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INZIRA Y'AMAHORO

YAGEZA U RWANDA N'ABANYARWANDA KULI DEMOKARASI NYAYO MULI LETA IGENDERA KU MATEGEKO

Umushinga w'Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda-CCSCR

Diepenbeek, Nyakanga 2017

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda-CCSCR ifashe uyu mwanya kugira ngo igeze ku banyarwanda, ku nshuti z'u Rwanda, ku miryango mpuzamahanga irengera ikiremwa muntu, no ku bihugu by'amahanga n'imiryango mpuzamahanga, ibi bikurikira:

Nk'uko bizwi, ishyaka FPR rya Prezida Kagame ryafashe ubutegetsi mu Rwanda kuva muli 1994 binyuze mu nzira y'intambara. Kuba ryarafashe ubutegetsi nyuma y'amahano ya Genocide byateye benshi kurenza amaso ibikorwa bibi iryo shyaka ryakomeje kujya rikora mu miyoborere y'u Rwanda.

Kwica, gufunga no gutoteza abanyapolitiki batavuga rumwe na FPR ni igikorwa gisa n'aho cyamenyerewe n'inzego mpuzamahanga, raporo nyinshi zagiye zibyerekana aliko ntibigire inkulikizi.

Abanyarwanda bali mu gihugu bahahamuwe n'inzego zitwa iz'umutekano zirenga icumi, ali nazo kaboko FPR ikoresha mu mabi yose ikorera abanyarwanda nk'uko raporo z'Imiryango itandukanye irengera uburenganzira bwa muntu zagiye zibyerekana buli mwaka.

Izo nzego bita iz'umutekano nta kindi zikora usibye kuneka abaturage amasaha makumyabili n'ane ku munsi, zihigahiga unenze imikorere ya FPR, hagira uwo zifashe akaburirwa irengero, akicwa cyangwa yagira amahirwe agakubitwa maze agatabwa muli gereza.

Umubare w'impunzi zisohoka mu gihugu buli munsi zigana amahanga werekana iterabwoba izo nzego zitwa iz'umutekano zishyize ku banyarwanda bali mu gihugu.

Abanyarwanda bose barishishanya kuko inzego z'ubutasi za FPR zigera hose ndetse no muli buli muryango. Nta munyarwanda uvuga icyo atekereza kugira ngo kitagaragara nabi mu maso ya FPR.

Iterabwoba mu Rwanda no mu bihugu birukikije

Prezida Kagame yashyizeho politiki zitandukanye zo gucamo abanyarwanda ibice. Inzego z'ubutabera zigamije kwambura ibyabo bamwe mu banyarwanda zikabiha abandi zitwaje impamvu zitandukanye, guhimbira ibyaha abo FPR ishaka gukura mu nzira yayo, kubagerekaho ingengabitekerezo ya genocide, imigambi yo guhilika ubutegetsi no gushishikaliza abandi kwanga ubutegetsi, gukorana n'abanzi b'u Rwanda ba balinga, n'ibindi byaha byinshi bidafatika ndetse bidashobora gutangirwa ibimenyetso. Iyo myitwalire n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi, FPR imaze kubibamo indashyikirwa.

Umubano w'u Rwanda n'ibihugu by'abaturanyi waranzwe n'intambara, iterabwoba n'ubushotoranyi, nyirabayazana ikaba ali Leta y'u Rwanda.

Umutungo w'igihugu

FPR-Inkotanyi yikubiye umutungo w'igihugu iwushyira mu maboko y'agatsiko gato k'abatoni bayo, ku buryo inzara ikabije ili mu gihugu hose, ndetse abanyarwanda bakaba barayise "Nzaramba" kuko bayihuza n'igihe FPR izamara ku butegetsi, kandi bikaba bigaragara ko FPR yubatse ingoma y'igitugu ititeguye kuzavaho.

Biratangaje kubona Prezida Kagame ubwe amaze kwigwizaho umutungo ulimo indege zitabarika, inganda zitagira ingano, inyubako hirya no hino ku isi zilimo izikodeshwa na za ambassades z'u Rwanda, banki zitandukanye mu gihugu, ibigo by'ubucuruzi butandukanye, nk'amasosiyete yibumbiye mu cyitwa **Crystal Ventures** na Prezida Kagame ubwe yigamba, n'ibindi. Igice kinini cy'uwo mutungo kigizwe n'ibigo bya Leta yigaruliye abinyujije mu ikinamico rya "privatisation" nyuma yo guhombesha ibyo bigo.

Ingendo Prezida Kagame akora mu mahanga buli mwaka ni nyinshi ku buryo igihe amara mu gihugu cye usanga ali gike cyane kandi inyinshi ziba ntacyo zimaliye abanyarwanda. Twavuga nko gukoresha umutungo w'igihugu ajya kureba imipira ya basketball muli Amerika, iy'amaguru I Burayi, no gushora amafranga mu migabane y'amakipe y'amaguru akomeye kw'isi.

Impamvu y'izo ngendo ahanini Prezida Kagame aba ashaka ko indege ze zinjiza amafaranga, kuko alizo agendamo akishyuza Leta y'u Rwanda, bityo imisoro y'abanyarwanda ikarangirira kuli konti ze zizwi n'izitazwi.

Byagaragaliye muli raporo zinyuranye, izwi cyane ikaba ali "Panama papers" yagaragaje ko Prezida Kagame afite konti nyinshi mu birwa bihishira umutungo w'abayobozi biba ibihugu byabo.

Nk'uko ubushakashatsi bwizewe bwabyerekanye, mu mwaka wa 2015 wonyine, Prezida Kagame yakoze ingendo zigera kuli 37 zihwanye n'amasaha 514 indege iguruka. Wayakuba n'igiciro cya € 8.600 kw'isaha, ugasanga izo ngendo zonyine zaratwaye u Rwanda amafranga y'amanyarwanda **FRW 4.159.100.063,87**, ahwanye na **€ 4.420.400** (euros) cyangwa **US$ 4.952.949,77** (dollars). Aha ntidushyizemo akayabo k'amafranga atangwa mu mahoteli we n'abamuherekeje bararamo, amafranga y'ubutumwa bapfunyikirwa, imyidagaduro n'iminsi mikuru bakorera mu mahanga, n'ibindi tutarondoye.

Imiyoborere ya politike

Prezida Kagame n'ishyaka rye FPR bubatse imiyoborere ishingiye kw'iterabwoba ribafasha kugumana ubutegetsi ubuziraherezo.

Kuva FPR yafata ubutegetsi ikoresheje imbunda, mbere y'uko n'igihe cy'inzibacyuho kirangira, Prezida Kagame niwe wayoboye u Rwanda nyuma yo kweguza uwo yasimbuye Pasteur Bizimungu akanamushyira muli gereza.

Guhera ubwo, demokarasi mu Rwanda yaranizwe, amashyaka amwe nk'irya MDR acibwa mu gihugu, andi nk'irya PSD acibwamo kabili, igice kiyobotse FPR kikaba ali cyo gihabwa uburenganzira bwo gukora. Abanyarwanda bashinga amashyaka mashya bagafungwa, nk'irya PDR UBUYANJA, ndetse bamwe bakicwa nka Kagwa Rwisereka wa Green Party.

Gereza z'u Rwanda zuzuye abanyapolitiki badafite ikindi bashinjwa usibye gushinga cyangwa kuyoboka amashyaka atavuga rumwe na FPR: Madamu Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza wa FDU Inkingi, Déo Mushayidi wa PDP Imanzi, Dr Theoneste Niyitegeka wiyamalizaga kuba Prezida wa Republika, n'abandi bafungiye mu ngo zabo aho bamara kimwe cya kabili cy'umwaka, ikindi gice bakakimara muli gereza nka Bernard Ntaganda, Prezida w'ishyaka PS Imberakuli.

Prezida Kagame n'inzego ze z'iperereza bohereza hirya no hino kw'isi imitwe y'abicanyi yo kwica abatavuga rumwe na FPR aho bali hose: Bishe Seth Sendashonga na Lizinde Théoneste muli Kenya. Uherutse kwicwa ni Patrick Karegeya muli Afrika y'epfo ndetse na Generali Kayumba Nyamwasa bamurashe gatatu Imana ikinga ukuboko.

Inzego zishinzwe iperereza z'ibihugu by'u Bubiligi, u Bwongereza n'ibindi ... zilinda bya hafi abanyarwanda banenga imiyoborere y'igitugu n'iterabwoba ya Prezida Kagame na FPR ayobora. Muli rusange, Prezida Kagame ayoboje igihugu ubwicanyi n'iterabwoba.

Prezida Kagame yemeje isi yose ko aliwe wahagalitse genocide mu gihe andi mahanga atabishoboye. Nyamara hakulikijwe ibimenyetso n'abatangabuhamya, byagaragaye ko yagize uruhare, abizi kandi abishaka, mu gutangiza no gufatanya n'abakoze iyo genocide.

Kubera icyo kinyoma Prezida Kagame yemeje amahanga, unenze igitugu n'ubwicanyi ayoboresha abanyarwanda, yaba umuntu ku giti cye, yaba guverinoma y'igihugu cy'amahanga, byitwa ko ahakana akanapfobya genocide.

Icyo gitutu ashyira ku bihugu by'amahanga, ku madini, kuli Loni no ku yindi miryango mpuzamahanga, nicyo kibyara ipfunwe ribabuza kumukurikiranaho amahano yagombye kubazwa.

Urutonde rw'abo Prezida Kagame ashakisha hirya no hino ku isi kubera ibyaha bya genocide wiyongera buli mwaka, kuko abayobozi b'amashyirahamwe yigenga, abayobozi b'amashyaka n'abanyamakuru batinyuka kunenga igitugu n'ubwicanyi FPR iyoboreshe u Rwanda, bashyirwa ku rutonde rw'abakoze genocide. Ikibabaje ni uko hali abayobozi b'ibihugu bimwe na bimwe batarasobanukirwa n'iyo ntwaro ya genocide Prezida Kagame akomeza gukubitisha abifuza demokarasi mu Rwanda, bakaba bakomeza kumufatira abo yifuje ko bafatwa bakoherezwa mu Rwanda. Ikindi kibabaje ni uko hali ibihugu bimwe bivuga ko byemera amahame ya demokarasi, aliko bikarenza amaso ubwo bwicanyi bwa Prezida Kagame, bikaba bikimuha inkunga zo mu nzego zitandukanye (ubukungu, igisilikare, ...) kubera inyungu zihaliye zabyo.

Izo nkunga z'amahanga ntizigera ku baturage nk'uko twabyerekanye haruguru, kuko bakomeje gupfa ali benshi, n'ubwo bitavugwa, bazira inzara. Izo nkunga zijya kuli konti zo mu birwa nk'uko Panama papers yabyanditse. Izindi nkunga zikaba izo guhemba inzego z'ubutasi n'izo kubuza amahoro abanyarwanda ku misozi, kubica no kubacecekesha. Izo nzego ni nazo zishinzwe gutoresha abayobozi bakorera FPR no kweguza abayobozi bakorera inyungu z'abaturage.

Mu matora y'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, hali abasilikare bagena abagomba kwiyamamaza, bakarahizwa indahiro ya FPR. Nta matora mu Rwanda akorwa mw'ibanga. Kugira ngo igitsure gikore, Fpr ishyira abakandida imbere y'abaturage, buli wese agasanga umukandida ahaye ijwi. Udatoye uko yeretswe bimugiraho ingaruka, kuko izo nzego z'abicanyi za FPR ziba zireba buli wese aho ajya guhagarara. Abo bayobozi b'ibanze nibo bashyira igitugu ku baturage mu matora y'inzego zo hejuru nk'uko byagiye bigaragara mu matora yahise: referendum yo guhindura Itegekonshinga, abadepite, prezida.

Amashyaka akorera mu gihugu yitwa ko atavuga rumwe na FPR yagizwe ingaruzwamuheto, kugeza naho adashobora gutanga abakandida bayo bwite ahubwo atangaho abakandida abahagaraliye ishyaka rya FPR. Amanama yose mu gihugu akoreshwa n'abasilikare, kabone n'iyo yaba ali inama y'abana b'abanyeshuli. Aho kugira ngo amatora akulikize itegekonshinga, niryo ryagiye rihindagurwa kugira ngo rihuzwe n'amatora.

Itegekonshinga ryo mu mwaka wa 2003, mu ngingo yaryo y'ijana na limwe, ryavugaga ko "*Nta na limwe umuntu yemererwa gutorerwa manda zirenze ebyili ku mwanya wa Prezida wa Repubulika* » ryahinduwe mu ikinamico ryali ritaraboneka n'ahantu na hamwe ku isi.

Iryo Tegekonshinga ryari rigamije gushyiraho Umutwe wa Sena mu Nteko ishinga amategeko. Ryahaye kandi Prezida wa Republika ububasha bwo kwishyiriraho umubare w'abasenateri bitanyuze mu matora. Ibyo byakozwe kugira ngo iyo Sena imubogamiyeho imufashe kuburizamo ubushobozi n'ibyemezo by'Umutwe w'abadepite.

Itegekonshinga ryongera guhindurwa mu kuboza 2005 hategurwa amatora yo muli 2006, maze hashyirwaho inzego za ba Meya badatowe na Rubanda, kugira ngo bajye bagira uruhare mu gutoresha abo beretswe.

Itegekonshinga ryongeye kuvugururwa muli Kanama 2008 hategurwa amatora ya Prezida yo muli 2010. Iryo vugururwa ryali rigamije gukumira abashoboraga kubangamira itorwa rya Prezida Kagame.

Irindi vugururwa ryabaye muli Gashyantare 2013. Ryali rigamije gutoresha abadepite FPR ishaka mu matora yabaye muli Nzeli y'uwo mwaka 2013.

Ivugururwa riherutse ry'Itegekonshinga ryo kuwa 14 Ukuboza 2015 ryahaye Prezida Kagame ubushobozi bwo kuzaba Prezida w'u Rwanda kugeza muli 2034.

Inzego zitwa iz'umutekano zagiye mu banyarwanda zibasinyisha impapuro zo gusaba guhindura ingingo ya 101 yashyiragaho umubare wa manda ntarengwa ku mwanya wa Prezida wa Repubulika, maze zibategeka kwikorera ibiseke byuzuyemo za tragiti babijyana mu nzu y'Inteko ishinga amategeko. Bityo Prezida Kagame ahera kuli iryo kinamico yiyubakira ilindi Tegekonshinga rimuha kuzaguma ku ntebe ya Prezida w'u Rwanda kugeza muli 2034.

Nta gushidikanya ko mbere ya 2034, Prezida Kagame azaba yarongeye guhindura Itegekonshinga rizamuha ubushobozi bwo kuzategeka u Rwanda ubutagira iherezo.

Muli uko gutoba demokarasi, Prezida Kagame yabaye nk'usimbuye izindi nzego z'ubutegetsi. Amategeko niwe uyakora akanayatoresha, urwego rw'ubucamanza rwemeza ibyo arutegetse, ubundi akaba ali nawe utegeka uko ashatse uburyo amategeko yubahilizwa kuko ayo mategeko aba yakorewe inyungu ze bwite.

Amatora ataha ya Prezida wa Republika ateganijwe muli Kanama 2017. Hakulikijwe Itegekonshinga ryo muli 2003, Prezida Kagame ntiyali akwiye kwiyamamaza kuko yarangije igihe cye cya manda ebyili.

Kuba Itegekonshinga ryarahinduwe mbere y'ayo matora, ntibyagombye kureba manda za Prezida Kagame kuko yazikoze zihereye ku Itegekonshinga rimubuza kurenza manda ebyili.

Abayobozi b'ibihugu bigendera kuli demokarasi nk'Amerika, Ubufaransa, Ubwongereza, Ububiligi, n'ibindi..., kimwe n'Imiryango mpuzamahanga nka Loni, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Uburayi na Commonwealth, babwiye Prezida Kagame inshuro nyinshi ko yubahiliza demokarasi akareka kwiyamamaliza manda ya gatatu aliko igitugu akoresha ku

banyarwanda imbere mu gihugu ni nacyo akoresha ku mahanga yanga kwumva inama agirwa.

Ikindi kandi, manda y'indi myaka ilindwi Prezida Kagame yihaye mu ngingo ya 172 y'Itegekonshinga uko yarivuguruye muli 2015 inyuranyije n'amahame rusange agenga ishingamategeko, kuko aliwe wenyine iryo vugururwa ryakorewe. Mu gihe abayobozi b'inzego yashyizeho bo kumutoresha baliho, nta n'undi wakwiyamamaza ngo atorwe kuko abo bayobozi alibo bagena utsinda amatora. Ni muli urwo rwego mu myaka ya 2015 na 2016, hegujwe abayobozi bose bo mu nzego z'ibanze batali bararahiliye kuzatoresha Prezida Kagame muli 2017, basimbuzwa abarahiliye kuzamutoza.

Kubera izo mpamvu zose,

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR,

Irebye iyo miyoborere itubahilije demokarasi, imiyoborere irangwa n'ubwicanyi, igitugu n'iterabwoba Prezida Kagame n'ishyaka rye FPR bakomeje kuyoboza u Rwanda nk'uko bigaragalira mu nyandiko nyinshi zizwi na benshi;

Ihereye ku kinyoma cy'amajyambere ya balinga agaragalira gusa ku mazu maremare make ali mu mujyi wa Kigali, akaba ali ibikorwa by'agatsiko gato k'abatoni ba FPR, aho gushingira ku nyungu z'abanyarwanda bose, ubu inzara yiswe "Nzaramba" ikaba iyogoza igihugu;

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR imaze kubona ko FPR yanze ubwisanzure bw'amashyaka ya politiki n'amashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa-muntu mu gihugu no mu mahanga;

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR yishimiye gutanga umusanzu w'ibitekerezo ku nzira y'ubwumvikane yageza u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda kuli demokarasi yubakiye ku nzego z'ubutegetsi zikorera mu bwigenge, zigendera ku mategeko kandi abanyarwanda bose bibonamo.

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR

1. Isabye Leta ya FPR-Inkotanyi guhagalika bidatinze amatora ateganijwe mu kwezi kwa Kanama 2017;

2. Isabye amahanga n'Imiryango mpuzamahanga kudatanga inkunga kuli ayo matora no gushyigikira byimazeyo inzira yo kugeza u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda kuli demokarasi nyakuri mu mahoro ;

3. Irasaba ko hashyirwaho igihe cy'inzibacyuho kitarenze imyaka ibili. Iyo nzibacyuho izageza ku nzego zishingiye kuli demokarasi umunyarwanda wese aziyumvamo;

4. Isanga hagomba gushyirwaho Inama nkuru y'ukuri n'ubwiyunge izabera hanze y'u Rwanda, ikazakemulirwamo ibibazo bili hagati y'Abanyarwanda, n'ibili hagati y'u Rwanda n'ibihugu birukikije;

5. Gushyiraho inama yaguye ihuliwemo na Leta y'u Rwanda, amashyaka atavuga rumwe na FPR yaba ali mu gihugu no mu mahanga, ishyaka rya Prezida Kagame rili ku butegetsi, imiryango idakora politiki ya Société Civile yo mu gihugu n'iyo hanze. Ibyo biganiro bikayoborwa n'umuhuza washyirwaho n'Umuryango w'abibumbye;

6. Ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuliwemo n'imiryango ya politiki yose, hakagenwa n'uruhari rw'imiryango ya sosiyete sivile muli izo mpinduka;

7. Urubuga rwa politique (espace politique, political space) rwikubiwe n'Ishyaka rya FPR-Inkotanyi rugomba gufungurwa kugira ngo inzitizi zose zive mu nzira abashaka kugira uruhari muli politike bisanzure;

8. Ifungurwa ry'abanyarwanda bose bafungiwe impamvu za politiki n'ubwigenge mu bitekerezo;

9. Iyubahilizwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ibanze bw'ikiremwa muntu;

10. Ishyirwaho ry'ingengabihe y'ibikorwa biganisha kw'iyubakwa ry'ubutegetsi bugendera ku mategeko;

11. Kugira ngo urubuga rwa politique rubere bose, ntihagire umwenegihugu wongera kubaho yububa, **Forum y'amashyaka** ishyirwaho n'ingingo ya 56 y'Itegeko-Nshinga igomba kuvaho byihutirwa kuko itonesha FPR ikabuza andi mashyaka ubuhumekero n'ubwinyagamburiro;

12. Kwemera itahuka ry'impunzi ku bushake bwazo nta gahato aho zili hose;

13. Gushyiraho Inama y'igihugu y'amatora ihuliwemo n'imiryango yose ya politiki ku buryo bungana;

14. Ivanwaho ry'ibihano n'ibifungo bishingiye ku bikorwa n'ibitekerezo bya politiki;

15. Kulinda umutekano n'itotezwa iryo aliryo ryose byakorerwa abanyapolitiki, n'abandi banyarwanda bazaba batahutse bavuye mu buhungiro;

16. Kuvanaho inzitizi z'ubwisanzure mu itangazamakuru n'ubundi buryo bwo kumenyesha no gutangaza ibitekerezo;

17. Inzego zishinzwe kurinda umutekano w'abaturage n'ubusugire bw'u Rwanda zigomba guhindura isura, zigahumuriza rubanda aho kubahoza ku nkeke no kubica umusubizo.
    Nk'uko byateganywaga n'amasezerano y'amahoro yashyizweho umukono Arusha kw'italiki ya 4 Kanama 1993, inzego z'ubutegetsi muli rusange, zaba iza gisivile cyangwa iza gisilikari na polisi, zigomba kuba ishusho ry'u Rwanda, zikaba intabera, zigahurirwamo n'abanyarwanda bakomoka mu moko yose, ibitsina byose, uturere twose n'amadini yose, bityo rubanda bakazibonamo, bakarushaho kuzizera.

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR yihaye inshingano yo gukorana na buli wese urebwa n'ibikorwa biteganijwe muli uyu mushinga wo kugeza u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda ku butegetsi bwa Leta igendera ku mategeko binyuze mu nzira y'amahoro.

Inama Mpuzabikorwa ya Sosiyete Sivili Nyarwanda – CCSCR isabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU), Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Uburaya (UE), Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (UA), Umuryango wa Commonwealth, Ibihugu bigize Akanama k'umutekano ka Loni, gushyira igitutu kuli Leta y'u Rwanda ikagura urubuga rwa politiki, igakulikiza amahame y'ibanze ya demokarasi, ikanubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu.

Bikorewe i Diepenbeek kuwa 01 Nyakanga 2017