

# “Uko Paulo Kagame yatanze abatutsi ho ibitambo”

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**JEAN-MARIE NDAGIJIMANA**

## UKO PAULO KAGAME YATANZE ABATUTSI HO IBITAMBO



Éditions La Pagaie  
Collection IBUKABOSE

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## **Abatuwe aka gatabo**

Aka gatabo ngatuye Abanyarwanda, Abarundi, Abanyekongo n’abandi bose bishwe urubozo mu ntambara yayogoje uRwanda guhera mu mwaka wa 1990.

Ngatuye ababyeyi banjye, Mama na Data ubu mutakiriho.

Mwantoje umuco w'ubworoherane, ubutabera no kurwanya akarengane. Ntimwahwemye kunyibutsa ko «Ukuri guca mu ziko ntigushye».

Ngatuye kandi abavandimwe n’inshuti baguye mu ntambara guhera muli 1994, cyane cyane muli 1994 na nyuma yaho, bazira inkomoko yabo cyangwa ibitekerezo bya politiki.

Imana ibahe iruhuko ridashira.

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## **Urutonde rw'impine**

MRND: Muvoma Revolisiyoneri Nasiyonali Iharanira Amajyambere y'Igihugu: Ishyaka ryashinzwe na Perezida Habyarimana mu mwaka wa 1975

CND: Inama nkuru y'igihugu ishingira amategeko

FAR: Ingabo z'u Rwanda

RTL: Radiyo Televisiziyo yigenga y'imisozi igihumbi

FPR: Umuryango w'Inkotanyi, ishami ry'innyeshyamba

APR: Ingabo z'umuryango w'Inkotanyi

ONU: Umuryango w'abibumbye

MINUAR: Ishami ry'umuryango w'abibumbye ryashyirihwe gufasha u Rwanda

AFDL: Ingabo ziharanira kubohoza Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo

HCR: Ishami ry'umuryango w'abibumbye rishinzwe impunzi

USAID: Umuryango nyamerika ufasha gutsura amajyambere

RFI: Radiyo mpuzamahanga y'u Bufaransa

TPIR: Urukiko mpanabyaha rwashyirihwe u Rwanda

OUA: Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afrika

HRW: Umuryango nyamerika ugamije kugenzura

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uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu

FIDH: Ishyirahamwe mpuzamahanga rishinzwe

uburenganzira bwa muntu

MDR: Muvoma iharanira demokarasi na Repubulika

NRA: Ingabo za Uganda

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## **Amagambo numvanye abayobozi ba FPR-Inkotanyi akamfasha kumva byinshi**

Paul Kagame, Perezida w'u Rwanda yaravuze ati: «*Demokarasi yacu, twebywe FPR, ni kalashnikov.*»

Ibyo byavugiwe mu gace FPR yari yafashe muri perefegitura ya Byumba azezi make mbere y'uko amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha ashirwaho umukono. Mbere yaho hari imbanzirizamushinga nyinshi z'ayo masezerano zashyizweho umukono n'impande zombi zari zihanganye. Inzira y'amahoro ntiyari igishidakanwaho. Uwo muni rero Paul Kagame yabaye nk'uha ingabo ze isomo ry'imyitwarire, ananutse nk'umusumari. Nuko Paul Kagame yigira imbere asa n'ukururuka ajya hagati y'insoresore z'abasirikari baririmbaga ibigwi bye n'ugutsinda kw'Inkotanyi.

Yegura kalashnikov yashajishijwe n'intambara ayerekeza hejuru ubwo isomo ry'imyitwarire ry'uwo muni kuri demokarasi riratangira, abaza ingabo ze ibibazo byinshi: «*Demokarasi ni iki? Kamarampaka ni iki?*» Ntiyategereza igisubizo cya ba kadogo, yongera gushyira

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ya mbunda hejuru arihanukira ati: «Demokarasi yacu, kamparampaka yacu ngiyi.» Yerekana ya mbunda ayizunguza hejuru y'umutwe we.

Bishatse kuvuga ngo demokarasi yabo ni kalashnikov. Bamwakiza amashyi y'urufaya. Kagame aramwenyura cyane yishimira amagambo ateye ikimwaro amaze gusuka aho. Mu bwenge bwa Paul Kagame, demokarasi ni kalashnikov! Mbega isomo riteye isoni! Ab'i Kigali ibyo ntibabyitayeho na gato. Nyamara byerekana koko ko Paul Kagame nta na rimwe yigeze yemera amasezerano y'amahoro cyangwa demokarasi.

Jacques Bihozagara wahoze ahagarariye FPR mu Burayi yaravuze ati: «*Abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu hagati mu gihugu bameze nk'inzoka ihora yiyuburura ariko ntibiyibuze kuba inzoka.*»

I Parisi, muri Kamena 1992, imishyikirano bavugaga ko ihuza rwihishwa FPR na Leta y'u Rwanda yaracumbagiraga cyane. Nubwo yari ishyigikiwe cyane n'umuhuza Paul Dijoud, umuyobozi wali ushinze Afurika muri minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga y'u Bufaransa, impande zombi ntizashoboye kumvikana ku byajya ku murongo w'ibyigwa mu mishyikirano y'amahoro yateganyaga. Ikibazo cy'itahuka ry'impunzi z'Abatutsi ku bushake FPR ntiyifuzaga ko cyavugwaho, yitwaza ko kireba leta y'u Rwanda yonyine. Iyo umuntu

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yibutse ko FPR itera u Rwanda yitwaje icyo kibazo cy'impunzi z'Abatutsi, arushaho kumva amacenga Paul Kagame yigaragajeho mu gihe cy'imishyikirano y'amahoro. Igihe cyose Leta y'u Rwanda yashatse kubahiriza ibyifuzo bya FPR ku kibazo cy'impunzi, Paul Kagame yakoreshaga uko ashoboye ngo abiburizemo. I Parisi, itsinda ry'inyeshyamba riyobowe n'uwaje kuba Perezida Pasiteri Bizimungu wari komiseri ushinzwe itumanaho muri FPR icyo gihe, ryo ryifuzaga gusa ko bashyikirana ku bijyanye na demokarasi n'igabana ry'ubutegetsi! Ikibazo cy'itahurwa ry'impunzi n'icyagombaga kuza ku murongo w'ibygwa. Mu kiruhuko cya sasita, negereye Jacques Bihozagara wari uhagarariye FPR i Buruseri mu Bubuligi, akaba yari yagize uruhare cyane mu mirimo y'inama yo muri icyo gitondo. Ku byerekeye demokarasi mubaza impamvu FPR idahagarika intambara y'amasasu ngo ihangane ku rugamba rwa politiki kimwe n'andi mashyaka ya politiki atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi mu rwego rwo kwimakaza buhoro buhoro demokarasi mu gihugu. Yabaye nk'utangaye ansubiza yitonze ati: «Nyakuhahwa Ambasaderi, uravuga ayahe mashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi? Kuri twe ishyaka ritavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi ni FPR yonyine». Nanjye ntangazwa n'icyo gisubizo ampaye, musubizanya ubwitonzi ko hari amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi aharanira

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demokarasi atitwaje intwaro agizwe na MDR, PSD, PL, PDC n'andi mashyaka yose ashyigikiye ihagarikwa ry'imirwano. Mu kunsubiza numva ari nk'untuyeho umugani wo muri Bibiliya akoresha imvugo y'abavuzi b'amatungo ntahise nsobanukirwa agira ati: «*Inzoka iriyuburura ariko ntibiyibuza gukomeza kuba inzoka!*» Sinkubeshya sinigeze menya iby'inzoka.

Nuko Dogiteri Jacques Bihozagara ansobanurira atuje ko mu myumvire ya FPR, amashyaka yose nari navuze, FPR isanga akomoka kuri MDR PARMEHUTU na MRND. Ku bwe rero ayo mashyaka ntiyashoboraga guhindura amatwara, kuko yari nk'iyi nzoka yiyuburura ariko ntihindure kamere yayo. Nababajwe cyane n'icyo kigereranyo gikocamye kandi kigaragaza ubugome. Nubwo ayo mashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu atigeze ahisha icyo agambiriye ku buryo yashoboraga no kubizira ndetse akanagaragaza ku buryo busesuye ko ashyigikiye FPR, iyi yo yakomeje kuyabonamo umwanzi. Icyo gitekerezo cya Jacques Bihozagara nakigejeje kuri Minisitiri Bonifasi Ngurinzira wari uyoboye itsinda ryacu akaba n'umunyamuryango w'ishyamba MDR, antera utwatsi, anyumvisha ko nshobora kuba ntasobanukiwe neza uwo mugani. Ndetse yongeraho ashyenga ko Abashi b'i Cyangugu n'ubusanze basobwa n'ikinyarwanda. Nyamara

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igitekerezo cya Jacques Bihozagara cyari gisobanutse. FPR yashakaga gufata ubutegetsu ikoresheje amasasu kandi ntiyifuzaga na gato kubusangira n'irindi shyaka rya politiki. Abanyarwanda benshi babonaga amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu ari abagambanyi bafatanije n'Inkotanyi, aho FPR yo ntiyigeze yumva iryo banga rikomeye. Ahubwo amashyaka yakomeje kwibeshya ko ashobora gukorana na FPR mu kugeza igihugu kuri demokarasi nyayo.

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Muri Mata 1994, Jacques Bihozagara yarambwiye (Ambasaderi JMV Ndagijimana) ati: «*Abatutsi bo mu gihugu bashyigikiye Habyarimana igihe kirekire, bagaragaza batyo uruhande babogamiyeho.*»

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Patrick Mazimpaka wahoze ari Visi-Perezida wa mbere wa FPR akaba na ministiri muri Perezidansi yaravuze ati: «*Mwebwe abanyarwanda mwasigaye mu gihugu mu myaka mirongo itatu ishize muri ibipfayongo nk'abazungu!*»

Byumba, mu kwezi kwa Kanama 1994.

Mu rwego rwo gucengeza amatwara mashya abayobozi b'igihugu batangiye nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'inzego nshya z'ubuyobozi, abayobozi bakomeje ingendo bakoraga mu ntara bigaruriye. Umuhango wabereye i Byumba wahuriye kuri sitade y'i Byumba imbaga y'abaturage

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bazanywe ku ngufu bava mu duce twose tw'iyoye prerefegitura kimwe n'abo muri Kigali ngali. Mwibuke ko igice kinini cya Byumba cyari cyarafashwe n'inyeshyamba kuva mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990. Birumvikana ko abaturage bo muri ako karere bibasiwe n'ubwicanyi ndengakamere bwakozwe n'ingabo za Paul Kagame kuva zigarurira ako karere.

Uwo munsu rero, sitade y'i Byumba yarakubise iruzura, nkuko byagendaga MRND itaracyura igihe. Abayobozi babiri bari bayoboye ibyo birori bari basanzwe bazwi cyane: ni Valensi Kajeguhakwa na Tewonesiti Lizinde, uwa mbere akaba yari Perefe wa Byumba uwa kabiri amwungirije. Bakaba kandi baragiranye ibibazo na Leta ya kera ya Habyarimana mbere yuko binjira mu nyeshyamba. Abo bagabo bahoze bubahwa bakaba baragizwe abamotsi bashinzwe kwamamaza amatwara ya Paul Kagame, mu ndirimbo zirata intsinzi, mu mbyino ndetse no mu bisingizo byogeza impinduramatwara ya FPR.

Za ndirimbo z'abarataga ibigwi bya Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana zongera guhabwa icyicaro, uretse ko gusa aho kuvuga MRND bahanikaga bavuga ARAPIYEFU (bisobanura Umuryango w'Inkotanyi RPF mu cyongereza). Nuko nkebutse hirya nsanga nsangiye agatangaro na bamwe muri bagenzi banjye bavuye mu yandi mashyamba twajijwe n'ibyabereye aho. Nyamara mu

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manama ya guverinoma amwe n'amwe nagiyemo, hari haremejwe burundu ko nta shyaka na rimwe ryemerewe kwamamaza amatwara ya politiki haba mu buryo bwa animasiyo, mitingi n'ubundi buryo ubwo ari bwose bwakorerwa mu ruhame. Byagaragaye ko mu by'ukuri FPR yo yari yariteguye bihagije ishiraho amatorero y'ababyina n'abaririmba bamamaza ibigwi byayo mu baturage. Mu gihe twari tucyishakisha muri Kigali yari yarahindutse amatongo, FPR yo yaducaga inyuma igenda ifata ibirindiro mu iyamamazamatwara ya politiki. Nibyo bita ubugambanyi muri politiki. Narahindukiye negera mugenzi wanjye wari unyicyaye ibumoso Patrick Mpazimpaka, Visi Perezida wa FPR akaba na minisitiri w'urubyiruko n'imikino, mubaza impamvu FPR itubahiriza amasezerano twagiranye? Aramwenyura, ansubiza anseka amfata nk'igipfayongo. Uburyo yabivuzemo bwarimo agasuzuguro n'ubwirasi agira ati: *«Mwebwe abanyarwanda bo mu gihugu, muri ibipfayongo nk'abazungu, kuko mwemera ibyo tubabwira byose!»*

Nahise musubiza mwibutsa ko amasezerano yumvikanyweho aba agomba kubahirizwa, waba uyarenzeho bituma nta kintu kizima cyagerwaho ku buryo burambye. Patrick Mazimpaka ntiyigeze yongera kunsubiza. Ababyinaga bari bahumuje umudiho wabo wa nyuma, mugenzi wanjye abakomera amashyi yivuye

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inyuma. Nta kindi nashoboraga kumubaza, kuko yari amaze kugereranya n'umuzungu w'igipfayongo, udahinduka ku ijambo! Ubusanzwe mu kinyarwanda kugereranya n'umuzungu bivuga ko ajijutse, ariko iyo bivuzwe n'umunyamuryango ukomeye wa FPR wakuriye mu nkambi z'impunzi «kumera nk'umuzungu» ni igitutsi gihambaye. Sinigeze nshaka kumenya niba mugenzi wanjye Mazimpaka angereranya n'abazungu yarabikoreye ubushake ashaka kunyereka ko ishyaka ryabo riruta ayandi. Gusa nubwo igisubizo cye cyari giteye akantu, cyatumye mpumuka burundu. Nuko mboneraho kumva neza ko uwo twitaga ko dufatanije mu kubaka igihugu, we yuririraga ku makuba y'abanyarwanda akabona urwaho rwo gushyiraho ingoma yikubira ubutegetsi maze FPR igahinduka ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, yisekera izo ngirwa mashyaka zindi yibeshya ko basangiye ubutegetsi. Nahise numva ko FPR itazigera yubahiriza ibyo yumvikanyeho n'andi mashyaka bahuriye muri guverinoma. Muri jye numvaga nashimira Patrick Mazimpaka wasaga n'unkanguye ambabaza. Mu mishyikirano yabereye i Parisi yo mu mwaka wa 1992, Patrick Mazimpaka yari yanyiyeretse ukundi, mubonamo inyangamugayo, nka wa muntu ufata nk'uwo musanganywe. Ntiyari ya nyeshyamba y'intagondwa yuje ubugome nka bamwe mu bo bari hamwe, ahubwo nabonaga ari umugabo ushyira mu gaciro kandi

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ugaragaza ubushake bwo kubaka ariko adatabangamiye amatwara y'ishyaka ryabo. Nabonaga ari umunyabwenge, ubona yatega amatwi uwo bashyikirano atamwishisha. Akaba ari naho yari atandukaniye cyane na mugenzi we Jacques Bihozagara. Uwo muni muri sitade y'i Byumba yari yuzuye igasagura, nahise numva ko amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha ari urwitwazo rwo gukinga mu maso ya ba bazungu b'ibipfayongo bizera ibyo FPR ibabwiye byose.

Nahise numva cyane cyane ko intambara itagira ishingiro FPR yashoje, kuva mu ntangiriro zayo, yari ishingiye ku binyoma bisa yagiye itondekanya kimwe ku buryo nta washoboraga kutagwa mu mutego w'uburyarya bwayo, nanjye ntikuyemo. Kuri uwo muni w'ukwezi kwa Kanama 1994, turi i Byumba, nibajije mu by'ukuri icyo nakoraga muri ako kaduruvayo, mbona ikinyoma n'ubugome byimikwa nk'ingaragazacyerekezo y'abayobozi b'u Rwanda rushya.

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## Iriburiro

Ikibazo cy'itsembabwoko ryakozwe mu Rwanda gikomeje gutera impaka ndende kandi zibabaje mu banyarwanda no mu bakunda u Rwanda. Mu Bufaransa, Bwana Bernard Kouchner, minisitiri waho w'ububanyi n'amahanga, ni we wakomeje kugenda akizura mu magambo menshi atahwemye gukwirakwiza. Mu kiganiro yagiranye na Radiyo Europe 1 ku itariki ya 2 Ugushyingo 2007, Bwana Bernard Kouchner yatangaje ko mu mwaka wa 1994 «Imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abahutu yishe Abatutsi». Amashyirahamwe y'Abahutu hirya no hino ku isi hose ihita yamaganira kure iyo mvugo isiga icyaha uwitwa Umuhutu wese, ikanagira umwera uwitwa Umututsi wese! Agatsinda, ayo magambo yahuriranye n'itangazwa ry'uruzinduko minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bufaransa yiteguraga gukora mu murwa mukuru w'u Rwanda. Ese Bwana Bernard Kouchner utarigeze ahisha ubucuti afitanye na Perezida Paul Kagame yaba yarashakaga kugaragaza ko ashyingikiye ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda bugizwe ahanini n'ingabo z'Abatutsi za FPR kugira ngo yoroshye amakimbirane yari hagati y'u Bufaransa n'u Rwanda? Ese yaba yaracitswe n'ijambo akicuza atakibasha kurihamagara?

Nyuma y'ayo magambo, amashyirahamwe nyarwanda

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menshi yatanze ikirego ashinja Bernard Kouchner isebanya rishingira ku ivanguramoko, kuko mu myumvire y'abanyarwanda, amagambo y'uwo mu minisitiri yasigaga Abahutu bose itsembabwoko. Abarega babikoreye kurwana ku cyubahiro n'uburenganzira bwabo nk'ubwoko burenganywa bene ako kageni, kandi ntibazahwema kuvuga iribaniga bivuye inyuma.

Ikibazo umuntu yakwibaza mu by'ukuri ni igikurikira: Ese Kouchner yaba yarakoresheje amagambo ajijisha abizi kandi abishaka? Cyangwa ikibazo cyaba gihishe imigambi ya politiki yindi tutabona? Imvugo nk'iyi ikomatanya yagira izihe ngaruka ku babarizwa mu bwoko bw'Abahutu haba mu Rwanda, mu Bufaransa ndetse n'ahandi ku isi? Guharabika Abahutu bishobora kugira izihe ngaruka ku bwiye bw'abanyarwanda? Kuba abanyarwanda b'Abahutu baratanze ikirego byaba bifite ishingiro? Babikora se ni ubuhe butumwa bifuzaga gutanga? Ese bari babifitiye uburenganzira imbere y'amategeko? Ubwo burenganzira se bugarukira he?

Muri iyi nyandiko, ndagerageza gusesengura imvugo ya minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bufaransa ku itsembabwoko ryakozwe mu Rwanda n'ibitekerezo bihishe inyuma y'iyi mvugo. Ndagerageza kumvikanisha ingaruka zihishe inyuma y'ikibazo twakwita icy'ururimi kandi mu by'ukuri imvugo yakoreshejwe ihishe imigambi ikomeye mu rwego rwa politiki ku birebana n'u Rwanda.

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Nibyo koko hali Abahutu bakoze ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko babikorera Abatutsi basangiye igihugu kandi hali n'Abatutsi nabo bishe Abahutu. Gusa ikizwi na bese ni iki: Abahutu bese ntibakoze ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi, kandi si ubwoko bw'Abahutu bwose bwakoze itsembabwoko nkuko Bernard Kouchner ashaka kubyumvikanisha. Amapererza yakozwe kuri icyo kibazo yerekana ahubwo ko Abahutu bakorewe ubwicanyi bwashyirwa mu rwego rw'ibyaha by'itsembabwoko, nubwo bitaremezwa ku mugaragaro n'amahanga. Intagondwa z'Abatutsi zo muri FPR zishe ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu zibarobanura kuva mu Ukwakira 1990, no mu mwaka wa 1994 by'umwihariko.

Sinirengagiza ingorane n'ingaruka nkunze kugira mu kumvikanisha igitekerezo cyanjye kuri iki kibazo gishamikiyeho ibindi byinshi kandi gihishe inyungu mu rwego rwa gisirikari na politiki. Nzi neza ingaruka zabyo. Nzi kandi ko bazandega gupfobya no gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko, bikoze n'ubutegetsi bwa Paul Kagame n'abo hanze bamushyigikiye, harimo ndetse n'abari mu Bufaransa. Sinzibera mpindura na hato imyumvire yanjye kuri iki kibazo. Nemera ko habaye itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994. Nabitangaje ku mugaragaro guhera muri Mata 1994, mu gihe abenshi bemeza ubu ko bavugira

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Abatutsi n'Abahutu bishwe bari baruciye bakarumira muri icyo gihe. Ihame rindi nshingiraho imyumvire yanjye ni uko FPR ya Paul Kagame yakoze ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko ibikorera Abahutu mu turere yari yarigaruriye. Ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye ubwoko bw'Abahutu, bwarakomeje Paul Kagame akimara gufata ubutegetsi, buba agahomamunwa bugeze mu mashyamba ya Zayire aho impunzi z'Abahutu zigera ku bihumbi 400 zishwe zirashwe n'abasilikari ba FPR hagati ya 1996 na 1998.

Ibimenyetso simusiga ni byinshi. Hari ubuhamya bwinshi buteye ubwoba bwatanzwe n'abasilikari ba FPR bagize uruhare muri ayo marorerwa. Ibyegeranyo by'amaperereza y'abacamanza mpuzamahanga ndetse n'iby'imiryango mpuzamahanga yihariye byatangajwe kuri icyo kibazo, ariko ntibyagira icyo bitanga gifatika. Bimeze nkaho itsembabwoko ndengakamere ryibasiye Abatutsi za televiziyo z'isi yose zibireba ryateye ikinya isi ku buryo itagishaka kumva iby'u Rwanda na miliyoni z'abapfu barwo batavugwa, nkaho bitagaragara! Bamwe bati: «Ibyo ari byo byose, ubwicanyi bwakozwe na FPR bwakorewe rubanda nyamwinshi yari mu gihugu!». Abandi bati: «N'ubusanzwe Abahutu ni benshi ku buryo batarimburwa n'itsembabwoko». Ese mu gihe cy'amasaha make Bwana Bernard Kouchner yamaze mu Rwanda

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muli 1994 yaba yarabashije kwiyumvisha neza amarorerwa yaberaga hose icyo gihe? Nta cyambuza kubyemera kuko muzi nk'umuntu w'inraribonye mu bikorwa byo gutabara abababaye mu bihe bikomeye. Gusa ariko ngahita nongera ko nanjye ubwanjye nsa nkaho nari mpari. Nabonye imbaga y'Abahutu benshi bakora amahano. Inshuti z'Abahutu nari naraye mbonye, zaburiwe irengero bukeye bwaho. Nahawe ubuhamyana n'abarokotse, n'imiryango y'abarokotse, ubuhamyana bw'insoresore z'abasilikari ba FPR biyamiriraga bavuga uburyo babonye cyangwa bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bw'Abahutu bo mu Ruhengeri, Byumba, na Kibungo. Nakiriye mu biganza byanjye icyegeranyo cy'impuguke y'umunyamerika Robert Gersony isobanura itsembatsemba ryakorewe Abahutu hagati ya Nyakanya na Nzeri 1994 mu maperefegitura amwe n'amwe y'igihugu. Nasomye ibyegeranyo byose bya Amnesty International, ibya Human Rights Watch n'iby'indi miryango mpuzamahanga itegamiye kuri Leta, icyegeranyo cya Garretton ku bwicanyi bwahitanye ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu biciwe mu mashyamba ya Zayire. Nahawe ubuhamyana n'abasivili n'abasilikari bahoze muri AFDL ya Laurent Désiré Kabila bambwiye uko abasilikari b'Abatutsi ba FPR bagiye muri Zayire bavuga ko bajyanwe no gukura Mobutu ku butegetsi, nyamara bakaba ahubwo baririrwaga barasa banasuka

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ibisasu bya kimbuzi ku manywa y'ihangu bigahitana impunzi z'Abahutu zari zaranyanyagiye mu mashyamba y'inzitane yo muri Zayire. Nanaganiye birambuye n'abasilikari bakuru n'abayobozi bakuru mu bya politiki ba FPR bahunze ingoma ya Paul Kagame kubera impamvu z'umutekano, bamunzwe n'agahinda kandi bicuza ko babeshywe. Navuga nk'abasilikari bakuru bakoze mu nzego z'ubutasi biboneye iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana, kimwe na bamwe mu bagendaga hafi ya Paul Kagame bamurinda bagiye bakurikiranira hafi amarorerwa yagizemo uruhare.

Sinarangiza ntavuze ko nagiranye ikiganiro gihebuje n'uwahoze ari Umushinjacyaha w'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, Carla Del Ponte, wambwiye igitutu yashyizweho bamubuza gushyira ahagaragara ibirego bigaragaza ibyaha by'ubwicanyi bwakozwe na FPR, ikibazo cy'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, n'uburyo guverinoma y'Amerika yabujije impuguke ya HCR Robert Gersony, ikomoka mu gihugu cy'Amerika, kujya guha ubuhamya Umushinjacyaha wa TPIR ku bwicanyi bwakorewe Abahutu yari yashyize mu cyegeranyo cye muri Nzeri 1994. Kubera iki? Kubera ko ibyegeranyo cy'ayo maperereza byari kugaragaza byanze bikunze aharigitishirijwe miliyoni na miliyoni z'abantu bishwe na

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Paul Kagame n'agatsiko ke k'inkoramaraso. Kubera ko nyine hari byinshi badashaka ko bimenywa n'amahanga. Ibikorwa kuva muri 1994 byose usanga ari nkaho agatsiko k'intagondwa z'Abatutsi bo muri FPR zahawe uburenganzira busesuye bwo kurimbura abanyarwanda. Ngiryo ibanga rizira kuvugwa.

Nkuko byemejwe n'Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ku byerekeye irangiza ry'imanza, Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR-ICTR) rwiteguye guhagarika imilimo yarwo mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2014. Ibyegeranyo bitagira ingano byakozwe n'impuguke Umuryango w'Abibumbye wahembye akayabo k'amafranga bizamara iki? Izo mpuguke twabonanye kenshi, zamaze imyaka zizenguruka isi, zikorana umurava n'ubuhanga zikusanya ibimenyetso by'ibyaha by'intambara, ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu, ibyaha by'itsembabwoko byakozwe na FPR zibikorera abaturage b'Abahutu mu Rwanda no muri Zaire. Ibyo byegeranyo rero ni ukuvuga ko mu gihe kiri imbere bizarigiswa kubera inyungu za politiki bakingira ikibaba abicanyi bari ku butegetsi i Kigali. Ubwo se ntibyaba ari uguha urwaho no kwemerera inkoramahano gukomeza gukora ibyaha mu rwego mpuzamahanga? Abacitse ku icumu rya Paul Kagame bizaborohera kuvuga bati: «Kagame yishe

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ababyeyi bacu none ahembwe ubudahangarwa kugeza igihe azapfira. Kubera ko yatsinze intambara. Ubwo nibwo butabera bw'Abazungu! Niba ari ngombwa kwifashisha intambara mu kugera ku butegetsi kugira ngo uhembwe ubudahangarwa budashira, natwe tuzashoza intambara. Maze tubone uko twihimura!»

Sinemera ukuntu Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe umutekano ishyigikira ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'Inkotanyi. Sinshobora kwihanganira kubona ukuntu abakomoka mu bwoko bw'Abahutu bakomeza kwicwa nta nkurikizi.

Usoma iyi nyandiko aribaza impamvu mfashe icyemezo cyo guca umuziro kandi ntirengagije uburemere bw'iki kibazo. Mfashe icyemezo cyo kuvugira ku mugaragaro ibyo benshi batekereza bacecetse, kuko amazi yarenze inkombe. Kubera ko hari abiha gukabya mu mafuti bita gupfobya no gukwirakwiza ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko ibigaragara ko ari ukuri kuzima, bemeza ko Abahutu bose ari inkoramaraso naho Abatutsi bose bakaba abere. Kandi bazi neza ko atari ukuri. Hari abicanyi mu Bahutu, hakaba abicanyi mu Batutsi, hakaba n'imbaga y'abanyarwanda bagowe bazira irari ry'abakora politiki n'ubugome bw'abihisha inyuma y'ubwoko bwabo, babugira ingwate cyangwa babwitwikira ngo bakore amahano kubera inyungu za politiki.

Impamvu ya nyuma ishingiyeye ku mibereho y'ejo hazaza

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y'abo mvukamo. Byanze bikunze, Abanyarwanda bagomba kwiwunga kugira ngo bafatanye mu kongera kubaka igihugu cyabo. Birumvikana ko abantu badashobora kugera ku bwiwunge bagikorera mu kinyoma n'ivangura. Intego ya mbere yubaka ubweningihugu mu gihugu icyari cyo cyose ku isi ni uburinganire bw'abenegihugu. Bivuga ko bose bagomba mbere na mbere kunganya uburenganzira bwo kubaho no kutabogamirwa n'ubutabera. Iyo hari igice cy'abaturage gishobora kwicwa, gutsembwa nta nkurikizi mu maso y'ubutabera, icyo gihugu bavuga ko kigendera ku ivangura. Birumvikana ko muri icyo gihugu byaba ari inzizi kuvuga iby'uburinganire imbere y'amategeko ndetse n'ibyerekeye ubwiwunge.

Ku giti cyanjye, mvuka kuri ayo moko yombi arebana ay'ingwe. Kimwe n'abandi banyarwanda batabarika, ndi Umuhutu kuri Data, nkaba Umututsi kuri Mama. Mbese ndi imvange kandi bintera ishema. Intagondwa zikomeye ku by'ubwoko bw'indobanure zibyakire cyangwa zirerere! Iyo Umututsi cyangwa Umuhutu yishwe mu gihugu cyanjye, ni igice cyimwe cyanjye kiba gifuye. Iyo intagondwa z'Abatutsi n'Abahutu zisabana amagara zipfa amoko, dore ko ari byo bikunze kubaho, nabishaka ntabishaka, ni amagara yanjye ziba zishegesha. Nzarinda mvamo umwuka ntarashyigikira umugambi mubisha wo guharabika cyangwa guteranya Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

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Mbikoze byaba bisa no kwiyahura, kandi ntabarirwa mu biyahuzi!

Itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 ryahitanye abavandimwe banjye ku ruhande rw'Abatutsi, kimwe n'uko itsembabwoko ingabo za Paul Kagame zakoreye Abahutu ryahitanye abavandimwe banjye ku ruhande rw'Abahutu. Bamwe bagwa mu Rwanda abandi bagwa mu mashyamba yo muri Zayire. Washingira ku ki umbwira ngo nunamire bamwe abandi mbirengagize? Ngo nsabe ubutabera gukurikirana intagondwa z'Abahutu zishe babyara banjye b'Abatutsi ariko ngo nceceke mpagaze mu mirambo ya babyara banjye b'Abahutu bishwe n'intagondwa z'Abatutsi za FPR? Ngerageza kumva amarangamutima no kubogama abanyamahanga batewe no kubona amashusho menshi y'ubwicanyi ndengakamere bwo muri 1994. Ariko nibareke n'abandi bazize amarorerwa atarerekanywe ku mateleviziyo bavuge binigire, bavuge ibyo bahagazeho, bunamire ababo, bityo batange umusanzu mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ukuri, kuko ari yo nzira yonyine izafasha abanyarwanda kugera ku bwiyunge. Ntirirarenga ku muntu ushakisha ndetse n'ushaka kumenya ukuri. Abahisemo gupfuka amatwi batinya kumenya ukuri, ntibazagira amahwemo batarumva imiborogo y'abishwe batagaragaye ku mateleviziyo.

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Amarorerwa yakorewe Abayahudi mu muji wa Auschwitz yasakaye hose nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose. Nubwo ukuri mu bigo byicirwagamo Abayahudi kwagaragaye nyuma y'intambara, kwabereye amahanga ikimenyetso cy'ubugome n'ubunyamaswa bw'ingoma ndimbuzi ya Hiteleri n'intagondwa ze z'aba NAZI. Mu byerekeye itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba, umuntu ashobora guca akarongo kagaragaza intangiro mu gushakisha ukuri ku byabaye, ariko biragoye guca akarongo ka nyuma mu gihe ukuri kose kutarajya ahagaragara. Aho ni ho hava ingingo ituma bavuga ko ibyaha by'itsembabwoko, n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu muri rusange bidasaza kandi bidakomererwa. Nk'u Bufaransa bwategereje imyaka 70 kugira ngo bwemera itsembabwoko ryakorewe abaturage bo mu gihugu cya Arumeniya. Abaharanira ukuri n'ubutabera mu Rwanda rero ntibagomba gucika intege. Imyaka cumi n'umunani ni myinshi, ariko ni na mike mu buzima bw'igihugu.

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Ukuri guca mu nzira iziguye ikinyoma kigaca mu nzira y'ubusamo, ariko ukuri kurashira kukagera iyo kujya.

Nta wubakira igihugu ku binyoma n'umwijujuto wa rubanda nyamwinshi. Ibyo bireba ibihugu byose by'isi. Iyi nyandiko igamije kugaragaza uburyo ivangura rikorwa mu kwibuka abazize itsembabwoko no mu gukurikirana abagize uruhare muri ubwo bwicanyi, niba amahanga atabihagurukiye, rishobora gutuma abanyarwanda babona andi mahano yatuma itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994 rigaragara nkaho ari impanuka isanzwe. Simpanura amahano, ariko buri munsu ndumva, nkanabona intimba y'abaturage bacitse ururondogoro, baheze mu gihiraniro, bazirikana ubutitsa ariko bakakira akarengane bagirirwa bakubita agatoki ku kandi. Nta karengane gakomeye kurusha kudashobora kugira uburenganzira bumwe imbere y'amategeko ku banyarwanda bose. Iryo ni ivangura ry'ibanze kandi ririho rituma umuntu yibaza niba abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo kubaho n'uburinganire imbere y'amategeko y'igihugu cyabo. Amahanga, harimo n'u Bufaransa, itanga imfashanyo ya nyirarureshwa mu bikorwa byo kwiyubaka by'abarokotse itsembabwoko ryabaye mu Rwanda. Ikibabaje ni uko izo gahunda zihaza ku mugaragaro abacikacumu b'Abahutu bazize ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'Interahamwe na FPR. Mu by'ukuri,

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ubutegetsi bwa Paul Kagame ntibuzigera buhindura imyumvire ku birebana n'icyo kibazo, kubera ko ibyo bibaye byaba bivuga ko we ubwe yabanza kwemera ubwicanyi yakoze. Paul Kagame n'abo bafatanije bakoze amarorerwa y'indengakamere. Ntibazigera biyemeza icyaha. Ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, Abahutu, Abatutsi, n'Abatwa, ntibuteze kuzava kuri abo bayobozi b'inkoramaraso zishe ibihumbi n'ibihumbi bya bene wabo b'Abanyarwanda.

Iyi nyandiko ni intabaza isaba bene wacu b'Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa, n'inshuti zose z'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, n'abandi Bernard Kouchner abereye ku isonga, badahwema gutangaza inyungu bafitiye u Rwanda rw'ejo, kuzirikana iyo ngingo mu gusesengura ibyabaye n'ibiriho ubu mu Rwanda, batirengagije uburenganzira n'inyungu zemewe n'amategeko z'amoko atuye icyo gihugu. Ni ngombwa guhora dushishoza kugira ngo tubashe kuburizamo icyateza irindi tsembabwoko. Uburyo bwiza bwo kubigeraho, ni ugufasha Abanyarwanda kwiyinga. Ni ugushirika ubwoba mu kugaragaza ibyaha byakozwe n'abari bahanganye bese, nta kwirengagiza ibyaha ingabo za Paul Kagame zakorye amagana n'amagana y'abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Ni ukwemera ko abicanyi b'Abatutsi bakurikiranwa bagahanwa nk'abicanyi b'Abahutu bakoze

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itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi. Byaba ari ukwibeshya kumva ko wakubaka igihugu cy'abanyarwanda ufata Abahutu, bagize 85% by'Abanyarwanda nk'aho ari abenegihugu b'imburagaciro badafite uburenganzira bwo kubaho no kunamira ababo. Bene iryo vangura nk'iryo ribuza bamwe kwibuka ababo ntiryemewe, rihatse ingaruka mbi nyinshi n'ibyubi byazasenyuka aka gahugu kaku kahoze gatahamo Imana.

Kuba uzi ko amagana n'amagana y'Abahutu bishwe bazira ubwoko bwabo gusa hanyuma ababishwe ntibakurikiranwe n'inkiko zashyiriweho gukemura icyo kibazo, kwaba ari uguhakana ubumuntu bwabo. Byaba ari ukwemeza ko atari ibiremwa muntu nka bagenzi babo bo mu yandi moko. Ibyo ntibyemewe rwose. Niyo mpamvu, usoma iyi nyandiko yagombye kumva ko ari uburyo nabonye bwo kugaragaza intambara ndwana nsaba uburinganire, ukuri, ubutabera n'uburenganzira bwa buri wese, kuko ari byo mahame yonyine azafasha Abanyarwanda kubaka igihugu cyiyunze aho buri wese yumva ntacyo yishisha kandi afite umutekano nyawo. Iyi nyandiko iragaragaza intambara ndwana namagana ivanguramoko rigayitse rishobora gusubiza igihugu cyacu mu rindi tsembabwoko. Sinabona imbaraga kandi sinakwemera kwishyira muri bene ayo mahano. Ntabivuze ku mugaragaro naba ntarangije umurimo

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nshinzwe. Ntabikoze naba nigaragajeho ubugome. Ibi mbikoze mu izina rya benewacu bazize ubugome bushingiye ku moko na politiki. Ibi mbikoze mu izina ry'abarokotse amarorerwa yo mu mwaka wa 1994. Abapfobya n'abahakana itsembabwoko ry'abatutsi

Bernard Kouchner yaravuze ati: «*Kuvuga ko FPR yakoze itsembabwoko ry'Abahutu ni uburyo bwo gupfobya itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi*».

Ubu nsohoye iyi nyandiko nzi ikintegereje. Guharabikwa nshinjwa guhakana no gupfobya itsembabwoko. Ni ikibazo cy'urupfu n'ubuzima, cyane cyane iyo uzi ibikorera abahakana bakanapfobya itsembabwoko bivuye inyuma. Iyo ntambara niyemeje kuyirwana, kubera ko ukuri kutagira ikiguzi. Nambutse akarwa nta ngingimira. Nahunze igihugu cyanjye kubera impamvu za politiki kuva muri 1994. Nakiriwe n'u Bufaransa kubera ko icyo gihugu nabonaga kindutira icyuka cy'iterabwoba kiba mu guhugu cyanjye. Niba ngomba kubaho nanone ntinya kuvuga mu gihugu nise iwacu ha kabiri, simbona icyo naba nkora mu Bufaransa.

Mwumvise ko Bernard Kouchner ashinja guhakana no gupfobya itsembabwoko cyangwa abahakana ko Paul Kagame ari we wahagaritse itsembabwoko cyangwa abahamya ko yicishije Abatutsi bali basanzwe baba mu

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Rwanda kugira ngo ashobore gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Cyangwa ko nawe ubwe yakozwe ibyaha by'itsembabwoko. Nyamara ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bitagira ingano bya FPR bwanditswe mu byegeranyo byemewe by'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, by'imiryango itabogamye iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu nka Human Rights Watch na Amnesty International. Guverinoma ya Paul Kagame n'inshuti ze bemeza ko gusaba ko hagaragazwa ukuri kose ku itsembabwoko ryakozwe mu Rwanda ari uburyo bwo guhakana itsembabwoko.

Amanama, imyigaragambyo, amanama mbwirwaruhame, ibiganiro bikozwe bidateguwe cyangwa ngo biterwe inkunga n'ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda bihita bibangamirwa bikitwa ko ari ibipfobya itsembabwoko, bitaranaba. Ubwo buryo bwo kubangamira abashaka kwibuka ababo butangiye gucengera mu mico y'amwe mu mashyirahamwe ku buryo atanagitinya gukoresha imbaraga abuzabantu kuvuga. Ibyo byagaragariye i Buruseli mu Bubiligi n'i Den Haag (La Haye) mu Buholandi.

Mu Bufaransa, ibikorwa bigamije gucecekesha abantu ku ngufu no kuburizamo ibyabo kugeza ubu bikorwa mu itangazamakuru cyangwa muri politiki nkuko bigaragara kuri Bernard Kouchner. Hari n'ibinyuzwa mu nyandiko

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z'amashyirahamwe nka *Survie, Le Collectif des parties civiles pour le Rwanda*, na *Genocide made in Rwanda*. Abanyamuryango bo muri iri shyirahamwe ryaratinyutse risuka indobo y'irangi ritukura ku mutwe w'uwahoze ari minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga, Bwana Hubert Védrine, ubusanzwe tuziho gukunda igihugu, kutabogama no gushishoza. Iryo shyirahamwe ryahanwe n'ubutabera kubera ko ryendereje Bwana Védrine.

Urundi rugero: Ku itariki ya 20 Ukwakira 2007, ishyirahamwe *Démocraties* likorera i Paris ryateguye inama ku byerekeye «Uruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu makuba yagwiriyeye u Rwanda», iyo nama yabereye ku cyicaro cya Sénat i Paris. Hasigaye iminsi mike ngo iyo nama ibe, amwe mu mashyirahamwe y'Abafaransa abogamiye ku butegezi bw'i Kigali yakoze ibishoboka byose ngo aburizemo icyo gikorwa. Babuze uko bagira, bakoresha ibinyamakuru mu guharabika iyo nama yari yateganyije guha ijambo abanyepolitiki, abasilikari n'abanyamakuru. Ikigo nyarwanda gitanga amakuru (Rwanda News Agency) cyasohoye inkuru cyise «Inama y'abahakana itsembabwoko igiye kubera ku cyicaro cya Sénat y'Abafaransa», kinatangaza ko cyabibwiwe n'uwitwa Alain Gauthier, umuyobozi wa *Le Collectif des parties civiles pour le Rwanda*.

Iyo nkuru yavuye i Kigali yashinjaga abateguye iyo nama

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ko bagamije guhakana no gupfobya itsembabwoko. Alain Gauthier we yageze n'aho yandika ibaruwa yamagana inama anayishyikiriza Perezida w'akanama gashinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga ka Sénat, Bwana Xavier de Villepin, wagombaga no gufata ijamba muri iyo nama. Iyo nkuru yo mu Rwanda yamvuzemo yitwaza ko isubira mu magambo yabwiwe na Alain Gauthier igira iti: «Ni JMV Ndagijimana wigeze kuba ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Parisi watangaje iby'iyi nama. Akaba ari umwe mu bantu b'ingenzi bahakana itsembabwoko baba mu Bufaransa». Nguko uko inkuru y'ikigo gitanga amakuru yanshyize ku isonga ry'abahakana itsembabwoko badashobora no kumbwira icyo bashingiyeho bampamya icyo kinyoma cyambaye ubusa. Ni nde watekereza ko mu Bufaransa, igihugu kizwiho demokarasi isesuye, haba abantu bumva ko bashobora gukora icyo bishakiye ndetse banakinisha gutangaza ibitakaragasi babishinja abo badahuje imyumvire? Bwana Alain Gauthier yashoboraga kuza muri iyo nama akavuga ibyo yahagazeho aho guca urwa Mbehe nk'uwariye bitugukwaha yo mu bihugu bitagendera ku mategeko.

Ntibyarangiriye aho, kuko hari abandi bashatse kumbangamira. Ku itariki ya 14 Werurwe 2009, Ishyirahamwe rikorera mu mujyi wa Angoulême ryari ryantumiriye gutanga ikiganiro mbwirwaruhamwe ku kibazo cyo kwibuka abahitanwe n'itsembabwoko, muri

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gahunda y'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Charles Onana, umunyamakuru ukomoka muri Kameruni, yagombaga gufata ijamba akagira icyo avuga ku rukiko mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda. Hari hateguwe icyumba mu kigo ndangamuco cyagombaga kubera inama.

Inama iraye iri bube, impuzamashyirahamwe yo muri ako karere ibarizwa mu rugaga bita Maison des Peuples et de la Paix, isaba ku mugaragar abategetsi b'Akarere ka Angoulême ko bafata icyemezo cyo kubuza uwo bitaga *ruharwa* gukandagira muri uwo muji. Uwo ruharwa ninjye bavugaga. Akarere ka Angoulême, ari nako nyiri iyo nzu, kahise kisubiraho nta perereza rikozwe, kimana uburenganzira bwo gukoresha inama bise iy'abahakana itsembabwoko muri iyo nzu. Ngo kuvuga ko nigeze kuba Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga byonyine byatumye abari bateguye inama bahakanirwa icyumba bari bemerewe.

Tureka kubitindaho! Nubwo havutse imbogamizi zitunguranye, abateguye inama ntibarekeye iyo ngo baratsinzwe. Bahise bumvikana n'umuntu ufite akabari hafi aho nko muri metero 200 uvuye kuri cya cyumba ngo akabatize bakoreremo ikiganiro. Ku itariki ya 14 Werurwe saa munani, abagize ishyirahamwe ryari ryateguye iyo nama bagumye guhagarara imbere ya cya

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cyumba inama yagombaga kuberamo bategereje abayijemo ngo babarangire inzira ijya ku kabari aho ikiganiro cyari cyimuriwe. Ikiganiro cyiswe icy'abahakana itsembabwoko! Amaherezo, ikiganiro mbwirwaruhame cyitabiriwe n'abayobozi b'akarere, abihayimana, abaturage ba Angoulême n'abanyafurika kiba mu mutuzo, abo banyabinyoma bo bariheza. Mu byo nahavugiye uwo munsu, nabanje kwisobanura bihagije ku binyoma bitagira ishingiro nashinjwaga n'ako gatsiko k'abakorera FPR batuye Angoulême. Abantu benshi mu bitabiriye ikiganiro bateye mu ryanjye bamagana iyo mikorere iteye isoni, nuko ikiganiro mbwirwaruhame kirangira ku buryo bushimishije cyane bitewe n'abo «bazungu b'abanyabinyoma (blancs-menteurs)», nkuko umwanditsi Pierre Péan yabise.

Aho Angoulême rero umutego mutindi wo kuburizamo inama bakoresheje iterabwoba wabashukanye nyirawo. Mu myanzuro, benshi mu bitabiriye ikiganiro bifuje ko hakwamaganwa iyo mikorere ishaka gupfukirana imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abafaransa ngo babone ibintu nkuko FPR n'abanyamahanga bayishyigikiye babyifuzza, dore ko batemera ukundi kuri uretse ukwabo ku mahano yagwiririyeye abanyarwanda.

Usoma iyi nyandiko ntiyumvirane! Ibi mvuga ntibyabereye i Kigali, mu Rwanda. Byabereye

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Angoulême, mu gihugu y'u Bufaransa, akarere ka Charente, mu Bufaransa rwagati, ku munsu wa 14 w'ukwezi kwa gatatu, mu mwaka wa cyenda w'ikinyejana cya makumyabiri na rimwe! Byarambabaje kubona ko no mu gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi nk'u Bufaransa, mu kinyejana cya 21, ubugambanyi bugishoboka.

Uwashoboye kundema agatima n'umuyobozi wo mu biro by'umukuru w'akarere ka Angoulême twavuganye kuri telefoni hashize iminsi itatu ikiganiro kibaye. Amaze kumbwira ko ababajwe n'uko akarere kabo kashutswe n'abantu batagira umugayo, uwo mukuzi mukuru w'akarere wari wakurikiranya ikiganiro mbwirwaruhame cyo ku itariki ya 14 Werurwe yemeje ko haba ibyavuzwe haba ndetse n'imvugo yakoreshejwe mu kiganiro, nta sano n'imwe byari bifitanye no guhakana no gupfobya itsembabwoko nkuko byari byatangajwe na ya ngirwashyirahamwe. Ntako bisa mu rwego rwo gutsura demokarasi n'uburenganzira bwo kudapfukiranwa mu Bufaransa. Twizere ko icyo kinyoma cyabuze intebe kizabera isomo, haba mu Bufaransa n'ahandi hose, uwishingikiriza gusa ibinyoma n'iterabwoba ryibasira abize mu gukwirakwiza impuha ingoma ya Paul Kagame itangaho imari itagira ingano.

Mu nama yabereye i Parisi kimwe no mu kiganiro mbwirwaruhamwe cyabereye Angoulême, icyari

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kigamijwe n'amashyirahamwe akorera FPR kwari ugutera ubwoba ababyitabiriye kugira ngo bacecekeshe burundu abatavuga rumwe na bo ku byabaye. Ku itariki ya 20 Ukwakira 2007 i Parisi kimwe no ku itariki ya 14 Werurwe 2009 Angoulême, umutego ntiwafashe nk'uko babyifuzaga ariko habuze gato. Bene iyo mikorere yo kubangamira uburenganzira bwo kuvuga icyo utekereza bagamije guhatira abantu kumva igitekerezo kimwe ntiyemewe rwose mu Bufaransa. Ubwo ni uburyo bwateguwe n'ingoma ya Paul Kagame bukoreshwa buri gihe mu gucecekesha umuntu wese utavuga rumwe na we ku byerekeye itsembabwoko no ku ruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu byabaye mu Rwanda. Ibyo abigeraho adategwa mu Rwanda. Ikibabaje ni uko hari ibinyetso simusiga biragaraza ko bamwe mu bayobozi b'abafaransa bashobora kugwa muri uwo mutego wa Paul Kagame. Iryo terabwoba ryibasira abize ryagombye gucika mu gihugu kibereye igicumbi uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

Mu kubogamira kuri Paul Kagame bivuye inyuma kandi ari we wateguye ubwicanyi bwahitanye ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abanyarwanda, amashyirahamwe n'abantu ku giti cyabo bamushyigikiye baba byishinja ubufatanyacyaha mu byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu bibarwa kuri Perezida w'u Rwanda kandi bifitiwe

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ibimenyetso simusiga.

Abahutu na bo bafite uburenganzira bwo kubaho. FPR ya Kagame yishe ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'inzirakarengane z'Abahutu. Niba rero kubihamya no kubisubiramo bivuga guhakana itsembabwoko, nemeye nta pfunwe kwitwa uhakana itsembabwoko. Kuki Abahutu nka Fawusitini Twagiramungu, Seti Sendashonga, Pasiteri Bizimungu, Paul Rusesabagina n'abandi benshi bakwitwa inyangamugayo mu gihe bamagana itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi, nyuma hakaba ubufindo butuma baregwa guhakana no gupfobya itsembabwoko, bakanaregwa ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko mu gihe bagaragaje kandi bakamagana ubwicanyi FPR yakoreye inzirakarengane z'Abahutu? Urugero rwa Fawusitini Twagiramungu rwo rurahebuje. Yari Perezida w'ishyamba rya MDR kugeza muri Mata 1994, akaba kandi yari yemejwe n'amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha kuyobora leta ya mbere y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi. Muri Mata 1994, Interahamwe zishe barumuna be, bashiki be ndetse n'abana babo bo mu muryango we wa hafi basaga mirongo itatu. Bishwe n'Abahutu! Muri Nyakanga 1994, yabaye Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Leta nshya yiganjemo FPR ya Paul Kagame, mbere yuko yegura muri 1995 yamagana ubwicanyi ubutegetsi bukorerwa Abahutu. Mu byukuri, nta wundi wamurusha

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kuvuga ukuri atabogamye. By'umwihariko, nta wamushinja gushyigikira abamwiciye abavandimwe. Ni iki cyatuma abantu bashidikanya ku byo avuze mu gihe atanga ubuhamya ku byakozwe n'ingabo za leta yari ayoboye hagati ya Nyakanga 1994 na Kanama 1995? Kuri icyo kibazo, uwahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe, mu buhamya bwe bunyuranye, ashinja FPR ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko ibikorera inzirakarengane z'Abahutu. Igiteye agahinda ni uko Alain Gauthier n'agaco ke k'abashyigikiye FPR bahamya ko Fawusitini Twagiramungu wahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe, kimwe na Seti Sendashonga n'izindi nyangamugayo zose babeshya bakanahinyura ukuri mu gihe bashinja Paul Kagame ibyaha!

Biragenda birushaho kugaragara ko abenshi mu biyita ko bafasha imbabare mu bihe by'amakuba mu by'ukuri bakora bivuye inyuma baharanira ibyo na bo ubwabo batazi neza umuzi n'umuhamuro. Bazajya gufunguka amaso amazi yararenze inkombe. Hagati aho abo mu Bufaransa bo baracyitwara nk'abamotsi ba FPR. Intambara yashojwe bitali ngombwa

Nabonanye bwa mbere imbonankubone na Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1986, ndaye ndi bujye guhagararira u Rwanda muri Etiyopiya. Wari umwanya ukomeye ku muntu ugiye guhagararira

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igihugu akiri umusore w'imyaka 35. Aho mu murwa mukuru wa Etiyopiya, uretse guhagararira u Rwanda muri bihugu bya Etiyopiya na Sudani, nagombaga no kuruhagararira mu Muryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika no mu kanama gashinzwe iby'ubukungu k'ibihugu byunze ubumwe by'Afurika (CEA). Umukuru w'igihugu yanyakiriye mu biro bye byo mu muji wa Kigali rwagati. Natangajwe n'uburyo aho hantu harimo ibikoresho biciriritse, nta mitako ihambaye, ndetse ari no mu mfundanwa. Nyir'urugo na we ubwe yari yambaye kositimu ya safari y'amaboko magufi, ubona yicisha bugufi bitangaje. Nagiye niteguye guhura n'umugabo w'igitsure unyitaza, mpageze nsanga ni umugabo w'urugwiro rutangaje. Nuko ansobanurira mu magambo avunaguye icyo ategereje ku muntu ugiye guhagararira igihugu Addis-Abeba, umurwa mukuru w'Afurika. Nuko anyibutsa ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, nuko asoza agira ati: «Abahagarariye igihugu cyacu irikana ko bakorera abanyarwanda bose, abo mu gihugu, abo hanze yacyo ndetse n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda. Ambassade ni inzu yabo. Muzabasobanurire ingorane u Rwanda rufite zo kubacyura bose icyarimwe nkuko babyifuza! Muzasabe mukomeje Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika kudufasha gukemura burundu icyo kibazo!»

Mu gihe yavugaga ku kibazo cy'impunzi, Umukuru

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w'igihugu ntiyahishe impungenge yaterwaga n'icyo kibazo. Mu maso he harijimyeye mbona asa n'uwabuze igisubizo, kandi nkabona atigiza. Ni mu gihe kandi, kuko ibiri mbere yaho, ku itariki ya 26 Mutarama 1986, Yoweri Museveni wahoze arwanira mu ishyamba muri Uganda, yari yafashe ubutegetsi i Kampala. Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana rero yari azi neza ko ibintu byari byahindutse.

Ikindi kandi ni uko mu mashyamba yo mu majyepfo ya Uganda, u Rwanda rwateye Yoweri Museveni inkunga mu ibanga kandi ihagije, ndetse yaranabonye kenshi na Perezida Habyarimana mu ibanga. Umuhuza nta wundi uretse muramu akaba n'umunyamabanga wihariye w'Umukuru w'igihugu, Koloneli Eliyasi Sagatwa. Muri Kigali, icyahuzaga inyeshyamba Yoweri Museveni na Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana cyari ibanga rizwi na benshi. Uwari inyeshyamba amaze gufata igihugu, umukuru w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda ntiyamwibeshyagaho na gato, nubwo atabigaragazaga. Ntiyari ayobewe ko abenshi mu basirikari bakuru mu ngabo nshya za Uganda bari insoresore z'impunzi z'Abatutsi zimenyereye iby'urugamba kandi zatojwe ishyamba ryo kwibohora mu mashyamba ya Mozambique na Uganda. Ibyegeranyo bya ambasade y'u Rwanda muri Uganda byahoraga bigaruka ku muco wo kwihimura wabibwe mu miryango

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y'Abatutsi b'i Buganda. None se byari gugenda gute ko bari bamaze kugera mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo, iperereza, ubutegetsu n'ubukungu bw'uwo muturanyi udashobora kumenya icyo ahatse?

Ku itariki ya 29 Mutarama 1986, hashize iminsi itatu Kampala ifashwe, Yoweri Museveni yahuriye na Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana mu mujyi wa Goma muri Zayire, ku butumire bwa Mareshali Mobutu Sese Seko. Ni bwo uwari wafashe ubutegetsu i Kampala yari asohotse bwa mbere ku mugaragaru. Iyo nama yagaragaye mu Rwanda nk'itangaje undi mubano mushya nyuma y'umwuka mubi wari warakwije mu karere n'umunyagitugu Idi Amin Dada kimwe n'uwasimbuye Milton Obote. Aho i Goma, Yuvenali Habyarimana yeretse mugenzi we Perezida Mobutu umuturanyi we mushya ari we Yoweri Museveni aramumushimira. Ibiganiro byabo byaranzwe n'imbvugo y'ubuvandimwe, basezerana guterana inkunga, gufashanya no gutsura amahoro yo mu karere. Abakuru b'ibihugu uko ari batatu bafashe umwanya uhagije wo kubanza bamenyana. Mu mezi yakurikiyeho, umubano wari ntamakemwa hagati ya Kigali na Kampala. Hategurwa ingendo ku mpande zombi mu nzego zose, ndetse muri rumwe muri izo ngendo yagiriye mu Rwanda, Yoweri Museveni ahabwa inka ho urwibutso nk'uko bigenda mu mucu nyarwanda.

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Perezida wa Uganda ukomoka mu bwoko bw'abarozi b'Abahima babyara b'Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda ashima icyo kimenyetso gikomeye cy'urwibutso ahawe na «mucuti» we w'Umuhutu Yuvenali Habyarimana. Nyuma y'iyo mihango, yashubije ibibazo by'abanyamakuru bo mu Rwanda. Nibwo umwe mu banyamakuru ba Radiyo Rwanda atinyutse agahangara umushyitsi w'imenya, amubaza ikibazo yitondeye ku buryo nta muntu numwe utaracyumvise, agira ati: «Byaba ari byo koko, nyakubahwa Perezida, ko ababyeyi banyu bakomoka mu Rwanda kandi ko namwe mwaba muri abanyarwanda?» Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana wari uhagararanye na mugenzi we yihagararaho ariko atangazwa no gutinyuka kw'uwo munyamakuru. Nubwo butari ubwa mbere Perezida Museveni ahura n'ibibazo nk'ibyo, byamuteye ipfunwe, asubizanya ubukana agira ngo ikibyimbye kimeneke avuga ko ibitekerezo by'uwo munyamakuru nta shingiro bifite. Amaze kwemeza ko afite ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda, yunze amukurira inzira ku murima ati: «maraso na make y'abanyarwanda mfite». Ikibazo gisa n'aho kirangiye, ariko hakomeza kunuka urunturuntu. By'umwihariko ariko bamwe mu banyarwanda batamushize amakenga, bibajije niba kuba Perezida Museveni yabitinzeho nta kintu bihishye. icyakora umubano warakomeza hagati y'ibihugu byombi ndetse no gusurana birakomeza.

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Ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare 1988, mu gihe ingabo za Uganda (NRA) zizihizaga isabukuru yazo ku nshuro ya karindwi umunsi umunsi bafashe intwaro barwanira ubutegetsi, Perezida w'u Rwanda mu yasuye ku mugaragaro igihugu cya Uganda, yakirwa nk'umushyitsi w'icyubahiro muri iyo mihango. Yakirwa urugwiro ruhebuje. Mu myanya y'icyubahiro, hafi ya Habyarimana hari hicaye umusore w'umusirikari wo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu ngabo za Uganda muremure bigaragara, ubereye kandi wuje uburanga. Yari Fred Rwigema. Uwo musirikari mukuru w'umuhanga wari ufite imyaka mirongo itatu n'itatu, ntaho yari ahuriye na Ferederiko wagiye agifite imyaka itatu mu gihe cy'impinduramatwara y'Abahutu yo muri 1959, ubwo ababyeyi be bahungiraga ishyamba. Ahubwo ni wa Fred wari usigaye yungirije umugaba w'ingabo za Uganda.

Birumvikana ko Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana yari yarakurikiranye neza ibigwi bya Fred Rwigema kandi ntiyashiraga amakenga indoro ye itereka nk'iy'abagore. Ese mu byukuri abo bagabo bombi bari bicaranye batekereza iki? U Rwanda se? Guhuza imbaraga mu kubaka igihugu cyabo se? Cyangwa batekereza kurwana abanyarwanda bavukamo bakabigwamo? Muri iyo mihango, abo bagabo bombi wabonaga bahari

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badahari. Ariko akaba kari kagitegereje Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana. Uwo muni wari uwo kwibohozza. Byaje hukomera mu gihe cy'umuhango wo kwambika amapeti abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo za Uganda NRA. Uwari ushinze kwakira abashyitsi yasabye Perezida Yoweri Museveni kuza kubahiriza umuhango wo kuzamura mu ntera abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo. Uwa mbere muri bo, Fred Rwigema, azamurwa ku rwego rwa Jenerali Majoro, afite imyaka mirongo itatu n'itatu. Perezida w'u Rwanda yasabwe kwambika amapeti ya gisirikari uwahoze ari umwenegihugu we, wari ugizwe Jenerali Majoro mu ngabo za Uganda, ari na we mugaba w'ingabo z'icyo gihugu cy'inshuti. Ababikurikiraniraga hafi bahise bakubita agatima ku ipeti rya generari majoro Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana. Intumwa zari zaserukiye u Rwanda zirebana mu maso bwangu, zirwana no guhisha umujyamba n'uburakari. Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana yafashe icyo mihango nk'ubushotoranyi n'agasuzuguro atazigera ababarira mugenzi we. Ngo yaba yarabibwiye bamwe mu bari bamuherekeje. Mu Rwanda ibyo bintu byavuzweho byinshi. Bamwe bati: «Perezida arashaka kwegurira ubutegetsi Abatutsi.» Abandi bungamo bati: «Yaba arahanyeye igihango na Museveni.» N'abandi na bo bati: «Oya, ahubwo Yoweri Museveni arategura igitero, ariko Perezida Habyarimana yatwawe n'ibyubumwe

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bw'igihugu ku buryo byamurangaje akaba atakibona ukuri.»

**Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda mbere y'intambara**

Nkuko tumaze kubibona, iyimikwa rya Fred Rwigema ku mwanya wa kabiri mu ngabo za Uganda wateye impungenge u Rwanda. Byafunguye amaso ya benshi mu banyepolitiki b'Abahutu batekerezaga ko ikibazo cy'impunzi cyibagiranye, kuko abenshi mu mpunzi bari barinjije mu buzima busanzwe, ndetse bamwe nka Fred Rwigema, bafite imyanya ikomeye haba mu ngabo cyangwa mu buyobozi busanzwe bw'igihugu cyabakiriye. Nibwo inzego nyinshi za politiki zatangiye kwiga uburyo zabonera igisubizo gihamye ikibazo cy' impunzi z'Abatutsi zisaga miliyoni bari bihugu bikikije u Rwanda.

Byumvikane neza, kugeza kuri ya tariki itazibagirana ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 umunsi impunzi z'abanyarwanda babaga muri Uganda bagabye igitero gitunguranye mu gihugu bakomokamo, abakuru b'ibihugu Yoweri Museveni na Yuvenali Habyarimana mu biganiri bagiranaga ikibazo cy'itahuka rw'impunzi z'Abatutsi cyari mu bibahangayikishije kigomba gukemurwa vuba. Nyamara nubwo yabanje kubyanga bigitangira, Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana yageze aho yemera ko impunzi z'abanyarwanda zatahuka zose ku bwende bwazo. Hari

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hasigaye kumvikana na buri gihugu cyazakiriye mu gushyiraho uburyo byashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Addis-Abeba muri Etiyopiya, mu kwezi kwa Nyakanga 1990, imihango yo gufungura inama iba buri mwaka y'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afrika (OAU) yarangiye Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Museveni atorewe kuba umuyobozi mushya w'uwo muryango. Muri uwo mwaka Generali Majoro Yuvenali Habyarimana ntiyitabiriye iyo mihango. MRND, ishyaka rukumbi yahimbye akanariyobora ryizihije isabukuru y'imyaka cumi n'itanu rishinzwe, maze Perezida aboneraho gutangaza umurongo mushya wa politiki yemera amashyamba menshi mu gihugu. Nubwo yabanje kubigiramo ingingimira, na we yagiraga ngo agaragaze yacengewe n'ibyemezo byafatiwe i La Baule mu Bufaransa. Ntiyabashije rero kujya Addis-Abeba. Nyuma yaho havuzwe ko yatinyaga guhirikwa ku butegetsi adahari. Abari baserukiye u Rwanda mu nama ya OAU bari bayobowe n'uwazaga ku mwanya wa kabiri mu butegetsi bw'igihugu, ari we munyabanga mukuru w'ishyamba rukumbi, Bwana Bonavantura Habimana.

Nta gushidikanya, itorwa rya Perezida Yoweri Museveni ku buyobozi bukuru bwa OAU, nyuma y'imyaka ine gusa afashe ubutegetsi atsinze intambara ryashimishije birenze

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abari baserukiye Uganda. Igitangaje nanone ariko ni uko byaguye neza n'abari baserukiye u Rwanda. Nibura ni uko byagendekeye minisitiri w'umusore wari ushinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga, Dogiteri Kazimiri Bizimungu. Perezida Yoweri Museveni yari amaze kwemera gufasha u Rwanda gukemura burundu ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda zari zimaze imyaka 30 muri Uganda? Akanama gahuje intumwa z'ibihugu byombi zigizwe n'abanyarwanda n'abagande kakora uko gashoboye kugira ngo gashakire hamwe igisubizo cy'icyo kibazo. icyaje kuramba uwo muni ni amafunguro yari yateganijwe kuri uwi uwo mugoroba n'umukuru w'igihugu cyakiriye inama Koloneli Mengistu Hailé Mariam, bahimbaga izina rya "Empereur rouge" (ni ukuvuga umwami w'abami ugendera ku matwara ya gisosiyalisiti). Nkuko byari bisanzwe bigenda na mbere, Etiyopiya yongeye kwerekana ko ifite inararibonye mu kwakira abashyitsi. Ingoro ya kera y'umwami Négus Hailé Selassié ni yo yakorewemo iyo mihango. Imodoka za kera zasizwe n'uwo mwami w'abami muri 1974 ni zo zatwaye abakuru b'ibihugu n'ababaherekeje bari baje muri uwo mihango. Perezida Mengistu wakiraga abavandimwe be b'abanyafurika ntiyigeze arota ko ari yo nama ye ya nyuma nka Perezida wa Etiyopiya yagenderaga ku matwara ya gisosiyalisiti. Hashize umwaka umwe gusa mu kwezi kwa Kanama 1991, mu

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gihe inama iba buri mwaka ya OUA yaberaga Abuja muri Nijeriya, Mengistu yahiritswe n'inyeshyamba zo muri Tigré. Ni ko politiki ikorwa muri Afurika.

Ariko tugaruke Addis-Abeba kuri wa mugoroba wo muri Nyakanga 1990. Uwari ushyizwe mu rubuga ni Perezida wa Uganda, maze na we aboneraho kwerekana ka kantu ko kwikundisha asanganwe. Azunguruka muri bagenzi be abakora mu ntoki, buri wese amubwira ijambo rimukwiye. Abari baserukiye u Rwanda bo ariko bagumya kwigengesera, dore ko uwari abayoboye atari amenyereye amahuriro nkayo. Yari wa munyagikari wikandagira ageze mu bwatsi bw'ahandi. Yigaragaza neza muri za mitingi z'ishyaka MRND yari yaritangiye kandi nta ntyoza yindi yamugera.

Muri icyo goro y'akataraboneka y'uwohoze ari umwami w'abami wa Etiyopiya, Bwana Bonavantura Habimana bitaga Muvoma yigumaniye n'abo yaje arangaje imbere aho kwegera bagenzi be baje bayoboye intumwa, iby'imibonano ikomeye abiharira minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga Kazimiri Bizimungu. Nubwo yize iby'ubuganaga, Bizimungu uwo agira urugwiro n'umushyikirano udasanze. Byongeye kandi avuga igifaransa n'icyongereza adategwa, kandi akabigaragaza igihe cyose abiboneye umwanya. Niwe rero wahawe umwanya n'icyubahiro cyo gusuhuzza Perezida mushya

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wa OUA, umukuru w'igihugu cya Uganda Yoweri Museveni wari usanzwe azi neza uwo muminisitiri ndetse anamuhamagara mu izina rye. icyantangaje cyane ni uko yo kuramukanya, Prezida wa Uganda yafashe minisitiri uwo ikiganza bigaragara nk'umuntu bamenyeranye, hanyuma akamujujyana iruhande, amuganiriza asa n'umwongorera. Abo bagabo bombi bamaranye iminota igera ku icumi, bitangaza benshi. Ariko se hari igitangaza ko bari abaturanyi basangiye imigambi? Hashize akanya mbona minisitiri asohoye ajenda ye yandikana ubwira, ubona akeye kandi yishimye cyane. Nahise numva ko hari ikintu yungutse. Nyuma y'iyi mibonano, Perezida Yoweri Museveni ntiyahishe ibyishimo bye, ariko nanone kubera kubangamirwa n'ubushyuhe yihanagura mu maso akoresheje igitamabro kera, naho minisitiri Kazimiri Bizimungu abika ajenda ye, ibyishimo byamusaze. Nuko barenzaho ya nseko ya kinyepolitiki, babona gutandukana.

Minisitiri wari wuje ibinezaneza yarampamagaye ansaba kumuherekeza tujya kuri hoteli yari acumbitsemo, ambwira ko hari ikintu gikomeye tugomba gukora. Ibyo yabikoze atanabibwiye uwari uyoboze intumwa zaserukiye u Rwanda, duhita tujya kuri hoteli. Tutaragerayo minisitiri atangira kumbwira ati: Ibintu biragenda byihuta kandi bigana aheza. Perezida wa

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Uganda yari amaze kumubwira ko hari impunzi z'abanyarwanda zizasura u Rwanda muri Nzeri 1990 rwagati. Agatsinda zizaba ziyobowe na Fred Rwigema ubwe. Urwo ruzinduko rukaba rwari ruje rukurikiye ibiganiro byabaye hagati ya Yoweri Museveni na Yuvenali Habyarimana.

Icyo gihe Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana wahuzaga imvugo na guverinoma ye bavuga kenshi ko ikibazo cy'ubwiyongere bw'abaturage kibangamiye itahuka ry'impunzi, noneho yari yifuje kwakira abahagarariye impunzi kugira ngo bibonere ubwabo ukuri ku mibereho n'ubukungu bw'u Rwanda hanyuma babone guhitamo itahuka bazi neza uko ibibazo biteye. Ariko cyane cyane yatekerezaga ko nibasubira mu bihugu byabakiriye, bazasobanurira izindi mpunzi aho guverinoma y'u Rwanda ihagaze. Yoweri Museveni we yari yiyemeje kumvisha Fred Rwigema ko agomba kuzitabira urwo rugendo, nubwo uyu na we yari yaragaragaje ubushake bwo kubikora. Minisitiri Kazimiri Bizimungu yahise yumva akamaro k'icyo gikorwa, bituma anakangura Perezida Habyarimana ngo amugezeho iyo nkuru nziza. Agihamagara, Shebuja yahise yitaba. Minisitiri ahita amubwira ikimuzinduye adaciye hirya, agira ati: «Mwiriweho Nyakubahwa Perezida? Mumbabarire kuba mbahamagaye, ariko nagiraga ngo mbagezeho muri make ibyagezweho uyu muni. Mbere na mbere, nkuko byari

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biteganijwe, Museveni yatorewe kuba Perezida wa OUA, naboneyeho akanya kumushyikiriza intashyamba yanyu. Mu kanya kashize ubwo twari mu muhango wo kwiyakira wateguwe n'iki gihugu, nashoboye kugirana na we ibiganiro by'ingirakamaro. Yambwiye ko yashoboye kumvisha ba bantu ko bagomba kudasura mu Nzeri kandi ko ari umukuru wabo -- mwumve Fred Rwigema – uzaza abarangaje imbere.» Ntiyari akeneye gusobanura birenze aho. Perezida na we yahise abyumva bwangu. Nkuko byagaragaraga mu maso ye, nabonye ko minisitiri yari amaze gushimwa na «Shebuja». Minisitiri yarangije ikiganiro mu magambo yabugenewe asanzwe akoresha agira ati: «Murakoze nyakubahwa Perezida», ategereza ko «Shebuja» arambika telefoni. Iryo joro ryo mu kwezi kwa Nyakanga 1990 minisitiri Kazimiri Bizimungu yasinziye neza. Nanjye ntiretse. Numvaga ngiye gukabya inzazi maze kumva itangazwa ry'itahuka ry'impunzi z'Abatutsi mu rwego rwo gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi mu nzira z'amahoro. icyari gisigaye ni uko abahoze ari inyeshyamba bashyira mu bikorwa amasezerano yabo.

Nyuma y'imibonano ya Yoweri Museveni na Kazimiri Bizimungu, akanama gahuza impuguke z'u Rwanda na Uganda kateraniye i Kigali kuva ku itariki ya 27 kugeza ku itariki ya 30 Nyakanga 1990. Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ryita ku mpunzi (HCR) n'Umuryango

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w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA) byitabiriye iyo nama. Ako kanama kigiye hamwe uko urwo rugendo rw'abahagarariye impunzi z'Abatutsi ruzagenda. Ibihugu byombi byemeza ko izo mpunzi zizagera mu Rwanda mu mpera za Nzeri 1990 nkuko Yoweri Museveni yari yarabisezeranye mu nama ya Addis-Abeba. Inama y'igenzura yari yateganijwe kuzaba muri Mutarama 1991 kugira ngo bigira hamwe icyo urwo ruzinduko rwagezeho. Muri Nzeri rwagati, Yoweri Museveni na Yuvenali Habyarimana babonaniye Entebbe. Inkuru z'igitero simusiga ku Rwanda rwateguwe n'ingabo za Fred Rwigema zashizwe ahagaragara n'inzego nyinshi z'iperereza, bituma Perezida w'u Rwanda yifuza gushira ingingimira kuri icyo kibazo. Mugenzi we wa Uganda amurema agatima, aboneraho akanya ko guhamba ko impunzi ziri hafi kuza mu ruzinduko. Amuhakanira iby'icyo gitero, Yoweri Museveni yongeyeho ko igihe cyose azaba akiri ku butegetsi, nta muntu n'umwe uzakoresha ubutaka bwa Uganda atera u Rwanda, igihugu cy'abavandimwe ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Ayo magambo yatangajwe na Yoweri Museveni yafashwe nk'urugero ruhambaye rw'uburyarya n'ubugambanyi, dushingiye ku kaga kagwiriye u Rwanda ibyumweru bibiri gusa nyuma y'inama yabereye Entebbe.

Mu mpera za Nzeri 1990 niteguraga kujya i Parisi, aho

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nari maze ibyumweru bike nimuriwe. I Kigali, nta kanunu ka Fred Rwigema, nta kanunu n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda bari bategerejwe mu gihugu! Nyamara ibyangombwa byose byari byateguwe neza ku buryo bari kwakiranwa urugwiro rutangaje. Hari hateguwe n'inzira bazanyura, yibanda ku turere tw'igihugu dutuwe cyane, twavuga nka Ruhengeri, Butare, Bugesera, na Gisenyi. Kajugujugu za gisirikari ni zo zagombaga kubatembereza. Ku munsu wumvikanyweho ntiyagira impunzi igaragara, ntiyagira na kajugujugu itema ikirere mu gihugu cy'imisozi igihumbi.

Hagati aho, Perezida Habyarimana, waje gutwarwa n'amagambo meza y'inshuti ye Yoweri Museveni, yari yemeye kwitabira umubonano w'isengesho ryari riteganijwe kuba nyuma y'inama ya mbere y'isi ku kibazo cy'abana yagombaga kubera i New York ku cyicaro cy'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku matariki ya 29 na 30 Nzeri 1990. Muri icyo nama, abo bakuru b'ibihugu byombi bari bumvikanye ko bari buhure bakanonosora burundu umushinga w'impunzi wo gusura u Rwanda. Ni ukuvuga rero ko Prezida Habyarimana yari akiri i New York ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Kubera igitero cyari cyagabwe ku Rwanda, yagombye gusiba wa mubonano w'isengesho w'uwo mwaka yari yatumiwemo n'uwitwa Rudolf Decker, ufite ubwenegihugu bw'u Budage. Bene

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iyo mibonano y'isengesho itumirwamo n'abakomeye bo kuri iyi si rimwe mu mwaka, iteguwe n'ishyirahamwe ry'abaporoso ryigisha iby'idini ryitwa «Prayer Breakfast Movement», rikomeye cyane muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika kandi riziho gukorama n'inzego z'ubutasi za Amerika. «Prayer Breakfast Movement» ni ishyirahamwe rikomeye rifite abanyamurya bakomeye bo muri Sénat no mu nteko ishingira amategeko ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika. Umudage Rudolf Docker akaba umuyoboze waryo, akaba n'incuti ya Perezida Museveni. Niwe wari washoboye kubona amagambo nyayo yo kumvisha Perezida Habyarimana ko agomba kwitabira umubonano wabo wo mu kwezi k'Ukwakira muri 1990. Ku bwanjye, nsanga ibyo bintu byose byo «kurangaza» byari bigamije gutuma Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana aguma hanze y'igihugu cye mu gihe bazaba bateye igihugu. Tuzi ibyakurikiyeho. Ahasigaye ni ah'abanyamateka bazagaragaza uruhare Rudolf Docker yabigizemo kugeza magingo aya.

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## **Bari bategerejwe, baraza kandi bahagera ku gihe**

Ku mupaka w'u Rwanda n'u Buganda, abashyitsi b'imena bavuzwe na Yoweri Museveni barashyize koko barigaragaza, ariko bazana inkubiri idasanzwe. Mu ijoro ryo ku wa 30 Nzeri rishyira ku wa 1 Ukwakira 1990, ingabo za Uganda, National Resistance Army, zabatijwe Front Patriotique Rwandais ku mpamvu zumvikana, zinjiye ku butaka bw'u Rwanda zinyuze ku iteme rya Kagitumba mu majyaruguru y'igihugu. Zari zahisemo neza. Hari hashize amezi abiri abanza igihugu cya Irak ya Saddam Hussein giteye agahugu gato k'abaturanyi ka Koweit ku itariki ya 20 Kanama 1990, mu gihe Umuryango w'Abibumbye wari uhugiye mu kuzimya imiyoboro ya peterori yari yafashwe n'inkongi y'umuriro mu karere ka mbere ku isi kabitse peterori. Abatindi b'abirabura bashoboraga rero kumarana bitabangamiye na mba abayobozi b'iy'isi bari bahugiye mu bindi. Niba atari bo bari bahaye umugisha abajya kugaba igitero mu Rwanda.

Ninde uzigera ahomya ko Perezida Museveni mugenzi w'u Rwanda yabeshya abizi kandi abishaka, amuha icyizere kiraza amasinde bigatuma atarinda igihugu cye, cyangwa se niba na we ubwe atarabeshywe n'inyarwenge za FPR zayoboraga ubutasi bw'ingabo za Uganda?

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Abayobozi ba Uganda kugeza ubu baracyahakana bemeza ko ari ingabo zabacitse, ariko abasesengura ibintu bagasanga ingabo za FPR n'iza Uganda zarakoranye mu gutegura no kuyobora igitero. Uko byagenda kose, Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Museveni yagize uruhare rukomeye mu ntambara yo mu Rwanda ku buryo ubu ntawagombye kubijyaho impaka z'ubusa.

Hatanzwe ibisobanuro byinshi mu kugerageza gusobanura icyemezo cyagize ingaruka zikomeye Museveni yafashe mbere yo gushora mu ntambara abo yise «Abahungu be» abivugana ishema n'ubwuzu.

Impamvu ya mbere iza mu mitwe y'abantu ni uko bimuhama, kuko yafashije FPR ku mugaragaro. Mu mwaka wa 1980 mu gihe yajyaga kurwanira mu ishyamba ahanganye na Perezida Milton Obote wari warasimbuye Idi Amin Dada, inyeshyamba Museveni yakuye abarwanyi cyane cyane mu majyepfo y'igihugu, by'umwihariko mu bwoko bw'Abahima bo muri Ankole ndetse no mu bigo by'impunzi z'Abatutsi, babyara b'Abahima. Mu itsinda ry'ikubitiro harimo umusore Fred Rwigema, wageze i Bugande nkuko mubyibuka ari kumwe n'ababyeyi be afite imyaka itatu. Harimo nanone umusore Paul Kagame, waje kugeza FPR ku nsinzi. Mu gihe cy'imyaka itanu, kuva muri 1980 kugeza muri 1986,

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ibihumbi byinshi by'Abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bari barahawe ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda barwanye ku ruhande rwa Yoweri Museveni, kandi ntibikiri ibanga ko ari bo bamugejeje ku nsinzi bakamushyira ku butegezi muri Mutarama 1986. Perezida Museveni na we ubwe yabisubiyemo kenshi. Abahujwe n'itabaro ntibibagirana, ni igihango kidasiba. Ni ukuvuga rero ko ibyago by'u Rwanda byavukiye mu mashyamba ya Uganda. Mu gihe yabahaga ibikoresho n'imari yose bari bakeneye batera, Yoweri Museveni nta kindi yakoze uretse gutera ingabo mu bitugu inyeshyamba za FPR.

Icyo kinyabupfura kimaze kubahirizwa, ubutegezi bwa Uganda bwashakaga gukemurira rimwe ibibazo bibiri: itahuka ry'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ryagombaga gukemura ikibazo cya politiki yo muri Uganda cyari hagati y'abagande n'abanyarwanda bahawe ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda bagaragaraga cyane mu myanya y'ubuyobozi haba mu gisivili, muri politiki ndetse no mu ngabo. Icyo kibazo cyari gitangiye gukwirakwira, ku buryo Perezida Museveni ufite nyina n'umugore b'Abatutsi yari atangiye gukekwa gufatanya no kubogamira kuri benewabo b'Abatutsi. Abagande ba kavukire baribazaga bati byashoboka bite ko Fred Rwigema, impunzi y'umunyarwanda, yagirwa umukuru w'ingabo za Uganda, ndetse na Paul Kagame akagirwa umuyobozi w'iperereza rya gisirikari?

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Mu mpaka z'inteko ishingira amategeko, abadepite batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu bwa Museveni bavugaga ku mugaragaro ko ari «ubukoloni bwa gitutsi», maze ikibazo kitarushaho kubangamira nyir'igihugu i Kampala. Ndetse bimwe mu binyamakuru byageze aho bivugaga ko Museveni na we ubwe yaba ari umunyamahanga. Abantu batangira kumwibazaho cyane, biba ngombwa ko acecekesha abatavugaga rumwe na we bo mu moko yo mu majyaruguru y'igihugu yari yiteguye guhangana n'ubutegetsu.

Ku itariki ya 11 Nzeri 1990, ubwo Yoweri Museveni yakiraga «umuvandimwe n'inshuti ye» Yuvenali Habyarimana i Kampala, bakaganira ku isengesho ryari riteganijwe mu ntangiro z'Ukwakira muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, imyiteguro y'igitero yasaga n'aho yarangiye. Inyeshyamba yawe ya kera igomba kuba yarumvaga ko uburyarya bwasinzirije mugenzi we w'u Rwanda ku buryo budasanze. Yari abonye impamvu kuko byari kuvugwa ko igitero cyabaye umukuru wa leta ya Uganda ari i New York, kimwe na Perezida Habyarimana, akurikirana imirimo y'inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ku kibazo cy'Abana, nk'umukuru w'umuryango wa OUA. Niba FPR ifashe ubutegetsu vuba – dore ko yabitwemo inkunga igaragara – , wongeyeho

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gutungura ingabo z'u Rwanda zitamenyereye intambara, Perezida Museveni yari kuba yungutse incuti yizeye mu majyepfo y'igihugu. Akaba abonye aho ashobora guhungira akanisuganyiriza mu gihe yaba ze ingorane zikomeye i Kampala. Bamwe mu basuzumyi ndetse babibonagamo icyanzu cy'ubwami bwa gitutsi bukomatanyije intara y'Abahima ya Ankole muri Uganda, u Rwanda rwa FPR y'Abatutsi, n'u Burundi bwayoborwaga n'ingabo ziyoborwa n'Abatutsi batavanze kuva icyo gihugu cyabona ubwigenge muri 1962.

Ikindi gisobanuro cyashobokaga ni ukwemeza ko mu gihe cy'igitero, Perezida Museveni yari ashyigikiye igisubizo kinyuze mu nzira z'amahoro ariko atazi imigambi FPR. Iki gitekerezo cyagaragaza ko Perezida wa Uganda yagerageje koko kumvisha Fred Rwigema n'agatsiko ke kujya gusura u Rwanda, ariko ku mpamvu zinyuranye Fred Rwigema na bagenzi be bagahitamo intambara yagize ingaruka tuzi: itsembabwoko ryahitanye nzirakarengane z'abanyarwanda basaga miliyoni. Irari rya bamwe, ubutagondwa n'ubuhezanguni bw'abandi byabaye intandaro y'amahano yakozwe. Bityo ingaruka z'ibyabaye zikaba zigomba kwemerwa na buri ruhande. Kuki se FPR yanze kwitabira ubutumire bwa guverinoma y'u Rwanda igahitamo intambara aho gushyikirana kandi uwari ayicumbikiye yarayinginze

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bihagije? Hatanzwe ibisobanuro byinshi.

Muri bamwe mu mpunzi z'Abatutsi, impamvu ikunze gutangwa ni ugutinya kugwa mu mutego. Niba muri 1990, ingabo za Fred Rwigema zashoboraga kugirira icyizere Yoweri Museveni, si ko byari kuri Yuvenali Habyarimana. Ninde washoboraga kumubuza gufatirana izo ngabo za Rwigema zageze ku butaka bw'u Rwanda? Ese Yoweri Museveni we ntiyashoboraga kubuririraho yikiza izo ncuti zari zimubangamiye abaha umuturanyi we? Iyo wakuriye mu kigo cy'impunzi, wiga kutagira uwo wizera, ndetse n'inshuti zawe. Byongeye ku basirikari bakuru b'Abatutsi, urwo rugendo rwo mu Rwanda ntirwari mu masezerano bagiranye na Perezida Museveni mu gihe bafatanyaga urugamba. Hari hashize igihe kirekire FPR itegura gahunda yayo; yatanze ibitambo byinshi, yafashe imyenda myinshi kandi ibona n'imisanzu y'abanyamuryango bayo ku isi hose. Ntiyashoboraga gushimishwa n'igisubizo kituzuye bahabwaga na leta y'u Rwanda yashakaga gushyikirana na Yoweri Museveni itabajije ba nyirubwite, impunzi ubwazo. Kuri bwabo rero, igitekerezo cyo kwohereza abantu gusura igihugu cyaje gitinze cyane. Jenerali Fred Rwigema yaba yaraciye inyuma Perezida Museveni agatera u Rwanda atabimumenyesheje. Nyamara hari ibimenyetso by'umuvandimwe wa Perezida wa Uganda,

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Jenerali Salim Saleh, byemeza ko yari mu ngabo za FPR. Abadepite ba Uganda bagaragaje kenshi ukwivanga kw'igihugu cyabo muri ibyo bibazo, berekana by'umwihariko ibikorwa bigaragara bya Jenerali Salim Saleh muri iyo ntambara.

Ikindi gitekerezo gishyigikira ko Fed Rwigema atigeze yigomeka Yoweri Museveni. Uwo mujenerali w'umusore ni we wari waremereye Perezida wa Uganda gutegura umubonano na Perezida Habyarimana. Ariko intagondwa za FPR ziburizamo uwo mushinga. Dukurikije icyo gitekerezo rero, Fred Rwigema yaba yarayoboye igitero nta mwete abifitemo, akaba ari abari bamwungirije, ari bo ba Majoro Bayingana na Bunyenyezi baramuhatiriye. Ibyakurikiyeho bitduha kwemera umwuka mubi warangwaga muri FPR mu gihe cyo gutera.

Ikibazo gikeneye igisubizo: Kuki mu gihe u Rwanda na Uganda bateguraga itahuka ry'impunzi z'abanyarwanda, Uganda yakomeje kwohereza abasirikari bakuru bakomoka mu Rwanda mu mahugurwa ya gisirikari yo mu rwego rwo hejuru cyane mu Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika no Bwongereza, niba butari uburyo bwo kubategurira imyanya yabo itaha mu buyobozi? Urugero rugaragara ruzwi n'urwa Paul Kagame. Mbere gato y'intambara, Majoro Paul Kagame yahawe buruse yo

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kujya mu ihugurwa mu ishuli rikuru ryigishya iby'intambara rya Leavenworth (Kansas) muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika. Nta wakwibeshya ku kugaruka gutunguranye agafata ubuyobozi bwa FPR Fred Rwigema amaze kwicwa n'abo bari bafatanije urugamba. Uko kugaruka kwe kwari kwarateguwe kera no kuba atari ahari byari ukurenza uburari. Paul Kagame ni we Yoweri Museveni yari yarifuje kwicaza ku ntebe y'ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda.

Fred Rwigema yicwa Paul Kagame akimikwa

Ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 1990, haciye gake ngo intambara ihite irangira bitewe n'impamvu ikomeye ariko yakomeje kugirwa ibanga kugeza mu mpera z'Ukwakira. Jenerali Fred Rwigema wari uyoboye ingabo z'inyeshyamba yapfuye mu buryo butigeze busobanuka kugeza ubu. Ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FPR bwahishe iyo nkuru kugeza mu matariki 10 y'Ukwakira; ndetse n'itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga rigwa mu mutego rikomeza gusingiza ibigwi b'uwo mu jenerali w'umusore. Nyamara habaye ibintu bidasanzwe byatangiyeye kuzana urwikekwe muri FPR. Kuva mu ibitero bigatangira, abasirikari bakuru babiri nibo bagiye ku isonga basa naho ari bo mu by'ukuri bayoboye urugamba. Ba majoro Bayingana na Bunyenyezi ni bo bonyine bavugiraga ku maradiyo mpuzamahanga mu izina ry'inyeshyamba,

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ntibigere bahingutsa izina ry'umugaba wabo. Ahagana mu matariki 10 y'Ukwakira, impuha zica umugongo zatangiye guhwihwiswa mu mpunzi zo muri Uganda, zivuga ko Fred Rwigema yaba yarakomeretse bikomeye akoherezwa mu Bwongereza.

Jye namenye urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema hashize iminsi mike nyuma apfuye. Mu muhango w'icyubahiro wo kunsezeraho wateguwe na mwene wacu Fawusitini Kinuma, muri icyo gihe wari umukozi mukuru w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, nahuye n'umukozi wo muri Uganda wari uherutse kuza muri OUA avuye i New York. Bwana Gedewoni Kayinamura, kuko ari we mvuga, ni Umututsi ufite ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda. Mu biganiriro twagiranye, ntiyampishe ko ashyigikiye inyeshyamba n'uruhare mubyara we Patrick Mazimpaka abifitemo, nk'umwe mu bashinze uwo muriyango. Uwo mugabo ukomoka iwacu yahise anambwira ibihuha byakomezaga kuvugwa, bivuga ko Fred Rwigema yaba yarapfuye. Mubajije aho yakuye icyo gihuha, ansubiza ko umwe mu nshuti ze ziba i Kampala yamumenyesheje ko hashize iminsi mike bakora icyunamo rwihishwa mu rugo rw'uwo mujenerali w'inyeshyamba. Yanzura agira ati: «Ibyo byo si impuha!» Akomeza anyihanangiriza agira ati: «Ntukeke ko urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema ruzahagarika intambara. Habe na gato. Muramenye

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mutagwa mu mutego wo kwirara! Mushake vuba igisubizo ku bibazo byakuruye intambara, nibitaba ibyo u Rwanda ruzinjira mu ntambara z'urudaca nka Somaliya. Bariya bantu ni inkotanyi zuzuye, Nyakubahwa!» Tumaze kwiyakira, namenyeshaje Kigali impuha z'urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema, mbamenyeshya n'uko iby'iwacu bishobora kuba nk'ibyo muri Somaliya, nkuko byahanurwaga na Gedewoni Kayinamura, wigeze guhagararira u Rwanda i New York ku ngoma ya FPR.

Nk'aho tuvugiye aha inkuru yahise iba kimomo muri Kigali. Si ugucura amagambo barasizora! Bamwe bavuga ko ari ibihuha bigamije kuyobya abantu. Bavuga ko Rwigema akora ingendo azenguruka isi ashaka intwari zikomeme. Gutangaza ko yakomeretse bavuga ko byaba ari umutego. Abandi bemeza urupfu rwe kandi bemeza ko FPR yatsinzwe. Ibyo ari byo byose, ingabo z'u Rwanda zongeye kwiminjiramo agafu zumvise ko zakomerekeje cyangwa zahitanye umugaba w'inyeshyamba. Bamwe mu basirikari bakuru b'abasore ndetse n'ababungirije bivugaga ibigwi ko ari bo bamwishe. Ku itariki ya 23 Ukwakira 1990, haza indi nkuru ica igikuba: ba bavugizi babiri ba FPR na bo bavuye mu nzira. Iyo nkuru yaje ari incamugongo dore kuko ibintu byari bikomeye ku rugamba kuko inyeshyamba zari zimerewe nabi, zikubitwa incuro buri

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muni. Mu mpera z'Ukwakira, icyiciro cya mbere cy'intambara ya FPR cyarangiyeye mu kajagari kadasanzwe. Zimaze kwirukamywe ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, ingabo za FPR zasubiye muri Uganda, mu gihe ingabo za guverinoma zazengurukaga intara y'Umutara zihiga, zinafata mpiri inyeshyamba zicyihishe muri cyanya cy'Akagera. Perezida Habyarimana yashobora kwishimira ko arukize by'agahe gato. Ahubwo se ikibazo cyari gikemutse kubera iyo mpamvu? Abahagarariye impunzi bo mu Buraya bo bavugaga ko ari inyeshyamba zasubiye inyuma ngo zongere zisuganye, zitegura intambara izamara igihe kirere. Ese Perezida wa Uganda we ubwe yashoboraga kwemera bene icyo gisebo? Kwaba ari ukumwibeshyaho!

Ku byerekeye impamvu zo gusubira inyuma kw'ingabo za FPR, abenshi bakeka ko urupfu rutunguranye rw'umugaba wazo rwaziciye intege ndetse rukanatera ibibazo mu mikorere yazo. Hari abavuga ko urupfu rwe rufitanye isano n'urw'abari bamwungirije, ba Majoro Bayingana na Bunyenyezi. Havugwa ko habaye ukutumvikana mu buyobozi bukuru bwa FPR mu gutegura ikindi gitero mu gihe byagaragaraga ko ikibazo cyashoboraga gukemurwa mu nzira z'amahoro. Jenerali Fred Rwigema we ngo yari yahisemo kwakira icyifuzo cya Perezida Habyarimana, mu gihe abandi mu bagize

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ubuyobozi bukuru bimirizaga imbere intambara. Ntibyatinze ukuri kuragaragara, kuko nyuma y'amasaha 24 gusa Inkotanyi zinjiye ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, agatsiko k'abanyabwenge bashinje Fred Rwigema ubugwari ndetse n'amakosa mu mikorere ye. Mu nama yateguwe mu ntangiriro z'Ukwakira, Jenerali Fred Rwigema yahise yicwa n'abari bamwungirije. Bakora ibishoboka byose ngo iryo yicwa rigaragare nk'aho ari impanuka yazize. Ba bagambanyi baboneraho urwaho rwo kwikomereza intambara nta wubakoma mu nkokora kandi umutima uri mu gitereko.

Perezida Museveni wakundaga Fred Rwigema nibwo ahise afata icyemezo cyo guhagarika akajagari. Ku bwe byari ngombwa guhorera Fred no gusubiza ibintu mu buryo mu buyobozi bwa FPR. Nta gutinda mu mayira, Yoweri Museveni yahamagaje Majoro Paul Kagame, wari ushinzwe iperereza rya gisirikari mu ngabo za Uganda, wari uherutse koherezwa mu mahugurwa muri Leta Zunze Ubumwa z'Amerika. Paul Kagame yagaruka i Kampala ahagana ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990. Nyuma y'amanama menshi yagiranye na Perezida Museveni, yambutse umupaka ajya ku rugamba ku itariki ya 14 Ukwakira 1990. Hashize icyumweru kimwe gusa, ku itariki ya 23 Ukwakira, ba majoro Bayingana na Bunyenyezi bahita bicwa ku itegeko rya Paul Kagame. Inzira iba irafunguwe haba habonetse undi mugaba

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mushya. Nk'umusirikari mukuru watinywagwa kurusha abandi mu ngabo za Uganda, Kagame yari azwiho cyane cyane kutagira impuhwe, akaba yarabigaragaje mu kurwanya inyeshyamba zo mu majyaruguru ya Uganda. Abasirikari ba Uganda bari baramuhimbye izina ka Ponsiyo Pilato.

Majoro Paul Kagame yari afite imyaka 30 mu gihe bateraga u Rwanda, akaba yarakuriye mu buhungiro nka Fred Rwigema. Nyina yari murumuna wa Rozaliya Gicanda, umupfakazi w'umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa. Iyo sano idasanzwe y'uwo majoro w'umusore n'abami ba nyuma b'Abatutsi yari akarusho ko kwemerwa cyane cyane mu bihe nk'ibyo. Kugaragara kwe bwa mbere nk'umugaba wa FPR kwahuriranya n'imishyikirano ya mbere yateguwe na Perezida Mobutu wa Zaire, yahuje FPR n'intumwa zari zihagarariye u Rwanda bakagera ku cyemezo cyo guhagarika intambara by'igihe gito.

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## **Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda cyakiwe gite n'Abanyafurika?**

Mu gihe ingabo z'inYESHYAMBA zinjiraga mu Rwanda, nari nkiri muri Etiyopiya. Inkuru y'icyo gitero yateye umwuka mubi mu banyafurika bari bahagarariye ibihugu byabo, babibonagamo ihohoterwa. Mu mubonano nagiranye na bagenzi banjye mbaha ibisobanuro ku byabaye, bese bamaganye ubugambanyi bw'uwari watorerw kuyobora OUA. Ndetse n'uhagarariye igihugu cya Uganda ubwe yagaragaje ko agaye guverinoma ye kuri icyi kibazo. Mu bwiherero, abaserukiye Uganda bahise bambwira ko banshyigikiye, bemeza kandi ko ibyabaye byagombaga kuba byanze bikunze kuko Perezida Museveni yahisemo kugabiza Uganda abanyamahanga batanga umugayo. Nubwo bagenzi banjye b'Abanyafurika bangararije ko bifatanyije nanjye, nta na kimwe kigaragara cyigeze gitangazwa n'ibihugu bahagarariye. Igihugu cya Zimbabwe cyagize impungenge kinasaba ihagarika ry'imirwano. Misiri, Senegali, Zayire, Tanzaniya, n'ibindi bihugu bike na byo byasanbye guhagarika imirwano, ariko bibikora bidashyizeho umwete. Nkaba nkeka ko impamvu ari uko bangaga guhangana n'Uwayoboraga OUA muri icyo gihe.

Mu biro by'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa OUA

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bararuciye babarumira. Kubera ko Salim Ahmed, umunyamabanga mukuru w'umuryango, yari mu butumwa, yasigariweho n'uwari amwungirije w'umunyarwanda, Silivesitiri Nsanzimana, wabaye Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Rwanda kuva mu Ukwakira 1991 kugeza muri Mata 1992. Kubera uburemere bw'ikibazo n'uruhare rwihariye rwa uwayoboraga uwo muryango yari afite muri icyo kibazo, nasabye nkomeje OUA kwamagana igitero yivuye inyuma, kandi igasaba ko amahame y'umuryango yakubahirizwa. Ariko biba iby'ubusa. Mugenzi wanjye Silivesitiri Nsanzimana yari abangamiwe n'umwanya we wamubuzaga gufata icyemezo ku giti cye mu izina rya OUA. Iyo utekereje uko uwo mugabo udasanzwe yitangiraga byimazeyo igihugu cye, ni bwo ugerageza kwiyumvisha uburyo umuryango OUA wabangamiwe.

I New York, Salim Ahmed Salim yari mu baherekeje uwari uyoboye umuryango wa OUA, ari nawe wayoboraga igihugu cyashinjwaga kugira uruhare muri iyo ntambara. Mu mategeko agenga Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afrika, umunyamabanga mukuru nta cyemezo cya politiki ashobora gufata cyabangamira imibanire hagati y'ibihugu bigize umuryango. Byongeye, ntanashobora kugira uruhande abogamiraho mu gihe havutse ikibazo imbere mu gihugu kiri mu muryango.

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Uruhare rwe rugarukira mu kubaza, kujya inama, guhendahenda no kwibutsa. icyakora mu gihe igihugu kigize umuryango gishotoye ikindi, mu gihe amasezerano y'umuryango cyangwa ibyumvikanyweho bitubahirijwe, umunyamabanga mukuru cyangwa umusimbura ashobora, mu izina ry'umuryango, kwamagana iryo shotora kandi akaba yagaragaza ko abanyamuryango bifatanyije n'igihugu cyagiriwe urugomo. Ku kibazo cy'u Rwanda, ibyo ntibyakoze. Koko rero, kuva rugikubita Perezida wa Uganda yakoresheje umwanya afitse nk'uhagarariye Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika mu kugenzura no gucecekesha ushatse kugira icyo avuga kuri icyo kibazo.

Umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije yahamagaye kenshi umukuriye wari i New York, ariko agahabwa buri gihe igisubizo kimwe: «Uhagarariye umuryango (ari na we nyagutera) aracyagirana imibonano na bagenzi be bo muri Afurika, u Buraya n'Amerika. Muzagezwaho amabwiriza igihe kigeze.» Mu kwezi kwa bihera bityo! Addis-Abeba, abanyamuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika ndetse nab'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bagaye cyane iyo myitwarire mugenzi wanjye wo muri Zaire yabivuze ko igaragaza «ukurangarana ibintu ndetse n'ubugambanyi». Bishoboka bite ko umukuru w'igihugu afata bugwate umuryango wose akawukoresha ku nyungu z'igihugu mu

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gushyigikira ihohotera ry'ikindi gihugu kiri mu umuryango? Bishoboka bite ko acecekesha umunyamabanga mukuru, yitwaje ku mugaragaro umwanya afite w'ubuyobozi bw'umuryango? Bose bamaganaga ubwo buryo bwo gukoresha umwanya w'ubuyobozi bw'umuryango kubera inyungu bwite z'igihugu cye. Nyuma y'ibyumweru bibiri nibwo hasohotse itangazo ry'umunyamabanga mukuru wa OUA ku bibera mu Rwanda!

I New York, i Washington n'i London, Perezida Yoweri Museveni ntiyahwema kwitwaza umwambaro we w'umuyobozi w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika. Ariko buri gihe akarengerera, kugeza no mu mishyikirano yabaga hagati y'ibihugu. Yagendaga asobanurira abayobozi b'ibihugu ahuye na bo ko ikibazo cy'u Rwanda ari icy'abanyarwanda ubwabo, ko igitero cya FPR ari intambara yo kwibohozza. Mu kiganiro kigenewe abanyamakuru yatanze i London, yumije abantu agira ati: «Abasirikari bafite hariya mu Rwanda ntibashobora kurinda abahungu banjye igihe kirekire. Nijye wabitoreje, ndabazi bihagije.»

Uruhare rw'Umukuru w'igihugu cya Uganda wakoraga nk'ikirimirahabiri rwagize ingaruka mbi mu myumvire y'amahanga ku kibazo cy'u Rwanda. Amahame y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yo asanzwe ashyaigikira

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igisubizo cyumvikanyweho n'abo mu karere. Mu kwezi kw'Ukwakira 1990 kose, uhagarariye u Rwanda mu Muryango w'Abibumbye yakoze imibonano ubutitsa, ahura n'abagize akanama k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye gashinzwe amahoro ku isi, abahagarariye ibihugu byabo b'Abanyarika ndetse n'ab'ibihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere (bita inama ry'ibihugu 77). Ibisobanuro by'uhagarariye u Rwanda byumvikanye nta ngorane, ariko havuka imbogamizi mu gihe ateganyije kugeza ikibazo ku Kanama k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye gashinzwe amahoro ku isi. Bagenzi bose bamugiraga inama yo kubanza kurangiza inzira zo kugikemura mu rwego rw'akarere, ni ukuvuga mu rwego rwa OUA, mbere yo kwizera ko akanama k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye gashinzwe amahoro ku isi kagira icyo gatanga mu buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose. Nkuko bigaragara rero, u Rwanda rwahanganaga n'inzitane y'ibibazo bya diporomasi bitabarika kandi ipfundo ryabyo riri mu maboko y'umukuru w'igihugu cyaa Uganda. Birumvikana ko amayeri yo gutesha abandi igihe Perezida wa Uganda yakoresheye yari agamije gutesha FPR igihe gihagije kugira ngo ifate ubutegetsi i Kigali mbere y'uko Umuryango w'Abibumbye ubyivangamo. Yoweri Museveni yakomeje kuyobora OUA kugeza mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1991. Muri icyo gihe, yaba OUA, yaba Umuryango w'Abibumbye

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ntibigeze bagaragaza ubushake nyabwo mu kugerageza gukemura ikibazo cyo mu Rwanda, kubera akajagari kakuruwe no kwambara impu ebyiri kwa Yoweri Museveni. Ariko tugomba kwemera ko n'abategetsu b'u Rwanda bakoze amakosa akomeye mu gushakira icyo kibazo umuti, haba imbere mu gihugu cyangwa hanze yacyo.

Kugeza umunsi intambara itera, u Rwanda rwari igihugu cy'amahoro, maze ruhita rwibasirwa n'itangamakuru ry'isi yose rihora rihiga inkuru zishyushye. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yasezeganwaga hirwa no hino yatinze bikabije kugira icyo itangaza. Ingabo z'igihugu nizo zonyine, — nabwo bitari shyashya —, zagerageje kuziba icyaho cyatewe n'ibura ry'Umukuru w'igihugu. Umugaba w'ingabo nawe yari mu butumwa mu mahanga (bavuga ko ngo yari yagiye i Mombasa mu bibazo bye byite). Undi musirikari mukuru wari umujyanama w'Umukuru w'igihugu, yahise yiyemeza imirimo kugeza ubwo inzego nkuru z'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'igihugu zongeye gukora uko bisanzwe. Ariko nanone ubwoba bwari bwose. Ibyabereye i Kigali mu ijoro ryo ku wa 4 rishyira uwa 5 Ukwakira ni gihamba umuntu akwiriye gutindaho. Dore ibyo nabwiwe n'uwari umuyobozi mukuru wungirije Minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, Koloneli Lewonidasi Rusatira, mu ntangiriro z'Ugushyingo 1990 ngiye mu

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biro byo ngo ampe amabwiriza, mbere y'uko njya mu mwanya nari nimuriwemo i Parisi.

Ku itariki ya 4 Ukwakira 1990, Perezida wa Repubulika yagombaga kugera i Kigali nimugoroba avuye mu ruzinduko i New York. Ku manywa, umugore wakoraga muri ambasade y'Amerika i Kigali yakiriwe n'umuyobozi mukuru wungirije Minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, Colonel Lewonidasi Rusatira. Amutangariza ko afite inkuru nyamukuru ku byerekeye umutekano w'umujiyi wa Kigali. Amubwira ko ibiro by'iperereza by'abanyamerika byamenye ko hari inyeshyamba nyinshi zacengeye mu murwa mukuru, by'umwihariko mu karere ka Nyamirambo. Imigambi yazo ngo akaba ari ugutera ibigo bya gisirikari byo mu murwa mukuru, bamara kubyigarurira bakigarurira n'umujiyi. Ibyo bikaba byari biteganijwe gukorwa mu ijoro ryo ku wa 4 rishyira uwa 5 Ukwakira. Bikaba rero byari ngombwa ko hafatwa ingamba zo kuburizamo icyo gikorwa. Hakorwa iki mu bihe nk'ibyo? U Rwanda rwari gutinyuka gushidikanya ku makuru ruhawe n'igihugu cy'igihangange ku isi? Mu by'ukuri oya.

Koloneli Rusatira yahise abimenyesha izindi nzego bireba, nibwo hatumijwe inama ya komite yitabazwa mu bihe bikomeye. Ijoro riguye, imitwe ikomeye ya

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gisirikari ikwirakwizwa ahantu hose hakomeye mu murwa mukuru. Ahagana mu masamunani z'ijoro, amasasu menshi yumvikana hose, bimeze nk'aho imirwano ikomeye. Umuvandimwe banjye wari utuye mu gace ka sitade i Nyamirambo mu birometero bitatu uvuye mu muji arampamagara. Ambwira afite igihunga ati: «Karabaye! Ngo Inyenzi zafashe Kigali. None tubyifatemo dute?» Namugiriye inama yo kuba ategereje nkabanza nkabaza neza iby'ayo makuru. Nahise mpamagara umusirikari ufite ipeti rya Koloneli muri FAR, ntangazwa no gusanga na we ibintu byamurenze. Avuga yongorera ngo atumvwa n'Inyenzi bavugaga ko zuzuye mu muji, ambwira ko aryanye hasi mu ruganiriro hamwe n'umufasha we n'abana, kugira ngo badafatwa n'amasasu yayobye. Ese koko umuji wari wafashwe n'inyeshyamba? None se niba umusirikari ukomeye nka koloneli aryanye hasi mu ruganiriro iwe, ninde wari uyoboye ingabo zagombaga guhangana n'umwanzi? Nuko mpamagara mubyara wanjye wari utuye hafi y'ikigo cy'ingabo cya Kigali, mu nkengero y'agace gatuwemo n'abayisilamu i Nyamirambo. Anyumvisha ko igisasu cya rutura kimaze kugwa inyuma y'inzu ye, kigatwara igice cy'urukuta bahuriyeho na ONATRACOM (ikigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe gutwara abantu), kandi ko batazi neza aho amasasu aturuka. Mu ma saa kumi n'imwe yo mu rukerera, imirwano irahosha,

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hahita hatangira ifatwa ry'abo bise «ibiyitso», Abatutsi kimwe n'Abahutu. Umuvuduko waranze iryo fatwa ry'ibiyitso wari utangaje. Mu gihe cy'amasaha 24, hagoswe abantu ibihumbi barundanywa muri sitade y'i Nyamirambo mu majyepfo y'iburarengerazuba y'umurwa mukuru. Ntibyatanzwe abahabyiganiraga baba bageze ku 8000.

Iryo higwa ry'abantu mu ijoro ryo kuwa 4 rishyira kuwa 5 Ukwakira ryasize ibibazo byinshi bitashubijwe. Ukuri kw'amakuru yavuye muri ambasade y'Abanyamerika kwaba kwaragenzuwe? Ese cyaba cyari igihuha gihishe indi migambi? Kubera iki? Ninde wari ubifitemo inyungu? Niba se imirwano yarabaye koko, haba haragaragajwe ibyo yangije? Ababihagazeho bo bahamya ibindi. Aho ntirwaba rwari urwitwazo rwo gusobanura impamvu bafashe ibiyitso?

Mu rwego rwa gisirikari, iyo mikorere yari igamije kugaragaza imbaraga no kuburizamo icengera nyaryo ry'ibiyitso ryari ryarateganyijwe muri Kigali. Byaba ari ukwiringagiza ukuri nkana guhakana ko hari abacengezi binjiraga hakoreshejwe amayeri asanzwe ya FPR. Ibimenyetso byagaragajwe igihe hafatwaga intworo nyinshi zahishwe n'abambari ba FPR mbere y'uko intambara itangira.

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Mu rwego rwa politiki, guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabashije kwitwaza iryo fatwa ry'ibytso mu gukangurira abaturage ikibazo cy'umutekano. Abaturage bakangutse bwangu batangiye kubona umwanzi abasatira. Nibwo abaturage bahagurukiraga rimwe bagahiga *umwanzi*, bagaragaza rwose ko bifatanyije n'ingabo z'igihugu. Ariko mu bintu nk'ibi, ikinyoma kirashyira kikiha intebe. Abenshi mu bari bafashwe icyo gihe ntibari barigeze bumva ibya FPR. Hari abazize munyangire, abandi bafatwa bazira ubwoko bwabo. Iyo ni imwe mu ngaruka mbi z'iyi ntambara FPR ifitemo uruhare. Ese ubundi hari ukundi byari kugenda?

FPR yateye yigaragazaga nk'aho ije kubohoza Abatutsi, bityo ituma abaturage babona ko hari isano iri hagati y'uwo bwoko bwa rubanda nyamuke n'abateraga igihugu. Abatutsi bahinduka batyo ingwate za guverinoma yabakekagaho ubugambanyi itavangura, baba kandi n'ingwate za FPR yabitwazaga ikabya mu gusobanura no kumvikanisha impamvu yashoje intambara.

FPR ntiyatinyaga gukwiza ibinyoma kugira ngo iteze umwuka mubi mu gihugu no kugira ngo amahanga agirire impuhwe Abatutsi kandi muri bo ntawari ubibasabye. Mu byakurikiyeho, izo nyeshyamba zagerageza gukosora iryo kosa zishyira imbere Abahutu

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bake bari mu muryango, zivuga ko zigizwe n'abanyamuryango bo mu moko atandukanye. Uretse ko bibutse ibitereko basheshe, kuko amazi yari yarenze inkombe. Ubumwe bw'igihugu bwari bumaze imyaka makumyabiri bwubakwa bwari bumaze gusenywa na kalashinikovu.

Koko rero, mu Rwanda kimwe no mu Burundi, hari amoko abiri amoko arangwa n'amakimbirane y'urudaca. Kwigaragaza nk'urengera ubwoko ubu n'ubu urenganya ubundi byanze bikunze bitera kubangamira ubwa mbere. Nanone guharabika ubwoko bibutera kurushaho kurakara no kumva ko bagomba gushyira hamwe birwanaho, bikaba byanatuma bitabira ibikorwa by'ubwiyahuzi. Gihamya ni ibyabaye iwacu. Ariko se hari isomo byasigiye abantu?

Ibikorwa bya Guverinoma mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga

Intambara imaze gutera, inzego zishinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga bw'u Rwanda bwagumye gukora nk'indeberezi. icyakora Perezida wa Repubulika yirukanse hirya no hino, ni byo koko, biranamuhira yitabaza u Bufaransa, u Bbiligi, na Zayire. icyavuyemo ni uko ibyo bihugu uko ari bitatu byakiye neza icyifuzo cya guverinoma y'u Rwanda cyo kurutiza ingabo. Ingabo z'Abafaransa n'iz'Ababiligi zari zishinzwe kurinda

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abakomoka mu Burayi na Amerika no kubahungisha bibaye ngombwa, mu gihe ingabo za Zayire zo zashobora guhita zohererwa ku rugamba. Nubwo ntawabuze kunegura imyitwarire y'abakomando bo muri Zayire, ntawaranga ku kuri ngo ahakane ko bateye ingabo za FAR akanyabugabo ku buryo budasubirwaho, bagatsimbura batyo inyeshyamba mu birindiro byazo bikomeye.

Icyakora nkuko byagaragaye mu ntambara, abari bafite ijambo mu bakomeye bageze aho barekura igihugu cyacu. Intagondwa zo mu butegetsi zasubizanye agasuzuguro zibajijwe iby'amashusho ateye isoni y'imfungwa zari zuzuye muri sitade. Bahinduka batyo ibyitso bya FPR batabishaka, dore ko yuririraga kuri bene ayo mafuti igasya itanzitse, kandi ikabikorana ubuhanga bwihariye. Vuba na bwangu, imiryango mpuzamahanga itabogamiye kuri Leta yamaganye uburyo imfungwa za politiki zafatwaga nabi mu Rwanda. Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu bubera ikibazo gikomeye ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda. Mu bihe nk'ibyho by'amakimbirane, gusaba ko abantu bakorana ubushishozi kandi bakagerageza kubahiriza ikiremhamuntu byahise byitwa ubugambanyi. Mu gihe cy'imyaka ine intambara yamaze, abategetsi b'igihugu bakoze amakosa menshi yo kudashishoza yakururiye igihugu cyacu ingorane zikomeye. Igihunga,

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ubwoba bw'umwanzi n'uburangare bw'abanyepolitiki bari ku butegezi ntibihagije mu gusobanura akaga bakururiye u Rwanda. Ikibazo cy'imfungwa zirundanyije muri sitade cyatumye itangazamakuru ry'amahanga rihitamo urundi ruhande. Maze barekera aho kuvuga imirwano imara abantu yaberaga mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, n'inkunga Yoweri Museveni yateraga inyeshyamba. Amakuru asigara yibanda ku burenganzira bw'ikiremnamuntu, ku byo gufunga abantu nta mpamvu, no kwica abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Nibwo abanyamakuru baguye mu mutego w'ibinyoma bya FPR batangiye kuvuga ku mugaragaro ikibazo cy'ubutegezi bitaga ubwigitungu bunamena amaraso. icyuho kiba kirabonetse, FPR iba icyicotsemo yicinya icyara. Inyeshyamba zitangira kwamagana ibihugu byohereje ingabo mu Rwanda. U Bubiligi bushya ubwoba buhitamo gutahura aba parakomando no guhagarika kwohereza intwari mu Rwanda. Naho u Bufaransa, nubwo bwarekeye mu gihugu amakompanyi abiri y'ingabo zirwanira mu mahanga, busaba abagikomoka kuva mu Rwanda kubera ikibazo cy'umutekano gishobora kubabangamira. Abenshi bafata utwangushye, ariko abandi baguma aho, bumva ko ingabo zifashe neza ku rugamba.

Itahurwa ry'ingabo z'Ababiligi zagize ingaruka mbi nyinshi. Mu rwego rw'umubano hagiye y'ibihugu byombi,

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iryo taturwa ry'ingabo ratumye icyizere hagati y'u Rwanda n'u Bubiligi gitakara. Umwami Baudouin asaba akomeje guverinoma y'u Bubiligi gusubukura ubufatanye mu rwego rwa gisirikari bafasha u Rwanda, ariko biranga biba iby'ubusa. Ahubwo mu gihe bamwe mu Bahutu baregaga Ababiligi ubugambanyi, FPR yo yaboneyeho gushimangira ibirindiro byayo i Buruseli yifashishije ishyaka rishyigikiye ry'abavuga igifaransa, ryari rifite umuvugizi wa FPR ukomeye cyane witwaga Jean Gol. Ababiligi bacuruza intwari bahise bafata iya mbere mu kuziba icyo cyuho, batangira koherereza intwari inyeshyamba. Mu by'ukuri, icyo bakaga umwe bagihaga undi.

Indi ngaruka yatewe n'icyurwa ry'abasirikari b'Ababiligi ni uko u Bufaransa bwashyigaye mu guhugu bwonyine bituma uruhare rwabwo mu ntambara rwiyongera. Ariko aho itahuka ry'Ababiligi ryagize ingaruka mbi ni mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Batangiye kwemeza nta shiti ko kuba Ababiligi bazi neza u Rwanda kurusha ibindi bihugu bahisemo gukuramo akabo karengere ari igihanywa ko mu by'ukuri ingoma ya Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana idakwiriye gutabarwa, bityo, u Bufaransa bukaba nta mpamvu bufite yo kuharekera amakompanyi yabwo abiri.

Nkuko bigaragara, uwo ayo makosa y'ubutegetsi bw'i

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Kigali bwunguye ni FPR. icya mbere ni uko Abanyarwanda benshi, baba Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu, bafashwe mu byitso ku itariki ya 4 no ku ya 5 Ukwakira, bumvaga bahuje umugambi na FPR kuko yabavugiraga. icya kabiri ni uko habaye ihohotera rikabije ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwanuntu, imbere ya za kamera za televiziyo, bigahindura imyumvire y'amahanga. Bityo bamwe muri abo banyamahanga bagasanga intambara yo mu Rwanda yari ifite ishingiro kuko babonaga ikorwa n'abaturage bakandamijwe n'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu.

Ikindi gitangaje cyaranze intambara ni uburangare bukabije ku ruhande rwa, mu gihe inyeshyamba zo zaranzwe n'uburyarya. Guverinoma yemeye kwakira ibinyamakuru n'imiryango itegamiye kuri leta, imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu yacengewe na FPR (urugero ni Jean Carbonare) yemerewe gusura za gereza z'igihugu nta nkomyi. Nyamara abanyamakuru bakumirwa kwinjira mu gice cyigaruriwe n'inyeshyamaba, hemererwa gusa ababogamiye kuri FPR. Bityo inyeshyamba zishobora kwica abaturage b'inzirakarengane zikabajugunya byobo bya rusange ntacyo zishisha. Ni kuri ubwo buryo abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi bishwe na FPR mu ma perefegitura ya Byumba na Ruhengeri guhera mu Ukwakira 1990. Ariko

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se hari uwiyeze abivuga? Ibyo byatowe n'imimerere y'abari bahanganye. Guverinoma iba igengwa n'itegeko mpuzamahanga, naho inyeshyamba zikigenga. Birababaje kuba urukiko mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho guca imanza z'ibyaha byakozwe mu Rwanda rutarashoboye kwagura uburenganzira bwawo mu gushakisha no guhana ibyaha by'ubwicanyi byakozwe na FPR kuva mu Ukwakira 1990.

## **Inyandikomvugo y'imfabusa**

Aho nakoreraga muri ambasade Addis-Abeba, nabonaga igitutu mpuzamahanga cyava muri OUA no mu Nama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ishinjwe amahoro ku isi ari cyo cyonine cyashoboraga kumvisha ukuri Perezida wa Uganda wasuzuguraga ku mugaragaro ibyakorerwaga mu karere. Mu nyandikomvugo noherereje Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga ku itariki ya 8 Ukwakira 1990, nabagiriye inama yo gusaba ko hatumizwa inama idasanzwe ya OUA cyangwa se nibura inama yo mu rwego ruciriritse. Bwari kuba ari uburyo bwo kureba uko uyoboye uwo muryango ahagaraye. Maze kujya inama na mugenzi wanjye w'i New York, muri icyo nyandikomvugo nasabye gushyikiriza ikibazo Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amahoro ku isi. Kigali yarangaranye icyifuzo cyanjye, kimwe n'inyandiko

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nyinshi za mugenzi wanjye nyakwigendera amabasaderi Rukashaza Oswaldi wari uhagarariye igihugu mu Muryango w'Abibumbye. Byaduteye kwibaza niba ububanyi n'amahanga bw'u Rwanda bwari bukigira umuyobozi. Impamvu nyazo z'uko kwinumira zari zihishe ahandi.

## **Igitutu cy'Abanyafurika**

Kuva intambara igitangira, Perezida Yoweri Museveni yavuganye n'abakuru b'ibihugu bya Afurika hafi ya bose abasobanurira uko we yabonaga ibintu. Abumvisha ko hagomba haboneka igisubizo cyumvikanyweho mu karere, ni ukuvuga igisubizo gitanzwe n'Abanyafurika ubwabo. Ibihugu by'Afurika byinshi ni icyo gisubizo cya «Perezida wabo» zahitamo. Hakurikijwe amabwiriza y'ibihugu byabo, abaserukira Afurika i New York bimirije imbere inzira y'igisubizo gitanzwe n'Abanyafurika, ariko bemera ko yo ubwayo itihagije.

## **Iterabwoba no guteza ubwega kwa Museveni**

Mu byo yatangazaga byose ku Rwanda, umukuru w'igihugu cya Uganda ntiyigeze ahwema kumvisha

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abantu ko ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kireba igihugu ubwacyo. Nubwo yemeye gutanga inkunga mu gushakira icyo umuti ikibazo binyuze mu nzira z'amahoro, yumvishije guverinoma y'u Rwanda ko kugerageza gushyira mu majwi Uganda bizafatwa nko kuyishakaho intambara. Yoweri Museveni yahoraga atumiza amabasaderi w'u Rwanda ku cyicaro cye kugira ngo abimusubiriremo. Iryo terabwoba riziguye ryagize ingaruka zo kujijisha no gucecekesha ubushobozi bwa guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Kubera gutinya kurakaza umuturanyi, Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana yatanze amabwiriza yo kutarega Uganda ku mugaragaro.

Nkiri Addis Abeba aho nakoreraga kugeza mu mpera z'Ukwakira 1990, nakiranye ipfunwe iyo nkuru, kuko ku itariki ya 22 Ukwakira 1990, nasabye umujyanama wanjye wa mbere amabwiriza yo gutangaza inyandikomvugo igaragaza uruhare rwa Uganda n'urwa Perezida Yoweri Museveni by'umwihariko ku ntambara yo Rwanda. Nanone ntirengagije uburenganzira n'ibyifuzo by'impunzi byari bifite ishingiro mu gihe zasabaga gutaha mu gihugu cyabo nta yandi mananiza, sinashoboraga kubabarira Perezida Yoweri Museveni ibinyoma bye, kuko hari hashize mezi atatu atangarije aho twari mu ngoro y'agahebuzo ya Hailé Sélassié iby'uruzinduko ruhisha imitego. Sinigeze nemera ko igihugu cy'abaturanyi cyitwaza ibyago by'impunzi ngo

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gihungabanya umutekano w'u Rwanda.

Ngibi ibikubiye mu itangazo rigenewe abanyamakuru ryatangajwe na Ambassade y'u Rwanda:

*«U Rwanda rwatewe kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 na bamwe mu bagize ingabo za leta ya Uganda, NRA (National Resistance Army); ubungubu izo ngabo z'amahanga zigaruriye igice cy'ubutaka bw'u Rwanda cyo mu burengerazuba bw'amajyaruguru y'igihugu.*

*Nubwo bimwe mu binyamakuru byo mu mahanga bitangaza indi nkuru, hari ibimenyetso byinshi byerekana ko abateye babarizwa koko mu ngabo za Uganda:*

*Igitero cyashojwe giturutse ku butaka bwa Uganda, gishozwa n'ingabo zambaye inyenda y'ingabo za Uganda, ziri mu mamodoka ya gisirikari afite ibyapa by'igisirikari cya Uganda, kandi na zo ubwazo ari iz'igisirikari cya Uganda, zitwaje intwari n'amasasu bivuye mu bubiko bw'igisirikari cya Uganda, ziyobowe n'umujenerali afatanije n'abasirikari bakuru benshi bo mu ngabo za Uganda.*

*Mu itangazo rya mbere ryasohotse bukeye bw'igitero, guverinoma ya Uganda yemeye ko abateye ari «abasirikari batorotse» igisirikari cya Uganda «bibye» ibikoresho by'igisirikari cy'icyo gihugu. Ibyo byemejwe n'itangazo ryo ku wa 3/10/1990 ryatangazwe n'uwungirije Minisitiri w'intebe wa Uganda, Nyakubahwa E. Kategaya, imbere y'inteko ishingamategeko y'igihugu*

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*cye;*

*Mu magambo menshi yatangarije abanyamakuru, nko ku wa gatanu itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990, umukuru w'igihugu cya Uganda yiyemereye ko ingabo zateye u Rwanda zavuye mu ngabo zemewe za Uganda. Nibwo yivugiye ati: "Ndashidikanya cyane ko ingabo bafite [mu Rwanda] zishobora gutsinda ingabo z'inyeshyamba mu mirwano. Bamwe muri bo [inyeshyamba] babarirwa mu ngabo zacu (NRA) z'isonga";*

*Abateye na bo ubwabo bemera ko bagize ingabo zisanzwe za Uganda. Ikimenyimenyi, umwe mu bayobozi bakuru b'ingabo za Uganda, majoro Petero Bayingana, umuyobozi w'ishami ry'ubuvuzi mu ngabo za Uganda, yarivugiye ati: «Ntidushobora guharika intambara kubera ko abenshi muri twe batorotse mu ngabo za Uganda, ntidushobora rero gusubira muri Uganda» (Itangazo rya AFP ryo ku itariki ya 23/10/1990).*

*Kubera impamvu zimaze kuvugwa, ibikorwa byose mu gushakira umuti ikibazo cyo mu karere ntibigomba kwibagiza ukuri kudakuka ko igitero cyaturutse hanze y'igihugu.*

*Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yamaganye kenshi yivuye inyuma icyo gitero n'uko kwigarurira ubutaka bw'igihugu bigaragaza ukutubahiriza no gusuzugura bikabije amahame y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ndetse n'aya OUA, kuko bateye umugeru amasezerano y'imibanire myiza*

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*y'abaturanyi no kubahiriza ubusugire bw'ibihugu. Niyo mpamvu, guverinoma y'u Rwanda ikomeje kwizera ko kugarura amahoro mu Rwanda no mu karere kose byanze bikunze bigomba kubanzirizwa no gukura ingabo zateye ku butaka bw'igihugu.*

*Addis-Abeba, tariki ya 24 Ukwakira 1990»*

Iri tangazo rya Ambasade ni inyandikomvuga yohererejwe abahagarariye ibihugu byabo n'imiryango mpuzamahanga ikorera mu murwa mukuru wa Etiyopiya. Uwo muni nanone, ambasade y'u Rwanda i Washington yatanze itangazo risobetse kurenza iringiri, ryerekana ukwivanga kwa Perezida wa Uganda mu bibazo bireba u Rwanda ubwarwo. Bagenzi banjye benshi bo muri Afurika ndetse no mu Buraya babonye urwo rwandiko barampamagara bambwira ko ba guverinoma zabo zishyigikiye u Rwanda. Ambasaderi wa Uganda, Bwana Swaib Musoke yaje kunshaka kuri amabasade. Ambwira ko ashigikiye ibyo nkora, ariko ko afite impungenge ko i kampala babyakira nabi. Mu by'ukuri Kampala yari yatangiye kugaragaza aho ihagaze.

Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Kampala, Karaveri Kanyarushoki, yahamagajwe mu ngo y'umukuru w'igihugu yakirwa na Perezida Yoweri Museveni ubwe. Ibiganiro bagiranye byaranzwe n'umwuka mubi. Perezida Museveni yahise yereka amabasaderi inyandikomvugo

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yatangajwe na ambasaderi yanjye, amubwira amagambo akurikira: «*Mu gihe guverinoma yanjye ikora ibishoboka byose ngo ibafashe, ba ambasaderi banyu bihaye kuntoba mu nzarwe. Nibikomeza bityo ndakuramo akanjye karenge, ingaruka z'ibizaba nyuma ntizizambarweho.*»

Iryo terabwoba ntiriyari ibikino. icyakora byumvikanye ko ibyari bihangayikishije ubutitsa «Perezida wa OUA» ari ubwoba bwo gucyahwa n'amahanga. Mu gihe uwahoze ari inyeshyamba yari hafi gutsinda igitego mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga yitwaje OUA, byagaragaraga ko kwivanga mu kibazo cy'u Rwanda bishobora kubangamira icyo gikorwa, biturutse ku cyemezo ambasaderi yafashe cyo kumena ikibyimba atabanje gutegereza uburenganzira bwa guverinoma ye. Kubera uko guteza ubwega kwa Perezida Museveni, guverinoma y'u Rwanda yarahangayitse. Kigali isaba mugenzi wanjye Karaveri Kanyarushoki gusaba imbabazi ku mugaragaro mu izina ry'u Rwanda avuguruza inyandikomvugo zatangaje na ambasade ya Addis-Abeba n'iyi Washington. Ari byo bivuga guhanagura burundu uruhare rwa Yoweri Museveni gitero cyibasiye u Rwanda.

Hashize iminsi mike, maze kuva Addis-Abeba nimuriwe

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i Parisi, inyandiko ivuguruza ibyavuzwe na ambasade y'u Rwanda i Kampala ikwira imirwa mikuru yose y'isi inakorerwa iyamamaza rihambaye. **Dore ibyari biyikubiyemo:**

*«Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda irashimira Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Akarere ya Repubulika ya Uganda. Ishingiye ku nyandiko n° XC 1149 yo ku wa 2 Ugushyingo 1990 ku byerekeye ibyatangajwe n'uwungirije ambasaderi w'u Rwanda ya Addis-Abeba na ambasade y'u Rwanda i Washington, yishimiye gutangariza ibikurikira:*

*Ibyatangajwe ntibikwiye kandi birababaje, kandi binyuranyije n'ibitekerezo bya guverinoma y'u Rwanda.*

*Guverinoma y'u Rwanda irashima kandi yishimiye uruhare rukomeye kandi rwa ngombwa Nyakubahwa Perezida Yoweri Museveni yagize, nk'umuyobozi wa OUA, mu gushaka igisubizo ikibazo kiriho binyuze mu nzira z'amahoro.*

*Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yiyemeje gukomeza gutsura amahoro yubahiriza imyanzuro y'afashwe mu manama ya Mwanza na Gbadolite.*

*Nyakubahwa Perezida w'u Rwanda yiteguye kwoherereza Perezida wa Repubulika ya Uganda intumwa yihariye igihe cyose guhera ubungubu mu gihe kiboneye perezida wa Uganda kugira ngo ahanye ibyavuzwe haruguru byerekeranye n'icyo u Rwanda ruhagazeho no gutanga*

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*ibindi bisobanuro birambuye.*

*Ku byerekeye amakuru yatanzwe na BBC mu gitondo cyo ku wa 3 Ugushyingo 1990 ku kiganiro cya Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane mpuzamahanga w'u Rwanda. Dr. Casimir Bizimungu, guverinoma ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda iramagana byimazeyo ibyavuzwe na BBC bigamije guharabika ishusho nyayo y'u Rwanda no gukurura umwiryane hagati y'u Rwanda n'abaturanyi ku mpamvu zizwi gusa n'abateguye iyo gahunda. Biri n'amahire, mu kiganiro cya Minisitiri cyumvikanye muri «Focus on Afrika» ejo nimugoroba cyakurikiwe n'abantu benshi bashobora kubihamya, yashimye ubwitange Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Uganda adahwema kugaragaza mu gushakira iyi ntambara igisubizo kinyuze mu nzira z'amahoro. Ntiyigeze na rimwe ashinja igihugu cya Uganda kuba cyarateye u Rwanda nkuko BBC ishaka kubyumvisha rubanda....»*

Ibyakurikiye uko kwirara mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga ntibyongeye kugira igaruriro. Kuko u Rwanda rwabuze ijamba ku buryo bidasubirwaho. Bityo, Museveni aboneraho kwemeza atavuguruzwa ko mu Rwanda hari intambara hagati y'abanyarwanda ubwabo, akoreresheje urwandiko rubimuhera uburenganzira rwa guverinoma rwaje rusa n'akava imuhana imvura ihise. U Rwanda ruba rwemeye rutyo ku rutsinzwe, birarangira!

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Ntacyo rusabye! Kuva ubwo, igihe cyose Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga w'u Rwanda agize icyo atangariza abanyamakuru, Kampala ikerekana isheja inyandiko ya leta imuvuguruza. Inaboneraho gukoresha inshuti zayo zo mu mahanga kugira ngo igaragaze ukwivuguruza n'uguhuzagurika kwateshaga agaciro guverinoma yu Rwanda. Hagati aho ku rugamba intambara iraca ibintu, naho Uganda ikomeza guhungabanyi umuturanyi wayo idakura mu ruge. Perezida Habyarimana yari abizi neza, ariko yashakaga gutwara buhoro Yoweri Museveni, yizeye kuzamwumvisha ko agomba guhagarika gutera inkunga FPR. Akaba yarumvaga ko u Rwanda rwaboneraho kwisuganya buhoro buhoro rwitegura gutsinda intambara burundu. Icyo gitekerezo cyakuruye ingorane ku buryo bidasubirwaho. Iyakurikiyeho byose byaranzwe n'igihunga kidashira cyashegeshe ububanyi n'amahanga bw'u Rwanda kugeza muri Mata 1994.

Intambara y'imbere mu gihugu cyangwa igitero giturutse hanze?

Nkuko imwe mu miryango ibogamiye kuri FPR ibivuga, igitero FPR yagabye mu Rwanda ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 cyatangiyeye ari intambara ibera imbere mu gihugu. Nyamara nkuko tumaze kubibona, igitero cyibasiye u Rwanda nta shiti kirebwa n'amategeko

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mpuzamahanga, kuko ari igitero cyaturutse hanze hiteguwe kand kigashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ingabo za Uganda, kubera ko urugamba rwayobowe n'abashinzwe ubuyobozi bw'ingabo za Uganda.

Ibimenyetso by'icyo gitero cyaturutse hanze bigaragazwa n'imiterere y'abari ku rugamba, ibikoresho byabo n'ibyatangajwe n'abayobozi ba Uganda ubwabo.

## **Ibiranga abagaba b'ingabo zayoboye igitero**

Ubuyobozi bw'ingabo zagabye igitero bwari bugizwe n'abasirikari bakuru ba Uganda, nubwo bakomoka mu Rwanda ariko bamwe bavukiye muri Uganda, bari mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu za Yoweri Museveni, bita National Resistance Army (NRA).

Gihamya ni uru urutonde rwa bamwe muri bo:

Jenerali Majoro Fred Rwigema: umuyobozi mukuru wungirije w'ingabo za Uganda, minisitiri wungirije w'ingabo z'igihugu akaba n'umugaba w'ingabo zateye u Rwanda. «Fred» rero yazaga ku mwanya wa 2 nyuma ya Perezida Museveni.

Liyetona Koloneli Adam Waswa: umusirikari wo mu rwego rwo hejuru

Majoro Chris Bunyenyezi: Komanda wa Burigade

Majoro Dr. Petero Bayingana: umuyobozi mukuru

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ushinzwe iby'ubuvuzi mu ngabo za Uganda  
Majoro Paul Kagame: umuyobozi wungirije w'iperereza rya gisisirikari mu ngabo za Uganda  
Majoro Kanyemera bakunda kwita Kaka: Komanda wa Polisi y'igisisirikari cya Uganda  
Majoro Ndungutse bakunda kwita Nduguteye: Komanda w'ingabo zirwanira mu mazi za Uganda  
Majoro Bosco Nyirigira: Komanda wa Burigade ya 310  
Kapiteni Kayitare: umufasha wa Jenerali Majoro Rwigema  
Kapiteni Muhire: umusirikari mukuru mu barinda Perezida wa Uganda  
Kapiteni Ngoga: umusirikari mukuru mu barinda Perezida wa Uganda  
Ingabo zateye zambaraga imyenda ya gisirikari y'ingabo za Uganda. Intwaro bakoreshaga zavaga mu bubiko bw'ingabo za Uganda. Bambutse umupaka wa Uganda n'u Rwanda mu mamodoka ya gisirikari y'ingabo za Uganda. Inkomere z'inYESHYAMBA zajyaga kuvurirwa mu bitaro by'ingabo za Uganda. Abavugizi b'inYESHYAMBA z'Abatutsi bazengurukaga isi yose bahagurukiraga ku kibuga cy'indege cya Entebbe muri Uganda, bafite impapuro z'abajya mu mahanga boherejwe nk'abakorera Uganda. Ibyo bakomeje gukorwa kugeza igihe intambara irangiye.

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## **Ibyatangajwe ku mugaragaro n'abayobozi ba Uganda**

Ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990, hashize iminsi icumi u Rwanda rutewe, Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni yemeye ku mugaragaro imbere y'abanyamakuru ko bamwe mu bagize ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo ze bitwaje ko atari mu gihugu bagatera u Rwanda igihugu cy'abaturanyi. Nibwo Yoweri Museveni yiyemezaga ko agiye gucyura «abahungu be», maze akabashyikiriza urukiko rukuru rwa gisirikari kubera icyaha cyo guta ibirindiro byabo. Kugeze ubu ntacyo arakora mu byo yiyemeje. Ahubwo, mu gihe cy'imyaka itatu yose, yatije umurindi izo nyeshyamba azongerera abasirikari, ibikoresho ndetse anazifasha ku mugaragaro mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

Ikindi kimenyetso kandi kitari gito: Mu bateye harimo ingabo amagana n'amagana zikomoka mu bwoko gakondo bwa Uganda, bafite impapuro zemewe zigaragaza ko bari bahawe ikiruhuko cy'akazi mu gihe imirwano itarahagarara. Abenshi muri bo bafatiwe ku rugamba bakemeza ko bakomoka muri Uganda.

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Birumvikana ko nubwo abateye u Rwanda ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 ahanini bakomokaga mu Rwanda, ibyo ntibivuguruzwa ko igitero cyaturutse hanze y'igihugu.

Havugwa angana iki abasirikari bakuru cyangwa abanyepolitiki b'abafaransa bakomoka muri Hisipaniya, mu Butaliyani, muri Hongiriyi, muri Arumeniya, muri Isirayeli, cyangwa muri Alijeriya baramutse bafashe bamwe mu ngabo z'abafaransa bakajya gutera ibihugu bakomokamo bitwaje ko bashaka guhindura ubutegetsi buraho?

Ejo Perezida mushya wa Amerika Barack Obama yakwemererwa gutera Kenya igihugu se yakomokagamo, yitwaje ko nta demokarasi iri muri icyo gihugu? Ese igihugu cyatewe, Kenya kuri Obama, cyakwemererwa bwo kwifashisha ibihugu by'inshuti mu guhangana n'icyo gitero? Nasubiza ntashidikanya ngira nti YEGO! Nta kabuza amahanga yakwamagana icyo gitero yivuye inyuma.

Ni byo byabaye mu Rwanda. Nyuma y'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ibihugu by'inshuti z'u Rwanda byabonye ko ari igitero cyaturutse hanze bahururiza u Rwanda: u Bufaransa, u Bubiligi na Zayitre byohereje ingabo. Afurika y'epfo, Misiri n'ibindi bihugu byarugurishije ibikoresho by'intambara kugira ngo rubashe guhangana n'icyo gitero. Nta gihugu na kimwe ku isi cyigeze

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cyamagana Abafaransa, Abazayirwa cyangwa Ababiligi kuko batabaye ku ruhande rwa guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Kubera gusa ko igitero nyirizina cyari gifite ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko giturutse hanze kikibasira igihugu cyigenga kigabwe na kimwe mu bihugu baturanye. Igitangaje aha ni iki? Ubungubu abashimishwa no kwamagana u Bufaransa ko bwatabaye u Rwanda ni abafite izindi nyungu barwanira. Hari uwangaragariza ko FPR yaba yarifite uruganda rukora intwaro mu karere yari yarigaruriye? Abateye u Rwanda bagahinduka nyuma inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi bafashwaga ku mugaragaro na Uganda, n'ibindi bihugu byo mu karere ndetse n'ibihugu by'ibihangange nka Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika n'Ubwongereza. None se ni igitangaza ko u Rwanda, nk'igihugu cyigenga cyatewe, cyagura ibikoresho bya gisirikari mu bihugu by'amahanga bafitanye ubufatanye? Kuki inyeshyamba zirwana zagira uburenganzira busumbye ubwa guverinoma yemewe n'amategeko y'igihugu cyatewe? Ese kubaza ibyo bibazo ni ugupfobya itsembabwoko? Si uko inyeshyamba zatsinze intambara ko tugomba kumira bunguri ibinyoma byazo byose ku byerekeye ibyabaye. Uwatsinze siwe uhorana ukuri. Ntaho bihuriye! Abana bazavuka bafite uburenganzira bwo kumenya ukuri ku byabaye mu gihugu cyacu kugira ngo batazasubira mu makosa yacu.

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Hari abavuga ko igitero cyibasiye u Rwanda cyari intambara y'abenegihugu basubiranamo kubera ko abateye bakomokaga mu Rwanda. Kubera ko bahumwe amaso no gushyigikira uruhande rumwe, bakora ikosa ryo gusesengura ibintu nabi, bigaragaza ko babogamye. Muriyumvisha ingaruka mbi iryo sesengura ryateza mu mibanire y'ibihugu bose ari ko babigenje? Iki kibazo nkibajije Bernard Kouchner, Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ibibazo by'abanyaburaya ufite mu nshingano ze gutsura ubwumvikane bw'ibihugu no kubungabunga ukubahiriza amategeko mpuzamahanga. Ni ukuri intambara yo mu Rwanda yakuruwe n'igitero giturutse hanze mu maso y'abanyarwanda n'ay'amahanga. Ni ukuri ko yagiye ihinduka buhoro buhoro intambara y'abenegihugu basubiranamo, uko abari bahanganye bagendaga bagana ku mahoro.

Umunsi guverinoma ya Perezida Habyarimana yemeye kujya mu mishyikirano y'amahoro ishyiraho igabana ry'ubutegetsi, nibyo ni uwo munsi si mbere yaho, u Rwanda rwemeye ko abarwanaga ari abavandimwe. Nibwo intambara yaretse kwitwa igitero giturutse hanze ahubwo igahinduka intambara y'abenegihugu basubiranamo. Ariko ntabwo twahora u Bufaransa, u Bubiligi, cyangwa Zayire, nk'ibihugu bifitanye

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amasezerano y'ubufatanye mu bya gisirikari n'u Rwanda, kuba byarateye inkunga ingabo z'u Rwanda, bubisabwe n'igihugu, mu kurwanya inyeshyamba rugikubita zafashwe nk'ingabo ziteye ikindi gihugu. Ibyo birasanzwe mu mibanire y'ibihugu byubahiriza amahame mpuzamahanga. U Rwanda sicyo gihugu cya mbere cyangwa cya nyuma u Bufaransa bwafashije mu guhangana n'igitero giturutse hanze cyangwa kivutse imbere mu gihugu, nk'igihe zagiye zijya gutabara igihugu cya Cadi. Uko mbizi, Bernard Kouchner wari Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bufaransa mu gihe izo ngabo zisesekara i N'djamena ntabwo yabirwanyije. Yagumye muri guverinoma, nta mpungenge nyinshi bimuteye. Nyamara, abateye igihugu cya Cadi mu byukuri bari abarwanya ubutegetsu bo muri Cadi bazwi kandi batigeze na rimwe babarizwa mu ngabo z'amahanga nkuko byagaragaye ku byerekeye u Rwanda. Impamvu minisitiri ashingiraho ibyo yita amakosa ya François Mitterand n'uruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda ni icyo gushakirwa ahandi. Itsembabwoko ku ruhanda rumwe cyangwa ku mpande ebyiri?

Mu kiganiro yagiranye na Jean Pierre Elkabbach kuri Europe1 ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 2007, Bernard Kouchner yasubije icyo kibazo adategwa ati: «Ni

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itsembabwoko ku ruhande rumwe Bwana Elkabbach, si itsembabwoko ku mpande ebyiri. Ni Abahutu nyamwinshi bishe Abatutsi nyamuke. Nari mpibereye.»

Mu byo yatangaje nyuma yaho kuri icyo kibazo, Bernard Kouchner yakuriye abantu inzira ku murima agira ati: «Kuvuga ko FPR yakoze itsembabwoko ni uburyo bwo kuripfobya.»

Imbago ntarengwa zishingwa ubwo: Abahutu bitwa abagome, naho Abatutsi bitwa ibitambo. Kubera ubwinshi bwabo Abahutu bitwa abagome, naho Abatutsi bake bakaba abeza. Iyi mvugo itinyuka kwemeza ibintu itaziguye. Minisitiri Bernard Kouchner yatsindagiraga interuro ngo «Nari mpibereye». Agitangira ikiganiro, yakoresheje ayo magambo nyabufindo atsembera abashaka kubyutsa ikibazo cy'itsembabwoko ryakozwe ku mpande zombi. Aba ashyize atyo mu gatebo kamwe ubwoko yita ubw'ababi bakoze amahano. Bahabwa igihano badahawe uburenganzira bwo kwiregura.

Nubwo ubwicanyi bwakozwe mu buryo no mu bihe bimwe, ubwo muri 1994 bwo burahanwa cyangwa bukababarirwa hakurikijwe ko bwakozwe n'ubwoko nyamwinshi cyangwa n'ubwoko nyamuke. Iryo tandukanyirizo rishingiye ku gitekerezo kidafashe kivuga ko nyamuke ihora ibangamiwe na nyamwinshi, ko

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igomba gutabarwa no gufashwa kugira ngo idatsembwa burundu, mu gihe nyamwinshi yo iba ifite imbaraga n'ubwinshi bituma ibasha kurokoka ubwicanyi bw'indengarugero. Imbabazi zaba zikwiye kugirirwa rubanda nyamuke gusa! Ku bireba u Rwanda, iyo bavuga itsembabwoko, birengagize ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu bagize ubwoko nyamwinshi bishwe bunyamaswa n'ingabo za FPR zigizwe ahanini n'Abatutsi bo mu bwoko nyamuke.

Hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994, isi ntiyategereje ko Bernard Kouchner ajya mu Rwanda kugira ngo imenye ko ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abanyarwanda bicwaga bazira icyo bari cyo batazira icyo bari bakoze. Nibyo rwose itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi ni icyasha mu mateka y'isi. Ayo marorerwa ariko ntatuma umuntu abasha gunonosora impamvu z'intambara yahekuye u Rwanda kuva mu kwakira 1990. Ibyabaye ni byinshi kurusha uko abantu babitekereza.

Birazwi ko muri Mata 1994 u Rwanda rwari rwaracitsemo ibice bibiri. Igice cy'amajyepfo cyaboyoborwaga n'ingabo za guverinoma cyakorewemo itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi bikerekanwa ku ma televiziyo yo ku isi hose. Naho mu majyaruguru, hari hamaze imyaka itatu higaruriwe n'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi, kandi itangazamakuru ryigenga ritemerwe

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kuhagera. Ubu twamenye ko Paul Kagame yaboneyeho akanya agakora ubwicanyi bwibasira ubwoko (ari na ho havuye imvugo mu rurimi rw'igiswahili yitwa *fyagiya* bivuga *gukubura*) bwakorewe imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abahutu bo mu turere twa Byumba na Ruhengeri yari yarigaruriye.

None se ibyo ni itsembabwoko cyangwa si itsembabwoko? Ryabaye ku ruhande rumwe cyangwa ku mpande zombi? Byaba bikwiye ko umuntu aregwa gupfobya itsembabwoko, mu gihe agendeye ku bimenyetso simusiga n'ibyegeranyo bidakemangwa bigaragaza ibyaha by'intambara, ubwicanyi bukorewe ikiremwa muntu n'ibikorwa bya itsembabwoko byakozwe n'intagondwa z'Abatutsi za FPR? Uretse uwanyemeza ko Abatutsi bavutse barusha Abahutu agaciro, nzakomeza guha ayo moko yombi agaciro kamwe. Nongeye gusaba abiyita impuguke mu bibazo by'u Rwanda konsobanurira impamvu jye wavutse ku babyeyi b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi nabuzwa guharanira ko abavandimwe bo muri ayo moko yombi nkomokamo bagira uburenganzira bwo kubaho? Kuki naregwa gupfobya itsembabwoko mu gihe mparanira uburenganzira bwo kubaho bw'Abahutu tuvukana nkuko narwanyije itsembabwoko ryakorerwaga abavandimwe banjye b'Abatutsi?

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Abasobanuye itsembabwoko mu rwego rw'amategeko ntibatekerezeza Abahutu n'Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda. Amasezerano agamije guhagarika no guhana ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byibasiye inyoko muntu asobanuwe mu buryo rusange kuri bose. Igihe cyose ubwicanyi bwibasiye abaturage buhuje n'ibyateganijwe muri ayo masezerano, bavuga ko habaye cyangwa hatabaye itsembabwoko.

Ku ngingo yayo ya II, ayo masezerano asobanura icyaha cy'itsembabwoko ku buryo bikurikira: «*Muri aya masezerano, itsembabwoko rigaragazwa na bimwe mu bikorwa bikurikira, byakozwe bigambiriye kurimbura agatsiko k'abantu, hashingiwe ku bwoko, inkomoko, ubwenegihugu, ibara ry'umubiri cyangwa idini, nko: a) Kwica abagize ako gatsiko; b) Guhungabanya bikomeye abagize ako gatsiko ku mubiri cyangwa mu bwenge; c) Gushyira mu kato abagize ako gatsiko ku buryo byabaviramo bashira cyangwa bakagabanuka; d) Imigambi yo kuburizamo imbyaro muri ako gatsiko.*»

Mbere yo gukomeza, ni ngombwa gutanga ibisobanuro by'ingenzi kugira ngo ibyo kwitiranyanya bibanze bive mu nzira. Amasezerano yavuzwe haruguru akoresha nkana ijambo *kugambirira* aho gukoresha *kuzirikana* cyangwa *gutegura*.

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Muri iyi nyandiko, ndirinda impaka zitari ngombwa ku bijyanye mu gihe hirya no hino hagaragaye ibimenyetso byo kwemeza uko kugambirira kuvugwa mu ngingo ya 2 y'ayo masezerano. Ku marorerwa nk'ayo kuki twashakishaa ibigoye kandi hari ibyoroshye? Turagenda ku ngingo ivuga ko gutegura bitari ngombwa kandi ko nta n'akamaro bifite mu kugaragaza ko habaye itsembabwoko. Nkuko biteganywa n'amasezerano birahagije kugaragaza ko ibyakozwe byagambiriwe. icyakora biramutse bigaragajwe ko byanateguwe, byakwakirwa nk'impamvu y'inyongera bukomere. TPIR yananiwe kugaragaza ko itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda ryateguwe igambiriye kwerekane ubusangiracyaha bw'abayobozi ba leta yariho. Iyo nzira y'ibusamo yari kugabanye igihe cy'imanza, igafasha no kwemeza ubusangiracyaha abari muri guverinoma yariho muri 1994, abayobozi b'amashyamba amwe namwe, n'abasirikare bakuru b'ingabo z'igihugu. Kubera impamvu z'imari, ndetse n'iza politiki, ibihugu nka Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika byashyigikiye iyo nzira ngufi. Ibyakurikiyeho byagaragaje ko TPIR idashobora kwerekana itegurwa ry'itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi. Ibyo ariko ntacyo bihindura ku miterere y'ubwicanyi bw'itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi kuva muri Mata kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994.

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Ingingo ya kabiri igomba gusobanurwa ni uko umubare w'abazize itsembabwoko, kimwe n'itegurwa, ntiwinjira mu mpamvu baheraho bemeza itsembabwoko. Muri Bosiniya, umubare w'abazize itsembabwoko rya Srebrenica [soma *Sereberenitsa*] ntaho uhuriye n'uwo mu Rwanda. Ariko naryo ni itsembabwoko! Ku byerekeye iryo tsembabwoko rya Srebrenica, Urukiko Mpuzamahanga rwemeje ko hagomba kuba «umugambi wo gutsemba byibuze igice kigaragara cy'ako gatsiko k'abantu. Nibyo byemeza icyaha cy'itsembabwoko: Impamvu n'intego z'amasezerano muri rusange ni ukubuza kurimbura bigambiriwe udutsiko tw'abantu, igice cyibasiwe kikaba kigomba kuba ari kinini bihagije ku buryo iryo rimbura ryagira ingaruka mbi kuri ako gatsiko.»

Nanone muri icyo cyemezo ku itsembabwoko rya Srebrenica, urukiko rwagaragaje ko «muri rusange hashobora kwemezwa ko habaye itsembabwoko iyo hari umugambi wo kurimbura agatsiko ahanu hazwi... Umugambi ntugomba kuba gusa ari ukumara ku isi agatsiko runaka».

Ingingo ya nyuma ikwiye kwitabwaho ni uko ibyaha bikozwe n'uruhande runaka, kabone n'iyi byaba amarorerwa, bidakwiye na rimwe kubabarirwa cyangwa gukuraho ibyaha by'urundi ruhande. Nkuko bitagomba

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gushyirwa muri rusange ku bandi bbishingiye ku nkomoko, ku bwoko, ku ibara ry'umubiri cyangwa idini biranga abakoze ibyo byaha. Keretse gusa iyo bo ubwabo babigizemo uruhare. Muri urwo rwego, icyaha gihama uwagikoze, keretse iyo hari mpamvu imugira umwere. Nta shingiro bifite rero gutangaza ko «Abahutu nyamwinshi bishe Abatutsi nyamuke» nkuko Bernard Kouchner atahwemye kubisubiramo. Ni ukuvanga ibintu ku buryo bunyuranyije n'ukuri kandi bukwiye kwamaganwa.

Itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi

Ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, iyicwa rya Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana, mu gihe yiteguraga gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ivuye ku masezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha (yo kuwa 4 Kanama 1993), ryateye icyuho mu butegetsi kitigeze kibaho mu Rwanda. Nkuko tuzabisesengura mu bika bizakurikira, urwo rupfu rwateguwe kandi rushyirwa mu bikorwa na Paul Kagame, Perezida w'u Rwanda rw'ubu. Ibyegeranyo byose nashoboye kumenya ariko byakomeje gukumirwa kugira ngo bitabangamira ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali byageze ku mwanzuro umwe: Aba Perezida b'Abahutu, Yuvenali Habyarimana w'u Rwanda na Sipiriyani Ntaryamira w'u Burundi, abafasha babo n'abaderevu b'indege batatu bakomoka mu Bufaransa bari mu ndege ya Perezida w'u

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Rwanda bose bishwe ku itegeko rya Jenerali Paul Kagame washakaga gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu aho kubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha umuryango we w'Inkotanyi wari washyizeho umukono. Nkuko tubizi, urwo rupfu rwateye akaduruvayo n'uburakari mu baturage mu gihugu cyose. Mu masaha 24 yakurikiye urwo urupfu, udutsiko tw'Interahamwe z'intagondwa z'Abahutu zashyize bariyeri mu bice byinshi by'umurwa mukuru no mu tundi duce tw'igihugu. Ibihumbi by'Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu baricwa, baranigwa bazira gusa ko bakekwagaho kuba ibyitso bishyigikiye umwanzi FPR yahitanye Umukuru w'igihugu.

Mu giturage abagabo n'abagore, ba data, ba mama, abavandimwe bacu, bashiki bacu, abana bacu, abasaza, akambwe bicwa nk'aho ari umukino, akenshi hakoreshejwe imipanga, ubuhiri, ibyuma, amagerenade cyangwa imbunda, bajugunywa mu byobo abandi banikwa ngo baribwe n'inkongoro. Iyo nkubiri y'ubwicanyi yakorwaga akenshi n'abantu bamwe b'abaturage n'abasirikari babaga banyoye urumogi bakagenda bazenguruka imisozi. Abanyamahanga batangiye gusobanukirwa ibyakorwaga hashize amezi. Ni bwo basanze koko harabaye itsembabwoko rikorewe Abatutsi. Nanone urupfu rwa Perezida Juvenali

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Habyarimana ntirugomba kuba urwitazo rw’ubwicanyi ndengakamere bwagiriwe Abatutsi, n’ubwo ali bwo bwabibereye imbarutso.

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## **Iyo iteme ryacitse amazi arenga inkombe**

Muri Kamena 1991, nari i Kigali nkurikirana imirimo ya nyuma ya kongere yo mu rwego rw'igihugu y'ishyaka rukumbi rya kera, MRND. Mama yumva ko ngendana n'abayobozi b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, antumaho ngo tubonane. Numvise ko «ntumiwe» n'umuntu nari nsigaranye wampaga impanuro z'ingirakamaro nyuma y'aho Data atabarukiye muri Mutarama 1990. Nahise njya ku musozi w'iwacu, kure cyane ya Kigali, hafi ya Bukavu, umurwa mukuru w'intara ya Kivu ho muri Zayire. Mama yari Umututsikazi uba mu cyaro, ntahamya niba yari akimenya gusoma no kwandika. Yari umugore w'ingufu muri komini yaose azwiho gukamirwa n'amaboko, kuko yari yaratsinze amarushanwa menshi y'abaturage basobanukiwe n'ubuhinzi bwa kijyambere. Byatumaga bamwe bavuka ko icyo yari afite cya gitutsi ari isura nsa.

Mu Rwanda, Abatutsi bafatwa nk'aborozi naho Abahutu bakaba abahinzi. Mama yari Umututsikazi ku isura ariko abana na bose, arenga iby'amoko, agera mu murima mu museso agataha izuba rirenze. Ariko mbere ya byose akaba umubyeyi urangwa no gushyira mu gaciro, wuje urukundo kandi w'inyangamugayo.

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Maze kwambuka bingoye ishyamba rya Nyungwe, mba ngeze i Gihango bwije nsanga antegereje. Tumaze kuramukanya, umubyeyi wanjye utarakundaga kuvuga ibya politiki ahita ambwira irimuniga, agira ati: «*Mwana wanjye, numvise ko waba uri mu ishyamba rya Fawusitini Twagiramungu urwanya Habyarimana. Nshaka kumenya icyo unenga Perezida.*» Natunguwe no kumva icyo kibazo kiva mu kanwa k'umubyeyi wanjye. Mbere yuko mubonera igisobanuro gihwitse, yansobanuriye icyari kimuhangayikishije nyakuri. Agira ati: «*Mwana wanjye uzi ko twagize agahenge kuva uyu mu Perezida yafata ubutegetsi. Mbere ye, twabagaho tutariho. Kubera Habyarimana, turaryama tugasinzira kubera ko ubu dufite amahoro tutigeze tugira kuva muri 1959 kugeza muri 1973. None nawe ngo ushaka gushyigikira ishyamba rya MDR rishaka kudasubiza ahabi? Wafashwe n'iki?*» Nahise numva ako kanya ko uwo Mama yitaga «twebwe» ari ubwoko bw'Abatutsi. Nahise numva kandi ko ishyamba rya MDR ivuguruye nashakaga kuyoboka ryaba ryarakoze ikosa ryo gufata inyito ya kera yo mu bihe by'impinduramatwara yasize ibisare mu mitima y'Abatutsi.

Mama n'abandi b'Abatutsi benshi bafataga Perezida Habyarimana nk'umurinzi, iteme, urukuta bisunga

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rukabakingira urugomo rw'intagondwa. Mu by'ukuri, kuva aho Jenerali Habyarimana afatiye ubutegetsi kugeza umunsi ingabo za FPR zitera u Rwanda, Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda barinzwe amakimbirane ya politiki yabibasiraga buri muni hagati ya 1959 na 1973. Nubwo nta wakwirengagiza ihezwa riteye agahinda ryari rishingiye ku iringaniza ryakozwe nabi ku ngoma ya Perezida Habyarimana, igihe cy'amahoro n'ubwisanzure bw'abaturage mu gihugu ntaho byari bihuriye n'ibivugwa ubu na bamwe mu bigize impuguke z'u Rwanda, ndetse bamwe muri bo barahoze ari abambari bakomeye b'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Ukuri kugomba kuvugwa kuri uwo mugabo utari inyamaswa nkuko abanzi be babivugaga. By'umwihariko mu rwego rw'imibanire hagati y'amoko y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, Perezida Habyarimana ntiyari intagondwa ivangura Abatutsi. Ibiri amambu, mu myaka 17 yamaze ku butegetse, nta Mututsi n'umwe wigeze yicwa azize amakimbirane ya politiki. Ahubwo kuva muri 1973 kugera muri 1990, Perezida Habyarimana yarwanye inkundura yo kurengera Abatutsi abakiza intagondwa z'abategetsi bigambaga ko bazabacekesha igihe nikigera. Amaze gushyirahwa n'intambara nibwo amakimbirane ashingiyeye ku moko yongeye kuvunduka. Mu bigize impuguke ku bibazo by'u Rwanda hazagire umbwira nibura izina rimwe ry'Umututsi wigeze ahutazwa, afungwa cyangwa yicwa

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mu Rwanda ku mpamvu za politiki hagati y'itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 n'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990! Ihirika ry'ubutegetsi ryo muri 1973 ryatumye muri za gereza hicirwa abanyepolitiki ba kera b'Abahutu bakomoka mu karere kari karihariye urubuga rwa politiki mu gihugu kugeza icyo gihe. Byongeye, intagondwa z'Abahutu zakomeje gushinja Perezida Habyarimana kurengera cyane Abatutsi, kugera naho zivuga ko igihugu yagitegeje rubanda nyamuke y'Abatutsi. Kubera ko hari agatsiko k'Abatutsi bakomeye bari barigaruriye zimwe mu nzego z'ubukungu bw'igihugu kuva muri 1973. Iryo shyari ribi Perezida Habyarimana yahoraga yamagana mu magambo mbwirwaruhame ryagaragaye mu dutsiko tw'intagondwa zafashe iya mbere mu bwicanyi bw'Abatutsi iteme ryari Habyarimana rimaze gucika.

Inkubi y'urwango rushingiye ku moko yakomeje gukumirwa na Perezida w'Umuhutu yisenyuye ku Rwanda, igeze ku Batutsi isya itanzitse. No mu bataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bo mu gihugu, nta n'umwe wifuzaga urupfu rubi kandi rutunguranye rwa Perezida Habyarimana. Uretse intege nke ze, buri wese yari azi ko uwo mugabo yaharaniye amahoro n'ituze n'uburinganire bw'amoko. Mu gihugu cy'ibibazo nk'u Rwanda, aho 85% by'abaturage bahora bakubita agatoki ku kandi bibuka imyaka isaga magana ane bamaze

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batotezwa kandi bategekwa n'ubwoko nyamuke, iringaniza rishingiye ku moko riteguwe neza riruta incuro karijane itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994. Buri wese yari abizi ko urupfu rwa Habyarimana rushobora kuba intandaro y'imvururu. Paul Kagame yari yarabimenyeshejwe n'abanyepolitiki ndetse n'abanyemari b'Abatutsi bo mu gihugu, uzwi cyane akaba yari umushoramari Karoli Shamukiga. Mu izina ry'abandi Batutsi, uyu yagejeje ubutumwa kenshi kuri Paul Kagame, amwinginga kwirinda icyaca intege Perezida Habyarimana wari uhanganye n'intagondwa. Umukuru wa FPR yebitaye inyuma ya Huye. Ahitamo igisubizo cya nyuma, harimbuka abantu 800.000 mu mezi atatu. Umuntu ashobora kwemeza atikanga ko iyo Perezida Habyarimana aba akiriho, itsembabwoko nk'iryo ritashoboraga kubaho.

Uwo mugabo yategetse u Rwanda imyaka 17 ntawe basangira ubutegetsu. Iyo aba yarigeze yanga Abatutsi, ntiyari gutegereza ko abanza kwicwa kugira ngo atange uburenganzira bwo kubarimbura. Kubaza icyo kibazo, ni no kugisubiza. Yuvenali Habyarimana ntiyigeze yifuza cyangwa ngo ategure itsembabwoko ry'Abatutsi. Ahubwo uwateguye urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana ni na we wakuruye nkana uburakari n'urwango rw'indengakamere byateje itsembabwoko ryo mu

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marembera y'ikinyejana cya 20. Nicyo gituma uwateguye urwo rupfu afite uruhare nk'urw'abaguye muri uwo mutego mutindi bica imbaga y'inzirakarengane. Abishe Perezida wa Repubulika n'abandi bitwaje ko bamuhorera bica abavandimwe babo bose basangiye icyaha cy'itsembabwoko ryakurikiyeho. Perezida Habyarimana n'abiciwe hamwe na we nibo ba mbere bazize itsembabwoko ryabaye mu Rwanda.

Juvenali Habyarimana ntiyari intungane. Yakoze amakosa nta kabuza. Kubera imirimo yari ashinzwe, niwe wa mbere mu bagize uruhare mu rupfu rw'abanyarwanda bishwe mu nkubiri yo guhirika ubutegetsu muri 1973, kimwe n'ibikorwa byo guhora byabaye mu gihe cy'intambara hagati y'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 n'ya 6 Mata 1994. Ariko turekeraho kumwitirira ibyaha byakozwe n'abantu bazwi, byabaye nyuma y'urupfu rwe rubarwa kuri Paul Kagame.

Ndetse no mu ntambara, mu gihe yari amaze gusheshwa mu rwego rwa politiki, yotswe igitutu n'ingabo za FPR, anahanganye n'abataravugaga rumwe na we mu gihugu, Perezida Habyarimana, bamukunda batamukunda, yakomeje kuba iteme ntarengwa ryarinze ubusugire bw'igihugu. Dore inkuru itangaje ibisobanura. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, nabwiye Fawusitini

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Twagiramungu ibihuha cyavugaga ko Perezida wa Repuburika yashakaga kwegura mbere y'ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Uwari yarahitiwemo kuba Ministiri w'intebe yarambwiye ati: «*Ugize ngo iki? Agenda se ajya he? Ubwo rero arashaka kudasigira iki gihugu ngo kidusandarireho? Ahubwo twakwemera tukamujisha, kuko muri ibi bihe ntawundi washobora kuba Prezida. Yaba yarasinziye iki amasezerano ya Arusha? Jye ndumva ari ibihuha ariko ndabaza Enoch menye ibyo ari byo.*»

Icyo gisubizo umwe mu bamurwanyaga yatanze hasigaye ukwezi kumwe ngo bice Perezida Habyarimana kiragaragaza ko no mu maso y'abo batavugaga rumwe, Jenerali Habyarimana yakomeje gufatwa nk'ingabo ikingira ubusugire bw'igihugu. Nguyu uwarwanyaga ubutegetsi mu magambo ya politiki yavugiraga mu ruhame muri za mitingi z'abaturage no mu yandi manama ashyushye yo mu ishyamba rye, akaba atarahwemye gusaba Perezida wa Repubulika kwegura ku butegetsi, nyamara mu by'ukuri yishakira kwicazwa ku ntebe y'inzibacyuho mu mutuzo naho Perezida wa Repubulika akubitwa imihini!

Iyo myifatire ya Minisitiri w'Intebe w'Inzibacyuho kimwe n'imyumvire ye ku byerekeye akaduruvayo

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kashoboraga kuvuka mu gihe Perezida Habyarimana yaba yeguye biragaragaza ikintu kimwe : ni uko haba mu Batutsi bari mu gihugu, haba mu Bahutu bataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegets, nta n'umwe wifuzaga ko Perezida Habyarimana yavaho yishwe, kubera ko byari guteza akaduruvayo mu rwego rwa politiki. Abakomeje kugira icyo gitekerezo kibi ni abumvaga ko ntacyo bahomba kandi bashaka kuririra kuri ako kaduruvayo ngo bafata ubutegets. Paul Kagame n'agatsiko ke k'intagondwa kugeza ubu bigaruriye ubuyobozi bw'Umuryango wa FPR nibo bonyine bungukiye ku rupfu rwa Juvenali Habyarimana. Amwica, Paul Kagame yashenye iteme ryarindaga igihugu inzangano zishingiye ku moko. Nuko amazi arenga inkombe yiroha mu turere twose y'u Rwanda, nka tsunami, bitera akangaratete hanameneka amaraso tuzi twese.

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## **Ni nde wishe Habyarimana?**

Kubera ko iraswa ry'indege ya Habyarimana ryabaye intandaro y'itsembabwoko yibasiye Abatutsi, byari ngombwa kugaragaza uwakoze ayo mahano y'iterabwoba ritazibagirana mu mateka. Mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 2006, hashize imyaka umunani hakorwa iperereza risabwe n'imiryango y'Abafaransa batatu bari batwaye iyo ndege, Jean-Louis Bruguière, umucamanza w'umufaransa urwanya ibikorwa by'iterabwoba yatangaje icyegeranyo kigaragaza uruhare rwa Perezida Paul Kagame n'abafasha be icyenda ba hafi, bose bagize imyanya ikomeye mu buyobozi bw'ingabo ntutsi za FPR. Impapuro mpuzamahanga zisaba ko abo bantu batabwa muri yombi zashyizwe ahagaragara mu cyemezo-tangazo cyo ku itariki ya 17 Ugushyingo 2006. Uwo mucamanza yasabye ko TPIR yakurikirana ibya Paul Kagame ufite ubudahangarwa kubera imirimo akora. Hashize iminsi mike, guverinoma ya Kigali yafashe icyemezo kidasubirwaho cyo gucana umubano w'ubufatanye n'igihugu cy'u Bufaransa, yihimura kubera izo mpapuro.

Kuva yatangira imirimo ye muri Mata 2007, Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bufaransa, Bwana Bernard Kouchner, yatangaje kenshi ko Perezida Paul Kagame ahagarariye icyiza (Abiciwe) gihanganye n'ikibi

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(Abishe), ibi bikaba byarababaje ku buryo bukabije abacitse ku icumu rya Perezida w'u Rwanda rw'ubu. Paul Kagame siwe uhagarariye abacitse ku icumu ry'itsembabwoko nkuko we abyemeza. Si n'intwari nkuko bamwe babimusiga. Ni umwe mu bantu b'ingenzi bakoze ubwicanyi bwarimbuye za miliyoni z'abanyarwanda, Abatutsi, Abahutu, Abatwa n'abaturage b'Abanyekongo kuva FPR yashoza intambara muri 1990.

Mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 2008, umunyamakuru wa France 24 yabajije Bernard Kouchner niba azi uwakoze igikorwa cy'iterabwoba cyo guhanura indege ya Perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, uyu amusubiza agira ati: «Ntabwo nzi kandi sinshaka no kubimenya». Igisubizo nk'icyo ari ahandi kiba cyarakurikiwe n'iyegura ry'ugitanze. Nyuma y'aho Bernard Kouchner yagerageje kwisobanura, atangaje ko hari «uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu na politiki y'ububanyi n'amahanga y'igihugu bihora bivuguruzanya». Ibi byaba wenda bisobanura biriya! Ni ukuvuga politiki nyayo izira impuhwe kandi yuje agashinyaguro. Bernard Kouchner yari yaratumenyereje ibyiza birenze ibyo. Urugero, ku itariki ya 18 Gicurasi 1994 mu kiganiro yagize ku Rwanda, yatangarije RTL ko «yaharaniraga ko habaho politiki ishingiyeye ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu.» Murumva urugendo yakoza kuva icyo gihe! Tukiri ku

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byerekeye ihanurwa ry'indege ryabaye ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, Minisitiri Kouchner yatangaje igitekerezo cye ku byerekeye impapuro mpuzamahanga zo gufata abakoze ibyaha zatangajwe n'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière. Ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 2007 yabwiye Radiyo Europe1 ati: «Sinzi uwahanuye indege. Birashoboka rwose ko baba ari abayobozi bariho ubu. Birashoboka rwose yaba ari uriya cyangwa abandi. Ibimenyetso ntibyemeza uru ruhande cyangwa ruriya, ni ibyo gukurikiranwa». Ubwacyo iki igisubizo kirashimishije, kuko itegeko rivuga ko nta wuhamwa n'icyaha mbere y'urubanza. Ariko kuba bivuzwe na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga w'u Bufaransa, bigaragara nko gukemanga umucamanza w'umufaransa wamaze imyaka umunani akora ubushakashatsi burambuye bwabyaye igikorwa gihebuje. Aho kwibaza ku byemezo by'ububutabera bw'u Bufaransa, Minisitiri Kouchner utarashoboraga ikirego yagombaga kwerekana ko ashigikiye icyo gikorwa, mu rwego rwo gushyigikira ubutabera bw'igihugu cye, aho guhinyuza ibyakozwe na Jean-Louis Bruguière. Cyane cyane ko ibimenyetso by'iperereza byagiye ahagaragara bituma umuntu atekereza ko ko uwo mucamanza urwanya ibikorwa by'iterabwoba ntacyo yasize cyangwa yirengagije mu kugaragaza ukuri ku ihanurwa ry'indege. Ni cyo gituma umuntu yakwibaza ati: Ese Bernard Kouchner yaba

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yarasomye icyegeranyo cya Bruguière mbere yo  
kugihinyuza? Nta kubitwizeza.

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## **Ibimenyetso simusiga by'uruhare rwa Paul Kagame mu rupfu rwa prezida Yuvenali Habyarimana**

Bernard Kouchner ni umunyabwenge. Iyo aba yarasomye icyegeranyo cy'uwo mucamanza, bimwe mu byanditsemo ntibyari kumucika bene ako kageni. Nko ku mpapuro za 37 na 38, ku byerekeye ibisasu byahanuye indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, handitse ibikurikira: *«Tumaze kubona ko ubushakashatsi bwakorewe mu Burusiya bisabwe n'akanama mpuzamahanga kashyizweho ku itariki ya 19 Kamena 2000 bwatumye hamenyekana ko ibisasu byakoreshejwe ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 byaturutse mu bubiko bw'ingabo za Uganda; kandi ko amakuru yatangajwe na Parike ya gisirikari ya Mosiku, mu kubahiriza icyifuzo cy'ubufatanye mu by'ubucamanza, byemeza ko ibyo bisasu bibiri bifite numero 04-87-04814 ku gisasu kimwe na 04-87-04835 ku kindi, byarakorewe mu Burusiya, bibarirwa mu bisasu 40 byitwa SA 16 IGLA byohawe Uganda mu rwego rw'igurisha ry'intwaro hagati y'ibihugu; Tumaze kubona ko intwaro za FPR, harimo n'izihanura indege, byose byavuye mu bubiko bw'intwaro bw'ingabo za Uganda; kandi ko na Mwarimu Filip Reyntjens, wabajijwe mu rwego rw'iri perereza, yemeje ko bamwe mu bakora mu nzego z'ubutasi bwa*

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*Uganda bamuhaye ubuhamya ko ibisasu byakoreshejwe mu kurasa indege ari Uganda yari yarabihaye FPR.»*

Ngaho aho ibisasu byakoreshejwe byarurutse. Nta kubyibeshya kundi, uretse uwakwerekana ko umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière na bagenzi be babeshye cyangwa basohoye inyandiko y'incurano. Kugeza ubu Bernard Kouchner ntiyigeze atanga ibisobanuro bituma ashidikanya ku kuri kw'icyegeranyo cy'iperereza ry'umucamanza vurwanya ibikorwa by'iterabwoba. Ibyo bisobanuro rero bigomba gushakirwa ahandi.

Mu Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwa Paul Kagame bwabonye umwanya uhagije wo kugenzura ibikubiye muri icyo cyegeranyo kigaragaza inkomoko y'ibyo bisasu. Kuki butabeshyuje ibyemejwe n'abayobozi b'igihugu cya Uganda bemeza ko ibyo ibisasu byavuye mu bikoresho baguze mu Burusiya? Amaperereza yese arangirira kuri Paul Kagame. Ntacyo yabikoraho. Haba none, cyangwa ejo hazaza.

Ku rupapuro rwa 354 y'igitabo yise *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanité au Rwanda*. Éditions Libre Expression, 2003, Jenerali Dallaire yemera ko «FPR yari ifite intwaro zihanura indege hashobora kuba

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harimo n'ibisasu muri CND, inzu yari ku birometero bine uvuye ku kibuga cy'indege, hafi y'aho byarasiwe.» Umuntu yibaza impamvu yategereje imyaka icumi nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege kugira ngo abitangaze! Igihugu ibisasu byakomotsemo cyemeje nomero ziranga ibisasu byakoreshejwe mu guhanura indege, igihugu cyabiguze (ari cyo Uganda) cyemeye ko cyakiye ibyo bisasu, ndetse n'abategetsi babyakiriye bemera ko nyuma babihaye Paul Kagame. Mu gusoza iperereza, abasirikari bakuru ba FPR bo mu cyitwa Network Commando bemera ko babikoresheje bahanura indege. Ni ikihe kimenyetso kindi Bernard Kouchner ashaka? Ibyo byose ko abizi, ni iki kimutera gukomera kurengera inshuti ye Paul Kagame? Uko kunangira bahakana ibigaragara byagaragaye nk'icyorezo umunsi umwe mu bajyanama ba Bernard Kouchner anenga ku mugaragaro icyemezo cy'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, avuga ko impamvu nyamukuru ari uko byabaye hari abahagarariye ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda.

**I Parisi mu Bufransa, kuwa mbere  
tariki ya 7 Mata 2008.**

Mu mihango yo kwibuka itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi, Minisitiri Kouchner yoherejeyo umwe mu

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bajyanama be Bwana Forentini, washyize indabyo ku rwibutso rw'abazize itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi. Yaboneyeho umwanya wo kuvuga ko impapuro zisaba guta muri yombi ibyegera bya Perezida w'u Rwanda Paul Kagame zishingiye ku «*bintu byo gukekeranya tudashyigikiye*». Nuko yongeraho ababaye ko «*Igihe izo mpapuro zikiriho, ntibishoboka kubuyutsa umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'u Bufaransa.*»

Inshuti yanjye ituye muri Bretagne (mu burengerazuba bw'u Bufaransa) imaze gusoma ibyatangajwe na Bwana Forentini yanyohereje ubutumwa igira ati: «*Mu by'ukuri ariya magambo aratangaje! Iyo avuga ngo «ibintu byo gukekeranya tudashyigikiye», Forentini aba avuga mu izina ry'u Bufaransa cyangwa rya Paul Kagame? Ni nde avuga? Ububanyi n'amahanga bw'abafaransa bwaba buhanganye n'ubutabera? Biteye isoni! Mu by'ukuri abanyepolitiki bacu ntibashaka kwemera ko ari u Rwanda rwahagarutse umubano!»*

Ibyo bibazo bikwiye igisubizo kidafititse. Ibyatangajwe n'umujyanama wa Bernard Kouchner ntibikwiye kuvugwa n'umuyobozi w'umufaransa wahamagariwe guhagararira inyungu z'u Bufaransa n'abafaransa imbere y'amahanga. Minisitiri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga (Quai d'Orsay) yagombye gushyira imbere inyungu z'Abafaransa batatu bazize buriya bwicanyi aho gushyira imbere ubucuti bwihariye Minisitiri w'Ububanyi

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n'Amahanga afitanye n'umunyagitugu Paul Kagame. Kwifuzza ku mugaragaro ko hakurwaho icyegeranyo ku bwicanyi bwakorewe abafaransa mu mahanga kugira ngo babyutse umubano na Paul Kagame ni ugucundagura mirambo y'abazize ihanurwa ry'indege ryo kuwa 6 Mata 1994. Kuvuga ko icyemezo cy'umucamanza urwanya iterabwoba ari ingirwacyemezo Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga (Quai d'Orsay) yamagana ni ikosa rikomeye rishobora gukururira u Bufaransa ibibazo butazabasha kwikuramo vuba. Hari igitangaje se kuba nyuma yaho Paul Kagame yarise Jean-Louis Bruguière «umucamanza w'ikirara»? Mu by'ukuri, mu byatangajwe binyuranye n'abategesi bo muri Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, u Bufaransa bwatanze inkoni ngo babukubite. Paul Kagame yize gukubita ikiboko kandi ntazibuza kugikoresha igihe cyose azabona ari ngombwa.

## **Kubangamira ubutabera mu rubanza rwa Roza Kabuye**

Mu rwego rwo kubahiriza manda mpuzamahanga zatanze n'umucamanza w'umufaransa urwanya iterabwoba nyuma y'ikirego cyatanze n'imiryango y'Abafaransa batatu baguye mu ndege ya Perezida w'u Rwanda ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, Koloneli Roza Kabuye, umuyobozi mukuru mu biro bya Perezida

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Kagame, yafashwe n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano mu Budage ku itariki ya 10 Ugushyingo 2008. Hashize iminsi mike yoherezwa mu Bufaransa kugira ngo yisobanure ku «bufatanyacyaha mu bwicanyi» no «gukorana n'abagizi ba nabi» byose «bigamije iteramboba». Roza Kabuye yarabajijwe akigera i Parisi. Birumvikana ko cyari ikibazo kireba ubutabera nticyari ikibazo cya politiki.

Incuro nyinshi yasubije ibibazo by'abanyamakuru - nk'aba RFI na TV5 -, Bernard Kouchner icyo kibazo buri gihe yageragazaga kukigira icya politiki, ku buryo byashobora kuyobya imbaga y'Abafaransa ndetse n'amahanga. Mu byo yavuze, Minisitiri wari ufite mu nshingano ze kurinda Abafaransa bo hanze nta na rimwe ntiyigeze agaragaza ko yifatanyije n'abazize iraswa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, baba Abafaransa, yaba imiryango yabo cyangwa se n'abandi bazize iyo mpanuka yabaye ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. Ahubwo, yahananiye guhanaguraho icyaha Roza Kabuye, wakurikiranwaga n'ubucamanza bw'Abafaransa, atanga isura yo kurwanya inyungu z'abo basangiye igihugu biciwe mu Rwanda n'imiryango yabo.

Mu by'ukuri, umuntu yakeka ko uko kutava ku izima kwa Bernard Kouchner ahakana icyegeranyo cya Bruguière

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na manda mpuzamahanga zo gufata abakoze icyo cyaha zakurikiyeho bifasha bidasanzwe abicanyi baregwa ibyaha by'iterabwoba byahitanye abenegihugu batatu b'Abafaransa. Iyo myitwarire ya Minisitiri Kouchner igaragaza ukwivanga no kubangamira bikomeye imirimo y'ubutabera yari igikorwa. Uwo Minisitiri yagombye kwifata akareka gukomeza kugira ibyo atangaza cyangwa kugira ibyo akora byatuma u Bufaransa bugurisha ubutabera bw'igihugu ku mpamvu zo gusubukura umubano n'ingoma ihamwa n'ibyaha byinshi by'ubwicanyi mu Rwanda no muri Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo. Guverinoma y'u Bufaransa yagombye nibura kugaragaza ko yifatanyije n'imiryango y'Abafaransa batatu bari batwaye indege bishwe na Paul Kagame ikanasaba ko abakoze iryo terabwoba bakurikiranwa bakanabihanirwa. Ibyo byose nta na kimwe cyakozwe. Ahubwo Minisitiri Kouchner yishimiye kurata Roza Kabuye nk'umugore w'intwari, yongeraho ko yizeye ko azabasha kugaragaza vuba ko ari umwere!

Hashize ukwezi, mu kiganiro yagiranye na Radiyo France Info, umucamanza ushinzwe iperereza kuri icyo kibazo yatangaje ko ashwirwaho igitutu n'abantu bo hanze ku kibazo cy'ihanurwa ry'indege ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1994, ariko ntiyatangaza aho icyo gitutu gituruka. Murushijeho

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gusobanukirwa ukuntu Roza Kabuye yarekuwe akanahabwa uruhushya rwo kujya mu Rwanda mu biruhuko birangiza umwaka abarega bagasigara mu kimwaro. Twamenye neza ko ibyo byose byakozwe na za serivisi za Bernard Kouchner kuko yanabyemeye mu kiganiro yagiranye n'ikinyamakuru Jeune Afrique Intelligent, numero 2515 yo ku wa 22 kugeza ku itariki ya 28 Werurwe 2009. Bamubajije bati: «Mwabwiye iki Perezida Kagame kugira ngo yemere ko umuyobozi mukuru mu biro bye, Roza Kabuye, aburanishirizwa mu Bufaransa?» Bwana Kouchner yasubije agira ati: «Nibyo icyo gitekerezo cyavuye ino aha. Ntitwashakaga kubangamira na gato ubutabera. Dore inama twagiriye Perezida Kagame: «Niba mushaka kubona urubanza, kimwe mu bisubizo ni uko umwe mu baregwa yitanga.» Roza Kabuye aba intwari. Bitandukanye rero n'ibyo nasomye n'ibyo numvise, kuko nta cyizezaga ko umucamanza yamurekura.»

Nyuma y'icyo kiganiro, guverinoma y'u Rwanda, mu ijwi rya Minisitiri wayo w'itumanaho, Louise Mushikiwabo, umuvugizi wa guverinoma, yabeshyuje ibyavuzwe na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bufaransa, amwita atyo umubeshyi atabivuze. Kubwa Kigali, Roza Kabuye yaba yarafashwe ku buryo butunguranye na Polisi y'Abadage yamushyikirije ku mugaragarro

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ubucamanza bw'abafaransa.

Ari Bernard Kouchner cyangwa Paul Kagame ninde uvuga ukuri? Muri bo ninde ubeshya? Kuki hari igisa no kuvuguruzanya hagati ya Bernard Kouchner n'inshuti ye Paul Kagame niba atari uburyo bwo kuyobya uburari mu kujijisha kugira ngo baburizemo iperereza ku ruhare rwa Perezida w'u Rwanda mu bwicanyi bwahitanye Abafaransa batatu?

Ni iki gitangaje ko haboneka ubushake bwo kongera gutsura umubano hagati y'u Bufaransa n'u Rwanda? Uretse ko uruhande rwahagaritse umubano ari na rwo rwagombaga gufata iya mbere mu gusubukura umubano! Ni iyihe mpamvu ya leta cyangwa se y'umuntu ku giti cye yatuma umuntu uzwiho kwitangira abarengana yashyigikira umukuru w'igihugu cy'amahanga ushinjwa n'ubutabera bw'u Bubafaransa kuba yarishe abenegihugu b'Abafaransa? Nta kindi gisobanura ubwo bushake burenze urugero uretse gushaka guhesha icyubahiro umwicanyi wabigize umwuga, ari we Paul Kagame.

Ikibazo cy'ihanurwa ry'indege ya DC10 ya UTA cyakemuwe mu bwumvikane batagombye guhanagura icyaha ku butegetsi bwa Libiya na Mouammar Kadhafi ku ruhare bagize muri ubwo bwicanyi.

Ku byerekeye ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida

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Habyarimana ryabaye ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, uretse iperereza ryakozwe n'umucamanza w'umufaransa, ibindi bimenyetso ku ruhare rwa Paul Kagame muri ubwo bwicanyi ntibishobora kuba byarasobye Bernard Kouchner na guverinoma y'u Bufaransa.

## **Ubuhamya bwa Michael Andrew Hourigan, umugenzuzi wa TPIR**

Michael Andrew Hourigan, umunyamategeko ukomoka muri Ositarariya wahoze ari umugenzuzi w'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, yakoze iperereza mu Rwanda abisabwe n'umushinjacyaha mukuru muri TPIR, umucamanza Richard Goldstone. Ni abagenzuzi 20 batangiye iperereza mu Rwanda muri Mata 1996, hashize imyaka ibiri ubwicanyi bubaye. Mu nshingano Michael Andrew Hourigan yari harimo gushakisha no kugaragaza umuntu cyangwa abantu bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwahitanye Perezida Juvenali Habyarimana n'abo bari kumwe mu ndege yahanuwe i Kigali mu ijoro ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1994.

Mu cyemezo cyo ku wa 27 Ugushyingo 2006, Michael Andrew Hourigan yatangaje amaze kurahira kuvugisha ukuri ko muri Mutarama na Gashyantare 1997, we n'abagenzuzi be bahawe ubuhamya mu ibanga

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bw'abasirikari ba FPR bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwahitanye Juvenali Habyarimana. Abo batangabuhamya batanze ibimenyetso bigaragaza uruhare bwite kandi rudakemangwa rwa Paul Kagame muri ubwo bwicanyi.

Michael Andrew Hourigan yasubije ibibazo by'umucamanza w'umufaransa urwanya iterabwoba i Parisi ku itariki ya 29 Ukuboza 2000. Yaboneyeho umwanya wo gutangaza ko kuva muri Mata 1996 kugeza muri Gicurasi 1997 yayoboye abagenzuzi b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bakoreraga TPIR i Kigali, bitwa "ikipi y'igihugu" mbere yo kujya gukora mu itsinda rishinzwe iperereza (O.I.O.S.) ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye i New York kuva muri Nyakanga 1997 kugeza muri Mutarama 1998. Maze avuga ko mu bagenzuzi bo mu ikipi ye yashatswe n'umwe mu basirikari bakuru b'ingabo za FPR wamutangarije ko Paul Kagame n'abandi bayobozi bakuru b'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi bari mu bagize uruhare mu ihanurwa ry'indege, yemeza ko anafite amakuru ashobora gutuma batahura umwe mu bantu babiri byahanuye indege ya Yuvenali Habyarimana bakoresheje ibisasu.

Michael Andrew Hourigan yemeje ko muri icyo gihe we ubwe yabonye n'uwahoze ari umujandarume wa FPR wabaye muri «Network Commando» yari yaracengeye rwihihwa mu muji Kigali ndetse n'ahandi henshi mu gihugu mbere y'itariki ya 6 Mata 1994. Iyo «Network

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Commando» ni itsinda ryashyizweho kandi rikayoborwa na Paul Kagame, ryagize uruhare rukomeye mu bwicanyi bwabaye ahantu henshi bugahitana abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Michael Hourigan yongeyeho ko isesengura ry'ubwo buhamya ryasubitswe by'agateganyo hategerejwe icyemezo cya TPIR kubera impamvu z'umutekano wabo, dore ko abagenzuzi babangamiwe ku mugaragaro n'abayobozi ba FPR batigeze bemera uburyo TPIR yakoraga iperereza. Umugenzuzi mukuru wa TPIR asobanura ko yahawe n'abamukuriye uburenganzira bwo gukomeza umubano n'abamuhaga amakuru ndetse no gukomeza igenzura akazamenyesha Louise Arbour ubwe, wari umaze gusimbura Richard Goldstone ku murimo w'Umushinjacyaha wa TPIR.

Muri Mata 1997, akoresheje umurongo w'itumanaho utumvirizwa wo muri Ambassade y'Abanyamerika i Kigali, Michael Hourigan yagiranye ikiganiro kuri telefoni na Louise Arbour. Muri icyo kiganiro, uwo mugore yamumenyesheje ko na we yabonye amakuru, anyuze mu zindi nzira, ahuye n'aye. Ntiyigeze amubwira ko iperereza ku ihanurwa ry'indege ritari mu nshingano za TPIR, ahubwo yamuteye akanyabugabo amusaba gukomeza iperereza rye. Nyuma y'aho Michael Hourigan yahuriye i Kigali na Michael Hall, umuyobozi wungirije ushinze umutekano mu Muryango w'Abibumbye, wari waje mu butumwa abisabwe n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru

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mushya w'Umuryango w'Abibumye, Bwana Kofi Annan, kugira ngo akurikiranire hafi iterabwoba rishyirwa ku bakozi b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye. Ku mabwiriza y'Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Michael Hall yagombaga gukora uko ashoboye ntihagire ikimenyetso na kimwe gisigara i Kigali cyerekeye ibyegeranyo kw'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana. Kofi Annan yari yarahawe ibimenyetso bigaragaza uruhare rwa Paul Kagame na FPR mu ihanurwa ry'indege.

Michael Hourigan yari yabitse kuri kuri *disiketi* icyegeranyo cyarimo amakuru yose yari yakusanyije. Yari yayihaye Michael Hall washoboye kuyinyuza ku kibuga cy'indege cya Kigali nta kibazo, dore abagenzuzi ba TPIR, nubwo babaga bafite impapuro z'inzira z'abakozi mpuzamahanga, basakwaga n'abakozi b'inzego zishinzwe abinjira n'abasohoka bo mu Rwanda.

Hashize iminsi mike Michael Hourigan yagiye i Den Haag ahahurira na Louise Arbour. Nta bindi bisobanuro ndetse anavuguruza amabwiriza yari yatanze mbere, nibwo umushinjacyaha mukuru amwutse inabi ku mugaragaro amubwira ko atishimiye kuba yarakoze iperereza ku ihanurwa ry'indege go yabonaga ritari mu nshingano za TPIR. Akibivuga, Louise Arbour ahita

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ategeka uwo mugenzuzi yo guhita ahagarika imibonano n'abamuhaga amakuru.

Ibyatangajwe na Michael Hourigan byemejwe n'undi mugenzuzi w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye witwa James Lyons. Uwo mugabo yahoze ashinzwe ubugenzuzi mu nzego z'iperereza aba n'intasi yihariye wa F.B.I., ashinzwe itsinda rigenzura ibikorwa by'iterabwoba i New York, mbere yo kugirwa umuyobozi w'amatsinda y'abakora iperereza ba TPIR. Ubwo yabazwaga n'umucamanza w'umufaransa nk'umutangabuhamy, James Lyons yemeje ko kuva hashyirwaho «itsinda ry'abagenzuzi mu rwego rw'igihugu» muri Mata 1996, Louise Arbour yari yaremeje ko n'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida ryabarwaga mu nshingano zabo, ashingiye ku ngingo ya 4 y'amategeko ya TPIR. Bityo rero uwo mugabo yahamije kandi asoza ibyatangajwe na Michael Hourigan. Ku rundi ruhande ariko, Louise Arbour wagizwe komiseri mu ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rishinzwe ikiremwamuntu, kubera imirimo yakoze, yanze kugira icyo atangariza uwo mucamanza w'umufaransa. Yishingikirije ubudahangarwa afite!

Icyegeranyo cya Michael Hourigan yise «Iperereza ry'ibanga ryakozwe n'itsinda ry'igihugu» kiriho rwose. Nyiracyo yahaye igifananyi cyacyo Jean-Loius Bruguière wa mucamanza w'umufaransa urwanya ibikorwa by'iterabwoba. Icyo cyegeranyo cyemeza neza imyanzuro

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y'iperereza ryakozwe n'abagenzuzi bashinja Paul Kagame na FPR ihanurwa ry'indege ryo kuwa 6 Mata 1994.

Nkuko tumaze kubibona, Richard Goldstone amaze gusimburwa n'umunye Kanada Louise Arbour, uwo mugore yahinduye imitekerereze avuga ko iryo perereza ridafite ishingiro maze akura mu nzira icyo cyegeranyo cya Michael Hourigan nta zindi nkurikizi. Ibyo gukurikirana Paul Kagame n'abo bafatanije birasubikwa. Hashize imyaka mike, umusuwisikazi Carla del Ponte wasimbuye Louise Arbour yahagaritswe ku mirimo ye muri TPIR azira ko yashatse ku mugaragaro kugaruka ku kibazo cy'ihanurwa ry'indege no gukurikirana FPR kubera ubwicanyi bwibasiye imbaga yakoze muri 1994. Ibyo byose bituma umuntu atekereza ko icyemezo Louise Arbour yafashe yaba yaragitegetswe na Koffi Annan, na we ubwe abitegetswe na Leta y'Amerika itarigeze yemera ko umutoni wabo Paul Kagame yashirwa mu majwi.

## **Ubuhamya bw'Aloyizi Ruyenzi warindaga Paul Kagame**

Mu Batutsi batanze ubuhamya ku ihanurwa ry'indege harimo uwarindaga Paul Kagame muri 1994. Aloyizi Ruyenzi, ni umugabo wahoraga iruhande rwa shebuja,

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wahunze igihugu ngo akize amagara ye kuko yibasiye kenshi n'abashakaga kumwica. Yaziraga amabanga menshi yari abitse. Ruyenzi uwo yavukiye muri Uganda, akora mu nzego z'ubutasi bwa gisirikari muri icyo gihugu, ategekwa na Majoro Paul Kagame mbere y'igitero cyo mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990. Muri 1992, yinjijwe mu bamurindaga. Ni ukuvuga ko yari inkoramutima yitangiye FPR kuva muri 1990 kugeza ahunze u Rwanda.

Mu buhamba bunyuranye yatanze, Aloyizi Ruyenzi yemeje ko yari ku izamu mu kigo gikuru cya FPR ku Murindi ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe 1994 ubwo Paul Kagame n'abandi basirikari bakuru bumvikanye ku myanzuro ya nyuma yerekeye ihanurwa ry'indege ya Yuvenali Habyarimana. Uwo mugoroba, Aloyizi Ruyenzi yari mu nzu y'inama iruhande rwa shebuja Paul Kagame. Avuga ko yakurikiye ibiganiro byose byateguraga iryo hanurwa ry'indege. Asoza inama yo ku wa 31 Werurwe 1994, Paul Kagame yaragize ati: «*Niba Perezida adapfuye, ntidushobora gutsinda intambara.*» Aloyizi Ruyenzi yasobanuye uburyo ibisasu byajyanwe rwihishwa aho bazarasira indege, avuga n'ibyishimo bidasanzwe byari mu kigo gikuru cya FPR mu minota yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya Yuvenali Habyarimana mbere y'uko iyo nkuru inatangazwa kuri Radiyo y'igihugu. Paul Kagame na bagenzi be bishimiye icyo

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gikorwa ibyishimo birabarenga. Aloyizi Ruyenzi warindaga Paul Kagame yanatanze amazina y'abasirikari bagize uruhare mu guhanura indege, dore ko banazamuwe mu mapeti bahemberwa icyo «*gikorwa cy'ubutwari*».

## Ibyo Paul Kagame yiyemereye

Mu kiganiro cyo ku itariki ya 7 Ukuboza 2006 yagiranye n'umunyamakuru Stephen Sackur wa BBC utanga ikiganiro kizwi cyane cyitwa *Hard Talk*, Paul Kagame yemeye bidasubirwaho iyicwa y'uwamubanjirije. Icyo kiganiro cyabaye hashize ukwezi kumwe hatangajwe icyegeranyo cya Jean-Louis Bouguière ku ihanurwa ry'indege ryo kuwa 6 Mata 1994 na nyuma gato y'ihagarikwa ry'umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'u Bufaransa. Nyuma y'ibibazo rusange ku birego bya Jean-Louis Bouguière, umunyamakuru Stephen Sackur yagarutse ku ihanurwa ry'indege.

Stephen Sackur: «*Ariko nta burenganzira mwari mufite bwo guhanura indege ndetse no kumwica?*»

Paul Kagame: «*Nari mfite uburenganzira bwo kurwana ku nyungu zanjye!*»

Stephen Sackur: «*None se murumva mwari mufite uburenganzira bwo kumwica?*»

Paul Kagame: «*Oya. Ariko icya mbere Habyarimana yari*

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*mu gice twarwanaga, byarashobokaga rero ko apfa. Mwibaze namwe iyo aza kuba ari jye wapfuye muri buriya buryo? Ese ubwo uriya mucamanza aba akora iperereza ku rupfu rwanjye kugira ngo hamenyekane uwanyishe? Ibyo ari byo byose twari mu ntambara!»*

Paul Kagame yemeye icyaha atagononwa ubwo yagiraga ati: «*Twari mu ntambara.*» Yagombaga kubwira umunyamakuru ko ikibazo cye nta shingiro gifite kuko atari we – Paul Kagame – wahanuye indege. Ahubwo yitiriye iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana ibihe by'intambara u Rwanda rwarimo muri 1994!

Ibyo ari byo byose, ibyo Paul Kagame yitwaza ni ikinyoma kigaragaza urugero rw'ubudahanwa agenderaho.

Icyamba mbere kuvuga ngo «*twari mu ntambara*» ni ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa. Intambara yarangiye ku mugaragaro ku tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, umunsi amasezerano ya Arusha yashyizweho umukono n'abateye u Rwanda na guverinoma ya Habyarimana. Ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, abahoze barwana kimwe n'amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu bari mu myiteguro ya nyuma mbere yo gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi. Umunsi indege ya

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Perezida Habyarimana ihanurwa, u Rwanda ntirwari na gato mu ntamabara. Imyumvire ya Paul Kagame iragaragaza ko atigeze yemera amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Kuri we, iyo tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993 ntacyo yahinduye.

Icy a kabiri, n'iyu u Rwanda ruba rukiri mu ntambara, indege ya Perezida wa Repubulika ntiyagombaga kurasa n'indege ya gisirikari. Yari indege ya gisivili irinzwe, kuyihanura byagombye gufatwa nk'igikorwa cy'iterabwoba hakurikijwe amategeko ahana y'u Bufaransa n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga yo muri 1971 ahana ibikorwa bibangamira ubusugire bw'indege za gisivili.

Dukurikije ibimaze kuvugwa, ntibyemewe nk'uko Minisitiri Kouchner abigenza, kuvuga ko ibyatangajwe n'umucamanza w'umufaransa Jean-Louis Bruguière ari ibirego batarabonera gihamya. Mu gihe hataravuguruzwa ukuri kuzwi, ibisasu byakoreshejwe mu ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana hagapfiramo n'abafaransa batatu byavuye mu bikoresho by'intambara bya Paul Kagame. Keretse hagaragajwe ko ibyo bisasu hari ikindi byakoreshejwe, naho ubundi Perezida w'u Rwanda rw'ubu, Paul Kagame, ni we uhama iraswa ry'indege ryabaye imbarutso y'itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi. Twibutse ariko ko uruhare rwa Paul Kagame

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rudahanagura icyaha ku bakoze itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi. Icyo bisobanura gusa ni ubugome ndengakamere bw'uwahoze ari umuyobozi w'inzego z'iperereza mu ngabo za Uganda. Ibyakurikiyeho byagaragaje ko Paul Kagame atakuruye gusa iyuburwa ry'imirwano n'itsembabwoko, ahubwo ko yanze n'icyakorwa cyose kugira ngo itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi rihagarare. Impamvu irumvikana: umuyobozi mukuru wa FPR yari akeneye urwitazo ngo abone uko asobanura impamvu yatumye akomeza intambara kugeza afashe ubutegetsi ku ngufu.

## **Paul Kagame yatanze Abatutsi ho igitambo abigambiriye**

Nkuko tumaze kubibona, mu gihe Paul Kagame n'agatsiko k'intagondwa z'Abatutsi za FPR barasaga indege ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994, bateje icyuho mu nzego z'ubutegetsi biturutse ku rupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu n'abafasha be b'ingenzi. Byongeye, batanze ababyeyi bacu ho igitambo kubera ubugome banga ibyageragejwe byose mu guhagarika imirwano. Niho babera abagome. Abahanga benshi bemeza ko ihagarikwa ry'imirwano ryashoboraga gutuma umuntu yabasha kuramira abicwaga no gutabara amagana n'amagana y'Abatutsi bari bagoswe n'Interahamwe z'Abahutu. Paul Kagame yanze

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ihagarikwa ry'itsembabwoko, ndetse aranarirwanya ku mugararagaro. Ibyo Bernard Kouchner abitekerezaho iki? Mu kiganiro cyo ku wa 2 Ukwakira 2007 kuri Radiyo Europe 1, Bernard Kouchner yatangaje aya magambo: *«Ugize ngo ni iki nashatse kugeraho? Nashatse ko amakimbirane ahagarara hagati y'ibihugu byombi. Ndabibutsa ko abari ku butegetsi i Kigali ari abarokotse amarorerwa n'itsembabwoko.»*

Umunyamakuru wa France 24 wari umubajije niba Perezida Kagame ataba ari we nyirabayazana w'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana yasimbuye ku butegetsi, dore ko urwo rupfu ari rwo ntandaro y'itsembabwoko, Bernard Kouchner yamusubije ashize amanga ati: *«Ntacyo mbiziho sinshaka no kubimenya. Sinshaka ko bashinja abakorewe itsembabwoko, -800.000-, ko biyahuye kandi bakikorera itsembabwoko!»*

Nta muntu wigeze avuga ko Abatutsi bishwe muri 1994 «bikoreye itsembabwoko» nkuko Bernard Kouchner abivuga! Aha rwose Bernard Kouchner aroroshya ibintu avuga ko Paul Kagame ari «yakorewe itsembabwoko». Uko koroshya ibintu kudasanzwe kugamije kuvuga ibikurikira: *«Itsembabwoko ryahitanye ibihumbi 800.000 by'Abatutsi. Paul Kagame ni Umututsi. Niwe rero uhagarariye abarokotse itsembabwoko.»* Tunyuze mu

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bene iyo nzira ya bugufi tukanakabya, twashobora kwemeza ko itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi ryaba rarakozwe n'Abatutsi ubwabo, kubera ko Roberi Kajuga, wari Umuyobozi mukuru w'Interahamwe mu rwego rw'igihugu, nawe ubwe yari Umututsi. Ibyo byaba ari ukwitiranya ibintu kunyuranyije n'ukuri. Buri wese agomba kubazwa ibyo yakoze. Na Paul Kagame bikamugeraho. Abatutsi bishwe mu mwaka wa 1994 ntibari barigeze bamusaba kwica Perezida Habyarimana no gutsemba Abahutu.

Nemera rwose kimwe na Minisitiri Kouchner ko amakimbirane hagati y'u Bufaransa n'u Rwanda agomba kuvaho burundu kugira ngo abaturage b'ibyo bihugu bongere gusabana. Nemera ko umubano hagati y'ibihugu byombi usubukurwa, ariko nta kugendera ku bidafatika cyangwa koroshya ibintu ku buryo bubogamye. Ese kubwa Bernard Kouchner n'abanyaburaya benshi, abari ku butegetsi mu Rwanda rw'ubu baba bahagarariye abacitse ku icumu ry'itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi? Njye ndahamya ibinyuranyije n'ibyo. Abacitse ku icumu ni abarokotse itsembabwoko batagomba gushyirwa mu gice kimwe n'Abatutsi batsembye abaturage basangiye igihugu. Kuvuga ko Paul Kagame na FPR bahagarariye abacitse ku icumu byaba ari ukwemeza ko bahagaritse itsembabwoko nabo ubwabo bagizemo uruhare ku buryo

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budashidikanywa. Ni ugutuka abakorewe itsembabwoko, ni ukwitiranya abarokotse itsembabwoko n'abagize uruhare mu kwica ababyeyi bacu. Abatutsi bishwe, babyara banjye b'Abatutsi bishwe n'intagondwa z'Interahamwe ntaho bari bahuriye na Paul Kagame. Kuba bahuje na we ubwoko bw'Abatutsi sicyo kibagira ibyitso bye. Ntashobora rero kubahagararira na rimwe. Yabatanze ho ibitambo abishaka kugira ngo afate ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Nguko uko yagize uruhare mu mu iyicwa ryabo.

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**Paulo Kagame ntiyigeze  
yita ku batutsi bo mu  
Rwanda**

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## **Abatutsi banyu, Abatutsi bacu**

Singambiriye kugira uwo nshinja ibinyoma. icyo ngaragaza gusa ni icyo nemera nshingiye ku buhanya bunyuranye n'ibimenyetso simusiga, ntibagiwe icyo nungutse maze gusesengura ibyo nabayemo muri 1994.

Mu masaha no mu minsi yakurikiye urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, nakomeje kuvugana na bamwe mu banyepolitiki n'abasirikari bari i Kigali. Byatumye nshobora gukurikiranira hafi ibyahaberaga nyuma y'icyuho cyatewe n'iyicwa rya Perezida wa Repubulika n'umukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu. Nashoboye gukurikiranira hafi ibyakozwe n'ingabo z'igihugu mu kugerageza guhagarika ubwicanyi bwari bwibasiye abaturage. Nagiranye ibiganiro byubaka na Jenerali Agusitini Ndindiliyimana na Koloneli Mariseli Gatsinzi amaze kugirwa umukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu. Abo basirikari bakuru bombi bakomeye nari mbazi kuva muri 1980 nkiri umunyamabanga mukuru muri Minisitiri y'abakozi ba leta. Mariseli Gatsinzi ubu ni we Minisitiri w'ingabo muri guverinoma ya Paul Kagame. Ashobora kwemeza

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cyangwa guhinyuza ibyo mvuga. Ndavuguruza ibyemejwe na bamwe, mpamya ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zakoze uko zishoboye ngo zumvishe FPR ko yahagarika imirwano ikanareka kwica abaturage mu gihugu. Ariko sinakwemeza ko ari ko byagenze ku ruhande rwa guverinoma ya Kambanda! Nkurikije ibiganiro bya telefoni nagiranye na bamwe mu bagize iyo guverinoma, nasanze batari bashyigikiye igisubizo kinyuze mu nzira z'amahoro.

Nahisemo gukorana n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'igihugu twumvikanaga neza, mera nk'ubabera umuhuza mbafasha kugeza amakuru ya ngombwa kuri FPR nyuze ku bayihagarariye mu Buraya no muri Canada, nkorana kandi n'ibihugu by'inshuti nk'u Bufaransa. Ibyo biganirwa byibanze ku cyifuzo cy'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FAR cyo gushaka icyatuma ihagarikwa ry'imirwano rigerwaho. Ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994, Koloneli Mariseli Gatsinzi yanyohereje fagisi y'icyifuzo gikubiyemo ibyakorwa kugira ngo amahoro agaruke, ikigamijwe cy'ingenzi ari uguhagarika byihutirwa ubwicanyi bukorerwa abaturage. Nahise ntangira kugirana ibiganiro biruhaniye mvugana kuri telefoni na Jacques Bihozagara na Patrick Mazimpaka, uwa mbere akaba yari ahagarariye inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi mu Buraya naho undi ari muri Kanada. Umunsi nagiranye ibiganirwa n'abo bavugizi ba

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FPR bombi, uwa mbere yari mu butumwa mu Budage naho uwa kabiri yari i Kampala aho yanabonye na amabasaderi w'u Rwanda i Buganda, Karaveri Kanyarushoki bari kumwe na Perezida Yoweri Museveni. Inyandiko y'ibyifuzo cya Koloneli Mariseli Gatsinzi nasigaranye kugeza magingo aya yagaragazaga nta buryarya ubushake bw'ingabo za guverinoma mu kugarura amahoro n'umutekano mu gihugu. Kugira ngo mfashe umusomyi kumva ibyari bihangayikishije ingabo za FAR mu by'ukuri, nandukuye ku buryo burambuye, ibyifuzo bya FAR.

«Kigali, ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994

*Ibyakorwa mu kugarura amahoro mu gihugu: Guhagarika kurasa n'ibindi bikorwa bya gisirikari (imirwano, gucengera, kubangamira ibyubatswe) mu rwego rwo:*

*Gufasha abayobozi bo nzego z'ubutegetsi kwegera abaturage no gukora amanama na za mitingi byo kubakangura kugarura amahoro.*

*Gufasha abashinzwe umutekano kugenzura, guhagarika no gukurikirana abagizi ba nabi. Birumvikana ko abajandarume, abapolisi, n'abagenzacyaha ntacyo bashobora gukora mu gihe FPR ikibarasaho.*

*Korohereza ababishinzwe kugeza imfashanyo ku mpunzi kubera imirwano no gukora indi mirimo y'ubutabazi.*

*Korohereza abantu mu guhungisha no kwita ku*

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*bakomeretse.*

*Korohereza abantu mu gukusanya imirambo no kuyishyingura.*

*Korohereza ababishinzwe mu gusana ibyasenywe n'intambara.*

*Koroshya isubukurwa ry'imirimo mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi n'ubukungu.*

*Gushyiraho inzira zinyuzwamo ingemu zigenewe ingabo ku mpande zombi z'abarwana.*

*Guhagarika ibitero n'ibikorwa byo kwihorera bya FPR.*

*Guhagarika ibikorwa by'ububeshyi n'ubushotozi mu itumanaho bicishwa kuri Radiyo MUHABURA n'abayikorera.*

*Gushakisha no gufata abasirikari bataye umurongo bakora ibikorwa by'ubusahuzi n'ubugizi bwa nabi bwibasira abaturage.*

*Gukora amanama menshi ahuza abayobozi ba FAR na FPR mu rwego rwo "kubaka ubwizerane".*

*Bishyizweho umukono*

*GATSINZI Mariseli*

*Col. BEM*

*Umugaba w'Ingabo z'Igihugu»*

Koloneli Mariseli Gatsinzi navugishaga kenshi ku muni, kimwe n'abo bakoranaga, yari ahangayikishijwe n'ubwicanyi bwakorwaga. Ndacyibuka uburyo yansabye

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akomeje gukora ibishoboka ngo numvishe FPR kwemera gutanga agahenge. Mariseli Gatsinzi yamenyesheje ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zagerageje kujya ahaberaga ubwicanyi kugira ngo zihagarike ubwicanyi bw'Interahamwe ariko zikabibuzwa n'urufaya rw'amasasu ya FPR. Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo z'u Rwanda kwasabaga agahenge k'amasaha 72 kugira ngo bushyireho umutwe udasanzwe ushinzwe kugarura umutekano mu gice kiyobowe n'ingabo za FAR. Muri icyo gihe na FPR yagombaga guhagarika ibitero byo kurimbura Abahutu mu duce yigaruriye.

Kuki basaba agahenge? Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, FPR yubuye imirwano aho yari ishinze ibirindiro hose. Birumvikana ko abasirikari ba FAR bari bahanganye n'umwanzi, mu gihe mu bice bitarimo intambara abaturage bakomeje kwicwa ntawe ubibona. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zifuzaga gukura igice cy'ingabo ku rugamba kigahabwa inshingano yo guhagarika ubwicanyi bw'Interahamwe, byaba ngombwa hagakoreshwa ingufu. Nkuko byavuzwe haruguru, ubutumwa bwa Koloneli Gatsinzi nabugejeje vuba na bwangu kuri Paul Kagame mbunyujije kuri ba bagabo babiri bari bamuhagarariye.

Hashize amasaha makumyabiri n'ane, Bihozagara na Mazimpaka barampamagara bamenyesha ko Paul Kagame yanze burundu icyifuzo cyo gutanga agahenge. Icyizere cyo guhagarika ubwicanyi cyahise kiba

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umuyonga.

Nyamara mu matangazo yawo, FPR yahamagariraga abantu guhagarika ubushotoranyi n'ubwicanyi, kandi yari imaze kwanga icyifuzo kizima, gifatika kandi gihamye cyashoboraga gukiza ubuzima bw'abavandimwe bacu. Nkurikije umuvuduko w'ibyakorwa, nakoze ibishoboka byose ngo numvishe ukuri abo twashyikiranaga, ngaruka cyane cyane ku makuba yari yugarije Abatutsi. Jacques Bihozagara yanshenguye umutima ambwira aya magambo: «*Bwana Ambasaderi, Abatutsi uvuga nimwe muzababazwa. Ababyeyi bacu twebwe impunzi bishwe muri 1959. Abatutsi basigaye mu Rwanda bakomeje gushyigikira ingoma ya Habyarimana, bityo bahitamo aho babogamiye. Uretse n'ibyo, Abatutsi bose barangije kwicwa. Nta wo gutabarwa usigaye!*»

Twari ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994. Kubwa FPR nta Mututsi wari usigaye mu Rwanda! Nubwo nari maze gucibwa intege n'ayo magambo, nibukije Bwana Bihozagara ko ubwicanyi butari bwakageze cyane mu perefegitura yose yo mu majyepfo y'igihugu yabagamo Abatutsi benshi. Na we ansubiza ko FPR itashakaga guhagarika intambara kandi ko umugambi wayo wari ugufata Kigali. Byanga byakunda! Ko uko byagenda kose ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi butabuza FPR gukomeza kugaba ibitero. Hashize ibyumweru bike, namubonye

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aseruka ku mateleviziyo menshi asubiramo ko nta Mututsi wo gutabara wari usigaye mu Rwanda, ko guhagarika imirwano cyangwa kongera ingabo za MINUAR byaba nta shingiro bifite. Mbega ubugome! Mbega ubunyamaswa!

Imvugo n'imyitwarire ya FPR muri icyo gihe yanyumvishije ko kwamagana mu magambo itsembabwoko ryakorerwaga Abatutsi byari ugutanga umugabo ku mugaragaro imbere y'itangazamakuru no kwigaragaza neza, ariko mu by'ukuri icyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo mu gihugu ryari umugisha kuri Paul Kagame. Yagendeye ku kinyoma yemeza ko ashaka guhagarika itsembabwoko, nyamara mu by'ukuri abirwanya yivuye inyuma ubutaretsa. Impamvu ikaba ari uko, nkuko umukuru w'inyeshyamba yabitangaje, Abatutsi bo mu gihugu bari «*barahisemo igice cyabo bashyigikira ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana*».

Nguwo umwanzuro nakuye mu biganirwa nagiranye n'abayobozi ba FPR muri Mata 1994. Kuva icyo gihe, ibyakurikiyeho byahamije imyanzuro nari nagezeho. Nubwo ibyo bitagira abere abakoze itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi, wenda itsembabwoko ryari guhagarikwa mbere y'uko ukwezi kwa Mata 1994 kurangira, iyo iyo agahenge kasabwe na FAR kemerwa kandi kagashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ubuzima bw'abantu amagana n'amagana bwari gutabarwa. Ntitwiyibagize ko

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ihagarikwa ry'imirwano ryari ribangamiye ingamba zateguwe na Paul Kagame, nkuko turi buze kubibona mu mutwe ukurikira, mu mabanga yatangajwe na Jenerali Roméo Dallaire, umuyobozi mukuru wa MINUAR.

## **Ubuhamya bwa Jenerali Roméo Dallaire**

Mu kiganiro yagiranye na Radiyo Europe 1 ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 2007, Bernard Kouchner yasubiriyemo kenshi umunyamakuru Jean-Pierre Elkabbach amugira inama yo gusoma igitabo cya «*Jenerali w'igihangange ukomoka muri Kanada*», Roméo Dallaire, wahoze ari umugaba w'Ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda. Bernard Kouchner yagaragaje atyo ko Jenerali Dallaire ari umutangabuhamya w'akarorero. Ntashobora rero kwikanga ko yabeshya cyangwa ngo abogame mu kuvuga ibyabaye. Jean-Pierre Elkabbach wenda ntiyabashije kubona akanya ko gusoma impapuro 685 z'uwo mutumba wa Roméo Dallaire. Ariko jye narakimusomeye. Maze gusoma incuro ebyiri, nasanze ibyo uwo mu jenerali ukomoka muri Kanada yatangaje kuri Paul Kagame no kuri FPR binyuranye cyane n'ibyo Minisitiri Kouchner yatangaje. Kuko Roméo Dallaire ahamya ko na Paul Kagame yagize uruhare muri

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itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi.

Ku rupapuro rwa 632 rw'igitabo cye yise *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanité au Rwanda*, Éditions Libre Expression, 2003, uwo munya Kanada yanditse aya magambo: «Si ibyo gushidikanya, uruhare rwa itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda rureba abanyarwanda ubwabo bariteguye, barikoze, bariyoboye kuva ritangiye kugeza rirangiye. Ubutagondwa bwabo ni imbuto mbi kandi itamungwa yakuze mu myaka bamaze barwanira ubutegetsu ndetse n'umutekano muke binjijwemo n'abakoloni babizi kandi babishaka. Ariko nanone Abanyarwanda bapfuye bashobora guhama Paul Kagame, umusirikari w'umuhanga utarakajije umurego abona itsembabwoko rigeze ahakomeye, kandi wagiye ambwira ashize amanga ko abavandimwe be b'Abatutsi bagombaga kuba ibitambo by'icyo yarwaniraga.»

Ku rupapuro rwa 413 yasobanuye agira ati: «Mu kiganiro twagiranye, nabajije Kagame impamvu adahita atera uwo bahanganye i Kigali. (Kubera ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abaturage.) Yirengagije nkana inkurikizi z'icyo nari mubajije. Yari azi neza ko buri muni w'imirwano mu nkengero za Kigali wongeraga imirambo y'Abatutsi bari inyuma y'ibirindiro by'ingabo z'u Rwanda.»

Mu gusobanura impamvu yanze gutabara Abatutsi Kagame ntiyatinye guhakana uruhare rw'amoko mu

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mpamvu z'ubwicanyi. Ku urupapuro rwa 432 rw'icyo gitabo, Jenerali Dallaire yanditse ibikorukira: «Kagame yamvugurujye agira ati: «Umuryango w'Abibumbye uratekereza kohereza ingabo zo kujya hagati y'abarwana ku mpamvu zo gufasha abaturage. Nyamara abantu bagombaga gupfa barangije gupfa. Tuzarwanyaga ingabo zose zizaza mu Rwanda kutwitambika imbere. Nimureke twikumurire ibibazo by'igihugu twe ubwacu! Izo ngabo zizaba zijye gukingira abicanyi bari ku butegetsi, kubera ko Umuryango w'Abibumbye wagaragaje ko udashoboye no kwamagana ubwicanyi bukorerwa amagana n'amagana y'abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Ugaragaza ibibazo byo mu Rwanda nk'ibibazo bishingiye ku moko, kandi atari byo, kubera ko ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Abasirikari bose nyoboye ndetse nanjye ubwanjye twatakaje abavandimwe. icyo ngamije si uguca igihugu mo ibice, ahubwo ni ukurwanya abicanyi aho bari hose.»

Nanone ku rupapuro rwa 451 aragira ati: «Nabwiye jenerali Kagame impungenge zanjye ku kibazo cy'Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bari bafunguwe muri Hotel des Mille Collines; Bizimungu (Ninjye usobanura: Umugaba w'ingabo z'igihugu wasimbuye Mariseli Gatsinzi) yakangishaga ko azabica FPR nidahagarika kurasa ibisasu ku birindiro bya FAR mu mujyi. Kagame yemeraga ibikorwa, inyeshyamba

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*nyayo izi kwihagararaho itagaragaza ubwoba. Yansubije agira ati: «Bakomeje gukoresha ayo mayeri yabo, ariko ntacyo abagezaho. Iyi ntambara izabamo ibitambo byinshi. Niba impunzi zigomba gutangwaho ibitambo ku mpamvu zifatika, zizabarwa mu bitambo.»*

Usoma iyi nyandiko arumva neza ubugome bw'uwigambye ko yarokoye Abatutsi! Icyo Kagame yari agambiriye ni ugufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Abatutsi bo mu gihugu babaye igitambo cyagombaga gutangwa «ku mpamvu zifatika»! Ingamba z'igitambo gikomeye kugira ngo agere ku nsinzi byanze bikunze zigaragara neza ku rupapuro rwa 525 rw'icyo gitabo aho Jenerali Dallaire agira ati: «Kagame ni umuhanga mu ntambara yo gushyushya imitwe, kandi ubwo buhanga yabukoreshaga aziba icyuho yari afite kubera ibikoresho bike ndetse n'abasirikari bake ugereranyije n'ingabo za FAR. Yumvaga ko abo bahanganye nta burere buhagije bafite mu kurwanya umwanzi witeguye kandi wabyiyemeje, kandi ko bapfusha ubusa ibikoresho byabo bica abaturage aho guhangira ingufu zabo birwanaho.» Ibitekerezo bya Paul Kagame byari bizima. Igihe cyose babaga bahugiye mu kwica Abatutsi, abo basirikari b'ingabo z'u Rwanda bakomezaga gutagaguzza no gupfusha ubusa ibikoresho byabo no gutakaza abantu «bica abaturage aho guhangira ingufu zabo birwanaho.»

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kuko mwabisomye mu gika cyo haruguru, gukomeza kwica Abatutsi byari umugisha kuri Paul Kagame. Kubwe, akaduruvayo gatewe n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi katumaga ingabo za FAR zitakaza imbaraga zikanahuzagurika. Ibyo byatumye FPR itsinda urugamba rw'amasasu iboneraho no gufata ubutegetsu. Paul Kagame yari abizi, yabibwiye Jenerali Dallaire. Kudahagarika itsembabwoko ryakorerwaga Abatutsi byari mu ngamba ze zo gutsinda. Guhagarika imirwano n'itsembabwoko byashoboraga kongerera ingufu umwanzi bari bahanganye, bituma ahagarika umurimo wo kubungabunga umutekano akitangira urugamba gusa. Ku rundi ruhande nanone, guhagarika ubwicanyi byari kwimisha Paul Kagame urwitwazo yari atezeho ijambo rituma ibyo akora byakirwa. Byari ngombwa ko ingabo za guverinoma zigaragara nk'ingabo zikora itsembabwoko, bityo ukuneshwa kwazo ntihagire uwo kubabaza. Ntabwo ingabo za FAR zagombaga kubona uko zigirwa abere bagaragara ko bagize uruhare mu guhagarika ubwicanyi. Ngicyo igisobanura impamvu Paul Kagame yakomeje kwanga ibyifuzo byose mu gutanga agahenge ko gufasha abaturage yagejejweho n'ingabo za guverinoma ndetse n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye. Paul Kagame yari guhagarika ubwicanyi ate se kandi ari bwo bwamuheshaga ijambo bukanatuma

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abo barwanaga batakaza ingufu?

Reka turangirize ku urupapuro rwa 588, aho Jenerali Dallaire agira ati: «*Ni nde, mu by'ukuri, wakoreshije abandi amakosa mu myaka yose intambara yamaze? Byatumye ngira ibitekerezo bibi, nibaza niba intambara n'itsembabwoko bitarakorewe gusubiza u Rwanda mu gihirahiro rwarimo mbere ya 1959, igihe Abatutsi bari bahariye ubutegetsi bwose. Ni gute intagondwa z'Abahutu zaba zaraguye mu mutego w'ikinyoma kurusha uko nabeshywe? Hashize imyaka icumi, ariko n'ubu sindashobora kwihunza icyo kibazo cy'ingutu, cyane iyo ndeba ibyakomeje kubera muri ako karere kuva icyo gihe.*»

Mu mwaka wa 2003 ari bwo yasohoye igitabo cye, Jenerali Dallaire yemera ko «*yabeshywe*» na Paul Kagame. We ubwe ndetse n'abandi benshi bakurikiranaye hafi ubwicanyi bwabaye kuva muri Mata kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994, basanga Paul Kagame yarakoresheje abantu amakosa, kugeza ubwo yanga gutabara Abatutsi, kubera ko ku bwe, «*iyo ntambara yagombaga kubamo ibitambo*». Igitambo cy'Abatutsi basaga 800.000 kugira ngo haboneke insinzi na FPR ibonereho kwemerwa!

Ubisesenguye neza, usanga uwahoze ayobora ingabo za

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MINUAR adatinuyuka kwandika igitekerezo abitse ku mutima ariko dushobora gufura dukurikije ibyo yibajije bitinze: Paul Kagame yabeshye isi yose. Harimo na Jenerali Dallaire we ubwe wategereje imyaka cumi kugira ngo atangire kumva ukuri. Byaba amahire n'abasingiza uwo Mwarimu Filip Reyntjens yita «ruharwa mu bwicanyi ukiri ku butegetsi» bakurikije urugero rwa Roméo Dallaire, bakiyungura ubwenge butuma babona ko umukuru w'u Rwanda rw'ubu atari umwere cyangwa umutabazi nkuko babitekereza, ko ahubwo ari ruharwa rwarimbuye imbaga rugashobora guhisha ayo marorerwa mu gihe gisaga imyaka makumyabiri.

## Kagame yarwanyije ihagarikwa ry'itsembabwoko ry'abatutsi

Ku rupapuro rwa 459 rw'igitabo cye, Jenerali Dallaire aragira ati: «*Mu yindi minsi ine, Abanyamerika bagendaga bungikanya inzitizi. Abongereza bo babafashaga bucece. Abafaransa bari bashyigikiye MINUAR 2 ariko bakagira ibyo basaba. Naho ibihugu bidafite aho bibogamiye byari birakajwe n'uko ibintu byatindaga ku huryo bukabije. FPR yakoze itangazo iryandikira Akanama k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye*

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*gashinzwe amahoro ku isi ryasaga n'iriturwanya ku mugaragaro. Abavugizi bayo bari bemezaga ko MINUAR yo mu rwego rwa kabiri yaje itinze cyane ku buryo itashoboraga guhagarika ubwicanyi, byongeye ngo yashoboraga kubangamira uguhirimbana kwa FPR ishaka ubutegetsu. Mu by'ukuri, ntabwo byari byagatinze, kubera ko ubwicanyi bwakomeje mu byumweru byakurikiye. Iyo ngira icyo nkeka, nari gushaka ihuriro ryari hagati y'uruhare rw'Abanyamerika na FPR mu kuburizamo no kwanga MINUAR 2 yari kuba ifite imbaraga nyinshi. Mbere y'isubukurwa ry'imirwano, twashoboye kubona ushinze ibibazo bya gisirikari muri ambasade y'abanyamerika ajya ku Murindi kenshi. Byongeye, muri Amerika ya ruguru hari impunzi nyinshi z'Abatutsi zari zishyigikiye FPR. Muri icyo gihe, buri muni waherekezwaga n'urupfu rw'imbaga y'abantu muri Afurika yo hagati.» Nta wagira icyo arenzaho!*

Ntibisaba kuba inzobere kugira ngo umuntu asobanukirwe icyo uwahoze ari umugaba wa MINUAR yashatse kuvuga. FPR na guverinoma y'Amerika bakoze ibishoboka byose kugira ngo hatagira ukura ababyeyi bacu mu nzara z'abicanyi. Bakomeje kungikanya «inzitizi» mu Muryango w'Abibumbye babuza iyoherezwa ry'ingabo mpuzamahanga zishinzwe guhagarika itsembabwoko, umugambi ari ugufasha Paul Kagame «kugera ku butegetsu». Kuba Jenerali Dallaire

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«ataragize icyo akeka» muri 1994, ni uko ibintu byahindagurikaga vuba kandi bigaherekezwa n'ikinyoma gihambaye ku buryo atabonye umwanya wo gushishoza ngo abone ukuri. Nyuma y'imyaka icumi, yandikira igitabo cye mu mutuzo ku ivuko muri Kanada, uwo mujenerali ugeze mu zabukuru nibwo yasobanukiwe.

«Igihangange» (uwo ni Bernard Kouchner uvuga) Jenerali Dallaire yaba se na we ari umuntu upfobya itsembabwoko cyangwa ari umubeshyi wo kugendera kure?

Icyampa Bernard Kouchner akongera agasoma yitonze igitabo cy'umugaba wa MINUAR kugira ngo arusheho kumenya ukuri kwa Paul Kagame! Nta muntu utibeshya, ariko kwihambira ku kinyoma ubizi kandi ubishaka ni ubuyobe!

Jenerali Dallaire ntiyigeze agirira Paul Kagame urwango. Ahubwo yaramukundaga. Ubuhamya bwe kuri we bwagombaga gutuma Bernard Kouchner yongera gusuzuma ubucuti yigamba ko afitanye n'umukuru w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda wagize uruhare rudakemangwa mu itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi. Ni ngombwa ko ibintu bisobanuka: ubugome bwa Paul Kagame ntabwo busonera na gato abicanyi barimbuye imbaga y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu. Bagomba kuryozwa ubwicanyi bakoze. Ariko Paul Kagame

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agomba kubarwaho ubwicanyi yakoze abishaka cyangwa yateje cyangwa yakoze we ubwe. Kubivuga ku mugaragara si ugupfobya itsembabwoko!

## **Ubuhamya bw'Abatutsi bacitse ku icumu**

Ubuhamya bwa Jenerali Dallaire bwunganiwe n'ubwa benshi mu bahoze mu muryango wa FPR. Nkuko abo banyamuryango babitangaje, mu ngamba zawo z'ibanga, umuryango wabo wagombaga, guteza ubwicanyi mu Batutsi mu rwego rwo gusebya ubutegetsi bw'Abahutu hanyuma bakagira ubwo bwicanyi urwitazo rwo kubura imirwano kugira ngo basubirane ubutegetsi batakaje muri 1959. Imyitwarire ya FPR mu itsembabwoko yashimangiye iki gitekerezo. Uwo muryango wamaganye ibyifuzo byose bw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye cyangwa ibindi bihugu by'i Buraya byo guhagarika ubwicanyi. Wageze n'aho uteza ubwega uvuga ko uzahangana n'ingabo z'amahanga zizagerageza guhagarika itsembabwoko. Ndibuka iterabwoba ryashyizwe k'u Bufaransa igihe bwoherezaga ingabo mu rwego bwise Opération Turquoise.

Ibyo ari byo byose, imigambi ya FPR ntiyigeze iba iyo kurinda Abatutsi bo mu gihugu. Ahubwo bashakaga

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kubaroha. Ndetse n'Abatutsi barokotse ubwabo ntibigeze babyibeshyaho. Reka duhe ijambo umwe mu bazwi cyane muri bo, Yohani Petero Mugabe, wahoze ari umusirikari ukomeye mu nzego z'iperereza rya FPR. Ni we Mututsi wa mbere wamaganye ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'ishyaka rye FPR muri itsembabwoko yo muri 1994. Mu buhanya bwe ku rupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, ku itariki ya 25 Mata 2000, Yohani Petero Mugabe yanditse ibikurikira: *«Icyemezo cya Kagame cyo guhanura indege ya Habyarimana cyabaye intandaro y'ishyano ritigeze ribaho mu mateka y'Abanyarwanda kandi Kagame yabikoranye umutimanama we wose. Inyota y'ubutegetsu yabaye impamvu y'itsembwa ry'imiryango yacu.»* Yohani Petero Mugabe yakomeje agira ati: *«Abatazi ukuri basingiza Kagame nk'umutabazi; ariko iminsi yagaragaje ko ari we ntandaro y'amakuba yacu. Yari yarahunyishije imiryango mike y'abamuhaga akayabo k'amafaranga, naho ababyeyi bacu bo mu rwego ruciriritse abaterereza Interahamwe.»*

Iki gitekerezo kigaragajwe n'umusirikari wo mu rwego rwo hejuru mu iperereza wari hafi Jenerali Kagame muri 1994 gisangiwe na benshi mu Batutsi bo mu gihugu bacyitse ku icumu bahamya uruhare bwite rwa Paul Kagame mu bwicanyi.

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## FPR yishe Abatutsi bamwe na bamwe ibyitirira Interahamwe

Ubihamya si Umuhutu ufobya itsembabwoko, ahubwo ni uwahoze ari umusirikari wa FPR wo mu rwego rwo hejuru, w'Umututsi akaba n'umwe mu bari bashinzwe imirimo y'iperereza kwa Paul Kagame. Ku wa kane tariki ya 9 Werurwe 2006, mu gihe yasubije ibibazo by'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda mu rubanza rwa Bagosora, umushinjwa w'ibanze mu itsembabwoko ribasiye Abatutsi, Yosua Ruzibiza bita Abdul, wanditse igitabo cyitwa *Rwanda. Histoire secrète*, Éditions Panama, Ukwakira 2005, abazwa n'ababuranira abaregwa. Ku byerekeye ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi b'Abagogwe bwakozwe mu ijoro ryo ku wa 29 Ugushyingo 1993 ku Kabatwa muri komini ya Mutura muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, yahamije ko abakoze ubwo bwicanyi bari abasirikari b'Abatutsi ba FPR bari mu itsinda ryitwaga *Charlie* ryateraga riturutse i Butaro muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Liyetona Ruzibiza ubwe yari mu mutwe w'aba komando bakoze ubwo bwicanyi. Naho ku cyari kigamijwe na FPR mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi yavugaga ko irwanirira, Ruzibiza yatangaje ko byari urwitazo mu guteza akaduruvayo ngo babone uko bubura imirwano. FPR ikaba yaragombaga gushinja guverinoma

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ubwo bwicanyi. Muri icyo gihe, mu maso y'abari mu gihugu cyangwa y'abanyamahanga, ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi bwose bwagombaga kwitwa igikorwa cy'intagondwa z'Abahutu b'amashyaka MRND na CDR. Ni ko byagenze nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwo ku Kabatwa. Interahamwe zashinjinjwe kuba ari zo zabikoze naho Perezida Habyarimana akaba ari we wabitegetse. Paul Kagame aba yongeye gutsinda igitego, akina ku mubyimba Abatutsi, Perezida Habyarimana ndetse n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange.

## **Ubwicanyi FPR yakoreye kuri Paruwasi y'Umuryango Mutagatifu**

Jenerali Dallaire yavuze anatanga ibimenyetso simusiga ku bwicanyi bwabereye kuri paruwasi y'Umuryango Mutagatifu butigeze buvugwa n'ibinyamakuru byari i Kigali mu gihe icyo gikorwa cy'ubwicanyi cyabaga. Ku itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1994, ibisasu byaguye ku baturage bari bahungiyeye mu nzu nini ya paruwasi y'Umumuryango Mutagatifu, kiriziya nkuru mu mugi wa Kigali, byica abantu benshi abandi barakomereka bikomeye. Dore ibyo umugaba wa MINUAR yanditse kuri ubwo bwicanyi ku rupapuro rwa 440 rw'igitabo cyeye: *«Icyegeranyo ku bisasu byatewe kuri paruwasi y'Umuryango Mutagatifu cyaje:*

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*inkomeri n'abapfuye barenga 120, harimo 13 bapfuye n'inkomere 61 zajyanywe mu bitaro by'Umuryango Utabara Imbabare na 15 b'inkomere bajyanwe ku bitaro byitiriwe Umwami Fayisali. Byatumye ntekereza nti: «Birababaje ko ubwo bwicanyi butabereye mu isoko ryo muri Yugosilaviya. Wenda hari kugira ubyitaho iyo bibera ahandi hatari mu Rwanda.» Ubuzima niko bumeze: Itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda ntiryashoboye guhangana n'amatora yo muri Afrika yepfo n'uburiganya bw'umuhanga mu kunyerera ku rubura w'umunyamerikazi Tonya Harding mu gufata umwanya w'ibanze mu binyamakuru. Isesengura ryerekanye ko icyerekezo cy'imbunda za moritsiye ryagaragaje ko ibisasu byari bifite santimetero mirongo inani n'imwe kandi ko byarasiwe mu birindiro bya FPR. Nagize igitekerezo cyo kubyuka njya kubonana na Kagame ngo mushinje ku mugararagaro icyo gikorwa. Noherezaga buri munsu icyegeranyo, maze mu y'uwo munsu ntekereza kuzababwira ko ubwo bwicanyi ndengakamere bwakozwe na FPR.»*

Ndizera ko uwo mujenerali w'umunye Kanada yohereje icyo cyegeranyo cye. Igiteye agahinda ni uko icyo cyaha by'ubwicanyi mu ntambara kivugwa hano kitazigera gihanirwa, kuko umushinjacyaha wa TPIR yanze kugikurikirana ku mpamvu zidafututse.

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Ese gusubira mu byanditswe na Jenerali Dallaire byaba ari ugupfobya itsembabwoko? icyaha cy'ubwicanyi mu ntambara aba ari icyaha cyujuje ibyangombwa. Abanyarwanda bishwe kuya 1 Gicurasi 1994 muri kiriziya y'Umuryango Mutagatifu hakwiriye kubaho ubutabera bubarenganura. Uwabishe arazwi: ni Paul Kagame. Agomba kubibazwa.

Uruhare rwa FPR na Paul Kagame mu bwicanyi bwo ku wa 1 Gicurasi 1994, - icyaha cy'ubwicanyi mu ntambara cyagaragajwe n'umugabo wa MINUAR, Jenerali Dallaire ubwe -, ni rwo rusobanura impamvu abategetsi b'i Kigali bashishikariye gushinja Padiri Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, umutangabuhamya ukomeye wabonye ubwicanyi bwabereye muri kiriziya y'Umuryango Mutagatifu. Uwo mupadiri w'umusore ni intwari yarakoye Abatutsi barenze kure abo FPR yakijije, kuko yari wenyine ahangana n'intagondwa nyinshi zari zitwaje intwaro zananyoye ibiyobyabwenge. Nta yindi ntwaro yitabaje uretse ubwenge bwe n'umutimanama we. Aramutse ahanwe kubera ubwo bwicanyi bamushinja, byafasha ubutegetsi bwa FPR.

Mu gutanga umwanzuro ku itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi, ndibutsa ko nta wukeneye kugaruka ku mpamvu zateye ubwo bwicanyi bureba amategeko

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mpuzamahanga bugihakanwa gusa n'ababukoze n'izindi ntagondwa, baba abanyarwanda cyangwa abanyamahanga. Abakoze ubwo bwicanyi ntibazigera na rimwe basubiza abanyarwanda ibyo babambuye. Paul Kagame wabaye nyirabayazana wabwo akoza agati mu ntozi, we warwanyije ihagarikwa ry'ubwicanyi, wakomeje kuka inabi amahanga ayabuza gutabarira bwangu, abifitemo uruhare bwite imbere y'amateka. Yagombye kwisobanura imbere y'ubutabera n'imbere y'abanyarwanda. Nubwo bitashimisha incuti ze zose n'abandi banyamahanga bamukingira ikibaba bagerageza kumusiga ubutwari n'ubutabazi atigeze agira! Kubivuga ukabisubiramo si ukwigaragazaho gupfobya itsembabwoko.

Tumaze kubibona, umugambi Paul Kagame yari yimirije imbere arasa indege ya Yuvenali Habyarimana anarwanya ihagarikwa ry'itsembabwoko wari uwo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Ibyo byagezweho ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994. Inshingano ye ya kabiri yari ukwiha uburyo bwose bwo kumenyekanisha ubutegetsi bwe byemewe n'amategeko yigaragaza nk'ubarokoye Abatutsi yari amaze kwicisha cyangwa kugira ibitambo. Kubera iyo mpamvu, FPR yagombaga gufatwa nk'iyahagaritse itsembabwoko. Muri Gicurasi 1994 Paul Kagame yasobanuraga ko atahagarika imirwano avuga ko nta

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Batutsi bo gutabara bari basigaye, nyuma y'amezi abiri niwe watangiye kwirata ngo yahagaritse itsembabwoko. Ashyigikiye n'abanyaburayi n'abanyamerika, Paul Kagame yashoboye kwemerarwa nta mbogamizi kuvuga ko ingabo za FPR zizitwa ibirangirire mu butwari kuko zahagaritse itsembabwoko ribasiye Abatutsi. Iyo nteruro ikwirakwizwa yandikwa mu binyamakuru byose byavuzwe ku Rwanda, kugira ngo hatagira ubyirengagiza. AFP, AP, Reuters, PANA, mu byo byandika ku Rwanda ntibyibagirwa na rimwe kwibutsa ko Paul Kagame ari umuyobozi wa FPR yahagaritse itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi. icyo kinyoma cyahindutse bibiliya y'abibwira ko ari inzobere ku Rwanda cyatumye Paul Kagame yigira umwera bitamugoye ku bwicanyi bwarimbuye imbaga ingabo ze zakoze mu Rwanda mbere na nyuma ya 1994.

Itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abahutu

Amaze kwanduza itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi, icyari gisigaye kuri Paul Kagame ni ugucekesha abatavuga rumwe na we b'ingenzi. Mu ngamba za FPR, abanyabwenge b'Abahutu bashoboraga kuzavamo abashobora kumutsinda. Byari ngombwa kubaburizamo byanze bikunze. Paul Kagame ntiyigeze ahisha ko uwo bahanganye aburizwamo mu by'ukuri ari uko umucekesheje burundu. Nkuko akunze kubisubiramo

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kenshi, «Uwapfuye ni we wenyine utavuga».

## **Kiliziya Gatorika icibwa umutwe**

Hari abepisikopi n'abapadiri ba kiriziya gatorika barimo Abahutu n'Abatutsi bahunze imirwano yakurikiye iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana, baturira i Gakurazo, umusozi uri hafi y'icyicaro cya kiliziya gatolika ya Kabgayi mu ntara yo mu gihugu rwagati. Harimo Musenyeri Visenti Nsengiyumva, umushumba wa diyoseze ya Kigali, Yozefu Ruzindana, umushumba wa diyoseze ya Byumba na Tadeyo Nsengiyumva, umushumba wa diyoseze ya Kabgayi akaba n'Umukuru w'inama y'abepisikopi, Musenyeri JMV Rwabilinda, wari wungirije uwo mwepisikopi, Musenyeri Inosenti Gasabwoya, wahoze yuwungirije umwepisikopi. Hari na none umuyobozi mukuru w'abafurere bita Abayozafiti, Yohani Batisita Nsinga, Padiri Diyonizi Mutabazi wo muri Diyoseze ya Nyundo, ba Padiri Emanweli Uwimana, umuyobozi wa seminari ntoya, Silivesitiri Ndaberetse, umunyakigega mukuru, Berenari Ntamugabumwe, uhagarariye uburezi gatorika mu rwego rwa perefegitura, Farasisiko Saveri Muligo, padiri mukuru wa katedarari hamwe n'abamwungirije Aluferedi Kayibanda na Fideli Gahonzire, wari unashinzwe ibitaro bya Kabgayi.

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Ku itariki ya 5 Kamena 1994, Paul Kagame yohereje abasirikari b'aba komando kabuhariwe bayobowe n'abasirikari bakuru kujya kwica abanyacyubahiro bose bari i Gakurazo. Abepisikopi n'abafasha babo barundanyirijwe mu cyumba hanyuma barabarasa, babicana ubugome bukabije butigeze bubaho mu mateka ya Kiliziya gatorika y'u Rwanda. Biragaragara ko ubwo bwicanyi bwateguwe ku buryo bonononsoye na Paul Kagame ubwe. Ubwo bwicanyi ni ubwo kwamaganwa cyane cyane ko abo bakozi ba kiliziya bari banze guhunga Gakurazo mu rwego rwo kwifatanya n'impunzi ibihumbi 30 z'Abatutsi zari zabahungiyeho. Imyaka cumi n'ine nyuma y'ubwo bwicanyi bubi bwahitanye abakozi ba kiliziya, habaye igisa n'urubanza cyateguwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Paul Kagame, abasirikari bakuru bayoboye ubwo bwicanyi barekurwa n'urukiko rwa gisirikari. Nta gitangaje kuko tuzi ko abo bicanyi baburanishwaga na bagenzi babo bari kumwe ku rugamba. Ni ukuvuga ko abakoze ubwicanyi bwa Gakurazo batazigera babuhanirwa.

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## Ubuhamya bwa Amadou Deme watahaga amakuru muri MINUAR

Ni iki kigaragara? Mu gihe Bernard Kouchner yasangiraga na Paul Kagame ku Murindi, ingabo ze zatsembaga ruhongohongo Abahutu bize mu turere FPR yari yarigaruriye. Kugira ngo mbashe kubibereka neza ndifashisha igitabo dusabwa gusoma na Bernard Kouchner ubwe. Mu gitabo *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanité au Rwanda*, Éditions Libre Expression, 2003, ku rupapuro rwa 475, Jenerali Dallaire aragira ati: «*Twabonye ibyegeranyo bivuga ubwicanyi bwakorewe b'Abahutu bahoze bakorera guverinoma n'imiryango yabo. Ubwo bwicanyi bwabereye cyane cyane mu turere twa Byumba na Ngarama. Nkuko Deme (wa MINUAR) yabivuze, imfubyi nyinshi z'Abahutu zabaga i Byumba, aho Bernard Kouchner wo mu Baganga Batagira Umupaka yari yagiye kureba niba yahakora ibikorwa cy'ubutabazi. Mu rwego rwo kutunaniza, FPR yashyizeho amabwiriza avuga ahantu abagenzuzi bacu bashoboraga kugera. Umurongo wa nyuma w'icyegeranyo cya Deme wavugaga ibikurikira:*

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*«Dufite gihamya ko baduhatiye amabwiriza kugira ngo FPR ishobore gukomeza ibikorwa byayo, by'umwihariko ubwicanyi.»*

Ibyo umugaba wa MINUAR ahamya hano ni ibanga rizwi na bese. Ni ukuvuga ko ibice byose yarimo, FPR yaturutse ruhande irimbura ibihumbi by'Abahutu bize n'imiryango yabo: ba perefefe ba za perefegitura, ba burugumesitiri, abajyanama ba komini, abanyamategeko, abarimu, abagaronome ba perefegitura, abaganga, abaforomo n'abandi bakozi ba leta bo mu nzego zitandukanye, tutibagiwe n'abihaye Imana nkuko tumaze kubibona. icyo ubwo bwicanyi bwose bwari buhuriyeho ni uko abicwaga ari Abahutu bize.

Gutsemba abanyabwenge bese b'ubwoko runaka ni uburyo bwo kurimbura ubwo bwoko. Byibuze igice kimwe cyabwo. Ni igikorwa cy'itsembabwoko giteganywa n'ingingo ya 2 y'Amasezerano mpuzamahanga yo kurinda no guhana itsembabwoko. Cyane cyane ko uko guhiga abanyabwenge b'Abahutu kwakomeje na nyuma y'aho inyeshyamba zifatiye ubutegetsu. Nitwibuke abazize ubwo bwicanyi bw'indengakamere bazira gusa ubwoko n'ibitekerezo byabo bya politiki byatumye bacirwa urwo gupfa! Bernard Kouchner yari ahari! Yagombye kumenya ibyabaye igihe yari mu Rwanda. Biratangaje kuba uwo

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muganga w'Umufaransa atarigeze avuga ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abahutu bukorwa n'ingabo z'incuti ye Paul Kagame. Nyamara nkuko Jenerali Dallaire abivuga, mu gihe yaganiraga na Paul Kagame, ingabo za FPR zicaga abakozi ba leta n'imiryango yabo. Bernard Kouchner n'Abaganga batagira umupaka bakoreraga mu turere FPR yari yarigaruriye muri icyo gihe ntibashoboraga kutabona ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye imbaga. Keretse niba na Jenerali Roméo Dallaire ari umubeshyi! Mu by'ukuri, byashimisha kumenya icyo Bernard Kouchner atekereza ku bivugwa muri icyo gice cy'igitabo cya Jenerali Dallaire. Niba na Jenerali Dallaire yarabeshye, Minisitiri Kouchner azabivuge. Niba uwo mujenerali wo muri Kanada avuga ukuri, Bernard Kouchner ahindure imvugo ye ku itsembabwoko yo mu Rwanda hanyuma asigeho kuvuga ko Paul Kagame ari we uhagarariye abacitse ku icumu kandi ari we wabamariye ku icumu.

## **Ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abahutu bize n'Abatutsi FPR yangaga**

Mu ijoro ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1994, FPR yatangiye ubwicanyi burobanuye mu murwa mukuru no mu maperefegitura yari yari ifitemo ibirindiro. Ni uko abakozi benshi bo nzego zo hejuru, abahoze ari abasirikari bakuru n'abahoze ari abanyepolitiki

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batunguwe mu ngo zabo bakicwa nabi. Bazira gusa ko bari Abahutu. Ababishe ni abasirikari ba FPR bari mu mutwe witwa *Network Commando*, bari baracengeye muri Kigali mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, cyangwa bari bavuye mu nzu y'inteko ishingira amategeko yari icumbitsemo abasirikari n'abayobozi ba FPR bari aho i Kigali bateganyirijwe kujya mu nzego z'inzibacyuho zari zumvikanyweho mu masererano y'amahoro ya Arusha. Nkuko byagaragajwe nyuma yaho na bamwe mu bari bagize *Network Commando* bigometse kuri FPR bari mu bakoze ubwo bwicanyi, abicanyi bari bafite amashuri yateguwe mbere y'igihe yariho amazina y'abishwe n'aho bari batuye.

Mu bo nibuka neza nubwo ntabarondora bose, navuga amazina ya bamwe na bamwe bishwe n'abasirikari ba Paul Kagame mu masaha yakurikiye urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana.

- Emili Nyungura n'umuryango we wose : umuhungu we Corneille w'umuririmbyi niwe wenyine warokotse ubwo bwicanyi bw'indengakamere. Se wa Corneille, nubwo yari Umututsi, yashinjwaga na Paul Kagame kugirana ubucuti n'abantu bakoranaga na MRND, ishyamba rya Perezida Habyarimana no kuba yarashatse umugore w'Umuhutu ukomoka mu Burundi. Namenyanye Emili

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Nyungura bwa mbere muri za 1980-1981. icyo gihe yari umunyeshuri mu Budage, yari aje kundeba kuri ambasade y'u Rwanda i Buruseli aho nari nshinzwe imirimo y'ubujyanama mu muco. Amafaranga ye y'ishuri yari amaze guhagarikwa n'Akanama k'Ubukungu gahuriweho n'Ibihugu by'i Buraya (CEE) kuko yari yatinze kurangiza amashuri. Nyuma yo y'ibiganiro nagiranye n'abashinzwe icyo kibazo muri CEE, nashoboye kugarura ibintu mu buryo maze Emili yongera kubona amafaranga y'ishuri. Uwo mubonano utunguranye wabaye imbarutso y'umubano mwiza wa gicuti mu bwubahane waturanze kugeza umunsi yiciwe n'abasirikari ba Paul Kagame muri Mata 1994. Aho yari atuye ku Kicukiro, yari aturanye n'umwe mu bavandimwe banjye. Nubwo navuye mu Rwanda muri Mutarama 1986, nakomeje guhana amakuru na Emili ndetse nkajya mbonana na we igihe nabaga nagiye i Kigali. Paul Kagame yaramwicishije kubera ko yari yaranze guhemukira igihugu cye yitwaje ubwoko gusa. Igihe nari i Kigali hagati ya Nyakanga n'Ukwakira 1994, abasirikari ba FPR ntibahishe urwango bafitiye abo bitaga «*abagambanyi nka Emili Nyungura*». Mu gihe umuvandimwe we Kalinda, umunyamakuru kuri Radiyo Canada akaba n'umurwanashyaka ukomeye wa FPR, yaje mu Rwanda muri Kanama– Nzeri, ndibuka ko twahuye tukaganira ku by'iyicwa rw'umuvandimwe we. Nzi neza

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ko azi uwatanze umuvandimwe we. Nzi kandi ko ubwitange bwe mu gukorera FPR bumubuza kuvuga ukuri kuri ayo marorerwa. Wenda ni uburenganzira bwe, ariko ndahamye ko umunsi umwe azicuza kutagira ubutwari bwo kuvuga ukuri.

Abishe Abatutsi mu gihe abasirikari ba Paul Kagame barimbura umuryango wa Corneille baraburanishijwe, ndetse bamwe muri bo baranishwe. Kuki abirimbuye umuryango wa Nyungura batabihanirwa?

- Umuryango wa Selesitini Ndagijimana. Uwo mugabo yahoze ari umuyobozi mukuru w'isanduku y'ukuzigama y'u Rwanda yicanwe n'umuryango we wose. Selesitini Ndagijimana yari inyangamugayo ku buryo budasanzwe. Umufasha we Antoniya yambereye umunyamabanga muri Minisiteri y'abakozi ba leta n'imirimu. Selesitini, Antoniya n'abana babo bishwe n'abakomando ba Paul Kagame. Bazira ko bari Abahutu.

- Karawudiyani Habarushaka, bakundaga kwita «Yezu», ni Umuhutu wiciwe mu rugo rwe i Remera ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Ntangira akazi nk'umukozi wa leta muri 1978, Karawudiyani Habarushaka yari umunyamabanga mukuru muri Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'amajyambere ya komini yayoborwaga na Koloneli Alegisi Kanyarengwe. Namubereye umujyanama mu by'amategeko mu gihe cy'umwaka n'igice. Yari umugabo ucisha make nka bake. Karawudiyani Habarushaka yari

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ishuti izira ubutati. Simbasha kwihanganira ko abamwishe bakomeza kwidegembya badahanwe ngo ni uko gusa batsinze intambara kandi bakingiwe ikibaba n'agatsiko k'abanyamahanga bativuga mu izina.

Sinarondora ngo ndanzize izo ncuti, ababyara, abaturanyi, abatazwi mu izina bose bahitanywe n'abicanyi ba Paul Kagame babasanze basinziriye. Reka ntanga izindi ngero nke z'abishwe bazize ko ari Abahutu indege ya Perezida Habyarimana imaze kuraswa.

- Silivesitiri Baliyanga, Perefefu wa Perefefitura ya Ruhengeri, wicanwe n'umuryango we wose ku icumbi ryabo i Remera ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994.

- Matiyasi Myasiro, umucuruzi wiciwe i Remera.

- Yohani Hategekimana, Perezida w'Urukiko rwa Mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Kigali, wicanwe n'umuryango we n'abavandimwe ba bari bamusuye ku Kacyiru ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994;

- Daniyeli Rwananiye, wahoze ari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Banki y'Ubucuruzi mu Rwanda, wiciwe ku Kicukiro n'umugore we, abana be bose n'umukozzi wo mu rugo bakarusimbuka;

- Aloyizi Habimana, Diregiteri muri Minisiteri y'Ubuhinzi n'Ubworozi, wicanwe n'umuryango we wose i Remera;

- Nsengiyumva Tewodori, twiganye mu iseminari ntoya ku Nyundo, wicanwe n'umuryango we wose i Remera;

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- Ferederiko Mupenda, umukozi mukuru muri BUNEP (Iburo by'igihugu bishinzwe kwiga za gahunda), wiciwe ku Kacyiru;

Mariseli Munyengabe, wari Perezida w'Urukiko rugenga Imari, wishwe ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994;

- Emanuweli Bahigiki n'umuryango we;

- Aroni Akamahari, umucuruzi, wiciwe i Remera mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6 Mata 1994;

- Ponsiyani Hakizimana, koloneli w'umujandarume wari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, wiciwe i Remera ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994;

- Helena Bugenimana, majoro w'umujandarume, umugore wa liyetona koloneli Lawurenti Nubaha. Yicanwe n'abana be i Remera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994;

- Umuryango wa Yoziyasi Mwongereza warimbuwe hamwe n'abantu mirongo ine yari acumbikiye. Mwongereza uwo yari umuvandimwe wa Silasi Majyambere, umucuruzi uzwi cyane mu Rwanda wari waragiye muri FPR mu ntangiriro z'intambara (muri 1990).

## **Amayeri yo kwicira Abahutu benshi icyarimwe**

Mu cyo yise «*Ubuhamya bugamije kugaragaza ukuntu*

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*guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR bagize uruhare mu makosa yatumye itsembabwoko ribaho», liyetona Abuduli Ruzibiza, ni we ugarutse, yaragize ati: «FPR yafashe ingamba zo gutera umwanzi (Nijye usobanura: Ingabo z'u Rwanda) bamugose; twamusibiraga amayira yose yo kugemurira abari ku rugamba. Kuzenguruka umwanzi bishaka kuvuga ko twirindaga guhangana n'umwanzi tumuturutse imbere tugacengera mu duce dutuwe n'abaturage inyuma y'ibirindiro by'ingabo za guverinoma. Kubera ko abo baturage nta cyizere bari badufitiye, baturegeraga ingabo za guverinoma zashoboraga kudutera zimaze kumenya aho turi ndetse n'uko tungana. Muri abo baturage, uwo twakekaga ko yatubonye yagombaga kwicwa, kubera ko nta bushobozi twari dufite bwo kumucecekesha kandi tutazi igihe tuzamara muri ibyo birindiro. Ni ukuvuga ko igihe cyose twagombaga kugota umwanzi, twahabwaga amabwiriza yo kwica abaturage bose nta mbabazi. Kujya kure n'ibirindiro byacu bisobanura ko kugira ngo tubeho twagombaga gutungwa'ibyo dusanze aho. Twagombaga kwica abaturage, gusahura ibyabo no kubasenyera amazu kugira ngo dutware amatungo yabo adutunge: ihene, inkoko, inka.»*

Mwumve ubuhamya buteye umususu! Uwo mugabo wahoze ari inyeshyamba arangiza agira ati: «Itandukanyirizo hagati ya FPR na Guverinoma ni uko

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*ubwicanyi bwakorwaga na FPR bwabaga ari ibikorwa byakozwe n'abanyamwuga babyitoje bihagije; babikoraga nta banyamakuru bahari, birinda ko abagenzuzi bigenga bahagera, mu gihe Guverinoma yafatanyaga n'Interahamwe kwica bamaze kubaha urumogi bakanabitangaza bigamba kuri Radiyo RTLM, no mu binyamakuru byose byari mu maboko ya Habyarimana». Ngiki igisobanura impamvu amarorerwa yakozwe rwihishwa n'ingabo za Paul Kagame bwatinze kujya ahagaragara. Ubwo bwicanyi bwarangije kumenyekanye hose bubarirwa mu byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu, ibyaha by'intambara cyangwa ibikorwa by'itsembabwoko nkuko byemejwe nyuma n'imiryango mpuzamahanga myinshi yigenga iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, iri ku isonga ikaba Amnesty International na Human Rights. Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda rutegereje iki ngo rukurikirana abakoze ibyo byaha ndengakamere?*

## **Ubuhamya natanze ku bwicanyi bwabaye hagati ya Nyakanga na Nzeri 1994**

Twabibonye haruguru, ibyegeeranyo n'ubuhamya bishyira ahagaragara uruhare rwa FPR kugeza ubu bagiye

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babirigisa ku bushake. Ni uko ibyegeranyo by'amaperereza bikurikira byashyinguwe burundu, ku cyemezo cya Kofi Annan, wahoze ari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa Umuryango w'Abibumbye:

- icyegeranyo ya Robert Gersony, impuguke y'umunyamerika yakoze iperereza ku bwicanyi bwibasiye Abahutu hagati ya Nyakanga na Nzeri 1994;
- icyegeranyo cya Michael Hourigan, umugenzuzi wa TPIR, ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana;
- Ubuhamya Yohani Petero Mugabe, wahoze ari umusirikari mukuru mu nzego z'iperereza rya FPR ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana;
- icyegeranyo cya Roberto Garreton ku bwicanyi bwakorewe impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire n'ibindi byegeranyo byinshi ku bwicanyi bwakozwe na FPR. Ibyo byegeranyo byavaga ahanini mu mashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu nka Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, n'Ishyirahamwe ry'Abanyamategeko b'Abanyafurika, n'andi ntarondoye.

## **Icyegeranyo cyakozwe n'umunyamerika Robert Gersony wakoreraga HCR**

Ku byerekeye icyegeranyo cya Gersony, ndagira ngo mpamye mvuguruza ibyo bamwe mu bayobozi b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, icyo cyegeranyo cyabayeho

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koko. Narakibonye, nacyakiriye mu biganza byanjye, naragisomye. Koko rero, ku itariki ya 19 Nzeri 1994, nyuma y'amezi abiri hashyizweho guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, mu nshingano zanjye nka Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga, nakiriye birambuye intumwa z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ziyobowe na Bwana Kofi Annan, akiri Umunyamabanga mukuru wungirije ushinzwe ishami ry'ibikorwa byo kubungabunga amahoro. Kofi Annan yari aherekewe na Bwana Robert Gersony, na Bwana Shaharyar Khan, wari intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda, na Bwana Morjane, Umuyobozi mukuru ushinzwe ibibazo by'Afurika muri HCR, kimwe na Bwana Urusa ukomoka muri Tanzaniya, wari intumwa ya HCR mu Rwanda. Kofi Annan, waje kugirwa Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye akanahabwa Igihembo cy'Amahoro cyitiriwe Nobel – ntimunzize kuba ntamuvuzeho byinshi –, yari amaze kunsogongeza ku cyegeranyo cya Bwana Robert Gersony, impuguke y'umunyamerika woherejwe ku mugaragaro n'Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ryita ku Mpunzi (HCR) ibitewemo inkunga na USAID kugira ngo akore iperereza ku mutekano mu Rwanda nyuma yaho FPR ifatiye ubutegetsi.

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Icyegeranyo cya Gersony cyageze ku mwanzuro uvuga ko ikibazo cy'umutekano muke mu gihugu kitashishikariza gutaha impunzi nyinshi z'Abahutu ziri mu bihugu by'abaturanyi, kubera iterabwoba n'ubwicanyi bwibaasiye imbaga mu gihugu cyose bukozwe n'ingabo za FPR zihimura ku baturage b'Abahutu basigaye mu Rwanda. Robert Gerson n'itsinda rye ry'abagenzuzi babaruye Abahutu basaga 30.000 bishwe n'ingabo za FPR mu mezi abiri mu ma perefegitura atatu y'igihugu. Nasabye Kofi Annan kunsigira kopi y'icyegeranyo cy'iyi mpuguke, ansubiza ko kubera ko ikiri ibanga, Bwana Boutros Boutros Ghali azanyoherereza kopi mu buryo bwemewe igihe nikigera. Nashoboye ariko kuyinyuzamo amaso, mbere yuko mpuguke iyinsobanurira ku buryo burambuye.

Mbere yuko agenda, Kofi Annan wari uyoboye intumwa za ONU yamburiye ko niba Guverinoma idafashe ingamba zo guhagarika ubwicanyi bukabije bwibasira ku buryo burobanuye abaturage b'Abahutu, ko na yo ubwayo izaregwa itsembabwoko. Ubwicanyi ntibwigeze buhagarara, nyamara Guverinoma iyobowe Paul Kagame ntiyigeze ishinjwa itsembabwoko!

Amasaha makumyabiri n'ane nyuma y'uruzinduko rwa Kofi Annan, nakiriye mu biro byanjye Bwana Timothy Wirth, umunyamabanga wa leta y'Amerika ushinzwe

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uburenganzira bwa muntu, aherekajwe na Ambasaderi wa Amerika mu Rwanda, Bwana David Rawson. Umunyamabanga wa leta y'Amerika, wahurujwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumye, yari aje kwiyumvira uko guverinoma y'u Rwanda yakiriye ibirego biri mu cyegeranyo cya Gersony. Mu magambo amwe nk'ay'uhagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumye, umunyabanga wa leta y'Amerika yansabye kumenyesha guverinoma y'u Rwanda impungenge z'abayobozi ba Amerika ku bikorwa bikabije bihohotera uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu mu Rwanda. Kubwa uwo muyobozi wo muri Amerika, nta kintu na kimwe cyashoboraga kuvuguruzwa icyo cyegeranyo, kubera ko cyakozwe n'impuguke yigenga kandi yoherejwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumye ubitewemo inkunga na guverinoma y'inshuti, ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, ibinyujije muri USAID. Ibyaha bibashinje byasesenguye ku buryo bunonosoye kandi byaragaragaraga. icyegeranyo kigaragaza ahantu, umunsi, ubwoko bw'ibyaha, uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu kwica no kuburizamo imirambo, n'amazina ya bamwe mu bishwe. icyo cyegeranyo kigaragaza nanone amazina ya bamwe mu basirikari bakuru ba FPR yatangajwe n'abaturage b'Abahutu bacitse ku icumu. Igihe kigeze nabimenyesheje Minisitiri w'Intebe Fawusitini Twagiramungu, na we washoboye kubonana n'izo ntumwa zombi.

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Perezida Pasitori Bizimungu wari mu nama mpuzamahanga i Den Haag (La Haye) mu gihe izo ntumwa za ONU zari mu Rwanda, yamenyeshejwe imyanzuro y'icyegeranyo cya Gersony akigera mu Rwanda, mu mpera za Nzeri 1994. Mu ntangiriro z'Ukwakira 1994, Pasitori Bizimungu yazindukiye hutihuti i Washington n'i New York, yakirwa n'abagize ubutegetsi bwa Clinton ndetse n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru a ONU. Yansabye kumuherekeza muri urwo rugendo, mboneraho umwanya wo kumubwira icyo ntekereza ku bwicanyi buvugwa na Robert Gersony. Pasitori Bizimungu wahoraga agenzurwa n'«umujoyanama» we Karoli Muligande yabaye nk'uhangayikishijwe n'icyo kibazo, ariko ntiyabitindaho. Mu biganiriro binyuranye yagiranye n'abategetsi b'Amerika n'aba ONU, Perezida Bizimungu yikomye arakaye cyane abayobozi ba ONU abaziza ko, nkuko yabyivugiye, «bategetse gukora iperereza rihuteho, bagambiriye gusa guharabika isura ya Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu». Yasabye abayobozi b'Amerika «kudufasha gushyira icyegeranyo cya Gersony mu myumvire y'ibya nyuma y'itsembabwoko». Kubwe, hari «ibihe bya nyuma y'itsembabwoko» aho ingabo za FPR zagombaga kwica nta mususu abatwaga zitikanga kwamaganwa n'amahanga.

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I Washington, Perezida Bizimungu yabonye n'umuyobozi mukuru wa USAID, ari we Bwana Brian Atwood, turi kumwe. Amaze kumvikanisha icyizere gisesuye afitiye Robert Gersony, uwo muyobozi w'umunyamerika yibukije ko umuryango we wateye inkunga iryo perereza ryakozwe n'impuguke y'umunyamerika. Asobanura akomeje ko Amerika igiye guhindura umubano wayo n'igihugu cyacu, kubera ihohoterwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwanuntu bwagaragaye mu cyegeranyo cya Gersony. Pasitori Bizimungu yasubizanye ubukana budasanze, ariko Bwana Atwood aguma ku izima.

Muri Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga y'Amerika, Bizimungu yagiranye ikiganiro na George Moose, umunyabanga wa leta wungirije ushinze ibibazo by'Afurika. Mu biro by'uwo mugabo ye niho iby'icyegeranyo cya Gersony byarangiriye. Yatangiye ikiganiro atarya iminwa kandi avugana icyusa, nuko agenda acururuka kugeza ubwo wumva ijwi rye ari iry'incuti yumva ibintu ikanabyakirana umutima mwiza. Mu gusoza ikiganiro ku cyegeranyo cya Gersony, umunyabanga wa leta wungirije abwira Perezida Bizimungu aya magambo: «*Tuzabafasha. Ariko mudufashe kubafasha!*» Bisobanuye ngo: Mukurikize inama zacu, natwe tuzabafasha gushyingura burundu

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icyegeranyo cya Gersony.

Nahise mfata icyemezo kidasubirwaho. Hashize iminsi itanu, neguye ku mirimo yanjye mpitamo ubuhungiro kugira ngo ntangeho isi yose ho umugabo kandi namagane iryo tsembabwoko ryakorewe Abahutu ringanya ububi kandi rikwiye kwamaganwa nk'itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi kuva muri Mata kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994. Maze kwirukanwa na Guverinoma ya kera kubera kugaragaza no kwamagana ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi, sinashoboraga kuguma muri Guverinoma irimo uruhande rutsemba Abahutu, rukanabikora ruhisha abitwa ko bakorana na rwo. Nahise nsobanukirwa ko imiterere ya FPR ihuye neza n'amateka yayo, nka ya nyana itima nyina akabara. FPR yavukiye mu ntambara y'inyeshyamba zatsinsuye imbaga muri Uganda, igumana kandi inonosora uburyo bwo kwica abantu benshi icyarimwe yakoranaga ubugome n'ubuhanga budasanze. Ku ruhande rumwe nicyo gisobanura impamvu njye nanze kurahira mu nzego nshya zari ziganjemo FPR, mu gihe bagenzi banjye bo muri guverinoma bo bahisemo kurahira.

Bigitangira nari nihaye igihe cyo kwitegereza no kuba maso. Kubera izo nyine, mu gihe cy'amezi abiri namaze nitwa ko nyobora Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga

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y'igihugu cyanjye, sinigeze nakira abanyamakuru. Ntacyo nigeze ntangariza abanyamakuru, nta n'itangazo na rimwe nigeze nshyira ahagaragara mu mezi abiri namaze i Kigali. Nyamara ibyo kuvuga ntibyari bibuze. Ariko nagombaga guhitamo kimwe mu bintu bibiri: kubeshya mvuga ko byose bigenda neza mu Rwanda, no kuvuga ukuri ku byaberaga i Kigali no mu turere twose tw'igihugu cyanjye. Kwemera kubeshya ngendera hejuru y'imirambo y'abo tuvukana? Numvaga ntabishoboye. Gutangaza ukuri kwari gutangiye kuntera iminkanyari mu maso? Nabyo sinari kubibasha, kuko ntavukiye kwiyahura. Hari umugani wa kinyarwanda uvuga ngo «*Utazi ubwenge ashima ubwe*». Kubera ko nari nzi uwo tubana, nahisemo kwitegereza bucece, ariko nkora nk'aho turi kumwe kugira ngo hatagira unyibazaho. Nari i Kigali ntahari. Ariko ndashimira Imana yatumye ngumayo igihe gihagije – amezi abiri atarenga –, kugira ngo nsobanukirwe neza uburyo bwose bwashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bwa Paul Kagame kugira ngo bushimangire imikorere ishingiye ku iterabwoba no kwica baturutse ruhande abatavuga rumwe na bo. Ubutegetsi nk'ubwo butangaho igitambo igice kimwe cy'abo dusangiye igihugu kubera inyungu za politiki ntaho buhuriye n'imigabo yanjye muri politiki n'ibyo umutimanama wanjye ushaka.

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Maze kwegura mu kwezi kw'Ukwakira 1994, natangaje kandi namaganye kenshi ubwicanyi bwibasira rubanda y'inzirakarengabe bwagarajwe mu cyegeranyo cya Gersony, nkuko byagaragaye mu kiganiro cyihariye nagiranye icyo gihe n'ikinyamakuru gisohoka buri cyumweru *Jeune Afrique* no mu bindi binyamakuru.

TPIR yashinzwe ku itariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 1994. Nkuko byumvikana, icyegeranyo cya Gersony cyagaragazaga ibimenyetso simusiga ku bwicanyi bwakoze na FPR byari mu nshingano za TPIR cyarahishwe, kugira ngo «*bafashe ubutegetsi bw'incuti*» kugaragara nk'abere. Mu by'ukuri, ubwicanyi bwatunzwe agatoki mu cyegeranyo cya Gersony bwari akanunga kagaragara k'umusozi nyamunini uhisha amagana n'amagana y'inzirakarengane zishwe bunyamaswa n'ingabo za FPR mu turere zari zarigaruriye kuva ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Ni iki cyate Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kutagaragaza icyegeranyo cya Gersony? Ni akahe kaboko katagaragara kakuye icyo cyegeranyo mu bindi byegeranyo byagombaga kwigwa byashyikirijwe Umushinjacyaha Mukuru wa TPIR? Kuki Umushinjacyaha Mukuru wa TPIR uzi ko icyo cyegeranyo kiriho adasaba icyo kimenyetso simusiga gishobora gusobanura neza ibyabaye muri 1994? Nabonye akamanyu k'igisubizo ku kibazo cyanyje mu

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kwezi kw'Ugushyingo 2002, mu buryo bwatumye ndushaho gukemanga inshingano za TPIR. Nkurikije itangazo nashyize ku mbuga nyinshi za interineti nshinja TPIR ko yahagaritse amaperereza ku bwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu bwakozwe na FPR mu Rwanda, Umushinjacyaha Mukuru wa TPIR, Carla Delponte, yanyakiriye ku cyicaro cy'urukiko i Den Haag (La Haye). Nari umwe mu ntumwa zari zoherejwe n'ammwe mu mashyirahamwe nyarwanda arengera uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Nkuko asanzwe avugisha irimuniga adategwa, Carla Del Ponte yadusobanuriye adakikira ingorane yahuraha na zo mu mirimo ye, ariko adusubiriramo ubushake afite bwo gukurikirana abicanyi bo ku mpande zose za politiki. Kimwe mu bibazo namubajije ni impamvu zateye ihagarikwa ry'icyegeranyo cya Gersony. Nta kubyigurutsa, yemeye ko icyo cyegeranyo kiri mu bubasha bwa TPIR, bityo ko cyagombye gushyirwa mu madosiye y'ibyaha byakozwe mu Rwanda muri 1994 na rumwe mu mpande zari zihanganye. Akomeza avuga ko hakoze ibishoboka byose kugira ngo icyo cyegeranyo cya Gersony kiboneke kimwe n'ibindi byegeranyo binyuranye by'Umuryango w'Abibumye bigaragaza ubwicanyi bwa FPR, ariko ko byose byabaye imfabusa. Yungamo ati: «*Nasabye ku mugararagaro uwahoze ari*

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*Komiseri Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye wita ku Mpunzi, Madamu Ogata, kunyohereza iyo icyegeranyo, ariko nabaye nk'uwikubita ku rutare. Banyumvishije ko atari ngombwa ko icyo cyegeranyo gishyikirizwa urukiko ngo rucyigeho. Muragira ngo nkore iki? Nzagerageza wenda kongera kwibutsa mbisaba Komiseri Mukuru mushya kugira ngo ndebe niba icyo cyegeranyo cyaboneka.»*

Wagira ngo TPIR na HCR ntibibarizwa mu muryango umwe w'abibumbye. Haba hariho ku ruhande rumwe, Urukiko mpuzamahanga ruhangayikishijwe no kumenya ukuri, naho ku rundi ruhande hakabaho indi miryango ya ONU ikorana na za guverinoma zica abaturage bazo? Carla Del Ponte yatumenyesheje ko byamurenze agapfa gusaba ko Robert Gersony yashobora kubazwa n'Umushinjacyaha Mukuru wa TPIR, na byo biba iby'ubusa. Guverinoma y'Amerika yongeye kwanga ko icyo cyifuzo cyakwakirwa! Nkuko tubibona, Paul Kagame akingirwa ikibaba n'igihugu kimwe cyangwa byinshi bifite uburenganzira bwo kuburizamo ibyemezo no gukoresha igitugu mu buyobozi n'imikorere y'Umuryango w'Abibumye. Si ngombwa kuba umupfumu kugira ngo umuntu amenye ko ubutegetsu bwa Clinton bwicuza kuba bwaranze ko ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zoherezwa guhagarika itsembabwoko,

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bugahitamo kubarira mu gihombo n'inyungu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu b'inzirakarengane Paul Kagame yatsembatsembye.

Ku mugabane w'Uburaya muri Nyakanga 1995, intagondwa zo mu bwoko bw'Abaserbe bo muri Bosniya zimaze kwigarurira umujyi wa Srebrenica zishe abantu b'igitsina gabo bo mu bwoko bw'Ababosniyaki barenga ibihumbi umunani (8000). Ingabo z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zananiwe kurinda umutekano w'abaturage.

Muri Mutarama 2007, Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga (CPI/ICC) rwaciye urubanza rwemeza ko ubwicanyi bw'i Srebrenica bwahitanye Ababosniaki ibihumbi umunani (8000) ari itsembabwoko (génocide). Ni kuki itsembatsemba ryahitanye Abahutu barenga ibihumbi mirongo itatu (30.000) ryakozwe n'ingabo za Paul Kagame hagati ya Nyakanga na Nzeri 1994 ritakwitwa itsembabwoko (génocide) ?

Mbere yo kugaruka ku bundi bwicanyi bwakozwe na FPR-Inkotanyi haba mu Rwanda cyangwa muri Zaïre/RDCongo, kubaza icyo kibazo byaba koko ari ugufobya itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi?

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## **Ubwicanyi bw’i Kibeho nibwo bwicanyi bwa FPR bwacukumbuwe neza**

Ku bwicanyi bwabereye i Kibeho ho nta guhakana no gushidikanya gukabije kwabaye, bitewe ahari n'amaso menshi y'abatangabuhamya.

Muri Mata 1995, hashize amezi icumi FPR ifashe Kigali, mu nkambi zo mu gihugu hari hakibarirwa impunzi 150.000. Hakurikijwe uburyo bwagiye bugaragara kenshi mu gihe cy'itsembabwoko, guverinoma ya FPR yahisemo gusenya inkambi nini yari i Kibeho ikoresheje imbaraga. icyo gikorwa cyagize ingaruka ziteye agahinda kubera ubwicanyi bwagiherekeje; abaturage 8.000 b'Abahutu, barimo abagabo, abagore, abana, abasaza, bicwa mu ijoro rimwe ryo ku wa 22 Mata 1995. N'abacitse ku icumu bicirwa mu mayira batahuka bajya iwabo. Abanyamakuru ba CNN bakurikiranye ubwo bwicanyi bemeza abantu bagera ku 25.000 bahitamwe n'ubwicanyi bw'i Kibeho. Koloneli Fred Ibingira wayoboye icyo gikorwa yazamuwe mu ntera agirwa jenerali aashingwa imirimo yo mu rwego rwo hejuru n'uwari wamutumye Paul Kagame. Ingabo za MINUAR zari zishinzwe kurinda inkambi ya Kibeho zakoze ibyegeranyo birambuye bigaragaza ubunyamaswa bwaranze ubwo bwicanyi bwa Kibeho kandi ko bwakozwe buteguwe. Ariko amahanga

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yahisemo kurangarana ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu.

Iyo Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rudakurikirana ubwicanyi bwa Srebrenica, itsembabwoko y'ababosiniyaki ntiriyari kuzamenyekana. Ubucamanza mpuzamahanga bwanze kugenzura ibirego bihamya Perezida Paul Kagame uyobora u Rwanda gutegura, kunonosora no gushyira mu bikorwa ubwo bwicanyi. Imiryango myinshi yita ku burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu, yasabye kenshi Umuryango w'Abibumye gufata ingamba zishoboka ngo abakoze ubwicanyi bw'i Kibeho bashyikiriza inkiko. Biranga biba iby'ubusa. Guverinoma za Amerika n'Ubwongereza zakomeje kwanga ko abayobozi b'u Rwanda bashyikirizwa inkiko mpuzamahanga, dore ko Washington na London ngo basanga abo bayobozi bahagarariye abarokotse itsembabwoko ryibasiye Abatutsi muri 1994.

Nyuma y'imyaka cumi habaye amarorerwa y'i Kibeho, Minisitiri Kouchner yateye mu ry'Abanyamerika n'Abongereza kuri iyo ngingo, yamaganira kure abashaka gushyira mu majwi Paul Kagame na FPR kuko ngo bahagarariye Abatutsi bacitse ku icumu. Ibyo si ukuri, nkuko twabigaragaje ku gika kijyanye n'itsembabwoko

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ryakorewe Abatutsi.

## **Itsembatsemba ryakorewe impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire (1996–1998)**

Ku itariki ya 29 Ukwakira 1996, umujyi wa Bukavu wigabijwe n'ingabo za FPR zivuye mu Rwanda, igihugu cy'abaturanyi. Izo ngabo zakoze ubwicanyi zironda impunzi z'Abahutu zica n'abayobozi bo muri Zayire barimo na Musenyeri Christophe Munzihirwa, Arikiyepisikopi wa Bukavu, wari umaze gusohora itangazo ryamagana ubwicanyi bwibasira impunzi z'abanyarwanda.

Kuri icyo kibazo, intumwa yihariye y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye muri Zayire yanditse igira iti: «*Amakuru tubona avuga ko kuva mu ntangiriro z'intambara hagabwe ibitero simusiga byibasiye inkambi z'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ndetse n'abarundi bya Uvira (ku itariki ya 22 na 23 Ukwakira), Bukavu (ku itariki ya 29 Ukwakira n'iminsi yakurikiyeho), Goma (ku itariki ya 3 Ugushyingo ) no mu nkengero z'iyo miji.*»

Umugenzuzi w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Robert Garreton, yagaragaje ko impunzi z'Abahutu amagana n'amagana zaburiwe irengero. Zahitanye n'inkota

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n'ibisasu by'ingabo za Paul Kagame, abandi bagwa mu mashyamba ya Zayire bazize inzara n'umunaniro.

Uwo mugenzuzi yasobanuye neza uko byagenze, anibaza niba ubwo bwicanyi butabafatwa nk'itsembabwoko hakurikijwe ingingo ya II y'Amasezerano yerekeye kurinda no guhana ibyaha by'itsembabwoko, yo ku wa 9 Ukuboza 1948. Dore igisubizo kitaziguye cy'umugenzuzi: *«Ntawahakana ko habaye ubwicanyi bushingiye ku moko, abenshi mu bo bwibasiye akaba ari Abahutu bo mu Rwanda, mu Burundi no muri Zayire.»* Yungamo ati: *«Intumwa zihuriza hamwe mu kuvuga ko bimwe muri ibyo birego bishobora gufatwa nk'ibyaha by'itsembabwoko.»*

Kimwe n'icyegeranyo Hourigan yakoze ku rupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, kimwe n'icyegeranyo cya Gersony ku bwicanyi bwahitanye Abahutu barenga 30.000 hagati ya Nyakanga na Nzeri 1994, icya Robert Garreton ku bwicanyi bwahitanye impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire cyaheze mu bubiko bw'utubati twa Kofi Annan abihawemo amabwiriza na guverinoma y'Amerika. Mu rwego rwo gufasha ingoma ishyigikiye abanyamerika ya Paul Kagame ngo irenge umutaru itegereje iby'ejo. Ibyo babyita guhanagura icyaha cy'ubwicanyi bwarimbuye imbaga.

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Bernard Kouchner ntashobora kuba atazi imyanzuro y'icyegeranyo cya Garreton. Ikigaragaza mu buryo abogamira ku ruhande rumwe ni uko hari igice cy'abanyepolitiki bake ariko bafite imbaraga bakina umukino w'abashaka byanze bikunze kuburizamo ubutabera gukorwa uko bikwiye. Mu gihe ubutabera bw'ibihugu byinshi, birimo n'u Bufaransa, bwiteguye kwishyuzza Paul Kagame amaraso y'ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abantu we ubwe yicishije. Imiryango y'abiciwe b'abanyarwanda n'abanyekongo ntishobora kwihanganira uko kubangamira no gupfukirana ukuri. Abategetsu b'i Parisi, i Buruseli n'ahandi bashyigikiye Paul Kagame mu kwanga ubwiyunge bushingiye ku mishyikirano, ukuri n'ubutabera, bongera uburakari hagati y'amoko ku buryo ikibyimba gishobora kuzatumenekera mu maso. Guheza bamwe mu kwibuka nk'uko bikorwa ubu ntibyemewe kandi bigomba kwamaganwa bitabaye ngombwa ko byitwa gupfobya itsembabwoko.

Kuva muri 1994, hari amakuru yatangajwe ku mugaragaro adakemangwa ku bwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu n'ibindi byaha bikabije byarenze ku mategeko mpuzamahanga arengera umuntu, byibasiye abanyarwanda bo mu bwoko bw'Abahutu. Uwashaka kuyamenya yasoma ibyegeranyo byinshi byashyizwe

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ahagaragara n'imwe mu miryango ikomeye iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu nka Amnesty International cyangwa Human Rights Watch, tutirengagije nanone n'ibyagaragajwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ubwawo. Ikibazo twagombye kwibaza ni iki: kuki ibyegeranyo byose bivuga ku bwicanyi bw'Abatutsi byakiriwe n'inzego mpuzamahanga, – ibyo nkaba mbyishimira –, ariko ibigaragaza ubwicanyi bwarimbuye ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu ndetse banarusha ubwinshi Abatutsi byo bikaba byararigise? Kuva ku rupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana ukageza ku bwicanyi bwibasiye impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire, ni ibikorwa bifitanye isano igaragara uretse gushaka kubeshya abatita ku kuri. Noneho byaragaragaye ko kubera impamvu za politiki zirenze ikibazo gisanzwe cy'amoko mu Rwanda, hakoreshejwe imbaraga nyinshi kugira ngo ukuri kuburizwemo byanze byakunda. Ku batabizi, dore bimwe mu byegeranyo byashyinguwe mbere yuko bishyirwa ahagaragara:

## **Icyegeranyo S/1994/1125 cya Boutros Boutros-Ghali**

Kuva mu 1994, mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 1 Ukwakira Umunyabanga Mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, Bwana Boutros Boutros-Ghali yandikiye Inama ishinzwe

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Umutekano ku isi iherekeza icyegeranyo S/1994/1125, mu gihe abagize Umuryango w'Abibumbye batari bakabonye amakuru nyayo kandi ahagije atuma basobanukirwa ibyaberaga mu Rwanda, uwo mugabo yakanguriye Inama ishinze Umutekano ku isi kwita ku cyegeranyo cy'akanama k'impuguke zitabogamye kashyizweho hakurikijwe umwanzuro 935 wo ku wa 1 Nyakanga 1994, kugira ngo gakusanye ibimenyetso birebana n'ihohoterwa rikabije ry'amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bwa muntu ryakozwe muri icyo gihugu. Ako kanama kashoboye gutahura ko impande zombi zari zihanganye zitwaje intwari zarenze ku mategeko mpuzamahanga arengera uburenganzira bwa muntu, kandi ko zakoze ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu mu Rwanda. Mu rwego rw'inshingano kari kahawe, ako kanama kagejejweho na HCR amakuru menshi anyuranye akubiyemo ibimenyetso byinshi by'ubwicanyi n'ihohoterwa byibasiye Abahutu bukoze n'ingabo za FPR (ndetse guhera mu ntangiro z'Ukwakira 1994). Icyo cyegeranyo cyo ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1994 cyatangaje ko FPR yakekwagaho kuba yakoze ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu.

Abantu 300.000 baba barishwe n'ingabo za FPR muri perefegitura ya Byumba. Akanama gakurijeho kuvuga ko hari ibyashyingirwaho bifatika bigaragaza ko

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ubwicanyi bwibasira imbaga, ubwicanyi buvangura, ihohotera ry'amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera abantu n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe na bamwe mu Batutsi babikorera Abahutu, kandi ko ibyo byaha byagombye gucukumburwa ukuri kukajya ahagaragara.

## **Ibyegeranyo by'umuryango Human Rights Watch**

Mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 13 Kanama 1997 yagarutse ku byagaragajwe n'Akanama k'Abagenzuzi b'Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda (HRFOR) mu cyegeranyo cyabo cyo ku wa 4 Kanama 1997, amashyirahamwe Human Rights Watch n'Impuzamashyirahamwe iharanira Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwamuntu basabye ku mugaragaro Jenerali akaba na Minisitiri w'ingabo, Paul Kagame, kimwe na Perezida w'u Rwanda, Pasiteri Bizimungu, guhagarika ubwicanyi ingabo za FPR zakoreraga abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Muri icyo cyegeranyo, hagaragaragamo ko abantu barenga 2000 bishwe n'ingabo za FPR muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri hagati ya Gicurasi na Kamena 1997. Abatangabuhamya bemeje ko abishwe bari abaturage batagira intwaro, bagwiriye abana, abagore ndetse n'abantu bakuze. Ubwo bwicanyi

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ndetse bwarakomeje kubera ko mu itangazo ryo ku wa 20 Kanama 1997, ayo mashyirahamwe yombi yongeye kwamaganaga ubwicanyi bwahitanye amagana y'abaturage badafite intwaro bishwe n'ingabo za APR n'Abacengezi mu mirwano yabereye muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi ku matariki ya 8, 9 n'ya 10 Kanama 1997. Byongeye, ubuhamya buragaragaza ko ubwo bwicanyi bwari bwagambiriwe, kuko amazina ya bamwe muri abo bantu bishwe yari barashyizwe ku malisiti y'abagombaga kwicwa.

Mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 9 Kanama 2002 yandikiwe ambasaderi w'Amerika John Negroponte mu gihe Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika zayoboraga Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe Amahoro ku isi, umuyobozi mukuru w'ishyirahamwe HRW yibukije ko TPIR yashyizweho n'Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe Amahoro ku isi (umwanzuro n° 955) kugira ngo ikurikirane ibyaha by'itsembabwoko byakorewe mu Rwanda, ndetse n'ihohotera rikabije ry'amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera imbabare, ubariyemo n'ibyakozwe n'ingabo za APR. Iyo baruwa yerekanye ko ari ngombwa gushyikiriza ubutabera abakoze itsembabwoko ndetse n'ingabo za APR zaba barakoze ibyaha by'intambara n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu muri 1994.

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Iryo hohotera ry'amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera imbabare ryavuzwe mu nyandiko nyinshi ziboneka mu Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye rishinzwe Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwamuntu, n'akanama k'impuguke z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye twavuze mu haruguru, n'ishyirahamwe HRW ndetse n'Impuzamashyirahamwe mpuzamahanga iharanira 'Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwamuntu.

Riyo baruwa yibukije ko abishwe n'ingabo za APR, mu by'ukuri, badashobora kurengerwa n'inkiko zo mu Rwanda. Kubavutsa ubutabera bwa TPIR bishobora kubongerera umujinya no yo gushaka kwihorera mu karere udutsiko twitwaje intwaro dukomeje, nta kubyirengagiza, kutavuga rumwe na guverinoma.

Mu cyegeranyo cyo ku wa 12 Kanama 2002 cyiswe «Rwanda: ubutabera ku biciwe bose», ishyirahamwe Human Rights Watch riributsa ibyavuzwe n'umuyobozi mukuru waryo wagize ati: «*Ingabo za APR zishe ibihumbi by'abantu muri 1994, zakoze ibyaha by'intambara n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu*», «*Perezida w'u Rwanda, Paul Kagame, yemeye we ubwe ko zimwe mu ngabo ze zakoze ibyaha. Nyamara ubu guverinoma y'u Rwanda yanga ko ababikoze bashyikirizwa inkiko mpuzamahanga*».

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Icyegeranyo cyo ku wa 7 Kanama 2003 cyakozwe n'ishyirahamwe Human Rights Watch na cyo kivuga kidakikira ko ingabo za APR zahitanye ibihumbi by'inzirakarengane zikarenga ku mategeko mpuzamahanga arengera imbabare, aha kikaba cyarasubiragamo imyanzuro y'akanama k'impuguke twavuze haruguru.

Mu bihe bya vuba, ishyirahamwe Human Rights Watch ryohereje ibaruwa ifunguye umushinjacyaha mukuru wa TPIR irusaba gukurukirana mu butabera ubwicanyi bw'abahoze ari inyeshyamba za FPR, ubu bari ku butegetsi i Kigali.

Ishyirahamwe HRW ryishimiye ibyo TPIR yagezeho mu gucira imanza ifungwa z'ibanze ziregwa itsembabwoko ryo muri 1994, yemeza ariko ko FPR «*yishe abaturage ibihumbi n'ibihumbi*» muri 1994. Mu ibaruwa yawo ifunguye, uwo muryango wanditse ugira uti: «*Nkuko mubizi, ubwicanyi bushinjwa FPR bwakozweho ubushakashatsi n'akanama k'impuguke z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye katanze umwanzuro uvuga ko FPR yakoze ibyaha bikomeye binyuranyije n'amategeko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ndetse inakora ibyaha by'ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu*». Mu gusobanura, iryo

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shyirahamwe ryaragize riti: «*Ni ubwicanyi bukomeye bubarirwa mu nshingano za TPIR, kandi abazize ubwo bwicanyi na bo bafite uburenganzira ku butabera*».

Ishyirahamwe HRW ryasanze «*Kwemera ko ibyaha by'ubwicanyi bicirirwa imanza mu Rwanda atari igisubizo gihwitse*». Ishyirahamwe HRW yibukije ko «*Mu byemezo byasubiwemo bitsindagiwe n'ubujurire, ingereko z'urukiko rwa mbere rw'iremezo rwa TPIR zemeje inshuro eshatu ko mu Rwanda hakiri imbogamizi zitatuma haba imanza zitabogamye ku bibazo by'itsembabwoko*». Iryo shyirahamwe ryagaragaje impungenge rifite ku byerekeye «*ubushake bwa politike y'u Rwanda mu guhana ingabo za FPR zakoze ubwicanyi*». HRW yongeraho iti: «*Ni ngombwa ko mumenyesha Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amahoro ku isi ko TPIR ikeneye igihe ku byerekeye imanza za FPR*», kuko «*kudakurikirana abicanyi bo muri FPR byazatesha agaciro TPIR mu rwego rw'amategeko mu maso y'ubuvivi*».

## Ibyegeranyo bya FIDH

Mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 2 Kamena 2006 yashyikirijwe abagize Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe Amahoro ku isi, araye ari bugirane imibonano

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n'Umushinjacyaha wa TPIR, umuyobozi wa FIDH yibukije ko TPIR byanga byakunda igomba guhana ibyaha byabangamiye amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera imbabare kimwe n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu byakozwe n'ingabo za Paul Kagame. Ubwo bwicanyi bwagaragajwe mu nyandiko nyinshi.

## **Ibyegeranyo bya Amnesty International**

Mu cyegeranyo cyo kuwa 23 Kamena 1998 cyitwa «*Rwanda. Kure y'amaso, irigiswa n'ubwicanyi birakomeje*», Amnesty International yamaganye uburyo ubwicanyi bukorwa n'ingabo za APR budakunze gutangazwa kimwe n'uko ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'abantu batazwi buhita bwegekwa ku ku barwanya ubutegetsi bitwaje intwaro. Yatangaje ko mu mahanga abantu biyumvisha uburemere bw'urugomo rwo guhohotera abaturage rukorerwa mu Rwanda ari mbarwa, ivuga by'umwihariko ko kuva muri 1997, abashinzwe umutekano mu gihugu bishe abaturage badafite intwaro benshi kurusha udutsiko tw'abarwanya ubutegetsi bitwaje intwaro. Kuri iyo ngingo yatanze urugero rw'ubuhamya bw'umuturage wo ku Gisenyi wavuga ukuntu abaturage ibihumbi n'ibihumbi batagira intwaro bazize urugomo bishwe n'ingabo za APR mu bikorwa byo guhiga umwanzi byabereye mu majyaruguru y'iburengerazuba

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bw'igihugu, asobanura ko hari abaturage b'Abatutsi bitwaje intwaro bagize uruhare muri ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye cyane cyane abaturage b'Abahutu, ingabo za APR zibibafashijemo cyangwa zibahagarariye.

Amnesty International yatangaje ubwicanyi budasanzwe, nk'ubuvugwa ko bwahitanye abantu ibihumbi mu buvumo bwa Nyakinama na Kanama (muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi ) mu kwezi kw'Ukwakira 1997.

Mu cyegeranyo cyo ku wa 6 Mata 2004 cyiswe «Rwanda: ibisigisigi by'itsembabwoko n'intambara», Amnesty International yamaganye ukuntu inkiko zitigeze zikora iperereza rirambuye kandi ritabogamye ku byaha byakozwe n'ingabo za APR muri icyo gihe, hejuru y'amakuru adakemangwa y'ibikorwa byinshi byo guhohotera uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Mu cyegeranyo cyo ku itariki ya 12 Ukuboza 2006 cyiswe «*Guhamagarira Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinze amahoro ku isi gukora ku buryo Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda rurangiza inshingano rwahawe*», Amnesty International yibukije Inama y'umuryango w'abibumbye ishinze amahoro ku isi kimwe n'ibihugu bigize Umuryango w'Abibumbye ko bigomba gukora gahunda irambuye y'ibigomba gukorwa mu Rwanda kugira ngo

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barandure burundu umuco wo kudahana, dore ko yari ihangayikishijwe n'imikorere mibi ya TPIR ndetse n'ubushake buke abayobozi b'u Rwanda bagaragaje mu gukora amaperereza no gukurikirana ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'impande zombi mu Rwanda hagati ya 1990 na 1994.

Iryo shyirahamwe ryasanze umubare w'abaturage bishwe na FPR hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994 ugera ku 60.000. Nubwo ibyo biri mu nshingano zayo, TPIR ntiyigeze irega FPR, mu gihe bigaragara ko ubushake bw'abanyapolitiki bo mu Rwanda bukemengwa mu rwego rwo gukora iperereza mu gihe ibimenyetso bihari bihagije, no bakurikirana abaregwa nyuma yaho.

Uretse ibyo byegeranyo, ibitabo byanditswe byagaragaje ko amategeko mpuzamahanga arengera imbabare yarenzweho bikabije n'ingabo za FPR cyangwa za APR, zihohotera Abahutu bakomoka mu Rwanda. Ikirusha ibindi agaciro, ni igitabo cy'umugore witwa Florence Hartmann, wamaze igihe kirekire ari umuvugizi n'umujoyanama wa Carla Del Ponte, umushinjacyaha mukuru w'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho icyahoze ari Yugoslavviya kimwe n'urwashyiriweho u Rwanda.

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Mu gitabo yise *Paix et châtement. Les guerres secrètes de la politique et de la justice internationales*, (Flammarion, 2007), uwo mugore Florence Hartmann avuga ingorane Del Ponte yahuye na zo kugira ngo ashobore gutangira amaperereza yari agamije gukurikirana abakoze ubwicanyi, buzwi, bwibasiye abaturage b'Abahutu. Ngizo ingorane – ziterwa n'uko bene ayo maperereza yabangira inyungu ibihugu by'ibihangange birarikiye mu karere – zatumye ayo maperereza atigeze akorwa, kandi mu nshingano zayo TPIR yaragombaga gukurikirana no kuburanisha abantu bakekwaho ibyaha no gohohotera bikabije amategeko mpuzamahanga arengere imbabare byakorewe ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, kimwe n'abanyarwanda bakekwaho kuba barakoze ibyo byaha ku butaka bw'ibihugu by'abaturanyi hagati ya 1 Mutarama na 31 Ukuboza 1994, ni ukuvuga ko nta kubera uru uruhande cyangwa ruriya cyangwa agatsiko gakekwa.

Duhereye kuri ubwo buhamya bwose n'ibyegeranyo ku byabaye byavuye mu miryango itagira aho ibogamiye kandi idakemangwa, biragoye kumva ukuntu Bernard Kouchner yatinyutse gutangaza, muri 2007, ko abicanyi bari ku butegetsi i Kigali ari abahagarariye Abatutsi bacitse ku icumu! Bernard Kouchner wakomeje kuvuga ko aharanira icyo yise «ikibazo cy'Abatutsi» agaragaza

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ukubogama guca ibice mu banyarwanda kukabangamira ubwiyunge bw'amoko abanyarwanda bose bifuza. Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International na FIDH yaba se na yo ari imiryango ipfobya itsembabwoko?

## **Ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abazungu**

Urubanza ruzwi kurusha izindi rwashyize mu majwi FPR ni urwashojwe n'umucamanza wo muri Hispaniya witwa Fernando Andreu Merelles ukorera ubucamanza bw'igihugu, ku kirego cyatanzwe muri Gashyantare 2005 n'ishyirahamwe mpuzamahanga riharanira ukuri n'ubutabera muri Afurika y'Ibiyaga Bigari. Amashyirahamwe menshi n'abantu ku giti cyabo bishyize hamwe bashyigikira icyo kirego cyerekeye ubwicanyi bwabereye mu Rwanda bugahitana abantu icyenda bakomoka muri Hispaniya hagati ya 1994 na 2000. Twibutse ko ubutabera bwa Hispaniya bufite ububasha bwo guca bene izo manza mu rwego ry'ububasha mpuzamahanga. Amaze gukora iperereza yitondeye, uwo mucamanza wo muri Hispaniya, mu cyemezo cyo ku wa 6 Gashyantare 2008, yasohoye impapuro mpuzamahanga 40 zo gufata abasirikari bakuru ba FPR. Abo basirikari baregwa kuba barakoze ibyaha by'itsembabwoko, ubwicanyi bwibasiye inyoko muntu, n'ibyaha by'intambara n'iby'iterabwoba. Perezida Paul Kagame,

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nawe ubwe washyizwe mu majwi, nta mpapuro zo kumufata yakorewe kubera ko afite ubudahangarwa ahabwa n'umurimo akora ubu. Uwo mucamanza yongeye kwibutsa ko ubwicanyi bwakozwe muri 1994 bubarirwa mu byaha TPIR igomba kuburanisha.

Nkuko abantu bari babyiteguye, Perezida Paul Kagame yabyakiranye ibitutsi n'ikangata, agereranya uwo mucamanza wo muri Hisipaniya na mayibobo ikorera Interahamwe. Ariko ntibyabujije ubutabera bwa Hisipaniya gukomeza gukurikirana nta mususu ibyo birego yubahiriza amabwiriza agenga ubutabera mpuzamahanga.

Kugeza ubu, abantu 40 barebwa n'icyo cyemezo cya Merelles bashobora gufatirwa mu bihugu byinshi byubahiriza amategeko mpuzamahanga, cyane cyane mu Buraya. Ku cyicaro cya minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga y'u Bufaransa (Quai d'Orsay) bazi ko abasirikari bakuru ba FPR bashinjwa itsembabwoko n'ubutabera bw'igihugu kiri mu muryango w'ubumwe bw'ibihugu by'u Buraya. Kouchner nawe arabizi. Kuri icyo kibazo kuki yatinyuka kuvuga ku mugaragaro ko «*Kuvuga itsembabwoko ryakozwe na FPR ko ari ugupfobya itsembabwoko*»? Yaba se ashaka kuvuga ko umucamanza Fernando Andreu Merelles ari umucamanza upfobya itsembabwoko? Ni izihe nyungu Bernard

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Kouchner aba arengera iyo yiyemeza gukemenga iperereza ryakozwe imyaka n'imyaka n'abacamanza b'i Buraya b'inyangamugayo batigeze bakemangwaa, nka Jean-Louis Bruguière na Fernando Andreu Merelles? Afitanye gihango ki na Paul Kagame agaragaza ko asa n'uburanira igihe cyose? Reka ndekere impuguke gutanga igisubizo gikwiye kuri ibyo bibazo abanyarwanda bumiwe n'inshuti z'u Rwanda batangiye kujya bibaza.

Umwanzuro

Ndemeza ntashidikanya ko Paul Kagame yatanze Abatutsi bo mu gihugu rwagati ho igitambo abigambiriye, maze abigira urwitwazo rwo kutubahiriza amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha no gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Isesengura nakoze n'imyumvire nsanganwe bituma nemeza kandi ko mu Rwanda habaye itsembabwoko incuro ebyiri, ibyo bikabera icyarimwe kandi ku buryo busa. Ibimenyetso by'iryo tsembabwoko birerekana ko ryabereye mu bihe, ahantu no ku buryo bushobora kugaragazwa. Hakurikijwe amahame y'uburinganire ku burenganzira bwo kubaho, nta tsembabwoko ryaburizamo cyangwa ngo ribere irindi urwitwazo. Uburyo byonyine bwo kwemera cyangwa guhakana ku buryo bwemewe itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abahutu ni uko Umuryango w'Abibumbye wahagarika kukumira ibyegeeranyo byose bishinja Paul Kagame

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n'ibyegera bye, bigatuma imiryango y'Abahutu biciwe ihabwa uburenganzira busesuye kandi butabogamye imbere y'ubutabera mpuzamahanga, nkuko bikorerwa Abatutsi basangiye igihugu. Mu gihe hakiri iryo kumira, birumvikana ko urwango n'umujinya bizakomeza kwiyongera mu gice kinini cy'abaturage b'abanyarwanda. Ni byo TPIR yaba ishaka iyo ikora yihutira kurangiza imanza buhumyi kandi bigaragara ko ari uburyo buteye isoni bwo kujijisha bahakana ubutabera?

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## **Nongere mbisubiremo, itsembabwoko mu Rwanda liri ukubiri.**

Mu gice cyayoborwaga na guverinoma ya Yohani Kambanda, hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994, ibimenyetso bitabarika bihurirana bigaragaza ko ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bwari byateguye, nubwo hari abemeza ko ubwicanyi bwaba bwarakoreweho butunguranye. Kubona za bariyeri amagana cyangwa ibihumbi zari zashyizwe mu mijyi, mu mayirabiri, ku mateme, ku mihanda yose yo mu gihugu yari mu maboko ya guverinoma, kubona zararindwaga n'urubyiruko rw'amashyaka rwitwaje intwari, rugenda rutandukanya abahanyuze hakurikijwe ubwoko bwabo, rwica abahanyuze bose b'Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu basaga n'Abatutsi rukareka Abahutu bigaragaraho cyangwa biswe batyo bagatambuka, ntawavuga ko byari ibikorwa biziyeho. Uretse nanone ko n'iyo byaba byarakozwe bidateguwe ntacyo byagabanyura ku bubu bwa bene ubwo bwicanyi. Iyo

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abicanyi bishyize hamwe bakitwaza intworo mu gihe cy'amezi atatu nta guhagarika bakahuka mu misozi, mu bishanga, mu mashyamba, mu masengeru, mu mashuri no mu ngo bahiga Abatutsi, uwo batahuye wese bakamwica, ntabwo twavugaga ko ibyo ari uburakari buziyeho. Aha ubushake bwo kurimbura igice kizwi buragaragara. Ibyo bikorwa by'ubwicanyi byahaye ahantu hose hari mu maboko ya guverinoma, bikurikiza gahunda zisa kandi zidahinduka na gato. Ibyo byitwa itsembabwoko mu mategeko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga. Abatutsi bashoboye kurokoka ubwicanyi kubera ko MINUAR cyangwa Abahutu babatabaye abandi bakabahisha hakiri kare.

Mu gice cyari mu maboko ya FPR ho byagenze bite? Nyuma y'iyicwa rya Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana, mu gihe mu gice cyayoborwaga na guverinoma bose bari baguye mu kantu kubera gutungurwa, ibihumbi by'Abatutsi b'inzirakarengane batagira kirengera babagwa bunyamaswa, FPR ya Paul Kagame yakomeje kugenda ifata ibirindiro nta nkomyi, ikurikize gahunda yari yarateguye kera ikayinonosora ku buryo buhambaye. Aho zanyuraga hose, izo nyeshyamba wagenda urimburana ubugome bukabije uwitwa Umuhutu wese. Yego imikorere yazo yari itandukanye n'iy'Interahamwe, FPR yakoreraga mu ibanga, n'ubwenge n'ingoga, n'ubuhanga n'ubugome bw'indengakamere. Mu gice cyari

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mu maboko ya FPR, nta za bariyeri zariho. FPR imaze kugeza Abatutsi bahiswemo mu bwihisho bwizewe, Abahutu bose basigaye biswe Interahamwe. Mu mwanya wa za bariyeri uburyo bwakoreshwaga mu itsembabwoko bwari ugutumira abantu mu manama babategeragamo bitaga ngo ni ayo kubahugura. Abaturage bakajya muri ayo manama ntacyo bikanga, bamara kugwira muri sitade cyangwa mu kabande nk'uko byagenze mu bwicanyi butazibagirana bwo mu kibaya cya Rwasaye i Butare, abasirikari ba FPR babaga bahafashe ibirindiro bagose ahagomba kubera ingirwanama bakarasa urufaya kuri iyo mbaga. Byakorwaga vuba, mu buhanga n'ubugome buhanitse kurusha iby'Interahamwe. Mu gihe gito imirambo y'ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abahutu bishwe nk'innyamaswa yararigiswaga ninjoro igatwikwa cyangwa ikajugunywa mu byobo rusange byabaga byarateguwe mbere. Ni ukuri kuzima rwose imirambo y'ababyeyi bacu, ba mama, ba data, abavandimwe bacu, bashiki bacu, abana bacu, abasaza n'abakecuru bishwe n'ingabo za Paul Kagame zisa n'aho zikinira. Zabicishije amasasu, akenshi zikabateramo ibisasu bya gerenade, zikabicisha ibibuno by'imbunda, bagatwikwa hutihuti, abandi bakajugumya mu byobo rusange ahantu hatazwi. None barashaka kutwumvisha ko ibyo atari itsembabwoko!

Hashize imyaka ibiri, muri 1996 na 1997, ingabo za Paul

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Kagame zahize impunzi z'Abahutu muri Zayire zihica abarenga ibihumbi magana atatu mu mashyamba rwagati hakurikijwe gahunda yateguwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za APR-Inkotanyi. Ibyo na byo ni itsembabwoko. Kuri icyo kibazo muvugizi wihariye w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye washinzwe gukora iperereza ku bwicanyi bw'impunzi z'Abahutu, Bwana Garretton, yemeje ko ubwo bwicanyi bubarirwa mu byaha by'itsembabwoko. **(VOIR RAPPORT**

**MAPPING)** Ubwicanyi bw'impunzi z'Abahutu bwarateguwe kandi bushyirwa mu bikorwa na ba basirikari bakuru b'Abatutsi bakoze amarorerwa muri 1994, ari na bo, hashize umwaka umwe gusa, bishe ibihumbi 8000 bya benewacu b'Abahutu i Kibeho muri Mata 1995. Hari ibisanira by'ibimenyetso bihura, haba mu gihe ndetse n'ahantu byabereye, bigaragaza ugushaka kutagirwaho impaka ko «kurimbura burundu cyangwa igice cy'abagize ubwoko bw'Abahutu». Ibyo byitwa itsembabwoko mu mategeko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga. Ibyo ni nde utabizi? Ntawe utazi ukuri. I Parisi, Arusha, i New York, i Washington, i Kigali, i Buruseli, i Beijing, i Phnom-Penh, i Berlin, bose barabizi nubwo basa n'ababyirengagiza, cyangwa basa n'ababona uruhande rumwe rw'ukuri. Bernard Kouchner arabizi, ariko ahitamo kuvuga agace k'ukuri azi neza. Abicanyi

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barazwi kandi ntibahagarariye na gato ubwoko bakomokamo. Bagombye kuryozwa ubugome bwabo. Ntabwo ubwoko bwose cyangwa abaturage bose baryozwa iby'intagondwa zitari nyinshi ziyemeje gusa guca abantu mo ibice zigamije gutegeka.

Duhereye ku bimenyetso byatanzwe haruguru, twasanga ko Minisitiri Bernard Kouchner wemeje ko «Abahutu nyamwinshi bishe Abatutsi nyamuke» yagombye kwisubiraho no gukosora ibyo yatangaje. Nkuko tumaze kubibona, intagondwa z'Abahutu n'Abatutsi zarishe. Kuba babarizwa mu bwoko nyamwinshi cyangwa nyamuke ntacyo bihindura ku ruhare bagize mu bwicanyi.

Aho bitandukaniye gusa ni uko Urukiko Mpanabyaha-Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda kimwe n'ubucamanza bwo mu Rwanda kugeza ubu byakurikiranye gusa abicanyi b'Abahutu, kubera mpamvu za politiki, bikaraga abazaza umurimo wo kuzacira imanza abicanyi bo mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi.

Buri itsembabwoko rigomba gukurikiranwa no kwigwa ku buryo bwihariye. Nitwemere nibura ibyabaye, dusabe ko ubutabera bubukurikirana butavanguye, tubuharire ubushasha bwo kubitandukanya. Mu gihe tugitegereje,

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twongeye kwemeza ko hari agatsiko k'Abahutu kakoze itsembabwoko karimbura nkana ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abanyarwanda bo mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi. Twongeye kwemeza ko hari n'agatsiko k'Abatutsi kakoze itsembabwoko karimbura nkana ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abanyarwanda bo mu bwoko bw'Abahutu. Abishwe bakaba barazize icyo bari cyo ntibazire icyo bakoze. Dufite uburenganzira bwo kubivuga tutagombye kwitwa abapfobya itsembabwoko kandi tugasaba uburenganzira bwo kwibukwa n'ubutabera kuri bose. Ni cyo cyonyine kizatuma igihugu cyacu kigira amahoro mu gihe kizaza. Igihe cyose bamwe bumva ko batarengerwa n'itegeko n'ubutabera, bazishiriraho itegeko n'ubutabera bwabo. Ntawe utazi neza aho ibyo bibyara. Hagomba gukorwa ibishoboka byose kugira ngo ibyabaye bitazongera kuba. Muri ubu buhamya, mpagariye abo dusangiye igihugu kimwe n'inshuti z'abanyarwanda gutanga umuganda wo kubaka igihugu uburinganire bw'abenegihugu buzaba ari wo munyu w'ubumwe wonyine, ubutabera buvungura bukarandurwa burundu. Imishyikirano isesuye n'ukuri mu bwubahane bwa buri wese ni byo shingiro ntarengwa rigana mu nzira y'amahoro arambye mu Rwanda.

Ndibutsa amahanga imwe mu nshingano z'ingenzi zishingiye ku mategeko agenga Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, ari yo

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«Guharanira inzira y'ubwiyunge mu rwego rw'igihugu cyose no kugarura no gushimangira amahoro» mu Rwanda. icyemezo cyo kurangiza imanza mu mpera z'umwaka wa 2014 cyafashwe n'Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ishinzwe Umutekano giha abicanyi ba FPR uburenganzira bwo kudahanwa kirategurira igihugu cyacu andi makuba.

Icyifuzo mpuje na benshi mu bo dusangiye igihugu bakunda amahoro n'ubutabera, baba Abatutsi, baba Abahutu, baba Abatwa, ni uko amahanga yareka kubogama ku bibazo biriho ubungubu kugira ngo ibihugu bikomeye ku isi bigendera kuri demokarasi byitabire byivuye inyuma kurinda abanyarwanda ubundi burakari butewe n'ihuzwa mu rwego rw'ubutabera ryimitswe n'inzego zo hejuru z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye.

IBUKA BOSE  
RENGERA BOSE

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