REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA

KOMISIYO Y'IGIHUGU
Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE

Inyoborabiganiro kuri Gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda

Mutarama 2017

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NDI Umunyarwanda

Nyakubahwa KAGAME Paul, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda

"Ntidushobora gusubiza igihe inyuma cyangwa ngo tuvaneho ibibi byatubayeho ariko dufite ubushobozi bwo kugena ejo heza hazaza h'u Rwanda no gutuma ibyabaye bitazongera kuba ukundi..."

"Kuba Umunyarwanda muzima niyo politike twese dukwiye kugenderaho.

Politike y'ikinyoma yishe u Rwanda, Afurika n'isi muri rusange. Ntabwo twe Abanyarwanda twapfa kabiri. Twapfuye rimwe kandi birahagije. Byaba ari ishyano twemeye gupfa kabiri. Kudapfa bwa kabiri rero turashaka Abanyarwanda b'abayobozi bazima bumva ko tutapfa kabiri.."

1. Ijambo ry'ibanze

Mu rwego rwo kuzuza inshingano Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yahawe yo kwimakaza umuco w'ubumwe, ubwiyunge n'amahoro, byo nkingi z'iterambere rirambye; mu bufatanye n'izindi nzego himakajwe umuco wo kuganira mu bworoherane no mu kuri. Uyu muco mwiza w'ibiganiro wagize umusaruro ukomeye mu buzima bwose bw'Igihugu ni nawo waje kugera ku ntambwe ikomeye ya ***Ndi Umunyarwanda.***

Ndi Umunyarwanda ni urugendo u Rwanda nk'Igihugu rwiyemeje gusangiza Abanyarwanda bose, ikaba ***Icyomoro n'igihango.*** *Ni Icyomoro kuko idufasha komora ibikomere by'amateka yacu buri wese ku ntambwe ye. Ndi Umunyarwanda kandi iha Abanyarwanda urubuga bahuriramo bakongera kwiyubakamo ubunyarwanda buzira icyakongera kubukomeretsa, icyasubira gutatira igihango k'urwatubyaye, bityo ikongera kwimika igihango dufitanye n'urwatubyaye n'abo turusangiye, abato*

bacu bagakura bacyiyumvamo, bakakiraga abuzukuru n'abuzukuruza.

Kugira ngo Ndi Umunyarwanda ibe icyomoro ku bikomere twasigiwe n'amateka kandi itugarure ku gihango cy'ubunyarwanda, biradusaba gukomeza guherekeza Abanyarwanda cyane ababyiruka muguhangana n'ibibazo twasigiwe n'amateka agoranye arimo na jenoside, bagahora birinda icyo aricyo cyose cyagarura amacakubiri mu muryango nyarwanda.

Nimuriurworwegohateguweinyoborabiganiro izafasha abatanga ibiganiro kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda kurushaho kubinoza no kugeza abaganira ku musaruro utegerejwe. Iyi nyobora biganiro yubakiye ku cyerekezo cyatanzwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Igihugu no ku bitekerezo by'Abanyarwanda mu mahuriro atandukanye yaganiriye kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge iboneyeho gushimira Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Igihugu, Inzego zose za Leta n'abandi

bafatanyabikorwa bagize uruhare mu gutangiza iyi gahunda no kuyigeza ku Banyarwanda bose. Komisiyo irashimira kandi Abanyarwanda bakomeje kwakira no kugira iyi gahunda iyabo inabashishikariza gukomeza muri iyo nzira.Ndi Umunyarwanda ikomeze itubere icyomoro n'igihango .

Bishop John RUCYAHANA
Perezida wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

Amagambo y'impine

APROSOMA	: Association pour la Promotion de la Masse
CNLG	: Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
CNUR	:Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation
FPR	: Front Patriotique Rwandais
EDPRS	:Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
IRST	:Institut de Recherche Scientifique et de Technologie
MRND	:Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
NEC	:National Electoral Commission
NHRC	:National Human Rights Commission
NURC	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
UC	**:** Unity Club
UNR	:Université Nationale du Rwanda

Ibisobanuro by'amwe mu magambo akoreshwa mu nyoborabiganiro

1. Icyomoro :

Umuti ukomoka ku bimera ukoreshwa mu kuvura no komora ibikomere byo ku mubiri. Umuti wahamurwaga n'abavuzi "gakondo" (ba gihanga) basobanukiwe ibimera bivura n'uburyo bikoreshwa. Abanyarwanda bavugaga ko "utazavurwa akomerekera kure y'icyomoro". Ndi Umunyarwanda ni umuti w'ibikomere (icyomoro) by'Abanyarwanda bikomoka ku mateka yabo n'ay'Igihugu muri rusange.

2. Igihango :

Ni amasezerano y'ubudahemuka hagati y'abantu, imiryango no hagati y'abenegihugu n'Igihugu cyabo. Amasezerano yakomezwaga n'imihango yubahirizwaga mu muco nyarwanda nko guca ku nda, kubyarwa mu mandwa (kwatira), kunywa ku nzoga y'imihigo, kugabirana, gushyingirana...

3. Isubyo:

Ni umuti (w'ifu) Abanyarwanda bo hambere banywaga nyuma y'ibyago/amahano. Rikaba kamara mahano/rigatsirika ikibi ngo kitazagaruka.

4. Ingengabitekerezo:

Ni ibitekerezo rusange bishingirwaho kugira ngo umuntu cyangwa igice kinini cy'abantu bagire imyumvire, imyitwarire n'ibikorwa bimwe bibaranga.

5. Iringaniza:

Politiki y'irondabwoko n'irondakarere yakoreshejwe mu burezi muri Repubulika ya Kabiri. Iyi Politiki yari igamije guheza abana b'abatutsi n'abandi batari abo mu kazu yagenaga umubare ntarengwa w'abanyeshuri bagomba kujya mu mashuri makuru n'ayisumbuye

6. Isano muzi :

Ubumwe bukomeye buhuza abafite icyo bahuriyeho

7. Komora :

Gushyira umuti ku gikomere kugira ngo gikire vuba.

8. Ubutwari:

Ni imwe mu Ndangagaciro ikomeye mu muco nyarwanda. Ubutwari bushingira ku buhanga bwihariye bubyara ibikorwa by'ubwitange; Ubutwari buba bugamije guhindura imibereho y'umuryango. Ubutwari ni kugira umutima udatinya gushyigikira ikiza, kugaragaza ikibi no guhangara kukirwanya wemeye ingaruka zose byakugiraho. Ubutwari kandi bwagaragarira mu bice byose bigize ubuzima bw'Igihugu (Politiki, Imiyoborere, Ubukungu, Ubutabera, Imikorere n'imikoranire etc).

9. Ubwoko:

Ihuriro ry'imiterere cyangwa imimerere rituma umuntu ashobora gushyira ibisa mu gatsiko kamwe. Ihuriro ry'abantu basangiye ikirangabwoko kandi badashobora

gushyingirana. Kuronda ubwoko: kurobanura mu bandi abo mufitanye isano ukaba aribo witaho.

Mu birebana n'imibanire, mu muco usanzwe wa Kinyarwanda, ijambo ubwoko bivuga abantu bafitanye isano bishingiye ku kwaguka kw'imiryango, bakitiririrwa ko bafitanye isano ndetse bakaba bafite inkomoko n'ikirangabwoko bihariye gifatwa nk'ikimenyetso cyabo bwite kibaranga.

Isobanurampamvu

Amateka y'u Rwanda rwo hambere atugaragariza ko ubunyarwanda bwabaye ishingiro ry'ubutwari bwo kubaka Igihugu no kukirinda. Isano Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko basangiye yabasangizaga urukundo n'ishema bari bafitiye u Rwanda. Ibi byaheshaga Abanyarwanda igitinyiro imbere y'amahanga kugeza ku mwaduko w'abakoloni.

Abakoloni badutse, bashenye indangagaciro ubunyarwanda bwari bwubakiyeho, inzego

z'imibereho zihindurwa amoko n' inyigisho z'inkomoko mpimbano y'Abanyarwanda ziramamazwa (J.P Harroy , Rwanda : De la féodalite à la democratie 1955-1962,p62). Ibi byashenye ubumwe n'ubufatanye bw'Abanyarwanda, umuryango nyarwanda bawucamo ibice kugira ngo bayobore u Rwanda uko babyumva bitabagoye.

Imbuto y'amacakubiri yakomeje gusagamba mu gihe cy'ubukoloni na nyuma yabwo kuko yeze ubwicanyi n'ubuhunzi mu bihe bitandukanye (1959 , 1963, 1973…), irondabwoko, irondakarere n'ihezwa ku byiza by'Igihugu byagejeje u Rwanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda zarasenyutse n'ikizira kirazirurwa, ubumuntu n'ubunyarwanda byimuka mu mitima ya bamwe mu Banyarwanda.

Nyuma y'uko ingabo za FPR zihagaritse Jenoside , hagashyirwaho Leta y'ubumwe (19/07/1994) , hatangijwe inzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwnda ari nayo yabaye ishingiro ryo kubaka amahoro

n'iterambere by'Igihugu. Hashyizweho amahame ngenderwaho mu kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyanyarwanda (NURC, Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2007, p10.) ku buryo bukurikira:

- Gushyira imbere ubunyarwanda n'inyungu z'Abanyarwanda bose mbere yo kwibonamo amoko, amasano, akarere, inkomoko n'ibindi;
- Guharanira kubaka Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko no kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu;
- Kurwanya ivangura n'ihezwa iryo ari ryo ryose;
- Gusenyera umugozi umwe mu kubaka Igihugu;
- Komorana ibikomere no kubaka ubwizerane mu Banyarwanda bishingiye ku kwicuza, gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga, kuvuga ukuri no kubaka icyizere cy'ejo hazaza;
- Kwibuka haharanirwa ko Jenoside itazongera kubaho ukundi;
- Kwiha agaciro no gukunda umurimo.

Hashingiwe ku mahame avuzwe haruguru, hashyizweho inzego zitatandukanye (Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu, Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero, Urwego rw'Umuvunyi,...), porogaramu n'igenamigambi bigamije guhindura imibereho n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda(Icyerekezo 2020, EDPRS 1&2...) byubakiye muri rusange ku miyoborere myiza n'umutekano. Mu rwego rwo gushyigikira ibikorwa by'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge hanavutse imiryango itari iya Leta igamije guteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Ku isonga hari Unity Club Intwararumuri iharanira iterambere ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, 2010),ababajijwe, ku kigereranyo cya 98%, bemera ko bafite ishema ryo kuba Abanyarwanda aho kwibona mu moko bari basanzwe bibonamo. Hanagaragajwe ko bamwe mu Banyarwanda

bakirebera mu ndorerwamo z'amoko (25%-37% hakurikijwe ibyiciro by'ababajijwe) kandi ko hari abagifite n'impungenge z'uko Jenoside yasubira habayeho icyuho (39.9% :impuzandengo ku rwego rw'Igihugu).

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza kwimakaza indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda no kwiyunvamo ishema ryo kuba Umunyarwanda, "Ndi Umunyarwanda" ije ikomeza inzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge kandi inasubiza bimwe mu bibazo byagaragajwe n'ubushakashatsi.

Iyi nyoborabiganiro iteguwe mu rwego rwo kunoza urubuga rw'ibiganiro byisanzuye kugira ngo birusheho kuba ibiganiro bikiza, byomora bikanubakirwamo igihango hagati y'Abanyarwanda no hagati yabo n'Igihugu cyabo himikwa ubunyarwanda.

Igice cya mbere cy'inyoborabiganiro gikubiyemo ibiganiro nyirizina, naho igice cya kabiri kigizwe n'uburyo bw'imitangire y'ibiganiro

IGICE CYA MBERE: IBIGANIRO KURI NDI UMUNYARWANDA

I.1. IRIBURIRO

Amateka y'u Rwanda mu kinyejana gishize, yiganjemo byinshi byabangamiye isano hagati y'Abanyarwanda. Uko ubuyobozi bwagiye buhindagurika kuva mu gihe cy'abakoloni na nyuma y'aho, imbaraga zabwo zakomeje kubakirwa ku macakubiri yagize ingaruka ku mibereho n'imibanire by'Abanyarwanda. Muri izo ngaruka twavugamo: gutakaza ubunyarwanda, ubuhunzi, guhezwa kwa bamwe ku byiza by'Igihugu, kwironda mu buryo butandukanye, iringaniza mu mashuri n'uburere bubi, ubwicanyi n'intambara byaje gusozwa na jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Nyuma y' urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Abanyarwanda banze kuba imbata z'amateka mabi bimika umuco w'ibiganiro bashaka ikibubaka nk'abantu kikubaka n'Igihugu muri rusange.

Mu nzira ndende yo kubaka Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda u Rwanda rwageze kuri byinshi. Mu by'ingenzi twavuga nko kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika jenoside, gushyiraho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Ibiganiro-nyunguranabitekerezo byo mu Rugwiro byatanze icyerekezo mu kubaka Igihugu gishingiye ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, umutekano, imiyoborere myiza, iterambere ry'ubukungu n'ubutabera.

Muri urwo rugendo, u Rwanda rumaze gutera intambwe ishimishije mu kubanisha no kubaka icyizere mu Banyarwanda bishingiye ku miyoborere myiza, umutekano uhamye no ku iterambere rusange.

Mu gukomeza guharanira ko ibyagezweho biramba kandi ko buri wese abigira ibye; ni ngombwa gushimangira ihame ndakuka ry'ubunyarwanda (Rwandan Spirit).

Mu biganiro byahuje urubyiruko mu mwaka wa 2013 (youth connect), rwagaragaje inyota yo gusobanukirwa no kumenya

ukuri ku mateka y'Igihugu n'ay'imiryango bakomokamo… Bahamagariye urungano rwabo kwiyambura amateka y'ibyo ababyeyi bakoze. Ubwo yakiraga uru rubyiruko, umukuru w'Igihugu Nyakubahwa Paul KAGAME yasabye abayobozi n'ababyeyi kubera ababyiruka urugero rwiza.

Mu guha agaciro impuruza y'urubyiruko, Umuryango Unity Club Intwararumuri, uyobowe na Nyakubahwa Jeannette KAGAME mu bufatanye na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge batekereje gahunda igamije gukomeza ibiganiro bifite intego yo gusobanukirwa no gusesengura amateka Igihugu cyacu cyanyuzemo hagamijwe komorana ibikomere biyakomokaho, kubaka ubunyarwanda no gufasha ababyiruka kwakira amateka yacu. Iyo gahunda ni yo yahawe izina rya "Ndi Umunyarwanda".

Ibi biganiro bikaba byarabimburiwe n'umwiherero w'iminsi ibiri wateguwe na Unity Club Intwararumuri wabereye Gabiro mu Ukwakira 2013. Ubwo yatangizaga ibi

biganiro by'uyu mwiherero mu ihuriro rya 6 rya Unity Club Intwararumuri, Nyakubahwa Jeannette KAGAME yagize ati :

«…Kuba Umunyarwanda ni cyo gicumbi kiduhuza…ni umwato w'abashyize hamwe, bakunda u Rwanda kandi biyemeje kururinda bihoraho…» (speech First Lady, Gabiro, 2013).

Umwe mu myanzuro myinshi yavuye muri uyu mwiherero ni uko gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda ikwiye kuba iya buri munyarwanda, uhereye mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bwa Leta, abikorera, sosiyete civile, amadini n'amatorero…

Mu gukomeza gushyigikira no guha icyerekezo n'inkingi zihamye gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda, ihuriro rya 6 rya Unity Club ryakurikiwe n'Umwiherero w'Abagize Guvernoma, wayobowe na Nyakubahwa Paul KAGAME Perezida wa Repubulika. Mu butumwa bwe yashimangiye ko ukuri ari ishingiro ryo gushaka ibisubizo by'ibibazo dufite twatewe n'amateka mabi Igihugu

cyacu cyaciyemo kandi tuzabigeraho ari uko tuvuga ukuri. « T*o be politically and ideologically clear »* (*HE speech, Gabiro 2013).*

Uyu mwiherero wakurikiwe n'uw'Abagize Inteko Ishinga Amategeko imitwe yombi baganira nk'abayobozi n'Abanyarwanda….. Ibiganiro byakomereje mu nzego zose za Leta, kuva ku nzego zo hejuru kugera mu nzego z'imitegekere zegerejwe abaturage (umudugudu).

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nk'urwego rw'Igihugu rufite inshingano zihariye zo gusana imibanire y'umuryango nyarwanda, mu bufatanye na Unity Club Intwararumuri (Ihuriro ry'abayobozi riharanira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda), bagize uruhare mu gutegura ku buryo bwimbitse uko iyi gahunda yagezwa ku Banyarwanda mu nzego no mu byiciro byose.

Bitewe n'agaciro k'iyi gahunda, ishyirwamubikorwa ryakozwe mu bufatanye n'inzego zose. Mu buryo bwihariye

hashyizweho uburyo bwo gukurikirana no guhuza ibikorwa bya Ndi Umunyarwanda binyujijwe mu nzego zikurikira:

- Komite Nyobozi (Steering Committee);
- Komite Nshingwabikorwa (Executive Committee);
- Komite ishyira mu bikorwa (Technical Committee).

Mu bufatanye bw'izi nzego zose, gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda yagejejwe ku Banyarwanda, mu byiciro no mu nzego zose.

By'umwihariko, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu bufatanye n' Umuryango Unity Club Intwararumuri bakoze ikurikiranabikorwa n'ubugenzuzi hifashishijwe ubushakashatsi. Ibyavuye muri iri kurikiranabikorwa byakusanyirijwe mu nsanganyamatsiko igira iti "*Ndi Umunyarwanda Icyomoro n'Igihango*" yabaye insanganyamatsiko y'Ihuriro rya Karindwi rya Unity Club ryabaye mu Ugushyingo 2014.

Muri iri huriro, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika yashishikarije abiryitabiriye gukomeza kubaka ubunyarwanda, kugira ngo tuzarage abana bacu umurage mwiza *”.....icyo mvuga, ikiramba ni u Rwanda, ni ubunyarwanda. Abantu, “individuals ni come and go” ..... ariko u Rwanda ntirukwiriye kugenda. Ubwo na byo ni ibidusaba ngo tube dutekereza ngo ariko abana bacu, urubyiruko, abana bacu n’abana babo baza basanga iki...”*

Abitabiriye ihuriro bongeye gushimangira ko ubunyarwanda ari ngombwa kuri buri Munyarwanda kuko buramutse busenyutse n’Igihugu cyaba gisenyutse. Ubunyarwanda si amahitamo ni cyo gihango cy’u Rwanda n’Abanyarwanda, igihango cyatatiwe kikaba kigomba gusubirana agaciro kacyo. Ndi Umunyarwanda kandi izakomeza kudufasha kwimakaza ubunyarwanda nk’isano-muzi Abanyarwanda bafitanye, no kubona ko Ubunyarwanda ari igihango, ingabo, urukingo n’ingufu zo kubaka icyerekezo cy’ejo.

Ihuriro rya 7 nyuma yo kugezwaho ibyavuye mu cyiciro cya mbere cya gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda (2013-2014) yari igamije ubukangurambaga no gusobanura icyerekezo ,yatangije icyiciro gishya kigamije kwinjiza Ndi Umunyarwanda mu buzima bwa buri munsi bw'Abanyarwanda. Ni muri uru rwego hateguwe ibiganiro bikurikira:

I.2. UBUNYARWANDA MU MATEKA Y'U RWANDA

I.2.1. Imiterere y'ubunyarwanda mbere y'ubukoloni

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere, ubunyarwanda bwababaye ishingiro ry'ubutwari bwo kubaka u Rwanda no kururinda.

Abanyarwanda bahuriraga ku moko gakondo ariyo: abasindi, abasinga, abagesera, abanyiginya, abega, abazigaba, abacyaba, abakono,…Nta bwoko gakondo bwabaga umwihariko ku Bahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa; bose bayahuriragaho.

Mbere y’umwaduko w’abakoloni , Abahutu, Abatutsi n’Abatwa babagaho mu Rwanda ariko ntibyari amoko nk’uko byaje guhindurwa n’abakoloni bikanakoreshwa mu nyungu za politike.

Inyito abahutu, abatwa n’abatutsi yavutse kandi yamamara mu gihe cya vuba, nko mu kinyejana cya 16, 17 na 18. Bivugwako byashingiye k’ubuzobere « spécialisations » bunyuranye mu mirimo y’ubuhinzi, ubworozi no kubumba. Abibanze mu birebana n’ubworozi baje kwitwa Abatutsi; abibanze mu bijyanye n’ubuhinzi bitwa Abahutu; abibanze mu bubumbyi bitwa Abatwa. Bigaragara ko byavuye ku gukora imirimo itandukanye n’ubwo hari abandi bantu bororaga cyangwa bahingaga ariko ntibitwe abatutsi cyangwa abahutu[1].

Mu Rwanda iyo myuga abantu benshi bayikoraga yombi cyangwa umuntu akaba

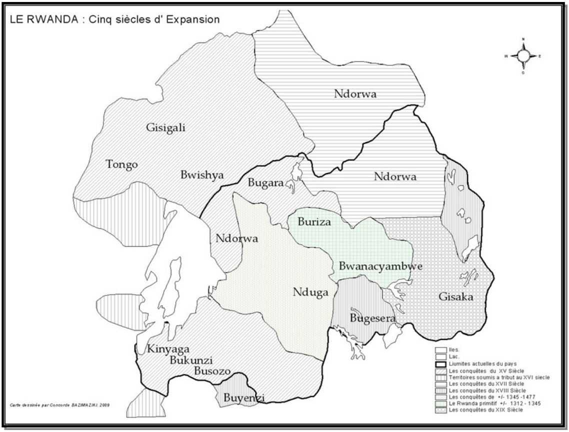
[1] Abitwa Lozi bo muri Zambiya ,Swazi bo muri Swaziland ,Ndebele bo muri Zambiya, Zulu bo muri Afrika y’epfo, ,Angoni bo muri Malawi, Zhona bo muri Afrika y’epfo borora inka cyane kandi bazifite kuva mu binyejana bya 5 na 6 ariko ntibitwa abatutsi, ahubwo abazungu babitaga “bantu” .

yayihinduranya. Ariko n'umuntu yavaga k'ubuhutu akaba umututsi cyangwa akava k'ubututsi akaba umuhutu.

Ibyo aribyo byose kuba umuhutu, umutwa cyangwa umututsi ntabwo bishingiye ku nkomoko zitandukanye (origines) kuko Abanyarwanda biyise ayo mazina batigeze biyumvisha na rimwe ko baba bafite inkomoko zitari zimwe ngo babishingireho. Abanyarwanda ntibari bazi ibintu by'imigani n'ibitekerezo abazungu bise "mythe hamitique na mythe bantu". Byazanywe n'abakoloni bashaka kuvuga ko abahutu n'abatutsi bagizwe n'inkomoko karemano zitandukanye (race). Bigaragara ko Abanyarwanda bo biyitaga ayo mazina bashingiye ku nzego z'imibereho (formation sociale) maze abafite uko babayeho kimwe bakagira izina rimwe bahuriyeho, ribatandukanya n'abafite indi mibereho bihariye. Abanyarwanda ntibari bazi ibyo abazungu bise inkomoko karemano (races, ethnies), ahubwo bose biyitaga bene Kanyarwanda.

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, ubunyarwanda ntibwatandukanaga n'ubutwari bwaranze Abanyarwanda, kandi ubwo butwari bukagaragarira mu kwagura Igihugu no kukirinda.

U Rwanda twasigiwe n'abakurambere bacu nirwo tubona ku ikarita ikurikira:



Source: LUGAN, Bernard, Histoire du Rwanda : De la préhistoire à nos jours, Paris, Bartillot, 1997

U Rwanda rwagutse ruhereye i Gasabo hafi y'ikiyaga cya Muhazi. Ubwami bwa Gasabo bwiyongereyeho ubundi bwami bwari buyobowe n'imiryango itandukanye. Ubwo bwami bwagendaga buyoboka cyangwa bwigarurirwa habaye imirwano.

Muri ubwo bwami hari Bwanacyambwe, Buliza, Busigi, Buganza, Nduga, Gisaka, Bugesera, Kinyaga, Bukunzi, Busozo, Bwanamukari, Burwi, Bugoyi, Bufumbira, Umubari, Ndorwa, Bwishya, Bungwe, Buyenzi ….

Bamwe mu Bami bagize uruhare rukomeye mu kwagura no kurinda u Rwanda ni nka : Ruganzu Bwimba; Ruganzu II Ndori; Kigeri II Nyamuheshera; Cyilima Rujugira wazanye ubuhanga bukomeye bwo gukingira Igihugu abanzi kukivogera arema ingerero ku nkiko z'u Rwanda. Ku ngoma ye ni ho haje imvugo ngo:" ***U Rwanda ruratera ntiruterwa***". By'umwihariko twavuga Kigeri IV Rwabugiri waguye u Rwanda rwaje guterwa imirwi n'abakoloni rugasigarana ubuso bw'iki gihe. [Dore bamwe mu Bami Nyiginya : Ruganzu

Ndori (1510-1543), Mutara Semugeshi (1543-1576), Kigeri Nyamuheshera (1576-1609), Mibambwe Gisanura (1609-1642), Yuhi Mazimpaka (1642-1675), Cyirima Rujugira (1675-1708), Kigeri Ndabarasa (1708-1741), Mibambwe Sentabyo (1741-1746), Yuhi Gahindiro (1746-?), Mutara Rwogera (?-1853), Kigeri Rwabugiri (1853-1895), Yuhi Musinga (1897-1931), Mutara Rudahigwa (1931-1959)]

Mu 1910 Ubufumbira bwahawe Ubugande naho Bwisha, Gishali n'ikirwa cy'Idjwi bihabwa Congo (Harroy J.P., Rwanda: De la féodalité à la démocratie 1955-1962, p 79).

Ubutwari bw'Abanyarwanda kandi bwanajyanaga n'ishema ryo kugira Igihugu gikomeye bagaharanira buri gihe ko kitaba ingaruzwamuheto y'ibindi bihugu, bakumva ko bafitanye igihango gikomeye n'Igihugu cyabo ndetse n'umwami nyir'u Rwanda, nk'ipfundo ry'ubumwe basangiye.

Abanyarwanda bahuriraga mu Ngabo no mu Itorero ryari nk'ishuri bigiragamo kuba

Umunyarwanda uhamye, bakiga ibimuranga n'ibizira, bakarushaho gushimangira ubunyarwanda no gukunda Igihugu. Ibyo byiciro byahuriraga kandi ku nzego z'imiyoborere y'Igihugu (umutware w'umukenke, umutware w'ubutaka n'umutware w'ingabo).

Mu Rwanda imitwe y'Ingabo inyuranye yari ihuriweho n'Abanyarwanda bose. Amakimbirane yose yabayeho mu Rwanda mbere y'ubukoloni, ndetse n'intambara zabaye icyo gihe ntabwo byigeze bishingira ku buhutu cyangwa ubututsi, kandi umwanzi wateraga u Rwanda yabaga ari umwanzi wa bose; buri Munyarwanda yiyumvagamo ko gutabarira Igihugu cye bimureba.

Abanyarwanda bari bafite indangagaciro zimwe[2]. Bose bari basangiye imyumvire n'imitekerereze imwe ku gihugu cyabo, bagashima bimwe, bakagaya bimwe. Bose bari basangiye imihango, imigenzo n'imiziririzo imwe. Bose bari bafite indirimbo, imbyino,

[2]Zimwe ni izi: ubumwe, ubuntu, umutima, ubwenge, ubutwari, ubupfura, ubugabo, ubuvandimwe, ubusabane, gufashanya, gutabarana no gukunda Igihugu cyabo. Bemeraga ko Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda.

ibihozo, inanga, ibyivugo, amahamba n'amazina y'inka biteye kimwe n'ubwo abafite umwuga umwe bahuriyeho hari igihe bagiraga imbyino n'indirimbo byihariye bijyanye n'uwo mwuga wabo. Muri make Abanyarwanda bari bamwe kuri byose kandi biyumvagamo (conscience) ko bahuriye k'ubunyarwanda. Ubunyarwanda ni bwo bwari ishingiro ry'ubutwari, ishema n'imibereho yabo.

I.2.2. Isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoloni

Abakoloni baza muri Afurika baje bifitiye inyungu zo gufata ibihugu, kubiyobora no kwishakira ibyo inganda zari zaratangiye iwabo zikenera mu rwego rw'ubucuruzi. Umukoloni ageze mu Rwanda, mu bya mbere yakoze, yanyaze Umunyarwanda kunogerwa n'ibimugize, amubatiza andi mazina, amwigisha kwanga imyemerere gakondo yitiranyijwe n'imigenzo mibi ya gipagani.

Mu gihe cy'abadage (1897-1916), ubukoloni mu Rwanda bwashimangiwe n'uwitwa Kapiteni Bethe wagiranye ibyo bise

“amasezerano” y’ubukoloni n’Ubwami mu 1899. Ayo maseserano yavugaga ko U Budage buzategekana n’umwami Musinga u Rwanda rwe (protectorat). U Rwanda rwahise ruta ubwigenge bwarwo kuva ubwo, ruhinduka ubukoloni bw’amahanga. Rwaje gutakaza n’ibice bimwe na bimwe byari birugize.

> Ubukoloni bw’ababiligi (1916-1962) buri mu bintu by’ibanze byashenye u Rwanda cyane cyane mu birebana n’imyumvire, imitekerereze n’umuco byarwo; bwabanje kuvanaho ububasha bwose umwami yari afite nko kugaba imisozi, guca imanza, gutanga ibihano no kutavuguruzwa; buvanaho n’inzego z’ubutegetsi n’ubwiru byamufashaga; bwahinduye ubutegetsi, bukuraho abatware b’ingabo, abatware b’umukenke n’ubutaka; bwahinduye imitegekere y’Igihugu, ubutegetsi bushyirwa mu maboko y’abakoloni (Histoire du Rwanda : Des origines à la fin du XXe siècle, 2011 , pp 251-253).

Abakoloni bazanye imihango mishya, ingengabitekerezo (idéologie) n'indangagaciro bishya bahindura imyumvire, imitekerereze n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Imico n'iyobokamana bishya ni byo byatumye Abanyarwanda bavuga ngo "Kiliziya yakuye kirazira".

Mu bintu bikomeye kandi bazanye harimo ko bigishije ko Abanyarwanda atari bamwe, batava hamwe kandi ko bataziye rimwe mu Rwanda; bigisha ko badafite imiterere, imitekerereze n'imico imwe. Ingengabitekerezo y'ubudasa ishyigikira kutagira uburenganzira bungana mu gihugu cyabo.

Bazanye ikarita y'indangamuntu yanditsemo ibyo bitaga "races" (ubwoko) zitandukanye byaje kwitwa "ethnies"; bivuga ko bafite inkomoko karemano zitandukanye: inkomoko karemano y'abahutu, inkomoko karemano y'abatwa, n'inkomoko karemano y'abatutsi[3]; maze

[3] Indangamuntu y'igihe cy'ubukoloni yitwaga ibuku yarimo ibintu bibiri: harimo

birandikwa biranigishwa, n'ubu benshi mu Banyarwanda bakaba bakiziritswe n'izo nyigisho ndetse ibikomere bikomoka kuri ayo mateka bikaba bikibavuna.

Inkubiri y'ubwigenge itangiye kuvugwa hirya no hino muri Afurika, abakoloni bakabona ko uruhande bari babogamiyeho rutangiye gusaba ubwigenge, bahisemo guhindura ubufatanye bwariho, babogamira kuri bamwe mu rubyiruko rw'abahutu bakuriwe na Kayibanda Gregoire rutari rwitaye k'ubwigenge. Abakoloni babonaga ko kubona ubwigenge k'u Rwanda byari kubangamira inyungu zabo. Ni muri icyo gihe haje kwandikwa icyiswe "Manifeste des Bahutu" mu 1957 bavuga ko barengera Gahutu wakandamijwe na Gatutsi. Icyo kibazo gishingiye kw'irondabwoko ni cyo cyaje kuvamo imvururu ziswe Muyaga (1959-1961) (NURC, Histoire du Rwanda : Des origines à la fin du XXe Siècle, 2011, pp369-370).

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ijambo "ubwoko"ryavugaga neza ubwoko gakondo; hakabamo n'ijambo "race " ritari rifite igisobanuro mu kinyarwnda aririyo bandikagaho ijambo "umuhutu, "umutwa", umututsi" .Urugero : uwitwa Mugenzi, bandikaga ko ari mu "bwoko" bw'ababanda akaba kandi muri "race" y'abahutu.

Amashyaka ya politiki amwe nka Parmehutu n'Aprosoma yari amaze gushingwa, yareruraga akavuga ko aharanira "Gahutu" wenyine kandi ko umwanzi w'u Rwanda ari "Gatutsi"[4].

Ntawakwirengagiza uruhare bamwe mu bamisiyoneri, bafatanyije n'abakoloni, bagize mu isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda. Ibi byagiye byigaragariza cyane mu buryo bagiye bashyigikira ingengabitekerezo y'abakoloni ishimangira itonesha n'imiyoborerere ishingiye ku moko. (Rutembesa, F et al., Rwanda. Identité et citoyenneté, Butare,2003, p132.)

Nyuma y'ubukoloni, iyo ngengabitekerezo y'irondabwoko ni yo yakomeje kuranga ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri zakurikiye ubwigenge.

[4]Mu kwezi kwa 11 1957 hari haravutse ishyirahamwe Aprosoma ryaje kuba kw'isonga yo kwiyita ishyaka rya politiki, rikurikirwa na Unar mu kwa gatanu 1959, hakurikiraho Rader mu kwa 9 kwa 1959,na Parmehutu yagiyeho tariki ya 26/9 /1959 Haje kujyaho n'utundi dushyaka duto. Yose hamwe yari ageze nko kuri 20 muri 1960.

I.2.3. Isenyuka ry'Ubunyarwanda mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri

Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) imaze kuvuka hashyizweho inzego nshya z'ubutegetsi zisimbura ingoma ya cyami.

Ishyaka rya Parmehutu ryasigiwe ubutegetsi n'abakoloni binyuze mu mvururu zo mu 1959-1962 ryasigaranye umurage w'irondabwoko. Ibi bigaragarira mu mvugo z'abayobozi baryo nk'uko Kayibanda Gregoire waje no kuba Perezida w'u Rwanda yabishimangiye mu magambo ye agira ati : "U Rwanda ni Igihugu kimwe kirimo bibiri. Abatuye ibi bihugu ntacyo bahuriyeho. Ntibahuje imico! Ababituye bameze nk'abava ahantu hatandukanye cyangwa abaturage b'imigabane itandukanye". (Rutembesa, F et al., Rwanda. Identite et citoyennete, Butare, 2003, p128.)

Ibyo kandi byari mu mvugo no mu myandikire, aho uwitwa Gitera Joseph, umuyobozi wa Aprosoma, akaba yaranabaye umuyobozi w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, yanditse amategeko icumi y'abahutu mu

mvugo ze zirangwa n'urwango yari afitiye abatutsi (NURC, Histoire du Rwanda : Des origines à la fin du XXe Siècle, 2011, pp397) Muri make, ikibazo kinini Repubulika ya mbere yagize cyari umurongo wayo wa politiki (idewoloji yayo) wimakaza irondabwoko n'amacakubiri.

Repubulika ya kabiri (1973-1994) nayo yaje ishimangira ingengabitekerezo yari ishingiye ku irondabwoko ndetse n'irondakarere. Repubulika ya kabiri yashimangiye umurongo w'imiyoborere wa Repubulika ya mbere n'ubwo mu ntangiriro, mu mvugo n'indirimbo, yavugaga ko iharanira amahoro n'ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda. Gusa, ntibyatinze kugaragara vuba ko iyo mvugo yari ikinyoma.

Politiki y'ivangura no guteranya Abanyarwanda mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri yakomeje kurangwa n'ibi bikurikira:

- Gushimangira ibitekerezo n'imikorere y'ivangura rya gikoloni ;
- Gutoteza abatutsi no kubacira ishyanga, kubaheza mu buhunzi no kubaheza mu myanya y'ubuyobozi ;

- Kwica abatutsi bari mu gihugu igihe cyose impunzi ziri hanze ziteye Igihugu zishaka gutaha ;
- Iringaniza mu mashuri no mu mirimo rishingiye ku moko n'uturere ;
- Gukoresha amoko nk'iturufu yo kugera no kugundira ubutegetsi no guhanganisha uturere (Abakiga-Abanyenduga) ;
- Gupfukirana ikibazo cy'uburenganzira bwa muntu n'icy'ubuhunzi.

Muri make, bamwe mu bari ku butegetsi, haba kuri Repubulika ya mbere no kuri Repubulika ya kabiri, biyambuye ubunyarwanda biyambika ubuhutu. Ibi bibazo n'ibindi byinshi byagiye biranga imiyoborere idaha agaciro buri Munyarwanda byashegeshe ubunyarwanda.

I.2.4. Ingaruka z'isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda

Kuva mu gihe cy'ubukoloni kugeza mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri, imiyoborere mibi yashimangiye isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda aho kubwubaka. Ugusenyuka k'ubunyarwanda

byatumye Umunyarwanda ata indangagaciro zamurangaga zirimo ubumwe, ubufatanye, gutabarana, ubusabane, ubutwari n'ishema ryo kuba Umunyarwanda, ubupfura n'ubumuntu. Kwica umuturanyi cyangwa umuvandimwe ntibyari bikiri ikizira. Ibi ni byo byatumye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, itegurwa ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ubuyobozi yafashe intera, abatutsi basaga miliyoni bakicwa mu mezi atatu. Hari kandi na bamwe mu bahutu bishwe mu gihe cya Jenoside bazira ko badashyigikiye umugambi mubisha wo gukora Jenoside cyangwa bagerageje guhisha abatutsi bahigwaga.

Mu ngaruka z'uko gusenyuka k'ubunyarwanda kandi haracyagaragara:

- Ibikomere bishingiye ku mateka y'irondabwoko n'irondakarere;
- Imfubyi n'abapfakazi benshi bakeneye ubufasha bw'umuryango nyarwanda;
- Ihungabana rikomeye ku barokotse Jenoside, abayikoze ndetse rigera no ku bana bavutse nyuma yayo;
- Ubukene mu benegihugu;

- Ubwishishanye hagati y'Abanyarwanda;
- Ipfunwe ku bana bakomoka mu miryango y'abakoze jenoside;
- Ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside ikwirakwizwa mu karere;
- Ibibazo by'ubutabera;
- Ibibazo by'ubuhunzi n'umutekano muke mu karere u Rwanda rurimo.

Muri make, isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda ryagize ingaruka zikomeye mu kubaha uburenganzira bwa muntu, kubaka ubunyarwanda no kudindiza umuvuduko w'ubukungu n'iterambere Abanyarwanda bifuza.

Umwanzuro

Ingaruka z'ibibazo by'uruhererekane byaranze u Rwanda mu mateka ntizirakemuka zose. Icyizere Abanyarwanda bafite gishingiye ku bushake bwa politiki bushyigikiwe n'ibikorwa byo kunoza imibanire n'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda byakurikiye urugamba rwo kubohora Abanyarwanda ingoyi zari zibaboshye.

I.3. URUGENDO RWO GUSUBIZA AGACIRO UBUNYARWANDA

I.1.3. Kwibohora no kwishakamo ibisubizo

Ibibazo by'u Rwanda bimaze kurenga urugero rwihanganirwa, Abanyarwanda batangiye gushaka uburyo bwo kubisohokamo. Inzira y'imishyikirano n'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri inaniranye, hatangijwe urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu ruyobowe na FPR- Inkotanyi mu 1990.

Urugamba rwaje gushyigikirwa n'ivuka ry'amwe mu mashyaka ya politiki yamaganaga imitegekere mibi y'u Rwanda yari ishingiye ku ivangura, itonesha, ironda bwoko, irondakarere, ubwicanyi n'umuco wo kudahana … byagejeje u Rwanda kuri Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu 1994 aho guha agaciro amasezerano ya Arusha yo mu 1993 hagati ya FPR-Inkotanyi na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda.

Urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwari rufite intego zikurikira:

- Kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Guharanira ubusugire n'umutekano w'abantu n'ibyabo;
- Guharanira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi;
- Guharanira ubukungu bushingiye ku mutungo bwite w'Igihugu;
- Kurwanya ruswa no gutonesha;
- Guharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage;
- Gucyura impunzi no gukuraho impamvu zitera ubuhunzi;
- Guharanira ububanyi n'amahanga bushingiye ku buhahirane, ubufatanye n'ubwubahane.

Nyuma yo guhagarika Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi, hashyizweho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kuwa 19 Nyakanga 1994 yaje gushyira mu bikorwa izo ntego zose zavuzwe haruguru ndetse inongeraho kurwanya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo.

Ibi byakomeje kuba ishingiro ryo guteza imbere ubunyarwanda, imiyoborerere n'imibereho myiza y'Abanyarwanda.

Abanyarwanda basubiye ku muco wabo bawuvomamo bimwe mu bisubizo by'ibibazo byatewe no kutawuha agaciro (Gacaca, imihigo, ubudehe, girinka, ingando, itorero, kwigira, umuganda, kwihesha agaciro, kuremera abatishoboye,...). Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Abanyarwanda bihaye agaciro bakemura ibibazo by'inzitane byari bibugarije; Abanyarwanda bagira ishema ryo kuba abo baribo, ubunyarwanda buriyubaka , u Rwanda rwihesha icyubahiro n'igihagararo mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

Nubwo hari byinshi bimaze kugerwaho, haracyari ibikidindiza urugendo rwo gusubiza agaciro ubunyarwanda bishingiye ku bisigisigi by'inyigisho z'amacakubiri zahawe Abanyarwanda zikanakwirakwizwa mu Karere u Rwanda ruherereyemo. Kuko ibihumanya bitaba bicyeya, imbaraga zigomba gukomeza gushyirwa mu gushakira

ibisubizo zimwe mu nzitizi zikigaragara zikurikira:

- Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikigaragara kuri bamwe mu Banyarwanda no mu Karere u Rwanda ruherereyemo;
- Kwirebera mu ndororwamo z'amoko bikivugwa kuri bamwe mu Banyarwanda;
- Ibikomere bishingiye kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ingaruka zayo;
- Bamwe mu babyeyi n'abarezi gito bagitoza ababyiruka amacakubiri;
- Gupfobya no guhakana Jenoside bikorwa na bamwe mu Banyarwanda na bimwe mu bihugu by'amahanga.

I.3.2 Imiyoborere iha agaciro Umunyarwanda

Mu rwego rwo kubahiriza ihame ry'uko u Rwanda ari umurage w'Abanyarwanda bose, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yari imaze guhekura u Rwanda ikozwe n'Abanyarwanda, Guverinoma y'ubumwe

yabumbiye hamwe Abanyarwanda ngo bafatanye gusana Igihugu. Inzira yari ndende, igoye kandi ifite inzitizi ku buryo benshi batiyumvishaga ko u Rwanda ruzazuka rukabaho. Ubunyarwanda bwari bwarasenyutse kera no kuba Umunyarwanda byari igisebo.

Kugira ngo u Rwanda rwongere kubaho byasabaga gushirika ubwoba, kutiheba, n'ubuyobozi burangwa no :

- Gukunda Igihugu n'abenegihugu;
- Kugira icyerekezo (Kureba kure no kuhateganyiriza)
- Kutagamburuzwa n'ingorane cyangwa ibibazo

Mu rwego rwo kumvikanisha icyerekezo u Rwanda rugomba gufata, habaye ibiganiro binyuranye byabereye mu Rugwiro (1998-1999) biyobowe na Perezida wa Repubulika, bihuza Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose, hagamijwe gushakira hamwe umuti w'ibibazo Igihugu cyari gifite. Imyanzuro y'ibyo biganiro yemeje icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda gikubiyemo ingingo z'ingenzi zikurikira:

- Umutekano w'Igihugu n'abagituye;
- Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Ubutabera;
- Ubukungu n'imibereho myiza;
- Ubuyobozi bwiza.

Ni muri urwo rwego inzego z'ubuyobozi zagiye ziyubaka, amavugurura mu nzego z'ubutabera n'ubuyobozi bwite bwa Leta arakorwa. Hashyizweho inzego zihariye zigamije gukemura ibibazo byigaragaje mu mateka y'u Rwanda n'ingaruka zabyo (NURC, NCHR, NEC, NIC, CNLG,...). Icyerekezo 2020 cy'u Rwanda cyashyizweho kandi gishingirwaho mu igenamigambi ry'Igihugu.

Ubushake bwa politiki bwo gushyira imbere ubunyarwanda bwagaragariye mu bikorwa bitandukanye birimo ibi bikurikira:

- Guhuza ingabo zahagaritse Jenoside n'izari iza Leta yatsinzwe;
- Gucyura impunzi z'Abanyarwanda;
- Gusubiza ba nyirayo imitungo yari yarigaruriwe n'abandi;
- Gusaranganya amasambu aho bikenewe kugira ngo buri

Munyarwanda abone aho kuba;

- Gukura amoko mu ndangamuntu;
- Amahirwe angana mu mashuri;
- Amahirwe angana mu mitangire y'akazi;
- Amahirwe angana mu mitangire y'amasoko ya Leta;
- Gusaranganya ibikorwa remezo mu gihugu;
- Gusaranganya ubutegetsi;
- Guca umuco wo kudahana n'akarengane;
- Kurwanya ubukene no guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage;
- Guha Abanyarwanda urubuga rwo kuganira ku mateka yabo no kuyasesengura;
- Kuvugurura imfashanyigisho zakoreshwaga mu burezi hinjizwamo indangagaciro z'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Mu rwego rwo gusohoka mu nzibacyuho amahoro no gukomeza kwiyubakamo ubunyarwanda, Abanyarwanda bashyiriweho uburyo bwo gusesengura

ibyasenye ubumwe bwabo, kujya inama ku ngamba zo kubikemura no gukomeza kugira uruhare mu bibakorerwa no mu miyoborere y'Igihugu.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge yakoranye ibiganiro ngishwanama n'abaturage mu byahoze ari Komine batanga ibitekerezo ku byasenye ubumwe bwabo, icyakorwa ngo busubirane n'uruhare babigiramo. Imyanzuro y'ibiganiro ikaba yarashingiweho gahunda zitandukanye z'Igihugu zakemuraga ibibazo byagaragajwe. Komisiyo yakoresheje inama z'Igihugu ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge (2000, 2002, 2004) ku nsanganyamatsiko zitandukanye zimakaza imibanire myiza, ubufatanye mu iterambere no kurwanya ubukene, ubutabera , imiyoborere myiza mu rwego rwo gukomeza inkingi z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'ubunyarwanda.

Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri Kamena 2003 ryateguwe ku bufatanye n'abaturage bakaryitorera rishyira imbere ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda,

isano, inshingano n'uburenganzira basangiye mu gihugu cyabo.

Mu rwego rwo kugira uruhare mu miyoborere y'Igihugu, abaturage bitabiriye amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika, Abasenateri, Abadepite n'Abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze. Abaturage bakomeje guhabwa urubuga rw'ibiganiro mu nzego z'ibanze aho bagira uruhare mu mihigo, kuyikurikirana no kumurikirwa ibyo abayobozi bakora n'uburyo babikora.

Ku rwego rw'Igihugu, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano ngaruka mwaka ihuza Abanyarwanda mu byiciro bitandukanye na Perezida wa Repubulika hagamijwe kurebera hamwe aho Igihugu kigeze mu iterambere, imiyoborere n'imibereho myiza y'‘Abanyarwanda. Hafatwa ingamba z'icyerekezo gishya zishimangira ibimaze kugerwaho no gukemura ibibazo byagaragajwe.

Perezida wa Repubulika kandi aha ijambo abaturage, akabafasha gukemura ibibazo

byabo mu ngendo zitandukanye akorera mu gihugu.

Abaturage banatanga ibitekerezo byabo biciye mu bushakashatsi bukorwa kuri gahunda zitandukanye za Leta bugaragaza uruhare bazigiramo, intambwe batera, inzitizi n'uburyo bumva zakemurwa . Ibi byose bituma Leta ifata ingamba zisubiza ibibazo by'abaturage.

Muri Diaspora " Rwanda Day" (Umwihariko w'U Rwanda), Perezida wa Repubulika agirana umushyikirano n'Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga bagasangizwa ibibera mu Rwanda na gahunda zose z'Igihugu harimo na Ndi Umunyarwanda nk'uburyo bwo kwihesha agaciro n'ishema.

Abanyarwanda benshi bavuye mu gihugu baherekeje Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika na bo basabana na bagenzi babo batuye mu mahanga bababakumbuza u Rwanda babaratira aho rugeze mu mibanire n'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda.

Ubunyarwanda bumaze kurenga imbibi z'Igihugu aho bukomeje guhesha u Rwanda ishema, igitinyiro n'ijambo mu ruhando rw'amahanga bitewe n'indangagaciro zibaranga. Bimwe mu bigaragaza ubunyarwanda ni ubunyangamugayo, ubwitange, guha agaciro amasezerano n'umurimo unoze bishimwa n'abanyamahanga. Umwihariko w'Abanyarwanda ni ryo shema ryabo.

Ibi bigaragarira k'ubutwari n'ubwitange bw'Ingabo na Polisi by'u Rwanda mu kugarura amahoro mu bihugu bikiri mu ntambara n'icyizere Abanyarwanda bagirirwa mu miryango mpuzamahanga.

Ikindi ni ubwinshi bw'ibikombe bihabwa Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika n'inshingano zitandukanye ahabwa ku rwego rw'Isi kubera urugero rwiza rw'u Rwanda mu iterambere no gukemura ibibazo byari byugarije u Rwanda nyuma ya Jenoside.

Hari n'ibihembo bihabwa imiryango inyuranye ku rwego mpuzamahanga

kubera gahunda nziza zigenda zigerwaho n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo mu rwego rwo kwikemurira ibibazo.

Na none , kubera umurava w'Abanyarwanda n'ibanga ryabo rishingiye k'umuco, Isi ifata u Rwanda nk'Igihugu cy'intangarugero muri gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, kubaka amahoro, umutekano n'iterambere ryihuse bituma abanyamahanga bashima kuza kwigira k' u Rwanda.

1.4 NDI UMUNYARWANDA: ICYOMORO N'IGIHANGO

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza urugendo rwo kubaka ubunyarwanda, Ndi Umunyarwanda ni intambwe yihariye igamije komorana ibikomere Abanyarwanda batewe n'amateka no kugirana igihango cy'ubudahemuka hagati yabo no hagati yabo n'u Rwanda.

Nubwo inkingi za Ndi Umunyarwanda zishinga imizi mu mateka, ubuhamya, imbabazi no komorana ibikomere biciye mu biganiro, ikigamijwe kiri hejuru ya byose ni

ejo heza kuri buri Munyarwanda n'Igihugu muri rusange.

Ndi Umunyarwanda irahuza urugendo rw'Igihugu rushingiye ku cyerekezo cy'iterambere n'imibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda n'urugendo rwa buri Munyarwanda ku giti cye ugomba kubigiramo uruhare.

I.4.1 Ndi Umunyarwanda ni iki?

Mu buryo bwagutse ,“ Ndi Umunyarwanda“ ifite ibisobanuro bitandukanye ariko byuzuzanya bikurikira:

“Ndi Umunyarwanda” : Ni ukwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda batewe ishema no kuba Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku gukunda u Rwanda , kururinda no kuruteza imbere.” (Spirit)

Ndi Umunyarwanda ikubiyemo ingengabitekerezo y'ubunyarwanda (Rwandan spirit), inshingano, uburenganzira,

indangagaciro na kirazira bigamije kwimakaza ”ubunyarwanda”. Kugira ingengabitekerezo y’ubunyarwanda ni ugutwara u Rwanda ku umutima rukakubamo ukarubamo urukunze witeguye kururengera ku giciro icyo ari cyo cyose. Iyo sano-muzi ikaba igihango kidatatirwa.

Ndi Umunyarwanda ni imyumvire, imitekerereze, imikorere, imibereho n’imibanire biranga Umunyarwanda wifitiye ishema, ushyize imbere imibanire myiza y’Abanyarwanda bose n’inyungu z’Igihugu kandi utiganda mu gutanga umuganda wo kubaka no kurinda u Rwanda (philosophy)

Ndi Umunyarwanda ni no kwiyumvamo imbaraga zica imigozi ikiziritse bamwe mu Banyarwanda ku macakubiri, zigapfundika ipfundo ry’ubwizerane, ubworoherane, uburengazira bungana kuri bose, ukwishyira ukizana mu gihugu no kuzirikana ko Igihugu ari byose bigatera buri wese kugikunda no kugikorera nta gusigana.

Mu rwego rw'iterambere n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage , Ndi Umunyarwanda ni icyerekezo cy'iterambere rishingiye ku baturage bafatanyije urugendo rwo komorana ibikomere , bashyize imbere ubufatanye n'ubwubahane kandi bubatse igihango kidatatirwa hagati yabo no hagati yabo n'Igihugu.

"Ndi Umunyarwanda ni umurongo Igihugu cyiyemeje kigamije kwimakaza ubunyarwanda nk'isano-muzi Abanyarwanda bafitanye , no kubona ko ubunyarwanda ari igihango, ingabo n'ingufu zo kubaka icyerekezo cy'ejo." (Vision)

Ndi Umunyarwanda" kandi ni gahunda ikubiyemo ibikorwa bitandukanye bigamije kubaka ubunyarwanda biciye mu kumvikanisha Ndi Umunyarwanda mu Banyarwanda. Bimwe mu bikorwa bikubiye muri porogaramu mu gihe cya vuba, igiciriritse n'igihe kirekire ni ibi bikurikira:

- Kumenyekanisha Ndi Umunyarwanda no kuyisobanura ;
-Gutoza Abanyarwanda umuco w'ibiganiro bishingiye ku kuri ;
- Gutegura inyandiko n'inyoborabiganiro kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda ;
-Kubaka ubufatanye n'izindi nzego mu rwego rw'ubukangurambaga n'amahugurwa;
- Kwinjiza Ndi Umunyarwanda mu bikorwa byihariye by'inzego zitandukanye;
-Gusuzuma (Monitoring, evaluation & impact assessment) impinduka Ndi Umunyarwanda igeza ku baturage.

Ndi Umunyarwanda ikubiyemo ingingo eshatu z'ingenzi: kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda, indangagaciro na kirazira bigamije kwimakaza ubunyarwanda.

I.4.2. Kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda

Kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda ni ukwemera kuba uw'u Rwanda, rukaba urwawe, ukarutwara ku mutima, ukarukunda, rukakurera kibyeyi, ukamenya kururinda, byaba na ngombwa ukaba wanarwitangira; iyo sano ikaba igihango kizira gutatirwa ubuziraherezo.

Kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda birenze kuvukira mu Rwanda no kurutura nk'uko byagarutsweho na Nyakubahwa Madamu wa Perezida wa Repubulika:

"Kuba Umunyarwanda si ugutura u Rwanda gusa, kabone n'ubwo kuvuka i Rwanda bitanga uburenganzira busesuye kandi bureshya kuri iyo ngobyi dusangiye. Kuba Umunyarwanda ni ukugira ingengabitekerezo y'ubunyarwanda :

The Rwandan Spirit. Ni ukwemera kuba uwarwo, rukaba urwawe, mu mateka, mu muco, mu migirire n'imitekerereze, mu cyerekezo n'intego, no mu buryo dutunganya imiyoborere kandi tukikemurira ibibazo" (Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Madamu wa Perezida wa Repubulika Jeannette KAGAME mu Ihuriro rya 6 ry'abanyamuryango ba Unity Club Intwararumuri).

I.4.3. Zimwe mu ndangagaciro ubunyarwanda bwubakiyeho

Indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda nizo zubatse **ubunyarwanda** bigatuma **buzisumba**.

Ubunyarwanda burenze kuba indangagaciro kuko indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda buzihatse zose bukagirwa na zose uko zingana, bukaziha ireme n'impamvu yo kubaho.

Dushingiye ku muco nyarwanda, amateka y'u Rwanda n'icyerekezo u Rwanda rwiyemeje, zimwe mu ndangagaciro ubunyarwanda bwubakiyeho zikanabukomeza zikubiye mu mbonerahamwe ikurikira:

NO	Indanga-gaciro remezo	Indangagaciro zizishamikiyeho
1	**Gukunda Igihugu** *Gukunda Igihugu ni gukunda benecyo n'abagituye ntavangura, gukunda ibikigize byose birimo ururimi n'umuco, ubutaka kibarizwaho, kumenya amateka yacyo, kubumbatira umutekano n'ubusugire bwacyo, kugira ishyaka ryo kukirwanirira ku kiguzi icyo ari cyo cyose.*	Ubwitange; kugira ishyaka n'ishema; kubaha umuryango; kurinda no gucunga neza ibya rubanda; kwagura amarembo; kwitabira ibikorwa rusange; kubungabunga umutekano; kurwanya ruswa; kubahiriza amategeko.

2	**Ubumwe** *Imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco, amateka, inshingano n'uburenganzira mu gihugu cyabo; barangwa n'ubwizerane, ubwubahane, n'ubufatanye mu iterambere ryabo n'iry'Igihugu muri rusange.*	Gukumira no kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside; ubworoherane n'umuco w'amahoro/ koroherana; kubaha ubuzima; ubufatanye; kubana neza; gutabarana; gusabana.

3	**Ubupfura** *Ubupfura ni imico myiza igororokera abandi irangwa n'ubudahemuka, umutima w'impuhwe n'imbabazi, kutirata, kwanga umugayo no kwitwararika kuri byose no kuri bose.* *Impfura ni iyo musangira ntigucure, mwaganira ntikuvemo, waterwa ikagutabara wapfa ikakurerera. Ni ikira ntiyirate, yakena ntihemuke.*	Kugira umutima; urugwiro; kwicisha bugufi; kubana neza; ubwitonzi/ ubushishozi; kutaba umunyamusozi; kunyurwa; kwiyoroshya; kujya inama; gushima; kwitsinda.

4	**Ubutwari** *Ni kugira umutima udatinya gushyigikira ikiza, kugaragaza ikibi no guhangara kukirwanya wemeye ingaruka zose byakugiraho.*	Kutagamburuzwa n'ibibazo; kureba kure; kwanga no kurwanya akarengane; kugira ubumuntu; kwihangana; (Izindi ndangacaciro zijyanye no gukunda Igihugu nk'ubwitange, kugira ishyaka n'ubushishozi… n'izijyanye n'ubupfura).
5	**Ubwangamugayo** **(Ubunyangamugayo)** *Ni uguhora wirinda icyagutera icyasha, cyaba giturutse mu mvugo mu myitwarire cyangwa mu migirire.*	Kuba umunyakuri no gushyira mu gaciro; kubaha igihango, indahiro n'ijambo; ubudahemuka; kubaha ubuzima no kwiyubaha; gutega amatwi no kujya inama; kwiramira.

6	**Gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza** *Ni kurangwa no gukorana ubuhanga, gukorera ku ntego, gukorera ku gihe, kugwiza umusaruro w'ibikorwa bikoze neza no guhora mw'irushanwa ryo guhanga ibishya birushaho guteza izindi ntabwe mu iterambere n'imibereho myiza.*	Gukorera ku ntego; kugira umwete; kwibwiriza ; gukorera mu mucyo; kwigira; gukorana ubuhanga; gukora umurimo unoze kandi ufite ireme ; gukorera ku gihe.

Ukunda iwabo ahazirikana iteka, akaharinda icyago akanahagwiza ibyiza.

Ingobyi iduhetse ni iy'agaciro, turayishinzwe twese.*''Aho ujishe igisabo ntuhatera ibuye"*. "Ndi Umunyarwanda" isaba Abanyarwanda

bose guhora bashaka ukuri ariko bakabikorana ubworoherane nta guhutaza, bakemera aho bagize intege nke bakabisabira imbabazi bagamije kujya imbere.

I.4.4. Kirazira mu iyimakazwa ry'ubunyarwanda

Kirazira ni indangagaciro irinda indangagaciro zavuzwe haruguru.

- Kirazira gusumbisha inyungu bwite inyungu rusange;
- Kirazira kuba ibikoresho by'imigambi mibi ku Rwanda n'abarwo;
- Kirazira kugira ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside n'amacakubiri, urwango, inzika... no kubitoza abana tubyara kuko bibabera umutwaro uremereye w'ibyo batagizemo uruhare.

Kutitwararika izi kirazira byatuma bamwe bashobora gusenya ibyubatswe n'Abanyarwanda ku kiguzi gikomeye.

I.4.5. Zimwe mu nkingi zishyigikiye “ubunyarwanda”

Ndi Umunyarwanda ni inzira yo gukemura no gukumira amakimbirane yashingira ku bundi buryo bwose Abanyarwanda bashaka kwibonamo, bakabishingiraho uburenganzira bifuza mu Rwanda.

Amakimbirane ashingiye ku buryo abantu bibona n’uko babona abandi akunze kongererwa ubukana n’imibereho mibi, kwitirira abandi ibibazo bibugarije, kutita ku bikenerwa n’ikiremwa muntu by’ibanze, kwirebera mu dutsiko tudahuje inyungu cyangwa tubangamiranye mu nyungu zatwo…

Zimwe mu ngamba zo kubaka amahoro arambye aharangwa amakimbirane ya buriya bwoko zigomba gushingira ku ikomatanyirizwa hamwe ry’ibikorwa bikurikira:

- Gukemura amakimbirane;
- Kubaka ubwenegihugu;
- Guteza imbere imiyoborere ishingiye kuri demokarasi;
- Kubaka iterambere ry’ubukungu

n'imibereho myiza. (NURC, Le conflit Rwandais : Origines, Développement et Stratégies de sortie, P 46.)

Hashingiwe ku bivuzwe haruguru, zimwe mu nkingi zishyigikiye Ndi Umunyarwanda ni izi zikurikira :

- **Umutekano**

Umutekano ni umudendezo utanga amahoro ku muntu no hagati y'abantu bitanga icyizere cyo kubaho no kubana none n'ejo hazaza nta gihungabanya umuntu ku mubiri, mu bitekerezo, mu byo atunze n'Igihugu muri rusange.

«Umutekano wa muntu urenze uw' ubuzima n'umutungo kuko ufitanye isano n'icyizere cy'imibereho myiza gishingiye nko kubona akazi, kugira ubutaka, kugira icumbi, kugira ubuvuzi, isaranganya ry'umutungo ridasumbanya abo rikorerwa, gufatwa kimwe mu itangwa rya serivisi zigenerwa abaturage». (NURC, Igipimo cy'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda: Incamake y'Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi, ukwakira 2010, P.13)

Iyo abaturage bafatanyije kwirindira umutekano biyubakamo kwizerana n'ubufatanye, gukunda Igihugu n'abagituye.

- **Ubutabera**

Hano ubutabera bwumvikana nk'uburyo bwo kurengera no kurenganura abaturage hifashishijwe amategeko n'ubundi buryo bwose bwaba bushingiye ku muco w'abantu. Abaturage bakwiriye kuyamenya kandi akubahirizwa kimwe kuri bose mu rwego rwo guca akarengane.

- **Imiyoborere myiza**

Imiyoborere myiza ni iha umuturage ijambo n'uruhare rusesuye mu bimukorerwa no mu icyemurwa ry'ibibazo bye afatanyije n'ubuyobozi yishyiriyeho kandi bwitaye ku nyungu ze. Gukorera mu mucyo , gutanga serivisi nziza ku baturage no kubaha ijambo bituma abaturage biyumva mu buyobozi bakagira ishema ry'Igihugu cyabo.

- **Iterambere mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza**

N'ubwo gukena bidasobanuye ko abantu bagomba kuryana, umwaga w'inzara

n'imibereho mibi ntiwaba ishingiro ry'imibanire myiza n'ishema abantu bagirira Igihugu. Umuco wo gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza, gukorera hamwe, kugira icyerekezo cy'iterambere ry'abenegihugu na politiki yo guhanga umurimo byafasha abantu kwiyumva mu iterambere ryabo ribahesha ishema, agaciro n'icyizere cyo kubaho neza mu gihugu cyabo.

Ubunyarwanda ntibushingiye ku nkingi zivuzwe haruguru. Nubwo zajegajega, mu bunyarwanda niho hava ingufu zo kuzikomeza. Ntacyo Umunyarwanda yakwitwaza ngo yiyambure ubunyarwanda cyangwa ngo abwandarike kuko yaba yiyambika umwambaro utazigera umukwira ngo umuheshe icyubahiro.

I.4.6. Umwitozo uganisha ku mpinduka

Umwitozo uganisha ku mpinduka wakorwa n'Abanyarwanda mu byiciro byose. Abenshi bawukorera mu bikorwa bahuriramo by'urungano cyangwa abahuzwa n'inshingano runaka nko mu bigo bya Leta, amashuri, amakoperative n'amashyirahamwe,

amatorero, abakozi mu bigo by'abikorera… Abantu bawukorera mu matsinda basanzwe bisanzuramo cyangwa basanzwe bahuriramo mu bikorwa bya buri munsi.
Dore zimwe mu ntambwe z'umwitozo:

- **Kwisuzumira mu mateka y'u Rwanda ugasobanukirwa ayawe.**

Amateka y'Igihugu ni magari ariko akorwa n'abantu mu gihe cyabo. Igisabwa hano ni ukumenya icyo watwerereye (utwerera) mu mateka y'Igihugu mu gihe cyawe n'uruhare amateka y'Igihugu yagize (agira) ku mateka yawe. Ibi bituma uhuza amateka y'Igihugu n'amateka yawe, ukarushaho kwisobanukirwa ukamenya aho uhagaze n'icyo uhagararanye mu mateka y'Igihugu cyawe.

- **Kuvangura ibibi n'ibyiza**

Iki cyiciro cyuzuzanya n'ikibanza, gisaba ubutwari bwo kwemera kwibona uko uri ntiwibone uko wifuza kuba , uko wigize cyangwa se uko abandi bakugira. Ibi bifasha kubakira ku byiza wisanzemo no kwihana (kwamagana) amakosa (ibibi) wibonyeho no

kubisabira imbabazi aho umutima wawe ubigutegetse kugira ngo uruhuke.

Urugero: Mu gihe cya Jenoside umugabo utigeze yitabira ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bizwi n'abaturage yagiye gutashya hafi y'iwe. Umugore utwite wahungaga amusanga mu ishyamba yatahirizagamo maze umugabo aramwica. Inkuru ntiyigeze imenyekana kuko no muri gacaca nta wigeze amushinja. Kuko kwitabira gacaca byari itegeko, umugabo nawe yajyaga yo. Bavuga uko ubwicanyi bwagenze akibuka ibye bizwi nawe gusa. Nyuma y'igihe yitabira gacaca akurikirana ibihavugirwa, yageraga iwe mu rugo n'ijoro akikangura avuga cyane ngo umugore, umugore, umugore…

Umugore we bikamuyobera, yamubaza ibimubayeho ntamubwize ukuri. Byarakomeje, umugabo abura amahoro anayabuza abo mu rugo rwe maze umugore we amugira inama yo kujya kwa muganga. Nyuma y'ibiganiro byimbitse yagiranye na muganga yageze aho amuhishurira icyo arwaye. Muganga yamugiriye inama ko

umuti wamukiza ari kujya muri gacaca akirega ntacyo yisizemo. Amaze kubikora nkuko muganga yabimugiriyemo inama yararuhutse arakira.

Nubwo ntawari wabimenye, umutima wabibonye wamubujije amahoro kuko wananiwe kubyibikamo. Uru ni urugero rumwe mu zindi nyinshi zishobora no kudashingira mu bihe bya Jenoside.

- **Komorana ibikomere**

Ingaruka z'amateka mabi y'u Rwanda zageze ku Banyarwanda bose ku buryo butandukanye. Abantu babuze ababo, bamwe mu babyeyi babaye incike, hari abatarashyinguye ababo, abatereranywe n'abari kubatabara cyangwa kubatabariza , hari abatereranye abari mu kaga, hari abishe bicuza ibyo bakoze, hari abahetse imitwaro y'ipfunwe baterwa n'ibyo abavandimwe babo bakoze , hari abazinutswe abaturanyi babo kubera urugero rw'ibibi babakoreye, hari abiziritse ku kibi kuko bumva umuryango nyarwanda utababarira ubuhemu bwabo, hari abakibitsemo ubwoba n'abakibitsemo ubunyamaswa...

Aba bose n'abandi batarondowe baremerewe n'ingaruka z'amateka mabi y'u Rwanda. Ni abarwayi biyizi n'abatiyizi bakeneye kwitabwaho n'umuryango nyarwanda wose kuko ari nawo wabateje uburwayi bafite.

Komorana ibikomere ni ugufasha buri wese mu biganiro bivura, kumenya uburwayi bwe, icyabumuteye, uruhare rwe n'inkunga y'umuryango bimufasha kwiyomora. Mu bwisanzure bwa buri wese, kugaragaza akababaro ke mu mvugo imunogeye (ikiza) kuko ari yo isohora agahinda, usaba imbabazi akabitegekwa n'umutima we umuciriye urubanza ukamuhatira guca bugufi no kwatura, ubabarira akabibashishwa n'uko umutima we uruhuwe n'umutima umenetse w'uzisaba.

Igisabwa ni uko, nyuma yo kwirebera mu ndorerwamo y'amateka ntaho wisize, utega amatwi umutima wawe, ukanayatega abandi ubafasha gusohora ibyo imitima yabo isanzwe ibabikiye badakunze kuyibaza kubera impamvu nyinshi zirimo:

gutinya kubyibuka kuko byabatesha umutwe, kwanga ko byamenyekana kuko bitandukanye n'uko basanzwe bigaragaza cyangwa abandi babagize. Nyamara ibipfukiranwa buri gihe ngo bidasohoka ni byo shingiro ry'uburwayi bushengura iteka umutima w'uwahisemo kutabyikiza.

- **Gutangirana no gukomezanya urugendo rushya**

Urugendo rushya ni urushingiye ku gihango cy'ubudahemuka abakoranye umwitozo neza bagirana hagati yabo no hagati yabo n'Igihugu, ubwubahane n'ubufatanye. Urugendo runarangwa kandi no gufata icyemezo ndakuka cyo kudatoneka inkovu za buri wese, kwamagana buri wese ubigambirira no kwemera ko abantu babaye bashya.

Urugendo rushya rushingiye na none kandi ku kwimakaza ubunyarwanda nk'igisubizo cy'iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza, imiyoborere myiza iha buri muturage ijambo, demokarasi idaheza, iyubahirizwa ry'ikiremwamuntu n'imibanire myiza ishingiye ku bwubahane,ubufatanye n'ubwizerane. Muri uru rugendo rwo

kubaka ubunyarwanda, abarwitabiriye barangwa n'indagagaciro zubakiye k'ukuri, gukunda Igihugu n'abagituye n'ubumuntu.

I.4.7. Imwe mu myitwarire ituruka kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda

Kwiyumvamo ubunyarwanda bitanga inshingano kuri buri Munyarwanda yo kurinda u Rwanda nk'ingombyi ya twese n'umurage w'Abanyarwanda bose none n'ejo hazaza.

Kugira ngo ab'ejo bazarusange bisaba ko Abanyarwanda barinda umwimerere wabo mu iterambere ritagomba kubasiga, bakarinda u Rwanda kononwa n'ibiza, imihindagurikire y'ikirere no kutazima ku ikarita y'isi. Ibi ni byo bizatuma ruhora rubereye Abanyarwanda nabo bakarubera, rugahora ari ingombyi yubashywe na buri wese n'umubyeyi ukamira abana batari gito. Bimwe mu bigomba kwitabwaho ni ibi bikurikira:

- Guha agaciro umuco nyarwanda cyane cyane ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda;

- Gucika ku mazina y'amagenurano cyangwa yaturira umuvumo ku bana;
- Kubahana no kubaha Imana yahanze u Rwanda ;
- Kurengera ibidukikije;
- Guharanira kwigira no kwihesha ishema;
- Kwibohora imitekerereze idindiza abantu mu iterambere.

I.4.8 Ndi Umunyarwanda - Abarinzi b'Igihango

Ibikorwa by'Abarinzi b'Igihango bishyira imbere isano Abanyarwanda basangiye, agaciro ka muntu n'ubutwari bwo kwitangira abandi. Abarinzi b'Igihango batanga urugero rwiza rw'umuco w'ubunyangamugayo, ubupfura n'ubutwari byaranze Abanyarwanda bashyira imbere indangagaciro zubaka ubunyarwanda n'u Rwanda rwacu.

Umurinzi

Umurinzi ni umuntu urangwa n'ubwitange no kudatinya mu kurwanya ikibi (ikigawa) akanakumira icyago cyasenya umuryango kandi agahora yitangira ikiza kiwubereye.

Umurinzi ni umuntu udatinya cyangwa ngo acike intege iyo ahangana n'ikibi cyabangamira umuryango.

Igihango

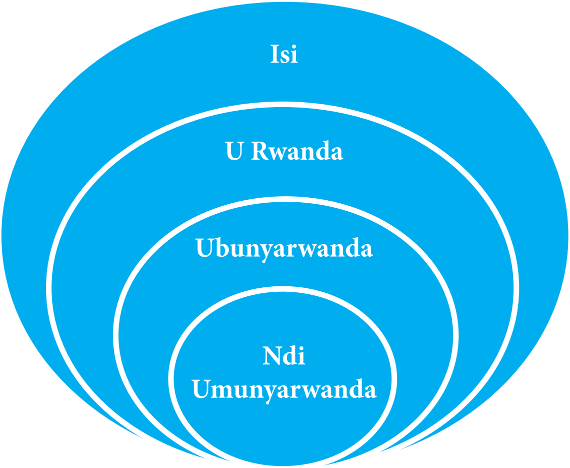
Igihango ni amasezerano y'ubudahemuka hagati y'abantu ubwabo no hagati y'abantu n'Igihugu cyabo. Mu rwego rw'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda ni amasezerano y'ubudahemuka hagati y'Abanyarwanda bemera ko basangiye isano y'ubunyarwanda kandi baheshwa ishema no gukunda u Rwanda bagaharanira kururinda no kuruteza imbere.

Umurinzi w'Igihango ni Umunyarwanda cyangwa se umunyamahanga waranzwe kandi agakomeza kurangwa muri rusange n'indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda zirimo gukunda u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, kuba inyangamugayo urangwa n'ukuri, ubworoherane, kwicisha bugufi, kwanga no kurwanya akarengane; kwiha agaciro no kuba yaragize uruhare mu kurwanya amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside na jenoside ubwayo".(Unity Club

& all: Gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda- "Umurinzi w'Igihango",p14,2015.)

I.4.9. Isano hagati ya Ndi Umunyarwanda, ubunyarwanda, u Rwanda n'Isi

Ndi Umunyarwanda ishinga umuzi mu bunyarwanda, agaciro, urukundo n'umwihariko Abanyarwanda baha Igihugu cyabo cy'u Rwanda mu isi irangwa n'ubudasa.



Ibiranga iyi shusho ni isano n'ubwuzuzanye biri hagati ya «Ndi Umunyarwanda», ubunyarwanda, u Rwanda mu Isi ngari u Rwanda rubarizwamo.

Isi: Isi igizwe n' abantu batari Abanyarwanda gusa bafite ibihugu n'imico byabo bifite uko byibona n'uku bibonwa n'abandi.

U Rwanda: Muri rusange u Rwanda ni Igihugu cy'Abanyarwanda cyigenga kikagena umubano kigirana n'ibindi bihugu mu gihagararo cyihesha. By'umwihariko, ku Banyarwanda u Rwanda ni:

- Umubyeyi;
- Umurezi;
- Ingobyi;
- Umurage.

Ubunyarwanda: Ubunyarwanda n'ukwiyumvamo ko:

- Uri uw'u Rwanda nawe rukaba urwawe;
- Usangiye isano n'abandi Banyarwanda;
- Ufite uburenganzira n'inshingano mu Rwanda.

(Feeling of belonging to Rwanda and recognition of related rights and duties)

Ndi Umunyarwanda: Ndi Umunyarwanda n'ukwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda n'ishema Abanyarwanda bifitiye kandi banafitiye Igihugu cyabo.

U Rwanda nk'Igihugu kimwe muri byinshi bigize Isi rugomba kuyibamo rwifitiye ishema, rwihesheje agaciro n'icyubahiro mu ruhando mpuzamahanga. Kwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda bihesha buri Munyarwanda agaciro n'ishema mu Rwanda no ku rwego rw'Isi. Ibi bituma Abanyarwanda batabitiranya n'abandi batuye Isi kuko bafite umwihariko wabo ushingiye ku bunyarwanda n'indangagaciro zibugize.

UMWANZURO RUSANGE

Mu ngamba zitandukanye zo gusana no kubaka bushya umuryango nyarwanda, Ndi Umunyarwanda ni intambwe yindi itewe mu rugendo rurerure rwo kwiyubaka, gukira ibikomere no kubaka ubwizerane mu Banyarwanda. Ni icyomoro ku bikomere bikomoka ku mateka mabi u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda banyuzemo. Irashimangira impinduka mu mitekerereze no mu isesengura ry'ibibazo.

Gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda ni urukingo n'isubyo ku cyahembera amacakubiri n'Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside (never Again) . Ndi Umunyarwanda ibere Abanyarwanda igihango n'umusingi w'amateka mashya abasubiza agaciro, ikanabahamagarira kurinda no gusigasira ibyo bamaze kugeraho.

Ni ngombwa gukomeza gushimangira no kunoza iyi gahunda ikinjira mu buzima bwa buri munsi bw'Abanyarwanda no mu nzego zose z'Igihugu, hakubakwa umuco

w'ibiganiro bihoraho mu baturage bigamije kuvoma mu muco w'Abanyarwanda ibyiza byafasha kubana, kubaho neza no kwibonera ibisubizo by'ibibazo bitandukanye.

Ibi birasaba gushyiraho gahunda ihamye kandi irambye mu byiciro byose by'amashuri y'u Rwanda.

Hakenewe imbaraga nyinshi n'igihe kugira ngo Ndi Umunyarwanda itugeze ku musaruro twifuza.

Iyi nyoborabiganiro rero izafasha abafasha abandi mu biganiro kuko byakunze kugaragara ko abatanga ibiganiro kenshi bagendera ku byo bita "ubwenge cyimeza" n'akamenyero k'ibiganiro. Abatanga ibiganiro bagomba gutegurwa, bakabiha agaciro, bakagendera ku nyoborabiganiro zateguwe kandi bakagerageza kwigisha ibyo nabo bamaze gushyikira kandi bemera.

IGICE CYA KABIRI: UBURYO BWO GUTANGA IBIGANIRO

Mu rwego rwo gufasha abategura ibiganiro kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda n'ababitanga, iki gice kiragaragaza intego z'ibiganiro,umusaruro utegerejwe, uburyo bwo gutegura no kuyobora ibiganiro. Kinagaragaza kandi ko ibiganiro bikwiriye guhabwa umwanya uhagije kugira ngo hatezwe imbere umuco wo kuganira no gusesengura mu gukemura ibibazo nk'imwe mu ndangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda.

2.1. Intego z'ibiganiro

Muri rusange ikigamijwe ni ugutoza Abanyarwanda umuco w'ibiganiro bishingiye k'ukuri hashimangirwa ubumwe n'ubwiyunge biciye muri "Ndi Umunyarwanda".

By'umwihariko ibiganiro bigamije ibi bikurikira:

- Gusobanura "Ndi Umunyarwanda"
- Kwibutsa agaciro k'ubunyarwanda

mu nzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'iterambere ry'Igihugu;

- Kuganira ku bikomere Abanyarwanda batewe n'amateka mabi y'Igihugu cyabo;
- Komorana ibikomere binyujijwe mu muco wo gusaba no gutanga imbabazi;
- Gusangira indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda zimika "Ndi Umunyarwanda"
- Kubaka umuco w'ibiganiro bishingiye ku ukuri;
- Kubaka icyizere n'ishema ryo kuba Umunyarwanda.

2.2. Umusaruro utegerejwe

Umusaruro utegerejwe ushingiye ku mpinduka mu mitekerereze mu myifatire no mu mikorere-myitwarire. Umusaruro ushobora kuboneka ibiganiro birangiye, mu gihe giciriritse nyuma y'ibiganiro no mu gihe kirekire. Ni yo mpamvu bikwiriye kumvikana ko "Ndi Umunyarwanda" ari ngari; ikiganiro kimwe nticyarema

impinduka zikenewe zose. Birasaba guhozaho no kugira ibiganiro bitandukanye ariko byuzuzanya. Bimwe mu bikubiye mu musaruro utegerejwe ni ibi bikurikira:

- “Ndi Umunyarwanda” irasobanutse;
- Kubaka no kurinda ubunyarwanda bigizwe ihame ;
- Isano Abanyarwanda basangiye ibaye ishingiro ry’uburenganzira n’inshingano bafite ku Rwanda;
- Abari bafite ibikomere bitandukanye n’abari bakiboshywe n’ubusembwa bushingiye ku mateka bwabateraga ipfunwe, agahinda n’ubwoba barabohotse;
- Indangagaciro z’ubunyarwanda zirimakajwe.

  Dushingiye k’umusaruro utegerejwe vuba, nyuma y’ibiganiro uzagaragazwa n’uko abitabiriye ibiganiro:

- Bumvise kimwe Ndi Umunyarwanda n’icyo igamije;
- Batangiye kwitekerezaho no gutekereza uko buri muntu ku giti cye yakubaka ubunyarwanda;

- Biyemeje kwiyubakamo Umunyarwanda ufite indangagaciro zijyanye no kwigirira icyizere, gukunda Igihugu, kugiteza imbere no guharanira ko ntacyagisubiza inyuma.

By'umwihariko, abasobanukiwe Ndi Umunyarwanda n'ubunyarwanda barangwa no kugwiza ibikorwa by'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kandi baharanira kubyamamaza kugira ngo byigishe abato n'abakuru bataragera kuri urwo rwego

2.3. Abo ibiganiro bigenewe

Ibiganiro bigenewe Abanyarwanda bose uretse ko ku cyiciro cy'abana hakenewe inyoborabiganiro yihariye ikoresha uburyo bw'amashusho, amagambo n'ingero biberanye n'abana. Bumwe mu buryo bwo kugera ku banyarwanda ni ukwifashisha inzego bakunze kugaragariramo. Zimwe muri izo nzego (ibyiciro) ni izi zikurikira:

- Abagize guverinoma;

- Abagize Inteko Ishinga Amategeko (Imitwe yombi);
- Abakozi mu nzego za Leta;
- Abayobozi mu nzego z'ibanze;
- Abikorera ;
- Diaspora;
- Imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta;
- Abanyamakuru;
- Abahanzi;
- Abanyamadini;
- Inzego z'urubyiruko;
- Inzego z'abagore;
- Koperative;
- Amashyirahamwe;
- Abarezi;
- Abanyeshuri;
- Amagereza;
- Abaturage ku rwego rw'Imidugudu;
- N'abandi.

2.4. Uburyo bwo kuyobora ibiganiro

Uzakoresha iyi nyoborabiganiro agomba kuzirikana ko itanze umurongo munini w'ibiganiro ariko itarimo byose ku byakoreshwa n'abayobora ibiganiro. Ibanga

rikaba kumenya byinshi kugira ngo utanga ikiganiro atange ibiri nkenerwa. Hari byinshi biri mu bitabira ibiganiro n'inyandiko zitandukanye zifashishijwe.

Ibiganiro bizaba byiza ababyitabiriye babigizemo uruhare rusesuye, bahawe umwanya uhagije kandi hubahirijwe nibura ibi bikurikira:

- Kureshya ibitekerezo mu bitabiriye ibiganiro ;
- Gutega amatwi no kubaha ibitekerezo bya buri wese;
- Gufatanya mu kubonera ibisubizo ibibazo by'abari mu biganiro;
- Kwirinda gufata uruhande uru n'uru mu mpaka ahubwo abaganira bagafashwa kugira icyo bahuriraho;
- Gusangizanya ubuhamya n'ubunararibonye;
- Gusesengura ingero;
- Gukorera mu matsinda;
- Gusuzuma ibyemejwe nyuma y'ibiganiro.

Abazifashisha iyi nyoborabiganiro barasabwa kuzashingira ibiganiro ku ngero zigaragaza gukunda Igihugu mu mateka ya kera n'aya vuba , indirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu , imigani n'ibisigo birata ubutwari no kwitangira u Rwanda. Habonetse ingero z'aho abitabiriye ibiganiro batuye byaba byiza kurushaho kuko umuntu aba ashaka gukora nka runaka ushimwa mu muryango kandi wagizwe icyitegererezo. Uyoboye ikiganiro kandi azagerageza kugihuza n'icyiciro cy'abaganirizwa.

Mu rwego rwo guhuza imiyoborere y'ikiganiro no kugira umubare uhagije w'abazajya bayobora ibiganiro, hazabaho igikorwa cyo guhugura abazahugura abandi ku rwego r'Igihugu, Uturere n'Imirenge.

2.5 Ibizifashishwa mu biganiro

Bimwe mu bishobora kwifashishwa mu biganiro ni ibi bikurikira:

- Filimi zisobanura isenyuka ry'ubunyarwanda n'intambwe imaze guterwa mu kubwubaka;
- Mudasobwa n'ibijyana na yo;
- Gutubura inyandiko z' ikiganiro;
- Flip chart n'amakaramu yayo;
- Amakaramu n'amakayi mato.

2.6. Incamake y'ibikubiye mu biganiro

Ibiganiro bigizwe n'ingingo z'ingenzi zikurikira:

- Ubunyarwanda mbere y'ubukoloni;
- Ugusenyuka k'ubunyarwanda;
- Urugendo rwo gusubiza agaciro ubunyarwanda;
- Ndi Umunyarwanda : Igihango n'icyomoro;
- Umwanzuro.

2.7. Imiterere y'ikiganiro

Uburebure bw'ikiganiro bushingira ku kiganiro ubwacyo, ukiyoboye, aho gikorerwa, abakitabiriye n'umubare wabo. Uyoboye ikiganiro akoresheje neza

uburyo bwavuzwe haruguru bwo gutuma abitabiriye ikiganiro bakigiramo uruhare rusesuye, batarenze (bikabije) abantu ijana (100), ikiganiro cyamara iminota itarenze 60 kugira ngo abatumirwa babone urubuga ruhagije rwo kungurana ibitekerezo no gutanga ubuhamya. **Ikiganiro kizasozwa n'ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Paul KAGAME, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda ribanziriza iyi nyoborabiganiro.**

Ibiganiro mu matsinda na byo byamara iminota 60. Nyuma y'amatsinda , abitabiriye ibiganiro bakongera guhurizwa hamwe mu minota 40 basangizanya ubuhamya bwo mu matsinda hanafatwa imyanzuro y'ikiganiro. Zimwe mu nsanganyamatsiko zo mu matsinda zaturuka mu biganiro n'abaturage (« interactions » mu biganiro, ibibazo cyangwa ingero biri mu gace ikiganiro cyabereyemo) ariko hari n'insanganyamatsiko rusange zishingiye ku kiganiro zikurikira:

- Ibikomere twasigiwe n'amateka n'uko twabikira ;
- Agaciro k'imbabazi mu muryango nyarwanda ;

- Ndi Umunyarwanda isubiza ite ibibazo Abanyarwanda batewe n'amateka?
- Inzitizi zabangamira Ndi Umunyarwanda n'uburyo zakemurwa.

2.8. Gusuzuma uko ubunyarwanda bwimakazwa

Nk'uko byagaragajwe mu musaruro utegerejwe, isuzuma rya gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda rizakorwa mu byiciro bitatu: mu gihe cya bugufi (nyuma y'ikiganiro), mu gihe giciriritse (hagati y'umwaka umwe n'imyaka itatu) no mu gihe kirerekire (hejuru y'imyaka itatu).

Nyuma y'ikiganiro hazasuzumwa ko abitabiriye ibiganiro basobanura "Ndi Umunyarwanda", indangagaciro na kirazira z'ubunyarwanda nk'uko byanditswe muri iyi nyoborabiganiro. Ikiganiro kizarangira kandi abakitabiriye bafashe icyemezo cyo gushyira imbere ubunyarwanda.

Ni byiza ko ikiganiro gitangizwa n'isuzuma ry'urwego abakitabiriye bariho ku bisobanuro baha Ndi Umunyarwanda n'ubunyarwanda muri rusange kugira ngo haze kumenyekana icyo bungutse nyuma y'ikiganiro. Yanabaza icyo bategereje ku kiganiro kugira ngo haze kurebwa ko banyunzwe.

Mu gihe giciriritse, mu rwego rwo gusuzuma umusanzu utangwa na Ndi Umunyarwanda mu mibanire n'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda, buri mwaka hazajya hakorwa isuzuma ry'ibikorwa byimakaza ubunyarwanda.

Ibikorwa bishobora kuba byakozwe n'amashyirahamwe, ibyiciro byagenewe ibi biganiro cyangwa abantu ku giti cyabo. Ibi bizafasha kubona ibikorwa by'intangarugero mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge n'ubunyarwanda by'umwihariko.

Mu gihe kirekire, hazasuzumwa impinduka Ndi Umunyarwanda yatanze mu buzima bw'Igihugu no ku gihagararo cy'u Rwanda mu Karere, Afurika no ku Isi.

Murwegorwokumenyaukoubunyarwanda bwimakazwa, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ifatanyije n'izindi nzego zitandukanye, izajya itoranya ibikorwa ntangarugero by'indashyikirwa byimakaza ubunyarwanda n'izindi ndangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda. Abafite ibikorwa byahize ibindi ni bo bazajya bavamo Abarinzi b'Igihango cy'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

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