# EJO HAZAZA HA DEMOKARASI NYARWANDA/FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR RWANDA'S DEMOCRATY

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## I. INTANGIRIRO

Mbere yo kureba ejo hazaza ha demokarasi nyarwanda turibukiranya muri make igisobanuro cya Demokarasi, amateka yayo mu Rwanda, icyo Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda riteganya ku mahame ya Demokarasi u Rwanda rwahisemo. Turareba niba Demokarasi nyarwanda ifite umwimerere, dusuzume uko ejo hazaza hayo hatanga icyizere cy'uko izaramba.

## II. IGISOBANURO CYA DEMOKARASI

### 2.1. DEMOKARASI

Demokarasi igenda isobanurwa ku buryo butandukanye ariko ubukunze guhurirwaho ni uko Demokarasi ari ''Ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage». Iki gisobanuro kijyana n'amahame y'ingenzi akurikira agomba kwitabwaho :

- Gushyiraho cyangwa gusimbura ubuyobozi binyuze mu matora atanga ubwisanzure kandi akozwe mu mucyo;
- Uruhare rw'abaturage mu bijyanye na politiki ndetse n'ubuzima busanzwe by'igihugu;
- Kurengera uburenganzira bwa muntu ku baturage bose;
- Kugira igihugu kigendera ku mategeko;
- Kugira inzego z'ubutegetsi zitandukanye;
- Kwemera ibitekerezo binyuranye.

Nubwo aya mahame ya Demokarasi ahurirwaho ku rwego mpuzamahanga, Demokarasi si umwambaro wambikwa buri wese; buri gihugu kigira umwihariko wacyo mu kugena Demokarasi ikibereye gishingiye ku mateka n'umuco wacyo ndetse n'ibibazo gifite gishaka gukemura.

### 2.2. AHO DEMOKARASI IGARAGARIRA

Demokarasi n'amahame yayo bigaragarira mu mitegekere y'igihugu. Uburyo igihugu kiyoborwa hashingiwe ku mahame ya Demokarasi bigaragarira mu Itegeko nshinga. Niryo rigaragaza ubutegetsi abaturage bifuza, ububasha bwabo mu kubutanga n'uburyo bugomba kurengera inyungu zabo.

Ni muri urwo rwego Itegeko Nshinga riteganya ubwoko bw'ubutegetsi runaka ndetse n'amahame ya Demokarasi bushingiyeho.

Gusa hari igihe amahame ya demokarasi ari mu Itegeko nshinga ashobora kwirengagizwa ugasanga ubutegetsi buhindutse ingoma y'igitugu irangwa n'ubutegetsi buri mu maboko y'umuntu umwe cyangwa agatsiko k'abantu bake, kutubahiriza amategeko yashyizweho, kwivanga mu mikorere y'ubutegetsi, ivangura, ruswa n'ibindi.

## III. <u>AMATEKA YA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA</u>

Amateka ya Demokarasi arareberwa mu bihe bitandukanye bijyanye n'ubutegetsi bw' u Rwanda.

### 3.1. MBERE Y'UBUKOLONI.

Mbere y'ubukoloni u Rwanda rwari rufite ubutegetsi bw'Ubwami. Nubwo nta Tegeko Nshinga ryari ririho, imitegekere yari ishingiye ku mahame n'indangagaciro na kirazira byatumaga abanyarwanda bagira imyumvire n'imyitwarire imwe ishingiye ku bunyarwanda. Umuntu yavuga ko amahame yari yanditse mu mitima y'abanyarwanda kandi akagenda ahererekanywa uko ibihe bisimburana.

Amwe muri ayo mahame yarimo: gukunda no kwitangira igihugu; gukunda Imana Rurema yaremye u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, gukunda no kuramya Umwami. Abanyarwanda bari bafite indangagaciro z'ubunyangamugayo, kugira ubutwari, ubuntu, ubupfura n'ubufatanye. Cyaraziraga kugambanira igihugu n'Umwami no kutubaha abakuru.

Umwami yari afite abajyanama babitse amabanga y'ubwami (Abiru). Imitegekere y'igihugu yari igizwe n'inzego zitandukanye zirimo abatware: uw'ingabo, uw'umukenke n'uw'ubutaka. Ubutegetsi bwari bwegereye abaturage.

### 3.2. IGIHE CY'UBUKOLONI

Abakoloni bageze mu Rwanda batangajwe cyane no kubona uburyo imitegekere y'u Rwanda yari yubatswe, batangira kuyisenya bakoresheje kubiba amacakubiri mu banyarwanda kugira ngo bagere ku ntego zabo zo gucengeza amatwara ya gikoloni.

### 3.3. NYUMA Y'UBWIGENGE

## a) Repubulika ya Mbere

Itegeko nshinga ryo muri 1962, ryateguwe n'itsinda ry'abantu bake (Makuza Anastase, wari Minisitire w'Intebe, ryemerwa na Grégoire Kayibanda, Jean Baptiste Rwasibo na Dominique Mbonyumutwa). Ryashingiye cyane ku Itegeko nshinga ry'Ababiligi n'iry'Abafaransa).

Muri Repubulika ya mbere, ubutegetsi bwaranzwe n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku bwoko. Bamwe mu banyarwanda bavukijwe uburenganzira bwo kwiga, bahezwa mu mirimo no mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta. Bwaranzwe kandi n'ubwicanyi n'umuco wo kudahana. Hari n'ibibazo by'ubukene bukabije. Communiqué

## b) Repubulika ya kabiri.

Repubulika ya kabiri yagiyeho muri 1973, yari ishingiye ku ishyaka rimwe rukumbi rya MRND. Buri munyarwanda wese yagombaga kuribamo.

Itegeko nshinga ryo muri 1978, ryanditswe n'abantu 3 (Ntashamaje Antoine, n'ababiligi babiri René de Wolf na Filip Reyntjens, wari uyoboye itsinda).

Hejuru y'ibibazo byaranze Repubulika ya mbere, hiyongereyeho ivangura rishingiye ku moko n'uturere, politiki y'iringaniza mu mashuri. Gutora umukandida umwe rukumbi ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika…

Amahame aranga Demokarasi ntiyigeze aba inkingi y'imitegekere y'ubutegetsi haba muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri.

### 3.4. NYUMA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MURI 1994

Nyuma ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi, Abanyarwanda bafashe umwanya wo gutekereza ku bibazo bikomeye by'igihugu no kugena ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda, mu biganiro byabereye muri Village Urugwiro kuva muri Gicurasi 1998 kugeza muri Werurwe 1999. Ni muri urwo rwego hatanzwe umurongo w'uko abanyarwanda bazagira uruhare mu itegurwa ry' itegeko nshinga bitandukanye n'uburyo andi mategeko nshinga yabanje, yateguwe.

Komisiyo itegura itegeko nshinga yihaye igihe cy'imyaka ibiri cyo gusobanura no kwakira ibitekerezo by'abaturage. Bimwe mu bitekerezo by'ingenzi byavuyemo kandi byashyizwe mu itegeko nshinga ni ibi bikurikira :

- Ubutegetsi bwa Leta bushingiye kuri Repubulika
- Itegeko nshinga rirengera abanyarwanda, rirwanya jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo yayo kandi rishimangira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda;
- Amahame remezo ashingiye ku mateka n'ibibazo u Rwanda rwanyuzemo;
- Kuzirikana ibyiciro by'abagore, urubyiruko n'abamugaye mu miyoborere y'igihugu;
- Kugena manda ya Perezida wa Repubulika;
- Ko Perezida atorwa n'abanyarwanda bose akagira n'urubuga ahuriramo n'abaturage mu nama y'Umushyikirano;
- Ubutegetsi bwa Demokarasi bushingiye ku bitekerezo binyuranye;
- Kugena uko itegeko nshinga rivugururwa hateganywa n'ibitahinduka abaturage batabigizemo uruhare.

Amahame ya Demokarasi yarashimangiwe kandi arubahirizwa mu Itegurwa n'itorwa ry'Itegeko nshinga ryo muri 2003; kuko ari abanyarwanda ubwabo bagennye ibikwiye kuba birikubiyemo kugira ngo ribasubirize ibibazo bikomeye bihari kandi bagumane uburenganzira bwo kuririnda no kurihindura igihe bibaye ngombwa.

## IV. UMWIMERERE WA DEMOKARASI NYARWANDA N'AHO UGARAGARIRA

### 4.1. IVUGURURA RY'ITEGEKO NSHINGA RYA REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA RYO MURI 2003.

Umwimerere wa Demokarasi nyarwanda ugaragarira mu buryo bwakoreshejwe mu ivugurura ry'Itegeko nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo muri 2003, aho abaturage barenga miriyoni enye bahagurutse bagasaba ko ingingo y'ijana n'imwe(101) ivugururwa kubera impamvu nyinshi zitandukanye ariko zose zihuriza ku byiza bakesha ubuyobozi burangajwe imbere na Perezida wa Repubulika bityo bakoresha ububasha bahabwa n'Itegeko nshinga bwo kwihitiramo ibibabereye no gusaba ko Itegeko Nshinga rivugururwa.

Bagaragaje ko ubutegetsi ari ubwa abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage kandi berekana ko bishimiye ubutegetsi bukorera abaturage.

### 4.2. AMAHAME YA DEMOKARASI U RWANDA RWAHISEMO.

Nkuko byasobanuwe haruguru, amahame ya Demokarasi u Rwanda rwahisemo ashingiye ku mateka y'igihugu, ku ndangagaciro z'umuco wacyo, ku bibazo rushaka gukemura no ku gushimangira ubusugire no kwihesha agaciro nk'igihugu. Bigaragarira mu bice byose bigize Itegeko nshinga ryo muri 2003 ryavuguruwe muri 2015 :

#### a) Irangashingiro :

**Twebwe abanyarwanda**,

**DUHAYE icyubahiro gikwiye** abakurambere **bitanze** batizigama bahanga u Rwanda, n'intwari zaharaniye umutekano……

**DUSHINGIYE ku mahirwe dufite yo kugira igihugu kimwe, ururimi rumwe, umuco umwe n'amateka y'igihe kirekire….**

**TWIBUKA** jenoside yakorewe abatutsi….n'amateka mabi yaranze igihugu..;

**TUZIRIKANA** amahoro, umutekano n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge….ari byo nkingi y'iterambere;

**TWIYEMEJE** **kubaka Leta** **<u>igendera ku mategeko (1)</u>, <u>ishingiye ku iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu (2), ku bwisanzure (3) no ku</u> <u>ihame ry'uko abanyarwanda bose bareshya imbere y'amategeko (4)</u> <u>n'iry'uburinganire hagati y'abagore n'abagabo (5);</u>**

**TWIYEMEJE kandi kubaka <u>Leta ishingiye kuri demokarasi y'ubwumvikane (6) n'ibitekerezo bya politiki binyuranye (7), yubakiye ku isaranganya ry'ubutegetsi (8), ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda (9), imiyoborere myiza (10), iterambere (11), guha abaturage amahirwe angana mu mibereho yabo (12), ubworoherane (13) no gukemura ibibazo binyuze mu nzira y'ibiganiro (14).</u>**

**TWIYEMEJE <u>kubumbatira indangagaciro zacu zishingiye ku muryango, ku bupfura, ku gukunda igihugu (15) no guharanira ko inzego zose z'ubutegetsi bwa Leta zikora mu nyungu z'abanyarwanda twese (16).</u>**

Muri iri rangashingiro abanyarwanda hari ibyo babanza kuzirikana byatumye u Rwanda rubaho, bakibuka amateka mabi yaruranze, bakazirikana n'ibigize inkingi z'iterambere maze bakabona kwiyemeza.

Usesenguye ibyo abanyarwanda biyemeza, harimo amahame ya demokarasi agera kuri 16. Muri aya mahame hari ayo usanga ari umwihariko w'u Rwanda kuko ashingira ku mateka yarwo, ku muco no ku bibazo rushaka gukemura. Aha niho umwimerere wa Demokarasi nyarwanda ugaragarira.

### b) Ingingo z'Itegeko nshinga zishimangira amahame ya Demokarasi:

Zimwe mu ngingo z'Itekegeko nshinga zishimangira amahame ya Demokarasi nyarwanda :

**Ingingo ya mbere : Inkomoko y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu:** Iyi ngingo igaragaza ko ubutegetsi bukomoka ku baturage kandi ari ubwabo;

**Ingingo ya 2 : Itora**: Igaragaza uburenganzira bw'abanyarwanda bose ku buryo bungana bwo gutora;

**Ingingo ya 4: Repubulika :** Ishingiye kuri demokarasi, igamije guteza imbere abanyarwanda. Ishingiye ku ihame ry'uko ari: "***Ubutegetsi bw'abanyarwanda, butangwa n'Abanyarwanda kandi bukorera Abanyarwanda***".

**Ingingo ya 10: Amahame remezo**: Leta y'u Rwanda yiyemeje kugendera ku mahame remezo akurikira no gutuma yubahirizwa:

1. **Gukumira no guhana icyaha cya jenoside, kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya bya jenoside no kurandura burundu ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside n'ibyo igaragariramo byose;**

2. **Kurandura burundu ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku bwoko, akarere n'ibindi, no gushyira imbere ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda;**

3. **Gusaranganya ubutegetsi nta bwikanyize;**

4. **Kubaka Leta igendera ku mategeko n'ubutegetsi bwa demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezo bya politiki binyuranye, uburinganire bw'Abanyarwanda bose n'ubw'abagore n'abagabo bushimangirwa n'uko abagore bagira nibura mirongo itatu ku ijana (30%) by'imyanya mu nzego zifatirwamo ibyemezo;**

5. **Kubaka Leta iharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage no gushyiraho uburyo bukwiye kugira ngo bagire amahirwe angana mu mibereho yabo;**

6. **Gushaka buri gihe umuti w'ibibazo binyuze mu nzira y'ibiganiro n'ubwumvikane busesuye**.

Aya mahame remezo yose uko ari atandatu ni amahame ya Demokarasi ahura nibyo abanyarwanda biyemeje nkuko bigaragara mu Iranganshingiro ry'Itegeko nshinga.

**Ingingo ya 11 : Umuco nyarwanda nk'isoko yo kwishakamo ibisubizo** : Iyi ngingo ikubiyemo umwihariko w'abanyarwanda wo kwihesha agaciro no gushaka ibisubizo bishingiye ku muco wabo.

Umwimerere wa Demokarasi Nyarwanda ni ukuba ishingiye ku mahame yubakiye ku mateka y'u Rwanda udashobora gusanga ahandi; ni ukuba aya mahame yaraturutse ku bitekerezo by'abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose, bitandukanye

n'ibyakorwaga mbere ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi; ni ukuba imibereho myiza n'iterambere ry'umuturage ari byo shingiro rya Demokarasi nyarwanda. Iryo terambere rikaba ryubakiye ku nkingi zikurikira**: amahoro, umutekano n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge by'Abanyarwanda.**

Izindi ngingo zose z'Itegeko nshinga zubakiye kuri aya mahame remezo no ku muco wo kwishakamo ibisubizo kw'abanyarwanda.

## V. AHAZAZA HA DEMOKARASI NYARWANDA

Kugira ngo ahazaza ha Demokarasi nyarwanda habe heza kandi hasugire hari ibintu by'ingenzi bigomba kwitabwa ndetse hari n'uburyo bwakoreshwa kugira ngo bigerweho**.**

### 5.1. IBIKWIYE KWITABWAHO

Ejo hazaza ha Demokarasi nyarwanda kugira ngo harambe kandi hasugire bisaba ko hahora hazirikanwa ibi bikurikira :

- Kuguma mu ntekerezo ya Demokarasi nyarwanda yubakiye ku muturage kandi idaca ukubiri n'inkingi zigize amahame remezo kuko abanyarwanda bayahisemo kubera umwihariko w'amateka u Rwanda rwanyuzemo mbere ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi kandi abanyarwanda bakaba batifuza kuyasubiramo ukundi haba none n'ibihe bizaza;
- Gukomeza gushimangira ibyiza Demokarasi nyarwanda imaze kugeza ku banyarwanda, kubiteza imbere no kubirinda;
- Kugendera mu cyerekezo kirambye cy'iterambere ry'igihugu, iry'Akarere, iry'Afurika n'iry'isi muri rusange;
- Kuzirikana ibibazo byugarije isi muri rusange, ibituruka ku ikomatanyabukungu kandi bifite ingaruka ku Rwanda.

### 5.2. UBURYO BWAKWIFASHISHWA

Umuvuduko w'iterambere ry'isi ryifashisha ikoranabuhanga, ibyemezo bifatirwa ku rwego rw'isi bikagira ingaruka ku Rwanda, ibibazo bihangayikishije umugabane

w'isi nk'ihindagurika ry'ibihe, ibiza, ibyorezo, intambara n'ibindi, ibi byose bikwiye gutuma himakazwa umuco wo kwisuzuma ngo harebwe ibikeneye kwitabwaho no kunozwa mu rugendo rwo gukomeza kubaka Demokarasi nyarwanda.

Imitwe ya politiki, abanyapolitiki n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bagira uruhare mu gufasha abayoboke babo n'abaturage muri rusange kugira imyumvire ikwiye ku ishingiro ry'amahame demokarasi nyarwanda yubakiyeho, no ku mpinduka zigenda ziza.

Gukomeza gushyira imbere ineza y'umuturage, kumwegera no kumukemurira ibibazo nabyo ni ingenzi kugira ngo akomeze kugirira icyizere inzego z'ubuyobozi. Kubaza abayobozi ibyo bakora ntibikwiye gutezukwaho.

Kudateshuka ku guhigana kw'Imitwe ya politiki himakazwa umuco wo kuganira no gusangira ubutegetsi kugira ngo hatabaho kwanga kurekura ubutegetsi cyangwa se kwikubira bikunze kuba intandaro zo guteza imidugararo mu bihugu.

Gukomeza gukoresha neza ikoranabuhanga mu bikorwa bifitiye igihugu n'abaturage akamaro nko mu burezi, ubuzima, ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, ubucuruzi n'ibindi no gushishikariza urubyiruko cyane cyane uburyo bwo kuribyaza umusaruro.

Gukoresha neza uburyo bwose bwashyizweho butuma abaturage bagira uruhare mu kugena ibibakorerwa no kwikemurira ibibazo bashingiye ku ndangagaciro z'umuco nyarwanda.

## VI. UMUSOZO

Ejo hazaza ha Demokarasi nyarwanda haratanga icyizere gishingiye ku kuba abanyarwanda ubwabo aribo bahisemo demokarasi bifuza yubakiye ku mwihariko w'amateka yabo, umuco wabo, kandi ibakemurira ibibazo.

Uko guhitamo kwabo kugamije kugeza abanyarwanda ku iterambere rirambye nta n'umwe usigaye inyuma;

Ukwihitiramo uko igihugu kigomba kuyoborwa ni uburenganzira ntavogerwa kandi ntavuguruzwa bw'abanyarwanda. Yaba igihugu, umuryango mpuzahanga

cyangwa umuntu ku giti cye, nta n'umwe ufite uburenganzira bwo kuza gutegeka abanyarwanda uko bagomba kubaho.

Ibi ariko ubwabyo byonyine ntibihagije, bisaba ubushake bwa politiki bwubaha kandi bwubahiriza ubushake bw'abaturage.

## <u>Inyandiko zifashishijwe:</u>


1. *Histoire du Rwanda des origines à la fin du XXe siècle sous la direction de Déo Byanafashe, Paul Rutayisire en collaboration avec Joseph Jyoni Wa Karega, Charles Kabwete Mulinda, Célestin Kanimba Misago, Gamaliel Mbonimana et Faustin Rutembesa, Université nationale du Rwanda, Huye, 2011;*
2. *Raporo y'inama nyunguranabitekerezo yabereye muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika guhera mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1998 kugeza mu kwa Werurwe 1999 (Kanama 1999);*
3. *Itegeko Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda ryo mu 2003 ryavuguruwe mu 2015 (Igazeti ya Leta n. idasanzwe yo ku wa 24 Ukuboza 2015);*
4. *Inyandiko ku isesengura ry'inshingano za Sena nyuma y'ivugururwa ry'Itegeko nshinga mu mwaka wa 2015 nuko zashyirwa mu bikorwa (Gicurasi 2016);*
5. *Gahunda ya Guverinoma 2017-2024 /National Strategy for Transformation, NST1.*