

U - EHJK

**RAPORO Y'URUGENDO RWAKOREWE MU GIHUGU  
CYA TANZANIYA N'INTUMWA Z'INAMA NKURU  
Y'URUBYIRUKO RW'U RWANDA**

**I INTANGIRIRO**

Mu rwego rwo gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imyanzuro yafatiwe mu Nama Mpuzamahanga y'Urubyiruko yateraniye i Kigali kuva tariki ya 15 kugeza ku ya 20 Ugushyingo 1999, Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda yohereje intumwa mubihugu byose byari byitabiriye iyo nama.

Iyi raporo rero irasobanura mu magambo arambuye urugendo rwakorewe mu gihugu cya Tanzaniya rukaba rwaratangiye tariki ya 23 rugeza ku ya 31 Nyakanga 2000.

**II. ICYO URUGENDO RWARI RUGAMIJE**

Urugendo rwari rugamije kurebera hamwe n'urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya, ubuyobozi bwa Minisiteri cyangwa izindi nzego z'ubutegetsi zifite urubyiruko mu nshingano zazo, aho bageze bashyira mu bikorwa ibyari byemejwe mu nama ya Kigali. Muri ibyo hakaba harimo :

- Gushyiraho inzego z'urubyiruko ziva ku mirenge yose zikagera ku rwego rw'ighugu, nyuma yaho tukazarebera hamwe uko habaho urwego ruhuza urubyiruko rw'ibihugu byose byari mu nama n'ibitarashoboye guhagararirwa kandi byari byatumiwe.
- Gushyiraho gahunda yo kurwanya SIDA mu rubyiruko rw'ibihugu byose.
- Gushyiraho ingamba zihamye zatuma amakimbirane akunze kuvuka mu karere dutuyemo by'umwihariko no mu bihugu by'Afurika muri rusange acika burundi bityo n'intambara z'urudaca zikavaho.

Usibye izo ngingo zivuzwe haruguru twagombaga no :

- Kuganira n'urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya uburyo urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda rwakwinjira mu nzego ziteganyijwe z'urubyiruko rw'umuryango Est African Community, zikaba zizashyirwaho mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 2000.
- Kuganira n'abanyarwanda baba aho muri Tanzaniya
- Gushaka umubano mu rubyiruko rwa Tanzaniyakuko ifuni ibagara ubucuti ari akarenge.

## **II.1 INTUMWA ZOHEREJWE MURI TANZANIYA**

- GATABAZI J.M.Vianney, Visi Perezida w'Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko (CNJR), Umuyobozi wa Délégation
- NYILIGIRA Déo Mutabaruka, Ushinzwe Itangazamakuru muri CNJR
- MUHIZI-SEKA-HEKA Léon, Ushinzwe Ubuzima muri CNJR
- RENZAHO Giovanni, Umwe mu bagenzuzi ba CNJR
- UVUZIMPUNDU Justine, Umuyobozi w'Ishyirahamwe ry'Abari n'Abategarugori muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare.

## **II 2 IBIGO N'IZINDI NZEGO ZASUWE MURI TANZANIYA**

### **II 2 1 Minisiteri y'Umurimo n'Iterambere ry'Urubyiruko (Wizara ya Kazina Maendeleo ya Vijana):**

Mbere yo gusura no kubonana n'abo twifuzaga kubona byabaye ngombwa kwitabaza Ambasade y'u Rwanda iri i Dar-es-salaam, maze nayo itugeza ku buyobozi bwa Minisiteri y'Umurimo n'Iterambere ry'Urubyiruko (Waziri ya Kazi na Maendeleo ya Vijana).

Kubera ko twageze i Dar-es-Salaam bari mu cyumweru cy'amatora ntitwashoboye kubonana na Minisitiri w'Urubyiruko kuko icyo gihe aba Minisitiri, aba Depite n'abandi bose bashakaga gutorerwa iyo myanya bagombaga kubanza kujya gutorerwa ku mirenge yabo, bakazamuka kugeza ku rwego rw'ighugu. Byabaye ngombwa rero ko tubonana n'Umuyobozi w'Urubyiruko muri iyo Minisiteri n'abakuru b'amashami yose uko ari ane ndetse n'abakozi bakorera mu buyobozi bw'urubyiruko bose.

### **II 2 1 1 IBIGANIRO N'UBUYOBOZI BWA MINISITERI IFITE URUBYIRUKO MU NSHINGANO ZAYO**

#### **II 2 1 1 a Ku birebana n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imyanzuro y'Inama Mpuzamahanga ya Kigali.**

Umuyobozi w'Urubyiruko muri Minisiteri yadusobanuriye ko aribo bohereje uwitwa MWENDAPOLE wari waje ahagarariye urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya, akaba kandi yarageneye Minisiteri raporo y'ibyemejwe muri iyo nama. Hakaba hari n'ibikorwa byatangiye gukorwa.

## **II 2 1 1 b IBYAKOZWE :**

Ubusanzwe urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya ruhurira mu mashyaka, bityo buri shyaka rikaba rifite urubyiruko rwaryo. Nyuma yo kumva uburyo Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko y'u Rwanda n'izahandi nko muri uganda zagiye zijyaho, Minisiteri ya Tanzaniya ifite urubyiruko mu nshingano zayo yatangiye umushinga wo gushyiraho Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko ya Tanzaniya, izaba itabogamiye cyangwa ngo ishingire ku mashyaka, ku madini, ku turere, n'ikindi cyose cyabyara amacakubiri cyangwa amakimbirane ayo ari yo yose nyuma.

Kugira ngo ibyo byose bizashoboke bitagize icyo bibangamiye, yaba abanyagihugu cyangwa se amategeko igihugu kigenderaho, byabaye ngombwa ko habanza kwiga itegeko rizagenga Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko (rishiyraho Inama nkuru y'Urubyiruko) rikazagaragaza uko inzego zizaba ziteye. Ubu rero hashyizweho komite itegura iryo tegeko igizwe n'abantu 10 baturuka muri Minisiteri, Perezidansi, Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, mu miryango yemewe y'urubyiruko ikorera ku rwego rw'igihugu (Scout....), n'abo mu mashyaka nka CCM.

Minisiteri y'Akazi n'iterambere ry'urubyiruko rero ifite inshingano y'uko kugeza mu Ugushyingo haba hamaze kujyaho Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko, ibyo bikazemeza nu cyumweru cyahariwe urubyiruko kizaba kuva tariki ya 9-15 Ukwakira uyu mwaka, bakaba barifuje ko Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko y'u Rwanda yazitabira icyo gikorwa ikabafasha kumvikanisha akamaro k'inzego z'urubyiruko mu bihugu byacu.

Icyo cyumweru kizarangwa n'ibikorwa byinshi, ndetse n'amahuriro menshi, azaba yahuruje urubyiruko rwo mu bihugu byo muri Afrika y'iburasirazuba. Muri ibyo bikorwa harimo no gusoza urugendo rwo gutembereza urumuri (mbio za mwenge) rugamije kumurikira abana bose ba Tanzaniya, bifuza ko Tanzaniya yatera imbere ikaba igihugu aho abanyatanzanya bishyira bakizana kandi bakagira ubuzima buzira umuze. Mu byitaweho muri mbio za mwenge harimo kurwanya burundu icyorezo cya SIDA akaba ari ubutumwa basigiwe na Muzehe MWALIMU YULIUS NYERERE.

Urwo rugendo ruzasorezwa ARUSHA nyuma yo kurira umusozi wa KIRIMANJARO hagatangwa n'Imidali ku bantu bazaba bitabiriye icyo gikorwa. Hazakorwa inama aho ARUSHA nyine akaba ari muri iyo nama u RWANDA rugomba kugaragarizamo icyifuzo cyarwo cyo kwinjira mu nzego

z'urubyiruko rwa EST AFRICAN YOUTH .Aho niho urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya rwatwemereye inkunga yo kuzumvisha abazaba bayirimo ko u RWANDA rugomba kwegerana n'ibihugu byabo muri gahunda zose zigamije guteza imbere akarere ibihugu byabo birimo.

Nyuma yo kudusobanurira ibimaze gukorwa kugira ngo hashyirweho inzego z'urubyiruko zidashingije ku mashyaka gusa umuyobozi w'urubyiruko muri minisiteri yatubwiye ko hari NGOS zitera inkunga urubyiruko mu buryo butandukanye Minisiteri ikaba imaze gushyiraho ibigo by'urubyiruko muri za Wiraya .

Ibyo bigo byigisha :

- Imyuga iciriritse (ubukorikori,ubuhinzi,ubworozi,ububaji,ubwubatsi, ikoranabuhanga, kurengera ibidukikije, n'ibindi...)
- kwigisha ubuzima bw'imyororokere no kurwanya icyorezo cya SIDA
- Ubwirinzi
- N'imyitozo nkomezamitsi,ngororangingo
- Umuco n'ibindi...

Minisiteri ifite urubyiruko mu nshingano zayo yadufashije ku buryo bwose kubonana n'IMIRYANGO,AMASHIRAHAMWE,ndetse na bamwe mu batera nkunga bafasha urubyiruko muri Tanzaniya.

Twashoboye gusura :

UMATI, AMREF(UMOJA CLUB), EMAU, DON BOSCO, SCOUTS, UVIKIUTA, SHDEPHA +, WAMATA, DOGODOGO CENTER, Univerisite Nkuru ya DAR ES SALAAM, Panafrican Youth Mouvement(komite ku rwego rw'igihugu). Badufashije no kugirana ibiganiro n'Abanyamakuru bandika mu binyamakuru bya Leta n'ibyigenga ndetse n'aba Televiziyo ya Leta n'izigenga zikorera mu mujyi wa Dar es Salaam.

Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Dar es Salaam yadufashije kubonana n'Umuryango w,Abanyarwanda baba mu mugi wa Dar es salaam no mu nkengero zaho, kandi n'ibigo twasuye byose byaba ibya Leta cyangwa ibygenga twaherekezwaga n'Umunyamabanga wa Mbere w'Ambasade Bwana John KABERA.

Mu biganiro n'abanyamakuru, byafungurwaga ku mugaragaro na Ambasaderi Zephanie MUTANGUHA, bityo ibyo twemeranwagaho n'uruhande rwa Tanzaniya bikaba byarinjiraga mu bikorwa by'ubufatanye hagati y'ibihugu byombi ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko, cyane ko aho hose twahawe Umukozi Mukuru wari watanzwe na Minisitiri w'Urubyiruko wa Tanzaniya.

**II 2 IIGO, AMASHYIRAHAMWE, N'IMIRYANGO Y'URUBYIRUKO  
TWASUYE MURI TANZANIYA.**

**1. Urugendo twakoreye muri UMATI**

Ni Ikigo gishinzwe imibereho myiza y'abaturage, twakigeranya na ONAPO yo mu Rwanda .Usibye imirimo yo kwigisha abanya Tanzaniya uko bagomba kuringaniza imbyaro n'umusaruro, kurya neza no kurera neza abo babyaye icyo Kigo gikorera muri Minisiteri ya kazi na Maendeleo ya Vijana gifasha urubyiruko muri ibi bikurikira :

- Kubaka ibigo birera impfubyi
- Kubaka no gushyigikira ibigo byita ku bakobwa bahohotewe ndetse bakita no kubatwaye inda bakiri bato.
- gushyiraho no gutera inkunga Ibigo byigisha umuco, imikino y'ubwoko bwose imyidagaduro, n'ibindi...
- Bita ku bana b'inzererezi(mayibobo) akaba ari bo babasubiza mu buzima busanzwe.

Twasuye bimwe mu bigo byabo ,kimwe kikaba kikererwamo bamwe mu bakobwa bafashwe ku ngufu ,abatewe amada bakiri bato,baharerera abana bato biga mu kibura mwaka,bahugura urubyiruko mu myuga iciriritse,kandi abaharangije bakabatera inkunga ibafasha gukora imishinga ibyara inyungu.Banahigishiriza kandi uburyo bwo kwirinda icyorezo cya Sida(Ukimwi) n'ibindi byose birebana n'ubuzima bw'imyororokere. Urubyiruko rukorera muri icyo Kigo ahanini rukora mu bwitange bahereye ku misanzu y'abanyamuryango, bagashaka inkunga babifashijwemo na **Umati**. Batangiye kuvura zimwe mu ndwara zoroheje ndetse bakanashishikariza bagenzi babo kwipimisha ku bushake kugira ngo bamenye aho bahagaze.

Nyuma yo gusura icyo kigo twasuye Dogodogo Center ikigo cyakirirwamo abana b'inzerezi dukunze kwita ba mayibobo .Umati rero ikaba yarashyizeho serivisi ishinzwe kubashaka aho bari hose ikabazana mu kigo aho babanza kubahugura muri ideologie, morale, bakabagaburira barara hamwe n'abo baba bahasanze. Nyuma y'igihe gito bamwe muri bo bumva ko bagomba gusubira mu ngo zabo kubafite ababyeyi, abadafite aho bajya Umati irabakomeza ikabahugura mu myuga icirirtse, abari mu kigero cyo kwiga bagashyirwa mu mashuri hakurikijwe imyaka bari bagezemo. Absigaye aho bose bakomeza guhugurwa mu bijyanye n'uburere mboneragihugu, kugeza igihe nabo ubwabo bagaragarije ko bifuza kuva mu Kigo bakajya mu buzima bagiramo ubwigenge busesuye.

## 2 Uruzinduko muri Univerisite Nkuru ya Dar es salaam

Muri Univerisite Nkuru ya Dar es Salaam twahasuye tugamije kubereka no kubasobanurira aho u Rwanda rugeze mu rugamba rwo kwisana, nyuma y'amarorerwa yarugwiriye, akozwe n'abanyarwanda ubwabo ( cyane cyane urubyiruko). Usibye ibyo kandi, twabasobanuriye ukuntu rumwe mu rubyiruko rw'u Rwanda rwagize uruhare mu guhagarika Itsembatsema n'Itsembabwoko kandi rukaba rwariyemeje gukomeza kurengera ubusugire bw'igihugu no gutanga imbaraga zarwo mu kubaka igihugu.Twabasobanuriye uko Leta y'u Rwanda yitaye ku rubyiruko no ku bari n'abategarugori zo mbaraga z'igihugu, twanabasobanurira uko inzego zagiye zitorwa, uko urubyiruko ruri mu mashuri ndetse no mu buzima busanzwe ruhagaze, tunaboneraho kubasaba ko badufasha kwinjira mu nzego z'urubyiruko rw'Umuryango w'Ibihugu by'Afrika y'Iburasirazuba.

Muri Universite ya Dar es Salaam twaganiriye na komite ihagarariye urubyiruko rwa **Panafrican youth Movement**, tunaganira n'abayobora umuryango w'abanyeshuri, abarimu, ndetse tunabonana n'abashinzwe ibibazo by'impunzi z'abanyeshuri ziga aho i Dar es Salaam.

Twashoboye kugirana ikiganiro na Professor RUAITAMA wigisha aho i Dar es Salaam akaba n'umwe mu bakuriye Panafrican Movement muri Tanzania, ni nawe wafashije urubyiruko gushinga Panafrican Youth Movement. Izo komite zose zadusobanuriye ibikorwa zikora bigamije guhuriza urubyiruko rwa Tanzania mu bikorwa byarufasha gukomeza ubumwe basigiwe na Muzehe NYERERE, kandi bakaba bari muri komite itegura ishyirwaho ry'Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko rwa Tanzania.

Abo banyeshuri kandi nanone twafatanyije nabo ndetse n'abanyamakuru biga aho i Dar es Salaam, tugirana ikiganiro cyabereye muri Ambassade y'u Rwanda i Dar es Salaam, bashobora kuganira na Delegation y'u Rwanda, Ambassadeur w'u Rwanda ndetse n'abamwungirije. Ni muri icyo kiganiro rero bemeye ku mugaragaro kuzadutera inkunga bashyigikira icyifuzo cyacu cy'uko Inama Nkuru y'urubyiruko y'u Rwanda yakwinjizwa mu nzego z'urubyiruko rwa Est African Community,cyane ko bafitemo ijambo kandi n'iyo nama ikazabera Arusha muri Tanzania. Kuri iyo ngingo rero hazabaho kugeza ku nzego zishinzwe gushyiraho ihuriro ry'urubyiruko rw'Africa y'Iburasirazuba hakiri kare icyifuzo cyacu kandi bigakorwa mbere y'ukwezi kwa 11 (Ugushyingo), ibyo byazakorwa binyujijwe mu cyumweru cyahariwe urubyiruko muri Tanzania (9-15/10/2000). Hagomba kwigwa ingamba zadufasha kubyumvisha Inama nkuru y'Urubyiruko ya Uganda

ndetse n'iya Kenya, aho muri Kenya tukazabinyuza ku buyobozi bwa Kenya Youth Fundation dufitanye umubano nyuma y'inama twahuriyemo mu Budage muri Nyakanga uyu mwaka.

### **3 Uruzinduko muri AMREF**

Ni ikigo kigamije kwigisha abanya Tanzaniya muri Rusange mu bijyanye n'ubuzima kikaba gifite ibigo bifasha urubyiruko rw'ingeri zose kandi mu turere twinshi twa Tanzaniya.

Twashoboye gusura icyitwa UMOJA-CLUB kiri ahitwa KINONDONI, kikaba cyigisha urubyiruko rwo muri ako karere imyuga iciriritse, ubuzima bw'imyororokere, kwirinda icyorezo cya SIDA, bashishikariza urubyiruko kwipimisha ku bushake kandi bakagira inama abanduye agakoko ka SIDA.

Muri icyo Kigo kandi bafite ubibuga by'imipira y'intoki ndetse n'inzu mbera byombi ; bikaba byarubatswe ku bufatanye bw'urubyiruko n'ababyeyi baturiye icyo kigo bakusanyije imisanzu hanyuma bitabaza AMREF. Iyo nzu mberabyombi n'ibyo bibuga bibafasha kwongera umutungo bakabona n'aho bakorera ibikorwa bigamije kurwanya SIDA (ibiganiro), hakaba hakoranira amakoraniro manini y'urubyiruko, hagakusanyirizwa imisanzu yo gutera inkunga ibikorwa by'urubyiruko. Habera n'amahugurwa agamije kwigisha urubyiruko imishinga ibyara inyungu. Ibikorwa byinshi bikorerwa aho, ahanini binyuzwa mu mikino, imyidagaduro, ubuhamya,ibiganiro mpaka n'ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhame.

### **4 SHDEPHA (Service Health and Development for People Living with HIV/AIDS)**

Mu rwego rwo kurwanya icyorezo cya SIDA, hari uburyo bwinshi bukoreshwa, ariko ubwo twabonye Tanzaniya bwo ni bumwe mu bwo twafataho urugero.Twari tumenyereye ko abigisha uko SIDA yakwirindwa ari abagikeka ko ari bazima cyangwa abafite imyanya mu buyobozi runaka.

Naho ikigo Shepha kirimo urubyiruko ndetse n'abantu bakuze bipimishije bakaba baranduye SIDA noneho bagahitamo gufata iya mbere ngo bashishikarize abatari bandura kwirinda inzira zose bakwanduriramo.

Shdepha yatangiye taliki 6/9/93' ribona ubuzima gatozi kuwa 21/11/1994 n'itegeko nimo S08216 bafite abanyamuryango(members ship active)861 bakagiraamashami 13 mu gihugu hose n'icyicaro kiri i Dar es Salaam.gifite ibikoresho n'uburyo buhagije.

Bafite n'ibikorwa byinshi byo gutera inkunga no gufata mu mugongo abanduye agakoko ka SIDA nko kubaha akazi, kubaha imiti yorohereza abarwayi, kubashakira ibiryo byabafasha kubaho igithe cyigiye imbere.

Bakoresha ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame ku bibuga bagahuruza imbagaya urubyiruko, bakababwira ibyo bagomba kwitwararika ho!. Bakora ibitabo n'utundi dupapuro (Dépliants) byo gukwirakwiza mu bantu bakabyifashisha mu kwhugura no kumenya imyitwarire ikwiye kugira ngo birindeSIDA, ndetse bakanashyiramo uburyo n'imibereho bigomba kuranga uwanduye SIDA, indyo ,imiti n' ibindi bikenerwa n'umurwayi wa SIDA. Uwo muryango Shdepha wo ugizwe n'abantu banduye SIDA bipimishije inshuro eshatu bakaba baragaragaje koko ko banduye SIDA. Baterwa inkunga na ONUSIDA(UNIDS Technical working group), Leta ibinyujije kuri UMATI na Minisiteri y'Ubuzima,Natinal Advisor Board National AIDS Committee.....

Twasanze rero abantu nka bariya bafitiye runini igihugu kandi no mu Rwanda, tukaba twumva bigomba kubaho kuko difite abantu benshi banduye bashobora gushyirwa hamwe, bakaba batanga umuganda wabo batanga ubuhamya, bikanabafasha kubona akazi kababeshaho.

## 5 UVU KIUTA :

Ni ikigo cy'urubyiruko cy'intangarugero cyatangiye hashize imyaka 12 Abasore n'inkumi bagera kuri 12,bishyize hamwe maze biha gahunda yo guhugura abandi mu bijyanye n'urukundo, kwitabira umurimo, ubukorikori, ubuhinzi, ubworozzi, guhugura abashaka kurushinga ndetse bagatanga n'imyitozo yindi ngororangingo, imyidagaduro n'ibindi.

Batangiye nta nkunga bafite,nyuma abayobozi babonaga ibyo bakora birabatangaza, nibwo baje gusurwa na Minisitiri wari ufite urubyiruko mu nshingano ze abemerera kububakira inzu yo gukoreramo yaguye kuko ako batangiriyemo kageraga aho kakababera gato bikaba ngombwa ko baca amahema iyo babaga bakiriye urubyiruko rwinshi.

Kuva icyo gihe rero batangije ibikorwa bibyara umusaruro :

- \*ubuhinzi bw'indabo n'ibindi by'umurimbo bahuguwemo na madamu HAJABAKIGA Patricia (babicuruza mu mugi)
- \*Ubworozi bw'amitungo maremare
- \*Guhugura abantu ku ikoreshwa rya bio-gaz akaba ari nayo bakoresha ku bintu byose bikenera ingufu z'umuriro mu kigo cyabo babyigishijwe na Dr Butera (KIST)
- \*Ubuhinzi bw'imbuto no kuzitunganya bakavanamo imitobe.
- \*Bapatana gutunganya ubusitani bw'amazu yaba aya Leta cg ayabikorera ku giticyabo
- \*Itorero rikomeye ryakira abayobozi iyo hari ibirori.

Aho ibikorwa byabo bitangiriye kwamamara bakanabarwa muri imwe mu miryango y'urubyiruko yemewe muri Tanzaniya, Perezida NYERERE na MWINYI barabasuye umwe mu gihe cye babemerera kububakira ishuri ryo guhugura urubyiruko rifite n'ibikoresho by'ibanze byose ubu ryaruzuye, babemereye kandi n'isambu ya ha 100 yo gukoreramo imirimo yabo yose, bakaba bamaze gutegura igishushanyo mbonera cy'umudugudu wa kijyambere w'urubyiruko bateganya kubaka amazu y'abashaka ku rushinga bakajya bayabamo nyuma y'imyaka itanu bakorana nta mushahara nkuko abatangiyé umuryango bagenda babigenza.

Abo basore n'inkumi baba muri UVIKIUTA bafite umwihariko wo gutera inkunga abashaka kurushinga, kuburyo umunyamuryango wabo ufite uwo mushinga bamwubakira kandi yamara kurongora cg kurongorwa bakamuha inka yo kumufasha mu buzima bushya aba yinjiye mo.

Muri icyo kigo bahakorera, ingando z'ubusabane ubufatanye ndetse n'izumusaruro ;habera amahuriro y'urubyiruko ruba rwaturutse mu mpande zose za Tanzaniya, bakaba bafite n 'itorero riri muyitabazwa iyo hari ibirori bikomeye mu gihugu.

#### **6 URUZINDUKO MURI EMAU,WAMATA DON BOSCO N'ABASKUTI**

Nyuma yo gusura biriya bigo byamaze kuvugwa haruguru twasuye ku buryo burambuye Emau ikigo mu by'ukuri gifite amateka maremare gifasha urubyiruko ahanini mu bijyanye n'ubuzima bwa gikirisitu imibereho, ubuzima bw'imyororokere ,babatoza uko bazitwara bamaze gushinga ingon'ibindi.....

EMAU ifite ibigo by'amashuri abanza,n'ayisumbuye hirya no hino muri Tanzaniya ikagira ibigo byigisha urubyiruko imyuga iciriritse

WAMATA yo ni kimwe na SHDEPHA+,ni umuryango uhuriwemo n'abantu banduye agakoko ka SIDAndetse n'abandi biyemeje kubafasha mu rugamba rwo kurwanya SIDA hakoreshejwe ubuhamya bw'abanduye. Uwo muryango kandi wita no ku mpfubyi zasizwe n'abishwe n'ako gakoko. Bafite urubyiruko rwinshi bakorana narwo mu mashuri mu matoreron'ahandi.

DON BOSCO ni ikigo CY'ABAFLURE B'ABASARIZIYANI bafite gahunda ndende zo gufasha urubyiruko babahugura mu myuga iciriritse ,bafite amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye hirya no hino muri Tanzaniya ,bafite gahunda zo gukora amakipe y'umupira y'ingeri zose kwigisha imikino ngorora ngingo ama ORQUESTRES n'ibindi ubona bishimishije

**ABASKUTI** .Abaskuti ba Tanzaniya bafite gahunda nyinshi mu rubyiruko rwaho bafite ibigobihugura mu myuga iciriritse,bigisha uburere mbonera gihugu uwirinzi ,bagakora n'ibikorwa byinshi mu butabazi haba mu baturage ndetse no mu nkambi z'impunzi batanga ibiryo ,akaba aribo bashinzwe Centre de Transit mu nkambi z'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ziri mu burasira zuba bwa Tanzaniya.

**II 3 1 IBIGANIRO TWAGIRANYE N'ABANYAMAKURU BA  
TANZANIYA**

Mbere yo gusoza uruzinduko twagiriye mu gihugu cya Tanzaniya, byabaye ngombwa gukorwsha ikiganiro mbvirwaruhame kuri Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Dar-es-Salaam, kikaba cyaritabiriwe n'abanyamakuru bandika mu binyamakuru bya Leta n'ibygenga ndetse n'abakora kuri Televiziyo ya Leta n'izigenga zikorera mu mugi wa Dar-es-Salaam na Zanzibar. Icyo kiganiro kikaba cyarafunguwe ku mugaragaro n'Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda Nyakubahwa MUTANGUHA Zefaniya, ari kumwe n'Umuyobozi Mukuru w'Urubyiruko muri Minisiteri y'Umurimo n'Iterambere ry'Urubyiruko muri Tanzaniya.

Ambasaderi MUTANGUHA atangiza ikiganiro yasobanuriye abanyamakuru ba Tanzaniya Politiki ya Leta ku rubyiruko rw'u Rwanda, anabamenyesha ko uruzinduko rw'abaje bahagarariye Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda, ari kimwe mu bimenyetso bigaragaza ko Leta y'Ubumwe yahaye urubyiruko ijambo n'uburenganzira ku micungire y'igihugu ndetse rukaba rufite n'uburenganzira bwo gushaka inshuti haba imbere mu gihugu cyangwa no mu mahanga mu migambi yose igamije guteza imbere akarere dutuyemo muri rusange, n'u Rwanda ku bw'umwihariko. Yakomeje ababwira ko imiryango y'Ambasade y'u Rwanda ifunguye, kandi ko uwakwifusa kugira icyo amenya ku gihugu cyacu yajya ayigana atishisha bikabafasha kujya bandika inkuru nyazo aho guhora bitiranya u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Yarangije asaba uhagarariye intumwa z'Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko gusobanurira abanyamakuru ba Tanzaniya impamvu z'uruzinduko rwabo mu magambo arambuye, ndetse amuha n'uburenganzira bwo gutanga ibisobanuro ku bibazo by'abanyamakuru.

Uhagarariye intumwa z'u Rwanda, Bwana GATABAZI J.M.Vianney, yamenyesheje abanyamakuru bari aho impamvu nyamukuru zabahagurukije mu Rwanda, ahanini zijiyanje no gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imyanzuro y'Inama Mpuzamahanga y'Urubyiruko yabereye i Kigali m'Ugushyingo 1999. Abasobanurira amavu n'amavuko y'ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'urubyiruko mu Rwanda, imibereho y'urubyiruko n'ibimaze gukorwa kuva Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko yajyaho.

Ibibazo byabajijwe n'abanyamakuru, ahanini byibanze kuri politiki ya Leta y'Ubumwe, ku mibereho y'abahungutse bava muri Tanzaniya n'ahandi baba aba 59 ndetse 94, ku bibazo by'ubutabera n'imfungwa, k'umubano w'u Rwanda na Uganda nyuma y'ibibazo ingabo z'ibihugu byombi zagiranye i

Kisangani muri Kongo, banifuje ibisobanuro bijyanye n'impamvu zagiye zituma bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru begura ndetse bamwe bagahitamo gufata iy'ubuhungiro.

Visi Perezida w'Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko yunganiwe na bagenzi be, basobanuye ikibazo ku kindi ku bibazo byari byabajijwe ku buryo abanyamakuru ba Tanzaniya banyuzwe, banashimishwa n'uko ibisubizo bahawe bisa n'ibyo bari baragiye bahabwa n'Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda igihe cyose habaga habaye impinduka muri politiki y'u Rwanda.

Ikindi cyarushijeho kubashimisha n'uko ibisubizo babihawe n'abantu batowe n'abanyarwanda ubwabo, bavuye mu Rwanda kandi bakaba bizera ko ubutumwa batanze nabwo buzagera ku banyarwanda benshi.

### **II 3 2BIMWE MU BYIFUZO BYAGARAGAJWE N'ABANYATANZANIYA**

Baba abayobozi ba Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko, baba Urubyiruko twasuye mu Bigo binyuranye, baba abanyeshuri n'abrimu ba Universite Nkuru ya Dar es Salaam, baba Abanyamakuru ndetse n'abandi twagiye tuganira nabo bashimye intambwe u Rwanda rugezeho nyuma y'amarorerwa yarugwiriye, banashima by'umwihariko ibimaze kugerwaho n'urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda. Abo bose bakaba barifuje ko urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda rwagirana umubano wihariye n'urwa Tanzaniya kandi rukazagira uruhare mu gufasha Tanzaniya gushyiraho inzego z'urubyiruko no kuzihugura.

Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko ya Tanzaniya yasabye ko Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda yazitabira icyumweru cyahariwe urubyiruko muri Tanzaniya giteganyijwe kuva tariki ya 9-15 Ukwakira 2000, akaba ari mur'icyo cyumweru hazashyirwaho gahunda y'amatora y'inzego z'urubyiruko muri Tanzaniya ndetse n'ishyirwaho ry'ihuriro ry'urubyiruko rwa Est African Community.

### **II 3 3 IKIGANIRO N'UMURYANGO W'ABANYARWANDA BABA MU MUJYI WA DAR ES SALAAM NO MU NKENERO ZAWO**

Ku munsi wa nyuma w'uruzinduko muri Tanzaniya, Intumwa z'inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko zagiranye ikiganiro n'abahagarariye abanyarwanda baba mu mugi wa Dar es Salaam no mu nkenero zawo kikaba cyarafunguwe ku mugaragaro n'Ambasaderi.

Visi Perezida w'Inama Nkuru y'Urubyiruko wari uyoboye izo ntumwa, yasobanuriye abo banyarwanda ko igihe cyose bazaba biyumvamo ko ari

abanyarwanda bagomba guhora bashishikajwe n'icyateza imbere igihugu cyabo, bagahora bumva ko ibibazo u Rwanda rufite n'ibyo rwazahura nabyo mu bihe bizaza, bagomba kugaragaza uruhare rwabo mu kubikemura aho kwigira ba ntibindeba bakabiharira abari imbere mu gihugu gusa.

Yabasabye guhora bashishikajwe no gusobanura ku buryo nyabwo ibibazo u Rwanda rugenda ruhura nabyo, kandi bakarangwa no kugendera ku mahame remezo ya politiki ya Leta y'Ubumwe bakegera abanyarwanda bakomeje kunangirira muri Tanzaniya bakabahumuriza, bakanabafasha mu bishoboka byose byatuma bataha mu gihugu cyabo.

Abo banyarwanda bishimiye ibimaze kugerwaho n'urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda, bemera ko ibyo basabwe bazabishyira mu bikorwa, kandi ko bazakomeza gufatanya n'abanyatanzaniya muri gahunda yo kubaka inzego z'urubyiruko barushaho gushyigikira gahunda zose zatuma umubano w'ibihugu byacu ukomeza kuba mwiza.

Bashimye cyane uburyo amatora y'urubyiruko yagenze mu Rwanda, bigaragaza ko urubyiruko rwarenze amacakubiri, kuko basanze ayo matora atarabayemo uburiganya cyangwa ivangura iringo ariryo ryose.

### III UMWANZURO

Uruzinduko muri Tanzaniya rwagenze neza kuko twashoboye gusura ibigo n'imirynago itera inkunga urubyiruko, dushobora kwibonera uko urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya rugerageza kwiyubaka, kandi dushobora kubona n'urubuga rwo kubagezaho uko urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda ruhagaze.

Mu guzosa iyi raporo, tukaba twifuza ko ibi bikurikira byazashyirwa mu bikorwa kugira ngo uruzinduko rutaba rwarapfuye ubusa :

- Mu rwego rwo gufasha urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya kwiyubakira inzego, no kwiteganyiriza kugirana narwo umubano wihariye nk'ighugu u Rwanda runyuzamo byinshi mubyo ruhaha mu mahanga, byaba byiza ubutumire bwabo bwubahirijwe.
- Mu rwego rwo kumenyekanisha ibikorerwa mu Rwanda ku buryo bw'ivaho, abanyatanzaniya bifuje ko habaho ikinyamakuru cyanditse mu giswahili kikajya cyoherezwa muri Tanzaniya kinyujijwe muri Ambasade cyangwa ku bundi buryo bwose bwashoboka.
- Urubyiruko rwa Tanzaniya rwifuje ko mu ruzinduko rutaha rwazafatanya n'abazaba bahagarariye u Rwanda gusura impunzi z'abanyarwanda zanze

gutaha bakazisobanurira uko u Rwanda ruhagaze kuko byagaragaye ko zikigendera ku bihuha,zikabeshya ubutegetsi bwa Tanzaniya nazo zitiretse.

- Haramutse habonetse uburyo, Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko yasabwe kuzategura imikino inyuranye (umupira w'amaguru, uw'intoki, amatorero, ...) byakorerwa muri Tanzaniya mugihe nibura cy'icyumweru.
- Kubyerkeye icyorezo cya SIDA hakenewe ko amashyirahamwe y'abarwayi ba SIDA yaterwa inkunga na MIJESPOC ONUSIDA CNJR(PSJR) PNLS Minisante bakohereza Intumwa zigasura kuburyo bw'umwihariko Amashyirahamwe y'abarwayi ba Sida muri Tanzaniya bakareba niba uburyo bakoresheje bwahuzwa n'ubwo bakoresha bikabafasha kurangiza gahunda bafite bukanafasha Leta guhyiraho gahunda ihamye yo kwita ku barwayi ba SIDA.

***IBIRIMO***

*I Intangiriro*

*II Icyo urugendo rwari rugamije*

*II 1 Intumwa zoherejwe muri Tanzaniya.*

*II 2 Ibigo n'izindi nzego zasuwe muri Tanzaniya*

*Minisiteri y'urubyiruko.*

*Ibigo n'amashyirahamwe y'urubyiruko*

*II 3 1 Ibiganiro twagiranye n'Abanyamakuru ba Leta ndetse  
n'Abigenga.*

*2 Ibyifuzo by'Abanyatanzaniya.*

*3 Ikiganiro n'Abanyarwanda baba i Dar es Salaam no  
mu nkengero zayo*

*III Umwanzuro*

A. 1 Secrétariat central

Ryakorwa lugwango  
abanyarwanda bongere  
balane neza

1997

**MINISITERI Y'URUBYIRUKO, UMUCO,  
SIPORO NO KWIGISHA IMYUGA ICIRIRITSE  
B.P. 1044 KIGALI  
Tél : 8 35 27  
Fax : (250) 8 3518**

**UMUSHINGA : « UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU BUGAMIJE KUZAHURA  
UBWIZERANE N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA »**

**INGENGBABIHE Y'IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA  
MU MASURI YISUMBUYE**

**INTERURO RUSANGE : « ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA  
BONGERE BABANE NEZA »**

- Kuwa mbere, tariki ya 16 Kamena 1997 :

Kwamamaza irushanwa ku nsakazamajwi y'u Rwanda.

- Mu cyumweru kiri hagati y'uwa 23 n'uwa 29 Kamena 1997 :

Amashuri yose azaba yamenyeshejwe iby'iryo rushanwa. Muri icyo cyumweru, intumwa z'umushinga zizasobanurira abakuru b'ibigo by'amashuri yisumbuye bazaba bari kumwe n'umugenzuzi w'ifasi amabwiriza y'irushanwa ku biro by'ifasi.

- Ku cyumweru, tariki ya 27 Nyakanga 1997 :

Irushanwa mu rwego rwa mbere (ibigo by'amashuri yisumbuye). Icyo gihe hazafatwa babiri ba mbere muri buri kigo.

- Ku cyumweru, tariki ya 3 Kanama 1997 :

Irushanwa mu rwego rw'ifasi. Icyo gihe hazafatwa babiri ba mbere muri buri fasi.

- Ku wa gatandatu no ku cyumweru tariki ya 9 n'iya 10 Kanama 1997 :

Kuva saa tatu za mu gitondo, muri Lycée Notre-Dame de Cîteaux : irushanwa mu rwego rw'igihugu. Icyo gihe hazahembwa 12 ba mbere.

ICYITONDERWA :

1) Abagomba kuza mw'irushanwa mu rwego rw'igihugu basabwe kugera i Kigali kuwa 5, tariki ya 8 Kanama 1997, i saa kumi n'imwe za nimugoroba kuri. *Ligne pour la lecture de la Bible* aho bagomba kurara.

2) Amafaranga y'urugendo bazaba batanze bazayasubizwa. Abayobozi b'ibigo abarushanwa bazaba baturutsemo basabwe kubohereza kugera i Kigali.

3) Abazaherekeza abanyeshuri (abarimu babo cyangwa abayobozi b'ibigo byabo) ntibazishingirwa n'umushinga.

4) Mu nzego zose (kuva ku bigo by'amashuri yisumbuye kugeza ku rwego rw'igihugu) raporo z'irushanwa zigomba gutangwa hatarenze iminsi itatu. Ni ukuvuga ko :

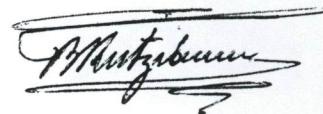
- Ibigo by'amashuri yisumbuye bizohereza raporo z'irushanwa mu bugenzuzi bw'ifasi ku wa kabiri, tariki ya 29 Nyakanga 1997. Ubugenzuzi bw'ifasi na bwo buhite buzohereza mu mushinga, kuwa 4, tariki ya 31 Nyakanga 1997 (cyangwa mbere kuko nyuma ayo mafasi yaba atinze). Bashobora gukoresha Fax N° 8 3518 ya MIJECUSFOP kugira ngo byihute.

- Ubwo bugenzuzi nyine buzohereza raporo z'amarushanwa mu rwego rw'ifasi, ijora rirangiye. Uzaba yariyoboye (azaba yoherejwe n'umushinga) azagaruka i Kigali azanye raporo yasinyweho n'abakemurampaka bazaba bakoranye hariho kashe y'ubugenzuzi bw'ifasi.

- N.B : 1) Andi mabwiriza akubiye mu nyibutsa yiswe « amabwiriza agenga irushanwa ryo kuvuga neza mu mashuri yisumbuye ».  
2) Gutinda kohereza raporo bizajya bibuza abatsinze gukora irushanwa rikurikira.

Bikorewe i Kigali kuwa 10 Kamena 1997

Bernardin RUTAZIBWA



Coordinateur National du Projet.-

UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU  
BUGAMILJE KUZAMURA UDEZERA  
N'UBUTIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA.

(26)

ICYAKORTA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA  
BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

BIZIMANA Adéodatus  
Urwunge rw'amashuli  
Mutagatifu Yozefu rw'i Kabgayi  
Umwaka wa 6 w'Indimi  
B.P 37 GITARAMA  
Tél. 62 122

CITARAMA ku wa 03 Kanama 1997

ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

Nk'uko byagiye bigaragara kandi bikamenyekana hirya no hino ku isi, igihugu oyaou cy'u Rwanda cyagiye kigira amateka adahwitse, ndetse kiza kugwirwa n'ingorane zikomeye umuntu atatinya kwita ko ari amahano yabaye muri Mata 1994 (igihumbi magana acyenda mirongo icyenda na kane) ubwo habaga itsembabwoko n'itsembatsembe ryaje guhagarikwa muri Nyakanga 1994. Nk'uko byumvikana rero, igihugu kivuye mu jngorane nk'izo kiba gifite ibibazo kyi-nshi ariko cyane cyane mu rwego rw'imibanire hagati y'abagituye. (Ni uk'-vuga ubwiyunge) ku bw'ibyo rero, nagirango mu mu jnyandiko ikurikira ture hamwe muri make icyakorwa, mu gushyigikira iyo mibanire twibanze k'ubutegetsi icyo bwakora kugirango kubana neza n'uruuhare rw'ubucamanza kugirango iyo mibanire igaruke, ndetse n'inkunga y'umutu jngre kugirango amahoro n'ubusabane miganze mu abanyarwanda.

Uhereye kera, habayeho impamvu nyinshi zitandukanye zaku, ruye akaduruvayo mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Twahere je nko k'umwaduko w'abazungu baje bagacamo ibice abana b'u Rwanda, bitewe n'inyungu bari babifitemo, nyamara bari bibaniye neza. Nyuma yo kubakatamo amoko babasubiranishijemo maze akarere kamwe kaba ak'abahutu akandi ak'abatutsi, abatwa nabo bagira akabo. Uko igithe cyicumaga niko abanyarwanda barushagaho kwangana, ndetse havuka n'intambara zikaze hagati yabo, zaje gutuma bamwe baruta barahunga uhereye mu w'1959.

Ubutegetsi l'a nyuma y'ubwigenge rero nabwo, aho kurwanya ibyo bitekerezo bibi by'abazungu ahubwo bwakomere jeho, bukaza umurego mu gutanga imyanya y'ingeri zode bwibanze ku moko n'uturere, ndetse butibagiwe no kugenda bonyereza bamwe mu bo badahuje ibitekerezo, ... Ingaruka y'ibyo byose rero, yabaye amahano y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsembe ryabaye kuva muri Mata 1994, ubwo abiswe abahutu bashyigikiwe n'ubwo butegetsi biraye mu biswe abatutsi bakabica urw'agashinyaguro, ndetse bica n'abandi bari bafite ibitekerezo byo kurwanya ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, maze ubwo bwicanyi bukaza guhagarikwa n'ingabo zari zahagurukiye kubuhashya ndetse zikanabi-geraho muri Nyakanga 1994.

Nyuma y'ubwicanyi rero ibibazo ni byinshi. Twavuga nk'ubukene, ariko cyane cyane igikomeye kuruta ibindi ni icyakorwa kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babe umwe, biyunge, maze hazireho kubana neza. Inzego za Leta rero ntako zitagize ngo ibyo biggerweho, ariko haracyari ibindi byo gukorwa kugirango ubwo bwiyunge bugerweho ndetse bushinge imizi. Reka tubirebe duhereye:

MU URWEGO RW'UBUTEGETSI

Nyuma y'amararerwa yoretse igihugu cyacu mu ngorane kandi biturutse mu butegetsi, ni ngombwa ko ubutegetsi bw'iki gihe bugira icyo butandukaniyeho n'ubwa kera. Ndetse ibyo bikaba ku buryo bugaragara). Ibyo bizagerwaho hateranywa abayobozi b'inyangamugayo ni ukuvuga bazwi neza ko ari indake-mwa mu mico no mumyifatiye kandi buri wese agakora akazi ashinzwe nta gutandukira ngo akurikirane inyungu ze aho gukurikirana iz'igihugu cyose. Aha ikintu cya mbere abategetsi basabwa ni ukwirinda kuvugirwamo. Bagafata ibyemezo babifatiye abanyarwanda maze ibitekerezo by'amahanga bukaza ari nko kutwunganira ariko atari ukudutegeka. Ikindi ubutegetsi bwagombye gukora mu urwego rwo gushimangira imibanire myiza n'ubwiyunge, ni ugufata ingamba z'ukuntu hatangizwa nk'amahugurwa mu gihugu cyose, ayo mahugurwa akaba atagamije kwibanda gusa ku bantu bize, ahubwo akanatangizwa mu urwego rwo hasi (aho ndavuga mu abaturage bibera mungo zabo muri komini) kuko burya iyo ibintu bijya kudogera aribo babyitabira bitewe n'inyigisho bahawe. Uretse no mu bakuze hera ku bana bo mu mashuri abanza maze nabo bagakura bigishwa kubana neza ku jbigo byabo. Aha twatanga urugero rw'ukuntu abaturage bigishijwe ko abahutu h'abatutsi ntacyo bahuriyeho, ko bamwe bagamije gukandamiza abandi maze bukaza kuvamo ubwicanyi bukomeye.

...../.....

Nyamara iyo bigishwa ko umunyarwanda ari umuvandimwe w'undi kandi **ko**  
bose bava amaraso amwe ibyabaye ntibyari kubaho. Reka **noneho** turebe **bimwe**  
mu bindi ubutegetsi bwakora mu nt ego yo gushyigikira ubwiyunge.

KWITA CYANE KU ABATEGETSI BO MU NZEGO ZO HASI

Ni ngombwa ko abategetsi bo mu nzego zo hasi bitabwaho cyane  
bahabwa bihagije inyigisho zigamije gusobanura ubwiyunge n'imibanire  
myiza y'abanyarwanda, kugirango babashe gucengeza ubwo buryo bwiza mu  
bo bayobora, n'ukuntu bagomba kubana, kuko abo baramutse babaye ari bo  
babiba imbuto mbi mu abaturage, wasanga umwiryane uvutse maze ibintu  
bikabura gica kandi burya igit cyumye iyo gihereye mu mizi kaba kabaye  
M'uburyo bwo kubitaho rero, bagenerwa amahugurwa abateganirije  
(dore ko adakunze no kubaho) bagasobanurirwa neza uburyo bw'imiyyoborere  
(aho ndavuga ba konseye, ba resiponsabure na ba nyumbakumi) ukuo baramutse  
bitwa ngo ni abayobozi gusa nyamara ntacyo bamariye abaturage, wasanga  
ari nka ya mpumyi frondata indi maze ibi bikaba imbogamizi y'ubwiyunge  
n'amajyambere duharanira. Abo nabo rero mu kazi kabo, ni ngombwa ko  
baba abantu bavugisha ukuri ntibabe babandi bitwaza ngo kanaka turazi-  
ranye cyangwa se ngo turasangira maze ngo bw'imirire kuri ibyo babeshye,  
bavuge ibitarabayeho kandi bagomba kuba ishingiro cyangwa se abagabo  
bo guhamya ibyabaye kuko biba byabereye ku mirenge yabo. Ni ku bw'uko  
kwitabwaho rero abo bayobozi bo hasi bazasobanurirwa uko bagombye  
kwitwara. Yego ntibazakora ikosa ngo bitwaze ngo ntibahuguwe, ariko rimwe  
na rimwe usanga hari ibyo bari bakeneye ntibabibone.  
Abo bategetsi kandi kimwe nabo mu nzego zo hejuru barasabwa kujya  
bahura kenshi kugirango bungurane ibitekerezo maze kubona neza tukugereho  
mu amahoro no mu ituze.

KUMVIKANA HAGATI Y'UBUTEGETSI N'ABASHINZWE GUTANGAZA AMAKURU.

Ubutegetsi bugomba cyane kujya bugenzura uburyo Radiyo n'ibanyamakuru  
bikora, kuko usanga biri mu biza ku isonga mu gukwirakwiza umwuka waba  
mwiza cyangwa mubi mu abaturage. Tukiri kuri iyi ngingo twavuga uburyo  
Radiyo **A.T.L.M** n'ibinyamakuru nka KANGURA byabibye imbuto mbi mu baturage  
maze bigatuma abanyarwanda bacengerwamo n'iby'amoko ndetse hakaza  
n'ingaruka zizwi n'umunyarwnda wese, atari ngombwa kwirirwa nsubiramo.

Itangazamakuru rero ryumvikame na Leta rikamamaza imibanire  
myiza mu banyarwanda, Radiyo nkuko yabitangiye igakomeza guhabwa amakuru  
meza na Leta, buri muturage wese yaba uwari uri hanze cyangwa se uwari  
mu gihugu akumva ko ubu mu gihe tugezemo nta moko mu banyarwanda,  
ushoboye gusoma akibonera neza uburyo abanyarwanda nta bice baciyemo  
twabana neza maze ugasanga ighugu cyose kibaye umwe ndetse n'ubukungu  
bukaza. Mu kugirango ibyo biggerweho, ba Minisitiri bakamamaza ubwiyunge  
mu rwego rw'imirimo bashinzwe, ntihaboneke kwikubira kw'emyanya nk'uko  
twari tubimenyereye mu gihe cyashize, aho wasangaga umushinga uyu n'uyu  
ukorerwamo n'abantu b'ubwoko ubu n'ubu, bo mu karere aka n'aka ahubwo  
hakaboneka koko ubwisanzure mu gihugu no kuringanira mu nzego z'imirimo.  
umunyagitarama akajya mu Ruhengeli nta kibazo afite, n'umunyaruhengeli  
bikaba uko, ndetse byaba na ngombwa amakomini yo hagati mu gihugu akagi-  
rana umubano, maze komini yo muri Perefegitura iyi n'iyyi, ikoheresa  
nk'intumwa mu yindi komini, ndetse bakanagira icyo babashyira nk'ibyo  
kurya, kandi ibyo bigatangazwa kugirango abanyarwanda bose bumve ubusaba  
hagati yabo, ibi njyewe mbona yaba ari intambwe ishimishiye yo kubana  
neza no kwiyunga. Koko rero burya nta byera ngo de kuko hari bamwe  
usanga batubahiriza akazi bashinzwe ndetse bagatangaza n'ibitagamije  
kubaka ighugu ni ngombwa ko ubutegetsi bugenzura itangazamakuru neza,  
ndetse hakaba hanajyaho itsinda ry'abantu b'inyangamugayo bashinzwe  
kugenzura amakuru mbere y'uko atangazwa kuko burya iyo yamaze gukwira-  
kwizwa cyangwa se yamaze kwandikwa, biba byarangiye kuko "Akarenze  
umunwa karushya ihamagara!"

.... / .....

Mw'ubutegetsi buri mu Rwanda (ubutegetsi Nshinga-tegeko, Ubutegetsi Nyubahiriza-tegeko n'ubucamanza), hakwiye ubwisanzure bwuzuye ntihabe kuhgana kwa bamwe n'abandi, kuko ibyo bidindiza byinshi mu nzira y'abanya-rwanda bafite bagana ubwiyunge.

Na none, abayobozi barora kure bazabona ko ubwiyunge ari uburere nk' ubundi:mu burezi bwacu bwo mu mashuri, nihaboneka uburyo buhamye bwo kwereka urubyiruko uko rukwiye ana, u Rwanda rw'ejo ru'ba muvugutiwe umuti wo kuruvura amavunane rwanoranaga. Aha, urugero twarufatila ku gihe cy'intambara ya kabiri(IJ) y'isi yose irangiye, abaturage b' safaransa n'Abadage banganaga urunuka: awana bakabwirwa ko bamwe ari ibikoko bifite imirizo n'amati. Kugirango icyo c'gibazo gikemuke, habayeho Politiki yo guhuza abana b'ilihugu byombi bagasurana mu miryango bakibonera ukuri ntibabone imirizo n'amati atendera, ibyo babeshywe bikaba bibeshyujwe.

Abategetsi bagomba kumenya ko umuntu aho ava akagera agira kwifusa; aba atunze ijana rimwe akifuza abiri. Ku Banyarwanda ho biri n'ukundi.

Mu bibatanya, no kutagira icyo bagira byaba impamvu: Cuha urwaho utagira mu nsi y'urugo ngo arimbere amatera ya runaka amaze kumutema ijos; umutungo nk'uwo ntawurenge; bityo muri gahunda zitegurwa zo gutsura amajyambere bakibanda ku byateza imbere ubukungu bw'umuturage wese. Aha nshima ibimaze gukorwa mu gushishikariza Abanyarwanda gukusanya ingufu zabo bakorera hamwe ngo babashe kwiteza imbere.

Kugirango abanyarwanda bagire ubwiyunge burambye, Leta yacu niyite by'umwihariko kandi k'uburyo bugaragara ku mfubyi n'abapfakazi. Izo pfubyi zishakirw imibereho yazo y'ejo mu mashuri no mu bukorikori, abapfakazi bitabweho kandi barengerwe mu bibazo bibahutaza.

Hari n'inzererezi, zititaweho kera byazabyara amahano. Leta nikaze umurego mu guha umurongo nyawo wo kubaho bo bariho mu b'zererezi.

Igihe kandi buri Munyarwanda azaba yabonye aho yikinga hitwa iwe burundi, bizatuma abona umwanya wo gutekereza k'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'abandi; ibyo bizashoboka Leta nirushaho kumworohereza mu kubigeraho. Aha sinahava ntashimye byimazeyo iyi Politiki yo gutura mu midugudu kuko ari igiteke-rezo cyiza.

Ibyavuzwe hejuru byose nibyo kandi ni ngombwa ngo habeho ubwiyunge. Aliko kugirango bifate bigire n'umusaruro urambye, uruhare runini ruzaba urw'abaturage bo mu nzego zose, bo mizi ihamye y'igihugu. Nabo ibikorwa byose bikorerwa mu gushakisha icyatuma batera imbere.

Ni muri urwo rwego Politiki y'ubwiyunge ibareba cyane by'umwihariko kurusha abandi. Igihe imitekerereze yabo, imikorere n'ubushobozi bwabo mu byo kwitunga bizaba bijyanye n'umurongo w'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu intego izaba yagezweho.

Abaturage bakeneye kubana bumvikanye, imyiryanne ikavaho urwikekwe rugasezererwa. Inzangano n'amashyari bahoramo bigasimburwa n'amahoro n'ubusabane.

Ababyeyi bakwiye gutoza abana bakiri bato kubaha umuntu, gukunda buri wese no gukunda igihugu cyabo, babinyujiye mu biganiro byinshi birambuye bagirana. Ibyo kandi si ibya none kuko no mu muco wacu wa gihanga byarahoze

Ubwubahane bw'ababyeyi ubwabo, buzaba inkingi y'ubwubahane bw'abanya-wanda. Umubyeyi kandi ntakwiye kwiyimira ubura bwe icyo bushaka; kuko bibukurira rari rishobora kudindiza uburere ahabwa.

UBUTEGETSI N'INZEGO Z'UMUTEKANO

Ubutegetsi bwifashishiye urwego rwa gisilikari bugomba gushimangira ubwiyunge cyane cyane bwerekana ko nta munyarwanda ukwiye gutinya undi bitewe n'uko ari mu rwego uru n'uru. Aha twavuga nk'ukuntu mu gihe cyahise umuturage yabonaga imodoka ya gisirikari akiruka intoki akazimara boshye hari ikosa yakoze. Aho rero nagi-rango nsabe ubutegetsi bufataniye n'abasirikari bajye bagira imyutwarire ijyanye n'aho bari. Niba umusirikari ari kumwe n'umutrage ye kumwereka ko atari umuntu utajya aseka (wakamiritse) kuko aho ntakuntu umuturage azabona umuntu atamusekera ngo yumve kutibagirwa inshingano zabo zo kurinda umutekano mu batuye igihu-gu bityo bizaba ari uburyo bwo gushimangira imibanire myiza duharanira.

URUHARE RW'UBUCAMANZA

Ubucamanza m'urwego rwo kwiyunga rwagira uruhare m'uburyo buku-rikira:

GUFATA NO GUSHYIGIKIRA INKIKO ABAZWI CYANGWA ABAKEKWAO  
KUBA BARAGIZE URUHARE M'UBWICANYI.

Nk'uko guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu ifatanije n'urukiko mpuzamahanga rugamije gúcira imanza abagize uruhare mu gutsembe abanyarwanda babitang- iye, ni ngombwa ko abakoze ayo mahano bafatwa aho bari hose ku isi, bakagezwa mu nkiko, bagacirwa imanza kandi bagahanwa by'intangarugero kugirango bitere akabarore undi muntu wese washaka kugira ibitekerezo nk'iby'abo bagizi ba nabi. Nkuko rero hahanwa umuntu ufite ikosa, ntabwo utarifite ariko akaba arikekwaho bibujijwe kuba yafatwa ndetse akaba afunzwe .iby'agateganyo ige cyose amategeko atari yerekana ko ari umwe-re .Ibi ni ngombwa kuko ige umuntu wiciwe azaba abona umuntu amukekaho kuba umwicanyi atazabona neza nawe ige ubucamanza butaramurenganura.

GUSHAKA ABACAMANZA BABIJIJUKIVE

M'urwego rwo gushyigikira imibanire myiza, ni ngombwa ko haboneka abaca-manza babifitiye ubushobozzi kandi basobanukiwe neza umurimo wabo. Urugero hano natanga ni nk'ukuntu umunyeshuri urangije amashuri yisumbuye ahabwa amahugurwa y'amezi atatu cg munsi yayo mu birebana n'ubucamanza nyamara uyu yariyigiye nk'iby'imibare cyangwa indimi, maze ukumva ngo yahise aba umucamanza. Ese mu by'ukuri uyu azabasha gúcira urubanza ruharwa wakoze ibara nyamara yari porokireri muri pariki iyi n'iyyi? Ndasanga uyu ruharwa ashobora kuburana agatsinda nyamara ibyaha yarabikoreye k'umugaragaro maze ibi baikaba igitotsi mu mibanire myiza duharanira kandi biturutse k'ubucamanza. Hamwe n'ibyo rero, ni ngombwa ko amashuri y'ubucamanza yakerwa, kugirango hato ejo utazasanga ba bazungu badufatirana ngo bajekuducira imanza nyamara aritwe twirangayeho.

N-ubwo ari ikitabazo gikomeye, ubucamanza burasabwa kubanza gutanga amahugurwa ahagije kugirango umuntu wuzuye amategeko kandi urangwa n'ukuri mu kazi ke, maze abakoze ibyaha bahanwe, kwiyunga no kubana neza bigire intebi mu banyarwanda. Kandi koko imanza ziciwe neza ku buryo nta wasigara na ingingimira ngo byagombye kuba byaragenze gutya, yaba ari intambwe ishimishije.

URUHARE RW'UMUNYARWANDA

Umunyarwanda uwo ariwe wese, asabwa kubana neza na mugenzi we, nta kurobana nura ubwoko, akarere cg se idini. Aha ndashaka kuvuga ko umunyarwanda wese yaba uwari ururimo mbere y'amarorerwa, yaba se uwarujemo nyuma, bose bagomba kumva ko ntawe ubwiyunge butareba. Ibyo bazabigeraho mu buryo bukurikira.

...../.....

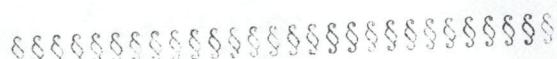
GUSABANA IMBABAZI

Umunyarwanda wese ~~uziko~~ yakoreye mugenzi we ikosa, cyane cyane mu gihe tuvuyemo cyaranzwe n'ubwicanyi, aha navuga nka bariya inkiko ~~zidateganyiri~~ za ibihano nyamara hari akantu bakoze katuma batarebana neza na mugenzi wabo, ni ngombwa ko abo bakwhatira kwiyunga hakoreshejwe uburyo dusanzwe tuzi mu kinyarwanda nko kwenga inzoga mugahura muri imiryango mukiyuzuza .. Ikindi umunyarwanda cyane cyane wakorewe ikosa agomba kugira ni ukumva ko usabye imbabazi azihabwa cyane cyane ko umuntu uzisabye aba atagamije kongera kugira nabi. Ikindi gikwiye kuranga abanyarwanda ni ukuvugisha ukuri kugirango imitima yabo ibohoke. Aha rero ndabona buri wese agize uwo mutima kubana neza twaba twabigezeho.

GUFASHANYA HAGATI Y'ABANYARWANDA.

Nk'uko bigaragara hafi muri buri turere twose tw'u Rwanda abakeneye gufashwa ni bensi. N'ubwo rero dukenera imfashanyo z'amahanga mu gutunga imi imibiri yacu nyamara ntacyo zitumariye mu bwiyunge, hari imfashanyo twebwe ubwacu tugomba guhana hagati yacu. Iyo mfashanyo yaba nko guhugurana, umunyarwanda ujijukiwe agasobanurira undi uburyo amateka yagiye agenda , n'uko igitu tugezemo kitari icyo kwisenyera igihugu. Imfashanyo ntiyaba iyo mu bitekerezo gusa, ahubwo yagaragarira no mu bikorwa. Igihe umuturanyi mugenzi wawe azaba aje kugufasha kuzamura inzu yawe yasenyewe, ndumva utazabura kumwishimira no kubona icyizere agufitiye kuruta uko inzu izaba yubatswe n'umuryango uyu n'uyu w'abazungu utazi n'iwabo. Ibi bikozwe rero, byaba ari urugero rwiza mu banyarwanda rwo gushyigikira imibanire yabo. Kandi bakajya baniyibutsa ibyabaye igitu bahuye kugirango bafatanye kurwanya aho byamenera bigaruka. Umunyarwanda uwo ari we wese kandi, agomba kumva ko adahejwe mu mizamukire y'igihugu, ntiyyumvemo ko yisuzuguye, ko hari aho atabasha kugera, akikuramo gutinya abategetsi, icyo atumva akabaza, kandi akitabira kubana n'abandi nko mu rwego rw'amashyirahamwe adashingiye ku moko, mbese abagerageza kwishyiramo ko nta bwoko mu gihugu, ahubwo ko twese turi abanyarwanda.

Muri make rero, ubwiyunge cyangwa imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda irakenewe. Ku bw'ibyo rero, ni ngombwa ko ubucamanza, ubutegetsi, bifatanije n'abanyarwanda bose bakaza umurego mu gutunganya igihugu cyacu nticyongere kurangwa n'amateka mabi nk'ayo cyahoranye kandi buri wese agaharanira icyatumà we ubwe atera imbere bityo n'igihugu kikaba kihazamukiye, ariko ibyo akabikora adakandamiza abandi kugirango kubana neza duharanira kutaduca mu myanya y'intoki. Ni aha buri wese rero gukora iyo bwabaga, umucamanza agaca urutari urwa kibera, umutegetsi akayobora neza abo ashinzwe, umuturage nawe akagerageza guharanira kubana na bagenzi be bose amahoro kandi akurikiza amategeko. Kuko gushaka ariko gushobora, ndasanga ibi tubyubahirije igihugu cyacu cyahinduka paradizo. Ibi mbifuriza kubana neza mu Rwanda ruzira intambara n'amacakubiri Ndangije mbifuriza kubana neza n'imibanire myiza. ahubwo rwuzuye ubwiyunge n'imibanire myiza.

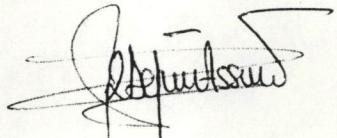


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REBUBURIKA Y'U RWANDA  
MINISITERI Y'UBUREZI  
URWUNGE RW'AMASHURI  
RWA SHYIRA  
B.P. 42 RUHENERI.

INTERURO RUSANGE : "Icyakorwa kugira ngo Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza".

Byanditswe na MUKAKARANGWA Assumpta wiga mu mwaka  
wa gatanu Ishami ry'Ibinyabuzima n'Ubutabire.



Tariki ya 26 Nyakanga 1997.



Hashize imyaka igeria kuri itatu mu Rwanda habayemo amarorerwa y'itsembatsema n'itsembabwoko, ariko ngo "Nta haboneka umwotsi nta muriro uhari" ubwo bwicanyi bwahozezo mbere y'uko bufata iherezo. Ubwikanyize n'ivangura ni bimwe mu bantu byamunze iki gihugu, ariko buri munyarwanda yagombye guhagurukira kubirwanya. Birazwi ko mu bihugu byinshi cyane cyane muri Afurika ivangura ryabaye akarande.

Mu kubisobanura neza ntanga n'inyigisho ingingo turi bwibandeho zimwe n'izo kunengwa izindi ni izo gukurikizwa, ariko ibyinshi bizatera ingabo mu bitugu abanyarwanda b'inyangamugayo izindi zizahindura benshi bagitsimbaraye ku ivangura ry'amoko. Abandi nabo bazashobora kubona ibisubizo by'ibibazo byabo ndetse n'ibisobanuro bihagije mu mibanire y'abo n'abandi banyarwanda.

Turasobanukirwa ku mvano y'ivangura ry'amoko mu Rwanda, intandaro z'amakimbirane : ishyari ry'ubutunzi n'ubutegetsi, guhorana agahinda ndetse n'ubumuga abiyitirira uwoko batera abandi. Uruhare rw'ubutegetsi mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda : kudahana bicike, intumwa za rubanda zegere abaturage, itangazamakuru riharaniire ubwiyunge. Icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda babane neza : kwita ku ngabire umuntu alhabwa kuva avutse kugeza apfuye, kwirinda kugirira abandi nabi, kugarura umubano mwiza mu bantu, abategetsi basobanurire banumva ibyifuzo by'abaturage ku bwiyunge.

Nyuma yo kumva izi nama, ndizerwa ko uwumva akanakurikiza ibyo abwiwe azabasha gukunda no gukundisha abandi ikiremwa-muntu. Bizatuma kandi abategetsi bakorana ishyaka mu gushaka icyagarura ituze mu banyarwanda. Ubwo n'abayoborwa bazarushaho kumvira no gukurikiza amategeko. Bityo izi nama nizimara gukurikizwa abanyarwanda bazabana neza, babonereho gushakira ubwugamo bwabo (igihugu cyabo) isakaro, kuko ryari ryarasambutse.

Mpereye ku mvano y'ivangura ry'amoko mu Rwanda, u Rwanda kera rwari igihugu kirangwa n'amata n'ubuki ndetse n'amahoro, abanyarwanda bose mu gihugu basabana ndetse bakanashyingirana. Arike "Nta byera ngo de" kandi ngo "Akamasa kazaca inka kazivukamo", Umuzungu yaraje ageze mu Rwanda arumirwa, biramutangaza kubona abanyarwanda babanye neza kandi yari amenyereye ko iwabo hari umwiryane w'ivangura ry'amoko, nibwo ashakishije ibisobanure bidafashije, abaza umunyarwanda wari umuri hafi ati" uriya ko afite inka nyinshi mumwita nde? undi nawe ati" tumwita umutunzi, we kubera kutumva ikinyarwanda ahinduramo ko avuze ngo ni "Umututsi" kubera ko abandi bajyaga guhinga kuri uwo mutunzi, ubwo wa mutunzi arimo agabanya ibihembo babandi bamuhingiraga nibwe abwiye uwabagabanya ati" uyu muhe utu" Umuzungu we yiyumvisha ko bavuze "Umuhutu", naho hakaba hari undi wakundaga kuba ari ibwami kandi abyina, Umuzungu abajije uwo ariwe, umushubije avuga ahanya ati" uyu ni uwacu, ni uwatwebwe, Umuzungu kubera kutumva ikinyarwanda, no kubera ko yari yishyizemo ko ubwoke bwose butangirwa na "Umu" ahita atanga umwanzuro ko ari Umutwa.

Ibyo byese byararandaranze, bigeza ubwo abanyarwanda bamwe bafata abandi bakabica. Ahe abanyarwanda bashakiye hamwe umuti wo kwivangura kwabo ba "Ntibindeba" batereye agati mu ryinyo bati "ibyo turabirenze", ba "Katabikozwa" na ba "bize ngarame" bati "dukuyemo akacu karenge". Arike kandi ibyo ntibyari bikwiye mu banyarwanda, biyibagije ko abanyarwanda batabaranaga ndetse bakanasurana. Yego ngo burya "Ubwenge buza ubujiji buhise", abanyarwanda ntacyo bagerageje gukora, bamaze kubona ububi bafi barahawe. Ibyo byamaze gufata intera ndende, bimaze kwinjira mu mitwe ya benshi maze bashyira imbere imigambi yabo mibi, birengagiza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, bafata abantu babagira inyamaswa maze ahatemba amahoro haba itongo ritemba imiborogo, ubugome n'ubwanzi. Arike rero kugira ngo ibyo bicike, ivangura riveho, twagombye kurebera hamwe ubumwe bw'igihugu cyacu, tukiyumvisha ko twese turi abanyarwanda ko tutagomba kumva abadushuka batubwira iby'amoko, n'aho turi tukiyumvisha ko tugomba kuwa muri urwo rwobo twasigiwe n'abadushoye.

Natwe abanyarwanda tugomba kwiyumvisha ko ibyabaye aritwe twabyiteye, n'ubwo "Akimu hana kaza imvura ihise", ubwo abanyarwanda babonye ububi bw'ibyabaye nibagerageze bakoreshe imbaraga zose zishoboka kugira ngo batahirize umugozi umwe.

Arike ikibabaje cyane niuko abanyarwanda bahise bamera nk'impunyi, bimirije imbere ubugome bazi ko bari kwirwanaho no gushimisha gashakabuhake w'Umuzungu batazi ko bari gusenya urwababyaye rukabakuza, ntibari bazi ko bari gusigira abana n'abuzukuru urugomo rudashira ndetse n'umwiryane, ntibamenye ko basize boretsa u Rwanda mu rwobo rurerure, ntibigeze batekereza uburenganzira bwa muntu. Abanyarwanda arike nibitabire kugarura urukundo ruhamye, kandi bafatanye n'abategetsi kuko "Inkingi imwe itagera inzu".

Mu byateye intandaro y'amakimbirane, hagaragaye cyane ishyari ry'ubutunzi n'ubutegetsu, byaragaragaye cyane ko igice kinini cy'abanyarwanda cyari gifite inyota n'inzara by'ubutunzi no gutegeka. Ibyo akaba ari bimwe mu byakomeje guhungabanya umutekano.

Umuntu yabaga ari iwe afite amahore arya ndetse akaryama ariko akareba umuturanyi uri iruhande rwe akifuza inka ze ndetse n'isambu ye, yabona ntacyo ashoboye kumutwara ko nta nicye ashoboye kugeraho, agahitamo gufata abambari be maze bagatera wa muturanyi we bakamugirira nabi kugira ngo bashebore kwigarurira ibye, bitye guhera ubwo ahari amahore hagasimbuzwa urugome n'ubugome.

Abandi nabo bati "Kuki twe tudategeka"? maze bakajya mu mitwe y'abanyarwanda bari impumi batarebaga kure bati "Kuki uriya adutegeka avuka ku Kibuye kandi turi ab'i Kibunge" buriya arashaka kudutegekesha igitugu, bagakora iyo bwabaga ngo barebe ko yatezuka ku mirimo yiyemeje kugira ngo yegure, kandi wenda uwategekaga yari abishoboye. Abategetsi nabo baki twaza umwanya bafite maze bagakoresha abakozi badashoboye akazi, bakimiriza imbere uwabahaye ruswa gusa, umuntu yaza gushaka akazi, aho bamubajije impamyabushobozi y'ibyo yize bati zana ibihumbi mirongo itanu maze akazi kagahabwa abatari bagashoboye, abagashoboye nabo bagatera rwaserera maze imviruru zigakwira. Abe bategetsi bakunva ko bakora neza batazi ko batuma igihugu cyacu kitagera mu nzira nyayo y'amajyambere.

Ibyo byose ariko bigomba gucika, kuko ishyari ry'ubutunzi n'ubutegetsi ryagize uruhare runini mu marorerwa yibasiye inyoko muntu. None rero buri munyarwanda akwiye kutagira ishyari ry'ubutegetsi, cyangwa se iry'ubutunzi ahubwo agomba kwegeza undi akamugisha inama z'uko yakoze ngo abigereho. Mu gushyigikira abategetsi, tugomba sufasha abategetsi bacu ariko nabo bagakora nk'aho bikorera kandi bagakoresha abakozi bagashoboye kuko ariyo bizatugeza ku majyambere.

Byaragaragaye cyane ko hari abanyarwanda bahorana agahinda ndetse n'ubumuga by'abitiriye ubwoko cyangwa akarere aka n'aka babateye. Mu banyarwanda harimo abarebaga ukuri bakaguharanira ndetse bakanagushyira mu bikorwa ariko hari n'abandi ba bize ngarame bari bafite umugambi wo kubabaza abandi, kwica no koreka imbagi. Ibyo byaragaragaye cyane mu gihe mu Rwanda hari igice cyari cyariyitiriye izina runaka cyangwa ubwoko runaka maze bagatoteza ndetse bakanababaza abandi, byanarimba bakanabica. Icyo gihe rero, uwagiriwe nabi yahoraga umutima uhagaze, agahorana agahinda kadashira ndetse bikaba byanamuviramo no gusara.

Ariko abanyarwanda bose, aho bava bakagera nibirinde guzikamo ibice, bose bumve ko batagomba kujya mu bice by'abagambanyi ndetse n'abicanyi ahubwo bose nibashyire hamwe ushatse kuzana igice cy'ubugizi bwa nabi ashyikirizwe inzego zibishinzwe.

Ubutegetsi bufite uruhare runini mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bakuriki je ikibazo cyagwiriye u Rwanda, basanze cyaratewe na Politiki mbi yari ihari kandi yarabaye karande muri iki gihu. Kuva nyuma y'ubukoroni ubwo abazungu bashyiragamo abanyarwanda kwivangura. Ubutegetsi, kubera umucole mubi bwari bu-fite, hahise habaho inda nini y'ibitari ibyawe, ndetse n'ubwicanyi. Maze abanyarwanda b'icyo gihe bangwa abaturanyi babo, bakunva ko aribo bagomba kubaho bo n'imiryango yabo.

Politiki mbi yakomeje gukaza umurego, haza no kuboneka abantu bari hejuru y'amategeko, ibyo byose byateye gukora ibyo bishakiye, bakumvako ntacyo bibatwaye kubera ko bari bazi ko batazahanwa, umutegetsi akitwaza umwanya afite maze akoreka imbagi. Uwo muco we kudahana uri mubyatumye habaho ariya mahano yagwiriye u Rwanda, kugira ngo noneho bicike, abanyarwanda bagombye kumva ko ntawe uri hejuru y'amategeko, bakirinda kuvangura amoko n'uturere, ndetse bose bakimiriza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu. Abategetsi b'inzezo zose gafatire hamwe ingamba nyazo zo guca uwo muco wabaye akarande, kandi bakore ibishoboka byose kugira ngo ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda bugaruke.

Ku ruhande rw'intumwa za rubanda, kera ntizakoze umurimo wazo uko bikwiye, zakoze nk'aho atari intumwa za rubanda. Birababaje kuba umuntu yaratowe n'abaturage bamwizeye bazi ko azabavuganira mu nzego zo hajuru ariko akarenga akabaroha.

Nk'uko bizwi intumwa za rubanda, nizo zifite urwego rushinga amategeko mu bihugu byinshi ndetse no mu Rwanda; bigatuma izindi nzego ziyagenderaho. Ariko rero urwo rwego ntabwo rwakoze akazi karwo uko bikwiye, kuko rutigeze rureba ingaruka z'amategeko rwashinze cyane cyane agusha abaturage : nk' gushyiraho itegeko ryo gutanga ibyangombwa biranga umuntu birimo amoko. Urwo rwego rero rwagaragaje ko rwakoreraga abantu bamwe.

Urwo rwego rushinga amategeko arizo ntumwa za rubanda ntabwo rwigeze rurengera abaturage, rureba ko za nzego zindi uko ari ebyiri zikurikiza amategeko rwashyizeho.

Ibyo byagaragajwe n'uko ubutabera mu gihugu bwashyizwe inyuma y'amategeko bwabaga bwarahawe, akaba ariho mu nyandiko gusa. Ahubwo bukagirwa na ruswa gusa.

Naho urwego nyubahiriza-tegeko rwo, wasangaga rusa n'aho rusinziriye, abagize urwo rwego bitwaje umwanya bafite maze bahita bajya hejuru y'amategeko, bakoze ibyo bishakiye, ntibubahirije amategeko abagenga.

Ibyo byose rero bigomba gucika, intumwa za rubanda zigomba gushyira umwete ku kazi kazo, zigashakira abaturage icyabateza imbere kandi kibarengera, intumwa za rubanda kandi zigomba gushyiraho amategeko zhamye kandi arengera rubanda, kandi arenganura abaturage. Ibyo nibishyirwa mu bikorwa amahoro ndetse n'ubumwe bizagara. Intumwa za rubanda zigomba gukemura kandi zikabera ijisho ry'ukuri mu mpande zose, nibigerwaho bizazana amahoro n'ubwiyunge. Abaturage nabo nibabona intumwa zabo zibabwiza ukuri, kandi bakabona ko ubutegetsi bwose bubitayeho, bazarushaho kugirira icyizere ubutegetsi bwabo. Intumwa za rubanda nizegere abaturage, zibabaze ibibazo byabre zigerageze kubikemura, ibidashobotse zibishyikirize izindi nzego zo hejuru, ibyo bizatuma abaturage bose baririmba amahoro, kandi bose batahirize umugozi umwe.

Uruhare rw'Ubucamanza mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda : Ubucamanza ni urwego rubereyeho kurenganura abaturage ariko rugakoresha ubutabera. Ubucamanza bugomba guhana bwihanukiriye abategetsi bashoye abaturage mu marorerwa ariko bugaca inkoni izamba mu bayashowemo. Nk'uko tubizi, abanyarwanda benshi bazize amaherere, bazira uko bavutse cyangwa se amashyaka barimo, nta tegeko bishe, ibyo bikaba byari bikwiye gucika burundi naho ubwenegihu bw'umunyarwanda ntacyo bwaba buvuze.

Ubucamanza bugomba gukoresha ibishoboka byose, bugaca kandi bukihutisha imanza z'abagize uruhare mu bwicanyi, bukumvisha umuntu icyaha yakoze, bukamwereka ububi bw'icyaha cyakozwe, bwarangiza bukamuhana bukurikiye uburemere bw'icyaha. Ni muri urwo rwego, ubucamanza bugomba nogusobanurira abakoze icyaha ko bagomba kwemera icyaha n'igihano bahawe.

Uwemeye icyaha cye akanemera no kucyihana bukamusobanurira icyo kwihana bivuga. Ubucamanza bugasobanura ko kwihana bivuga : guhindukira ukareka ubugizi bwa nabi, guhindura ibitekerezo n'intego, guhindura uburyo bwo gutekereza, kugira agahinda k'ibyakozwe no kubyicuza ukabisabira imbabazi.

Ubucamanza iyo burangije gusebanurira abakoze icyaha icyo aricyo kwihana, bubereka ububi n'ingaruka z'icyaha, bukabasobanurira ko kwihana by'ukuri bisaba : kwemera amakosa yakoze, kuba uwakoze icyaha yiteguye kwishyura umwenda w'ibyo yakoze, gutangira kumva ko yifatanyije kandi afatanyije akababaro n'uwigiriwe nabi.

Ubucamanza iyo burangije ibyo, bubwira uwakoze icyaha ko impamu bumusabye kwihana ari ukugira ngo ibyabaye bitazongera maze bukamubwira ko intego nkuru ye kwihana ari : gushaka ubutabera, gushaka kubohoka, kugarura umubano mwiza n'ubumwe mu banyarwanda.

Ubucamanza nibumara guhana no gushyira mu bikorwa ubutabera, abanyarwanda bazashyira hamwe maze ubwiyunge bugaruke mu bantu. Ubucamanza bugomba gusaba abanyarwanda kubworohereza, bagashyira hamwe bakarandura burundi urugomo n'amakimbirana mu mitwe yabo. Ubucamanza bugomba kumvisha no guhana abashaka kumva ko bari hejuru y'amategeko, bugakurikiza amategeko yose bwivanye inyuma, kandi bukagendera ku mategeko agenga igihugu ko ntawe, nta n'ufite uburenganzira bwo kuyajya hejuru. Ubucamanza bwagombye gukora iyo bwabaga mu gukemura imanza no kureba niba impapuro z'abaregwa n'abakurikiranwaho ibyaha zuzuye ariko bunashakisha ibimenyetso bihamye by'abo bakurikiranwa. Ubucamanza bugomba gukorana ubushishozi n'ubwitange mu kazi kabwo kuburyo urengana arenganurwa mu maguru mashya awareze nawe akabona ibisubizo by'ibyo yaregeye. Leta ariko nayo yagombye kugira uruhare rumini mu korohereza ubucamanza, nabwo bugakoresha ukuri kose ko nkingi y'ubumwe aribwo buzatugeza ku bwiyunge buhamye. Ibyo bizanwa n'ubutabera bwuzuye bukorera mu kuri, buduha ukuri.

Mu byerekeye icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bumvikane, mbere na mbere abanyarwanda bose bagomba kwita ku ngabire umuntu ahabwa kuva avutse kugeza apfuye. Abanyarwanda bazi ko ubuzima bw'umuntu butagomba gufatwa nk'ubw'inyamaswa, abanyarwanda kandi bagomba kumenya icyo aricyo uburenganzira bwa muntu. Abanyarwanda bose nibamenye ko ntawavukiye kubabara no kubabazwa kandi ko buri wese afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho mu mahoro asesuye.

Imana ijya kurema yaremye umuntu ntabwo yamuhyae ubwoko cyangwa se ngo imuhe akarere aka n'aka niyo mpamu abanyarwanda twese twagombye gushyira hamwe, tugatahiriza umugozi umwe, tugakura urumamfu mu ngano, ni ukuvuga ko tugomba kwirinda amacakubiri, tugashyikiriza abategetsi abashaka kuducamo icyuho maze njye nkabaho, we akabaho, twese tukabaho, ntihagire uvutswa ubumuntu kandi atari we wiremye. Abanyarwanda nibamenye ko umuntu ahenda, ibyo ndabivuga cyane kubera ko iyo umuntu apfuye tumuririra ariko twaba twataye amafaranga tukavuga ngo akatari amagara barahaha, umuntu ntagomba kugirirwa nabi.

Ibyo byose abanyarwanda nibabyitaho bakamenya ingabire muntu yahawe bazarwubaka rwose.

Sinabura kugaya abanyarwanda bo hambere bashorewe nk'intama maze ibyo bumvise bakabishyira mu bikorwa. Abo bumva barajijutse nibasobanurire abandi, ibibaniye bagishe inama Minisiteri ishinzwe imibereho myiza y'abaturage, tuzi twese ko ubutegetsi ntawe buheza cyane cyane iyo utuga, avuga ibyo kubaka. Aha umuntu yakwifusa ko buri munyarwanda wese ufite ibitekerezo byubaka ko yabigeza ku bandi ibibi bamwinjijemo akabyamaganira kure ahubwo agashaka icyamuteza imbere, ahubwo bose ntibazagwe mu ruzi barwita ikiziba nk'uko bavuga ngo "Ibuye ryagaragaye ntiriba rikishe isuka", bose nibusve ko ibyabaye byatewe nabo batigeze bashishoza. Abanyarwanda nibareke gukomeza kwitana ba mwana ahubwo nibashake umuti wakiza kandi watuma birinda kugirirana nabi. Abanyarwanda bose nibiyinjizemo imitima mishya, baharanire amahoro, nibirinde ko hagira ugirira abandi nabi, bumve ko bose ari bene musabo umwe, bafatanye kubaka urwababyaye maze amahoro agaruke. Byaragaragaye ko abanyarwanda bakunze guhubuka ariko noneho nibamenye ko bari kubaka Rwanda rushya. Abanyarwanda bose nibikuremo imitima yo kugirira abandi nabi, bose bamenye ko basangije amaraso, ko bagomba kudasiga isura mbi Rwanda yacu, baharanire guhesha ishema u Rwanda, ibitekerezo bibi basigiwe na ba sekuruza babo babirandure, bakureho urugomo ndetse n'umwiryane maze u Rwanda rwongere rube urw'amata n'ubuki.

Abanyarwanda aho bava bakagera nibaharanire kugwiza urukundo mu bantu ndetse n'ubumwe mu bandi banyarwanda. Buri munyarwanda wese niyumve ko afite uruhare runini mu guharanira ubwiyunge ndetse n'umubano mwiza mu gihugu hose.

Abapadiri n'abandi bihayimana bose nibigishe urukundo, bahugurire abanyarwanda kuzana ubumwe n'amahoro. Ababyeyi nabo nibagerageze guha abana babo uburere bwiza, batabigisha kwangana ndetse babatoza gukunda abandi bakiri bato maze nabyabindi byo guhora bakekakekana biveho, ibyabaye byose abanyarwanda nibabireke, ariko babirekere ababikoze, kuko bo bagomba kubihanirwa, maze abanyarwanda bose basangire byose na bose, bashyingirane nk'uko byahoze kera.

Abanyarwanda bose nibagaragarizanye urukundo basangire akabisi n'agahiye ntibamere nka ba bandi basangira akabisi ariko agahiye ntibamenye aho karengeye. Abanyarwanda bose nibasobanukirwe ko ubwiyunge butazanwa n'urugomo ko buzazanwa n'uko bashyize hamwe bose.

Abategetsi bafite uruhare runini mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, abategetsi b'ingeri zose guhera ku rwego rukuru kugeza ku rwo hasi bagomba guharanira kuzana amahoro n'ubwiyunge. Leta igomba gutegura ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame bikangurira abanyarwanda kongera kugirana ubwiyunge.

Ibiganiro byo kuri Radiyo y'u Rwanda bigomba gihugurira abanyarwanda bakoresheje kwihana, bikanakangurira abakosherejwe kubabarirana. Ibyo biganiro bigasobanura ko kubabarirana ari : kubabarira abakosheje, kureka ibyabaye bikagenda, gusiga inyuma ibyabaye bagatanjira ibishya.

.../...

Ibyo biganiro kandi bigasobanura ko kubabarirana by'ukuri bisaba :  
kumenya igihano gikwiriye uwakoze icyaha, kwanga guhana uwakoze icyaha ukurikije  
uburemere bwacyo. Ibyo biganiro byerekana neza ko intego nkuru ye kubabarirana  
ari : guhindura imikorere, gushaka amahoro ye mu mutima, gusana umubano wakomeretse,  
kwemera ko habaye gukomeretsanya no gushaka ubutabera.

Tuzi ko u Rwanda rugabanyijemo amaperefegitura agera kuri cumi n'abiri  
kandi yose uko ari ntawabasha kuyageramo avuga ibyifuzo byose keretse bifashe igithe  
kirekire. Kubera ko Minisiteri zose zigize "Leta" y'u Rwanda zibereyeho kubaka  
u Rwanda, iy'itangazamakuru ikwiye gufata ingamba zihanitse mu kwigisha abaturarwanda  
ubwo kubera ko ariyo izindi Minisiteri zose zinyuzaho ibyifuzo byazo byose mu  
guharanira kubaka u Rwanda, umuntu yavuga ko ariyo iri mu mwanya uri imbere mu  
gushyigikira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Minisiteri y'itangazamakuru yifashishije Radiyo  
Rwanda ibinyamakuru nk'imvaho ndetse n'ibindi yashyira ahagaragara ariko byubaka,  
tutibagiwe n'undi wese washaka kwandika abwira abanyarwanda, iyo Minisiteri  
yamushyigikira.

Guverinoma igashyigikira igitekerezo cyo gukwiza televiziyo mu Rwanda  
hose, kubera ko ariyo yamamaza banareba ibyo abandi bagezeho hirya no hino. Mbere  
hahozehe ibiganiro kuri Radiyo Rwanda nka "Ejo nzamera nte?" n'ikindi "Ubutegetsi  
bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya Komini", kimwe n'uko ubu hariho "Hirya no hino mu gihugu",  
n'ibindi bisobanurira abaturage uko babana. Ibyo biganiro ababishinzwe kuri Radiyo  
Rwanda iyo baza kujya bacukumbura uko kitwa akaba arinako gikora nta makimbirane yari  
kurangwaho kuko buri wese yibajije ati ejo nzamera nte yakwishakira igisubizo  
burenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, ku bwiyunge, ku bumwe n'amahoro.  
None se ibyo bivume byo mu Rwanda ko byigishije kwicana no kuryana bakabikurikiza  
abanyarwanda inkomoko y'amacakubiri yabaye mu Rwanda. Inzego zose nizikoreshe amanama,  
ba Konseye muri Segiteri zabo, abaserire mu maserire yabo, Nyumbakumi inzu ku yindi,  
bose basobanurire abaturage ko ubutegetsi bwakira kandi bugasubiza ibibazo byose ku  
bwiyunge. Abategetsi nabo nibagire abajyanama beza kandi benshi kandi bazi akazi kab  
bose bajye hamwe barebe uko mu gihugu bimeze maze bakemure ibibazo byabo.

Imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu niyegere kandi  
yumve umwuka w'abaturage mu kurengera no gushyira mu bikorwa ubwiyunge iyo miryango  
imenye ko ibereyeho kunga abanyarwanda, nitange ibitekerezo ku bwiyunge bw'abanyarwa-  
nda kandi ihugurire abanyarwanda bose kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa-muntu  
yo nkingi izazana ubwiyunge.

.../...

Sinarangiza ntanenze abanyarwanda bo hambere, baca umugani mu kinya-rwanda ngo "Iso ukwanga agusigira urubanza rwamunaniye" twebwe rero dushyireho akacu, abasogokuruza bacu basize boretse igihugu ntabwo bigeze bashaka icyagarura amahoro y'abanyarwanda. Ariko ibyo byose bigomba kugira iherezo, abanyarwanda bose bakubaha u Rwanda rushya, rutagendera ku matwara y'ivangura, uwakoze icyaha wese agahanwa maze tukabona ubwiyunge, amahoro agasagamba mu Rwanda. Icyo gihe u Rwanda ruzongera rube u Rwanda rutemba amata n'ubuki, abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza.

None rero abategetsi bacu tubisabire kandi badukundire baduhe amatwi. Amatwara yabo meza turayashima ariko barajye batoranya abajyanama bez a kandi benshi. Barashishoze batavaho bibagirwa ko bagomba gushaka icyagarura ubwiyunge. Barabe nka wa mutware wanyarukaga nimugoroba agaca mu gihugu cye akumva niba koko abaturage be baraye bahaze kandi ko bafite amahoro nyayo.

Nibamanuke begere abaturage bamenye uwo bahumeka, abajyanama babi babigizeyo.

Namwe bafasha b'abayobozi bacu, nimwirinde gutanga inama itari yo, mbera yo kuba abahanuzi nimwegere abaturage mumenye koko ibibazo byabo, mubwire ukuri abategetsi bamenye ibyaza n'ibibi biriho bifatirwe ingamba zihamye kandi zubaka kandi mureke kureba bugufi, kuko uwubaka igihugu areba kure.

Leta n'abacamanza nabo bagombye kuba intangarugero mu gukurikiza amategeko agenga u Rwanda. Bagafatira hamwe ingamba nyazo mu kumvisha abanyarwanda ko politiki yo kudahana igomba gucika, bakumvisha ingaruka mbi zayo, ko bagombye kumenya ko ari bamwe ko ari bene mugabo umwe kandi ko ntawe uri hejuru y'amategeko. Ibyo byose nibiba mu kuri uhanwa agahanwa ku buryo yumva ko igihano ahawe gihwanye n'icyaha cye, n'uhana nawe agashingira ku mategeko atarenganya maze urenganurwa nawe akumva atarenganwa kandi ko amategeko amurenganura, amurenganura neza.

Itangazamakuru naryo nirihabwe ubwisanzure maze ryiyongere, ariko ryigisha ubwiyunge nta macakubiri ryigisha kandi ryirinde kubogama no gusebanya, ahubwo ryubake kandi risane imitima y'abanyarwanda yakomeretse, nirikoresha ukuri nyako ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda buzagaruka.

Intumwa za rubanda nazo, nizikomeze zegere abaturage zimenye umwuka bahumeka, nizikomeza umurava n'ubwitange zifite zizazanira abanyarwanda bose ubwiyunge.

Abanyarwanda bose nibitegereeze barebe kure abakosheje n'abagifite imitima inangiye bihane, abakosheje nabo bababarirane bose bagwize amahoro, urukundo, ubumwe byo bizazana ubwiyunge nyakuri.

Ruhengeri, kuwa 20 Nyakanga 1997.-

NZABANDORA FELESIYANI  
URWUNGE RW'AMASHURI RWA  
KIGOMBE  
UMWAKA WA GATANDATU  
NDERABAREZI RUSANGE.-

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.-

Abantu benshi bafite ikibazo ku ijambo "kubana neza" ,  
ndetse n'ijambo umunyarwanda. Iyo abantu baza kumenya i gisobamiro cy'ijambo umu-  
nyarwanda, ibintu ntabwo byarikwera iyo byageze, ndetse nta n'ubwo byagagombye  
kuturushya dushaka icyakorwa kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Bamwe batise:  
" Umunyarwanda n'umuntu wawukiye mu rwanda, abandi bati, umunyarwanda ni umuntu wawu-  
kiye kandi utuye mu Rwanda aiko kandi nyamara n'umuzungu ashobora kuruvukiramo ka-  
ndi akaruturamo. Ibisobamiro by'abo bantu bombi nibyo byabindi bituma abantu bahoho-  
terana bunya ko ntaho bahuriye kandi nyamara bahuje amaraso. Ese ubundi Umunyarwa-  
nda ni iki ? UMUNYARWANDA : ni umuntu wese uvuka cyangwa utaravukiye mu Rwanda, utu-  
ye cyangwa udatusye mu Rwanda, akibwo ufite isanira n'inkomoko kyumukirimo wabayaho  
mbereye uvuka kubutaka bwahawe izina " U Rwanda " , akaba ntabundi butaka bufite  
irindi zina yakomotseho.

KUBANA NEZA : Kubananeza ni ukunvikana n'abo murikumwe,  
muturanye, ndetse n'abarikure mushobora kubonana bikagaragarira inyuma ku mubiri, ku-  
mutima no mubikorwa, mugafatanyirizahamwe icyatumu ubuzima bwanyu budahungabana.  
Uko gusobamura ijambo "Umunyarwanda" , nabi rero bya-  
tumye abanyarwanda bacikamo ibice, bazana umwiryane mu banyarwanda.

NI IKI CYATEYE UMWIRYINE MU BANYARWANDA ?

Iyo turuga tuti ni iki cyakorwa ngo abanyarwanda bo-  
ngere babane neza, iri jambo "bongere" riratwereka ko "bigeze" kubana neza none-  
ho bikazamo kidobya iyo kidobya rero yaba yaratututsehe? Abanyarwanda babanye neza  
igihe kinini mbere y'umwaduko w'abazingu, mbere yuko abazungu bagera mu Rwanda, mbere  
y'igihe cya gikoronize; mbere yaho abantu bari batuye iki gihugu ntarindi zina bari  
bazi uretse "Umunyarwanda" ndetse hakaba n'utundi tuzina, umucaba, umukono, umu-  
giri n'andi menshi maze umwe akumva arumuse w'undi bityo bakaba batagirirana nabi.  
Abazungu bmaze kuza, baratandukira bibagirwa ibyabazanye" Aha twibuke RWKARA rwa  
BISHINGWE abwira umuzungu ati: "Ko waje kwigisha iyoboka mana ibyimanza ubijemo ute?  
Maze umuzungu areba ba banyarwanda baribakundanye ati: " dore murimo amoko atatusati  
wowe ubwo urimugufi uri umutwa, wowe ufite izuru rito, uri umututsi, ati dore wowe  
ufite izuru rinini , uri umuhutu, n'ibindi byinshi, ati ati dore kandi wowe waturu-  
tse muri Etiyopiya ati nawe waturutse muri Cadi nyamara ngo " Umumtu ananira umuhana  
ntawe unanira umushukira." N'ubwo umuzungu yababeshye, ibyobihugu ntamumwe wari uzi  
habe n'akanyuguti na kamwe ko muri ibyobihugu batwererewe, ukuntu baturutse yo nta  
rurimi na rumwe rwaho bazi, ubanza ntawabajije ! Maze ibice bicika mu banyarwanda baba  
nkira Adamu na Eva bamaze gukora icyaha; barunamuka, bararama, bareba hejuru bati nibyo  
koko turi amoko atatu, inziraniza y'ubufatanye uwobarayitaye umwe yahura nd'undi  
akararama arwanyiriza kureba mu maso, umuzungu ati: " ndagikoze, yishinga icyara."

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Igina Abanyarwanda siba rirasibanganye, basigarabahigana nka Gahini na Aperi, maze Abazungu baba abo kogeza, Abanyarwanda baba bashyamiranye batyo. Ibyo byose byatewe muko bari bamaze kuva mu nzira nziza bari bahawe na basogokuruza, inzira yari iyu-bufatanye, iyo kubana neza, iyo gukundana, iyo gusangira byose. Maze bashinga inzira yica, imwe yaje guca ibintu bidatinze. Byakomeje kujya irudubi, nibwo mu mwaka w' 1994 amazi arenga inkombe, ishyamriwira urwanda, ntitwhita dushaka icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, tutarareba niba koko abanyarwanda bashobora kongera kubana.

ESE KOKO ABANYARWANDA BASHOBORA KONGERA KUBANA NEZA ?

Ibyo ntawashidikanya ! Ese ubundi amoko ari mu rwanda aruta ari mu gihugu cya " U G A N D A " ? Koko babanye neza cyane ! Aruta se ari mu gihugu cya Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Congo ? Ko abaturage baho babanye neza ? None mu Rwanda bya nanirana bite ? Umuhindji GANDI we yabitibwiye kare agira ati: Burimantu wese yago-mbye kugira icyifuzo cyo kudahungabanya umitekano wa mugenzi we !

Turebye mu nyandiko mahanga ibyo gushyamirana byarashize, barashikama, abashyamiranyaga barashoberwa ! Ese ubu uzi urukundo rw'umuzungu n'uwirabura muri Afrika Yepfo ? Umunyamerika MARITINI LUTTERI waharaniye amahoro we gagize ati : Tugomba kwiga kubana neza twese nk'abavandimwe, kuko bitabaye bityo, tuzapfira gushira twese nk'abapfu.

Nitibiytabira, twese ubwacu, tuzongera tubane neza, dushyizaho ubushake, ntayindi nyungu tugamije uretse iyo gusabana neza mumahoro. Izi ngero tumase kubona haruguru ziratwereka ko twongera kubana neza bitatuhiye cyane, gusa umiganda wa buri wese urakenewe. MAX WEBER we yawuduuhaye kare agira ati : " Buri umwe umwe abigambi-riye agakora neza, Selire yose, ya hora neza, Segiteri na Komini ni nk'uko, Perefe-gitura yose ntawasigara inyuma, noneho igihugu cyose kigatungana. "

Ntagushidikanya, abanyarwanda tugomba kongera kubana neza, ntamibwo binruhije, akubwo turebe icyakorwa kugira ngo bongere kubana neza.

HAKORWA IKI NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE KUBANA NEZA ?

Mugushaka icyakorwa, aha turifashisha inzego eshatu arizo :

- Urwego rw'ubucamanza : rukaba rufite uruhare runini mu kuburanisha abanyarwanda.
- Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu : butagize uruhare ntacyagerwaho.
- Umuturage : afite uruhare kuko byose bipfira bikanazukira mu baturage.

1. Ubucamanza bwakora iki kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ?

Ubucamanza bufite uruhare runini mu kongera kubanisha neza abanyarwanda. Abakoze ibyaha mugihes cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembarsemba, bataciriwe imanza ngo haboneke ukuri, kwiyunga twaba tubivuga nk'inzozi. Abacamanza bongerwe, bace imanza vuba, abakoze ibyaha bahanwe, abarengana barengamurwe. Kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda byazagora igithe cyose uwakoze icyaha agaragare imbere yuwo yagikoreye atarahanwa. Byazagora kandi igithe cyose utarakoze icyaha agaragare mu gihano ntakibi yakoze byazagora ndetse igithe abakoze ibyaha bitandukanye bakomejwe gufatwa kimwe !Urumva ko ubucamanza bufite akazi katoroshye ko kuzambura ibyo bintu.

....//....

Bigenze bityo, abasigaye imusozi bazumwikanana bate ? Imanza muri "Gacaca" nizisubireho kuko zilimiza abantu, ni itangiriro ryo kongera kwiyunga, imanza zidako maye zisubizwe muri gacaca, ababurana basangirire hamwe, ibihano bya gacaca, habamo guturana amayoga yo kwiyunga n'ibyiru, maze babandi bitwa abahutu na babandi bitywa abatutsi igithe bazaba basangira, baturana ibyiru, basubizanya ibyubahiro, kongera kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda kuzaba gutangiye, guhingutsa agatwe ! Ibyo bibe nk'i-tegako.

Mukoro tubiyumva kuri Radiyo no mu bindi binyamakuru, n'ahandi abacamanza bo mu Rwanda nibakomareze aho, umuoco mwiza wo guca imanza, bunga abanyarwanda, ibyo bizatuma, kubana neza byihuta, kuko ubucamanza rufite urufunguze rwo kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda kandi batabishatse kubana neza byagora; urugero hagize nk'umuntu wafashwe, yarabohoje ibigori mu kwa runaka, bati umushinja cyaha umusabiye ikihe gihano, ati ni urwo gupfa. Urumwa ko ubwiyunge bwa gora, niyo mpamvu tivuga ko abacamanza bafshe mu ntoki zabo urufunguze rw'icyumba cya kabiri cy'inzu y'ubwiyunge b'abanyarwanda.

UBUTEGEESI BW'IGIHUGU BWO BWAGIRA URUHE RUHARE MUKONGERA KUBANA NEZA KW'ABA-NYARWANDA.-

Abategetsi b'igihugu bafite uruhare runini mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Ubutegetsi bwose bwasimbuwe bwagiye bugendera ku kirango cy'umurusiya " LENINE , wagize ati : " Leta cyangwa ubutegetsi ni imbaraga zituma abaturage bamwe bakandamiza abandi." Maze ubutegetsi bwa kera imazaze kugendera kuri izo nshingano, ibintu biracika mu gi-hugu, nyamara inshingano z'inyabutatu : " Gahutu- Gatwa - Gatussi " yahoraga mu kanwa gusa bigahera mu magambo abiri imahanga bati : " ubwo turi umwe , turashaka gutaha mu rwatibyaye, ngo igihugu ni gito ntabwo twakwigwamo. Ibyo byose bituma abanyarwanda tumwikanana.

KARL MAX we yitegerereje abategetsi asanga ari abanyabwenge maze aravuga ati : " Abanyabwenge bagerageje gusesengura isi, berekana uko imeze, ariko ntibatanga umuti wo kuyihindura ngo ivu aho iri." Abategetsi nabo bakunze kugararagaza uko urwanda rumeze n'ibibazo rufite ariko ntibaruhinduye ngo ruve aho ruri nyamara umuti urahari: kuva kuri nyumba kumi kugera kuri Perezida wa Repubulika, ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda burabareba. Guverinoma: Tuzi twese ubukene bw'igihugu cyacu, Guvernoma ni yake imfashanyo mu mahanga yo gukoresha yunga abanyarwanda. Iyo mfashanyo nimara kuboneka hashi-ngwe ishuri ryo kwigishirizamo ijambu " UMUNYARWANDA " ndetse n'uburenganzira bwe. Abaturage birememe ko nta muhutu, umutussi n'umutwa ko ahubwo abantu ari abanyarwanya-rwanda, abakonseye bicare mu ishuri bihaze iryo jambo, bahugurwe, bigishwe, resiponsa-buli n'amara kubimenya abyigishwe abanyumba kumi nabo babyigishe abandi, kuva ku mwana-uzi ubwenge, kugeza kuri buri wese, bigishwe ijambu " umunyarwanda! ", ibyamoko bihanagurwemo, hatangwe ibihembo ku bitwaye neza murayo masomo.

UBUTEGETSI BWA KOMINI: Ni bushinge amashyirahamwe muri komini, abumbye ayo moko yose y'abanyarwanda, uko bibumbiye hamwe mu mashyirahamwe, niho babana neza. Amashyirahamwe arimo ivangura asenwe burundu.

UBUYOBOZI BW'URUBYIRUKO: Kuva kuri Komini kugera mu rwego rw'igihugu ni bushinge amakoraniro ya za animasiyo ahuriyeho n'ayo moko yose, birya bitangaza iyo ubona ku munsi w'ibirori, itorero runaka riserukana imikino n'imbyino rivangura amoko, usanga amatorero

....//....

abiri hariya, rimwe rigizwe n'abatwa, abahutu gusa, irindi rigizwe n'abatwa n'abatutsi  
gusa maze Lete ntibyamagane, ibyo birababaje, bigomba gusubirwamo.

MU MADINI : Ugasang umutwe wose w'abaririmbyi ugizwe n'ubwoko bumwe, undi hariya  
ugizwe n'ubundi. Ese koko abantu bashaka kwiyunga ? Baziyunga se bitandukanya ?  
Ubutegetsi ni buvaneho ibyo bice, abanyarwanda bivange mu mahuriro, bibumbire hamwe,  
bamwe bigishe abandi ibyo bakora, aho babyina n'ibindi; ibyo bizatuma aho bahorana  
bamenyerana, umwe nareba undi yibaze ati: "harya uyu mugenzi wanjiye dupfa iki"?

Kandi dupfana iki ?

MU MIDUGUDU : Ubutegetsi ni butuze abanyarwanda mu midugudu buvangavange, ntihaka-  
gire ubwoko butura agatsiko, buturane, busabane amazi n'umuriro ndetse n'umunyu basa-  
ngire, akabisi n'agahiye, naho bamwe gutura hano, n'abandi hirya, bizaba nk'ibice  
bibiri bihanganye.

RADIYO RWANDA : Ishyireho ibiganiro byigisha ijambu "umunyarwanda" irwanye amateka  
y'ibinyoma yayandi yo kuwuga ngo nitwe twaje mbera, ni mwe mwaje nyuma, turi benshi  
muri bake, n'ibindi bisa bityo, ibirwanye yego, igerageze ku bivugaho ariko ibishima-  
ngire, ariko kandi n'ibinyamakuru byibande kurizo nyigisho. Uturere ariya moko abanye  
neza ni duhabwe ibihembo, aho babanye nabi bamaganwe; bityc bizatera ishyaka ryo ku  
neza. Ibyo bizagerwaho, bizaba ari intangiriro yo kongera kubana neza kw'abanya-  
rwanda kuko igihe cyose umuntu azaba akireba undi akamibona mo umunyarwanda, igihugu  
kizatumba mo amata n'ubuki.

INAMA Y'IGIHUGU IHARANIRA AMAJYAMBERE : Ni shireho umushinga w'itegeko kubasha kuru-  
shinga, rigere no mu madini, amoko arongorane, uwo mu bwoko bumwe arongore uwo  
mu bundi, ababikoze babyishakiye hashimme, ibyo nibigerwaho nyuma y'imyaka itatu...  
abana babo ni bazarongorana, bikagera mu buzukuru no mu buzukuruza, abamenyereye kuva-  
ngura, bazavugako umututsi arinde, umihutu arinde ? Ndahamya ko izina rizagaragara ari  
"umunyarwanda" gusa, ntarindi ryaboneka ! Urufunguso rwa gatatu rw'icayumba cy'inzu  
y'ubwiyunge b'abanyarwanda rufitwe n'umuturage.

### III. UMUNYARWANDA WA NYUMA Y'AMARORERWA YABAYE MU RWANDA YAKORA IKI NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA ?

Iyo dutekereje ku muturage wa nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu rwanda, mu mwaka w'  
1994, dushobora gusanga abaturage bashyirwa mu bice bine by'ingenzi aribyo:

1. Umuturage wiciwe;
2. Umuturage wakoze amarorerwa;
3. Umuturage utarabyivanzemo;
4. Umuturage wahungutse yarahoze hanze.

Abo baturage bose bafite umiganda manini batanya kugira ngo amahoro, ubusabane,  
kubana neza byongere biganze mu banyarwanda.

Umuturage wakoze amarorerwa : Afite uruhare runini myi kongera kubana neza kw'abanya-  
rwanda. Uyu muturage, mbera y'tuko abana neza n'abandi, birakwiye ko ahaniwa ibyo yakoze,  
akakirana igihano umitima mwiza, kuko n'ibundi nave ibyo yakoze abikunze kandi abyishimiye,  
kuko nkoko nabivuze igihe uwakoze icayaha aguragaye imbere yuwo yagikoreye,  
muke, yari akwiye kwitura ngo ibye bisobamike, biryo tuzasigara duharanira ukongera  
kubana neza. Maritini Luther we yagize ati : Uwemeye gutumwa gukora ibibi n'umurawa,  
kandi abyishimiye, ntaho ataniye n'uwalkimutuye, kandi azafatwa nkaho ariwe nyiri  
ubwite w'ibibi yakoze . ....//....

Umuturage rero abigambiriye mu mutima we agacunguza uburyo umwete yagira uruhare rugaragara mu kongera kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda, cyanecyane yemera amakosa ye akayasabira akayasabira n'imbabazi.

UMUTURAGE WICINE : Afite uruhare runini cyane ndetse ruruta urw'iwanbere mukongera kubananeza kw'abanyarwanda. Uwo muganda uzagaragarira ku guhanisha abamukoreye amarorerwa agashishaza, ntagire uwarenganya ndetse yashaka no gutanga imbabazi, akaba akoze neza kurushaho. Igihe kandi azifuza ibihano kubamukoreye amarorerwa, biryanye n'amarorerwa bakoze, azaba atanze umuganda w'ubwiyunge. Urugero: Nk'umuntu wagu-saruriye imyaka, ubucamanza buti ayisubize, nave uti: cya, ahibuso ufungwe burundi. Urumva ko ntamuganda w'ubwiyunge wabutanze kandi ibihe turimo aribyo kongera kubana neza.

UMUTURAGE UTRABYIVANZE MO :

Uyu muturage utarabyivanzemo, yabaga mu gihugu, ni inararibonye ku marorerwa yabaye mu gihugu cyacu. Yanze kwivanga mubwo bugizi bwa nabi, ariko abaturage nkabo, twabashyira mu mpushyu ebyiri: Urwego rwa mbera: Twavuga umuturageutarivanze mu marorerwa yabaye mu gihugu ndetse ibiri kuba bikamubabaza, akamila mu mutima we ndetse akagira kugira abo arengere mu bahhoterwaga. Umuturage nkubo, afite uruhare runini mu kongera kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda. Kuko niwe ushabora kuba umuhuza mwiza, hagati ya ba bagabo bombi bahemukiranye. Afite akamaro mu nshingano ashobora kwiha zo kumvisha uwakoze icyaha, ububi bw'icyaha yakoze. Ndetsse no kumvisha uwakorewe icyaha ibiyi-za byo kwiyunga no kubana neza. Akamwereka ndetse ko n'ubwo ibyaha byakozwe ko atari bose babigiyemo akitanga ho urugero. Bene nkabo batagiye mu bugome, ni banara kurye. mu nzira yo kubana neza n'abahohotewe, bizaba bitangiye kuza buhcrobuhoro.

Urwego rwa kabiri: N'umuturage utarivanze mu marorerwa yabaye, ibyakozwe ntiyabijyamo, yewe inyuma kumubiri bikagaragara ko ntamarorerwa yagiyemo, ariko ku mutima ibyakorwaga, akagira ati: awa. Akunva aruko bigomba kugenda. Uymawe n'ubwo atabigaragaje, azigiramuri rya shuri, zanyigisho zo kumenya umunyarwanda icyaricyo bitewe n'uko atanayekana we ubwe, akiyemeza n'umutima nama we, akivanamo ubwobubi abantu batabona. Akambara umutima utifuriz'ikibi abandi. Uyu kuko ntakibi yakoze ngo kigaragare inyuma, amaze kwivanamo ubwo bubi bunurimo imbere, ashobora kunganira wa mukura twamaze kubona.

UMUTURACE WAHUNGUTSE YARABACA HANZE :

Bene uyu muturage arakenawe cyane mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Ntabwo akiyiye kuza atanya, ahibuso akiyiye kubaka bariya bagabo bombi bafitanye ikibazo. Uyu muturage reka tureke ku mwita umuhuza, ahibuso tumwite umujyanama. Ni yicarans n'uwakorewe amarorerwa amverereko ibyabaye birenza ukwemera, ko bigomba guhanirwa bikomeye ariko kandi ko kwiyunga n'abasigaye ko nabyo ari ngombwa. Ni yereke uwakoze amarorerwa ko agomba guhanirwa ibyo yakoze, akabyemera n'umutima mwiza. Uyu muturage niwe wagombye gusangiza, kwicaza hanwe no kumvikanisha bariya bantu bombi bagiranye ikibazo, akabahuza, ntayindi nyungu agamije, uretse iyo kongera kubana neza kw'abanyarwanda. Maze ibyo bakabikora ntaruhande babogamijaho, bumva ko bunge abanyarwanda bene wabo.

Muri make, arubucamanza, ari ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ari n'umunyarwanda ku giti cye, ukongera kubananeza kw'abanyarwanda birabareba. Ibyo bizashoboka buriwese n'abiharanira yikuyemo iby'amoke akambara ubunyarwanda.

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Ibyabaye mu Rwanda nibwo bwose byari bishorewe n'abategetsi bariho, byabaye ku baturage, bikorwa n'abaturage. Niyo mpamvu no none, abaturage aribo baribakwiye gufat'iyambere bashaka uko bakongera kubananeza. Yego ngo "Umanika agati wicaye, walcamamura ukabanza guhagarara". Abaturage nibo babigoretse, ngaho ni babigorore. Si uyu, si wowe, si n'uriya, abaturage bose birabareba. Ni bashiremo akabaraga maze igihugu cyacu gisugire, gisagambe. Gusa icyo tubona, muko ubucamanza buftaniye n'ubutegetsi n'abaturage, kongera kubananeza kw'abanyarwanda ntibirikure. Ese ubundi turinda tureba nk'impumyi iyo kwa muganga hagiye kongera umirwayi amaraso, babanza bareba ko bagiye kumuha ay'umutwa, ayu mututsi cyangwa ayumuhitu ? Ngaho twibaze aho maze twibaze icijo dupfa n'icyo dupfana. Twizere ko amaherezo ibyo birozi abazungu badushyizemo tma ni twagendera ku nyigisho tumaze kubona n'izindi nyinshi tumaze kumva, kongera kubana neza, tuzaba turi kubishyikira. Uki-mara kumva ubu butumwa, ufashe uwuhe mugambi ? Gira bwangu abandi bataragutanga. Kandi kubana si ubu tugive kyibyice, ngo abashize hamwe ntakibananira.

NZABANDORA FELESIYANI,

URWUNGE RW'AMASHURI KIGOMBE.-  
UMWAKA WA GATANDATU NDERABAREZI.-

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**IC YAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA**  
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Mbere yo gushaka umuti w'ikibazo ni ngombwa gushaka inkomoko yacyo. Nyuma ukagishakira umuti kugirango kitazongera kubaho ukundi, byarangira ukagifatira umwanzuro wacyo.

Mugushaka inkomoko y'ikibazo ni ngombwa gusesengura ariko utagamije gusesereza (guharabika). Ibyo usesengura ugomba, ugomba kubisnungura aliko utagamije gushunga (kwisekera) abo ugira inama.

Ntabwo ugomba gushaka umuti w'indwara utazi iyo ariyo, niyo mpamvu ugomba gucukumbura iyo ndwara ariko utagamije gururika abanyarwanda.

Niyo mpamvu muri iyil nyandiko ari ngombwa kurimbura n'imizi igitera cyangwa icyateye umwirryane muri bene kanyarwanda. Ni ngombwa kumanza kureba kure kugira ngo urebe icyaha cyarateye ariya mahano yabaye mu Rwanda.

Byaba byiza manje kugaragaza icyateye ibyabaye, nyuma nkabihamurira, ngasozesha umwanzuro rusange.

Njye muri iyil nyandiko nibwo nsubiza abibaza bati "Haziyunga bande?" Ese ni umuhutu n'umututsi? cyangwa se ni umukire n'umukene?

Aliko kandi nasubiza amago inyuma ngasanga ari abanyarwanda bose birinze kwihekura n'abahekuye u Rwanda kandi nabo ari abanyarwanda, nkumva rero ko abo bari bagombye kubatizwa nk'uko amadini abivuga bakavukana umutima mushya. Ntabandu dagomba kubatiza keretse UBUTABERA bwo bushobora gutuma davuka bundi bushya.

Aliko kandi n'abasigaye banze kwikora munda bakabera ababyeyi abarabihekuye, bakababyara bambaye ukuri ko nzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Niyo mpamvu usanga nk'ibintu by'inshi byabaye muri uru Rwanda ntahandi byabaye ku'iyisi turino. Niyo mpamvu abantu dagwamo cyane cyane ari abaturage bo nkingi y'amajyambere. Mu ginugu bagagara nk'icyibanza umwubatsi yubakaho, iyo kidakomeye rero, inzu irika ndetse bikayiviramo no guhirima.

Kugira ngo mu Rwanda rero nape harabaye akageni k'amarorerwa byatewe ahanini nabo; ugasanga impamvu zibaturukaho ari uruaaca, nk'ubujiji, mu baturage usanga bukururwa no kuba abagaragu b'inda. Kuko iyo usesenguye neza usanga abaturage ari ba bashimira mu iriro. Nkiyo nari amanama abazitabira nibake, ariko aho bari butange imfashanyo ugasanga baje bose. Kuburyo ubujiji buri mu baturage atari gakondo ahubwo ari ubwo twikururira.

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Isoko y'ubujiji mu baturage usanga ananini ari uko baba abagaragu b'inda noneho bigaha inzira iha abayobozi babi ikiraro bambukiraho mu gukoresha abaturage mu nyungu zabo.

Ugasanga nanone ikibazo cy'ubwoba cyarabokamye kuva ku ngoma ya CYAMI kugera uyu munsı, uretse ejo bundi mu 1991 mu ruhando rw'amashyaka nibwo bari bize gutobora ngo bavuge ariko kabaye aka wa mugani ngo "Urwiga-kuvugiriza ruca umunwa".

Iyo usesenguye neza usanga ubwoba mu baturage bushingiye ku mvugo zinjiye mu banyarwanda ugasanga zarababayemo akarande.

Muri zo twavuga nka "Ntiteranya" yo wagira ngo mu banyarwanda nako mu baturage yarabaye akarande muri bo, ariko ahanini ikibabaje nuko bayishyira no mubikorwa. Iyi mvugo niyo ipfukirana ukuri ko nzira y'ubutabera bwo nkingi y'amajyambere, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Ni nayo ituma bamwe twitana ba mwana kandi tukarenganya inzego z'ubutabera, ugasanga nk'uwbabonye ibyabaye yanze kubivuga uko biri bitewe n'ijo mpamvu.

Ubwo uwabigiriwe: ibyo bibi byabaye, bigatuma ahorana into-rezo y'ishyali ibagira ishyano ku ishyamba (Intimba ku mutima). Niyo mpamvu muri iki gihugu cyacu, nta na rimwe, nta m'umunsi n'umwe abanyarwanda twagira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge tutariga kuvugisha ukuri, n'ubwo abiyita injijke bagira bati "ukuri kose si ngombwa ko kuvugwa" bakirengagiza ko guca muziko ntigushye.

None ko ibyakozwe byabaye ni gute umunyarwanda yavugisha ukuri akikuramo iyo mvugo ?

Nubwo indyarya ihmwa n'indyamirizi twe nk'abanyarwanda ntabwo twari dukwiriye kwicarira amakosa ngo "Aha ibintu bizikora". None se ko uwiga aruta uwanga twakwize gukoresha ukuri, noneho tugahagarara mu iringanira rya twese tukiyambura iyi mvugo "Ntiteranya" yo yatuganishiye mu mwiryane ikoreka imbaga y'abanyarwanda itabarika igatuma tunnyega ubutabera.

Iyo usubije amaso inyuma usanga mubanyarwanda hararanzwemo ubudoridori bwinshi tutirengagije icyorezo "Ntikoraho". Ari nacyo gituma abaturage bagira abayobozi babo abidishyi noneho bo bagahinduka inkoma mashyi imbere yabo bidishyi. Iyo urebye kure wifitemo ingingo yo gusesengura utagamije gusesereza, usanga abaturage barahindutse inkoma mashyi mu buryo bwose. Wafatira cyane ku byari byariswe iyamamaza mashyaka, ugasanga ba bayobozi bagizwe abidishyi bavugamo ngo, ubwoko ubu n'ubu bwaturutse aha n'aha, tugomba kubusubiza iwabo, Abaturage bahari bose bagakoma mu mashyi, bamwe bite-we n'uko ari abavandimwe ba babayobozi b'inda nini, bo babaga babi-

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fitemo inyungu n'ubwo babaga batazi ingaruka, bakirengagiza yuko uruciye munsi atamenya iki ruri imbere, abandi bagakoma mu mashyi bitewe na cya cyorezo kiri mu mitima yabo cyitwa "Ntikoraho" bigatuma birengagiza ko aho "Kurumwa n'uruyuzi warumwa n'uruyuki" Ugasanga ikintu cyose umuyobozi avuze baracyakiriye bagakoma no mu mashyi kugirango bamwereke ko babyishimiye kandi imitima yabo irimo akangononwa nkäk'uruyongoyongo kubera cya cyorezo. Bigatuma batavuga aho batumva cyangwa se ibitagenda n'umuti wabyo.

Kuko iyo urebye kure usanga kujora ibivuzwe cyangwa ibikozwe byarabagaho ari nabyo byatumaga umwami ayobora ntaho yize, akabifashwamo n'ibitekerezo yahabwaga na rubanda. Urugero: Bitewe n'uko ibyabaye muri iki gihugu uwabibonye wese ntavuga ukuri kw'ibyo yabony bitewe na cya cyorezo cyiri mu mitima yabo; cyangwa se ngo "Bazambaza aho nabibonye ndi".

Twavuze ibyerekeranye n'abayoborwa reka turebere hamwe no ku bayobora. Nkoko Bibiliya ibivuga nta buyobozi na bumwe butava ku Mana. Ariko bitavuga ko imikoreshereze y'ubuyobozi igithe cyose iva ku Mana; bitewe na ya kamere mbi ya muntu bituma abayobozi bammwe bakoresha ubuyobozi nk'uturima twabo bwite. Ariko iyo usesenguye neza utagamije gusesereza usanga mu buyobozi bw'inzego zose habonekamo, wa mukobwa uba umwe agatukisha bose. Uretse ko nyine bose atari ba miseke igoroye. Usanga mu bayobozi iyo hagaragayemo uwo mukobwa agenda yanduza abandi nkoko nyine ihene mbi ntawe uyizirikaho iye. Muri bene abo bayobozi batari beza, usanga barokamwe n'ibantu bibiri aribyo:

- Indianini

- Kuba ibikoresho by'abanyamahanga.

Hano nkumva ari ngombwa ko nasobanura buri gace ukwako.

\*Inda nini: Kuva icyi gihugu kitwa ngo cyabonye ubwigenge kugeza muti 1994, ubwo igihugu cyancuze umuborogo, amaraso akameneke ari menshi cyane, usanga cyararanzwe n'abayobozi b'inda nini ariko nakwita "Isiha rusahuza". Inda nini mu bayobozi usanga iterwa no kurenga ku nshingano yo gushaka icyateza abanyarwanda imbere ahubwo bagahitamo kwishakira inyungu zabo bwite. Usanga imvugo ngo "Ujya gutera uburezi arabwibanza irabokamye". Inda nini iterwa no kumva ko ugabanye umwanya runaka, aba aweguriwe burundi; burya ngo umwera uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose. Yahereye mu buyobozi bwo hejuru ari byo nakwita "Kwikubira". Ari byo bituma abayobozi bo mu nzego zo hasi bahinduka ba mureke umbanze. Abo bohejuru bonye ko banvumkuwe, bitewe na cyacyiraro bambukiraho kitwa ubuji mu baturage bahita bajijisha abanyarwanda babumvisha ko ikibazo cyiri mu gihugu ari icy'amoko.

./...

Ugasanga iyo saho (ariyo inda nini) yabo bamwe ari yo  
yasubiranishijemo benekanyarwanda nabo batiretse bitewe nogushaka  
kugundira ubutegetsi nk'akarima bacyebewe n'ababyeyi babo.

\*Kuba ibikoresho by'abanyamahanga: Bitewe n'uko ubukoroni bwabaye  
mu Rwanda dukoronijwe n'abazungu, byatumye bakoresha abayobozi  
b'abanyarwanda mu bikorwa bifitiyemo inyungu. Wagira ngo Abanya-  
rwanda niho bakuye insigamigan i gira iti: "Ba nyamuzavuba nibo  
bamenya ama tongo y'abageye". Birababaje kubona umuntu ava i  
Burayi akaza ku kumvisha ko umuturanyi wawe yavuye aha n'aha  
arangwa n'ibi n'ibi. Burya rero abantu mu bandi ni babi, bitewe  
n'inda nini ~~yu~~, bayobozi byatumye bemera kuba ibikoresho by'abanya-  
mahanga. Ubwo abanyarwanda bari bamaze kumenya kwandika maze ba-  
rabagororekera si ugusesengura icyo bise amoko rubura gica.  
Ukibaza niba igihe abanyarwanda babaniye batari baziranye ku mico  
yabo.

Ubwo politiki ya Mpatsibihugu yari imaze gukwira hose muri  
Afurika no mu Rwanda ntiyahatanzwe, maze ibihugu bimwe bigize iyo  
politiki biza mu cyo nakwita gufasha kuyobora. Maze bifasha ubu-  
tegetsi gukora ibyo bishakiye bafatanije na ba Rusarurira mu nduru  
b'abanyarwanda. Byaragaragaye burya ngo ushuka umupfu ntiyiriza  
umunsi. Na bamwe mu bagize iyo politiki, aba ariko bagenza ubu-  
yobozi bw'u Rwanda, bararucurika, ~~b~~aruca bararucacanga, bararu-  
twika baruhindura umuyonga, maze imitima y'abanyarwanda bayifatira  
mu ntoki zabo, kuburyo bizeye ko igihe bazayirekurira izasandara.  
Niko byagenze, yarasandaye, barangije bivumburira akabo karenge  
basiga abavandimwe bavumbitse akabo, ati hehe n'u Rwanda.

Maze gusesengura ibyabaye n'icya biteye, nahamagarira  
abaturage gufata ingamba zikurikira:

1° Kubahugurira kutumva ibihuha, muri uru rwego ni ngombwa kuba-  
kangurira kumva amagambo, bagashungura ibyo babwiwe ari ~~boyo~~  
byatuma bivaniramo ukuri kuzima.

2° Gukangurirwa umurimo, kuko byaragaragaye ko iyo nta murimo  
ushishikaje abanyarwanda aribwo haboneka udutsiko duharabika  
cyangwa se dusebanya bitewe nuko birwa bateze amatwi ubazanlye  
inkuru iyo ari yo yose.

3° Gukangurirwa kuyoboka amashyiranamwe kuko ariho haboneka intwa-  
ro yo kurwanya ubukene n'ubujiji, bigatuma bamenya kuvugira mu  
runame.

./...

- 4° Gukangurirwa kutaba ibikoresho by'abayobozi ahubwo bakiyumvisha ko abayobozi babereyeho bo. Naetse byaba ngombwa bakungurana nabo ibitekerezo byo kuzamura igihugu.
- 5° Ni ngombwa gukangurirwa kuvuga ibibazo bafite nta bwoba n'umuti wabyo. Bavugisha ukuri kubyabaye kugira ngo ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bigerweno.
- 6° Leta y'u Rwanda igomba kubakangurira kuvuga ukuri, ntibagire uwo bakingira ikibaba bakiyama umvugo Ntiteranya; berekana ibyabaye n'ibyo bazi nabwo bakiyama icyorezo "Ntikoraho".
- 7° Gukangurira abaturage gutinyuka gushyikirana n'abayobozi babo byaba mu muhezo cyangwa se muri rusange kandi umubi mu bayobozi bakamushyira ahagaragara.
- 8° Gukangurira abaturage kwirinda kuvugira mu matamatama, ari nabyo bituma abenshi muri bo baregesha ~~bagenzi~~ babo amano; ni ngombwa kuvugira mu runame ibitagenda n'umuti wabyo, ari aba bitera cyangwa ababicyemura.

N'abayobozi ni biyumvishe ko babereyeno abaturage, ko ari ngo-  
mbwa kwiyumvisha ko imyanya bafite atari iyo gukoresha nk'uturima  
twabo bwite, birinda kwitiranya inyungu zabo bwite n'inyungu za  
rubanda. Ni muri uru rwego bari bakwiriye gufata ingamba zikuriki-  
ra:

- 1° Kwirinda kugira icyibazo batunganiriza umuturage babanje kureba amaronko bwite bamutezeho.
- 2° Kwirinda gukurikiza uturere cyangwa se izindi nzira zose aribyo bituma haza ikibazo cya munyumvishirize, aha ndavuga cyane mu rwego rw'ubutabera.
- 3° Gukangurirana (gufashanya hagati yabo) kwirinda no kurwanya ruswa yo imunga umutungo w'igihugu.
- 4° Gukangurirana, kwirinda kubwira abaturage ngo "Genda uzagaruke ejo" kandi ufile uburyo wamukemurira ikibazo kikarangira.

•/...

- 5° Kwirinda gukoreshwa na bene imari kubera inyungu ubatezeho cyangwa imishinga mu fatanije, bigatuma bene imari bakoresha abayobozi mu gukandamiza rubanda rugufi. Bagata ukuri bagatora-gura amakosa ariyo bituma abanyarwanda tureshya imbere y'amateko ariko ntitureshye imbere y'uyahagarariye.
- 6° Kwirinda kuba ba ntakuri kutagira ifaranga nubwo ryaguze umwana w'Imana. Nanone nkaba nasaba Leta kwita ku ngingo zikurikira kugira ngo hatazaongera kuboneka ukuyoborwa cyangwa se kuyobore-rwa n'abanyamahanga kuko ngo iya gukanze itaba inturo:
- 1° Kwita ku murimo no kubyaza ibintu biri mugihugu cyacu umusaruro utubutse kuko abazungu burira kubukene maze bagakoresha abayobozi bamwe mu nyungu zabo. (Abazungu)
- 2° Kwirinda gutegekerwa n'abazungu kubera imfashanyo.
- 3° Guhora Leta igenzura urwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga uko rwifashe ntirushingire gusa ku kwibanira kw'abari muri urwo rwego.
- 4° Kwirinda kugira abazungu Imana y'abanyarwanda ngo twumve ko aribo bagomba kudukemurira ibibazo.
- 5° Guha u Rwanda agaciro imbere y'amahanga turzymvisha ko ari igihugu kigenga, kuko byaragaragayeko ntagaciro rufite kugeza ubwo 1994 abanyamahanga babyerekanye baza gushinga icyo bise "Akarere k'umutekano".

Maze gucukumbura ibyabaye mu Rwanda nahita ntanga umwanzuro ku buryo bukurikira.

- Urebye kure wasanga mu banyarwanda nta kibazo cy'amoko kigeze kibamo, ahubwo byaratewe n'ubuchtakara bw'abazungu baje bitwaje iyobokamana bagasanga abanyarwanda basenyera umugozi umwe, bahitamo kubaryamisha bashyiraho amoko; maze abanyarwanda bamanza kubabera ibamba, bibumbira mucyo bise "Inyabutatu isobetse". Nuko abazungu bafata umugambi wo kuyimunga runono.
- Kugirango abanyarwanda twongere tubane neza ni ngombwa kwiyambura icyibazo cy'ubwoko tugafata ubwitwa "Umunyarwanda ukunda igihugu".
- Mbere yo kureba umuntu mo: Ubutwa, Ubututsi, Ubuhutu manza ubunyarwanda, nyuma urebe icyo mwageraho mukubaka u Rwanda.
- Burya ngo ubutiha buranduranya ari nayo mpamvu tutari tugombye kuziza umuntu uko yavutse, uko areshya cyangwa uko areba, kuko

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"Imana iguha mutaguze kandi muguze yaguhenda" .

- Bikaba ngombwa ko abayobozi biyumvisha ko ari amaso y'abaturage kandi iyo amaso ahumye, ntacyo nyirayo aba acyimariye.
- Ndangije mbifuriza amahoro, ubutabera, amajyambere n'ubusabane muri twe bene "Kanyarwanda".

KURUJYIBWAMI Célestin  
Groupe Scolaire De la Salle  
4<sup>o</sup> M.P/BYUMBA.

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Abakurambere bacu bari indatana, bari bunze ubumwe babanaga neza. Batizanyaga imfizi, utewe bakamutabara, ushatse kubaka bakamutiza umuganda, uwibarutse bose bakamuha impundu kuko yabaga abyariye u Rwanda. Koko bari inyabutatu isobetse intego yabo ikaba imwe igithe cyose : Gukunda u Rwanda n'abarwo bose no guharananira ko rwajya imbere.

Ese hari uwaba agihakana uwo muco mwiza, ubwo bumwe bwarangaga abo bakurambere, nanyemerere mwibarize niba ahari. Ngaho nansobanurire ukuntu izo ntwari zashoboye gukoma imbere ibitero simusiga by'abanyamahanga bari bagamije kugira u Rwanda ingaruzwamuheto. Ese babishoboye nta bumwe hagati yabo ? Ese bamwe baratabaye abandi barang ari uguhebera urwaje ? Aho kuba izina "Rwanda" rikivuga ntitubikesha ubumwe n'ubutwari bw'abo bakurambere.

Ikindi nanyemerere ko imigenzo myinshi kandi myiza twayirazwe nabo : gutabarana, gukunda igithe, kuba inyangamugayo n'ibindi... Erega kuba baraturaze uyu mugani ngo "Nta mugabo umwe" nta kindi ni uko bari bararangije kubona agaciro k'ubwuzuzanye no kunga ubumwe.

Ikibabaje rero, ni ukubona uwo muco mwiza Abanyarwanda barawuteshutweho cyane cyane muri iyi myaka ishize. Nidusubize amaso inyuma, turebe ukuntu abazungu baturutse iwabo bamwe muribo bagamije inyungu zabo, maze bagahitamo kubiba amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko. Ingoma yabo yageze mu marembera imbuto ya rwa rwango imaze gukura, inkurikizi zarwo ntawe utazizi ni amahano yo muri 59, erega ngo nibwo ubutegetsi bubereye abanyarwanda bugiyeho. Nyamara abategetsi bagiyeho bimirije inyungu zabo imbere maze bagahitamo kubiba amacakubiri ashingiye ku nyungu zabo n'ababo, irari ry'ibantu ribahuma amaso, biyibagiza inshingano y'ibanze yo kunga Abanyarwanda. Uko imyaka itashye niko ayo macakubiri yagendaga akura, agera igithe atagishingira gusa ku moko afata n'uturere abanyarwanda bashusha nk'ababanye mu mahoro kandi urwango rwarasaritse imitima. Amacakubiri yageze mu arenga kamere, maze rwa rwango rubyara ishyano ritagomba aho arenga kamere, maze rwa rwango rubyara ishyano ritagomba kongera kubaho ku isi; itsembabwoko n'itsembarsemba byo mu w'i 1994.

Ayo marorerwa yadutwaye intwari, adutwara abana bari kuzazamura u Rwanda, yadutwaye abakecuru n'abasaza twari dutezeho inama zubaka; yadutwaye abantu b'ingeri zose, bazira ubwoko, uturere, cyangwa ibitekerezo byabo. Agahinda kaganje hose, amarira na n'ubu aracyatemba; ubwishishanye, kutizerana, urwikekwe n'urwango bikomeje gutandukanya abana b'u Rwanda. Nyamara aho ibihe bigeze ubu, ntawakomeza kwihanganira kubaho atariho ahumeka imyuka yuzuye urwango, sinzi niba hari umunyarwanda utarabona ko ubwiyunge ari ngombwa ko ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bwiutirwa kugira ngo dutegurire u Rwanda rw'ejo ibihe byiza.

#### IMVANO Y'AMACAKUBIRI MU RWANDA

Amacakubiri n'umwiryane hagati y'abana b'u Rwanda byabibwe n'abantu bari bafite inyota y'ubutegetsi, n'irari rirengeje ry'ibantu.

Urwango rwabibwe mbere na mbere na bamwe mu bazungu basanze abanyarwanda babanye neza, maze bagahitamo kubateranya kugira ngo inyungu zabo zitabangamirwa. Igihe bagize ngo buriye indege basubiye iwabo, abategetsi babasimbuye ntibihutira kurandura imbuto y'urwango abo bazungu basize babibye.

Irari ry'ubutegetsi n'ibantu babukomoraho byarabarenze bahitamo kureka iyo mbuto irakura, kuko kuyirandura byari kubavutsa umugati, maze umutungo w'igihugu barabona **bawugira** uwabo, **bawuhaho** uwo bishakiye. Si no kureka gusa iyo mbuto ngo yikuze ubwayo, baranayivomereye. Maze nk'urubyiruko rwabuze amashuri kandi yarubat<sup>swe</sup> bajyaho barwigisha kwanga abandi. Urubyiruko rwabuze akazi aho kurushakira akazi kubaka u Rwanda, barushakira akarusenya. Buririra ku bukene bware buganjje maze umuturage wazonzwe yasezeranywa imari kugira ngo arangize imigambi y'abo ba "rusahuriramunduru" igahe atabaye inyangamugayo ngo yitsinde, **si** ukwivayo agasizora, urwango akarushakira aho rutari. Irari ry'ibantu n'ubutegetsi nibyo byagejeje u Rwanda mu bihe by'amahina turimo.

#### UMUTI NI UWUHE ?

Icyo mbere ni uko abana b'u Rwanda bakunda kujya bicarana hamwe nta n'umwe uhejwe maze bakaganira. Umuti w'ibanze w'ibibazo ni ukubivuga bigashyirwa ahagaragara. Igihe ibibazo bizakomeza gucecekwa bigahera mu mitima y'abanyarwanda tuzaba twubakira ku musenyi.

Abana b'u Rwanda nibajye inama kandi ngo "abagiye inama Imana irabasanga". Nibatahure ubwabo amakosa yaranzwe i Rwanda n'icyayateye. Bityo, ubwo ibuye ryagaragaye riba ritacyishe isuka bazafate imigambi ikwiye intvari, ikwiye u Rwanda rw'ubu maze bahuze imbaraga iryo buye barihigikire ku ruhande, ishyano ryabaye i Rwanda ritazongera kutugwirira.

Icyo muntu atakwirengagiza kandi ni uko kujya inama bikenewe i Rwanda ari ukuzira amacenga no kwiyererutsa maze abanyarwanda bose bakarangwa n'urya mugambi, n'irya ntego twarazwe n'abakurambere bacu yo gukunda u Rwanda n'abarwo bose ugaharanira iteka icyaruteza imbere. Ntihazagire umunyarwanda uyu n'umwe uzongera kwimiriza imbere inyungu ze kandi zibangamiye iz'urwamwibarutse kandi rumutezeho byinshi, kuko uwo ntaho azaba atanaye n'aboretse u Rwanda.

Abakurambere bacu barihoreye bati : "Umugisha w'umugabo ni amaboko ye". Barongera bati : "Umugisha uteze ku wundi aba ari ntawo". Abanyarwanda ntibazongere kurangamira amahanga. Nibo bafite uruhare runini mu gukemura ibibazo byabo, nibafatane urunana, bafate iya mbere bahagurukire kubaka urwababyaye.

Hejuru y'ibibazo by'amacakubiri hakubitiyeho iby'ubukungu, inzara, ubujiji, imibereho mibi, umuco ukendeye. Ikibabaje rero ni uko iyo inzara iteye itarobanura ubwoko ubu n'ubu cyangwa akarere aka n'aka; twese iratuyogoza. Rwose umunyarwanda utarabona ko ubwiyunge n'ubumwe ari ngombwa kugira ngo twubake urwatubyaye, umunyarwanda utarabona ko nta majyambere ashoboka mu mwiryane, sinzi niba iryo zina arikwiye.

#### URUHARE RW'UBUTABERA MU KUNGA NO KUGARURA UBWUMVIKANE MU BANYARWANDA

Ubutabera ni ryo buye fatizo n'ishingiro ry'ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Si ubutabera bubonetse bwose nka bwa bundi twabonye mu myaka ishize bwaranzwe no kubogama n'icyenewabo. Ni ubutabera butabera.

Nibwo bwonyine buzatuvana mu kaga **turimo**.

Nibushinge imizi mu Rwanda kuko abo kurenganura atari bakeya. Nibwihitire gutabara abasizwe iheruheru n'amarorerwa yo mu w'1994. Nk'uriya mubyeyi wategaga urugori akizihirwa none akaba yarahekuwe, akaba atakigira umuvomera amazi, arateza ubwega mwana wagizwe imfubyi utakigira uwo aririra boshye uwavutse ku git, ubutabera nave nibumutabare bwangu. Nibubere igihozo abo bose bazize urwango. Buri munyarwanda kandi nagaragaze umutima utabera yifatanya n'abo bavandimwe bagiriwe ubugome butigeze kubaho ku isi maze abafashe guheka uwo musaraba bakorewe bazira akarengane.

Uriya nave wavukanye imbuto y'urukundo akarwiku zamo uko yigiyihe hejuru, akagimbuka ntawe akoze mu jisho, none aho anyuze hose bakaba bamuha akamo bati "nguwo uwahekuye u Rwanda", akaba azira amakosa atakoze, ubutabera nibumutabare. Ingeroz ni nyinshi kandi z'ingeri zose zigara gaza ko ubutabera bwihutirwa mu Rwanda.

Ubutabera dukeneye i Rwanda, si ubw'ubwoko cyangwa ubw'akarere, ni uburenganura bose butavanguye kuko amategeko abereyeho abantu bose. Nibugendere kure ruswa n'icyenewabo. Igihe iyo mico mibi izongera kuganza, igihe hari umuntu uzakora icyaha akiyemera ati "uwankoraho se ni nde?" nta kabuza ya mahano yoretse u Rwanda azaba atwugarije.

Wa muco wo kudahana ntuzongere kurangwa i Rwanda. Nudahagurukirwa kurandurwa hose, uzongera umunge inkiko uzateshe agaciro amategeko y'u Rwanda uyahindure byenda gusetsa zibabaje, maze ubwo nyir' icyaha azaba akidegembya, uwakorewe ikosa azabe ashakisha uko yihanira. Ikosa nk'iryo ntirizongere kubaho, ubucamanza bwonyine nibwo bufite uburenganzira bwo guhana. Ukoze icyaha agihanirwe kandi ntihazagire uhanirwa ikosa atakoze. Ubucamanza rero kugira ngo bugere kuri iyo nshingano, nibuhabwe ubwigenge bwuzuye bukorere mu bwisanzure. Ntibuzongere kuvugirwamo ngo bube igikoresho cy'abagamije inyungu zabo.

Abacamanza nibarangwe n'ukuri, ubutabera no kuba inyangamugayo. Babereyeho kunga si ugutanya; babereyeho bose, si bene wabo gusa. Ngiyo intego ibakwiye batagomba kuzatzukaho. Bityo ibihe bizaza bizarre ubutwari bwabo, bizabaririmbe, bizabashimire kuba barunze abanyarwanda, baromoye ibikomere ntawe bakomerekeje maze bakatuvana mu bihe by'amage.

#### URUHARE RW'UMUNYARWANDA MU GUHARANIRA UBUTABERA

Ubutabera si ubw'inkiko n'abacamanza gusa. Burasesera bugahera mu mutima wa buri wese, bugasingira urugo ndetse n'izindi nzego zishinzwe abaturage. Buri munyarwanda niyitoze kubaha undi n'ibye byose, niyubahe ubuzima bwa mugenzi we kuko ari ikiremwa cy'Imana. Buri wese nagerageze guha undi ikimukwiriye yirinde kumurenganya. Kuvugisha ukuri ni inkingi y'ubutabera, buri munyarwanda nabiharanire kabone n'aho yakuzira kuko kuba amahano yarahingutse i Rwanda ari uko twabuze ukuri mu gihugu n'abaguharanira bashishikaye.

Ese hari umunyarwanda usumbya undi ubunyarwanda ?  
Ndahamya ko ari ntawe. N'ugitekereza atyo niyisubireho kuko ntacyo yazamarira u Rwanda. Uruhare n'uburenganzira ku byiza n'umutungo w'urwatubyaye ni ibya buri munyarwanda kandi ku buryo bumwe.

Nyuma y'ibyo twiboneye twese ntihazagire uwongera kuvutswa kwiga kandi abikwiye, abure amazi meza, abure umuhanda, narwara abure aho avurirwa ngo aha arazira ubwoko, akarere cyangwa se ibitekerezo bye. Buri munyarwanda namenye uburenganzira bwe kandi Leta iharanire ko atabuvutswa. Bitabaye ibyo kwaba ari ugukomeza kuvomerera ya mbuto y'amacakubiri, iryo kosa ntirizasubire i Rwanda.

#### UBUTEGETSI BWIZA NI INKINGI Y'UBUMWE N'UBWUMVIKANE MU BANYARWANDA

Ubutegetsi bubereyeho abaturage bose nta vangura ribayeho; kumva nabi inshingano yabwo cyangwa se kuyirengagiza byatumye mu myaka ishize abategetsi barimirije imbere inyungu zabo, biyibagiza ko babereyeho abaturage bose, baha icyuho amacakubiri n'urwango maze igihugu bakigusha mu rwobo kizavamo twiyushye akuya.

Ubutegetsi burebera abaturage igikwiye. Abanyarwanda dukaneye byinshi ariko icy'ingenzi uwavuga ko ari ubumwe bwacu ntiyaba yibeshye cyangwa abeshye. Ntawabura rero kugira icyizere ko ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bizagerwaho mu gihe tuzaba dutwawe n'abimirije imbere iyo ntego, ndavuga Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda". Nikomeze iharanire icyo cyizere cya buri munyarwanda mu ngamba zayo, ariko cyane cyane mu bikorwa byayo kuko "kora ndebe iruta vuga numve". Ikindi kandi nishyigikirwe na buri munyarwanda muri iyo migambi myiza, itizwe ingufu na buri wese. Utazashyigikira umuntu ugamiye kunga, ugamiye ubumwe bwacu, bazamubaze icyo ashaka i Rwanda. Aho ibihe bigeze ubungubu u Rwanda nirutwarwe n'inyangamugayo. Biteye agahinda kuzabona umutegetsi runaka we shusho igaragara y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, atsikira akagwa mu cyaha maze agatanya abo u Rwanda rwamuragije.

Wa mutegetsi ugamiye inyungu ze bwite n'iza bene wabo, ucyitiranya umutungo w'igihugu n'uwe, uwo ntagikwiye u Rwanda. Ubuhangwa, ubushishozi n'ubwitange bitavangura ngibyo ibigomba kwitabwaho mu guhitamo abayobozi b'ingeri zose, kuva kuri Nyumbakumi kugera kuri Perezida wa Repubulika, hato icyiswe "AKAZU" kitazongera guhinguka i Rwanda, kuko ibyo kakuruye n'ukivuka arabizi.

#### IBITEKEREZO BYUBAKA NIBIRANGE BURI MUNYARWANDA

Dore ikindi kinyagihumbi kiregereeje, kizasange buri munyarwanda, ari umuturage usanzwe, ari n'umutegetsi, yifitemo ibitekerezo bihuje n'igihe tugezemo; ibitekerezo n'imigambi byubaka u Rwanda. Ntikizasange hari umunyarwanda n'umwe ukiri nka ya njiji y'intabwirwa, si no kubwirwa, yabonesheje yombi amahano yabereye i Rwanda ikaba igifite ibitekerezo bishingiye ku moko n'uturere. Ntikizasange hakiri ucyiratana ubwoko, akarere cyangwa ubuvuke ngo asuzugure abandi kuko iyo ngeso itubaka ahubwo isenza. Icyo kinyagihumbi kizasange abanyarwanda twese twiratana ubumwe bwacu, imigambi myiza; kizasange twiratana gukunda urwatubyaye n'abarwo; kizasange twiratana ingufu n'amaboko u Rwanda rudutezeho.

Buri munyarwanda nakere gutaka urwamubyaye. Narutake ubumwe, narutake amahoro n'ituze byo shingiro y'amajyambere twese turangamiye. Bityo ya sura mbi u Rwanda rufite imbere y'amahanga tuyihindure nziza tubikesha ubushake n'u-kwiha bya buri wese.

#### UBUREZI NIBUHABWE UMWANYA UGARAGARA

Nibyo koko burya ngo "Uburerere buruta ubuvuke". Rwanda yibarutse benshi ariko rero, nibahabwe uburerere bukwiye.

Kurerwa kuri iki gihe, ni ingenzi ntibinareba abana gusa n'urubyiruko, bireba n'abakuze ndetse n'abasaza kuko nabo abenshi muri bo barenzwe n'urwango rutagira shinge.

Ari mu ngo no mu mashuri, ku mirenge no mu manama, mu biganiro mbwirwaruhame no mu mahugurwa, ku maradiyo no mu binyamakuru, mu masengerero, intego y'ibanze nibe imwe iteka, kugorora imitima yagoromanze no kurerera u Rwanda urubyiruko ruyikunda rugakunda n'abayo bose. Gutuzwa mu midugudu ni bibe ishingiro ry'uko abanyarwanda bakongera bagatozwa wa muco wo guturana mu mahoro no gusabana. Amashyirahamwe nayo haba ayo mu migi cyangwa ayo mu byaro, nabumbe abanyarwanda b'amoko yose n'uturere twose, abigishe gukorera hamwe abereke agaciro k'ubwuzuzanye mu bantu.

Uburerere bwiza umuntu abukomora mbere na mbere ku babyeyi. Ababyeyi b'u Rwanda cyane cyane abategarugori nibatoze abana babo urukundo ruzira imipaka y'amoko, y'uturere yewe ndetse n'iwigihugu. Urwo rukundo kandi, nibaharanire kurwigiramo kuko ntawe utanga icyo adafite.

Abayobozi b'inzego zose, abarezi n'abanyamadini ndetse n'abandi bafite umutima ukunda, nibegere uriya munyarwanda udashobora kwihanganira uwo badahuje ubwoko, akarere cyangwa ibitekerezo, akamurwanya. Nibamwegere bamwumvishe ko ivangura rye ntaho rishingiye, bamwumvishe icyiza cyo kuba twararemwe dutandukanye byo biduha ubwuzuzanye nyakuri. Nibegere uriya munyarwanda ugifata ikosa ry'umuntu cyangwa agatsiko aka n'aka akarigereka ku bwoko, akarigereka ku karere. Bene uwo, ibitekerezo bya ba "rusahuriramunduru" biracyamuhumye amaso: abona umuntu ati "ubwo avuka aha naha, ateye atya" ubwo agatangira akamwibazaho byinshi akamutwerera umutima atagira; burya koko ngo "ukwanga akumva uko yishakiye". Nibamwumvishe nta wahisemo kuvukira mu karere cyangwa ubwoko ubu n'ubu ko buri muntu ariwe soko y'ibyiza ashobora gukora bamwemeze ko buri muntu ariwe soko y'ibyiza ashobora gukora abifashijwemo n'Iyamuhanze. Nibamwereke rero inzira y'urukundo ruzira kurobanura maze nabananira, bazamubaze icyo ashaka muri uru Rwanda kandi azakurikiranirwe hafi ejo hatazagira uwo yanduza iyo ndwara arwaye.

Abanyarwanda bose bafite ibitekerezo byubaka, bafite umutima ukunda nibashyira hamwe bakegera bene abo bafite ibitekerezo bitigeze kugira agaciro, ndumva amaherezo bazigarura bakajya mu murongo mwiza. Nta kabuza rwa rwikekwe no gutinyana biri hagati y'abana b'u Rwanda bizagenda nka nyomberi, maze icyizere cyo shingiro ry'ubwumvikane kizahabwe intebbe hose.

**gi** Amahugurwa ku byerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu nashyikirwe ku buryo bwose ari mu baturage b'imigi, ndetse n'ab'ibyaro nababere isoko y'inyigisho zihindura imitima. Benshi ntibakimanya agaciro k'ubuzima bw'undi, nibabitozwe. Igitangaje rero, ni uko bene abo bazi neza agaciro k'ubuzima bwabo. Rya tegeko rishyinguwe mu mutima wa buri wese rivuga ngo "icyo utifuza kugirirwa ntukakigirire abandi" rirabe irya buri wese, rimurikire ibikorwa bye byose. Maze kubaha umuntu ukubaha n'ibye ukamwubahira kuko yaremwe nkawe, ukirinda kubangamira uburenganzira bwe, bibe umugenzo mwiza uranga buri munyarwanda.

Wa muco mwiza wo kudahohoterana, koroherana no kudahora nucengezwe hose no muri bose. Urabe indirimbo y'amajwi menshi, mu bihe y'amage ndetse n'ibyiza tuyiririmba dufatane urunana itwibutse ko abanyarwanda twese turi umwe, ko n'ibibazo byose byavuka bishobora kubonerwa umuti mu nzira nziza, inogeye buri wese nta ntugunda zihabaye.

### IMBABAZI NIYO NTAMBWE YA MBERE IGANA KU BWIYUNGE

Kugira ngo ubwiyunge n'ubwumvikane bigerwehe mu Rwanda, nta wahakana ko kubabarirana ari ngombwa mbere ya byose, bitabaye ibyo, ubwo bwiyunge bwaba ari inzozi z'amanywa y'ihangu. Kubabarirana ni ngombwa. Intambwe y'ibanze kandi ntawe utayizi ni uko uwakosheje uwo ari we wese, yakwicuza abikuye ku mutima, maze agasaba imbabazi nta buryarya kuko ntawe uhabwa imbabazi atabanje kwemera icyaha. Nazirikane mbere na mbere ko nta butwari bwaba busumba kwemera intego nke za muntu, ukemera ikosa wakoze no kurihanirwa nta mwijujuto. Maze ijambo inkiko zizamubwira, urubanza ruzacibwa rutabogamye azabibonemo ijambo ry'umubyeyi wa tweze wifuza ko abe bose basubirana bakabana ariwe RWANDA.

Koko kubabarirana birashoboka nihaba ukwicuza guhamye koko, gusaba imbabazi bizira urwiyererutso n'uburyarya, hakaba gutangana imbabazi umutima wihanganira amakosa y'undi, umutima utagamije **kubika inzika**, utagamije kurenzaho.

Igihe cyose nihimirizwe imbere ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda kuko ariyo mizero yonyine u Rwanda rusigaranye. Leta nishakishe uburyo hashyirwaho icyumweru ngarukamwaka kigaharirwa kuzirikana "Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda".

### URUHARE RW'IMPUGUKE MU KUNGA NO KUMVIKANISHA ABANYARWANDA

Hari igitera agahinda n'isoni buri muntu wese ushyira mu gaciro. Ni ukubona muntu witwa immpuguke, witwa intiti duhanze amaso agira ibitekerezo bigufiya bigamije gusenya, maze aho kubera rubanda urugero rwiza mu nzira y'ubumwe n'amahoro akabayobya akabagusha, akabigisha gusubiranamo. **niba hakiri** impuguke nk'ijo mu Rwanda, nihumuke ibihe birageze. Ese ubundi uwo akwiri iryo zina ? aa ! Simbizi !

Abanyabwenge n'impuguke zikwiye iryo zina, nibahaguruke bajye inama barebe icyazahura u Rwanda. Nibashakashake **uburyo** nyabwo bwadufasha kuzahura ubukungu, tukava mu bujiji. Abize amateka nabo nibakorane, baduhugure batumenyeshe amateka nyakuri y'u Rwanda. Nta kabuza ahatafase byinshi bigaragaza ko abakurambere bacu bashyiraga hamwe bagafashanya, ko bari bunze ubumwe. Naho amateka agamije gutanya abanyarwanda, ni ayo gukosorwa.

### URUHARE RW'URUBYIRUKO MU KUMVIKANISHA ABANYARWANDA

Urubyiruko rugomba kumva ko arizo mbaraga igihugu gifite, maze rugatanga umuganda ufatika mu nzira y'ubwiyunge n'ubumwe by'abanyarwanda. Umusore cyangwa inkumi bakifitemo ibitekerezo bishaje bishingiye ku macakubiri no ku mwiryanie nibabyivanemo, nibakanguke kuko bagisinziriye. Maze urubyiruko rwose rukere kunga ubumwe. Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ntihwema gukora uko ishoboye ngo urubyiruko rusabane kuko yarangije kubona agaciro k'intagereranwa k'urwo Rwanda rw'ejo. Ari mu mashuri, mu mahugurwa, mu mikino, mu marushanwa y'ingeri zose ndetse n'ahandi, abasore n'inkumi nibahure kenshi bashyikirane batitaye ku bibatandukanya, baganire nta kwishishanya, maze barebe amakosa yaranzwe i Rwanda n'icyayateye bayashakire umuti ubwabo. Nibazirikane ko ibihe biri imbere biri mu maboko yabo, ko niba nta bumwe bubaranga, nta kabuza u Rwanda rwababyaye ruzongera rukagwa mu kangaratete.

Abana b'u Rwanda nibabyirukane rero ishyaka ryiza ryo gukunda urwababyaye no kwitangira abandi. Muri bo ntihazagire uwongera kugwa mu mutego w'abagamije inyungu zabo ngo maze bamushore mu bikorwa bisenya igihugu.

Bararangwe n'imihigo ibereye intwari twifuza i Rwanda. Barabe ba micomyiza, ibitekerezo byubaka bibabere ikirangantego, bityo Rwanda umubyeyi wa twese ijye ibareba bamwenyure nayo imwenyure, bayikunde nayo ibakunde, bayizihire izabe yibikiye intwari zizayitabara. Buri mwana afite uburenganzira bwo kurerwa neza, Leta niharanire ko atabuvutswa. Ari abagizwe imfubyi n'amahano yabaye i Rwanda, ari ba "mayibobo" birirwa bazerera mu mihanda, niharanire ko bakurana umutima mwiza, iharanire ko bagira ubuzima bwiza kuko nabo ari ingufu z'igihugu, n'u Rwanda rw'ejo.

#### URUHARE RW'AMADINI

Amadini afite uruhare rugaragara mu kunga no kumvikanisha abanyarwanda kuko abumbye abantu b'ingeri zose, b'amoko yose, ndetse n'uturere twose. Nabe isangano ry'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Si umukristo, si umukristu, si umuyehova, si umuyisilamu n'abandi bose, ikibahuje ni kimwe cy'ingenzi ni "Urukundo rukunda umuntu kuko yaremwe mu ishusho ry''Imana. Buri wese nabe intumwa y'urwo rukundo, aharanire kurucengeza mu bandi.

Abayobozi b'amadini n'abihayimana bahawe byinshi bazabazwa byinshi. Nibabe abungeri beza, bakenura urwuri, bahangayikishwe n'ubushyo baragijwe. Nibamenye ko baragijwe abantu batandukanye ariko rero bose barabarangamiye. Nibabigisha urukundo rukunda bose, nabo ubwabo rukabaranga, nibabigisha ubumwe nyabwo bakabigisha kubabarirana maze bikabaranga igihe cyose, haba mu bihe byiza cyangwa se by'amakuba, nta kabuza baza~~umva~~ kandi bazakurikiza urugero rwiza babaha, maze amadini azaba abaye ihuriro ry'abunze ubumwe babanye mu mahoro .

#### URUHARE RW'ABANYAMAKURU MU KUNGA NO KUMVIKANISHA ABANYARWANDA

Abanyamakuru nabo ntibahejwe mu gushakira amahoro n'ubwumvikane abanyarwanda. Ntibakaniganwe ijambo. Ariko mbere na mbere, nibasubize amaso inyuma, bayasubize mu binyamakuru byinshi byaranze no gutanya abanyarwanda, byaranze byagize uruhare mu kubiba amacakubiri, uwo azaba agikeneye guhugurwa, azarekere uwo mwuga abawushoboye; ibyo bireba kandi n'abanyamakuru bavugira kuri Radiyo. Abanyamakuru bose nibashake intego n'imigambi ihamye bizabavana mu kimwaro basizwemo n'abakoraga umwuga nk'ubo. Inyandiko zabo zirarangwe n'ukuri kutabogama, ibitekerezo byubaka u Rwanda nibibarange. Leta ntibuzapfukiranwe ige cyose bazaharanira ubumwe n'ubwumvikane mu banyarwanda. Uzagaragaraho indi migambi ahagarikwe bwangu amazi atararenga inkombe. Radiyo n'ibinyamakuru byo nzira yo kuwijuka, bikaba n'isangano ry'ubumwe n'amahoro ndetse n'urusobe y'ibitekerezo byubaka, nibihabwe urubuga bikwiye mu ntambara turwana tugana amajyambere.

#### UMUTEKANO NUBUMBATIRWE NA BURI WESE

Ikibazo cy'umutekano ntawe kidakwiye guhangayikisha kireba buri munyarwanda wese. Buri munyarwanda akaba agomba guhaguruka akawubumbatira, akawurinda guhungabana ku rwego rwe. Bikareba cyane cyane urwego rwa gisirikari rufite inshingano yarwo y'ibanze yo kurinda buri munyarwanda.

Ariko rero mbere na mbere, uwakoze icyaha yitwaje intwaro, na n'ubu akaba akiyifite mu biganza agambiriye kubuza abandi amahwemo ige kirageze ngo ayirambyike hasi; apfukame imbere y'urwamubyaye asabe imbabazi.

Natagira ubwo butwari, azarekere abandi bana b'u Rwanda amahoro, abareke biyunge kuko babyifusa bubake urwababyaye. Erega uwo nguwo aramenye ko nanangira umutima azapfana agahinda akazibuka gusaba imbabazi n'uwamubyaye atazimuha.

Intwaro yose igamije ikindi kitari ukurengera ubusugire bw'urwatubyaye nirambikwe hasi. Intwaro yose irengera bamwe igatsikiza abandi nirambikwe hasi. Intwaro yose igamije gutanya abana b'u Rwanda idaharnira ubumwe bwabo nirambikwe. Ya ntwaro iohohotera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu nirambikwe hasi imwe yivugana inzirakarengane igahitana abakecuru n'abasaza igahitana ibibondo, ntizongere kurangwa i Rwanda?. Hazasigare gusa intwaro zo kurengera urwatubyaye igehe tuzaba dutewe n'udashaka ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda cyangwa se ashaka kutugira **ingaruzwamuheto**.

#### UMWANZURO

Koko igehe kirageze aho buri wese abona ko ubwiyunge n'ubumwe mu bana b'u Rwanda ari ngombwa kugira ngo twubake urwatubyaye. Iyo ni inshingano ya buri munyarwanda akaba agomba kuyiharanira iteka mu bushake buhoraho. Ubutegetsi kuri buri rwego nibuharanire kuduha inzira nyayo izatugeza kuri ubwo bwiyunge bubereyeho kuba ijisho rya rubanda. Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda nikomeze iduhuze, uruhare runini ni urwayo. Ubutabera nabwo bubereyeho kunga, nibuhabwe ibikoresho byabufasha kurangiza neza iyo nshingano ku buryo budatinze.

Maze rero igehe nta munyarwanda uzaba akirangwa na bya bitekerezo bishaje bishingiye ku moko no ku turere, igehe twese tuzakenyera tugakera kubaka u Rwanda, buri wese akubaha undi n'ibye. Igihe kudahohoterana koroherana no **kubabarirana** bizaba byarabye umuco uturanga, igehe umuntu azashimagiza undi amushimira ubuhanga n'ubushishozi, ubwitange n'ubutwari atagendeye ku **bwoko** cyangwa akarere, "Demokarasi" niho izaba ishobotse i 'Rwanda , izakemura ibibazo byinshi. Imbanzamihigo z'intarobanura, impuzampembe zimirije imbere kubaho neza kwa buri munyarwanda zizahabwe u Rwanda uko imyaka izataha, abanyarwanda bazubake urwababyaye uko bangana kose mu bwuzuzanye, bafatane urunana maze amajyambere twifuza azatahe mu Rwigasabo, natwe tuzatangire dukore indege.

Bikorewe i Nkumba, kuwa 23/7/1997

RUSINE Alexis

Seminari nto ya Mutagatifu Yohani  
ya Nkumba  
B.P. 45 RUHENERI

10

SEMINARI NTO YA MUTAGATIFU LEHU  
KABGAYI

B.P. 66 GITARAMA.

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

BYATEGUWE NA :

HABIMANA YOHANI DAMASENI.

UMWAKA WA GATANDATU W'INDIMI.

Kanama, 1997.

ICYAKORUA KUDIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BBBBBNE NEZA:

Kuvazu Rwanda robona ubwigenge kugeza magingo aya, imyaka ibaye mirongo itatu n'itanu(35). Kenshi na kenshi, umuntu ufite iyo myaka, aba amaze kuba igikwerere, ari umugabo uharye, haham mu bikorwa cyangwa mu myitwarire ye. Ikibabaje ni uko u Rwanda atari ko rumeze, Kuko hashize imyaka 3 ruhonotse amahano yaruhogoje, akaruhutira abana bazira icyiswe ubwoko, bazira ibitekerero byabo, akarere ndetse n'indeshyo yabo. Ibikomere biracyavirirana mu mitima y! Abanyarwanda: hari ikibazo cy'ubujiji n'ubukene bukenya bene Kanyarwanda. Hari uruweke, amacakubiri inzika n'inzigio bituma Abanyarwanda bakora basanza aho gusenyera umugozi umwe. Dufite imfubyi, abapfakazi, abacitse ku icumu, abahahumutse n'abahungutse bakeneye inkunga yacu by'umwiheriko. None se kugirango ibyo bibazo byose tubikemure, Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, bavuze impundu zizira impembyi, hakorwa iki? ubutegetsi bwafata ngamba ki? Uruhare rw'itangazamakuru nyarwanda rwaba uruhe? Ubucamanza se bwo bwakora iki? Ese umuturage, cyane cyane urubyiruko, abatagarugori n'abanyamadini batanga musanzu ki? Mu rwego rw'uburezi n'ubukungu se ho hakorwa iki? Ibyo nibyo tugiye kugeniraho. Afrika twabanza gusubiza amaso inyuma, tukareba ibyeranze imihenire y'abanyarwanda, icyateye amacakubiri, hanyuma tukabona ingemba zafatwa mu nzego zitandukanye.

AMATEKA y'u Rwanda aduhishurira ko kera abanyarwanda daciranaga begesukirana. Berashyingiranga, bakanywana, bagaterana ingaho mu bitugu nk'abavandimwe. Iyo bejyaga mu ntambere y'ihibero, bahagurukiraga rimwe bakarwanya umwanzi; cyaba ari icyago nk'inzara icyorezo se, bagashakira hemwe uburyo bwo kugitsinda no kugihashya. Mu byebahuzaga twavuga cyane cyane idini gakondo, Imana imwe, umuseo umwe n'ururimi rumwe. Bakoraga imirimo itandukanye, ikabafasha guahirana, kuzuzanya no kwikaza mubyo bakeneye. Ababinzi bitwage aghutu aboruvi bekitwa abatutsi neha ababumbage bekitwa abatwa. Bari bafite ubutegetsi ouhamye, hejuru hakabo umwami, umugabekazi n'abiru, hagataho umutware w'intebi, akungirizwa n'abatware b'ingabo, b'umukenke n'abutake. Hakurikiragaho abatware b'umurenge, nyuma hakaba abatware b'dmuryango. Ibi biratwereka ko bari bashyize hamwe, bafite ubutegetsi ouknmeye kandi bwita ku bibazo byabo. Aha nakongeraho ko aho betegetsi bavaga mu baturage bose, nta kuronda icyiswe ubwoko cyangwa akarere.

Nk'uko amateka akomeza kudusobanurira, abazungu bigabanyije Afurika ntibibagiwe u Rwanda. Nibwo rero mu ntangiriro y'iki c'kinyejana Abadage batengiye kugera mu Rwanda, batangazwa twose n'uburyo ubutegetsi bware bumeze. Ushaka kuramba ku ngoma ngo atatanyi abo ategeka. Niko byagemeze, Ababirigi baragijwe u Rwanda nyuma y'intambara ya mberi y'isi yose maza bakundwakaza bamwe mu batutsi bari ku butegetsi, birukanra abandi mu bahutu bari baburimo. Ntibiyacwriye aho babategetse gukoresha Abanyarwanda imirimo y'agahato. Ubu "SHIKU" n!"IKIBOKO"birababona, ababisho boye bahungira i BUGANDE, abandi bemera akaje. Hagati aho abazungu bakomeje kwemeza ko mu Rwanda hari ubwoko bugomba gutegeka, n'abandi bagomba gutegekwa.

Nyuma muri Afurika hose haje inkubiri y'ubwigenge maze bagashakabuhake babibonye, bashaka uburyo badusiga mu mazi abira. Nibwo bagize ibikoresho bamwe mu banyarwanda, babumvisha ko bakandarijwe kandi ko bagomba kwihimura. Muri icyo gihe bamwe mu bera b'u Rwanda baratwikirwa, bicwa na bene wabo, ababishoboye barahunga. Ubutegetsi bwakurikiyeho uko bwasimburanye, ntacyo bwakoze ngo bushake uko bwagarura, kandi ngo bubumbatire umubano mwiza mu Banyarwanda, anubwo

bwakomeje guhembera umwiryané, ukwiku'bira, uburyamirane n'ivanguza Abategetsi ntacyo bakoze ngo bahurize hémwe abaturage, bicare bashake umuti w'ibibazo byabo. Bakomeje gushimangira inyigisho z'abakoroni, baheza abana b'u Rwanda ishyanga, bekomeza kubiba imbuto y'amacakubiri ari nayo yabaye intandaró y'itsembarwoko n'itsembarwoko byashohojwe muw'1994.

Nyuma nibwo abanyarwanda benshi bahunze intambara, abandi bahunga ibibi bakoze, bataretse no gushuka bagenzi babo. Icyo twakwi-shimira ni uko abenshi muri bo babashije kugaruka mu rwababyaye, mu bandi banyarwanda. Ubutegetsi buzabigiramo uruhare runini kuko ari bwo bagomba kugena gahunda zo kubereka umurongo igihugu cyacu ahanini ari byo byabaye impumvu y'ibante yo gutanya abanyarwanda. Kubera ibyo rero, Ubutegetsi bugomba guhindura imikorere kugira ngo abantu bongere babane neza.

Muri urwo rwego, abategetsi bagomba kwereka abantu no kubumvisha ko ari bo mutungo w'ibante igihugu gifite. Bityo, buri wese agahapwa inshingano yo kuwuburbatira, Ibyo byafasha abantu kutazongere kwiyumvisha ko kugirango babone amahoro bagomba kwikiza bagenzi babo, ko chubwo kwishyira hamwe ari byo byatumu tugira amahoro arambye.

Bagomba kandi na none, kugira umurongo wa Politiki uhameye kandi uzwi, bakawusobanurira abaturage kugirango bawumenye neza, boye kupa aka ba babigi babiri bayobya imbuwa uburari. Twese tugatahifiza umugozi umwe ntibubake ngo abandi basenye.

Bagomba kwimakaza umuco wa Demokarasi nyayo, bakayisobanurira abaturage ku buryo nyabwo kandi bwumvikana, kugirango batazo-ngerera kumva ko Demokarasi ari ugukora icyo umuntu yishakiye. Nk'oko nabo bakamenya ko Demokarasi ari ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage. Bityo bagomba kwirinda Poilitiki ya "mpatsibihugu" y'labezungu akensi ituma bareka gukorera igihugu, bagkorera "UMUKORONI"uhora ashaka isyatanya abantu ngo abategeke. Ni ngomba kandi ko baca burundi umuco wo gushura umutungo wa rubanda kuko nayo ari imwe mu mpamvu ziteza amacakubiri, buri wese ashaka gukoresha ibya rubanda uko yishakiye.

Kugirango bishoboke abategetsi bagomba kuva mu biro, bekegera abaturage, bagashyikirana, bakungurana inama. Banabaha amebwiriza bakatiberekwa ku ngero zigaregara, Nk'ubu turimo twigisha abantu kubana neza, ntidusange mu nzego zose zo hejuru baryana kuko "Umwe uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose" kandi ngo "Abatutira batongene batura ukubiri".

Ikindi cyadufasha kongera kubana neza ni uko abatugage bahabwa urubuga rwo gutenga ibitekerezo byabo. Abitwa intumwa za rubanda babegere bumve ibibazo byabo bagerageze kubishakira umuti boye kwibera mu biro; kuko ditabaye bityo nibwo abantu bamwe babona ko bahejwe bakaba bakwivumbagatanya maze ba rusahurira mu nduru bakaba babyuriraho bakabiba amacakubiri.

Leta igomba gushakira abaturage umutekano, wo shingiro ry'amahoro, ubusebane n'amajyambere. Abaturage bagasobanurirwa inshingano zabo, mu kwibungahungira umutekano, birinde guhishira cyangwa kuba ibyitsi by'abagizi ba nabi

Bagomba kandi guhugura no gutoza ikinyabupfura abashinzwe umutekano bagatozwa kugendera ku mategeko, batitwaje umurimo wabo ngo bagire uwo bahohotera.

Ubutegetsi bugomba kandi guca burubdu, no kwamagenira kure akarengane ako ari ko kose, aho katuruke hose, n'uwo kagirirwa wese kuku zhanini ari ko gatera ubuhunzi, nabwo bukabyara amakimbirane y'urudaca. Ibyo byagerwaho ari uko hashyizweho umutekano uhagije mu gihugu, kandi bagashishikariza impunzi gutaha iwabo. Hagombye kandi kubahirizwa uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, ntihagire abantu bafatwa bonyameswa cyangwa se bucakera kandi bari mu gihugu cyabo. Abantu boso bakwiye kureshye imbere y'amategeko kandi ekabarengera.

Ivangura iyo riva rikagera, ryaba iry'amoko, uturere, ibitsina, cyangwa amadini rigomba gucibwa kuko rituma haboneka uruhande rukandemizwa n'urutoneshwa, maze hakavuka inkiko 2 zihanganye inzangano n'amashyari bikavuka, inzika n'inzigzo zikazenguruwa uruziga rw'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Ikimenyane ni ngombwa ko gicibwa burundi, umuntu agahabwa umurimo kubera ubushobozi bwe hadakurikijwe isura, emasano, afitanye n'utanga akazi, cyangwa se bitugukwaha yaba yatanze. Leta kandi igomba gutegura neza no kwihiutisha ituzwa ry'abantu mu midugudu kuko nabyo byefasha abantu kumva ko ari bamwe maze bagasabana; ariko na none hakwirindwa ko habaho agace gatuwe n'abantu aba n'aba bafite icyo behuriyeho, kuko ab'imitima yanengiyie, babyuririraho bakongera gukongeza ifumba y'ivangura.

Ubutegetsi bukwiye kwamagan ibintu byose byazana inyigisho cyangwa ibitekerezo bitanya abantu. Muri urwo rwego, Ibiganiro, cyangwa ibinyamakuru hibogamye bigacirwa mu mizi. Aha kandi twakongeraho amadini y'ibyadukayigisha abantu kwigomeka ku butegetsi, no kwangiza ibikorwa by'amajyambere, Na yo ni ayo kurwanywa hivuye inyume.

Ni ngombwa ko ingabo z'igihugu zihugurwa, kandi zigashhwa thengombwa binagije hyo kurinda abaturage. Ariko na none hakwiye emahuriro y'ingabo n'abaturage basenzwe, kugirango bashobore gusabana no kumva ko boso ari abanyarwanda kimwe. Umusirikare ~~ntakohere~~ gufatwa nk'umuntu ushinzwe kurasa gusa; abubwo na we akegira uruhare muri Politiki no mu yindi mirimo yo kubaka igihugu.

Kugirango ibyo byose bizagerweho, abategetsi bagomba kwigisha abantu boso, no kubakangurira umuco w'amahoro n'ubwiyunge. Muri urwo rwego, hategurwa amahugurwa, ingabo n'andi mahuriro anyuranye, yahuriza hamwe abanyarwanda bo mu nzego zose zinyuranye kuva muri Selire, kugeza ku rwego rw'igihugu, abantu bagahura bagasabana, bakigira hamwe ibibazo byabo bakanabishakira umuti. Nibwo abanyarwanda bakumva ko ari bamwe, ko ibyago n'ibyishimo habisangira.

Hategurwa kandi ibibangano by'umwimerere, byabo ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, amakinamico, cyangwa izindi nyandiko bigamije kwigisha ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, maze twese abategetsi, ingabo, buri muntu mu rwego rwe tuyahagurukira rimwe, tukubake u Rwanda rwacu.

Nk'uko bikunze kuvugwa" ITANGAZAMAKURU ni ubutegetsi bwa kane. Mu marorerwa yabaye mu gihugu cyacu, ryagize uruhare renini, kuko ryabaye igikoresho cy'abany ~~a~~ politiki obi. Ijwi ryabo ryumvikeniyemo babona uburyo bworoshye bwo gushyira mu bikorwa imigamo yabo mibisha. Ryabaye umuhuza w'abicyenyi, nabo bamaramaza hose umwiryane n'ubwicanyi.

Niyo mpamvu hakwiye gufatwa ingamba nshya, itangazamakuru rikaba igikoresho cy'umusemburo w'ubumwe, ubwiyunge n'ubworoherane, ubulabera n'uburinganire. Mu Rwanda ptitugikeneye itangazamakuru .

riherabika abantu ribashushanya cyangwa "gashozantambara" nka "R.T.L.M.", ritubwira ko hari Abanyarwanda bagombe gupfa, nk'aho ari inyamaswa cyangwa bahisemo aho bavukira.

Rigomba gufasha abanyarwanda kumenya no gusobenukirwa ibyabaye shandi. Rigomba kandi kubagezaho amakuru y'imvaho atabeganye. Dukeneye itangazamakuru rihugura abaturage, rikabigisha kubana neza no kwihangenirane. Rigomba kubakangurira kudashyamirene ahubwo bagira ibibazo bakabikemurira mu butabera n'amahoro. Abanyamakuru bagomba guhuza abanyarwanda, umuntu akamenya ibyiza n'ibibi hyabaye. Itangazamakuru dukwiye kwimiriza imbere, si iryibanda ku mibereho y'abanyapolitiki, uko biriwe n'uko baraye. Rigomba kwita ku mibereho y'abaturage ribereka ihibazo byabo bya buri munsu, inzira zo kubikerura, n'uburyo bakwiteza imbere. Rikwiye gufasha abaturage ribereka uburyo babyaza ubutaka bwabo umusaruro, begateza imbere ubukorikori n'imyuga iciriritse, maze bakishakira n'imirimo.

Rikwiye kwamagana akarengane ari ari ko kose nta gusebanya rikerekira abayobora n'abayoborwa ibitagenda neza, ndetse n'ingamba zafatwa. Abanyamakuru ni ngombwa ko bita ku guhesha agaciro umwuge wabo, bakirinda icyatumwa riba igikoresho cy'abanyapolitiki, bityo rigakorera mu bwigenge busesuye.

Igihe cyose rizaha ari urubuga abanyarwanda biniguriramo, rikabigisha kubana neza ribakura mu icuraburindi ry'ubujiji, rigashyigikira ubutabera, ubworoherane n'ubiyunge; nta kabuza abaturarwanda bazakora igikwiye bitabire kubana mu mahoro.

Umurimo ukomeye w'UBUCHAMANZA niwo uzavaho imbuto y'ubuwimikane buzira urwikekwe. Urwo rwego ni ingenzi mu mibanire myiza y'abatuye igihugu, kuko iyihe cyose bunyuze mu nzira zibaneeye, bukemura ibibazo byose bishohora kuba byateza ubwumvikane buke mu baturage. Niyo mpamvu nyuma yo kwibonera skaga Kakomotse ku mikorere mibi yabwo n'umuco wo kudahana wari werokame ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda abanyarwanda bateze, amaso ku ngamba z'abategetsi bashya b'iki gihugu, hagomba cyane cyane mu rwego rw'uhutabera kwite ku busugire bw'amatergeko, kandi imyanzuro yayo igashyirwa mu bikorwa uko yateganyijwe. Igihe hagaragara ko hari igikinzwe nabie, ni ngombwa ko abebishinzwe heterene bakarikosora aho Kugirango haveho impamvu za bamwe zo kwiisobanura no kurishyira mu bikorwauko baryumva ngo hahanwe umuntu aho guhana ikosa, ari nabyo bituma bamwe bigirizwaho nkana, abendi begakingirwa ikibaba.

Kubera kandi igihugu cy'ocu kidafite shakozibabyigiye bihaginiye, muri urwo rwego kandi kikaba gifite ingorane zo kuburanisha abashinjwa ibyaha by'ingeri zose, ariko cyane cyane icyaha cy'itsembarwoko n'itsembarwoko, ni ngombwa ko Lete y'u Rwanda yafate ingambazihemye zo kongera amahugurwa yatengiye, akazeba agamije guhugura qba kungenanira abekozi baki baoiyigiye dufite mu murimo utorashye wo kuburanisha imfungwa zitari nke igihugu cy'ocu gifite; ndetse n'abetarefatwa bakenkuaho ibyaha binyuranye, begashyikirizwa ubucanza, nabwo bugakora umurimo wabwo

Tuvuye mu ngeri y'ababyigiye, tubona ko hari urundi rwego rugomba inararibonye kandi rukaba ari ingirakemaro, kuko rwegereye umuturage, bityo ibibazo bye bigakemurirwa mu maguru mashya bitaravemo inzika, inzigo, inzangano cyangwa amahane, ari nabyo bifyare umutekanzo muke no kutebana neza. Niyo mpamvu rero "Gacaca" igomba guhazwa icyuheshi n'unushoboz, abaturage nabo begakengurirwa kuyiyambaze aho kwirukira mu butegetsi bwo hejuru igihe cyose habaye ikibazo bakabanza kugikemu rira ku mirenge yaho.

Muri iki gihe ibibazo byinshi bihangayikishije abantu ni ibyakuruwe n'amarorera yakozwe muw'1994. Amaheno yabaye muri uwo mwaka yatumye haza agahu mu muhano wa bamwe muubatuye u Rwanda. Bamwe baracyafite ibibazo byo kubona mu babahekuye cyangwa babiciye ababo hari abakidegembya, ibyo bikaba byatumwa bamwe muri bo bashaka kwihorera bakese kó ubucamenza bwabetereranye, cyangwa se nabo ba "Ruharwa" bagakora ibishoboka byose bagirango bazimanganye ibimenyetso byabashinje maze bekaba bakwivugana uwo ari we wese waba afite icyo azi ku byo bakoze. Niyo mpamvu rero ubutabera bugomba gukora ibishoboka byose, abakekwaho ibyaha bagafatwa, abafashwe bakaburanishwa, abatsinze bakarekurwa, maze abatsinzwe bagakatirwa, bityo icyizere n'ubusabane bikongera bigasugira mu Banyarwanda, ubwiyunge n'ubwumvikenzika.

Kugirango Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ni ngombwa ko **UMUTURAGE** we shingiro ry'igihugu, yumva neza icyo yakora, ubwiyunge, ubworoherane, ubwumvukane no kubabarirana bigomba guhere mu miryango yo hasi no mu baturanyi.

Nyuma y'intambara n'ubwicanyi byo muri Mata 1994, umuturage **akwiyekutigiza** nkana no **kwirengagiza** ibibazo byatewe n'ayo mahano, agakora uko ashoboye ngo asibe ibyena byatewe n'ako kaga, agasanga umuturanyi. we ngo baterane ingabo mu bitugu maze bazahure urwababyaye.

Kubera ibibi byinshi byaranze icyo gihe, kugirango abanya-rwanda bongere basabane, ni ngombwa ko uwakosheje abyemera kandi akagira ubutwari bwo gusaba imbabazi, bityo akaba yorohereje ubutabera. Ijwakoze ikosa nasaba imbabazi, **UWAKOSHEREJE** nawe akabona azisabwa n'umuntu ubabajwe n'icyaha cye, azamubabarira. Ubabaririwe nawe agomba kumva ko bidahagije. Aramutse yarangije nk'ikintu ntibyamubuza ko yafasha nyiracyo kugisane. Ntibyabuza kendi ubutabera gukora akazi kabwo kuko bubereyeho kunga. Ni ukuvuga ko abanyarwanda nibasezerana ko ibyeshaye bibi bitazongera kubaho, bazababarirana maze bakongera kubana neza.

Ibyo bizagerwaho ariko nibavugisha ukuri, haba hagati y'umuturage n'undi cyangwe se hagati y'uyobore n'uyoborwa. Kuko iyo umuntu azira ikinyome, Uwo baganire amugiramo icyizere, maze ibyo amubwira akabiha agaciro. Abanyarwanda nibirinda kuryaryana no kuheshyana, nta kabuza bazongera babane neza.

Undi musanzu **w'umuturage**, ni uguharanira ubworoherane n'ubwi-yunge. Niyiyumvisha ko uwo bedahuje ibitekerezo cyangwa batumva ibintu kimwe nawe ari umuntu kandi akaba afite uburenganzira nk'ubwe, ntamwishihe ahubwo akamusanga ngo basabane, akamugezaho ibyo amurusha, undi nawe akamuvungurira Kubyo amusumbije, bazuzuzanya ndetse n'ubwiyunge buhere aho, amacakubiri acike aho gucengeza umudo wo gucagagurana.

Ikindi umuturage atagombye kwirengagiza kugirango abanya-rwanda bongere babane neza ni uko abantu buse bangana, bareshye imbere y'amategeko, yagombye kumenya ko nta bwoko buruta ubundi. Nta wagombye kwirata ku bandi ngo ni uko atgye gutya na gutya, ko asa ukwe, ko avuga ukwe, ko avuka ahantu hakize cyangwa hakenye, ko afite ukwemera yihariye cyangwa ko ari igitsina iki n'iki. Ibyo byasobanura ko umuntu ari umuntu, ko akwiye icyubahimo cye n'uburenganzira bwe. Kugirango rero abanyarwanda bongere basabane, abaturage aho kureba ibibatandukanya begombye kureba ibyo bahuriyeho, aho kureba ibyo bapfa, bakareba ibyo bapfana; maze bakabona mu itandukanyirizo riri hagati yabo itegeko ry'ubwuzuzanye n'ubufatanye.

Ikindi cyatumwa abanyarwanda bongere kubana neza ni uko buri muturage yakumva kandi akagerageza kurangiza neza uruhare afite mu kongera kubaka igihugu, ntarekere umutekano abasirikeri n'abagorisi ahubwo naphe akagerageza kuwubungabunga mu rugero abishoboyemo. Mu byerekeye ubukungu agomba naho kugaragaza uruhare rwe yivuye inyuma. Ku byerekeye umuco, uruhare runini rwo kuwukomeraho ntabwo ari urwa "Minisiteri y'Urubyiruko, siporo, umuco no kwigisha imyuga iciriritse" si urw'abayobozi gusa ahubwó ni urw'ebabyeyi. Agomba kwigisha umwana we kuva akivuka.

Abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza niba buri muntu ugiye gutangira umushinga cyangwa ikindi gikorwa agiye yibaza ati "gifikasiye Kamaro ki abanyarwanda bose?". Igihe umuntu aramutse abonye inyungu zacyo ari ize bwite, ari iz'abantu baki, cyangwa hari abo cyabangamira, akakireka, akagerageza icyagirira Abaturarwanda henshi akamaro. Ni ukuvuga ko kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane nta ntugunde, mu mahoro umunezero no mu ituze, buri wese Yagombye kureba icyo yakora cyangwa yamarira undi ubu ndetse no mu bihe biri imbere. Yagombye kureba icyo arusha mugenzi we n'icyo arushwa naphe maze bekuzuzanya. Yagombye kandi kuitangira urwamubyeye azi ko ari we ubwe wikerera.

Na none kandi nk'uko igitsina gore kigira impuhwe kurusha abagabo, bafite inshingano ikomeye mu mibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda. dore ko ari nabo bekunze kuba bari kumwe n'abana ku buryo ari bo bagira uruhare runini ku myifatire myiza y'urubyiruko. Ikibabeje ariko ni uko bakunze gupfukiranwa, ntibagire icyo bevuga ku byemezo hyafashwe n'abagabo, kabone n'aho byaba bitagororotse. Niyo mpamvu rero hagomba kugenwa gahundé z'amaseshano y'abari n'abategerugéri agamije kunguramibitekerezo ku cyakorwa kugirango ubwamvikane busabe, kandi imyanzuro yabo igashéwa ageciro kuko hari mu beshobore ku buryo butaziguye, gucengeza uburere bwiza mwbo barere maze bakabukurana kuko ngo "Igitu Kigororwa kikiri gito".

Inkunga y'uburezi mu iterambere ry'igihugu, mu guharanira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ntigira uko isa. Mu byukuri, iyo tutaza kugira abarezi gito, bagatoza abana b'u Rwanda urukundo, bækabacé ku rwango bakabonsa umuco w'ubumwe n'amahoro, bækabesangiza umusa n'ubusabane n'ubworoherane, aho kubehindurá ba "Rusahurira mu nduru" basenga abo basangije isano, igihugu cyacu ntabwo kiba cyaracuze induru n'imiborogo.

Abanyarwanda barihoreye batu "Uburerere buruta ubuvuke". Ntibihogije kuba waravukiye haza kandi neza kugirango ube ingirakamaro nk'uko kera umwana yatozwaga kuba umugabo, agatoza kuba imfurá, agakura bamwigisha gukunda igihugu no kukirwanira ishyaka, Uwo muco mwiza wari ukwiye gusubizwa ijambo, abana bækigishwa amateka atabogamye, maze hagashyirwaho isomo (mu ntaganyanyigisho) ryo mu rwego rw'uburerere mboneragihugu rigamije gukundisha byimazeyo abana igihugye cyabo, babasesengurira imibanire y'abó mu hihe byahise, ingorane bahuye nazo, icyaziteye, n'ingamba zafatwa kugirango tubirengé. Hakwigishwamo kandi umurongo wa Poritiki igihugu kigenderaho kugira ngo umwana akure akangukiye ubusugire bw'igihugu cye.

Abarezi begomba kuba intangarugero, bagomba kumenya ko "Uko umureze ari ko akunera". Nibo bagomba gufata iya mbere mu gutoza urubyiruko umuco n'amahoro n'ubwiyunge, aho kubeshishikeriza kurya inka no gukaraba inkaba, ngo umwana akure azi ko intwari ari iyisha abantu batebarika, Abarerwa nabo bafite inshingano yo guhumurizanya, bakamarana intimba bungurana ibitekerezo, bakumva ko turi bamwe.

Nta wavuye i Bugande, i Burundi n'ahandi, zhubwo twese turi abana b'u Rwanda.

Abarezi begomba Kwibutsa abarerwa ko uhitemo inshuti udahitemo umuturanyi. Nta wahisemo kuba umunyarwanda ajya kuvuka, Kubera iyo mpamvu, Gahutu, Gatwa, Gatutsi, bagombagufatana urunana. Nk'uko abakurambere bunze ubumwe bakarukura i Gasaba kugeza iyo piterua inkingi.

Abanyeshuri nabo bagomba kwirinda abihuha bidafite epfo na ruguru bagafatanya n'ubuyobozi bwa Leta mu kurwanya icyehungabanya

umutekano cyose. Muri urwo rwego na none, bagomba gucika ku mazina n'ibindi bantu biducamo ibice Nta "INTERAHAMWE", nta "GIPINGA" nta "NYENZI" nta "NZOKA", Twese turi beno kanyarwanda.

Kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, no ngombwa ko URUBYIRUKO rugira uruhare runini kuko iyo twitegerereje dusange umubare manini w'abatuye u Rwanda ari rwo ruwugize. Ikindi kandi nirwo mizero y'igihugu kuko ari rwo rufite ingufu zo kongera kucyubaka, ariko na none rukirinda kuzikoresha nobi iyiyoseem. Urubyiruko rugira ishyaka maze icyo rwiyeje rukagishyiraho umuhate kugirango gitungane. Niyo mpamvu rero ruramutse rwihiye intego yo kubanya neza abanyarwanda nta kabuza rwabigeraho.

Kugirango rubigereho ariko, rwagombye gusabana hagati yarwo rukabana neza maze rugahurize ingufu zarwo mu miryango n'amashyirahamwe. Byarufasha kujya ruhura kenshi, rukaba rweniga uburyo rujya rufasha abonyentege nke, kuko iyo ubasenze bumva ko bitewaho maze umubano mwiza ugakomera. Urubyiruko rwagombye kandi gutegura kenshi imikino n'amamurika y'ibyo rwagezeho kuko biri mu bihuza abantu benshi bakamennyana, bakaba inshuti, maze umubano mwiza ugasugira ugasagamba.

Nta washidikanya ko ihihezo u Rwanda rwahuye nabyo, ingorane z'URUKUNGU ziri mu byabitije umurindi, aka ya nditimbo ngo "MPEMUKE NDAMUKE" ntubwo itagikwiye kuba mu bantu yarabaye Papa Paul wa VI niye wihoreye ati "Amajyambere ni indi nyito y'amahoro". Koko rero uharanira amajyambere y'abaturage aba akotanira amahoro ku isi, kuko igihugu kidashobora kugera kuri ayo majyambere kideshimangiye ubukungu bwacyo.

Ni ngombwa rero ko twareba uburyo twakoresha kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

Ubukungu bwa mbare ni abaturage b'iguhugu. Kuko nta cyakorwa nta maboko igihugu gifite. Tugomba gukora uko dushoboye rero, kugira ngo tubyaze amaboko y'abanyarwanda umusaruro, twirinda ibidutandukanya byose. Ni muri urwo rwego dukwiye guteza imbere ikoranabuhanga riciriritse rishingiye ku bikoresho dusanga hano iwacu kandi tugafatanya n'ibihugu duturanye mbere yolkwirukira ibyadusize cyane.

Ni ngombwa ko twamagana inda nini rishingiye ku muco wo kwiku bira no kunyunyuza imitsi y'abandi, tugaca ingeso yo kurya ruswa maze buri munyarwanda agahabwa ibyo akiye igithe tuzaba twageze ku bukungu bushyitse, tukamagana ubunebwe maze hakarya uwakoze, bityo ibisenhoka bikaba byinshi kuruta ibyo duhaha.

Ibyo bizagerwaho nidufata ingamba zihamy e z'ubutaka kuko ari wo mutungo kemere w'igihugu cyexcu. Ibibazo by'imishahare y'intice ntikize na byo bigomba gukemurwa kuko bitegerwamo benshi mu bakozi bashaka amaramuko.

Kugirango rero ubukungu butugeze ku mahoro n'ubwiyunge, tugomba kugergeza gukemura ingorane tumaze kuvuga. Kuko"ababiri bahuyekakajya inama haruta umunani uresana! Ni ngombwa gufatanya muri byose, tugacirena, tugasukirana nk'uko abakurambere bacu babikoraga.

AMADINI nayo afite uruhare runini mu byakorwa ngo abanya rwanda bongere babane neza. Kubera ko amadini yigisha urukundo, ubutabera n'amahoro, abanyamadini bagombye kuba intangarugero mu byo bigisha bityo abigishwa ntibabakurikirire amagambo gusa, ahubwo no kubera ingeso nziza babonaho.

Ikindi kandi, abanyamadini bari mu bantu begera cyane abaturage, bakumvwa kandi bakemerwa cyane ne bo, bityo bakabakurikira. Kubera iyom mpamvu icyo bavuze, abayoboke bacyumva vuba kandi bakagerageza kubishyira mu bikorwa. Icyifuzwa rero ni uko abanyamadini bakwighisha ubworherane, ukubabarirana no kwiyunga. Bagombye kandi kwigisha inyigisho zihuza abanyarwanda bose bityo bakirinda izibatandukanya cyangwa izabakura umutima kuko bene izo zibabuza umutekano wabo. Urugero ni inyigisho zimaze iminsi zavugaga ibyerekeye ishira ry'Isi.

Hano mu Rwanda rwacu, abanyamadini bafatwa nk'abantu bakomeye kandi havuge rikumvikana. Ibyo rero bigerageaza uruhare runini bepite kugirango shanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Bakwiye kwamagana akarengahé igithe cyose karamutse kabayeho. Byananiraná bagatabariza abarengana ndetse byaba ngombwa bakabitangira nk'uko babyigisha. Abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza igithe cyose nta dini rizashaka kwivanga muri Poitiki kugirengó igihugu kiyoborwe hakurikijwe amatwara yaryo cyangwa riyobokwe ku gitugu.

Maze reeo nk'uko bigaragara, kugiringo abanyarwanda bongere kubana neza, ni ngombwa ko buri wese atanga umusanzu we, Ni twebwe ubwacu tuzicyemurira ibibazo byecu. Twihumwa amaso n'inyungu zacu, ngo ducurane, ducagagurane mu duke dufite. "Ahatariumwaga uruhu rw'Urukwau rwisasira batanu" u Rwanda si ruto. Abanyarwanda nitwe gito. Ntihakora ubwoko hakora ubwonko. Dushimire umuntu ibitekerezo bye byubaka titaye kucyo ari cyo nta "Muhutu, nta"Mutwa", nta "Mututsi", nta "Mukiga"nta "Munyenduga"...twese turi bene kanyarwanda. Ibikorwa bibi by'umuntu ntibikitirirwe aho akomoka, kandi abanyarwanda ntibagakingirwe ikibaba kuber- ikimenyane. Turangwe n'urukundo, ukuri n'ubupfura, maze izuba rya Demokarasi, ubumwe n'ubutabera, ritengaze iwacu, ya Mana itaha i Rwanda inahirirwe. Ngaho munyarwanda aho uri hose, kenyere ubutabera witere ubworoherane, urwanye ubujiji bwo "Senga" y'ubukene n'umwiryane. "Abagiye inama imana irabasanga" Kibari ngo "Abajya iprem, imana irabasanya" kandi ngo "ebabiri bahuye bekajya inama baruta umunani urasana". Hagomba ubwiyunge kugirango shanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Abakoze amarorerwa bayahanirwe, aberere behanagurweho ibyaha maze duhu-moke amahumbezi y'amahoro; dore na "Guverinoma y'ubumwe" yaciriyе izamba uzirega akemera amakosa ye. Mutegetsi ha intangeruhero uri intumwa ya rubanda, banyamakuru nemwe banyamadini, mubibe imbuto y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, ubutabera buharanira ukuri buhame. Muturage ni wowe "Buye nsanganyarukute", ni wowe shingiro ry' emajyambere y'igihugu; bonyeyi mutwambarire impumbya, rubyiruko nemwe nimwe ngufu z'igihugu, mugire ubugiri maze ubufatanye bube intego ya buri wese.

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\*  
\* URWUNGE RW'AMASHULI UMURYANGO MUTAGATIFU RW'I NYAMASHEKE  
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\* AGASANDUKU K'IPOSITA IZ CYANGUGU  
\*  
\*

\* IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA IKINYARWANDA  
\*  
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\*  
\* ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA  
\*  
\*

\* ANYESI NKUSI - UWIMANA  
\*  
\*

\* UMWAKA WA GATANU W'AMASHULI YISUMBUYE  
\*  
\*

\* ISHAMMI RY'IBINYABUZIMA N'UBUTABIRE  
\*  
\*

\* KU WA 27 NYAKANGA 1997  
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Mbanje kubasuhuza mwese. Nshimishijwe n'uko duhuriye hano kugira ngo tugire icyo tugarira ku cyakorwa ku buryo Abanyarwanda bakongera kubana neza. Dukurikije amahano yabereye mu Rwanda, ni koko hakwiye ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda. Baturage, dukore iki? Rubyiruko, dukore iki? Mu butegetsi bw'igihugu hakorwa iki? Mu bucamanza hakorwa iki? Twese hamwe dukore iki?

Ubusanzwe mu mateka yo hambere, tuzi ko Abanyarwanda babanaga mu bwumvikane no mu busabane, nta macakubiri ari hagati yabo. Umunyarwanda yareba undi, akamubonamo ishusho muntu. Yamutungura amwišabaje, aka-mutabara atishisha. Urukundo rwo rwabo rware akarusho. Rwasagaragariraga mu bihanggo bahanaga hagati yabo, ku buryo nta wahemukiraga undi, ngo adatatira igihangc. Mu mibanire yabo, barashyingiranaga batishishanya. Umunyarwanda yitabazaga mugenzi we mu gihe cy'amage, akitabira kumuvuna atitaye ku nkomo ye. Igihugu cyaba gitewe n'umwanzi, abana b'u Rwanda baktanga bat-tangiriye itama; kugira ngo mu butanye bwabo babashe guhashya umwanzi ye kwiga-rurira Igihugu cyababyaye. Ubwiyoroshye bw'Abanyarwanda bwagaragariraga cyane mu kinyabupfura cyabo. Ingero zibigaragaza ni nyinshi:

- Umukazana yubahaga Sebukwe, yewe ntabe yatinyuka kumwatura mu izina;
- Nta mwana wasuzuguraga umubyeyi we, kuko yabaga azi ko ari we akesha byose; Abanyarwanda bakomeje kubana mu bwumvikane, barangwa n'urukundo, ubufatanye ndetse n'ubwiyoroshye, umuco karande ukaranda mu bana b'Abanyarwanda. Nyamara kandi nyuma yaho, haje kuza mmacakubiri yazanywe n'umwaduko wa bamwe mu Banyamahanga. Uwo mwaduko winjiranye n'ivangura ry'amoko mu bana b'u Rwanda, ari ryo ryatumye bicamo ibice. Habayeho ubukandamizwe n'ubutoni kuri bamwe, ubusumbane mu bana b'Abanyarwanda buraganza, kwizerana birakendera, hagaragara ubwishishane. Umuco karande w'Abanyarwanda uribagirana, himikwa umuco w'Abanyamahanga, wiganje cyane mu rubyiruko, ukabatesha umuco wa ba Sogokuru na ba Sogokuruza.

UMUCO KARANDE NUHABWE ICYICARO. Babyeyi, mwibuke ko urubyiruko ari rwo Rwanda rw'ejo. Nimushishikaire guha abana banyu uburere bwiza, mubatoze umuco mwiza w'Abanyarwanda, bakure basibanganya umuco w'Abanyamahanga, bimirije imbere umuco nyarwanda. Rubyiruko namwe, nimwibuke ko ari mwe Igihugu gihanze amaso, mukazagihesha ishema mu mahanga, mu bikorwa byiza by'amajyambere. Nimufate iya ubere mu guca burundi no kwamagana umuc o mubi waru umaze gushora imizi mu bana b'Abanyarwanda, haze twibumbire hamwe twongere dusubize agaciro umuco karande w'abakurambere, duharanire kubaka u Rwanda rw'amahoro n'ubumwe.

AMACAKUBIRI NACIKE. Abanyarwanda bamaze gucikamo ibice, batangira kwitana bamwana. Ivangura ry'amoko ryatangiriye aho, umwe yareba undi akabona nta cye avuze imbere ye, yewe yanamureba akamushishoza akabona nta cye bahuriyeho.

... / ...

Umwiryanne uba wose mu Banyarwanda, ari bwo bamwe mu bana b'u Rwanda batangiyre kume-neshwa. Bahunze batazi iyo bagana n'uwo basanga, baratatanza harateragira, basigishwa ibyabo, batambagira impinga batora ubusa kandi bari batunze.

Abo bana b'u Rwanda bamaze igihe n'agahe inyuma y'imisozi, baratesekara baraserera, iby'Imana bahasanga abaturanyi b'imitima myiza, babakirana urugwiro, bashira impumu bataturana baratuza.

Imyaka irashira indi irataha, baba bakumbuye Igihugu cyabo, ari cye u Rwanda rwa Gasabo.

Baraterana baratekereza, bati" ubu dukwiye gutaha tugasubira iwacu i Rwanda". Ubwo basabye kuza mu mahoro, ubutegetsi bwareho burinangira, burabategeregiza bashoza intambaza, ari bwo igitero cya mberere cyagabwe mu Putara, baraharwanira rubura gica.

Ayo macakubiri yarakomeje araranda kugeza ubwo yakuruye intambare mu Gihugu cyose, abaturage bumvira amabwiriza mabi y'ubutegetsi bwareho muri icyo gihe, hanyuma bakora amarorerwa buri Munyarwanda wese yiboneye n'amase. Intwari z'u Rwanda zari inyuma y'Igihugu zunvise ayo marorerwa ari kubera mu Rwanda, ziravuga ziti" dutanzwe ku rugamba", ziza gutabara izo nzirakarengeza. Iyo ntambara yangije byinshi bifite akamaro, nko gusenya ibikorwa by'ama jyambere, guhungabanya umutekano wa benshi ari byo byaziyemo ihahamuka, kwishishanya, umutekano muke, binatuma hasigara imfubyi nyinshi n'abapfakazi mu Gihugu c'u Rwanda. Amacakubiri nacike!

NONE BANYARWANDA DUKORE IKI? Abanyarwanda bari bakwiye kwishyira hamwe bagashaka umuti w'ibibazo byabo. Uwiske akwiye kwegeza uwo yiciye akamusaba imbabazi, na we agaca inkoni izamba, akamushakira igihano kimukwiriye, bakongera bagaturana neza, bagasangira batishishana, bagaterana inkunga nko hambere, bakungurana n'ibitekerezo. Yamusaba indishyi z'akababaro, akazitanga atiganyira, akabirana umutima ukunda ukwiye kwakira imbabazi. Uwasahuye na we akwiye gusubiza iby'abandiatagononwa, kandi akanasaba imbabazi z'ibyo yakoze ashutswe.

Biturumvikana ko imitima ya benshi yakomeretse. Hakwiye kubaho ubwiyunge cyane cyane mu Banyarwanda ubwabo. Bakirinda kubeshyerana babitewe n'inzige zisanzwe hagati yabo, ngo umuntu avuge ati" Kunaka yishe cyangwa yasahuye Kanaka", amubeshyera ngo arebe ko yafungwa nyamara kandi azira ubusa. Umuntu wese uzi uwakoze amahano, akaba atazwi n'ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, agomba kwirinda kumuhishira akamuvuga ku mugaragaro, cyangwa se we ubwe akivuga niba akeneye gusaba imbabazi. Tuzi kandi ko hari abagiye bahunze mu ngabo zatsinzwe, bamwe bakihisha bakagaruka baje kwica no gusahura. Mu gihe babonetse bagomba guhita bafatwa bagashyikirizwa ubutegetsi bubegereye, batitaye ku masano n'imiryango. Buri muntu wese nashyireho ake, umutekano ugane iwacu, amahoro yongere asagambe, Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

DUSANE IBIKORWA BY'AMAJYAMBERE BIANGIWE N'INTAMBARA. Duhereye ku burezi, abana b'u Rwanda barigaga bakisanzura, ibibondo bigakura bifite uburere bwiza, byimirije imbere kujya mu ishuri ngo bimen ye ubwenge nk'abandi. Bitabwagaho n'amahanga akabishima. Nyamara icyazanye amacakubiri mu bantu cyatemye birengagiza ubwo burere bwiza bw'unwana.

... / ...

Kandi amategeko avuga ko" umwana wese uvutse afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho iyo yavutse ari muzima."

"Ingingo ya 16, Igitabo cy'Amategeko Agenga Abaturage(Code Civil) "

Abenshi nu barezi batangira kuyobya abana, ari ha bwo bayoboye abandi mu gusenya no kwangiza ibyarengera umwana mu burezi.

Amashuri yasenywe henshi na henshi mu gihugu, ibikoresho byinshi byo mu mashuri nk'ibitabo, n'ibindi...bigasandazwa mu mayira batitaye ku kamaro kabyo. Nyamara biyibagije wa mugani w'Abanyarwanda uvuga ngo"Rubanda barya igicucu batazi icyo bazugamamo izuba".

Kubera uburezi bw'abana bwasubiyeye inyuma, hakwiye kubaho amahugurwa mu barezi kugira ngo bagire umwete wo gusubiza agaciro uburere bwiza bw'umwana kandi bamagane uwashaka kumuvutsea ubwo burere.

Mu busima bw'Umunyarwanda, yaba umwana cyangwa se umuntu mukuru, yagirage akensi ubuzima buzira umuze. Yafatwa n'indwara skihutira kujya ku ivuriro, bakamwitaho batajijinganya. Nyamara kandi nyuma yaho amavuriro yateve hejur, imiti n'ibindi bikoresho byose birasahurwa, ba magendu babonersho, n'abatazi uko iyo miti ikoreshw.

Kubera ubuzima bw'Abanyarwanda bwahungabanye ku mpamu zo kubura imiti n'amavuriro, hakwiye kubaho isanwa ry'amavuriro, ibyo bikazadufasha kwirinda ba magendu basesa ubuzima bwacu aho kubusana.

Nyuma y'ayo marorerwa, hakurikiyeho ihunga riteye ubwoba, abenshi bakagenda batazi n'icyo bahunga batewe ubwoba na bamwe mu bakoze amahano. Intambara yasize bamwe iheruheru, baburanye n'ababo barababara, ugasanga abana benshi hirya no hino badafite ababyeyi, babuze kirengera. Ugasanga umubyeyi yarasigaye nta kana, abagore bagateshwa abagabo babo, abagabo na bo bagateshwa abagore babo. Mu kwibaza uko bazabaho bonyine badafite ababo, abenshi bagiye bafatwa n'ihahamuka ritewe n'iyo ntambara.

Abanyarwanda bari inyuma y'Igihugu bakwiye kugaruka batishisha, bakiyemeza gufatanya n'abandi kubaka u Rwanda rushya.

Abanyarwanda bakwiye kwishyira hamwe bagasana ibyangijwe n'intambara byose, ariko cyane cyane, bagasana imitima yabo yakomerekejwe n'amarorerwa yabaye mu gihugu cy'u Rwanda. Buri Munyarwanda yari akwiye guharanira ubutabera, akagira ukuri mu bitekerezo bye adafite uruhande abogamiysho.

Abanyarwanda twari dukwiye guhuriza hamwe imbaraga zacu, tugasana ibyangijwe n'intambara, abangije ibikorwa by'amajyambere bagafatirwa ingamba zihamye kugira ngo ibyo bikorwa byo gusenya bitazongera gusubirwa.

MU BUTEGETSI BW'ICINUGU HAKORWE IKI? Ubutegetsi bwariho mbere, bwakoreshaga igitugu. Mu myaka yashize, habayeho ikandamizwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda.  
Ibyo byagaragazwaga no kurwanira isyanya mu butegetsi, hakurikijwe irondakarere, bukitwa ubutegetsi bukorera abaturage, nyamara bwimirije imbere inyungu z'ababugize.  
Ubwo butegetsi bubi bwateje ingaruka mbi mu gihugu cyose, bwinjiza ibitekerezzo bibi mu Banyarwanda bamwe na bamwe, bimika ikinyoma mu mitima yabo, nyuma kiza kubyara amahamo ari yo"tsembahwoko n'itserbatseuha" yagaragariye amaso ya buri Munyarwanda wese mu wa 1994.

... / ...

Nk'uko byari biturutse mu rwego rwo hejuru, Abanyarwanda bicanye nta cye bishisha. Utusanzwe amategeko avuga ko uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu bugomba kubahirizwa kuva akivuka kugeza ashaje cyangwa apfuye azize izindi mpanuka ariko nta wumuhutaje. Iyo bidaturuka ku butegetsi bubi, bakiha ibyo guhutaza ikiremwamuntu, bagombaga gufatwa bagahanwa. Nyamara si ko byagenze, ubutegetsi bwarabashyigikiye, maze bubatiza umurindi bwitayeho. Ubutegetsi bware bukwiye gukorera abagarakara, buri Muturarwanda akumva ko afite uruhare ku butegetsi n'ubwisanzure mu gihugu cye.

UMUCO WO KUDAHANA NUCIKE. Aho imikorere mibi y'ubutegetsi bwareho ikomeje gushora imizi, abenshi mu Banyarwanda bagiye bakora ikyaha byinshi bubi, nko kwicana n'ibindi, barangiza bakigaramira ubutagetsai bubireba bukabyihorera. Uwo muco mubi warakomeje urakura, kugeza ubwo biraye bagatangira kwica ku mugaragaro, inzirakarengane nyinshi zirahagwa, abandi bashimishwa no gushura, nyamara birengagije wa mugani w'Abanyarwanda uvuga ngo "ubirisha amenyo bikakurisha umutima".

Nyuma y'ayo mahano, habonetse ingaruka ku butegetsi bwagushije benshi mu cyaha, buratsindwa, buhurura buhungira inyuma y'Igihugu, bujyana n'abari bumviye amategeko mabi yabwo.

Umoco wo kudahana ukwiye gucika mu gihugu, buri muntu agahanirwa icyaha yakoze, kugira ngo abere intangarugero abifitemo ibitekerero bibi byo gukora ibinyuranyije n'amategeko.

Ubutegetsi bukwiye kwamaganira kure icyateza umwuka mubi mu baturage, bagashishikarira kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu.

Ubutegetsi nibusubize amaso inyuma, burebe abasizwe iheruheru; imfubyi n'abapfakazi, bongere basubizwe ibyabo, bahumurizwe, kandi bitmbweho by'intangarugero.

Ubutegetsi bukwiye gukora uko bushoboya kose, bugaca umuco wo kudahana, bwibanda cyane cyane ku ngingo z'ingenzi zikurikira:

- Kutagira umururumba w'ibintu;
- Kudaterera agati mu ryinyo;
- Kudategekwa n'ifaranga;

Kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu.

Ibyo byose byubahirijwe, kandi bigashyirwa mu bikorwa, ubutegetsi bwagira inshingano ku baturage, bukitabira guhana umuntu wese uciye ku mategeko, bugakoresha ubutegetsi bukwiye, bugakoresha ukuri budafite igice bubogamiyeho.

Ubutegetsi bukwiye kuba ubwa buri Muturarwanda wese, akabwisanzuraho nta ronakarere, bityo buri Munyarwanda wese akumva ko ashyigikiwe, nta wuhejwe mu gihugu cye, kandi atikanga umubisha wo mu gihugu wabasha guhungabanya ubuzima bwe.

MU BUCAMANZA HAKORWE IKI? Dufatiye ku mateka y'ubutegetsi bwareho hambere, hagiye haboneka ubucamanza bubogama. Rimwe na rimwe ntibuce imanza uko bikwiye. Bitewe n'iki? N'imikorere mibi y'ubucamanza, akarengane kabaye kose, abaturage barabyinubira. Ukuri mu rukiko gusimbuzwa ifaranga, kugira ngo utsinde bigahamagaze ruswa. Rubanda rugufi rwaraherenganiye rwo rutagiraga icyo rutanga.

... / ...

Nyamara inzego zo hejuru ntizikurikirene imikorere mibi y'ubucamanza. Iyo mikorere mibi yarakomeje iba akarande, kugeza ubwo imanza nyinshi zagiye zicibwa hadakuri- kijwe amategeko. Bigeza aho abacamanza baterera agati mu ryinyo, amakosa aragwi- ra mu gihugu, abateza umwuka mubi mu baturage ntibaba bagihauwa. Abaturage bamaze kubona ko nta cyo inkiko zikibamariye, bafashe umwanzuro wo kwi- hanira ubwabo.

Ingero nyinshi zirabigara gaza:

- Abenshi mu bisambo bagiye bafatwa bagahita bicwa n'abaturage ubwabo, ahensi mu turere tw'u Rwanda;
- Hari n'abahohoteraga uburenganzira bw'ikiremwanantu, bene umuntu batibona batyo, na bo ubwabo bakihorera.

Ingeso mbi yo kudahana yabaye intandaro yo gühohotera uburanganzira bw'ikiremwan- muntu, bituma abenshi mu Banyarwanda bumva gushukwa, baremera, bakora icyaha cy'u- bwicanyi kuko bari bazi ko batazahanwa.

Ibyo bikorwa bibi byakorwaga n'abaturage kubera imikorere mibi y'ubucamanza.

None hakorwa iki?

**UBUCAMANZA NIBWIVUGURURE.** Ubucamanza bukwiye kongera kwibukiranya ingingo zimwe na zimwe z'amategeko agenga ikiremwanantu kugira ngo bubashe guca imanza budafite aho bubogamiye, cyangwa butimirije imbere inyungu zabwo.

Ubucamanza bwari bukwiye kumenya ko:

- Abantu bose bareshya imbere y'amategeko;
  - Icyaha cyose kigomba gukurikiranwa;
  - Ibyaha bihanirwa hakurikijwe amategeko;
  - Imanza zose zigomba gucibwa n'inkiko zitifitiye ubuhasha;
  - Uregwa aba ari umwere imbere y'amategeko kugeza ubwo abagenzacyaha bamukurikirense, basanga atabeshyerwa, bakamushyikiriza urukiko rukamuhana, yaba erengane akareng- nurwa;
  - Uregwa afite uburenganzira bwo kujurira mu gihe yumvise ko atsinzwe bitari bikwiye. Ayo mahame y'ubutabera aksiye kubahirizwa mu nkiko zose, zaba inkiko za kanto, inki- ko za mbere z'iremezo, inkiko z'ubujurire, Wrukiko rw'Ikirenga,.....
- Ibyemezo ty'inkiko bigomba kubahirizwa na bose, n'iyo icyaha uregwa ahanaguweho, cyaba ari icyaha gikomeye cyane, kuko haba harabanje gukorwa ipererera rihagije. Abaturage na bo, bakwiye kubyumva neza kandi bakabisobanukirwa. Kugira ngo ababuze ababo babane neza n'ababateye ubwo bwigunge, uwiciwe nakoreshe ukuri, yerekane uwamwiciye, hanyuma amushyikirize ubucamanza, nibumara gukora iper- raza bugasanga ibimenyetso bimuhama, urega amusabire igihano kimukwiriye. Abafunzwe bazira akarengane, na bo ibyabo bigomba gukurikiranwa kugira ngo bare- nganurwe n'ubucamanza.
- Ubucamanza nibukorere mu mucyp, buce imanza butabogama kandi butabera, abaturage bisanzure mu nkiko bongere bumvikane baturane ituze.

None ubumwe bwagerwaho bute & Kugira ngo Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, bakwiye kongera kwibumbira hamwe, bakigira hamwe umuti w'ibibazo bitera amacakubiri hagati yabo, bagafata ibyemezo byo kurandura imi- zi y'amacakubiri muri bo. Buri Munyarwanda wese nasubize amaso inyuma, arebe byinshi by'ingenzi byyangijwe n'intambara n'ingaruka mbi zatewe n'iyo ntambara maze bibuke gukoresha ukuri nk'ako Abanyarwanda ubwabo bakunda kubyivugira bati "ukuri guca mu ziko ntigushye", nyamara ngo "ikinyoma qihaka umugabo imyaka ibiri".

... / ...

Abanyarwanda nibemera gukoresha ukuri, bagaharanira ubutsbera n'ubwiyunge batizigamye, bazabigeraho kandi bitume amahoro yongera kugaruka mu Rwanda, bityo nta mwanzi uzabamenesha ngo aze kubahungabanya mu gihe bazaba bishyize hamwe. Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bukwiye kugira imikorere myiza ibereye buri Muturarwanda wese, buri Munyarwanda wese akumva ko afite uburenganzira busesuye bwo kuba mu gihugu cye, akumva ko arinzwe kandi ashayigikiwe. Abategekwa na bo bahe abategetsi babo icyubahiro kibakwiye, kandi bubahirize amabwiriza bahawe n'abategetsi. Mu gihe ari ngombwa ko itegeko iri n'iri ryubahirizwa, ntariренgeho ariko mu bushishozi. Ubutegetsi bukwiye kugenzura imikorere y'inzego zose, izidakora neza bakitabira kuziha amabwiriza azigenga. Abaturage bose bakwiye kureshgho imbere y'amategeko. Ubucamanza bukwiye gufata iya mbere mu gukemura ibibazo by'abaturage. Abakoze ibyaha byo guhohotera ikiremwamuntu nibaburanishwe kugira ngo bafatirwe ibyemezo n'ibihano bibakwiye, maze abarengana barenganurwe. Abakoze ibyo byaha na bo, nibemere bace bugufi basabe imbabazi, kandi bemere igihano bahawe. Ababuze ababo kubera ayo marorerwa, bakwiye guca inkoni izamba, bakibuka ko bari abaturanyi babo bumviye amabwiriza mabi, abenshi bagakora amahano yakojeje isoni kandi agasebya u Rwanda rwose, bigeza aho uwishe n'utarishe batakigira itandukanirizo mu mahanga bose bakitwa abicanyi.

Twese hamwe dukore iki? Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi, kugira ngo umuco nyarwanda wongere ugaruke mu gihugu cyacu, uranga mwene Kanyarwanda aho ari hose, asubizwe izina rye rya Gihanga, izina umwicanyi risibangane mu mahanga, amahoro n'ituze bitongore bishinge imizi mu mitima, dukwiye kwishyira hamwe, tugafata ingamba zihamye kugira ngo tubashe kugera ku bwiyunge nyakuri, maze twongere twubake urwa Gasabo. Rubyiruko, Rwanda rw'ejo, ni mwe duhanze amaso mu kubaka u Rwanda, u Rwanda rw'amahoro, ubumwe n'ubusabane mu bana b'Abanyarwanda. Mukomeze umurava! Amahoro aganze iwacu!

Murakoze, murakarama!

BIRAGUMA Tarisisi  
URWUNGE RW'AMASHURI RWA BIGUGU  
AGASANDUKU K'IPOSITA 59 BUTARE  
UMWAKA WA KANE W'INDIMI

MINISITERI Y'URUBYIRUKO, UMUCO  
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UMUSHINGA: UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU BUGAMIE KUZAHURA UBWIZERANE  
N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA.

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA  
MU MASHURI YISUMBUYE.

INGINGO :

" ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA  
BONGERE BABANE NEZA "

" ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA "

=====

( Banyarwanda mwese muteraniye aha mbanje kubaramutsa !  
 Ubu duteraniye hano kugira ngo tuvugane ku ngingo igira iti  
 " ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA ")

Uyu mwaka dutangiye ni uwa kane u Rwanda ruvuye mu marorerwa y'itsebatsema n'itsembabwoko, emarorerwa yatikije imbagya y'abanyarwanda b'inzirakarengane, muri Mata 1994. Ayo marorerwa yabaye asanga umubano w'abanyarwanda wari usanzwe uriro agatotsi, ariko noneho bihumira ku ishongo. Iyo ukurikiranye neza amavu n'amavuko y'umubano w'amakemwa hagati y'abanyarwanda ubwabo usanga atari ibya nonaha. Abanyarwanda ubwabo batangiye kubonekamo injiju-ke ndetse bamwe batangiye no kujya mu mahanga kwigayo, bitegereje uburyo mu bindibihugu by'Afurika bipakururaga ubwikanyize bw'abazungu. Nibwo rero bikusanije bungurana ibitekerezzo, maze biyemeza kuvuguru- ra u Rwanda rw'icyo gihe.

Barahirimbanye bashobora gusezerera babirigi bari bakandamije u Rwanda, no kuvugurura imitegekere y'igihugu bavugaga ko itagenderaga mu nzira ziboneye. Nuko ubutegetsi bw'abami bavaho butyo. Mu gukuraho ubutegetsi bw'abami, ntitwakwibagirwa imvururu zo mu 1959 zaranzwe n'ubugome n'amarorerwa y'agahomamunwa. Ibyo bikaba ari ibyagiriwe abari ku ngoma muri icyo gihe mu nzego zo hejuru n'iziciriritse, ndetse na rubanda giseseka kuko izo mvururu zaranzwe n'ivangura ry' amoko. Imbagya y'abanyarwanda yarishwe abandi bahunga bagana mu mahanga cyane cyane mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda, abandi baguma kwihihahisha mu bihuru kugeza imvururu zihosheje maze babona kuza gusana amazu yabo yari yatwitswe andi yasenyewe. Icyo niceyo gikorwa cya mbere kigaragara cyazanye umubano w'amakemwa hagati mu banyarwanda.

Ingoma yakurikiye ubwigenge yabeshye ko igiye kuzana ubusabane mu banyarwanda no gucyura impunzi, ariko mu by'ukuri nta na gito yakoze kuri ibyo. Iyo ngoma yagaragaje uruhare runini mu gutuma amacakubiri akaza umurego. Mu 1973 ingoma ya kabiri nyuma y' ubwigenge iba igiyeho ivuga ko igiye gushaka byanze bikunze umuti w' ibibazo byari byananiwe gukemurwa n'abo bari bakuye. Muri ibyo bibazo hakazamo ku ikubitiro icy'ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda, gucyura impunzi no kugarura amahoro. Baranzwe n'amafuti bakora amahano karahava, mu duce tumwe nka za Rugogwe, Bugesera n'ahandi, ukumva ngo imbagya y' ubwoko bumwe yatikijwe. Mu gihe cy'ibyo amashyaka yaravutse ngo u Rwanda rugendere ku mitegekere y'amashyaka menshi. Amenshi muri ayo mashyaka ndetse cyane cyane iryari ku butegetsi nta kindi yikoreraga uretse gushyamiranya abanyarwanda.

.../...

Kubera ko icyo gihe mu Rwanda hari intambara, abanyarwanda bamwe batangiyé kwikomwa ngo aha ni ibyitso by'abarwanyaga ubutegetsi bw' icyo gihe. Kwita umunyarwanda mwene wanyu ngo ni umwanzi biba imvugo yaryoyeraga utunwa twa benshi. Abategetsi b'icyo gihe n'abandi bari bahagarariye amashyaka avuga rumwe n'iryari ku butegetsi bakomeje kubiba anacakubiri. Nyuma y'andi maheno y'ubugome burenze kamere bagiye bakora, umusaruro w'ibyo byose wabaye ririya tsembatsema n' imsebabwoko ryo muw'1994.

Tumaze kwibonera uko anacakubiri yavutse hagati mu banyarwanda, hanyuma rero icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza gikubiye mu ngingo enye z'ingenzi zikurikira :

1° URUKUNDO NYARWO UMUNYARWANDA AGOMBA KUGIRIRA IGIHUGU CYE.

Ngo nta mwana n'umwe wanga umubyeyi we kerekwa usanzwe ari kabutindi, cyangwa se bikagaragara rimwe na rimwe biku-ruwe n'impamvu mbi zinyuranye. Umunyarwanda uwo ariwe wese yumva akunda igihugu cyamubyaye, ikibazo kikaba kurugirira urukundo nyarwo rw'ingirakamaro. Ikibabaza cyane ni uko n'abo barunda by'amafuti bi-<sup>lal</sup> beshya ko barusha abandi bose kurukunda. Iyo urebye ibyazanye amacaku-  
biri mu banyarwanda usanga ahanini byaratewe n'abana barwo barukunze  
nabi. Abo bakaba hari mu bice bibiri :

- Abayobozi n'impirimbanyi mu by'imiyoborere y'igihugu.

- Rubanda giseseka.

Habaho umusore ukunda umwari urukundo rubi, nyamara we yumva yaramwirangirijemo. Agira atya akamushuka gukora icyaha maze umukobwa yaba umunyanutima akamubera ibamba. Nibwo nyamu-sore agira atya akamuhwikira kubwe yumva ko abitewe n'urukundo rwinshi. Umwari amara gusama iy'indaro maze ababonye wa musore bati " Ko ari wowe tuziho agakungu n'uriya mwari byagenze bite ?" Akabasubiza abyitarura ati " Ashwi da! Ntacyo mbiziho ! Nta ruhare mbifitemo ! Ahari wenda arwaye urushwima !" Nguko uko abayobozi b'igihugu n'impirimbanyi mu by'imiyoborere y'igihugu bo hamberre boretsre uru Rwanda imivu y' amaraso igatenba, bibwira ko ari ugukunda igihugu cyabo bashaka umuti w'ibibazo byari bicyugarije. Maze hagira amahanga amwe abaza ati " Ibyo hibera mu Rwanda ni ibiki ?" Bakigurutsa bati ni abanyarwanda ubwabo bisubiraniramo kandi aribo ubwabo babibakwijemo bamaze kubi-tegura bakanabiagarikira.

Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza buri wese yagombye kwirinda gushukwa. Agashungura imvugo zose ba-mwongorera hahandi mu rwihihisho, ngo genda usenye hariya, wice nyanaka udutize umurindi uzabona inyungu izi n'izi. Abo bagome bakwereka ngo uriya ntimumuje ubwoko mwivugane bakubwira ko berekeza igihugu ahagana he ? Bazi ko bakorera u Rwanda neza baruganisha aho bifuza, ubwo ngo ni ukurukunda !? Umunyarwanda wese nagire inyota yo kubona

.../...

abanyarwanda basendereye ubusabane. Abanyamahanga ntibazongere Gu-shikira u Rwanda rw'ibirunga bifite ingagi z'imbonerajisho, rw'imisozi igihumbi y'ubusumbane busobetse ubwiza n'ibindi byinshi byerekana uburanga bw'u Rwanda. Ahubwo bazaze baje kureba abanyarwanda buje urukundo n'ubwumvikane. Bazaturebe twanye gushirwa amaroro. Ngicyo icyo umunyarwanda wese akwiye guharanira kugira ngo ubusabane buga-ruke mu banyarwanda.

2° UBUTABERA N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA.

Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza niko ubutabera bwahabwa intebi iboneye bugashinga imizi mu Rwanda. Nta munyarwanda n'unwe utabona ko aho u Rwanda rutangiriye imanza z'abakoze itsembatsema n'itsembabwoko hari ikintu cyahindutse ku buryo bugaragara rwose. Imitima y'abanyarwanda itangiye gutururukwa kuko abarengana barenganurwa, **abanyamakosa** nabo bagahanwa. Abangije baka-nasahura iby'abandi babiryozwe ndetse abishe bagerekeho n'impozama-riira, zihabwe abo bakoreye ayo mahano aho ubwo ni abarokotse. Arikorira, ibyo bikorwe batiyibagije ko **hazi** umuryango wa nyir'uguhana, umugore na naka nibo batumye nandavura aka kageni !" Maze bwa bwumvikane twashakaga kugeraho tunyuze mu butabera bikazana ijisho ribi ndetse n'inzigo bishobora no kudukururira akandi kaga.

Hari imanza zaburanishijwe uburiganya n'igitugu mu Rwanda rw'ejo hashize. Birababaje cyane ko uwashuye u Rwanda atibagiwe n'unutungo w'inyandiko, izatwitswe ari n'izanyagiwe n'invura bamaze gusenya amazu amwe n'anwe y'ubutegetsi. Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere basabane neza ni uko izo manza zasubirwamo. Icyubahiro cy'umunyacyaha kigacyahwa. Kera uwitwaga ko akomeye mu gihugu gutsi-ndwa na rubanda rugufi yanyaze utwabo cyangwa se yahohoteye ku bundi buryo kwari ukumwandavuza bikabije, kwerekana ko yigiye ubusa. Ibyo byatuma abidegembya ndetse bakaba banashingwa imirimo imwe n' imwe y'igihugu bitwaza ko batagize uruhare mu marorerwa yagwiririye uru Rwanda, nyamara na kare kose baragiraga amafuti yo kurenganya rubanda bakurikiranwa maze bagahanwa. Umuco wo kudahana ucike mu gihugu cyacu dore ko wari warahaciye indaro.

Kugira insakazamajwi n'ibinyamakuru byigenga mu gihugu cyacu nayo ni amajyambere. Arikoriba kuba byatanya abo bibereye-ho aribo banyarwanda ntacyo byaba bimaze. Ubutabera bukwiriye Guhoza amarenga yo gusubiranishamo abanyarwanda nk'uko byagaragaye hambere aha.

Ubwiyunge bukwiye gutozwa abanyarwanda kandi ntihagire ugira ikimwaro cy'uko uwo bagirana isano yakoze amahano. Ibyo ni akazi ke agomba kubihanirwa nta muntu uzira icyaha cy'undi. Abantu ntibashyamirane ngo bafatane mu majosi bapfa umunyarwanda w'ununyacyaha urimo agikurikiranwaho cyangwa se ugishakishwa. Gahunda **zo** guhugurira abantu mu nzego zose iby'ubwiyunge zikwiye gutegurwa, abagomeye abandi bakabasaba imbabazi. Munyarwanda w'inyangamugayo aho uri hose uba ugombye kwegera abashyamiranye ukabagira inama zibabera itara ryeyura icyo gihu cy'umwijima kibuditse imbere yabo.

Ubwato buhetse u Rwanda buratsimbuwe unwerekeza ateye umugongo ibi bihe bibi by'amasiNogo n'ubushyamirane. Dore ubwato buravumera buri munyarwanda wese **afate** ingashyi tugashye tugana ku itsikiro, bwa busabane hagati yacu. Ubwato burava amakuba atwugarije ni menshi nta n'unwe wo kubura umumaro, n'udashoboye ingashyi **abuvome** ayø mazi yenda gutuma buzikama. Ubwiyunge bwacu abanyarwanda nibwo buzakura iki gihugu cyacu mu manga ikobanye cyahirikiwemo n'abibeshya-ga kugikunda.

.../...

Ubwiyunge bwacu buzahutera inzangano zari zikwije imitima yacu dusabane nk'uko byahoze.

3° GUSENDEREZA AMAHORO MU MITIMA Y'ABANYARWANDA

Urugamba rwarahoshejwe abanyarwanda bakizwa amasasu, bakizwa impiri, amacumu n'inkota byari bimaze gutikiza benshi muribo b'inzirakarengane. N'ubwo haba igihe agatokozi gato kazamo inkorashyano zakoze amaraso zikagaruka guhungabanya umutekano. Ariko ingabo z'u Rwanda zihaba maso maze bakese batahasize agatwe bangetera bakarorongotana.

Hari benshi bakeneye kuvurwa agahinda, kuba umuntu yashobora kumwenyura ntibivuga ko amahoro yamusaze ! Umunyarwanda yaravuze ati " Ameno ni amabuye aseka asize intimba mu nda." Nta busabane dushobora kuzageraho tukrimo abaraza imitima iswa baremerewe n'ibibazo byabuze gikemurwa kandi banabitewe n'abanyarwanda bene wabo. Barimo ba bapfakazi bipfumbase abo bari barashakanye barahitanywe n'abanyarwanda b'umugayo, ababyeyi barahinduwe inshike na ziriya mfubyi zirorongotana imisozi zarabuze ababyeyi bazo ndetse n'abandi bose basizwe iheruheru n'intambara. Bamwe muribo barasumbirizwa bikabatera kwiyandarika cyangwa se ugasanga abana bato basoma amatabi agahinda k'iminsi kamaze kubasabika.

Bariya bana bandagaye kubera ko ~~kwakki~~ bavukijwe ababyeyi babo n'imitungo y'iwabo igasesagurwa. Ubu bariho batanariho! None se ubu Imana nibafasha bakabaho, banaze gukura wabahingutsaho ute ibyo kubana neza n'umunyarwanda watumye barohama muri buriya buzima? Ariko rero niba ubu bafashwe bakitabwaho ntibazibagirwa ibya bagwiririye ariko intimba izagabanuka mu mitima yabo. Nibwo bazumva ko ababakoreye ibya mfura mbi ari abanyarwanda cito bagomba kubiha nirwa, naho bo rero bakaba bagomba kubana neza n'abanyarwanda nyabo babagaragara impuhwe n'urugwiro. Si abo bana gusa bo kwitabwaho hari n'abandi bafite ababyeyi bombi bakoze amahano none ubu bakaba bafunze bose. Abo nabo bari mu buzima bubi kandi nta cyaha bafite. Abanyarwanda b'inyangamugayo batozwe urukundo kugeza ubwo ntawe uzaba akishisha undi. Ingo zitazimye neza zigerageze kwisubiranya n'ubwo zitagira isura nk'iyio zahoranye, ariko ngo " Ahari ubuhoro Umuhoro urogosha ". Urukundo n'ubwizerane bimaze kudusakaramo bariya bapfakazi bazabona abo bashumbushanya. Ubusabane buzagerwaho habaye ubufatanye n'ubwuzuzanye.

Biriya bimuga bigenda bikururuka, ziriya mpumyi biriya bipfamatwi, abapfakazi n'impfyi abo bose bagiriwe nabi na bagenzi babo b'abanyarwanda cyangwa se n'ingaruka z'intambara ubwayo nibarengerwe bitabweho. Bariya bose basenyewe bakanasahurwa bagombye kubona imitungo yabo. Buri munyarwanda atumzwe areke gusembera niba untwaye imyugariro ngasigara nugariza ibiganza, nanje sinahwe kugukanurira irihinguranya. Nibura se koko amasambu yose abe age- ngwa n'ighugu atari umuntu ku gitit cye, maze ikibazo cy'amasambu cyari gihangayikishije iki gihugu kigabanuke. Abantu nibatuzwa hamwe mu midugudu n'ubwo bizatuma amajyambere abageraho ku buryo bworoheje, ariko bizatuma bashyira hamwe kandi binenyemo abagome bashaka uburyo basubiza iki gihugu mu bibi cyakuwemo cyangwa se badindiza ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda. Biragagara kenshi ko mu Rwanda rw'ejo hashize hari abakatiwe ibikingi bigakingiriza rubanda giseseka inyungu zidasobanutse. Barya babaye urwitwazo ibikingi nk'ibyo bitangwa, baka ba aribo birirwa babitaganura bagererwa imbehe y'intica ntikize. Si amasambu gusa ashobora no kuba anazu, imishinga n'inguzanyo z' amafanga abarika yatangwaga yitwa inguzanyo nyuma bigafifikwa akitwa inkunga. Abo batunze ibya rubanda nyanwinshi cyangwa se ibya bagenzi babo mu buryo bw'amayeri babinyagwe bigenzwe uko bikwiye kugenzwa. Abanyarwanda bazagarura ubusabane niba ibyabo bicunzwe neza ntihagire urengwa mu byo yahuguje abandi bahondohera. Ubwangati cyangwa se impishyi bya bamwe bigire abandi bifata mu nda. Umunyarwanda atunge atuje atikanga abaza kumuhungabanya. Ubwumvikane buzatu- . . . / . . .

garukira umunyarwanda natura adakebagusa mugenzi we ushobora kumu-girira amarorerwa. Kuko kugoyagurikira ku itaka ry'i Rwanda kandi uhahirizwa na mugenzi wawe musangiyi ubwenegihugu, viyumvamo ko ntaho ubunyarwanda bwave bushingiyi chubwo ubufite by'izina gusa, bigatuma wanakwibwira ko iby'i Rwanda bitakureba. Wibwira ko gushaka ubwumvikane bizakorwa n'abo ubona bagusumbije amahoro n'imibereho myiza kandi ari umurimo wa buri wese.

Buri munyarwanda ahabwe umurimo akamaho ikimutunga. Nagirajicyo akora ntazirirwa mu tubari anwenyamwenya yabuze n'amafaranga yo kunywera, yikinira amacenga n'abashinzwe umutekano. Bene nk'aho nibwo ajya mu matwi ya mugenzi we ati " Wa! wa ! wa ! Nyanaka impamvu abayeho kuriya ni ukubera...." n'ibindi byinshi. Abayongorera amafuti yo gushyamiranya, amatiku akirema ari aho afite icyicaro, ni aho uduco tw'amabandi twiremera. Inzoga bayita gahuza-miryango ariko rero ntiyayihuza ibyunweru bingahé ababaya ku mirimo ngo bazagire icyo bageza ku gihugu. Ubusabane buzaza bigaragaye ko buri muntu yitaweho. Abatabonewe imirimo bakangurirwe gushinga amashyirahamwe ashingiyi ku myuga inyuranye igaragara mu gihugu, kugira ngo baterwe inkunga maze mu nyungu z'ibikorwa byayo bakuremo ikibatunga.

4° KWIMAKAZA UMUCO GAKONDO NO GUHUGURIRWA KUBANA NEZA

Uko iminsi igenda ibisanya, niko umuco gakondo wacu ugenda ukendera, twihazamo iby'uruzungu. Nabyo si bibi kuzana amajyambere ariko se kandi dusonere umuco wacu! Niba tugira tuti " Icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza," uhita wu-mva ko hari iyihe higeze kubana neza. Ni cya gihe rero cy'abasokuru bacu. Babishobozwaga n'iki ? N'uko bubahaga kandi bakagendera ku muco wabo. Twiturira mu Rwanda rwa " Kirasira " n'ubwo byaba ari ugusubira inyuma, nyamaraga ntacyo byishe niba byadutera ubusabane. Tukiberaho muri kirazira kurya inshuti, kuba intati, kugambanira ighugu no gukora ibindi byinshi bibi, ariko ntitubeho muri kirazira kurya ihene uri umugore ngo utamera ubwanwa ! Bityo tuzongere kumva akano ka nijoro ari uko ari igisimba gisariye rubanda. Nyir'ibyago kandi nahuruza, ntavunirwe impuruza na Nyiranubande shururirwe na bose maze kwa kwimika umuco kugaragarire aho.

Ngo" inkovu icitse irushya abavuzi " ubwenge bwo gukunda ighugu n'abagituye ndetse n'ibikorwa bikbonekamo bukwiye gutozwa abanyarwanda. Kuko byagaragaye cyane ko hari abanyarwanda birukankira za kaminuza, bagataruka amahanga ngo basumbe intiti, nyamara bakiri abatindi b' umutima.

Kera abanyarwanda baranywanaga bagaca ku nda ubwo bakaba bagiranye ighihamo cyo kutazahemukirana. Ubu ntitubasha kunywana kuko ari umwanda wadukururira ibirwara, ababikoraga bari batarajiju. Aho kwirirwa mu mazu n'ibigo by'ubushakashatsi uvumbura ibishobora kwicagurwa nabi n'abadashyize hamwe, wabanje ukavumbura uburyo bushya abanyarwanda bashobora kongera kunywana ? Igihe kira-geze ngo abanyarwanda basobanukirwe ko ibyo Ruzungu yatzanyemo byo kuvuga ngo ubwoko ubu bwaturutse muri iki gihugu, ubu nabwo buturuka muri iki, icyo ari ikinyoma kibi cyane. N'ikimenyimenyi kuva mu matoro, maze nibucya wibere agatama kandi uri kasha, kavuro gake. Dore uri umunyagwa, kabutindi, ubugome uburusha kure uwo ukoshyo.

Dushyire hamwe turwanye uwagerageza kudusho-ramo amacakubiri. Duhamer na kera kose nta munyarwanda w'injuragire w'agacurama utagira aho abarizwa ! Umwanzi aze agushuke wice mugenzi wawe ukingirijwe n'urwijiji rw' ijoro, maze nibucya wibere agatama kandi uri kasha, kavuro gake. Dore uri umunyagwa, kabutindi, ubugome uburusha kure uwo ukoshyo.

.../...

Kuko aho kubana na Bihehe mu nzu wibwira ko ubana n'umuntu, wayicungira mu bihuru by'inyuma y'urugo ukahagenda uri menge, ukahanyura-na amakenga. Ubusabane busagambe, inkera zongere zibeho nka kera. Abagabo bahige ibyiza bakoze bitume n'iki<sup>g</sup>wari cyigaya maze kijye gukora iyo bwabaga. Umunyarwanda yaragira ati " Nishe abanzi b'igihugu aba n'aba, natesheje imbwa yambuye umuhashyi, nasembereje imbaga yari igwiriwe n'amakuba mugikari cyanjye, n'ibindi". Agakomerwa mu mashyi. Maze turebe ko hari uzihandagaza mu nkera nk'ijo ati " Nishe abanyarwanda aba n'aba b'inzirakarengane!".

Umuco w'amahanga nawo tuwinjize mu wacu ariko n'uwa gakondo tutawutabye. Aho kubaka amazu bararamo babyina indirimbo z'inzungu, birongobeka ibyotsi maze aho hakaba hakurukiramo n'ubwomanzi, tureme inkera tuvuga ku muco gakondo. Duterekere ba sogokuru bari intwari basabana bizarira amakemwa, bazira intonganya, ubugome n'inda nini. Tubaterekere tubatekereza, twoye kubasaba amahoro ubutoni urubyaro n'ubutunzi nk'uko benshi ukwemera kwacu kutabidushoboza. Niba tutagomba kwibagirwa amarorererwa yagwiririye uru Rwanda kugira ngo hatazagira n'urota yongera kuyatugushamo, gutaramira hamwe twibuka ba sogokuru twimika umuco gakondo mu buzima bwa buri munsi byatuma twifuza kuba intwari nkabo. Urubyiruko rwo ku murenge uyu n'uyu rugataramira hamwe bakitereka urwegwa, amarwa, ibigage n'imitobe amajoro bagata hanze. Ibyo bigakorwa mu mijyi ndetse no mu byaro. Abatura ibishyito mu nkera bakabereka cho bikinjika, bagashyirwayo ndetse bakigira no mu nzozi. Bakirotera u Rwanda rw'umucyo ushashagirana, kw'amahoro ahimbaje ruta-ri urw'amacakubiri; twese dushyize hamwe amatiku n'ubwumvikane buke tubikanira mu byoko byabyo, tubikanije umurunga w'inyabumwe nyarwanda. Muri izo nkera niho urubyiruko ruzagayira abababanjirije bagatanya abanyarwanda, ruhiganirwe kugarura umubano nyawo hagati y'abanyarwanda.

Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ni uko amahugurwa yabaho ku mirenge no mu ngo hakaba abakangurambaga binjirayo gukwirakwiza ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda. Hagashyirwaho ghunda z'ayo mahugurwa mu mashuri, mu nsengero no mu bindi bigo biteraniyemo abantu benshi. Aha ndibuka umusaza utaravaga imuhira ndetse no kujya gufata indangamuntu yaragiye banuhetse mu ngobyi, wangani-riye maze nkihishurira uko hari abanyarwanda gito bagenda baktwira kwiza ibigambo biteranya. Hari urukingo rw'iserywari rwahawe u Rwanda ho imfashanyo maze abana bo mu mashuri abanza bakagombe kuzihabwa bose. Namabajije impamu atcherejeyo utwuzukuru twe babanaga, ansubiza ko n'ubwo izo nkingo zose ari iz'iseru ngo zaba zibitse ukubiri. Bakamenya aho bakura urugenewe umwana bitewe n'akamenyetso bahawe ngo n'uwagombaga kuba azi abana b'ako gace n'amoko yabo acungiye bugufi aho ngaho. Ngo hakaba abagombaga gaterwa izizatuma batazanabyara, byaba aribyo byatumye atoherezayo utwuzukuru twe yahamyaga ko tutari kubura muri abo bari bugomerwe. Mubajije aho **yabikuje**, yansubije ati " Nabibwiwe n'umunyarwanda w'umugiraneza !" Uriya musaza yashutswe n'umunyarwanda uciye akenge byumvikane, kuko ariwe wari kumenya amakuru y'inkingo zizatangwa, maze agatangira gukwirakwiza ibigambo nk'ibyo bidafite ishingiro byo gateranya abanyarwanda bitewe n'inyungu yari abifitemo. Nta cyatera agahinda nk'uko ubwo aho kuri uwo murenge yaba ariwe mpuguke ihaboneka.

Ko uwo musaza yashutswe atyo, abana n'utwuzukuru twe natwo yatekeyemo uwo mwijima, ko habaye n'inama ihugura abaturage atayitabira ku bw'intege nke ? Buriya rwose azahumuka ate ? Namara kwitarura abuzukuru be bazajya bibwira bati " Dufite ibanga sogokuru yadusigiyé ! " Nibubaka ingo bakabyara bati " Ni uko sogokuru yabaye menge ! " None se ubwo ni gute bazagira umubano uhameye n'abanyarwanda bari kuba aribo babyara bonyine mu gihugu ? Uwahumye aba yahunye iyo atabonye umuhugura ubwo ntazibuka no guhinyuza ngo arebe niba abo yakekeraga kuyoba bajya gufata urukingo baba mu by'ukuri koko batarabyaye.

bigisha ijambo ry'Imana n'ibitabo byabo mu maha. Bakagera na hahandi twita mu kitumva ingoma ! Hariho abagifite imitima itamirijwe ya matiku bigishijwe, bakeneye urumuri !

Buri munyarwanda nakunda igihugu cye urukundo nyarwo, bizatuma ubutabera butugeza ku bwiyunge buhamye. Abanya-byaha nibahanwa, abanyarwanda tugashobora kwiyunga, hazaba hasi-gaye gusenderezwa amahoro. Niho tuzaboneraho kwimakaza umuco gakondo, duhugurirwe ubusabane ku buryo bwose bushoboka, maze twongere tubane nk'abanyarwanda ba mbere y'amacakubiri.

( Harakabaho inyangamugayo, intwari zakotanye igihe kirekire kugira ngo buri munyarwanda wese nta vangura abonwemo ubumuntu.

Harakabaho ingabo z'igihugu zarokoye imbagya y'abanyarwanda yari yugarijwe n'ibyago by'agahomamunwa. Harakabaho abayobozi b'igihugu cyacu, bakomeza gushakisha uburyo ubusabane bwagaruka mu banyarwanda.

Barakagwira Abanyarwanda bose bafite inyota yo kugarura ubwumvikane, umubano uzira agatotsi hagati yabo.

Murakoze Murakarama ! )

1/8/97

7

I R U S H A N W A R Y O K U V U G A N E Z A

INTERURO : Icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

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ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA

Ubusabane, urukundo, ubwumvane n'ubwumvikane nibye byarangaga ba sogekuru na ba sogekuruza bacu mu Rwanda rwe hambere; abanyarwanda barahuraga bagasabana bagasabana amazi n'umurire, bagahana amahore n'abageni, bagatahiriza umugozi umwe nta kugerana, bakagura igihugu, bakimura inkiko, bakazira itiku n'intugunda n'ushatse ibye kubishora agashyirwa ku Karubanda ! Ahe umuzungu aziye rero ati "Aba banyarwanda ntabateye gutatana ngo mbacemwe icyuhe bacikemo ibice ntacyo nacyura !" Nibwe arebye bamwe ati "Mwogacwa mwe muraryamirwa kandi mukaryamirwa n'abatari kavukire, biviriye imahanga baje kubaryana ibyanyu !" Ubwe nabo bati "Burya umuzungu avuga ibye yapimye nta kabuza ni bye !"

nta kabuza ni bye!"  
Ngayo amatiku Gatuku yazanye i Rwanda akabyara inzangano zatumye  
abibwiraga ko baryamirwa baryoje ubusa abavandimwe barabahohotera amahore ahinduka  
amahane, umunyarwanda ata agacire icumbi rye riba ishyanga. Akababare ka bamwe kaba-  
ye ibyishime n'ibigwi by'abandi; Gatuku asubiye iwabo Rwanda yibera igikoreshe cy'u-  
butegetsi bubi bwaranzwe n'igitugu bugatoteza abere bugaheza imahanga abanyagihugu  
bazira amahane. Ubwo butegetsi bw'agatsinuze bwatsembye ukuri bukomeretsa imitsi y'a-  
be bushinzwe kurengera, bubabibamwe **ibibi**, bibabera umusaruro udateze kuzibagirana na  
rimwe mu mateka y'u Rwanda ariwe TSEMBABWOKO N'ITSEMBATSEMBA. Nibwo abakomeje gutete-  
zwa nta tiku batewe bagateterezwa bakicwa, abagabo b'ibikwerere, abagore b'ibishonge-  
re, abakecuru, abasaza, abascre, inkumi ndetse n'urucanda bose bahigwa bunyamaswa ibi-  
ntu biradegera.

Ibyo byose byakozwe n'abanyarwanda kandi bikererwa abanyarwanda bose  
ari abavandimwe. Dukore iki se ko ayo mahano yabaye nk'acukura umuferege muremure cyane  
utandukanya abanyarwanda? Dukore iki kugirango icyuhe kizibwe maze uwiciwe asabane n'u-  
wa mwiciye amacakubiri acibwe mu barutuye?

Inzege zese z'ubuyebezi ni zihaguruke zikangurire abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose gushakira hamwe icyatuma amahoro, ubwumvane n'ineza byongera kuranga uRwanda. Buri munyarwanda uwo ariwe wese urwego arimo urwo ari rwo rwose arebwa n'iki kibazo. Turebe nonehe icye buri rwego rw'ubuyobezi, buri munyarwanda cyangwa umunyamahanga ukunda u Rwanda bakora kugirango abarutuye bongere babane neza.

## UBUCAMANZA

UBUCAMANZA

Ubusanzwe mu muco wa kinyarwanda, iye umuturanyi yakoserezaga mugenzi we akamutoteza akamuhinda amuziza akamama, umuryange warabahuzaga bigahera mu gisenge; bananirana ubwe gacaca ikicara ikabiceca igaca inkoni izamba, uwakosheje agacibwa agacuma maza uwakesherejwe agacururuka, ituze rigatura umuryango ukazira induru itimwe rikagenta nka NYOMBERI ! Nene se ko umunyarwanda yendereje undi, ya gacaca nkuru y'u Rwanda ( UBUCAMANZA ) yahannye uwahehoteye mugenzi we, igahumuriza uwahohotewe, inzangano n'inzigo bitarafata icyicaro mu mitima y'abanyarwanda ?

n'inzigo bitarafata icyicaro mu mitima y'abanyarwanda. Ubucamanza butabera bufite ijambo mu kazi kabwo ni inzira izira inzitane mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Niburwanye bushyizeho umwete wa muco woretse igihugu we kudahana, nibwe amafuti azabura umwanya mu mubano mwiza twifuriza abanyarwanda. Nibufate abacyidegembya barirabye amaraso y'urubyaro rw'uru Rwanda, maze aho gukomeretsa inkovu z'abacitse ku icumu ry'ayo mahano, ibihano bihabwe ibyo byihebe byahahamuye igihugu. Birababaje rwose kubona amaso ku mase uwaguhemukiye akaguhekura agahitana ibywae adahabwa ibihano cyangwa ngo aze agusabe imbabazi ! Amahore azahinda ate se ko ahubwe aho guhana MWARAMUTSE isanzwe ihuza abanyarwanda, ari uguhura ukagira intimba watekereza ku mahano ibyo guhora bikava aho.

Ubucamanza ni bukore iye bwabaga aho guca intege abo bushinzwe kurengera, buce imanza zitabera, nibwo ubwishi shanye mu banyarwanda buzabura icyicaro. Burya rere ubucamanza bubi buri mu byoretse u Rwanda, niyo mpamvu aribwo mizero yambere mu guha isura nyayo u Rwanda rwahoranye, buhana by'intangarugero bikaba n'urwitegererero kubashobora kugira amakosa intego. Nibushishoze mu gushakisha abashenjaguye imitima y'abanyarwanda, abari mu maboke yabwo bacibwe imanza, abagaragayeho ubudakemwa barekurwe basange ababo, nibwo intimba izava mu mitima y'abanyarwanda maze bature batuje batunge kandi batunganirwe. Ngurwe uruhare rw'ubucamanza mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda bakoreranye ibi-bi kandi ari abavandimwe.

UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU

Uwitwa umuyobozi wese, arebwa ku buryo bw'umwihariko n'iki kibaze, kuva kuri Nyumbakumi kugeza kuri Perezida wa Repubulika. Abayobozi babi nibo bayobeje abaturage babaroha mu ibehere ry'inzangano n'amatiku bitera abantu guta umurongo bikaba byarabaye intandare y'ubwicanyi ndendakoko.

Muyobozi rero haguruka uharure akayira ubwiyunge bugomba gucamo amahoro ahinde i Rwigasabo urwanya byimazeyo abigira NTITUBIRIMO na ba NTIBITUREBA bitwaje impamvu izo arize zose. Nibarwanywe bareke gushinyagurira abashengurwa n'agahinda ko kuba-he nk'ibishinga barahoze bashengererwa n'ababo. Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bwe bushakira abaturage abayobozi bamwe na bamwe, niburebe niba uwo umuyobozi adashobora kuba imbarutse y'ubwishi shanye mu bayeborwa. Mbere yo kugira runaka Perezida, Burugumesitiri cyangwa Konseye n'abandi, nihabanze harebwe niba koko uwo muntu afite ibitekerezo byubaka, niba ashobera kugira uruhare mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ababanisha aho kubaryanisha abashumurizanya kandi ari abavandimwe.

Ntibihwitse rwese gufata iyambere mu gutambamira ubwiyunge uri umuyobozi uha ibinyoma, ivangura, ikimenyane na ruswa intebé, kandi aribyo byatubyariye ITSEMBABWOKO N'ITSEMBATSEMBA.

Abayobozi babi basonga abasumbirijwe bakabura uko bigira, ntabo igihu-gikeneye; hakenewe ahubwo abahuza kandi bagahumuriza abanyagihugu babafasha kungurana ibitekerezo ntabyo gaterana amagambo, bagafasha abakoshejwe n'abakosherejwe bakiyunga amahoro agahinda.

Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu nibuhaguruke nibiba ngombwa bwitabaze n'inschuti z'amahanga, maze ikibazo cy'abatagira uko bigira gikemuke bumve ko bafite uburenganzira; maze agahinda n'intimba bigabamuke, ukubabarirana kubone inzira gucamo kudategwa. Burya rero iye utubaze tw'ibanze nk'utwinda, imyambaro, agasabune, ... tugabamutse, nibwo umuntu abona gutekereza ku bindi. None se umuntu azaburara kabiri, gatatu yarahoze asagurira amasoko, abure gutekereza ku wamusubije ku mukanda?

Iye nzara ivanze n'ibibazo se izashira ryari ko nta wundi yatura ibibazo bye?

Ubwiyunge buzaca he n'iye nzira y'inzitane iri imbere yabwo?

Rwose abo bantu nibafashwe ibyo bimuga, izo mfubyi n'abo bapfakazi b'ibyabaye muri uru Rwanda bateze imbere mu mahoro urwo batuye.

Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu nibufashe ubucamanza kurangiza akazi kabwo, bushaka abacamanza batabera benshi kandi bahugukiwe n'akazi kabo.

Amahugurwa aheraho nabahabwe maze babone ubuhuza abahemukiranye; na ba Ruharwa ubu bari mu mahanga ya hafi cyangwa ya kure, bakurweyo nabo baryozwe ibibi bakoreye abanyarwanda Muyobozi aho uri hose kangurira abo ushinzwe ko nta we uzava mu mahanga ngo aje kubunga; aho guhungana no kumungana nibahure bavuge ku byabateza imbere mu mahoro n'ubusabane. Ibyo byose abayobozi nibabigerah, nta kabuza ubwiyunge nta nkomyi buteze guhura nayo; bizaba intambwe irambuye mu mahoro asesuye twifuriza urw' " IMISOZI IGIHUMBI "

UMUTURAGE

Wowe muturarwanda ukunda u Rwanda cyane cyane wowe wabonye cyangwa ukumva ibyo igihugu cyawe cyakorewe n'abadashyira mu gaciro, urebwa cyane n'ibikorwa bihuza kandi bikabanisha abanyarwanda, bigamije ubutishishanye n'amahoro twifuriza u Rwanda n'abarwe. Twese uko dutuye u Rwanda, n'abarukunda batarutuye, duterwe ubugabo no kurwubaka ahe kurugaba tubana nk'abibana. Turebe icyo buri wese urwego arimo rwese ( icyo akora cyose), yakora kugira nge abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

ABAFITE UBU TUMWA CYANGWA INYIGISHO BAGEZA KU BANDI

Uru rwego ni rumwe mu nzego zirebwa ku buryo bugaragara n'ikibaze cyo kubanisha abanyarwanda. Tugiyе kwibanda cyane ku barimu, abanyamakuru, abahanzi n'abanyamadini.

ABARIMU

Urwege arimo urwo arirwo rwose afite abo yigisha iby'ubwenge kandi agomba guha uburere rusange. Birumvikana rero ko agomba kwirinda kuyobya iyo mbaga igamije kugenza ubujiji, ahubwe ke agomba kuyiyobera ayirinda icyayitera kutumvikana ubwaye. Umwarimu nakangurire abanyeshuri umuce we gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga k'uzisabwe, bakangurire kubana mu rukunde bagire ipfunde mu bupfura bakesha uwe murezi. Nagire igihe cyo kuganira n'abanyeshuri be, ntibahere mu masomo gusa, ahubwo bavuge no ku mubano w'abanyarwanda, ikindi kandi yirinde umutima w'ivangura ryaba rishingiye ku bitsina, amoko, amadini cyangwa ibindi. Yirinde kurengera bamwe, arengura abandi. Abanyeshuri bacosheje mu ishuri bacosorwe, bizabateza kwitaza amakosa mu buzima bwe hanze. Murezi kirezi kizira imberekira, zirikanira kubo u Rwanda rutezeho akazaza bazire inzangano, inzige zibure icyicaro mu mitima yabo.

UMUHANZI

Iyo mpano wahawe na Rugira reka kuyigira inkota yica ushumuriza abantu abandi, nk'uke byagaragaye mu bihe amahano yahabwaga intebi i Rwagasabo: mu mivugo ivugitse gihanga ariko yuzuyemo amatiku atanya abo jbwirwa, mu ndirimbo zisenya zigasingiza abi-siga amarase y'abaziranenge ... Inganzo yawe yigire isoko y'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, ivubure amazi y'urusare asabagize urukundo mu barutuye. Himbarwa uhimba indirimbo zidasebanya ahubwe zisebya abasize u Rwanda mu kangaratete hato hatagira n'ubigira intego; imivugo ivuge ku byabaye ikangurire abaturage gusaba no guhana imbabazi; ayo makinamico yigishe kugiraneza no kubana neza; ibyo byose nibigerwaho, inkunga yiyo nganzo izaba ibaye MUTAGERERANWA.

UMUNYEDINI

Nawe rwese kora iyo bwabaga uharanire icyaguhuza na mugenzi wawe mutavuga rumwe, bitewe n'impamu izo arizo zose. Inshingane yawe yo gukangurire abantu kubana mu rukundo, nishinge imizi ntihere mu magambo; urukundo rwogere mu mbaga ya nyagasan. Ubusanzwe idini ni ihurire ry'abantu badahuje uturere, ubwoko, ibitsina, ... ariko bahuje ukwemera. Birumvikana rero ko ababwirizabutumwa nk'abapasitoro, abapadiri, ... bafite umurimo ukomeye wo guhuriza abo bantu bese mu kwemera kumwe. Ngaho ni bakangurire abo bayoboke babo ko inzangano zisenya aho kubaka. Babakangurire ko abakoze ibaya bagomba kwihana, bagasaba Imana n'Itorero barimo imbabazi z'ibyo bakoze, ndetse bakazisaba by'umwihariko abo babikoreye kugira nge biyunge babane neza ubuzira herezo.

Nibamamaze ubutumwa bw'Imana ariko na none bamagane bagenzi babo baramaje mu kumara abanyarwanda, bakica batsigatiye Bibiliya, bagakorera ibidakorwa mu ngoro ya Nyagasan. Rwose wowe munyedini witinya no gutunga agatoki abashaka kwitiza isura y'idini kandi baba bahuma amaso rubanda ngo itamenya cyangwa itibuka ibyo bakoreye igihugu cyababyaye. Mu sengesho ryawe sabira u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda, amahoro yuje ituze abasange, bazasangirire ku isahani imwe aho kwa NYIRIBIREMWA .

UMUNYAMAKURU

Ubundi itangazamakuru ribi ryoreka igihugu rigateranya abaturage bagata umutima w'umutuzo bagatora uwo gutemama. Igihe tugezemo rero ni icyo kurwanya itangazamakuru nk'iryo. Umunyamakuru uwo ari we wese yaba akora kuri Radiyo cyangwa yandika mu binyamakuru, ibitekerezo bye bigera ku banyarwanda hafi ya bose ndetse n'abanyamahanga; birumvikana rero ko iyo byubaka bigirira abo bigenewe akamaro aho kumarana baku-baka urwababyaye, naho byaba bisenya nabwo bikabasenyera bagasongana.

Munyamakuru rero uzi ibyo za R.T.L.M. na za KANGURA byadukoreye, gira uruhare mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ubaha ibitekerezo byubaka bibakangurira kubana aho lubashyushya imitwe ubateranya. Mu gutara amakuru kwave, tora yose ulko yakabaye, ukugejejeho igitekerezo kiyo-bya ugerageze kumuyobora, iby'amakabyankuru ntibibura nabyo uzajye ubyibuka maze mbere yo kuyatanga ubanzé uyanonosore, uyashungure urebe neza ko adashobora gushumika imitwe n'imitima by'abayumva; atangazwe azira urukumbi agire icyo yungura imbaga iyabwirwa.

Munyamakuru, sura abaturage utavangura uturere, ngo wibande aho uvuka cyangwa aho ukesha ifaranga. Nta munyarwanda n'umwe ubaho adafite ijambu cyangwa igitekerezo yageza ku bandi, nta n'akarere kabaho katagira inkuru, ikiganiro, umuco kihariye, ... Umunsi rero uzajya gusura akarere aka n'aka, abagatuye bose bakaza bakugana, nta busabane buzaba buruta ubwo kuko n'abazaba bataziranye cyangwa batavuga rumwe, bazahura baluriza ibitekerezo hamwe bityo amahoro aganze ukwishishanya muri bo.

Itangazamakuru muri rusange nirigire uruhare mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ritegura kandi ritanga interuro nyinshi kandi zinyuranye, ku cyakorwa kugirango ubwumvane n'ubusabane bisagambe mu banyagihugu. Radiyo y'u Rwanda niyongere ibiganiro ku cyateye abanyarwahda guhemukirana ndetse n'icayabatera kwiyunga, n'ibinyamakuru byongere inyandiko kuri izo ngingo. Itangazamakuru nirikangurire abanyarwanda umuco wo kwemera iwayaha, aho kucyitaza, cyaturwe kandi gisabirwe imbabazi byose bijyane no kunva ukuri, usabwe imbabazi azitange atiganyira maze tubabarirane ntitubambane, ahubwo dusabane kandi duhane imbabazi kuko turi abavandimwe.

AMAKORANIRO RUSANGE

Ubusanzwe ikoraniro ni ihuriro ry'abahuje ibitekerezo, ibibazo cyangwa ubuzima rusange, bahura bagamije ikintu iki n'iki gishobora kubagira akamaro. Akunze kugaragara ni nk'ingando z'urubyiruko ruhuje umuryango (mouvements d'actions), ibiganiro mpaka ku nteruro zinyuranye, amahugurwa y'abakozi, amanama yo hirya no hino, ... Ayo makoraniro rero amuriramo abantu baturutse imihanda yose badahuje amoko uturere n'ibindi, gusa bahujwe n'igitekerezo rusange. Niba havugwa ihingo y'amajyambere y'ububanyi n'amahanga, y'iyobokamana cyangwa izindi, ubwiyunge ubusabane n'amahoro by'abanyarwahda ntibigahezwe inyuma; nibivugweho n'urwa ruhurirane rw'abadahuje ubwoko n'ivukid hashakire hamwe icyaluza abatavuga rumwe, babibangikanye n'ibyo bahanagarirwa, umurimo wabo ugaza utunganikwe neza kurushaho. Abategura ibiganiro mpaka nibibande iu ngingo zikangurira abantu kubana neza kubahana no guhana amahoro. Ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda bureba buri munyarwanda wese aho ava akagera; ndetse n'ibikorwa byiza bigerwaho iyo umutuzo wuje imitima y'abatuye igihugu, ibitezza imbere umubano nibishyirwe imbere n'ibindi bizatunganywa nta kabuza.

UMUTURAGE USANZWE ( wa nyuma y'amarorerwe )

Duhere ku wakoze amarorerwa akica, agasenza agasahura. Ibyo ribyo byose na we yabonye cyangwa abonako ibyo yakoze ntaho bihuriye n'ubumuntu. Niba afite imigambi yo kubikomeza nasubize inkota mu rwabati, amaraso yasheshe arahagije, niyunamure icumu ku-ko ibicumuro biramurenze, nareke kubica mu kwica ahubwo yicuze acubye uburakari bwa NYAGASANI, yikubite imbere y'abo yateye gutakara mu isibaniro ry'amashyano, abasabe imbabazi; arahire yivuma ko atazigera yongera guhemukira umunyarwanda aho ava akagera. Ibyo nabi-rangiza yishyire mu maboko y'ubucamanza ntakabuza nabwo buzaca inkoni izamba kuko uwo muntu azaba abaye nka ya ntama yazimiye yasanga izindi umwungeri akishima.

UWICIWE

Na we ukwiye kwirinda kwiheba cyangwa kwigunga, niyumveko afatiwe iry'iburye ntacyo ateze kuburana u Rwanda nasabane n'abo babana n'uje amugana amusaba imbabazi abikuye ku mutima, ace inkoni izamba amubabarire ibitekerezo byo kwhorera abihungire kure kuko bikorwa n'Imana gusa.

URUBYIRUKO

Rubyiruko, ni twe ntango y'ubwiyunge n'amahoro by'u Rwanda n'abaratuye. Turi ba SEKURU B'ABAZAZA. Nimumfashe tubanze tugaye twivuye inyuma bagenzi bacu b'uru-byiruko bakoze amarorerwa yoretse u Rwanda, bakaba barafashe iya mbere mu guhohotera inzi-rakarengane. Rubyiruko rero tureke gutera ikirenge mu cy'abayobye ahubwo dushakire hamwe icyakorwa kugira nge abahemukiranye bongere bavuge rumwe, batumirane babane neza. Kwirinda amacakubiri yose n'icyo yaba ashingiyeho cyose niryo shingiro ry'umushyikirano n'amahoro bisesuye kandibihoraho. Urubyiruko ruri mu bibazo niruterwe inkunga n'urungano rureke kwiheba rwirinde ibikorwa cyangwa ibitekerezo byarutera kwigunga ahubwo rukanguki-re ibyarwibagiza ibyo bibaze nk'imikino, ibiganiro rusange, ...

Rubyiruko, nitwirinde ibiyobyabwenge bifata umuntu akazungera, akazengera akaba igicucu yari umuntu, biri mu bya mbere byatumye urubyiruko rwiraha mu mahano yoretse u Rwanda, ndetse ni n'imbogamizi y'umuzi ku bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Ahubwo aho guhurira mu tubare cyangwa mu runywore rw'ubwo burozi, ni duhurire mu ishuri, mu kibuga, cyangwa mu yindi mirimo, dusabane dusangira ibyishimo by'uko tungana. Burya rero igihe tubuze icyo dukora tudafashe isuka, ikaramu cyangwa agapira ngo dukine, nibwo haboneka umwanya wo gutikura no gucura amatindo atanya. Nibwo dutekereza ku mihoro ihonyora abafite ihoho bagahirimba nta nenge, aho gutesekereza ku mahoro ahuza imitima igasabana.

Ni dushikame turwanye udushwanisha aduteranya turi bene MUGABUMWE, twigire umwe tuvuga rumwe amahoro n'ubwiyunge duharanira tuzabigeraho nta kabuza. Nidutere ikirenge mu cya bagenzi bacu b'i NYANGE n'i MURAMBA biyemeje guhara amagara yabo aho kwicamo ibice. Nitugenza dutyo tuzabaho BUNYANGE kandi TUZARAMBA mu mumahoro azira gitesha.

UMUTEGARUGORI

Na we natege yombi iyi mpuriza, afatire iry'iburyo igihugu cye, atange umuganda mu bitekerezo cyangwa mu bikorwa ku cyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane. Ha agaciro urwe rugori rwave, ugendera kure amatiku atanya akenshi aterwa n'abata igihe cyabo mu tubare bagata umutwe. Irinde amashyari asenza ahubwo ugire ayubaka maze ubihe urukundo mu bana bawe bakure batazi inzangane kuko nibo Rwanda rw'ejo.

Niba ufite umufasha mujye mufata umwanya mwicare mucoce utubazo turi mu muryango, mwige ku mibanire yanyu n'abaturanyi ikitagenda gikosorwe. Kangurira MYUGARIRO wawe kwibuka gusaba imbabazi abo yakosereje, bizababera ipfundu mubo mubana. Nawe kandi iryo banga ryo kwiyunga uryibuke maze uwo wagiriye nabi umwikubite imbere umusabe imbabazi.

Niba uri umupfakazi utagira uko wigira isunge bagenzi bawe ureke kuba nyaka mwe ugerageze kwiyibagiza ibibazo uterwa n'ubwo bupfakazi. Mu biganiro byawe amaganya ntukayabanze imbere uganyira n'abatakumva ahubwo baguhema, kuko burya ngo "UGANYIRA UTAKUZI AKAKUNYAGA" umutima w'imbabazi uzajye ubanza mu byo ukora, nibwo n'uwalkugiri e nabi azaza akwikubite imbere ku bw'ikimwaro azaba atewe n'iyo myifatire yawe. Mutegarugori aho uri hose hunga ivangura iryo iriryo ryose kuko riviramo urikora umuvumo wo kuvusha uwo bavuga rumwe bavukana, imivu y'amaraso ikaranga ivuko. Kangurira umusore wawe kutaronda isura, ubwoko cyangwa akarere by'umugenya yifuza; n'inkumi bibe uko ntikurikire akoko, akarere, cyangwa idini by'umugabo yifuza. Intambwe mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda izaba **itewe**.

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi, igihe kirageze ngo dutsinde amafuti adutandukanya nk'uko umuririmbyi w'umunyarwanda yabivuze. Uguhemukirana kwabaye hagati yacu ntawekwateye ishema, uretse kongera ibibazo twari twisanganiweho ishavu n'ag'hinda. Amaraso yamenetse arahagije, turwanye n'ingufu zacu zose icyatuma hameneka andi maraso manyarwanda.

Dufatane urunana tutita ku moko, twirinde gutotezanya dutongana nk'aho tutota iziko rimwe. Nitwisungane tudasongana, tutanasigana kuko burya dusangiyeye sogokuruza. Nitureke gupfa ubusa nk'abapfapfa bapfa amagambo kandi dufite ipfundu riduhuza; Noneho duhane amahoro n'imbabazi tureke guhungana no guhangana nk'abahindana kandi duhujwe na byinshi.

Muntu wese ukunda u Rwanda, rwana urwambike isaro ryarwo, ruhore rwizihewe n'abarwo, amahoro ahinde i Rwagasabo, IJABIRO JAMBO YAGIZE IBANGA, RWANDA YOSE IHAGIRE IJAMBO .

S E M I V U M B I Daniyeli  
Urwunge rw'Amashuri rwo ku Nyundo  
GISENYI

I C Y A K O R W A  
K U G I R A N G O  
A B A N Y A R W A N D A  
B O N G E R E B A B A N E N E Z A.

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

TUWUBAZE HEHE UMUBANO MWIZA?

1. Munyarwandakazi, munyarwanda  
Nzindutse nzindajwe na byinshi  
Ndabibutsa mbabaze musubize.  
Ibuka ibyago byogogoje u Rwanda
5. Uzi se impamvu uzi intandaro?  
Wabonye n'ingaruka mbi zayo?  
Uzi imiti yahosha ayo mahano  
Ikanayamagana burundu  
Akaranduka i Rwanda rukunda umubano?
10. Ngaho dutuze tuzirikane twese.

- Bijya gutangira kuba umwaku  
Mu mwaka mwakwibuka namwe  
Abanyanda baradutanya  
Abaturarwanda babacamo ibice
15. Baduteramo amatindi y'amoko  
Maze icyari ubumwe kiba umwaga  
Urukundo rurarundura  
Ubufatanye bwo burafutama  
Gutabarana biratabwa
  20. Abo barwanira inyungu zabo.  
Uuri ga kwimukira ikibi  
Urwango rwugururirwa irembo  
Ibisare byarwo birasagamba  
Isura yarwo irasumbukuruzwa
  25. Abashyingiranye barashyamirana  
Aho guhuza haza ubuhemu  
Aho gusangira turarasana  
Aho gutabarana turatera.  
Sinabasha kubishushanya
  30. Iby'ayo mahano biragatsindwa.  
Inkurikizi zayo warazibonye  
N!inkuba yakubise itagira amazi  
Njye nkabaza abasaza amasubyo.
- Bana beza b'uru Rwanda
35. Twarababajwe birambuye

- Twarashutswe biradushwanya  
Tuba ibivume-ruvumwa hose  
Umuremyi utaratwimye ubwenge  
Ubwe yaratinye no kurutaha
40. Kuko Sekibi yarutashye.  
Nyamara kandi tuganduke  
Dufatane twese twe gusigana  
Twisubize ya sura isusurutse,  
Inzego zinyuranye nizegerane
45. Zishake hose zinashishoze  
Icyazamura urwatubyaye  
Rukava mu bwirabure bw'ubwire.
- Bene Kanyarwanda niduhaguruke  
Tuwutahirize uwo murunga
50. Kandi baca umugani abanyarwanda  
Ngo "abishyize hamwe nta kibananira".  
Guverinoma yiyyemeje ivugurura  
Yamagane ivangura n'isumbanya  
Iry'uturere amoko amadini
55. Ba Kanyarwanda ba Mutarutana  
Twige gusangira aho gusobanya  
Duturane aho gutana  
Dutarame aho gutukana  
Ubumwe bwacu bube umurunga
60. Buzahore bushyitse iwacu  
Amahoro akure amahano.  
Abayobozi bayoboke icyaro  
Bacyame imicyamo batwegere  
Baducyamure tujye mu mucyo
65. Bacyahe abakitwa ibigwari  
Bimwe bigwabiza ubwiyunge.  
Inzego zose nizanzuranye  
Zishware hose zishakashake  
Icyarwubaka u Rwanda rwacu.
- 70 Ndahera no hejuru aho ngaho  
Ngeze aho hasi kuri rubanda

- Hatangwe inama zitunganye  
Izitatugarura mu matiku  
Izitaduterereza ubutindi  
75. Izitatujinjika mu bujiji  
Izidushyitsa ku mushyikirano .
- Buri muturage w'u Rwanda  
Afite uburenganzira nk'undi  
Hatazagira uwishuka  
80. Ngo agushumbije amashuri  
Ngo avuka aha n'aha  
Ngo atuye ahakomeye  
Ngo atunze imitamenwa  
Ngo arenze Mirenge.
85. Uzamusubize asigeho  
Uti "mu rwego rwanjye  
Rwaba urworoshye n'urukomeye  
Ndi mu gihugu cyanjye  
Cyanyibyariye kirandera  
90. Kandi umubyeyi ubyiruye  
Ntasumbanya ibibondo ndarahiye."
- Ese uko ubizi cyangwa ureba  
Inkingi imwe yagera inzu?  
Raranganya amaso  
95. Ubisuzume urebe  
Maze wihe igisubizo.  
Njye ndareba ngasanga  
Iyo sura mbi twasizwe  
Dusobekeye hamwe twese  
100. Twe twayisandaza  
Igasara amasigamana  
Ngasaba inkunga buri wese  
Mu gusana urwa Gasabo.
- Buri muntu n'icyo ashinzwe  
105. Ikimubeshejeho akaramuka  
Abe umucuruzi abe umucuranzi  
Abe umuhinzi abe n'umuhanzi  
Uwikorera, ukorera Leta  
Wowe muvuzi uvuna abarembye  
110. Abigisha abanyeshuri

Njye n'abashumba ga ndabashima  
Nkanabashaka ngo dushishoze  
Dushungure dushakashake  
Icyashimangira ubumwe bwacu.

115. Erega rwose si amashyengo  
Amashyo amashyongore birakenewe  
Gira abana, gira umuganji  
Gira amahoro, gira amahirwe  
Bimwe bitazinzitse mu nzika  
120. Ngo uvunye ihobe uhekenya amenyo  
Unakenyereye ku mwikekwe.

- Reka twese ga banyarwanda  
Abasigaye dusabane  
Burya ~~abarokotse~~ ni twese  
125. Nta we usanga atarakozweho.

- Wowe muyobozi n'abo uyobora  
Banyabwenge b'ingeri zose  
Abanyamadini n'abanyamakuru  
Twimakaze ukuri gukwiye  
130. Ikinyoma kigende nka Nyomberi  
Dore ko icyo cyago cy'icyangane  
Ari cyo cyoretse u Rwanda rwacu  
Rugacura umwijima w'urujojo  
Ukatujijisha tukajarajara.

135. Navuze byinshi inzira ni nyinshi  
Nyamara nyabuna ndingijze  
Udatera agati mu ryinyo  
Ngo winyonyonbere erega utahe  
Uti "ntibindeba ntiwambwiye."

140. Ndasubiza ijisho ku butabera  
M bubaze intambwe bwo bwatera  
Ngo butabare ko twatewe,  
Butangire atararenga.

- Mbe bacamanza muraca izihe  
145. Ko izanyu zinanyuranye

Nubwo nyinshi zishingiye hamwe  
Kuri aya mahano yaduharabitse  
Akaduharanga by'agahomamunwa  
Abanyarwanda bagahogomba?

150. Ngaho rero aho mu rukiko  
Kora akazi kawe utikoresha  
Abakujya mu matwi ubatwame  
Bamwe babunza impongano  
Maze impapuro zigatwikwa  
155. Amadøsiye amwe akarigiswa  
Amasinya yandi ubwo agasinyurwa  
Kuko iyo ndamu mu kwandavura  
Indunduro yayo ari agahinda.

- Wize amategeko uko ateye  
160. Waritegereje uratekereza  
Uyakoreshe mu bushishozi  
No mu bubasha bumwe wahawé  
Utabogama na gatoya  
Utabogamiye abatoya  
165. Nta ruhande uhengamiyeho.

- Wihutera ngo uhutireho  
Huguka ahubwo wihweze  
Uzirikane ko ukuri gukwiye  
Ariko kuzakemura izo manza.  
170. Ubutabera ni bwo bukenewe  
Ngo ubwiyunge ~~tabushyikire~~.  
Abo babutegereje batabarika  
Baratondetse mu magereza  
No ku mirenge baringinga  
175. Ngo urwikekwe rukendere  
Ibyo bicaniro byacitse  
Byongere byake byokagwira.  
Abanyabyaha babyature  
Basabe imbabazi banazihabwe  
180. Aho kuduhoza mu makoni  
Bahisha ibizahishurwa  
Bazinzika ibizagaragara  
Hari abazonzwe n'inzozi nyinshi  
Izo bahanze ku butabera

185. Maze barenganurwe bwangu  
Bagarurirwe uburenganzira  
Naþbo bubake urwababyaye.  
  
Banyarwanda bana barwo  
Ubwenge bwacu bugana hehe  
190. Ubwo bwiyunge budaharaniwe  
Ngo bwongere bwagagaze  
Bwaguke bukuze uruharo  
Uruhare rwacu turugaragðze  
Amahoro yaþuhunze ga ahunguke  
195. Anaduhuzé duhimbazwe  
No kuzahura agahugu kacu  
Gato gatuwe nyamara keza  
Kazamuke kuje ubwuzu  
Ubwiza bwako bwamamare  
200. Ari mu mubano w'abaþtuye  
Ari mu majyambere ingeri zose  
No mu bukungu dukungahare  
Abatureba batwifuze  
Badusingize abadusanga  
205. Dusakare ku isi hose  
Dufite isheja ritangaje  
Rimwe ritungura abatatusi.  
  
Ibyo bizagerwaho mbabwire  
Tugenda agatoki ku kandi  
210. Kandi twungurana izo nama  
Mu runana, abana barwo  
Umuyoboro mwiza w'abatuycobora  
Gutekereza kw'abarutuye  
Intambwe nziza y'ubutabera  
215. Ubuvunyi bw'abarutuka  
Ubuvuzi bw'abaruva mu nda  
Ubuhanuzi ubwo bw'abahanga  
Uwo muganda ga wa muganga  
Mu gushishoza banyeshuri  
220. Mu kubabarira no mu bahinzi  
Mu kuzirikana bakozi mwese  
Mu kwanga ikinyoma hanyamadini.

Bagabo beza tuganira  
Bagore mwigomye imigozi yanyu

225. Basore nasabye gusabana  
Nkumi nziza duteze inkunga  
Bayobozi batojwe kutayoba  
Banyabushobozi duhanze ijisho  
Namwe bandi impande zose  
230. Njye ndababwira ko bindenze  
Umutima wanjye ubitse byinshi  
Bitarangira ngo mutahe !  
Bityo ndacumbikira ha ngaha  
Navuze mwumva sinavunika  
235. Kandi mwese ndabizeye .

- Igisubazo cyanyu kinejeje  
Ndagitegereje nuje ubwuzu  
Kizabe cyiza kandi bwangu  
Ubwo bwiyunge ni bwo bukenewe  
240. Mwibuke hadakekwa ikindi  
Kandi rwose muzasanga  
Kunsubiza bidaserereza  
Ntibisobetse birasigye  
Byashoborwa na buri wese  
245. Mu bashishikajwe n'amahoro.

- Icyo gihe twese tuzishima  
Dushire intimba bishyire kera  
Dushire icyusa tube indasumbwa  
Usange hose banadushima  
250. Tubikesha ubwo bwiyunge.

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MUGIRANEZA THEODOMIR  
URWUNGE RWAMASTURI RW'i GAHINI  
B.P. 88 RWAMAGANA  
UPWAKA WA GATANU W'INDIMI N'UMWANGUZO  
GUTANGA IBITEKEREZO.



INTEGO: ICYAMVIMA KUSIRANGO ABAYARWANDA  
BONGERE BASABANE.

Nyuma y'uko igilugu cyacu kirohama mu marorerwa y'itsembarsemba n'itsembabwoko, ni ngombwa ko buri muryarwanda yacura urufunguze rw'ibitekerezo bishya, bigamije kuzahura imibanire ya Kanyerwanda, u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rukuba igihugu kizira ikizinga cy'umwiryanre n'ubushyamirane.

Ni muri urwo rwego nkimara kumva vyu mugambi wo gutanga ibitekerezo byalubaka u Rwanda rwacu, nagerageje gusubiza amaso inyuma nkurikije amateka y'u Rwanda rwo hambere, (mbere y'uko rubibwamo imbuto y'amacakubiri) spereye ku migenze myiza ya gipfura, (ubusabane no kwanga umugayo) ndicara ndabiyungurura bimbera okabando ko gusindagiza ibitekerezo byanjye, ngo mbonereho kubagezaho icyakorwa laugirango abanyarwanda bongere basabane, bature, batuze, ndatse batunganirwe.

Dukurikije iyihe tugezemo, tukanafatina ku muco nyarwanda w'abasekuruza bacu, no ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda (mbere y'uko ruba igisare cy'ibizinga, bitewe na ba Rusahuriramunduru), ni ngombwa ko dukeresha issabune igomba kweza ibyo bizinga, u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rugatumba ituze n'umutekano bibereye abarutuye, ndatse n'amahungu akarwifusa.

Ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda bufite insinzi n'umuti mu ba'yarwanda ubwabo, kandi bose bashyizeho akabo nk'uko uragingo rwifashisha urundi, maze bikagera ku gikorwa kigaragara. Niyo mpamvu buri munyarwanda alwiye gutera mugenzi we iikunga mu kubaka iki gihugu cyacu.

Muri iyi nyandiko irambuye, halubiyemo ingingo z'ingenzi, zishobora kuba isoko y'ubwiyunge bwa bene kanyarwanda. Ngo "Umutwe umwe wifasha gusara ntiwifasha gutekereza". N'ijo mpamvu ngirango mvuge kuri izi ngingo zikurikira, zunganire izi abandi badahwema gushakaza umuti w'ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda:

1. GUHARATIRA IMIBEREHO MYIZA Y'ABATURACE N'UBURINGANTRE.
2. GUKORERA MU NUUCYO KW'ABATEGETSI ARIYO NMINGI Y'UBUYINCE BW'ABANYARWANDA.
3. KWIYIBAGIZA NO GUHOSORA AMATEKA MAGI YARANZE U RWAJDA.
4. IMIKORERE Y'UBUTIBERA.
5. KUMVA KO DUSENYERA UMUGOZI UNWE.
6. KUZAMURA UBUKUNGU BW'IGIHUGU CYACU.
7. KUGARUKIRA INANA.
8. IMIKORERE Y'ITAMICAZA HAKURU.

1. GUHARANIRA IMIBEREHO MYIZA Y'ABATURACE N'UBURING UNIRE.

Ubukene, ubujiji n'indi mibereho mibi ya bene kanyarwanda, ni bimwe mu byabaye intandaro y'uburiganya n'umwiryanre muri uru Rwanda rwacu rwatembara ituze n'umutekano. Leta y'u Rwanda ibifashijwemo n'impugezo zo mu nzego zingiranye, ikwiye gushakira abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose (impunzi, imfubyi, abakene.....) uburyo buboneye bwo kubiba imbuto y'ubugwaneza n'imibereho myiza mu mitima yabo, u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rukaba i,jihugu gikanaze kizira amapfundo.

Ntibizashoboka ku munwa gusa; ni ngombwa ko abategetsi batagomba kuzirika ku katsi abaturage, amaso yabo agakera mu kirere nk'uko ariyo ntego yaranze uru Rwanda rwacu mbere y'uko twigobotora ingoyi y'inyangabirama.ku byerekeye:

1<sup>a</sup> IMPUNZI : Tuzi ko muri uru Rwanda, ikibazo cy'impunzi ari kimwe mu bigomba gukemurwa mu maguru mashya, ngo twongere twivomeze ku isoko y'urubogobogo itemba umutekano, amahoro, n'ubusabane.

Nk'uko tuzi ko impunzi sirimo ibyiciro 2, (Ni ukuvuga izahune muri 1959 n'izo muri 1994) kandi bose bakaba ari abanyarwanda bagomba kumererwa neza, tukongera tukibaruka akariri-mbo k'ubusabane n'ubwijunge bw'abanyarwanda.

Leta y'u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda bose, bagomba gukora ijkuriki-ra:

\*Kubakira uwitwa umunyarwanda wese ulafite aho kwikinga bite-we n'intambara cyangwa se izindi mpamvu zitamuturutseho.

Aho umuntu ashobora kwibasa icyakorwa, kugirango abari mu mazu y'abandi bagira icyo bagenerwa.

Burya iyo umuntu afite icyo arya, n'aho yikinga, umutima we utahamo ubuhoro. Leta igomba rero kubakira uwitwa umunyarwanda wese utagira aho yikinga kandi bose bakegerana( mu midugudu), kuko icyo gihe ntawe uzajya guhuguza inzu afite indi:

Leta igomba gushakira urubyiruko uburyo bwo kwibumbira mu mashyirahamwe aho ru~~z~~ajya rushishikazwa n'umurimo, aho gushishikazwa no gucura amagambo n'ibikorwa bisenya. Icyo gihe urubyiruko ruzatera indirimbo y'ubufatanye rwakirane mu bitero aho gutera indirimbo y'amaganya buri wese yigunze ukwe.

\* Gushakira umutekano uhame abanyarwanda bose bizatuma bakora batishisha, igilugu cyacu cyongere kibe inyabutatu izira gu-sobana cyangwa amapfundo.

Erega ubu turubaka dusana ibyasenyutse si ugutangira bundi bushya. Kubaka inzu rero utarayitangiriye biragoye. Abanyarwanda rero bagomba kumererwa neza, bakabona ibibatunga baki tabwaho na Leta, nabo bagashyiraho akabo bakigoma imbaraga zabo, zose, kuko burya umudiho uva mu itako kandi ntewe ukora atariye. Ni ngombwa ko Leta yita ku mibereho myiza y'abaturage cyane cyane impunzi n'imfubyi abakene n'abandi bakeneye kwitabwaho n'uko tugahagurukira hamwe tugatutira imigozi y'ubusabane n'ibiti by'umutekano, u Rwanda rwacu tukongera tukarutanaga. Nu maguru mashya, impunzi izo arizo zose z'abanyarwanda zitwiye kwitabwaho by'umwiharike.

2<sup>a</sup> IMFUBYI: Burya ngo" uburere burira ubuvuke". Imfubyi z'u Rwanda zirira imitaga zitagira epfo na ruguru nta cyagerwaho. Leta y'u Rwanda ibifashijwemo n'imiryango ya bene Kanyarwanda, ikwiye kwita ku mfubyi kuko arizo itezeho amaso. Dore ko abenshi ari urubyiruko, kandi ariyo mizero y'u Rwanda. Imfubyi z'abanyeshuri zigomba kwiga zikanitabwaho, abana bato bagahabwa uburere bwiza ku buryo balura ari abagabo bibite-kerezo byubaka, kandi ngo" igiti kigororwa kikiri gito".

.../...

**32 UBURINGANIRE:** Tuzi ko iyi ryanja y'ibibazo twarehanyemo yatewe n'ivangura, ironda kare - re no kwikubira. Leta y'u Rwanda rka Leta ikorera abaturage, igomba kwamamaza amatwara y'uburinganire mu banyarwanda buri wese akumva ko ataruta undi, abantu bakarutanya hakurikijwe ibitekerezo n'ubushobozzi ku kazi. Ibyo bigomba gusakazwa kandi bigacangezwa mu baturage bose, hakoreshejwe amanama menshi, akangurira abanyarwanda lubana neza, ibigarimo mbvirwaruhame, ibinyamaburu na radiyo y'icibugu.

2. GUNOMTRA NU HUCYO KW'ADAPTEGETSI ANIYO  
INTINGI Y'UBUIYUNCE BU'ABANYARAN'DA.

Burya ubutegetsi bw'abaturage bukorera abaturage ni inkindi y'ifatizo, ifatiye runini abaturage b'igihugu iki ni iki. Muri uru Rwanda rwacu, politiki mbi y'abategetsi ikorera mu cyuka niyo yabaye intandaro y'ibibazo byugarije kandi byaheshe-je isura mbi u Rwanda rwa Gasabo.

Muk'uko twiyemeje kugendera no gukorera mu mucyo Leta y'u Rwanda ikwiye kuba Leta ihamye ikorera mu mucyo kandi yita ku baturage. Aha ndashaka kuvuga kurwanya ruswa, kwitabira umurimo uko bigenewe, kugenzura niba ibi byose bishyirwa mu bikorwa; Leta igomba kwereka abaturage ko ibyo ivuga bishyirwa mu bikorwa; icyo gihe abanyarwanda bazayigirira icyizere bakore bashishikaye, igikugu cyacu gisubirane isura cyahoranye.

**Urugero:** Niba ivuze ko imfubyi zigomba kwiga cyangwa abakene bagomba kwitabwaho, iknbyizeza abaturage, ikitere ntikikazabe ikiraje amasinde alubwo bijye bishyirwa mu bikorwa, intimbwa n'agahinda k'izo mbabare bizasimburwa no kwishimana n'abandi banyeshuri ndetshe humya banerewe neza mu bandi.

Abategetsi bagomba kugenderera rubanda rugufi, cyane cyane intumwa za rubanda kuko aribwo bazamenya ibibazo byabo, bakabona kugira icyizere cy'uko bitawaho. Leta igomba gushakira abanyarwanda ubutegetsi buhanye, butari ubukorera mu cyuka akubwo bukorera mu mucyo kandi bwitayeho abaturage, kuko icyo gihe abanyarwanda buzagubowa neza u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rukarangwa n'ubusabane.

### **3. KUYIBAGIZA NO GUOSORA MATEKA MABI YARANEE U RMINDA.**

Utarawakwiyibagiza amateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda atabanje kumenya amavu n'amavuko yayo. Ubundi mbere y'unwaduko w'abazungu wasangaga abanyarwanda babanye neza ibyo bikagaragazwa no gushy~~ingirana~~, guhana iinka, Irunywana .....ntawitaye ku bwoko bw'undi cyangwa akarere, ubwo byarakomeje kugeza aho umuzungu abuze uburyo bwo kuditegeka aducamo uduce. Duhereye ku mateka mabi yaranze uru Rwanda kuva ubwo, kugeza muri 1994, umwaka waranzwe no kubiba imbuto y'intimba mu mitima y'abanyarwanda, abanyarwanda bose bakwiye guluriki-za ya mvugo ivuga ngo" si ibya nyakuvugwa n'ibya nyakwiherorwa". Bishatse kuvuga ko ibyabayezo bifite urufunguzo twalkwita ivangura bikwiye gutabwa mu bisimu aho bitazongera gutora ubuzima-gatozi bikaba byakongera gutera aba yarwanda gacura urufunguzo rw'ubushyamirane.

Igisimu nta kindi, ni ultubitera umugongo bakabyikura mu mitima yabo, aho gusubiza amaso injuma uhindukiriye ibumoso, ni uluvuga vibuka ibibi byose byakubayeho ugahindukirira iburyo n'uko twese abanyarwanda tukivomera ku isoko y'abakurambere bacu, mbere y'uko u Rwanda rwa bene kanyarwanda rurohama mu nyanja y'amacaitubiri.

Tuziko politiki mbi ishishikaje cyane urubyiruko(mu mashyamba ya politiki ya rutwitsi). Ni ngombwa ko Leta ibifashijwemo n'abaturage bose babumbira urubyiru-ko mu mashyirahamwe aho bazarangwa n'ubufatanye mu kaazi kazo aho kwigunga buri wese ukwe,

bakanahabwa inyigisho zikosora amateka mabi. Icyo gihe, urubyiruko ruzatumira ababyeyi bizihiwe, bagowwe neza ndetse baruhurwe mu butaramo n'ubufatanye, maze abanyarwanda twece ducinye akndiho, ubusabane bube bwose kuko ntacyo dupfa.

Ubuhahirane bw'abanyarwanda no gufatanya byatumye habaho ubutunzi bw'inka ndetse n'imyaka: nk'uwabaga afite ibitebo bitanu by'amasaka akabigurana inka imwe bityo bityo. Umuzungu aje ati ufite inka 10 kujyana hejuru ni umututsi, ufite hasi yazo ni umuhutu, umukene we ngo ni umutwa (babuze uburyo bwo kudutegeka). Biba ihame birigishwa, ingaruka yabyo iba gusubiranamo kwa bene kanyarwanda, ibyo bintu nta shi giro bifite nimucyo rero twiyibagize ayo mateshwa adafite aho ashingiye, kuko ubu dufite abagabo bibitekerezo bizima, kandi imvano yabyo byose yari ubujiji.

#### 4. IMIKOTERE Y'UBUTABERA

Muri iki gihe tugezemo, hagomba ubwitonzi n'ubushishosi kugirango ubutabera burusheho gutunganya imirimmo bushinzwe. Kubera ko abanyarwanda bagize igikomere cyo kubura ababo, bikaba bigoye kujyana n'ubutabera, iji rgerba le kuri muryandanda wese atekereza ku kibazo cy'ingutu u Rwanda rufite, maze okumva ko nave afite uruhare mu kubikemura, akunganira ubutabera mu guca imanza z'abaheluye u Rwanda binyuze mu nzira y'lumucyo. Muri urwo rwego abaturage ntibagomba guhisha abanyamakosa cyangwa abakoze ibyaha bikomeye, ahu bwo bagomba kubashyikiriza ubutegetsi bakaba boroherewe ubutabera akazi. Icyo gihe ubutabera buzakora akazi kabwo abanyarwanda babone kumererwa neza.

Ubutabera bugomba guhana abakozé ibyaha kulturikije uburyo babikoze:

- \* Abishe bagomba guhana by'intangarajero kugirango n'abandi barebereho.
- \* Abasahuye bagomba gushyirwa mu gacaca ka kivandimwe bakaryozwa amahano bakoze bakongera bakagira ijambo mu bandi nk'uko byahozeho kera mu muryango: kera, ubundi yakoraga ikosa (nko kurumanza inka, gukora ibizira mu muryango) agashyirwa mu gacaca ka kivandimwe ubwo bakamuca icyiru, akongera akagira ijambo mu bagabo.

Mu rwego rwo lwochereza ubutabera, abasahuye bagomba kugororwa n'imiryangi muri gacaca, aho kwirirwa bafungiye mu mazu barira ubusa nta gukora, kuko aribwo bazongera bakagira uwanya mu bandi nabo bagakorera urwababaye.

Ubutabera ntibugomba gultingira ikibaba abagiranabi, bilunda gultururwa na ruswa. Aha rero bugomba kugenzura ko hari abacamanza barya ruswa cyangwa ibindi bikorwa byose bijyanye n'uburiganya. Ubutabera rero bugomba kwongera umurego mu guca imanza, kuko abanyarwanda bazarushaho kwiyunga balongera bagasabana.

#### 5. KUVVA KO DUSERETRA UTUGCIJ UWWE.

Umuyarwanda yarihoreye ati "ababiri bishe umwe". Tuzi ko mu kinyarwanda nta mugani ngana ubusa. Banyarwanda rero dulwiye konicara tugasubiza amaso injuma, tukareba ubufatanye bw'abasekuruza bacu maze tugatumaho imitaga, tugakorera humwe tutikoresheje, dute-ganyiriza igihe kizaza.

.../...

Leta y'u Rwanda ifatanyije n'abanyarwanda bose, ikwiye gutanga inyigisho z'ubufatanye mu buhinzi n'ubworozzi, dore ko ariyo nkingi y'ubuhungu bwacu. Icyo gihe abanyarwanda bazashikarira umurimo kandi babone umusaruro utubutse, ndetse bashikarire gusabana mu kazi kabu, bumve ko bose batera indirimbo y'ubufata ye balururwa mu bitero, ntawe usiga-ye mu mayogi. Nk'uko umubiri u'umuntu ugizwe n'ibice bitatu by'ingenzi, (umutwe, amaboko n'amaguru ndetse n'igihimba) kandi buri gice kigakenera ikindi, lugirango bisoze inshingano yo kubaka umubiri, ni ngomba ko inyabutatu nyarwanda igomba gikorera hamwe, ntwe tugaso-za inshingano yo kubaka u Rwanda. Leta y'u Rwanda rero igomba gukangurira abanyarwanda ubwo bufatanye dore ko yateye n'intamwe yo kubatusa mu midugudu aho bazaba begeranye.

VI. Kuzahura ubuhungu bw'igihugu cyacu.

Iyo igihugu iki n'iki abaturage bamorewe neza babona ibibatunga n'ibindi bakenera mu buzima, ntawe ugirira ishyari undi kuburyo usanga bose baganira nta kibazo bakanashyikirana kivandimwe.

Kubera iyo mpanvu ni ngomba ko kuzahura ubuhungu bw'iki gilugu cyacu ari bimwe mu byatumu habaho ubusabane.

Leta y'u Rwanda ibifashijemo n'impuguke mu by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozzi, ikwiye guteza imbere iki gikorwa hakaboneza umusaruro utubutse w'imyaka n'ibikomoka ka matungo, abaturage bakamererwa neza aho guhagarika urutima bibaza icyo barurira, bavuga ngo icyamirane.

-Leta ikwiriye gukangurira kandi abanyarwanda bose ko barebwa n'ikibazo cyane cy'ubuhinzi n'ubworozzi kuko ariyo nkingi y'ubuhungu bwacu.

Leta y'u Rwanda ikwiye gutera intunga abanyenganda n'abaryebukorikori lugirango babone uburyo bwo kwalira abakozzi benshi, aho basashikarira gikora, aho kwirirwa baze-ngerera mu mijyi n'ahandi, abandi bimereye neza, bikaba byatera abo babuze akazi kubagirira nebi ishyari, ubusabane nyarwanda bukaba bujemo igitotsi.

Abacuruzi bakwiye kworoherezwa na Leta lugirango alanzi kabu kagende neza. Ibyo bizatuma habaho uburumbuke bw'ibintu binyuranye kuburyo abaturage babifashijemo na Leta bacajya babona ibyo bakencye bitabagoye.

Leta y'u Rwanda rero ikwiye gushikarira kumishi abanyarwanda ko buri wese afite uruhare mulimulura ubuhungu bw'igihugu cyacu. Icyo gihe basitabira gukorera hamwe maze bajye inama basabona kivandimwe aho kuba buri wese nyamwigendaho akirirwa yigira inama yo guhungabanya ibikorwa by'amajyambore cyangwa amagambo amwe userya aho gicura amagambo yubaka.

VII. Kugarukira Imana.

Banyarwanda, batura Rwanda, u Rwanda rwacu rutaragira igitutci cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembarsemba Imana yirirwaga alandi ipatsha i Rwanda. Imana rero ntikorera mubitayihe-sha icubahiro (amahano, ubushyamirane n'urwiriyane) akubwo ikorera mu mucyo kandi ntiyanga abanyabyaha akubwo yungi ibyaha. Dulwiye rero gusubiza amaso injuma tukareba ibitarayi-nejeje twayikoreye maze tugaca bugufi tukayigarukira, ubwo neyo ikongera igafungura amayira yayo n'ubwo itigeze idutererana, ikajya yirirwa ikanataha i Rwanda buri munsu. Kubera abanyamadini n'abandi bazeberereye iby'ijambo ry'Imana babifashi-ijo mpanvu, abanyamadini n'abandi bazeberereye iby'ijambo ry'Imana babifashi-jwemo na Leta, balkiriye kujya bagenderera abaturage b'ingeri zose, babereka ibyiza

.../...

Imana yakoreye abantu aba n'aba n'uburyo ntawo ijya itererana ariko aturi bya bindi byo guca abantu intenge babatera ubwoba, bagacila rukorero. Icyo gihe abantu basabindura imitima yabo bunve ko ibyo bakora byoce babifasiwamo n'Imana kandi bibuke ko ifakorera mu kavuyo alubwo ikorera mu mucyo nabo bahereko bareko amatiku n'amacalubiri bibuke ko ifasha abishyi-ze hamwe.

#### VIII. INIMORERE Y'ITANGAZAMAKURU

Tuzi ko itangazamakuru naryo ryagize uruhare rukomeye mu itsembatsema (Radiyo y'impuzamugambi, Kangura n'ibindi binyamakuru) mu karamaza amatwara no guhamagarira abanyarwanda kuryana. Kubera iyo mpamvu itangazamakuru rigomba lugira uruhare mu busabane bw'abanyarwanda:

\* Ikigo cy'itangazamakuru na Radiyo y'igihugu bigomba guhamagarira abanyarwanda kwiyunga.

- Radio y'igihugu igomba lugira no kigeza henski ku banyarwanda amaturazo ashimishije kandi anogeye amutwi, abumagarira abu yarwanda kwiyunga no gusebana ikarabereka akamaro kabyo. Icyo gihe abanyarwanda igihe bazuba basoma ibyo binyamakuru cyangwa bumva cyo matungazo bazibonora akamaro ko gusabana no lubana kivandimwe maze behagurukire icyarinwe bashyira mu bikorwa ibyo basomye cyangwa bumvishe.

Leta y'u Rwanda igomba gulyi y'abu itangazamakuru ko rigomba lugenderera abaturage b'ingeri zose bakabengezamo uburyo abantu basabana n'inyungu yabyo, maze aho babicengeje byabagiyemo bakabitangaza mu binyamakuru no kuri Radiyo. Icyo gihe abandi nibabyumva bazafata urugero maze nabo bahagurukire kwiyunga no gusebana.

Ni ngombwa ko itangazamakuru ribifashijwemo na Leta rigomba kwitabira alanzi karyo kandi ritangaza amahuru yizwe neza, rinalorera mu mucyo luko naryo rifite uruhare mu busabane n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda

Banyarwanda, batura rwanda, nk'tiko twabibonye mu magarbo arambuye altubiye muri iyi nyandiko, nimucyo duhagurukire icyarinwe, maze ducane urwatushyaye. Kwibuke ko twabaka dusana ibyasenyeutse, atari ugutangira bundi bushya. Burya kandi ngo "utama yubaka aruta usenya". Duhagurukire icyarinwe, duslyircho urwete kuko bira tuzaba kivunika ariko ngo "ushaka inka aryama nkizo".

Tubabarane maze dusubire mu gacaca ka kivandimwe, twibuke ko ubujiji ariyo solo y'aya magorwa turimo, bwagiye nk'ifuni ihese. Rubyruko dufatane urunana maze dukize uru Rwanda igitutsi rwagize, twibumbire mu masiyirahanwe, maze umubano n'ubusabane abe ariyo bituranga luko ariyo migozi n'ibiti bizataraga uru Rwanda rwacu.

Dutabarane dutera ikirengé mu cy'ebakurambere bacu, twite ku mfubyi abakene n'abandi bakoneye kwitabwaho, maze Imana irusheho kuduhozaho ijisho idufashu muri byose. Leta y'u Rwanda n'insegó zose z'ubutegetsi, irasabwa nayo intunga, ikitanga igakore-ra abaturage, ikarangwa n'umucyo, maze tweso abanyarwanda; abantu n'abato tukarushaho guharanira lubana no gusabana kivandimwe, u Rwanda rukongera rugasubirana ususugi rwahoranye. Nimucyo rero amazi atarenga inkombe cyane, maze tukongera kurohama mu nyanja y'ubushyamirane n'umwiranye, dufatane urunana dukangukire ubufatanye.

(N9)

REPUBLIKA Y'U RWANDA  
MINISITERI Y'UBUREZI  
URWUNGE RW'AMASHURI  
Y'ABAKOBWA I RAMBURA

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA  
KUWA 11 KANAMA 1997

**ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA**  
**BONGERE BABANE NEZA**

MUKARURINDA Marie Thérèse  
Umwaka wa 5 Imbonezamubano

Bantu mwese muteraniye aha,  
 Banyacyubahiro n'ababungirije,  
 Baturarwanda n'ab'ibindi bihugu,  
 ndabashuhuje ngo munsuhurize n'abo  
 b'yo kandi muti : « MUGIRE  
 AMAHORO MURISANGA KUKO  
 MUSANGA ABAGANWA ! »

Nk'uko mutubona aha rero, bamwe bazi  
 icyaduteranyirije hano, hari n'abandi bataramenya ibango ry'ibanga rigizwe n'imigemo  
 ikoraniwe muri iyi nteruro « ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE  
 BABANE NEZA. » Ni muri urwo rwego tugira ngo turebere hamwe ukuntu twafata ingamba  
 twifashishije inzego z'abatuye ighugu duhereye ku butegetsi, tugakomeza ku bucamanza,  
 ndetse no kugera ku muturage, akaba aribyo rero mbashishikarije gutega amatwi.

Imana yacu ijya guhangang iyi si muruzi  
 Cyane cyane muri Afurika  
 Yabanjirije mu Rwanda rwacu  
 Ahandi igenda igenda ihasozerwa  
 Kuko imfura yayo yari ihetuye  
 Oya si ukurutaka irugira indatwa  
 Ruraribora rurahebuza.  
 Wakomeje kurangamirwa na benshi  
 Amahanga y'yo bigwa arasukuma.

Kubera ubumanzi bwo wari wuje  
 Ukomeza kurarikirwa n'abandi  
 Gusa haje kuvumbukamo n'imirengwe  
 Imwe y'inda nini ndetse n'ubusambo  
 Rubanda rugufi ubwo rurapyinagazwa  
 Abandi bigurira amadege  
 Naho abanyabugome bacura inama  
 Gusa yo gutseomba abo batavuga rumwe  
 Oya si ukuzinduka iza rubika

Akagenda akurikiza ibyo binyazi  
 Bensi bigera igihe banyurwa nabyo  
 Ababyanze kandi barahonyorwa  
 Ngo n'ibyitso byitwaga F.P.R  
 Yitwa ubu ngubu ingabo z'ighugu  
 Arizo zahagaritse ayo marorerwa  
 Rero namwe ntimubyibagiwe  
 Wagiraga ngo n'ibimonyobihonyorwa !  
 Ariko rero baturarwanda,  
 Ndetsse n'abatwumva bateraniye aha

Dore imyaka ibaye itatu  
Amezi yo sinyongeyeho.

Burya rero ngo : « Kwa Ntwari havuze induru, »  
Ongera uti : « Kwa Bwoba havuga impundu ! »  
Ni igihe cyo gutekereza,  
Gusaba no gusabirana bigasubira  
Emwe imisambi n'utwibo bikongera bikabohwa  
Rwanda rwacu igasubirana  
Erega twaciwemo icyuho !  
Burya busambo bwakorwaga,  
Abanyarwanda bavutswa ibyabo  
Bagokeye batarabyibye  
Ariko ntawihanira niko mbizi  
N'ubwo yakora akari i Murori  
Ese nta butegetsi bwari buriho ?

Ngo bube bwarashyikirijwe ibyo birego  
Ese tugiye twihanira twese  
Zazamura zite urwatubyaye  
Amahanga nayo ko afasha uwifashije !

Kuva rero muri Mata 1994, nk'uko mubizi u

Rwanda rwahuye n'ikibazo cy'ingutu, ariyo ntambara yiswe « ITSEMBABWOKO  
N'ITSEMBATSEMBA » yibasiye kandi igakorwa n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo. Kugeza na n'ubu  
ibikomere byaba iby'imibiri ndetse n'iby'imitima ya bamwe mu basaritswe n'ayo marorerwa  
bikaba bigikomeza ari nabyo ubu nguba turimo dushakira umuti.

« Aho kwica RUTERA, wakwica ikibimutera ! » Dukurikije amateka twigishijwe n'ayo  
twagiye tubwirwa n'ababyeyi, u Rwanda rwari rutuwe kuva na kera n'amoko 3, ayo moko  
akagira imirimo iyaranga ariko agafatanya muri byose. Bityo umuhinzi agahahira umworozzi,  
akamuha ubwatsi naho umworozzi nawe akamuha ifumbire, akamukamira mbese bagacirana  
bagasukirana; umubumbyi nawe agatanga inkono zo guteka ndetse n'intango zo guterekamo  
izo nzoga tutibagiwe n'iminoga yo gutureka ayo mata, ubwo niko kandi baranashyingiranaga,  
bungura imiryango.

Bibaho biza kugeza ige abazungu badukiye mu Rwanda abo ni babandi ba politike ya  
MPATSE IBIHUGU, batangira kwigisha Abanyarwanda bamwe ko bakandamiza, mbese  
bashyigikira ivangura kugeza ubwo Abanyarwanda bamwe bahungiye mu bihugu bidukikije;  
ubwo bavuga ko hari mu mwaka w'1959. Biratinda, abasigaye mu Rwanda nabo bafashijwe  
n'abategetsi bariho basa n'ababagive, basa nka wa mubyeyi gito ujya mu nzu agakinga  
agatangira kwinezeza no kwirira, kandi hanze abana be bacura imiborogo kuko bishwe  
n'inzar'an'имвura ibari ku mugongo; abana bamusaba kubakingurira agasubiza ko batakvirwa  
muri iyo nzu boshye iyo nzu atariyo yababyaye. Ubwo byageze ige ba bana, ubwo ndavuga  
ba Banyarwanda bari hanze, barambiwe no kwitwa impunzi kandi bafite iwabo, basa  
n'abashyira hamwe basunika rwa rugi mbese kugira ngo binjire barebe koko ko batakvirwa  
muri ya nzu.

Icyo ni cya gihe intambara yo mu Ukwakira 1990 yatangiraga. Ubwo erega abaturage bamwe  
barahagwa ngo n'ibitso, abandi barafungwa ndetse baranyongwa, rubanda rugufi nabo  
bigishwa ko abatera atari bagenzi babo b'Abanyarwanda ahubwo ko ari Abanyamahanga.

Bakomeje gusunika rwa rugi mbese imbaraga zibaye nyinshi, ab'imbere bemera imishyikirano, ariko mu by'ukuri iyo mishyikirano yari iyo kubeshyana.  
 Icyo gihe kandi havutse n'amashyaka, bityo abo mu gihugu nabo ntibavuga rumwe. Ngo « Impamvu ingana ururo. » Uwari umukuru w'igihugu yaje kugwa mu mpanuka y'indege mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 Mata 1994, niho rero byabaye nko gukoma imbarutso maze Abanyarwanda guhera ubwo, uretse ko bari baratangije n'igihe cy'amashyaka abantu barapfaga, ariko ubwo niho amarorerwa akomeye yatangiye Abanyarwanda barapfa by'agahebuzo, ari abakomeye n'abaciye bugufi kugeza yemwe no ku mutindi utagira inzara zo kwishima ! Ubwo ni ubwoko bwari bushyamiranye akibasirwa abatutsi, uretse ko n'amashyaka menshi ndetse n'iby'uturere byatije umurindi ayo marorerwa n'abantu bamwe bakabizira.

Banyarwanda,  
 Banyarwandakazi,  
 Bavandimwe,

Nk'uko nabivuze mbere, ubutegetsi bwariho mbere, nti bwarangije neza inshingano zabwo zo guharanira icyatuma Abanyarwanda bishyira bakizana bakaniteza imbera mu mahoro. Ahubwo n'abo bwatije umurindi b'abanzi navuze maze bushyigikira amacakubiri mu bwoko no mu turere, ukumva ngo uyu ni Umukiga, undi ni Umunyenduga bityo inzira y'umwanzi iba iragutse.  
 Niba se abategetsi bo ubwabo bo hejuru, barafataga iya mbere mu gutukana no guterana amagambo mu manama, ku ma radio no mu binyamakuru ndetse rimwe na rimwe no mu manama y'amashyaka, ubundi ukumva ngo umutegetsi runaka yapfuye, mu manzaganya, ubutegetsi ntibugire icyo bubivugaho, ni iki cyari gutuma abaturage bo batikiriza imbyino ba nyir'urugo bari bateye ? None se ko umuco mubi wo kudahana wari umaze guhabwa intebi ni iki cyari gutuma bene gukora amarorerwa badatizwa umurindi ? N'aho rero ubutegetsi ni bumenyе kandi bwite ku nshingano zabwo, bwegere abaturage kandi buharanire icyabateza imbera mu bumwe, maze ububasha ubutegetsi bugira ku baturage bubukoreshe mu buryo bwiza kuko byagaragaye ko ubwo butegetsi butegeraga abaturage. Ubu rero ni habeho isomo ry'ibyabaye icyo gihe byagaragaje ko ubwo butegetsi bwaroshye abaturage aho kubayobora. Leta y'ubu rero nibe imwe nk'izina ryayo, yo yekuba iyo mu biro gusa ahubwo yumve ko abaturage bayikeneye nk'uko nayo ibakeneye, mbese boye no kubakanga nk'uko umuntu yahuraga n'umuturage yiruka cyane agiye guca umutima, wamubaza icyo ahunga akavuga ko abonye konsiye !

Nk'aho yagize ihumure ko abonye umurengerera, ahubwo akiheba. Na none abategetsi nibirinde guharanira inyungu zabo bwite cyangwa se izaho bavuka na none n'abo basangiye ubwoko nk'uko byaranze ubutegetsi bwahozeho, bityo biturutse mu butegetsi bw'ibanzé Nyumba-Kumi kugeza muzo hejuru. Abaturage bahabwe agaciro bifatanije n'ubutegetsi bashakishe ukuri. Abategetsi b'intangiriro nibahugurwe ubutitsa mu byerekerye n'uburyo bwiza bwo kuyoborana naho abakuru ni bibuke kandi bazirikane ko Abanyarwanda bavuga ngo  
 1 « Umwera uturutsi ibikuru urakonyera »!

Banyarwanda,  
 Banyarwandakazi,  
 Bavandimwe,

Ubucamanza rero ni ikintu kigenzi kugirango rwaserera y'abajura, abicanyi n'abandi bahohotera inshike mu gihugu byongeye kandi no

kugirango igihugu kibeho mu ituze. Ariko kandi, kugirango ubwo bucamanza bube nyakuri, bugomba kurangwa n'UBUTABERA.

Kandi ubwo butabera nyakuri ni bwabundi bumenya guhana uwarengereye cyangwa se uwakosheje bubanje gushishoza, bukibasira wawundi wiyemeza kugira undi nkana, akirengagiza ko nawe afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho no gutunga ibyo yironkeye mu mahoro, amuziza ishyari, amatiku n'urwango.

Maze bakarenganura uwahohotewe ndetse byaba ngombwa bakamuhoza amarira.

Ubucamanza rero bwa mbere iyo buba butarateshutse kuribyo, ntabwo amazi yaba yaragombye kurenga inkombe ! Bwiyibagije ko buri wese afite uburenganzira bwo gutanga no kugaragaza igitekerezeye, maze bwibasira abanyamashyaka mu karengane, ahubwo abanyarugomo barimo interahamwe zahekuye u Rwanda baratozwa bahabwa rugari !

Ubucamanza ni bufatanye n'abaturage kurebera hamwe aho ukuri guherereye, bukirinda amabwire n'umujinya w'abakorewe cyangwa bakomerekejwe n'iyi ntambara bugashishoza, u Rwanda ruzaba ruri mu nzira y'ubwiyunge nyakuri.

Banyarwanda,  
Banyarwandakazi,  
Bavandimwe,

Ubusanzwe iyo tuvuze abaturage, dusangamo abatuye igihugu b'ingeri zose. Aha rero turibanda kubaturage batagize ziriya nzego zavuzwe mu butegetsi n'ubucamanza, kandi tugendeye no mu miturire yabo ndetse n'imirimo n'ibigero by'imyaka.

Mu Rwanda dusangamo abatuye mu cyaro, ari nabo benshi, abatuye mu migi ndetse n'aba bana hamwe nk'abasirikare , abanyamadini ndetse n'abanyeshuri.

Duhereye kubo mu byaro rero, ni ba bandi dukunze gusanga batitaweho, ndetse bagahura n'ibibazo by'ingutu nk'indwara z'ibyorezo ndetse n'ubukene tutibagiwe n'ubujiji ari nabwo ahanini bwatije umurindi iri tsembabwoko n'itsembarsemba.

Umuturage ati : « Umutegetsi runaka ukomeye yavuze ngo mufate amacumu, imihoro, imiheto n'imyambi mwicane ! »

Abo baturage ntibazi impamvu, ingaruka, ntibazabona ndetse n'in'yungu. Ariko cya cyago navuze cy'ubujiji kigakora ku bugome n'ubukene maze akegura intwaro, akibwira ati : « Henga nge gusenyera runaka (umuturanyi mugenzi we)? Maze musahure ! » Bityo mpemuke ndamuke ihabwa inteve ityo mu banyarwanda.

Mu baturage ubwabo ni hatorwe abakangurambaga b'ibanze maze bajijure bagenzi babo bagendeye nabo ku mabwiriza n'inama, bahawe n'ababakurikiye bityo ubujiji bucogore, bwoye guha inteve ubugome n'ubwabo ari nabyo bifashijwe n'ubukene byateye ariya marorerwa yo muri Mata.

Tukivuga mu cyaro niho u Rwanda rwari rusigaranye agasanira k'umuco wa muco mwiza wa kera na kare umuco-karande w'Abanyarwanda watumaga babana, bakamenya ikizira bakakirinda, iby'amahanga bakabirebera aho gusa batabyigana kerekia ibyubaka. Uwo muco niwongere uhabwe inteve biturutse mu cyaro no mu migi u Rwanda rugarure uburanga rwahoranye rukesha uwo muco. Kandi tuzi ko umuco ariwo utandukanya cyangwa se uranga igihugu n'ikindi bitewe n'amahame bene igihugu baba bagendera ho.

**Mu mijyi** rero ni bisunge mu byaro bahakomore uwo muco aho gusuzugurana, naho mu byaro bajijurwe n'abanyamugi, ndetse na bariya babana hamwe bafatanye ruzamuke.

**Abanyeshuri** ni batozwe amateka nyakuri y'inkomoko y'u Rwanda. basibe ibyanditswe cyangwa se byigishijwe n'abazungu babifitiyemo inyungu ahubwo bafate ayo bigishijwe n'ababyeyi ubwabo ndetse n'abarezi.  
Abasirikari birinde gukandamiza abaturage babakandagiza inkweto, babatera ubwoba nkuko byaranze aba mbere. Ahubwo bashyire hamwe batahirize umugozi umwe, bafatanye n'abaturage gushaka no kurwanya umwanzi wabinjirana. Iyo biba byaragenze bityo ntabwo u Rwanda ruba rwarageze iwandabaga !

Abanyamadini bari bafite uburenganzira n'ubushishozi n'ubushobozi bwo kubanisha neza abantu, ariko kubera ko mu kwigisha ivanjiri rimwe bakambara uruhu rw'intama kandi ari ibirura. Abo ni bamwe muri bo nka wa mukobwa uba umwe agatukisha bose. Kugeza ubwo nabo batagitinya guharabikana : Ibyo rwose byari biteye isoni n'ikimwaro ! Ubwo rero ngirango abanyamadini bariho ubu niba barimo n'abari bahibereye ntibatinze kubona ko hatahombye abanyamashyaka gusa n'abategetsi b'igitugu, ahubwo ko n'abigishaga ijambor'Imana bari barayobye ubwabo.

Abanyamadini ni bubahirize « Kora ndebe iruta vuga numve » Aho kwirirwa bahogomba babwira abaturage (Abayoboke) ngo nibakundane, nibiyunge, basabane, kandi aribo ba mbere mu kwigisha amacakubiri, ahubwo babahe urugero mu mibanire yabo. Amadini nayo ni areke gushyamirana nk'amashyaka. Bityo bizatuma n'abayoboke bayo nabo biyunga (babone aho bahera).

Byaba byiza rwose amadini afatanije n'ubutegetsi ariko akareka kwivanga mu bitayarora nk'uko byaranze ubutegetsi bwa mbere yibohozwa ry'ighugu. Umutegetsi mu idini runaka yunganire uwa Leta ariko yoye gufata impu zombi, mbese yirinde guterurira ibivi bibiri icyarimwe no kuvanga amasaka n'amaskaramentu !

**Ababyeyi** nibo abana babo bazakomoraho umurage n'umuco mwiza wo kubana neza n'abandi. Duhereye kubyabaye muri Mata, twasanze ababyeyi nabo batarareze uko byari bikwiye. usanga nabo baragiye batoza abana babo bakiri bato iby'amoko n'uturere, aho rero niho wasangaga abantu basigaye bicishana, ugasanga umusore arajya kurambagiza mubo bahuje ubwoko kandi yaba atabikoze ise ntamukwere ! None se ko byagaragaye ko ibyo bitigeze byubaka haba na busa, byaroreye noneho abana bakongera bakigishwabakiri bato ko abanyarwanda bafite inkomoko imwe ! Niba se ababyeyi bo ubwabo badashoboye kubana neza hagati yabo, abana bazabikomora kuri nde ko umwana akurikiza umubyeyi ? Kandi « Mwene samusure avukana isunzu ! »

Ntibibuke ko uko batukana cyangwa se bacyurirana ibyabaye abana nabo bafata ubwo burere bubi kandi ngo « Uwiba ahetsé aba abwiriza uwo mu mugongo. »

**Abarezi** ribo umuntu yakwita ababyeyi ba kabiri, nabo bafite umurimo utoroshye wo kuba abahuza babo bana (bareba).

Hambere, hariho umuco mubi mu mashuri wo kubaza no kwandika mu bitabo amoko y'abanyeshuri bigisha ibyo bigatuma abana bakuru bitandukanya, twafata nk'urugero mu gihe cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsema umuntu akabwira undi ati « Ntugire icyo umbeshya twariganye wajyaga wiyanidikisha mu batutsi ! »

Amateka yigishwaga abana ni asubirwemo naho ubundi aho kubaka azasenya, ahubwo abana basobanurirwe amavu n'amavuko y'Abanyarwanda. Uko ahoze batuje mbere nyuma bakaza gutandukanya n'abari babifitemo uruhare n'inyungu zihariye bafite umugambi wo gutuma Abanyarwanda baryana.

Abarezi kandi nabo nibashobore kubana neza bityo bifatanija n'ababyeyi babatoze kubana neza, gukundana no kubana neza no korogerana nk'uko byahoze biranga aba kera. Nibatozwe

bagifite ibisage n'ibisunzu, ibyerekeranye n'umuco-nyarwanda maze bakurane nawo bityo bazirinde bawusazana. Kuko ntakuntu umuntu ataba yaratojwe izo ngeso nziza atamenya kuvuga ngo noneho abibwirwe ameze imvi ngo abyumve !

**Urubyiruko** narwo rubifashijwemo na Leta ruhagurukire gushaka kubana neza n'abandi. Ninde utazi ko urubyiruko arirwo mbaraga z'igihugu ? None se niba batarutoje imirimo rukiri ruto ahubwo rugahabwa imyitozo yo kugira nabi nk'uko byaranze ibihe byabanjirije itsembatsema n'itsembabwoko, ubwo twaba tugana he ? Byagaragaje ko urubyiruko rutitaweho rugendanira kuko tuvuga ngo « Umwana apfa mu iterura ! » Niyo mpamvu twasaba Leta gushakira umuti wo kwita kuri bariya bana bandagaye ku mihanda aribo bita « RWANDA RW'EJO » maze bagororwe bataragangarara kuko niba ingamba zidafashwe hakiri kare ababishinzwe bazisama basandaye.

Naho urubyiruko rwo mu mashuri ni rwegere urwo mu cyaro maze bafanye bungurana ibitekerezo nta gusuzugurana mu busumbane bwabo. Bityo hifashijwe ibiganiro mbwirwahuham, ingando, amashyirahamwe, imikino inyuranye ndetse n'amarushanwa bahure baganire. Leta isabwe gukora uko ishoboye maze urubyiruko rutiga, rukiga noneho cya cyorezo cy'ubujiji kigahashywa.

Banyarwanda,  
Banyarwandakazi,  
Bavandimwe

Nguko rero uko buri wese yagombye kugenza mu guharanira ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, naho njye ubabwira ibi ndi intumwa kandi ubwo butumwa bwanje si nabucutsa ntabubahaye namwe ngo muzabungereze n'yo bigwa mugira muti :

« Basangira ngendo dusangiye umurage  
ko twarezwe twese n'umubyeyi umwe « RWANDA »  
Akanga abamwoshy akiyama amabwire  
Ari n'abaguraga abirabura bamugerageje kenshi  
Ariko abatsementera akomeje ko adashaka ayo manjwe  
Bamushukishaga ngo akunde agabe abe  
Nkaho utwo dusaro twasumbye ubwo butatu !  
Aho amariye gusaza bakomeza umurego  
Bagera aho kumwinjirana batangira akabo  
Abana be natwe duteshuka umurage  
Duteshwa ibyacu dukora iby'abandi  
Ubwo kandi nyakunyagwa ababonye umurindi !  
Abonye icyo cyuho ashaka n'icyanzu  
Ahera ubwo ngubwo atyaza imirindi  
Acurisha ibizica abatamusagariye.

Koko rero,  
« Isuri isambira byinshi igasohoza bikeya »  
Umugambi we rwose wari uwo kutumara  
Ariko waje kugamburuzwa n'intwari  
Ni muze tubyange duhangane twe,  
Dufatane urunana turwanye uwo mwanzo

Wasanze dutuje duterana uturezi  
 Ati : « Henga mbatanye  
 Mbatere ubutindi basigare basega !

MUTEGETSI Mutware, urasohoze abo utwara,  
 MUCAMANZA nawe, ujye uhera i Gacaca  
 Ukoresho amategeko watojwe n'ibitabo  
 Urinde ruswa yasabitse ibisambo  
 MUTURAGE nawe,  
 Jya wibuka ko ari wowe ibi bireba  
 MUBYEBI wabyaye ukabyirura izo ntvari  
 Toza urubyiruko ndetse n'abo batoya,  
 Ituze n'itoto ritatse iri simbi,  
 Twarazwe twese n'uwenduhunze imidende  
 Dutoze abatoya kudatatira umuhigo ! »

Muri make rero kuba intambara yarashojwe  
 n'abanyarwanda ubwabo, igakorwa nabo kandi akaba ari nabo isigira imisare n'inkovu,  
 z'umubiri n'iz'umutima ni nako zizomorwa nabo ubwabo bafite ubushake bwo kurusana kandi  
 ibyo bikaba ari inshingano za buri wese aho abarizwa mu kazi akora, bityo rero buri  
 muturarwanda ni ashayiraho ake mu guteza imbere mu mibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda nta  
 buryarya cyangwa se inyungu zihariye n'andi mayeri u Rwanda ruzaba ruteye intambwe  
 igaragara. Kuko biteye isoni n'ikimwaro kumva igihugu gituwe n'amoko atatu gusa,  
 kigakoresha ururimi rumwe gusa kiriana, nyamara hariho ibindi bihugu bituwe n'amoko  
 arenga amagana adahuje indimi ariko abaturage babyo ntibagire iyo rwaserera yamatiku.  
 Gushaka ni ugushobora. Niba koko harimo ubushake kandi niba izo soni zifitwe na buri wese,  
 icyo kimwaro kikaba gikora buri munyarwanda aho ari hose, ibyo rwose bizagerwaho. Naho  
 niba Abanyarwanda ubwabo bose batarumva ko kwivangura no kwitandukanya ari ukwivamo  
 ko ndetse ari n'ikinegu mu ruhande rw'amahanga bakigira nyoni nyinshi ibyo bizahoraho iteka  
 !  
 Ni bibuke kandi ko ibintu ari magirirane bityo n'abantu ni magirirane, kandi ko : « Inkingi  
 imwe itagera inzu ! » Maze buri wese afatanye na mugenzi we mu NZEGO zitari zimwe, ni  
 uko twese hamwe nk'abitsamuye duhagurukire kurusana ari nako twisana.  
 Twese tugire tuti : « Harakabaho ubumwe n'amahoro by'Abanyarwanda,  
 Harakabaho ubusabane, ubwizerane n'ubwiyunge,  
 Aho kubaho umwiryane n'amacakubiri mu bana  
 b'Abanyarwanda.  
 Bityo nkuko ibirenge bijya imbu mu kujya imbere,  
 Dutere imbere. Ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise !

## MURAKOZE MUGIRE AMAHORO !