

ICYAKORWA 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.

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

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

Niyo mpamvu muri iyi nyandiko ari ngombwa kurimburana n'imizi igitera cyangwa icyateye umwiryane muri bene kanyarwanda. Ni ngombwa kumanza kureba kure kugira ngo urebe icyaba cyarateye ariya mahano yabaye mu Rwanda.

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

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

Aliho kandi nasubiza amago inyuma ngasanga ari abanyarwanda bose birinze kwihokora n'abahekuye u Rwanda kandi nabo ari abanyarwanda, nkumva rero ko abo bari bagombye kubatizwa nk'uko amadini abivugaga bakavukana umutima mushya. Ntabwo bagombye kubatiza keretse UBUTABERA bwo bushobora gutuma bavuka bundi bushya.

Aliho kandi n'abasigaye banze kwikora munda bakabera ababyeyi abari abahokuye, bakababyara bambaye ukuri ko nzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

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

Kugira ngo mu Rwanda rero nabe narabaye akageni k'amarorerwa byatewe ahanini nabo; ugasanga impamvu zibaturukaho ari urudaca, 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 twakururira.

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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 CIAMI kugera uyu munsi, uretse ejo bundi mu 1991 mu ruhando rw'amasnyaka 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 zinjye mu banyarwanda ugasanga zarababayemo akarande.

Muri zo twavuga nka "Ntiteranya" yo wagira ngo mu banyarwanda nako mu baturage yarabaye akarande muri bo, ariko ahanini ukibabaje 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'uwabonye ibyabaye yanze kubivuga uko biri bitewe n'iyi mpamvu.

Ubwo uwabigiriwe: ibyo bibi byabaye, bagatuma ahorana intorezo y'ishyamba ibagira ishyamba 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 injijuke 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 ihimwa 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 yatuganishije mu mwiriyane ikoreka imbaga y'abanyarwanda itabarika igatuma tunyega 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 kubushyiraho ubwoko, Abaturage bahari bose bagakoma mu mashyi, bamwe bitewe 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 munsu 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 nkak'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. Nkuko Bibiliya ibivuga nta buyobozi na bumwe butava ku Mana. Ariko bitavuga ko imikoreshereze y'ubuyobozi igihe cyose iva ku Mana; bitewe na ya kamere mbi ya muntu bituma abayobozi bamwe bakoresha ubuyobozi nk'uturima twabo bwite. Ariko iyo usesenguye neza utagamiye gusesereza usanga mu buyobozi bw'inzego zose habonekamo, wa mukobwa uba umwe agatukisha bese. Uretse ko nyine bese atari ba miseke igoroye. Usanga mu bayobozi iyo hagaragayemo uwo mukobwa agenda yanduza abandi nkuko nyine ihene mbi ntawe uyizirikaho iye. Muri bene abo bayobozi batari beza, usanga barokamwe n'ibintu bibiri aribyo: - Indanini

- Kuba ibikoresho by'abanyamahanga.

Hano nkumva ari ngombwa ko nasobanura buri gace ukwako.

\*Inda nini: Kuva icyi gihugu kitwa ngo cyabonye ubwigenge kugeza mu 1994, ubwo igihugu cyacuze umuborogo, amaraso akameneka ari menshi cyane, usanga cyaranzwe n'abayobozi b'inda nini ariko nakwita "Isiha rusahuzi". 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 burundu; 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 babonye ko bavumbiwe, bitewe na cyacyiraro bambukiraho kitwa ubujiji mu baturage bahita bajijisha abanyarwanda babumvisha ko ikibazo cyiri mu gihugu ari icy'amoko.

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Ugasanga iyo saho (ariyo inda nini) yabo bamwe ari yo yasubiranishijemo benekanyarwanda nabo batiretse bitewe nogushaka kugundira ubutegetsu 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 Abanyarwanda niho bakuye insigamigani igira iti: "Ba nyamuzavuba nibo bamenya ama tongo y'abagiye". Birababaje kubona umuntu aha 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 ~~ya~~ bayobozi byatumye bemera kuba ibikoresho by'abanyamahanga. Ubwo abanyarwanda bari bamaze kumenya kwandika maze barabagororekera 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 ubutegetsu gukora ibyo bishakiye bafataniye na ba Rusarurira mu nduru b'abanyarwanda. Byaragaragaye burya ngo ushuka umuntu ntiyiriza umunsi. Na bamwe mu bagize iyo politiki, aba ariko bagenza ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda, bararucurika, baruca bararucacanga, bararutwika baruhindura umuyonga, maze imitima y'abanyarwanda bayifatira mu ntoki zabo, kuburyo bizeye ko igihe bazayirekurira izasandara. Niko byagenze, yarasandaye, barangije bivumburira akabo karengye 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 kubakangurira kumva amagambo, bagashungura ibyo babwiwe aribyo byatuma bivaniramo ukuri kuzima.
- 2° Gukangurirwa umurimo, kuko byaragaragaye ko iyo nta murimo ushishikajwe abanyarwanda aribwo naboneka udutsiko duharabika cyangwa se dusebanya bitewe nuko birwa bateze amatwi ubazanyeye inkuru iyo ari yo yose.
- 3° Gukangurirwa kuyoboka amashyiranamwe kuko ariho naboneka intwaro yo kurwanya ubukene n'ubujiji, bigatuma bamenya kuvugira mu runame.

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- 4° Gukangurirwa kutaba ibikoresho by'abayobozi ahubwo bakiyumvisha ko abayobozi babereyeho bo. Ndetse 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 uwa 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 babereyeho abaturage, ko ari ngombwa 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 zikurikirira:

- 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 ufite uburyo wamukemurira ikibazo kikarangira.

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- 5° Kwirinda gukoreshwa na bene imari kubera inyungu ubatezeho cyangwa imishinga mu fataniye, bigatuma bene imari bakoresha abayobozi mu gukandamiza rubanda rugufi. Bagata ukuri bagatoragura amakosa aribyo 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 hatazongera kuboneka ukuyoborwa cyangwa se kuyoborerwa 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 turumvisha 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'ubucukara bw'abazungu baje bitwaje iyobokamana bagasanga abanyarwanda basenyera umugozi umwe, bahitamo kubanyamisha 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. Ndingije mbifuriza amahoro, ubutabera, amajyambere n'ubusabane muri twe bene "Kanyarwanda".

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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 igihe cyose : Gukunda u Rwanda n'abarwo bose no guharananira ko rwajya imbere.

Ese hari uwaba agihakana uwo mucu mwiza, ubwo bumwe bwarangaga abo bakurambere, nanyemerere mwibarize niba ahari. Ngaho nansobanurire ukuntu izo ntware zashoboye gukoma imbere ibitero simusiga by'abanyamahanga bari bagamiye kugira u Rwanda ingaruzwamuheto. Ese babishoboye nta bumwe hagati yabo ? Ese bamwe baratabaye abandi baranga 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 igihugu, 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 mucu mwiza Abanyarwanda barawuteshutsweho cyane cyane muri iyi myaka ishize. Nidusubize amaso inyuma, turebe ukuntu abazungu baturutse iwabo bamwe muri bo bagamiye 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 ubutegetsu bubereye abanyarwanda bugiyeho. Nyamara abategetsu bagiyeho bimiriye inyungu zabo maze bagahitamo kubiba amacakubiri ashingiye ku nyungu zabo n'ababo, irari ry'ibintu ribahuma amaso, biyibagiza inshingano y'ibanze yo kunga Abanyarwanda. Uko imyaka itashye niko ayo macakubiri yagendaga akura, agera igihe atagishingira gusa ku moko afata n'uturere abanyarwanda bashusha nk'ababanye mu mahoro kandi urwango rwarasaritse imitima. Amacakubiri yageze aho arenga kamere, maze rwa rwango rubyara ishyano ritagomba kongera kubaho ku isi; itsembabwoko n'itsembatsembe byo mu w'i 1994.

Ayo marorerwa yadutwaye intwari, adutwara abana bari kuzazamura u Rwanda, yadutwaye abakecuru n'abasaza twari dutazeho inama zubaka; yadutwaye abantu b'ingeri zose, bazira ubwoko, uturere, cyangwa ibitekerezo byabo. Agahinda kaganje hose, amarira na n'ubu aracyatembera; 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 bwihutirwa kugira ngo dutegurire u Rwanda rw'ejo ibihe byiza.

#### IMVANO Y'AMACAKUBIRI MU RWANDA

Amacakubiri n'umwiriyane hagati y'abana b'u Rwanda byabibwe n'abantu bari bafite inyota y'ubutegetsu, n'irari rirengeje ry'ibintu.



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, abategetsu babasimbuye ntibihutira kurandura imbuto y'urwango abo bazungu basize babibye.

Irari ry'ubutegetsu n'ibintu 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 yarubatswe bajyaho barwigisha kwanga abandi. Urubyiruko rwabuze akazi aho kurushakira akazi kubaka u Rwanda, barushakira akarushakira. Buririra ku bukene bwari buganjje maze umuturage wazonzwe yasezeranywa imari kugira ngo arangize imigambi y'abo ba "rusakuriramunduru" igihe atabaye inyanga mugayo ngo yitsinde, si ukwivayo agasizora, urwango akarushakira aho rutari. Irari ry'ibintu n'ubutegetsu 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 guceceka bigahera mu mitima y'abanyarwanda tuzaba twubakira ku musenyi.

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

Icyo muntu atakwiragaza 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 ataniye 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 mwiriyane, 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. Nibwihutire gutabara abasizwe iheruheru n'amarorerwa yo mu w'1994. Nk'uriya mubyeyi wategaga urugori akizihirwa none akaba yarahekuwe, akaba atakigira umvomera amazi, arateza ubwega yari yarabyariye urwamubyaye ubutabera nibumutabare. Nk'uriya mwana wagizwe imfubyi utakigira uwo aririra boshye uwavutse ku giti, ubutabera nawe 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 nawe wavukanye imbuto y'urukundo akarwikuzamo uko yigiye hejuru, akagimbuka ntawe akoze mu jisho, none aho anyuze hose bakaba bamuha akamo bati "nguwo uwahekuye u Rwanda", akaba azira amakosa atakoze, ubutabera nibumutabare. Ingero zo ni nyinshi kandi z'ingeri zose zigaragaza 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 mucu 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 azaba 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 kuzatezuka. Bityo ibihe bizaza bizarate 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 nabiharaniye kabone n'aho yakuzira kuko kuba amahano yarahingutse i Rwanda ari uko twabuze ukuri mu gihugu n'abaguharanira bashishikaye.

Ese hari umunyarwanda usumbye undi ubunyarwanda ?  
Ndahamya ko ari ntawe. N'ugitekereza atyo niyisubireho kuko ntacyo yazamarira u Rwanda. Uruhare n'uburenganzira ku byiza n'umutungo w'urwatubye 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 dukeneye 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 ugamije kunga, ugamije 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 agatanyaga abo u Rwanda rwamuragije. Wa mutegetsi ugamije inyungu ze bwite n'iza bene wabo, ucyitiranya umutungo w'igihugu n'uwe, uwo ntagikwiye u Rwanda. Ubuhanga, ubushishozi n'ubwitange bitavangura ngibyo ibigomba kwitabwaho mu guhitamo abayobozi b'ingeri zose, kuva kuri Nyumbakumi kugera kuri Perezida wa Repubulika, hatwo icyiswe "AKAZU" kitazongera guhinguka i Rwanda, kuko ibyo kakuruye n'ukivuka arabizi.

#### IBITEKEREZO BYUBAKA NIBIRANGE BURI MUNYARWANDA

Dore ikindi kinyagihumbi kiregereje, 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 isenya. Icyo kinyagihumbi kizasange abanyarwanda twese twiratana ubumwe bwacu, imigambi myiza; kizasange twiratana gukunda urwatubye 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'ukwihata bya buri wese.

#### UBUREZI NIBUHABWE UMWANYA UGARAGARA

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



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

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

Uburere 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'iyigihugu. 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 ko nta wahisemo kuvukira mu karere cyangwa ubwoko ubu n'ubu 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 bese 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 intebe hose.

gi Amahugurwa ku byerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa umuntu nashyikirwe ku buryo bwose ari mu baturage b'imigi, ndetse n'ab'ibyaro nababere isoko y'inyigisho zihindura imitima. Benshi ntibakimenya 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 nucegezwe hose no muri bese. Urabe indirimbo y'amajwi menshi, mu bihe y'amage ndetse n'ibyiza tujye 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 bigerweho mu Rwanda, nta wahakana ko kubabarirana ari ngombwa mbere ya byose, bitabaye ibyo, ubwo bwiyunge bwaba ari inzosi 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 intege nke za muntu, ukemera ikosa wakoze no kurihanirwa nta mwijujuto. Maze ijambo inkiko zizamubwira, urubanza ruzacibwa rutabogamye azabibonemo ijambo ry'umubyeyi wa twese wifuza ko abe bese 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 impuguke, witwa intiti duhanze amaso agira ibitekerezo bigufiye bigamije gusenya, maze aho kubera rubanda urugero rwiza mu nzira y'ubumwe n'amahoro akabayobya akabagusha, akabigisha gusubiranamo. niba hakiri impuguke nk'iyi mu Rwanda, nihumuke ibihe birageze. Ese ubundi uwo akwiriye 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 ahatse 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 mwiryan nibabyivanemo, nibakanguke kuko bagisinziriye. Maze urubyiruko rwose rukere kunga ubumwe. Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ntihwema gukora uko ishoboye ngo urubyiruko rusabane kuko yarangiye 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 yanzwe 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 bese, 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 bese barabarangamiye. Nibabigisha urukundo rukunda bese, nabo ubwabo rukabaranga, nibabigisha ubumwe nyabwo bakabigisha kubabarirana maze bikabaranga igihe cyose, haba mu bihe byiza cyangwa se by'amakuba, nta kabuza baza bumva 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 byaranzwe no gutanya abanyarwanda, byaranzwe n'ibitekerezo bisenya. Muri bo uzahakana ko ibyo binyamakuru byagize uruhare mu kubiba amacakubiri, uwo azaba agikeneye guhugurwa, azarekere uwo mwuga abawushoboye; ibyo bireba kandi n'abanyamakuru bavugira kuri Radiyo. Abanyamakuru bese nibashake intego n'imigambi ihamye bizabavana mu kimwano basizwemo n'abakoraga umwuga nk'uwo. Inyandiko zabo zirarangwe n'ukuri kutabogama, ibitekerezo byubaka u Rwanda nibibarange. Leta rero irakomeze ibashyigikire cyane, uburenganzira bwabo ntibuzapfukiranwe igihe cyose bazaharanira ubumwe n'ubwumvikane mu banyarwanda. Uzagaragara indi migambi ahagarikwe bwangu amazi atararenga inkombe. Radiyo n'ibinyamakuru byo nzira yo kujijuka, bikaba n'isangano ry'ubumwe n'amahoro ndetse n'urusobe rw'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 akawubumtira, 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 intwari, na n'ubu akaba akiyifite mu biganza agambiriye kubuza abandi amahwemo igihe kirageze ngo ayirambike hasi; apfukame imbere y'urwamubyaye asabe imbabazi.



Natagira ubwo butwari, azarekere abandi bana b'u Rwanda amahoro, abareke biyunge kuko babyifuza 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 ihohotera uburenganzira bw'ikiremvamuntu nirambikwe hasi imwe yivugana inzirakarengane igahitana abakecuru n'abasaza igahitana ibibondo, ntizongere kurangwa i Rwanda?. Hazasigare gusa intwaro zo kurengera urwatubyaye igihe tuzaba dutewe n'udashaka ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda cyangwa se ashaka kutugira ingaruzwamuheto.

#### UMWANZURO

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

Maze rero igihe nta munyarwanda uzaba akirangwa na bya bitekerezo bishaje bishingiye ku moko no ku turere, igihe twese tuzakenyera tugakera kubaka u Rwanda, buri wese akubaha undi n'ibye. Igihe kudahohoterana korohotera no kubababarirana bizaba byarabaye umuco uturanga, igihe 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 zimiriye 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 Rwagasabo, natwe tuzatangire dukore indege.

Bikorewe i Nkumba, kuwa 23/7/1997

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SEMINARI NTO YA MUTAGATIFU LEHU  
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ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

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UMWAKA WA GATANDATU W'INDIMI.

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ICYAKURWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA:

Kuva u 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 uhanye, haba mu bikorwa cyangwa mu myitwarire ye. Ikibabaje ni uko u Rwanda atari ko rumeze, kuko hashize imyaka 3 ruhonyotse amahano yaruhogoye, akaruhutira abana bazira icyiswe ubwoko, bazira ibitekerezo byabo, akarere ndetse n'indeshyamba yabo. Ibikomere biracyavirirana mu mitima y'Abanyarwanda: hari ikibazo cy'ubujiji n'ubukene bukenya bene Kanyarwanda. Hari urwikekwe, amacakubiri inzika n'inzigo bituma abanyarwanda bakora basanza aho gusenyerere umugenzi umwe. Dufite imfubyi, abapfakazi, abacitse ku icumu, abahamutse n'abahungutse bakeneye inkunga yacu by'umwihariko. None se kugirango ibyo bibazo byose tubikemure, abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, bavuze impundū zizira impembyi, hakorwa iki? ubutegetsi bwafata ngamba ki? Uruhare rw'itangazamakuru nyarwanda rwaba uruhe? Ubucamanza se bwo bwakora iki? Ese umuturage, cyane cyane uruburirako, abategarugari n'abanyamadini batanga musanzu ki? Mu rwego rw'uburezi n'ubukungu se ho hakorwa iki? Ibyo nibyo tugiyeho kuganiraho. Ariko twabanza gusubiza amaso inyuma, tukareba ibyaranze imibanire y'abanyarwanda, icyateye amacakubiri, hanyuma tukabona ingemba zafatwa mu nzego zitandukanye.

AMATEKA y'u Rwanda aduhishurira ko kera abanyarwanda bacirirana bagasukirana. Barashyirirana, bakanywana, bagaterana ingano mu bitugu nk'abavandimwe. Iyo bajyaga mu ntambara y'ibitero, bahagurukiraga rimwe bakarwanya umwami; cyaba ari icyago nk'inzira icyorezo se, bagashakira hamwe uburyo bwo kugitsinda no kugihashya mu byabahuzaga twavugaga cyane cyane idini gakondo, Imana imwe, umuso umwe n'ururimi rumwe. Bakoraga imirimo itandukanye, ikabafasha guhanirana, kuzuzanya no kwihaza mubyo bakeneye. Abahinzi bitwaga apahutu aboruzi bakitwa abatutsi naho ababumbaga bakitwa abatwa. Bari bafite ubutegetsi buhamye, hejuru hakaba umwami, umugabekazi n'abiru, hagataho umutware w'intebe, akungirizwa n'abatware b'ingabo, b'umukenke n'abubutaka. Hakurikiragaho abatware b'umurenge, nyuma hakaba abatware b'umuryango. Ibi biratwerekaga ko bari bashyize hamwe, bafite ubutegetsi bukomeye kandi bwita ku bibazo byabo. Naha nakongeraho ko aho bategetsi bavaga mu baturage bose, nta kuronda icyiswe ubwoko cyangwa akarere.

Nk'uko amateka akomeza kudasobanurira, abazungu bigabanyije afurika ntibibagiye u Rwanda. Nibwo rero mu ntangiriro y'iki ckinyejana abadage batangiye kugera mu Rwanda, batangazwa rwose n'uburyo ubutegetsi bwari bumeze.

Ushaka kuramba ku ngoma ngo atatanyā abo ateguka. Niko byagenze, ababirigi baragijwe u Rwanda nyuma y'intambaara ya mbere y'isi yose maze bakundwako bamwe mu patutsi bari ku butegetsi, birukana abandi mu bahutu bari baburimo. Ntibyakurikiye aho babategetse gukoresha abanyarwanda imirimo y'agahato. Ubwo "SHIKU" n'"IKIBUKO" birababona, ababishoboye 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, bashakira uburyo badusiga mu mazi abira. Nibwo bagize ibikoresho bamwe mu banyarwanda, babumvisha ko bakandamijwe kandi ko bagomba kwihimura. Muri icyo gihe bamwe mu bana b'u Rwanda baratwikirwa, bicwa na bene wabo, ababishoboye barahungu. Ubutegetsi bwakurikiyeho uko bwashimuranyeye, ntacyo bwakoze ngo bushake uko bwagarura, kandi ngo bubumbatire umubano mwiza mu Banyarwanda, aribwo



bwakomeje guhembera umwiryane, ukwikubira, uburyamirane n'ivangura abategetsu ntacyo bakoze ngo bahurize hamwe abaturage, bicare bashake umuti w'ibibazo byabo. Bakomeje gushimangira inyigisho z'abakoronu, baheza abana b'u Rwanda ishyamba, bakomeza kubiba imbuto y'amacakubiri ari nayo yabaye intandaro y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba byashohojwe muw'1994.

Nyuma nibwo abanyarwanda benshi bahunze intabara, abandi bahungu ibibi bakoze, bataretse no gushuka bagenzi babo. icyo twakwishimira 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 kigenderaho, bagatanga umusanzu wabo mu kuruteza imbere bafatanije n'abandi.

Nk'uko bigaragara nta gushidikanya ko UBUTEGETSI uko bwagiye busimburana cyane cyane ubwa Repubulika bwagiye bukora nabi; bwirengagiza ibibazo birebana n'imibanire y'abantu. Ibi bikaba ahanini ari byo nyabaye impumvu y'ibanze yo gutanya abanyarwanda. Kubera ibyo rero, Ubutegetsi bugomba guhindura imikorere kugira ngo abantu bongere babane neza.

Muri urwo rwego, abategetsu bagomba kwereka abantu no kubumvisha ko ari bo mutungu w'ibanze igihugu gifite. Bityo, buri wese agahabwa inshingano yo kwubur batira, ibyo byafasha abantu kutazongera kwiyumvisha ko kugirango babone amahoro bagomba kwikiza bagenzi babo, ko kubwira kwishyira hamwe ari byo byatuma tugira amahoro arambye.

Bagomba kandi na none, kugira umurongo wa Politiki uhamye kandi uzwi, bakawusobanurira abaturage kugirango bawumenye neza, boye kuba aha ba babigira babiri bayohye imbwa uburari. Twese tugatahiriza umugozi umwe ntibubake ngo abandi basenye.

Bagomba kwimakaza umuco wa Demokarasi nyayo, bakayisobanurira abaturage ku buryo nyabwo kandi bwumvikana, kugirango batazongera kumva ko Demokarasi ari ugukora icyo umuntu yishakiye. Nk'uko nabwo bakamenya ko Demokarasi ari ubutegetsu bw'abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage. Bityo bagomba kwirinda Politiki ya "mpatsibihugu" y'abazungu akenshi ituma bareka gukorera igihugu, bagakorera "UMUKORONI" uhora ashaka icyatanya abantu ngo abategeke. Ni ngombwa kandi ko baba burundu umuco wo gushyira umutungu wa rubanda kuko nayo ari imwe mu mpumvu ziteza amacakubiri, buri wese ashaka gukoresha ibya rubanda uko yishakiye.

Kugirango bishoboke abategetsu bagomba kuva mu biro, bakagera abaturage, bagashyikirana, bakungurana inama. Banabaha amabwiriza bakabibereka ku ngero zigaragara, Nk'ubu turimo twigisha abantu kubana neza, ntidusange mu nzego zose zo hejuru banyana kuko "Umwera uturutse ibukuru buya wakwiriyeye hose" kandi ngo "abatutira batongana batura ukubiri".

Ikindi cyadufasha kongera kubana neza ni uko abaturage bahabwa urubuga rw'abaturage gutanga ibitekerezo byabo. Abitwa intumwa za rubanda babegere bumwe ibibazo byabo bagarageze kubishakira umuti boye kwibera mu biro; kuko bitabaye bityo nibwo abantu bamwe babona ko bahejwe bakaba bakwivumbagatanyaga maze ba rusahurira mu nduru bakaba babyuririraho bakabiba amacakubiri.

Leta igomba gushakira abaturage umutekano, wo shingiro ry'amahoro, ubusabane n'amajyambere. Abaturage bagasobanurirwa inshingano zabo, mu kwibungahungira umutekano, birinda 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.

Ubutegetsu bugomba kandi guca burubdu, no kwamaganire kure akarengane ako ari ko kose, aho katuruka hose, n'uko kagirirwa wese kuko 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'ikiremwa muntu, nti hagire abantu bafatwa bunyamaswa cyangwa se bucakara kandi bari mu gihugu cyabo. Abantu bese bakwiye kureshya imbere y'amategeko kandi akabarengera.

Ivanguye iyo riva rikagera, ryaba iry'amoko, uturere, ibitsina, cyangwa amadini rigomba gucibwa kuko rituma haboneka uruhande rukandamizwa n'urutoneshwa, maze hakavuka inkiko 2 zihanganye inzangano n'amashyamba bikavuka, inzika n'inzigo zikazenguruka uruziga rw'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Ikimenyane ni ngombwa ko gicibwa burundu, umuntu agahabwa umurimo kubera ubushobozi bwe hadakurikijwe isura, amasano, afitanye n'utanga akazi, cyangwa se bitugukwaha yaba yatanze. Leta kandi igomba gutegura neza no kwihutisha ituzwa ry'abantu mu midigudu kuko nabyo byafasha abantu kurva ko ari bamwe maze bagasabana; ariko na none hakwirindwa ko habaho agace gatuwe n'abantu aba n'aba bafite icyo bahuriyeho, kuko ab'imitima yanangiye, babyuririraho bakongera gukongeza ifumba y'ivanguye.

Ubutegetsu bukwiye kwamagana ibintu byose byazana inyigisho cyangwa ibitekerezo bitanya abantu. Muri urwo rwego, ibiganiro, cyangwa ibinyamakuru bibogamye bigacirwa mu mizi. Aha kandi twakongeraho amadini y'ibiyadukayigisha abantu kwigomoka ku butegetsu, no kwangiza ibikorwa by'amajyambere, Na yo ni ayo kurwanywa bivuye inyuma.

Ni ngombwa ko ingabo z'igihugu zihugurwa, kandi zigahabwa ibyangombwa bihagije byo kurinda abaturage. Ariko na none hakwiye amashuriro y'ingabo n'abaturage basanzwe, kugirango bashobore gusabana no kumva ko bese ari abanyarwanda kimwe. Umusirikare ~~ntakomeze~~ gufatwa nk'umuntu ushinze kuraca gusa; ahubwo nawe akagira uruhare muri Politiki no mu yindi mirimo yo kubaka igihugu.

Kugirango ibyo byose bizagerwaho, abategetsu bagomba kwigisha abantu bese, 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 ibigangano by'umwimerere, byaba ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, amakinamico, cyangwa izindi nyandiko bigamije kwigisha ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, maze twese abategetsu, ingabo, buri muntu mu rwego rwe tugahagurukira rimwe, tukubake u Rwanda rwacu.

Nk'uko bikunze kuvugwa "ITANGAZAMAKURU" ni ubutegetsu bwa kane. Mu mbarerwa yahaye mu gihugu cyacu, ryagize uruhare runini, kuko ryabaye igikoresho cy'abanyapolitiki babi. Ijwi ryabo ryumvikanyemo babona uburyo bworoshye bwo gushyira mu bikorwa imigambi yabo mibisha. Ryabaye umuhuza w'abacanyu, nabo bamaze hose umwiryane n'ubwicanyi.

Niyo mpamvu hakwiye gufatwa ingamba nshya, itangazamakuru rikaba igikoresho cy'umusemberu w'ubumwe, ubwiyunge n'ubworoherane, ubuhabera n'uburinganire. Mu Rwanda ntitugikeneye itangazamakuru.



riharabika abantu ribashushanya cyangwa "gashozantambara" nka "R.T.L.M.", ritubwira ko hari abanyarwanda bagomba gupfa, nk'aho ari inyamaswa cyangwa bahiseho aho bavukira.

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

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

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

Umurimo ukomeye w'UBUCAMANZA niwo uzavaho imbuto y'ubwumvikane buzira urwikakwe. Urwo rwego ni ingenzi mu mibanire myiza y'abatuye igihugu, kuko igihe cyose bunyuzwe mu nzira zibaneye, bukemura ibibazo byose bishonora kuba byateze ubwumvikane buke mu baturage. Niyo mpamvu nyuma yo kwibonera akaga kakomotse ku mikorere mibi yabwo n'umuco wo kudahana wari warokanye ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda abanyarwanda bateze amaso ku ngamba z'abategetsu bashya b'iki gihugu, hagomba cyane cyane mu rwego rw'ubutabera kwita ku busugire bw'amategako, kandi imyanzuro yayo igashyirwa mu bikorwa uko yateganyijwe. Igihe hagaragara ko hari igikozwe nabi, ni ngombwa ko ababishinzwe heterana bakarikosora aho kugirango haveho impamvu za bamwe zo kuisobanura no kurishyira mu bikorwauko baryumva ngo hahamwe umuntu aho guhana ikosa, ari nabyo bituma bamwe bigirizwaho nkana, abandi bagakingirwa ikibaba.

Kubera ko igihugu cyacu kidafite ahakozi babyigiye bihagije, muri urwo rwego kandi kikaba gifite ingorane zo kuburanisha abashinjwa ibyaha by'ingeri zose, ariko cyane cyane icyaha cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsembe, ni ngombwa ko leta y'u Rwanda yafata ingamba zihanye zo kongera amahugurwa yatangiye, akazaba agamije guhugura abakunganira abakozi bakozi babyigiye dufite mu murimo utoroshye wo kuburanisha imfungwa zitari nke igihugu cyacu gifite; ndetse n'abatarafatwa bakwaho ibyaha binyuranye, bagashyikirizwa ubucamanza, nabwo bugakora umurimo wabwo.

Tuvuye mu ngeri y'ababyigiye, tubona ko hari urundi rwego rugomba inararibonye kandi rukaba ari ingirakamaro, kuko rwegeraye umuturage, bityo ibibazo bya bigakemurirwa mu maguru mashya bitaravamo inzika, inzigo, inyangano cyangwa amahane, ari nabyo biyaza umutekano muke no kutabana neza. Niyo mpamvu rero "Gacaca" igomba guhabwa icyuhahirira n'ubushobozi, abaturage nabo bagakangurirwa kuyiyambaze aho kwirukira mu butegetsu bw'uburyo igihe cyose babaye ikibazo bakabanza kugikemurira ku mirenge yabo.



Muri iki gihe ibibazo byinshi bihangayikishije abantu ni ibyakuruwe n'amazururwa yakozwe muw'1994. Amahano yabaye muri uwo mwaka yatumye haza agahu mu mahano wa bamwe muhatuye u Rwanda. Bamwe baracyafite ibibazo byo kubona mu babahakuye cyangwa babiciye ababo hari abakidegembya, ibyo bikaba byatuma bamwe muri bo bashakira kwihorera bakera ko ubucamanza bwabatereranye, cyangwa se nabo ba "Ruharwa" bagakora ibishoboka byose bagirango bazimanganye ibimenyetso byabashinje maze bakaba bakwivugana uwo ari we wese waba afite icyo azi ku byo bakoze. Niyo mpamvu rero ubutabera bugomba gukora ibishoboka byose, abakerekaho ibyaha bagafatwa, abafashwe bakaburanishwa, abatsinze bakarekurwa, maze abatsinzwe bagakatirwa, bityo icyizere n'ubusabane bikongera bigasugira mu Banyarwanda, ubwiyunge n'ubwumvikane bikaganza.

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

Nyuma y'intambara n'ubwicanyi byo muri Mata 1994, umuturage akwiyegutigiza nkana no kwirengagiza ibibazo byatewe n'ayo mahano, agakora uko ashoboye ngo asibe ibyaha byatewe n'ako kaga, agasanga umuturanyi we ngo baterane ingabo mu bitugu maze bazahurire urwababonye.

Kubera ibibi byinshi byaranze icyo gihe, kugirango abanyarwanda bongere basabane, ni ngombwa ko uwakosheje abemera kandi akagira ubutwari bwo gusaba imbabazi, bityo akaba yoroherereye ubutabera. Uwakozwe ikosa nasaba imbabazi, uwakosherejwe nawe akabona azisabwa n'umuntu ubabajwe n'icyaha cye, azamubabarira. Ubabariwe nawe agomba kumva ko bidahagije. Aramutse yarangije nk'ikintu ntibyabubuza ko yafasha nyiracyo kugisana. Ntibyabubuza kandi ubutabera gukora akazi kabwo kuko bubereyeho kunga. Ni ukuvuga ko abanyarwanda nibazzerana ko ibyaha bibi bitazongera kubaho, bazababarirana maze bakongera kubana neza.

Ibyo bizagerwaho ariko nibavugisha ukuri, haba hagati y'umuturage n'undi cyangwa se hagati y'uyobora n'uyoborwa. Kuko icyo umuntu azira ikinyoma, uwo baganira 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'ubwiyunge. Ni yiyumvisha ko uwo badahuje ibitekerezaho cyangwa batumva ibintu kimwe nawe ari umuntu kandi akaba afite uburenganzira nk'ubwe, ntamwishishe ahubwo akamusanga ngo basabane, akamugezaho ibyo amurusha, undi nawe akamuvungurira kubwo amusumbije, bazuzuzanya ndetse n'ubwiyunge buhere aho, amacakubiri acike aho gucengeza umuco wo gucagagurana.

Ikindi umuturage atagombye kwirengagiza kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ni uko abantu bose bangana, bareshya imbere y'amategeko, yagombye kumenya ko nta bwoko buruta ubundi. Nta wagombye kwirata ku bandi ngo ni uko atyeye gutya na gutya, ko asa ukwe, ko avugaga 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 icyubaho cye n'uburenganzira bwe. Kugirango rero abanyarwanda bongere basabane, abaturage aho kureba ibibatandukanya bagombye kureba ibyo bahuriyeho, aho kureba ibyo bapfa, bakareba ibyo bapfana; maze bakabona mu itandukanyirizo riri hagati yabo itegeko ry'ubwuzuzanye n'ubufatanye.



Ikindi cyatuma abanyarwanda bongere kubana neza ni uko buri muturage yakumva kandi akagerageza kurangiza neza uruhare afite mu kongera kubaka igihugu, ntarekere umutekano abasirikari n'abaporisi ahubwo nawe 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 ahubwo ni urw'ababyeyi. Agomba kwigisha umwana we kuva akivuka.

Abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza niba buri muntu ugiye gutangira umushinga cyangwa ikindi gikorwa agiye yibaza ati "gifitiye kamero ki abanyarwanda bose?". Igihe umuntu aramutse abonye inyungu zacyo ari ize bwite, ari iz'abantu bake, cyangwa hari abo cyabangamira, akakireka, akagerageza icyagirira abaturarwanda henshi akamaro. Ni ukuvuga ko kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane nta ntugunda, mu mahoro umunzeru no mu ituze, buri wese yagombye kureba icyo yakora cyangwa yamarira undi ubu ndetse no mu bibe biri imbere. Yagombye kureba icyo arusha mugenzi we n'icyo arushwa nawe maze bakuzuzanya. Yagombye kandi gutangira urwamubyeye azi ko ari we ubwe wikorera.

Na none kandi nk'uko igitsina gore kigira impuhwe kurusha abagabo, bafite inshingano ikomeye mu mibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda . dore ko ari nabo bakunze kuba bari kumwe n'abana ku buryo ari bo bagira uruhare runini ku myifatire myiza y'urubyiruko. Ikibabaje ariko ni uko bakunze gufukiranwa, ntibagire icyo bavugaga ku byemezo byafashwe n'abagabo, kabone n'aho byaba bitagororotse. Niyo mpamvu rero hagomba kugenda gahunda z'amasengano y'abari n'abategeruririra agamije kunguramibitekerezako ku cyakorwa kugirango ubwumvikane busabane, kandi imyanzuro yabo igahabwa agaciro kuko hari mu bashobora ku buryo butaziguye, gucengeza uburere bwiza mubwo barera maze bakabukurana kuko ngo "Igiti 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, bakabaca ku rwango bakabonsa umuco w'ubumwe n'amahoro, bakabasangiza umusa n'ubusabane n'ubworohereye, aho kubahindurira ba "Rusahurira mu nduru" basanga abo basangiye isano, igihugu cyacu ntabwo kiba cyaracuze induru n'imiborogo abanyarwanda barihozeye bati "Uburere buruta ubuvuke".

Ntibihagije kuba waravukiye heza kandi neza kugirango ube ingirakamaro nk'uko kera umwana yatozwe kuba umugabo, agatozwa kuba imfura, agakura bamwigisha gukunda igihugu no kukirwanira ishyamba, Uwo muco mwiza wari ukwiye gusubizwa ijamba, abana bakigishwa amateka atabogamye, maze hagashyirwaho isomo (mu ntaganyanyigisho) ryo mu rwego rw'uburere mboneragihugu rigamije gukundisha byimazeyo abana igihugu cyabo, babasesengurira imibanire y'abo mu hihe byahise, ingorane bahuye nazo, icyaziteye, n'ingamba zafatwa kugirango tubirenge. Hakwigishwamo kandi umurongo wa Poritiki igihugu kigenderaho kugira ngo umwana akure akangukiye ubusugire bw'igihugu cye.

Abarezi bagomba kuba intangarugero, bagomba kumenya ko "Uko umureze ari ko akunera". Nibo bagomba gufata iya mbere mu gutoza urubyiruko umuco n'amahoro n'ubwiyunge, aho kubashishikariza kurya inka no gukaraba inkaba, ngo umwana akure azi ko intwari ari iyishya abantu batebarika, abarerwa nabo bafite inshingano yo guhumurizanya, bakamarana intimba bungurana ibitekerezako, bakumva ko turi bamwe. Nta wavuye i Bugande, i Burundi n'ahandi, ahubwo twese turi abana b'u Rwanda.

Abarezi bagomba kwibutsa abarerwa ko uhitamo inshuti udahitamo umuturanyi. Nta wahisemo kuba umunyarwanda ajya kuvuka, kubera iyo mpamvu, Gahutu, Gatwe, Gatutsi, bagombagufatana urunana. Nk'uko abakurambere bunze ubumwe bakarukura i Gasaba kugeza iyo yiterwa inkingi.

Abanyeshuri nabo bagomba kwirinda ibihuha bidafite epfo na ruguru bagafatanya n'ubuyobozi bwa leta mu kurwanya icyahungabanya



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

Kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, no ngombwa ko URUBYIRUKO rugira uruhare runini kuko icyo twitegereje dusanga umubare munini 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 kuzikorera nabi *nyirubwaha*. Urubyiruko rugira ishyamba maze icyo rwiyeje rukagishyiraho umuhate kugirango gitungane. Niyo mpamvu rero ruramutse rwihaye intego yo kubanya neza abanyarwanda nta kabuza rwabigeraho.

Kugirango rubigereho ariko, rwagombye gusabana hagati yarwo rukabana neza maze rugahuriza ingufu zarwo mu miryango n'amashyirahamwe. Byarufasha kujya ruhura kenshi, rukaba rwaniga uburyo rwajya rufasha abanyanteye nke, kuko icyo ubasanze bumva ko biteweho maze umubano mwiza ugakomera. Urubyiruko rwagombye kandi gutegura kenshi imikino n'amamurike y'ibyo rwagezeho kuko biri mu bihuza abantu benshi bakamenyana, bakaba inshuti, maze umubano mwiza ugasugira ugasegamba.

Nta washidikanya ko ibihazo u Rwanda rwahuye nabyo, ingorane z'URUKUNGU ziri mu byabitije umurindi, aka ya nditimo ngo "MPEMUKE NDAMUKE" n'ubwo itagikwiye kuba mu bantu yarabaye. Papa Pawulo wa VI niwe wihoreye ati "Amajyambere ni indi nyito y'amahoro". Koko rero uharanira amajyambere y'abaturage aba akotanjira amahoro ku isi, kuko igihugu kidashobora kugera kuri ayo majyambere kidashimangiye ubukungu bwacyo.

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

Ubukungu bwa mbere 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 bikoreho dusanga hano iwacu kandi tugafatanyaga n'ibihugu duturanye mbere yo kwirukira ibyadusize cyane.

Ni ngombwa ko twamagana inda nini ishingiyeye ku macyi wo kwikubira no kunyonyuza imitsi y'abandi, tugaca ingeso yo kurya ruswa maze buri muryarwanda agahabwa ibyo akwiye igihe tuzaba twageze ku bukungu bushyitse, tukamagana ubunywemaze maze hakarya uwakoze, bityo ibishoboka bikaba byinshi kuruta ibyo duhaha.

Ibyo bizagerwaho nidufata ingamba zihamye z'ubutaka kuko ari wo mutungo kamere w'igihugu cyacu. Ibihazo by'imishahara y'intica ntikize na byo bigomba gukemurwa kuko bitegerwamo benshi mu bakazi bashakira amaramuko.

Kugirango rero ubukungu butugeze ku mahoro n'ubwiyunge, tugomba kugerageza gukemura ingorane tumaze kuvuga kuko "ababiri bahuye bakajya inama baruta umunani urasana". Ni ngombwa gufatanya muri byose, tugacirana, tugasukirana nk'uko abakurambere bacu babiko- raga.

AMADINI nayo afite uruhare runini mu byakorwa ngo abanyarwanda 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 na bo, bityo bakabakurikira. Kubera icyo mpamvu icyo bavuze, abayoboke bacyumva vuba kandi bakagerageza kubishyira mu bikorwa. icyifuzwa rero ni uko abanyamadini bakwigisha ubworoherane, ukubabarirana no kwiyunga. Bagombye kandi kwigisha inyigisho zihuza abanyarwanda bose bityo bakirinda izibatandukanya cyangwa izabakura umutima kuko bene izo zibabuzaga umutekano wabo. Urugero ni inyigisho zimaze iminsi zavugaga ibyerekeye ishira ry'Isi.



Hano mu Rwanda rwacu, abanyamadini bafatwa nk'abantu bakomeye kandi bavuye rikumvikana. Ibyo rero bigaragaza uruhare runini befite kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Bakwiye kwamagana akarengane igihe cyose karamutse kabayeho. Banyanirana bagatabariza abarengana ndetse byaba ngombwa bakabitangira nk'uko babyigisha. Abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza igihe cyose nta dini rizashaka kwiyanga muri Politiki kugirango igihugu kiyoborwe hakurikijwe amatwara yaryo cyangwa riyobokwe ku gitugu.

Maze rero nk'uko bigaragara, kugirango abanyarwanda bongere kubana neza, ni ngombwa ko buri wese atanga umusanzu we. Ni twebwe ubwacu tuzicyemurira ibibazo byacu. Twihumwe amaso n'inyu-  
ngu zacu, ngo ducurane, ducagagurane mu duke dufite. "Ahatari umwaga uruhu rw'Urukwavu rwisasira batanu" u Rwanda si ruto. Abanyarwanda nitwe gito. Ntihakora ubwoko hakora ubwonko. Dushimire umuntu ibitekerezaho byubaka tutitaye kucyo ari cyo nta "Muhutu, nta "Mutwa" nta "Mututsi", nta "Mukiga" nta "Munyenduga"...twese turi bene kanyarwanda.

Ibikorwa bibi by'umuntu ntibikitegurirwe aho akomoka, kandi abanyarwanda ntibagekingirwe ikibaba kubera ikimenyane. Turangwe n'urukundo, ukuri n'ubupfura, maze izuba rya Demokarasi, ubumwe n'ubutabera, ritangaze iwacu, ya Mana itaha i Rwanda inahirirwe. Ngaho munnyarwanda aho uri hose, kenyeri ubutabera witere ubworoherane, urwanye ubujiji bwo "Senga" y'ubukene n'umwiryane. "Abagiye inama Imana irabasanga" ~~Kandi ngo "Abagiye inama Imana irabasanga"~~ kandi ngo "ababiri bahuye bakajya inama baruta umunani urasana".

Hagomba ubwiyunge kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Abakoze amarorerwa bayahanirwe, abere bahanagurweho ibyaha maze duhumeke amahumbezi y'amahoro; dore na "Guverinoma y'ubumwe" yaciriye izamba uzirega akemera amakosa ye. Mutegetsi ha intangarugero uri intumwa ya rubanda, banyamakuru namwe banyamadini, mubibe imbuto y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, ubutabera buharanira ukuri buhamwe.

Muturage ni wowe "Buye nsanganyarukuta", ni wowe shingiro ry'amajyambere y'igihugu; babyeyi mutwambariro impumbya, rubyiruko namwe nimwe ngufu z'igihugu, mugire ubugiri maze ubufatanye bube intego ya buri wese.



URWUNGE RW\*AMASHULI UMURYANGO MUTAGATIFU RW\*I NYAMASHEKE

AGASANDUKU K\*IPPOSITA I2 CYANGUGU

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA IKINYAKWANDA

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA

ANYESI NKUSI - UWIMANA

UMWAKA WA GATANU W\*AMASHULI YISUMBUYE

ISHAMI RY\*IBINYABUZIMA N\*UBUTABIRE

KU WA 27 NYAKANGA 1997



Mbanje kubasuhuza mwese. Nshimishijwe n'uko duhuriye hano kugira ngo tugire icyo tunganira 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, akamubona ishusho muntu. Yamutungura amwifabaje, akamutabara atishisha.

Urukundo rwo rwabo rwari akarusho. Rwaragariraga mu bihango bahanaga hagati yabo, ku buryo nta wahemukiraga undi, ngo adatatira igihango. Mu mibanire yabo, barashyingiranaga batishishanya.

Umunyarwanda yitabazaga mugenzi we mu gihe cy'amaze, akitabira kumuvuna atitaye ku nkomo ye. Igihugu cyaba gitewe n'umwanzi, abana b'u Rwanda bakitanga batitangiriye itama; kugira ngo mu butanye bwabo babashe guhashya umwanzi ye kwigarurira 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 amacakubiri 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, wigajwe cyane mu rubyiruko, ukabatesha umuco wa ba Sogokuru na ba Sogokuruza.

UMUCO KARANDE NUHABWE ICYICARO. Babyeyi, mwibuke ko urubyiruko ari rwo Rwanda rw'ejo. Nimushishikarire guha abana banyu uburere bwiza, mubatoze umuco mwiza w'Abanyarwanda, bakure basibanganya umuco w'Abanyamahanga, bimiriye imbere umuco nyarwanda. Rubyiruko namwe, mwibuke ko ari mwe Igihugu gihanze amaso, mukazagihesha ishema mu mahanga, mu bikorwa byiza by'amajyambere. Nimufate iya mbere mu guca burundu no kwamagana umuco mubi wari umaze gushora imizi mu bana b'Abanyarwanda, haza twibumbire hamwe twongere dushubize 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 cyo avuze imbere ye, yewe yanamureba akamushishoza akabona nta cyo bahuriyeho.



Umwiryane uba wose mu Banyarwanda, ari bwo bamwe mu bana b'u Rwanda batangiye kumeshwa. Bahunze batazi icyo bagana n'uwo basanga, baratata barateragira, basigishwa ibyabo, batambagira impinga batore ubusa kandi bari batunze. Abo bana b'u Rwanda bamaze igihe n'agahye inyuma y'imisozi, baratesekara baraserera, iby'Imana bahasanga abaturanyi b'imitima nyiza, babakirana urugwiro, bashira impu mu bataturana baratuza.

Imyaka irashira indi iratana, baba bakumbuye Igihugu cyabo, ari cyo u Rwanda rwa Gasabo.

Baraterana baratekereza, bati" ubu dukwiye gutaha tugasubira iwacu i Rwanda". Ubwo basabye kuza mu mahoro, ubutegetsi bwariho burinangira, burabategeragiza bashoza intambaga, ari bwo igitero cya mbere cyagabwe mu Butara, baraharwanira rubura gica.

Ayo amacakubiri yarakomeje araranda kugeza ubwo yakuruye intambare mu Gihugu cyose, abaturage bumvira amabwiriza mabi y'ubutegetsi bwariho muri icyo gihe, hanyuma bakora amarorerwa buri Munyarwanda wese yiboneye n'amaso.

Intwari z'u Rwanda zari inyuma y'Igihugu zuzvise ayo amarorerwa ari kubera mu Rwanda, ziravugaga ziti" dutanzwe ku rugamba", ziza gutabara izo nzirakarengana. Iyo ntambare yangiye byinshi bifite akamaro, nko gusenya ibikorwa by'amajyambere, 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. Uwishe akwiye kwegera 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, akabikorana umutima ukunda ukwiye kwakira imbabazi. Uwasahuye na we akwiye gusubiza iby'abandiatagononwa, kandi akanasaba imbabazi z'ibyoyakoze ashutswe.

Bitumvikana ko imitima ya benshi yakomeretse. Hakwiye kubaho ubwiyunge cyane cyane mu Banyarwanda ubwabo. Bakirinda kubeshyerana babitewe n'inzigishya zisanze hagati yabo, ngo umuntu avuge ati" Runaka 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 akamuvugira ku mugaragaro, cyangwa se we ubwe akivugira niba akeneye gusaba imbabazi.

Tuzi kandi ko hari abagiye bahunze mu ngabo zatsinzwe, bamwe bakishyira bakagaruka baje kwica no gusahura. Mu gihe babonetse bagomba guhitwa bafatwa bagashyikirizwa ubutegetsi bubegereye, batitaye ku masano n'imitiyango. Buri muntu wese nashyireho ake, umutekano ugane iwacu, amahoro yongere asagambwe, Abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

DUSANE IBIKORWA BY'AMAJYAMBERE BIANGIJE N'INTAMBARA. Duhereye ku burezi, abana b'u Rwanda barigaga bakisanzura, ibibondo bigakura bifite uburere bwiza, byimirije imbere kujya mu ishuri ngo bimenye ubwenge nk'abandi. Bitabwagaho n'amahanga akabishima. Nyamara icyazanywe amacakubiri mu bantu cyatumye birengagiza ubwo burere bwiza bw'umwana.



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

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

Abenshi mu barezi batangira kuyobya abana, ari na 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 "Rubenda barya igicucu batazi icyo bazugamamo izuba".

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

Mu buzima bw'Umunyarwanda, yaba umwana cyangwa se umuntu mukuru, yagiraga akenshi ubuzima buzira umuze. Yafatwa n'indwara akihutira kujya ku ivuriro, bakamwitaho batajijinganya. Nyamara kandi nyuma yaho amavuriro yatawe hejuru, imiti n'ibindi bikoresho byose birasahurwa, ba magendu baboneraho, n'abatazi uko iyo miti ikoresheye.

Kubera ubuzima bw'Abanyarwanda bwahungabanye ku mpamvu 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 ritewe ubwoba, abenshi bakagenda batazi n'icyo bahungu 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'iyi 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 abogamiyeho.

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'IGIHUGU HAKORWE IKI? Ubutegetsi bwariho mbere, bwakoresheye igitugu. Mu myaka yashize, habayeho ikandamizwa rya bamwe mu Banyarwanda.

Ibyo byagaragazwaga no kurwanira icyanya mu butegetsi, hakurikiyeho irondakarere, bukitwa ubutegetsi bukorera abaturage, nyamara bwimirije imbere inyungu z'ababugize.

Ubwo butegetsi bubu bwateje ingaruka mbi mu gihugu cyose, bwinjiza ibitekerezo bibi mu Banyarwanda bamwe na bamwe, bimika ikinyoma mu mitima yabo, nyuma kiza kubera amahano ari yo "tsembabwoko n'itsembatsamba" yagaragariye amaso ya buri Munyarwanda wese mu wa 1994.

... / ...



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

UMUCO WO KUDAHANA NUCIKE. Aho imikorere mibi y'ubutegetsi bwariho ikomeje gushora imizi, abenshi mu Banyarwanda bagiye bakora ibyaha byinshi bibi, nko kwicana n'ibindi, barangiza bakigaramira ubutegetsi bubireba bu- kabyihorera. Uwo muco mubi warakomeje urakura, kugeza ubwo biraye bagatangira kwica ku mugaragaro, inzirakarengane nyinshi zirahagwa, abandi bashimishwa no gusa- hura, 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. Umuco wo kudahana ukwiye gucika mu gihugu, buri muntu agahanirwa icyaha yakoze, kugira ngo abere intangarugero abifitemo ibitekerezo bibi byo gu- kora ibinyuranyije n'amategeko. Ubutegetsi bukwiye kwamaganira kure icyateza umwuka mubi mu baturage, baga- shishikarira kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu. Ubutegetsi nibusubize amaso inyuma, burebe abasizwe iheruheru: imfubyi n'aba- pfakazi, bongere hasubizwe ibyabo, bahumurizwe, kandi bitabweho by'intangaru- gero. Ubutegetsi bukwiye gukora uko bushoboye kose, bugaca umuco wo kudahana, bwi- banda cyane cyane ku ngingo z'ingenzi zikurikira:

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

Kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu.

Ibyo byose byubahirijwe, kandi bigashyirwa mu bikorwa, ubutegetsi bwagira inshi- ngano ku baturage, bukitabira guhana umuntu wese uciye ku mategeko, bugakore- sha ubutegetsi bukwiye, bugakoresha ukuri budafite igice bubogamiyeho. Ubutegetsi bukwiye kuba ubwa buri Muturarwanda wese, akabwisanzuraho nta rinda- karere, bityo buri Munyarwanda wese akumva ko ashigikiye, nta wuhejwe mu gihugu cye, kandi atikanga umubisha wo mu gihugu wabasha guhungabanya ubuzima bwe.

MU BUCAMANZA HAKORWE IKI? Dufatiye ku mateka y'ubutegetsi bwariho ha- mbere, 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 utsi- nde bigahamagaze ruswa. Rubanda rugufi rwaraharenganiye 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 hadakurikijwe amategeko. Bigeze aho abacamanza baterera agati mu ryinyo, amakosa aragwirira mu gihugu, abateza umwuka mubi mu baturage ntibaba bagihanwa.

Abaturage bamaze kubona ko nta cyo inkiko zikibamariye, bafashe umwanzuro wo kwihanira ubwabo.

Ingero nyinshi zirabigaragaza:

- Abenshi mu bisambo bagiye bafatwa bagahita bicwa n'abaturage ubwabo, ahenshi mu turere tw'u Rwanda;
- Hari n'abahoteraga uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, bene umuntu babibona batyo, na bo ubwabo bakihorera.

Ingeso mbi yo kudahana yabaye intandaro yo guhohotera uburanganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, bituma abenshi mu Banyarwanda bumva gushukwa, baremera, bakora icyaha cy'ubwicanyi 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 ikiremwa muntu 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;
  - icyaha bihanirwa hakurikijwe amategeko;
  - imanza zose zigomba gucibwa n'inkiko zibifitiye ububasha;
  - Uregwa aba ari umwera imbere y'amategeko kugeza ubwo abagenzacyaha bamukurikirenye, basanga atabeshyerwa, bakamushyikiriza urukiko rukamuhana, yaba arengana akarenganurwa;
  - Uregwa afite uburenganzira bwo kujurira mu gihe yumvise ko atsinze bitari bikwiye. Ayo mahame y'ubutabera akwiye kubahirizwa mu nkiko zose, zaba inkiko za kantu, inkiko za mbere z'iremezo, inkiko z'ubujurire, urukiko rw'ikirenga,.....
- Ibyemezo by'inkiko bigomba kubahirizwa na bese, n'icyaha uregwa ahanaguweho, cyaba ari icyaha gikomeye cyane, kuko haba harabanje gukorwa iperereza rihagije. Abaturage na bo, bakwiye kubyumva neza kandi bakabisobanukirwa. Kugira ngo ababuze ababo babane neza n'ababateye ubwo bwigunge, uwiciye nakoreshe ukuri, yerekane uwamwiciye, hanyuma amushyikirize ubucamanza, nibumara gukora iperereza bugasanga ibimenyetso bimuhana, urega amushyire igihano kimukwiriye. Abafunzwe bazira akarengane, na bo ibyabo bigomba gukurikiranwa kugira ngo barenganurwe n'ubucamanza.
- Ubucamanza nibukorere mu mucyo, buca imanza butabogama kandi butabera, abaturage bisanzure mu nkiko bongere bumvikane baturane ituze.

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

... / ...



Abanyarwanda nibemere gukoresha ukuri, bagaharanira ubutsbera n'ubwiyunge bati-  
ziganye, bazabigeraho kandi bitume amahoro yongera kugaruka mu Rwanda, bityo nta  
mwanzi uzabamenesha ngo aze kubahungabanya mu gihe bazaba bishyize hamwe. Ubute-  
getsi 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 ashyigikiwe. Abategukwa na bo bahe abategetsi babo  
icyubahiro kibakwiye, kandi bubahirize amabwiriza bahawe n'abategetsi. Mu gihe  
ari ngombwa ko itegeko iri n'iri ryubahirizwa, ntarirengeho ariko mu bushishozi.  
Ubutegetsi bukwiye kugenzura imikorere y'inze zose, izidakora neza bakitabira  
kuziha amabwiriza azigenga. Abaturage bese bakwiye kuresha imbere y'amategoko.  
Ubucamanza bukwiye gufata iya mbere mu gukemura ibibazo by'abaturage. Abakoze  
ibyaha byo guhohotera ikiremwanuntu nibaburanishwe kugira ngo bafatirwe ibyemezo  
n'ibihano bibakwiye, maze abarengana barenganurwe. Abakoze ibyo byaha na bo, ni-  
bemere 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 aga-  
sebya u Rwanda rwose, bigeza aho uwishe n'utarishe batakigira itandukanirizo mu  
mahanga bese 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  
zihanye 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!



6  
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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TELEFONI : 8 35 27  
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UMUSHINGA: UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU BUGAMIJE 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'itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko, amarorerwa yatikije imbaga y'abanyarwanda b'inzirakarengane, muri Mata 1994. Ayo marorerwa yabaye asanga umubano w'abanyarwanda wari usanzwe urimo 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 injijuke ndetse bamwe batangiye no kujya mu mahanga kwigayo, bitegereje uburyo mu bindi bihugu by'Afurika bipakururaga ubwikanyize bw'abazungu. Mibwo rero bikusaniye bungurana ibitekerezo, maze biyemeza kuvugurura u Rwanda rw'icyo gihe.

Barahirimbanye bashobora gusezerera ababirigi bari bakandamiye u Rwanda, no kuvugurura imitegekere y'igihugu bavugaga ko itagenderaga mu nzira ziboneye. Nuko ubutegetsu bw'abami buvaho butyo. Mu gukuraho ubutegetsu 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. Imbaga y'abanyarwanda yarishwe abandi bahunga bagana mu mahanga cyane cyane mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda, abandi baguma kwihishahisha mu bihuru kugeza imvururu zihosheje maze babona kuza gusana amazu yabo yari yatwitswe andi yasenywe. Icyo icyo 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 hakamamo 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 imbaga 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 butegetsu nta kindi yikorera uretse gushyamiranya abanyarwanda.

.../...



Kubera ko icyo gihe mu Rwanda hari intambara, abanyarwanda bamwe batangiye kwikomwa ngo aha ni ibyitso by'abarwanyaga ubutegetsu bw'icyo gihe. Kwita umunyarwanda mwene wanyu ngo ni umwanzi biba imvugo yaryohereye utunwa twa benshi. Abategetsu b'icyo gihe n'abandi bari bahagarariye amashyamba avugaga rumwe n'iryari ku butegetsu bakomeje kubiba amacakubiri. Nyuma y'andi mahano y'ubugome burenze kamere bagiyeye bakora, umusaruro w'ibyo byose wabaye ririya tsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko ryo muw'1994.

Tumaze kwibonera uko amacakubiri 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 kereka usanzwe ari kabutindi, cyangwa se bikagaragara rimwe na rimwe bikuruwe 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 bibeshya ko barusha abandi bese kurukunda. Iyo urebye ibyazanye amacakubiri mu banyarwanda usanga ahanini byaratewe n'abana barwo barukunze nabi. Abo bakaba bari 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 nyamusore 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 abyitara 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 hambere boretse uru Rwanda imivu y'amaraso igatenba, bibwira ko ari ugukunda igihugu cyabo bashakira 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 kubitegura bakanabihagarikira.

Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza buri wese yagombye kwirinda gushukwa. Agashungura imvugo zose bamwongorerera hahandi mu rwihisho, ngo genda usenye hariya, wice nyanaka udutize umurindi uzabona inyungu izi n'izi. Abo bagome bakwereka ngo uriya ntimuhuje ubwoko mwivugane bakubwira ko berekeza igihugu ahagana he ? Bazi ko bakorerera 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 twaye 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 intebe iboneye bugashinga imizi mu Rwanda. Nta  
munyarwanda n'umwe utabona ko aho u Rwanda rutangiriye imanza z'aba-  
koze itsembatsemba 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 babiryoze ndetse abishe bagerekeho n'impozama-  
rira, zihabwe abo bakoreye ayo mahano aho ubwo ni abarokotse. Ariko  
ibyo bikorwe batiyibagije ko **hari** umuryango wa nyir'uguhanwa, umugore  
n'abana basigaye mu rugo ! Abo rero bo ntibagomba guhanwa kuko bo  
ari abere. Niyo mpamvu mu gutanga imitungo y'abagizi ba nabi, abo  
yasize mu rugo bagenerwa ibizabitaho mu buzima bwabo bikabakemurira  
ingorane bahura nazo. Ntibazagire ubwo bagira bati " Dore nyanaka  
na naka nibo batumye nandavura aka kageni ! " Maze bwa bwumvikane  
twashakaga kugeraho tunyuzze 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 uwasahuye u Rwanda  
atibagiwe n'umutungo w'inyandiko, izatwitswe ari n'izanyagiwe n'imvura  
bamaze gusenya amazu amwe n'amwe y'ubutegetsu. Kugira ngo abanyarwa-  
nda 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 ukumwandavuzwa bikabije, kwerekana ko yigiye ubusa.  
Ibyo byatuma abidegembya ndetse bakaba banashyingwa imirimo imwe n'  
imwe y'igihugu bitwaza ko batagize uruhare mu marorerwa yagwiririyeye  
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. Ariko kuba byatanyaga abo bibereye-  
ho aribo banyarwanda ntacyo byaba bimaze. Ubutabera bukwiriyeye guhoza  
ijisho ku itangazamakuru ko ritaba rifite akantu gato cyangwa se n'  
amarenga yo gusubiranishamo abanyarwanda nk'uko byagaragaye hambere  
aha.

Ubwiyunge bukwiye gutozwa abanyarwanda kandi  
ntihagire ugira ikimwari cy'uko uwo bagirana isano yakoze amahano.  
Ibyo ni akazi ke agomba kubihanirwa nta muntu uzira icyaha cy'undi.  
Abantu ntibashyamiyane ngo bafatane mu majosi bapfa umunyarwanda  
w'umunyacyaha 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 abashya-  
miranye ukabagira inama zibabera itara ryeyura icyo gihu cy'umwijiye  
kibuditse imbere yabo.

Ubwato buhetse u Rwanda buratsimbuwe umwerekeza  
ateye umugongo ibi bihe bibi by'amashyamba n'ubushyamiyane. Dore ubwato  
buravumera buri munyarwanda wese **afate** ingashyi tugashye tugana ku  
itsikiro, bwa busabane hagati yacu. Ubwato burava amakuba atwugarije  
ni menshi nta n'umwe wo kubura umumaro, n'udashoboye ingashyi **abuvome**  
ayo 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 zikwiye imitima yacu dusabane nk'uko byahozze.

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 bake batahasize agatwe bangerera bakarorongotana.

Hari benshi bakeneye kuvurwa agahinda, kuba umuntu yashobora kumwenyura ntibivuga ko amahoro yamusaze ! Umunyarwanda yaravuze ati " Amenyo ni amabuye aseka asize intimba mu nda." Nta busabane dushobora kuzageraho tukirimo abaraza abaraza imitima iswa baremerewe n'ibibazo byabuze gikemurwa kandi bapabitewe 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 ~~xxxxi~~ bavukijwe ababyeyi babo n'imitungo y'iwabo igasesagurwa. Ubu bariho batanariho! None se ubu Imana nibafasha bakabaho, bamaze gukura wabahingutsaho ute ibyo kubana neza n'umunyarwanda watumye barohama muri buriya buzima? Ariko rero niba ubu bafashwe bakitabwaho ntibazibagirwa ibyabagwiririyeye ariko intimba izagabanuka mu mitima yabo. Nibwo bazumva ko ababakoreye ibya mfura mbi ari abanyarwanda gito bagomba kubihambirwa, naho bo rero bakaba bagomba kubana neza n'abanyarwanda nyabo babagaragariza impuhwe n'urugwiro. Si abo bana gusa bo kwitabwaho hari n'abandi bafite ababyeyi bombi bakoze amahano none ubu bakaba bafunze bese. 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'iyi 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'imfubyi abo bese bagiriwe nabi na bagenzi babo b'abanyarwanda cyangwa se n'ingaruka z'intambara ubwayo nibarengerwe bitabwaho. Bariya bese basenyewe bakanasahurwa bagombye kubona imitungo yabo. Buri munyarwanda atuzwe areke gusembera niba untwaye imyugariro ngasigara nugariza ibiganza, nanjye sinahwema kugukanurira irihinguranya. Nibura se koko amasambu yose abe agegwa n'igihugu atari umuntu ku giti 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 bimenyemo abagome bashaka uburyo basubiza iki gihugu mu bibi cyakuwemo cyangwa se badindiza ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda. Biragaragara kenshi ko mu Rwanda rw'ejo hashize hari abakatiwe ibikingi bigakingiriza rubanda giseseka inyungu zidasobanutse. Barya babaye urwitwazo ibikingi nk'ibyo bitangwa, bakaba aribo birirwa babitaganyura bagererwa imbehe y'intica ntikize. Si amasambu gusa ashobora no kuba amazu, 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 bahondobera. Ubwangati cyangwa se impishyi bya bamwe bigire abandi bifata mu nda. Umunyarwanda atunge atuje atikanga abaza kumuhungabanya. Ubwunvikane buzatu-  
.../...



garukira umunyarwanda natura adakebagusa mugenzi we ushobora kumugirira amarorerwa. Kuko kugoyagurikira ku itaka ry'i Rwanda kandi uhahirizwa na mugenzi wawe musangiye ubwenegihugu, wiyumvamo ko ntaho ubunyarwanda bwawe bushingiye ahubwo 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. Nagiracyo akora ntazirirwa mu tubari amwenyamwenya yabuze n'amafaranga yo kunyera, yikinira amacenga n'abashinzwe umutekano. Bene nk'aho nibwo ajya mu matwi ya mugenzi we ati "Wa! wa! wa! Myanaka impamvu abayeho kuriya ni ukubera...." n'ibindi byinshi. Abayongorerwa amafuti yo gushyamiranya, amatiku akirema ari aho afite icyicaro, ni aho uduco tw'amabandi twiremera. Inzoga bayita gahuza-miryango ariko rero ntiyayihuza ibyumweru bingaha abandi bajya ku mirimo ngo bazagire icyo bageza ku gihugu. Ubusabane buzaza bigaragaye ko buri muntu yitaweho. Abatabonewe inirimo bakangurirwe gushinga amashyirahamwe ashingiye ku myuga inyuranye igaragara mu gihugu, kugira ngo baterwe inkunga maze mu nyungu z'ibikorwa byayo bakuremo ikibatunga.

#### 4° KWIMAKAZA UMUCO GAKONDO HO GUSHYIRIRWA KUBANA NEZA

Uko iminsi igenda ibisanya, niko umuco gakondo wacu ugenda ukendera, twihazamo iby'uruzungu. Mabyo si bibi kuzana amajyambere ariko se kandi dusonere umuco wacu! Niba tugira tuti "Icyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza," uhita wumva ko hari igihe bigeze kubana neza. Ni cya gihe rero cy'abasokuru bacu. Babishobozwaga n'iki? N'uko bubahaga kandi bakagendera ku mucu wabo. Kwiturira mu Rwanda rwa "Kirazira" n'ubwo byaba ari ugusubira inyuma, nyamaraga ntacyo byishe niba byadutera ubusabane. Tukiberaho muri kirazira kurya inshuti, kuba intati, kugambanira igihugu no gukora ibindi byinshi bibi, ariko ntitubeho muri kirazira kurya ihene uri umugore ngo utamera ubwanwa! Bityo tuzongere kumva akamo ka nijoro ari uko ari igisimba gisariye rubanda. Nyir'ibyago kandi nahuruzwa, ntavunirwe impuruza na Nyirarubande ahururirwe na bese maze kwa kwimika umuco kugaragarire aho. Ngo" inkovu icitse irushya abavuzi "ubwenge bwo gukunda igihugu n'abagituye ndetse n'ibikorwa bikibonekamo 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 igihango cyo kutazahemukirana. Ubu ntitubasha kunywa kuko ari umwanda wadukururira ibirwara, ababikoraga bari batarajijuka. Aho kwirirwa mu mazu n'ibigo by'ubushakashatsi uvumbura ibishobora kwicagurwa nabi n'abadashyize hamwe, wabanje ukavumbura uburyo bushya abanyarwanda bashobora kongera kunywa? Igihe kirageze ngo abanyarwanda basobanukirwe ko ibyo Ruzungu yatuzanyemo byo kuvuga ngo ubwoko ubu bwaturutse muri iki gihugu, ubu nabwo buturuka muri iki, icyo ari ikinyoma kibi cyane. N'ikimenyimenyi kuva mu mateka y'ibyo bihugu ayo moko ntaharanga. Yaritondaga agafata indeshyo y'umunyarwanda n'uburebure bw'izuru rye ati "Guhera ubu wowe ufashe ubu bwoko!" Yarabarocagije karahava ari amayeri yo kugira ngo abone uko abasahura utwabo, abone uko abigarurira amaze kubaremamo ibice.

Dushyire hamwe turwanye uwagerageza kudushoramo amacakubiri. Duhame 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 ukoshya.

.../...







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 bwiye buhamye. Abanyabyaha nibahanwa, abanyarwanda tugashobora kwiyunga, hazaba hasigaye 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 imbaga y'abanyarwanda yari yugarijwe n'ibyago by'agahomamunwa. Harakabaho abayobozi b'igihugu cyacu, bakomeza gushakisha uburyo ubusabane bwagaruka mu banyarwanda.

Barakagwira abanyarwanda bese bafite inyota yo kugarura ubwumvikane, umubano uzira agatotsi hagati yabo.

Murakoze Murakarana ! )

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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.

UMWANDITSI : S E M I V U M B I Daniel

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ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA

Ubusabane, urukundo, ubwumvane n'ubwumvikane nibyo byarangaga ba segokuru na ba sogokuruza bacu mu Rwanda rwe hambere; abanyarwanda barahuraga bagasabana bagasabana amazi n'umuriro, bagahana amahoro n'abageni, bagatahiriza umugezi umwe nta ku-gerana, bakagura igihugu, bakimura inkiko, bakazira itiku n'intugunda n'ushatse ibye kubishora agashyirwa ku Karubanda ! Aho umuzungu aziye rere ati " Aba banyarwanda ntabateye gutatana ngo mbacemwe icyuhe bacikemo ibice ntacyo nacyura ! " Nibwo arebye bamwe ati " Mwegaowa mwe muraryamirwa kandi mukaryamirwa n'abatari kavukire, biviriye imahanga baje kubaryana ibyanyu ! " Ubwo nabo bati " Burya umuzungu avuga ibye yapimye nta kabuza ni byo ! "

Ngayo amatiku Gatuku yazanye i Rwanda akabyara inzangano zatumye abibwiraga ko baryamirwa baryoje ubusa abavandimwe barabahotera amahoro ahinduka amahane, umunyarwanda ata agaciro icumbi rye riba ishyanga. Akababare ka bamwe kabaye ibyishimo n'ibigwi by'abandi; Gatuku asubiyeye iwabo Rwanda yibera igikoreshe cy'ubutegetsi bubwanzwe n'igitugu bugatoteza abere bugaheza imahanga abanyagihugu bazira amahane. Ubwo butegetsi bw'agatsinuze bwatsembye ukuri bukomeretsa imitsi y'abo bushinzwe kurengera, bubabibamwo ibibi, bibabera umusaruro udateze kuzibagirana narimwe mu mateka y'u Rwanda ariwo TSEMBABWOKO N'ITSEMBATSEMBA. Nibwo abakomeje gutotezwa nta tiku batewe bagateterezwa bakicwa, abagabo b'ibikwerere, abagere b'ibishongore, abakecura, abasaza, abasore, inkumi ndetse n'urucanda bese bahigwa bunyamaswa ibintu biradegera.

Ibyo byose byakozwe n'abanyarwanda kandi bikorerwa abanyarwanda bese 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'uwawiciye amacakubiri acibwe mu barutuye?

Inzege zese z'ubuyobezi 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 rwe rwose arebwa n'iki kibazo. Turebe noneho icyo buri rwego rw'ubuyobezi, buri munyarwanda cyangwa umunyamahanga ukunda u Rwanda bakora kugirango abarutuye bongere babane neza.

UBUCAMANZA

Ubusanzwe mu muco wa kinyarwanda, iyo umuturanyi yakoserezaga mugenzi we akamutoteza akamuhinda amuziza akamama, umuryango warabakuzaga bigahera mu gisenge; bananirana ubwo gacaca ikicara ikabicoca igaca inkoni izamba, uwakosheje agacibwa agacuma maze uwakosherejwe agacururuka, ituze rigatura umuryango ukazira induru itimwe rikagenda nka NYOMBURI ! None se ko umunyarwanda yendereje undi, ya gacaca nkuru y'u Rwanda ( UBUCAMANZA ) yahanye uwahohoteye mugenzi we, igahumuriza uwahohotewe, inzangano n'inzigo bitarafata icyicaro mu mitima y'abanyarwanda ?

Ubucamanza butabera bufite ijamba mu kazi kabwo ni inzira izira inzitanze mu bwiye bw'abanyarwanda. Niburwanye bushyizeho umwete wa muco woretse igihugu wo kudahana, nibwo 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 ibye byihebe byahahamuye igihugu. Birababaje rwose kubona amaso ku maso uwaguhemukiye akaguhakura agahitana ibyawe adahabwa ibihano cyangwa ngo aze agusabe imbabazi ! Amahoro 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 ubwishishanye mu banyarwanda buzabura icyicaro. Burya rere ubucamanza bubu buri mu byoretse u Rwanda, niye mpamvu aribwo mizere yambere mu guha isura nyaye u Rwanda rwahoranye, buhana by'intangarugero bikaba n'urwitegerereze kubashobora kugira amakosa intege. Nibushishoze mu gushakisha abashenjaguye imitima y'abanyarwanda, abari mu maboko yabwo baciye imanza, abagaragayeho ubudakemwa barekurwe basange ababw, nibwo intimba izava mu mitima y'abanyarwanda maze bature batuje batunge kandi batunganirwe. Ngurwo uruhare rw'ubucamanza mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda bakoreranye ibibi kandi ari abavandimwe.

UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU

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

Muyobozi rero haguruka uharure akayira ubwiyunge bugomba gucamo amahoro ahinde i Rwagasabo urwanya byimazeyo abigira NITUBIRIMO na ba NITIBITUREBA bitwaje impamvu ize arizo zose. Nibarwanywe bareke gushinyagurira abashengurwa n'agahinda ko kuba he nk'ibishinga barahozze bashengererwa n'ababo. Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bwo bushakira abaturage abayobozi bamwe na bamwe, niburebe niba uwo umuyobozi adashobora kuba imbarutse y'ubwishishanye mu bayoborwa. Mbere yo kugira runaka Perezida, Burugumesitiri cyangwa Konseya n'abandi, nihabanze harebwe niba koko uwo muntu afite ibitekerezo byubaka, niba ashobora kugira uruhare mu bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ababanisha aho kubanyanisha abashumirizanywe kandi ari abavandimwe.

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

Abayobozi babi basanga abasumbirijwe bakabura uko bigira, ntabwo igihugu gikeneye; hakenewe ahubwo abahuza kandi bagahumuriza abanyagihugu babafasha kungurana ibitekerezo ntabyo guterana amagambo, bagafasha abakoshejwe n'abakosherejwe bakiyunga amahoro agahinda.

Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu nibuhaguruke nibiba ngombwa bwitabaze n'inshuti z'amahanga, maze ikibazo cy'abatagira uko bigira gikemuke bumve ko bafite uburenganzira; maze agahinda n'intimba bigabamuke, ukubabarirana kubone inzira gucamo kudategwa. Burya rere iye utubaze tw'ibanze nk'utwinda, imyambaro, agasabune, ... tugabanutse, nibwo umuntu abona gutekereza ku bindi. None se umuntu azaburara kabiri, gatatu yarahoze asagurira amasoko, abure gutekereza ku wamubije ku mukanda? Iyo nzara ivanze n'ibibazo se izashira ryari ko nta wundi yatura ibibazo bye? Ubwiyunge buzaca he n'iyi nzira y'inzitane iri imbere yabwo? Rwose abo bantu nibafashwe ibyo bimuga, ize mfubye n'abo bapfakazi b'ibyabaye muri uru Rwanda bateze imbere mu mahoro urwo batuye.

Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu nibufashe ubucamanza kurangiza akazi kabwo, bushakira abacamanza batabera benshi kandi bahugukiye n'akazi kabo. Amahugurwa aheraho nabahabwe maze babone ubuho 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 ushinze ko nta we uzava mu mahanga ngo aje kubungira; aho guhungana no kumungana nibahure bavuge ku byabateza imbere mu mahoro n'ubusabane. Ibyo byose abayobozi nibabigeraho, 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, bigamiye ubutishishanye n'amahoro twifuriza u Rwanda n'abarwe. Twese uko dutuye u Rwanda, n'abarukunda batarutuye, duterwe ubugabo no kurwubaka aho kurugaba tubana nk'abibana. Turebe icyo buri wese urwego arimo rwese ( icyo akora cyose), yakora kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

ABAFITE UBUTUMWA CYANGWA INYIGISHO BAGEZA KU BANDI

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

ABARIMU

Urwego arimo urwo arirwo rwose afite abo yigisha iby'ubwenge kandi agomba guha uburere rusange. Birumvikana rero ko agomba kwirinda kuyobya iyo mbaga igamiye kuganza ubujiji, ahubwo ko agomba kuyiyobera ayirinda icyayitera kutumvikana ubwayo. Umwarimu nakangurire abanyeshuri umuco wo gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga k'uzisabwe, bakangurire kubana mu rukunde bagire ipfunde mu bupfura bakesha uwo 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 bakosheje mu ishuri bakosorwe, bizabatoza kwitaza amakosa mu buzima bwo hanze. Murezi kirezi kizira imbereka, zirikana 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'uko byagaragaye mu bihe amahano yahabwaga intebe i Rwagasabo: mu mivugo ivugitse gihanga ariko yuzuyemo amatiku atanya abo ibwirwa, mu ndirimbo zisenya zigasingiza abisiga amarase y'abaziranenge ... Inzango yawe yigire isoko y'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, ivubure amazi y'urusare asabagize urukundo mu barutuye. Himbarwa uhimba indirimbo zidasebanya ahubwo zisebya abasize u Rwanda mu kangaratete hato hatagira n'ubigira intego; imivugo ivugye ku byabaye ikangurire abaturage gusaba no guhana imbabazi; ayo makinamico yigishe kugira neza no kubana neza; ibyo byose nibigerwaho, inkunga yiyo nganzo izaba ibaye MUTAGERERANWA.

UMUNYEDINI

Nawe rwose kora iyo bwabaga uharanire icyaguhuza na mugenzi wawe mutavuga rumwe, bitewe n'impamvu izo arizo zose. Inshingane yawe yo gukangurira abantu kubana mu rukundo, nishinge imizi ntihere mu magambe; urukundo rwogere mu mbaga ya nyagasani. 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 bayoboze babo ko inzangano zisenya aho kubaka. Babakangurire ko abakoze ibyaha bagomba kwihana, bagasaba Imana n'itorero barimo imbabazi z'ibyo bakoze, ndetse bakazisaba by'umwihariko abo babikoreye kugira ngo biyunge babane neza ubuzira herezo.

Nibamamaze ubutumwa bw'Imana ariko na none bamagane bagenzi babo bamarameje mu kumara abanyarwanda, bakica batsigatiye Bibiliya, bagakorera ibidakorwa mu ngore ya Nyagasani. Rwose wowe munyedini witinya no gutunga agatoki abashaka kwitiza isura y'idini kandi baba bahuma amase 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 gutemana. 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 bakubaka 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 kubashyushya imitwe ubateranya. Mu gutara amakuru kwawe, tora yose uko yakabaye, ukugejejeho igitekerezo kiyobya ugerageze kumuyobora, iby'amakabyankuru ntibibura nabyo uzajye ubyibuka maze mbere yo kuyatanga ubanze 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 ukeshya ifaranga. Nta munyarwanda n'umwe ubaho adafite ijamba cyangwa igitekerezo yageza ku bandi, nta n'akarere kabaho katagira inkuru, ikiganiro, umuco kihariye, ... Umunsi rero uzajya gusura akarere aka n'aka, abagatuye bese bakaza bakugana, nta busabane buzaba buruta ubwo kuko n'abazaba bataziranye cyangwa batavuga rumwe, bazahura bahuriza 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 abanyarwanda guhemukirana ndetse n'icyabatera kwiyunga, n'ibinyamakuru byongere inyandiko kuri izo ngingo. Itangazamakuru nirikangurire abanyarwanda umuco wo kwemera icyaha, aho kucyitaza, cyaturwe kandi gisabirwe imbabazi byose biyane no kumva 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 bagamiye ikintu iki n'iki gishobora kubagira akamaro.

Akuzwe kugaragara ni nk'ingando z'urubyiruko ruhaje umuryango (mouvements d'actions), ibiganiro mpaka ku nteruro zinyuranye, amahugurwa y'abakozi, amanama yo hirya no hino, ... Ayo makoraniro rero ahuriramo abantu baturutse imihanda yose badahuje amoko uturere n'ibindi, gusa bahujwe n'igitekerezo rusange. Niba havugwa ingingo y'amajyambere y'ububanyi n'amahanga, y'iyobokamana cyangwa izindi, ubwiyunge ubusabane n'amahoro by'abanyarwanda ntibigahazwe inyuma; nibivugweho n'urwo ruhurirane rw'abadahuje ubwoho n'ivuko hashakire hamwe icyahuzza abatavuga rumwe, babibangikanye n'ibyo bahamagarirwa, umurimo wabo ugaba utunganikwe neza kurushaho. Abategura ibiganiro mpaka nibibande ku ngingo zikangurira abantu kubana neza kubahana no guhana amahoro. Ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda bureba buri munyarwanda wese aho aya akagera; ndetse n'ibikorwa byiza bigerwaho icyo umutuzo wuje imitima y'abatuye igihugu, ibiteza imbere umubano nibishyirwe imbere n'ibindi bizatunganywa nta kabuza.



UMUTURAGE USANZWE ( wa nyuma y'amarorerwe )

Duhere ku wakoze amarorerwa akica, agasenya agasahura. Ibyo ribyo byose na we yabonye cyangwa abonako ibyo yakoze ntaho bihuriye n'ubumuntu. Niba afite imigambi yo kubikomeza nasubize inkota mu rwubati, amaraso yasheshe arahagiye, niyunamure icumu kuko ibicumuro biramurenze, nareke kubica mu kwica ahubwo yicuze acubye uburakari bwa NYAGASANI, yikubite imbere y'abo yateye gutakara mu isibanire ry'amashyamba, abasabe imbabazi; arahire yivuma ko atazigera yongera guhemukira umunyarwanda aho aya akagera. Ibyo nabirangiza 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'iburyo ntacyo ateze kuburana u Rwanda nasabane n'abo babana n'uje amugana amusaba imbabazi abikuye ku mutima, ace inkoni izamba amubabarire ibitekerezo byo kwihorera abihungire kure kuko bikorwa n'Imana gusa.

URUBYIRUKO

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

Rubyiruko, nitwirinde ibiyobabwenge bifata umuntu akazungera, akazengera akaba igicucu yari umuntu, biri mu bya mbere byatumye urubyiruko rwiromu mahano yoretse u Rwanda, ndetse ni n'imbogamizi y'umuzi ku bwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Ahubwo aho guhurira mu tubare cyangwa mu runywere 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 bagahirimbana nta nenge, aho gutekereza 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 mpuzaza, afatire iry'iburyo igihugu cye, atange umuganda mu bitekerezo cyangwa mu bikorwa ku cyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane. Ha agaciro urwo rugori rwawe, ugendera kure amatiku atanya akenshi aterwa n'abata igihe cyabo mu tubare bagata umutwe. Irinde amashyamba asenya ahubwo ugire ayubaka maze ubihe urukundo mu bana bawe bakure batazi inzangano kuko nibo Rwanda rw'ejo.

Niba ufite umufasha mujye mufata umwanya mwicare mucoce utubazo turi mu muryango, mwigere ku mibanire yanyu n'abaturanyi ikitagenda gikosorwe. Kangurira MYUGARIRO wawe kwibuka gusaba imbabazi abo yakosereje, bizababera ipfundo 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'uwakugiriye nabi azaza akwikubite imbere ku bw'ikimwari azaba atewe n'iyi 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'umugeni yifuza; n'inkumi bibe uko ntukurikire akoko, akarere, cyangwa idini by'umugabo yifuza. Intambwe mu bwiye bw'abanyarwanda izaba itewe.

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

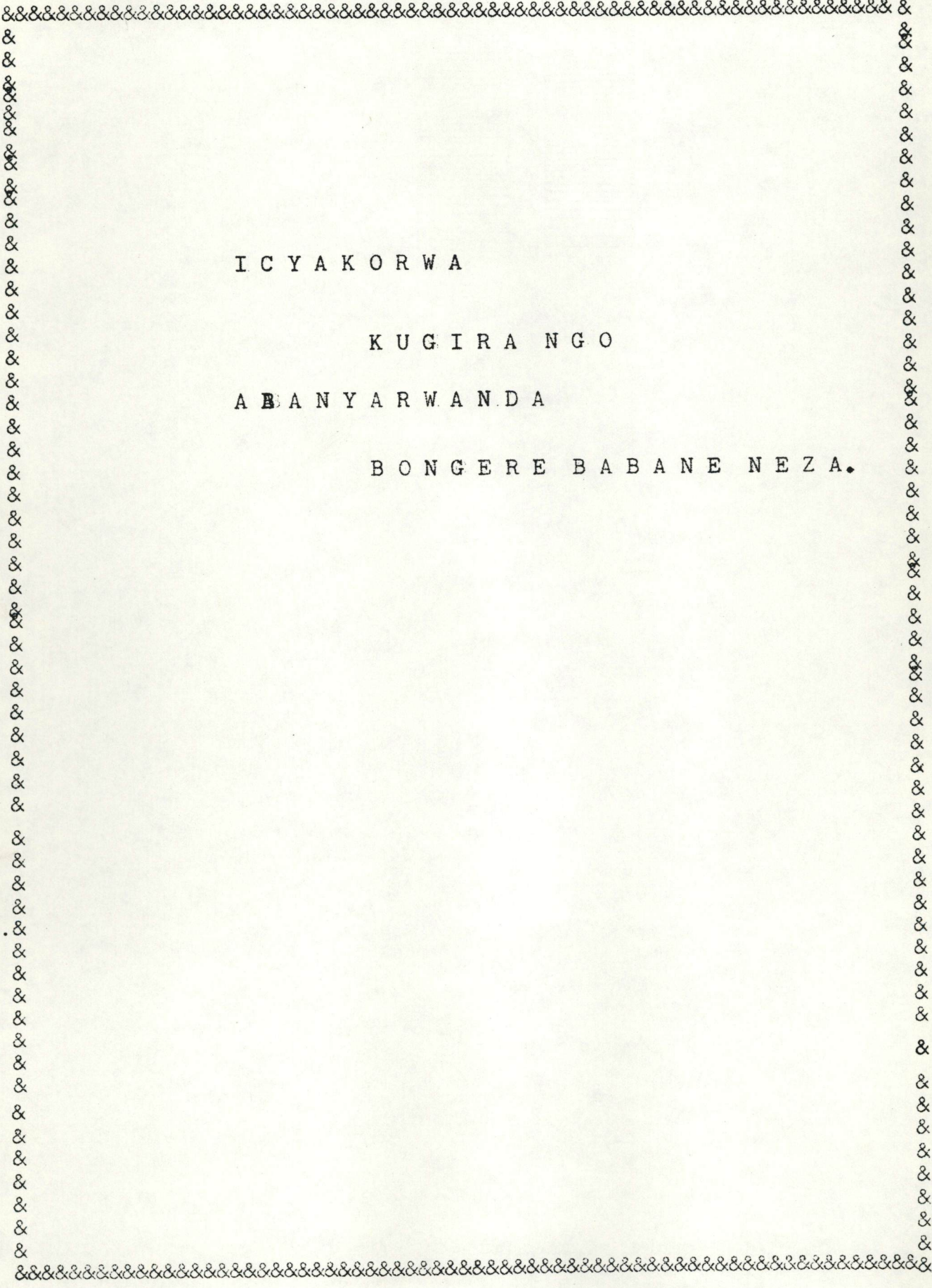
Dufatane urunana tutita ku moko, twirinde gutotezanya dutongana nk'aho tutota iziko rimwe. Nitwisungane tudasongana, tutanasigana kuko burya dusangiye sogokuruza. Nitwereke gupfa ubusa nk'abapfapfa bapfa amagambo kandi dufite ipfundo riduhuza; Noneho duhane amahoro n'imbabazi tureke guhungana no guhangana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

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

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



5



ICYAKORWA

KUGIRANGO

ABANYARWANDA

BONGERE BABANE NEZA.



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 yiyemeje 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 bayoboze 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  
Izitatuterereza ubutindi  
75. Izitatujanjika 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'icyagane  
Ari cyo cyoretse u Rwanda rwacu  
Rugacura umwijima w'urujoko  
Ukatujijisha tukajarajara.

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

140. Ndasubiza ijisho ku butabera  
Mbubaze 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 imponyano  
Maze impapuro zigatwikwa
155. Amadasiye 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 wahawe  
Utabogama na gatoya  
Utabogamiye abatoya
165. Nta ruhanda uhengamiyeho.

Wihutera ngo uhutireho  
Huguka ahubwo wihweze  
Uzirikane ko ukuri gukwiye  
Ariko kuzakemura izo manza.

170. Ubutabera ni bwo bukenewe  
Ngo ubwiyunge ~~ubushyikire~~.

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  
Nabo bubake urwababyaye.  
Banyarwanda bana barwo  
Ubwenge bwacu bugana hehe
190. Ubwo bwiyunge budaharaniwe  
Ngo bwongere bwagagaze  
Bwaguke bukuze uruharo  
Uruhare rwacu turugaragaze  
Amahoro yaguhunze ga ahunguke
195. Anaduhuze duhimbazwe  
No kuzahura agahugu kacu  
Gato gatuwe nyamara keza  
Kazamuke kuje ubwuzu  
Ubwiza bwako bwamamare
200. Ari mu mubano w'abatuye  
Ari mu majyambere ingeri zose  
No mu bukungu dukungahare  
Abatureba batwifuze  
Badusingize abadusanga
205. Dusakare ku isi hose  
Dufite isheja ritangaje  
Rimwe ritungura abatatuze.  
  
Ibyo bizagerwaho mbabwire  
Tugenda agatoki ku kandi
210. Kandi twungurana izo nama  
Mu runana, abana barwo  
Umuyoboro mwiza w'abatuyobora  
Gutekereza kw'abarutuye  
Intambwe nziza y'ubutabera
215. Ubuvunyi bw'abaruka  
Ubuvuze 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 tunganira  
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 haha ngaha  
Navuze mwumva sinavunika
235. Kandi mwese ndabizeye .  
  
Igisubizo cyanyu . kinejeje  
Ndagitegereje nuje ubwuzu  
Kizabe cyiza kandi bwangu  
Ubwo bwiye ni bwo bukenewe
240. Mwibuke hadakekwa ikindi  
Kandi rwose muzasanga  
Kunsubiza bidaserereza  
Ntibisobetse birasiguye  
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 bwiye.

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C/O E.N.T. KIBUYE 5è A.  
B.P 13  
Tél. 68.156



MUGIRANEZA THEODOMIR

URWUNGE RWAMASYURI RW'I GAHINI

B.P. 88 RWAMACANA

URWAKA WA GATAMU W'INDI'I N'UBWANGAMIZO

GUTANGA IBITEKEREZO.

20



INTEGO: ICYAKORWA MUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA  
BONGERE BASABANE.

Nyuma y'uko igihugu cyacu kirahama mu marorerwa y'itsembatsembe n'itsembabwoko, ni ngombwa ko buri munyarwanda yacura urufunguzo rw'ibitekerezo bishya, bigamije kuzahura imibanire ya Kanyarwanda, u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rutaba igihugu kibira ikizinga cy'umwiryane n'ubushyamba.

Ni muri urwo rwego nkimara kumva uyu 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) mpereye ku migenco myiza ya gipfura, (ubusabane no kwanga umugayo) ndicara ndabiyungurura bimera akabando ko gusindagiza ibitekerezo byanjye, ngo mbonereho kubagezaho icyakorwa mugirango abanyarwanda bongere basabane, bature, batuze, ndetse batunganyirwe.

Dukurikije igihe tugezemo, tukanafatira ku mucu nyarwanda w'abasekuruzabacu, no ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda (mbere y'uko ruba igisare cy'ibiziga, bitewe na ba Rusahuriramunduru), ni ngombwa ko dukoresha isabune igomba kweza ibyo biziga, u Rwanda rwacu rukongera rugatamba ituze n'umutekano bibereye abaturutse, ndetse n'amahungu akarwifuzwa.

Ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda bufite insinzi n'umuti mu bayarwanda ubwabo, kandi bese bashyizeho akabo nk'uko urugingo rwifashisha urundi, maze bikagera ku gikorwa kigaragara. Niyo mpamvu buri munyarwanda akwiye gutera mugenzi we indanga mu kubaka iki gihugu cyacu.

Muri iyi nyandiko irambuye, hakubiyemo ingingo z'ingenzi, zishobora kuba isoko y'ubwiyunge bwa bene kanyarwanda. Ngo "Umutwe umwe wifasha gusara ntiwifasha gutekereza". Niyo mpamvu mugirango mvuge kuri izi ingingo zikurikira, zungamire izi abandi badahwema gushaka umuti w'ubusabane bw'abanyarwanda:

1. GUKORERA MU MUCYO KW'ABATEGETSI ARIYO MUKINGI Y'UBWIRYANE BW'ABANYARWANDA.
2. GUKORERA MU MUCYO KW'ABATEGETSI ARIYO MUKINGI Y'UBWIRYANE BW'ABANYARWANDA.
3. KWIBAGIZA NO GUKORERA AMATEKA MABI YARANZE U RWANDA.
4. IMIKORERE Y'UBURABERA.
5. KUMVA KO DUSENYERA UMUGOZI UMWE.
6. KUZAMURA UBUKUNGU BW'IGIHUGU CYACU.
7. KUGARUKIRA IMANA.
8. IMIKORERE Y'ITANGAZA MAKURU.

1. GUKORERA MU MUCYO KW'ABATEGETSI ARIYO MUKINGI Y'UBWIRYANE BW'ABANYARWANDA.



Urukene, ubujiji n'indi mibereho mibi ya bene kanyarwanda, ni bimwe mu byabaye intandaro y'uburiganya n'umwinyane muri uru Rwanda rwacu rwatembaga ituze n'umutekano. Leta y'u Rwanda ibifashijwemo n'impuguke zo mu nzego zinyuranye, 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 igihugu gitanaze kizira amapfundo.

Ntibizashoboka ku murwa 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 twivomere ku isoko y'urubogobogo itemba umutekano, amahoro, n'ubusabane. Nk'uko tuzi ko impunzi zirimo ibyiciro 2, (Ni ukuvuga izahuzwe muri 1959 n'izo muri 1994) kandi bese bakaba ari abanyarwanda bagomba kumererwa neza, tukongera tukibaruka akaririmbo k'ubusabane n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda.

Leta y'u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda bese, bagomba gukora ibikorwa:

\*Kubakira uwitwa umuryarwanda wese uafite aho kwikinga bitewe n'intambara cyangwa se izindi mpanvu zitamuturutseho.

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

Burya icyo umuntu afite icyo arya, n'aho yikinga, umutima we utahamwe ubuhoro. Leta igomba rero kubakira uwitwa umuryarwanda wese utagira aho yikinga kandi bese bakongerana (mu midugudu), kuko icyo gihe ntawe uzajya guhuguzwa inzu afite indi:

Leta igomba gushakira urubwiruko uburyo bwo kwibumbira mu mashyirahamwe aho uzajya rushishikazwa n'umurimo, aho gushishikazwa no gucura amagambo n'ibikorwa bisenya. Icyo gihe urubwiruko ruzatara indirimbo y'ubufatanye rwakirane mu bitero aho gutera indirimbo y'amaganya buri wese yigunze ukwe.

\* Gushakira umutekano uhamye abanyarwanda bese bizatuma bakora batishisha, igihugu cyacu cyongere kibe inyabutatu izira gusobana cyangwa amapfundo.

Erega ubu turubaka dusana ibyasenyutse si ugutangira bundi bushya. Kubaka inzu rero utarayitangiriye biragoye. Abanyarwanda rero bagomba kumererwa neza, bakabona ibibatunga bakitabwaho na Leta, nabo bagashyiraho akabo bakigomwa imbaraga zabo, zose, kuko burya umudiho uva mu itako kandi ntawe 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 imiguzi y'ubusabane n'ibiti by'umutekano, u Rwanda rwacu tukongera tukarutanaga. Mu maguru mashya, impunzi izo arizo zose z'abanyarwanda zilwiye kwitabwaho by'umwihariko.

2<sup>a</sup> IMFUBYI: Burya ngo "uburere buruta ubwuke". 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 urubwiruko, kandi ariyo mizero y'u Rwanda. Imfubyi z'abanyeshuri zigomba kwiga zikanitabwaho, abana bato bagahabwa uburere bwiza ku buryo bakura ari abagabo bibitekerewe byubaka, kandi ngo "igiti kigororwa kikiri gito".

.../...



3<sup>a</sup> UBURINGANIRE: Tuzi ko iyi nyanja y'ibibazo twarohanyemo yatowe n'ivangura, ironda kare - re no kwikubira. Leta y'u Rwanda nka Leta ikorera abaturage, igomba kwamamaza amatwara y'uburinganire mu banyarwanda buri wese akumva ko ataruta undi, abantu bakaruturwa hakurikijwe ibitekerezo n'ubushobozi ku kazi. Ibyo bigomba gusakazwa kandi bigacengezwa mu baturage bose, hakoreshejwe amanana menshi, akungurira abanyarwanda kubana neza, ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, ibinyamashuri na radiyo y'igihugu.

## 2. GUKORERA MU MUCYO KW'ABATEGETSI AMIYO INKINGI Y'UBWIRUKIJE BW'ABANYARWANDA.

Burya ubutegetsi bw'abaturage bukorera abaturage ni inkongi 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 byahesheje isura mbi u Rwanda rwa Gasabo.

Nk'uko twiyemeje kugendera no gukorera mu mucyo Leta y'u Rwanda ikwiye kuba Leta ihanywe 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, igihugu cyacu gisubirane isura cyahoranye.

Urugero: Niba ivuze ko imfubyi zigomba kwiga cyangwa abakene bagomba kwitabwaho, ikabyizeza abaturage, ikizere ntikikazabe ikiraje amasinde ahubwo bijye bishyirwa mu bikorwa, intimba n'agahinda k'izo mbabare bizasimburwa no kwishimana n'abandi banyeshuri ndetse bumva bamereye neza mu bandi.

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

## 3. KWIBAGIZA NO GUKORERA AMATEKA MABI YARANZE U RWANDA.

Itawakwiyibagiza amateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda atabanye kumenya amavu n'amavuko yayo. Ubundi mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu wasangaga abanyarwanda babanye neza ibyo bikagaragazwa no gushyirirana, guhana inkya, kanywana .....ntawitaye ku bwoko bw'undi cyangwa akarere, ubwo byarakomeje kugeza aho umuzungu abuze uburyo bwo kudutegeka 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 gukurikiza ya mvugo ivuga ngo" si ibya nyakuvugwa n'ibya nyakwihorera". Bishatse kuvuga ko ibyabaye byose bifite urufunguzo twakwita ivangura bikwiye gutabwa mu bisimu aho bitazongera gutora ubuzima-gatozi bikaba byakongera gutera abanyarwanda gucure urufunguzo rw'ubushyamba.

Igisimu nta kindi, ni ukubitera umugongo bakabyikura mu mitima yabo, aho gusubiza amaso inyuma uhindukirije ibumoso, ni ukuvuga wibuka ibibi byose byakubayeho ugahindukirira iburyo n'uko twese abanyarwanda tukivomera ku isoko y'abakurambere bacu, mbere y'uko u Rwanda rwa bene kanyarwanda ruruhama mu nyanja y'amashyamba.

Tuziko politiki mbi ishishikaye cyane urubiruko(mu mashyamba ya politiki ya rutwitsi). Ni ngombwa ko Leta ibifashijwemo n'abaturage bose babumbira urubiruko mu mashyamba aho bazaranga n'ubufatanye mu kazi kazo aho kwigunga buri wese ukwe,

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bakanahabwa icyigisho zikosora amateka mabi. icyo gihe, urubwiruko ruzatunira ababyeyi bi-zihirwe, bagabwe neza ndetse baruhurwe mu butaramo n'ubufatanye, maze abanyarwanda twese ducinye akaziho, ubusabane bube bwose kuko nta cyo 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 kudutogeka). Biba ihame birigishwa, ingaruka yabyo iba gusubiranamo kwa bene kanyarwanda, ibyo bintu nta shingiro bifite nimucyo rero twiyibagize ayo mateshwa adafite aho ashingiye, kuko ubu dufite abagabo bibitekerezo bizina, kandi imvane yabyo byose yari ubujiji.

#### 4. IMIKOMERE Y'UBUTABERA

Muri iki gihe tugezemo, bagomba ubwitonzi n'ubushishozi kugirango ubutabera burusheho gutunganya imirimo bushinzwe. Kubera ko abanyarwanda bagize igikomere cyo kubura ababo, bikaba bigoye kwirungira uburyo bwo kubura, ni ngombwa ko buri umunyarwanda wese atekereza ku kibazo cy'ingutu u Rwanda rufite, maze akumva ko nawe afite uruhare mu kubikemura, akunganira ubutabera mu guca imanza z'abakomere u Rwanda binyuze mu nzira y'umucyo. Muri urwo rwego abaturage ntibagomba guhisha abanyamakosa cyangwa abakoze ibyaha bikomeye, aho - bwo bagomba kubashyikiriza ubutegetsi bakaba barohereje ubutabera akazi. icyo gihe ubutabera buzakora akazi kabwo abanyarwanda babone kumererwa neza.

Ubutabera bugomba guhana abakoze ibyaha bakurikijwe uburyo babikome:

- \* Abishe bagomba guhanwa by'intangarugero kugirango n'abandi bareberaho.
- \* Abasahuye bagomba gushyirwa mu gacaca ka kivandimwe bakanyozwa amahano bakoze bakongera bakagira ijamba 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 icyiruru, akongera akagira ijamba mu bagabo.

Mu rwego rwo kworohereza ubutabera, abasahuye bagomba kugororwa n'imiryango muri gacaca, aho kwirirwa bafungiyemo mu mazu barira ubusa nta gukora, kuko aribwo bazongera bakagira umwanya mu bandi nabo bagakorerwa urwababyaye.

Ubutabera ntibugomba gukingira ikibabababira abagiranabi, bilanda gukururwa 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 bakongera bagasabana.

#### 5. KUBA KO DUCINYERA IMUGOZI UBUWE.

Umunyarwanda yarihoze ati " ababiri bisho umwe" . Tuzi ko mu kinyarwanda nta mugani umuna ubusa. Banyarwanda rero dukwiye kwicirira tugashyirira amaso inyuma, tukareba ubufatanye bw'abasekuruza bacu maze tugatumanaho imitanga, tukakorera hamwe tutikoresheje, dutaganyiriza igihe kizaza.

.../...



Leta y'u Rwanda ifatanyije n'abanyarwanda bese, ikwiye gutanga inyigisho z'ubufatanye mu buhinzi n'ubworozi, dore ko ariyo nkingi y'ubukungu bwacu. Icyo gihe abanyarwanda bazashishikarira umurimo kandi babone umusaruro utubutse, ndetse bashishikarire gusabana mu kazi kabo, bumve ko bese batera indirimbo y'ubufatanye bakuramba mu bitero, ntawe usigaye mu mayagi. Nk'uko umubiri w'umuntu ugizwe n'ibice bitatu by'ingenzi, (umutwe, amaboko n'amaguru ndetse n'igihimba) kandi buri gice kigukenera ikindi, mugirango bisoze inshingano yo kubaka umubiri, ni ngombwa ko inyabutatu nyarwanda igomba gukenera hamwe, natwe tugasoze inshingano yo kubaka u Rwanda. Leta y'u Rwanda nayo igomba gukangurira abanyarwanda ubwo bufatanye dore ko yataye n'intambwe yo kubatuzza mu midugudu aho bazaba begeranye.

#### VI. Kuzakura ubukungu bw'igihugu cyacu.

Iyo igihugu iki n'iki abaturage bamerewe neza babona ibibatanga n'ibindi bakenera mu buzima, ntawe ugirira ishyamba undi kuburyo usanga bese bagarira nta kibazo bakamashyikirana kivandimwe.

Kubera icyo mpanvu ni ngombwa ko kuzakura ubukungu bw'iki gihugu cyacu ari bimwe mu byatumye habaho ubusabane.

Leta y'u Rwanda ibifashijwemo n'impuguke mu by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, ikwiye guteza imbere iki gikorwa hakaboneka umusaruro utubutse w'inyaka n'ibikomoka ku matungo, abaturage bakamererwa neza aho guhagarika umutima bibaza icyo barurira, bavuye ngo icyamba kanaka ntabwo, ngo nitwarire ibye, bigatuma bagirana ishyamba ariyo ngabo y'ubushyamba mirane.

-Leta ikwiriye gukangurira kandi abanyarwanda bese ko barobwa n'ikibazo cyane cyane cy'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi kuko ariyo nkingi y'ubukungu bwacu.

Leta y'u Rwanda ikwiye gutera inkunga abanyenganda n'abanyabukorikori mugirango babone uburyo bwo kwakira abakozi benshi, aho bazashishikarira gutera, aho kwirirwa bazengera mu mijyi n'ahandi, abandi bimereye neza, bikaba byatera abo babuze akazi kubagiriye nta n'isshyamba, ubusabane nyarwanda bukaba bujemo igitotsi.

Abacuruzi bakwiye kworohereswa na Leta mugirango akazi kabo kagende neza. Ibyo bizatuma habaho uburumbuke bw'ibintu binyuranye kuburyo abaturage babifashijwemo na Leta basajya babona ibyo bakenera bitabagoye.

Leta y'u Rwanda nayo ikwiye gukangurira kumvisha abanyarwanda ko buri wese afite uruhare mu kubakira ubukungu bw'igihugu cyacu. Icyo gihe basitabira gukorerwa hamwe maze bajye inama basabana kivandimwe aho kuba buri wese nyamwigendaho akirirwa yigira inama yo guhungabanya ibikorwa by'amajyambere cyangwa amagambo amwe aseruye aho gucura amagambo yubaka.

#### VII. Kugarukira Inama.

Banyarwanda, batura Rwanda, u Rwanda rwacu rutaragira igitutsi cy'itsenbabwoko n'itsenbatsemba Inama yivirwaga ahandi igataha i Rwanda. Inama nayo ntikorera mubiteyihisha icyubahiriro (amahano, ubushyamba n'urwiyane) akubwo ikorerwa mu macyi kandi ntiyanga abanyabyaha akubwo yanga ibyaha. Dukwiye nayo gusubiza amaso inyuma tukareba ibitarayinejeje twayikoreye maze tugaca bugufi tukayigurukira, ubwo nayo ikongera igafungura amayira yayo n'ubwo itigeze idutererana, ikajya yivirwa ikanataha i Rwanda buri macyi. Kubera icyo mpanvu, abanyamadini n'abandi bazobereye iby'ijambo ry'Inama babifashijwemo na Leta, bakwiriye kujya bagenderera abaturage b'ingeri zose, babereka ibyiza

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Imana yakoreye abantu aba n'aba n'uburyo ntawe igya itererana ariko atari bya bindi byo guca abantu intege babatera ubwoba, bagacika rukondero. Icyo gihe abantu bashakirana imitima yabo bumve ko ibyo bakora byose babifashwano n'Imana kandi bibuke ko idakorerwa mu kavuyo akubwo ikorerwa mu mucyo nabo bahereke bareke amatika n'amashyamba bibuke ko ifasha abishyize hamwe.

#### VIII. IMIKORERE Y'ITANGAZAMAKURU

Tuzi ko itangazamakuru naryo ryagize uruhare rukomeye mu itsembatsemba (Radiyo y'impuzamugambi, kangura n'ibindi biryamakuru) mu kumamaza amatwara no guhamagarira abanyarwanda kuryana. Kubera icyo mpamvu itangazamakuru rigomba kugira uruhare mu busabane bw'abanyarwanda:

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

- Radio y'igihugu igomba kugira no kugeza kenshi ku banyarwanda amatangazo ashimishije kandi anogeye amatwi, ahamagarira aba yanywanda kwiwunga no gusabana ikomabereka akamara kabwo. Icyo gihe abanyarwanda igihe bazaba basoma ibyo biryamakuru cyangwa bumva icyo matangazo bazibonera akamara ko gusabana no kubana kivandimwe maze bahagurukire icyarinwe bashyira mu bikorwa ibyo basomye cyangwa bumvishe.

Leta y'u Rwanda igomba gishyiraho itangazamakuru ko rigomba kugenderera abaturage b'ingeri zose bakabacengezamo uburyo abantu basabana n'inyungu yabyo, maze aho babicengeje byabagiyemo bakabitangaza mu biryamakuru no kuri Radiyo. Icyo gihe abandi nibabanywanda bazafata urugero maze nabo bahagurukire kwiwunga no gusabana.

Ni ngombwa ko itangazamakuru ribifashijwemo na Leta rigomba kwitabira akazi karyo kandi ritangaza amakuru yizwe naza, rikorerwa mu mucyo kuko naryo rifite uruhare mu busabane n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda.

Banyarwanda, batwara rwanda, nk'uko twabibonye mu magambo arambuye akubiyeye muri iyi nyandiko, nimucyo duhagurukire icyarimwe, maze dusane urwatumye. Kwibuke ko twabakira dusana ibyasenyutse, atari ugatangira bundi bushya. Burya kandi ngo "utana yubaka aruta usenyaye". Duhagurukire icyarimwe, dushyiraho urwete kuko birashyamba kuvunika ariko ngo "ushaka inkanga anyama nkazo".

Tubabwirane maze dusubire mu gacaca ka kivandimwe, twibuke ko ubujiji ariyo soko y'aya magorwa turimo, bwagiye nk'ifuni ihese. Rubyiruko dufatane urunana maze dukize uru Rwanda igitutsi rwagize, twibumbire mu masyirahamwe, maze umubano n'ubusabane abe aribyo bituranga kuko ariyo migozi n'ibiti bisatanaga uru Rwanda rwacu.

Dutabarane dutera ikirenge mu cy'abaturambere bacu, twite ku mfubyi abakene n'abandi bakomeye kwitabwaho, maze imana irushaho kuduhozaho ijisho idufasha muri byose. Leta y'u Rwanda n'insoko zose z'ubutegetsi, irasabwa nayo inkunga, ikitanga igakorerwa abaturage, ikarungwa n'umucyo, maze twese abanyarwanda; abaturu n'abato tukarushaho guhamagarira kubana no gusabana kivandimwe, u Rwanda rukongera rugashyiraho ubusugirwa rwahoranye. Nimucyo rero amazi ataranga inkombe cyane, maze tukongera kurohama mu nyanja y'ubushyamba ne n'umwiyane, dufatane urunana dukangurukire ubufatanye.