Guide de la Réconciliation pour la Paix
Umuyobozi w'ubwiyunge mu mahoro

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Ikiganiro: Duharanire politiki mpuzabanyarwanda

Ndabaramukije ! Nyuma y'ibiganiro nerekanyemo uburyo **ubutabera bushya mpuzabantu** bwayoborwa n'umuryango uharanira inyungu za Rubanda (société civile) maze bukunganira ubacamanza busanzweho, muri iki kiganiro tugiye kurebera hamwe uburyo uwo muryango ukwiye nanone gushyiraho **politiki nshya yahuza abanyarwanda**, ikwunganira politiki isanzweho y'amashyaka. Murakigezwaho nanjye MUSOMESHA Aloys, Umuyobozi n'Umuhuza w'Umushinga w'Ubwiyunge Nyakuri, umushinga wigenga utabogamiye kuri politiki y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi.

Kuva Urwanda rwatangira kugira impunzi, nta politiki nyakuri ihuza abanyarwanda, abari mu Rwanda no hanze yarwo, yigeze ibaho. Ntiyagombye kwitwa politiki yo gucyura impunzi kuko impunzi z'abanyarwanda atari amatungo. Kandi umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe kurengera impunzi HCR nawo nta bubasha ufite bwo gushyiraho iyo politiki kuko utagizwe n'abanyarwanda. Nta n'ubwo ukwiye kuzihatira gutaha ku ngufu nkuko bikunze kuvugwa kuko ibyo atari byo byacyemura ibibazo bitera ubuhunzi. Kubera ko zishobora gutaha uyu munsi, bugacya mu gitondo kare zisubira mu buhungiro. Kandi ntibwaba ari ubwa mbere.

Ahubwo, kimwe n'uko bamwe mu banyarwanda ari bo bashyizeho politiki mbi yo gutanya no guteranya benewabo kugeza ubwo birukanye abavandimwe babo mu gihugu bavukamo, **hakwiye kuboneka abandi banyarwanda biyemeza gushyiraho politiki ihuza abanyarwanda bose igafasha impunzi gutaha mu Rwanda, politiki ishingiye ku mahame mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu na demokarasi twese twemera.** Umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe impunzi HCR ukabibafashamo, ariko ntube ari wo ufata iya mbere ngo ugiye gutegeka impunzi z'abanyarwanda gutaha mu gihugu cyabo, kuko uwo muryango utazi ibibazo by'abanyarwanda kurusha abanyarwanda twebwe ubwacu.

Ndahamya kandi ko atari abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka bakwiye kuyobora iyo **politiki mpuzabanyarwanda** kuko badahuje gahunda kandi iyo ntego bakaba batarigeze bayigeraho kuva igihugu cyacu cyatangira kugira impunzi kugeza ubu. Kimwe n'uko mu butabera abacamanza badashobora guhuza no kwunga ababuranyi kuko buri wese aba ashaka gutsinda uwo baburana mu rubanza, abanyepolitiki bo mu mashyaka nabo nibashobora guhuza abanyarwanda bose, baba abayoboke b'amashyaka cyangwa abatayarimo, kuko buri shyaka riba rishaka gutsinda ayandi kugirango rifate ubutegetsi. Na ndetse zimwe mu mvugo na bimwe mu bikorwa by'amwe mu mashyaka ya politiki yabayeho n'ariho ubu ntibihumuriza abanyarwanda.

• Ishyaka ryahuza abanyarwanda gute, nubwo ryaba riri ku butegetsi, kandi bose bataryibonamo, ndetse hari n'andi mashyaka atavuga rumwe naryo?
• Amashyaka ya politiki yahuza abanyarwanda bose gute mu gihe nayo ubwayo adashobora guhura ngo agirane ibiganiro biciye mu kuri?

1. **Ibyo byose rero bituma umuntu yibaza ati ariko: « Tuzahurira i Rwanda ryari, tuzahuzwa na nde? »**

Kera kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri, nta banyarwanda b'impunzi batinyukaga ku mugaragaro gusura bene wabo babaga bari mu Rwanda. Ababikoraga bajyaga mu gihugu rwihishwa. Kimwe n'uko abaturage bo mu gihugu batatinyukaga kujya gusura impunzi bene wabo mu bihugu bahungiyemo. Uwari kubikora yashoboraga gucibwa umutwe aramutse amenyekanye. Ibyo mbabwiye ubwanjye ndabizi neza ntawabimpakanya, nabitangira ubuhamya... Vuba aha, hari uwambwiye ati « *iyo najyaga gusura umubyeyi wanjye nagendaga nk'abacengezi.* »

Nyuma y'intambara ya 1994, ibintu byarahindutse kuko bamwe mu banyarwanda bari hanze y'igihugu bashobora kujya mu Rwanda kandi ntibagire ikibazo cy'umutekano. Ariko si bose. Nanone kandi, hari abanyarwanda bashobora kujya gusura impunzi bavuye mu Rwanda, bakagaruka mu gihugu kandi ntibabizire. Birazwi ko hari impunzi zaboneye ubwenegihugu aho zituye, zijya gusura benewabo mu Rwanda zikagaruka mu gihugu zahungiyemo ntawe uzihutaje. Kuba abo banyarwanda batagumayo, ni ku mpamvu zabo bwite ariko hari icyo umuntu yabivugaho.

Kubera ko iyo bagiye mu Rwanda, bagendera ku rupapuro rw'inzira (passeport) bahawe n'igihugu cy'amahanga batuyemo, kuko nyuma yo kwemerwa ko ari impunzi baba barabonye ubundi bwenegihugu. Ni uko bakajya mu Rwanda bitwa ko ari abanyamahanga (abanyamerika, abafaransa, ababiligi, abaholandi, abanyakanada, n'abandi benshi). Bacye muri bo, ntabwo ari bose rero, ngo iyo bageze ku kibuga cy'indege i Kanombe, abakozi bahasanze iyo bababajije mu kinyarwanda abandi basubiza mu cyongereza, abavuga igifaransa bagashaka abasemuzi! Ni uko abakozi bakajya ku butaka, bagaseka bagatemba, kuko ibisubizo babona biba biberanye n'ibibazo bababajije. Byumvikana ko baba bumva ikinyarwanda kandi ari abanyarwanda.

Ibyo byerekana ko n'ubwo abo baba basubiye mu Rwanda, ariko baba **bagifite ubwoba**, bakanga kugumayo, kuko <u>bwa bwenegihugu bushya bw'ubunyamahanga butavanaho icyatumye baka ubuhungiro cyangwa baba impunzi</u>. Ngo *ntawamenya ejo uko bizagenda...* Ariko ababakira ku kibuga cy'indege, cyangwa mu gihugu imbere, baba bazi ko ari abanyarwanda. Ngo nta munyarwanda uyoberwa undi! Birumvikana rero ko, niba hari bamwe mu banyarwanda bajya iwacu i Rwanda bagatinya kuvuga **ikinyarwanda** kandi bakizi, **ururimi ruduhuza**, ni uko igihe cyo guhurirayo twese kitaragera. Icyo gihe ni cyo dutegereje. Nyamara ibyaduhurizayo si byo tubuze, ahubwo ni uko atari byo dushyira imbere.

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Ibyo maze kuvuga binyibutsa ubundi buryo bwo kuba impunzi, ariko mu gihugu cyawe. Mu bihe byo kuva mu myaka ya za 1960 (na mbere yaho ndetse) kugera muli 1994, abatutsi bamwe bafashe amarangamuntu y'abahutu, **bahunga** akarengane kakorwaga na politiki y'irondakoko n'isumbanyamoko, kugirango berekane ko bashyigikiye ubutegetsi bwariho, maze babone uburenganzira bumwe n'ubw'abahutu. **Bahunga** ubwoko bemeraga ko ari ubwabo, biyitirira ubundi batemeraga ko ari ubwabo. Barihutura. Mu bundi buryo rero, kimwe nkuko byagendekeye bamwe mu bahutu ku ngoma z'abatutsi, **abo banyarwanda nabo bari nk'impunzi mu gihugu cyabo**, kuko batari bafite uburenganzi bumwe n'ubw'abandi. Ariko abaturanyi babo ndetse n'abategetsi babahinduriye ubwoko, ntibari bayobewe ko bari abatutsi. Muri 1994, ibyo hari abo byakijije, ariko si bose. Ntawabimpakanya kuko mbifitiye gihamya.

Ubwoko bw'abatutsi, baje kwongera kubwemera ku mugaragaro nyuma y'intambara ya 1994. Ikibabaje ariko ni uko bamwe muri bo baje guhemukira bamwe mu bahutu babafashije kurokoka, barabafungisha kandi bazi neza ko babarenganya, abandi ndetse barabicisha, kandi ari byo bangaga ko abahutu babakorera mu gihe bari baragizwe impunzi mu gihugu cyabo. Ni uko bamera nka ba bahutu banze gukandamizwa n'abatutsi igihe cy'ubwami, nyuma aho buviriyemo nabo bagahohotera abo batutsi. Ubwo se, icyo bamwe barushije abandi ni ikihe? Ni uko bashyira ubwoko bwabo imbere, baraburata karahava! Baririmba *Intsinzi* mu majwi meza, barahanika, nka ba banyuramatwi nyuma ya Kamarampaka ubwo bagiraga bati : "*Turatsinze!*" Izo ndirimbo uwazivanga zikavamo imwe gusa ariko agashyiramo n'amajwi y'abatwa, yaba nziza pe! Ariko se abo batwa bo bazatsinda ryari? Abo banyarwanda bose uwabahuriza mu Rwanda maze bakaririmbira hamwe ko batsindiye demokarasi aho gutsindana, Isi yose yahururira icyo gitaramo! Bazahura ryari, bazahuzwa na nde?

Ni uko ba banyarwanda basubiranye ubututsi bifatanya n'abandi barokotse babyina iyo intsinzi! Kurusha abatsinze intambara! Waba utabizi ukagirango bafatanyije urugamba cyangwa batanze umusanzu, bityo bakaba bari ibyitso koko. Byahe byo kajya. Habe n'igiceri cy'ifaranga! Ngo ni uko bahuje ubwoko, nkaho ari bwo butsinze. Ibyo gusa! Kandi muri iyo ntambara na mbere yaho, barifatanyije na bamwe mu bahutu banze itotezwa ry'abatutsi. Ariko ubu hari abari hanze y'igihugu, hamwe na bamwe muri abo bahutu babwiraga ko batsinze, ndetse baranabatanze mu buhungiro. Intambara ikirangira hari abo nabajije impamvu babyinaga intsinzi kandi bamaze kubura ababo, nuko baranyamagana. Nyoberwa niba ari bo nari nzi mbere y'intambara. Birumvikana ko bagombaga kwishimira ko barokotse, ni byo rwose. Ariko ibyo ntibyakwitwa gutsinda kuko ibyo byishimo byari bivanze n'akababaro n'agahinda. Nyamara, nyuma hari abaje kumbwira ko ibyo nababwiraga byari ukuri. Za ndirimbo navuze ntizongeye kwumvikana. Isi burya ngo ni zunguruka kandi ibyayo ni amabanga koko! Gatebe Gatoki! Abanyarwanda bafite ubwenge cyimeza ku buryo bamenye ko Isi izunguruka mbere yuko bagera mu mashuri y'ababiligi, ariko bamwe na bamwe barabyibagirwa. Niba twakoreshaga ubwo bwenge cyimeza tutarinze kwigana abandi, Urwanda rwahinduka Paradizo!

Nanone mbere gato ya génocide muri 1994, nahuriye i Kigali n'umugabo twiganye wandikaga mu kinyamakuru inzandiko zikoma abatutsi. Ni uko ndamubaza nti: *ese ko ziriya nyandiko zawe zituka abatutsi, wagerageje ukazihagarika?* Ati: *mba nkangurira abahutu kugirango*

birwaneho. Intambara iri hafi kurangira, twongera guhura yambaye simoko, imyenda ya gisirikare. Bitewe nuko nari nzi ko atigeze mu gisirikare, mpita nibwiriza mbona ko yabaye interahamwe, ngira ubwoba. Nibutse ibyo namubwiye ngirango ari buntunge imbunda yari afite. Mbuze icyo mubwira, mu buryo bwo kujijisha, mubaza aho imirwano igeze, ati: *turi hafi kuzikubita inshuro.* Ubwo yavugaga inkotanyi. Kandi ubwo, twari mu majyepfo y'igihugu tuvuye i Kigali, duhunga iyo ntambara, dusiganwa, izo nkotanyi ziri hafi kutugeraho! Iyo wa muryango urengera impunzi (HCR) utanga imidari, mba mberetse uw'urwibutso negukanye uwo munsi; kuko abo twari kumwe bose narabanikiye ku buryo narinze ntandukana n'uwo mugabo bataranshyikira. Ndakeka ndetse ko nanjye nesheje umuhigo! Ni uko uwo mugabo musezeraho nikomereza kwiruka amasigamana, musiga aho, nyuma y'amasaha atatu gusa inkotanyi zifata aho namusize agitegereje kurwana nazo. Naje kumenya ko ari ho zamutsinze. Nawe iyo aza kuba akiriho, yari kwemera ko ibyo nigeze kumubwira byari ukuri. Kera twigana uwo musore yaritondaga sinari nzi ko nawe yahinduka atyo.

Guhindura cyangwa guhunga ubwoko ntibyabaye ku batutsi gusa. Ku ngoma z'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi, hari abahutu nabo bahinduye ubwoko biyita abatutsi kugirango bagire uburenganzira nk'ubwabo.

Ubwo buhamya mbahaye, ni ukugirango nerekane ko dukwiye kureka gushyira **amoko ya politiki** imbere y'ibiranga ikiremwamuntu duhuriyeho no kuyaha agaciro adafite: *bamwe ngo tubarusha indeshyo, abandi ngo tubarusha ubwinshi! N'ibindi, n'ibindi...* Ibyo bitekerezo birashaje. Ibyatubayeho nibiduhe isomo, maze ntibizongere kutubaho, bityo ntihazagire umunyarwanda wongera kuzira ayo moko.

Ibyo bikorwa byo kurata, gushyira imbere **amoko ya politiki** no kuyagira ibikangisho ndabirwanya; ariko ibindi birebana no guhindura ubwoko n'ubwenegihugu ndabyemera, ndabishima kandi ndabishyigikiye, iyo bikozwe mu buryo bwo kurengera amagara yawe cyangwa ubuzima bw'undi. Mu gihe cya génocide yo muri 1994, hari umugabo nagiriye inama duhisha irangamuntu ye y'ubututsi, mubwira ko agomba kwumva ko, guhera uwo munsi, ahindutse umuhutu (psychologiquement), nihagira umubaza ibyangombwa tumubwira ko ari umuhutu, tukamubwira ko irangamuntu ye bayimwibye ku itariki ya 6 Mata ubwo yari mu rugendo aje i Kigali. Abanza kwanga ariko ageze aho arabyemera. Kubera ko we yashakaga ko dusiba TUTSI mu ndangamuntu ye maze tukandikamo HUTU. Jye mubwira ko tubigenje dutyo Interahamwe zabona neza ko ari we wabikoze kugirango ahishe ko ari umututsi w'icyitso cy'inkotanyi. Ni uko ndamubwira nti guhera ubu rero, bitewe n'ibihe turimo, *nkwise GAHUTU, uzitwe iryo zina kugeza igihe intambara n'itotezwa rya Gatutsi birangiriye. Nibirangira uzitwe irindi zina uzashaka, rijyanye n'igihe tuzaba tugezemo, maze uzibereho. Uzaba umaze kumenya byinshi. Kandi ubwo wemera ko ukomoka kuri Kanyarwanda utagira ubwoko, nawe ushobora kwiyita iryo zina kuko riruta ayandi. Nti « urabyemeye ?» Ati « Ndabyemeye. » Mba ndamubatije da! Ngira Imana nawe arankundira ashirika ubwoba. Kundusha. Ibyo twapanze ni ko byagenze koko. Umunyarwanda akira atyo.*

Hari umunyarwanda wambwiye nanone ko mbere ya 1994 yari afite abavandimwe, bamwe biyumvagamo ko ari abahutu abandi bakiyumvamo ko ari abatutsi kandi bose basangiye se na nyina. Arambwira ati: nanjye rimwe numva ndi umuhutu, ubundi nkumva ndi umututsi. Ngibyo ibyo twise amoko y'abanyarwanda! Nkuko nabivuze mu bindi biganiro kandi mukaba mubyiyumviye, ayo moko aba mu mitwe no mu ngengabitekerezo za politiki, bityo akaba ukundi kwemera. Ntabwo aba ku isura ry'umubili cyangwa mu muco karande wacu kandi ntanavukanwa, baratubeshye. **Ibitekerezo nk'ibyo bishaje ntibishobora gukora impinduka. Abashaka kwongera gukoresha amoko ya politiki kugirango bagere ku butegetsi rero bamenye ko bibeshya. Ntibazabigeraho. Barata igihe cyabo kuko amabanga y'izo politiki twarayavumbuye. Ayo moko twamenye ibyayo.**

Izo nkuru zose maze kubabwira ni impamo, ni ukuri, ntabwo ari urwenya. Ni ubuhamya. Byumvikane neza, ntabwo ibyo maze kuvuga ari ukugereranya ibibi by'ingoma z'ubutegetsi, ahubwo ni ukwerekana uburyo umuntu ashobora kubirwanya, yirengera cyangwa arengera undi.

Tugarutse rero ku byerekeranye no guhunguka, hari ndetse n'abataha bakaguma mu gihugu. Iyo ni indi ntambwe nziza. Ibyo buri wese akwiye kubishima, iyo izo ngendo navuze ntacyo zibangamiraho abandi banyarwanda, ni ukuvuga iyo nta kindi kizihishe inyuma mu buryo bwa politiki. Abanyepolitiki bamwe bo mu mashyaka bo ariko hari igihe babinenga, bakavuga ko abakora izo ngendo bajya gufatanya n'abo batavuga rumwe nabo, kandi atariko bigenda buri gihe. Ibi ni byo mvuga nti impunzi zizataha nizibona ko icyo zahunze kitakiriho. Bizaba mahire nanone umunsi umwe buzacya tukumva ku maradiyo, amatereviziyo, internet n'ibindi binyamakuru, hari abayobozi bakuru batanze ihumure. Impunzi zituye Isi yose zahita zitaha ikivunge, zisiganwa, nk'igihe zasohokaga mu gihugu muri 1994 zishaka ahari amahoro.

Abo bahunguka n'abajya gusura bene wabo, babisikana ariko n'abandi basohoka mu gihugu bahunze. Ni uko bahurira mu nzira bakabazanya aho bagiye, buri wese agasubiza ati: ngiye aho uvuye! Uvuye mu Rwanda ati ngiye muli misiyo (mission). Wa "munyamahanga w'umunyarwanda" yagaruka mu gihugu yaturutsemo, akahasanga wa munyarwanda waje muri misiyo, akamubaza ati: ese ko utarataha, misiyo ntirarangira? Undi ati: yararangiye ariko nagumye ino nkawe! Ngo: ku zihe mpamvu se? Undi ati: nk'izawe! Akongeraho ati: ndetse nanjye ndashaka ubundi bwenegihugu! Ati: kuki wowe utagumye mu Rwanda? Undi yamubaza iki kindi uretse kumuha ikaze? Naho umunyamahanga witegereje abo banyarwanda bose akabaza ati: "Ese ko munyuranwamo, bamwe bagahunguka abandi bagahunga, muzahurira i Rwanda ryari? Muzahuzwa na nde?" Abanyarwanda bakabura igisubizo. Kandi koko urebye mu by'ukuri, icyo kibazo kirakomeye cyane. Ibyo biragaragaza rero ko **Politiki mpuzabanyarwanda** ari yo twese dukeneye. Duhagurukiye rimwe tukayishyigikira, twahurira i Rwanda maze uwo munsi tukarara «inkera y'amahoro» bukadukeraho! Duhagaze bwuma! Iyo politiki izayoborwa na bande? Mu yihe demokarasi?

2. Dukeneye demokarasi nyarwanda.

Tumaze imyaka irenga 55 yose turi mw'ishuli rya Demokarasi, twigana abarimu bacu b'abanyamahanga nabo bigishijwe iyo demokarasi, nyamara nta dipolome turabona kugeza ubu. Ibyo jye mbona nta gitangaza kuko umunyeshuri wese ukopeye mu kizamini agafatwa aratsindwa! Birumvikana. Nyamara si uko turi abaswa kuko mu bundi bumenyi turaminuza ndetse tukarusha abo banyamahanga. Ahubwo, ni uko hari indi impamvu: **twiga demokarasi y'abandi, tukayigana, aho gushaka iyacu.** Uko ingoma zihinduye imirishyo, abarimu nabo bagahinduka, tugahindura amasomo, tugahindura indimi, noneho tugahuzagurika. Ni aho bipfira

Dukomeje gushaka demokarasi gutyo, Isi yazarinda irangira tutarayigeraho. Mu buryo bwa Kinyarwanda rero, iyo demokarasi dukwiye kuyubakira hamwe neza mu muryango waduhuza twese, waba uyobowe n'intumwa z'amashyirahamwe n'amadini, ukunganira amashyaka ya politiki. **Umuryango wa Kanyarwanda urengera inyungu za Rubanda**, wigenga kandi utabogamiye ku mashyaka, ku madini, ku moko n'ibindi, ahubwo urengera amahame ya demokarasi igihe cyose. Uwo muryango buri wese yakwibonamo ni wo wayobora **politiki mpuzabanyarwanda**. Dipolome ya Demokarasi nyarwanda ni bwo twayibona.

Nitureke guhigana ingufu ngo turatsindana, ahubwo dushyire hamwe izo ngufu n'ibitekerezo byacu, duharanire gutsindira iyo demokarasi kuko ni yo twese dushaka. Nitureke kandi urwiganwa twifuza ko Urwanda ruhinduka nka bimwe mu bihugu by'Uburayi, Aziya, Amerika na Afurika, kandi bidashoboka. Ibyo bihugu nabyo, ntibihuje demokarasi. Ahubwo duharanire ko RWANDA NZIZA igihugu cyacu cyagira **demokarasi nyarwanda** yatuma turubanamo twese. Iyo niyo nzira y'ubwigenge nyakuri.

Demokarasi irahenda ariko ni nziza, kandi koko ngo akeza karigura!

Ndarangiza ngira nti: « Ibibazo bidasanzwe bicyemurwa n'umuti udasanzwe kandi **impinduka ikorwa n'ibitekerezo bishya**. »

Murakoze ndabashimiye, mugire amahoro, ni ah'ubutaha.

Nzeri, 2016