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# Ubwiyunge nyakuri bukeneye ubuyobozi n'amategeko abugenga

Muri iyi nyandiko ngamije kwerekana uburyo ubwiyunge bukwiye kugira ubuyobozi n'amategeko abugenga kugirango bushobore kugerwaho mu by'ukuri.

Biragaragara ko hari abantu benshi bamaze kubona ko ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ari kimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi bigomba kwitabwaho kugirango dushobore kubana mu mahoro arambye. Ni yo mpamvu bamwe muri bo bafite ibikorwa biharanira ubwo bwiyunge. Hashyizweho komisiyo y'igihugu y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, hari abakoze inyandiko cyangwa banditse ibitabo ku bwiyunge, hari abahanzi baburirimba, hari ababukoraho ubushakashatsi ndetse n'ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame, abandi bashyizeho imishinga cyangwa amashyirahamwe yo kubuharanira, hari abasaba imbabazi n'abazitanga hakaba n'ababafasha kubigeraho, hari abatanga ubuhamya bugaragaza uko biyunze, n'ibindi.

Ibyo byose birerekana ko dukeneye ubwo bwiyunge koko, nyamara ariko ugasanga abanyarwanda tutavuga rumwe ku byerekeye uburyo bukwiye kugerwaho. Tukabuvuga mu bubryo butandukanye bitewe no kudasobanukirwa cyangwa se n'inyungu buri muntu ku giti cye yabubonamo, hakiyongeraho n'akababaro buri wese aba afite. Byagera muli politiki ho bikarushaho! Urugero ni uko hari abavuga ko umuhutu wese yagombye gusaba imbabazi mw'izina ry'ubwoko bwe kubera ihohoterwa n'iyicwa ry'abatutsi byakozwe kuva kera na bamwe mu bahutu babaziza ubwoko bwabo, abandi nabo bati niba ari ibyo byagombye no kuba uko ku mututsi wese kubera ko hari n'abahutu bakandamijwe cyangwa bakicwa na bamwe mu batutsi nabo babaziza ubwoko bwabo. Ikibazo umuntu yabaza izo mbande zombi kikaba ari ukumenya ukuntu izo mbabazi zageza abanyarwanda ku bwiyunge nyakuri. Nyamara hari abandi bavuga bati KIRAZIRA nta muntu ukwiye gusaba imbabazi z'icyaha atakoze ku giti cye kuko icyaha ari gatozi, nkuko amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu abiteganya ndetse n'amategeko mpanabyaha y'igihugu akabyemeza. Ni uko impaka zikaba urudaca!

- Ese ubwiyunge ni iki, hiyunga nde na nde, biyunga bate, biyunga ryari, biyungira he, inzira z'ubwiyunge ni izihe;
- ubwiyunge butaniye he n'imbabazi, butandukanira he n'ubutabera, ...
- Imbabazi ni iki, zisabwa gute, zitangwa gute, zitangwa na nde, zihabwa nde, zitangirwa he, zitangwa cyangwa zisabwa ryari, bitewe n'iki, ...
- Ese imbabazi zisimbura igihano?
- Uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu n'ubwiyunge bitandukanira he, bihuzwa n'iki?
- Abashaka kwiyunga babigeraho bate, babifashwamo na nde?
- Ni bande bakwiye gusabira abanyarwanda imbabazi ibyaha bakoreye abanyamahanga cyangwa ibyo abo abanyamahanga bakoreye abanyarwanda?
- Ese umuntu ashobora gusabira imbabazi ubwoko bwe?
- Ni ryari umuntu ashobora gusabira undi imbabazi? N'ibindi, n'ibindi.

Ibyo byose ni ibibazo abanyarwanda bibaza kandi badafitiye ibisubizo bimwe. Ni nde wagombye kubaha ibisobanuro bikwiye ndetse agakiza izo mpaka? Yashingira kuki? Ibyo bisobanuro yabivana he? Byagenda gute rero? Reka ngerageze kugereranya iyo politiki y'ubwiyunge n'ubutabera mpuzabantu.

## Gufasha abashaka kwiyunga mu rwego rwa politiki

Nkuko nabisobanuye mu nyandiko yerekeranye n'ukuntu ubutabera mpuzabantu bufasha abashaka kwiyunga, abahuza si abacamanza kandi ntibagira uruhande babogamiraho. Ariko bunganira abacamanza kugirango ubutabera bugerweho neza. Nubwo ari imwe mu nzira z'ubwiyunge, ubucamanza busanzwe ntibuhuza abantu. Ubutabera nyabwo ni ubutuma abantu bashobora kwiyunga bakongera kubana. Ku byerekeranye na politiki nabyo, abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka nabo bakora politiki y'ubwiyunge butari ubwiyunge nyakuri iyo bayiganisha ku nyungu z'amashyaka yabo aba agamije ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, aho kuyiganisha ku nyungu za rubanda rwose batavanguye. Niyo mpamvu kugirango ubwiyunge nyakuri bushobore kugerwaho bukwiye kuyoborwa n'abandi bantu badakora politiki igamije ubutegetsi. Muri uyu mushinga, abo ni bo nita abayobozi b'ubwiyunge. Ni nayo mpamvu uyu mushinga nawise "Umuyobozi w'Ubwiyunge mu Mahoro" kuko ugamije gusobanurira abantu imbabazi n'ubwiyunge wifashishije abahanga babizobereyemo. Kimwe n'uko abayobozi mu butegetsi bw'igihugu bakomoka mu mashyaka, abayobozi b'ubwiyunge nabo bagombye kuva mu mashyirahamwe ya société civile n'amadini kuko ntaho abogamira muli politiki y'ubwo butegetsi.

Aha umuntu yakwibaza ati ariko se abo bayobozi b'ubwiyunge bakora iki? Akazi kabo kaba akahe? Hari ibibazo byinshi birebana n'ihungabanywa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu cyane cyane irikorwa n'abashinzwe kwubahiriza amategeko ndetse n'abanyepolitiki bitwaje imyanya yabo, ugasanga ubutabera bunanirwa kubikemura kubera kubura ubwigenge. Ibyo byose usanga amashyirahamwe n'amadini ari yo abyamagana ariko akabura ingufu zo kurwanya ako karengane kandi n'ubutabera ntibubishobore kuko buba butegekwa n'abanyepolitiki. Amashyirahamwe n'amadini abura izo ngufu kubera ko aba atari mu nzego za politiki y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Ni yo mpamvu hakwiye kujyaho amategeko yatuma abayahagarariye bagira ubwo bushobozi bwo kurandura ubwabo ako karengane bamagana aho kubisaba abanyepolitiki batabikozwa. Hateganywa ko ayo mashyirahamwe n'amadini agira intumwa mu buyobozi bw'igihugu butari ubwa politiki y'ubutegetsi nshingategeko (Pouvoir législatif) cyangwa iy'ubutegetsi nyubahirizategeko (Pouvoir exécutif). Ni ukuvuga ubuyobozi bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge (Pouvoir de la Justice et de la Réconciliation).

## Iyo politiki y'ubwiyunge yakwubahirizwa ite?

Abo bayobozi b'ubwiyunge ni nabo basobanurira rubanda uburyo imbabazi n'ubwiyunge byagerwaho, maze bakarengera ubumwe bw'abaturage. Kugirango imbabazi n'ubwiyunge byumvikane mu buryo bumwe butari ubw'amadisikuru atandukanye cyangwa yivuguruzanya y'abanyepolitiki, ibyo nabyo birasaba ko hajyaho amategeko agenga uburyo ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bikwiye kugerwaho. Ni ukuvuga amategeko-nyobozi y'ubwiyunge. Ayo mategeko ntabwo yategeka abantu gusaba imbabazi cyangwa kuzitanga kuko imbabazi ziva ku mutima w'umuntu, nta nubwo yabategeka kwiyunga, ahubwo yabasobanurira kandi akabayobora abereka uburyo bakwiye kubigeraho. Ayo mategeko yarandura umuco mubi w'ikinyoma, uwo guhora, kwihorera, guhorera no kutagorora abanyabyaha (kudahana) bituma habaho insubiracyaha. Ni nayo yatanga ibisubizo kuri biriya bibazo abantu benshi batavugaho rumwe. Abayobozi b'ubwiyunge baba bashinzwe kuyubahiririza, muri ubwo buryo bakunganira abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka (abashyiraho

amategeko asanzwe n'abayubahiriza), nkuko abahuza bakwunganira abacamanza mu butabera.

Ku itariki ya 1/03/2014 i Bruxelles mu Bubiligi habereye inama yitabiriwe n'abantu benshi bari baje gushyigikira ibikorwa birengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu by'Ikigo Kirwanya Umuco wo Kudahana no Kurenganya mu Rwanda (CLIIR). Iyo nama yarimo abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka, abahagaririye amashyirahamwe ya société civile, na rubanda rwa giseseka. Nyuma y'amagambo yavuzwe n'umuhuzabikorwa w'icyo kigo akaba n'umwe mu bagize Inteko y'Ubumwe, Amahoro n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda (CUPR) nabo bari bitabiriye icyo kiganiro, umwe mu banyarwanda bari aho yafashe ijambo ashimira abagize igitekerezo cyo gushinga iyo Nteko. Mu gusoza yanabasabye ndetse gushinga ishyaka akaba ari ryo ajyamo kuko abona ibitekerezo n'ibikorwa byabo biruta iby'andi mashyaka yose. Umwe mu bagize iyo Nteko akaba nawe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu yamushubije ko nta mugambi bafite wo gushinga ishyaka rya politiki kuko baba batereranye abo bashinzwe kurengera.

Sinzi niba uwo munyarwanda yaranyuzwe bihagije n'icyo gisubizo, ariko ikibazo cye gifite ishingiro. Kuko mu rwego rwa politiki, biragaragara ko hakenewe abayobozi baharanira uburenganzira bw'abanyarwanda, ubutabera, amahoro, umubano, ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri, ariko batari abanyepolitiki dusanzwe tumenyereye. Bimaze ndetse kugaragara ko abanyarwanda benshi bitabira ibikorwa by'abashinzwe kurengera uburenganzira bwabo kurusha uko bitabira iby'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka. Kuri iriya tariki, umubare w'abitabiriye iriya nama waruse kure uw'abitabira inama z'amashyaka.

Umuntu yakwibaza ariko ukuntu abahagarariye ayo mashyirahamwe bazashobora kwumvisha ibitekerezo byabo abanyepolitiki kandi batari ku rwego rumwe nabo. Icyizere bagira cy'uko ibyifuzo byabo byazashyirwa mu bikozwa n'abo banyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka baramutse bageze ku butegetsi ni ikihe? Kuva kera, bamwe mu banyepolitiki ntibemera ko amwe mu mategeko yubahirizwa ku bantu bose, kandi ari bo baba bayashyizeho. Igihe cyose abaharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu ntibahwema gusaba abanyepolitiki kurenganura abarengana ariko kenshi bigafata ubusa kuko aba nabo rimwe na rimwe baba babifitemo uruhare. Kandi koko, ngo ntawe urega uwo aregayo. Kugera naho abaharanira ubwo burenganzira nabo ubwabo bazira ko bamagana ako karengane, bamwe bagafungwa ngo ni uko bakoze imyigaragambyo, abarokotse iryo fungwa bagafata inzira y'ubuhungiro, kandi mbere y'uko ababafungisha bagera ku butegetsi barigaragambyaga hamwe nabo, nkuko umuririmbyi BYUMVUHORE Jean-Baptiste abivuga. Ingero ni nyinshi cyane.

Niyo mpamvu bamwe muri abo biyemeza gushinga ayabo mashyaka agamije guhindura ibintu, nyamara bagera ku butegetsi nabo bagakora ibyo barwanyaga. Abanyarwanda batakoze cyangwa badakora politiki igamije ubutegetsi twibaza ikibitera. Byaba se ari bya bindi bamwe bita ngo ni "amacenga ya politiki" abandi ngo ni "amaco y'inda"? Ibanga ry'iyo politiki sinzi ko tuzarimenya kuko tudashaka kandi tutagamije kuyijyamo. Gusa niba bamwe mu bashinzwe kurenganura abaturage nabo babarenganya cyangwa ntibashobore kubikora kubera impamvu zinyuranye, buri wese yagombye kubona ko icyo ari ikibazo gikomeye cyane kandi cyagombye kubonerwa umuti. Birababaje kandi biteye kwibaza. Umuntu yavuga ko hari ikintu kibura kugirango iyo politiki ishobore kurengera bose, amategeko yubahirizwe kuri bose, hose kandi igihe cyose. Hakwiye kwigwa indi nzira rero yatuma haboneka abandi bantu bagira ububasha n'ubushobozi bwo kurandura ako karengane. Byagenda gute?

**Umuryango uhuza abaharanira n'abashaka ubwiyunge nyakuri**

Igihe kirageze rero ngo abaharanira ubwiyunge batekereze ku buryo ibikorwa byabo

byakwumvikana mu rwego rwa politiki. Uburyo mbona nyabwo ni ukwemera bagakora politiki y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge itagamije ubutegetsi ahubwo igamije guhuza abaturage no kubayobora mu bwiyunge. Iyo politiki ntisaba kugira "amashyaka" menshi nk'ay'abandi banyepolitiki kubera ko, nkuko izina ryayo ribivuga, iyo politiki nshya yo igamije ubumwe nyabwo. Abifuza kuyoboka iyo politiki bakwiye kwishyira hamwe mu muryango umwe mugali ubahuza.

Uwo muryango wayoborwa n'intumwa z'amashyirahamwe n'amadini kimwe n'abandi bantu baharanira ubwiyunge ku giti cyabo, bityo abaturage bakawushyigikira kandi bakawuyoboka kuko bawukeneye, nk'uriya munyarwanda navuze haruguru. Izo ntumwa ntizaba zitereranye abanyamuryango b'amashyirahamwe n'amadini bahagarariye ahubwo ni uburyo bwo kubarengera kurushaho. Ni kimwe n'uko abagize iriya Nteko y'Ubumwe, Amahoro n'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda nabo bari mu yandi mashyirahamwe. Umuntu yavuga ko ari intumwa zayo muri iyo Nteko. Amashyirahamwe n'amadini yo ntagira ikibuga cyo gucenganiramo politiki, nta n'izindi nyungu aharanira uretse iza rubanda kuko adaharanira ubutegetsi. Ni yo mpamvu ari yo akwiye gukora iyo politiki y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Nkuko ubutabera mpuzabantu bwakwunganira ubucamanza busanzweho, uwo muryango nawo wazunganira amashyaka ya politiki mu milimo y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu irebana n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Abo bayobozi b'ubwiyunge bakorana n'izindi nzego zisanzweho z'ubucamanza n'iz'ubutabera mpuzabantu mu Buyobozi bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge. Itegeko ryazagena ububasha n'imikorere yabo ndetse n'uburyo bashyirwaho.

Abanyarwanda bamwe bamaze gushishoza bamenya ko ntacyo bapfa hagati yabo mu by'ukuri, ko ibibazo tugirana biterwa na politiki mbi zadutanyije zikoresheje amoko ndetse n'uturere. Umuririmbyi nyakwigendera Matata Jean-Christophe ni we wagize ati: "abanyotewe gutwara ni bo badutwara baduta mu macakubiri". Mu kiganiro ku bwiyunge nayoboye tariki ya 11 Mata 2014 i Beaumont mu Bubiligi, umwe mubari aho (umubiligi kavukire) yunze murya Matata avuga ko no mu gihugu cye abanyepolitiki ari bo bateza amacakubiri hagati y'aba flamands n'aba wallons. Ati iyo ni ya politiki yo gucamo abantu mo ibice kugirango ubone uko ubategeka (diviser pour régner).

Kubera iyo mpamvu kimwe n'iriya navuze yuko bamwe mu banyepolitiki barenganya rubanda kandi ari bo bashinzwe kwubahiriza amategeko, hari ndetse n'abanyarwanda batakibagirira icyizere. Abageze ku bikorwa by'ubwiyunge ku bwabo cyangwa hamwe n'abandi banyarwanda, ni ukubera ko bashoboye kwiyubaka maze barenga ibibazo by'amoko. Uriya muryango wabafasha guhuza ibyo bikorwa n'ibitekerezo byiza bafite byubaka umubano w'abanyarwanda kandi ukagarurira rubanda icyizere mu banyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka. Kwishyira hamwe byagabanya ingufu z'abashaka kudutanya. Abagize Société civile n'amadini bakwiye kugira "garantie" y'uko abanyepolitiki b'abategetsi batazongera gukora politiki mbi yo gutanya abanyarwanda. Nta yindi "garantie" rero nyayo uretse kuba ari bo ubwabo bakora politiki yo guhuza abanyarwanda, hagamijwe no gukosora amakosa yakozwe kuva kera.

Kimwe n'uko mu butabera abahuza batagira uwo (uruhande) babogamiraho, no rwego rwa politiki abayobozi b'ubwiyunge nabo nta shyaka babogamiraho kuko baharanira ubumwe n'umubano nyarwanda. Kutabogama, kutabera, ubwigenge, icyizere no kwizerana ni byo byabaranga mu milimo yabo.

Uwo muryango wakwitwa ngo iki? Imikorere yawo yaba iyihe? Tubitekerezeho...

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