

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 yarabivugiyeye 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 ashirwaho 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 zibitweseho 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 bishyinyuyemo 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 batigeze bandika kubera ko bari bazi ko abo zigenewe batifuzaga kubimenya. Kubera izo mpamvu zose, ukuri kwose mu miterere n'imikorere y'ishyamba 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 twavugaga : 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'ibyakoze n'u Bufransa mu Rwanda mu nzego zitandukanye, muli politike, igisilikari na diplomasi.

Ikigaragara cyane mbere nuko guhera mu kwezi kwa cumi k'umwaka wa 1990, uburyo bwo gukorana hagati y'u Bufransa 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 Bufransa rero bwatangiyeye gukoresha politike isa n'itagira umurongo uhamye, bukabangikanya inzira zitandukanye ndetse rimwe na rimwe zimwe ugasanga zivuguruzaga izindi. Bigasa n'aho mu mutwe w'abashinzwe kuzisobanura ubwenge buboshye, kugera naho ishyamba rya jenocide 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 ubutegetsu buhuriweho na benshi, mu magambo make, kuzana demokarasi. Bongeragaho kandi ko inkunga mu iterambere izatangwa hakurikijwe umwete mu nzira yo kuzana demokarasi. Bakavugaga kandi ko igihe bikenewe u Bufaransa bwafasha mu rwego rwo kurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu. Mu myumvire ya Leta y'u Bufaransa, demokarasi bivugaga amashyamba 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'abashyamba gufashwa. Byageze n'ho na demokarasi yibagirana mu bigomba kuzuzwa: amashyamba yavutse mu mwaka wa 1991 arwanyaga ubwikanyizwe n'imikorere idakwiye mu butegetsu 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 ishingiyeye 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 abakorera iruhanda 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, ukubaza/mutarama 1991, kamena 1992, mutarama/gashyantare 1993. Muri ibyo bihe byari bikomeye, igitutu cya FPR n'ugutinyaga 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'abagororera mu rucaca. Ingaruka z'iyi mikorere zabaye kubulizamo umwanya wo gutekereza uburyo bubereye mu gukemura ibibazo byari byugariye u Rwanda. Muli mata 1993, Edouard Balladur abaye ministre w'intebe nibwo abantu batangiyeye kubyibaza.

Politike tuvuga y'abafaransa mu Rwanda, yariho mu gihe cy'intambara. Abafaransa 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'abafaransa 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 demokarasi¹. 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 bese, guhora bitiranyaga 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 intwari 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 rwatewe 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 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 intwari n'imyitozo ya gisirikari

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

abarwana, byabahaye uburyo bwo kwitwikira amasezerano y'ubutwererane asanzwe hagati y'ibihugu maze bahindura u Rwanda ikibuga cyo gukora imyitoto 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 ubutegetsu Leta y'u Rwanda na FPR u Bufaransa bwari bwayikurikiye. Arusha bufiteyo intumwa zitwa indorezezi, 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, amashyamba 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 akarengye kabo, ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kigaharirwa Loni. Kubera batari bakifuzaga kugira icyo bakora ubwabo kandi FPR ikaba yaritarafata ubutegetsu mu gihugu hose, jenocide ikorwa barebera mu kwezi kwa kane n'ukwagatanu. Kubera uko bwari bwari 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 intwari mu Rwanda zari zarahawe abazicura n'abazigurisha. Ku itariki ya 16 z'ukwezi kwa gatanu, Ministri w'ububanyi n'amahanga aranzamuka 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 ushinze minisère y'ibikorwa byo gutabara abantu aryungamo. Imbere y'inama ya Loni yita kuburengazira bw'ikiremwa muntu, avugaga 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 ishingiyeye 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 barenganywa 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 akazibuzwa kurara ku butaka bw'u Rwanda no kwegera ahakeweza 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 guseniyuka. 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 jenocide. 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 ? Ibyagwiriyeye u Rwanda bigasiga birushenye, byasize u Bufaransa butsinzwe. Haba se harabayeho ubufatanyanya cyaha? Niba ibyo bivugaga ubushake bwo kwinjira mu mugambi wa jenocide, mubyo twabonye nta kintu na kimwe cyarekana ko byababaye. 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'iyi Leta bateguraga jenocide. 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 jenocide, 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 bukoheraza 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 bavugaga ko muli icyo gihugu ariho hageragerezwa ukuntu ibyavugiye 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 ubweya, nta cyemezo kigezwe gifatwa ngo bavane kw'izima intagondwa zarwaniraga gushyira imbere ubwoko bw'Abahutu cyangwa ngo barwanyeye ironde 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 intwari no kongera ingabo. U Rwanda rutangira gusa n'urwitegura intambara, amashyaka y'intagondwa atangira guha insorensore intwari 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 ishingira 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 bemerwa n'amategeko abugenga, kugeza nibura igihe hagiriyeho Ministre w'intebe udahuje ishyamba 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.

Amakosa muli politiki 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

² Izizwi cyane ni interahamwe

bakuru muli politike bakabikingira ikibaba cyangwa bakabirenga 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 cyubatswe 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 bakoresheje muli ubwo buryo byali biciye ukubiri n'ukuli. Muli politike no mu mibanire hagati y'abantu, mu Rwanda harimo ubushake bwo kurwanya abashaka amacakubiri ashingiyeye 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 zishyngura 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 bwatsinzwe cyangwa burayoba ku bwende. Abantu bananirwa gutekereza jenocide 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 bwatsinzwe. Ariko n'ubwo byose bitabaturutseho, 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 kwasabaga ibya mirenge igihugu cyazahajwe na jenocide, ntiwashidikanya ko ibyo byari ibimenyetso by'ipfunwe ry'ikimwano 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 ushinze 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 jenocide itangiye.

Ntabapfira gushira, muli icyo gihe u Bufaransa kwasaga 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 gikubirwa ahakubuye. Nibo dukeshya 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.

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