

Umwanzuro

Mu gusoza iri sesengura ry'uko intambara yagenze n'uko itsembabwoko ryashyizwe mu bikorwa, hari ikintu nifuzaga gutsindagira ndetse ngahera ku mirimo imaze kujya ahagaragara kugira ngo nongereho icyitegererezo bwite ku nyabubiri y'inshingano zanjye zo kuba "umutangabuhamya w'inzobere" n'umushakashatsi.

Ikintu nabonye nshaka gutsindagira ni uko abari bashyamiranye muri 1994 bahisemo gufata ibyemezo byagize ingaruka mbi cyane batateganyaga na busa. Ubw'amambere, icyemezo giteye agahinda cyo kwamagana amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha cyatumye inzego z'inzibacyuho zitajyaho. Hanyuma rero, ku ruhande rumwe bamwe bahisemo kwigarurira ubutegetsu bwose ku ngufu za gisirikari batitaye ku ngaruka zabyo, ku rundi ruhande abandi bashyira imbere umugambi w'ubusazi wo kurandura inzego za leta no kurimbura abaharanira demokarasi ari na byo byaje guhembera gahunda yo gutsemba Abatutsi.

Buri gihe uko gushyira mu ngiro amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha byabaga binaniranye, ubushyamirane n'ibikangisho byatumaga abantu bitega amakuba, ariko nta na rimwe abantu bari bakabonye ko ayo makuba ari nta gisibya.

Nk'uko twabibonye, ibyemezo byatumye intambara yubura muri Mata 1994 kandi bigatuma abategetsu ba Guverinoma y'agateganyo yishyizeho bashoza intambara mu yindi imbere mu gihugu yo kwibasira abitwaga "ibyitso" bya FPR biri ukubiri : hari ibyatewe n'ingamba zo kwirwanaho, hari n'ibyatewe n'umururumba utihishira wa mpemuke ndamuke. N'ubwo hakiri ingingo zimwe na zimwe zigikeneye gusobonuka neza, ibyinshi bimaze kumenyekana bidasubirwaho : Abagize uruhare rugaragara barazwi, uko ibintu byakurikiranye n'amatariki y'ingenzi byabayeho bishobora kwerekanwa, uburyo n'inzira zakoreshejwe birazwi; ikindi kimaze kujya ahagaragara ni uburyo abahigwaga bagiyeye bagenwa kimwe n'imitungo n'ibikoresho byitabajwe.

Nyirabayazana yo guhitana abanyapolitiki kimwe n'ubundi bwicanyi bwo mu minsi ya mbere ni amabwiriza ataziguye yahawe imitwe y'abasirikari b'indobanure n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, hakiyongeraho nanone kwirengagiza

ku buryo bugambiriwe amategeko akumira ibyo byaha by'ubugome. Ubwo bwicanyi bwari bugamije kwigarurira ubutegetsu ku buryo mu minsi cumi ya mbere agatsiko k'abasirikari bakuru n'abanyapolitiki bafatanije n'abambari babo b'imena bashoboye kwigarurira inzego zose za leta, bashyiraho Guverinoma, bagenzura ingabo n'ubuyobozi bw'intara, babuza ubutabera gukora, bigarurira itangazamakuru... Intego [yo kwigarurira ubutegetsu] bamaze kuyigeraho, ako gatsiko nanone ni ko kagize itsembabwoko umushinga rusange wa politiki y'igihugu kandi gakoresha uburyo bwose n'ibikoresho bya leta mu gushyira uwo mushinga mu bikorwa. Ari ukuba leta yarahirimye cg se kuba abaturage baba baragize uburakari butagira gikumira, ibyo byose nta gishobora gusobanura ubwicanyi bwamaze amezi atatu, bwakozwe ku buryo busesuye, buhereye ruhande. Kuba "politiki z'itsembabwoko" zaramaze ibyumweru n'ibyumweru zicengezwa mu bantu haba mu rwego rwo hejuru haba no mu nzego z'ibanze, ibi bivuguruzwa imvugo yogeye y'icyitwa "ivumbuka ry'uburakari bw'abaturage" ishaka kumvikanisha ko abaturage birosheye giturumbuko mu bwicanyi kirimbuzi ku buryo bw'ikivunge.

Ingamba zo gufata bugwate no kurimbura Abatutsi b'abasivili mu gihugu byari mu murage wa Repubulika. Zari zaragaragaje ubukana bwazo mu myaka ya za 1960 igihe inyeshyamba zitsimbaraye ku bwami zari zagerageje kubugarura, kandi izo ngamba zari zarashoboye kumvikana neza mu ngeri nyinshi z'abaturage. Ikindi kandi, nyuma y'uko abasirikari b'Abatutsi bishe Perezida Ndadaye, "umwitozo" w'Abarundi wo mu Kwakira-Ugushyingo 1993 wari werekanye ko mu "nkubiri y'umujinya w'Abahutu" wakongezwaga n'intagondwa, gukomatanyaga ingufu za politiki n'iz'abaturage babifashijwemo bigaragara n'amahanga byavanye ku izima abasirikari b'Abatutsi bari bagerageje guhirika ubutegetsu ndetse bigamburuzaga n'amashyamba yakoranaga n'abo basirikari ntiyabonera urwaho ku cyuho cyari mu butegetsu. Izo ngufu zishyize hamwe zasubijeho abategetsu bemewe kandi zihagarika ubwicanyi ku mirenge.

I Kigali ho, n'ubwo abashyigikiye Perezida bari bagwiriye n'urugogwe rukabije bakabura Perezida n'umugaba w'ingabo, ububasha bwo kwisuganya bw'abagenerwamurage, ubushake bwo guhora, icyifuzo cy'imitwe y'ingabo irusha iyindi ibikoresho cyo kugumisha ubutegetsu mu maboko y'abari babusanganywe, ubwihangane buke bw'urubwiruko rwa "Pawa" rwasengaga imirwano, ibyo byose byashoboraga gutuma bamwe bibwira ko gushoza urundi "rugamba" imbere mu gihugu byari kugamburuzaga FPR ikemera umwanzuro unyuzwe mu nzira z'imishyikirano n'ubwo yabarushaga ingufu za gisirikari. Hari hitezwe rero ko nyuma yo gushyiraho Guverinoma bihitiyemo bakanagenzura mu by'ukuri inzego zose z'ubutegetsu, ubutegetsu bushya bwari "gushyira mu gaciro" bukayoboka inzira y'imishyikirano, bityo rero hashyirwaga imbere ibibazo bibiri bibangikanye : Ni iki cyashoboraga kugibwaho imishyikirano, ni ki cyari kigishobora kuramirwa, inkunga yo kubigeraho yari guturuka he ? None se, niba nta cyashoboraga kugibwaho imishyikirano kandi ntihagire igishobora kuramirwa ako kanya, byari gushoboka bite ngo ingufu zari zisigaye zizigamirwe ibihe biri imbere ?

Muri byose nta cyashobotse. Aha rero niho mu by'ukuri hari isomo ritangajwe

cyane rituruka ku isesengura ry'imfatiro n'ubuhumya byakusanyijwe. icyemezo cyo gushyigikira ikirari cy'itsembabwoko cyari gishingiye ku bushake bwa mpemuke-ndamuke bwo guhatira abasirikari bari banze kuyitabira n'abanyapolitiki bo mu majyepfo ngo bifatanye n'uwateje ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyapolitiki n' "abanyangofero z'ubururu" b'Ababiligi. Nanone ariko, nubwo ayo mayeri ya politiki yaje kugerwaho bigatuma Guverinoma yose ifatana urunana ndetse ikabona impamvu zo guhuriza hamwe imitwe yitwara gisirikari kandi ikabasha, nibura igihe gito, kunga "imbaga y'Abahutu nyamwinshi", nta wabura gutangazwa n'ibusanya rw'ubwiyahuzi ryanze ingamba zishingiye kuri ayo mayeri. Kandi icyo si ikintu kigaragara nk'aho ari cyonyine. Mu by'ukuri, nk'uko twabibonye, nubwo hari abibeshya ko ibyabaye bifite injyana mbonezamateka, ibikorwa byinshi byo mu ntambara no mu itsembabwoko ryo mu mwaka wa 1994 byashingiye ku mibare itareba kure. Iyo uroye ubuyobe bwaranze imishyikirano yo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho, usangamo intandaro y'ikintu gisa n'ubusazi kimbuzi bwokamye agatsiko k'abanyapolitiki bari basangiye ubwigunge, ari abasivili n'abasirikari, abakuru n'abato, mu bigo bari bahungiyemo kuva i Murambi kugera i Muramba, haba mu mazu bari bacumbitsemo haba no mu tubari twari hafi aho. Bamwe kandi bari baratangiye urugendo rwabo mu kigo cy'umutwe urinda Perezida cy' i Kanombe, banyura muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa na *Hôtel des Diplomates*. Aho ni ho, buri wese atavana ijisho ku bandi, bamariye igihe cyabo mu nama za Guverinoma z'urudaca, imishyikirano, ibiganiro byihariye no gucura imigambi; ni aho bungaga ubumwe cg bagashwana, bakemeza amahame adashogoshya, bagafata ingamba za kimbuzi, bakanoza imigambi y'akagambane. Muri icyo mikino n'imihigo ya politiki isobekeranye ariko y'imburamumaro niho bakurikiraniraga intambara n'itsembatsemba bashoje, ibyo bakabikorana ububasha burenze urugero bwo kwigurutsa amarorerwa yajyanaga nabyo.

Uko bagendaga batsindwa ku rugamba no mu mishyikirano mpuzamahanga, gukomeza gushyigikira itsembabwoko byari byahindutse intego ubwabyo. N'ubwo abantu birukanwaga ubutitsa mu nzego z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, no mu Buyobozi bwa gisirikari, n'abaturage bakagenda barushaho kwanga kubahiriza amabwiriza atabarika bahatirwaga, guhindura cg kuvugurura ingamba zariho ntibyigeze bitekerezwa. Ikirushijeho gutangaza, ni uko mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, mu gihe byagaragaraga ko itsembatsemba nta cyo rimaze, abategetsi bo muri Guverinoma basuzumye umushinga w'urwego rwihariye rwo kurihesha agaciro no kuryongerera ingufu. Ntibabonye umwanya wo gutekereza ku zindi ngamba, ahubwo, gutakaza igihe batekereza ku itsembatsemba nta kindi byamaze uretse kubasiga ibara. Gutsindwa kwabo byabaye uruhenu dore ko kuneshwa kw'ingabo ku rugamba byajyanye no kwamaganwa n'amahanga y'isi yose. Aha rero ni ho gufata ingamba ku buryo budashyira mu gaciro na busa byabereye akaminuramuhini.

Muri rusange, ikintu giteye ishozi mu myitwarire y'abo bategetsi ni ukuntu banangiye birinda gusubiza amaso inyuma ngo barebe uko ibintu byifashe, babone ko bari bari gutsindwa. Uko bagendaga batsindwa, aho kugira ngo bikubite agashyamba bamenye aho bahagaze, ahubwo barushagaho gushyamirana no

gukabya umururumba byagendaga birushaho kubahesha urw’amenyo uko ibyumweru byagendaga byikurikiranya. Guha agaciro ubuzima bwa muntu, gutinya gukora ikizira, guterwa isoni no kwambika ibara abaturage b’abasivili, ibyo byose byari bibari kure nk’ukwezi. Mbese wagira ngo baritanguranwaga ngo baryoze gutsindwa kwabo abaturage babaziza ko ari ibyitso by’umwanzi cg se ibifura bidashobora gukumira umwanzi. Ikizwi ni uko abo banyacyubahiro batigeze na busa basubiza amaso inyuma ngo binenge.

Icyarushije ibindi gutera ishozi ariko ni ukuntu ingabo z’amahanga nyinshi zari mu gihugu cg hafi aho zarebereye ubwicanyi aho guhagarika akanya gato ibyazitandukanyaga bidafite shinge na rugero ngo zihagarike umuvuduko w’urugomo. Nyuma y’imyaka ine ambasade z’amahanga zari zimaze zishyigikira mu bikorwa cg bucece rumwe mu mpande zari zishyamiranye, zitabiriye noneho gutiza umurindi abo zishyigikiye mu ntambara. Nguko uko zarebereye ubwicanyi ahubwo zikarushanwa gupfobya uburemere bw’ubugizi bwa nabi bwakorwaga.

Mu gusoza, ndifuzza kurangiza nuzuzza mu magambo make ibyo navuze mu iriburiro ku ntera y’ ”ubumenyi” y’uyu murimo ushingiyeye icyarimwe kuri “anketi y’ubucamanza” no ku bushakashatsi bwo ku rwego rwa kaminuza.

Mu mwaka wa 1994, nyuma y’imyaka cumi n’itanu y’ubushakashatsi mu karere k’Ibiyaga Bigari byo muri Afurika, nibwiraga ko nari nzi neza ibyaberaga muri ibyo bihugu n’imikorere y’inzego z’ubutegets¹, cyane cyane nifashishije imirimo myinshi nari narakoze ku ntego zo gutoza abahinziborozi, bari biganje mu baturage, iterambere mu bukungu, mu mibereho mbonezamubano, muri politiki no mu igenantekerezo.

Nyamara, n’ubwo nari menyeranye n’abafite uruhare kandi mpora ngenderera ibyo bihugu, ubwinshi n’umuvumba w’ibyarindimutse mu Kwakira 1993 i Burundi n’agahomamunwa ko muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994 mu Rwanda byatumye mu bwenge bwanjye hazunguruka. Nta nzira n’imwe cg ubuhanga bw’isesengura byashoboraga gusobanura uburyo muri ibyo bihe inzego zose mbonezamubano zaridutse ndetse n’abantu ku giti cyabo – kuva ku bahinzi-borozi kugeza ku bayobozi b’abanyapolitiki – bagasigara “batakiri uko bari basanzwe bameze”, nk’uko bakunze kubivuga. Ku ruhande rumwe, ni ngombwa kumva neza no gusobanura ibihe by’imyiryaneyi ikabije mu rwego rwa politiki n’urw’imbonezamubano, nk’ubwajyaga bwigaragaza rimwe na rimwe muri ako karere; ku rundi ruhande, ni ngombwa gutekereza no gusigura iby’iryo hinduka rikabije.

Mu ruhande rw’amakuba nk’ayo yo ku ntera y’ikirenga, usanga buri wese yihebye, ntacyo ashoboye gukora ngo ahangane n’ibibazo by’ingutu bimwotsa igitutu : irondakoko mu masano anyuranye mbonezamubano, ivumbuka ry’inzigangano umuntu atakekaga, guhindura ubusa urugomo kirimbuzi mburabuntu, ingufu zidakumirwa zo guhuruza rubanda, imisusire itunguranye mu rubuga rwa politiki, ihindagurika rya hatu na hatu ry’abafite ubutegets, urujijo mu ruhererekane rw’inzego zifatirwa mu ibyemezo, kugongana hagati y’ubusumbane bw’inzego mbonezamubano zisanzwe n’igabangana ry’ubutegets

¹ Aha navuga ibihe by’akaga gakabije nk’itsembatsemba ryo muri Kanama mu majyaruguru i Burundi cg mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1990.

mu bihe by'intambara.

Hari impamvu nyinshi zatumye hataboneka ibisubizo bikenewe : kuba mu bihugu byayogojwe n'ubwicanyi hatarangwamo inzego nyagihugu z'ubushakashatsi zikora neza, kuba abashakashatsi b'abanyamahanga bari kure cyane cg se ntaho bagihuriye n'ibibera mu gihugu, hakiyongeraho mu buryo rusange ikibazo cy'amacakubiri mu buryo abashakashatsi ba kaminuza babona ibintu. Ikindi kandi, ubushakashatsi bw'inzobere bwariho ni ubwakoze n'imiryango y'ubutwererane mpuzamahanga ikunze gusobanura imizi y'izo ntambara inerekana uburyo bwo kuzirinda ariko ibyo kenshi bigakorwa ku buryo bwo kwishakira indonke cg se kurangiza umuhango. Njye rero nahisemo gukoresha inzira ebyiri icyarimwe; iya mbere ni iyo gukorana n'imiryango ishinze gahunda zo gutabara byihutirwa no gufasha abashyamiranye kwiyinga; iya kabiri ni urukiko rwa TPIR rwansabye gutegura inyandiko-fatizo kugira ngo imanza za mbere zishobore gutangira, cg se kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere. Kwinjira muri izo nzego byampaye ubushobozi bwo kugumana abo twakoranaga imbere mu gihugu no kubonana n'abo mu nzego nshya za politiki y'U Rwanda.

Iyo nsubije amaso inyuma, nsanga iyo mikorere yaramfashije ku buryo butavugwa gukusanya amakuru yose ya ngombwa. Koko rero, kuva natangira kuba umutangabuhamya w'inzobere mu Biro by'umushinjacyaha cg mu nkiko z'ibihugu ibi n'ibi, nakomeje kugira ububasha bwo gukora kimwe no muri gahunda z'ubushakashatsi bwa kaminuza. Ni ukuvuga gushingira ku kirari n'uburyo mbonera nihitiyemo ubwanjye, ubw'ingenzi bukaba ubwo gushobora gukora ubushakashatsi bwanyje mu bwisanzure. Ubushobozi nahawe n'urukiko rwa TPIR bwatumye nkora anketi z'igihe kirekire, n'ubwo nari ku gitutu cya politiki y'igitugu idashaka anketi iyo ari yo yose ikozwe mu bwisanzure muri rusange, kandi ngira n'ubwisanzure abasesenguzi n'abashakashatsi bake cyane bashoboye kubona mu Rwanda rwa nyuma y'itsembabwoko. Abategetsi b'U Rwanda bampaye ubwo butoni kugeza mu mwaka wa 2003. Bwari bushingiye ku masezerano yatuye ambuza kwitwaza manda yo gukora anketi ku byaha by'itsembabwoko ngo nkore n'ubushakashatsi bubangikanye kuri "manda ya kabiri" y'urukiko rwa TPIR, ni ukuvuga ku byaha by'intambara n'ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu bishobora kugerekwa kuri FPR. Nyuma y'iyi tariki, iby'ingenzi mu bushakashatsi byakorewe hanze y'U Rwanda mbifashijwemo n'urukiko rwa TPIR.

Iki gitabo, kimwe n'ibindi byinshi byakibanjirije, gikubiye mo iby'ingenzi by'ubushakashatsi nashyikirije urukiko nk'intangamugabo mu manza zabereye mu ngereko z'urukiko rwa TPIR. Uwo mwihariko ugaragarira muri kino gitabo ku buryo buvuguruzanya. Ubwa mbere bwerekeye ukuntu umutangabuhamya w'inzobere ategetswe gushingira isesengura ry'ibintu muri rusange ku ngingo zisobanutse no ku bikorwa bishobora kugenzurwa. Iryo hame rihoraho ry'ubwizerwe n'ubutagoragora bw'amakuru bivuga gushimikira ku buryo busa n'ubudakumirwa ku nyandiko-fatizo no gushishikarira gukusanya ubuhamya n'amakuru bitagira ingano byibukiranya ibyabaye, urukurikirane rwabyo, ibikorwa by'aba na bariya, byerekana neza amatariki, ahantu, amazina cg amatsinda y'abagize uruhare, ibihande babarurirwamo, amasano y'amavuko, nb.

Iryo hame – risangiwe n’umuryango w’abashakashatsi bose – rigaragarira mu muhate utagoyora wo kugera ku bintu binononsoye, ariko ku bwanjye, ahubwo ni iturufu.

Uburyo bwa kabiri bwo ni inzitizi. Gutangaza iyo mirimo igamije gukoreshwa mu nkiko bisaba kwandukura mu yandi magambo akazi karekare kandi karuhije ko kwibukiranya ukuri kw’ibyabaye, kugira ngo hashyirwe ahagaragara igipande cy’ukuri kitashoboraga kugerwaho mu rwego rwa manda y’inkiko. Ibyo si utuntu tw’inyongera gusa, kubera ko nk’uko nagerageje kubigaragaza mu bice bibanza, hari itandukaniro rikomeye kandi rigomba gushimangirwa hagati y’ “ukuri kw’inkiko”, kuguma kwemerwa uko kwakabaye iyo inkiko zirangiye umurimo wazo, n’ “ukuri k’umushakashatsi”. Itandukaniro rya mbere rigomba kuba mu kwitarura bya gihanga intera zinyuranye, zuzuzanya kandi z’imbusane umutangabuhamya w’inzobere anyuramo kugira ngo “avuge ukuri” imbere y’ubucamanza : inzobere, umutangabuhamya ufite uko na we yumva ikibazo, n’ “umutangabuhamya w’abatangabuhamya”. Itandukaniro rya kabiri rigomba gushyirwa mu myumvire ishingiyeye kuri politiki gusa y’intambara yo mu Rwanda Urukiko rushyira imbere rubinyujije muri politiki yarwo yo gukurikirana abakekwa no kubacira imanza.

Kuri iyo ngingo, umushakashatsi agomba kumenya ko igiteye ikibazo atari ukubogama cg kwirengagiza nkana ingingo z’ukuri cg se ku buryo bwaguye ingingo ititi n’agasani z’amateka y’intambara yo mu Rwanda ; ikibazo nyakuri ni ukwanga guca umuhigo wo mu rwego rw’ubumenyi burangwa n’imyumvire yimbitse y’imigendekere y’intambara n’inkomoko y’itsembabwoko ; ikibazo ni ubushagasha bwo kumenya isura y’umwimerere kandi iteye impungenge cyane y’iri tsembabwoko, kumva impamvu ihururu ry’abantu ryaryitabiriye, gushyira irondakoko mu mwanya nyakuri, ni ukuvuga mbese kugaragaza umwihariko w’icyo gikorwa gikomeye cyari cyitezwe, ariko kandi kikanatungura abenshi mu bakigizemo uruhare.

Ariko se ni ngombwa kurondora inenge, kunegura kariya kageni ruriya rukiko rwatumye muri iyi myaka cumi n’itanu ishize abari bashishikajwe bose n’amateka y’intambara n’itsembabwoko byo mu Rwanda bashobora kugira ubungubu ikigega cy’amakuru kitagereranywa, rwarundanyije ibihumbi n’ibihumbi by’ubuhamya bw’abacikacumu, ubw’abakoze itsembabwoko, ubw’abagabo bahagaze ku byabaye, rwakoranyije ubumenyi, ubuhanga n’ubushobozi by’amagana n’amagana y’abashinjacyaha, abunganizi n’abacamanza? Yewe n’isesengura riri muri kino gitabo nta gicuro cyo kuritekereza twari kugira iyo hatajya kubaho imirimo n’ibyegeranyo byakozwe n’urwo rukiko.

Mbese umuntu ntiyavuga gusa ko, ku bashishikajwe no kuvuga ikiri ukuri bose, umuhigo w’ingenzi ugomba kwitabwaho, igikorwa cy’ingenzi kigomba kwitabwaho kuva ubu, mbere y’uko urukiko rwa TPIR rucyura igihe nkuko biteganijwe vuba aha, ari icyo kubika no kurinda umurage w’inyandiko zarwo uko zakabaye, abantu bakagira uburenganzira bwo gushyikira no gucukumbura

amakuru rwarundanyije² ?

Ku ngingo nyinshi, igihe ntikiragera cyo kwemeranya ku bavuga ukuri cg kubavuga ibinyoma, ariko urubyiruko rw'ubu n'urw'ejo hazaza, ibyiciro bizabyiruka ejo bizabaza ibisobanuro byanze bikunze. Bazasoma ibyanditswe, bazasuzuma ubuhamya kandi bazashungura.

Ukuri abantu bategereje ku ntiti za kaminuza n'abashakashatsi si ukuberanye n'umwaka wa 2004, umwaka wa 2008 cg uwa 2010, hakurikijwe ibihe ntarengwa byagiye byunguruzwa kugira ngo urukiko rwa TPIR rurangize imirimo yarwo. Urukiko ruzavaho, ariko umurimo wo kugaragaza aho ukuri guherereye uzakomeza. Kwandika ku kuri cg kukwandukura bizahora bikorwa buri gihe. Kandi n'ubwo imvugo zimwe na zimwe zitumvikana igihe iki n'iki, kubera impamvu za politiki cg ingengabitekerezo, amaherezo, abazemerwa ko banditse amateka y' "ukuri" ni abazaba baririnze rwose gukora bafite aho babogamiye, kandi bazaba berekanye gihamya nyinshi zishyigikira ibitekerezo byabo.

² Iki ni ikibazo cyo mu rwego rwa politiki cyane kitari icyo kwisukirwa. Ariko hari ibindi bibazo bisanzwe, nk'icyakomeje kubazwa ariko ntigisubizwe, cy'uko mbere y'uko urukiko rwa TPIR rufungwa, ikimwaro giterwa no kutagira inyangikomvugo y'ubuhamya bwatanzwe mu kinyarwanda cyakwirindwa, cyane cyane ko ari rwo rurimi 80 % by'abatangabuhamya bakoresheje.

