Mu Byukuri Ibintu Byagenze Bite mu Rwanda?

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Abashakashatsi Christian Davenport na Allan C. Stam bavugako inkuru yerekeye ubwicanyi bwo muri 94 ituzuye, bakagira bati ukuri (nubwo kubangamiye abategetsi bo mu Rwanda) kugomba gushyirwa ahagaragara. Inkuru yabo uko bayibaze mu rulimi rw'icyongereza mushobora kuyisanga hano

http://www.psmag.com/politics/what-really-happened-in-rwanda-3432/

Muri 98 no muri 99 twagiye mu Rwanda, mu myaka ya kurikiyeho twasubiye yo inshuro nyinshi, impanvu y'izo ngendo ikaba yari imwe gusa: Twashakaga kumenya uko ibintu byagenze mu Rwanda muri iriya minsi 100 igihe isubiranamo ry'amoko na genocide byahitanye hafi miliyoni y'abantu. Ni kuki twari dufite amatsiko yo kumenya uko byagenze mu Rwanda? Impanvu zari nyinshi. Imwe mu mpanvu ni isoni no kunva dusa nkaho twakoze amakosa yo kutita kubyabaga mu Rwanda igihe byabaga, muri Amerika amakuru twitayeho cyane muri icyo gihe kuburyo byatubujije kwita kubyari biri kubera mu Rwanda ni amakuru yerekeye urubanza rwa O.J. Simpson, umwirabura waregwaga kwica umugore we w'umuzungu. Twunvaga dushobora kugira uruhare mu gusobanura uko ibintu byagenze mu rwego rwo kubahiriza abapfuye no kugirango ibintu nkabiriya bitazongera kubaho. Twembi twari dukeneye ikintu gishya mu kazi kacu. U Rwanda rwari rutumye tubona ikintu gishya cyo gukora.

Allan C. Stam

Nubwo twari dufite imigambi myiza, ntabwo twari twiteguye na gato ibyo twaje kuvumbura. Ibyo twavumbuye byaradutunguye. Turangije project nyuma y'imyaka 10, ibyo twabonye bitandukanye n'ibyo twibwiraga mbere yo gutangira, binatandukanye n'ibisa nk'ibyunvikanweho arinabyo abantu benshi bemera.

Twakoreraga abashinjacyaha tukanakorera ababuraniraga abaregwa mu rukiko rwa Arusha tukaba twari tugamije kugera ku kintu kimwe: kuvumbura ibintu byasobanura ibyabaye muri iriya minsi 100 y'ubwicanyi. Kubera ibyo twatahuye, abategetsi b'i Kigali n'abandi bantu hirya no hino kwisi batumereye nabi. Twiswe abantu bahakana genocide mu binyamakuru bikomeye no mu batutsi baba hanze kubera ko twanze kuvugako ubwicanyi bwabaye mu Rwanda kubera impanvu za politiki ari genocide gusa. Si genocide gusa yabaye, kandi gusobanukirwa uko ibintu byagenze ni ngombwa kugirango ibihugu by'isi bizamenye icyo bigomba gukora igihe hazongera kuba ubwicanyi nka buriya.

Christian Davenport

Nk'abantu badasobanukiwe amateka na politiki by'u Rwanda, twatangiye ubushakashatsi bwacu tuziko ibyabaye mu Rwanda ari isubiranamo kubera ibibazo bya politiki ryari riherutse kuba, iryo subiranamo ryarimo ibice bibiri: igice kimwe ni genocide yavuzwe cyane, muri iyo genocide ubwoko bwari ku butegetsi -abahutu- bishe abo mu bwoko bw'abatutsi, ubwo bwicanyi bwari bukabije kandi bwabaye mu gihugu hose, guverinoma isa naho yashakaga kumara abatutsi, biroroshye kuvuga ko bakoze genocide. Ikindi gice cy'iryo subiranamo kitakunze kuvugwa ni intambara hagati y'inyeshamba (RPF) zateye ziturutse Uganda zikaba zararwanyaga abasilikari ba guverinoma y'u Rwanda(FAR). Iyi ntambara yamaze imyaka ine irangira RPF ifashe igihugu.

Ikindi twibwiraga nuko ibihugu bikomeye –cyane cyane Amerika- byakoze ikosa ryo kudatabara ibi bikaba byaratewe cyane n'uko ibihugu bikomeye bitihutiye kwemeza ko ibyari biri kuba mu Rwanda yari genocide.

Ikindi twibwiraga nuko RPF inyeshayamba zaje gufata ubutegetsi zafashe igihugu zigahagarika intambara zikanahagarika genocide.

Icyo gihe ibyo twavuze hejuru nibyo byari byaremejwe ku byerekeye iriya minsi 100 y'ubwicanyi. Biriya ariko ni igice gito cy'ibyabaye, hari ibindi byinshi.

Ubwicanyi busa n'aho bwatangiye abahutu b'abahezanguni barimo imitwe nk'interahamwe bibanda ku batutsi. Ibyo twaje kuvumbura byerekana ko ubwicanyi bwakwiye hose kandi mu gihe gito amoko yombi abahutu n'abatutsi akaba yaragize uruhare mu kwica, no kwicwa, abantu benshi bo mu bwoko bwombi barimbuye imbaga kubera impanvu za politiki, ubukungu no kurwanira ibintu, no kubera ibibazo abantu bashobora kuba bari bifitiye hagati yabo.

Twasanze ibintu bitameze nkuko byakunze kuvugwa. Twasanze umubare w'abatutsi bishwe ushobora kuba ungana nuw' abahutu bishwe; ikindi kintu twabonye nuko imibare y'abatutsi bishwe yatangajwe irenze umubare w'abatutsi bari mu Rwanda mbere y'ubwicanyi.

Twanabonye ibibazo umuntu ashobora guhura nabyo iyo ashatse kuvuguruza ibyo benshi bemera.

Twatangiye ubushakashatsi bwacu dufasha project ya U.S. Agency for International Development yari ifite gahunda yo gutoza abanyeshuli b'abanyarwanda bari bari kurangiza mu ishami rya "Social Sciences". Turi muri uyu murimo, twamenyanye n'imiryango myinshi itabogamiye kuri leta, yari yarabashije gukusanya ibyerekeye iminsi 100 y'ubwucanyi. Imyinshi muri iyi miryango yari ifite ibyerekeye iyo minsi 100 ku buryo burambuye,

nukuvuga uwishwe, aho yaguye, n'uburyo yishwemo; bashoboraga kukubwira umuntu wishwe bakanakubwira uwamwishe. Uko twabazaga ibibazo bikomeye n'ibimenyetso niko twarushagaho kuvumbura ibindi bintu.

Hari impanvu nyinshi twari twahawe uburenganzira bwo kubaza ibibazo abantu bari bafite ibyerekeye iminsi 100 y'ubwicanyi. USAID yaducumbikiye igihe twari muri National University of Rwanda yateguye ibiganiro mbwirwahuhame byinshi, kimwe kikaba cyarabereye muri US Embassy i Kigali. Ibyo biganiro mbwirwaruhame byari bifite intego yo gufasha imiryango itabogamiye kuri leta (NGOs) gusobanukirwa ibyerekeye ihonyorwa ry'agateka ka muntu. Abanyarwanda bakora muri US Embassy nibo bihariye ikiganiro bavuga ibintu byinshi bijyanye n'ubwicanyi. Twahahuriye n'abantu bahagarariye imiryango myinshi tuganira kubyo bo babashije kugeraho.

Uhagarariye Amerika icyo gihe George McDade Stapples yadufashije kugera kubategetsi bakomeye mu Rwanda akoresheje abakozi be.

Ikindi kandi, umunyarwanda wari ushinzwe gufasha USAID yagize uruhare rukomeye mu kuturangira abantu baduha amakuru. Kuba yari afitanye isano n'abo mu muryango w'abahoze ari abami nabyo byaradufashije.

Tugarutse muri US, twatangiye gushira ibintu byabaye muri iriya minsi 100 ku murongo dukurikije igihe byabereye, aho byabereye, abishe, abishwe, intwaro zakoreshejwe n'uburyo zakoreshejwemo. Twakoze liste y'abagize nabi, abo bagiriye nabi, igihe babikoze n'aho babikoreye. Twakoze ibyo political sociologist Charles Tilly yise "Event Catalog". Iyo liste yari iyo kudufasha kubona uko ibintu byagiye bigenda, no kudufasha gushakisha indi mibare yo kudufasha gusobanukirwa kurushaho.

Turebye igihe ibintu byabereye n'aho byabereye, twasanze abanyarwanda batariroshye mu bwicanyi icyarimwe. Ubwicanyi bwahereye ahantu hamwe hanyuma bugenda bukwira igihugu cyose.

Muri National University of Rwanda, twamaze icyumweru dutegura abanyeshuli kujya mu ngo z'abaturage kubabaza ibibazo. Mu gihe twigishaga abanyeshuli uko bagomba kubigenza n'ibibazo bagomba kubaza, ikibazo kimwe cyakunze kugaruka: Ni gute ibintu byagenze muri Butare mu mpeshyi yo muri 94? Twatangajwe no kubona nta munyeshuli wari uzi uko ibintu byagenze, twaberetse ibibazo bagomba kubaza abaturage, ibi bikaba byaratumye tumenya ibintu byinshi.

Icya mbere kandi gikomeye , twasanze abaturage bo muri Butare bataragumye ahantu hamwe kuva muri 93 kugeza muri 95 cyane cyane mu ntangiriro za 94. Nta muturage numwe wagumye hamwe, bose bahoraga bagenda. Twanavumbuye ko inyeshyamba za RPF zafunze inzira zose zisohoka muri Butare zigana mu Burundi. Ibi byemejwe n'abaturage benshi ku buryo twatangiye kwibaza uruhare RPF yaba yaragize mu bwicanyi muri Butare ugereranije n'ubwaba bwarakozwe na FAR.

Umujyi wa Butare

Muri kino gihe, twemeje ibyo human rights watch yavuze ko ubwicanyi bwinshi bwakozwe n'abahutu bayobowe na FAR, ariko nanone twasanze ubwicanyi bwabaye atari ibintu byateguwe mbere ahubwo byagize gutya biraba abantu batangira kwicana. Twanavumbuye ko nyuma y'imyaka 9 inzangano hagati y'amoko zari zikiri zose. Abahutu n'abatutsi ntibavuganaga cyane. Abatutsi, kwisonga hakaba Kagame na RPF nibo bikubiye byose, ubutegetsi, ubukungu, n'i ibindi byose birebana n'ubuzima.

Ikindi twabonye nuko abatutsi baturutse hanze nyuma y'intambara biberaho ubuzima bwo mu rwego rwo hejuru kuburyo uko abandi babayeho ntacyo bibabwiye. Turi mu modoka tuvuye mu misozi ikikije Butare iyo twari twiriwe, umututsikazi twari twiriranwe yaraturitse ararira. Twamubajije impanvu imuteye kurira, yaradusubije ati nabera sinigeze mbona akababaro n'ubukene nkibyo nabonye uno munsi. Twatangajwe no kubona ukuntu abanyeshuli benshi bakaba ari abana b'abatutsi b'abakire baturutse Uganda bavuga icyongereza batikoza abaturage b'abakene bavuga ikinyarwanda n'agafaransa gake. Ntabwo twatunguwe nuko abakire batikoza abakene; icyadutangaje nuko usanga abakire nta mpuhwe namba bagirira abakene, abakire ntibazi uko abakene babayeho ibyo ntacyo bibabwiye, abakene nabo ntibazi uko abakire babaho. Ibi rero biteye kwibaza kubera ko abatutsi bo hanze beteye u Rwanda bavuye Uganda bavuga ko bashaka kurenganura abatutsi bari imbere mu gihugu ariko usanga abatutsi bavuye hanze badashishikajwe no kumenya uko abo bari basanzwe mu gihugu babayeho. Ubushakashatsi bwacu bwatweretse ko abateye baturutse Uganda bishakiraga ubutegetsi ko ubuzima bw'abatutsi bari imbere mu gihugu butari bubahangayikishije cyane.

Uko abanyeshuli bagendaga babaza ibibazo bibangamiye guverinoma ya RPF,niko twabonye ko dushobora kuzagira ibibazo. Umwe mubo twakoranaga abapolisi bamumaranye hafi umunsi wose bari kumuhata ibibazo. Impanvu yari uko nta ruhushya twari twatse abategetsi bo muri ako karere; mu Rwanda ibintu byose bisaba impushya, tugitangira ntabwo byatugoraga kuzibona. Ariko impanvu nyayo yo guhatwa ibibazo na polisi isa n'aho aruko twabazaga ibibazo badashaka ko bibazwa, ibibazo byo kumenya abakoze ubwicanyi.

Hashize ibyumweru bike, babiri mubo twakoranaga bagiye gutembera mu majyaruguru nanone barahagaritswe bahatwa ibibazo umunsi wose mu kigo cya gisilikari cya RPF. Babajijwe impanvu babaza ibibazo bikomeye, icyo baje kumara mu gihugu, niba bakorera CIA, niba twari abashyitsi baje gusura abandi bazungu bo mu burayi, muri rusange bashakaga kumenya impanvu turi guteza ibibazo.

Rimwe turi mu Rwanda, Alison Des Forges, inzobere mu byerekeye politiki y'u Rwanda waje gupfa azize impanuka y'indege, yatubwiye ko twagombye kujya mu rukiko rwa Arusha muri Tanzania gushakirayo ibisubizo by'ibibazo twibazaga. Yanahamagaye yo mu rwego rwo kudufasha.

Tumaze gupanga za gahunda, twagiye Arusha muri Tanzania, iyo umuntu ahari aterera amaso akabona umusozi wa Kilimanjaro, twagiye rero guhura na Donald Webster, umushinjacyaha mukuru mu manza za politiki no guhura na Barbara Mulvaney, umushinjacyaha mukuru mu manza za gisilikari, hamwe n'abandi bakorana nabo. Dutangiye kuganira n'ayo makipe uko ari abiri -ikipe imwe yaburanishaga abahoze ari abasilikari ba FAR, indi ikaburanisha abahutu bahoze muri politiki- zombi zatweretse ko zishishikajwe na project yacu.

Webster na Mulvaney badusabye kubafasha gusobanukirwa ibyerekeye abo bari bari gukoraho enquette. Ibi byaradushimishije cyane. Twari tugiye gukorana n'abari gukorera kurenganura abarenganye.
Abashinjacyaha batweretse ibyo bari bafite muri za computers byari bijyanye n'ubuhamya bw'ababonye ibintu uko byagenze n'amaso yabo muri 94.Ntibari bafite ikoranabuhanga rihagije bakoresha biga ubwo buhamya, badusabye kubafasha kwiga ubwo buhamya no kubugereranya n’ibyo twari twaratahuye ku ruhande rwacu. Twagarutse muri Amerika turi mu bicu. Twari tumaze kubona ubuhamya bwari bufitwe natwe gusa (uretse Arusha), tugiye gukorana n’urukiko rukomeye muri kariya karere.

Gukorana n’urukiko rwa Arusha ntibyamaze igihe twakekaga ko bizamara, imwe mu mpanvu akaba ari uko ubushakashatsi bwacu butari buri kugaragaza ubwicanyi bwakozwe na guverinoma y’abahutu ifatanije na FAR gusa, ubushakashatsi bwacu bwari buri no kugaragaza ubwicanyi bwakozwe na RPF, inyeshyamba z’abatutsi. Kugeza dutangira kukorana n’urukiko rwa Arusha, icyo twari twaragerageje gukora nukumenya abishwe, ntabwo twibwiraga ko gushaka kumenya abicanye bishobora guteza ibibazo (cyane cyane ko twibwiraga ko hafi ya bose bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi ari abo muri guverinoma y’abahutu). Twashatse kubona amakarita yerekana aho ibigo bya gisilikari bya FAR byari biri mu ntangiriro z’intambara. Twari twarabonye amakarita nkayo amanitse mu biro bya Mulvaney. Tuganira n’uyu Mulvaney yatubwiye uko abantu bo mu biro bye bakoresheje ayo makarita, tunafata note zihagije.

Nyuma y’uko abashinjacyaha bagaragarije ko badashaka kumenya uko ibintu byagenze muri rusange –bavuze ko bisubiyeho ko bashaka kumenya ibyerekeye abaregwa gusa- twabajije urukiko rwa Arusha kuduha kuri ayo makarita. Bararahiye baratsemba bavuga ko ayo makarita atigeze abaho! Ibyago abashinjacyaha bagize nuko twari tugifite za note twafashe. Nyuma y’imyaka ibiri dusaba ko twabona ayo makarita, umu colonel ukomoka muri Canada akaba n’umuntu ugira umutima mwiza yarayadushakiye arayaduha.

Mu gushaka kugaragaza ibyaha by’abaregwaga gutegura no gushira mu bikorwa genocide bari Arusha, urukiko rwahereye muri 96 rumara imyaka 5 rubaza ibibazo ababonye ibintu uko byagenze n’amaso yabo. Urukiko rwabajije abantu bakabakaba 12,000. Ubuhamya

bwatanzwe bwari bubogamye kuburyo burenze urugero; ubutegetsi bwa Kagame bwabujije abakoreraga Arusha kubaza ibibazo umuntu wese washoboraga kuvuga ubwicanyi bwakozwe na RPF, umuntu wese washoboraga kubangamira ubutegetsi.

Ubwo buhamya twari tubukeneye, twashoboraga kubugereranya n'ibyari mu mpapuro zavuye muri CIA, n'ubuhamya bwatanzwe n'abandi, cyangwa se tukabugereranya n'ibyo abandi bashakashatsi bageze ho tukareba ko bihuza cyangwa bidahuza.

Nkuko batwimye amakarita, n'ubwo buhamya barabutwimye batubwira ko ibyo bintu ntabyo bazi. Ababuraniraga abantu bari bafungiwe Arusha batunguwe no kumenya ko hashobora kuba hari ubwo buhamya basaba ko babubona. Nyuma y'imyaka nk'ibiri, ubwo buhamya bemeye kubuduha, bari barabushize muri za mudasobwa.Twagiye muri ubwo buhamya bwatanzwe n'abantu 12,000 dushakisha ibyerekeye ubwicanyi mu Rwanda hose.

Mu mpera za 2003 mu nama i Kigali nibwo project yacu yatangiye kugaragara nabi. Rwandan National University yari yatumiye abantu ba'abahanga bake natwe turimo, kugira ngo berekane icyo ubushakashatsi ku byerekeye ubwicanyi bwo muri 94 bwagezeho. Twari twabwiwe ko inama iraba irimo abantu bake b'abarimu n'abategetsi.

Siko byari bimeze. Inama yabereye mu mujyi wa Kigali, ibyo twavuze byose byashirwaga mu gifaransa no mu kinyarwanda.Si abarimu gusa bari bahari, hari abantu benshi barimo abasilikari, abacuruzi, n'abategetsi bakomeye.

Twavuze ku bintu bibiri twari twarabashije gutahura. Hari ibyari byerekeye ya makarita twavuze haruguru. Ayo makarita yerekanye ko ubwicanyi bwabaye mu gihugu cyose ariko anerekana ko ubwicanyi hari aho bwari bukaze kurusha ahandi, tukaba tutarabashije gusobanukirwa impanvu. Ikindi kintu twerekanye cyaturutse ku kugereranya imibare yatanzwe n'ibarura ryabaye muri 91 n'imibare yari yerekeranye n'ubwicanyi twari twabashije kubona. Iryo barura ryerekanye ko muri 91, mu Rwanda hari abatutsi 600,000. Ibuka ivuga ko 300,000 barokotse ubwicanyi bwo muri 94. Ibi bisobanuye ko abantu bapfuye babarirwa hagati ya 800,000 na 1,000,000 abenshi muri bo bari abahutu. Iki kintu kirakomeye cyane, nukuvugako abenshi mubantu bapfuye muri 94 bari abo mu bwoko bumwe na guverinoma yariho nukuvuga abahutu.

Ibi binashatse kuvuga ko ubwicanyi bwakozwe na guverinoma ishaka kumara abatutsi atari bwo bwonyine bwabaye muri iriya minsi ijana, umubare w'abandi bantu bishwe bazira izindi mpanvu urenze umubare w'a abatutsi baguye muri genocide.

Hagati mu kiganiro, umusilikari wari wambaye uniform yarahagurutse araturogoya. Yaritonze ati: "Minister of Internal Affairs yitaye kubyo murimo kuburyo bwihariye, numero za passeport zanyu zirazwi, mugomba kuva mu Rwanda bitarenze ejo, kandi ntimuzibeshe ngo mwongere gukandagize ikirenge mu Rwanda. Ikiganiro cyahise kirangirira aho, n'akazi kacu mu Rwanda biba uko.

Impapuro twanditse n'ibiganiro twatanze byaramenyekanye cyane mu bantu bakurikiranira hafi ibyerekeye za genocide cyane cyane abakurikiranira hafi iyabereye mu Rwanda. Ikintu cy'ingenzi byatanze nuko twiswe abahakanyi ba genocide kandi mu byukuri ntitwigeze tuvuga ko genocide itabayeho. Twembi twabonye umubare munini w'amabarwa na za email by'abantu badutuka. Abatutsi baba hanze y'urwanda baratuvumye baduhindura ibicibwa kubera ibyo twanditse ku Rwanda. Nyuma y'imyaka myinshi, twasubiye mubyo twakoze,

twasanze ntaho twibeshye, ibyo ubushakashatsi bwacu bwagezeho tuziko ari ukuri kumwe guca muziko ntigushye, ariko abaturwanya barushijeho gukaza umurego no gusakuza cyane.

Ntitwigeze tuvuga ko genocide itabaye, icyo tuvuga nuko genocide ari igice kimwe, ko igihe genocide yari iri kuba hari ubundi bwicanyi bwinshi bwari buri gukorwa. Nyuma ya genocide, kuvuguruza ibyo abategetsi b'u Rwanda bavuze ntibyemewe.

Nyuma y'iyo nama y'i Kigali yarangiye nabi, abashinjacyaha mu rukiko rwa Arusha Webster na Mulvaney n'abo bakorana batumenyesheje ko batakidukeneye. Impanvu batanze nta shingiro zari zifite. Bavuzeko ibyo ubushakashatsi bwacu bwari buri gutanga bari batakibikeneye.

Hashize igihe kitari kinini Urukiko rwa Arusha ruvuzeko rutakidukeneye, Peter Erlinder, umunyamategemo waburaniraga abahoze ari abasilikari ba FAR, yashatse ko tuvugana. Mbere ye hari abandi banyamategeko baburaniraga abantu Arusha bari baragerageje kutuvugisha ariko bikanga.

Twirinze gukorana n'ababuraniraga abantu Arusha, kuberako iyo dukorana nabo, abaturegaga guhakana genocide bari kuba babonye urwitwazo. Amaherezo twaje guhura na Erlinder duhurira muri starbucks mu mujyi wa Philadelphia muri leta ya Pennsylvania. Erlinder ni umwalimu muri William Mitchell College of Law, waburaniraga abantu abenshi babonaga ari nk'inyamaswa.

Peter Erlinder

Tumaze kubona za lattes twicaye ahantu mu nguni hatari urusaku, Erlinder nta kuzarira ahita avuga ikimugenza, yashakaga ikintu cyagaragaza ko uwo aburanira arengana, ariko yunvaga kwerekana uko intambara yagenze muri 94 byafasha ababuraniraga abantu Arusha. Yagize ati: umuntu mburanira si malayika utagira icyaha ariko we n'abandi bose bari muri guverinoma no mu gisirikari ntabwo bakoze ibyo babarega byose. Bose baraharabitswe, bagizwe amashitani.

Icyo yasabaga cyari ikintu kitagoranye. Yadusabye nkibyo abashinjacyaha bari badusabye: kumufasha gusobanukirwa ibyabaye nawe yemera kudufasha kubona information zerekeye ibyabaye. Erlinder yadufashije kubona ya makalita twari twarabonye mu biro bya Mulvaney, anadufasha kubona ubuhamya bwari bwaratanzwe na ba bantu 12,000. Ibi byadufashije gusobanukirwa neza aho ingabo za FAR n'aho iza RPF zari ziri mu ntambara. Kumenya nta gushidikanya aho ingabo zari zifite ibirindiro byatumye twemeza nta gushidikanya ko muri iriya minsi 100 ubwicanyi bwinshi bwakozwe na FAR. Ariko byanatumye dutangira gusobanukirwa uruhare rutari ruto RPF yagize mu kurimbura imbaga.

Muri icyo gihe , umuntu ukorera Arcview-GIS yaje kutureba. Aba bantu bashakaga kwerekana software bakora akamaro kazo. Bafashe amakarita twari dufite barayatunganya, bayagira neza cyane kuburyo yashoboraga kwerekana aho imirwano yari iri kubera umunsi ku munsi.

Ibi byatumye dutera intambwe. Dutangira, twibwiragako ubwicanyi bwose bwabaye muri 94 bwakozwe na guverinoma; ntabwo rero twitaga ku ngabo za RPF n'aho zari ziri. Ntitwatinze kubona ko ubwicanyi bwabaye mu duce twari dufitwe na FAR, ariko nanone ubwicanyi bwabaye mu duce RPF yari yarafashe, ubundi bukaba bwarabereye aho imirwano hagati y'izo ngabo zombi yagiye ibera. Kandi twasanze ibyabereye muri utwo duce uko ari dutatu byarabaga bifitanye isano.

Mu gitabo yanditse akacyita The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention, Alan Kuperman avuga ko kubera kohehereza ingabo muri Afrika yo hagati ari ibintu bikomeye, Amerika cyangwa Uburayi nta kintu byari gukora kugirango bihagarike ubwicanyi bwo muri 94. Kugirango agaragaze ko ibyo avuga aribyo, Kuperman akoresha information yahawe na U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, akerekana aho ibirindiro by'ingabo za RPF byari biri mu ntambara. Twahereye kuri izo information, twongeramo izavuye muri CIA zarekuwe kubera Freedom of Information Act, twongeramo izo twahawe nabahoze muri RPF, n'izo twahawe na FAR.

Ubushakashatsi bwacu bwerekanye ko muri 94 ubwicanyi bwinshi bwakozwe na FAR, interahamwe, n'abandi bakoranye nazo. Ubundi bwicanyi bwakozwe n'abantu ku giti cyabo kubera ko intambara yari yarateje akajagari inzego z'umutekano zitagikora. Ariko biragaragara nta gushidikanya ko na RPF yishe abantu batari bake.

Hari aho ubwicanyi bwa RPF bwakozwe ari ibintu bimeze nko kwihorera kwakozwe ku buryo butunguranye. Ariko hari ahandi RPF yoretse imbaga itsinda abantu mu makambi y'impunzi, abandi yagiye ibatsinda mu mago yabo. Abantu benshi RPF yabatsinze mu mihanda kuri za roadblocks, mu midugudu, mu ngo, mu bishanga, mu mirima, abenshi RPF yabishe berekeje ku mupaka bahunga.

Izo information twakusanyije zitubwira aho ibirindiro by'ingabo zombi byari biri nuko byagiye byimurwa zerekanye ikintu cyadutangaje: Uko ingabo za RPF zigiraga imbere, niko ubwicanyi mu duce twari dufitwe na FAR bwiyongeraga. Iyo ingabo za RPF zabohozaga akandi gace k’u Rwanda, kwicana byarushagaho gukaza umurego mu gace FAR yarimo. Iyo ingabo za RPF zahagararaga, ubwicanyi mu duce FAR yari ifite bwaragabanyukaga cyane. Ibyo amakarita yacu yerekanaga byahamije ibyo abahoze muri FAR bavuze. FAR ivuga ko iyo RPF ihagarika imirwano ikareka kongera kugaba ibitero ku Rwanda, abasilikari ba FAR bavugako bari kubasha guhagarika ubwicanyi bwose bwari buri kubera imbere mu gihugu. Ibi bikaba binyomoza ibyo Kagame n’ubutegetsi bwe bavuga ko RPF yakomeje kugaba ibitero mu rwego rwo kugira ngo ihagarike ubwicanyi.

Abapfuye bari abo mu buhe bwoko? Ntabwo tuzigera tumenya igisubizo cy’iki kibazo. Biragoye gutandukanya abahutu n’abatutsi kuberako mu byukuri barasa cyane. Bose bavuga ururimi rumwe. Gushakana hagati y’abahutu n’abatutsi n’ibintu byakunze kubaho cyane.Imyaka ishize ari myinshi cyane babana ku misozi imwe. Mu 1920 na 1930, abakoloni b’ababiligi bashatse kumenya ukuntu bajya batandukanya abahutu n’abatutsi batarebye ikarita ahubwo bakareba isura, bagiye rero bareba igihagararo, uburebure bw’izuru, niba umuntu ari munini cyangwa muto ibintu nkibyo.

Ubu bushakashatsi bw'ababiligi bwagaragaje mu byukuri ko itandukanirizo hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi ari rito cyane. Bamwe mu banyarwanda, nka perezida w'u Rwanda Paul Kagame, n'uwamubanjirije perezida Juvenal Habyalimana baratandukanye cyane. Ariko mu banyarwanda basanzwe abenshi barasa neza imibiri yabo iteye kimwe, kuburyo iyo utazi umuntu umuryango akomoka mo ngo ube uzi ko iwabo ari abahutu cyangwa abatutsi, biragoye kuba wakwibwira icyo aricyo umurebye isura gusa. Gutandukanya abazima ngo umenye niba ari abahutu cyangwa abatutsi biragoye, ibaze rero gushaka gutandukanya abishwe bakarundwa mu byobo nta kantu na gato kerekana aho baturutse (abaganga ba human rights watch bataburuye abantu 450 bari barunzwe mu cyobo, basanga muri bo 6 gusa aribo bafi bafite indangamuntu).

Abantu batanze ubuhamya Arusha, abenshi bavuze ko bagiye barokoka ubwicanyi bwari buri kuba bakijijwe no kwihisha mu bantu b'ubundi bwoko. Biragaragara ko muri 94, abakoze ubwicanyi batari kubasha kumenya ubwoko bwa buri muntu, nukuvugako abantu bagiye bica abaturanyi babo basanzwe bazi abo ari bo.

Icyatumye ibintu birushaho kuba isupu ni umubare munini w'abantu bari barahunze ibitero bya RPF. Muri 94,abanyarwanda 2,000,000 bahunze igihugu bajya hanze, hagati ya 1,000,000 na 2,000,000 baba impunzi imbere mu gihugu, abagera kuri 1,000,000 barapfa bazize intambara na genocide.

Mu Rwanda ubwoko bw'umuntu bumenywa n'abaturanyi cyangwa abantu mubana. Kuva abantu benshi barahoraga bimuka kubera intambara ntibyari byoroshye kumenya ubwoko bw'umuntu. Ibi ntibishatse kuvuga ko abatutsi bakuriye mu Rwanda batahizwe ngo bicwe. Ariko FAR, interahamwe, n'abandi bose bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi igihe bari bamaze kurya karungu, bishe abantu bo mu bwoko bwombi. Abantu bo mu bwoko bwombi bahoraga bimuka bahunga imirwano, uko RPF yateraga intera abantu barahungaga.

Biragoye kumenya umubare nyakuri w'abantu bazize ubwicanyi bwo muri 94. Twakoresheje uburyo bworoshye, twafashe umubare w'abatutsi bari mu Rwanda mbere y'intambara, dukuramo umubare w'abatutsi barokotse. Twasanze rero abatutsi bazize genocide bari hagati ya 300,000 na 500,000. Niba rero intambara ya RPF na genocide yayikurikiye byarahitanye abantu bagera kuri 1,000,000, ibi bisobanuye ko hagati ya 500,000 na 700,000 baguye muri iriya ntambara ari abahutu. Ibi kandi byaba bishatse kuvuga ko umubare munini w'abantu baguye muri iriya ntambara ari abahutu, si abatutsi nkuko byakunze kuvugwa.

Uyu mwanzuro twagezeho – ukaba wararwanyijwe cyane n'ubutegetsi bwa Kagame n'ababushigikiye - giihamya dufite ni ya makalita yatubijije icyuya, yakozwe haherewe ku bintu bifite ishingiro, bigaragaza umubare munini w'abantu biciwe mu duce twari dufitwe na RPF y'abatutsi.

Hari ikintu kimwe gitangiye kugenda kirushaho kunvikana: muri genocide no muntambara byabaye mu Rwanda muri 94, habaye ubwicanyi bwinshi butandukanye, bukaba bwarakozwe mu gihe kimwe. Biragaragara ko habaye genocide, guverinoma y'abahutu akaba ariyo yayigizemo uruhare runini, iyo genocide ikaba yarahitanye abatutsi 100,000 cyangwa barenga. Ariko nanone hari intambara yaciye ibintu, intambara yatangiye mu 1990, abantu bakunze kureba ibyabaye vuba ariko iyi ntambara ifite imizi ahagana muri za 50. Biragaragara ko hari abantu bagiye bakorera abandi urugomo bakabica, inzego z'umutekano ntizari zigikora kubera akajagari katewe n'intambara. Ntagushidikanya ko hanabaye

ubwicanyi bwo kwihorera bwinshi mu gihugu hose abahutu bakica abatutsi, abatutsi bakica abahutu.

Kuva mu ntangiriro enquette za Arusha kubyerekeye ubwicanyi bwo mu Rwanda bwo muri 94 zakozwe n'abantu batareba kure maze bibanda ku bahutu n'abandi bashinje ko bagize uruhare muri genocide. Ubutegetsi bwa Kagame bwakoze ibishoboka byose kugirango hataba enquette ku bwicanyi bwakozwe na RPF mu ntambara, bwaba ari ubwo bishe abantu benshi icyarimwe, bwaba ari ubwo bagiye bica umwe umwe. Kuba twaravuzeko atari abahutu na FAR gusa bakoze amarorerwa, ko na RPF yishe abantu benshi, byatumye tuba ibicibwa mu Rwanda na Arusha.

Abantu bakunze kugereranya amahano yo mu Rwanda na holocaust. Twe dusanga ibyabaye mu Rwanda bisa n'ibyabaye muri English Civil War, Greek Civil War, Chinese Civil War, cyangwa Russian Civil War. Muri izi ntambara habaye ubwicanyi hagati y'amoko abantu bakica bakanicwa ku mpande zombi.

Mu byukuri biranakomeye kugereranya umuntu atibeshye amahano yabaye mu Rwanda n'ubundi bwicanyi bwababaye hirya no hino kwisi. Ibyabaye mu Rwanda mu ntambara no muri genocide ntibirasobanuka neza.

Abakurikiranira hafi ibintu bo muri kino gihe barimo Romeo Dallaire umwe wari uyoboye za ngirwa ngabo za UN mu Rwanda muri 93 na 94,bavugako guverinoma y'abahutu yatangiye gutegura genocide imyaka ibiri mbere y'uko RPF itera u Rwanda. Ntabwo twabashije kuvugisha abantu baba bazi ukuri kwabyo ngo tubyemeze cyangwa tubinyomoze. Impanvu nuko abantu bahamijwe gutegura no gukora genocide bafungiwe ahantu ntamuntu ushobora kubageraho ngo ababaze ibibazo muri prison ya UN iri mu gihugu cya Mali.

Twifuzaga kubona abo bantu bateguye genocide tukababaza ibibazo. Intego yabo yari iyihe? Ese bakekaga ko genocide yari guca intege RPF ku buryo yari guhagarika ibitero ikaguma iyo yari iri muri Uganda? Ese guverinoma ya FAR yizeraga ko izatsinda intambara? Ese ubwicanyi bwababaye bwaba burenze ibyo batekerezaga? Kuko abayobozi bamwe ba FAR bavuga ko ibintu byadogereye ku buryo butunguranye ko muri za 60, za 70 na za 80 ibintu bitabaye nabi nka kuriya.

Abashingacyaha muri Tanzania batubwiye ko badashobora kudufasha kujya kureba abo icyaha cyo gutegura no gukora genocide cyari cyarahamye, ariko batubwiye ko dushobora kwirwariza tukajya muri Mali kubwacu. Batubwiye ko bishoboka ko twakwinjira muri prison tukavugana nabo, ariko ikibazo nuko prison iri ahantu mu giturage kure cyane y'umugi, ahantu nta muntu numwe tuziyo, byaratuyobeye turekera iyo, ibyo kujya kubabaza ibibazo turabiheba.
Kutabasha kujya kuvugana n'abo bantu bakoze genocide ntibyaduciye intege. Twakomeje gukurikirana ibyabaye mu Rwanda muri 94, twagize amahirwe tubona infashanyo ivuye muri National Science Foundation. Iyi nfashanyo yadufashije gushakisha abantu baduha amakuru bakaba baragiye bavumbuka hirya no hino kwisi, amakuru yadufasha kunoza amakalita yacu no kurushaho gusobanukirwa uko ibintu byagenze.Nubwo tugenda turushaho gusobanukirwa amahano yabaye mu Rwanda, ntibyunvikana ukuntu abantu bazi amakuru y'invaho bashizwe muri za prison aho nta muntu ushobora kubageraho, ibi bikaba byarakozwe n'abashinzwe gukora ku buryo genodice itazasubira.

Abunva icyongereza mushobora kwiyunvira Allan C. Stam avuga ibyerekeye ubushakashatsi bwe na mugenzi we Christian Davenport ku mahano yo mu Rwanda n'ibinyoma bya Kagame na RPF ye.

My apologies to Mr Tony Blair,

Posted by Kalimikashyali on May 5, 2013 at 9:20 AM **comments (0)**

Not long ago, I wrote an open letter to Honorable Tony Blair, the object of that letter was to ask him if he can convey a message to H.E. Paul Kagame. The message concerned prostitution and sexual harassment in the work place in Rwanda. Today, I want to apologize to Honorable Tony Blair (not sure if he deserves to be called honorable). I put him to the task he is not up to.

According to leprophete.org, Tony Blair is at the forefront of prostitution that is rampant in Kigali. According to leprophete.org, Tony Blair's office in Kigali is not really an office. It's a brothel. In there, it is believed that Tony Blair engages in sexual activities with different women some of them whites, some of them Rwandan. One of the Rwandan hoes Tony Blair likes to engage in sexual activities is named Claire Akamanzi.

So, sorry Mr Blair. I do not expect you to condemn or fight the same shameful activities you are engaged in yourself.