



REPUBLIKA Y' U RWANDA

KOMISIYO Y'IGIHUGU Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE



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Inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda



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Iriburiro

U Rwanda ni Igihugu gifite amateka maremare agaragarira mu bihe bitandukanye—haba mbere y'ubukoloni, mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, ndetse na nyuma y'ubukoloni. Mbere y'ubukoloni, u Rwanda rwari Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe. Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kwasenyutse igihe Abakoloni n'Abamisiyoneri bari bamaze kugera mu Rwanda binyuze muri gahunda y'ubutegetsi bwabo ya 'mbacemo ibice kugirango mbategeke'. Ubu buryo bubwira bw'imategekere bwaranzwe n'amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya munyangire, n'itotezwa; byose bihungabanya uburenganzira bwa muntu. Ibi byarakuzwe kugera aho bibayeye imwe muri Jenoside mbi zabayeho mu mateka ya muntu—Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994, yaje guhagarikwa n'ingabo zahoze ari iza FPR-Inkotanyi zimaze gutsinda urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda.

Amateka mabi na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994 byashenye cyane Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, haba mu bijyanye n'ubukungu, imibereho myiza, ndetse na politiki, ku buryo byasize umuryango nyarwanda warahungabanye cyane. Bityo rero, kunga Abanyarwanda hagamijwe kongera kubaka Ubumwe bw'abo byabaye intego nyamukuru ya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ari nabyo umusingi w'amahoro n'iterambere birambye mu Rwanda.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yishimiye gusohora iki gitabo gikubiyemo uburyo u Rwanda rwakoresheje muri iyi inzira. Iki gitabo kigaragaza uburyo bwakoreshejwe, ibyagezweho, uruhare rw'inzego zitandukanye, imbogamizi ndetse n'uburyo zakemuka muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw'Abanyarwanda.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ikaba rero yizera ko iki gitabo kizafasha cyane muri gahunda z'iterambere muri rusange ku buryo cyanaba imfashanyigisho ku mahanga. Amahanga ntazamenya gusa uburyo u Rwanda rwakoresheje mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye byarwo, ahubwo azaboneraho no kureba uko yakwifashisha ubu buryo u Rwanda rwakoresheje mu gukemura ibibazo bitandukanye byugarije iyi isi.

Bishop John Rucyahana

Perezida wa Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye

Gushimira

Iki gitabo ku 'Inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda cyanditswe ku bufatanye bw'abantu n'inzego zitandukanye. Niyo mpamvu Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yifuje gushimira by'umwihariko abantu banyuranye n'inzego zitandukanye kubera uruhare bagize mu iyandikwa ry' iki gitabo.

Mbere na mbere, Komisiyo irashimira byimazeyo Leta y'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda bose kubera uruhare rukomeye bagaragaje, kandi bakomeje kugaragaza, bafatanyiriza hamwe kubaka no kubumbatira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Komisiyo irashimira cyane abayobozi b'Igihugu, by'umwihariko Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame, Umukuru w'Igihugu cy'u Rwanda, uhora iteka ari mugabwambere mu guharanira kubaka u Rwanda rwunze Ubumwe, rwiyeze kandi ruteye imbere.

Inzego nyinshi zifatanya na Komisiyo mu mikorere yayo nazo zikwiriye gushimwa cyane. Niyo mpamvu Komisiyo ishimira abantu bose bari mu nzego zose z'imiyoborere, Inteko ishingamamategeko, imiryango itari iya Leta harimo n'amadini, inzego z'umutekano, abikorera, ibitangazamakuru, n'izindi, kubera uruhare rukomeye bagaragaje, cyane cyane batanga inama zitandukanye ku myandikire y'iki gitabo.

Komisiyo irashimira kandi SEMPAX Ltd., kubera ko yatanze abashakashatsi kugirango bafashe mu kwandika iki gitabo. By'umwihariko, Komisiyo irashimira Dr Ezechiel Sentama wayoboye ibikorwa byose byari bijyanye no kwandika iki gitabo.

Byari kugorana ariko kwandika iki gitabo iyo hataba inkunga y'amafaranga yatanzwe n'ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rigamije iterambere (PNUD/UNDP). Nabo ni abo gushimwa cyane.

Komisiyo ishoje ishimira byimazeyo abagize inama yayo y'Ubutegersi ndetse n'Abakozi bayo ku ruhare rukomeye bagize mu iyandikwa ry'iki gitabo, haba mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi.

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Amagambo ahinnye

CDC	: Comités de Développement Communautaire
CDR	: Coalition pour la Défense de la République
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
EDPRS	: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
FAR	: Forces Armées Rwandaises
FPR	: Front Patriotique Rwandais
IRDP	: Institut de Recherche pour le Développement et la Paix
IPAR	: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research
JDR	: Jeunesse Démocratique Rwandaise
MDR	: Mouvement Démocratique Rwandais
MRND	: Mouvement Révolutionnaire National Pour le Développement
PAM	: Programme Alimentaire Mondial
PARMEHUTU	: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu
PL	: Parti Libéral
PSD	: Parti Social Democrate
RANU	: Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RGB	: Rwanda Governance Board
RPF	: Rwandese Patriotic Front
RTL	: Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SACCOs	: Savings and Credit Cooperatives
TIG	: Travaux d'Intérêt Général
TVET	: Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNAMIR	: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
VUP	: Vision 2020 Umurenge Program
YBE	: Years Basic Education

1. INTANGIRIRO

Guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda ni inkingi ikomeye izindi ngamba z'iterambere zigomba kubakiraho, bikaba n'umusingi wo kurwanya amacakubiri y'uburyo bwose ndetse n'ivangura byaranze amateka y'u Rwanda uko ibihe byagiye bisimburana. Nibwo buryo bwonyine bwafasha u Rwanda, ruvuye mu mateka mabi yanzwe n'amacakubiri yagejeje kuri Jenocide, gukataka mu bwiyunge na demukarasi.¹

Ni gute Igihugu cyakira ibikomere cyatewe n'amacakubiri yaranze amateka yacyo? Ni gute indangagaciro zatumaga icyo gihugu cyunga Ubumwe zakongera kubakwa? Mbese, ni gute Igihugu cyakira ingaruka z'amateka mabi yakiranye ku buryo bene cyo biyunga bakanunga Ubumwe? Mu magambo macye, ni gute umuryango wasenyutse bitewe n'amateka mabi wakongera kwiyubaka ku buryo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bugerwaho? Ibyo Igihugu cy'u Rwanda cyanyuzemo n'uburyo cyabyitwayemo bitanga ibisubizo kuri ibi bibazo.

1.1. U Rwanda-Icyitegererezo

U Rwanda ni Igihugu cyagize amateka mabi yanzwe n'amacakubiri, guheza, ndetse n'ihoterwa, kuva aho Abakoloni baziye, binyujijwe muri gahunda yabo ya 'mbacemo ibice kugirango mbayobore'. Ibi byarakuze kugeza aho bibayeye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga mu mwaka w'1994—imwe muri Jenocide z'indengakamere zabayeho mu mateka ya muntu. Muri icyo gihe cy'amezi atatu, abantu basaga miliyoni imwe barishwe², ndetse bisenya bikabije ubukungu bw'Igihugu, politiki, n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Uretse kuba Abatutsi baratsembwe, abandi banyarwanda benshi, ndetse n'abanyamahanga, nabo barishwe ku mpavu zitandukanye: bamwe bazira ko bari abanyapolitiki batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwateguye bukanakora Jenocide³, abandi bazira ko banze kwijandika muri Jenocide, cyangwa bazira ko bahishe Abatutsi⁴.

¹ NURC: "It is possible: Post Conflict Reconstruction", in NURC (2007). *Ingando: Impact Assessment on Unity and Reconciliation of Rwandans*, Kigali, p.10.

² Kugeza ubu abishwe bamaze kubarurwa bagera kuri 1.101.000 (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association, 2004; NURC 2007, 2009; Sentama 2012; Clark, 2010:12).

³ Hamwe na hamwe muri iki gitabo, nk'ahangaha, umusomyi arasanga ijamba Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi rivugwa handikwa gusa ijamba Jenocide kugirango imyandikire ikocamye cyangwa yisubiramo bitari ngombwa yirindwe.

⁴ Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association (2004). *Prevent and Banish Genocide forever, through universal active solidarity*. International Conference on Genocide, Intercontinental Hotel, Kigali, 4th-6th April.

Intsinzi y'urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda, rwatangijwe na FPR-Inkotanyi, yahumuriye Abanyarwanda cyane cyane ko yahagaritse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.⁵ Ariko amaraso menshi yari yaramaze kumeneka ku buryo ntacyo kwishimira cyane cyari gihari. Leta ntiyari igifitiwe icyizere kuko zimwe mu nzego zayo zari zarateguye kandi zigashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi⁶. Ibikorwa remezo by'Igihugu, harimo amashuri, ibitaro, inganda, inzego za leta, n'ibindi, byari byarashyutse bikabije, cyangwa byarasahuwe n'ingabo ndetse n'interahamwe zari zahunze zimaze gukora Jenoside. Ibyo kugendera ku mategeko byo ntibyari bikiriho kuko inzego z'ubutabera ndetse n'imiyoborere igendera ku mategeko byari bitagikora. Serivisi za Leta ntizari zigitangwa cyane cyane ko ntabushobozi bwa Leta bwari bugihari kuko benshi mu bakazi ba Leta bari barishwe muri Jenoside mu gihe abandi bari barahunze. Abari basigaye mu gihugu, harimo n'abarokotse, bese bari barahamutse, ndetse abenshi ari imfubyi, abapfakazi, ibihumbi bafite ubumuga; mbese muri rusange abaturage bari barahamutse kandi babayeho nabi. Ibi kandi byari bimeze gutya mu gihe hari hakiri n'umutekano mucye kuko ingabo zatsinzwe ndetse n'interahamwe zari zikomeje kwisuganya ngo zikomeze umugambi wazo mubisha wo gukomeza gukora Jenoside no gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo yayo.⁷

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'1994, Leta nshya—Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, yagiyeho tariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 igizwe n'ihuriro ry'imitwe ya politiki irangajwe imbere na FPR-Inkotanyi—yagombaga kwihutira kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw'Abanyarwanda bari barahamutse cyane ndetse baranihebye⁸. Kongera kugarurira icyizere abayobozi, ndetse byumwihariko kugarura isura nziza y'igipolisi n'igisirikari, byari ingenzi kuko inzego nk'izi zari zaragiye zigira uruhare runini muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku ngoma zabanje. Hagombaga rero kubaho igihe cy'inziyacyuho mbere y'uko u Rwanda rushya rwongera kubakwa. Intego nyamukuru rero yari ukuntu hakubakwa ubukungu, imibereho myiza, inzego za Leta, umutekano, ubutabera, no kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu gihugu cyashyutse n'abagituye barahamutse.⁹

⁵ Intambara yo kubohora u Rwanda yatangiye mu Ukwakira 1, 1990 ihagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Nyakanga, 1994.

⁶ Longari, Marco (2010). "The liberation" In *Paul Kagame and the Resilience of a people*, AFP: Jaguar Editions, p.49.

⁷ Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, mu nama y'umuryango w'ibihugu byakolonijwe n'Ubwongereza, San Francisco, March 7, 2003. (in Jha et al, 2004, p.114. In Jha et al., 2004:7, 22, 13-4.

⁸ NURC (2007). *Ingando: Impact Assessment on Unity and Reconciliation of Rwandans*, Kigali, p.10.

⁹ NURC (2009). *15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date*, October, Kigali, p.7; Longari Marco, 2010, p.49.

Usibye no guhangana n'izo mbogamizi, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ya nyuma y'umwaka w'1994 nanone yari irajwe ishingira no kongera kugarura isura nziza y'u Rwanda mu ruhando mpuzamahanga. Ubushake bwa politiki bwayo bwagaragariye mu murongo ngenderwaho w'iterambere yashyizeho wari wubakiye ku nkingi enye arizo: Imiyoborere myiza, Ubutabera, Umutekano, Ubukungu n'Imibereho myiza y'abaturage.¹⁰ Ku isonga rya gahunda zose ariko hari hari Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; umutekano w'u Rwanda n'abarutuye; Uburenganzira bwa muntu; gukorera mu mucyo no gusohozza inshingano; gucyura, kubakira no gutuza za miliyoni z'impunzi zari ziri mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda (aribyongereye Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya n'u Burundi); gushyiraho umusingi nyawo wo kuzahura ubukungu, ndetse no guha abaturage uburyo bwo kugira uruhare mu miyoborere y'Igihugu cyabo.¹¹ Ibi byose kandi byagombaga buri gihe gukorwa mu buryo buteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge¹². Amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yasinywe muri Kanama 1993 hagati ya Leta y'icyo gihe na FPR nayo yari yagaragaje Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nk' "inzira ya ngombwa ku mutekano n'iterambere by'u Rwanda, demokarasi, amahoro n'umutuzo, iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko, ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ndetse n'iterambere rusange."¹³

Nyuma yo gucyura impunzi zabarirwaga mu ma miliyoni, kongera gutuza abari baravuye mu byabo (barahungiyeye hagati mu gihugu), guhagarika udutero shuma twa nyuma ya 1994 twagabwaga n'ingabo zakoze Jenocide zatsinzwe ndetse n'interahamwe, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yateguye kandi iyobora ibiganiro nyunguranabitekezo ku nzego z'ibanze ndetse no ku rwego rw'Igihugu kugira ngo Abanyarwanda baganire ku mateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo, ariko kandi banashakire hamwe uko u Rwanda rwakongera kwiyubaka.¹⁴

Ni muri urwo rwego ibiganiro nyunguranabitekezo byinshi byabayeho ahanini byibanze ku ngingo zirebana n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, demokarasi, ubutabera, ubukungu ndetse n'umutekano. Umwanzuro wavuye muri ibi biganiro wabaye uw'uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari inkingi ndakuka izindi ngamba z'iterambere zikwiriye kubakiraho,

¹⁰ MIDIMAR (2014). *Repatriation and Reintegration Programs for Rwandan refugees & An overview on socio-economic progress in Rwanda*, Kigali, p.21.

¹¹ Jha, Uma, Shanker & Surya, Narayan, Yadav (2004). *Rwanda : Toward Reconciliation, Good Governance and Development*. Delhi : Association of Indian Africanist, p.7

¹² Lambourne, Wendy (2004). *Post-conflict Peacebuilding: Meeting Human Needs for Justice and reconciliation, Peace, Conflict and development*. Issue four, p.4

¹³ NURC (2010). *Background of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission*, Kigali, p. 3-5.

¹⁴ NURC (2009). *Ibid.*, p.7.

ndetse bukaba n'intangiriro yo kurwanya ivangura n'ihazwa iryo ari ryo ryose byagiye biranga amateka y'Abanyarwanda.¹⁵ Undi mwanzuro wabaye ko ari ngombwa ko umuco w'u Rwanda wongera kunozwa biciye mu guteza imbere indangagaciro ziboneye zifasha Abanyarwanda kugira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge gahunda zabo. Kugira ngo icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda cyo kuba ari Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe, kigendera kuri demokarasi kandi gikungahaye kigerweho, zimwe mu ndangagaciro zishingiye ku muco w'u Rwanda zirifashishwa. Zimwe muri izo ndangagaciro ni: gukunda Igihugu cy'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, imyitwarire myiza, imico myiza kandi ishimwa na bese, kubana n'abandi mu mahoro, gufatanywa, kwiyubaha, ubunyangamugayo no kumenya kwihangana.¹⁶

Umwe mu myanzuro y'ingenzi yavuye mu manama nyunguranabitekerezo twavuze haruguru, ndetse binajyanye n'uko amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yo muri 1993 yabiteganyaga, yabaye ugushyirwaho kwa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri Werurwe 1999 ifite inshingano zo guteza imbere gahunda n'ingamba zose zijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yabaye koko imbarutso nyayo mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge binyuze mu bikorwa n'ingamba nziza yagiye ishyiraho (ibiganiro ku nzego z'ibanze, inama zo ku rwego rw'Igihugu, amahugurwa, ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, ubushakashatsi, n'ibindi).

Ni muri uru rwego Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagiyehe nyuma y' 1994 na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bashingiyeye ku muco nyarwanda mu gushyiraho gahunda z'iterambere zishingiye k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungekandi ku rwego rwo hejuru. Kugira ngo bigerweho, byabaye byiza ko ibisubizo biva mu baturage ubwabo kandi bigendeye ku muco w'u Rwanda, aribyo byabyaye gahunda z'iterambere rirambye; inyinshi muri zo zinavugurura amwe mu mahame mpuzamahanga yagaragaraga nk'atituhisha cyangwa adafasha neza mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Zimwe muri izi gahunda zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda zikanaba umwihariko w'u Rwanda ni: Umuganda, Girinka Munyarwanda, Imihigo, Abunzi, Gacaca, Ingando, Ubudehe, Inama y' Igihugu y'Umushyikirano, Umwihereho, Ndi Umunyarwanda, Itorero, n'izindi.

Ubushake bwa politiki ndetse n'imiyoborere myiza, byakomeje kwimakazwa mu bikorwa byose bya FPR, nibyo byatumye izi gahunda zishinga imizi. Ubu, mu Rwanda, kubaka Ubumwe ntibigarukira gusa ku kugarura Ubumwe u Rwanda rwahoranye mbere y'ubukoloni; ahubwo Ubumwe burubakwa ku rwego rwo hejuru; ni ukuvuga Ubumwe burenga imibiri z'u Rwanda, bugakwira mu karere, Afrika, ndetse no ku isi yose.

¹⁵ NURC (2010). *Ibid.*, p.3-5.

¹⁶ NURC (2009). *Itorero ry'Igihugu—Policy note and strategic plan: Making national and community service work in Rwanda*, May, Kigali.

1.2. Impamvu y'iki gitabo n'uburyo cyanditswemo

Imyaka 22 irashize u Rwanda rutangiye inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, kuva aho Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994 ihagarikiwe na FPR. Kugeza ubu ariko, iyi nzira yari itarigeze yandikwaho birambuye, akaba ari cyo iki gitabo kigamije gukora. Hagendewe ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda, iki gitabo kigamije gutanga umusanzu w'uburyo umuryango wasenyutse bitewe n'amateka mabi wakongera kwiyubaka ku buryo Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bugerwaho. Uyu musanzu uratangwa hagendewe ku buryo u Rwanda—Igihugu cyaranzwe n'amateka mabi y'amacakubiri, itotezwa na Jenoside—rwabyitwayemo ruteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, binyujijwe muri gahunda z'Abanyarwanda ubwabo kandi zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda, uherye muri Nyakanga 1994.

Iki gitabo rero kigararagaza ishusho y'inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda, mu buryo bufasha ugisoma kumenya neza ukuntu mu gihe cy'imyaka 22, uherye mu mwaka w' 1994, u Rwanda, nk'Igihugu cyari cyaranyutse kubera amateka mabi yaranze n'amacakubiri na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, cyivanye muri ayo mateka mabi kigashobora kuba intangarugero mu bumwe n'ubwiye. N'ubwo guteza imbere Ubumwe n' Ubwiye mu Rwanda ari inzira ndende kandi itoroshye,¹⁷ iki gitabo kirerekana ukuntu Abanyarwanda bagaragaje ko bafite ubushake, ubushobozi no kwihangana kugira ngo bikemurire ibibazo. Iki gitabo rero cyiribanda gusa ku buryo u Rwanda rwitwaye mu nzira yubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw'Abanyarwanda, bitavuze ariko ko umusanzu rw'umuryango mpuzamahanga mu gukemura ibibazo by'Abanyarwanda wirengagijwe.

Mu kwandika iki gitabo, hifashishijwe uburyo butandukanye. Hasesenguwe inyandiko nyinshi zishingiye ahanini ku bushakashatsi bunyuranye bwakozwe ku mateka y'u Rwanda no ku byakozwe mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Hanakozwe kandi ibiganiri n'abaturage, impuguke, n'izindi nararibonye ku bijyanye n'amateka y'u Rwanda, amahoro; by'umwihariko, k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye.

¹⁷ MINECOFIN (2012). *Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies—2013-2018*, Kigali, p.82.

1.3. Ibikubiye muri iki gitabo

Iki gitabo kigizwe n'ibice 8 harimo intangiriro n'umusozo. Nyuma y'intangiriro, igice cya kabiri kivuga ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda. Iki gice kigaragaza ko u Rwanda rwabayeho cyera cyane mbere y'Ubukoloni ari Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe kandi kigizwe n'ibyciro bitatu by'Abanyarwanda: Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa, bose basangiye Ubunyarwanda. Iki gice kandi gisobanura ukuntu Ubumwe n'Ubunyarwanda byasenywe mu gihe cy'ubukoloni binyuze muri politiki mbi y'Abakoloni ya 'mbacemo ibice kugirango mbayobore', n'ukuntu ibyciro by'Abanyarwanda byahinduwe amoko atandukanye, ari nako Abakoloni bababibagamo amacakubiri n'inzangano. Aya macakubiri yaje no kugenderwaho na Leta zayoboye u Rwanda nyuma y'uko rubonye ubwigenge mu mwaka w' 1962. Iki gice kigaragaza neza ukuntu ubutegetsu bwo mu Rwanda kuva nyuma y'ubwigenge kugera muri 1994 bwaranzwe n'imiyoborere ishingiye ku ivangura n'itotezwa ry'Abatutsi ndetse n'abandi batavugaga rumwe mu by'ubutegetsu, aho umuco wo kudahana wari warimakajwe, ari nabyo byabyaye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Iki gice gisoza kigaragaza ukuntu Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'1994 yahagaritswe n'instinzi ya FPR mu rugamba rwayo rwo kubohora u Rwanda, kandi ko Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 irangajwe imbere na FPR yafashe Ubumwe n'Ubwiye nk'inkingi ndakuka y'ahazaza h'u Rwanda.

Igice cya gatatu kivuga muri rusange uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiye byumvwa n'inzobere zitandukanye, ndetse n'uko byumvwa n'uko byubakwa mu Rwanda. Iki gice kigaragaza ko mu Rwanda Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ari inzira isubiza amaso inyuma ikareba ibyaranze amateka y'u Rwanda hagamijwe kureba ibyateye amacakubiri yo mu gihe cyashize kugira ngo bikosorwe hubakwe ejo hazaza harangwa n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye birambye.

Igice cya kane cyibanda ku ngamba na gahunda zakoreshejwe/zikoreshwa mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda. Ubushake bwa politiki n'imiyoborere myiza, byimirijwe imbere na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda na Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, nibyo musingi. Uyu musingi rero ni wo amategeko, ingamba, n'inzego za Leta byubakiyeho. Iki gice kandi cyerekana ko inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye itagerwaho hatabayeho kwita no ku zindi ngamba nk'imiyoborere myiza, ubutabera, umutekano, iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abatwaga. Ni muri uwo murongo kandi ingamba zishingiye ku Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, cyane cyane izishingiye ku muco nyarwanda zigaragazwa.

Igice cya gatanu kivuga ku byagezweho, cyangwa umusaruro wavuye mu ngamba na gahunda ziteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda zavuzwe mu gice cya kane. Ni muri urwo rwego rero iki gice kivuga ukuntu nyuma yo gushyiraho urufatiro ruboneye (Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Imiyoborere myiza, Itegeko nshinga, Politiki y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge,...), izo ngamba zatumye habaho umwanya w'ibiganiro byubaka kandi byunga Abanyarwanda. Ibi kandi byatumye habaho kuvugisha ukuri, habaho ibikorwa by'Ubwiyunge aribyo: kwemera ibyaha, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi, ndetse hanabaho itangwa ry'imbabazi. Ikindi cyagezweho ni ukomoka kw'ibikomere, kuvugisha ukuri, gushyira hamwe ndetse no kwizerana. Na none kandi, izi ngamba na gahunda byagejeje ku butabera bwunga, kwihesha agaciro ku banyarwanda, no kwimakaza Ubanyarwanda mbere y'ikindi cyose.



Igice cya gatandatu kigaragaza imbogamizi zikiri mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Iki gice cyerekana ko n'ubwo hari byinshi byiza kandi byo gushimwa byagezweho mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, haracyari ibibazo bigomba gukemurwa. Iby'ingutu muri ibyo ni ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide, guhakana no gupfobya Jenocide, ibikomere bitaromwaga burundu, imitungo yasahuwe cyangwa se yangijwe, ndetse n'ibibazo cy'ubukene butaranduka.

Igice cya karindwi kigendera ku byakozwe n'ibyagezweho mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ndetse n'imbogamizi muri iyi nzira kigaragaza ingamba zafashwe, cyangwa zirimo gufatwa mu kurushaho guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Iki gice cyerekana uko izi imbogamizi zigomba gukurwaho, ndetse kikanagaragaza ko ingamba zakoreshejwe kugeza ubu mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda zikwiye kurushaho gushimangirwa.

Igice cya nyuma ni umwanzuro. Iki gice kigaragaza umwihariko w'u Rwanda mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, kigasaza gishimangira ko ibyo u Rwanda rwakoze mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bishobora kubera isomo amahanga.

U Rwanda

Ku buso bwa kilometero kare 26,338, Repubulika y'u Rwanda ni Igihugu cyigenga gihereye hagati hashyira uburasirazuba bwa Afurika. Ni Igihugu kidakora ku nyanja kandi kiri muni gato y'umurongo ugabanya isi mo kabiri, kikaba kiri ku butumburuke bwo hejuru aribyo byatumye kimenyekana cyane ku izina ry' *Igihugu cy'imisozi igihumbi*.

U Rwanda ni kimwe mu bihugu bigize akarere k'ibiyaga bigari, ndetse na kimwe mu bigize Umuryango w'ibihugu by'Afurika y'uburasirazuba, uw'ibihugu byakoronijwe n'Abongereza ndetse n'uw'ibihugu bivugaga ururimi rw'igifaransa. U Rwanda ruhana imbibi n'Igihugu cya Uganda mu majyaruguru, Tanzania iburasirazuba, u Burundi mu majyepfo, na Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo, iburengerazuba¹⁸.

U Rwanda rugizwe n'ibidukikije byiganjemo imisozi, n'umukenke mu burasirazuba, hamwe n'ibiyaga byinshi; ubutaka bukaba ahanini bukorerwaho imirimo y'ubuhinzi. Uretse Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo, u Rwanda ruzwiho kuba aricyo gihugu cyonyine ku isi kibonekamo ingagi (ziba muri pariki y'ibirunga mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda) kandi zishobora gusurwa nta nkomyi. Ikirere cy'u Rwanda kirabereye, kikaba kigizwe n'ibihe bibiri birangwa n'imvura n'ibindi bibiri by'izuba buri mwaka.¹⁹ Ururimi ruvugwa kandi ruhuriweho n'Abanyarwanda bose ni Ikinyarwanda, mu gihe Igifaransa n'Icyongereza ari izindi ndimi z'amahanga zikoreshwa.

Ku bijyanye n'imiyoborere, u Rwanda rugizwe n'Intara, Uturere, Imirenge, Utugari, n'Imidugudu. Intara ni 4 hongeweho umujyi wa Kigali, Uturere ni 30, Imirenge ni 416, Utugari ni 2,148, naho imidugudu ikaba 14,837. Akarere niko rwego rw'ibanze mu birebana n'imiyoborere y'abaturage, naho umudugudu ukaba ariwo rwego ruto, binavuze ko arirwo rwegereye abaturage cyane.²⁰

Ibarura rusange riheruka ryo mu mwaka w' 2012 ryagaraje ko u Rwanda rutuwe n'abaturage 10,515,973 aho 52% muribo ariigitsina gore naho 48% bakaba igitsina gabo.²¹

¹⁸ Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2014. <http://www.gov.rw/Geography>

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ MINALOC (2013). Biboneka <http://www.minaloc.gov.rw/index.php?id=450>.

²¹ National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda-Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2012). *Rwanda Population and Housing Census 2012*, Kigali.

2. AMATEKA Y'UBUMWE N'AMACAKUBIRI MU RWANDA

Iki gice kiravuga ku bumwe n'amacakubiri byaranze amateka y'u Rwanda mu bijyanye n'imibanire y'abantu n'abandi ndetse na politiki. Iki gice kigaragaza ukuntu mbere y'ubukoloni u Rwanda rwari Igihugu kitavogerwa kandi cyunze Ubumwe kandi kikanasesengura ukuntu amateka mabi y'u Rwanda yaranzwe n'ivangura, akarengane no gutoteza, umuco wo kudahana, byose bishingiye ku ngengabitekerezo ya *"mbacemo ibice kugirango mbayobore"* ndetse n'iyivangura rishingiye ku moko byazanywe n'ubutegetsu bw'Abakoloni hamwe n'abamisiyoneri; maze bishimangirwa n'ubutegetsu bwa nyuma y'ubukoloni kugeza mu mwaka w'1994.

Hashingiye ku mateka y'imibanire y'abantu n'abandi, na politiki, iki gice kigaragaza ukuntu amateka mabi y'u Rwanda kuva aho Abakoloni baziye yaranzwe no gusenya indangangaciro z'Ubumwe zahozeho mu muryango nyarwanda. Ku bw'inyungu zabo bwite, Abakoloni n'Abamisiyoneri bashyizeho uburyo bwo gucama ibice Abanyarwanda babashyira mu moko atandukanye bagambiriye ihezwa rya bamwe mu muryango nyarwanda ari nabyo byabyaye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994.

Iki gice kirangira gishimangira ko iyi Jenocide yahagaritswe n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo binyuze mu rugamba rwo kwibohora rwatangijwe na FPR, kandi ko kuva ubwo, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byimakajwe kugira ngo hubakwe ahazaza heza h'u Rwanda.

2.1. U Rwanda rwa mbere y' ubukoloni

U Rwanda ni Igihugu cyabayeho cyera mbere y'ubukoloni nk'Igihugu cyigenga kandi cyari gifite uburyo bwihariye bw'imikorere y'inzego za politiki, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza, umuco wacyo, n'imigenzo yacyo. Mbere y'ubukoloni na mbere y'uko Abamisiyoneri ba Kiliziya Gatulika bagera mu Rwanda, Abanyarwanda, mu byiciro bari barimo—Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa—bari bunze ubumwe kandi biyumvamo ubunyarwanda n'ishema ryo kurinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyabo bashyize hamwe, aho bari bazi neza ko bafite ubwenegihugu bubahuje—ubunyarwanda. Ibi rero binyomoza amagambo y'abanditsi bamwe na bamwe bavuga ko Abanyarwanda bari bagabanyijwemo amoko atatu atandukanye y'Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa.

2.1.1. Ubumwe mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, Ubumwe bwari ubw'Abanyarwanda bose aribo Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Bari bagize ibi byiciro bitatu ariko bitari amoko, ahubwo byari ibyiciro bishingiye ku mirimo bakoraga. Abari bagize ibi byiciro uko ari bitatu bari bazi ko bose ari Abanyarwanda, kandi bakazirikana ko u Rwanda ari Igihugu cyabo, kandi ko nta muntu n'umwe washoboraga kuvuga ko agifiteho uburenganzira kurusha undi. Ibyo Abanyarwanda batahuriragaho ni uburyo babagaho mu bikorwa byabo ngengabukungu: bamwe bari aborozi b'inka, abandi ari abahinzi, naho abandi bakaba ababumbyi n'abahigi. Ku bijyanye n'umuco, ubworozi bw'inka ni bwo bwafatwaga nk'ubukungu nyamukuru. Umunyarwanda wese washoboraga gutunga inka nyinshi yajyaga mu cyiciro cy'Abatutsi. Abasigaye bafite inka nkeya cyangwa ahanini babeshwaho n'ubuhinzi bitwaga Abahutu, mu gihe abari babeshejweho no guhiga no kubumba bitwaga Abatwa. Igikwiriye gushimangirwa ahangaha ni uko hariho guhindagurika cyane mu mibereho y'Abanyarwanda, aho umuntu yashoboraga kuva mu cyiciro akajya mu kindi bitewe n'uko yahinduye imirimo.

Ibyo byiciro by'Abanyarwanda, ari byo Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa, byahozeho rero mbere y'ubukoloni; byose hamwe bikaba byari byunze Ubumwe kandi bigize inyabutatu y'Abanyarwanda. Inzego n'uburyo bw'imiyoborere mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, zatumaga habaho iterambere rihoraho n'ubwo ritihutaga cyane. Nta na rimwe abari mu myanya y'ubutegetsu mbere y'ubukoloni bigeze bagambirira guheza cyangwa kurimbura kimwe muri ibi byiciro byari bigize umuryango nyarwanda. Na none kandi nta na rimwe rubanda rwa giseseka rwigeze rwishora mu bwicanyi nk'uko byagenze mu mwaka w' 1994, aho ubwicanyi bwanateguwe n'inzego z'ubuyobozi za Leta. Bimwe by'ingenzi byahurizaga hamwe Abanyarwanda, bakaba umwe, mbere y'ubukoloni nibyo bigaragazwa mu gika gikurikira.

2.1.2. Ibyarangaga Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mbere y'Ubukoloni

Hari ibintu byinshi byatumaga ibyiciro by'Abanyarwanda uko byari bitatu, ari byo Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa, byunga Ubumwe, ari nabyo bigaragaza neza ko gufata ibyo byiciro nk'amoko nta shingiro bifite.

a) Umuryango/Inzu

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoloni, abantu bose—hatitawe ku byiciro byabo nk'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa—bari bahuriye ku miryango imwe/inzu; iby'amoko byo ntibari banabizi, ahubwo babanaga bashingiye ku kibahuje aricyo umuryango/inzu.²²

Inzobere mu by'amateka y'abantu bahuriza ku kintu kimwe ko umuryango mugari wari ingenzi cyane kuruta ikindi kintu icyo ari cyo cyose mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoloni. Izi nzobere mu mateka zemeranya nanone ko Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa byari ibyiciro by'imibereho kandi ko abo muri ibi byiciro bashoboraga kuboneka mu muryango umwe, ko byose byahuriraga cyangwa bikaboneka mu nzu zimwe. Abanyarwanda bose; Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa, bari basangiye kandi bahuriye mu miryango migari 18²³.

Umuryango mugari wari urwego mbonezamubano aho abarugize bemeraga ko bakomoka kandi bahuje igisekuru, cyaba ari igisekuru nyakuri cyangwa ikivugwa mu migani bitarabayeho. Ni icyita rusange gihuriza hamwe imiryango myinshi kandi abayirimo atari ngombwa ko bose baba baziranye.

Ukugaragara kwa buri cyiciro, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa muri buri muryango, ni kimwe mu bintu bifite ubusobanuro bukomeye mu byarangaga Abanyarwanda.²⁴ Aha, D'Heltefelt, mu bushakashatsi bwe bwarangiye mu mwaka w'1950, yakoze icyegeranyo ku bushakashatsi bwari buraho ku muryango mugari aho yagaragaje nawe ko imiryango yose yahurirwagamo n'Abahutu, Abatutsi, n'Abatwa. Yashimangiye kandi ko hatitawe ku kuba umuntu ari Umuhutu,

²² Gatwa, Tharcisse (2005). *The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the Rwandan Crises, 1990-1994*, Eugene Oregon: Regnum Books International, p.11.

²³ Bivugwa muri rusange ko imiryango ari 18, n'ubwo bamwe nka Alexis Kagame bavuga ko ari 15: Imiryango 18 ikunze kuvugwa ni: *Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abagesera, Abaha, Abahondogo, Abakono, Abanyakarama, Abashambo, Abashingwe, Abasindi, Abasinga, Abasita, Abatsobe, Abazigaba, Abega, Abenengwe, Abongera, Abungura*. (Reba D'Heltefelt, M. (1971). *Les Clans du Rwanda ancien: Eléments d'ethnohistoire et d'ethnosociologie*, Terrvuren: MRAC; De Lacger, Ruanda).

²⁴ Gatwa, (2005), p.10

Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa, abantu bo mu muryango mugari umwe bahuriraga no ku bindi bintu nk'Ubuse binshigiye ku nyamaswa nk'ibibaranga (totem), imyemere mu by'iyobokamana, imigenzo n'imizirizo, n'ibindi.²⁵

Iyo miryango rero yahurizaga hamwe Abanyarwanda bose hatitawe ku byiciro by'imibereho yabo nk'Abahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa, kandi igatuma bashobora gufatanya. Urugero rufatika ni Ubuse, nk'isano ishingiyeye ku bucuti hagati y'abantu, bwagaragaraga mu migenzo imwe n'imwe nko kuzirura. D'Heltefelt kandi asobanura 'Ubuse' nk'imwe mu nshingano y'umuhango wo kwera no kwirabura mu muco nyarwanda mu gihe cy'icyunamo ndetse no kweza cyangwa gutunganya ahabaga hagiye kubakwa inzu cyangwa gutahwa iyuzuye.²⁶

b) Ururimi rumwe-ikinyarwanda

Binyuze mu rurimi, abantu biyumvamo ko bahuriye mu muryango umwe aho basangiye ibyo bifuzaga kugeraho, ibitekerezo no kumva ibintu kimwe. Kuvuga indimi zitandukanye byakunzwe gufatwa nka kimwe mu biranga amoko atandukanye y'abantu.²⁷ Mu Rwanda ibi ntibyigeze bibaho. Mu Rwanda, ikinyarwanda—ururimi kavukire rw'Abanyarwanda, rurabahuza bese. Mu by'ukuri, u Rwanda rufite byinshi byahamya ukubaho k'umuco umwe mu bihe bitandukanye.²⁸ Umwihariko wo kugira ururimi rumwe bishimangira iby'uko kuba umwe. Ikinyarwanda nk'ururimi, si uburyo cyangwa intwari ifasha gusa Abanyarwanda kuvugana no kumvikana; ahubwo ni n'ingobyi y'ubumenyi bumwe, yo kureba kimwe no kumenya kimwe uko isi iteye, ndetse inabafasha kwiyumvisha neza kimwe ku miyoborere.

c) Umuco, imyemerere, n'imigenzo myiza

Ni ingenzi cyane gusobanukirwa ukuntu uguhuriza hamwe mu mibanire n'umuco ndetse n'indangagaciro ari byo byagengaga imibereho ya buri muni mu Rwanda.

Mu by'ukuri, ubuzima mu Rwanda bwarangwaga n'iyobokamana rimwe, no kwizera ko hari Umuremyi umwe kandi usumba byose, ndetse no kubaha abakurambere mu gihe cyo guterecyera kugira ngo bacururuke.

²⁵ D'Heltefelt, M. (1971). *Les Clans du Rwanda ancien: Eléments d'ethnohistoire et d'ethnosociologie*, Terrvuren: MRAC; De Lacger, Ruanda; Gatwa, T. (2005), p. 10

²⁶ D'Heltefelt, M. (1971). *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁷ Gasarabwe, E. (1978). *Geste Rwanda*, Paris: Union générale d'éditions, p.29, In Gatwa, T. (2005), p.16.

²⁸ MINEDUC (2006). *The teaching of history of Rwanda: a participatory approach, For Secondary Schools in Rwanda A Reference book for the teacher*. National Curriculum Development Centre: The Regents of the University of California.

Iyi myemerere, ndetse n'indi myinshi, yatumaga abantu babayeho bunze Ubumwe. Iyi myumvire y'ubuzima yari irenze kuba imyumvire isanzwe; yatangiraga mbere yo kuvuka, kandi ikanakomeza na nyuma yo gupfa. Bwari ubuzima buri wese agomba kugiramo uruhare kubera ko abagize umuryango mugari bari bazi ko batabagaho ku bwabo gusa, ahubwo babaho ku bw'umuryango wabo mugari, bakagira uruhare mu mibereho itunganye y'abakurambere no gutegura ahazaza binyuze mu babakomokaho. Uyu muryango w'ubuzima wagengwaga n'isano yo gushyira hamwe.²⁹ Indangagaciro zihuriweho zirimo gukunda Igihugu, ubunyangamugayo, ubutwari, kuba abatarushwa, gufasha abababaye bakeneye kwitabwaho, ndetse no kuziririza ibintu bimwe na bimwe nko kwica abana n'abagore, zari indangagaciro zari zishinze imizi mu muco nyarwanda.

d) Igihugu kimwe n'imibereho imwe

Abanyarwanda bahuzwaga kandi no gusangira ubutaka (Igihugu) babaga bose batuyeho, kandi baturanye.³⁰ Nta gace cyangwa akarere kabaga kihariye ku Bahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa. Bose baturaga bavanze. Barafatanyaga bivuye ku kuba ari abaturanyi. Abanyarwanda bari babanye mu mahoro kandi bagashyingirana nta kuvangura. Hari kandi ikindi kintu Abanyarwanda bakoraga nta kuvangura cyagaragazaga ukuntu bakundanaga: kunywa (kunywa amaraso y'inshuti yawe magara nk'ikimenyetso cy'uko ntakizabatandukanya).

Mu kwanzura ku byavuzwe haruguru, ni ngombwa gushimangira ko, nk'uko Gasarabwe abivuga, iyo ubwoko runaka buza gusobanurwa hashingiwe ku ngingo zimwe na zimwe nk'imibanire rusange, idini, ubutaka kavukire, uririmi; bivuze ko ubwo Abanyarwanda bose-Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa- bari gukora ubwoko bumwe, buhuriye ku muco umwe, ururimi rumwe, ndetse n'ubutaka (Igihugu).³¹

²⁹ Gatwa, T. (2005). Ibid., p.13.

³⁰ Sebasoni, Manzi, Servilien (2000), *Les Origines du Rwanda*. Collection « Points de vue », Paris : L'harmattan, p.32.

³¹ Gasarabwe, E. (1978). Ibid., p.16.

e) Umwami

Mu gihe cya mbere y'ubukoloni, hari umurunga wahurizaga Abanyarwanda hamwe hatitawe ku mitandukanire yabo. Uwo murunga wari *Umwami* ndetse n'*Umugabekazi* barangwaga n'imiyo borere ihuza Abanyarwanda.

Ubuvinganizo nyamvugo ndetse n'izindi nyandiko zitandukanye zo mu Rwanda zigaragaza ko u Rwanda rwaranzwe n'Ubumwe bukomeye, ibisekuru n'ibisekuru, kandi ko mbere y'Ubukoloni u Rwanda rwari Igihugu gihuriye ku muco umwe n'imategekere, kiyobowe ku rwego rwo hejuru n'*Umwami*. Uyu murungu wari ufite inzego zihariye n'umuco byungaga kandi bigatuma abantu bo mu byiciro bitandukanye (Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa) babana mu bwumvikane. Umwami wafatwaga nk'ipfundo ry'Ubumwe; yarazwi nk'*Umwami wa rubanda*, bisobanuye "Umwami w'abaturage bose". Umwami, utaragiraga icyiciro abarizwamo, yashyirwagaho binyuze mu mihango yakorwaga n'urwego rwihariye ruzwi nk' "Abiru". Umwami yabaga ari hejuru y'ibyiciro byose by'Abanyarwanda kuko yari ahagarariye Igihugu, kandi akaba umuhuza w'abaturage be n'Imana.³²

Abanyarwanda bose bemeraga ko Umwami yari 'rugabishabirenge'; ni ukuvuga umwami iteka ryose wamenyaga kandi agaharanira ibyiza kuri bose. Abanyarwanda kandi bari bazi ko kuba Umwami yari afite izo nshingano zo guharanira icyiza; nta munyarwanda numwe yahezaga.³³

Mu by'ukuri, umwami yari inkingi ya mwamba ku banyarwanda bose. Abasizi bamwitaga Sebantu (bivuze umubyeyi w'Abanyarwanda bose). Nyuma yo kwimikwa, umwami ntiyabaga agifite icyiciro abarizwamo, ahubwo yabaga ari umwami w'abaturage bose nta vangura. Mu buzima bwabo bwa buri muni, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa basabanaga n'umwami. Byari bibujijwe guheza uwo ariwe wese kubera indeshyo cyangwa ibara bye. Uwashakaga wese yashoboraga kubonana n'umwami kandi ntawahazwaga ibwami.³⁴

Uko inzego zari zubatse, haba ibwami nyirizina, mu ngabo, mu mitegekere, na byo byagaragazaga ubu bumwe bw'Igihugu. Imvugo ya politiki cyangwa imbwirwaruhamwe zo mu gihe cya mbere y'ubukoloni zari imvugo zunga Abanyarwanda muri bya byiciro uko ari bitatu babarizwagamo. Ni ngombwa kandi kwibutsa ko impamvu nyamukuru yashingirwagaho ku kugera ku butegetsi itari iyo guhagararira icyiciro runaka, ahubwo hashingirwaga ku bushobozi.³⁵

³² NURC (2005). *Ibid.*, p.8

³³ Buri murungu wabaga urimo ibyiciro byose by'Abanyarwanda (Abahutu, Abatutsi n' Abatwa).

³⁴ Republic of Rwanda (1999). *The unity of Rwandans: before the colonial period, and under the colonial rule, and under the first Republic*, Office of the president of the Republic, Kigali, p.6.

³⁵ Shyaka, 2007; MINEDUC, 2006

Mu gusoza iki gice, ni ngombwa kuvuga ko byaba ari ukwibeshya kuvuga ko umuryango nyarwanda wo hambere wari wunze Ubumwe mu buryo nta makimbirane na macye yabonekaga nk' ishyari, amatiku n'ibindi.

Gusa ariko yari ya makimbirane asanzwe ashobora kuboneka ahantu hose hari abantu. Ariko mu by'ukuri, nta kimenyetso gifatika cy'ingengabitekerezo y'amacakubiri no guheza byabaga mu Banyarwanda.³⁶

2.2. U Rwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoloni (1897-1962)

Itandukaniro hagati y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa mu by'ukuri ntibyari ikibazo cy'amoko, ahubwo cyari kimwe mu byiciro by'imibereho. Ibi byaje guhindurwamo amoko n'Abakoloni, ariko bigirwamo uruhare rukomeye n'abamisiyoneri. Abakoloni n'abamisiyoneri batesheje agaciro ububasha bukomeye Umwami yari afite maze bigisha ababungiriza babavanye mu cyiciro cy'Abatutsi babarutisha rubanda rusigaye. Ibyahoze ari ibyiciro by'imibereho-Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa-byahindu wemo amoko buhoro buhoro.³⁷

Amacakubiri yazanywe n'Abakoloni n'abamisiyoneri mu mateka y'u Rwanda yasenywe Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ububasha bw'Umwami buhuza Abanyarwanda yarabwatswe maze himakazwa ingengabitekerezo yo gusumbanisha Abanyarwanda, bikajyana n'imirmo y'agahato mu nyungu z'Abakoloni, kandi iyo ngengabitekerezo yigishwa mu mashuri.

Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19, u Rwanda rwatangiywe gukoronizwa bihereye ku Badage (1897-1916), hanyuma hakurikiraho Ababiligi (1916-1962); ibi bikaba byarazanye impinduka zikomeye kandi zagize ingaruka mbi ku miyoborere, ubukungu, umuryango nyarwanda ndetse n'umuco.³⁸ Impinduka mu mitegekere zashyizweho n'Abakoloni b'Ababiligi zahinduye byimbitse imitere y'inzezo zo hambere, zinacengeza gahoro gahoro iby'amoko.

Kuva mu mwaka w' 1923, Ababiligi bashyizeho gahunda y'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda bashingiye ku mwirondoro cyangwa irangamimerere. Ibyiciro by'imibereho (Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa) byahindu wemo amoko. Mu mwaka w' 1931, bashyizeho ikarita iranga umuntu (indangamuntu)jishingiye ku moko.³⁹ Iyi gahunda yatumye amacakubiri ashingira imizi mu Rwanda kandi iba n'intandaro y'itandukaniro rishingiye ku moko hagati

³⁶ Kagame, Alexis (1962). *Les milices du Rwanda précolonial*. Butare; Rutembesa (2001); Vansina (2004); Shyaka, A. (2007); MINEDUC (2006).

³⁷ DeHeutsch, L. (1995). *Responsibility for Genocide, Anthropology Today*, aa4 (August), p.4.

³⁸ MINEDUC (2006). Ibid.

³⁹ Destexhe, A. (1995). *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. London: Pluto Press

y'Abanyarwanda⁴⁰. Iri garaguzwa n'amacenga byari bishingiye ku nyigisho z'ibinyoma zazanywe n'Ababiligi zizwi ku nyito ya "Hamite"⁴¹ bikaba ari byo byimitse ubwoko, amacakubiri n'inzangano mu Banyarwanda⁴².

Abakoloni bemeraga iby'izi ntekerezo zidafite ishingiro za Hamite kuko bari barananiwe kumva uko umuco nyarwanda uteye, ariko mu by'ukuri bitaga cyane kuri gahunda yabo ya "mbatanye mbategeke".⁴³Ibi Abakoloni babigezeho bifashishije inyigisho y'ibinyoma ya Hamite yemerwaga n'Abanyaburayi n'Abamisiyoneri bari biganje mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya 19. Iyinyigisho y'ikinyoma yashimangiraga ko Abatutsi ari aba-Hamite bavuye muri Etiyopiya kandi ko ari bo bazi ubwenge, ari nabyo byatumye babasha kuyobora abo basanze. Iyi myemerere rero idafite ishingiro niyo yatumye umurongo w'imiyoborere wa "mbacemo ibice kugirango mbategeke" Ababiligi bagenderegaho ubona neza icyicaro. Iri hame ripfuye ryavugaga ko "indangagaciro iyo ariyo yose yabonekaga muri Afurika yari yarazanywe n'Abahamite⁴⁴. Igihe John Speek, umushakashatsi uzwi cyane w'Umwongereza, yageraga mu bwami bwa Buganda (mu gihugu cya Uganda), na bwo bwari busanganywe imitegekere yabwo, nawe yegetse iryo terambere ku bwoko bwa ba kavukire b'aborozi b'abimukira bo mu bwoko bw'aba Gala, Abahamite b'Abanyetiopiya. Bavugaga ko Abahamite bavukanye ubushobozi bwo kuyobora, bikaba rero byarabahaga uburenganzira ku mateka n'ahazaza byiyubashye nk'ibya 'babyara babo' b'Abanyaburayi.⁴⁵

Mu ibaruwa yo kuwa 21 Nzeri 1927, John Speek yandikiye Georges Mortehan, Rezida w'Umubiligi muri aya magambo:

Niba dushaka gukora ibintu bifatika kandi dushingiye ku nyungu z'Igihugu, hari ikintu cy'iterambere ntagereranywa kigaragara ku rubyiruko rw'Umututsi. Kuba baravukanye ubushobozi bwo kuyobora, Abatutsi bifitemo kuba abategets. Ni ryo banga bakoresheje mu gutura mu gihugu ndetse no kugifata kuva ubwo.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Shyaka, A. 2007. Ibid.

⁴¹ Hamite ni ijamba abakoloni bakoreshaga bavuga ko ari ubwoko bw'aborozi bo mu gihugu cya Ethiopia.

⁴² Rutembesa, Faustin (2001). «Ruptures culturelles et génocide au Rwanda » In *Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits*, n° 2, Butare, E.U.N.R., Avril, pp. 93-123.

⁴³ Uvin, Peter (1999). *L'aide complice: coopération internationale et violence au Rwanda*. Paris: L'Harmattan; Shyaka, Anastase (2002). *La genèse des conflits dans les pays d'Afrique des Grands lacs: Rwanda, Burundi, DRC et l'Ouganda*. In *Peuplement du Rwanda: enjeu et perspectives*. Cahier du Centre de Gestion des Conflits (No.5), Université Nationale du Rwanda, pp.121-143; Obura, Anna (2003) *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. International Institute for Educational Planning: UNESCO. October, Kigali, p. 101.

⁴⁴ Sanders, (1965). *Hamites in Anthropology and History; A preliminary Study*. Columbia University.

⁴⁵ Linden, I. (1977). *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*: Manchester University press

⁴⁶ Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association (2004). Ibid.

Ku bijyanye n'icyo yise 'impungenge' cyangwa 'ugushidikanya' kwari gufitwe n'ubutegetsu bw'Abakoloni ku kuganza kw'imitegekere y'Abatutsi 'biyubashye', Musenyeri Class, Vikeri, mu w' 1930, yanditse aburira Abakoloni mu magambo akurikira:

Lkosa rikomeye Leta ishobora gukora rikayigiraho ingaruka ubwayo ndetse n'Igihugu cyose ryaba gukuraho ubwoko bw'Abatutsi. Impiduramatwara iteye ityo yashyira Igihugu mu kaga ndetse no gucana umubano n'ibihugu by'i Burayi. Aho kuzana iterambere, ahubwo yasenyi ibikorwa bya Leta iyimarahaho abantu bayo bavukanye ubushobozi bwo kumva no kuyoboka. Muri rusange, nituzagira Abatware beza b'abanyabwenge bafite ubushobozi bwo kumva iterambere ndetse kandi banemewe kandi bashyigikiwe n'abaturage nk'Abatutsi.⁴⁷

Ubutumwa bwa Vikeri bwafashwe kandi bwumvikana muri rusange nk'ubuvugizi buhibibikanira igumaho ry'ingoma y'Abatutsi bonyine. Ibi bitekerezo bye rero byakuyeho za mpungenge z'Abakoloni. Bityo rero, gahunda ya "mbacemo ibice kugirango mbayobore" iba ihawe umugisha kandi ishyigikiwe na Kiliziya Gatorika, yimika kandi ikoresha inyigisho y'amoko. Iyi politiki yakoreshejwe cyane mu mwaka w' 1930 aho ubutegetsu bwose bwari ubw'Abatutsi, ndetse hanashyirwaho uburyo bwatoneshaga kandi bukabogamira ku miryango imwe n'imwe y'Abatutsi hagamiye gushyiraho no kurema agatsiko kubashywe kazakorana n'Abakoloni b'Ababiligi.⁴⁸ Ababiligi basobanuraga Abatutsi nk'igice cyaturutse hanze, ariko kandi ko ari n'ubwoko bw'ibimanuka, hanyuma babemeza ko bafite ubushobozi bwo hejuru. Abahutu bavuga ko bo bafite ubumenyi bucyeye. Iki nicyo cyarangaga Uburayi bw'icyo gihe aho bwashyiraga abantu mu byiciro hanyuma bukagira abo bwita ko bafite ubushobozi n'ubumenyi kurusha abandi.

Abahutu bigishijwe ko ari ubwoko bwo hasi bugufi naho Abatutsi bakaba ubwoko bw'ikirenga. Ibi byakuruye urwango n'umujinya ku ruhande rumwe n'ubwishongore ku rundi ruhande.⁴⁹

Ibi bitekekerezo cyangwa iyi myumvire yagize ingaruka mbi ku mibanire y'ibyiciro by'Abanyarwanda. Bubigiriwemo inama n'abayobozi bakuru ba Kiliziya Gatorika, ubutegetsu bwa gikoloni bw'Ababiligi kwasimbuje abashefu n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi abari abashefu n'abasushefu bose b'Abahutu n'Abatwa, kandi buharira gusa kujya mu mashuri y'Abakoloni abana ba bamwe mu ba shefu n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi bonyine. Abashefu n'abasushefu

47 Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association (2004). Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Shyaka, Anastase (2002). Ibid., p.129; Obura, Anna (2003). Ibid., p:103.

b'Abatutsi bahawe rero inshingano yo gushyira mu bikorwa ingamba zikaze z'abakoloni, bikaba nabo byarabakururiraga kwangwa na rubanda. Abashefu n'abasushefu b'Abahutu n'Abatwa birukanywe ku mirimo yabo maze basimbuzwa Abatutsi.

Ubwiganze mu butegetsi bw'abakozi bo mu nzego zo hejuru b'Abatutsi bwarushijeho gukomera no gushyigikirwa n'ishyirwaho ry'ishami ry'ubutegetsi mu rwunge rw'amashuri rwa Astrida (ubu akaba ari Urwunge rw'amashuri rwa Butare) mu w'1932, rikaba ryari rigenewe kwigamo gusa abana bo mu miryango yo hejuru y'Abatutsi, baje no guhabwa izina ry'Indatwa (abiyubashye cyangwa ab'agaciro). Ibi byatumye amoko agaragara cyangwa afata ishusho ya politiki, ikintu kitari cyarigeze kibaho mu gihe cyo hambere.

Mu guteza imbere abantu bo mu cyiciro kimwe, ndetse no mu gutangiza akazi k'uburetwa gahagarikiwe n'abashefu n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi, byanatsindagiye kurushaho amacakubiri hagati y' Abatutsi n'Abahutu.⁵⁰ Ubutegetsi bw'Abakoloni bwari bwamaze kurema amacakubiri cyangwa urufatiro rw'umwirya. Ababiligi, bafashijwe n' Abatutsi bari babungirije mu buyobozi, bahatiye Abanyarwanda kubakorera mu mirima y'icyayi n'ikawa kandi bagakubita cyangwa bakica abantu bangaga kubakorera muri iyo mirima, ibi bikaba byarongereye umubare w'abatufuzaga gufatany nabo uko ibihe byagendaga bisimburana.⁵¹

Nk'uko bikunze kugaragara, amakimbirane avuka kandi agakuzwa no kuba hari abantu bashobora kugira ibyo bagenerwa by'umurengera mu gihe abandi bahezwa. Ivugurura rero ry'ubutegetsi ryazanywe n'Abakoloni ryazanye imiyoborere ishingiye ku guheza bamwe. Abanditsi bamwe nka John Rawly, uvugwa na Chrétien (1993), avuga ko ugukura kw'ibitekerezo bibi n'ibibangamira

Ubumwe bw'Igihugu bihera mu ishyirwaho ry'inzego zimakaza ubusumbane mu bantu⁵².

Ikindi kintu cyifashishijwe n'Abakoloni mu gusenya Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda cyabaye ingengabitekerezo y'amoko igendeye ku mibare ya nyamwinshi na nyamuke (Abahutu, nyamwinshi-85%, Abatutsi, nyamuke-14%) mu nzego za Leta na politiki. Iyi mibare yagaragaye bwa mbere nk'igikoresho cya politiki mu cyiswe amatora yabaye hagati y'umwaka w' 1953 n' 1956 yategurwaga n'Abakoloni. Ubu buryo bw'imibare kandi bwakoreshejwe mu nzira y'amacenga yavugaga ko demokarasi ari uburyo bw'imiyoborere bwa rubanda nyamwinshi.

⁵⁰ Linden (1977). Ibid.

⁵¹ Rutembesa (2001). Ibid.

⁵² Chretien, J.P (1995). *Rwanda, les médias du genocide*, Paris: Karthala

Mbere y'ubukoloni, imicungire y'ubutaka yarangwaga n'uko ubutaka bwari ubwa buri wese, aho ubuhinzi n'ubworozi byuzuzanyaga bigatera ubusabane mu Banyarwanda. Ariko igihe Abakoloni bahinduriye imikoreshereze y'ubutaka, aho buri wese yagombaga kugira ubwe, byateye nanone amakimbirane n'amacakubiri, aho bamwe, cyane cyane abari ku butegetsi ndetse n'abakomeye ari bo bari bafite ubushobozi bwo kubwikubira, bityo ubutaka bukoreshwa nabi.⁵³

Abakoloni kandi bashyizeho gahunda y'imyigishirize mu mashuri ayobowe n'Abamisiyoneri. icyari kigamijwe cyari kwamamaza ivanjiri no kwigisha bamwe mu banyarwanda gukorera ubutegetsi bw'Abakoloni. Ubu burezi rero bwakandamije umuco n'ubumenyi gakondo by'Abanyarwanda aho inyigisho zibiba amacakubiri ari zo zashyizwe imbere.⁵⁴

Kimwe mu bindi bintu bisenya byazanywe n'Abakoloni, nk'uko byagarutsweho haruguru, ni ishyingiraho ry' ikarita ndangamuntu yagaragaragamo ubwoko bwari nk'igikoroshu gishyira buri muntu mu gice runaka. Ingengabitekerezo y'itangizwa ry'amakarita ndangamuntu yaje kuba umusemburo w'ubuhezanguni bushingiyeye ku moko, igoreka ukuri kw'amateka y'u Rwanda, ibyara ukubaho kw'irangamimere ipfuye, ari byo byaje kuba intantandaro y'ibibazo bikomeye n'ibyaha bya Jenocide.⁵⁵

Guhera mu mwaka w' 1950, bamwe mu bari bagize agatsiko k'Abatutsi kari ku butegetsi baje kuvumbura ko Ababiligi barimo gucamo Abanyarwanda ibice ku nyungu zabo bwite. Nuko banga gucibwamo ibice⁵⁶ ndetse banga gufatanya nabo ari nako batangiyeye kurwanira Ubumwe bw'Igihugu n'ubwigenge. Bamaze kubona ko aka gatsiko kagendaga karushaho kumenya no gusobanukirwa n'ibitekerezo cyangwa amahame y'Ubumwe bw'Igihugu n'ubwigenge, Abakoloni b'Ababiligi n'Abamisiyoneri bahinduye umuvuno, nuko vuba na bwangu batangira imyiteguro noneho yo kurema agatsiko k'Abahutu kagomba gusimbura ak' Abatutsi, ari na ko bagerekaga ibibi byose by'ubukoloni ku mutwe w'abari abayoboke babo mbere, ari bo batutsi.⁵⁷

⁵³ Vansina (2001). *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom*, New York, University of Wisconsin Press, p.168; Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines (2004). *National land policy*, February, Kigali, p.10; Takeuchi Marara (2009). *Conflict and Land Tenure in Rwanda*. No 1, September, Tokyo: JICA research institute, p.8.

⁵⁴ MINEDUC (2003). *Education Sector Policy*, Kigali., p.3

⁵⁵ NURC (2007). *Ibid.*, p.49.

⁵⁶ Shyaka, A. (2007). *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association (2004). *Ibid.*

Igisubizo cya politiki cy'ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi cyaje rero kuba kwifatanya n'Abahutu biswe 'nyamwinshi' nk'uburyo bwo gukomeza kugera ku nyungu zabo. Ikibabaje ni uko Abahutu bashyigikiye iyi gahunda nshya y'Abakoloni.⁵⁸ Kuba Ababiligi bari basigaranye ubutegetsi bwose harimo n'ubw' igipolisi, bahindukiranye ba batutsi bo hejuru, maze buhoro buhoro batangira gufatanywa n'Abahutu mu gutesha agaciro ibyo Abatutsi bo hejuru basabaga.⁵⁹ Bahamagariye ndetse bashishikariza Abahutu kurwanya Abatutsi, barema, batunganya, bayobora kandi bashyigikira imyivumbagatanyo y'Abahutu yamenyekanye nka 'Revorisiyo', cyangwa impinduramatwara y'Abahutu, yo muri 1959 yavuyemo icyicwa ry'ibihumbi by'Abatutsi ndetse abandi ibihumbi amagana bakaba impunzi mu Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaïre ya cyera, n'ahandi. N'ubwo habayeho izi mvururu ngo bitinze ubwigenge, Ububiligi bwaje gutegekwa n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye guha u Rwanda ubwigenge muri Nyakanga, 1962.⁶⁰

Kuva mu mwaka w' 1959, kugeza ku bwigenge, ndetse n'imyaka 35 yakurikiyeho, u Rwanda rwakomeje kuyoborwa hakurikije ivangura rishingiye ku moko na politiki ibiba inzangano, ivangura no guheza Abatutsi, ubwicanyi, aho umuco wo kudahana utabagaho kuko ihohoterwa iryo ariryo ryose ryakorerwaga Umututsi n'undi wese wabaga adashyikiye ubu bugome⁶¹ ritahanwaga.

2.3. U Rwanda nyuma y'ubukoloni (kuva 1962)

Imiterere ya politiki n'imibereho y'abaturage mu Rwanda nyuma y'ubwigenge kugeza mu mwaka w' 1994, yabaye iy'amacakubiri. U Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge mu mwaka w' 1962 ubwo rwari ryobowe na MDR-PARMEHUTU, nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1959. Umurongo wa politiki w'Igihugu, kuva igihe cy'ubwigenge, waranzwe no gutoteza, ubugome, gukandamiza no guheza cyane cyane Abatutsi, ndetse n'uturere tumwe na tumwe.⁶² Ubutegetsi bwa nyuma y'ubwigenge rero bwakomeje ingamba z'ivangura rishingiye ku moko.

Uburere mboneragihugu, uburezi ndetse n'itangwa ry'akazi ntibyemereraga bamwe mu banyarwanda kuba babigeraho; cyane cyane Abatutsi, n'Abahutu bacye batigeze bashyigikira umurongo wa politiki wa PARMEHUTU.⁶³ Ingengabitekerezo y'ivangura n'urwango ya

⁵⁸ Shyaka, A (2007). Ibid.; Rutayisire & Byanafashe (2011). Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Muligande, Charles (2012). *Post-genocide challenges and achievements*. Presentation, Japan.

⁶¹ Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association, Ibid.

⁶² Jha et al., (2004). Ibid., p.43.

⁶³ NURC (2005). Ibid., p.8.

PARMEHUTU yakomeje kuba ihame ngenderwaho rya Repubulika ya kabiri. Nk'urugero, mu nama rusange ya 9 ya PARMEHUTU, Balitazari Bicamumpaka, umwe mu bayishinze, yavuze ko *PARMEHUTU ari ingengabitekerezo, ihame ndetse n'intego kandi bigomba kugerwaho*. Ingengabitekerezo yari igamije kumaraho burundu Abatutsi bose ku ikarita y'u Rwanda. Politiki rusange za Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri zari zihuriye ku kurenganya no gutsemba Abatutsi⁶⁴.

Irondakarere, itonesha n'irondakoko byari bwo buryo bw'imiyoborere muri icyo gihe cy'ingegabitekerezo ya PARMEHUTU kandi bukaba butarahaga icyuho uwo ariwe wese wabujora. Igisirikari n'igipolisi byavaga mu bwoko bumwe.⁶⁵ Urwango rw'Abatutsi rwanze Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri mu by'ukuri rwari rushingiye kugukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y'ubuhutu. Urugero rusobanura iryo vangura riteye ubwoba n'urwango, ni amategeko 10 y'Abahutu yanditswe na Gitera mu mwaka w' 1961, akaza kongera kwandikwa mu kinyamakuru Kangura, mu nimeru yacyo ya 6 Ukoboza 1990 bishyigikiwe kandi bihagarariwe na Leta y'icyo gihe. Imbonerahamwe ikurikira iragaragaza ayo amategeko 10 y'Abahutu.

⁶⁴ Caplan, G. (2007). *Rwanda's Genocide: First the Deed, Then the Denial*. Toronto: The Globe.

⁶⁵ Riemer, N. (2000). *Protection Against Genocide: Mission Impossible?* Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Amategeko 10 y'Abahutu

1. Umuhutu wese agomba kumenya ko umututsikazi aho ari hose akora ku nyungu z'ubwoko bwe bw'Abatutsi. Ku bw'ibyo rero umuhutu wese ugira umututsikazi umugore we, inshoreke ye cyangwa umunyamabanga, ni umugambanyi.
2. Umuhutu wese agomba kumenya ko abakobwa bacu b'abahutukazi ari abanyamutima kandi bumva neza inshingano yo kuba umugore, gushaka umugabo no kuba umubyeyi w'umuryango. Ni beza, ni abanyambaraga beza kandi baritonda.
3. Bahutukazi, murabe maso musubize abagabo banyu, abavandimwe n'abahungu banyu ku murongo.
4. Umuhutu wese agomba kumenya ko Abatutsikazi atari abo kwizerwa mu mirimo. icyo bareba ni inyungu zo gushyira imbere ubwoko bwabo. Ku bw'iyi mpamvu, ni umugambanyi umuhutu wese:
 - Ugirana amasezerano n'umututsikazi mu bucuruzi,
 - Ushora amafaranga ye cyangwa amafaranga ya Leta mu bucuruzi bw'umututsi,
 - Uha Abatutsi amahirwe mu bucuruzi (kubaha ibya ngombwa byo gutumiza ibintu mu mahanga, inguzanyo mu mabanki, ibibanza byo kubaka, n'amasoko ya Leta).
5. Imyanya y'ingenzi, yaba iya politiki, ubuyobozi, ubukungu, ingabo, n'umutekano, igomba guhabwa abahutu.
6. Mu mashuri (abigishwa n'abigisha) abahutu nibo bagomba kuba benshi.
7. Ingabo z'u Rwanda bose bagomba kuba abahutu. Intambara yo mu Ukwakira 1990 yarabitwigishije. Nta musirikare ugomba kurongora umututsikazi.
8. Abahutu bagomba kureka kugirira impuhwe Abatutsi.
9. Abahutu aho bari hose bagomba kwibumbira hamwe, bagashyira hamwe kandi bakita ku bibazo by'abavandimwe babo b'abahutu.
 - Abahutu b'imbere n'inyuma mu gihugu cy'u Rwanda bagomba guhora bashaka inshuti n'ababashyigikira ku bw'inyungu z'abahutu baherereye ku bavandimwe babo b'aba "Bantu".
 - Bagomba kuburizamo ubugambanyi bw'Abatutsi. Abahutu bagomba gushikama kandi bakaba maso ku bw'umwanzi wabo rusange w'umututsi.
10. Impinduramatwara yo mu 1959 na kamarampaka yo mu 1961 n' ingengabitekerezo "hutu" bigomba kwigishwa umuhutu wese ku nzego zose. Umuhutu wese agomba gukwirakwiza iyi ngengabitekerezo. Ni umugambanyi umuhutu wese uzagenda ku mvandimwe we w'umuhutu kuko yasomye, yakwirakwije akanigisha iyi ngengabitekerezo.

Aho byakuwe: Ikinyamakuru Kangura, No 6, Ukuboza, 1990

Bidakuka, aya mategeko 10 yabaye umusingi ukomeye w'amacakubiri, urwango n'itotezwa by'Abatutsi kuva mu 1959, byaje gusorezwa kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Uduka dukurikira kurabivugaho mu magambo arambuye.

2.3.1. U Rwanda kuri Repbulika ya mbere (1962-1973)

U Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge mu mwaka w'1962 mu gihe cy'umwuka w'ubwoba n'ubwicanyi. Repbulika ya mbere, iyobowe na Grégoire Kayibanda (n'ishyaka MDR-PARMEHUTU), yashingiye ukubaho kwayo mu itotezwa ry'Abatutsi, haba mu bya politiki n'imibereho myiza, kandi ikaba yari yicaye k'ubutegezi bufatiye kw'ishyaka rirangwa n'irondakoko rya PARMEHUTU. Iri shyaka ry'irondakoko n'amacakubiri (1) ryigishishije ku mugaragaro kwanga Abatutsi, aho ryabitaga inzoka, inyenzi, intizerwa, abanyamahanga bagombye gusubizwa iyo baturutse (havugwaga ko ari Abyssinia-Etiyopiya), hanyuma kandi (2) ritegura ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi buhoraho (1963-1967...) bwatumye benshi mu batutsi bagana iy'ubuhunzi.⁶⁶

Ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze bwashishikariye kandi bugira inama abaturage gutsema Abatutsi. Ingengabitekerezo ikomeye irwanya Abatutsi niyo yihariraga igice kinini cy'imbwirwaruhame z'abayobozi, ibiganiro ku maradiyo, indirimbo rusange kandi zikunzwe, mu mashuri n'ahandi. Iyo ingengabitekerezo yari igamije gusobanura ko Abatutsi bari abanyamahanga bari barigaruriye Abahutu mu gihe cy'ibisekuru bine byose. Dufashe urugero, uwahoze ari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Gikongoro, André Ncyeramugaba, yabwiye abaturage ati: "Turateganya kwirwanaho. Inzira yonyine yo kubigeraho ni ugucecekesha Abatutsi. Mu buhe buryo? Bagomba kwicwa".

Abatutsi basigaye mu gihugu bahejwe ku burenganzira bwa politiki n'ubwo kubaho. By'umwihariko, ntibari bafite uburenganzira bwo kwiga, uburenganzira bwo kubona akazi, uburenganzira bwo kwitabira no kuboneka mu birori rusange, ndetse n'ubundi burenganzira butandukanye. Amasambu y'ababaye impunzi yigabijwe n'Abanyarwanda bagenzi babo.⁶⁷ Ibi kandi byagirwagamo uruhare n'ubutegetsi nk'aho Perezida Kayibanda yagize ati: "Ibihugu bibiri mu gihugu kimwe, ibihugu bibiri bidafitanye umubano kandi bitiyumvanamo, bitaziranye mu mico, ibitekerezo, nkaho ari abaturage bo mu duce dutangukanye cyangwa imibumbe itandukanye"⁶⁸.

Mu maso ya Perezida Kayibanda ubwe, ikibazo cyo kubana no guturana mu mahoro hagati y'Abahutu n' Abatutsi cyasabaga ishyingirwaho ry' ibihugu bibiri bitandukanye, "bitaba ibyo ubwoko bumwe bukicwa bukazima hagasigara ubundi"; uku akaba aribwo buryo yabivuzemo.

⁶⁶ Muligande, Charles (2012). Ibid.; Jha et al., (2004). Ibid., p.43.

⁶⁷ Longman, Timothy (1999). State, Civil Society and Genocide in Rwanda. In Joseph, R. (Ed). *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Mail.

⁶⁸ Ijambo rya Gregoire Kayibanda (Ugushyingo, 27, 1959).

Kayibanda yageze n'aho ashirikiza Umuryango w'Abibumbye, n'Ababiligi bahoze ari Abakoloni, umushinga wagenaga Igihugu cy'Abahutu n'Igihugu cy'Abatutsi. Igihugu cy'Abatutsi cyari kuba igice gituwe cya Bugesera, Ubuganza, ndetse n'ibindi bice byose byari byarahindutse intara ya Kibungo n'iy' Umutara (muri macye, igice cy'uburasirazuba bw'u Rwanda); hanyuma igice gisigaye cyose cy'Igihugu kikaba "akarere k'Abahutu". Ubumwe, ubufatanye, gutabarana, kwizerana, gushyira hamwe, gukunda Igihugu mu banyarwanda byari byataye agaciro kandi bitakibaho.

2.3.2. U Rwanda kuri Repubulika ya kabiri (1973-1994)

Mu mwaka w'1973, Perezida Kayibanda yahiritswe ku butegetsi na Juvénal Habyarimana muri kudeta (Coup d'Etat), maze ishyamba rya MDR risimburwa n'ishyamba rya MRND, iri naryo rikaba ryarakomeje ingamba zimwe z'ivangura rikorewe Abatutsi, ariko kandi rinatangiza ironakarere ryibasiraga uturere twose uretse utw'amajyaruguru.⁶⁹ Ibi nibyo umuturage w'i Nyanza yasobanuye muri aya magambo:

Amacakubiri ashingiye ku turere yagize ingaruka mbi cyane ku baturage ba hano i Nyanza. Umuntu yashoboraga kujya i Kigali ariko ntahabwe akazi kuko yabaga avuka cyangwa aturuka i Nyanza... nta muntu wa hano i Nyanza washoboraga kubona akazi haba mu buyobozi cyangwa mu zindi nzego. Yewe no kubona akazi k'ubuzamu byari bigoye mu gihe utavuka mu Rukiga (amajyaruguru), igihe utavuka i Gisenyi cyangwamu Ruhengeri.⁷⁰

Ku rwego rwa politiki n'imibereho y'abaturage, ubutegetsi bwa MRND bwashyizeho gahunda y'iringaniza rishingiye ku bwoko no ku turere. Bwihatye kandi gutangiza ibyo kugena umubare ntarengwa kuri buri bwoko ndetse n'uturere, ukaba waragombaga kujyana n'ingano y'abaturage cyane mu birebana no kubona ishuli ndetse no guhabwa akazi. Aho gukosora amakosa y'abakoloni, uburezi bwakomeje kugendera ku macakubiri, bikaba byaratumye batakaza indangaciro zabo no gukunda Igihugu. Iki ni na kimwe mu byatumye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'1994 iba.⁷¹

Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwavugaga ko abahutu bo mu majyaruguru bari bararenganyijwe, bityo bagenerwa umubare munini mu mashuri no mu mirimo. Akimara guhirika ubutegetsi, ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973, Habyarimana yatangaje ku mugaragaro imirongo migari ya politiki y'iringaniza rishingiye ku bwoko no ku turere muri aya magambo: "Birimvikana ko kwemererwa

⁶⁹ Muligande Charles (2012). Ibid.

⁷⁰ NURC, Ikiganiro n'abaturage, Gicurasi (2012).

⁷¹ MINEDUC (2003). Education Sector Policy, Kigali., p.3

kujya kwiga mu mashuli atandukanye bizajya bifatira ku mitere y'imibereho, ubwoko n'uturere bigize umuryango nyarwanda".⁷²

Kuva mu mwaka w' 1986 kugera muw' 1990, ibibazo by'ubukungu no kwigwizaho ububasha byatangiyeye gusenya no gushyirahamye imizi y'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Hejuru y'umuco wo kudahana, ubutegetsi bwanzwe na ruswa, ndetse n'ubundi bwoko bwose bw'ibikorwa bibi bihohotera ikiremwa muntu. Habayeho kandi ikungahara ry'agatsiko ka politiki ko hejuru, ku ruhande rumwe, ndetse no gutindahara kwa rubanda, ku rundi ruhande. Repubulika ya kabiri kandi yari izwiho cyane igitugu no kugenzura bikaze abanyapolitiki n'abaturage. Igihugu cyayoborwaga binyuze mu buryo bw'igitugu. Abayobozi b'intara, bari bazwi ku izina rya Peref, na ba Burugumesitiri (abayobozi b'uturere) bashyirwagaho na Perezida wa Repubulika. Ba Burugumesitiri nabo bagahabwaga ububasha bwo gushyiraho abakuru b'imirengye n'utugari. Urwo ruhererekane rwabayeho intandaro n'inkingi ya mwamba yishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'urwango hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, ndetse no gukomeza kurushaho kugenzura abaturage. Uru ruhererekane kandi rwanabayeho uburyo bwiza bw'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Babinyujije muri iyi miyoborere, abategetsi bashishikariye abaturage gukora ibyo bari barise 'igisubizo cya burundu', bivuze irimburwa ry'Abatutsi. Babinyujije ku maradiyo, mu mihigo, mu nama z'abaturage, abategetsi, kuva ku nzego zo hasi kuzamuka kugera kubo hejuru, bashishikarizaga abaturage ubwicanyi, bakabaremano imitwe yitwaje intwari yatozwaga hagamijwe kurimbura Abatutsi ndetse n'Abahutu batemeraga ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.⁷³

Ingamba z'ivangura za MRND, kutubaha demokorasi n'uburenganzira bw'ibanze bwa muntu, ndetse no kutagendera ku mategeko, byatumye habaho ishingwa rya RANU ryaje guhindurwamo nyuma FPR hagamijwe kurwanira impinduka ya demokorasi mu Rwanda. Nyuma y'inanirana ry'inzira zose z'amahoro zari zigamijwe guhindura ubutegetsi bwa MRND, byabayeho ngombwaga ko FPR itangiza urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda mu mwaka w' 1990. Igisubizo cy'ubutegetsi bwa MRND cyabayeho gutegura no gukora ibikorwa bya Jenoside ku batutsi mu myaka w'1990, 1991, 1992,1993 byaje kurangirira kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994, hagamijwe kurimbura Abatutsi bose mu Rwanda.⁷⁴

Ibiabateguye Jenoside babyise imperuka (apocalypse). Kwanga Abatutsi byigishwaga

⁷² MINEPRISEC (1985). *Données sur les admissions scolaires publiques et privées; les bourses d'études; le personnel de l'enseignement secondaire; les constructions et extensions des établissements secondaires Durant la période 1981-1985*, Rapport No 34, Octobre, Kigali.

⁷³ Caplan (2000). Ibid.; Destexhe (1995). Ibid.; Caplan (2007). Ibid.

⁷⁴ Muligande, Charles (2012). Ibid.

amanywa y'ihangu. Dufashe urugero, ijambo ry'uware Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana, muri kongere ya MRND yabaye kuwa 28 Mata 1991, ryagize riti:

Ubumwe bw'amoko ntibushobora kugerwaho mu gihe rubanda nyamwinshi itariyunga. Mu gihe bitugaragarira ko nta mututsi n'umwe wemera aho akomoka, ni ngombwa ko Abahutu nyamwinshi biremamo Ubumwe, ku buryo bashobora kwirukana ikintu cyose cyagerageza kubasubiza mu bucakara.⁷⁵

Nanone kandi, Léon Mugesera, wari Visi-Perezida wa MRND yavugiyeye ku mugaragararo, mu nama yari ihuriweho na CDR na MRND ku Kabaya-Gisenyi, tariki ya 22 Ugushyamba 1992 amagambo akurikira:

Naho se bite by'ibi byitso birimo kohereza abana babo muri FPR?... tugomba gufata ingamba mu biganza byacu...ikosa ribi twakoze muri 1959 ryabaye kubareka [Abatutsi]bakagenda...ni abo muri Ethiopia kandi tugiye kubashakira inzira y'ubusamo tubaroha mu ruzi rwa Nyabarongo. Tugomba gukora. Mubahanagureho bese...⁷⁶

Ingaruka y'iryo shishikariza ry'abanyapolitiki yabaye iyicwa ry'abaturage b'Abatutsi 300 muri Kibirira mu Ukwakira 1990, n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi hagati ya 500 na 1000 muri Mutarama 1991, bikozwe n'imitwe yitwaje intwari y'Abahutu. Mu Bugesera, Abatutsi basaga 300 barishwe muri Werurwe 1992, naho Abatutsi 70 bicwa n'umutwe w'interahamwe muri Kigali, muri Gashyantare hagati y'amatariki ya 22 na 26, 1994. Ambasade z' Amerika n'Ububiligi zombi zatangaje iby'ubu bwicanyi ariko nta kintu cyigeze gikorwa⁷⁷.

Mu by'ukuri, abayobozi ba politiki mu Rwanda bahisemo Jenoside nk'inzira ya politiki yo kuguma ku butegetsi⁷⁸. Ni muri urwo rwego, Susan Cook asobanura neza ukuntu ikura ry'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ryahereye muri politiki y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwaranze Repubulika ya kabiri y'u Rwanda ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Igisobanuro

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Melvern, Linda (2004). *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*. Verso Books, p.47.

⁷⁷ Gregory, H. Stanton (2009). "The Rwandan Genocide: Why Early Warning Failed", *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies*. Volume 1, Number 2, September, pp. 6 – 25.

⁷⁸ Clark Phil and Kaufman Zachary (2009). *After the genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, New York: Columbia University press, p.21; Des Forges (1999) in Cook, Susan E. (2005). *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New perspectives*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers. p.1.

cy'umwanditsi kuri iyi politiki y'igitugu kigaragaza neza ukuntu ingengabitekerezo y'ubwoko ya Habyarimana yajyanaga no gushyira imbere iterambere ry'umuturage w'umuhutu yitaga uwo hasi (hashyizwe imbere ubuhinzi n'isuka) aho yatsindagiraga ko abaturage nyabo ari Abahutu gusa. Habyarimana yabivuze muri aya magambo:

Mbese ntimizeho 85% by'abaturage bo mu cyaro ari Abahutu? Iyi ntambara ni iya nyuma [Jenoside], tugomba kwereka isi ko umuhutu ari umunyamurava kurusha umututsi, ko rubanda nyamwinshi ari abanyamurava... Rwose iyi ntambara ni iya nyuma, tugomba kurwana iyi intambara [Jenoside] nta mbabazi.⁷⁹

Amacakubiri, ivangura n'urwango byakorewaga Abatutsi mu Rwanda kuva mu mwaka w'1990 kugera 1994 byari ibya kinyamaswa mu miterere yabyo ubigereranije n'ubwicanyi bwabakorewe mu myaka ya 1959, 1963, 1967, ndetse na 1973. Itoteza rishingiye ku bwoko ryafashe indi ntera mu myaka y' 1990 hanifashishwa itangazamakuru. Mbere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994 n'igihe yakorwaga, bimwe mu bitangazamakuru byimakaje ingengabitekerezo y'amoko, bishishikariza ubunyamaswa no kwica Abatutsi. Itangazamakuru rero ryabaye igikoresho cyakanguriraga abantu gukora Jenoside igamije gutsemba Abatutsi. Mbere ya Jenoside, itangazamakuru kandi ryagize uruhare mu kubiba umuco w'ubugome ritangiza gahunda z'inzagano zishingiye ku moko mu Rwanda. Ibitangazamakuru bizwi cyane ni RTLM n'ibinyamakuru bimwe na bimwe birimo Kangura.⁸⁰

Ishingiyeye ku "mategeko 10 y'Abahutu", Leta ya Habyarimana yakoresheje ibinyamakuru na RTLM mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi. Iryo shishikariza kandi ryakorerwaga no mu nama rusange,⁸¹ ibyo intagondwa z'Abahutu zitaga "Pawa" mu rurimi rw'ikinyarwanda bisobanura "ububasha" (abanyabubasha).

Imiterere y'ubutegetsi bwa politiki mu Rwanda, mbere ya 1994, yarangwaga n'ubutegetsi bufata ibyemezo naho abaturage bakaba bagomba gusigara bumvira gusa. Umuco wo kumvira uvugwaho n'abanyamateka kuba warabaye kimwe mu buryo Leta yari ifite bwo gukangurira Abahutu gukora Jenoside. Banavugaga ko umuco wo kudahana ariwo wateje iyicwa ry'Abatutsi benshi mu mwaka w' 1959 no mu ntangiriro z' 1960 bikozwe n'Abahutu b'intagondwa. Abandikaga benshi bavugako kuba aba bayobozi b'Abahutu batararyojwe

⁷⁹ Reba ibiganiriro bya radiyo RTLM (Radio-Télévision des Mille Collines), June 17th, 1994, byakuwe mubyanditswe na Chrétien, p.330.

⁸⁰ Gatwa, T. (2005). Ibid., p.149.

⁸¹ Destexhe (1995). Ibid. ; Caplan (2007), Ibid.

ibijyanye n'ibyaha bakoze, nabyo ku ruhande rumwe byahaye uburenganzira abateguye, bashishikariza ndetse banashyira mu bikorwa Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'1994.⁸² Kugera mu mwaka w'1994, amashyamba ya politiki yagenderaga ku moko (*MDR-Pawa, PL-Pawa, PSD-Abakombozi, MDR-JDR, MRND-Interahamwe, CDR-Impuzamugambi*) ndetse n'imitwe y'urubyiruko iyashamikiyeho, byari bishishikariye gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa Jenocide.⁸³ Taliki ya 6 Mata 1994, indege y'uware Perezida, Juvenal Habyarimana, yarahanuwe ubwo yarimo kuva Arusha mu biganiriro by'amahoro. Adelman na Suhrke bavugaga ko "hari ibimenyetso simusiga bigaragaza ko ingabo zari iza Leta y'icyo gihe arizo nyirabayazana yo kwica Perezida ndetse n'ubwicanyi bwahise bukurikiraho."⁸⁴ Urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana rwari rwarateguwe mbere na bamwe mu bari bagize akazu ke. Nk'urugero, ikinyamakuru Kangura, muri nimeroyacyo idasanzwe ya 53 yo mu Ukuboza 1993, ku rupapuro rwa 3, Ngeze Hassan yaranditse ati "Habyarimana azapfa muri Werurwe 1994". Byongeye kandi, RTLM yari yatangaje mbere ko "hari akantu kazakorwa muri Kigali ku ya 3,4, n'ya 5 kandi ku ya 6 n'ya 7 hazumvikana amasasu menshi muri Kigali". Ibi bimenyetso byose byerekana ko Perezida yishwe n'agatsiko ke ka politiki.

Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya perezida ku itariki ya 6 mata 1994, mu minota yakurikiyeho, ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi bwahise butangira ku mugaragaro mu murwa mukuru i Kigali, ndetse nyuma bukwira no mu bindi bice by'Igihugu, aho ingabo z'umuryango w'abibumye zishinzwe kurinda amahoro (UNAMIR) zareberaga kandi ntizigire icyo zikora.

Mu mwaka w' 1993, *Human Rights Watch* yari yasohoye raporo ku bwicanyi bw'Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Muri uwo mwaka kandi Ndiaye B. wari umwanditsi wihariye w'umuryango w'abibumbye ku byaha n'ibindi bikorwa bibi bidasanzwe, yakoreye urugendo mu Rwanda maze atangaza iby'ubwicanyi bw'akorerwaga Abatutsi, ariko umuryango w'abibumbye ntiwagize icyo ukora.⁸⁵ Muri Mutarama 1994, Generali Romeo Dallaire, wahoze ari umuyobozi mukuru w'umutwe w'umuryango w'abibumbye zishinzwe gutabara mu Rwanda (UNMIR) yamenyesheje umuryango w'abibumbye ko Leta yarimo gutegura kwica Abatutsi ariko nta ngamba zigeze zifatwa.⁸⁶

⁸² Clark, Phil (2009). *Ibid.*, p.19-20

⁸³ Caplan (2007). *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Adelman and Suhrke (2000). *The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire: The Path of a Genocide*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.235.

⁸⁵ Gregory, H. Stanton (2009). *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Dallaire, Romeo and Beardsley, B. (2003). *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Ontario: Random House Canada; Gregory, H. Stanton (2009). *Ibid.*

Generali Dallaire yageze n'aho asaba uruhushya rwo gushakisha ubwihisho bw'intworo n'imihoro byagombaga gukoreshwa muri Jenocide ariko abyangirwa n'uwahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru w'umuryango w'abibumbye, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, ngo gusa kuko "bitari mu nshingano z'ubutumwa bwabo".⁸⁷ Ibi byaha byose n'ibindi bikorwa bya Jenocide ntibyigeze bihanwa. Ndiye abivuga muri aya magambo:

Uherye mu bihe byashize, kuba ba nyirabayazana mu kwica abantu bizeraga ko badashobora guhanwa ni impamvu nyamukuru y'ibi bintu byongeye kugaruka by'ubwicanyi.⁸⁸

René Degni-Ségui, wari umwanditsi wihariye w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ushinze kurengera impunzi, muri raporo yatanze muri 1994 ubwo Jenocide yakorwaga, yagize ati "umuco wo kudahana...niyo mpamvu ntakuka y'ubwicanyi⁸⁹." Degni-Ségui yari yabonye ko imitwe yitwaje intworo y'amashyaka ya politiki, ingabo za Leta, n'abayobozi bo ku nzego zibanze batigeze batabara mu guhagarika ubwicanyi, ahubwo bagize uruhare ubwabo mu ifunga n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ndetse n'Abahutu batari bashyigikiye ubwicanyi. Degni-Ségui akomeza agira ati:

Nta ntambwe mu by'amategako yigeze iterwa mu guhana ba nyirabayazana b'ubwicanyi n'ubwo bazwi na rubanda yose ndetse n'abategetsi. Abubwo bakomeje kwiberaho mu mutuzo no kugenda bemye rwose nta nkomyi, badashobora guhanwa. Ikibabaje kurushaho, ni uko abayobozi benshi bo mu nzego z'ibanze bigaragaje cyane mu bikorwa byabo by'ubugome, bazamuwe mu ntera, mu gihe abashoboye kubumbatira umutekano no kuburizamo ubwicanyi birukanywe ku kazi byihuse.⁹⁰

2.4. Ingabo za FPR zihagarika Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994

Ihohoterwa na Jenocide byakorewe Abatutsi ndetse n'abandi baturage barwanyaga amacakubiri kuva mu mwaka w'1959 byasize ibihumbi by'abarokotse barahunze. Abataragize amahirwe yo guhunga bakomeje gutotezwa, hanyuma bicwa na Leta za nyuma y'ubwigenge nk'urugero muri 1963, 1966, 1967, 1973, muri 1990 no gukomeza.⁹¹

Nk'uko byavuzwe mbere, yicwa ry'Abatutsi n'abandi bantu batari bashyigikiye ubu bwicanyi, ryakorerwaga mu maso y'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Nubwo habayeho raporo n'inwandiko nyinshi zasabaga ko hafatwa ingamba zihuse zo guhagarika ubu bwicanyi, cyane cyane

⁸⁷ Gregory H. Stanton (2009). Ibid.

⁸⁸ UN special Rapporteur byavuzwe na Kaufman muri Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:368, 1993.

⁸⁹ Idem.

⁹⁰ Idem.

⁹¹ Gregory, H. Stanton (2009).Ibid.

Jenoside, byakorerwaga Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994, umuryango mpuzamahanga, by'umwihariko umuryango w'abibumbye, wahisemo kutagira icyo ukora⁹². Umuco wo kudahana wari warabaye karande mu Rwanda kuva igihe cy'ubukoloni ndetse no ku gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda na Habyarimana.⁹³

Kubera imiyoborere mibi itagendera kuri demokarasi, umuco wo kudahana, n'itotezwa ryakorerwaga Abatutsi n'abandi banyarwanda bari badashyigikiye ikibi, hakiyongeraho ukwangira burundu impunzi gutaha mu Rwanda mu mahoro, byaranze ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana⁹⁴, FPR yateguye inatangiza urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda mu mwaka w' 1990. Isumbirijwe na FPR n'andi mashyamba ataravugaga rumwe nayo, Leta ya Habyarimana yemeye inzira y'imishyikirano yavuyemo amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yasinnye muri Kanama 1993. Kimwe mubyo aya masezerano yashimangiraga cyari isaranganywa ry'ubutegetsi ndetse n'ishyirwaho rya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Nyamara uko imishyikirano yakorwaga ni nako Leta ya Habyarimana yateguraga ibyo yise "imperuka", ariyo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w' 1994. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside ryagaraje ukunanirwa kwa Leta y'icyo gihe mu kubahiriza amasezerano ya Arusha⁹⁵. Ubwo rero FPR yagize inshingano ebyiri: kurwanya Leta ya Habyarimana no guhagarika Jenoside yakorerwaga Abatutsi. Tariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, FPR yanesheje ingabo za Leta zakoze Jenoside ndetse n'imitwe yayo, bityo inahagarika Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

2.5. U Rwanda nyuma y' 1994: Impamvu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

*Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ni inshingano ya buri munyarwanda na buri rwego. Ni inzira y'amahoro u Rwanda rwiyeje nyuma ya politiki y'ivangura n'amacakubiri byagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'a 1994.*⁹⁶

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka w'1994, n'urugamba rwo kwibohora rwayihagaritse, u Rwanda rwari rusigaranye abarokotse bahahamutse, imfubyi n'abapfakazi batagira umubare, ibihumbi by'abagendana ubumuga; mbega muri rusange abaturage bari bahahamutse cyane kandi bababaye. Amaraso menshi yari yaramenetse kandi icyizere

⁹² Idem.

⁹³ Clark Phil and Kaufman Zachary (2009). Ibid., p.207.

⁹⁴ Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association, Ibid.

⁹⁵ NURC (2010). *Assessment of the implementation of the recommendations from different studies conducted on Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda*, Kigali, p.6.

⁹⁶ NURC (2007). *Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge*, Kigali, p.29

cya Leta na cyo cyari cyarayoyotse biturutse ku kuba zimwe mu nzego zayo arizo zateguye zikanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.⁹⁷ Ibikorwa remezo by'Igihugu uhereye ku mashuri, ibitaro, inganda n'ibigo bya Leta, byari byarasenywe burundu cyangwa byarasahuwe n'ingabo za Leta y'icyo gihe ndetse n'Interahamwe mu gihe zahunganga. Nta mategeko cyangwa amabwiriza yari agitangwa, Inzego zose z'ubutabera zari zarahagaze ndetse nta serivisi zahabwaga abaturage. Abakozi ba Leta bari barishwe muri Jenoside abandi barahunze Igihugu. Igihugu rero cyari gisigayemo abarokotse bahahamutse, imfubyi n'abapfakazi benshi, ibihumbi by'abafite ubumuga; mbega muri rusange abaturage bari barahamutse kandi babayeho nabi. Hari hakiri kandi umutekano muke kuko izahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda zatsinzwe (FAR) ndetse n'Interahamwe zakomezaga kwisuganya ngo zongere gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wazo mubisha wa Jenoside.⁹⁸

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, kunga Abanyarwanda bari babayeyo mu ihahamuka no kwiheba bikomeye byari ihurizo rikomeye.⁹⁹ Kugarura icyizere mu buyobozi, ndetse by'umwihariko kongera kubaka isura y'igipolisi n'igisirikari nabyo ntibyari byoroshye. Hagombaga kubaho igihe cy'inzibacyuho mbere y'uko u Rwanda rushya rwongera kubakwa. Kongera kubaka ubukungu n'imibereho myiza, umuco n'inzego za Leta, kugarura umutekano, gutanga ubutabera, guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu gihugu cyasenutse byari ingenzi.¹⁰⁰

Amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yasinywe muri Kanama 1993 hagati ya Leta y'icyo gihe na FPR yari yafashe rwose Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nk' inzira ya ngombwa ku mutekano n'iterambere by'u Rwanda—ihame ndakuka mu kwimakaza demokarasi, amahoro n'umutuzo, iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ndetse n' iterambere rirambye.¹⁰¹ Ni muri urwo rwego hashyizweho kandi hanafatwa ingamba na gahunda zitandukanye; zimwe muri zo zikaba gusaranganya ubutegetsi ndetse no gushyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Mbere y'uko tugaragaza ibyakozwe mu kunga Abanyarwanda, reka tubanze turebe uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byumvwa, muri rusange, ndetse n'uko byumvwa mu Rwanda, by'umwihariko.

⁹⁷ Longari Marco (2010). Ibid., p.49.

⁹⁸ Jha et al.,(2004). Ibid., p.7, 22.

⁹⁹ NURC (2009). Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.3-5.

¹⁰¹ NURC 2010:3-5

3. IMYUMVIRE K'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE

Iki gice kiragaragaza uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byumvwa, muri rusange, hagamijwe kugaragaza uko bwumvwa n'uko butezwa imbere mu Rwanda, by'umwihariko.

3.1. Uko Ubumwe bwumvwa muri rusange

Bisa n'aho abanditsi bese bemeranya ko ijambo "Ubumwe" rivuze cyangwa risobanuye "kuba umwe", "uguhuza" cyangwa, "ubwumvikane" (kugera aho abantu bumvikana ku kutumvikana), kandi ko kutumva ibintu kimwe cyangwa kudahuza bitanyuranya n'Ubumwe. Inyito ubwayo usanga ijyanye cyane n'imyigishirize y'amadini aho ivuga Ubumwe mu by' umwuka cyangwa roho, ukwemera ndetse n'Ubumwe muri Kristo.¹⁰² Nyamara, inyandiko za gihanga n'izinyurabwenge ku "Ubumwe" zishyira itandukaniro hagati ya "Ubumwe mu bisa" na "Ubumwe mu bitandukanye". Imyumvire y'umuhanga Hegel ijyanye n'ijambo "Ikibumbye byose" igerageza gusobanura amahame nyurabwenge akunzwe kwandikwa ku ngingo y' "Ubumwe mu bisa". Iyi myumvire ku ijambo "Ikibumbye byose" kigira giti:

*Ikibumbye byose, aho ibice bikigize ari byinshi kandi kimwe muri byo gisobanuye ibindi, kandi buri cyose kivuze ikibumbye byose, kuko buri cyose cyifitemo mu miterere yacyo igiteranyo cya byose...*¹⁰³

Ubumwe busobanuwe muri ubu buryo buhita bugaragarira muri buri gace kagize "ikibumbye byose". Buri gace ka byose kagize kandi kakagaragaza ishusho y' Ikibumbye byose.¹⁰⁴ Aha, Ubumwe bwa byose bukuraho umwihariko wa buri gace kabize. Iyi myumvire y'ukubaho kw'icyuzuye bivugwa ko ari ubushake buva ku Imana¹⁰⁵.

Imyumvire ya kabiri iganisha ku nyandiko zemera "Ubumwe mu bitandukanye" iza ihabanyana n'imyumvire yemera "Ubumwe mu bisa". Imyumvire y'Ubumwe mu bisa yemera ko habaho igisumba ibindi kandi ko nta tandukaniro riri hagati yacyo n'ibice bikigize, mu gihe ku rundi ruhande, imyumvire kuUbumwe mu bitandukanye itemera ko hariho igisumba ibindi ndetse ko hari itandukaniro riri hagati yacyo n'ibice bikigize.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² David A DePra. Biboneka www.goodnewsarticles.com/Jun05-5.htm

¹⁰³ Callinicos, A. (1976). *Allthusser's Marxism*, London: Pluto press, p.408.

¹⁰⁴ Callinicos, A. (1976). Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ El-Battahani, Atta (2008). *Peace Without Unity: The Dilemma of Reconciling Divergent Perspectives in Post-Conflict Sudan*, p.8.

¹⁰⁶ El-Battahani, Atta (2008). Ibid. p.12-13.

Bityo rero, ku bijyanye n'imyumvire yemera Ubumwe mu bitandukanye, ibitekerezo binyuranye bihabwa agaciro kandi biba ari na ngombwa mu buryo bwo gushakisha ukuri hagamijwe gufata ibyemezo cyumvikanyweho. Amatsinda aba arimo abantu bafite ingufu n'ubwenge bitandukanye, ibitekerezo by'abantu ku giti cyabo bihabwa agaciro; ingamba zigamije guteza imbere iryo tandukaniro no kuryigiraho zihabwa intebe, guhagararirwa ahantu hatandukanye, uburinganire bw'ibitsina byombi, ni bimwe mu biba byifuzwa. Ubumwe mu bitandukanye bivuze ubwumvikane mu bitekerezo bitandukanye, gusangira no kwemererwa kuvuga ibyo umuntu atekereza. Ubumwe rero ni indangagaciro nziza iyo hariho kwemera no kubaha ukuba abantu batandukanye bafite ibitekerezo bitandukanye cyangwa bafite imiterere yihariye. Hamwe na hamwe, Ubumwe buvuze kugira amategeko amwe kandi afasha mu mibanire; ariko na none ibitandukanye bivuga guha agaciro no kwemera uburyo butari bumwe.

3.2. Uko Ubumwe bwumvwa mu Rwanda

Kuva mu bihe byo hambere, Abanyarwanda mu muco wabo, bemeraga ko Ubumwe ari imbaraga, kandi ko kugira ngo bashobore kubaho buri wese yagombaga gufasha undi nta vangura (ubufatanye). Iyi myumvire y'ubufatanye no gutabarana niyo yarangaga u Rwanda rwo hambere. Byagaragariraga mu bikorwa by'ubufatanye bitari bike bakoreraga ku rwego rw'umudugudu. Abantu bose bafataga amasuka, bagatema ibigunda, bagahinga imirima. Banahurizaga hamwe imbaraga zabo mu kurwanya umwanzi wabo, kandi akenshi bagafashanya haba mu bihe by'ibyishimo ndetse no mu bihe by'umubabaro. Bigaragara ko uwo muco wo gutabarana wari ushinze imizi mu mahame no mu mico y'umuryango nyarwanda. Ubwo bufatanye bwatumaga umuryango nyarwanda ukomera kandi ntuvogerwe.¹⁰⁷

Mu Rwanda, Ubumwe, kimwe n' 'ubufatanye', bwakunze gufatwa nk'imbaraga. Ikigamijwe ni Ubumwe bw' Igihugu bugaragarira cyane mu izina ry'Ubunyarwanda rihuza Abanyarwanda nk'ubwoko bumwe, akaba aricyo kibaranga hejuru y'ibindi byose. Ingingo ya 2 n'ya 3 z'amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda ya cyera na FPR zibisobanura byimbitse muri aya magambo:

Ubumwe bw'Igihugu buvuze ko Abanyarwanda, nk'abagize Igihugu cy'u Rwanda, ari umwe kandi batacibwamo ibice. Ubumwe bw'Igihugu busaba kwanga ivangura iryo ariryo ryose, ryaba irishingiye ku bwoko, uturere, igitsina, ndetse

¹⁰⁷ MINALOC & MINECOFIN (2002). *Ubudehe to fight poverty*, Kigali, p.1.

*n'idini. Ubumwe bw'Igihugu buvuze kandi ko abaturage bose bafite amahirwe angana yo kugera kubyiza bya politiki, ubukungu ndetse n'ibindi, kandi ayo mahirwe agatangwa na Leta.*¹⁰⁸

Ibi rero bisobanura isano Abanyarwanda bari bafitanye mbere y'ubukoloni ndetse n'uko bumvaga imibanire yabo. Ibi bijyana kandi n'amagambo ya Erickson usobanura ko isano ari "imiterere yumvwa kimwe kandi ifite uko ifatwa nk'isangiye na bose."¹⁰⁹

Ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo byateguwe na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, byabereye mu Rugwiro taliki ya 9 Gicurasi 1998 byanzuye ko Ubumwe bw'Igihugu busobanuye:

*Isano ihuza abenegihugu biyumvamo ko bahuje intego, basangiye ahazaza habo; bahuriye ku gihugu kimwe kandi bakumva ko nta n'umwe ugifiteho uburenganzira kurusha undi kandi bumva ko ikintu cyose cyabangamira umutekano w'igice kimwe cy'Igihugu kiba gishyize Igihugu cyose mu kaga, kandi ko bagomba guhaguruka bagafataniriza hamwe kukirwanya.*¹¹⁰

U Rwanda rwemera ko ibintu by'ingenzi bigomba kubaho kugira ngo abaturage b'Igihugu icyo aricyo cyose bagire Ubumwe birimo ko:¹¹¹

- Abaturage bagomba kumva bese ko basangiye icyo gihugu; buri wese akiyumvamo ko Igihugu ari icye, kandi akiyumvisha ndetse akanemera ko Igihugu ari n'icy'abandi baturage, kandi ko ntawe ugifiteho uburenganzira kurusha abandi;
- Abaturage bagomba kumva ko bagomba gutabara Igihugu cyabo bafatanije kugira ngo hatagira uwagihungabanya. Mu gihe igice kimwe cyacyo gihungabanyijwe, abaturage bo mu bindi bice by'icyo gihugu bagombye kumva ko ari ngombwa kujya gutabara abo mu gace kahungabanyijwe, bityo bakarinda ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyose.
- Abaturage bagomba kugira ibirango bahuriyeho (ibirango by'Igihugu).

Ihame ry'Ubumwe bw'Igihugu na none riboneka mu Itegeko nshinga ryo muri 2003, nk'uko

¹⁰⁸ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, Arusha, Tanzania, 1993.

¹⁰⁹ NURC (2007). Ibid, p.50

¹¹⁰ NURC (2000). *Report on the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali, p.24

¹¹¹ Republic of Rwanda (1999). *Report on the Reflection Meeting held in the Office of the President of the Republic*, May 1998 to March 1999, Kigali: Office of the President of the Republic, p.16

ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu, mu mahame shingiro yaryo, ingingo ya 9, iya 11, n'ya 178¹¹². icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda ku myunvire y'Ubumwe kiganisha ku "Ubumwe mu bitandukanye". Ibi bivugaga ubwumvikane n'ubufatanye bw'abanyagihugu. Mu gushimangira ko imigenzo myiza ya cyera mu Rwanda igomba kongera kubyutswa, kwimakazwa kandi ikigishwa Abanyarwanda bose, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yemera ko Ubumwe ari umuco wa cyera kandi wa ngombwa Abanyarwanda barazwe n'Abasogokuru. Ni muri urwo rwego Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ishimangira ko ibirango bya cyera by'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda byagaragariraga mu ngingo zikurikira:

- 1) Kwemera ko abaturage bose ari Abanyarwanda, kandi ko bose basangiye Igihugu cy' u Rwanda;
- 2) Kwibonamo nk'umuntu umwe, bose bagengwa n'ubuyobozi bumwe kandi nabwo bubafata kimwe (Umwami yari ipfundo ry'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kandi yari Umwami w'Abanyarwanda bose);
- 3) Kungana imbere y'amategeko nta vangura iryo ari ryo ryose. Nk'urugero, umuntu wese wakoraga icyaha, kabone naho yabaga aturuka mu muryango w' Ibwami, yagombaga guhanwa kugira ngo bibere abandi urugero kandi igihano kikajyana n'uburemere bw'icyaha cyakozwe;
- 4) Muri gahunda zose, ku nzego zose, hagenderwaga ku bumenyi n'ubushobozi bwa buri muntu;
- 5) Umurage wasizwe n'Abasogokuru (mu migenzo, imiziririzo, ubuvuzi gakondo bw'abantu n'ubw'amatungo, n'ibindi...) wari uko abantu bari magirirane.

Mu magambo macye, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwagaragariraga muri ibi bikurikira:¹¹³

- 1) *Ubuyobozi buhuza bose*: Umwami n'Umugabekazi baharaniraga uburenganzira bw' Abanyarwanda bose nta kuvangura;
- 2) *Ururimi rumwe*: kuba abenegihugu basangiye ururimi rumwe byabumbatiraga Ubumwe;
- 3) *Gusangira imiryango*: Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bari baziko baturirira mu miryango imwe, bityo bakanayubaha;

¹¹² Republic of Rwanda (2004). *The 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda as amended to date*, Kigali.

¹¹³ Republic of Rwanda (1999). *Ibid.*, p.16,19,20.

4) *Imiturire*: Abanyarwanda babagaho mu buryo bumwe; imiturire ivangavanze kandi inyanyagiye hirya no hino mu gihugu hose (ntabwo higeze habaho uturere cyangwa ibice bigenewe Abahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa gusa). Iyo abantu baba mu gihugu bafite uburenganzira bwo gutura aho bashaka hose mu gihugu, kandi ubwo burenganzira bukemerwa na buri muturage, ni ikintu giteza imbere Ubumwe;

5) *Idini*: Abanyarwanda bari bafite imyemerere imwe kandi bubaha Abasogokuru babo. Ibi bivuze ko bari bahuje imyemerere ku buryo bukomeye;

6) *Umuco*: Abanyarwanda basangiye umuco. Iyo abaturage bafite umuco umwe, biba bivuze ko mu mateka yabo babayeho begeranye ku buryo biteza imbere Ubumwe bwabo. Burya umuco ni ipfundo ry'Ubumwe.

Nanone ariko Igihugu gishobora kugira Ubumwe kabone n'aho abaturage bacyo baba badasangiye umuco, ururimi ndetse n'idini. Ingingo nyamukuru ngenderwaho mu kuvuga ko hari Ubumwe mu gihugu runaka, ni uko abaturage bumva kandi bakemera ko icyo gihugu bagisangiye, ko ntawe ugihejwemo, kubera ko bose baba bafite uburenganzira bumwe, kandi bakumva ko bagomba kucyubaka no gufatanyiriza hamwe kukirinda.¹¹⁴

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ihamya ko bimwe mu bintu by'ingenzi byabangamiye Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ari:

1. Ubategetsi bw'Abakoloni: kuva aho Abakoloni baziye, inkingi z'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwari bwubakiyeho zagiye zisenyuka buhoro buhoro. Bazanye ingengabitekerezo mbi y'amacakubiri mu Abanyarwanda:

- Ko hari ibindi bihugu bitari u Rwanda baje baturutse;
- Ko nta kintu Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho, kandi ko bamwe muri bo ari abanzi' abandi;
- Ko bamwe mu banyarwanda baremwe ari ubwoko buruta ubundi bwose, cyangwa burutwa n'ubundi bwose;
- Ko igipimo cy'ubwenge gitandukanye ku Banyarwanda, kandi ko kubera iyo mpamvu batagomba kugira uburenganzira bungana ku byiza by'Igihugu;

¹¹⁴ Republic of Rwanda (1999). *Ibid.*, p. 17

- Abakoloni bashyizeho ivangura rishingiye ku moko cyane cyane mu mashuri no mu bigo bya Leta;
 - Abakoloni bashenye ubushobozi gakondo bw'Abanyarwanda bagamije kurengera inyungu zabo;
 - Indangagaciro Abanyarwanda bizeraga zari zishingiye ku muco no ku myemerere zasenywe n'Abakoloni ndetse n'inyigisho z'amadini zari zishingiye ku macakubiri.
2. Uruhare rw'Abanyarwanda: Abitwaga ko ari Abanyarwanda b'abanyabwenge, cyane cyane abayobozi, babaye indorezezi n'ibikoresho by'Abakoloni, nuko bemera ingengabitekerezo yabo y'amacakubiri no guheza bishingiye ku moko.

Ubu buryo bw'imitekerereze n'imikorere bushingiye ku ngengabitekerezo y'amacakubiri no guheza byabyaye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 kuko Abanyarwanda bari barengagije indangagaciro abasogokuru babo bari barabasigiyeye arizo:

- Kubaka Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe;
- Abanyarwanda barangwa n'Ubumwe kandi bafite ubuyobozi bubafata kimwe;
- Kureshya imbere y'amategeko;
- Gusangira umuco umwe.

Niyo mpamvu Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yumva ko Abanyarwanda bose bagomba gukanguka bakikuramo ibibi byose byashenye indangagaciro zabo hanyuma bakongera guhuriza hamwe kuko "nta yandi mahitamo"¹¹⁵ meza arenze ayo. Muri uru rwego, Ubumwe bufatwa "nk'imibanire ihuza abenegihugu bafite icyerekezo kimwe, basangiye byose, basangiye Igihugu, bagifiteho uburenganzira bungana, kandi bumva ko icyabangamira igice kimwe cy'Igihugu kiba kibangamiye Igihugu cyose, bityo bakaba bagomba gufatanya kukirwanya."¹¹⁶

Ni ngombwa kumenya ko kubaka Ubumwe mu Rwanda biharanirwa atari ubugarukira gusa ku Ubumwe Abanyarwanda bahoranye cyera. Ahubwo u Rwanda ubu ruraharanira kugera ku Ubumwe ku rwego rwo hejuru; ni ukuvuga Ubumwe burenga imbibi z'u Rwanda, bukagera mu karere ndetse no ku isi yose. Kugira ngo Ubumwe bw'Igihugu bugerweho, Ubwiyunge ni imwe mu mahame y'ingenzi.

¹¹⁵ NURC (2000) *Report on the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation*, October, 18-20, Kigali.

¹¹⁶ Republic of Rwanda (1999). *Ibid.*, p.16.

3.3. Imyumvire k'Ubwiyunge

Ubwiyunge ni ijamba ritoroshye gusobanura cyane cyane ko abantu batavuga rumwe ku gisobanuro cyayo. Ibi biterwa ahanini nuko bamwe bavuga ko Ubwiyunge ari intego igomba kugerwaho, abandi bakavuga ko ari inzira yo kugera ku ntego runaka. Hakunze rero kubaho kutumvikana ku gisobanuro cy'Ubwiyunge biturutse ku kwitiranya ubu buryo bwombi.

Bityo rero, n'ubwo Ubwiyunge ari jambo rikunze gukoreshwa cyane kandi henshi, abantu banyuranye barisobanura ku buryo butandukanye.¹¹⁷ Muri rusange, abanditsi bamwe bavuga ko Ubwiyunge buvuga intego, abandi bakavuga ko ari inzira, mu gihe abandi bavuga ko ari byombi¹¹⁸. Abandi banditsi, nka Lederach, bafata Ubwiyunge nk'ahantu,¹¹⁹ mu gihe Borer we avugaga ko Ubwiyunge bugaragara mu nzira nyinshi: iz'iyobokamana, iz'umuntu ku giti cyane, n' iz'imibanire.¹²⁰

Akenshi, Ubwiyunge bukunze kumvwa nk'ubureba imibanire y'abantu, aho busobanurwa nka gahunda yo guhuza abagiranye amakimbarane kugira ngo bumvikane. Ibi bisaba ko habaho kunga imibanire bafitanye aho buri wese aba agomba kwemera kumva mugenzi we.¹²¹ Muri uru rwego, imibanire ikenerwa hagati y'abagiranye amakimbarane ni ishingiyeye ku kwizerana, kutabangamirana, no kuba buri ruhande ruharanira inyungu z'urundi.

Abandi bashakashatsi bavugaga ko intego y'Ubwiyunge, hejuru yo kubana no kwakirana kw'abagiranye amakimbarane, ijyana kandi no kubabarira. Muri uru rwego, ukuri no kwemera ibyabaye ni ingenzi kugira ngo abagiranye amakimbarane bashobore gutangira kubaka ejo hazaza bahuriyeho.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Evaldsson, Anna-Karin (2007). *Grassroots reconciliation in South Africa*, PhD Dissertation, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden, p.37; Sentama (2009). *Peacebuilding in post-genocide Rwanda: The Role of cooperatives in the restoration of interpersonal relationships*. PhD Dissertation, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden.

¹¹⁸ Kostić, Roland (2007):31; Bloomfield, 2005:12; Villa-Vicencio, 2006:60; Borer, 2006:31; Bar-Tal and Bennink, 2004:11, In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-31.

¹¹⁹ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press; Sentama (2009), Ibid.

¹²⁰ Borer (2006:67); Sentama (2009)—Ibid.

¹²¹ Lederach (2002:24); Kostić (2007:31); Galtung (2001:1-2); Villa-Vicencio (2006:60), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-31.

¹²² Lederach (2006:34); Ramsbotham et al., (2005:231); Staub and Pearlman (2001) in Staub et al., (2005:301); Evaldsson (2007:8); Sentama (2009), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-33.

Imyumvire itandukanye k'Ubwiye igaragaza rero ko intego y' Ubwiye ishobora kuba igamije kunga umuntu na we ubwe, kumwunga na mugenzi we, cyangwa guteza imbere Ubwiye ku rwego rusange cyangwa rw'Igihugu.¹²³

Uburyo bwa mbere bw'Ubwiye bureba icyitwa Ubwiye bw'umuntu na we ubwe, aho uwakoze ibyaha cyangwa uwabikorewe yiyunga nawe ubwe, ari byo bizwi nko: 'kwivura ihungabana.¹²⁴ Uburyo bwa kabiri ni Ubwiye hagati y'*abantu cyangwa amatsinda y'abantu*. Ubu bwiye usanga bureba gusa gusana imibanire hagati y'abahohotewe n'abahohoteye.¹²⁵ Ibi birangwa no: "kumva ibintu kimwe, komorana ibikomere, ndetse no kubabarirana". Harimo kandi gahunda zo "kwicuza, gusaba imbabazi, no kubabarirwa.¹²⁶" Nubwo ubu buryo bugenda buhinduka bijyanye n'imyitwarire ya buri muntu, bufite imyumvire myinshi ihuriweho, harimo: isanamitima, kwicuza, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi. Muri ubu buryo, Ubwiye bugeza ku mahoro arambye mu gihe ingingo zikurikira, nk'uko zivugwa na Assefa¹²⁷ zitaweho: (a) kwemera, bivuye ku mutima, ibikomere buri ruhande rwateje urundi, (b) kwicuza bihamye ibikorwa bibi wakoze, (c) kwitegura gusaba imbabazi ku ruhare wagize mu guteza ibikomere, (d) kwitegura kw'impande zagiranye amakimbirane kuzibukira umujinya n'uburakari byatewe n'amakimbirane n'ibikomere, (e) kuba uwakoze ibibi yiyemeza kutazabyongera, (f) Ubushake nyabwo bwo gukemura ibibazo byateje amakimbirane ndetse no gutanga indishyi ku byangijwe ku buryo bwose bushoboka, no (g) kongera kubaka imibanire. Uburyo bwa gatatu bw'Ubwiye bwakwitwa Ubwiye rusange bujyanye n'amahame yibanda ku Ubwiye ku rwego rw'Igihugu.¹²⁸ Iyi nzira y'Ubwiye ivuga ko Ubumwe bw'Igihugu bugerwaho binyuze mu muco rusange wo kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu n'ubw'abaturage bose. Nk'uko Borer abivuga, akarusho k'Ubwiye ku rwego rw'Igihugu nuko "Leta yagombye guharanira kubaka inzego za Leta zemewe n'amategoko, zidaheza, kandi zubahiriza amahame y'uburenganzira bwa muntu", aho Leta ariyo ifite inshingano zo "gushyiraho umuco w'amategoko ashingiye ku ihame rya demokarasi kandi ritavangura himakazwa ubwenegihugu." Muri macye inzira y'Ubwiye, ku rwego rw'Igihugu, ijyanye cyane n'amahame akurikira: kubahana, kugendera ku mategeko (ubutabera), demokarasi, umuco wubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu, gukemura amakimbirane, gukorera mu mucyo, ndetse n'ibiganiro mpaka.

¹²³ Kostić, 2007:32; In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-33

¹²⁴ Stovel, 2006:23; In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-33

¹²⁵ Idem.

¹²⁶ Borer (2006), Ibid, p.32.

¹²⁷ Assefa (2008), Ibid.

¹²⁸ Borer (2006); Sentama (2009)—Ibid.

3.4. Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda

*Kongerera kubaka isano Abanyarwanda basangiye no kwimakaza Ubunyarwanda ni byo zingiro ry'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda*¹²⁹.

Ibyavuzwe haruguru bigaragaza ko hari imyunvire itandukanye ku Ubwiyunge.¹³⁰ Mu Rwanda, Ubwiyunge bwumvwa mu buryo budatera urujijo. Ubwiyunge bufatwa nk'inzira u Rwanda rugomba kunyuramo kugira ngo rusohoke mu ngaruka mbi z'amacakubiri yaranze amateka yarwo rugana ahazaza heza kandi hasangiwe—inzira ishimangira '*icyo Abanyarwanda bagomba kuba no kuzaba cyo*.' Iyi myumvire inajyana n'igisobanuro kiboneka mu gitabo cy'Ubwiyunge cyanditswe n'Ishuri Mpuzamahanga rifasha mu bya Demokarasi no gutegura Amatora, aho bagira bati: "*Ubwiyunge ni urugendo Igihugu gikora gishohoka mu macakubiri yakiranze hagamijwe kubaka ejo hazaza hasangiwe*."¹³¹ Iyi myumvire kandi ijyana n'iya Galtung na Wallensteen bavuga ko inzira y'Ubwiyunge atari ukwibagirwa ejo hashize cyangwa guhatirwa gukunda abagize nabi, ahubwo ko ari uguharanira ko babana mu mahoro.¹³²

Bityo rero, Ubwiyunge bwumvwa mu Rwanda nk'uburyo bwa gatatu twabonye haruguru. Ni Ubwiyunge ku rwego rw'Igihugu hitabwa cyane ku ruhare rwa Leta mu kwimakaza ubutabera n'uburenganzira bwa muntu, kurwanya amakimbirane, kwimakaza ibiganiro no gukorera mu mucyo; ibi kandi bigakorwa muri demokarasi no kwishyira ukizana kwa buri muntu. Ni Ubwiyunge bugamije kugarura isano y'Ubunyarwanda n'imyumvire imwe ku bunyarwanda.¹³³ Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge isobanura ko Ubwiyunge ari:

*Imyitwarire n'ibikorwa by'Abanyarwanda bigaragaza isano bafitanye y'ubwenegihugu bahuriyeho, umuco, ndetse n'uburenganzira bungana bigaragarira mu kwizerana, kwihanganirana, kubahana, kuzuzanya, kuvugisha ukuri, ndetse no komora ibikomere hagamijwe kubaka umusingi w'iterambere rirambye*¹³⁴.

¹²⁹ NURC (2009), *Ibid.*, p.5.

¹³⁰ Mani (2005). "Rebuilding and Inclusive Political Community after War" In *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, and NO 4, December: Sage Publications, p.513.

¹³¹ Blomfield, Barness and Huyse (2003:12); Sentama, 2009—Ibid.

¹³² Galtung, 1996; Wallensteen, 2002; Sentama, 2009

¹³³ NURC (2009), *Ibid.*, p.5.

¹³⁴ NURC (2007). *The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali August:6-7

3.5. Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda

Mu Rwanda, inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ni iyo “ku rwego rw'Igihugu” kandi ikaba ireba ejo hashize n'ejo hazaza. Ni uburyo Igihugu cyasenyutse bitewe n'amateka mabi kigomba gukoresha kugira ngo hubakwe ahazaza heza hasangiwe.¹³⁵ Bityo rero, kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bigerweho mu Rwanda, amahame akurikira agomba kubahirizwa:¹³⁶

- Kwimakaza isano y'Ubunyarwanda ndetse no gushyira imbere inyungu z'Igihugu aho gushyira imbere ikimenyane gishingiye ku moko, igitsina, idini, akarere, n'ibindi;
- Kurwanya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, ndetse no guharanira kubaka Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, no kubaha uburenganzira bwa muntu;
- Kurwanya amacakubiri n'ihaza iryo ari ryo ryose, ndetse no guteza imbere ubufatanye n'ubwuzuzanye mu kubaka Igihugu;
- Kurushaho gushishikariza abantu komorana ibikomere, no kubaka icyizere cy'ejo hazaza mu banyarwanda, gishingiye ku kuvugisha ukuri, kwihana no gutanga imbabazi;
- Kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 hagamijwe ko “Ibibi byabaye bitazongera ukundi”;
- Gushishikarira kwigira no gukunda umurimo.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ishimangira ko kugera k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda bisaba *“guhinduka kwimbitse k'umuryango nyarwanda hakabaho ndetse n'ubushake bwo guhindura u Rwanda Igihugu cyiyunze kandi cyunze Ubumwe; aho abaturage bafite ubwisanzure bungana, kikaba kandi Igihugu gifite icyerekezo kimwe kiganisha ahazaza heza.”*

Kugira ngo gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda igerweho neza rero, ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bayigira iyabo. Ibi kandi byarashobotse kubera ubushake bwa politiki, imiyoborere myiza n'izindi ngamba zigendeye ku muco nyarwanda no ku ruhare rw'Abanyarwanda byifashishijwe.

¹³⁵ See also Mani Rama (2005). *Rebuilding and Inclusive Political Community After War*, Geneva Centre for Security Policy: Sage.

¹³⁶ NURC(2009). *Ibid*, p.11.

4. INGAMBA NA GAHUNDA Z'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU RWANDA

Kubaka Igihugu cyacu bigomba gushingira ku nzego aho kuba ku bantu niba dushaka ko gitera imbere ku buryo burambye.¹³⁷

Imiyoborere myiza igomba gushyirwaho kugira ngo irwanye ikibi cyose gishobora kubangamira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.¹³⁸

Kubaka umuryango nyarwanda bisaba gushaka ibisubizo bishingiye ku muco wacu. Imbaraga zo kugera ku butabera, amahoro, gukira ibikomere no kwiyunga zigomba guturuka ku mahame n'ibikorwa by'Abanyarwanda ubwabo kandi bemera.¹³⁹

Kugira ngo hubakwe Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, nyuma y'amateka mabi n'amacakubiri byabyaye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, hashyizweho gahunda n'ingamba zitandukanye, haba mu buryo bw'inzego za Leta n'ubw' amategeko, zishingiye ku bushake bwa politiki n'imiyoborere myiza. Iki gika kigamije kugaragaza izi ngamba no kwerekana uruhare rwazo mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

4.1. Ubushake bwa politiki

Mbere ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, ndetse na mbere y'ishyirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ubushake bukomeye bwa politiki bwari bwaragaragajwe mbere na FPR bugamije kubaka u Rwanda rwunze Ubumwe kandi rwiyunze, akaba ari nayo mpamvu nyamukuru FPR yatangiye urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda. Mu gihe cy'imishyikirano y'amahoro muri 1993, i Arusha, hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, FPR niyo yatanze igitekerezo cy'uko hakwiye gushyirwaho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge hamwe n'izindi ngamba z'imiyoborere myiza (gusaranganya ubutegetsi, demukarasi, ubutabera, umutekano...) zagombaga kwimakaza Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Nk'urugero, ubushake bwa politiki no guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bya FPR byagaragariye mu isaranganywa ry'ubutegetsi nyuma y'aho ingabo zayo zihagarikiye Jenocide muri 1994, aho ubuyobozi bwayo bwirinze kugwa mu mutego ukunze kubaho ahandi w'uko 'uwatsinze urugamba yiharira ubutegetsi'.

¹³⁷ Nyakubahwa, Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, mu nama ya 8 y'Umushyikirano, 2010.

¹³⁸ Imyanzuro y'Inama ya mbere y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (NURC, 2000). *Report on the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation*, 18-20 October, Kigali, p.25.

¹³⁹ President Paul Kagame, avugwa na Clark, Phil and Kaufman Zachary, 2009. *After the genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, New York: Columbia University press, p.xxv.

Mu kubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha muri 1993 hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe na FPR, hagombaga kubanza kubaho igihe cy'inzibacyuho aho itegeko nshinga ryu ku wa 10 Kanama 1991 ndetse n'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha aribyo byagombaga kuba ishingiro ry'itegeko nshinga rishya u Rwanda rwagombaga kugenderaho. Aya masezerano kandi yavugaga ko ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda hagombaga gushingira ku butabera, gusangira ubutegetsi, gucyura, gutuza no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi n'abandi bantu bavuye mu byabo, ndetse no kuvanga ingabo z'impande zombi.

Ni muri urwo rwego, nyuma gato ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, ishyingirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, irangajwe imbere na FPR, ryabaye umusingi w'ibikorwa bindi byakurikiyeho byaganishaga k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Leta nshya yahise itangiza ibiganiro ku nzego z'ibanze no ku rwego rw'Igihugu kugira ngo hagarurirwe ku hazaza h'u Rwanda. Ibi bigaragaza ubushake bukomeye bwa politiki bwa Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ndetse n'imikoraniye yayo myiza n'abafatanyabikorwa, baba abo mu gihugu, mu karere, ndetse n'abo ku rwego mpuzamahanga (baba abikorera ku giti cyabo, imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, za Leta cyangwa imiryango yegamiye kuri za Leta z'ibindi bihugu) mu gukemura ibibazo byatewe n'amateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo hagamijwe kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Ibi bivuzwe haruguru birasobanuka neza mu bika bikurikira.

4.2. Leta y'Ubumwe bw' Abanyarwanda

Inkingi ya mbere y'imibanire myiza mu muryango runaka ni Leta yawo.¹⁴⁰

Ubumwe ni umusingi fatizo ibikorwa bindi bigomba kubakiraho mu guteza imbere u Rwanda. Ni ngombwa ko bisobanuka neza ko mu gihe uyu musingi, ariwo bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, udahari, twaba twubakira ku musenyi.¹⁴¹

Ubumwe bw' Abanyarwanda nibwo bwabaye umusingi Leta ya nyuma ya Jenoside ya 1994 yubakiyeho. Nkuko byavuzwe mbere, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ndetse n'urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda rwayihagaritse, hari ikibazo gikomeye cyo kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw' Abanyarwanda bari barahamutse kandi bihebye.

Muri uru rwego, ingamba ya mbere yafashwe na FPR, yari imaze gutsinda urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda, yabaye gushyiraho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ihuriwemo n'imitwe ya politiki itaragize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Cook, Susan E. (2005). Ibid., p.3

¹⁴¹ Imyanzuro y'inama ya mbere y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (NURC, 2000). Ibid.p.25).

¹⁴² NURC (2009). Ibid., p.7.

l'hame rya politiki ya Leta nshya, ya nyuma ya 1994, ryari uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda ari umusingi wo kubaka u Rwanda.¹⁴³ Iyi Leta kandi yari yiyemeje kugarura isura nziza y'u Rwanda mu ruhando mpuzamahanga. Gahunda yayo y'iterambere yari yubakiye ku nkingi enye arizo: imiyoborere myiza, ubutabera, umutekano, ubukungu, n'imibereho myiza.¹⁴⁴ Mu bibazo nyamukuru byazaga imbere kuri iyo gahunda y'iterambere, hari ikibazo cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, uburenganzira bwa muntu, guteza imbere umuco wo gukorera mu mucyo no kumenyekanisha ibikorwa, gushyiraho umusingi nyawo wo kuzahura ubukungu, ndetse no guha abaturage uburyo bwo kugira uruhare mu miyoborere y'Igihugu cyabo.

Kuva muri Nyakanga 1994, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda igizwe n'Abanyarwanda nta vangura iryo ariryo ryose, yatumye Abanyarwanda bigirira ikizere, bityo iba umusingi wo kongera kwiubaka.¹⁴⁵ Interuro ikurikira iragaragaza mu ncamake ukuntu Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda igishyirwaho yahise yitwara ku birebana n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda:

*Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, igizwe n'ihuriro ry'imitwe ya politiki, yacyuye kandi ituzza impunzi zisaga miliyoni eshatu; twebwe [Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda] twinjije mu ngabo zacu abasirikari bakuru mu gisirikari cya cyera n'abandi barwanyi bari abanzi bacu basaga ibihumbi makumyabiri. Twagaruriye rubanda icyizere mu butabera bituma dushobora gukumira ukwihorera kubera Jenocide... Twavuguruye inzego bwite za Leta mu gushyiraho ubutabera bwigenga. Umuco wo kudahana wari warabaye karande warahagaze. Umutekano w'abantu n'ibintu ubu urizewe ahantu hose mu gihugu. Twashyizeho inzego zizatuma gukorera mu mucyo no kumurika ibyakozwe... Byumwihariko twitaye ku bibazo by'imiyoborere, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, uburenganzira bwa muntu...*¹⁴⁶

Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ni ikimenyetso kigaragaza ko gusaranganya ubutegetsi no gushyirahamwe byari ntakuka mu nzira nyayo iganisha k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungemu Rwanda.

¹⁴³ Ingealere in IDEA (2008). Ibid., p.31:32.

¹⁴⁴ Muligande, Charles, 2012. Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa, Paul Kagame, Perezida wa repubulika y'u Rwanda mu nama y'ibihugu byakoroniye n'Ubwongereza, San Francisco, March 7th, 2003 (In Jha et al., 2004:115-116).

¹⁴⁶ Amasezerano y'amahoro yagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, Arusha, Tanzania, 1993.

4.2.1 Gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kudaheza

Gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kudaheza, bigendeye ku ihame ry'uko "uwatsinze atiharira ubutegetsi" byari ku isonga ry'amahame y'ubuyobozi bushya bwa nyuma ya 1994 burangajwe imbere na FPR. Ibi kandi bikaba byari bikubiye mu iyubahirizwa ry'ingingo z'amasezerano ya Arusha ku gusaranganya ubutegetsi yasinywe tariki ya 30 Ukwakira 1992 no ku ya 9 Mutarama 1993¹⁴⁷, hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe na FPR.

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, igikorwa gikomeye ubuyobozi bwa FPR bwakoze mu kongera kubaka u Rwanda ni uko FPR yashoboye kurenga igishuko benshi bakunze kugwamo cy'uko "uwatsinze yiharira ubutegetsi". Nubwo FPR yari yatsinze intambara yo kubohora u Rwanda ikanahagarika Jenocide, yashyize imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ari nayo mpanvu yihutiye gushyiraho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yari igizwe n'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose (baturuka mu mitwe ya politiki yose uretse iyijanditse muri Jenocide).

Ubu buryo bw'imiyoborere bwaranze ubuyobozi bushya bwa nyuma ya Jenocide ya 1994 bwari bugamije mbere na mbere kubaka Ubumwe Abanyarwanda bahoranye mbere y'ubukoloni. Nkuko byavuzwe haruguru, ibi byakozwe binyuze mu nzira idaheza, yo gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kwita kuri bose muri Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.¹⁴⁸

Uburyo bushya rero bw'imiyoborere mu Rwanda, kuva muri Nyakanga 1994, bwabaye kandi buracyari ubudaheza, aho ibice byose by'umuryango nyarwanda bifite uburenganzira bwo kugira uruhare mu miyoborere. Ishyirwaho ry'ihuriro ngishwanama ry'imitwe ya politiki, harimo ndetse n'idahagarariwe mu nteko, aho ubwumvikane bwagizwe ihame mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo ku bibazo by'inyungu rusange z'igihugu, ni kimwe mu bihamya by'imiyoborere idaheza. Na none kandi, kuba imitwe ya politiki kuri ubu ifite urubuga ihururamo (forumu) aho ibibazo birebana n'Ubumwe n'iterambere by'u Rwanda biganirwa mu buryo budaha urwaho amacakubiri ayo ariyo yose ndetse n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide, nabyo ni igipimo nyacyo cy'uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge butezwa imbere.

Ubu buryo bw'imiyoborere bwafashije cyane mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda kuko bwatumye imbaraga zihuzwa hagamijwe "igenamigambi ritegurirwe hamwe". Ubu buryo bwahinduye isura y'imibanire yahozeho hagati y'abayobozi n'abayoborwa mu Rwanda rwo hambere aho abatwaga batagiraga uruhare rusesuye mu byemezo bireba ubuzima bwabo.

¹⁴⁷ dem.

¹⁴⁸ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.32

Isura y'ubu ni iy'uko ubuyobozi bufatanyaga n'abaturage. Ibyemezo byatekererezwaga hejuru hanyuma bikagera ku baturage bibatunguye, ubu ni abaturage babyifatira, byabaye ibyabo kandi babyibonamo kuko babifitemo ijambo¹⁴⁹.

Gusaranganya ubutegetsi no kudaheza, byabayeho mu gihe cy'inzubacyuho, byarakomeje na nyuma yayo, aribyo binashimangirwa n'itegeko nshinga rishya rya 2003 n'andi mategeko arishingiraho, ndetse no mu zindi ngamba z'iterambere. Muri uru rwego, demokarasi no kugendera ku mategeko byabaye ingenzi cyane.

Ibindi byihutiwe gukorwa na Leta nshya nyuma ya Jenocide, ni ukugarura no kubumbatira umutekano w'u Rwanda, gucyura, gutuza no gasubiza mu buzima busanzwe miliyoni z'impunzi zari mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda (cyane cyane muri Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo, Burundi, Tanzaniya, Uganda, na Kenya), ndetse n'abari baravanywe mu byabo bari imbere mu gihugu.¹⁵⁰ Ibi byagombaga kandi gukorwa ku buryo buteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, aho izindi ngamba z'imiyoborere myiza zubakira (zirimu demokarasi, kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi, gukorera mu mucyo, kumurika ibyagezweho, ubutabera, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza...).

4.2.2. Gucyura, gutuza, no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi n'abavanywe mu byabo

Amateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo yaranzwe n'amacakubiri, uherye mu gihe cy'ubukoloni, yatumye ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda bahungira mu bihugu bitandukanye byo mu karere kuva muri 1959, 1963, 1966, 1973, gukomeza. Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yo muri 1994 yo yasize Igihugu mu icuraburindi aho miliyoni z'Abanyarwanda zanyanyagiye hirya no hino, haba mu gihugu imbere cyangwa no mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda (impunzi za vuba) cyane cyane muri Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo na Tanzaniya.

Ibihe byakurikiye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 byaranzwe n'uruvunge rw'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda za cyera¹⁵¹ ndetse n'iza vuba¹⁵² zatahukaga ziturutse mu bice bitandukanye by'isi. Ni muri urwo rwego, gucyura, gutuza no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi ndetse n'abakuwe mu byabo byari ingenzi.

¹⁴⁹ NURC (2009). *15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date*, October, Kigali, p.5

¹⁵⁰ Jha et al. 2004:7

¹⁵¹ This refers to the 1959-1973s refugees

¹⁵² This refers to post-1994 refugees

Leta y'Ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda yari irajwe ishingira no gukora ibishoboka byose ku buryo nta munyarwanda uzongera guhatirwa gusubira mu buhunzi ukundi kandi ko Abanyarwanda bose bagomba kugira uburenganzira ku byiza byose by'igihugu cyabo. Ibi byari binajyanye n'iyubahirizwa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha ajoye no gucyura impunzi ndetse no gutuza abatanywe yasinnye ku wa 9 Kamena 1993.¹⁵³ Aya masezerano yashimangiraga ibi bikurikira:

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ntibushobora kugerwaho mu gihe cyose ikibazo cy'impunzi kitarabonerwa umuti urambye kandi ko gutahuka kw'impunzi mu gihugu cyazo ari uburenganzira ntavogerwa, bikaba ari nabyo shingiro ry'amahoro ndetse n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda.¹⁵⁴

Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe na FPR byari byemeranyijwe ko Ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda budashobora kugerwaho mu gihe cyose ikibazo cy'impunzi kitarabonerwa umuti urambye. Hemejwe kandi ko gutahuka kw'impunzi mu gihugu cyazo ari uburenganzira ndakuka, bikaba ari nabyo shingiro ry'amahoro ndetse n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.¹⁵⁵ Ni muri urwo rwego rwo kubahiriza aya masezerano Leta nshya ya nyuma ya 1994 yashyize imbaraga nyinshi mu kugarura amahoro n'umutekano, iyubahirizwa ry'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, kubaka imibanire myiza mu bantu, kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ndetse n'ikindi cyose cyateza y'amacakubiri yose ku buryo impamvu zose zateje ubuhunzi zivaho.

Impande zombi kandi zanzuye ko "mu rwego rwo guteza imbere imibanire y'abantu n'Ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda, impunzi zari zimaze imyaka irenga 10 zitagomba kuburana imitungo yahoze ari iyazo. Mu kubaguranira, Leta yagombaga kubaha ubundi butaka kandi ikabafasha kongera gutura." Bwa mbere, itahuka ry'impunzi za cyera (1959-1973) ryateje ikibazo gikomeye cy'ubutaka cyane kubera byari bigoye gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yari yaratobwe na Jenoside yo muri 1994.¹⁵⁶ Mu guhangana n'iki kibazo hafashwe ingamba zihuse zirimo kwemerera abatahutse (impunzi za cyera) kuba bakoresha by'agateganyo ubutaka bubereye aho cyangwa kwasizwe n'abandi. Ariko muri 1996, Leta yashyizeho gahunda y'igihugu y'imiturire aho hagaragajwe ko uburyo bw'imiturire ku buryo bunyanyagiye atari uburyo bwiza bw'imikoreshereze y'ubutaka maze ihamagarira abaturage bose kujya mu midugudu ari nayo yatumye habaho uburyo bushya bw'imibanire mu cyari gahunda yo gutuza impunzi.

¹⁵³ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, Arusha, Tanzania, 1993.

¹⁵⁴ Idem.

¹⁵⁵ Idem.

¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines 2004:13).

Ibi bikaba byarajyanaga n'iyubahirizwa ry'ingingo ya 20 y'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha ku bijyanye no gucyura no gutuza impunzi, aho yavugaga ko "ahantu ho guturwa hagomba kugendera ku buryo bwo gutura mu midugudu abantu begeranye, mu rwego rwo gushishikariza ishyirwaho ry'ahantu hajyanye n'iterambere (imijyi y'ubucuruzi) mu biturage bityo imiturire ishaje inyanyagiye igasezererwa.¹⁵⁷ Mu bice bimwe na bimwe (cyane mu ntara y'iburasirazuba), ikibazo cyo gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi za cyera cyakemuwe n'abaturage ubwabo, ku bushake bwabo, ndetse banagabanye amasambu yabo n'izi mpunzi.

Mu mwaka w'1996 nibwo uruvunganzoka rw'impunzi za vuba zinjijye mu Rwanda nyuma yo gufunga inkambi no kwirukanwa byakozwe na Leta za Tanzaniya na Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo. Ibi byaje byihariye ku Rwanda nk'uko Philip Gourevitch¹⁵⁸: abivuga muri aya magambo:

Nta handi byigeze biba, kubyo naba nibuka muri iki gihe, aho abantu bishe abandi bunyamaswa, cyangwa abantu ubwicanyi bwakozwe mu izina ryabo, bashoboye kubana n'abarokotse ubwo bwicanyi, bakabana baturanye nk'umuryango usabanye.

Impunzi za vuba zimaze kugera mu Rwanda, zakiriwe mu nkambi z'agateganyo (aho zamaraga iminsi itarenga 2) zashyiriweho icyo gikorwa. Mu bufatanye n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ushinzwe Kurengera Impunzi (UNCHR) ndetse n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ushinzwe Ibiribwa ku Isi (PAM), abahungutse bariyandikishaga, bagahabwa ibibatunga by'amezi 3 harimo ibyo kurya ndetse n'ibikoresho bindi mbere y'uko bataha iwabo. Leta kandi yatangaga amadolari 100 y'amanyamerika ku muntu mukuru na 50 ku mwana uhungutse wese wabaga ugeze ku kibuga cy'indege mpuzamahanga cya Kigali kandi akazasubizwa umutungo we nta kibazo. Ni muri urwo rwego Umuyobozi wungirije Uhagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ushinzwe Kurengera Impunzi, Madamu Aisha Daisy Bukuru, yashimiye Leta y'u Rwanda ku bwitange bwo kurengera no gufasha impunzi muri aya magambo:

Tuzi neza ko ikibazo cy'impunzi cyari mu biraje ishingira Leta y'u Rwanda ndetse n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ushinzwe Kurengera Impunzi. Twashimishijwe cyane n'intambwe Leta y'u Rwanda yateye mu kwita cyane ku kibazo cy'impunzi .¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Bruce W. John (2013). "Return of land in post-conflict Rwanda: International standards, improvisation, and the role of international humanitarian organizations" in Jon Unruh, Rhodri Williams (2013). *Land and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*. Environmental Law Institute and United Nations Environment Programme, New York: Routledge, p.129-130.

¹⁵⁸ Gourevitch Philip (1999). *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families-Stories from Rwanda*. Picador

¹⁵⁹ ha et al., (2004). *Ibid.*, p.164

Mu rwego rwo kubasubiza mu byabo, Ministeri y'Imicungire y'Ibiza n'Impunzi, hamwe n'abafatanyabikorwa bayo, bashyizeho imishinga yo gufasha impunzi gusubira mu buzima busanzwe no mu byabo kugira ngo nabo bagire uruhare mu iterambere ry'Igihugu. Ni muri uru rwego iyi Ministeri, ifatanyije n'Iburo Mpuzamahanga bishinzwe abinjira n'abasohoka (OIM), yashyizeho umushinga wiswe: *"Kongerera amahirwe y'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu by'Abanyarwanda bahungutse ndetse n'abandi bose batishoboye"*

Abarenga 8.301 muri bo, abenshi ari abahungutse, bafashijwe n'uwo mushinga muri 2012. Muri bo, 1.251 bahawe ibikoresho byo kubaka, nk'amabati, imisumari, naho 4.427 babonye amatungo, mu gihe 2.623 bahawe amahugurwa ajyanye n'ubumenyingingiro mu ngeri zitandukanye harimo ububaji, ubwubatsi, gukanika, gusudira, kudoda, no gutunganya imisatsi. Hagati y'umwaka wa 2013 na 2014, umushinga wakoreraga mu turere 10 mu gihugu cyose. Abahungutse bagera kuri 5.114 bafashijwe ku buryo bukurikira: 1.647 bahawe amatungo, 2.045 bahabwa ibikoresho byo kubaka nk'amabati n'imisumari, naho 1.422 bashyirwa mu bigo by'amashuri byigisha imyuga itandukanye.

Bamwe mu bahungutse, barangije amahugurwa y'imyuga binyuze muri uwo mushinga, bagiyeyeho ibyiza bagezeho nyuma yo kwihangira imirimo no gukora imishinga ibyara inyungu. Urugero rw'umwe muri bo ni rwiyezamazirimo utuye mu murenge wa Kiramuruzi, Akarere ka Gatsibo, Intara y'Uburasirazuba. Uyu mugabo ahamya ko atari kuzigera agera ku iterambere yasanze mu gihugu nyuma yo guhunguka muri 2015, nyuma y'imyaka 18 aba mu mashyamba yo muri Kivu y'amajyepfo muri Republika Iharanira Demukarasiya ya Kongo. Kubera ibibazo byinshi yari afite, yibazaga uko azabaho nyuma yo guhunguka, ariko ahungutse inzego zibanze zamutoranyije mu bihutirwa gufashwa n'umushinga twavuze haruguru. Uyu mugabo yatangaje buri muntu ubwo yahitagamo kwigira hamwe amasomo atatu: gusudira, ububaji n'ubwubatsi. Nyuma y'amezi 6 abonye impamyabumenyi, yakoresheje ubumenyi yahawe maze yihangira umurimo. Ubuhamya bwe bwerekana amateka y'umusore ufite icyerekezo ntangarugero cy'imbere heza akaba ari urugero rwiza ku bandi benshi. Abivuga muri aya magambo:

*Nshobora kubaza nkanakora ibikoresho mu byuma by'agaciro harimo intebe z'imifariso, inzugi, amadirishya, ibikoresho byo gusakara, n'ibindi. Ubu mvuga, natsindiye isoko ku murenge ryo gukora inzugi n'amadirishya byo gukinga ishuri. Ntegereje gusa ko ibikoresho by'ibyuma natumyeheho i Kigali bingeraho kugira ngo ntangire.*¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Ubuhamya, 2013.

Kuva muri 1994 kugera mu 2014 impunzi zirenga miliyoni eshatu n'igice ndetse n'abavanywe mu byabo baratashye basubizwa mu byabo no mu buzima busanzwe ku buryo bushimishije.¹⁶¹ Muri rusange igikorwa cyo gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe

abahungutse n'abavuye mu byabo cyakozwe hatangwa ubufasha bw'urugendo, ibyemezo by'inzira n'ibitunga mu gihe runaka harimo no gufatanya n'imiryango mpuzamahanga mu gutanga ibyemezo by'inzira by'ingoboka ku mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda bifuzaga gutahuka ku bushake.¹⁶²

Iyo urebye ibimaze kuvugwa haruguru usanga u Rwanda ari kimwe mu bihugu byagize impunzi nyinshi. Ariko umwihariko w'u Rwanda ni uko bishoboka ko ari ho honyine umubare munini w'impunzi (hejuru ya miliyoni 5) wacyuwe ugasubizwa mu buzima busanzwe bikozwe na Leta hamwe n'abaturage bayo bityo guhatirwa kuba impunzi bigasezererwa. Aha ariko ubufasha bw'amahanga ntabwo bwirengagijwe.

4.2.3. Guhuza ingabo no kubungabunga umutekano

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, muri 1994, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge na none bwatejwe imbere mu gikorwa cyo guhuza ingabo; ni ukuvuga izahoze ari ingabo za Leta y'icyo gihe zinjizwa mu ngabo nshya z'Igihugu. Ibi byakozwe muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ndetse hanakurikizwa amasezerano ya Arusha yo guhuza ingabo zahoze ari iza Leta y'icyo gihe n'iza FPR yasinywe kuwa 3 Kanama 1993.¹⁶³ Aya masezerano yari agamije kwimakaza Ubunyarwanda hashyirwa imbere inyungu z'Igihugu.

Bityo rero, nyuma gato ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, abasirikare barenga 20.000 barahujwe.¹⁶⁴ Mbese gahunda yo guhuza ingabo, zigakora ingabo z'Igihugu, hagamiye kubaka amahoro, yatangijwe na FPR ikimara guhagarika Jenocide.¹⁶⁵ Kuba nanone Leta yari nk'itakiriho mu gihe hakorwaga Jenocide yo kurimbura Abatutsi, byari ngombwa ko ku ikubitiro icyagombaga gukorwa ku bumwe bw'Abanyarwanda cyari ukubumbatira

¹⁶¹ Idem.

¹⁶² Izi ni impunzi za nyuma y'1994 aho inyinshi zagiyemo cyahozze ari Zaire (ubu akaba ari Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Congo) ndetse na Tanzania.

¹⁶³ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe Arusha, Tanzania, 1993.

¹⁶⁴ Jha et al., (2004. Ibid., p.22

¹⁶⁵ Burgess Stephen (2014). "From failed Power Sharing in Rwanda to Successful Top-down Military integration". In Licklider Roy (2014) *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Military Forces After Civil Wars*: Georgetown university press. p.92.

umutekano hinjizwa ingabo zatsinzwe mu ngabo z'Igihugu bityo hakabaho umutwe w'ingabo z'Igihugu.¹⁶⁶

Birakwiye kwibutsa ko kugira umutwe umwe w'ingabo z'u Rwanda yari gahunda isanzweho y'ingabo za FPR mu guharanira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.¹⁶⁷ Ibi bikaba kandi byari bijyanye n'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yo mu mwaka wa 1993 hagati y'ingabo zahoze ari iza FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, yateganyaga guhuza ingabo za FPR n'iza Leta y'icyo gihe. Ibi rero bitandukanye cyane n'uburyo bwakoreshejwe ahandi, aho abahoze bahanganye ku rugamba badahuzwa (nk'ibyabaye muri Etiyopia muri 1991) cyangwa uburyo bwo kwambura intwari abahoze ari abarwanyu, hifashishijwe ingufu z'amahanga, nk'uko biteganywa n'Umuryango w'abibumye (nk'uko byagenze mu kwambura intwari imitwe yarwaniraga muri Somaliya muri 1993).

Ingabo zahoze ari iza FPR zimaze gufata ubutegetsi, abayobozi bazo bihatiye guteza imbere Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda no gushyiraho umutwe w'ingabo utavangura kandi ushoboye kurengera ubusugire bw'Igihugu. Ibi bikaba byaragezweho kuko ku ikubitiro abahoze mu ngabo za Leta yariho mbere ya Jenocide bashyizwe mu ngabo za FPR hagakorwa umutwe w'ingabo ushinze kurengera ubusugire bw'u Rwanda guhera muri 1999.

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, u Rwanda rwashoboye kwinjiza mu ngabo abahoze mu ngabo za Leta yavuyeho (ex-FAR), kubera imiyoborere myiza ya Leta y'inzibacyuho yaranze no kugarura indangagaciro zubaka zarangaga Abanyarwanda mu muco wabo. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu buryo bwo kwinjiza mu gisirikari abahoze mu ngabo z'Igihugu mbere ya Jenocide, u Rwanda rwahisemo guhuza ingabo hifashishijwe Ingando zahozeho mu muco nyarwanda zigamije kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro. Ibi byakozwe na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 igamije kongera kubaka u Rwanda rwari ruvuye muri Jenocide ikaruhindura 'Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe' kandi kitarangwamo ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose. Ubu buryo bw'intangarugero bwimakaza ikinyabupfura no kwihesha agaciro bwabaye ingirakamaro mu guhuza ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'ingabo zari zihanganye zigakora umutwe umwe w'ingabo ushoboye kandi w'umwuga.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Rusagara, Frank (2014:2). *Military integration key to peace-building and Democratic Governance*. The Newtimes, May 9. Biboneka http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/views/article_print.php?i=14985&a=10151&icon=Print.

¹⁶⁷ Rusagara, F. (2014). *Ibid.*, p.2

¹⁶⁸ Mgbako, C. (2005). "Ingando Solidarity Camps: Reconciliation and Political Indoctrination in Post-Genocide Rwanda." In *Harvard Human Rights Journal / Vol. 18* pp.201-224; Ruhunga (2006), In LickliderRoy (2014). *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Military Forces After Civil Wars*: Georgetown university press, p.87-90.

Ibi byari bivuze ko imyumvire umuntu yagira iyo ari yo yose, inyungu z'igihugu arizo zigomba gushyirwa imbere .¹⁶⁹

Nkuko bisobanuwe haruguru, uburyo u Rwanda rwahuje ingabo zari zihanganye bwabaye umwihariko w'u Rwanda, binyuranye n'uburyo bwari bumenyereye n'amahanga mu kubaka amahoro. Uburyo bwari bumenyereye n'amahanga ni: (1) kwamburwa intwari ku ngufu bikozwe n'amahanga ahanini bitegetswe n'umuryango w'abibumbye, (2) gusezererwa mu ngabo hirukanwa ingabo zatsinzwe no (3) kwinjizwa mu ngabo hifashishijwe amasezerano y'amahoro n'umuhuza.

Ku bijyanye n'umutekano, uburyo u Rwanda rubungabunga umutekano bushimangira akamaro k'uruhare rw'abaturage. Mu Rwanda abaturage bashishikarizwa kugira uruhare mu gucunga umutekano wabo n'uw'ibintu byabo. Abaturage bazi ko umutekano atari inshingano y'abashinzwe umutekano gusa (abasirikari, abapolisi cyangwa abayobozi); ahubwo bazi ko bagomba kuwugiramo uruhare nabo.¹⁷⁰

Mbere ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, imibanire hagati y'abaturage n'inzezo z'umutekano yarangwaga no kudashyira hamwe bityo hakabaho kutizerana. Leta y'Ubumwe yagiye nyuma ya Jenocide yasanze abaturage barataye icyizere bagiriraga Leta n'inzezo zayo. Bityo rero, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yihutiye kugarura no kubumbatira umutekano ku buryo bwatumye abaturage bagarura icyizere, bitandukanye na Leta yayibanjirije. Aha niho umutekano washyizwe muri gahunda z'abaturage aho bagira uruhare mu gucunga umutekano w'aho batuye.¹⁷¹

Ku rwego rw'umutekano, u Rwanda ubu ni Igihugu gifite umutekano kurusha henshi muri Afurika.¹⁷² Raporo ya Gallup ishira u Rwanda mu bihugu bifite umutekano kurusha ibindi ku isi.¹⁷³ Iyi raporo igaragaza ko 92% by'ababajijwe bavuze ko bumva bafite umutekano kandi ko bafite icyizere inzego z'umutekano. Mu nama ya kabiri k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Joachim

¹⁶⁹ Burgess Stephen (2014). "Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ NURC (2000). Ibid., p.33.

¹⁷¹ Rwanda National Police (2014). Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society: Making Rwandans feel Safe, Involved, and Reassured, Kigali, p.104-105.

¹⁷² Ensign Margee M. (2014). "Red Light green Light—Building trust, participation and development through Ubudehe and Imihigo." In Gasanabo Jean Damascene, David J. Simon, and Margee M. Ensign, *Confronting Genocide in Rwanda: Dehumanization, Denial, and Strategies for Prevention*, Kigali: CNLG, p.355-356.

¹⁷³ Gallup (2012). *Global State of Mind report: New Metrics for World Leaders*, Gallup, October, p.3

Alberto Chissano wahoze ari Perezida wa Mozambique yagize ati:

...Leta yabashije gukora igisirikari kigizwe n'ingabo zahoze zirwana mu gihe cyahise. Iyi ni intabwe igaragara yagezweho mu kwizeza abaturage amahoro n'umutekano mu gihugu no mu karere. Mu by'ukuri, ibi ni ikintu cy'ibanze mu nzira y'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda.¹⁷⁴

Abahoze ari ingabo bashubijwe mu buzima busazwe, bituma habaho kubaka ubushobozi bwabo bigendeye ku bumenyi n'impano zabo. Ibi rero byagize uruhare rukomeye muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ubu buryo kandi bwatumye habaho igisirikare cy'umwuga aribyo byashimangiye imibanire yacyo n'abaturage ndetse n'ubusabane mu muryango nyarwanda.¹⁷⁵

4.2.4. Gusezerera no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe ingabo

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, byabaye ngombwa ko abahoze ari ingabo basubizwa mu buzima busanzwe mu buryo buteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, imibereho myiza, n'ubukungu mu Rwanda.

Nyuma yo gusezererwa mu ngabo, gusubizwa mu buzima busanzwe nyakuri ni ibishingiye ku bikorwa bijyanye n'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu. Mu bijyanye n'ubukungu, gusubiza umuntu mu buzima busanzwe bijyanye n'ubushobozi bwo kumuha ibyibanze nkenerwa bituma ashobora kugira uruhare mu bikorerwa aho atuye. Ibi bishingiye ku kugira ubushobozi bwo kubaho cyangwa se kugira icyo akuraho uburyo bwo kwibeshaho. Ku byerekeye imibereho myiza, gusubizwa mu buzima busanzwe bibaho iyo uwabusubijwemo atangiye kwemerwa mu muryango no kuwiyumvamo. Imibanire y'abantu ari na yo mpamvu yo gusubiza abantu mu buzima busanzwe ntabwo yagerwaho kuko hari ubuyobozi gusa;¹⁷⁶ ahubwo bisaba ibikorwa na gahunda zihamye. Byaba bidahwitse rero gusubiza umuntu mu buzima busanzwe uramutse ubikoze utandukanyije imibereho myiza n'ubukungu.

Gusezerera abahoze mu ngabo byarebaga abari barahoze mu ngabo zari iza FPR, abari barahoze mu ngabo za Leta ya mbere ya Jenocide (Ex-FAR), ndetse n'abari barahoze mu mitwe y'abakoze Jenocide bemeye gushyira intwari hasi bagakurikira amahugurwa ku burere mboneragihugu n'izindi gahunda za Leta.

¹⁷⁴ NURC (2002). Ibid., p.19

¹⁷⁵ Rusagara, F. (2014). Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (2012). *Impact assessment of health insurance, housing, monthly allowances and other entitlements for disabled ex-combatants*, Kigali, report, July p.30.

Ni muri urwo rwego, muri 1997 Komisiyo y'Igihugu ishinze gusezerera no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe ingabo zavuye ku rugerero yashyizweho muri 1997 igahabwa inshingano zo gusezerera no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abari bari mu ngabo. Iyi gahunda iteka yakorwaga irangajwe imbere n'amahugurwa k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Nyuma y'amahugurwa, abasezerewe mu ngabo bahabwaga ubufasha mu bijyanye n'imibereho myiza no kwiteza imbere. Ubufasha bwabaga bugizwe na:

- Amahugurwa ku myuga irimo: ubudozi, ubwubatsi, ububaji, ubukanishi n'ibindi;
- Ubufasha mu gukora imishinga ibyara inyungu bagahabwa n'inkunga mu kubona ibikoresho by'ibanze mu gutangira iyi mishinga;
- Abamugariye ku rugamba bahawe ubufasha mu buvuzi ku buntu. Nk'uko bimeze ku bandi banyarwanda, ubu bufasha bwakorwaga mu buryo bw'ubwisungane mu kwivuzza (*mutuelle de santé*).

Ibikorwa byo kwiteza imbere bikorewe mu bufatanye (nk'amashyirahamwe n'amakoperative) kandi binatuma habaho ubusabane (kubafasha gushyikirana n'abandi no kubona ubujyanama mu by'ihungabana) byibanzweho.

Ku bijyanye n'abahoze ari ingabo bamugaye, kubaha ubufasha bw'ibanze byari umwihariko kugira ngo bashobore kugira uruhare mu iterambere ryabo no mu muryango bityo bikureho umuco mubi ukunze kubafata nk'ababereye abandi umutwaro. Mu bijyanye no kwiteza imbere, ubufasha bw'amafaranga bwa buri kwezi, ubufasha mu buvuzi, ndetse n'ubufasha ku bijyanye n'ingendo byabaye ingenzi mu mibereho y'abamugariye ku rugamba. Ku bijyanye n'imibereho myiza, Komisiyo y'Igihugu ishinze gusezerera no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abahoze ari ingabo yatangiye ibikorwa byo guhuza abahoze mu ngabo n'abaturage basanzwe aho batuye. Hatangijwe ibikorwa bya siporo bigamije kubafasha guhangana n'ihungabana batewe n'intambara no kwigisha abaturage ku bijyanye n'imibereho yabo basezerewe. Ibi byatumye abaturage bamenya ibibazo by'abavuye ku rugerero, bituma habaho imibanire myiza hagati yabo.¹⁷⁷ Guhabwa ubufasha mu bijyanye n'ubuzima (no kubigisha uko babona ubwisungane mu kwivuzza) byafashije gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abamugaye bavuye ku rugerero. Habayeho kandi ibikorwa by'ubujyanama bifasha abavuye ku rugerero bamugaye gusubira mu buzima busanzwe. Ibi bikaba biterwa n'uko 'abavuye ku rugerero bahura n'ingaruka ku mubiri ndetse bakanagira ihungabana bitewe n'intambara bakaba bakeneye ubujyanama mu by'ihungabana. Kugira ngo abavuye ku rugerero basubire

¹⁷⁷ RDRC (2012). Impact assessment of health insurance, housing, monthly allowances and other entitlements for disabled ex-combatants, Kigali, report July, p.28.

mu buzima busanzwe, bagomba kujyana n'imiterere, imyumvire, imyemerere n'amategeko y'abo basanze. Ibi bikaba bisaba kwibagirwa imyifatire ihutaza no kumenya guhangana n'ingorane ndetse n'ibibazo mu mahoro.¹⁷⁸

4.2.5. Ibiganiro n'Abaturage

Bitewe n'uko inzego z'ubutegetsi mu Rwanda mu gihe cyashize zakunze kurangwa n'ivangura ndetse no kwima umuturage ijambo, bikaba bitaratumaga demokarasi ibaho, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagiye nyuma ya 1994 yashyize imbere guha ijambo abaturage kugira ngo ishimangire inzego z'ibanze kandi iteze imbere demokarasi n'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Intego nyamukuru yari ukuganira ku cyateye amacakubiri no kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Ni muri urwo rwego, mu mwaka wa 1996 na 1997, umuturage yatangiye guhabwa ijambo bihereye mu nzego zo hasi. Abaturage bagaragaje ko bashaka guhabwa ijambo mu bikorwa byose by'Igihugu. Bagaragaje ko gukurikiza buhumyi ibyo babwiwe gusa byabagejeje ku gushukwa no kutubahiriza ubutabera.

Hashingiwe ku byo abaturage bari bamaze kugaragaza, ibiganiro hagati y'abagize Leta, abaterankunga n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta yatangiye gutekereza ku bijyanye (i) n'ubushobozi, (ii) niba imiryango itariyunga ishobora guhita yinjira muri gahunda ya demokarasi, (iii) niba abaturage bishe bagenzi babo bashobora kugira imbaraga n'ubushake bwo gukorera hamwe mu nyungu rusange. Imishinga mike (urugero, nka gahunda yo guteza imbere inzego z'ibanze, ikigega cya Leta gishinzwe guteza imbere uturere) yatangijwe mu gihugu hose hagamijwe kureba ibibazo byihutirwa no gukusanya ibitekerezo mu gushyiraho gahunda y'ubuyobozi bushingiye ku muco nyarwanda, demokarasi, kubaka ubushobozi, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ariko cyane cyane hagamijwe gahunda y'imbaraga z'Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose mu bikorwa by'iterambere.

Ibyavuye mu byifuzo by'abaturage byatumye habaho iteka rya Perezida wa Repubulika ryo ku wa 23 Ukuboza 1998 rigena demokarasi ku rwego rw'imirenge n'utugari. Byongeye kandi hanatangijwe guhuza z'ibiganiro ku rwego rw'Igihugu byiswe *'inama zo mu Rugwiro'*.

¹⁷⁸ Goodman et al 2009: 17.

4.2.6. Ibiganiro ku rwego rw'Igihugu-Urugwiro

Nyuma yo gucyura impunzi, gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe, no kugarura umutekano mu gihugu, na nyuma y'ibyifuzo byavuye mu biganiro n'abaturage, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yatangije ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo byatangiyeye ku itariki ya 9 Gicurasi 1998 kugera ku ya 13 Werurwe 1999 muri Village Urugwiro-icyicaro cy'ibiro bya Perezida wa Repubilika. Leta yari yabonye ko ari ngombwa gushyiraho ihuriro aho ibyiciro byose by'Abanyarwanda bari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi cyangwa z'abavuga rikijyana bahuriramo bakaganira ku bibazo byari byugariye Igihugu, bakanaganira ku ngamba zafatwa mu gukemura ibyo bibazo.

Ibi biganiro, byarangwaga n'ubwizanzure, byari bihuje abayobozi ku nzego zose—abagize imitwe ya politiki, abayobozi bakuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu, abantu ku giti cyabo (abarimu ba za kaminuza, abacuruzi, abahagarariye amadini n'abikorera, abafatanyabikorwa mu iterambere.....) bazwiho kugira ubumenyi—kugira ngo haganirwe kuri ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda, ari byo kugena icyerekezo cy'iterambere na gahunda yo kubaka u Rwanda. Ibi byari ibiganiro by'ingirakamaro, by'umwihariko kuko Abanyarwanda bari barishe abandi banyarwanda (abaturanyi, inshuti, ndetse n'abavandimwe). Bityo rero, mbere y'uko ibikomere bitangira gukura, Abanyarwanda bagombaga gutangira kongera kuganira.¹⁷⁹ Ibiganiro byibanze ku ngingo zikurikira: Ubumwe, demokarasi, ubutabera, ubukungu n'umutekano. Intego nyamukuru yari ukugira imyumvire imwe ku mateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda hanashakirwa hamwe icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda.¹⁸⁰

Ibi biganiro byanzuye ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari umusingi w'izindi ngamba zose z'iterambere ry'Igihugu, no kurwanya akarengane ako ari ko kose no guhezwa byaranze u Rwanda mu gihe cyashize.¹⁸¹ Ikibazo cyihutirwa cyagaragajwe ku ikubitiro ry'ibiganiro muri Village Urugwiro cyari icyo kunga Abanyarwanda no kubaka Ubumwe. Ibindi bibazo byagaragaye byarebaga inzego z'imiyoborere myiza, ubutabera, umutekano, iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza nabyo byari mu byagaragajwe ko ari ingutu.¹⁸² Byanagaragaye ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bitagerwaho izi nzego zindi zitatwaho.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Longari, Marco (2010). Ibid., p.50

¹⁸⁰ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.7

¹⁸¹ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.3-5.

¹⁸² MIDIMAR (2014). Ibid., p.21.

¹⁸³ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.7.

Ni muri urwo rwego habaye inama y'Igihugu ku miyoborere muri Mata 1998. Imyanzuro y'iyi nama ndetse n'iy'ibiganiro byo mu Rugwiro yatumye habaho: (1) gahunda y'agateganyo ku miyoborere myiza (1998-2000) aho ingingo ndwi zikwiye kugenderwaho mu rwego rw'imiyoborere zagaragajwe arizo: ivugurura mu nzego za Leta; guteza imbere inzego z'ubutabera; gushyigikira inteko ishingira amategeko; kwegereza abaturage uboyobozi; uburere mboneragihugu; ubukangurambaga mu baturage no guhuza ibikorwa bya Leta; (2) Minisiteri yihariye ishinzwe guteza imbere imiyoborere no kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi yashyizweho muri Gashyantare 1999; (3) amahame y'iterambere ry'ubukungu yaje kuvamo "icyerekezo 2020", no (4) gushyiraho gahunda zigamije guteza imbere demokarasi habaho amatara y'inzego z'ibanze muri 1999 n'amatora y'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze muri 2001 yateguraga amatara ku rwego rw'Igihugu muri 2003.¹⁸⁴

Undi mwanzuro ni uko hari hakenewe gushimangirwa umuco w'u Rwanda binyuze mu guteza imbere indangagaciro, ariko mbere ya byose Abanyarwanda bagahabwa ubushobozi bwo kwigira. Hagendewe ku cyerekezo cy'u Rwanda cyo kuba "Igihugu gifite Ubumwe, demokarasi n'iterambere", izi ndangagaciro zishingiye ku muco zirimo: "gukunda Igihugu cy'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, ubupfura, imyitwarire myiza iboneye, kubana mu mahoro n'abandi, gufashanya, kubahana, ubunyangamugayo no kwihangana".¹⁸⁵

Ikindi cyagezweho mu biganirwa byo muri Village Urigwiro ni imbanziriza mushinga y' "icyerekezo 2020" yashyikirijwe inzego n'abantu ku giti cyabo (abanyapolitiki, abarimu muri za kaminuza, abacuruzi, abahagarariye amashyirahamwe yigenga n'abafatanyabikorwa mu iterambere...); ibitekerezo byabo kuri icyo mbanzirizamushinga bikaba byarabaye ingirakamaro.

Ibi biganirwa nyunguranabitekerezo byanzuye ko ibirango (indirimo yubahiriza Igihugu, ibendera, n'ikirangantego) byariho byari byarakozwe mu buryo bubiba amacakubiri no gutanya Abanyarwanda bityo hafatwa umwanzuro ko bigomba guhindurwa bigasimburwa n'ibyunga Abanyarwanda.¹⁸⁶ Nkuko Musoni Protais abivuga:

Uburyo bw'imiyoborere y'inzego za Leta bwagejeje kuri Jenocide ntibwashoboraga kuba igisubizo cy'ibazo byatewe n'intambara na Jenocide. Hagombye kubaho

¹⁸⁴ UN (2004). *Reconstructing Good Governance and Public Administration for Peaceful, Sustainable Development*, UN Publications, p. 67-8.

¹⁸⁵ NURC (2009). *Strategic Plan—2009-2012 of Itorero ry'Igihugu*, May, Kigali.

¹⁸⁶ Imyanzuro y'inama ya mbere y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (NURC, 2000). Ibid.

ubundi buryo bushingiye ku cyizere, indangagaciro n'icyerekezo gishya cy'ejo hazaza."¹⁸⁷

Twibuke ko muri ibi biganiri nyunguranabitekerezo, ihame nyamukuru ryari uko "ari ngombwa guha abaturage umwanya w'ibanze mu miyoborere y'Igihugu no gushaka ibisubizo by'ibibazo ku gihugu cyabo."¹⁸⁸ Ni muri urwo rwego hagaragajwe gahunda zitandukanye zashyizweho mu rwego rwo guha abaturage ubushobozi bwo kugira uruhare no gukemura ibibazo bigamije Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.¹⁸⁹ Iyi gahunda ngari ishingiyeye ku kwishakamo ibisubizo ku Banyarwanda¹⁹⁰ aho Abanyarwanda bagomba kurebera mu ndorerwamo y'Ubumwe n'icyerekezo kimwe.¹⁹¹ Aha, rumwe mu nzego z'ingenzi zashyizweho ni Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge , muri Werurwe 1999.

4.3. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

*Igihugu [u Rwanda] cyari cyaracitsemu ibice bishingiye ku moko kandi Abanyarwanda benshi bakiri impunzi mu bihugu by'ibituranyi. Mbese, politiki y'u Rwanda yari ishingiyeye ku ivangura... Ishingwa rya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge rero ryagombaga gufasha kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda bari bafite byinshi byabatandukanyije...*¹⁹²

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yabaye imwe mu nzego fatizo zemejwe mu myanzuro y'ibiganiri nyunguranabitekerezo mu Rugwiro muri 1999. icyifuzo cyo gushyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge cyari cyaranatanzwe bwa mbere na FPR mu gihe cy'amasezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha yo muri 1993 hagati ya FPR na Leta y'icyo gihe. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yanabaye ingirakamaro mu kubaka demokarasi, ubwisanzure n'iterambere ry'u Rwanda.¹⁹³

Bityo rero, mu rwego rwo kunga Abanyarwanda, bijyanye n'amasezerano y'amahoro ya

¹⁸⁷ Musoni Protais (2003). *Innovations in Governance and Public Administration for Poverty Reduction in Post-conflict Countries in a Globalised World (emphasis on the experience of Rwanda: A paper presented at the United Nations Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Innovations in Governance and Public Administration for Poverty Reduction, p.5.*

¹⁸⁸ NURC (2000). *Report on the national Summit on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali, p.13.

¹⁸⁹ NURC (2005). Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Richtel Annemiek, Cora Dekker & Klaas de Jonge (2005). *Reconciliation in the aftermath of violent conflict in Rwanda Intervention*, Volume 3, Number 3, pp. 203- 221, p.206

¹⁹¹ Rwanda National Police (2014). *The Peacemaker*, Vol.1, p.29

¹⁹² Ikiganiri na Tito Rutaremara—wari Umuvunyi mukuru, NURC, 2009:14; NURC, 2007. pp. 6-7.

¹⁹³ NURC 2010:3-5

Arusha, Leta y'Ubumwe yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 yagennye ko hashyirwaho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Umwanzuro wo gushyiraho iyi Komisiyo waje gutorwa n'inteko ishingama amategeko y'inzibacyuho aho hashyizweho itegeko No. 03/99 ryo ku wa 12/03/1999 nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, n'itegeko No. 35/2002 ryo ku wa 14/11/2002, nyuma bigashimangirwa n'itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 mu ngingo yaryo ya 178. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yashyirwaho kunga umuryango nyarwanda wari waraciwemo ibice, hashyirwa imbaraga mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari bwo shingiro ry'iterambere n'amahoro birambye mu Rwanda.¹⁹⁴ Byari ngombwa kandi ko kuri buri gahunda, icy'ibanze kiba kugira nyambere ubwenegihugu-Ubunyarwanda-aho buri munyarwanda yibona nk'umunyarwanda mbere y'ibindi byose. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge igizwe n'inzego eshatu ziyifasha umunsi ku munsi kugira ngo isohoze neza inshingano zayo no gutuma ingamba za gahunda y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungezishyirwa mu bikorwa: Urwego rw'Uburere mboneragihugu, Urwego rushinzwe gukemura amakimbirane, n'Urwego rushinzwe gushyigikira ibikorwa by'abaturage.¹⁹⁵ Raporo zitandukanye zigaragaza ibikorwa bya Komisiyo mu buryo burambuye.¹⁹⁶ Imyumvire n'ubumenyi by'abaturage ku bijyanye n'ingamba zo kubaka Igihugu, cyane cyane ku bijyanye n'inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge n'ibibazo bijyanye na bwo birazirikanwa mu kugerageza gushyiraho uburyo bwose bwateza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Nk'uko biteganywa n'itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda rya 2003 (ingingo y' 178) rishyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge,¹⁹⁷ itegeko No. 40/2013 ryo ku wa 16/06/2013 (ingingo ya 1.), rihindura kandi ryuzuzanya itegeko No. 35/2008 ryo ku wa 08/08/2008 rigena imiterere n'imikorere bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, riteganywa ko Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ifite inshingano zikurikira.¹⁹⁸

- 1) Gutegura no guhuza gahunda z'ibikorwa by'Igihugu zigamije Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- 2) Gushyiraho no guteza imbere uburyo bwo gushimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- 3) Gutanga inama no gukangurira Abanyarwanda ibyerekeye Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- 4) Gukora ubushakashatsi, gukoresha ibiganiro-mpaka, gusakaza ibitekerezo no

¹⁹⁴ NURC, 2002, 2005

¹⁹⁵ Reba raporo za Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge za buri mwaka 1999- 2000, Kigali 2000.

¹⁹⁶ Reba za raporo ku myaka ya 2000, 2001 et 2002 et 2003.

¹⁹⁷ The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, Amendment N° 3 of 13/08/2008

¹⁹⁸ Republic of Rwanda (2013). *Law No 40/2013 of 16/06/2013, modifying and complementing Law No 35/2008 of 08/08/2008 determining the organization and functioning of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission*, Art.1: Official Gazette No 29 of 22 July, 2013.

gutangaza inyandiko bigamije gufata ingamba nshya zo kurushaho kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda;

5) Gushyiraho ingamba z'ibikorwa byarandura amacakubiri mu banyarwanda bo mu gihugu n'ababa hanze yacyo bigamije kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw' Abanyarwanda;

6) Kugaragaza, kwamagana no kurwanya ibikorwa, inyandiko cyangwa imvugo bigamije gukurura ivangura iryo ariryo ryose ryakorwa cyangwa ryakorerwa Abanyarwanda;

7) Gukora raporo buri mwaka n'igihe bibaye ngombwa ku miterere y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda;

8) Gukurikiranira hafi uko inzego za Leta n'izabikorera, imiryango nyarwanda itari iya Leta cyangwa imiryango mvamahanga itari iya Leta ikorera mu Rwanda, abayobozi n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange, bubahiriza amahame na politiki y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda;

9) Gukorana n'izindi nzego, zaba izo mu gihugu cyangwa izo mu mahanga, zifite ibikorwa bifite aho bihurira n'inshingano za Komisiyo mu rwego rwo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Bijyanye n'inshingano zayo, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge igena gahunda zitandukanye kandi ikanafata ingamba zigamije kugarura no kwimakaza indangagaciro y'Ubunyarwanda n'ubwumvikane mu banyarwanda bibageza ku cyerekezo kimwe. Gahunda zayo zabaye umusingi w'ingamba na gahunda z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge zafashije u Rwanda kuva mu nzibacyuho mu mahoro no gukomeza neza inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nyuma y'inzibacyuho. Igice gikurikira kiragaragaza ingamba z'ingenzi za Komisiyo zatumye habaho ibisubizo by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge Abanyarwanda bishatsemo.

4.3.1. Ibiganiro n'abaturage ku nzego z'ibanze

Imwe mu nshingano Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yashinzwe ifite, byari ugukora ibiganiro k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bitegura Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano.¹⁹⁹ Ni yo mpamvu, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yasanze inzira nziza yo kurangiza iyi nshingano ari uguhuza imbaraga, cyane cyane ifatanyaga n'Abanyarwanda kugaragaza ibibazo byabo no kubishakira ibisubizo. Ni muri urwo rwego, nk'uko Leta y'u Rwanda yabikoze nyuma ya Jenocide yo muri 1994, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuva yashingwa muri 1999, nayo yatangiye gahunda y'ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo n'abaturage mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda. Ibi biganiro byayihuzaga n'abaturage

¹⁹⁹ NURC (2000). *Report on the national Summit on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali, 18-20 October, 2000, p.13.

n'abayobozi babo ku nzego z'ibanze ndetse n'abakorerabushake b'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Intego nyamukuru yari ukuganira ku bibazo birebana n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, cyane cyane impamvu zatanyije Abanyarwanda, hanakorwaga isuzuma ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.²⁰⁰ Hanabayeho n'ibiganiro mpaka ku bumwe n'Ubwiyunge cyane cyane mu mashuri no mu baturage, itangazamakuru, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside bafunguwe, ndetse n'abarokotse jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. .

Ibi biganiro byifashishijwe mu gukusanya ibitekerezo byagendewehe mu gutegura na kwemeza Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 na politiki y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ibindi biganiro byagiye bikorwa mu nzego zitandukanye no mu bihe bitandukanye hagamijwe kwibutsa izo nzego uruhare rwazo mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, kugaragaza inzitizi no gushyiraho ingamba zo guhangana n'izo nzitizi.²⁰¹ Muri ibi biganiro, ibibazo bikomeye byagaragajwe n'abaturage ni ibijyanye n'amateka y'u Rwanda, imiyoborere, ubutabera, n'ubukene.²⁰² Ku bw'ibyo, ibiganiro n'abaturage ku nzego z'ibanze byagaragaje ingamba zikurikira zo kwibandwaho mu kwihutisha gahunda y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge:

- Gushyiraho no kwihutisha ubutabera;
- Guha ubufasha bw'ibanze abarokotse Jenoside n'abahungutse batishoboye;
- Gushyiraho ubuyobozi bwiza bugamije guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, kwimakaza ukuri, ubutabera, n'amahoro, no gutanga amahirwe angana kuri bese mu kubona akazi hashingiwe ku bushobozi n'amapiganwa;
- Guteza imbere indangagaciro zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda ;
- Kurwanya imvugo zibiba amacakubiri agamije gukomeretsanya;
- Gukora ubushakashatsi no kwandika ku mateka nyakuri y'u Rwanda no kuyigisha mu mashuri;
- Gukangurira abagize uruhare muri Jenoside kuvugisha ukuri ku byabaye, kwemera icyaha, kwirega no gusaba imbabazi, ndetse no gukangurira abarokotse Jenoside kugira ubutwari bwo kubabarira ababiciye.²⁰³

Ibiganiro n'abaturage ku nzego zo hasi byagize akamaro kanini mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho na nyuma yaho, kuko byatumye habaho ingamba nyinshi zigamije Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

²⁰⁰ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.9 & 14.

²⁰¹ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.6

²⁰² NURC (2000). *Report on the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation*, October, 18-20, 2000, Kigali, p.5.

²⁰³ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.9

bw'Abanyarwanda. Ingero ni Ingando, Itorero, Inkiko Gacaca, Amatsinda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano, n'izindi (nk'uko tuza kuzigarukaho). Ibi biganirwa ni nabyo byatumye habaho gutegura neza politiki y'Igihugu y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ndetse n'Itegeko Nshinga. Byanafashije gutegura Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano (yatangiye mu w'2000) k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda.

4.3.2. Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu

Bijyanye n'inshingano zayo, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Uwiye na none yateguye kandi yakira Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu zirebana n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye kuva muri 2000.²⁰⁴ Inama nkuru iteganywa n'Itegeko rishyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Uwiye riyiha ububasha bwo gutegura Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu.²⁰⁵ Izi nama zihuza Abanyarwanda baturutse mu nzego zitandukanye, Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga ndetse na bamwe mu bahagarariye imiryango mpuzamahanga. Ni inama zivuga ku bibazo bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, zikagaragariza Abanyarwanda uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiye buhagaze n'ibibazo bikagaragara hagamijwe gushaka ibisubizo. Zimwe mu ngingo ziganirwaho mu Nama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ni izijyanye n'amateka y'Igihugu, Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, imiyoborere, ubutabera, uburenganzira bwa muntu, umutekano, n'iterambere.²⁰⁶

Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ni umwanya w'ingirakamaro aho Abanyarwanda bose bagira uruhare mu bumwe n'Ubwiye. Ni inama Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bahuriramo bibaza, basangira ibitekerezo, banareba ibyagezweho mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Bityo rero, Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ziha umwanya Abanyarwanda kugira ngo baganire ku bikorwa binyuranye by'Igihugu, ibibazo gihura nabyo hagamijwe gushyiraho ingamba zo kubikemura. Ni yo mpamvu mu itegura ry'izi nama hatumirwa abayobozi n'abahagarariye inzego zitandukanye, abahagarariye amadini n'imiryango yigenga, abahagarariye imitwe ya politiki yemewe mu Rwanda, Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga, ndetse n'abahagarariye imiryango mpuzamahanga.²⁰⁷ Imyanzuro y'izi nama ihita imenyeshwa abaturage, kandi abo ireba bakiyemeza kuyishyira mu bikorwa no kuzagaragaza uko yashyizwe mu bikorwa bijyanye n'inshingano zabo.²⁰⁸

Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ya mbere (16-18 Uwakira,2000) yahuje abantu bagera ku 1000 bavuye ku nzego zose z'Igihugu harimo n'Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga. Ni

²⁰⁴ The first National Summit took place on October 18-20, 2000.

²⁰⁵ NURC (2000). Ibid., p.5

²⁰⁶ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.13

²⁰⁷ NURC (2002). *The 2nd National Summit report on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali, p.8

²⁰⁸ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.12

inama nyunguranabitekerezo k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungemu Rwanda yaganirwemo ibijyanye n'amakimbirane, imiterere n'inizizi k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ndetse hanafatwa ingamba. Intego y'iyi nama yari ugukemura ibibazo byagaragajwe n'abaturage: (1) ubuyobozi bubi, (2) amateka y'u Rwanda yagoretswe, (3) ihezwa, n'inzangano zishingiye ku moko, (4) n'ubujiji.²⁰⁹

Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ya kabiri (26-28 Ukwakira, 2002) yavugaga ku ngingo ndwi: (1) gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; (2) Demokarasi no kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi; (3) Ubutabera mu Rwanda, muri rusange na Gacaca nk 'ubutabera bwunga' by'umwihariko; (4) Itegeko Nshinga rishya; (5) ingamba zo kuva mu nzibacyuho mu mahoro; (6) kurwanya ubukene; (7) n'ikibazo cy'umutekano mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari muri rusange no mu Rwanda by'Umwihariko.²¹⁰ Imyanzuro yavuye muri iyi nama yafashije u Rwanda kuva mu nzibacyuho mu mahoro kandi ituma habaho ubufatanye mu gutegura no gutangaza Itegeko Nshinga rishya muri 2003.

Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu ya gatatu (7-9 Gicurasi, 2004), yari igenewe urubyiruko cyane cyane abana. Iyi nama yari yaratangiye gutegurwa muri 2003 igihe Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yagiraga inama nyunguranabitekerezo mu turere n'intara by'u Rwanda. Iyi nama rero yari igamiye kumva ibitekerezo by'abana ku bijyanye no kurwanya amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide, n'uburyo uburenganzira bw'abana bwakubahirizwa.²¹¹ Iyi nama yanarebeye hamwe ibimaze kugerwaho n'inizizi mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ishira ingamba nshya zirebana n'ikibazo cy'ubwenegihugu no guteza imbere Inkiko gacaca.²¹² Muri iyi nama kandi abahagarariye abana bagarutse ku kamaro ko kugira igihuza Abanyarwanda-Ubunyarwanda-ndetse baniyemeza uruhare rw'abana mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri aya magambo:

Twebwe abana, ntabwo tugira ubwoko, twese turi Abanyarwanda; turi bamwe; tuvuga ururimi rumwe; dufite umuco umwe kandi turi abahungu n'abakobwa bakomoka kuri 'Kanyarwanda'. Ni yo mpamvu, umuntu uwo ari we wese ushaka kuducamo ibice atazabona umwanya wo kutumenera amaraso kuko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari yo nzira yonyine itugeza ku mahoro n'iterambere rirambye bizatugeza ku cyerekezo nyacyo cy'u Rwanda rufite amahoro n'ubukire. Abana ntibagomba kongera kubabara no gukoreshwa imirimo y'agahato. Ibi mwagombye kubyitaho kuko

²⁰⁹ NURC (2000). *The 1st National Summit report on Unity and Reconciliation, Kigali.*

²¹⁰ NURC (2002). *The 2nd National Summit report on Unity and Reconciliation, Kigali.*

²¹¹ NURC (2009). *Ibid.*, p.13

²¹² NURC (2004). *The 3rd National Summit report on Unity and Reconciliation, Kigali.*

*uyu munsu muri abayobozi ariko ejo akazaba ari twe. Niba icyifuzo cyacu gishyizwe mu bikorwa, hazabaho ubutabera n'uburinganire ku banyarwanda bose mu gihe kizaza.*²¹³

4.3.3. Amahugurwa

Mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho na nyuma yayo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yateguye amahugurwa agamije kongerera ubushobozi abafatanyabikorwa bayo. Aya mahugurwa yafashije Komisiyo mu bikorwa bitandukanye bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ingero ni nko gutegura igitabo gikubiyemo inyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu no gukemura amakimbirane, n'igitabo gikubiyemo inyigisho zigenewe abakangurambaga b'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye.²¹⁴ Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yanakoranye cyane na Minisiteri y'Uburezi mu gutegura imfashanyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu yibanda ku bumwe n'Ubwiye bigomba kwigishwa mu mashuri abanza mu Rwanda.²¹⁵

Hanabaye amahugurwa y'ubunyamwuga ku bakozi ba komisiyo n'abafatanyabikorwa bayo ku bijyanye n'ubujyanama ku ihungabana, gukumira no gukemura amakimbirane. Abafatanyabikorwa bahuguwe barimo abayobozi b'imitwe ya politiki, abayobozi mu nzego z'ibanze, abahagarariye amadini atandukanye, amahuriro y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye muri za kaminuza, abakangurambaga b'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, abahagarariye inama y'Igihugu y'abagore n'iy'urubiruko, abahagarariye abarokotse Jenoside, amashyirahamwe y'abapfakazi, abahagarariye amashyirahamwe y'ubukorikori, abahagarariye amashyirahamwe n'amakoperative ahuza abaturage, n'abayobozi b'ibigo by'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye.²¹⁶

Aya mahugurwa yagize akamaro kanini cyane mu bumwe n'Ubwiye: (1) Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yagize ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abakangurambaga mu bice byose by'Igihugu, (2) amashyirahamwe ahuza abantu, amadini n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta batangiyeho ubukungurambaga mu baturage ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, (3) hashyizweho amahuriro y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye muri buri karere kugira ngo ahuze ibikorwa by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ku rwego rw'Akarere, (4) ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yaragabanutse, (5) hashyizweho itegeko rihana amacakubiri n'ihizwa, (6) hanashyirwaho politiki y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ikwirakwizwa hose mu gihugu.²¹⁷

²¹³ NURC (2004). Ibid.

²¹⁴ NURC (2009). Ibid, p. 14

²¹⁵ NURC (2009). Ibid, p. 14

²¹⁶ NURC (2009). Ibid, p. 14-15

²¹⁷ NURC (2009). Ibid., p. 15

4.3.4. Ubushakashatsi

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza gusohozza inshingano zayo, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yateje imbere ubushakashatsi mu nzego zitandukanye. Ni muri urwo rwego, Komisiyo yakoze ubushakashatsi bwinshi bugamije kugena umurongo wa gahunda y' Ubumwe, Ubwiyunge, amahoro n'iterambere. Ni ukuvuga ko akamaro k'ubushakashatsi bwa Komisiyo kadashingiye gusa mu makuru n'ubumenyi itanga ahubwo gashingiye by'umwihariko ku gushyiraho amabwiriza ya gahunda ngenderwaho.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yakoze kandi inatangaza ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi ku isoko n'icyateye amacakubiri, amakimbirane na Jenocide mu Rwanda n'uburyo bwo kubirwanya. Igipimo cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge,²¹⁸ kigamije kwerekana ingaruka nziza za gahunda z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ku rwego rw'Igihugu ni kimwe mu byashyizweho na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.²¹⁹

Imyanzuro y'ubushakashatsi butandukanye yagize akamaro mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuko yabaye ishingiro ryo gushyiraho ingamba nshya zo gukora ubuvugizi. Aha urugero rwatangwa ni Gahunda y'Amahoro mu bana n'ishyirwaho ry'imirongo ngenderwaho ya Komisiyo n'abandi bafatanyabikorwa ku bijyanye no guteza imbere indangagaciro z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu bana. Inzego zitandukanye za Leta na zo zashoboye guhuza ibikorwa mu gukemura amakimbirane hifashishijwe iyi myanzuro. Incamake y'ibyo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yagezeho iri mu gika gikurikira.

4.3.5. Iby'ingenzi Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yagezeho

Guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda hagendewe ku kwimakaza indangagaciro nyarwanda ni kimwe mu by'ingenzi byagezweho na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Binyuze mu kazi gakomeye Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yakoze, u Rwanda ubu ruzi neza ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda ariyo nkingi Igihugu kigomba kubakiraho.²²⁰

Uruhare runini rwa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge rwatangiye mu gihe cy'inziyacyuho hashyirwaho ingamba nziza zirimo inama nyunguranabitekerezo n'abaturage, inama nkuru z'Igihugu, amahugurwa n'ubushakashatsi nk'uko byavuzwe

²¹⁸ Igipimo cya mbere k'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda cyakozwe mu mwaka w' 2010.

²¹⁹ NURC (2009). Ibid.,p. 15-16

²²⁰ NURC (2000). Ibid.

haruguru. Izi ngamba zabaye urubuga rwo kurangiza inzibacyuho mu mahoro, uruhare rw'Abanyarwanda mu gushyiraho Itegeko Nshinga rishya, na gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, ndetse no kwishakamo ibisubizo by'ibibazo ari na byo byatumye Ubumwe n'Ubwiye burushaho gutera imbere mu Rwanda. Incamake y'iby'ingezi mu byagezweho na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ni ibi bikurikira:

1. Hashyizweho Itegeko Nshinga (2003) rishingiye ku bitekerezo by'abaturage kandi hategurwa Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye (2007), ikangurirwa abaturage, barayishyigikira kandi ishyirwa mu bikorwa. Ibi byashyizweho bikubiyemo ingamba zihamye zo kurwanya no kwamagana ibikorwa ibyo ari byo byose, inyandiko n'amagambo ahembera ihezwa, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide ihohoterwa n'ubwumvikane bucyeye.
2. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yanagize uruhare mu gushyiraho itegeko rihana ivangura, n'ibikorwa byose by'amacakubiri;²²¹
3. Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bwatejwe imbere kandi burashimangirwa. Kugira ngo ibi bigerweho hashyizweho kandi hanashyigikirwa gahunda zigamije gushishikariza Abanyarwanda kubana mu mahoro. Izi gahunda zirimo amatsinda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu baturage, amashyirahamwe, amakoperative ku nzego zose, inama nyunguranabitekerezo n'abaturage ndetse no ku rwego rw'Igihugu, inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu, n'izindi.
4. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yanagize akamaro mu gushyiraho gahunda zishingiye ku baturage. Zimwe muri zo ni nk'Ubudehe n'Umuganda. Komisiyo yanashyigikiye izi gahunda ku nzego zitandukanye hashyirwaho ikarita igaragaza aho ibikorwa by'abaturage biherereye, bikaba byarahaye icyizere abaterankunga no gukora ubuvugizi ku banyarwanda bakiri inyuma mu nzira y' iterambere.²²²
5. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yashyigikiye ubusabane ngarukamwaka bugira uruhare mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Yanagize uruhare rukomeye mu bikorwa bijyanye n'umuco, nk'amakinamico, muzika, imbyino n'ubuvanganzo, bifasha Abanyarwanda guhinduka no kugera k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ubu busabane bunafasha mu gutanga ubutumwa k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, amahoro n'ubwumvikane, uburenganzira bwa muntu n'ubutabera bushingiye ku baturage.

²²¹ NURC (2002). Ibid., p.27

²²² Idem.

6. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yagize akamaro mu burere mboneragihugu binyuze mu nama nyunguranabitekerezo, amahugurwa, itumanaho, inama z'umushyikirano, ibitangazamakuru (televiziyo,radiyo, ibinyamakuru,) interineti, telefoni zitishyurwa, amahugurwa n'inama, amahuriro nk'Ingando n'Itorero (ishuri ryigisha amahoro) n'ibindi. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yanateguye integanyanyigisho nshya ku mateka igenewe amashuri, ku bufatanye n'Ingoro Ndangamurage y'u Rwanda n'abandi bafatanyabikorwa. Izi gahunda zigaragaza akamaro k'ibyakoze na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye kuva aho hatangiriye gahunda y'uburere mboneragihugu.

7. Ibikorwa bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye byibanze na none ku ruhare rw'urubyiruko (inama z'Igihugu z'urubyiruko na komisiyo z'abana) muri gahunda z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ibi byakoze kuko urubyiruko rwakabaye imbaraga z'Igihugu rwakoresheje n'ubutegetsi bwateguye Jenoside mu gusenya umuryango nyarwanda. Mu gihe uru rubyiruko rukoresheje neza rwakubaka umuryango nyarwanda. Ibi ni byo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yashyize imbere. Inama nkuru y'Igihugu yo muri 2004 k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yateguye ikanayoborwa n'urubyiruko/abana ibyerekanaga neza.

8. Ubutabera kuri bose na bwo bwibanzweho, butegurwa kandi butezwa imbere na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye (urugero ni ubutabera bwunga mu nkiko Gacaca, uburinganire bw'ibitsina byombi, uburenganzira ku burezi no kubona akazi hashingiwe ku bushobozi n'amapiganwa).

9. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yagize kandi uruhare rugaragara mu ishyirwaho ry'inzeho zigamije guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye: Komisiyo y'Igihugu ishinzwe kurwanya Jenoside, Urwego rw'Umuvunyi, Ibiro Bishinzwe Gukurikirana Ikoreshwa ry'Umutungo wa Leta, n'izindi.

10. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yanagize uruhare mu bikorwa byinshi byo gusuzuma uko imibereho, ubukungu n'ubukene biteye nk'uburyo bwo gutuma Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bushyirwa muri gahunda y'imbatubukungu no kurwanya ubukene hanaterwa inkunga abatishoboye, nk'imfubyi n'abapfakazi.

11. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yashyigikiye ubufatanye n'ubutwererane hagati y'uturere ku biyanye n'umuco ndetse n'ubucuruzi hagamijwe kubaka umuco w'ubusabane, kubana mu mahoro, ubuhahirane no gusakaza amahoro;

12. Ishyirwaho ry'abakangurambaga b'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye na byo ni igikorwa cyatangijwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ni abakorerabushake bifashishwa mu gukangurira abaturage kwikemurira ibibazo mu mahoro.

13. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yagize uruhare rukomeye cyane mu kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro nk'umusingi w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yifashishije gahunda zishingiye ku muco nk' Ingando n'Itozero, Ubudehe, n'Ubusabane. Ni muri urwo rwego kuva mu 1999, Komisiyo yateguye ibikorwa byinshi bishingiye ku muco birimo amakinamico, indirimbo, imivugo n'imbyino. Ibi binakoreshwa mu gihe cy'ibiganiro, amahugurwa, inama nyunguranabitekerezo, n'Inama nkuru z'Umushyikirano ziba buri mwaka.

14. Ikoresheje ubushakashatsi k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yashyizeho igipimo cy'Ubwiye kugira ngo igaragaze niba inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye igendana n'ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi. Ubu bushakashatsi bufasha mu gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye no kugaragaza ibipimo by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Bumwe mu bushakashatsi bwa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bwafashije mu gushyiraho gahunda ziyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye buragaragara mu mbonerahamwe iri hasi.

Incamake ya bimwe mu byagezweho na gahunda y'ubushakashatsi bwa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

Ubushakashatsi bw'ingenzi bwakozwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge	Ibyo gahunda yagezeho
1. Umutungo w'Ubutaka n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2002	Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi n'imyanzuro ku bijyanye no kwandikisha ubutaka byatumye habaho amavugururwa ku itegeko ry'ubutaka mu Rwanda
2. Kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi na Demokarasi mu Rwanda, 2003	Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byatumye habaho guteza imbere no kuvugurura ukwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi mu Rwanda n'amatora ashingiye kuri demokarasi, guhera muri 2003.
3. Amakimbirane mu Rwanda: Inkomoko, uko yakuze, n'ingamba zo kuyavamo.	<p>Ibyavuye muri ubu bushakashatsi byatumye habaho:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓Gutegura Politiki y'Igihugu ku bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2007; ✓Gushyiraho itegeko No. 18/2003 ryo ku wa 23 Kamena 2003 rihana ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide. ✓Gutegura imishinga y'inyungu rusange ihuza abarokotse Jenocide, abagize uruhare muri Jenocide n'imiryango yabo; ✓Gushyiraho politiki igaragaza uruhare rwa buri wese mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge; ✓Gutangiza amahugurwa y'abantu bakuze n'ababyeyi bahamagarirwa kwigisha abana babo indangagaciro zikwiye; ✓Gutangiza inyigisho ku kurandura urwango rushingiye ku bwoko n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide mu mashuri.
4. Gacaca n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, 2004	Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byahaye inzego zifata ibyemezo ibitekerezo by'abaturage ku kamaro ka Gacaca mu kugarura ubutabera bwunga. Ubushakashatsi bwatumye havugururwa imirongo ngenderwaho ya Gacaca.

<p>5. Akamaro k'abagore mu kubaka Ubwiyunge n'amahoro mu Rwanda: Imyaka icumi nyuma ya Jenoside (1994-2004): Ibyagezweho, Imbogamizi n'inzira zo kuzisohokamo.</p>	<p>✓ Hamenyekanye uruhare rw'abagore mu kubaka amahoro kandi n'abagore bashishikarizwa kugira uruhare mu kubaka amahoro;</p> <p>✓ Hashyizweho ihuriro ry'abagore riharanira Ubwiyunge.</p>
<p>6. Ubushakashatsi ku Ngando, 2007</p>	<p>✓ Gushyiraho Ingando zigisha uburere mboneragihugu n'ibiganiro bihuza abantu byabereye muri Nkumba mu karere ka Burera mu ntara y'amajyaruguru, 2007;</p> <p>✓ Gutangira gukoresha ijambo Ingando (igisobanuro gishingiye ku mateka) aho gukoresha "Ingando z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge" kugira ngo risobanuke neza, 2007;</p> <p>✓ Kuvugurura amasomo ajyanye n'Ingando akajyana n'igihe, 2008;</p> <p>✓ Gutangiza ihuriro ry'abarangije Ingando n'abayirimo;</p> <p>✓ Gutangiza Itorero ry'Igihugu (Ishuli ry'Itorero ry'Igihugu).</p>
<p>7. Amakimbirane mu miryango mu Rwanda: Impamvu nyamukuru n'ibisubizo, 2007</p>	<p>✓ Gushyiraho icyumweru cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu gihugu;</p> <p>✓ Gushyiraho ubufatanye hagati ya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge n'inzego z'amadini ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.</p>
<p>8. Ubushakashatsi ku mibanire, 2007, 2008</p>	<p>✓ Guteza imbere uruhare rw'abaturage mu gufata ibyemezo;</p> <p>✓ Uruhare rw'inzego zihuza abaturage (amashuri, insengero, itangazamakuru rya Leta n'iryigenga, n'amashyirahamwe yigenga) hagamijwe kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside kandi hashimangirwa umuco w'amahoro.</p>

9. Impamvu z'ihohoterwa nyuma ya Jenoside yo muri 1994 mu Rwanda, 2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓Gushyiraho amatsinda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu mashuri; ✓Guhugura abanyamakuru bafite ibitangazamakuru bifasha mu kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside hagamijwe kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro no gukemura amakimbirane.
10. Igipimo cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, 2010, 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓Kugaragaza ibipimo ngenderwaho by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; ✓Gushyiraho gahunda nshya zo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Biragaragara ko Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari moteri y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ikanaba urubuga rwiza rutuma gahunda n'ibikorwa by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bigerwaho neza. Nk'uko byagaragajwe haruguru, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yabigezeho ikoresheje ibiganiro n'abaturage, ibiganiro bikuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu, amahugurwa, n'ubushakashatsi. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kandi yabaye urubuga rw'impaka zubaka, zigera no ku banyarwanda baba hanze (Diaspora), kugira ngo habeho ubwisanzure mu kugaragaza ibyifuzo bya buri wese. Ibi ni na byo Joachim Alberto Chissano, wahoze ari Perezida wa Repubulika ya Mozambique, yagarutseho mu nama nkuru y'Igihugu ya kabiri:

Binyuze muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Leta yashyizeho urubuga kugira ngo abaturage bajye impaka zigamije kugaragaza, guteza imbere no gushimangira ibikorwa bishyigikira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ni na gahunda nziza yo gukurikirana no gusuzuma ibimaze kugerwaho muri uru rwego ku buryo buhoraho. Uko iyi gahunda iteye biha umwanya Abanyarwanda wo gutekereza ku byabatanyije, ibyabahuza, no kumva neza uburemere bw'uko bagomba kugira uruhare mu kubona inzira ziganisha ku kugera ku bwumvikane mu gihugu cyuje Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Kubw'iyi gahunda, mwashoboye kubona ibisubizo bikwiye mu gukemura ibibazo byo gutuza abari impunzi no gufasha imfubyi za Jenoside.²²³

²²³ NURC (2002). Ibid., p.19.

Nk'uko byemejwe na raporo y'ikigo cy'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge (2005), Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda yakoze ikintu cyihariye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Raporo igira iti:

Bitandukanye n'izindi ngamba z'Ubwiyunge muri Afurika n'ahandi hose ku isi, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yasakaje Ubwiyunge mu gihugu na gahunda [zinyanye na yo] mu baturage. Yasobanuye uburyo bushya bwo kubaka no gushimangira Ubumwe mu banyarwanda binyuze mu burezi, ibiganiro, ubukangurambaga n'amahugurwa. Yanashyizeho umusingi ukomeye wo kwimakaza Ubwiyunge.²²⁴

Ibanga Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yakoresheje kugira ngo igere ku nshingano zayo, kuva yashingwa, ni uko ititwaye nk'ikigo kizi byose mu bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; ahubwo yahisemo guha urubuga Abanyarwanda kugira ngo baganire kandi basesengure impamvu z'ibyabatanyije noneho bashakire hamwe ingamba zibahuzaga babigizemo imyumvire imwe. Kuva muri 1999, Komisiyo yashyizeho uburyo bwo kugirana ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo n'abaturage ku nzego zose kugira ngo barebe ibyatanyije Abanyarwanda, bashakira uko bakosora ibyagenze nabi.

Ishyirwaho rya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri 1999, ryabaye kandi inzira yo kwinjiza Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z'iterambere mu Rwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego izindi gahunda zinyanye n'imiyoborere myiza, iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza ndetse no mu rwego rw'ubutabera, zose zashyize Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda z'ibikorwa byazo.

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bwatangiranye n'ishyirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda (hashimangirwa gusangira ubutegetsi, kuganira no kungurana ibitekerezo, guhuza ingabo, gucyura, gutuza no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi, abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara n'ingabo zavuye ku rugerero), na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ni ku bw'uyu musingi izindi ngamba z'imiyoborere myiza zateguwe kandi zigashyirwa mu bikorwa.

²²⁴ IJR (2005). *Evaluation et étude d'impact de la Commission Nationale (rwandaise) pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation*, p.64-65.

4.4. Imiyoborere myiza no kugendera ku mategeko

Ni gahunda ya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ko Abanyarwanda bose bagira uruhare mu miyoborere myiza no gushakira ibisubizo ibibazo by'Igihugu... Ni ngombwa rero guha abaturage umwanya mu miyoborere y'Igihugu no gushaka ibisubizo by'ibibazo byacyo.²²⁵

Imiyoborere myiza irangwa byibuze n'amahame icyenda: uruhare rwa buri wese, ubwumvikane, kubazwa uko inshingano zasohojwe, gukorera mu mucyo, kugera ku ntego, kudahaza no kugendera ku mategeko. Iharanira kurwanya ruswa, guha ijambo no kumva abajejwe n'abatishoboye kandi igaharanira kugera kubyo abenegihugu bifuzza igihe cyose.²²⁶

Imiyoborere itarageze ku ntego yayo, yitwa 'imiyoborere mibi', ari nako yari imeze mu Rwanda nwo hambere uhereye ku gihe cy'ubukoloni kuko yari ishingiyeye ku gitugu, itegerejwe abaturage kandi ikandamiza, ishingira ku macakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko n'itotezwa byagejeje kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Aha, umuco wo kudahana no kutagendera ku mategeko byari byarimakajwe.

Kubera icyo miyoborere mibi, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 yafashe imiyoborere myiza ishingiyeye ku iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko nk'ihame ndakuka; ari nabyo byubahirizaga amasezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha hagati ya FPR na Leta y'icyo gihe yagaragaza ko imiyoborere mishya yagombaga kurangwa no kugendera ku mategeko²²⁷,

Leta nshya yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 yiyemeje rero gukurikiza ihame ry'uko 'u Rwanda rukwiye kugendera ku mategeko', bivuga ko nta muntu n'umwe (haba n'abayobozi) uri hejuru y'amategeko kandi ko amategeko agomba kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ibanze bw'abaturage.²²⁸

Bityo rero, Leta yagiyeho nyuma ya 1994 yihatiye kubaka Igihugu kitajegajega, gifite ubwisanzure kandi kizira ivangura, ahubwo gishimangira Ubumwe, kigendera ku mategeko kandi giteza imbere uburenganzira bw'ibanze ari na bwo shingiro ry'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

²²⁵ Ijambo rya Nyakubawa Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, mu nama ya mbere y'Igihugu. 2000, Kigali, p.5

²²⁶ RALGA, *Training Manual on Good Governance*, Kigali.

²²⁷ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe ku kugendera ku mategeko Arusha, Tanzania, 18 Kanama, 1992.

²²⁸ Idem.

mu Rwanda.²²⁹ Ni muri urwo rwego hashyizweho ikigo gishinzwe guteza imbere imiyoborere myiza mu Rwanda—Ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'Imiyoborere (RGB) mu mwaka wa 2011.

Ku myaka itanagera ku icumi, kuva Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ihagaritswe, u Rwanda rwabarinwaga mu bihugu bya mbere bya Afurika bifite imiyoborere myiza, rukaba kandi rwari ku mwanya wa mbere mu kwesa imihigo y'ikinyagihumbi muri 2013.²³⁰ Mu mwaka wa 2006, Urwego nyafurika rw'ubugenzuzi (African Peer Review Mechanism) rwagaragaje ko u Rwanda ruhagaze neza mu kuzahura ubukungu, ko ruhiga ibindi bihugu mu gukoresha inkunga mu bikorwa by'iterambere rirambye, kandi ko rufite politiki ihamye kurusha ibindi bihugu mu kurwanya ruswa nta mpuhwe.²³¹ Aha, gukorera muri demukarasi, ni rimwe mu mahame shingiro y'imiyoborere myiza mu Rwanda, nk'uko ingingo ikurikira ibigaragaza.

4.4.1. Imiyoborere ishingiyeye kuri demukarasi

Nk'uko bikunze kwemezwa muri rusange, demokarasi yumvikana nk'isano iri hagati y'abayobora n'abayoborwa; isano riri hagati y'inzego z'ubuyobozi n'uko zijyaho cyangwa zikurwaho; uko abaturage baziyoboka; cyangwa uko abayobora buzuza inshingano zabo zo kuyobora Igihugu n'uruhare abayoborwa bagira.²³²

Mu Rwanda, ubuyobozi bushingye kuri demokarasi bwakomeje kuba ikibazo kugeza kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, kuva aho Abakoloni baziye, abaturage ntibigeze bagira uburenganzira mu miyoborere y'Igihugu cyabo. Nk'urugero, abaturage ntibigeze bagira ubwisanzure n'uruhare rwo gupiganira cyangwa kwitorera abayobozi ku buryo no mu nzego z'ibanze abayobozi bose bashyirwagaho n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Igihugu. Ibi byakosowe na Leta y'Ubumwe yagiyeho nyuma ya Jenocide kuko ubu abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo guhatanira kujya mu myanya y'ubuyobozi ndetse no kwihitiramo abayobozi binyuze mu matora.²³³ Ibi kandi byanakozwe hubahirizwa amasezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha yo muri 1993 hagati ya FPR na Leta y'icyo gihe aho impande zombi zari zemeranyije ko Abanyarwanda bakeneye Igihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi, ubwisanzure, n'uburenganzira bwa buri muntu.

²²⁹ NURC (2002). Ibid.

²³⁰ MINECOFIN (2013). *Rwanda on Course to achieve MDGs targets*. Biboneka: www.minecofin.gov.rw.

²³¹ Longari M. (2010). "The liberation" In *Paul Kagame and the Resilience of a people*, Jaguar Eds, p.52

²³² Republic of Rwanda (1999). *Report on the Reflection Meeting held in the Office of the President of the Republic*, May 1998 to March 1999, Kigali: Office of the President of the Republic, p.42

²³³ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.33

Demokarasi mu Rwanda yatangiranye rero n'igihe cy'inzibacyuho nyuma gato ya Jenocide aho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yaharaniye kugendera ku mahame nyayo ya demokarasi. Hashingiwe kandi ku Iteka rya Perezida wa Repubulika ryo ku wa 23 Ukuboza 1998 ryatangizaga demokarasi ku rwego rw'imirenge n'utugari, kugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi byanashyizwe mu bikorwa hashyirwaho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yashyizweho n'Itegeko No. 39/2000 ryo ku wa 28 Ugushyirwa 2000 nk'uko ryavugururwe n'Itegeko No. 31/ 2005 ryo ku wa 25 Ukuboza 2005. Amasezerano yo gusangira ubutegetsi, hagati ya Guverinoma yariho mu Rwanda n'Umuryango wa FPR (Ingendo ya 24) na yo yavugaga ko hagomba kubaho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y' Amatora.²³⁴

Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, mu ngingo yaryo ya 180 na ryo riteganyaga ishyingirwaho rya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora. Bijyanye n'ibikubiye muri iri tegeko nshinga, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora ni Komisiyo yigenga ishinzwe gutegura amatora y'inzego z'ibanze, ay'abababwirye ndetse n'aya Perezida wa Repubulika, Kamarampaka n'andi matora ateganywa n'Amategeko.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yageze kuri byinshi bigamije Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge aho yateguraga amatora mu bwisanzure, mu kuri no mu mucyo. Yanahuguye abantu mu bijyanye n'amatora kugira ngo bamenye neza gukoresha uburenganzira bwabo. Kugira ngo ibigereho, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yashyizeho ahantu henshi hagomba kubera amatora (site z'itora), mu ntara n'uturere, iteguraga kandi ihugurura abantu kuri gahunda n'ibikorwa by'amatora.

Amatora mu Rwanda yategururwa/ategurwa kandi akorwa mu bwisanzure, mu kuri no mu mucyo ku buryo habaho urubuga rusesuye ku banyapolitiki ndetse n'abandi bese bifuzaga kuyobora u Rwanda; ibi bikaba ari ingenzi k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungemurwa Rwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego, raporo nyinshi ku Rwanda (urebye nka raporo yo muri 2007) zagaragaje ko ubuyobozi bushingiyeye kuri demokarasi bwashimangiyeye imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda.

Mu Rwanda, muri rusange, demokarasi ni "ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, bushyirwaho n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage."²³⁵ Ni ukuvuga ko "igikorwa cyose kigomba gushingira ku baturage n'ibibafitiye inyungu."²³⁶ By'umwihariko ariko, ni ingenzi kugaragaza ko mu Rwanda, demokarasi itagarukira gusa ku matora. Mu Rwanda, demokarasi nyakuri ifite igisobanuro cy'uko "abaturage bakwiye kugira ijamba mu bikorwa bibakorerwa, ko bagomba kugira uruhare mu gutanga ibitekerezo by'uko

²³⁴ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe ku kugendera ku mategeko Arusha, Tanzania, 18th August, 1992; 1993.

²³⁵ NURC (2000). *Report on the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation*, October, 18-20, 2000, p.28.

²³⁶ Idem, p.29

*ibibazo bigomba gukemuka, bakitoramo abayobozi bashinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa ibisubizo ku bibazo byabo kandi bakagira uburenganzira bwo kwikuriraho abayobozi batabashije kurangiza inshingano zabo”.*²³⁷

Ishusho y'imiyoborere mu Rwanda kuva muri 1994 irangwa rero no guharanira kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda kuko ishingiyeye ku muco wo kutagira uwo iheza, ubwisanzure, politiki ishingiyeye kuri demokarasi n'ibitekerezo binyuranye, kandi ihabanye cyane n'imiyoborere mibi irangwa n'uko 'utsinze amatara yikubira byose'.

Ni muri urwo rwego, imiyoborere y'u Rwanda itameze nk'imibi ikunze kuranga ibihugu bimwe na bimwe nabyo byagize amakimbirane, kuko iy'u Rwanda iha urubuga n'ubwisanzure buri wese. Niyo mpamvu mu Rwanda hagiyeho ihuriro ry'imitwe ya politiki kugira ngo habeho umwanya w'ibiganiro no gutanga ibitekerezo byubaka ndetse no kugira inama abayobozi. Imitwe ya politiki ikorera mu Rwanda yanashyizeho amabwiriza ayigenga agamije gushimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.²³⁸

Nk'uko byakomoyeho mbere, imiyoborere myiza mu Rwanda na none irangwa no kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi, nabyo bikaba bifite uruhare runini mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

4.4.2. Kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi

Mu rwego rwo gushimangira ihame ry'imiyoborere myiza igamije guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yatangiye gahunda yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi hibandwa ku ruhare rw'abaturage, gutanga serivisi nziza, umutekano, no kwishakamo ibisubizo. Ibi byose byakozwe hagamijwe guha abaturage umwanya wo kwiyezeza no kwishimira ibyo bakora, kandi inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bayigira iyabo. Umwihariko w'u Rwanda wo guha abaturage umwanya n'ijambo ku bibakorerwa no mu miyoborere, aho babigize ibyabo, byabaye ingenzi cyane mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.²³⁹

Kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi byatangiranye n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya politiki y'Igihugu yo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage mu mwaka wa 2000,²⁴⁰ nyuma n'ikusanyabitekerezo mu baturage ku cyateye amacakubiri mu banyarwanda, nk'uko byagaragajwe mu bika

²³⁷ Idem.

²³⁸ Musoni Protais (2003). Ibid., p. 18-9 .

²³⁹ Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:331.

²⁴⁰ MINALOC (2000). *National Decentralization Policy*, Kigali.

byabanje.²⁴¹ Muri iryo kusanyabitekerezo, ryakorewe mu gihugu hose, abaturage bagaragaje ubushake bwo kugira ijamba muri gahunda z'igihugu. Gahunda yo kwegerereza ubuyobozi abaturage yateguwe hagamiywe guha Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose ubushobozi bwo kugira uruhare mu mavugururwa ya politiki, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza, ari byo bitanga igisubizo ku byifuzo byabo.

Twakwibutsa ko mbere y'uko ishyingirwa mu bikorwa, indi mishinga yabanzirizaga gahunda yo kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi yari yaratangijwe mu Rwanda hose.²⁴² Muri yo hari imishinga y'amategeko arebana n'inzego z'ibanze no gutegura amatora y'abayobozi b'ibanze. Harimo kandi na Komite zishinzwe iterambere mu baturage (CDCs) zashyirirweho kureba ibikorwa byihutirwa kandi bikenewe mu iterambere ryabo no gukora igenamigambi ku nzego z'ibanze. Kugira ngo habeho uruhare rw'abaturage mu iterambere ryabo, byari ngombwa ko igenamigambi riha umwanya buri wese kandi ku nzego zose.²⁴³

Uretse kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi, hanabayeho n'izindi gahunda za ngombwa: (1) gahunda yo kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi butuma bagira uruhare muri gahunda y'imari n'imisoro, igamiye guha ubushobozi inzego z'ibanze kugira ngo zibashe kuzura inshingano zazo; na (2) gahunda y' iterambere mu baturage, ifasha mu gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda y'igihugu yo kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi binyuze mu kubaha umwanya uhoraho mu kugira uruhare mu iterambere ryabo, hibandwa ku kurwanya ubukene.²⁴⁴

Kuva u Rwanda rwatangira gahunda yo kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi, rwageze kuri byinshi byagize ingaruka nziza k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Kwegerereza abaturage ubuyobozi byahinduye ku buryo bugaragara ishusho y'imikoranire yari hagati y'uyobora n'abayoborwa' mu Rwanda. Ubu ishusho iriho ni iy'ubuyobozi bushingira ku bitekerezo n'uruhare by'umuturage. Gahunda z'ibikorwa zajyaga zitegurirwa ku rwego rwo hejuru zikagera ku baturage zibatunguye, ubu zigenwa n'abaturage kandi bumva ko ari izabo kuko bahawe ijamba mu gufata ibyemezo.²⁴⁵

Ibi byagezweho kubera ivugururwa ry'inzego z'ibanze ryahaye imbaraga uburyo bwo gutegura gahunda no kuzikurikirana ku rwego rw'ibanze. Nko muri 2011-2012, inzego

²⁴¹ Musoni Protais (2003). Ibid., p.11.

²⁴² Idem.

²⁴³ Musoni, Protais (2003). Ibid., p.13.

²⁴⁴ Idem.

²⁴⁵ NURC (2009).Ibid., p.6.

z'ibanze zabaye ingenzi mu gushyira mu bikorwa politiki z'Igihugu, hashyirwa mu bikorwa ibirenga 25% by'ingengo y'imari yinjizwa n'izo nzego.²⁴⁶ Hanakoreshejwe 50% by'ingengo y'imari y'urwego rw'Igihugu.²⁴⁷ Muri rusange, kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi byabaye umwanya wo kuva mu buryo bw'imiyoborere mibi bwa mbere ya 1994 hatezwa imbere uruhare rw'abaturage mu bibakorerwa. Nk'urugero, Gahunda y'Imyaka Itanu yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi yo muri 2004 yagaragaje ko mu Rwanda ntawe uzongera kugendera ku muco wo kumvira gusa abayobozi nk'uko byahozwe cyera aho abaturage bari ba 'nyamuja iyo bijya'.²⁴⁸

Kubera ko umutungo nyamukuru w'u Rwanda ari abaturage barwo, ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi ryashyize imbere kongerera abaturage ubushobozi kugira ngo iterambere ry'Igihugu barigire iryabo. Ntibitunguranye, ndetse ntibinatangaje, rero kuba amahanga yemeza ko imiyoborere mishya y'u Rwanda yegereje abaturage ubuyobozi ari indashyikirwa n'intangarugero, atari mu gutanga serivisi nziza gusa ahubwo ari no mu guha abaturage umwanya mu miyoborere bigamije Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge²⁴⁹.

Muri 2013, ihuriro ry'inzego z'ibanze mu muryango w'ibihugu byakolonijwe n'Ubwongereza ari naryo shami ry'ubunyamabanga bwawo ryakoze ubushakashatsi hasuzumwa gahunda zo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi mu Rwanda bagendeye ku mahame ya Aberdeen—amahame 12 ya Domokarasi n'Imiyoborere Myiza mu Nzego z'ibanze (ku wa 18 Werurwe 2005) akoreshwa mu bihugu bigize ihuriro ry'inzego z'ibanze mu muryango w'ibihugu byakoronijwe n'Ubwongereza. Aya mahame agizwe na: (1) Itegeko Nshinga n'andi mategeko bishingiye kuri Demokarasi, (2) ubwisanzure mu kwitorera abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, (3) ubufatanye n'ubutwererane mu nzego z'ubuyobozi, (4) inzego z'amategeko zihamye, (5) Guha abaturage uruhare mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo, (6) inzego z'ibanze zidaheza kandi zibazwa ibyo zikora (7) inzego z'ibanze zidaheza kandi zikorera mu mucyo, (8) urwego nshingwabikorwa rukora neza, (9) kudaheza, (10) gukoresha neza no gusaranganya umutungo, (11) serivisi kuri bose, no

²⁴⁶ Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), *Sectoral Decentralization in Rwanda*, pp. 42–4 in Chemouni (2014). Explaining the design of the Rwandan decentralization: elite vulnerability and the territorial repartition of power." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 246–26, Department of International Development, London School of Economics and Political Science

²⁴⁷ MIFOTRA, Public Sector Retention Pay Policy, p. 36. In Chemouni (2014). Ibid.

²⁴⁸ MINALOC, In Chemouni (2014). Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Chemouni (2014). Ibid., p.246.

(12) kubaka ubushobozi hagamijwe imiyoborere ihamyeye.²⁵⁰ Amahame ya Aberdeen rero niyo yifashishijwe mu gusuzuma no gusesengura imiterere n'imikorere y'inzego z'ibanze mu Rwanda. Hashingijwe kuri ayo mahame rero, imyanzuro y'ubushakashatsi bw' ihuriro ry'inzego z'ibanze mu muryango w'ibihugu byakolonijwe n'Ubwongereza ivuga ibi bikurikira:

Hifashishijwe isuzuma n'isesengura ry'imiterere y'inzego z'ibanze mu Rwanda, ubushakashatsi kwasanze u Rwanda, binyujijwe mu kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi, rwarashyize mu bikorwa amahame ya Aberdeen nk'inzira ishimangira kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi. Byinshi byagezweho ku bijyanye n'uruhare rugaragara rw'abaturage mu miyoborere, ubwisanzure bwa politiki mu kwihitiramo abayobozi mu nzego z'ibanze, kudahaza, gukorera mu mucyo, kuzuzura inshingano no kugenzura abayobozi mu nzego z'ibanze, aha tukaba tuvuye bicye gusa. Bityo, inzego z'ibanze mu Rwanda, binyuze mu kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi, zashyize mu bikorwa ibikubiye mu mahame ya Aberdeen uhereye muri 2001.²⁵¹

Gahunda zavuzwe haruguru ntizatumye gusa u Rwanda rusohoka mu nzibacyuho mu mahoro, ahubwo zanabaye urufatiro rwa gahunda zindi zateje imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Imwe muri izo gahunda ni ivugururwa ry'itegeko nshinga.

4.4.3. Ivugururwa ry'itegeko Nshinga

Ubu dufite itegeko Nshinga ryagiyeho muri demokarasi. Dufite itegeko Nshinga rijyanye n'ibitekerezo bya benshi mu baturage. Bityo, twashyize inyungu z'igihugu imbere y'iz'undi muntu uwo ari we wese cyangwa umutwe wa politiki uwo ari wo wose. Ntekereza ko twese twumva kimwe ko ari twe tuziyubakira igihugu ku buryo bukurikiza amategeko burangajwe imbere n'iri tegeko nshinga twishyiriyeho ubwacu. Ndatekereza ndetse ko twese twumva ko turi mu nzira nziza kandi ko buri wese ayirimo... Abanyarwanda bashoboye gusubiza amaso inyuma mu mateka yacu bareba neza icyateye ibibazo. Twashoboye rero gushyiraho gahunda izatuma duhangana n'ibibazo.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Ensign, "Reflections on Rwanda, 20 Years after the Genocide against Tutsi." In Gasanabo Jean Damascène, David J. Simon, and Margee M. Ensign (2014) *Confronting Genocide in Rwanda: Dehumanization, Denial, and Strategies for Prevention*, Kigali: CNLG, p.354.

²⁵¹ Commonwealth Secretariat (2013), *Local Democracy and Local Governance: Benchmarking Rwanda Against the Aberdeen Principles*, April, p.13; Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:355

²⁵² Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, Ikiganiro ed by Clare Short (in Jha et al., 2004:12, 220-221).

Mu mateka yarwo, u Rwanda ntirwigeze rugira Itegeko Nshinga rifite indangagaciro n'amahame arugeza ku byo rwifuza nk'Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe. Amategeko nshinga yabayeho yakunze gukurwa mu bihugu by'amahanga hadashingiwe ku mwiheriko n'imiterere y'u Rwanda, cyangwa se agashingira ku nyungu z'abayobozi b'icyo gihe. Muri ubu buryo bwose, abaturage ntibigeze bahabwa ijambo mu gutegura ayo mategeko shingiro.

Itegeko Nshinga rishya rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda (ryatangajwe ku wa 4 Kamena 2003) nk'uko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu, rikosora ayo makosa yose. Rishingiye ku ihame ry' Ubumwe, Umurimo no Gukunda Igihugu (Ingingo ya 6), abaturage bagize uruhare mu gutegura iri tegeko nshinga rishya kandi 93% baritoye ku wa 26 Gicurasi 2003 hashingiwe ku mahame mpuzamahanga y'uburenganzira bwa muntu. Ibi Abanyarwanda babyivugira muri aya magambo:

*Mbere ya byose, itegeko nshinga ry'u Rwanda ryatowe n'Abanyarwanda. Nta guhabwa ijambo rero kurenze kuba umuturage ku giti cye yarishyiriyeho Itegeko Nshinga mu gihugu cye!*²⁵³.

*No ku bijyanye n'itegeko nshinga, barazaga [abayobozi] bakadusaba gutanga ibitekerezo byacu, noneho bakabiharaho bategura itegeko nshinga...kuba ubu abagore bemerewe kugira uruhare mu gufata ibyemezo nk'uko biteganywa n'itegeko nshinga, bitandukanye na cyera, byerekana ko dufite ijambo mu gufata ibyemezo bireba ubuzima bwacu*²⁵⁴.

Itegeko Nshinga rishya ryashyizweho ku bufatanye, ubwumvikane n'ubushishozi bw'Abanyarwanda, kandi bose bazi neza ko itegeko nshinga ari iryabo.²⁵⁵ Amahame y'ibanze y'iri tegeko nshinga ashingiyeye kuri izi ngingo²⁵⁶:

1. Kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide n'ibyo igaragariramo byose;
2. kurandurana n'imizi amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku bwoko, akarere n'ibindi no gushyira imbere Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;

²⁵³ NURC (2012). A qualitative study on *the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of 2010: Understanding the Past, Political culture, and Economic security*, Kigali, p.78.

²⁵⁴ Idem.

²⁵⁵ Shyaka, A. (2005). Ibid., p.332-33.

²⁵⁶ Republic of Rwanda (2003): The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda as amended to date (p. 4 and preamble); Shyaka, A. (2005). Ibid., p. 332-33; Longari Marco (2010). Ibid., p.51.

3. Gusaranganya ubutegetsi nta bwikanyize; kubaka Leta igendera ku mategeko n'ubutegetsi bwa demokarasi ishingiyeye ku bitekerezo bya politiki binyuranye, uburinganire bw'Abanyarwanda bose n'ubw'abagore n'abagabo, ibyo bigashimangirwa n'uko abagore bagira nibura 30% by'imyanya mu nzego zifatirwamo ibyemezo;

4. Kubaka Leta iharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage no gushyiraho uburyo bukwiye kugira ngo bagire amahirwe angana mu mibereho yabo, gushaka buri gihe umuti w'ibibazo mu nzira y'ibiganiro n'ubwumvikane busesuye.

'Gusangira ubutegetsi' na 'demokarasi ishingiyeye ku kudaheza' nk'uko byashyizwe mu bikorwa na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, nibyo byakomeje kugenderwaho nk'amahame fatizo y'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, hagambirwe icyerekezo cy'Igihugu cyo kuba 'u Rwanda rufite Ubumwe, demokarasi n'iterambere.' Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 ritangaza neza ko uwatsinze amatora atikubira ubutegetsi, rikanavugaga ko Perezida wa Repubulika na Perezida w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, umutwe w'abadebite, bagomba guturuka mu mitwe ya politiki itandukanye (Ingingo ya 58).²⁵⁷ Ishyamba riri ku butegetsi rigira gusa imyanya ingana na 50% muri Leta kugira ngo indi mitwe ya politiki igire uruhare mu miyoborere y'u Rwanda.²⁵⁸

Kuba hariho ihuriro ry'imitwe ya politiki, nk'uburyo bwo gusangira ubutegetsi bunashimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, na byo biteganijwe mu Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003, cyane cyane mu ngingo yaryo ya 56 aho rivugaga ko:

*Bitabangamiye ubwigenge bwa buri mutwe wa politiki mu mibereho no mu mikoranire yayo, imitwe ya politiki yemewe mu Rwanda yishyira hamwe mu ihuriro nyunguranabitekerezo ry'imitwe ya politiki.*²⁵⁹

Itegeko Nshinga rya 2003 rero ni umusingi w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge cyane cyane ko rihana amacakubiri n'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose mu Banyarwanda. Ibi bikaba biri mu ngingo yaryo ya 11, aho rishimangirwa ko:

Abanyarwanda bose bavukana kandi bagakomeza kugira ubwisanzure, uburenganzira n'inshingano bingana. Ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose rishingiyeye nko ku bwoko, ku muryango, ku nzu, ku gisekuru, ku ibara ry'umubiri, ku gitsina, ku karere, ku byiciro by'ubukungu, ku idini cyangwa ukwemera, ku bitekerezo, ku

²⁵⁷ Republic of Rwanda (2003). Ibid.

²⁵⁸ NURC (2009). Ibid., p. 17.

²⁵⁹ Republic of Rwanda (2003). Ibid.

*mutungo, ku itandukaniro ry'umuco, ku rurimi, ku bukungu, ku bumuga bw'umubiri cyangwa ubwo mu mutwe no ku rindi vangura iryo ari ryo ryose, rirabujijwe kandi rihanwa n'amategeko.*²⁶⁰

Urebye aya mahame yavuzwe haruguru, Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 ryitaye cyane k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyegekuko Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yiyemeje kurwanya amacakubiri ayo ari yo yose, guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage, uburinganire, ubutabera no guhora hashakwa ibisubizo binyuze mu biganiriro n'ubwumvikane. Ni muri urwo rwego kandi Itegeko Nshinga rya 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, ryakemuye ikibazo cy'ubusumbane bw'abagabo n'abagore bwari bwariyegagijwe igihe kirekire mu Rwanda. Itegeko Nshinga rishya ryiyemeje guca ubusumbane n'ihesha ry'igitsina gore rishyiraho amategeko arengera uburenganzira bwabo. Nk'ihame, Itegeko Nshinga rya 2003 riteganya amahirwe angana ku bagore n'abagabo mu bijyanye no gutora no gutorwa. Mbere y'uko ibyo bigerwaho, itegeko nshinga rishya (Ingingo ya 76 na 82) riteganya nibura imyanya ingana na 30% mu nteko ishingira amategeko (Umutwe w'abadepite n'Umutwe wa Sena). Itegeko Nshinga rya 2003 riteganya kandi ubutabera ku banyarwanda b'ingeri zose nk'uko ingeri zabo zose bahagarariwe mu nteko ishingira amategeko. Ubu abagore, ababana n'ubumuga, urubyiruko n'abana bagira uruhare mu gufata ibyemezo n'ibindi bifiye Igihugu akamaro. Niyo mpamvu, Itegeko Nshinga rishya ryashyizeho Inama y'Igihugu y'Abagore, n'iy'Urubyiruko (Ingingo ya 118).

Kuba ihame ry'Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, rishimangira gusangira ubutegetsi, aho uwatsinze amatora atikubira ubutegetsi (nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru) na byo ni indi ntambwe mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyeunge. Itegeko Nshinga riha urubuga amatora ashingiyeye kuri demokarasi amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika, Inteko Ishingira Amategeko n'ay'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze. Itegeko Nshinga rifatiye ku mucu nyarwanda ryanashyizeho uburyo nyarwanda bwo kunga Abanyarwanda binyuze mu butabera bwunga (nkuko biza kugarukwaho). Urugero ni Inkiko Gacaca (Ingingo ya 152) na 'Komite z'Abunzi' (Ingingo ya 159) muri buri murenge ndetse kugira ngo n'abaturage bagire uruhare mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyeunge. Hashingiyeye ku itegeko nshinga rishya, hari n'izindi ngamba mu by'amategeko zafashwe mu guhuriza hamwe no kunga Abanyarwanda. Zimwe muri zo ni:

- Itegeko N° 47/2001 ryo ku wa 18 Ukuboza 2001 rihana ibyaha by'ivangura n'amacakubiri;
- Iteka rya Perezida wa Repubulika ritanga imbabazi (guhera muri Mutarama 2003);

²⁶⁰ Idem. p.5.

- Ikurwaho ry'igihano ry'urupfu (Itegeko Ngenga N° 31/2007 ryo ku wa 25/07/2007 rijyanye n'ikurwaho ry'igihano cy'urupfu)²⁶¹;
- Itegeko rishishikariza abakoze ibyaha kwemera ibyaha, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi (Itegeko ngenga N° 10/2007 rihindura kandi ryuzuzwa Itegeko N° 16/2004 ryo ku wa 19/6/2004 rishyiraho kandi riha ububasha Inkiko Gacaca rifungura abemeye ibyaha kandi rigahana abanze kwirega)²⁶²;
- Itegeko N° 18/2008 ryo ku wa 23 Nyakanga 2008 rihana icyaha cy'Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide²⁶³.

Ikindi kintu cy'ingenzi cyashyizweho n'itegeko nshinga rya 2003 ni ishyirwaho ry'inzeho zishinzwe gufasha mu gukemura ibibazo by'ingutu by'Igihugu cyane cyane ikibazo cyo kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Izo nzeho zirimo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (Ingingo ya 178), Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu (Ingingo ya 177), Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide (Ingingo ya 179), Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora (Ingingo ya 180), Komisiyo Ishinzwe Abakozi ba Leta (Ingingo ya 181), Urwego rw'Umuvunyi (Ingingo ya 182), Ibiro by'Umugenzuzi Mukuru w'Imari ya Leta (Ingingo ya 183), n'Ibiro Bikuru bishinzwe lyubahirizwa ry'uburinganire (Ingingo ya 185).²⁶⁴ Usibye Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yavuzwe haruguru, uruhare rw'izi nzeho mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ruragaragazwa mu ngingo ziza gukurikira.

4.4.4. Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

*N'ubwo hashyizweho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge izafasha inzego zose z'Abanyarwanda muri rusange kubahiriza iyi nshingano, bikaba bisaba ubufatanye n'ubwuzuzanye bw'inzeho zose kugira ngo twubake u Rwanda rushyira imbere Ubunyarwanda n'uburenganzira bungana ku barutuye.*²⁶⁵

Muri Kanama 2007, Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yashyizweho ku mugaragaro. Iyi Politiki ishingiyeye ahanini kuri politiki y'imiyoborere myiza u Rwanda rwiyejeje, ku Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo kuwa 04 Kamena 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe

²⁶¹ Republic of Rwanda: Organic Law no 31/2007 of 25/07/2007 rikuraho igihano cy'urupfu.

²⁶² Republic of Rwanda: Organic law no 16/2004 of 19/6/2004

²⁶³ Republic of Rwanda, Official Gazette (2008).

²⁶⁴ Idem.

²⁶⁵ NURC (2007), *ibid.*, p.29

kugeza ubu, by'umwihariko mu irangashingiro ryaryo, mu ngingo ya 9 n'ya 178. Iyi Politiki inashingiye ku bitekerezo byo mu 'cyerekezo 2020' cy'u Rwanda, ibyo muri gahunda ya Leta, n'ibiri mu Itegeko N° 03/99 ryo ku wa 12 Werurwe 1999, rishyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, n'Itegeko N° 35/2002 ryo ku wa 14 Ugushyirahamwe 2002, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu.

Ibikubiye muri *Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye* binajyanye n'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha yo muri 1993 (Ingingo ya 88) hagati ya FPR na Leta yahozeho mu Rwanda, ibiganirwo byo mu Rugwiro (1998-1999), ibiganirwo ngishwanama n'abatwariye, n'ubushakashatsi Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye yakozwe hagati ya 1999 na 2006.²⁶⁶

Intego nyamukuru ya Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ni "*Kubaka u Rwanda rwunze Ubumwe aho abatwariye bese bafite uburenganzira bungana kandi bafatanyaga mu kugira uruhare mu miyoborere n'iterambere ry'Igihugu cyabo.*"²⁶⁷ Iyi *Politiki* ituma habaho gukurikirana no gusuzuma ibyagezweho, inzitizi n'ingamba zafashwe n'inzego zitandukanye mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye.²⁶⁸ Ishimangira ko '*Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ari bwo buryo bwonyine u Rwanda rwahisemo*' kandi ko '*ari inshingano ya buri munyarwanda guharanira ko izi ndangagaciro zigerwaho kandi zikabungabungwa.*'²⁶⁹ Iyi Politiki inagaruka ku kamaro k'imbaraga ziturutse ku ruhare rwa buri muntu mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye kimwe no kwinjiza Ubumwe n'Ubwiye muri gahunda no mu bikorwa bya buri muni mu Rwanda. Amahame ngenderwaho y'iyi Politiki ni aya:

- 1) Gushyira imbere Ubunyarwanda n'inyungu z'Abanyarwanda aho gushingira ku moko, amasano, igitsina, amadini, uturere, n'ibindi;
- 2) Kurwanya Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo;
- 3) Guharanira kugira Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko no kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu;
- 4) Kurwanya amacakubiri n'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose;
- 5) Guharanira ubwisungane n'ubufatanye mu kubaka Igihugu;

²⁶⁶ NURC (2007). *The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali August, p.5

²⁶⁷ Idem, p.12.

²⁶⁸ Idem, p.10.

²⁶⁹ Idem, p.6.

6) Guharanira komorana ibikomere byo ku mubiri no ku mutima mu kubaka ejo hazaza hibandwa ku kuvugisha ukuri, kwihana no kubabarirana.

7) Kwibuka Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 hagamijwe ko itazongera kubaho;

8) Kwihesha agaciro no gukunda umurimo²⁷⁰.

Ingamba zo kugira ngo izi ntego zigerweho zirimo:²⁷¹

- *Uburere mboneragihugu, hagamijwe:* (1) Gukangurira buri munyarwanda uburenganzira bwe, uburenganzira bw'abandi no guhora abuharanira; (2) Kwigisha umuco w'amahoro bihereye mu miryango, mu rubyiruko, hibandwa cyane cyane mu mashuri; (3) Gushimangira Ingando nk'uburyo bwo guteza imbere umuco w'amahoro n'imiyoborere myiza; (4) Gutoza Abanyarwanda kubahiriza no kurinda Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda; (5) Gutoza Abanyarwanda amahame abumbiye mu Cyerekezo 2020; (6) Guharanira ko amateka y'u Rwanda yigishwa mu byiciro byose by'Abanyarwanda; (7) Gusobanurira Abanyarwanda ibirango bikubiye mu kirangantego cy'Igihugu n'agaciro Igihugu kibiha; (8) Guharanira ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bijya mu nteganyanyigisho z'amashuri ku byiciro byose by'uburezi mu Rwanda; (10) Gushyiraho gahunda y'ibikorwa by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ku banyarwanda baba mu mahanga.

- *Ubukangurambaga, hagamijwe:* (1) gukangurira Abanyarwanda kumva ko umuryango ariwo ishingiro y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge no gutoza abana umuco w'ubupfura, ubunyangamugayo, Ubumwe no gukunda Igihugu; (2) gukangurira Abanyarwanda kwita abana amazina adahembera urwango n'amacakubiri; (3) kurwanya amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide; (4) kwigisha Abanyarwanda gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge no guharanira ko bayigira iyabo; (5) gukangurira Abanyarwanda kugira imibanire ishingiyeye ku bwizerane; (6) gukangurira Abanyarwanda gukorera hamwe, bomorana ibikomere byatewe n'amateka (ubuhunzi, ivangura, ingaruka za Jenocide n'intambara, n'ibindi) kugira ngo imibanire yabo umunsi ku munsi igende neza; (7) gukangurira Abanyarwanda gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda za Leta n'akamaro ko gusesengura ibibazo; (8) guteza imbere indangagaciro ziboneka mu muco nyarwanda zishimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda, (9) gushishikariza imiryango itari iya Leta,

²⁷⁰ NURC (2007). Ibid., p.5-20

²⁷¹ Idem, p.13-20

amadini n'abanyamakuru kugira uruhare mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, no (10) gusobanurira Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga icyo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide ari cyo n'uko hari itegeko riyihana.

- *Gukora ubuvugizi*, hagamijwe: (1) gushyigikira ibikorwa biteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda; (2) gukurikirana niba amategeko na gahunda za Leta bijyanye n'ihame ry'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; (3) kurwanya akarengane aho karangwa hose no guca umuco wo kudahana hubahirizwa amategeko; (4) gushyigikira ibikorwa bifasha abasizwe iheruheru na Jenocide n'ingaruka zayo; (5) guteza imbere imibereho n'iterambere ry'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu ku banyarwanda basigajwe inyuma kubera amateka y'u Rwanda; (6) gushyiraho icyumweru cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ku rwego rw'Igihugu, no (7) gushyigikira ibikorwa bijyanye no kwibuka Jenocide.

- *Ubushakashatsi*, hagamijwe: (1) gukora ubushakashatsi ku ndangagaciro z'Ubumwe ziboneka mu muco Nyarwanda hagamijwe kuzikoresha mu guteza imbere Ubumwe, Ubwiyunge n'amahoro arambye; (2) gukora ubushakashatsi ku nzitizi zikunda kubangamira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge no gushyiraho ingamba zo kurwanya amacakubiri; (3) gusakaza ibitekerezo n'inyandiko biteza imbere amahoro, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; (4) gukora ubushakashatsi ku mateka y'u Rwanda hagamijwe gushyira ahagaragara ubushakashatsi nyabwo kandi bwizewe ku mateka y'u Rwanda kugira ngo Abanyarwanda bamenye amateka yabo, basobanukirwe ibibazo bafite ubu ngubu kandi bategure ejo hazaza habo.

- *Ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo*, hagamijwe: (1) gushyiraho urubuga Abanyarwanda bahurizamo ibitekerezo biteza imbere Ubumwe; no (2) guteza imbere umuco wo gusangira ibitekerezo, kujya impaka no kubaha ibitekerezo by'abandi.

- *Ubufatanye n'abaturage ndetse n'inzego zitandukanye*, hagamijwe: (1) gushyiraho amahuriro y'imiryango ifite ibikorwa biteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; (2) gushyiraho no gushyigikira imboni z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri buri rwego rwa Leta; (3) guteza imbere gahunda z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu nzego zose mu gihugu.

- *Kurwanya ubukene n'ubujiji*, hagamijwe: (1) gukangurira ababyeyi kurwanya ubukene n'ubujiji bashyira abana babo mu mashuri; (2) gukangurira Abanyarwanda kujya mu mashyirahamwe n'amakoperative abateza imbere; (3) kumvisha Abanyarwanda akamaro ko guhanga umurimo aho guhora utegereje guhabwa

akazi; (4) gukangurira abikorera ku giti cyabo n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange gushora imari mu cyaro; no (5) gukangurira Abanyarwanda baba mu mahanga kugira uruhare mu kuzamura ubukungu bw'Igihugu.

• *Gukora ikurikirana n'isuzumabikorwa*, hagamijwe: (1) gukurikirana niba inzego za Leta, abahagarariye inzego zigenga, amadini, ibitangazamakuru n'imitwe ya politiki bashyira mu bikorwa gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye; (2) gushyiraho ibipimo-fatizo byafasha inzego za Leta zitandukanye n'Abanyarwanda mu isuzumabikorwa ry'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye; (3) gushyiraho uburyo bwo gukurikirana ibibera mu Rwanda no hanze bishobora kubangamira Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ibi bikaba byafasha mu kurwanya icyatera amacakubiri cyose mu muryango nyarwanda; (4) kwamagana no kurwanya ibikorwa, ubushakashatsi n'amagambo byose bigamije amacakubiri; (5) gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imyanzuro yafashwe ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye; no (6) kubaka ubushobozi bw'abafatanyabikorwa bose mu birebana n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ku nzego zose z'Abanyarwanda.

Politiki y'Igihugu k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ishimagira ko mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo, cyane cyane amahame yavuzwe haruguru ingamba zigamije kugendera ku mategeko kandi zubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu zigomba kwitabwaho.²⁷² Ibi nibyo igika gikurikirana gisobanura.

4.4.5. Uburenganzira bwa muntu

*Uburenganzira bw'Abanyarwanda bugomba kubahirizwa; Abanyarwanda bose bagomba kureshya imbere y'amategeko; nta munyarwanda ukwiye kugira icyo ahezwaho icyo ari cyo cyose kandi agifitiye uburenganzira n'ubushobozi.*²⁷³

Kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bigerweho, uburenganzira bwa muntu bugomba kubahirizwa. Ubuyobozi bwagiyeho nyuma ya Jenoside bwihatiye kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu. Ibi bikaba byubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha hagati ya Leta yahozeho na FPR ku bijyanye no kubahiriza amategeko yashimangiraga kubahiriza no kubungabunga uburenganzira bwa muntu hanazirikanwa ko amabwiriza mpuzamahanga y'uburenganzira bwa muntu ahana umuntu wese n'aho yaba ari hose uhohotera uburenganzira bwa muntu (Ingingo ya 14). Impande zombi zari zaranemeranijwe gushyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa muntu kugira ngo ikurikirane ibikorwa by'ihohoterwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu (Ingingo ya 15).²⁷⁴

²⁷² NURC (2007). *ibid.*, p.20-21

²⁷³ Imyanzuro y'inama ya mbere nkuru y'Igihugu (NURC, 2000).

²⁷⁴ Amasezerano y'amahoro hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda y'icyo gihe, Arusha, Tanzania, 18th August, 1993, Art.14, 15.

Ni muri urwo rwego Itegeko N° 04-99 ryo ku wa 12 Werurwe 1999 ryashyizeho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa muntu igahabwa inshingano yo kwita ku gutuma Abanyarwanda bakoresha uburenganzira bw'ibanze bwabo. Inshingano z'iyi komisiyo zinajyanye n'amahame 'y'ubutabera bw'abaturage', 'kubahiriza amategeko', 'n'uburinganire' bikubiye mu Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu, riteganywa ishyirwaho rya *Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu (Ingingo ya 177)*.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu ifite icyerekezo cyo 'kubaka umuryango nyarwanda aho buri muntu abaho mu mahoro, ubwumvikane, kwiteza imbere afite uburenganzira busesuye.' Bityo, iyi Komisiyo yihatira guteza imbere no kubungabunga uburenganzira bwa muntu kugira ngo hashimangirwe umuco wo kubaha no kubungabunga uburenganzira bwa muntu no kubahiriza amategeko mu Rwanda. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu ishinzwe gushishikariza Abanyarwanda kumenya uburenganzira bwabo ku butabera. Yakira ibibazo by'abaturage ikanakurikirana iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko, bityo igafata ingamba zikwiye. Inakurikirana kandi ibikorwa bijyanye n'imiyoborere myiza²⁷⁵.

Muri urwo rwego, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa muntu iharanira ko Abanyarwanda bagira uburenganzira bw'ibanze buvugwa mu itegeko nshinga. Komisiyo ibigeraho ishishikariza abanyanyarwanda kumenya ibijyanye n'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda binyuze cyane cyane mu mahugurwa n'inama nyunguranabitekerezo ku nzego zose, haba ku rwego rw'intara n'uturere.²⁷⁶

Kubahiriza ihame ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu byabaye ingirakamaro ku guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuko guharanira kugira uburenganzira bungana mu guhabwa serivisi, kurwanya urwikekwe, urwango n'ikimenyane ndetse no kurwanya ivangura (harimo n'irishingiye ku gitsina, n'ibindi nk'uko bivugwa mu ngigo zikurikira), biri mu bisabwa kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bushoboke²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁵ UNDP (2005). *Turning Vision 2020 into Reality: From Recovery to Sustainable Human Development. National Human Development Report, Rwanda 2007*. Kigali: UNDP, p.28

²⁷⁶ UNDP (2005). *Idem*, p.29

²⁷⁷ UNDP, *Idem*.

4.4.6. Uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo

Twizeye ko, usibye guteza imbere uburinganire mu gihugu cyacu, uburinganire bw'abagabo n'abagore butuma habaho iterambere riganisha ku cyerekezo cyacu cyo kugira 'u Rwanda rufite Ubumwe, demokarasi, n'iterambere'.²⁷⁸

Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ifata guteza imbere uburinganire no guha ubushobozi abagore nk'umusingi w'amahoro n'iterambere rirambye. Ni muri urwo rwego, Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 rifite ihame ryo guteza imbere uburenganzira bungana ku bagabo n'abagore, haba mu iterambere, imiyoborere, uburenganzira bwa muntu, ubutabera n'Ubumwe mu Rwanda²⁷⁹.

Ni muri urwo rwego hashyizweho Ikigo Gishinzwe Gukurikirana Lyubahirizwa ry'Uburinganire ikigo cya Leta giteganywa n'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu (Ingingo ya 185). Itegeko N° 51/2007 ryo ku wa 20/09/2007 riteganyaga inshingano, inzego n'imikorere y'Ikigo Gishinzwe Gukurikirana Lyubahirizwa ry'Uburinganire, hagamijwe guteza imbere uburinganire no guteza imbere abagore mu Rwanda. Iki kigo ni uburyo bwo guteza imbere uburinganire bw'ibitsina byombi n'agaciro gakwiye abagore n'abakobwa. Ibi bikaba bijyanye n'uko u Rwanda rwahoze rurangwa n'umuco udasumbanya abantu. N'ubwo u Rwanda rwagaragaraga nk'aho rudaha agaciro igitsina gore ku buryo bubonecyera buri wese mu mirimo imwe n'imwe, igitsina gore cyari kizwiho kuba kigira akamaro mu guharanira amahoro n'ubwumvikane. Mu muco nyarwanda umukobwa yitwaga 'gahuzamiryango', 'nyampinga'. Ni muri urwo rwego nanone umugore yitwaga 'umutima w'urugo'. Ibi bikaba bijyanye n'umugani w'ikinyarwanda uvuga ngo 'ukurusha umugore, aba akurusha n'urugo'.

Bityo rero, binyuze mu kigo Gishinzwe Gukurikirana Lyubahirizwa ry'Uburinganire, uburenganzira bw'abagore mu kugira uruhare mu iterambere ry'u Rwanda, cyane cyane mu Ubumwe n'Ubwiyeunge, butuma bagira uruhare mu kubaka amahoro, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyeunge. Ubu mu Rwanda, abagabo n'abagore bamaze gusobanukirwa n'ibijyanye n'uburinganire. Bimwe mu bibigaragaza ni uko abagore bashobora gufata ijamba mu ruhamwe (mbere ntibyakorwaga cyane) kandi bakaba bagira uruhare mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo no mu buyobozi. Uburinganire mu Rwanda bugaragarira nko kuba abagore bafite umubare munini mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko (64%), mu gihe mu mashuri abanza ari 102% muri rusange.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, In GMO, 2010, National Gender Policy, Kigali, p.2.

²⁷⁹ Republic of Rwanda (2003). Ibid.

²⁸⁰ UNICEF, 2013:6

Guteza imbere uburinganire bw'abagabo n'abagore byabaye rero umusingi w'Ubumwe mu banyarwanda. Inzira yo kubaka u Rwanda rudaheza yatangiye rero gutanga umusaruro wisumbuye nyuma y'uko u Rwanda rwemeye rukanashyira mu bikorwa amasezerano mpuzamahanga y'uburinganire n'iterambere mu bya politiki n'imibereho y'abaturage bigamije guteza imbere uburinganire ku nzego zose. Ni muri urwo rwego, uburinganire bwabaye umusingi w'iterambere no kubaka ubwumvikane mu Banyarwanda. Nk'urugero, kwandikisha ubutaka byakemuye ubusumbane bushingiye ku gitsina, kubera ko Itegeko N° 08/2005 ryo ku wa 14/07/2005 rishyiraho uburenganzira bungana ku ikoresha, icungwa, n'itungwa ry'ubutaka ku bagabo nabagore.

Ikindi kandi, kuba abagore barigiriye icyizere biturutse ku kujya mu mashyirahamwe n'amakoperative, ndetse n'amahuriro agamije gushyikirana n'abandi, nabyo byerekana akamaro k'uburinganire no guteza imbere abagore mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Abagore bagize uruhare mu nzira y'amahoro no kuyigisha mu muryango nyarwanda nk'uko bigaragazwa n'iyi mvugo y'umwe muri bo:

Abagore biyemeje guhangana n'ibibazo byasizwe na Jenocide no guhuza imbaraga mu kurengera imiryango yabo. Biyemeje kutareka Igihugu gicikamo ibice no kujya mbere baharanira amahoro n'Ubwiye. Ibyagezweho byatewe n'ubushake bw'ubuyobozi mu gushimangira Ubumwe 'Ubwiye ndetse n'uburinganire bw'ibitsina byombi kimwe no guha ubushobozi abagore.²⁸¹

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, u Rwanda ntirwihatiye gusa gushimangira uburinganire bw'ibitsina byombi; ahubwo, mu rwego rwo kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu, Leta yagiyeho nyuma ya Jenocide yashimangiye ko guha abaturage uburenganzira bungana mu guhabwa serivisi nabyo ari ingenzi mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda.

²⁸¹ NURC (2005). Ibid., p.93

4.4.7. Uburenganzira bungana ku guhabwa serivisi

*Gucunga neza ibyiza by'Igihugu ni umusingi w'Ubumwe.*²⁸²

Nk'uko bimeze mu kubungabunga uburenganzira bwa muntu, uburenganzira bungana ku guhabwa serivisi ni ingirakamaro mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ni muri urwo rwego Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, riteganyaga ishyingiraho rya Komisiyo y'Abakozi ba Leta (Ingingo ya 181). Aha, Itegeko Nshinga rigira riti: "Abanyarwanda bose bafite uburenganzira bungana mu guhabwa akazi mu nzego za Leta hashingiwe ku bushobozi bwabo".²⁸³ Komisiyo Ishinzwe Abakozi ba Leta ni urwego rw'Igihugu rwigenga. Mu byo rushinzwe harimo:

1. Ibyerekeye gushaka no gushyiraho abakozi mu nzego z'imirimu ya Leta n'ibigo byayo;
2. Gushyikiriza inzego zibishinzwe amazina y'abakandida babikwiye kugira ngo bahabwe akazi, bashyirwe mu myanya kandi bazamurwe mu ntera; abo bakandida bagomba kuba bujuje ibyangombwa byose bisabwa kandi bagaragaje gusumbya abandi ubumenyi bukenewe ku myanya basaba, kandi hitawe ku myifatire myiza yabo;
3. Gushyiraho uburyo buboneye bwo gutoranya abakandida nta marangamutima, butabogamye, bunyuzemo mu mucyo kandi bumwe kuri bese;
4. Gukora ubushakashatsi ku mategeko, amateka, ubumenyi bukenewe, ibyangombwa bisabwa mu kazi n'ibindi byerekeye imicungire n'iterambere ry'abakozi no kugira Guverinoma inama;
5. Gushyikiriza inzego zibishinzwe imyanzuro ku bihano bikwiye birebana n'imyitwarire y'abakozi hakurikijwe amategeko agenderwaho;
6. Gufasha inzego n'ibigo bya Leta bigengwa n'amategeko yihariye ikoresheje ubumenyi ifite mu nshingano zivugwa muri iyi ngingo.

Komisiyo y' Abakozi ba Leta iharanira amapiganwa anyuze mu mucyo, kubaka ubushobozi no kwigira mu nzego za Leta, hamaganwa iheza n'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose. Bityo, uburinganire n'ubutabera byatejwe imbere ku bw'iyi Komisiyo. Guhabwa akazi

²⁸² Cook Susan E. (2005). Ibid., p.3

²⁸³ Republic of Rwanda (2003). Ibid.

ntibikigaragaramo ivangura nk'uko byahoze cyera kuko kuri ubu bikorwa mu kuri kandi bishingira ku bushobozi. Komisiyo igaragaza ahari amakosa mu itangwa ry'akazi kandi igakemura ibibazo bijyanye na byo kugira ngo abakozi bakora mu nzego za Leta bashobore guhabwa akazi no gukora hakurikijwe amahame y'uburinganire, gukorera mu mucyo, n'ubunyangamugayo. Ibi bizahora bikorwa hashyirwaho kandi hakanakurikizwa inzira zishingiye kuri aya mahame mu nzego zose za Leta. Hanashyizweho uburyo bwo kugaragaza no gukemura impaka neza binyuze mu 'rwego nkemurampaka'.

4.4.8. Kurwanya Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo

Kurwanya amacakubiri, by'umwihariko Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, ni inshingano y'ibanze mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Ni na yo ntego nyamukuru ya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, nk'uko ari ryo hame ngenderwaho ry'Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 na politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Niyo mpamvu kugira ngo iyi nshingano igerweho, bityo binafashe Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu nshingano zayo, Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nk'uko ryavugururwe kugeza ubu, ryashyizeho *Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide* (Ingingo ya 179). Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide yatangiye imirimo yayo muri 2008, imaze gushyirwaho n'Itegeko N° 09/2007 ryo ku wa 16/02/2007 rivuga ko iyi Komisiyo yigenga kandi ikaba urwego ruhoraho. Intego y'iyi Komisiyo ni *"Isi itarangwamo Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo."* Kugira ngo iyi ntego igerweho, Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide yiyemeje gukumira Jenocide, kurwanya Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, ndetse no guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenocide, haba mu Rwanda ndetse no mu mahanga.

Mu byo yagezeho, nk'uko biri mu nshingano zayo kandi hagamijwe Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide yashyizeho uburyo buhoraho bwo kungurana ibitekerezo ku bijyanye na Jenocide n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, icyabiteye, n'ingaruka zabyo (nk'ihungabana n'izindi ndwara), n'ingamba zo kubikumira no kubirwanya. Iyi Komisiyo kandi yakoze ubuvugizi ku bibazo by'abarokotse Jenocide kandi ihuza ibikorwa byo kwibuka Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Yanashyizeho ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'ubushakashatsi n'inyandiko kuri Jenocide, inafatanyaga na kaminuza y'u Rwanda kwigisha ibijyanye na Jenocide no kuyikumira ku rwego ruhanitse.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenocide yanatumye habaho gusabana imbabazi no kubabarirana hagati y'abakoze Jenocide n'abayirokotse binyuze mu kuvugisha ukuri ku byabaye muri Jenocide, cyane cyane mu nkiko Gacaca, harimo no kwerekana aho imibiri

y'abazize Jenoside yajugunywe kugira ngo bashyingurwe mu cyubahiro. Bityo uko kuri kwavuzwe kwatumye habaho kunga Ubumwe kuko benshi mu bishe bemeye ibyaha, bakihana kandi bagasaba imbabazi ari na ko abarokotse babahaga imbabazi. Kimwe no kurwanya amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, kurwanya ruswa na byo byari ngombwa mu nzira yo kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

4.4.9. Kurwanya akarengane na ruswa

Kugira Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, kitarangwamo ruswa nabyo byabaye ingirakamaro mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Ni kimwe mu byo Leta y'Ubumwe yiyemeje akaba kandi rimwe mu mahame y'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003.

Ni muri urwo rwego, Ibiro by'Umuvunyi, nk'urwego rwa Leta rwigenga, rwashyizweho muri 2003 n'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo ku wa 23 Kamena muri 2003 (Ingingo ya 182). Imiterere n'imikorere yarwo biteganywa n'Itegeko n° 25/2003 ryo ku wa 15 Kanama 2003 ryahinduwe kandi rikuzwa n'itegeko n° 17/2005 ryo ku wa 18 Kanama 2005.

Ibiro by'Umuvunyi bishinzwe gukumira no kurwanya akarengane, ruswa, n'ibindi byaha bijyanye na byo, bikanakira imenyekanishamutungo ku bantu bateganywa n'Itegeko. icyerekezo ngenderwaho cy'Ibiro by'Umuvunyi ni *“u Rwanda ruzira akarengane na ruswa”*. Iki cyerekezo cyatumye uru rwego rugira intego igira iti: *“Kuba nyambere mu kurwanya ruswa binyuze mu burezi, kuyikumira, no kubahiriza amategeko”*. Uru rwego rwageze kuri byinshi bishimishije kuko rwakumiriye/rukumira kandi rukarwanya ruswa, akarengane, n'ibindi byaha bujyanye na byo. Rwakiriye kandi runakemura ibirego by'abantu ku giti cyabo n'amashyirahamwe yigenga, barega abayobozi cyangwa inzego za Leta n'izigenga. Uru rwego runakurikirana imyitwarire y'abanyapolitiki n'abandi bayobozi kugira ngo harusheho kuba ubuyobozi bukorera mu mucyo.

Ibiro by'Umuvunyi byahuje/bihuza ibikorwa by'Inama Ngishwanama ishinze gukumira, kurwanya no kwamagana akarengane, ruswa, n'ibyaha bijyanye na byo. Muri urwo rwego, akarengane kavugwa aha (gushyira mu gaciro) ni mu buryo bwagutse burimo uburenganzira bwa muntu, umudendezo, n'uburinganire mu mibereho no mu bukungu. Naho mu buryo butaguye, kurwanya akarengane bijyanye gusa n'amategeko (ubutabera mu guhana ibyaha-Jenoside n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu). Aha naho, ibiro by'Umuvunyi byafashije/bifasha mu kurwanya akarengane, ruswa n'ibindi byaha byaranze amateka mabi yacyiyemo ibice Abanyarwanda. Ibiro by'Umuvunyi

byanashimangiye/bishimangira imiyoborere myiza mu nzego za Leta kandi birwanya akarengane mu gihugu hose; ibi byose byakozwe hagamijwe guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.²⁸⁴

Usibye kurwanya ruswa, guharanira gukorera mu mucyo no kugaragaza isohozwa ry'inshingano nabyo byagize akamaro kanini mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

4.4.10. Gukorera mu mucyo no kugaragaza isohozwa ry'inshingano

Guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bisaba ko habaho gukorera mu mucyo no kubazwa isohozwa ry'inshingano ari na byo Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yiyemeje. Hashingiwe ku Itegeko Nshinga (Ingingo ya 183), Urwego ry'Ubugenzuzi Bukuru bw'Imari ya Leta rwashyizweho nk'urwego rwa Leta rwigenga rushinzwe kugenzura imari n'umutungo bya Leta. Nk'uko Musoni Protais abivuga, "Kugira Leta igaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa ni inshingiro ry'imiyoborere myiza".²⁸⁵

Ibyagezweho mu nshingano z'Umugenzuzi Mukuru w'Imari ya Leta bigaragaza ko uru rwego rwashyizweho uburyo bw'igenzura ry'iyakirwa, ibikwa, n'imikoreshereje y'umutungo w'abaturage. Ibiro by'Ubugenzuzi Bukuru bw'Imari ya Leta, nk'urwego rushinzwe igenzura, rwagize uruhare mu kwimakaza Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bushingiye ku gushyira mu gaciro, kugaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa, gukorera mu mucyo, ibi bikaba byarashyigikiye/bishyigikira uruhare rw'abaturage mu igenamigambi, aho abaturage aribo ubwabo bagena ahazaza habo binyuze mu kugena ubwabo imikoreshereze y'umutungo wabo. Uru rwego rwagize uruhare mu kukumira imikoreshereze mibi y'umutungo wa Leta rubinyujije mu kwigisha, gukora igenzura, no gutanga inama ku mikoreshereze myiza y'umutungo wa Leta. Ibi byatumye ingengo y'imari igera ku ntego yayo yo gusaranganya umutungo mu gihugu hose hagamijwe gukemura ibibazo by'abaturage. Gukorera mu mucyo no kugaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa na none byashimangiwe binyuze mu miyoborere ishingiyeye ku mihigo.

²⁸⁴ Kaufman in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:380

²⁸⁵ Musoni Protais (2003). *Innovations in Governance and Public Administration for Poverty Reduction in Post-conflict Countries in a Globalised World (emphasis on the experience of Rwanda)* : A paper presented at the United Nations Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Innovations in Governance and Public Administration for Poverty Reduction, p.5.

4.4.11. Imihigo

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, gukorera mu mucyo, gutuma abayobozi bagaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa bijyanye n'icyifuzo cyabo, ndetse no guteza imbere imibereho hatabayeho ivangura, ni bimwe mu byagombaga kwitabwaho kugira ngo bitabangamira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Kugira ngo bishoboke neza, hashyizweho gahunda y'imihigo.²⁸⁶ Imihigo ni ubwinshi bw'ijambo "umuhigo", bivuze kwiyemeza gukora ikintu. Imihigo kandi irimo ijambo "guhiga", bivuze gupiganwa cyangwa kurushanwa hagati y'abantu. Imihigo yahozeho mu mucyo nyarwanda aho umuntu yihaga intego azaba yagezeho mu gihe runaka.²⁸⁷ Gukorera mu mucyo no kugaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa byari bimwe mu biri ku isonga rya gahunda ya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, mu cyerekezo cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Na none kandi, gukorera mu mucyo no kugaragariza abaturage ibibakorerwa ni bimwe mu bigize gahunda yo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage mu Rwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego, kuva mu mwaka wa 2000, ihinduka mu mishyirire mu bikorwa y'inshingano ku nzego zose z'imiyoborerere, hagamijwe kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage, byatumye habaho uburyo bushya bwo gukora igenzura n'isuzuma. Inzego z'ibanze zahawe noneho inshingano yo gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda z'iterambere, aribyo bivuze ko Leta n'Abanyarwanda bashakaga kubaka icyizere hagati y'abaturage n'inzego z'imiyoborerere, no gutuma abayobozi babazwa n'abaturage ibyo bakora.

Muri iki gihe, mu Rwanda, imihigo yibanda ku igenamigambi hagati ya Leta n'Uturere. Igenamigambi ku rwego rw'akarere rikorwa hakurikijwe iterambere ry'Akarere ry'imyaka itanu, aho rinagena ibikorwa bya buri mwaka birebana n'imihigo. Muri rusange, imihigo igizwe n'amasezerano hagati ya Leta n'abaturage yo kugera ku ntego ziyemejwe hagamijwe koroshya ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'intego rusange z'iterambere ry'igihugu; kandi kwesa imihigo bikagenerwa ibihembo. Ibi rero bijyana na politiki ya Leta yo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage buri wese ku rwego rw'ibanze agomba kubazwa ibyo akora. Intego y'ibanze ni ukugira ngo inzego n'ibigo bya Leta birusheho gukora neza binagaragaza ibyo byagezeho mu guteza imbere gahunda za Leta. Nanone ibi bigomba gukorwa ku buryo bwihutisha gahunda y'iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho bikubiye mu cyerekezo 2020, muri gahunda y'imbaturabukungu no kurwanya ubukene (EDPRS), ndetse no mu ntego z'iterambere ry'ikinyagihumbi.

²⁸⁶ Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:333; Chemouni, 2014:246

²⁸⁷ Bizoza, 2011:28.

Imihigo rero igizwe n'urutonde rw'ibikorwa by'ingenzi bikurwa mu igenamigambi ry'umwaka ry'Akarere. Buri muyobozi w'Akarere asinyana imihigo na Perezida wa Repuburika, igakorerwa isuzuma n'itsinda ry'abakozi bo mu rwego rwo hejuru baturuka muri za Minisiteri zitandukanye, mu biro bya Minisitiri w'Intebe, no mu biro bya Perezida wa Repubulika. Igenamigambi ku rwego rw'akarere rikorwa mu buryo bukurikira: Hashingiwe ku rutonde rwa gahunda z'ingenzi za Leta, Uturere dutegura imbanzirizamushinga y'imihigo aho tugisha inama mu buryo buziguye buri Minisiteri bireba.²⁸⁸ Ibyo byose ariko bikorwa hagendewe mbere na mbere ku byifuzo by'abaturage, kuva ku rwego rw'Umudugudu kugera ku Nama Njyanama y'Akarere. Iyo birangiye, Akarere gatangira kugirana ibiganiro kuri iyo mbanzirizamushinga y'imihigo na buri Minisiteri bireba mu nama zo ku rwego rw'Intara no ku rwego rw'Igihugu. Ubu buryo butuma ubuyobozi bwo hejuru bureba niba ibikorwa by'ingenzi biteganyijwe bijyanye n'icyerekezo na politiki by'Igihugu, bityo bugashishikariza Uturere kudashyira mu mihigo ibikorwa bitajyanye n'icyo cyerekezo, kuko bitabaye ibyo bitaba ari uguhiga gushingiye ku ntego. Imihigo igomba kuba isobanutse (idatye urujijo), ibasha kugenzurwa ko yagezweho (igaragaza ibipimo fatizo), ishoboka kugerwaho, igaragaza aho izakura uburyo bwo kuyesa, kandi igaragaza igihe igomba kuba yesherejwe.

Mu Rwanda, imihigo rero ikoresheye nk'uburyo bwo gutuma abantu n'inzeze za Leta babazwa uko bashyize mu bikorwa inshingano bahawe. Inzeze zose za Leta, kuva ku rwego rw'Akarere kugera kuri za Minisiteri na za Ambasade, zisabwa guhiga, kandi hakaba hagomba kuzasuzumwa ko iyo mihigo yeshejwe. Abakozi ba Leta nabo basinya imihigo n'abakoresheye babo cyangwa abakuriye ibigo bakoramo.²⁸⁹ Mu gihe hakorwa imihigo, buri rwego rusabwa kwita kuri gahunda rusange, nk'izijyanye n'uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo, guteza imbere urubyiruko, kurwanya Sida, kubungabunga ibidukikije, ndetse no kudahaza.

Isuzuma ku kwesa imihigo rikorwa buri nyuma y'amezi atandatu, mu gihe isuzumabikorwa nyamukuru ryo rikorwa mu mpera za buri mwaka. Uburyo bwo gushishikariza abantu n'inzeze za Leta kwesa imihigo buba mu buryo bwo gushima cyangwa kugaya. Gushima habamo kongera umushahara ku bakozi bagize amanota kuva kuri 70% kuzamura, mu gihe abakozi bagize amanota ari hasi ya 60% birukanwa ku myanya yabo. Abakozi bagize amanota arenga 80% bahabwa amafaranga y'inyongera angana na 5% y'umushahara wabo, mu gihe abagize amanota ari hagati ya 70% na 80% bahabwa amafaranga y'inyongera angana na 3%

²⁸⁸ Chemouni, 2014:248-251

²⁸⁹ Bizosa, R. Alfred (2011). *Farmers, Institutions and Land Conservation: Institutional Economic Analysis of Terraces in the Highlands of Rwanda*, Ph.D Thesis, Wageningen University, Netherlands, Wageningen.

y'umushahara wabo.²⁹⁰ Imihigo yagize akamaro cyane mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuko usibye kuba byarihutishije iterambere rifite uruhare runini mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, byanatumye haba imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda kuko guhiga no guharanira kwesa imihigo bisaba ko bahura, bakaganira kandi bakaba magirirane.

4.4.12. Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano

Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano (Umushyikirano, mu magambo make) ni urundi rugero rw'imiyobore abaturage bagiramo uruhare kandi idaheza.²⁹¹ By'umwihariko, umushyikirano ni ihuriro ryahaye urubuga Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose kugira ngo baganire ku Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda, ndetse n'ibindi bibazo by'imibereho n'iterambere ry'u Rwanda.

Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano iteganywa n'ingingo ya 168 y'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo kuwa 4 Kamena 2003, nkuko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu. Ni igikorwa ngarukamwaka Abanyarwanda bitekerereje kandi kiyoborwa na Perezida wa Repubulika, cyatangiye mu mwaka wa 2003.²⁹² Ni uburyo bwashyizweho nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi kugira ngo hubakwe Leta ihamye. Intego yayo ni ugushimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge hitabwa ku ngingo enye zikurikira: Amateka, Ubuhamya, Kubabarira no Komora ibikomere, n'Ibiganiro.²⁹³ Ibi bihuje n'amahame y'Itegeko Nshinga agamije gukemura amakimbirane mu buryo bwubaka binyujijwe mu biganiro n'ubwumvikane uhereye ku nzego z'ibanze. Ni muri urwo rwego Itegeko Nshinga (Ingingo ya 168) rishyiraho Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano ihuriza hamwe Perezida wa Repubulika n'abantu 5 bahagarariye buri Karere n'abo ku rwego rw'umujyi batoranyijwe na bagenzi babo. Iyi nama iterana rimwe mu mwaka, iyoborwa na Perezida wa Repubulika kandi ikanitabirwa n'abagize Guverinoma, abagize Inteko ishingira amategeko, abayobozi b'Intara n'Umujyi wa Kigali, ndetse n'abandi bagenwa na Perezida wa Repubulika.

Umushyikirano rero ni bumwe mu buryo Perezida wa Repubulika ahura n'abahagarariye Abanyarwanda bose,²⁹⁴ bakungurana ibitekerezo, bakajya impaka ku bibazo birebana n'uko Igihugu gihagaze, uko inzego z'ibanze zihagaze, ndetse n'ibijyanye n'iby'Ubumwe

²⁹⁰ <http://rwandapedia.rw>

²⁹¹ Rwanda National Police (2014). Ibid., p.29

²⁹² Ingingo y'168 y'itegeko nshinga ryo muri 2003 nk'uko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu rivuga ko Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano iba inshuro imwe buri mwaka.

²⁹³ Doreen, *Umushyikirano Concept – A national debt for development*, Rwanda News. Biboneka <http://headlines.rw/umushyikirano-concept-a-national-debt-for-development-2/>

²⁹⁴ Republic of Rwanda (2003): Ibid.

n'Ubwiyunge kugira ngo babishakire umuti bafatanyije. Ni umwanya mwiza rero ku banyarwanda bose kugira ngo bungurane ibitekerezo by'uko bakubaka Igihugu cyabo, kuko n'abatari mu nama bahabwa umwanya hakoreshajwe ikoranabuhanga mu gutanga ibitekerezo kungingo ziba ziganirwaho.²⁹⁵ Binyuze mu mushyikirano, ibyemezo by'ingenzi byarafashwe mu myaka yashize byerekeye iterambere rirambye ry'u Rwanda kandi riteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bijyana n'icyerekezo 2020 cy'u Rwanda ndetse na gahunda y'imburaburabukungu no kurwanya ubukene. Umushyikirano rero wahuriye/uhuriza hamwe Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose kugira ngo baganirire hamwe ibibazo by'Igihugu n'uburyo bwo kubikemura. Buri mwaka umushyikirano uba ufite intego zihariye, kandi zishingiye k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, nkuko bigaragazwa n'imbonerahamwe ikurikira, kugeza muri 2014 hamaze kuba inama z'umushyikirano zigeraga kuri 12.

Ingingo zaganiriweho buri mwaka mu nama y'Igihugu y'umushyikirano

Umushyikirano	Itariki	Ingingo zaganiriweho
1	28 Kamena 2003	'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ndetse n'uruhare rw'umuturage mu matora' ✓ Uruhare rw'inzego z'ibanze mu iterambere; ✓ Uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge buhagaze mu ruhandu rw'imitwe ya politiki; ✓ Uruhare rw'ubuyobozi mu matora ashingiyeye kuri demukarasi, ✓ icyerekezo cy'u Rwanda mu iterambere rirambye.
2	21-22 Ukuboza 2004	'Imiyoborere myiza, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide' ✓ Imiyoborere myiza n'uburyo abayobozi mu nzego za Leta barushaho kwimakaza umuco wo kugaragaza uburyo basohozwa inshingano zabo no kwesa imihigo. ✓ Kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide

²⁹⁵ Kugeza ubu hamaze kuba inama 12 aho abantu barenga 1000 bahura buri mwaka.

3	13-14 Ukuboza 2005	<p>'Kwihutisha imanza za Jenocide'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Guteza imbere ubumenyi mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo hakoreshejwe ibipimo fatizo by'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu; ✓ Gushyira ingufu mu kuvugurura inzego za Leta; ✓ Kwihutisha iburanisha ry'ibyaha bya Jenocide hifashishijwe Inkiko Gacaca; ✓ Gushyiraho uburyo buhamye bwo gufasha abaturage batishoboye; ✓ Imiyoboreze myiza nk'inzira y'iterambere rirambye; ✓ Kurushaho gukangurira Abanyarwanda kumenya gahunda za Leta hagamiye kwihutisha iterambere.
4	18-19 Ukuboza 2006	<p>'Gutunganya imyumvire ya gahunda z'imihigo y'Uturere, no gutegura umushinga w'itegeko rihana ibyaha bifitanye isano n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Uruhare rwo kugaragaza isohozwa ry'inshingano kw'abayobozi mu migendekere y'Inkiko Gacaca; ✓ Gusuzuma aho gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge igeze mu Rwanda no kugaragaza imbogamizi z'ingenzi zigihari; ✓ Gusuzuma imihigo y'uturere ya 2006 no gusinya iya 2007; ✓ Gushyira mu bikorwa icyerekezo 2020, by'umwihariko ku biyanye n'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'abaturage, n'ingaruka bigira ku bidukikije.
5	27-28 Ukuboza 2007	<p>'Gahunda y'impinduramatwara mu bukungu, uburezi nk'umusingi w'iterambere ry'ubukungu burambye, gahunda yo guhashya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide n'imisoreze y'inkiko Gacaca'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Gukomeza guteza imbere ubukungu bw'Igihugu nk'inzira yo gukemura ibindi bibazo Igihugu gifite.

6	18-19 Ukuboza 2008	<p>“Imiyoborere myiza n’iterambere ry’ubukungu”</p> <p>Imyanzuro yafashwe yatumye habaho:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Inama ngishwanama ku rwego rw’Igihugu yo kurwanya ruswa; ✓ Kwimakaza umuco wo kuzigama no kugabanya imyenda, byatumye hashingwa amakoperative yo kuzigama no kuguriza mu mirengi yose y’Igihugu (igera kuri 416) aho abantu 675.772 bamaze kwiyandikisha kuba abanyamuryango, ✓ Gukora ibiganiro bigamije gukangurira Abanyarwanda kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide no kugira imyumvire imwe ku bijyanye no kuringaniza urubyaro, gutura mu midugudu, guhuza ubutaka, no kurwanya isuri.
7	10 -11 Ukuboza 2009	✓ “ Dukore iby’agaciro kandi birambye”
8	20 -21 Ukuboza 2010	✓ “ Inshingano zacu ni ugutanga serivisi nziza”
9	15 -16 Ukuboza 2011	✓ “Twiheshe agaciro, twese hamwe twihutishe iterambere.”
10	13 -14 Ukuboza 2012	✓ “Agaciro: duharanire kwigira”
11	6 -7 Ukuboza 2013	✓ “Umuco-nyarwanda: ishingiro ry’ iterambere rirambye”
12	18-19 Ukuboza.2014	✓ “Icyerekezo kimwe, intabwe nshya”
13	21-22 Ukuboza 2015	✓ “Guhitamo kw’Abanyarwanda ni wo musingi w’iterambere n’agaciro by’u Rwanda”
14	14-16 Ukuboza 2016	✓ “Dufatanyije twubake u Rwanda twifuza”

4.4.13. Umwiherezo w’Abayobozi

Tugomba guharanira indangaciro z’Ubunyarwanda kandi tugatuma Abanyarwanda bagira icyizere cy’ejo hazaza habo. Bagaragaje ko bafite ukwihangana no guharanira kubaho, no gutsinda ishyano rya Jenocide. Twebwe rero, nk’Abayobozi, ntidushobora gutinyuka kubatererana.²⁹⁶

Hagamijwe kugera k’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge, binyuze mu gutanga serivisi nziza no

²⁹⁶ Ijambo rya Nyakubawa Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y’u Rwanda (In NURC, 2009:6)

kongerera imbaraga mu iterambere ry'u Rwanda, hashyizweho umwiherero w'abayobozi uba buri mwaka. Umwiherero ni umuco wahozeho kuva cyera mu Rwanda. icyo gihe abayobozi bafataga umwanya bakajya ahantu ha bonyine maze bakungurana ibitekerezo ku bibazo byugariye abaturage babo. Uwo mwiherero bawuvagamo bamaze kubonera umuti ibyo bibazo. Ubusanzwe kandi ijamba «Umwiherero» rikoresheya bavugaga umubare urugariye w'abantu bikora bakajya ahantu hatuje kugira ngo baganire ku bibazo ibi n'ibi.

Umwiherero ukomoka ku mahame remezo y'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ajyanye no "Gushakira iteka umuti w'ibibazo binyuze mu nzira y'ibiganiro n'ubwumvikane". Intego nyamukuru y'umwiherero ni ugusuzuma ibyagezweho no gukora igenamigambi rishya birebana n'uburyo Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bubumbatiwe ndetse n'uko serivisi zitangwa cyangwa zigomba gutangwa. Umwiherero uhuza abayobozi bakuru mu nzego za Leta kugira ngo bagene ibikorwa by'ingenzi bizibandwaho mu mwaka ukurikira, no kuganira ku iterambere ry'Igihugu hagamijwe kugera ku cyerekezo 2020. Umwiherero uyoborwa na Perezida wa Repubulika, ukitabirwa n'abagize Guverinoma, abanyamabanga bahoraho muri za Minisitiri n'abandi bayobozi bakuru b'inzego nkuru za Leta, ba Ambasaderi, Umukuru w'inteko ishingira amategeko, imitwe yombi (Sena n'Abadepite), n'abayobozi bakuru ku nzego z'Ubucamanza, Polisi n'Igisirikari. Perezida wa Repubulika, Minisitiri w'Intebe, n'Abaminisitiri, berekana ingamba z'Igihugu n'izo ku nzego bahagarariye banagaragaza ibyagezweho mu mwaka ushize.

Umwiherero w'abayobozi wabaye, kandi ukomeza kuba, uburyo bwiza bwatumye abayobozi babona urubuga rwo gutekereza, rwo kwisuzuma, ndetse no kugaragaza uko basohozwa inshingano zabo birebana no kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu cyerekezo cy'iterambere hagamijwe gufata ingamba zikwirirye.

Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda ntabwo ariko bwatejwe imbere binyuze gusa mu miyoborere myiza igendera ku mategeko, ahubwo bwatejwe imbere binyuze muri gahunda z'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, nkuko bigaragara mu gika gikurikira.

4.5. Ubukungu n'Imibereho myiza

Mu gihugu kivuye mu makimbirane, ntushobora gutandukanya iterambere n'Ubwiyunge.²⁹⁷

Ibihugu byose byavuye mu bukene bikagera ku iterambere ntabwo byatsinze iyo ntambara bishingiye gusa ku mafaranga cyangwa umutungo kamere; ahubwo byibanze ku mibanire hagati y'abaturage... Niyo mpamvu ari ngombwa ko kubaka

²⁹⁷ Karen, B. (2007). *Reconciliation and Development, Dialogue on Globalization*, No. 37, pp. 1-37.

*Ubumwe bigendana no kongera umusaruro kugira ngo umusaruro udahagije utongerera kuba urwitwazo.*²⁹⁸

Ibisubizo birambye byerekeye Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda bigizwe na gahunda zo kwihutisha iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza. Ni ukuvuga ko binyuze mu iterambere ry'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, Igihugu kibasha gushyirwaho intego rusange zikumira ikibi cyose gishobora guhungabanya imibereho ya buri muntu gishingiye ku bukene cyangwa inzara.

Niyo mpamvu imishinga mishya y'iterambere yakozwe igamije gutuma habaho urubuga rwunga Abanyarwanda hibandwa ku bikorwa bahuriyeho kandi biteza imbere imibereho n'ubukungu.²⁹⁹ Ibi bihujye n'ubushakashatsi bwerekanye ko ubukungu budatera imbere bushobora kuba intandaro y'ibikorwa bibi mu gihugu.³⁰⁰ Niyo mpamvu nyuma y'amakimbirane bikwiye ko ibyateye ibibazo bikemurwa.³⁰¹ Aha, iterambere ry'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, nyuma y'amakimbirane, ni ngombwa cyane kugira ngo habeho amahoro, kuko amahoro ari ingenzi cyane mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.³⁰² Nkuko Colliers, Sambanis na Wallesteen³⁰³ babyemeje, iterambere ry'ubukungu ni ngombwa muri buri gihugu kivuye mu makimbirane kubera ko amahoro adashobora kubaho hatariho iterambere mu mibereho, muri politiki no mu bukungu.

Mu Rwanda, amateka mabi y'amacakubiri, na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, ntabwo byashenyeye gusa Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ahubwo byanashenyeye ubukungu n'inzego z'Igihugu. Ubukungu bw'u Rwanda bwari bwazambye, aho umusaruro w'Igihugu wamanutse ukagera ku gipimo gikabije kirenga 60% muri 1994.³⁰⁴ Kubera iyo mpamvu, "kongera kubaka Ubumwe n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda bigomba kugendana n'iterambere ry'imibereho n'ubukungu."³⁰⁵ Aha, u Rwanda rwemera ko

²⁹⁸ NURC (2000). *Ibid.*, p.61-2

²⁹⁹ Batware, Billy (2012). *Rwandan ethnic conflicts : a historical look at root causes*, European Peace University Austria.

³⁰⁰ Karen, B. (2003). *Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation*, Stockholm, p. 24.

³⁰¹ Wallensteen (2002). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. (3rd Edition). Washington DC: Sage Publications Ltd; Karen, B. (2003), *Ibid.*

³⁰² Brian, C. (2012). *Policy Framework for Social Cohesion*. Kigali: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research.

³⁰³ Collier and Sambanis (2002). "Understanding Civil War—a New Agenda." In *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1, 2002, 3–12; Wallensteen (2002). *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*. Video.

³⁰⁴ Newtimes (2014), May 9.

³⁰⁵ Republic of Rwanda (2012). *Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper 2002-2005*, Kigali.

inzira y'Ubwiyunge idashoboka hatabayeho ingamba zo kurwanya ubukene.³⁰⁶ Ibi bijyana n'imvugo nyarwanda igira iti: "Iyo igifu kirimo ubusa, amatwi ntiyumva". Muri urwo rwego, u Rwanda rufite intego yo kuzahura imibereho myiza, n'ubukungu ku rwego rwo hejuru, aho by'umwihariko ivoma gahunda zayo nyinshi mu muco w'u Rwanda w'ubufatanye, cyane cyane kubijyanye no guhuza abantu bagakorera hamwe. Ibika bikurikira bigamije kugaragaza ingamba cyangwa gahunda nyamukuru z'u Rwanda mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza n'uruhare rwazo mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, zose zikaba zijyana n'icyerekezo 2020 ku iterambere ry'u Rwanda.

4.5.1. icyerekezo 2020

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, Abanyarwanda bihuriye gutekereza ku hazaza habo harambye kandi hatajagajega.³⁰⁷ Ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo ku hazaza h'u Rwanda ku nzeho z'ibanze no ku rwego rw'Igihugu mu Rugwiro—mu biro bya Perezida wa Repubulika, hagati ya Gicurasi 1998 na Werurwe 1999, byatumye Leta ifata icyemezo cyo gushyiraho icyerekezo cy'iterambere ry'Igihugu kizwi ku izina ry' 'icyerekezo 2020' gishingiye ku ngingo z'ingenzi zikurikira:³⁰⁸

- Gusana Igihugu n'abagituye;
- Leta, ishoboye, ifatanye n'abaturage, kandi iharanira Ubumwe ;
- Guhindura umuryango-nyarwanda no kuwuteza imbere bishingiye ku ndangagaciro z'umuco-nyarwanda, ikoranabuhanga, no guhuza ibikorwa by'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza ;
- Guharanira amahoro, umutekano w'imbere no hanze y'Igihugu, no mu karere, kugira ngo u Rwanda rwinjire neza mu ruhando rw'amahanga mu rwego rw'ubukungu.

Icyerekezo 2020 cy'u Rwanda ni : "kuba Igihugu giteye imbere, gishoboye kandi gishyize hamwe, gitewe ishema n'indangaciro zacyo, kitajagajega mu bya politike, kandi kizira ivangura mu bagituye". Kugira ngo ibi bigerweho, icyerekezo 2020 gifite intego ko u Rwanda rugomba 'kuba Igihugu gikomeye mu by'ubukungu mu mwaka wa 2020'. Binyuze mu cyerekezo 2020, u Rwanda "rwiyejeje kuba Igihugu gishoboye, kigendera ku mategeko arengera abaturage bose nta vangura... kandi aharanira kurengera uburenganzira bwa

³⁰⁶ NURC (2002), Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Republic of Rwanda (2000)

³⁰⁸ Idem.

muntu, by'umwihariko.”³⁰⁹ Nkuko byagaragajwe haruguru, ubushakashatsi bwagaragaje ko nyuma y'amakimbirane Ubwiyunge budashoboka hatabayeho iterambere mu bukungu, mu mibereho no muri politike.³¹⁰ Ibi bisobanura impamvu icyerekezo 2020 cy'u Rwanda cyibanda cyane mu kwita ku guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bishyirwa muri buri genamigambi ry'iterambere ry'Igihugu.³¹¹

Icyerekezo 2020 kigizwe n'inkingi 6 muri rusange, arizo: imiyoborere myiza na Leta ishoboye, Kongerera ubushobozi abakozi no kugira ubukungu bushingiye ku bumenyi, ubukungu buteza imbere n'abikorera ku giti cyabo, guteza imbere ibikorwa remezo, kongera umusaruro w'ubuhinzi buhagije isoko, ubutwemerane mu by'ubukungu ku rwego rw'akarere no ku rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri buri nkingi hagomba kandi kwibandwa ku: Uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo, kurengera ibidukikije no gucunga neza umutungo kamere ku buryo burambye, kongera kubaka Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda hamwe n'ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga harimo ikoranabuhanga mu itangazamakuru, itumanaho n'isakazabumenyi.³¹²

Icyerekezo 2020 kigaragaza uburyo u Rwanda rwitwara n'uko ruzaba rumeze mu gihe kizaza, tutibagiwe n'uko rugomba kuba ruhagaze mu karere no mu ruhandu mpuzamahanga.³¹³ Ni muri urwo rwego icyerekezo 2020 gisubiza ibibazo bikurikira: “*Abanyarwanda bateganya bate ahazaza habo? Abanyarwanda bifuza kugira Igihugu kimeze gute? Ni gute bashobora kubaka isano yabo ibahuza? Ni izihe mpinduka zikenewe kugira ngo bawe mu mibereho idashimishije?*”³¹⁴ Iki cyerekezo n'igenamigambi riyana nacyo biteza imbere ibikorwa byose bigamije gukemura amakimbirane mu Rwanda aho isano ihuza Abanyarwanda ari ingenzi.³¹⁵

Ni muri urwo rwego, icyerekezo 2020 gishimangira ishyingiraho rya gahunda z'Abanyarwanda ziteza imbere imibereho myiza n'ubukungu byabo. Zimwe muri zo ni : Girinka, Ubudehe, Umuganda, n'izindi (ziragarukwaho nyuma), ziteza imbere

³⁰⁹ MINALOC (2013). *National Strategy for Community Development and Local Economic Development (2013-2018)*, Kigali, P.10

³¹⁰ Lederach, J.P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press; Wallensteen (2007). Ibid.

³¹¹ NURC,(2012).Ibid.

³¹² Republic of Rwanda, 2000.

³¹³ Brian (2012). Ibid.

³¹⁴ Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p. 4)

³¹⁵ NURC (2012). *A qualitative study on the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of 2010: Understanding the Past, Political culture, and Economic security*, Kigali.

Ubumwe mu Banyarwanda.³¹⁶ Mu nzira yo kugera ku cyerekezo 2020, Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (EDPRS) yabaye, kandi iracyari, ingenzi.

4.5.2 Gahunda y'imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene

*Iterambere ry'ubukungu riteza imbere ubuzima bw'abaturage na ryo rigira uruhare mu bwiyunge.*³¹⁷

Mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa icyerekezo 2020, Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (imara imyaka 5) yatangijwe mu mwaka wa 2006 ikomereza kuri gahunda yari isanzwe yo kugabanya ubukene (2002-2006). Kubera ko gahunda yo kugabanya ubukene (2002-2006) itahaga ingufu cyane ibyo gukemura amakimbirane, itangizwa rya Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (2006) ryatumye Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge iboneraho gusaba ku buryo bweruye ko "Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bushyirwa mu nzego na gahunda zose z'iterambere."³¹⁸ Niyo mpamvu muri Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene, hashimangirwa ko u Rwanda rudashobora kugabanya ubukene ku buryo bufatika hatabayeho guteza imbere amahoro, umutekano, n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.³¹⁹

Kugeza ubu, mu Rwanda, hamaze kubaho Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene inshuro ebyiri. Iya mbere yavaga muri 2008 kugeza muri 2012, naho iya kabiri iva muri 2013 kugeza muri 2018.³²⁰ Kuri izi nshuro zombi, Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene, yibanda ku gushimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z'iterambere mu Rwanda.³²¹ Umusaruro w'Igihugu wiyongereyeho 8,2%, naho ubukene bugabanuka kuva kuri 56,7% kugeza kuri 44,9% hagati y'umwaka wa 2006 na 2011.³²² Muri uru rwego, Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (ya mbere) yagize uruhare rwihariye mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge aho hatejwe imbere imiyoborere myiza no kwegera ubuyobozi abaturage hagamijwe kongera icyizere

³¹⁶ MINAGRI (2006). A Proposal to Distribute a Cow to Every Poor Family in Rwanda, Kigali; MINALOC 2002). National Strategy framework paper on Strengthening Good Governance for Poverty reduction in Rwanda. March. Kigali; Brian (2012). Ibid.

³¹⁷ Staub, Ervin (2012). The Challenging Road to Reconciliation in Rwanda, January 17. Biboneka <http://www.eir.info/2012/01/17/the-challenging-road-to-reconciliation-in-rwanda/>

³¹⁸ UNDP (2007). *Turning Vision 2020 into Reality: From Recovery to Sustainable Human Development. National Human Development Report, Rwanda 2007.* Kigali: UNDP p. 75.

³¹⁹ The Republic of Rwanda :Justice, Reconciliation, Law & Order Sector Strategic Plan July 2013 to June 2018, p.34

³²⁰ Republic of Rwanda, 2012.

³²¹ Republic of Rwanda (2007). *Capacity Development and Building a Capable State: Rwanda Country,* Kigali.

³²² MINECOFIN (2012). EDPRS 1, Kigali.

mu banyarwanda, kugendera ku mategeko, guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu, n'imibanire myiza.³²³ Na none, Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (ya kabiri) yibanda ku gushimangira ibiganiro hagamijwe kongera kubaka imibanire ndetse n'ubwizerane mu banyarwanda.³²⁴ Iyi gahunda ishimangira na none ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda bidashoboka mu gihe amakuru ku mateka y'u Rwanda na Jenocide atandukanye. Muri urwo rwego, imbaraga zirashyirwa mu gushishikariza abanditsi b'Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga "gutangaza inyandiko zishingiye ku bimenyetso bifatika" ku mateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, no ku mbaraga zirimo gukoreshwa mu guteza imbere Ubwiyunge.³²⁵

Kugira ngo ibi bigerweho, iyi gahunda igaragaza ko ibiganiro ku rwego rw'Igihugu n'amahuriro k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bigamije guteza imbere isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye ("Ubunyarwanda"), bizakomeza gukorwa. Iyi gahunda kandi ikomeza gushimangira ko kurandura umuco wo kudahana ari imwe mu nzira z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.³²⁶

4.5.3. Gahunda zo gufasha abatishoboye

Abantu batishoboye, barimo abarokotse Jenocide, impfubyi, ababana n'ubumuga, abahungutse, abashigajwe inyuma n'amateka, abapfakazi, n'abageze mu zabukuru, barafashwa binyuze muri gahunda zitandukanye zagize uruhare runini mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, nk'uko ibika bikurikira bibigaragaza.

4.5.3.1 Icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP)

Binyuze muri gahunda y'Icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP), abaturage babashije kwegerana bikaba byaroreheje inzira yo kubahuriza hamwe, bijyana ku busabane bwo nkingi z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.³²⁷

Leta y'u Rwanda, ibinyujije muri Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, yatangije gahunda zitandukanye z'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu hagamijwe kurwanya ubukene, cyane cyane mu bice by'icyaro.³²⁸ Icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP) ni imwe muri zo. Ni imwe mu nkingi

³²³ Republic of Rwanda (2007). Ibid.

³²⁴ Republic of Rwanda, 2012

³²⁵ Republic of Rwanda, 2012, p. 82.

³²⁶ Republic of Rwanda, 2012, p.82-3.

³²⁷ Caplan (2007). Ibid.

³²⁸ Brian (2012). Ibid.

z'ingenzi za Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene, kandi ijyanye n'Icyerekezo 2020.³²⁹ Igamije kurwanya ubukene mu miryango ikennye kurusha iyindi mu gihugu hose.³³⁰ Ni gahunda yo gufasha mu buryo butandukanye, harimo no gutanga ubushobozi bw'amafaranga kugirango abakene batere imbere ku buryo bwihuse. Icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP) cyatangiyeye mu mwaka wa 2008 kikaba kigizwe n'ibice bitatu by'ingenzi:

1. *Inkunga y'ingoboka*: Igenewe guhabwa abantu badashobora kugira icyo bimarira ku bwabo. Abo ni: ababana n'ubumuga, abana birera, abasheshe akanguhe, abana b'inzererezi, abahungutse, n'abandi.³³¹ Aba bagize imiryango ikennye cyane kandi idafite ubushobozi bwo gukora akazi. Ubufasha bw'amafaranga bahabwa bugamije kubafasha gukemura ibibazo byabo by'ibanze, nko kubona amafunguro, ariko cyane cyane kubafasha kwishyura ubwisungane mu kwivuza.

2. *Imirimo rusange*: Ni gahunda yo guha amahirwe y'akazi ibyiciro bitandukanye by'abantu bakennye (abakennye cyane) bakaba bashobora gukora akazi. Ikigenderwaho ni uko abo bantu bagomba guturuka mu miryango ikennye cyane;

3. *Inguzanyo*: Ni gahunda yo gutanga inguzanyo (amafaranga) ku bantu bakennye cyane binyuze mu nguzanyo ziciriritse.

Nk'urugero rw'akamaro k'icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP), ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byagaragarijwe mu nama ya 9 y'umushyikirano (15-16 Ukuboza 2011) byerekana ko ibyagezweho n'Icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge/VUP (2008-2011) bigizwe³³²:

- Abantu 590.100 babonye akazi;
- Ikigereranyo cya miliyari 15 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda zagezweho;
- Ikigereranyo cy'abaturage 81.693 babonye inkunga y'ingoboka ifite agaciro ka miliyari 4 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda;
- Abantu 92.136 babonye inguzanyo zingana na miliyari 8 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda.

³²⁹ Republic of Rwanda (2008). *Vision 2020 Umurenge Program (VUP) Baseline Survey*, Kigali.

³³⁰ Republic of Rwanda (2008). *Idem*.

³³¹ Brian (2012,). *Ibid.*, p. 19

³³² Republic of Rwanda/ Office of the Prime Minister (2011). *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December, Kigali.

Guteza imbere umuco wo kuzigama, binyuze mu gushyiraho koperative zo kuzigama no kugurizanya (SACCO) ku rwego rw'umurenge, nabyo byagaragajwe mu byagezweho n'icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP) mu gufasha abatishoboye, n'Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange, cyane cyane mu bice by'icyaro ku buryo buri murenge wose w'u Rwanda ufite koperative yo kuzigama no kugurizanya³³³

Uruhare rw'icyerekezo 2020 Umurenge (VUP) mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda rugaragarira cyane ku bijyanye n'uko abagenerwabikorwa bateza imbere imibanire yabo binyuze mu kuba barahurijwe hamwe muri gahunda z'ibikorwa by'ubukungu, aho babonera umwanya wo kuganira ku cyabatandukanyije no kungurana ibitekerezo ku buryo bakwiyunga.³³⁴

4.5.3.2. Girinka

Girinka ni gahunda yo guha inka umuntu cyangwa umuryango ukennye, yatangijwe na Perezida wa Repubulika, Paul Kagame, mu mwaka wa 2000. Abaturage nibo bagena buri muntu cyangwa umuryango ugomba guhabwa inka. Abahawe inka basabwa nabo koroza abandi bakene batoranyijwe, aho buri wese aha undi ikomoka kuyo yahawe.

Iyi gahunda ijyana n'umuco nyarwanda aho kugira inka byari ikimenyetso cy'ubutunzi cyangwa imibereho myiza, ku buryo kugaba inka byabaga ari ikimenyetso cy'urukundo no kwifuriza/kwifurizwa imibereho myiza. Ibi byanagaragaraga cyane mu ndamukanyo igira iti: "*girinka*". Umuntu rero yahaga undi inka nk'ikimenyetso cyo kumukunda, kumwubaha, no kumwifuriza ibyiza ku buryo inka yari gahuzamiryango, cyane cyane ko ari nayo yari ikimenyetso cy'ubucuti, ubwubahane, no gutangwa nk'inkwano.³³⁵

Girinka rero yashyizweho nk'igisubizo ku kibazo cy'umubare munini w'abantu, cyane cyane abana bari bafite imirire mibi kandi nk'uburyo bwo kwihutisha kugabanya ubukene no kwihutisha ubuhinzi n'ubworozi bigamije umusaruro. Iyi gahunda ishingiyeye ku kwizera ko guha imiryango ikennye inka ikamwa bifasha mu kuzamura imibereho yabo kuko bigira ingaruka y'imirire myiza n'indyo yuzuye iva mu mata, kongera umusaruro uva mu buhinzi binyuze mu gufumbira ubutaka, ndetse n'amafaranga bitewe no gucuruza ibikomoka ku mata.³³⁶

³³³ Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister (2008). *The 6th National Dialogue* (18-19) December, Report, Kigali.

³³⁴ Republic of Rwanda (2007). *Vision 2020 Umurenge: An Integrated Local Development Program to Accelerate Poverty Eradication, Rural Growth and Social Protection*, August, Kigali.

³³⁵ RAB (2013). *Girinka programme: A success story in Rwanda*, Kigali.

³³⁶ RAB (2013).Ibid.

Girinka kandi ifite uruhare rukomeye mu mibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda kuko uwahawe inka yoroza mugenzi we bashobora kuba batumvikanaga. Uburyo uyu muhango wo guhabwa inka cyangwa koroza undi ukorwamo (ubusabane/umunsi mukuru), ni ingirakamaro cyane mu mibanire myiza hagati y'uwahawe inka n'uwayimuhaye kuko bituma batangira gusabana.

Gahunda ya Girinka yemejwe n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo kuwa 12 Mata 2006³³⁷ kandi yateje imbere imibanire myiza no kumva abantu bashyize hamwe mu midugudu. Muri Nzeri 2014 hafi abagenerwabikorwa 200.000 bari baramaze guhabwa inka. Iyi gahunda ifite intego yo kuba yarahaye imiryango ikennye inka 350.000 mu mwaka wa 2017.³³⁸

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, abahawe inka basabwa guha inyana ivutse bwa mbere undi muntu ukennye uri mu gace batuyemo.³³⁹ Girinka rero ijyanye na gahunda y'imibereho myiza, ndetse n'umuco w'imibanire myiza n'ubusabane.³⁴⁰ Iyi mibanire y'abaturage ikomoka kuri gahunda ya Girinka ni ingenzi mu gukemura amakimbirane. Yagize uruhare mu kubaka imibanire hagati y'umuntu n'undi ndetse no ku muntu ubwe nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda.³⁴¹ Iyi gahunda rero yateje/iteza imbere indangagaciro z'imibanire myiza n'imyitwarire bya muntu, ibi bikaba ari ingenzi muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda³⁴²

4.5.3.3. Imirimo ku bantu benshi (HIMO)

HIMO (Haute intensité de la main d'oeuvre), ugenekereje bivuga 'imirimo ku bantu benshi', nayo ni indi gahunda yita by'umwihariko ku bakene. Intego yayo ni uguteza imbere u Rwanda binyuze mu kwegereza abaturage ibikorwa by'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu mu cyaro. Intego yindi ijyanye n'iyi gahunda ni ukugabanya ubukene mu mijyi no mu bice bijya kuba imijyi hifashishijwe imirimo migari igenerwa abantu benshi badafite akazi mu mijyi, by'umwihariko urubiruko.

Kugira ngo iyi gahunda ifashe abakene, hashyirwaho ibikorwa byifashisha uburyo abo bagenerwa bikorwa bafite (amaboko yabo n'ubutaka). Iyi gahunda yanakozwe mu buryo bwo kwongera ubushobozi bw'abakene binyuze mu bikorwa bijyanye n'uburezi n'ubuvuzi.³⁴³

³³⁷ RAB (2013). Ibid.

³³⁸ <http://rwandapedia.rw>

³³⁹ RAB (2013). Ibid.

³⁴⁰ MINAGRI (2006). Ibid.

³⁴¹ RAB (2013). Ibid.

³⁴² Brian (2012). Ibid.

³⁴³ Musoni Protais (2003). Ibid., p.17.

4.5.4. Ubudehe

Ubudehe ni indi gahunda ishingiyeye ku muco nyarwanda wo gukemura ibibazo ku bufatanye bw'abaturage. Mu mateka y'u Rwanda, Ubudehe bwari igikorwa cy'ubufatanye cyakorwaga n'abaturanyi kugira ngo bazamurane, banagabanye ubukene. Ubudehe wari umwanya wo kugira ngo abantu bafashanye hagati yabo mubikorwa bahuriraho, nko guhinga, gutera imyaka no kubaka amazu. Ku bw'ibyo, habayeho umuco w'igikorwa gihuriweho no gufashanya mu gihe byabaga bikenewe.³⁴⁴

Iyi gahunda yongeye kwitabazwa mu Rwanda guhera mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2001 ifite intego yo guha ingufu ibikorwa by'ubufatanye rusange hagamijwe kugabanya ubukene, kandi inashyira mu bikorwa gahunda yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi. Na none, Ubudehe ni bumwe mu buryo bwashyizweho muri gahunda yo kongera kubaka kwizerana hagati y'Abanyarwanda, binyuze mu guhabwa ijamba mu bibakorerwa, kugaragarizwa ibibakorerwa, no kwesa imihigo mu Rwanda rwa nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Mu gihe intego y' Ubudehe bwo hambere yagarukiraga ku "gukorera hamwe" ku baturanyi gusa, ubu byahindutse 'igikorwa rusange' ku rwego rw'Igihugu cyose hagamijwe ibikorwa by'iterambere rusange, no kugira ngo hatezwe imbere uruhare rw'abaturage mu gukemura ibibazo by'ubukene, ndetse no gushyigikira umuco wo gufashanya. Muri iyi gahunda, buri mudugudu utoranya imiryango ikennye, maze abaturage bose bakigira hamwe ingamba zo gufasha iyi miryango kuva mu bukene.³⁴⁵ Iyi gahunda kandi ituma abaturage mu gihugu hose babasha kwihangira imishinga y'ingenzi kurusha iyindi.³⁴⁶

Uretse ibikorwa bihuriweho byo gufasha abakene n'abatishoboye, gahunda y'Ubudehe yashyizweho kugira ngo yongere guhuza kandi yunge Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Intego nkuru yari iyo kugarura ubwizerane mu banyarwanda kugira ngo hatangire inzira y'isanamitima no gukorera hamwe, nta vangura, hubakwa umunyarwanda nyakuri.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Minaloc (2004). *Rwanda Five-Years Decentralization Implementation Programme (2004-2008) Poverty Reduction and Empowerment through Entrenchment of Democratic Decentralization*. March, Kigali.

³⁴⁵ Niringiye, A. (2012). *Impact Evaluation of the Ubudehe Programme in Rwanda: an examination of the Sustainability of the Ubudehe Programme*. University of Pennsylvania. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Volume 14, No.3, 2012, p. 141-154.

³⁴⁶ Niringiye, 2012

³⁴⁷ Ensign, In Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign (2014). *Ibid.*, p.333.

Nkuko byagaragajwe n'ubushakashatsi butandukanye, gahunda y'Ubudehe yateje imbere umuco w'ubusabane, Ubumwe no kudaheza mu banyarwanda,³⁴⁸ kongera kubaka isano ihuza Abanyarwanda (Ubunyarwanda) no gukunda Igihugu,³⁴⁹ binateza kandi imbere umuco wo kumva ko ibibazo by'abaturage aribo ubwabo bireba mbere na mbere kandi ko ari bo bagomba kubishakira ibisubizo binyuze mu gufatanywa.³⁵⁰

4.5.5 Umuganda

Buri wa Gatandatu wa nyuma w'ukwezi, Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bahurira hamwe mu gikorwa bitekerereje ubwabo cyitwa Umuganda. Iki gikorwa, cyitabirwa n'Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange, gitangira saa mbiri kikorangira saa tanu za mu gitondo.

Umuganda wabayeho mu Rwanda kuva mbere y'ubukoloni, ugendera ku muco w'ubukorerabushake ku Banyarwanda kugira ngo biteze imbere. Ibi ahanini byari bigizwe no kubakirana amazu, gufata neza ibikorwa remezo by'amazi n'ubutaka hagamijwe kugabanya isuri, no guteza imbere ubuhinzi.

Muri iki gihe, intego y'ingenzi y'Umuganda iracyari iy'iterambere rusange. Ibi bigerwaho hifashishijwe imbaraga rusange z'abaturage kugira ngo ahanini hubakwe cyangwa hanasanwe ibikorwa remezo by'ibanze by'iterambere rusange birebererwa n'umukuru w'umudugudu. Ibyo bikorwa ni nko kubaka cyangwa gusana imihanda, amateme, imiyoboro y'amazi, amashuri n'ibigo nderabuzima, ndetse no kubungabunga ibidukikije, no gufasha abatishoboye kubona aho kuba. Umuganda usaba buri wese kugira uruhare mu gukorana umwete kandi nta gihembo. Ushyize mu mafaranga, agaciro k'Umuganda kagereranywa n'ubufasha bushobora gutangwa n'abaterankunga b'imena batanu mu ngengo y'imari y'Igihugu.³⁵¹ Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose, ndetse harimo na Perezida wa Repubulika n'abandi bayobozi, inzego z'umutekano, ndetse n'abanyamahanga, bose bakora Umuganda nta gahato.³⁵²

Ibikorwa rusange binyuze mu muganda byatumye habaho ubufatanye, Ubumwe n'imibanire myiza mu Banyarwanda. Umuganda uhuza imiryango kandi ni uburyo bukomeza imibanire myiza, ubwizerane mu baturage n'Ubwiyunge. Uteza imbere imibanire myiza y'abaturanyi

³⁴⁸ Brian (2012). Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Shyaka, A. (2007). Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Niringiye, A. (012). Ibid.

³⁵¹ For example, 2,346 classrooms for Nine Years basic education (9YBE) to accommodate 70,000 student valuable to Rwf 25 billion were built through Umuganda (See: Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister. *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December 2011.

³⁵² Adelman (1975); Rwanda National Police (2014:42). Ibid.

mu gihe ukuraho ibikuta bishobora kuba bitandukanya imiryango ituranye. Binyuze mu muganda inshuti n'abari bafitanye amakimbirane batera urwenya, bakungurana ibitekerezho bityo bagahindura mu buryo bwubaka amakimbirane bari bafitanye.³⁵³ Umuganda na none watumye Abanyarwanda babasha kwigira, biha agaciro,³⁵⁴ kuko ibibazo bikemurwa n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo binyuze muguhuza imbaraga zabo.

4.5.6. Kuvugurura imikoreshereze y'ubutaka

Guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda byasabye na none ko habaho gukemura ibibazo bijyanye no gusaranganya umutungo, cyane cyane ubutaka. Ibi biterwa n'uko ubutaka bufatwa akenshi nk'umutungo w'ibanze ku banyarwanda.³⁵⁵

Mbere y'ubukoloni, ubutaka bwari umutungo rusange, aho ubuhinzi n'ubworozi byuzuzanyaga. Ubu buryo, bwagenderaga mu mategeko y'umuco, bwatangaga umusaruro mu by'ubukungu kandi bugatuma habaho amahoro n'imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda.³⁵⁶ Ubucye bw'ubutaka, butewe na politiki y'abakoloni, bwabaye ikintu gikomeye cyacyemo ibice Abanyarwanda. Politiki y'abakoloni yo gushaka gushyiraho uburyo bw'uko buri wese agomba kugira ubutaka no kuburekura ntibwigeze buba uburyo buhuza abantu. Ahubwo, ubu buryo bwateye amacakubiri mu Rwanda, aho abakomeye bikubiye ubutaka n'ububasha bw'uko bugomba gukoreshwa.

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ingaruka zayo zatumye ikibazo cy'imikoreshereze y'ubutaka mu Rwanda kirushaho gukomera.³⁵⁷ Nyuma ya Jenoside u Rwanda rwari ruhanganye n'ikibazo gikomeye cyo gutuza abantu. Hariho ibibazo byinshi bijyanye n'uburenganzira ku butaka ku mpunzi za cyera³⁵⁸ no ku mpunzi za vuba zari zitahutse.³⁵⁹ Ku ruhande rumwe, hariho gutahuka ku bwinshi kw'impunzi za cyera zavaga mu bice bitandukanye by'isi. Ku rundi ruhande, hari abaturage bari baravanywe mu byabo, mu gihe abandi benshi³⁶⁰

³⁵³ Rwanda National Police (2014). Ibid., p.42.

³⁵⁴ Rwanda National Police (2014). Ibid., p.42.

³⁵⁵ Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines (2004). Ibid.; RISD's report (2013:23) also considers land as "woven into the very fabric of Rwandan social life" to the extent that land is taken as "much more than a resource."

³⁵⁶ Vansina (2001:168); Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines (2004:10); Takeuchi Marara (2009 :8). Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Kairaba and Simons (2011: 5). *Impact of the Land Reform on the Land Rights And Economic Poverty Reduction of the Majority Rural Especially Women Who Depend on Land for their Livelihood*, Kigali: RISD.

³⁵⁸ Izi ni impunzi zo muri 1959, 1960 na 1973.

³⁵⁹ Izi ni impunzi za vuba, nyuma ya 1994 ndetse n'abandi bari baravanywe mu byabo.

³⁶⁰ Post-1994 refugees.

bari barahungiyeye mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda cyane cyane muri Repubulika Iharanira Demukarasi ya Congo no muri Tanzaniya. Uku guhunguka kw'impunzi nyinshi kwabaye mu gihugu, u Rwanda, aho ivugurura ry'ubutaka ritari ryarigeze rishyirwa mu bikorwa, aribyo byatumye habura uburyo bwiza bwo gucunga ubutaka. Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda rero yari yugarijwe n'ikibazo cyo gutuza impunzi za cyera n'iza vuba.³⁶¹

Ibibazo byo gutuza abantu byakajije umurego muri 1996 igihe impunzi za nyuma ya Jenoside zirenga miliyoni 1,5 (impunzi za vuba) zatahukaga ziva muri Repubulika Iharanira Demukarasi ya Congo. Impunzi za cyera zo zagombaga gutahuka, nkuko byari biteganyijwe n'Amasezerano y'Amahoro y'Arusha yo muri 1993. Ingigo ya 3 y'ayo masezerano yavugaga ko: "Kugira ngo hatuzwe abantu bahungutse, Leta y'u Rwanda igomba gutanga ubutaka bwose budatuwe nkuko bwabaruwe na Komisiyo yo Gucyura Impunzi". Ingigo ya 4 yavugaga ko: "gutunga ubutaka ari uburenganzira bw'ibanze ku banyarwanda bose". Kubera icyo mpamvu impunzi za cyera bafite uburenganzira bwo kongera gutunga ubutaka bwabo bagitahuka. Nyamara, impande zombi zari zaranzuye ko *"mu rwego rwo guteza imbere imibanire myiza n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, impunzi zimaze hanze imyaka irenga 10 ntizigomba gusaba gusubizwa ubutaka bwazo bwari bwaratuwe n'abandi bantu. Mu kubashumbusha, Leta izabashakira ubutaka kandi ibafashe gutura"*. Ku ikubitiro, impunzi za cyera zagaragaje ko hari ikibazo gifatika cy'ubutaka, cyane cyane ko byari bigoranye gushyira mu bikorwa Amasezerano y'Amahoro y'Arusha, yari yavangiwe na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994.³⁶²

Ibi nanone byabaye mu gihe imicungire y'ubutaka mu Rwanda yari yarakomeje kubaho hadakurikijwe amategeko agaragara kubera kubangikana kw'amategeko (ayanditse n'ay'umuco gakondo) kwazanye ikibazo mu micungire y'ubutaka. Abanyarwanda benshi bumvaga ari ba nyir'ubutaka mu gihe amategeko yanditse avuga ko ubutaka ari ubwa Leta.³⁶³

Ibi bibazo byose byatumye biba ngombwa ko habaho politiki n'amategeko bihamye kugira ngo habeho itegeko rimwe ry'ubutaka rigena ku buryo busobanutse uburenganzira

n'inshingano by'ufite icyemezo cy'umutungo w'ubutaka, ndetse hajyeho no guhindura imyumvire ku bijyanye n'uburyo bwo gucunga no gukoresha ubutaka.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Kairaba and Simons (2011). Ibid., p. 5; Musahara and Huggins 2005; Takeuchi and Marara (2009). Ibid.

³⁶² Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines (2004). Ibid.,p.13

³⁶³ Idem.

³⁶⁴ Ministry of Lands, Environment, Forests, Water and Mines (2004). Ibid.,p 10-15.

Byabaye rero ubwa mbere mu mateka y'u Rwanda hashyirwaho, mu mwaka wa 2004, politiki y'Igihugu y'ubutaka, mu rwego rwo kubahiriza Itegeko nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu mwaka wa 2003 rivuga ko abantu bose bareshya kandi bafite uburenganzira bungana ku mutungo w'Igihugu. Iyi politike kandi yari ishingiyeye ku ihame rivuga ko: "ubutaka burusha agaciro indi mitungo yose, cyane cyane mu Rwanda aho ubutaka bukiri umutungo w'ingenzi mu iterambere". Intego ya politike y'ubutaka yari kandi gushyiraho uburyo bwo gukoresha ubutaka buha umutekano Abanyarwanda bose kandi butanga inama ku mavugurura ya ngombwa, hagamijwe gucunga no gukoresha umutungo w'Igihugu w'ubutaka mu cyerekezo cy'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ndetse n'iterambere rirambye ry'u Rwanda.³⁶⁵ Muri urwo rwego, gutura mu midugudu, guhuza ubutaka, ndetse no kwandikisha ubutaka byabaye bimwe mu bigize ingamba z'ivugurura ry'ubutaka mu Rwanda.

Izi ngamba zavuzwe haruguru zagize uruhare rukomeye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda kuko zashimangiye ukureshya hagati y'Abanyarwanda. Zashimangiye kandi ubutabera, zinagabanya amakimbirane ashingiyeye ku butaka mu cyerekezo cy'imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda. Aha, bamwe mu baturage babivuga muri aya magambo:

Itegeko k'ubutabera mu ikoresha ry'ubutaka ryakemuye ibibazo byinshi nk'ibijyanye n'izungura. Kubarura no kwandikisha ubutaka byazanye ubutabera mu kugira uruhare rugaragara kuko ibi [kubarura no kwandikisha ubutaka] byagabanyije amakimbirane mu miryango ashingiyeye ku butaka kugeza n'aho impfubyi zashubijwe ubutaka bw'ababyeyi bazo.³⁶⁶

Mu by'ukuri, ubutaka ni ishingiro ry'ubukungu bw'Abanyarwanda. Ubutaka bwahawe agaciro na Leta none ubu hari amategeko ku butaka; habaye kandi ibarura ry'ubutaka ndetse buri muntu utunze ubutaka yahawe uburenganzira bwemewe n'amategeko kuri bwo; ibi byose byerekana ubutabera ku butaka.³⁶⁷

4.6. Gahunda z' Imibanire, Uburezi n'Umuco

Usibye ingamba z'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, u Rwanda runaharanira guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda binyuze no muri gahunda z'imibanire, uburezi n'umuco. Izi gahunda zigiyeye kugaragazwa zerekana umwihariko w'u Rwanda mu guteza

³⁶⁵ Idem

³⁶⁶ NURC (2012). Ibid., p.86

³⁶⁷ Idem

imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye aho umuco mwiza n'indangagaciro byarangaga Abanyarwanda cyera byongeye kwifashishwa.³⁶⁸ Aha uburere mboneragihugu buhabwa agaciro kihariye nk'uko bikunze kugaragara mu mvugo-nyarwanda ko "uburere buruta ubuvuke", bityo bikagaragaza akamaro ko guhugura no kwigisha hagamijwe kwimakaza imibanire myiza.³⁶⁹

4.6.1. Ingando

Imwe muri gahunda z'ingenzi zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda n'uburere, u Rwanda rwifashishije/rwifashisha mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, ni Ingando.³⁷⁰ Ingando ni gahunda y'u Rwanda yo kwigisha uburere mboneragihugu n'amahoro, aho iva ku nshinga "kugandika", bivuga muri rusange guhagarika ibikorwa bisanzwe, kugira ngo ufate akanya, utuze, utekereze ku bibazo by'Igihugu unabishakira ibisubizo.

Mu muco nyarwanda, *Ingando* bwari uburyo abantu bakuze/basheshe akanguhe bo mu mudugudu runaka, cyangwa urubyiruko rwo mu mudugudu runaka, bavaga aho batuye bakajya ahantu hitaruye cyangwa hiherereye bakahamara igihe runaka batekereza kandi banungurana ibitekerezo kugira ngo bakemure ibibazo byugarije agace batuyemo (nk'inzara, ubukene, amakimbirane, n'ibindi).³⁷¹

Ingando kandi zakoreshwaga/ziracyakoreshwa n'amatsinda yihariye y'urubyiruko y'Abasikuti (Scouts) n'Abagide (Guides) ndetse, n'andi mashyirahamwe afitanye isano na Kiliziya Gatulika hagamijwe kwigisha cyangwa guhugura mu by'imyemerere. Uretse amasomo yatangwaga mu gihe cy'Ingando, urubyiruko rwigishwaga n'indi mirimo y'amaboko nko guhinga, kubamba amatafari no kubaka inzu z'abakene, gutunganya ibishanga, n'ibindi. Ubu bwoko bw'Ingando bwari uburyo bwo gufasha abantu kubana n'abandi no kwinjira mu buzima butanga imibereho myiza hashingiwe ku busabane no gusangira ubunararibonye bituma umuntu abasha kubana neza n'abandi.³⁷²

Ingando mu by'ukuri ryari ishuri rikomeye aho abantu bigishwaga amahame yo gukunda Igihugu ndetse n'indangagaciro z'ingenzi zimakaza ubumuntu, cyane cyane uburere mboneragihugu bwimakaza gukora icyiza, kugira abaturage bashoboye b'intwali, inyanga mugayo, b'indahigwa kandi bafite uburere bwiza.³⁷³

³⁶⁸ Clark, P. (2009). Ibid., p.104

³⁶⁹ Clark, P. (2009). Ibid., p.104

³⁷⁰ Mgbako, C. (2005). Ibid., p.208.

³⁷¹ NURC (2007). Ibid., p.7; Mgbako, C. (2005). Ibid., p. 208.

³⁷² NURC (2007). Ibid., p.8

³⁷³ Idem. p.7

Gahunda y'Ingando yatangijwe ku mugaragaro nyuma gato ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, itangijwe na Minisiteri y'Urubiruko n'Amashyirahamwe, muri Gicurasi 1996.³⁷⁴ Ingando ya mbere yabereye i Karangazi mu cyahoze ari Perefegitura y'Umutara, (ubu ni mu Ntara y'Iburasirazuba) yari yitabiriwe n'urubiruko (abahungu n'abakobwa) rwaturutse mu cyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Byumba n'Umutara (ubu ni uduce tugize intara z'Amajyaruguru n'Iburasirazuba) z'u Rwanda. Muri iyi ngando, urubiruko rugera kuri 870 rwaje rufite amateka atandukanye n'imyumvire itandukanye ku Rwanda. Bamwe bari baturutse mu mahanga, abandi ari abarokotse Jenoside, mu gihe abandi bari baragize uruhare, cyangwa bakekwaho kugira uruhare muri Jenoside, cyangwa se baturuka mu miryango yagize uruhare muri Jenoside. Intego y'iyi ngando kwari ukubashyira hamwe bakaganirizwa kuri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ingando ariko zari zaranakoreshejwe Jenoside ikirangira, mu mpera za 1994, muri gahunda yo guhuza ingabo.

Ingando zagize imbaraga kurushaho binyuze muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nk'imwe mu ngamba zayo zo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Zagize n' uruhare rukomeye muri gahunda ya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ijyanye no kwimakaza isano ihuza Abanyarwanda—Ubunyarwanda—ari nayo nkingi ikomeye y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.³⁷⁵

Akamaro gakomeye k'Ingando kagaragaye cyane mu guhunguka kw'impunzi nyinshi z'Abanyarwanda. Binyuze mu biganiriro n'inyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu, Ingando zatumye impunzi za cyera zituzwa mu mahoro. By'umwihariko, Ingando zagize akamaro kanini cyane igihe zasubizwaga mu buzima busanzwe kandi mu mahoro impunzi za vuba, cyane cyane izari zifite impungenge z'uko hashoboraga kubaho kwihorera kw'abarokotse Jenoside ku bagize uruhare muri Jenoside, cyangwa se imitungo igafatirwa. Nyamara, kuri iyi ngingo ya nyuma, imwe mu shingano na gahunda z'ibanze za Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yari yarafashe, kandi ikihutira gushyira mu bikorwa, ni ugufasha impunzi za vuba zahungukaga gusubizwa imitungo yazo. Iki cyemezo cya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda cyerekana ku buryo bugaragara ubushake bukomeye bwayo bwo guharanira amahoro mu banyarwanda bose, aribyo byagize akamaro mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge.³⁷⁶

Uretse uruhare rw'Ingando mu gihe cyo guhugura no gutuza impunzi, zakomeje gukoreshwa cyane nk'urubuga rw'ibiganiriro hagati y'abaturage kandi zifatwa nk'igikoresho cy'ubusabane.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Idem.

³⁷⁵ NURC (2007). Ibid., p.11.

³⁷⁶ Idem. p.15

³⁷⁷ Idem.

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, Ingando kandi zakoreshejwe mu guhuza ingabo zahoze zihanganye, hanarwanywa ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide, aho babonye umwanya wo kuganira ku mateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo. Mu bushakashatsi ku mahoro nyuma y'amakimbirane, Nat J. Colletta na Robert Muggah bagaragaje ko gahunda y'Ingando mu Rwanda ari urugero rwiza rwagize akamaro gakomeye mu guhuza ingabo.³⁷⁸ Ingando rwose zabaye urubuga mu guhuriza hamwe ingabo zahoze zihanganye, aho baganiriyeye ku cyateye ibibazo bakanyemeza kubigira ibyabo no kubishakira ibisubizo kugira ngo hongere hubakwe icyizere mu banyarwanda.³⁷⁹ Uwahoze ashinzwe iby'igisirikali cy'Amerika, akorera mu Rwanda, Rick Orth, wibonye uko ingando zikora yagize ati:

Umwe mu bari abasirikali bakuru ba Leta ya cyera (ex-FAR) yagaragaje ko guhuza ingabo byari byoroshye kubera ko buri wese bireba yari asangiye amateka amwe n'abandi, ururimi (ikinyarwanda), n'ubwengehugu. Yababajwe n'uko Leta ya cyera yagendeye kuri politiki y'amacakubiri, anagaragaza ko izahoze ari ingabo z'iyi Leta zazahariye ku rugamba kuko iyi Leta yazifataga nabi. Binyuranye n'ibi, uwo musirikali yagaragaje ko ubu ingabo z'Igihugu ari urwego rukomeye kandi ruha agaciro abarugize.³⁸⁰

Nkuko byavuzwe haruguru, mu mwaka w' 1997, abahoze ari ingabo za Leta ya cyera zatsinzwe (ex-FAR), babaga barangije Ingando, binjijwe mu ngabo z'Inkotanyi (FPR). Ingabo zimaze guhuzwa, ziswe Ingabo z'Igihugu mu mwaka wa 2002, aribyo byanabaye ikimenyetso cy'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.³⁸¹ Mu ngando, aho ahanini abahoze ari ingabo za Leta ya cyera zatsinzwe bahuriyemo n'ingabo z'Igihugu, intambwe ya mbere yari iyo kubafasha bese kwibohora amarangamutima bari bafite. Ibi byagezweho bafashwa kuganira byimbitse ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda. Mbese, icyo buri ruhande rwatekerezaga kuri aya mateka, n'uko buri wese yibonaga cyangwa yabonaga mugenzi we, byagombaga kubanza gukemuka. Ibi bivuzwe kuko igihe cyose impande zombi zidashobora kuganira ku bibazo byabaye, n'uburyo buri ruhande rubyumva, biragoye kubibonera umuti. Icy'ingenzi cyari ugushyiraho uburyo bwiza butuma impande zombi zishobora kuganira mu mahoro kandi buri wese agahabwa agaciro.³⁸² Intabwe ya kabiri yari iyo kohereza abo mu ngabo zahoze zihanganye mu butumwa bw'amahoro bari kumwe. Uko kubohereza kwababereye ubundi buryo bwo gukomeza kumenya neza

³⁷⁸ Burgess Stephen (2014). Ibid., p 94.

³⁷⁹ Colletta and Muggah (2009), In Burgess Stephen (2014), In "In LicklideRoy (2014) Ibid., p. 94

³⁸⁰ Orth (1999:66), In Burgess Stephen (2014), In LicklideRoy (2014) Ibid., p. 95

³⁸¹ Burgess Stephen (2014), In LicklideRoy (2014). Ibid., p. 99

³⁸² Rusagara, F. (2014). Ibid., p.4

ibibazo u Rwanda rwanyuzemo no kurushaho kubunga mu buryo bukuraho ibyitwaga ko bibatandukanya ndetse n'inyumvire y'ikinyoma buri ruhande rwari rufite ku rundi.³⁸³

Ku ntambwe ya gatatu, Ingabo z'Igihugu zakomeje gutuma habaho ibiganiro binyujijwe mu biro byo guhuza ibikorwa bya gisivili n'ibya gisirikali biri ku cyicaro gikuru cy'ingabo. Aha urwego rwa J5 (urwego rwa gisirikali rushizwe igenamigambi na politiki) rwakoze isesengura nyimbitse kandi abari bitabiriye Ingando bashishikarijwe gusesengura amakimbirane nk'ikibazo bahuriyeho. Iri sesengura ryari rigizwe no gucukumbura icyateye amakimbirane, uburyo buri wese yayitwayemo n'icyabimuteye, hagamijwe kugaragaza uruhare rwa buri wese ndetse n'ingaruka byagize kuri buri wese. J5 yakoze ku buryo ntawe ushyira ikosa ku wundi. Iyi ntambwe yashoboraga/ishobora kurangwa n'amarangamutima ariko ni/byari ngombwa ko ibaho cyane cyane ko ku musozo yanyuze buri ruhande.³⁸⁴

Intambwe ya kane yari ugusuzuma ibyakozwe byose mu ntambwe zose zabanje, rikorwa n'impande zombi.³⁸⁵

Intego y'Ingando rero yari gufasha abayitabiriye gukora ubwoba n'urwikekwe byatewe n'intambara, na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, no gukumira ibikorwa ibyo aribyo byose byashoboraga kuganisha ku kwihorera. Ibyo byakozwe binyuze mu gushyira imbere ibiganiro ku mateka y'amacakubiri yagejeje kuri Jenocide, hagamijwe kunga Abanyarwanda.

Ingando kandi zari zigamije gutuma abazitabira bemera uruhare rwabo mu bibi bakoze mu gihe cy'intambara na Jenocide, no gukuraho kurebana nabi mu banyarwanda. Ingando zanashyiriraho gushishikariza abantu kumva ko intambara na Jenocide bibareba, no gufatanyiriza hamwe guharanira icyatuma ibibi bitazongera kubaho ukundi.³⁸⁶

Gahunda y'Ingando yaje kwaguka igera no mu mashuri yisumbuye n'ay'imyuga, maze zihinduka ishuri ry'uburere mboneragihugu. Mu mwaka wa 2002, amahugurwa atangirwa mu ngando yaragutse maze agera no ku bacuruzi, ndetse n'ibindi byacyiro by'Abanyarwanda, harimo abarokotse Jenocide, imfungwa, abavuga rikijyana, abagore n'urubyiruko, n'abandi.³⁸⁷ Kuri ubu, Ingando zikorwa mu gihugu hose kandi zigera ku ngeri zose z'Abanyarwanda: abanyeshuri bagiye kujya muri za Kaminuza, abakozi ba za Kaminuza, indaya, abafunguwe by'agateganyo, urubyiruko, abagore, abayobozi b'inzego za Leta, abavuga

³⁸³ Idem.

³⁸⁴ Rusagara, F. (2014). Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Idem.

³⁸⁶ Ruhunga (2006), In Burgess Stephen (2014), In LicklideRoy (2014). Ibid., p. 95

³⁸⁷ NURC (2007); Rusagara, F. (2014), In Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.105

rikijyana, n'abandi bakozi ba Leta, abanyeshuri biga mu mahanga, n'abandi. Intego y'ingenzi ni ugutuma Abanyarwanda bivana mu bibazo batewe n'amateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda, maze bagaharanira kunga Ubumwe, kugira icyerekezo kimwe cy'ahazaza basangiye, bagashyiraho urubuga rwo kubaka icyizere mu banyarwanda, bakanasesengurira hamwe ibibangamiye iterambere ry'u Rwanda banabishakira umuti.³⁸⁸

Buri cyiciro cy'Ingando gihurizwamo abantu bari hagati ya 300 na 400, bakamarana igihe kiri hagati y'ibyumweru 3 kugera ku mezi 2, bitewe n'igihe gihari ndetse n'amasomo azigishwa. Ibiganiro biba akenshi bijyanye n'amateka nyakuri y'u Rwanda hagamijwe guteza imbere gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.³⁸⁹ By'umwihariko, ingingo ziganirwaho mu Ingando zibanda ku:

- Gusobanura amateka y'u Rwanda;
- Gusesengura no kumva inkomoko y'amacakubiri mu banyarwanda no gufata icyemezo ku bigomba gukorwa kugira ngo aranduke;
- Kugira uruhare rufatika mu gushaka ibisubizo bihoraho ku bibazo by'u Rwanda no guteza imbere Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Guteza imbere gukunda Igihugu, gukemura amakimbirane mu mahoro, no gushyigikira gahunda za Leta;
- Kugira uruhare mu kubaka Igihugu no kwamagana icyo ari cyo cyose cyerekeza ku macakubiri;
- Kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide.

Abarangije Ingando baba bitezweho kuba "abantu bazana impinduka" kuko baba bitezweho gusubira mu miryango yabo cyangwa aho bakorera bagahugura bagenzi babo babumvisha ko amacakubiri nta mwanya afite mu muryango-nyarwanda, ko "twese ubu turi Abanyarwanda", kandi ko ari inshingano y'Abanyarwanda gufatanywa kwikemurira ibibazo.³⁹⁰ Ingando rero zimakaza agaciro n'ubumuntu by'Abanyarwanda, hatitawe k'uruhare baba baragize mu mateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda.³⁹¹ Kuva mu mwaka w' 1999 kugeza mu mwaka wa 2009, Abanyarwanda barenga 90.000 bitabiriye gahunda z'Ingando zari zifite intego yo gusobanura amateka y'u Rwanda n'inkomoko y'amacakubiri mu Rwanda,

³⁸⁸ Idem.

³⁸⁹ Mgbako, C. (2005). Ibid., p.202

³⁹⁰ Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.106

³⁹¹ Rusagara, F. (2014). Ibid.

guteza imbere gukunda Igihugu no kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.³⁹² Umusaruro w'ingenzi wagezweho n'Ingando ugaragarira muri ibi bikurikira³⁹³:

- Amatsinda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye arenga 200 y'abanyeshuri bo muri za Kaminuza n'amashuri yisumbuye arakora ku buryo bufatika mu kurwanya amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu rubyiruko, ari nako ateza imbere indangagaciro z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye;
- Gahunda za Leta zijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye zarasobanuwe kandi abaturage biyemeje kuzigira izabo;
- Imyumvire y'abitabiriye Ingando, ndetse n'iy'abaturage bigishijwe n'abavuye mu ngando, yarahindutse ku buryo bugaragara kandi izi mpinduka zazamuye cyane ubwizerane n'ubufatanye mu baturage. Ingando kandi zifashishijwe mu kongera umurego wo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'iy'amacakubiri;
- Abakekwaho ibyaha bya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha bijyanye nabyo, barekuwe n'lteka rya Perezida wa Repubulika ryo kuwa 01/01/2003, bakajya mu ngando, bafashije mu kwihutisha ubutabera bwunga (mu gihe cy'Inkiko Gacaca) bavuga ukuri cyane cyane mu gihe cy'ikusanyamakuru;
- Abenshi mu baturage bakoze Ingando bagiriwe icyizere n'abaturage kandi batorewe imyanya itandukanye mu buyobozi bw'u Rwanda.

Uburere mboneragihugu bwatangiye mu Ngando bwerekana ubushake n'ubwitange bya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye mu banyarwanda, binyuze muri Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye ari narwo rwego rushinzwe guteza imbere no kwihutisha gahunda y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunye mu Rwanda.

Ibi byose byavuzwe haruguru bikosora ukwibeshya, n'ibinyoma bya bamwe mu banditsi n'abashakashatsi bo mu mahanga—yenda bitewe no kuba batazi u Rwanda n'umuco-nyarwanda, cyangwa babikora nkana ku nyungu zabo—bitiranye Ingando n'ibikorwa bya gisirikali. Bamwe ndetse bageze n'aho bahimba ko Ingando ari igikoresho cya politiki no gucengeza amatwara cyangwa guhatira abantu kugira imyitwarire inyuranyije n'ubushake bwabo. Nyamara, Ingando zishingiye ku muco-nyarwanda kandi ni umuhuza ugamije guhugura. Ni umuti w'ibibazo Abanyarwanda bafite kandi ni uburyo bwunga, bukanateza imbere isano Abanyarwanda basangiye.³⁹⁴

³⁹² UN, Reba: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgjustice.shtml>

³⁹³ NURC (2009). Ibid., p.11

³⁹⁴ NURC (2007). Ibid., p.7, 8, 49.

Ingando rero zabaye umusemburo nyawo w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye kandi zinafasha kongera kubaka isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye (Ubunyarwanda). Ubushakashatsi butandukanye ku ngando bwagaragaje akamaro gahebuje k'Ingando mu bumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda. Aha, ingando zigaragazwa nk'urwego rushyira ahagaragara ibibazo u Rwanda rwanyuzemo, rugatanga umwanya utuma abantu baganira kugirango babane mu mahoro, basabane, rukaba kandi ishuri rituma abantu bahindura imyumvire ituma babana neza n'abandi, bakumva ko ari bamwe, bakamenya indangagaciro zibaranga, kandi bakaganira ku byo banyuzemo banafashanya ku rugero rutuma bakunda Igihugu cyabo bakumva aribo ubwabo bagomba kugiteza imbere.³⁹⁵

By'umwihariko, ku bijyanye n'abahoze ari ingabo za Leta ya cyera zatsinzwe, (Ex-FAR) n'imfugwa, Ingando zifatwa nk'uburyo umuntu yumva aruhutse, yitekerezaho, akanabashishwa gusubira mu buzima busanzwe no gusabana n'abandi, ndetse bukaba n'uburyo bumukuraho ipfunwe akagarura ubumuntu.³⁹⁶ Ku barokotse Jenocide, Ingando ifatwa nk'umuti. Imyumvire yabo ni uko Ingando zitigisha gusa, ahubwo ni ahantu ho gukiza imitima n'ibikomere.³⁹⁷

Ikgaragara ni uko Ingando zafashije/zifasha abazitabira guca ukubiri n'ubwoba n'urwikekwe baba bafitanye, urwango, cyangwa abashobora gushaka kwihorera. Ingando zafashije/zifasha abazijemo kuganira ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda, gukira ibikomere byatewe n'ayo mateka, kwemera urahare umuntu yagize ku bibi byabaye, gukuraho imyumvire itariyo buri wese afite ku wundi, no kumva ko Ubumwe no gufatanywa aribyo bizubaka ahazaza heza ha buri wese.³⁹⁸

4.6.2. Itorero

Itorero ry'Igihugu, ryashyizweho mu mwaka wa 2007, ni igitekerezo cy'Abanyarwanda ubwabo kigendeye k'umuco nyarwanda.

Mu Rwanda rwo hambere, Itorero ryari ishuri ryakoreshwaga mu kwigisha abantu indangagaciro n'ibikorwa byiza, ndetse no kubaha ubushobozi bwo kwikemurira ibibazo byabo.³⁹⁹ Ubu buryo bwasoze n'ubusabane bwagaragariraga mu bikorwa byo kwishimisha, aho abantu baririmba, bakabyina indirimbo z'umuco, bizwi nk'ibitaramo, kandi bagasangira ibiribwa n'ibinyobwa.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ Idem.50.

³⁹⁶ Idem.

³⁹⁷ NURC (2007). Ibid., p.50.

³⁹⁸ Rusagara, F. (2014:2). Ibid.

³⁹⁹ NURC (2014). Available at: <http://www.nurc.gov.rw/index.php?id=77>

⁴⁰⁰ Sentama, E. (2009). Ibid., p.55

Mbere y'ubukoloni, Abanyarwanda bose babanaga mu mahoro ahanini bitewe n'ishuri nyarwanda rizwi kw'izina ry'Itorero, aho baherewaga uburere mboneragihugu bwari ubutumwa bujyanye n'umuco nyarwanda ushingiyeye ku gukunda Igihugu, imibanire myiza, imyidagaduro, imbyino, indirimbo, no kurinda Igihugu. Bityo, uruburako rwakuraga rufite imyumvire myiza no gusigasira umuco. Abitabiraga Itorero bashishikarizwaga kuganira kuri gahunda zinyuranye z'Igihugu n'ibyiza biri mu ndangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda. Abitabiraga Itorero bumvishwaga ko indangagaciro z'umuco zizabafasha gufata neza ibyemezo, gutekereza neza no gufatanya muri byose.⁴⁰¹ Itorero ryari/riracyari ishuri ritavangura, aho Abanyarwanda batanzwe uburere mboneragihugu n'imibanire myiza.⁴⁰² Buri muntu wese watojwe mu itorero yitwa intore.

Abakoloni bageze mu Rwanda, basanze ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda bwunze Ubumwe kubera Itorero. Gahunda y'ikubitiro y'Abakoloni yabaye rero kubanza gukuraho Itorero, bahindura intego yaryo maze risigara gusa ryibanda ku mbyino. Ibi byagize ingaruka mbi ku mibanire y'Abanyarwanda n'uburyo Igihugu cyari kiyobowemo kuko Ubumwe bwari bwari bwari mu Itorero bwashyutse.⁴⁰³

Kongerera kubaka Ubumwe no kunga Abanyarwanda, binyuze na none mu Itorero, byabaye rero ingenzi. Mu by'ukuri, Itorero ni uburyo bugamije kugarura umuco wo gukunda no kwitangira Igihugu nta gihembo, no kwimakaza indangagaciro n'ubwitange hagamijwe kwihutisha iterambere, imibanire myiza, amahoro, Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Itorero rero ryongeye kwifashishwa kugira ngo riteze imbere indangagaciro z'Ubumwe, ukuri, umuco w'ubwitange, no kurwanya imyunvire mibi, kugira ngo u Rwanda rugere neza ku cyerekezo 2020, Intego z'iterambere z'ikinyagihumbi, na Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene (EDPRS).⁴⁰⁴

Niyo mpamvu, nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri mata 1994, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yafashe icyemezo cyo kugarura gahunda y'Itorero nk'uburyo bwo kubaka Ubumwe n'imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda binyuze mu burere mboneragihugu. Iki cyemezo cyafatiwe mu mwiherero w'abayobozi wabereye mu Kagera (Akagera Game Lodge) muri Gashyantare 2007. Muri uyu mwiherero ibigo, harimo Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, Minisiteri y'Uburezi, Minisiteri y'Uruburako, Siporo n'Umuco na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, zasabwe gushyiraho ingamba zatumye

⁴⁰¹ NURC (2009). Ibid.

⁴⁰² Idem p.8.

⁴⁰³ Idem.

⁴⁰⁴ NURC (2014). Ibid.

icyerekezo 2020, intego z'iterambere ry'ikinyagihumbi na Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no Kugabanya Ubukene 2008-2012, byarushaho kumvikana ku banyarwanda. Izi nzego kandi zahawe inshingano yo gushaka uburyo bwo gushishikariza Abanyarwanda kugira uruhare rugaragara kugira ngo izi ngamba zigerweho binyuze mu guhindura imyumvire no kwimakaza umuco wo gukunda umurimo.⁴⁰⁵ Inama y'abaminisitiri yo kuwa 12 Ukuboza 2007 yemeje ishyirwaho ry'Itorero ry'Igihugu nk'irigomba kugira uruhare rukomeye mu kwihutisha guhindura imyumvire kugira ngo icyerekezo 2020 kigerweho neza. Perezida wa Republika yatangiye ku mugaragaro iyi gahunda ku itariki ya 16 Ugushyngiye 2007, kandi mu ijamba rye risoza Itorero ry'abarimu mu mwaka wa 2008, yongeye kwibutsa akamaro k'Itorero avuga ko intego z'aryo, nyuma ya 1994, ari uko rigomba kugira uruhare rugaragara mu guhindura imyumvire y'Abanyarwanda hagamijwe guteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'Abanyarwanda.⁴⁰⁶ Intego nyamukuru y'Itorero ni ukongera kubaka umunyarwanda urangwa n'indangagaciro zishyngiye ku muco n'icyerekezo cy'Igihugu. Intego z'ingenzi zihariye ni:

- 1) Kubaka umunyarwanda wiyubashye, urangwa n'indangagaciro nyarwanda, kandi witeguye kwemera impinduka nziza zigamije iterambere rirambye. Itorero rigomba guteza imbere ubukungu burambye bushyngiye k'ubumenyi no ku mutungo w'imbere mu gihugu no ku miyoborere myiza;
- 2) Gutegura abayobozi bakunda Igihugu, bagaharanira guteza imbere abaturage, kandi bashoboye guhanga udushya no kuba indashyikirwa.

Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizeho kandi Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Itorero⁴⁰⁷ ifite intego rusange yo gukangurira Abanyarwanda bese kwimakaza indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda n'umuco w'ubutore. Binyuze mu Itorero, intego rero ni iyo gushyiraho uburyo bwo guteza imbere indangagaciro, kwigira binyuze mu gukunda Igihugu, ndetse no kunguka ubumenyngiro.⁴⁰⁸ Indangagaciro z'ishyngiye z'Itorero rishya ni:

- *Ubumwe*: ukuba abantu bari umwe. Ikintu cy'umwimerere cyo kugira ubushishozi bumwe, kubona isi kuburyo bumwe, n'uburyo bumwe bwo gutekereza kubya politiki;
- *Gukunda Igihugu*: gukunda Igihugu, kucyitangira, no kubaha Leta y'u Rwanda;

⁴⁰⁵ NURC (2009). Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Idem.

⁴⁰⁷ National Itorero Commission (2012). *Strategy*, July, Kigali.

⁴⁰⁸ NURC (2009). Ibid.

- *Kutihugiraho*: Umuco wo kudashyira inyungu zawe imbere ngo uzirutishe iz'abandi. Umutima wo kutishyira imbere, ahubwo ukaba umuntu ushaka gushyira igihe cyawe n'umutungo mu nyungu z'abandi;
- *Ubunyangamugayo*: kugira ibikorwa bihamye mu ndangaganciro, ingamba, amahame, icyizere, n'umusaruro;
- *Inshingano*: inshingano n'ubushobozi byo gukora ibikorwa bikwiriye kandi birasa ku ntego. Inshingano yo gucunga no gufata neza ibyo wahaweho inshingano;
- *Ubukorera bushake*: Gukora udategereje igihembo.
- *Kwicisha bugufi*: kutishyira hejuru, kutiha icyubahiro udafite. Uyu muco mwiza wongera ubushake bwo kumva abandi, kugisha inama, no gufata icyemezo ushingiyeye ku makuru afatika.

Itorero rireba Abanyarwanda bose kandi rishyiraho gahunda z'amasomo atandukanye ahuza ibyiciro bitandukanye by'Abanyarwanda. Intore (zatoranyirijwe gutoza abandi) zitoranywa kuva mu nzego z'imiyoborere zikurikira.⁴⁰⁹

Itorero ku nzego enye z'imiyoborere y'u Rwanda

Urwego rw'Umudugudu	Buri muryango utuye mu mudugudu wohera umuntu umwe wo muri buri kigero cy'imyaka mu Itorero. Amatorero ane ashingiyeye ku kigero cy'imyaka y'abatuye umudugudu ni: 1) Itorero ry'ingimbi 2) Itorero ry'urubyiruko 3) Itorero ry'abakuru 4) Itorero ry'abasheshe akanguhe
Urwego rw'Umurenge	Abakozi b'Akarere bakorera ku rwego rw'Umurenge, amashyirahamwe, amakoperative, abikorera, n'abakozi b'imiryango itari iya Leta ikorera ku rwego rw'Umurenge, hamwe n'abandi bakozi ba Leta bakorera inzego zicungwa n'Umurenge.
Urwego rw'Akarere	Abayobozi n'abakozi b'Akarere, abayobozi batowe, abayobora ibigo by'amashuri n'Abayobozi b'imiryango itari iya Leta ikorera ku rwego rw'Akarere, n'abanyeshuri barangije amashuri yisumbuye, ndetse n'abatoza Intore ku rwego rw'umurenge.
Urwego rw'Igihugu cyose	Abayobozi bo ku rwego rwo hejuru, abayobozi b'imitwe ya politike yemewe mu Rwanda, abanyeshuri barangije muri za Kaminuza n'abarimu bo muri za Kaminuza, abayobozi b'amadini yemewe, hamwe n'abayobozi b'abikorera ku giti cyabo n'imiryango itari iya Leta.

Itorero rero ryaharaniye/riharanira gutuma Abanyarwanda bashishikarira gukemura ibibazo, nk'ibi bikurikira: (1) Ubusabane bukiri ku rwego rwo hasi, (2) kubura indangagaciro zafasha mu guteza imbere umuco nyarwanda no gutuma Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane urubyiruko bakurana umuco wo kwigira, (3) urwego rwo hasi mu gukunda Igihugu, (4) urwego rwo hasi mu kumenya iby'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, (5) umubare munini w'abashomeri, (6) urwego

⁴⁰⁹ Idem.

rwo hasi rw'uburezi muri rusange, (7) Urwego rwo hasi rwo kwihangira imirimo, n'ibindi. Ibyo byifuzo byose bishobora kugerwaho binyuze mu ruhare n'ikinyabupfura by'abaturage, cyane cyane muri gahunda nziza y'Itorero izwi ku izina ry' "Urugerero", ikaba kandi inateganyijwe mu ngingo ya 47 y'Itegeko nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda (2003) aho: "Abenegihugu bose bafite inshingano zo kugira uruhare mu iterambere ry'Igihugu bitabira umurimo no kubumbatira amahoro, demokarasi, ubutabera n'uburinganire mu mibereho y'abaturage no kugira uruhare mu kurengera Igihugu cyabo."⁴¹⁰

Ugeranyije n'ibindi bihugu, amahugurwa atangirwa mu Itorero ni umwihariko w'u Rwanda kubera ko ashingiyeye ku mahame n'indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda. Naho ubundi, Urugerero—nka gahunda y'Itorero—rufite ibyo ruhuriyeho n'ubundi buryo bukoreshwa mu bindi bihugu, aho u Rwanda rwahisemo uburyo buvanze (ubushake cyangwa itegeko) hakurikijwe ibyiciro bitandukanye by'abagomba kwitabira Urugerero. Mu Rwanda, icyiciro gitegetswe kujya ku rugerero ni icy'urubyiruko rufite gusa hagati y'imyaka 18 na 35 barangije amashuri yabo yisumbuye. Ariko inama y'abakomiseri b'Itorero ishobora guhindura icyiciro gitegetswe kujya mu Rugerero igihe cyose bibaye ngombwa. Ibindi byiciro by'abaturage byemerewe mu rugerero ku bushake hakurikijwe umwanya bafite, imiterere y'akazi kabo, n'ibyifuzo bafite. Kuva mu mwaka wa 2007 kugera mu mwaka wa 2014, Abanyarwanda barenga 200.000 bari baramaze kwitabira gahunda y'Itorero.⁴¹¹

Itorero ry'Igihugu ryatumye kugeza ubu hatozwa Intore zigera kuri 284.207, rikaba ryanateje imbere indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda, rikanashishikariza Abanyarwanda umuco wo gukunda umurimo no kuba buri gihe indashyikirwa.⁴¹²

Ku birebana n'uruhare rw'Itorero mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Intore ubu ni intangarugero mu gushyira mu bikorwa neza gahunda za Leta z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, binatuma habaho itangwa rya serivisi nziza kandi ritavangura Abanyarwanda. Urugero, binyuze mu mahuriro no mu bikorwa by'abantu ku giti cyabo, Intore zigira uruhare mu gutegura cyangwa gukangurira abandi baturage indangagaciro z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu buryo bukumira amakimbirane n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide, no mu buryo bubungabunga kandi bugateza imbere ibyagezeweho mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ NURC (2011). *Itorero ry'Igihugu: Rwandan Cultural Values in National Development*, Kigali.

⁴¹¹ Reba: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgjustice.shtml>

⁴¹² NURC (2012). *Intore Zimaze Gutozwa Mu Itorero Ry'Igihugu N'aho Zatorejwe*. (Report on the number of *Intore graduates nationwide*), Kigali.

⁴¹³ NURC (2009). *Ibid.*, p.13

4.6.3. Ndi Umunyarwanda

*Turi abo turibo nk'u Rwanda kandi ibyo nta kintu na kimwe dushobora kubihinduraho. icyo dushobora guhindura ni amahitamo agenga ubuzima bwacu. Duhuje inshingano yo kubaka u Rwanda. Buri wese muri twe afite uruhare rukomeye muri urwo rugendo.*⁴¹⁴

Indi nkingi ikomeye mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda butajegajega ni ishyirwaho rya gahunda ya 'Ndi Umunyarwanda'. Iyi gahunda, ishingiyeye ku biganirwa bisesuye, ifite intego yo kuganira ku byatanyije abanyarwanda hagamijwe kugira igihugu cyubakiye ku kwizerana, Ubumwe, no kumurika ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ishingano, kuvugisha ukuri, ukwicuzza, ukubabarira, no komora ibikomere. Hari mu Ugushyamba ku itariki ya 8, 2013 ubwo gahunda ya 'Ndi Umunyarwanda' yatangijwe. Ubundi iyi gahunda yatangijwe na "Youth Connekt Dialogue", Imbuto foundation, Art of Peace, na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ku itariki ya 30 Kamena 2013.⁴¹⁵

Gahunda ya *Ndi Umunyarwanda* ireba Abanyarwanda bose, baba abari mu Rwanda cyangwa abari mu mahanga. Ni gahunda itanga urubuga cyangwa umwanya ku banyarwanda b'inzeho zitandukanye kugira ngo baganire, banungurane ibitekerezo ku bibazo bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, ndetse no ku iterambere. Ibiganirwa byibanda ku mateka y'u Rwanda, amacakubiri yaranze amateka y'u Rwanda ndetse no ku cyizere ku hazaza h'u Rwanda harangwa n'amahoro, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Yego si ngombwa ko buri gihe Abanyarwanda bumva ibintu kimwe, ariko na none ni ingenzi ko bumva neza inshingano yabo yo gukora mu bwumvikane bagamije ahazaza heza basangiye. Gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda igamije kwimakaza iyi myumvire mishya. Yibanda ku isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye (Umunyarwanda, n'ahazaza hafite ingaruka kuri buri wese) kandi igatuma Abanyarwanda bongera kumva ko bari umwe kuko "nta kiruta kubana mu Ubumwe".⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Nyakubahwa, Paul Kagame, Perezida w'U Rwanda, mu nama y'Abaminisitiri. Biboneka: www.primature.gov.rw/top/news-details.html

⁴¹⁵ Kibuka Eugene (2013). *Top Government Leaders in Ndi Umunyarwanda*. Ipsos Kenya Acorn House Nairobi Kenya: Biboneka file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/131109_Saturday%20Times_1and3_62bde.pdf)

⁴¹⁶ Williams (1999:229), In Nagy Rosemary (2004), *Ibid.*, p.648).

4.6.4. Uburezi

Igihe kirageze ngo hashyirweho uburezi bufite uruhare mu kubaka umuryango nyarwanda wunze Ubumwe kandi ufatanya kugira ngo ugere ku mibereho myiza ya buri wese.⁴¹⁷

Mbere y'uko Abakoloni n'Abamisiyoneri bagera mu Rwanda, uburyo bw'imyigirishirize mu Rwanda bwakorwaga mu mvugo. Ababyeyi bigishaga abana babo indangagaciro z'imyitwarire n'imibanire binyuze mu migani, imbyino n'ubundi buryo butanditse.

Ukuza kw'Abakoloni n'Abamisiyoneri b'abagatulika kwazanye n'ishingwa ry'insengero n'amashuri mu gihugu hose. Abamisiyoneri b'abagatulika bageze mu Rwanda bwa mbere, bashinze ishuri rya mbere mu Rwanda mu mwaka w' 1900. Abakoloni b'Abadage n'Ababiligi baje nabo kwinjira muri gahunda y'uburezi bafasha mu gukora gahunda z'amasomo no gutanga inkunga y'amafaranga ikenewe kuri izo gahunda. Ariko gahunda yabo y'uburezi, n'ibyari biyikubiyemo, yaranzwe n'amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko kuko yagize uruhare mu guheza benshi mu banyarwanda, ku nyungu za bamwe mu bavuga rikijyana, kandi igakwirakwiza amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko. Gahunda y'uburezi, kuva igihe cy'ubukoloni kugeza kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, yari ishingiyeye ku macakubiri:

Ibitabo mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Abadage n'Ababiligi byavugaga ko hari itandukaniro ku mubiri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, bikanavuga ko hari isano iri hagati y'uko umuntu ateye ku mubiri n'ubushobozi mu buryo bw' ubwenge. Ibi bitabo byatakaga ubushobozi bw'Abatutsi mu kugira ubwenge kandi bigafata Abahutu nk'abantu batagira ubwenge, bumvira, kandi bakwiranye no gukora akazi k'amaboko gusa.⁴¹⁸

Umuzi w'amacakubiri n'ivangura byagaragaye mu burezi bw'u Rwanda rwo hambere bijyanye n'amateka yagoretswe akanigishwa n'abakoloni, aho amoko yashingirwagaho mu nzego na gahunda z' imibereho y'Abanyarwanda. Nk'uko Shyaka abivugaga:

Ivangura mu mashuri—abemerwaga gusa bari abana b'abatware bari bashyigikiye Abakoloni, n'abandi bavaga mu bwoko bwari butoneshejwe... Abakoloni n'Abamisiyoneri nibo bagenaga ugomba kwiga hakurikijwe amoko. Ni nabo bagenaga ugomba kujya mu buyobozi hakurikije amoko.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ MINEDUC (2003). *Education Sector Policy*, Kigali., p.4

⁴¹⁸ Bush, K. and Saltarelli D. (Eds.) (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, p.10

⁴¹⁹ Shyaka, A. (2002:132), translated by Obura, Anna (2003:98). *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. International Institute for Educational Planning: UNESCO. October, Kigali.

Nyuma yaho u Rwanda ruboneye ubwigenge, muri 1962, ubutegetsu bushya bwagiyeho nabwo bwagendeye ku ivangura, bunihatira gushyiraho gahunda zo kuvangura no kwanga Abatutsi. Amateka agoretse kandi ahembera amacakubiri yaranditswe anigishwa mu mashuri no mu baturage. Kuva kuri Repubulika ya mbere kugeza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, gahunda y'uburezi yagenderaga ku ivangura rishingiye ku moko, ku karere, bikaba byarashenye Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.⁴²⁰

Politiki y'uburezi ya nyuma ya Jenoside yo muri 1994 yakosoye ibi byose kuko yateje imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda, yimakaza umuco w'ukuri, uburenganzira bwo kwiga kuri buri munyarwanda, umuco wo kudahaza no kubahana mu banyarwanda. Mbese, gahunda y'uburezi yarahindutse kuva aho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda igiriyeho kuko uburyo bwose bwari busanzweho bwavanguraga Abanyarwanda bwakuweho.⁴²¹ Imwe mu shingano z'imena za gahunda nshya y'uburezi yabaye iyo guhindura amasomo n'imyigishirize hagamijwe:

*Gushyiraho politike zihamye zikosora amakosa yo mu burezi bwo mu gihe cyahise.... Zigamije kandi kubaka uburezi busubiza ibyifuzo n'ibibazo by'abaturage; gutanga uburezi bidashingiye ku moko, akarere, cyangwa idini, kugira ngo abantu bazirikane inshingano zabo n'uburenganzira bwa muntu.*⁴²²

Intego ya gahunda nshya y'uburezi ya nyuma ya 1994 yari:

- Umunyarwanda uzira ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko, akarere, idini, n'igitsina;
- Umunyarwanda uzi uburenganzira bwa muntu n'inshingano ze ku gihugu;
- Kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro no kwibanda ku ndangagaciro zirimo ubutabera, amahoro, ubworoherane, ubufatanye, na demukarasi;
- Guteza imbere ubwisanzure bwo kuvuga icyo utekereza.⁴²³

Impinduka nyamukuru zigaragara muri gahunda nshya y'uburezi ya nyuma ya 1994, muri

⁴²⁰ Ku byerekeye amagambo arambuye, reba "Rapport-Très secret No 34—du Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire, sur les "Données sur les admissions scolaires publiques et privées; les bourses d'études; le personnel de l'enseignement secondaire; les constructions et extensions des établissements secondaires Durant la période 1981-1985," Kigali, Octobre 1985.

⁴²¹ Ministry of Education (1994:21), translated by Obura Anna (2003). *Never Again: educational reconstruction in Rwanda*, UNESCO, p.17-18)

⁴²² Ministry of Education, 1994:21; translated by Obura Anna (2003). *Ibid.*, p.66

⁴²³ Ministry of Education (1996:6), in Obura, Anna (2003). *Ibid.*, p94.

gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, zabaye izo kwimakaza indangagaciro no guteza imbere ubumenyi bushingiye kuri gahunda y'Ubumwe n' Ubwiyunge, komora ibikomere, no kwibanda ku isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye. Indangagaciro nshya zarigishijwe/ziracyigishwa hagamijwe: (1) gushimangira isano Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho na gahunda yo kudaheza; (2) guteza imbere imyumvire y'uko buri wese afite inshingano; (3) kwibanda ku iterambere; (4) kugaragaza akamaro k'uburezi mu buzima busanzwe.⁴²⁴ Aha, Mbonigaba we abivugaga yibanda ku ndangagaciro za cyera mu Rwanda arizo ubumwe n'ubupfura, aribyo binaganisha ku ngeso nziza, kwimenya, ubutwari no kubaha,⁴²⁵ akaba ari nabyo bishobora gukosora ingaruka z' amacakubiri yatewe n'Abakoloni.⁴²⁶

Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yizera ko uburezi bugomba kuba ubugamije kongera guha abakiri bato indangagaciro zari zarakuweho mu gihe cy'amateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo.⁴²⁷ Niyo mpamvu politiki n'ingamba bishingiye ku ndangagaciro zubaka byashyizweho mu nzego zose z'uburezi.⁴²⁸ Ubu, uburezi bugera kuri bese nta vangura. Nk'urugero, gahunda y'uburezi bw'ibanze bw'imyaka 12 yashyizweho aho abana bese bafite uburenganzira ku burezi mu mashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye ku buntu. Gahunda ya 'mudasobwa imwe ku mwana' yaratangijwe kandi ishyirwa mu bikorwa ifite intego yo gutanga mudasobwa ku bana bese biga mu mashuri abanza mu Rwanda, ntavangura. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2013, nyuma gusa y'imyaka ine iyo gahunda itangijwe, mudasobwa zirenga 120.000 zari zaratanze mu mashuri abanza atandukanye mu gihugu hose. Kaminuza n'andi mashuri makuru byariyongereye. Nk'urugero, mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2014, amashuri makuru arenga 31 yari amaze gushingwa.⁴²⁹ Ayo mashuri arimo kaminuza

⁴²⁴ Obura, Anna (2003). Ibid., p.8-6

⁴²⁵ Mbonimana Gamaliel, 1998:37; Obura, A. (2003). Ibid., p.86-7

⁴²⁶ Obura, A. (2003). Ibid., p 87

⁴²⁷ Izi gahunda z'uburezi zirimo: Education Sector Policy (2003), Girls Education Policy (2008), Higher Education Policy,(2008), Quality Standards in Education (2008), Special Needs Education Policy (2008), ICT in Education Policy (2014), Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Policy (2008), Teacher Development and Management Policy (revised 2011), Early Childhood Development Policy and Strategic Plan (2011), Youth and Adult Literacy Strategic Plan (2014), National Science, Technology and Innovation Policy (2005), and strategies such as 12 year Basic Education Strategy (2010), Strategic Plan for Technical Education (2008-2012), Higher Education Strategic Plan (2009).

⁴²⁸ MINEDUC (2003). *Education Sector Policy*, Kigali., p.4

⁴²⁹ Umubare w'abanyeshuri biga mu mashuri makuru wariyongereye uva ku 3.400 mu muri 1991, ugera ku 62.734 mu mwaka wa 2010. Kaminuza y'u Rwanda yari ifite abanyeshuri 3.000 mu mwaka w'i ubu ngubu ifite abanyeshuri barenga 12.000. By'umwihariko uburezi bw'umwana w'umukobwa bwitaweho, umubare w'abakobwabigaga mu mashuri yisumbuye warazamutse uva kuri 47,2% muri 2005 ugera kuri 50,7% mu mwaka wa 2010, mu gihe abajyaga muri za kaminuza bavuye kuri 39,3% muri 2005 bagera kuri 43,8% muri 2010. (MDIMAR: Repatriation and reintegration programs for Rwandan refugees & an overview on socio-economic progress in Rwanda, 2014.

y'u Rwanda ifite amashuri 6, ibigo 6 byigisha imyuga n'ubumenyingingiro, ishuri ryigisha iby'amategeko, amashuri 3 yigisha iby'ubuforomo, n'amashuri makuru 15 yigenga.⁴³⁰ Kwigisha ubumenyingingiro byagizwe intego y'ibanze mu rwego rwo guteza imbere kwihangira imirimo, cyane cyane ku rubyiruko. Hibanzwe na none ku kwigisha umwana w'umukobwa, kandi umubare w'abakobwa mu mashuri yisumbuye wavuye kuri 47,2% mu mwaka wa 2005 ugera kuri 64,7% mu mwaka wa 2014, mu gihe kwiga kwabo muri kaminuza byavuye kuri 39,3% mu mwaka wa 2005 bigera kuri 55% mu mwaka wa 2014.⁴³¹

4.6.5 Umunsi mukuru w'Intwari

Buri tariki ya mbere Gashyantare, kuva mu mwaka w'1995, umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu urizihizwa mu Rwanda. Uku kwizihiza uyu munsi bigamije guhuriza Abanyarwanda hamwe kugira ngo bahe icyubahiro kandi bibuke Intwari z'u Rwanda nta vangura (abasirikali, abanyapolitiki n'abaturage basanzwe, harimo abazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994), batakaje ubuzima bwabo mu kubohora u Rwanda, kurwanya ivangura n'ubuyobozi bubi na Jenocide, cyangwa batakaje ubuzima bwabo baharanira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

Umunsi mukuru w'Intwari z'Igihugu ni umwanya wihariye wo gusangira amasomo ku byiza by'ubutwari n'indangagaciro zo gukunda Igihugu; ibi kandi bikaba birimo amateka y'u Rwanda, cyane cyane ku byateye amacakubiri mu banyarwanda no kungurana ibitekerezo ku ngamba nshya zo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Kwizihiza Umunsi w'Intwari z'Igihugu birangwa kandi n'indirimbo, imbyino, n'imivugo isingiza ibyiza n'urugero rwiza rw'Intwari z'Igihugu cyane cyane ubutwari bwagaragaye mu ntambara yo kubohora u Rwanda no guharanira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Muri izo Ntwari twavugaga: (1) Generali Majoro Fred Gisa Rwigyema (umuyobozi wa mbere wa FPR watangije urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda); (2) Umusirikali utazwi uhagarariye ingabo zaguye ku rugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda; (3) Umwami Rudahigwa, wavanyeho uburyo bwose bw'ubucakara aharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwigenge bw' u Rwanda; (4) Uwahoze ari Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Rwanda, Madamu Agathe Uwiringiyimana, warwanyije imigambi ya Jenocide; n' (5) abanyeshuri b'ishuri ryisumbuye ry'I Nyange bishwe n'abacengezi kubera ko banze kwicamo ibice igihe bategekwe n'abacengezi basize bakoze Jenocide kwitandukanya bashingiye ku moko, ariko aba banyeshuri bakanga kwitandukanya bavugaga ko bose ari Abanyarwanda, kugeza ubwo bishwe.

⁴³⁰ MINEDUC (2014). *Higher Learning Institutions in Rwanda*: Biboneka <http://www.mineduc.gov.rw/agencies/higher-learning-institutions/>

⁴³¹ MINEDUC (2013). *Education Sector Strategic Plan (2013/14-2017/18)*, Kigali.

Ku muni mukuru w'Intwari z'Igihugu, abaturage bibutswa akamaro kanini ko gukunda Igihugu. Uyu muni ni bumwe mu buryo bwo gushimangira isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye ndetse n' indangagaciro z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye z'igomba kubaranga (gukunda Igihugu, ubumwe, ubufatanye....). Ibi bikorwa kubera ko Abanyarwanda bakomeye kumenya isano bafitanye n'inshingano bagomba kugira ngo bateze imbere Ubumwe bwabo kubera ko hari igihe kimwe bibagiwe ko ari Abanyarwanda bica abo bahuje isano y'ubunyarwanda. Ubutwari rero ni umuco mwiza utuma umuntu akora igikorwa cy'indashyikirwa kandi gifitiye Igihugu cye akamaro. Kumenya Ubutwari rero ni ingenzi ku banyarwanda kugira ngo nabo babigireho babe intwari ziharanira Ubumwe n'iterambere kuri bose.

4.6.6. Kwibuka

*Ubwiye ntibwagerwaho hatabayeho kwibuka kugira ngo amahano yabaye akosorwe.*⁴³²

*Twizera ko Ubwiye budashobora kugerwaho binyuze mu kwibagira amateka; bwagerwaho ahubwo binyuze mu kumva impamvu amateka yabyaye Jenocide no gufata ingamba, nubwo zaba zisharira cyangwa ziruhije, zatumye ibibi byabaye bitazongera kubaho ukundi.*⁴³³

Gushyiraho uburyo bwubaka buhoraho bwo kwibuka bivuze ko hari ubushobozi ku bantu n'Igihugu bwo gukemura amakimbirane no kubaka amahoro; ni ukuvuga, gukomeza kubaho no gutera imbere.⁴³⁴ "Kwibuka bikururira abantu kumva bari umwe kandi bahuje isano."⁴³⁵

Mu Rwanda, kwibuka byibanda mu kwemera akarengane no guhungabanya uburenganzira bwa muntu byabaye mu gihe cyahise bikaba byaragejeje kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 no ku ngaruka zayo, hagamijwe gufata ingamba zihamye zituma ibibi byabaye bitazongera ukundi. Mu Rwanda rero, kwibuka birenga ibimenyerewe mu bindi bihugu bigarukira ku kwibuka amateka gusa,⁴³⁶ kuko usibye kwibuka amateka y'ibyabaye, kwibuka mu Rwanda binongeraho ifatwa ry'ingamba zihamye zo gukumira ko ibibi byabaye bitazongera ukundi, gutanga ubutabera, ndetse no kugena ingamba z'iterambere zituma

⁴³² Buckley-Zistel (2006:143) , In Hinan, T. (2010). "To Remember, or To Forget? Collective memory and reconciliation in Guatemala and Rwanda", *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*: Vol. 18: Iss. 1, Article 11:20

⁴³³ NURC (2009). *ibid*:5

⁴³⁴ Conway, 2013:104

⁴³⁵ Conway, 2013:95

⁴³⁶ Nora 1989:13 in Hinan, (2010). *Ibid.*, p.6.

abantu bongera kubana mu mahoro. Niyo mpanvu Leta y'u Rwanda itahisemo kwibagirwa ibyabaye. Ubu inzibutso zubatse henshi, habereye Jenocide, kandi n'imihango yo kwibuka ya buri mwaka ikomeza kuba kugira ngo amateka ya Jenocide n'ingaruka mbi zayo bitazibagirana.⁴³⁷ Amashusho, amakinamico, n'ibindi bitandukanye, birimo imivugo, indirimbo, ibikorwa birimo gufata neza inzibutso, ibirango by'Igihugu byo kwibuka, umunsi mukuru w'Intwari z'Igihugu buri mwaka, ibiganiro ku kwibuka n'amahugurwa ku kwigira ku mateka no kubaka ejo hazaza...,⁴³⁸ byose birazirikanwa hagamijwe kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye n'ubwiyunge ndetse no kugira ngo ibibi byabaye bitazongera ukundi.

4.7. Ubutabera bwunga

Muri rusange, byemezwa ko ubutabera ari kimwe mu biranga Ubumwe n'Ubwiye n'ubwiyunge. Nk'uko Sarkin abivuga, "ubutabera ni ikintu cy'ingenzi cyo gutuma habaho kubahariza uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu no kugendera ku mategeko."⁴³⁹ Muri rusange, ubutabera ni ingenzi kugira ngo habeho komora ibikomere, gutuma abakoze ibyaha babibazwa. Abantu benshi banavugaga ko kugira ngo abantu babashe kubana mu mahoro n'ubwizerane buri wese agomba kumva akababaro k'undi; ibi kandi bikabera mu gihugu kirangwa na demukarasi, gusangira ubutegetsu, no kugendera ku mategeko.⁴⁴⁰ Iyi myumvire y'ubutabera ariko ni ishimangira ko ikibi kigomba guhanwa kugira ngo bice intege abakoze ibibi, bityo ntibazabyongere.

Ku birebana n'u Rwanda ariko, aho intego nyamukuru ari uguteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye n'ubwiyunge, ubutabera butangwa ntibugarukira gusa ku guhana ibibi byakozwe, ahubwo hibandwa ku butabera bwunga. Aha ariko, ntabwo u Rwanda rwahisemo ubutabera bwunga kubera gusa ko hari hakenewe kwimakaza Ubumwe n'Ubwiye n'ubwiyunge, ahubwo ni n'uko mu by'ukuri ari bwo bwari uburyo bwonyine bwashobokaga.

Intambara na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 byashyeye cyane imibanire y'Abanyarwanda ndetse n' inzego, harimo n'urw'ubutabera. Nyuma ya Jenocide n'intambara,

⁴³⁷ Longman & Rutagengwa (2004), In Richters et al. (2005). Ibid., p. 210.

⁴³⁸ Staub, E. (2012). The Challenging Road to Reconciliation in Rwanda, January 17. Biboneka:<http://www.eir.info/2012/01/17/the-challenging-road-to-reconciliation-in-rwanda/>

⁴³⁹ Sarkin, In Villa-Vicencio, C and Savage, T (2001). *Rwanda and South Africa in Dialogue: Addressing the Legacies of Genocide and Crime Against Humanity*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town., p.59

⁴⁴⁰ Blomfield et al., (2003). "The context of Reconciliation." In Bloomfield David, Teresa Barnes and Luc Huyse (2003). *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict—A Handbook*, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), pp. 40-8, p.14.

Leta nshya yibanze ku kubaka Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Kugira ngo ibyo bikorwe ariko, hagombaga kubanza gushyira iherezo ku muco wo kudahana. U Rwanda ntirwashoboraga kongera kubakwa hatabanje guhana abakoze ibyaha (harimo iby'intambara, Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, n'ibindi byose byibasiye inyoko muntu).⁴⁴¹ Ibi ariko byagombaga gukorwa mu buryo bwunga.

Leta yagiyeho nyuma ya Jenocide rero yafashe gahunda yo kurandura umuco wo kudahana ku buryo bwunga binyuze ku kuvugurura ubutabera. Nk'urugero, hahise hakurwaho igihano cy'urupfu, ndetse hanajyaho gahunda y'imbabazi zitanzwe na Perezida wa Repubilika.⁴⁴² Ivugurura mu butabera ryakozwe ahanini kubera ko ubushobozi n'imikorere by'inzeho z'ubutabera zisanzwe bitari kubasha gukemura ibibazo byari biriho kandi mu buryo bwimakaza Ubwiyunge. Ubutabera bwari bukenewe ni ubwagombaga gutuma abaturage bose babugiramo uruhare—ubu akaba ari uburyo bushya butari busanzweho, buha ijamba buri munyarwanda kandi bukarandura umuco wo kudahana mu buryo bwunga.⁴⁴³

4.7.1. Urwego rw'Ubutabera n' Ubwiyunge

Urwego rw'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge⁴⁴⁴ ni igice cy'ingenzi cya gahunda y'Igihugu y'imaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene igaragaza uko icyerekezo 2020 cyagerwaho ku rwego rw'ubutabera. Ingamba ya mbere y'uru rwego yatangiye ku muri Mutarama 2009 kugeza muri Kamena 2009 kandi yageze ku bintu byinshi by'ingenzi mu gutanga ubutabera mu Rwanda. Ingamba ya kabiri yarwo ni ugushyiraho gahunda za Leta kandi hibandwa kuri gahunda z'ingenzi z'imyaka itanu kuva muri Nyakanga 2013 kugeza mumpera za Kamena 2018.

Inshingano y'Urwego rw'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge ni uguha Abanyarwanda serivisi zishingiye ku butabera mu rwego rwo guhindura u Rwanda Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, ku miyoborere myiza, n'umuco w'amahoro. Ni ibishimangira ihame (nk'uko riteganyijwe mu mategeko mpuzamahanga no mu itegeko nshinga ry'u Rwanda) ko amategeko areba buri muntu wese. Bityo rero, buri wese mu Rwanda agomba kurengerwa n'amategeko ku buryo bungana n'ubw'undi, kandi akubahiriza inshingano ziteganywa n'amategeko ku buryo bungana n'ubw'undi. Ni muri urwo rwego intego y'ingamba ya kabiri y'Urwego rw'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge yubakiye ku ngingo eshanu zikurikira:

⁴⁴¹ Longari Marco (2010). *Ibid.*, p.51

⁴⁴² Rwadandapedia, RGB 2012.

⁴⁴³ MINALOC, 2002.

⁴⁴⁴ Republic of Rwanda (2013). *Justice, Reconciliation, Law & Order Sector Strategic Plan July 2013 to June 2018*, Kigali.

1. Guteza imbere ubushobozi n'ihuzabikorwa by'uru rwego;
2. Kwimakaza ubutabera nyabwo kuri bose;
3. Kurwanya byimazeyo umuco wo kudahana ku byaha mpuzamahanga n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide; kwimakaza kuvugisha ukuri n'Ubwiyunge;
4. Guteza imbere kugendera ku mategeko, kubazwa inshingano, no kurushanwa;
5. Kubumbatira umutekano, amategeko, no guharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Ku byerekeye ingingo ya gatatu, by'umwihariko, kuburanisha imanza z'ibyaha mpuzamahanga, harimo na Jenocide, byihutishijwe binyujijwe mu rwego rw'Ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge. Na none, ibiganiro no gushishikariza abantu ku by'Ubumwe byarimakajwe, ndetse ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide irarwanywa.⁴⁴⁵ Ibyagezweho muri uri rwego binerekana ko umuco wo kudahana waranduwe hakaba haranabayeho kuvugisha ukuri no kwimakaza ubutabera bwunga.⁴⁴⁶

4.7.2. Inkiko gacaca-Ubutabera bwunga

*Gacaca niwo muti wonyine ushobora kudufasha [Abanyarwanda] kongera kuba abantu no kuba Abanyarwanda.*⁴⁴⁷

*Gacaca ni igisubizo kiruta ibindi, kandi gishoboka, kugira ngo abakoze ibyaha bagezwe imbere y'ubutabera, kandi n'umuco wo kudahana wari warabaye karande uranduke...*⁴⁴⁸

*Gacaca igaragara nk'uburyo bushobora gutuma abaturage bose bagira uruhare mu butabera, Ubwiyunge, no kongera kubaka Igihugu nyuma ya Jenocide.*⁴⁴⁹

Nyuma ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, abakekwa kuba barayigizemo uruhare barenga 200.000 bari bafunzwe bategereje kuburanishwa.⁴⁵⁰ Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yasanze ko Inkiko zisanzwe zitari gushobora gutanga ubutabera

⁴⁴⁵ Republic of Rwanda (2013). Ibid., p.34-5.

⁴⁴⁶ Republic of Rwanda : (2013). Ibid., p.36

⁴⁴⁷ Amstutz, Mark (2011). Is Reconciliation Possible After Genocide?: The Case of Rwanda." *Journal of Church & State*, p.559.

⁴⁴⁸ Zorbas (2004).Reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda". In *African Journal of Legal Studies*. Vol.1, n°1, pp.30-52, p.37

⁴⁴⁹ Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.3.

⁴⁵⁰ Ingelaere in IDEA, 2008; Bloomfield, et al., 2003; MINIJUST, 2008; Sentama, 2009:53-4. Ibid.

urebye uyu mubare munini w'abari bafunze. Ntabwo gusa inzego z'ubutabera zari zarasenyutse mu gihe cya Jenocide—zari zitanakiriho rwose kubera intambara na Jenocide—ahubwo n'abakozi bazo benshi bari bafunze kubera uruhare bagize muri Jenocide ndetse abandi barishwe mu gihe cya Jenocide.⁴⁵¹ Amagereza yari yuzuye abantu bashinjwaga ibyaha bya Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu, kandi bose bari bakeneye ubutabera, mu gihe inzego z'ubutabera nta bushobozi zari zifite, haba ibikoresho cyangwa abakozi. Kubaburanisha mu buryo busanzwe byagombaga gufata imyaka amajana.⁴⁵² Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizeho itegeko Ngenga n° 08/96 (tariki ya 30 Kanama 1996) rigenga iburanisha ry'ibyaha bya Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu. Isuzuma ryakonzwe naryo ryagaragaje ko byagombaga gufata imyaka irenga ijana kugira ngo abakekwagaho ibi byaha bari bafunze baburanishwe.⁴⁵³ Ubufasha kwasabwe umuryango mpuzamahanga byavuyemo gusa urukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda i Arusha, ariko imikorere yarwo yari ikabije kugenza ibintu gahoro cyane mu gihe ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abantu bari buzuye amagereza bategereje ubutabera.⁴⁵⁴ Abahanga banemezaga ko uburyo abari bafungiyeye ibyaha bya Jenocide baburanishwagamo biramutse bikomeje, abajya kungana na kimwe cya gatatu bari kuzapfira muri gereza kubera gusaza kandi bataraburanishwa.⁴⁵⁵

Niyo mpamvu, hashingiwe kuri ibi byose byavuzwe haruguru, ndeste no ku biganirwa ku rwego rw'Igihugu byahujwe Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose baganirira ku hazaza h'u Rwanda, umwanzuro wafashwe na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda wagaragaje ko igisubizo ari Inkiko Gacaca—nk'uburyo bushingiyeye ku muco nyarwanda aho abaturage, cyane cyane abakuze, bicaraga hamwe mu gacaca bagafatanyaga gukemura ibibazo babaga bafitanye.

Inkiko gacaca zagombaga rero gutura umutwari inkiko zisanzwe zari zifite kuko zari zaramaze kurengerwa n'amadosiye y'abakekwagaho ibyaha bya Jenocide bari buzuye amagereza. Zagombaga kandi gukora nk'ubutabera bw'abaturage kandi bwunga.⁴⁵⁶ Ubu buryo bushya bwagombaga gutuma Abanyarwanda bose, harimo n'abagezweho n'ingaruka za Jenocide, bagira uruhare rufatika mu butabera ku buryo bwunga.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ Of approximately 785 judges practicing before the genocide, only 20 survived. (Borland, 2003)

⁴⁵² Longari Marco (2010). *Ibid.*, p.51

⁴⁵³ Amstutz, Mark (2006). *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ Longari Marco (2010). *Ibid.*, p.51

⁴⁵⁵ Amstutz, Mark (2006). *Ibid.*, p.555

⁴⁵⁶ Richters et al., (2005). *Ibid.*, p.208

⁴⁵⁷ MINALOC (2004). *Ibid.*

Inkiko Gacaca rero zashyizweho kugira ngo ziburanishe abakoze ibyaha bya Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu, byakonzwe hagati y'itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 n'itariki ya 31 Ukuboza 1994. Ubwiyunge n'ubutabera bwunga byari mu ntego z'ibanze z'Inkiko Gacaca.⁴⁵⁸ Ibi bigaragazwa n'uko itegeko rigenga Inkiko Gacaca ryavugaga ko Gacaca zashyirwaho 'guteza imbere ubutabera n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda' kandi 'ntizashyirwaho gusa gutanga ibihano, ahubwo no kongera kubaka umuryango nyarwanda'.⁴⁵⁹

Inshingano ya Gacaca yari iyo kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye, kwihutisha imanza, kurandura umuco wo kudahana, no kunga Abanyarwanda. Mu buryo bwihariye, intego za Gacaca zari:⁴⁶⁰

- Kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye muri Jenocide;
- Kwihutisha iburanisha ry'imanza ku baregwa ibyaha bya Jenocide;
- Kurandura umuco wo kudahana;
- Kunga Abanyarwanda no kwimakaza Ubumwe bwabo;
- Gukoresha ubushobozi bw'Abanyarwanda mu gukemura ibibazo byabo binyuze mu butabera bushingiye ku mucu nyarwanda.

Abanyarwanda nabo bishimiye/bishimira ubu buryo nyarwanda bw'ubutabera bwunga; ibi bikaba bitandukanye n'ubutabera bw'ibindi bihugu bushingiye gusa ku guhana abahamwe n'ibyaha, bishobora no gutera inzangano.⁴⁶¹ Uburyo u Rwanda rwahisemo bwemeranya na Ingelaere ugira ati: "Umuco w'imbere mu gihugu ugomba gusimbura imigenzereze y'ahandi iteza amacakubiri. Ni umuco w'imbere mu gihugu ushingiyeye kuguha urubuga abaturage kandi ukoresha ururimi rw'igihugu, kandi ku buryo bworoshye gukoresha, kandi hagamijwe kurandura umuco wo kudahana".⁴⁶²

Inkiko Gacaca zakoze ku mugaragaro mu gihe cy'imyaka 10, kuva ku itariki ya 18 Kamena 2002 kugeza ku itariki ya 18 Kamena 2012. Inkiko Gacaca zayoborwaga n'abacamanza bitwa "inyangamugayo" bivuze 'abaturage bafite ubudahemuka. Aba bacamanza babaga batoranyijwe binyuze mu matora yakozwe kuva ku itariki ya 4 kugeza ku ya 7 Ukuboza 2001.

⁴⁵⁸ Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.348

⁴⁵⁹ Reba itegeko rigenga Gacaca (2004)—*Intangiriro*. Reba na Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.348.

⁴⁶⁰ Ingealere, In IDEA (2008). Ibid., p.38.

⁴⁶¹ Zorbas, Eugenia (2004). Ibid., p. 36.

⁴⁶² Ingelaere in IDEA (2008). Ibid., p.32.

Ugereranyije, abacamanza 260.000 baratowe.⁴⁶³ Peter Haller yavuze ko uyu mubare munini *'aribwo buryo bwonyine bw'ubutabera bugizwemo uruhare n'abaturage benshi bushobora kuba bwarabayeho mu mateka ya vuba.*⁴⁶⁴ Phil Clark nawe yavuze ku mubare munini w'abacamanza batowe mu nkiko gacaca *"nk'uwihariye muri gahunda z'ubutabera zaba zarabayeho nyuma y'amakimbirane ku isi, kubera ubwinshi bw'abaturage bagira uruhare mu butabera"*.

Muri raporo yatangajwe mu gihe cy'isozwa ry'Inkiko Gacaca (tariki ya 18 Kamena 2012), urwego rw'Igihugu rushinzwe Inkiko Gacaca rwagaragaje ko mu myaka 10 gusa Inkiko Gacaca zaburanishije imanza/amadosiye 1.958.634, zihamya ibyaha abagera kuri 1.681.648 (86%) kandi zigira abere abakekwaga bagera kuri 277.066 (14%).⁴⁶⁵ Urwego rw'Igihugu rushinzwe Inkiko Gacaca rwakiriye kandi ubujurire bw'imanza zigera kuri 178.741 (9%) aho rwemeje ishingiro ry'ubujurire ku zigera kuri 132.902 (74%), mu gihe ubujurire bw'izigera kuri 45.839 (26%) rwasanze nta shingiro bwari bufite.⁴⁶⁶ Andi madosiye yari asigaye ya Jenocide yagombaga kuburanishwa n'Inkiko zibifitiye ububasha nkuko biteganyijwe n'itegeko.⁴⁶⁷ Ku byerekeye imanza z'abantu ku giti cyabo (atari amadosiye/amatsinda), raporo y'Urwego rw'Igihugu rushinzwe Inkiko Gacaca yagaragaje ko Inkiko Gacaca zaburanishije abantu 1.003.227, muri bo 96.653 (10%) bari abagore, naho 906.574 (90%) bari abagabo.⁴⁶⁸ Gacaca, yari ifite inkiko zigera gusa kuri 10.000, yaburanishije abari bafunze bose kandi mu gihe gito.⁴⁶⁹ Burnet nawe yavuze ko Gacaca *"ari cyo gisubizo cyonyine gishoboka"* kandi ko *"kutagera ku nshingano zazo byari kuba imbogamizi ikomeye mu rugendo rwose rw'Ubwiyunge."*⁴⁷⁰

Ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko Inkiko Gacaca (2002-2012) ari imwe mu ngamba zatekerejwe n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo mu guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ariko zikaba zarakunze kunegwa n'abanditsi bamwe na bamwe hashingirwa ku binyoma. Ikinyoma benshi bahuriraho ni imvugo y'uko Gacaca ngo zatumye Leta y'u Rwanda ikoresha ubutabera bw'abaturage igamije gushimangira ububasha bwayo no kubugundira. Nyamara Phil Clark, wakoze ubushakashatsi mu gihe cyose cy'imyaka 10 Inkiko Gacaca zamaze zikora, aho yaganiriye

⁴⁶³ Kaufman, In Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign (2014). Ibid., p.378.

⁴⁶⁴ Harrell quoted in Kaufman in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign (2014). Ibid., p.378

⁴⁶⁵ National Service for Gacaca Courts, 2012 Report Summary, supra note 68, p.34

⁴⁶⁶ Idem.p. 35

⁴⁶⁷ MIDIMAR (2014). Ibid., p.30-31

⁴⁶⁸ National Service for Gacaca Courts, 2012 Report Summary, supra note 68, p.36-7

⁴⁶⁹ Uvin in IDEA (2008). Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Burnet, Jennie E. (2008). "The Injustice of Local Justice: Truth, Reconciliation, and Revenge in Rwanda." Genocide Studies and Prevention, p.178

n'abantu barenga 650 akanakurikirana imanza zigera kuri 105, avuga ko kunega kwavuzwe haruguru gushingiye ku kutamenya kubera ko “ababivuga bigaragara ko batazi imikorere ya Leta y'u Rwanda, bityo bakaba badashobora kumva uburyo bwihariye Abanyarwanda bakoranamo na Leta, n'uburyo bagira uruhare mu gufatanya n'inzego za leta, nk'uko byagenze muri Gacaca.”⁴⁷¹

Ibyagenzweho mu bushakashatsi bwa Clark bigaragaza ko Gacaca ari “ikintu cy'ingenzi mu guteza imbere Ubwiyunge kuko ari uburyo butanga umwanya wo kujya impaka mu bwisanzuye hashingiwe ku kuri, kandi ikaba ari uburyo bwiza butaboneka henshi bwo kuganira; ndetse kuri bamwe, ni n'uburyo bukuraho inenge yo guceceka.”⁴⁷² Nkuko Clark abivuga:

*Ukwitanga kwagaragaye hagati y'impande zombi mu gihe cyo kuburana mu Nkiko Gacaca kwatumye buri byiciro by'abantu [Abanyarwanda] biganira ku byo bazi kuri Jenocide, no gukomeza kuganira na nyuma ya Gacaca. Ahantu nk'aha umusaruro ushimishije ugerwaho harimo gukiza ibikomere, kubabarira, kandi no kwiyunga bigashoboka.*⁴⁷³

Abanyarwanda nabo babona Gacaca nk'urubuga aho abaturage bose—baba abakekwaho kugira uruhare muri Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu, baba ababirokotse; mbese abaturage bose muri rusange—bashoboraga kuganira no kujya impaka ku bibazo byose birebana na Jenocide n'ibindi byaha bijyanye nayo.⁴⁷⁴ Muri uru rwego, uwari umucamanza muri Gacaca yaragize ati:

*Gacaca ifite akamaro kubera ko ihuriza abantu hamwe kugira ngo baganire. Iyo tugiye hamwe, tuba Umwe... Rimwe na rimwe hari igihe habaho kuvuga byinshi bikaba byaba ngombwa gusaba abantu kugabanya.*⁴⁷⁵

Muri make, usibye gushyira mu bikorwa ihame rigamije kurandura umuco wo kudahana, no kugira ngo abantu bagabanuke mu magereza, akamaro ubundi ka Gacaca ni ukuba urubuga abantu baganiriramo, cyane cyane ku nzego z'ibanze hagati y' abaturanyi.⁴⁷⁶ Inkiko Gacaca rero zateje imbere Ubwiyunge kuko zafunguye urubuga rw'ibiganiro ku rwego rw'abaturage.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷¹ Clark, P. (2014). Ibid., p.193

⁴⁷² Conway, Katherine (2013). *The role of memory in post-genocide Rwanda*, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, p.60

⁴⁷³ Clark, 2010:354

⁴⁷⁴ Clark, P.(2010). Ibid., p. 91

⁴⁷⁵ Ikiganiro by Clark, May 4, 2003 in Clark 2010:90.

⁴⁷⁶ Gasanabo and Simon, In Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign (2014). Ibid., p.390.

⁴⁷⁷ Zorbas, Eugenia (2004). Ibid., p.36

Gacaca ni uburyo bw'ubutabera bwunga butaba ahandi, kuko burenga icyimenyerewe cyo guhana. Abaturage nabo bagize icyo bavuga kuri Gacaca:

Gacaca ni ishingiro ry'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, haba ku muntu kugiti cye cyangwa umuryango nyarwanda nyuma ya Jenocide; ni nabwo butabera bwunga bwihariye utabona ahandi ku isi...Urebye inzego nk'izi z'ubutabera zabayeho ku isi, Gacaca ni umwihariko kuko yitabirwa n'imbaga y'abaturage benshi barebwa n'amakimbirane.⁴⁷⁸

Gacaca nicyo gisubizo kiruta ibindi gituma abakoze ibyaha bagezwa imbere y'ubutabera, bityo umuco wo kudahana ukarandurwa... Abafunze babajijwe ku byerekeye Gacaca nabo bari bashyigikiye kuko izihutisha imiburanishirize yabo...Abarokotse Jenocide nabo ni uko kuko bashakaga kubona abakoze Jenocide bahanwa....⁴⁷⁹

Bijyanye n'ibyavuzwe haruguru, Peter Uvin nawe avuga Gacaca nk' "urwego rw'ingirakamaro kuko itanga icyizere ari nayo mpamvu impande zose—abafunze n'abarokotse—bayifuza."⁴⁸⁰ Genevieve Parent nawe yavuze ko "Gacaca yabaye igisubizo mu butabera kuko yatabaye aho inzego z'ubutabera zari nkeya.⁴⁸¹ Gacaca zibanze ku gusana ibyangiritse aho, zomoye ibikomere by'abarokotse n'iby'umuryango nyarwanda muri rusange, zinatuma abagize uruhare mu byaha basubizwa mu buzima busanzwe bityo nabo bagira uruhare mu iterambere ry'Igihugu.⁴⁸² Gacaca ica agahigo mukuba yarimakaje Ubwiyunge ikanarandura umuco wo kudahana."⁴⁸³ Abakoze ibyaha barahanwe, kandi ababikorewe bahabwa umwanya wo kugira icyo bavuga.⁴⁸⁴ Gucubya uburakari, kubaka ukwizerana, no guteza imbere Ubwiyunge nabyo byari ingenzi mu kubaka amahoro arambye,⁴⁸⁵ kandi Gacaca yabigizemo uruhare rukomeye.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁷⁸ Clark, P. (2010). *Ibid.*, p.355

⁴⁷⁹ Zorbas, E. (2004). *Ibid.*, p.37

⁴⁸⁰ Uvin, P. (2003). *The Gacaca Tribunals in Rwanda*. Extracted from *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)*, Stockholm.

⁴⁸¹ Parent, G. (2010). *Reconciliation and Justice after Genocide: A Theoretical Exploration*, p. 283

⁴⁸² Tiemessen, Alana E. (2004). Rwandan Gacaca: Competing and Collaborating for Justice After Genocide." *International Studies Association*, p. 3

⁴⁸³ Zorbas, Eugenia (2004). *Ibid.*, p.37.

⁴⁸⁴ Zorbas, Eugenia (2004). *Ibid.*, p.37.

⁴⁸⁵ Apuuli, Kasajja Phillip (2009). "Procedural due process and the prosecution of genocide suspects in Rwanda." In *Journal of Genocide Research*, p. 21.....

⁴⁸⁶ DeBari (2013). *Reconciliation in Rwanda: Is it Really Working?*

By'umwihariko, igihebuje Gacaca zakoze ni uko yagaragaje uko igihano gishobora guhabwa isura yagutse, aho kinatiza imbere Ubwiyunge, bityo icyifuzo cy'abarokotse cyo kubona abakoze Jenocide bahanwa kikubahirizwa, ariko nanone imibanire yabo ikongera gusanwa mu buryo bw'Ubwiyunge.⁴⁸⁷ Uruhare rwa Gacaca mu kuburanisha no guca imanza z'abakekwaho Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu byafashije mu kubahiriza amategeko kandi inzego z'ubutabera zirushaho gukora neza no kugirirwa icyizere. Umuco wo kudahana wari wararanze amateka y'u Rwanda kugeza muri 1994 nawo wararanduwe.⁴⁸⁸

Kuba Gacaca ari ubutabera bwegerejwe abatubera, byatumye umuryango nyarwanda wose ugira uruhare mu butabera, harimo n'abarokotse Jenocide. Kubera ibiganiro, Gacaca zagaragaje ukuri ku byabaye muri Jenocide, abayigizemo uruhare n'uburyo byakozwemo; bityo ishusho y'ibyabaye ijya ahagaragara. Gacaca zahuje abakoze ibyaha n'ababikorewe maze zituma abaregwaga babona umwanya uhagije wo kwisobanura no kugira ikindi bashaka kuvuga kuruta uko inkiko zisanze zikora.⁴⁸⁹ Zanatanze urubuga ku bakorewe ibyaha rwo kuvuga igitekerezo cyabo, bityo habaho kwemera ibyaha no kubisabira imbabazi.⁴⁹⁰ Kwemera icyaha byagabanyije ku buryo bugaragara uburemere bw'igihano cy'igifungo ku bari barahamwe n'ibyaha. Ibi nibyo ubuhama bukurikira bw'ubarokotse jenocide n'uwayikoze bugaragaza⁴⁹¹:

Gacaca zazanye ukwizerana kuberako zatumye abantu bicarana baraganira; bamwe basabye imbabazi, abandi barababarira; ukwizerana kurahari, barashyingirana [abari bafitanye amakimbirane], baraganira. Bamwe baricujije kandi basaba imbabazi; iyo hariho kuvugana, Ubwiyunge bukurikiraho.

Mbere ya Gacaca, hari ukwizerana guke cyane; mu by'ukuri ntikwari guhari [ukwizerana] nta muntu n'umwe mu bahungutse [wari warahunze nyuma ya Jenocide] washakaga kuvuga ukuri ku biyanye n'uko abantu bishwe, uwabishe n'aho imibiri yabo yajugunywe. Ariko kuva aho Gacaca ziziye, Abanyarwanda batangiyeye kwizerana uko kuri kwagendaga gushyirwa ahagaragara. Nubwo hari abaguhishe [ukuri] infungwa bo bavugishije ukuri. Infungwa bavugishije ukuri ku kuntu abantu bishwe; uku niko byatangiyeye [kuvugisha ukuri]; byatewe n'infungwa bemeye icyaha bamaze kumva ko bagomba kuvuga ukuri; twarigishijwe kandi turumva, turemera.

⁴⁸⁷ Clark (2010). Ibid., p.351.

⁴⁸⁸ Jha et al., 2004). Ibid., p.22.

⁴⁸⁹ Uvin, In IDEA (2003). Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Zorbas, E. (2004). Ibid., p.36; Rwanda National Police (2014). Ibid., p.29.

⁴⁹¹ Group Ikiganiro, 2012; NURC (2012). Ibid., p.71

Gacaca rero zagize akamaro kadasanzwe mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuko zabaye urubuga rw'ibiganiro hagati y'abaturage ku byabaye muri Jenocide, bityo ubutabera bwunga, kandi burandura umuco wo kudahana, burimakazwa.⁴⁹²

4.7.3. Imirimo nsimbura gifungo

Mu rwego rw'ubutabera bwunga, imirimo ifitiye Igihugu akamaro isimbura igifungo, izwi mu rurimi rw'Igifaransa ku izina rya “Travaux d'Intérêt Général” (TIG), yashyizweho mu mwaka wa 2005. Ni igihano nsimburagifungo—gahunda shya yo guhana—yatumye abantu bakatiwe kubera icyaha cya Jenocide bakora igice cy'igihano cyabo binyuze mu mirimo nsimburagifungo, akaba ari uburyo bushya bw'ubutabera mu Rwanda, bwibanda k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.⁴⁹³

Iyi gahunda yihariye ni ingenzi, cyane cyane ku bantu b'abanyanteye nke nk'abagore batwite n'abonsa, abafite uburwayi budakira n'ababana n'ubumuga. Itegeko Ngenga N° 01/2012/OL ryo kuwa 20/5/2012 rishyiraho urwunge rw'amategeko ahana rishyiraho uburyo butatu bw'ibihano nsimburagifungo: kwishyura ihazabu, imirimo rusange nk'insimburagifungo, no gusubika igihano. Izi ngamba zose zatumye habaho gufata akanya, ku bahamwe n'ibyaha, kugira ngo bitekerezeho banatekereza ku bibi bakoze. Ibi byagize akamaro cyane kuko byababashishije/bibabashisha kwicuza ibibi bakoze no kubisabira imbabazi.

4.7.4. Ikigo cy'Imfungwa n'Abagororwa

Ingamba zigamije guteza imbere ubutabera, kugorora/gukosora, kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu, gufasha imfungwa binyuze mu bufasha mu by'amategeko no kubaha ubumenyiringiro kugira ngo biteze imbere, no guteza imbere ibihano nsimburagifungo nk'imirimo ifitiye Igihugu akamaro, ni ingenzi cyane muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Ni muri urwo rwego *Ikigo cy'Imfungwa n'Abagororwa* cyashyizweho nk'urwego rwita ku gutuma imfungwa zakatiwe ziba abaturage b'ingirakamaro mu gihe bazaba barangije igihano cyabo kuruta uko cyaba igihano cyo kubababaza umubiri. Ikigeretse kuri ibi ni uko uru rwego rwinjiza amafaranga aho kuba uruyasohora.⁴⁹⁴ Itegeko N° 34/2010 ryo kuwa 12 Ugushyirahamwe 2010 rigena imikorere n'imitunganyirize y' Ikigo cy'Imfungwa n'Abagororwa. Ingingo ya 4 ivuga ko inshingano z'ingenzi zacyo ari:

- Kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'imfungwa n'abagororwa nkuko biteganywan'amategeko;
- Kurinda umutekano wa buri mfungwa na buri mugororwa kugeza arangije igihano cye;

⁴⁹² Gasanabo and Simon, In Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign (2014). Ibid., p.390

⁴⁹³ Biboneka: <http://www.tig.gov.rw>

⁴⁹⁴ Biboneka: <http://www.rcs.gov.rw/>

- Kubaha ubuzima, ubutavogerwa ku mubiri, mu bitekerezo, no guharanira imibereho myiza y'imfungwa n'abagororwa;
- Gushyira mu bikorwa ingamba zihamye zo gutuma imfungwa n'abagororwa zihana kandi zigahindura imyumvire yabo;
- Gushyiraho imicungire myiza y'amagereza n'iy'abakora igihano nsimburagifungo;
- Guteza imbere umusaruro n'imirungire myiza yawo muri gereza no mu mirimo nsimburagifungo;
- Guteza imbere ubumenyigiro no kubaka ubushobozi bw'abakozi b'ikigo cy'imfungwa n'Abagororwa;
- Kongera ubumenyi bw'imfungwa n'abagororwa, no kubagenera ibikorwa bya siporo n'imyidagaduro.

Hagendeye kuri gahunda zo kugorora, hateganyijwe ubujyanama bwagutse ku mibanire n'imitekerereze ku mfungwa, kuvumbura impano, amasomo y'imyuga n'ubumenyigiro, ubuvuzi, n'uburezi. icyibanze muri iyi gahunda ni uguhindura imyitwarire n'imyumvire y'imfungwa. Ingamba zose z'uku kugorora zijyana na gahunda z'Ubwiyunge no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe ababaye imfungwa, aho 'kugorora' cyangwa 'gukosora' abakoze ibyaha byabaye 'inshingano y'umuryango nyarwanda.'

4.7.5. Akagoroba k'Ababyeyi

Akagoroba k'ababyeyi, cyangwa Umugoroba w'ababyeyi, ni urubuga washyizweho n'ababyeyi kuva mu mwaka wa 2010. Uru rubuga rwatangijwe n'ababyeyi b'abagore kuko ku ikubitiro hibandwaga cyane ku bibazo bibangamiye abagore n'abakobwa mu miryango. Abagore rero bashoboraga kungurana ibitekerezo, bakaganira ku mikorere myiza igomba kubaranga, kandi bamwe bakagira abandi inama muri urwo rwego.

Muri iki gihe, uru rubuga ruhuriza hamwe buri wese (igitsina gabo n'igitsina gore). Intego rusange ni uguhuriza hamwe imiryango ituranye kugira ngo abayigize baganire ku buryo bwubaka ku bibazo bitandukanye by'ubukungu n'imibereho by'umuryango n'Igihugu, harimo ibibazo bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Muri urwo rwego, inama no kunga biratangwa kugira ngo hirindwe ko ikibazo cyajyanwa mu nzego zo hejuru kandi yenda bitari ngombwa. Uku guhuriza hamwe imiryango ituranye ni ikintu cy'ingenzi cyane mu guteza imbere ubushuti, ubufatanye n'ubwubahane, biganisha ku nama zubaka n'imibanire myiza. Uru rubuga rero rutuma abantu bahura bakaganira ku buryo bwubaka, aribyo bitanga uburyo butuma imiryango yacitsemu ibice, cyangwa ifitanye amakimbirane, yongera kunga Ubumwe.

4.7.6. Inteko y'Abaturage

Kuva cyera, mu Rwanda, abaturage nibo bagiraga uruhare mu mibereho n'imibanire myiza. Imibanire y'abantu yashingiraga cyane ku guturana kw'imiryango kuruta ku mibanire hagati y'abantu ku giti cyabo. Binyuze muri politiki yo kwegereza ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi abaturage, uruhare rw'abaturage muri gahunda zose rwafashwe nk'ishingiro ry'iterambere no gukemura ibibazo mu Rwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego Inteko y'Abaturage ikoresheya/yakoresheje n'ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze mu gukemura ibibazo by'abaturage mbere y'uko bijyanwa mu nkiko aho yenda bitari na ngombwa.

Inteko y'abaturage rero ni inama ku rwego rw'umudugudu cyangwa rw'akagali ihuriza hamwe abatuye umudugudu cyangwa akagali. Iterana rimwe mu kwezi kugira ngo abaturage baganire ku bibazo bihari, hagamijwe gufatanya kubikemura no kunga abafitanye amakimbarane. Ibibazo bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nabyo biganirwaho mu buryo bwunga. Izi nama zifite akamaro gakomeye mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge kuko zitanga urubuga ku baturage bakaganira kandi bagakemura ibibazo bihari hagamijwe Ubumwe no kunga.

4.7.7. Ubufasha bwa Leta mu by'Amategeko

Mu gihe itegeko nshinga n'andi mategeko biteganyaga ukureshya kw'abantu bose imbere y'amategeko, byagaragaye ko abaturage benshi badafite ubumenyi ku bijyanye no kumenya amategeko, ndetse no kutabasha kugera ku bunganizi mu by'amategeko, bikiri inzitizi mu mitangire y'ubutabera nyabwo. Ni muri urwo rwego ubufasha mu by'amategeko, binyuze mu gutanga amakuru ku mategeko no kwigisha, kugira inama, no kunganira, kunga no guhagararira, bwashyizweho hagamijwe gutanga serivisi zijyanye n'iby'amategeko kandi ku buntu kubatishoboye nta vangura.

Akamaro k'ubu bufasha, haba ku bantu ku giti cyabo cyangwa ku gihugu, ni uko bwakumiriye ko amakimbarane akura ngo agere ku rwego rw'ibirego bijyanwa mu nkiko, ari nabyo byangiza imibanire myiza. Bwakuyeho ibyo kuba umuntu afunzwe by'agateganyo, kandi habaho kwihutisha iburanisha by'imanza mu buryo butabera.

Ubu bufasha bwatumye ubutabera bugera ku banyarwanda bose kuko habayeho kwaguka mu gutanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko, kuvugurura no guteza imbere uburyo bunyuranye bwo gukemura amakimbarane, gushyiraho ikigega cy'ubufasha mu by'amategeko no gushyiraho inzego z'abafatanyabikorwa mu by'ubufasha mu by'amategeko.

Habayeho kumenya neza ibisabwa kugira ngo umuntu ahabwe ubufasha mu by'amategeko. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryiza ry'iyi gahunda ryagize kandi uruhare mu kwimakaza ihame ry

kugendera ku mategeko, kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu, no kugeza ubutabera ku banyarwanda bose.⁴⁹⁵

Ku bijyanye n'inzego zitanga ubu ubufasha mu by'amategeko, ziri mu byiciro bitandukanye harimo iza Leta n'izitari iza Leta. Muri rusange inzego zitanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko zigera kuri 74, harimo: inzego 2 zo muri Minisiteri y'Ubutabera binyuze muri MAJ n'Abunzi (Komite z'Abunzi), imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta 30, za kaminuza 4, n'abikorera ku giti cyabo 40. Ubufasha mu by'amategeko rero burimo inzego zitandukanye zifite uburyo butandukanye zicungwa n'uburyo zibonamo amafaranga. Guhagararira mu by'amategeko, inama, kunga, gushyikirana, ubuvugizi, no gutegura abantu kugira ngo bamenye uburenganzira bwabo, ni ibintu by'ingenzi bitangwa muri gahunda y'ubufasha mu by'amategeko. Imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, MAJ, ikigo cy'ubufasha mu by'amategeko cya Kaminuza, n'Urugaga rw'abunganizi mu mategeko, ni zimwe mu nzego z'ingenzi zitanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko.

Ibika bikurikira biragaragaza gusa imikorere y'inzego ebyiri za leta zitanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko, arizo: Ibiro by'ubujyanama mu by'amategeko (MAJ) n'Abunzi.

4.7.7.1. Ibiro by'ubujyanama mu by'amategeko (MAJ)

Binyuze muri Minisiteri y'Ubutabera, Leta yashyizeho ibiro by'ubujyanama mu by'amategeko, bizwi ku izina rya "*Maisons d'Accès à la Justice*" (MAJ), mu mwaka wa 2007. Ibi biro, ubu biri mu turere twose 30 tw'u Rwanda, bitanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko ku banyarwanda benshi, aho serivisi zitangwa ari ukwigisha no gutanga amakuru ku mategeko ndetse n'inama zijyanye n'iby'amategeko.

Imikorere y'ibi biro ijyanye na gahunda yo kwegereza ubutabera inzego z'ibanze, aho abaturage bahabwa ijambo. Ishyirahamwe ry'Abunganizi mu by'amategeko mu Rwanda rinaha abakozi b'ibiro by'ubujyanama mu by'amategeko (MAJ) uburenganzira bwo gutanga ubufasha mu by'amategeko ku bantu bakennye cyane n'abatishoboye (ingingo za 58 na 68). Bashobora kunganira, gutanga inama, guhagararira no kuburanira abatishoboye imbere y'inkiko zose. Bashobora kandi kwiga amadosiye, bagatanga inama ndetse no kunga ababurana, gukangurira abaturage uburenganzira bwabo bahabwa n'amategeko, kunganira imfungwa no guhugura Abunzi. Ibiro bihuza imirimo y'ubwunganizi mu by'amategeko byashyizweho ku rwego rw'Akarere byahawe inshingano yo guhuza ibikorwa by'ubufasha mu mategeko butangwa n'Abunzi ndetse n'iby'ibiro by'ubujyanama mu by'amategeko (MAJ).⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁵ Minijust, 2014

⁴⁹⁶ The Republic of Rwanda (2013). Ibid., p.13-14.

4.7.7.2. Abunzi

Abunzi ni urwego rw'ingenzi mu bijyanye n'ubufasha mu by'amategeko. Ni uburyo nyarwanda bwihariye bwakoreshwaga hambere mu gukemura ibibazo, aho abaturage bahabwa ububasha bwo kwikemurira amakimbirane k'uburyo bworoshye kandi budahenze.⁴⁹⁷

Abunzi ni ijambo riva ku nshinga 'kunga' bivuze 'gusubiranya ibyari byatandukanye'. Abunzi batorwa mu baturage ku mugaragaro kugira ngo bafashe mu gukemura ibibazo byoroheje biboneka mu baturage kandi bunge abafitanye amakimbirane. Abunzi rero ni abahuzza ku rwego rw'ibanze mu Rwanda bahawe inshingano na Leta zo gukoresha uburyo bwunga mu gukemura amakimbirane, hifashishijwe uruhare rw'abaturage. Abunzi rero ni abahuzza b'abaturage kandi batorwa n'abaturage bagendeye ku bunyangamugayo bwabo.⁴⁹⁸

Nkuko byagenze ku ishyirwaho ry'Inkiko Gacaca, Leta y'u Rwanda yasanze ko inkiko zisanzwe zitashoboraga gukemura amakimbirane mu buryo bwunga. Niyo mpamvu ubutabera bwunga bwashobokaga ari ubugendera ku muco nyarwanda aho abaturage bagira uruhare mu gukemura amakimbirane kandi mu buryo bwunga. Usibye Inkiko Gacaca (zavuzwe haruguru), Abunzi nabo barifashishijwe/barifashishwa mu gukemura amakimbirane mu buryo butanga ubutabera kandi bwunga,⁴⁹⁹ nk'uko byabagaho mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Ubu ni ubutabera bushingiye ku muco nyarwanda bugamije gukemura amakimbirane mu buryo bwunga, aho kwihutira kwitabaza inkiko, kuko zo zihana gusa aho kunga.⁵⁰⁰ Komite z'Abunzi zemewe n'amategeko, mu gihe atariko biri mu bindi bihugu.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷ Idem.p.31.

⁴⁹⁸ NURC, (2007). Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ RGB, 2012

⁵⁰⁰ Mutisi 2011:3

⁵⁰¹ Mutisi 2011:2

Urwego rw'Abunzi rwatejwe imbere cyane na Leta y'u Rwanda, guhera nyuma y'umwaka wa 2000, nk'uburyo budahenze bwo kwegereza abatwage benshi ubutabera. Igaruka rya gahunda yo kunga (bikonzwe na Komite y'Abunzi)⁵⁰² ni imwe mu ngamba za Leta zo gutuma ubutabera bwegerezwa abatwage. Ingingo y'159 y'Itegeko nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda (2003) ishyiraho, muri buri murenge, "Komite y'Abunzi" ishinze kunga abatwage igihe cyose bagiranye amakimbirane. Ugendeye kuri iyi ngingo:

*Komite y'Abunzi igizwe n'abantu 12 batuye mu murenge, b'inyangamugayo kandi bazwiho ubushobozi bwo kunga. Batorwa na komite nyobozi n'inama jyanama y'Umurenge mu bantu batari abagize ubuyobozi bw'inzego z'ibanze cyangwa inzego z'ubucamanza batorerwa manda y'imyaka ibiri ishobora kongerwa. Abaturanyi batoranya batatu mu bunzi bagomba gushyikirizwa ikibazo cyabo kugira ngo babunge. Buri ruhanda mu babaturanyi rutanyuzwe n'uburyo ikibazo cyarwo cyakemuwe rugana Inkiko. icyo kibazo kigomba kuba kitari mu byakirwa n'urukiko ku rwego rwa mbere hatabanje kwerekanwa raporo y'umwanzuro w'Abunzi. Itegeko Ngenga rigena imiterere, ifasi, ububasha n'imikorere bya Komite y'Abunzi.*⁵⁰³

Hari mu mwaka wa 2004 ubwo Leta y'u Rwanda yashyiragaho urwego rw'Abunzi nk'uburyo budasanzwe bwo gukemura amakimbirane, binyuze mu itegeko Ngenga N° 17/2004 ryo kuwa 20/06/2004, ryavugururwe n'itegeko Ngenga N° 31/2006 ryo kuwa 14/08/2006, naryo rikaza kuvugururwa n'itegeko Ngenga N° 02/2010 ryo kuwa 09/06/2010.⁵⁰⁴

Mbere yo gushakira ubutabera mu nkiko z'ibanze, Komite y'Abunzi igomba kubanza kwakira ibirego bijyanye n'amakimbirane yo ku rwego rw'ibanze, imanza z'ubugizi bwa nabi, n'imanza zimbenezamubano zitagejeje ku gaciro kangana na miliyoni 3 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda. Kugeza ubu, Komite z'Abunzi zigera kuri 32.400 zikaba zikorera mu Rwanda hose: ku rwego rw'Akagali nk'urwego rw'ibanze rw'ubutabera, no ku rwego rw'Umurenge nk'urwego rw'ubujurire, nkuko biteganywa n'ingingo ya 2 y'itegeko N° 02/2010 ryo kuwa 09/06/2010. Ingingo ya 4 y'itegeko ngenga ivuga ko ku rwego rw'Akagali n'urw'Umurenge, Komite y'Abunzi igomba kuba igizwe n'abantu 12 bazwiho ubunyangamugayo, kandi bazwiho ubumenyi mu kunga. Batorwa n'inama jyanama y'Akagali n'iy'Umurenge kandi bagatorerwa manda y'imyaka itanu ishobora kongerwa.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² Abunzi, literally, translates 'those who reconcile'

⁵⁰³ Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, as amended to date, 2003 (Art.159)

⁵⁰⁴ Rwandapedia. Biboneka <http://rwandapedia.rw/explore/abunzi>

⁵⁰⁵ RGB 2012, 2013)

Abunzi bafite uruhare rukomeye muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda kuko batanga/batanze ubutabera bwunga.⁵⁰⁶ Komite z'Abunzi zegereye abaturage kandi imiburanishirije ikorwa mu rurimi rwumvwa n'abaturage bose, kandi abaturage bakagira uruhare muri ubu butabera bwunga. Ubutabera rero butangwa n'Abunzi bushingira ku bwiye, no gusana ibyangijwe, ibi bikaba ari ingenzi cyane mu muryango nyarwanda aho abantu babanye baturanye ku misozi. Uburyo Abunzi bakoramo butuma buri muturage agira ijambo, butuma uwahemutse n'uwahemukiwe bahura, hakabaho ibiganiro bikemura ikibazo kandi bikabunga mu buryo bugabanya umubare w'imanza zijya mu nkiko zisanzwe⁵⁰⁷

Komite z'Abunzi zageze rero ku byiza byinshi. Nk'urugero, ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byamurikiwe Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano ya cyenda, yo kuwa 15-16 Ukuboza 2011, byagaragaje ko kubera Abunzi, imanza 39 muri 863 arizo zonyine zoherejwe mu nkiko; 80% by'abaturage bemera ko Abunzi ari indashyikirwa mu gukemura amakimbirane; 82% by'abaturage bemera ko Komite z'Abunzi zifasha gutuma amafaranga yashiriraga mu kwishyura abunganizi agabanuka; ubu buryo bukaba bwaranatumye Leta izigama miliyari zigera kuri 7,5; kandi ko 87% by'abaturage bemera ko Abunzi bihutishije ikemurwa ry'amakimbirane. Ibyagezweho mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe na USAID mu mwaka 2012 nabyo bigaragaza ko Abunzi bafite akamaro kuko bahendutse, bagerwaho na bose, abaturage bagira uruhare, kandi bagamije kunga mu gihe ibi bitaba muri gahunda y'inkiko zisanzwe, ndetse byihutisha imanza kurusha inkiko.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Mutisi 2011:3

⁵⁰⁷ NURC/RRB, 2010

⁵⁰⁸ Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister. *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December 2011, Presentation prepared par the MINALOC; PRESIREP; RGB; MIJESPOC; NURC

5. IBYAGEZWEHO MU BUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU RWANDA

“Ndahamya ko hari byinshi byagezweho mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Isesengura n'ubushakashatsi ku nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byarakozwe. Impaka zubaka k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyungezaragiwe kandi abaturage batojwe indangagaciro zo kubana mu mahoro.... buri wese yemeye indangagaciro z'Ubwiyunge bikaba ari umusaruro mwiza mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge...”⁵⁰⁹ “Abanyarwanda bageze kure mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Biragaragara ko Igihugu kirimo gikira ingaruka za Jenoside ku buryo bugaragara binyuze mu bushobozi bwa Leta bwo gushyiraho gahunda z'Ubwiyunge kugira ngo hongere hubakwe umuryango nyarwanda. Izi gahunda z'Ubwiyunge zakemuye ibibazo bikomeye by'imibanire mu muryango nyarwanda, none ubu Abanyarwanda babanye mu mahoro”.⁵¹⁰

U Rwanda ruracyiyubaka ruva mu macakubiri yaranze amateka yarwo akageza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Iki gice kiragaragaza ibyagezweho mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Ibi byagezweho ahanini bigenda byuzuzanya, aho kubaka urufatiro rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byabaye kimwe mu bintu by'ingenzi byagezweho.

5.1. Urufatiro rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge rwashyizweho

Kimwe mu bintu by'ingenzi byagezweho mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda cyabaye kuba urufatiro rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nwarashyizweho. Uru rufatiro rugizwe ahanini n'Ubushake bukomeye bwa politiki, ishyirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, imiyoborere myiza, amategeko na politiki bihamye, ndetse n'inzego zinyuranye zirangajwe imbere na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Aha, ishyirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Itegeko Nshinga (2003), n'imiyoborere myiza ishimangiwe na Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byabaye ku isonga. Uru rufatiro rero rwerekana ukuvuka kw'Igihugu gishya kigendera ku mategeko kandi gifite icyerekezo gishya cyunga Abanyarwanda.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ Tito Rutaremara, akiri Umuyobozi mukuru w'Urwego rw'umuvunyi (NURC, 2009:15)

⁵¹⁰ De Bari (2013). Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Rwanda National Police, 2014:29

Aha niho nanone hakuweho ibyari byiswe amoko byacagamo ibice Abanyarwanda mu gihe cyera nk'uko byagaragarira mu marangamuntu, mu burezi, itangwa ry'akazi na servisi za Leta. Ingabo zari zihanganye (ingabo za Leta ya cyera zatsinzwe n'abahoze ari abasirikali ba FPR) barahujwe none ubu bagize ingabo z'Igihugu bose; iki kikaba ari ikimenyetso gikomeye cy'Ubumwe.

Impunzi zirenga miliyoni 5 zaracyuwe kandi zisubirana imitungo yazo; impfubyi zirenga 300.000 zashyizwe mu miryango nta vangura; ibikorwa by'iterambere biragera ku Banyarwanda bose (uburezi, ishoramari, kubona imirimo, ubuvuzi...).⁵¹²

Usibye ishyingirwaho rya leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda Jenocide ikimara kurangira, hahise hashyirwaho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ndetse na mbere y'uko Itegeko Nshinga ryo muri 2003 riyahwe. By'umwihariko, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yabaye umusingi n'umuyoboro wa gahunda zose z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Kuba gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yarashyizwe mu nzego zose z'iterambere ry'u Rwanda, byiyongera ku byo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ikora, byabaye ikindi kintu kigaragaza ko urufatiro rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge rwashyizweho. Raporo yo mu muri 2007 ku iterambere ry'u Rwanda igaragaza ko kugira politiki zikomeye kandi zishoboka z'iterambere bidahagije hatabayeho gukemura amakimbirane muri gahunda zose z'iterambere.⁵¹³ Ibi bivuzwe kubera ko Ubwiyunge bufitanye isano n'iterambere ry'Igihugu cyane cyane ahantu habaye amakimbirane.⁵¹⁴ Niyo mpamvu Leta y'u Rwanda yashyize gahunda z' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu igenamigambi rya gahunda zose z'iterambere ry'Igihugu, byose bishingiye ku cyerekezo 2020, gahunda yo kugabanya ubukene, na gahunda y'imbatuburabukungu.⁵¹⁵ Ubu inzego zose z'Igihugu zisabwa gushyira mu igenamibambi ryazo gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kubera ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byashyizwe mu ngamba zose z'Igihugu,⁵¹⁶ ndetse ko politiki zose z'Igihugu zikorwa hagamiye iteka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kugira ngo hubakwe imibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda.⁵¹⁷ Inzego z'ubuyobozi z'ibanze zishishikariza abantu gufatanya mu iterambere ryiza kuri bose nazo zashyizweho kandi zikora neza.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹² NURC, 2008

⁵¹³ UNDP, 2012

⁵¹⁴ Karen, 2007

⁵¹⁵ NURC, 2012; UNDP, 2012

⁵¹⁶ UNDP, 2005:28.

⁵¹⁷ IDEA, 2008:45-6.

⁵¹⁸ Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:356

5.2. Urubuga rwiza rwo guhura no kuganira mu buryo bwubaka

Kugera k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyegebisaba ko amateka mabi aganirwaho ariko nta guheranwa n'ibibi byayaranze. Abantu bakeneye umwanya n'urubuga kugira ngo baganire; aho umubabaro, akarengane n' ibikomere buri wese yagize byumvwa.⁵¹⁹ Ubu buryo nibwo u Rwanda rwahisemo–kuganira ku bibazo u Rwanda rwahuye nabyo.”

Ubwiyege nyabwo ntibushoboka hatabanje kubaho ibiganiro nyakuri aho buri wese ahabwa umwanya. Ni ukuvuga rero ibyagezweho mu kuganira, biba imbarutso y'ibikorwa by'ingenzi bigize Ubwiyege aribyo: kuvugisha ukuri, kwemera icyaha, gusaba imbarabizi no kuzitanga, no kwiyemeza ko ikibi kitazongera kubaho.⁵²⁰

Mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyege, bikunze kuvugwa muri rusange ko bikwiye ko ibisubizo bituruka aho icyatanyije abantu cyabereye,⁵²¹ cyane cyane binyuze mu rubuga–ahantu heza abagiranye amakimbirane bagomba guhurira kandi hazira amacakubiri n'urwikwe.⁵²² Ni ukuvuga urubuga aho abagiranye amakimbirane babasha kuganira ku byababayeho bagasabana aho buri wese yumva akababaro ka mugenzi we.⁵²³ Muri uru rwego, raporo ya Caritas International yongeraho ko abantu bakeneye ahantu heza kandi hababereye; ni ukuvuga ahantu hari ibyangombwa nkenerwa by'ibanze (amafunguro, amazi, ubwiherero, aho baruhukira...), kuko igihe ibi byangombwa by'ibanze bibuze abagiranye amakimbirane bakomeza kurangwa n'ubwoba n'impungenge.⁵²⁴

Ishyirwaho rya Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyege, ndetse na gahunda zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda wo guhuza abantu bakaganira (nk'Ingando, Itorero, Umuganda, Ubudehe, Inama nkuru z'Igihugu, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano, Umwiherero w'Abayobozi, Gacaca...) byatanze urubuga n'umwanya by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyege mu Rwanda. Ishyirwaho ry'izi gahunda ryatumye Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyege bitoza Abanyarwanda kuganira ku bibazo bihangayikishije u Rwanda no gufatanya kubikemura. Nkuko byagaragajwe

⁵¹⁹ Lederach, 1997:26

⁵²⁰ Fisher, 2001:28

⁵²¹ Ramsbotham et al., 2005:222; Sentama, 2009

⁵²² Schulz, 2008:35; Lederach, 1997; Sentama, 2009

⁵²³ Lederach, 1997:26, 29; Borer 2006:33, Crocker et al., 2007; Sentama, 2009:33

⁵²⁴ Caritas Internationalis (2006). *Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual*. Vatican: Caritas Internationalis. Biboneka: http://www.caritas.dk/sites/default/files/attachments/ci_peacebuilding.pdf

mu gice cya kane, ibi bigaragarira cyane cyane muri gahunda zikurikira: (1) Ibiganiro byo mu Rugwiro byabaye kuva mukwezi kwa Gicurasi 1998 kugeza mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1999 byibanze ku cyateye amateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo, demukarasi, umutekano, ubutabera, ubukungu, n'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda; (2) ibiganiro ngishwanama k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye; (3) Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu yo mu Ukuboza 2000, yari ishinzwe ku garagaza inkomoko n'umuti w'amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko; (4) Isuzuma ryo muri Mata-Kanama 2001 ry'ibyagezweho mu Bumwe n'Ubwiye, bigendeye ku byifuzo by'abaturage n'uko babona uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiye by'Abanyarwanda bishobora gutezwa imbere; (5) Ibiganiro binyuranye mu Ngando, Itorero, mu gihe cyo kwibuka,...⁵²⁵

Uru rubuga rwashyizweho rwatumye Abanyarwanda bahura kugira ngo baganire ku mateka y'Igihugu cyabo kugira ngo bayigireho bityo bakosore imyumvire itariyo bari bayafiteho, maze hashakwe uburyo buboneye bwo kubaka u Rwanda rushya rwubahira uburenganzira bwa muntu. Muri uru rwego, ibiganiro mbwirwa-ruhamye n'ibiganiro-mpaka byabaye ingirakamaro kuko byatumye Abanyarwanda bagira icyerekezo kimwe n'uburyo bwo kwikemurira ibibazo. Nanone Abanyarwanda babonye akanya ko kumenya inyungu nyakuri bahuriyeho ari nabwo bamenye uruhare rwabo mu kwiyubakira Igihugu.⁵²⁶ Nk'urugero, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano yabaye urubuga rwiza aho Abanyarwanda babonye umwanya wo kuganira ku buryo butaziguye n'abayobozi babo, harimo na Perezida wa Repubulika, ku bibazo nyamukuru birebana na gahunda z'iterambere ry'Igihugu. Uru rubuga rwabaye umusemburo wo gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda za Leta kuko rwafashije kunoza igenamigambi, imiyoborere, ndetse no gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda z'ibanze za Leta.⁵²⁷ Urubuga rwo kuganira rwashyizweho, nk'uko bigaragajwe haruguru, rwatumye ubutabera bwunga ndetse n'izindi gahunda ziteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bigerwaho.

5.3. Ubutabera bwunga—kurandura umuco wo kudahana

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ikirangira, kimwe mu bibazo by'ingutu Leta nshya yahuye na cyo cyari icyo kurandura umuco wo kudahana wari warabaye karande mu Rwanda.⁵²⁸ Umuco wo kudahana waranze amateka y'u Rwanda watumye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu buhungabanywa bikabije bikozwe n'abayobozi babi n'abaturage. Niyo

⁵²⁵ NURC, 2nd National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda, report 2002:7

⁵²⁶ NURC, Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister. *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December 2011, Presentation prepared MINALOC; PRESIREP; RGB; MIJESPOC; NURC

⁵²⁸ Lederach, 2007:171

mpamvu kurandura uwo muco mubi wo kudahana byabaye ingenzi kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge birambye bitezwe imbere. Ibi bivuze na none gukomeza gushakisha no kugeza imbere y'ubutabera abantu bose bagize uruhare mu bikorwa byose byashyize u Rwanda mu icuraburindi hatitawe ku bwinshi bwabo cyangwa se ku bushobozi bw'inzego z'ubutabera.⁵²⁹

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'iyi gahunda rigaragarira cyane mu ltegeko nshinga ry'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, nkuko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu, mu ngingo yaryo ya 9 ishimangira: "kubaka Leta igendera ku mategeko..."⁵³⁰ Iyi ngamba iganisha ku kugaragaza ubugizi bwa nabi ubwo ari bwo bwose hagamijwe kurandura umuco wo kudahana bityo amategeko agakurikizwa.⁵³¹

Ahangaha ariko imbaraga nyinshi n'umutungo mwinshi usanga byari byarashyizwe gusa ku ruhare rw'ubutabera mpuzamahanga cyangwa ubutabera bw'abanyaburayi.⁵³² Nk'urugero, Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, Arusha muri Tanzaniya, rwari rufite ububasha bwo kuburanisha gusa abashinjwa kuba baracuze umugambi wa Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Nyamara ntihiyeze hitabwa na gato ku bihumbi by'abandi bantu bakekagwaho kugira uruhare muri Jenocide n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu.⁵³³ Byongeye kandi, imikorere y'uru rukiko nta gahunda y'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda rwari rufite muri gahunda n'imikorere yarwo, mu gihe Ubwiyunge aribwo banze kugira ngo Ubumwe bugerweho.⁵³⁴

Niyo mpamvu u Rwanda rwiyejeje gukosora ayo makosa rwiyejeza gukurikirana abantu bose bakoze ibikorwa bihungabanya uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu, na Jenocide, hifashishijwe ibisubizo bitanzwe n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo kandi mu butabera bwunga. Izi ngamba zishingiye ku muco nyarwanda wo gukemura ibibazo mu buryo bwunga. Izi ngenzi murizo ni Inkiko Gacaca, na Komite z'Abunzi. Aha niho Elster yagize ati:

*"Kurwanya umuco wo kudahana mu by'ukuri ni ubutabera bureba mu gihe cyahise no mu gihe kizaza. Ku birebana n'u Rwanda, uburyo bwinshi bw'ubu butabera bwarakoreshejwe, rimwe na rimwe bwakoreshwaga icyarimwe, bucira imanza bukanahana abakekwagaho ibyaha bya Jenocide. Izi gahunda zose zafashije mu guhindura umuco w'u Rwanda wo kudahana ukaba umuco wo kubazwa ibyo umuntu yaba yarakoze."*⁵³⁵

⁵²⁹ Mucyo in Villa-Vicencio and Savage, 2001:50-51

⁵³⁰ Constitution of the republic of Rwanda, 2003

⁵³¹ Richters et al., 2005:206)

⁵³² DeBari, 2013

⁵³³ Tiemessen, Alana E. Ibid 2004:(p. 3

⁵³⁴ Amstutz, Mark. Ibid, 2006. (p. 553)

⁵³⁵ Kaufman in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:380

Mu by'ukuri, gahunda zunga u Rwanda rwashyizeho zagize uruhare mu kurandura umuco wo kudahana aho abantu baryojwe ibyo bakoze mu buryo ariko bw'ubutabera bwunga aho kuba ubutabera buhana gusa nk'uko akenshi bikorwa.⁵³⁶

Ubutabera bwunga rero butandukanye n'ubutabera buhana kuko bugaragaza ko guhana gusa bidahagije. N'ubwo igihano ari ngombwa, bigomba gukorwa ariko ku buryo abakoze ibyaha n'ababikorewe bongera kubana basabanye; dufashe nk'urugero, bigakorwa uwakoze icyaha asabwa gusa guha indishyi uwagikorewe. Mu gihe cy'ibyaha, nka Jenocide, ubutabera bwunga bufata Ubwiyunge hagati y'abakoze ibyaha n'ababikorewe, ndetse n'umuryango muri rusange, nk'intego y'ingenzi kuruta izindi.⁵³⁷

Ubutabera bwunga rero bwita cyane cyane ku komora ibikomere uwakorewe icyaha kuruta kwita ku gihano gikarishye cy'uwakoze icyaha. Ubutabera bwunga: (1) bugaragaza agaciro k'uwahohotewe binyuze mu makuru na serivisi ahabwa, (2) bukungurira uwakoze icyaha kubisobanura imbere y'uwo yahemukiye cyangwa umuryango, (3) bushishikariza umuryango wose kugira uruhare mu gusaba uwakoze ibyaha kubisobanura kandi bugashyira imbere kunga impande zombi, bwibanda cyane mu gutuma abakoze ibyaha bemera uruhare rwabo kandi hagamijwe ku bikosora aho kwihutira kureba uburemere bw'igihano bagomba guhabwa, kandi (4) bwemera uruhare rw'umuryango mu byatumye uwakoze icyaha agikora.⁵³⁸

Ubutabera bwunga rero nibwo u Rwanda rwahisemo, atari uko gusa Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge byari ngobwa mu Rwanda, ahubwo ko bwari bwo buryo bwonyine bushoboka. Nkuko byavuzwe haruguru, akenshi ubutabera bw'ibihugu bikize ntibutanga umwanya w'Ubwiyunge; ntibunaha umwanya abaturage ngo baganire mu buryo bwisanzuye, nk'uko Gacaca yabikoze.⁵³⁹ Ahangaha, ubutabera bwunga bwemejwe n'u Rwanda bwumvikana nka:

Inzira umuryango [nyarwanda] ugomba kunyuramo kugira ngo wigobotore ubutegetsu bw'igitugu cyangwa intambara bityo uce ukubiri n'amateka mabi hagamijwe kubaka ubutabera bwunga aho abakoze ibyaha babibazwa bakiyunga n'abo bahemukiye, hanakumirwa ko ikibi cyakongera kubaho.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁶ Clark, 2010:38, 351

⁵³⁷ Clark, 2010:38

⁵³⁸ Umbreit in Blomfield et al., 2003:111

⁵³⁹ Clark, 2010:351; DeBari, 2013

⁵⁴⁰ Fahey, 2013

Nk'urugero, ubutabera bwunga bwazanywe n'Inkiko Gacaca bwerekana neza ko ibisanzwe bimenyerewe byo guhana gusa bitashoboraga kuba igisubizo ku byaha bya Jenocide.⁵⁴¹ Ubundi hashyigikirwaga ko guhana gusa aribyo byari bikwiye ku byaha bya Jenocide. Nyamara Gacaca yagaragaje ko guhana gusa bidakemura ibibazo n'ibyifuzo byose byatewe na Jenocide.

Kwita gusa ku guhana bitera ikibazo gikomeye cyo gutanya abakoze ibyaha n'ababikorewe, bityo amahirwe yo kubunga akayoyoka mu gihe kubunga aribyo byari nyamukuru ku hazaza h'Igihugu. Ni ukuvuga ko guhana gusa, hatabayeho guhuza abahemutse n'abahemukiwe kugira ngo baganire ku kibazo bafitanye hanashakwe umuti, bidashobora kuba umuti w'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye nk'uko Gacaca yabigaragaje. Ibi ni iby'ukuri kuko kugira ngo Ubwiye bugerweho bisaba ko uwahemutse n'uwahemukiwe bahuzwa bakaganira ku buryo ukuri kuja ahagaragara kandi imibanire yabo ikungwa. Ibi biganirwo rero ntibashoboka aho guhana gusa aribyo byimirijwe imbere, mu gihe Gacaca yo yagaragaje ko bishoboka.⁵⁴²

5.4. Ibihamya by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye

Kumenya ukuri ku bibi byakozwe mu gihe cyahise ndetse no kubyemera ni ikintu cy'ingenzi mu butabera bwunga. Kwirengagiza amateka mu by'ukuri ni ugushyigikira kwibagirwa ibyabaye; ariko ibi si ikibazo gusa, ahubwo byaba ari no kwibeshya kuko iyo ibibi byabaye mu mateka bidakosowe bikirengagizwa, byanze bikunze birongerwa bikaba bityo bigateza ibibazo abaturage.⁵⁴³

Gushyiraho amategeko, inzego na gahunda bihamye (nk'uko byagaragajwe mu gicye cya 4) byatumye habaho uburyo bwo kuganira ndetse n'ibikorwa by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye. Ibi biragarazwa n'ibihamya byinshi birimo kuvugisha no kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye, kwemera, kwihana, gusaba imbabazi, ndetse no gutanga imbabazi, ari nabyo byatumye habaho imibanire myiza, ubwizerane, no gufashanya kw'abaturage mu komora ibikomere no guharanira ahazaza heza kuri buri wese.⁵⁴⁴ Ni ukuvuga rero ko ibiganirwo byiza ari byo byatumye bimwe mu by'ingenzi bikenewe kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bikorwe, aribyo: kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye, kwemera ibyaha, kwihana, gusaba imbabazi, gutanga imbabazi, ndetse no kwizeza ko ibibi byakozwe bitazongerwa ukundi.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴¹ Clark, 2010:3, 351

⁵⁴² Clark, 2010:351

⁵⁴³ Sarkin in Vill-Vicencio and Savage, 2001:56

⁵⁴⁴ Lederach, 1997:26-27

⁵⁴⁵ Fisher, 2001:28

5.4.1. Kugaragaza Ukuri ku byabaye

Bimwe mu bintu by'ingenzi muri gahunda zo kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bishingiye ku mateka yaranze amakimbirane ndetse n'ayaranze imibanire hagati y'abantu barebwa n'ayo makimbirane. Ibi ntibishingira gusa kubyabaye muri ayo mateka, ahubwo binashingira ku kuntu abantu babibona.⁵⁴⁶ Niyo mpamvu rero kumenya ukuri ku byabaye mu gihe cyahise ari intabwe ikomeye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ari nayo u Rwanda rwahisemo.

Ni ingenzi gushimangira ko 'ukuri' ubwako ari kimwe mu bintu bituma Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bugerwaho.⁵⁴⁷ Kimwe n'ubutabera, ukuri ni ikintu cy'ingenzi cyane mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Kuvuga ukuri bijyana n'ubutabera cyangwa bikabwuzuzwa kugira ngo kwibuka ibibi byabaye bibe ishingiro ry'uko ibyo bibi bitazongera ukundi.⁵⁴⁸ Ukuri, kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye, ndetse n'uburyo ukuri kugomba kugaragazwa ni ikintu kigomba gukorwa buri gihe ahantu hose habaye amakimbirane. Abarokotse ibibi kenshi baba bashaka ukuri kw'abateguye n'abakoze ibyaha, ndetse n'uburyo babikozemo. Bityo rero kumenya ukuri, nyuma y'ikorwa ry'ibibi, biba bijyanye no gusobanukirwa neza ibyabaye.⁵⁴⁹ Nkuko Robert Rotberg abivugaga, 'kugira ngo ibibi byabaye bitazongera kuba, ndetse n'ibikomere byateje byomorwe, ni ngombwa ko abantu basobanukirwa neza ku buryo bwimbitse ibyabaye n'impamvu zabiteye.⁵⁵⁰

Bikunze kwemezwa ko ukuri gushobora kugerwaho binyuze mu nzira zinyuranye.⁵⁵¹ Muri rusange, ndetse akenshi, kugera ku kuri bikunze kuvugwa ko ari akazi gakorwa n'inzego zimenyerewe nka Komisiyo y'Ukuri n'Ubwiyunge cyangwa Inkiko mpuzamahanga—izi zikaba ari inzego zizwi cyane kurusha izindi muri iki gihe. Nyamara, imwe mu nenge y'izi nzego ni uko mu mikorere yazo hatabamo guhuza abahemutse n'abahemukiwe ku buryo banashobora kuganira bityo bakaba banyunga.⁵⁵² Ubushakashatsi muri iki gihe bunagaragaza ko hari n'igihe rwose imikorere y'izi nzego ahubwo ishobora gutera ihungabana ry'impande zombi.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁶ Blomfield et al., (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, p.40

⁵⁴⁷ Blomfield et al., (2003). *Ibid.*, p.14

⁵⁴⁸ Hamber and Wilson (2002:19), In Hinan, (2010). *Ibid.*, p.16

⁵⁴⁹ Clark, 2010:34

⁵⁵⁰ Rotberg, R. (2000). "Truth Commissions and Provision of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation", in Rotberg, R. and Thompson, D. (eds), *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press, p.3. See also in Clark, 2010:34.

⁵⁵¹ Clark, P. (2010). *Ibid.*, p.34

⁵⁵² Freeman and Hayner (2003:137), In Sentama, E. (2009). *Ibid.*, p.45-6

⁵⁵³ Brounéus, 2008 in Sentama, E. (2009). *Ibid.*, p.46

Uburyo u Rwanda rwahisemo mu kunga Abanyarwanda hagamijwe kubaka Ubumwe hagati yabo rero bwaje bukosora iyi nenge yavuzwe haruguru binyuze mu nzego na gahunda nyinshi zo kugaragaza ukuri, bigakorwa abahemutse n'abahemukiwe bahuzwa bakaganira. Nkuko byagaragajwe mu gice cya 4, zimwe muri izi nzego na gahunda ni nka gahunda z'ibiganiro n'abaturage ku nzego zo hasi, ibiganiro ku rwego rw'Igihugu n'abayobozi ndetse n'abavuga rikijyana, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano, Gacaca, Itorero, Ingando, Ubudehe, Umuganda, gahunda yo kwibuka, Ndi Umunyarwanda, n'izindi. Izi ngamba zagize uruhare rukomeye mu guhuza Abanyarwanda no kugaragaza ukuri ku mateka y'u Rwanda n'icyateye amacakubiri yayanze.⁵⁵⁴ Ibi ariko ntibivuze ko ukuri kose kwagaragajwe. Kugera ku kuri ni inzira ndende cyane cyane ko hari abantu bakunda guhitamo kutavugisha ukuri ku mpamvu zabo bwite; yenda bitewe n'ikimwaro, kwirinda kujyanwa mu butabera, cyangwa abantu bagifite ingengabitekerezo y'amacakubiri n'ya Jenocide.

5.4.2. Kwemera icyaha, Gusaba imbabazi no Gutanga imbabazi

*Ubwiyunge ntibuturuka mu kirere. Buza gaho gahoro. Bijyana no kuba hamwe, kwihana, gusaba imbabazi, no kubabarirwa. Birenze kure amagambo—ni ibikorwa.*⁵⁵⁵

Bikunze kuvugwa, ku bijyanye n'iby'ubumenyi mu mibanire y'abantu, ko nyuma y'ibikorwa bibi byakozwe n'abantu benshi, ikintu k'ingenzi mu nzira y'Ubwiyunge ari ibikorwa bijyanye no kwemera ibyaha, guterwa agahinda nabyo, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi, nazo zigatangwa. Ni ukuvuga ko kwemera uruhare umuntu yagize mu bikorwa bibi yakoreye abandi, bijyanye no kugaragaza rwose ko bitazongera kuba, bituma gutanga imbabazi bishoboka bikanoroshya inzira zo kwibuka no gufatanya kubaka ahazaza heza.⁵⁵⁶

Bityo rero, Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge busaba ko habaho uburyo butuma habaho kwemera icyaha no guharanira ahazaza heza. Kwemera icyaha ni ngobwa rwose muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Kumenya ukuri ni kimwe, naho kwemera icyaha bikaba ikindi. Kwemera icyaha binyuze mu kuganira, aho ibyabaye kuri buri wese byumwira, bituma buri wese yumva ahawe agaciro, kandi iyi ni intambwe y'ibanze mu kubaka umuntu no kubaka imibanire ye n'abandi. Ariko nanone, Ubwiyunge bugomba gukorwa butegura ahazaza heza mu buryo bwimakaza ubufatanye⁵⁵⁷ bigaragarira mu magambo yo kwicuza, gusaba imbabazi no kubabarirwa.

⁵⁵⁴ Uvin in IDEA (2003). Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Ikiganiro Clark' yagiranye n'uregwa ibyaha bya Jenocide mu gihe cy'ingando (Clark, 2010:112).

⁵⁵⁶ Sentama, E. (2009). Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Lederach, J.P. (1997). Ibid., p.26-27

Biragaragara ko kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bugerweho bisaba ko, k'uruhande rumwe, abakoze ibyaha babyiyemera ku bushake, bakihana, kandi bakabisabira imbabazi. Ku rundi ruhande, birushaho kuba byiza iyo abakorewe ibyaha bagasabwa imbabazi, bazitanze nabo ku bushake bwabo, hagamiye kongera kubyutsa imibanire myiza. Ubu buryo rero nibwo u Rwanda rwahisemo.

Gahunda n'ingamba bishingiye ahanini ku ruhare rw'abaturage (Inama nkuru ku rwego rw'Igihugu, ibiganiro n'abaturage ku nzego z'ibanze, gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda, Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano, Itorero, Ingando, Gacaca, n'izindi) byatumye Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bahura maze baganira ku bibazo byaranze amateka y'u Rwanda, banarebera hawe icyakorwa ku hazaza heza h'u Rwanda. Ibi rero byatanze umwanya mwiza watumye benshi bemera ibyaha bakoze banabisabira imbababazi, ndetse benshi baranazihabwa. Nkuko byavuzwe haruguru, izi ngamba na gahunda zatumye rwose habaho guhura hagati y'abakoze Jenoside n'abayirokotse kandi zatanze urubuga ku bakoze Jenoside rutari urwo kuvuga ukuri gusa, ahubwo no kwemera ku bushake ibibi bakoze, kwicuza, no kubisabira imbabazi, ku ruhande rumwe, no guhabwa imbabazi n'abarokotse, ku rundi ruhande. Nk'urugero, itegeko rya Gacaca ryari ririmo ingingo zishishikariza abaturage kugira uruhare mu kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye, no gushishikariza abakoze ibyaha kubyemera no kubyicuza.⁵⁵⁸ Urundi rugero ni uko, nyuma yo kunyura mu ngando, abakoze Jenoside bashyizeho amashyirahamwe yo kubaka amahoro ndetse n'amahuriro aho bicurizaga ibibi bakoze kandi bakiyemeza guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.⁵⁵⁹

Muri uru rwego, kubabarira–bitavuze kwibagirwa–bigamije kurenga amarangamutima y'urwango cyangwa gushaka kwihorera ku bakoze ibyaha ahubwo bigakorwa mu buryo bwunga impande zombi, kandi butuma abaturage bibuka ku buryo bwubaka ibyabaye. Uburyo bw'u Rwanda bushingiye ku biganirwa byatumye habaho kwemera ku buryo bufatika kandi mu ruhame ibyaha byakozwe, kandi bufungura umwanya utuma abahemukiye biyunga n'ababahemukiye. Uburyo u Rwanda rwakoresheje rero bwakuyeho impungenge zo gutekereza ko kubabarira byatumye ibyaha byakonzwe byibagirana cyangwa se ko abakoze ibyaha batazahanwa.

⁵⁵⁸ Uvin in IDEA, 2003

⁵⁵⁹ NURC (2002). *2nd Summit of the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda*, Kigali.

5.5. Komoka kw' ibikomere

Komoka kw' ibikomere ni kimwe mu bintu by'ingenzi mu Ubwiyunge no kubaka Ubumwe, cyane cyane ko guhungabana byangiza imibanire. Ikindi kandi ni uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bugomba kurangwa no kurwanya uguhungabana ku barokotse no kubakoze ibyaha, bityo hagashyirwa iherezo ku mibanire mibi.⁵⁶⁰

Komora ibikomere bijyana no gukira ihungabana. Bijyanye n'ingamba iyo ariyo yose, inzira, cyangwa igikorwa gitunganya ubuzima bw'imitekerereze y'umuntu nyuma y'amakimbirane. Ibi kandi bifitanye isano n'ingamba, inzira, cyangwa ibikorwa byose bigamije gusana cyagwa kongera kubaka umuryango w'abantu.⁵⁶¹

Mu Rwanda, biragoye kubasha gupima uburemere bw'ibyangiritse—haba ibintu cyangwa abantu—bitewe n'intambara ndetse na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Amateka mabi yaranze u Rwanda, cyane cyane Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, yagize ingaruka kuri buri munyarwanda wese, haba kugiramo uruhare cyangwa kugirirwa nabi.⁵⁶² Muri icyo gihe kirangwa n'ihungabana, amagambo cyangwa n'ibikorwa byo komora ibikomere bigomba kuba bigari ku buryo bishakira ibisubizo impamvu nyakuri zateye ibibi byakozwe (hanarebwa ingaruka z'uburyo bwose byateje) mu buryo bufasha komora ibikomere abantu batewe n'ibyo bibi banyuzemo.

Mu myaka ya vuba, komora ibikomere byakoreshejwe cyane muri gahunda z'ubutabera bwunga aho komora ibikomere, nyuma y'ikibi, bisaba kureba ku rwego rw'umuntu ku giti cye ndetse no ku rwego rw'igihugu muri rusange.⁵⁶³ Bityo rero, komora ibikomere si ugufasha gusa umuntu runaka ku giti cye, ahubwo binajyana no gusana no kongera kubaka umuryango n'igihugu. Ibi bivuze kongera kubaka ubuzima busanzwe bwa buri muni butuma buri wese yongera kumva afite icyerekezo cy'ubuzima no kubana n'abandi.⁵⁶⁴

Ibi nibyo ubunararibonye bw'u Rwanda bugaragaza, ku bijyanye n'uko u Rwanda rwakemuye ibibazo byatewe n'amateka mabi y'amacakubiri rwanuzemo, binyuze muri gahunda zihuza Abanyarwanda, zibigisha, kandi z'iterambere (Ingero ni nka gahunda ya *Girinka, Umuganda, Ubudehe, Ingando, Itorero, Gacaca, amashyirahamwe n'amakoperative,*

⁵⁶⁰ Galtung, In Clark (2010). Ibid., p.45

⁵⁶¹ Clark, P (2010:45); Blomfield et al., (2003:77). Ibid.

⁵⁶² Pearlman in Clark, P. (2010). Ibid., p.40

⁵⁶³ Clark, P. 2010). Ibid., p.40-1

⁵⁶⁴ Blomfield et al., (2003). Ibid., p.77

amahuriro y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, n'ibindi). Nk'urugero, ukuri kwavuzwe mu gihe cy'Inkiko Gacaca n'andi mahuriro (nk' amkoperative, amashyirahamwe, n'andi) kwatumye ibyabaye byose muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, uwo byabayeho, uwabikoze, aho byakorewe..., byose bijya ku mugaragaro. Ibi rero byatumye ibikomere bya benshi byomoka, cyane cyane abarokotse jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.⁵⁶⁵ Urundi rugero ni ibiganiro mu Ingando byafashije abahoze ari ingabo zihanganye gusabana, aho ibikomere bya buri wese byagiye byomoka ibi byagezweho kubera ko buri wese yabonye umwanya wo kuganira ku mateka yaranze u Rwanda.⁵⁶⁶

5.6. Imibanire myiza n'icyizere byarubatswe

*Byemezwa ahanini ko ahatari icyizere hagati y'abantu, umuryango ntacyo wageraho. Kwizerana mu mibanire bituma habaho guhuza mu guteza imbere imibanire ifatika mu bagize umuryango. Icyizere rero ni ikintu cy'ingenzi mu mibanire myiza kandi kikaba inkingi izindi ngamba z'iterambere zubakiraho. Icyizere gifasha mu gutuma abantu bafatanyaga kugera ku cyerekezo basangiye kandi neza.*⁵⁶⁷

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 irangiye, nta kwizerana kwarangwaga mu banyarwanda, haba hagati yabo ubwabo cyangwa hagati yabo n'inzego z'ubuyobozi; bivuze ko nta mibanire myiza yari ihari. Urebye ibikomere byimbitse n'akababaro byari bihari bitewe n'imiyoborere mibi yari yaracyiyemo Abanyarwanda ibice ikanabyara Jenoside, Abanyarwanda bari baratakaje icyizere bagiriraga inzego z'ubuyobozi. Abanyarwanda kandi bari baratakaje cyane icyizere hagati yabo ku buryo urwikewe n'urwango aribyo byabarangaga. Byari ngobwa rero kongera gushyiraho ibihuza Abanyarwanda bigatuma bongera kubana mu mahoro.

Ubundi 'imibanire myiza' ni ikintu cyakunze kutumvikana neza, akenshi kikanasobanurwa nabi. Nka gahunda y'iterambere, ijambo 'imibanire myiza' ryakoreshejwe cyane mu myaka ya 1990 cyane cyane mu bihugu by'i Burayi no muri Canada hagamijwe ko abantu batandukanye bagombaga kubana kandi bakagira uburenganzira bungana ku byiza byose bihari. Iri jambo kandi ryakoreshejwe muri gahunda z'iterambere, cyane cyane aho Banki y'Isi ifata

⁵⁶⁵ Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission. Impact assessment of health insurance, housing, monthly allowances and other entitlements for disabled ex-combatants, Kigali, report July 2012:28; MIDIMAR, 2014

⁵⁶⁶ Rusagara, Op.Cit.

⁵⁶⁷ Reba Michael R. Welch et. al. "Determinants and Consequences of Social Trust." *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 75, No. 4, November 2005, pp. 453-473.

imibanire myiza nk'ikintu cy'ingenzi cyane mu iterambere ry'ubukungu no kugabanya ubusumbane mu bukungu.⁵⁶⁸ Mu buryo busanzwe, imibanire myiza isobanura "ikintu gituma abantu bomatana." Imibanire myiza irangwa n'amategeko, imyitwarire n'inzego bihabwa imbaraga kugira ngo bibumbatire umuryango uzira ivangura. Ibi bivuzwe bitya kubera ko imibanire myiza n'Ubumwe ari ingezi cyane ku iterambere ry'ubukungu biranga ibihugu bigendera kuri demukarasi n'inzego zubatse neza.⁵⁶⁹

Igisobanuro cy'imibanire myiza cya vuba aha ni uko imibanire myiza ari: "uburyo bw'imibanire mu buryo 'bw'ubuhagarike' n'uburyo bw'ubutambike' bukarangwa n'imyitwarire ndetse n'imigenzereze irimo kwizerana, kumva abantu bari umwe, ndetse n'ubushake bwo gufatanyana." Muri iki gisobanuro, imibanire y'uburyo 'bw'ubuhagarike' ivuga imibanire hagati ya Leta n'abaturage, mu gihe imibanire mu buryo bw'ubutambike' ari iri hagati y'abaturage ubwabo.⁵⁷⁰

Urebye ibi bivuzwe haruguru, biragaragara ko ubwiyongere mu kwizerana mu banyarwanda bituma Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bushoboka cyane.⁵⁷¹ Kwizerana rero ni ikintu cy'ingenzi cyane mumibanire myiza. Ni muri uru rwego u Rwanda rwashyizeho ingamba zikwiriye zijyanye n'imiyoborere myiza, harimo gusangira ubutegetsi (bigaragarira mu ishyirwaho rya leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda) no kwegera abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi, ari nabyo byatumye Leta iba hafi y'abaturage. Ibi kandi bishimangirwa n'itegeko nshinga na gahunda bishingiye k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye, birangajwe imbere n'ishyirwaho ry'urwego rushinzwe Ubumwe n'Ubwiye (Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye). Nk'urugero, icyizere mu Rwanda cyagaruwe binyuze muri gahunda y'amategeko arwanya akanahana imyitwarire iyo ariyo yose yo kwihorera ku byaha bya Jenocide.⁵⁷² Mu gihe cyashize, inzego za politiki zari zishingiye ku miyoborere mibi zari zaracyemo ibice Abanyarwanda. Ariko nyuma ya Jenocide imiyoborere myiza n'inzego zihamye, kandi bigendera ku mategeko byatumye ubu abaturage bafitiye icyizere inzego za politiki, nk'uko bamwe babivugaga muri aya magambo:⁵⁷³

Ubu nizera imitwe ya politiki kubera ko ubu ivuga imvugo imwe [arumvikana mu

⁵⁶⁸ Reba William Easterly, Jo Ritzen, and Michael Woolcock. On 'Good' Politicians and 'Bad' Policies: Social Cohesion, Institutions and Growth. World Bank Policy Research Paper 2448 (September 2000). In NURC, 2008 :26

⁵⁶⁹ Lederach (1997); Ho-Won (2005)

⁵⁷⁰ NURC, 2008:26.

⁵⁷¹ NURC/RRB, 2010; MIDIMAR, 2014:21-22.

⁵⁷² Jha et al., 2004:22

⁵⁷³ Ikiganiro, 2013.

kurwanya amacakubiri); ibi bikaba bitandukanye n'ibyo mu gihe cyahise aho imitwe ya politiki yigishaga ibintu bitandukanye byari bijyanye n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko.

Ubu nizera ubuyobozi bw'iki gihe. Ntibavangura Abanyarwanda; imitwe ya politiki yo mu gihe cyahise yavanguraga Abanyarwanda, ariko ubu imitwe ya politiki ntivangura kandi irubahana; ni byiza kubera ko ari uburyo bwo kubona ahantu ho gutekereza.

Ubushakashatsi k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bwagaragaje ko imiyobore myiza, binyuze mu guha ubushobozi abaturage ku bijyanye na politiki, imibereho myiza n'ubukungu by'u Rwanda, byatumye habaho ugushyira hamwe mu banyarwanda kandi bibunga n'abayobozi babo aribyo byakomeje ukwizerana n'imibanire myiza. icyerekezo 2020 cy'u Rwanda—cyashyizwe, kandi kigishyirwa mubikorwa, binyuze 'mu iterambere kuri bose binyuze muri za gahunda z'ubufatanye nk' *Ubudehe, VUP, Umuganda, Umurenge SACCO, n'izindi*—ni rumwe mu ngero zateje imbere imibanire myiza no kudahaza mu Rwanda.⁵⁷⁴ Izi gahunda zatanze amahirwe yo kongera kugira Ubumwe no kunga Abanyarwanda kuko icyizere n'imibanire myiza byubatswe/byubakwa gahoro gahoro binyuze mu bikorwa nk'ibi by'ubufatanye biteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho kuri buri wese.⁵⁷⁵ Abagenerwabikorwa b'izi gahunda bateje imbere imibanire yabo binyuze mu gusabana bikorerwa mu bikorwa bafatanyirizamo kwiteza imbere mu bukungu.⁵⁷⁶

Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ku mibanire myiza bwagaragaje ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ari bimwe mu byagezweho kubera imibanire mu buryo bw' 'ubuhagarike' n'ubw' 'ubutambike' hagati y'abaturage n'abayobozi.⁵⁷⁷ Ubu bushakashatsi kandi bugaragaza ko icyizere kirimo kugenda cyubakwa mu Banyarwanda, n'ubwo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide igihari ndetse n'ibikomere bitarakira neza kuri bamwe mu banyarwanda, nk'ingaruka z'amacakubiri yaranze amateka y'u Rwanda, by'umwihariko Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Biragaragara rero ko kubaka icyizere n'imibanire myiza bikiri inzira ndende. Cyakora 94% by'ababajijwe bashimye akazi kakozwe na Kimisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu guteza imbere imibanire myiza binyuze mu bikorwa byayo byimakaza umuco wo gukorera hamwe mu kwiteza imbere mu mibereho n'ubukungu, ugufashanya no gusangira amahirwe, ndetse no mu ngendo-shuri. Ibi byakanguye Abanyarwanda bityo bahindura imitekerereze

⁵⁷⁴ Brian, 2012

⁵⁷⁵ Batware, 2012

⁵⁷⁶ Republic of Rwanda, 2007

⁵⁷⁷ Blomfield et al., 2003; NURC, 2010

yabo, by'umwihariko mu kurwanya amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.⁵⁷⁸ Umutekano wabungabunzwe nawo wabaye/ni ikintu cy'ingenzi mu mibanire myiza no kugarura icyizere mu banyarwanda. Amashyirahamwe y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge y'ingabo z'Igihugu (abahoze bahanganye nyuma bakaza guhurizwa hamwe mu rwego rumwe rw'umutekano w'Igihugu–ingabo na polisi by'Igihugu) ni urugero rufatika rw'imibanire myiza yagezweho.⁵⁷⁹

Mu mwaka wa 2004, ubushakashatsi ku nzira yo kwegera ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi abaturage na demukarasi mu Rwanda bwagaragaje ko 78% by'ababajijwe bemeje ko abarokotse Jenoside babanye neza, mu mahoro n'umutuzo, n'abakoze Jenoside bemeye ibyaha kandi bafunguwe.⁵⁸⁰ Ibyavuye mu gipimo cy'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda byo mu mwaka wa 2010 nabyo byerekana intabwe ifatika yatewe mu kubaka imibanire myiza nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 (ababajijwe barenga 92% muri rusange niko bavuze). Nanone ibisubizo byatanzwe bivuga iterambere rifatika ku bijyanye n'imibanire myiza (ababajijwe barenga 80% muri rusange niko bavuze), ndetse n'icyizere hagati y'abahemutse n'abahemukiwe mu gihe cya Jenoside.⁵⁸¹ Aha bamwe mu Banyarwanda babivuga muri aya magambo:

*Abanyarwanda barizerana; habayeho kubabarirana ku mpande zombi; ubu abaturage [bo kumpande zombi] barashyirirana; abaturage babanye neza mu mutuzo nta rwihekwe nkuko byahozeho mbere.*⁵⁸²

*Intabwe nini yaratewe. Abantu babanye mu mutuzo; bashyizwe hamwe binyuze mu mirimo itandukanye nk'ubucuruzi, ubuhinzi, n'iyindi...barafashanya kandi nta rwihekwe hagati yabo.*⁵⁸³

Ubundi bushakashatsi nabwo bugaragaza ko ingamba zatekerejwe n'Abanyarwanda, aho uruhare rw'abaturage ari ingenzi, zagariye icyizere mu banyarwanda ku buryo bugaragara, zinateza imbere imibanire myiza. Nk'urugero Raporo y'Ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'Imiyoborere (RGB)

⁵⁷⁸ NURC (2009). 15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date, October, Kigali, p.20

⁵⁷⁹ Rusagara, Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ NURC/RRB, 2010

⁵⁸¹ Idem.

⁵⁸² NURC (2012). A qualitative study on the *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of 2010: Understanding the Past, Political culture, and Economic security*, Kigali, p.67

⁵⁸³ Idem.

igaragaza ko urugero rw'icyizere cy'abaturage rugera kuri 93%.⁵⁸⁴ Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe n'Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi no Gusesengura iby'Ingamba mu Rwanda (IPAR) nabyo byagaragaje ko icyizere abaturage bafitiye abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze kuri ku rwego rwo hejuru (82,9%), ndetse icyizere bafitiye abayobozi ku nzego nkuru nacyo kikaba kigera kuri 89,8% muri rusange, mu gihe icyizere kuri hagati y'abaturage kuri ku rwego ruhanitse rwa 95%.

Ibi byose, bigaragaza ukuntu gahunda zishingiye ku baturage zagize/zigira uruhare ku cyizere n'imibanire myiza, bihuza n'ibyavumbuwe n'abahanga byagaragaje ko iyo impande zombi (abahemutse n'abahemukiwe) zikorera hamwe kugira ngo zigere ku ntego zihuriyeho—igikorwa gisaba ubufatanye—bivamo ibyiza bifitiye akamaro buri ruhande. Buri ruhande ruba rwizera ko urundi ruzagira uruhare mu mibereho myiza yarwo bitewe n'uko impande zombi ziba ziteze gusangira inyungu cyangwa igihombo bivuye muri ubwo buryo bwo gusenyerera umugozo umwe. Ni ukuvuga rero ko bihatira kugera ku ntego z'ibyo bakora bahuriyeho, aribyo bisaba kugira imyumvire imwe no kugirirana icyizere, bityo bikagira ingaruka nziza ku mibanire yabo. Igikorwa gusa cyo kwizera ko buri ruhande ruzagira uruhare mu mibereho myiza y'urundi n'ikintu cy'ingirakamaro gisana imibanire y'abafitanye amakimbirane.⁵⁸⁵

Icyizere hagati y'impande zombi ni ikintu cy'ingirakamaro kubera ko imitekerereze n'ibikorwa bya muntu bigizwe ku ruhande rumwe n'ibyo aba yiteze kubona. Mu yandi magambo, igihe abantu biyemeje gushyira imbaraga zabo hamwe, baba baganisha ku gukuraho imitekerereze n'imigenzereze mibi bari basanganywe; batangira gukenerana, bityo bagatangira kubaka imibanire mishya myiza ku buryo busenya imibanire mibi bari bafite mbere.⁵⁸⁶ Ibi rero bihuje n'umuco w'u Rwanda, aho Ubumwe, ubufatanye (mu rwego rwo gushyira hamwe, kuzuzanya no gufashanya), ku buryo bwumvwa ko ntamuntu wabaho wenyine nk'ikirwa, byafashwe buri gihe nk'ishingiro ry'umuryango nyarwanda, bukaba ari nabwo buryo buhebuje bwo kubaho no gutera imbere.⁵⁸⁷

Hashingiye ku byavuzwe haruguru, ingigo zikurikira ziravugaga mu ncamake bimwe mu bikorwa byafashije mu guteza imbere icyizere n'imibanire myiza mu banyarwanda.⁵⁸⁸

- Imiyoborere myiza, aho ubuyobozi buteza imbere ukutabogama n'uburenganzira bungana kuri serivisi z'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, harimo: uburezi kuri buri wese,

⁵⁸⁴ Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:351-3

⁵⁸⁵ See Friberg Mats, 2003:19 and Sentama, 2009:169.

⁵⁸⁶ Idem.

⁵⁸⁷ Sentama, 2012.

⁵⁸⁸ NURC (2009). Ibid. p.22-23

umutekano, ubuzima, akazi, n'andi mahirwe y'iterambere, gusaranganya neza umutungo w'Igihugu, n'ibindi;

- Gushyira ahagaragara ukuri ku byabaye mu gihe cya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994. Abakoze ibyaha baragarajwe, aribyo byategeje imbere ihame ryo kuryozwa ibyakozwe na buri muntu kugiti cyeye;
- Ku bijyanye n'ibyaha byo gusahura no kwangiza imitungo mu gihe cya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, bamwe mu babikoze n'ababikorewe bahisemo kumvikana ku cyakorwa aho kwihutira kujya mu nkiko;
- Ahenshi, abarokotse Jenocide n'abayikoze bafunguwe, cyangwa abo mu miryango y'abakoze Jenocide, bakorera hamwe mu makoperative cyangwa amashyirahamwe bishingiye ubwabo hagamiywe gufatanya mu kurwanya ubukene; ibi bikaba byarabaye uburyo bwiza bwo gusana imibanire yabo yari yarasenyutse, hubakwa imishya myiza;
- Gufasha abarokotse jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 ni igikorwa cyabaye kigirwamo uruhare n'umuryango nyarwanda kandi akenshi bigakorwa ku bushake aho n'abakoze Jenocide barekuwe baba barimo;
- Bamwe mu bakoze Jenocide bemeye/bemera ku bushake bwabo gukorera hamwe ngo bafashe abarokotse Jenocide cyane cyane bubakira abo amazu yasenye mu gihe cya Jenocide;
- Umubare munini w'ibigo by'imali byaravutse mu Rwanda (urugero rw'Umurenge SACCO) kandi bikorera Abanyarwanda bose nta vangura iryo ariyo ryose;
- Abahanzi benshi, n'amatorero ndangamuco, bakoze indirimbo zigamije gukangurira Abanyarwanda iby' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- U Rwanda rwasubiye ku muco w'ubucuti n'urukundo urangwa no 'guhana inka' kugira ngo bateze imbere imibereho myiza ya buri wese, bityo banateze imbere imibanire myiza hagati yabo;
- Urubiruko muri za kaminuza, amashuri yisumbuye, ndetse n'urutari mu mashuri ruhurira hamwe ku bushake rugakora amahuriro y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge nk'uburyo bwo gukangurira bagenzi babo iyo ntego y'imena;
- Guteza imbere uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo ni ikindi gikorwa cyateje imbere imibanire myiza mu Rwanda kuko ubusumbane hagati y'abagore n'abagabo bwabagaho mbere bwakuweho.

5.7. Isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye no kwihesha agaciro byarubatswe

*Ni inshingano yacu kubaka u Rwanda rushya kandi buri wese agomba kubigiramo uruhare.*⁵⁸⁹

Kugira ngo Jenoside cyangwa ikindi cyaha kibasiye inyoko muntu bibe, nkuko byagenze mu Rwanda, hagomba kubanza kubaho guseniyuka k'ubumuntu n'agaciro k'ikiremwa muntu. Amateka mabi y'amacakubiri yaranze u Rwanda yashenye Ubumwe n'agaciro by'Abanyarwanda, bityo isano bafitanye nk'Abanyarwanda irasenyuka. Nk'urugero, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ikirangira, kwitwa 'Umunyarwanda' byasaga nk'aho ari igitutsi cyane kuko byumvaga nko kuba umwicanyi.⁵⁹⁰

Kongerera kubaka isano Abanyarwanda bafitanye (Ubunyarwanda), ubushake bwa politike bwagaragariye mu gushyiraho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ibi byabaye umusingi wo gushyiraho gahunda no gufata ingamba nyarwanda hagamijwe kwimakaza indangaciro za kimuntu, ukudaheza, n'agaciro ku banyarwanda. Inama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano na gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda, ni zimwe mu ngamba z'ingenzi zafashwe muri uru rwego. Uretse ibi, ubufasha bw'umwihariko ku bakene, abatishoboye n'ababana n'ubumuga, binyuze mu ngamba zinyuranye (nka Girinka, Umuganda, VUP...) bigaragaza nabyo uko u Rwanda ruteza imbere imibanire myiza mu baturage barwo bose.

Uburyo Itegeko Nshinga ryashyizweho (2003), aho abaturage bose bagizemo uruhare, nabwo bwateje imbere ukwigira mu banyarwanda. Abanyarwanda bumvise neza ko itegeko nshinga ari igikorwa cyabo kandi bazi neza amahirwe basangiye yo kugira Igihugu kimwe, ururimi n'umuco bimwe, n'amateka maremare basangiye banavomamo indangagaciro zigomba kuba ishingiro ry'icyerekezo cyabo kimwe cy'uko bagomba kubaho.

Na none, ingamba z'imibereho, umuco n'uburezi, cyane cyane izimakaza ubufatanye (zishinze imizi mu muco wo hambere wo gukorera hamwe) zagize uruhare mu guteza imbere ubufatanye, kandi zitiza umurindi agaciro ko gushyira hamwe no kwimakaza isano Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho (Ubunyarwanda). Izi ngamba zanateje imbere gukunda Igihugu no kugira uruhare mu bikorwa biteza imbere igihugu (cyane cyane uruhare rw'urubiryuko), imibanire myiza, no kumva umuntu afite inshingano n'urukundo ku gihugu cye.

⁵⁸⁹ Nyakubahwa, Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, mu nama y'abaminisitiri, Ugushyingo 8, 2013.

⁵⁹⁰ NURC (2009). Ibid.

Nk'urugero, uburere mboneragihugu ku banyarwanda bose (binyuze mu Itorero n'Ingando) bwashimangiye isano bafitanye (Ubunyarwanda) n'ubufatanye hagati yabo, bityo bituma bumva neza ko bagomba kwigira no kugena ubwabo ahazaza habo. Gahunda nk'Imihigo n'Ubudehe nazo zimakaje isano y'ubwenegihugu Abanyarwanda basangiye no gukunda Igihugu, zinashimangira kwihesha agaciro no kwitanga bagomba kugira mu kwikemurira ibibazo by'Igihugu cyabo.⁵⁹¹ Umushakashatsi, Ensign, yagaragaje icyizere afitiye izi gahunda igihe yanzuraga ubushakashatsi bwe (2014) kuri gahunda z'Ubudehe n'Ingando. Yaragize ati: *"Binyuze mu Budehe n'Ingando, iterambere ririhutishwa kandi abaturage, by'umwihariko, bigenera ahazaza habo. Inzego z'ibanze z'imiyoborere zihari kandi zishishikariza zikanoroshya ubufatanye ku neza ya bose."*⁵⁹²

Igipimo cy'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda cyo mu mwaka wa 2010 nacyo cyagaragaje ko 72% by'Abanyarwanda bishimira kumva bitwa Abanyarwanda kandi ko basangiye indangagaciro. Nanone, 70% by'Abanyarwanda bavuze ko bashaka ko abana babo biyumvamo Ubunyarwanda, mbere y'ibindi byose. Ku bw'ibyo, imbaraga mu nzira y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda zahinduye uburyo Abanyarwanda bibonamo, kuko kwimakaza icyo Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho, kurusha kugendera ku moko, nibyo byagaruye amahoro.⁵⁹³ Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byamuritswe mu Nama y'Igihugu y'Umushyikirano (Tariki ya 15-16 Ukuboza 2011) yari ifite insanganyamatsiko igira iti: *"Duharanire agaciro kacu, kandi dufatanyije tugere ku iterambere ryihuse"* nabyo byerekanye ko 91% by'Abanyarwanda batewe ishema mbere ya byose ryo kuba Abanyarwanda.⁵⁹⁴ Kuba ubu Abanyarwanda bose bafite uburenganzira bungana n'amahirwe angana imbere y'amategeko byateje imbere kumva bafite ishema ry'Igihugu cyabo no kubahana. Ibi nanone byateje imbere igihuza Abanyarwanda (Ubunyarwanda) no kumva buri wese afite aho abarizwa (Ubwenegihugu).⁵⁹⁵

Ubu, u Rwanda rufite amahoro n'umutekano; ni intangarugero mu bwiyunge n'imiyoborere myiza, bikaba bigaragazwa n'umubare w'ibihembo rumaze guhabwa. Agaciro k'u Rwanda kanagaragarira mu cyizere Igihugu gihabwa mu ruhando mpuzamahanga, by'umwihariko mu rwego rwo kugarura amahoro n'umutekano ku isi, aho ingabo na polisi by'u Rwanda byigaragaza nk'ingabo zirangwa n'ubwitonzi no kunoza umurimo, kandi bazi neza inshingano zabo zo kugarura amahoro.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ Niringiye, 2012; Shyaka, 2007.

⁵⁹² Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:356

⁵⁹³ NURC (2012), Rwanda reconciliation barometer, p.59

⁵⁹⁴ Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister. *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December 2011, MINALOC; PRESIREP; RGB; MIJESPOC; NURC;

⁵⁹⁵ NURC (2009). Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ NURC (2009). Ibid..5

5.8. Zimwe mu ngero z'imiryango yimakaje Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

Uburyo Abanyarwanda bagize Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ikintu cyabo bigaragarira muri byinshi harimo imiryango (amashyirahamwe) bitangirije ubwabo. Ibi rero bigaragaza urwego rushimishije rw'imyumvire iri hejuru, kwitanga, n'ubushobozi Abanyarwanda bamaze kugira mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.⁵⁹⁷ Ni muri uru rwego, kuva mu mwaka wa 2010 umuryango *'Unity Club-Intwararunuri*, bafatanyije na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bashyizeho igihembo (Unity Award) ku bantu, imiryango, cyangwa ibigo babaye intangarugero mu kwimakaza Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Dore rero zimwe mu ngero z'imiryango cyangwa amashyirahamwe (ubundi ingero ni nyinshi, haba iz'abikorera, abihaye Imana, abantu ku giti cyabo) yimakaje mu bikorwa byayo gahunda y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

5.8.1. Unity Club -Intwararumuri

Mu rwego rwo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, ihuriro ryitwa *'Unity Club-Intwararumuri'* ryaratangijwe. Iri huriro ryavutse tariki ya 28 Gashyantare 1996. Ryashyizweho n'abagore b'abagize Guverinoma ndetse n'abagore bari muri Guverinoma; aba akaba ari abanyamurwango fatizo, mu gihe abagabo babo bagiyemo ku itariki ya 8 Werurwe 2007 nk'abanyamuryango bo ku rwego rwa kabiri.

Iri huriro ryashyizweho rifite intego yo guteza imbere Ubumwe ndetse no kugira uruhare mu iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho mu Rwanda. Intego yaryo igamije gushyiraho urubuga aho abarigize n'abandi banyarwanda baganira banyemeza kwitanga no gufatanyiriza hamwe gukemura ibibazo by'imibereho kandi bagire uruhare mu iterambere ry'u Rwanda. Intego nyamukuru yaryo ni ugushimangira Ubumwe n'Amahoro nk'ishingiro ry'iterambere rirambye mu Rwanda. Ku bijyanye n'icyerekezo n'ishingano byaryo, intego z'iri huriro ni:⁵⁹⁸

- 1) Kugira uruhare rugaragara mu guteza imbere Ubumwe mu banyarwanda n'iterambere muri rusange;
- 2) Guhuriza hamwe abagize Guverinoma n'abo bashakanye kugira ngo hubakwe u Rwanda rwiza binyuze mu biganiriro;
- 3) Gukomeza guteza imbere ubufatanye no gushyiraho urubuga rw'ibiganiriro mu bwisanzure n'Ubumwe bw'abagize ihuriro;

⁵⁹⁷ Idem. p.26

⁵⁹⁸ Reba: unity-club.org/IMG/pdf/UNITY_CLUB_Introduction_Final_2010.pdf

4) Gukora ubuvugizi ku mibereho myiza n'ubukungu ku bantu batishoboye, cyane cyane impfubyi;

5) Kugira uruhare mu kongerera ubushobozi Abanyarwandakazi no guteza imbere uburinganire bw'abagore n'abagabo;

6) Guteza imbere ubufatanye n'abafatanyabikorwa mu iterambere.

Riyobowe na Nyakubahwa Jeannette Kagame Madamu wa Perezida wa Repubulika Y'u Rwanda, izi ntego zivunzwe haruguru zagezweho. Nk'urugero, imiryango itishoboye yakorewe ubuvugizi. Ku bijyanye n'uburenganzira bw'abana, abana b'impfubyi 387 bakorewe amahugurwa ku ikoranabuhanga ku buntu, kandi amahuriro y'abagore yashyizweho.⁵⁹⁹

Ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ihuriro 'Unity Club-Intwararumuri' ryahaye/riha abarigize umwanya mwiza wo guteza imbere imibanire myiza hagati y'abarigize no gukorera hamwe hagamijwe iterambere ry'Abanyarwanda. Amahugurwa n'ubukangurambaga ku biganiro no gusangira ubunararibonye, bigamije Ubumwe, byarateguwe kandi bikorwa neza.⁶⁰⁰ Ku bijyanye n'icyerekezo, inshingano n'intego ry'iri huriro, ryateguye amahugurwa n'ibiganiro. Nk'urugero, amahugurwa ya 3, ku bufatanye na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, yari afite insanganyamatsiko igira iti: *"Uruhare rw'abayobozi mu kumenyekanisha umuco wo kumvikana n'ukuri binyuze mu nzego zose z'Igihugu, hagamijwe kunga Abanyarwanda no guteza imbere imibanire yabo"* Muri aya mahugurwa, hanatanzwe umwanya ku bahanzi n'abanyamakuru b'Abanyarwanda, mu mushinga wiswe: *"iminsi 100", "ibirangirire 100" "ubutumwa 100"*. Aba bahanzi n'abanyamakuru bakoresheje impano zabo mu kugira uruhare rufatika mu mihango yo gusozza icyunamo cy'amezi atatu kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.⁶⁰¹

Uko bigaragara, abagize ihuriro Unity Club-Intwararumuri bagaragaje ko biyemeje kuba akabarore mu Bumwe. Kuba barageze ku ntego zabo babaye ku isonga mu kugira uruhare rugaragara mu kubaka Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, uherye ku bagize ihuriro ukagera no ku buyobozi bwose, ndetse n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange. Ni muri urwo rwego igihembo cyambere cy'Ubumwe "Unit Award" (2010) cyahawe Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, kubera yabaye ku isonga mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

⁵⁹⁹ Reba: unity-club.org, Idem.

⁶⁰⁰ Idem.

⁶⁰¹ Unity Club *Intwararumuri* (2010). *Annual activity report*, Kigali.

5.8.2. Ishyirahamwe Ubutwari Bwo Kubaho

Ishyirahanwe Ubutwari Bwo Kubaho ni urundi rugero rwahawe igihembo cy'Ubumwe ku nshuro ya kabiri, mu mwaka wa 2011. Iri shyirahamwe rifite ibikorwa bigamije imibereho n'ubukungu rihereye mu murenge wa Karama, akarere ka Huye, mu ntara y'Amajepfo y'u Rwanda. Ryashyizweho nk'ishyirahamwe mu mwaka w'i 1995 n'abagore barokotse Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi hamwe n'abagore b'abakoze Jenocide.

Nyuma gato ya Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, abagore barokotse Jenocide, benshi ari abapfakazi, babonye ko bakwiye kugerageza kwiteza imbere. Begeranyije umutungo wabo kugira ngo batangire imishinga imwe n'imwe ibyara inyungu (gukora amasabune, guhinga inyanya n'izindi mboga). Abagore b'abakoze Jenocide, bari barasazwe n'ikimwano n'ipfunywe kubera ibikorwa bibi abagabo babo bakoze, bamaze kubona ko abagore barokotse Jenocide bishyize hamwe kandi bibafitiye akamaro nabo bifuje kubasanga kugira ngo nabo bakemure ibibazo by'ubukene n'inzara byari byarabayeho karande mu karere kabo. Ku ikubitiro, abagore barokotse Jenocide babanje gushidikanya kubakira ndetse banabarakariye kuko abagabo ba benshi muri bo aribo bari baramaze imiryango y'abo bagore barokotse. Ariko, kubera uruhare rw'umupadiri, nawe warokotse Jenocide, impande zombi zatangiye guhura, ariko abagore barokotse basabaga mbere na mbere abo bandi kubanza kuvugisha ukuri ku byabayeho mbere y'uko bashobora kwemerwa kujya muri iri shyirahamwe. Barabikoze, kandi imibanire myiza iratangira hagati y'impande zombi ku buryo ubu hari ubufatanye bwiza hagati yabo. Ishyirahamwe ubu ribafitiye akamaro bose.⁶⁰² Aha, Siddal, agira ati: "ubushobozi bwa bariya bagore bwo kujya hamwe no kwiyunga, binyuze mu ishyirahamwe rigamije iterambere, ntawabasha kurondora ukuntu ari ingirakamaro."⁶⁰³ Aha, ubworoherane, ibiganiro no kugaragaza ukuri, ndetse no kubaho no gufasha abandi kubaho, nibyo bigize intego z'iri shyirahamwe.⁶⁰⁴

Uretse guteza imbere imibereho myiza mu by'ubukungu, ibyagezweho n'iri shyirahamwe mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bigaragaza uko ryagize uruhare runini mu mibanire y'abarigize ndetse n'abandi banyarwanda muri rusange. Kuba gusa abagize ishyirahamwe bakorera hamwe ngo biteze imbere byagize uruhare mu mibanire myiza hagati yabo, kuko byatumye habaho gufashanya mu bindi bikorwa bibahuza, nk'ibirori by'ubukwe, n'indi minsi mikuru, kugira uruhare mu kwishyura ubwishingizi mu kwivuzza ku batishoboye, ndetse no gufashanya

⁶⁰² NURC (2004). *The 3rd National Summit report on Unity and Reconciliation*, Kigali, September, p.53;

⁶⁰³ Siddal, Zack (2014). *Association Ubutwari Bwo Kubaho*. Biboneka: wheretherebedragon/association-ubutwari-bwo-kubaho/, Consulted on December, 18, 2014.

⁶⁰⁴ NURC (2004). *Ibid.*, p.54

mu gihe cy'akababaro (urupfu, icyunamo mu kwibuka Jenoside.....). Nanone, ntabwo gusa abagize iri shyirahamwe bakangurira gusa abandi kurigana ahubwo banakangurira abakekwaho gukora Jenoside n'abakoze Jenoside kwemera ibibi bakoze, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi. Ibi byagezweho neza kandi byihutisha iburanisha mu nkiko Gacaca. Abagabo bamwe bahawe imbabazi kandi bagafungurwa nabo basanze abagore babo muri iri ishyirahamwe.

Iri shyirahamwe kandi ryashinze amahuriro abiri y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye y'urubwiruko-ihuriro ry'abanyeshuri bo mu mashuri yisumbuye rizwi kw'izina ry' *"inyange z'ubutwari bwo kubaho"*, n'ihuriro ry'urubwiruko rutabashije kwiga rizwi ku izina rya *"urumuri rw'ubutwari bwo kubaho"*.

Ubu, ishyirahamwe rigizwe n'abanyamuryango 1.758 (abagore 1700 n'abagabo 58), bafite ibikorwa byaguwe bikagera no mu karere baturanye ka Nyaruguru.⁶⁰⁵

5.8.3. Ishyirahamwe Inyenyeri

Ishyirahamwe Inyenyeri ryabonye igihembo cya 3 cy'Ubumwe (Unit Award) mu mwaka wa 2012, kubera uruhare rwaryo mu guteza imbere Ubumwe mu Banyarwanda. Ryashinze mu kwezi kwa Nyakanga 1994 nyuma gato ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, rivukira mu cyahoze ari akarere ka Mutura, ubu akaba ari akarere ka Rubavu, mu ntara y'Iburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda. Iri shyirahamwe ryatangijwe n'abarokotse Jenoside ndetse na bamwe mu basheshe akanguhe bo ku mpande ebyiri—uruhande rw'abarokotse Jenoside, n'uruhande rw'abantu bahishe cyangwa batabaye Abatutsi mu gihe cya Jenoside. Intego y'iri shyirahamwe ni iyo kubaka umuco w'amahoro hagati y'abarokotse Jenoside n'abakoze Jenoside. Ibikorwa by'iri shyirahamwe bishingiye ku ndangagaciro nyarwanda z'amahoro (ubunyangamugayo, ubudahemuka, ubworoherane, ibiganiro, Ubwiye...). Ishyirahamwe ubu rigizwe n'abantu 45 harimo abarokotse Jenoside, abakoze Jenoside, impunzi zatahutse, ndetse na bamwe mu bagize imiryango yabo. Ibikorwa by'ingenzi iri shyirahamwe ryagezeho birimo:

- Gushishikariza impunzi, cyane cyane iziri mu mashyamba ya Congo, gutahuka mu Rwanda, no kubizeza kwakirwa neza no gusubizwa mu buzima busazwe, aho banasubizwa imitungo basize;
- Gufatanyana n'abahungutse mu kurwanya abacengezi, bashakaga gukomeza ibikorwa byabo bya Jenoside;

⁶⁰⁵ Siddal, Zack (2014). Ibid.

- Gukangurira abaturage muri rusange uk'ukuntu ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ari mbi by'umwihariko ku bantu, imiryango, no ku gihugu;
- Gukangurira abaturage kuvugisha ukuri mu gihe cy'Inkiko Gacaca;

Ibyagezweho n'iri shyirahamwe birimo guteza imbere imibanire myiza hagati y'abarigize (urugero rwo guhana inka) no mu baturanyi, kwihutisha gahunda y'Inkiko Gacaca, gutuma abakoze Jenoside bihana, kuvugisha ukuri, kwihana no gusaba imbabazi, ndetse no gufasha abatishoboye, harimo n'abarokotse Jenoside. Kubera ibi, abarokotse Jenoside bababariye abayikoze kugera ku rwego rwo kureka kubaka indishyi ku mitungo yangijwe n'abakoze Jenoside ifite agaciro kagera ku mafaranga y'u Rwanda 99.425.600.

Mu rwego rwo kubona amafaranga, hagamijwe Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, iri shyirahamwe ryashyizeho amakoperative abiri yo guhinga ibirayi ariyo: *Dusugire n'Impuhwe*.

Abayobozi b'inzeho z'ibanze bemeza ko imibanire myiza igaragara mu bagize ishyirahamwe Inyenyeri yagabanyije amakimbirane mu baturage kandi iba urubuga rw'intangarugero ku bandi baturage. Iri shyirahamwe ubu ritanga amahugurwa ku banyeshuri ku muco w'amahoro no ku bubi bw'amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.

5.8.4. Ishyirahamwe Imyumvire Myiza

Urundi rugero rwiza rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ni ishyirahamwe ryitwa *Imyumvire myiza* ryo mu Karere ka Ngororero ryahawe igihembo cya 4 cy'Ubumwe (Unity Award) mu mwaka wa 2013. Akarere ka Ngororero kari gafite umwihariko w'ibikorwa by'amacakubiri na Jenoside kubera ko aha ari ahantu Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yageragerejwe kandi ishyirwa mu bikorwa. Ngororero kandi ni akarere kazwi kuba karacuriwemo umugambi wa Jenoside, ari naho benshi mu bateguye bakanakora Jenoside bakomoka, akaba ari naho hazwi kuba harabaye indiri y'abacengezi bari bafite umugambi wo gukomeza gukora Jenoside. Ishyirahamwe Imyumvire myiza rigizwe n'abarokotse Jenoside, abantu banze kwifatanya n'abacengezi, abasezerewe mu ngabo, abakoze Jenoside bemeye icyaha bagafungurwa bamaze kurangiza igihano cyabo, ndetse n'abandi baturage basigaye batari muri ibi byiciro.⁶⁰⁶

Ibyagezweho n'iri shyirahamwe, ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, bigaragaza ko: (1) abarigize bakanguriye/bakangurira abandi banyarwanda kuvugisha ukuri; aho byanagize akamaro mu gihe cy'imanza muri Gacaca; (2) abagize ishyirahamwe bakoze Jenoside

⁶⁰⁶ NURC (2014). *Raporo y'ibikorwa bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge*: Nyakanga 2013-Kamena 2014. 'Ndi Umunyarwanda', Nzeri, Kigali, p.114.

bakanguriye/bakangurira abakoze Jenoside basahuye cyangwa bangije imitungo y'abarokotse gutanga indishyi; (3) abagize ishyirahamwe bakoze Jenoside bakanguriye/bakangurira abakoze Jenoside bakiri mu magereza kwemera ibibi bakoze no kwihana; (4) abagize ishyirahamwe bakanguriye/bakangurira imiryango ikiri mu buhungiro, harimo abafashweho ingwate n'abakoze Jenoside, gukora ibishoboka byose bagataha mu gihugu cyabo; (5) abagize ishyirahamwe basura kandi bakunga imiryango ifitanye amakimbirane; (6) abagize ishyirahamwe batunganyije kandi batanga ibiganiro ku baturage bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge; (7) abagize ishyirahamwe bakanguriye abaturage gukomeza kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, kandi banafasha abarokotse; (8) abagize ishyirahamwe banafashije impfubyi, abapfakazi n'abatishoboye muri rusange mu bikorwa binyuranye, nko kububakira amazu, kwishyura amafaranga y'ishuri y'abana, n'ibindi.⁶⁰⁷ Umwe mu banyuzwe n'ibikorwa by'iri shyirahamwe, ndetse n'ubarokotse Jenoside barivuzeho ibi bikurikira:

*Abantu batekerezaga ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge butashobokaga ubu nibo babuteza imbere. Bamwe muri bo ni abarokotse mu gihe abandi ari abakoze Jenoside. Ubu barakorera hamwe muri iryo shyirahamwe. Ni ingenzi gukorera hamwe kuko abantu bateza imbere imibereho yabo bafatanyije.*⁶⁰⁸

*Binyuze muri iri shyirahamwe ukuri kwadutuye umutwari twari dufite kuva mu ugihe cya Jenoside. Rifite akamaro kubera ko ryatumye tujya hamwe, tumenya ukuri, bityo tubasha kongera kubana.*⁶⁰⁹

5.8.5. Ishyirahamwe Twuzuzanye

Twuzuzanye ni ishyirahamwe riri mu murenge wa Rilima, akarere ka Bugesera mu ntara y'Iburasirazuba y'u Rwanda, rikaba ryarabonye igihembo cy'Ubumwe ku nshuro ya 5 (Unity Award) ku itariki ya 8 Ugushyngiro, 2014. Iri shyirahamwe rigizwe n'abarokotse Jenoside ndetse n'abakoze Jenoside, hamwe n'abagize imiryango yabo. Ku bijyanye n'ibyagezweho mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, umuyobozi wa Twuzuzanye yaragize ati:

Ubugubu tubanye mu mahoro n'abaduhemukiye [abakoze Jenoside]; tuba hamwe; muri ikigihe turanashyirirana. Mu ishyirahamwe ryacu, buri munyamuryango yumvise akamaro k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ntabwo dufite Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu

⁶⁰⁷ NURC (2014). Ibid., p.114.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibiganiro n'umuturage, 2014.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibiganiro n'umuturage, 2014.

magambo; ahubwo dufite ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi dukorera hamwe, kandi nyuma yo guhinga, twicara hamwe, tukaganira ku mateka mabi twanyuzemo kugira ngo ibibi byabaye bitazongera kubaho ukundi.

Iyi miryango imaze kuvugwa haruguru yafashwe nk'indashyikirwa ari nayo mpamvu yahawe igihembo kubera uruhare rwayo rugaragara mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ariko, mu Rwanda hari izindi ngero nyinshi z'imiryango cyangwa abantu babaye indashyikirwa mu guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge tutabashije kurondora (abantu ku giti cyabo, imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, amadini, itangazamakuru, amashyirahamwe, amakoperative, amahuriro, imbuga, ibigo by'ubushakashatsi, n'ibindi). N'ubwo izi nzego zose zitabasha kuvugwaho muri iki gitabo, ni byiza ko zimwe muri zo zivugwa nk'ingero. Aha twavugaga nk'ishyirahamwe Ukuri Kuganze na Komisiyo y'ubutabera n'amahoro ya Paruwasi ya Mushaka.

5.8.6. Ishyirahamwe Ukuri Kuganze

Ishyirahamwe 'Ukuri Kuganze' ryavukiye mu murenge wa Rweru, akarere ka Bugesera (intara y'Uburasirazuba) rishinzwe n'abakoze Jenoside bireze bakemera icyaha bakanagisabira imbabazi baniyemeza kuvugisha ukuri ku byabaye no kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'abayihembera.

Intego nyamukuru y'iri shyirahamwe ni ukugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye mu gihe cya Jenoside. Abagize ishyirahamwe bagerageje guhura n'abarokotse Jenoside kandi banabaha ubufasha. Bimwe mu bikorwa by'ubu bufasha harimo kwerekana ibyobo byajugunywemo imibiri y'abishwe kugira ngo bashyingurwe mu cyubahiro. Bubatse kandi inzu z'abarokotse Jenoside. Binyuze mu gusangira amakuru no kuvugisha ukuri, iri shyirahamwe ryatumye habaho kwemera ibibi byakonzwe, kubyicuza no kubisabira imbabazi, baranazihabwa.

Tariki ya 24 Gashyantare, 2014, ishyirahamwe Ukuri Kuganze ryashyizeho gahunda nshya yitwa 'Agasanduku ko guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge' ikaba ari gahunda ishingiyeye ku biganiriro ku buryo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bwatezwe imbere; ibi bikaba byaratangiranye na gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda. Ubu ishyirahamwe rigizwe n'abanyamuryango 846 bo mu byiciro bitandukanye: abakoze Jenoside bafunguwe, abarokotse Jenoside, imiryango y'abakoze Jenoside, n'abandi baturage batabarizwa muri ibi byiciro.

5.8.7. Komisiyo y'Ubutabera n'Amahoro ya Paruwasi ya Mushaka

Paruwasi ya Mushaka yashinzwe mu mwaka wa 1963 nka Paruwasi yigenga ya Kiliziya Gatulika. Iherereye mu karere ka Rusizi mu ntara y'Uburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda. Iyi Paruwasi yagize uruhare runini mu bumwe n'Ubwiyunge binyuze muri Komisiyo yayo y'Ubutabera n'Amahoro. Aha, Paruwasi yashinze urubuga ruhuriza hamwe abarokotse Jenoside n'abakoze Jenoside kugira ngo bagirane ibiganiri byunga. Paruwasi yakoze/ikora ibi ishingiyeye ku magambo matagatifu aboneka muri Bibiliya agira ati: "Ntukareke inabi ikuganza, ahubwo inabi uyiganjishye ineza" (Abanyaroma 12:21). Aha, Padiri Ubald Rugirangoga, umukuru wa Paruwasi ya Mushaka—uri ku isonga ry'iki gitekerezo cy'Ubwiyunge muri kariya gace yagize ati:

Twabigishije dushingiye ku butumwa bwiza bwa Pawulo Mutagatifu, buvuga ko icyiza kigomba gutsinda ikibi. Twakoresheje abantu bake barokoye Abatutsi nk'abahuzwa mu guteza imbere Ubwiyunge.

Ni muri urwo rwego Paruwasi ya Mushaka yatangije na none ibiganiri mpaka n'amasomo bimara amezi atandatu, bitanga urubuga rwo kuvuga ukuri mu buryo buganisha ku kwemera ibyaha, kwihana no gusaba/gutanga imbabazi. Ibi binakorwa buri gihe mu buryo bwomora ibikomere, kubaka ubumuntu, no mu buryo butuma impande zombi zishyira iherezo ku rwikekwe n'uburakari. Kwizihiza ibyagezeweho mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge, binyuze mu buhamya bw'abarokotse n'abakoze Jenoside, nabyo birakorwa.

Uretse inzira y'Ubwiyunge, umuntu k'uwundi, buri tsinda rirangije amahugurwa muri Paruwasi ya Mushaka rikora umushinga w'iterambere aho abahuguwe bakorera hamwe; nk'urugero rwa vuba rw'umushinga w'ubuhinzi bw'imboga. Abarangije amahugurwa bavugaga ko ubu buryo bwabafashije gukira ibikomere no kongera kubana na bagenzi babo; iki kikaba ari ikintu cy'ingirakamaro cyakozwe mu gihugu nk'u Rwanda aho abakoze Jenoside bafunguwe baba bagomba gusubizwa mu buzima busanzwe ngo babane n'abandi.

N'ubwo ibi byose byavuzwe muri iki gice byagezeweho, hari imbogamizi zigihari zibangamiye inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, nk'uko igice gikurikira kibigaragaza.

6. IMBOGAMIZI MU NZIRA Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU RWANDA

*N'ubwo hari byinshi mu bikomeye bimaze kugerwaho [mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda], inzira iracyari ndende kubera amateka maremare y'amacakubiri yaranze amateka y'u Rwanda.*⁶¹⁰

Inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw' Abanyarwanda iracyafite imbogamizi nyinshi, nubwo hari byinshi byagezweho kuva muri 1994, nkuko byagaragajwe mu gice cya 4 n'icya 5. Iki gice kigamije kugaragaza imbogamizi nyamukuru zikibangamiye inzira y' Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw'Abanyarwanda, tutibagiwe ariko ko guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ari inzira itoroshye ndetse ishobora gufata igihe kitari gito.⁶¹¹

6.1. Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide n'amacakubiri

Imbogamizi ya mbere ikibangamiye inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bw'Abanyarwanda, ni ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide n'amacakubiri bigifitwe na benshi.⁶¹² Amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide byigishijwe igihe kirekire mu Rwanda guhera igihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'Abakoloni. Bityo rero, iyi ngengabitekerezo ntishobora kurandurwa mu gihe gito.⁶¹³

Mu Rwanda, nyuma y'imyaka 22, amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide no kuyipfobya/kuyihakana bikomeje kugaragara, haba mu bakuze cyangwa se abakiri bato. Ibi bigaragarira akenshi mu gihe cy'icyunamo aho bamwe mu barokotse Jenocide bicwa, batotezwa, cyangwa se babwirwa amagambo asesereza, ndetse akenshi n'imitungo yabo ikangizwa,⁶¹⁴ ndetse harimo n'invugo zigoreka amateka nyakuri y'u Rwanda.

Mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi, amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide no gupfobya ni imbogamizi ikomeye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye.⁶¹⁵ Ubushakashatsi n'amaraporo bigaragaza ko hakiri amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide no gupfobya, aho abantu bamwe na bamwe bakibiba mu bana babo inzangano zishingiye

⁶¹⁰ NURC (2009). 15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date, October, Kigali, p.24

⁶¹¹ Republic of Rwanda, 2012:82

⁶¹² Medard Rutijanwa, during NURC's 2nd Summit on unity and reconciliation, 2002.

⁶¹³ NURC (2009). 15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date, October, Kigali, p.23

⁶¹⁴ Bizimana, 2014

⁶¹⁵ Shyaka, 2007

ku moko.⁶¹⁶ Aha, amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, n'urwango biracyagaragara ahanini mu bakuze.⁶¹⁷ Nk'uko Charny avuga:

Guhakana ibikorwa bizwi bya Jenoside bigomba gufatwa nk'ibikorwa bibi bigamije kubabaza no gushotora, cyane cyane birwanya abahohotewe, ariko mu by'ukuri birwanya buri kiremwamuntu, kuko uko guhakana biba bishimagira ibikorwa bya Jenoside kandi binakangurira kongera gukora ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi—bikorerwa nanone abahohotewe cyangwa se abandi... Uko guhakana guhohotera kandi kugatesha agaciro abarokotse, abavandimwe b'abishwe, mbese abantu bose barokotse; nta gushidikanya ko bikomeza gusenya ubumuntu, bikanatesha agaciro; kandi nk'uko tubizi, nibyo bituma Jenoside ibaho. Abahakana baba barwanya amahame nshingiro y'iterambere, cyane cyane ukuri, kutabogama, n'ubutabera, kuko bagoreka nkana amateka nyakuri.⁶¹⁸

Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside no kuyihakana na none bikwirakwizwa binyuze mu bitangazamakuru bimwe na bimwe no mu bantu bize, haba mu banyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga, aho benshi muri bo banagize uruhare mu amacakubiri yatandukanije Abanyarwanda no muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994.⁶¹⁹ Abateguye Jenoside bari hanze y'Igihugu baracyakomeza gukwirakwiza amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside no kuyihakana, ndetse n'izindi nyigisho zigamije gutesha agaciro ibikorwa byiza bimaze kugerwaho mu Rwanda, cyane cyane ku bijyanye n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

Ibihugu bimwe na bimwe, ndetse n'imiryango itandukanye, biracyafitanye umubano n'abakoze Jenoside, bityo bagafatanyaga gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside no guhakana. Haracyagaragara kandi imikoranye hagati y'imitwe y'abagizi ba nabi ikorera mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda, abandi bafatanyabikorwa ndetse n'ibihugu bindi bimwe na bimwe. Kuba mu mikorere y'amahanga, cyane cyane Umuryango w'Abibumbye, nta ngamba zifatika zigeze zifatirwa imitwe y'abarwanyi y'Abanyarwanda bakoze Jenoside, kugira ngo bashyikirizwe ubutabera, nabyo bikomeje kuba imbogamizi mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁶ Ikiganiro with Tito Rutaremara when he was an Ombudsman, NURC, 2009:15.

⁶¹⁷ Rwandan Senate, 2009.

⁶¹⁸ Charny avuzwe na Tom Ndahiro : "Genocide-Laundering: Historical Revisionism, Genocide Denial and the Role of the rassemblement Republicain pour La Democratie au Rwanda." In Clark Phil and Kaufman Zachary (2009). *After the genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, New York: Columbia University press, p.123.

⁶¹⁹ Caplan, 2007; Musafiri, 2012

⁶²⁰ Shyaka, 2007:30-31

Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikomeza kandi gukwirakwizwa n'inyigisho mbi za bamwe mu bashakashatsi batangaza amakuru y'ibinyoma anarimo amacakubiri kandi ayobya umuryango mpuzamahanga na rubanda, muri rusange, cyane cyane ku bijyanye n'ingamba z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge n'iterambere zitekererejwe n'Abanyarwanda. Urugero twatanga ni aho Inkiko Gacaca n'Ingando byanenzwe cyane n'ibihugu by' I burayi.⁶²¹ Ibi bitekerezo bitaribyo bivuga ko Ubwiyunge bw'u Rwanda, binyuze mu bisubizo by'Abanyarwanda ubwabo, ari igikoresho cya Leta cyo kugenzura no guhana abaturage kandi ko bifite ingaruka zo guhindura abaturage b'u Rwanda igikoresho cya Leta cyo gushyira mu bikorwa ibitekereze byayo nta ruhare babigizemo. Iyi mvugo ni ikinyoma kuko "Abanyarwanda ni abantu batekereza, kandi bazi uruhare rwabo muri gahunda z'igihugu, ndetse imyitwarire yabo igaragaza ko batakwemera ubutegetsi bw'igitugu."⁶²²

Ivangura n'itotezwa ry'abaturage, bavuga ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda, by'umwihariko Abatutsi baba mu karere (cyane cyane mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari, by'umwihariko muri Repubulika Iharanira Demukarasi ya Congo, aho imitwe yitwaje intwari yakoze Jenoside⁶²³ ikorera), nabyo bifite ingaruka mbi ku nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda kubera abaturage bigeze mu gihe kimwe kuba ari ab'u Rwanda. Aha ariko ntabwo u Rwanda ruvugaga ko rushakaga kubagarura, ahubwo ni ugushimangira ko ivangura n'ihohoterwa bakorerwa, kubera bavugaga ikinyarwanda, ribangamiye Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

6.2. Ibikomere bitarakira neza kubera amacakubiri na Jenoside

*Igihugu ntigishobora guhinduka mu ijoro rimwe, no gukira amacakubiri [ashingiye ku moko] ako kanya, urebye imyaka myinshi yashize yigishwa. Iyo abantu bakoze impanuka, bamwe bararokoka rimwe narimwe batanakomeretse cyangwa bakomeretse byoroheje mu gihe abandi bakomereka bikomeye, abandi bakamugara rimwe na rimwe mu gihe bamwe bamugara burundu, naho abandi bagahita bapfa ako kanya. Izi ngero zose zirahari mu Rwanda; buri wese, mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi, yarahohotewe mu gihe cyahise cyangwa muri Jenoside; rero abantu ntibashobora gukirira rimwe; harimo ndetse abazamugara burundu. Komora ibikomere ni inzira; rero mbere y'uko bashobora gukira burundu, ntibishoboka kubabuza kwanduza abandi; abakiri abarwayi bakeneye rero kwitabwaho.*⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ See Gregory, 2009; Reyntjens, and Stef, 2005

⁶²² Clark, 2014:193

⁶²³ Abavugwa aha ni abarwanyani ba FDLR.

⁶²⁴ Idem.

Ingaruka z'amateka mabi y'amacakubiri, by'umwihariko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, byasize ibikomere bikaze mu banyarwanda. Kuri bamwe mubarokotse Jenoside, ibibi bibuka biri mu mateka y'u Rwanda yagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, byatumye rwose batakaza icyizere ku bakoze Jenoside mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi.⁶²⁵

Uburemere bw'amacakubiri na Jenoside, no kwikanga ko byakongera kuba, biracyari imbogamizi nini k'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ibi bikomere bikiri bibisi binatuma bamwe mu banyarwanda bakomeza kwibona mu ndorerwamo y'amoko.⁶²⁶ Abaturage babajijwe bavuze ko amateka maremare y'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside byashinze, kandi bigishinze, imizi mu mitwe n'imitima ya bamwe bituma hakiri ibikomere bitaromorwa.⁶²⁷ Nk'urugero, bamwe mu bakoze Jenoside binangiye imitima; bamwe baracyafite ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ndetse banga kwemera uruhare rwabo mu byaha bakoze, banga kugaragaza ukuri ku byabaye n'aho imibiri y'abishwe iri, aribyo bitinza gushyingura mu cyubahiro imibiri y'abazize Jenoside.⁶²⁸

6.3. Ikibazo cy'indishyi ku mitungo yasahuwe cyangwa yangijwe

*Hari intambwe yatewe ariko haracyari urugendo rurerure. Ariko kuba abakoze Jenoside batarishyura imitungo yangijwe cyangwa basahuye biracyari imbogamizi. Umuntu washenye inzu agomba kuyishyura!... kandi iyo havutse intoganya kuri ibi, usanga abangije imitungo banga kwemera uruhare rwabo, bityo imizi y'amacakubiri igashibuka kuko izo ntoganya zitera uburakari aribyo bigarura iby'amoko.*⁶²⁹

Nk'uko ubu buhamya bw'umuturage buri haruguru bubigaragaza, imibanire myiza irambye mu Rwanda isaba ko abarokotse bafite imitungo yangijwe cyangwa yasahuwe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 no mu bihe byahise bahabwa indishyi. Nyamara, byagaragaye ko bamwe mu bahamwe n'icyaha basabwa kwishyura imitungo yangijwe, baba badashaka gutanga izo ndishyi, abandi ntibafite imitungo ihagije ihuje n'akarengane bakoreye abandi (imitungo yasahuye/yangijwe), mu gihe abandi banga rwose kubikora nkana.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁵ Mukamana, & Brysiewicz, 2008

⁶²⁶ NURC/RRB, 2010, 2013

⁶²⁷ Ikiganiro n'abaturage, 2012.

⁶²⁸ NURC (2009). 15 Years of Unity and Reconciliation process in Rwanda: The ground covered to-date, October, Kigali, p.24

⁶²⁹ NURC (2012). Ibid. p.59

⁶³⁰ Mucyo, in Villa-Vicencio & Savage, 2001:52.

Akarengane kakozwe, muri rusange, na Leta yateguye ikanakora Jenocide nabyo ni undi mutwari kuri Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Urugero, inguzanyo y'amafaranga yafashwe na Leta yakoze Jenocide mu kugura intwari, amasasu, imihoro, n'ibindi, byakoreshejwe mu gukora Jenocide birimo birishyurwa na Leta iriho ubu.⁶³¹ Ibi ni umutwari wa Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kuko igomba gusana ibyangijwe n'ubutegetsi kwasize bukoze Jenocide. Uko byagenda kose, umuntu wese wangiye/uwasahuye umutwari w'undi atagomba gusa kwemera no kwicuza ku bibi yakoze no kubisabira imbabazi, ahubwo agomba no gutanga indishyi. Kugeza ubu, nta na kimwe muri ibyo bisabwa cyujijwe neza, bikaba ari imwe mu mbogamizi ikomeye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Haracyabura rero ingamba zihamye ku bijyanye no gutanga indishyi z'imitungo yasahuwe cyangwa yangijwe.

6.4. Ubukene—ubusumbane mu mibereho n'ubukungu

*Igihe abaturage badafite ubuzima bwiza, baba mu bukene, biroroshye ko bishora mu bikorwa bibi; akantu gato k'imbarutso karahagije gusa kugira ngo babijyemo kubera ko ubukene butuma abaturage bitana bamwana.*⁶³²

*Kurandura ubukene ni intambara igoye ku gihugu cyaranzwe n'amateka mabi y'amacakubiri nk'u Rwanda. Jenocide n'intambara byashenye ubukungu n'ibikorwa-remezo byari ingenzi mu iterambere ry'ubukungu bw'Igihugu.*⁶³³

Haracyari impaka ku kumenya niba ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n'ubukungu ariyo soko y'amacakubiri, urwango, ivangura na Jenocide byaranze amateka y'u Rwanda.⁶³⁴ Nyamara, kuba ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n'ubukungu, byaragize uruhare, nk'urwitwazo, bibasha kuba iby'ukuri. Kuba rero ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n'ubukungu bikiri ikibazo, ni ukuvuga ko bibangamiye inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Byinshi byarakozwe mu kugabanya ubukene mu Rwanda ariko mu bice by'icyaro ubukene buracyari kuri 48,7% ugereranyije na 22,1% mu bice by'umujyi.⁶³⁵ Ubutaka, aribwo mutwari w'ishingiro w'imibereho y'abaturage benshi bo mu cyaro, bubangamiye n'ubwiyongere

⁶³¹ Rutembesa, 2009

⁶³² NURC (2012). A Ibid, p.64

⁶³³ Musoni Protais (2003). Ibid, p.22.

⁶³⁴ *African Rights (1995). Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance.* Revised edition, London: African Rights, p.15.

⁶³⁵ MINECOFIN (2013). EDPRS 2, Kigali, p.8

ndetse n'ubucucike bw'abaturage, kandi umubare munini w'urubyiruko usaba nibura guhanga imirimo mishya isaga 200.000. Ikibazo aha kandi nu uko abafite imbaraga zo gukora usanga bagifite ubumenyi bucyeye; abikorera ku giti cyabo bazitiwe n'ubucyeye bwabo ndetse no kutagira ibikorwa remezo bihagije bibafasha.⁶³⁶

Ubukungu bw'u Rwanda buracyagendera ahanini ku nkunga z'amahanga.⁶³⁷ Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi byagaragaje ko ubukungu bw'u Rwanda bukizitiwe n'icyuho kigenda cyiyongera hagati y'ibyoherezwa mu mahanga n'ibitumizwayo bitewe n'imitekerereze ikiri hasi ku banyarwanda benshi yo guha agaciro kanini ibyo hanze, aho bahitamo gukoresha ibitumijwe hanze bagaha agaciro gacye ibisa na byo bikorerwa mu gihugu.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ Republic of Rwanda/MINECOFIN (2013). EDPRS II-2013-2018, Kigali, p. X.

⁶³⁷ Ensign in Gasanabo, Somin and Ensign, 2014:356

⁶³⁸ Republic of Rwanda, Office of the Prime Minister. *Home Grown Initiatives*. Presentation during the 9th National Dialogue Council, 15-16 December 2011, Presentation prepared MINALOC; PRESIREP; RGB; MIJESPOC; NURC

7. INGAMBA MU GUTEZA IMBERE UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU RWANDA

*Amahoro mu Rwanda azazanwa ahanini n'Abanyarwanda ndetse na gahunda n'icyerekezo bya Leta.*⁶³⁹

*Birashoboka ko tutazabasha kugera kubyo dukeneye byose, ariko nta na rimwe tuzigera dutazuka ku guharanira icyateza Abanyarwanda imbere mu buryo bwose kandi bwiza dushoboye...*⁶⁴⁰

*Intego ni imwe nkambere, ni ugutsinda urugamba...intego ni ukugira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda...Yenda ntibiragerwaho 100% kugeza ubu; nyamara, gahoro gahoro, uko imyaka ihita, bizagerwaho cyane kandi vuba.*⁶⁴¹

Kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, nyuma y'amateka mabi y'amacakubiri yagejeje kuri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri mata 1994, biracyari inzira igoranye ishobora gufata igihe kinini.⁶⁴² Urebye imbogamizi zikibangamiye inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ariko ukanareba na gahunda zashyizweho mu kubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, ingamba zikurikira zikenewe kwitabwaho kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge burushaho kugerwaho neza.

7.1 Gushimangira ingamba ziriho z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

Ugendeye ku byagezweho byiza (reba igice cya 5) mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kubera ingamba zihamye zagaragajwe mu gice cya 4, birakwiye ko izi ngamba zishimangirwa. Ingamba kugeza ubu zakoreshejwe zikanagira uruhare rukomeye mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge zizakomeza rero gushimangirwa, zigishwe, zihabwe ingufu, kandi zandikwe ndetse hanatangwe ibihembo ku bantu n'inzego byabaye indashyikirwa muri iyi nzira. Leta y'u Rwanda yiyemeje gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo impunzi zose z'Abanyarwanda zibishaka zicyurwe mu gihugu kandi ku bushake no mu bwisanzure, kandi zisubizwe mu buzima busanzwe mu mahoro.⁶⁴³

Bityo rero, politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge izakomeza kuba nyambere muri gahunda za Leta no mu bikorwa byayo. Ubutabera, kwibuka, na gahunda ya *Ndi Umunyarwanda* (guteza imbere ubwenegihugu nk'isano y'Abanyarwanda), mu cyerekezo

⁶³⁹ NURC, 2009:26

⁶⁴⁰ H.E. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda

⁶⁴¹ Ikiganiro na Tito Rutaremara Akiri umuyobozi w'urwego rw'umuvunyi (NURC, 2009:15).

⁶⁴² Republic of Rwanda, MINECOFIN, EDPRS II- 2013-2018, Kigali, p.82.

⁶⁴³ Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugees Affairs, Repatriation and Reintegration programs for Rwandan Refugees & an Overview on Socio-Economic Progress in Rwanda, MIDIMAR, 2014:5;

cy'ubufatanye mu banyarwanda mu kwigira, bizakomeza gushyirwamo imbaraga binyuze mu buryo bw'inyigisho n'uruhare rw'abaturage, n'ibiganiro mu buryo bwimakaza imibanire myiza, kwihesha agaciro nu gusenyerera umugozi umwe. Niyo mpamvu guteza imbere Ubunyarwanda na demukarasi, bitibagiranye muri gahunda ya kabiri y'imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene (EDPRS 2), 2013-2018.⁶⁴⁴ Urebye akamaro gakomeye k'ibisubizo byatekerejwe n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo muri gahunda y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Ikigo cy'Igihugu cy'Imiyoborere (RGB) kirateganya gushyiraho 'ikigo nyarwanda' kigamije guha umwanya n'uburyo inzego zinyuranye, zaba iz'Abanyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga zizabasha kuganira zigasangira ubunaribonye bwazo hagamijwe gushakira umuti ibibazo runaka bibangamira Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

7.2. Gukomeza kugira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z'iterambere

U Rwanda rwiyejeje gukomeza kugira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z' iterambere, ndetse no gukomeza gahunda yo kwibuka amateka u Rwanda rwanyuzemo mu buryo bwunga kandi buharanira ko amacakubiri na Jenocide byabaye bitazongera kubaho ukundi mu Rwanda ndetse n'ahandi.

Gukomeza kugira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z' iterambere mu Rwanda, nkuko bigaragarira muri gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene (EDPRS), hakurikizwa icyerekezo 2020, bizakomeza kandi bikorwe neza. Ibi bivuzwe kubera ko muri byo gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene ndetse n'icyerekezo 2020 harimo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge binyuze muguteza imbere imiyoborere myiza no kwegereza ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi abaturage, kubaka icyizere, kugendera ku mategeko, ndetse no guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu, n'imibanire myiza.⁶⁴⁵ Gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene (iya mbere yo kuva mu mwaka wa 2008 kugeza mu mwaka wa 2012, n'iya kabiri, yo kuva mu mwaka wa 2013 kugeza mu wa 2018) zishimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge muri gahunda zose z'iterambere ry'u Rwanda.⁶⁴⁶ Ingamba zishimangirwa muri gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene (2013-2018) zigamije guteza imbere ibiganiro n'abaturage hagamijwe imibanire myiza no kubaka icyizere byasenywe n'amateka mabi na Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994.⁶⁴⁷ Iyi gahunda y'Imbaturabukungu no kugabanya ubukene igaragaza ko Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bidashoboka mu gihe hari amakuru agoreka amateka y'u Rwanda na Jenocide. Aha, imbaraga zizashyirwa mu gushishikariza abanditsi b'Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga kwandika no gutangaza amakuru nyakuri kandi afitiwe

⁶⁴⁴ Republic of Rwanda/MINECOFIN(2012) EDPRS—2013-2018, Kigali

⁶⁴⁵ Republic of Rwanda, 2007, Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Idem.

⁶⁴⁷ Idem.

ibihama ku Rwanda, kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ndetse no ku ngamba nziza zafashwe mu bwiyunge.⁶⁴⁸

7.3. Gukomeza kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'amacakubiri

Imwe mumpamvu zateye Jenoside [yakorewe Abatutsi] mu Rwanda ni umuco wo kudahana, kuko abayobozi batahanirwaga ibyaha babaga bakoze, bityo bikabatiza umurindi wo gukomeza gukora ibibi ari nabyo byahaye urwaho gutsemba abantu no gukora Jenoside.⁶⁴⁹

U Rwanda ntirwatezutse ku ntego yo kurwanya amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'ibiyiranga byose birimo no kuyihakana. Aha, u Rwanda rutsimbaraye ku mahame ari mu Itegeko nshinga (2003), nk'uko ryavuguruwe kugeza ubu, riyemeje kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'ibiyiranga byose, ndetse no kurandura amacakubiri ashingye ku moko, akarere, n'ibindi.⁶⁵⁰ Ingingo ya 9 n'ya 11 z'iri tegekonshinga nazo zishimangira indangagaciro z'u Rwanda zo kubaka Igihugu kizira amacakubiri n'ivangura, Igihugu kirwanya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, kandi ko kutubahiriza izi ndangagaciro bitazabura guhanwa.⁶⁵¹

7.4. Gukemura ikibazo cy'indishyi z' imitungo yangijwe cyangwa yasahuwe

Nkuko byavuzweho mbere, abantu benshi bahamwe n'ibyaha ntibafite umutungo uhagije wariha imitungo bangije cyangwa basahuye. Ariko ikibazo gikomeye ni uko bamwe muri bo batanashaka gutanga izo ndishyi, mu gihe abandi bahakana bagatsemba rwose ko nta ndishyi bazatanga. Nyamara, kugira ngo Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bugerweho, ubutabera ni ingenzi aho abangirijwe cyangwa bagasahurwa imitungo yabo bahabwa indishyi. Amategeko ajyanye n'indishyi agomba rero gushyirwa mu bikorwa uko yakabaye. Ibi bisaba ko habaho raporo isobanutse igaragaza urutonde rw'abahamwe n'ibyaha badashobora kwishyura imitungo bangije/basahuye, ndetse n'urutonde rw'abanze kwishyura. Uburyo bwo gutanga indishyi, atari ukwishyura amafaranga (urugero kubaka inzu zashenywe, n'ibindi...), bugomba nabwo gutekerezwaho. Ikigega cy'indishyi cy'imitungo yangijwe/yasahuwe, aho umuryango mpuzamahanga usabwa gutanga umusanzu nk'indishyi yo kuba waragize uruhare mu buryo bumwe cyangwa ubundi mu macakubiri na Jenoside mu Rwanda, kigomba gushyirwaho kandi kigakorerwa ubuvugizi. Politike isobanutse yo kuriha imitungo yasahuwe cyagwa yangijwe nayo ni ingenzi.

⁶⁴⁸ Idem.

⁶⁴⁹ Kaufman in Gasanabo, Somon and Ensign, 2014:367

⁶⁵⁰ Constitutions of the Republic of Rwanda, as amended to date (2nd preamble), Article 9 and 11, 2003

⁶⁵¹ Republic of Rwanda/MINECOFIN (2012). EDPRS—2013-2018, Kigali, p. 82.

7.5 Kurwanya ubukene—ubusumbane mu mibereho n’ubukungu

*Igihe cyose Abanyarwanda bazaba bakennye, ntibizashoboka ko Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge bwagerwaho ku buryo byubaka Igihugu. Iki ni ikintu gikomereye tugomba kuzirikana kugira ngo Abanyarwanda babane mu mahoro, buzuzanya, bubahana, bahuriza imbaraga zabo mu bikorwa bigamije guteza imbere imibereho yabo bwite ndetse n’imibereho y’Igihugu.*⁶⁵²

Hari isano ya hafi hagati yo kurwanya ubukene, cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n’ubukungu, no kubaka Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Isenyuka ry’imiryango, n’umuco, no kubaho kw’amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko, byagize uruhare rukomeye mu guteza ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n’ubukungu mu Rwanda. Hari ibimenyetso mu mateka y’u Rwanda ko ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n’ubukungu byabaye urwitwazo n’ingaruka y’imibanire mibi no kubura ubwumvikane.⁶⁵³ Nkuko umuturage umwe yabivuze:

*Ubukene bw’abaturage bwabashoye mu kumvira inyigisho z’abayobozi babi, ariyo mpamvu bemeye inyigisho zihembera urwango; kumva gusa ko kwica abaturanyi babo bituma basahura imitungo yabo; ibi byabaye imbarutso y’uko kumvira batazuyaje.*⁶⁵⁴

Kubaka Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda bigomba rero kujyana n’ingamba zo kurwanya ubukene cyangwa ubusumbane mu mibereho n’ubukungu.⁶⁵⁵ Niyo mpamvu rero ingamba zo kurwanya ubukene, n’izindi mbogamizi mu mibereho n’ubukungu, u Rwanda ruzishyira imbere, by’umwihariko mu bice by’icyaro, bijyanye n’itege nyamukuru yo ‘kwigira’ zibanda by’umwihariko ku ngingo enye z’ingenzi ziri muri gahunda y’imbaturabukungu no kurwanya ubukene (2013-2018)⁶⁵⁶:

1. Kuzahura ubukungu: kwihutisha iterambere mu bukungu binyuze mu kongera serivisi n’inganda. Umugambi ni ukuva mu bukungu bushingiyeye kubuhinzi ujya mu bukungu bushingiyeye ku bumenyi, aho nibura iterambere ry’ubukungu rya buri mwaka rigera kuri 11,5% (impuzandengo).
2. Iterambere ry’icyaro ku buryo ubukene bugabanuka buva kuri 44.9% bukajya hasi

⁶⁵² Nyakubahwa, Paul Kagame, Perezida wa Repubulika y’u Rwanda (NURC review magazine, 2009:7).

⁶⁵³ Donald Kaberuka, Minisitiri w’Ubukungu n’Iterambere, mu nama ya kabiri y’Igihugu, 2002.

⁶⁵⁴ NURC (2012). A qualitative study on the *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of 2010: Understanding the Past, Political culture, and Economic security*, Kigali, p.48

⁶⁵⁵ Donald Kaberuka, Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Republic of Rwanda/MINECOFIN(2012). EDPRES—2013-2018, Kigali, p. x-xiii.

ya 39% mu mwaka wa 2018 binyuze mukongera umusaruro w'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi.

3. Kongera umusaruro no kubonera imirimo urubyiruko kugira ngo habeho iterambere mu by'ubukungu n'iterambere ry'icyaro bishyigikiwe n'ubumenyi nyabwo n'imirimo itanga umusaruro, cyane cyane ku rubyiriko rurimo kwiyoungera. Intego nyamukuru ni uguhanga imirimo nibura igera ku 200.000 buri mwaka. Uburyo bune nibwo buzakoreshwa:

✓ *Guteza imbere ubumenyi*: gusubiramo no kongera gukora gahunda z'amasomo mu burezi, gushyira imbaraga mu myigishirize n'amahugurwa y'ubumenyigiro, guteza imbere kwiga gusoma no kwandika ku bakuze, kwihangira imirimo k'urubyiruko, amahugurwa yo mu kazi, n'ibindi. Imyigishirize n'amahugurwa y'ubumenyigiro bizatuma urubyiruko rudafite akazi rugira ubumenyi butuma rubona akazi kabyara umusaruro. Biha kandi abari mu mirimo amahirwe yo kongera ubumenyi bwabo, harimo ba rwiyezamirimo n'abandi bese bashaka kwikorera kugiti cyabo.⁶⁵⁷

✓ *Guteza imbere ikoranabuhanga*: kongera ubumenyi mu ikoranabuhanga n'itererekanyamakuru no guhanga udushya.

✓ *Gushishikariza abantu kwihangira imirimo no guteza imbere ubucuruzi*: kongera imirimo idashingiye ku buhinzi, no kurema imirimo mishya biyobowe n'urwego rw'abikorera ku giti cyabo.

✓ *Ubufasha ku isoko ry'umurimo*: kuzamura imikorere y'isoko ry'umurimo binyuze muri serivisi y'umurimo n'ibigo by'ubujyanama ku murimo.

4. Imiyoborere myiza: Kunoza imitangire ya serivisi muri rusange no gutuma abaturage bishimira serivisi bahabwa ku kigero kiri hejuru ya 80%. Iyi ngingo na none yibanda ku ruhare rw'abaturage nk'inzira yo gutuma ibintu babigira ibyabo no kwigenzura kugira ngo habeho imikorere igera ku ntego, idahenze kandi irambye.

5. Kudacikanwa n'amahirwe y'uko u Rwanda ruri mu muryango w'Afurika y'Iburasirazuba, n'uko hari isoko ryagutse rigera mu karere no kw'isi, aribyo bishobora gutuma habaho ikemuka ry'ibibazo bikomeye by' isoko rito, ndetse no kuba u Rwanda rudakora ku nyanja.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁷ Mineduc (2013). Education Strategic Yearbook, Kigali

⁶⁵⁸ UNICEF (2013). Rwanda: Common country programme document 2013-2018. 21 June 2013, Biboneka: http://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/2013-RWA1-Rwanda_CCPD-final_approved-English.pdf

8. UMWANZURO

“Twavuye kure; twagenze urugendo rurerure; ariko inzira iracyari ndende. Nyamara ibyo twagezeho bidutera imbaraga kandi bigatuma twizera ko tuzagera aho twifuza kugera.”⁶⁵⁹

“Ntidushobora gusubiza ibihe inyuma kandi ntidushobora gusibanganya ibibi byabaye, ariko dufite ububasha bwo kugena ahazaza no kwizeza ko ibyabaye bitazongerera kubaho ukundi.”⁶⁶⁰

Intego y’iki gitabo yari iyo gusubiza ikibazo kirebana n’ukuntu umuryango wasenyutse, bitewe n’amateka mabi y’amacakubiri, wakongera kwiyubaka ku buryo Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge bugerwaho. Igitabo gisubiza iki kibazo kigendeye kubyo u Rwanda rwanyuzemo n’uburyo rwabyitwayemo. Igitabo gitangira kigaragaza uko mbere y’ubukoloni u Rwanda rwari Igihugu cyunze Ubumwe bwaje gusenye na politiki mbi y’Abakoloni ya ‘mbacemo ibice kugirango mbayobore’ yashyigikiwe na Leta ebyiri za nyuma y’ubwigenge aribyo byabyaye Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 yahagaritswe n’intambara yo kubohora u Rwanda yatangiye na FPR. Leta shya ya nyuma ya Jenocide (Leta y’Ubumwe bw’Abanyarwanda), iyobowe na FPR, yatangiye urugamba rukomeye rwo kongera kubaka u Rwanda nk’Igihugu cyiyunze kandi gifite Ubumwe,⁶⁶¹ bikaba byaragezweho mu gihe benshi batekerezagako bidashoboka, n’ubwo inzira ikiri ndende.

Igitabo kigaragaza rero umwihariko w’u Rwanda mu nzira y’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge, aho ingamba nyinshi zishingiye ku mucu n’ubufatanye bw’Abanyarwanda zakoreshejwe. Nk’urugero, ntahandi byabaye, uretse mu Rwanda, aho abaturage ubwabo (FPR) bahagurutse bagahagarika Jenocide n’ihohoterwa ry’uburenganzira bw’ikiremamuntu, mu gihe amahanga n’umuryango mpuzamahanga bari babinaniwe. Nanone u Rwanda ni kimwe mu bihugu byagize umubare munini w’impunzi (zirenga miliyoni 5), aho Leta n’abaturage ubwabo babashije kuzicyura, kuzituzza, no kuzisubiza mu buzima busanzwe mu gihe gito (kiri muni y’imyaka 2), kandi bagashyira iherezo ku guhatirwa kuba impunzi. Urundi rugero ni uko nta hantu na hamwe, uretse mu Rwanda, aho ingabo zahoze zihanganye zahujwe kugira ngo zikore umutwe umwe w’ingabo bikozwe na Leta n’abaturage ubwabo nta nkunga yo hanze cyangwa umuhuza. Ubu buryo rero butandukanye cyane n’ubusanzwe bukoreshwa ahandi aho kubaka amahoro bikorwa ingabo zatsinzwe zamburwa intwari n’abandi bantu, cyangwa uburyo bwo gusezerera gusa

⁶⁵⁹ Nyakubahwa, Paul KAGAME, Perezida wa Repubulika y’u Rwanda (Reba Charles Muligande, 2012)

⁶⁶⁰ Nyakubahwa, Paul KAGAME, Perezida wa Repubulika y’u Rwanda.

⁶⁶¹ Obura, 2003:85.

ingabo zatsinzwe nta kuzihuzwa n'izindi, cyangwa uburyo bwo guhuza ingabo ariko hifashishijwe umuhuza.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Mata 1994, inzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda yatekerejwe kandi itangirwa n'Abanyarwanda ubwabo⁶⁶² barangajwe imbere na Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, iyobowe na FPR.⁶⁶³ Ubu Rwanda rufatwa na benshi nk'icyitegererezo cy'amahanga kubera imbaraga na gahunda by'intangarugero byakoreshejwe mu guharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda. Mu gihe kitagera no ku myaka icumi, kuva Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 irangiye, u Rwanda rwafatwagaho ndetse nk'Igihugu cy'intangarugero.

Kubera ubushake bwa politiki n'imiyoborere myiza, ibyagezweho byinshi mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda binafatwa na benshi nk'igitangaza. Ingamba zakoreshejwe zitaye cyane cyane ku gushakira ibisubizo mu muco nyarwanda, kandi abaturage bafitemo uruhare rugaragara, ku buryo ubu u Rwanda rugeze kure mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Urufatiro rw'izi ngamba zakoreshejwe mu Bumwe n'Ubwiyunge rubimburirwa n'ubushake bwa politiki, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Itegeko nshinga na Politiki y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, n'izindi. Uyu musingi watumye habaho urubuga rwiza rw'ibikorwa na gahunda by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Izi gahunda zibanda cyane cyane ku miyoborere myiza, imibereho myiza n'ubukungu, imibanire myiza ishingiyeye ku muco, n'uburezi, ndetse n'ubutabera. Uyu musingi n'izi ngamba byatumye ukuri ku byabaye kujya ahagaragara ku buryo hanabayeho amagambo n'ibikorwa byo kwemera icyaha no kugisabira imbabazi ndetse habaho no kuzitanga, bityo imibanire myiza no kwizerana bishinga imizi. Ikindi gikomeye cyagezweho ni ubutabera bwunga ku buryo bwanaranduye umuco wo kudahana wari warabaye karande mu Rwanda. Ibi byose byateje imbere Ubumwe, Ubwiyunge, no kudahaza mu Rwanda.

Igisobanuro cyo 'kudahaza' mu Rwanda cyemeranya na Mani⁶⁶⁴ aho 'Ukudahaza' bivuze imiyoborere isangiye n'umuryango wunze Ubumwe mu buryo bukura amacakubiri yo mu gihe cyahise yatandukanyaga 'uwatsinze' n' 'uwatsinzwe', cyangwa agatandukanya ibyitwa 'Twe' na 'Bariya', aho ndetse abari barahajwe mu buyobozi bahabwamo ikaze kandi bakubahwa kugira ngo nabo bafatanye n'abandi kugira uruhare mu iterambere

⁶⁶² NURC, 2009:16

⁶⁶³ Rusagara Frank (2014:2). Military integration key to peace-building and Democratic Governance. The Newtimes, May 9. Biboneka:http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/views/article_print.php?i=14985&a=10151&icon=Print. Consulted on September 5, 2014

⁶⁶⁴ Mani, 2005:512

ry'lgihugu. Ni byiza kuzirikana ariko ko 'kudaheza' bitavuze ko ibigaragara ko abantu badahuriyeho bikuweho, ahubwo 'ukudahuza' bivuga ko bidafatwa mu buryo bubangamira Ubumwe no gusenyerera umugozi umwe. Kumva 'ukudaheza' muri ubu buryo nibyo bituma amacakubiri cyangwa ikindi cyose kibi cyatanyije Abanyarwanda kitazongera kubaho ukundi. Ibi na none bihamanya n'ibivungwa na Mani ko "nyuma y'amateka mabi, gushyiraho imiyoborere idaheza nibyo nkingi y'ahazaza heza n'amahoro. Bityo, kunanirwa kubaka imiyoborere idaheza bishobora gutuma ikibi cyongera kuba.⁶⁶⁵ Niyo mpamvu intego y'ingenzi muri gahunda n'ingamba by'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye mu Rwanda ari uko 'Abanyarwanda ari bamwe kandi banganya agaciro', kandi ko inshingano nyamukuru y'Abanyarwanda ari kunga Ubumwe no gufatanya mu kwikemurira ibibazo ndetse no kwigenera uko imibereho yabo igomba kumera.

Nk'urugero, umuco wo kwimakaza ubumwe budaheza ugaragarira muri gahunda ya '*Ndi Umunyarwanda*' iteza imbere '*Ubunyarwanda*', ikaba n'umwihariko w'u Rwanda. Iyi gahunda igaragaza ingaruka z'amateka mabi u Rwanda rwanyuzemo igakangurira Abanyarwanda ko icyizere cy'u Rwanda ari uko biyunga kandi bakunga Ubumwe aho bagomba kurushaho kwita ku kibahuzaho aho kureba ikibatandukanya. N'ubwo atari ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bumva iteka ibintu kimwe, icy'ingenzi ni ukugera ku rugero rwo kumvikana maze bagasenyerera umugozi umwe. Gahunda ya *Ndi Umunyarwanda* rero igamije impinduka muri iyi myumvire. Uku kwibanda ku kudaheza, no kwita cyane cyane ku isano Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho, bifatwa nko gusangira gupfa no gukira, byazanye ubufatanye mu banyarwanda.⁶⁶⁶ U Rwanda ubu rwagaruye isura yarwo nyayo nziza kubera ubushake bwa politiki iharanira Ubumwe n'Ubwiye; bityo Abanyarwanda ubu bakaba bafite ishema baterwa n'lgihugu cyabo ndetse n'izina ryabo nk'Abanyarwanda.

Muri rusange, u Rwanda rufite umwihariko w'uko Ubumwe n'Ubwiye bwubatswe/bwubakwa kubera ubushake bukomeye bwa politiki, imiyoborere myiza no gufatanya n'abaturage hashingiwe ku muco nyarwanda. Kwigira no gufatanya muri gahunda zose zubaka Ubumwe n'Ubwiye ntibyatumye gusa Abanyarwanda bunga Ubumwe, ahubwo byatumye ubu banitabazwa n'amahanga. Ibyo u Rwanda rwagezeho rero binagaragaza ubushobozi bw'Abanyarwanda bwo kwicyemurira ibibazo ubwabo.

⁶⁶⁵ Idem.

⁶⁶⁶ Williams, 1999:229 in Nagy Rosemary (2004) *Citizenship, Memory, and Reconciliation*. Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol.38, No.3: Canadian Association of African Studies. pp 638-653, p.648); Dwyer's understanding, 1999:86-92

Aha, Ensign agira icyo avuga ku Budehe n'Imihigo, nka zimwe muri gahunda ziteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Aragira ati:

“N’ubwo hakiri imbogamizi u Rwanda ruhanyeye nazo, umuntu ntiyaba yibeshye avuze ko Ubudehe n’Imihigo ari icyitegererezo ku bihugu byose byaba bishaka guha abaturage ijamba mu ifatwa ry’ibyemezo; kongera icyizere, ubworoherane n’amahoro hagamijwe iterambere.”⁶⁶⁷

Nanone, mu nama nkuru yo ku rwego rw’Igihugu, yateguwe na Komisiyo y’Igihugu y’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge, Jeremy Lester, wari ukuriye abaje mu nama baturutse mu Muryango w’Ubumwe bw’Ibihugu by’ i Burayi, yagize ati:

Kongera kubaka isano Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho ni ishingiro ry’Ubwiyunge, kandi koko ni iby’ingenzi kureba amateka mabi yanzwe n’amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko y’Abahutu n’Abatutsi ukubaka Ubunyarwanda, nkuko mwabikoze mu gihugu cyanyu. Iki ni ikintu mu by’ukuri kitazwi n’abantu benshi; ni icyagezweho gikwiriye kuyobora imitekerereze y’iyi si. Abongereza n’Abafaransa bazafata amasomo ku bunararibonye bwanyu mu kugerageza kubaka isano y’Ubunyaburayi’. Abanyafurika n’Abanyaburayi na bo bazarebera ku muhate wanyu kugira ngo bubake isano basangiye yo kubaka Ubumuntu...Ntibyanaba igitangaza inkoranyamagambo z’ururimi rw’Icyongereza zinjijemo amagambo mashya afite inkomoko mu Rwanda nka Gacaca, Ubudehe, Ingando, n’ibindi; aya yose ni ingenzi mu nzira y’Ubwiyunge. Nta gushidikanya ko bizandikwa mu mateka ya muntu ko isi yavomye mu Rwanda umurage mwiza w’ubumenyi bwo gukemura amakimbirane.”⁶⁶⁸

U Rwanda rurakataje kandi rugeze kure mu nzira y’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge kuko Abanyarwanda ubu bamaze kugera ku rugero rwo kwigirira icyizere; bazi ko basangiye amateka maremare banavomamo indangagaciro zo shingiro ry’Ubumwe n’icyerekezo kimwe cy’ubuzima bwabo.⁶⁶⁹ Abanyarwanda bashyize hamwe, isano yabo nk’Abanyarwanda yarubatswe, babashije kubaka Igihugu cyabo, bafite Leta ishoboye kandi irangwa n’ubushake n’ubwitange, ku buryo ubu Abanyarwanda bitabazwa n’amahanga kugira ngo ibyo bagezeho babifashishe abandi. Ubu, u Rwanda ni urugero rwiza ku mahanga ku bijyanye n’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge, ndetse n’iterambere.

Nta gushidikanya rero ko ibyo u Rwanda rwakoze kandi rwagezeho mu nzira y’Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge, nk’uko iki gitabo kibigaragaza, ari infashanyigisho nziza ku mahanga.

⁶⁶⁷ Ensign in Gasanabo, Simon and Ensign, 2014:356.

⁶⁶⁸ NURC

⁶⁶⁹ Republic of Rwanda, Ibid; Shyaka, 2005:332-33.

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