IKIGANIRO DR. GASANA A.-DR. IYAMUREMYE A.-GENERAL GATSINZI M.-
TWAGIRAMUNGU F. KIYOBOWE NA JAMBO KARIBU JAMBO KURI FACE BOOK

1. NI RYARI MWAMENYE KO HATEGURWA GENOCIDE?

Ni ukuva taliki ya 04/09/1991 ubwo perezida Habyarimana yashyiragaho Komisiyo idasanzwe yari iyobowe na Col Bagosora yari ishinzwe kugaragaza icyo bise “umwanzi w’u Rwanda” uwo ari we neza n’uburyo yatsindwa burundu noneho ku ya 20/12/1991 iyo Komisiyo igatanga imyanzuro y’imirimo yayo ivuga ko umwanzi w’u Rwanda ari umututsi iyo ava akagera yaba uw’impunzi uri hanze yaba n’uri mu gihugu imbere ari nawe iriya Komisiyo yise “l’ennemi principal”, n’umuhutu uwo ari we wese urwanya leta ya Habyarimana na MRMD ye yariho icyo gihe.

Urabona ko iyi Komisiyo yagiyeho tutarajya muri guverinoma y’amashyaka menshi kuko twagiyemo bwa mbere ku ya 02/04/1992. Iyi Komisiyo imaze gutanga imyanzuro yayo, nibwo mu kwezi kwa mbere 1992 hahise havuka umutwe w’interahamwe za MRND kuko Komisiyo yari yavuze mu myanzuro yayo ko mu rwego rwo gutsinda umwanzi hakwiye kujyaho umutwe wa defense civile kugirango abanyarwanda batari abasilikare nabo baze kubafasha kurwanya umwanzi wavuzwe. Hari Interahamwe zahawe imyitozo mu bigo bya gisilikare ku buryo radio Rwanda rimwe yigeze kujya ku Gikongoro umuturage umwe arabaza kuri radio ngo ko tumva ko hari abahabwa imyitozo twebwe bikaba biratugeraho muteze iki! Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi, n’uruhare bamwe mu basilikari ba exFAR n’interahwme bagize mu gukora jenoside tutsi no kwica abahutu batavugaga rumwe na perezida Habyarimana na MRND ye bahereye kuri Minisitiri w’Intebe Agatha Uwiringiyimana na Ministiri Nzamurambaho Frederic wari perezida wa PSD, Kavaruganda wari perezida w’urukiko rurinda itegeko nshinga, n’abandi banyapolitiki benshi n’abarwanshyaka b’amashyaka ya opposition y’icyo gihe.

Umwanzuro kuri iki kibazo: iyo tuza kuba muri guverinoma ntituba twaratumye iriya “Komisiyo Bagosora” igirwa n’abasilikri gusa, tuba twarashyizemo n’abasivili kuko bitangaje kandi bigaragaza manque de leadership ikabije gushyiraho Komisiyo yo kwiga neza no kugaraza sans ambiguite aucune umwanzi w’igihugu uwo ari we ugasanga ari umwegenegihu nkawe ntibitume utera intambwe yindi ngo wibaze wisubize impamvu umwenegihugu nkawe mureshya(mwakagombye kureshya) imbere y’igihugu cyanyu mwembi ari we mwanzi w’igihugu(“l’ennemi principal”). Ntaho twavuye ntaho twagiye kandi kuko leta ya Kagame na FPR nabo babona ko umwanzi w’igihugu ari umwenegihugu witwa umuhutu, ibyo bikaba biri mu mpamvu zatumye bene iriya leta nayo dufata icyemezo cyo kuyirwanya.

2. NI IBIHE BIMENYETSO BYA GENOCIDE MWABA MWARIGEZE MUBONA CYANGWA MWUMVA KU BYARIMO BITEGURWA?

Ibikubiye muri rapport ya “Komisiyo Bagosora” byakurikiwe no gushinga umutwe w’interahamwe za MRND abawugize bagahabwa imyitozo ya gisilikare mu bigo bya gisilikari byari ikimenyetso ko hategurwa ubwicanyi bubi kuwo ari we wese iriya Komisiyo yanditse ko ari “umwanzi w’igihugu”(abatutsi, n’abahutu batavuga rumwe n’ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana na MRND ye). Mw’ishyaka MDR nari ndimo ndi umwe mu bagize bureau politique mu rwego rw’igihugu n’umwe mu bagize Commsion etudes et programmes(party strategist) nakoze une etude yashyikirijwe Bureau Politique y’ishyaka taliki ya 14/05/1992 nise “Interahamwe za Muvoma ou les irreductibles du MRND: Essai de Deracinement du Mal” mvuga ko zikwiye guseswa ko nizidaseswa zizakora ibara. Hafi imyaka ibiri nyuma y’uko mbyanditse, zakoze ibara koko! Hagati aho, Guverinoma de coalition Nsengiyaremye imaze kujyaho yafashe icyemezo cyo gushyira Col Bagosora muri retraite anticipee kuko yari abishyushyemo cyane, perezida Habyarimana agerageza kumurwanaho birananirana kuko hari n’abaminisitiri ba

MRND babonaga ko byaba byiza uriya mu Colonel yigijwe hirya y'ingabo z'u Rwanda noneho perezida Habyarimana we arabahima bose amugarura mu gisilikari mu mwanya w'abasivili wa Directeur de Cabinet wa Minisiteri y'Ingabo kuko uwo mwanya muri minisiteri zose wari ugenewe ishyaka rifite iyo minisiteri muri Gouvernement de Coalition(ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi). Abantu benshi ntibazi ko Retired Colonel Bagosora Theoneste yari Directeur de Cabinet wa Minisiteri y'Ingabo nk'umurwashyaka wa MRND kuko uriya mwanya wari uw'abasivili b'ishyaka ryahawe iyo minisiteri mw'igabana rya Minisiteri hagati y'amashyaka yari agize iriya guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi. Nguko uko perezida Habyarimana yahaye ingufu le Colonel retraite Bagosora Theoneste kugirango ashyire mu bikorwa imyanzuro ya rapport ya "Komisiyo Bagosora" yo gukora definition "claire" y'umwanzi w'igihugu n'uburyo yakurwaho agatsindwa buheriheri.

Isomo umuntu wese yakuramo ni uko iriya definition y'umwanzi w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda n'iriya acharnement kuri we byabaye contre-productif akaba ari byo byatumye ahubwo perezida Habyarimana na MRND na regime ye yose batsindwa urugamba, rwaba urwa gisilikari, urwa politiki n'urwa dipolomasi kandi "Komisiyo Bagosora" yari yarashyiriweho kwiga uburyo bwose uriya mwanzi yatsndwa muri ziriya nguni zose. Gahunda mbisha yo gukuraho umwanzi w'igihugu "Komisiyo Bagosora" yagaragaje ko ari umututsi uwo ari we wese(gukora genocide tutsi) no kwica umuhutu wese utaravugaga rumwe na Habyarimana na MRND ye, ni byo byatumye leta ya Habyarimama na MRND ye na regime ye byose bihirima nk'ibyubakiye ku manga.

3. ESE GENERAL GATSINZI KO YABAYE CHEF D'ETAT MAJOR IBYUMWERU 3 YABA YARIGEZE ABONA UMUGAMBI W'IZO NGABO WO GUKORA GENOCIDE?

General Gatsinzi Marcel aba Chef d'Etat Major mu kwezi kwa kane 1994, genocide y'abatutsi n'abahutu moderes yari irimo ikorwa deja kuko yatangiye taliki ya 7/04/1994 mu gitondo cya kare. Nawe ubwawe urivugira ko yabaye Chef d'Etat Major ibyumweru 3 gusa, nkumva nawe ubishatse wakwibaza impamvu za biriya byumweru bitatu gusa. Uzi ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zatakaje kuba ingabo z'igihugu zihinduka ingabo z'akarere kuva taliki ya 5/7/1973 Habyarimana na Kanyarengwe na Lizinde b'I Gisenyi na Ruhengeli bakora Coup d'Etat bakica perezida Kayibanda n'abasilikri hafi ya bose n'abanyapolitiki batakomokaga i Gisenyi na Ruhengeri n'agace ba Byumba kegereye Ruhengeri. Kuri bo bumvaga ko Chef d'Etat Major w'Ingabo agomba kuba umunyaGisenyi cyangwa umunyaRuhengeri, byagira uwo bipfa agasoni akaba yaba umunyaByumba nka Col Bizimungu. Ni nako byagenze, General Nsabimana wo mu Ruhengeri wari Chef d'Etat Major yasimbuwe na Col Bizimungu w'i Byumba kuko General Gatsinzi wo muri Kigali Ngali batamushakaga muri uwo mwanya kubera irondakarere. Kugirango dukureho icyo kintu cy'ubwiharire n'ubwikanyize cyari umuco mubi w'irondakarere, ndibuka ko muri guverinoma de coalition y'amashyaka narimo nka Minisitri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga twateganyaga kugira Chef D'Etat Major w'Ingabo umugabo w'umuhanga mu bya gisilikare witwaga Col BEM Kamanzi w'i Gitarama ariko abo mu kazu ko kwa Habyarimana babimenye bahita bamwica. Ku mugambi wa genocide n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryawo, General Gatsinzi na bagenzi be b'abasilikari bo muri FAR ari bo General Rusatira, General Habyarimana Emmanuel, Colonel Musonera, Lt Col Mugemanyi, Maj. Habyararabatuma, Maj. Ndamage Martin, Maj. Rwabukwisi, na Maj. Jeanne Ndamage bemeje nk'abasilikare babikurikiraniye bugufi, ko mu Rwanda habaye genocide mw'itangazo ryabo ku Kigeme-Gikongoro ryo ku ya 06/07/1994 aho bagize bati:
'Nous declarons encore une fois officiellement notre ferme determination d'oeuvrer avec toutes les forces de bonne volonte a lutter contre le genocide ethnico-politique et regional. Nous denoncons et condamnons avec la derniere energie LE GENOCIDE et tous les crimes contre l'humanite qui viennent de s'abattre sur notre pays".

4. ESE FPR YABA YARIGEZE IBABAZA KU BY'ITEGURWA RYA GENOCIDE YAKOREWE ABTUTSI?

Abari bagize les Forces Democratiques du Changement (FDC) kuva twatangira gukorana na FPR mu bya politiki mu 1992(declaration de Bruxelles) kugeza nsezera muri leta ya FPR mu kwa mbere 2003, ntabwo FPR yigeze imbaza kw'itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'umugambi wa genocide. Nta n'impamvu yo kugira uwo babibaza kuko imyanzuro na recommandations za "Komisiyo Bagosora" n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryazo byabaye countre-pructifs kuko ari byo byabahaye inzira nziza cyane yoroshye kuri bo yo gutsinda urugamba bariho. Iby'iyicwa ry'abatutsi ntacyo byari bibabwiye ku buryo bashishikazwa no kubikubaza; icyangombwa kuri bo ni icyo bakuyemo ari cyo ubutegetsi budasangiwe kandi ni cyo bashakaga, iriya Komisiyo ikaba yaraborohereje kukigeraho batavunitse.

5. NI URUHE RUHARE MWAGIZE MURI GENOCIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI?

Ntarwo kuko ahubwo twishwe hamwe na bo tuzira ko twarwanyaga leta ya Habyarimana na MRND na CDR batashakaga gusangira ubutegetsi n'abatutsi. "Komisiyo Bagosora" muri definition yayo yakoze y'umwanzi w'u Rwanda yagize iti" 'L'ennemi principal est le tutsi de l'interieur ou de l'exterieur", naho twe abahutu barwanyaga ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana na MRND ye Komisiyo yatwise "les partisans de l'ennemi" bityo twese tukaba twaragombaga gupfa rumwe ari nako byagenze kuva taliki ya 07/04/1994 mu gitondo. Ni yo mpamvu ONU na International Red Cross mu mibare yabo batanze genocide irangiye, bavuze ko yahitanye abantu "500.000 Tutsi et Hutu moderes". FPR muri politiki yayo mbi y'ivangurabwoko ni yo yaje nyuma muri 2004 kuvangura abapfuye ibyitirira abatutsi bonyine.

6. DR. GASANA KO WIGISHIJE MW'ISHULI RIKURU RYA GISILIKARI WABA WEMERA KO ABANYESHULI WIGISHAGA BAGIYE MU BY'ITEGURA RY'UMUGAMBI WA GENOCIDE?

Nigishije mw'ishuli rikuru rya gisilikari ESM nka professeur visiteur kuko nari umwarimu muri Universite y'u Rwanda. Nigishije amasomo yari agamije kubafasha gukora ubushakashatsi no kwandika ibitabo bya memoires de licence en sciences sociales et militaires. Nigishijeyo kugeza mu mwaka w'amashuli 1988-1989. Intambara yo ku ya 1/10/1990 yari itaratera n'amashyaka menshi yari ataravuka kuburyo nta kibazo cyo gutsemba ubwoko runaka cyangwa abanyapoltiki aba n'aba cyavugwaga icyo gihe, haba muri iryo shuri haba no hanze mu butegetsi.

7. KO MWAGIZE URUHARE MU GUKURAHO UBUTEGETSI BUBI BWA HABYARIMANA, MUZAKORA IKI NGO N'UBUTEGETSI BUBI BWA KAGAME MUBUKUREHO?

Twarwanyije ubutegetsi bubi bwa Habyarimana kuko bwagenderaga kw'ivangurabwoko ku batutsi n'ivangurakarere ku banyanduga, no kwica abatavugarumwe nabwo bose. Leta ya Kagame na FPR nayo turayirwanya kuko ikora amabi menshi arimo ivangurabwoko ku bahutu n'ubwicanyi ndetse burengeje ubwa leta yayibanjirije. Nayo rero turayirwanya kandi tuzakomeza kuyirwanya dukoresheje imbaraga zacu zose kugeza igihe tuyishegeshe igahirima ikavaho burundu tukayisimbuza leta nshya ibereye abanyarwanda bose, yubahiriza uburenganzira bwabo n'ubuzima bwabo, izira ivangura ry'amoko n'uturere n'irindi vangura icyo ryaba rishingiyeho icyo ari cyo cyose.

8. HARI UBWO MWICUZA KUBA MWARARWANYIJE LETA YA HABYARIMANA?

Ntabwo twicuza kuba twararwanyije leta ya Habyarimana kuko yari mbi yubakiye kw'ivangurabwoko ku batutsi no kw'ivangurakarere ku banyaduga, bityo tukaba twari dufite ukuri n'impamvu zifatika zo kuyirwanya. Gusa ibyago twagize ni uko mu 1994 ikibi cyari mu Rwanda cyasimbuwe n'ikindi kibi ari cyo leta mpotozi ya Kagame na FPR Inkotanyi. Nayo turayirwanya nk'uko twarwanyije iyayibanjirije kandi tuzayikuraho bidashyize kera. Ntidushak ko ikibi cyabaye mu Rwanda gisimburwa n'ikindi kibi, turaharanira ko ikibi gisimburwa n'icyiza, u Rwanda rukaba mugongo mugari uheka abana barwo bose nta n'umwe wigijweyo, nta n'umwe ushyizwe ku ruhande.

9. NI IYIHE GUVERINOMA YATEGUYE GENOCIDE, NI IYIHE GUVERINOMA YAYIKOZE ?

Icyambere ni uko kugirango habeho genocide atari ngombwa ko igomba kuba yateguwe(planification). Mu gihugu nko mu Rwanda hari alienation mentale ethnique chronique hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi kuva 1600 kugeza ubu, ibakaba nka malaria ihora isinzirije mu maraso yabo izamuka gato yakora ku bwonko ntumenye uko bigenze ubwo kakaba karabaye bakamarana, kugirango habe genocide nta myiteguro myinshi ikenewe. Tekereza rero noneho kuba perezida Habyarimana kw'itariki ya 04/09/1991 yarashyizeho Komisiyo yo kumwigira umwanzi w'igihugu cye u Rwanda uwo ari we iyo Komisiyo kw'italikai ya 20/12/1991 ikamushyikiriza imyanzuro yayo ko umwanzi ari umututsi iyo ava akagera yaba uw'impunzi iri hanze yaba n'uri mu gihugu imbere, hamwe n'umuhutu wese urwanya ubutegetsi bwe. Urumva se kuri leta ya Habyarimana na MRND ye hari hasigaye iki kindi kitari kwitegura no kwikiza umwanzi yari imaze gusobanukirwa neza uwo ari we, kandi ko ariko byagenze.
Naho ibya guverinoma, leta ya Habyarimana yagiyeho taliki 05/07/1973 irangirana n'ifatwa ry'umugi wa Kigali na FPR taliki ya 04/07/1994. Abandi bo hagati Sindikubabo na Kambanda bari abasimbura bo gukomeza politiki ya perezida wari umaze kwicwa basigara bahabwa amabwiriza y'ibyo bagomba gukora na Col Bagosora. Wibuke ko na Minisitiri w'Intebe wa leta y'abatabazi Kambanda yemeye imbere y'urukiko mpuzamahanga rwa Arusha ko genocide des tutsi et des hutu moderes yateguwe kandi ko yanashyizwe mu bikorwa.

10. NI URUHE RUHARE BURI WESE YAGIZE MU GUSENYA IGIHUGU?

Ntarwo, ahubwo twagize uruhare mu kucyubaka turwanya leta ya Habyarimana na MRND yari leta mbi yasenyaga igihugu cyacu ikoresheje ivangurabwoko ku batutsi(ethnisme) n'ivangurakarere ku banyanduga (regionalisme) n'ubwicanyi byari byarashegeshe igihugu kuva ku ya 05/07/1973.
Twakoranye n'inkotanyi kuko nabo ari abanyarwanda nkatwe, tuzi ko tuzafatanya nabo tugakosora biriya bibi byose tukabisimbuza ibyiza, tukubaka u Rwanda rushyashya rwa bose, abahutu n'abatutsi , n'abatwa n'imvange z'abo bose. Ibyago twagize ni abo muri FPR Inkotanyi nabo baje bameze nka leta mbi twakuyeho. Mbese, nta nterahamwe nta nkotanyi, bose ni iri n'iri, abicanyi gusa gusa!
Uwaduha gutegeka twisanzuye twashyira mu bikorwa ibyo twaharaniye kuva mu mashyaka menshi yo muri 1991, tugashyiraho leta abanyarwanda bose bibonamo igakora changements paradigmatiques maze ikibi cyabayeho na n'ubu kikiri mu Rwanda kigasimburwa n'icyiza. Kuri twe, nta leta igendera ku kinyoma, uburyarya, uburiganya n'uhendanyi irimo ebyiri z'ingerekerane imwe yo kubeshya abanyarwnda n'amahanga ngo ubutegetsi burasangiwe n'indi yo mu bwihisho igizwe n'ubwoko bumwe cyangwa akarere kamwe ari nayo iyobora igihugu mu by'ukuri izongera kubaho. Ibi ntituzatuma byongera kubaho mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu. Byarabaye, biriho ubu, ariko ntibizongera. Buri wese abimenye.
(Dr. Gasana Anastase, umuyobozi w'ishyaka PRM/MRP-ABASANGIZI, ishyaka rigamije gusangiza abanyarwanda bose ibyiza by'igihugu cyabo ntawe uhejejwe inyuma y'urugi, ntawe ubundikiye ipfunwe, ntawe ugaragiye undi, ntawe uherekeje undi, ntawaje kuvumba iwabo).

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