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Ibogama ry'Ambasade y' Ubufaransa

Mu by'ukuri muri ibyo bihe bikomeye ambasade y'Ubufaransa si yo yonyine yagerageje guhangana n'ibibazo no gutunganya igikorwa cya gisirikari cyo gucyura abanyamahanga. Ariko nta n'imwe yagize uruhare rugaragara cg se runini nk'urwayo, mu cyumweru cyakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana, mbere y'uko ambasade z'amahanga mu Rwanda hafi ya zose zifungwa. Mu ikubitiro hari ikintu kimwe kigomba kubanza kumvikana neza : Kuba ambasade y'Ubufaransa yaragize uruhare rugaragara ntibisobanura ko yo n'abayihagarariye b'abasivili n'abasirikari ari bo bihaye iyo nshingano cg ngo ubwabo bafate ibyemezo byashyizwe mu bikorwa aho hantu. Itsinda rihuriweho na perezidansi ya Repubulika n'Ishami ry'Afurika, Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga na etamajoro y'ingabo ni ryo ryari ku isonga (mu nama zihuza za minisiteri mu muhezo), cyane cyane mu ishyirwaho ry'igikorwa cyiswe "Amaryllis". Aha tugiye kwibanda by'umwihariko ku byakozwe n'ibyabereye muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa aho abakozi bayo bahaga bagenzi babo b' i Paris amakuru ya ngombwa hanyuma aba nabo bakabaha amabwiriza bagenderaho. Tuributsa amwe muri ayo mabwiriza yo mu buyobozi, nibura ayashoboye kumenyekana. Nanone, ibivugwa aha bishingiye ahanini ku byo umwanditsi yahagazeho dore ko yari i Kigali byinshi akabyibonera, akabishyingura mu nyandiko icyo gihe na nyuma gato aho aviriye mu Rwanda muri Mata 1994 hagati; bishingiye nanone ku bushakashatsi bwakozwe nyuma mu rwego rwo kumva neza ibyabaye byose n'amasano bifitanye.

Ingingo enye ni zo zibandwaho. Iya mbere irebana n'uburyo butandukanye ambasade y'Ubufaransa yafashemo imiryango ya ba « Agathe » bombi : Agathe Kanziga, umupfakazi wa perezida Habyarimana, na Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe wishwe bitegetswe n'abiteguraga kumuzungura.
Iya kabiri ivuga uko abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki bo muri MRND bageze kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Iya gatatu ivuga uko ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud yashyigikiye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Mu gusoza, ingingo ya kane igaragaza umwete muke w'ambasade mu gufasha, gucumbikira no kurokora abantu bari mu mazi abira, by'umwihariko abakozi bayo b'Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi benshi bayiyambaje.

Inkuru yo gucyurwa ku gahato

Uruhare rw'ubuhamya bwanjye bwite ntanga hano burampa umwanya wo kugaruka mu magambo make ku mibereho yanjye i Kigali muri ibyo bihe. Mu nshingano zanjye zo kunganira ubuyobozi bw'Ubutwererane n'Iterambere (DDC) muri Minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga y'Ubusuwisi (DFAE), nagombaga kugenzura gahunda z'iterambere ry'ubwo butwererane mu Rwanda, ngakurukirana uko abaminisitiri bashya bazashingwa imirimo yo muri urwo rwego. Uruzinduko rwanjye rwari rwagenwe hakurikijwe ingengabihe yavugwaga y'ishyirwaho ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho zishingiye ku masezerano y'Arusha.

Iyo ngengabihe imaze gutangazwa, ambasade zose n'amashyirahamwe yo mu rwego rw'ubutwererane byakekaga ko Guverinoma n'Inteko ishingamategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT), byari kuba byagiyeho bitarenze muri Mata 1994. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe, kubera guhora byigizwayo, "ambasade zikomeye" zokeje igitutu impande byarebaga zinazikangisha guhagarika bwangu imfashanyo zatangaga iyo ari yo yose niba kuri 31Werurwe nta tariki ntarengwa y'ishyirwaho ry'izo nzego yari kuba yemejwe. Bityo, n'ubwo imbere mu gihugu ibintu byari bishyushye[1], urugendo rwanjye rwagumishijwe ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe, ngomba kubanza kujya i Bujumbura akaba ariho mba ntegerereje umwanzuro w'imishyikirano y'Abanyarwanda. Amaherezo, ku wa gatanu tariki ya 1 Mata, izo mpande zumvikanye ku gihe cya nyuma cy'ishyirwaho ry'inzego : ku wa gatanu tariki ya 8, cg se iya 9. Ubwo ambasade y'Ubusuwisi yansabye kujya i Kigali bitarenze umunsi ukurikiyeho mu gitondo.

Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 2 Mata

Maze kwambuka umupaka ugabanya Rwanda na Burundi no guhagarara gato i Butare n'i Gitarama, natangajwe n'umutuzo wari uganje, bitandukanye n'i

[1] Reka twibutse ko ku itariki ya 29 Werurwe hari habaye inama kuri etamajoro y'ingabo z'igihugu (G3, ushinzwe inyigisho n'ibikorwa bya gisirikari) hamwe n'abahagarariye perefegitura ya Kigali kugira ngo hategurwe "umugambi wo kwirinda kw'abaturage, uyobowe n'abasirikari bacumbitse hanze y'ibigo". Umugambi wari "ukurinda insisiro z'umujyi, guhiga no gufata mpiri abacengezi". Mu yandi makomini, "hari hifujwe ko bakwigisha abaturage gukoresha intwaro gakondo (inkota, amacumu, imipanaga, imiheto n'imyambi) kubera ubuke bw'imbunda bari bafite" (ibaruwa yandikiwe minisitiri w'ingabo ku itariki ya 30 Werurwe). Nyuma, ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe, Alphonse Ingabire, "umuyobozi wa CDR" i Kigali yarishwe (ubu birazwi ko yahitanywe n'umukomando w'Inkotanyi).

Burundi harangwaga no kwiheba gukabije mu makomini y'imbere mu gihugu, cyane cyane mu maporovensi yo mu majyaruguru. Nyamara nkigera i Kigali, nahubiranye n' impagarara z'abasirikari bakuru n'abayobozi bo ku ruhande rushyigikiye perezida bashinjaga Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe, kuba yararemesheje iwe mu rugo ku wa 1 Mata nimugoroba inama y'abasirikari bakuru bakomoka muri perefegitura ye akabasaba gukorera kudeta perezida Habyarimana. RTLM n'itangazamakuru ry'intagondwa ritsimbaraye ku buhutu byari byariye karungu. Kubera ubwoba bw'umutekano wabo, abanyacyubahiro bo mu rwego rwa gisirikari n'urwa politiki bakutse umutima batangira gushakisha ubwihisho ku nshuti bizeye (reba umutwe wa 5, *"ingamba z'irokoka rya* politiki *ku baharanira demukarasi"*). Ba ambasaderi n'abunzi banyuranye bakoraga iyo bwabaga kugira ngo botse igitutu ba nyirabayazana kandi bavane mu nzira inzitizi za nyuma zabuzaga gushyira amasezerano mu bikorwa.

Ku itariki ya 2 Mata, hakozwe inama ihuza FPR na MDR babifashijwemo n'ambasade ya Tanzaniya. Ku itariki ya 4, Musenyeri Thadée Nsengiyumva w' i Kabgayi yasabwe kubonana na perezida Habyarimana kandi, uwo munsi, Loni yakangishije gucyura Minuar mu gihe nta ntambwe itewe mu gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho; ku itariki ya 6 Mata mu mpera z'igicamunsi, habaye indi nama muri ambasade ya Tanzaniya ihuza abantu banyuranye bahagarariye amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje y'imbere mu gihugu na FPR.

Muri icyo gihirahiro, maze kugirana imibonano y'ibanze na benshi mu banyacyubahiro ba Guverinoma yateganywaga, hafashwe icyemezo ko itsinda ry'ubugenzuzi nayoboraga ryari kujya ku Kibuye (ariho hari igicumbi cy'ibikorwa by'ingenzi by'urwego rw'ubutwererane rw'u Busuwisi) kandi impaka zo mu rwego rwo gufata ingamba zikimurirwa mu gice cya kabiri cya Mata. Nanone ikibazo cyagiweho impaka cyane ni icya mugenzi wanjye w'umunyarwanda twagombaga gukorana mu buryo bwemewe n'amategeko, washoboraga kugira uruhare muri anketi hafi ya zose n'inama, ndetse no mu iyandikwa rya raporo isoza umurimo. Hatoranyijwe Ignace Ruhatana(Tutsi), umwe mu bayobozi ba Kanyarwanda, ishyirahamwe rishyigikiye iterambere ry'ubumwe mu butabera bushingiye kuri rubanda, akaba n'umwanditsi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru gifite iryo zina.

Ku wa gatatu tariki ya 6 Mata

Nari niriranywe na Clément Kayishema, perefe wa Kibuye dutegura gahunda y'ibizakorwa. Gusubira ku Kibuye byari biteganyijwe ku wa 7 Mata saa kumi n'ebyiri. Iyo saha ya karekare mu gitondo nyamara ntiyari inogeye mugenzi wanjye Ignace Ruhatana, wagomba iryo joro kujya mu marondo « avanze » abaturage bateguraga mu gace k'umujyi nijoro kugira ngo barinde umutekano w'ibintu n'abantu.

Ku mugoroba, kuri *Hôtel Mille Collines*, nyuma gato ya saa mbiri n'igice, umugore wari uhagarariye ambasade y'u Busuwisi yamenyesheje "impanuka y'indege ya perezida" kandi ko na perezida w' i Burundi yashoboraga kuba yari ayirimo. Natangiye kugirana ibiganiro kuri terefone na bagenzi banjye b'Abarundi kimwe n'Abanyarwanda, birushaho kwiyongera uko inkuru y'urupfu

rw'abaperezida bombi, Umunyarwanda n'Umurundi, yagendaga isakara.

Ikibazo cyangoye cyane n'icy'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahiye ubwoba bakansaba ko mbakira nkaba mbacumbikiye muri *Hôtel* des *Mille Collines*. Bifuzaga kubona ubuhungiro butigaragaza cyane. Kuri bamwe muri bo, nta cyihutirwaga. Hari ndetse abanze ibyo kuza muri hoteli, bumvaga kurindwa n'ingabo za Minuar bihagije : ni ko byagenze, by'umwihariko kuri Landoald Ndasingwa ; nyamara abamurindaga bo muri Bangladesh baje gukizwa n'amaguru ubwo ingabo zirinda perezida zateraga iwe mu gitondo.

Mu runywero rwa hoteli, hari hicaye koloneli Charles Vuckovic, wari ushinzwe ibibazo bya gisirikari muri Ambasade ya leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika i Yaoundé kandi akaba afite mu nshingano ze Rwanda na Burundi, wari wahageze uwo munsi, kimwe n'abakozi ba C130 y'Ababiligi muri Minuar bagombaga gusimburwa kuri uwo mugoroba, ariko indege yabo ikaba itaremerewe kugwa ku kibuga cy'i Kanombe. Ahagana mu masaa tanu z'ijoro, abakozi ba hoteli bari bagerageje gutaha iwabo bacyumva iyo nkuru, batangiye kugaruka batangiriwe na bariyeri za gisirikari, cg bifuza kurindwa no kumenya neza amakuru kurusha mu gace k' iwabo. Bityo, baje kugwa mu mutego bamazemo iminsi myinshi, nta makuru y'imiryango yabo bazi kandi bavunwa n'imitwaro iremereye. Agace gasigaye k'umugoroba n'igice kinini cy'ijoro byahariwe gutara amakuru, cyane cyane kumenya aho inshuti zacu cg Abanyarwanda tuziranye baherereye. Terefone yari yabaye ikintu cy'ibanze muri icyo gikorwa.

Mu masaha yakurikiye amarorerwa, igihe ingabo zirinda perezida (GP) zakwirakwiraga mu mugi, abanyacyubahiro benshi bumvaga badafite umutekano bihishe kwa benewabo cg ahantu bizeye umutekano. Nyuma gato ya saa tatu z'ijoro (21h), Agathe Uwilingiyimana yari amaze kuvugana n'abantu banyuranye bamugira inama yo kwihisha muri ambasade inzira zikigendwa. Yarabyanze asubiza ko urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana rwamusabaga gukomeza ubusugire bwa leta no kurinda umutekano w'abaturage. Yahisemo rero kuguma iwe mu rugo hanyuma amenyesha abo yashoboye kuvugisha ko yari agiye gutegura itangazo rihamagarira Abanyarwanda gutuza akanagerageza kugarura ibintu mu buryo.

Nyamara, inshuro nyinshi, Agathe Uwilingiyimana ubwe yari yaraburiye mu ibanga ambasade z'abazungu ibikorwa by'amarorerwa. Ariko, urebye, ntiyakekaga icyo gihe ko na we ubwe yashoboraga guhigwa.

Ku wa kane tariki ya 7 Mata

Ijoro ryaranzwe n'ibintu bibiri : ishyirwa rya bariyeri mu mujyi wose bikozwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida n'imitwe y'ingabo z'U Rwanda (FAR) (*reba umugereka wa 78*), n'amasasu y'urufaya abantu bumvise guhera saa kumi z'ijoro mu nkengero za hoteli. Kuri iyo saha, abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bakuru batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje bari bamaze kugera mu bwihisho (Dismas Nsengiyaremye, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, André Sibomana, nb.) kandi nta washoboraga kubageraho. Mu gitondo ni bwo byagaragaye neza ko guhiga nyabyo "abanzi" byari byatangiye koko. Intabaza z'abanyacyubahiro bahigwaga

badashobora kugera kuri za ambasade z'inyamahanga ziyongereye ubutitsa. Amakamyo aherekejwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida abantu babonaga zihita mu muhanda uri haruguru ya hoteli yatangiye gutunda *Interahamwe* zifunga amayira mu mujyi, zitangira kwica abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje n' "abacengezi" nyabo cg ababikekwaho. Kubaha "amabendera" (ya za ambasade, Umuryango utabara imbabare, imiryango y'ubutabazi) ntibyari bigifite agaciro ku buryo buhamye. Inkongi y'umuriro yagaragaye mu bice bya Nyamirambo, Gikondo na Remera. Mu gitondo karekare, terefone ya Ignace Ruhatana ntiyakoraga : yari yamaze kwicwa.

Kujya inama kuri terefone ku buryo bunonosoye gahoro byaratangiye hagati y'abihayimana, abasirikari bakuru, inshuti zihagarariye ibihugu, kugira ngo hategurwe iyoherezwa ry'imodoka ku bahuruzaga, no gutara cg gutanga amakuru ku byabaye kuri bamwe na bamwe. Nanone, abahungiraga kuri hoteli bariyongeraga, ku buryo hari hatangiye kubaho ibibazo by'umutekano no kubungabunga umutuzo. Nguko uko ku gasusuruko abasirikari bo mu ngabo z'igihugu (FAR) bateye amatako aho abashyitsi bakiririrwa kuri hoteli, bagenzura ibitabo byanditsemo abahacumbitse. Bashakaga Dismas Nsengiyaremye (yari yaraye akemewe ari i Gitarama ahera ko yiyenyegeza mu misozi). Nyuma bagiye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates.*

Hanyuma habaye igabana ry'imirimo hagati y'abasirikari babiri ba Loni batari bitwaje imbunda babaga ku buryo buhoraho muri hoteli (kapiteni Mbaye Diagne wo muri Senegal, na majoro Paul Victor Moigny wo muri Kongo [Brazaville] bo muri Minuar, ari na bo bonyine bakomeje kwidegembya aho bashatse), ikipe y'ubuyobozi bwa hoteli, abakiriya bake bamenyereye aho hantu n'abakozi bafitiwe icyizere gikomeye. Aba mbere bitaga ku mutekano bakanahuza Minuar n'abasirikari b'U Rwanda, aba kabiri bitaga ku bikoresho (abakozi, guhaha, ibiribwa, na cyane cyane ibikoresho by'isuku), hanyuma aba gatatu bageragezaga gutunganya ibyo kwakira abantu, gutoragura indembe zashoboraga kugerwaho, kuvugana na za ambasade n'itangazamakuru, kugeza amakuru ku bacumbitsi ari na ko barwanya uko babishoboye impuha, umuvundo cg icyoba byakundaga rimwe na rimwe gucengera mu bacumbitsi.

Kapiteni Mbaye Diagne yabaye umukozi w'ibanze wo kwakira abanyacyubahiro cg abaturage basanzwe bahigwaga. Iryo yinjizwa ryaciririkanyweho kuri buri wese, akenshi binyuze mu mafaranga afatika yahabwaga abanyamapeti bo mu ngabo z' U Rwanda bagenzuraga inzira zigera kuri hoteli. Abanyarwanda mirongo ni we bakesha kuba barageze kuri hoteli, ariko cyane cyane nubwo ibyo bizwi na bake, kuba barahagumye. Koko rero, urebye buri gihe ni we abakozi bashinzwe kwakira abashyitsi biyambazaga kugira ngo acubye abasirikari batabaga banyuzwe n'ibyo bahawe ku manywa bakagenda bagaruka guhiga abo bashaka no "kurangiza akazi" nijoro. Nanone, dufashijwe n'ambasade zimwe, twe (ni ukuvuga agatsinda gato kavuzwe hejuru), twari twarashyizeho itumanaho rihoraho hagati yacu n'abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo z' U Rwanda (FAR), babyikoreraga ubwabo cg bagatanga imodoka n'abarinzi kugira ngo batware abantu bahigwa kuri hoteli.

Umuyobozi wa hoteli, Cornelius Bik, yafashije bikomeye muri iyo mirimo

idasanzwe atanga uruhushya rwo gukoresha umutungo wa hoteli mu kwishyura ibyo kwigura byasabwaga abacikacumu bahageze. Hari ikintu cy'umwihariko kigomba kuvugwa ku ruhare rw'abakozi bamwe, Abahutu n'Abatutsi, bitanze bikomeye bakarengera abantu bari bihishe muri hoteli, bakabagaburira bakanabahindurira icyumba buri gihe kandi batigaragaza, ariko cyane cyane bakagenzura bihoraho urujya n'uruza rudasanzwe muri hoteli no mu nzira ziyigeraho, by'umwihariko nijoro.

Mu bahageze ku itariki ya 7 Mata harimo imfubyi za Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe wishwe, bafite hagati y'imyaka 3 na 18. Mu ihunga ry'umuryango wabo mu gitondo abasirikari bamaze kugera iwabo mu rugo, na bo bari bashatse ubuhungiro mu nzu yegeranye n'Abakoranabushake b'Umuryago wAbibumbye bacumbikirwa mu cyumba gitandukanye n'icy'ababyeyi babo. Ni yo mpamvu batari bafashwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida zoherejwe guhiga nyina. Mu masaa saba y'amanywa, generali Dallaire yari yagiye aho hantu ahura n'abana (*reba umugereka 79*). Nimugoroba saa kumi n'ebyiri, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne aherekejwe n'umukapiteni w'umujandarume wo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda, yagiye kubafata abajyana kuri *Hôtel Mille Collines,* aho yabashyikirije umuyobozi wayo. Ubwo abari bahacumbitse babizi batangiye umukino uruhije wo kwihishahisha barengera abo bana bari bakutse umutima, nta kambaro, nta n'icyo basobanukiwe ku byabaye, bahora bafunze amadirishya, bagahora bavanwa mu cyumba bashyirwa mu kindi kandi nta na rimwe babwirwa uko bazamera[2]. Amaradiyo y'amanyamahanga yari yaratangaje amakuru y'urupfu rwabo n'urw'ababyeyi babo, ariko ingabo zirinda perezida zari zizi ko bari muri hoteli. Ni uko hatangiye icyabaye dosiye y' "abana ba Agathe".

Guhera saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice z'umugoroba, hagaragaye igabanuka gahoro gahoro ry'urusaku rw'amasasu mu murwa mukuru, nyuma y'urusaku rukabije rwo hagati ya saa kumi n'imwe na saa kumi n'ebyiri. Hanyuma, mu ma saa mbiri z'ijoro, urusaku rwinshi rw'ibibunda bya rutura rurubura mu mujyi hagati. Hafi ya saa tatu z'ijoro, bisa no kugaragaza urwango abasirikari b'Abanyarwanda bari batuzengurutse bafitiye Ababiligi (iyo hoteli yari iya kompanyi y'indege y'Ababiligi Sabena), icyumba cy'ururiro muri etaji ya kane ya *Hôtel des Mille Collines* n'uruhande rwayo rureba ku muhanda witiriwe ingabo (Avenue de l'Armée) byamishweho amasasu y'imbunda za mitarayezi. Abantu babiri barakomeretse bidakabije. Ubwoba bwo kutwinjirana n' imbunda imbere muri hoteli bwaradutashye. Abari bahangayitse cyane bari abakozi b'indege ba Sabena.

Abisabwe n'abakozi b'indege ya C130 ya Minuar bari baraye bageze muri hoteli bakabura ubwasohoka, koloneli Luc Marshal yaje kugenzura aho hantu. Ariko kuhagera kwe byarushijeho guca abantu intege kubera ko, nyuma yo kugenzura imiterere ya hoteli ari kumwe n'abasirikari b'Abanyamerika, bafashe umwanzuro ko bitashobokaga kuharinda nyabyo mu gihe habaho igitero cg amasasu y'abasirikari bari ku muhanda hejuru y'uruhande rurimo ibyumba bifite

[2] Vuba aha, bambwiye ko kubera impagarara, bumvaga bibwe n' "Abazungu", bakoraga ubucuruzi bw'abana babohereza mu Burayi. Bibukaga impanuro za nyina ku kibazo cyo kwitondera abanyamahanga. Koko rero, kubera inzara yo muri 1989 n'intambara, hari haradutse mu Rwanda "isoko" ryo gucuruza abana ryakorwaga n'abanyamahanga byitwa ko bagiye kubabera ababyeyi.

ibirahure. Buri wese baramuretse yihitiramo ibyo yabonaga bimufitiye akamaro : gufata umwanya mu nzira iri hagati y'ibyumba igana mu nzu yo munsi, mu cyumba kigenewe asanseri mu gice cy'inyuma cya hoteli, mu nzira ziri hagati ya za etaji cg kwigumira mu cyumba cya buri wese… Abasirikari b'Ababiligi ba C130 bafashe umwanya mu kumba kari mu nzu yo munsi kasohokeraga ku tuzu duto tw'inyuma ya hoteli. Andi masasu ya mitarayezi yarashwe nyuma gato ya saa tanu z'ijoro, akurikirwa n'ubundi burakari bukabije ahagana mu masaa kumi z'ijoro.

Ijoro rero ryari injyanamuntu. Abenshi mu bacumbitsi bari baryamye, babyigana, inyuma y' inkuta za beto zo mu nzira zijya muri etaji kugira ngo birinde amasasu. Bose bari bishwe n'umunaniro kandi barwanaga n'ibitotsi kugira ngo bashobore kugenzura urumuri rwa asanseri zacicikanaga rimwe na rimwe zigana muri za etaji, batinya ko inzugi zakwifungura nabi zigaha inzira abasirikari.Muri icyo cyoba, bamwe bafashe imigambi yo kwegera itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga. Ni uko, kuva iryo joro amaradiyo menshi, na cyane cyane za televiziyo z'ibyamamare zo muri Amerika (zirimo CNN) bitangira gusobanura ku buryo buhoraho ubwoba n'ibyago by'abari bacumbitse by'amaburakindi muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines.*

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 8 Mata

Bugicya, hafashwe icyemezo cyo kugenda tukavugana imbonankubone n'abasirikari bari batugose kugira ngo tumenye ibyo bashakaga kugeraho, noneho nko mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne abonana n'itsinda ryagenzuraga amarembo ya hoteli. Batangaje ko batari bafite umugambi wo kuhinjira, ariko bameyesha ko nta burinzi bwa Minuar cg ihungishwa na rimwe bashoboraga kwihanganira.

Nyuma yaho ku manywa Abanyapakisitani n'Abahindi benshi baje kuri hoteli. Bari batakaje ibintu byose, ibicuruzwa byabo byasahuwe, kandi bari batanze akayabo kugira ngo abasirikari babaherekeze babageze kuri hoteli. Abantu bagera kuri 800 kuva ubwo ni bo bari bahacumbikiwe, muri bo harimo impunzi nyinshi z'Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu bavuye mu duce twari twatewe na FPR n'umubare wiyongeraga w'abanyacyubahiro n'abaturage basanzwe bari barokowe n'abasirikari b'inshuti cg bahaye amafaranga. Abatutsi bari barokotse ntibishimiraga ko abo bahutu bari mu kaga na bo bakirwa kuko batinyaga ko baje kunekera ingabo z' U Rwanda (FAR) no kugira ngo bagenzure ibibera muri hoteli. Ibibazo byo kubana byaravutse kandi hafatwa icyemezo cyo guharira abo bashya baje igice cyo hasi, hari umwanya uhagije ariko hatagira na mba ibyumba n'urwinyagamburiro. Abongabo, muri bo harimo abantu benshi tuziranye bari batuye mu nkengero za CND, byagaragaraga ko bababajwe n'urwo rwikekwe bari bagiriwe. Habayeho n'umwiryane mu rwego rwo gucunga ikigega, mu bikorwa rusange bya hoteli no mu biryo byagendaga biba bike.

Uwo munsi, urusaku rw'amasasu y' imbunda nini n'into rwongeye kumvikana mu mujyi mu rukerera ; mu gitondo cyose, abantu babonaga amakamyo yuzuye abarinzi n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari ahita. Guza amasinga ya terefone byakozwe gahoro gahoro mu bice by' uburasirazuba n'amajyaruguru ya Kigali. Agahenge

gato k'igabanuka ry'amasasu kabonetse mu masaa cyenda n'igice, noherereje ubutumwa bwihutirwa abanyapolitiki twakoranaga b'i Paris.

Inyinshi muri za ambasade zari zatangiye gutegura uburyo bwo guhuriza hamwe abakozi bazo bo mu rwego rw'ubutwererane n'abandi bahatuye mu gihe guhungisha abakozi b'amashyirahamwe y'abagiraneza berekezaga i Burundi byari bitaratangira. Ibyo guhungisha abantu byatumye abantu benshi bari muri hoteli bagira icyizere ariko cyiza kuyoyoka ku buryo byatumye bamwe batangira guta umutwe. Koko rero nyuma ya saa sita, ibyo guhungisha abakomoka muri Amerika na Kanada kuri gahunda yateguwe n'ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika byateye umuvundo cyane mu bari bacumbitse kuri hoteli. Nubwo hari abasirikari bake b'abanyamerika bari baje kubaherekeza, ntibyabujije ko abandi bantu benshi bo mu bindi bihugu by'amahanga ndetse n'Abanyarwanda bifuzaga kugenda bigabiza izo modoka. Icyaje gutera agahinda cyane ni uburyo abasirikari ba Amerika bukaga inabi abatarifuzwaga bakanahagarika icyo gikorwa. Imishyikirano ibabaje cyane yabaye nimugoroba no mu ijoro, mu itsinda rigizwe gusa n'abashoboraga kugenda (Abadage na bo baje amaherezo gushyirwa mu cyiciro cya mbere) bategura iyimurwa mu ibanga.

Generali Dallaire avuga mu gitabo cye *J'ai serré la main du diable [Naramukanije na Shitani]* uko yasuye hoteli "ku mpera z'igicamunsi". Sinzi niba yarahageze mbere cg nyuma y'igerageza ryo guhungisha atanavuga, ariko ibyo avuga bigaragaza neza umwuka wari uhari n'imibanire hagati y'abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bari bagose hoteli :

> "Mu gusubira kuri [hoteli] Amahoro, niyemeje guhagarara kuri *Mille Collines*, ahari hahungiye umubare munini w'abanyamahanga, Abanyarwanda n'abakozi ba Minuar. Amarembo, ibaraza n'ibyumba byari byuzuye abasivili bishwe n'ubwoba. Banyirunze iruhande, banyinginga ngo mbabwire ibyariho biba kandi mbarengere. Nabasabye gutuza, mbabwira amagambo yo kubarema agatima, ariko nta kindi kitari amagambo nashoboraga kubamarira.
> Nari ndiho nshaka mu ibanga kapiteni Mbaye, mbona anguyeho, utamenya aho avuye, anjyana ku ruhande. Yari yaraye ajyanye imodoka ya burende rwihishwa afata abana ba madamu Agathe [Uwilingiyimana], abahisha mu kirundo cy'imyenda mu modoka ye inyuma abageza kuri hoteli [3]. Nta nkomyi yabaye muri urwo rugendo, kandi muri icyo gihe abana bari mu mutuzo mu cyumba kimwe cyo muri etaji. Namubwiye ko nzakora ibishoboka byose nkahabavana. Nta gitangaza ko muri hoteli hari abashoboraga kumena iryo banga. Uwo mukapiteni yagombaga byanze bikunze kurinda abana bari bihishe mu cyumba cyabo. Hanze, agatsiko k'*Interahamwe* kari kashyize bariyeri imbere ya hoteli. Narahagaze nshaka kumenya icyo bahakoraga. Abo bagabo bansubije ko hoteli yari yihishemo abagambanyi kandi ko nta n'umwe bazatuma asohoka. Ariko uwashakaga kwinjira muri *Mille Collines* yashoboraga guhita. Numvise umusatsi umvuye ku mutwe. Imbere abantu bari barundanye nk'ubushyo bw'inka, kandi byari byoroheye *Interahamwe* kwirohamo zikabica. Maze kubabwira ko noneho hoteli yari irinzwe n'Umuyango w'Abibumbye, nabategetse ko nta wugomba guhirahira ngo yinjiremo. Ayo magambo

[3] Iyo nkuru itandukanye n'iy'Ubutumwa bw'abashingamategeko b'Abafaransa : "Yumvwa n'uwakoze raporo, bwana Bernard Cazeneuve, bwana Le Moal, icyo gihe wari wungirije umuyobozi wa Porogaramu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) wari kandi ushinzwe gushyiraho uburyo bwo kunganira amasezerano y'amahoro kuva muri Nzeri 1993, yagaragaje ko, ku itariki ya 7 Mata, afite imodoka eshatu z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, yagiye ubwe gushaka abana ba minisitiri w'intebe, Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana, kandi ko yabajyanye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* aho yasabye umuyobozi wayo kubacumbikira" (Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda]*, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 267-268).

yatumye bampa urw'amenyo[4]."

Ubwicanyi bukaze, cyane cyane bwibasiye Abatutsi, bwarakomeje ijoro ryose hirya no hino muri Kigali. Muri rusange, nkurikije ibyo abantu babonaga ku mpande za hoteli n'ibyo batubwiraga kuri terefone, umujyi wose wasaga n'uwigaruriwe n'inkoramaraso zasinze ubugome zarasaga ikintu cyose cyinyagamburaga, zikica, zikarya ivandu ari nako zisahura.

Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata

Imbere muri hoteli, ijoro ryabaye rigufi ariko rituje. Nyamara amanywa yo ku wa 9 Mata byari bigoye kuyihanganira. Isakabaka ryatangiye mu masaa cyenda y'ijoro, ubwo indasinzira zumvaga amaradiyo amanywa n'ijoro, zumvaga inkuru y'indege enye Transall z'imfaransa zari zigeze ku kibuga cy'indege i Kigali. Abasirikari b'Abafaransa bazivuyemo bigaruriye ikibuga, agace kose kaguma mu maboko y'ingabo z'U Rwanda (FAR). Operasiyo "Amaryllis" yari itangiye.

Kuri iyo saha, ambasade y'Amerika yahaye amabwiriza y'ibanga abayikomokamo n'abatoranyijwe bari bashyizwe ku rutonde ruzwi bonyine, ikora operasiyo ya gikomando yo kubatwara hagati yo mu masaa kumi na saa kumi n'imwe z'ijoro, itungura abandi basabaga kugenda. Mu museke, abatereranywe bamaze kumenya iryo yimurwa rivangura kandi ryaraye rikozwe rwihishwa, umwuka wo kwikuriramo akarenge n'urwikekwe rwinshi wuzura mu mpunzi za buri gihugu. Iyo operasiyo yabonywemo akagambane, ivugisha abantu amangambure bataranga ibibazo by'ubusambane mu bwenegihugu n'agaciro k'ubuzima bw'abantu. Nta kindi gikorwa cy'ubufatanye rusange cyongeye kuvugwa, n'ubwo bamwe bari bashinzwe "imishyikirano" kuva ku wa 7 Mata (abakozi b'ubuyobozi bwa hoteli, ba basirikari babiri ba Minuar na bamwe mu bacumbitsi bahamenyereye) nta ko batagize.

Isakabaka ryakabije mu masaa mbili na saa tatu z'igitondo ubwo hisukaga igihiririri cy'impunzi zahungaga FPR cyari kizanywe n'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Hatangiye intonganya zikomeye mu gusaranganya no gushyira abantu mu byumba.

Amanywa yegeye imbere, amaradiyo yatangaje ko abasirikari 300 barwanira mu mazi b'Abanyamerika bari bageze i Bujumbura kandi ko abasirikari 600 bamanukira mu mitaka b'Ababiligi bavaga mu Bubiligi berekeza i Kigali mu rwego rwa operasiyo « Silverback ». Igice cya mbere cy'abanyamahanga b'abazungu 200 cyavuye i Butare kigana i Bujumbura, gikurikirwa n'abandi banyamahanga 200 bagizwe ahanini n'Abanyamerika bavuye i Kigali, hakurikiraho abakozi bagera ku ijana b'Amashyirahamwe y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye.

Kubera ko batari bacyizeye amakuru yavugaga ko indege yoherejwe na Guverinoma y'Ubuhindi yashoboraga gufatira i Nairobi Abanyaziya ingabo z'Abafaransa zari guhungisha, aba bo bahisemo kumvikana n'abasirikari bo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda ku "bukode" bw'imodoka za burende zashoboraga kubaherekeza kugera ku mupaka w'i Burundi. Bajugunye aho imitungo bari

[4] Roméo Dallaire, *J'ai serré la main du diable [Naramukanije na Shitani], op. cit.*

basigaranye … Amaherezo, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yadusabye kwitegura guhungishwa muri hoteli bukeye bwaho, inatumenyesha ko twagombaga kwirwanaho tukagera ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa Saint- Exupéry. Inkuru twari dushinzwe gukwirakwiza mu bantu bacumbikiwe muri hoteli yari iyi : mu banyamahanga, abakomoka mu Ishyirahamwe ry'Ubukungu ry'Ibihugu by'Uburayi, bonyine, ni bo bari guhungishwa; guhungisha abantu byari gukorwa mu cyiciro kimwe gusa kandi Ubufaransa bukaba ari bwo bwonyine bubikora (no ku baturage b'Ububiligi). Iryo tangazo ryari urucantege ku miryango y'imvange z'amoko, by'umwihariko iyo umwe mu bayigize yabaga ari umunyafurika. Twishyize hamwe, turerura tubwira ambasade y'Ubufaransa ko tutabyemera, haba ku ruhande rwacu by'umwihariko cg ku Banyarwanda barokotse ubwicanyi bwakorwaga.

Indege yo guhungisha irimo gusa abantu mirongo ine na batatu (abana n'abagore b'abanyamahanga b'Abafaransa ahanini) yahagurutse i Kigali mu mpera z'igicamunsi. Nta yindi ambasade yigeze isabwa kuzuza iyo ndege. Abantu cumi na babiri bo mu muryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana bajyanywe muri iyo ndege[5].

Umunsi wari watangiranye icyizere cy'ubutabazi bw'abanyamahanga umuntu yakekaga ko bwari bugiye guhagarika ubwicanyi no kugarura amahoro, warangiye mu kumiro kenshi, cyane ko koloneli Marcel Gatsinzi, umuyobozi mushya wa etamajoro wari winginzwe ngo aze gutwara umuryango wari wihishe atigeze akoma. Mu by'ukuri, nta bubasha bwo kuyobora yari afite.

Ku cyumweru tariki ya 10 Mata

Nkurikije abo twaganiraga bose, iryo joro ryari rifite umutuzo kurusha ayandi yose umujyi wa Kigali wari wararaye kuva intambara yongeye kubura kandi kuva mu rukerera abantu babonye amakamyo y'imyanda atangiye gutoragura intumbi mu mihanda.

Ariko abantu banamenye nanone ko bamwe mu bantu twari twarakiriye muri hoteli batari bagihari. Nkuko nabibwiwe n'abakozi, abo bantu baba barajyanywe nijoro n'abasirikari utamenya niba bari baje kubarokora cg kubahitana. Ibikorwa nk'ibyo byari byaragiye biba kenshi ku manywa guhera ku wa kane. Byaduteraga ipfunwe iyo wakubitanaga amaso nabo batwawe butama, ukibaza icyo batekerezaga.

Saa tatu n'igice, ambasade y'abafaransa yasabye urutonde rw'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga gutwarwa. Hafi yo mu masaa tanu, ba kapiteni Mbaye na Moigny ba Minuar baje gutwara abana ba Agathe Uwilingiyimana, babajyana mu modoka ya burende ya generali Dallaire yari ihagaze imbere y'umuryango wa hoteli. Ariko, ku munota wa nyuma, uyu yategetse ko babasubiza mu cyumba cyabo, atinya ko bakacirwa n'ingabo z' Igihugu (FAR) cg imitwe yitwara gisirikari. Nyuma yaho

[5] "Ku gicamunsi cyo ku itariki ya 9 Mata, ishami ry'ingabo ryagenzuraga ibigo byo guhurizamo abantu mu gace karimo ambasade, cyane cyane ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Inzira yo guhungisha abantu ntiyacaga mu mujyi hagati, ahubwo mu nkengero yawo yo mu majyepfo. Abo bantu baje kwiyongeraho abandi mirongo itatu na batanu. Saa kumi n'imwe, mu kubahiriza amabwiriza y'icyo gikorwa, indege ya mbere ya C130 yarahagurutse irimo Abafaransa mirongo ine na batatu n'abantu cumi na babiri bo mu muryango wa Habyarimana" (Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie* Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 257).

gato, mu ntangiriro y'igicamunsi, nko mu masaa kumi, abasirikari bagera kuri cumi na babiri hamwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bariye karungu bavuye kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* baza *[kuri Mille Collines]* bakangisha guturitsa inzugi z'ibyumba na za gerenade zabo niba batabahaye abana ba minisitiri w'intebe Agathe Uwilingiyimana, kimwe na François-xavier Nsanzuwera, porokireri wa Repubulika wa Kigali n'umugore we Imacul*ée* Mukahirwa (bari bagobotswe na koloneli L*é*onidas Rusatira abageza kuri hoteli). Abo ba nyuma bombi bari bashyizwe mu cyumba cyanjye ubwanjye muri etaji ya kabiri, abana bari mu cyumba byari bifatanye, nanjye kandi narashakishwaga. N'ubwo ibintu byari bimeze nabi, twaratabaje byihutirwa ariko ntibyagira icyo bitanga, haba muri Minuar, muri PNUD no mu basirikari b'Abafaransa biyambajwe ("Nimwumvikane", ni ko bansubije muri ambasade y' Ubufaransa). kapiteni Mbaye Diagne yarahagobotse ajya impaka igihe kirekire nyuma aza kwemererwa ko abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bava kuri hoteli mbere gato ya saa cyenda z'amanywa[6].

Ako kanya bakimara kugenda, haje minisitiri w'ingabo, Augustin Bizimana, aherekejwe n'abasirikari bakuru. Uyu yari avuye muri misiyo muri Kameruni (Cameroun), ahita atangira imirimo ye muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Ngifite igihunga kubera amagambo akaze nari nateranye n'abasirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, namwakiranye ibyishimo agisohoka mu modoka (twari tuziranye by'umwihariko kubera imirimo yakoraga mbere muri banki z'Abaturage). Namuregeye uko mbonye imyitwarire n'ibikorwa bibi by'abasirikari "be". Yansubizanye inabi ko Atari afite ububasha na buke ku basirikari kubera ko atari yakarahiye nk'abandi baminisitiri ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Ibiganiro byacu byarogowe na Jean Hélène, wari uhagarariye ikinyamakuru *Le Monde* na Radiyo Mpuzamahanga y'Abafaransa (RFI) washakaga kugira ibyo amubaza. Nyuma yo kumubaza inshuro ebyiri kuvuga umwirondoro we, minisitiri yategetse abasirikari babiri mu bamurindaga guhera ko bafata uwo munyamakuru yise "FPR kantsinsi". Jean Hélène yirutse amasigamana agana aho imodoka zihagarara, yiroha mu modoka ya Croix-Rouge yahereyeko ivuduka. Ubwo minisitiri yavuze ko yatanze itegeko "yisekereza". Noneho ibiganiro byacu byarakomeje : minisitiri yemeje ko bariyeri zose zari zavanyweho i Kigali uretse iz'abajandarume, kandi ko bidatinze byashobokaga kwigendera nta nkomyi. Yanyijeje kohereza saa kumi n'imwe abandinda kugira ngo njye kugoboka abanyamahanga bari bafite ibibazo. Guhera saa kumi n'iminota cumi n'itanu, iraswa ry'amasasu ryarongeyeye bikabije risa n'aho ryakiraga ishyika ry'indege za mbere z'Ababiligi zageze i Kanombe ahagana saa kumi na mirongo ine n'itanu. Nategereje abarinzi be umuti wa mperezayo biba ngombwa ko ndeka gusohoka.

Saa kumi n'imwe, bwenda kwira, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yamenyesheje ko

[6] Inkuru ikurira y'icyo gikorwa itangwa n'abakoze raporo y'ubutumwa bw'abadepite : "Ku cyumweru tariki ya 10 Mata, ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud amaze kumenyesha [bwana Le Moal, icyo gihe wari wungirije umuyobozi wa Porogaramu y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ishinzwe amajyambere (PNUD) wari kandi ushinzwe gushyiraho uburyo bwo kunganira amasezerano y'amahoro kuva muri Nzeri 1993] ko bitashobokaga, nta bibazo bikomeye biteye, kubera w'urwango wari wiganje, guhungisha "abana b'Agathe", [bwana Le Moal] yasubiye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* aho yamenyeye ko abo bana bari batoraguwe na bwana André Guichaoua hamwe n'Umunyamerika [Marc-Daniel Gutekunst, w'Umufaransa wabaga muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe, Igiterezo cy'umwanditsi] (Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* p. 268).

yari ishinzwe gucyura "abanyamahanga bose", inadusaba kuva vuba na bwangu muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* tukajya ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa twirwanyeho nta n'abaturinda[7]. Nyuma yo kubijyaho inama akanya gato, twabamenyesheje ko twanze bidasubirwaho gusohoka muri hoteli duhubutse kandi bwije. Hafashwe icyemezo cyo kwimurira urugendo ku munsi ukurikiyeho. Ariko kandi byakomeje kugorana kubona igisubizo gifatika ku cyifuzo cy'uko tujyana abana ba Agathe Uwilingiyimana, kimwe na François-Xavier Nsanzuwera n'umugore we. Ibisubizo bya Ambasade byagendaga bihindagurika hakurikijwe uwo muvugana, bamwe bakitsitsa ku mabwiriza y'ibanze : "Ubufaransa burishingira abakomoka mu mahanga, abanyamahanga bose", "Abanyarwanda barebwa n'Ababiligi, baje nyuma, ni bo bagomba gukora igikwiye"; abandi bakihohora bati "Kuki [ari] twe [mureba gusa] ?", "Nimugeze ikibazo kuri Loni". Intabaza zose zabaye imfabusa.Ntawashakaga nta n'uwatinyukaga kwishyiraho umuzigo. Hamaze kubura umwanzuro kandi bigaragara ko rwabuze gica, icyizere kidasobanutse neza cyaje gushyira gituruka muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa.

Nubwo na bo byari byabaye ngombwa ko bahungira kuri hoteli, abakozi b'umuryango utabara imbabare w'Ababiligi baraye ijoro ryose bagaragaza ubuhanga bwabo, babarura abantu n'imodoka, banavana ku mabisi mato (minibisi) ya Sabena ibirango byayo. hoteli yari icumbikiye icyo gihe abanyamahanga 166 n'Abanyarwanda basaga 300 (abenshi ntibatari kuri lisiti n'imwe, abandi bakoresha amazina atari yo ku mpamvu z'umutekano wabo). Bitinze ku mugoroba, hiyongereyeho uwihayimana w'Umunyakanada aherekejwe n'Umuzayirwa ; bari bamaze iminsi bihishe mu « bihuru » maze bagarurwa mu mujyi n'irondo ry'abasirikari. Ikiguzi cyari ibihumbi 300 by'amafaranga y'amanyarwanda, icyo ni cyo giciro gito ku bindi cyasabwaga igihe twahamaze…Urebye abasirikari basabaga gusa amafaranga yo « kugura » lisansi n'inzoga. Ku manywa, twari tugeze ku mafaranga 25000 ku munyenganda n'umwavoka, batahabwaga akandi gaciro uretse ak'ubwoko, birurira bigera ku mafaranga 100.000 ku warwanyaga ubutegetsi wabaga yatahuwe.

Ku wa mbere tariki ya 11 Mata

Saa kumi n'imwe n'igice mu gitondo, twamenyesheje ambasade y'Ubufaransa ko twiteguye kujya ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Bitwaje gusa agafuka cg agakapu, "abanyamahanga" bose bari bageze mu modoka zari zashoboye gukusanywa. kapiteni Diagne Mbaye yari yarangije kugenzura inshuro nyinshi inzira yo kunyuramo kandi nta bariyeri n' imwe y'imitwe yitwara gisirikari cg y'abasirikari yari igihari. Nyamara byabaye ngombwa gutegereza amasaha abiri mbere y'uko

[7] "Amanywa yo ku itariki ya 10 Mata yaranzwe n'ihaguruka ry'indege eshatu i Bangui zo mu bwoko bwa C130 zitwaye umutwe wa Regima ya 8 y'abagendera mu mitaka bo mu ngabo zo mu mazi (RPIMa) bari bavuye i Libreville, bituma umubare wose w'ingabo ugera ku bantu 464. Muri icyo gihe, hatangiye amasimburanwa umunani yo kwimurira abantu i Bujumbura. Kubakura aho byari bitangiye gukomera, cyane cyane hafi ya *Hôtel Méridien* mu miriro y'amasasu yaraswaga n'Inkotanyi. Muri rusange, imitwe ibiri y'ingabo ni yo yagenzuraga aho hantu n'undi mutwe wakwirakwijwe mu mujyi, aho amatsinda yawo abiri yarindaga ikigo gikuru cyo kwimuriramo abantu cyo ku Ishuri ry'Abafaransa, irindi rrinda ambasade y'Ubufaransa, irya kane rikagenzura inzu ndangamuco.
Kuri ayo manywa ni bwo himuwe abana 97 bo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Mutagatifu Agathe cyari i Masaka hamwe n'ababaherekeje. Bukeye bwaho baje kujyanwa n'indege" (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*. p. 257).

hatangwa ikimenyetso cyo kuva kuri hoteli, kubera ko gutwara ba bana batanu b'Abanyarwanda byari byongeye gukemangwa n'abo twakoranaga bo muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Nihutiye kubabwira ko nta muntu n'umwe washoboraga kuva muri hoteli igihe cyose twari tutarabona uburenganzira bwo kubajyana. Nari natunguwe n'ihindagura ryabo maze duterana amagambo akarishye. Koko, nijoro nari naterefonnye Pierre Péan mu Bufaransa musobanurira ukuntu tubayeho kubera kwinangira kw'ambasade y'Ubufaransa, namusaba kubyigereza ubwe kuri Bruno Delaye, umuyobozi w'Ishami ry'Afurika muri Elysée [ingoro ya perezida w'Ubufaransa]. Nyuma yarampamagaye ambwira ko guhungisha [abana ba Agathe] byemejwe. Icyo kibazo cy'abana rero narahakanye ndatsemba ko ndashobora kwemera ko ambasade yisubiraho. Nyuma y'iterana ry'amagambo rikomeye (harimo ni ryo nagiranye na Jean-Michel Marlaud), ambasade yagezeho iremera, ariko ikomeza kwangira ishikamye uwareraga abana, ndetse na porokireri wa Repubulika n'umugore we. Nyuma y' inama y'agatsinda kacu, twafashe icyemezo cyo kutava ku izima no gukomeza kurwanira ko abo twari kumwe bose tujyana. Pierre Sharon ubwo ajya mu byo kunyihanangiriza maze amenyesha ko niba dushaka "kumukinisha", ububiko bw'imodoka zacu buri busakwe ku muryango w'ishuri ry'Abafaransa kandi ko Abanyarwanda bari bube bazirimo basubizwayo, mu magambo make ko bari buhabwe abasirikari bari barashyizwe hafi aho. Hanyuma yanteye ubwoba ko nintaha mu Bufaransa, nanjye ubwanjye azandega mu butabera "gufata abantu ho ingwate" no "gushyira mu byago ubuzima bw'abaturage b'Ubufaransa". Amaherezo, Bik, Diagne, Gutegunst nanjye twafashe icyemezo cyo kuva ku izima tunasaba porokireri, uwo bashakanye n'umukozi urera abana bari bamaze kwicara muri 4x4 gusubira muri hoteli kubera ko ibintu byari bimeze nabi : kuba nta bariyeri z'imitwe yitwara gisirikari zari mu nzira twagombaga kunyuramo kugira ngo tugere ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry ntibyashoboraga guhoraho. Nanone, ishyushyamitwe n'icyoba byagendaga byiyongera mu bantu bari batsindagiye mu mamodoka yari kuri parikingi ya hoteli mu gihe cy'amasaha abiri kandi batagiraga icyo bazi ku mpamvu y'iryo tinda. Indi kirogoya ya nyuma, saa moya ambasade y'Ububiligi yifuje ko abantu bayo baguma muri hoteli bakahavanwa nyuma n'ingabo z'Ababiligi! Mu ijoro, abakomando b'inyongera 400 bamanukira mu mitaka b'Ababiligi bari koko bageze i Kigali. Abakomoka mu Bubiligi babyangiye icyarimwe. Kujyana na ba bana batanu ku ishuri amaherezo byabaye mu masaa moya n'igice, bikurikirwa no kujyanwa ku kibuga cy'indege saa yine.

Gucyura abanyamahanga byatubereye twese, by'umwihariko kuri "malayika murinzi" wacu wo muri Minuar, igihe cy'agahinda yakiriye nk'itsindwa rye ubwe kubera ivangura ryakorewe abanyagihugu. Kuva saa kumi z'ijoro amaze kwizera ko nta bariyeri n'imwe y'abasirikari cg y'abitwara gisikare yari ifunze inzira yo kunyuramo kugera aho twari guhurira, kandi anibutsa abantu bari mu makuba yari yasubije kuri hoteli, yaratubwiye mbere y'uko dushobora kuvugana na ambasade y'Ubufaransa ati "nakoze igice cy'umurimo, ubu ni mwe mugomba gukora ikindi gice". Ubugome bwaranze ukwanga kwa ambasade y'Ubufaransa bwamuteye agahinda, hanyuma mbere yo gutandukana atubwira ko yikundiraga urwego rwe rw'umusirikari "w'intege nke kubera ko ari ko Loni yabishatse"

kurusha urw' "abari bafite uburyo ariko bakanga gutabara".

Tukigera ku ishuri [Saint-Exupéry], twaganiriye twisanzuye n'abakozi b'ambasade y'Ubufaransa bari bahadutanze[8], ikibazo cya porokireri Nsanzuwera tukivuganaho n'abasirikari b'Abafaransa, bemera guhera ko bansubiza kuri hoteli mu ijipe bamperekeje kugira ngo muzane. Umusirikari mukuru wari ushinzwe ibyo guhungisha yasabye ariko ko twabanza kubona icyemezo cy'ambasaderi mbere yo kujya kuri hoteli, hanyuma, mperekejwe n'abasirikari bane ninjiye muri ambasade. Mu kirongozi cy'Ambasade nahahuriye n'uhagarariye Papa mu Rwanda anyemerera kumperekeza kugira ngo amfashe kumvisha ambasaderi ukuri. Twasabye kwakirwa twembi baratwangira. Ikindi kandi ni uko umunyamabanga we yatwibukije ko kutahaba kwanjye byari bigiye gutinza kujyana igihiriri cy'abantu bose ku kibuga cy'indege. Iyo ngingo yari yagiweho impaka mbere yo kuva ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa tugana kuri ambasade kandi, nyuma y'impaka nagiranye n'umusirikari mukuru wari umperekeje, yangiriye inama yo kudatinda kubwira abakuru be bari ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry ko yari guherako anjyana ku kibuga hamwe na porokireri, ko bitari rero ngombwa gutegereza ko tugaruka. N'uhagarariye Papa turongera dusaba ko ambasaderi atwakira. Kwanga kwa kabiri : "Nta mwanya ukiri muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa". Nta kundi byari kugenda, uwari undinze arongera amperekeza ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Hanyuma igihiriri cy'abantu kijya ku kibuga cy'indege, akenshi ku buryo bugoranye, kinyuze mu gace kahariwe inganda. Ku kibuga cy'indege, umwirondoro wa ba bana batanu batari bafite impapuro nta kibazo wateye mu magenzura abiri yakozwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa mbere yo kujya mu ndege.

Ikibazo cyasaga n'icyumvikanye, n'abahagarariye Ubusuwisi i Kigali bari badusezeranyije ko abana bari kwakirwa ku butaka bw'u Busuwisi baramutse babyangiwe bageze mu Bufaransa. Nuko, tugeze i Bujumbura, Henri Crépin-Leblond, ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa mu Burundi yansobanuriye ko yari kohereza i Quai d'Orsay agapapuro kavuga ko banyura mu Bufaransa berekeza mu Busuwisi. Amakuru yari yamugejejweho byanze bikunze na mugenzi we w'i Kigali.

Akanya gato abana bamaze ku kibuga cy'indege i Bujumbura kateje impagarara nyinshi mu nzego z'igipolisi n'abasirikari b'Abarundi bari bashinzwe umutekano w'ikibuga, batari bazi umwirondoro nyawo w'izo mfubyi. Indege ya Transall y'imfaransa ikihagera mu masaa saba ivuye i Kigali, igihuha cyari cyakwiriye ku kibuga ko bari abana bakomoka kuri nyakwigendera Habyarimana. Kubera ko itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga ryari ryatangaje urupfu rw'abana ba minisitiri w' intebe hamwe na nyina, kwibeshya byarumvikanaga. Ubushyuhe bwari bwinshi mu basirikari, wasangaga bamwe

[8] Ubwo naje kumenya, mbibwiwe na madamu Marlaud, umugore w'ambasaderi ubwe, ko ari we ubwe, wari waraye afashe icyemezo cyo kwanga guhungisha Nsanzuwera. Ingingo yari ashingiyeho, nkuko byagaragaraga mu nyandiko nari namwohereje kuri fagisi muri iryo joro kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, Nsanzuwera yasabaga ubuhungiro mu Bubiligi, bityo ambasade y'Ubufaransa ikaba itaragombaga kwita ku mpamvu ye. Ku ruhande rwacu, ntitwari twaketse ko hari ikibazo kubera ko Ubufaransa bwimuraga muri hoteli abakomokaga mu Bubiligi. Icyo gihe, umutekano nyirizina w'ambasade y'Ububiligi wari ntawo burundu kandi nyuma y'iburiramo ry'ibyageragejwe na jenerali Dallaire kuri hoteli kugira ngo atware abana, ntibyashobokaga na busa gutekereza ko ingabo z'Ababiligi zashoboraga kubyinjiramo. Nanone, ambasaderi Marlaud yari yasanze ku munsi ubanza bidashoboka gushinga uwo murimo ingabo z'Abafaransa mu gihe ingabo zirinda perezida n'abitwara gisirikari bari babyinjiyemo, kandi n'ubuzima bw'abakomoka mu Bufaransa ubwabwo bwari bubangamiwe.

muri bo kugira ngo bagaragaze ko batishimiye kuba bahari, bahondaguraga ibirahuri by'icyumba twari dutegererejemo. Ku bw'amahirwe, nabonye mu bagenzi b'indege yari imaze kugwa, uwahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe w'i Burundi Adrien Sibomana, mbasha kumusobanurira ikibazo cyacu. Yarahagobotse, adushinga Mames Bansubiyeko, umuyobozi mukuru w'iperereza n'abinjira n'abasohoka. Amaze kumenya ko abana bari ku butaka bw'i Burundi, perezida w'agateganyo, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, wifuzaga "kwakirana ishema no guha icyubahiro abazize imidugararo yo mu Rwanda", yashatse kutwakira muri perezidansi ya Repubulika. Ku mpamvu z'umutekano no kwirinda imbogamizi ariko, twumvikanye kuguma ku kibuga mu gace mpuzamahanga, tuguma mu cyumba cyo kwicaramo ku kibuga kugeza igihe indege ya Air-France yahagurukiye kuri uwo mugoroba. Ku gicamunsi, minisitiri w'intebe i Burundi, Anatole Kanyenkiko, minisitiri w' ububanyi n'amahanga, Jean-Marie Ngendahayo n'ambasaderi w'U Rwanda i Bujumbura, Sylvestre Uwibajije, baje kuganiriza abo bana.

I Kigali ibintu byarihuse :

> "Mu mujyi imirwano irakomeye. Abenshi mu bakomoka mu Bufaransa bamaze guhungishwa cg bakusanywa ku ishuri ry'Abafaransa. Ibyo bikorwa birakomeza ; bireba abava mu Bufaransa n'abanyamahanga. Saa cyenda n' igice ambasaderi i Kigali, "kubera icyemezo cyo gufunga agace gahurizwamo Abafaransa, ibintu birushaho kuba bibi i Kigali no kwimurira Guverinoma muri *Hôtel des Diplomates* yegereye ambasade bishobora gutuma yibasirwa n'amasasu", irasaba Quai d'Orsay gufunga iyo ambasade ejo mu gitondo tariki ya 12 Mata"[9].

Icyo cyifuzo cyari cyarangije kugibwaho impaka muri icyo gitondo mu nama ihuza za minisiteri iyobowe na François Mitterand, wari wasabwe kugira icyo avuga ku iyimurwa ry'Abafaransa n'ifungwa ry'ambasade :

> "Aho hantu, tubonwa nk'abafatanya n'Abahutu n'ibyitso bya Habyarimana wahoze ari perezida. Kwinjira i Kigali kwa FPR n'imirwano igiye gukara ni imbogamizi ikomeye cyane ku mutekano w' abaduhagarariye mu gihugu. Ambasaderi wacu ashobora, niba mubyemera, kuvana i Kigali n'abasirikari bacu ba nyuma.Ni cyo gitekerezo cya Quai d'Orsay. Mu rwego rw'umutekano, natwe ni ko tubibona"[10].

Uhagarariye Papa yimuriwe i Bujumbura ahagana saa kumi n'imwe.Yahageze mbere gato y'uko twinjira mu ndege, ambwira ko bitashobotse kujya gufata porokireri Nsanzuwera n'umufasha we.

Ku wa kabiri tariki ya 12

Indege idasanzwe ya Air France igeze ku kibuga cy'i Roissy itwaye abanyamahanga 474, minisitri w'ubutwererane, Michel Roussin, no hanyuma uhagarariye minisiteri w'ububanyi n'amahanaga nibarije ubwanjye, bambwiye ko bari bamenyeshejwe ko abana ba Agathe Uwilingiyimana bari mu baje mu

9 Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*. p. 258.

10 Inyandiko jenerali Christian Quesnot, umugaba wa etamajoro yihariye ya François Mitterrand na Dominique Pin, wari ushinzwe ubutumwa, bagejeje kuri perezida ; tubisanga mu gitabo cya Pierre Péan, *Noires Fureurs, Blancs menteurs [Uburakari bwirabura, abera b'ababeshyi]. Rwanda 1990-1994*, Fayard, Paris, 2005, p. 291.

ndege, ariko ko nta cyemezo cy'umwihariko kibareba cyari cyafashwe, kandi imfashanyo zikomeye zari zateguwe mu kwakira "imfubyi zemewe n'amategeko" zo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte-Agathe, bimuwe n'iyo ndege. Bashoboraga ariko kubona icyemezo cyo kutirukanwa cy'iminsi itandatu kimwe n'abandi banyamahanga bimuwe, hagitegerejwe ko ikibazo cyabo gifatirwa ibyemezo. Ariko, kubera ko ntari nashoboye kubona gihamya yo gushyira mu buryo ikibazo cyabo itanzwe na perefegitura ya Lille—niho nari ntuye— mu minsi itandatu icyemezo cyagombaga kumara, Thérèse Pujolle, umuhuzabikorwa w'ishami rya za minisiteri rishinzwe ibihe bikomeye ryari ryashyiriweho kugenzura ibikorwa byo gutahura abantu, yangiriye inama yo gukomeza gahunda yo kujyana abana mu Busuwisi : ku ruhande rw'abayobozi, byari kuba ari "ukwimuka kwihariye bajya mu Busuwisi" baciye mu Bufaransa. Icyemezo cy'u Busuwisi cyamenyekanye ku manywa noneho Anne Baudois Chaya, wari uhagarariye Ubusuwisi i Paris, ashobora kuza kudufata imbere mu nzu itegerererezwamo indege aje mu modoka ifite icyapa cya CD, adutwara mu gace mpuzamahanga ku ndege ya Swissair yerekezaga i Genève. Nguko uko leta y'Ubufaransa, mu kutava ku izima kwayo, yizibukiriye uwo mutwaro dore ko abashoboraga gusaba ubuhungiro batari bigeze bakandagira bizwi ku butaka bwabo.

Abana bitaweho n'inzego za gipolisi z'Abasuwisi zifuje ko "begezwa kure y'induru y' ibinyamakuru". Mbere y'uko nsubira i Paris nimugoroba, itangazo rigufi ryo mu buyobozi ryamenyesheje mu maganbo make ishyika ry'abana ba minisitiri w' I ntebe mu Busuwisi. Bashyizwe mu rwihisho ibyumweru byinshi mu kigo cyakira impunzi mu Busuwisi mu gace kavuga ikidage, mu gihe ibigo bikomeye bya televiziyo n'ibinyamakuru by'ibinyamahanga byabashakishaga uruhindu[11].

I Kigali, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yafunzwe ahagana saa tatu mu gitondo n'abakozi ba nyuma bari bagihari, ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud, koloneli

[11] Mu mwaka wakurikiyeho, muri Mata 1995, ikibazo cy' "abana b'Agathe" cyongeye kubura i Kigali, mu gihe cyo kwibuka ku nshuro ya mbere intambara n'itsembabwoko, ubwo abayobozi bashya b' U Rwanda bashakaga gutaha urwibutso ruhesha icyubahiro ababiguyemo kandi by'ibanze Agathe Uwilingiyimana, wari wagizwe intwari y'igihugu. Hagiwe impaka n'abayobozi b'u Busuwisi kugira ngo abana bashobore kuza muri iyo mihango yo kwibuka bwa mbere. Ndi i Kigali mu butumwa bwa Banki y'isi mu kwezi kwa gatatu, nasabwe kubaherekeza kandi umukuru wa Guverinoma w'icyo gihe, Faustin Twagiramungu, yifuza cyane cyane ko mba mu mwanya w'icyubahiro hamwe n'abana nkanahagararira Ubufaransa, kubera ko ambasaderi mushya w'Ubufaransa, Jacques Courbin, yari yifatiye mu cyayenge ibiruhuko akajya i Paris. Mu mwuka w'imitwe ishyushye cyane imbere mu gihugu, ubwumvikane buke bukabije hagati y'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki byigaragazaga igihe habaga ibiganiro n'impaka nari natumiwemo, byatumye nanga kwigaragaza muri ibyo birori. Hanyuma, ubuyobozi bw'Inkotanyi, mu kubuza Guverinoma uburyo, bwanze gushyikirana n'ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Rishinzwe impunzi (HCR) n'abayobozi b'Abasuwisi ku buryo bwo kuzana abana mu Rwanda, bunasaba ambasaderi w' U Rwanda i Genève kuvana ubwe abana mu miryango yabakiriye mu Busuwisi akabageza i Kigali. Ubushyamirane bwo mu rwego rw'ububanyi n'amahanga bwari bwatangiye, icyo gihe mfata icyemezo, mbyumvikanyeho na minisitiri w'intebe, kuba ntari i Kigali muri iryo yibuka. Uko kutizerana kwagize ingaruka z'igihe kirekire mu mibanire yanjye n'abayobozi bashya.
Hanyuma mu Bufaransa idosiye y'abana yabonewe umwanzuro "wemewe" ku itariki ya 12 Gicurasi 1995, umunsi natumirwaga ku meza, ku buryo buntunguye, muri Quai d'Orsay, na Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sablière, wari icyo gihe umuyobozi w'Ibireba Afurika na Madagascar, hashize iminsi mike Jacques Chirac atorewe kuba perezida. Turi ku meza, Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sablière yagaragaje amatsiko menshi ku bintu byose byerekeye ako karere, anavuga inshuro nyinshi ko "atangajwe no kumva" ibyo namubwiraga ku byabaye i Kigali muri icyo cyumweru, kandi ko yari gutangiza bidatinze "anketi za ngombwa kugira ngo yibarize amakuru ubwe". Dosiye y'"abana b'Agathe" yaravuzwe cyane. Namusabye icyo gihe ko bahabwa uburenganzira bwo gutura mu Bufaransa kugira imitwaro y'imiryango yabakiriye mu Busuwisi igabanuke. Babonye viza bidatinze banashobora kumara ibiruhuko byo mu impeshyi mu Bufaransa.

Bernard Cussac, Pierre Sharon… bajya ku kibuga cy'indege. Ku manywa, indege idasanzwe y' imfaransa yahagurutse i Kigali ijya i Bujumbura irimo abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Muri rusange, abantu 1238 bimuwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa harimo Abafaransa 454. Mu banyamahanga 784, harimo Abanyafurika 612, harimo Abanyarwanda 394. Igihiri cya nyuma cyaje kuva i Kigali kirimo Johann Swinnen, ambasaderi w'Ububiligi – ari mu modoka ya burende y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye –, Marie-France Renfer, wari uhagarariye Ubusuwisi, Monique Mujawamariya, umuharanizi w'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu wo muri CLADHO (Urugaga rw'amahuriro n'amashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda), nb. Abanyamahanga b'abanyaburayi bavanywe muri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* ahagana saa cyenda z'amanywa. Abakozi 26 b'Abasuwisi ba Komite mpuzamahanga y'Umuryang outabara imababare (CICR) bayobowe na Philippe Gaillard, nibo bonyine basigaye i Kigali. Nyuma y'aho, *Hôtel des Mille Collines* yasigaye ahanini yita ku byo guhisha abanyacyubahiro bari bahahungiye.

Hôtel des Diplomates yo yafunzwe mu ntangiriro y'amanywa, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho imaze kwimukira i Gitarama. Nyuma yaho gato, umuyobozi w'umubiligi wa *Hôtel des Mille Collines* yasimbuwe na Paul Rusesabagina w'Umunyarwanda, mbere yaho wari umuyobozi wa *Hôtel des Diplomates.* Yahavuye saa kumi n'imwe hamwe n'abayobozi b'ishami ry'Umuryango w'Ubukungu w'ibihugu by'i Burayi (CEE).

Ku wa kabiri kuri 12 ku manywa, noneho François-Xavier Nsanzuwera yashoboye kuboneka kuri terefone. Yatubwiye ko ambasaderi w'Ububiligi Johan Swinnen na we ubwe witeguraga kujyana n'Ababiligi ba nyuma, atashoboraga "kwinyagambura" ngo amufate.

Abanyamahanga bamaze kugenda, umurwa mukuru wayogojwe n'ingabo zarindaga perezida n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari, kapiteni Mbaye Diagne agomba gutegereza ku wa gatandatu kugira ngo hamwe na Minuar, agerageze kongera guhungisha abantu bari basigaye muri hoteli, by'umwihariko porokireri wa Repubulika wa Kigali washakishwa cyane n'abasirikari. Afatanije na generali Dallaire, babashije gusohora abantu icumi, ariko François-Xavier Nsanzuwera akomeza kubura kubera imyirondoro itandukanye n'inimero z'ibyumba namumenyeshaga ku buryo butaziguye kuri terefone. Hahoraga "abasirikari ba Loni" cumi na bane imbere ya *Mille Collines,* ariko bose amaherezo byabaye ngombwa ko bahava. Ku cyumweruu kuri 17 Mata, François-Xavier Nsanzuwera yasize ubutumwa bwo kwiheba kuri terefone yanjye yikoresha, avuga ko yari yamenyeshejwe iby'urugendo rwa Dallaire, ariko ko atari yashoboye gusohoka ngo amugereho. Ubwo Minuar yahereye ko imenyeshwa ko yari akiri muzima, ariko kubera ko agace karimo hoteli kaberagamo imirwano ikaze hagati y'ingabo z'igihugu (FAR) na FPR, umusirikari mukuru wa Minuar nashoboye kuvugana na we yambwiye ko bitashobokaga kongera gusubiramo igikorwa bari baraye bakoze.

Habayeho andi magerageza, nk'iryari ribabaje kandi ritagize icyo rigeraho ryo ku wa 3 Gicurasi, ubwo ikivunge cy'imodoka zahungishaga abantu cyatangirwaga n'*Interahamwe,* zikabahukamo n'imipanga abantu icyenda bagakomereka maze

bose bagasubizwa kuri hoteli (*reba umutwe wa 12*). Igikorwa cyageragejwe kuri 27 Gicurasi cyo icyakora cyaratunganye, nuko nyuma y'ibyumweru birindwi by' intimba, impunzi zo mu minsi ya mbere zishobora gutoroka abarinzi n'abashinyaguzi bazo.

Inyandiko ebyiri zavuye muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, zitanga ishusho y'ijijisha ry'abakoze raporo kuri dosiye y' "ihungishwa ry'abana ba Agathe Uwilingiyimana, minisitiri w'intebe", bagaragaza nibura intege nke z'igitekerezo cy'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa :

> "Ubufaransa koko bwimuye mu ndege ya mbere [ku wa 9 Mata, ibi ni iby' umwanditsi] umupfakazi wa perezida Juvénal Habyarimana na babiri mu bakobwa be, umwe mu bahungu be, babiri mu buzukuru be na bamwe mu bantu be b'inkoramutima, ikurikije amabwiriza, mbega ni abantu bagera ku icumi. Abantu bo mu "ruziga rwa kabiri" rw'umuryango wa Habyarimana bari ku rutonde rw'abagenzi bari guhungishwa mu byiciro bikurikira, ariko abo bantu, nk' uko byagaragajwe, bafashe umuhanda bajya ku Gisenyi. [...]
>
> "Abana ba Agathe" bimuriwe i Bujumbura, aho bafatiye indege ya Air France ku wa mbere tariki ya 11 Mata, ari na byo byatumye ambasaderi avuga : "Ku ruhande rw' iyimurwa ry'abana ba Agathe Uwilingiymana, ntangajwe n'uko havugwa ko ryatinze. Bimuwe ku wa mbere ukurikira uw'amarorerwa, igihe kimwe, ku rugero, n'umugore wanjye, uw'ushinzwe ibya gisirikari n'uw'umukuru w'ishuri,mbere y'abantu bari bahungiye muri ambasade bahavanywe ari uko ifunzwe[12]."
>
> Nyamara, bwana Michel Cuingnet, wari ushinzwe Misiyo ya gisivili y'ubutwererane, atanga igitekirezo kinyuranye n'icyo. Yaba yarababajwe cyane n'itandukana rigaragara mu kwihutira abantu ba hafi ya Habyarimana, nka bwana Nahimana, umuyobozi wa Radio des Mille Collines.
>
> bwana André Guichaoua na we yavugiye imbere y'iyo Misiyo ko nta cyemezo cyari cyigeze giteganywa cyo kwakira abana ba minisitiri w'intebe i Paris kandi ko bari bashoboye kuva mu Bufaransa bajya mu Busuwisi babikesha Uhagarariye Ubusuwisi i Paris[13]."

Mu kwanzura iyo nkuru, ndifuza gusobanura ingingo yo muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite na nubu igikurura impaka cyane[14]. Iyo ngingo yerekeye inkuru y' ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa bangeretseho muri raporo ya nyuma ahagira hati :

> "Bwana André Guichaoua yavuze ko, abonye banze gutwara abana batanu ba minisitiri w'intebe wari wishwe (bari barokowe n'abakozi ba Loni maze bahungira kuri Hôtel des Mille Collines), yarangaje abasirikari b'Abafaransa kugira ngo abinjize mu ndege. Abayobozi ba gisirikari bahakanye ko bitashobokaga na gato kwinjira mu ndege batabyiyemereye ubwabo kandi bagaragaje ko batigeze banga kwinjiza abo bana. Ni ukuri ko ubushishozi bukabije mu gikorwa cyo guhungisha busa n' ubutandukanye n'uko abana binjijwe mu rwihisho. Kimwe n'abandi bose bajyanywe ku kibuga, "abana ba Agathe" bimuwe ku bushake busesuye bw'ingabo z'Abafaransa, ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud amaze noneho guhabwa cg gutanga uburenganzira bwo kubareka bakagenda[15]."

Uburemere bw'ayo magambo koko bwashoboraga gutuma abanditse raporo

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[12] Reba umugereka wa 79.

[13] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 268.

[14] Bernard Lugan, *François Mitterrand, l'armée française et le Rwanda [François Mitterrand, ingabo z'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda],* Le Rocher, Paris, 2005, p. 187-190 ; Bernard Lugan, *Rwanda. Contre-enquête sur le génocide [Kuvuguruza anketi ku itsembabwoko],* Privat, Paris, 2007, p. 242-254 ; Pierre Péan, *Noires Fureurs, Blancs menteurs [Uburakari bw'Abirabura, Abazungu b'ababeshyi], op. cit.*, p. 290.

[15] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie Rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 268.

banyomoza ibivugwamo. Nyamara sinigeze mvuga ariya magambo [bantwerera] ndetse n'abakoze raporo baje kwiyemerera ubwabo ko baguye mu mutego w'umukabyankuru. Ibyo ari byo byose, nta wuzi impamvu nyakuri zateye ambasaderi Marlaud kurwanya yivuye inyuma guhungisha no kwakira "abana ba Agathe" mu Bufaransa, kandi agashami k'Afurika kari kabyemeye. Ikizwi neza ni uko amakuru y'ingenzi kuri iyo dosiye nagejeje kuri Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa atashoboye gushyirwa muri raporo kubera ko ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud yabirwanije ku bwende, nk'uko Paul Quilès-perezida wa Misiyo, yabimbwiye mu kiganiro kirekire twagiranye imbonankubone kuri 28 Ukwakira 1998.

Uko Abanyapolitiki bakomeye b'U Rwanda bageze kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa

Iki gice cya kabiri kiragaruka ku bimaze kuvugwa harugu ariko noneho hakibandwa ku mwanya bifite mu rubuga rwagutse rwa politiki. Kirasobanura neza uruhare rukomeye ambasade y'Ubufaransa yagize mu nzibacyuho ya politiki yakurikiye iyicwa rya perezida Habyarimana n'intera guhitamo umurongo wa politiki byafashe. Koko rero, kuva ku wa 7 Mata, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yerekanye ku mugaragaro ibogama ryayo mu mashyaka yari muri Guverinoma iyobowe n' Agathe Uwilingiyimana yakira mu nzu zayo abaminisitiri ba MRND baherekejwe n'ingabo zirinda perezida. Bukeye bwaho, bakurikiwe n'abantu benshi bari bahagarariye ibipande bya hutu "Pawa" mu mashyaka yari ahagarariwe muri Guverinoma[16], kandi bagenzi babo "bacisha make" bari bamaze kwicwa n'abandi bakomando b'ingabo zirinda perezida. Iryo yicwa abaminisitiri ba MRND nta kantu ryabateye na mba. Abanyacyubahiro bakiriwe bakoreye inama nyinshi muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, kandi baza kuvamo nyuma igice kinini cy'abantu b'intagondwa binjiye muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud igihe yumvwaga na Misiyo y'abadepite ku byerekeye itariki ya 7 Mata, yavuze ko "ahagana saa kumi n'imwe, abantu 300 bo muri batayo ya FPR basohotse mu kigo cy'Inama Ishinga amategeko, n'imirwano ikoresheje imbunda za rutura iratangira hagati ya FPR n' ingabo z'igihugu (FAR). Muri akokanya, impunzi za mbere zageze kuri ambasade, kandi ibintu byakomeje kudogera"[17]. Nta gisobanuro na kimwe yatanze ku miterere y'abashyitsi be n'ukuntu bageze kuri ambasade. Raporo ya Misiyo *y'abadepite* yongeraho ko :

> " [M. Jean-Michel Marlaud] yasobanuye ko mu gitondo cyo ku wa 8 Mata, umuryango wa Habyarimana wongeye guhamagara, usaba guhungishwa[18]

[16] "Justin Mugenzi [...] yari ku meza hamwe n'abayobozi ba banki ya Luxembourg ubwo indege ihanurwa. Yahereye ko ava aho hantu bwangu ajya mu rugo iwe ku Kicukiro, aho yagumye kugeza mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri za nimugoroba, ku munsi wakurikiyeho. Nyuma yaherekejwe n'abajandarume bari basanzwe bamurinda ajya kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, aho yamenyeye, ubwa mbere, urupfu rwa minisitiri w'intebe n'abandi baminisitiri" (Ibyavuzwe na Justin Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR), itariki ya mbere Ugushyingo, 2005, *reba umugereka wa 80*).

[17] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 296.

[18] Ku matariki ya 7, 8 na 9 Mata, abagize umuryango wa perezida bari mu rugo rwabo i Kanombe, aho bimuwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa ku itariki ya 9 Mata ahagana mu masaa cyenda bafata mu masaa kumi n'ebyiri indege yagiye i

[…], ikara ry'imirwano n'ishyika ry'abaminisitiri benshi kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Hanyuma abo baminisitiri bakoze inama bafatiyemo imyanzuro itatu : gusimbura abaminisitiri cg abayobozi bapfuye n'ababuriwe irengero, kugerageza kugenzura ingabo zirinda perezida kugira ngo bahagarike iyicwa ry'abantu, no kongera kwemeza ko bashyigikiye amasezerano y'Arusha. Ariko kandi, banze kugira FaustinTwagiramungu minisitiri w'intebe wo gusimbura Agathe Uwilingiyimana[19]."

Akomeza iyumvwa rye avuga ko :

"Ahagana saa mbiri, ambasade yamenyeshejwe ishyirwaho rya perezida wa Repubulika na guvernoma by'inzibacyuho. Imitere y'iyo Guverinoma yasaga n'iyubahiriza amasezerano y'Arusha, kubera ko yateganyaga isaranganywa ry'imyanya mu mashyaka. Ibyo ari byo byose, byarashobokaga kwibaza ku bo ihagarariye by'ukuri. Buri shyaka ryarimo ibice, ahubwo abantu bashyizweho bari bahagarariye agace gashyigikiye intagondwa.[20]"

Reka twibutse by'amatsiko uko ibintu byakurikiranye : ku wa 8 Mata ahagana saa tatu za mu gitondo, Théoneste Bagosora n'abayobobozi bakuru batatu ba MRND bumvikanye kugaruka ku ngingo z'itegeko nshinga ryo muri 1991 ryateganyaga ibyo kugira perezida w'Inama y'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambere (CND) perezida w'inzibacyuho, mu gihe cyo gutegura amatora mashya, no guhuza abayobozi b'amashyaka kugira ngo bashyireho Guverinoma nshya. koloneli Bagosora yiyemeje ubwe guhuza abo bayobozi ba politiki. koloneli Bagosora amaze kugenda, ba bayobozi batatu ba MRND bafashe umwanzuro wo kujya mu rugo kwa Théodore Sindikubwabo, perezida wa CND, kubimumenyesha, kubimwemeza no kumwizeza inkunga y'amashyaka.

Ni uko, mu gihe hagibwaga impaka zo gushyiraho inzego nshya, kandi perezida mushya ataramenyeshwa ibyo kuzamurwa mu ntera, nk'uko ubuhamya bw' ibinyoma bwa Mathieu Ngirumpatse na Édouard Karemera[21] bubivuga, ngo abo bayobozi bombi ntibari bazi iyicwa rya minisitiri w'intebe ko n'abayobozi b'ayandi mashyaka bari bataratoranywa cg guhuzwa, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yakiriye "abaminisitiri benshi", bakoraga inama, "bagena ingamba|" bakanafata ibyemezo.

Bari nyine abaminisitiri bari ku ibere, bitwara rugikubita nk'abasubijweho, – kandi ari na ko ambasade ibafata. Byaragaragaraga ko nta mpungenge z'umutekano bari bafite, ntibatinyaga gufata ibyemezo byo gusimbuza "abayobozi bishwe cg baburiwe irengero", bihaye ndetse no guca iteka ko batazemera Guverinoma iyobowe na Faustin Twagiramungu [minisitiri w'intebe

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Bangui. Bahavuye, bajyanywe n'indege i Paris, aho bageze ku itariki ya 17 Mata 1994. Amatariki ya 7 na 8 Mata 1994 yahariwe urebye ibyo kujyana imirambo y'abaperezida b' U Rwanda n'Uburundi mu cyumba cy'uburuhukiro mu kigo cya gisirikari cy'i Kanombe no kwimura abari n'abegereye umuryango (*reba umugereka wa 54*).

[19] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 296.

[20] Iyumvwa rya Jean-Michel Marlaud, ambasaderi mu Rwanda (Gicurasi 1993-Mata 1994), ikoraniro ryo ku itariki ya 13 Gicurasi 1998, *ibid.,* p. 297.

[21] Reba umugereka wa 81.

wateganyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha], ari na ko bashimangira, nk'uko Ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa abikomozaho, "gukomera ku maserano y'Arusha" !

Aya magambo y'ambasaderi agaragaza bisesuye ibibabazo by'abo [iyo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho] yari ihagarariye by'ukuri. Kubera ko buri shyaka ryari ryaracitsemo ibice, abantu batoranyiwe bari bahagarariye agace gashyigikiye "intagondwa", ariko ku buryo bunyuranye, byerekana ko "intagondwa" zari zatoranyijwe ku manywa[22], zari zabikorewe hakurikijwe ibyifuzo bya babandi bakoreraga muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa kandi bose bavaga, uretse babiri, mu ishyaka MRND, ari ryo ryonyine ritari "ryacicemo ibice", kandi ritari rikeneye gusimbura "abapfuye cg ababuriwe irengero"…

Icyo cyizere cy'abaminisitiri ba MRND bari bacumbikiwe muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, kirumvikana neza ku muntu uzi ko bataje ku wa 8 Mata nk'uko byari biteganyijwe, ahubwo bakaza ku wa 7 ku manywa, kandi ko bari babonye igihe gihagije cyo gutekereza ku ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bibanda ku iyicwa rya bagenzi babo ryari ryamaze gukorwa hagati aho. Twibutse ko ku wa 7 mu gitondo ari bwo hakozwe imishyikirano mfatacyemezo hagati y'abayobozi ba MRND na Théoneste Bagosora ku nzibacyuho yemewe n'amategeko yeguriwe Théodore Sindikubwabo, kandi ko mu gitondo bakiva mu biro bya Théoneste Bagosora, abayobozi ba MRND bari bafite ibintu by'ingenzi byose byari bikenewe mu itunganya ry'imikino yari yarateganyijwe.

Izo "mpunzi" zari zatereranywe na Minuar yari yihishe mu nkambi zayo zivugwa n'ambasaderi Marlaud[23], zari zakusanyijwe mu masaha ya mbere y'ijoro kwa 6 rishyira uwa 7 Mata mu nkambi y'ingabo zarindaga perezida ku Kimihurura. Zari zitaweho n'umwe mu mitwe ikomeye ifite intwaro zihagije, igihe utundi duce twajyaga muri misiyo zo gutsemba bagenzi bazo. Ni na ko byagenze ku manywa ubwo udutsiko tw'abasirikari barinda perezida twasakaga mu gace karimo za ambasade bahiga abanyacyubahiro bari bihishe.

> "Kubera amabombe yisukiranyaga, bimuwe umwe umwe kugera kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa […]. Bakoreshaga inzira zitabangamiwe n'amabombe kugira ngo bajye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Bahamaze amajoro abiri, mbere y'uko mpura [na minisitiri Pauline Nyiramasuhuko] mu nama yo ku Ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari. Igihe twararaga kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, abenshi mu bantu bo muri MRND basubiye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. […]
> **Ikibazo** : Itoranywa ryo kujya kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa ryaba ryari rizwi ?
> **Igisubizo** : Nta byo numvise itoranywa ryashingiyeho, ariko ndakeka ko ari ku mibanire buri wese yashoboraga kuba afitanye n'iyo ambasade, kubera ko hari n'abandi bahisemo kujya ku zindi ambasade, nko kuri ambasade y'Ububiligi.

[22] Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'inyandiko mvugo y'inama yakorewe mu gitondo kuri ambasade, yibanze ku buryo abaminisitiri banze ibyo gushyiraho minisitiri w'intebe wari waratoranyijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha.

[23] "Hagati aho, umubare w'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade wari wakomeje kwiyongera ku buryo, ku itariki ya 9 Mata mu gitondo, bwana Jean-Michel yamenyesheje i Paris : "N'ubwo bwana Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh yamenyeshejwe binyuzeho uko abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bagiye bagera kuri ambasade, nta ngabo za Minuar ziyirinze, ibyo bikavuguruza ibyo Ubunyamabanga bw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bwatangarije ku cyicaro cyacu gihoraho". Bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yatinze ku kuntu yabonaga bihwitse icyo gihe ko Minuar yita ku banyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga kumva babangamiwe, kandi ambasade itari ifite by'umwihariko umurimo wo kurinda bamwe cg abandi. Yagaragaje ko abanyacyubahiro bari bacumbikiwe kuri ambasade bitewe n'uko Minuar itari ibarinze. […] Avuga abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade, bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yemeje ko kubirukana kuri ambasade bitari bihwitse, dore ko Minuar itari yabitayeho n'ubwo yari yabisabwe. Abaje bose barakiriwe." (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, p. 298 299).

Ikibazo : Pauline se ubwe yagiranaga imibanire n'ambasade y'Ubufaransa ?
Igisubizo : Sinabimenya. Yagiye, ndavuga "yagiye" ntabyeruye, kuri iyo ambasade kubera ko, mvuye mu kigo cy'ingabo zarindaga perezida (GP), bajyanye abaminisitiri bose bari muri Kanjepe kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. [...]
Ikibazo : Mwari bangahe muri *Diplomates* [hoteli yateraniragamo Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho] ? Abagize Guverinoma ?
Igisubizo : Hari urujya n'uruza rw'abantu, ariko umuntu yashoboraga kurara kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates*, bukeye bwaho akarara ahandi, nyine hari urujya n'uruza, sinitegereje, kandi sinari nzi abantu bose.
Ikibazo : Barindiwe umutekano kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa iminsi ingahe ?
Igisubizo : Navuga ko ari ukuva imirwano itangira kugeza ku iyimuka, iyimurwa ryakozwe n'ambasade y'Ubufaransa.
Ikibazo : Hanyuma ukurikije amatariki hari (nka ryari) ?
Igisubizo : Ahagana ku ya 6, iya 7 kugeza hagati ya 11na 12[24]."

Nkurikije ubuhamya nahawe ubwanjye n'abantu bavanywe mu nkambi y'Abarindaga perezida bakajyanwa kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa[25], iyimurwa ryabo mu kigo bajya mu mujyi hagati ryemejwe iraswa ry'amasasu ya mitarayezi ryongeye gutangira aho hafi, ku wa 7 Mata ahagana saa cyenda na saa cyenda n'igice z'amanywa. Ikivunge cya mbere kirimo abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bakuru n'imiryango yabo cyarikusanyije. Icyo kivunge cyari kigizwe n'imodoka zigera kuri esheshatu, bamwe muri bo bari bajemo mu buhungiro mu nkambi. Abantu bagera kuri mirongo itandatu bazitsindagiyemo bagera kuri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu bakoresheje uduhanda tubangutse, imodoka y'abarinda perezida ibari imbere. Ahongaho, umwe mu basirikari bakuru bari ku izamu yasanze ambasade y'Ubufaransa ariho hantu ho kubakira hizewe, aherako asaba ambasade y'Ubufaransa koherezayo icyo kivunge, irabyemera.

Bose bakiriwe bamaze kuvuga umwirondoro wabo ku muryango, n'ubwo hari amakosa amwe n'amwe yakozwe n'abakozi b'ambasade bashinzwe kwakira abantu. Nguko uko Daniel Mbangura yagombye kubasobanurira ukuntu hashoboraga kubaho "abaminisitiri babiri b'amashuri makuru", Ferdinand Nahimana yamaze kwiyitirira uwo mwanya, adasobanuye neza ko yari ataratangira iyo mirimo. Undi nanone yakoresheje ikimenyane cy'umuntu wari mu rugo kw'ambasaderi bari baziranye neza, kugira ngo yerekane ko yari "umuntu ukomeye". Muri iryo tsinda harimo abantu nka Daniel Mbangura, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Augustin Ngirabatware, Callixte Nzabonimana, Prosper Mugiraneza, Casimir Bizimungu, André Ntagerura, Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka na Jean-Baptiste Byiringiro. Baherekejwe n'abarinzi b'abajandarume yari yishakiye ubwe, Justin Mugenzi n'umuryango we baje babasanga nimugoroba nka saa kumi n'ebyiri.

Uruhare rw'ambasade y'Ubufaransa mu ishyirwaho rya

[24] Iyumvwa rya Jean KAMBANDA, TPIR, T2-K7-58 ryo ku itariki ya 15 Gicurasi 1998.
[25] Ubwo buhamya bwunganirwa n'abandi benshi nka Jean KAMBANDA muri TPIR, T2-K7-58, ku itariki ya 15 Gicurasi 1998 (*reba umugereka wa 82);* Maurice NTAHOBARI (umugabo wa Pauline Nyiramasuhuko), TPIR, itariki ya 13 Nzeri, p. 20; Léoncie BONGWA, umugore w'uwahoze ari minisitiri wo gutwara abantu no gutumanaho muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, atanga ubuhamya ku itariki ya 20 Gicurasi 2002 imbere ya TPIR Arusha ashinjura umugabo we, André Ntagerura; Justin MUGENZI (ibyo yatangaje, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, itariki ya mbere Ugushyingo 2005), nb.

Guverinoma

Abaminisitiri bari bakiri ku mirimo bari bacumbikiwe muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa bari aba bakurikira :

– Bizimungu Casimir, minisitiri w'Ubuzima (MRND) ;
– Mbangura Daniel, minisitiri w'Amashuri makuru (MRND) ;
– Mugenzi Justin, minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Inganda n'Ubukorikori (PL *"Pawa")*;
– Ngiratware Augustin, minisitiri w'Imigambi ya leta (MRND)[26] ;
– Ntagerura André, minisitiri w'Ubwikorezi no Gutumanaho (MRND) ;
– Nzabonimama Callixte, minisitiri w'Urubyiruko (MRND) ;
– Mugiraneza Prosper [27], minisitiri w'Abakozi ba leta (MRND) ;
– Nyiramasuhuko Pauline, minisitiri w'Umuryango n'Imibereho y'Abagore (MRND).

Biroroshye kubibona, abari muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, usanga bose ari abaminisitiri ba MRND bo muri Guverinoma yo ku wa 18 Nyakanga 1993 bari i Kigali icyo gihe. Abaminisitiri babiri ba MRND batarimo bari bagiye muri misiyo : Faustin Munyazesa yari yaherekeje perezida Habyarimana i Dar Es Salaam, wari wahisemo kutagaruka i Kigali, Augustin Bizimana, wari muri Kameruni (Cameroun) akagaruka ku wa 10 Mata. Ibyo ari byo byose, umuryango we na wo wagiye muri ambasade y' Ubufaransa kimwe n'iy'abandi baminisitiri… Ibintu byari biteye bitya ku bandi bari bagize Guverinoma y'Agathe Uwilingiyimana : Agnès Ntamabyariro wo muri PL yari acumbikiwe muri ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, batatu bari binyegeje iwabo (Gaspard Ruhumuliza wo muri PDC, Marc Rugenera wo muri PSD, Anastase Gasana wo muri MDR), n'abandi baminisitiri bane bari bishwe (Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Faustin Rucogoza bo muri MDR, Landoald Ndasingwa wo muri PL na Frédéric Nzamurambaho wo muri PSD).

Abaminisitiri bose bari muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa – barindwi bo muri MRND na Justin Mugenzi wo muri PL[28] – basubijwe muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Biyongereyeho undi mushyitsi ukomeye w'aho hantu, Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka, umunyacyubahiro wo muri MDR *"Pawa"* (wagizwe minisitiri W'ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane.

Ubariyemo Justin Mugenzi, wari wabaye wenyine umukuru wa PL nshya na Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka[29], wari umuvugizi wemewe wa MDR ikubuye

[26] Hakurikijwe ubuhamya bwinshi, uwo muminisitiri ntiyararaga kuri ambasade hamwe n'« umuryango we » kubera ko urugo rwe bwite rwari aho hafi.

[27] Kuba Prosper Mugiraneza (ubu uburanishwa muri TPIR y'Arusha) yari i Kigali ku itariki ya 6 Mata byemezwa n'abamushinjura, ingabo zirinda perezida zikaba zari zamurinze nijoro mbere yo kumujyana ku itariki ya 7 Mata ku gicamunsi kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Nyuma yaba yaragumye i Kigali kugeza ku itariki ya 12 Mata, itariki Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yimukiyeho i Gitarama. Ku ruhande rw'abashinja, rwemeza ko yagiye ku manywa muri komini y'iwabo ya Kigarama mu manama ya MRND hamwe n'*Interahamwe.* Hakurikijwe ibyatanzwe n'umugabo wabibonye wari kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, Prosper Mugiraneza, kimwe n'abandi baminisitiri, "yasohokaga ku manywa akagaruka kuharara.".

[28] Justin Mugenzi yari yaramaze gufatwa nk'uwagiye muri MRND kuva mu mpera za 1993. Bityo, mu mibare y'ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE), yabarwaga nk'umuminisitiri ushyigikiye Habyarimana kuva haba igeragezwa ro gushyiraho iyo Guverinoma muri Mutarama 1994 (*reba incamake ya 12*).

[29] Akomoka muri komini Ruhondo muri perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, akaba umuhungu wa Balthazar Bicamumpaka, umwe mu bakuru mu mateka ya MDR-Parmehutu, wari inkingi y'ubwiyunge hagati ya Gitarama na Ruhengeri bwaranze Repubulika ya Mbere. Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka yarakenewe bisanzwe mu mahindura ya MDR muri 1991, aba umunyamabanga wa MDR mu rwego rwa perefegitura anashyigikira kuzamuka mu ntera kwa Donat

(afatanyije na Donat Murego na Froduald Karamira), bose bari baremye nyine itsinda ryuzuye ry'abanyapolitiki bafata ibyemezo mu rwego rw'igihugu bari bashyizweho na Théoneste Bagosora n'abakuru ba komite nyobozi ya MRND bari bacumbitse muri ambasade. Niho bakoreraga inama, bateguriraga ibikorwa, aho bajya n'ibikoresho byabo[30]. Birumvikana rero ukuntu gukorana byari byoroshye hagati y'abafataga ibyemezo b'ibanze bo muri MRND n'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa:

"**Bz** : Hari igihe mwaba mwarabonye ambasaderi igihe mwari kuri ambasade ?
Sbz : Yego, twabonye akanya ko kubonana n'ambasaderi mu gitondo.
Bz : Hari mu gitondo cy'uwuhe munsi ?
Sbz : Mu gitondo cyo ku wa 8. Ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa yarahanyuze… ahamagara abaminisitiri bose bari baraye mu mazu y'ambasade.twagiyeyo, nk'uko mwabibonye … nk'uko bimeze kuri lisiti mwabonye.
Bz : Murashaka kuvuga abminisitiri ?
Sbz : Yego. Abaminisitiri. Ni uko tugirana ibiganiro na we; yatumenyesheje amakuru mashya y'uko ibintu byari bimeze, ku byari byabaye nk'uko ambasade y'Ubufaransa yari yakusanyije amakuru nk'uko yayigeragaho.Ni we watubwiye by'imvaho—mumbabarire– watubwiye by'imvaho amazina y'abaminisitiri bari bapfuye. Ni we watubwiye by'imvaho ibintu nk'uko byari bimeze mu mugi. Yanasabye abaminisitiri bari bamukikije kugerageza kugira icyo bakora kugira ngo bavane igihugu mu kajagari cyariho kigwamo.
Bz ; Ni nka saha ki iyo nama n'ambasaderi yabaye ?
Sbz : Mu masaa tatu zo mu gitondo.
Bz : Ni iki kindi cyabaye nyuma ?
Sbz : Nyuma cy'icyo kiganiro n'ambasaderi mu biro bye, igihe nari nsohotse, nahuye n'abasirikari banshakaga kugira ngo banjyane kwa minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu; bambwiye ko hari inama nari natumiwemo. Ubwo nyine navuye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa muri icyo gitondo, njya kuri minisiteri y'ingabo z'igihugu, mpasanga abandi bayobozi b'amashyaka bahateraniye bitabiriye iyo nama ya politiki[31]."

Amaze kubwirwa n'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa akajambo "karema agatima", Justin Mugenzi yaherekejwe n'umusirikari umurinda ajya mu nama hamwe n'abandi bakuru b'amashyaka bahamagajwe na koloneli Théoneste Bagosora :

"**Bz** : Ku rundi ruhande, niba mwari mwasobanukiwe ko Minuar itari ishyigikiye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, mwabyitwayemo mute mubonye ubwo butumire bwa koloneli Bagosora cg bw'undi muntu bwo kugira uruhare muri komite y'ibihe bikomeye ?
Sbz : Ubundi, nta hitamo twari dufite. Mu gihe twari muri ambasade, ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa ni we wa…waturemaga agatima kuko yaduhamagariraga gukora akazi kacu atwizeza ko Umuryango mpuzamahanga na wo wari gukora akazi kawo. Nyine, igihe twatumirwaga gusanga abandi bayobozi ba politiki, nari mfite ubwo butumwa bundema agatima.Nta n'ihitamo ryabaye; twari tuzi ko Loni…umuryango mpuzamahanga udushyigikiye, kandi ko iyo dukora ibikorwa byiza, batari kubura kudushyigikira. Ni muri

Murego, waje kuba umwe mu bakuru b'uruhande rwa "*Pawa".* Mu mpera za 1993, yatorewe n'ishyaka rye kuba umudepite wa MDR uhagarariye perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mu Nteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho (ANT).

[30] Kuba abanyacyubahiro bo muri PSD na PDC batari bahari birumvikana ku buryo bworoshye, kubera ko ubuyobozi bwombi bw'ayo mashyaka bwari "bukishakashaka" kandi mu ntangiriro y'igicamunsi cyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata ni bwo "abatowe bashya", bari batoranyijwe na Théoneste Bagosora n'abakuru ba MRND, bongerewe mu itsinda ry'abanyamashyaka bakoraga imishyikirano banamenyeshwa amabwiriza mashya y'umukino wa politiki.

[31] Ubuhamya bwa Justin Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, ITAR, itariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 51-52.

urwo rwego twiyemeje kudacika intege[32]."

Bityo, amagambo ya bamwe muri bagenzi ba Jean-Michel Marlaud bari bahagarariye ibihugu byabo avuga ko uwo mugabo yaba ari we ambasaderi wenyine wari i Kigali wagize ubwe uruhare mu ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku wa 8 Mata – ayo magambo nyirubwite yise amazimwe ubwo yatangaga ubuhamya muri misiyo y'anketi y'inama ishingamategeko mu Bufaransa muri 1998 – aha ashobora kugira ishingiro[33].

Kubera ko abaminisitiri bo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari bicaye batekanye n'imiryango yabo irinzwe n'ambasade y'Ubufaransa, bashoboraga guhirimbana muri byose nta nkomyi, dore ko bakomeje gukora imirimo yabo ku manywa no kugenda bakagaruka nta cyo bishisha. Ubuhamya bwinshi burabisobanura neza, harimo ubwa Joseph Ngarambe na we wari wahahungiye guhera ku wa 10 Mata :

> "Abagize Guverinoma buri wese yari afite abamurinda be bihariye kandi baridegembyaga ku manywa. Barahararaga, nta na rimwe nigeze numva ko hari icyo bari bahunze. Batumizaga ibyo kurya hanze. Bakoraga amanama inshuro nyinshi, hagati yabo cg hamwe n'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda bwana Marlaud nari nzi neza cyane, cg rimwe na rimwe n'uhagarariye Papa. Izo nama ntizakorerwaga mu biro ahubwo bajyaga ahiherereye bakirinda bigaragara ababarogoya cg uwabasakuriza[34]."

Nyamara biragaragara nanone ko bitari gusa gucumbikira no kugirana imishyikirano n'abayobozi ba ngombwa, igipande gikabije kuba « intagondwa » cyari gihagarariwe ku buryo burenze kure inzego za politiki zisanzwe. Aho ga unasangamo ibikomerezwa byo mu nzego z'itangazamakuru n'imari bizwi muri *"Hutu pawa"nka* Ferdinand Nahimana na Félicien Kabuga n'umuryango we wose — uwa mbere yari umwambari rurangiranwa w'ingengabitekerezo y'ubuhutu kandi akanaba minisitiri wari wateganyijwe muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE)[35], uwa kabiri akaba yari umucuruzi ukomeye n'umwe mu banyamigabane b'ingenzi ba radiyo RTLM[36] n'umuterankunga w'imitwe yitwara gisirikari muri MRND.

Twavuga nanone ingero ebyiri zidashoza impaka gusa ku kibazo cy'uko [ambasade yú Bufaransa] yaba yarashyigikiye ishyirwaho ry'abayobozi bashya, ahubwo ndetse ko yanagizemo uruhare rugaragara. Koko rero, ntibyumvikana ukuntu ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa yabashije kwibagirwa ko Eugène

[32] Ubuhamya bwa Justin Mugenzi, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, ITAR, itariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 2005, p. 69.

[33] Nk'uko byavuzwe na Filip Reyntjens, "habayeho imibonano hagati y'abanyacyubahiro bari bahungiye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa n'abakoraga imishyikirano mu rwego rw'amashyaka (hagati y'ambasade na minisiteri nta na kilometero imwe yari ihari). Nanone, hari abakeka ko ambasaderi w' Ubufaransa, Jean-Michel Marlaud, yaba yaramenyeshwaga uko imishyikirano yateraga imbere kandi birashoboka ko yaba yaragishijwe inama. [...] Kuba uwo mubano wa bugufi wariho bigaragazwa n'ukuntu, ku gicamunsi, Marlaud yahamagaye mugenzi we w'Ububiligi Johan Swinnen, akamubwira lisiti y'abaminisitiri bari bemejwe. Abonye ko [abaminisitiri bari mu] cyerekezo gikabije kuba "*pawa",* Swinnen yabigenzemo buhoro. Yatanze igitekerezo ko Guverinoma imeze ityo yasaga n'idahuye n'ibikenewe mu rwego rwa politiki. Marlaud, we, yavuze ko yari yishimye cyane. Cyane cyane ko yumvaga gushyiraho iyo Guverinoma byari gukoma imbere ibyo yatinyaga byo guhirika ubutegetsi"(Filip Reyntjens, Rwanda *: Trois jours qui ont fait basculer l'histoire [iminsi itatu yabirinduye amateka], op. cit.p.* 89).

[34] Ubuhamya bwa Joseph Ngarambe, TPIR, ishakiro K0133228, itariki ya 9 Mata 2000, p. 4 n'ibiganiro byinshi twagiranye imbonkubone.

[35] Intagondwa yo muri MRND yagize uruhare rukomeye mu gutangiza ubwicanyi mu Bugesera muri 1992, ariko yakiriwe n'ambasade nk'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye (GTBE) wa MRND.

[36] Uwa gatatu mu "icumi ba mbere" inyuma ya Juvénal Habyarimana na Pierre Basabose.

Mbarushimana, umukwe wa Félicien Kabuga[37], yari umunyamabanga mu rwego rw'igihugu w'*Interahamwe* zari zishinzwe icyo gihe ubwicanyi muri Kigali. Yagarutse mu Rwanda gukomeza imirimo ye akimara kwimurira umuryango we i Bujumbura n' i Bukavu nyuma yaho. :

> "Augustin Ngirabatware yimuwe ahagana ku wa 10 Mata, ubwa mbere ajyanywe n'Abafaransa i Bujumbura mu Burundi hamwe n'abandi benshi ndetse, barimo Eugène Mbarushimana, umunyamabanga wa Komite y'igihugu y'urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* za MRND na Ferdinand Nahimana wa RTLM. Birukanywe i Bujumbura noneho bimurirwa muri Zayire, bahava bagaruka mu Rwanda [38]."

> "Nigeze kuvuga kuri uwo mugabo [Eugène Mbarushimana] mu buhamya bwanjye, ahanini mu bireba kurema no gutsimbataza ishyirahamwe ry'Urubyiruko rw'*Interahamwe* ZA MRND, aho yari afite umwanya w'umunyamabanga muri Komite y'igihugu. Ni kimwe n'igihe cy'inama yo "kugarura amahoro" yabaye ku wa cg anahagana ku wa 10/04/94, ubwo nahuriraga na Mbarushimana Eugène kuri *Hôtel des Diplomates* i Kigali, ari kumwe na muramu we Ngirabatware Augustin, wahoze ari minisitiri w'imigambi ya leta. Icyo gihe, yambwiye ko yari agiye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, aho yagombaga kuvanwa ahugishwa n'Abafaransa. Nyuma yaho, numvise ko bavuye Bujumbura, we n'abandi barimo na muramu we, bakajyanwa i Bukavu bakahava bagaruka mu Rwanda muri Mata 1994. Ni uko mu gihe cy'itsembabwoko, nasabwe gukorana na Mbarushimana Eugéne, ahanini mu bucuruzi bw'ikawa[39]."

Mu bashyitsi b'imena b'ambasade y'Ubufaransa harimo nanone umuryango wa Ndaziboneye. Kuba uwo muryango wari uhari birumvikana neza iyo witegereje ibyabibanjirije. Kubera kumenywa no kubahwa n'inzego z'imirimo z'ambasade, Jeanne Ndaziboneye yari mugenzi wabo usanzwe mu rwego rw'umurimo wo kwakira abashyitsi muri perezidansi, aho yakoraga ayobowe na majoro Désiré Mageza (w'i Butare). Ni muri urwo rwego we n'umuryango we bakiriwe kuri ambasade. Kubera imirimo ye n'ubucuti bukomeye bumaze igihe hagati ye n'Agathe Kanziga (bari bariganye mu ishuri ry'imbonezamubano ryo ku Karubanda i Butare) kandi ni we wakurikiranye ibyo kwimura umuryango wa "perezidante" mu ndege ya mbere ya operasiyo "Amaryllis". Kuba kwe muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa ntibyamubujije gukomeza gukora imirimo ye, dore ko guhera ku wa 8 nimugoroba, yahawe imirimo kwa perezida mushya w'inzibacyuho, kandi mu gitondo cy'uwa 9 ni we wari ushinzwe kwakira abashyitsi mu mihango y'irahira rya perezida n'irya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho[40].

Ikigomba kwitabwaho hano ariko, ni uko muri iyo minsi, umugabo we ubusanzwe utarakundaga kwigaragaza, majoro Charles Ndaziboneye (Ruhengeri), umurimo we w'umucamanza wungirije mu Rukiko rwa gisirikari

[37] Undi mukobwa wa Félicien Kabuga, Bernadette Uwamariya, yari umugore w'umwe mu bahungu ba perezida Habyarimana (Jean-Pierre, wapfuye).

[38] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro K0502997. Koko rero, nyuma yo kwimurirwa i Bukavu, bahereyeko bajya i Goma bagaruka mu Rwanda baciye ku Gisenyi, aho bagumye kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994 kugira ngo bahayoborere ingamba z'itsembabwoko za Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ku ruhande rw'uwa mbere, no gushaka umutungo wo kugura ibyo bagemurira abasirikari ku wundi.

[39] Iyumvwa ry'umuyobozi w'*Interahamwe,* umutangabuhamya urinzwe, TPIR, ishakiro K0502682-83.

[40] "Ahagana mu masaa yine, twakoze umuhango w'irahira rya Guverinoma. Perezida wa Repubulika wahoze ari na perezida w'Inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND), dogiteri Sindikubwabo Théodore, afashijwe na visiperezidante wa mbere Nyirabizeyimana Immaculée na sokereteri depite Munyampundu Cyprien, berekanywe nk'abagize ibiro bishya bya CND. Bari baherekejwe n'umugore, Jeanne Ndaziboneye, wari ushinzwe kwakira abantu muri Guverinoma" (iyumvwa rya Jean Kamanda, TPIR, T2K7-13, K0154808).

wahaga umwanya uhagije, na koloneli Ephrem Setako (Ruhengeri), bakoranaga muri icyo kigo, ari bo berekaga amayira bamwe mu ngabo zirinda perezida n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari bahigaga bakanatsemba "abanzi" mu gace ka Kiyovu, aho bari batuye ari naho hari ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Koko rero, abatangabuhamya benshi (ahanini abo mu idosiye ya majoro Bernard Ntuyahaga waburaniye mu Bubiligi, n'aba TPIR bavuga ko babonye abasirikari bakuru bari batuye muri ako gace baha amabwiriza abasirikari barinda perezida[41]. Amazina agarukwaho kenshi ni ay'abo bantu bazwiho irondakoko, bari bariyemeje guhorera urupfu rwa perezida kuva ku ya 7 Mata. Nkurikije ubuhamya bw'umwe mu basirikari bakuru, Charles Ndaziboneye yari muri komite z'ibyaduka zashyizweho muri ako gace.

Kwakira no guhungisha abantu ku buryo buvangura

Aka gace ka kane kerekeye umwirondoro wa politiki n'ubwoko usumba iyindi w'abantu bakiriwe mu mazu y'ambasade y'Ubufaransa, n'uburyo bwo kugera kuri ambasade, byabaye intandaro yo gufatwa nk'ibikorwa by'ivangura. Iryo vangura nanone ryashyizwe mu mpamvu zaba zarashingiweho mu guhitamo ibikomerezwa byo mu Rwanda bahungishijwe na operasiyo "Amaryllis". Muri iyo operasiyo nk'uko twigeze kubivuga, Ubufaransa bwimuye abaturage b'Abanyarwanda 394. Kwanga gutangaza lisiti y'abo bantu kamara bahungishijwe, cg se tubivuze ku buryo bworoshye, kwanga gusobanura uko amabwiriza ya Quai d'Orsay yari yashyizwe mu bikorwa byatumye abantu bakomeza kwibaza byinshi.

Ibibazo abantu bibaza umuntu yabivuga muri make yifashishije agace k'inyandiko ya Misiyo y'inteko nshingamategeko y'Abafaransa yo muri 1998 ahagira hati :

> "Mu kwanzura, amaze kubona ko Ubufaransa butahwemye gushyigikira abari bari gushyira itsembabwoko mu bikorwa guhera mu minsi ya mbere y'imidugararo mu gihe ubuzima bwaterwaga hejuru kandi ko ibikoresho ngombwa bya gisirikari byari byateguwe, bwana André Guichaoua yatanze ibyifuzo anabaza ibibazo bikurikira :
> – kuva ku wa 7 kugeza ku wa 11 Mata, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yinginzwe inshuro nyinshi n'izindi ambasade z' i Burayi cg n'abantu ku giti cyabo, isabwa guhisha abantu bahigwaga. Buri gihe hatangwaga ibisubizo bihakana. Bityo, hari hakwirakwijwe igitekerezo ko ambasade y'Ubufaransa yari yakiriye gusa "ibikurankota", ukurikije imvugo yari igezweho i Kigali icyo gihe, ko byari ngombwa kwiyambaza ambasade y'Ububiligi, iy'u Busuwisi na cyane cyane *Hôtel des Mille Collines*, niba barashakaga kurengera abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje.Lisiti y'abantu 178 bimuriwe n'indege i Bujumbura (yagizwe "ibanga ry'umutekano" igezwa kuri bwana André Guichaoua n'anabayobozi b'i Burundi) isa n'iyemeza iyo ngingo. Uretse abanyacyubahiro bamwe na bamwe nka Alphonse-Marie Nkubito bari bahari, navuga ko no kuhaba kwabo kwari kwategetswe n'ambasaderi w'Ububiligi, wahasangaga cyane cyane abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma ya Habyarimana, abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yo ku wa 8 Mata, cg abantu nka Ferdinand Nahimana (umushyushyarugamba wa RTLM) bari barahahishe imiryango yabo, bahageraga nta nkomyi. Ni ayahe mabwiriza ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa yari yarahawe[42] ? "

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[41] Ubuhamya bw'abantu batavuzwe amazina MFR, PN, VN, SM, JMVU, nb., inyandiko zanjye bwite.

[42] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit*., Tome III, tab.1, p. 31-32.

Abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite basubije ibyo bibazo ku buryo bukurikira :

> "Ikirego cy'iyimura rivangura :
> Ubufaransa bwarezwe, ku ruhande rumwe, kuba bwarakoze iyimurwa ry'abanyacyubahiro b'ingoma mputu, batitaye ku byabaga ku barwanyaga ubutegetsi b'Abahutu biyoroshya cg Abatutsi, ku rundi ruhande, kuba butarafashe kimwe abakozi b'Abafaransa b'ambasade n'abakozi b'Abanyarwanda. [...]
> Ku bireba abakozi b'ambasade, ni ikinyoma kwemeza ko haba harabayeho kwanga kubimura, nk'uko teregaramu yo ku wa 11 Mata yavuye i Paris ibigaragaza : "Minisiteri irabamenyesha ko bikwiye guha Abanyarwanda b'abakozi b'ambasade, bashobora kuboneka, uburyo bwo kuva i Kigali hamwe n'abasirikari b'Abafaransa."
> Nyamara ikigaragaza ni uko kubona abakozi ba ambasade b'Abafaransa byari byoroshye cyane kurusha ab'Abanyarwanda, kubera ko aba ba nyuma bagombaga kubanza kwimenyekanisha, ibyo bikaba byarabashyiraga mu mwanya utareshya n'uw'abava mu Bufaransa. Ahari Pierre Nsanzimana, umukozi w'Umututsi muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa wanavuzwe n'ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud, ni we wenyine washoboye guhungishwa hamwe n'umuryango we[43]."
> Ku mugereka w'igitabo rusange cyita *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda,* bwana André Guichaoua yatangaje lisiti y'abanyacyubahiro 178 bimuwe n'ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Iyo lisiti yaba yarayihawe n'abategetsi b'i Burundi kandi, yaba yemeza ko ambasade y'Ubufaransa yanze gucumbikira abanyacyubahiro benshi ahubwo ikakira gusa abari bakomeye mu butegetsi. bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yamaganye icyo gitekerezo anashimangira ko kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa hatateraniye gusa abantu bari bafitanye isano n' ubutegetsi cg abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ahubwo hari n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bari bafite ibibazo, akaba ari muri ubwo buryo bwana Pascal Ndengejeho,wahoze ari minisitiri utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje wa MDR, na bwana Alphonse Nkubito, porokireri generali bari bahungiye muri ambasade, bari basabye ubuhungiro bwa politiki, nk'uko teregaramu n° 350 ibisobanura.
> bwana Gérard Prunier yibukije ko uko abizi, utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje umwe ari we wari washoboye guhungira muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, "kubera ubucuti bwihariye yari afitanye n'umukozi waho", [uwo akaba] bwana Joseph Ngarambe, umwe mu bakozi bakuru ba PSD, abayobozi baryo bakaba bari bamaze kwicwa. Ibyo byemezwa na teregaramu n° 342.
> Ni byo koko ko abenshi mu banyacyubahiro bari bahungiye muri ambasade barimo abategetsi bakomeye b' ingoma ya Habyarimana. Ibyo ariko si ikimenyetso ndakuka ko Ubufaransa, bwaba bwarahungishije abagize uruhare muri jenocide barimo Bwan G. Ruggiu, ubu uriho aburanira mu rukiko rw'Arusha. Umunyamakuru kuri radiyo y'intagondwa RTLM, bwana G. Ruggiu "nta lisiti n'imwe ariho y'abantu bagomba gucyurwa zatanzwe n'ambasade y'Ubufaransa i Kigali, ntari no kuri lisiti n'imwe y'abantu batwawe, ifitwe na Quai d'Orsay". Ibyo ni ibivugwa n'inzego z'imirimo za minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga zatangiye gukora iperereza kuri icyo kibazo kigaragara cy'iyo Misiyo[44]."

Ibyo bibazo byakomeje gukurura impaka zikomeye, akaba rero ari ngombwa ko ngira icyo mvuga ku buryo bweruye kuri buri ngingo.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu gitabo nayoboye[45], lisiti y'abantu bahungiye muri ambasade yafashije gutahura abantu bacumbikiwe bari bemerewe guhungishwa.

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[43] Reba umugereka wa 95.

[44] Assemblée nationale française, Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit., Tom. I, p. 266-267.

[45] André Guichaoua (dir.), *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda [Imidugararo ya politiki mu Burundi no mu Rwanda] (1990-1994), op. cit.*p. 697-701 (*reba umugereka 83*).

Uhereye kuri iyi nyandiko, nabashije kwegeranya umwirondoro w'Abanyarwanda 318 bimuwe kuri 394, ni ukuvuga 81 % y'umubare wabo wose ari wo 178 bo kuri lisiti yo ku wa 12 Mata, umuntu ashobora kongeraho imfubyi 94 zo mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte-Agathe n' "ababaherekeje" 34 (imyirondoro yabo yazizitswe burundu n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa), n'abantu 12 bo mu muryango wa Juvénal Habyarimana bimuwe ku wa 9 Mata. Ariko rero, kuva operasiyo "Amaryllis" itangira, abayobozi b'Abafaransa bashyize imbaraga nyinshi mu kubuza ko hari amakuru yamenyekana ku mwirondoro n'irengero ry'Abanyarwanda bose bari bimuwe[46]. Uretse gusa ku muryango wa perezida witabye Imana, byaragoranye kumenya lisiti y'indege zahagurukijwe n'Ubufaransa zerekeza i Paris cg ahandi hagenzurwaga n'ingabo z'Abafaransa (nk'urugero muri Centrafrique). Abayobozi b'Ubufaransa bahisemo kugira ''ibanga r'umutekano'' amalisiti anyuranye y'abantu bimuwe (indege n'inzira zo ku butaka), iyo ni yo ngingo bambwiye icyo gihe banyikiza.

Tuributsa ko imvano ikomeye y'impaka nyuma y'ifungwa rya za ambasade zose i Kigali[47] n'iyimurwa ry'abanyamahanga zashingiye ku myitwarire y'izo ambasade ku gutakamba kw'Abanyarwanda bari mu mazi abira, kandi koko ntibyashobokaga kubasubiza hadakozwe ivangura kubera ingamba zo kutivanga zafashwe gihubuko n'abo byarebaga mu rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri urwo rwego, usibye amahirwe yo kwegerana kw'ahantu[48], abantu bahigwaga, abumvaga bari mu gihirahiro cg ku buryo bworoshye, abifuzaga gukiza amagara yabo, muri rusange bahitagamo aho bahungira bashingiye ku mibanire, ubuvandimwe cg ubucuti, bitihi se hakabaho ihitamo rya politiki rizwi. Bityo, uretse guhindura ambasade ibigo bifasha imbabare, ibisubizo byiza cg bibi by'izo ambasade ntibyari gushingira gusa ku "ngorane z'ubushobozi", n'ubwo umuntu yatekereza ko iyo nzitizi yaba yaragize uruhare rukomeye ku ihitamo ryakozwe.

Isesengura ryitonze rya lisiti ryerekana ko Abanyarwanda bacumbikiwe n'ambasade y'Abafaransa baturukaga mu miryango hagati ya 20 na 25, wongeyeho abantu bake cg ingo zitandukanye. Imyinshi muri iyo miryango yari ifitanye amasano ya hafi yo mu muryango, ay'ubucuti cg mu mirimo. Bityo, nk'urugero, Siméon Nteziryayo[49] n'abe ntibari munsi y'abantu hafi mirongo itatu, na Augustin Ngirabatware, hamwe n'umuryango waguye wa Félicien Kabuga n'iy'abakwe be, hamwe n'abo bakoranaga muri minisiteri y'imigambi ya leta b'inkoramutima we byabaye agahebuzo. Uretse ingero zimwe na zimwe zikenera

[46] Uwo mubare watanzwe operasiyo ikimara kurangira n'abakozi bakuru bo muri minisiteri y'Ubutwererane, waje kwemezwa nyuma mu butegetsi. "Ibyavuye mu iyimura byerekanywe ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994 na EMA/COIA, bigaragaza iyimurwa mu ndege ry'abantu 1238, harimo Abafaransa 454 n'abanyamahanga 784, muri bo Abanyafurika bakaba 612 harimo Abanyarwanda 394. Ku buryo bubangikanye, Abafaransa 115 bafashe umuhanda berekeza Zayire n' i Burundi. Ugereranyije, Ububiligi bwimuye abantu 1226, harimo Ababiligi1026 ; Ubutaliyani na Kanada buri gihugu cyimuye abantu bagera ku ijana", ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, t. I, umutwe 2, p. 266)

[47] Muri "ambasade zikomeye", uBushinwa ni bwo bwonyine kwakomeje gufungura urwego rubuhagarariye mu gihe cyose cy'intambara.

[48] Urugero rusonbanutse neza rutangwa na Agnès Ntamabyariro, minisitiri w'Ubutabera (PL), amaze kumenya ko abandi bantu bahungiraga mu rugo kw'ambasaderi wa Leta Zunze Ubumwe, wavuganye na we akamwemerera (reba ibyavuzwe n' Agnès NTAMABYARIRO, urubanza rwa Bizimungu n'abandi, TPIR, 28 Kanama 1995, p. 37).

[49] Siméon Nteziryayo yari mu bantu ba mbere babaye abaminisitiri ba Repubulika ya II muri Kamena 1975, nyuma mu ivugurura ry'abaminisitiri ryo muri Werurwe 1981, aba minisitiri muri Perezidansi, umwanya wari ukomeye bihagije.

ubushakashatsi bukozwe neza, abantu batandukanye bavuzwe muri iriya lisiti bose bari bazwi kubera akazi bakoraga icyo gihe cg bari barakoze. Nanone ikigaragara kitagibwaho impaka, muri bo hafi ya bose, abanyacyubahiro babaruwe bari mu itsinda rito ry'abategetsi bo ku ngoma ya Habyarimana.

Kuki abategetsi b'ingoma ya Habyarimana birukiye mbere na mbere kuri ambasade? Impamvu ya mbere umuntu yavuga ishingiye ku hantu yari iri. Mu gace ka Kiyovu irimo, hari hatuye abanyacyubahiro benshi b'iyo ngoma. Abantu nka Augustin Ngirabatware, Sylvestre Nsanzimana, Pascal Ndengejeho, Siméon Nteziryayo cg nanone umuryango wa Munyemana bashoboye kugera kuri ambasade kubera ko bari abaturanyi bamenyereye aho hantu kandi bamwe muri bo, abasirikari barindaga perezida barayirindaga. Koko rero, kandi iyi ngingo iruta iya mbere, kari agace Karinzwe bikabije. Bityo, Banki Nasiyonali y'U Rwanda (n'ibigega byayo by'amadovize), amacumbi ya perezida na Élie Sagatwa, irya Séraphin Rwabukumba yari mu gishushanyo cy'ahantu hahoraga hagenzurwa n'ingabo zirinda perezida, no kuhagera, rugikubita nyuma y'iraswa ry'indege ya perezida, kuva nimugoroba byasabaga kunyura kuri bariyeri zikomeye[50]. Mu gitondo, wasangaga intumbi kuri izo bariyeri kandi ntibyari byoroshye kwiha kuzinyuraho umuntu atarinzwe cg se atazwi. Mu gihe ingabo zirinda perezida zahoreraga shebuja, abarinda abasirikari bakuru bo mu kazu bahiga "umwanzi" ukomoka mu majyepfo n'Abatutsi, abahigwaga, binyegeje, ntibashoboraga guhirahira ngo bigaragaze[51.] Ibyo byakumiraga abifuzaga kujya kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa bazwiho kuba mu barwanyaga ubutegetsi cg Abatutsi bakomeye batagiraga uburinzi bwizewe cg batari bafite inzira isobanutse yo kwirengera, kandi amarembo y'ambasade y'Ububiligi yari afunguye kurushaho. Muri ubwo buryo, abanyacyubahiro benshi bahigwaga banze kudusanga kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* kubera ko tutashoboraga kubizeza umutekano – byahise bitunanira – kabone n'abari mu metero nke rwose uvuye aho twari turi.

Ku wa 11 Mata 1994, ambasade y'Ubufaransa yoherereje minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu w'Uburundi, Jean-Baptiste Manwangari, telegisi imusaba kwakira abantu bari bayihungiyemo, amazina yabo akaba yari kuri lisiti y'amazina y'abantu 178 *(reba umugereka wa 83).*

Reka twongere dusobanure ko ari lisiti yamenyeshaga abayobozi b'Abarundi kuza kw'abantu bose bari bemeye guhungishwa n'ingabo z'Abafaransa mbere y'uko zitahuka n'uko ambasade y'Ubufaransa ifunga, kandi iyimurwa ryabo rikaba ryari ryaremejwe n'abashinzwe ambasade. Nta bwo igaragaza rero Abanyarwanda bose bari bacumbitse kuri ambasade. Nanone, n'ubwo ibyo bireba gusa abanyacyubahiro bake, iyo lisiti ntisobanura neza urwego rw'icumbi

[50] Ubwo yumvwaga n'ubutumwa bw'abadepite, Jean-Michel Marlaud yavuze ko kuva ku wa gatatu tariki ya 6, ahagana saa yine z'ijoro, yahuye n'ibibazo ava mu rugo iwe ajya kuri ambasade yari aho hafi kubera bariyeri (ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE FRANÇAISE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* t. III, p. 295).

[51] Uko ni ko, ahagana mu ijoro ryo hagati y'itariki ya 8 n'iya 9, Désiré, umuhungu w'imfura wa Alexis Kanyarengwe, perezida w'Inkotanyi, yazamutse, mu muhanda wa Jeunesse, ashaka ubuhungiro kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya wabibonye nahuye na we, yahagaritswe imbere y'urugo rwa majoro Bernard Ntuyahaga wari kumwe na koloneli Ephrem Setako muri Peugot 505 ya gisirikari hamwe n'abitwara gisirikari b'*Interahamwe.* Amaze kuvuga umwirondoro we n'ikimugenza, uwo musore yararashwe. RTLM yahereye ko itangaza urupfu rwe. Umurambo we watoraguwe n'Umuryango utabara imbabare nyuma y' iminsi myinshi.

bahawe : umucumbitsi uhoraho, uw'ijoro rimwe, umushyitsi wa rimwe na rimwe, n'ibindi. Lisiti dutangaje siyo yonyine yabayeho si na yo ya nyuma, kubera ko hari abandi bantu bavuzwe mu ihamagara rya bose umunsi wo kwimuka. Hanyuma kandi by'umwihariko, amaherezo ntigaragaza abanze kuva i Kigali bari basabye imyanya gusa kugira ngo babe banyonyomba bibaye ngombwa.

I Bujumbura, nyuma y'igenzura ryihuta ry'iyo lisiti ryakozwe n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano wo hanze, abinjira mu gihugu na polisi ishinzwe imipaka, handitswe agapapuro kariho abantu (cg imiryango) 27 "bari mu mazi abira", ni ukuvuga abo umutekano wabo wagombaga kubungabungwa, cg kuhaba kwabo kwashoboraga guteza imvururu. Hanyuma, abagize akanama k'ubuyobozi – kayoboraga igihugu nyuma y'urupfu rwa perezida Cyprien Ntaryamira i Burundi – bagishije inama Ahmed Ould Abdallah, intumwa yihariye y'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa Loni mu Burundi, maze bafata icyemezo cyo kwamagana bidasubirwaho no kwanga icyo cyifuzo bemeza gusa ko indege inyura ku kibuga cyabo. N'ubwo lisiti yariho abantu 178, amaherezo abagenzi bari bimuwe ku wa 12 babaye bake cyane, kubera ko abanyacyubahiro benshi cyane cyane nk'abumvaga nta mpungenge z'umutekano bafite cg abari bamaze guhabwa imyanya muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, bahisemo kohereza imiryango yabo (Bicamumpaka, Kabuga, Mbangura, Mugenzi, Mugiraneza, Ntagerura[52], Nyiramasuhuko).

Bageze i Bujumbura, abimuwe ntibemerewe kuva mu gace mpuzamahanga kandi bacumbikiwe ku kibuga cya kera, aho Croix-Rouge yabafashirije. Kubera gukubitiriza hirya no hino kw'ambasaderi w'U Rwanda mu Burundi, Sylvestre Uwibajije,hamwe n'abanyacyubahiro banyuranye b'Abanyarwanda n' Abarundi, minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu w'Uburundi yaje kwemera, ku manywa yo ku wa 13, kureka hagasohoka abantu 43 bari bashyizwe mu rwego rw' "abari mu mazi abira" cg bashoboraga kugira ibibazo muri Zayire, kugira ngo babe bagumye i Burundi by'agateganyo, cg bajye ahandi bihitiyemo (Sylvestre Nsanzimana, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, Pierre Gakumba, Joseph Ngarambe, Dorcy Rugamba). Abandi bagenzi bose bimuriwe i Bukavu ku wa 14, bahagera saa kumi n'imwe zo ku mugoroba. Bahurijwe kuri *Hôtel Métropole,* bahacumbikirwa bishyuriwe n'abayobozi bo muri Zayire mbere yo kwimurirwa ahandi hantu (amahoteli, inzu zihariye n'ahandi). Nkurikije anketi nakoranye n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR), abagiye benshi, nka Cyprien Munyampundu, Ferdinand Nahimana, Augustin Ngirabatware na Télesphore Bizimungu, basubiye mu Rwanda umunsi ukurikira uw'iyimurwa, banyuze i Cyangugu. Perefe Bagambiki yari yaboherereje bisi ya Onatracom yabategerereje ku mupaka. Abandi baciye i Goma.

Abenshi muri abo banyacyubahiro bakozweho anketi bakanashinjwa n'Urukiko Mpanacyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR), iyo lisiti yabaye urwitwazo rukomeye, kubera ko yashoboraga guha urwitwazo abashinjwaga kuba batari mu Rwanda, nibura mu minsi ya mbere yakurikiye ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Kopi z'izo nyandiko zombi (lisiti yoherejwe kuri telegisi na lisiti "y'abantu

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[52] Reba umugereka wa 83.

babangamiwe") naziherewe ubwanjye na minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu w'Uburundi, Jean-Baptiste Manwangari, ku wa 12 Nyakanga 1994. Muri 1998, zashyikirijwe Bernard Caseneuve, wakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite. Ku byo nzi, abakoze raporo ya misiyo ntibashoboye guhabwa n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bireba impapuro z'umwimerere cg indi nyandiko iyo ari yo yose yerekeranye n'iryo yimurwa (kimwe n'ayandi yose). Ibyo ari byo byose, "abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite barayifashishije kandi bayiha bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud, wahoze ari ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda utarigeze ahakana ko ibaho cg ngo ahakane ibiyikubiyemo, ariko agahakana agatsemba ku ngingo y'iyimurwa rivangura[53]". Nyamara byari koroha kwirinda ishyinguranyandiko ridahwitse cg ubushake buke bw'inzego z'ubuyobozi zinyuranye z' i Paris iyo basaba ambasade y'Ubufaransa mu Burundi gukoresha impapuro z'umwimerere. Mu ruzinduko nakoze i Bujumbura muri 1999, niyemeje kubonana nanone n'abo twari twaragiranye ibiganiro muri 1994, kugira ngo mbasabe kwemeza ubuziranenge bwa kopi za telegisi n' iy'inyandiko y'inzego z'akazi z'Uburundi minisitiri yari yarampaye. Ntibyashobotse kubona impapuro z'umwimerere ndetse na lisiti z'abagenzi bagiye mu ndege n'abari bayitegereje ku ya 12 na 13 Mata. Ibyemezo nakusanyije nabishyikirije Paul Quilès ku wa 23 Gicurasi 1999, wasubije ko yabibonye ku wa 1 Kamena 1999. Nabitangiye hamwe mu buhamya mu Rukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho U Rwanda[54].

Uko "abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje" bakiriwe kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa

Nk'uko bivugwa muri raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, Jean-Michel Marlaud yarahakanye aratsemba ko ambasade y'Ubufaransa yaba yaranze gucumbikira abanyacyubahiro benshi ikaba yarakiriye gusa abari ku ngoma. Yashyigikiye ko kuri ambasade hari hateraniye n'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje bumvaga babangamiwe, itanga urugero rwa Pascal Ndengejeho, wahoze ari minisitiri utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje wo muri MDR, na Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, porokireri generali, basabiye icya rimwe ubuhungiro bwa politiki.

Uvanye "abatoni b'ingoma" kuri lisiti y'abantu bemerewe icumbi n'ihungishwa, hasigara gusa imiryango itanu idasanzwe cg abanyacyubahiro umuntu yakwita "abatari kuri gahunda"; ni byiza gusobanura uko buri wese yageze kuri ambasade.

Ikintu kigaragara cyane ni uko mu itsinda ryose ry'abantu bakiriwe, keretse

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[53] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.,* t. III, Auditons, p. 281.

[54] Izo lisiti zikomeje kuvugwaho byinshi : "Perezida w'Urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda vuba aha yaregewe n'icyumba kimwe cy'urukiko ibura ry'ubufatanye bw'Ubufaransa mu gutanga lisiti y'abanyacyubahiro b'abanyapolitiki b'Abanyarwanda bahungiye kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa i Kigali mu ntangiriro y'itsembabwoko. Mu itegeko-teka ryo ku itariki ya 13 Ugushyingo AFP (Ikigo gitara amakuru cy'Ubufaransa) yashoboye kubona ku wa kane, icyumba nomero 3 cya TPIR kirahamya ko nta buryo kitakoresheje kugira ngo abayobozi b'Abafaransa bagihe iyo lisiti "kikaba kibishyikirije perezida w'urukiko", Dennis Byron, bene iki cyemezo kiboneka gake cyane. Amategeko agenga TPIR ateganya ko iyo icyumba cy'urugereko rw'ibanze n'umucamanza umwe badashidikanya ko igihugu kitubahirije inshingano […], icyo cyumba cg uwo mucamanza ashobora kwiyambaza perezida akabimenyesha inama ishinzwe umutekano ya Loni" (AFP, Nairobi, 19 Ugushyingo 2009).

habayeho kwibeshya, harimo abagabo babiri gusa b'Abatutsi n'imiryango yabo[55]. Buri wese muri bo, ku buryo bwe, ari mu rwego rudasanzwe.

Uwa mbere, niba nanditse izina rye neza, yitwa Pierre Nsanzimana. Ukurikije imvugo ya Jean-Michel Marlaud, ni wa mututsi umwe rukumbi wakoraga muri ambasade washoboye kurokoka ubwicanyi. Yakoraga muri ambasade, akaba yari yihishe ku muturanyi w' "I*nterahamwe*" kuva ku wa 7 Mata akaba kandi atarashoboraga kubona terefone no kugera kuri ambasade. Yashoboye kuhagera ku wa 11. Nk'uko abyivugira[56], amambere igisubizo cy'Umufaransakazi bavuganye ku rwakiriro rwa terefone cyari oya, gisa n'ibindi byose byari byakibanjirije[57] : ntibyashokaga gufasha umuntu uwo ari we wese w'Umunyarwanda. Yanze gufunga terefone, aringinga maze agira amahirwe ikiganiro cyabo cyumvwa n'umuliyetona-koloneli w'Umufaransa yari azi neza wakoraga mu ikipe y'abunganizi mu rwego rw'ubumenyi-ngiro. Ku bwende bwe, uwo mugabo yiyemeje kujya kumukura mu bwihisho. Yahereye ko ajyayo, apakira umuryango we wose mu ijipi ye ahagana sa tanu n'igice z'amanywa, hanyuma avugana n'ambasade kuri radiyo kugira ngo amenye aho awushyira. Bamujyanye ku ishuri Saint-Exupéry, aho ingabo z'Abafaransa zahagurukirizaga imbaga y'abanyamahanga bajya ku kibuga cy'indege. Uwo muryango waraharaye maze ujyanwa ku kibuga cy'indege ku munsi ukurikiyeho kare kare mu gitondo. Kubera ko nta cyizere cyo kwakirwa mu Bufaransa bari bafite kandi batazi igihugu berekezamo, Pierre Nsanzimana n'umuryango we bongewe kuri lisiti y'abatoni k'ingoma boherejwe i Burundi.

Nk'uko abyivugira, iyo hataba ukwitanga k'uwo muwofisiye ku giti cye, aba yarabaye nk'abandi bakozi b'Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi b'iyo ambasade.Nawe ubwe ntiyibuka izina ry'uwo muliyetona-koloneli ntabashije gutahura.

Umututsi wa kabiri, Pierre Gakumba, yari umukozi mukuru wa Banki z'Abaturage utari ufite aho ahuriye n'ambasade[58]. Yagejejwe kuri ambasade n'uhagarariye Ubusuwisi mu Rwanda Marie-France Zenfer, ku wa 11 Mata nimugoroba, hamwe n'umugore we Médiatrice Uwanyiligira na we w'Umututsikazi, wari umuganga mu muryango w'Abaganga batagira imipaka (Médecins sans Frontières), n'umwana wabo. Kubera ko na we yari irengayobora, yemerewe guhungishwa ariko habanje kuba imishyikirano ikomeye n'ambasaderi.

Yari umwe mu bantu benshi bari bahungiye mu mazu y'icyicaro cy'uhagarariye Ubusuwisi mu Rwanda, cg mu macumbi y'abakozi b'ambasade. Kubera ko iyo ambasade itari ifite inkunga y'ingabo z'igihugu zoherejwe kuyirindira umutekano w'amazu no guhungisha abenegihugu bayo, umugore wari uyiyoboye yagerageje kubashakira icumbi n'ukuntu basohoka.

Ku wa 9 Mata, nyuma yo guterana amagambo bikomeye n'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa, uhagarariye Ubusuwisi bamwangiye kwakira abantu bose yari

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55 Hari n'abagore b'Abatutsi, ariko bahari kubera ko abagabo babo na bo bahari. Igenzura iryo ari ryo ryose ntirinashoboka kubera ko izina ryabo ritavugwa. Imiryango, umugore n'abana, aha bandikwa ku izina rya se.

56 Ubuhamya bwa nyirubwite, ibiganiro kuri terefone byo ku itarki ya 7 Gicurasi 2006.

57 N'ubwo hari teregaramu ya Quai d'Orsay yo ku itariki ya 11 Mata : "Minisiteri ibamenyesheje ko ari byiza guha Abanyarwanda bari mu bakozi b'ambasade (abahawe akazi ba kavukire), bashobora kugerwaho, uburyo bwo kuvana i Kigali n'ingabo z'Abafaransa".

58 Yari mu bakozi bakuru bakomeye bo muri icyo kigo, barimo na Jean Kambanda.

yabisabiye, hitwajwe ko nta mwanya wari uhari, haba mu busitani, haba no mu ndege. Jean-Michel Marlaud yari yasabye lisiti inonosoye y'Abanyarwanda bo guhungishwa. Ababyifuzaga bagera kuri mirongo itandatu (abana batarimo) bari : abakozi b'ambasade y'u Busuwisi badafite umutekano, abakoranaga n'imishinga y'ubutwererane y'u Busuwisi, majoro Pascal Ngirumpatse n'inshuti ye y'Umututsikazi n'abana babo[59], abakozi ba leta bakuru bahoze ari abanyamabanga bakuru (Emmanuel Bahigiki) cg abayobozi bakuru ba za minisiteri (DG Mininter, Minitrape…), abarimu muri kaminuza n'umuganga (bose bari bafite imiryango igizwe n'abana batatu cg batanu). N'ubwo hari icyizere ko abo bantu bose bari guhabwa uruhushya rwo kujya mu Busuwisi, ambasaderi yanze akomeje kugira n'umwe yimura. Icyari kimuhangayikishije kwari ukumenya niba Dismas Nsengiyaremye wahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe yari yahungiye mu Basuwisi kandi niba yari kuri lisiti yabo. Lisiti ya kabiri iriho abantu 15 gusa (abana batarimo) yongeye kumushyikirizwa, na yo ayanga nk'iyayibanjirije.

Ku bwa burembe, yemeye kwakira abantu babiri. Ubwo uhagarariye Ubusuwisi yahisemo Pierre Gakumba n'umugore we[60] noneho Jean-Michel Marlaud yemera kongeraho umwana wabo w'umuhungu. Igihe uhagarariye Ubusuwisi yagezaga Pierre Gakumba n'umugore we kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, ambasaderi yanze kwakira François Nzabahimana wahoze ari minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi n'Abaguzi wa MRND akanaba umunyamabanga mukuru wa za Banki z'abaturage, muri rusange wafatwaga n'abantu b'intagondwa bo muri MRND nk' "utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje[61]". Nanone yanze kwakira Josepha Kanzayire, wari wenyine n'abana be, akaba umuyobozi wa INADES, ahabarizwaga abakozi bakuru bo mu rwego rw'amashyirahamwe yo mu cyaro bari biganjemo abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, n'abasirikari bakuru benshi bo mu ngabo z'U Rwanda (FAR) bakoranaga n'abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje (icyo gihe bari bihishe). Bageze kuri ambasade, babonye hari abantu bagera ku icumi banaganaga ku byuma by'urupangu, binginga ngo binjire bikaba iby'ubusa. Mu bari bamaze kwakirwa kuri ambasade, bamenyemo nka ba Ferdinand Nahimana, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, na Sylvestre Nsanzimana. Nyuma gato yaho, minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu yatashye avuye gutembera mu mugi. Umuryango wa Gakumba waherekejwe ku wa 12 Mata ku kibuga cy'indege cy'i Kigali unimurirwa i Bujumbura, aho wavuye werekeza mu Busuwisi[62].

> "Mbagejejeyo, niboneye ubwanjye Ferdinand Nahimana, Félicien Kabuga, Augustin Ngirabatware, Casimir Bizimungu, Callixte Nzabonimana, Siméon Nteziryayo n'abandi benshi; icyo gihe Alphonse Nkubito yaraturitse andirira mu maboko, Jean-Michel amperekeje ku muryango w'igipangu : "Murabeho, ndumva koko nta mwanya mumfitiye[63]…"".

[59] Majoro Pascal Ngirumpatse, yakoreraga Laurent Serubuga, wari usigaye yibera mu mirimo y'ubucuruzi. Muri iyo minsi, yakoresheje icyo kimenyane... ndetse n'imodoka ya shebuja arengera Abatutsi benshi.

[60] Guhitamo uwo muryango byatewe nuko Pierre Gakumba yari yavuze ko umugore we yari afitanye isano na Fred Rwigema, wari uzwiho kuba yaratangije umutwe w'inyeshyamba z'Abatutsi, bityo akaba yari mu mazi abira.

[61] Yakomokaga mu majyepfo, akaba muri iyo minsi yarahoraga avugana na perezida mushya wa Repubulika. Yaratemberaga kandi agaca kuri bariyeri nta kibazo.

[62] Ibiganiro nagiranye kuri terefone na Médiatrice Uwanyiligira hagati y'itariki ya 26 Mata n'iya 11 Gicurasi 2006.

[63] Ubutumwa bw'umuntu wari uherekeje umuryango wa Gakumba, itariki ya 24 Mata 2006.

Iyo miryango yombi y'Abatutsi ntiyabarizwaga mu bya politiki, ntiyarwanyaga ubutegetsi, kandi yarokowe, uwa mbere n'amahirwe yo kugira umugoboka, uwa kabiri, nyuma y'itoranya ribabaje kandi rivangura mu basabaga benshi.

Abantu nkanjye bari bagerageje kugira abo bajyana (muri za ambasade zitari zifite uburyo bwo kurinda umutekano zinafite benshi bazigana), bahuye bose n' imbogamizi yo kwangirwa bidasubirwaho hose urwitwazo ari : "ubushobozi buke bw'icumbi". Ibyo kandi aho watakambiraga hose igisubizo cyari kimwe : ushinzwe kwitaba terefone cg ushoboye kubona umujyanama wa mbere wari ubikomeyemo cyane William Bunel, cg se wigereye kuri ambasaderi ubwe.

Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi bake bari barahungiye kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines* nashoboye gutuma bimuka "bitangiwe uburenganzira n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa" kandi baciye mu ishuri ry'Abafaransa mbere yo kugera ku kibuga cy'indege, nk'uko twari twabyumvikanyeho, bagiye bavuga ko bari barataye indangamuntu zabo. Biyise abava muri Afurika y'i Burengerazuba na kapiteni Mbaye Diagne wo muri Minuar ahamagara ambasade yemeza inkomoko yabo mbere y'uko tujya ku Ishuri ry'Abafaransa.

Izindi ngero eshatu z'"abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje" bari kuri ambasade zerekeye abanyacyubahiro b'Abahutu. Hari izina riherako ryigaragaza, iry'Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, porokireri generali w'Urukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Kigali wari warajuragijwe n'ubutegetsi kuva mu ntangiriro za 1990. Yari ndetse n'umwe mu badukanye ishingwa ry'imiryango itegamiye leta ari yo yaje kwibaruka urugaga rw'amashyirahamwe arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda [64] yatumye aba ikirangirire mu mahanga. Kubera ko yahigwaga kuva mu gitondo gikurikira amarorerwa, yari yabashije kuva iwe, aherekejwe n'umujandarume umwe cg babiri, bari bamurinze. Umugore we wari urwaye cyane yamutaye mu nzu. Yashoboye amaherezo kugera kwa ambasaderi w'Ububiligi Johann Swinnen, ku wa 7 Mata ahagana saa kumi n'imwe z'umugoroba. Kubera ko Ababiligi bahigwaga by'umwihariko hamaze kwicwa abaparakomando icumi n'abasivili benshi, no kubera amatangazo y'urwango rwibasira Ababiligi yahitaga ku bwishi kuri RTLM, ambasaderi yabuze uko abigenza. Kongera uwo "mwanzi w'igihugu" wahigwaga n'intagondwa z'Abahutu ku "batavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje" bagera kuri mirongo itatu bari bahungiye mu rugo iwe, byashyiraga ambasaderi mu mazi abira.

Yumvikanye rero na Alphonse-Marie Nkubito ko, uko ibintu bigenda bihinduka, inzira iyo ari yo yose yatanga umutekano kuri bose yateganywa. Ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 9 Mata, nta wutekereza ko bishoboka, yemwe nta n'uburyo buteganywa bwo kwimuka, ambasaderi yagobotswe n'uruzinduko rw' intumwa z'abagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (Clément-Jérôme Bicamumpaka [Ububanyi n'amahanga], Augustin Ngirabatware [Imigambi ya leta], Casimir Bizimungu [Ubuzima]), bagombaga kujya nyuma yaho kuri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, abasaba kuhamugereza umwe mu "nshuti" ze… Ubwo mu masaa cyenda saa kumi, yahamagaye mugenzi we w'Umufaransa Jean-Michel Marlaud na we yemera ko Alphonse-Marie Nkubito yagira umutekano urushijeho kuri

[64] Yari mu Ishyirahamwe nyarwanda rirengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu (ARDHO) akaba na perezida w'Impuzamashyirahamwe y'imiryango irengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu (CLADHO).

ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Ni uko abo baminisitiri bokejwe igitutu bakiza ubuzima bwa Alphonse-Marie Nkubito bamugeza kuri Jean-Michel Marlaud washoboraga, binyuranye na mugenzi we w'Umubiligi, gutanga icyizere cyo kwakira no kwita ku bantu mu mutekano. Ubwo ambasade y'Ubufaransa iba igize umushyitsi wihararutswe kandi utakekwaga mu "muryango" wari wakoranye ushingiye ku guhuza ibitekerezo byawo bya politiki. Kugira ngo hatabaho urujijo urwo ari rwo rwose ku buringanire bwashoboraga kuba muri uko kwegerana, tuributsa ko nyuma y'iyimurwa rye, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito yirukanywe mu bakozi ba leta byemejwe na Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Iyo nkuru isobanura neza isano iri hagati y'imibanire y'abantu ishingiye kuri politiki n'umutekano wabo abaminisitiri ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho bari basuye ambasaderi Swinnen bahanganye na yo mu gihe kidasanzwe. Koko rero, ambasaderi yatumiye mu kiganiro umwe mu bo yari acumbikiye, Enock Ruhigira, umunyacyubahiro ukomeye muri MRND, wari umuyobozi w'ibiro bya nyakwigendera Juvénal Habyarimana. Ubwo indege ya perezida yaraswaga, uwo mugabo yari ashinzwe kwakira perezida ku kibuga cy'indege. Ni we rero wa mbere wamenye uko byamugendekeye, aba n'uwa mbere wabimenyesheje abahagarariye ibihugu by'amahanga benshi, barimo Jean-Michel Marlaud. Yaboneyeho akanya ko gufindura ibintu byari kuba no gutekereza ku myitwarire ye bwite. Icyemezo cye cyari gisobanutse neza. Bakimuherekeza iwe, yanze kwimurirwa mu nkambi y'ingabo zirinda perezida, ahitamo gusaba ubuhungiro mu icumbi ry'inshuti ye y'Umubiligi ryarindwaga na Minuar. Hanyuma ku wa 9 Mata, amaze kubonana muri *Hôtel des Diplomates* n'abategetsi bashya b'abasivili bari bashyizweho na Théoneste Bagosora, yanze gusubizwa mu mirimo ye kwa perezida wa Repubulika Théodore Sindikubwabo, anasaba gucumbikirwa mu rugo kw'ambasaderi w'Ububiligi, aho yimuwe ajya i Nairobi ku wa 12, ubwo ingabo z'Ababiligi zatahukaga. Ku muntu uzi ibintu nka we, kandi wahoraga ahabwa ububasha bwo kujya mu mishyikirano itoroshye, icyo cyemezo ntaho gihuriye n'ubugenge. Mu gihe intagondwa zo mu bice byombi byarwaniraga ubutegetsi byari bimaze kwinjira burundu mu ntamabara, abanyacyubahiro bake cyane b'inyaryenge ni bo bagize ubwenge n'ubutwari byo kwanga kubigiramo uruhare. Uko kwitarura kugaragara k'umunyacyubahiro w'umunyapolitiki ukomeye imbere y'ihitamo ryakozwe na bagenzi be mu ishyaka hafi ya bose, rishyira ku buryo bugaragara imyifatire ya politiki y'abari mu rubuga, n'imyitwarire ya buri ambasade mu gihe cy'amahitamo akomeye[65].

Izina rya Joseph Ngarambe, wari muri PSD, wagejejwe kuri ambasade n'inshuti

[65] Igitekerezo cya Enoch Ruhigira cyagumaga icyo gihe mu murongo ugororotse w'imibanire ye na perezida. Ku bwe, Habyarimana ni we wenyine washoboraga gukumira ibyo gutandukira nyuma y'ishyirwaho umukono ry'amasezerano y'amahoro, n'ubwo na we ubwe atari yorohewe : "Habyarimana wenyine ni we washoboraga gutinyuka kohereza Protais muri Kanada, kwitandukanya na Nzirorera, na Nsekalije. "Twibutse ko ingaruka z'iyo myitwarire "itandukira" nyuma zabaye nyinshi cyane. Uretse urwango rukomeye yagaragarijwe kuva icyo gihe n'abantu bo mu kazu ka perezida bamushinja "ubugambanyi", intamabara ikirangira Inkotanyi zamushyize ku isonga y'urutonde rw'abateguye itsembabwoko zagombaga gucira urubanza! Ikindi kandi, kuva mu 2003, mu gihe abayobozi [bashya] b' U Rwanda baterwaga impungenge n'uburemere bw'icyubahiro yagumanye mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo, cyane cyane muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, minisitiri w'Ubutabera w' U Rwanda yatanze urupapuro mpuzamahanga rwo kumufata rutanga ibimenyetso… ashinjwa kugira uruhare bwite mu gushyira mu bikorwa itsembabwoko muri perefegitura ya Kibuye mu kwezi kwa Mata, Gicurasi na Kamena 1994. Ibi birego byari ibifindano kubera ko nyirubwite atigeze asubira mu Rwanda kuva yahungishwa n'ingabo z'Ababiligi ku itariki ya 12 Mata 1994.

ye y'Umufaransa, na ryo ryavuzwe nk'iry'utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje. Ariko ntiyari afite umwanya w'ubuyobozi mu nzego z'iryo shyaka washoboraga gutuma ahigwa n'ingabo zirinda perezida cg imitwe yitwara gisirikari.

Mu kurangiza, urugero rwa gatatu rw'utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje ambasaderi yatanze ni "Pascal Ndengejeho, wahoze ari minisitiri w'ishyaka ritavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje MDR". Imvugo "uwahoze ari minisitiri mu ruhande rutavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje" irasobanutse cyane : yabaye koko muri Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi ya Dismas Nsengiyaremye yo muri Mata 1992 ku ruhande rwa MDR, ariko ntiyasubijwe mu y'Agathe Uwilingiyimana, abari bayigize bo muri MDR (agace kari gashyikiye FPR ka Faustin Twagiramungu) baje guhigwa ku mugaragaro. Nanone, kandi iki gitekerezo ndabona gifite ishingiro, igisobanuro cy'ingenzi cy'ukuba kwe mu mazu y'ambasade y'Ubufaransa gishingiye ku mpamvu z'uko yari atuye hafi yayo kandi umugore we akaba yari umuvandimwe wa Léoncie Bongwa, umugore wa André Ntagerura, minisitiri wa MRND, wari ukuriye abandi baminisitiri ba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

Si ubushake rero ahubwo ni amahirwe masa yagejeje imiryango ibiri y'Abatutsi n'umuntu umwe w'ikirangirire utavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje mu mazu y'ambasade y'Ubufaransa, aho bafatiye itike itabemerera kugaruka yo kujya i Bujumbura, ku buryo butandukanye n'ubwa benshi mu "batoni" b'ingoma ya Habyarimana.

Ku buryo bw'inyongera, twavuga ko iyo lisiti (n'izindi zitamenywe na benshi) iriho abantu banyuranye baje kuba mu ba mbere basabye ubuhungiro mu Bufaransa, kandi dosiye zabo za politiki zari imitwaro iremereye. Abandi, na bo b'ibirangirire, baje kubakurikira. Kuva icyo gihe, abo banyacyubahiro n'ababagenderagaho barengeraga, batuye ari benshi cyane mu Bufaransa, Misiyo y'ikusanyamakuru y'abadepite itarigeze yifuza gufungura iyo dosiye [kubatangaho ikirego] – irakomeye cyane urebye ubufatanye n'abayobozi b'Abafaransa uko kwakirwa kwimakaje – mu gihe yakoraga imirimo yayo.

Urugero, minisitiri muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, Augustin Ngirabatware, wari ufite pasiporo yo muri Gabon yakozwe bizwi mu izina rye ku wa 31 Ukuboza 1996, yahawe n'inzego zishinzwe ubutoni n'ubudahangarwa (Privilèges et Immunités) za Quai d'Orsay "ikarita idasanzwe" mu mwanya w'icyemezo cyo gucumbika, ku wa 20 Mata 1998 (ibyumweru bitatu nyuma y' itangira ry'itangabuhamya muri Misiyo y'abadepite) mu izina ry' umuryango mpuzamahanga atigeze akorera (*reba umugereka wa 84*). Ubwo Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR) rwateguraga ifatwa rye i Paris ku wa 26 Ugushyingo 1999 kandi n'urugo rwe rugenzurwa, yashoboye kuva nta ngorane ku butaka bw'Ubufaransa ajya i Libreville, aho abayobozi ba Gabon bamutahuye bakanemeza ko bamukoreraga igenzura, hagati aho bakamwuzuriza ibisabwa n'amategeko…bakanamureka akazimira[66].

Haje nanone kuvugwa ibyo gutura mu Bufaransa kw'abantu benshi barimo abakozi babiri bakuru cyane ba minisiteri y'Igenamigambi batuye mu Bufaransa,

[66] Augustin Ngirabatware kuva icyo gihe yagiye yidegembya, urebye nta ngorane nyinshi, mu bihugu binyuranye by'Afurika n'u Burayi, aza gufatirwa mu Budage ku itariki ya 17 Nzeri 2007.

by'umwihariko Télesphore Bizimungu wahoze ari umunyamabanga mukuru w'Imigambi ya leta, wari ushyigikiye CDR[67], n'Antoine Ibambasi, wakomokaga muri komini Nyamyumba (komini ya Augusti Ngirabatware), wari umujyanama wa minisitiri. Uwo muyobozi uzwi kuba mu ntagondwa z'Abahutu kuva muri 1992, yari yararongoye mushiki wa Séraphin Rwabukumba, undi muramu wa perezida. Ni we wateguye anashyigikira imyivumbagatanyo muri Onatracom muri Kanama 1992. Abajijwe gusobanurira Guverinoma ibikorwa by'umujyanama we, minisitiri Ngirabatware ntiyamuhannye. Mu bari mu "kazu ka perezida" na bo batuye i Paris, hari harimo abandi bakwe babiri ba Kabuga : Fabien Singaye, wahoze ari umujyanama muri ambasade y'U Rwanda mu Busuwisi akahirukanwa muri 1994 kubera ibikorwa by'ubutasi, akaba kandi, ageze mu Bufaransa, yarakoranye na Paul Barril; hari na Eugène Mbarushimana, umuyobozi mukuru w'*Interahamwe,* wari ucumbitse muri ambasade y'Ubufaransa, wakojeje isoni abamurengeye ageze mu Bufaransa. Umugore we[68] na we ubwe[69] bangiwe burundu ubuhungiro na Komisiyo ishinzwe ibirego by'impunzi (CRR) ku wa 19 K amena 1996 (*reba umugereka wa 85*). Bahereye ko bajya gushakishiriza mu Bubiligi.

Bombi babonye ubuhungiro mu Bubiligi kuva muri Mutarama 1997, nyuma bahabwa ubwengihugu, umugore mu 2004, umugabo muri Kanama 2005.

Ni iki cyateye buriya bufatanye bwuzuye ivangura?

Uburyo bwo kwiregura bwakoreshejwe n'ambasaderi Jean-Michel Marlaud mu rwego rwa Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa, bushingiye ku magambo make dusubiramo nk'uko yakabaye :

> "Yavuze ko ari ubugome bukabije gutinyuka kwemeza ko habaye ivangura mu bakozi b'ambasade cg ko hari abangiwe guhungishwa nkana. Saa mbiri n'igice za nimugoroba, isaha indege ya perezida Habyariman yahanuriwe, abakozi b'Abanyarwanda muri ambasade bari iwabo mu ngo, aho abenshi muri bo batagiraga terefone. Byari bikomeye cyane kubona terefone yo guhamagara ambasade. Nanone, kuba uduce cg amabarabara y'umujyi bitaragiraga amazina n'amazu nta numero, byari na byo bikomeye kujya mu ngo z'abakozi bahatuye. Abantu babiri gusa ni bo bashoboye kwimenyekanisha : bwana Pierre Nsanzimana, umukozi w'Umututsi w'ikigo, wabashije guterefona, yimuwe hamwe n'umuryango we. Yatanze ubuhamya bwanditse ku buryo iyimurwa ryakozwe; umukozi wa Air France na we yashoboye gutabaza ishyirahamwe rye i Paris, rivugana na minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga, na yo ibimenyesha ambasade. Iyimurwa rye ryasabye kohereza abasirikari inshuro ebyiri zose, iya mbere yabaye imfabusa, kubera ko byari byabaye ngombwa ko yihisha n'umuryango we. Avuga iby'abanyacyubahiro b'Abanyarwanda bari bahungiye kuri ambasade, bwana Jean-Michel Marlaud yemeje ko kubirukana kuri ambasade bitumvikanaga, mu gihe Minuar itari yabitayeho kandi bari bayibisabye. Abaje bose barakiriwe. Ni byo koko abenshi muri bo, ariko si bose, bari abambari ba perezida Habyarimana. Mu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi harimo Alphonse-Marie Nkubito,

[67] Télesphore Bizimungu yahawe icyemezo cy'impunzi n'inzego z'Ikigo cy' Ubufaransa gishinzwe kurengera impunzi n'abatagira iwabo (OFPRA) mu Kuboza 2001.

[68] Reba Komisiyo y'ubujurire bw'impunzi yo mu Nzego z'iperereza (SR), itariki ya 19 Kamena 1996, 280638, K [Nyiranaka] umugore wa M., ku wa 2 Ugushyingo 2004.

[69] Reba Komisiyo y'ubujurire bw'impunzi yo mu Nzego z'iperereza (SR), itariki ya 19 Kamena 1996, 280634, M.M. [Kanaka], ku wa 2 Ugushyingo 2004.

> wakiriwe bisabwe n'ambasaderi w'Ububiligi kubera ko yashakishwaga cyane n'ingabo zirinda perezida kandi n'umutekano we ukaba utarashoboraga gucungwa. Nyuma yaho yimuwe n'Ubufaransa. […] Mu bantu bimuwe harimo Ferdinand Nahimana, umwe mu bashinze RTLM, ariko yari yatoranyijwe kuba minisitiri w'amashuri makuru, Umuco n'Ubushakashatsi muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari kujyaho. Muri urwo rwego, yari yemewe na FPR. Niba, usubije amaso inyuma, bishoboka gutahura ibikorwa bimureba, icyo gihe yari umunyapolitiki "wemewe". Ibyo ari byo byose, ihitamo ryari ryoroshye : kwari uguhungisha ababyifuzaga bose, cg gutoranya. Hafashwe icyemezo ko hashobora kugibwa impaka ku guhungisha abari bahungiye muri ambasde bose kandi bashakaga kugenda[70]."

Uretse amakuru yatanzwe haruguru, ubu buryo bwo kwiregura bugomba kugira icyo buvugwaho hakurikijwe amabwiriza y' ubuyobozi agarukwaho n'abakoze raporo :

– Aya mbere ari mu rwego rw'imyitwarire n°3 yo ku wa 11 Mata saa mbiri n'igice z'ijoro :

> "Kugenza buhoro misiyo. Ni ukuvuga kugumana buri gihe ikibuga cy'indege n'inzira zikiganaho kugira ngo hakorwe "iyimurwa ry'abanyamahanga n'iry'ambasade yacu iteganywa ku wa 12 Mata guhera saa moya mu gitondo". Iyimurwa ry'Abafaransa rirarangiye. Ni ukuvuga noneho "kwihutisha iyimurwa ry'abanyamahanga n'abakozi ba za ambasade, no gutegura itahuka buhoro buhoro ry'imitwe y'ingabo". Ni ukwibuka ko hatakozwe itandukanya rishingiye ku bwenegihugu bw'abakozi b'ambasade. Kugenda burundu biteganywa ku munsi ukurikiraho (bukeye bwaho), hazaba ari ku wa kabiri. Amabwiriza ya gisirikari ntiyarwanyaga rero ishakisha ry'abakozi b'Abanyarwanda b'ambasade n'iyimurwa ryabo[71]."

Iyo ngingo nanone igarukwaho ku buryo busobanutse muri telegaramu yo ku wa 11 Mata yavuye i Paris :

> ""Minisiteri ibamenyesheje ko ari byiza guha Abanyarwanda bari mu bakozi b'ambasade (abahawe akazi ba kavukire) bashobora kugerwaho, uburyo bwo kuvanwa i Kigali n'ingabo z'Abafaransa."[72]"

Uko kwiregura nanone kugomba kugira icyo kuvugwaho hitawe ku bisobanuro ku mabwiriza y'i Paris byatangiwe aho hantu. Kuri iyi ngingo, ibyavuzwe n'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari babishinzwe bigusha hamwe. N'ubwo bihakana bikomeje politiki iyo ari yo yose y'ivangura, bigaragaza ku buryo busobanutse ko ibyemezo byo guhungisha byafatiwe aho hantu :

> "bwana François Léotard [icyo gihe wari minisitiri w'ingabo wo muri Guverinoma ya Édouard Balladur (NdA)], yashimangiye ko operasiyo "Amaryllis", yari ifite izindi nyinshi zayibanjirije muri Afurika, yabaye igikorwa gisanzwe cyo guhungisha, cyibanze ku Banyaburayi ku buryo budahinduka, ariko ko n'abantu bafite ubwenegihugu bw'U Rwanda na bo byabarebaga. Yahamije ko atari azi niba aho hantu harabereye ivangura ry'amoko mu iyimura. […]
> bwana Alain Juppé [icyo gihe wari minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga(NdA)] yasobanuye ko ibyemezo byo guhungisha byari byafatiwe aho n'ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa, bwana Marlaud n'abashinzwe operasiyo "Amaryllis", hagati mu mujyi wari wayogojwe

[70] Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, t. III, p. 299-300.
[71] *Ibid.*, t. III, vol.1, p. 254.
[72] *Ibid.*, t. III, vol.1, p. 266.

> n'ubwicanyi, urimo ahantu hatagerwaga, terefone yakaswe. Iyimura ryateguriwe kuri ambasade n'ahantu hahurizwaga abantu. bwana Alain Juppé yibanze ku ngingo y'uko nta robanura na rimwe ryigeze rikorwa rishingiye ku bwoko abantu bakomokamo, kandi ashimangira ko kwemera ibinyuranye n'ibyo nta ntangamugabo igaragajwe byari bibi cyane. […]
> bwana Jean-Marc Rochereau de la Sablière [icyo gihe wari umuyobozi w'Ibireba Afurika na Madagasikari muri minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'amahanga(NdA)] […] yashimangiye ko nyuma y'amarorerwa, icyari gishshikaje cyane Ubufaransa cyari uguhungisha abakomoka mu bihugu by'abazungu anameza ko igikorwa cyo guhungisha, cyemejwe ku wa 7 Mata kigakorwa bwangu, cyabaye kimwe mu bitoroshye ingabo z'Ubufaransa zakoze muri Afurika. Yavuze ko yababajwe no kumva abantu bavuga ko habaye "itoranya kuri ambasade", ko n'abakozi bakomoka aho bahaguye. Yemeje ko ambasaderi aba yarimuye abakozi bari batashye iyo bashobora kuboneka, kandi ko yari yahawe teregaramu ibimwemerera. […]
> Amiral Jacques Lanxade [icyo gihe wari umugaba w'ingabo] yasobanuye uko ibikorwa by'iyimura byategurwaga. Iyo icyemezo cyamaze gufatwa n'ubuyobozi mu rwego rwa politiki, akenshi bubisabwe n'ambasaderi wacu, akanama k'ibihe bikomeye gateranira muri Quai d'Orsay, inshingano z'ako z'ingenzi zikaba gutegurira perezida wa Rpubulika amabwiriza yo guhungisha no gusaba Guverinoma gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo hagati y'uruhererekane rw'ambasade n'abasirikari. Ni ko byagenze kuri operasiyo "Amaryllis". Abafaransa barimuwe, hamwe n'Abanyaburayi, Abanyamerika, Abanyakanada, Abarusiya n'Abanyafurika. Ku bireba Abanyarwanda, ambasaderi yafashe umubare w'abantu yabonaga ko ubuzima bwabo bubangamiwe, kandi yasabye amabwiriza i Paris. Abo bantu bimuriwe haba i Bujumbura, haba i Bangui bikozwe n'abayobozi ba girikare, bakurikije amabwiriza. […] Operasiyo "Amaryllis" yubahirije amabwiriza y'iyimura yatanzwe na Paris kandi byaba byiza kubaza ambasaderi impamvu zamuteye gushyira hamwe abantu bari mu gihirahiro Guverinoma y'Ubufaransa yari yahisemo kurengera. Yasobanuye ko abasirikari batari bashinzwe kurobanura abantu bo guhungisha[73]."

Mu byo nashoboye kubona no kumva aho hantu, icyemezo ndakuka cyahoraga gikwirakwizwa n'abakozi b'ambasade y'Ubufaransa ku bashoboraga kubavugisha muri iyo minsi dore ko mu bice byinsi by'umujyi terefone zitakoraga, Abafaransa bonyine n'abandi bazungu ni bo bashoboraga guhungishwa kandi kubahiriza bikomeye ayo "masezerano" yari yumvikanyweho n' "abayobozi b'U Rwanda " – Guvernoma y'inzibacyuho, ingabo zirinda perezida, ingabo z'igihugu – ni byo byatumaga igikorwa cyo guhungisha abanyamahanga no kubageza aho bagombaga guhurizwaga hari hateguwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa[74] bikorwa nta mpungenge. Uburyo bwo kujya gutabara abakozi b'Abatutsi b'ambasade ubwabwo, baba abo mu Kigo ndangamuco cg mu zindi nzego zagengwaga n'ubuyobozi bw'Ubufaransa, ntibwari rero mu mirimo yari igenewe ingabo z'Abafaransa.

Dushubije amaso inyuma, buri mukozi wa leta w'umufaransa wo mu Kigo ndangamuco (CCF), wa Misiyo y'ibikorwa by'umuco (MAC), w' Isandugu mfaransa itsura amajyambere (CFD) ari yo ubu yitwa Ikigo cy'Ubufaransa gitsura

[73] *Ibid*. t. III, 1, p. 98-99 ; 2, p. 156 ; 1, p. 238 na 240.

[74] Ikigaragara neza muri ako gace ka raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite b'Abafaransa : "Impapuro zabonywe na Misiyo zerekeye uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa operasiyo "Amaryllis" […], ku nzego z'imikoranire n'itangazamakuru, […] urwego rw'ubuvugizi bwa operasiyo bwaborohereje akazi [abanyamakuru], bubagezaho amatangazo abiri buri munsi, kandi rubafasha kugenda, ariko bwifuza buri gihe kutaberekaa abasirikari b'Abafaransa, bukemerera gusa abanyamahanga bonyine kwinjira mu bigo byo guhurizamo abantu byo mu Rwanda cg ntibugire icyo bukora kugira ngo buhagarike ubwicanyi bwiboneraga aho hafi" (*ibid*. t. I, p. 280).

amajyambere n'ahandi, ashobora rwose gutanga ubuhamya ku kuntu yashoboye kwita cg kutita ku kibazo cy'abakozi b'Abatutsi, yemwe no ku ngamba yashoboye gufata ubwe kugira ngo arengere uyu n'uyu mu bo yahembaga cg mu bakozi be bo mu rugo, ariko icyemezo ndakuka cyo kwanga guhungisha abantu cyatumaga izo ngamba zidashobora kugerwaho. Ibyo ari byo byose, hari abantu (bamwe na bamwe) bateguye uburyo bwo gucumbikira no kurengera abakozi b'Abatutsi bakoresheje abakozi b'Abahutu, igerageza ry'ubwo buryo ryagaragaje ko ubwo buryo butigeze bugira icyo bumara imbere y'iterabwoba ry'imitwe yitwara gisirikari n'abasirikari uko iminsi yisunikaga.

Muri rusange, n'ubwo hari ibikorwa byo kugoboka abantu biteguye neza byakozwe n' abasirikari b'Abafaransa mu duce Abafaransa cg abanyamahanga bari mu bwigunge, babangamiwe cg badashora kugerwaho, akenshi ambasade yasabaga abanyamahanga bagomba guhungishwa ko birwanaho bakagera ahari hagenewe guhurizwa abantu – ishuri ry'Abafaransa Saint-Exupéry. Aho niho nyuma havaga ikivunge cy'abantu baherekezwa bakagezwa ku kibuga cy'indege. Igihe imodoka z'abasirikari b'Abafaransa zahitaga nta kibazo mu gace karimo Ikigo ndangamuco cy'Abafaransa kimwe no mu bice byinshi by'umujyi, byajyaga kuba ngombwa ko amabwiriza asobanutse atangwa kugira ngo bafate Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi bari bihishe hirya no hino. Ariko si ko byagenze na busa. Amagerageza yo guhuriza hamwe abakozi b'Abatutsi yakozwe cyane cyane n'ibiro by'ubutwererane by' Ubusuwisi cg gahunda zo gutabara nyinshi zageragejwe n'abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo z'igihugu (impunzi zajyanywe kuri *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* abantu bashyizwe mu mazu ya Minuar n'aya za ambasade) byakozwe muri rusange aho Abanyarwanda b'Abahutu bashoboraga gutabara.

Umuntu yatekereza ko ambasade yashoboraga gusaba inkunga y'abo yavuganaga na bo bari bafite ububasha kugira ngo ijye gushakisha cg gufasha gushakisha, kuvana cg gufasha kuvana uwo yashakaga wese aho yari yihishe.

N'ubwo abayobozi b'Abafaransa bashobora gushyirwa mu majwi kubera ko batashatse kugira uruhare muri icyo gikorwa (nk'uko ubuhamya bw'Abanyarwanda barokotse babyinubiye hanyuma), ni byiza gusobanura ko hafi y'ambasade zose n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yose ari ko byabigenje[75]. Ubwo ambasade ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe yimuraga abantu bayo muri *Hôtel Mille Collines* ku wa 8 Mata, sinibuka niba narabonye bajyana Abanyarwanda. Nanone birumvikana ko ingabo z'Abafaransa n'Ababiligi ari zo zagize umutwaro ukomeye wo gutunganya ibikorwa byo guhungisha abanyamahanga. Nyamara ugereranyije, imyitwarire y'ingabo z'Ababiligi, nk'uko ubuhamya bwinshi bubivuga, yabayemo ubwitonzi mu gushyira mu bikorwa uwo mwihariko (ibyo ambasade y'Ubufaransa yarabyemeye ku mugaragaro), n'ubwo umubare wose w'abantu bahungishijwe ari muto ku buryo bugaragara. Inyandiko nyinshi mu binyamakuru byo mu Bufaransa no mu Bubiligi zagaragaje ingero zitabarika z'ukuntu abayobozi b'Abafaransa n'Ababiligi banze guhungisha abantu

[75] Ibi byemezwa n'urugero rwa Faustin Twagiramungu, ambasaderi wa Leta Zunze Ubumwe yarokoye bwangu kandi atagombye kwiteranya akamushyikiriza umuyobozi w'umuryango w'abanyamerika Care. Faustin Twagiramungu nyuma yabashije kwitabwaho na Minuar (reba Assemblée nationale française, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise [Anketi ku marorerwa yo mu Rwanda], op. cit.*, t. III : Iyumvwa, Vol. 1, p. 268-269).

zinagaragaza ubuhamya bw'Abatutsi bake bashoboye guhungishwa n'abasirikari b'Ababiligi. Izo nkuru zigaragaza ko n'ubwo hari ingorane, byashobokaga kurokora no guhungisha Abanyarwanda b'Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi. Kuba ambasade y'Ubufaransa yarashoboye gucumbikira no "guhungisha" abanyacyubahiro banyuranye b'Abanyarwanda twabaruye haruguru, cg abandi bantu bagera ku ijana babaga mu kigo cy'imfubyi Sainte Agathe n'abandi bagera kuri mirongo itatu "bahakoraga" bigaragaza ko uburyo bwakoreshejwe bwari bushingiye ku ijonjora rikomeye ryimakaza imyumvire, uruhande rwa politiki n'ubwoko abantu barimo.

Dukurikije ibyagezweho muri rusange, n'uburyo operasiyo "Amaryllis" yagenze, kwitwaza amazina nk'atandatu y'Abatutsi barokotse n'abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bimuwe, bifitanye isano cyane n'imvugo zikoreshwa mu buryo bwo kwiregura bw'abashinjwa bose bavugira hejuru icyarimwe ko barokoye Umututsi runaka cg uwarwanyaga ubutegetsi uyu n'uyu kurusha uko biyifitanye n'iramburangingo ryumvisha ukuri rishobora gushimangira ibirego byo kwakira no guhungisha bivangura.

Bityo, mu gihe nta bushake bugaragara bwo kugerageza kugoboka abantu bahigwaga bwabayeho, byari bihagije gufunga amaso (gutanga ibisubizo bibi kuri terefone, kwanga kujya gushaka abantu aho bari binyegeje) no kwirukana abatifuzwa bari babashije gukora iyo bwababaga bakagera ku byuma by'igipangu cy'ambasade, mu gace gafite umutekano umeze utyo, nk'uko ubuhamya bunyuranye bubigaragaza[76].

Biraboneka, uburyo bwo kuvangura bwatewe ahanini no kutita ku mabwiriza yatanzwe mu bihe bikomeye koko kandi birimo ingorane, ariko umuntu atitaye ku makosa akomeye yakozwe bitewe n'uburangare, kandi ahuriweho na za ambasade zose, umuntu yakwibaza ku yakozwe ku bwende cg ashingiye ku kubogama kwa politiki kwaranze ambasade y'Ubufaransa, yakurikiraniraga hafi ibyakozwe byose muri icyo cyumweru cy'amakuba.

Ku bwanjye, ikibazo nyakuri si ingorane zabaye mu gufata "ingamba", ikibazo ni ukubogama ku buryo bugambiriwe byatumye hafatwa icyemezo cyo kutita cg se kwanga guhungisha abatavuga rumwe n'ingoma iganje n'abandi bahigwaga. Kuba ambasade yari yemeye gucumbikira abategetsi benshi bakoranaga bya hafi n'imitwe ya gisirikari n'imitwe yitwara gisirikari yari iyoboye ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi, ntibyumvikana impamvu yagombaga kwemera kugirana nabo "amasezerano" ari yo yose ayibuza gutabara abakozi bayo b'Abatutsi. Nanone kandi, ntibyumvikana na busa impamvu ambasade yanze burundu kwakira porokireri wa Repubulika wa Kigali [Nsanzuwera] kandi yari yihanganye igacumbikira umukuriye mu mirimo ku buryo bwa hafi, porokireri generali Alphonse-Marie Nkubito. Ndetse nanone guhungisha abana batanu ba Agathe Uwilingiyimana byari kuzafatwa nk'igikorwa kigaragara cyo gutabara abari mu kaga kurusha ibyakozwe mu guhungisha imfubyi zose zari mu kigo Sainte-

[76] "Ku itariki ya 11 Mata nyuma ya saa kumi n'ebyiri, hari itsinda ry'abantu (Abatutsi) ryageragezaga kwinjira mu busitani kandi ryari ryahejejwe inyuma y'urupangu n'abasirikari b'Abafaransa. Mbere yaho, ku itariki ya 9, hari n'ubundi abantu bari birundanyije ku rupangu ku buryo narize gushakisha inzira kugira ngo ngere ku idarajya.Nyamara ibikomerezwa byo mu Rwanda byari byamaze kugera imbere" (ubuhamya bw'umuntu uhagarariye igihugu cy'amahanga, Inyandiko zanjye bwite, 29 Werurwe na 5 Mata 2006).

Agathe. Umuntu atitaye ku kubogama kujyanye n'imibanire y'abayobozi bari bafitanye isano n'ingoma ya Habyarimana, ntiyabura kwibaza ati : Inyungu za politiki z'ubufatanye bwibanda gusa ku gace k'intagondwa z'Abahutu zari zishingiye kuki ?

Urugero rwa nyuma rurerekana ukuntu iryo hitamo ryari "ikintu gisanzwe". Abakoze raporo ya Misiyo y'abadepite bibanze ku kuvuguruza bikomeye ikirego kidahwitse – batanasobanura ndetse aho cyavuye – kivuga ko ambasade y'Ubufaransa yaba yarimuye umunyamakuru w'Umubiligi Georges Ruggiu wo kuri RTLM[77] – umuntu ubundi mu by'ukuri wari mu rwego ruciririts e. Ariko, muri anketi nakoze kuri iyo ngingo, nabonye andi makuru y'inyongera :

> "N'ubwo Ruggiu atari koko kuri ambasade, natangajwe no kumva Hassan Ngeze[78], ahamagarwa (ari uwa mbere!) mu banyacyubahiro b'imena [VIP] bo guhungisha (ku ikubitiro). Sinari naramubonye kuri ambasade hagati y'itariki ya10 n'iya 12 Mata[79]."

Hassan Ngeze, umwe mu bari bazwiho kwibasira Abatutsi cyane, ntiyajyanywe i Bujumbura, kimwe n'abandi batoni b'ingoma batari bafite icyo bikanga ku wa 12 Mata, ariko ikigaragara cyane ni uko ari abakora amalisiti ubusanzwe barangwaga no kwita kuri buri kantu nkuko twabibonye ari ndetse na ambasaderi ubwe, nta n'umwe wari watewe amakenga [no kwakira Ngeze]. Koko rero, [ambasaderi] nta cyo yari ayobewe kuko ari we ubwe wayoboraga ibyo guhamagara abanyacyubahiro bakuru :

> "Uwo mugabo uvugwa, wasaga n'umusirikari mukuru wambaye gisivili, ahamagara abantu bo kuri lisiti ya mbere ari kumwe n'ambasaderi Marlaud, hanyuma [uwo mugabo] ashinga ibyo wo guhamagara abantu bo guhungishwa (abo mu itsinda rya kabiri, ritari "iry'ibanze") minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu[80], wiyongereye ubwe amazina kuri "iyo" lisiti [81]."

Nubwo umuntu ashobora kumva impamvu [ambasade y'Ubufaransa] yakiriye bamwe mu "ntagondwa kabombo" zo muri guverinoma yari ivuyeho no gushyigikira Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ndetse na politiki kirimbuzi yayo, kudateganya imbibi z'aho kwakira abanyapolitiki bamwe byagomba kutarenga ahubwo ukagerekaho kubaha ububasha bwo guhitamo abagomabaga guhungishwa byerekana ubufatanye bukabije butagize aho buhuriye n'ubushishozi busanzwe buranga imigenzo myiza y'ububanyi n'amahanga.

Mu gihe ku wa 11 Mata Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yageragezaga gukoma imbere ibikorwa byo "kugarura amahoro" byari byaraye bitangiye bigamije guhagarika ubwicanyi kirimbuzi – umusaruro w'ibyo bikorwa ukaba wari utaragaragara –, umuntu ntiyabura kwibaza ati : Ese iryo bogama ritihishira ryaterwaga no kutamenya, kugwa mu bishuko rusange, cg se akagambane ?

[77] Yahawe akazi kuri RTLM yoherejwe na Ferdinand Nahimana wari waramukoresheje mbere muri Orinfor akiyibereye umuyobozi.

[78] Hassan Ngeze ni we muri 1990 watangije anaba umwanditsi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru *Kangura,* cyigize umuhagararizi w'ibitekerezo bishingiye ku moko bishyira imbere ubuhutu. Yari umwe mu bagize CDR yo ku Gisenyi ; yavugiye inshuno nyinshi kuri RTLM.

[79] Ubuhamya bw'umwe mu bari bahungiye kuri ambasade, Inyandiko zanjye bwite, 16 Gicurasi 2006.

[80] Casimir Bizimungu, kimwe n'abandi benshi bari bagize Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, amaherezo yahisemo kuguma i Kigali ariko yimura umuryango we bwite.

[81] Ubuhamya bw'umwe mu mpunzi zari kuri ambasade, Inyandiko zanjye bwite, 16 Gicurasi 2006.