UKURI MU RUGENDO RWANJYE RWA POLITIKI

VICTOIRE INGABIRE UMUHOZA

Kuva yafata ubutegetsi mu w' 1994, nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, FPR Inkotanyi yakoze ibishoboka byose ngo yiharire urubuga rwa politiki mu Rwanda. Abenshi mubatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa FPR barahunze, abandi baricwa, abandi baburirwa irengero, abandi bari mu magereza. Imyaka ibaye 26 ari uko bimeze.

Kuva ngarutse mu gihugu ngakora politiki igaragaza ibitagenda neza mu miyoborere ya FPR, nafashwe nk'umwanzi w'igihugu, hakorwa ubukangurambaga bwo kunyangisha abenegihugu. Bikorwa hakoreshejwe ibinyamakuru, cyangwa bikagaragara mu mbwirwa ruhame za bamwe mu bayobozi.

Nahuye n'ibibazo byinshi, ndetse biza guhuhukira aho n'abo mu muryango wanjye ndetse n'abafatanyabikorwa banjye ba

hafi munyangire na muhatigicumuro byabagezeho, bashinjwa ibinyoma, bajyanwa mu nkiko, ndetse bamwe barafungwa.

Igitumye niyemeza kuvuga ibi uyu munsi, ni kubw'abo bose ; abo mu muryango wanjye, abafatanyabikorwa banjye, inshuti zanjye ndetse n'urubyiruko ari ururi mu Rwanda n'ururi mu mahanga, biyumvise mu magambo n'ibitekerezo byanjye, abantu bose bahuye n'akarengane bakabura ubavugira cyangwa bakibagirana.

Biri kugenda birushaho kuba bibi kuko ubu biri gukoreshwa urubyiruko. Bikantera impungenge kuko ibihe nkibyo byabayeho mu gihe cyashize kandi byatanze umusaruro mubi. Ibi birushaho kunshengura umutima, kuko binyibutsa y'amagambo ya Yezu Kristu ubwo yavugaga ati *« ntimutinye uwica umubiri, ahubwo mutinye uwica ubugingo »*. Turimo turatakaza ubunyarwanda.

Ubunyarwanda bwifitemo indangagaciro shingiro z'ubunyangamugayo, ubunyakuri no guharanira icyubahiro cy'umuryango. Ni muri urwo rwego iyo bavuga umwana batavuga izina, ahubwo bavuga umuhungu cyangwa umukobwa wa kanaka. Icyubahiro cy'umuntu ntabwo gituruka ku bwoba atera abantu, ahubwo gituruka ku

myitwarire ye izira amakemwa. Ubunyarwanda buha agaciro gakomeye icyubahiro cy'abategarugori, bafatwa nka ba "mutima w'urugo". Gutoza abato indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda ni inshingano y'abakuru, niyo mpamvu kera abakuru bubahwaga cyane n'abo bakuriye. Kuba muri aka karengane nkomeje kugirirwa harimo abato n'abakuru bazi neza ukuri, ndetse n'abantu bari mu buyobozi, mbibonamo ikimenyetso cyo kwangirika k'ubunyarwanda n'indangagaciro z'umuryango nyarwanda. Ntabwo mpangayitswe cyane n'akarengane kanjye bwite, ariko mbabazwa cyane n'uwo muco wacu uri kuducika.

Nzi ko abamparabika bazi neza ko ari ibinyoma, kandi simbategerejeho kuvuguruza ibyo bavuga. Ibi bisobanuro bigenewe abanyarwanda benshi bafite inyota y'ukuri no kugarura indangagaciro z'ubunyarwanda.

Amateka yanjye bwite

Hari ikindi gihe nabashije gusobanura ubugome n'akarengane kababaje kibasiye ababyeyi banjye. Biswe aba "génocidaires", bivugwa ko aribo naba nkomoraho ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside nitiriwe ko nonse mu mashereka. Mama aregwa ibinyoma ko yishe umubyeyi mu kigo nderabuzima cya Butamwa aho yakoraga.

Reka mbahe ukuri :

Data, Gakumba Pascal, yatawe muri yombi mu 1982, amara imyaka 4 muri gereza, ashinjwa kuba icyitso mu mugambi wo guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana, witwaga umwanzi ukomeye wa FPR. Mu bashyirwaga mu majwi harimo Coloneli Kanyarengwe Alexis, waje kwinjira muri FPR aba perezida wayo kuva 1990 kugeza 1994.

Mu 1990, igihe FPR yateraga u Rwanda, Papa yarafashwe arafungwa ashinjwa kuba icyitso cya FPR. Nyuma gato FPR ifashe ubutegetsi mu 1994, data yagizwe umuyobozi wa

komini ya Kibilira. Icyo gihe abamushyizeho bashimye ubunyangamugayo bwe ndetse no kurwanya akarengane.

Musaza wanjye yishwe n'Interahamwe mu 1994 bamwita umututsi. Ku rundi ruhande, mama wacu n'umwana w'uruhinja, umugabo we, ababyeyi be n'abavandimwe be bose, bishwe n'abasirikare ba FPR mu 1996. Interahamwe na FPR bose baranyiciye, none ndashinjwa ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside.

Mu 1996, nyuma y'imyaka hafi ibiri nk'umuyobozi wa komine ya Kibilira, Papa yarafashwe arafungwa, hasigaye iminsi 3 gusa ngo arahire nk'umwe mu bagize Inteko ishinga amategeko. Yarekuwe nyuma y'imyaka 4 (2000) nta cyaha arezwe. Raporo yashyizweho umukono n'umushinjacyaha wa Leta yemeje ko ifatwa rye rifitanye isano no kuba yaratoranyijwe nk'umwe mu bagize Inteko ishinga amategeko. Umuntu umwe cyangwa benshi batifuzaga ko aba umudepite, bamugeretseho ko yagize uruhare muri jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Abaturage, barimo abarokotse jenoside, batanze ubuhamya bumushinjura. Ibi byerekana ko ibyo bageretse kuri Papa ari ibinyoma bikomeje gukwirakwizwa n'abagamije guhindanya isura yanjye, ntaho bihuriye n'ukuri k'umuntu bitirira ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside.

Ku bijyanye n'ibirego barega mama wanjye, Dusabe Thérèse, hari ibimenyetso byinshi byerekana ko nta muntu wiciwe ku kigo nderabuzima cya Butamwa muri icyo gihe. Ntabwo nshobora kubitangaho ibisobanuro birambuye kuko urubanza rugikomeza. Mu magambo make, ababyeyi banjye ntibigeze bagira ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside nkuko abanenga bashaka kubyemeza.

Mu buzima bwa politiki

Abamparabika bashaka kwemeza abantu bose ko ndi umwe mubashinze umutwe « bitirira iterabwoba » witwa RDR, washinzwe mu 1995 muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya

Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza

- Yavukiye muri Rubavu, ku wa 3 Ukwakira 1968
- 1998: Yinjiye mu Ishyaka riharanira Repubulika na Demokarasi mu Rwanda (RDR)
- 2003 – 2006: Yayoboye ihuriro ry'amashyaka aharanira demokarasi mu Rwanda (UFDR)
- 2006 – 2019: Yayoboye ishyaka FDU-Inkingi ritavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwa FPR
- Mutarama 2010: Yagarutse mu Rwanda avugira ku rwibutso rwa Jenoside rwa Gisozi ijambo risaba kwibuka inzirakarengane zose
- Ukwakira 2010: Yarafunzwe anaburanishwa n'inkiko
- Ku ya 8 Werurwe 2011: Hatangijwe igihembo cyitiriwe Ingabire Victoire mu guharanira Demokarasi n'Amahoro (Montréal)
- Ku ya 25 Nzeri 2012: Yatoranyijwe mubahatanira igihembo cya Sakharov cy'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'Uburayi, aho yari kumwe na Me Ntaganda Bernard na Mushayidi Déo
- Ku ya 24 Ugushyingo 2017: Urukiko nyafurika rw'uburenganzira bwa muntu n'abaturage rwanzuye ko Leta y'u Rwanda yarenganyije Ingabire Victoire, rusaba kumufungura bidatinze
- Ku ya 15 Nzeri 2018: Yarekuwe hamwe n'abandi bagororwa 2000 kubw'imbabazi za Perezida
- Ku ya 9 Ugushyingo 2019: Yasezeye muri FDU- Inkingi, ashinga ishyaka rya politiki DALFA Umurinzi ritavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda
- Ku ya 14 Ugushyingo 2019: Yatsindiye igihembo mpuzamahanga cy'uburenganzira bwa muntu cyatanzwe n'ishyirahamwe ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu muri Espagne (APDHE)

Kongo, icyo gihe yitwaga Zaïre. Babeshya nkana kuko bazi neza ko nageze mubu Holandi muri Werurwe 1994 aho nakomereje amashuri yanjye. Ariko rero habayeho imiryango ibiri ifite iryo zina rimwe: RDR (Rassemblement pour le retour des réfugiés et de la démocratie au Rwanda) *Ihuriro riharanira itahuka ry'impunzi na Demokarasi mu Rwanda* ryashinzwe mu 1995, rishingirwa mu nkambi y'impunzi ya Mugunga ihagarika ibikorwa byayo mu 1997 nyuma y'isenywa ry'inkambi z'impunzi na RDR (Rassemblement républicain pour la démocratie au Rwanda) *Ihuriro riharanira Repubulika na Demokarasi mu rwanda* ryashinzwe mu 1998.

Ihuriro riharanira itahuka ry'impunzi na Demokarasi mu Rwanda, ntari nanabereye umuyoboke, yari igizwe n'abantu bishyize hamwe ngo bakangurire amahanga kurengera impunzi zabaga cyane cyane muri Zaire, Tanzaniya n'u Burundi. Ryakoraga ubuvugizi bugamije itahuka ry'impunzi mu Rwanda riteguwe mu ituze n'ubumuntu. Ryayoborwaga na François Nzabahimana, akungirizwa na Aloys Ngendahimana, umunyamabanga mukuru akaba Innocent Butare. Ubuyobozi bwabarizwaga i Nairobie muri Kenya, muri Zaïre na Tanzaniya.

Icyemezo cyo gushinga ishyaka rya politiki ryiswe RDR (Rassemblement Républicain pour la Démocratie au Rwanda - *Ihuriro riharanira Repubulika na Demokarasi mu Rwanda*) cyafatiwe muri kongere yabereye i Paris mu 1998. Charles Ndereyehe yagizwe umuyobozi, yungirizwa na Claver Kanyarushoki. Ikigaragara ni uko benshi mu bayoboke b'ishyaka rya politiki rishya ryashinzwe bari impunzi z'u Rwanda, bamwe muri bo bakaba bari mu bayoboye irya mbere ryaharaniraga kurenganura no gutahuka kw'impunzi. Ubuyobozi bw'iryo shyaka rishya bwabarizwaga mu Burayi.

Muri Nzeri 1998, RDR yagiranye ubufatanye n'undi mutwe wa politiki, FRD (les Forces de Résistance pour la Démocratie), yari iyobowe na Faustin Twagiramungu, bikora *Ihuriro ry'abaharanira Demukarasi mu Rwanda* mu gifaransa UFDR (Union des Forces Démocratiques Rwandaises). Iyo

miryango yombi yateguye gahunda rusange ya politiki. Faustin Twagiramungu yabaye perezida, Charles Ndereyehe aba visi-perezida. FRD yari yashinzwe na benshi mu bahunze mu mwaka wa 1995, ni ukuvuga abantu bagize uruhare muri guverinoma ya FPR ariko bikaba ngombwa ko berekeza iy'ubuhungiro kuko banze gukomeza gushyigikira umurongo wayo wa politiki.

Naje gutorerwa kuba umuyobozi wa RDR (Rassemblement Républicain pour la Démocratie au Rwanda) muri kongere y'iryo shyaka yabereye i Bonn muri Kanama 2000, yanemeje kandi umurongo wa politiki mushya w'uyu mutwe wa politiki.

Ni ngombwa kumenya imyanzuro ibiri y'ingenzi yafatiwe muri iyi kongere: (1) yashimangiye ko yamaganye itsembabwoko ryakorewe abatutsi mu 1994; (2) yemeje ko inzira zo kugera k'ubutegetsi hakoreshejwe imbaraga za gisirikare zitemewe.

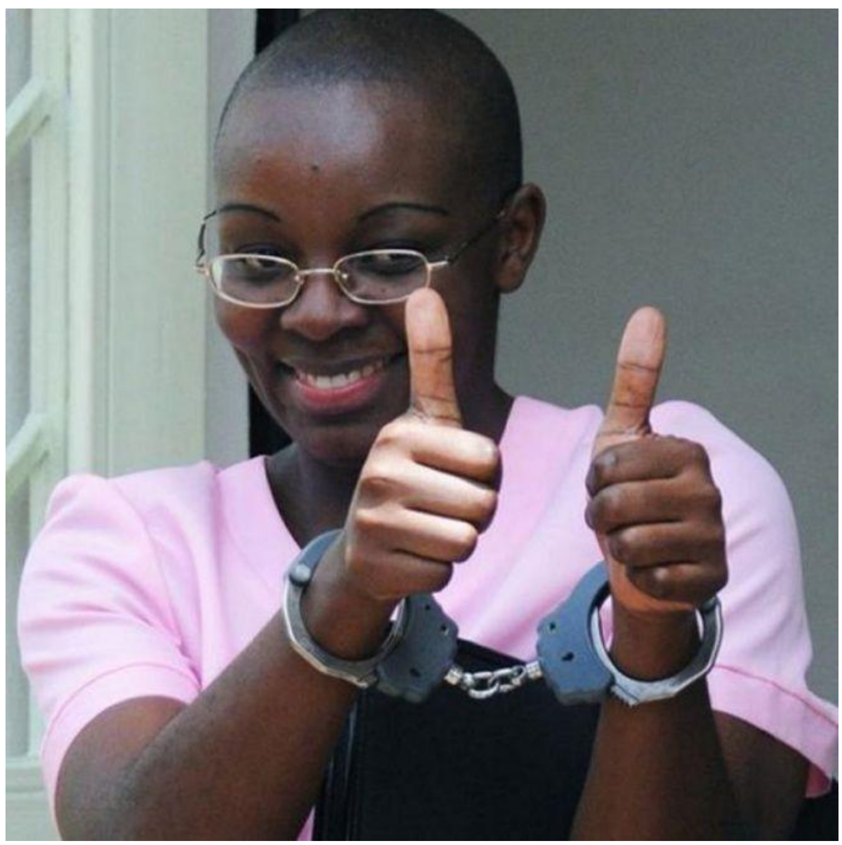
Uyu mwanzuro wa kabiri waciyemo iryo shyaka ibice, abahisemo inzira ya gisirikare bavuye mu ishyaka bifatanya n'abandi bashinga FDLR muri Nzeri 2000. Ni uko uwahoze ahagarariye RDR mu Budage, Ignace Murwanashyaka, yabaye perezida waryo. Ni ibinyoma rero biteye isoni kungaragaza nk'ukorana na FDRL cyangwa nk'umuntu utemera jenoside yakorewe abatutsi.

Mu mwaka wa 2006, RDR (*Ihuriro riharanira repubulika na demokarasi mu Rwanda*) yihuje na Force de Résistance pour la Démocratie (FRD), Ihuriro Riharanira Demokarasi mu

Rwanda (ADR-Isangano) ndetse n'abanyapolitiki bigenga, bashinga FDU-Inkingi (Forces Démocratiques Unifiées). Icyari kigamijwe kwari uguhuza amashyaka ya politiki atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi atitwara gisirikare akorera hanze y'u Rwanda.

Mu mwaka wa 2008, FDU-Inkingi yafashe icyemezo cyo kwitabira amatora y'umukuru w'u Rwanda yari ateganijwe muri Kanama 2010. Ni yo mpamvu nagarutse mu Rwanda muri Mutarama 2010. Bashyize inzitizi zose zishoboka mu nzira yanjye, ngo ntabasha kwandikisha ishyaka.

Narafashwe, ndafungwa, nza no gukatirwa igifungo cy'imyaka 15 ndegwa gupfobya jenoside, kwamamaza ibihuha bigamije kwangisha abaturage ubutegetsi n'ubugambanyi.



Umwanzuro warwo wo ku italiki ya 24 Ugushyingo 2017, Urukiko nyafurika rushinzwe uburenganzira bwa muntu n'abaturage ruherereye Arusha, rwemeje ko narenganijwe, ko uburenganzira bwanjye butubahirijwe, rusaba leta y'u Rwanda

kumpa indishyi ariko Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yirengagije iki cyemezo cy'urukiko.

Nashimishijwe no kubona ko muri Mata 2020, guverinoma ya Amerika niy'Ubwongereza zagaragaje impungenge nk'izo zahinduwe ibirego binshinja, cyane cyane nko kutubaha, kudaha agaciro n'uburenganzira bwo kwibuka abahohotewe ; ibyo byose bikagaragaza ishusho ituzuye y'igice cyijimye cy'amateka y'u Rwanda.

Nyuma y'imyaka umunani namaze muri gereza ndengana, narekuwe ku ya 14 Nzeri 2018 n'imbabazi za perezida, icyo cyemezo kikaba gifite ibyo kintegeka birimo no kuba ntemerewe gusohoka mu gihugu no kwitaba ibiro by'ubushinjacyaha rimwe mu kwezi. Nashimiye Perezida kubw'izo mbabazi.

Biragaragara ko uko kumparabika nta kuri kurimo, kandi ko binashyira ubuzima bwanjye mu kaga. Biratangaje kubona abo bantu n'itangazamakuru badakurukiranwa kubera gukingirwa ikibaba no kuba bakorana bya hafi n'ubutegetsi. Barenga ku mategeko ahanira gusebanya, kubiba urwango no guhamagarira kwica, byose ntibabihanirwe kubera ko uwo bibasiye atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi kandi ibyo akora ari uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure yemererwa n'itegeko-nshinga n'andi mategeko igihugu kigenderaho.

Kuva mu Gushyingo 2019, nasezeye muri FDU-Inkingi, nshinga ishyaka rya politiki rishya DALFA-UMURINZI.

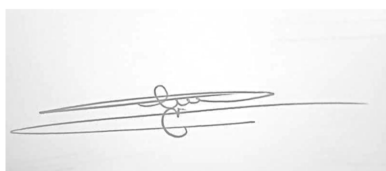
Kugenda kwanjye ntaho bihuriye n'ibivugwa ko FDU ari umutwe w'iterabwoba. Ni icyemezo natekerejeho bihagije bitewe ahanini no kuba ifungurwa ryanjye ry'agateganyo ritanyemerera gusohoka mu gihugu, bikaba bigoye cyane kuyoborera ishyaka kuri

interineti cyangwa kuri telefoni kuko benshi mubayoboke ndetse n'abo dufatanyije kuriyobora bari mu mahanga.

Ndasaba nkomeje abanyarwanda n'abakunzi b'u Rwanda bose bafite ubushake, guharanira kwamagana umuco w'urugomo n'ubugizi bwa nabi, bwaba ubw'amagambo nubw'umubiri. Ibyo ntacyo byungura abanyarwanda. Kongera kubaka umuco nyarwanda ushingiye ku ndangagaciro zamye ziranga umuryango nyarwanda niryo shingiro ry'igihugu gishinze imizi mu ruhando rw'amahanga.

Nta muntu numwe mfitiye inzika, nta n'umujinya, ahubwo numva mfitiye impuhwe abansebya kandi mpangayikishijwe n'ejo hazaza h'igihugu cyanjye niba ibintu bikomeje kumera gutya.

Kigali, kuwa 08 Kamena 2020



Madamu Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza
Umuyobozi w'ishyaka DALFA-Umurinzi