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Ibaruwa ifunguye igenewe Umukuru w'Igihugu mu kwibuka ku inshuro ya 32 IRIMBURA BANYARWANDA ryakorewe '' Abahutu-Abatutsi-Abatwa''

ESE ABANYARWANDA BASHYIZE HAMWE BAZIBUKA RYARI JENOCIDE BAKOREWE NIBA MUHA AGACIRO KWIBUKA ABO YAHITANYE?

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda,

Ese mwibuka ko kw'i taliki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 aribwo mwebwe Inkotanyi mwatangije intambara yabaye akaga ku banyarwanda na n'ubu ikaba ikomeje kuyogoza akarere k'ibiyaga binini by'Afurika ?

Twe Abanyamuryango b'Ishyirahamwe Nyarwanda (Fondation) Projustitia-Rwanda ridaharanira inyungu, tubandikiye iyi baruwa ifunguye tubasaba gutegura neza, mu UKURI kutaziguye kwibuka ku inshuro ya 32 ku buryo butavangura umuryango munyarwanda wubatswe n'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Twiribuka abacu bose bahitanywe n'Itsembabwoko n'Itsembatsemba, ryiswe Irimbura-Banyarwanda ryo muri 1994 ; mu ndimi z'amahanga baryise jenoside idafite umwihariko w'Abatutsi gusa nk'uko byagenwe na FPR Inkotanyi guhera muri 2008 ikanaryinjiza no mu Itegeko Nshinga ry'u Rwanda*[1] (uko itegeko n°18/2008 du 23 nyakanga 2008 ribivuga). Jenoside yakorewe Abanyarwanda ntawe ubihakana. Ihuza inyabutatu z'Abanyarwanda ari nabo jenoside yaguyeho. Kwibuka abo yahitanye bose ntakuvangura ni ukugendera mu UKURI ko kubaka u Rwanda. Kugirango ibyo bishoboke ni ukureka ibinyoma bisa n'ibyabaye uburyo bw'imiyoborere y'igihugu.

Inkotanyi za FPR kuva mu Kwakira 1996 zakurikiranye impunzi z'Abahutu mu mashyamba ya RD Congo (yitwaga Zaïre), raporo y'amakarita (rapport mapping) itanga ishusho y'ibikorwa bigayitse (amaseta 617 akabije cyane yabaye muri Kongo) byakozwe n'Ingabo z'Inkotanyi zirwanira ku butaka (RPA), Ingabo z'Igihugu cya Uganda ziyise (NRA) zifatanije n'Inyeshyamba ziharanira kubohoza Kongo-Zaire (AFDL).

Ese muzi uko umunyarwanda w'umucikacumu yibuka abe baguye muri jenoside ?

Abacitse kw'icumu ry'ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'Interahamwe n'Abacengezi ba FPR uko bisobanurwa na Rutaremara Tito)*[2] (n'abandi benshi bavuga kuri abo bacengezi ba FPR), bibuka ababo babaha icyubahiro gikwiye, bakabazirikana nk'intwari zatabarukiye ku urugamba, babizeza kandi ko batazabibagirwa na rimwe. Bagombye kwibukwa mu uruhame n'abanyarwanda bose aho kuba bamwe babibukira mu myiherero.

Twibuke ko abavuga ko habaye ho jenoside y'**abatutsi gusa** baba bashyize ku ruhande abahutu n'abatwa bayikorewe ; abavuga ko habaye ho jenoside y'**abahutu gusa** baba bashyize ku ruhande Abatwa n'abatutsi bayikorewe ; n'abavuga ko habaye ho jenoside **y'abatwa gusa** baba bashyize ku ruhande abatutsi n'abahutu bayikorewe. Mu by'Ukuri rero jenoside yakorewe abaturarwanda bose ntakuvangura abatutsi, abahutu n'abatwa. Hari igihe umuntu yakwibaza ati izo jenoside bazivana he ? Muri make, Ikarita y'amaseta na jenoide irazerekana, igitabo kitwa ''Génocide rwandais : Comprendre ses méandres et se métastases kirazerekana*[3] ; ubuhamya bwinshi, bwatanzwe mu nshyigikizi zinyuranye burazerekana. Izi ngero zose ntizishyira ahagaragara se uburyo Itegeko Nshinga ry'Urwanda ryashyize ku ruhande abahutu n'abatwa ?

Ninde wahanwa ari inkoni igukubise n'umuntu uyigukubise ?

FPR yafashe ubutegetsi binyuze mu rugomo, mu miborogo no kumena amaraso. FPR yahawe ubutegetsi mu Rwanda mu 1994 ibifashijwe mo na ONU (umuryango w'abibumbye) n'ubushake ku ingufu bwa Leta ya Clinton. Ibyo rero byari igikorwa cya politiki aho kuba igikorwa cy'ubwumvikane hagati y'abaturarwanda, cyangwa se igikorwa kinyuze mu inzira ya demokarasi. Koko rero, TPIR nta ibimenyetso yagaragaje byerekana ko ubutegetsi (bwa kera bw'u Rwanda) bwa Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana na Minisitiri w'Intebe Uwilingiyimana Agathe) bwateguye jenoside. Ndetse n'ibyerekeye telegaramu izwi cyane ya Dallaire yo ku wa 11 Mutarama 1994, yavuzwe na Komisiyo ya Mucyo kugira ngo ishyigikire ko hari umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi byashidikanyijweho bikomeye imbere ya TPIR. Ahubwo ibyahishuwe ni uko abatangabuhamya benshi bemeje uruhare rwa Paul Kagame, umuyobozi mukuru n'abamufashije ba FPR, mu marorerwa yabaye mu Rwanda. Bigaragaza ko yaje agamije gufata ubutegetsi mu Rwanda kuburyo bwose budasangiwe n'ubwo we yagerageje guhisha uruhare rwe muri ubwo bwangizi bwe agashaka kubwomeka ku bandi yiha kwigira inzirakarengane y'umwere. Aha hakwiye ikibazo : Niba umuntu akubise undi inkoni, ninde wakwamaganirwa kure ari inkoni n'uwayikoresheje mu gukubita ?

Habayeho jenoside Abanyarwanda bahuriyeho itabandukanya, ahubwo ibahuriza mu bubabare bwabo n'amakuba yatejwe hagati yabo. Iyo jenoside ikubita Abanyarwanda ni nk'inkoni yakoreshejwe mu gukubita Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa. Abanyarwanda bagomba gufata iyi jenoside y'ukuri bakayigira iyabo. Niba hemewe ko abakoze ubwicanyi ari 50% by'Abahutu na 50% by'Abatutsi, ko umubare jenoside yahitanye ari 280.000 by'Abatutsi na 4.000.000 by'Abahutu, kuvuga ijambo "ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi" gusa ryaba ribogamye kandi ari ikinyoma, kuko uwateje jenoside yo mu Rwanda ari nawe wayiteguye*[4] bityo akaba agomba kubazwa no guhangana n'inshingano ze.

Nkuko bigaragazwa n'ibaruwa Amerika yoherereje Akanama Gashinzwe Umutekano mu m'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku italiki ya 20 Mata 2020, ni mugihe Nyakubahwa Ambasaderi Gasana Eugene n'umwungiriza we Bwana Nduhungirehe barimo basaba ko Akanama ka ONU gashinzwe umutekano kahindura inyito ya jenoside y'Abanyarwanda ngo ibe jenoside y'Abautsi. Kuburyo bwo gushandikisha babigezeho nyamara Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika zanditse iyo baruwa yavuzwe hejuru zigira ziti :
"Dufite impungenge ko ubugororangingo bw'inyandiko buzafasha gukomeza gutera ubwoba buri gihe hagati y'imiryango itatu y'Abanyarwanda aho kuyihuza". Ibaruwa Nyakubahwa Ambasaderi w'Amerika mu kanama ka Loni gashinzwe umutekano ikomeza igira iti : "Dushyigikiye intego rusange y'iki cyemezo cyo gutekereza kuri jenoside yabereye mu Rwanda".

Twe Abanyamuryango b'Ishyirahamwe Nyarwanda (Fondation Projustitia Rwanda) natwe kimwe n'Abanyarwanda bose twemera ko UKURI nyakuri kubyabaye mu Rwanda, ariko konyine kuzahuza Abanyarwanda ari nayo mpamvu remezo yiyi nyandiko. Kandi UKURI kwerekana aho jenoside yateguriwe kwashyizwe hanze*[5] na *[6]. Izi nyandiko zirabigaragaza neza .

Amahanga abibona ate?

Aha turashaka kwibutsa ko mu kwezi kwa werurwe 2023, Dr. Bizimana Jean Damascene*[7] Minisitiri w'ubumwe bw'igihugu n'ubufatanye bw'abaturage (ministre de l'Unité Nationale et Engagements civiques,) yasuwe, agahabwa ubutumwa" https://youtu.be/4JFKF26dug?t=601" na Banyakubahwa ba Ambasaderi b'ibi bihugu : Ubudage, Ubuholandi, Ububirigi, Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika, Ubwongereza, Ubuyapani, Ubufaransa n'ibindi … Atubwira uko imvugo yabo banyacyubahiro yari imwe …). Ku byerekeye Jenoside Tutsi n'Ingengabitekerezo, baravuga bati :

1. Jenoside Tutsi : ''Iyo muvuga jenoside tutsi, ntabwo muba mugaruye se impamvu yo gusenya ubwo bumwe bw'amoko, impamvu yo gusenya ubwo bumwe bwa Leta muvuga ko muriho mubwubaka? kubaka ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda? Ntimuba se mugaruye ya moko yarushenye? Kuki muvuga ko iyo nyito ya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi gusa, ko ari amoko yashenye u Rwanda ? Intambara y'amoko yashenye u Rwanda yazanywe nande? Uwayizanye yaturutse he? Yatangijwe nande? Yatangiye ryari, izarangira ryari ?'' Politiki ya Jenoside Tutsi iheza jenoside Hutu na Jenoside Twa nazo kandi zabayeho*[8].

2. Ingengabitekerezo : Iyo muvuga ngo ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside mukayishyira no mu Itegeko nshinga? Bagira bati ''Ntabwo se ari uburyo bukoreshwa bwo kwigizayo amajwi atavuga rumwe na Leta ya FPR Inkotanyi bugamije kubacekesha? Barongera bakanavuga bati : ''Twebwe ni uko tubibona niko tubyemera. Kuri mwebwe, Ingengabitekerezo ni iki, muyipima mute, muyipimisha iki? umuntu ayigira ryari? Mukabishyira no mu Itegeko Nshinga? Jenoside Tutsi n'Ingengabitekerezo biba jenoside ntangakamere iri mu maraso no mu mashereka ku bahutu n'abatwa bityo bagahezwa burundu, bagacekeshwa burundu.

Aha twavuga ko Minisitiri Dr. Bizimana Jean Damascene yabaye nk'igipfamatwi kuko inama bamugiriye yazitaye mu mazi. Ubu yabaye igikoresho cya FPR cyo kugonganisha abanyarwanda ; Ministeri ye iba inzira yo kubiba urwango n'iyo kubaka amateka agoretse hamwe y'ibinyoma byo kwibasira no gutoteza umuryango w'abahutu kandi bivugwa ko ari nawo akomokamo*[9]. Amacakubiri mu banyarwanda ashyigikiwe na Minisitiri Bizimana na RPF Inkotanyi ku bazima n'abapfuye ni nayo akorerwa abarokotse. Ukuri ni uko kwatura ukavuga ukuri kwamagana ayo macakubiri byahitanye ubuzima bw'inzirakarengane nyinshi zirimo nyakwigendera Kizito Mihigo.

Imyaka 32 irashize FPR iri ku butegetsi. Mu buyobozi bwa FPR mwabuze iki ngo musabe ko inyandiko z'amabanga zafungurwa, inyandiko zabitswe igihe kirekire mu miryango mpuzamahanga na ONU (Umuryango w'Abibumbye), Leta zunze ubumwe za Amerika, Ubwongereza, Ubufaransa, Ububiligi, Isiraheli, Ubuganda, n'ibindi bihugu ...). Izo nyandiko zihishuwe zazafasha kumenya ibijyanye n'intambara zo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari bya Afurika n'ubwicanyi bw'amaseta na jenocide bikomeje kuhaba akarande. Izo nyandiko zafasha kandi no kumenya ukuri kwihanurwa ry'indege yahitanye abaperesida Juvénal Habyarimana w'u Rwanda na Cyprien Ntaryamira w'u Burundi n'amahano yabaye mu Rwanda atewe n'iyicwa rw'abo bapérezida bombi. Zafasha kandi kuzana ibiganiro rusange hagati y'Abanyarwanda no kwiyunga kwabo. Nonese gutinya ko UKURI kujya ahagaragara si kimwe mubisenya ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda ?

Iyo ukuri kw'imibare guhindutse politiki

Ukuri kugomba guhwana n'ubumenyi bujyanye n'ukuri kwa jenoside yabaye mu Rwanda n'ibinyoma byayo uko ari icumi*[10], n'ubumenyi bujyanye n'ubumwe bw'igihugu, ubwiyunge, kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, ubutegetsi bushingiye ku mategeko, ubwisanzure mu gutanga ibitekerezo, nibindi ...

Ku banyarwanda bose : Bavandimwe utagira amatwi yo kumva, ntagira n'amaso yo kubona ibiba, uko ubutegetsi bwa FPR bwubakiye mu ishusho y'ubwoko? Utagira amatwi yo kumva ntagira n'Umutima namba wo gushyira mu gaciro! Kumenya UKURI kwa Jenoside yabaye mu Rwanda bigamije ukubafasha bwo kugira imyumvire y'ukuri, n'imyitwarire ihuye n'imvugo ziboneye kuri bose kuko Abatutsi, Abatwa n'Abahutu bapfuye mu Rwanda bazize icyo bari cyo, bazize ubwoko bwabo.

Ko imibare bita sitatistike ihagaze ariko igahishwa ntitangarizwe rubanda : Mu Rwanda hose Abatutsi bapfuye ni 280.000*[11], Abahutu n'Abatwa bafuye mu Rwanda hose barenga 4,000,000*[12]. Abenshi bataburuwe bashyizwe mu nzibutso 110*[13] ziri mu gihugu cyose baravanze ; harimo Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa. Ikindi, umubare w'Abatutsi bari batuye mu mujyi wa Kigali muri 1991 wari 40,078*[14], birazwi neza ko Abatutsi bose bari batuye mu mujyi wa Kigali batashiriye kw'icumu, bisobanura ko muri Kigali, umubare w'Abatutsi, abapfuye bose uri munsi y'uriya mubare wa 40,078. Inshuro zirindwi zo hasi y'umubare w'abari mu rwibutso rwa Gisozi-Kigali.

Dufashe nk'Urwibutso rwa Kigali-Gisozi : Urwibutso rwa Gisozi rushyinguyemo abishwe ni 259.000 kandi abantu abari batuye umujyi wa Kigali bari abaturage 232.770*[15]. Uyu mubare uri munsi cyane wuw'abashyinguwe mu nzibutso zose zo muri Kigali ugera kuri 309,000 bishwe. Ikibazo n'uko kugeza n'ubu usibye jenoside Tutsi, ntabisobanuro bifatika, mwebwe ubwanyu Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika mutanga kuri iyi mibare itumvikana kugirango UKURI nya kuri kugaragare. Ni ngomwa ko uko kuri gushyirwa imbere kugirango abiciwe n'abishe basabane imbabazi. Abanyarwanda twese dusabane imbabazi habeho ubwiyunge.

Abayobozi ba FPR nti biyemeje (mumanyanga) kugerekeranya jenoside ebyiri kubera inyota y'ubutegetsi n'inyungu za politiki *[16].

Ubuyobozi bwa FPR mu kugerekeranya jenoside ebyiri (2) ntibwari bugamije se kongera ingufu n'inyungu za politiki ?

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Abanyarwanda barateganya kugeza icyifuzo cyabo ku Nama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe umutekano kugira ngo isuzume aho Jenoside ebyiri zo mu Rwanda zihurira.

Jenoside ya mbere, kuva ku ya 1 Mutarama 1994, kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994, yamaze iminsi 100 cyangwa umwaka umwe nk'uko byagaragajwe n'umwanzuro wa ONU 995 (8 Ugushyingo 1994), washinze Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda i Arusha (ICTR) urwo rukiko ruburanisha umuryango w'Abahutu gusa n'ubwo Jenoside yamaze iminsi 100 yemewe na ONU n'umuryango mpuzamahanga bari bategereje ko haburanisha umuntu wese waba yarakoze amarorerwa muri icyo gihe cy'iminsi ijana.

Jenoside ya kabiri yatangajwe na FPR mu buryo bw'ubwenge buhanitse, jenoside yo kuva ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994, bityo iba jenoside yamaze iminsi 1550 (imyaka 5). Kuva mu 1996, FPR yashyizeho "Itegeko Ngenga ryo ku ya 30 Kanama 1996 ryerekeye imitunganyirize y'ikurikirana ry'ibyaha bigize icyaha cya jenoside cyangwa ibyaha byibasiye inyokomuntu, byakozwe kuva ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994". Inyeshyamba z'abarwanyi ba APR/NRA baturutse muri Uganda binjiye bafite intwaro mu ntoki zahitanye buri wese ndetse n'ibyari mu nzira yabo byose, bashaka gusibanganya no guhisha ibyaha bakoze muri icyo gihe.

Muri gahunda yayo imaze igihe kirekire, FPR yakoresheje ONU (Umuryango w'Abibumbye) kugira ngo icyifuzo cyayo cyemerwe mu miryango mpuzamahanga. Bityo, ibaruwa yo ku ya 11 Mata 2014, Perezida w'Inama y'Umutekano yandikiye Umunyamabanga Mukuru yatumye inama y'Inama y'Umutekano yemerera FPR kwinjiza ibikoresho bya jenoside n'ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside mu nyandiko za ONU*[17]. Ni muri iyo nama (S/2014/265) aho FPR yashimangiye umugambi wayo : jenoside kuva ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994. FPR ivuga ibinyuze muri Loni, ko yinjiye mu Rwanda guhagarika jenoside, mu gihe hazwi neza ko RPF/NRA yateye u Rwanda ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. None se ibi bivuze iki? - Inyeshyamba zose za FPR (APR/NRA) ziri mubahohotewe na jenoside, ndetse n'izitari zifite imiryango mu Rwanda*[18]. Niba harabayeho jenoside muri iki gihe kuva ku ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku ya 6 Mata 1994, yari jenoside y'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa.

Itegeko N° 18/2008 ryo ku wa 23 Nyakanga 2008, rirebana no guhashya icyaha cy'ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside (Igazeti ya Leta N° 20 yo ku wa 15 Ukwakira 2008), rirahindagurika cyane kandi ntirisobanutse na gato ; imbibi z'iyi ngengabitekerezo ntizisobanutse habe na gato. Kuba ivugwamo Abatutsi gusa bivuze ko andi moko atari muri iri tegeko nshinga. Ibi bigize ivangura rishingiye ku miryango itavuzwe, mu gihe

jenoside, uko yateguwe, ishyirwa mu bikorwa, hamwe n'ingaruka zayo byagize ingaruka ku Banyarwanda bose kimwe, nta kuvangura. Iri tegeko rigamije gucamo Abanyarwanda ibice. Rigamije gukura igice kimwe cy'umuryango w'Abanyarwanda mu buzima bw'imibereho myiza, ubukungu na politiki by'igihugu cyabo. Ikirenze ibyo byose, rigamije kubashinja, kubaca intege, no kubahindura abacakara mu gihugu cyabo.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika y'u Rwanda,

Muribuka imbwirwaruhame ya Madamu Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza imbere y'urwibutso rwa jenoside y'I Gisozi, Kigali, tariki ya 16 mutarama 2010, nyuma y'aho agarutse mu Rwanda avuye mu buhungiro. Icyo gihe yasabye ibi bikurikira : ''Kwemera no gufata kimwe abacikacumu bose, guharanira ubutabera bwa buri muntu wese, gushaka ubwiyunge hagati y'abanyarwanda bose''.
Mu mwanya wo kwakira uwo umwana utashye iwabo mu gihugu cye, yageretsweho kugira Ingengabitekerezo n'amacakubiri, bimuviramo ighano kiremereye cyo gufungwa imyaka 15. Yatawe muri yombi yongera gufungwa muri Kamena 2025 hakurikijwe ingingo ya 106 y'amategeko mpanabyaha. Iyi ngingo inyuranyije n'amahame amwe n'amwe y'itegeko nshinga.
None se muzagira ubutwari bwo kuvugisha ukuri ? Kuko guhitamo kuvugisha ukuri n'ukuba ingabo y'intwari itsindira mu kuri bitandukanye no guhitamo gupfana ubugwari kuko bugendera mu mafuti yangana no kuvuga ukuri.

Ku byerekeye Imfashanyo zagenewe abacikacumu (abacikacumu : Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa), zirenga amamiliyari y'amadolari. Abanyarwanda bibaza uko zarigishijwe ntibabone igisubizo, na make yabagejejweho yakoreshejwe nabi bikabije : Izo mfashanyo se zahawe abacikacumu b'Abatusti bonyine, abacikacumu b'Abatwa n'Abahutu ntibatashye se amara masa ! Ukuri mu baturarwanda kuri hehe mw'isaranganya ryimfashanyo imiryango mpuzamahanga yageneye abacikacumu bo mu Rwanda.

Aho ibihe bigeze mwagombye gushyira mu gaciro mukavuga UKURI nk'uko iyi baruwa yagusobanuye haruguru, aho gukomeza gushinyagurira abanyarwanda mubacamo ibice ari abahise, abariho n'abazaza, mutitaye no k'umuryango wanyu ugomba kurindwa ingaruka mbi za politiki ivangura amoko*[19] yashyizwe imbere na Leta muyobora. Abaturage b'u Rwanda barimo gupfa buhoro buhoro, nk'uko umugani uzwi cyane uvuga ngo "Akaburiye mu isiza ntikabonekera mu isakara." Hakenewe amaraso/ubuzima bushya. Abanyarwanda bakandamijwe kandi bagizwe abacakara/ iheruheru mugihugu cyabo mu gihe cy'imyaka 32 bagahumeka umwuka w'amahoro.

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Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika y'u Rwanda,

Iyi nyandiko irambuye igamije kwereka abaturarwanda, akarere k'ibihugu bikikije u Rwanda n'amahanga ko mwanze amahoro arambuye, mugihe mwirengagije gukemura ibibazo by'ingutu byugarije abanyarwanda, ko mwanze ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda kandi ko nimukomeza kwirengagiza UKURI muzaba mushyize u Rwanda mu kaga gakomeye. Uruhare ruzababarwaho ruzaba runini cyane mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ayo mateka nayo agomba kwandikwa bundi bushya kuko yagoretswe.

Mukubifuriza kugira ubushishozi mu mahoro.

Rugomboka Jean Damascène,

Perezida wa Pro-Justitia- Rwanda.

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Incamake :

APR/RPA : Armée Patriotique Rwandaise
NRA/ARN : National Resistance Army (Uganda)
FPR/RPF: Front Patriotique Rwandais
ONU/UNO: Organisation des Nations Unies
TPIR/ICTR : Tribunal Pénal Internationale pour Rwanda

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