

N°34 MUTARAMA 2008



E-mail: fondationgong@yahoo.fr

Home page: www.rud-urunana.org

Comité de Rédaction/Inama y'Ubwanditsi :

Editeur Responsable.....: *Fondation le Gong de la Conscience*

Directeur de Publication : *Christite Muhereza*

Redacteur en chef..... : *François Xavier Ntezirizaza*

Secrétaire de Rédaction...: *Pierrette Niwemugeni*

IBIRIMO.....Urupapuro rwa :

1. IRIBURIRO :

- *Itangazo ku buryo bwo kugarura amahoro mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari.....2.*

2. IMIGABO N'IMIGAMBI BYA RUD-URUNANA:

- *Perezida G. W. Bush niyibutse Kagame amahame remezo ya Amerika: RUD-Urunana.....4*

3. AMAKURU YA POLITIKI

- *Imitahukire y'impunzi izategurwa mu rwego rwa politiki.....5*

- *Akazu ka FPR karasatirwa n'inkongi: Fernando A. arashinja Kagame n'ibyegera bye.....6*

4. AMAKURU ANYURANYE:

- *Abo Makuza yita Interahamwe ni bande?.....7*

5. IMIBEREHO Y'ABATURAGE

- *Raporo African Rights December 2007, cyangwa icyegeranyo cya DMI?.....8*

6. URUBUGA RW'ABASOMYI:

- *Jenerali Rwarakabije ni muntu ki?.....11*

IRIBURIRO

Itangazo ku buryo bwo kugarura amahoro mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari

-Ubwanditsi-

Ku butumire bwa Guverinoma ya Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo (RDC), kuva taliki ya 19 Mutarama 2008, intumwa zigizwe n'abahagarariye imitwe ya politiki na gisirikare ifite abarwanyi muri Kongo hamwe n'indorerenzi bagiye muri Kongo. Uruzinduko rwabo rwabayeye mu gihe kuri Goma haberaga inama rukokoma igamije amahoro n'iterambere rwari rugamije gufatanya n'Abakongomani ndetse n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga mu gushaka amahoro mu burasirazuba bwa Kongo no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari.

Izo ntumwa zari zigizwe n'abantu bakurikira:

- *Dr Félicien Kanyamibwa, Umunyamabanga mukuru wa RUD-Urunana akaba n'umuyobozi w'izo ntumwa;*
- *Madamu Goretti Abayizigira, Visi Perezida wa RUD-Urunana;*
- *Major Gerard Ntashamaje, Perezida wa RPR;*
- *Lt Colonel Christophe Hakizabera, umunyamuryango wa FDLR;*
- *Bwana Hyacinte Rafiki, umunyamuryango wa FDLR;*
- *Padiri Thadée Twagirayezu, indorerenzi;*
- *Padiri J. Berchmans Tulikubwigenge, indorerenzi.*

Mugihe bari muri Kongo, bashoboye kugirana ibiganiro n'abayobozi ba Kongo, abahagarariye umuryango mpuzamahanga barimo n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo, abayobozi ba MONUC n'abayobozio b'inzego zo hasi.

Intumwa zasuye ingabo ku rugamba n'impunzi mu burasirazuba bwa Kongo. Mu gihe intumwa zari mu ruzinduko mu ntara ya Kivu, baherekejwe n'abayobozi b'ingabo za RUD-Urunana n'iza RPR

hamwe n'abahagarariye impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, abari mu butumwa babonye n'abayobozi ba Kongo, abahagarariye imiryango mpuzamahanga n'abayobozi ba MONUC. Muri icyo mibonano, intumwa, abayobozi b'ingabo hamwe n'abahagarariye impunzi bahawe ibisobanuro kandi bashobora kwibonera ibi bikurikira:

- Guverinoma ya Kongo n'umuryango mpuzamahanga byiyemeje kurangiza ikibazo cy'impunzi ziri muri Kongo hakoreshejwe uburyo bushoboka bwose, harimo n'ubwa gisirikare. Imyiteguro ijyanye n'igikorwa cya gisirikare igeze kure ku buryo cyagombye gutangira kuwa 15 Werurwe 2008;

- Guverinoma ya Kongo n'umuryango mpuzamahanga basanga abarwanyi bazwi n'imitwe ya gisirikare bari bakwiye kujya kurwanira iwabo, aho gukomeza kurwanira muri Kongo;

- Uburyo impunzi z'Abanyarwanda n'Abakongomani babayeho muri Kivu zombi, cyane abategarugori, abana, abasaza n'abandi batishoboye buteye agahinda;

- Guverinoma ya Kongo n'umuryango mpuzamahanga bumva kimwe ko Jenerali Paul Kagame akwiye gufungura amajira y'ibiganiro mu gukemura ibibazo by'impunzi.

Aha twashimira abayobozi ba Kongo kubera iki gitekerezo bagize n'uburyo batworohereje twe n'abahagarariye ingabo n'impunzi. By'umwihariko, turashimira Nyakubahwa Perezida Joseph Kabila kubera ubushishozi bwe n'umurava afite mu gushakira amahoro Kongo n'akarere k'ibiyaga bigari. Turashimira kandi Guverinoma ya Kongo cyane Bwana Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi, Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'uwingabo, Bwana Chikez Diemu kubera imbaraga n'ubwitange bakorana bateza imbere amahoro mu karere, no kuzirikana ibitekerezo by'abaturage ba Kongo n'u Rwanda bashyize imbere imibanire myiza ya kivandimwe, baharanira amajyambere y'ibihugu byombi.

Ubundi kandi turashimira abo bose bahaye abahagarariye impunzi umwanya wo kugira uruhare mu gushaka amahoro arambye muri Kongo no mu karere. Aha turazirikana abahagarariye ibihugu byabo i Kinshasa, MONUC, Abasenateri n'Abadepite bakomoka muri Kivu zombi kubera imibonano ngirakamaro twagiranye n'umurava bafite mu kugarura amahoro mu karere.

Muri iri tangazo, turongera gushimangira ingingo zikurikira nkuko byatangajwe n'intumwa twari mu ruzinduko, abayobozi b'ingabo, Imboneza za RUD-Urunana na RPR-Inkeragutabara n'abahagarariye impunzi mu burasirazuba bwa Kongo:

- *Gahunda yo gutaha no kwamburwa intwari yiswe iya Nairobi ni urwego rutanga ibisubizo byo gutaha mu mahoro, hubahirijwe icyubahiro cya kameremuntu n'amategeko mpuzamahanga;*

- *Abaturage ba Kongo barababaye bihagije bafite uburenganzira ku mutekano no ku mahoro. Niyo mpamvu ababifitemo uruhare bose bakwiye kugana inzira y'amahoro;*

- *Twiyemeje gushyigikira amahoro n'umutekano muri Kongo no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari,*

- *Urugamba rwo guharanira uburenganzira bw'Abanyarwanda rugomba kurwanirwa mu Rwanda;*

- *Abarwanyi bafite ibirindiro mu burasirazuba bwa Kongo kubera impamvu zo kwirwanaho, bemera uburenganzira ntasubirwaho ku busugire bw'igihugu cya Kongo, niyo mpamvu iyi mitwe yitwaje intwari yiteguye gutaha mu Rwanda, hashingiwe kuri garanti (garanties) zo mu rwego rwa politiki n'urw'umutekano, zemewe kandi zumvikanweho na leta y'u Rwanda kandi zasuzumwa n'umuryango mpuzamahanga.*

- *Impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ziyemeje gukomeza kubera abaturanyi beza abavandimwe babo b' Abanyekongo;*

- *Turahamya ko ibiganiri bya politiki (Dialogue Inter-Rwandais) bigaragara nk'uburyo bwonyine bwakoresheye mu kugarura amahoro mu Rwanda, muri Kongo no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari. Aho ibiganiri byakoreshejwe nk'uburyo bwo guhosha amakimbirane,*

byaragaragaye ko aribwo buryo bwiza, budahenze kandi buzana amahoro n'umutekano, buteza imbere ubutabera n'ubwiyunge kandi bushingirwaho mu kubaka igihugu mu ituze.

Dushingiye kuri aya mahame, dushyigikiye ko hakoresheye uburyo bushingiye ku ngingo zikurikira, ariko tukaba tubona imirangirire myiza yabwo izashingira ahanini ku bushake bwa leta y'u Rwanda:

1. *Kugira uruhare mu bikorwa bigamije kugarura amahoro muri Kongo;*

2. *Gukangurira abarwanyi n'impunzi kwitegura ibiganiri;*

3. *Gukangurira Abanyarwanda n'imiryango ya politiki n'itari iya politiki kumva impamvu y'iki gikorwa;*

4. *Gukangurira impunzi n'abarwanyi gutaha iwabo mu mahoro;*

5. *Kwirinda ibikorwa byose byahungabanya umutekano muri Kongo;*

6. *Kwitegura kugira uruhare mu biganiri bya politiki;*

7. *Kubaka igihugu cy'Abanyarwanda bose nta kurobanura aho buri wese azahabwa uburenganzira bwe;*

8. *Guteza imbere ubuyobozi bugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi;*

Turongera guhamagarira Jenerali Paul Kagame kwemera ibiganiri.

Twiteguye guhura nawe kugira ngo dusuzumire hamwe uko byategurwa.

Ibiganiri byakemura ibibazo bikomeye biri mu Rwanda no mu karere. Ibi biganiri byavamo ingamba zo kubaka u Rwanda rushya, u Rwanda abana bazadukomokaho bazabamo barenze ibyadutanyije mu bihe byahise, u Rwanda tuzaraga abana n'abuzukuru bazashakira hamwe icyaruteza imbere n'akarere ndetse n' Afurika, aho gushyiriramo.

Bikorewe i Kinshasa kuwa 24 Mutarama 2008

Dr. Felisiyani Kanyamibwa
Uwari ayoboye intumwa

IMIGABO N'IMIGAMBI BY'URUNANA

Perezida G.W Bush niyibutse Kagame amahame remezo y'Amerika: RUD-Urunana

-Christite Muhereza-

Muri ibi bihe u Rwanda rwitegura kwakira umushyitsi ukomeye, Perezida G.W Bush wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, abantu batandukanye baravugaga byinshi kuri ruriya ruzinduko. Mu itangazo ryasohowe n'Urunana rw'Abaharanira Ubumwe na Demokarasi (RUD-Urunana) kuwa 16 Gashyantare 2008, uyu mutwe wa politiki urasaba ko Prerezida Bush yumva ugutaka kw'Abanyarwanda maze akibutsa Jenerali Kagame amahame remezo y'Amerika ashingiye ku kuri, ubwisanzure n'ubutabera kuri bose. Ibi Dr Dukuze, arabivugaga muri aya magambo:

Urunana rw'abaharanira Ubumwe na Demokarasi (RUD-Urunana) ihaye ikaze uruzinduko Perezida G.W Bush ateganya kugirira mu Rwanda. Twizeye ko uru ruzinduko rwo mu rwego rwo hejuru ruzabera Perezida Bush n'ubutegets
Bw'Amerika umwanya wo kumenya by'invaho akaga n'amakuba Abanyarwanda barimo kuwa mu Ukwakira 1990.

Ikibazo cyakunze kuba ni uko abantu bakomeza gukandamizwa na leta ya Paul Kagame abakandagiza amacuti ye na za Guverinoma z'ibihugu by'amahanga, bityo bigasa nk'aho bashyigikiye ko igitugu gishinga imizi mu Rwanda.

Mu gihe izo leta z'ibihangange zigenda zirwanya ingoma z'ibitugu hirya no hino ku isi, RUD-Urunana irasanga igihe kigeze ko n'Abanyarwanda baterwa inkunga yo kuvanwa munsu y'igitugu cya Jenerali Kagame na FPR ye. Ibi Dr Dukuze yabikomojeho agira ati:

Ingufu ubutegets bwa G. W Bush bushyira mu gukemura ibibazo by'Abanyafurika bugarijwe n'indwara n'ubukene ni izo gushyigikirwa na bose. Ariko ku birebana n'u Rwanda, bikwiye kumvwa ko ubutegets bwa Paul Kagame buyoboza abaturage igitugu kitigeze kibaho mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari by'Afurika.
Avugana n'abanyamakuru, Stephen Hadley,

umujyanama mu by'umutekano mu rwego rw'igihugu, yasobanuye neza ko imfashanyo y'Amerika izagererwa za guverinoma zirangwa n'ubuyobozi bwa demokarasi, zirwanya ruswa kandi zishyize imbere inyungu z'abaturage. Dushingiye kuri aya mahame rero, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda muri iki gihe ntabwo yujuje ibisabwa na Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika. Nubwo leta y'u Rwanda yivugaga ibigwi mu ibyo yagezeho, mu by'ukuri imbaga nyamwinshi y'abaturage bazonzwe n'ubukene n'inzara. Ariko cyane cyane, bimwe uburenganzira bwabo bw'ibanze. Ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda bamaze imyaka irenga icumi baborera muri gereza batajyanwa imbere y'inkiko. Ubutabera buri mu Rwanda burangwa n'abakozi batabifitiye ubushobozi ahubwo bamunzwe na ruswa.

Muri iryo tangazo rishyira ahagaragara imiterere ya leta ya Kigali n'abayigize, Dr Dukuze aragaruka ku bicanyi 40 bo mu nzego z'igisirikare cy'u Rwanda Juji Fernando yashinje kuwa 6 Gashyantare 2008. Umuvugizi wa RUD-Urunana araterura ati:

Tuributsa ubutegets bw'Amerika ko kuwa 6 Gashyantare 2008 Fernando Andreu, umucamanza wo muri Espagne yashinje ba ofisiye 40 bo mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Abashinja ibyaha by'itsembabwoko, ibyaha bibangamira inyokomuntu n'ibyaha by'iterabwoba. icyemezo cy'umucamanza gishingiye ku buhamya bw'abantu biboneye n'amaso yabo ibikorwa bya bariya baregwa. Ubu buhamya bwazuzumanywe ubushishozi igihe kirekire mu iperereza ryashyize ahagaragara amakuru nyakuri ashinja Paul Kagame n'ibyegera bye biri mu buyobozi bw'igisirikare cy'u Rwanda. Ibyo Kagame n'imboni ze bashinjwa, ni ibikorwa biteye ubwoba bakoreye Abanyarwanda, Abanyekongo n'abandi banyamahanga.

Mu ijwi rya RUD-Urunana, umuvugizi wayo aratura akerekana ko amahanga n'ibihugu bimwe na bimwe bifite inshingano zo kwerekana ko byubaha amahame remezo y'ubutabera mpuzamahanga.

Nta bisobanuro batanga kuba badafata

iyambere ngo bate muri yombi bamwe mu bashinjwa na Juji Fernando bari mu bihugu byabo. Aha Dr Augustin Dukuze aratunga agatoki mu magambo y'amashirakinyoma agira ati:

Biratangaje kubona hari abantu bashinjwa n'umucamanza wo muri Espagne nka Jenerali Karenzi Karake yemererwa kungiriza umuyobozi w'ingabo za Loni (MINUAD) ziri muri Darfour. Ni nkuko Koloneli Gacinya Rugumya ahagariye inyungu za gisirikare muri ambasade y'u Rwanda i Washington, DC. Niba ubuyobozi bwa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika hari icyo bwagombye gukora, ni ukwerura bukavuga ko butazashyigikira umuco wo kudahana kandi ko buzashyikiriza ubutabera abanyabyaha bose butitaye ku nzego barimo.

Mu kurangiza itangazo rigenewe abanyamakuru, Dr Dukuze aragaruka muri make uko umutwe wa politiki abereye umuvugizi ubona ikibazo cyo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari cyacyemurwa.

Impanuro y'Abacunguzi bo muri RUD-Urunana niyo ikwiye kubwirwa uwagira inama Jenerali Kagame n'abo bafatanyije gukaza umurego w'igitugu ku baturage. Nkuko bisanzwe bibwirwa abandi bantu, Dr Dukuze arateza ubwegu yumvisha Perezida G. W Bush muri aya magambo:

Ni ngombwa ko twongera kwibutsa umuryango mpuzamahanga ko ikibazo cy'umutekano muke uri mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari gifite isoko yacyo mu Rwanda. Niyo pamvu igihe cyose impamvu iteza ikibazo cya politiki mu Rwanda izaba idakemurwe, abaturage bo mu karere ntabwo bazagira amahoro n'amajyambere arambye. Kubera izo mpamvu RUD-Urunana irasaba ikomeje ko haba ibiganiro bya politiki (Dialogue Inter-Rwandais) byayoborwa n'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Ibi biganiro byafasha mu gushyiraho inzego za politiki n'izumutekano. Izi nzego zizasangwamo n'Abanyarwanda bose bazisangamo nta kurobanura.

Nyuma yaho, nibwo Abanyarwanda n'abaturanyi bo mu karere bazahuriza hamwe ingamba zageza kuri bose umutekano, amahoro n'iterambere.

AMAKURU YA POLITIKI

Imitahukire y'impunzi izategurwa mu rwego rwa politiki

- François Xavier Ntezirizaza-

Mu gihe hakurya hariya kuri Goma haberaga inama rukokoma igamije amahoro n'amajyambere mu ntara za Kivu zombi, abakunzi b'amahoro y'u Rwanda nabo ntibatanzwe kuri gahunda yo kugera mu karere, no gukurikiranira hafi ibyemezo by'amahanga ku mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda zikiri mu ntara za Kivu zombi ndetse n'ahandi muri Kongo.

Ubusanzwe, abakurikiranira hafi politiki yo mu karere dutuyemo, bemeza ko ikibazo cy'amahoro kitasuzumwa mu buryo bwihariye, kuko usanga igihungabanya umutekano mu gihugu runaka, kiba gifite inkomoko mu kindi gihugu bituranye.

Iriya nama yabereye kuri Goma yafatiwemo ingamba zikomeye ariko zireba igihugu cya Kongo. Ni ngombwa kandi ko abantu bajya bazirikana ko ikibazo cy'Abanyarwanda bari muri Kongo ndetse n'ahandi hose ku isi kireba Abanyarwanda ubwabo. Iki kibazo kirasaba ubushake no guhindura imyumvire ya bariya bayobozi bari i Kigali. Ni ngombwa rwose ko bahinduka bakabona abandi Banyarwanda nk'abavandimwe nabo bafite uburenganzira mu Rwanda, igihugu cyacu dufiteho uburenganzira bungana.

Kagame ngo nihatahe umwe umwe!

Mu gihe benshi mubahura ngo bige ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ziri muri Kongo basanga hakwiye guterwa intambwe muri politiki y'u Rwanda, intambwe yerekeza ku biganiro (Dialogue), Jenerali Perezida Kagame we siko abibona. Perezida w'u Rwanda ashaka ko impunzi zitaha imwe imwe ku giti cyayo kugira ngo abone uko ahungira kure uruhare rw'abatavuga rumwe na leta ayoboye n'urw'Umuryango mpuzamahanga mu itahuka riteguye.

Gutahuka kw'impunzi izo arizo zose kuzashingira kuri za garanti (garanties) zigomba gusabwa n'impunzi ubwazo zikemeranywaho na leta ya FPR kandi Loni

nayo ikabibera umugabo. Kuba rero uriya mujenerali uyobora igihugu ahamagarira buri mpunzi iri muri Kongo gushyira agafuka ku bitugu igaca iyubusamo ikambuka, arashaka gukwepa kuvugana amashirakinyoma n'abahagarariye impunzi. Ibi bivuga ko hari ibyo ateganya kuzakorera impunzi none akaba agira ngo hatazagira ubimubaza nk'uko byagenze igihe cyose ku mpunzi zacyuwe ku ngufu cyangwa zatashye uruhongohongo ntagaranti zifite.

Kuba Jenerali Kagame avuga ko buri mpunzi yataha ku giti cyayo, ni uburyo bwo kugendera kure ibiganiro bya politiki imitwe itemera ubutegetsu bwe, ikomeye kandi ifite ingabo muri Kongo no mu Rwanda irimo RUD-Urunana byagiramo uruhare. Kagame abona ko mu gihe aba Bacunguzi n'intwaramiheto bahagurukiye kurwanya igitugu mu Rwanda bakwinjira mu biganirwa byo kugeza demokarasi mu gihugu, abatavuga rumwe na FPR bakwicara ku meza amwe n'abanyagitugu bayobora u Rwanda, imiterere y'ubutegetsu bwa Kagame na FPR n'ibindi byose bijyanye nabwo byahinduka.

Perezida Kagame ngo Impunzi ziri muri Kongo nizo zataha nta nkomyi gusa.

Ibi ntabwo byumvikana. Kuki izo muri Kongo aho kuba impunzi zose aho ziri hose? Iki kintu ni uburyo bwo guca abantu mo uduce nka wa mugani yaciye wo « *kurya umunike umuntu awuciye mo uduce, kugira ngo abone uko awumira kandi nugera munda utazongera kwiteranya, kubera awumiriye rimwe wamuniga n'iyi wagera munda igifu kikananirwa kuwusya (digestion ikamugora)* ».

Perezida Kagame arashaka ko impunzi zitaha ku buryo azikoza icyo ashaka kandi nta kintu kizongera kuzihuza, akazajya atoragura umwe umwe yica cyangwa afunga. Arashaka ko hazajya hataha abaturage basanzwe gusa azajya akoresha icyo ashaka, naho impuguke ziri hirya no hino kw'isi zigahera ishyamba, ubutegetsu bwe ntibuhinduke, ibyegera bye ntibite

imyanya mu nzego z'ubutegetsu zinyuranye, mu ngabo, mu gipolisi, mu nzego z'umutekano n'ibindi byagenerwa mu mishyikirano abatavuga rumwe na leta ye (opposition).

Aho ibihe bigeze muri politiki y'u Rwanda, uburyo Kagame abonamo ikibazo

kibangamiye impunzi cyo kutagira iwabo, ntabwo bwagikemura. We agamije gusa gutinza ugutaha kw'impunzi kugira ngo zikomeze kuba mu gihirahiro imyaka amagana. Dore ubu aravuga ko « **yemereye** » gutaha abari muri Kongo, ni ukuvuga ko niba hazajya hataha abo ashatse gusa, hazagomba kuba indi gahunda yo « **kwemerera** » abari mu gihugu cya Uganda, indi y'abari Kongo Brazzaville, indi abari Tanzaniya, Kenya, Cameroun, Zambiya, n'ahandi..., buri gihugu ukwacyo ikindi ukwacyo kuzageza kuri Amerika.

Erega igitangaje ni uko uriya mugabo asa n'ushaka kubifata nk'aho gutaha atari uburenganzira bw'impunzi!! Ahubwo ahari hazajya hataha abo ashaka, abo abyemereye nk'uko abivuga. Gutaha iwacu birasaba visa? Ntabwo impunzi zimusaba kuzemerera gutaha, ni uburenganzira bwazo; icyo zishaka ni garanti (garanties) kuko zitizeye ubutegetsu bwe.

Uko byagenda kose, ikibazo cy'impunzi zose kigomba kurangirizwa rimwe kandi burundu zigataha mu buryo buteguwe kandi zifite mo uruhare (rapatriement organisé), zigataha zifite icyizere cyo kubaho n'uburenganzira bwazo bushingiye kuri demokarasi.

Akazu ka FPR karasatirwa n'inkongi: Fernando arashinja Kagame n'ibyegera bye

Inkuru ya Tharcisse Munyeshuli Rulindo, Intara y'amajyaruguru

Kuwa 6 Gashyantare 2008, inkuba yakubitiye mu rukiko rw'i Madrid ho mu gihugu cya Espagne, maze yumvikanira i Kigali, aho yasataguye akazu ka FPR Jenerali Kagame yahubatswe.

Nta kirakorwa!

Benshi bemeza ko ari bwo bigitangira, ko imbere aha hateganyijwe ibikorwa byinshi bihurijwe hamwe mu guhirika igitugu cyazengereje Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga.

Hari hashize umwaka indi nkuba nkiyo yesuriye mu rukiko rw'i Paris kuwa 17 Ugushyingo 2006. icyo gihe Juji Jean Louis Bruguière yashinjaga Kagame n'imboni ze uruhare ndakuka mu guhanura indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, igikorwa cyateje amarorerwa yahitanye imbaga.

Kuwa 6 Gashyantare 2008, urukiko rukuru rw'i Madrid rwatangaje kandi rusaba amahanga guta muri yombi inkorambaraso z'abasirikare 40 ba FPR barimo 11 bo mu rwego rwa Jenerali. Barashinjwa icyaha cya Jenocide, ibyaha bibangamira ikiremamuntu n'iterabwoba (crime contre l'humanité et terrorisme) bariya basirikare bakoze mu myaka ya za mirongo icyenda).

Perezida Kagame ashinjwa ibyaha ntakuka. Nyamara ariko we, ntabwo arebwa na ziriya mpapuro zo gufatwa kubera ko yikingirije ubudahangarwa ahabwa n'umwanya afite muri iki gihe. Muri abo basirikare 40, barindwi (7) baba mu mahanga kandi bamwe ni ba bandi Juji Bruguière yasabiye akagozi! Muri izo nkorambaraso zose ariko, iyitwa Karenzi Karake niyo iteye impungenge ingoma y'igitugu ya FPR. Uyu mwicanyi yungirijeje Komanda wa za ngabo za Loni ziri muri Darfour

Fernando Andreu yakiye ikirego muri 2005 kirebana n'Abesipanyole icyenda barimo abihayimana batandatu n'abakoraga ubutabazi (humanitaires) batatu bishwe na FPR mu Rwanda no muri Kongo. Umucamanza yasuzumye yitonze uburyo bwakoreshejwe na FPR mu gufata ubutegetsi, uko yayoboye igihugu kuva igifata mu muvu w'amaraso yari imaze kumena, asanga byarakozwe mu iterabwoba rikabije.

Fernando arashinja FPR yita umutwe w'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi wahitanye impuguke n'abanyepolitiki b'Abahutu.

Icyari kigamijwe, ni ugutera ubwoba no gupima uburakari bw'abaturage (provoquer la terreur et tester la réaction de la population civile). Ikindi Fernando ahurizaho na Bruguière, ni uko amaperereza yombi asanga Kagame na FPR aribo bahanuye indege kuwa 6 Mata 1994.

Juji Fernando aragaruka ku buhamya yahawe n'umuntu wari kumwe na Kagame ubwo yifatiraga ubwe imbunda irasa amasasu aremereye urufaya (Mitralluse lourde) maze akarasa mu Bahutu b'abasivili. Nyamara kugeza ubu, urukiko rwa Loni (TPIR) ruri Arusha, rwifashe kugira umuntu wo muri FPR ruburanisha ku byaha bakoze hagati ya taliki ya 1 Mutarama 1994 na 31 Ukuboza 1994 nkuko byari byegeranyijwe muri raporo ya Gersony. Leta nterabwoba ya Kigali, icyo gihe yateje ubwega ko izahagarika ubufatanye n'urukiko igihe cyose abantu bayo bakwibasirwa n'ubutabera mpuzamahanga.

Mu butabera buzira amarangamutima ya politiki, Fernando Andreu arashinja Jenerali Kagame kuba nyuma ya 1994, yarikubiye ubutegetsi bwa leta maze agashyiraho ingoma y'igitugu.

Iyo ngoma y'igitugu yigaragaje uko iteye muri Kongo ubwo impunzi z'Abahutu zicwaga nk'ibimonyo (1996-1997), hamwe n'ubusahuizi buteye isoni bw'umutungo kamere w'icyo gihugu mu burasirazuba bwacyo.

Mu kwanzura, Fernando Andreu avuga ko politiki yo gukandamiza yadukanywe na FPR imaze kwisasira abantu bagerakuri miliyoni enye.

AMAKURU ANYURANYE

Abo Makuza yita Interahamwe ni bande?

-Célestin Sindayigaya-

Mu kinyamakuru Imvaho nshya yo kuwa 17 Mutarama 2008, umunyamakuru witwa Anastase Shyaka yasohoye mo inyandiko ***“Kinshasa ntirwanya Interahamwe: Makuza.”*** Muri icyo nyandiko yo mu gika cya politiki, umunyamakuru aragaruka ku

mvugo ya Minisitiri w'Intebe, Berenarudo Makuza. Umuyobozi wa Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabwiye *Madamu Gunilla Carlsson*, Minisitiri ushinze iterambere mpuzamahanga mu gihugu cya Suède, ko Kinshasa itarwanya Interahamwe. Uwo mu Ministiri wa Suède yari mu ruzinduko rw'akazi mu Rwanda.

Abantu bamwumvise n'abasomye iriya nyandiko, bahuriza ku kintu kimwe: *"invugo ya Makuza iramugaragaza nk'umuntu wasubiye inyuma mu bitekerezo kandi ari mu mwanya umutegeka gukunda Abanyarwanda bose akabakangurira ubwiyunge butari bumwe Perezida Kagame avuga muri politiki y'ikinyoma."*

Ubundi "amata yagiraga gitereka"!

Nyamara kandi, uyu Makuza tuvuga yavukiye mu myumvire mpinduramatwara y'umubyeyi we **Anastase Makuza**. Igitangaza rero, ni uburyo atesha agaciro Abanyarwanda basaba bahagaze ko imiyoborere mibi yadukanywe na FPR mu Rwanda yahinduka. Guhindura iyo miyoborere, ni ukwimakaza ubutabera na demokarasi, ni ukwemerera buri Munyarwanda kwishyira no kwizana, ni ugufasha Abanyarwanda bo mu moko yose kwiyunga, ni uguhamba isuka y'amacakubiri n'intambara mu Banyarwanda.

Turasanga Berenarudo Makuza adatandukanye na Kagame n'agatsiko ke bita Abahutu bose Interahamwe kugira ngo babigizemo muri politiki y'u Rwanda, igihugu nyamara dusangiye twese. Ni ngombwa rero ko abayobozi bari i Kigali bagerageza kwifata, bagasigaho gukomeza guhembera amacakubiri, gusuzugura, gutukana ndetse no kwandarika abandi Banyarwanda.

Mu gihe bazakomeza gushira isoni bene kariya kageni, n'abandi nabo wazumva bahinduye invugo kuri Leta ya FPR n'abayigize; hari igihe wazumva batuye bagatangira kwitana amazina yaranzwe n'ibihe byashize. Hari n'ubwo baterura bati: *"ziriya Nyangarwanda zafashe ubutegetsi mu muvu w'amaraso zari zimaze kumena,*

ziyobora igihugu nk'uko cyayoborwaga mbere ya Revolisiyo Mpinduramatwara yo muri 1959, yayindi yakozwe na rubanda rugufi rwarenganaga." Birumvikana rero ko bibaye iby'urugamba rwo kwandagazanya, amasasu yo kurasa kuri bariya bantu bo muri FPR siyo abuze kuko ibyo banengwa atari bike.

Birakwiye ko Makuza azirikana ko aho ibihe byerekeza, bariya Banyarwanda atuka aribo bazahurira mu biganiro bya politiki (Dialogue Inter-Rwandais).

Ariko ubundi ko ibihe bisa ntacyo bipfana, ntihariho umuyobozi wigeze kwita aba batubuzza ubuhumeko "Imihirimbiri", igihe babaga mu Rugano basimbuka bagahitana abantu b'inzirakarengane muri za Butaro n'ahandi!

Nawe yari afite impamvu ze ashingiye ku myitwarire ya ziriya nyeshyamba.

Ariko rero, ntabwo byumvikana ukuntu abantu batitwa amazina yabo kandi azwi ku isi yose. Nka Makuza w'Umunyarwanda, ntabwo ariwe utazi Abacunguzi baharanira Demokarasi! Ahubwo we ari kwisabira ko Kinshasa ihangana n'abaharanira kubohora u Rwanda! Ariko kuki Makuza ateta kandi ari mukuru? Ninde se utazi uruhare rw'ingabo za Kagame mu kurimbura imbaga z'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda hamwe a'Abanyekongo batagira umubare?

Niba ariko bimeze, Kagame nawe nagabe ibitero kuri Nkunda turebe!

Ibibazo bigomba gukemurwa na bene byo.

Niyo mpamvu Perezida Kabila yateguye inama karundura yabereye kuri Goma mu minsi ishize. Birumvikana ko Abanyekongo batahora biga ibibazo bireba Kagame na leta ye bo bigaramiye. Nibyo batoraguye ingoma mu giteme ariko ibibazo byavutsemo bakwiye gutegura imitima yabo abandi bakabafasha kubikemura. Naho ubundi ntawakomeza kumva aya Makuza kuko ngo *"ubwenge bw'umwe burayobera."*

IMIBEREHO Y'ABATURAGE

Raporo African Rights December 2007, cyangwa icyegeranyo cya DMI?

-Pierrette Niwemugeni-

Mu nyandiko yayo yo mu Kuboza 2007 ku bayobozi ba FDLR, RUD na RPR, African Rights yatangaje ibintu bigamije gusa gusebya, gutoteza no gutera ubwoba Abanyarwanda cyane bari hanze y'igihugu. Iriya nyandiko yiswe «*December 2007 A Welcome Expression of Intent, the Nairobi Communique and the Ex-Far/Interahamwe* » yateguwe kandi itangazwa igamije kwikoma Abanyarwanda hirya no hino ku isi. Iyo uyisomye witonze, bigaragara ko African rights itakoze iperereza rishingiye ku kugaragaza ukuri. Ahubwo hari ibyo yagiye yirengazwa nkana.

Muri rusange, ingirwa buhamya African Rights yatangaje mu nyandiko yayo, igaragaza bimwe dusanzwe tuzi kandi twamagana. Aha ni ukuzirikana bene ya masezerano Leta ya Kigali ikorana n'abanyururu yo kubagabanyiriza ibihano cyangwa se kubafungura, ariko nabo bakemera kubeshyera abo bababwiye babagerekaho ishyano ry'ibyaha batigeze bakora. Ibi nibyo uwitwa Grégoire Nyirimanzi n'umutegarugori Valérie Bemeri bakorewe. Ninde wakwemera ukuri k'umuntu ufungiyeye mu ndiri y'umutegetsi ukandamiza rubanda uyobora u Rwanda? None se Bemeri abaye Inyangamugayo ya FPR ku buryo ariwe uyitungira agatoki abakoze ibyaha? Ubu koko twemere ko ubutabera mu Rwanda buyoborwa n'ikinyoma hamwe n'imikorere isa n'urusimbi? Bene buriya buhamya ni ikinyoma ntakirangoyi.

Ubu mu Rwanda hari kuboneka ba Mpemukendamuke kimwe na ba Macoyinda babaye abanyururu ku mutima, bavuga amangambure kubyo bazi n'ibyo batazi, ibindi bakabihimba. Ibi nta kindi kibiri inyuma, uretse guhakirizwa no gushaka gushyirwa ku ibere ry'ingoma ya FPR yamennye amaraso mu Rwanda no mu bihugu duhana imbibi.

Muri abo basigaye bagawa n'abaturage, habonekamo ba Koloneli Andrey Bizimana na Evariste Murenzi.

Kubera kwigaragaza nabi hanze aha batera FPR ingabo mu bitugu, bacitse ururondogorero bahimba ibintu ndetse n'ibyo bazi bakabica iruhande babishaka.

Bizimana na Murenzi bigaragaza nk'abantu bari bazi byose mu rugaga rwa politiki bahozemo batarata umurongo. Nyamara ariko, ntabwo aribyo kuko imirimo bari bafite muri FDLR itabahaga uburenganzira bwo kujya mu nteko nkuru ya politiki.

Ikiciro gishya cy'Abahutu bahagurukiye gukorana na Ibuka, gifite ku isonga Jenerali Majoro Pawulo Rwarakabije nawe wabuze epfo na ruguru. Imirimo yari afite agomba kuba atarashoboye gukurikira bityo agacika intege mbere y'abandi Bacunguzi yari akuriye na n'ubu bagikinganyingabo n'izigaruriye u Rwanda. Niyo mpamvu hari abasigaye babona, ndetse berura bakavuga ko Jenerali Majoro Pawulo Rwarakabije yapfuye ahagaze.

Aho ni naho Murenzi na Bizimana bageze!

Ni gute Rakiya Omaar, Umuyobozi wa African Rights, atega amatwi Leta ya Kigali n'abo yishe bahagaze aribo Rwarakabije n'agaco ke, ntanyomoze imvugo ya Perezida Kagame ubeshya ko arwanyarusa (corruption)?

Ntabwo aribyo, kuko bene ariya masezerano Leta ye ikorana n'imfungwa, ni ruswa nshinjacyaha (corruption judiciaire), kuriya kwemera gushyirika umuntu mwarwanaga kugira ngo umukoreshe mu guhamya ibinyoma, ni ruswa nk'iyindi.

Kugira ngo abantu bagerageze guca ruswa Jenerali Kagame yahaye intebe mu Rwanda, birakwiye ko twungurana ibitekerezo kugira ngo dusobanukirwe n'icyo Perezida Kagame yari agamije atangiza ruswa nshinjacyaha imaze kuba inganzamarumbo mu gihugu hose.

Umuyobozi wa FPR n'ibyegera bye bakoze amarorerwa mu Rwanda, bakeneye ababafasha mu kubaka no guhamya

ikinyoma. Bakeneye Abahutu bo kwemeza invugo ya FPR ku nkomoko z'ubwicanyi yakoze. Ubutegetsi buriho muri iki gihe bukeneye inkunga y'ikinyoma kugira ngo bwerekane ko ubwicanyi bwo muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994 bwateguwe n'ubutegetsi bwari ho kandi bukayoborwa na bamwe mu bategetsi, kubera ko babuze ahandi bahera bahimba ibimenyetso bigaragaza uko bwaba bwateguwe na Leta yariho.

Abanyarwanda banze kuyoboka ubutegetsi bwa FPR babaye inzigo.

Ese ubundi kuki Leta ikomeza kugenda ku bantu b'inzirakarengane?

Ntayindi mpamvu ni uko Leta ifite impungenge ko abantu banze kwemera kuyoboka, bazagera ubwo bagira ijambo, ubwo bazavuga amahanga akabatega amatwi. Igihe amahanga yabatega amatwi akumva igisabwa kugira ngo amahoro asakare mu gihugu, igihe ukuri ku marorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda kuva muri 1990 kugeza ubu kwashyirwa ahagaragara, igihe Intwaramiheto zihanganye n'Inkotanyi mu Rwanda ndetse no hanze n'imitwe ya politiki izivuganira bahabwa ijambo maze bagatangeriza amahanga imigabo n'imigambi bafite mu kugeza demokarasi n'ubwiyunge nyakuri mu gihugu, politiki y'ikinyoma ya FPR yahabwa akato mu nteko y'ibihugu by'amahanga.

Niyo mpamvu rero abatotezwa bose kubera ko batayobotse ubutegetsi bwa FPR kimwe n'abo bose bafite ibyo bazi ku marorerwa Inkotanyi zakoze, nibitegure ko ubutegetsi buzakomeza kubaharabika, kubabuza amahoro aho bari hose, kubabuza kubona ubuhungiro n'akazi, kubabuza kwishyira no kwizana (les réduire ou contraindre à la clandestinité), kubafatisha bagafungwa kandi nta perereza rifatika rirakorwa uretse kubitirira ibyaha gusa (suspects); kubatesha agaciro mu rwego rwa politiki mu gihugu n'imbere y'amahanga; kubabuza kugira ibyo batangaza ku marorerwa FPR yakoze n'ayo ikora ubu hari mo no kubicira ababo, cyangwa se babatangaza FPR ikabona uko ibipfobya ngo ni ba „génocidaires“ babikoze; gufata ibintu n'imitungo byabo kugirango ibatindahaze, kubaheza i

mahanga (en faire des parias) bo n'imiryango yabo, kuko n'uwaba atarahohotewe n'igihugu yahungiyemo atakwihara ngo atahe mu Rwanda kuko byaba ari ukwiyahura.

Kubera ko bigaragara ko bitoroshye rero, turasanga hari ingamba zikwiye gufatwa kugira ngo abantu badakomeza kuzira ko bakoze imirimo iyi n'iyi, ko bavukiye aha n'aha, ko bavutse mu bihe ibi n'ibi, ko bakoranye na runaka, ko bize amashuri runaka ndetse ko umuntu yaba afite abantu be FPR yishe.

Muri izo ngamba, umuntu yagaruka ku kwerura no kumiramiza maze buri wese uhigwa akinjira urugamba rwo guhindura politiki mu Rwanda.

Nibyo koko hari benshi African Rights yasohoye muri raporo bari ku itabaro haba muri politiki cyangwa ku ruhembe rw'umuheto. Ibi ntabwo bikwiye kuba imvano yo kubaca intege, ahubwo mwe mwagaragaye nimukomeze umurava muhatire Kagame ibiganiro kuko abo bazavugana bagaragaye. Ni bariya atoteza.

Ku rundi ruhande, birashoboka ko hari abo African Rights yikomye kandi bagendera kure politiki n'ibijyanye nayo.

Ngibyo, ngo "urayihunga ikagukurikirana iwawe mu rugo! Ibyiza byaba kuyikora no gushyigikira abiyemeje kuyikora. Ninde uzakubohorera u Rwanda?

Hari ibindi bihugu nabyo byahozemo ingoma z'ibitugu, ku buryo abantu bakekwagaho kugira ibitekerezo mpinduramatwara (idéologie révolutionnaire), biswe abanzi barafungwa abandi bagirwa ababujijwe mu gihugu (restrictées mu rurimi rw'Icyongereza).

Muri ibyo bihugu, iryo terabwoba ntabwo ryabaciye intege, ahubwo ryabongereye imbaraga, maze bashinga ibirindiro mu bihugu bari barahungiyemo; basobanura ikibazo cy'iwabo. Ibyo bihugu byarumvise maze ntibyatinda kwemera ko izo ndushyi zihafungurira urugamba rwo kubohozza ibihugu bakomokamo.

Namwe rero Banyarwanda mwagizwe ababujijwe kuba mu Rwanda n'ahandi hose

kw'isi (restrictées mu cyongereza), nimutinyuke murwanye ingoma y'igitugu, ingoma ishaka kubica buhoro buhoro, ingoma ishaka kubaheza mu bwihisho ngo musaze imburagihe, ingoma nkoramaraso ibegekaho ibyaha by'ibihimbano maze ikabuka igitutu ngo muceceke, mubure uko mwiregura maze amahanga abifate gutyo. Nimujye ejuru mufatanye n'abandi gukemura ikibazo cy'Abanyarwanda; nimuhaguruke mukore politiki yo kubohoza igihugu, aho gutinda mu kugereranya ngo uwagira atya byagenda gutya! Oya ibyiza ni ugutera inkunga Ingabo zeguye imiheto ngo zirase ku nzitizi y'Ubumwe na Demokarasi mu Rwanda.

URUBUGA RW'ABASOMYI

Jenerali Pawulo Rwarakabije ni muntu ki?

Inkuru ya V. Kanyarwanda

Jenerali Pawulo Rwarakabije yari Liyetona Koloneli muri Jandarumeri y'igihugu muri 1994. Yari G3 mu buyobozi bukuru bwa Jandarumeri, ni ukuvuga umuyobozi w'ibiro byari bishinzwe imiterere ya Jandarumeri (organisation mu Gifaransa), inyigisho muri jandarumeri, ibikorwa byo kubahiriza amategeko, gucunga umutekano, guhosha imvururu, kurinda abategetsini n'ubugenzanya cyaha.

Hashingiwe kuri iyi mirimo ikomeye yari afite muri Jandarumeri y'igihugu, abantu bibaza icyo Jenerali Rwarakabije yaba yarakoze ngo aburizemo isubiranamo indege ya Perezida Habyarimana imaze guhanurwa, icyatumye atabishobora ubwicanyi bugatangira, icyo yakoze kugira ngo Jandarumeri ihoshe ubwicanyi, n'impamvu itabishoboye.

Jenerali Majoro Rwarakabije avuga ko hari ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide. Iyeye koko yarigishwaga muri Jandarumeri y'igihugu, nta wundi niwe waba yarayikwije.

Mu nshingano yari afite, harimo gucunga umutekano, guhosha imvururu, no kubuza ibyaha ibyo aribyo byose gukorwa.

Ubwe hari bariyeri yaba yarasheshe akayihashya, akayibuza kwica abantu?

Hari agaco k'abicyanyi yahuye nako

aragasesa?

Hari Abanyarwanda bifuzaga kuba bahura na Rwarakabije ngo bagire utubazo tw'amatsiko bamubaza. Hari abagira bati:

Mbese Rwarakabije ayobewe ko kuba FPR yaranze guhagarika imirwano aribyo byatumye ingabo z'igihugu zidashobora guhosha ubwicanyi, kubera ko inyinshi zari ku rugamba? Ayobewe ko Jendarumeri itashoboraga guhosha ubwicanyi kandi FPR yarateye ibirindiro bya za Kompanyi zayo n'ikigo cya Kacyiru rugikubita mu mujyi wa Kigali? Ayobewe ko Groupe Mobile yari kuri Mont Jari, ari nayo yari ifite ubushobozi bwo guhosha imvururu, itari gukomeza guhosha ubwicanyi kandi FPR yarayiteye ikanayimenesha rugikubita? Kuki ibi byose Rwarakabije ntacyo abivugaho kandi ariko kuri Abanyarwanda n'amahanga bakomeye kumenya?

Pawulo Rwarakabije n'umuryango we bahungiyeye muri Kivu y'amajyaruguru mu cyahoze kitwa Zaire.

Ubwobwo FPR yateraga mu cyahoze kitwa Zaire mu mpera za 1996 igasenywa inkambi z'impunzi, Pawulo Rwarakabije yakomeje kubana n'impunzi zashoboye kubona aho zihagama mu burasirazuba bwa Zaire, yaje kongera kwitwaga Kongo.

Umuryango we wo wacyuwe ku ngufu mu Rwanda. Ntibyataye kabiri, FPR imaze kuwumenya, yarawutsembye.

Kubera ibitero FPR yakomeje kugaba ku mpunzi, byabaye ngombwa ko zirwanaho. Rwarakabije yabaye mu bari bakuriye ingabo zarwanaga ku mpunzi, kugeza igihe anazibereye umugaba.

Aho FDLR ishingiyeye, yakusanyije ingabo zose zari muri Kongo kugira ngo zirengere inyungu z'impunzi zahigwaga bukware n'Inkotanyi.

Izo ngabo zari zarahawe inshingano zo kubungabunga umutekano w'impunzi, kuzacyura izo mpunzi mu cyubahiro no kubohoza u Rwanda ruyoborwa n'ingoma y'igitugu, zaje guhabwa Rwarakabije maze azibera umugaba. Hanyuma mu

ugushyirye 2003, Rwarakabije yataye Abacunguzi yishyira mu maboko ya FPR. Kuva ubwo yabaye igikoresho, avugaga ibyategetswe, akabeshya Abanyarwanda ndetse n'amahanga.

Pawulo Rwarakabije yakiye na leta ya FPR imwemera kandi imufata ko yari umugaba w'ingabo ziharanira kubohoza u Rwanda, imwinjiza mu ngabo zayo n'ipeti rye. Ni ukuvuye ko FPR yemera Abacunguzi bari ku itabaro ry'Abanyarwanda. Iyo iza kuba hari icyo inenga izo ngabo zitayemera, gifite ireme, yari kukinenga umugaba w'ingabo wazo Pawulo Rwarakabije. Iyaba Abaharanira kubohoza u Rwanda bafite umugambi mubisha wo kuzatsemba Abatutsi bageze mu gihugu, ni Pawulo Rwarakabije wari kuba yarawupanze. Kandi akawusigira abo yasize inyuma.

Ntabwo byumvikana ukuntu FPR yaba yaramwakiye neza, ikamwinjiza mu ngabo zayo, niba koko yaramubonagamo umugaba w'ingabo zifite umugambi mubisha. Ntaho FPR yigeze ivugaga ko nibura imubabariye. Reka da! Yamwakiye yemye, ntacyo imunenga. Ubwo bwere bwa Pawulo Rwarakabije nibwo buranga Abacunguzi cyangwa Abambari b'inzira ndende, nibwo bwere bwa bariya banyepolitiki bayobora imitwe ya politiki iharanira demokarasi n'ubwiyunge nyakuri mu Rwanda.

Ijwi ry'Umucunguzi ni ikinyamakuru cyamamaza amatwara ya politiki yo kubohoza u Rwanda. Ikinyamakuru cy'Abacunguzi kinjijye urugamba mu w'i 2001]