

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

NI IKI CYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERA KUBANA NEZA ?

HAGABIMANA Ewujeni
Umwaka wa gatanu w'indimi
Urwunge rw'amashuri rwa Cyanika.
B.P 18 GIKONGORO

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA

I. IRIBURIRO.

U Rwanda muri iki gihe rufite ikibazo cy'ingutu , cyo gushaka uburyo abanyarwanda bakongera bakagarura ubumwe n'ubwizerane hagati yabo. Iki gihugu cyacu kizwi ku izina ry'igihugu cy'imisozi igihumbi , ni kimwe mu bihugu bike byo ku isi bituwe n'abaturage bahuje umuco n'ururimi mbese bahuriye kuri byinshi. N'ubwo bwose abanyarwanda bahuriye kuri byinshi bitaba ahandi, ikibabaje kandi gitangaje ni uko babirenzeho bakangana , kugezaho bakorerana ubwicanyi bw'agahomamunwa butigeze burangwa na hamwe mu bindi bihugu . Itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba byabaye mu Rwanda mu 1994 ntaho rihuriye n'andi yabaye na gato. Ibi byose n'ubwo byabaye, ubu amazi ntararenga inkombe , abanyarwanda bashobora kongera kubana neza babishatse kandi bakabishyiramo umwete. Reka turebe icyakorwa muri iki gihe kugira ngo ubwiyunge bwifuzwa bugerweho.

Kuva kera na kare gihanga yahanga u Rwanda , abanyarwanda ntacyo bapfaga. Ahubwo barumvikanaga cyane bikaba bigaragazwa n'ubufatanye bwabaga hagati yabo nko gutabarana, gufashanya, kunywana, gushyingirana n'ibindi. Biberagaho basangiye gupfa no gukira. Mbere yo gushaka icyakorwa ariko ngo abanyarwanda biyunge, tubanze turebe icyabatanyije kigahungabanya bwa bumwe bari bisanganiwe kuva kera.

Icyambere cyatanyije abanyarwanda ni ingoma ya gikoronize yaje irobanura abanyarwanda bamwe ibaha ubumanzi kamere , abandi ibaha ubusembwa bwa bacisha umutwe. Icyakabiri ari nacyo nyirabayazana ni inda nini no gushaka kwibira ibyiza by'igihugu abanyarwanda bafiteho uburenganzira bungana. Bikaba byaragiye bireberwa n'ubutegetsi bubi bwagiye busimburana muri iki gihugu , ndetse rimwe na rimwe akaba ari n'abategetsi babikoraga.

Nubwo ariko aka kaga kose kabaye mu gihugu cyacu, kwiyunga , abanyarwanda bakongera bakabana neza, ndetse bakanarusha n'uko byahoze mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu, birashoboka. Dore ibintu by'ingenzi mbona byatugeze ku bwiyunge kandi nkaba nsaba buri munyarwanda ukunda u Rwanda kubishyigikira :

- kwigisha amateka uko ari kandi bigahera mu rubyiruko rwo Rwanda rw'ejo,
- ubutegetsi bwiza kandi bubereye abaturage,
- gutuza abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose hamwe,
- ubutabera butajenjetse kandi bukurikiza amategeko,
- gusabana imbabazi no kubabarirana,
- uruhare rw'amadini yemewe na Leta,
- kubahiriza ikiremwamuntu,
- uruhare rw'urubyiruko.

Reka dusesengure ingingo ku yindi , tugaragaze uruhare rwayo.

II. INGINGO Z'INGENZI UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE BYASHINGIRAHU.

A. Kwigisha amateka uko ari.

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu, abanyarwanda babanaga neza, basangiye byose. Abazungu aho bagereye mu Rwanda basanga batashobora gutegeka u Rwanda kuko abaturage bari bashyize hamwe. Ubwo abazungu biga politiki ya "mbatanye mbategeke". Bagerageza guhimba amateka atari yo yumvisha abanyarwanda ko badakomoka mu Rwanda, ahubwo bakabereka aho buri gice cyaba cyaraturutse. Ntibyaciriye aho kuko bagiye banerekana kamere ya bamwe mu banyarwanda abandi batagira. Ubwo imbuto y'urwango mu banyarwanda ibibwa ityo. Ikibabaje n'uko abanyarwanda babifashe nk'ihame maze icyari ubumwe hagati yabo gihinduka amacakubiri.

Dufate nk'urugero rumwe rw'ibyo abazungu babeshye abanyarwanda. Bumvishije abanyarwanda bamwe ko bakomoka muri Etiyopiya, ko kamere yabo igomba gutegeka kuko ari abanyabwenge. Ku rundi ruhande bumvisha ikindi gice ko inkomoko yabo ari muri Cadi, kandi ko batemerewe gutegeka. Babeshya abanyarwanda ibintu byinshi nkaho babarusha kumenya u Rwanda. Ibi byose icyo byari bigamiye kwari ukwanganisha abanyarwanda, ngo babone uko babategeka.

Aya mateka y'igihugu akocamye ni nayo yagiye yigishwa mu mashuri. Ibyo byakuruye inzangano mu banyarwanda kuko bumvaga badahuje. Izi nzangano zagaragajwe ubwicanyi bwagiye buba mu gihugu cyacu uko imyaka yagiye isimburana kuva mu 1959 kugeza 1994. Icyagaragaje cyane ko inzangano abazungu bifuzaga mu banyarwanda zagezweho ni uko ubwicanyi bwakomeje nyuma y'ubwigenge, kandi abenegihugu aribo bategeka.

Aya mateka atari yo akosowe vuba yadufasha kugarura ubumwe n'ubwizerane mu banyarwanda. Ni ukuvuga ko ibyo kuvuga ngo baturutse aha cyangwa se ngo se ngo aba bavukana ubumwami uba ubusembwa, bigomba gucika mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu kuko twese duhuje kuba abanyarwanda.

Uru ni urugero rumwe ariko hari n'ibindi byatanije abanyarwanda bigomba kuvanwa mu mateka. Ibi bikozwe vuba urubyiruko rw'ubu n'urw'ejo rugakurira mu Rwanda ruzira ikinyoma, ejo hazaza igihugu cyacu cyaba ari paradizo, ari u Rwanda ruzira ivangura rutakirangwamo amacakubiri.

B. Ubutegetsi bwiza kandi bugendera ku mategeko

Iyo urebye ibibazo dufite usanga byinshi bikomoka ku butegesi bubi. Nk'icyakuririje ubwicanyi n'inzangano mu bana b'u Rwanda ni ubutegetsi bubi bwavanguraga abanyarwanda. Ubutegetsi bwari bugizwe n'abantu bashakaga guheza abanyarwanda bamwe ku murage w'igihugu cyabo, bakumvisha bamwe ko ari abanyarwanda kurusha abandi, kugeza aho igice kimwe kiswe abanyamahanga. Ubu butegesi bwatoneshaga bamwe bukandamiza abandi nibwo bwadukururiye itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ryo muri 1994.

Abanyarwanda barababaye bihagije. None aho igihe kigeze, abanyarwanda bari bakwiye kwicara bakibaza. Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Igihugu ifatanije n'abanyarwanda bose bagatangira urugamba ruganisha ku bumwe n'ubwiye. Ubutegetsi bubi aho bwatugejeje ntawe utahazi, niyo mpamvu abanyarwanda twese tugamba gushyigikira Leta igendera ku

mategeko, Leta igizwe n'abantu bumva ko ubutegetsu butangwa n'abaturage kandi ko ari bo bugomba gukorera. icyingenzi muri byose ni uko twifuza Leta idashingiye ku ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose, ryaba iry'uturere,, amadi, amoko n'ibindi. Muri make iyi Leta izaba ikorera bese kandi itagira uwo iheza, izagira uruhare rugaragara mu kugarura ubumwe n'ubwizerane mu banyarwanda.

C. Gutuza abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose hamwe.

Ibi byo kwegeranya abanyarwanda mu miturire nabyo byagarura umubano mu banyarwanda. Abanyarwanda igihe bazaba baturanye neza bazajya baboneraho akanya ko gusabana . Aha Leta igomba kwirinda gutuza bamwe mu mudugudu umwe, abandi mu wabo. Urugero: Abacitse ku icumu ntibatuzwe mu mudugudu umwe ,ngo abandi bantu batuzwe mu mudugudu wabo, ahubwo bagatuzwa bavanze kugira ngo babashe gushyikirana; impunzi za vuba n'iza kera nazo zigaturana mu mudugudu umwe. Ibi bigezweho abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bagaturana, byaba inkingi ikomeye y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda.

D. Ubutabera butajenjetse kandi bukurikiza amategeko

Ubutegetsi bubi bwaranze iki gihugu, bwagiye bunishyiriraho ubutabera bwifuza. Bityo umuco wo kudahana uba akarande mu Rwanda. Birumvikana ko hari uruhande rumwe rw'abanyarwanda rwahoranaga ipfunwe ryo kubona barengana bakabura aho barega. ku rundi ruhande rw'abagizi ba nabi bumvaga ko gukora nabi atari ikosa rihanirwa, kuburyo byabongereraga umuhati wo gukomeza kugira nabi. Aha natanga urugero rw'abantu bishe bakanasenyera abandi muri 1959, bakomeje kwitabira ubwicanyi bwakurikiyeho kuko bari bazi ko bidahanirwa. Ku rundi rw'abagiriwaga nabi birumvikana ko nabo bari bababaye bikaba byari kubaviramo kwihorera. Uyu muco wo kudahana nawo uri mubyatumye haba itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba mu 1994.

Aho ibihe bigeze ,Leta nihe amaraso mashya ubutabera, bukore neza umurimo wabwo, ntagukorera ku gitugu cy'abategetsi abo aribo bese. Ubutabera buzatugeza ku bwiyunge nibukora neza, bityo irari ryo gushaka kwihorera ryashobora kuvuka igihe abiciwe babona ababahekuye bidegembya hanze rishire. Ubutabera bwagarura kandi ikizere mu banyarwanda igihe buzaba burenganura abarengana bese, nta guhanirwa ikosa ry'undi ngo ni uko mufitanye isano, ahubwo abanyabyaha bagahanwa hakurikijwe amategeko. Biragaragara ko ubutabera nyabwo butari ubw'agakingirizo bwageza abanyarwanda ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge igihe buzakora akazi kabwo neza.

E. Gusabana imbabazi no kubabarirana

Abanyarwanda barahemukiranye mu gihe gishize. None aho igihe kigeze ,buri munyarwanda yari akwiye kwicara akibaza uruhare yagize mu isenyuka ry'igihugu cyacu. Buri wese namara kubona uruhare yagize, agomba gutinyuka agasaba imbabazi abanyarwanda yahemukiye.

Ndumva abanyarwanda nabo atari impyisi. Tugomba kubabarirana igihe abaduhemukiye bazaba bemeye kwicuza kandi bagasaba imbabazi z'ibyo bakoze. Aha sinshaka kuvuga ko tugomba kurenza uruhorw'amazi ku byabaye, ahubwo tugomba guhora twibuka ariko tukanababarirana. Abanyarwanda nibasabana imbabazi bakanababarirana izaba ari inkingi ikomeye y'ubumwe n'amahoro

F. Kubahiriza ikiremwamuntu

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ntitwabigeraho igihe ikiremwamuntu cyaba kitubahirizwa. Nk'ubu hari igice cy'abanyarwanda bishe abandi, aba bagomba guhanwa ariko bikurikije amategeko. Aha nakongeraho ko uburenganzira bwabo bugomba kubahirizwa, bagafatwa nk'abere nubwo bwose ibimenyetso byaba bibahama igihe baba bataranyuzwa imbere y'ubucamanza ngo bube ari bwo bubagera igihano.

Ku rundi ruhande, abagiriwe nabi mu gihe cyose cyashize bagomba guhumurizwa, bakumva ko uburenganzira bwabo bureshya n'ubw'abandi banyarwanda, ko bataremewe kugirirwa nabi. Bigenze bityo buri munyarwanda akumva ko aho uburenganzira bwe burangirira ariho hatangirira ubwa mugenzi we, kandi ko ntawe ufite uburenganzira ku buzima bwa mugenzi we, nta shiti ubumwe n'ubwubahane byagaruka mu banyarwanda.

Muri uru rwego rw'iyubahirizwa ry'ikiremwamuntu, uruhare rwa Leta n'urw'imiryango yita ku kiremwamuntu rugomba kuba runini. Kugira ngo buri munyarwanda amenye icyo afitiye uburenganzira n'icyo agomba kwirinda.

G. Uruhare rw'amadini mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge by'abanyarwanda

Amadini yagira uruhare rukomeye cyane mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge by'abanyarwanda. Yabigeraho kuko mu nshingano zayo z'ibanze harimo gusukura roho z'abanyarwanda zigahinduka nshya. Muri ikigihite imitima y'abanyarwanda benshi ikeneye gusukurwa kuko imyinshi yuzuyemo inzangano, ubugome n'irari ryo gushaka kwihorera, mbese harimo ibintu byinshi bitari byiza by'amoko anyuranye.

Uko mbibona amadini yitaye ku nshingano yiyemeje maze ntaziteshukeho n'ibango, abanyarwanda bakajya baturira mu nsengeru no mu misigiti bagasenga, bakaboneraho n'umwanya wo gusabana, ubwiyunge bwagaruka mu bana b'u Rwanda ntakabuza. Erega n'ubundi ibitanya abanyarwanda nibyo bike ugereranije n'ibibahuza !

Ibi ariko kugira ngo bibe byagerwaho amadini nayo arasabwa kwisuzuma, akivugurura, akabona guhumuriza roho z'abanyarwanda zababaye. Dore nk'ubu ngo abanyarwanda barenga 90 ku 100 ni abakirisitun'abayisiramu, nyamara ikibabaza ni uko abenshi mu bakoze ubwicanyi muri 1994 bari abayoboze b'aya madini. Amadini kandi agomba gukora ntakwivanga mu bya politiki nk'uko byagaragaye ku bihaye imana bo mu myaka ishize. Birumvikana ko amadini agomba kwisubiraho, agakosora aho yatandukiriye maze nayo agatangirana n'u Rwanda rushya rw'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, agasohozza inshingano yihaye maze igihugu cyacu kigahinduka paradizo.

H. Gutarura no gutuza impunzi zose

Gutarura no gutuza impunzi zose nabyo byadufasha mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge. Yego Leta yakoze uko ishoboye icyura abanyarwanda bari hanze, ariko impinga iracyari ndende. Nk'ubu hiyunze abanyarwanda bari mu gihugu gusa, mbona kwaba ari nko kwicara hejuru y'ikirunga kigiye kuruka kuko abanyarwanda badahari bashobora gutahuka bakaba basubiza inyuma inzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Ni ngombwa kubanza gutarura abanyarwanda bose, maze bakiyungira hamwe.

I. Kwita ku bari n'abategarugori

Iki gice cy'abanyarwanda cyadufasha cyane kugarura ikizere mu banyarwanda kuko ahanini aribo bashinzwe uburere. Mu Rwanda abategarugori bafite uruhare runini mu kurera kandi ubumwe twifuza bugomba gutangirira mu miryango iwacu. Biragaragara rero ko bitaye ku kwigisha urubyiruko umuco w'ubworoheranemaze rugakurira mu mwuka uzira ivangura n'amacakubiri, byagira akamaro kanini mu bwiyunge. Ikindi, abari n'abategarugori ni bagahuzamiryango, kandi baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo "aho ujishe igisabo ntuhatera ibuye". Burya n'imiryango yashyingiranye iba yahanye igihango ku buryo ntawarota ahemukira aho yashatse cyangwa yashyingiye.

Yego mu mahano yagwiriyeye u Rwanda mu 1994 hari abatatiye icyo gihango bahemuka aho bashyingiye cyangwa se bakuye abageni. Ariko ntitwakwirengagiza ko hari n'abantu benshi barokowe n'abo bashyingiye cyangwa bashatseho. Biragaragara ko abagore ari bo gahuzamiryango. Aha icyo nasaba abanyarwanda ni ugushyingirana, nta vangura na rito hagati yabo maze urebe ngo abari n'abategarugori b'u Rwanda baragira uruhare rukomeye mu kugarura ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda. Abagore ntibagomba gucecekesha, ahubwo bagomba kugishwa inama. Erega no mu bihugu byagiye bihura n'ibizazane by'intambara byaragaragaye ko abagore bagize uruhare rukomeye cyane mu isanwa ryabyo. Sinumva rero mpamvu yabuze abanyarwandakazi kwigana bagenzi babo b'ahandi.

J. Uruhare rw'urubyiruko.

Urubyiruko narwo rwagira uruhare rukomeye cyane mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge by'abanyarwanda. Yego mu minsi yashize rwagize uruhare rugaragara mu gusenya igihugu, ariko imbaraga rwakoresheje rusenya, ruzijyanye mu nzira yo kubaka ndumva yaba ari inkingi ikomeye cyane.

Kuba urubyiruko rwarashenye igihugu rwabishowemo n'ubutegetsi bubi, none ubu ntabukiriho. Niyo mpamvu noneho urubyiruko ruzagira uruhare rukomeye mu bumwe

n'ubwizerane by'abanyarwanda kuko n'icyakorwa cyose rwirengagijwe kwaba ari nko guta inyuma ya Huye cyangwa kubaka inzu ku mucanga.

Muri iki gihe iyo witegereje neza, usanga urubiruko rwarasezereye inzira y'amacakubiri ahubwo ruri mu nzira y'ubwiyunge. Aha natanga urugero rugaragara mu mashuri. Abana b'u Rwanda b'ingeri zose barigana nta kibazo. N'aho abagizi ba nabi bashatse kubatanya ntibabigereho. Aha navuga nko mu ishuri nderabarezi ry'i Nyange ku Kibuye ndetse n'iry'i Muramba ku Gisenyi. Urubiruko rw'abanyeshuri rwanze kwitandukanya ahubwo ruhitemo gupfa.

Uru ni urugero rwiza n'abantu bakuru bari bakwiye gukurikiza, bakumva ko inzira y'amacakubiri nta mwanya ifite mu Rwanda rushya. Iyo ni intango ikomeye urubiruko rwatanze kandi rukwiye gukomeza no mu gihe kizaza, maze narwo rukagira uruhare rugaragara mu nzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge u Rwanda rwifuza muri iki gihe.

III. UMWANZURO.

Muri make kandi meza biragaragara ko n'ubwo abanyarwanda babaye nk'inyamaswa bakamarana, kwiunga bishoboka. Ibyo ariko twabigeraho ari uko izi ngingo twavuze haruguru zitaweho kandi buri munyarwanda wese akuzumva, akazicengezamo, maze akazishyira mu bikorwa.

Twese nk'abitsamuye tugahagurukira kwiunga no gusana igihugu cyacu cyasenyutse. Ubwiyunge ntitugomba kubuharira abategetsi gusa n'ubwo bwose ari bo bagomba gufata iya mbere. Ahubwo twese, abakuru n'abato, tukumva ntacyagerwaho hatari ubumwe.

Ubumwe nyabwo bugomba guhera mu rubiruko rwo Rwanda rw'ejo kugira ngo rukurire mu mwuka mwiza w'ubumwe n'ubwizerane, maze ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda hazabe hazira amakemwa nta mwirya ukirangwa mu bana b'u Rwanda.

MURAKOZE

HAGABIMANA Ewujeni.
Umunyeshuri mu Rwunge rw'Amashuri rwa Cyanika.
Umwaka wa gatanu w'indimi.
B.P. 18 Gikongoro.
Tél. 34 070

BUZYANA Bernard

C/O COLLEGE DE REBERO

(4e NP D6)

B.P. 57 BYUMBA.

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA
MU MASHURI YISUMBUYE YO
MU RWANDA.

Rebero, le 07 Nyakanga 1997

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE

BABANE NEZA.

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi;

Inkangu yagwiriyeye iki gihugu muri mata 1994 ;
ntawe ushobora kuyibagirwa; kuyibuka ni ukubungabunga ngo itazangera kuba muri
uru Rwanda. Inkunga uko ingana kose irakenewe mu gusana no gusubiza uru Rwanda
isura rwahoranye mbere y'urwo rugomo rwose rwagiriye. Ikibazo kitureba twese ni
ukumenya icyakorwa ngo Rwanda isubire kuba indatwa Indakemwa, urwego nk'urwo rwa-
ri umutima wa Afrika kubera kurangwamo imfura.

Turabizi kuva uru Rwanda rwahangwa na Gihanga
ngoma ijana rwari u Rwanda rw'amata n'ubuki, rutemba ituze n'anahoro, impamba ari
impano y'umubano mwiza warangwaga hagati y'abarutuye, batuje batumirana, bage-
tabarana bakifatanya mu byago no mu byiza, nta mahane nta mvundo; nta nduru cya-
ngwa undi mwiranye.

Ibi ariko ntibyanguze anahanga, kuko atashoboye
kwihangana mu guhangamisha abanyarwanda ngo barabatoza ubuhanga, ariko bahindura
umuco wacu; biba intandaro y'uko bicika. Aho umuzungu agereye mu Rwanda; rwaramu-
ryoshye arugira ubukombe ararukoroniza arutoza umuco w'iwabo uwacu uba uragiye,
abavandimwe turaryana abazungu bo ubwo bararyana dore ko ikivi cyabo bagituye ki-
tebagoye.

Aho gushora umushinga, bashoza amatiku anashak-
biri aba araje; abitwa ko bajijutse, aho kuyajora aba aribo bayitabira, batita
ku ngaruka zayo, Ndi Gahutu tuzaturana turwanye umututsi; uwitwa umututsi atati-
ra umuhutu yitwaje umuzungu uzamuzungura mu Rwanda. Bashinga anadini adindiza ru-
banda abakurura mu nanza, ubwo bashinga ibikingi, ushoboye gutunga akitwa umutu-
tsi, naho uwashoboye guhinga akitwa umuhutu. Uzatakara hagati y'abo bombi azitwa
umutwa. Invano y'ibyo byose; inyito y'inyuga uwagira invano idafitse izarushya
ifindura, igasobanukira buri wese, yagoboka rubanda, kandi yaba yubaka uru Rwanda.

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Induru yaravuze biratinda, anahindura yo muri 59 aza ari gahaza, biyeneza kwimura no guheza banwe mu bo rwibarutse ishyamba inyuma y'ishyamba babambura uburenganzira bwabo kandi bwari ngombwa bwo kuba no gutura iwabo mu rwababyaye. Ntibyatinda batira inpanvu ngo inpagarara zivuke, inivu iratenba, umutungo uragenda ngo atogeke Habyalinana ibyago biba bi - gwiriye u Rwanda, rwambara urwamba. Umutegetsyi yari ikirenga iryo avuze ntiriko - ko, uwo atanze agatanga, uvuze rukanyujyana, urikoze akagororerwa kubera urugamba yabaga arwanyo.

U Rwanda rwari runwo ruhinduka inzanda :

Bushiru, Umurera, Urukiga, Ndorwa n'utundi turere dukurikiye ubwoko ngo bube ubwandu, bwo kwikiza unwanzi kandi nawo ari unwana w'u Rwanda. Unwana uri iwabo ahinduka unwanzi, mu kazi akaba inzigo; mu nana akanburwa ijanbo agahinduka inganbanyi; umutasi n'izindi ngoso nbi zose bakazimutworera. Akazi, ishuri, keretse uvuze aho avuka, ukavuga ubwoko byarinba ukongeraho n'idini, nta kwita k'ubushobozi, upfa kuba uri unwanbari mu kazu; uzi kuzika no kuzikura inzangano, gucunga no gucira itiku ryo kurwanya unanyanduga kugeza ku ndunduro ukinurwa mu ntera kubera ubugizi bwa nabi.

Mu ntanbara yo kwibohora, inbunzarunwa zira-gwira; indirimbo yari inyonzi, inyangarwanda, abatutsi ibyitso n'ibindi ... abahojwe n'akazu baza kwihozura, barambiwe ubunango n'ubugaragu bw'abarenzwe biranza Kinani arinamurira u Rwanda ubwo ruramuka, urugamba rurarenze Umututsi n'undi utavuye runwo n'akazu arakabona, barica karahava, ukwozi kwari Mata kwitanyiriza umutuku ukagira ngo babitutswe u Rwanda; insagu yagumurira.

Nta bapfira gushira, hari abashishoza bashize ubwoba, baratanba barokora abari inbagwa mu narinbi, ubwo inwa zari zinaze gu-pfuba zo kuzika inzirakarongano.

Abasigaye dutuye uru Rwanda rwari runaze gutuza ubu rukeneye inkunga mu nkubiri yo gusana u Rwagasabo ngo dusabane dusibo

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icyuho cyashonye uru Rwanda. Twese biratureba : Muturage ukunda uwakubonyaye, uzi noza ko isuka ariyo soko y'ubuzina bwawe buri munsu, aho wibonye iwawe, ibarirye ibiho by'ibiba ibagira n'isurura, ihumika n'igurisha ry'umutungo wawe; wuvikanye na mugenzi wawe mutunirane nk'uko mwabigenzaga, mufatanyo, kandi urabizi ko umugabo uwu agorwa kuri nyina. Amatungo uturanye nayo akwibutse amatungo yo muri Mata utakaza abawe; ntawe icyo kiza kitakozaho : uwahigwaga yari agowe kuturusha twese; wanyirye inzira urubuza aho abundeye; uramuranga umuho imporuka, umwirukana mu Rwanda ngo azize ubwoko. None wowe ugihunuka; niba utarashwe ko wishe kandi ukaba wikuka, iziguro nta hazabu kuri mugenzi wawe, wemere wikubye upfukane imbere y'Inana usaba imbabazi uzazibabwira usubize agatanga imbere, ukomanga ku gitanga ugiye, uti "ndatuje ibyabaye byarabaye; ndarahaye sinzasubira".

Wowe se wahigwaga bukwere, Inana igakanga ikiganzira ni inwe mu ngabire wahawe itungo ugihunuka; guhora sibye Kanana, kuko ushatse guhora hasigara ingorore; usibye nyakuguhiga, hari uwakuranye we yigira nwere, wamwita nk'ikitso. Umutungo wawe; baguhokuye ari kureba ntatere akururu akuruna gihwa, wamufata ko umwami; umutungo usobotse amaganyu ntashobanura amaganyu, bese wababwirira ababwirira, urugamba rukongera; ugasigara nta mahano, ariko nta muhanahanda iruhanda kandi nta muhanahanda wa nze.

Hari uturutse ishyamba nyuma y'ishyamba; indaro nbi urayizi wiyifuriza abandi; ingingo n'impanvu yagutuye guhanga iracyahari kuko ntaho yagiye; ubutogotsi bubi nubwira umwami, ntibizatinda ndakurahiye; Ina nbi ndabona banwe ari yo yabonye indaro; gusoma ukazana amashyamba natwe uzagushyamba ariko gusoma ukashyamba uzaza umugabo, ugasaba umugabo wo kwanagana rubanda ubabwirira utwabo; ubwira n'ibindi, uzabonye wifashye nje ntuzamwo. Uzaba umugabo w'inda indaro yawo ari amashyamba, kandi urabizi bizaba amashyamba.

Ubutogotsi si ubutotsi, iteka umugabo gutokorera kuko wifashye gutatwa watetereye.

"Ubutogotsi Umwami", ni izina rikuramira ariko wowe wamwira rikuramira. Burya "Umwami" ni nze kiranga. Uwo murimo ntiwoshyamba; kuyobora ni ukwirinda kuyobora no kuyobora, uzabona abayobora nubakorera noza, naho ubundi hari ba nyamujya icyo bajya

bazakome mu nyuma, ariko hari n'abandi bareba kure bazaguturura utaratora kabiri. Uzi kwitwaza ubwani; ukarimbura imbaga! Uri umutwari, uracyashaka amaturo nkanwo ya kora? Irinda amatiku, uranduro burundu irinda koko n'irinda karoro, ukoro akazi uko gakiye, utango inpanuro mu nana muhabwa, nubabera urugero uzaba urwego.

"Ikinyamakuru" Ukuntu uwo mwaga ugukwiye, ukugira mukuru mu bandi uwutoshaga agaciro, ngo uraca anararo? Ufite inshingano yawo yo gutara no gutangaza amakuru; ukavugaga by'invaho nta kuvirika ngo uvugisho cyangwa ngo uhinze; ukavugaga ibyo wahagarayeho nawo. Gutanga no gutara si ugutata waba utatira, ugafata ikinyamakuru cyawo ukagihindura ikinyamatiku, Gasonyi, Gacabintu n'andi mazina nenshi ataguhosha urugisha mu buzima bwawe. Tera utangaze inkuru n'ibitekerezo, nawe uzagororera. Niba utinye gupfa uzira ukuri, ukure utwawe urukaratsi urutanga abarwitangiye bazabikora, nibapfa tuzabibaterokozza kandi bazabo mu ijuru buje urugwiro, kubera urukundo bagiriye uru Rwanda. Amakuru si agakungu, amakuru si amatiku. Si mu itangazamakuru gusa tubwirako mu bashinzwe umutekano w'abanyarwanda harimo ibirumbe.

"Ingabo" Uri ingabwa rwose rwego warabihawe, uheroye ku nyito y'iryo jambo, ingabo iberoye kurinda; ingabo y'umutanonwa uwayitwazaga yitabiriye urugamba yaganburuzaga ababisha. Umutekano ni ngombwa kandi natwe tuzagufasha. Intwari wahawe si urwitwazo ngo usonye uru Rwanda, ahubwo ni ukururinda; inkiko zarwo urazizi, ubusugi n'ubusugiro biragushinzwe. Uri umusore usorotse, uri igisagara, ariko irinde gusakara no gusagarira aho ushinze, icyo giho waba uronze ku nshingano yawo ya ngombwa. Gushaka kwigira rutinywa, bizatuma rubanda bakwishisha nabo, bikugore kandi burya baba baziganyo byinshi: umutekano mu ngo zabo; bawuzi kukurusha, urugomo rukorwa hirya hino mu cyaro impande zose; induruburi z'abandi ndetse n'ibindi bikorwa by'umwanzi kuko abenshi aribo bareba. Mukoze noza umurimo mushinzwe, mugafatanye n'abaturage uko bikwiye aho kubitinyisha, umutekano warushaho kugenda noza bityo kandi n'abashaka kuwuhungabanya bagatahurwa bagashyikirizwa "ubutabera".

"Abashinzwe ubutabera". Ubutabera niyo nkingi y'amahoro n'amaajyanbore; nibuganze, Umuco wo kudahana wanzu u Rwanda ukaruhindura

urwabajoyi, iyo ngoso muyihinduro nta kujonjoka; kuba waratorowe uwo murimo, si ukugira ngo udamarare mu ifutoyi n'arafuti monshi, ni ugukong' ugakonguza, ukunga iyo usanze hari ubwiyungo; ugahana iyo uhuye na ba ruharwa. Hari abitabira kuzaza umufuka umutungo bakuye mu nkiko; ukuri kwabo kukazirira ukurwa ngo "Gucocoka si ubucucu, ni ugucobgorwa ni ibyo uzi ugacira mu rutina ushaka kuniga Kanaka, ugatuzo". Ngaho rero nuzirikane ibyo; mwibuko anasozorane mwagiranye n'urwababyayo, ubwo mwarahiraga inbere y'umukuru w'igihugu; ko uzatungany' umurimo ushinze none ukaba ubaye umukoza kinyona ...

"Minisitiri zibashinze"; iy'ubutabera ndetse n'iy'ingabo bubahirize anabwiriza ya guverinoma y'ubunze, bahugire abo bashinze, batatwaza ngo ntibabizi; kuko anacuru y'ubwiyungo turiririra buri muni twitwaza ubwigongo atarashira igorora : Twibuko ko umunyakuru ari ijisho rya rubanda, nana kubijora, akakujorora, azakwambika urugukwiye. Uko batoye ntinugatorere iyo; mukomeze mugorogore mubagorore ubutitsa kandi ngo ijisho ridahura ntirihake.

Naho ibyo kuvuga ingorane zibaganga; gufata ibyomeze nka biriya biragira, ariko ushishoza akareba, rikaranga ugataha. Birazwi ko ntawiyaga anabi hari ahoza; ariko muri iki giho nuzirikane ko murimo abatari boro, burya ababajora ntibaba babonye aho bahora: bondora ku bunyanda bwa banwe muri nwo badakorane umweto ngo bakurikirane icyaha bacyaho nyiracyo, bagahora ku burangano bwa banwe, bishinga uburanga aho bagandagaho mu nkiko, bashima mu bwanwa bakibagira ko babwira rubanda. Buririra ku bonera ibishuko by'ibyaha, bakiyibagiza ibishura bahabwa; no kwishinga imvugo zitagira ishingiro, zisaritse uwo mwaga nta npanvu. Bakabatogora ku gisigisigi cyo muri "Salo", ibyo bigatuma udacuranga umurya wakuye mu nganzo yawo, bwa bwigire bugatuma uhohotora inzirikarongano, ububasha bwawe ukabusiga mu ifufuna rya fotoyi. Ariko icy'ingenzi rwaduhaye, ni uguhora muducira akanzu mu ikanzu, mukikiza ababisarika abafashi bototora abakannyi, mwigisha bese kubahiriza ubucananza. Mugomba gushyira mu gaciro mukanyonye ukuri kugira uko kuvugwa ngo kugira akanaro, aho kugarika ingogo. Nti muzimbire ku kwitorura ngo mutatanye abagombaga gutahiriza umugizi umwe.

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Ibi byose rero iyo bibaye, ni ubwo bwose bitarata-
ngira kandi bikaba bitazaba itatu, bitubya umutokano wacu twose bigasiga igisaro mu
bana b'u Rwanda. Nyanara hari umuti unwo rukumbi: iyo ukunda igihugu cyawo, ukunda
umugenzi wawe, ukunda n'umwaga, n'icyo wikanga nticyaguhangaraye n'icyo mu gicu iguk-
bise ntiwabura abagangahuzi. Ubuzo umuvuzi mwiza ku isi no mu ijuru ntiwazamubona.

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi,

Iu rwego rwo kwibuka ibyabaye no kwirinda ko byako-
ngera, dukwiye gusubiza agatima impenbere tukaroba ingaruka, n'ingamba zafatwa ziga-
ngahura uru Rwanda. Tukiyeze gufatanya nta gahato, tutamenyisha abayobozi. Tuzi ko ba-
genze amajoro n'initaga, batitaye ku mvuno n'umunaniro; amahanga bayagize umuhana, ba-
haranira kuvana uru Rwanda mu rwamba, baruhahira anahoro. Natwe twitabire ayo nahoro
yaba aya Roho n'ay'urubiri, tuba inshuti mu nzego zose tutitaye ku noko cyangwa idini.
Tugaragaze ko dushobora gusabana mu masangano. Twagurire amashuri uru Rwanda rugendwe.

Babyeyi murera abazaza, murabwo umwana mu macyi no mu
bwoko, mu mashuri no mu nzego zose, dutatanye na Leta; tuzahure uru Rwanda turwambiko
ikanabaho abarwanga.

Bana b'u Rwanda bitabiyemo itabaro muri Mata n'ubwo umugamba, dutizanyemo umusanzu tu-
rsubizemo isura. Dusabane dukuzemo urugwiro, nidukuzemo mu rwego, twambare urwera turwubako
twose.

Kuba twa ubwacu twarumye kwisubiraho aho kwisubi-
ramye, twiyemeze tumaze ibikoranye byose n'ubwo bizatugera, kuko tuzatsikira ni
umugamba inzira yacu iri mu macyi. Kuba abanyarwanda twaritabiriyemo ubwiyungo, ukuri ku-
turango, ingeso nbi tuzabura intebe, intambwe izahabwemo intebe :

-Hari imvu yatambuye itukura, yagutuye kwivumbura umunara uruha uwa Kavuna,
ntibikabwo akananyoro.

-Hari ibiriba byinshi, ubwo utabaye byagutuye kubabara. Ngo ubwawe ishyamba ara-
ryonsa. Cururuka, umunzaho. Ibisaro by'agahinda byamurwa no Kwihangana no
Kubabarira.

Abagiyemo ntituzi ihoraho ryabo; abafunze mwicuzemo mwose,
mwicure dusabwo imana impano yo gusana u rwagasabo twisobanure n'icyaha, icyo cyago cya-
ndagaje umunyarwanda. Twose uko imana yaduhanye tuba abavandimwe twishyamba, tugabwira ana-
horo ahoro amashuri igihugu cyose, nitugira amashuri twihaye kumubabara twose kandi igihugu
cyose.

Ibyishyamba, urukundo n'umutokano bitsinda amashuri, ishamba n'umubabaro.

SEMINARI NTO YA MUTAGATIFU LEHU
KABGAYI

B.P. 66 - G I T A R A M A.

15

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BARANE NEZA.

BYATEGURWE NA :

CYIMANA Yohani Pahulo
UTWAKA WA GATANU IKILATINI N'UBUMENYI

NYAKANGA 1997.

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

Buri munyarwanda uciye akenge, ari neza amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda, akamenya n'intandaro yayo guhera mu gihe cy'abakoloni. U Rwanda igihugu cy'abanyarwanda cyari icy'amahoro n'ubwumvikane mu bagituye, cyahutswe n'abazungu maze bagishora mu kaga k'ivansura n'ironzakoko byagiye bigira ingaruka mbi ku banyarwanda abo bazungu bigaramiye. Ibyo byafataniye n'ubujiji maze bimunga abanyarwanda, byoreka iki gihugu mu miborogo itoro-shye; umwirwane utangira ubwo mu bana b'u Rwanda, umuvu w'amaraso utemba mu Rwanda inshuro zirindwi ubugira karindwi. U myaka yose uw'igihumbi maganacyenda mirongocye na kane wabumbye indi mu guhitana benshi. Wabayemo itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ridutwara abantu basaga miliyoni. Uwo mwaka wadusigiyemo imfubyi zitagira ingano, abapfakazi, ibimuga, amatongo menshi n'abatacira aho bikinga, abahamwe n'intambara ndetse n'ibyo babonye. Uwo mwaka wasize kandi intimba mu mitima y'abana b'u Rwanda ndetse udutesha isura nziza twari dufite, umunyarwanda uwo ari we wese yitwa umwicanyi, umuhotozi, mbese aba ruvumwa imbere y'amahanga. Ibyo byose kuko hari abanyarwanda bamwe bateguye umugambi wo gutsemba abavandimwe babo, abandi bo bitewe n'ubujiji, bitabira ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi basho- wemo n'abifitire imyungu zabo bwite cyangwa za "Politiki". Amahanga ararebera ndetse atanga n'intwari kuko n'ubundi ngo: "Ukenye urwe umutiza umuhoro". Ubwo abanyarwanda benshi barahungaga, abahungu u Rwanda babarungaga imbere, basiga urwababyaye bajya i mahanga. Abicanyi bahungaga inkotanyi (ingabo za F.P.R.) ubu ziri mu ngabo z'igihugu, zari zimaze guhosha itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba no gutsinda urugamba. Abere benshi bo bahungaga kubera bamwe mu bakoze ibara mu Rwanda bashakaga kubagira urwitwazo no kubera "Politiki y'ikin- yoma" yabumvishaga ko mu Rwanda hari umwirwane n'umutekano muke. Guhera ubwo u Rwanda rubarirwa mu bihugu bya mbere bifite imfungwa n'impunzi nyinshi ku isi. Ariko amahirwe yaradusekuye hanyahamwe urukiko mpuzamahanga ku itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ryabereye mu Rwanda kandi rikorerwa abanyarwanda; impunzi za kera n'iza vuba ziragaruka ngo dufatanye kubaka u Rwanda. Intimba n'ibitekerezo bibi biracyatuye imitima y'abanyarwanda ariko igihe kirageze ngo buri munyarwanda uwo ari we wese asubize amaso inyuma atekereze amarira n'amaganya byaranze iki gihugu cyacu cyane cyane mu myaka itatu ishize. Iki si igihe cyo gukumira amaso ngo buri muntu ategere akazaza, ahubwo ni igihe cyo gufatanya tugashaka inga- mba zidakurika zo kwimukira ubwumvikane aharanzwe umwirwane, kwimakaza amahoro ahanze imi- horo. Urubare rwa buri wese rurakenewe mu gusoma icyo kivi. Abo ku isonga kimwe n'abo ku isu- ri bakwive gusururira aho gusururira bombi hamwe bagasanga isakamburiro ry'umwirwane ushi- neye ku ivansura ryaba iry'amoko, iry'uturere cyangwa se iry'amadini.

NAKWIYE GUKORWA IKI RETO NGO BURI MUNYARWANDA ATONGERA KWISHISHA MUGENZI WE ?

KUBERA BURI UMUCO NYARWANDA.

Abanyarwanda twese turi abavandimwe, tukagira n'amahirwe yo kuba duhuje ururimi n'umuco. Tugomba gushyigikira ibyiza biri mu muco wacu kuko ari ho dusanga inge- ro nziza zatumaga abakurambere bacu babana neza: kubahana, gukundana, gufashanya, gutabarana bagize ibyago cyangwa batewe n'abagizi ba nabi. Mu ndamukanyo nk'uko byahozeho tujye tu- gira tuti: "Gira amahoro", "Urakabaho", "Gira ishya n'ihirwe". Ikinyabupfura nacyo kira- sanzwe mu muco nyarwanda, abato ku bakuru n'abakuru ku bato. Muri uwo muco wacu tugomba guhanaguramo ibitangira agaciro n'ibifite ibitekerezo bishaje. Urugero rufatika ni ibyi- vucyo biratwa kwicana. Imico yo hanze ntigomba kudutwara, ahubwo tuyigane ibyiza iturusha maze ibibi tubishyire ku ruhande. Uruburiko ni rwo rukunze cyane kwigana imico y'ahandi, rugomba no kumenya kurushaho gukomera ku bumwe bityo ubwo bwuzuzanye bw'imico bujye buru- fasha kwiyubaha no kubaha ikiremwa muntu.

GUSHYIGIKIRA UMUCO W'AMAHORO.

Munyarwanda w'i Rwanda, witura ngo wituramire kandi uturagazwa, ahubwo terura uvuye ikitagenda utibagiye gutuza ngo wumve icyo bagutoza. Abanyarwanda baranzwe no kuba inkomashyamba na banyamurya iyo bigiye, ari byo byatumye benshi bishora mu bwicanyi; umunyarwanda yabaye igikoko ku munyarwanda anabishatse, kandi birashoboka, yamubera inda- hemuka bakongera bakabana mu mahoro, amarira agahosha.

Abanyarwanda barapfuye kandi barababaye bihagije ku buryo ntawe ukeneye kongera kubona amabi twavuyemo keretse "ikiburamutima". Ubuzima twabayemo aho twari twihishe cyangwa muri za "burende" mu buhungiro bwaduhishuriye byinshi ku kababaro twabonana abandi ntibubwiteho. Munyarwanda wese wa nyuma y'intambara agomba kubanza agahindura ibitekerezo bibi bishyigira ku ivangura byaba bimurimo, agahindura ndetse n'umyifatire ye idahwitse kukko "iyo utabwo nk'uko utekereza, amahereze utekereza nk'uko ubaho".

Umuco w'amahoro nyuma y'intambara witabirwa kandi buri mutururwanda agashyiraho ake kugira ngo buri wese yisanzure, abeho mu bwisanzure.

Mu biranga umuco w'amahoro, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu buri ku isonga. Amahoro yagumye gucagata igihe cyose abantu bapfa bazira akamama, igihe cyose mu buroko abantu bapfa bazira amaherere kubera ubwinshi bwabo, isuku nko ndetse n'imirire itabonye. Mbese abari mu buroko ni ibikoko n'ubwo baba baracumye bwose? Aho mu buroko kandi anarira ni menshi mu bana bazira icyasha bafunganywe n'ababyeyi babo, bakomeye kurereza mu miryango bagatozwa urukundo hakiri kare naze bagakunda bagasabana n'abo bahuje itoto. Kugira ngo izo npagarara zicike, umuco w'amahoro ubumbatse nk'uko bikwiye ni byiza ko uburenganzira bw'izo nfungwa n'abo bana bwubahirizwa. Abafite ababo bafunze nabo bakurwa neza ko atari ukubanga cyangwa kubazira, ahubwo ari uguhana uwakosheje no kurenganura uwaronganye.

GUFASHA IMFUBYI, ABAPFAKAZI, ABABAHAMUTSE N'ABAMUGAJWE N'INTAMBARA.

Abanyarwanda twese tugomba gukora uko dushoboye tugahoza imfubyi, tugahanagura n'amarira y'abapfakazi n'ay'abakomeye n'intambara.

Abapfakazi, ababahanutse n'abakomeye n'intambara tubafashe kandi tubahamurize kugirango bashobore gusubiza umutima mu gitero. Buri wese ufite icyo yabafashisha ku by'umutungo akabibagezaho n'ababashyize bagiro umutima wo gusubiza ibitari ibyabo.

Imfubyi ni izacu tugomba kuzifasha, kuzihumuriza, tukazakira mu miryango zikagira uburenganzira nk'ubw'abandi bana, zikiga amashuri, zikavuzwa kandi tukagerageza guhanagura mu bitokerezo byabo ibibi babonye cyangwa bagiriwe, tugomba kubakura mu bwigunge, tukabaha uburere bwiza, tukabatoza kuba abana bazigirira akanaro bakakagirira n'igihugu. Gutanga ihumire, guhoza no gufasha abo bese ntibigombagukorwa na buri munyarwanda gusa ahubwo na leta y'u Rwanda igomba kubibafashamo ndetse ikanatanga indishyi z'akababaro n'impozamarira kuri abo bahakomeye n'ubutegetsi yashyize.

GUSABA NO GUFANGA IMBABAZI.

Intambwe ikomeye kugira ngo umubano w'abanyarwanda ugashyiraho ubuyanja ni ukugira ubutwari bwo kwirega no kwicuza, ibyo bigakorwa n'abishe. Abo bishe bagomba kwenera ibyaha bakozwe, bagasaba imbabazi abo biciye n'abanyarwanda twese kandi bagashyikirizwa ubucamanza.

Leta y'u Rwanda yorohereje ibihano abazaba bemeye kwirega. Nibagire rero ubutwari bwo kwicuza, bemere ko bahemukiye u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda kandi ko batazongera ukundi kubera inyungu z'ubumwe, z'amahoro n'amaajyanbore y'igihugu cyacu kandi cyabo bari bahemukiye, bakagihokura kandi bakamagisanya. Bagomba kurwira ko ibihano bazahabwa ntaho bihuriye n'ibikorwa bibi bakozwe, ariko kubera umuco w'amahoro, buri wese ahanagariwe, nyuma y'intambara n'amarorere, kwihanganira mugenzi we. Ibyo bihano bazabikorane umutima mwiza, umutima wicuza, umutima utazongera kugira ubugome ukundi. Burya ngo "ugira umuhana aba agira Inana".

Abacitse ku icumu, ababuze ababo n'abagiriwe nabi muri ibyo bihe bibi, bahamagariwe gutanga imbabazi kuri abo bazaba bazisabanye umutima utariyanye. Ni ibintu bikomeye kubabarira umuntu waguhekuye, wakwiciye ababyeyi, abavandimwe n'ishuti cyangwa waguhoheye, ariko birashoboka kandi na ngombwa kugira ngo urwikekwe rushire mu mitima ihagaze y'abo bavandimwe bazaba basabye imbabazi kandi koko bazikeneye. Ibikorwa byo kwihorera no kwitura inabi uwayitugiriye ntibigomba kurangwa mu "Rwanda rushya" dushaka kubaka, ahubwo tugomba gukemura mu nahoro amakinbirane kuko turi abavandimwe, bene kanyarwanda. Icyo umuntu akomeye mugenzi we kibi akurwa ko ahemukiye umuvandimwe naze byose tukajya tubikora mu bumvikane no mu bwisanzure, nta mboganzizi, nta n'ubuho tubanganiye. Ubiteshutseho tukamugarura mu nzira ibonye, byanahirirana ubucamanza bugakora akazi kabwo, kandi inzoga nyinshi zabwo zinaze gushyirwaho kugira ngo zirenganure abarengana kandi ziburamisha, zinahane abahakomeye u Rwanda, mu rwego rwo kunga abanyarwanda.

GUSHYIRAHU UBUCAMANZA BUTABERA.

Ubucamanza butezweho byinshi mu nzira yo kunga abanyarwanda. Mu Rwanda hari harogeye imvugo nbi ngo "nta kuri kutagira ifaranga". Ruswa n'ikime-nyane biri mu bya mbere mu byoretse igihugu cyacu mu bibazo by'ingutu byajanyemo. Niyo mpamvu abacamanza bagomba gukurikiza amategeko aho kugendera ku marangamutima. Ubucamanza bagomba guca imanza zose z'itsenabwoko n'itsenbatsenba butaboganye kandi mu rukundo kuko "nta rukundo rudakurikiye n'ubutabera, nta n'ubutabera butabera icyo butajyanye n'urukundo". Abacamanza ntibagomba na rimwe gushyiraho cyangwa kugira igitekerezo cyo guhora ahubwo bagomba gushyigikira mbere na mbere umuco w'amahoro bafasha abanyarwanda kwiyunga kandi bagaca burundu umuco wo kudahana wari umaze gushyiraho imizi muri iki gihugu.

Mu iburanishwa ry'ianza z'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ni ngombwa ko umucamanza yajya akoresha "inyurabwenge" kuko ibihe tuvuyemo byari bikomeye, kandi ibyaha byakozwe ku buryo bunyuranye : Hari abateguye umugambi wo kwica, abahanagariraga abandi kwica, abatozaga bagatanga n'ingero zo kwica, n'abandi babishyemo kubera ubujiji. Ubutabera bugomba rero kwifashisha abaturage bese bafite icyo bazi ku rubanza ruburanishwa, nabo bakabyitabira batanga ibimenyetso bahagazeho ku mwicanyi cyangwa batanga ingingo zihangira ibyaha ku mwere.

Amateguko ahana agomba gukurikizwa, ntihaire uyirengagiza kandi n'inzego zishinzwe kuyashyiraho zikayashyiraho zikurikije ibihe tuvuyemo n'uburyo dushaka kubakamo igihugu kirangwa n'ubutabera nyabwo. Kubera ko urukiko mpuzamahanga ku itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ryabereye mu Rwanda, rukorera mu Rwanda na Arusha muri Tanzaniya, ni byiza ko leta y'u Rwanda yakorohereza uburyo bwo kugera Arusha abagomba gutangaho abagabo cyangwa bagomba gutanga ibimenyetso.

Abacamanza bakwiye gukora uko bashoboye imirimo y'izo manza ikihuta, maze abakoze amarorerwa bagahanwa, abere bakavanwa mu buroko, bakagarura icyusa mu Rwanda rwabo n'abatsindiye indishyi z'akababaro bakazihabwa igihe kitara-renga kuko bazikeneye kugira ngo bikenure kandi abenshi ntibagira aho bakiruka umusaya. Ababa babeshyera abandi kugira ngo babatware umutungo wabo cyangwa ku zindi mpanvu bwito, nabo ubucamanza bukwiye kubakosora. Kutarobanura no kutagira icyo bwirengagiza nibyo bizatuma abanyarwanda twese tugirira ubucamanza icyizere maze tukazajya tubwiyambaza twizeye ko buzaturenganura.

URUHARE RWA "GUVERINOMA" Y'U RWANDA.

Uruhare rwa "Guverinoma" ni indashyamba mu bwiye bw'abanyarwanda. "Guverinoma" ifite inshingano zo guca ubujiji no gukangurira abaturage "Elitiki" y'ubumwe kuko byagaragaye ko hari abishoye mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi kubera ubujiji. Guverinoma igomba gukoresha ingando cyangwa ibindi biterane byakwitwa "amasangano y'abavandimwe" maze abahuriye muri izo ngando cyangwa ayo materanirwo bakigishwa amateka y'u Rwanda, bagasobanurirwa uruhare rw'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu kubaka u Rwanda, bakerekwa intandaro y'amabi yose twabonye kandi bakigishwa uburyo bwo kububatira amahoro n'ubumwe mu nzira iboneye. Kwigisha abanyarwanda harimo kubashishikariza kujya mu ishuri, kububakira ayo mashuri no kubashakira ibikoresho nyabyo. Muri ayo mashuri buri wese yaba adahajwemo, abanyarwanda bajya bahabonera uburere, ubumwe, ubwenge, bakanigishwa kubana kivandimwe.

Byaragaragaye ko abategutsi bo ku "ngoma" yateguye ubwicanyi mu Rwanda, bari baragize kamande umuco wo kudahana. Umuntu yakora ikosa akarihanirwa cyangwa akarihabarirwa bitewe n'uwo ariwe cyangwa aho akomoka.

Kwikubira nabyo bari babimurije imbere ariho hakomotse ubutegetsi bw'akazu" n'"amakonti" ariho akayabo k'amafaranga y'abo banyakazu. Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda igomba kwirinda kugwa mu makosa nk'ayo, abategutsi aho kunyunyuzwa imitsi y'abaturage bagasabana nabo aho gusahurana. Birashimisha cyane nk'icyo umukuru w'igihugu cyangwa abandi bayobozi bashishikariza abaturarwanda kubakira abahakwemo n'intabara kandi bakabaha n'urugero rwiza, "kora ndebe iruta vuba ntwije".

Guverinoma y'u Rwanda igomba gushyigikira iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwaumuntu kugira ngo uwo ariwe wese adahohoterwa cyangwa akavutswa ubuzima bwe, azira ubwoko bwe cyangwa akarere akomokamo. Amoko kuko ariyo abanyarwanda benshi bakunze kuzira, Guverinoma ikwiye gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo inyito abanyarwanda baha ayo moko ihinduke maze uwitwaga "umuhutu, umututsi cyangwa umutwa" yunve ko igikuru ari uko ari umanyarwanda kandi nibyo kuko igihe azaba akeneye icunbi, yagize impanuka cyangwa ibindi byago azatabarwa n'uwo atakiye cyangwa umugezeho mbere bitagombye ko aba uwo bahuje ubwoko.

Ni inshingano za Guverinoma gukoresha inama z'umutekano no guhanagarira abanyarwanda bese kububakira uwo umutekano. Igihe umutekano uhungabanyeho hagakorwa ibishoboka byose ngo ugaruke vuba. Ni byiza cyane ko ingabo z'igihugu zafatanyaga n'abaturage muri icyo gikorwa.

Kubera ko urwego rw'ubutabera rufite uruhare runini mu bwiye bw'abanyarwanda, ni ngombwa ko Guverinoma ishyiraho inzego zose z'ubutabera. Mu kuzishyiraho ni ngombwa kubanza gushishoza kugira ngo icyo nyanya icyenye "abagabo" koko babishoboye kandi bafite ubushake n'ubushobozi kugira ngo imibanire y'abanyarwanda itungane.

Ishyirwaho ry'itangazamakuru rya leta rigenewe gukangurira abanyarwanda no kumenyekanisha ibikorwa bya leta; ryatuma abanyarwanda bese banenye intego n'inshingano leta yihaye bakayifasha gushyiraho izo baba baribagiye z'ingenzi ndetse no kuzishyira mu bikorwa.

Abategetsi cyane cyane abo "hejuru" bagonba kujya bafata ibyemezo babanje kureba neza ko bizagira akanaro kandi ko ntawe bibanganiye. Mu kubishyira mu bikorwa, abo bategetsi nk'uko byavuzwe hejuru bagafata iya mbere kuko inama nziza ikurikiye n'urugero rubi ari nko kubwira uwo ugira inama ukora nabi.

Kubera ko itsembabwoko n'itsenbatsenba ari ikintu kibi cyane cyabaye muri uru Rwanda rwacu kandi buri banyarwanda akaba afite inshingano idakuka yo ukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo ritazongera kubaho ukundi mu gihugu cyacu, ni ngombwa ko leta ku ruhare rwayo yashyiraho "urwibutso" ku itsembabwoko n'itsenbatsenba kugira ngo abana bazavuka ejo bajye banyerekwa kandi basobanurirwe ko byatowe n'ubutegetsi bubi bwabibaga imbuto y'amacakubiri mu banyarwanda. Bityo urwo rubyiruko ruzavuka ejo ruzashobora gufata ingamba zihanye hato rutazagwa "mu ruzi rurwita ikiziba".

URUHARE RW'INTEKO ISHINGA AMATEGEKO.

Inteko ishingana amategako igomba mbere na mbere gushyiraho amategako abonye n'ibibye abanyarwanda turimo kandi ikazirikana cyane ku byagiriye akanaro ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Mu nshingana yose intumwa za rubanda ziga, zigomba gushyira hanwe zikunvikana, zigahitamo inshingana ifitiye igihugu cyose akanaro kandi yihutirwa kurusha indi. Ni ukuvuye iharanira amahoro, amajyanbore n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda.

Mu nshingano z'inteko ishingana amategako harimo no kugenzura ibikorwa bya "Guverinoma" ndetse n'iby'ubucamanza. Igihe izo nzego zitashutse ku nshingano zazo, inteko ishingana amategako igomba kuzikosora byaba ngombwa ikanazifatira ibyemezo bihanye. Inteko ishingana amategako igomba kumvikana na "Guverinoma" maze inikorerere uyiza y'izo nzego ikabera urugero izindi nzego zose z'ubutegetsi.

URUHARE RW'INGABO Z'IGIHUGU.

Kugira ngo ubumvikane bw'abanyarwanda bugerweho kandi burambe ni ngombwa ko ingabo z'igihugu kinwe n'abandi banyarwanda, zitabira umuco w'amahoro. Ibyo kugira ngo bugerweho ni uko ingabo z'igihugu zaturuka mu banyarwanda bese no mu turere twose tw'igihugu, maze ingabo z'igihugu ntizibye iz'ubwoko, cyangwa iz'akarere ahubwo zibe iz'igihugu koko, zijye zirengera umutekano w'abaturarwanda bese.

Kuba ingabo y'igihugu, ntibigomba gufatwa nk'akazi kazana amafaranga ahubwo ni umurimo ukomeye umuntu yiyemeza ukora kugira ngo yitangire igihugu cyamubonye n'abavandimwe be. Ingabo rero ntizigomba kwivanga muri "politiki" ariko zigomba kwigishwa amateka kugira ngo hatazagira uzishora mu bibazo by'ubwite yitwaje amateka afutanye.

Inama n'ibiganiro hagati y'abaturage n'ingabo z'igihugu zirakeneye kugira ngo abaturage batatinye bityo abakibishisha bagashira ubwoba n'abasirikari bakagira icyusa maze bagakusanyiriza hanwe iby'ingirakamari. Birakwiye ko ingabo zakwirinda gutemberana imbunda cyangwa izindi n'waro mu gihe cy'umutekano. Inshingano y'ibanza y'ingabo z'igihugu ni ukubungabunga umutekano w'abaturage bese, igihe cyose, kandi zikanarongerera ubusugire bw'igihugu cyose.

URUHARE RW'ITANGAZAMAKURU.

Itangazamakuru ni umusenburo w'amahoro n'ipfundo ry'ubumwe. Muri uru Rwanda ryabaye icyiro ry'ibibye byose bitowe n'abaturage adahwitse y'abari barishinzwe kinwe n'abarikororagamo. Uvuye ku uburyo bwa mbere bwakoreshejwe mu gutandukanya abanyarwanda ari itangazamakuru ntiyaba abashye.

Itangazamakuru ry'ubu rigomba gushinangira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Ryagombwe kuba umusenburo w'amajyanbore. Abanyamakuru bagonba kwita ku bibazo by'abaturage mu nyandiko zabo za buri munsi bakajya bahugura abaturage babigisha kubana neza, kwihangahirana, kudashyanirana no kubana mu mahoro; abaturage nabo bagonba guhabwa ijamba bakavuye ibyo bifuzwa.

Ibanyamakuru bifite uruhare runini mu kumenyekanisha isura nziza y'igihugu no guteza imbere urubano mwiza n'ubutwererana n'ibihugu by'amahanga. Bigomba gushyigikira umuco w'igihugu no kugera ku kwushinangira.

Mu iterambere ry'igihugu, itangazamakuru rigomba gushishikariza abanyarwanda umurimo no gufashanya. Rikwiye guha umwanya abashakashatsi n'abandi bahanga ngo batangaze ibyo bavunbye. Itangazamakuru rero rikoreshejwe nabi ryatanga umuganda ugashyira mu bumvikane bw'abo rikorerera aribo banyarwanda.

URUHARE RW'URUBYIRUKO.

Urubyiruko n'ubwo ruzira icyago rufite icyo aha. Umubare munini w'urubyiruko washakariye gushyira mu bikorwa itsembabwoko n'itsenbatsenba none rero n'ubushikane turwane n'ingaruka zakurikiye aya mahano. Ukomeye urubyiruko rwatwe n'uburyo rwitwaga muri aya mahoro rwagukwiriye guhanagurwa maze rugafatanywe amaboko mu kuzahura u Rwanda. Urubyiruko rugomba kubanza gutekereza ntirububukire ibikorwa byose barushoboye.

Ni ngombwa gutanga amaboko by'umwihariko mu kubakira abashyigishwa n'intambara kinwe n'abandi bese batishoboye rugira icyo rubanarira.

Urubwiruko rw'u Rwanda rugomba kunga ubumwe rugaca ivangura ryaba irishingiye ku noko cyangwa ku turere, rukajya rukurira mu manana y'abanyeshuri, mu nashyirahamwe aharanira ubumvikane, ubusabane n'arajyambere y'u Rwanda; rugomba kwirinda ikintu cyose cyaba intandaro yo kwitandukanya.

Urubwiruko rugomba kugira uruharo mu butegetsi kuko byagaragaye ko imitwari y'ibibazo birenereye aribo iturwa ku rutwe. Ababyeyi bakabibafashamo babaha uburere bwiza buberere umunyarwanda wo mu "Rwanda rushya" ariko kandi bakamenya ko bitabashya icyubashiro na busa iyo baraga abana babo ibibazo babereye ba "nyirabayasana" batashoboye no gusubiza.

Urubwiruko rukwiye kurushaho kugira igihugu cyiza aho gutegereza kuzatangira ejo kuko burya ngo "amavuta y'umugabo ni amuraye ku mubiri" bityo rukaba u Rwanda rwa none aho kuba u Rwanda rw'ejo.

URUHARE RW'AMADINI.

Amadini agomba gufasha abanyarwanda kwicuza no kubabarirana bafatiye ku nkuru nziza ayo madini yigishye abanyamadini bakabiba mu mitima y'abayoboko babo imbuta y'ahoro, y'ubutabera, y'ubusabane n'iy'ubusabanyirana. Bagonba gutaza abanyarwanda kumera Inana yo soko y'ibyiza, itihanganira akarengane. Abayoboko b'amadini yose bakigishye ko nyuma y'ubuzima tubamo ku isi, abazaba baraharariye ahoro, ubumwe n'ubutabera Inana izabababwira inghuro ijana ibyo bakoze. Naho abazaba bararonganye ibarenganyire kandi ihano abantu bese bafite umutima uticuza, abagome n'abandi bagira nabi.

Kugira ngo inyigisho y'abanyamadini igire irene ni uko ubwabo babanza kwisuzuma bakajya bigisha ibyo bemera, bagatanga ingero nziza, bakirinda guharanira inyungu zabo bwite no kwivanga mu bibazo bya "politiki". Abanyamadini bagonba gutinyuka bakamagana kandi bakagira inana abategetsi cyangwa undi wese wakiniye guhungabanya uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu. Bagonba kuba abashumba nyabo bakenura amitungo yabo, bagashimishwa n'uko ashishye kandi igihe cyose bagahora biteguye kuyarwaho imbere y'ibirura.

GUTEZA IMBERE UBUREZI.

Barezi namwe, burya ngo "uwo nyirinka avuguse niwo zinywa" muramutse mubishatse kandi mukabyitangira abo murera ntibakongera korana mu mahano nk'ayabaye. Byagaragaye ko abarezi bagize akarusho mu gucengeza amatwara adahwitse mu rubwiruko. Abarezi b'ubu bakwiye guca umuco wo gutonesha namwe bitewe n'amasanira bafitanye, bitewe se n'ubwoko cyangwa akarere bakonokamo. Bakwiye guca ivangura iryo ariyoye ryose mu bo bashinzwe. Abana bese bakwiye gufatwa kinwe kuko n'ubundi ngo "Uwana ni nk'undi".

Nk'uko amagara ataguranywe amagana n'amanota ntakaguranywe amantoni ! Ngo usange mu ishuri bagereka amantoni boshye abagoreka umufungo w'inyanya ku isoko. Kinwe na kera, buri mubyeyi afite inshingano zo kurera, atari abana bo gusa, ahubwo agakosora kandi akanahana buri mwana wese atarahamuka. Buri murezi wese namenyereye ko amazeze y'ay'igihugu cye biri mu uwo aragijwe, nagerageze kumwongerera ubumuntu, amutoze urukundo, kugira imbabazi, kumvikana no gusabana n'abandi ndetse no gukorana ibakwe mu byo ashinzwe byose, bityo u Rwanda rusubirane isura idasheya biturutse ku rubwiruko.

KUZAHURA UBUKUNGU.

Mu bibazo byose by'ingutu byibasiye u Rwanda, hatayeho icy'ubukungu bwifashe nabi naze ibintu birushaho kudogera. Ibyo byashoye namwe mu bwicanyi kugira ngo bigarurire ibyo abo bicaga bari batunze. Buri umunyarwanda agomba kugira umurimo akora, akawishimira bityo akaba ariwo umweshya agaciro. Muri iki gihe tugezemo ntihakenwe inkorabusa, namwe bazinduka biyicariye barya kandi batinjiza, ngo batagereje ko indogo zibazanyira. Abo bese bamenye ko "isuka y'intirano ntawe itiza umubyizi" kandi ko bibabaje kubona amaboko yagombye kuzamura u Rwanda ariyo arurira imitsi.

Ngo "umwirabura yicwa n'inzara ari muni y'igiti cy'umwamba" kandi koko urebye mu Rwanda dufite ibintu byinshi byazamuka ubukungu ariko ugashyamba twirahamwe, ntacyo twitayeho. Ubukungu bwacu bushingiye n'ubwoba na n'ubwoba ku mutungo kamere w'amashyamba amwe ndetse arimo inyamaswa zitaboneka ahandi ku isi aho twavuye nk'ingagi, bugashyamba kandi ku butaka no ku nazi. Buri wese afiteho uburenganzira kandi agahamagariwa gushaka buri gihe icyatuma biyazwa umusaruro uhagije.

Abanyabukorikori n'abandi banyamyuga bagomba gushyigikirwa kandi bagaterwa inkunga kugira ngo ibikorwa ino mu Rwanda bihabwe agaciro n'abanyarwanda boye gukomeza guhendwa n'ibituruka mu mahanga.

Umucuruzi cyangwa umuhinzi batungwa n'umusaruro w'umwuga wabo, n'umukozi wa leta agomba guhabwa igihembo kimukwiriye kandi akakibonera igihe kugira ngo yumve ko atavunikira ubusa. Ngo "ahari inzara ntihabura inzangano" niyo mpamvu abanyarwanda bagomba gushishikarira guhinga no korora kugira ngo babone ibibatunga byuzuye kandi bihagije. Bagomba gufashanya muri ibyo bikorwa byo kwiteza imbere, bagahana imibyizi kandi uwaru- mbiye bakamuha ibimutunga igihe atarishumbusha.

Ubukungu nibutera imbere, amajyambere agasakara, abanyarwanda ntibazongera gutegera ukundi amaboko amahanga. Ntawe uzongera gushukishwa amafaranga y' "intica ntikize" ngo ahemukire umuvandimwe, nta munyamahanga uzongera kudukandamiza yitwaje ko ngo aduha imfashanyo, bityo ibihugu byose bizajya byubaha abanyarwanda kuko bagize ubutwari bwo gushyira hamwe ingufu zabo bagateza imbere igihugu cyababyaye.

Banyarwanda twese nidukangukire inzira y'ubwiyunge kuko ariyo yovine izatuma dushobora kwiyubakira igihugu mu mahoro. Nuri muvurwanda yumve ko ibibazo by' u Rwanda ariwe bireba mbere na mbere bitwo twese bene Banyarwanda dufatane urunana tururwanirire, turwubake kandi duharanire ubusugire n'isura nziza y'igihugu cyacu. Abanyarwanda twivugira ko "ababiri bunze ubumwe baruta umunani urasana". Ubumwe si ikindi ni ukubabarirana kw'abahemukiranye, ni ugusabana kw'abasaburanye, ni ugubana abakosheje ni no kubana kw'abahungana. Umwiryane nujyane n'ibvabaye, ubwizerane bwagukane urugwiro, ubugome bujyane n'urugomo, tubitwikane n'isakamburiro ry'ivansura irwo ari ryo rwose, dushyire hamwe twese turwanye icyadusubiza ahaga. Ibwo byose nitubigeraho ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, ubumwe bwacu, tuzaba tubagezeho maze twiyubakire kandi tubakire abazavuka ejo, u Rwanda ruganjemo uburinganire, ubutabera, ubwisanzure, amahoro n'umutekano.

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ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA

Kuwa 25 NYAKANGA 1997

O. INTANGIRIRO

Nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda, hakaba itsembatsemba n'itsemba bwoko, abantu benshi batanga ibitekerezo byabo ku cyakorwa kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza. Mbere yuko tuvuga ibyakorwa kugirango uwo mubano ugaruke, tugomba kubanza gusubiza amaso inyuma tukibukiranya ibyabaye gato, bityo tukabona aho duhera tuvuga ibyakorwa. Iyo tuzi, amahano yakozwe n'abo bita abanyarwanda, bayakorera abanyarwanda, akorerwa mu Rwanda. Muri make abo bireba ni abanyarwanda. Barishe, barasahura, baratwika, ibyo byose babikorera igihugu cyabo, babikorera bagenzi babo b'abanyarwanda. Aba urumva ari abanyarwanda buzuye? Ntitwakwiyibagiza ko habayeho abanyarwanda nyabo kandi bakundaga igihugu cyabo; bafite umubano, urukundo, batarya imitsi ya bagenzi babo basangiye ivuko. Ntitwakwiyibagiza ko ubu dufite abanyarwanda Tutsi, Hutu na Twa, arinabo banasenyeye igihugu kikaba kigeze aho tukibona ubu. Umubano w'abanyarwanda ntabwo ari mwiza; ubibona ko ari mwiza nawe ari mu bagomba kwitabwaho kuko nta mubano waba uhari abantu bahora ku nkeke, abandi nabo bapfa bazira abo bava inda imwe. Uwo mubano wajemo igitotsi, ariko abantu ntabwo babona kimwe icyo gitotsi, ni nayo mpamvu batabonakimwe uburyo cyavanwamo. Ariko icyo mbona ni uko abanyarwanda baba abategets, abaturage, buri muntu mu rwego rwe aribo bireba ahanini. Ni ukuvuga ko icyo tuvuye umunyarwanda, tugomba kumva utari Tutsi, Twa, Hutu; tugomba kumenya ko ubumwe, umuco ahanini aribyo bizatwerekana ko turi abanyarwanda. Muri uwo muco harimo n'uwamahoro hagati yacu.

Mu banyarwanda ni bande bakeneye kwiunga? Ni bande bagomba kwitanga cyane kugira ubwiyunge bube? Aha hagomba ubwitange bwa buri munyarwanda; mu rwego arimo bityo akitangira igihugu cye.

Igihugu ni abaturage, ni ukuvuga ko u Rwanda ari abanyarwanda. Jyewe mbona uko inzego zitandukanye mu Rwanda ari nako inshingano zigomba gutandukana; ariko ahanini nyinshi zirasa. Ntabwo ko no muri buri rwego naho zigiye zitandukana hakurikijwe uruherekane rw'inzego nto zirugize. Mu Rwanda rero hari inzego eshatu; izo nzego zitandukanya inshingano zazo mu mibaniremyishya y'abanyarwanda bahindutse umunyarwanda Tutsi, Hutu na Twa. Izo nzego ni ubutegetsi, ubutabera n'abaturage (ahanini ni narwo rwego runini rubumbye nyinshi kandi zikenewe). Ubutegetsi bukaba ari uguhera k'ubw'imirenge, uturere no murwego rw'igihugu. Abaturage dusangamo: abakozi baciriritse, urubiruko n'abanyeshuri. Tukaba tugiye kurebera hamwe buri rwego inshingano zarwo n'ibirureba.

I. UBUTEGETSI

Ubutegetsi ni umutwe w'abanyarwanda, niho ahanini abantu baba bahanze amaso, niho hagomba gutekereza icyagirira Abanyarwanda akamaro. Ubutegetsi twabonye ko burimo inzego nyinshi ariko zose zigomba guhuriza hamwe kuri ibi bikurikira jye mbona ko byaba inshingano kugirango abaturage babo babane neza:

1) INYIGISHO NYINSHI

Ubutegetsi bugomba gutekura inyigisho nyinshi. Izo nyigisho zigomba guhera mu bategetsi (kugirango ababa bayobya abaturage nabo bamenye), nyuma hagakurikiraho abaturage, hagakurikiraho gahunda nkiyo mu mashuri (ayisumbuye n'amato).

IBIGOMBA KWIBANDWAHO

a) Hagomba kwigishwa uburyo umunyarwanda wa kera yari abanye na mugenzi we, ibyamurangaga kugirango abe umunyarwanda utari nk'abubu.

Aha niho hakwigishwa umuco wo kubana neza n'abandi dushingiye ku bakurambere bacu.

- b) Hagomba kwerekana mu by'ukuri ko ubu nta umunyarwanda uriho, ahubwo ko hariho umunyarwanda TUTSI, TWA na HUTU, NDUKA na KIGA. Aha niho hakwerekanywamo ingaruka zo kutumvikana ku bwene gihugu bwanyu.
- c) Hagomba gusobanurwa igihugu icyo ari cyo n'uburyo wa gikorera kuko abenshi batabizi. Bakabwirwako u Rwanda ari Abanyarwanda atari imisozi cyangwa amashyamba, ko rero atari byo bigomba gukundwa.
- d) Hagomba kwigishwa agaciro k'umuntu muri rusange, ni ukuvuga ko bagomba kwigisha uburenganzira bw'umuntu.

2) GUTANGIRA IGIKORWA CYOKWIGISHA ABANTU BAKUZE

Abantu bakuze nibwo tugenderaho ubu mu bitekerezo, kandi ibitekerezo byabo bimwe aho bitujeje twese twarahabonye; niyo mpamvu hagomba kubanzwa abo bantu kwigishwa inyigisho twavuze haruguru. Nibatabanzwa kwigishwa, hashobora kuba ingorane iye mbona ko atari nziza.

a) Ubwumvikane buke n'abana babo

Iyo abana babanje kwiga, iyo batashye bagerageza kwigisha ababyeyi babo, iyo ababyeyi basanze bidahuye n'ibyo bo batekereza (bunva) ko ari ukuri, bituma bavuga ngo abana bishe umuco. Bityo ugasanga umubyeyi avuga ngo abana barananiye.

b) Kuvuga ngo tubifate uko biri

Iyo batabyisobanuriye, ukabasobanurira bavuga ngo; tubifate uko biri ni ibutware bivuye. Bigatuma bagumana wa muco wabo wo kwangana bavana ku kantu gato batasobanuriye. Kandi ntabwo aba abiyemeye cyangwa ngo abihakane, ahubwo aba yikiriye.

Ibi bikaba bya korerwa mu makoraniro amara igihe (ingando), mu manama y'abaturage, mu mirengi, mu mahugurwa no mu mashuri. Ikindi hagomba gukoreshwa ingando zihuza abaturage b'uduce tunyuranye, bagahura imico kandi nabo bakahamenyeranira bityo bagasabana.

Abategetsi bo munzega zo hasi bagomba guhugurwa byihutirwa kugirango babe abambere gucengeza amahoro mashya yo kuba umunyarwanda umwe.

3) KWIRINDA GUSAHURA

Abategetsi bagomba kumva ko ari Abanyarwanda kandi bakorera abanyarwanda. Bagomba gukora neza kugira ngo bashake icyateza umunyarwanda imbere. Nibatangira barya abavandimwe babo (babasahura), ubwo hazaba hari n'abandi bazaba basahurira. Ni ukuvuga ko hazaba umunyarwanda usahurirwa n'usahurwa kandi ngo bagomba guhuzwa n'usahura. Ngaho ahazaturuka nanone andi macakubiri avuye kunda (kugusahura) ugiriye umuvandimwe wawe. Ntabwo ibitekerezo bizaba bigihuye ngo mugire umubano mwiza hagati yanyu. Minaho haturuka kumva ngo umuyobozi uyu n'uyu bamwishe.

4) HAGOMBA GUKOresha UKURI

Abategetsi bo mu nzego zose bagomba gukoresha ukuri kugirango n'umugambi w'ubwiyunge uhe ukuri kandi mu kuri. Bagomba kwirinda gusumbanya abantu; ku bibazo abantu benshi bahuriyeho kandi bese bibababaje. Urwego uru n'uru rugomba gukoresha ukuri. rutitwaje uburemere bwa rwo cyangwa ubworohye bwawo.

Bagomba kubwiza abanyarwanda ukuri mu bibazo igihugu cyabo gifite; kuko nihataba ukuri, hakaza ibyo byo gusumbanya abantu, bizatuma umunyarwanda yumva ko hari aho ahejwe cyangwa ko hari ibibazo bitamureba agomba kwima amatwi.

- Kwirinda kubogamira ku karere aka n'aka

- Kuvugisha ukuri kubibazo byose ndetse n'umubano hagati y'abategetsi n'abaturage.

5. GUSURA ABATURAGE

Abategetsi bagomba gusura abaturage mu byaro aho batuye, ubwabo bagatanga ibitekerezo n'ingorane zabo, bakanabwirwa ndetse bakanababwira, uko bo babona urubano wabo. Rimwe na rimwe usanga abategetsi bo hasi abenshi ari abanyarwanda Tutsi, Hutu cyangwa Twa, bituma bigisha ibyo bazi.

Mugusura abaturage niho abategetsi bumvira ibitekerezo by'abaturage ku nyubakire y'igihugu cyabo kandi, bakumva ko bose ntawuhejwe ku gihugu cyabo kandi ari nabo barebwa mu kugiteza imbere.

6. UBWITANGE N'UBWUBAHANE

Ubu hagomba ubwitange bw'abategetsi muri iki gihe turimo cyo gushakira abanyarwanda ubwiyunge. Ubwitange butigisha amacakubiri ahubwo bwubaka kandi bubanisha.

Abategetsi bagomba kubaha abaturage. Ntabwo hazaba umubano mushya (ubwiyunge) hagati y'abanyarwanda hatariho ubwubahane hagati y'abayobozi n'abayoborwa. Hagomba kubahana kuko icyo bitabaye n'intege wiyemeje ntigerwaho kandi bigatuma nawe wishakira abayoboze. Abategetsi ni bo bagomba gutangira kuko ahanini bigaragara ko basuzugura abaturage bityo ntibababwire ibibazo byabo kubera gusuzugurana.

II. AMADINI

Ku rwego rw'ubutegetsi ntitwa kwibagirwa n'ubutegetsi bw'amadini nabwo bugomba kugira inshingano zokubanisha abaturage. Amadini ni nayo afite inzego mu baturage kandi ni naho bakunda kwegerana (guhura cyane) kandi bagahura n'ibyiciro byose by'abaturage. Ibyo mbona bagomba gukora:

1. Kwigisha urukundo

Muri ibi bihe haravugwa amadini, bavugaga ngo abanyamadini barishe, ngo amadini ntiyumvikana. ukubera wa mubano (urukundo) mucye uri mu bantu. Ni ukuvuga ko urwo rukundo rutagomba kuba mu bantu gusa, ahubwo bagomba kurerekana hagati yabo n'abo bayobora, cyane cyane mumirimo y'urukundo. Amadini agomba kunga ubumwe (kugirana urukundo hagati yayo) kuko ubu nayo arwanyana, kandi ari abaturage bagwamo. Aha bagomba gusura cyane cyane abaturage kandi batarobanura uri mu'idini yabo. Bagomba gukangurira abaturage Imana kuko ari urukundo.

2. GUKORESHA (KUVUGISHA) UKURI

Bagomba kuvugisha ukuri kandi bakerekana mu kuri ibibazo n'imibereho y'abaturage bashinzwe. Muri uko gukoresha ukuri niho hazamo kutabogama mu mishinga amadini aba yateguriye abaturage; nko gutanga imfashanyo. Uwo umurimo wabo ari ukwigisha urukundo nizere ko bitazaruhanya.

3. KWIRINDA KUBOGAMA

Nyuma y'ibi tumaze kuvuga, hariyongeraho kutabogama kw'amadini.

- Bagomba gutanga abakoze ibyaha bose (itsemba bwoko n'itsembatsemba), amategako akabahana, batavuze ngo simutanga ngo ari mu'idini yanjye ngomba kumuhisha, ngo ni umuyoboze wanjye. Aho niho abanyarwanda bazerekanyira ubwitange mu gushakira ubwiyunge.
- Abaturage nabo bagomba kureba ukuri kw'Imana batagiyemo ngo ni uko umuyobozi w'itorero ari uwibwabo. Muri make ubutegetsi bwose bugomba gushyira hamwe. Ubutegetsi bugomba kutivanga mu by'ubutabera cyane cyane mu mafuti.

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III. UBUCAMAZA

Iyuma y'amanyarwanda yabaye mu Rwanda, dukomeye ubucamanza nyabwo atari ubwo gufifika cyangwa guca ku mubande. Iyi by'ingenzi harimo guca imanza neza, bityo uwakosheje agahamwa n'amategako uko abiteganyaga. Umubano w'abanyarwanda usagaruka ari uko abanyarwanda babibonye, ibyo bisakorwa n'abacamanza kandi mu butabera. Ububera nibwo buvuye dutegerejeho amashuri nashya (ubwiyunge) hagati y'abanyarwanda. Ibyo mpamvu bagomba gukoresha ingufu ngo ububera buho.

A. KWIRINDA GUTERANYA ABATURAGE

Ubucamanza nibwo bagomba gukiranura abaturage aho kubatanyaga. Abacamanza bagomba guca imanza ku buryo umuntu aturwa ko yabonywe bikaba byatuma haba uburakari mu batwaga bikaba byatuma ingaruka mbi. Kugira ngo bagere kuri icyo ntego yo guca imanza mu macyi bagomba :

1. Kwirinda Kurya Ruswa

Ruswa ntaho yagusa abantu bashinje n'abashinjwe ibyaha by'itsembatsembe cyangwa ibindi bikurikira umuntu. Icyo gihe abacamanza baba babaye amafaranga kandi ariyo yaduteje ibi. Kwirinda kurya ruswa mu guca imanza nibwo bisatuma haba ububera buho.

2. Kwirinda kubogama

Kwirinda kubogama kuri uyu n'uyu ngo ni uko umuzi cyangwa witwaga bimwe twaga by'amako. Kubogama, uwabonywe nawe azatwaga ko ibyo akora byose utacyo byamugashye kuko ataragashye uko bitwaga. Uwo wamugashye nawe azagenda atwaga amakosa ye bitwaga gutya.

3. GUKUNDA IGIHUGU

Kugirango ube umucamanza ugomba kuba ukunda igihugu. Niba ukunda igihugu ukunda n'abagutuye, kandi icyo ukunda abaturage igihugu cyawe nawe ushaka icyabagira akanaro.

4. GUKUNDA AMATEGEKO

Ubucamanza ugomba gukoresha amategako, umuntu agahamwa n'amategako kuko ariho n'uwakozwe icyaha nawe azajya yurwa ko ahanwe ko yishe amategako. Ntibigashyirwa ko umunyarwanda ahanwe cyangwa ababonywe kubera ko hari ibindi byishyirwa inyuma y'urubanza rwe.

B. GUSHYIRWA GACACA

Gacaca izungu abanyarwanda, igomba gushyirwaho nk'urwego rwa mbere rw'ubucamanza. Ahanini niyo iba ihuriye mu n'abantu benshi; baba abakozwe ibyaha, abakomura mpaka ndetse n'abakorewe ibyaha. Niho honyine hakoreshezwaga ukuri kandi kugaragara kuko ahanini n'ababonywe nabo baba bazi imiterere y'icyaha n'uwakozwe icyaha. Abaturage nibwo bonyine bagomba kwishyiriraho abagize urwego rw'ubucamanza (gacaca). Aha rero niho umunyarwanda azerekanyirwa ukuri kwe ko gushyirwa kwiyunga na mugenzi we yemera cyangwa ababonywe ibyaha byakozwe mu ruhame rw'abandi. Nibwo ubucamanza ugomba gukoresha ububera kuko niho hantu hazaturuka ubwiyunge, nibakora bakoreye ku gitsure cyangwa uburunganyaga. Aho niho bagomba ubwiyunge bwose bw'ubucamanza.

IV. ABATURAGE

Abaturage nibwo bagize ahanini inkongi ikomeye y'igihugu kandi ni nabo barebwa n'ibibazo byose. Sinavuye ko ariwo urwego rwa nyuma kuko hari n'urwa gisirikare rwo rushinzwe kurinda umutekano w'abaturage igihugu.

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Ibi baturage harimo ibyiciro byinshi, ariko byose bihuriye ku ntego zimwe cyangwa inshingano zimwe. Aha rero turashaka kuvuga inshingano zabo cyangwa ibibagomba ngo bongere babane neza. Izo ntego rero bagomba kwihisha zikaba ari izi:

1. GUKUNDA IGIHUGU

Umuturage (umunyagihugu) agomba gukunda igihugu cyeye, kandi akamenya ko igihugu ari abantu atari imisozi n'imirima nk'uko babitekerereye mu minsi ishize. Bagomba rero gushakira icyagiteza imbere aho kugisubiza inyuma. Ubu turashakira gutera imbere mu mahoro, ni yo mpamvu abaturage bagomba gukunda abandi nk'abavandimwe babo, ko ariko n'ubundi bikoraho bakagira ibibazo hagati yabo, nta muntu wo mu kindi gihugu urara mu mashyamba ahunga cyangwa arara mu matongo.

Uruburiko rugomba gukunda igihugu kuko ariwo Rwanda rw'eye aho kurarikira kuba mu Bufaransa (France) ngo niho heza. Iyo ukunze igihugu cyawe ukiri muto bituma nacyo gitera imbere mu bukuru no mu mahoro.

2. KUWIGISHA AMACAKUBIRI

Abanyarwanda bagomba kureka kwigisha abana babo za kanyarwanda Tutsi, Hutu na Twa bavuye ngo ni umuco. Umuco wica abantu, umuco utuma abantu bafungwa, umuco utera inzara n'ubupfakazi n'ubupfubye, uwo ni muco ki? Ahu nabo bagomba kubaza uko kwigisha inyungu bizabaha. Nsanga ari icyo gutema, kwangiriza mugenzi wawe menya ko ari urugingo rw'igihugu cyawe wishe kandi ariwo uza siba icyo cyaho naba adahari.

3. KUBA ABAYOBOZI

Abayobozi b'inze zose bagomba kubaho. Kuho ariho hazaturuka ubumwe, abaturage ni bumvikana n'ubutegetsi bwabo. Ubwumvikane hagati y'abayobozi ni nabwo bumvikane mu bibazo byabo bireba igihugu. Ariko aha ntibivuye gufatanywe mu bikorwa byo gusenyira igihugu cyangwa **kurya imitsi y'abandi**.

4. KUVUGISHA CYANGWA GUKORESHA UKURI

Abaturage kugirango babane bagomba kuvugisha ukuri ku byabazirwa (amateka), ku bibazo byabo no kubifuzo; bagira mu mizamukire y'igihugu. Bagomba ukuri kw'abaturage; kwerekana neza ibyo bakozwe, mu mahano yabaye n'abababwirye ndetse n'ababigizemo uruhare rukomeye, no mu mibanire yabo.

- Abanyarwanda ni bemere ibyaha bakozwe, bamenye ko ari bo bakozeho.
- Nibavugishe ukuri kubyo babonye cyangwa bakorewe nta guca ku ruhunde cyangwa kuvuye ngo urishyura.
- Nibareke guhakirizwa mu mafuti cyangwa guca intege ushaka ko ibintu bihindutse ngo arashakira inzira. Niba mubona abikorera mu mafuti ni mu mubwirye kandi ni yanga asimbuze undi ubishoboye (umutegetsi).
- Kwirinda abababwirira ngo bazabatera inkunga mu byo bagiyeye gukora kandi ari amafuti.
- Gufashanya hagati yabo nk'abaturage gihugu kimwe, aho niho hazagaragarira ko bashakira ubumwe nyabwo bitangaho urugero.
- Kwiteza imbere kuko ahanini abashakira abaturage cyangwa ubutegetsi bubashakira byitwaza kubafasha mu bukene bwanyu. Nibabwirye kwiteza imbere ukubeshaho nta kugirango ubone guteza undi imbere, **ni naho umubano wabo uzatera imbere kuko bazakenerana mu milimo myinshi**. Abacuruzi n'abanyenganda bagomba gushora imari yabo, bakoreshe ibitarano, amashyamba byerekanywe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda aho kuja kuyubakisha igorofa i Turayi (Europe). Bagomba no kwibuka ko mu byaro ariho nkingi ya byose (amahoro, amashyamba).

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**ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO
ABANYARWANDA BONGERE
BABANE NEZA**

NGARAMBE Jérôme

**ECOLE TECHNIQUE
OFFICIELLE DE KIBUYE**

4^{ème} ANNEE

MECANIQUE AUTOMOBILE

1

ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA

Nyuma y'amarorerwa y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yabaye mu Rwanda, byagaragaye ko ari politike mbi yaranze iki gihugu cyacu yabiteye, none ubu tugeze mu gihe cyo kureba noneho icyakorwa ku rwego rw'ubucamanza, urw'ubutegetsi no ku rwego rw'umuturage, kugirango abanyarwanda bongere babane neza nyuma yayo marorerwa. Mu by'ukuri, iyo umuntu arebye kure asanga ibyabaye mu Rwanda birenze ukwemera; ku ruhande rw'abacitse ku icumu usanga byarabasigiye intimba itazabava ku mutima, ku rundi ruhande, usanga byarabasigiye icyasha cy'ubugizi bwa nabi aho bari hose.

Ku ruhande rw'ubucamanza, bwari bukwiye kureba koko abahamwa n'icyaha cy'ubwicanyi bakabahana by'intangarugero, kugira ngo hatazagira n'umunyarwanda uzongera gutekereza kuba yakwica undi. Aho ndavuga abari mu rwego rwa ruharwa. Ibyo byo guhana abo mu rwego rwa ruharwa by'intangarugero, ni ukugirango ubwiyunge bugaruke, umunyarwanda yumve ko arenganurwa. Ubucamanza bwari bukwiye nyuma yo kuburanisha, bumaze kubona ko ushinjwa ibyaha aregwa bimuhama bukurikije igihano bwamuhaye, nk'uhamwa n'icyaha gihanishwa igihano cy'urupfu yajya ahanirwa imbere y'abanyarwanda bose kugirango abere abandi urugero, hato n'uwari ufite umutima w'ubunyamaswa umuvemo maze atangire ayoboke inzira y'ukuri, y'umubano mwiza n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda.

Mu bucamanza, abacamanza bagomba guha uburenganzira busesuye uburana, n'ubwo bwose yazanamo amananza; bagomba ku mureka maze bagakurikiza amategeko agenga iburanishwa, kugirango abanyarwanda bumve neza uburenganzira uburana afite imbere y'ubucamanza, maze na natsindwa nibyo aregwa, umunyarwanda yumve ko n'ubwo bwose atsinzwe ariko yahawe uburenganzira bwe imbere y'ubucamanza. Ubucamanza mbere yo gutumira uburana, bugomba kubimumenyesha mbere y'igihe cyo kuburana kugirango ategure urubanza rwe neza, nibinashoboka ashake umuburanira. Bityo ibyo bizagira uruhare runini mu mibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda, kuko buri wese azumva arenganuwe n'ubucamanza, maze umutima mubi n'ingingimira bikamuvamo.

Ku birebana n'abari munzego zisigaye, ubwo ni nko kuvuga abafite uruhare mu byabaye mu Rwanda, nk'ababa barasahuye n'abakoze ibindi byose byerekeye ku byabaye mu Rwanda, nyuma y'ishinjwa ryabo ubucamanza bugomba kubashyira imbere y'ubutabera, maze bukabacira imanza bukurikije inzego barimo. Ibizaranga imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda, nuko nyuma y'iburanisha abamaze gutsindwa n'ibyo baregwa, bagomba gusabwa n'ubucamanza indishyi n'impozamarira zabo bahemukiye, kugirango nuwo yahemukiye agire umutima wo kumva ko ubucamanza bwagize uruhare runini mu kumurenganura. Ubwo bwiye buzagumya gukomeza neza ari uko nyuma y'ibyo abakoze ibyaha bijyanye n'itsembabwoko basabye imbabazi abo babigiriye. Bigaragara ko ubucamanza buzagira uruhare runini mu bwiye n'imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda, kuko aribwo bwonyine bufite uburenganzira n'ububasha bwo kuba bwacira imanza abagize uruhare mu marorerwa y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yabaye mu Rwanda. Ku bw'ibyo, bugomba kuba koko bufite inshingano nyazo zo kurenganura abantu nta kwegamira ku ruhande uru n'uru, bityo umunyarwanda aho ari hose ajye yishyira yizane, aziko naramuka ahohotewe azaba afite koko ubucamanza buzamurenganura. Nyuma yo gushinjwa, ubucamanza bugomba kureba neza bukurikije inshingano zabwo, niba koko uregwa yaba atarengana.

Kubera ko abahekuye u Rwanda abenshi bari hanze, batari mu gihugu hagati, nababashijwe gufatwa bagashyikirizwa urukiko mpuzamahanga, ubucamanza nk'uko abanyarwanda babwizeye, bugomba gukora ibishoboka byose mu kwihutisha imanza z'abazaburanira mu rukiko mpuzamahanga rwa ARUSHA, kugirango n'umunyarwanda wari ufite ingingimira kubera ko yumva imanza zitihutishwa, zishire maze ubwiye n'imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda ikomeze itere imbere.

Ku ruhande rw'ubutegetsi muri rusange, uruhare bwagira kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza, ni uko buri mutegetsi agomba kumva ibibazo bya buri muturage ntacyo ashingiyeho. Ni ukuvuga ko atagomba gushingira ku bwoko, akarere cyangwa igitsina. Abanyarwanda bagafatwa bese kimwe imbere y'amategeko. Ni muri urwo rwego rero buri mutegetsi akwiye gukangurira abo ayobora, umubano mwiza n'ubwiye nyuma y'amarorerwa y'itsembabwoko yabaye mu Rwanda.

Abategetsi bagomba kwigisha kenshi ubwiye mu banyarwanda b'ingeri zose, kuko n'umurenzaho wera ibijumba. Noneho buri munyarwanda akumva ko ntawiremye, ntawavutse aho ashaka, bityo bigatera kumva ko buri muntu wese ari nk'undi. Umutegetsi uwo ariwe wese mu rwego arimo

akumva ko atagomba gushyigikira ikibi nko guhishira umugizi wa nabi uwo ariwe wese kuko wenda amuzi. Umutegetsi uwo ariwe wese mu rwego arimo ,agomba kwirinda ibyamuta mu bishukō bya ruswa, kuko akenshi arizo nzira mbi zihangura uwanze guhanguka, maze zikamukoresha ibibi.

Tutirengagije, tuzi neza ko ubutegetsi bubi, aribwo bwatworetse mu marorerwa y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yabaye mu gihugu cyacu ; bitewe n'inda mbi, ukwikunda no gukandamiza bamwe na bamwe bazira uko baremye cyangwa aho baba. Abategetsi b'u Rwanda rushya bagomba gusobanurira abaturage ko ibyo byose byaranze ubutegetsi bubi bwa kera, babihagurukiye bitazongera kubaho, ko inda nini bayimye amayira, ko kwikunda byavuyemo no gukunda abandi, ko gukandamiza byavuyemo gutonesha bese bityo buri mu nyarwanda wese yumve ko bumufatiye runini, kandi ko yishyira akizana.

Mu gukangurira abanyarwanda imibanire myiza n'ubwiyunge, abategetsi bagomba no kubakangurira guharanira icyabateza imbere kandi kigateza imbere n'igihugu cy'ababyaye aricyo cyabo, bizeyeho ubucya n'ubugumya kwira. Ibyo umunyarwanda akabikora ntagutinya inkubi z'umuyaga zihungabanya ubuzima bwa buri wese. Umunyarwanda akumvishwa ko ari igihugu cye kandi cy'amahoro ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, kandi ko batahiriza umugozi umwe. Maze mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi, ushinzwe amazi akayageza ku baturage nta kurobanura, ushinzwe imibereho myiza y'abaturage akabaha bese kubaho neza, ushinzwe ubuzima bw'abaturage, akabavura ntacyo ashingiyeho.

Abategetsi bakuru bese b'igihugu cyacu bagasura kenshi abaturage babashimangiriza inyungu z'umubano mwiza wabo, kuko tuzi ko ari ubutegetsi bukorera abaturage kandi bw'abaturage. Kugira ngo habeho umubano mwiza w'abanyarwanda usesuye, guverinoma igomba gukemura ibibazo byose byerekeye impunzi, kuko ntawakwiyunga n'uwo atabona kandi ko ubwiyunge butashoboka hakiri bamwe bazi ko ababo baheze ishyanga. Abategetsi bakwiye kugumya guha abahungutse inyigisho ni ukuvuga amahugurwa, bagumya kubasobanurira inshingano n'amahame y'igihugu cyacu kuko usanga bamwe na bamwe nta mutima w'abantu baragarura. Ubutegetsi bugomba kumvisha abantu biciwe ko batagomba kwihorera cyangwa kwishingikiriza undi muntu runaka ngo abe yahohotera undi amufungisha adafite icyo azira. Kumvisha buri muturage ko igihugu gifite ubutegetsi bukorera, babumvisha ko batagomba guhora, ahubwo ko niba hari uwakwiciye, ugomba ku bimenyesha ubutegetsi bukamushyikiriza

ubucamanza. Abategetsi bagomba gukangurira abaturage kwicungira umutekano kuko aribo uturukaho nta rwihekwe cyangwa ubusigané. Kugirango abanyarwanda bumve ko bari barapfuye ubusa, bashake kugarura umubano mwiza, abategetsi bagomba gukora kuburyo nibura buri munyarwanda amenya politiki y'igihugu cyacu. Babasobanurira aho amacakubiri yavuye n'icyayateye. Abategetsi bagomba kumvisha abanyarwanda neza ko kugirango amacakubiri abe ariyo yatugejeje kuri iki cyago cy'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba, atari umunyarwanda wayateye ku ruhare rwe, ahubwo ko ari umuzungu wayazanye. Mu byukuri abategetsi bagomba kubasobanurira ko umuzungu ataraza mu Rwanda bahahirana bagahana inka, bagashyingirana, mbega ko hagati yabo habonekaga umubano uhamye, uzira amakemwa mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu. Abategetsi bakabumvisha ko aho umuzungu aziye, yasanze abanyarwanda bashyize hamwe, abonye ko ntaho yabamenera ngo abatandukanye, aribwo yize umutwe wo kwiyegereza abari batunze inka nyinshi, arabatonesha ari nabwo yabitaga « abatutsi », abasigaye bafite ubutunzi bucye abita « abahutu ». Ubutegetsi bukumvisha abanyarwanda ko kubera gutonesha babandi yise abatutsi, byatumye agumya kubashuka abumvisha ko bari hejuru y'abahutu, maze arongera abaca inyuma yegera ba bahutu abumvisha ko bagomba kwanga no gutsemba abatutsi, aribwo amacakubiri yatangiraga ubwo, maze umututsi agatangira gupfa. Ibyo umuturage namara kubyumva azataha umutimanama we umwumvisha ko bapfuye ubusa, maze atahe asabe imbabazi uwo yahemukiye, maze bongere babane mu rukundo, basabane.

Ku ruhare rw'umuturage wa nyuma y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yagira kugira ngo abanyarwanda babane neza, mbere na mbere ni uko yakwishyiramo ko ari nk'undi akiumvisha ko gutahiriza umugozi umwe nta bwishishanye ari bimwe by'ingenzi mu byagarura imibanire myiza yabo. Umunyarwanda nk'umunyurwanda akumva ko agomba kugira ubufura aho ari hose, aribwo bwarangaga umunyarwanda wo hambere, ubwitonzi bukamuranga kuko « uwitonze akama ishashi » kandi ngo « iyihuse ibyara igihumye ». Umunyarwanda wa nyuma yayo marorerwa, agomba kuzirikana ko aho ari hose agomba kwirinda icyakomeretsa mugenzi we cyangwa se cyashengura uwashengutse. Yego bizwi ko umuntu ari umuntu kandi ko ahari umuntu hanuka uruntu runtu. Yego tuzi ko nta zibana zidakubitana amahembe, ariko buri munyarwanda akiumvisha n'umutima mwiza ko agomba kubana neza n'abandi: umunyarwanda agomba kwimenya, akirinda ubugome, ubuhemu, umujinya kuko nyir'umujinya yijinya. Tuzi ko uburenganzira bw'umuntu wese butangirira aho ubw'undi burangirira, ni ukuvuga ko rero ko buri wese afite uburenganzira n'uburyo bwo kubaho, ari n'ayo mpamvu ntawe ugomba kubangamira undi mu mibereho ye iyo ariyo yose. Ni

muri urwo rwego umunyarwanda abwirizwa kugarura cyangwa gukora ibyamugirira we n'abanyarwanda bese akamaro, agashaka icyakunga ibikomere bye, agerageza kwiyunga no kubabarira uwagize nabi ariko asabye imbabazi. Nk'uko ubwoko bwabwirizwa mu ndangamuntu, bikanasibwa mu mitima y'abanyarwanda maze urubyaro ruzibarukwa, ruzavuke rusanga umunyarwanda nta buhutu, nta butwa cyangwa ubututsi, ruzasange turi abanyarwanda bunze ubumwe nta macakubiri, dushyingirana, duhana inka, mbese dusabana muri byose. Umunyarwanda wa nyuma y'aya marorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda, agomba kumva ko u Rwanda rukeneye ingufu z'abana barwo kugirango rugere kuri ubwo bwiye, no ku majyambere y'igihugu cyatubayeye, ariko umvisha ko atagomba gucumbikira cyangwa guhishira umugizi wa nabi aho aya akagera, kuko byaba ari ugusubiza inyuma amahoro n'urukundo bikwiye u Rwanda. Umunyarwanda w'iki gihe agomba kwitabira amashyirahamwe atari ay'abamwe yunze ubumwe, kandi yikorera anakorera abanyarwanda bese, ariyo atuma umunyarwanda yumva ko atari wenyine, afite inkingi yisunga kugira ngo atarohama mu bwigunge, ahubwo yishingikirize, ubufatanye, inama z'uburinganire bwa buri wese. Kugira ngo ubwiye bushoboke neza, ni uko umunyarwanda yumva ko yagiriye undi nabi, yaramwiciye cyangwa yaramukoreye ikindi cyaha yaza akamusaba imbabazi amwumvisha ko ibyo yamukoreye yabitewe n'ubutegetsu bubi bwabashoye mu ntambara. N'uwiciye amaze kumva no kubona ko uwamugiriye nabi yicishije bugufi amusaba imbabazi nawe akurikije uko umutimanama umuyobora akamubabarira maze bakongera bakabana. Niba hari umuryango ufite ufunze abe ntibahabwe akato, buri munyarwanda wese akumva ko umuntu adahanirwa undi kandi atazizwa undi, bakumva neza ko icyaha ari icya nyiracyo kandi gihanisha nyir'ubwite, bityo hakavaho nk'ibya cya kirura ngo « niba atari wowe ni mwene wanyu », ubwo umubano w'abasigaye ugashimangirwa. Umaturage akirinda kubeshyera mugenzi we wenda bafite ikindi bapfa, kuko icyo cyaha cy'itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko gihita gifatwa nk'ihame, bityo urengana agafungwa. Maze ibyo biramutse bigezweho, umunyarwanda akongera agashyingira agashyingirwa, agatanga, agahabwa inka, mbese nkuko umubano wari umeze kera.

Banyarwanda banyarwandakazi, muzi neza ko amarorerwa y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ari ikibazo cyazaniye ingaruka mbi kuri buri munyarwanda, none ubu dukurikije igihe tugezemo, ubutegetsu, ubucamanza ndetse n'abaturage, bari bakwiye gufata ingamba koko zihamye kugirango bahindure imiterere yabamwe bagifite umutima w'ubunyamaswa bahumirize n'ushaka kubiba amahoro, maze babumvishe nyabyo inzira bagomba gucamo, inzira y'ubumwe, y'ubutabera

n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, aribyo bizabageza mu nzira nziza y'umubano mwiza nyuma y'aya marorerwa y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yabaye mu Rwanda. Tutirengagije tuziko kugirango habeho amahoro n'amajyambere ya buri wese, bisabagijwe n'ubumwe hagati ya buri muntu n'undi, hagombye kubaho icyo nakwita ntya » Kubona mugenzi wawe ukamubonamo ishusho imeze nk'iyawe ». Bityo byamara kuducengera twese mu buzima, tukabasha gushyikirana nta rwihekwe. Niba hari igikomere uzi ko ufite ku mutima, gisohore kugirango worohereze mugenzi wawe ndetse n'abandi ushobora gutera ibibazo ku mpamvu yo gutsimbarara ku makosa, ibyo mu banyarwanda ntibyagombye kubaho, kandi ntibikazongere no kubaho.

Ariko se ubundi ni kuki tutagomba guhana amahoro, Ese byadutwara iki? Njyewe ndabona nkuko nabivuze niwumva ko ukeneye amahoro nawe ugaha undi amahoro, uru Rwanda rwacu ndumva rwagira amahoro azira amakemwa. Niba uri umuturage ukubahiriza amategeko akugenga kandi utabangamiye buri wese, ndetse waba n'umuyobozi ukayobora nkuko inshingano zawe zibigusaba byagera ndetse kubacamanza bikaba intangarugero mu kurengera buri mu nyarwanda bitewe nuko babibona, kandi binyuze mu nzira ntabera.

Buri munyarwanda wese yagombye kugira uruhare rukomeye muri iki gihe tugezemo, kugirango tworoherane kandi tubane mu mahoro, dusabane ntarwikekwe n'idindi byose byatambamira umubano mwiza uranga abunze ubumwe.

Munyarwanda mbisubiremo! Shyiraho akawe buri mugenziwawe umubonemo ishusho yawe, maze tuzarebe uko ushobora guhemukira umuvandimwe kanyarwanda nkawe. Wamuhemukira ute se igihe uzaba umubonamo ishusho yawe?

Sinarangiza ntashimiye guverinoma y'ubumwe, ubushake n'ubwitange yagize bwogukemura ibibazo by'abanyarwanda navuze muri iyi nyandiko, nubwo bwose navuga ko ikiri mu nzira itari ndende mu gushakashaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda.

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IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA MU MASHURI YISUMBUE.

INTERURO Y'INYANDIKO: ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

IZINA: BYUKUSENGE MOLIYELI

ISHURI: JOC-KIGALI

UMWAKA: WA KANE

ISHAMI: UBUCURUZI N'IBARURAMALI.

ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

Nkuko mubizi igihugu cy'u Rwanda cyaranzwe n'ibintu byinshi. Ariko nk'uko bikunze kugaragara, iyo umuntu avuze amateka y'u Rwanda (ijambo amateka yonyine) abantu bahita batekereza kubibi cyangwa amakuba byakunze kuranga iki gihugu. Aha; umuntu ashobora kwibaza impamvu bene nk'ibyo aribyo bikunze kuza ku murongo wambere. Ariko impamvu zishobora kuba nyinshi kandi zinyuranye. Nyamara nk'abantu bashyira mu gaciro, ibyo bibi byari bikwiye kwibukwa kugira ngo bitazongera kurangwa mu mateka y'iki gihugu kuko byagaragaye ko ingaruka z'ibyo byose ntawe zitageraho.

Reka noneho dusubize amaso inyuma gato turebe icyateye ayo makuba mu Rwanda, ingaruka zayo ndetse n'uko buri mu nyarwanda wese, mu nzego zose yagira uruhare mu kurwanya ayo macakubiri no mu gusibanganya inkovu zose zaba zaratewe n'ayo marorerwa, maze ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bukongera bukaba ubumwe nyabwo.

Muri iki gihugu cy'u Rwanda, kuva mu gihe cya gikoronize, ubwo abanyarwanda bari batangiye kumva no gushaka gukurikira inzira ya kidemokarasi, hatangiye kuboneka amacakubiri mu banyarwanda. Ibyo bikaba byaratangiye kugaragara cyane cyane ubwo havukaga amashyaka yari agamije gukuraho ubutegetsu bwa cyami. Ayo mashyaka rero, amwe muriyo yashingiye ku moko ari nacyo kintu cyambere twavugaga ko cyashyamiranyije abanyarwanda kugeza na n'ubu. Kuva icyo gihe bamwe mu banyepolitiki bo muri iki gihugu bakomeje kurangwa no kwifashishainzira z'amoko n'uturere kugira ngo babone uko bategeka bitabavunnye. Ibyo rero bikaba byaratumye hageze y'amoko abiri "abahutu n'abatutsi" hazamo ikintu kitari kiza. Nyamara bitabaturutseho.

Uko rero ubutegetsu bwakoraga iyo Politiki mbi niko abanyarwanda bo muri ayo moko yombi bagendaga batakaza ikizere bafitanye, kugeza ubwo mu mwaka w'1994 habaye intambara y'itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko ubwo abatutsi n'abahutu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu bwariho bicwaga bitewe nyine n'ubutegetsu bubi bwariho icyo gihe. Kuba rero ubutegetsu bwari buriho butarashoboye guhagarika iryo tsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko kandi ibyo byose bigakorwa abategetsu babireba, byatumye hapfa imbaga y'abantu batabarika kandi b'inzira karengane. Usibye ibyo kandi hari n'izindi ngaruka nyinshi muri iki gihugu zatewe n'ayo marorerwa kuko hasigaye imfubyi, abapfakazi benshi cyane, abantu batakaje abo muri-ryango yabo, inshuti zabo,....

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Ariko cyane cyane nanone igiteye inkeke; n'ukuba imitima y'abanyarwanda yarakomeretse, kubana kwarakonje, urukundo ruba ruke kwizerana kuba guke mu banyarwanda, gusabana gutangira kugira imipaka. Ibyo bikaba byaratumye imibanire y'abanyarwanda yarabaye mibi. Izindi ngaruka nazo zabayeho, zirimo kuba abanyarwanda barahunze ari benshi bakajya mu mahanga; ariko n'ubwo igice kinini cyabo cyamaze gutahuka, abakiri hanze n'ubu ntiwabura kuvuga ko ikibazo cyabo cyaba gitera ibindi bibazo igihugu cy'u Rwanda.

Muri make rero iyo urebye neza; nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye muri iki gihugu cy'u Rwanda, usanga mu Rwanda, ubusabane, ubwizerane, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge hagati y'abanyarwanda byarapoyotse. Aha umuntu yakwibaza umuti cyangwa ikindi cyakorwa kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

Nyamara mu by'ukuri uwo muti ntabwo uri kure kuko ntahandi washakirwa uretse muri iki gihugu kandi buri munyarwanda akagira uruhare mukuwutanga. Dore biri n'amahire kuko umubare munini w'abanyarwanda bari barahungiyemo mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda batahutse. Bityo rero buri munyarwanda uwo ariwe wese akaba akwiriye kwiyumvisha ko akwiriye kugira uruhare rugaragara mu kuzahura ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abatuye u Rwanda. Ni ukuvuga ko umunyarwanda wese murwego arimo arebwa n'icyo kibazo duherereye ku nzego z'ubutegetsi, ubucamanza, abanyamadini, abanyamakuru, kugeza kumuturage wo hasi ndetse n'izindi nzego zitavuzwe hano. Reka turebe mu magambo arambuye uruhare buri rwego rwagira kugira ngo koko abanyarwanda bongere babane nk'uko bikwiriye abavandimwe, kandi bongere barangwe n'ubusabane ndetse n'ubumwe hagati yabo.

URUHARE RW'UBUCAMANZA: Bitewe n'uko amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda yakoze n'abantu banyuranye kandi b'ingeri zose; biraruhije kuba umuntu mu bakoze ayo mahano yakwiyemerera icyaha ngo asabe imbabazi. Kubera ibyo rero, ubucamanza nibwo bwonyine bufite ububasha bu gufata no guhana abo bakoze ibyaha by'ubwicanyi ndetse no guca imanza izo arizo zose z'ibibazo ibyo aribyo byose biri hagati y'abatuye iki gihugu nk'uko amategeko abigena.

Kubera rero izo nshingano z'ubucamanza, ni ngombwa ko ubucamanza bugira kandi bukuzuzwa ibyangombwa byose kugira ngo bwuzuzwe izo nshingano. Kugira ngo imibanire y'abanyarwanda yongere ibe myiza ni ukubucamanza bwagiramo uruhare rugaragara. Ubucamanza mbere yabyose bugomba kuba bufite abakozi babifitiye ubushobozi. Ubucamanza bugomba gukoresha ukuri bugaca imanza zitabera kandi nta kubogama.

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Kugira ngo ibibazo biri hagati y'abanyarwanda bikemuke, ni uko imanza z'abakoze ibyaha zakwihutishwa, maze bagacirwa imanza bakurikije ibyo bakoze nk'uko amategeko abigena. Ikindi kandi abarengana bakarekurwa bagahanagurwaho icyaha, abo bihana nabo bakabihanirwa hakurikijwe amategeko. Ikindi kandi hagaragaye ko hari abantu bamwe nabamwe bafungwa kandi ari abere ahubwo bazira inzangano basanzwe bafitanye n'ababarega cyangwa se bazira imitungo yabo. Ibyo rero mu by'ukuri igihe cyose bizaba bikirangwa muri iki gihugu bizaba bigito-koza kandi bibangamira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda.

Ubucamanza kandi ni ngombwa ko bukora akazi kabwo butaro-banura kubutoni. Muri make ni ngombwa kwirinda ruswa kuko ari ikintu kibi kandi ruswa iyo ihawe intebe ubwo ukuri kuba gushyizwe iruhande, kandi ntawe uyobewe ko ahatari ukuri nta bumwe buharangwa.

Ubucamanza rero, bukoze ibyo bugomba gukora nk'uko bikwiriye, bukarangwa n'ukuri bwaba bugize uruhare rukomeye mukunga abanyarwanda ndetse n'ingeso yo kudahana igacika burundu atari mu magambo gusa. Ndetse nta gushidikanya uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu mu Rwanda bwakubahirizwa.

URUHARE RW'UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU: Kugira ngo koko ubwizerane, ubusabane n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bigere ku rwego rukwiriye abavandimwe, inzego zose z'ubutegetsi kuva kuri guverinoma kugeza kubuyobozi bwo munzego zo hasi zikwiriye kurushaho kwegera abaturage. Abayobozi muri izo nzego zose bagomba guhuriza hamwe imbaraga zabo n'ibitekerezo byabo mu kuyobora igihugu; bagerageza gushakira ikintu cyose cyazana amahoro bakarwanya icyazana umutekano muke. Mbere y'ibindi byose abayobozi bakwirinda gukora amakosa anengwa ko yakorwaga n'ubutegetsi bwavuyeho kuko haramutse hakiriho bene ayo makosa ku bayobozi bashya b'igihugu, ntabwo igihugu cyaba kigana.

Ikindi kandi ni uko kugira ngo abanyarwanda barangwe n'ubumvikane ari uko bizahera kubayobozi, ntihongere kugaragara amacakubiri mumitegekere y'igihugu kuko icyo amacakubiri abaye mu bayobozi adatinda no kugera mu baturage kandi byaragaragaye.

Abayobozi kandi mu nzego zose ni ngombwa ko birinda gushakira inyungu zabo bazishakira mu mutungo w'igihugu kuko icyo urebye neza usanga gushakira gukora vuba biri nabyo mu byahakuye u Rwanda. "Kwitangira igihugu ndetse byaba byiza ndetse byaba byiza wemeye ^{kugira} ibyo upfirwa ariko ugasohozwa umurimo washinzwe n'abakugiriye ikizere". Ibyo bibaye intego y'abayobozi b'igihugu cy'u Rwanda muri iki gihe amahoro yakwiyongera.

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Abashinzwe umutekano bagomba kurwanya bivuye inyuma ikintu cyose gishobora guhungabanya umutekano. Ingero: ikibazo cy'amasambu, amazu, ibiyobyabwenge, ubujura, mayibobo,..... kuko bene ibyo (tutibagiwe n'abagizi ba nabi ndetse n'abacengezi) bituma umutekano w'abaturage uhungabana kandi abaturage badafite umutekano nta mahoro aba ahari, kandi buri wese azi neza ko ahatari amahoro nta gitunganye cyangwa ikiza kiharangwa.

Kugira ngo kandi abaturage babe umwe ni uko imyigishirize n'imirere y'urubyiruko ikwiriye kwitabwaho. Kuko urubyiruko arirwo ruanda rw'ejo. Dukwiriye kuzirikana ko urubyiruko rufite imbaraga kandi ko ruteguwe neza rwakubaka igihugu. Ikindi kandi ko rudateguwe neza aho kucyubaka rwacyoreka. Ibyo ngira ngo, ntawe utabizi. Kuko mu bikorwa bibi byaranze iki gihugu, urubyiruko rwagizemo uruhare kandi bitewe n'uko ari bene ibyo baruhamagariye ndetse bakana-birutoza. Kugira ngo rero ibyo bintu bibi bitazongera, abayobozi bayobora igihugu cy'u Rwanda bagomba kwimira inyigisho izo ari zo zose zishobora gutuma urubyiruko ruta umurongo muiza, ahubwo ubutegetsibukihatira kwiyegeze urubyiruko no kurwegera burubibamo imbuto nziza kuko iyo bitagenze bityo urubyiruko rubi rushobora gushyira igihugu mu kangaratete. Ikindi kandi gikomeye kubaha no gukunda Imana byari bikwiriye kuranga abayobozi bo mu nzego zose kuko, iyo igihugu kiyoborwa n'abayobozi bubaha Imana, ibintu byose bigenda neza, kandi n'igihugu kigira imigisha.

URUHARE RW'ITANGAZAMAKURU: Nkuko bizwi rero itangazamakuru rifite akamaro kanini mumizamukire myiza y'igihugu si ibyo gusa kuko rifite n'uruhare mu kunga no kugarura ikizere mu banyarwanda. Ariko kandi ntabwo itangazamakuru ryabigeraho ubwaryo ryonyine ridafashijwe n'abaturage ndetse n'abayobozi.

Muby'ukuri itangazamakuru rikora ari nk'ijisho ry'abo rikorera (aha ndashaka kuvuga abaturage) ndetse rikanabavugira. Ariko ntawe uyobewe ko ururimi ari rubi kandi rukaba ari narwo rwiza. Agaba ariyo mpamvu itangazamakuru rikonzwe hagambiriwe intego iyi n'iyi rishobora kwigeraho. Ibitari kure ntawe uyobewe ukuntu itangazamakuru ryakore-shajwe mu bikorwa bibi byo guteranya abanyarwanda bityo rikaba ryerebaye imwe mu ntware zo guteranya no gutandukanya abanyarwanda. Kubera ko rero abanyarwanda bamaze kumenya ko itangazamakuru ribi rishobora guteza akaga, niyo mpamvu kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ntabibatanganya buri wese akwiriye kwamagana itangazamakuru rishakira imirimo cyangwa inyungu muguteranya abanyarwanda.

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Muri iki gihugu aho ibintu bigeze, kugira ngo abanyarwanda babe umwe, hakenewe itangazamakuru rivugisha ukuri rigamije gushimangira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'abanyarwanda, gukura abanyarwanda mu bujiji no kubamenyesha inzira nziza yo guteza imbere igihugu cyabo. Kugira ngo kandi igihugu kirusheho kurangwa n'ubumwe, abanyamakuru bakenewe muri iki gihe ni abakora umwuga wabo neza atari abagirwa ibikoresho n'abantu bafite imigambi mibisha. Si abanyamakuru kandi barangwa no gusebanya cyangwa guharabikana bitewe n'inyugu bafitemo kuko bene abo aribo usanga boreka igihugu. Bene iryo tangazamakuru ntirigikenewe kuko aho kuzahura ubumwe bw'igihugu riteranya abagituye.

URUHARE RW'AMADINI:

Mugihugu cy'u Rwanda hari amadini menshi anyuranye. Ariko nubwo anyuranye ibyo ntibibuza ko yose ahuriye ku ntego imwe ariyo yo kwegereza abantu Imana. Ni ubwo iyo ariyo ntego ariko, ntibibuza bamwe mu banyamadini kuba bateshuka cyangwa barateshutse kunshingano zabo bivanga muri Politiki bikaba byaragaye aho bamwe bagiraga uruhare mu marorerwa yabaye muri iki gihugu.

Icyangombwa rero kugira ngo u Rwanda rurangwe n'ubusabane ni uko bene ibyo bitazongere kurangwa mu mateka y'iki gihugu. Abanyamadini bakarushaho kuzuza no gushyira mu bikorwa inshingano zabo babiba imbuto z'ubumwe n'urukundo mu banyarwanda. Bakamagana kandi bagaca burundu amacakubiri mu madini cyangwa mu matorero yabo. Kuko iyo amacakubiri arangwa mu madini ni hahandi nta bumwe buba burangwa mu bayoboke b'ayo madihi kandi tuzi ko abo bayoyoboke ari igice kinini cy'abagize abaturage b'igihugu. Niba rero nta bumwe bafite n'igihugu nacyo nta bumwe kizagira. Ubwo rero birumvikana ko amadini afite uruhare runini mu kunga abanyarwanda munzira ikwiriye ariko cyane cyane bigahera mu nzego z'hejuru.

IYUBAHIRIZWA RY'UBURENGANZIRA BW'IKIREMAMUNTU.

Amategeko arengera ikiremamuntu ni amwe ku isi hose ndetse no mu Rwanda ndahamya ko yamenyakanye. Ariko ikibabaje ni uko bamwe bibwirako kuyubahiriza ari ibya bamwe nyamara buri wese yari akwiriye kubigiramo uruhare. Ubwiyunge buzabaho buri wese mu banyarwanda amaze kuyumvisha ko agomba kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu. Inzego z'ubutegetsi zigafata iya mbere, abayobozi bagatanga urugero r rwiza kubo bayobora. Ubucamanza nabwo bukarushaho kurengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu mu mirimo yabwo kugira ngo irusheho kugenda neza kandi nta mugayo. Bityo uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu nibwubahirizwa n'izo nzego zose umuntu wese wo muri iki gihugu akabwubahiriza, u Rwanda nta kibazo ruzagira kandi nta mwirya uzongera kubaho ukundi muri iki gihugu.

URUHARE RW'UMUTURAGE W'UMUNYARWANDA:

Kugira ngo koko abanyarwanda bongere babane neza mu mahoro, byanze bikunze kubigeraho ni uko: Umunyarwanda wo muri iki gihe cyanyuma y'amarorerwa agomba guhindura ibitekerezo agahindura ndetse n'ibikorwa umuntu akumva ko atagomba gutegekwa ibyo aribyo byose ahubwo nawe agahitamo igikwiye gukorwa kitabangamiye abandi. Umuturage w'u Rwanda rw'iki gihe yari akwiye kureka kwikunda no kwizirikana ubwe gusa ahubwo akazirikana n'abandi. Ndetse byarushaho, kuba byiza buri munyarwanda yibwiyeko mugenzi we amuruta aho kwiyumba nk'uri hejuru y'abandi.

Buri munyarwanda ahereye kubyabaye yari akwiriye kumva no kwiyumvisha ko aho uburenganzira bwe burangirira ariho ubw'undi butangirira kandi akarushaho kwiyumvisha ko mugenzi we atari mwene wabo gusa, uwo bahuje ubwoko cyangwa akarere. Byaba bibabaje umunyarwanda akomeje kumva ko umuzungu uturutse hakurya y'amazi bashobora gusabana no gukundana ndetse akamubera umuvandimwe ariko akaba atakandagira mu rugo rw'uwo badahuje ubwoko kandi bese ari bene kanyarwanda! Ibyo byazagezehe? Birakwiriye ko abanyarwanda bagirana urukundo rwa kivandimwe.

Amahoro azaganza i Rwanda kandi, igihe cyose umunyarwanda yaba uworoheje cyangwa ukomeye, umukire cyangwa umukene azimika ukuri mu bikorwa bye byose, ibyo gushyiraho bikavaho (dore ^{ko} bisigaye byarabaye nk'ihame mu muco nyarwanda kandi ahubwo biwusebye.)

Nibwo hamwe bazabasha kwemera ibyaha byabo bagasaba imbabazi kandi igihugu cyaranzwe n'ukuri kitarangwa n'imbabazi nta kabuza kiba gifite n'urukundo hagati y'abagituye. Bibaye gutyo umunyarwanda akarangwa no kuvugisha ukuri nta buryarya, nta kabuza buri wese yakumva ko agomba gufatanya n'abandi kuko burya ngo nta mutwe umwe wigira inama ahubwo wifasha gusara.

Kugira ngo ibyo byose bishoboke kandi ni uko umunyarwanda wese yashyira imbere umuco w'amahoro mu byo akora byose n'aho ari hose. Uwatakeje abantu be cyangwa ibintu bye muri ariya amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda akirinda umutima wo gushaka kwihorera (kuko burya ^{ngo} guhora si ukw'abantu) ahubwo akwiye kwitabaza inzego z'ubucamanza kuko ziriho kandi zishinzwe gukemura ibyo bibazo. Ufite abe bafunzwe kandi koko bazira ibyo bakoze nawe akiyumvisha ko uwayumvisha ko uwakosheje agomba no guhanwa. Naho urengana akagenda inzego zibishinzwe zikamurenganura. Ikindi kandi umuturage w'umunyarwanda niyemera ibyo byose nta kabuza igihugu kizagira amahoro kuko ariwe shingiro rya byose.

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Muri make rero igihugu cy'u Rwanda gifite ingorane nyinshi cyashyizwemo n'intambara y'itsemba bwoko n'itsemba tsemba. Muri izo ngorane rero harimo no kuba ubwizerane n'ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda bidashyitse. Nyara ariko umuti wo kuzahura ubwo bwiyunge n'ubwizerane ugomba gutangwa na buri munyarwanda kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza.

Ibyo bizagerwaho rero igihe buri wese mu banyarwanda azishyiramo intego yo kubahiriza ubwenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu aho ari hose, mu byo akora byose cyangwa no mubyo ashinzwe wongeyeho no munzego z'ubutegetsi ndetse n'ubucamanza. Ariko igikwiriye kuza kumurongo wambere ni ukwimika ukuri mu bikorwa ibyo aribyo byose kandi munzego zose guhera guhera kubuyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu kugeza ku muturage wo hasi. Ibyo nibigerwaho, nta kabuza abanyarwanda bazongera babane neza.

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KIGALI, kuwa 25 Nyakanga 1997

**IRUSHANWA RY'UMUSHINGA UTEGURA INYIGISHO
Y'UMUCO W'AMAHORO UBIFASHIJWEMO NA PNUD**

NSENGIYUMVA Gérard
5^{ème} COMMERCE & COMPTABILITE
Groupe Scolaire RUGUNGA
B.P 120
KIGALI.-

**"ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA"**

Nyuma y'ishyano ryaguye mu rwatubyaye rukaba rwaratakaje amanzaganya benshi mu baruvukamo, na byinshi birimo n'umuco wacu, buri Muturarwanda na buri Muvukarwanda by'umwihariko akwiye ndetse agomba, hasi kubura hejuru, kureba icyakorwa ngo Abanyarwanda bongere basabane, nta kwishishanya ngo aho umwe aciye undi abe yahacisha umuriro ahubwo bagahagurukira gusakaza ubumwe, ubwiyunge, ubutabera, amahoro, byose babifashijwemo n'ababayobora. None se niba rwarubitswe n'amaboko y'abarwo; kuki rutakubakwa n'ay'abaruvuka ? Niba se hari icyakozwe ngo rwubikwe; ubu hakorwa iki ngo rwubakwe ? Ese kubana neza hari uwo bibangamira ? Ese nyuma yo kwima muntu agaciro Abanyarwanda bakwiye kwicisha i Kibungo bakiraza i Nyanza bakirengangiza nkana ibibazo by'insobe bibugarije ? Yego ishyano ryaraguye, ndetse birenze kamere ariko ba nyir'ubwite barasabwa kugarura ishyaka bakarusubiza ubushyashya, ibyo se birashoboka ? Ibyo ni bimwe mu bibazo Umunyarwanda nyir'izina akwiye kwibaza no gushakira umuti nk'uko turi bubirebe, bityo akaba yakwicara agatereka imihigo mu ruhande rw'intwari, agashyira ku Karubanda icyo yamariye urwamwibarutse.

Burya ngo "Ibitagira mukuru birumba ari indaro". Indaro hano irerekana ibintu byinshi bibuzemo uburyo; Uyu mugenurano uratwereka ko igihe duciye ukubiri n'impanuro z'abakuru, tukumva ko "Kiriziya yakuye kirazira" nk'uko abashaka gukura imiziririzo mu muco wacu babyitwaza, bidatera kabiri tutabonye ko ari ukwibeshya, ndetse rimwe na rimwe tukajya kwisama twarasandaye kera. Ibyo mbivugiye ko amarorerwa yaguye mu Rwanda, uretse urukungu Rutuku yabibye mu mbuto nzima, yashimangiwe ahanini no kutumva impanuro, Impanuro rero zikwiye kumvikana nk'imwe mu nzira zayobora ku mibanire izira amakemwa, zimwe tuzisanga mu byo bazirizaga, nko kutica umuntu, izindi mu mibereho ya buri munsu, nko gusuhuza uwo muhuye, kabone n'ubwo bwaba ari ubwa mbere muhuye, bityo ntumuhure nk'abahuriye mu mazi, ahubwo mugahuzwa n'uko muvuka i Rwanda, mubaho Kinyarwanda, mutahiriza umugozi umwe.

Birazwi kandi ko iyo urungiro rumwe rw'umubiri rurwaye; n'umubiri wose uba warwaye, ni kimwe rero no ku bantu iyo umwe muri bo agize ikibazo, ingaruka zacyo ntizimwihererana wenyine, bese bese zibageraho n'ubwo hashira imyaka na Nyakanga, amaherezo nabo iyo nkongoro bayinyweraho. Ku buryo bwumvikana neza, dufate urugero ku baturage ba Kibungo. Baramutse biciyemo ibice byakurura amacakubiri, yakururukana kugeza ubwo bagiye mu mirya bakarwana. bityo ubuzima bwahagarara. Nubwo buhagarara ariko ingaruka zabyo ntiziguma ku bashoje intambara, ahubwo zigera no ku tundi turere twagemuriranaga na Kibungo nk'ibitoki n'ibindi. Niho wumva ngo i Kigali ibiciro byahariwe abifite, ngo bamanitse imbabura, nta wikora ku munwa keretse uhunitse imari. Yewe n'ukiri mu nda na we zishobora kumugeraho nta gitangaza kirimo, kuko niba ababyeyi be barabanaga nabi, mbese barasize inkuru mbi imusizi, na we nta we uzamucira n'akari urutega, azajya ahita bamuryanire inzara bati "Inyana ni iya mweru", kabone n'ubwo we yaba ari imana y'i Rwanda. Umunyarwanda yarihoreye ati "Ababiri bashyize hamwe baruta umunani urasana", yashakaga kwerekana ko ubumwe ari intwari y'ingenzi yadufasha kurwana intambara y'urwango rwabibwa n'abishakira inyungu zabo bwite, bityo ati bake bashyize hamwe; nta we uca undi ruhunga-nyuma bahiga kure benshi bareregana, batatura ngo basesekaze ku munwa akabari ku mutima, ahubwo bagaca ku nda bakinganye mu nda. Ubumwe rero bwagombye kubera Umunyarwanda wumva atewe ishema no kuba we, imwe mu ntware zatumye arwanya agaritse ibyano uwashaka kugarura amacakubiri iwacu aho yaba aturutse hose, kabone n'ubwo yaba ari intumwa ya Gihanga wahanze u Rwanda dore ko Rutuku ajya gutukuzwa imbuga yitwikiriye ivanjiri agaca iruhande ibya karande, agaca bugufi agaca ibico mu bavandimwe, agaca amateka menshi aca ibintu, agaca icyuho mu muco wacu, maze bamwe mubonye amaso bacu mu nkindi biba nka we, bacurika umutwe bacura inkumbi abonyeranywe.

Ngiye kurondora uko abakurambere bacu babonaga ubumwe narondogora gusa icy'ingenzi twavane mu mpanuro badusigiyemo no mu mahano yagwiririyemo u Rwanda ni uko "kubana neza" ari ukwicira amayira, ni ugutegera ejo hazaza, ni uguteganyiriza uwawe, ni ukusa ikivi wateruriye u Rwanda.

Birasanzwe kandi ngo "Iteme umugabo azambuka aritinda agitunze" Bityo rero kwiteganyiriza ni ngombwa, bivugako nta we ukwiye gutegereza kwiyeze ari uko hagize impamvu iyi n'iyi imutsikamira, ahubwo niba hari uwo waba warakozwe ku itama,

icyiza ni ukumwegera mukicara mu gacaca mugacocagura amagambo muhereye ku muzi w'icyo mwapfaga mugaherukira ku bushorishori bwacyo. Nta kubyihugikana ngo ubicire mu nda kuko burya akasesekaye ku munwa kaba kabaye nka rya buye ryagaragaye...ubwiyunge na bwo ni indi ntwaro y'ingenzi nyuma y'intambara yatambamiye imigambi ya benshi, nyuma y'amahano yahanukiye umugongo uduhetse, nyuma yo gusezera ishyanga no kugaruka aho amaso y'umutima yaroraga ariko ay'umubiri ntabe yahaca iryera, nyuma yo gusubira mu byabo kw'abari babitaye batatonganye, nyuma yo guhahamuka kw'abahabuwe n'ibyo babonye, nyuma y'amatage yose yarandaguye imizi n'imiziririzo y'umuco gakondo. Ariko rero kwiyinga bigira akamaro iyo uwakosheje abanje kwiyinga nawe ubwe mbere y'uko ajya kwiyinga na mugenzi we. Byumvikane neza ko iyo umuntu yagomeye undi ahorana umutima utari mu gitereko; bikaba ngombwa gusubiza umutima hamwe, yiyunga nawe ubwe, kuko niba yumva ibyo yakoze atabiteruka nk'umuhigo mu ruhandu rw'intwari adashobora na rimwe kugira amahoro atabanje kwiyinga nta buryarya, nta kuzinzika impamvu zabimuteye.

Aha ndashaka gushimangira byimazeyo "Umutima-nama" kuko umuntu aramutse ashyize mu bikorwa nta nshiti ibyiza akareka ibibi nta gushidikanya ko kwiyinga bitatinda gushinga intebe mu batanye badatata, mu batokoje umubano wabo. Bityo niba umuntu wese yumva ko igihe akoze ibintu bitari byiza, bitamuhesheje ishema, agomba kubyemera mbere na mbere, kandi akemera no gukosorwa kabone n'ubwo yaba yerekanye ko ibyo yakoze yabitewe n'ubujiji, n'inkubi, ihurura cyangwa se iterabwoba by'ababifitemo inyungu zabo zihariye, bityo bakamukoresha nk'inzira y'ubusamo ibafasha kugera ku byifuzo byabo batiyushye akuya. Birumvikana ko kubera imbaraga nke za muntu, hashobora kuboneka benshi bavuga ko ibyo bakorewe ari agahomamunwa, ndetse bikaba binabarenze kumva uwabigizemo uruhare yikora agatera ivi imbere yabo ngo aha arasaba ko baca inkoni izamba, bakamugirira impuhwe. Nyamara utuje ugatekereza, ntabwo umuti w'ikibi ari ukugerera uwakikugiriye mu kebo nk'ako yakugereyemo, ahubwo ni ukumva ko ibyo yakoze biteye ikimwaro ndetse bikagutera umwete wo gushakashaka uko wakwivana mu ako kangaratete aba yaragutayemo. Burya ngo "Uhiriye mu nzu ntaho adapfunda imitwe", none se niba twugarijwe n'ibibazo by'ingutu kandi ahanini tubigiramo uruhare kuki tutagira umwete wo kubikemura ? Aho ntutuzaba nka Bigirankana bya Nirwange wabwiye umugore we abonye inzu ihiye ati "Jya gusasa niryamire nta we uzimya uwatse". None rero niba umuriro waratse; ntidukwiye gutekereza nka Bigirankana, ahubwo tugomba kumva ko kuwuzimya bitworohye, dore ko nta kinanira ugishyizeho ubushake, akagishaka ashize amanga cyane mu gihe azi ko nakigeraho kizaramira

imbaga itagira ingano kandi na we kikamutiza umurindi. Ariko kandi vuga numve nta mumaro ahubwo ibivugwa byagombye kujya mu bikorwa, bityo ntibibe nka bya bitwenge by'inkoko bishirira mu kwayura.

Kwiyunga rero bigira umumaro iyo ubutabera bushinze imizi, ntibugire uwo bwicarira cyangwa butonesha ahubwo bugakora akazi kabwo mu kuri. **Ubucamanza** nabwo si ubwiru, aha ni ukuvuga ko butagomba kugira icyo buzinzika cyangwa butubya ku kirego iki n'iki. Niba bubereyeho kurenganura abarengana no kugorora abatannye bugomba gushyira ku Karubanda ibyaha byakozwe kandi bubihagazeho; mbese bwarikoreye igenzura, maze bugasaba urega kongera ibimenyetso simusiga, n'uregwa kwiregura. Mu iki gihe tugezemo rero ubucamanza ntibworohewe na busa, kubera ingaruka z'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba. Ubu butezwe amaso n'imbaga itabarika cyane cyane y'Abanyarwanda utaretse n'Abanyamahanga. Bufite kandi **n'uruhare runini mu kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda**, kuko hari benshi bagifite ibikomere by'intambara byaba ibyo ku mubiri ndetse n'ibyo ku mutima, bategereje kurenganurwa, bategereje inkunga y'ubucamanza. Hari kandi n'abarenganywa na bagenzi babo babitirira ibinyoma dore ko kuva muntu yaba muntu kugira nabi yabigize nk'intwara yo kwivana mu bibazo bimuzitira, nk'iby'ubukene n'ibindi, bityo hakaba hashobora kugira uwitwaza ubutoni afitanye n'abakurikirana ibyaha akaba yarenganya mugenzi we amuziza akazahoraho (ibintu) cyangwa se imbehe (akazi) nyamara mu Kinyarwanda "Nta mugabo wicarira undi". Birumvikana neza ko ubucamanza buca mu nzira zinyerera, mu bitekerezo bibogamye by'uwashaka gukurura yishyira ndetse no mu ihamba mu nda ry'ibimenyetso by'udashaka ko icyo yakoze cyamukurikiranwaho. Kugira rero ngo bube bwaca mu ayo macenga ni uko bwakwirinda kuvugirwamo, bukagendera ku ridakuka (itegeko). Ibyo ni bimwe mu byatuma umuco wo kudahana ucika burundu, amakimbirane na "Munyumvishirize" bikagenda mpiru na nyoni, maze tukongera gutura u Rwanda rugwa imvura, rwuje ituze, rufite amahoro azira guhora, rufite ikirari cyiza mu rugaga mpuzamahanga, ruzira itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba, ubwibone n'ubwikanyize, ruzira itoneshagatsiko, rurangwa n'ubutabera.

Ariko na none ucukumbuye neza wasanga ibyo bidahagije kuko bishoboka ko ubucamanza bwakuzuza inshingano zabwo ariko bikagorana gushyika ku **mahoro** buri wese yifuza, bityo rero buri wese akwiriye kwiyumvisha ko **amahoro akeneye yaturuka kuri we ubwe** mbere yo kuyashakira mu bucamanza no mu zindi nzego z'ubutegetsu, aha byumvikane neza ko umutekano Umunyarwanda yifuza mbere y'ibindi ari uko uburenganzira bwe bwubahirizwa nk'uko amategeko abimwemerera. Ariko kandi buri

wese akwiye kumenya ubwo burenganzira, bityo imvugo y'icyaduka benshi bakunda gukoresha batsimbarara ku makosa yabo ngo "Ni uburenganzira bwanjye" igatandukana n'imvugo nyakuri. Umuturage ushaka amahoro yagombye kumva ko **uburenganzira bwe burangirira aho ubw'undi butangirira**, mu yandi magambo agomba kwemerera mugenzi we uburenganzira yifuza ko nawe bamwemerera. Byongeye kandi umuturage ntagomba kumva ko hari abashinzwe kumurinda ku buryo bw'ihame, ahubwo akwiye kumva ko ari we urebwa mbere y'abandi n'umutekano we, ko inkunga ya Leta yaza ari inyongera n'ubundi ngo "Ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise". Kugira kandi ngo abone amahoro yifuza ni uko yajya akurikiranira hafi ibyemezo ibi n'ibi bifatirwa mu nzego z'ubutegetsu ni ukuvuga ko agomba kwitabira inama n'ibiganiro ategurirwa, kugira ngo yerekwe uko yabungabunga umutekano we n'uko yakwiteza imbere. Si ibyo gusa ahubwo agomba no kwirinda gukingira ikibaba abo azi cyangwa akeka ko bashobora guhungabanya umutekano, kabone n'ubwo baba bafitanye isano cyangwa bamwumvisha ko nta mugambi mubisha bamufiteho, bityo nta cyamwemeza ko nibarangiza abo bawufiteho atari we uzaba atahiwe, aka wa mugani ngo "Uhishira umurozi akaguca ku rubyaro". Hari ubwo rero umuntu yigirira nabi ariko ntabimenye, kuko burya uwo ugambaniye utaba uzi ibyiza yari kuzakugirira mu nzagihe, kandi rero ingaruka z'ikibi ziratinda ariko ntizihera. Iyo bimenyekanye ko ari wowe nyirabayazana wonsa iryo wabyaye.

N'ubwo ariko twibanze ku muturage cyane, nta bwo ari nyamwigendaho ahubwo hari n'abamuhagarariye mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsu, nabo mu nshingano zabo harimo **kurengera no kurenganura umuturage**, bityo basabwa kwerekana mu bikorwa ko koko ari we bahagarariye. Urugero rufatika ni nk'ingendo **Guverinoma** cyangwa abayihagarariye bagirira hirya no hino, mu rwego rwo gushakashaka umuti w'ibibazo byugariye igihugu, kungurana ibitekerezo, guhumuriza abaturage, kubamenyesha ibishya n'ibindi n'ibindi. Aha rero nagira nti "Ntimugatsikire, mukomereze aho kuba abungeri babereye ubushyo baragijwe", dore ko nta ko bataba bagize ngo imibereho y'abaturage irushaho gusa na bike. Hari kandi n'ababahagarariye mu buryo navuga ko bwihariye; abo bakaba ari **"Intumwa za rubanda"**, izo ntware mu kurwana iy'ibitekerezo na zo zifite umurimo utorokeye ndetse usaba kwitanga nta kwitangira itama, ariko n'ubwo ibibazo ari insobe zisobekeranye, izo ntumwa nk'uko zibikora zegera abaturage, zinahanga iridakuka na zo zirasabwa kongera umurego kugira ngo dushobore kugera ijanja uwo musonga urimo udusonga. Birumvikana rero ko uruhare rw'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu ari ngombwa kugira ngo rwuzuzanye n'urw'abayoborwa. Bityo ubwumvikane, ubwiyunge n'amahoro byagerwaho nta shiti.

Nyuma y'ibyo byose twabonye, mbona ko abanyarwanda nyir'izina twese twashyira hamwe, tugahuguka tugahaguruka tugahangara ibihungabanya ubumwe tuzirikana ko turi **bene mugabo umwe**. Sinshidikanya kandi ko tubaye agati gakubiranye nta mukoroni wakongera kurota aducamo ibico n'ibice byo kumarira ku icumu abo twacumbikanye mu iyi si icumbeka urugomo, ubwikanyize n'ibindi, byose bikururwa n'abashyira inda imbere, bakavunda bene Kavuna batagira kivurira ari bo bakabavugiye, babicishije mu marenga ya politiki. Umuturage na we aho kwamagana ibimushora mu rwa Bayanga, agahuta, agahutera nka ruhuhuma, akagenda ikubagahu nyuma akazibuka ibitereko yasheshe. Nk'uko twatangiye tubyibaza, nta munyarwanda ukwiye kwigira "Ntibindeba" ngo avunire agati mu ryinyo kuko kubana neza nta we bibangamira, ahubwo bigira akamaro kuri buri wese. Kuzuzanya na byo ni ingenzi hagati y'abayobozi n'abayoborwa. Ntihakagire uhezwa azizwa ubwoko, akarere, idini, ibitekerezo n'ibindi, kandi twamaganire kure icyenewabo, ikimenyane, bitugukwaha, byose bigende nk'ifuni iheze. Bityo rero gutunganya urwatubyaye ntibigomba kutubera amahundo y'ijoro mu gihe twumva ko dukeneye Igihugu gitemba amata n'ubuki. Ndetse ndasanga ibyo twabonye byose bigiye mu bikorwa, tukagendera ku ridakuka (Itegeko) no ku mpanuro nziza duhabwa, Ubumwe, Ubwiyunge, Amahoro... byagerwaho nta zindi mbogamizi. Bityo imitima ntiyasubira gutera ukundi n'amaraso ntiyakongera gutemba ukundi, ahubwo twakwicaza ingata y'umugongo, kandi aho bwakera Imana ntiyaba ikirirwa ahandi ngo itahe i Rwanda, ahubwo yajya ihirirwa ikanaharara.

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TUVE IBUZIMU TUJYA IBUNTU, DUHARANIRA UBWIYUNGE MU BANYARWANDA.

Muvandimwe uzumva cyangwa uzasoma iyi nyandiko, nkundira nkubwire nti “gira amahoro, kandi umfashe kuyifuriza umunyarwanda uwo ari we wese tumushakira ubwiyunge”. Reka nkubwire gato tuganire unzi : ndi umunyarwandakazi wababajwe no kubura amahoro, akaba kandi atari jye jyeneyine ahubwo ari abanyarwanda bose; ni nayo mpamvu ikomeye inteye kwandika iyi nyandiko.

Ndagira nti “tuve ibuzimu tujye ibuntu”; hagomba inkunga ikomeye cyane ya buri munyarwanda. Jye ndatanga icyo mfite nkasaba buri wese icyo afite kugira ngo duce amahano mu Rwanda. Ndatanga kandi nkanasaba : Ndatanga ibyo mfite mu byo nahawe, nigishijwe, nabonye kuko ngo ubwenge burarahurwa. Ndasaba umunyarwanda uwo ari we wese yaba ari mu Rwanda cyangwa ari mu mahanga kuko inkunga ye irakenewe cyane. Ndasaba kandi incuti z’u Rwanda kuko ntawigira kandi incuti iboneka mu byago. Mbese ndasaba buri wese mu cyiciro arimo; haba mu butegetsi bw’igihugu, mu bucamanza, mu buyobozi bw’idini runaka, mu rubyiruko, ntibagiwe no muri rubanda rugufi kuko ari bo shingiro ry’ubwiyunge.

Ndisegura ariko ku batazanogerwa n’iyi nyandiko, bazanyihanganire kuko ntagamije kubatoneka ahubwo icyo nshaka ni umuti w’ubwiyunge, kandi ntumuyobewe ko n’ibinini bivura marariya birura. Emera ubihirwe maze twese duhagurukire guhashya amahano i Rwanda duharanira ubwiyunge.

Burya koko ngo umwera uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose, kandi ngo ijisho rya mukuru rikurebera utaritumye. Ndeka rero nkwisabire wowe mutegetsi kuko utubereye ku isonga. Sinkubwira ibya politiki kuko uretse n’ubuswa muri yo, jyewe nta yo nzi na busa. Gusa ndakubwira duke nabonye mpamya ko twakuruye amahano iwacu, kugira ngo nuturandura uzabe uduharuriye inzira y’ubwiyunge.

Mu mashuri abanza nigishijwe ko mu Rwanda hari ubutegetsi bw’abaturage, bukorera abaturage, butangwa n’abaturage. Nkurikije ibyabaye iwacu navuga ko nta kuri kwabayemo kuko uwo muturage bwitiriye yabaye nk’igikingisho cy’umuyaga maze abari bafite ubushobozi bibonera inyungu zabo, bibagirwa nyakwigorerwa kandi ari we babwitiriye. Ndasaba buri mutegetsi uwo ari we wese kureba ako karengane k’uwo muturage ! Akeneye kumushanga ukamuhumuriza, ukamutoza kwiyunga umubwiza ukuri kandi ukamwerekana mu bikorwa kuko kora ndebe iruta vuga numve. Mukemurire ibibazo nta

mananiza ahabaye; nta ruswa cyangwa “genda uzagaruke ejo” kandi mwembi mwaje, nta kureba igihugu yaturutsemo Mugire ishingiro ry’amajyambere mu nama zinyuranye uzamugira.

Ibyabaye iwacu byatewe na byinshi; navuga nk’amateka n’uburere mboneragihugu byigishijwe abana b’u Rwanda. Bakura babwirwa akarengane k’abahutu mu buretwa no mu buhake. Batozwa gushyira imbere uturere tumwe. Bacengezwamo imico mishyashya yo gushyamiranya amoko (abahutu n’abatutsi) nyamara ku munyarwanda wa mbere y’ubwo bwigenge amoko yavugwaga ni abasinga, abanyiginya, abega abazigaba n’abandi; dore ko ari nayo yari afite akamaro : ababaga ari abase b’abandi babamariraga amahano,..... Ndagusaba rero guca burundu amateka mabi yaranze iki gihugu, kuvugurura uburere mboneragihugu bwigishwa abana b’u Rwanda; kuko muryamo iturutse mu ruhongore iyogoza ishyo ryose, kandi ngo urumbirije mu ngobyi ntarumburira mu ngabo.

Mpamya ko abaturage nta cyo bapfaga. Ni yo mpamvu mwe muri mu nzego z’ubutegetsi mubishyizeho ubushake, Perezida akagenderera abo ashinzwe, akumva ibibazo byabo, Minisitiri akamutera ingabo mu bitugu, Burugumesitiri agatera ikirenge mu cyo agenderera abaturage kandi abahumuriza, yumva ibibazo byabo akanabibakemurira nta mananiza; Konseye na Nyumbakumi bakamwunganira, ubwiyunge bwaboneka nta gushidikanya. Ntimuyobewe ko umwambari w’umwana agenda nka Shebuja. Ni ahanyu rero ho gutoza umunyarwanda ubwiyunge nk’uko mwabitangiye; ndasaba kongera umurego.

Njya ngira agahinda iyo numva abantu bavuga ko kwiyinga bitazashoboka. Ese mwe muzi amateka kundusha muyobewe ko mbere y’1959 abanyarwanda bamaze imyaka amagana babanye, basabana, bahana inka n’abageni ? None se imyaka 33 cyangwa 34 ikwiye guca burundu umubano mu bana b’u Rwanda ? Oya ntibikabe, ahari abagabo ntihapfa abandi. Aba mbere barashenye ndabizi, gusenya biroroha narabibonye; ariko nta wacika intege n’ibindi bizaza. None se ko nta cyo bapfaga, ni iki kizababuza kwiyinga ?! Ndabasaba rwose gushyigikira no kugaruka k’umuco wacu kuko harimo umurage mwiza, kirazira iwacu ihabwe agaciro yambuwe. Ubwira uwumva ntavunika, reka nisangire n’uriya muturage dore ko ari na we ukeneye ubwiyunge akaba ari na we shingiro ryabwo.

Ndagira nti “muvandimwe tuvukana i Rwanda reka nkubwire duke nabonye, ubwo wambonye izuba uzanyungure byinshi ariko bidufasha kubaka urwatubyaye”. Tuganire wowe wacitse ku icumu, yenda wari mu mwobo, mu gisenge cy’inzu se, mu

rufunzo n'ahandi. Ufite byinshi wabonye sinkuzurira akaboze umbabarire, ndakubwira ibyo nabonye bikwibutse ibyo nawe wabonye, utekereze ububi bwabyo, bigutere kuzinukwa amahano iwacu uharanire ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda. Ndagira nti "nabonye umuntu yica undi batatonganye. Nabonye umubyeyi yambika undi ubusa ku gasozi kandi kera ngo aho umubyeyi yagwaga undi yatereragaho utwatsi. Nabonye umugabo yica nyina bapfuye ibyo basahuye, nyuma y'ibyo mbona imvune abanyarwanda bagize bahunga batazi iyo bajya bamwe batazi n'icyo bahunga....." Wowe se wabonye iki ? Ese wabonye ayo mahano yose yarasize inyungu i Rwanda ?

Ndagusaba kubitekerezaho singusaba kubyibagirwa, kuko yaba ari intangiriro yo kuzabigarura no guha icyaha intebe. Menya ububi bwabyo ubizinukwe burundu, kuko wabonye inkurikizi zabyo. Nizera ko utifuza ko byagaruka kuko bigarutse nawe bitagusiga. Tanga inkunga yo kubabarira ubikuye ku mutima atari wa murenzaho wera ibijumba. Tandukanya umwicanyi n'utari umwicanyi, umuhutu wese wimubonamo interahamwe. Shinja uwo wabonye koko; iyumanganye gitwari urangwe n'urukundo, ukuri n'urugwiro. Irinde guhora kuko ari ukugarura amahano iwacu. Burya kubaho ni ukubana kandi ni ugufatanya. Reka nsange n'uriya warokotse kandi utaremeraga ubwicanyi, ibyabaye yarabibonye ndetse n'inkurikizi zabyo.

Reka nkwiibutse nawe ibyo nabonye kugira ngo nitubica iwacu bizadufashe kugera ku bwiyunge : nabonye umugabo yica mwishywa we kandi kera cyaraziraga kumuriza. Nabonye urusoro ruzira icyaha cya Se kandi rutaragera ku isi icyo cyaha cyakoreweho. Nabonye umugabo uterura umwana amusekera arubahuka aramwica..... Wowe se wabonye iki ? Byagusigiye iki se ku mutima ? Fata umwanya ubitekerezaho gatoya maze ushishikazwe no guharanira ubwiyunge. Tabara uriya muvandimwe wawe ufunze azira ubusa ukicecekera kandi uzi nyiricyaha. Vugisha ukuri kuko wabonaga maze aho kukuryamira wemere uryamire ubugi bw'intorezo. Humuriza n'uriya uhungutse kuko ubu nta mutima afite mu gitereko.

Imfura ni izihurira aho zasezeranye, reka ndekere aho ariko sinzagosorere mu rucaca. Wowe se wicanye, waba ufunze cyangwa utarafungwa, ubitekerezaho iki ? Navuze amahano iwacu, mpamya ko wayabonye kundusha ariko ntibitubuza kwibukiranya kugira ngo tuzayace tuyazi neza. Nakomeje kuvuga ngo narabonye ariko hano ho naranumvise. Nabonye umwana asaba imbabazi z'ibyo atakoze. Nabonye umuntu wavuye ku Rusumo agera i Nyaruteja n'amaguru imodoka yayihinduye ingata y'urwiri yahambiriye mu birenge. Numvise umugabo wasamwe n'igihango cyo kwica umuturanyi, maze na we macinya imutsinda muri burende.....

None yenda urafunze; ndabizi hari uzira ubusa. Nyemerera nkubwire ngo ihangane kuko ibitambo by'amahano bigomba kubaho kandi igihe kizagera urenganurwe. Ariko se niba utarengana ubitekerezaho iki ? Uracyafite uburakari, ndetse uranafungisha abo mutafatanyije icyaha ! Ubwo se uragana he ? Isuzume nawe ubwawe urebe ububi bw'ayo mahano, ndetse n'ingaruka zayo. Yenda wabikoze ku gahato, cyangwa warahubutse kuko utari uzi ingaruka, vugisha ukuri buri wese ahariwe uruhare rwe bwite. Ariko se niba warize ukaba warateguye uwo mugambi, wanyemereye ugatanga inkunga yo kwicuza, ukazinukwa icyo cyaha ubikuye ku mutima nta we ugushyizeho agahato ko nta wakuboneye ingaruka zacyo, ukarenganura uriya ubeshyera ?! Komera k' ukuri kuko guca mu ziko ntigushye. Nta wakwifuzako mupfira gushira. Rwose buri wese nasabe imbabazi kuko uwemeye icyaha aba atangiye kubabarirwa.

Reka nkureke ubitekerezaho gatoya maze nsange n'uriya uhungutse. Burya uwubaka wese acukura umusingi kandi hiyunga abazi icyo bapfa. Umbabarire rero tugaruke gato ku byabaye maze twiyunge bituvuye ku mutima. Ibyabaye warabibonye, yenda byaragushimishije kuko utari uzi inkurikizi zabyo. Warahunze amaguru arashya n'ubwo Umuryango w'Abibumbye watanze amamodoka ariko wabanje kugenza ibirenge. U Rwanda wahunze urarusanze, usanze amatongo wasize ushatse n'ikigunda, ahitwa iwawe uhari udahari kubera ubwoba. Urarya utariye ngo yebaba ejo bazamfunga. Hari n'ababoneye ubuhungiro mu kwiyahura : ibaze nawe guhungira ku rupfu !

Reka rero nkubwire, inyungu y'icyaha ni urupfu n'ubwoba. Mbera intwari y'umunyarwanda uzinukwe icyaha n'ububi bwacyo cyo gatsindwa n'ababyeyi bacu batabarutse basize u Rwanda rutekanye. Saba imbabazi uzazihabwa, emera icyaha kandi uvugishe ukuri maze uko kuri kuzakubere icyambu mu bwiye bw'abanyarwanda.

Mu byukuri umuturage nta cyo yapfaga n'undi; barasangiraga, bagahakerana bagatetana ndetse bakanataramana. Ariko aho Kiriziya ikuriye kirazira iwacu, imihanda igakura imihango ya kera, ibintu byabaye ibindi, turakunda tuzirura ibizira. Mubyeyi rero ni ahawe ho kugarura umuco mu Rwanda. Muwushyigikire uko mubishoboye, dukeneye impanuro zanyu kuko bijya gucika umwana yabaye uwa naka gusa kandi mbere yari uw'umuryango, usanze akosa akamuhana atari uko yamwibiyariye. None ubu mwareye agati mu ryinyo. Ubwo burere bwadohotse ni bwo bukurura amahano iwacu. Si mwe mwiciriye umugani ngo imburagihana yabaye n'imbura gihamba! None se ko umwana utaganiriye na Se atamenya icyo Sekuru yasize avuze, nimutadusigira

ubwo bukungu bw'umurage w'u Rwanda tuzabubaza kwa nde ?

Sinarangiza ntongeye gusaba umuturage kugira ubushishozi. Ingaruka zose warazibonye kandi ni wowe shingiro ry'amajyambere; uzi ko utunze benshi mu bukungu bw'igihugu. Ndagusaba rero gukurikiza inama ugirwa n'abayobozi, gukunda umurimo, kugaruka kuri wa mucu wacu w'ubufatanye bwarangaga abanyarwanda. Mpamya ko umugabo ari uwisubiraho; nawe rero nubikora uzaba utanze inkunga mu bwiye.

Umukuru arumva ntabaza, reka mbe nsanze n'urubyiruko. Rungano tunganire. Ibivugwa byose ku bwiye ni wowe ubwirwa kuko ari wowe maboko y'u Rwanda. Reka nkwbire akabanga : ubu ni wowe bishya bishyira, ejo hazaza harakureba. Nyemerera ufate akanya wiyubake ubwawe. Rera umutimanama wawe, wigaruremo ubuyanja maze dufatanye urugendo. Ibyabaye warabibonye waba warariraga cyangwa warasekaga, icyo mpamya ni uko wabibonye. Ese wowe ubivuga ho iki ?

Ndabizi byagusigiye imfundikirane, ariko ihangane uyimene, kuko ari yo nzira y'ubwiye. Burya ngo agakoni k'iminsi gacibwa kare kakabikwa kure ! Wireba gusa ibyabaye kuko iyo umuntu yibwe niho amenya kuziba icyaho. Hagurukira gushaka ubwiye kandi ukore nk'uwikorera. Gira urukundo, ukuri n'urugwiro maze muri wowe utuzemo ubushishozi. Nta nyungu yo kwica no gusahura, nta nyungu y'inzika, ishyari no guhora. Inyuma ni habi, ntukahasubire, kura ujya ejuru ni imvugo y'abasogokuruza.

Wowe wiga gira umugambi wo kwigira kugarura ubwiye mu banyarwanda; bitabaye ibyo, waba uruhira ubusa kuko abarworetse bize menshi. Ni ahawe rero ho gusibanganya isura mbi Bagosora, Kantano, Kambanda, Sindikubwabo n'abandi benshi basigiye igihugu cyacu.

Gira ubutwari bwo gusanga uriya utiga musabane, mwungurane ibitekerezo, mubwizanye ukuri, mushishoreze hamwe igikwiye, kugira ngo tudakomeza kuba ibikoresho by'abafite inyungu zabo. Sanga uriya warihozemo akaba atararisubiramo umuhumurize, umukure mu bwigunge; mpamya ko na we azakungura byinshi. Na we utize wikwiheba, ubwenge si ubwigirwa mu ishuri gusa, ufite byinshi, gira ubushake bwo kubitanga maze twiyubakire urwatubyaye.

Tuzasubira tunganire gusa murabe ba mudatenguha; mbaye nsanze abayobozi b'amadini.

Mu marorerwa yabaye iwacu, abihaye Imana n'Abapasiteri bamwe bahabereye ibigwari, baratandukira ku buryo ubu amadini amwe asa n'ayahatereye agaciro. Ibyari ingoro z'Imana byabaye amabagiro y'inzirakarengane, abari abahamya b'ukuri bahamya uburyo Imana yatanze abantu ! Yego si bese, ariko umukobwa aba umwe agatukisha bese ! Simbabuza kumenya politiki kuko ari ngombwa, ariko birinde kuvanga amasaka n'amasakaramentu binjira mu mashyaka ya politiki. Birakwiye ko bavugurura imyigishirize yabo, maze ya nteruro ya Bibiriya ivuga ngo "mwumve ibyo mvuga ntimurebe ibyo nkora" igasimburwa n'indi iri mu ibaruwa ya Yakobo ivuga ngo "Ukwemera kutagira ibikorwa kuba kwarapfuye".

Nibatoze abanyarwanda ubwiyunge, urukundo no kubabarirana; nibasane imitima yabo mbere yo gusana izo ngoro z'amatafari kuko imitima niyo ikenewe, maze basubize Imana agaciro abanyarwanda twese twayitesheje. Ndabashimira inkunga batera imfubyi n'abapfakazi, kandi ndabasaba no kuyongera. Ndabizi ntibyoroshye ariko n'ubundi intwari iboneka ahakomeye. Iyabatoye izababa hafi gusa bayikundire ntibayitenguhe.

Mboneyeho umwanya wo gusaba buri mu Kirisitu kureba niba adasebya iryo zina ! Birababaje kubona amahano yabaye iwacu kandi mpamya ko 90% babatije ! Ndasaba buri wese kugaruka ku kwemera kwe, gusaba imbabazi z'ibyaha njye naburiye izina kuko ari umwihariko w'u Rwanda ku isi hose. Dupfukamishe amavi y'umutima maze dusabe ingabire yo kubabarira, twihatire kugira urukundo dushishoze twoye kuzongera kuba ba "Nyiranjyiyobijya", maze twese duhagurukire gushaka ubwiyunge. Burya aryoha avunaguye, niyo mpamvu ntasezeye ahubwo nsanze umucamanza.

Reka nawe tunganire. Izina ryawe rirakuranga kuko rikomeye cyane. Izi manza z'amahano iwacu zari zikwiye guca Imana; ariko noneho igihugu cyarakwizeye kigushinga uwo murimo. Uratubere "UMUTABAZI". Iri zina rifite agaciro iwacu i Rwanda kuko yamenaga amaraso ye u Rwanda rugacyura umutsindo.

Uratubere umutabazi w'ukuri koko wirinde "munyangire" na ya ndwara ya "mpa mire". Ihutishe imanza, ukwiye guhanwa ahanwe ariko n'urengana arenganurwe; iperereza rikorwe by'ukuri, umuntu ye kuva i Butare ngo ajye gushinja i Kigali yenda amahano yarabaye umwe ari i Kibungo undi ari i Burundi. Gacaca ivugururwe iwacu kuko ari ho amahano yakorewe, ariko ishingwe inyangamugayo. Ndasaba rwose ko imanza zihutishwa ku buryo bushobotse, bityo bizagabanya imijinya ya rubanda.

Tabara uriya mwana wumanye uruhago ku mutwe agemurira uwo batafatanyije icyaha, akaba avutswa uburenganzira bwe bwo kwiga kandi na we atezweho byinshi. Gabanya abanyururu kuri Komini maze uwo mwana asubizwe ibyo yavukijwe. Ikibazo cye ndakigutuye uzagishakire umuti ukwiye.

Sinsezera ndanzura, kuko usaba atarambirwa. Nasabye ubwuzuzanye mu nzego zose, nasabye kurangwa n'ukuri muri byose. Nasabye umutegetsu kwegera umuturage agatozwa ubwiyunge no gukunda umurimo, kuko ariwe shingiro ry'amajyambere. Nasabye umuturage kujijuka akareka kuba "nyiranjyiyobijya". Nasabye ababyeyi kuvugurura uburere no kugarura umuco i Rwanda. Nasabye urubyiruko gushyira hamwe imbaraga zacu, gushishoza tugatanga umuti ukwiye kuko ari twe tuzubaka urwatubayeye. Nasabye abayobozi b'amadini kuvugurura inyigisho no gusana imitima. Nasabye abacamanza ko bakora uko bashoboye imanza zikihutishwa kandi bagakomera k'ukuri. Mbese buri munyarwanda ashyire ukuri mu bikorwa aho kukuririmba mu magambo.

Muvandimwe rero ndakwinginze, ntanze icyo mfite nawe uzatange icyo ufite, maze dufatane mu nda twishakire inzira y'ubwiyunge. Dukore nk'abikorera, turwubake rwaratubayeye. Twiyunge turavukana, twiyemeze kururwanirira tuzahura ubwiyunge mu bana b'u Rwanda. Bityo tuve ibuzimu tujye ibuntu.

NYIRATUZA Vénéranda

4ème Année

Option Action Sociale

Ecole Sociale Karubanda

BISANINYANGE YOHANI DAMASENI
ISHURI NDERABAREZI RYA BUGARAMA
UMWAKA WA KANE

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

" ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO
ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA "

Ku wa Gatatu Kanama 1997

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi!

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

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

Muri rusange, kera u Rwanda rwari rwiza rwitwa u Rwanda rwa Gasabo. Rwavugaga inka n'ingoma, rutuwe rugendwa. Abarutuye basa basangira, basabana bagashyinyirana bagahigana bahingirana, bakisungana mu byoroshye no mu bikomeye, bakarangwa n'umuco nyarwanda ugasanga bizihye urwabibarutse na rwo rubizihye. Abatarutuye bakarwifuza ndetse bakarurasanira ngo baruturukaba nanira ahubwo rwo rukiyongera uko izuba rirenze dore ko rwategekwe n'abami bahoraga basimbura uko ibihe bihaye ibindi barateraga ntibaterwaga. N'ubwo urwa Gasabo rwatembaga amata n'ubuki, kidobya ntiyabuze kurugeramo, dore ko nawe yarwifuzaga ngo arutururwe yitwajwe n'intwari ye y'amacakubiri no gutatanywa abarutuye. Ubwo ibanga ry'umuco nyarwanda arisandaza ku karubanda irondakoko n'irondakarere abiha intebe, guheza abandi mu mashuri, mu gisirikari na byo ntiyabuze kubwitwaza, kugeza ubwo yitiranywa ubwinshi bw'ubwoko n'ubwinshi bw'ibitekerezwa bya politiki, kandi uvuze ukuri akabizira.

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

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

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

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

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

Dore ingingo ubutabera bwakwibandaho:

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

- Guca ruswa:ruswa ikwiye kwamagamwa mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsu kuko rubanda rwa giseseka rutagira imifuka iremereye ruharenganira ndetse rukahamburirwa na duke rwaririragaho,abarenganywa bagakomeza kurenganywa.
- Gusohoka mu biro:abacamanza bakwiye kudakorera mu biro gusa nibasohoke bajye hanze bitegereze bashishoze,bakore amaperereza yose ashoboka kugirango batagira uwo barenganya,dore ko n'ikinyoma na cyo kimeze nabi,urengana bamurenganure,umunyabyaha ahabwe ibihano biremereye , bihwanye n'uburemere bw'icyaha yakoze, mu butabera.
- Kuvugurura ingingo ziranga amategeko amwe n'amwe kuko hari izitonesha bamwe zigakandamiza abandi,aha twavuye nko ku bagabo n'abagore.
- Gukurikiza amategeko yose nk'uko yateganiye,nta kwirengagiza amwe n'amwe,ngo urengere bamwe mu bategetsu bafashwe mu byaha dore ko baba bayishe ari bo bayazi kurusha abandi ndetse ari bo bakwiye guhanwa by'intangarugero.Ibintu byo guhishira bikavaho ubutabera bugakorera mu mucyo.
- Kudasubika buri kanya ibyagombye gukemurwa hakiri kare kuko bituma abaturage batagirira ubutabera icyizere,kuko babona ko haba harimo amayeri,n'indi mitwe igamiye inyundu z'abantu aba n'aba.
- Kutaronda uturere,amadini,ibitsina,yaba umukire cyangwa umukene ubutabera bubabone kimwe imbere y'amategeko abagenga.
- Gushishikariza abakozi gukunda umurimo bashinzwe.
- Ibihe tuvuyemo byaranzwe n'imiborogo ubucamanza na bwo nta kintu kigara bwakoze cyo guhoza,bamwe mu babishinzwe bagiye baterera iyo, abandi bakigira ba ntibindeba ndetse bamwe bakabwigurutsa ntibamenye ko bari gukerereza ibyagombye kujya ku mugaragaro ngo nyuma bizibagirane,bityo abaturage bakaba bakwivumbura.
- Dore nawe abana benshi babaye imfubyi, abapfakazi barwaye intimba, ibimuga birarira,abasizwe iheruheru barataka,abangirijwe ubuzima bwabo ku bundi buryo na bo baraganya batagira uwo baganyira.Ubutabera ngo bubarengere ndetse bubarenganure,bubahoze amarira.
- Muri iki gihugu amagereza yose yuzuye abantu. Harimo abagomba guhanwa ku bw'ibyaha bakoze,hari n'abagomba kurekurwa kubera ko ari abere.Ibyo bizagerwaho igihe bariya babishinzwe bazagira umwete n'umurava,ndetse n'ubwitange muri iyo mirimo itoroshye. Abanyarwanda bakababa hafi, bakabafasha kugaragaza ukuri.

...//...

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

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

Ibyo byose byatumye abatuye u Rwanda rumwe batumvikana, dore ko uwo muri ako kazu atumvikanaga n'uwo bise umunyanduga kimwe n'umushi, ndetse n'umukiga wo hasi. Nuko harongera havuka amashyamba amwe n'amwe akagenda yihishwamo n'abashaka gutatanya abana b'u Rwanda. Ubwo buyobozi bwatoneshaga bamwe bugakandamiza abandi, ugasanga budindiza uturere tumwe na tumwe, nta gikorwa na kimwe cyiza cyageraga ahantu hatavuka umutegetsi runaka ukomeye, ubwo uwo muco mubi uba uhawe intebe mu gihugu.

Mbese ubuyobozi bw'inzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'iki gihe bwakora iki ngo ubwiyunge bwongere busesekare mu banyarwanda?

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

- Kongerera kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda bundi bushya bityo hakajonjorwamo ibinyoma bifite umugambi wo gusebya no gusenya igihugu, iby'ukuri bigashimangirwa ndetse bigashimwa.
- Gukangurira urubyiruko umuco w'ubumwe n'ubwumvikane, hagakorwa imyidagaduro myinshi ihuza urubyiruko rwo mu mpande zose z'igihugu.
- Kumvisha Abanyarwanda ko amajyambere yabo agomba gushingira ku kazi kabo bwite nta kunyunyuzwa imiti y'abandi.
- Gutanga akazi, amashuri n'ibindi byose umunyarwanda afitiye uburenganzira biciye mu butabera.
- Gutanga agahimbazamusyi bashingiye ku bwitange n'umurava umukozi yakoranye igikorwa cyiza cyagaragaye cyane cyane mu bishimangira ubumwe bw'igihugu.
- Kwigisha Abanyarwanda ubumwe n'akamaro kabwo hakoreshejwe insakazamajwi, amadini, amashyirahamwe, ...
- Gushyiraho ikintu kigaragara cyibutsa ubumwe mu banyarwanda.
- Guha ubuyobozi abantu b'inyangamugayo, indakemwa mu mico no mu mwifatiye, bafite ibitekerezo byiza byubaka, bafite ubushobozi, kwitanga n'umurava.
- Kwigisha kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, buri munyarwanda wese akamenya ko uburenganzira bwe burangirira aho ubw'umugenzi we butangirira bityo buri wese akazirikana iteka ubuzima bw'abandi.
- Kujya mu giturage no mu migi gukoresha ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame bishishikariza Abanyarwanda gusabana, byamagana ubwicanyi, ubugome n'ubusahuze tutibagiwe ibindi byose byatuma igihugu cyongera gucikamo igikuba nka za nsakazamajwi zashyuhije imitwe y'Abanyarwanda zibahamagarira kumarana, aho twavugaga nka R.T.L.M n'abambari bayo.

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

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

Mu Rwanda rwacu iyo umuntu avutse akenera ababyeyi bo kumwitaho kugirango ubuzima bwe bumererwe neza, uko arushaho gukura ni ko agenda akenera abavandimwe n'inshuti muri ubwo buzima. Si ku muntu umwe gusa cyangwa umuryango, n'ibihugu birakenerana kugira ngo ubukunqu bwabyo burusheho gutera imbere. Ubwo muri uko kwisungana ubumwe n'ubusabane biba birimo bivuka, ibyo kuba nyamwigendaho bigacika mu banyarwanda, umuntu akumva ko agomba gukenera abandi na we akumva ko hari abandi bamukeneye kugirango ubuzima bwabo bumererwe neza.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...//...

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

Harakabaho u Rwanda rwiza !
Harakabaho abayobozi beza !

NYAKANGA 1997

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

INYANDIKO YA : SINDAYIGAYA JACQUES

AHO ABARIZWA :- ISEMINARI NTO YA
MUTAGATIFU VISENTI

- UMWAKA WA GATANDATU

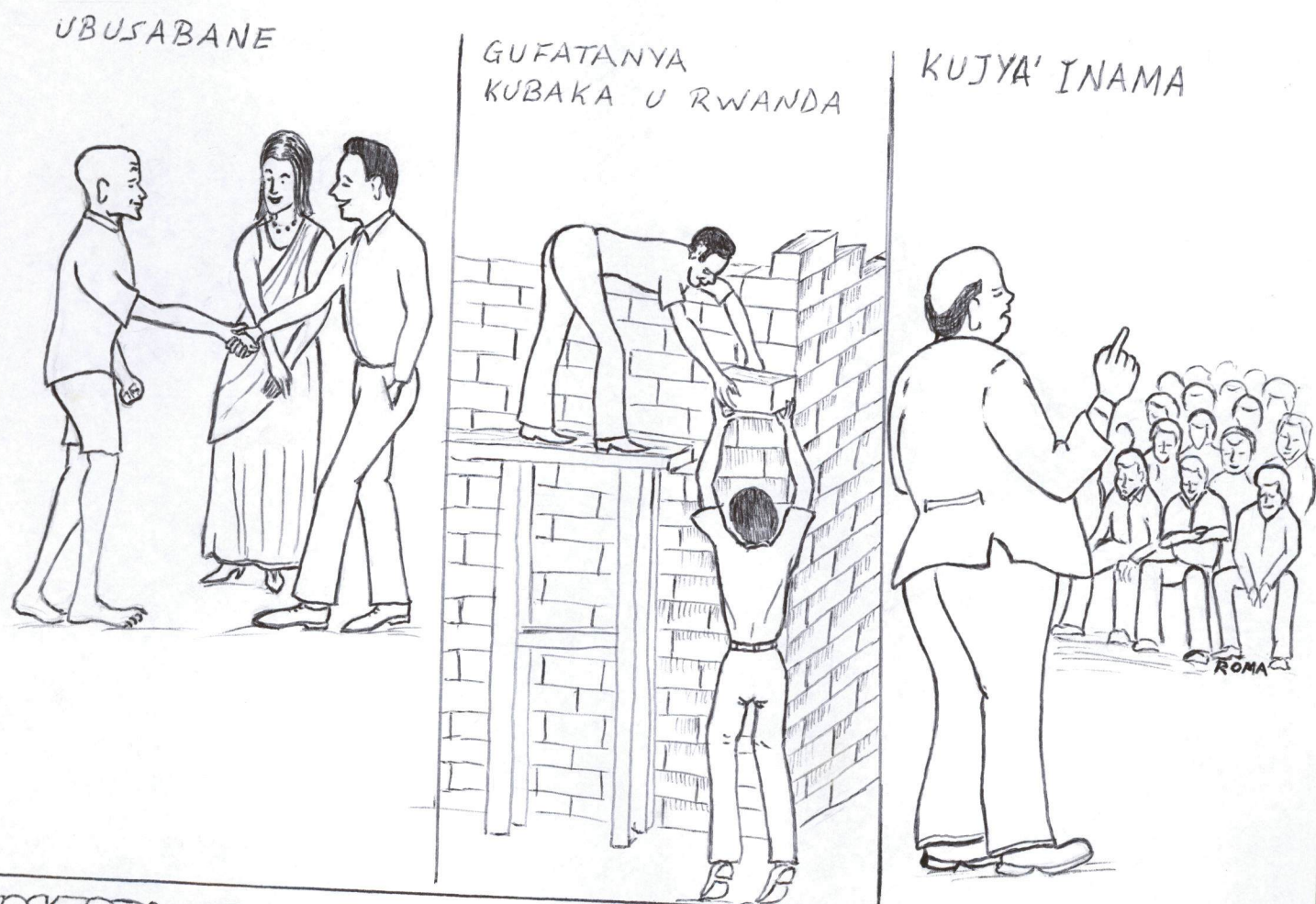
- ISHAMI . IKILATINI
N'INDIMI ZIVUGWA

**ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYA-
RWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.**

AMAHANO YO MU WA 94 N'UBYAYAKURIYE



UMUBANO TWIFUZA KUGERAHO



HAKORWA IKI NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA ?

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HAKORWA IKI KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA ?

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IV. UMWANZURO

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

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

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

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

a) Amacakubiri yabibwe na ba mpatsibihugu n'ababasimbuye.

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

b) Ibura ry'ubutabera :

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

c) Inda nini no kwikubira :

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

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

e) Umuco wo kurenzaho no kutabwizanya ukuri :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. 3 : LETA YAHUZA ITE ABANYARWANDA ?

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

a) Guhumuriza abaturage :

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

b) Kujijura abaturage.

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

c) Gutsura demukarasi no guha abaturage ijambo

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

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

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

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

d) Isaranganywa ry'umutungo no guha ubusumbane :

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

e) Guha ubutabera ubwisanzure n'uburyo bwo gukora :

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

f) Kwimiriza imbere iterambere ry'igihugu :

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

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

a) Amadini :

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

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

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

b) Amashyirahamwe :

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

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

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

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

III. 6 : URUHARE RW'IMPUGUKE MU KUBANISHA ABANYARWANDA

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

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

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

a) Kuganira ku byabaye no koroherana :

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

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Ntawe ugomba gukomeza kugendera ku bitekerezo bishaje, ngo yumve ko igihugu ari akarima k'ubwoko, k'akarere cyangwa umwihariko w'abo bahuje ibitekerezo. Abantu baratandukanye mu miterere, mu mitekereze no mu mikorere. Ibyo abantu badahuriyeho bikwiye kuba imvanyo yo gusanganya no guhuriza hamwe ibyiza buri wese afite. Buri wese niyemera ko ibyo atanyeho n'abandi bitagomba kuba inkomoko yo guhangana, izaba ari intambwe ikomeye iganisha ku bwiye. Abantu nibagerageza koroherana batishishanya, bazumva ko nta n'ugomba guharirwa wenyine gushaka umuti w'ibizazane turimo. Buri wese, byaba byaramuzahaje cyane cyangwa se buhoro, agomba kumva ko bimureba, akagaragaza ibikorwa bifatika mu guteza imbere igihugu.

b) Kwita ku basizwe iheruheru n'ubwicanyi :

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

c) Kumva ko ubutabera bugomba gukora akazi kabwo :

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

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

d) Kubahana no gukemurira utubazo duto muri gacaca :

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

- Bagomba kumenya kwikemurira utubazo duto twavuka hagati yabo, ntibumve ko ikitagenda cyose kigomba kurangizwa no guhangana. Aha gacaca ikwiye gusubirana agaciro kayo mu kunga no guhuza abaturage.

e) Kugira ubushishozi :

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

f) Kwitabira umurimo no kwirinda ubusahiranda :

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

III. 8 : ITANGAZAMAKURU MU BWIYUNGE

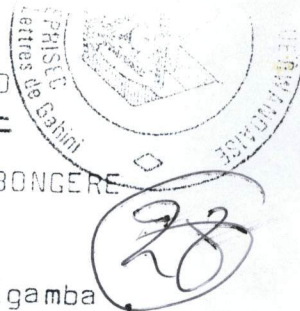
Itangazamakuru ni umuyoboro uhugura abaturage, ukabajijura bakamenya ibibera mu gihugu. Rigomba rero gushyikiriza rubanda amakuru y'imvaho, rikirinda kubacamo ibice nk'uko kera byagaragaye. Ni ijisho ry'abaturage, rigomba kubahuza n'ubutegetsi iteka rikabahumura. Abanyamakuru bagomba kwitwara nk'abarezi kuko bumvwa na benshi, bagashaka imvugo yashishikariza abanyarwanda umubano ukwiye. Basabwa rero kwirinda bakomeje kuba ibikoreshe by'abanyapolitiki, bagahora ari ijisho ry'abaturage ridahuga.

IV. UMWANZURO

Ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bose babana mu mahoro, bagasanira hamwe igihugu, bagahagurukira umurimo kandi bagasangira uduke bafite nta ntugunda baharanira kwiteza imbere. Uwo mubano ugomba gushingira ku bwiyunge, ubworoherane n'ubwuzuzanye. Ibyo bizagerwaho abaturage nibajijurwa, abahohotewe bakitabwaho, ubutabera bugashinga imizi n'uburenganzira bwa buri wese bukubahirizwa. Buri wese agomba kwisanga mu gihugu cye, abategetsi n'impuguke bagashyira hamwe mu kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro. Amashuri n'amadini bigomba kuba imiyoboro y'ubumenyi n'imigenzo myiza, bikaza bishimangira uburere nyamuntu abantu bakura mu miryango. Kuko ubwiyunge ari umuti ugomba kunyobwa na buri munyarwanda wese, ni ngombwa ko habaho ihinduka (revolusiyo) mu mitekerezereze no mu mikorere, buri wese akaba yagira icyo yigomwa kugira ngo abanire neza abandi kandi ateze imbere igihugu cye.

Twese dukwiye gushishikarira icyiza, tugaca intege uwagambira kuducamo ibice. Twatangiye intango umunsi twiyemeje inzira yo kubana, dukwiye gusoza ndetse tukarumyaho n'umutemer. Gutemana dupfa ubwoko Ubuhotu n'ubututsi, dukwiye kubitera amajanja, maze tugatwaza dutwawe n'umuho mwiza, tugasangira urwo dutuye turuturanyemo neza. Abishyize hamwe nta kibananira, nimuze twese dutahirize umugenzi umwe maze urwa Gasabo rutambe ituze, rube igisabo kizira ubwandu, tugire isheja n'ishema ryinshi ryo kurutur.

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INTERURO RUSANGE : " ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE
BABANE NEZA ."

Si uguteta , si ugutebya , si ukuninura , si ukwigamba ,
si ugucyocyorana ndetse si no kubyina ku mubyimba , ahubwo ni
icyifuzo ariko icyifuzo cyuzuye amaganya n'agahinda , kakandi
k'inkoko kamenywa n'inkike yatoreyemo . Nkaterura ngira nti
"twakora iki bantu mwese kandi bana twonse rimwe , ngo twongere
tubane neza ? "Inararibonye zacu , ndavuga ba sogokuru bacu bati
kera twarabanaga , tugashyingirana , tugahana inkanga tugakuza imiryango,
tugasangira akabisi n'agahiye , tugasangira amarwa tugataramana
bigatinda . Urukiko rwabo rukaba "gacaca" maze ushatse kwigira akari
aha kajyahe , agacibwa icyirun kimukwiye . None twe ab'ubu twaranzwe
n'amatiku y'urudaca , twicamo ibice ngo uwo mudahuje ubwoko ntimwa-
turana ndetse ngo ntakabeho . Impamvu ngo ingana ururo , ba gashaka-
buhake baba imbarutso baradutanya . Imbuta babibye irasagamba kugeza
mu mahindura yo muwi 1959 , abonse rimwe baramarana , ngo bigere muri
mata 1994 biba agahomamunwa , umudari w'ubwicanyi uhabwa u Rwanda mu
isi yose . None bantu dusangiye kubaka u Rwanda turebe igikwiye
dusenyerere umugozi umwe tuzahure urwatubaye .

Bajya bavuga ngo " uko byagenze bibara umupfu "kandi ngo
"Amagambo aryoha asubiwemo". Ntitwabura kuvuga ku byerekeye imibanire
y'abanyarwanda , mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu mu Rwanda , ku butegetsi
bwabo , nyuma y'ubwo butegetsi kugeza iki gihe .

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu , mu mateka dusanga abanyarwanda
barabanaga neza bizira amakemwa , batishishanya , bagashyingirana
imiryango ikaba migari batarebye ubwoko ngo uriya ni umwe , ni
umugesera , ni umusinga , ni umukono , ni umusindi ngo ntiyabana
n'uwo badahuje ubwoko . Mbese ugasanga barabirenza amaso bagasabana .
Ubwo ni ko bahana inkanga kandi bakumva bibumbiye hamwe bashimishijwe
ni uko ari abanyarwanda bakomoka kuri sekuruza umwe ariwe Kanyarwanda
(Gihanga) . Kubera icyo mibanire myiza yabarangaga yuzuye ubucuti,
wasangaga umuntu runaka yirahira mugenzi we "A A ! Yampaye inkanga
Karemera twataramye " . Ubundi uwakugiriye neza wakugabiye inkanga,
bakamuhimba amazina ajyanye n'ibikorwa bye .
Twavugaga nka Rugabishabirenge ariwe Gisanura , Kubera ubuntu bwe
bwamurenze . Abandi bati " uriya ni Mugababihumbi " bavugaga Sentabyo ,
umwami waranzwe no kugaba amashyo menshi .
Indamukanyo yabo ikaba " Gira amahoro " , "Ngira nkugire "umwanzi aganye
ndetse na " Ibereho nanjye nibereho" iteka ryose , igasozera .

"Ngo arimo gishigisha ntavura " , ba gashakabuhake aribo ba
gashozantambara , baba barahasesekaye , baza bihakirwa bafite inyungu zabo ,
dore ko ari n'abanyabwenge , maze baducamo ibice cyangwa inzego
bakurikije umutungo wa buri munyarwanda . Ubwo baba batonesheje bamwe
b'abakire , ari nako bagerageza kubangisha abandi b'abakene .

Kuko inkanga yari ifaranga ry'icyo gihe , uwari atunze wese afite
inkanga nyinshi akitwa umututsi arakundwakazwa ngo arasa nabo . Abandi
bose badatunze cyane bakitwa abahutu cyangwa abatwa .

Ubwo uwari umukire yitwaga umututsi , yakana inkanga zimushizeho
akitwa umuhutu . Ngo umwera uturutse i bukuru bucya wakwiriye hose
kandi ngo umuntu ananira umuhana , ntawe unanira umushuka . Imbuta
abazungu babibye mu banyarwanda irasagamba ; irakura imyaka n'imyaka .
Umunyarwanda udatoneshejwe yangana urunuka n'uwari atoneshejwe muri
icyo gihe . Abazungu bifatanyaga n'ubutegetsi bwa cyami bwariho abantu
barahakwa ariko ari nako babangamiwe biza kugeza muwi 1959 , ubwo nibwo
Umwami Rudahigwa yashushe n'ukoma imbarutso ya demokarasi ati
"Umugaragu wese uhatswe agomba kugabana inkanga na Shebuja , ntamuntu
uzongera guhaka undi ukundi" , ubwo n'ikiboko aba agiciye ubwo .

Kuba uwo mugabo yari yagize igitekerezo cyiza cyo kubana neza nta busumbane, ntibyabujije bamwe bari bafite inzika n'ipfunwe ryo kuba barategetswe iyo myaka yose bakandamizwa, gushaka kwihorera mu gihe bise icy'amahindura yo muwi 1959, ubwo umuntu yarebaga undi akamubonamo inyamaswa ntiyifuze ko babana mu gihugu kandi bose ari abanyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bamenesha abandi babacuzza utwabo, ufite itungo bakaritwara ari nako intwari gakondo bazuhira umutuku. Abantu barapfa ibintu biradogera, abacitse ku icumu baromongana bakwira imishwari barashwiragira bahinduka impunzi zitagira kivurira. Abandi barabatwikira ubwo ngo barabohozza. Abantu bica abandi nk'abica inyamaswa ntibababarire n'umugore utwite bati "Uwica imbeba ntababarira n'ihaka." Umukwe asenyera Sebukwe ngo ntibahuje ubwoko, akarere, idini ndetse n'ishyamba.

- Umwishyamba asenyera nyirarume ngo ntibahuje ubwoko.
- Umwisengeneza asenyera nyirasenge ngo ntibahuje akarere.
- Umwuzukuru asenyera Sekuru ngo ntibahuje ubwoko.

bigera n'aho umwana yihakana nyina wamubyaye.

Umunyarwanda yaravuze ati "Akabaye icwende ntikoga ni iyo koze ntigashira umunuko." Kuba abakoze ibyo ari nabo bashatse ko mu Rwanda tugira ubwigenge mu 1962, ntibyanaguye burundu mu mitima yabo, amatwara yo kunoza umugambi. Maze baba ba "Rwicaruhoze" bakandamiza mu nzego zose uwo bitaga umututsi ngo barihorera kuva imyaka 400 yose ategetse. Uko kubana abantu banyanyana bishishanya, babeshyana urukundo wabona umuntu agusekeye uti dore umukunzi naho mu by'ukuri ni "Basekanimbereka" nibyo byatumye abanyarwanda bahorana umwiryane ntawifuriza undi kubaho. Bamwe baba ba nyamwigendaho, umuntu agasama aye aho guharanira inyungu za bose.

Iyo ngeso yo kwigwiza ho no gutonesha agatsiko aka n'aka, kwanga ko ibitekerezo bya rubanda bigaragara, ubutegetsi bushingiye ku muntu umwe cyangwa agatsiko, byatumye abantu bahindura imibanire bihekana amababa bitewe n'ubutegetsi butahwemaga kubahamagarira kwangana ngo ntibahuje inkomoko n'amoko.

Ibyo ntibyatinze, muri mata 1994, ikibyimba cyari kibyimbye kirameneka, ubwo mwari umukuru w'igihugu ariwe Habyarimana yagiraga impanuka y'indege akitaba iyamuremye. Biba bibaye imbarutso maze abahagarikiwe n'ingwe baravoma. Ubwicanyi mu Rwanda buhabwa intebe, utavugaga rumwe n'umukuru w'igihugu wese, utari mu ishyamba rye M.R.N.D na C.D.R ahasiga ubuzima. Inzirakarengane nyinshi ziratabaruka, bigera n'aho umwana yica nyina ngo ntibahuje ubwoko n'ishyamba. Intero iba iyo muri 1959, ariko byo biba agahebuze ku isi yose. Inzirakarengane zigera kuri miliyoni zirapfa. Umugabo cyangwa umugore baramupfakaza, Umubyeyi wabyaye bamugira incike, umwana bamugira imfubyi. Uwiciye ara-babara ishavu rimwuzura umutima abura epfo na ruguru n'uko yifata. Ariko ngo ubyaye ishyamba araryonsa, araruka ararumira.

Tumaze kubona ibyo byose, ko u Rwanda rwagukanye umudari wa mbere mu bwicanyi ku isi hose, ariko akaba atari igikorwa gishimishije, buri wese yakwibaza icyakorwa ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza n'uma y'ayo marorerwa yayogojye u Rwanda. Bakongera bagasangira, bagasabana umuriro n'amazi, bagashyingirana, bagataramana bahana ink'a nk'uko byahozze. Ni ikibazo kitoroshye ariko nanone akababaje umugabo kamurenza impinga kandi ngo "nyir'umupfu niwe ujya ahanuka". Nitwe ubwacu cyane, cyane urubiruko, Urwanda rwejo, tugomba gushaka umuti w'ibibazo byacu duhura nabyo kuko ari twe bireba, twese abanyarwanda.

Kugira ngo tubane neza, niba uwakoze icyaha, cyangwa se wiciye undi yemera icyaha agomba kubihanirwa hakurikijwe uburemere bw'icyaha. Guhana si bibi ahubwo ni intangiriro yo kubana neza, kugira ngo bibere abandi urugero babone ko ikibi aba ari kibi, uwakoze neza nawe akabi-shimirwa bakabona ko icyiza aba ari cyiza. Kugira ngo abantu bongere babane, leta ibifitemo uruhare, ariko uruhare runini n'urw'umuntu ku giti cyo amurikiye n'urumuri rwa leta. Umuco wo kudahana ugomba gucika, icyo umuntu atifuza ko cyamubaho ntagikorere mugenzi we ahubwo bahure basabane bati "Ibereho nanjye nibereho" iteka ryose.

Ariko ibyo ntibyabuza ko mu kubana neza gushingiye ku bwiye , bishoboka ko iyo abo ikibazo kireba bahanye imbabazi hagati yabo . Kuba umubaji w'imitima atarayiringaniye , nibyo bituma habaho abantu bari n'abeza mu mico ari byo bikurura amatiku n'inzangano. Iyo imitima y'abeza iza kuba myinshi ku y'ababi cyangwa yose ikaba myiza abanyarwanda twari kubana neza ingoma bihumbi nta mwirya n'urwikekwa biturangwamo .

Kugira ngo ubutabera bushinge imizi mu kuboneza inzira y'ubwiyunge bwo soko y'imibanire myiza , y'abanyarwanda , abayobozi bacu bagomba kwita ku murimo w'ubutabera bashinze nta kubogama kandi bagashyikirana cyane n'abaturage . Ibyo akaba ari bimwe na kwita kugera ikirenge mu cya ba Sekuruza . Urugero natanga n'uko habaho imvugo y'abanyarwanda ba kera ku ngoma y'umwami Gisanura , aho bavugaga bati " Urubanza rwaciriwe i Mutakara " bivuga ko iyo yabaga yaciye urubanza ataberaga kandi rwanyuraga buri wese ari utsinzwe ari n'uwatsinzwe . Akaba ari yo mpamvu uwo mwami yakunzwe na rubanda rwose yayoboye . Ku bw'ibyo rero , ubutegetswe bw'ubucamanza bugomba kuba ubw'abaturage , butangwa n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage , aho buri wese afite ijamba kubyo atekereza , kubyo abona cyangwa kubyo yumvise .

Ibyabaye mu Rwanda byarabaye ntibishobora kwibagirana mu mitima y'abanyarwanda no mu mateka y'u Rwanda . Kandi uko kutibagirana niko kuzatuma bitongera kubaho ukundi . Abanyarwanda tugomba kwirinda abivanga mu bibazo byacu (abanyamahanga) kuko akenshi baba baharanira inyungu zabo kandi babona n'usenya urwe bakamutiza umuhoro .

Abanyarwanda tugomba kwishyira hamwe tugabuze ibitekerezo byubaka aho kuba ba gashozantambara kuko " ababiri biyunge baruta ijana rirasana " . Abanyarwanda bagomba kwikuramo umuco wa nyirandabizi bagatora umuco wo kwicisha bugufi bakurikiza amategeko ya Leta . Twatanga urugero tuvuga tuti iyaba abanyarwanda bameraga nk'ibitambambuga imbere ya se bigendera kuri we bikurikiza inama za kibyeyi . Ntibishoboka kwangana kuko binganya ubwenge kandi na none bagatinya igitsure cya se ubabyara .

Kuba abanyarwanda bamwe baragize umutima nk'uw'inyamaswa y'inkazi ibonye umuntu , bakicana , hari abandi barebye kure , bitegereje imibanire bagati y'inyamaswa z'ishyamba rimwe , umuryango umwe , basanga imibanire yazo itagira amakemwa na mba . Nibwo babonye zifatanyaga mu mirimo yazo ya buri gihe . Twavuye nko mu mirimo y'umuhigo , gushaka uburaro cyangwa amasenga yazo , gufata neza zene wazo zirwaye kandi zidafite ubwenge nk'ubw'abantu . Muri icyo mibanire yazo myiza rimwe na rimwe ugasanga zifiteye n'umutware wazo . Ubwo buzima zibumaramo igihe kitagira iherezaho kandi zizira imvururu hagati yazo . Uretse ko ngo "Ahari abantu hatabura urunturuntu" . Ubwo nazo byaba ari uko . Ibyo byose , umuntu washavuye yabireba akagera aho yifuza ati iyaba nibaragaho nka ziriya nyamaswa , ziberaho ziganye mu ishyamba ryazo na mvururu .

U Rwanda rufite amahirwe yo kuvugira ururimi rumwe kavukire rw'ikinyarwanda bityo rukaba rubumbatiye umuco umwe duhuriyeho . Ibyo abanyarwanda bagombye kubigenderaho tugasaranyaga uduce dufite tukabana mu mahoro . Twavuye ko igihe habayeho igabanamutungo w'igihugu ku buryo buiringaniye ntawe uzagirira undi ishyamba ati kanaka andusha umurima munini . ibyo nabyo biri mu byatuma abanyarwanda babana neza nta busumbane mu mutungo w'igihugu (ubutaka) .

Itangazamakuru mu banyarwanda rigomba guhabwa intebe mu nshingano zo kunga abanyarwanda , aho buri wese abifiteye uburenganzira bwo kugaragaza ibitekerezo bye . Amaradiyo , ibinyamakuru bikaba gahuzamiriyako aho kuba Gasurantambara .

Bajya bavuga ngo "Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda" wakwibuka uko bamwe barutesheje isura n'agaciro bakica bagenzi babo intimba ikagushengura umutima uti "Ese Mama uracyariho?". Kuba rero yirirwa ahandi igataha iwacu, bagombye kuba igihugu gitemba amata n'ubuki, aho ubutindi n'ubutiriganya bitarangwa, igihugu cy'abanyarwanda batemba itoto n'ituze maze indamukanyo yabo ikaba imwe bagira bati "Ibereho nanjye nibereho" iteka ryose. Gukemura burundu ikibazo cy'impunzi, ni kimwe mu bizatuma u Rwanda rwacu rusubirana isura yarwo rwahoranye, mbere y'ugutatana kw'abanyarwanda.

Kuba u Rwanda rwacu rwugarijwe n'ibibazo birebana n'impunzi zitahutse vuba, ntibigomba kuduca intege, ngo twitwaze ngo U Rwanda ni ruto, abanyarwanda ntibarukwirwamo, nk'uko byagenze ku ngoma za mbere. U Rwanda n'abategetsi barwo bagomba kwitabira igikorwa cy'iringanizamutungo kwavuzwe haruguru, kugira ngo abana b'U Rwanda bari barahabye, bakaba baragarutse mu Rwababyaye, bazabone aho batura, maze baturane na bagenzi babo mu mahoro azira amakemwa maze bagasangira duke ariko ntibitane ibisambo.

Imyidagaduro ni kimwe mu biranga imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda. Nka kera abanyarwanda barahuraga mu bitaramo, bakarushanwa mu byivugo, bagahiga, bakabyina, bagakina imikino inyuranye maze bagahuza urugwiro mu ngeri zose. Baba abana bagasimbuka urukiramende, bakihishana bagakina, ugasanga baramutse bakuranye iyo mibanire byaba bitagira uko bisa.

Ibyo byose ariko ⁿⁱ uruhare rwa buri munyarwanda. By'umwihariko twavugaga urubyiruko rwo Rwanda rw'ejo. Byaragaragaye ko ari rwo ruhura n'ingorane cyane, mwaroshyemo ahanini n'abayobozi babi. Ngo n'ubundi "Aho inzovu zirwaniye ibyatsi nibyo bihagwa". Niba abayobozi babi bateguye umugambi mubisha, bakawushoramo abanyarwanda, izo nzirakarengane nizo zizahagwa mu gihe cy'intambara cyangwa andi magomerane. Buri muntu rero afite uruhare rukomeye mu kugaragaza ibimubangamiye n'ibimushimishije, cyane cyane urubyiruko.

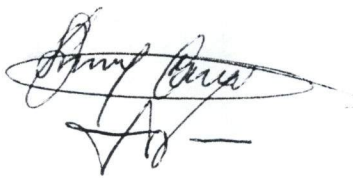
Ni muri urwo rwego, abanyarwanda bose bagomba kwigishwa ibirebana na politiki. Yaba umwana muto, yaba umuhoze, yaba umusaza bose bakamenya ibyerekeye politiki, aho kuvugaga ngo politiki bivugaga uburyo bwiza bwo kuyobora no kuyoborwa mu nzego zinyuranye (ubutegets, ubukungu, imibereho y'abaturage, umuco). Buri wese biramureba yaba uyobora cyangwa uyoborwa kugira ngo barushaho kubana neza mu mahoro bashimishijwe no kuba bariho bose bifurizanya bati: "Ibereho najye nibereho" iteka ryose.

Gushimishwa no kubona mugenzi wawe ariho ni kimwe mu byerekana imibanire nyayo y'abatuye igihugu, mugafatanya muri byose haba mu byiza no mu ^{byago} ~~byago~~, dore ko ngo "Inshuti nyayo uyibona mu byago" kandi "Inkingi imwe ntigera inzu". Ni muri urwo rwego rero abanyarwanda tugomba kugira "AMAHURIRO" ariyo mashyirahamwe tukungurana ibitekerezo tukamenya k'"umutwe umwe wifasha gusara ntiwigira inama". Tugeze ikirenge mu cya ba sogokuru byadufasha kuko nabo babikorana mu byo bitaga "UBUDEHE" bakabana neza nk'abavandimwe bahuje umugambi wo kujyambere kandi bahuje ibitekerezo, bakanidagadura.

Niba ubwiyunge twemeye ko ari yo ntambwe ya mbere igana imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda tugomba kunva ko uwakoze ikosa n'uwarikorewe bafite uruhare rungana mu kuboneza imibanire yabo. Bikaba bivugaga ko iyo wemeye ikosa ushobora guhabwa imbabazi kandi n'uzitanga nawe atabyemeye ntacyagerwaho. Niyo mpamvu rero dukwiye guterana ingabo mu bitugu nta wigize nyirantibindeba ngo ubwiyunge burareba kanaka.

Banyarwanda , banyarwandakazi, rubyiruko rw'u Rwanda ,
bajya bavuga ngo " Abagiye inama Imana irabasanga kandi ngo
" Ifasha uwifashiye " Ni ngombwa ko tuyisunga mu byo dukora
ariko natwe tugomba kwishyira hamwe tugasenyera umugozi umwe
ntiduterere agati mu ryinyo ngo dufite abazatwunga tubone kubana
neza kuko " Ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise " . Tugomba kugera
ikirenge mu cyaba Sogokuruza mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu ,
aho basangiraga akabisi n'agahiye , bagashyingirana , bagahana
inka bakagura imiryango . Maze tugata kure ibyerekeranye n'amoko,
uturere imbuto yazanywe n'abazungu .
Tukibera mu gihugu kitarangwamo imyivumbagatanyo , tugashimishwa
no kuba amaboko y'igihugu twubaka U Rwanda rwacu , dushimishijwe
no kubona bagenzi bacu bariho , imyifurizo ari imwe gusa tuti
" Ibereho nanjye nibereho"iteka ryose .

Byanditswe na SEMINEGA Camille
Umwaka wa 6 w'Indimi n'Ubuvanganzo
Groupe Scolaire de GAHINI .



NYAKANGA 1997

IRUSHANWA RYO KUVUGA NEZA

INYANDIKO YA : NAMA HORO CORNEILLE

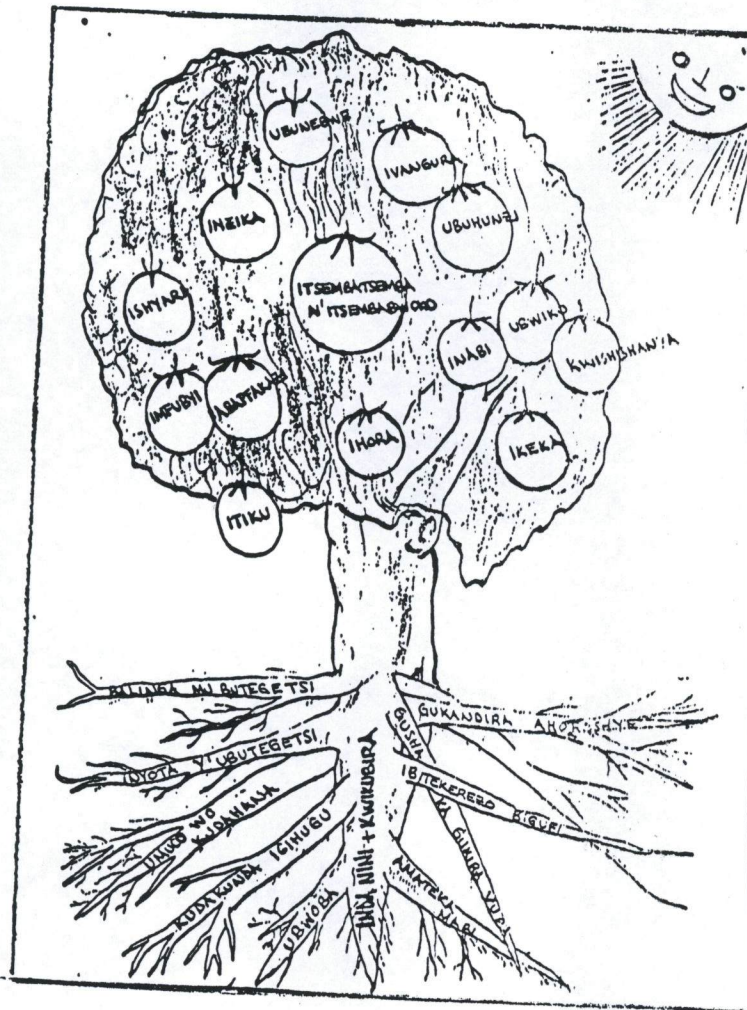
AHO ABARIZWA :- ISEMINARI NTO YA
MUTAGATIFU VISENTI

- UMWAKA WA GATANDATU

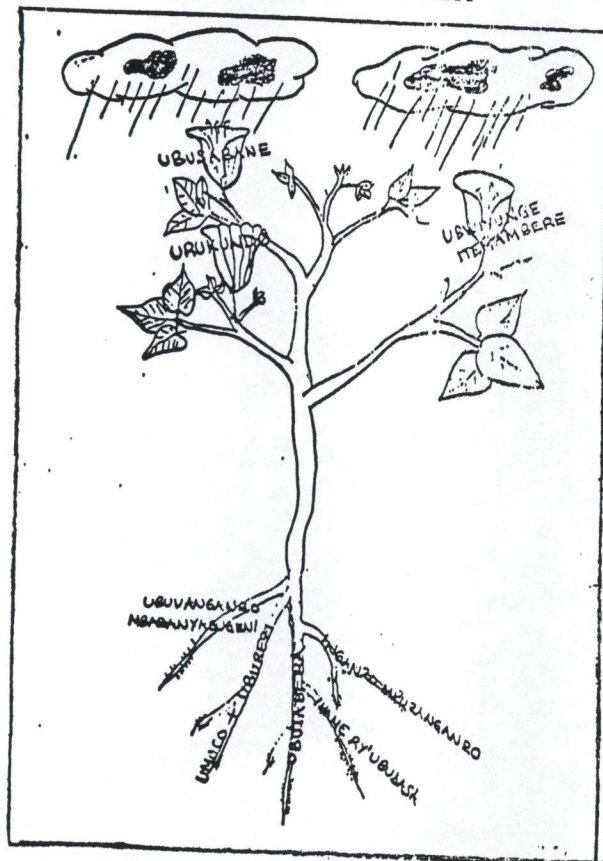
- ISHAMI . IKILATINI
N'INDIMI ZIVUGWA

**ICYAKORWA KUGIRA NGO ABANYA-
RWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA.**

IMIZI N'IMBUTO Z'IGITI KIBI



IMIZI N'URUYANGE BY'IGITI CYIZA



**HAKORWA IKI KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA.**

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HAKORWA IKI KUGIRA NGO ABANYARWANDA BONGERE BABANE NEZA

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I. Iriburiro :

Kugira ngo abanyarwanda bongere babane neza ni ngombwa ko habanza kubaho ubwiyunge nyakuri. Kuva kera abanyarwanda babanaga neza. Kuba batari bahuje ubwoko, uturere n'ibitekerezo ntibyababereye urwitwazo rwo gucagagurana.

Buzuzanyaga muri byinshi : kuba iby'amoko byarabaga bishingiye ku butunzi, abatunzi aribo bitwaga abatutsi bunganiranaga n'abahutu aribo bari abahinzi. Muri aba bari batunzwe n'umwuga w'ubuhinzi, uwashoboraga kuzamuka mu ntera yitwaga « *Umututsi* ». Uwo inka zashizeho nawe akitwa « *Umuhutu* » Abatwa bo barasuzugurwaga n'ubwo na Busyeti yagororewe gushyingirwa umukobwa w'umwami akaba umututsi ubwo.

Abanyarwanda rero iyo baza kuba bari batsimbaraye ku by'amoko cyane ntibari kubikinisha bene aka kageni. icyo abanyarwanda bitaga ubwoko bakanagitsimbararaho byari igisekuru gikomoka k'umukurambere uzwi cyangwa se utazwi neza byari nk'abasinga, abasindi, abazigaba ... kuko babikorera imihango inyuranye. Nyamara hose habarizwagamo abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi.

Aya moko uko ari inyabutatu, baranywanaga, bagashyingirana ... Umuzungu rero ageze mu Rwanda, abonye ubumwe bari bafite buramukangaranyaga. Ati aba bantu sinzi aho nzabahera ! Mu kurwana ku mbehe ye arabatanyaga aka « *za nkoni za wa mukambwe waragaga abana be !* » Kandi abigeraho.

Inkubiri ya 1962 ije, avanwa mu Rwanda atabishaka, agira ibikoreshe abategetsi bamwe, bafatanyaga guharanira inyungu zabo bwite, amayeri yabo akomeza kuba ayo guteranya abanyarwanda ngo barwane ku nda zabo.

Ubu rero igihe kirageze ngo abanyarwanda twongere dusubirane, tubwizanye ukuri, twe kwishishyanye, ngo dufatanye kurandura udusigisigi tw'ivangura moko, ngo twiyunge maze uwo murage mwiza tuzawusigire abazadukomokaho.

II. IMIZI N'IMHAMURO Y'IBYASENYESHWE U RWANDA.

Ni ngombwa ko tureba ibyaseyeho u Rwanda, tugafatira hamwe ingamba zo kubirwanya, hato ejo udasanga twaba twugamira imvura mu muduha cyangwa duhungira ubwayi mu kigunda, ntaho tuvuye ntaho tugiye.

II. 1° : INDA NINI :

Iyo usubije amaso inyuma usanga inda nini yari yarazitiye imibanire myiza y'abanyarwanda. Bicengera mu butegetsi, mu baturage no mu mibereho yabo ya buri muni buhoro buhoro.

Ubuhanza mu « *iyigandimi* » n'ubuhanga mu « *bitekerezo* » butubwira ko akenshi umuntu avuga ibyo atekereza, ni nako dusanga ibitekerezo by'inda byari byarayogoye u Rwanda rwose, bati « *Kanaka ari ku ibere, bamwubikiye imbehe, ndarwana ku mbehe yange ...* » Ugasanga birirwa batekereza mu biryo, bakabyivurugutamo ...

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. Iyi nda nini yateranyije abanyarwanda ni ngombwa ko twashyira hamwe tukayirwanya. Duhere n'aho turi, turwanye bya bitekerezo ngo : « *nziga ibizampa umugati, ibizangaburira ...* »

II.2° : KWIKUBIRA

Ingeso mbi yo kwikubira yaranze kenshi abategetsi b'u Rwanda. Uhereye ku bwa Kayibanda, ukwikubira kwashingiye ku moko n'uturere, abaminisitiri ba mbere bose abagira ab'i GITARAMA Mu 1973 kubwa Habyarimana, byahumiye ku mirari. Akazu gahabwa intebe gatewe ingabo mu bitugu n'iringaniza mu mashuri, mu kazi, mu butegetsi

II. 3° : GUSHAKA GUKIRA UTAVUNITSE :

Umunyarwanda wo hambere yari inyangamugayo. Kurya ibyo atavunikiye byamuteraga ipfunwe n'ikimwaro. Nyamara igihe cyaje kugera kwambura no kurya utw'abandi biba intego, bati : « *Umugabo ni urya utwe akarya n'utwabandi !* » Abantu baramburwa, bahohoterwa ku mugaragaro. Ikigega cya Leta nacyo ntibakirebera izuba maze inyungu z'umuturage zirahagwa. Ni ngombwa ko iyo ngeso mbi yo gushaka gukira vuba, utavunitse no gukandira aho rworoshye icika kugira ngo twongere tubane neza.

II. 4° : URUGOMO NO KUDAHANA :

Kera, uwakoreraga mugenzi we urugomo yabihanirwaga by'intagarugero. Bamubambiraga ku karubanda, n'umubonye wese kimwe n'uwabitekerezaga wese akazinukwa ubwo ! Nyamara siko byagenze muri iyi myaka ishize. Mu 1959 abatutsi barishwe, babarira inka, barabatwikira, abacitse ku icumu barahunga. Leta irabirebera iricecekera.

Mu 1973 byarageze, abacumbekaga wa muco w'inda nini babonye ko ababikoze ntacyo babatwaye, bafata iya mbere mu kwica no gutwikira abarokotse mu 1959. Ubutegetsi burongera burinumira.

Mu 1994 byo byaje ari umwihariko. Byari byarateguwe kuva mbere, babishakira ingengo y'imari, itangazamakuru rya Leta n'iry'igenga ritegura itsembabwoko ku mugaragaro. Habyarimana amaze gupfa abategetsi bagiyeho bashishikariza abantu kwica : bica impinja, abasaza, abakecuru, inkumi, abasore. Uwari umututsi n'undi wese utavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi ahigishwa amahiri, imbwa, imihoro, intorezo n'ubugome bw'indengakamere nk'aho bo batari ibiremwa muntu, imivu y'amaraso iratamba igihugu gicura imiborogo. Itsembabwoko ritsembatsemba rishyirwa mu bikorwa nuko abantu barushanwa kwica !

II. 5° : ITSEMBABWOKO :

Itsembabwoko ritsembatsemba iyo witegereje usanga ryaratangiye kera. Mu 1931 abazungu bitwaje inyungu zabo batanyije abanyarwanda, bafata abitwaga abatutsi babumvisha ko ari abantu badasanze, bazi ubwenge, abasigaye bakaba ibicucu. Abazungu babonye ko abo bizeraga ko bazabashyigikira babakuriye inzira ku murima, bahindukirira abahutu, babumvisha ukuntu baryamiwe. Mu 1959 biba « *nk'uworosora uwabyukagaga* », bati reka twihorere. Mu 1973 bati ntitwashizwe. Mu 1994 bati ni ukwica ikitwa umututsi cyose, tugatsembatsemba, twarangiza « *tukazahatera itabi. !* »

N'ubwo bitwaga ko bari barize bwose, ibitekerezo bigufi byaranze abategetsi babi u Rwanda rwagize. Umuntu muzima ntabwo yari kumva ko azatura nk'umusizi, atanabigirira urukundo akunze igihugu cye, akabigirira n'abazamukomokaho, urubyarwo rwe. Iyo abategetsi baba barategetse neza abana babo ntibababangara iyo mu mahanga. Bari bakwiye rero kuba baraharaniye iterambere ry'abanyarwanda bose, aho gushyira imbere inda zabo, akazu n'iringaniza.

III. HAKORWA IKI KUGIRA NGO UBWIYUNGE NYABWO BUGERWEHO :

Inzira y'ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda iraruhije kandi ni ndende. Ni ngombwa rero ko buri wese ashiraho ake kugira ngo bugerweho, aho kugira ngo bamwe bigire ba « *ntibindeba* ». Ni ngombwa kandi ko « *twazitira tutaronerwa* », tukirinda za ngeso mbi zose zavuzwe haruguru hatwo ejo tutarundukira muri cya gisimu cyo muri 1994. Ntaho twaba tuvuye, ntaho twaba tugiye.

III. 1° : ICYAKORWA N'UBUCAMANZA :

. Ubucamanza bugomba kuzuza inshingano zabwo, bikaturinda wa muco wo kudahana ariwo watumye tugera aho tugeze.

. Ubucamanza bugomba kwihutisha imanza zirebana n'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba.

. Ubucamanza bugomba gukorwa n'abahugukiye n'uwo murimo. Bukirinda ko hazamo inzangano n'inzigo kuko icyo gihe butaba bukiri ubutabera.

. Igihe imanza zikozwe neza, abafungirwe ubusa bagomba kurekurwa kandi abo bere bagabwa indishyi z'akababaro.

. Ubucamanza bugomba kwihatira gusobanura iby'itegeko rihana abakoze itsembabwoko, maze abaturage bakikuramo bya ibitekerezo ko ngo ufunzwe wese azapfa kandi ko igihano kigamijwe guhotora aho gukosora.

III. 2° : IBYAKORWA N'UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU :

. Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bukwiye kureba uko bwateza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Niburengere ba bagore bapfakaye imburagihe, ubu babaye ingaruzwamuheto z'abagabo bitwaza ko bagiye gusana izo ngo ahubwo bagiye kuzisanya. Abo bana babavukaho barambabaza cyane. Ni « *abanyabyago* » kuko mbise « *ibinyendaro* » niba mbatutse mbahoye ubusa.

. Ubutegetsi niburebe uko bwakemura ikibazo k'imitungo, ibintu n'amazu bisubizwe bene byo, abadafite aho baba babonerwe amazu n'ibindi bikoresho by'ibanze. Abaturage nibunganire leta mu gufasha bagenzi babo batahutse.

. Leta nirebe uko yarangiza burundu ikibazo k'impunzi, cyane cyane abahoze ari abategetsi bakwiza umwuka mubi mu baturage, mu mahanga baciye ku maradiyo mpuzamahanga n'ibinyamateka.

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. Ikigega gifasha imfubyi n'abapfakazi kigomba kwitabwaho. Kikanagoboka abana ndetse n'abagore bafite ababyeyi cyangwa se abagabo bafunze. Buri Komini nigire ikigega cyayo.

. Ubutegetsu bw'igihugu nibwigishe kandi bukungurire abaturage « Uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa-muntu ».

III. 3° : URUHARE RW'ITANGAZAMAKURU

Itangazamakuru (ryaba irya Leta ndetse n'iry'igenga) ryagize uruhare runini mu gusenya u Rwanda no guteranya abanyarwanda. Nk'uko rero ryagize urwo ruhare nirinarugire mu kunga abanyarwanda. Abanyamakuru b'abanyarwanda basenyere umugozi umwe, banasobanurire bagenzi babo b'abanyamahanga ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Babwizanye ukuri, be gushakira inyungu zabo mu guteranya abana b'u Rwanda.

III. 4° : URUHARE RW'UBUREZI :

. Uburezi n'uburere ni intango y'ubwumvikane bw'abanyarwanda, niyo mpamvu bugomba kwitabwaho ku buryo bw'umwihariko.

. Uburezi nibuvugururwe, ababyeyi b'umubiri n'abarezi bo mu mashuri basenyere umugozi umwe mu kurerera ejo hazaza. Uburere mbonezabupfura nibushimangirwe mu muryango.

. Abarezi batabishoboye kimwe n'abakifitemo ya « mungu » y'ivangura nibavanwe mu mubare w'abarezi. Minisiteri zibishinzwe nazo zijye zitegura amahugurwa y'abarezi ahoraho. Bategure ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhamye n'abakangurambaga b'ubwiyunge.

. Ibitabo mfashanyigisho nibihindurwe ari ibyigisha gusoma « byigisha amageza ya Bakame na Nyiramuhari yo kwikubira n'inda nini, byigishe kubahana, gusaranganya, kuzuzanya no gushyira hamwe, abana nabo bakurane uwo mutima mwiza ». Ibitabo by'amateka nabyo nibihindurwe ariko twirinde guhisha abana ukuri kw'ibyabaye.

. Minisiteri ishinze uburezi nishyireho icyigisho cy' « ubwiyunge n'ubworoherane » mu mashuri abanza n'ay'isumbuye.

. Birashoboka kandi gushyiraho mu mashuri makuru ishami ryiga « Kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro, ubworoherane, ubwiyunge n'imibanire myiza y'abaturage ».

III. 5° URUHARE RW'ABANYAMADINI :

Nk'uko abanyamadini bafite uburyo bwo guhura n'abantu benshi kandi kenshi, ni byiza ko byajya batsimbarara ku bukesha bwo kwiyinga, kubana neza no kubahana mu nyigisho zabo.

Abihaye Imana bafite imiryango babamo bakwiye kwirinda rya vangura ry'amoko n'uturere cyangwa iringaniza ribishingiyeho.

III. 6° URUHARE RW'ABATURAGE :

Abaturage bafite uruhare runini cyane mu bwiye no kubana neza hagati yabo kuko aribo bafite akamaro mbere y'abandi bese. Bagomba kwibohora bakareka kugwa iguhumura iyo babonye abategetsi, ntibagomba rero kubatinyira no kubumvira mu mafuti. Ubu rero nibamenye ko « Afandi » atari we nzira y'ikuri n'ubugingo muri iki gihugu !
Abaturage kandi bagomba kwigishwa kubana neza no kuzuzanya nk'uko byahozze batirengagije izi ngingo zikurikira :

III. 6°i : IHAME RY'UBUDASA

Abanyarwanda bese bakwiye gutozwa ihame « ry'ubudasa busabana bwuzuzanya » (unité dans la diversité). Bagasobanurirwa byimazeyo ko kuba badahuje imico n'imisire, uturere n'ibindi, bitari bikwiye kubabera urwitwazo rwo gucagagurana.

« Nta bwoko na bumwe busumba ubundi, nta n'ubwifiteho ubuhanga n'uburanga ho umwihariko, ubwo twese tubitunze mu gifite cy'ubudasa » niko umwanditsi w'umuhanga witwa AIME CESAIRE* atubwira (cahier du Retour au Pays Natal) « Nsubire ku ivuko ». Akunganirwa na mugenzi we : Antoni wa St Exupery* ati :

« Ubudasa ntibuntubya ahubwo butuma nshobora kubona ubugenge bw'Imana » : (Terre des Hommes) « Isi y'Abantu ». Abanyarwanda nibibuke ko ubwiza bujyana n'ibihe : mu 1900 umwiza yari uwasaga n'umwami ; mu 1962 umwiza yari uwasaga n'abo kwa Kayibanda ; mu 1973 umwiza yari uwasaga n'abo kwa Habyarimana. Naho se ubu niba hari icyo twagezeho, umwiza asa na nde ?

Ni ngombwa rero ko ibyo bitekerezo bicengezwa mu mitekerereze y'abanyarwanda buhoro buhoro, mu bakiri bato, ababyeyi, abarezi bo mu mashuri, ababyeyi cyane cyane abategarugori kubera uruhare runini bafite m'uburezi n'ubwiyunge. « Ngo Habyara Imana n'umugore, ... »

Abo babyeyi nibonse abana babo ibere ry'ubwiyunge n'ubworoherane, kuko ubwiyunge bwaba ari inzizi igihe nta bworoherane buhari.

III. 6° ii : KWIBUGANIZAMO AMATWARA Y'UBWIYUNGE N'UBWOROHERANE MU MIBEREHO YACU YA BURI MUNSI

Ubwiyunge burashoboka igihe cyose tubushyizeho umutima, ukiyunga nawe ubwawe mbere yo kwiye na mugenzi wawe mufite ibyo mupfa, nabyo bidashyitse.

Biri n'amahire kuba abanyarwanda duhuje ururimi rw'Ikinyarwanda, rubundikiye ubukungu butagira ingano mu mateka no mu nsobanuro. Turusangamo ubuvanganzo buhanitse mu ntekerezo, mu migani y'imigenurano, imigani migufi, insigamigani, amazina y'abantu n'ibintu, imvugo nyabuzi, indirimbo, udusakuzo, udukino tw'abana n'ibindi...

* AIME CESAIRE (Soma Erme Sezeri)

* Antoine de St Exupery (Antoni wa SENTEGISIPERI)

Nitwifashishe ubwo buvanganzo mbazanyabugeni kugira ngo tugere ku bwiye. Nitwite abana bacu amazina ajyana n'ubwiye, udusozi nyaburanga, inyubakwa ndangamuco n'ahandi hose hashobora guhurirwa n'abantu benshi. Ibi byafasha abanyarwanda guhorana iyo nkomanga yo ku mutima ngo : « *Ubiye, ubiye ...* » Nitwite abana bacu ba Bisabana, Bwiye, Tworoherane, Kwisanga...

Insigamigani nazo ni ingirakamaro, kimwe n'izindi ngeri zose zibukijwe byadufasha kwicengezamo ubwiye, twibuke nk'insigamigani - « *Kwa - Ngara* » byabyaye « *Kwangara* » byibutsa amahano Nyiramataza muka Rukali wabonye isha itamba akitesha Rukari akajya kwa Ngara ! Byajya bitwibutsa amafuti y'abatubanjirije bityo tukanayakosora. Twibukiranye nk'amazina yiswe ahantu n'ubu tukibuka : Urutare rwa Ndaba, urwa Kamegeri, guca urw'i Mutakara.

Nihashyirweho gahunda itegura bene aya marushanwa ku bwiye : mu ntekerezo, imigani migenurano, insigamigani, amazina, imvugo nyabusizi, amakinamico cyane cyane udusakuzo n'udukino tw'abana kuko byabafasha kuzamuka neza, doreko bo imitima iba itari yakanamungwa. Nibura bo baba bakiri bazima, wa mugani wa wa mwami wagize ati : « *Abana bari beza iyaba batakuraga* ».

IV. UMWANZURO

Igihe kirageze kugira ngo abanyarwanda twese dufunguke mu mitwe, ibitekerezo byacu birenge kure aho amaso ashobora kugeza, dufatanye kurwanya imungu zose zamunze u Rwanda : inda nini, kwikubira, imburagihana ... twirinde kurunda turondera ubwoko : ivangura mu kazi, mu mashuri mu bigo, mu mashyirahamwe anyuranye n'ahandi. Ni ngombwa ko twarekeraho gucengana tukabwizanya ukuri.

Inzego z'ubucamanza nizifatanye n'ubutegetsi mu gukemura ibibazo by'ubwumvikane bucyeye mu banyarwanda, abanyamadini n'ibinyamateka nabyo bisenyere umugozi umwe mu kunga no kumvikanisha abanyarwanda. Inzego z'ubutegetsi nizirinde guhonyora ahubwo nizimirize imbere uburinganire.

Umuganda wa buri wese urakenewe, ari ko cyane cyane uw'ababyeyi n'abarezi kuko ngo : « *Ntawe ubyirura atagira imicuko !* » Nitubategurire rero ejo hazaza. Niduhurize hamwe rero ingufu zubaka u Rwanda aho kurusanya, duhurize hamwe imihamuro y'ibibazo by'u Rwanda ; turenge ibitekerezo bigufi. None se niba byarasabye imyaka ijana ngo abanyarwanda bacagagurane, kuki mu nyindi myaka mike tutaba noneho dusabana ? Wenda muri uru rungano rwacu ubwiye buragoye, ariko tubishyizeho umutima, abazadukomokaho bazasanga twarabakomeye urume. Nitwibuke kandi ko « *Abana aribo base b'abantu* » !

Kugira ngo twongere tubane neza rero, dukwiye gusubirana ya sura twataye itagira uko isa, ya sura y' »UBUNYARWANDA ». Nguko uko umwiza w'iki gihe yakwiye gusa.

Dore umunyarwanda uko mushushanya :

Niba wowe ugifite inzika
Niba wowe ugifite urwango
Jye sinkwita umunyarwanda.

Uti se umunyarwanda azaba uwuhe ?

Azaba uriya waretse inabi
Azaba uriya waretse ikeka
Azaba uriya waretse urwango
Azaba uriya waretse inzika
Azaba uriya waretse ihora
Azaba uriya waretse itiku
Azaba uriya waretse ubwiko
Azaba uriya ubona agaciro
Mu bamusumba n'abo asumba
Mu bamugenga n'abo agenga
Nguwo uwo nita jye umunyarwanda

NGAHO Nawe ba umunyarwanda !

SIBOMANA Félix
Umwaka wa gatandatu w'indimi
Urwunge rw'amashuri rwa
MUTAGATIFU YOZEFU
i KABGAYI.
B.P 37 GITARAMA
Tél: 62122



INTERURO : ICYAKORWA KUGIRANGO ABANYARWANDA
BONGERE BABANE NEZA.

UMUSHINGA W' UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU BUGAMIJE
KUZAHURA UBWIZERANE N'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA.

GITARAMA, KU WA 06-KANAMA 1997

Hashize igihe kitari gito igihugu cyacu gituwe n'abantu . Abasokuruza bacu bagituye mu gihe cya kera babagaho ku buryo bunyuranye ; ni ukuvuga ko bakoraga imyuga itandukanye nk'uko ab'ubu babikora ariko ntibyababuzaga kubana neza basangira akabisi n'agahiye . Iyo ugereranyije imibanire y'Abanyarwanda bo hambere n'iy'ab'ubu , usanga itandukanye cyane kubera impamvu zinyuranye zagiye zibaho uko ibihe byagiye bisimburana kugeza muri kino gihe ubwo bigaragara rwose ko batabanye neza . Ni mu rwego rero rwo gushaka icyakorwa kugirango Abanyarwanda ba nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda bongere babane neza , nshaka kubagezaho mu gice gikurikira cy'iyi nyandiko inshamake ku mubano w'Abanyarwanda n'inihindagurikire y'awo kuva kera kugeza ubu . Uretse ibi , ndibanda cyane cyane ku cyakorwa mu nzego zose zaba iz'Ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta , iz'Ubucamanza , icyakorwa n'Itangazamakuru ry'u Rwanda , Abanyamadini ntaretse n'Umunyarwanda wa nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda .

Mbere y'unwaduko w'abazungu , abasokuruza bacu bari babanye neza, nta nabi , nta mwiranye , haba mu baturage ubwabo , haba no hagati y'abategetsi n'abategekwaga b'icyo gihe . Bari mu nzego z'ubukungu zitadukanye ; bamwe bari abakire abandi ari abakene . Nyamara n'ubwo batareshyaga ku rwego rw'ubukungu , ntibyababuzaga gusabana amazi n'umuriro , guhana inka n'abageni gucirana ... mbese bari babanye nk'izuru n'umunwa , basangiye gupfa no gukira . Iyo ugereranyije imibereho y'Abanyarwanda ba kera n'iy'ab'ubu , usanga binyuranye kuko uherye mbere y'unwaka w'1959 ho gato kugeza ubu , usanga umwiranye n'amacakubiri byarabaye nk'ifatizo ry'ubuzima bwabo ku buryo bigaragara rwose ko urukundo rwakonje ko umubano w'Abanyarwanda wajemo agatotsi n'igihu , inzangano z'urudaca zikaba zinuka , inzika zikaba ari nk'iziba hagati y'injangwe n'imbeba cyangwa sakabaka n'imishwi y'inkoko .

Ibi byatangiye kuva aho umukoloni agereye mu Rwanda . Nk'uko mubizi umukoloni yaje agamije kutugira umutungo we . Kugira ngo abigereho , yifashishije ibyari inzego z'ubukungu n'ubutegetsi abihindura amoko maze aduca mu ibice turatatana . Aratangira ati : « Abategetsi ni ABATUTSI , abakire na bo ni ABATUTSI » nta mpamvu igaragara ashingiyeho kuko ubundi, UMUTUTSI biva ku nshinga « GUTUKA » bivuga gukira . Ageze ku bari abahinzi abita « ABAHUTU » naho abari batunzwe no guhiga no kubumba bo abita « ABATWA » ndetse akora ibishoboka byose buri bwoko yari amaze guhimba abushakira aho bwaturutse mu rwego nyine rwo kunvisha neza Abanyarwanda ko batandukanye ; ngo aba baturutse aha n'aha , aba na bo baturuka aha . Erega shenge yabushakiye n'ikiburanga akoresheje ingero z'ubunini n'uburebure . Sibwo inzira zibyaye amahari ! Abanyarwanda batangira guhigana ! Bakagenda intage kandi intaho yari inwe ! Umuzungu abonye icyuho gicitse mu Banyarwanda , yakajije umurego maze atangira kwandika no kwigisha ivangura ry'amoko haba mu mashuri , haba no mu baturage kugeza mu mwaka w'1959

ubwo inzangano zabaga urudaca hagati y'abari bariswe Abatutsi n'abazungu n'abari barahawe ubwoko bw'ubufitirano bw'Abahutu maze ubwicanyi bushingiye ku ivangura ry'amoko butangira ubwo mu Rwanda . Na nyuma y'ubwigenge bw'igihugu cyacu ubwicanyi bwarakomeje kuko mu w'1973 Abanyarwanda bicanye nabwo , mu w'1990 abantu bakicwa muri KIBUYE , KIBIRIRA , BUGESERA n'ahandi . Mu mwaka w'1990 byari indozo kuko byashyaga bishyira amahano y'itsembambaga yagwiririye igihugu cyacu .muri Mata 1994 , Abanyarwanda b'inzirakarengane bagapfa umusubizo ,imitungo igasahurwa ibikorwa by'amajyambere bikangizwa ,abapfakazi n'impfubyi bakiyongera ,ibinuga n'amatongo na byo bikuzura u Rwanda .Kuva rero aho umuryango wa F.P.R wari waraharaniye kubohoza u Rwanda kuva mu w'1990 uhagarikiye ubwicanyi kugeza ubu ,Abanyarwanda ntibabanye neza n'ubwo ubutegetsu bwagiyeho nyuma y'ariya mahano budahwema kuduhamagarira no kudusaba kongera kubana neza nk'uko byagombye kugenda mu by'ukuri .

Kugira ngo rero unubano mwiza mu bana b' u Rwanda wongere ugarure isura yawo nziza , inzangano ziranduke burundu , ku bwanjye mbona mbere na mbere Umunyarwanda wa nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye yakora ibi bikurikira :

1. Kugira umutima wo gusaba no gutanga imbabazi .

Umunyarwanda wese wiyunvamo kuba yarakoze icyaha akwiye kwegera uwo yagikoreye akamusaba imbabazi imbone nkubone kandi n'usabwa imbabazi akagira umutima wo kuzitanga kubera ko amahano yagwiririye igihugu cyacu yateguwe n'ubutegetsu bubi bwari bwarashyize imbere ivangura ry'amoko n'iry'uturere . Abanyarwanda bakwiriye gusabana no guhana imbabazi , bakiyunga kuko amahano yagwiririye igihugu cyatubye nta muryango n'umwe atakozeho maze ahubwo bagafatana mu mugongo basana imitima n'ibindi byangijwe n'intambara . Ibi bikaba bijyana no kongera guhabwa agaciro kwa gacaca maze igihe uwasabwe imbabazi abisabye ikaba yaterana igahana nyir'icyaha ku mugaragaro bityo na wa mucu wo kudahana waba ugenda urimbuka . Uretse no kurimbura unuco wo kudahana , uhawe igihano iki n'iki yakunva ko agihawe n'abavandimwe n'abaturanyi be bityo igihe yazakirangiriza akongera akabana neza n'uwo yari yarakoreye icyaha .

2. Gucika ku invugo zimwe na zimwe usanga zitanogeye inzira y'ubwiyunge muri kino gihe .

Muri kino gihe cya nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda hadutse invugo nyinshi zinyuranye . Muri zo twavugaga nka : « wabaga he mbere y'intambara ? » , « intambara yagusanze he ? » , « wahungiyeho hehe mu ntambara ? » « iwanyu bari ho ? » , « waturutse hanze y'igihugu ? » , « wahungutse ryari ? » n'izindi . Iyo urebye neza ibisubizo by'ibyo bibazo usanga bishyira imbere

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amacakubiri ashingiye cyane cyane ku moko . Bityo rero ubwishishanye mu bana b'u Rwanda bukabona icyuho ; umubano w'Abanyarwanda ukazamo agatotsi .

3. Kwivanamo umutima wo guhora no kwitwaza icyene wabo .

Kubera ko ariya mahano yakuruwe kandi agategurwa n'ubutegetsu bw'igitugu bwariho bwari bwashyize imbere ivangura ry'amoko n'iry'uturere bakanashyigikira unuco wo kudahana ,Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange baba abiswe « ABAHUTU » , baba abiswe « ABATWA » , baba abiswe « ABATUTSI » bakanibasirwa by'unwihariko n'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda bari bakwiye kwiibagiza ibyabaye kuko byarangiye kandi bikaba nta muryango byasize bidakozeho , ahasigaye bagafatanyaga kubakira abadafite aho baba , bagafashya impfubyi n'abapfakazi maze bagatega yombi Guverinoma y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge . Bityo ntihagire ushaka nko kuba yahora ku muryango uvukamo umuntu wabaye Rutindamirambo cyangwa Rukarabankaba ashingiye ku mvugo : « niba atari wowe ni bene wanyu » . Ibyo kwaba ari ugushaka guca intege no guha isura mbi igihugu cyacu n'ubutegetsu bwacyo . Uretse n'ibi kwaba ari ukongera kukiroha mu rwobo kivuyemo .

4. Kwita no gukurikiza ibiri muri Bibiliya cyangwa ibindi bitabo byanditsemo ijambo ry'Imana .

N'ubwo buri dini riri mu Rwanda rifite unwihariko mu byo ryigisha ,yose ahuriza ku Mana haba mu nyandiko cyangwa mu nyigisho . Atwigisha kandi ko Imana ari urukundo .Aha rero mbona abana b'u Rwanda bibumbiye muri urwo rukundo n'ibirukomokaho byose , sekibi uteza unwiryane n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda ntiyabona aho amenere maze urukundo rukongera gushinga imizi ,umubano ukongera kuba mwiza . Ijambo ry'Imana ridutegeka ko ahari urwango tushyirira urukundo , ahari ubushyamirane tukashyirira kubabarirana naho ahari amacakubiri tukashyirira ubumwe .Ubabarira kandi ni we ubabarirwa ...

Mu rwego rwo kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda ,Guverinoma yo yagiramo uruhare ku buryo bukurikira :

1. Gutegura gahunda yo kwigisha ubwiyunge ahantu hahurira abantu benshi hose .

Hari ahantu hahurira buri munsu abantu benshi . Urugero ni nko ku mavuriro ku mashuri ... ; Guverinoma yari ikwiye gushyiraho gahunda yo kwigisha amasomo y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mbere yo gutangira kuvura abarwayi . Bityo abaturage bagiyeyo bakajya batahana n'izo nyigisho aho gutegereza amanama ya rimwe na rimwe na yo atitabirwa cyane .

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2. Gukwirakwiza ahantu hose hahurira abantu benshi ibitabo n'izindi nyandiko zikubiyemo amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge no gutanga ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame ahahurira abantu benshi kandi kenshi

Ibitabo n'izindi nyandiko zikubiyemo amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge biramutse bikwirakwijwe ahantu hose hahurira abantu benshi nko mu bigo by'amashuri, ku mavuriro, mu nganda, aho abagenzi bategera imodoka n'ahandi, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge byarushaho kwihuta no gucengera mu Banyarwanda kuko ababisoma bajya bayamenya bakanayaganiraho n'abandi buri gihe. Ibi byakunganirwa kandi n'uko abatanga ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge bajya bibuka no kugera no mu mashuri, mu nganda n'ahandi hahurira abantu benshi kandi kenshi.

3. Gutegura isomo riboneye ku burere mboneragihugu ryakwigishwa mu Mashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye cyangwa n'ahandi harererwa urubyiruko nko mu bigo by'imfubyi.

Iryo somo rero ryaba rigamije gukura mu mitwe y'urubyiruko ibitekerezo bibi byarugiyemo; ni ukuvugako babasobanurira aho ibyiswe amoko biri mubiteranya Abanyarwanda byaturutse, gahunda y'igihugu, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'ibindi byabeshyuzwa inyigisho mbi baba barahawe mbere. Bityo kuko baba bamenye aho ukuri guherereye, bamenye ibyiza n'ibibi, amacakubiri ntiyazongera kurangwa mu Rwanda bazubaka ejo hazaza maze umubano mwiza ugashinga imizi ukaba ariwo ubaranga.

4. Kwita by'umwihariko ku Banyarwanda bibasiwe n'intambara n'abahungutse bose bagifite ibibazo by'imiturire n'imibereho itameze neza.

Leta na Guverinoma bikora ibishoboka byose kugirango abibasiwe n'intambara ndetse n'abahungutse vuba bongere basubire mu byabo ibubakira, ibashakira imfashanyo z'ibiribwa n'ibindi bikoreshe bya ngombwa. Aha rero mbona Leta na Guverinoma bikomeje gukora uko bishoboye bikabashakira imfashanyo, icyo Leta na Guverinoma byatega aricyo mbere na mbere batabyanga cyane cyane burya ko uwo ukesha amaramuko umwumvira muri byose. Uretse n'ibi, ababasiwe n'intambara babona ko Leta na Guverinoma byifatanyije nabo mu kababaro batewe n'ariya mahano, abahungutse vuba naba babona ko bitaweho maze bya bitekerezo bibi baherewe mu nkambi

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bigasimburwa n'ibyo Guverinoma nshya ihora itubwira ,bakaana n'abo basanze mu gihugu bese .

5. Gushyiraho akanama mu rwego rwa Segiteri kaba kagamije kunga Abanyarwanda kagiwe n'abo nakwita « Abakangurambaga » b'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge .

Nkuko hariye hariyaho Abakangurambaga b'ubuzima n'ab'urubiruko mbona ku bwanjye hashyizweho Abakangurambaga b'ubwiyunge bajya bagenda mu ngo bakangurira Abanyarwanda kwiwunga umubano warushaho kuba mwiza . Abo bakangurambaga b'ubwiyunge baba bagize akanama ko mu rwego rwa Segiteri kaba gafite ububasha bwo gushyikiriza inzego z'ubutegetsi n'iz'ubucamanza ba Kidobya babangamira ubwiyunge igihe cyose babonetse .

6. Kuvanga Abanyarwanda igihe babatuzza mu mudugudu .

Abanyarwanda batatutse bafite indi mico itari nk'iy'Abanyarwanda bari basanzwe mu gihugu . Kubera iyi mpamvu ,baramutse batujwe ukwabo bonyine baba bameze nk'aho bakibereye mu buhungiro kuko baba bategerejwe Abanyarwanda bandi bari basanzwe mu gihugu ngo basangire byose bamenyerane babe bashobora gusabana .Batujwe hamwe wazasanga hariho agace kitwa « mu Barundi » , « mu Bazayirwa » , « mu Bagande » ,bityo bya bice byaturoheye igihugu bikaba byongeye kuvuka .

7. Kuvana mu byanditswe byose amagambo yerekeranye n'ibyiswe amoko n'abazungu .

Kuva aho Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda igiriyeho ,yafashe icyemezo cyo guhagarika amasomo amwe n'amwe yari agiye arimo amagambo aranga ya moko mahimbano . icyakora ,hari aho bene ayo magambo akiri . Aho ni nko mu bisigo byigishwa mu Mashuri Yisumbuye . Kubera ko bene ubuhanzi bagiye bayakoresha berekana ubusumbane bwari mu Banyarwanda mu nzego z'ubukungu ari byo byaje guhindurwa amoko bikanaba unuzi n'ifatizo by'inzangano n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda ; iyo ababisoma n'ababyigisha babikubisemo agatima bakanatekereza kuri bwa busumbane n'amatandukanyirizo by'ibihimbano byabagiyemo , batangira kwishishanya bityo umubano mwiza ntube ugishobotse .

Mu rwego rwo kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda nyuma y'amarorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda , inzego z'Ubucamanza zagiramo uruhare ku buryo bukurikira:-

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1. Kwihutisha imanza 1 u bacekwaho kuba baragize uruhare mu itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba.

Kwihutisha imanza z'abacekwa kuba baragize uruhare mu itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba, byagira uruhare mu kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda kuko udahamwa n'icyaha yarekurwa maze ukugemura kwa buri gihe n'ingaruka zako bigashira kuko na byo biri mu bikurura inzangano. Uretse n'ibi, uwo icyaha gifashe yakanirwa urumukwiye bityo na nyir'ugukorerwa ikosa akumva ko yarenganuwe n'ubucamanza inzika zigashira. Ibi byajyana no kwirinda kubogama kubera inpanvu izo ari zo zose no kurwanya burundu indwara ya «RUSWA».

Guca imanza nta kubogama no kurwanya indwara ya ruswa mbona byatuma umubano mu bana b'u Rwanda wasubirana isura nziza kubera ko igihe uwakoze icyaha ahawe igihano kimukwiriye amenya ububi bwacyo ntazagisubire; uwakorewe ikosa na we yuma aruhutse kuko aba ahorewe n'amategeko. Bityo bakongera bakabana. Uretse n'ibi kwaba ari ugushyigikira ibibi maze igihe umubano wazaba umaze kongera kuboneka irindi tsembambaga rikaba ryakongera kubaho. Ni mu rwego na none rwo kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda, inzego z'Ubutegetsi n'iz'Ubucamanza zafatanyaga mu gusesa amashyirahamwe ashingiye ku ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose.

Hari aho ugera ukahasanga nk'amashyirahamwe y'abarokotse itsembabwoko (ni ko yitwa). Iyo urebye, usanga bene ayo mashyirahamwe akurura ibice mu bana b'u Rwanda kuko kuba ari bonyine byibutsa rya vangura ry'amoko leta ishaka kurimbura burundu. Ku bwanjye mbona ahubwo amashyirahamwe nk'ayo yasimburwa n'andi agamije gufasha abazahajwe n'intambara muri rusange. Bityo ari abafashwa, ari abafasha bajya babona ko bose ari bamwe bakabana neza.

Uretse izo nzego z'Ubutegetsi n'iz'Ubucamanza, abanyamadini n'Itangazamakuru, byagira uruhare mu bwiye umubano by'Abanyarwanda.

-Abanyamadini ba nyuma y'itsembabwoko basabwe kwigisha ubumwe nk'ubwo Imana Data na Mwana na Roho Mutagatifu babanamo aho kwigisha ivangura ry'amoko cyangwa ibindi bitekerezo bigamije gusubiza Abanyarwanda inyuma no kubateranya.

-Itangazamakuru ry'u Rwanda ryagira uruhare mu mubano mwiza w'Abanyarwanda muri iki gihe ku buryo bukurikira:

1. Kwandika mu binyamakuru inyandiko zikubiyemo ibyakorwa kugira ngo umubano w'abana b'u Rwanda wongere ube mwiza bityo

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ababisoma bajye bagira icyo bamenya ku bwiye hatagombye amanama aboneka rimwe na rimwe.

2. Gucisha buri muni kuri Radiyo na Televiziyo ibiganiro n'amatangazo ku byakorwa mu rwego rwo kongera kubanisha neza Abanyarwanda ndetse byanashoboka amakinamico agamije gukangurira Abanyarwanda ubwiye akajya aha buri muni nibura mu gihe cy'isaha imwe. Ikiganiro kandi cyagenewe ubumwe n'ubwiye gihita kuri Radiyo kuwa gatanu mu gitondo cyarushaho gushyigikirwa kurushaho maze abantu b'inze zose bafite ibitekerezo binyuranye bakajya bahabwa ijambo. Icyo kiganiro kandi cyashyirwa ku masaha abantu benshi baba bari mu ngo zabo.

Mbere yo gusoma iyi , andiko, ndagira ngo nongere nibutse Abanyarwanda bese abakuru n'abato n'inze zose z'imirimo zikorera ku butaka bw'u Rwanda ko Ubumwe n'Ubiye byo soko y'Umubano mwiza ari ifatizo ry'ibintu byose n'ubwo muri iki gihe ari ikibazo cy'ingorabahizi. Aha mboneyeho gusaba ko buri wese yashyiraho ake maze ikizere mfite cy'uko mu muni mike Abanyarwanda bazaba bafatanye urunana batera Ubumwe bakiriza Ubufatanye, bameze nk'uko ingingo z'umubiri umwe ziba ari magirirane, bitwa Benemugabumwe ; Kanyarwanda, cyoye kuzaba nk'inzozi. Kuyavugaga siko kuyarangiza inyuma, ahubwo ibikorwa tubirutisha amagambo. Dukunde ibyiza kuko ntawe birakaza cyangwa ngo bimugwe nabi, tureke kwisenyerwa twiyubakire urwatubye kuko ak'i Muhana kaza imvura ihise.

Murakoze.

REPUBLICQUE RWANDAISE
MINISTERE DE LA JEUNESSE, DE LA
CULTURE, DES SPORTS ET DE LA
FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE
DIRECTION DE LA CULTURE ET DES ARTS
B.P. 1044 KIGALI
TEL: 8 3527
FAX: (250) 8 3518

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POLITIQUE SECTORIELLE/CULTURE

1. Contexte

La Culture est à la fois un ensemble de valeurs, d'institutions et d'expressions héritées du passé et une dynamique en tant que renouvellement perpétuel nourri par des options nouvelles et le contact avec le monde. La dérive de la Nation Rwandaise procède en droite ligne du démantèlement de son foyer culturel.

Notre politique culturelle doit tenir compte de ces deux impératifs majeurs : la référence au foyer positif de la culture rwandaise dans la reconstruction du pays d'une part, et l'orientation de notre culture vers des valeurs unificatrices et dynamiques dont certaines sont inscrites dans la Décennie Mondiale du Développement Culturel (1988-1997) d'autre part.

Sur la base de cette double référence, la politique culturelle doit mettre en valeur les éléments culturels positifs de notre tradition ainsi que les valeurs universelles sur lesquelles se fonde la politique du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale.

2. Situation avant avril 1994.

L'Education aux Valeurs a souvent été détournée de ses objectifs initiaux. Au lieu de dispenser une éducation qui éradique l'ignorance de la population, et développe la conscience nationale, les responsables politiques des pouvoirs précédents depuis l'époque coloniale jusqu'à la 2ème République ont progressivement mis en place un système d'incitation à la haine et d'exclusion ethnique et régionale dont le résultat a été la guerre, le génocide et les massacres qui ont couru de 1990 à 1994.

Le discours et la pratique politiques n'ont pas fait des valeurs de la culture rwandaise le moteur de la vie individuelle et collective ni le ciment des relations sociales. Le culte de l'individualisme et la course effrénée vers l'argent et les valeurs matérielles en général ont supplanté les valeurs de solidarité et de convivialité qui étaient à la base de la cohésion nationale. Pire, les religions révélées n'ont pas reconnu les valeurs de la religion traditionnelle qui soudaient les Rwandais.

Les contre-valeurs existant dans la culture rwandaise traditionnelle n'ont pas été combattues et de nouvelles contre-valeurs ont été promues.

3. Situation actuelle et nouvelle vision en matière de politique culturelle.

Au lendemain du génocide de 1994, la Direction chargée de la Culture s'est aussitôt attelée à la tâche pour réhabiliter et revitaliser la culture rwandaise en se dotant d'un cadre physique et d'un personnel de base. Cela a permis l'élaboration d'un certain nombre de projets à caractère à la fois général et spécifique, et ayant vocation de promouvoir et de renforcer les valeurs de la culture rwandaise et universelle notamment la justice, l'unité nationale, la paix, la tolérance, la solidarité, l'amour du travail, l'honnêteté, le respect de la personne humaine, de ses droits fondamentaux et la démocratie. Cette action de promotion et de renforcement de ces valeurs ira de pair avec le combat contre les anti-valeurs telles que : l'ethnisme, le régionalisme, l'exclusion, le mensonge, l'enrichissement illicite etc ... La mémoire du génocide et des massacres permettra d'éduquer le peuple rwandais à la culture des valeurs positives et au rejet des anti-valeurs qui y ont conduit.

Dans cette optique, une nouvelle approche de la politique culturelle de notre pays s'impose. La valorisation du patrimoine culturel rwandais ainsi que la promotion de la créativité doivent être le moteur de toute vision politique en matière de culture, dans le but bien compris de faire des valeurs positives de la culture rwandaise et universelle, non seulement le moteur de la vie individuelle et collective, mais aussi celui de la réussite du peuple rwandais sur le plan social, économique et technologique.

En effet, toutes les actions que le Gouvernement rwandais aura à mener doivent désormais prendre en compte les objectifs d'un développement dans lequel le secteur culturel doit de plus en plus jouer un rôle moteur.

Si la nouvelle politique culturelle du Rwanda intègre valablement le facteur culturel du développement dans ses différentes dimensions (paix, économie, environnement, justice sociale et démocratie etc...) en favorisant l'accès de tous à l'emploi, aux sciences et aux technologies, il va sans dire que l'objectif majeur, à savoir la construction d'une paix durable dans notre pays, sera atteint.

Pour la mise en oeuvre de cet objectif, trois grands axes de politique sectorielle en matière de culture se révèlent d'importance :

1. Valoriser le patrimoine
2. Favoriser la créativité
3. Vulgariser la culture technologique.

3.1. Valoriser le patrimoine.

1. - Promotion d'une approche nouvelle de la culture dans ses rapports avec l'ensemble des activités humaines.
- 2.- Faire comprendre aux Rwandais le rôle du facteur culturel dans la réussite ou l'échec des stratégies de développement.
- 3.- Vulgariser le débat sur la culture, sortir du cercle étroit des experts et des institutions spécialisées.
- 4.- Valoriser le patrimoine culturel : patrimoine matériel et immatériel ou physique et non physique.

- 5.- Conservation et protection du patrimoine de livres, d'oeuvres d'art, de monuments d'intérêt historique ou scientifique.
- 6.- Exploitation de notre patrimoine naturel et culturel à des fins touristiques pour constituer une source importante de revenus et d'emplois.
7. - Amener le Gouvernement à prendre des mesures :
 - législatives ;
 - administratives ;
 - techniques ;
 - financières ;
 - indispensables à la protection de notre patrimoine.
- 8.- Chercher le cadre du droit international (Conventions, Instruments et Recommandations) qui permet d'organiser la coopération internationale en matière :
 - d'établissements de normes
 - d'échanges d'informations
 - de formation du personnel spécialisé
 - de fourniture d'une assistance technique pour les opérations de sauvegarde.
9. - Développement des capacités nationales en matière de prévision et de gestion de sinistres.
10. - Lutte contre le trafic illicite de biens culturels rwandais : Penser à la protection juridique dans ce domaine - formation de personnels concernés (douaniers, policiers, conservateurs de musées, coopération avec INTERPOL)
- 11.- Une politique nouvelle pour le Musée.
 - Création du Musée du génocide et des massacres de 1994
 - Faire du musée un lieu d'éducation permanente à la paix, un foyer d'animation communautaire, un objet de tourisme.
 - Collaboration avec le Musée National du Rwanda.

Le Musée National du Rwanda ne restera pas un simple lieu de loisir érudit, ou un lieu de simple conservation de collections.

 - Le Musée rwandais mettra au point des programmes d'éducation aptes à intéresser des publics variés, développera des réseaux de coopération, recherchera des partenariats.
- 12.- Recherche d'une participation active des communautés locales dans la protection du patrimoine naturel et culturel.
- 13.- La protection et la maintenance devront recourir aux traditions rwandaises entre autres, aux savoir-faire et techniques locaux, comme aux technologies modernes.

14.- Promotion toute particulière du patrimoine immatériel :

- Traditions orales
- Coutumes
- Musiques
- Danses
- Arts du spectacle.

3.2. Favoriser la créativité.

1. Favoriser l'environnement culturel par la recherche de ses supports ou véhicules :

- Livres
- Cassettes
- Cinéma
- Autres produits audio-visuels.

2. Rechercher de nouvelles technologies de la communication (multimédia).

3. Démocratiser la culture pour la créativité sur fonds culturel.

4. Favoriser les contacts interculturels, source de créativité nouvelles sur fonds d'échanges.

. Favoriser l'accès de nos artistes aux marchés de la production et de la diffusion.

5. Une législation sur le droit d'auteur : protection des artistes pour favoriser leur créativité :

- Faire connaître leurs créations
- Améliorer leur formation.

6. - Collaboration avec le Ministère ayant l'artisanat dans ses charges
- Revaloriser l'artisanat traditionnel en le plaçant dans les circuits internationaux de diffusion.

- Former nos artisans : programmes de formation faisant appel aux technologies nouvelles qui assurent une initiation aux techniques modernes de gestion et de commercialisation des produits artisanaux.

3.3. Vulgariser la culture technologique.

1. Diffuser les résultats des recherches appliquées vers les secteurs productifs du pays.

2. Sensibiliser la population rwandaise à l'utilisation de la nouvelle technologie et de méthodes modernes de production.

4. Les grandes activités de la politique culturelle.

- Orientation, planification, coordination, suivi et évaluation d'actions de recherches en matière de culture dans le pays ;
- Formation formelle de cadres dans des Instituts Supérieurs de Culture et des Arts;
- Constitution d'un fonds de documentation et d'information culturelles ;

- Constitution d'un fichier du Patrimoine Culturel National ;
- Promotion des bibliothèques publiques et du Musée National ;
- Elaboration et diffusion d'une culture technologique ;
- Etude et mise en oeuvre de mécanismes de correction des anti-valeurs ;
- Relations avec les institutions culturelles nationales et internationales publiques et privées ;
- Création d'un mémorial du génocide et des massacres d'avril à juillet 1994 ;
- Institution du Service Rwandais du Droit d'Auteur ;
- Promotion de la création littéraire et artistique ;
- Promotion des Arts du spectacle et des arts plastiques ;
- Activation de l'Académie Rwandaise de Culture ;
- Promotion de l'utilisation de la langue nationale et de la pratique du bilinguisme anglais-français ;
- Intégration de la culture dans les programmes éducatifs et dans les services publics ;
- Elaboration de lois organiques régissant les institutions culturelles nationales et les différents services chargés de la culture ;
- Création d'un Conservatoire des Beaux-Arts et Palais de la Culture ;
- Création et Promotion de centres culturels nationaux
- Création de troupes de théâtre et de danses traditionnelles et modernes au sein des établissements scolaires et dans le cadre d'Associations de jeunesse.
- Concours à la mise en place d'orchestres de musique traditionnelle et moderne
- Promotion des initiatives privées dans la formation des différentes troupes culturelles.
- Formation des encadreurs des troupes culturelles
- Préparation d'expositions d'objets d'arts et de défilés de mode traditionnelle
- Réaménagement des infrastructures culturelles existantes et mise en place d'autres.

5. Objectifs

Pour réaliser sa mission, la Direction de la Culture et des Arts devra poursuivre les objectifs suivants :

- a. - Former un type de citoyen humaniste dépouillé des anti-valeurs, incarnant les valeurs culturelles de la société rwandaise et ouvert aux valeurs des autres civilisation du monde ;
- b. - Consolider la cohésion sociale par la culture de la justice, des droits de l'homme, de la tolérance, de la paix, de la démocratie au quotidien, de l'excellence, de l'amour du travail, de la lutte contre les anti-valeurs qui désagrègent notre société ;
- c. - Cultiver la mémoire du génocide et des massacres de 1994 comme moyen d'éduquer le peuple à la paix et à la concorde nationale ;
- d. - Promouvoir une culture technologique en vue du progrès national ;
- e. - Promouvoir la langue nationale comme véhicule de la culture et ciment de l'unité nationale, et le bilinguisme anglais-français pour l'ouverture au monde ;
- f. - Consolider les institutions culturelles existantes et en créer de nouvelles ;
- g.- Promouvoir l'expression de la culture sous toutes les formes, y compris par le folkore et le loisir.

6. Stratégies

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, les stratégies suivantes doivent être adoptées :

- Création d'une structure de formation d'animateurs culturels ;
- Intégration de la culture dans les programmes éducatifs ainsi que dans les services publics, para-publics et privés ;
- Relations avec les institutions nationales et internationales publiques et privées impliquées dans le domaine de la culture ;
- Conservation et protection de l'héritage culturel national ;
- Réalisation de traductions des instruments internationaux des droits de l'homme en langue nationale, le Kinyarwanda ;
- Création de journaux et périodiques, réalisation d'émissions radiodiffusées et télévisées ainsi que la réalisation de vidéos didactiques pour promouvoir la culture des droits de l'homme ;
- Création de cellules de vulgarisation de la justice et de la tolérance dans les Communes et les Préfectures du pays, de structures chargées de la culture de la paix dans les secteurs publics et de la société civile ;
- Elaboration d'une culture technologique appropriée ;
- Constitution d'un fichier du Patrimoine Culturel National ;
- Promotion de l'utilisation du Kinyarwanda dans les différents secteurs de la vie nationale ;
- Constitution et exploitation d'un fonds de documentation relatifs aux contextes multilingues et multiculturels ;
- Orientation, planification, coordination, suivi et évaluation d'actions de recherche en matière de culture dans le pays ;
- Promotion de bibliothèques publiques, de centres culturels nationaux et revitalisation du Musée National ;
- Promotion de la création littéraire et artistique ;
- Elaboration de lois organiques régissant les institutions culturelles nationales et les différents services chargés de la culture ;
- Opérationnalisation de l'Académie Rwandaise de Culture
- Dans toute son action, le Département chargé de la Culture s'associera la jeunesse et la femme rwandaise d'une manière privilégiée étant donné leurs facilités dans le renouvellement des visions et dans l'approfondissement des solidarités. Le budget de la Direction sera ventilé de manière conséquente. Il y aura aussi recrutement d'un personnel féminin, association de la femme aux programmes, projets et activités de la Direction, appui aux artistes et agents culturels féminins ... Il sera fait recours à la danse et aux pièces de théâtre pour informer la femme sur ses droits et obligations.

7. Programme d'actions

a) Le bref terme

- Elaboration d'une politique culturelle nationale ;
- Lutter contre les anti-valeurs observées dans la culture rwandaise ancienne et moderne ;
- Formation d'animateurs culturels ;
- Initiation à la culture de la paix à travers l'éducation informelle et formelle ;
- Organisation de la Journée de la Tolérance au Rwanda : 16 Novembre de chaque

- année ;
- Organisation d'activités d'éducation à la justice, à la paix et à la démocratie ;
- Construction d'édifices mémoriaux pour les victimes du génocide et des massacres de 1994 ;
- Constitution de comités de lecture pour la promotion de l'esprit ;
- Suivre le projet d'installation d'un office de langues ;
- suivre le réseau des centres de lecture et d'animation culturelle ;
- Constitution d'un fichier du Patrimoine National Culturel ;
- Identification et/ou réhabilitation des sites et monuments historiques ;
- Elaboration d'un guide culturel du Rwanda ;
- Collecte de la tradition orale.

b) Le moyen terme

- Construction du Mémorial du Génocide et des Massacres de 1994 à Rebero ;
- Construction d'un Centre pour la Paix et la Démocratie face au Mémorial à Rebero ;
- Introduction d'un programme d'enseignement des droits de l'homme dans les institutions d'enseignement supérieur.
- Etude comparative sur le génocide dans l'histoire de l'humanité ;
- Elaboration et diffusion des éléments d'une culture scientifique et technologique ;
- Création d'une maison d'édition pour la reconstruction culturelle et la créativité intellectuelle ;
- Collecte, traitement et diffusion de la tradition orale ;
- Organisation d'une Semaine des Beaux-Arts au Rwanda
- Formation de personnels des institutions culturelles du pays et dotation des services de moyens à la hauteur de leurs missions ;
- Edification d'un Palais de la Culture et des Beaux-Arts.

c) Le long terme

- Toutes les actions programmées pour les bref et moyen termes trouveront leur prolongement dans le long terme.

En conclusion, en matière de culture, la priorité sera accordée à la culture technologique, à la culture de la paix et des droits de l'homme, ainsi qu'à la mémoire du génocide et des massacres de 1994. La mise en oeuvre d'une politique culturelle bien conçue constituera le moteur du développement et de la vie de la nation.

La renaissance, le développement et la survie de la Nation à travers les vicissitudes des temps seront le fait et le facteur du foyer dynamique des valeurs culturelles rwandaises et universelles.

Il reste naturellement à doter la politique sectorielle du Ministère de la Jeunesse, de la Culture, des Sports et de la Formation Professionnelle des moyens humains, matériels et financiers à la hauteur des ambitions que s'est assignées le Département.
