

BISANINYANGE YOHANI DAMASENI
ISHURI NDERABAREZI RYA BUGARAMA
UMWAKA WA KANE

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

" ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO

ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA "

Ku wa Gatatu Kanama 1997

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi!

Duhumurizanye, duhane amahoro i Rwanda, dusabane maze twisubize ibuntu twivanye twivangura tukicamo ibice tukicana ubwacu!

Iyo umuntu yitegereje iyi si dutuyemo asanga iberaho byinshi binyuranye. Uko igenda izenguruka ni ko izengurukana n'ibiyiriho byose. Hamwe na hamwe ugasanga baganya abandi bishimye. Umunyarwanda wo hambere yarangwaga n'umuco nyarwanda umubereye kandi umushimishije, uko ibihe byagiye bisimburana nayo wagiye uhindagurika kugeza ubwo wageze ku ndunduro yo kuzirura ibyaziraqa, Abanyarwanda bagatatira igihango bakamena amaraso y'abo basangiye, bakabiemberwa ubutabera burebera dore ko na bwo bwarangwaga n'imikorere mibi bukibanda ku bibazamurira inyungu, rubanda rwagiseseke rukahashirira, umwere agahinduka umunyabyaha ku mugaragaro, henshi na henshi ugasanga uwo urega ari we uregera. Ubuyobozi bukirengagiza ibigomba gukorwa, ahubwo bukishimira kureba ibibi bikorwa bugatonesha bamwe, abandi bagahabwa akato kandi bukiharirwa n'uturere. Ibyo byose byatumye a Abanyarwanda batatana haba mumitekerereze, mu mico ndetse no mubikorwa, ahari ubwumvikane hasimbuzwa amacakubiri. None se hakorwa iki ngo Abanyarwanda bibagirwe ibyo byose bongere babane nk'Abanyarwanda ba Kanyarwanda.

Muri rusange, kera u Rwanda rwari rwiza rwitwa u Rwanda rwa Gasabo. Rwavugaga inka n'ingoma, rutuwe rugendwa. Abarutuye basa basangira, basabana bagashyingirana bagahigana bahingirana, bakisungana mu byoroshye no mu bikomeye, bakarangwa n'umuco nyarwanda ugasanga bizihiye urwabikarutse na rwo rubizihiye. Abatarutuye bakarwifusa ndetse bakarurasanira ngo baruture rukabanira ahubwo rwo rukiyongera uko izuba rirenze dore ko rwategekwaga n'abami bahoraga basimburana uko ibihe bihaye ibindi barateraga ntibaterwaga. N'ubwo urwa Gasabo rwatembaqa amata n'ubuki, kidobya ntiyabuze kurugeramo, dore ko nawe yarwifuzaga ngo aruture yitwaje n'intwaro ye y'amacakubiri no gutatanya abarutuye. Ubwo ibanga ry'umuco nyarwanda arisandaza ku karubanda irondakoko n'irondakarere abiha intebé, guheza abandi mu mashuli, mu gisirikari na byo ntiyabuze kubyitwaza, kugeza ubwo yitiranya ubwinshi bw'ubwoko n'ubwinshi bw'ibitekerezo bya politiki, kandi uvuze ukuri akabizira.

Nawa munyaburayi waje ari impehe agasanga tuvuza impundu, akatwuzuza impuha ngo atugire impunzi adutunqishe impungure mu yandi mahanga, yarugezemo aho kumva imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu buryo bwuzuzanya, ayireba mu byo yise amoko anyuranye. Yumvisha abo yise ubwoko bumwe akunze ko ari akataraboneka ko ari bwo bukwiye ubutegetsi, ko abandi atari abenegihugu, bityo bituma imyifatire ya buri wese ijjana n'uko yabwiwe, ingaruka y'ibyo iba iyo kwicana, Umunyarwanda akica uwo yabwiwe ko badasa wese atarobanuye umwana, umukuru, umusaza cyangwa umukecuru, intego ya wa munyaburayi iba igezweho.

Inzego z'ubuyobozi bwo hambere, nk'uko zagiye zisimburana ntabwo zashoboye kugera ku nshingano zabwo. Aha twavuga urwego rw'ubucamanza wasanqaga bwuzuyemo kubera kandi ari ubutabera, inda nini n'ubusahuzi bagamije kurengera inyungu zabo.

Abacamanza aho kubona umunyabyaha ngo ubutabera bwubahirizwe icyaha nikimuhama ahabwe ibihano, naba umwere arekurwe, bakamubonamo umubare w'inoti n'ibiceli ari buze kubapfunyikira kugira ngo urubanza barwice. Uwari umunyabyaha bakamuhindura umwere izuba riva, ahensi na henshi ugasanga uwo urega ariwe uregera.

Ibyo byose byagiye bica Abanyarwanda integre kugeza ubwo umunyarwanda ubwe yari asiqaye yihanira ntabibazwe. Ubwo umuco wo kudahana abanyabyaha wayogoje igihugu bigera aho umunyarwanda yari asigaye yica mugenzi we nk'inyamaswa akabigororerwa kuba umutoni mu butegetsi. Ku bw'ivo ngirwagikorwa babaga bise cyiza n'abandi benshi bakabyigana ndetse bagakaza umurego ngo badacikamwa n'ako gahimbazamusyi. Uwo muco wakomeje gukura ushora imizi uzana n'amashami manini ugiye kwera wera imbuto z'akataraboneka, uwashoboye kuzibona yifashe impungenge ubwo igihugu cyose gicura imiborogo imivu y'amaraso iratemba, imbwa zihabwa abantu mu gihugu zirabahiga uwirukiye inshuti ngo sinkuzi, imipanga n'amahiri birabya indimi, ibyobo byasamiye kumira iyo mbaga y'abantu b'Imana baziraga uko bavutse, abandi bazira ibitekerezo bizima. Ayo mahano akorwa ku manywa y'ihangu ntacyo bishisha .

Mbese ubutabera bw'iki gihe bwo bwakora iki ngo ubwiyunge buzira kwishishanya bugaruke mu banyarwanda batatanijwe n'inzego z'ubutabera zo ha mbere zakoraga nabi?

Dore ingingo ubutabera bwakwibandaho:

- Guca umuco wo kudahana kuko kudahana aribyo byatumye Abanyarwanda bakaza umurego wo gukora amahano ntacyo bishisha.

-Guca ruswa:ruswa ikwiye kwamaganwa mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi kuko rubanda rwa giseseka rutagira imifuka iremereye ruharenganira ndetse rukahamburirwa na duke rwaririragaho, abarenganywa bagakomeza kurenge nywa.

-Gusohoka mu biro:abacamanza bakwiye kudakorera mu biro gusa nibasohoke bajye hanze bitegerezé bashishoze,bakore amapererezé yose ashoboka kugirango batagira uwo barenganya,dore ko n'ikinyoma na cyo kimeze nabi,urengana bamurenganure,umunyabyaha ahabwe ibihano biremereye ,bihwanye n'uburemere bw'icyaha yakoze, mu butabera.

-Kuvugurura ingingo ziranga amategeko amwe n'amwe kuko hari izitonesha bamwe zigakandamiza abandi,aha twavuqa nko ku bagabo n'abagore.

-Gukurikiza amategeko yose nk'uko yateganijwe,nta kwirengagiza amwe n'amwe,ngo urengere bamwe mu bategetsi bafashwe mu byaha dore ko baba bayishe ari bo bayazi kurusha abandi ndetse ari bo bakwiye guhanwa by'intangarugero.Ibintu byo guhishira bikavaho ubutabera bugakorera mu mucyo.

-Kudasubika buri kanya ibyagombye gukemurwa hakiri kare kuko bituma abaturage batagirira ubutabera icyizere,kuko babona ko haba harimo amayeri,n'indi mitwe igamije inyunqu z'abantu aba n'aba.

-Kutaronda uturere,amadini,ibitsina,yaba umukire cyangwa umukene ubutabera bubabone kimwe imbere y'amategeko abagenga.

-Gushishikariza abakozi gukunda umurimo bashinzwe.
Ibihe tuvuyemo byaranzwe n'imiborogo ubucamanza na bwo nta kintu kigara bwakoze cyo guhoza,bamwe mu babishinzwe bagiye baterera iyo,

abandi bakigira ba ntibindeba ndetse bamwe bakabwigurutsa ntibamenye ko bari gukererezé ibyagombye kujya ku mugaragaro ngo nyuma bizibagirane,bityo abaturage bakaba bakwivumbura.

Dore nawe abana benshi babaye imfubyi, abapfakazi barwaye intimba, ibimuga birarira,abasizwe iheruheru barataka,abangirijwe ubuzima bwabo ku bundi buryo na bo baraganya batagira uwo baganyira.Ubutabera ngo bubarengere ndetse bubarenganure,bubahoze amarira.

Muri iki gihugu amagerezé yose yuzuye abantu.
Harimo abagomba guhanwa ku bw'ibyaha bakoze,hari n'abagomba kurekurwa kubera ko ari abere.Ibyo bizagerwaho iqihe bariya babishinzwe bazagira umwete n'umurava,ndetse n'ubwitange muri iyo mirimo itoroshye.
Abanyarwanda bakababa hafi, bakabafasha kugaragaza ukuri.

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Abayobozi bo hambere na bo ntabwo bayoboye neza nk'uko umwungeri mwiza ayobora intama ze. Buri wese yakoraga yishakira ibyamugirira akamaro we n'umuryango we, atitaye ku gihugu cye n'Abanyarwanda bamugiriye icyizere cyo kuyobora.

Mbese wasangaga bimirije imbere kurya igihugu, uwabaga yikubise agashyi ngo agaragaze aho ukuri guherereye bakamurigisa ntihazagire umenya irengero rye, irondakarere baba barihaye inteb*e* kugeza ubwo hari hasiga-ye haravutse ibyiswe "AKAZU". Uwo muri ako kazu akaba ari we munyarwanda wuzuye utagira imiziro; agahabwa uburenganzira busesuye bwaba ubwo kwiga amashuri ashatse, guhabwa imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi, kujya mu gisirikare n'ibindi. Ibyo akabigerekaho n'uburenganzira bwo kwica ndetse no gukandamiza rubanda rw'intamenyekena.

Ibyo byose byatumye abatuye u Rwanda rumwe batumvikana, dore ko uwo muri ako kazu atumvikanaga n'uwo bise umunyanduga kimwe n'umushi, ndetse n'umukiga wo hasi. Nuko harongera havuka amashyaka amwe n'amwe akagenda yihishwamo n'abashaka gutatanya abana b'u Rwanda.

Ubwo buyobozi bwatoneshaga bamwe bugakandamiza abandi, ugasanga budindiza uturere tumwe na tumwe, nta gikorwa na kimwe cyiza cyageraga ahantu hatavuka umutegetsi runaka ukomeye, ubwo uwo muco mubi uba uhawe inteb*e* mu gihugu.

Mbese ubuyobozi bw'inzezo zose z'ubutegetsi bw'iki gihe bwakora iki ngo ubwiyunge bwongere busesekare mu banya-rwanda?

- Gushyiraho leta ihamye igendera ku mategeko, uyarenzeho agahamwa, kabone n'ubwo yaba ari umutegetsi.
- Umutekano kuri buri munyarwanda wese.
- Kutarenganywa n'amategeko.
- Kugira uburenganzira bwo gutora no gutorwa aho biteganijwe.
- Kwigia no kwigishwa mu mashuli.
- Gukora bituma habaho ubwihaze mu biribwa, kuko ushonje atumvikana n'abandi.
- Guha Abanyarwanda ibikoresho cyangwa ibyangombwa by'ibanze umuntu akenera mu buzima bwe bwa buri munsi (gutura heza mu midugudu, amazi, meza n'umuriro.)
- Kuba utazira ibitekerezo bizima byubaka kuko hari benshi babizize.
- Kugira uburenganzira bwo gutura mu gihugu, impunzi zigacyurwa kandi zigatuzwa.
- Kuba ibyemezo byinshi bifatwa n'abayobozi, abaturage na bo bajya babigiramo uruhare dore ko ari na bo biteganirijwe.

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-Kongera kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda bundi bushya bityo hakajonjorwamo ibinyoma bifite umugambi wo gusebya no gusenya igihugu, iby'ukuri bigashimangirwa ndetse bigashimwa.

-Gukangurira urubyiruko umuco w'ubumwe n'ubwumvikane, hagakorwa imyidagaduro myinshi ihuza urubyiruko rwo mu mpande zose z'igihugu.

-Kumvisha Abanyarwanda ko amajyambere yabo agomba gushingira ku kazi kabo bwite nta kunyunuza imiti y'abandi.

-Gutanga akazi, amashuri n'ibindi byose umunyarwanda afitiye uburenganzira biciye mu butabera.

-Gutanga agahimbazamusyi bashingiye ku bwitange n'umurava umukozi yakoranye igikorwa cyiza cyagaragaye cyane cyane mu bishimangira ubumwe bw'igihugu.

-Kwigisha Abanyarwanda ubumwe n'akamaro kabwo hakoreshejwe insakaza-majwi, amadini, amashyirahamwe, ...

-Gushyiraho ikintu kigaragara cyibutsa ubumwe mu banyarwanda.

-Guha ubuyobozi abantu b'inyangamugayo, indakemwa mu mico no mu mwifatire, bafite ibitekerezo byiza byubaka, bafite ubushobozi, kwitanga n'umurava.

-Kwigisha kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, buri munyarwanda wese akamenya ko uburenganzira bwe burangirira aho ubwamugenzi we butangirira bityo buri wese akazirikana iteka ubuzima bw'abandi.

-Kujya mu giturage no mu migi gukoresha ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame bishishikariza Abanyarwanda gusabana, byamagana ubwicanyi, ubugome n'ubusahuzi tutibagiwe ibindi byose byatumu igihugu cyongera gucikamo igikuba nka za nsakazamajwi zashyuhiye imitwe y'Abanyarwanda zibahamagarira kumarana, aho twavuga nka R.T.L.M n'abambari bayo.

Umunyarwanda wa nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda afite icyo yakora na we mu kugarura ubwiyunge mu gihugu dore ko ari na we gikoresho cy'ibyiza n'ibibi cya ziriya nzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu.

Nk'uko umunyarwanda wo hambere yarangwaga n'umuco nyarwanda umubereye, yirinda gutatira igihango, akirinda icyateza amahano, abana neza n'abandi. N'ubwo byaje guhinduka ni ko n'umunyarwanda wo muri ibi bihe tuvuyemo bitoroshye agomba gukora, agaharanira icyateza abandi imbere aho gushaka ikibacamo ibice.

Mu Rwanda rwacu iyo umuntu avutse akenera ababyeyi bo kumwitaho kugirango ubuzima bwe bumererwe neza, uko arushaho gukura ni ko agenda akenera abavandimwe n'inschuti muri ubwo buzima.

Si ku muntu umwe gusa cyangwa umuryango, n'ibihugu birakenerana kugirango ubukunqu bwabyo burusheho gutera imbere.

Ubwo muri uko kwisungana ubumwe n'ubusabane biba birimo bivuka, ibyo kuba nyamwigendaho bigacika mu banyarwanda, umuntu akumva ko agomba gukenera abandi na we akumva ko hari abandi bamukeneye kugirango ubuzima bwabo bumererwe neza.

Iyo umuntu amaze kumenya ko agomba gukenera abandi kandi ko na we hari abamukeneye umubano urushaho kwiyongera icyabahuzaga kigafata indi nteria, bityo ibi biranga ubucuti bikagaragara:kugaburirana, guhana ibintu, qushyingirana n'ibindi byose biranga umuco w'ubusabane.

-Kwemera icyaha no kwirega bizatuma Abanyarwanda bongera kugirirana icyizere, kuko iyo wemeye icyaha ndetse ukirega biba bigaragaza ko ushaka gusubira mu nzira nyayo, kandi ni muri urwo rwego uba worohereza ubutabera akazi.

-Kubabarira: Abanyarwanda bagomba kugaragaza umutima ubabarira w'imba-bazi, bakabarira bagenzi babo bemeye gusaba imbabazi.

-Kwiyibagiza ibyabaye ku bantu bamwe na bamwe kuko kuguma kubitekere-zaho bituma umuntu arwara inzika, ububabare yagize bugahora bugaruka akaba yashaka kwihorera kandi ubutabera buhari.

-Gufashanya: Abanyarwanda bakwiye kongera kujya bafashanya, bakarenqera imfubyi, abapfakazi ndetse n'ibimuga cyane cyane abahuye n'amahano yabaye muri iki gihu, bakavutswa ubuzima bwabo bwiza bari bifitiye.

-Gusurana: Abanyarwanda bakwiye gusurana bakungurana ibitekerezo byiza ndetse bakaganira ku muco nyarwanda usigaye warabaye iciro ry'imigani, aho umwana na nyina basigaye bagenda bambaye ukuri ku gasozi ngo ni amajyambere yaje.

-Gusangira: Abanyarwanda twirinde inda mbi yo kwikubira ahubwo dusangire duke dushoboye kubona kandi bigakorwa nta bugome bubayemo dore ko n'amarozi arimo aca ibintu ku bitwa ngo barasangira.

Muri make nk'uko tumaze kubibona dore icyakorwa kugirango Abanyarwanda bongera babane neza:

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- Guca umuco wo kudahana watoje Abanyarwanda kumena amaraso ya bagenzi ntacyo bishisha.
- Ubucamanza bukiyambura kubera bukaba ubutabera kandi inyoroshyo ari yo ruswa iqacika burundi maze ubutabera bukaba ubutabeshya.
- Gukora amaperereza yose ashoboka ku bakekwaho ibyaha, ukuri kukagragara , ibihano biqatangwa mu nzezo zose.
- Guha impozamarira abasizwe iheruheru n'amahano yayogoje igihugu.
- Gutanga ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame bihamagarira Abanyarwanda kongera kunga ubumwe.
- Kugira ubwuzuzanye mu nzezo zose z'ubutegetsi,bamwe bakorohereza abandi akazi,ubwitange n'umurava bikagaraqara,kandi buri wese aqakurikiza amategeko amugenga mu kazi ke.
- Gushakira urubyiruko imirimo kuko kutaqira umukoro bitera gushukwa n'amaronko y'abagamije inyungu zabo, rugakangurirwa kugira ubumwe n'ubusabane dore ko ari rwo gikoresho cy'ibibi n'ibyiza.
- Guha ubuyobozi abantu bazima badafite imigambi mibisha yo kongera koreka u Rwanda.
- Kubumbatira umuco nyarwanda,maze indobanure ya bimwe mu byiza byawurangaga igashimangirwa kandi ikigishwa.
- Kwiyambura ibintu by'amoko bishobora kongera kubatandukanya,bakumva ko bose ari Abanyarwa basangiye igihugu.
- Abanyamadini nabo bakigisha kugira umutima w'imbabazi,gukundana no gushyira mu bikorwa amategeko yose y'Imana.
- Gutoza abana ubumwe n'ubusabane hakiri kare, kuko ari bo Rwanda rw'ejo,rumwe rujya rukora amahano nk'ayabaye rumaze gukura iyo rutigishijwe hakiri kare.

Harakabaho u Rwanda rwiza !
Harakabaho abayobozi beza !

NYAKANGA 1997

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

INYANDIKO YA : SINDAYIGAYA JACQUES

AHO ABARIZWA :- ISEMINARI NTO YA
MUTAGATIFU VISENTI

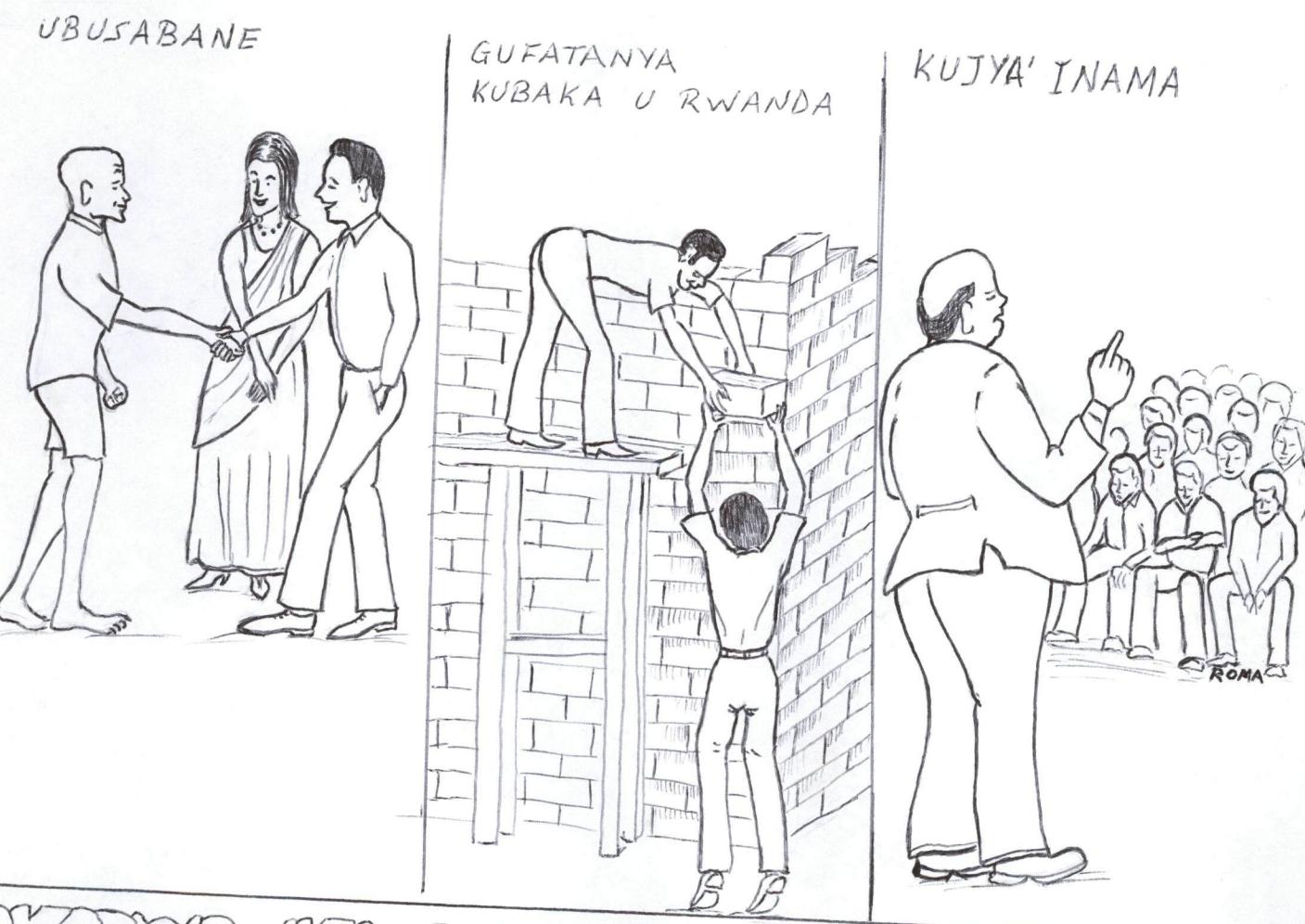
- UMWAKA WA GATANDATU
- ISHAMMI . IKILATINI
N'INDIMI ZIVUGWA

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYA-RWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

AMAHANDA YO MU WA OR N'DBYAYAKURKYE



UMBANDA TWIRYANA KUZERAHO



HAKORWA IKI NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA ?

HAKORWA IKI KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA ?

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Kuva muri Mata 1994 u Rwanda rwacuze imiborogo, imivu y'amaraso iratembu maze abanyarwanda barenga miliyoni baratikizwa. Bivuganywe n'abandi banyarwanda, bapfa bazira ubwoko bwabo cyangwa ibitekerezo bya politiki bari bafite. Ubwo bwicanyi bwahagaritswe muri Nyakanga 1994, bwaje kwitwa « Itsembabwoko n'Itsempatsema » hakurikijwe uburyo bwakozwemo. Imibanire y'abanyarwanda yahungabanyijwe bitavugwa n'ayo mahano. Inzego zose z'imibereho y'abaturage zarashegeshwe, ubukungu nabwo burahazaharira. Igitotsi cyagaragaye mu mibanire yacu gishingiye ahanini ku rwikekwe no kwishishanya. Ni ngombwa rero ko hakorwa ibishoboka byose kugira ngo abanyarwanda biyunge, batahirize umugozi umwe mu komora igihugu cyabo ibikomere cyasaritswe n'abagikoze mu nda, kugira ngo ubwo bwiyunge bugerweho, hari byinshi bigomba gukorwa mu kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro. Kwemera gushakira hamwe icyakorwa kugira ngo tubane mu bwumvikane no mu bworoherane, bizatuma duca burundu ubugome n'urugomo, maze tureme u Rwanda ruzira icyasha rusanganya abo rwibarutse.

II. AMATEKA Y'AMACAKUBIRI MU RWANDA N'INGARUKA ZAYO.

II. 1 : ABANYARWANDA BAPFUYE IKI KANDI BATERANYIJWE NA NDE ?

Itsembabwoko n'Itsempatsema bishora imizi yabyo mu mateka y'u Rwanda kuko ari ingaruka z'imyigishirize n'imitgekere byaranze u Rwanda guhera mu mwaka wa 1900. Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu nta makimbirane cyangwa ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko byarangwaga hagati y'abaturage, ahubwo rimwe na rimwe habagaho amagomerane hagati y'ibikomangoma nk'uko byagenze ku Rucunshu. Abaturage bari babanye neza bagasangira, bagashyingirana kandi bagatabarira hamwe igihugu nk'umuntu umwe. Ibyatokoje umubano wabo ni ibi bikurikira :

a) Amacakubiri yabibwe na ba mpatsibihugu n'ababasimbuye.

Abakoloni bakimara gusesekara mu Rwanda bifashishije abamisiyoneri maze bashyira ivangura mu mashuri no mu butegetsi, bashyira amoko mu ndangamuntu, barangije basenya ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda babumvisha ko batareshya, ntibananganye ubwenge n'ubushobozi. Imbuto yabyo yagaragaye bwa mbere mu mwaka wa 1959, ubwo abanyarwanda benshi bishwe, bagatwikirwa, bagasahurwa abandi bakameneshwa. Repubulika ya mbere yasimbuye abakoloni, n'iya kabiri yayihiritse zunze mu ryabo, politiki y'irondabwoko yunganirwa n'iy'irondakarere, maze iringaniza rirarikoroza bamwe bahezwa mu byiza by'urwababyaye nko mu rwego rw'amashuri, mu butegetsi no mu ngabo z'ighugu.

b) Ibura ry'ubutabera :

Iyo u Rwanda rugira ubutabera buboneye ntiruba rwarageze iwa Ndabaga. Aho kugira ngo itegeko rirengere buri wese, umuco wo kudahaha warimakajwe. Mu banyarwanda habayemo bya nyakurenganywa badakoma, hakabamo n'abakosa ntacyo bishisha nk'abari hejuru y'amategeko. Ibura ry'ubutabera buhamye niryo rero ryatumye intera y'ubugome n'ibikorwa byibasira inyokomuntu ikomeza kuzamuka iherezo rikaba gutsempatsema.

c) Inda nini no kwikubira :

Abanyarwanda bapfuye inda nini no kwikubira, maze bamwe baremarara bibwira ko ibyiza by'ighugu ari umwihariko wabo bonyine abasigaye barahinda. Ibyo byajyanye no gukumira impunzi ngo ighugu ni gito, n'abari mu gihugu bagashiohana, bityo uko hagize ukoma imbarutso bagacagagurana, bashaka kwigwizaho amasambu n'imitungo.

c) Ubujiyi bwa bamwe mu baturage :

Abanyarwanda bitabiriye kumarana no gusenya urwabo kubera ubujiji bukabije bwa benshi bafataga icyo babwiye n'umutegetsi cyangwa uwize nk'ihame ridakuka. Abo baroshywe mu bwicanyi nk'abahumirije, bamwe bumva ko nta kundi byagenda abandi bibwira ko bazabihemberwa.

e) Umuco wo kurenzaho no kutabwizanya ukuri :

Abanyarwanda na none bazize kutaganira, ngo bo ubwabo bikemurire utubazo tunyuranye tuvutse hagati yabo. Ntabwo bigeze babwizanya ukuri, maze kurenzaho kwabo kumera nk'umwotsi wahishwe igihe kirekire kugeza aho umuriro ugurumana.

**II. 2 : NI IZIHE NGARUKA Z'ITSEMBABWOKO N'ITSEMBATSE-
MBA MURI IBI BIHE**

Ubukungu bwa mbere bw'igihugu ni abagituye. Mu guhitana abantu batagira ingano, itsembabwoko n'itsembatsema byasize icyuho kinini mu gihugu. Imfubyi, abapfakazi n'abamugaye ni imbabare Leta igomba kwitaho akensi nayo idafite amikoro. Imitungo yarasahuwe, ibikorwa by'amajyambere birasenywa kandi abaturage benshi barahunga, bamwe muri bo bakaba bakibungera hirya no hino. Isura y'igihugu yaranduye, imibanire y'abanyarwanda irahubangana, urwikekwe no kwishishanya biba icyago maze kwitsitsa ku moko no kurondana birabyutswa. Imiryango myinshi yarazimye burundi, indi irasenyuka cyangwa iratatana. Hamwe na hamwe haragaragara amakimbirane ashingiye ku mitungo kandi bikagaragara ko igikorwa cyo gufunga abakekwaho ubwicanyi bigwamo abere bahohoterwa bazira inzangano n'amashyari, mu gihe hari abandi ba ruharwa babuze ababashinja. Hamwe na hamwe haracyagaragara ibikorwa byibasira abarokotse ; hari abanyarwanda batemera ko ababo boretsse imbaga bahanwa, ku rundi ruhande hakaba abibwira ko abandi bose ari abicanyi.

Izi ngaruka zose zibangamira igikorwa cyo kubanisha bene kanyarwanda. Zikwiye gushakirwa umuti uboneye kandi unyuze buri wese, maze ubwiyunge bukagerwaho nta gisibya, bukaba intsinzi kuri bose.

**III. : ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO AMAHORO N'UBUSA-
BANE BIGANZE I RWANDA.**

III. 1 : AKAMARO K'UBWIYUNGE N'ABAZIYUNGA :

N'ubwo bwose inkovu icitse irushya abavuzi, dufite integano yo kwikemurira ubwacu ibibazo by'ingatu byagaragaye mu mibanire yacu. Inzira y'ubwiyunge niyo yonyine izatugeza ku mahoro azira amahane, itugeze ku mubano uzira umunabi, Gahutu, Gatwa na Gatutsi bahashye urwango, urwababyaye rube isangano. Ubwiyunge buzahosha amakimbirane butsinde kurenzaho maze abateranaga umugongo bafatane urunana ibyatanyaga bifutuke. Ubwiyunge buzatuma ubukungu buzamuka maze buri wese atere intambwe, kuko azakora ashishikaye atagishengurwa n'uko ba rusahuriramunduru bakongera kumujisha bagahindura umuyonga ibyo yagezeho yiyushe akuya.

Kuvuga ubwiyunge bijyana no kwerekana abaziyunga. Igikorwa cyo guhuza abuzukuruza ba Gihanga kizaba hagati y'abahohotewe n'amarorerwa yo mu mwaka wa 1994 n'abandi bose batagize uruhare mu bwicanyi. Birumvikana ko ba rukarabankaba bose bagomba gushyikirizwa inkiko bagakanirwa urubakwiye. Icyo gikorwa kigomba kandi gusabanya abatahutse bava ishyanga n'abo basanje mu gihugu. Bitewe n'uko ntawe uteze kuzava ahandi ngo atwunge, tugomba kumva ko ibibazo byacu ari twe tuzabyikemurira binyuze mu kuganira, mu koroherana no mu gusabana. Uretse

abaturage hagati yabo, ubutegetsi nabwo bugomba kwiyunga n'abaturage, bukabasaba imbabazi kuko
aribwo bwahembereye inzangano hagati yabo.

Kugira ngo ubwiyunge bugerweho, hari byinshi bigomba gukorwa na Leta (abari mu nzego
z'ubutegetsi), ibigomba gukorwa n'amadini, amashyirahamwe ahuza abantu, abarezi, impuguke
n'itangazamakuru, hakaba n'ibisabwa buri muturage. Urwego rw'ubutabera narwo ntirwibagiwe, kuko
airwo buye nsanganyarukuta abanyarwanda bazashingiraho bubaka igihugu gishya.

III. 2 : URUHARE RW'UBUTABERA MU KUBA-NISHA ABANYARWANDA

Ubutabera ni inkingi y'amahoro. Bugomba gutuma amategeko ariho yubahirizwa,
umugiranabi agahanwa by'intangarugero, umuco wo kudahana ukaranduranwa n'imizi yavo. Itegeko
rigomba kwimakazwa, rikareba buri wese, ntihagire abaryishyira hejuru cyangwa abo riutaza.
Nk'uko abafite icyaha bakwiye icyasha mu ruhanga, ubutabera buzambika umugome umugoma, maze
ahabwe akato, aterwe icyuhagiro atange ikeru. Bityo abere bazagaragara nta shiti, bafatanye
n'abasigaye bose mu kubaka igihugu.

Ubutabera bujyana no kubahiriza umutungo wa buri wese, kandi abantu bose bakagira
amahirwe angana boroherezwa mu kubona iby'ibanze bakenera. Uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu
bugomba kurengerwa, buri muturarwanda akumva ko hariho urwego rushinzwe kumurinda no
kumurenganura aramutse ahotewe. Aha abaturage bagomba kumenya inshingano zabo kandi
bakamenya uburenganzira bahabwa n'amategeko. Bugomba kuzira inyoroshyo n'ikimenyane bukaba
ikimenyetso cy'ubwizerane n'isoko y'umubano uzira ubutati.

Kugira ngo ibi biggerweho urwego rw'ubutabera rugomba kuba rufite ubwigenge
n'ubwisanzure bihagije, ntibugire ubukoma mu nkokora cyangwa ngo bukorere mu kwaha
k'ubutegetsi, bwaba bw'inyubahirizategeko cyangwa se ubutegetsi nshingamategeko.

III. 3 : LETA YAHUZA ITE ABANYARWANDA ?

Ubutegetsi bufite uruhare rw'ibanze mu kubanisha abanyarwanda, kuko imiyoborere
y'igihugu ishobora gutiza umurindi cyangwa guca burundi amacakubiri.

a) Guhumuriza abaturage :

Mbere na mbere ubutegetsi bugomba guha impongano abo ubwabubanjirije bwigirijeho
nkana. Koko rero, ubutegetsi ntibuhinduka. Bwahozezo, buriho kandi buzahoraho : hahindura
abategetsi gusa. Ibyo bisobanura ko ubutegetsi bushobora kuryozwa ibibi byakozwe
n'ubwabubanjirije. Nk'uko ubutegetsi bubi aribwo bwigishije inzangano mu bantu, ubu noneho
imvugo n'ingiro bigomba kwereka abaturage ko ibintu byahindutse. Bugomba kurenganura
abarokotse, bakitabwaho, bukababa hafi ngo hato ejo imfubyi n'abapfakazi batazabura kirengera,
bagomba kubaha ikizere cy'uko ivangura n'akarengane bitazongera kwimikwa, kandi iteka
bakabakangurira ubworoherane.

b) Kujijura abaturage.

Ubutegetsi bugomba gushyiraho gahunda y'ibikorwa n'ingamba zifatika mu kujijura no
guhugura abaturage. Abaturage bagomba gusobanurirwa neza ibibazo biriho n'uburyo bwo
kubikemura, kuko byagaragaye ko hari aburirira ku bujiji bwabo bakabatsindagiramo ibitekerezo
by'ivangura.

c) Gutsura demukarasi no guha abaturage ijambo

Mu gihugu hagomba kubamo demukarasi itari ya yindi y'amashyaka na mitingi gusa. Iyo demukarasi igomba kuwayana n'umuco n'imibereho y'abanyarwanda, aho guterura iby'abandi ngo biturwe ku baturage, maze bifatwe nk'amahame kandi bidahuje n'ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Igomba kuba ari demukarasi nyarwanda, abenegihugu bakaba ari bo bagena umurongo ikurikiza. Kugira ngo biggerweho, abaturage bagomba kuyitegurirwa bihagije. Demukarasi igomba kuwayana no kwemera impaka zubaka ku bibazo biriho, kuvuga icyo utekereza n'ubwisanzure bw'ubutabera.

Abaturage bagomba kuba ifatizo ry'ubutegetsi, bakisanzura, bakabona uburyo bwo kugaragaza ibitekerezo byabo kandi bakitorera ababahagararira mu nzego zose. Bityo abanyarwanda nibabihugurirwa kandi bakagishwa inama, ibyemezo bifatwa bizajya byakirwa neza kandi bikurikizwe kuko bizaba bivoma isoko yabyo mu baturage. Iyi ntambwe y'amatora igomba gutesuranwa ubwitonzi, igithe kikazagera buri wese yaracengewe namatwara ya demukarasi.

d) Kurinda umutekano w'abaturage n'umutungo wabo :

Leta ifite inshingano ikomeye yo kuba umwishingizi w'umutekano w'abaturage n'ituze mu gihugu. Niyo mpamvu ubutegetsi bugomba gukoma imbere ikintu cyose cyashaka guhungabanya ubuzima bw'abagituye. Ingabo zigomba gukorana n'abaturage, bakazizera nazo zikabarengera.

d) Isaranganywa ry'umutungo no guca ubusumbane :

Umutungo w'igihugu ugomba gusaranganywa neza, buri wese akagira uruhare mu micungire yaho ntiwhiarirwe n'agatsiko k'abantu bake, kuko byagaragaye ko mu byoretse u Rwanda harimo kwikubira n'inda nini. Uko gusaranganya umutungo bigomba kuwayana n'uko imirimo yose n'imyanya y'ubutegetsi bitangwa hakurikijwe ubushobozi bwa buri wese, abaturage bose bakagira amahirwe angana. Ibyo nibikorwa, ntawe uzongera gushuka abaturage, abafatanyije n'ubukene n'ubujiji.

e) Guha ubutabera ubwisanzure n'uburyo bwo gukora :

Kugira ngo ubutabera bugere ku nshingano zabwo, bugomba kugira ubwisanzure buhagije n'uburyo bwo gukora. Abategetsi bagomba kwirinda kuvangira urwego rw'ubucamanza no kwivanga mu mikorere yarwo, ahubwo bagakora uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo barwongererere ubushobozi.

f) Kwimiriza imbere iterambere ry'igihugu :

Iyo abantu bakennye kubashuka biroroha cyane. Ubutegetsi bugomba guhora buzirikana ko bubereyeho guteza imbere igihugu, bugashaka ingamba ziboneye zo gutsura ubukungu no kongera ibikorwa by'amajyambere.

III. 4 : URUHARE RW'AMADINI N'AMASHYIRAHAMWE AHUZA ABANTU :

a) Amadini :

Amadini ni imiyoboro ikomeye mu guteza imbere ikiremwamuntu, haba mu bya roho cyangwa mu gutsura imibereho y'abaturage. Abanyamadini batari bake bagize uruhare mu guhembera inzangano n'ubwicanyi, uko bibaye bakarebera aho gukangurira abayoboke b'amadini yabo kubana neza, kandi bizwi neza ko ijwi ryabo ryumvwa na benshi. Ubu amadini akwiye gefata iya mbere mu kugoboka no guhoza ababaye bose. Abanyamadini bagomba kuba abahuza ba nyabo hagati y'Imana

n'abantu, bakigisha urukundo kandi bagaharanira ukuri n'ubutabera. Ni muri urwo rwego bakoroshy⁶
kandi bakihutisha igikorwa cyo kubanisha neza abanyarwanda, batanga urugero rwiza mu buzima
bwabo no mu nyigisho batanga.

Amadini agomba kuzuzanya na Leta, ariko abayobozi bayo bakirinda kwivanga mu bya
politiki no guharanira ibyubahiro. Umuganda wabo n'uwo kuvugurura mu mahoro ibitagenda neza,
bigisha abo bashinzwe igikwiye. Ibikorwa byabo kandi bigomba kugaragarira mu guteza imbere
inzego z'ibanzze z'imibereho y'abaturage nk'ubuzima, uburezi n'izindi. Ibya Kayizari bagomba
kubirekera Kayizari bagaharanira ikuzo ry'Imana.

b) Amashyirahamwe :

Amashyirahamwe yose akorera mu gihugu agomba gushyira mu bikorwa byayo gahunda
y'amahugurwa n'inyigisho bikangurira ubwiyunge n'ubusabane. Ibyo bizatuma abayarimo batitez
imbere mu mibereho myiza gusa, ahubwo bagira n'ibitekerezo byubaka bibafasha kubanira abandi.

III. 5 : URUHARE RW'UBUREZI MU NZIRA Y'UBWIYUNGE

Umwana apfa mu iterura kandi igit iigororwa kikiri gito. Hagomba ivugururamuco mu
burezi, kugira ngo abana badakurana ibitekerezo bibi, bakabikomeza mu mashuri maze bakazajya
gukura barabaye ba rutare. Niyo mpamvu uburere bwo mu muryango bugomba kwitabwaho cyane,
ababyeyi bakarinda abana babo ibitekerezo by'ivangura, bakabatoza kubahana no koroherana, abana
bagakurana igitekerezo cy'uko abantu bose bareshya. Koko rero, uburere bwo mu muryango nibwo
shingiro ry'imico umuntu agaragaza amaze gukura.

Uburerre bwo mu mashuri bugomba kuza bwunganira ubwo mu muryango, abana
bakarindwa inyigisho zose zabagorekera umutima, ahubwo bagatozwa ubumwe n'urukundo. ibi bisaba
ko ababyeyi n'abarezi batanga urugero rwiza, kora ndebe ikaruta vuga numve. Na none ubufatanye
bw'ababyeyi n'abarezi mu gukurikirana uburerre bw'abana ni ngombwa, kugira ngo igehe abana
batangiye gutezuka ku migenzo myiza bahwiturwe hakiri kare, kuko ihene ifatwa igehebeba.

III. 6 : URUHARE RW'IMPUGUKE MU KUBANISHA ABANYARWANDA

Abize bose bagomba gufasha ubutegetsi mu kugera ku banyarwanda b'ingeri zose,
bagahugura abaturage babashishikariza ubusabane, bityo amahirwe bagize yo kwiga akagirira akamaro
na rubanda rwa giseseke.

Abanyeshuri bakiri mu rwego rwo gutara ubumenyi nabo ntibagomba gutahira ubwo
buahaha budashyigikiwe n'umutimanama. Bagomba kwicengezamo amatwara y'ubworohere, maze
bakabera abo basize inyuma ibitembo by'ubusabane, dore ko babatezeho kubahugura. Koko rero,
nibamara guhanagura ubwoko mu bwonko bwabo, bazagendana ubwema bwo kubwira ab'iwabo ko
bagomba kubana.

III. 7 : ABATURAGE BAKORA IKI KUGIRA NGO UBUSABANE BUSAKARE ?

a) Kuganira ku byabaye no koroherana :

- Kuganira ku byabaye ni ngombwa kugira ngo buri wese asobanukirwe n'imvano yabyo,
yumve ububi bwabyo kandi atekereze ku ngaruka byabyaye. Bityo, buri wese azahagurukira gufatanya
n'abandi mu kurandura imizi y'amacakubiri, akumva ko iki gihugu agomba kukibanamo n'abandi,
akabaha amahoro nabo ntibamubangamire.

Ntawe ugomba gukomeza kugendera ku bitekerezo bishaje, ngo yumve ko igihugu ari akarima k'ubwoko, k'akarere cyangwa umwihariko w'abo bahuje ibitekerezo. Abantu baratandukanye mu miterere, mu mitekerereze no mu mikorere. Ibyo abantu badahuriyeho bikwiye kuba imvano yo gusanganya no guhuriza hamwe ibyiza buri wese afite. Buri wese niyemera ko ibyo ataniyeho n'abandi bitagomba kuba inkomoko yo guhangana, izaba ari intambwe ikomeye iganisha ku bwiyunge. Abantu nibagerageza koroverana batishishanya, bazumva ko nta n'ugomba guharirwa buhoro, agomba kumva ko bimureba, akagaragaza ibikorwa bifatika mu guteza imbere igihugu.

b) Kwita ku basizwe iheruheru n'ubwicanyi :

Abakomerekejwe ku mutima n'itsembambaga, abamugaye kimwe n'abahahamutse ntibagomba gutereranwa ngo birwarize kandi ntacyo bishoboreye. Inkunga ya mbere ni ukubumva no kubashyigikira ngo babashe kwivana mu makuba baroshywemo. Buri muturage akwiye kubegera akabafasha kugira ngo batumva bari bonyine bakigunga.

c) Kumva ko ubutabera bugomba gukora akazi kabwo :

Aha abahohotewe basabwa kwemera guharira Leta umurimo wo kubarenganura, bakihatira kubana neza n'abatarakoze ikibi. Bagomba kwirinda kugira uwo bahama icyaha ntacyo bashingiye, ahubwo buri wese akareberwa ibikorwa bye bwite aho kureberwa mu ndorerwamo y'ubwoko cyangwa akarere.

Abafite ababo bakoze amahano nabo bakwiye kwemera ko ibyabaye bigomba guhanirwa by'intangarugero aho kubarengera cyangwa kubahishira. Bose bashyize mu gaciro bakumva ko ibyabaye bitagomba gusubira, nta kabuza ubwumvikane bwagerwaho.

d) Kubahana no gukemurira utubazo duto muri gacaca :

- Abanyarwanda bagomba kuzibukira ubwironde ubwo aribwo bwose, bakubahana kandi bagakomeza imigenzo ya kimuntu iri mu muco wacu ituma buri wese yishimira kandi akubaha mugenzi we. Bisaba kumva ko na mugenzi wawe ashobora kugira ibitekerezo byubaka bifite ireme, akabyubahirwa. Bijyana kandi no kwirinda imyifatire n'amagambo bikomeretsa, kurenzaho bigasimburwa no koroverana.

- Bagomba kumenya kwikemurira utubazo duto twavuka hagati yabo, ntibumve ko kunga no guhuza abaturage.

e) Kugira ubushishozi :

Buri muturage asabwa kugira ubushishozi no gushyira mu gaciro, ntiyemere kuba igikoresho cy'abahirimbanira inyungu zabo bwite kandi akamenya gushungura ibyo abwiwe n'abategetsu, n'impuguke cyangwa n'itangazamakuru. Bityo azazibukira uzashaka wese kubiba inzangano n'amacakubiri.

f) Kwitabira umurimo no kwirinda ubusahiranda :

Abaturage basabwa kwitabira umurimo kuko ariwo uhesha umuntu agaciro, ugateza imbere akarere n'igihugu. Bagomba kugendera kure kwikubira, buri wese akanezezwu n'ibyo yakoreye.