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Ndabaramukije.
Muri uyu mwanya tugiye kuganira ku bwigenge n'ubwiyunge nyakuri ku birebana n'Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda, *société civile* mu rulimi rw'igifaransa.

Mu gihe tuzi neza ko abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka baharanira inyungu za Leta, abagize " **umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda** ", kimwe n'abayobozi b'**amadini**, bakwiye kurangwa no kutabogamira kuri ayo mashyaka cyangwa ku ruhande rwa politiki urwarirwo rwose. Abagize uwo muryango bishyize hamwe n'amadini batsinda politiki mbi za Gatanya na Gateranya za bamwe mu banyepolitiki, bityo bagashobora kugeza abanyarwanda ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge nyakuri.

Mu kiganiro n'inyandiko nise: "**Amashyirahamwe n'amadini nayo yubaka demokarasi** " nibanze cyane cyane ku mikorere y'amashyaka, nsobanura ko adakwiye kwibwira ko guharanira demokarasi ari umurimo wayo gusa. Muri iki kiganiro ndibanda ku banyarwanda bari mu miryango itabogamiye kuri Leta hamwe n'abatayirimo ariko bafite ibikorwa biharanira inyungu za Rubanda.

• Amashyaka ya politiki ashakira ingufu mu mashyirahamwe atabogamiye kuri Leta

Igihe cyose amashyaka yabayeho, abanyepolitiki batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bakunze kurega abayobozi b'ishyaka riri ku butegetsi kwigarurira abagize amashyirahamwe n'amadini mu Rwanda no gusenya amwe muri yo. Ariko abo abanyepolitiki barwanya ubwo butegetsi, cyane cyane abari mu buhungiro, mu buryo bwo gushaka abayoboke, nabo ubwabo bagakoresha politiki amwe mu mashyirahamwe ari hanze y'igihugu. Ari abategetsi bari mu gihugu ari n'abarwanya ubutegetsi, buri ruhande rukarega urundi gufataho ingwate abanyarwanda bari muri ayo mashyirahamwe. Kandi koko, birazwi ko hari amwe mu mashyirahamwe akorera amashyaka ya politiki, haba mu gihugu cyangwa mu mahanga, ku buryo ndetse wagirango nayo ni amashyaka, cyane cyane iyo ayobowe n'abanyepolitiki nyine.

Hari umwe mu bayobozi b'ishyaka rirwanya ubutegetsi wigeze kubwira abari mu nama yari ayoboye ngo: "*mumenye ko ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali buvuga ko iyo utabushyigikiye uba uburwanya*". Nkaho yavuze ati: niyo utaba mw'ishyaka rirwanya ubutegetsi ni hahandi hawe ababufite bazagufata nk'uburwanya. Ubwo yabwiraga abatabushyigikiye ariko batarayoboka ishyaka rye cyangwa irindi ryose ritavuga rumwe n'ubwo butegetsi. Mu by'ukuri, gushaka abayoboke muri ubwo buryo, birimwo iterabwoba kandi bibangamiye ubwigenge bw'abanyarwanda batari mu mashyaka. Ubwo se we muri iyo mvugo, ni iki yumvaga arushije iryo shyaka riri ku butegetsi avuga ko arwanya, kandi nawe ashaka ko abatabushyigikiye bose bagomba kujya mu mashyaka aburwanya ?

Ntabwo abanyarwanda twese dushobora kujya mu mashyaka ya politiki. Ariko abatayarimo dushobora natwe kugira uruhare rukomeye mu guhindura politiki tutarinze kujya muri ayo

mashyaka. Kudashyigikira ubutegetsi ntibivuze kuburwanya, kandi no kutaburwanya ntibivuze kubushyigikira cyangwa kutarwanya ibibi bukora. Kuko ubutegetsi bwose bugira ibyiza bukora bikwiye gushimwa no kubakirwaho n'ababurwanya aho kubisenya, ariko hakaba n'ibindi bukora bibi byo kugawa no gukosorwa aho kubyubakiraho.

• Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda ushobora guhindura imiterere y'inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu nakwita mu gifransa « système politique ».

Abanyepolitiki, baba abari mu butegetsi cyangwa mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe nabwo, bakwiye kwumva neza ko kutemera bimwe mu bitekerezo by'ishyaka ryabo bitavuze kurirwanya. Nta nubwo bivuze ko uba urwanya abayobozi b'iryo shyaka. Abagize umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda ntabwo bakwiye gushyigikira cyangwa kurwanya amashyaka runaka n'abayobozi bayo, ahubwo bakwiye gushyigikira ibikorwa byiza byayo kandi bakarwanya imikorere mibi y'ishyaka iry'ariryo ryose. Kurwanya abategetsi cyangwa abayobozi runaka b'amashyaka ku giti cyabo, rimwe na rimwe ndetse bivanzemo n'urwango, si byo bihindura imiterere mibi y'inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Kuko abategetsi bakora nabi bashobora kuvaho ariko ubutegetsi bubi bukagumaho, iyo imiterere y'inzego zabwo idahindutse .

Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda nta ngufu uzagira igihe cyose utazaba ufite umwanya mu buyobozi bw'igihugu (statut juridique et politique). Kuba abagize **uwo muryango** badaharanira ubutegetsi ntibivuze ko bakwiye guhezwa mu yindi milimo y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu budakora politiki y'ubutegetsi. Ni ukuvuga: Ubuyobozi bw'ubutabera n'ubwiyunge (la Justice et la Réconciliation) . **Niyo mpamvu uyu mushinga ushyigikiye byimazeyo ko abagize uwo muryango bakwiye kwishyira hamwe, bagashyigikirwa n'amadini, maze bagaharanira nabo kuyobora inzego z'ubwo buyobozi, kugirango bashobore kurengera uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure bw'abaturage mu bwigenge (Communauté)**. Ingufu abagize uwo muryango bakoresha rimwe na rimwe bashyigikira amwe mu mashyaka ya politiki bakwiye kuzishyira muri uwo muryango wabo kugirango uzashobore kuvana ubutabera mu maboko y'abanyepolitiki, bakitandukanya nabo, bityo bakageza ubwo butabera ku bwigenge nyabwo.

Uwo muryango ukwiye rero nawo kugira abawuhagararira muri ubwo buyobozi bw'igihugu kugirango ushobore kugira ingufu nk'iz'abanyepolitiki, ibyo bikaba bikwiye kwemerwa mw'Itegeko-nshinga. Ni ukuvuga Ubuyobozi bwigenga bufite inzego zikomeye kandi butayobowe n'ubutegetsi nyubahirizamategeko!

Hari abashobora kumbwira bati: ibyo ntibishoboka nta handi byabaye, abagize amashyirahamwe nta mwanya bagira mu buyobozi bw'igihugu. Abo nanjye nababaza nti: « *none se, politiki y'ibindi bihugu ni yo yacu? Kuki tugomba kurebera ku bandi politiki zabo aho gushaka iyacu?* » Nababaza kandi uko bo babona ibintu byagombye kugenda nyuma y'imyaka yose tumaze muri za politiki zitanya abanyarwanda, kugirango bambwire ukundi kuntu babona abo banyepolitiki bazashobora guhindura imikorere yabo n'icyizere bafite cy'uko bazabigeraho.

Ndemeza kandi ntashidikanya ko igihe cyose abagize **amashyirahamwe arengera inyungu za Rubanda** batazaba bafite ababarengera nabo ubwabo mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, bazahora bakubitwa, bafungirwa ubusa, bahunga igihugu, ndetse bicwa n'abanyepolitiki biha ububasha badafite bwo guhonyora uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu.

• Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda ntubogamira kuri politiki y'amashyaka

Mu bihugu byateye imbere muri demokarasi, abayoboke b'amashyirahamwe n'amadini ntibajya mu bikorwa bya politiki, birinda gukorana n'abanyepolitiki kugirango abongabo batigarurira imishinga yabo (récupération politique de leurs projets). Abashyigikiye ishyaka iri n'iri ubamenya iyo amatora yegereje. Muri ibyo bihugu, abo badakora politiki bashobora gusaba ubutegetsi buriho guhindura ibitagenda neza batarinze kwifashisha amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi buriho, kuko amashyirahamwe yabo aba yigenga koko.

Ku banyarwanda si ko bimeze ku mashyirahamwe yose. Kimwe n'uko amashyaka amwe aba ku butegetsi andi akaburwanya, amwe mu mashyirahamwe y'abanyarwanda nayo akurikira izo mpande za politiki zitavugana rumwe, aho gukorera hamwe ubwayo mu bwigenge. Nuko abayagize nabo bagashyamirana nk'abanyepolitiki kandi nta butegetsi bo baharanira. Bakicamo ibice aho kwishyira hamwe ngo barwanye amakosa yose akorwa n'abanyepolitiki bo muri izo mpande zombi. Kubura ubwo bwigenge n'uko kubogama bituma abo bari muri ayo mashyirahamwe batinya kwamagana amakosa y'abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka cyangwa bo mu ruhande rwa politiki bashyigikiye, ngo batiteranya nabo. Nyamara iyo abo banyepolitiki bari ku butegetsi ntibabura guhindukirana babandi babafashije kubugeraho iyo badakomeje kubashyigikira.

Muri ubwo buryo rero, usanga abagize amashyirahamwe n'amadini ari bo baha ingufu abanyepolitiki mu by'ukuri.

Reka ntange urugero. Hari bamwe bahunga ubutegetsi kandi barakoreye abanyarwanda ibyaha bikomeye ndetse bamwe bakabyiyemerera ariko bagera mu buhungiro, abagize amashyirahamwe bari mu bihugu ndetse byateye imbere muri demukarasi (démocratie) ntibasabe ayo mahanga barimo kubakurikiranaho ibyaha bakoze. Kuko baba bifuza gufatanya nabo kurwanya ubutegetsi bose bahunze. Ibyo si ko byagombye kugenda rero.

Amashyirahamwe arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu akwiye kugira ubwigenge buhagije kugirango atavogerwa kandi akorere mu bwisanzure.

- **Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda ariko watangiye inzira y'ubwigenge**

Nubwo ubwo bwigenge maze kuvuga butaragerwaho bihagije, biragaragara ko hariho amashyirahamwe atabogamiye kuri Leta ari mu nzira yo kubugeraho. Birazwi ko hari **aba-leaders** ni ukuvuga bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru b'ayo mashyirahamwe, bafata iya mbere bagakora ibikorwa bigaragaza ko bashobora kugeza abanyarwanda ku mpinduka, mu buryo bwerekana ko abanyepolitiki atari bo kamara. Muri ibyo bikorwa navuga nk'imyigaragambyo yamagana akarengane, amanama bakoresha hirya hino ku Isi bagatumiramo abo banyepolitiki kugirango bigire hamwe ibibazo bireba abanyarwanda, n'ibindi n'ibindi. Ikigaragara gusa ni uko bamwe muri abo banyepolitiki batitabira ayo manama. Ibyo ariko ntibyagombye guca intege abagize umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda, ahubwo byagombye gufatwa nk'aho ari ubutumwa (message) bubabwira ko **bashobora ubwabo gukora ayo manama bagafata ibyemezo batarinze gutumiza abo banyepolitiki**. Ibyo nibabigeraho, ni bwo bazaba bageze ku bwigenge nyakuri. Kuko gutumira abanyepolitiki batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi gusa, bishobora kugaragara nkaho babogamiye ku ruhande rwabo.

• Umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda rero, ukwiye kuba umuhuza w'abanyarwanda

Kimwe n'uko amashyaka ya politiki adakora akazi k'amashyirahamwe, aya nayo ntiyagombye gufatanya n'amashyaka gukora politiki nkuko nabivuze. Ubwo bwigenge nibugerwaho, umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda uzaba **umuhuza w'abanyarwanda**. Abagize uwo muryango ni bwo bazashobora no guhuza abanyepolitiki bafite amakimbirane, kandi kakababwiza ukuri, bati: *nimusigeho ibyo mukora bitanya abanyarwanda twebwe Rubanda ntitubishaka*. Abanyamahanga ntabwo bazi ibibazo byacu kuturusha. Niyo mpamvu ubwacu dukwiye kwishakamo abashobora kudufasha kibicyemura.

Abagize **umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda hamwe n'amadini**, nibo rero bakwiye gushyiraho **politiki nyakuri ihuza abanyarwanda**, ndetse bagahuza abari mu gihugu n'abari hanze yacyo, kuko batabogamiye kuri politiki y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi. Intego yabo ni iyo kurengera amahame ya demokarasi twese twemera: *iyubahirizwa ry'amategeko, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu n'ubutabera, ubwiyunge nyakuri, ubumwe, amahoro n'umubano mwiza by'abanyarwanda*. Ayo mahame ni yo akwiye gushyirwa imbere kuko amashyaka yose ari yo ashingiraho ashyiraho ubutegetsi n'amategeko. Bityo bagafasha amashyaka kuyashimangira.

Uwo muryango mugari nakwita mu gifaransa « Organisation de la Société Civile et des Cultes »: wayoborwa n'intumwa z'amashyirahamwe n'amadini hamwe n'abandi bantu baharanira ariya mahame ya demokarasi ku giti cyabo, ariko badakora politiki y'amashyaka, kandi batagamije ubutegetsi. Ibyo ni byo byatuma abaturage bawugirira icyizere bityo bakawushyigikira maze bakawuyoboka. Ukwiye kuzaba AMIZERO Y'ABANYARWANDA.

• Urubyiruko ntirukwiye kuba INGABO z'abanyepolitiki

Abandi bantu abayoboke b'amashyaka bakunze gukoresha mu buryo budahwitse ni abasore n'inkumi bagize urubyiruko iyo babigisha ingengabitekerezo z'amashyaka yabo zishyamiranya abanyarwanda. Kuba abanyepolitiki bigisha urubyiruko politiki, ubwabyo ntacyo bitwaye, ikibi ni ukurugira ingabo zabo za gisivili (milices civiles) no kurwigisha ingengabitekerezo zitanya abanyarwanda n'ibindi byose bigamije gusebya abo mu yandi mashyaka batavuga rumwe. Kandi nanone, abana bakiri bato ntibakwiye kujyanwa mu bikorwa bya politiki y'amashyaka. Na ndetse hari n'abanyepolitiki baboneraho umwanya wo gukoresha ya karita y'amoko ya politiki bakemeza abo bana, abasore n'inkumi ko ngo ari abatutsi cyangwa abahutu, bakabaha ubwoko batari bamenya bakoresheje za ngengabitekerezo nabo bigishijwe kugirango babone uko babashyira imbere ku rugamba rw'intambara y'ibitekerezo bya politiki. Abo nabo tujya tubabona bashyamiranye mu mirwano nka ba bandi bajyanwa ku rugamba rw'intambara y'amasasu.

• Abagize umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda nabo bagira ishyaka

Mu kinyarwanda ishyaka ni iki? Kugira ishyaka cyangwa kurwana ishyaka bivuga iki? Njya mbwira abantu ko nta shyaka rya politiki ndimo ariko ko nanjye mfite irindi shyaka ryitwa: *ubwiyunge nyakuri*. Nuko bakanseka bagatemba. Nyamara ni byo. Kugira ishyaka ni ukugira icyo wemera kandi uharanira kugirango kigerweho.

Ubwigenge bw'umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda ntibubangamiye amashyaka ya politiki ahubwo bushyigikira inzira ya demokarasi twese duharanira. Buri shyirahamwe ritabogamiye kuri Leta naryo riba rifite « *ishyaka* » riharanira ko ryagerwaho. Urugero ni nkuko, iyo ishyirahamwe

rirengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, iyo ntego iba ari *ishyaka* riba ryariyemeje guharanira. Guharanira ishyaka ntibivuze kuba mw'ishyaka rya politiki gusa. Amashyaka ya politiki agomba rero kureka gusuzugura amashyirahamwe ku mpamvu yuko yo atemerewe gukora politiki igamije ubutegetsi, kuko nayo afite uruhare rukomeye mu guharanira demokarasi.

Dukwiye gushyigikira rero twese ubwigenge bw'abanyarwanda baharanira nyungu za Rubanda kandi badakora politiki y'amashyaka.

Nongere nibutse ko **ibibazo bidasanzwe bicyemurwa n'umuti udasanzwe** kandi ko **impinduka ikorwa n'ibitekerezo bishya**.

Iki kiganiro mukigejejweho na MUSOMESHA Aloys, Umuyobozi n'Umuhuza w'Umushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri, Umushinga wigenga utabogamiye kuri politiki y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi.

Murakoze ndabashimiye, mugire amahoro ni ah'ubtaha !