Ibaruwa ku bahoze mu buyobozi bukuru bwa gisivili n'ubwa gisilikare mu Rwanda nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu muri 1994

Orléans, 05/09/2019

***Impamvu** : Inkundura y'ukuri n'ubutabera mu guharanira demokrasi n'amahoro mu Rwanda*

Ba Nyakubahwa, Bavandimwe,

Mbanje kubasuhuza, mugire amahoro y'Imana.

Mu mwaka wa 2015, Prezida Paulo Kagame yahindaguye itegekonshinga agamije kuguma ku butegetsi buzira iherezo. Ni muri urwo rwego yitoresheje muri 2017, akabona amajwi hafi ijana kw'ijana amaze gucecekesha, gufunga, kuzimiza cyangwa kwica abandi bashakaga kwiyamamaza cyangwa gushyigikira abandi bakandida.

Imwe mu mpamvu adashaka kurekura ubutegetsi, ni ubwoba afite bw'inkurikizi z'ibyaha by'ihonyora-muntu, itsembabantu n'itsembabwoko yakoze we n'agatsiko ke bafatanyije kumena imivu y'amaraso y'abanyarwanda batabarika. Nyamara kugeza uyu munsi, ariwe ari n'abafatanyabyaha be, baracyidagadura mu butegetsi, bakifata nk'indakoreka zahawe ubudahangarwa n'uburenganzira buhoraho bwo kwica no gukiza uwo bashatse, haba mu Rwanda cyangwa mu mahanga.

Iyo uvuganye n'abanyamahanga bashyigikira prezida Paulo Kagame, kubera kutamenya ukuri, barakubwira bati Kagame ntashobora kuba yaricanye kandi ariwe wahagaritse jenoside y'abatutsi, akagarura n'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Icyo kinyoma gisa n'icyemewe n'abayobozi benshi b'ibihugu by'ibihangange, ku buryo umuntu atatinya kuvuga ko ingoma y'agatsiko ya FPR ishingiye kur'icyo kinyoma. Mu minsi ishize, hari n'abatangiye kumwamamaza kugira ngo azahabwe igihembo mpuzamahanga cy'amahoro cyitwa Prix Nobel.

Ubwo « budahangarwa » nibwo buha ingoma ya FPR ubushobozi bwo kwimika ivanguramoko, ihezabwoko, igitugu, iterabwoba, ihonyora, n'ubwicanyi buhoraho kugira ngo ejo hatazagira utinyuka kuvugisha ukuri kwagaragaza ibinyoma iyo ngoma yubakiweho. Bivuga rero ko mu gihe cyose prezida Paulo Kagame n'abafatanyabyaha be bazaba bakiri ku butegetsi, nta demokrasi izabaho, nta kwishyira ukizana, nta kwubahiriza ikiremwamuntu, nta butabera, nta bwiyunge buzashoboka mu Rwanda.

Abaharanira demokrasi bakwiye gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo kamere nyayo y'iyo ngoma imenyekane, ba mpatsibihugu bayishyigikiye haba muri diplomasi, politike no mu bukungu, bayikureho amaboko, umwanya w'ubwigenge na demokrasi uboneke, amahoro n'ubwiyunge nabyo biganze mu Rwanda, mu buryo bwumvikanyweho n'abanyarwanda bose kandi bose bibonamo nta vanguramoko, nta vanguraturere, nta bwicanyi, n'izindi ngeso zamunze politike mu Rwanda.

*Uko kuri nta bandi bazakuvuga uretse twe tukuzi. Abenshi twahagaze ku bwicanyi bw'ingoma ya **FPR-INKOTANYI** bitewe nuko twari mu nzego nkuru z'ubuyobozi.*

Ibaruwa ku bahoze mu buyobozi bukuru bwa gisivili n'ubwa gisilikare mu Rwanda nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu muri 1994

Niba mubyemeye, FONDATION IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE yishimiye kubagezeho igitekerezo n'icyifuzo gikurikira, ishingiye ku gice cy'amateka y'u Rwanda duhuriyeho nk'abantu bari mu buyobozi bw'igihugu cyacu nyuma y'itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994.

Murabyibuka, icyo gihe, twahuriye mu Rwanda dufite imigambi yo kuzahura u Rwanda, no gutabara abari barokotse ubwicanyi butagira ikigereranyo mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu. Ku misozi yose y'u Rwanda hari imiborogo, amarira, umujinya no kwiheba birenze urugero. Twese twifuzaga icyatuma ubugome nka buriya butazasubira mu gihugu cyacu.

Loni ibisabwe na Leta y'u Rwanda yahise ishyiraho Urukiko mpuzamahanga rwo gukurikirana no kuburanisha abagize uruhari mw'itsembabwoko, itsembabantu, ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyokomuntu, n'ibindi byaha byose byari bimaze gukorerwa abanyarwanda, mu Rwanda no mu bindi bihugu duhuje imipaka. Urwo Rukiko arirwo TPIR-ICTR rwari rwahawe inshingano yo gukurikirana ***abicanyi bo ku mpande zombi*** *zari zihanganye mu ntambara, nta kuvangura.*

Umugambi wanditse muri Résolution 955 ya Loni ishyiraho TPIR-ICTR wari uwo gufasha abanyarwanda kwiyunga, hakoreshejwe ubutabera butavangura. Ibyabaye nyuma turabizi. Bamwe mu baregwaga itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi barakurikiranywe, barahigwa, barafatwa, barafungwa, bacirwa imanza, ubu benshi muri bo baciriwe ibihano bikomeye kugera gufungwa ubuzima bwose. Abandi baracyashakishwa.

Ikintu gikomeye kandi kibabaje cyagaragaye, nuko ibyaha by'ubwicanyi FPR-Inkotanyi yakoreye abanyarwanda guhera muri 1990 kugeza aya magingo byo bitakurikiranywe, kubera gukingirwa ikibaba n'ubutegetsi.

Nyuma ya 1994 abanyarwanda bakomeje kwicwa, mu Rwanda no mu mahanga. Twavuga cyane cyane iyicwa ry'impunzi muri Zaïre/RDC guhera muri 1996. ***Mapping Report*** *ya Loni yo ku ya 01/10/2010 yabyise itsembatsemba rishobora no kuba itsembabwoko (genocide). Leta y'u Rwanda igenzurwa na prezida Paulo Kagame n'agatsiko ke yakomeje kwongera inzitizi n'imbogamizi z'uburyo bwose kugira ngo abasilikare bayo bataregwa, nk'uko ibihugu bikomeye bimwe na bimwe nabyo byakoze ibishoboka byose kugira ngo Paulo Kagame n'abafatanya-bwicanyi be bakomeze bagire ubudahangarwa imbere y'ubucamanza. Ibyo byose babikoraga ku mayeri ya diplomasi ishingiye ku kinyoma, itera ubwoba cyangwa kwica abatangabuhamya, no kuzimiza, kubuza kujya ahagaragara cyangwa kuburizamo raporo zigaragaza ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'ingabo za FPR. Ni muri urwo rwego Kagame yishe Ministre Seth Sendashonga, Colonel Theoneste Lizinde muri Kenya n'abandi batabarika.*

Tugarutse hafi yacu, niyo mpamvu muri Afrika y'Epfo, ingoma ya Paulo Kagame yashatse kwica jenerali Kayumba Nyamwasa ikamuhusha kabiri, nyuma yaho ikohereza abicanyi bivuganye Colonel Patrick Karegeya kugira ngo ababuze gutangaza ukuri.

Ntibikiri ibanga, hari n'abandi muri twe yashatse kwicira mu bihugu twahungiyemo, Imana ikinga ukuboko.

Mu kuburizamo ubutabera, twibuke ukuntu Umushinjacyaha mukuru wa TPIR-ICTR, Madamu Carla Del Ponte yaje kwigizwayo bamuziza ko yashatse gukurikirana abicanyi babarirwa mu ngabo za FPR.

Uko kwimiira ubutabera ntibugere ku gice kinini cy'abanyarwanda, bituma batakaza icyizere, bakiheba, bagashengurwa n'akababaro ko kuba bariciwe kandi ntibagire n'uburenganzira bwo

kwibuka ababo cyangwa kurenganurwa n'ubucamanza. Bene ako kababaro niko kabyara ipfunwe n'umujinya bishobora kuvamo inzangano no kwishishana hagati y'abanyarwanda, ari nabyo bikurura inzigo n'intambara z'urudaca.

Ba Nyakubahwa, Bavandimwe,

Abanyarwanda benshi babaziho ubushishozi bwinshi, gushyira mu gaciro, guharanira ubureshye bw'abanyarwanda imbere y'amategeko n'ubutabera nta kuvangura amoko cyangwa uturere, no kuvugisha UKURI mutajenjeka. Babaziho kuba muri mu bashikamiye kugarura ituze mu Rwanda, amahoro arambye, no kugira ngo abanyarwanda bishyire bizane mu gihugu cyabo ntawe uhejwe.

Nubwo tutaviriye mu Rwanda umunsi umwe, ikintu gikomeye duhuriyeho, tubishaka tutabishaka, nuko ***twabaye mu ntera zo hejuru mu buyobozi bw'igihugu cyacu****, nyuma y'itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994 ryaduhekuye. Ayo mateka ntashobora gusibangana.*

Bamwe muri twe twatangiranye na buriya butegetsi muri 1994, tugerageza guharanira Demokrasi, uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, n'amahoro. Ibyo byose twasanze Paulo Kagame n'abatoni be atariwo mugambi bari bafite, bituma duhunga urwatubyaye kugira ngo tubashe gutanga ubuhamya mu mutekano. Ab'amahirwe make, inkoramaraso za Kagame zarabivuganye, haba mu Rwanda cyangwa mu mahanga nkuko twabyanditse haruguru. Tugeze hanze twiyemeje umugambi wo kurwanya iyo ngoma-ngome. Icyo nicyo duhuriyeho twese dufatanyije n'abandi bari barahunze mbere cyangwa badukurikiye.

By'umwihariko, tuzi ibyabaye mu gihe twari mu buyobozi bwa gisivili cyangwa bwa gisilikare, kandi tukaba twaragaragaje bihagije ko tudashyigikiye ubugome bwa Paulo Kagame n'abambari be. Ni byiza ko twagiye tubigaragaza, buri muntu ku ruhande rwe no mu buryo bwe.

Nyamara ariko, nkuko Abanyarwanda benshi mu bahekuwe n'ubwicanyi batahwemye kubyifuza, icyabuze kugeza ubu, ni ukwishyira hamwe kugira ngo dukore inyandiko ntangabuhamya bw'intarumikwa, igaragaza ***Ukuri kwose*** *kubyo twabonye cyangwa twahagazeho.*

Twe nk'abanyarwanda bahoze mu buyobozi, nk'abantu bagize amahirwe tugacika kw'icumu rya Paulo Kagame kandi Imana ikaba ikomeje kuturinda, abanyarwanda bose n'abavandimwe bacu bahohotewe n'ubwicanyi baradusaba kubafasha gutangaza UKURI, kugaragariza u Rwanda n'amahanga icyo dutekereza ku mirimo ituzuye ya TPIR-ICTR n'inkiko za Gacaca, kugira ngo tubabere abagabo (témoins, witnesses), hato ejo hazaza abana bacu, abuzukuru n'abuzukuruza bacu batazakeka ko guceceka kwacu byatewe n'ubugwari, ubugambanyi ku banyarwanda n'abahohotewe n'ubwicanyi, cyangwa ko twabitewe no gushyigikira abahekuye u Rwanda bakanamena amaraso y'abana barwo.

Umusiguzi yaragize ati ***« L'homme qui ne parle pas a peur, l'homme qui parle fait peur ».*** *Ni ukuvuga ngo* ***« Umuntu utavuga aba ari umunyabwoba, naho uvuga icyo atekereza atera ubwoba »****. Kandi ngo ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise !*

Ni mucyo rero dutinyuke tuvugishe ***Ukuri*** *kuko ariwo murage nyakuri tuzasigira abazadusimbura, n'abaturarwanda b'ejo hazaza.*

Iyo nyandiko ntangabuhamya yifuzwa n'inzirakarengane igomba kuba igikorwa cy'inkundura cyadufasha kurushaho kugaragaza ***UKURI****, <u>dushyize hamwe</u>, aho kugira ngo buri muntu ku ruhande*

rwe akomeze kugenda yongorera, ahubwo tukabikorera hamwe nk'abantu bashobora kwemerwa n'abanyarwanda ndetse n'amahanga kubera ko twakoreye iriya ngoma tukaba tuvuga ibyo tuzi kandi twahagazeho cyangwa twabwiwe mu gihe twari muri ya myanya y'ubuyobozi twahozemo.

Guhishira amabanga y'inkoramaraso ni nko gufatanya nazo kuyamena. Kandi uhishira umurozi akakumaraho abana.
Iyo nkundura y'ukuri n'ubutabera yagira uruhari rw'imena mu gufasha abanyarwanda guhashya no kwikiza ingoma y'abicanyi ruharwa bayobowe na prezida Paulo Kagame. Iyo nkundura isaba gushirika ubwoba no kwimakaza ukuri, kandi igomba gukurikiza no gushingira ku mahame yubahiriza ikiremwamuntu, kwishyira ukizana kwa buri munyarwanda n'ubutabera butavangura amoko hagati y'abanyarwanda.

Muri urwo rwego, ni tumara gukusanya ubuhamya bwacu mu gisa na ***« Mapping Report ku bwicanyi FPR yakoreye Abanyarwanda hagati ya 1990 na 2019 »,*** *ubuhamya dutanze nk'abanyarwanda bakunda ukuri n'igihugu cyacu, tuzayigeza ku bayobozi b'ibihugu by'amahanga, cyane cyane ibiri muri Conseil de Sécurité - Security Council ya Loni - Inama ishinzwe amahoro kw'isi, imiryango mpuzamahanga irengera ikiremwamuntu (ONG-NGO), dusaba ko ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'ingabo za FPR ya jenerali Paulo Kagame n'agatsiko ke bacyihishe muri FPR bwakurikiranwa, abanyacyaha bagahanwa nka bagenzi babo bo ku rundi ruhande, inzirakarengane zikarenganurwa.*

Imiryango ya sosiyete sivile nyarwanda nka CCSCR, ODHR, GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR RWANDAN'S HUMAN RIGHTS, RIPRODHOR, IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE, CLIIR, CSPR, RDTJ, RIFDP, OPJDR, JAMBO, COVIGLA, CPCH, AMAHORIWACU, WITNESSES CHALLENGE n'indi yakwongerwa kuri uru rutonde kuko isanzwe ikurikirana ibibazo by'ubutabera n'uburenganzira bwa muntu, yatanga umusanzu wo gukusanya ubuhamya twatanga, no kunonosora inyandiko ntangabuhamya mbere yuko ishyirwa ahagaragara. Abayobozi b'ayo mahuriro mbahaye kopi y'iyi baruwa.

Raporo ntangabuhamya yasinywa natwe twese, ni ukuvuga abahoze mu butegetsi bwa gisivili muri Leta cyangwa bwa gisilikare cya FPR : uwahoze ari Ministre w'intebe, ba ministre, Intumwa za rubanda (Députés), ba ambassaderi, abasirikare bakuru cyangwa bato muri APR, abacamanza bo mu nzego zose, abakoraga mu butasi bwa gisivili cyangwa bwa gisilikare, abakoze mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ishyaka FPR, abandi bose bazwi kubera imyanya ikomeye bari bafite, n'abahoze mu miryango nyarwanda yita ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu nyuma ya 1994.

Muri iyo nyandiko ntangabuhamya kandi, twagaragariza abanyarwanda n'amahanga ko inkiko za TPIR-ICTR na Gacaca zatatiye inshingano zo kwunga abanyarwanda hakoreshejwe ubutabera kuri bose, ko rero inkiko za Gacaca na TPIR-ICTR zitarangije inshingano zazo, ko gupfukirana ubutabera byorora inzangano n'inzigo hagati y'abanyarwanda kandi ko bishobora kuzanira u Rwanda ibindi byago bikomeye mu bihe bizaza, bityo bikabangamira bikomeye ubwiyunge n'amahoro arambye abanyarwanda bose bifuza kugeraho.

Iyo nyandiko ntangabuhamya yakorwa mu kinyarwanda, mu gifransa no mu cyongereza. Kubera ko tuzaba tuvuga ibyo tuzi twiboneye cyangwa twahagazeho, dusanga buri muntu ashyizeho ake, iyo nyandiko twayirangiza mu gihe kitarenze amezi atandatu (6).

Umuryango Ibukabose-Rengerabose ubaye ubashimiye cyane kandi utegereje igisubizo cyanyu cyiza kugira ngo ***iyi nkundura y'ukuri n'ubutabera****, byo nkingi ya demokrasi n'amahoro, izagirire*

abanyarwanda akamaro, inadufashe gutera intambwe ndende mu nzira y'ubwiyunge duharanira hagati yacu no hagati y'abavandimwe b'abanyarwanda muri rusange, bishingiye k'ukuri kwubaka.

ICYITONDERWA : Iyi barwa ishyizwe ahagaragara kugira ngo abantu bose bifuza gufatanya natwe iki gikorwa cy'ingira kamaro bimenyekanishe, maze bongerwe ku rutonde uko bazagenda bimenyekanisha. Bivuga ko uru rutonde ruzagenda ruhinduka uko abatangabuhamya biyongera.

Batugezaho ubutumwa kuri email yacu contact@ibukabose-rengerabose.org cyangwa bakatwandikira bakanze kw'ipfundo http://ibukabose-rengerabose.org/contact .

Murakoze cyane, Imana ikomeze ibarinde.

Bishyizweho umukono na Ambassaderi Jean Marie Vianney Ndagijimana

Mw'izina ry'Inama nyobozi ya Fondation Ibukabose-Rengerabose

- *Bigejejwe ku bahoze ari abayobozi bari ku rutonde ruri ku mugereka w'iyi barwa*
- *Bigejejwe kandi ku mashyaka ya politike no ku miryango yigenga ya sosiyete sivile nyarwanda ikorera mu buhungiro.*

Ibaruwa ku bahoze mu buyobozi bukuru bwa gisivili n'ubwa gisilikare mu Rwanda nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu muri 1994

UMUGEREKA

Iyi baruwa yandikiwe abahoze mu buyobozi bukuru bwa gisivili n'ubwa gisilikare mu Rwanda nyuma y'aho FPR-Inkotanyi ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu muri 1994, bagaragara ku rutonde rukurikira :

1. *Faustin Twagiramungu*
2. *Joseph Sebarenzi*
3. *Emmanuel Habyarimana*
4. *Kayumba Nyamwasa*
5. *Jean Marie Vianney Ndagijimana*
6. *Anastase Gasana*
7. *Jean-Baptiste Nkuliyingoma*
8. *Théobald Rwaka*
9. *Théobald Rutihunza*
10. *Pierre Célestin Kabanda*
11. *Charlotte Mukankusi*
12. *Enoch Kabera*
13. *Eustache Nkerinka*
14. *Gerald Gahima*
15. *Theogene Rudasingwa*
16. *Protais Mitari*
17. *Jean Marie Mbonimpa*
18. *Alfred Mukezamfura*
19. *Jean-Pierre Bizimana*
20. *Jean Marie Micombero*
21. *Eugène Gasana*
22. *Eugène Ndahayo*
23. *Sixbert Musangamfura*
24. *Evariste Sisi*
25. *Brigitte Tuyishime*
26. *Alphonse Furuma*
27. *Simon Insonere*
28. *Balthazar Ndengeyinka*
29. *Théogène Rutayomba*
30. *Léon Ngarukiye*
31. *David Himbara*
32. *Robert Higiro*
33. *James Munyandinda*
34. *Jean Paul Turayishimiye*
35. *Ali Abdulkarim*
36. *Aloys Ruyenzi*
37. *Jonathan Musonera*
38. *Noble Marara*