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Ibaruwa ya Perezida wa Repubulika yandikiye Bwana Visenti Duclert ku italiki ya gatanu, mata, 2019

Nyakubahwa Mwalimu,

Tariki ya 7 mata 2019, u Bufaransa buzifatanya n'u Rwanda kwibuka ku nshuro ya 25 jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Mu minsi ijana, icyo cyago Loni itashoboye kubuza ikananirwa no kugihagarika, cyahitanye abantu bageze hafi umulioni. U Bufaransa buhora bwitwararitse igikorwa cyo kwibuka abapfuye, guha icyubahiro ishema ry'abarokotse n'ubutwari bagize mu kwiyunga

Ndashaka ko kwibuka ku nshuro ya 25 biba umwanya w'impinduka nyakuli mu buryo dufata kandi tukigisha jenoside yagiriwe Abatutsi, hakabaho akarusho mu buryo twita ku kababaro k'abapfuye no ku byifuzo by'abarokotse.

Nkuko nari nabyiyemeje ku itariki ya 24 gicurai umwaka wa 2018, igihe nahuraga na Nyakubahwa Prezida Paul Kagame i Paris, ndashaka nkomeje ko jenoside yagiriwe Abatutsi ihabwa umwanya ukwiye mu mateka yacu.Ibyo bisaba ko tuyimenya kurushaho, tugasobanukirwa uko ikintu nkicyo gitegurwa kugirango tuyigishe abantu mu Bufaransa kandi dutoze ababyiruka umuco wo guhora bari maso.

Rapport yakozwe n'itsinda mwayoboye ku myigishirize ya jenoside n'ubundi bwicanyi ruhonyanganda, yadushyiriho ibuye rya mbere. Kuva aho isohokeye, jenoside yagiriwe Abatutsi yashyizwe ku rutonde rw'amasomo yigishwa mu mwaka wa nyuma w'amashuli makuru.

Iyo ntambwe yabaye ingira kamaro. Ikigomba gukurikiraho ni ukureba ibyo inyandiko zibitse ibyo u Bufaransa bwakozwe mu Rwanda hagati y'imyaka 1990 na 1994 bitwigisha. Kugirango bikorwe, nshyizeho itsinda ry'abashakashatsi b'Abafaransa muzakorana kandi ukanabayobora.

Ibyo iryo tsinda rishinzwe :

1. *Gukora ubushakashatsi aho hose habitse inyandiko zerekeranye n'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda mu gihe cya jenoside cyangwa mbere*
2. *Gukora rapport izaba irimo ibikurikira :*

- *Nk' abashakashatsi b'amateka, kuvuga uko mubona izo nyandiko.*
- *Gusesengura uruhare n'ubwitange bw'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda mul ibyo bihe, mubigereranya n'ibyakozwe n'abandi bari bariyeùmeje gutanga inkunga mu Rwanda muli icyo gihe.*
- *Kuvugurura isesengura ry'amateka y'imizi ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi, iyari isanzwe n'iyashamikiye ku bihe u Rwanda rulimo, uko yashyizwe mu bikorwa, ibyo byose ari ukugirango tumenye uko ishyano nk'iryo ritegurwa, uko ayao mateka yigishwa, cyane cyane urubyiruka*

Mbasabye kuba mwarangije icyo gikorwa mu myaka ibiri. Nimurangiza muzagira rapport izashyirwa ahagaragara.

Kugirango mushobore gukora umulimo musabwe, buli wese azaba afite ku buryo budasanzwe kandi mu ibanga, uruhusa rwo guhabwa no gusoma izo inyandiko zivuga uko u Bufaransa bwitwaye mu Rwanda hagati y'imyaka 1990 na 1994. Muli izo nyandiko harimo mu ngoro y'umukuru w'igihugu (Elysée), izo muli Ministère y'intebe, ministère ireba iby'u Bulayi n'ububanyi n'amahanga, ministère y'ingabo ndetse n'iz'itsinda ry'intumwa z'abaturage ryigeze gushyirwaho ngo ryige ikibazo cy'uruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu byabaye mu Rwanda (la MIP).

Mu mulimo wanyu kandi muzifashisha inkunga muzahabwa na Minisère z'ingabo, ububanyi n'amahamanga n'uburezi, icyiciro cy'amashuli yisumbuye, ubushakashatsi n'ikorana buhanga, kimwe n'ibigo bishinzwe gushyingura inyandiko uzakenera..

Muzagire umusaruro mwiza muli ako kazi

Emmanuel MACRON

UMWANZURO

Ikibazo umulimo w'ubushakashatsi buhuliweho nabose bwakomotseho kandi tugomba kwibutsa ni cyo iyi rapport itangiriraho. Wasobanura ute ukuntu ibyiringiro by'amahoro ashingiye ku mishyikirano na demokarasi byaranze imyaka 1990-1993 mu Rwanda byakurikiwe n'itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi muli 1994, ishyano risumba ayandi yose? Muli 1990, u Bufransa bwatabaye mu Rwanda buhiga ko buzahazana demokarasi nkuko Président François Mitterrand yari yarabivugiye mu nama y'abakuru b'ibihugu bivuga igifransa yari yarabereye I La Baul muli Kamena 1990. Mu mishyikirano y amahoro yabereye Arusha hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda n'umutwe wa FPR, u Bufransa bwatanze umusanzu. Ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1993, amasezerano y'amahoro ashyirwaho umukono. Ayo masezerano yavugaga ko ingabo z'umuryango w'abibumbye zazaza gusimbura iz'abafransa. Ntibyateye kabiri, ku itariki 7 Mata 1994, u Rwanda rwaguye mu rwobo rw'itsembabwoko. Kuva ubwo umwijima w'icyaha cy'itsembabwoko usakara mu ijuru ry'umugabane w'Afurika.

Mu kwanzura turabanza twerekane uko itsinda ryakoze, ni ukuvuga uko twatunganyije ibikorwa. Hanyuma mu ngingo ebyili, twerekane iby'ingenzi byavuyemo. Ubwambere turerekana ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe mu nyandiko zibitwsemo uko u Bufaransa u Bufransa bwitwaye mu Rwanda kuva 1990 kugeza muli 1994. Ubwa kabiri turagaruka kubyo baregwa mu nzego zinyuranye,politike, imyumvire, agaciro, ubushishozi n'umurava.

Ubushakashatsi n'imbogamizi

Itsinda ryacu ryali rishinzwe gukora ubushakashatsi buzira inkomyi mu nyandiko cyangwa mu bindi byose bishobora kuba bishyinguyemo ibyakozwe n'imikorere mu nzego ngenga gihugu. Ahenshi twarakomanze bafungura imiryango. Ikindi ni uko inzego twashoboye kugeraho zose twazirebye, tukazisoma kandi tukanzumva. Ni ukuvuga ibihumbi byinshi by'ibimenyetso by'ibikorwa bijyanye cyane cyane na politike, ububanyi n'amahanga n'ingabo. Ibyo tugaragaza n'ibyo twemeza bishingiye ku bimenyetso twerekana muli ka gace umwanditsi abwira abasomyi babishaka aho bashobora kujya kwimara amatsiko. Ikindi ni uko abanditsi batahagarariye ku magambo, bagerageje no gusesengura uko ibintu byali bimeze igihe ayo magambo

yandikwaga cyangwa yavugwaga kugirango bamenye ibyihishe inyuma y'inyandiko kuko nabyo bifite icyo bitubwira.

Kwandika amateka bijyana no kwiyoroshya. Uyandika agomba kwereka abasomyi ko afite aho atarenza. Kubera impamvu zinyuranye, hari ibishobora kuba byaraduciye muli humye. Hari inyandiko zishobora kuba zaratakaye, hari izitigeze zishyirwa aho zigomba kubikwa, hari kandi kuba tutarageze aho zibitse hose kubera kubura umwanya. Ibyo twarabivuze mu mugereka usobanura imikorere yacu. Bitewe kandi n'imitekerereze yaranze inzego nkuru za Leta, umuntu yakeka ko hari byinshi abakoraga inyandiko dukoresha batigeza bandika kubera ko bari bazi ko abo zigenewe batifuza kubimenya. Kubera izo mpamvu zose, ukuri kwose mu miterere n'imikorere y'ishyaka rya Président w'u Rwanda bishobora kuba bitarashyizwe mu nyandiko kandi byari kuba birimo amakuru y'ukuntu itsembabwoko ryateguwe.

Ibyanditwe kandi bikabikwa n'abakozi ba Leta y'u Bufransa ntibihagije kugirango tumenye icyo yakoze cyangwa uko yitwaye mu Rwanda. Kwifashisha amakuru ava ku bandi benshi kandi bitandukanye bari babihagazeho ntibyabura icyo bitwungura. Muli abo twavuga : amashyirahamwe ategamiye Leta (ONG), cyangwa se amashyirahamwe ya politike atari muli Leta (Partis politiques d'opposition). Hariho n'amakuru yaturika mu bindi bindi bihugu byari bifitanye umubano n'u Rwanda : u Bubiligi, u Budage, u Bwongereza, Leta zunze ubumwe za Amerika, Vatikani, ibihugu bya Afurika, n'u Rwanda. Ikindi cyagira icyo kitwungura ni ukunyarukira aho imiryango mpuzamahanga ishyingura inyandiko zirimo ibikorwa byayo.. Ubushakashatsi rero bugomba gukomeza.

Ibyo twagezeho

Ubu bushakashatsi bwavuyemo ibimenyetso bihamya amateka y'ibyakozwe n'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda mu nzego zitandukanye, muli politike, igisilikari na diplomasi.

Ikigaragara cya mbere nuko guhera mu kwezi kwa cumi k'umwaka wa 1990, uburyo bwo gukorana hagati y'u Bufaransa n'u Rwanda bwariho kuva muli 1970 bwahinduye isura bikomeye. Bihurirana nuko kuva icyo gihe ingabo z'umuryango wa FPR zakomeje kotsa igitutu Leta y'u Rwanda zihereye mu majyaruguru y'igihugu. U Bufaransa rero bwatangiye gukoresha politike isa n'itagira umurongo uhamye, bukabangikanya inzira zitandukanye ndetse rimwe na rimwe zimwe ugasanga zivuguruza izindi. Bigasa n'aho mu mutwe w'abashinzwe kuzisobanura ubwenge

buboshye, kugera naho ishyano rya jenoside rigwa ntibashobore kumenya igikwiye gukorwa.

Rugikubita, abafaransa baje baririmba ya magambo yavugiwe I La Baule. Ku rwego rwa politike bavugaga ko bafite umugambi wo kumisha no kwemeza Prezida Habyarimana kudohora ingoyi yari yarashyizemo igihugu, maze akemera ubutegetsi buhuriweho na benshi, mu magambo make, kuzana demokarasi. Bongeragaho kandi ko inkunga mu iterambere izatangwa hakurikijwe umwete mu nzira yo kuzana demokarasi. Bakavuga kandi ko igihe bikenewe u Bufaransa bwafasha mu rwego rwo kurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu. Mu myumvire ya Leta y'u Bufaransa, demokarasi bivuga amashyaka menshi n'uburinganire hagati y'abaturage. Nyamara uko iminsi yagendaga ihita, nabo bagendaga bahindura ingendo, ibibazo by'u Rwanda bifatwa nkaho uburinganire bw'abaturage bukuwe mu mubare w'ibigomba kuzuzwa n'abashaka gufashwa. Byageze n'ho na demokarasi yibagirana mu bigomba kuzuzwa: amashyaka yavutse mu mwaka wa 1991 arwanya ubwikanyize n'imikorere idakwiye mu butegetsi bwa Habyarimana, u Bufaransa bwayimye amatwi, ntiyaterwa ingabo mu bitugu mu gihe cy'amahina. Twongereho ko u Bufaransa butigeze bufata umwanya ngo butekereze ikibazo cyaterwa no guha Leta y'igitugu inkunga yo kurwanya icyo yita iterabwoba.

Politike y'u Bufaransa yari ishingiye ku munutu umwe, Perezida Mitterrand. Niwe wari ku isonga, akagena byose. Mitterrand kandi yari afitanye ubucuti bukomeye na mugenzi we w'I Rwanda. Ubwo bucuti nibwo busobanura impamvu abakoreraga iruhande rwe bose ikibazo cy'u Rwanda basaga naho bagihinduye icyabo N'ubwo demokarasi bari barayigize intero, ntibyigeze bibuza ko ibyo Habyarimana yasabaga mu rwego rw'intambara byasohozwaga bitarinze gusuzumwa aho bigomba kujya, bigategwa amatwi, bigashyirwa imbere kandi bigahabwa ibisubizo. U Bufaransa bwagiraga umwete mu gutabara Habyarimana na Leta ye iyo yabaga ashumbirijwe: ukwakira 1990, ukuboza/mutarama 1991, kamena 1992, mutarama/gashyantare 1993. Muri ibyo bihe byari bikomeye, igitutu cya FPR n'ugutinya ko Leta y'u Rwanda isenyuka, byatumaga u Bufaransa bwumva ko bagomba kwihutira guha Habyarimana ibyo asabye. Iyo huti huti bamwe mu bakozi ba Leta y'u Bufaransa bayibajijeho ndetse bagaragaza ko bayihinyuye. Ariko biba iby'ubusa, basa nk'abagosorera mu rucaca. Ingaruka z'iyo mikorere zabaye kubulizamo umwanya wo gutekereza uburyo bubereye

mu gukemura ibibazo byari byugarije u Rwanda. Muli mata 1993, Edouard Balladur abaye ministre w'intebe nibwo abantu batangiye kubyibaza.

Politike tuvuga y'abafaransa mu Rwanda, yariho mu gihe cy'intambara. Abafransa bahoraga bavugaga ko bativanga mu mirwano. Nyamara ibyo bakoraga byose kuva mu kwakira 1990, byari bigamije kurwanya FPR. Inzego zose z'u Bufaransa ntizabonaga ibintu kimwe, ariko, umukuru wa Republulika n'ibyegera bye bari barayobotse igitekerezo kivuga ko u Rwanda rwatewe na FPR kandi bakavuga cyane cyane ko uwo mutwe ari igikoresho cy'igihugu cy'u Buganda, cyangwa se ukorera mu mugambi mugari w'ibihugu bishaka kwigarurira isi yose. Hagati ya 1990 na 1993, iyo myumvire yagiye ikura, imunga ubutegetsi n'abayobozi bo munda ya Leta, ugizengo arayinyuza bakamucubya. Muli 1990, imvugo yari uko u Rwanda rwatewe n'umwanzi witwa umuganda kandi akaba umututsi. Iyo mvugo igaruka kenshi munyandiko. Yerekana ko abategetsi b'abafransa bakurikiranaga ikibazo cy'u Rwanda bareberaga icyo gihugu n'ibibazo bicyugarije mu ndorerwamo z'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko. Iyo myumvire yamaze igihe kirekire, kugeza ubwo hiyongereho ko ubwo Abahutu aribo benshi, FPR itsinze, ubwoko bw'abantu bake bwafata ubutegetsi mu nzira zinyuranyije n'umuco cyangwa imigenzo ya demokarasi[1]. Ibyo bitekerezo byabaye ingorabahizi mu mishyikirano yaberaga Arusha cyane cyane mu gihe cyo kwemeza uburyo bwo kugabana ubuyobozi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. N'ubwo bitari bihuriweho na bose, guhora bitiranya FPR n'u Buganda byatumaga bayifata nk'umutwe ugizwe n'abanyamahanga. Bityo gufasha u Rwanda kurwanya FPR bigafatwa nko gutabara igihugu cy'inshuti cyatewe n'umwanzi uturutse hanze. Uko niko basobanuraga impamvu baha intwaro nyinshi Habyarimana kandi bigakorwa bwangu bwangu nta kujijinganya; no kumuha abasilikari bo kwigisha ingabo ze. Nicyo gituma kandi ikibazo cy'Abatutsi bahunze kuva muli 1959 bacitse kw'icumu ry'ubwicanyi bakorerwaga, kitigeze gishyirwa ku murongo w'ibibazo by'u Rwanda bigomba kwigwa no gukemurwa. Hejuru y'ibyo byose borosagaho akantu kitwa guharanira ubusugire bw'umuryango w'abavuga urulimi rw'igifaransa. Hari ubwoba ko u Rwanda rwaba rwaratewe n'umuryango w'abavuga urulimi rw'icyongereza, barimo FPR, u Buganda n'izindi nshuti zabo nyinshi ku isi. Bityo, nyuma y'igihe bitaga 'intambara ikonje', intambara yo mu Rwanda yarebwaga nk'igamije kwagura no gukomeza imbibi z'aho ububasha bw'ibihugu bikomeye ku isi

[1] Iyo myumvire ihuye n'ibitekerezo bya PARMEHUTU yitiranyaga demokarasi n'ubutegetsi bwa Rubanda Nyamwinshi

bugera mu mugabane w'Afurika. Ushyize ibyo byose hamwe, usanga u Rwanda rwari nk'intangiriro y'urugamba ruteganywa kugabwa impande nyinshi. Kohereza abasirikari ukababuza gufata iya mbere kurugamba ariko ugaha intwaro n'imyitozo ya gisirikari abarwana, byabahaye uburyo bwo kwitwikira amasezerano y'ubutwererane asanzwe hagati y'ibihugu maze bahindura u Rwanda ikibuga cyo gukora imyitozo no kugerageza uko warwana intambara ukayitsinda wihishe inyuma y'abandi.

Ikindi kigaragara ni uko guhera mu mpeshyi y'umwaka w"1992 ariko,cyane cyane kuva 1993, u Bufaransa bwatekereje gushakira umuti w'ibibazo by'u Rwanda mu karere rurimo. Intumwa z'u Bufaransa zakoranye ubushake n'ubwira ngo zisobanurire abantu benshi uko ibibazo byo mu Rwanda biteye. Ariko abo bakozeho bose bakabatera utwatsi. U Bufaransa bwisanze buri bwonyine ku isi yose, muli Loni nta jwi rikomeye ribushyigikira. Yemwe n'Abanyaburayi barifashe ngo batazabarwaho politike y'ubufatanye na Leta abenshi bari barahaye akato. Imishyikirano yabereye Arusha ari nayo yavuyemo amasezerano y'amahoro asangiza ubutegetsi Leta y'u Rwanda na FPR u Bufaransa bwari bwayikurikiye. Arusha bufiteyo intumwa zitwa indorerezi, akaba ari nazo zikorera ubujyenama Leta y'i Kigali. Ayo masezerano yerekanye intsinzi ya FPR mu kwisobanura imbere y'amahanga; acira u Bufaransa icyuho, bukinyuramo burisohokera; mu Rwanda ihutaza n'ubwicanyi bikaza umurego, inzego, amashyaka n'amasyirahamwe bisenyukira rimwe.

Ku itariki ya gatandatu y'ukwezi kwa kane mu w'1994, indege ya Habyarimana iraraswa. Apfiramo. U Bufaransa buhita buza gutwara abantu babwo babaga cyangwa bakoraga mu Rwanda. Butwara n'uwahoze ari umugore wa Habyarimana hamwe n'umuryango we. Abatutsi bari batangiye kwicwa ari ibicika. Nyamara abafaransa bagumye batsimbaraye kuli wa murongo wo gukuramo akarenge kabo, ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kigaharirwa Loni. Kubera batari bakifuza kugira icyo bakora ubwabo kandi FPR ikaba yaritarafata ubutegetsi mu gihugu hose, jenoside ikorwa barebera mu kwezi kwa kane n'ukwagatanu. Kubera uko bwari bwaritwaye mu Rwanda mu myaka yashize, U Bufaransa ntibwari bukiboneka mu maso y'amahanga nkaho budafite uruhande bubogamiyemo, n'ubwo kuva itariki 8 z'ukwezi kwa kane bwari bwahagaritse impushya zo kugurisha intwaro mu Rwanda zari zarahawe abazicura n'abazigurisha. Ku itariki ya 16 z'ukwezi kwa gatanu, Ministri w'ububanyi n'amahanga arazanzamuka maze yumva uburemere bw'amarorerwa akorerwa Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Atangaza ko ari « génocide ». Ku itariki 24 z'ukwezi ka gatanu i Genève, mugenzi we, Lucette

Michaud-Chevry wari ushinzwe ministère y'ibikorwa byo gutabara abantu aryungamo. Imbere y'inama ya Loni yita kuburengazira bw'ikiremwa muntu, avuga ko ubwicanyi bubera mu Rwanda ari « génocide ». Nyamara imvugo ntiyabaye ingiro. Ayo magambo ntiyagize icyo ahindura kuli politike y'Abafaransa mu Rwanda. Bagumye bahagaritse umutima batinya ibitero bya FPR. Bakomeza no kuvuga ko ingabo zombi ntayirusha iyindi kwicana.

Icya gatatu Itsinda ryagaragaje kijyane n'imiterere ya "Opération Turquoise », icyo yari ishinzwe gukora, uburyo n'ibikoresho yahawe, n'ibyo yagezeho. N'ubwo ijambo "génocide" radakoreshwa mu mwanzuro 929 Loni yafashe ishingiye ku nama z'u Bufaransa, abasilikari boherejwe mu Rwanda mu kwezi kwa gatandatu umwaka w'1994, bahawe bari bahawe insingano ziruhije kuzuza : harimo gutabara imbabare, guhagarika ubwicanyi, kugarura umutuzo. Ntawahakana ko kuva mu mataliki ali hagati y'ukwezi kwa gatandatu, bamwe muli Leta y'u Bufaransa ndetse na Mitterrand ubwe, babaye nk'abashigukira hejuru bitewe n'ubwicanyi n'amage. Nyamara ariko biranagaragara ko "opération turquoise" ihurura, mu Bufaransa hari hakiriho ikizere cy'uko umutwe w'Inkotanyi n'ibisigisigi bya Leta ya Habyarimana bari bagishobora kwicarana maze bakumvikana uburyo bategekana igihugu. Ikindi kandi, abatari bake, bashyiraga imbere ikibazo cy'umwanya wabo mu Rwanda, imbere y'ikibazo cy'abantu barengannywa bakicwa, bahagaritswe umutima n'intsinzi ya FPR, bibaza ko itsinze u Bufaransa bwazima.

"Operation Turquoise" yatangiye ifite umurongo ubuza kubogama. Nyamara havugwaga ko igomba kwitondera FPR, kuko ariyo ishobora gutera imbogamizi. Nicyo cyatumye abasilikari ba Turquoise bagenda bitwaje ibitwaro bya rutura kandi mu minsi ya mbere, amategeko agenga intasi akazibuza kurara ku butaka bw'u Rwanda no kwegera ahakekwa ko ingabo za FPR zaba zikambitse. Amabi yabaye mu Bisesero, arinayo yahaye Opération turquoise isura mbi, ntiyavuye ku burangare bw'abasilikari bari muli ako gace. Yatewe ahanini na cya gitekerezo cyo kwanga kugira uwo ubera, gutinya guhura no guhangana n'inkotanyi. Ukwezi kwa karindwi gutangiye, ingabo z'u Rwanda zitangira gusenyuka. Abasilikari b'Abafaransa nabo uko bagera imbere bakarushaho kumenya uko impuguke n'abayobozi ba Leta y'abatabazi bijanditse mu mugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi. Batangira kwibaza no gusuzuma icyabazanye n'icyo bakora. Muli rusange, hagati y'amabwiriza aturuka i Paris n'ibyo biboneraga aho

bagenda, abagaba b'ingabo za Turquoise ntibari bakimenya neza aho ububasha bwabo bugera mu gusobanurira abo bashinzwe bigomba gukorwa.

Nibyo koko "Opération turquoise" yagobotoye ibihumbi by'Abatutsi mu maboko y'abari babafatiye inkota ku gakanu. Ariko rero, icyo gikorwa cyo gutabara cyabaye mu gihe abantu ibihumbi amagana bahungaga, mu nzara n'icyorezo cya choléra. Umunsi u Bufaransa buhitamo kwinjira mu Rwanda buciye mu cyahoze cyitwa Zaïre (RDC), bwitaye mu mutego. Mu kweze kwa Nyakanga, abantu benshi mu karere kaje kwitwa "Zone humanitaire sûre (ZHS)", mu burengera zuba bw'u Rwanda. Abenshi muli bo bari Abahutu. Hari hinganjemo abishe n'abatanze amategeko yo kwica. Ariko abategetsi b'Abafaransa banze gutanga itegeko ryo kubafata ngo bazashyikirizwe inkiko. Abafaransa babaye nk'ababuze ubwenge, bakora nkaho ntawe ushobora kugira icyo akora kuli jenoside. Nyamara icyo gihe ku isi yose nta kindi cyavugwagwa atari uko ibishoboka byose byakorwa ku girango icyo cyaha ntikizongere kubaho.

Ese imbere y'ishyano nk'iryo, kwerekana amateka n'ibyabayemo byaba bihagije ? Ibyagwiriye u Rwanda bigasiga birushenye, byasize u Bufaransa butsinzwe. Haba se harabayeho ubufatanya cyaha? Niba ibyo bivuga ubushake bwo kwinjira mu mugambi wa jenoside, mubyo twabonye nta kintu na kimwe cyarekana ko byabaya. Nyamara ariko u Bufaransa bwamaze igihe kirekire bukorana na Leta ivangura amoko igashishikariza kwica. Bwipfutse mu maso bwica n'amatwi mu gihe igice cy'abaheza nguni b'iyo Leta bateguraga jenoside. Bwishyize mu mutwe budashidikanya ko mu Rwanda harimo ibice bibiri bishyamiranye : Abahutu b'inshuti bibumbiye inyuma ya Président Habyarimana, n'umwanzi w'Umututsi kandi akaba Umuganda witwa FPR. Mu gihe cya jenoside, u Bufaransa bwafashe igihe mbere yo kwitandukanya n'ubutegetsi bw'imfata kibanza bwayishyiraga mu bikorwa kandi buguma bwerekana ko butewe inkeke nabo bitiranyaga n'Abatutsi, aribo FPR. Aho kandi bwibukiye gutabara maze bukohereza icyo bise « Opération turquoise », Abatutsi benshi bari baramaze gupfa, abenshi muli bo bishwe rugikubita. Ubushakashatsi bugaragaza ko u Bufaransa bubarwaho amakosa aremereye kandi butanagira uko busobanura.

Amakosa atagira ibisobanuro

Amakosa ya mbere ari mu rwego rwa politike. Abategetsi b'Ubufaransa bamaze igihe kirekire basa n'abigize impumyi bashyigikira Leta iranzwe n'ivangura amoko, ubujura n'igitugu, kandi bavuga ko muli icyo gihugu ariho hageragerezwa ukuntu ibyavugiwe I La Baule bizakurikizwa. Bibwiraga ko Habyarimana azazana amahoro na demokarasi. Nyamara, n'ubwo amakuru ava i Kigali, I Kampala cyagwa yumvikaniraga I Paris yatezaga ubwega, nta cyemezo kigezwe gifatwa ngo bavane kw'izima intagondwa zarwaniraga gushyira imbere ubwoko bw'Abahutu cyangwa ngo barwanye ironda koko. FPR yashatse imishyikirano irayibura. Bari bayifungiraniye mu ishusho ry'ubwoko bumwe kandi bugizwe n'abantu bake bashaka kwikubira ighugu. Amashyaka arwanira demokarasi yasabwe guhitamo igice arimo, abari batangiye kwishyirahamwe ngo barwanire gushyira imbere ibitekerezo bahuriyeho basubiranamo, urubuga rushya rwari ruvutse rurasambuka. Gushaka amahoro bibangikana no kugwiza intwaro no kongera ingabo. U Rwanda rutangira gusa n'urwitegura intambara, amashyaka y'intagondwa atangira guha insorensore intwaro n'imyitozo ya gisilikari.[2] Igihugu kirazamba kubera ibibazo by'ubukungu n'imibereho mibi y'abantu arinako kirwana n'icyorezo cya Sida.

Mu Bufaransa, abavuze ko bafite impungenge, haba mu butegetsi, mu nteko ishinga amategeko, mu bakozi ba Leta cyangwa mu bashakashatsi, igisubizo kikaba agasuzuguro, kwigizwayo cyangwa amacenga. Uwo muco wo gushyira aho Habyarimana ashyize wakwiriye hose uturutse ku mukuru w'igihugu n'ibyegera bye. Umukuru w'igihugu aba afite ububasha busumba ubw'abandi mu nzego z'ububanyi n'amahanga n'igisilikari, cyane cyane iyo bireba Afurika. Gutesha agaciro inzego zifite ibitekerezo binyuranye no kwamaganira kure ugira icyo ahinyura kimwe n'ibindi byinshi byaranze ayo mateka y'u Rwanda mu Bufaransa yagereranywa, mu mpande nyinshi, n'amage mu bubasha ubutegetsi buha abayobozi babwegamiye. Yerekana intege nke z'inzego mfatanya bikorwa n'irigitishwa ry'izashoboraga kubuza ubutegetsi kgukora ibirenze ibyo bemererwa n'amategeko abugenga, kugeza nibura igihe hagiriyeho Ministre w'intebe udahuje ishyaka n'umukuru w'igihugu. Ariko, kubera ubushake buke, kubera gutinya gukomoza ku bibazo bitera impaka cyangwa byakomeretsanya, ibyigwa byari kuva muli ayo mage ntibyashyizwe ahagaragara nkuko byari bikwiye.

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[2] Izizwi cyane ni interahamwe

Amakosa muli politiike yagize ingaruka mu mikorere no mikoranire y'inzego za Leta, ari izisanzwe ari n'iza gisilikari Itsinda ry'ubushakashatsi ryasanze imiyoborere yarayobejwe, amakuru n'amabwiriza bigatangwa bidaciye mu nzira zizwi, amategeko agenga imyitwarire y'abasilikari bakayica bayaciye inyuma, itera bwoba mu bakozi ba Leta, kubirukana cyangwa kubahindurira imilimo. Abayobozi benshi babaye nk'ingabo zitagira umutware, bakorera mu cyuka, buli gihe akaba aribo bashaka uko basubiza ibibazo bahuye nabyo.

Ibyo twabonye byose muli ubu bushakashatsi, nkuko kandi kenshi abazikozemo bari baragiye babibuvuga, byerekana ko inzego zagiye zikorera mu bwiru, abategetsi bakuru muli politike bakabikingira ikibaba cyangwa bakabirenza amaso aho kuzicyaha. Biraboneka, n'ubwo inyandiko zose zibivuga zitashyinguwe, ari nabyo birushaho kwerekana imikorere idasanzwe yaranze inzego z'ubuyobozi, zaba izisanzwe cyangwa iz'ingabo. Iyo mikorere idakurikiza amategeko iteye inkeke cyane cyane kuko ishyira imbere ibisobanuro bishingiye ku bisa n'amahame yo kwemera kandi igikorwa cya Leta icyo aricyo cyose umuntu ashobora kugira icyo akibazaho cyangwa akivugaho.

Ku makosa y'imikorere y'inzego hiyongereyeho kujijisha. Wabishyira hamwe bikabyara ikintu cyubatse kitagibwaho impaka ntikigire ibisobanuro ariko akaba ari cyo ibindi byose bishingiraho, gutekereza bisa n'aho byari byaratsinzwe. Tutitiranyije ibihe, twashatse kumenya icyo ibyemezo cyangwa uburyo bwo kubishyira mu bikorwa byabaga bishingiyeho. Twasanze akayunguruzo kakoreshwaga mu gusesengura ibibazo by'u Rwanda, akaba arinako bafatiragaho mu gihe cyo kwemeza ibigomba gukorwa n'uburyo bwo kubikora, byaba mu buyobozi bwa Leta, mu nzego z'ububanyi n'amahanga cyagwa iza gisilikari, kari kagizwe n'amoko. Ako kayunguruzo karakoreshejwe cyane mu Rwanda no mu karere k'ibiyaga binini. Ibyo babonaga bakoreshesje muli ubwo buryo byali biciye ukubiri n'ukuli. Muli politike no mu mibanire hagati y'abantu, mu Rwanda harimo ubushake bwo kurwanya abashaka amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko. Mu Bufaransa, abagerageje gushyira imbere igitekerezo cyo gusuzuma ibibazo by'u Rwanda mu bundi buryo baraneshejwe. Ariko babigize ari benshi ku buryo ibitekerezo byabo bigize igice kihariye mu nzandiko zishyingura ibikorwa n'imikorere ya Leta. Kuvuga ubutitsa ko ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kiri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, guhora basubiramo nk'ihame ko u Rwanda rwatewe n'umwanzi uturutse hanze y'igihugu, kwitiranya itsembabwoko n'intambara hagati y'abaturage,

ibyo bintu byamunze politike y'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda, bica intege imiyoborere yayo. Kujijisha bigezaho bitera kwibaza niba ubikora ari umunyamurava, niba ari injiji cyangwa niba yarabuze ubushake bwo gutandukanya ikibi n'ikiza.

Ikibazo cy'umurava kivuka iyo ubona ukuli gutewe umugongo, hagashyirwa imbere ibisobanuro bihimbano, iyo ugize ngo arabaza cyangwa ugize icyo anenga bamuhinda, iyo gukora biciye ukubiri no gutekereza, bigasigara bigengwa n'ibyo bishakira kugeraho, iyo abafite ububasha banze kubukoresha, amazi akarenga inkombe babibona. Ishyano ryaguye baribona ntibagira icyo bakora, imbere y'amahanga igihugu kiraseba basigara bibwirako "Opération Turquoise" ariyo izagarura uburanga.

Kutagira umurava mu rwego rwa politike bitesha agaciron ibyemezo byafashwe n'inzego zo hejuru zanze kumenya no kwemera ukuli kandi zitabuze amakuru. Guta agaciro bishobora no kuva ku mikorere. Iyo umukozi wa Leta aciye hejuru y'ibyo ashinzwe, akazi yahawe akagashakira ibisobanuro bihanitse, bityo akiha ububasha bwo gukora ibisumba ibyo ashinzwe. Hari kandi n'abatinya gukora ibyo umutima nama wabo ubabwira, gutinya gukoresha uburenganzira bwo kwitekerereza biri mu byaranze amateka y'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda.

Ubwenge bwaratsinzwe cyangwa burayoba ku bwende. Abantu bananirwa gutekereza jenoside nkuko isobanurwa bayitiranya no kwica abantu benshi. Umuntu umeze atyo hari n'ibindi bintu adashobora. Ntashobora kumva ko "rubanda nyamwinshi" idashobora kuba umusingi wa demokarasi, iyo "rubanda" igizwe n'abantu basangiye kuba bahuriye mu bwoko bumwe. Kuyobya ubwenge bikagaragarira kandi mu gutsimbarara ku migenzo ya gikoloni maze bigatesha inzira iboneye. Mu Rwanda, U Bufaransa bwaratsinzwe. Ariko n'ubwo byose bitabuturutseho, ni ikindi gitego mu mazamu ya mpatsibihugu, igitego kiremereye ku buryo bakihunza cyangwa bagatinya kugira icyo bakivugaho. Wibutse ko u Rwanda rwahejwe mu nama yabereye i Biarritz mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1994, ukabona ukuntu u Bufaransa bwasabaga ibya mirenge igihugu cyazahajwe na jenoside, ntiwashidikanya ko ibyo byari ibimenyetso by'ipfunwe ry'ikimwaro cy'abatsinzwe.

Hariho amakosa atera kwibaza niba uwayakoze yarazi gutandukanya ikibi n'ikiza. ibi bireba ubushake bw'abantu cyangwa imiryango yabo yo gutekereza no gukora bakurikije ibibereye umuryango w'abantu muli rusange. Kubona abantu bacura

umugambi wo kurimbura abandi, bakagera n'aho bawushyira mu bikorwa, bitera gutekereza kuli ya mico iranga umuntu aho ali hose. Umwe mu basilikari bakuru uzi neza uko byagenze mu Rwanda, yaravuze ati : wabwirwa n'iki uko biza kugenda ? Wakwifata ute? Waba ushinzwe umu dipolomate, waba umusilikari, waba ukora mu rwego rw'ubutwererane cyangwa uri umunyamakuru, wakora iki ubwicanyi bugitangira, bamwe bapfa abandi barusimbuka nkuko byagenze igihe ingabo zoherejwe gukura abanyamahanga mu Rwanda jenoside itangiye.

Ntabapfira gushira, muli icyo gihe u Bufaransa bwasaga n'ubutaye agaciro, hari abantu ku giti cyabo, abayobozi, abasilikari cyangwa abantu basanzwe, banze guta ubutore bakorana umurava, bakomeze guhesha ishema umulimo w'abitangiye kuba abagaragu b'umulimo wita ku nyungu za bose. Bagumye bari maso, birinda gukorera igitsure cyangwa mu kwaha kw'abandi nkaho batazi ibyo basabwa ku rwego bariho, bakagumana ikizere ko hazagera igihe ikinyoma gikubitirwa ahakubuye. Nibo dukesha kuba tugifite inzego zihagaze nyuma y'umuhengeri zanyuzemo.

Guhangana n'amateka ukemera ukuli atubwira niyo nzira yo kwigobotora ihungabana no gukira ibikomere. Ntitukime amatwi Ibyo amateka atubwira. Nibyo bidufasha kwibuka tutikanga, tugasubiza amaso inyuma tutsishisha. Ibyabaye mu Rwanda byitwa itsembabwoko. Niryo ryakuye abatutsi umutima rikabarimbura. Tuzahora twibuka abarizize.

Ijambo rya Président Emmanuel Macron i Gisozi

Kigali 27 Gicurasi 2021

RWANDA

Ijoro ribara uwariraye.

Ku rwibutso rwa Gisozi, aha i Kigali, ayo ni yo magambo y'ireme ryuje uburemere bw'intera y'icyubahiro

Iribara uwariraye...

Ayo magambo nyakurekwa, acecetse umuriri wayo, aracura intimba itagira uko ingana.

Umuriri w'amarira atagira umworomo w'abarenga miliyoni y'abagabo, n'abagore n'abana batagihari ngo batubwire ubwirakabiri, bwihaye kumara kabiri, muri ya minsi amagambo ashira ivuga, mu Nyokomuntu...

Ayo magambo agambiriye kutugambira abahaguye, igihe bakwira imishwaro yo mu mashyamba no mu bishanga. Gukwira imishwaro ushaka gukizwa n'amaguru atazagukiza, kuko ari nta makiriro, ababahiga ari simusiga, igitondo n'ikigoroba, inabi igakurwa n'iiyindi.

Ayo magambo atwibutsa amajwi y'abaguye bakibyukiranya, nyuma bagatwaza bagahangana n'urupfu n'ababica rubozo. Bapfuye badakomye, barinda banogoka. Biguze abandi, maze barabahisha, ngo babone uko bahunga : ngaho uwimanye uwe, uwarwanye ku mwana, n'utarahanye inshuti. Amajwi yabo ya bucece, yacecekaga bujya gucya, mu rukerera, iyo bumvaga intero y'interahamwe zije gutera, zo n'abazitera inkunga, muri ibyo bitero bitaga gukora, bapfobya ibyo bakora.

Muri uru rwibutso, hakagiyemo ibyo bashatse kubavutsa : isura yuko basaga, amateka banyuzemo, n'ay'ahazaza, ariko cyane cyane indangamuntu nyakuri, ariyo mazina yabo, izina rya buri wese, aya yanditse aha, izina ku rindi, akurikirana ubutitsa, mu rutare rw'iteka, rwo muri uru rwibutso.

Ibuka. Ibuka.

Ayo magambo kandi abara inkuru y'abakomeretse muri ayo majoro y'urujijo, abagifite ibikomere bikirangaye, kuko bari bahari kandi baka bakiri hano. Abatatse tukica amatwi, ntitwumve ububabare bwabo mbere ya rya joro ribara uwariraye, abatatse tukica amatwi, ntitwumve ububabare bwabo, rya joro ry'urujijo rimaze kugwa, abatatse tukica amatwi rya joro rimaze gucya, aha hakaba ari nacyo kibi cyaje gusa n'ikibasonga. Abasigaye, abacitse ku icumu, impfubyi, ubuhamya bwabo, ubutwari bwabo, umurava wabo ni byo bidufasha kwumva ko atari imibare, ko atari amagambo, ahubwo ko ari injyamutima y'ubuzima itagira ikiyisimbura.

Ibuka.Ibuka.

Ayo magambo kandi, adukomoreza ku nkomere z'abakomerekeye muri ayo majoro atarabitse inkoko, ayo magambo anakomoza ku bagifite ibikomere birangaye byatewe n'ayo mateka bateranye amaso, kuko babyiroreye, kandi bakibyitsemo.

Ayo magambo agusha ku ishyano rifite inyito: ayo mahano yitwa itsembabwoko. Ariko kandi, ayo magambo afite n'akarusho. Koko rero, ayo magambo avuga igihagararo cy'umuntu, akanibutsa imbamutima zari ize, icyo yifuzaga kuzageraho. Ibyo byose byatemwe nk'ikintu kimwe, inshuro ibihumbi igihumbi.

Itsembabwoko ntirigira icyo ryagererannywa nacyo. Iryo ari ryo ryose riba rishora imizi mu mateka. Rigira uwaryo mwihariko.

Itsembabwoko rigira abo ryibasiye. Umugambi mubisha w'abicanyi wari uwo kurimbura Abatutsi: bose uko bakabaye...Abagabo, abagore, ababo, n'abana. Nubwo haba hari utari mu bahigwaga wahitannywe n'uwo mugambi mubisha, azize kugira uwo akingira akaboko, abicanyi ntibigeze bibeshya ngo bibagirwe abo bagomba kurimbura.

Itsembabwoko riva kure. Riirategurwa. Rirabanza rikigarurira imitima y'abantu, ryiha imbonezamikorere, rikarandura mu bantu impamvu undi muntu yitwa umuntu. Isoko ry'irimburabwoko riba mu mateka yubakiye ku nzozi zishaka kwirotora, cyangwa mu ngamba zishaka gutegeka abandi. Ingamba z'itsembabwoko ziyita inzira y'inyurabwenge. Ubwo, ubutitsa, iyo nzira igatangira igatesha agaciro abazicwa : ngiryo ivangura, nguko gucira abazicwa kure y'aho bavuka maze bakangazwa. Ubwo

urwango rurenze urwango rusanzwe ruzwi nk'urwango rukiha urubuga, hagatangizwa ubudehe budaha ubuzima bw'imbaga.

Itsembabwoko ntirihugutishwa n'igihe. Ritekerezwaho ubuziraherezo. Kwibagirana kwaryo ntikubaho. Abo ryabayeho babana n'ingaruka zaryo, buri wese mu bwe buryo.

Mu Rwanda, buri taliki ya 7 Mata, bucya n'inyoni zitazi igihe bita ubunyoni, kuko nazo ziba zibuka ibyabaye. Iyo amagambo ashize ivuga, ijambo rigarurwa no gukura abantu mu kayubi.

Izina riravuna. Ukuri ntikwicarirwa. Inyito igomba kuba inyito nyirizina. Ubuhamya buduhame.

Ariko kandi, abahigaga abahungiye mu bishanga, ku misozi no muri za kiliziya, ntibari bafite isura y'Abafaransa. Ntitwabaye abafatanyacyaha. Amaraso yamenetse ntiyanduje intwaro zacu, cyangwa ibiganza by'abari bazitwaje. Ahubwo igihe barebaga ayo marorerwa, niko bomoraga ibikomere, ari nako bicwa n'ikiniga.

Turemera ko Ubufaransa bwagize uruhare mu byabaye, rufite amateka ya politike mu Rwanda. Ubufaransa rero bufite inshingano yo kureba ayo mateka butayarenza ingohe, bityo bukemera ibyo bugomba kuryozwa kubera ntimba bwateye imbaga nyarwanda, igihe cyose hirinzwe gusuzuma ukuri ku byabaye.

Mu 1990 Ubufaransa bwishoye mu ntambara butari bwaragize uruhare mu mpamvu zayishoje, ugize ngo arabaza, abari ku isonga bakamucubya. Ubufaransa bwiyijeje ahari ko bwari bufite ingufu zo guhagarika gahunda yari yaramaze gutangira.

Bumaze kwishyira mu mutwe ko bugomba kuburizamo intambara y'akarere cyangwa kubuza Abanyarwanda gusubiranamo, Ubufaransa bwihambiriye kuri Leta yari yifitemo ingengabitekerezo y'itsembabwoko. Umunsi bwima amatwi ibivugwa n'impuguke ku mateka y'u Rwanda, Ubufaransa bwihaye kugira uruhare mu rukurikirane rw'amahano ndengakamere, nyamara ariko Ubufaransa bwo bwibwiraga ko bwazitira ayo mahano.

I Arusha, mu kwezi kwa Kanama, umwaka w' 1993, bwifatanije n'Abanyafurika. Ubufaransa bwagize ngo bwegukanye umuhigo w'amahoro. Abategetsi b'Ubufaransa, barimo abashinzwe imibanire n'amahanga, ntako batari bagize, bibwira ko amasezerano yo kugabana ubutegetsi ari yo yakwibandwaho. Ibyo byakozwe mu buryo bushimishije kandi bwasabaga ubutwari. Ariko byaburijwemo n'inkubiri y'itsembabwoko itarifuzaga icyatambamira iteganyamigambi ribisha ryayo.

Muri Mata, umwaka w'i 1994, ba rukarabankaba batangira kwica, bakabipfobya babyita « umurimo. » Mbere yo kugira icyo amara, amahanga yamaze hafi amezi atatu yayaburiye amaherezo.

Abanyamahanga uko turi twese, twatereranye imbaga amagana n'amagana y'abicwaga bafungiraniye mu muriro utazima.

Bukeye, nubwo abayoboraga Ubufaransa bari barigeze kwikubita agashyi no kubigiramo ubutwari, maze bakemera kwita itsembabwoko izina ririkwiye, ntabwo Ubufaransa bwigeze bufata imyanzuro iboneye.

Kuva icyo gihe, hashize imyaka y'ishavu n'agahinda 27. Ni imyaka 27 twari tumaze tutumvikana, ibikozwe byose nta buryarya, bigamije guhuza impande zombi, bikaba kugosorera mu rucacaca. Imyaka yari ibaye 27 mu mbamitima zashenguwe n'amakimbirane aterwa no kwibuka amateka atavugwaho rumwe.

Uyu munsi wa none, niyoroheje, nicishije bugufi, kandi mu cyubahiro, nazinduwe no kwemera, imbere yanyu, intera y'uruhare twagize. Ni indi ntambwe mu nzira twatangiye y'ubumenyi n'ukuri bishingira ku bushakashatsi bwimbitse mu mateka. Tuzakomeza iyo nzira dushyigikira abashakashatsi bagezweho, bamaze kugaragaza urubuga rushya mu bumenyi. Twizeye kandi ko n'abandi bose bari bafite aho bahuriye n'u Rwanda bazashyira ahabona ubushyinguranyandiko n'ubushyinguramurage bwabo bukubiyemo amateka y'icyo gihe.

Kwibuka ayo mateka, ni kandi, ndetse cyane cyane, gukomeza inzira y'ubutabera. Tugomba gukora uko dushoboye ngo abantu bose babaye ba rukarabankaba mu itsembabwoko ntibagire aho bahungira inzego zishinzwe gukurikirana no guhana inkozi z 'amahano.

Kwibuka ayo mateka, kwemera ko twayagizemo uruhare, ntitubikora duteganya kugira icyo tugurirwa. Ni twe tubyisaba kandi tubyisabira. Ni umwenda dufitiye inzirakarengane, nyuma y'imyaka myinshi twamaze twicecekeye. Niba badukundiye, ni ituro dutuye abarokotse, twizera ko nibemera bakaryakira, rizururutsa intuntu ibari ku mutima. Urwo rugendo rwo kwishinja ibyabaye, twemera umwenda mbamutima, twitangaho ituro, ruradukura muri ya majoro y'urujijo, maze dukomezanye urugendo.

Muri iyo nzira, inzirakarengane zabara amajoro y'urujijo, ni zo zonyine zishobora gutanga imbabazi. Kutubabarira kwazo, ni impano izo nzirakarengane zaba zitugabiye.

Ndibuka

Ndilbuka

Mboneyeho umwanya wo kwizeza urubyiruko rw'Abanyarwanda ko gusubira gusubukura umubano no kuvugura imibanire mu buryo butunogeye twese bishoboka. Tudahanaguye amateka, dushobora gusubira tukagirana ubunnywaunyi bushingiye ku bwubuhane, mu bushishozi, duterana inkunga, kandi buri wese agasaba undi akomeje gukora ibyo twemeranije, hagati y'urubyiruko bw'u Rwanda n'urungano rwo mu Bufaransa.

Nazinduwe no kuba ari yo nshingano twese twakwitabira. Dufatanye twubake ejo heza. Dutangire dutegurire abana bacu umurage mwiza batazajya bibukana ikimwaro. Ni cyo kizagaragaza ko twubaha abo tutazigera twiibagirwa, inkoramahano zakomye imbere tukaba tubarimo umwenda wo kubahangira ahandi.

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