

Front Line Rwanda
Kurigisa, guta muri yombi, guhoza ku nkeke, gutera
ubwoba no kwigarurira abaharanira uburenganzira
bwa Muntu
Raporo 2001 - 2004

Incamake

Mu mpera z’ umwaka wa 2004 U Rwanda rwaravuzwe cyane nyuma y’aho rutereje ubwega rushaka kongera kugaba ibitero muri Kongo ruvuga ko rugiye guhashya inyeshyamba z’ Abahutu zikekwaho kuba zaragize uruhare mu itsembabwoko ryo 1994. Nyamara ibyo byabaye mu gihe Intumwa idasanze y’ u Rwanda mu karere k’ibiyaga bigari yivugiraga ko izo nyeshyamba zibarirwa hagati ya 8,000 na 15,000 zidataye ubwoba Leta y’U Rwanda.¹ Ibyo ari byo byose, abantu bake cyane ni bo bashoboye kumva isano iri hagati y’iterabwoba u Rwanda rushyira ku mahanga n’ikandamizwa ryibasira abakorera imiryango yigenga n’abaharanira uburenganzira bwa Muntu mu gihugu, Leta ishinja kwamamaza ‘ingengabitekerezo y’itsembabwoko’.

Muri iyi myaka itatu ishize, Guverinoma yakajije umurego mu gushimangira ubutegetsi bw’igitugu, ifunga abanyapolitiki batavuga rumwe na yo, ibuza uburyo abanyamakuru bigenga, yibasira abaharanira uburenganzira bwa Muntu, inanirwa gukora iperereza ku irigiswa ry’abantu, ari nako irushaho kuzitira ubwisanzure bw’imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta. Guverinoma yagiye isobanura ko iyo mikorere yayo ari ngombwa mu rwego rwo gukumira icyo yita ‘amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko’ no kuburizamo imigambi ihembera irindi tsembabwoko. Amezi abiri gusa nyuma y’isabukuru y’imyaka cumi yo kwibuka Itsembabwoko muri Mata 2004, Komisiyo y’Inteko Ishinga Amategeko yadukanye ibirego by’ingengabitekerezo y’Itsembabwoko-ikirego gifite uburemere bukabije mu gihugu kitarakira ibikomere by’itsembabwoko ryo mu 1994 ryahitanye abantu barenze ibihumbi 800,000 –; ibyo birego byibasiye cyane imiryango yigenga yiganjemo ihananira uburenganzira bwa Muntu mu by’ubutabera n’amajyambere y’icyaro. N’ubwo bwose imiryango yari igenderewe cyane ari LIPRODHOR (Umuryango Nyarwanda Uharanira kurengera no guteza imbere uburenganzira bw’Ikiremnamuntu) na FOR (Ihuriro ry’amashyirahamwe

¹ Reba raporo ya International Crisis Group, *Back to the Brink in the Congo*, 17 Dec. 2004, 4, <http://www.icg.org/library/documents/africa/central_africa/041217_back_to_the_brink_in_the_congo.pdf>. Muri iyo raporo (pp.4-5), ICG ivuga ko mu bituma u Rwanda rwarashakaga gusubira gutera Kongo rwitwaje ibitero by’inyeshyamba z’abahutu, ahanini ari ugushaka kujya gutiza umurindi umutwe wa RCD-Goma basanzwe bafasha bityo bakarushaho kwigarurira no gukomeza ibirindiro byabo mu Burasirazuba bwa Congo. Ibid. 4-5. For allegations of the Rwandan military presence in the eastern DRC, see US State Department, *Rwanda: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2004*, (28 Feb. 2005) [hereafter *US State Department Report 2004*], Introduction. For background on Rwandan involvement in the DRC, see Timothy Longman, ‘The Complex Reasons for Rwanda’s Engagement in Congo’, in John F. Clark, (ed.), *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, 2002, 129-144.

aharanira imizamukire y'icyaro), iyo Komisiyo yibasiye na none ikinyamakuru rukumbi cyari gisigaye cyigenga, amatorero y'iyobokamana, amashuri, ndetse n'imwe mu miryango mpuzamahanga y'abaterankunga nka CARE na Trócaire. Raporo y'iyo Komisiyo ntiyigeze isobanura icyo 'ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko' ari cyo. icyakora hari aho usanga iyo Raporo icyo yita 'ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko' ari ibintu bitagize aho bihuriye nk'ibikorwa byo kugenzura uko uburenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu bwubahirizwa, kwigisha abantu uburere mboneragihugu, ibikorwa by'amajyamabere bishingiye ku burenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu, cyangwa se kujora imikorere ya Guverinoma. Bene iyo myumvire, uretse ko inapfobya itsembabwoko, isubiza inyuma cyane ibyagendaga bigerwaho mu kubaka ubwiyunge mu gihugu.

Nyuma y'aho iyo raporo itangarijwe, abayobozi n'abakozi bakuru bagera ku icumi ba LIPRODHOR bahunze igihugu, ubuyobozi bwayo bwegurirwa abiyemeje gukora uko Guverinoma ishaka, ari nabo basohoye itangazo risaba imbabazi Leta n'Abanyarwanda (ku byo Liprodhor yashinjwaga). Guverinoma yahise iboneraho gusaba indi miryango yose yashinjwe gushyigikira ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko ko na yo yakurikiza urugero rwa Liprodhor ikishunguramo inkumbi. Yahise inasaba ko ubushinjacyaha n'ubucamanza bikurikirana abantu bose n'amashyirahamwe yavuzwe muri Raporo. Ibyo byatumye umuntu wese watanzwe agatoki ahora ku nkeke yo gufungwa.

Amashyirahamwe yari yaramaze kwigarurirwa na Leta yashyizeho Ihuriro ribumbye amashyirahamwe yose y'imiryango yigenga, ibyo bikorwa hagamijwe ko amashyirahamwe yose avuga rumwe kandi akagira umuvugizi umwe (bamwe bakeka ko ari uzavuga ibyo Leta ishaka). Guverinoma nanone yashyizeho itegeko rishya rikumira ubwisanzure n'ibikorwa by'amashyirahamwe nterankunga mpuzamahanga akorera mu Rwanda.

Muri raporo yayo iherutse, Ibiro bya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z' Amerika bigira biti:

Nyuma y'iyo raporo [y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko], imiryango ihananira uburenganzira bwa muntu yarazambagatanye ku buryo mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy'umwaka wa 2004 hatari hakirangwa mu Rwanda umuntu cyangwa ishyirahamwe wakwizeraho inkuru itabogamye ku bibazo by'uburenganzira bwa muntu". [2004].²

² *US State Department Report 2004*, section 4.

Muri iyi raporo yacu, turibanda ku ihutazwa rikorwa na Guverinoma, (*umutwe wa mbere*), tugaruke cyane cyane ku birego bya Komisiyo y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko byibasira amashyirahamwe anyuranye yigenga arimo imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bwa Muntu (*umutwe wa kabiri n'uwa gatatu*), amashyirahamwe aharanira imizamukire y'icyaro (*umutwe wa Kane*), abanyamakuru b'itangazamakuru ryigenga (*umutwe wa Gatatu*), hanyuma n' Amashyirahamwe mpuzamahanga atera inkunga ibikorwa by'iterambere rishingiye ku burenganzira bwa muntu n' uburerere mboneragihugu (*Umutwe wa Gatandatu*). Mu mwanzuro, iyi raporo igerageza gusesengura impamvu abenshi mu baterankunga badashishikarira kurengera abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu babuzwa uburyo mu Rwanda (*umutwe wa 7*).

Umuryango w'Abibumbye wahamije bidasubirwaho ko abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bwa Muntu bagomba kurengerwa by'umwihariko kubera ko umurimo bakora ufite uruhare ruhebuje mu guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa Muntu ku isi yose. Ku itariki ya 9Ukuboza 1998, mu rwego rwo kwizihiza isabukuru ya 50 y'Itangazo Mpuzamahanga ry'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu, Inteko Rusange y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yemeje Itangazo ku Burenganzira n'Inshingano z'abantu ku giti cyabo, amashyirahamwe n'inzego za buri gihugu mu guteza imbere no kurengera uburenganzira bwa Muntu n'ubwisanzure ndemashingiro buhuriweho n'isi yose (rizwi ku izina ry' Itangazo ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rirengerira Abaharanizi b'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu). Mu kwezi kwa Mata 2000, Komisiyo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinze uburenganzira bwa Muntu yemeje inshingano z'Intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinze abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bwa Muntu.

Front Line yumva umuhanizi w'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu buryo bwagutse ari 'umuntu uharanira mu nzira izira amahane uburenganzira ubu n'ubu cyangwa bwose icyarimwe bukubiye mu Itangazo mpuzamahanga ry'Uburenganzira bwa Muntu'. Iyi raporo ivuga ku ngeri zinyuranye z'abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu, harimo abakorera amashyirahamwe y'uburenganzira bwa muntu, amashyirahamwe aharanira amajyambere y'icyaro, itangazamakuru ryigenga, n'amashyirahamwe mpuzamahanga atera inkunga ibikorwa by'iterambere rishingiye ku burenganzira ba muntu. Hariho amashyirahamwe menshi (nka Haguruka na Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe), agendera mu murongo wa Guverinoma kandi afite uruhare rugaragara mu kurengera no guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa

muntu, cyane cyane mu bireba imibereho myiza y'umwana n'umugore.³ Ntabwo twirengagije na gato akamaro k'umurimo wabo ukomeye, ariko ntabwo iyi raporo aribo ireba. Ahubwo twahisemo kwibanda cyane cyane ku bantu n'amashyirahamwe bagaragaje ubwigenge mu mirimo yabo, bakirinda kuba ibikoresho bya Guverinoma, ibyo bikabaviramo ingaruka mbi zo kunyerezwa, gufungwa, guterwa ubwoba, kubuzwa epfo na ruguru cyangwa gutuma bahunga igihugu.⁴

³ Ibikorwa bya Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe kimwe n'umubano mwiza ifitanye na Guverinoma bisobanuye neza mu nyandiko ya Jean-Paul Kimonyo, Noel Twagiramungu, na Christopher Kayumba, *Supporting the Post-Genocide Transition in Rwanda: The Role of the International Community*, Working Paper 32, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' Conflict Resolution Unit, December 2004 [hereafter *Clingendael*], 52.

⁴ Ntitwawirengagiza ko bitoroshye guhamya ko mu Rwanda hari amashyirahamwe yigenga ku buryo busesuye. Koko rero ayo mashyirahamwe yose abeshejweho n'inkunga, ari ayihabwa na Leta, ari ayihabwa n'imiryango mpuzamahanga cyangwa se ayihabwa na Leta n'imiryango mpuzamahanga icyarimwe- aya ni nayo menshi. Gusa rero, hariho amashyirahamwe yagaragaje ubwigenge bugaragara mu mikoranire yabwo na Leta, agashyira imbere kwamagana ihohoterwa ry' uburenganzira bwa muntu cyangwa se agashishikariza abantu kudategera amaramuko yabo kuri Leta gusa kimwe no guharanira iterambere rishingiye ku burenganzira bwa muntu.

Ibyifuzo

Kuri Guverinoma y'U Rwanda

1. Kugaragaza ubushake bwo kurengera abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bwa Muntu ishyira mu ngiro ibisabwa n'Itangazo ku Burenganzira n'Inshingano z'abantu ku giti cyabo, amashyirahamwe n'inzego za buri gihugu mu guteza imbere no kurengera uburenganzira bwa Muntu n'ubwisanzure ndemashingiro buhuriweho n'isi yose nkuko ryemejwe n'Inteko Rusange y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yo ku wa 9 Ukuboza 1998
2. Gufata ingamba zose za ngombwa zo kurinda umutekano w'abantu n'amashyirahamwe yigenga yatanzwe agatoki muri Raporo ya Komisiyo y' Inteko Ishinga Amategeko n'Itangazo rya Minisitiri w'Uburezi
3. Gusubiza CAURWA -ishyirahamwe riharanira uburenganzira bw'Abatwa- nta yandi mananiza uburenganzira bwo gukomeza ibikorwa byabo
4. Gukora iperereza risesuye ku ihungabana ry'uburenganzira bw'abaharanizi b'uburenganzira bwa muntu, nk'irigiswa rya Leonard Hitimana na Agustini Cyiza muri Mata 2003
5. Gufungura abantu bose batawe muri yombi nyuma y'isohoka rya Raporo ya Komisiyo y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko n'Itangazo rya Minisitiri w'Uburezi. Mu gihe haba hari ibimenyetso bifatika by'uburyozwacyaha, abafunzwe bakwiye kuburanishwa mu buryo bwihuse kandi bwubahiriza ibiteganywa n'amategeko mpuzamahanga
6. Gushimangira uburenganzira bwo gushinga amashyirahamwe, guteranira hamwe n'ubwo kugaragaza icyo umuntu atekereza nkuko bigenwa n'Itegeko Nshinga ry'U Rwanda n'Amasezerano Mpuzamahanga y'uburenganzira mu by'imbonezamubano n'ibya politiki u Rwanda rwashyizeho umukono muri 1975
7. Kuvugurura itegeko rireba iby'amacakubiri n'ivangura ku buryo ayo magambo asobanuka neza kugira ngo ubwisanzure mu bitekerezo n'imigirire burusheho kubahirizwa kandi areke kuba urwitwazo rwo gushora abantu mu manza ku mpamvu za politiki.
8. Kuvugura itegeko rigenga itangazamakuru no gukuraho amategeko ahana gusebanya kugira ngo uburenganzira bwo kuvuga icyo umuntu atekereza bwubahirizwe nkuko amategeko mpuzamahanga abiteganyanya.

9. Kuvugurura itegeko ryo mu 2001 rigenga amashyirahamwe yigenga no guha urubuga rusesuye amashyirahamwe nyarwanda n'imiryango mpuzamahanga nkuko biteganywa n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga
10. Gusubukura imishyikirano n'Ihuriro ry'imiryango mpuzamahanga ikorera mu Rwanda kugira ngo hanononsorwe imbanzirizamushinga y' amasezerano ngengamikorere yumvikanyweho.

Ku Muryango Mpuzamahanga

1. Gushyiraho ibipimo biboneye bigomba gushingirwaho mu kugenzura intambwe u Rwanda ruterana mu kubahiriza intego y'Ubuyobozi bubereye abaturage n'uburenganzira bwa Muntu
2. Kongera inkunga ihabwa ibikorwa by'iterambere ry'ibanze rishingiye ku burenganzira bwa muntu cyane cyane mu cyaro
3. Mu rwego rwo gushishikariza amashyirahamwe gukora neza no guteza imbere ibikorwa byo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi, inkunga igomba kwibanda cyane ku mashyirahamwe afasha abaturage iwabo kurusha impuzamashyirahamwe z'imiryango yigenga.
4. Guhuriza imbaraga hamwe mu gushishikariza Guverinoma y'U Rwanda gushyira mu bikorwa ibyifuzo biri mu ngingo ibanziriza iyi.