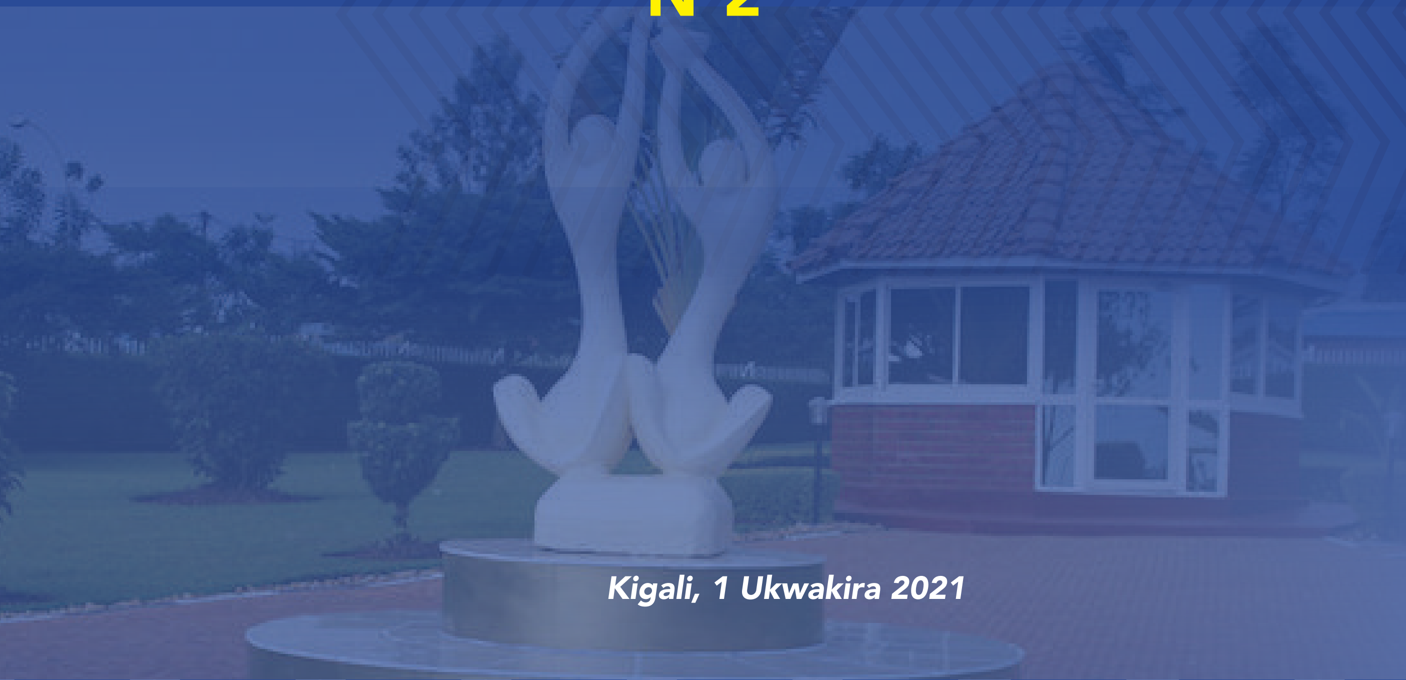
REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

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

"CAHIER"

UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

N°2



Kigali, 1 Ukwakira 2021

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URWEGO RUSHINZWE INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU, IMIDARI N'IMPETABY'ISHIMWE

CHANCELLERY FOR HEROES, NATIONAL ORDERS AND DECORATIONS OF HONOUR (CHENO)

"CAHIER" UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI

N° 2

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IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Umuco w'Ubutwari ni umusingi ukomeye icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda cyubakiyeho. Ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose, cyane cyane urubyiruko bakomeza gutozwa no kwigishwa indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. N'ubwo hakozwe byinshi mu rwego rw'ubushakashatsi n'ubukangurambaga ku muco w'ubutwari, urugendo ruracyari rurerure. Hakenewe kubikomeza hagamijwe gusesengura indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu Rwanda no kuzisakaza mu Banyarwanda bose.

Ni muri urwo rwego CHENO yashyizeho "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* kugira ngo ifashe gusakaza mu Banyarwanda umuco n'indangagaciro z'ubutwari, cyane cyane mu rubyiruko. "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* Nº 1 yasohotse ku itariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2021 ubwo u Rwanda rwizihizaga Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu ku nshuro ya 27. Nta gushidikanya ko iyi "Cahier" yatanze umusanzu mu rugendo rwo gutoza no gukangurira Abanyarwanda Indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari nk'imfashanyigisho muri Clubs z'Umuco n'Ubutwari mu mashuri agera kuri 120 yatoranyijwe mu Turere twose tw'Igihugu. Isomwa kandi n'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose kuko iri ku rubuga (website) rw'Urwego (CHENO).

Iyi nomero ya kabiri ya "Cahier" ***UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI*** ikubiyemo inyandiko (articles) zinyuranye zibanda ku butwari bw'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose no ku gukangurira Abanyarwanda umuco w'ubutwari.

Inyandiko ibanza: "***Ubutwari mu ntekerezo (Philosophy) y'Abanyarwanda"*** iribanda ku gusobanura ubutwari mu myumvire, mu mibereho n'imibanire by'Abanyarwanda. Iragaragaza kandi uburyo ubutwari bwari ishingiro ry'ubumwe, gukunda igihugu no kucyitangira.

Inyandiko ya kabiri: "***Umugore mu Rwanda arashoboye: Bamwe mu bagore bagaragaje ubutwari mu buyobozi mu bihe byo hambere"***, iragaruka ku ruhare rw'Abanyarwandakazi mu bikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu Rwanda. Hashingiwe ku bigwi by'abagore b'indashyikirwa bagaragajwe muri Nº 1 y'iki kinyamakuru, iyi nyandiko iragaragaza abandi bagore babaye ingirakamaro kandi barashimwa mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi nk'abayoboye ingabo mu bitero n'ababaye abatware, mu gihe cya cyami n'icy'ubukoloni, ndetse n'abandi bagize uruhare mu bikorwa by'ingirakamaro ku gihugu.

Inyandiko ya Gatatu: "***Ubutwari mu bana, umurage w'ababyeyi: Urugero rw'Abanyarwanda bakijije abandi muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1994*** " iragaragaza ko umuco w'ubutwari ari umurage abato baragwa n'ababyeyi babo, bakawusigasira ukababera akabando kabafasha gukora ibikorwa by'ubutwari. Igaragaza ko Abanyarwanda bitanze bakarokora abandi mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi akenshi babikomoraga ku kuba baratojwe n'ababyeyi babo ubumwe, urukundo no kwanga ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose.

Inyandiko ya kane: ***"Ubutwari mu buyobozi bw'u Rwanda si umugani biri mu murage"***, igice cya mbere cyayo cyasohotse muri Nº 1 ya "Cahier" Umurage w'ubutwari yibanze ku bigwi by'intwari zahanze u Rwanda n'izarugobotse mu bihe

by'amage. Iragaragaza Abanyarwanda baranzwe n'ubutwari, bakitanga, bakabohora u Rwanda ingoyi y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi. Iragaruka kandi ku butwari bw'Abanyarwanda basannye u Rwanda, bakarwubaka, bakaruha icyerekezo gishya.

Inyandiko ya gatanu: ***"Tumenye Ingamba z'Intore n'umuco w'ubutwari"*** iragaragaza Ingamba z'Intore Abanyarwanda batorezwamo bakanakoreramo ibikorwa by'ubutwari n'ibindi by'ingirakamaro. Iragararaza kandi ko mu rugendo rwo gutoza hategurwa Umunyarwanda ukunda Igihugu, ukunda umurimo, ufite indangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco nyarwanda.

Inyandiko ya gatandatu: ***"Impeta n'ingororano mu Rwanda mbere y'Ubukoloni. Igice cya kabiri: Ingororano mu buvanganzo"*** iragaragaza uburyo Abanyarwanda bo mu gihe cya mbere y'Ubukoloni bahaga agaciro Abanyarwanda bakora ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro cyane cyane ibiteza imbere umuco nk'Abasizi, Abisi n'Abahimbyi b'ibyivugo.

Inyadiko ya karindwi: ***"Uruhare rw'Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu mu kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari"*** iragaragaza Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu biri mu Rwanda n'uruhare rwabyo mu gutoza Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari.

Ubutwari no gukunda Igihugu birajyana. Umuntu ntiyaba Intwari y'Igihugu atarangwa n'indangagaciro yo ***gukunda Igihugu.*** Kugira ngo u Rwanda rushobore kubaho kuva rugihangwa kugeza ubu, ni uko rwagize intwari zarwitangiye zikarurwanirira mu buryo bwose, zaba izatabarutse n'izikiriho.

Muri ibi bihe twizihiza Umunsi wo gukunda Igihugu wizihizwa tariki ya 1 Ukwakira buri mwaka, iyi nomero ya kabiri ya "Cahier" *UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI* igamije gukomeza gukangurira Abanyarwanda kurangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari kuko ari zo zahanze u Rwanda, zirarwagura, zikaruteza imbere kandi zikarurinda mu bihe bikomeye rwanyuzemo.

Turashimira abantu bose bagize uruhare kugira ngo "Cahier" Umurage w'ubutwari ijye ahagaragara.

MUKASARASI Godelieve

Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego/CHENO

I. UBUTWARI MU NTEKEREZO (PHILOSOPHY) Y'ABANYARWANDA

Lt Colonel (Rtd) Nyirimanzi Gerard*

Ubusanzwe intekerezo nyamukuru y'ubuzima ku Banyarwanda ni uko "*Kubaho ari ukubana*"[1] n'ubwo mu mateka yacu ya vuba Abanyarwanda batabanye neza! Ibi ariko byatewe na "Mbaryanishe mbategeke" (Divide and rule/Diviser pour régner) y'abakoloni n'abambari babo! Si iby'i Rwanda rwa Gihanga. Gushyira imbere uko kubana rero, byaterwaga n'uko Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko "*Ababiri bashyize hamwe baruta umunani barasana!"; "Abashyize hamwe Imana irabasanga!*".

Kugira ngo rero bakuze uwo mubano Abanyarwanda bakaba baragombaga gusurana, gufatanya no gukorera hamwe cyane ko bemeraga ko Ifuni ibagara ubucuti ari akarenge. Ni muri uko kubanirana neza bagombaga no gutabarana ndetse bagafatanya gutabarira igihugu mu gihe gitewe n'ababisha. Intwari rero zikaba zaragaragariraga cyane cyane ku itabaro nk'uko bigaragara mu mateka.

Ubutwari mu ntekerezo y'Abanyarwanda

Baca umugani ngo "*Uguhiga ubutwari muratabarana*". Uyu mugani werekana ko Abanyarwanda babonaga ko ubutwari bugaragarira ku rugamba cyangwa se ku itabaro, aho nyine iyo rukomeye abatari intwari bahinyuzwa, bagahunga cyangwa bakihisha! nk'uko bavuga ngo "*Urugiye kera ruhinyuza intwari*". Kuba ikigwari byari umugayo mu Rwanda. N'umugeni ikigwari nticyamubonaga byoroshye! Na n'ubu arya magambo bavuga mu misango yo gusaba, baregana ibitarabayeho ngo bumve uko usaba yiregura, aba agamije kureba ko usabirwa atigeze aba ikigwari cyangwa ngo avuke mu muryango w'ibigwari!

Kera urugamba rw'ingenzi rwari urwo gutabarira igihugu gitewe n'umwanzi ngo atakigarurira akagira Abanyarwanda ingaruzwamuheto. Kuba ingaruzwamuheto Abanyarwanda bari bazi ububi bwabyo kuko byababayeho inshuro eshatu mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ubwa mbere byabaye mu gihe Abanyoro barwigabizaga mu kinyejana cya 14 ku ngoma ya Kigeli I Mukobanya (1378-1411) no ku y'umuhungu we Mibambwe I Sekarongoro Mutabazi (1411-1444). U Rwanda rwongeye kuba ingaruzwamuheto ku ngoma ya Ndahiro II Cyamatare (1609-1642) mu kinyejana cya 17; no mu gihe cy'Ubukoloni bw'Abadage n'Ababirigi (1897-1962). Intwari rero nyinshi za kera usanga zaragaragaye ku rugamba rwo kurwanya abo babisha barwigabizaga. Ingero nke mu bihe bitandukanye ni Forongo[2] wa Mibambwe I witanze akarukiza Abanyoro ku ngoma ya se Mibambwe I Sekarongoro Mutabazi; Muvunyi wa Karema wafashije Umwami Ruganzu II Ndoli kurwamururamo Abanyabungo bari bararugize ingaruzwamuheto imyaka 11, na Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda Paul Kagame

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** Lt Colonel (Rtd) Nyirimanzi Gerard ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe (CHENO)*

Kagame, Alexis, La Philosophie Bantu Rwandaise de l'Etre,

2Forongo niwe bita "Ngabitsinze" (Abanyoro) akaba yaranahembwe Remeray'Abaforongo.

wayoboye urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda agatsinda interahamwen'Impuzamugambi ahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi amahanga arebera!

N'ubwo ubu ingamba ari nyinshi mu gihugu cyacu, izikomeye zikaba iz'ubwiyunge nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, n'urw'iterambere, urugamba rw'ingenzi n'ubu ni urwo gutabarira igihugu ngo umwanzi atakigarurira akagira Abanyarwanda ingaruzwamuheto. Mu bihe bya vuba abaraye Rwantambi, mu Bugeshi na Nyungwe, nibo babyumva kurusha abandi!

Intwari ni muntu ki ?

Intwari ni umuntu ukurikirana icyo yiyemeje kugeraho, kikavamo igikorwa cy'ikirenga gifitiye abandi akamaro. Abikora mu bupfura n'ubwitange bihebuje, kandi akirinda ubugwari mu migirire ye, ntagamburuzwe n'amananiza.

Undi mugani w'ikinyarwanda ugira uti : "*Iyo amagara atewe hejuru buri wese asama aye*". 'Buri wese' uvugwa ahangaha si intwari, ahubwo ni umuntu usanzwe, kuko Intwari yo ahubwo isama amagara y'abandi, aho gusama ayayo. Ndetse kenshi usanga Intwari nyakuri isama amagara y'abandi ititaye ku magara yayo! Intwari rero ni umuntu udasanzwe, wihutira gusama amagara y'abandi aho gusama aye, iyo amagara yatewe hejuru nyine, ni ukuvuga iyo urugamba rugeze mu mahina.

Kuki dusingiza Intwari zacu, tukarata n'ibikorwa byazo?

Dusingiza Intwari zacu turata n'ibikorwa by'ubutwari byaziranze, kugira ngo zibere icyitegererezo urubyiruko, maze ruharanire kugera ikirenge mu cyazo no gusigasira ibyo zagezeho; bityo u Rwanda rukomeze gusugira no gusagamba mu iterambere rirambye. Ni ngombwa rero kugumya kurata Intwari zacu n'ibikorwa byaziranze, cyane cyane iza vuba, kugirango urubyiruko rushishikarire gutera ikirenge mu cyazo, ruharanire kudasubira inyuma no gusigasira ibimaze kugerwaho, nk'ubumwe n'iterambere bigaragarira buri wese.

Indangagaciro z'ubutwari na kirazira zigize uwo muco tugomba gukomeraho

Mu by'ukuri Indangagaciro z'ubutwari na kirazira ni nyinshi zifite akamaro, ariko indangagaciro remezo ni izi zikurikira: Ubumwe no gusenyera umugozi umwe kw'abenegihugu no kurwanya amacakubiri ayo ariyo yose; Gukunda Igihugu no guharanira iteka icyagiteza imbere; kurangwa n'ubupfura no kwanga umugayo igihe cyose no gukunda umurimo unoze no kwirinda kuba imburamukoro.

Duhereye kuri iyi ya nyuma, n'Abaromani bigeze kuba ibihangange ku isi bemeza ko: "Ubunebwe ni bwo soko y'ingeso mbi zitandukanye" ("L'oisiveté est la mère de tous les vices!").

Umusozo

Gukunda Igihugu, ukagikorera, ukacyitangira niryo shingiro ry'ubutwari. Itorero Indahemuka ryabyinaga, rigasusurutsa, rikanakangurira Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose gushyigikira Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside; niryo ryajyaga ririrNimba ngo : “Reka mbabwire ikiruta byose, Nyina w'umuntu arabiruta, ariko igihugu cyawe kikaruta byose”. Koko rero ntakiruta ibindi nko kugira Igihugu cyitagira abo giheza kandi gitekanye. Ariko iyo giheza cyangwa ntigitekane, ubwo nta mahoro n'umutekano kiba gifite. Nibwo rero gikenera Intwari zikitangira nk'uko byagiye bigaragara mu bihe bikomeye u Rwanda rwagiye runyuramo mu mateka yarwo.

Intekerezo y'ubutwari nishinge imizi mu Banyarwanda, cyane cyane mu rubyiruko kugira ngo umuco w'ubutwari ube uruhererekane mu Banyarwanda mu bihe byose !

II.UMUGORE MU RWANDA ARASHOBOYE: BAMWE MU BAGORE BAGARAGAJE UBUTWARI MU BUYOBOZI MU BIHE BYO HAMBERE

Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve*
na
Madamu MILENGE Immaculée**

1. INTANGIRIRO

Bigaragara ko uruhare rw'Abanyarwandakazi mu bikorwa by'ingirakamaro mu Rwanda ari nta makemwa. Abitangiye Igihugu ni benshi baba abato bakibyiruka ndetse n'ababyeyi bakuru. Kubamenya n'ibyo bakoze bitubera urugero rwiza kandi tukazirikana ko ubutwari bw'abatubanjirije bwatumye u Rwanda rugera aho rugeze aya magingo. Bityo tukimakaza ibikorwa by'ubutwari n'indangagaciro z'ingenzi zabaranze kandi tubitoza ababyiruka, abakobwa bato, abangavu n'inkumi bakabyirukana ubutwari bagera ikirenge mu cy'abatubanjirije, kandi n'abakuze bakareka ubugwari budindiza inyoko muntu, bagahinduka berekeza mu bikorwa byiza byo nkingi y'ubutwari hagamije gukunda u Rwanda no kuva mu bukene.

Muri iyi "Cahier" Umurage w'ubutwari nk'uko twabigenje muri nomero ya mbere, turabagezaho bamwe mu bandi bagore babaye ingirakamaro kandi barashimwa mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi nk'abayoboye ingabo mu bitero n'ababaye abatware, mu gihe cyo hambere, ndetse n'abandi bagize uruhare mu bikorwa ngirakamaro ku gihugu.

Ubutegetsi bw'ingoma ya cyami mu Rwanda rwo hambere bwari bushingiye ku mwami ariwe nyir'igihugu ariko bukagenda bugira izindi nzego cyangwa abandi bantu batandukanye bagendaga bafasha cyangwa bunganiraga Umwami uri ku ngoma mu buryo butandukanye.[3]

Amatwara y'Ingoma-Ngabe aboneka mu bwiru yavugaga ko iyo umwami yimaga, yimanaga ingoma na nyina, umwana akaba umwami w'igihugu, nyina akaba umugabekazi wacyo. Umugabekazi akaba yarategekanaga n'Umwami, bagafatanya mu buyobozi bw'Igihugu. N'ubwo umwami yagiraga abagore barenze umwe, uwabaga umugabekazi ni uwabyaye usimbuye se ku ngoma.

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere, iyo umwami yimaga Ingoma akiri muto, Igihugu cyayoborwaga na nyina kugeza igihe umwami azakurira. Nk'uko twabivuzeho mu nyandiko y'Umurage nº 1, Umugabekazi wamenyekanye cyane muri izi nshingano ni Nyirayuhi IV Nyiratunga wayoboye u Rwanda igihe kinini kugeza igihe umuhungu we Gahindiro akuriye.

Mu gihe uyu Mugabekazi yatwaye, abahanga mu mateka bemeza ko yayoboye neza ndetse akora ibikorwa byinshi abifashijwemo na musaza we Rugagi ndetse na

** Madamu MUKASARASI Godelieve, ni Uwungirije Umukuru w'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe,*
***Madamu MILENGE Immaculée, ni umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe.*

Semugaza se wabo wa Yuhi Gahindiro. Ibi birerekana ko mu mateka y'u Rwanda, Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko abagore bashoboye.

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere umugore yari afite umwanya w'ibanze ; yabonekaga mu nzego zose z'ubuyobozi.

Kuba umugore yarafatwaga nk'uw'agaciro bigaragarira mu buryo mu muco w'Abanyarwanda nta mwami wimaga adafite nyina kugeza n'ubwo iyo nyina yabaga yarapfuye bamushakiraga undi mugore ujya muri uwo mwanya, icyo gihe akitwa «Umugabekazi w'Umutsindirano».

Nka ***Nyirarumaga*** wabaye Umugabekazi w'umutsindirano wa Ruganzu II Ndoli (ahasaga mu mwaka wa 1510-1543, nyuma y'uko nyina Nyabacuzi ba Kibogora yari yaraguye mu miko y'abakobwa i Rubi rw'i Nyundo (ni agasozi gato kari kuri Rugarama ahabereye ikibi, ni mu karere ka Ngororero) Ndoli we agahungishirizwa i Karagwe kwa Nyirasenge witwaga Nyabunyana. Nyuma y'aho agarutse kubohora no kuyobora u Rwanda, Nyirarumaga niho yahawe kuba Umugabekazi kubera uruhare yari yaragize afatanyije n'Abaryankuna mu guhisha Ndoli akiri umwana muto, Abanyabyinshi n'Abanyabungo benda kumwica. Nyirarumaga ni umwe mu bagabekazi 27 u Rwanda rwagize, akaba umwe mu bakoze ibikorwa by'ikirenga byubatse u Rwanda mu rwego ruhanitse mu bihe by'ingoma ye, cyane mu kubaka umuco mbonera w'ubumuntu, imibereho n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda, imyidagaduro n'ubuvanganzo no gukuza agaciro k'umugore w'i Rwanda ; Ibisigo bya mbere bikaba ari ibye.

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere kandi umugore yashoboraga kwitangira igihugu, uwamenyekanye cyane ni uwitwa ***Robwa*** aho hagati y'umwaka wa 1313 na 1345 ubwo u Rwanda rwari rubanye nabi n'i Gisaka, we (Robwa) na musaza we, Ruganzu Bwimba bahisemo kwitangira igihugu bamena amaraso kugira ngo bibe igitambo, u Rwanda rubashe gutsinda kandi ruzigarurire i Gisaka.

2. IYO ABAGORE BAGARAGAZAGA UBUSHOBOZI BAJYAGA MU MYANYA IKOMEYE

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere umugore wagaragazaga ubushobozi mu kintu runaka n'ubwo cyaba ari igisanzwe kimenyerewe ku bagabo yahabwaga umwanya akagaragaza ubushobozi bwe.

Abamenyekanye cyane mu gukora inshingano zisanzwe zimenyerewe ku bagabo twavuga nk'umugabekazi. Yagiraga uruhare rukomeye mu bikorwa bya politiki n'intambara. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu gitero cya mbere cya Rwabugiri ku Ijwi, Umugabekazi ***Nyirakigeri IV Murorunkwere*** yari umugaba mukuru w'ibitero. Bageze i Nyamirundi, ubuyobozi bw'imirwano buhabwa musaza we Nzirumbanje wa Mitari.

Mu mihango bakoreshagamo abagore yo gutsinda amahanga, havugwa nk'umuhango wo kubashyingira mu rwego rwa politiki. Hari abakobwa bashyingiwe abami cyangwa ibikomangoma byo mu mahanga. Abana bavutse kenshi kuri iryo

shyingirwa bitangagaho abatabazi b'u Rwanda. Ni ko byagendekeye ***Nyiratamba***, umukobwa wa Mibambwe I Mutabazi wari warashyingiwe Mashira. Yatahanyeyo inka y'inkungu y'ibara ry'umukara bishaka kuvuga itsindwa rizaba kuri Mashira. Muri icyo gihe kandi Mibambwe I Sekarongoro I Mutabazi yarongoye ***Bwiza*** bwa Mashira na nyuma Gahindiro ka Mibambwe I yarongoye ***Nyankeri*** ya Mashira akaba na sekuruza w'Abene Gahindiro***.*** Kugira ngo igihugu cy'Abenengwe gitsindwe (aho hari mu majyepfo y'Uburasirazuba bw'u Rwanda), Yuhi III Gahima yarongoye ***Nyankaka*** wa Magunguru akaba murumuna wa Benginzage (Nyagakecuru), umugore wa Samukende, umwami w'u Bungwe. Yavuyeyo yaratewe inda na Samukende yavutsemo Binama. Uwo Binama w'igikomangoma yaje kuba umutabazi w'u Rwanda i Bungwe (Butare/Huye).

Ku ngoma ya Kirima II Rujugira, kugirango i Ndorwa itsindwe, Gahurira yarongoye ***Nyirantabwa*** babyarana abana babiri, Kamali na Mugozi. Kamali yari yarateganirijwe kuzagira uruhare rukomeye mu itsindwa ry'i Ndorwa. Kigeri wa III Ndabarasa yashutse Biyoro umwami w'u Mubari, maze amubwira ko yifuza kumushyingira umukobwa we ***Nyabugondo,*** avuga ko amushakaho ubucuti. Biyoro ahita abyemera Nyabugondo ahashyingirwa nk'umutabazi.

Undi uvugwa ko yapfuye nk'umutabazi ku ngoma ya Yuhi IV Gahindiro ni umuja w'ibwami witwaga ***Kiyange***. Yemeye kwicwa mu kigwi cy'umugabekazi Nyiratunga wari wagambaniwe n'igikomangoma Gatarabuhura washakaga kwima ingoma.

Undi mugore w'ibwami, ***Nyiramuhanda***, wabaye Umwiru ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro kubera uburyo yari yarahirimbanye ndetse akitambika mu mugambi mubi wa ba se wabo wa Gahindiro bashatse kumwica akiri muto hamwe na nyina. Yatanze uruhinja rwe ngo rwicwe mu mwanya wa Gahindiro, maze urwo ruhinja na Kiyange bicwa nk'abatabazi. Nyiramuhanda yagororewe gushyirwa mu rwego rw'abiru. Ibi ntibyari bisanzwe, kuva kera kose nta bagore bamenyaga ubwiru ndetse n'abagabekazi ntibabumenyaga. Ariko yafatanyaga n'umuhungu we imirimo yose n'ibijyanye na yo byose. Iyo umwami yaturwaga, n'umugabekazi yahabwaga aye maturo. Ingufu z'umugabekazi ku mwami zaterwaga n'uko umwami ateye. Ibyo ari byo byose ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwari ubw'umwami keretse iyo yabaga akiri muto, icyo gihe ni umugabekazi wayoboraga igihugu.

Mu turere tunyuranye tw'u Rwanda kandi, abagore bagize uruhare rukomeye muri politiki y'u Rwanda. ***Mu Bukunzi no mu Busozo (Rusizi y'ubu), Abamikazi*** bagiraga uruhare rubangikanye n'urw'umwami mu miyoborere yaho, urugero ni nk'Umugabekazi ***Mwarirugamba***. Mu byubahiro, bisa naho umugabekazi yareshyaga n'umwami. Mwarirugamba yagiye i Bujumbura mu mwaka w'i 1904 kuburanira ingoma y'umuhungu we, umugabo we Nyundo amaze gupfa, hari abandi bo mu muryango wabo bashaka kumuhuguza ingoma. I Bujumbura bahaye amabwiriza i Shangi yo gusubiza ku ngoma ye Buhinga II wari ukiri muto maze akayoborana na nyina.

Ariko abagore ntibivangaga mu birebana n'ubucamanza, byaharirwaga ruhame. Ariko abagore b'akataraboneka kubera ubwitonzi bwabo n'uruhare muri politiki bagize uruhare mu bucamanza bwa kera. Ndetse na gacaca yari ihariwe abagabo, ariko hari uburyo abagore bayigiragamo uruhare binyuze ku bagabo babo.

3. ABAGORE BABAYE ABATWAREKAZI MU NGERI ZINYURANYE

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, hari amazina y'abagore bavugwa ko babaye abatwarekazi mu bihe binyuranye. Barimo:

i. NYIRANTEBE, mushiki wa Yuhi Gahima, yatwaye intara ya Nyakare, ubu ni mu karere ka Nyaruguru (mu Mirenge ya Ngera na Cyahinda). Yayoboye iyo ntara hamwe n'umugabo we n'abana be kugeza ashaje cyane.

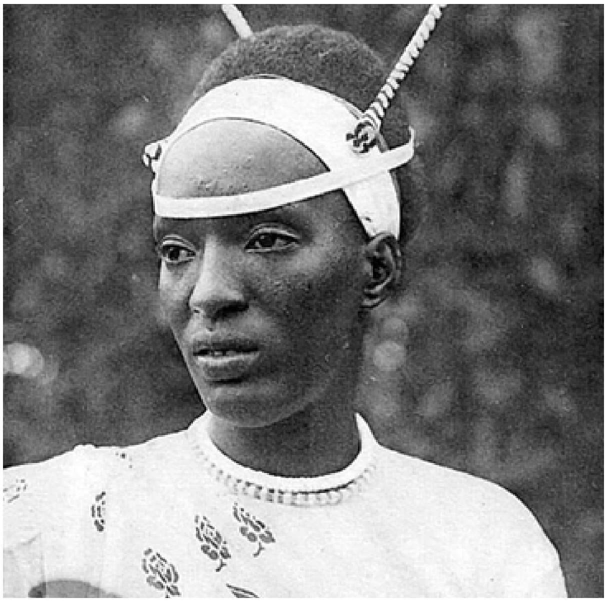
ii. NYIRAKIMONYO yatwaraga Ndago (ubu ni muri Nyaruguru) ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri no ku ngoma ya Musinga.

iii. NYIRANGABO yabaye umutware w'urugo rwa Kigeri IV Rwabugiri ku kirwa cy'Ijwi, nyuma no mu Bunyambiriri yarinze urugo rwa Rwabugiri abashakaga kuruvogera.

iv. GICUMATIRO yayoboraga akarere ka Kagina muri Rukoma ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri (ubu ni i Runda muri Kamonyi).

v. NYIRAKIGWENE Dancilla

Nyirakigwene Dancilla ari mu bagore bamenyekanye cyane mu buyobozi no mu kwitangira igihugu wabaye umutware ku ngoma ya Musinga. Yari umuganzukazi, Abaganzu bakomoka kuri Nzuki wa Mutara Semugeshi wa Ruganzu Ndoli. Yabaye umupfakazi w'umutware witwaga Nyantabana (umuhungu wa Kabare ya Rwakagara) witabye Imana akiri muto. Nyantabana yatabarutse bafite umwana umwe witwaga Bangambiki kandi wari muto cyane mu myaka. Nyuma y'urupfu rw'umugabo we, Nyirakigwene yasabye Umwami Yuhi V Musinga ko yasimbura umugabo we akaba umutwarekazi, ibintu bitari bisanzwe muri icyo gihe ko umugore yatinyuka no kubisaba Umwami. Umwami yarabimwemereye abyumvikanyeho na Guverineri Sandraert kuko no mu mategeko mashya y'ubutegetsi bw'abakoloni imigenzo imwe n'imwe yari yaravuguruwe. Bangambiki yari akiri muto, bemeza ko nyina Nyirakigwene akomeza gutwara aho umugabo we yatwaraga kugeza igihe umuhungu we azagirira imyaka y'ubukure yamwemerera kuba umutware. Nuko Nyirakigwene aba abaye Umutwarekazi atwara Nduga (ahahoze ari muri Gitarama) ahita kandi aca agahigo ko kuba umugore wa mbere uhawe imirimo y'ubutware mu gihugu nyuma yo kuzungura umugabo we.



Umutwarekazi Nyirakigwene Dancilla

Nk'umutwarekazi, Nyirakigwene azwi cyane kuba yari umuyobozi w'igitinyiro cyinshi kandi wanga akarengane n'ubusumbane mubo yayoboraga. Havugwa ko yari afite uburanga bwakururaga benshi. Abahanzi n'abasizi baramusingije baramutaka biratinda mu ndirimbo no mu bisigo. Inanga y'igisingizo izwi cyane kandi yanaririmbwaga ibwami ni iyitwa "Garuka" aho abasizi n'abahanzi bamutakaga bati: "Ugaruke ikibungege, Ugaruke ikibuzabwenge, Ugaruke inziraguhunga maze ugaruke shenge Nyirakigwene ……."

Vi. Mushambokazi Veronica

Mushambokazi Veronica ni umukobwa wa Rugayizihabuka, b'abashambo. Yari yarashakanye na Cyambali Gervasi, babyarana abana barindwi, hakaba hakiriho umwana umwe w'umukobwa, Agnes Bakamuhabwa.

Mushambokazi yatwaraga ahitwa Rusayo ho mu cyahoze ari chefferie ya Bugarura; ubu ni mu Murenge wa Gashaki, Akarere ka Musanze mu Majyaryuguru. Umugabo we Cyambali amaze gupfa mu mwaka wa 1942, asize abana b'abahungu bakiri bato bose, Mushambokazi yaramuzunguye aba sous-chef wa Rusayo. Mu mwaka wa 1958, yaje kwegurira umuhungu we muto, Nikodemu Kalisa, watwaye kugeza muri 1959, Abatutsi birukanywe ku misozi yabo.

Ibikorwa byiza abaturage ba Rusayo bamwibukiraho: Umusaza Ntawukirurwimo Innocent w'imyaka 78, ati nakoze iwe ndi umwana muto, duturanye. Avuga ko Mushambokazi yari umubyeyi ugwa neza, umenya abaturage, ufasha abantu. Wajya kumutakira icyo umusabye akakiguha. Ati natwe ubwacu twakoreraga mu rugo, icyo wamusabaga yarakiguhaga. Ababyeyi, abageni b'abakobwa, akajya kubarika, akabatwerera, akabashyira mu mazu, akabatekesha! Abaciye bugufi akabafasha, akabaha ibyo kurya; agashishikariza abaturage guha umubyizi abatishoboye.

Ibikorwa by'amajyambere: Umutwarekazi Mushambokazi yashishikarije abagore batwite kubyarira ku ivuriro (Rwaza). Yatuje abaturage mu midugudu, abigisha guhingira hamwe no guhunika. Yabigishije guhinga ibiti by'imbuto (amacunga).

Mushambokazi yakanguriye abo yayoboraga kwita ku isuku. Yategetse abaturage kubaka ibiraro by'amatungo yabo, bacika ku ngeso yo kuraza amatungo mu nzu, agamije kubatoza imibereho myiza yo kurara heza.

Amajyambere mu burezi: hari ishuri yari yarubakishije mu Rusayo, umwaka wa mbere n'uwa kabiri, aryubakiye abana bato ngo aborohereze bazajye kwiga i Rwaza bamaze gukura, batangiye umwaka wa gatatu. Iryo shuri n'ubu riracyahari! Ntawukirubwimo ati "niryo nizemo, n'umwe mu barimu baryo, uwitwa Ntanama, na Antheri Rushingabigwi, uwitwa Birihanze bapfuye mu myaka ya vuba."

Abatanze amakuru kuri Mushambokazi Veronica:

1. Agnes Bakamuhabwa, umukobwa wa Mushambokazi
2. Rosaria Buseruka, mwisengeneza we
3. Ntawukirubwimo Innocent, umuturage wa Rusayo

Vii. MUKARURENGO Budensiyana

Mukarurengo Budensiyana yari umukobwa wa Kayijamahe na Kamuyumbu. Yavutse ahagana mu mwaka wa 1918, mu muryango w'abakobwa umunani na basaza babo barindwi. Yavukiye ku i Taba (Burega) mu Buriza, aho se yatwaraga.

Mu mwaka wa 1932, Mukarurengo yashakanye na Hormisdas Rubangura rwa Ruhanga, wo mu banyiginya b'abacocori bari biganje mu batware b'Umurera. Umukobwa we w'umuhererezi Gatarina Mukansonera avuga ko mukuru wa Rubangura witwaga Murego Donati ariwe warambagirije murumuna we Rubangura; ngo iyo bavaga ibwami ari kumwe n'abahungu ba Kayijamahe, bararanaga iwabo ku i Taba mbere yo gukomeza inzira y'Umurera. Nuko Mukarurengo yaje kuba umukazana wa Ruhanga.

Mukarurengo Budensiyana (Photo archives)

Rubangura na Mukarurengo babyaranye abana batanu, aribo: Werabe Canisius, Sabihira (wapfuye ari umwana), Mukayinage Suzana (wapfuye ari umwana), Niwemwana Margarita na Mukansonera Gatarina (nibo bakiriho).

Uko Mukarurengo Budensiyana yaje kuba umutware

Rubangura umugabo wa Budensiyana yari umutware wa Gasiza, mu Cyuve, ho muri Musanze. Kubera gutegeka neza agahora ari mu ba mbere "*elite*" mu bindi bisonga, kuko ngo yari umuyobozi w'intangarugero, akabishimirwa n'ababiligi bayoboraga igihugu icyo gihe kandi agakundwa n'abaturage yayoboraga. Mu mwaka wa 1938, yagizwe shefu wa Bukamba-Ndorwa ariko ahita apfa atarahimukira. Amaze gupfa, iyo sheferi (chefferie) abazungu bayigabiye Ruvuzacyuma, nawe wahise arwara indwara yo mu mutwe, maze hagabana Bisamaza bya Mukama w'umuhindiro.

Rubangura yapfuye umuhungu we Werabe Canisius akiri muto (imyaka itanu), Bwana Adiminisitarateri wa Ruhengeri wari warashimye imitegekere ntangarugero ya Rubangura yanga ko umusozi yatwaraga uhabwa undi mutware. Ngo yaravuze ati: "uyu musozi ni uwa Rubangura, igihe umwana we akiri muto, nyina azawutegeka kandi arabishoboye". Nuko umubyeyi Mukarurengo Budensiyana aba su shefu (sous-chef) wa Gasiza, mu gihe yari ategereje ko Werabe ageza ku myaka yo gutegeka.

Mu mwaka wa 1952 nibwo Budensiyana yeguye, umusozi wa Rubangura awusubiza umuhungu we Werabe wari urangije ishuri ry'adiminisitarasiyo (administration) Astrida, amwereka abayobozi n'abaturage ku mugaragaro. Uyu Werabe yayoboye igihe gito kuko bahise bahunga mu mwaka wa 1959. Yaje kwicwa hamwe n'abandi mu "*nyenzi*" zateye u Rwanda zinyuze mu Mutara, mu kwezi k' Ugushyingo mu mwaka wa 1963.

Budensiyana mu buhunzi

Budensiyana, nk'abandi batutsi benshi b'iki gihugu, yavanywe mu bye mu mwaka wa 1959, ahungira mu gihugu cya Congo ahamara igihe gito, ahungira mu gihugu cya Uganda, aho yamaze imyaka myinshi. Yabanye n'abana be bari basigaye, Marigarita na Gatarina kugeza bashatse. Budensiyana ntiyabaye mu nkambi y'impunzi, yiyubakiye urugo rwe ahitwa Rwentobo muri Mpororo (amajyepfo y'iburengerazuba bwa Uganda), ariko akajya asura abakobwa be aho bari barashatse. Ndetse umuhererezi Gatarina aza gupfakara, basa nk'aho babana i Kabale, amufasha kurera abana.

Mu mwaka wa 1994, Inkotanyi zibohoye Igihugu, Mukarurengo yatahanye n'abandi ndetse n'inka ze, atura Barija muri Nyagatare, hari bene wabo. Ngo icyo gihe yabwiye Gatarina ko adashaka gutura i Kigali hatari urungano rwe, hataba inka n'imirima.

Bolingo, umuturage wo mu Cyuve, yaravuze ati: twamenye ko umubyeyi Mukarurengo yatahutse ari Nyagatare, abanya Cyuve tukajya tumusanga yo kumuramutsa.[4]

Mukarurengo Budensiyana yatabarutse tariki ya 6 Gashyantare 2007, agwa mu bitaro by'i Kanombe, i Kigali.

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4 Ikiganiro Bolingo, umuturage wo muri Cyuve aho Mukarurengo Budensiyana yayoboye

Imikorerere myiza mu mitegekere y'umutwarekazi Mukarurengo Budensiyana

<u>Mu buhinzi</u> Kuva Mukarurengo agabana umusozi nka su shefu, yashishikarije abaturage guhinga kijyambere, guhunika imyaka no guhingirana (ubudehe), ndetse aba uwa mbere "*elite*" mu bindi bisonga. Kugira ngo bahinge kijyambere, yaberekaga uko bapimisha umugozi, bagatera ibigori ku murongo, babara intambwe, bagasiga inzira hagati y'imirongo. Kandi ubwo niwe wabaga yigiriye mu mirima kubereka uko bikorwa, nk' Agronome! Agenda muri iyo misozi y'i Rukiga, mu bushyuhe, atitaye ku bunini bwe, imishanana akayikindikiza… Yabigishije no guhuza imirima (nk'uko bikorwa ubu), agira ngo barondoreze ubutaka. Yashishikarije abaturage guhinga ibijumba, mu gihe cy'impeshyi, bagahinga imirenzo mu gishanga, bagateramo imigozi, maze imvura yagwa bakayitera imusozi, bakeza ibijumba bidatinze.

Muri icyo gihe mu Rwanda hateye inzara ya *Ruzagayura*, izahaza abaturage; ariko abanya Gasiza ntibashonje. Abaturage bari baramuhimbye izina rya "*agronome*". Bwana Filipo Kabagabo wari umugronome w'Umurera icyo gihe, yaje gutambagiza abazungu, bagenda bareba aho iby'ubukungu n'ubuhinzi bigeze, bageze ku musozi wa Budensiyana ati: "uyu ni agronome nkanjye, ntacyo murusha gusobanura..". Abivanye kuri iyo mirimo myiza y'ubuhinzi yari yarashishikarije abaturage mu gihe cy'inzara. Nibwo abazungu bamwongereye imisozi ya Murinzi na Rukoro kuri Gasiza.

Kubera impuhwe yagiriraga abakene n'imbabare, yagiriye inama abaturage kugenera imbuto abakene, ashyiraho "*Ikigega cy'abashonji*" cyari kigizwe n'imboho z'imyaka (amashaza, ibishyimbo n'amasaka) bakagira umunsi wo gufungurira abakene. Abaturage baje kumwita "*Nyamutegera akazaza ejo*".

Abo yatwaraga yabigishije gukora ingarani zo gutegura ifumbire, abagore biga guhinga "*akarima k'igikoni*" bahingagamo imboga z'amashu n'ibitunguru.

Mu mwaka wa 1936, abazungu batangiye guhinga ibireti muri Ruhengeri, batangiriye mu karere gakikije ibirunga. Abatware basobanurirwaga uko ibireti bihingwa, nabo bakabyigisha abaturage. Igihe kimwe, itsinda ryigishijwe na Mukarurengo ryabaye irya mbere mu guhinga neza, bituma Kamali wari shefu w'Umurera ashimwa n'Adiministrateri (Administrateur), bimuhesha amanota meza!

<u>Imiyoborere myiza</u>

Mukarurengo yagabanye umusozi wa Gasiza nyamara atazi gusoma no kwandika, ariko akitwararika ku mirimo atari amenyereye. Mu myaka ya mbere, Bwana Habumuremyi Wilhard, umukwe we mu muryango (umugabo w'uwo Budensiyana yari abereye nyina wabo), nawe wari igisonga mu Ndorwa, niwe wamusomeraga inzandiko akanamwandikira, akamusobanurira amabwiriza ya Leta. Ariko kubera ishyaka n'umuhate yagiraga, Mukarurengo yanze ko bazahora bamusomera inzandiko z'imirimo ye, maze aca bugufi, Simoni Ntenda wari umwe mu bakarani be na Mudenge Mathias, umwisengeneza we bamwigisha gusoma no kwandika. Mu buyobozi bwe kandi, yakoranaga n'ibirongozi bitatu, uwo Mudenge nyine, Seburikoko na Semagambo.

Musenyeri Rucyahana John yavuze ko abamumenye ari sushefu bose bavuga ko

yitwararikaga cyane: nta nama yasibaga, yarinze yegurira umusozi umwana we Werabe Canisius, nta mugayo agize, nta misoro yanyerejwe. Yakoranaga ubushishozi no kwicisha bugufi, akamenya kugisha inama muri baramu be bamurushaga ubunararibonye mu kazi k'ubutware, agaha agaciro inshingano ze zose ("***balancing all her duties"***). Shefu we yaramugenzuraga cyane, kuko yari azi ubunini bwe butazatuma ashobora kugira ku nshingano ze. Ntaho atageze mu misozi yari ashinzwe. Yiyemeza gukora nk'abandi batware kandi abigeraho ndetse arabarusha, anabarusha n'amanota.

Budensiyana yateguye umuhungu we kuko mu myaka ya nyuma y'amashuri ye, Werabe Canisius yajyaga yitoza imirimo y'ubuyobozi agakorana na nyina mu biruhuko.

Yitaye cyane ku mibereho myiza y'abaturage

Mu rwego rw'amajyambere, yubakishije insisisiro (inzu zubatse ku murongo) mu bwatsi yatwaraga ngo agakenyera agakomeza maze agafata umugozi akaba ari we wipimira imirongo bazakurikiza igihe babaga bubaka insisiriro. Ikindi ngo mu mwaka wa 1948, yateje amashyamba aho yatwaraga, kandi icyo gihe amashyamba yari akomeye cyane nk'ubu. Ibi bivugwa na Sinanga Aloys wabanye n'abatware b'i Murera, akaza no kuba Umwanditsi wa Werabe umuhungu wa Budensiyana.

Budensiyana yari umunyesuku cyane! Abagore bo ku musozi we yabatozaga isuku yo ku mubiri no mu ngo zabo. Umukobwa bari baravanye iwabo i Buriza akamushyingira umwe mu bakozi be, yamwohereje mu Ruhengeri kwiga ibyerekeye imibereho myiza muri "*Foyer social*", arangije aza kubyigisha abandi bagore bo mu Rukoro na Gasiza.

Florida Mukabaranga, uwo Budensiyana yari abereye nyina wabo, ati yagiraga ingendo i Bugande (Kabale) agiye kureba amajyambere y'ahandi no kugurira abagore imyambaro. Yaguraga imyenda, akayizana akayidodeshamo imyenda y'imbere y'abagore. Ibi byatumye abaturage bamukunda cyane, bamuhimbira imbyino, bamuhimba amazina agaragaza ubwiza bwe n'urukundo bamugiriraga, banashima amajyambere yabagejejeho.

Bagiraga bati "***Sine itarushya isiga yasize Umurinzi arawunogereza, abaturage baranezerwa. Bazingura imishanana, imbiribiri zirahumura.., Bambuza ziragurwa……..***".

Yari azi ***abakene n'abapfakazi*** bo ku musozi we kandi akabazirikana; buri gihe Simoni na Mudenge bamuhaga raporo kugira ngo abakene bafashwe.

Bolingo ati isanduku y'imibereho myiza "*Fonds du Bien-être Indigène*" yaje yunganira "*Ikigega cy'abakene*" Budensiyana yari yatangije ku musozi we.

Yanavuze ko Budensiyana yajijuye abo mu Murera bagacika ku muco bari bafite wo kwivuza bakurikije imihango yo kuraguza no kujya kwa Nyabingi, abashishikariza kujya bivuza mu mavuriro ya kijyambere.

Yavuze kandi ko umubyeyi Budensiyana yari azi kunga abantu, ati yangaga akarengane, urugomo n'ubusambo. Ati Sogokuru wacu Rushongo yashatse kutwambura imirima

yacu, Budensiyana niwe wamuhagaritse arayidusubiza. Ati Budensiyana yari intwari.

<u>Abo yari ashinzwe yabagiriraga urukundo rugaragarira bose</u>

Budensiyana yategetse mu gihe cy'ababiligi, bakoresha abaturage imirimo y'agahato (uburetwa na shiku), utayubahirije agakubitwa ikiboko. Uwo mubyeyi yashakaga iteka ukuntu yakorohereza abaturage, akabavugira, akabarengera, akabaha agaciro. Kurwanya ako karengane byagiye bimutera ibibazo hagati ye na shefu we ariko ntacike intege.

<u>Imyitwarire ye</u>

Umubyeyi Mukarurengo yicishaga bugufi, akamenya kwihangana, akagira n'umuhate mubyo yakoraga byose. Ntiyigeze anena umurimo ngo n'uko yari umutwarekazi; yigiraga mu mirima ubwe agakurikirana imirimo y'ubuhinzi. Iyo yabaga avuye mu rukiko mu Ruhengeri, yahitiraga mu murima agafasha abakozi be kubagara. Gatarina abyemeza agira ati: kenshi yakundaga kumbwira ngo "*utazi gukora ntamenya gukoresha*".

Budensiyana abaturanyi n'abo yayoboraga bamushimiye ko yagize umwihariko wo kubaha nyirabukwe: ngo uretse no kumufasha akanamusura kenshi, yafataga igihe cyo kumubyukurukiriza. Kubera urwo rugero rwiza nyina yamuhaye, Werabe Canisius nawe atangiye gukora, yagumye hafi ya nyirakuru, agakora ataha iwe, ndetse n'urugo rwe aza kurwubaka kuri uwo musozi.

Umubyeyi Budensiyana ntacyamucaga intege, no mu buzima bugoye bw'impunzi y'umupfakazi yakomeje kuba intangarugero mu baturanyi; akabagira inama, akamenya guteganya no kureba kure. Iwe hahoraga isuku, urutoki rwe no ku mpeshyi ikaze ya Mpororo, rwabaga rukoreye neza, agahorana imbuto n'uturima tw'imboga, ndetse n'inkwi. Iwe bahitaga kwa "*Ntakibuze*"! Yagiraga Ubuntu butangaje: ubuze dodo, inkwi, igitoki, amazi meza, yajyaga kwa Budensiyana.

<u>Inzitizi Mukarurengo yagize n'uko yazikemuye</u>

Ubunini bwe: Budensiyana yari munini; uretse no kujya kenshi mu nama mu Ruhengeri, yajyaga mu misozi kureba ko imirimo y'ubuhinzi ikorwa neza no gusura abaturage mu ngo zabo. Mu ikubitiro yagiye ananirwa, umubiri agataha amaguru yahiye. Ariko ntibyamuciye intege ngo imirimo y'ingendo ayiharire ibirongozi bye cyangwa ngo yegure; Budensiyana yakoze nk'abandi bakora siporo, amaguru arayasiga.., nuko umubiri uramenyera, urakomera. Ikindi, umwambaro we wa buri gihe yagombaga kuba imishanana kandi itajyanye n'imirimo yo kwihuta; ntiyasirimutse ngo yambare ikanzu cyangwa ijipo, yarakenyeye arakomeza maze imirima ntayikangwe. Ibyo byose yabigejejweho no kutiganda, kugira ubushake bwo kugera ku ntego yiyemeje yo gutunganya umurimo yashinzwe, kwihangana no kwiyemeza.

Kuba umuyobozi uri umugore wenyine mu bagabo: Bamwe mu batware bagenzi be ntibishimiye ko aba umutwarekazi. Byongeye kandi aza gukora neza ashimwa

n'abazungu, ntibishimira ko umugore ababana uwa mbere "élite"! Ndetse bamwe bagakora uko bashoboye ngo bamuce intege, acogore mu mikorere myiza cyangwa yegure (bamunegura ubunini bwe, bamuhimba amazina y'igishegabo yashoboraga kumurakaza), ariko Budensiyana yarabyihanganiye, abereka ko ntacyo bimutwaye, akomeza gukorana umurava.

Kuba atari yariteguye kuba umutwarekazi: Abagore bo hambere, uretse umugabekazi, ntibavugiraga mu ruhame nta n'ubwo bategekaga rubanda. Budensiyana yemera gusimbura umugabo we, yari azi neza ko inshingano zimutegereje zitoroshye: gukora umurimo atamenyereye, gukorana n'abagabo ndetse barimo n'abazungu, gusoresha abaturage no kurinda neza imisoro yabo, gukemura imanza z'abaturage bamenyere gutegekwa n'abagabo nkabo... Abenshi mu ba sushefu batwaranaga na Mukarurengo bari barize amashuri yo muri icyo gihe. Mukarurengo we yahawe uburere bw'umukobwa wo hambere, wigishwaga gufata urugo neza, guha abana uburere n'umuco mwiza; uretse n'ibyo gutwara, nta n'ubwo yari yarigeze yiga.
Ariko kugira ubwenge kamere n'ubushishozi, kwicisha bugufi no kugisha inama, kutiganda ku murimo, kwihangana, ibi byose hamwe n'urukundo yagiriraga abaturage byamubereye impamba mu rugendo rw'ubutegetsi bwe.

Nyuma y'urupfu rw'umugabo, muri baramu be harimo abari biteguye kumusimbura ku butware nk'uko byari bisanzwe mu muco; abo ntibishimiye ko umugore afata uwo mwanya. Ibyo byose yari abizi ariko ntibyamukanga.
N'ubwo ubutegetsi bw'abagore butari busanzwe mu muco w'abanyarwanda, Budensiyana ibyo ntibyamukanze ngo atinye kuyobora no gufata ibyemezo. Abamuzi ku kazi benshi bavuga ko yari umuyobozi uvanze ***igitsure n'ubugwaneza butangaje***, ko yari "umugore uzi icyo akora".
Mu mitegekere ye, ***yibanze ku bibazo byari iby'ingutu*** icyo gihe: ubuhinzi, imibereho myiza y'abaturage (mu giturage arwanya umwanda n'ubujiji), arwanya akarengane.

Kuba ***umunyampuhwe no kwicisha bugufi***, byahaye Mukarurengo kwegera abaturage, akamenya ibibazo by'imibereho n'ubwumvikane bw'ingo atabibwiwe n'ibirongozi ahubwo yafashe umwanya wo kwigira mu giturage ubwe.

Kuba ***umunyakuri*** byamuhaye imbaraga zo guhangana n'akarengane kagirirwaga abaturage n'ubuyobozi bwa gikoloni. Ibi tubihamirizwa n'Abatangabuhamya banyuranye [5].

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5 **Abatanze ubuhamya bwerekeranye na Mukarurengo Budensiyana***: Mukabwana Colette, umukobwa wa Rubaduka, umwisengeneza wa Mukarurengo (30/12/2020);* ***Mukankuranga Florida****, Mukarurengo yari abereye nyina wabo (30/12/2020);* ***Musenyeri John Rucyahana****, wo mu muryango wa Rubangura, umugabo wa Mukarurengo (30/12/2020) ;* ***Mukakimenyi Laburensiya****, wo mu muryango wa Rubangura (14/1/21);* ***Bolingo*** *umuturage wo mu Kinigi, se yabanye n'umuryango wa Mukarurengo (15 /1/ 2021);* ***Mukansonera Gatarina*** *umwana we w'umuhererezi (19/1/2021); Rucagu Boniface, wabaye Guverineri w'Intara ya Ruhengeri; Sinanga Aloys: (21/1/2021);*

Viii. NYIRAKABUGA Tereza

Nyirakabuga Tereza ni umukobwa wa Cyigenza cya Rwakagara umwega w'umu Bakagara na Nyirakangore w'umusingakazi. Yavukiye i Rusororo (ubu ni mu Karere ka Gasabo) ahagana mu mwaka wa 1890, ashakana n'Umwami Yuhi V Musinga (wari mubyara we) mu mwaka wa 1905. Babyaranye abana bane, aribo: Bakayishonga Emma, Rudacyahwa (wapfuye afite imyaka 10), Rwigemera Etienne na Mukamurera Emerensiyana. Tereza kandi ni Nyirakuru wa sushefu Rwigemera Gerard na Rwigemera de Georges n'abandi. Bavuga ko mu bakobwa ba Musinga, abo yabyaranye na Nyirakabuga barushaga abandi uburanga.

Nyirakabuga Tereza ni uwo mubyeyi uri iruhande rwa Musinga (uteruye umwana), uteze igitambaro mu mutwe (Photo archives)

Mu mwaka wa 1923, Nyirakabuga yatandukanye n'Umwami Musinga, asanga musaza we Nyakayiru wari umutware mu Gisaka aramwubakira. Hashize imyaka itatu, ubuyobozi bw'abakoloni bumugira sushefu wa Vumwe muri sheferi (Chefferie) ya Gihunya muri teritwari ya Kibungo. Nuko aba umwe mu batwarekazi ba mbere bashinzwe imirimo y'ubuyobozi igihe cy'ubukoloni. Nyirakabuga yategetse su sheferi ya Vumwe kugeza mu mwaka wa 1959, yegujwe na Résident Spécial Guy Logiest amusimbuza umusushefu w'umu PARMEHUTU. Nyuma y'ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda, Nyirakabuga yakomeje kuba mu Rwanda, i Kigali kugeza atabarutse mu mwaka wa 1975.

Nyirakabuga yabaye ***umutware w'intangarugero***; mu mwaka wa 1952, yabishimiwe n'abazungu, yambikwa umudari "*La Médaille d'argent de l'ordre de Léopold II*"; mu mwaka wa 1958 ahabwa na none umudari "*La Médaille de mérite en Vermeil*".

Nyirakabuga Tereza (Photo archives)

Imitegekere myiza ya Nyirakabuga Tereza

Umubikira Soeur Ludovika, umukobwa wa Munigantama, yatubwiye ko umutware Kayondo wari musaza wa Nyirakabuga, yasabye se kujya gufasha Nyirakabuga mu mirimo ye mishya y'ubutware. Nyirakabuga ntiyari azi gusoma no kwandika, ubwo Munigantama yamubereye umukarani anatwara imisozi ya Rwambohero, Giseri na Nyimbazi. Tereza atwara Vumwe. Ariko amaze kugabana Vumwe, yize gusoma no kwandika, ariko akandika inyuguti nini.

Nyirakabuga yategetse neza, agashishikariza abaturage ibikorwa by'amajyambere. Imitegekere ye myiza yatumye akundwa n'abo yayoboraga, ndetse n'abatware bagenzi be bakamwubaha cyane.

Yari umunyamajyambere mu buhinzi, akayobora atanga urugero rwiza: iwe yari yarahinze umurima munini w'imboga n'imbuto, zirimo inanasi, amapapayi menshi n'amacunga. Yagiraga indogobe ivoma amazi yo gukoresha imuhira; amase yayo akayakoresha nk'ifumbire muri uwo murima.

Ibikorwa bamwibukiraho

Jean Bosco ati "n'ubwo twari abana, twakuze abantu b'iwacu bose bavuga ko Nyirakabuga yateje imbere abo yahasanze. Igihingwa cya kawa niwe wagitangiye kizanywe n'abazungu, basabaga kuyitera mu byo bitaga "ibipimo", atera ibiti bya kawa birenga igihumbi. Yatiraga abaturage mu gisigara cye, akabashishikariza guteramo ikawa, ababwira ati ibi nibyo bizabafasha n'abana banyu. Buri hantu, akurikije abo baribaturanye, yabahaye ubutaka bwo guhingamo ikawa cyangwa ibindi biti, akabakatira metero 20 kuri metero 10.

Yiyegerezaga abantu akabagirira neza; twasanze hakiri abantu benshi bamwirahiraga, abo atagabiye inka, yanabagabiye amasambu. Ndetse n'abaturage abashishikariza gutera ibiti. Igihe ibiti bikiri bito agatera ibirayi hagati y'imirongo y'ibiti. Jean Bosco ati "Umutwarekazi Nyirakabuga yangaga kwiharira ibyiza".

Yateje ishyamba rinini ku musozi we wa Vumwe, bavuga ko kera uwo musozi witwaga Ruvumera.[6]

Tereza yarwanyaga inzara. Yafashije abaturage yayoboraga guhinga bakurikije ibihe by'ihinga n'imyaka ijyanye na buri gihe. Ati sinshaka ko aho nyobora hazatera inzara.

Jean Bosco (iwabo hari i Zaza hafi yo kwa Nyirakabuga) ati ariko "abaturage ntibamenye ko yabifurizaga ibyiza". Ati "twararangaye!" Abanyarwanda baciye umugani ngo: "*Ubwenge buza ubujiji buhise*", iyo abo baturage bamwumva baba bageze kure. Ati yari umuntu ukomeye ariko akiyegereza abana.

Yari umunyamajyambere: Uwera Florida na Nyetera Josée bavuga ko Nyirakabuga yari afite « cave » ya divayi, icyo gihe! Yari azi uko bateka ibisuguti (biscuits) akabizimanira abashyitsi hamwe na divayi. Amasanduku ye (malles), inzu ye, byari byanditsweho izina rye "Tereza Nyirakabuga"!

Nyirakabuga ***yagiraga urwenya***: Nk'urugero ngo muri Kibungo higeze kuba amarushanwa y'amapfizi, maze iyari yavuye kwa Nyirakabuga iruta izindi. Abandi batware bati murabona ngo umugore araturusha imfizi nziza! Tereza ati: *uretse se n'imfizi y'inka, n'iy'abantu sinayirushije ba nyoko...!*

Ubundi, Rudahigwa aramubwira ati Nyirakabuga umaze gukura, ati rero ukwiye kwicara…. Nyirakabuga ati none se ingororano yo gukora neza ni ukunyagwa?

Nyirakabuga ***yagiraga ishyaka rya Kibungo*** aho yatwaraga. Iyo habaga ibirori muri paruwasi ya Zaza cyangwa n'ahandi mu Gisaka, yahaga abihaye Imana ibimasa byo kubagira abaje mu birori, akabaha n'ibibindi by'ubuki. Mu birori byizihizaga imyaka 50 y'amavuko ya Musenyeri Bigirumwami ku Nyundo ntiyahatanzwe. Yari umuyoboke udatezuka wa Kiliziya Gatolika. Ku munsi wa Mutagatifu Tereza, yazaniraga ababikira n'abanyeshuri b'i Zaza ibicuba by'amata akababagira n'ibimasa.

Ayo majyambere n'ishyaka yagiriraga abaturanyi n'abo yatwaraga byatumye yubahwa cyane kandi akundwa n'abanya Gisaka, ari abo yayoboye ari n'abatware bagenzi be kandi yubahwaga na benshi[7].

4. UMUSOZO

Urugero rw'abagore kuva kera na kare rugaragaza ko ari abanyabigwi bituma bubahwa bikibukwa ibihe byose, abakiri bato bagatozwa umuco w'ubutwari bushingiye ku kwitabira inshingano, gukunda igihugu no guhanga ibishya.

6 Wari umusozi uriho ibiti byinshi by'imiguruka byahuhwaga n'umuyaga hakaba amahumbezi, ari heza. Nuko ngo Umwami Ruganzu (Ndoli) n'ingabo ze ahagera ananiwe abona aho hantu heza aricara araruhuka. Ariko ashatse amazi yo guha imbwa ze arayabura. Biramubabaza, arawuvuma, ati wa musozi nturi Ruvumera, ni Vumwe!

7 Abatanze ubuhamya bwerekeranye na Nyirakabuga Tereza: Uwera Florida Umwisengeneza wa Nyirakabuga, kuya 30/12/2020; Nyetera Josée, Umwisengeneza we , kuya 10 /1/2021; Ruterambuko, Umwisengeneza we; Bamuteze Jean Bosco, Umujyanama mu murenge wa Vumwe, kuya 16/1/2021; Sœur Ludovika: umukobwa wa Munigantama, kuya 23 /1/ 2021

Abagore babaye abatwarekazi bayoboye neza, bagakurikiza amabwiriza, bakita kubo bashinzwe bagira uruhare mu mibereho yabo myiza kandi batiganda.

Ni ngombwa kandi ko tumenya abagore bo mu bihe byakurikiyeho n'abubu batahwemye kugaragaza ubutwari mu ngeri zinyuranye z'imibereho kandi urubyiruko rw'abakobwa b'i Rwanda bagatozwa kuba Intwari, ababigezeho bakamenyekana bagashimwa, kugira ngo bibere abandi urugero ndeberwaho. Bityo umugore ntasigare inyuma mu ruhando rw'ubutwari.

Twese tuzi ko Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika Paul Kagame yahaye mutima w'urugo ijambo, bityo duhimbazwa no gutera no kwikiriza tugira duti: Mutima w'urugo,

Ndi Mutima w'urugo

Ndi umugore ubereye u Rwanda

Sinzatesha agaciro uwakanshubije… Aho!!! Niho ho!.

Tuzaba Mutima w'urugo w'ukuri mu gihe dufite umuryango utekanye, ushoboye kandi uteye imbere kandi mu gihugu gitekanye kiri mu ruhando rw'iterambere rirambye, aho buri wese abereye kuba Intwari.

Itorero ry'ababyeyi bo mu Murenge wa Nyange mu Karere ka Ngororero ribyina imbyino zirata ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, Nyange ku wa 18/03/2019.

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III. UBUTWARI MU BANA, UMURAGE W'ABABYEYI : URUGERO RW'ABANYARWANDA BAKIJIJE ABANDI MURI JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU RWANDA MU MWAKA WA 1994

Dr UWERA Kanyamanza Claudine*

1. INTANGIRIRO

Nk'uko twabigaragaje mu nyandiko yacu yasohotse muri « Cahier » Umurage w'ubutwari № 1, umurage w'ababyeyi ni akabando gasindagiza mu guhangana n'ibibazo, bigatuma abantu badacika intege ahubwo bagahora baharanira kubikemura no gutsinda nk'intwari.

Turabishimangira muri iyi nomero, twerekana ubutwari bamwe mu Banyarwanda bagize bagakiza abandi muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bakaba barashoboraga no kuhasiga ubuzima bwabo ariko bakabikora kubera uwo murage mwiza bahawe n'ababyeyi babo. Babisobanura mu burere bwiza bahawe, urugero rwiza rw'ababyeyi mu bihe bikomeye u Rwanda rwanyuzemo guhera no muri 1959, 1963, 1973 Abatutsi bahunga u Rwanda kubera ubwicanyi bwatewe n'ubutegetsi bubi.

Mu gihe twizihiza umunsi wo gukunda Igihugu, tariki ya 1 Ukwakira mu Rwanda, guhisha Abatutsi bahigwaga mu mwaka wa 1994, ukabarokora ni ikintu cyo guhora twibuka nk'ababyeyi, abakuru tukabibwira abana n'ababyiruka kugira ngo ku ruhande rumwe bamenye ko hari Abanyarwanda b'umutima mwiza, bakoze inshingano zabo za kimuntu, bagize ubutwari ; ku rundi ruhande bakamenya impamvu babashije kwitandukanya n'ababi, n'ikibi. Ntabwo byikoze, ahubwo n'uko baranzwe no kugira indangagaciro batojwe ari bato, zikabyara umusaruro mu buzima bwabo n'ubw'igihugu. Batojwe urukundo, ubumuntu, ubumwe mu Banyarwanda b'ingeri zose baranabiharanira.

Nubwo muri iyi nyandiko twibanda ku murage w'ababyeyi mu burere bw'abana kuko ababyeyi ari ingenzi mu buzima bw'ibanze bw'abana, hari n'izindi mpamvu zatumye abo Banyarwanda barokora abandi, nk'ibyo bigishijwe mu ishuri, mu madini atandukanye nkuko babivuga mu buhamya bwabo batanga.

Turagaragaza mu gice cya mbere igikorwa bakoze mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, igihe kitari cyoroshye kuko gukiza Umututsi byasaga nko kwiyahura. Igice cya kabiri kiradufasha kwumva uburyo buri wese yabigenje ngo arokore Abatutsi. Igice cya gatatu kirasoza cyerekana impamvu zatumye biyemeza kubarokora. Turifashisha filimi mbarankuru (film documentaire) ya Luc Lagun Bouchet aho dusanga ubwo buhamya[8].

Ni ubuhamya bw'abantu bake, ariko butanga ishusho y'ibishobora kuba byarakozwe n'abandi benshi.

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8 https://youtu.be/l1DyglFLDyw

** Dr UWERA Kanyamanza Claudine ni Umwarimu muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda akaba n'umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe.*

2. KUROKORA ABATUTSI MU GIHE CYA JENOSIDE

Igihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994 cyaranzwe no gucengeza ingengabitekerezo y'uko Umututsi ari mubi, umwanzi w'Igihugu kandi agomba gupfa. Umuhutu uzamuhisha, akamukiza nawe agomba kwicwa. Ibi birashimangirwa n'ubuhamya bwa bamwe mu « Indakemwa », « Abarinzi b'Igihango » n'abo borokoye.

DUSABIMANA Yozafina utuye mu Karere ka Karongi yarokoye Abatutsi 12, harimo n'umwana wari ufite imyaka 10. Yari umuturage usanzwe ariko afite akabari, acuruza. Arasobanura ko icyo gihe, kwica Umututsi byari nk'itegeko nk'uko radio RTLM yabivugaga, ivuga ko Abatutsi ari inyenzi zigomba kwicwa. Akomeza avuga ko kuva ari umwana, yakuze yigishwa kwanga Abatutsi mu ishuri. Yagize ati ubutegetsi bwariho bwakoraga poropagande y'ivangura, wabisangaga no mu binyamakuru binyuranye. Kuri we, icyo gikorwa ni Imana yakimushoboje, n'ubwitange budasanzwe kuko yari yarahisemo ko nafatwa azapfana n'abo yahishaga kubera ko baziraga ubusa.

KARUHIJE Foroduwalidi nawe warokoye Abatutsi 19, yemeza ko gukiza Umututsi muri icyo gihe ari ubwitange bukomeye agira ati : « u*kinjira mu nzu irimo ishya ugakiza umuntu arimo ashya* ».

GISIMBA Damas, utuye mu Karere ka Nyarugenge yari umuyobozi w'ikigo kirera imfubyi (Orphelinat) Gisimba, yitiriwe sekuru wayishinze, yarokoye abantu 405, abana 325 n'abantu bakuru 80. Yavuze ko yari yiyemeje gupfa nk'umugabo aho gupfa nk'ikigwari" (« Vaut mieux mourir en homme qu'en lâche").

Muri make ibihe ntibyari byoroshye nk'uko babyivugira ariko bagaragaje kwitanga mu gihe kidasanzwe, gikomeye aho nabo bashoboraga kuhasiga ubuzima nk'uko bamwe mu barokowe babyemeza, barimo Thomas na Antoinette.[9]

3. UBURYO BURI WESE YABIGENJE NGO AROKORE ABATUTSI

DUSABIMANA Yozafina yafashe abantu 12 bamuhungiyeho, abajyana mu rugo iwe, 11 abashyira mu bwato abajyana ku Idjwi muri Congo bararokoka. Pierre Muhigirwa yakijije nawe arabihamya, nk'umuturanyi ariko batari inshuti.

Aza kubona umwana w'imyaka icumi wihishaga, ntabwo yari amuzi, yaramuhumurije, amujyana iwe, nyuma Yozafina amushyira nyina (umubyeyi wa Yozafina) wari utuye kure ye ngo amuhungishe. Abandi yari yabahungishije mbere abajyana ku kirwa cy'Idjwi akoresheje ubwato. Ageze kwa nyina, yaramubwiye ati: uyu mwana rero nyina ni umuhutukazi, ise ni Umututsi, mumureke aragire inka, ajye akina n'abandi bana, ntimumuhishe ntawe uzamenya ko atari uwo mu muryango wacu mutabimubwiye, nyina arabyemera.

HABIMANA Tomasi, umwana wari ufite imyaka 10, akarokorwa na Yozafina mu buhamya bwe aramushimira cyane, akavuga ko amufata nka nyina umubyara, akanatanga ubutumwa bwiza avuga ko uyu murage w'ubutwari ugomba guhererekanwa mu bato, nabo bakazabikomeza mu gihe kizaza.

9 https://youtu.be/l1DyglFLDyw

KARUHIJE Foroduwalidi we yigiriye inama yo guhisha abo bantu 19 mu mwobo yacukuye nk'inzu kuko yumvaga kuri radio abasirikare bavuga ko bacukura imyobo bakayibamo. MUREBWAYIRE Jeannette, umwe mubo yarokoye asobanura uburyo yabikoranye ubuhanga kuko hari ahantu hafi y'inzira aho abantu banyuraga ku buryo nta nterahamwe yari gutekereza ko hari abantu bihishe. Mu rucyerera, saa cyenda zishyira saa kumi za mu gitondo niho bajyagamo, bakavamo nijoro. Bari barihebye, imvura ikabanyagira, begeranye cyane, bahindukirira rimwe ari uko babwiranye, bavuga gahoro cyane ngo hatagira ubumva. Ntabwo byari byoroshye!

GISIMBA Damas, yabaga acungana n'interahamwe, yabanje kujya aziha amafaranga akababeshya ko rwose atahisha Abatutsi ari babi, niko bazaga gusaka, akabereka ko nta muntu yahishe, kandi harimo n'abantu bakuru bihishe mu misarane no mu gisenge cy'inzu (plafond) batabasha kwinyagambura. Abana babo yabashyize hamwe n'imfubyi zari zihasanzwe. Umwe mubo yarokoye, Mugabo Piyo avuga uko yabahishe kandi abana ntibamenye ko ababyeyi babo bari aho kugira ngo bitazamenyekana abana babivuze. Ubwo nabo, aho bari bihishe, barungurukaga mu kobo k'inzu bacukuye, bakareba abana bakina: byari bigoye!

Birumvikana ko guhisha Abatutsi bwari ubushake bukomeye no gutekereza cyane uburyo bwose bwatuma abantu barokoka, kandi bidakuraho ko interahamwe ziramutse zimenye ayo mayeri yose zabicana nabo.

4. IMPAMVU ZO KUROKORA ABATUTSI

DUSABIMANA Yozafina arashimangira ko n'ubwo bigishijwe kwanga Abatutsi bikozwe n'ubutegetsi, Imana niyo yamushoboje ariko kandi kera, nyina umubyara nawe yigeze guhisha abaturanyi babo b'Abatutsi bameneshejwe mu mwaka wa 1973, babatwikiye inzu kandi ababikira n'ibintu byabo. Urwo rugero rwiza rwa nyina rwatumaga nawe yumva yafasha Abatutsi bari mu karengane.

GISIMBA Damas, nawe agaragaza ko ibyo yakoze byari ngombwa, inshingano yatojwe mu muryango we kuko yarezwe azi ko agomba kurengera abatishoboye. Sekuru yari yarashinze ikigo cy'imfubyi (orphelinat), agira ngo arengere imfubyi, nuko se wa Damas nawe aza kubikomeza, arabimuraga. Ati: Uburere nahawe, uko nigishijwe n'ababyeyi banjye ni ugukunda mugenzi wanjye nk'uko nikunda ubwanjye. Yongeraho ati: ibyo nakoze ni ishema ku babyeyi banjye batakiriho. Ibi byose byambereye imbarutso yo kugira imbaraga zo kurokora abakuru n'abato.

Dukurikije ubushakashatsi bwakozwe na Ionescu, Rutembesa na Kayiteshonga (2011), uburere bw'ababyeyi, urugero rwiza batanga ni ingenzi mu byubaka umuntu,

bikanatuma abasha kuba intwari.

4. UMUSOZO

Dukurikije ubuhamya dusomye muri iyi nyandiko, kurokora Abatutsi byakozwe n'abantu bakuru nk'igikorwa cyiza kandi cy'ubutwari bakesha umurage mwiza w'ababyeyi babo. Abanyarwanda babivuga neza, bagira bati: "utaganiriye na se ntamenya icyo sekuru yasize avuze". Ababyeyi n'abakuru bafite inshingano zo kuganira hagati y'abo n'abana babo ibyiza bigamije kubaka u Rwanda rwubakiye ku bumwe, ruzira amacakubiri. Nta gusubira na rimwe mu icuraburindi, ahubwo buri wese azirikana ko ibikorwa byiza by'ingirakamaro ari ibanze mu kiba intwari nk'inkingi ya mwamba u Rwanda rwubakiyeho.

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IV. UBUTWARI MU BUYOBOZI BW'U RWANDA SI UMUGANI BIRI MU MURAGE (Igice cya kabiri)

Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin*

1. INTANGIRIRO

U Rwanda rwahanzwe n'Abanyarwanda, bararwagura, baruteza imbere, bararurinda mu binyejana byinshi kugeza ku bukoloni. U Rwanda rwari igihugu gifite ubumwe bw'abaturage bacyo, gikomeye ku bwigenge bwacyo kandi cyubahwa n'ibihugu bigikikije, ahanini kubera ubudahangarwa bw'ingabo zarwo. Ubukoloni buje, u Rwanda rutakaza ubwigenge bwarwo. Ibi twabigarutseho mu buryo burambuye mu gice cya mbere. Mu gice cya kabiri turibanda ku Rwanda mu gihe cyiswe icy'ubwigenge n'ubwo ubisesenguye neza wasanga bwari ubwigenge bwapfubye kubera ko byabaye kwigenga byo kugira ibendera bitari ukugira uburenganzira busesuye bw'Abanyagihugu.

Ubwigenge bwashyizwe mu maboko y'abantu bateguwe n'abakoloni. Guha u Rwanda ubwigenge butazagira icyo bumarira abaturage byakozwe mu nyungu z'abakoloni b'Ababiligi. Kubera kwirengagiza icyo bari bakeneye, abanyapolitiki bo mu ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU n'andi mashyaka byari bihuje gahunda, babonye ubwigenge nk'umwanya wo kwikiza Umwami n'Abatutsi, aho gukemura ibibazo by'Abanyarwanda.

U Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge mu buryo budasanzwe ugereranyije n'ibindi bihugu bituranye narwo. Abahawe ubwigenge n'Ababiligi bategekaga u Rwanda, ntibabushakaga kuko n'imvugo yabo mu mwaka bahabwagamo ubwo bwigenge, intero n'inyikirizo ari "Vive la Belgique" bisobanura "Harakabaho Ububiligi". Ibi binyuranye n'aho abandi baririmbaga basingiza ibihugu byabo, bamagana abakoloni. Ibi byo gusingiza abakoloni na mpatsibihugu ntibyarangiranye na PARMEHUTU kuko amateka yaje kwisubiramo. Muri Kamena 1994, intero n'inyikirizo ya MRND na CDR bakira Abafaransa baje kubatabara, yari "Vive la France bisobanura "Harakabaho Ubufaransa".

** Hon. MUNYAKABERA Faustin umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe*

U Rwanda rubona ubwigenge, amarira n'ibyishimo byaranganaga. Ni cyo Gihugu cyonyine cyabonye ubwigenge cyica kandi cyirukana bamwe mu benegihugu, aribo Abatutsi. U Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge Abatutsi badafite uburenganzira uhereye ku bwo kugira Igihugu, kugeza no ku burenganzira bwo kubaho. Nta buryo bari kubugira ishyaka ryayoboraga Igihugu, PARMEHUTU, ryarashyiriweho kurengera bamwe no gukandamiza abandi.

MRND yasimbuye PARMEHUTU ntacyo yahinduye kuko mu bibazo byagombaga gukemurwa harimo iby'impunzi n'iby'amacakubiri, ariko byarakomeje bigera ku rugamba rwo kwibohora no kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yahitanye inzira karengane zigera kuri miliyoni, yaje guhagarikwa n'ingabo zari iza RPF/RPA muri Nyakanga 1994.

Muri iki gice turitsa cyane kubaranzwe n'ubutwari bagaharanira ko u Rwanda rutagwa umucuri kubera impirimbanyi z'ibigwari zabaye ibikoresho bya ba mpatsibihugu. Turavuga abaranzwe n'ubutwari mpinduramatwara, bakitanga bitagereranywa, bakanyura mu nzira y'inzitane, bagakotana bakabohora u Rwanda ku ngoyi y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bakanahagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi, bakarusana, bakarwubaka, bakaruha icyerekezo gishya, ubu rukaba rwemye, ruganje mu bwigenge nyabwo kandi rwubashywe mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

2. U RWANDA KURI REPUBULIKA YA MBERE N'IYA KABIRI (1962 – 1994)

2.1 Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) : Ingoma yabibye urwango mu Rwanda

Perezida Grégoire Kayibanda

Repubulika ya mbere yavutse mu macakubiri n'imikorere mibi yaranze ubutegetsi bwa gikoloni butashoboye gufasha igihugu kujya mu mpinduramatwara yifuzwaga kandi ari bwo bwari bubifitiye uburyo n'ububasha. Abategetsi bahisemo kubogamira

ku ruhande rumwe bituma imibanire mu mahoro hagati y'Abanyarwanda iba itagishobotse na mba; bikurura imvururu zaviriyemo bamwe mu Batutsi gutotezwa, kuvanwa mu byabo, kwicwa no kwirukanwa mu gihugu cyabo.

Abaparimehutu ntibabonaga u Rwanda nk'Igihugu cy'Abanyarwanda ahubwo bakibonaga nk'Igihugu cy'Abahutu cyihanganira Abatutsi batagira uburenganzira busesuye. Imvugo z'urwango ku Batutsi na politiki yo kubaheza ntibyakorwaga mu ibanga, byavugwaga ku mugaragaro mu magambo mbwirwaruhame, bikandikwa, bikigishwa, bikanaririmbwa.

Abaririmbyi biswe Abanyuramatwi bashyiriweho gukora akazi ko gucengeza mu Banyarwanda ko Igihugu ari icya Gahutu, ko Rwanda ibonye bene yo; Gahutu akaba akwiye kuganza. Geregori Kayibanda wabaye Perezida wa mbere w'u Rwanda rwigenga n'abandi, imvugo nk'izo barazikoresheje kandi kenshi, ku buryo kwanga Abatutsi bari barabibonyemo "indangagaciro".
Ubutegetsi babuhaye icyerekezo cyo kwanga no guheza bamwe mu bana b'u Rwanda.

Ku wa 27 Nzeli 1959, Gitera Yozefu yatangaje amategeko 10 y'Abahutu yashimangiraga ko Umututsi n'Umuhutu badashobora kubana. Itegeko rya nyuma rigasoza rivuga ngo "*Umututsi aragatsindwa mu Rwanda*". Hari n'indi nyandiko Gitera yise "Umunsi mukuru w'ibohorwa ry'Abahutu ku ngoma y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda", yari igamije kwereka Abahutu ko Abatutsi ari bo nkomoko y'ibibi byose, bakaba nta kabuza bagomba kwicwa bakavaho. Iyo nyandiko yayicishije mu kinyamakuru cya "APROSOMA" cyitwaga "Ijwi rya Rubanda rugufi (La voix du menu peuple)" cyo mu Ugushyingo 1959. Dore amwe mu magambo yasohotse muri iyi nyandiko: "*Batutsi ba Gatutsi murashaka kwigenga? Nimwigenge ukwanyu Abahutu bazigenga ukwabo. Muri Abakumunisiti, muri ababuramana, Abahutu tuzakomeza iyacu. Ba Gatutsi mwe, nimugende rwiza*". Nyuma y'iyi nyandiko, ku itariki ya 24 Ukuboza 1959 Abatutsi bamaze iminsi bishwe, icyo gihe Noheli yari iraye iribube, Gitera yasohoye mu Kinyamakuru cya "APROSOMA" Ijwi rya Rubanda rugufi indi nyandiko yagaragazaga ibyishimo yari atewe n'ubwicanyi bwari bwakorewe Abatutsi. Dore amwe mu magambo yari akubiye muri iyo nyandiko: "*Bagufi mwese ndabaramutsa, Aleluya. APROSOMA ishyaka ry'Abahutu turatsinze, Aleluya. Umugome ari ku mugozi, umugomoke ari ku ngoma*". Uyu yabaye Perezida wa mbere w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'u Rwanda ashimirwa uburyo yakije urwango mu Banyarwanda.

Mu nyandiko Jean Baptiste Rwasibo yasohoye tariki ya 17 Ugushyingo 1959 akayita mu rurimi rw'igifaransa "*Pour une durable pacification du Pays*" ugenekereje mu Kinyarwanda ni "*Icyatuma haboneka amahoro arambye mu Rwanda*", yavugaga ko hagomba kujyaho politiki ivana Abatutsi mu myanya yose barimo mu nzego za Leta (Detutsiser les institutions de l'Etat). Dore bimwe mu byavuzwe na Rwasibo muri iyi nyandiko: "*Rubanda Nyamwinshi b'Abahutu bishimiye kuba barihoreye ku bikomerezwa by'abirasi byababakandamizaga (Abatutsi), ariko bakaba bafite ubwoba ko abo banzi babo nabo bazihorera byanze bikunze kuko bazwiho kurangwa n'urwango*

rwinshi no guhora basaba ibintu byinshi". "*Mu butegetsi bw'i Bwami igihe kirageze cyo kuhavana Abatutsi*". "*Mu butegetsi bw'Igihugu birihutirwa gushyiraho abategetsi b'inzibacyuho b'Abahutu muri za Sheferi na su Sheferi (Chefferies na sous Chefferies) bagasimbura Abatutsi bavanyweho, abahunze cyangwa se abazirukanwa mu minsi iri imbere*". "*Mu nkiko zose zo mu gihugu, gushyiramo abacamanza b'Abahutu". "Nihategurwe uburyo bwo gutuza impunzi no gushyiraho igice gituwe n'Abatutsi, ariko tutabivuze ku mugaragaro ngo tunabishyire mu itegeko*". Uwo Rwasibo Jean Baptiste yayoboye Minisiteri zinyuranye mu gihe cya Perezida Kayibanda zirimo iy'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, iy'Umutekano w'imbere mu gihugu n'iy'uburezi.

Ku itariki ya 7 Mutarama 1963, Perezida Geregori Kayibanda yabwiye abagize Inteko Ishinga Amategeko asa n'ubigisha Demokarasi, ko ari ubwenge ari n'umuco bidakwiye kwitirirwa Abatutsi ko ahubwo ari ibyÁbahutu gusa! Yagize ati: "*Ubwenge n'umutima w'Igihugu bigomba guhumeka Demokarasi. Ntimuzabyirengagize bikomeye: ubucurabwenge n'ubusizi ni umuco wo kwa Gahutu ari we mwinshi muri Repubulika yatsindiye demokarasi. Umuziki n'imbyino n'ibindi byari bigiye kwamburwa rubanda, cyangwa bikaba igihakisho cyo guhaka n'ubwenge. Imyuga yo kubaza no kuboha no gutera amabara byari bimaze gututsikazwa: bisigaye byose byitwa danseurs Watutsi. Byari ubuyobe benshi batashoboraga kubona aho bubaroha. Shimwa PARMEHUTU wazamukanye ishyaka ryo kwita mbere kuri benshi ari byo demokarasi, utanze bake; ari byo ukesha igikundiro n'imitsindo. Mu izina ry'Igihugu ndi umubyeyi wa bose ariko umwana urushije abandi ubutwari n'umutima atangwaho urugero*"[10].

Ku itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1967, Perezida Kayibanda yavuze ijambo ku munsi mpuzamahanga w'abakozi, aho yagaragaje ko kuri we na politiki y'ishyaka rye, umuntu n'umukozi bisobanura Umuhutu gusa. Hari aho yagize ati: "*Uyu munsi uributsa umuturage wese ko umurengwe ari wo wakabuye abakozi ba mbere baharaniye ishyaka ry'icyubahiro gikwiriye umukozi; mbese nk'uko ubwirasi bwa gihake bwahagurukije Gahutu. Umurengwe wa bake bakize iyo uje kubibagiza ko Gahutu ashaka demokarasi, uhindukamo icyorezo kurusha Ruzagayura. Ariko kandi: abakuru ntimuribagirwa ko twayikijijwe n'uko Gahutu yahagurutse akarushaho gushishikarira gukora...aho Gahutu ari hose akaba atarajijuka bikwiriye kumbabaza nkamufasha uko nshoboye kose*".

Iyo Perezida Kayibanda avuga nka Perezida w'Igihugu, yari gutekereza Umunyarwanda wese utajijutse, cyangwa udakora uko bikwiriye. Ariko kuri we, yatekerezaga bamwe aribo Abahutu, kuko abandi aribo Abatutsi basaga n'abatabaho. Gushimangira ko yatekerezaga bamwe akirengagiza abandi, ubisanga no mu ijambo rye yavuze ku munsi mpuzamahanga w'abakozi ku itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1968 aho hari aho yagize ati: "*Ubu kuvuga Umuhutu bikwiye kuvuga umuntu uzi gukorana umwete, ubwenge n'umurava, azamura urugo rwe n'Igihugu cye*". Ubundi izi ni imvugo zidakwiye ku muyobozi w'Igihugu ariko muri icyo gihe mu Rwanda ni byo byari byemewe.

10 Professeur Laurent Nkusi, "Exacerbations ethniques dans les discours du Président Grégoire Kayibanda", ikiganiro cyatanzwe mu nama mpuzamahanga (Symposium "15 years after the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Stakes, challenges and future prospects")

Politiki y'amacakubiri ntiyahagaze yarakomeje, ubwigenge bukomeza gufatwa nko guheza Abatutsi mu gihugu cyabo. U Rwanda rwizihiza ubwigenge ku nshuro ya 10 muri Nyakanga 1972, Leta yasohoye agatabo kitwa "Ingingo z'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda", kavugaga inzira u Rwanda rwanyuzemo muri iyo myaka. Igitekerezo cy'uko Abatutsi ari abanyamahanga cyarashimangiwe cyane, babita ko ari abantu baje "*bahobagira inyuma y'imirizo y'inka zabo, bakaza gutera ibibazo mu Rwanda*".

Ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere bwahiritswe ku ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, bwari bumaze kunanirwa kubera amacakubiri PARMEHUTU yubakiyeho aka wa mugani uvuga ko: "*Umugezi w'isuri wisiba*"

2.2 Repubulika ya kabiri (1973-1994): ingoma yashimangiye urwango mu Banyarwanda

Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana

Repubulika ya kabiri yatangiye iririmba amahoro, ubumwe n'amajyambere ariko mu by'ukuri ubumwe bavugaga muri disikuru nyinshi z'icyo gihe bwari bujyanye n'ibibazo by'Uturere, naho ubumwe bw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bwo ntibwari bwitaweho. Ku Batutsi benshi muri bacye bari bararokotse, ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda bwari bumereye nabi, disikuru za Perezida Habyarimana zabahaga icyizere. Ntibatekerezaga ko yagumanye umurage w'ingengabitekerezo ya politiki ya Perezida Kayibanda na Parmehutu yarushijeho kunogereza.

Nyuma y'imyaka 10, kutemerwa kw'Abatutsi mu Rwanda byarakomeje. Muri 1982, u Rwanda rumaze imyaka 20 rwitwa ko rwigenga, ni bwo Perezida Milton Obote wa Uganda yirukanye impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zari muri icyo gihugu. Bageze mu Rwanda, Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana aho kubakira, yanze kubemera nk'abenegihugu bayo ibaheza mu gihirahiro bahinduka abatagira igihugu "***Stateless***"; ubutegetsi bwa MRND ya Habyarimana bubabuza epfo na ruguru.

Uko kubuza Abatutsi uburenganzira ku Gihugu cyabo, ubusumbane mu mibereho n'iringaniza ry'amoko n'Uturere byarushijeho kurenza urugero ari nabyo byabanjirije ingorane za politiki zo muri 1990 zaje guhitana ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana

na MRND butari bugifata «impunzi z'Abatutsi nk'Abanyarwanda"[11].

Ni kimwe mu byatumye hatangira urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwatangijwe na FPR-Inkotanyi tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Mu micungire y'intambara n'ingaruka zayo, ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwitaye cyane cyane ku kurengera abari ku butegetsi kurusha kurengera abaturage muri rusange, hakoreshwa politiki y'amoko n'iyo kubeshyera amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe na MRND, bitwa ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Haje kuba imishyikirano hagati y'amashyaka yari mu butegetsi bw'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi. Mu mwaka wa 1992, Perezida Habyarimana yari yaratangaje ko amasezerano yategurwaga Arusha muri Tanzaniya "ari impapuro gusa" nk'uko byavuzwe na André Guichaoua[12], umuhanga mu mibanire y'abantu (sociologue) wakurikiranaga iby'Akarere k'Ibiyaga Bigari.

Ku itariki ya 9 Mutarama 1993, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora wari mu mishyikirano Arusha, ubwo hari hamaze gusinywa igice cy'amasezerano kirebana no kugabana ubutegetsi, yasohotse mu nama arakaye cyane, maze mu mvugo ikarishye agira ati: "*Ndatashye ngiye gutegura imperuka (Apocalypse*)". Yari yababajwe cyane n'uko Ishyaka rya MRND ryari ryahawe imyanya 5 y'Abaminisitiri mu myanya 21 muri Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho n'Abadepite 11 kuri 70 bari bagize Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'Inzibacyuho. Bagosora ntiyabyemeraga na gato ndetse agashinja Ngurinzira Boniface, wari Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga icyo gihe, kuba yaragurishije igihugu. Iyi mvugo ya Bagasora ntibwari ubwa mbere ikoreshwa[13].

Mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ayo masezerano, tariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1993 FPR yohereje abasirikare 600 i Kigali ku Ngoro yitwaga CND (Ingoro y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko ubu) baje kurinda abanyapolitiki bayo nk'uko byateganywaga n'ayo masezerano. Abakurikiranaga ibya politiki bavuga ko Perezida Habyarimana atari yishimiye aya masezerano kuko yamburaga ububasha bunyuranye ibiro bye akabuha Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho ari nayo mpamvu yakomeje kuyananiza ntiyashyirwa mu bikorwa igihe cyari cyagenwe.

Umwuka wakomeje kuba mubi mu baturage ari nako umutekano urushaho kuba muke, birangira abahezanguni b'intagondwa z'Abahutu bari mu butegetsi bwa Habyarimana bateguye bakanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994, inzirakarengane zisaga miliyoni zihatakariza ubuzima, igihugu kiba umuyonga.

Aharindimuka u Rwanda rwari rugeze, byasabaga Umutabazi w'Imbonekeragihe

11 Le Soir yo ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1990, isubira mu magambo ya Perezida Habyarimana ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ikagira iti:Nta myanya dufite yo kubatuza. Bari bakwiye gukuraho izina impunzi maze bagashobora kubona ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda cyangwa bwa Zayire. Bashobora kujya baza mu Rwanda by'igihe gito, mu biruhuko bagasura imiryango yabo".

12 Guichaoua A., Rwanda : De la guerre au genocide, Paris, Editions La découverte, 2010,

13 Iyi mvugo yakoreshejwe bwa mbere na Perezida Kayibanda, mu ijambo yavugiye kuri radiyo Rwanda ku itariki ya 11 Werurwe 1964, nyuma y'igitero cy'Inyenzi cyari cyaragabwe mu Bugesera ku wa 21 Ukuboza 1963, kigabwe na bamwe mu mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda baturutse i Burundi.

urukebanura rukongera kubaho, akarukura ibuzimu akarushyira ibuntu, umushinga wo kurwubaka ukongera kugira ubuzima. Uwo yaje kuba Kagame Paul.

3. Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda: Umuyobozi mpinduramatwara, ishingiro ry'agaciro k'umunyarwanda, Perezida Paul Kagame

Perezida Paul Kagame

Kagame Paul yavutse ku wa 23 Ukwakira 1957, avukira ahahoze ari Komini Tambwe muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama, ubu ni mu Mudugudu wa Nyagatovu, Akagari ka Buhoro, Umurenge wa Ruhango mu Karere ka Ruhango, Intara y'Amajyepfo. Ni mwene Rutagambwa Déogratias na Bisinda Asteriya.

Ubwo ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bwatangiraga muri 1959, "yahunganye n'ababyeyi n'abavandimwe be, bahungira mu gihugu cya Uganda"[14].

Yabayeho kimwe n'izindi mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda. Babayeho mu buzima buruhije kandi busuzuguritse, burimo ibibazo by'ubukene, indwara, kutiga neza kandi batabuze ubwenge, kutabona akazi kandi batabuze ubushobozi no gutotezwa kubera ko ari impunzi bikozwe na za Leta mu bihugu bari barahungiyemo. Kubera kurwana ishyaka ry'igihugu no gukomeza gushaka uburyo bazakabya inzozi zo kuzataha mu gihugu cyabo cy'amavuko, Kagame Paul, kimwe n'inshuti ye magara Gisa Fred Rwigema, batangiye gushaka amaboko mu gihugu barimo nk'impunzi, yazabafasha gutahuka mu gihugu cyababyaye. Mu mwaka wa 1981, bari kumwe n'abandi 27 barimo Abanyarwanda n'Abagande berekeje iy'ishyamba bajya gutangiza urugamba rwo kubohora Uganda ku butegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Milton Obote. Bari bayobowe na Yoweli Kaguta Museveni. Urugamba rwo kubohora Uganda rushoje, yahawe inshingano zikomeye mu ngabo za Uganda agirwa Umuyobozi wungirije mu kigo cy'ubutasi.

14 Soudan F., L'HOMME DE FER Conversations avec Paul Kagame Président du Rwanda, France, 2015, pp.24-27

3.1 Urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (1 Ukwakira 1990 – 4 Nyakanga 1994)

Ingabo zakuye u Rwanda ahaga (photo internet)

Ku wa 1 Ukwakira 1990, ingabo za FPR – Inkotanyi/RPA zari ziyobowe na Maj. Gen. Gisa Fred Rwigema, zatangiye urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda zinjiriye i Kagitumba. Fred Rwigema wari uyoboye urugamba yarashwe ku munsi wa kabiri w'igitero arapfa bituma ingabo yari ayoboye zishoberwa. Icyo gihe Kagame Paul ntiyari ahari, yari "mu masomo ya gisirikare muri Amerika"[15]. Amaze kumenya iyo nkuru y'incamugongo, yahagaritse amasomo yakurikiranaga, asanga abandi ku rugamba[16]. Yahise agirirwa icyizere cyo kuyobora urugamba nk'Umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi/RPA (Chairman of the High Command).

Yageze ku rugamba mu kwezi k'Ukwakira hagati, agarurira imitima impembero abasirikare ba RPA bari basigaye bameze nk'impehe; asubukura urugamba, ahindura uburyo bwo kurwana bava mu "*ntambara yo guhangana imbona nkubone*"[17] kandi umwanzi yarabarushaga imbaraga cyane, hatangira gukoreshwa "*amayeri ya kinyeshyamba*"[18] aho mutakaza abasirikare bake kandi umwanzi ukamukuraho intwaro uko bishoboka.

Ntibyanatinze urugamba arwimurira mu misozi miremire yo mu Majyaruguru n'Ibirunga, bahunga imirambi y'u Mutara aho Inzirabwoba zabashaga kubarasa no kuhageza ibibunda bya rutura bitazigoye, kandi mu Mutara, kubera imiterere yaho, byari bigoye kubona aho wakwihisha. Kwimurira urugamba mu Birunga byabimburiwe n'igitero cya Gatuna cyatunguye cyane Inzirabwoba, zibwiraga ko Inkotanyi zatsinzwe uruhenu nk'uko babivugaga mu bitangazamakuru, zirararaswa, zihasiga benshi bapfuye abandi bafatwa mpiri zinahatakariza ibikoresho bya gisirikare byinshi. Gatuna imaze kuraswa, Inkotanyi zasubije imitima mu gitereko, icyizere cyo gukomeza urugamba kiragaruka.

15 Soudan F., 2015, op.cit, pp. 46-48
16 Idem, p. 49-51
17 Conventional war
18 Guerrilla tactics

Urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu rwarakomeje ndetse rurakara cyane, Perezida Habyarimana igitutu kimubanye cyinshi yemera imishyikirano ya Arusha yatangiye mu mwaka wa 1992 n'ubwo byaje kugaragara ko yari yayemeye bya nyirarureshwa.

Icyo iyi nyandiko igamije si ukuvuga "*uko urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwagenze*"[19]; ikigenderewe ni ukugaragaza umuhati, kwihangana, kugaragaza ukuri, ubumuntu, kugira impuhwe, umutima ukomeye, kurwana ishyaka, kunamba, kutemera gutsindwa, kutagamburuzwa n'amananiza, kwanga kugwabira, kurenga amarangamutima, kugira igitinyiro no kutavugirwamo, gushyira imbere inyungu rusange kurusha ize bwite, kutavangura, ubwitange buhebuje, gushishoza, kureba kure n'ubuhanga byaranze Paul Kagame muri uru rugamba kuva rutangira kugera rugeze ku musozo.

Nk'uko akunze kubyivugira ubwe, Kagame Paul ni "*umuntu usanzwe ariko washoboye kwihanganira ibihe bidasanzwe*"[20] bityo aba "*umuntu w'ibihe bidasanzwe kandi umuntu ukenewe mu gihe gikwiye*"[21].

3.2 Urugamba rwo gusana igihugu no kugarura umutekano usesuye (1994 – 2000)

Urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rumaze gusozwa no kugera ku ntego zarwo, hahise hatekerezwa uko igihugu cyakongera kwisuganya nyuma yo gutentebuka no kugwabira.

Ku wa 19 Nyakanga 1994 ni bwo hashyizweho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yiswe iy'inzibacyuho. Ibibazo bikomeye by'ubukungu n'iby'imibereho byatewe n'intambara na Jenoside ni byo Guverinoma y'Ubumwe yazunguye. Ibikorwa remezo byari byarangiritse bikabije, umuryango nyarwanda warapfushije abarenga miliyoni, abandi Banyarwanda barenga miliyoni ebyiri bari mu buhungiro mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda cyane cyane Zayire, Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo ubu; abajya kungana nabo baragiye mu gace ka Turukwaze (zone turquoise) no mu tundi duce tw'igihugu. Abenshi mu bari bamaze gucika ku icumu bari barahungabanye, imiryango yabo yari yarazimye cyangwa yaratatanye.

Hagati ya 1994 na 2000, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagombye gushyira imbaraga nyinshi cyane mu bikorwa bijyanye no gusana igihugu, ishyiraho kandi na politiki na porogaramu zigamije kuzahura ubukungu bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza. Izo gahunda zombi ni zo zayoboye ibikorwa bya Guverinoma ibifashijwemo n'imiryango mpuzamahanga.

19 Uwashaka kumenya birambuye uko urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda no guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi rwagenze yasoma igitabo cya Ndahiro Logan cyitwa "Inzira y'inzitane yo kwibohora kw'Abanyarwanda" cyasohotse muri 2018.

20 Paul Kagame et la résilience d'un peuple, Paris, LES EDITIONS DU JAGUAR, 2010, p.95
21 Revue Dialogue N⁰ 191, Une révolution en marche, MINESPOC, Kigali, Juillet 2010, p. 11

Kubera ko Guverinoma yiyise iy'abatabazi yagiyeho ku ya 9 Mata 1994, yateguye ikanakora Jenoside, yari yaratwaye abaturage ikabafata bugwate, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda nta mahitamo yari ifite uretse gucyura impunzi no kugarura mu byabo abo bari baratataniye imbere mu gihugu.

Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1996, byabaye ngombwa ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zambuka muri Zayire, Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo ubu, guhashya interahamwe n'abasirikare batsinzwe (ex-FAR) batasibaga kugaruka guhungabanya umutekano w'u Rwanda bavuye mu nkambi bari barahungiyemo zari zarashyizwe ku mupaka hafi y'u Rwanda kandi ubundi bitemewe mu mategeko mpuzamahanga. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zatahukanye intsinzi, Abanyarwanda benshi bari baragizwe ingwate bataha mu rwababyaye, binaviramo Mobutu wari Perezida wa Zayire gutakaza ubutegetsi. Ntibyarangiriye aho kuko ubutegetsi bwa Laurent Désiré Kabila wasimbuye Mobotu butabaniye neza u Rwanda bikaba byaratumye ingabo z'u Rwanda zongera gusubira muri Kongo muri 1998 guhashya abanzi b'u Rwanda bari baribumbiye mu cyo bise FDLR[22] kandi bashyigikiwe n'ibihugu by'ibihangange[23].

Muri izi gahunda zo gusana igihugu no kukigaruramo umutekano usesuye, n'ubwo Kagame Paul atari Perezida, ntawashidikanya ko yazigizemo uruhare rutaziguye kandi rw'ibanze kuko yari Visi Perezida wa Repubulika abifatanyije no kuba Minisitiri w'Ingabo hakiyongeraho kuba Chairman w'Umuryango FPR-Inkotanyi, yari ku isonga ry'izi gahunda.

3.3 Urugamba rw'iterambere ry'igihugu (Kuva mu mwaka wa 2000 kugeza ubu no gukomeza)

Ubwo Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yari irimbanyije mu kuzuza inshingano zayo, igihe cyarageze bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru b'igihugu barimo uwari Umukuru w'igihugu, Pasteur Bizimungu, uwari Perezida w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'Inzibacyuho, Sebarenzi Joseph n'uwari Minisitiri w'Intebe, Petero Celestini Rwigema batangira kwegura kubera kunanirwa.

Tariki ya 22 Mata 2000 ni bwo Kagame Paul yarahiriye kuyobora u Rwanda nk'Umukuru w'Igihugu agomba gusoza inzibacyuho hakabaho amatora. Ku wa 23 Kanama 2003, habayeho amatora ku buryo busesuye yo gusoza inzibacyuho, tariki ya 12 Nzeli 2003 Kagame Paul arahirira kuyobora u Rwanda.

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22 **Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda**

23 **Imbwirwaruhame za General James Kabalebe**

Urugamba rwo guteza imbere igihugu twarwanzikira mu mwaka wa 2000 ku cyerekezo 2020[24]. Kwiha icyerekezo ni ikintu kimwe, kukigeraho ni ikindi. Muri uru rugendo u Rwanda rumazemo imyaka 20, ibyari inzozi mu ntangiriro, byababaye impamo ubu amaso tuyahanze icyerekezo 2050[25].

Ubutwari n'ubuhangange Kagame Paul yagaragaje ubwo yabohoraga u Rwanda ku ngoyi y'amacakubiri yari yararuboshye igihe kirekire akaza no kuvamo amahano ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, ni nawo muhati n'ubwitange yakoresheje mu kubaka u Rwanda mu bihe bishya, arugira u Rwanda rufite ubukaka n'ubwemarare kandi ruhamije igitinyiro, igihugu amahanga yose atangarira, abenshi bakamaranira kukizamo gukora ingendo shuri kugira ngo bumve neza iyo nkuru y'itsinzi Nyafrika "*success African story*"[26] bityo nabo bajye kubikora iwabo.

Ntabwo ubwamamare n'ibigwi bye bigarukira mu Rwanda gusa byarenze imipaka. *"Azwi kandi nk'umwe mu Bakuru b'Ibihugu bakomeye mu Karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari no muri Afurika yose muri rusange; uruhare afite mu Muryango wa Afurika Yunze Ubumwe no muri NEPAD[27] ruragaragara cyane"*[28]. Ibyo yakoze mu mavugurura y'Umuryango wa Afurika yunze Ubumwe byatangariwe na benshi.

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24 .Icyerekezo 2020 ni inyandiko y'amapaji 42 n'imigereka irimo. Muri icyo Cyerekezo, Leta y'u Rwanda yihaye intego 3 z'ingenzi zikurikira : Kubaka ubukungu rusange butajegajega no kongera umutungo hagamijwe kugabanya uruhare rw'imfashanyo ; guhindura ubukungu bushingiye ku buhinzi bukaba ubushingiye ku bumenyi no kugira icyiciro cy'abaturage benshi bari mu bikorwa byongera ubukungu ; guteza imbere ubushobozi bwo kwihangira imirimo. Kuri izi ntego hiyongeraho inkingi 6 : Ubuyobozi bwiza na Leta ifite ubushobozi ; iterambere ry'ubukungu bushingiye ku bantu bafite ubushobozi no ku bumenyi ; iterambere rishyigikiwe n'abikorera ; iterambere ry'ibikorwa remezo ; ubuhinzi bw'inyongeragaciro bushingiye ku isoko ; kwinjira mu rusobe rw'ubukungu rwo mu Karere n'urwo mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Iki cyerekezo 2020 gifite n'imbariro 3 : Uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo ; kubungabunga umutungo kamere n'ibidukikije ; ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga harimo ikoranabuhanga mu itumanaho (ICT). Icyerekezo 2020 kiri mu nyandiko zakozwe mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa imyanzuro yavuye mu nama zagiye zibera muri Village Urugwiro hagati y'umwaka wa 1998 na 1999.

25 Iki cyerekezo kigizwe n'ibice bibiri : Kimwe kigizwe n'imyaka 15 ya mbere ni ukuvuga kugera muri 2035 aho u Rwanda ruzaba rufite nibura umusaruro mbumbe ubariye ku muturage usaga gato ibihumbi 4 by'amadolari ya Amerika ; n'imyaka 15 izakurikira aho muri 2050 u Rwanda ruzaba rugeze ku rwego rw'ibihugu byateye imbere uko tubizi uyu munsi, ni ukuvuga nibura ibihumbi 12 by'amadolari ku muturage.

26 Soudan F., 2015, op.cit, p.5

27 The New Partnership for Africa's Development

28 Uma Shankar Jha Surya Narayan Yadav, RWANDA Towards Reconciliation, Good Governance and Development, New Delhi, 2003, p.

Amwe mu mafoto agaragaza iterambere ry'u Rwanda:

Umujyi wa Kigali mu miturirwa ikabakaba ibicu (Photo internet)

Igishushanyo mbonera cy'Umujyi wa Kigali mu cyerekezo 2050 (Photo internet)

Ibitaro bya Shyira

Umudugugudu w'icyitegererezo wa Kinigi

Ishuri Rwanda Coding Academy ryubatse muri Nyabihu (Photo Internet)

Kigali Arena yakira amarushanwa mpuzamahanga y'imikino y'intoki (Photo internet)

Rwandair, fly the dream of Africa.

Bugesera International Airport

Kigali Convention Centre & Radisson Blu

Kigali Marriot Hotel

Bisate Lodge in Rwanda

Izi hotels (5 Stars) zo ku rwego mpuzamahanga: Kigali Convention Centre na Radisson Blu, Kigali Marriot Hotel, Bisate Lodge n'izindi nka Nyungwe Forest Lodge, Kivu Marina Bay Hotel, Singita Kwitonda Lodge na Serena Hotel Kigali zifasha u Rwanda mu kwakira inama mpuzamahanga no guteza imbere ubukerarugendo. Kugira igikorwaremezo nka Kigali Arena harimo kureba kure.

Zimwe mu mbwirwaruhame za Perezida Kagame Paul zigaragaza ko nta kindi kimuraje ishinga kitari agaciro k'Umunyarwanda n'agaciro k'u Rwanda:

✓ "*Twebwe nk'Abanyarwanda rero ntabwo twapfa kabiri, twapfuye rimwe, ibyo birahagije, byaba ari ishyano gupfa bwa kabiri, ntidushobora kubyemera. (…..) Ntabwo dushaka Abanyarwanda bafite umutekano, ariko badafite ibyo kubatunga, bakicwa n'indwara zitica abandi (……) Nta Munyarwanda ndumva avuga ko yifuza kwiririwa ubusa akarara ubusa*". (Ijambo yagejeje ku Banyarwanda n'inshuti zabo bahuriye muri Rwanda Day yabereye Toronto muri Canada tariki ya 28 Nzeri 2013);

✓ "*Niba inyungu ufite ari izo gusenya u Rwanda, sinjye wagutinya kandi ari jye ururinda; igihe narahiriraga kuyobora u Rwanda, nasinyiye guhangana n'abafite imigambi yo kugambanira Igihugu, ingaruka mbi zikagarukira kuri bo bonyine. (…..) Imana iduha ingufu zo kubaka ibyiza, ariko iduha n'ingufu zo kubirinda. Ntuzagambanira u Rwanda ngo ubikire. (…..) Gutatira igihango cy'u Rwanda urabizira. Gutenguha igihugu, kwifuriza Abanyarwanda inabi birakugaruka*» (Mu ijambo yagejeje ku bitabiriye amasengesho yiswe "Prayer breakfast» yo gushima Imana no kuyitura gahunda z'umwaka wa 2014 yabaye ku cyumweru tariki ya 12 Mutarama 2014) ;

✓ «*Nyuma y'umwaka wa 1994, buri kintu cyose cyari ingenzi. Abanyarwanda bari*

barazahaye. Ariko twahisemo ibintu bitatu by'ingenzi tugenderaho na n'uyu munsi. Icyambere : Twahisemo ubumwe, kuguma turi umwe aho gucikamo ibice. (……) Icya kabiri : Twahisemo ko twebwe ubwacu kwihitiramo ibitubereye kandi ibyo dukora bikagaragarira abo bikorerwa. (…..) Icya gatatu : Twahisemo kureba kure. " ***(***Tariki ya 7 Mata 2014 mu ijambo yagejeje ku mbaga y'Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga hatangizwa icyumweru cyo kwibuka ku nshuro ya 20 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi***) ;***

- ✓ *" Nta muntu ushobora kuguha agaciro (No one else can give you dignity), agaciro ni ukukiha kuko ni uburenganzira bwanyu kandi biri mu bushobozi bwanyu. Bikwiye rero kuba no mu bushake bwanyu kugira ngo mubigereho*» ; (Mu ijambo yavuze muri Rwanda Day yabereye Atlanta muri USA tariki ya 22 Nzeri 2014) ;

- ✓ " *Ndi Umuhutu, ndi Umututsi no mu mahanga ntibikora, uwo bumva ni uvuga ati : Ndi Umunyarwanda*. (…..) *Tugomba kwimenya ; ni ukuvuga ngo ntabwo tubeshwaho n'uko hari udukunze, tubeshwaho n'uko ari uburenganzira bwacu. Nta wundi muntu ushinzwe kukugenera uko ubaho, uwo hanze. Ni twe twigenera mu bwumvikane, mu nama dushobora kujya kugira ngo twumvikane ibyatugirira akamaro" **(***Tariki ya 8 Kamena 2017 Rwanda Day 2017, mu ijambo yagejeje ku Banyarwanda batuye mu Bubiligi no mu bindi bihugu by'i Burayi n'inshuti zabo, nyuma y'inama mpuzamahanga y'u Burayi ku bufatanye mu iterambere (EDD 2017) yabereye i Buruseli mu Bubiligi***)*** ;

- ✓ " *U Rwanda ntabwo ari ingunguru, nta n'ubwo rukwiye kuba ingunguru. Hari ikirimo. Hari ikiturimo. Hari agaciro duha abantu, hari n'indangagaciro ziturange*» ; ***(***Mu ijambo yagejeje ku bitabiriye Ihuriro rya 11 rya Unit Club Intwararumuri, hashimirwa Abarinzi b'Igihango, tariki ya 20 Ukwakira 2018***)*** ;

- ✓ " *Ntabwo twarwaniye guciririka, twarwaniye kuba ab'Agaciro ko hejuru* " ! ***(***Mu ijambo yagejeje ku bari bateraniye muri Petit Stade ku wa 4 Nyakanga 2020 ubwo hizihizwaga umunsi wo kwibohora ku nshuro ya 26).

UMUSOZO

Iyi nyandiko yibanze ku mateka amwe y'ubuyobozi mu Rwanda, ubwa Repubulika ya mbere, iya kabiri n'iy'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ni urugendo rwatujyanye mu gihe cyashize cyaranzwe na politiki y'amacakubiri, no mu gihe cy'ubu kirangwa n'ubumwe n'agaciro by'Abanyarwanda ; yewe no mu gihe kizaza. Impamvu tuvuze no mu gihe kizaza, ni uko iyi nyandiko urubyiruko rwashishikarizwa kuyisoma no gusesengura kurushaho ibyo tutagezeho kuko byose bitari kuvugwa, bakavoma ingero nziza bazifashisha ejo kubera ko ari bo bayobozi b'ejo hazaza bazageza u Rwanda ku cyerekezo 2050 na nyuma yaho.

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V. TUMENYE INGAMBA Y'INTORE N'UMUCO W'UBUTWARI

BAKUSI Alphonse*

Ijambo ***ingamba*** rifite uburyo butandukanye risanzwe ryumvikanamo. Muri iyi nyandiko, iryo jambo rivugwamo rihuzwa n'irindi jambo ***Intore*** rikaba ***Ingamba y'Intore*** rikoreshwa mu Itorero ry'Igihugu rigasobanura Itsinda ry'abatuye Umudugudu riremwa hashingwe ku cyiciro cy'imyaka y'abarigize. Abagize Ingamba y'Intore baba bahuje icyiciro cy'imyaka y'ubukure bikoroha kugena ibyo batozwa n'uburyo babitozwa. Ubu buryo bwo gutoreza mu ngamba y'Intore, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero yabushyizeho mu mwaka wa 2018 hagamijwe kunoza gutoreza abantu mu mudugudu, bituma buri wese aho aherereye hakurikijwe ubukure bwe, yumva akanagira uruhare ku rugerero rwo kwigira, kwihesha agaciro no kwikura mu bukene byubakiye kandi ku muco n'amateka by'u Rwanda. Ingamba y'Intore yisanga mu Isibo y'Intore nayo yisanga mu Itorero ry'Umudugudu. Amazina y'Ingamba z'Intore n'imyaka y'ubukure y'abazigize n'iby'ingenzi mu byo batozwa biteye bitya:

1. ***Ibirezi :*** Ni Ingamba y'Intore igizwe n'abana bagisamwa kugeza ku myaka 5.

Gutoza iyo Ngamba y'Intore bisaba gutangira gutoza ababyeyi n'umuryango bategereje umwana kandi yamara kuvuka akitabwaho ahabwa uburere bukwiye. Abo babyeyi batozwa kugira isuku, gufungura neza, kwirinda itabi n'ibisindisha, intonganya n'ihohotera igihe umwana akiri mu nda. Umwana akivuka agiririrwa isuku, aronswa, arakingirwa, avugirizwa ubuhuha, abwirwa imvugo imuremamo urukundo n'icyizere; yatangira kuvuga agatozwa kuvuga u Rwanda n'intwari zarwo.
Mu ntekerezo z'abakurambere kandi n'ubu nibyo, umwana apfira mu iterura, izijya guhona zihera mu ruhongore, uburere buruta ubuvuke. Gutoza indangangaciro z'umuco nyarwanda bihabwa imbaraga muri icyo cyiciro cy'imyaka, ibikurikiraho byose ni muri icyo kigero byubakiraho.

2. ***Imbuto :*** Ni Ingamba y'Intore igizwe n'abana bagimbutse bafite imyaka 6-12.

Ubusanzwe ni n'abana bari mu mashuri abanza. Batozwa kubana n'abandi, ikinyabupfura no kugira indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda binyuze mu bisigo, mu migani, mu byivugo, mu mikino, mu ndirimbo n'imbyino, kumenya intwari z'u Rwanda n'ibigwi byazo, mu mpanuro z'ababyeyi no gucyahwa. Banatozwa ubumenyi bw'ibanze ku buzima bw'imyororokere bakanakundishwa imirimo yo mu kigero cyabo.

3. ***Indirirarugamba*** : Ni Ingamba y'Intore igizwe n'abamaze gukura bafite hagati y'imyaka 13 na 18.

Ni icyiciro kiva mu bwana kijya mu bukuru. Abakigize batorezwa mu mirimo bakora, no kwibwiriza mu byo bakora. Batozwa kandi kumenya u Rwanda, ibigwi byarwo n'Intwari zarwo, kurukunda no kururwanira ishyaka kandi bakagira inshingano zo kubitoza ingamba z'Intore bakuriye. N'ubwo ari abana ariko ni na bakuru bo kwirinda no kurinda u Rwanda".

**BAKUSI Alphonse ni Umuyobozi w'Ishami rishinzwe kwimakaza umuco w'Ubutore muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero*

4. Indahangarwa : Ni Ingamba y'Intore igizwe n'icyiciro cy'ubukure gifite hagati y' imyaka 19 na 35. Abari muri iki cyiciro nibo bakora cyane bakikungahaza, bagakungahaza imiryango n' Igihugu. Bigatuma Igihugu kidatega amaboko gitegereje ak'imuhana. Abari muri iki cyiciro batozwa kugira ishyaka rishakira u Rwanda imbuto n'amaboko, kumenya no gusesengura ibigwi by'u Rwanda n'Intwari zarwo no kuzigiraho. Batorezwa kandi ku Rugerero, kurinda ibyagezweho, kwigira no kwihesha agaciro binubakiye ku mateka n'umurage by'u Rwanda

5. ***Ingobokarugamba :*** Ni Ingamba y'Intore igizwe n'icyiciro cy'abakuze bafite imyaka iri hagati ya 36 na 55.

Abagize iki cyciro baba bamaze kwiyubakamo ubumenyi n'ubuhanga bibafasha gukora neza ibyo bashinzwe no gutoza ingamba bakuriye kuko bakiri ku rugerero rwo kubaka u Rwanda no gukorana n'abato baberekera. Batozwa kuba "nkore neza bandebereho" no kugira ishyaka ryo kugoboka aho bakenewe, kurangwa n'ubutwari, kubaka umuco wo kunoza umurimo unoze n'imiyoborere ihamye mu ruhererekane rw'abantu.

6. ***Inararibonye:*** Ni Ingamba y'abakuze bafite imyaka 56 n'irenzeho.

Abagize iki cyiciro cy'ubukure baba baranyuze muri byinshi ku buryo bashobora kugereranya ibihe bitandukanye, bakagira inama ingamba bakuriye. Bari mu kigero cyo kuba hafi y'ababyiruka bahabwa inshingano bakanabatoza umurage w'u Rwanda kugira ngo ufashe kubaka mu bihe barimo n'iby'ejo hazaza. Ni abahuza b'ababayeho n'abariho mu kurema n'abazaza kuko babubakamo umuco wo kunoza umurimo n'imiyoborere ihamye mu ruhererekane rw'abantu. Kumenya byinshi ku mateka y' u Rwanda no kuyageza ku Ingamba bakuriye biri mu byo bazigisha nk'inararibonye.

Buri mwaka, ikigero cy'ubukure cya buri wese kiba cyiyongereyeho undi mwaka bivuze ko hari abava mu ngamba y'Intore bakimukira mu yindi. Ibyo bikorwa mu muhango wihariye witwa « ***Kwimuka mu ngamba*** » uba buri mwaka Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero yatangije umwaka wa 2020 ikaba ikomeza kuwushyiramo imbaraga ngo ugire ireme.

Uwo muhango wo Kwimuka mu ngamba wibanda ku bikorwa iyo ngamba yagezeho bifitiye akamaro aho ituye, imurikira abandi. Byumvikane ko n'ubwo abantu bishimira ikigero cy'ubukure bagezeho icyangombwa cyane cyishimirwa kinaratirwa izindi ngamba ***ari ibigwi Ingamba yagezeho.*** Muri iki gihe ibigwi bikaba birebwa mu buryo bwagutse haba mu biva mu buhinzi n'ubworozi bimenyerewe, haba mu bizanwa n'aho isi igeze muri iki gihe nk'ikoranabuhanga n'undi musaruro uturuka ku bumenyi bwa none. Kandi na none Ingamba z'Intore zikiri mu myaka mito nk'Ibirezi n'Imbuto zibifashwamo cyane n'abatoza bazo.

Mu rugendo rwo gutoza hategurwa ***Umunyarwanda ukunda Igihugu, ukunda umurimo unoze, ufite indangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco nyarwanda kandi ufite umuco w'ubutore.*** Izi Ngamba z'Intore zubatse mu buryo bw'uruhererekane bwuzuzanya kuko Ingamba ibanza ihereza iyikurikiye kugeza umunyarwanda abaye inararibonye.

Mu buryo bwihariye, izi ngamba z'Intore zifasha abazigize:

1. Kumenya no gusobanukirwa imigambi y'Igihugu n'uburyo bwo kuyigeraho;

2. Kwigirira icyizere cyo kwikemurira ibibazo no kwihesha agaciro;

3. Kuba Intore zibereye Igihugu zigaragara mu byiciro byose kandi zikaba umusemburo w'impinduka nziza;

4. Kugira umuco w'ubwitange mu gukorera u Rwanda;

5. Kugira ishyaka n'ishema byo guhiga no guhigura, kwivuga ibigwi no kuba indashyikirwa muri byose.

Aha ni naho uwo muco wo kwitangira abandi no kwitangira u Rwanda wirema hakiri kare muri urwo rugendo rwo gutoreza mu ngamba y'Intore ukazagenda ubyara umuco w'ubutwari wajya ugaragarira mu bikorwa bitandukanye bigamije kubaka Igihugu n'umuryango.

INYANDIKO YIFASHISHIJWE

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero, Imfashanyigisho y'Umutoza w'Ingamba y'Intore, Ugushyingo 2018

VI. IMPETA N'INGORORANO MU RWANDA MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI. IGICE CYA KABIRI: INGORORANO MU BUVANGANZO

Dr Nkaka Raphael*

Interuro

Mu gice cya mbere cyasohotse mu nomero ya mbere, twabagejejeho ibyo tuzi ku mpeta n'ingororano mu Rwanda mbere y'ubukoloni ari nako twabasezeranije kuzababwira ibyo twamenye ku ngororano yahabwaga abahanga mu buvanganzo. Nibyo tugiye kubagezaho.

Ubuhanga mu kuvuga neza ikinyarwanda nabyo byatozwaga mu itorero. Kumenya kujya impaka mu kinyabupfura, kumenya kwivuga n'ibyivugo by'abandi byari mu bihabwa agaciro kurusha ibindi. Ibyo bifitanye isano no kuba ibwami barashyiraga imbere ubumenyi bw'ikinyarwanda, bigatuma bagororera abahanga mu guhimba ibisigo ari byo gusiga cyangwa se amazina y'inka, ari byo kwita kuko biri mu byo Abanyarwanda bahunikagamo ubuhanga, ubumenyi n'ubwenge byabo. Abakoraga umwuga wo gusiga bitwaga *Abasizi,* abakoraga umwuga wo kwita amazina bitwaga Abisi n'aho abahimbaga ibyivugo babitaga abahimbyi b'ibyivugo*.* Muri iki gice tugiye kureba koko niba hari ingororano zahabwaga abo bahanga mu buvanganzo.

Tuboneyeho kuvuga ubuganzo icyo ar aricyo. Ni imiryohereze bwite ya buri muhanzi. Tuvuge nko mu mazina y'inka, iyo wumvaga izina, waramenyereye kuyumva kenshi, washoboraga kwimenyesha ko ari irya Bwarike cyangwa irya Bikungero ukavuga uti "iyo ni inganzo ya Kanaka, naho iya kanaka igusha ahandi." Nicyo gituma bavuga "kujya mu nganzo" ari byo kuvuga gutangira guhimba ikintu cy'ubwo buhanga bw'amagambo (igisigo, icyivugo, izina ry'inka…). Iyo umuntu yabaga ari mu nganzo yarihereraga, akajya ukwe kwa wenyine, nko mu mpinga y'umusozi, ngo hatagira abamuganiriza bakamutesha ibyo yari amaze gutondekanya. Ngo n'iyo yagarukaga imuhira, yamaraga kurya no kunywa akajya kuryama, ntaganire n'abandi, nabo bakirinda kuvugira iruhande rwe ngo batamurangaza, bakamutesha (Kagame,1976).

**Dr NKAKA Raphael ni Umwarimu muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, akaba n'umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Urwego (CHENO)*

1. Abasizi

Abasizi bari abahimbyi b' imivugo yasingizaga Umwami n'abo bakomokaho (Kagame, 1969). Banagiraga inama abami mu bihe bikomeye. Iyo mivugo bitaga ibisigo byatangiye ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori byadukanywe na Nyirarumaga, Umugabekazi wo ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori (Kagame,1951,1972). (< *www.dominicains.ca/Nyirarumaga/NYIRARUMAGA-1.doc.>).* Ubusanzwe Umwami yimikanwaga na nyina, bityo nyina agahabwa izina ry'ubugabekazi. Iyo nyina yabaga yarapfuye, abiru bashakaga umugore wo mu muryango w'uwo wapfuye akamusimbura, maze akitwa *umugabekazi w'umutsindirano* (Kagame,1975). Kagame yemeza ko mbere y'uko Nyirarumaga ahimba igisigo cya mbere, ibisigo byitwaga Ibinyeto, ariko nta rugero rw'ikinyeto yigeze atanga.

Iyo umusizi yaturaga igisigo Umwami, yagororerwaga inka. Hari igihe Umwami yanyurwaga cyane n'igisigo akaba yagororera umusizi inka nyinshi. Urugero rutangwa kenshi ni inka 30 zagororewe umusizi Nyakayonga ka Musare zo kumushimira amaze gutura Umwami Mutara II Rwogera igisigo cyitwa "Ukwibyara gutera ababyeyi ineza"*.* Nyakayonga yagituye uwo mwami mu kinyejana cya 19 mu birori byo kumwimika byabereye i Murinja mu karere k'ubu ka Nyanza (Kagame,1972, 1976). Ni igisingizo cy'abami guhera kuri Cyirima I Rugwe kugera kuri Mutara II Rwogera wari wimitswe ari nako kandi cyamamaza akamaro ku kubyara. Ni kimwe mu bisigo byamamaye kubera ubuhanga bwanyuraga abacyumva (Vansina, 2001), (Muzungu.<***Ibisigo Nyabami-Nyakayonga-Ukwibyara Gutera Ababyeyi Ineza>).***Umenya ariyo mpamvu cyizwe cyane kurusha ibindi (Kagame,1947, 1974). Byatumaga abasizi baterwa ishema n'umwuga wabo. Sekarama, umwe mu basizi bamamaye ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri n'iya Musinga, yasoje abwira Rwabugiri mu gisigo "Naje kubika u Burundi" ati:

"Rero Kigeri urakaganza amahari

Wivugire ibihugu

Ndahirwa wowe wahawe Ingoma

Ngahabwa inganzo (Kagame,1976)

Ayo magambo arerekana ko Sekarama yari ashimishijwe no kuba ari umusizi kubera ibyiza akesha uwo mwuga. Bitandukanye n'ibyo yavuze mu busaza bwe mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Ababirigi, aho mu muvugo witwa "Intege z'ubusaza za Sekarama", Sekarama yibaza icyo yabwira Rwabugiri aramutse ahuye na we kandi Rwabugiri

yari amaze igihe kinini atanze. Yasoje agira ati"

Nabuze uw'inshuti wanshorera
Tukajyenda umuseke ukeya
Ngo antereze inzira ya Rutare
Ngo nsangeyo Rwabugiri wahoze antunze
Maze rizarase ngeze mu bitwa bya Munanira
Ngo nimpinguka ambaze bwangu
Ati "uracyakora iki Nyarusaza,
Ko watinze kunsanga ino?"
Nti: "Ndi aho, singitarama ku manywa.
Singitarama nijoro
Rya jabo nahoze mfite riragatabwa!" (Kagame, 1949, 81-82)

Ayo magambo ya Sekarama aragusha ku mibereho myiza abasizi bakeshaga kugororerwa. Atwereka urukumbuzi afitiye Ingoma ya Rwabugiri itazongera kubaho. Iyo avuga i Rutare, aba avuga umusezero wa Rwabugiri kuko ba Mutara na Kigeri batabarizwaga i Rutare, mu karere k'ubu ka Gicumbi.

2. Abisi

2.1. Interuro

Abisi bari abahimbyi b'amazina y'inka. Uko Abanyarwanda bose babaga mu mitwe y'ingabo ni nako inka zose zabarizwaga mu mitwe y'inka. Uko umutwe w'ingabo wabaga ugizwe n'amatorero, ni nako umutwe w'inka wabaga ugizwe n'amashyo. Uko izina ry'umutwe w'ingabo ryabaga iry'itorero ry'ibanze, ni nako izina ry'umutwe w'inka ryabaga iry'ubushyo bw'ibanze. Iyo mitwe y'inka yabaga ari amashyo y'umutwe w'ingabo.

Muri iyo mitwe hari amashyo yitwaga *inkuku* n'andi yitwaga *inyambo.* Ayo mashyo bayabwirwaga n' indeshyo y'amahembe aho inyambo zarangwaga n'amahembe maremare. Amazina y'inka yahimbirwaga inyambo gusa, naho Inkuku zigahimbirwa

amahamba cyangwa amajuri. Mu nyambo harimo ibyiciro bibiri ari byo *Ibihogo* n'*Amagaju*. Ntabwo ibyo byiciro byarangwaga n'amabara yazo, ahubwo byarangwaga n'inkomoko z'izo nyambo. Umutwe w'inka witwaga Ibihogo iyo ubushyo bw'ibanze bwababaga bwaratowe mu Rwanda, naho umutwe w'inka witwaga Amagaju, iyo ubushyo bw'ibanze bwababaga bwaranyazwe mu Bahima (Kagame,1969).

2.2. Isoko y'ubumenyi bw'amazina y'inka

Amazina y'inka yakusanyijwe na Kagame Alexis. Ayatangaza ku buryo busesenguye kandi bwo gusogongeza mu gitabo" Introduction aux grands genres lyriques de l'ancien Rwanda" cyasohokeye i Kabgayi mu mwaka wa 1969. Icyo gitabo ni kimwe mu bitabo yitondeye kurusha ibindi, kuko yagishyizemo na bimwe mu bisigo n'ibyivugo yanditse mu Kinyarwanda no mu gifransa ari nako atanga ibisobanuro by'amagambo atuma abasomyi babyumva neza. Ku bwanjye ni igitabo kiruta ibyo yanditse byose dore ko atari bike. Amwe mu mazina y'inka kandi yayigishije muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda mu ishami ry'indimi, bituma abanyeshuriri be basigarana ibyo yabigishaga mu nyandiko z'amasomo zitwa "syllabus" muri za Kaminuza. Mbere yo kwitaba Imana mu Kuboza 1981, Kagame yasize ateguye igitabo gikubiyemo ibyo yakusanyije ku mazina y'inka, maze ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya INRS kigishyira ahagaragara mu mwaka wa 1987 bikozwe na Sipriani Rugamba wayoboraga icyo kigo (Kagame, 1987).

Abisi bamenyekanye ni aba bakurikira:

a) Nkibiki wo ku ngoma ya Gahindiro
b) Mugaragu wo ku ngoma ya Gahindiro n'iya Rwogera
c) Bwarike bwa Mahanane wo ku ngoma ya Gahindiro, iya Rwogera n'iya Rwabugiri
d) Bukombe bwo ku ngoma ya Rwogera n'iya Rwabugiri
e) Bikungero bya Murema wo ku ngoma ya Rwogera n'iya Rwabugiri
f) Ndangamira ya Muyoboke wo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri
g) Rukazambuga rwa Serupfura wo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, iya Musinga n'iya Rudahigwa
h) Rutaneshwa rwa Bikungero ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri n'iya Musinga
i) Ndibyariye wo ku ngoma ya Musinga n' iya Rudahigwa
j) Nyagahungu wo ku ngoma ya Rudahigwa
k) Sebikara Mariko wo ku ngoma ya Rudahigwa

Kagame yemeje ko Ndangamira ya Muyoboke yarushije inganzo nziza abandi bisi. Byatumye yifuza ko hakubakwa inzu i Kigali yamwitiririrwa kugira ngo urubyiruko ruzamwigireho. Na n'ubu ntabwo irubakwa. Ndangamira yari atuye mu karere k'ubu ka Kicukiro. Yabonaga urubyiruko rukwiye kumenya ubwo buvanganzo. Ku byerekeye amazina y'inka yemezaga ko nta kamaro bifite gihe yigishaga muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda muri za 1970. Ati" ni ubumenyi bwahise, butagikoreshwa, nyamara budufitiye akamaro karemereye: bwerekana ko u Rwanda ari igihugu gishinze imizi, ko rwizigamiye ibyo rushobora kuratira ab'ahandi, ibyo abasekuruza bahozemo igihe baremaga u Rwanda rw'iki gisekuruza, bityo bigahesha igihugu icyubahiro". Akandi kamaro k'ubwo bumenyi ni uko niba dushatse gukora ubuhimbyi bushya buhuje n'amajyambere turimo, tugomba guhimbura ubwo buhanga bw'ikigugu tukabuha umwambaro mushya. Igihe ihanga iri n'iri risiziriza ikibanza cy'ubumenyi ku ndimi z'i Burayi, twebweho "tukabuhangahangira" ku kibanza cyasizwe n'abasokuruza bacu. Arakomeza ngo iyo uzi neza aho uturuka, nibwo umenya neza iyo werekeje (Kagame,1976).

Icyo umuntu yabivugaho ni uko Kagame asa nk'aho yemeza ko abasekuruza bacu ari bo bagize abahimbyi kurusha ahandi. Ni byiza kumenya ko abahanzi batabayeho mu Rwanda gusa, ko babayeho n'ahandi muri Afrika. Ntabwo rero twabiratira abandi kuko nabo bari bafite ibyabo, ahubwo twagaragaza ko na twe twagize abahanzi mu basekuruza bacu.

2.3. Inzego z'ubutware bw'Inyambo

Inyambo zari zifite inzego z'ubutware 5 :1) Umwami, 2) Umutware w'ingabo,3) Umutware w'Inyambo, 4) Umutahira, 5) Abarenzamase.

Duhereye ku wa 3 -kuko ababanza bazwi- Umutware w'Inyambo yagengaga Inyambo zose zo muri uwo mutwe. Yari ashinzwe korora inyambo, akagenda azongera ubwinshi abangurira inkuku ku mapfizi y'inyambo. Umutahira yari umuntu baremeraga ubushyo bw'inyambo akaburagira bukazarinda busaza. Icyo gihe yabaga yinjiye mu cyiciro cy'Abashumba b'Inyambo. Iyo izo nyambo zamaraga igihe kinini, zibaye amabuguma, barazimwiheraga aribyo bitaga gucyurira *Umutahira*. Abarenzamase ni abungeri bashyirwagaho n'umutahira, bakaragira inka mu izina rye, bakazitaho mu buryo bwose, ari nayo mpamvu biswe abarenzamase, bivuze abakuka amase bakayarenza inkike y'urugo.

2.4. Kwita izina.

Nk'uko ingabo zagiraga ibyivugo byazo, ni nako amashyo y'inyambo yagiraga ibyivugo ari byo *Amazina y'inka*. Abisi bahimbaga intambara hagati y'inyambo, ariko zitarwana n'izindi nyambo, ahubwo zirwana n'abashumba. Bivuze ko inyambo zo mu bushyo bw'Ibihogo zateraga amacumu -ari yo mahembe yazo- abashumba bo mu bushyo bw'Amagaju. Amazina y'inka yarataga ubutwari bw'izo nka, ariko ari ibihimbano kuko mu by'ukuri zitarwanaga. Ayo mazina kandi yanarataga ubwiza bwazo.

Ubushyo bw'inyambo bwabyariraga rimwe, kuko Abatware b'inyambo bari bafite ubuhanga bakoreshaga ku buryo izo nka zima igihe kimwe, bityo bikaba bizwi ko zizabyarira rimwe. Iyo zabyaraga bwa mbere ari byo kubyara uburiza, umutahira yatumizaga umwisi yishakiye mu bo yabaga azi b'abahanga. Umwisi yarazaga, akamurikirwa inka z'ubwo bushyo, na we akita buri nka ayihimbira umuvugo. Uko ahimba, abarenzamase bakamuba hafi, bakagenda babisubiramo kugeza igihe babitoye. Ayo mazina y'inyambo zibyaye uburiza yitwaga *Incutso*. Umwisi yashyiragamo ijambo rimwe uzajya usanga muri zose, riranga ko ari zo mu bushyo bumwe. Iryo zina ryitwaga "izina ry'incutso"*.* Iyo yamaraga kwita ubwo bushyo, umwisi yatizwaga inka y' imbyeyi, akayikama kugeza itetse, hanyuma akayisubiza. Iyo izo nka zabyaraga ubuheta ari byo kubyara bwa kabiri, zabaga zimaze gukura ku buryo iziruta ubwiza yabaga imaze kugaragara ari yo bitaga "Indatwa". Batumizaga wa mwisi wise incutso, noneho akita icyo bitaga "izina ry'umuzinge"*.* Nyuma yo kwita iryo zina, umwisi yagororerwaga inka, ikaba iye burundu. Naho Abarenzamase batizwaga inka z'inkuku z'imbyeyi igihe cyose zabaga zikamwa, zamara guteka, bakazisubiza. Ni yo yabaga ari ingororano yo kubashimira uburyo bitaga ku nyambo no gufata mu mutwe amazina yazo (Kagame,1969, 1972).

Hari igihe habaga irushanwa ryo kwita inka. Nko ku ngoma ya Rwogera, umwami yasabye Bukombe na Bikungero kurushanwa kwita inka ya Rugina yo mu bushyo bw'*Ingangurarugo* bwo mu mutwe w'inka witwaga Izogeye. Bikungero arusha Bukombe, bityo agororerwa inka. Umutahira w'ubwo bushyo yitwaga Ntama ya Kabuto (Kagame,1976).

Imbonerahamwe ya 1. Imwe mu mitwe y'ingabo n'imitwe y'inka zayo (Kagame, 1963)

Umutwe w'ingabo	***Umutwe w'inka***	***Ibyiciro***
Abashakamba	Umuhozi	Amagaju
Uruyange	Ingeyo	Ibihogo
Nyaruguru	Inkondera	
Nyakare	Ibyiza	
Indara	Amarebe	
Impamakwica	Ingaju z'i Giseke (Akarere ka Huye	Amagaju
Abarasa	Ingaju z'i Sakara (Akarere ka Ngoma)	Amagaju
Intaganzwa	Uruyenzi	

Aho tutashyize izina ry'icyiciro ni uko tutarimenye

Imbonerahamwe ya 2*: Ingero z'inka ziswe (Kagame, 1987)*

Indatwa	***Ubushyo***	***Umutahira***	***Umutwe w'inka***	***Umwisi***	***Uwaryandikishije Padri Kagame***
Inka ya Bajiji	Inkurira kwamuza	Kirunga cya Bihutu Kananga ka Rwanyanya	Umuhozi	Rutaneshwa rwa Bikungero	Mutemura wari mu bashumba bazo
Inka ya Mparaye	Izogeye	Ndekezi	Ingaju z'i Giseke	Rukazambuga rwa Serupfura	Sefigi w'i Gati na Ruhunda (Rwamagana)
Inka y'i Nyanza Inka ya Sharangabo	Indenga mimaro Imbungiramihigo	Musoni wa Ntarindwa Munyampeta wa Rugayabahunga	Uruyenzi Ibitare	Rukazambuga rwa Serupfura Ndangamira ya Muyoboke	Ruzindana i Kiziguro Sekanyambo ka Munyampeta wari warasimbuye se ku mwanya w'umutahira

Ingero z'amazina y'inka

Izina risingiza ubwiza bw'inka

Inka ya Biramba yo mu bushyo bw'inkurirakwamuza, umutwe w'*Akaganda*. Umutahira wazo yari Gasisi ka Sagaga ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Ikaba yariswe na Ndangamira ya Muyoboke.

Ni isata itambutse iz'i Jari
Ni irembo ritaha inyamibwa
Ni ivubiro ry'imvura y'indoha
Ni ijuru ribungamo amarebe
Ni ijana ry'i Rubengera hasa
Ni izina isangiye n'Umwami
Ni iraba rikeye umubiri
Ni iribagiza y'umwima-mbere[29]
Ni umurwa wezeho Imana

Ni imbungiramihigo nyirazo
Ivanze inkindi n'umuhanaguro
Ni inkingi y'Amagaju
Ni igihame cya Rugemahabi
Ni ikirezi cy'uruhehemure
Ni ikinani cy'abaragiye Itiro
Ni ikirenga mu zo ku Kinanira
Ni inyanja itambukwa n'inkuku
Ni Imana yaremye Karinga
(Kagame,1969,126- 129)

Izina risingiza ubutwari bw'inka

Inka y'i Nyanza yo mu bushyo bwitwaga "Insengamihigo" bwo mu mutwe w'inka z'Umuhozi, zikaba zari iz'umutwe w'ingabo z'Abashakamba. Umutahira wazo yari Muhororo ya Rugiramahe, ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Nayo yiswe na Ndangamira ya Muyoboke mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19. Nibutse ko izo nyambo zari Amagaju.

Umwisi yayiteje by'ibihimbano Umutahira witwaga Semuhire wa Mutabura nk'uko tubisoma muri iryo zina. Yari Umutahira w'ubushyo bwitwaga *Inkingamubiri* zo mu mutwe w'inka z' *Ingeyo* iz'umutwe w'ingabo w'*Uruyange*. Izo nyambo zikaba zari izo mu Bihogo mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19.

Ruti rwuhira isahaha
Ingabo zihomerere impunzi
Rwa manywa ya rugemahabi
Inkaburano y'impingane
Ya rukanika -ndongozi
Irazimenera zigakubita
Zigituruka mu kirere
Urwa mwene Mutabura
Zirugezeho zirarugota

Irunduye mu runzenze
Yaruhisemo mu z'i Bugoyi
Rukagira amashami y'ubumwa
Ahingutse Semuhire
Irumutereka mu gihumbi
Rukagatirana n'imberera
Imbuga irubuza kwanduruka
Ruca indaro mu nda imbere
Rumugezemo ruba umugogo

29 *Iyo nka ni nziza cyane ku buryo yima igihe kitaragera.*

Abarusohotsemo barashira
Bagwa hagati y'amakombe
Rutagwabira ibahitamo
Ibanguye runiganduru
Icumu ry'imbuga yererana

Akanuka amaraso y'urugina
Urwo ruti ruramwiharira
Araruhaza ruragogoma
Rurakunda ruragara
Rwuzura ubugaza irembo (Kagame,1969, 92-95)

3. Abahimbyi b'ibyivugo

3.1 Interuro

Ibyivugo byahimbirwaga kurata ubutwari bw'abarwanyi. Nyir'ukukivuga yabaga ashaka kugaragariza abandi ubutwari yagize, cyangwa se akamera nk'ubagaragariza umugambi yiyumvamo wo kuzaba intwari mu bihe bizakurikiraho. Nta kindi rero bakurikiranaga mu byivugo, atari umugambi wo kurengera igihugu, wo kudatinya abashoboraga kwitwa ababisha. Ibyivugo byari ukubiri, hari ibigufi ari byo byitwaga Iningwa, hakaba n'ibirebire cyane ari byo byitwaga Imyato. Urutonde rw'abo ingabo yishe rwabaga mu cyivugo rwitwaga *Ibigwi,* ariko *ikigwi* mu buke kikavuga aho umuntu yaguye ari ku rugamba. Naho urutonde rw'ahantu yarwaniye rukitwa *ibirindiro*, mu gihe *ikirindiro* mu buke cyavugaga igitinyiro, uburyo ingabo yagaragaraga ku jisho nk'aho ari iyo gutinywa (Kagame,1969).

Ibyivugo by'Iningwa byari iby'abantu bose, kandi ni byo bya kera. Kagame yemeje ko yakusanyije ibyivugo byose hamwe magana atanu. Ariko ibyo yashoboye gushyira ahagaragara ni mbarwa. Bigatuma hari abibaza niba iyo magana atanu ari yo koko. Iyo uvuze ko wakoze akazi aka n'aka udashobora kukerekana, bituma abantu bakomeza gushidivkanya. Ibyo ariko ntibitubuza kwizera ko ibindi yatubwiye ku byivugo ari ukuri. Ibyivugo by'Iningwa yandukuye bya kera kurusha ibindi ngo ni ibyo ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori birimo icyivugo cya Ruganzu ubwe, ariko atashyize ahagaragara. Ibindi ngo ni iby'ingabo ze zitwaga Ibisumizi hamwe n'icyivugo cy'umuhungu we Semugeshi waje no kumusimbura ku ngoma. Icyiza kurusha ibindi ni uko Kagame na we ashidikanya ko ari ibyabo koko (Kagame,1976).   Yemeza ko ibyivugo yita iby'imvaho byatangiye ku ngoma ya Yuhi III Mazimpaka. Bikaba bivuga ko ku bwe ibyivugo nyabyo, bifite ba nyirabyo bazwi byatangiye ku ngoma y'uwo mwami.

Ibyivugo by'imyato byadutse ku ngoma ya Yuhi IV Gahindiro bitangijwe na Muvubyi wa Mutemura wo mu itorero *Rugiri* ryo mu mutwe w'*Abakemba*, twabonye mu gice cya

mbere cyasohotse muri numero ya mbere. Ibyivugo by'imyato byababaga bigabanyije mo uduce twinshi nko mu mazina y'inka. Hakaba hari abakeka ko Muvubyi wa Mutemura yaba yarashatse kwigana amazina y'inka igihe ahimba bwa mbere icyivugo cy'imyato. Aho bitaniye n'iby'iningwa uretse uburebure, ni uko cyitahimbwaga n'ubonetse wese, ahubwo cyari umwihariko w'abahanga b'abanyamwuga.

Muvubyi akimara guhimba icye, uwitwa Rwabigugu rwa Kanyaruguru ni we wa mbere wamwiganye. Muvubyi akaba yarwanye ku ngoma ya Gahindiro n'iya Rwogera, mu gihe Rwabigugu yarwanye ku ya Rwogera mu itorero ryitwaga *Uburunga r*yo mu mutwe w'*Abakemba*, bityo Muvubyi na Rwabigugu bakaba bararwanaga mu mutwe umwe ariko bari mu matorero atandukanye. Nyuma yo guhimba imyato yabo, bahitaga bamenyekana, maze ababishaka bakabasaba kubahimbira imyato, ariko nabo bakabaha inka y'ingororano.

Bamwe mu bahimbyi b'imyato ni abakurikira:

a) Biraro bya Nyamushanja ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Yahimbiye uwo mwami icyivugo kirata umuheto we nyuma y'ibitero Rwabugiri yagabye mu Buhunde n'i Butembo muri Kivu y'ubu y'amajyaruguru. Umwato wa mbere usingiza uwo muheto batabaye mu Buhunde hari aho agira ati:

Ubwo duteye abahunde
Nikoranye umuheto
Nywuhimbajemo intanage
Intambara nyirema
Igihugu cy'umuhinza nakivogereye
Umukinzi ampingutse imbere n'isuri
Umurego wera nkuforana ishema
Nkushinzemo ukuboko ntiwananira:
Nongeye kurega inkokora
Nkanga umurindi hasi, ndarekera
Inkuba zeseraza hejuru y'icondo
Ikibatsi cyiyicana mu rubega
Intoki zifashe igifunga zirashya
Imisakura imucamo inkera

Umwato wa kabiri urasingiza umudende yambitswe batabarutse. Witwa "Indangamira kuvusha" aho Rwabugiri agira ati:

Maze gutagaranya iby'i Bushagire[30]
Ntabaruka nambaye icyuma
Gitera abagabo ishema nkushanisha
Nywiregeye mu byano
Nizihira abagabo b'Inyarubuga
Abashakamba bandangamira

30 *Bushagire ni ahantu bari bateye*

Bakinshakaje mu cyano
Bampitira mu ngororano
Mvuga icyo namaze
Mvuga n'aho nabaye ingenzi
[ ]
Ati" Ndengabaganizi, uwambariye ukuri!
Ntawe ukingisha impaka
Ni umurimbo w'intwari
Bazi ko impangazamihigo[31]
Abatigeze mu ntambara
Yanterekeye gutsinda amahanga!
Nibegame uwivugane!"

b) Litarenga rya Ruhwehwe ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Mu bo yahimbiye harimo Rwayitare rwa Rutishereka, akaba yararwanaga mu Itorero ryitwaga *Ibisumizi r*yo mu mutwe w'*Ingagurarugo*, ingabo z'umwihariko za Rwabugiri. Na cyo kirimo imyato ibiri irata ubutwari bwa Rwayitare mu gitero cy'Imigogo Rwabugiri yagabye i Nkole mu mpera y'ingoma ye.

c) Sarambuye rya Sentimbo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Mu bo yahimbiye harimo Muhigirwa wa Rwabugiri wari umutware wa Nyaruguru batera i Nkole. Zateye zirimo amatorero atandatu ari yo *Intwari, Ijuru, Abaganwa, Interarubango, Interacumu n'Ishabi.*

d) Sebaganji ba Bukwege wo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Icyo twamenye ni icyo yihimbiye ubwe. Yarwanaga mu itorero ryitwaga *Indinda* zo mu mutwe *w'Uruyange* zatwarwaga icyo gihe na Kabare ka Rwakagara. Izo ngabo nazo zatabaye mu gitero cy'i Nkole zari mu matorero akurikira: *Uruyange*, *Ingorabahizi, Indinda n'Abagina*.

Umusozo

Abasekuruza bacu bo mu bihe bya kera bya mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu bamenye akamaro ko guhimba imvugo zitatsemo amagambo meza kandi zifite ubutumwa bw' akamaro ku byerekeye ibitekerezo cyangwa ibikorwa byariho. Babihaye agaciro ku buryo bagennye ingororano zihabwa ababikoraga. Ntabwo bari bazi kwandika. Ariko kwandika ubwabyo si ubuhanga, ubuhanga buba mu byandikwa nk'uko buba no mu bivugwa.

Iyo mihimbire kandi yagize amateka. Ntabwo yahubutse hejuru ahantu hatazwi.

31 Kimwe mu bisingizo bya Mutara II Rwogera

Twashoboye kumenya igihe yatangiriye n'ubwo rimwe na rimwe ari ugucishiriza, n'uko yagiye ihinduka itera imbere. Ni cyo amateka (History) bivuga. Ni ubumenyi bushingiye ku mpinduka mu mibereho no mu bikorwa by'abantu mu gihe kirekire cyashize. Twashoboye kumenya ko ibyivugo byatangiye ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori ariko harimo gushidikanya, hanyuma bifata ireme ritagirwaho impaka ku ya Yuhi III Mazimpaka byitwa Iningwa, hanyuma haduka Ibyivugo by'imyato ku ngoma ya YuhiIV Gahindiro. Icyo tuba tuvanyemo ni iterambere ry'ubwo buhanzi mu cyerecyezo cy'igihe, bikaba bigaragaza ko habayeho iterambere mu mihimbire y'ibyivugo mu gihe kirekire, bikaba bigaragaza ubushake buhoraho bw'impinduka mu mitekerereze. Bishimangira ko u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni bwagize amateka, kuko rwabayemo impinduka zitatewe n'umwaduko w'Abanyaburayi mu Rwanda, ko no mu Banyarwanda ubwabo habagaho impinduka zijyanye n'igihe bagezemo. Ntabwo u Rwanda rwa mbere y'umwaduko w'Abanyaburayi rwari igihugu kidahinduka, kimeze nk'ikidendezi cy'amazi adatemba cyategereje gutemba ari ako Abanyaburayi barugezemo.

Bamwe mu rubyiruko rw'u Rwanda bashobora guhera kuri ubwo buhanzi, bakabuhimbura, maze bakabihimba bushyashya mu isura nshya y'iterambere u Rwanda rwifuza, bakifashisha iterambere ry'ikoranabuhanga, bakabinoza, bakabikwiza kure cyane. Ni ngombwa ko bibuka ko ikinyarwanda kitavugwa mu Rwanda gusa kandi ko indirimbo yo mu Kinyarwanda ishobora kubona igihembo mpuzamahanga.

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VII. URUHARE RW'IBICUMBI BY'INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU MU KWIGISHA NO GUKANGURIRA ABANYARWANDA INDANGAGACIRO Z'UMUCO W'UBUTWARI

Ubunyamabanga bwa CHENO

INTANGIRIRO

Buri muryango w'abantu ugira Intwari zawo n'uburyo wizihiza izo ntwari. Ibihugu byinshi bigira kandi uburyo biha icyubahiro Intwari zabyo, zaba izatabarutse cyangwa izikiriho. Mu bihugu binyuranye ku isi, Intwari zubakirwa ibibumbano, inzu ndangamurage zitiriwe izo ntwari, amarimbi yihariye[32], cyangwa zikitirirwa ibikorwa remezo birimo imihanda, ibibuga by'indenge, ibibuga by'imikino n'ibindi. Mu Rwanda, ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu ni ahantu Abanyarwanda bibukira, bagaha icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu ndetse bakahigira indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari zubatse Igihugu, zikakirinda, zikagiteza imbere. Buri mwaka, tariki ya 1 Gashyantare ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu habera umuhango wo kuzizihiza no kuziha icyubahiro ndetse no gushimira abandi bantu bakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro.

Iyi nyandiko igamije kugaragaza uruhare rw'Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu mu kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Turagaragariza abasomyi Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu biri mu Rwanda, tunagaragaza uruhare rw'Ibicumbi by'Intwari mu kwigisha ababisura umuco w'ubutwari. Ibikubiye muri iyi nyandiko byavuye mu nyandiko zinyuranye zirimo raporo z'ibikorwa bya CHENO, imfashanyigisho zo kwigisha umuco w'ubutwari n'izindi nyandiko zivuga amateka n'uburyo bwo kubungabunga aharanga amateka y'intwari mu bihugu bitandukanye.

32 Vicky Lissaman, "How different countries around the world house and honour their heroes", in Express, ku wa 19/09/2020 (available at https://www.express.co.uk/travel/articles/1337497/tombs-archeology-princess-diana-egypt-heroes)

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika Paul KAGAME aha icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu, i Remera, tariki ya 1 Gashyantare 2020

1. IBICUMBI BY'INTWARI Z'IGIHUGU MU RWANDA

Igicumbi cy'intwari ni "aho umuryango wibukira umukurambere wawo w'ingirakamaro"33. Mu Rwanda Ibicumbi by'Intwari ni ahantu, Abanyarwanda bibukira kandi bagahera icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu zemejwe kugeza ubu ziri mu byiciro bitatu: Imanzi, Imena n'Ingenzi. Uretse ibicumbi by'Intwari zemejwe, hiyongeraho n'ahandi hantu hose haranga amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda mu bihe bitandukanye.

33 *Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko, Umuco na Siporo, Intwari z'u Rwanda, Kigali 2004, p.8*

1.1. Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu cy'i Remera, mu karere ka Gasabo, mu Mujyi wa Kigali

Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo ku wa 31 Ukwakira 1995, yagennye mu rwego rw'Igihugu ahagomba kuba Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'u Rwanda: ni i Remera ya Kigali iruhande rwa Stade Amahoro[34].

Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu, i Remera kigizwe n'Ibice bitatu: hari ikimenyetso cy'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, hakaba ahari imva za zimwe mu Ntwari z'igihugu n'ibimenyetso biranga izindi Ntwari zaba izatabarutse cyangwa izikiriho.

Ku itariki ya 30 Gicurasi 2019, Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rwatangiye umushinga wo kwagura no kuvugurura Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera.

Inyubako y'Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu cy'i Remera, mu Mujyi wa Kigali

Inyubako y'Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu, igizwe n'ibice bitandukanye; harimo ibigaragaza amateka y'Intwari zo mu byiciro by'Imanzi, Imena n'Ingenzi. Hari kandi ahagenewe kumurika Impeta z'Ishimwe zitangwa mu Rwanda, ndetse n'isomero ribitse inyandiko zitandukanye, cyane cyane izivuga ku butwari bwaranze Abanyarwanda mu bihe binyuranye ndetse n'ibiro by'abashinzwe Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu.

1.2. Igicumbi cy'Ubunyarwanda cy'i Nyange mu Karere ka Ngororero

Igicumbi cy'Ubunyarwanda ni Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Iguhugu z'Imena z'i Nyange. I Nyange hahawe izina ry'Igicumbi cy'Ubunyarwanda bitewe n'ubutwari abari abanyeshuri bo mu mwaka wa gatandatu n'uwa gatanu bagaragaje mu mwaka wa 1997. Mu ijoro ryo ku wa 18 Werurwe 1997, ishuri ryatewe n'abacengezi bari bakigendera ku ngengabitekerezo ya Jenoside. Abacengezi bategetse abanyeshuri kwitandukanya bagendeye ku byiswe amoko; abanyeshuri barabyanga, basubiza abo bacengezi bagira bati: ***"Twese turi Abanyarwanda"***.

34 *Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko, Umuco na Siporo, Intwari z'u Rwanda, Kigali 2004, p.8*

Ikimenyetso cy'ubutwari bw'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange (Aho yavuye: CHENO, 2016)

Ku bufatanye na Minisiteri y'Uburezi, Akarere ka Ngororero n'Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe (CHENO), mu mwaka wa 2015 ishuri ryisumbuye ry'i Nyange ryatangiye kuvugururwa, hubakwa Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Imena z'i Nyange. Hashyizwe ikimenyetso kiranga "ubutwari bw'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange. Mu mwaka wa 2020 hatangiye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'umushinga wo kumurika amateka y'ubutwari bw'abanyeshuri b'i Nyange ku bufatanye n'Intara ya Rhénanie Palatinat yo mu Budage.

1.3. Igicumbi cy'Ubumuntu cy'Intwari y'Imena NIYITEGEKA Félicité mu Karere ka Rubavu

Igicumbi cy'Ubumuntu giherereye mu Karere ka Rubavu, Umurenge wa Gisenyi ahahoze hazwi ku izina rya "Centre Saint Pierre" aho Intwari y'Imena NIYITEGEKA Félicité yakoreye ibikorwa by'ubutwari mu mwaka wa 1994.

Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, NIYITEGEKA Félicité yari Umuyobozi wa "Centre Saint Pierre", aho yari kumwe n'Abatutsi bari baje aho muri urwo rugo, bamwe bari bahamaze iminsi bari mu mwiherero, abandi baraje bahunze ubwicanyi. Musaza we Lt. Col NZUNGIZE Alphonse wari umusirikare[35] mu ngabo z'igihugu zatsinzwe amaze kumenya ko mushiki we ashobora gupfa, yamwohererereje abamuhungisha, umusaba ko yava aho kuri Centre Saint Pierre, agahunga urupfu, agasiga abamuhungiyeho. Nyamara Félicité we yandikiye musaza we amusubiza amuhakanira atya:

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35 Koloneli Nzungize Alphonse. Yitabye Imana ku wa 6 Nyakanga 2011, mu buhungiro mu Bufaransa.

“Mon frère chéri, urakoze kuba washatse kunkiza. Ariko aho gukiza ubuzima bwanjye ntakijije abo nshinzwe, abantu 43, mpisemo gupfana nabo. Dusabire tugere ku Mana kandi unsezerere umukecuru (mama we) n’umuvandimwe.

Ngeze ku Mana, nzagusabira. Witware neza! Bityo ndagushimiye cyane kuba wantekereje. Niba Imana idukijije nk’uko tubyizeye ni ah’ejo”. ***Umuvandimwe wawe Félicité Niyitegeka.***

Mu mwaka wa 2015 mu gihe cyo kwagura umupaka wa “La Corniche Border Post”, Centre Saint Pierre yari iya Diyoseze Gatulika ya Nyundo, yaguzwe na Leta y’u Rwanda binyuze mu Kigo RTDA, kuva ubwo haba umutungo wa Leta. Mu rwego rwo kubungabunga amateka y’Intwari NIYITEGEKA Félicité, CHENO yarahasabye irahavugurura nk’Igicumbi cy’Ubumuntu. Ubu ni ahantu hasurwa higisha amateka y’ubutwari n’ubumuntu buhebuje. Mu gihe kiri mbere, CHENO irateganya kuhakora ibikorwa byo kwandika no kumurika amateka y’ubutwari.

Inzu NIYITEGEKA Félicité yabayemo yarasanwe

1.4. Ahandi haranga amateka y’ubutwari mu Rwanda

Uretse Ibicumbi by’Intwari byavuzwe haruguru, mu Rwanda hari ahandi hantu henshi haranga amateka y’ubutwari bw’Abanyarwanda, haba ah’Intwari zemejwe ku rwego rw’Igihugu cyangwa n’izitaremezwa. Zimwe mu ngero twatanga ni nka Kagitumba na Nyabwishongwezi mu Karere ka Nyagatare, aho Intwari y’Imanzi Maj. Gen. Fred Gisa RWIGEMA yatabarukiye ; Nyamagumba mu Karere ka Musanze aho Intwari y’Imena RWAGASANA Michel yashyinguwe; i Mwima mu Karere ka Nyanza, ahatabarijwe Intwari y’Imena Umwami Mutara III RUDAHIGWA; ku Mulindi w’Intwari mu Karere ka Gicumbi n’ahandi haranga amateka y’Ubutwari bw’Abanyarwanda mu bihe bya kera no mu gihe cya vuba.

2.Uruhare rw'ibicumbi by'intwari z'igihugu mu kwigisha no gukangurira abanyarwanda indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bigira uruhare rukomeye mu kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Birasurwa kandi ababisuye bagasobanurirwa amateka y'ubutwari mu Rwanda. Byakira ibirori n'imihango inyuranye yo kurata no kwamamaza Intwari z'Igihugu. Bigira kandi uruhare rukomeye mu guteza imbere ubukerarugendo bushingiye ku muco.

2.1. Kwigisha amateka n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bisurwa n'abantu b'ingeri zose barimo Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, abana, urubyiruko, abakuru n'abo mu nzego z'umutekano.

Abasura Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu basobanurirwa mu buryo bwimbitse umuco w'ubutwari waranze Abanyarwanda mu bihe bitandukanye bagahabwa ingero zifatika ku mateka y'Intwari z'Igihugu.

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bisurwa n'abantu barenga 1000 buri mwaka. Abahasura bakangurirwa kandi gukunda u Rwanda, ku rwitatangira no kurangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari bafatiye ku ngero nziza Intwari z'u Rwanda zatanze.

Abanyeshuri biga Nyagatare Secondary School basuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu i Remera, ku wa 27/6/2021 (Aho yavuye: CHENO, 2021).

Abapolisi bo ku rwego rw'aba ofisiye bato n'abakora mu Rwego rw'Igihugu rushinzwe Imfungwa n'Abagororwa (RCS), bagiriye urugendoshuri ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari i Remera, ku wa 18 Gashyantare 2021 (Aho yavuye: CHENO, 2021)

Abasirikare 300 bitegura kujya mu cyiciro cy'aba ofisiye mu Ngabo z'u Rwanda basuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu (Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego, Bwana NKUSI Deo yabahaye ikiganiro ku muco w'ubutwari), Kigali ku wa 3/08/2019 (Aho yavuye: CHENO, 2020)

Abanyeshuri bo muri Université Catholique de l'Ouest d'Angers mu Bufaransa bakora ubushakashatsi, basuye Igicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu. Bakiriwe n'Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa w'Urwego, Bwana NKUSI Deo, uwa mbere iburyo, Kigali, ku wa 3/12/2019 (Aho yavuye: CHENO, 2020)

2.2. Kwakira ibirori n'imihango yo kwamamaza no gushimira Intwari z'Igihugu

Hagamijwe kwamamaza no guha icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu, Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu biberaho imihango n'ibirori bitandukanye. Tariki ya mbere Gashyantare buri mwaka, ku Gicumbi cy'Intwari z'Igihugu cy'i Remera mu Mujyi wa Kigali habera umuhango wo guha icyubahiro Intwari z'Igihugu. Uyu muhango witabirwa n'Abayobozi bakuru b'Igihugu, Imiryango y'Intwari z'Igihugu n'Intwari z'Igihugu zikiriho.

Buri mwaka kandi, tariki ya 18 Werurwe, ku Gicumbi cy'Ubunyarwanda i Nyange mu Karere ka Ngororero habera ibikorwa byo kwizihiza ubutwari bwaranze Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange mu mwaka wa 1997.

Ibyo byose bikorwa mu rwego rwo kwamamaza, kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda indagagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari no gusigasira umurage w'ubutwari twasigiwe n'Intwari z'u Rwanda.

Ibirori bibera ku Bicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu ni uburyo bwo gutoza abakiri bato indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari (Ifoto igaragaza umuhanzi Intore TUYISENGE aririmba mu birori byo kwizihiza Ubutwari bw'Abanyeshuri b'i Nyange, ku wa 18/03/2019)

Abanyeshuri bo muri Club y'Umuco n'Ubutwari yo ku Ishuri rya Nyange bavuga umuvugo urata ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, Nyange, ku wa 18/03/2019

2.3. Kubungabunga umurage w'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bigira uruhare mu gusigasira amateka y'ubutwari bwaranze Abanyarwanda no mu guha icyubahiro "Abakurambere b'Intwari bitanze batizigama, bahanga u Rwanda ruvamo ubukombe, rutsinda ubukoroni na mpatsibihugu […] none ruraganje mu bwigenge…" nk'uko tubiririmba mu Ndirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu.

Bigira kandi uruhare mu kwereka amahanga ko u Rwanda ari Igihugu giha agaciro Intwari zacyo kandi gifite ahantu cyibukira abahanze u Rwanda, abarurinze, abaruteje

imbere n'abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro kandi by'intagarugero binyuranye.

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu kandi bizakomeza gutunganywa bibe ahantu ho gukorera ubushskashatsi ku mateka y'Igihugu by'umwihariko amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda mu bihe binyuranye.

2.4. Guteza imbere ubukerarugendo bushingiye ku muco

Ubukerarugendo bushingiye ku muco ni kimwe mu bice bigize ubukerarugendo mu Rwanda, kigatandukanira n'ibindi mu kuba cyibanda ahanini ku muco ndetse n'amateka by'Igihugu.

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu ni ahantu hasurwa, higisha amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda, ndetse akaba ari ahantu nyaburanga hatinza ba mukerarugendo, hashobora no kwinjiriza Igihugu amafaranga mu buryo buziguye cyangwa butaziguye, n'ubwo ataricyo kigenderewe.

Bigira kandi uruhare mu kwereka amahanga ko dufite indangagaciro z'umuco zifite imizi miremire, ko iyo dufashe ijambo tuba dufite aho tubikomora. Bigaragaza kandi indi sura nziza y'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda.

2.5. Kumenyekanisha amateka meza y'Igihugu, ubutwari n'ibigwi by'abakurambere

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994, yamamaye ku isi. Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bigira uruhare mu kwigisha no kumeyekanisha amateka meza y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda. Ni ubundi buryo bwo kwereka amahanga ko dufite amateka atari mabi gusa, ahubwo ko dufite n'ahantu twibukira abahanze u Rwanda, abaruteje imbere n'abakoze ibikorwa by'ingirakamaro tuzirikana buri tariki ya mbere Gashyantare, Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu.

Abasura u Rwanda basobanukirwa ko na Jenoside ubwayo yarwanyijwe kandi igahagarikwa n'Abanyarwanda b'Intwari bitanze batizigama, bakayirwanya, bakanayihagarika, bakimakaza ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda; bagatangira urugamba rw'igihe kirekire rwo kubaka Igihugu, kugiteza imbere mu nzego zose: ubukungu, umutekano n'amahoro, ubuyobozi bwiza, imibereheo n'imibanire myiza.

3. UMUSOZO

Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu bigira uruhare mu kwigisha no gukangurira Abanyarwanda cyane cyane urubyiruko indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari. Bisurwa n'abantu b'ingeri zose barimo Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga, bakigishwa amateka y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda. Bigira kandi uruhare mu kumenyekanisha amateka meza y'igihugu no mu guteza imbere ubukerarugendo bushingiye ku muco.

Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rurakangurira Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko gukomeza gusura Ibicumbi by'Intwari z'Igihugu, kugira ngo barusheho gusobanukirwa amateka y'Intwari z'igihugu kandi barangwe n'Indangaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu byo bakora byose no mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi.

Intwari z'u Rwanda iza kera, n'izubu zikwiye kwibukwa no kuratwa kuko zabereye Abanyarwanda urugero rwiza.

ZIMWE MU NYANDIKO ZAKORESHEJWE

1) CHENO, Raporo y'ibikorwa by'Umwaka 2019/2020, Kigali, 2020

2) CHENO, Raporo y'ibikorwa by'umwaka 2020/2021, Kigali, 2021

3) Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko, Umuco na Siporo*,* Intwari z'u Rwanda*,* Kigali 2004

4) Vicky Lissaman, "How different countries around the world house and honour their heroes", in *Express*, ku wa 19/09/2020 (available at https://www.express.co.uk/travel/articles/1337497/tombs-archeology-princess-diana-egypt-heroes)

UMWANZURO

Abanyarwanda dufite umuco w'ubutwari dukomora ku bakurambere bacu. Tugomba kuwusigasira kuko ari wo Igihugu cyacu gishingiyeho. Isoko y'ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda iva mu burere bwiza batorezwa mu byiciro byose kandi mu bihe binyuranye. Mu Rwanda rwo hambere Abanyarwanda batorezwaga umuco w'ubutwari mu muryango no mu Itorero. Muri iki gihe, ni ngombwa gukomeza gutoza Abanyarwanda bose indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari binyuze mu miryango, imiryango migari, amashuri, inzego za Leta, imiryango itari iya Leta, abikorera, amatorero n'amadini n'itangazamakuru.

Cahier ***"UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI"*** № 2 ikubiyemo inyandiko zinyuranye zigamije gutoza Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko umuco w'ubutwari. Izo nyandiko zigaragaza amateka n'ibigwi by'Abanyarwanda, abagabo n'abagore, abakuru n'abato baranzwe n'ubutwari n'ibindi bikorwa by'ingiramakaro. Zitwereka Abanyarwanda bitangiye Igihugu, abagiteje imbere, abagikuye mu mage mu bihe bitandukanye ndetse n'abaharanira ko gikomeza kuba Igihugu gifite agaciro mu ruhando rw'ibindi bihugu. Zitwigisha kandi uburyo bwo gutoza no kurera abazavamo Intwari z'Igihugu mu gihe kiri imbere.

Kubera ko habayeho Abayobozi bagize imyitwarire, imikorere n'imiyoborere byashoye Abanyarwanda mu macakubiri n'inzangano byaroshye igihugu mu icuraburindi. Ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda tubikuramo amasomo adufasha kubaka ubunyarwanda, ubuyobozi bwiza n'iterambere rirambye. Abanyarwanda tukarangwa n'Ubupfura, Ubumwe, Gukunda Igihugu no Gukunda umurimo unoze. Bityo abaturarwanda bakagira Ubutwari bwo gushyigikira icyiza no kurwanya ikibi.

Urwego rushinzwe Intwari z'Igihugu, Imidari n'Impeta by'Ishimwe rwizeye ko iyi nomero ya kabiri ya Cahiers ***"UMURAGE W'UBUTWARI",*** nayo ari umusanzu mu gukomeza kubaka Umunyarwanda wuzuye urangwa n'indangagaciro z'umuco w'ubutwari mu byo akora byose no mu mibereho n'imibanire n'abandi.

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