekana ko intsinzi azayikura mu kurongora Robwa, ngo umwana azabyara azigarurire u Rwanda. Ise Nsoro yaramwimanye ndetse agiye gutanga abwira Robwa ati: Nushaka gushyingirwa kwa Kimenyi uzagende ubizi ko uri umutabazi w'u Rwanda, ntuzagende wibwira ko uri umugeni usanzwe. Ati uramenye Karinga ntuzayigurane Rukurura (ingoma ngabe yo mu Gisaka). Robwa aza gutwita, inda imaze gukura ayikubita kuri Rukurura, apfana n'umwana yari atwite, apfa nk'umutabazi witangiye u Rwanda. Ubutwari bwa Robwa bugaragarira ko yemeye kumenera amaraso Igihugu kandi akiri muto, akaba yari n'Umwamikazi wari kuzavamo Umugabekazi w'i Gisaka. Yanze kubyarana n'umwami w'i Gisaka wari warishe musaza we, kuko ngo nk'uko Kimenyi yari yabigambiriye, uwo mwana w'umuhungu bari kubyarana yari kuzigarurira u Rwanda akarutwarana n'i Gisaka. Yubahirije isezerano yari yaragiranye na se Nsoro kugira ngo u Rwanda rukomeze rusugire rutazigarurirwa n'i Gisaka. Ashimangira atyo wa mugani ugira uti: "Wanga kumenera Igihugu amaraso, imbwa zikayanywera ubusa".

c. Nyabunyana

Nyabunyana yari mushiki wa Ndahiro Cyamatare akaba umukobwa wa Yuhi Gahima. Ingoma ya Yuhi Gahima n'iya Ndahiro Cyamatare zaranzwe n'amacakubiri mu bavandimwe aho bene se wa Ndahiro Cyamatare ari bo Juru, Bamara (se wa Byinshi) na Bwimba banze kumuyoboka barwanira ingoma. Hagati aho Nyabunyana ashyingirwa umwami wa Karagwe mu rwego rwo gushaka amaboko. Byaje kugera aho Juru na Bamara ndetse n'ababakomokaho bagambanira ingoma ya Ndahiro ndetse banifatanya n'Abanyabungo mu kuyivanaho. Nyabunyana rero niwe waje kuba intandaro yo kudahera kw'ingoma kuko yahishe uwarazwe ingoma ngo Abanyabyinshi n'Abanyamahanga batamwica. Niko guhisha Ndoli abundira i Karagwe k'Abahinda. Mu gihe cyo kubunduka, Nyabunyana niwe wahaye Ndoli indagano se Ndahiro yamusigiye.

Ubutwari bwa Nyabunyana rero bugaragarira mu kurerera Ruganzu Ndoli mu mahanga amutegura kuzaba umwami w'u Rwanda, kumuhisha ababisha bose bashakaga kumwikiza no kumufasha kugaruka kwima

ingoma y'u Rwanda yasaga n'iyazimye afatanyije n'Abaryankuna. Aha niho hakomoka umugani ngo « Abakobwa ni Nyampinga » bivuga ko aho bari hose haba mu Rwanda cyangwa mu mahanga bagumana umutima wo kugoboka u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda.

d. Nyiraruganzu II Nyirarumaga

Nyirarumaga yabaye Umugabekazi w'umutsindirano wa Ruganzu Ndoli, nyuma y'uko nyina yari yariciwe mu Miko y'Abakobwa (ubu ni muri Ngororero mu Ntara y'i Burengerazuba), Ndoli agahungishirizwa i Karagwe kwa nyirasenge Nyabunyana. Nyuma y'aho agarutse kuyobora u Rwanda, Nyirarumaga utarigeze aba n'umwamikazi, yahawe kuba Umugabekazi kubera uruhare yari yaragize mu guhisha Ruganzu akiri umwana ubwo Abanyabyinshi bendaga kumwica. Bityo yimana ingoma na Ruganzu Ndoli umwami uzwiho ubutwari bukomeye n'ingabo ze zitwaga Ibisumizi. Ubwo butwari ngo yabukeshaga Nyirarumaga wamugiraga inama zubaka.

Ikindi kigira Nyirarumaga intwari itazibagirana mu mateka y'u Rwanda ni uko ari we watangije inganzo y'ibisigo agira ngo amateka y'u Rwanda atazibagirana. Kuba amateka y'abami bo hambere azwi ubu bikomoka cyane ku nganzo y'ibisigo nyabami kuko nko mu bisigo by'impakanizi, byari bishinzwe umuryango w'Abasinga akomokamo hagenda havugwa buri mwami n'ibikorwa by'ingenzi yakoze. Bizwi ko Nyirarumaga yamenyekanye nk'umwe mu basizi b'abahanga babayeho mu mateka y'u Rwanda, dore ko ari nawe wahaye ibisigo isura bifite uyu munsi. Ni we kandi watangije Intebe y'abasizi ashaka gushyiraho uburyo ibisigo byose bituwe umwami runaka byajya bibungwabungwa bigashingwa abantu runaka, bakabifata mu mutwe ndetse bakabitoza ababakomokaho, bikamenywa neza. Yahanze igisigo cya mbere mu mateka y'u Rwanda ngo atange urugero, acyita "*Umunsi ameza imiryango yose*".

e. Ndabaga

Ndabaga ni umukobwa wabayeho ahasaga mu mwaka wa 1700, akaba mwene Nyamutezi (hari n'abamwita Ndabateze) wo mu Bwishaza mu Ntara y'Uburengerazuba. Ndabaga ngo yavutse ari ikinege, akiri

uruhinja se aratabara. Nta washoboraga kuva ku rugerero hatabonetse uwo kumukura. Byashoboraga gukorwa n'umwana we w'umuhungu cyangwa undi muvandimwe we w'igitsina gabo. Aba rero ngo ntabo Nyamutezi yagiraga, bityo akaba yaragombaga kuguma ku rugerero.

Ndabaga amaze guca akenge, yatangiye kubaza nyina aho se aba. Nyina akamusubiza ko aba ku rugerero. Ndabaga ati: None se ko adataha? Nyina ati: ni uko adafite umwana w'umuhungu cyangwa umuvandimwe wo kumukura. Ni bwo Ndabaga yatangiye kwitoza imirimo ya gihungu nko kwiruka no gusimbuka, kurasa, gutera icumu ndetse no gufora umuheto... kugira ngo yitegure kuzajya gucungura se ku rugamba. Yitoje iyi mirimo ayimarayo, ndetse ajya gutsirikisha amabere ngo atazapfundura hakagira uva aho amenya ko ari umukobwa, intego ye ntayigereho. Nyina yamubaza intego afite mu gukora ibyo byose, Ndabaga akamusubiza agira ati: none se ko ari jye uri mu kigwi cya data, nintiga byose azacungurwa na nde?
Ndabaga amaze gukuka ubwangavu, abwira nyina ati: data yapfuye ntarakura, ndifuza kujya kumureba ngo turamukanye, ndetse mucungure ku rugerero. Nyina ni ko kumupfunyikira impamba, ahera ko yikoma abandi banya Bwishaza bagemuriye ababo ku rugerero. Akigerayo, Ndabaga yasabye ko bamwereka se Nyamutezi, maze bararamukanya, baribwirana, baranezerwa. Ndabaga abaza se icyamubujije kuza mu rugo. Se ati: "Mwana wanjye nabuze unkura kandi maze kunanirwa kubera ubusaza". Ndabaga ni ko kumubwira ati: ntuvuge ko ndi umukobwa, ahubwo uvuge ko ndi umuhungu kandi imirimo ya gihungu narayize ndayimenya. Se ati: ubwo se iyo ushoboye ni nk'iyihe? Ndabaga arayimurondorera. Nyamutezi ashaka kumuhinyuza, amuha umuheto ngo arebe ko ashobora kumasha, ni ko kumushingira intego. Ndabaga arayimasha arayihamya. Amuha icumu ati: "ngaho tera hariya ndebe ko uhageza." Ndabaga aratera araharenza. Amuha abana bangana b'abahungu nawe ngo basiganwe, Ndabaga abereka igihandure. Se ni ko kumushima cyane, amumurikira umukuru w'urugerero ati: nguyu umukura wanjye. Nyamutezi baramureka arataha.

Ndabaga yiga imyiyereko yo ku rugerero arayimenya, maze aba intore ikundwa kandi ishimwa cyane kuko yitondaga ndetse akumvira

mu byo bamuyoboyemo byose. Ibi byatumye aba intangarugero, ndetse atanga abandi kugabana inka nyinshi. Abana bari kumwe na we ku rugerero bamugirira ishyari kuko abatanze kugabana inka nyinshi kandi aje vuba. Ab'iwabo bamuzi bakajya bajujura bati: ubonye Ndabaga ngo araturusha kugabana inka nyinshi ari umukobwa.

Inkuru yageze ku mwami ko Ndabaga ari umukobwa. Umwami ni ko kumutumira ngo abyimenyere by'impamo, ahata Ndabaga ibibazo, ati: Ndabaga uri umukobwa cyangwa uri umuhungu? Ndabaga ubwoba buramutaha ariko yanga kubeshya umwami ngo bitamubera icyaha agata se Nyamutezi mu mazi abira na we atiretse. Nyamara anatinya no kuvugisha ukuri ngo atamubaza icyatumye aza ku rugerero kandi ari umukobwa. Ariko yemera kumubwiza ukuri ati: "ndi umukobwa." Anamubwira n'impamvu yaje ku rugerero nk'uwabyirutse atabona se, yabaza nyina akamubwira ko ari ku rugerero kandi ko adafite umuhungu wo kumukura ; akitoza imirimo ya gihungu yose akayimenya akaza kumukura.

Umwami akimara kumva amagambo ya Ndabaga yahise atuma kuri Nyamutezi, ahageze amubaza icyatumye areka Ndabaga w'umukobwa akaza akajya mu itorero ry'abahungu. Nyamutezi ati: Nyagasani nari nshaje, nsigaye meze nk'ishaka ryameze mu buro ari rimwe kuko nari nsigaye mu nsoresore jyenyine, kandi naragenzuye mbona abishoboye. Umwami ni ko guhumuriza Nyamutezi ati: humura, umukobwa wampaye naramushimye none ndamusigarana. Wowe itahire kandi ujyane n'inka zawe wari waramuhayeho ingishywa. Kuva ubwo Ndabaga aguma ibwami, akiza se amuvana mu izinga ry'ubukene yarimo kandi kuva ubwo umwami ategeka ko abantu b'ibinege badafite gikura bazajya babasezerera bagataha kuko ari igisebo kubona u Rwanda rusigaye ruhuruza abakobwa n'abagore kurutabarira.

Ndabaga yasize umugani : «Kugera iwa Ndabaga», ni ukugera mu magorwa ku buryo umuntu yiyambaza n'utari ngombwa ngo amuzigure. Iyo abantu babonye ibintu byagoranye cyane, mbese bigomba abagabo, nibwo baca umugani ngo: "Ibintu byageze iwa Ndabaga."

f. Nyirayuhi IV Nyiratunga

Ubushobozi n'ubutwari bw'abagore mu Rwanda rwo hambere byagaragaraga n'igihe umwami yimaga ingoma akiri muto, Igihugu kikayoborwa na nyina afatanyije n'abandi nka basaza be kugeza igihe umwami azakurira. Urugero muri izi nshingano ni Nyirayuhi IV Nyiratunga nyina wa Yuhi IV Gahindiro ka Mibambwe Sentabyo wayoboye Igihugu igihe kitari gito kuva umuhungu we ari uruhinja kugeza igihe akuriye. Nyiratunga ni mwene Rutabana ya Nyakirori wa Makara b'Abega. Amateka agaragaza ko yeguriye umuhungu we ubutegetsi hashize imyaka irenga icumi. Nyiratunga yafatanije ubutegetsi na musaza we witwaga Rugagi wamugiraga inama cyane nawe akamwumva. Ikimenyimenyi ni uko Nyiratunga akimara kwima, nyirabukwe Nyiramavugo Nyiratamba, nyina wa Mibambwe Sentabyo, yamugabiye inka zitwa Ibiheko nk'ikimenyetso cy'uko amwishimiye. Arangije "anywa amata" aratanga kuko atari gukomeza kubaho ku ngoma nshya nk'uko ubwiru bwabitegekaga.

Nyiratunga yari umupfakazi wa Gihana mwene Cyirima II Rujugira. Gihana akaba yari sewabo wa Yuhi IV Gahindiro ka Mibambwe III Sentabyo. Nyiratunga yabyaye Gahindiro rero amubyaranye n'Umwami Sentabyo mu buryo bw'ubwiru kuko Sentabyo yatanze akiri ingaragu. Gatarabuhura wari mwene se wa Sentabyo wari warigometse ku ngoma akoranya ingabo ngo yice uwo umwana noneho ahereko yima ingoma. Umwiru wabaye icyamamare ku ngoma ya Sentabyo, witwaga Rusuka, ni we wahimbye uburyo bwo kurokora Gahindiro wari ukiri umwana. Niwe washatse abajya mu kigwi cya Gahindiro na Nyiratunga mu gihe Gatarabuhura yashakaga kubica. Aha twakwibutsa ko Semugaza nawe yagize uruhare mu rwimo rw'ingoma ya Gahindiro no guhashya icyo kigomeke. Ubwiru bwavugaga ko "Imana uwo yimitse yishibuka umwami akaragwa ingoma. Iraragwa ntiyibwa, iyo atabyaye ntiyishibuke igashyikirizwa umuvandimwe akaba umurinzi, kuko umwami yibyaraho umwe". Ni bwo Mibambwe atanze abiru banze ubucike bw'ingoma ngo igwe mu maboko y'ibyigomeke, bimika Gahindiro akiri uruhinja. Gutsinda k'uruhinja Gahindiro ni ko kwabaye intandaro yo guhimba indirimbo ngo: "Nyiratunga yaratumye ngo

impinja ntizigapfe".

Nyirayuhi Nyiratunga yayoboye neza ndetse akora ibikorwa byinshi abifashijwemo na Semugaza se wabo wa Yuhi Gahindiro, umutware w'Urukatsa rwatumye ingoma ya Gahindiro itagwa mu macakubiri yatewe n'ikigomeke Gatarabuhura. Ikigira Nyiratunga intwari ni ukuba yararwanye ishyaka arwana n'abana ba se wabo wa Gahindiro, bashakaga kumunyaga ingoma. Nyiratunga wavutse mu muryango usanzwe ntabe n'umwamikazi ndetse akaba n'umupfakazi, yategekanye ubushishozi no kubaha rubanda. Ubuyobozi bwe bw'imyaka irenga 10 Gahindiro akiri muto, buruta ndetse n'ubw'abandi bagabekazi babaga barabyitoje ari abamikazi. Yaratwaye kugeza igihe Gahindiro akuriye akaba umwami w'igihame binavugwa ko ari we mwami warambye ku ngoma kurusha abandi bose ndetse ingoma ye ngo ikaba iri mu zabayemo amahoro kurusha izindi. Rubanda igaragaza ayo mahoro y'ingoma ye mu bisakuzo byerekana ko abantu bari bamerewe neza nta cyo bikanga kandi bidagadura.

Zimwe mu ngero z'ibyo bisakuzo, n'uko babyica, ni izikurikira:

1) Negetse umuzinga ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, na n'ubu nturinjirwa: *Imyenge y'amazuru*;

2) Nashinze urukiramende ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, na n'ubu sindarurengera ngo ndusimbuke: *Amahembe y'inka;*

3) Mfite abakobwa kuva ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, kugeza na n'ubu ntibararamukanya: *Inkombe z'uruzi;*

4) Ngira imbuga naharuye ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, na n'ubu ntiramera akatsi: *Ikiganza;*

5) Ka butimbatimba ka bunumanuma ku ngoma ya Gahindiro: *Umununi ku itabi.*

Ibi bisakuzo byose bigaruka "ku ngoma ya Gahindiro" bigaragaza ko Abanyarwanda bakibuka iyo ngoma nk'ingoma nziza kandi yarambye. Ibi byatewe cyane cyane n'Umugabekazi Nyiratunga wayoboye neza, agaca imanza z'abaturage neza adakangaranyije rubanda mbere y'uko

yegurira ingoma umuhungu we Gahindiro amaze gukura. Muri icyo gikorwa cyo guhererekanya ububasha, nacyo ubundi cyashoboraga kuzamo amakimbirane, Nyiratunga ngo yagize ati: “Nguyu umwami wanyu Banyarwanda, jye nsubiye mu gikari mu bandi bakobwa”; ako kanya inkono ye ndende yanyweshaga itabi no ku karubanda aca imanza (nk’abagabo) ayivuna umuheha.

2. BAMWE MU BAGORE B’INTWARI MU RWANDA TUZIRIKANA UBU

Ubushakashatsi bwashyize ku rutonde Intwari 53 ku ikubitiro, hanashyirwaho umunsi ngarukamwaka w’Intwari z’Igihugu, uba tariki ya mbere Gashyantare, ndetse hanashyirwaho Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z’Igihugu, Imidari n’Impeta by’Ishimwe.

Abo mu bihe bya vuba bakinibukwa, dore ko aba kera bo utanabarondora ngo ubarangize (Nyiramuhanda watanze umwana we Rubanzangabo, Kiyange witangiye Umugabekazi Nyiratunga, n’abandi) ni aba bakurikira:

1. **Uwiringiyimana Agata** wabaye Minisitiri w’Intebe (Nyakanga 1993-Mata 1994). Yagize umutima ukomeye ari Minisitiri w’Amashuri Abanza n’Ayisumbuye. Yahangaye gukuraho akarengane mu mashuri mu gihe abashinze icyo bitaga “iringaniza” bari bagitegeka igihugu. Yarwanije ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakoreye Abatutsi ndetse aza kwicwa azira ibitekerezo bye.

2. **Niyitegeka Felesita** wakoze imirimo itandukanye irimo kwigisha, kurera, gucunga umutungo no gufasha abatishoboye. Mu mwaka wa 1994 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yamusanze ku Gisenyi aho yiciwe azira ko yarwanye ku Batutsi bihishe mu kigo yari ashinzwe kuyobora cya Centre Saint Pierre.

Mu mibereho ye, Niyitegeka Felesita yerekanye bwa butwari bwa buri munsi mu mirimo umuntu aba ashinzwe; haba mu byerekeye kwigisha no kurera, mu gucunga umutungo w’ibigo yakozemo, haba

no mu kuyobora abinjiraga mu muryango w'Abafasha b'Ubutumwa (Auxiliaires de l'Apostolat) no gufasha abatishoboye. Ibyo byose yabigiranye ubushishozi bwinshi bagenzi be bakabimwubahira kandi bakabimukundira. Kuba intangarugero yari yarabigize umuco, ari nacyo cyamufashije mu kwemera kwitangira Abatutsi bamuhungiyeho Jenoside igitangira, ahitamo kwicanwa nabo aho kubatererana ngo akize amagara ye. Dore ko na musaza we wari umusirikare ukomeye, Colonel Nzungize Alphonse yamwohereje abaza kumurokora, akabangira.

3. **Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange** (Ishuri ryisumbuye riherereye mu ntara y'Iburengerazuba mu karere ka Ngororero), abakobwa n'abahungu batewe n'abacengenzi banga kwitandukanya mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 18 Werurwe 1997. Abemezwaho ubutwari ni abari mu kigo muri iryo joro, bigaga mu mwaka wa gatandatu n'uwa gatanu igihe abacengezi bateraga icyo kigo, ari abapfuye n'abakiriho. Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange baharaniye ku mugaragaro amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda kugeza aho bamwe babizira babizi bemera guhara ubuzima bwabo aho kwivangura. Babereye Abanyarwanda muri rusange n'urubyiruko by'umwihariko urugero rwiza rwo gukunda Igihugu no kucyitangira, kwimakaza "Ndi Umunyarwanda" no kurwanya amacakubiri.

Amazina y'abanyeshuri b'i Nyange b'abakobwa bigaga mu mwaka wa gatandatu n'uwa gatanu

Mujawamahoro Marie Chantal+, Mukahirwa Joseline, Mukambaraga Béatrice+, Mukanyangezi Dative, Muhinyuza Florence, Nkunduwera Angélique, Uwizera Florence, Benimana Hélène+, Mukarutwaza Séraphine+, Abayisenga Théodette, Kamayirese Grăce, Muhayimana Libérée, Mukeshimana Béatrice, Mukeshimana Florence, Musabimana Florence, Nishimwe Marie, Nizeyimana Emerthe, Nyinawandinda Espérence, Nyirandayisaba Monique, Nyiranzabandora Marie Rose, n'Uwamahoro Prisca.

UMUSOZO

Nk'uko bimaze kugaragara, Abanyarwandakazi bitangiye Igihugu ni benshi baba abato bakibyiruka ndetse n'ababyeyi bakuru. Bakwiye rero kubera urugero rwiza Abanyarwanda n'Abanyarwandakazi

by'umwihariko, kugira ngo duhore tuzirikana ko ubutwari bw'abatubanjirije bwatumye u Rwanda rugera aho rugeze ubu, byakozwe n'abanyarwanda b'ibitsina byombi, abanyarwandakazi bakwiye gufatiraho urugero.

Ibi bizagerwaho twimakaza ibikorwa by'ubutwari n'indangagaciro z'ingenzi zabaranze kandi tubitoza ababyiruka tutavangura ibitsina.

Mu nomero y'iki kinyamakuru ikurikira tuzabagezaho abandi bagore bakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro nk'abayoboye ingabo mu bitero by'u Rwanda, n'ababaye abatware mu gihe cy'ubukoloni kandi bagashimwa nk'abayobozi beza.

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4. *Inganji Kalinga*, cya Musenyeli Alexis Kagame

5. Imfashanyigisho yo gutoza indangagaciro y'ubutwari, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'itorero Ubutore development Centre, Kamena 2014

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IV.UBUTWARI MU BANA, UMURAGE W'ABABYEYI

Urugero rw'abana bareze abandi nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda 1994

Dr. UWERA Kanyamanza Claudine*

INTANGIRIRO

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994 yateye ingaruka nyinshi zikomeye zirimo kugira abana imfubyi, bakirera, bakarera na barumuna babo ndetse n'abandi bana b'inshuti cyangwa b'ababaturanyi bashoboraga kuba badafitanye isano y'amaraso; bakishyira hamwe kugira ngo babeho. Kubaho kw'aba bana byabasabye gufata inshingano za kibyeyi nabo bagikeneye kurerwa, kurindwa icyabahungabanya cyose, bakura imburagihe.

Ntabwo ari ubuzima busanzwe, buri wese yakwibaza ibikomere aba bana bafite, bakuranye. Benshi muribo ubu ngubu bafite ingo zabo, ni abagabo n'abagore bafite abana babyaye ku buryo twakomeza kwibaza uko babarera, ibyo bababwira birebana n'amateka y'ubuzima bwabo.

Nk'uko twabivuze ni amateka atoroshye arimo ihungabana, ibikomere bikomeye byo kubura umuryango uvukamo wa hafi n'umugari, abavandimwe, urungano inshuti zawe mwiganaga, mwari muturanye, ukisanga mu buzima bushya mu buryo butunguranye.

Ariko na none tugatangazwa cyane n'ubutwari aba bana bagaragaje kugira ngo bashobore kubana baharanira agaciro kabo, barwanira kwiga ngo batsinde, kuba inyangamugayo, kuba abagabo nk'uko bari barabitojwe n'ababyeyi babo bakiriho nk'uko babitubwiye.

Ababyeyi ntibariho ariko ijambo bavuze, inama babagiriye, amazina babise nk'icyifuzo cy'umubyeyi, urugero rwiza babahaye biracyahari. Nibyo byababafashije, biba imbarutso n'akabando kababafashije guhangana n'ubuzima.

*Dr. UWERA Kanyamanza Claudine ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego

Muri iki gihe u Rwanda rwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari ku nshuro ya 27, tariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2021, twifuje gushimangira ubutwari abana bireze mu Rwanda bagize barwanira kwihesha agaciro nk'umurage bahawe n'ababyeyi babo mbere yo gupfa. Bikaba binahuye n'insanganyamatsiko igira iti: **"Ubutwari mu Banyarwanda, Agaciro kacu".**

Muri iyi nyandiko, twifashishije ubushakashatsi twakoze dusoza amasomo yacu y'Ikirenga mu bijyanye n'imitekerereze ya muntu mu mwaka wa 2012 muri kaminuza ya Louvain-La- Neuve mu Bubiligi aho twibanze by'umwihariko ku buzima bw'abana birera nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994.

INZIRA Y'UBUTWARI

Dukurikije ubushakashatsi bwakozwe na (Ionescu, Rutembesa na Kayiteshonga, 2011), hari ibintu 6 by'ingenzi byafashije abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi gukomeza ubuzima, no gukomeza ubutwari. Aha turibanda ku bana bireze mu ngero dutanga ariko birareba n'abandi bantu mu ngeri zitandukanye: baba abato n' abakuru, abagabo n' abagore.

1. **Guhura n'abandi mu mahuriro**

Guhura n'abandi, abantu bagafashanya, bagashaka ibisubizo hamwe, ntihabe kwigunga kumva ko utari wenyine ni uburyo bwiza bwafashije aba bana kwiyubaka kugeza n'ubu. Hano twatanga urugero rw'ihuriro ry'abanyeshuri bishyize hamwe rizwi nka AERG (Association des Élèves/Étudiants Rescapés du Génocide). Kwishyira hamwe bakababaho nk'umuryango mu mashuri yose yisumbuye na kaminuza, aho bishakamo ubabera papa, mama, n'abana. Iri huriro ryagiye rikomeza na nyuma y'ibyo byiciro by'amashuri byavuzwe ku izina rya GAERG (Groupe d'Anciens Élèves /Étudiants Rescapés du Génocide). Aho abakuru bakomeza gukurikirana abato mu buzima bababfasha mu byiza no mu ngorane bahura nazo dore ko bo baba bamaze kubona akazi, batangiye 'gukirigita ifaranga' nk'uko bivugwa n'ab'ubu. Ugize ubukwe bakamushyingira, ubyaye bakamuhemba, n'ugize ibyago bakamutabara. Ni ihuriro bibonamo nk'umuryango ubaba hafi ukanabakomeza mu buzima bwabo bwa buri munsi ku buryo bamwe babigaragarizamo

ibikorwa by'ubutwari. Urugero ni uko ikinyabupfura batozwa n'abandi bana (bababereye papa cyangwa mama) usanga ntaho gitaniye n'icyo abafite ababyeyi basanzwe b'umubiri.

2. **Kubona ubufasha**

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatwaye abantu itwara n'ibintu. Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizeho ikigega cyihariye cyo gufasha abacitse ku icumu cyitwa FARG (Fonds d'assistance aux rescapés du Genocide) inafatanya n'abafatanyabikorwa batandukanye bikorera nk'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, abana bubakirwa amazu yo kubamo, babona ibibatunga, barihirwa amashuri. Ubwo bufasha bw'ibanze mu mibereho ya muntu bwabateye imbaraga n'icyizere cyo kubaho. Ubu benshi baraharanira kuba intwari nk'abandi Banyarwanda babyiruka.

3. **Uburere batojwe n'ababyeyi babo bakiriho**

Hari abana bakuze baganira n'ababyeyi, batozwa umuco nyarwanda n'indangagaciro zirimo: kwihesha agaciro, gukunda umurimo, kugira umwete n'umurava, kumenya guhitamo ibyiza no kwigirira icyizere. Izi ndangagaciro z'ubutwari ziri mu byababafashije guhangana n'ibibazo bahuye nabyo.

4. **Ibyifuzo by'ababyeyi**

Ibyifuzo by'ababyeyi ni ubutumwa umubyeyi yashoboraga gutanga aganira n'abana mu bihe bisanzwe mu rugo bataramye, cyangwa se mu nyito y'amazina babitaga bakiri bato.

Ubu butumwa bwatumye abana biyemeza kuba uko ababyeyi babyifuje: guharanira kuba abagabo, ntibasabirize, ahubwo bagakora cyane kugira ngo bibesheho banatere ishema abo babyeyi nk'isezerano. Amwe mu magambo y'abana twaganiriye yerekana ibyifuzo by'ababyeyi:

Olivier: «*Mpora nibuka mama ambwira kubana neza na barumuna banjye. Kubitekereza bituma numva ngomba kubikurikiza, mama yanshinze barumuna banjye, yambwiraga ko tugomba kumvikana, tukirinda guhora dutongana hagati yacu*».

Jules*: «Papa yahoraga ambwira, anshimira iyo nabaga nakoze neza: nuko muhungu wanjye, ntuzabe imbwa, ngo wihe rubanda. Ngomba guharanira kuba umugabo nk'uko yabivugaga*».

Gilbert*: «*A*bana tubana, mbigisha ibyo ababyeyi banyigishije: gukuramo uniforme mvuye ku ishuri, kuragira inyana ...».*

Élise: *«Iwacu, Sogokuru yatubwiraga ngo tugomba kurya ibyo batugaburiye byose tudatoranya, yabaga atwigisha gucisha bugufi no kwihangana*». *«Papa yise musaza wanjye 'Habakwiha'. Papa yashakaga kuvuga ko udakoze ngo wibesheho, nta wundi uzabigukorera, niyo mpamvu nirwanaho ngo mbigereho, sinzasabirize"*.

Amagambo yavuzwe n'aba bana basubiramo impanuro z'ababyeyi babo yuzuyemo indangagaciro na kirazira zo mu muco nyarwanda uganisha ku butwari: gukundana nk'abavandimwe, kwihesha agaciro, gukunda umurimo …

5. **Umuco nyarwanda**

Hari indangagaciro zafashije aba bana dusanga mu muco nyarwanda nko kugira ubutwari mu bihe bikomeye. N'ubwo umuntu yaba ababaye birenze kamere, umuco wacu udusaba gushikama, tukarwana ishyaka mu bushishozi, tukanga umugayo, tukitanga uko dushoboye ngo tutaba ibigwari.

Mu muco nyarwanda kandi, uretse n'abana n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange niho bakuye umuti w'ibibazo by'ingutu u Rwanda rwagize. Aha twatanga ingero nka Gacaca, Girinka, Ubudehe, Umuganda, Imihigo n'izindi gahunda zigamije kwishakamo ibisubizo no kwigira.

6. **Politiki y'Igihugu**

Igihugu cyashyizeho gahunda zifasha Abanyarwanda kwibuka ngo ibibi byabaye bitazongera ukundi; kubona ubutabera no gushimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ibikorwa byo kwibuka abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi biba buri mwaka ni umwanya wubaka benshi mu rugendo rwo kunamira ababo no kubasubiza agaciro bambuwe.

Hari na gahunda ya Gacaca yafashije mu butabera no kunga Abanyarwanda, ingando zihuza abantu batandukanye zibatoza gukunda Igihugu binyuze mu Itorero ry'Igihugu n'ishyirwaho rya Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ifasha mu kwubaka Igihugu no kugiteza imbere.

Ibi bikorwa byose bya politiki byashyizweho bigamije kubaka ibisabwa byose kugira ngo Umunyarwanda wese cyane cyane abakibyiruka baharanire kuba intwari, birinda kuba ibigwari.

UMUSOZO

Amagambo abana batubwiye agaragaza ubutwari bagize bahitamo kurera abandi bana bishingiye nk'umurage w'ababyeyi mu burere bahawe. Impamvu babishoboye si uko byari byoroshye ahubwo ni uko uwo murage wababereye impamba, akabando kabasindagiza mu guhangana n'ibibazo badacika intege, ahubwo bagahora baharanira kubikemura no gutsinda ingorane nk'intwari.

Uyu murage bahawe ni uburyo na none bukomeye bwo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside igamije kurimbura abantu mu mizi uhereye mu muryango umuntu avukamo. Gutwaza kw'abo bana mu buzima bugoye twumvise, ni uburyo bwabo bwo guharanira ko « imiryango yabo itazima » kandi ko «*nta bapfira gushira* », tutirengagije ibikomere bagize bakinafite ubu.

Umurage bahawe ubasaba kugera ikirenge mu cy'intwari, kuko intwari igaragara aho rukomeye!

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V. UBUTWARI MU BUYOBOZI BW'U RWANDA SI UMUGANI BIRI MU MURAGE

Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin*

INTANGIRIRO

Abanditsi benshi banditse ku mateka y'u Rwanda, bayakurikiranya mu byiciro bitatu: Amateka ya mbere y'ubukoloni, amateka mu gihe cy'ubukoloni n'amateka nyuma y'ubukoloni. Mu byo tugiye kwandika ku butwari mu miyoborere y'u Rwanda mu bihe binyuranye by'amateka yarwo, turibanda ku gihe cya mbere y'ubukoloni no mu gihe cyabwo. Ibireba igihe cya nyuma y'ubukoloni tuzabigarukaho mu numero izakurikira.

Mu gihe cya mbere y'ubukoloni turagabanyamo ibyiciro bibiri: A) Mu cyiciro cya mbere turareba abakurambere b'intwari bitanze batizigama bagahanga u Rwanda rukaba ubukombe. B) Mu cyiciro cya kabiri, turareba abarasaniye u Rwanda, bakarwitangira, bakarwagura. Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, turareba Abanyarwanda bagerageje kurwana ku muco w'u Rwanda ngo udacika.

Birumvikana iyi nyandiko ivuga iby'ingenzi, nta wavuga ko yaba ivuga byose. Iribanda kuri zimwe mu ngero z'abayobozi baranzwe n'ubutwari mu bihe binyuranye bigize amateka y'u Rwanda: abayobozi mpamyabigwi bari ku isonga baba bandebereho, baba icyitegererezo cy'abandi mu buryo buhanitse, kuko iyo ubuyobozi bubaye bwiza igihugu gisarura ibyiza gusa; bwazamo amatati igihugu kigacura imiborogo. Hari ibiza kugaragara nk'ibitekerezo bimeze nk'imigani kubera ko bitanditswe mu gihe byabereye, ari nayo mpamvu bijya biba ngombwa kubanza kugaragaza ibishingirwaho mu kwandika amateka mu bihugu bya Afurika yo munsi y'ubutayu bwa Sahara n'u Rwanda rurimo mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu Abanyarwanda bataramenya kwandika.

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

Iyi nyandiko igamije kugaragariza abakiri bato ko iyo tubasaba kuba intwari biba atari aka wa mugani Abanyarwanda baciye ngo *"So ukwanga akuraga ibyamunaniye"*. Ahubwo ni ukwibutsa ko ingengabitekerezo yo gutsinda muri byose yabaga kandi ikiri mu mitekerereze n'imibereho by'Abanyarwanda. Ibi n'abanyamahanga bakwiye gukomeza gusobanukirwa abo turi bo, bakamenya ko Abanyarwanda turi abaturage baremewe gutsinda, bakatumenya nk'intore zizi kwishakamo ibisubizo by'ibibazo bivutse, bakamenya ko turi abaturage bifitiye icyizere gishobora n'ibidashoboka nk'uko byagaragaye mu bihe binyuranye by'amateka yacu harimo n'atari aya kera.

Igiha Umunyarwanda ijabo n'ijambo ni umurage ndagwabuvivi, umurage w'igihugu kimugendamo n'igihugu agendana, umurage ukomoka ku bakurambere mpangarwanda n'ababakoreye mu ngata bagahamya ibigwi, baduhaye icyerekezo gihamye mu mushinga wo kubaka u Rwanda.

Muri iyi nyandiko abemejwe nk'Intwari z'Igihugu ntabwo tubagarukaho turafata izindi ngero nke muri nyinshi zihari kuko zitarondorwa zose. Ibitekerezo biza kugaragaramo ni ibyo uwayanditse yegeranyije abikuye mu bitabo binyuranye yasomye, urutonde rwabyo rugaragara mu mapaji ahera.

I. **MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI**

Muri iki cyiciro turifashisha Padiri Kagame Alexis wabonanye n'Abiru, Abacurabwenge, Abasizi n'abandi bahanga b'inzobere gakondo mu bijyanye n'amateka y'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda mbere y'uko abazungu baza ngo tumenye kwandika. Ibi yabihanganiye n'abazungu bari bashinzwe kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda bahageze bagasanga yaratangiye kuyandika. Twakwibutsa ko muri 1945, Umwami Mutara wa III Rudahigwa yamuhaye uruhushya anamutegeka kwandika ibyo Abiru n'Abasizi bari baratoye mu mitwe yabo maze abonana n'abantu bagera kuri 20 harimo Abiru, harimo n'umutware wa nyuma w'Intebe y'Abasizi Karera ka Bamenya n'abandi ku buryo yashoboye kwandika ibisigo 176, yandika Ubwiru n'Ubucurabwenge. Yanditse kandi ibitabo bikomeye birimo"Inganji Karinga" ya mbere n'iya kabiri n'ibindi bitabo byinshi nk'icyo yanditse nacyo mu mitumba ibiri

kiri mu gifaransa cyitwa "Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda".

Abahanze u Rwanda

1. **Intwari yahanze u Rwanda: Gihanga I Ngomijana (1091–1124)**

Mu nkomoko cyangwa imvo z'amateka y'u Rwanda zose zavuzwe hejuru n'izindi zitavuzwe, igitangaje ni uko igihurizwaho ari uko uwitwa Gihanga ari we wahanze ibintu byose byo mu Rwanda, byaba ibijyanye n'umuco w'Igihugu, rwaba u Rwanda, byaba n'ibikoresho byo mu gihugu. Ibi nta Munyarwanda ubijyaho impaka.

Nk'uko Padiri Alegisi Kagame abivuga mu "Inganji Karinga" igitabo cya kabiri, ibya Gihanga ngo byuzuyemo imigani myinshi ariko bikagaragara ko umuntu wese uciye akenge yabasha kubirobanura akibonera ibikwiye kwitwa ibitekerezo n'ibiri ukuri.

Gihanga iryo zina ngo yaryitiriwe ubwami : izina rye akiri umututsi[22] nta muntu urizi. Abasizi ariko bo bamuhimbye irindi na ryo ryo kumusingiza rya Ngomijana, rimwe na rimwe banamwitaga Nyangoma ngo ibyo bikaba bishatse kuvuga ko ari we waremye ingoma kandi ingoma yaremye ikaba izamara imyaka myinshi (ijana). Kumwita Gihanga ni ukumusingiza bitewe n'uko « yahanze inka n'ingoma » nk'uko tubyumva mu mvugo. Abatekereza bibwiraga ko ari we wahimbye ibintu byose bikoreshwa, waba umuriro, intwaro n'ibindi byinshi mwumvise, ariko abanyamateka bemeza ko zaba inka[23] cyangwa umuriro yabisanze mu Rwanda.

Gihanga rero bavuga ko yavukiye mu Rweya. Se bamwita Kazi, nyina akaba Nyirarukangaga mwene Nyamigezi ya Kabeja wa wundi wari umwami mu Mubari igihe uwo bise Kigwa (Sabizeze) ahahingutse. Uyu Mwami witwa Gihanga ni we ntangiriro y'ubutegetsi bw'Ingoma Nyiginya; ni nawe washyizeho gahunda y'ibihugu bitegekwa n'umwami w'abami.

[22] Izina rye ataraba Umwami

[23] Ubushakashatsi muri Archeology bwerakanye ko inka zari mu Rwanda mu kinyejana cya 7 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu (see Van GRUNDERBEEK M, et al, *Le premier âge du fer au Rwanda et au Burundi, Archéologie et environnement*, INSR, Butare, 1983)

Mu ″gitekerezo cya Gihanga”[24] ni ibihe byakwemerwa nk’ukuri? N’ubwo hashidikanywa niba Gihanga ari we wahanze u Rwanda cyangwa atari we, ntibikuraho ko yaba yarabayeho nk’uko tugiye kubigaragaza mu ngingo zikurikira:

a. Ku byerekeranye n’urugendo rwa Gihanga (ari rwo rwiswe *Ikibariro cy’amararo*), Padiri Alegisi Kagame yemera ko rushobora kuba rwarabayeho kuko inzira Gihanga yanyuzemo umuntu wese ushiritse ubute yarugenda n’ubwo byamufata igihe kitari gito;

b. Uretse n’ibyo kandi, Padiri Alegisi Kagame avuga ko muri izo nzira Gihanga yagiye anyura uhasanga bimwe mu birari by’amateka nk’ibigabiro byamwitiriwe ndetse n’ibintu by’urwibutso rw’uko yaba yarahageze. Aha twavuga nka Buhanga yo mu Ndara, Akarere kaje kwitwa Chefferie ya Buhanga-Ndara mu gihe cy’Ubukoloni. Buhanga rero yaba yaritiriwe Gihanga mu gihe yari mu gihugu cy’u Bungwe cyategekwaga na Rwamba;

c. Nko mu Majyaruguru y’u Rwanda ahitwa Buhanga mu kibaya cya Mukungwa hagati ya Nyamutera na Nyakinama ku bazi amazina y’Uturere twa kera; aha hagaragara ikigabiro cy’aho uyu Mwami yaba yari atuye kandi icyo kigabiro kiracyahari na magingo aya kandi cyagumye kurindwa n’umutwe w’ingabo wari ubishinzwe (Abangakugoma);

d. Undi Murwa uvugwa mu mateka, ni uwari ahitwa Nyamirembe ya Humure ho mu Mutara, aho uyu Mwami ngo yaba yararagiye abana be ibihugu by’abamukomokaho[25]; umuhungu we Kanyarwanda akaba ari we agira umusimbura ku ngoma;

e. Ukuntu uruhererekane rw’abamukurikiye mu butegetsi bamwubahirizaga kandi ugasanga mu ntekerezo zose agarukamo nk’uko amateka abigaragaza. Iyo umwami runaka yageraga ku butegetsi yubakishaga ingoro ye, ariko ku ruhande agashyiraho n’ahagenewe

[24] Nyirishema C., Ibyatahuwe mu mateka y’u Rwanda n’u Burundi (Imyaka 3500), Kigali, 2013, pp. 75-76

[25]Abandi bahungu ba Gihanga barazwe ingoma usibye Kanyarwanda (Gahima) ni Kanyandorwa (Sabugabo) na Kanyabugesera (Mugondo), Kanyabungo (Ngabo) warazwe u Bunyabungo na Gashubi bitaga Gafomo warazwe u Bushubi.

kubahiriza umukurambere Gihanga bitaga urukamishirizo;

f. Uretse n'ibyo kandi ngo aho umusezero wa Gihanga wari ahitwa i Nyamirembe ya Gishubi muri Rukoma ku musozi wa Karama, ngo naho hakorerwaga imihango yo kumuterekera niba ari ko twabyita. Aha ngaha ibwami ngo bakaba barahoherezaga amaturo n'Abiru bo kuhakorera imihango yabugenewe. Ibi tubihamirizwa na Padiri Alegisi Kagame uvuga ko ibi ari ukuri kutagishwa impaka kuko ari ibintu bizwi na bene byo;

g. Habaga n'indi mihango yamukorerwaga yari ishingiye ku nka ikaba yarakorwaga n'abo mu muryango bita Abaheka; umutware wabo agatura i Runda ndetse akaba yarafatwaga nk'Umwiru mukuru w'Inka. Iyi mihango ngo yakorerwaga ku mfizi yitwaga Rugira yabanaga n'inka zitwaga Ingizi. Iyi mihango ngo yaba yaratangiye ku Ngoma y'Umwami Yuhi II Gahima ari nabwo umutwe w'ingabo zitwaga Gakondo[26] zatandukanywaga n'izitwaga Abangakugoma nyuma aba Bangakugoma bakoherezwa kuba hariya mu Buhanga ;

h. Ntawakwirengagiza ubwoko bw'Abatsobe nabwo ngo bukomoka kuri Gihanga, kuko ngo uwo bakomokaho witwa Rutsobe ari umuhungu yabyaye ku wundi mugore utari Nyamususa, nyina wa Kanyarwanda. Uyu muryango nawo ukaba waraje kubahwa ibwami, ugira agaciro gakomeye mu butegetsi bwite bw'igihugu, kubera imihango y'Ubwiru ijyanye n'umuganura wayoboraga, bagatura mu Karere k'u Bumbogo bakagira n'umutwe w'ingabo bayoboraga witwaga Gakondo ukomoka kuri Gihanga. Bari bafite n'undi murwa baturagaho wari i Kinyambi muri Runda bakagira n'Ingoma yabo yitwaga Rwamo;

i. Ikindi kivugwa kuri Gihanga ni uko igihugu yategekaga cyari kigari kirenga imbibi z'u Rwanda tuzi ubu. Ibi bigashingirwa ku ntekerezo zigaragaza ko ubutegetsi bwe bwageraga hakurya mu burasirazuba bwa Kongo aho bitaga mu Bunyabungo n'ahitwa Buhindangoma hakurya muri Rutshuru ndetse ikagera no mu Bushubi ho muri Tanzaniya. Ibi bihugu Gihanga yari abibereye Umwami w'Abami bigategekwa n'abana ba Gihanga bitaga Abanyagihanga;

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[26] Izina ry'ingabo za Gihanga umutware wazo akaba yari Rutsobe rwa Gihanga

j. "Ikibihamya ni uko izi Ngoma z'Abanyagihanga zari zifite ikintu cyazihuzaga ntihabe gushidikanya ko ziva inda imwe. Iyo umwami w'u Rwanda yamaraga gutanga, abo Bami bose b'Abanyagihanga barabimenyeshwaga, bakohereza inkuyu zo mu nka zabo, kugira ngo ku munsi w'iyera n'iyimikwa ry'Umwami mushya w'u Rwanda, bazatwike izo nkuyu ku gicaniro cy'impfizi izamwimika, bakohereza n'amaturo yo gukura ubwatsi, kuko Gihanga atanze Umutware mushya. Ibyo n'Abatware bose bo mu Rwanda barabigiraga kuko bari mu gihugu, byo kwerekana ubuyoboke, kimwe n'Abahinza bo ku nkiko z'u Buhunde bose kuko bari ingabo z'umwami w'u Rwanda. Naho rero umwami w'u Bushubi, uw'i Bunyabungo n'uw'i Ndorwa bagakura ubwatsi kuko imiryango yabo ibonye umutware w'Intebe ya Gihanga**"**[27].

Mu kwanzura kuri iyi ngingo, icyo twakwemeza tudashidikanya ni uko ibivugwa byakozwe bitikoze, byakozwe n'umwami wemerwaga nk'igihangange aramamara mu gihe cye, yaba Gihanga cyangwa undi. Bibaye ari n'igitekerezo nta mpungenge byagombye gutera cyane cyane ko Abanyarwanda mu buhanga bwabo bagize bati: "*Umugani ugana akariho"*.

2. Intwari yazahuye igihugu"[28] n'intiti yahanze ibishya: Ruganzu II Ndoli (1510–1543)

Amakuru dukesha umurage nyemvugo avuga ko Ndoli yari mwene Ndahiro Cyamatare. Ndahiro wifuzaga ko hatagira igihungabanya uwo muhungu we kuko yifuzaga ko azamusimbura ku Ngoma, ngo yaba yaramwohereje kwa nyirasenge Nyabunyana wari wararongowe na Karemera Ndagara, umwami wa Karagwe.

Ayo mateka kandi yemeza ko Yuhi II Gahima amaze gutanga, havutse igice cy'abantu barwanya Ndahiro Cyamatare wari wamusimbuye ku Ngoma. Mu bakomeye muri abo bantu, harimo bene Yuhi Gahima babiri, Juru na Bamara**.** Ariko hari abavandimwe babo Binama, Gacu na Karangana bari bagumye ku ruhande rwa Ndahiro Cyamatare abamurwanya bitaga ko yigize umwami atabikwiye. Cyamatare yaje

[27] Nyirishema C., 2013, op.cit, pp. 82-83

[28] Le libérateur / the liberator

gutegura intambara yaje guhitana Juru[29]. Bamara arwanira kumusimbura, ndetse ategeka igice cy'uburasirazuba bwa Nyabarongo[30]. Amaze gupfa asimburwa n'umuhungu we Byinshi[31].

Muri izo ntambara z'abavandimwe, abigometse ku ngoma ya Ndahiro bafatanyije na Nsibura Nyebunga, umuhinza wo ku Idjwi, afatanyije na Nzira ya Muramira Umwami w'u Bugara. Batera Ndahiro Cyamatare i Gitarama mu Ntara yo hambere yitwaga Kingogo[32]. Ndahiro akomerekera mu mubande waje kwitwa kuva ubwo Irasaniro. Yambuka umugezi wa Kibirira amaraso ye avanga n'amazi y'umugezi. Ni yo ntandaro y'uko cyaziraga ko umwami w'u Rwanda yambuka uwo mugezi wa Kibirira. Bagombaga kuwuzenguruka, bagaca haruguru y'isoko yawo. Uwo muhango wubahirijwe by'umwihariko na Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa ndetse na Yuhi V Musinga yarabikoze mu wa 1929, igikomangoma Léopold w'Ububiligi cyaje gusura u Rwanda.

Umusozi wa Rugarama, aho ingabo z'u Bugara zatsinze Cyamatare, witwa ″Rubi rw'i Nyundo". Ayo makuba yabereye igihe kimwe n'ibindi bintu bikurikira : Iyicwa ry'Umugabekazi[33] Nyirandahiro Nyirangabo wicanywe n'abagore ba Cyamatare barimo nyina wa Ruganzu Ndoli Nyabacuzi, aho baguye hitwa "mu Miko y'Abakobwa″ ; Icyunamo cyo kwibuka ayo makuba cyamaraga ibyumweru bibiri muri Gicurasi mbere y'uko Umuganura uba mu kwezi kwa Kamena[34] ; Ibura ry'Ingoma Ngabe Rwoga yatwawe na Nsibura[35]; Ihishwa ry'Ingoma y'ibwami Cyimumugizi mu buvumo bw'ahitwa mu ″Rutaka"[36]; Ibyago bitagira urugero byakurikiye amakuba y'i Rubi rw'i Nyundo : ibyorezo

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[29] Juru ni we igisekuruza cy'Abanejuru gikomoraho iryo zina. Si benshi cyane ariko barazwi.

[30] Kagame A., Un abrégé de l'ethno- histoire du Rwanda, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972, p.88

[31] Uyu ni we sekuruza w'umuryango mugari w'Abanyabyinshi. Ni yo nzu ikomeye cyane mu Banyamulenge.

[32] Mu Ntara y'ubu y'Uburengerazuba. Ibi tubyemezwa n'igisigo kivuga iyicwa rya Ndahiro kitwa *Aho ishokoye inshotsi ya Gitarama*

[33] Inyito yitwaga nyina w'Umwami

[34] Kagame A., 1972, op.cit p.91

[35] Idem

[36] Mu Karere k'ubu ka Muhanga

by'inzara, indwara z'amatungo, inzangano n'ubwicanyi bukabije.

Byari ngombwa ko haboneka umuvunyi, akongera akabyutsa u Rwanda rushya. Yaje kuba Ruganzu II Ndoli.

Ibikorwa bya Ruganzu II Ndoli

Bivugwa ko Ruganzu II Ndoli ari we wagaruye ubwami mu Rwanda. Ngo yaba yaraturutse iyo mu Majyaruguru y'Uburasirazuba bw'u Rwanda, akaba yari amaze igihe i Gatsibo no mu Busigi aho yaba ngo yarimikiye Ingoma Ngabe Karinga bakunze kwita "Mukiga" mu bisigo bashaka kuvuga ko yavuye mu Rukiga.

Ibikorwa bye by'ikirenga:

a. Amaze kwimika Ingoma Ngabe Karinga, Ruganzu Ndoli yatsinze Byinshi na Bamara bari barigaruriye u Rwanda rw'iburasirazuba bwa Nyabarongo;

b. Yatsinze Nduga, harimo na Rukoma, Muyaga, Kabagari na Marangara. Ni ho yashinze ibirindiro byo gutera Nyundo ya Bunyogombe, mu nkengero z'Umujyi wa Ruhango;

c. Yatunganyije ingabo ahereye cyane cyane ku Bisumizi[37] byayoborwaga na Muvunyi wa Karema;

d. Yateye u Bunyabungo[38] ahorera u Rwanda kuri Nsibura, afata uburasirazuba bwose bw'i Kivu kugeza kuri Rusizi, ndetse atsinda Idjwi. Bavuga ko ku Ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori u Bunyabungo bwatewe bukayogozwa kenshi;

e. Yateye u Bugara bwa Nzira ya Muramira wari wafashije Nsibura mu iyicwa rya se Ndahiro Cyamatare. Ibi tubisanga mu gisigo kigira kiti: "Yasigiriye ingabo, ahorera se ashishikaye, ingabo ye ayigeza mu Bugara, umuganda awigiza mu rumira, iyo mutagera uwo mugabo mwamugera nde!"

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[37] Izina ry'ingabo za Ruganzu Ndoli

[38] Ni ukuvuga u Bushi

f. Yatangije ibitero byo kwigarurira impugu zari zikikije u Rwanda atsinda u Bunyambiriri, yica umuhinza waho witwaga Gisurere wari utuye i Suti ya Banege[39]. Ngo yaba yarigaruriye u Bwanamukari, yica abahinza bahatwaraga barimo Nyakarashi na Mpandahande wari utuye i Ruhande[40] na Nyaruzi rwa Haramanga, umuhinza w'i Burwi. Nyaruzi ni we wabaye umutware wa nyuma w'Abarenge, igihugu cye cyomekwa ku Rwanda;

g. Yatsinze impugu z'u Bugoyi, Byahi, Bwishya n'u Bufumbira, yigarurira atyo icyo gice cyose cyegereye ibirunga n'inyuma yabyo.

Nta gushidikanya ko Ruganzu II Ndoli yaba ari we Mwami w'igihangange mu nzu y'Abanyiginya. Kwamamara kwe byamugize umuntu w'akataraboneka, akaba ari we waremye anatunganya inzego nyinshi mu zaranze amateka y'u Rwanda igihe cy'ubwami. Ibitekerezo bishingiye ku Ngoma ye bimuviramo ibintu bisa n'ibitangaza n'ibikorwa by'indengakamere**.**

Ingero: Ibuye rya Bagenge, Ibare rya Ngarama, ku Kirenge cya Ruganzu n'ahandi hari ibimenyetso byerekana ibikoresho yakoreshaga n'amajanja y'imbwa ze.

Umunyamateka Padiri Muzungu Bernardin avuga ubutwari bwe muri aya magambo: "Yagaragaje ubutwari bwamushyize ku rwego rwa mbere tugereranyije n'abandi bami b'u Rwanda barwaniye igihugu. Yasanze u Rwanda ruri mu kangaratete, abanyamahanga bararwigabije barucura bufuni na buhoro mu gihe cy'imyaka 11. Yasanze na ba se wabo barazanye amacakubiri mu gihugu bakirwaniramo. Yasize acyamuruyemo ayo mahano yose agarura amahoro n'umutekano bisesuye. Muri izo ntambara yarwanye, yasize yunguye igihugu cya se icya gatatu cy'ubutaka yagisanganye. Urupfu rwamutwaye akiri muto asigira u Rwanda intara zijya kungana n'izo rugifite ubu"[41]**.**

3. Nyiraruganzu Nyirarumaga (1510 – 1543)

[39] Hafi ya Kaduha

[40] Mu Karere ka Huye

[41] Muzungu B., Amateka y'Ingabo z'u Rwanda, Cahiers lumière et société N^{0}61, Janvier 2019, p.5

Nk'uko Padiri Alegisi Kagame yabyanditse mu gitabo cye ″Un abrégé de l'éthno-histoire du Rwanda", Nyirarumaga ni we wabaye Umugabekazi w'ingoboka wagiye mu mwanya wa nyina wa Ruganzu II Ndoli (1510 – 1543) Nyabacuzi wari waraguye mu Miko y'Abakobwa igihe Ndahiro Cyamatare se wa Ndoli ingabo za Nsibura na Nzira zimutsindiye i Rubi rw'i Nyundo mu Kingogo. Ndoli rero nyuma y'imyaka 11 yamaze mu rubundo[42] i Karagwe yimanye ingoma na Nyirarumaga wari Umusingakazi.

Ariko mbere y'uko tuvuga ku bijyanye n'uwo mugore w'intwari idasanzwe, reka turebe igisobanuro cy'izina rye nk'uko Padiri Bernardin Muzungu yabyanditse muri "Cahiers Lumière Société N^0 33″. Iryo zina rya Nyirarumaga ngo riva ku nshinga y'Urunyankore ivuga ″okumagamaga"[43]. Burya rero izina ni ryo muntu, yabaye umusizikazi n'umunyamateka uhambaye ku buryo amateka y'u Rwanda hafi ya yose tuyakesha ubuhanzi bwe. Mbere y'uko aba Umugabekazi yari umugore usanzwe wari wituriye hariya i Gihogwe ya Gasyata munsi w'umusozi wa Jari mu Mujyi wa Kigali, akaba yari umusizikazi.

Uruhare rwe rutagereranywa mu mateka y'u Rwanda rushingiye ku bintu bibiri yahanze byatumye amateka yarwo atibagirana:

a. Icya mbere ni uko yaremye ubwoko bw'ibisigo byitwa "Impakanizi″ bifatika mu mutwe ku buryo bworoshye maze amateka y'u Rwanda akajya abikwa mu bisigo by'ubwo bwoko. Ni muri ubwo buryo amateka y'u Rwanda kuyahererekanya mu bisekuru byabaye ibintu byoroshye kandi nta kintu na kimwe gihinduweho bitewe n'uko ibisigo bitajya bihinduka. Nyirarumaga ubwe ngo yahimbye ibisigo byinshi ariko icyibukwa cyane ni icyitwa ″Umunsi ameza imiryango yose" cyibutsa intangiriro y'ingoma y'u Rwanda yahanzwe n'Abanyiginya. Uwo muntu uvugwa ni Nyamususa wabaye umugore wa Gihanga wahanze u Rwanda.

[42] Mu buhungiro

[43] Mu cyongereza bikaba ″to look about", mu kinyarwanda bikaba "gushishoza″ cyangwa ″kwitegereza"

Nk’uko byavuzwe yabyaye abana batatu, baragwa ibihugu bitatu: Kanyarwanda aragwa u Rwanda, Kanyabugesera aragwa u Bugesera, Kanyendorwa aragwa i Ndorwa. Nyamususa wari umukobwa wa Jeni rya Rurenge, yabaye uwa mbere mu Bagabekazi b’Abasinga. Iki gisigo cyari kimeze nk’urunigi, amateka y’Ingoma ya buri Mwami akaba nk’isaro ry’urwo runigi. Padiri Alegisi Kagame wacyanditse, avuga ko umusizi wa nyuma wari ukizi neza yari Nyirimigabo ya Marara ya Munana, waguye mu gitero cy’i Bunyabungo ku Ngoma ya Kigeli IV Rwabugiri muri 1881. Nyuma rero icyo gisigo cyandikishijwe n’umuhungu we witwaga Nyagatoma. Undi bavuga wari ukizi ni Karera ka Bamenya wabaye Umutware w’Intebe y’Abasizi w’imperuka ku Ngoma ya Yuhi V Musinga. Abo basizi bombi ntibari bacyibuka imikarago yerekeye ingoma z’Abami batatu b’imbere ya Ndoli, ari bo: Ndahiro Cyamatare, Yuhi II Gahima na Kigeli I Mukobanya.

b. Icya kabiri yakoze ni ugushyiraho Intebe y’Abasizi ishinzwe guhimba, gufata mu mutwe no guhererekanya mu bisekuru ibyo bisigo byahimbwe bahereye ku mateka y’Igihugu. Ibyabaye ku Ngoma za mbere ya Nyirarumaga bitashyizwe muri ibyo bisigo byagiye byibagirana n’ubwo basubiye n’inyuma bagashyiramo amateka y’ingenzi kugeza icyo gihe yari acyibukwa. Birumvikana ko amateka atarashyizwemo yibagiranye burundu kimwe n’uko na nyuma ayo batashyizemo bitewe n’uko babonaga atari ngombwa na yo yagiye yibagirana buhoro buhoro.

c. Nyirarumaga kandi yabaye Umugabekazi w’umutsindirano w’umwami w’igihangange, Ruganzu Ndoli biturutse ko ngo yaba yaramuhishe akiri umwana Abanyabyinshi benda kumwica. Bivuga ko nawe yagize uruhare muri ubwo buhangange bwa Ndoli dore ko ngo Ruganzu Ndoli yanaraze umuhungu we Mutara I Semugeshi kujya nawe amugisha inama mu bimukomereye we n’umwiru mukuru witwaga Mpande ya Rusanga. Ibi bikaba byaranateye ishyari Umugabekazi wari ugezweho Nyiramavugo Nyirakabogo bigatuma Nyirarumaga abiru bahitamo kumwigiza kure y’ibwami.

Mu kwanzura kuri iyi ngingo, ikintu Abanyarwanda benshi batari bazi bakwiye kumenya ni uko iyo hatabaho biriya bisigo n'Intebe y'Abasizi ihoraho amateka y'u Rwanda aba yaribagiranye burundu. Ubuhanzi bwa Nyirarumaga buri mu byatumye amateka uko yagiye akurikirana ku Ngoma amenyekana neza. Uretse ubwo busizi, ari mu bagabekazi bategetse neza kandi atarigeze aba umwamikazi ngo abyitoze.

A. Abaguye u Rwanda

4. Intwari yarinze ubusugire bw'Igihugu: Cyilima II Rujugira (1675 – 1708)

Uyu Mwami yari mwene Yuhi III Mazimpaka. Mbere yo kwima Ingoma yari yarahungiye mu Gisaka ahunga se washakaga kumwica iyo yafatwaga n'amakaburo[44] nk'uko yari yarishe abandi bantu b'inkoramutima ze. Se amaze gutanga, Rujugira yarahungutse asimbura mwene se Karemera Rwaka[45]. Mu gihe Rujugira yari agihamya ubutegetsi bwe, Abaka bari batsinzwe bagumye guteshwa agaciro ariko nyuma bagenda bakomera, akenshi bitewe n'ibitero byo kwagura u Rwanda bagiragamo uruhare rukomeye.

Cyilima II Rujugira yabaye umwami w'akataraboneka mu bijyanye n'intambara. Ingoma ye kimwe n'iy'umuhungu we Kigeli III Ndabarasa, zaranzwe n'ibitero byinshi. Rujugira acyima habaye intambara yatinze cyane hagati y'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ni muri iyo ntambara Gihana, mwene Rujugira yapfuye. Nyuma mu Rwanda baje kumugira umutabazi. Ni mu gitero cya 4 cyo kurwanya u Burundi, umwami wabwo Mutaga yiciwe i Nkanda ho mu Buyenzi.

Mu ngabo za Rujugira zari zarateye muri icyo gitero cya 4 cyo gutera u Burundi, harimo ingabo zari zaravuye mu Gisaka. Izo ngabo zari zaraje gukeza ingoma nyiginya zari zifite imyambi ifite uburozi bukaze bw'ubushebwe. Hatangiye icyo gihe ikintu gishya cyo kurema ingerero zigamije kurinda u Rwanda no gutsinda amahanga. Ni kuva icyo

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[44] Izina baha "Ibisazi by'Abami" kubera kwirinda kuvuga ko Abami basara kubera icyubahiro bahabwa.

[45] Sekuruza w'inzu y'Abaka

gihe Rujugira yaba yaratangiye kurema ingerero z'ingabo ku mupaka wose w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ahacamo ibice abigabira ingabo zitandukanye, ziharema ingerero zo kurengera u Rwanda no gutuma rutongera guterwa.

Ingerero zigiye kuvugwa ni izashyizweho ngo u Rwanda rudaterwa n'u Burundi, zose zari zarashyizwe ku nkengero z'Akanyaru kagabanya ibyo bihugu byombi: Mututu (Muyira) ; Gakoma (Muyaga) ; Buhanga-Ndara (i Kirarambogo) ; Imvejuru (Nyaruhengeri / Save) ; Nyakare (Kigembe) ; Bashumba (Nyakizu) ; Nyaruguru (Coko).

Uretse izo ngerero zo guhangana n'u Burundi, yashinze urugerero i Munyaga rwo kurwanya i Gisaka. Amaze kurangiza intambara n'u Burundi, Rujugira asa n'uwashatse gutera i Gisaka. Kugira ngo abigereho, yashatse imitwe y'ingabo myinshi iyoborwa n'abahungu be Sharangabo, sekuruza w'Abasharangabo, na Ndabarasa batera i Gisaka n'agace ka Gasura. Mu ntambara yo gutsinda i Gisaka yabereye i Gasabo, ingabo za Sharangabo zagiye zigana i Burasirazuba munsi y'ikiyaga cya Muhazi. Sharangabo n'ingabo ze z'Abakemba batera i Gisaka cyo munsi ya Muhazi berekeza iyo mu Bwanacyambwe. Zirwana n'Imbogo zari ziyobowe na Mudirigi, mwene Karemera wagendaga akubitwa inshuro kenshi. Nyuma Sharangabo yaje gupfa, ingabo ziyoborwa n'umuhungu we waje gufata u Buganza no gushinga urugerero i Munyaga[46].

Ingerero za Gakuta na Rutare.

Urugerero rwa kabiri rwashinzwe i Gakuta ho mu Buganza bw'amajyaruguru hateganye n'u Mubari. Urwa gatatu rwashyizwe i Rutare. Ariko izo za nyuma zombi zaje kuvaho, Ndabarasa[47] amaze

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[46] Vansina J., Le Rwanda ancien. Le Royaume nyiginya, Paris, Karthala, 2001, pp. 150-151.

[47] Kigeli III Ndabarasa ni we wasimbuye Cyilima II Rujugira ku Ngoma akaba yari n'umuhungu we. Yari yarimitswe afatanyije na se ubwami kandi yari afite ingabo zikomeye kurusha abandi. Ndabarasa yari yarakoze ibintu bikomeye mu bijyanye na politiki n'intambara se akiriho ku buryo nta mpaka zigeze ziba mu gusimbura Rujugira bitari bisanzwe. Ikindi ni uko abandi bahungu ba Rujugira Gihana na Sharangabo bari barapfuye mbere y'uko Rujugira atanga, bituma ntawuhangana na Ndabarasa. Byatumye abana ba Rujugira biyita ″Abatangana" ba Rujugira.

gutanga.

Cyilima II Rujugira amaze gutsinda intambara y'urufatanye yari yahuruje u Burundi, u Bugesera n'i Gisaka, byamuteye akanyabugabo ko kurushaho kwiha intego yo gutsinda Ingoma y'i Ndorwa yari iyobowe n'Abashambo bakomokaga kuri Mushambo wa Kanyandorwa I Sabugabo. Babarizwaga mu Turere tw'ubu twa Gatsibo, Nyagatare na Gicumbi. Yahise yohereza umuhungu we Ndabarasa gutera Ndorwa. Ndabarasa ntiyazuyaje aba acuze inkumbi Gahaya I Muzora Umwami w'i Ndorwa, bigarurira ingabe yabo Murorwa! Ubwami bwa Ndorwa butangira kuyoboka u Rwanda.

Ku Ngoma ye, Umwami Cyilima II Rujugira, yahuye n'urugamba rukomeye, u Burundi, u Bugesera, i Gisaka n'i Ndorwa, byibumbiye hamwe ngo byigabize u Rwanda. Icyo gihe yifashishije rubanda, yashoboye kwanamiza urwo rugamba maze ahigika u Burundi, atsinda i Gisaka n'u Bugesera anigarurira i Ndorwa. Kubera icyo gikorwa cy'ikirenga yakoze cyo kurwanya ibihugu bine bikomeye akabitsinda, akanatangiza ingerero zo kurinda imbibi z'igihugu, ni ho havuye imvugo igira iti: *"U Rwanda ruratera ntiruterwa"*.

5. Intwari yaharaniye ishema ry'Igihugu : Kigeli IV Rwabugiri[48] (1853 – 1895)

Kigeli IV Rwabugiri ni umwami wa nyuma mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu. Ni mwene Mutara II Rwogera na Nyirakigeli Murorunkwere. Ni umwe mu Bami bakoze amateka mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Yahoranaga ishyaka ry'imihigo, akamenya imirwano, akagira n'ubutwari ku rugamba. Ibitero byinshi yagabye byakangaranyije amahanga.
Bimwe mu bitero bya Rwabugiri nk'uko byanditswe na Padiri Bernardin Muzungu mu gitabo cyitwa ″RWABUGILI Dernier Monarque du Rwanda Pré-Colonial" cyasohotse muri "Cahiers Lumière et Société″ N^{0}44 muri 2010 pp. 14-32:

[48] Bisobanura Nyirububasha (le Puissant) kuko ngo ubugiri ari ububasha.

a. Igitero cy'i Bumpaka hafi ya Rwicanzige muri Uganda; **b**. Igitero cyo muri Lito; **c**. Igitero cyo mu Butembo; **d**. Igitero cya kabiri cyo ku Idjwi; **e**. Igitero cya Gikore hafi ya Kabare muri Uganda; **f**. Igitero cyo ku Kanywiriri; **g.** Igitero cya 3 cyo ku Idjwi; **h**. Igitero cy'i Bushubi; **i.** Igitero cy'Imigogo**.**

Kigeli IV Rwabugili ni umwami uzwi cyane mu mateka y'u Rwanda kubera ibitero byinshi by'intambara yagabye akaba yarabiherewe ibisingizo byinshi birimo: Inkotanyi cyane, Rwangakugwabira, Rukayababisha n'ibindi. Yategetse mu gihe gikomeye ibihugu byari byarigaruriwe na ba sekuruza bitangiye kwigomeka kugira ngo byigaranzure u Rwanda, arabyoroshya bishyira kera, ashimangira ubusugire bw'igihugu asoza n'ibitero byo kucyagura.

Ibikorwa bye by'urugamba na politiki byari byinshi ku buryo byatangaje abakoroni ubwabo. Ubutwari bwa Rwabugiri bujya kungana n'ubw'igihangange Ruganzu Ndoli. Yatsinze Abanyabungo n'Abahima, yigarurira gato Idjwi n'u Bushi. Rwabugiri ntiyarwanyije amahanga gusa, yanazengurukaga mu Rwanda hose, nta Karere atagezemo ngo agaturemo kandi yagendaga agaba inka yanyaze abanzi yatsinze, ibyo byose bigatuma akundwa n'ingabo ze. Mu Burasirazuba, Rwabugiri yari yaratabaye u Bushubi. Ku Ngoma ye, ni cyo gihe u Rwanda rwabaye rugari cyane kandi rugatinywa muri aka Karere[49]**.**

N'ubwo Umwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri atavugwaho rumwe kubera ubwicanyi bwinshi bwabaye ku ngoma ye, ikidashidikanywaho ni uko mu kubahiriza inshingano ze zirebana no kuyobora igihugu yabikoranaga ubutwari. Na buriya bwicanyi yitirirwa ubwinshi bwaturukaga ku nzangano zari mu bari bamwegereye, barimo sewabo Nkoronko wicishije umugabekazi Nyirakigeli Murorunkwere, bigashimangira imvugo ya kinyarwanda igira iti: *"umwami ntiyica, hica rubanda*". Abanyarwanda benshi muri iki gihe bashobora kumwita "Kigeli le Grand"/ "Kigeli the Great".

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[49] Chrétien J.-P., L'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Deux mille ans d'histoire, Paris, Aubier, 2000, p.136

II. **Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni**

6. Umwami wahanganye n'abakoloni Yuhi V Musinga (1896 – 1931)

Musinga, ni mwene Kigeli IV Rwabugili na Nyirayuhi IV Kanjogera. Igisingizo cye cyari Rugwizakurinda. Ni umwe mu Bami b'u Rwanda wimye ingoma mu bihe bibi cyane kandi akiri umwana ari nayo mpamvu mu minsi ye ya mbere yayoborewe na nyina Kanjogera. Yimye muri Werurwe 1897, mu gihe cyari kiruhije kuko abakoloni b'Abadage n'abamisiyoneri bari ″kwinjira mu Rwanda"[50]**,** bashaka abayoboke mu Banyarwanda. Abapadiri bera bageze mu Rwanda muri 1900, basanze Yuhi V Musinga amaze imyaka itatu gusa ari umwami.
Mu buto bwa Musinga bavuga ko yari umusore w'ingeso nziza, ukunda bakuru be na barumuna be bakomoka kuri se, kandi agakunda abaturage cyane. Ngo yakundaga intore, agakunda umukino wo kumasha, ubundi agakunda ibitaramo by'amahamba n'amateka ya ba sekuruza. Ingoma ye yahuye n'ibizazane byinshi, birimo abarwanyije ubutegetsi bwe bamuziza ko yabwambuye Rutarindwa[51] wimitswe n'Ubwiru, nawe bikamubabaza cyane kuko nta ruhare yabigizemo.

Bimwe mu bibazo Umwami Musinga yagiranye n'Ababiligi n'abamisiyoneri bikamuviramo kunyagwa:

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[50] Mu wa 1894, Igikomangoma Gustav Von Götzen yakoze urugendo agamije kumenya ku giti cye Akarere kari karahawe u Budage no kugirana umushyikirano n'abayobozi gakondo baho**.** Abantu yari ayoboye bageze mu Rwanda tariki ya 3 Gicurasi. I Rwamagana Von Götzen yakiriwe na Sharangabo wa Rwabugiri wari waje kumutegereza ngo azamugeze ku Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugili wari i Kageyo, ku musozi uri mu Karere ka Nyabihu (Intara y'Uburengerazuba ubu). Mu wa 1895, Richard Kandt yageze mu Rwanda azanywe no kwiga umuco warwo no gusubiza burundu ikibazo cy'isoko ya Nil.

[51] Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa yimye ingoma asimbura se Kigeli IV Rwabugiri amaze gutanga muri 1895. Yaguye mu ntambara yabereye ku Rucunshu aho yari atuye muri 1896. Abonye ingoro ye imaze kugotwa, aho gufatwa ngo yicwe urubozo, yahisemo kuyitwika ahiramo we n'umugore we n'abana be n'abandi bari kumwe.

a. Umwami Musinga ntiyihanganiye kubona abazungu bazana ingabo zabo kandi yari afite ingabo ze. Abadage bari baramurekeye ububasha bwo kugira ingabo ze zitwaga Indugaruga”[52]**.** Aho Abadage bagendeye, abasirikare b’Ababiligi bashinje Umwami Musinga kwanga gutanga imbunda bamusigiye no kwanga gutanga Indugaruga. Banamushinjaga kuba yarakomeje kwikundira Abadage. Ibi byamubereye ingorabahizi bituma Ababiligi bashaka uko bamwikiza.

b. Umwami Musinga yarwanyije ubukirisitu mu Bwami bwe. Yanze kubatizwa ndetse “anategeka abamukomokaho kutayoboka Imana y’abazungu”[53]**.** Byatumye adacana uwaka n’abapadiri bera bituma bamwanga urunuka cyane cyane Padiri Huntzinger wabaga i Save. Icyo yabyangiraga nta kindi ni uko yabibonagamo gucamo Abanyarwanda ibice no kurandurana n’imizi umuco wabo warangwaga n’indagaciro zinyuranye na kirazira.

c. Umwami Musinga yanze gupfukamira abakoloni.

Umwami Musinga yakuwe ku butegetsi tariki ya 11 Ugushyingo 1931 bikozwe na Guverineri Voisin. Tariki ya 14 Ugushyingo 1931 yasimbuwe n’umuhungu we Mutara wa III Rudahigwa yimikwa tariki ya 16 Ugushyingo 1931.

Musinga abonwa na benshi nk’Umwami wabaye intwari kubera ko yagize uruhare rukomeye mu gutuma abazungu bubaha Abanyarwanda kuko atabemereye kwigarurira ubutegetsi bwose n’ubwo bwose

[52] Izina ry’umutwe wa mbere wa gisirikare wabayeho mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Ubwo urugamba rw’intambara ya mbere y’isi rwari rurimbanyije muri 1914, ingabo z’Abadage zari ziyobowe na Capitaine Wintgens bitaga Tembasi zatwaye indugaruga bigarurira ikirwa cy’Idjwi bahamara umwaka. Nyuma ni bwo ingabo z’Ababiligi zifatanyije n’Abakongomani n’iz’Abongereza zari zabatabaye, bagarukanye Abadage bafashwaga n’Indugaruga baratsindwa, birangira ingabo z’Ababiligi zifashe Kigali ndetse zigera n’i Nyanza. Umwami Musinga yateganyaga ko intambara nirangira indugaruga zizakomeza kuba ingabo z’igihugu.

[53] Umwami Musinga mbere y’uko anyagwa, tariki ya 05/01/1930, yanditse ibaruwa ikakaye. Muri iyo baruwa yandikiye umukobwa we Musheshambugu amwihanangiriza ko nta mwana we wemerewe kuba umukirisitu ko n’uzabigerageza azafata umuvumo umuturukaho. Iyo baruwa yari iyo kuvuma umwana wese uzahirahira arenga ku cyo yavuze akaba umukirisitu kuko nta na rimwe yigeze akunda abapadiri b’abera mu buzima bwe.

bamurushije intege bikamuviramo kunyagwa no gucirwa ishyanga (Moba muri DRC) ari naho yatangiye, kugeza n'ubu "bikaba bitazwi aho umugogo we uherereye[54]".

UMUSOZO

Iyi nyandiko yibanze ku mateka y'abayobozi bagize ibikorwa by'ubutwari mu Rwanda mbere y'ubwigenge. Itinda cyane kuri bamwe mu bayobozi babaye intwari; mu guhanga u Rwanda, kurwagura no guhangana n'abakoloni rukomeza kuba ubukombe n'ubwo hatabuze amakozere yagiye arukoma mu nkokora ku buryo bukomeye ariko intwari zarwo zikarugoboka.

U Rwanda mu mateka yarwo rwigeze kuba igihugu gitera ntigiterwe ariko aho ba Mpatsibihugu barwinjiriyemo, barucura bufuni na buhoro, barugira ingaruzwamuheto. Ingero twabonye muri iyi nyandiko ziragaragaza ko u Rwanda mu mateka yarwo mu bihe binyuranye rwagize abayobozi baranzwe n'ubutwari bituma rukomeza kubaho nk'igihugu.

Mu numero y'iki kinyamakuru izakurikira, tuzabagezaho ibyerekeye ubutwari mu buyobozi bwa nyuma y'ubukoloni, aho tuzibanda ku bayobozi baranzwe n'ubutwari mpinduramatwara, bakitanga bakabohora u Rwanda ku ngoma y'igitugu bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi; bakarusana, bakarwubaka, bakaruha icyerekezo gishya.

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[54] Umwami Musinga yatanze tariki ya 25 Ukuboza 1944 i Kitendwe, mu Karere ka Tanganyika, muri Teritwari ya Baudouinville muri Kongo. Umwami Rudahigwa yemerewe gutaburura no kugarura mu Rwanda umugogo wa se muri 1946 Ababiligi bisubiraho bishyirwa muri 1947 biza kurangira bihagaze burundu. [Archives Africaines, Bruxelles, dossier N^0 RWA (1) 21].

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VI. IMPETA N'INGORORANO MU RWANDA MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI

Dr. NKAKA Raphael*

I) Interuro rusange

1) Interuro

Ingoma y' u Rwanda ni imwe mu zatumye akarere k'ibiyaga bigari gahabwa ikirango cyihariye muri Afrika y'iburasirazuba. Ni muri ako karere Abanyaburayi bahageze bwa mbere babonye imiyoborere ishingiye ku bwami batari babonye guhera ku nkombe y'inyanja y'Abahindi. Ntabwo batangajwe n'uko ibyo bihugu byari biyobowe neza nk'uko hari abajya babivuga, ahubwo batangajwe n' urwego rw'ubwami (kingdom, kingship, monarchy) mu miyoborere batari babonye ahandi. Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19, iz'ingenzi muri izo ngoma zari izi zikurikira: Rwanda, Burundi, Buganda, Nkore, Bunyoro, Buha, Bushi, Bushubi, Kiziba, Kyamutwara, Bugabo, Karagwe

2) Ikibazo cy'ubushakashatsi n'intego zabwo

Ikibazo cy'ubushakashatsi ni ugusuzuma ibyo iyo ngoma yashingiyeho kugirango ivuke, ibe ubukombe mu misozi miremire hagati y'urusobe rw'izindi ngoma z'abami bo muri ako karere, maze izo ngoma ntizibashe kuyisenya ngo ziyimire.

Intego z'ubushakashatsi ziri ukubiri. Hari ugukurikirana ibyerekeranye n'ingabo n'intambara, hakaba no gukurikirana ibyo kunoza imivugire y'ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda. Akamaro k'iyo mivugire kakaba kari ako guteza imbere uririmi hamwe no kuba ikigega cy'ubumenyi. Biradufasha gushishikarira kumenya ibyo kurema ingabo, kuzitoza umwuga wo kurwana ku rugamba, kumenya neza kuziyobora no gushima abarushije abandi ubutwari kuko ari byo intsinzi yubakirwagaho. Biratuma tugusha ku mpeta n' ingororano yagenerwaga ubwo butwari. Biraduha kandi inzira yo kumenya inzego

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z'ubuhanzi mu kunoza imvugo ikeye mu Kinyarwanda, tubonereho no gushaka kumenya ishimwe abahanzi bagenerwaga, kubera ko ubwo buhanzi ari bwo bwabyaye ibigega byo kurinda indangamuco z'u Rwanda. Guhitamo ingabo no kunoza imvugo ni uko ari byo byigishwaga mu itorero, bityo bikaba bitwereka ko ari byo ingoma yari ishyize imbere. Muri iyi nyandiko turibanda ku gice cya mbere cyahariwe ingabo, naho ibyerekeye inzego z'ubuhanzi tuzazishyira mu cyiciro cya kabiri kizatangazwa mu nomero ya kabiri.

3) Isoko y'umusaruro w'ubushakashatsi.

Abahanga bandikaga mu binyejana bya kera guhera mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, bagiye bahunika ubumenyi, ubuhanga n' ubwenge byabo mu bitabo. Abo mu Rwanda bo bagiye babihunika mu mvugo zitanditse maze bigenda bihererekanywa mu bisekuru kugeza byanditswe mu kinyejana cya 20. Muri izo mvugo dusangamo ahanini ibisigo, ibyivugo, amazina y'inka, ibitekerezo, inzira z'ubwiru, ubucurabwenge, imigani migufi, imigani miremire, indirimbo, ibihozo, ibisakuzo, imigenzo n'imiziririzo.

Ibyo byose byahabwaga agaciro gakomeye ibwami, mu batware hamwe no mu miryango ya rubanda rwa giseseka. Byari ibigega by'umuco. Ntabwo kubimenya byasabye abashakashatsi bo mu kinyejana cya 20 kujya i Nyanza. Bamwe mu bandikishije ibisigo Padiri Alegisi Kagame ni abo mu Bufundu, mu Bunyambiriri, muri Nyaruguru, mu Buyenzi, aho hose ni mu turere tw'ubu twa Nyamagabe na Nyaruguru. Abandi bari batuye mu Marangara mu karere k'ubu ka Muhanga, i Gisozi mu mujyi w'ubu wa Kigali na Rukoma, mu karere k'ubu ka Kamonyi[55]. Icyo gihe kandi ibwami bari batuye i Nyanza.

Abamwandikishije amazina y'inka babarizwaga ahahoze inzuri z'inyambo, mu burasirazuba no mu majyepfo by'u Rwanda.[56]

Uwandikishije ubucurabwenge witwaga Rwanyange rwa Ntiyambeshye

[55] Kagame, A. (1972), *Un abregé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda,* Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, pp.12-14

[56] Kagame,A. (1987), Amazina y'inka, Butare, INRS

yakomokaga mu muryango wari utuye i Karama mu Marangara hafi y'i Kabgayi. Ntabwo A. Kagame hamwe n'abandi bashakashatsi babaye i Nyanza usibye Padri Delmas wabaye Padri mukuru wa missiyoni ya Nyanza kuva mu mwaka wa 1940 kugeza 1950[57]. Kurondora aho hantu ni ukwerekana ko ubwo buhanga bwari buzwi henshi, ko ubwo buvanganzo ari ibigega bibitse umuco w'Abanyarwanda bose. Bishatse kuvuga ko ibyo banditse babivanye muri rubanda n'ubwo inkomoko ya bimwe yabaga ari ibwami, ariko byahimbwe n'abantu bo mu byiciro byinshi by'Abanyarwanda. Ibwami hagerwaga n'abantu bo mu ngeri zose bakomoka ahantu hanyuranye. Vansina asubiza abashakashatsi batahaga agaciro ibitekerezo yakusanyije akiri mu Rwanda mu mpera z'ubukoloni bw'u Bubirigi, bitwaje ko ubwo ari iby'ibwami bitarebaga Rubanda, ko Ingoma Nyiginya -adakunze kuvuga ibyiza- yari yarogeye mu turere twose. Dore uko yabyiyandikiye mu cyongereza:

“Moreover , scholars with this attitude ignored the fact that the Nyiginya kingdom exerted a certain impact on most peripheral regions within and even beyond the present Republic of Rwanda, so that sources from the court cannot simply be ignored, even for local history”[58].

Twagendeye cyane cyane ku bitekerezo no mu mivugo no mu nzira z'ubwiru byandikishijwe Alegisi Kagame guhera mu mwaka wa 1936. Bimwe biri mu bitabo yagiye ashyira ahagaragara kuva mu mwaka wa 1943, ibindi mu masomo yatanze muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda mu ishami ry'indimi kuva mwaka wa 1967 kugeza 1981. Ni ibitekerezo yabwiwe n'Abanyarwanda bo mu myaka yo guhera muri 1930, barimo abiru nka Sezibera rya Rutikanga,umwiru w'umutege banitaga “Umwenenyabirungu” cyangwa”umwiru w'umunyakabagari” mu karere k'ubu ka Ruhango, Senyakazana ka Mushyo na Kayijuka ka Nyantaba, abasizi nka Sekarama ka Mpumba wavutse ku ngoma ya Mutara II Rwogera, agatabara muri bimwe mu bitero bya Rwabugiri na

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[57] Delmas, L, (1950), Au pays de Mutara III Rudahigwa. Généalogie de la Noblesse (Les Batutsi) du Ruanda, Kabgayi, Vicariat Apostolique, p.6

[58] Vansina, J. (2000), “ Historical tales « Ibiteekerezo“ and the History of Rwanda in *History in Africa,* 27, pp. 375-414

Karera ka Bamenya wari intebe y'abasizi ukomoka i Gatagara wakuriye i Nyanza ibwami, hombi mu karere k'ubu ka Nyanza, abahimbyi b'ibyivugo bariho ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri barimo Sebaganji ba Bukwege, abahanga mu bitekerezo by'intambara nka Kamananga ka Sebajura na Nyamuhenda wa Kajeje wabaye Umugaba w'igitero cy'imigogo mu Nkole mu mwaka wa 1894 n'abandi tutarondoye barimo nka Manuka wari uzi cyane gusubiramo ibya Rukara rwa Bishingwe dore ko ari na we wishe Padri Loupias (Rugigana) bikitirirwa Rukara, mu karere k'ubu ka Musanze. Ayo ni amazina y'aba kera b'ingenzi bagiye bandikisha ubuvanganzo bwa kera.[59] Si A. Kagame gusa byandikishijwe, n'ubwo ari we w'ingenzi. Hari n'ibindi tutarondora harimo ibyatangajwe na Musenyeri Aloyizi Bigirumwami, Muzungu, Crepeau afatanyije na Bizimana, ndetse na Rugamba Sipriani mu kigo cya INRS, Coupez na Kamazi, D'Hertefelt na Coupez.[60]

Ni ngombwa kumenya ibigenderwaho ngo dutandukanye amateka n'isoko (source) y'amateka. Ubwo buvanganzo bwose si amateka (History), ahubwo ni ibigega byahunitswemo ubuhanga, ubwenge, ubumenyi, ibikorwa dushobora guheraho dusesengura ngo tugushe ku mateka (history) nk'uko twagusha no ku bindi bitari amateka birimo nk'ireme ry'ubwo buvangazo nyine cyangwa "Philosophy", "Antropology", "Sociology"…..

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[59] Kagame, A. (1975), *Un abrégé de l'Histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972*, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, pp.9-12. Amafoto ya bamwe muri bo aboneka muri Kagame, A, (1972)., naho ifoto y'umwiru Sezibera ishobora kuboneka muri D'Hertefelt na Coupez(1964), p.48

[60] Bigirumwami, A. (1971), *Ibitekerezo, Ibyivugo, Amahamba, Indirimbo, Imbyino*. Nyundo, 1971; Bigirumwami, A. na Muzungu, B. (1987), *Imigani «timangiro» y'u Rwanda (Les contes moraux du Rwanda).* 2e éd. Butare, Ed. de l'Université nationale du Rwanda, 1987, 267; Muzungu, B. http://dominicains.ca/nyirarumaga/;Crépeau, P. & Bizimana, S. (1979), Proverbes du Rwanda. Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren; Coupez,a & Kamanzi,T.(1962), Récits historiques rwanda : dans la version de C.Gakaniisha, Tervuren : Musée royal de l'Afrique central; Coupez, A.& Kamanzi,T.(1970), *Littérature de cour au Rwanda*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; Rugamba,S (1988), *Nkubambuze umugani*, Butare, IRST, 2 Vol.; Kagame,A (1951), *La poésie dynastique au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Institut Colonial belge; Id (1953), *Imigani y'imigenurano*, Kabgayi, Editions royales; Id. 1947), *Iyo wiriwe nta rungu* , Kabgayi, Editions royales; Id.(1949), *Icara nkumare irungu*, Kabgayi, Editions royales; Id. (1969), *Introduction aux grands genres lyriques de l'ancien Rwanda*, Butare,Ed. Universitaires du Rwanda.

Kwandukura ibihunitswe muri ibyo bigega ni umurimo wo gushima, ariko ni intambwe mu bushakashatsi, ntabwo ari ubushakashatsi bwuzuye. Ni igikorwa cyakorwa na buri muntu wese uzi kwandika kandi ubifitiye umwete. Ubikoze aba yandukuye iby'abandi, nta ruhare rwe ruba rurimo kuko bikomeza kuba umutungo wa babandi babiremye, ari bo bahanzi ba kera. Iryo ni ihame rikuru mu bushakashatsi bwa gihanga aho buva bukagera. Ntabwo umushakashatsi nyawe ari uvuga gusa ngo niko bambwiye, ahubwo ni ufata ibyo abwiwe cyangwa asomye akabikorera inyigo. Nk'iyo Padri Kagame yandukuraga igisigo cya Nyakayonga ka Musare, cyakomezaga kuba icya Nyakayonga, ntabwo cyahindukaga icya Kagame. Ariko iyo yagisesenguraga, icyo gihe byababaga ari cyo gikorwa cye[61]. Nk'uko kuba yarandikishijwe inzira z'ubwiru bitamugize umwiru.

II. Umusaruro w'ubushakashatsi

I) Ibyerekeye ingabo

1. Kurema umutwe w'ingabo

Iyo umwami Kanaka yamaraga kwimikwa, bahamagazaga ingimbi zitarinjizwa mu mitwe y'ingabo. Ahanini hatoranywaga abo mu miryango izwi cyane n'ibwami. Abo bahamagajwe bagahurizwa hamwe, babaga bari hagati ya 150 na 200, bakajya mu itorero. Itorero rishobora kuba rikomoka ku nshinga gutora. Gutora bivuga gufata mu mutwe, kumenya. Bityo itorero rikaba ari ijambo ryavuga aho abantu bitoreza, aho bafatira mu mutwe, ahantu abantu bigira. Ryari nk'ishuri. Byongeye kandi, Itorero rero ryari urwego rw'ibanze rw'umutwe w'ingabo. Iyo izo ngimbi zageraga mu itorero, bahabwaga izina, bagahabwa n'Umutware witwaga "Umutware w'urugo rw'umwami". Kubera ko ryari itorero rya mbere ry'ibwami, umwami na we yaryinjiragamo n'iyo yabaga yarabanje gutorwa mu rindi. Icyo gihe na we yagombaga kumvira uwo mutware. Hashiraga igihe, bakazongeramo andi matorero ane cyangwa atanu. Ayo matorero yahabwaga imyitozo.

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[61] Kagame, A. (1947), "La voix de l'Afrique, un poème du Rwanda" in *Africa*, London, *International African Institute*, I, pp.41-46; Kagame, A., (1974), « *Etude critique d'un vieux poème du Rwanda* », Symposium Leo Frobenius, Cologne

Yamara kuyasoza, akongerwamo ingabo zo mu miryango myinshi ya rubanda bavanye mu yindi mitwe y'ingabo isanzwe, kugira ngo zijye kugwiza amaboko y'ayo matorero. Bityo itorero rikabamo Abanyarwanda barutana, bari hagati y'imyaka 12 n'imyaka 35 ugereranyije.[62]

Uko ibwami babaga batoza amatorero, ni nako no mu batware b'ingabo baremaga andi matorero yabaga agizwe n'ingimbi zo mu miryango ya rubanda. Nyuma y'imyitozo, amatorero yose yahurizwaga ibwami maze bakarushanwa. Hari n'igihe ariko Umugabekazi yaremaga ingabo. Urugero: Nyiramavugo II Nyiramongi, nyina wa Mutara II Rwogera, yashinze umutwe w'ingabo zitwaga *Inzirabwoba*, mbere yo kuzegurira Nkoronko, umuhungu we. Nyirakigeri IV Murorunkwere, nyina wa Kigeri IV Rwabugiri yaremye *Impamakwica*. Nyuma Rwabugiri azigabira Kanjogera, umwe mu bagore be.[63]

2. Imyitozo

Mw' itorero bahabwaga imyitozo igizwe n'ibyiciro bibiri by'ingenzi: kwiga kurwanira Ingoma, kwiga kunoza imvugo y'ikinyarwanda no kumenya iby'igihugu.

2.1. Kumenya kurwanira ingoma

Gutoza kurwanira Ingoma -u Rwanda n'umwami- kwari ugutoza gutera icumu, kurashisha umuheto n'imyambi, kumenya gutera inkota ari byo bitaga gusogota, gusimbuka urukiramende, kumasha, guhamiriza, kubana neza: gutabarana, gusangira byose, kudahemukirana.

2.2. Kumenya kunoza imvugo no kumenya iby'igihugu:

Gutoza kuvuga neza, kujya impaka zitarimo uburakari, kumenya gusetsa, kuvuga no guhimba ibyivugo, kumenya ibitekerezo, kuririmba no kumenya uturere tw'icyo gihe, imigezi n'imisozi.

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[62] Kagame, A. (1952), *Le code des institutions politiques du Rwanda precolonial, Bruxelles, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, p.34*

[63] Kagame, A. (1954), *Les organisations sociao-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Institut Colonial Belge, p. 278

3. Igitero cy'intambara

3.1. Igitero n'agatero-shuma.

Igitero cy'intambara ni icyabaga cyategetswe n'ibwami, kikagira Umugaba wacyo kandi kikagiririrwa imihango y'ubwiru. Cyabaga ari igitero cy'u Rwanda, kikitwa igitero cy'Abanyarwanda cyemejwe kandi cyagabwe n'Ingoma gikurikije imigenzo y'abiru. Iyo ingabo zatsindaga, ni u Rwanda rwabaga rutsinze. Iyo zatsindwaga, ni u Rwanda rwabaga rutsinzwe. Iyo igitero cyatsindaga urugamba, cyatabarukiraga ibwami, maze ingabo zigataha ibwami, zikiyereka, zigakorerwa ibirori mu bitaramo byamaraga iminsi mike. Ni muri ibyo birori ingabo zarushije izindi zahabwaga ingororano.

Agatero-shuma kari agatero kagabwe n'Umutware w'ingabo cyangwa se n'umwami ubwe, ariko katagabwe n'Ingoma. Iyo agatero-shuma kaneshaga cyangwa kakaneshwa, ntabwo byitirirwaga Ingoma. Niyo mpamvu, nyuma y'igitero abarwanyi batahaga iwabo, batsinze cyangwa batatsinze, kandi ntihatangwe ingororano.

3.2. Umutware w'ingabo, umugaba w'ingabo, Umugaba w'igitero

Ingabo zari zigizwe n'abarwanyi batwawe n'abo bitaga Abatware bashyirwagaho n'umwami. Abo batware bitwaga "Abatware b'ingabo"mu gihe gisanzwe, noneho bakitwa "Abagaba b'ingabo" iyo babaga bari ku rugamba. Mu gihe cy'intambara, Umugaba w'ingabo yarangwaga n'ikamba ry'ingabo rigizwe n'uruhu rw'ubwoko bw'inkima yitwa "icyondi". Baritamirizaga mu ruhanga, bakarisesurira mu bitugu.

Imbonerahamwe n° 1: Amatorero y'Indengabaganizi, umutwe w'ingabo zarindaga urugo rwa Yuhi V Musinga

Izina ry'umutwe w'ingabo	Amazina y'amatorero
Indengabaganizi	1) Indengabaganizi (+ Urushashi) 2) Iziruguru (+ Imparabanyi) 3) Incogozabahizi (+Imirimba) 4) Intanga-muganzanyo (+Ibihame) 5) Ishyaka

Ikimenyetso + kivuze ko ariya matorero yongewemo yari asanzwe ariho, maze bakaza kuyavanga n'ayandi, akitwa izina ry'itorero ryabanje.

Umugaba w'igitero yari umunyacyubahiro w'ibwami ubonetse wese n'iyo yabaga adasanzwe ari Umutware w'ingabo. Ntabwo byasabaga ko aba asanzwe ari intwari ku rugamba, ahubwo yabaga ari umuntu watahuweho ko azatera ingabo amahirwe yo gutsinda urugamba. Iyo uwo mugaba yamaraga kwemezwa, umwami yamuhaga ububasha bungana nk'ubwe, akagaba ingabo yitwa umwami. Yahabwaga izina ry'umwami wigeze gutera aho bagiye gutera. Hakurikiragaho kumwambika ikamba nk'iryo Umutware w'ingabo, bakongeraho ishyira ari wo murizo w'urukwavu rwafashwe ari ruzima, hamwe n'uruhu rw'"intuku" ari yo inyoni itukura yabaga mu ishyamba ryo mu Buyenzi, mu karere k'ubu ka Nyaruguru. Iyo yamaraga kwambara, Umugaba w'igitero yasohokaga mu nzu yivuga, agahaguruka ubwo, ingoma zikamuherekeza. Ubwo Abatware bahurujwe mu gitero bagatuma ku ngabo zabo ngo zihaguruke, bakazibwira aho zose zihurira[64]

[64] D'Hertefelt M.&Coupez, A. (1964) *La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda. Texte, Traduction et commentaire de son rituel,* Tervuren, Musée Royal d'Afrique Centrale, p.158-169

3.3. Imirwanishirize y'ingabo

3.3.1. Imyiteguro

Iyo imitwe yose yamaraga guhurira hafi y'inkiko y'igihugu bazatera, Umugaba w'igitero yatumiraga Abagaba b'ingabo mu Nteko, buri mutwe ugahabwa inzira uzanyura hamwe n'umutasi wahatase, uzi neza inzira. Mbere yo guhaguruka, Umugaba w'igitero akohereza intumwa ibwami yo kuvuga umunsi azagabaho igitero. Uwo munsi warageraga, umwami agatangira imihango y'inteko, naho umwami yaba yatabaye, igakorwa n'Umugabekazi. Twibutse ko Umugabekazi yari nyina w'umwami. Yari asangiye ubwami n'Umuhungu we. Bombi bakikiraga Ingoma mu mihango yo kwimikwa, bagatangaza ko bemeye iyo ngoma bahawe ari nako ugiye kuba umwami yemera ko azayirwanirira, byaba na ngombwa akayimenera amarso[65].

Umwami yaramukaga yicaye ku ntebe ibaje mu giti cy'umuko, yegamye ku nkingi ngo hatagira umuvugisha amuturutse inyuma. Akiririrwa ameze atyo kugeza nimugoroba. Umwiru wo mu Bazinancuro agacana umuriro ibwami wagombaga guhora waka igihe cyose intambara yabaga izamara. Ubwo imfizi y'ibwami yabaga iri i ruhande rwa cya gicaniro, hari n'abantu benshi bayizinga ngo hatagira isazi iyikoraho Uwo muhango wakorwaga mu rugo rurimo ingoma ya Karinga. Iyo umwami yabaga yatabaye, uwo muhango wakorwaga n'umugabekazi.

Abagore n'abakobwa bo muri ako karere birirwaga bahira ibyatsi byo gucana uwo muriro, ari byo bitaga "guha impumbya". Ubwo kandi ni ko byagendaga mu Rwanda hose. Abagore n'abakobwa bahiraga ibyatsi byo kwatsa igicaniro cyo mu rugo rw' Umutware. Nta kindi uwo mutware utatabaye yakoraga kitari ukwita kuri uwo muriro bawurinda kuzima. Rubanda birindaga gukora ibirori mu gihe cy'intambara. Ikindi kandi barekaga kuburana, bakirinda kugaragaza ikintu cy'urwango bashoboraga kuba bafitanye, bagategekwa kubana neza, kugenzanya neza, abafite ibyo bapfa bakazarindira igihe igitero kizatabarukira.[66]

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[65] Idem, pp224-279

[66] Kagame, A. (1976), Cours de littérature rwandaise, Université Nationale du Rwanda, HIS 345

Gutabara ntibyari ukurasana gusa, byarimo n'ibi bikurikira: gutwara intwaro n'ibizatunga abarwanyi, imihango yakorwaga n'abiru, kunyaga inka z'aho batsinze, kwita ku bicaniro byakorwaga n'abagore n'abakobwa bo mu gihugu cyose, kubana neza kw'abaturage basabwa kwibagirwa ibyo bashobora kuba bapfa. Bityo igitero cy'Ingoma cyabaga ari igitero cy'umwami na rubanda.

3.3.2. Gutangiza imirwano no kurwana

Mbere y'uko ingabo zitangiza imirwano, Umugaba w'igitero yasigaraga mu Nteko, hahandi yabaga aganditse. Na we yicaraga ku ntebe ibaje mu giti cy'umuko, agakikira igisabo. Mbere yo gutangiza urugamba, Abagaba b'ingabo nabo baremaga Inteko, nabo bakicara ku ntebe ibaje mu muko. Babaga bari kumwe n'amatorero yabo, bakohereza itorero rimwe, andi agasigarana na we mu nteko, akikije Umugaba. Umurasano wamara igihe kiringaniye, Umugaba agahagurutsa itorero rindi, rikajya ku rugamba gukura abarubanjemo, kugira ngo bagaruke mu nteko baruhuke. Inteko y'Umugaba w'ingabo yashoboraga kubamo Abagaba b'ingabo benshi iyo bahabwaga inzira imwe ngo bahane amaboko. Iyo baneshaga ababisha, inteko yarimukaga ikijyira imbere. Iyo babaga bari mu nteko, babaga bagenzura impande zose ngo hatagira ababisha babaca inyuma, bakabinjirana batabizi bakabamara.

Muri iryo torero, habaga harimo n'abantu bashinzwe guheka abishwe cyangwa abakomeretse. Bajyaga guhamba imirambo ahantu hiherereye, barwana no kugirango ababisha batayishinyagurira. Byitwaga ubugwari butavugwa gutererana umurambo w'ingabo yaguye mu mirwano cyangwa yakomeretse ubutabasha kugenda. Uwamaraga kwica umubisha, yaramushahuraga, ngo yereke Umutware w'ingabo ikimenyetso cy'uko yishe koko, yaba atabishoboye agashaka abagabo bazabihamya. Yahitaga ajya mu Nteko, agasaba Umutware uruhushya rwo guheta ikigembe cy'icumu rye, agahabwa irindi ryo gukomeza imirwano.

3.3.3. Gukubitwa incuro. Kugaruka. Kwimana

Iyo Abanyarwanda basakiranaga n'ababisha bagasanga babarusha imbaraga, babeshyaga ko bahunze, bakirukira icyarimwe basubira inyuma, babibwirijwe n'umurwanisha wabo. Ababisha bahitaga babirukaho, maze muri uko kwiruka bagasigana. Ubwo umwe mu banyarwanda agahindukira, akavuga icyivugo, akarangamira ababakurikiye. Ni byo bitaga *kugaruka.* Ingabo zamara kumva icyivugo cye, zigahindukira, bagahita basakirana n'ab'inkwakuzi bo mu babisha, bakarwana nabo bakiri bake, abandi bakazajya kuhagera bamwe muri benewabo bishwe cyangwa bahunze. Hari n'igihe Abanyarwanda baremaga igico, abarwanyi bamwe bakagira aho bikinga, bakisigaza inyuma. Ababisha bakurikiye ingabo bazi ko zihunze bamara kurenga cya gico, ba banyarwanda bandi bakomeje kugenda bagahindukira, maze ababisha bakagotwa batyo, akenshi bakicwamo na ba bandi bari basigaye mu gico. Birumvikana ko buri gihe bitabahiraga.

Kugarukirwa byari ukubiri: Uwavuze icyivugo wa mbere, abandi bagahindukira nka we, yashoboraga kuzavuga mu byivugo bye ati: "zarangarukiye i kanaka". Hari n'igihe ariko ingabo zatsindwaga bitari ugukubitwa incuro, noneho hakaba ubwo umwe mu ngabo yiruka akaza kunanirwa, aribyo bitaga *kugwa impumu*. Iyo yashoboraga gufatwa n'ababisha, abihaze bamurwanagaho, bakazanabivuga mu bitaramo no mu byivugo byabo ngo *nagarukiye Kanaka.*

Hari n'igihe ababisha bibasiraga ingabo imwe ku rugamba, bakayirasa bayihusha cyangwa batayihamya mu cyico, cyangwa yagoswe n'ababisha atabasha kuhivana. Icyo gihe umunyarwanda ubirabutswe akamutabara cyangwa akamutabariza, akamwamururaho abari bagiye kumwica, yabaga azavuga mu bitaramo no mu byivugo ngo nimanye kanaka. Kwica umubisha, kugarukira kanaka no kwimana kanaka mwatabaranye, biri mu bikorwa by'ubutwari byarangagaingabo ku rugamba. Muri make, ubutwari ku rugamba kwari ukwica umubisha no gutabara ingabo mwatabaranye iyo yabaga iri mu makuba ku rugamba.

Iyo imirwano yabaga irangiye batsinze, ingabo zose zaratabarukaga zigahurira mu Nteko y'Umugaba w'igitero. Uwo mugaba yahitaga

arekeraho imihango y'igitero, akohereza ibwami intumwa yitwaga "uwo kwahura imfizi". Yatumwaga kuzabwira umwami aya magambo nta cyo ahinduyeho: "Imirwano yararangiye, twaratsinze". Ubwo umwami yahitaga arekeraho ya mihango, bakahura imfizi, maze bakamenyesha Rubanda ko imirwano yarangiye. Icyo gihe no mu batware bakarekeraho kwatsa igicaniro, ba bagore n'abakobwa bakarekeraho kwahira ibyatsi byo kuwucana.[67]

3.3.4. Kuvuga amacumu

Mu Nteko y'Umugaba w'igitero, batoranyaga umuntu muri buri mutwe uzi kuvuga kurusha abandi, wishe umubisha kandi uzwiho kudasinda. Uwo muntu agashyirwa mu ruhame rw'Abagaba b'ingabo, bakamubaza imitabarire y'umutwe we. Agasubiza ahereye kuva bashyizeho Umugaba w'igitero, akarondora ibyo yibuka byose, agakurikizaho imirwanire y'uwo mutwe kugeza ku ndunduro. Uko yagendaga abirindora ni nako abandi bamwibutsaga aho yibagiwe.

Imbonerahamwe n° 2: Abagaba b'ingabo mu bitero bimwe byo ku ngoma ya Kigeri IV Rwabugiri[68]

Igitero cyo mu-Lito (Burundi)	Cyirima Rujugira Ndibyariye ya Mbagariye
Igitero cy'i Butembo (Kivu y'amajyaruguru)	Cyirima Rujugira Rudakemwa rwa Sakufi
Igitero cya Kabego (Icya kabiri cyo ku Ijwi)	Cyirima Rujugira Ndibyariye ya Mbagariye
Igitero cy'i Gikore (Kigezi na Mpororo)	Kigeri Ndabarasa Rudakemwa rwa Sakufi
Igitero cyo ku Buntubuzindu (Bushi)	Kigeri Ndabarasa Ndibyariye ya Mbagariye
Igitero cyo mu Kanywiriri (Hafi ya Bukavu y'ubu)	Mibambwe Mutabazi Zimurinda ya Semarora
Igitero cya Nkundiye (Icya gatatu cyo ku Ijwi)	Yuhi Gahindiro Gihana cya Barikage

[67] Kagame, A (1976), His 345
[68] Kagame, A. (1952), *op.cit*. note 34

Buri mutwe bikamera gutyo. Abo bantu bakabyitoza, bakabisubiramo kenshi imbere y'Abagaba, kugeza igihe Abagaba bashimye ko babitoye neza. Noneho Umugaba w'igitero akabohereza ibwami ngo bajye kubitekerereza umwami batyo. Abo bantu bitwaga "Abavuzi b'amacumu".

Abo bavuzi b'amacumu bakajya ibwami baherekejwe n'abantu bizewe bashinzwe kubibutsa ko batagomba kunywa inzoga, ahubwo bakagenda babaha amata ngo badasinda bakaza kubivuga nabi. Bagenderaga hamwe barinzwe ubutabakuraho ijisho. Bageraga ibwami bakakiranwa ngo ibirori by'abakwe. Ubwo ibwami babaga batumiye Abatware batatabaye, kugirango bazumve mu ba mbere uko imirwanire y'ingabo yagenze. Igihe cyo kuvuga imirwano cyagera, buri muvuzi w'amacumu agahuguruka, akarondora rya somo yatoye. Bose bagahetura. Bakavuga abishwe, abakomeretse, abishe, ariko bikaba umuziro kuvuga abahunze cyangwa abagize ubwoba. Niyo mpamvu hamenyekanaga cyane intwari.

Abatekereza b'ibwami, bari bafite umwuga w'ibitekerezo, bakakira ibyavuzwe, bagashimikira kubifata mu mutwe, bakabihimbura ngo bashyiremo "uturingishyo two kuryosharyoshya", bakarema igitekerezo batyo, ariko ishingiro ryacyo ari ibyavuzwe n'Abavuzi b'amacumu muri raporo y'igitero babaga barazaniye umwami. Igitekerezo cyagorowe n'abatekereza ni icyo cyemerwaga kuba ari cyo gitekerezo cy'intambara. Guhera ubwo kikazajya kivugwa ibwami, nyuma kikazakwira no muri Rubanda.

3.3.5. Kugororera

Agaciro k'inka katumaga irarikirwa na bose haba mu Rwanda no mu zindi Ngoma zo mu karere. Niyo mpamvu zagororerwaga abagaragaje ubutwari kurusha abandi. Iyo ingabo zatabarukaga, hagororerwaga Umugaba w'igitero, Abatware barwanishije ingabo, hamwe n'izindi ngabo bitewe n'uko inka banyaze zingana. Habagaho ariko ingororano isumba izindi yahabwaga ingabo yahize abandi mu butwari muri buri mutwe w'ingabo zatabaye. Iyo ngororano yitwaga "**Inka y'ubumanzi**".

Mu nkera y'imihigo yo mu birori byasoje "igitero cy'Imbungiramihigo kwa Makombe" umwe mu bami b'Abashi bo mu kinyejana cya 19, nyuma y'uko ingabo zihiga ubutwri bwo muri icyo gitero, Umwami Mutara II Rwogera yaciye urubanza avuga ko Munyinya wa Soma ari we wabahize mu butwari, maze amugororera "inka y'ubumanzi". Rwogera yamushimiye ko Ruzirabwoba yavugaga ko ari we ukwiye iyo nka kuko yimanye gatatu Munyinya wari wakomeretse, buri gihe ingabo zigenda zimugarukira. Rwogera yaba yaravuze aya magambo: "inka y'ubumanzi" nyigororeye Munyinya, kuko ari we watumye Abanyabungo (Abashi) batsindwa. Mbese iyo atabaho, Ruzirabwoba aba yaramugarukiye?" Icyo gihe Mutara II Rwogera yabivugiye ku Mukingo, hafi y'i Gatagara mu karere k'ubu ka Nyanza[69]. Icyo gitero cyiswe icy'"Imbungiramihigo kwa Makombe" kuko cyatewe n'itorero ry'Imbungiramihigo ryo mu mutwe w'Abashakamba z'umutware Nkusi ya Gahindiro. Icyo gitero ariko cyagabwe n'Umutware w'iryo torero Rubega nawe mwene Gahindiro. Uwo mutwe wari umaze igihe gito ushinzwe kuko waremwe ku ngoma y'uwo mwami.[70]

Ingabo yahize abandi ku rugamba yashoboraga kugororerwa inka nyinshi. Munanira wa Nyangezi wo mu ngabo z'Abashakamba yagororewe inka zose zanyazwe mu Ndorwa ku ngoma ya Yuhi IV Gahindiro, mu kinyejana cya 19. Icyo gihe Abanyandorwa banyaze inka z'umwami zitwaga "Urukomera". Maze umwami atuma ingabo z'Abashakamba kugarura izo nka. Zigeze mu Ndorwa, zimenya ko Ingabo z'Abanyendorwa zihishe ahantu mu gishanga cy'urufunzo hamwe n'inka. Icyo gihe Munanira yabimburiye abandi mu kwinjira muri icyo gishanga, mu gihe bo bari bagifite amakenga. Bahise bamwuririraho maze banesha Abanyandorwa, bagarura inka z'umwami, baboneraho no kunyaga n' izindi, ariko Munanira na bamwe mu ngabo banga kuva muri icyo gishanga bashaka gushimangira ko bakigaruriye.

Gahindiro yamutumyeho, arataha, ageze ibwami, umwami ategeka ko bamuha inka zose zanyazwe muri icyo gitero. Icyo gihe Gahindiro yari atuye i Murinja mu karere k'ubu ka Nyanza. Naho icyo gitero kitwa

[69] Ministeri y'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye, (1982), *Ikinyarwanda. Urwunge rw'imyandiko mfashanyigisho. Igitabo cya kabiri: umwaka wa gatanu w'amashuri yisumbuye. Igitabo cy'umunyeshuri,* Kanama, p.34-43

[70] Kagame, A. (1963)

"Igitero cy'umunsi w'inyana"[71]

Igitekerezo cy'Abakemba batanu kitumenyesha ko Yuhi IV Gahindiro yagororeye Sendakize inka z'imbyeyi ebyiri, amaze kumenya ko na Cyirima II Rujugira yamugororeye. Sendakize yari afite inkomoko mu Gisaka. Yarwaniye ingoma ariko areneshwa. Ahungira i Burundi. Aho i Burundi bamenyeye ko hari ingabo z'Abanyarwanda ziri i Nyaruteja mu karere k'ubu ka Gisagara hafi y'i Burundi, kandi ko zirimo Ndabarasa, umuhungu wa Cyirima II Rujugira ataraba umwami, ingoma y'i Burundi igaba igitero i Nyaruteja kigamije kwica Ndabarasa. Sendakize aza gusakirana na Ndabarasa ariko ntiyamwica kandi yari abifitiye uburyo. Ngo yaramubwiye ati: "Nturi umurenzi wo gupfa, nimburira amata i Burundi, nzaza i Rwanda umpake". Ingabo z'i Burundi zitabarutse, bamurega ku mwami ko yanze kwica Ndabarasa nkana. Bagiye kumufata ngo bamwice arabacika, acikira i Rwanda yambukiye mu karere k'ubu ka Nyaruguru.

Ntibyarangiriye aho, i Burundi bohereje Ruhanga, intumwa yo kuzamugambanira ibwami kwa Cyirima II Rujugira kuko ari ho Sendakize yabaga amaze guhunga. Iyo ntumwa yaje ibeshya ko ije guhakwa ibwami, hashize igihe irega Sendakize ko yazanywe ibwami no kuzica Rujugira. Umwami yahise amutanga ngo bamwice bamuroshye mu masangano ya Nyabarongo n'Akanyaru. Icyo gihe Rujugira yari atuye i Bwanacyambwe aho yari yarimukiye avuye i Nduga. Mu gihe abagombaga kumuroha bari mu nzira yerekeza Nyabarongo, Ndabarasa arabakurikira rwihishwa ajya gusaba ko bamuroha batamuboshye kugira ngo Sendakize aze koga yambuke. Bigenda gutyo. Baramuroha ariko aroga yambukira i Bugesera kuko bwari butaraba u Rwanda. Ageze i Bugesera ahakwa n'umugabo w'umutunzi akajya amuragirira inka. Hashize igihe baratongana, Sendakize aramwica ahungira i Ndorwa ngo ageze yo ahakwa n'umwami Gahaya.

Igihe Ndabarasa ateye mu Ndorwa, ingabo ze zimubwira ko mu bo barwana harimo usa na Sendakize. Ndabarasa aha ubutumwa bamwe mu ngabo zo kugenzura neza ko ari we, basanga ari we bakazashaka uburyo

[71] Ministeri y'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye (1982), pp.28-33

bamugeraho bakamumuzanira. Niko byagenze, Sendakize asanga Ndabarasa mu Nteko, amaze kwica umutware wabarwanishaga wo mu Ndorwa, witwaga Nyabarega. Atabarukana n'ingabo za Ndabarasa. Zigeze ibwami, Cyirima II Rujugira amugororea inka nyinshi ngo zuzuye imibande n'imisozi yo kuziragira. Nyuma yo kurega Sendakize, wa murundi Ruhanga yahise asubira iwabo. Bityo Rujugira ahita yumva ko yari yazanywe no kugambanira Sendakize.

Iyo bahigaga ubutwari mu gitaramo, habaga hari ikibindi cy'inzoga y'ubutwari cyangwa inzoga y'ubugabo. Uwayisomagaho mbere y'abandi ni uwabaga yemeje abari aho ko yabarushije ubutwari. Uwa mbere yarahagurukaga, akabanza akarata ubutwari bwe. Yagirango yegereye ikibindi agiye gusoma, umwe mu bari aho akamuhiga, ati: "uranywe iy'inyota ariko ntunywe iy'ubugabo". Undi ati: "kuki se?", Na we ati: "kuko mbukurusha kandi nkabikwereka". Wa wundi wari utangiye kwegera ikibindi akaba aretse. Wawundi umuhiga, akarondora ibigwi bye. Abari aho akenshi bakagira bati: "koko urabumurusha". Yagirango agiye gusoma, hakaza undi ati: "Sha! Nawe usome iy'inyota ariko ntusome iy'ubugabo". Undi ati: "kuki se?" Ngo kuko mbukurusha kandi nkabikwereka. Na we akarondora ibigwi bye. Yarangiza akavuga: "None uribwira ko washobora kunsomana inzoga y'ubugabo?". Abari aho bati: "Ni koko ni wowe ukwiriye kuyisoma" Gutyo gutyo, kugeza igihe umwami aciye iteka agatoranya uwarushije abandi. Icyo gihe yabaga abakijije.

Mu gitekerezo cy'Abakemba batanu harimo ko ingabo zari i Munyaga ku nkiko y'u Rwanda n'i Gisaka. Mu gitaramo, ingabo zari kwa Kabaka ka Kavotwa, umutware w'Abakemba, zahize ubutwari. Bajya impaka, birananirana. Bemeza kuzajya ibwami bakazakizwa na Yuhi IV Gahindiro, i Murinja. Aha twakwibutsa ko Gahindiro yatuye igihe kinini i Murinja aho bimwe mu byari bigize ibigabiro bye n'ubu bikigaragara. Ahandi yakunze gutura ni ku Muremure wa Ngoma, hafi y'amasangano ya Nyabarongo n'Akanyaru, mu karere k'ubu ka Kamonyi.

Bagezeyo, biganira umwami uko byagenze, basubiramo uko buri ngabo yahize. Gahindiro aca urubanza ngo muri aya magambo: "Uyisomaho iy'akarenga k'ubugabo ni Sendakize, umuntu wananiye abami batanu!"

Nibwo na we yamugororeye inka twavuze. Umwami Gahindiro kandi yagororeye Muhuzi, umuhungu wa Sendakize amashyo abiri y'inka, kuko yakurikiye inka z'umwami zari zanyazwe n'Abarundi. Kunyagwa inka byasobanuraga ko nta bagabo bahari bo kuzirwanira. Byabaga ari agasuzuguro. Kunyaga nabyo byari ikimenyetso cy'intsinzi.

Iki gitekerezo cyandikishijwe A. Kagame n'abatekereza babiri aribo Kamananga ka Sebajura na Gisegenya wo mu Budaha.Yongeye kucyumvana uwitwaga Kayonga ka Rwandekwe ngo agitekerereza abanyacyubahiro[72].

3.3.6. Impeta

Ijambo impeta rikomoka ku nshinga *guheta.* Guheta ikigembe cy'icumu ni yo mvugo yabyaye ijambo *impeta*, kuko izo ntwari zabaga zarahese ikigembe cy'icumu. Byahereye aho, maze ibwami bagena impeta z'ubutwari zizajya ziranga ingabo zishe ababisha benshi mu bitero byagabwe n' ibwami gusa. Bwari uburyo bwo gushima no gushimira ku mugaragaro ingabo zabaye intwari kurusha izindi ku rugamba, bakoresheje ijambo rifitanye isano n'ubwo butwari, ari byo guheta icumu. Ku rundi ruhande, abashimwaga byabateraga ishema kuko bahabwaga icyubahiro n'izindi ngabo. Izo mpeta zari mu byiciro bitatu bikurikira: umudende, impotore, gucana uruti.

3.3.6.1. Umudende

Umudende wari impeta yahabwaga ingabo yishe ababisha barindwi mu itsimbiro (urugamba) mu gitero cyagabwe n'ibwami, bivuze ko babaga baraguye mu irasaniro aho imirwano yabereye. Ni ukuvuga ko uwakomerekaga akazapfa ikindi gihe atabarirwaga muri uwo mubare. Singombwa kandi kuba bari bariciwe rimwe, kuko bisa nk'ibitari gushoboka, ahubwo babaraga abo yagiye yica mu mirwano myinshi. Umudende ngo wari icyuma kimeze nk'umukwege munini cyangwa nk'inkingi y'umutaka bahetaga ngo gishobore kwambarwa mu ijosi. Icyo cyuma cyitwaga *uruti rw'umudende*. Abo twashoboye kumenya bambitswe umudende ni abami Ruganzu II Ndori, Mutara I Semugeshi,

[72] Kagame, A. (1976), His 345

Kigeri II Nyamuheshera, Kigeri III Ndabarasa wawambitswe akiri igikomangoma na Kigeri IV Rwabugiri[73]. Naho mu ngabo zisanzwe hari Nyiringango ya Nyagahinga, wo mutwe w'Inganguraru go, ingabo z'urugo rw'umwami rwa Rwabugiri, mu itorero ry' Inganguraru go ryabaye ireme ry'uwo mutwe[74].

3.3.6.2. Impotore

Impotore ni impeta yambikwagwa ingabo yishe ababisha cumi na bane mu itsimbiro, mu bitero bigabwe n'ibwami. Yari umuringa intwari yambaraga ku kuboko kw'iburyo.

3.3.6.3 Gucana uruti

Gucan urutini umuhango intwari yacanagamo uruti rw'icumu iyo yabaga yarishe abanzi makumyabiri n'umwe mu itsimbiro mu bitero byagabwe n'ibwami. Wabaga mu birori byahuzaga ibwami, inshuti ze na benewabo. Ibyo birori byatangiraga ku mugoroba, bikarikesha. Kuva icyo gihe, iyo ntwari ntiyasubiraga ku rugamba. Byongeye kandi yahindukaga intumwa y'umwami ihoraho, kuko umwami yashoboraga kumutuma kumuhagararira mu birori no mu yindi mihango. Iyo yabaga iri muri ubwo butumwa, iyo ntwari yahabwaga ibigenerwa umwami haba mu myambaro no mu cyubahiro. Uwaherutse gucana uruti ni Karega ka Karigata wari ingabo yo mu mutwe w'Uruyange. Ubwo ingabo zatsindiraga ku Kidogoro zateye kwa Kabi ka Makombe, umwe mu bami b'Abashi, Umwami Rwabugiri yatumye Karega kujya gushima ingabo mu izina rye, maze Karega agenda ashoreye inzoga zigenewe ingabo z'Abashakamba n'iz'Uruyange, azishyiriye ubutumwa bw'uko umwami abashima. Karega yagiyeyo mu izina ry'umwami, kuko yari yaracanye uruti.[75]

Birumvikana ko ari bake twashoboye kumenya bahawe impeta. Kumenya abandi birasaba ubushakashatsi bwihariye mu bisigo no mu byivugo.

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[73] Kagame, A, (1963), p.77-78, note 47
[74] Kagame, A (1975)
[75] Kagame, A. (1975)

III) Impaka ku byerekeye ibitero

1) Imihango yabanzirizaga igitero

Hari abagiye bita iyo mihango muri rusange ngo ni iya gipagani ngo kuko idahuje n’ubukristu, ngo ni “retrogrades”, ngo iberanye n’imitekerereze ituzuye y’Abirabura.[76] Abanyarwanda ba kera ndetse n’ab’ubu ntibakwiye gutukwa bazizwa ko atari abakristu, kuko kwita umuntu umupagani ni ukumutuka. Kutaba umukirisitu ntibivuze kutagira idini. Byagaragaye ko ukwemera kw’Abanyarwanda kutari gutandukanye cyane n’ubukirisitu. Umenya ari yo mpamvu amwe mu magambo akoreshwa muri za kiriziya n’izindi nsengero z’abakristu dusangamo ayakoreshwaga n’abo bagaya ngo bari abapagani. Amwe muri ayo magambo ni nka “Imana, Nyagasani, insengero, gushengerera, itorero”.

Mu nzira y’ubwiru yitwa “Inzira y’urugomo”, hari aho bavuga ko iyo hakorwaga imihango yo kurwanya urugomo, bajyaga gushengerera Cyirima II Rujugira i Gaseke bamusaba gutsinda urugomo, ubundi bakajya ku Ijuru rya Kamonyi gushengerera Yuhi III Mazimapaka, aho hose ni mu karere k’ubu ka Kamonyi, maze bagaheturira i Rutare mu karere k’ubu ka Gicumbi, aho abiru bajyaga gushengerera Kigeri III Ndabarasa. Iyo bageraga kwa Ndabarasa, byagendaga gutya:

“Umutsobe akajya i Rutare

Agapfukama imbere **y’isengero**

Mu musezero wa Ndabarasa

Agakoma mu mashyi

Mu nzira y’ubwiru yitwa “Inzira y’Inteko”, mu muhango wakorwaga ibwami bitegura kugaba igitero, umwami yarasengaga avuga amwe muri aya magambo:

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[76] Rapport de l’adminsitration belge du Ruanda-Urundi, 1926; A.Pages, (1933) *Un royaume hamite au centre de l’Afrique*, Bruxelles, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, pp.355-384

“Nguyu umugaba arahagurutse

Mu cyimbo cy’umwami

Ateye inyanaka

Umutsindire iryo shyanga

Atsinde ingabo zaho

Atsinde amacumu yaho

Atsinde imyambi yaho

Utsinde igisare mu ngabo zacu”

Kujya gusenga aho abami batabarijwe ntibyari gusenga umuntu, kuko ubwami bwafatwaga nk’aho bwababaga bwarabashyizemo ububasha ndengakamere bubagira abahuza b’Imana na rubanda. Tubyibutswa nko mu gisigo “Umwami si Umuntu” cy’ umusizi Semidogoro mu mpera z’ikinyejana cya 18. Kuba rero mu mpera z’ikinyejana cya 19, barashengereraga Yuhi III Mazimpaka, Cyilima II Rujugira na Kigeri III Ndabarasa birerekana icyubahiro cyahabwaga abo bami muri uko kwemera kw’icyo gihe.

Abantu ntibagizwe n’umubiri gusa. Banagizwe na Roho. Ibyo ni byo ubukristu bwigisha. Ariko na mbere y’uko bugera mu Rwanda, Abanyarwanda barabyemeraga, kuko bemeraga ko habaho ubuzima nyuma y’urupfu. Kuri iyo ngingo ntacyo bwabunguye[77]. Abantu bagizwe n’umubiri, ubwenge, ubuhanga, ubumenyi, umutima, imyumvire n’imyitwarire. Bivuze ko ibikorwa by’abantu bitagomba gusesengurwa mu nzira imwe rukumbi. Muri uwo mutima, muri iyo myumvire no muri iyo myitwarire niho hazamo ibyerekeranye n’ukwemera. Bityo imyemerere y’abantu ikaba ari kimwe mu byo kwiga amateka biha agaciro, n’iyo umushakashatsi yaba atabikunda.

[77] Kagame, A. (1978), “Les grands tournants dans l’Histoire de la culture rwandaise” in *Etudes Rwandaises*, Vol.XI, Numero special, Elements d’Histoire du Rwanda, pp.1-10

Niyo mpamvu duha agaciro inzira z'ubwiru, kuko dusangamo imihango iranga iyo myemerere iri mu bishingirwaho mu gusesengura ibyerekezo by'ingoma muri ibyo bihe. Nk'ubu twasanze mu nzira y'inteko, umuhango warahuzaga ibikoresho byavuye ahantu henshi mu gihugu nk'amazi ya Gihosha mu Rukoma, inzoga y'i Bumbogo kwa Myaka, uruhumbyo rw'i Mushongi mu Buberuka, intuku y'i Buyenzi, icumu ryo mu Rutagara mu Buganza, umurama uzanwa n'abanyakabagari. Wanahuzaga kandi abantu banyuranye barimo umwiru w'umwenenyabirungu, umukobwa w'umushingo, umutware utwara u Buyenzi, abasizi, n'abasengo, impara n'ingoma z'imivugo, n'abaja ba gakondo, umwenemuhinda, umukobwa wo kwa Nyiragashikazi. Bakoreshaga ibimera binyuranye.

Birimo umurama uzatuma ingabo ziba umurame, zihorana imbaraga, umusumba usumba amahanga, umuruta n'umunesha biruta kandi bikanesha amahanga, umusugi utera ingabo kuba amasugi ku mubiri wazo, umugwamporo uha ingabo ubuhoro. Gukoresha ibimera muri uwo muhango ni uguha agaciro ibinyabuzima byo mu Rwanda mu kugira uruhare mu gutsinda urugamba. Ni uguha agaciro ibidukikije byose mu bikorwa by'urugamba. Uwashaka kubiseka yitwaje amahame y'amadini y'ubukristu, yasobanura aho bitandukaniye n'amashami yo ku cyumweru kibanziriza Pasika, ukuntu Ukaristiya na divayi biba umubiri n'amaraso bya Yezu kristu, cyangwa icyubahiro gihabwa tabernakolo, cyangwa muri rusange indabo dutereka ku mva y'umuntu.

Izo ndabo ni ibimera. Byose bifitanye isano n'ukwemera kw'abantu kandi nta kwemera kuruta ukundi. Twasanze iyo umwami yifurizaga rubanda ishya n'ihirwe mu "inzira y'ishora", yarabyifurizaga abagabo, akabyifuriza n'abagore. Kuba ibwami barahaga agaciro ibyo twita "uburinganire" muri iki gihe, ntitwari kubimenya iyo tudasoma iyo nzira. Ntitwari kumenya ko umwami witwaga Yuhi atambukaga imigezi ya Nyabarongo na Mwogo, iyo tutamenya umuhango wakorwaga mu "inzira y'umuriro". Umushakashatsi w'amateka ni umuntu wo mu gihe cye. Agomba kwirinda gusesengura ibya kera mu ndorerwamo yo mu gihe cye.

2) Isano iri hagati y'intambara n'umuco w'amahoro

N'ubwo intambara zibusanyije n'amahoro n'umutekano, n'ubwo abantu bazigwagamo cyangwa bazikomerekeramo, izo ntambara zabaye kimwe mu byabumbiye hamwe Abanyarwanda. N'ubwo ingabo zagiye zisubiranamo zikarwana hagati yazo nko ku Rucunshu mu mwaka wa 1896, zarwaniraga Ingoma, ntabwo zarwaniraga gucamo ibice u Rwanda. Intambara zabumbaga igihugu, ntizagitatanyaga. Nta mutware n'umwe uzwi washatse kwomora igice cy'ubutaka ngo akigire icye bwite n'ingabo ze. Mu gisigo "Liratukuye ishyembe icumita ibindi bihugu" cyahimbwe ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori, ngo kikuzuzwa ku ya Cyirima II Rujugira, umusizi agenda yibutsa ibihugu byigengaga byo mu Rwanda rw'ubu bagiye babumba bikaba u Rwanda, maze mu nyikirizo akavuga:

"Cyari igihugu nk'iki,

kikavugirwamo Ingoma……"[78]

Umwami kandi yabaga ari uw'u Rwanda rwose. Ni byo Umusizi Sekarama yabaye nk'uvuga asingiza Yuhi III Mazimpaka mu gisigo "Ntambe ineza, None iciye Amahari Imihigo" ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Yagize ati:

219 Avuka i Nduga, akima u Buganza,

Ugasanga aramutswa ibihugu byose

Ngo: Ingoma yawe Mugabo we! [79]

Ntabwo dushyigikiye Vansina ku byo yanditse yemeza ko urwego rw' ingabo za kera rwaremye umuco w'ubugizi bwa nabi mu Rwanda mu gihe bashyiraga mu matorero abana bafite gusa imyaka 10, barangiza bakogeza ubugizi bwa nabi, ubucakura, no guha intebe ubudahangarwa bw'abanyagitugu babicishije mu buvanganzo no mu bindi bihangano byogezaga umuco w' u Rwanda. Yunzemo ngo amazina y'inka, aho

[78] Kagame,A. 1976, His 435

[79] Kagame,A.,1976, His 345

kuba imivugo isingiza ubwiza bwazo, ahubwo usanga yarogezaga intambara, maze agasoza iyo ngingo yemeza ko kogeza ubugome ari umurage mubi ugikurikirana Abanyarwanda muri iki gihe.[80]

Ubutwari ku rugamba ntibwigishaga ubugome bwo kwica umuntu wese. Guhangana ku rugamba ntibivuga ko ingabo zari zarokamwe n'ubugizi bwa nabi. Barwanaga n'ababisha bagamije gushimangira ubusugire bw'igihugu. Gusingiza ingabo si ukwamamaza ubugizi bwa nabi, ni ugutoza umuco wo gukunda igihugu barengera ubusugire bwacyo n'ineza y'abagituye. Ibihugu byinshi byaremwe n'intambara, yaba u Rwanda, u Bubirigi cyangwa Leta zunze ubumwe za Amerika. Kuvuga ibyo bihugu byombi biheruka, ni uko Vansina yari umunyamerika ukomoka mu Bubirigi nk'uko bakunze kubivuga. Kubaho kwa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika uko zimeze ubu zibikesha intambara nyinshi harimo izo kurwanira ubwigenge mu kinyejana cya 18 (American Revolution War) n'iyo kurwanya gucikamo kabiri mu kinyejana cya 19 (American Civil War) ifitanye isano ya hafi na za Filimi za "Western" zakunzwe cyane kandi zirimo ubugome. Igihugu cy'u Bubirigi nticyari kubaho iyo Ababirigi bataza kwivumbura ku Buholandi (Pays-Bas cyangwa Netherlands) mu mwaka wa 1830. Ntabwo babikoze mu nzira y'amahoro, kuko habaye imirwano i Buruseli (Bruxelles) muri Nzeri 1830. N'u Bubirigi bwaremwe n'intambara. Ni ngombwa kwibuka ko gutegeka u Rwanda n'u Burundi, u Bubirigi bubikesha intambara ya mbere y'isi. Byari kuba byiza iyo Vansina yibuka ko yabaye umuyobozi w'ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi mu Rwanda cya "IRSAC" cya Astrida (Huye) kuva mu mwaka wa 1957 kugeza 1962, kubera ko u Bubirigi bwari bwarafashe u Rwanda bukoresheje imbunda n' amasasu mu mwaka wa 1916.

Iyo ugereranyije u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu byamamaza ko byateye imbere kurusha ibindi mu kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, usanga ahubwo ari byo byakoze inzibutso nyinshi zibutsa ubutwari bw'ingabo zabo. Ibikorwa byitiririrwa General Charles de Gaule mu Bufaransa ntiwabibara, kimwe n'uko byinshi ari ibihangano

[80] Vansina, J., (2001), *Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya,* Paris, Karthala, pp.83-84

bishushanya isura ya bamwe mu bayobozi bakomeye b'ingabo mu migi y'u Bufransa. Ikirango cy'umwami w'u Bufaransa Louis IV ari ku ifarasi iri ku rugamba na n'ubu kiracyaganje mu mujyi wa Paris, mu gihugu gihora kirata ibyiza bya repubulika. Igice kinini cy'umujyi wa Paris kirangwa n'inzibutso za Napoleon Bonaparte. Ishusho ya Leopold II wayogoje Congo yamaze igihe kinini iganje mu mujyi wa Bruxelles. Uwagereranya u Rwanda n'ibyo bihugu, yasanga mu Rwanda ahubwo nta cyakozwe. Muri Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, hari ibigo bishinzwe kubika umurage w'ibikorwa bya gisirikari nka *American Battle Monuments Commission.* Ariko byagera k'u Rwanda, Vansina akandika ko kuva ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori, ingabo zaremye umuco w'imvururu wokamye Abanyarwanda kugeza na n'ubu. Ikindi gitangaje kuri Vansina, ni uko nk'umushakashatsi w'icyamamare ku isi ubarirwa mu bitwa ba "specialistes du Rwanda" bakuru, ntacyo yigeze yandika ku bukoloni bw'igihugu cye mu Rwanda no kuri Leta ya MDR-Parmehutu ikomoka muri ubwo bukoloni. Yakoze ubushakashatsi k' u Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu, maze yototera urw'ubu arupfobya kandi asimbutse ubukoloni n'iryo shyaka twavuze. Birumvikana ko ari uburenganzira bwe, ariko buteye kwibazwaho.

N'ubwo ingabo z'abanyarwanda zabaga zigizwe n'amatorero yatojwe mu itorero, hari n'igihe umwami yashoboraga kwinjiza mu ngabo amatorero aturutse ahandi. Umwami Rwabugiri yarabikoze. Yinjije mu ngabo z'Inganguraarugo ingabo z'Abarashi bo mu Gahunga, zari zitwawe na Rukara rwa Bishingwe, mu kibaya cy'ikirunga cya Muhabura, mu karere k'ubu ka Musanze, maze zihinduka imwe mu matorero y'uwo mutwe[81]. Rwabugiri kandi yinjije mu ngabo ze amatorero abiri y'Abanyejwi amaze gutsinda Ijwi. Amatorero y'Inkeramihigo n'Ibidakurwa. Yarwanishijwe bwa mbere mu gitero cyo ku Kidogoro mu bihugu by'Abashi kwa Kabi ka Makombe[82] . Icyo gihe, ayo matorero yarwanishijwe na Mbwama ya Bidaga na Kamaka ka Gasindikira, atabarana n'izindi ngabo arizo Ingagurarugo (Bisangwa bya Rugombituri), Uruyange (Kabare ka Rwakagara), Abashakamba (Rutisheraka rwa Sentama), Abarasa (Mugugu wa Shumbusho),

[81] Kagame,A.(1963)

[82] Igitero cyo ku Kidogoro in Kagame, 1976,His

Ndushabandi (Rwatangabo rwa Nzigiye), Intaganzwa (Bihutu bya Nyirimigabo, mu cyimbo cya Nturo, murumuna we), Impama-kwica

(Mbabazabigwi ya Rwakagara), , Abashozamihigo (Rukaburacumu rwa Bitebuka, mu cyimbo cya Nshozamihigo ya Rwabugiri) Imvejuru (Biyenzi bya Rubirimi), Nyakare (Ntabwoba ya Rukoba), Nyaruguru (Muhigirwa wa Rwabugiri), Imbazamihigo (Cyigenza cya Rwakagara), Abakeramihigo (Rwangamuhwe rwa Nkangura)[83]. Umugaba w'igitero akaba yari Karara ka Kigeli IV Rwabugiri twigeze kuvuga mbere. Rwabugiri yinjije mu ngabo kandi ingabo z'Abarasa zo mu Gisaka kimaze gutsindwa. Izo ni ingero zerekana ko Umwami Rwabugiri atabaga agamije gutsemba abo barwana ko ahubwo yabinjinzaga mu ngabo ze, amaze kubatsinda. Yabaga ashaka kongera ububasha bw'ingabo atitaye ku nkomoko yazo, gushyira hamwe abatsinzwe n'abatsinze, maze akabashyira mu cyerekezo kimwe. Ikindi kandi Rwabugiri yagiranye amasezerano yo kutazongera kurwana n'umwami w'i Burundi, Mwezi IV Gisabo ahitwa i Ngeri mu karere k'ubu ka Nyaruguru, amasezerano yiswe Imimaro[84]. Mu mateka ya politiki n'ay'ububanyi n'amahanga, icyo ni igikorwa gikunze gutangaza benshi.

3) Isano iri hagati y'Intambara n'ingororano

Hari abemeza ko ingabo zajyanwaga ku rugamba no gushaka impeta n'ingororano[85]. Iyo dusesenguye ibitero bimwe na bimwe dusanga ko atari byo bashyiraga imbere. Ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, bateye u Burundi ahitwa ku Muharuro, mu ntara y'ubu ya Kirundo. Ingabo ziratsindwa cyane. Gahindiro yongera kugaba yo igitero cyo guhorera ingabo zahaguye. Nabwo ziratsindwa. Ariko Kabaka ka Kavotwa, Umutware w'Abakemba twigeze kuvuga, yanga guhunga nta ngabo nimwe yapfushije. Kubera ko no mu gitero cya mbere yatashye ari we mutware wenyine utapfushije ingabo n'imwe, yasanze bazamwita ikigwari, yemera kugwa ku rugamba yanga guhunga ngo ejo we n'ingabo ze batazitwa ibigwari.

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[83]Amazina ari mu dukubo ni utw'abagaba b'ingabo zateyeyo

[84] Kagame, A. (1975)

[85] Vansina, J.(2001), *op.cit,*.p.103-104

Byari kugayika kubona buri gihe ingabo ze ari zo zitaha zatsinzwe kandi nta n'umwe wishwe. Byari kuba bica amarenga ko atarwana[86]. Mu gitero cy'imigogo Rwabugiri yateyemo Abanyankore mu mwaka wa 1894, mu gihe bari ku rugamba, uwitwa Muhozi wa Ruhogo yafoye umuheto maze injishi iraturika, yicara hasi. Ngo yaba yarabwiye bagenzi be ati" Ushaka guhunga niyihungire, ariko muzabwire umugore wanjye ko napfuye nanga guhunga". Ngo arongera ahambira injinshi y'umuheto, arongera arawubanga yitonze, arahaguruka akomeza kurwana[87]. Umuntu yavuga se ko Muhozi yari yajyanywe n'ingororano?

Bisangwa bya Rugombituri, Umutware w'Ingangurarugo yanze guhunga kandi ari mu Rwanda ubwo bajyaga kurwanya ingabo z'Ababirigi i Shangi mu karere k'ubu ka Rusizi mu mwaka wa 1896. Ngo ubundi ko umuntu ahunga asubira mu Rwanda, iyo atsinzwe ari mu Rwanda ahungira he?*"*[88]

Ntabwo bagenzwaga n'ingororano, ahubwo ingororano yabaga ikimenyetso cy'uko babaye intwari. Ntabwo ingabo zose zagororerwaga, kandi ntibyazibuzaga kongera gutabara n'ubwo bwose ingororano yatumaga bamenyekana, cyane cyane ibwami.

IV) Umusozo

Iyo witegereje aho u Rwanda ruherereye muri Afrika, ukeka ko rutari gushobobora kubaho rudafite ingabo. Izo ngabo zagize akamaro mu kurema ubumwe bw'u Rwanda rugahinduka igihugu kimwe gifite inzego z'ubuyobozi zatumye u Rwanda ruba igihugu cyubashywe mu karere. Ntabwo u Rwanda rwaremwe n'abakoloni. Abanyaburayi ba mbere bageze muri Afrika y'uburasirazuba mu kinyejana cya 19, babwiwe ko hari igihugu kitwa u Rwanda, nka Speke na Sthulmann batarugezemo, nka Stanley wagarukiye ku nkiko iburasirazuba, n'abandi barugezemo nka Von Gotzen, Oscar Baumann. Ari abanditse batarugezemo ari n'abandi barugezemo, bose bari bazi ko hari igihugu cyitwa u Rwanda. Louis Frank, ministri w'u Bubirigi wa za colonies yatangaje mu mwaka wa 1920 ko u Rwanda ndetse n'u Burundi bifite inzego z'imiyoborere

[86] Kagame, A. (1963)
[87] Igitero cy'imigogo in Kagame, A,(1976),His 345
[88] Kagame, A. (1975)

ziteye imbere, ko ariyo mpamvu u Bubirigi buzakoresha imiyoborere ishingiye kuri « Protectorat Colonial », ni ukuvuga kugumishaho inzego basanze ariko bakazihindura mu nyungu z'ubukoloni[89]. Umubirigi George Sandrart wabaye igihe kinini mu nzego z' ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni muri Ruanda-Urundi, yaranditse ngo gutegeka u Rwanda biroroshye kuko hasanzwe hari ubutegetsi buhamye, ngo bushinze imizi, ari byo yise mu gifaransa « cette armature organique solide possédant, en guise de clef de voûte, une autorité céphalisée »[90]. Murumva rero ko n'abarukolonije barwemeraga.

Icyo gihugu cyabayeho kubera inzego z'ingabo zikomeye hamwe n'uburere bwagiye butoza abasore n'inkumi guharanira ubusugire bw'igihugu, gukunda igihugu, guharanira iterambere ryacyo, no kunoza imibanire hagati y'abagituye ari byo byahaye ishusho u Rwanda rwari rufite mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19. Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bagiraga uruhare mu kurinda igihugu mu byiciro byose byarangagaga igitero. Ingororano zatangwaga ku mugaragaro bose babireba nyuma y'impaka zishyushye zasozwaga n'umwami. Yego byose ntabwo byeraga ngo de. Ntabwo u Rwanda rwari paradizo, ariko rwari ruriho nk'igihugu, ku buryo uwaruzagamo, yinjiraga mu gihugu azi ko cyitwa u Rwanda rugengwa n'umwami w'igitinyiro witwaga Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, igitinyiro yaheshwaga n'ingabo, imiyoborere n'uburambe ku ngoma.

Izo nzego z'ingabo zari zifite umwanya ukomeye mu mibereho y'igihugu n'abagituye, haba mu bikorwa bifatika, haba no mu mihango. Mu nzira z'imihango y'ubwiru 18 zashyizwe ahabona, inzira eshanu zahariwe intambara, ni ukuvuga hafi ya 30% y'inzira zose. Mu nzego z'ubuvanganzo, ibifitanye isano n'ingabo byari mu byivugo, mu bisigo, mu mazina y'inka no mu bitekerezo by'intambara, mu migani miremire n'imigufi, mu ndirimbo no mu bisakuzo. Ntabwo bivuze ko byacuraga ingeso zo guteza imvururu, ahubwo bivuze ko byatozaga

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

[90] Sandrart, G., « Lettre du 11 mai 1931, à Monsieur le Résident du Ruanda à Kigali », Org/ no 197, *Archives Africaines de Bruxelles, Dossier* RWA (1)1

Abanyarwanda guhugukira guharanira ubusugire bw'igihugu cyabo, no gusigasira ubumwe bwacyo. Filimi zirimo imvururu zo muri Amerika zifatwa nk'ibisanzwe, ariko icyivugo cyo mu Rwanda kigafatwa nk'umuco w'ubugizi bwa nabi bwokamye Abanyarwanda. Kubaha ingabo zaguye ku rugamba ni kimwe mu biha agaciro ingabo, kandi u Rwanda rubihuriyeho n'ibihugu byinshi. Ni ikimenyimenyi kuwa 20/1/2021, Prezida Joe Biden na Visi Prezida Kamala Harris, bamaze kurahira kuyobora Amerika, bakurikijeho igikorwa cyo kunamira umusirikari utazwi izina muri « Airlington National cemetery », mbere yo gukora ikindi gikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose. Nta wigeze avuga ko basingiza ingeso y'imvururu.

Abanyarwanda bo mu ngeri zose bari bakwiye guterwa ishema no kuba Abanyarwanda baragize uruhare runini mu kubaka u Rwanda haba mu bihe bya kera n'ibyo muri iki gihe. Icyo twasaba urubyiruko ni ukugera ikirenge mu cy'ababanjirije, bitabira kurengera igihugu, barushaho kugikunda, biyungura ubumenyi, ubuhanga, ubwenge, ubushishozi n'imico myiza yo kubana neza.

VII. GUSHIMA NO GUSHIMIRA ABAKOZE IBIKORWA BY’UBUTWARI MU MATEKA Y’U RWANDA, KUVA MBERE Y’UBUKOLINI KUGEZA UBU

NKUSI Déo*

INTANGIRIRO

Buri muryango ugira uburyo bwawo bwo gushima no gushimira abantu baranzwe n’ibikorwa by’ingirakamaro. Buri muryango kandi ugira uburyo bwo kugaragaza no kwemeza ibishingirwaho mu kugena abashimirwa. Hari ibihurirwaho n’imiryango itandukanye, hakaba n’umwihariko wa buri muryango cyangwa igihugu.

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y’ubukoloni, Abanyarwanda bagiraga umuco wo gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by’indashyikirwa bifite akamaro kandi bitanga urugero rwiza. Bigaragara mu mateka y’u Rwanda, aho ingabo zahigaga izindi ku rugamba zahabwaga impeta zirimo: Umudende, Impotore no Gucana uruti. No mu buzima busanzwe, umuntu wakoraga ibikorwa byiza by’ingirakamaro yaragororerwaga agahabwa ishimwe (inka cyangwa umusozi wo gutwara) kugira ngo ibikorwa yakoze bibere abandi urugero, babyigireho. Ni muri urwo rwego Umunyarwanda wese yirahiraga uwamugiriye neza, uwamugabiye inka cyangwa ubutware.

Gushima rero, ni indangagaciro ya kera mu muco w’u Rwanda. Umuvukarwanda yigishwaga kuva akiri muto gushima icyiza no kugaya ikibi, gushimira ukoze cyangwa umukoreye ikintu cy’ingirakamaro agira ati: “Urakoze”, “Ugize neza”. Ugiriwe neza agahorana ku mutima ko agomba gushima no kwitura, ndetse nawe akumva ko buri gihe agomba gukora icyiza, kugira ubuntu no kutaba gito.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, Leta y’Ubumwe bw’Abanyarwanda yashyize imbere kubaka Igihugu gishingiye ku muco. Ni nayo mpamvu, Ubuyobozi bw’Igihugu bwashimiye ku mugaragaro Abanyarwanda n’abanyamahanga bakoze

*NKUSI Déo ni Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w’Urwego

ibikorwa by'ikirenga bifitiye Igihugu akamaro. Hashyizweho kandi politiki n'amategeko bigena uburyo bwo kugaragaza, gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa bihesha Igihugu agaciro.

Iyi nyandiko igaragaza Impeta zo mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoroni, gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma y'ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994; n'uburyo bwo gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro guhera nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kugeza ubu.

1. Impeta zo mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni, abageze ku bikorwa by'indashyikirwa cyane cyane ku rugamba rwo kwagura no kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu barashimirwaga bagahabwa Impeta zijyanye n'ubutwari bagaragaje ku rugamba. Hashimirwaga kandi n'abakoze ibikorwa binyuranye biteza imbere umuco, ubukungu n'imibereho y'abaturarwanda.

1.1.Impeta zahabwaga ingabo

Guha impeta ingabo zahize izindi ku rugamba bwari uburyo bwo gushima no gushimira ku mugaragaro ingabo zabaye intwari kurusha izindi ku rugamba, bakoresheje ijambo rifitanye isano n'ubwo butwari, ari byo guheta icumu. Abashimwaga byabateraga ishema kuko bahabwaga icyubahiro n'izindi ngabo gikomoka ku butwari bwemerwaga na bose. Izo mpeta zari mu byiciro bitatu bikurikira: **umudende, impotore** no **gucana uruti** nk'uko byasobanuwe mu nyandiko ibanza.

1.2. Inka y'ubumanzi

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, iyo ingabo zatabarukaga, hagororerwaga Umugaba w'ingabo, Abatware barwanishije ingabo, hamwe n'izindi ngabo bitewe n'ubutwari zagaragaje ku rugamba ndetse n'uko inka banyaze zingana. Habagaho ariko ingororano isumba izindi yahabwaga ingabo yahize abandi mu butwari muri urwo rugamba no muri buri mutwe w'ingabo zatabaye. Iyo ngororano yitwaga "Inka y'ubumanzi".

1.3. Abandi bashimirwaga

Uretse ingabo zashimwaga kubera ubutwari zagaragaje ku rugamba, Abanyarwanda bagiraga umuco wo kugororera umuntu wese wagaragaje ibikorwa by'ikirenga bifite akamaro mu bice byose by'imibereho. Umwami, abakuru b'imiryango cyangwa n'umuryango ku giti cyawo bashoboraga kugororera umuntu wagaragaje ibikorwa byiza ku rugamba, mu buyobozi no mu bindi bikorwa bijyanye n'iterambere ry'Igihugu. Mu gihe cya mbere y'ubukoroni, abagororerwaga bahabwaga inka, imisozi yo gutegeka, umusaruro ukomoka ku buhinzi n'ibindi. Ni muri urwo rwego n'abatabariye Igihugu ababakomokaho bahembwaga imisozi; urugero ni nka Remera y'Abaforongo. Abandi bagahembwa ubutware bwatumaga wimuka mu cyiciro wari urimo ukajya mu batware nka Busyete wagabiwe na Cyirima II Rujugira.

Hashimirwaga kandi abakora ibikorwa biteza imbere umuco cyane cyane Abasizi n'Abisi. Iyo umusizi yaturaga igisigo umwami, yagororerwaga inka cyangwa umusozi. Hari igihe umwami yanyurwaga cyane n'igisigo akaba yagororera umusizi inka nyinshi. **Urugero:** Umwami Mutara II Rwogera yagororeye umusizi Nyakayonga ka Musare inka 30 zo kumushimira amaze kumutura igisigo cyitwa "Ukwibyara gutera ababyeyi ineza". Na Cyirima II Rujugira yahaye umusizi Nzabonariba umusozi wa Kiruli waje kuba Intebe y'Abasizi kugeza n'ubu ngubu. Yari amaze kumutura igisigo cyitwa "Inka zigira inshorera".

2. Gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma y'ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka wa 1994

Mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, hashyizweho amategeko n'amabwiriza yerekeye ishimwe ry'abakoze neza imirimo y'abakoloni isanzwe. Buri mwaka babonaga amanota abashyira mu ntera zisumbana (Elite, Très Bon, Bon, Assez bon, Médiocre), ari nako iyo ntera yamwongereraga cyangwa ikamugabanyiriza umushahara. Muri icyo gihe, abantu bafatwaga nk'abageze ku bikorwa by'indashyikirwa ni abakoraga ibikorwa biri mu nyungu z'abakoroni bakabyitangira ku buryo budasanzwe. Uwahoze ari sous-chef Sorozo yavuze ko Administrateur (Umubiligi) iyo yazaga gushimira abakoze imirimo ya gikoroni abanyarwanda bitaga « shiku » cyangwa « akazi », yagiraga ati: « je félicite les élites,

les très bons et les bons. Quant aux médiocres je les avertis que la médiocrité est l'antichambre de la destitution ». (Ndashimira ababaye indashyikirwa, abakoze neza cyane, n'abakoze neza muri rusange. Naho ababaye ibigwari, ndababurira ko ubugwari ari irembo ryo kwirukanwa). Bigaragara ko uwo muco wo gushima ari uwa abantu bose ku isi kandi ko abanyarwanda bari bakiwukomeyeho. Aha reka tunavuge ko umusushefukazi Mukarurengo Budensiana (umupfakazi wa sous-chef Rubangura Hormisdas) wayoboraga mu Rukoro ho muri Chefferie y'Umurera iteka yashimwaga ko ari Elite mu basushefu ba Kamali.

Kuri Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) nta tegeko ryashyizeho urwego rugaragara rw'igihugu rwari rugenewe gushima. Ntibyabuzaga ariko Ubutegetsi gushima bugenera cyane cyane abanyamahanga[91], icyitwaga Ordre National du Rwanda, mu ntera eshanu: Grand Croix, Grand Officier, Commandeur, Officier, Chevalier.

Mu gukurikiza urugero rw'ibindi bihugu, Repubulika ya Kabiri (1973-1994) yashyizeho urwego rw'igihugu rushinzwe itangwa ry'imidari y'ishimwe (Ordres Nationaux). Itegeko Ngenga rishyiraho urwo rwego risobanura ibyiciro bine by'imidari. Ibyo byiciro byashyizweho ku buryo bukurikira: Umudari w'ishimwe w'imisozi Igihumbi, Umudari w'ishimwe w'impinduramatwara, Umudari w'Amahoro, Umudari w'ishimwe w'ibiyaga Bigari.[92]

Mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri, abenshi mu bashimirwaga ni abatezaga imbere cyangwa bashyigikiraga gahunda za Leta akenshi zabaga zirimo ivangura rishingiye ku moko cyangwa uturere. Gusa hari n'abahabwaga amashimwe yandi anyuranye kubera ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu iterambere, umuco n'ibindi.

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[91] Colonel Guy Logiest ari mu bashimwe, ahabwa umudali w'ikirenga kubera ibikorwa "by'ubutwari" yakoreye Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

[92] Itegeko-teka nº 16/76, 7 Mata 1976, J.0., 1976, p.247. Hari andi mategeko n'amabwiriza byuzuza iri tegeko, urugero: Itegeko-teka nº 26/76 rishyiraho itangwa ry'imidari y'ishimwe ryari mu igazeti ya Leta ryasohotse mu mwaka w'i 1976, p.371; Iteka rya Perezida nº 10/01 rishyiraho urwego rushinzwe itangwa ry'imidari n'impeta by'ishimwe ryasohotse mu igazeti ya Leta yo mu mu mwaka w'i 1979, p.47.

3. Gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (kuva mu mwaka wa 1994 kugeza ubu)

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashimangiye umurage wo gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu nzego zitandukanye.

Mu myaka ya 2006[93], 2007[94], 2009 na 2010[95] Leta y'u Rwanda yatanze impeta z'ishimwe ku Banyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, abasivili n'ingabo bagaragaje ubwitange n'umurava mu rugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. Muri icyo gihe hatanzwe Impeta yo Kubohora Igihugu: *Uruti* n'Impeta yo kurwanya Jenoside: *Umurinzi*. Hatanzwe kandi n'Impeta za gisirikare zitandukanye. Mu mwaka wa 2017 hashyizweho Politiki y'Igihugu y'itangwa ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe[96]. Mu mwaka wa 2018 hashyizweho Iteka rya Perezida N° 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe.

3.1. Impeta z'Ishimwe n'abazihabwa

Impeta y'Ishimwe ni ikimenyetso gitangwa n'Ubuyobozi bw'Igihugu ku bantu, Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, abasivili n'abasirikare bakoze ibikorwa by'ikirenga bifitiye Igihugu akamaro.[97] Impeta z'Ishimwe zemejwe ku rwego rw'Igihugu kugeza ubu ni izi zikurikira:

1° Impeta yo Kubohora Igihugu (National Liberation Medal): Uruti: Ihabwa Abanyarwanda n'Abanyamahanga bagaragaje ubwitange mu kubohora no kurinda Igihugu. *Ikoze muri zahabu*.

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[93] J.O, N° special 07/08/2006

[94] J.O, N° special 07/08/2007

[95] Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe, Urutonde rw'abantu bahawe imidari n'impeta by'ishimwe, Kigali, 2016

[96] Politiki y'Igihugu y'Itangwa ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe yemejwe n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo ku wa 05 Ukuboza 2017

[97] Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Politiki y'Igihugu y'Itangwa ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe, Kigali, 2017

2 º Impeta yo Kurwanya Jenoside (Campaign against Genocide Medal): Umurinzi

Ihabwa Abanyarwanda n'Abanyamahanga bagize uruhare mu kurwanya Jenoside ndetse no mu guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994. *Ikoze muri zahabu*.

3º Impeta y'Ubucuti: Igihango: Ihabwa abakoze ibikorwa bihebuje by'ingirakamaro kandi by'intangarugero, biteza imbere ubucuti bw'u Rwanda n'amahanga n'ibikorwa bihesha ishema Igihugu ku rwego mpuzamahanga. Iyi Mpeta yatanzwe bwa mbere ku wa 18/11/2017.

4º Impeta y'Icyubahiro: Agaciro: ihabwa abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda n'Abanyamahanga baranzwe n'ibikorwa biteza imbere Igihugu mu miyoborere, ubukungu, imibereho n'imibanire mu Rwanda no ku rwego mpuzamahanga. *Ikoze muri zahabu.*

5º Impeta y'Umurimo: Indashyikirwa: ihabwa abakoze ibikorwa bihebuje bateza imbere ubumenyi, ikoranabuhanga, ubukungu, imibereho myiza n'imibanire myiza y'abaturage, n'ibindi.

6º Impeta y'Umuco: Indangamirwa: ihabwa umuntu wagaragaje ibikorwa bihebuje mu guteza imbere umuco w'u Rwanda.

7º Impeta y'Ubwitange: Indengabaganizi: ihabwa umuntu wakoze igikorwa cy'ubutwari kirimo ubwitange, gutinyuka, gukiza ubuzima bw'undi/abandi; kikabera urugero abantu benshi.

Impeta z'Ishimwe zikurikira: Igihango, Indashyikirwa, Indangamirwa, Indengabaganizi ziri mu byiciro bitatu:

i) Ikoze muri zahabu

ii) Ikoze muri zahabu na feza

iii) Ikoze muri feza.[98]

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[98] Iteka rya Perezida Nº 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe

Nk'uko biteganywa n'Itegeko N^0 13 bis/2009 ryo ku wa 16/06/2009 rigena inshingano, imiterere n'imikorere by'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe, Impeta z'Ishimwe zitangwa na Perezida wa Repubulika cyangwa undi yagena.

3.2. Imiterere n'ibisobanuro by'impeta zemejwe

Impeta y'Icyubahiro: Agaciro

Agaciro: Impeta y'ishimwe y'Icyubahiro iteye nk'uruziga rukozwe mu kirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'ibara by'imirasire y'izuba ihuriye hamwe. Mu mpeta hagati harimo inyenyeri ifite inguni umunani ziri mu ibara ry'icyatsi kibisi kijimye. Hagati harimo ikirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda kizengurutswe n'uruziga rufite ibara ry'ubururu bwijimye rwanditsemo hejuru **"REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA"** hasi **"IMPETA Y'ICYUBAHIRO: AGACIRO".**

<u>Ibimenyetso biyigize:</u>

***Ikirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda:** gisobanuye u Rwanda n'inyungu zarwo

***Inyenyeri izengurutse ikirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda**: isobanuye gukora imirimo inyuranye yo ku rwego rw'ikirenga.

***Uruziga rufite inkingi:** rugaragaza gukomera no kutajegajezwa

Ibikubiye muri iyi mpeta bisobanuye ibikorwa by'indashyikirwa byakorewe u Rwanda mu ngeri zose z'ubuzima bwarwo biruhesha

gukomera mu ruhando mpuzamahanga.[99]

Impeta y'Ubucuti: Igihango

Igihango: Impeta y'Ishimwe y'Ubucuti iteye nk'inyenyeri ifite imigongo umunani irimo imirasire y'izuba ihuriye hamwe. Mu mpeta hagati harimo inyenyeri ifite inguni umunani. Hagati harimo ikirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda kizengurutswe n'uruziga rufite ibara ry'ubururu bwijimye rwanditsemo hejuru **"REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA"** hasi **"IMPETA Y'UBUCUTI: IGIHANGO".**

Ibimenyetso biyigize:

*** Ikirango cya Repubulika y'u Rwanda:** Gisobanuye u Rwanda n'inyungu zarwo.

*** Inyenyeri:** Isobanuye urumuri rusakaza umucyo.

Ibikubiye muri iyi mpeta bisobanuye u Rwanda rwamamaye ku isi ku bw'amaboko rufite.

[99] Iteka rya Perezida N° 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe

Impeta y'Umurimo: Indashyikirwa

Indashyikirwa: Impeta y'ishimwe y'umurimo iteye nk'uruziga. Mu mpeta hagati hashushanyijemo ibitabo bibiri bigerekeranije biri imbere y'uruziga rufite amenyo. Ibi bizengurutswe n'uruziga rwanditsemo ku ruhande rwo hejuru "**REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA"**, naho ku ruhande rwo hasi **"IMPETA Y'UMURIMO: INDASHYIKIRWA**.

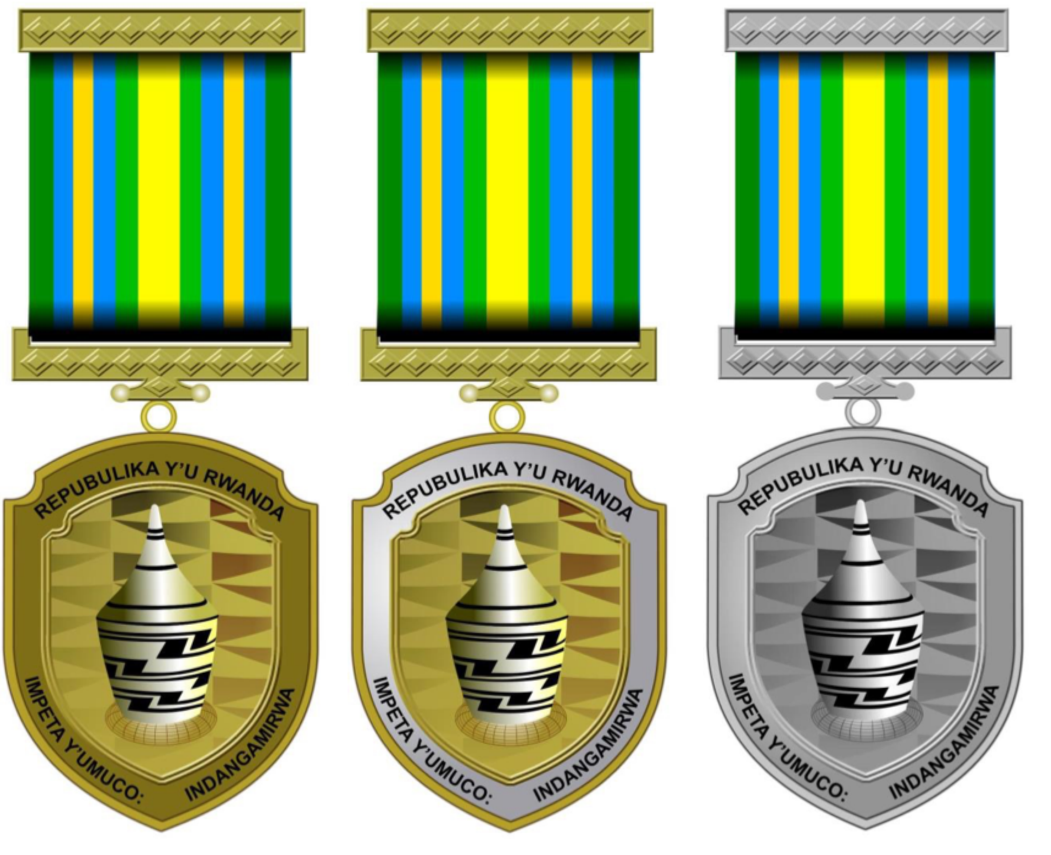
<u>**Ibimenyetso biyigize:**</u>

***Uruziga rufite amenyo**: rusobanura iterambere rishingiye ku nganda

***Ibitabo:** Bisobanura iterambere rishingiye ku bumenyi bw'ingeri zose.

Ibikubiye muri iyi mpeta bisobanura ko umurimo ushingiye ku bumenyi n'iterambere rishingiye ku nganda no kwikorera ariryo shingiro ry'iterambere rirambye ry'u Rwanda.[100]

Impeta y'Umuco: Indangamirwa



Indangamirwa: Impeta y'ishimwe y'umuco iteye nk'ingabo. Mu mpeta hagati hashushanyijemo urusika n'igiseke gipfundikiye kandi giteretse ku rugata. Hejuru handitseho "**REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA",** naho hasi handitseho "**IMPETA Y'UMUCO: INDANGAMIRWA";**

<u>**Ibimenyetso biyigize:**</u>

***Igiseke**: Ikimenyetso cy'umuco w'u Rwanda mu budasa bwawo bupfundikiye.

[100] Iteka rya Perezida N° 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe

***Urugata:** Rusobanura ubumwe busigasiye umuco w'u Rwanda

***Imigongo:** Igaragaza umudendezo n'ubwisanzure.

Ibikubiye muri iyi mpeta bisobanura ko umuco w'u Rwanda usigasiwe, usangiwe ukaba n'isoko y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bazira umwiryane.[101]

Impeta y'Ubwitange: Indengabaganizi

Indengabaganizi: Impeta y'ishimwe y'ubwitange iteye nk'uruziga. Mu mpeta hagati harimo inyenyeri y'inguni eshanu irimo uruziga rugaragaramo umuheto ufite imyambi ibiri. Iyi nyenyeri kandi izengurutswe n'uruziga rwanditsemo hejuru **"REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA"** hasi hakandikwamo **"IMPETA Y'UBWITANGE: INDENGABAGANIZI**.

[101] Iteka rya Perezida N° 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe

<u>Ibimenyetso biyigize</u>:

***Umuheto**: Ikimenyetso kigaragaza ubutwari bwo kwitangira no kurengera ubusugire bw'Igihugu.

***Imyambi**: Ikimenyetso cy'imbaraga zikoreshwa mu kwitangira n'abari kure.

***Inyenyeri y'inguni eshanu**: Ikimenyetso cy'ukwitangira abandi mu byerekezo byose.

Ibikubiye muri iyi mpeta bisobanura kwitanga, kurokora ubuzima bw'abandi byaba ngombwa ugahara ubuzima bwawe.[102]

UMUSOZO

Gushima no gushimira abakoze ibikorwa bifitiye igihugu akamaro ni uburyo bwiza bwo gukangurira Abanyarwanda guhora baharanira gukora ibyiza mu mibereho yabo. Ni uburyo buboneye kandi bwo kubakangurira gushima no gushyigikira icyiza, bagatinyuka kurwanya no kwamagana ikibi ku mugaragaro.

Gutanga impeta z'ishimwe ku bantu bakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro ni uburyo bwiza kandi bwo gushishikariza abantu kugira intego yo kuba indashyikirwa mu byo bakora byose. Bifasha na none gushishikariza Abanyarwanda kugira umuco wo gukora cyane, gukora neza no kwihutisha akazi, biganisha ku iterambere rirambye ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza.

Ni uburyo bwiza bwo gusigasira umuco w'Igihugu n'umurage mwiza w'abakurambere ushingiye ku gushimira abakoze ibikorwa bifitiye umuryango nyarwanda akamaro. Bifasha u Rwanda gushimangira imibanire yarwo n'ibindi bihugu. Bizanateza imbere ubutwererane n'amahanga.

Hashingiwe ku muco wo gushima no gushimira uranga Abanyarwanda

[102] Iteka rya Perezida N° 62/01 ryo ku wa 8/3/2018 rigena imiterere, imitangire n'imenyekanisha ry'Impeta z'Ishimwe

kuva kera kugeza ubu, Abanyarwanda twese turakangurirwa kugira ishyaka mu byo dukora byose, kurangwa n'ubwitange, gukorera ku ntego, gukora umurimo unoze, kuba intangarugero, guhiga no kwesa imihigo hagamijwe iterambere rirambye n'imibereho myiza y'abaturarwanda bose.

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