REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA

KOMISIYO Y'IGIHUGU
Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE

IBIGANIROMPAKA KU MUCO W'AMAHORO, UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU MASHURI MAKURU NA KAMINUZA

Mutarama, 2017

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IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

U Rwanda rurakataje mu kuba Igihugu cyunze ubumwe, Abanyarwanda n'abagituye bisanzuyemo kandi giharanira ahazaza heza habereye buri Munyarwanda.
Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda byumvikana nk'imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco n'uburenganzira bungana, barangwa n'ubwizerane, ukuri, komorana ibikomere batewe n'amateka mabi baciyemo kugira ngo bashobore kwiteza imbere mu mahoro asesuye.

Amateka y'imiyoborere mibi yabaye intandaro y'umuco wo kudahana, ubwicanyi, ubwishishanye, urwikekwe, ihezwa rya bamwe ku byiza by'Igihugu, n'inzangano mu Banyarwanda zishingiye ku macakubiri n'ivangura byavuyemo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ibi bibazo n'ibindi byinshi bishingiye ku miyoborere idaha agaciro Umunyarwanda byabaye imbogamizi mu iterambere ry'Igihugu.

Nyuma yo kubohora u Rwanda muri Nyakanga 1994 hashyizweho Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, yihutiye kugarura umutekano mu Gihugu no kunga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwo shingiro n'inkingi y'amahoro n'iterambere rirambye.

Mu bufatanye na Minisiteri y'Uburezi, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yateguye gahunda y'ibiganirompaka igamije kubaka ubudahangarwa n'imitekerereze isesengura by'umwihariko mu babyiruka mu rwego rwo gukomeza kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.Hateguwe inyoborabiganiro izafasha mu ishyirwamubikorwa ry'iyi gahunda iteganijwe mu mashuri abanza, ay'isumbuye, ay'imyuga, amakuru na kaminuza.

Gahunda nziza y'uburezi kuri bose yitabiriwe bishimishije muri iki gihe mu Rwanda, yahaye amahirwe yo kwiga abana b'u Rwanda bose bujuje imyaka yo gutangira ishuri, bikaba bitanga icyizere ko

iyi gahunda y'ibiganirompaka byubaka izagera kuri benshi mu babyiruka, bakayigiramo uruhare ikabagirira akamaro.

Ni urubuga rwo kungurana ibitekerezo ku mibanire iboneye no gusobanukirwa ukuri ku bibazo by'amateka u Rwanda rwanyuzemo n'icyerecyezo kizima Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho. Kubaka umuco wo kungurana ibitekerezo byubaka mu bwubahane, ni bumwe mu buryo bwo gukangurira buri Munyarwanda uburenganzira bwe, kubahiriza ubw'abandi no kubuharanira igihe cyose.

By'umwihariko mu mashuri abanza, iyi gahunda yibanda ku ngingo zigamije guteza imbere umuco w'amahoro n'ubworoherane mu bana bakiri bato, naho abo mu byiciro byisumbuyeho mu mashuri yisumbuye, ay'imyuga, amakuru na kaminuza bagakomereza ku ngingo zimbitse ku bireba ubumwe n'ubwiyunge n'Ubunyarwanda nk' isano muzi ihuza Abanyarwanda ubwabo ikanabahuza n'Igihugu cyabo.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ishima uruhare rw'inzego zitandukanye mu guteza mbere ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ikanashimira Abanyarwanda muri rusange ubushake n'umuhate bagaragaza mu rugendo rwo kwiyunga no kubaka ubumwe bwabo.

NDAYISABA Fidèle
Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

AMAGAMBO Y'IMPINE

APROSOMA : Association Pour la Promotion de la Masse
CDR : Coalition for the Defence of the Republic
DGPR : Democratic Green Party of Rwanda
FPR : Front Patriotic Rwandais
MDR : Mouvement Democrate Republicain
MINUAR : Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda
MRND : Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
MSM : Muhutu Social Movement
NURC : National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
ONU : Organisation des Nations Unis
PARMEHUTU : Parti pour l'Emancipation Hutu
PDI :Parti Democrate Ideal
PL : Parti Liberal
PPC : Parti pour le Progrès et la Concorde
PS Imberakuri : Parti Social Imberakuri
PSD : Parti Social-Démocrate du Rwanda
PSR : Parti Socialiste Rwandais
RGB : Rwanda Governance Board
RTLM : Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines
RADER : Union Democratique du Peuple Rwandais
UDPR : Union democratique du Peule Rwandais
RANU : Rwandese National Union
URSS: Union des Republiques Socialistes Soviétiques

ISOBANURAMPAMVU Y'IBIGANIROMPAKA KU MUCO W'AMAHORO, UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU MASHURI MAKURU NA KAMINUZA

1. IRIBURIRO

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza kubaka ubudahangarwa n'imitekerereze isesengura *(resilience and critical thinking)* no gushishikariza ababyiruka kugira gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge izabo na Ndi Umunyarwanda by'umwihariko, hateganyijwe ibiganirompaka mu mashuri makuru na kaminuza byo mu Rwanda.

2. INTEGO Z'IBIGANIRO

Intego rusange:

Kubaka umuco w'ibiganirompaka byubaka mu mashuri no guha urubuga ababyiruka rwo kungurana ibitekerezo kuri gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Intego zihariye :

1. Kuzamura imyumvire y'ababyiruka bari mu mashuri kuri gahunda z'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge na Ndi Umunyarwanda *(National Identity)* by'umwihariko *;*
2. Kungurana ibitekerezo biciye mu biganiro no kumenya gutega amatwi no kubaha ibitekerezo by'abandi ;
3. Guha umwanya urubyiruko wo kugaragaza ibitekerezo byarwo ;
4. Gufasha urubyiruko gusobanukirwa neza ingingo zitandukanye zifitanye isano n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ;
5. Guteza imbere imibanire myiza mu rubyiruko no muryango nyarwanda muri rusange.

- **Iyi nyoborabiganiro igizwe n'insanganyamatsiko zikurikira:**

1. U Rwanda, ubwenegihugu nyarwanda, ubunyarwanda
2. Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu mateka yabo
3. Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo, ipfobya n'ihakana n'uburyo bwo kubirwanya
4. Inzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda
5. Gukumira, guhosha no gukemura amakimbirane mu muryango nyarwanda
6. Uruhare rw'Imitwe ya Politiki mu bumwe bw'abenegihugu

3.UMUSARURO UTEGEREJWE

1. Urubyiruko rw'abanyeshuri rubonye urubuga rwo kunguraniramo ibitekerezo ;
2. Imyumvire y'abanyeshuri kuri gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge no kubaka ubunyarwanda iteye imbere ;
3. Abanyeshuri basobanukiwe akamaro n'agaciro ko gutega amatwi ibitekerezo by'abandi mu bwubahane ;
4. Abanyeshuri bagize gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda iyabo ;
5. Ibiganiro bibaye umusemburo w'impinduka nziza mu mashuri no hanze yayo ;
6. Umuco w'ibiganiro mu rubyiruko utejwe imbere ;
7. Ibitekerezo bivuye mu biganiro bifashije iteganyamigambi.

4.UBURYO IBIGANIRO BIZAKORWAMO

Ibiganiro bizajya biyoborwa n'ubuyobozi bw'ishuri hashingiwe ku nsanganyamatsiko. Ubuyobozi bw'ishuri bugomba gutoranya abarezi bizeweho ubushobozi n'imyitwarire bikwiriye bayobora abanyeshuri mu biganiro. Ubuyobozi bwa buri shuri bukora gahunda ijyanye n'umubare w'abanyeshuri n'imiterere y'aho bahurira kandi hagashyirwaho uburyo bwo gukurikirana no kugenzura ko abanyeshuri bose bitabira ibiganiro uko bikwiriye.

Ubuyobozi bw'ishuri bushobora kandi kugira abandi bwifashisha bubonamo inararibonye.

Uyoboye ikiganiro atanga umurongo mugari w'ikiganiro, abanyeshuri bagatanga ibitekerezo cyangwa ubuhamya mu bwisanzure, barabaza kandi bakagira n'uruhare mu gusubiza ibibazo.

Umuyobozi w'ikiganiro afasha abanyeshuri kugera ku mwanzuro w'impaka bagize n'uw'ikiganiro muri rusange.

Kugira ngo abanyeshuri bagire uruhare rugaragara mu biganiro, ni byiza gukoresha uburyo bwo kwohereza abanyeshuri insanganyamatsiko ibyumweru 2 mbere y'ikiganiro bagasabwa gusoma ibitabo no gukora ubushakashatsi kuri iyo nsanganyamatsiko.

Uyoboye ibiganiro abanza guhamagarira buri wese gutanga ibitekerezo bye mu bwisanzure kandi buri wese agaha agaciro igitekerezo cya mugenzi we; yibutsa kandi insanganyamatsiko maze agasaba kuyitangaho ibitekerezo bashingiye ku byo bazi n'ibyo basomye.

Umuhuza w'ibiganiro ashingira ku bitekerezo byatanzwe n'abanyeshuri, akababafasha kubyuzuza no kubinoza aganisha ku nsanganyamatsiko n'intego y'ikiganiro yifashishije ingero zifatika zagiye zibera hirya no hino ku isi muri rusange no mu Rwanda by'umwihariko.
Umuhuza w'ibiganiro ashobora gukoresha n'ubundi buryo bwose butavuzwe bushobora gutuma abanyeshuri barushaho kumva insanganyamatsiko no gutanga ibitekerezo kugira ngo intego y'ikiganiro igerweho.
Buri kwezi hakorwa nibura ikiganiro kimwe (1) kitarenza amasaha abiri (2).

5. UBURYO BWO GUSUZUMA IBYAVUYE MU BIGANIRO NO GUTANGA RAPORO

1. Isuzuma rizajya rikorwa n'ubuyobozi bw'ishuri harebwa ubwitabire, ubwisanzure mu gutanga ibitekerezo n'imiterere yabyo kandi harebwe n'impinduka mu mibanire y'abanyeshuri ubwabo no hagati yabo n'abarezi;
2. Isuzuma kandi rizajya rikorwa n'ubuyobozi harebwa imigendekere y'ikiganiro mu gihe gikorwa na nyuma yacyo;
3. Buri shuri rizajya risuzuma impinduka nziza ibiganiro bizaba byaragize ahorihererereye;
4. Buri shuri rizajya rigeza raporo ya buri gihembwe kuri Minisiteri ishinzwe uburezi, bimenyeshwe Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

6. IKURIKIRANABIKORWA

Mu rwego rwo gukurikirana neza ishyirwamubikorwa ry'ibiganirompaka mu mashuri, Minisiteri ifite uburezi mu nshingano zayo na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bakurikirana uko iyi gahunda yubahirizwa.

Mu gukurikirana iki gikorwa (coordination, harmonization, ownership) hakenewe ubufatanye n'uruhare rw'ubuyobozi bw'ishuri.

Ibitekerezo n'ibyifuzo bizaturuka mu biganiro bizajya bifasha kunoza gahunda y'ibikurikira.

Ku rwego rw'Igihugu, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge izakurikirana ishyirwamubikorwa ry'iyi gahunda y'ibiganirompaka n'umusaruro bitanga.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA I

U RWANDA, UBWENEGIHUGU NYARWANDA, UBUNYARWANDA

0. Intego

Muri rusange ibiganiro bishingiye kuri iyi nsanganyamatsiko bigamije kongerera abanyeshuri ubumenyi rusange k'u Rwanda, gukunda u Rwanda no kugira ishema ryo kuba Abanyarwanda.
By'umwihariko, ibiganiro bizarangira abanyeshuri bashobora:

- gutandukanya Igihugu cyubakiye ku bumwe bw'abaturage (Nation State) n'Igihugu cy'abaturage bahujwe n'inzego z'imitegekere gusa (State), hashingiwe ku rugero rw'u Rwanda;
- gusobanura ibiranga Repubulika y'u Rwanda;
- gutandukanya umunyarwanda n'ubunyarwanda;
- kugira ishema rishingiye kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda.

1. Iriburiro

U Rwanda ni Igihugu gifite ubuso bungana na kilometero kare ibihumbi makumyabiri na bitandatu na magana atatu na mirongo itatu n'umunani (26.338km^2), rukaba ruherereye mu mutima w'Afurika aho rukikijwe n'ibindi bihugu kuburyo rudakora ku nyanja. Umubano mwiza rufitanye n'abaturanyi utuma rugera ku nyanja bitagoranye kandi iterambere ry'ikoranabuhanga riruhuza n'isi yose ku buryo bwihuse. Abaturage b'u Rwanda bagera kuri miliyoni 12, ni Abanyarwanda bafite ubwenegihugu nyarwanda. Isano ibahuza n'ishema basangiye ryo kuba Abanyarwanda bakomeye ku gihugu cyabo bituma bashyira imbere "Ndi Umunyarwanda" kuko ariko biyumva kandi bibona mu Rwanda rwabo.

U Rwanda rufite akarusho karuhuza na benerwo (Abanyarwanda) kuko barusangiye, bagahuzwa n'umuco umwe n'amateka bahuriyeho. U Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda ni izingiro ry'ubunyarwanda kuko utabona aho ubitandukanyiriza kubera

urwo rusobe rw'ibihuza abaturage barwo barusangijwe n'amateka n'umuco wabo. Abanyarwanda bafite inshingano yo kururinda no kurukorera batiganda.

2.Ibisobanuro by'amagambo

2.1. Igihugu / U Rwanda

2.1.1. U Rwanda nk'Igihugu

Igihugu ni ubutaka buzwi bufite imipaka, ubuyobozi n'ibiburanga bizwi (inzego, ubutegetsi n'amategeko), butuwe n'abaturage bafite ibibahuza bizwi ku rwego mpuzamahanga. Hashingiwe ku rugero rw'u Rwanda, igihugu (Nation)ni umuryango mugari w'abantu utuye ku butaka bumwe, uhuje amateka, ururimi, umuco n' ubutegetsi.

2.1.2 Leta / State

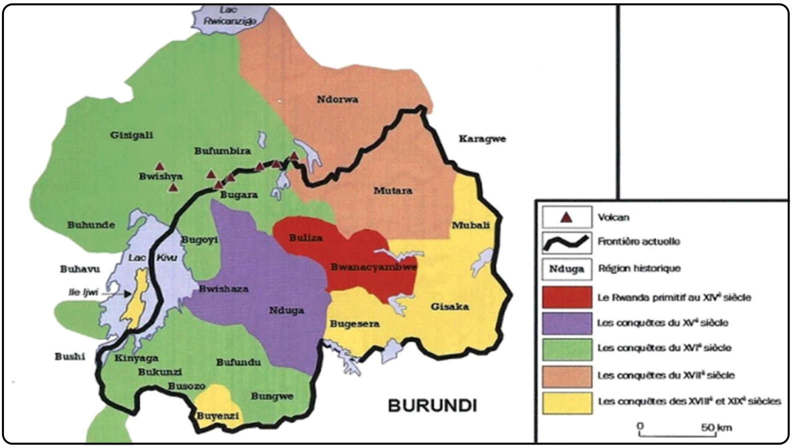
Leta ni urwego rwa Politiki ruzwi rukorera ahantu hazwi, hari abaturage bazwi kandi bayoborwa narwo ku buryo buzwi.

Igihugu /Nation state: u Rwanda ni Igihugu kirangwa na Leta ifite umurongo wa Politiki, gifite ubusugire bwacyo n'abaturage basangiye amateka, umuco, indangagaciro zibaranga.

U Rwanda rukaba rwarabaye Igihugu (nation) mu kinyejana cya 14 nyuma yo kwaguka mu buso, mu miryango yari irugize no guhamya imitegekere yarwo yemewe.

U Rwanda rwavukiye i Gasabo (Umurenge wa Rutunga/Akarere ka Gasabo) rugenda rwaguka bishingiye ku kwihuza, kwishyira hamwe no gutsura ubucuti n'ibindi bihugu byari birukikije mu bwumvikane. Ubundi buryo bwakoreshejwe ni intambara zo kwigarurira ibindi bihugu byanze kwihuza n'u Rwanda ku neza. Ibi u Rwanda rwabigezeho kuko rwari rufite uburyo bw'imiyoborere inoze (umwami, abiru, abatware n'abakuru b'imiryango), ishuri ritoza gukunda Igihugu no kukitangira, umuco n'indangagaciro ziwushyigikiye (Itorero) n'ingabo zishinzwe kururinda no kururwanirira.

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu mu 1895, u Rwanda rwari rwagutse birenze uko ruteye ubu nyuma yaho abazungu bigabanyije ibihugu by'Afurika. Ikarita ikurikira igaragaza ibice byari birugize.



Muri iki gihe u Rwanda ni igihugu gifite ubuso n'imbibi zihamye rwakebewe n'abakoloni (26,338km²), abaturage bagera kuri miliyoni 12, rufite ubutegetsi buhamye kandi bwemewe n'amahanga. U Rwanda ruyobowe mu buryo bwa Repubulika igendera ku mahame ya demokarasi.

3. Ibiranga Repubulika y'u Rwanda

U Rwanda rufite ibirango Abanyarwanda bibonamo, bubaha, kandi birwubahisha mu ruhando mpuzamahanga.

Ibiranga igihugu cy'u Rwanda nk'uko tubisanga mu ngingo ya 9 y' Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu 2003 ryavuguruwe mu 2015 ni ibi bikurikira:

- **Ibendera** rigizwe n'amabara akurikira: uvuye hasi uzamuka habanza ***ibara ry'icyatsi kibisi***, rikurikirwa n'***ibara ry'umuhondo***, kandi ayo mabara yombi yihariye icya kabiri cy'ibendera ryose. Igice cya kabiri cyo hejuru kigizwe n'***ibara ry'ubururu rishushanyijwemo izuba n'imirasire yaryo y'ibara ry'umuhondo wa zahabu*** riri ku ruhande rw'iburyo. Iryo zuba n'imirasire yaryo bitandukanyijwe n'uruziga rw'ibara ry'ubururu.

Ingingo ya 5 y'itegeko No 34/2008 ryo kuwa 08/08/2008 risobanura amabara agize Ibendera ry'Igihugu mu buryo bukurikira:

Icyatsi kibisi:

Gisobanura icyizere cy'uburumbuke hakoreshejwe neza imbaraga z'Abanyarwanda n'ibiri mu Rwanda.

Umuhondo:

Usobanura ubukungu. Abanyarwanda bagomba guhagurukira umurimo kugira ngo bagere ku bukungu burambye.

Ubururu:
Busobanura umunezero n'amahoro. Abanyarwanda bagomba guharanira amahoro azabageza ku bukungu burambye n'umunezero.
Izuba n'imirasire by'umuhondo wa zahabu:
Bisobanura urumuri rugenda rwiyongera rumurikira bose. Byerekana ubumwe, gukorera mu mucyo no kurwanya ubujiji.

- **Ikirango cya Repubulika** kigizwe n'uruziga rw'icyatsi kibisi n'ipfundo ry'umugozi w'iryo bara upfunditse hasi, ahagana hejuru hakabamo inyandiko "REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA ". Munsi y'ipfundo handitse amagambo agize intego ya Repubulika "UBUMWE, UMURIMO, GUKUNDA IGIHUGU". Izo nyandiko zose zanditse mu nyuguti z'umukara ku ibara ry'umuhondo.

Ikirango cya Repubulika kigizwe kandi n'amashusho akurikira: izuba, imirasire yaryo, ishaka n'ikawa, agaseke, uruziga rw'ubururu rufite amenyo n'ingabo ebyiri, imwe iri iburyo indi iri ibumoso.

Ingingo ya 7 y'Itegeko No 34/2008 ryo kuwa 08/08/2008 isobanura ibigize Ikirango cya Repubulika mu buryo bukurikira:

Uruziga rufite ibara ry'icyatsi kibisi n'ipfundo rimwe, bivuga ikimenyetso cy'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bose bibumbiye hamwe, kandi batahiriza umugozi umwe;

Izuba n'imirasire makumyabiri n'ine (24), bivuga gukorera mu mucyo no kurwanya ubujiji;

Ishaka rifite ihundo n'ibibabi bine (4) n'ikawa ifite ibibabi cumi na bitandatu (16) n'imbuto makumyabiri n'umunani (28), bivuga umusaruro unyuranye ugizwe n'ibihingwa ngandurarugo n'ibihingwa ngengabukungu;

Agaseke gapfundikiye k'amabara abiri, bivuga umuco w'Abanyarwanda wo gukomeraho, kuzigama, gufatanya muri byose no gusangira;

Uruziga rw'amenyo makumyabiri n'ane ariko cumi n'icyenda (19) ari yo agaragara kandi rufite ibara ry'ubururu, bivuga ikimenyetso cyo guharanira ikoranabuhanga n'iterambere ry'inganda mu Rwanda;

Ingabo ebyiri, imwe iri iburyo, indi ibumoso, bivuga gukunda Igihugu no kukirinda. Abanyarwanda bose hamwe, mu bumwe, barinze ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyabo kandi biteguye kukirengera;
Intego ya Repubulika: Ubumwe, Umurimo, Gukunda Igihugu: ni intego buri Munyarwanda agomba guhora azirikana kugira ngo yumve ko Igihugu cye agisangiye n'Abanyarwanda bose, ko agomba kugiteza imbere yitabira umurimo, ko agomba kugikunda no kucyitangira.

- **Indirimbo y'Igihugu ni**: **RWANDA NZIZA**

1. Rwanda nziza gihugu cyacu

Wuje imisozi, ibiyaga n'ibirunga
Ngobyi iduhetse gahorana ishya.
Reka tukurate tukuvuge ibigwi
Wowe utubumbiye hamwe twese
Abanyarwanda uko watubyaye
Berwa, sugira, singizwa iteka.

2. Horana Imana murage mwiza

Ibyo tugukesha ntibishyikirwa:
Umuco dusangiye uraturanga
Ururimi rwacu rukaduhuza
Ubwenge, umutima, amaboko yacu
Nibigukungahaze bikwiye
Nuko utere imbere ubutitsa.

3. Abakurambere b'intwari

Bitanze batizigama
Baraguhanga uvamo ubukombe
Utsinda ubukoloni na mpatsibihugu
Byayogoje Afurika yose
None uraganje mu bwigenge
Tubukomeyeho uko turi twese.

4. Komeza imihigo Rwanda dukunda

Duhagurukiye kukwitangira
Ngo amahoro asabe mu bagutuye.
Wishyire wizane muri byose
Urangwe n'ishyaka, utere imbere
Uhamye umubano n'amahanga yose
Maze ijabo ryawe riguhe ijambo.

4. Imitegekere y’Igihugu cy’u Rwanda

Nk’uko byavuzwe haruguru, imitegekere y'u Rwanda ishingiye kuri Repubulika n'iyubahirizwa ry’amahame ya demokarasi. U Rwanda rwahisemo kubakira ku nzego z’ubutegetsi eshatu:

4.1. Ubutegetsi Nshingamategeko

Ubutegetsi Nshingamategeko bushinzwe Inteko Ishinga Amategeko igizwe n'Imitwe ibiri:
- Umutwe w'Abadepite, abawugize bitwa «Abadepite»;
- Umutwe wa Sena, abawugize bitwa «Abasenateri».

Inteko Ishinga Amategeko ijya impaka ku mategeko ikanayatora. Ishyiraho amategeko ikanagenzura imikorere ya Guverinoma mu buryo buteganywa n'Itegeko Nshinga.

4.2. Ubutegetsi Nyubahirizategeko

Ubutegetsi Nyubahirizategeko bushinzwe Perezida wa Repubulika na Guverinoma.
Guverinoma igizwe na Minisitiri w'Intebe, Abaminisitiri, Abanyamabanga ba Leta n'abandi bashobora kugenwa na Perezida wa Repubulika bibaye ngombwa. Minisitiri w'Intebe atoranywa, ashyirwaho kandi avanwaho na Perezida wa Repubulika. Abandi bagize Guverinoma bashyirwaho na Perezida wa Repubulika amaze kugisha inama Minisitiri w'Intebe.

Guverinoma ishyira mu bikorwa politiki y'Igihugu Perezida wa Repubulika yumvikanyeho n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri.
Guverinoma ibazwa ibyo ikora na Perezida wa Repubulika n`Inteko Ishinga Amategeko. Uburyo Guverinoma ibazwamo ibyo ikora n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko buteganywa n'Itegeko Nshinga.

4.3. Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza

Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza bushinzwe Urwego rw'Ubucamanza rugizwe n'inkiko zisanzwe n'inkiko zihariye. Inama Nkuru y'Ubucamanza ni rwo rwego rukuriye Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza. Ishyiraho imirongo migari igenga imiyoborere y'Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza.

Itegeko rigena imitunganyirize, ububasha, inshingano n'imikorere by'Inama Nkuru y'Ubucamanza. Iryo tegeko rigena kandi abayigize (Perezida w'Urukiko rw'Ikirenga, Minisiti w'ubutabera, Umuvunyi mukuru, Perezida wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu, Umukuru w'Urugaga rw'abunganira abandi mu mategeko...). Ubutegetsi bw'Ubucamanza burigenga kandi bufite ubwisanzure mu micungire y'abakozi n'imari.

5. Ubwenegihugu Nyarwanda

5.1. Umwenegihugu/ Umunyarwanda

Umwenegihugu ni umuntu utuye mu gihugu kuburyo buhoraho (muri rusange), akagira uburenganzira bungana n'ubw'abandi muri icyo gihugu, agahabwa amahirwe angana n'ayabandi ku byiza by'Igihugu kandi akagira n'inshingano zishyirwaho n'amategeko. Ubu burenganzira ni inshingano abigira ku bandi benegihugu no ku gihugu. Ibi bigatuma agira n'uruhare mu kucyubaka.

Umunyarwanda ni umuntu wese ufite ubwenegihugu nyarwanda. Ubwenegihugu ni ibiranga umwenegihugu bishingiye ku uburenganzira n'inshingano umwenegihugu agira imbere y'abo basangiye Igihugu no ku gihugu ubwacyo. Ku Banyarwanda ubwenegihugu bwabo ni ubwenegihugu nyarwanda.
Umunyarwanda afata u Rwanda nk'umubyeyi, umurezi, ingobyi n'umurage, akarangwa no gukunda u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda no guharanira icyaruteza imbere. ***Abanyarwanda mu gihugu cyabo kuva cyera bafite ibyo basangiye bibahuza birimo igihugu kimwe, umuco umwe, ururimi rumwe, amateka amwe, umwami umwe n'ishema ry'uko u Rwanda rutera ntiruterwe.***

5.2. *Ishingiro ry'ubwenegihugu Nyarwanda*

Bitabangamiye Itegeko Nshinga n'andi mategeko yihariye, umuntu wese uhawe ubwenegihugu nyarwanda nk'uko biteganywa n'amategeko, afite uburenganzira n'inshingano byose by'Umunyarwanda uhereye igihe abuherewe.

Bimwe mu byo ufite ubwenegihugu runaka agomba kuzirikana:

- **Guha agaciro umwenegihigu basangiye igihugu**: Guha agaciro abandi, ubwubahane n'ubworoherane mu benegihugu mu rwego rwo kubahiriza ikiremwa muntu hatezwa imbere imibanire myiza no kwirinda amakimbirane.
- **Kuba umwenegihugu mwiza**: Kubaha no kubahisha amategeko akoreshwa mu gihugu no kugira umuhate wo

kuzuza inshingano hatezwa imbere imibereho myiza ya buri wese.

- **Ubufatanye:** Gushyira hamwe mu cyerekezo gihuriweho n'abenegihugu bose no kwiyumva mu muryango mugari w'abo musangiye ubwegihugu hazirikanwa isano muhuriyeho.

5.2.1. Uko ubwenegihugu buboneka

Uko ubwenegihugu buboneka mu Rwanda biteganywa n'Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu 2003 ryavuguruwe mu 2015 mu ngingo ya 25 igira iti "Buri Munyarwanda afite uburenganzira ku gihugu. Nta Munyarwanda ushobora gucibwa mu gihugu cye.

Buri Munyarwanda afite uburenganzira ku bwenegihugu nyarwanda. Ubwenegihugu burenze bumwe buremewe. Ntawe ushobora kwamburwa ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bw'inkomoko. Abantu bose bakomoka mu Rwanda n'ababakomokaho bafite uburenganzira bwo guhabwa ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda, iyo babisabye".

Itegeko ngenga no 30/2008 ryo ku wa 27/07/2008 ryerekeye ubwenegihugu nyarwanda rigena uko ubwenegihugu nyarwanda buboneka.

Risobanura ibi bikurikira: ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bushingiye ku gukomoka ku Munyarwanda (Umubyeyi umwe cyangwa bombi) ni ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bw'inkomoko.

ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bushobo ra gutangwa hashingiwe kuri ibi bikurikira:

- Ubushingiye ku kuvukira mu Rwanda;
- Ubushingiye ku ishyingirwa;
- Ubuturutse ku kugirwa umwana (adoption);
- Ubushingiye ku kugirwa Umunyarwanda (ingingo ya 14 iteganya ibisabwa kugira ngo umunyamahanga agirwe Umunyarwanda).

5.2.2 Uko Ubwenegihu butakara

Itegeko riteganya ibijyanye no kureka, kwamburwa no gusubirana ubwenegihugu mu ngingo zaryo za 18, 19 na 20.

Ntawe ushobora kwamburwa ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bw'inkomoko.

Icyakora umuntu ashobora kwamburwa ubwenegihugu nyarwanda butangwa, iyo:

- yahawe cyangwa yasubiranye ubwenegihugu nyarwanda ku buryo buteganyijwe n'amategeko, ariko akoresheje amayeri, imvugo ibeshya, inyandiko irimo ikinyoma cyangwa igize icyo iyobamo, ruswa yo kugura umwe mu bagize uruhare mu mihango yubahirizwa cyangwa ubundi buriganya;
-yasabye kandi agahabwa ubwenegihugu nyarwanda agambiriye kugirira nabi Igihugu.

Uretse ibiteganyijwe mu gice cya mbere cy'igika cya 2 cy'iyi ngingo, ubwenegihugu ntibushobora kwamburwa iyo bishobora gutuma ubwatswe asigara nta bwenegihugu afite.

Kwamburwa ubwenegihugu nyarwanda bikurikiranwa n'ubushinjacyaha mu rukiko rubifitiye ububasha rw'aho uregwa atuye cyangwa aba, iyo habaye impamvu zishobora gutuma abwamburwa. Urubanza rugomba kuba rwaciwe mu gihe kitarenze amezi atatu (3) ikirego gitanzwe.

Ubushinjacyaha n'uregwa bafite uburenganzira bwo kujurira nk'uko amategeko asanzwe abiteganya.

Igihe urubanza rwambura ubwenegihugu rwaciwe burundu, igice cyarwo cyerekeye ibyemezo gitangazwa mu Igazeti ya Leta ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda bisabwe n'Ubuyobozi Bukuru kandi bikamenyeshwa ibiro by'irangamimerere by'aho ubwambuwe yanditse.

5.3. Uburenganzira n'inshingano by'umwenegihugu

ITEGEKO NGENGA N° 30/2008 RYO KU WA 25/07/2008 RYEREKEYE UBWENEGIHUGU NYARWANDA
Mu ngigo yaryo ya 5 "Bitabangamiye Itegeko Nshinga n'andi mategeko yihariye, umuntu wese uhawe ubwenegihugu Nyarwanda nk'uko biteganywa n'amategeko, afite uburenganzira n'inshingano byose by'Umunyarwanda uhereye igihe abuherewe".

6.Ubunyarwanda

Ubunyarwanda ni umutimanama nyarwanda uhuriweho n'Abanyarwanda batwaye u Rwanda ku mutima, wubakiye ku isano-muzi Abanyarwanda basangiye no ku nshingano n'uburenganzira bahuriyeho. Ni nabwo shingiro rya Ndi Umunyarwanda ijyana no kwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda batewe ishema ryo kuba Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku gukunda u Rwanda, kururinda no kuruteza imbere.

Ubunyarwanda ni imibereho ituruka mu rusobe rw'ibiranga Abanyarwanda bibagenera umwihariko wabo ubaranga ntibitiranywe n'abandi. Ibyo ni igihugu, abaturage, imyemerere, umuco, ururimi, ubuyobozi n'amategeko atuma bamererwa neza. Ubunyarwanda ni imyumvire iranga umunyarwanda irenze kugira ubwenegihugu nyarwanda gusa.

6.1. Inkingi z'ubunyarwanda

- **Ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda**

Abahanga bemeza ko mu bihe bya kera mu gace u Rwanda ruherereyemo hari higanje indimi eshatu (Soudanaise, Nilotique & Cauchtique) zishobora kuba arizo zavuyemo indimi zikoreshwa muri iki gihe mu karere n'ikinyarwanda kirimo.

Ikinyarwarwanda ni ururimi Abanyarwanda bose bahuriyeho ariko runakoreshwa no mu bihugu bituranye n'u Rwanda kubera amateka yavuzwe haruguru y'uburyo imipaka y'ibihugu yagiyeho

hatitawe ku miturire y'abaturage. Ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda ni kimwe mu biranga umuco nyarwanda nubwo ari n'imwe mu nzira wigaragarizamo. Birakwiye ko Abanyarwanda bamenya neza ururimi rwabo.

- **Indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda**

Indangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda nizo zubatse ubunyarwanda bigatuma buzisumba.

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

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

N0	Indangagaciro remezo	Indangagaciro zizishamikiyeho
1	***Gukunda Igihugu*** *Gukunda Igihugu ni gukunda benecyo n'abagituye nta vangura, gukunda ibikigize byose birimo ururimi n'umuco, ubutaka kibarizwaho, kumenya amateka yacyo, kubumbatira umutekano n'ubusugire bwacyo, kugira ishyaka ryo kukirwanirira ku kiguzi icyo ari cyo cyose.*	Ubwitange; kugira ishyaka n'ishema; kubaha umuryango; kurinda no gucunga neza ibya rubanda; kwagura amarembo; kwitabira ibikorwa rusange; kubungabunga umutekano; kurwanya ruswa; kubahiriza amategeko.
2	***Ubumwe*** *Imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco, amateka, inshingano n'uburenganzira mu gihugu cyabo; barangwa n'ubwizerane, ubwubahane, n'ubufatanye mw'iterambere ryabo n'iry'Igihugu muri rusange.*	Gukumira no kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside; ubworoherane n'umuco w'amahoro/koroherana; kubaha ubuzima; ubufatanye; kubana neza; gutabarana; ubusabane.

3	***Ubupfura*** *Ubupfura ni imico myiza igororokera abandi irangwa n'ubudahemuka, umutima w'impuhwe n'imbabazi, kutirata, kwanga umugayo no kwitwararika kuri byose no kuri bose. Impfura ni iyo musangira ntigucure, mwaganira ntikuvemo, waterwa ikagutabara wapfa ikakurerera. Ni ikira ntiyirate , yakena ntihemuke.*	Kugira umutima; urugwiro; kwicisha bugufi; kubana neza; ubwitonzi/ubushishozi; kutaba umunyamusozi; kunyurwa; kwiyoroshya; kujya inama; gushima; kwitsinda.
4	***Ubutwari*** *Ni kugira umutima udatinya gushyigikira ikiza, kugaragaza ikibi no guhangara kukirwanya wemeye ingaruka zose byakugiraho.*	Kutagamburuzwa n'ibibazo; kureba kure; kwanga no kurwanya akarengane; kugira ubumuntu; kwihangana; (Izindi ndangacaciro zijyanye no gukunda Igihugu nk'ubwitange, kugira ishyaka n'ubushishozi … n'izijyanye n'ubupfura).
5	***Ubwangamugayo(Ubunyangamugayo)*** *Ni uguhora wirinda icyagutera icyasha, cyaba giturutse mu mvugo mu myitwarire cyangwa mu migirire.*	Kuba umunyakuri no gushyira mu gaciro; kubaha igihango, indahiro n'ijambo; ubudahemuka; kubaha ubuzima no kwiyubaha; gutega amatwi no kujya inama; kwiramira.
6	***Gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza*** *Ni ukurangwa no gukorana ubuhanga, gukorera ku ntego, gukorera ku gihe, kugwiza umusaruro w'ibikorwa bikoze neza no guhora mu irushanwa ryo guhanga ibishya birushaho guteza izindi ntabwe mu iterambere n'imibereho myiza.*	Gukorera ku ntego; kugira umwete; kwibwiriza; gukorera mu mucyo; kwigira; gukorana ubuhanga; gukora umurimo unoze kandi ufite ireme; gukorera ku gihe.

Ukunda iwabo ahazirikana iteka, akaharinda icyago akanahagwiza ibyiza.

Ingobyi iduhetse ni iy'agaciro, turayishinzwe twese.*"Aho ujishe igisabo ntuhatera ibuye"*. "Ndi Umunyarwanda" isaba Abanyarwanda bose guhora bashaka ukuri ariko bakabikorana ubworoherane nta guhutaza, bakemera aho bagize intege nke bakabisabira imbabazi bagamije kujya imbere.

- **Ibiziririzwa mu kubaka ubunyarwanda**

Mu rwego rwo kurinda indangagaciro zivuzwe haruguru, kirazira: gusumbisha inyungu bwite inyungu rusange; kugambanira Igihugu no kugira ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.

6.2. Ndi Umunyarwanda

Ndi Umunyarwanda: "Ni ukwiyumvamo isano ihuza Abanyarwanda batewe ishema no kuba Abanyarwanda bahuriye ku gukunda u Rwanda, kururinda no kuruteza imbere." Ndi umunyarwanda ishinga imizi mu bunyarwanda bwubakiye ku buryo umunyarwanda yibona, yiyumva, yitwara kandi akanisanga mu Rwanda no mu Banyarwanda.

Mu gusobanura ubunyarwanda, Madamu wa Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika Jeannette KAGAME yagize ati Kuba Umunyarwanda si ugutura u Rwanda gusa, kabone n'ubwo kuvuka i Rwanda bitanga uburenganzira busesuye kandi bureshya kuri iyo ngobyi dusangiye.

Kuba Umunyarwanda ni ukugira ingengabitekerezo y'ubunyarwanda : The Rwandan Spirit. Ni ukwemera kuba uw'u Rwanda, rukaba urwawe, mu mateka, mu muco, mu migirire n'imitekerereze, mu cyerekezo n'intego, no mu buryo dutunganya imiyoborere kandi tukikemurira ibibazo.

"**Ndi Umunyarwanda ni no kwiyumvamo imbaraga zica imigozi ikiziritse bamwe mu Banyarwanda ku macakubiri, zigapfundika ipfundo ry'ubwizerane, ubworoherane, uburengazira bungana kuri bose, ukwishyira ukizana mu**

gihugu no kuzirikana ko Igihugu ari byose bigatera buri wese kugikunda no kugikorera nta gusigana".

UMUSOZO

U Rwanda ni umurage w'Abanyarwanda bose.
Abanyarwanda basangiye u Rwanda n'umuco ubaranga byubakiyeho ubunyarwanda butwambika imbaraga mu byo dukora, bukatwubahisha imbere y'amahanga. Dore amasomo abanyeshuri bakura mu kiganiro:

- Guha agaciro umuco nyarwanda;
- Gucukumbura amateka y'u Rwanda mu bushakashatsi;
- Kuba imboni za Ndi Umunyarwanda aho bari hose;
- Kwihesha agaciro ubwabo no kugahesha Igihugu cyabo aho bari hose;
- Guhoza u Rwanda ku mutima;
- Kuvuguruza mu kinyabupfura ababyeyi gito bakiboheye ku ngoyi y'amacakubiri bakanayatoza abyiruka.

Nta Munyarwanda uhejwe k'u Rwanda kandi ntawe utarufitemo uburenganzira n'inshingano zo kururinda no kuruteza imbere.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA II

IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA MU MATEKA YABO

0.Intego

Muri rusange ibiganiro bishingiye kuri iyi nsanganyamatsiko bigamije kongerera abanyeshuri ubumenyi ku mibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu mateka yabo.

Nyuma y'ibi biganiro abanyeshuri bashobora:

- Gusobanukirwa n'uko Abanyarwanda babanaga mbere na nyuma y'ubukoloni ndetse no kugeza ubu;
- Gusobanukirwa n'ibyashenye imibanire y'Abanyarwanda;
- Gusobanukirwa n'ingaruka byagize mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda;
- Gukumira no kwirinda ibintu byose bitanya Abanyarwanda

1.Iriburiro

Abanyarwanda kuva kera bakundaga Igihugu cyabo, bari bazi ko Igihugu ari kimwe kandi bagisangiye, barangwaga n'ubumwe budatana. Abanyarwanda baharaniraga ishema ry'Igihugu cyabo ndetse bakakirwanirira, bari bafite Imitwe y'Ingabo zari zishinzwe kurinda Igihugu ndetse no kucyagura.

U Rwanda ruri mu bihugu bike muri Afrika bitaremwe n'abakoloni. U Rwanda rwari rwujuje ibyangombwa byose bigize Igihugu: abaturage biyumva k'abenegihugu, ubutaka (territoire) bufite inkiko zizwi, ubutegetsi buyoboye icyo gihugu ndetse n'ubudahangarwa.

Ubwo bumwe bwabarangaga bwagiye busenyuka mu gihe cy'ubukoloni aho bahinduye amateka y'u Rwanda ndetse urwango n'amacakubiri mu muryango nyarwanda bifata intera yagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

2. Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoloni

Mbere y'uko abakoloni bagera mu Rwanda, Abanyarwanda bari babanye neza, babanye mu mahoro, basangira byose. Abanyarwanda bose biyumvaga nk'abavandimwe, biyitaga bene Kanyarwanda, bakavuga ko u Rwanda ariyo ngobyi ibahetse. Babiterwaga n'uko bari bahuriye kuri byose: ururimi, umuco, amateka, iyobokamana, umwami, imihango, imigenzo, imiziririzo, ibitekerezo n'imigani.

Bari basangiye indangagaciro zimwe kandi bakazirwanira ishyaka: gukunda Igihugu, ubutwari, ubwitange, ubupfura, ukuri, gutabarana, gufashanya n'ibindi; bumvaga kimwe icyo bitaga kirazira. Bari bahuriye ku nyungu rusange zirengerwa n'abenegihugu bose.

2.1. Umuco n'imyemerere

- **Umuco w'Abanyarwanda**

Umuco w'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoloni warangwaga no kuvuga ururimi rumwe, indangagaciro zo gukunda igihugu cyabo, ubunyangamugayo, urukundo, ishema ryo gukora imirimo ifitiye igihugu akamaro, gufashanya ndetse no kwita ku bafite intege nke. Abanyarwanda bari bafite ibyo baziririza (ibintu bibujijwe gukora, ubirenzeho akaba akosheje ndetse akanabihanirwa).

Bari bafite indirimbo, imbyino, ibihozo, inanga, ibyivugo, amahamba n'amazina y'inka biteye kimwe n'ubwo abafite umwuga umwe bahuriyeho hari igihe bagiraga imbyino n'indirimbo byihariye bijyanye n'uwo mwuga wabo.

- **Imyemerere y'Abanyarwanda**

Abanyarwanda bemeraga Imana imwe kandi bakemera ko ihorana nabo "Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda. Bagiraga imigenzo ya

kinyarwanda iherekeza uko kwemera kwabo nko kubandwa, guterekera n'ibindi. Iyo mico ishingiye ku migenzo n'imiziririzo yose yafashaga Abanyarwanda kwimika ubunyarwanda, kudatatira igihango bagiranaga ndetse no kuzuzanya. Ibyo byose byatumaga Abanyarwanda bagira ubumwe butajegajega.

2.2. Ubukungu

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'abakoloni, Abanyarwanda bari bafite ubukungu bushingiye k'ubuhinzi, ubworozi, ububumbyi n'ubucuzi. Abanyarwanda batungwaga n'umusaruro w'ibikorwa byabo byaba ari ibihingwa, ibikomoka ku nka n'ibindi.

Abanyarwanda muri icyo gihe bambaraga ibikomoka ku mpu z'inyamaswa ndetse n'indi myambaro yakomokaga ku biti.

2.3. Kwagura Igihugu

U Rwanda rwavukiye I Gasabo (ubu ni mu murenge wa Rutunga) rugenda rwaguka ndetse ruba rugari kurusha ubu. Umwami w'u Rwanda yagabaga ibitero hirya y'imbibi kugira ngo yagure igihugu cye kurushaho. Ibyo byakorwaga n'Imitwe y'Ingabo, zatojwe kandi zifite ishema ryo kurinda igihugu ndetse no kucyagura.

Uko u Rwanda rwagukaga niko abarutuye bakomezaga kugira ubumwe bwabo nk'Abanyarwanda.

Abami bagize uruhare rukomeye mu kwagura u Rwanda. Twavuga: Ruganzu Bwimba, Kigeri Mukobanya, Ruganzu II Ndori, Kigeri II Nyamuheshera wigaruriye ibihugu byinshi kurusha abandi, niwe wari waragejeje u Rwanda muri Congo no muri Uganda.

Muri 1885 niho u Rwanda rwambuwe zimwe mu Ntara zarwo: Bufumbira, Ndorwa na Mpororo zometswe kuri Uganda; Rutshuru, Bunyabungo n'Idjwi zashyizwe kuri Congo Mbiligi.

2.4. Amoko y'Abanyarwanda

Mu muco wa kinyarwanda ubwoko bivuga abantu bafitanye isano ndetse bafite n'ikirangabwoko bihariye, gifatwa nk'ikimenyetso cyabo bwite, kibaranga (totem). Ibi kandi bitandukanye n'ibyo twita Abahutu, Abatwa, Abatutsi.

Amoko gakondo azwi ni 18: **Abasinga, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abasindi, Ababanda, Abanyiginya, Abega, Abacyaba, Abungura, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abaha, Abashingo, Abanyakarama, Abasita, Abongera, Abenengwe**. Aya moko yose ahuriwemo n'abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi. Ubushakashatsi buhamya ko impamvu ibitera ari uko ayo moko yabayeho mbere y'inyito y'abatwa, abahutu n'abatutsi kuko byadutse nyuma cyane yo kubaho kw'amoko gakondo, yabayeho mu kinyejana cya 1 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Naho inyito abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi yavutse kandi yamamara mu gihe cya vuba, nko mu kinyejana cya 16, 17 na 18. Byatewe na « spécialisation » zinyuranye mu mirimo y'ubuhinzi, ubworozi no kubumba (NURC, Inyoborabiganiro kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda, Gashyantare 2015, p.37).

2.5. Itorero n'urubohero

Itorero n'urubohero byari irerero ry'abana b'abahungu n'abakobwa batangiye kugimbuka, bahurizwaga hamwe bakigishwa indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda ndetse na za kirazira z'umuco nyarwanda.

Mu itorero, abahungu bigishwaga imyitozo ngororamubiri, bagatozwa gukunda igihugu no kukirwanirira cyane cyane ko iyo babaga bamaze gukura ari bo bavagamo abajya mu mitwe y'ingabo zishinzwe kurinda no kwagura igihugu.

Mu rubohero, abakobwa batozwaga imirimo yo kuboha imisambi, ibiseke n'ibindi. Batozwaga kandi umuco w'isuku n'ikinyabupfura byose bagamije ko bazavamo ababyeyi beza babereye u Rwanda.

3. Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoloni

Igihe cy'abadage (1897-1916), umuzungu wa mbere wageze mu Rwanda ni Oscar Bauman (1892) yari Umunya-otrishiya. Uwashoboye kwakirwa i Bwami i Kageyo, ni Comte Von Gotzen muri 1894. Ubukoloni bw'u Rwanda bwashimangiwe n'uwitwa Kapiteni Bethe wagiranye ibyo bise "amasezerano" y'ubukoloni n'ibwami muri 1899. Ayo masezerano yavugaga ko Ubudage buzategekana n'umwami Musinga u Rwanda rwe (protectorat).

Icyo gihe nibwo u Rwanda rwataye ubwigenge bwarwo, ruhinduka ubukoloni bw'amahanga. Muri 1910, abazungu b'abongereza, ababirigi n'abadage bagiranye amasezerano yo gukata imbibi z'u Rwanda n'ibihugu birukikije, u Rwanda rutakaza u Bufumbira n'ibice byose rwari rufite muri Congo.

Abadage bakoranye na Musinga bashimangira ubutegetsi bwe nyuma baje gutsindwa mu ntambara ya mbere y'Isi bava mu Rwanda muri 1916 basimburwa n'ababirigi.

3.1.Isenyuka ry'umuco nyarwanda (ibirangamuco) n'imyemerere n'indangagaciro.

Abakoloni bazanye imihango mishya, bazana ingengabitekerezo nshya n'indangagaciro bishya. Bahindura imyumvire, imitekerereze n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Imico n'iyobokamana bishya byatumye Abanyarwanda bavuga ngo "Kiriziya yakuye kirazira ".

Isenyuka ry'umuco nyarwanda, itorero n'urubohero byasimbuwe n'amashuri yigisha imico n'indangagaciro mvamahanga bisenya ubunyarwanda. Bavanyeho imyemerere nyarwanda bashyiraho imyemerere mvamahanga. Indangagaciro z'Abanyarwanda baziteshheje agaciro, Abanyarwanda batinyuka ibyo baziraga.

3.2. Isenyuka ry'imiyoborere n'imitegekere y'igihugu

Ubukoloni bwose aho buva bukagera ni ubutegetsi bukandamiza abenegihugu. Ubukoloni bw'ababirigi buri mu bintu by'ibanze byashenye u Rwanda cyane cyane mu birebana n'imyumvire, imitekerereze n'umuco byarwo. Bwabanje kuvanaho ububasha bwose umwami yari afite nko kugaba imisozi, guca imanza, gutanga ibihano no kutavuguruzwa, bavanaho n'inzego z'ubutegetsi n'ubwiru zamufashaga. Ibyo babonye bidahagije bacira umwami ishyanga.

3.3. Inyigisho z'ivangura n'amacakubiri

Mu bintu bikomeye abakoloni bazanye harimo kwigisha ko Abanyarwanda atari bamwe, batava hamwe kandi ko bataziye rimwe mu Rwanda. Bigisha ko badafite imiterere, imitekerere n'imico imwe.

Abakoloni basubiye mu miyoborere y'Igihugu muri 1926-1931: banyaga abahutu bari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi hafi ya bose, bagabira imiryango imwe y'abatutsi babayobotse. Abatutsi basigara bihariye ubutegetsi bahatswemo n'abakoloni.

Bagendeye kuri ibyo bashyizeho amashuri hamwe na hamwe yigwamo n'abatutsi ukwabo n'abahutu ukwabo. Nyuma haje kubaho ishuri ry'i Nyanza n'agashami k'abiga iby'ubutegetsi i Butare kigwagamo n'abatutsi bategurwaga kuzatwara.

Inkubiri y'ubwigenge itangiye muri Afrika, abari mu Nama nkuru y'Igihugu kandi hafi ya bose bari Abatutsi batangiye guharanira uburenganzira bwabo mu birebana n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu mu nyandiko bise "Mise au Point". Abakoloni ntibababifashe neza, batangira gushyigikira itsinda ry'abahutu ryari rikuriwe na Kayibanda ari nabwo handitswe icyiswe « Manifeste y' Abahutu » muri 1957. Bavuga ko barengera Gahutu wakandamijwe na Gatutsi. Irondabwoko rya politiki rirwanya Abatutsi ryavutse icyo gihe.

3.4. Ivuka ry'amashyaka ya Politiki

Muri 1959, Ababiligi batanze uburenganzira bwo gushinga amashyaka ya politiki. Iryabimbuye ni APROSOMA ryatangiye ari ishyirahamwe muri 1957, rihindurwamo ishyaka ku wa 15/2/1959. APROSOMA yatangiye yiyita ishyaka ry'abahutu.

Hakurikiyeho PARMEHUTU (26/9/1959) ikomotse kuri "Mouvement social Muhutu" yashinzwe muri Kamena 1956 na KAYIBANDA. PARMEHUTU yashingiye ku murongo wa politiki wo kurengera Abahutu gusa no kwikoma Abatutsi. Andi mashyaka yashinzwe ni UNAR yashinzwe ku wa 3 Nzeri 1959. RUKEBA Francois (Perezida) na Michel RWAGASANA (Umunyamabanga Mukuru). UNAR yaharaniraga ubwigenge busesuye.

Irindi ni RADER yashinzwe ku ya 14 Nzeri 1959 na Lazaro NDAZARO na Prosper BWANAKWELI.

4. Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri

Nyuma y'ubukoloni, ingengabitekerezo y'ivangura, irondabwoko ni yo yakomeje kuranga ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri zakurikiye ubwigenge. Repubulika ya mbere (1962-1973) imaze kuvuka hashyizweho inzego nshya z'ubutegetsi zisimbura inzego zari zishingiye ku ngoma ya cyami.

4.1. Imitegekere ishingiye ku ivangura

Nyuma y'ubukoloni, ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU ryasigaranye umurage w'irondakoko binyuze mu mvururu zo mu w'1959-1962. Ibi bigaragarira mu mvugo z'abayobozi baryo nk'uko Kayibanda Gregoire waje no kuba Perezida w'u Rwanda yabishimangiye mu magambo ye agira ati: "U Rwanda ni igihugu kimwe kirimo bibiri. Abatuye ibi bihugu ntacyo bahuriyeho. Ntibahuje imico! Ababituye bameze nk'abava ahantu hatandukanye cyangwa abaturage

b'imigabane itandukanye". (Rutembesa, F. et al., Rwanda. Identite et citoyennete, Butare, 2003, p.128.)

Ibyo kandi byari mu mvugo no mu myandikire, aho uwitwa Gitera Joseph, umuyobozi wa Aprosoma, akaba yaranabaye umuyobozi w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, yanditse amategeko icumi y'abahutu mu mvugo ze zirangwa n'urwango yari afitiye abatutsi (NURC, Histoire du Rwanda: Des origines à la fin du XXe Siècle, 2011, pp397).

Muri make, ikibazo kinini Repubulika ya mbere yagize cyari umurongo wayo wa politiki (idewoloji yayo) yimakaza irondabwoko n'amacakubiri.

4.2. Inyigisho n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'irondakoko, irondakarere, iringaniza, n'ihezwa

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

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

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

- kwica abatutsi bari mu gihugu igihe cyose impunzi ziri hanze ziteye igihugu zishaka gutaha; uretse ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi ndetse benshi bakirukanwa mu gihugu mu mwaka w'I 1959 n'1963, abatutsi bakomeje kwicwa no kwirukanwa mu 1973, no kuva 1990 kugeza 1994;
- iringaniza mu mashuri no mu mirimo rishingiye ku moko n'uturere;
- gukoresha amoko n'uturere (Abakiga, Abanyenduga) nk'iturufu yo kugera no kugundira ubutegetsi ndetse no kwikubira ibyiza by'igihugu;
- gupfukirana ikibazo cy'uburenganzira bwa muntu ku bari imbere mu gihugu no kubuza impunzi gutaha mu Rwanda.

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

Ibi bibazo by'imitegekere ishingiye ku ivangura, irondakoko, irondakarere, iringaniza, ikandamizwa n'ihezwa ku byiza by'igihugu kwa bamwe, ubwicanyi no guheza bamwe mu banyarwanda mu buhunzi n'ibindi byinshi bibangamiye uburenganzira bwa muntu byarakomeje kugeza ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri buteguye bukanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

4.3. Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi

Nyuma y'igihe kirekire Abanyarwanda bigishwa amacakubiri, ihezwa n'ikandamizwa, ivuka ry'imitwe y'abahezanguni (CDR, etc.), gucikamo ibice kw'amashyaka (Hutu Power), kudindiza amasezerano y'Arusha, ishyirwaho rya MINUAR muri 1993, urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana rwakoreshejwe nk'urwitwazo rwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi wari warateguwe mbere unageragezwa ahantu hatandukanye mu Rwanda nko mu Bugesera na Kibirira.

Ubwicanyi bwatangiriye i Kigali bukwira vuba mu gihugu cyose. Inzego n'uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutsemba Abatutsi byerekana ko umugambi wo gukora jenoside wateguwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Leta, ushyirwa mu bikorwa n'inzego zayo: arizo abategetsi b'inzego z'ibanze, ingabo, abajandarume n'imitwe ubuyobozi bwari bwararemye buyiha imyitozo n'ibikoresho bya gisirikari ndetse tutibagiwe n'itangazamakuru.

Abayobozi b'inzego nkuru za Leta barimo Perezida Sindikubwabo, Minisitiri w'Intebe Kambanda n'abandi ba Minisitiri batanze intwaro kandi bazengurutse ibyari Perefegitura ya Butare, Gikongoro, Kibuye na Gitarama bakangurira abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze n'abaturage kwica Abatutsi.

Jenoside yakozwe mu gihugu hose, ihitana miliyoni irenga y'Abatutsi. Uretse gutakaza abantu, abarokotse basigaye ari imfubyi, incike, abapfakazi, inkomere, abavanywe mu byabo n'impunzi zigera kuri miliyoni eshatu zahungiye mu bihugu bihana imbibe n'u Rwanda, igihugu cyasigaye ari amatongo mu bikorwa remezo ndetse n'ubukungu bw'igihugu muri rusange bwarahazahariye.

Abatutsi barishwe kugeza ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994 aho ingabo za RPF INKOTANYI zahagaritse Jenoside mu gihugu hose maze ku itariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 hagashyirwaho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.

5. Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside

Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda imaze kujyaho, mu nshingano yari ifite harimo no kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda hamwe no guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Umuryango nyarwanda wari warasenyutse ku buryo butandukanye, imfubyi n'abapfakazi benshi, impunzi mu mahanga cyane cyane mu bihugu duturanye, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, urwango, urwikekwe, ibikorwa remezo byarasenyutse, ubukene mu miryango

ndetse n'igihugu muri rusange. Nyuma ya Jenoside icyizere cy'ubuzima ku banyarwanda cyari hasi cyane.

Guhera 1994, Leta y'Ubumwe igiyeho, hamaze gukorwa byinshi. Leta y'Ubumwe yashyizeho Politiki ziha icyerekezo cyiza igihugu, ikemura ibibazo byavuzwe haruguru mu buryo butandukanye: ifasha abacitse ku icumu, icyura impunzi zagiye mu 1994 na mbere yaho, yubaka ibikorwa remezo, ishyiraho ingamba zo kurwanya ubukene, …. ariko yita cyane cyane mu kunga no kubanisha Abanyarwanda.

Ubushakashatsi ku gipimo cy'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda bwakozwe na Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu mwaka wa 2015 bwagaragaje ko Abanyarwanda babanye neza ku kigero cya 92,5% kivuye kuri 82,3% mu mwaka wa 2010 (NURC, Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2015).

Umusozo

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ni inkingi ya mwamba mu mibereho n'iterambere ry'Igihugu cyacu. Kuva kera Abanyarwanda babanaga neza, abakoroni baje batangira kubatanya, bahereye ku gutesha agaciro indangagaciro na kirazira z'umuco wabo. Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri zashimangiye politiki yo gutanya Abanyarwanda, amacakubiri, irondakoko n'ihezwa ku byiza by'igihugu. Ibyo kandi byagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu 1994.

Nyuma ya Jenoside, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ifite intego yo kubaka u Rwanda rwunze ubumwe, Abanyarwanda bose bafite uburenganzira busesuye kandi bafatanyije mu miyoborere myiza y'igihugu no mu iterambere ryacyo (NURC, Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge, Kanama 2007).
Biragaragara ko hakiri intambwe zo gutera mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda ariko kandi hari na byinshi byo kwishimirwa ku bimaze gukorwa.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA III

JENOSIDE N'INGENGABITEKEREZO YAYO, IPFOBYA, IHAKANA N'UBURYO BWO KUBIRWANYA

0. Intego:

Nyuma y'iki kiganiro, abanyeshuri bazaba bashobora:

- gusobanukirwa Jenoside icyo aricyo, uko itegurwa n'uko ishyirwa mu bikorwa;
- guharanira ko Jenoside itakongera kubaho ku isi;
- kwamaganira kure ibitera Jenoside byose cyane cyane irondakoko (racisme), ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside (idéologie génocidaire) n'ibindi bimenyetso nshamarenga byose biganisha kuri Jenoside (Prévention)
- gusobanukirwa n'agaciro ko kwibuka hagamijwe ko Jenoside itazongera kubaho ukundi;
- gusobanukirwa n'amategeko ahana icyaha cya Jenoside no kurwanya umuco wo kudahana.

1. Ibisobanuro by'amagambo

1.1. Jenoside n'iki?

Nk'uko byanditse mu gitabo cya Samuel Totten and Paul R. Bartrop (ed), The Genocide Studies Reader1, Ijambo « Jenoside » ryahanzwe n'umunyamategeko w'umuyahudi wabaga muri Pologne, Raphaël LEMKIN ashingiye ku ijambo ry'ikigereki "genos" rivuga ubwoko cyangwa inkomoko, hamwe n'iry'ikilatini "cãedere" risobanura kwica. Raphael Lemkin ashinga iri jambo yashakaga kwerekana itandukaniro riri hagati ya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha ndengakamere byibasira inyoko muntu (Crime contre l'humanité cyangwa Crime against humanity). Icyi cyaha gishingiye ku mugambi wo kurimbura burundu abantu bo mu bwoko, bo mu idini cyangwa batuye ahantu

runaka. Ntabwo abantu barimburwa baba bazize y'uko bari ku rugamba cyangwa ngo bahorwe ibindi byaha. Ahubwo bahorwa gusa icyo baricyo. Mu by'ukuri, abakora Jenoside nibo bashyiraho ibiranga abo bashaka kurimbura.

Amasezerano mpuzamahanga [(UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG)] yemejwe na ONU tariki ya 9/12/1948, ashyirwa mu bikorwa tariki ya 12/1/1951, amaze kwemezwa n'ibihugu byose bigize uwo muryango, yavuze mu magambo yumvikanyweho (compromise) icyo Jenoside aricyo.

Yagize ati « Muri aya masezerano, Jenoside bivuga kimwe muri ibi bikorwa bikurikira bikoranywe umugambi wo kurimbura bose cyangwa igice cy'abantu bahuriye ku bwenegihugu (national), ubwoko (ethnical), ibara ry'uruhu (racial), idini.

1.2. Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'iki?

Igisobanuro tugisanga mu Itegeko no. 84/2013 ryo ku wa 11/09/2013 rihana icyaha cy'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha bifitanye isano nayo: "Igikorwa gikozwe ku bushake, kibereye mu ruhame byaba mu magambo, mu nyandiko, mu mashusho cyangwa ku bundi buryo, cyatuma umuntu agaragaraho imitekerereze ishingiye ku moko, idini, ubwenegihugu cyangwa ibara ry'uruhu hagamijwe: kwimakaza ikorwa rya Jenoside no gushyigikira Jenoside.

1.3. Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside irangwa n'iki?

Irangwa n'umugambi wateguwe ukurikiwe n'ibikorwa bigamije kurimbura igice kimwe cy'abaturage cyangwa abaturage bose, bishingiye ku mpamvu z'ubwenegihugu, ubwoko, ibara ry'uruhu, cyangwa se idini. Iyi mitekerereze kandi ntirangirana no gukora Jenoside kuko na nyuma abayikoze n'abayishyigikiye bakomeza

ibikorwa byo kuyihakana no kuyipfobya, ibi bikajyana n'ibindi bikorwa bigamije kuyisibanganya cyangwa kwibasira abayirokotse.

2.Ibyiciro by'itegurwa rya Jenoside:

Kugira ngo Jenoside ishoboke igomba kuba ishyigikiwe na Leta. Leta igira umugambi n'ubushake bisesuye (intention) byo gutsemba icyo gice cy'abaturage bayo kandi koko ikabishyira mu bikorwa. Leta itegura Jenoside ibikorera gahunda kandi ikayigeraho. Uwicwa ntazira icyo yakoze, azira gusa ko ari umwe mu bagize igice cy'abo baturage bagomba kurimburwa. Jenoside igira umurongo mugari igenderaho. Niwo uhuza abasangiye icyerekezo kimwe cyo gukora Jenoside. Uwo murongo mugari niwo bita ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.

Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikorerwa propaganda, igasakara mu bantu benshi, ikagira ingufu maze abantu bakayigenderaho bakemera gukora Jenoside.

Jenoside yose iba ifite uko yateguwe, ntitungurana. Ibyo bita ko bisa n'uburakari bw'abaturage biba bifite ibyabibanjirije, byigishijwe, kandi byateguwe neza. Kandi nibyo bifashisha mu gukora Jenoside.

3.Ibyaha byibasira inyokomuntu:

- Kwica abantu b'itsinda rimwe;
- Gukomeretsa bikabije imibiri cyangwa ibitekerezo by'abantu b'itsinda rimwe;
- Gushyira abantu b'itsinda rimwe mu buzima bubi ubigendereye, ugamije ko barimbuka bose cyangwa igice;
- Gushyiraho uburyo bubuza iryo tsinda kubyara;
- Kwambura iri tsinda abana babo bagahabwa irindi ridafite aho bahuriye.

3.1. Ibyaha bifitanye isano n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside

Ibyo byaha bigaragarira mu ngingo zikurikira:

- gushishikariza undi gukora Jenoside: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe mu ruhame kigamije guhamagarira, koshya, gukangurira cyangwa guhatira undi muntu gukora Jenoside. Umuntu wese, ukora igikorwa kivugwa mu gika kibanziriza iki, aba akoze icyaha cyo gushishikariza undi gukora Jenoside;
- guhakana Jenoside: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake kandi mu ruhame kigamije: kuvuga cyangwa kugaragaza ko Jenoside atari Jenoside, kugoreka ukuri kuri Jenoside kugira ngo uyobye rubanda, kwemeza ko mu Rwanda habaye Jenoside ebyiri, kuvuga cyangwa kugaragaza ko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi itateguwe;
- gupfobya Jenoside: ni imyitwarire iyo ari yo yose igambiriwe kandi igaragajwe mu ruhame mu buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose, igamije: kugabanya uburemere cyangwa ingaruka ya Jenoside, koroshya uburyo Jenoside yakozwemo;
- guha ishingiro Jenoside: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake kandi mu ruhame kigamije: gushimagiza Jenoside, gushyigikira Jenoside, kwemeza ko Jenoside yari ifite ishingiro;
- guhisha cyangwa kwangiza ibimenyetso bya Jenoside cyangwa by'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake gitesha agaciro cyangwa gisibanganya ibimenyetso cyangwa amakuru byerekeye Jenoside cyangwa by'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu;
- kwiba cyangwa kwangiza imibiri y'abazize Jenoside: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake kigamije gutwara bujura imibiri y'abazize Jenoside. Kwangiza imibiri y'abazize Jenoside ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake kigamije gutesha agaciro imibiri y'abazize Jenoside;

- gusenya urwibutso cyangwa irimbi ry'abazize Jenoside: ni igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake kigamije gutesha agaciro, guhirika, kumanyura, konona irimbi cyangwa urwibutso rw'abazize Jenoside, ibimenyetso by'urwibutso cyangwa by'irimbi rya Jenoside cyangwa gukorera ibidakwiye ku rwibutso cyangwa ku irimbi ry'abazize Jenoside;
- guhohotera uwacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside: ni imyitwarire cyangwa igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose gikozwe ku bushake, kigamije gutoteza, gutera ubwoba, gutesha agaciro, kwigamba, gushinyagurira, gutuka cyangwa kwangiza umutungo w'umuntu bishingiye ko ari uwacitse ku icumu rya Jenoside.

4. Amateka ya Jenoside ku isi

4.1. Jenoside y'Abarumeniya

Hagati y'imyaka 1915 na 1916, Abarumeniya bari hagati ya 1.000.000 na miliyoni ebyiri (2.000.000) bari muri Turikiya barishwe. Abasigaye bakomeje kwicwa kugeza muri 1923. Bishwe na Leta ya Turkiya. Babanje kuvanwa mu ngo zabo ku ngufu bajyanwa mu nkambi ziri mu butayu, baricwa. Abarokotse banyanyagizwa hirya no hino mu butayu, bahicirwa n'inzara n'inyota, baregwaga kuba ngo bagambanira Leta zabo. Leta ya Turkiya ntiyigeze yemera iyo Jenoside.

Muri 1975 niho Congrès y' Amerika yashyizeho umunsi wo kwibuka iyo Jenoside. ONU iyemera mu 1985. Inteko y'Uburayi iyemera mu 1987. Izindi Nteko zayemeye ni iy'Ababirigi, Canada, Ubufaransa n'izindi nke; Leta y'Ubufaransa yayemeye burundu kuri 18/1/2001.

4.2. Jenoside y'Abayahudi

Leta y'Abadage (llle Reich) yakoze gahunda yo kurimbura imbaga y'Abayahudi igeze kuri 6.000.000 hagati ya 1938 na 1946. Bishwe

n'Abanazi n'abandi babafashije mu Budage no mu Burayi bwose bwari bwigaruriwe na leta ya Hitler.

Irondakoko ryibasiye Abayahudi bita ''antisémitisme'' ni ryo rikuru cyane ryabaye mu madini, mu bukungu, muri politike no mu muco. Leta ya Hitler niyo yarigize ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside. Batangira kwirukanwa mu Budage, bamwe barahava. Abasigaye baricwa mu bihugu byose byari byatsinze: Pologne, Autriche, URSS, France, Pays - Bas, Belgique, Grèce, Yougoslavie n'ahandi. Jenoside y'Abayahudi yitwa '' SHOAh'' bivuga gutsembwatsembwa (destruction totale, destruction absolue, catastrophe écrasante).

Hari n'igihe bakoresha ijambo '' Holocauste'', bivuga gutangwaho igitambo (une immolation entièrement consommée). Ayo magambo ariko ashobora no gukoreshwa ku zindi Jenoside zabaye ahandi.

Abayahudi ndetse n'abandi bishwe n'abanazi bagiye bakusanyirizwa mu bigo, byitwa ''camps de concentration''. Ariko hari n'ibindi byitwaga ibigo by'imirimo, hakaba ibindi byitwaga iby'imfungwa z'intambara, ndetse habaga n'ibyo bitaga iby'agateganyo. Hakaba ariko cyane cyane ibigo by'urupfu. Byose hamwe byari hafi 30.

Urupfu rw'umwihariko rw'abayahudi ni ukwicishwa uburozi bwa ''Gaz'' bafungiranaga abayahudi mu bikamyo bifungiranye hose, cyangwa mu byumba binini bifungiranye hose, bakoherezamo uburozi bw'umwuka wa GAZ (Zyklon – B) bagapfa nyuma y'iminota 15-20.

Abayahudi bicanywe n'abandi bantu batari abayahudi, bamwe bazize ibyo bakoraga, abandi kubera ibyo bangaga gukora cyangwa gusa kubera icyo baricyo. Abo ni nk'abakomunisti, abasosiyalisti, abaliberali, abasendikalisti, abitwa « homosexuels », abo mw'idini rya « Témoins de Jéhovah », abitwa « Tsiganes ».

Abandi bishwe ari benshi ni imfungwa z'intambara z'abasoviyetike: hishwe hafi 3.300.000.

Abandi bishwe ari benshi ni aba SLAVES bo muri U.R.S.S. no muri Pologne: hishwe hamwe hagati ya 19.000.700 na 24.000.000 y'abaturage. Abantu bose bazize Jenoside y'Abanazi bageze kuri 26.000.000, harimo 6.000.000 z'abayahudi, hagati ya 500.000 na 1.000.000 y'aba Tsiganes n'abandi bagizwe cyane cyane n'abaslaves.

4.3. Jenoside zindi: TIMOR-ORIENTAL, KOSOVO, CAMBODGE

TIMOR-ORIENTAL yamaze kwiyemeza ko yihaye ''ubwigenge'' muri 1975. Igihugu cya INDONESIE kirayitera kirayinesha muri 1976. Hicwa 1/3 cy'abaturage bose. Hishwe abagera ku 200.000. Abandi barabura bagera ku 170.000, ndetse abagore baterwa imiti ibabuza kubyara kandi babikorerwa batabizi.

KOSOVO: Leta ya Serbie iyobowe na Slobodan Milosevic yirukanye abo muri Kosovo bageze ku 980.000. Barahunga abandi baricwa bari hagati ya 50 na 100.000. Bamwe bicishijwe inzara, abandi intwaro. Abagore n'abakobwa bagafatwa ku ngufu. Abicwaga bahambwaga mu byobo rusange, abandi bagatwikwa. Ubwicanyi bwo muri Kosovo bwitwa ''nettoyage ethnique''

CAMBODGE: Leta y' abitwa "Khmers rouges" yishe abaturage bayo 1.800.000 hagati ya 1975 na 1979. Ubwo bwicanyi bwa jenoside bwayobowe na POL POT. Wafashe ubutegetsi muri 1975.

Atangira kwirukana muri Phnon Penh abaturage bageze kuri 2.000.000. Igihugu cyose gihinduka nk'uburoko bw'abantu bagera kuri 8.000.000. Abapfuye, bagera kuri 1.800.000, bazize imirimo y'agahato, inzara, no gufatwa nabi bikabije. Leta ya POL POT yaje gutsindwa muri 1979.

Ariko muri rusange igihugu cya Cambodge cyatakaje abantu bagera kuri 4.000.000 kuri 7.500.000 cyari gifite. Baguye mu Ntambara, bishwe n'inzara, bazize Jenoside n'ubundi bwicanyi bukabije.

Hagati ya 1970 na 1980, hapfuye hafi 3.300.000 y'abaturage. Abitwa ba ''Khemers rouges'' ubwabo bishe 2.400.000 z'abantu. Kugeza magingo aya, Jenoside yo muri Cambodge ntiremerwa.

5.Imiterere y'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu mahanga

Imiterere y'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu mahanga ishingiye cyane cyane mu guhakana no gupfobya Jenoside mu mvugo no mu bikorwa bya bamwe mu bantu banyuranye aribo: abanyapolitiki, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside bari hanze, abavuga ko bahunze Leta, abanyamahanga, abanyamakuru, abiyita abashakashatsi, bamwe mu bavuga ko bihayimana n'abo mu miryango mpuzamahanga yaba iya Leta n'itari iya Leta.

Mu bihugu by'amahanga bimwe hari ibintu bibiri bigaragaza ingengabitekerezo: guhakana no gupfobya Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi.

6. Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda n'ingaruka zayo

Uko ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yagaragaye mu Rwanda: mbere ya Jenoside, ubuyobozi bwariho bwimakaje politiki y'ivangura, amacakubiri n'akarengane, guhimbira abantu ibibaranga, gushyiraho amategeko icumi y'abahutu (Gitera na Kangura); ibinyamakuru (Kangura), Radiyo (RTLM, ...), imvugo y'abanyapolitiki n'abandi bayobozi (Léon MUGESERA, KAYIBANDA, HABYARIMANA, BAGOSORA). Ibi byose byagize ingaruka zikomeye mu gihe cya Jenoside na nyuma yayo.

Ingaruka za Jenoside mu Rwanda:

- gupfusha abantu barenze miliyoni kandi b'ingeri zose;

- ubuhunzi bw'abarenze ½ cy'abari mu gihugu biganjemo abahunga kubazwa ibyo bakoze;
- umutekano wahungabanyijwe n'abacengezi biganjemo abakoze Jenoside;
- isura y'Igihugu n'abagituye yataye agaciro mu rwego mpuzamahanga;
- imibanire y'Abanyarwanda yasubiye inyuma;
- ihungabana n'ihahamuka ry'abarokotse Jenoside;
- ibikomere bikomeye ku mibiri no ku mitima by'abarokotse Jenoside;
- Umubare munini w'abatishoboye (inshike, imfubyi zibana, abapfakazi etc).
- ubwandu bwa SIDA n'izindi ndwara byariyongereye;
- abana bavutse ku babyeyi batabashaka kuko batewe inda n'abicanyi;
- abasenyewe amazu n'indi mitungo;
- ubukungu bw'Igihugu bwarahungabanye;
- imfungwa nyinshi zirenze cyane ubushobozi bw'amagereza asanzwe kandi no kuzitunga bivuna Leta, izindi zikaba zifungiwe mu mahanga n'ibindi.

7. Ipfobya n'ihakana bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Hari uburyo bwo guhakana no gupfobya Jenoside bugaragarira mu bikorwa n'imyitwarire bikurikira:

- kuvuga ko Jenoside itabayeho;
- kuyita andi mazina (amahano, ibyabaye, etc);
- kuvuga ko byari intambara, ubwicanyi;
- kuvuga ko Jenoside yatewe n'urupfu rw'uwari Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Juvenal;
- kuvuga ko habaye Jenoside ebyiri;
- kurwanya kwibuka;
- gufata nabi inzibutso;
- gutoteza no kwica abacitse ku icumu;
- gushyigikira ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside;

- guhishira no guhisha ukuri kwafasha ubutabera;
- kwigisha no gushyigikira amacakubiri n'inzangano mu mashuri, mu madini, mu mashyaka ya politiki n'ahandi abantu bahurira;
- gufatanya no gutera inkunga abafite umugambi wo kongera gukora Jenoside.

Hari ibindi byaha bifitanye isano n'ingengabitekerezo nabyo bihanirwa aribyo:

- kugoreka ukuri kuri Jenoside kugirango uyobye rubanda;
- kugabanya uburemere cyangwa ingaruka ya Jenoside;
- kworoshya uburyo Jenoside yakozwemo;
- guhisha cyangwa kwangiza ibimenyetso bya Jenoside n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu;
- kwiba cyangwa kwangiza imibiri y'abazize Jenoside
- gusenya urwibutso cyangwa irimbi ry'abazize Jenoside
- guhohotera uwacitse kw'icumu rya Jenoside

8. Ingamba zo kurwanya ipfobya n'ihakana rya Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi

- kuyirinda (Prévention) binyuze mu bukangurambaga
- guca umuco wo kudahana no gucira imanza abakoze Jenoside
- gushyiraho ibigo bikora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside
- gushyiraho amategeko ahana icyaha cya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo
- gushishikariza ibindi bihugu kwibuka no gushyiraho amategeko ahana Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi n'amategeko ahana ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, ihakana n'ipfobya byayo;
- kwita ku muryango kugira ngo ube ishingiro ry'amahoro n'urubuga rwo kurandura ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside;

- kugira urwego rw'uburezi umuyoboro nyamukuru w'ingamba zihashya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'amacakubiri;
- gukomeza gushimangira umutekano w'Igihugu;
- kurushaho guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenoside hashyirwaho ikigega cy'indishyi ku barokotse Jenoside;
- kwita ku bubanyi n'amahanga nk'umuyoboro wo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo no kubaka amahoro arambye mu Rwanda;
- kurwanya ubukene, guhanga imirimo no kongera ubukungu bw'Abanyarwanda
- kwigisha no gushimangira ingamba zo kurandura ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside;
- kwibuka no gufata neza inzibutso

8.1. Amategeko ahana ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside

i. Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'U Rwanda ryo muri 2003 ryavuguruwe muri 2015, mu iranganshingiro ryayo rihamya ko Abanyarwanda biyemeje gukumira no guhana icyaha cya Jenoside, kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya rya Jenoside, kurandura burundu ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'ibyo igaragariramo byose, amacakubiri n'ivangura bishingiye ku moko, ku turere n'ibindi ibyo aribyo byose.

ii. Ingingo ya 10 y'Itegeko Nshinga ishyiraho amahame remezo Leta y'u Rwanda igenderaho n'ayo iteganya mu gukumira no guhana icyaha cya Jenoside, kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya rya Jenoside no kurandura burundu ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'ibyo igaragariramo byose.

iii. Amategeko n'amabwiriza bihana ibyaha byerekeye Jenoside mu Rwanda

- Itegeko nº 18/2008 ryo ku wa 23/07/2008 rihana icyaha cy'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside

- Itegeko N0 n° 33 bis/2003 of 06/09/2003 rihana icyaha cya Jenoside, ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu n'ibyaha by'intambara
- Itegeko № 56/2008 ryo kuwa 10/09/2008 rigenga inzibutso n'amarimbi by'abazize Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda;
- Amabwiriza areba imyitwarire y'Imitwe ya Politiki mu Rwanda
- N'andi mategeko

9. Uko Jenoside zikorwa:

Ntabwo Jenoside zikorwa kimwe. Aho Jenoside zagiye ziba hose, ntabwo zagiye zikorwa kimwe. Icyo zihuriraho ni uko zikorwa na Leta ifite umugambi wo kurimbura igice kimwe cy'abaturage bayo. Uburyo n'inzira zo kubica biratandukanye, bumwe ni ubu:

- Kubicisha intwaro ku bwinshi;
- Kubicisha inzara ari benshi ;
- Kubabuza kubyara;
- Kubacaho urubyaro;
- Kubicisha indwara n'uburozi n'imyuka ihumanya.

10. Uko Jenoside zirwanywa

Iteka abakoze Jenoside bagerageza kuyihakana. Bagahakana ko yabaye, bagahakana uruhare rw'abayikoze, bagahakana ko Leta yayikoresheje. Guhakana Jenoside bishobora gutuma yongera kubaho, ndetse kuyihakana bisa no kuyikomeza.

Hari ibikorwa byinshi byo kuyibuza kongera kubaho. Harimo kuyirinda, kuyibuka, amategeko n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga biyamagana, ubutabera n'ibindi.

a) Kuyirinda: Kubuza Jenoside kubaho, bisaba kumenya hakiri kare impamvu ziyitera, hakabaho ingufu nyinshi zo kuvanaho izo mpamvu zitera Jenoside.

Hagomba guhagarika hakiri kare:

- impamvu zose ziheza abaturage mu byiza by'bihugu cyabo;
- impamvu zose zisumbanya abaturage, zishingiye ku cyo baricyo: idini, ubwoko, politike, n'ibindi;

- impamvu zose zamamaza irondakoko, irondakarere, ubwironde bwa bamwe, ingengabitekerezo zibiba inzangano n'amacakubiri;
- leta zikoresha ubutegetsi bw'igitugu n'izishingira ubutegetsi bwazo ku irondakoko n'ivangura icyo ryaba rishingiyeho cyose;
- igitera intambara cyose kuko kenshi Jenoside zikorwa mu ntambara;
- ibinyamakuru n'amaradiyo byamamaza inzangano;
- aho Jenoside itangiye gusa n'ikorwa hagomba gutabarwa vuba na bwangu.

b) Gucira imanza abakoze Jenoside

Abakoze Jenoside bagomba gucibwa imanza bagahanwa, bigaca intege abatekereza gukora izindi Jenoside. Amasezerano mpuzamahanga ku birebana na Jenoside yemera ko abakoze Jenoside bagomba gukurikiranwa mu gihugu cyabo cyangwa hanze y'igihugu cyabo. Yemera kandi ko icyaha cya Jenoside kidasaza.

Inkiko mpuzamahanga zizwi cyane ni:

- Urukiko mpuzamahanga rwa gisirikare rwa Nuremberg rwaciriye imanza abanazi bakoze Jenoside y'abayahudi.
- Urukiko mpuzamahanga rw'icyahoze ari Yougoslavie rwagiriyeho gucira imanza abayobozi bateje Jenoside

n'ibyaha by'intambara ndetse n'ibyibasiye inyokomuntu muri Yougoslavie.
- Urukiko mpuzamahanga rw'Arusha rwashyiriweho gucira imanza abakoze Jenoside y'Abatutsi.
- Urukiko rw'umwihariko rwavugwa mu Rwanda ni urukiko rwa GACACA rwari rushinzwe gucira imanza abakoze Jenoside mu Rwanda no kubaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda.

c) Kwibuka no gushyiraho inzibutso

Kwibuka Jenoside no gushyiraho inzibutso, bituma abantu batirara ngo bibagirwe Jenoside kuko bayibagiwe banakwibagirwa ibiyitera. Jenoside y'abayahudi niyo ifite inzu z'inzibutso nyinshi kandi henshi. Hari izubatse aho abayahudi baguye, mu nkambi z'urupfu. Hari iziri muri Autriche, muri France, mu Budage, muri Pologne, no muri Pays-Bas. Hari izindi zubatswe ahandi nko muri ISRAËL (Yad Vashem), muri Amerika no muri Australiya.

Jenoside y'abarumeniya nayo ifite inzibutso ahantu hatandukanye nko muri Californie n'ahandi nko muri Arménie.

Mu Rwanda inzibutso ziriho zirubakwa: Gisozi, Murambi, Ntarama, Bisesero n'ahandi.

d) Ibigo bikora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside

Mu rwego rwo kumenya Jenoside, impamvu ziyitera n'uko yakwirindwa hari ibigo bikora ubushakashatsi bwihariye kuri Jenoside. Bimwe ni ibi:

- La Société pour les populations menacées, iri mu Budage
- La Commission de documentation sur le Cambodge, iri New-York muri Amerika.
- L'Institut sur l'Holocauste et le Génocide, iri i Jerusalem muri Israël.

- Institut pour l'étude du Génocide, iri New York muri Amerika.
- Le Centre pour les études comparatives du Génocide, iri Sydney muri Australie.
- L'Institut de Montréal pour les études du Génocide, iri muri Canada.
- International Alert, iri Londre mu Bwongereza
- Association des spécialistes du génocide

Ibi bigo byose bikora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside, ibiyitera n'uko yakwirindwa. Bikora kandi inyigisho zirebana na Jenoside na programu zo kuzigisha. Byandika ibitabo byinshi kubirebana na Jenoside, bigakora n'inama mpuzamahanga ku birebana na Jenoside.

Umwanzuro

Jenoside zabaye kuva kera, hirya no hino ku isi. Aho Jenoside yakorewe hose yabaga igamije kurimbura inyoko-muntu. Inyoko–muntu yose rero igomba gukangurirwa kurwanya Jenoside kuko nitayirwanya, ariyo ubwayo izazima.

Jenoside ni ''processus'': ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside iravuka, igakura, igashyirwa mu bikorwa, aribyo Jenoside. Leta izakora Jenoside irangwa n'ubushake ifite bwo kuzarimbura igice kimwe cy'abaturage bacyo. Ikagendera kuri uwo murongo. Ikabyinjiza mu nzego zose no mu baturage bayo. Abantu biga gutoteza abandi, kubatuka no kubica: bagenda babikora, bakabimenyera.

Jenoside ibera kenshi mu bihugu bifite ingorane z'ubukungu, za politiki cyangwa z'intambara. Ishoboka kuko iteka ibihugu birebera, ntibitabare, abayikora ntibagira ikibakomakoma. Ariko Jenoside ishobora kwirindwa. Bisaba ko hamenyekana neza ibiyiranga byose n'ibiyibanziriza n'uko ''processus'' yayo igenda ikura. Bigomba kwigwa no kwigishwa.

Mu Rwanda hakwiye gushyirwaho:

- mu mashuri yose, Porogaramu yo kwigisha gukumira no kwirinda Jenoside;
- ikigo gikora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside, kikagirana umubano n'ibigo by'ubushakashatsi biri hirya no hino kw'isi;
- komisiyo y'Igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside nk'uko yateganijwe mw'Itegeko-Nshinga;
- inzu, bita ndangamurage ya Jenoside y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda, n'ibindi.

Muri rusange hari Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bafite ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside kandi bakanayikwirakwiza bifashishije itangazamakuru, abitwa impuguke k'u Rwanda n'ibiyaga bigari. Iyi mitekerereze n'imikorere bifite ingaruka mbi ku gihugu no ku mibanire y'abagituye.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA IV

INZIRA Y'UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE MU RWANDA

0.Intego y'ikiganiro

Iki kiganiro gifite intego zikurikira:

- gusobanukirwa n'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda;
- kumenya ibyaranze ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu mateka y'Abanyarwanda;
- gusobanukirwa n'ibyasenye ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- gusobanukirwa n' urugendo rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda;
- kugaragaza ibimaze kugerwaho mu nzira y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- kugaragaza inzitizi zikigaragara mu rugendo rw'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- kwerekana uruhare rwa buri munyarwanda cyane urubyiruko mu guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- kumenya no kurwanya amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda;

1. Ibisobanuro by'amagambo

Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bushobora kugira ibisobanuro bitandukanye hakurikijwe ababisobanura. Muri rusange ibisobanuro bikurikira nibyo bikunze gukoreshwa:

- Ubwumvikane
- Ubwuzuzanye
- Amahirwe angana
- Kwiha agaciro no kugaha abandi
- Guhuza ibikorwa bifite inyungu rusange
- Kubahana no guhana amahoro
- Uburenganzira bungana ku banyagihugu

Ubwiyunge bwo bwumvikana muri ubu buryo:

- Gutinyukana
- Gutsinda ubwishishanye
- Gusabana imbabazi no kubabarira
- Kurenga ibyatandukanyaga abantu
- Kongera kubana neza nyuma yo kutumvikana

Dushingiye ku bivuzwe haruguru, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu buzima bwa buri munsi byumvikana:

- nk'ubupfura n'ubusabane bw'abanyagihugu;
- ubutabera no guca akarengane;
- icyizere cy'ejo hazaza gishingiye ku mahoro y'umutima, umutekano rusange n'imibereho myiza igera kuri buri wese.

Hiyunga nde na nde?

Hiyunga umuntu ku giti cye (kwiyunga n'umutima wawe, kwiyakira no kwakira ibyakubayeho), kuko umuntu ubwe ariwe ukomeza amateka y'amacakubiri akomora ku mateka ye n'ibitekerezo bimuboshye.

Kwiyunga n'umuryango nyarwanda kuko buri wese ni urugingo rw'umuryango waranzwe n'amacakubiri n'ingaruka zayo (kwiyunga n'abandi).

Hiyunga jyewe na mugenga w'ibintu byose (Imana) kuko amacakubiri n'ingaruka zayo binyuranya n'amahame yatumye ubwoko muntu bubaho. Ntabwo abantu baremewe kumarana ahubwo baremewe kubana neza ubwabo no kubana neza n'ibidukikije kugirango babyifashishe mu kunoza imibereho yabo (kwiyunga n'Imana n'ibidukikije).

Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge isobanura ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu buryo bukurikira: *Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda byumvikana nk'imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera*

ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco n'uburenganzira bungana, barangwa n'ubwizerane, ubworoherane, ubwubahane, uburinganire, ubwuzuzanye, ukuri, komorana ibikomere batewe n'amateka mabi baciyemo kugirango bashobore kwiteza imbere mu mahoro asesuye."

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ni urugendo rusaba igihe kirekire, ni ikivi kidafite aho kigarukira, bisaba guhozaho kuko impamvu zitera amacakubiri cyangwa amakimbirane zihoraho

Ni ngombwa ko abantu bahora biteguye, birinda ibyasenya umuryango kandi aho ibibazo bibonetse bigakemurwa ku gihe.

2.Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu mateka

Mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu, Abanyarwanda bari babanye neza, Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa babagaho mu Rwanda ariko ntibyari amoko nk'uko byaje guhindurwa n'abazungu, bikanakoreshwa ku buryo bufuditse hashingiwe ku nyungu za politike y'ivangura.

Abanyarwanda bahuriraga ku moko gakondo ariyo: abasindi, abasinga, abagesera, abanyiginya, abega, abazigaba, abacyaba, abakono, n'ayandi ariko nta bwoko bwabaga umwihariko ku Bahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa; bose bayahuriragaho.

Abanyarwanda bari basangiye umwami, ururimi rumwe, rukaba ingobyi ihetse umuco wabo, bakagira imyemerere imwe, bagiraga ubumwe, umwanzi cyangwa umubisha yatera u Rwanda aturutse hanze, Abanyarwanda bagafatanya kumurwanya, rukitwa u Rwanda rutavogerwa, bakarangwa n'ishema n'ubutwari, bagahurira ku migenzo, imihango n'imiziririzo imwe.

Abanyarwanda kandi bahuriraga mu Ngabo no mu Itorero ryari nk'ishuri bigiragamo kuba Umunyarwanda uhamye, bakiga ibimuranga n'ibizira, bikarushaho gushimangira ubunyarwanda no gukunda igihugu. Ibyo byiciro byahuriraga kandi ku nzego

z'imiyoborere y'Igihugu nk'umutware w'umukenke, uw'ubutaka n'uw'ingabo.

Amakimbirane yose yabayeho mu Rwanda mbere y'ubukoloni, ndetse n'intambara zabaye icyo gihe ntabwo byigeze bishingira ku buhutu cyangwa ubututsi.

3.Isenyuka ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwagiye busenyuka mu bihe bitandukanye by'amateka ariko cyane cyane Abakoloni nibo bagize uruhare rukomeye mu kubusenya, uwo murongo batangije waje gukomezwa n' Abanyarwanda ubwabo muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

3.1. Uruhare rw'ubukoloni mu gusenya ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Ibyiciro by'Abanyarwanda "Abahutu, Abatwa n'Abatutsi" byahinduwe amoko n'abakoloni binyujijwe mu murongo wa politiki, uburezi n'ivugabutumwa. Uruhare rw'ubukoloni mu gutandukanya Abanyarwanda bisobanurwa n'ingingo zikurikira:

- Kugira umunyarwanda igikoresho mu bihe bitandukanye;
- Kwigisha no gucengeza ibitekerezo ko Abanyarwanda – Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa- ntacyo bapfana; no guhindura amateka yabo;
- Gukoresha amoko Hutu/ Tutsi mu rwego rwa politiki yo gucamo abantu ibice hagamijwe inyungu z'ubukoloni (divide and rule);
- Gusumbanya abantu no guheza bamwe (ivangura ry'abakoloni ryaheje abahutu n'abatwa, riha imyanya mu mashuri no mu buyobozi agace k'abatutsi ariko byitirirwa Abatutsi bose);
- Abatutsi batoranijwe bayobotse igitutu cy'abakoloni kugirango batanyagwa (imyanya yahabwaga ababaga babayobotse);

- Gukuraho ubuyobozi bwa cyami busimburwa n'ubwa gikoroni;
- Kunyaga abatware b'umwami bakabasimbuza abo bagize ibikoresho;
- Kuvanaho zimwe mu nzego z'imiyoborerere y'ubutegetsi bwa cyami (Umutware w'umukenke, uw'ubutaka n'uw'ingabo);
- Abatware b' abahutu n'abatwa baranyazwe;
- Gukuraho imihango gakondo itandukanye ya cyami yarindaga igihugu n'itorero;
- Gushyiraho umwami bashatse;
- Guhindura imyemerere yahuzaga Abanyarwanda no gutesha agaciro umuco wabo;
- Gushyiraho ubuyobozi butandukanya Abanyarwanda, kubateranya, gusenya, gutwika, kwica;
- Gutonesha Abatutsi, abakoloni babisimbuje gutonesha Abahutu bagamije inyungu zabo no kugira ngo u Rwanda rutabona ubwigenge;
- Gushyiraho no gushyigikira imiyoborerere ishingiye ku buhutu (PARMEHUTU/Parti pour l'émancipation des Hutu), ishyaka ryashyigikiye ivangura ry'Abanyarwanda no guheza Abatutsi.

3.2. Uruhare rwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri mu gusenya Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri zagize uruhare mu buryo bukurikira:

- Gushimangira ibitekerezo n'imikorere y'ivangura rya gikoloni;
- Gutoteza Abatutsi no kubacira ishyanga, kubaheza mu buhunzi, kubaheza mu myanya y'ubuyobozi no mu mashuri;
- Iringaniza mu mashuri no mu mirimo rishingiye ku moko n'uturere, ariko cyane cyane rigamije guheza Abatutsi;
- Amoko yakoreshejwe nk'uburyo bwo kugera no kugundira ubutegetsi;
- Politiki y'ivangura yashyize imbere gupfukirana ikibazo cy'uburenganzira n'icy'ubuhunzi aribyo byatumye haba

urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu rwatangijwe na FPR-Inkotanyi.

4.Ingaruka z'isenyuka ry'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

- Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ni umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi bishingiye ku bwoko bwabo, Abahutu bakaba barashishikarijwe kwica Abatutsi;
- Igeragezwa rya Jenoside ku batutsi bari batuye henshi na henshi mu gihugu (Kibirira, Bigogwe, Bugesera);
- Jenoside ntiyabaye kubera ihanurwa ry'indege yari itwaye Habyarimana; kubera ko kwica abatutsi n'umugambi wo kubatsemba byatangiye akiriho, na KAMBANDA Yohani wari uyoboye Guverinoma yiyise iy'abatabazi yarabyemeje.

5.Urugendo rwo gusana ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda

Hageze igihe, abahejwe mu Rwanda bishyize hamwe n'abari bamaze kurambirwa ingoma y'igitugu, bafata intwaro batabara u Rwanda ngo bavaneho ubutegetsi bw'amacakubiri n'akarengane.
Mu nzira ndende yo kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, u Rwanda rwageze kuri byinshi, mu by'ingenzi twavuga nko:

- kubohora Igihugu no guhagarika Jenoside;
- gushyiraho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo byo mu Rugwiro byatanze icyerekezo mu kubaka Igihugu;
- hashyizweho inzego zitandukanye zirimo Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge na Komisiyo yo kurwanya Jenoside;
- imiyoborere myiza, Umutekano, Ubutabera, Inkiko Gacaca, icyerekezo 2020....
- impunzi, iza kera n'iza 1994 zaracyuwe zisubizwa mu buzima bw'Umunyarwanda, iwabo i Rwanda;
- umutekano w'abantu n'ibintu wagaruwe bwangu;
- ingabo zahagaritse Jenoside zihuzwa n'iza Leta yari imaze gutsindwa zahurijwe mu ngabo z'Igihugu;

- kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko na politiki y'ubumwe : indangamuntu yanditsemo ubwoko yakoze ibara yaciwe mu Rwanda;
- kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu bishyirwa imbere;
- guca umuco wo kudahana birimakazwa;
- Abanyarwanda ubu bafite amahirwe angana ku byiza by'urwababyaye, mu mashuri mu kazi n'ahandi;
- umutekano urambye usubizwa agaciro, buri Munyarwanda awugiramo uruhare, wunganirwa n'Inzego z'umutekano zibifite mu nshingano(Ingabo na Polisi). Ubutabera bubereye u Rwanda n'ibibazo byarwo bwaratekerejwe bihabwa umwanya.

6. Inkingi z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

Imibanire myiza y'abantu ishingira ku bintu byinshi bitandukanye bituma umuntu yumva akunze kubaho ubwe kandi afite n'icyizere cyo kuramuka. Mu ishema ryo kubaho ubwe kandi afite n'icyifuzo cyo kubana n'abandi kuko abandi badutera ishyaka ryo kubaho neza buri munsi.

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bushinga imizi mu muryango w'abantu wemera ko abawugize bose bafite uburenganzira bungana mu mibereho yabo kandi utanga icyizere cyo kubaho ejo hazaza mu mudendezo.

6.1. Imiyoborere myiza

Imiyoborere myiza ni imiyoborere iha umuturage ijambo n'uruhare rusesuye rwo kwikemurira ibibazo bye afatanije n'ubuyobozi yishyiriyeho. Ubuyobozi bwiza burangwa na bimwe muri ibi bikurikira:

- kurwanya akarengane;
- kurwanya ivangura aho riva rikagera;
- gufasha abaturage kwiteza imbere;

- kugira uruhare mu gushyiraho amategeko agenderwaho;
- ubuyobozi bwiza bwemera kandi bushyira mu bikorwa amahame ya Demokarasi arimo:

  • kwishyiriraho abayobozi
  • kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi mu bikorwa byose
  • gukorera mu mucyo
  • gushyirwa ku munzani harebwa ibyiza n'ibibi ngo habeho kwikosora (accountability)
  • kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu

6.2. Ubutabera

Ubutabera bwumvikana nk'uburyo bwo kurengera abantu hakoreshejwe iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko igihugu kigenderaho. Abaturage bakwiye kumenya amategeko ntibahure nayo abahana gusa. Ayo mategeko kandi aba akwiye kubahirizwa kimwe ku bantu bose batuye igihugu kugirango akarengane gacike.

6.3. Umutekano n'imibereho myiza

N'ubwo gukena bidasobanuye ko abantu bagomba kuryana, ariko umwaga w'inzara cyangwa imibereho mibi ntibituma abantu babana neza. Aka wa mugani ngo "Abasangiye ubusa bitana ibisambo".

Umuntu udafite aho aba akaba adafite icyizere cyo kurya buri munsi nta n'icyizere cyo kubaho aba afite. Kuko ntacyo aba afite arengera mu gihugu, ntanakirinda umuriro wagitwika.

Abantu bakwiye kwitabira gukora cyane cyane gukorera hamwe kugirango bahurize ku nyungu yo kwiteza imbere.Leta nayo mu mikoro ifite ikagerageza kwegereza abaturage ibyangombwa by'ibanze baheraho bavugurura imibereho yabo.

Imibereho myiza kandi yumvikana mu rwego rwo kugira amahirwe angana ku byiza by'igihugu, kugira uburenganzira bwo kwivuza, kubona imirimo, kwiga, kubona amasoko y'ibicuruzwa n'ibindi byose byaheza umwenegihugu ku bintu bikorerwa mu gihugu cye.

6.4.Gusaba imbabazi no kubabarira

N'ubwo ubutabera bugomba gukora akazi kabwo ntabwo abantu babana neza hatabayeho iki gikorwa cyane cyane tuzirikanye amateka y'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda.

Gusaba imbabazi bivuze iki?

- Kwemera icyaha wakoze;
- kucyamagana no kubabazwa n'uko wagikoze;
- kugambirira kudasubira mu cyaha wasabiye imbabazi;
- guca bugufi no kwatura imbere y'uwo wahemukiye ugasaba imbabazi;
- kwemera igihano n'icyiru kijyanye n'icyaha cyakozwe.

Kubabarira bivuze iki?

- Kumva usaba imbabazi;
- kutagambirira kwihorera;
- kwemera ibyemezo by'inkiko;
- kwemera indishyi n'ubwo zidasimbura ibyangijwe.

Gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga byafasha kutubakira umuryango ku nzika n'inzigo byahora bizikura kamere mbi z'amacakubiri n'ingaruka zayo. Ni n'uburyo kandi bwo kureba kure umuntu agateganyiriza urubyaro rwe imibereho myiza aho kwireba no guhoza amaso inyuma gusa; ni no kwemera ko kamere muntu ituzuye tugaharanira kuyigira nziza buri gihe.

7.Inzitizi zikigaragara mu nzira y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ni urugendo rurerure rusaba guhozaho, n'ubwo hatewe intambwe igaragara; haracyari ikibazo cy'imyumvire n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ihemberwa n'abagitsimbaraye ku nyigisho mbi batojwe igihe kirekire.

Bamwe mu babyeyi gito batoza abana babo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'iy'amacakubiri.
Hari kandi ingaruka za Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi zirimo ihungabana, ibikomere, imitungo n'indishyi bitarishyurwa n'abakoze Jenoside.

8.Ingamba zo guteza imbere Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

- Gukomeza gukangurira Abanyarwanda umuco w'amahoro, ubworoherane, ubufatanye n'ishema ryo kuba Abanyarwanda bashyize hamwe binyuze mu nzira zitandukanye: Itorero, amahugurwa, ibiganiro, itangazamakuru ryubaka, umuco nyarwanda;
- Gutoza abato indangagaciro nyarwanda no kuzibutsa abakuze maze kirazira ikaziririzwa, ikiremwa muntu kikubahirizwa, Abanyarwanda bakuzura ubumuntu;
- Gutoza urubyiruko uburere mboneragihugu bubereye umunyarwanda wakwigirira akamaro akakagirira abandi ndetse n'igihugu cye;
- Gutoza Abanyarwanda kumva ko u Rwanda ari urwabo, ko rubabyaye, bakarutura, bakarukunda, bakarurinda, byaba ngombwa bakarwitangira;
- Gutoza Abanyarwanda gukunda u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda no guhora iteka bazirikana kuzaraga ababyiruka igihugu cyiza. Ukunda iwabo ahazirikana iteka, akaharinda icyago, akahagwiza ibyiza. Ni yo mpamvu tugomba kubaka ejo hazaza hazira amacakubiri, harangwa n'ubupfura n'ubumuntu;
- Gushyira imbere Ubunyarwanda n'inyungu z'Abanyarwanda bose mbere yo kwibonamo amoko, isano, idini, akarere, igitsina n'ibindi (Kwimakaza gahunda ya "Ndi umunyarwanda" mu nzego zose) ;
- Kubaka umuco w'ibiganiro byimbitse ku nzego zose z'Abanyarwanda, abayobozi n'abaturage bigamije komorana ibikomere no kubaka ubwizerane mu banyarwanda ;

- Kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi no gukumira Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo ;
- Gukomeza ingamba zo kurwanya ubukene (gukorera mu makoperative, Girinka, ubudehe…)
- Kwiha agaciro no gukunda umurimo.

9.Uruhare rw'urubyiruko mu guteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

Uruhare rw'urubyiruko rugomba gutangirira mu gutandukana n'ingoyi ziboshye imitima yarwo. Kubohoka ku mutima bisobanuye kwiyemeza kuba wowe ubwawe mu gufata ibyemezo witandukanyije n'ibishobora kukuboha bigatuma upfukirana ukuri kugira ngo utihungabanya. Kubohoka ku mutima ntibituma utabana n'abandi, ariko ntuba abandi ngo wowe uburire mu bandi.

Inyigisho n'amategeko duhabwa n'umuryango tuvukamo bituma dusa nk'umuryango twinjiyemo. Kugirango bigerweho umuryango wifashisha inzira nyinshi zavuzwe haruguru (impamvu z'amacakubiri) zitoza abantu uburyo bwo gusobanura ibimukikije n'uburyo abana nabyo.

Amateka yacu bwite, ishusho y'abandi yiremye muri twebwe n'ishusho bwite twifitiye nibyo bikunze kutuyobora mu isesengurwa ry'ibibazo umuryango wacu uhura nabyo.

Umusozo

Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bwahozeho bukaba bwari ishingiro ry'imbaraga n'ishema ry'Abanyarwanda. Aho busenyukiye byagize ingaruka ku muryango nyarwanda, amacakubiri ahabwa intebe asenya umuryango nyarwanda awugeza ku bwizerane bucye n'ubwicanyi mu bihe bitandukanye byaje kutugeza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta y'u Rwanda yashyize imbaraga cyane cyane ku biteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire myiza by'Abanyarwanda. Ifatanyije n'izindi nzego ndetse n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange barwanya ivangura iryo ariryo ryose n'itonesha aho ryashingira hose. Ubunyarwanda ni nkingi ikumira itonesha n'ivangura.
Amateka Abanyarwanda twanyuzemo, ameza azatubera amasomo dukurikiza, amabi tuzayirinda.

U Rwanda ni Igihugu cyacu twese dufitemo uburenganzira n'ubuzare bungana. Aya ni amateka mashya turimo kubaka, tugomba gukomeza tukazayaraga n'abana bacu.

Ubumwe nizo mbaraga z'igihugu ni ukwemera gufatanya no kwemera ko muri wowe no mu bandi harimo imbaraga zashyirwa hamwe zikagira akamaro ni bwo buryo bwonyine buteza imbere imibanire n'imibereho myiza.
Ngiyi imyitwarire yatuma abantu babana neza bakanashobora kwiteza imbere.

Birakwiye ko Abanyarwanda bitandukana n'imyitwarire ishingiye ku macakubiri n'ibiyakurura maze bakagana inzira y'ubufatanye n'amajyambere arambye. Abanyarwanda muri rusange n'urubyiruko by'umwihariko bafite inyungu nyinshi mu guhitamo amahoro n'imibanire myiza byo shingiro ry'iterambere.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA V

GUKUMIRA, GUHOSHA NO GUKEMURA AMAKIMBIRANE MU MURYANGO NYARWANDA

0.Iriburiro.

Iyi nyoborabiganiro ku makimbirane izafasha ababyiruka gusobanukirwa ishingiro n’imiterere y’amakimbirane mu mibereho n’imibanire yabo mu muryango n’uburyo bayitwaramo ntabe intandaro yo kubasenyera. Inyoborabiganiro ku makimbirane izatuma abantu barushaho kumenya uburyo bunoze bwafasha mu kwikemurira amakimbirane neza kandi ku gihe no guhora hagenzurwa icyateza cyangwa icyaba imbarutso y’amakimbirane asenya.

1.Intego rusange :

Intego rusange y’inyoborabiganiro ku makimbirane igamije kubaka ubushobozi mu gusesengura ibyatera amakimbirane mbere y’uko aba no gufata ingamba zatuma akumirwa cyangwa akemurwa.

1.1. Intego zihariye :

Nyuma yo kwifashisha iyi nyoborabiganiro ku bazayikoresha izatuma haba ibi bikurikira :

- Gusesengura no guhuza imyumvire n’imitekerereze itandukanye ku makimbirane ;
- Gusesengura imiterere n’imihindagurikire by’amakimbirane n’ingaruka zayo;
- Gusobanura no gusesengura amakimbirane n’ibiyatera n’uburyo abantu bayitwaramo;
- Kugenzura no gukurikirana imiterere y’amakimbirane agenda aba no gutanga ubufasha mu kuyakemura.

2.Amakimbirane ni iki ?

Amakimbirane yumvikana hagati y'abantu nko kutemera cyangwa kutihanganira ibibatandukanya. Niyo mpamvu mu makimbirane buri wese yumva ko afite ukuri kurusha abandi. Amakimbirane ashobora kugaragara nko kutumvikana, ubushyamirane, kutareba ibintu kimwe, kwangana ndetse n ibindi.

Amakimbirane yaba ubushyamirane, kutavuga rumwe cyangwa kutumvikana hagati y'abantu 2 cyangwa benshi bikomoka ku:

- imyumvire inyuranye n'ibyifuzo;
- inyungu zitandukanye;
- ibitekerezo n'imyitwarire bitandukanye;
- kuvutswa urukundo (Denied love).

Na none bisobanuye, kutumvikana cyangwa se kugongana kw'ibitekerezo mu muntu ubwe, hagati y'abantu, hagati y'udutsiko tw'abantu, uturere ndetse n'ibihugu biturutse ku mpamvu zinyuranye.

Amakimbirane mu buzima bw'abantu mu mibanire yabo ntashobora kubura kuko ahari abantu hatabura amakimbirane. Akaba rero ariyo mpamvu abantu bagomba kwiga uburyo bwo kuyahosha cyangwa kuyakemura. Hari umugani w'ikinyarwanda uvuga ko *ntazibana zidakomya amahembe.*

Akenshi abantu bakunze kumva amakimbirane ko ari ikintu kibi bagomba kurwanya cyangwa kwamaganira kure.

Ese twavuga ko amakimbirane ari ikintu kibi buri gihe?
Abongereza bavuga ko amakimbirane (conflict) is *" an opportunity or chance for change as well as a risk or danger".* Mu by'ukuri, ibi bisonura ko amakimbirane ntawavugako ari ikintu kibi cyangwa cyiza. Ahubwo uburyo tuyitwaramo nibwo butuma aba intandaro y'amajyambere cyangwa intambara.

Amateka yuko abantu babayeho, uburyo bitwara, uburyo babonamo ibintu hamwe n'imibereho cyangwa ibyo umuntu agenda abona nibyo bituma yitwara uko yitwara.

Urugero: Perception y'ikintu kimwe mu buryo butandukanye cyangwa ibintu bitandukanye biboneka mu buryo bumwe. **Σ W M.** Bitewe ni nyungu umuntu abifitemo, cyangwa ubundi buryo umuntu arebamo ibintu, **Σ** ishobora kuba **W** cyangwa **M.**

Ntakuntu amakimbirane yabura kandi abantu tudakunda ibintu kimwe, tudateye kimwe, dutandukanye mu mibonere, imyumvire ndetse n'imyitwarire nta kuntu rero amakimbirane yabura mu bantu.

Niyo mpamvu tugomba kumva ko amakimbirane ari kimwe mu biranga imibanire y'abantu, icy'ingenzi ni ukugerageza kuyakumira byakwanga ukagerageza kubana nayo ntiwumve ko ari ijuru ryaguye.

3.Icyo amakimbirane ashingiyeho

3.1. Amakimbirane ashingiye ku mitungo (resources) : aya ni amakimbirane yoroshye kubona cyangwa kumenya kandi n'uburyo bwo kuyahosha bworoshye. Aya aba iyo abantu 2 cyangwa benshi bakeneye ikintu kimwe kugisaranganya cyagwa kukigabana bikagorana. Umwe agashaka kukiharira kandi undi yumva nawe agifiteho uburenganzira, ni uko amakimbirane akavuka. Urugero ubutaka busangiwe n'umuryango ufite abantu barenze 2 iyo bashatse kubugabana ntibikorwe neza byateza amakimbirane.

3.2. Amakimbirane ashingiye ku bintu umuntu aha agaciro (values) : aya ni amakimbirane akomeye kandi atagaragara ndetse atoroshye kumvikana cyangwa gukemurwa. Ashingiye ku myumvire n'imitekerereze cyangwa imibonere y'ibintu. Abenshi bashobora no kwitangira ibyo bemera bakaba

ibitambo kabone nubwo rimwe na rimwe batari mu kuri. Urugero ubuhezanguni bushingiye ku myemerere y'amadini.

3.3. Amakimbirane ashingiye ku mitekerereze n'ibyifuzo by'umuntu (psychological needs). Aya ni amakimbirane adashobora kuboneka mu buryo bufatika cyangwa buboneka ariko kandi agira ingaruka nini ku mitekerereze n'ubwonko bw'umuntu. Urugero : niba umuntu avukijwe urukundo, abuze umutekano, ahejwe mu bandi, nta nshuti afite, ashobora kumva yiyanze maze akarangwa n'umwaga.

4. Ibitera amakimbirane

Amakimbirane aterwa n'ibintu byinshi ariko iby'ingenzi umuntu yavuga ni:

- ukutubahiriza amategeko;
- ubuyobozi bubi;
- kubura ibyangombwa by'ibanze mu buzima ;
- ibitekerezo bitandukanye bishingiye ku idini, amateka y'Igihugu cyangwa amashyaka atavugwaho rumwe;
- kuvutswa urukundo n'uburenganzira bwa muntu
- ugusaranganya nabi umutungo
- kwiheba no kubura iby'ibanze
- kwitiranya n'ikoreshwa ry'ibintu ;
- ruswa, ikenewabo, itonesha n'inda nini;
- ubukene;
- ubujiji
- amoko
- amadini
- indimi bavuga
- uturere bakomokamo
- n'Ibindi

Ibyo byose bivuzwe haruguru akenshi biterwa na politiki cyangwa uburyo bw'imiyoborere mibi iranga umuryango w'abantu cyangwa ibihugu.

5.Ubwoko bw'amakimbirane

- Amakimbirane asanzwe / Dispute / Litigue;
- Amakimbirane ari mu muntu;
- Amakimbirane asasiweho - Underlying Conflict;
- Amakimbirane afite cyangwa se ashingiye ku mizi miremire/ Deep rooted.

6.Inzego z'amakimbirane

Amakimbirane akorera mu nzego 6 ari izi zikurikira ;

- **Amakimbirane mu muntu**: aya ni amakimbirane ari mu muntu ubwe. Uru rwego rw'amakimbirane ntabwo rushobora kugaragarira buri muntu wese kuko rukorera mu muntu ubwe ahubwo akenshi bigaragazwa n'i myitwarire y'abantu. Ingero ni ugukoresha igihe, guhitamo uwo muzabana, guhitamo kureka ingeso. Muri make ni ibitekerezo bigonganira mu muntu ubwe bigatuma agaragara ko adatuje kandi afite ikibazo.

- **Hagati y'abantu**: amakimbirane hagati y'abantu 2 cyangwa benshi bapfa ikintu runaka batumvikanyeho.

- **Hagati y'amatsinda**: umuntu yavuga nk'imiryango, *clubs*, amashyirahamwe cyangwa ibigo bifitanye amakimbirane hagati yabyo n'ibindi.

- **Mu tsinda ubwaryo**: urugero ni hagati y'abantu cyangwa udutsiko mu itsinda rimwe ubwaryo riba ryifitemo amakimbirane.

- **Hagati mu gihugu:** ni ukuvuga amakimbirane agizwe n'udutsiko tunyuranye ariko turi mu gihugu imbere. Urugero Interahamwe, mayi mayi muri Congo.

- **Hagati y'ibihugu.** Aya ni amakimbirane hagati y'igihugu n'ikindi cyangwa n'ibindi kubera: ingengabitekerezo badahuje, gupfa imipaka, cyangwa izindi nyungu.

7.Uko amakimbirane yigaragaza

- Amakimbirane agenda yiyubaka, ahindura isura no kurushaho kugira ingufu (claster of event)
- Amakimbirane atwara igihe kugira ngo yigaragaze
- Amakimbirane ashobora kutera urujijo
- Amakimbirane anyura mu byiciro bitandukanye "conflict cycle" urugero mbere abantu baba bafitanye amahoro, amahoro akabura kubera impavu zitandukanye, amakimbirane agatangira kwigaragaza, inzangano, imvururu n'intambara bikavuka.

Mu ntangiriro abafitanye amakimbirane barigaragaza. Abafitanye amakimbirane bakurikizaho kwitandukanya twe, bo/bariya). Kuri iki cyiciro nta hohoterwa riba ryagatangiye. Nyuma abafitanye amakimbirane bagaragaza inzangano n'umujinya bitana abanzi (twe, bo). Aha buri ruhande ruba rushakisha ababashyigikira. Ibikorwa by'ihohotera bitangira gufata intera hanyuma gukozanyaho ku mugaragaro hagati y'impande zihanganye zitangira ubushotoranyi byaba na ngombwa bakarwana. Kuri iki cyiciro birashoboka ko agahenge kaboneka kuko habayeho kuneshwa k'umwe mu bafitanye amakimbirane.

8.Uburyo bwo gusesengura amakimbirane

- **Abantu(Actors):** ni bande cyangwa ni utuhe dutsiko dufite amakimbirane? Abandi areba ariko batari ba nyirayo? Abo azagiraho ingaruka ni bande? Abayobozi bayarimo ni bande? Inzego z'ubuyobozi bwabo ziteye zite? Bo aya makimbirane bayabona gute? Imbaraga bafite ni zihe? .....

- **Inzira/ Attitudes:** imbarutso yayo makimbirane ni iyihe? Ese hari ibyo basanzwe basangiye? Buri ruhande rwakwifuza gufata iyihe nzira? Imihindagurikire y'amakimbirane ni yihe? Impamvu nyirabayazana ni izihe? Amakimbirane aragenda akura gute? Abafasha kuyakemura bafite ubushobozi ki? Bakoresha iki, gute? ….

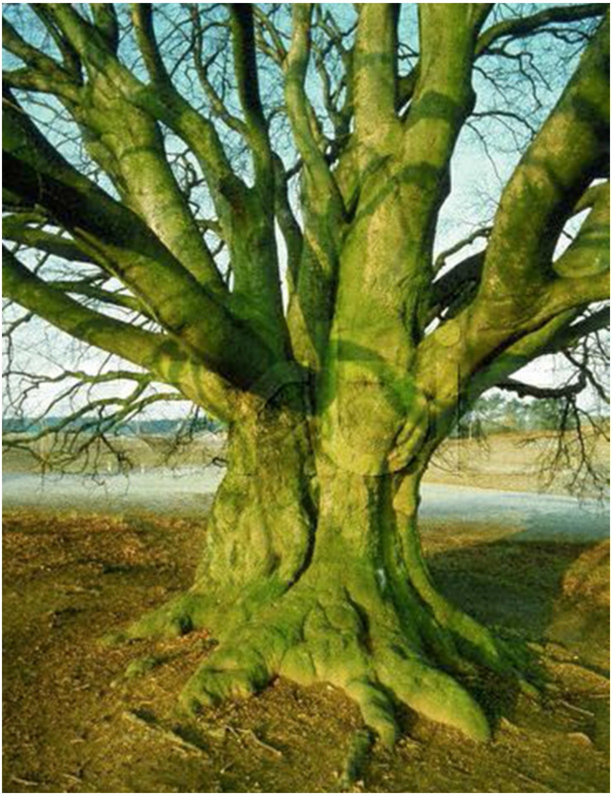
- **Ibibazo bapfa/incompatibility**: inyungu za buri ruhande ni izihe? Ibyo bapfa ni ibiki? Inyungu zabo zaba zitandukanye cyane se? Zigonganira he/zihurira he? Buryo ki impande zombi zagera ku nyungu zihuriyeho?

Uburyo hari aho bagonganira? Ese ibyo basangiye ni ibiki? Ibyo batsimbarararaho ni ibiki? Ibivugwa ni ibiki? Ibitavugwa ni ibiki? Icyakorwa kugirango akemurwe ni iki? "**Talk of triangle and tree as an example**"

9.Uburyo bwo gusesengura amakimbirane (ibishushanyo)

Figure 1

Ibisobanuro ku misesengurire y'amakimbirane hashingiwe ku bice bigize igiti aribyo ((a) amashami, (b) igihimba (c) imizi).



Ibisobanuro:

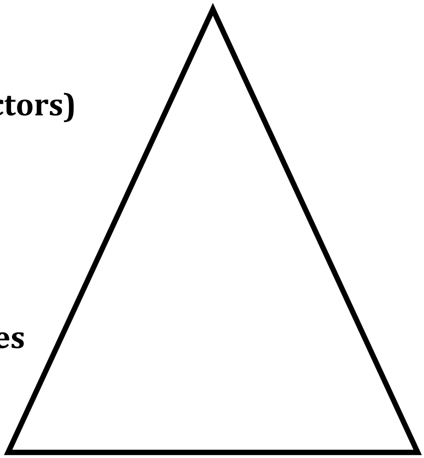
A) Amashami y'igiti: imbarutso y'amakimbirane "trigger causes''
B) Igihimba: aha bishobora kuba zimwe mu mpamvu zatera amakimbiran cyangwa zayahembera akaba. "Approximate causes"
C) Imizi y'igiti: aha niho hari impamvu nyakuri zitera amakimbirane ni naho zishingiye "structural causes of the conflict"

Icyitonderwa:

- Iyo amakimbirane yatinze gukemurwa ashobora guteza /kubyara andi makimbirane mashya ashamikiyeho

Figure 2.

Abantu (Actors)



Inzira/ Atitudes

Ibibazo bapfa/incompatibility

10.Akamaro ko gusesengura amakimbirane

Gusesengura amakimbirane bifasha ushinzwe kuyakemura gukoresha uburyo bunoze kandi burusha ubundi kuko aba yasobanukiwe neza ibyateje ayo makimbirane mu buryo bucukumbuwe. Gusesengura amakimbirane bifasha cyane muri ibi bikurikira na none:

- Kumenya neza ibitera amakimbirane, ingaruka zayo n'uburyo agenda ahindura isura,
- Kumenya ibintu byose biyihishise inyuma,
- Gusobanukirwa amavu n'amavuko yayo,
- Kumenya amatsinda cyangwa abantu barebwa nayo,
- Kumenya imitekerereze n'isano y'abari mu makimbirane,
- Kumenya aho inkuru zaturuka bifitanye isano n'amakimbirane
- N'ibindi

11.Amahame y'usesengura amakimbirane

- agomba gushingira ku nkuru zicukumbuwe mu buryo buhagije;
- agomba gutandukanya ibitekerezo n'ukuri;
- agomba gusesengura ku buryo bwaguye ashingiye ku mibereho n'imibanire, ubukungu/ubushobozi na politiki/imiyoborere;
- agomba kumenya inkuru zose zishoboka akaba arizo ashingiraho;
- N'Ibindi……

12.Ingaruka z'amakimbirane

Amateka y'uko abantu babayeho, uburyo bitwara, uburyo babonamo ibintu "perception" hamwe n'imibereho cyangwa ibyo umuntu agenda abona nibyo bituma yitwara uko yitwara. Amakimbirane rero ni ngombwa kuko mu miterere ya kamere muntu ifite umwihariko, kandi ntibona ibintu kimwe ahubwo icy'ingenzi ni ukumenya uburyo tuyitwaramo hagamije kubaka buri wese.

Ingaruka z'amakimbirane rero zaba nziza cyangwa mbi bitewe n'uburyo abantu bayitwayemo.

12.1 Impinduka nziza zubaka

- gufasha kwimenya, kumenya abandi, kumenya ukuri n'iterambere;
- amakimbirane afasha kuyobora ibitekerezo, imyitwarire n'ibyifuzo byayobye;
- ni ishingiro ry'uburambe n'ubumenyi;
- amakimbirane atanga amahirwe yo kongera gusuzuma imibanire;
- afasha gukosora ibitagenda neza.

12.2 Ingaruka mbi z'amakimbirane

- gusenya imibanire y'abantu,
- gusenya Igihugu n'imitungo y'abantu
- kudindiza iterambere muri rusange
- guhitana ubuzima bw'abantu
- ingengabitekerezo mbi nka Jenoside
- inzangano, n'inzika
- intambara z'urudaca n'ubuhunzi
- n'ibindi...

13.Uburyo bwo gukumira, guhosha no gukemura amakimbirane

Gukemura amakimbirane hakenewe uruhare rwa buri wese ariko muri rusange hari uburyo butandukanye bwakwifashishwa mu gukemura amakimbirane. Bumwe muri bwo ni ubu bukurikira:

- Gukumira
- Guhosha amakimbirane
- Kugabanya ubukana bw' amakimbirane
- Gukemura
- Kuyahindura
- Gukoresha ingufu:
    a) amategeko
    b) igisirikare n'igipolisi
    c) inkiko
- Imishyikirano
- ubuhuza
- Ubuhuza butavugirwamo
- Ubwiyunge

Gukumira amakimbirane "Conflict prevention" bisobanuye kubona amakimbirane mbere yuko aba no kugira ubushake bwo kuyabuza kwihembera ngo bitabyara urwikewe, umwiryane, imvururu, n'intambara. Gushyiraho ingamba/uburyo butuma amakimbirane atavuka.

Kugabanya ubukana bw'amakimbirane "Conflict mitigation": bisobanuye kugabanya ubukana bw'amakimbirane kudakomeza kwihembera ariko ntabwo bivuze ko aba yakemutse.

Kuburizamo amakimbirane "Conflict Suppresion" aha bivuga ko ari ugupfukirana ibibazo. Nta mwanya cyangwa amahirwe yo kumva urundi ruhande iyo bibaye ngombwa hakoreshwa ingufu mu gupfukirana ibibazo aho kubikemura.

Guhosha amakimbirane "Conflict Management" ni uburyo buhosha cyagwa bugabanya ubukana bw'amakimbirane nta gupfukirana ibibazo ariko nta no kubikemura neza. Ni uburyo bugabanya ubukana cyangwa budohora uburemere / gukomera kw'amakimbirane hagamijwe gukemura ibibazo nyirabayazana bitera kutavuga rumwe

Gukemura amakimbirane "Conflict resolution" bisobanuye gushakira amakimbirane yavutse ibizubizo mu buryo burambye kugira ngo amakimbirane akemuke burundu.

Conflict management na Resolution biza nyuma y'uko amakimbirane yavutse kugira ngo ahoshwe cyangwa akemurwe.

Umushyikirano "negotiation" impande zombi zishyamiranye zirumvikana zikaganira ku bibazo. Abafitanye ibibazo nibo ubwabo bishakira imizi y'amakimbirane aho ari n'uko ateye noneho hakabaho no kumvikana ku nyungu zibabereye bombi cyangwa bose iyo ari benshi. Ikigaragara kuri uru rwego ni uko usobanukiwe neza kurusha undi ashobora no kubona inyungu kurusha mugenzi we mu mikemurire y'ibibazo. Win/win hafi bose bishimira imyanzuro.
Ubuhuza buvugirwamo "mediation" kuri uru rwego, abafitanye ibibazo ubwabo bishakira umuhuza (mediator) akagerageza kubumvikanisha. Mu by'ukuri, ubuhuza ni uburyo bumwe bwa negotiation. Aha umuntu yavuga ko ari ubwumvikane hagati y'abashyamiranye babifashijwemo n'umuhuza udafite uruhande abogamiyeho. Umuhuza uruhare rwe ni ukugerageza kubahuza no

kubumvikanisha ariko ntabafatira ibyemezo, nibo ubwabo babyifatira. Aha niho ubu buryo butandukanira na arbitration we abafatira umwanzuro.

Gukoresha “ubuhuza butavugirwamo “Arbitration” abafitanye ibibazo cyangwa amakimbirane nibo bihitiramo umuhuza, akababakiza ariko bamwemerera ko abafatira ibyemezo. Icyemezo afashe kirubahirizwa (ibyemezo bye ni ndakuka).

Gukoresha amategeko aha abashyamiranye bajya kuburanira mu nkiko. Ni ukuvuga ko byibuze abashyamiranye bose bagira uruhare mu kurushaho gukemura ibibazo byabo. Bombi bajya ku mucamanza bakamubwira ibibazo byabo, noneho akaba ari we wenyine ufata imyanzuro. Kandi ibyemezo byafashwe bikubahirizwa n’iyo uwafatiwe ibyemezo yabyanga hakoreshwa imbaraga mu kubishyira mu bikorwa. Ugereranije n’uburyo bwambere (gukoresha imbaraga) uruhare rwa buri wese ruriyongera.

Gukoresha imbaraga / ingufu nta bwumvikane mu gukemura ibibazo. Aha uruhande rumwe rufata ibyemezo ku mbaraga gusa birangwa no gutsinda no gutsindwa, win / lose. Hakoreshwa umutungo munini cyane kandi bigasenya amajyambere n’imibanire myiza y’abenegihugu kiberamo iyo ntambara yabaye. Cyakora gusa, hari ibyo bita ‘option z ’ ni ukuvuga uburyo bwa nyuma iyo ubundi buryo bwose bwananiranye ushobora gukoresha ingufu kugirango wivune abanzi “ self defence’’ iremewe iyo ikozwe mu kuri.

Ubwiyunge “Reconciliation” bisobanura ko buriya buryo bwose bwabanjirije busozwa n’ubwiyunge bw’abafitanye ibibazo. Ubu buryo busobanuye ko hakongera kuboneka amahirwe yo kubana neza nk’uko byahoze mbere yuko amakimbirane avuka. Ubwiyunge buhindura imibanire y’abashyamiranye bakongera kubana nk’uko byahoze mbere.

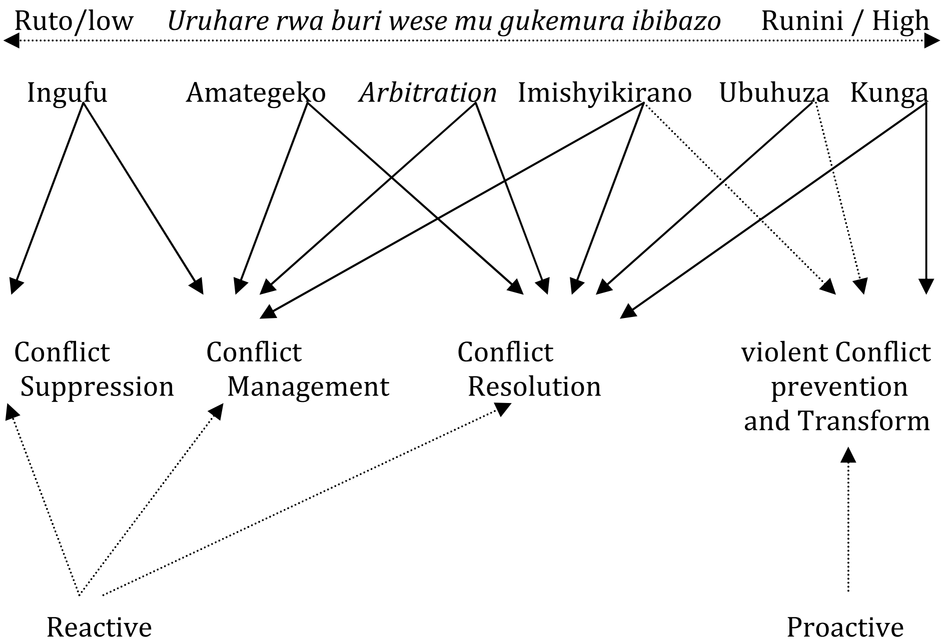
Uburyo bwo kwiyunga;

- Kwiyunga n'umutima wawe;
- Kwiyunga n'Imana;
- Kwiyunga n'abandi;
- Kwiyunga na kamere (nature)

Ibyangombwa byafasha kugira ngo ubwiyunge bushoboke:

- Kwemera icyaha k'uwagikoze
- Kwicuza ibyaha umuntu yicishize bugufi;
- Ubutabera;
- Gusana ibyangiritse
- Gusaba imbabazi
- Kudasubira ibyaha

<u>Uburyo bwo gukemura amakimbirane .</u>



Igisobanuro:

Dukurikije agashushanyo ka "spectrum" yo gukemura amakimbirane, kerekana ko uko ugenda uva i bumoso ahari gukoresha igitugu ujya i buryo kuri Reconciliation, niko amahoro agenda yiyongera hakurikijwe uruhare buri wese agenda agira.

14. Uko amakimbirane yigaragaza mu muryango nyarwanda

- guhangana mu magambo;
- guhangana mu nyandiko;
- guhangana mu binyamakuru;
- kudashyingirana;
- kuvangura, kwishishanya no kutizerana;
- kurwana no kwicana.

14.1. Ibibazo bishingiye ku bukene

Ubukene kimwe mu bibazo by' ingutu bikurura umwuka mubi mu baturage. Ubukene ni inzitizi ikomeye ikurura amakimbirane mu miryango kubera ko abantu bubatera kwiheba no kwanduranya, ndetse bugatuma bagira impagarara bityo ubuhemu, ishyari, inzangano, ubujura, ihohoterwa, umutekano muke ndetse n'ubwicanyi no gukora isesengura ry' ibibazo byabo bwite n'iby' umuryango mugari nk'uko umugani w'ikinyarwanda ubivuga, abasangira ubusa bitana ibisambo, ubukene ni impamvu iteza amakimbirane mu muryango nyarwanda muri iki gihe.

14.2. Ibibazo bishingiye ku ngaruka za Jenoside

- Kubura indishyi no gukererwa mu irangizwa ry'imanza no kwinangira kwishyura kuri bamwe bafite imitungo.
- Amagambo, inyandiko, no kwangiza imitungo y'abacitse ku icumu bisesereza kandi bitoteza abacitse ku icumu cyane bikorwa mu gihe cyo kwibuka ngarukamwaka jenoside yakorewe abatutsi.

14.3. Ibibazo bishingiye ku mutungo w'ubutaka

Kubera ko ubutaka ariwo mutungo kamere w'ingenzi u Rwanda rufite, ubuke bwabwo n'isaranganya ridashingiye k'ukuri nk'uko amategeko yisaranganya ry'ubutaka abiteganya, bikurura inzangano n'amakimbirane y'urudaca mu baturage cyangwa mu miryango ndetse no kwicana.

14.4. Ibibazo bishingiye ku buharike n'ubusambanyi

Ubuharike ni imwe mu mpamvu zikurura amakimbirane mu muryango Nyarwanda. Nibwo butera ubwiyongere bw'abaturage butajyanye n'ubushobozi bwabo. Uko abaturage biyongera niko n'ubukene burushaho kuremerera imiryango. Ibi bikaba bitera ubwihebe, ishyari ndetse n'inzangano mu miryango cyane cyane irangwamo ubuharike kubera ko umutungo usaranganywa udahagije.

Ibi bikaba birushaho kugira ubukana mu gihe umugabo uharitse akundwakaza umugore umwe, agasenda undi (Nyirankundwa na Nyirantabwa). Abana bakomoka muri iyi miryango bavutswa uburenganzira bwabo cyane cyane mu gihe ba se batabemera ndetse no kutabafasha mu bibatunga.

Abagore basezeranye nabo bararakara mu gihe abagabo babo bataye ingo. Ibi bikurura umwuka mubi mu bana bakomoka kuri abo bagore ndetse bigahungabanya n'umutekano muri rusange. Ubuharike buhembera ihohoterwa rikorerwa cyane cyane abagore, baba abasezeranye cyangwa abatarasezeranye kubera ko bahindurwa ibikoresho byo gushimisha abagabo. Ikindi kigaragara ni uko abagabo baharitse batuzuza inshingano zabo nk'ababyeyi.

Umwanzuro

- Amakimbirane ni kamere mu muryango w'abantu;
- Hari ashobora kuba ari mu muntu, hagati y'abantu 2 cyangwa benshi ndetse no hagati y'amatsinda;
- Iyo atitaweho neza hakiri kare, amakimbirane ashobora kubyara urugomo cyangwa intambara;
- Kwirinda cyangwa kubuza amakimbirane kuba ubwabyo ntibyoroshye, ariko ashobora gukumirwa cyangwa gukemurwa neza.

INSANGANYAMATSIKO YA VI

URUHARE RW'IMITWE YA POLITIKI MU BUMWE BW'ABENEGIHUGU

1. INTANGIRIRO RUSANGE

1.1. Intangiriro

Kuva mu kinyejana cya 20, Imitwe ya Politiki yagiye igira uruhare runini mu mitegekere y'ibihugu. Nyamara uruhare rwayo muri iyo mitegekere rufitanye isano ahanini n'imiterere, imikorere ndetse n'inshingano iyo Mitwe ya Politiki iba yarihaye. Ariko uko iyi Mitwe ya Politiki ikora nabyo ahanini bigenwa n'uko demokarasi ihagaze mu gihugu ndetse bikanashingira ku cyerekezo cy'ubuyobozi bw'icyo gihugu.

Mbere y'umwaka wa 1994, u Rwanda rwagiye rugira amashyaka yaranzwe n'imyitwarire igayitse kandi isenya, ndetse ayageze ku butegetsi acura umugambi wo guhembera amacakubiri n'amakimbirane y'urudaca mu benegihugu.

Mu byayobeje amashyaka yo mu Rwanda muri icyo gihe, hari gushingira ku irondabwoko n'irondakarere, gukoresha igitugu n'iterabwoba ku baturage, kubeshya Abanyarwanda no kubasezeranya ibyo azabakorera, kuniga andi mashyaka no gutonesha bamwe mu bayoboke n'iyo baba badashoboye, kwiremamo udutsiko tw'abanyapolitiki, kurangaza urubyiruko ndetse no kururemamo imitwe yitwara gisirikare. Ayo mashyaka yaranzwe kandi no kutagira Porogaramu politiki ziboneye zishyira imbere inyungu z'Igihugu n'umutekano w'abagituye.

Muri rusange Abanyapolitiki bo muri ibyo bihe baranzwe n'ibitekerezo bigufi n'irari ry'imyanya y'ubutegetsi, bashyira imbere inda nini n'ibyubahiro bidafite agaciro, birengagiza inyungu z'Igihugu n'abagituye.

Aho Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda igereye ku butegetsi, yiyemeje kubaka Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko. Ishyira imbere ubutegetsi bwa demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezo bya politiki binyuranye, igendera kandi ku ihame ryo kurandura burundu ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku bwoko, akarere n'ibindi, ishyira imbere **ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda**. N'ubwo imikorere n'imyitwarire y'imitwe ya politiki muri iki gihe itandukanye n'iyaranze amashyaka ya mbere ya 1994, ubushakashatsi bwa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer) bugaragaza ko icyizere Abanyarwanda bafitiye imitwe ya politiki kitaragera ku rwego rushimishije cyane (**73.1%).**

Ubusanzwe Amashyaka ya Politiki mazima aharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage, iterambere rusange ry'igihugu, imiyoborere myiza, ituze n'umudendezo w'abenegihugu. Muri iki kiganiro turagaruka ku bisobanuro by'ibanze by'amagambo ari bugaruke kenshi, tugaragaze akamaro, inshingano n'imikorere y'imitwe ya politiki muri demokarasi, twibukiranye imyitwarire yaranze imitwe ya politiki mu Rwanda mu bihe bitandukanye, dusoze tugaragaza uruhare rw'imitwe ya politiki mu kubaka ubumwe bw'abenegihugu.

1.2. Intego

1.2.1. Intego rusange

Iki kiganiro kigamije gufasha abagihabwa, cyane cyane urubyiruko rwigakaminuza n'amashuri makuru kugira ubumenyi k'uruhare rw'Imitwe ya Politiki mu bumwe bw'abenegihugu.

1.2.2. Intego zihariye

Nyuma y'iki kiganiro, abakitabiriye bagomba kuba bashobora:

- gusobanura neza Umutwe wa Politiki, umunyapolitiki, ingengabitekerezo ya politiki n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;
- gusobanura akamaro, inshingano n'imikorere y'Imitwe ya Politiki muri demokarasi;

- gusesengura imyitwarire yaranze Imitwe ya Politiki mu Rwanda n'imikorere igomba kuyiranga muri iki gihe;
- kugaragaza uruhare rw'Imitwe ya Politiki mu kubaka ubumwe bw'abenegihugu.

2. Ibisobanuro by'ibanze by'amagambo

Mbere y'uko twinjira mu kiganiro nyir'izina ni ngombwa kubanza gusobanukirwa amwe mu magambo agarukwaho kenshi muri iki kiganiro. Muri yo twavuga ay'ingenzi akurikira: Politiki, Umutwe wa Politiki, ingengabitekerezo ya Politiki, umunyapolitiki, ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, umwenegihugu, demokarasi, indangamyitwarire y'Imitwe ya Politiki.

2.1. Politiki

Mu gusobanura ijambo "***Politiki***" turarigaragaza mu myumvire yaryo itandukanye: politiki nk'ubumenyi bwa gihanga (science) yigwa, politiki nk'umwuga ukorwa n'abawiyemeje, ndetse na politiki nka gahunda ngenderwaho mu bikorwa rusange bireba igihugu cyangwa umuryango w'abantu.

Ijambo politiki rifite interuro ebyiri "*polis*" na "*tokos*" rikomoka ku rurimi rw'ikigereki (*Polis)* rivuze umujyi cyangwa "city- state" cyangwa se Leta. Naho "tokos" rivuga "organisation" cyangwa imiyoborere cyangwa se kuyobora. Ubwo politiki bikaba bivuga ubuyobozi bw'umujyi.

Ijambo politiki risigaye rigoye gusobanura. Iyo umuntu avuze politiki ntibyumvikana kimwe; biterwa n'uburyo iryo jambo rikoreshejwe.

Ijambo politiki rishobora kumvikana mu buryo nyabwo cyangwa rikanakoreshwa mu buryo butari bwo. Dore uko politiki isigaye yumvikana mu buryo butari bwo:

- Abantu benshi basigaye baratakaje icyizere muri politiki bakumva badashaka kwivanga mucyo bita “politiki”. Ubushakashatsi bugenda bugaragaza ko abenegihugu benshi mu bihugu bitandukanye ndetse no ku migabane yose y’isi, basigaye birinda kwivanga mu bikorwa bya “politiki“ ndetse bakanga no kugira icyo bavuga kiganisha kuri politiki cyangwa se kuri “phénomène politique“ iyo ari yo yose. Muri ubu buryo, **politiki ikitiranywa n’amatiku, ubutiriganya, ibitera amakimbirane ndetse n’amahoro macye**;
- Politiki isigaye kandi yitiranywa n’ikibi, iterabwoba cyangwa se amahane;
- Abandi benshi bumva politiki ko ibangamiye imyemerere yabo cyangwa ko politiki inyuranyije n’indagagaciro zimwe na zimwe ziranga abantu (politique comme anti-valeur).
- Politiki yitiranywa n’amayeri cyangwa uburyo bufifitse bwo gushaka kwikubira ubutegetsi n’imitungo;
- Politiki ikitiranywa n’imitwe ya politiki ubwayo ifite amateka atari meza, bityo bikaba impamvu yo kutita kuri “politiki“.

Muri macye, dore ibyitiranywa na politiki, (political distorsions): i*binyoma, icengezamatwara (propaganda) ridatunganye, uburiganya, ukwicana, ruswa no kunyereza ibya rubanda, kumenya kuvuga amadisikuru meza, gutukana, ubutegetsi bw’igitugu, amashyaka menshi, abasirikare n’abamaneko batinyitse, amashuri menshi, politiki iravukanwa, politiki y’ibirangantego, politiki ishingiye ku mabara, politiki nk’ishema ry’umuryango.*

Mu byukuri iyi siyo politiki, kuko ubwayo ivuga “organisation de la société“. Ubwo ikaba ishobora kumvwa nk’“ubumenyi“ cyangwa se “umwuga“.

2.2. Umutwe wa politiki

Itegeko Ngenga no 10/2013 ryo kuwa 11/7/2013 rigenga Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki, mu ngingo yaryo ya 2 (6), risobanura ko **Umutwe wa Politiki** ari "***Ihuriro ry'abenegihugu bahujwe n'ibitekerezo n'imyumvire imwe mu guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage bose n'amajyambere y'Igihugu, bagamije kugera ku butegetsi mu nzira za demokarasi n'amahoro, kugira ngo babashe kubishyira mu bikorwa***".

2.3. Ingengabitekerezo ya politiki (Political Ideology)

Ijambo «ingengabitekerezo (ideology) ryakoreshejwe bwa mbere n'umuhanga Destutt de Tracy mu mwaka w'1796 risobanura ubumenyi busesengura «ibitekerezo». Ni urusobe rw'ibitekerezo biranga igice cy'abantu runaka. Uburyo bwihariye bw'imitekerereze buranga abantu bahuje imyumvire n'imyitwarire ya politiki.

Mbere yuko dusobanura iri komatanyamagambo, reka dusobanure, imyumvire (attitudes) n'imyitwarire (comportements) ya politiki bigize umuco wa politiki (culture politique).

Mu bisanzwe umuntu avuka asanga abandi bantu mu muryango we bwite ndetse no mu muryango mugari w'abantu binyuze mu mashuri, mu nsengero ndetse n'ahandi hose ahurira n'abandi bantu, (socialisation). Muri uko gusabana n'abandi, ahakura ibitekerezo bitandukanye harimo n'ibitekerezo bya politiki. Ibimushimishije cyangwa se ibimufitiye inyungu abiha agaciro, ariko hari n'ibindi atitaho.

Iyo acengewe n'ayo matwara, cyangwa se ibyo bitekerezo bya politiki, bigeraho bikamuranga bikageza naho bigaragarira n'abandi. Ubwo ibyari bitekerezo bye bwite bigaragarira mu myitwarire ndetse bikaba byanaba n'umuco umuranga.

Uko ni ko umuco wa politiki uvuka ukanahindura imibereho n'imyitwarire y'umuntu. Uwo muco wa politiki ushingiye kuba

abikunda cyangwa atabikunda (affective), kuba bihuje n'ibyo yemera (cognitive) bikamufasha kugira icyo abivugaho anenga cyangwa ashima(evaluative).

2.4. Umunyapolitiki

Itegeko Ngenga no 10/2013 ryo kuwa 11/7/2013 rigenga Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki, mu ngingo yaryo ya 2 (7), ivuga ko **Umunyapolitiki** ari *"umuntu wese ukora ibikorwa bya politiki nk'uko biteganywa mu gace ka gatandatu (6) k'iyi ngingo yaba abikora ku giti cye cyangwa abinyujije mu Mutwe wa Politiki".*

2.5. Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw' Abanyarwanda byumvikana nk'imigenzereze y'abaturage bemera ko basangiye ubwenegihugu, umuco n'uburenganzira bungana, barangwa n'ubwizerane, ubworoherane, ubwubahane, uburinganire, ubwuzuzanye, ukuri, komorana ibikomere batewe n'amateka mabi baciyemo kugira ngo bashobore kwiteza imbere mu mahoro asesuye.

2.6. Umwenegihugu

Umwenegihugu ni umuntu ugira uburenganzira n'uruhare bisesuye mu buzima bw'Igihugu cye. Akaba asangiye n'abandi benegihugu uburenganzira bwo gushyiraho amategeko, akagira uburenganzira bwa politiki (gutora, gutorwa no kugira uruhare muri Guverinoma) agira kandi n'uburenganzira mbonezamubano (kureshya imbere y'amategeko, uburenganzira bwo kwishyira ukizana, ubwo kuvuga icyo utekereza, ubwo kugira umutungo, no gutanga ibitekerezo mu bwisanzure).

Umwenegihugu arinda kandi akarengera igihugu cye n'ubuyobozi bwacyo. Uburenganzira bw'umwenegihugu n'ibyo asabwa kubahiriza bishoboka mu gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi.

2.7. Demokarasi ishingiye ku mitwe myinshi ya politiki

Ni imiyoborere yemera amahame y'ibanze y'uko ubutegetsi ari ubwa rubanda/abenegihugu, bugashyirwaho n'abanyagihugu kandi akaba aribo bukorera. Iyo demokarasi rero ikemera ko muri sosiyete hashobora kubamo ibitekerezo byinshi binyuranye bishingiye ku mashyaka yemewe anyuranye akorera mu gihugu kandi mu bwisanzure. Ayo mashyaka akubahiriza amategeko agenga igihugu, agaharanira ituze, umudendezo n'ubwisanzure bw'abaturage. Akemera ko abajya muri ayo mashyaka ari ababishaka, batayajyanwamo ku gahato cyangwa igitugu. Mu gihe cy'ihiganwa, ayo mashyaka yemera ko uwatsinze ariwe uyobora kandi akemera ibyavuye mu matora yakozwe mu mucyo.

3. AKAMARO, INSHINGANO N'IMIKORERE Y'IMITWE YA POLITIKI MURI DEMOKARASI

3.1.Akamaro k'Imitwe ya Politiki mu miyoborere y'Igihugu

Imitwe ya Politiki niyo iyobora ubuzimwa bwa politiki mu gihugu kigendera ku mahame ya demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezo binyuranye.

Imitwe ya Politiki ihuza abayobora n'abayoborwa, abatorwa n'abatora, abayoboke b'Umutwe wa Politiki n'uwo Mutwe Politiki, ikabahuriza k'umugambi w'ibikorwa (Projet de societe) n'icyerekezo rusange cy'uburyo isi cyangwa umuryango w'abantu bikwiye kuyoborwa. Ibyo bigakorwa hagendewe ku mahame y'ingenzi akurikira:

- ihame ryo kwishyira hamwe (Liberté d'organisation);
- kwitabira amatora (Liberté de se présenter aux elections);
- kuvuga icyo utekereza no gukora inama /guterana (Liberté d'expression et de reunion);
- ihigana ridaheza kandi rikozwe mu mucyo hagati y'Imitwe ya Politiki n'abakandida (Compétition équitable et pacifique entre les différents partis et candidats);

- kwemera ibitekerezo binyuranye (Mécanismes visant à garantir la pluralité);
- kugira uruhare mu bikorwa by'amatora no gukorana n'inzego zishinzwe amatora (Participation au processus électoral et interactions avec les organismes électoraux);
- amahirwe angana no kwirinda ivangura n'iheza iryo ari ryo ryose (Égalité des chances et absence de discrimination);
- gukorana n'itangazamakuru kandi mu buryo butabogamye (Accès aux médias et couverture impartiale);
- gushaka umutungo mu buryo buboneye no kugaragaza imikoresheze yawo (Financement politique transparent et obligation d'en rendre compte);

3.2.Inshingano z'Imitwe ya Politiki

Ubundi inshingano z'Umutwe wa Politiki zigenwa n'abashyizeho uwo Mutwe wa Politiki. Ariko muri rusange, inshingano z'Umutwe wa Politiki zishamikiye ku gutsinda amatora no kuyobora igihugu. Iyo abaturage bafite ubwisanzure buhagije, ntabwo baha amajwi yabo ishyaka runaka mu gihe batabona ko rizabafasha gukemura ibibazo byabo cyangwa guha agaciro ibyifuzo byabo. Dufatiye kuri ibi, Imitwe ya Politiki iba yitezweho inshingano zikurikira:

- **Guhatanira imyanya y'ubutegetsi binyuze mu matora**: Umutwe wa Politiki wiyubashye urangwa no kwitegura ndetse no kwitabira ibikorwa byo kwiyamamaza kugira ngo ubone uburyo bwo kugera k'ubutegetsi mu nzira ya demokarasi;

- **Gutanga umusanzu mu kubaka Igihugu**: Umutwe wa Politiki si mukeba wa Leta, ahubwo ni umwe mu mitwe itekerereza igihugu. Niyo mpamvu, imitwe ya politiki ifite inshingano yo kunenga ibidakorwa neza kugira ngo bikosorwe no gutanga ibitekerezo ku ngamba zafatwa kugira ngo igihugu kirusheho kugenda neza no kubonera ibisubizo bihamye ibibazo by'abaturage. Itegeko Ngenga n^{o}10/2013

ryo kuwa 11/7/2013 rigenga Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki, mu ngingo yaryo ya 3 rivuga ko "Imitwe ya Politiki igomba gufatwa kimwe imbere y'inzego za Leta. Imitwe ya Politiki igomba kugira uruhare mu gufasha Leta kugera ku ntego ihoraho yo gukorera abaturage. Igomba kandi kwigisha abenegihugu gukora politiki igendera kuri demokarasi, gutora no gutorwa, ikanakora ku buryo abagore n'abagabo bagira amahirwe angana yo kugera ku myanya n'imirimo ya Leta itorerwa";

- **Guhagararira abaturage**: abaturage bose ntibabona uburyo ndetse n'umwanya wo kwigerera aho ingamba zo kuyobora igihugu zifatirwa. Ndetse benshi muri bo ntibaba banabisobanukiwe bihagije. Imitwe ya Politiki ifite inshingano yo kumenya ibyo abayoboke bayo ndetse n'abaturage muri rusange bifuza kugira ngo ibigeze ku bafite ubutegetsi (abayobora) ibinyujije mu nzira zabugenewe. Birumvikana ko Umutwe wa Politiki utazi icyo abaturage bakeneye n'icyo bifuza utamenya n'icyo usaba abafite ubutegetsi gukora;

- **Gushyiraho intego y'umuryango rusange**: Kumenya icyo abayoboke b'Umutwe wa Politiki uyu n'uyu bifuza ubwabyo ntibihagije. Haba hanakenewe kumenyekanisha intego Umutwe wa Politiki cyangwa ishyaka ryiyemeje kubijyanye n'ibyo byifuzo. Umutwe wa Politiki ni umuyoboro abayoboke n'abandi baturage bifashisha mukugeza kubafite ubutegetsi ibyifuzo by'abaturage n'impinduka bifuza. Niyo mpamvu Imitwe ya Politiki ikora neza iba ifite ingamba zifatika kandi zihoraho zo gukusanya ibyo byifuzo, harimo no gukora ubushakashatsi;

- **Gutegura abayobozi b'ejo hazaza**: uburere n'ubumenyi bya politiki kenshi abantu ntibababibonera mu mashuri asanzwe. Imitwe ya Politiki ifite inshingano zo guha uburere

n'ubumenyi abifuza kuba abayobozi mu bihe biri imbere, bityo bakaba basobanukiwe neza inshingano zabo kandi bateguwe bihagije ku bijyanye no kuyobora. Mu bihugu biteye imbere, hari icyo bita "kaminuza" z'amashyaka. Izi si kaminuza nk'izo dusanzwe tuzi, ahubwo ni amahuriro abayoboke bashyiraho kugira ngo bungurane ibitekerezo n'ubumenyi, bigire hamwe ingamba kandi banategure abakiri bato mu birebana n'imiyoborere y'ibihugu. Mu Rwanda dufite ishuri, *Youth Political Leadership Academy (YPLA)* akaba ari ishuri ry'urubyiruko rwo mu Mitwe ya Politiki igize Ihuriro rihugura abo banyapolitiki b'ejo hazaza mu bumenyi mu bya politiki n'imiyoborere. Abahuguwe bagira uruhare mu iterambere ry'Imitwe ya Politiki yabo;

- **Kurengera inyungu z'abaturage muri rusange n'abayoboke by'umwihariko**: abaturage muri rusange n'abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki by'umwihariko siko bose bashobora kumenya ko ingamba zishyirwaho na Leta (public policies and programs) ziboneye cyangwa se zisubiza ibibazo byabo kuburyo buhamye. Si igitangaza ko hari n'igihe abayoboye Imitwe ya Politiki baharanira inyungu zabo bwite batitaye kuz'abo bahagarariye cyangwa biyitirira. Imitwe ya Politiki ikorera mu mucyo no muri demokarasi ijya inama n'abayoboke bayo. Ibi ibikora kugira ngo inyungu z'abaturage ihagarariye zitabweho mugihe hashyirwaho ingamba z'imiyoborere harimo n'izo guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage.

  Uburyo Imitwe ya Politiki igera kuri ibi ni bwinshi, harimo ibiganiro n'abari kubutegetsi cyangwa se imyigaragambyo yubahirije amategeko;

- **Uburere rusange n'ubukangurambaga**: Hari ibibazo byinshi bisaba ko abaturage bahabwa amakuru ndetse bakanakangurirwa uburyo babyitwaramo. Muribyo harimo ibijyanye n'ubuzima nka marariya cyangwa SIDA. Umutwe

wa Politiki ufite inshingano zo gufatanya na Leta gukora ubukangurambaga no gutanga uburere rusange. Niba Umutwe wa Politiki wose uharanira kugera k'ubutegetsi ndetse no kubugumana, ukwiye guharanira ko abaturage babaho neza, bagira ubuzima buzira umuze kuko aribo n'ubundi uba uzakorera.

Abafite ubutegetsi ubwabo ntibashobora gukora byose, bakeneye kunganirwa n'abatavuga rumwe nabo, harimo n'Imitwe ya Politiki;

- **Gushyiraho (kuba muri) guverinoma**: N'ubwo abatavuga rumwe na Leta bafite uruhare mu gufasha Leta gufata cyangwa kudafata ibyemezo runaka binyuze mu kuyishyigikira cyangwa kuyinenga, Imitwe ya Politiki iri muri Leta niyo ifite amahirwe menshi yo gufasha iyo Leta gushyira mu bikorwa ingamba na gahunda zayo. Ahenshi, abagize guverinoma ndetse n'imyanya bahabwa bigenwa binyuze mu bwumvikane hagati y'Imitwe ya Politiki.

4.IMIKORERE N'IMITERERE Y'IMITWE YA POLITIKI

Imitwe ya Politiki ni imiryango (organizations) nk'indi yose. Imiterere n'imikorere byayo ntabwo bisa hose. Mu myaka yashize, Imitwe ya Politiki mu Rwanda yakunze gukorera mu kajagari, ariko Itegeko Ngenga rigenga Imitwe ya Politiki n'abanyapolitiki ryo mu w'i 2013 rigena imiterere n'imikorere y'Imitwe ya Politiki.

4.1. Imikorere y'Imitwe ya politiki

Umutwe wa Politiki ushingwa biturutse ku cyemezo cy'urwego ruhuza abayoboke bawo bwa mbere bakemeza amategeko shingiro awugenga hamwe n'amategeko ngengamikorere yawo. Inama zitegura cyangwa zemeza ishingwa ry'Umutwe wa Politiki zubahiriza amategeko amateraniro cyangwa inama ziteranira mu ruhame.

Umutwe wa Politiki ntushobora gutangira gukora utari washyiraho amategeko shingiro awugenga. Umubare w'abashyize umukono ku amategeko shingiro agenga Umutwe wa Politiki ugomba kuba nibura magana abiri (200) mu gihugu cyose, barimo nibura abantu batanu (5) babarurirwa muri buri Karere. Aya mategeko atangazwa mu Igazeti ya Leta.

Ikigo cy'Igihugu Gishinzwe Imiyoborere (RGB) ni rwo rwego rufite iyandikwa ry'Imitwe ya Politiki mu nshingano zarwo.

Mu bihe bisanzwe, nta Mutwe wa Politiki wagombye kuvuka cyangwa kubaho udafite inyandiko z'ibanze ziwugenga. Muri izi nyandiko zibanze harimo izi zikurikira:

- ✓ Amategeko shingiro agenga Umutwe wa Politiki;
- ✓ Amategeko ngengamikorere;
- ✓ Amategeko ngengamyitwarire;
- ✓ Porogaramu Politiki isobanura impamvu Umutwe wa Politiki uvutse n'icyo ugamije kugezaho abayoboke bawo n'abaturage muri rusange.

4.2.Imiterere y'Imitwe ya Politiki

N'ubwo imiterere y'Imitwe ya Politiki itandukanye bitewe n'impamvu zinyuranye, muri rusange Imitwe ya Politiki usanga yubatse ku buryo bukirikira:

Hari inzego Nkuru z'Umutwe wa Politiki ku rwego rw'Igihugu, hakaba n'inzego zegereye abayoboke. Hari n'ubwo Imitwe ya Politiki iba ifite inzego z'ibyiciro byihariye nazo zubatse kuva ku nzego zegereye abayoboke kugeza mu Nzego Nkuru z'Umutwe wa Politiki. Mu buryo rusange hagaragara:

- Inteko Rusange
- Biro Politiki / Conseil national
- Komite Nyobozi

Inzego z'ibyiciro byihariye ku Mitwe ya Politiki imwe n'imwe nk'urwego rw'abagore, urwego rw'urubyiruko, hashobora no

kubaho za Komisiyo zifite inshingano zihariye. By'umwihariko mu Rwanda, ***buri Mutwe wa Politiki ugombakugira urwego rushinzwe gukumira no gucyemura amakimbirane mu Mutwe wa Politiki***. Ibi bikorwa mu rwego rwo kwirinda icyahembera amacakubiri mu Mutwe wa Politiki cyangwa icyaba intandaro yo guhungabanya ubumwe n'ituze ry'abenegihugu.

Muri rusange, Inteko Rusange nirwo rwego rukuru rw'Umutwe wa Politiki. Nirwo rwitoramo abagize Biro Politiki rukanayigenera inshingano. Ni rwo rwego rukuru rugena icyerekezo, imigabo n'imigambi by'Umutwe wa Politiki.

5.IMYITWARIRE YARANZE IMITWE YA POLITIKI MU RWANDA

Kuva mu myaka ya 1959 kugeza mu 1994, u Rwanda rwagize amashyaka ya politiki anyuranye, hafi ya yose avuga ko aharanira ubwisanzure n'iterambere ry'Abanyarwanda. Amenshi muri ayo mashyaka yaranzwe ariko n'imyitwarire igayitse kandi isenya, ndetse ayageze ku butegetsi acura umugambi wo guhembera amacakubiri n'amakimbirane y'urudaca mu Banyarwanda.

Muri iki gice turagaruka ku myitwarire yaranze Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki bo mu Rwanda mu bihe bitandukanye mbere ya 1994.

Tukagaragaza uruhare rwabo n'uburyo imiyoborere yabo yaranzwe n'amacakubiri no kuryanisha Abanyarwanda kugeza kuri Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu 1994.

5.1. Amavu n'amavuko y'Imitwe ya Politiki mu Rwanda

Imitwe ya Politiki mu Rwanda yavutse ahanini mu nkubiri y'ubwigenge mu mpera y'imyaka ya 1950. Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe n'Ikigo cyo Gucyemura Amakimbirane cya Kaminuza y'u Rwanda (CCM) mu w'2008 bwerekana ko Imitwe ya Politiki yo mu Rwanda yashyirwa mu byiciro 4 by'ingenzi bijyanye n'igihe iyo mitwe / amashyaka yashingiwe: Amashyaka yashinzwe hagati ya 1959 na 1973; ishyaka rukumbi rya MRND hagati ya 1975-1991; amashyaka yo hagati ya 1991-2003 mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho,

n’amashyaka ya nyuma y’inzibacyuho guhera nyuma y’amatora yo muri 2003 kugeza uyu munsi.

5.2. Amashyaka yo mu myaka 1959 -1973

Hagati ya 1959 na 1973 amashyaka y’ingenzi yabayeho yatangiye ari nk’amashyirahamwe y’abari barize (elite). Ay’ingenzi muriyo ni The Association of Pastoralists of Rwanda-Urundi (ASSERU)-1957; the Progressive Democratic Movement (MDP)-1955; the Muhutu Social Movement (MSM)-1957; and the Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses (APROSOMA)-1957. ASSERU niyo yaje guhinduka ishyaka rishyigikiye amatwara ya cyami UNAR (Rwandese National Union) mu w’ 1959, naho iryitwaga RADER (Rwandese Democratic Rally) rihinduka ishyaka ry’abantu bajijutse bashyigikiwe n’ubutegetsi bw’abakoloni b’Ababiligi. Ayari muvoma yombi ariyo PARMEHUTU na APROSOMA yaje kuba amashyaka y’abahezanguni barwanya amashyaka yitwaga ay’Abatutsi mu w’1959.

Irindi shyaka ryavutse mu w’ 1960 ni AREDETWA riharanira inyungu z’Abitwaga Abatwa. PARMEHUTU, yaje kwitwa Mouvement Democratique Republicain (MDR-PARMEHUTU) ikaba yaragize uruhare rufatika mu ivuka ryaryo. Muri rusange, amashyaka cyangwa Imitwe ya Politiki yo muri icyo gihe yari yubakiye ku nyungu z’ubwoko ubu n’ubu, kandi abakoloni bari bayafitemo inyungu zigaragara. Aya mashyaka yagize uruhare runini mu macakubiri yaranze u Rwanda kugeza ubwo jenoside ikorewe Abatutsi mu w’1994.

Icya mbere ishyaka rya PARMEHUTU ryakoze ni ugucecekesha andi mashyaka no kuyavanaho, noneho risigara ari ryo ryonyine rukumbi ! Abataravugaga rumwe n'iryo shyaka barahigwa, baricwa, abandi barahunga. Ni ho havuye imvugo ngo “ *hora, honga, hunga*”.

Mu wa 1963-1964, ku Gikongoro habaye kwica abatutsi, kandi ubutegetsi bwa Leta bubihagarariye.

Habayeho amatora menshi ya Komini, ay'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko n’aya Perezida wa Repubulika ariko yose ugasanga atarangwa na

demokarasi, nta mucyo, nta bwisanzure akoreramo biterwa no gushaka kugundira ubutegetsi bya Kayibanda n'inkoramutima ze z'i Gitarama. Uwashakaga kugera kuri ubwo butegetsi mu zindi nzira yigizwagayo.

Ayo matwara ya gikoloni yo kwikiza uwo mutavuga rumwe umwica yarakomeje yibasira abatutsi mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda kugeza aho iyo ngoma iviriyeho, ariko aza no kototera abahutu mu wa 1973.

5.3. Ibyaranze Ishyaka MRND

Mu mwaka w’1973, General Habyarimana Juvénal wari Umukuru w’Ingabo yaje guhirika Perezida Kayibanda n’ishyaka rye rya MDR-PARMEHUTU ryari ryarabaye rimwe rukumbi mu w’1966. Mu w’1975, Habyarimana yashyizeho ishyaka rye rya Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpement (MRND) ari naryo ryonyine ryari ryemerewe gukora. Iri shyaka ryaje kwiharira ubutegetsi kugeza mu w’1991 ubwo Leta ya Habyarimana yemeraga ihame ry’amashyaka menshi nyuma yo kwotswa igitutu n’intambara ya FPR- Inkotanyi ndetse n’umuryango mpuzamahanga.

Ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri (ni ukuvuga ubutegetsi bwa MRND kuko ariyo yayoboraga yonyine) bwaranzwe no kutagendera ku mahame ya demokarasi, burangwa n'amatora y'ikinamico ndetse na Jenoside rurangiza. Ubutegetsi kuri iyi Repubulika bwakunze kumungwa n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku bintu bine: irondakoko, irondakarere, irondakazu k'ikigurinunga no gucubya ibitekerezo.

Izi mungu ni zo zaburijemo amahame ya demokarasi ajyanye n’uburinganire imbere y'amategeko, uburenganzira bwa muntu, kwisanzura mu bitekerezo n'ibindi. Politiki y' iringaniza mu mashuri, mu mirimo ya Leta n' iy' ihezwa mu mirimo ya gisirikari ni zo zagizwe ihame ryo gutegeka. Izo politiki zaje kubyara amahari muri MRND (Ishyaka rukumbi ryashyizweho mu wa 1975) no mu

gihugu hose, zituma havuka bundi bushya imitwe ya politiki irwanya ubutegetsi bwa MRND.

Ubutegetsi kuri iyi ngoma bwakoresheje amatora menshi nk'ayo muri Repubulika ya mbere ariko umugambi yose yahuriragaho ukaba uyu: *«ufite ubutegetsi agomba kubugumana uko byagenda kose n'ubwo yaba atemewe n'abanyagihugu».* Uyu mugambi ni umwe mu yahembereye igitekerezo cya Jenoside mu Mitwe ya Politiki.

Iyo umuntu ashubije amaso inyuma asanga imungu yamungaga Repubulika ya mbere yaramunze birushijeho iya kabiri. Ijya kujyaho yahitanye Abatutsi batari bake ikurikizaho Abahutu biganjemo ab'i Gitarama bari mu butegetsi.

Nyuma aho Inkotanyi zitereye, Repubulika ya kabiri yagiye yica Abatutsi impande zose n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe nayo: Kibilira, Bugesera, Bigogwe, Kibuye...

Ubutegetsi ni bwo bwacuze bushyira no mu bikorwa umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi ndetse n'ubwicanyi bw'abatabyinaga umudiho umwe na bwo.

Muri rusange ibyayobeje MRND n'andi mashyaka yagiye yitwara kimwe nayo, twavuga:

- ✓ gushingira ku irondabwoko n'irondakarere;
- ✓ gukoresha igitugu n'iterabwoba ku baturage;
- ✓ kubeshya Abanyarwanda no kubasezeranya ibyo atazabakorera;
- ✓ kuniga andi mashyaka no kuyabuza kubaho mu bwisanzure;
- ✓ kwironda no gutonesha bamwe mu bayoboke n'iyo baba badashoboye;
- ✓ kwiremamo udutsiko tw'abanyapolitiki,
- ✓ kurangaza urubyiruko ndetse no kururemamo imitwe yitwara gisirikare.

Ayo mashyaka yaranzwe kandi no kutagira gahunda z'ibikorwa ziboneye zishyira imbere inyungu z'Igihugu n'umutekano w'abagituye.

Amashyaka yaranzwe no kwitwara nabi mu bihe binyuranye ni MDR PARMEHUTU, MRND, CDR ndetse n'andi yiyise *"Hutu Power".*

Muri rusange abanyapolitiki bo muri ibyo bihe baranzwe n'ibitekerezo bigufi n'irari ry'imyanya y'ubutegetsi, bashyira imbere inda nini n'ibyubahiro bidafite agaciro, birengagiza inyungu z'Igihugu n'abagituye.

Ingaruka z'iyo myitwarire mibi y'Amashyaka ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki ubwabo ni nyinshi. Usibye kudindira mu majyambere, u Rwanda rwaranzwe n'amakimbirane y'urudaca, ivangurabwoko n'irondakarere byemezwa nk'uburyo bwo kuyobora Igihugu, ubwikanyize n'igitugu bisimbura inshingano zo kubahiriza ubwigenge n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, umwiryane usimbura umuco w'ubwumvikane n'ubumwe bw'umuryango nyarwanda. Jenoside yo mu 1994 ubwayo ni ingaruka y'imyitwarire mibi y'Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki yimitse umuco wo kudahana usimbura umuco wa kirazira, akarengane kaba akarande mu gihugu cyose kugeza aho abaturage barenga miliyoni bishwe ku mugaragaro mu 1994, abandi barahunga bashorewe bugwate n'Interahamwe.

6.IMITWE YA POLITIKI MU MYAKA YA 1994-2003

Muri Nyakanga 1994, ingabo z'Umuryango RPF Inkotanyi zatsinze urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda, zihagarika Jenoside. Umuryango RPF Inkotanyi ufatanyije n'abagize andi mashyaka MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, PSR na UDPR biyemeje gusana Igihugu, bashyizeho Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho kuwa 19 Nyakanga 1994, igamije guharanira ubumwe bw'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda. Iyi Mitwe ya Politiki ni nayo yafashe icyemezo cy'uko MRND na CDR byo ntandaro ya Jenoside n'ingaruka zayo bitafatanya n'abandi mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Nyuma na MDR ntiyashoboye kwikuramo

ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yayiranze kuva igishingwa yitwa PARMEHUTU, ntiyanashoboye kubahiriza intego y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda amashyaka yandi yiyemeje guharanira. Ibyo biyiviramo kuva mu rubuga rwa politiki.

Kujya inama no kungurana ibitekerezo hagati y'Imitwe ya Politiki byatumye Guverinoma igera kuri byinshi mu gihe gito, ihumuriza Abanyarwanda ndetse n'impunzi zigaruka mu gihugu; ishimangira intego ya demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi.

Intambwe ya demokarasi yatewe mu gihe cy'inzibacyuho yashimangiwe n'amatora y'Itegeko Nshinga muri Kamena 2003 ryemeje demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezo binyuranye n'isaranganya ry'ubutegetsi nta bwikanyize, rishyiraho n'Ihuriro Nyunguranabitekerezo ry'Imitwe ya Politiki nk'urubuga Imitwe ya Politiki yemewe ihuriramo ikajya inama ku bibazo n'imiyoborere y'Igihugu no gukomeza kubaka ubwumvikane busesuye n'ubumwe bw'Igihugu.

7. IMITWE YA POLITIKI YO KUVA NYUMA YA 2003

Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo kuwa 4 Kamena 2003 ryavuguruwe muri 2015, rishimangira ko u Rwanda ari Igihugu kigendera kuri Demokarasi ishingiye ku Mitwe ya Politiki myinshi.

Buri Munyarwanda akaba afite uburenganzira bwo kujya mu Mutwe wa Politiki yihitiyemo cyangwa bwo kutayijyamo.

Nta Munyarwanda ushobora gukorerwa ivangura ku mpamvu z'uko ari mu mutwe wa politiki uyu n'uyu cyangwa nta Mutwe wa Politiki arimo (art.55).

Iri Tegeko Nshinga kandi ryashyizeho Ihuriro ry'Igihugu Nyunguranabitekerezo ry'Imitwe ya Politiki rihuza Imitwe ya Politiki ibishaka kugira ngo ishobore kungurana ibitekerezo no kubaka ubwumvikane n'ubumwe bw'igihugu (art.59).

Kugeza ubu mu Rwanda, hari Imitwe ya Politiki 11: FPR Inkotanyi, PL, UDPR, PDI, PSD, PPC, PDC, PSR, PSP, PS Imberakuri na DGPR.

Iyi Mitwe ya Politiki yose yanditse isaba kujya mu Ihuriro kugira ngo ari Imitwe ya Politiki iri muri Guverinoma ndetse n'idafite abayihagarariye muri Guverinoma, yose ijye igira urubuga itangiramo ibitekerezo, ifatanye muri gahunda zubaka Igihugu. Ikaba ifite inshingano ikomeye yo **kubumbatira no guharanira ubumwe bw'Igihugu.**

Ihame rya demokarasi iyi Mitwe ya Politiki ihurizaho mu mikorere yayo ya buri munsi ni ***irishingiye ku bwumvikane busesuye*** (democratie consensuelle).

8. URUHARE RW'IMITWE YA POLITIKI MU KUBAKA UBUMWE BW'ABENEGIHUGU

Imitwe ya Politiki isabwa guharanira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda. Imyitwarire y'Imitwe ya Politiki n'iy'Abanyapolitiki ntigomba kubangamira umutuzo rusange wa rubanda, uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure bwa buri muntu ku giti cye n'ubw'abantu muri rusange.

Mbere y'uko tugaragaza imyitwarire ikwiye kuranga Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki, birakwiye ko twibukiranya amahame ngenderwaho mu kubaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ndetse n'intego z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Aya mahame n'izi ntego nibyo Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki basabwa kugenderaho mu mikorere yabo ya buri munsi.

8.1. Amahame n'intego ngenderwaho mu kubaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

8.1.1. Amahame ngenderwaho mu kubaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge:

- Gushyira imbere ubunyarwanda n'inyungu z'Abanyarwanda;
- Kurwanya Jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo;

- Guharanira kuba mu gihugu kigendera ku mategeko no kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu;
- Kurwanya ivangura n'ihezwa iryo ari ryo ryose;
- Gusenyera umugozi umwe mu kubaka igihugu;
- Komorana ibikomere no kubaka ubwizerane mu Banyarwanda bishingiye ku kwicuza, gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga, kuvuga ukuri no kubaka icyizere cy'ejo hazaza;
- Kwibuka haharanirwa ko Jenoside itazongera kuba ukundi;
- Kwiha agaciro no gukunda umurimo.

8.1.2.Intego z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda

Intego rusange y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda ni ukubaka u Rwanda rwunze ubumwe, Abanyarwanda bose bafitemo uburenganzira busesuye kandi bafatanyije mu miyoborere myiza y'igihugu no mu iterambere ryacyo.

Intego zihariye:

- Kurwanya amacakubiri n'ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose;
- Kugira uruhare mu kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside;
- Gushishikariza Abanyarwanda mu nzego zose guharanira no guha agaciro ubumwe bwabo;
- Guha Abanyarwanda ubushobozi bwo gusesengura ibibazo byabo kugirango babibonere ibisubizo bikwiye;
- Kubaka umuco w'amahoro ushingiye ku bwizerane, ubworoherane n'iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu;
- Gutoza Abanyarwanda gukunda igihugu cyabo no kugira uruhare mu miyoborere yacyo;
- Guteza imbere ibyiza biri mu muco byafasha Abanyarwanda kubana no kubaho neza.

9.INDANGAMYITWARIRE Y'IMITWE YA POLITIKI N'ABAYOBOKE BAYO

Indangamyitwarire y'Imitwe ya Politiki n'abayoboke bayo, twavuga ko ari amasezerano y'ubwumvikane Imitwe ya politiki igize Ihuriro yiyemeje kugenderaho mu mikorere yayo ya buri munsi no mu bihe bitandukanye by'ubuzima bwa politiki mu gihugu. Ayo masezerano areba kandi Imyitwarire y'abari mu buyobozi bw'Imitwe ya Politiki akanareba kandi abayoboke b'iyo mitwe ya politiki,

9.1.Ibigomba kuranga Imitwe ya Politiki

Imitwe ya Politiki yemeranywa ko inyungu z'Imitwe ya Politiki zitagomba kuba hejuru y'inyungu z'Igihugu. Haba mu bihe bisanzwe, haba mu bihe by'amage cyangwa by'imidugararo, haba mu bihe by'ihiganwa mu matora, Imitwe ya Politiki igomba kubahiriza amategeko, ikirinda ubugambanyi no gutesha u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda ijabo n'agaciro; ikirinda kugira igikorwa, imvugo cyangwa inyandiko ihungabanya ubusugire bw'Igihugu cyangwa ikurura ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose. Ibisabwa Umutwe wa Politiki. Umutwe wa Politiki ukwiye:

- Kuba inkingi ya demokarasi n'iterambere ry'Igihugu;
- Kuba umusemburo w'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda;
- Kuba urubuga rwo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'amacakubiri**;**
- Guharanira umutekano usesuye w'Igihugu n'imibereho nyiza y'abagituye.

9.2.Ibyo Imitwe ya Politiki igomba kwirinda/ Ibyo ibujijwe

Imitwe ya Politiki ibujijwe gushingira ku isano muzi, ku bwoko, ku muryango, ku nzu, ku gisekuru, ku Karere, ku gitsina, ku idini cyangwa ku kindi kintu cyose cyatuma habaho ivangura.

Ibujijwe by'umwihariko gushinga imitwe ya gisirikare cyangwa yitwara gisirikare.

Buri gihe Umutwe wa Politiki ugomba kugaragaramo ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, uburinganire n'ubwuzuzanye bw'abagore n'abagabo haba mu gushaka abayoboke, gushyiraho inzego z'ubuyobozi, mu mikorere no mu bikorwa byawo.

9.3.Imyitwarire y'abari mu buyobozi bw'Imitwe ya Politiki

Imyitwarire y'abayobozi b'Umutwe wa Politiki n'iy'abayoboke bawo igomba kubera Abanyarwanda muri rusange, urumuri n'urugero rwiza mu kwigisha abanyagihugu gukora politiki igendera kuri demokarasi no kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu (art.4). Iyo Myitwarire igomba kurangwa n'**ubumuntu**, ikarangwa n'indangagaciro zubaka, kandi zishimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Imyitwarire y'Imitwe ya Politiki ntigomba kubangamira umutuzo rusange wa rubanda, uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure bwa buri muntu ku giti cye n'ubw'abantu muri rusange.

Ibisabwa abari mu buyobozi bw'Imitwe ya Politiki. Abari mu buyobozi bw'Imitwe ya Politiki bagomba:

- Kuba inyangamugayo n'indahemuka, bagaharanira igihe cyose icyateza imbere Imitwe ya Politiki bayobora bagamije inyungu z'Igihugu n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange;
- Kuba intangarugero ku bayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki bayobora ndetse n'Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange, bakubahiriza icyubahiro n'icyizere bagiriwe;
- Guharanira iteka icyatuma Imitwe ya Politiki bayoboye igera ku ntego yiyemeje kandi yatangarije rubanda;
- Kwigisha, gusobanurira no gushishikariza abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki bayobora n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange ubumwe n'ituze by'abenegihugu, umuco w'ubworoherane n'ubwumvikane muri politiki ndetse n'inshingano zo kubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu n'indi migenzo myiza y'Umunyarwanda;

- Gutega amatwi ibitekerezo n'ibyifuzo by'abayoboke no kugisha inama mbere yo gufata ibyemezo bireba ubuzima bw'Umutwe wa Politiki.

9.4.Imyitwarire y'abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki

Abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politki bagomba kubaha uburenganzira bw'abandi; ntibafate abo batari mu Mitwe ya Politiki imwe n'iyabo nk'abanzi cyangwa abagambanyi kubera ko nta Mitwe ya Politiki barimo.

Buri Mutwe wa Politiki ugomba kugira abagore mu myanya y'inzego zifatirwamo ibyemezo bangana nibura na mirongo itatu ku ijana (30%). Imyanaya y'ubuyobozi mu nzego zose igomba gutorerwa.

9.5.Uruhare rw'Imitwe ya Politiki mu kubaka ubumwe bw'abenegihugu

Imitwe ya Politiki isabwa gukomeza gutoza abayoboke bayo umuco mwiza wo gukora politiki ishingiye ku kubaha ikiremwa muntu, bagaraharanira ishema ry'Abanyarwanda bose, bakirinda icyasubiza u Rwanda aho rwavuye. Iyo Mitwe ya Politiki isabwa kandi kumenya no gusobanurira abayoboke bayo n'abandi Banyarwanda ibikubiye muri Politiki y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

By'umwihariko, Imitwe ya Politiki igomba:

- Kwirinda imikorere ishingiye ku kwibonamo amoko, amasano, idini, akarere, igitsina, n'ibindi;
- Gukangurira abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki kwirinda no kwamagana amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside;
- Gutoza Abanyarwanda umuco mwiza w'ubwubahane n'ubworoherane;
- Kugira imikorere irangwa na demokarasi;
- Gushyigikira ubutabera no guca umuco wo kudahana;

- Bakumva ko uwo mutavuga rumwe muri politiki atari umwanzi ko ahubwo ari umufatanyabikorwa mwashyira hamwe mu guteza Igihugu imbere.

9.6. Icyo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge isaba Imitwe ya Politiki

- Kubungabunga amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge abagize ubuyobozi bw'imitwe ya Politiki baba intangarugero;
- Gushishikariza abayoboke batozwa kubumbatira Ubunyarwanda;
- Gufatira ibyemezo abayobozi n'abayoboke bagaragayeho amacakubiri n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside.
- Gushyigikira 'initiatives' ziteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu bayoboke b'Umutwe wa Politiki n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange,
- Kworoheza Komisiyo mu icukumbura ku bikorwa ku iyubahirizwa ry'amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge
- Gushyiraho imboni (focal point) y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ari nawe ushinzwe gutanga amakuru no gukurikirana ibikorwa n'iyubahirizwa ry'amahame y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu Mutwe wa Politiki.

UMUSOZO

Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda ni umusingi ukomeye u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda twubakiyeho mu miyoborere myiza no mu rugamba rw'iterambere Igihugu kigamije kugeraho. Uruhare rwa buri wese rurakenewe.

Amashyaka ya Politiki yabaye mu Rwanda yagize uruhare rugaragara mu gusenya Igihugu. Ayo mashyaka yirengagije inshingano za ngombwa zayo zo guharanira imiyoborere n'imibereho myiza y'abenegihugu ahubwo atoza abayoboke bayo urwango, kugeza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Nyuma ya 1994,Imitwe ya Politiki yemewe mu Rwanda yiyemeje kugendera ku mategeko n'amahame ya demokarasi yubaka, harimo kubaha uburenganzira bw'ibanze bwa muntu, gusangira ubutegetsi nta bwikanyize, kujya inama no gushaka umuti w'ibibazo binyuze mu biganiro. Ubu buryo bw'imikorere mishya ni ubushimangira Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda byo musingi w'imiyoborere myiza n'iterambere rirambye.

Uruhare rw'Imitwe ya Politiki mu gukomeza kubaka ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda rugomba gukomeza kugararira mu gutoza abayoboke bayo kwirinda ivangura rishingiye ku moko, isano, idini, akarere, igitsina n'ibindi byose bitubaka Umunyarwanda.

Abayobozi b'iyo Mitwe ya Politiki uruhare rwabo mu kubaka ubumwe bw'abenegihugu, rukwiye gukomeza kuba urwo kuba inyangamugayo, bakaba indahemuka n'intangarugero mu mikorere n'imyitarire yabo, bakayobora abo bashinzwe neza, bakirinda amacakubiri ayo ari yose, bakayobora bagamije inyungu rusange z'Igihugu n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange.

Abayoboke b'Imitwe ya Politiki, uruhare rwabo mu gukomeza kubaka ubumwe nk'abenegihugu, ni urwo kubaha no gukurikiza amategeko y'Igihugu, cyane cyane bakubaha uburenganzira bw'abo badahuje Umutwe wa Politiki, bagaharanira kwiteza imbere kandi bagatoza urubyiruko indangagaciro zishimangira imibanire myiza y'Abanyarwanda, haba none ndetse no mu gihe kizaza.

Muri make, Imitwe ya Politiki n'Abanyapolitiki basabwa kubumbatira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, bakirinda kugambanira u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, bagaharanira imiyoborere myiza n'iterambere rirambye ry'abenegihugu, Umunyarwanda akagira ishema ryo kwitwa Umunyarwanda mu karere no ku isi.

"UBUMWE BW'ABANYARWANDA NI ZO MBARAGA ZABO"

INYANDIKO N'IBITABO BYIFASHISHIJWE

1. NURC,2005: imfashanyigisho yagenewe abayobora ibiganiro mu bigo by'amashuri yisumbuye mu rwego rwo kurwanya ibikorwa bikurura amacakubiri no gukemura amakimbirane;
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