Levy | Firestone | Muse

Jenoside Yagaragariraga Buri Wese

Uruhare rwa Leta y'Ubufaransa muri

Jenoside Yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda

19 Mata 2021

(Iyi nyandiko ikubiyemo Imyanzuro n'Ibyagezweho byasemuwe mu Kinyarwanda. Raporo yose isemuye mu Kinyarwanda iri gutunganwa, izashyirwa ahagaragara mu gihe cya vuba.)

Imwanzuro n'Ibyagezweho

Umwanzuro wacu ni uko Leta y'Ubufaransa ifite uruhare ruremereye mu gufasha no kureberera Jenoside byagaragara ko yatutumbaga. Mu gihe cy'imyaka myinshi, Leta y'Ubufaransa yashyigikiye Leta yamunzwe na ruswa kandi y'abicanyi ya Perezida w'u Rwanda w'icyo gihe, Juvénal Habyarimana. Abategetsi ba Leta y'Ubufaransa batanze imbunda inama ibikoresho, baratoza, kandi barinda Leta y'u Rwanda, birengagije ko ingoma ya Habyarimana, yari yariyemeje kwambura ubumuntu, gusenya, ndetse no kwica Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Abategetsi ba Leta y'Ubufaransa babikoze bagamije guharanira inyungu z'Igihugu cyabo, cyane cyane mu gushimangira no gukwiza ubuhangange bw'Ubufaransa, ndetse no kugira ijambo muri Afurika. Kandi ibyo babikoze babona gihamya yiyongeranga buri gihe, ibereka ko Jenoside yarimo itutumba.

Perezida François Mitterrand yagize uruhare runini mu gushimangira ubufasha bwa Leta y'Ubufaransa yareberaga ikanashyigikira Leta y'u Rwanda mu bihe byari bikomeye kuva muri 1990 kugeza 1994. We n'abamwunganiraga bari bazi ko Leta y'u Rwanda yarimo gutegura, no gukoresha ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi nyamuke igamije inyungu zayo. Mu gihe Leta y'Ubufaransa yafashaga Leta y'u Rwanda mu ntambara yarwanyaga FPR Inkotanyi ("FPR"), muri Élysée bakiriye amakuru menshi agaragaza ko Leta y'u Rwanda yariho itegura ubwicanyi bw'Abatutsi. Ku nshuro zirenga imwe, abategetsi ba Leta y'Ubufaransa batanze inama basaba ko Ubufaransa bwitandukanya na Leta y'u Rwanda. Ariko Mitterrand yanambye kuri politiki ye yo gushyigikira Leta y'u Rwanda mu buryo bw'ububanyi n'amahanga ndetse no kongerera ubushobozi igisirikari cy'u Rwanda, bagiha ibikoresho by'intambara, birimo: mortars, roketi, kajugujugu z'intambara, n'imbunda z'amoko anyuranye. Abasirikari b'Abafaransa b'aba ofisiye, bagiraga inama abayobozi b'igisirikari cy'u Rwanda ndetse bakanatoza abasirikare b'u Rwanda, na none kandi, abasirikari b'Abafaransa bafashije ingabo z'u Rwanda kwirwanaho i Kigali. Ubu bufasha bworohereje kandi buha umwanya abahezanguni wo gutegura ndetse no gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside. Muri 1994, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi itangiye, Leta y'Ubufaransa yakomeje kurwanya FPR Inkotanyi, ingabo zonyine zarwaniriraga guhagarika ubwo bwicanyi bw'indengakamere.

Leta y'Ubufaransa ntiyashakaga ko FPR Inkotanyi yatsinda, kuko byashoboraga gukuraho icyizere mu bayobozi b'ibihugu bivuga Igifaransa muri Afrika bari bafitiye u Bufaransa kugira ngo burinde ubutegetsi bwabo. Kubera izo mpamvu, Mitterrand ntiyahagaritse gushyigikira Leta ya Habyarimana nubwo Leta ye yafungaga, ikica urubozo, ikica, ubundi igatoteza abantu b'inzirakarengane ibaziza ubwoko bwabo gusa. Kubera guhora bafashwa n'Ubufaransa – no guhora bikiriza intero yabo – Habyarimana n'abo bari bafatanije bumvise ko ubufasha bwa Leta y'Ubufaransa butizigamiye busobanura ko bashobora gukomeza iterabwoba no kurimbura Abatutsi ntibakurikiranwe mu mategeko, kandi n'Ubufaransa ntibuhagarike kubaha ubufasha bwa gisirikari no kubashyigikira mu buryo bw'imari na politiki. Muri make, Abafaransa bahaga agaciro inyungu za politiki zijyanye n'imiterere y'ibihugu kuruta ubuzima bw'Abanyarwanda.

Igihe Jenoside yatangiye, abategetsi bakuru b'Ubufaransa, duhereye kuri Perezida Mitterrand, bavuze ko nta muntu n'umwe wabonaga ko Jenoside igiye kuba. Nyamara Jenoside

yaratangajwe bihagije. Abategetsi b'Ubufaransa bari mu Rwanda icyo gihe bahoraga bohereza raporo i Paris mu myaka ine yabanjirije Jenoside zivuga ku bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi. Abayobozi bamwe b'abasirikare b'Abanyarwanda b'abahezanguni bahishuriye abategetsi b'Abafaransa ibanga ry'uko hazaba irimburwa ry'Abatutsi. Nyuma y'imyaka mike, abayobozi bakuru b'Ubufaransa biyemereye ko kuva mu Kwakira 1990 byagaragaraga ko Jenoside izaba, n'ubwo bitaba mu buryo yabayemo. Mitterrand na we ubwe yabonaga ibyago bishobora kuvamo ariko arabyemera.

Nyuma y'iminsi mike Jenoside itangiye, abasirikari b'Abafaransa basesekaye i Kigali baje gutwara Abafaransa bari mu Rwanda ndetse n'abandi bantu bari bacumbikiwe muri ambassade y'Ubufaransa; muri aba harimo abahezanguni bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi. Izi ngabo z'Abafaransa rero zabonye imbonankubone ubwicanyi, hamwe na hamwe bwakorwaga n'amatsinda yatojwe n'Abafaransa; nk'abarindaga Perezida bitaga abajepe n'aba para-commando. Nyamara, mu gihe imibiri yuzuraga za Kiriziya ndetse n'indi igerekeranye ku mihanda, abenshi mu bajyanama ba Mitterrand bakomeje kuvuga ko ugukomeza kwinjira mu gihugu kwa FPR Inkotanyi aribyo byari bibangamiye u Rwanda kuruta abarimo gukora Jenoside. Nyuma y'imyaka bihanganira iyicwa ry'Abatutsi nk'igiciro cyemewe mu intambara, Leta y'Ubufaransa yatanze igisubizo kuri Jenoside yoroshya ibyemezo byari bigamije kunenga no gucira imanza abakoze Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ifata Jenoside nkaho ari intambara hagati y'ingabo zishyamiranye aho kuyibona nka Jenoside yahigaga abaturage badafite intwaro bazira ubwoko bwabo, ihamagarira ihagarikwa ry'imirwano n'isubirwamo ry'inzira y'amasezerano y'amahoro yari yarananiranye, nk'aho imishyikirano yari ihagije ngo Jenoside ihagarare.

Nyuma y'amezi abiri n'igice abantu bicwa, n'igitutu cy'abanyapolitiki bo mu Bufaransa basabaga ko hagira igikorwa, Leta y'Ubufaransa, ibinyujije mu Kanama k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Gashinzwe Umutekano, yabonye uburenganzira bwo gutangiza Operation Turquoise nk'igikorwa cy'ubutabazi. Iyi operation yatangijwe mu gihe Abatutsi bendaga kurimburwa burundu, ndetse itegurwa no ku gihe ku buryo Mitterrand ashobora kongera kohereza abasirikari mu Rwanda dore ko FPR yari igiye gufata Umugi wa Kigali. By'umwihariko mu ntangiriro za Operation Turquoise, hari abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari barageze ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, binyuranyije na manda y'ubutabazi ya Turquoise, bakomeje gufata Ingabo za Leta y'u Rwanda nk'abafatanyabikorwa bakagerageza gukumira FPR Inkotanyi ngo idakomeza gufata utundi duce tw'igihugu. N'ubwo bamwe muri abo basirikari b'Abafaransa baje guhezwa, Turquoise – n'ubwo yarokoye ubuzima bwa bamwe, amaherezo ntiyashoboye gusohoza inshingano zayo z'ubutabazi.

Igihe FPR imaze gufata Kigali kandi igambiriye gufata igihugu cyose igikura mu maboko y'abakoraga Jenoside, abategetsi b'Ubufaransa bahise bafata kimwe cya gatanu cy'Igihugu bagishyira mu maboko arinzwe n'Ubufaransa; bacyita: '*safe humanitarian zone*' aho abicanyi bari bamaze gukora Jenoside baje kubona ubuhingiro. Leta y'Ubufaransa yafashe icyemezo cyo kudahagarika, kudafunga, ndetse no kudafata gahunda yo kwambura intwaro abakoze Jenoside bari muri '*safe humanitarian zone*'. Ahubwo, yararetse abahezanguni babona inzira itekanye yo kujya muri Zaire, aho bongeye gushaka imbunda ngo bajye bagaba ibitero mu Rwanda hafi y'umupaka, batera ubwoba abaturage bari mu nkambi z'impunzi,

ndetse bateza ikindi kibazo cya kabiri cyibasiye inyokomuntu. Amaherezo, Turquoise yagize uruhare mu guhungabanya umutekano mu karere ndetse yarokoye abantu bakeya, ugereranyije n'abapfuye muri Jenoside.

Mu kinyejana gishize, Leta y'Ubufaransa yiyemeje gutwikira ibyo yakoze, ishaka gushyingura amateka yayo mu Rwanda. Nyuma y'uko itangazamakuru ryo mu Bufaransa na komisiyo y'u Rwanda bisohoye raporo zivuga ku ruhare rw'Ubufaransa mu bibazo by'u Rwanda, by'umwihariko Jenoside, Leta y'Ubufaransa yasubije ikora iperereza ribogamye; rimwe rikaba ryari rishingiye ku buhamya bw'abakoze Jenoside. Mu gihe inkiko mpuzamahanga n'iz'u Rwanda zashakaga kugeza abakoze Jenoside imbere y'inkiko, Leta y'Ubufaransa yo yemeye ko imanza nyinshi zari zaratanzwe mu gihugu cy'Ubufaransa zimara imyaka irenga icumi zitaracibwa. Kuva Jenoside yaba, Ubufaransa bwakomeje guhisha no guha ubuhungiro abantu benshi bakekwaho kuba barakoze ibyaha bya Jenoside, harimo na Agathe Kanziga Habyarimana (uwahoze ari umugore wa Perezida Habyarimana).

Leta y'Ubufaransa yakomeje guhisha inyandiko, zerekana ibyo Leta ya Mitterrand yavuze, yari izi, kandi yakoze mu myaka 25 ishize, ibi byabaye izingiro nyamukuru ryo gutwikira ibyakozwe. Muri iri perereza ryonyine, Leta y'u Rwanda yohereje ibaruwa zirambuye eshatu zisaba izo nyandiko zikaba zarakiriwe na Leta y'Ubufaransa ku itariki ya 20 Ukuboza 2019, tariki 10 Nyakanga 2020, na tariki 27 Mutarama 2021. Leta y'Ubufaransa yirengagije izo baruwa zose uko ari eshatu. Kwanga kwerekana izi nyandiko n'izindi bisa, bitera kwibaza ibindi bibazo byinshi byerekeye uburemere bw'uruhare ubuyobozi bwa Mitterrand bwagize muri Jenoside. Inyandiko zagaragajwe vuba aha zijyanye na raporo ya komisiyo Duclert ariko zishobora kwerekana intambwe mu nzira igana umucyo.

Abantu bakatiwe n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, inkiko z'amahanga, inkiko z'Igihugu cy'u Rwanda, n'ababuraniye mu nkiko za Gacaca, nibo bafite uruhare mu gukora Jenoside, ntitwabonye ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko abategetsi cyangwa abakozi b'Ubufaransa bagize uruhare rutaziguye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri icyo gihe. Icyakora, Leta y'Ubufaransa niyo yonyine itarigeze ihwema gushyigikira inshuti zayo z'u Rwanda n'ubwo umugambi wabo wo gukora Jenoside wagaragaraga; kandi Leta y'Ubufaransa yonyine niyo yari umufatanyabikorwa w'ingenzi mu kubaka inzego zaje guhinduka ibikoresho bya Jenoside. Nta Leta y'amahanga yindi n'imwe, uretse Leta y'Ubufaransa, yari izi akaga abahenzanguni b'Abanyarwanda bashoboraga guteza ariko ikarebera ikanafasha abo bahezanguni mu gihe bateguraga urupfu rw'abantu barenga miliyoni imwe bazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi – abantu bishwe kubera ko bari Abatutsi, ko basaga n'Abatutsi, ko bagiraga icyo bapfana n'Abatutsi, ko bahishe Abatutsi, cyangwa ko barwanyije politiki y'abahezanguni yari igambiriye guca igihugu mo uduce. Uruhare rwa Leta y'Ubufaransa rwari rwihariye. Ariko, na n'ubu ntabwo iremera urwo ruhare cyangwa ngo irusabire imbabazi.

Iyi myanzuro, wongeyeho ibyagezweho bigiye kugaragazwa, byavuzweho birambuye kandi byashyigikiwe n'ibimenyetso muri iyi raporo:

A. Mbere ya 1990: Ubufaransa bwafashije u Rwanda mu by'ubukungu, no mu by'igisirikari, mu gihe Leta y'u Rwanda yinjiraga mu ivangura risesuye no gukaza urugomo ku batutsi.

1. Mu mpera za 1960, Ubufaransa bwumvikanye ku bwigenge n'ibihugu 17 muri 20 bya Afrika bwakolonije. Mu rwego rwo gukomeza kugira imbaraga za politiki ishingiye ku miterere y'ibihugu nyuma y'ubukoloni, Leta y'Ubufaransa yagiranye amasezerano y'ubufatanye n'ibihugu by'Afrika yari yarakolonije. Ayo masezerano yarengeraga inyungu z'Ubufaransa binyujijwe mu bufasha mu by'ubukungu n'iby'igisirikari.

2. Mu ntangiriro za 1960, Leta y'Ubufaransa yashyize mu bikorwa ayo masezerano y'ubufatanye mu bya gisirikari yohereza ingabo zayo kugira ngo zihashye imyigaragambyo muri byinshi mu bihugu yari yarakoronije muri Afrika.

3. Mu gihe u Rwanda rwari rumaze guhabwa ubwigenge n'Ababiligi muri Nyakanga 1962, Leta y'Ubufaransa yahise ibona uburyo bwo kongera aho inyungu zayo zageraga. Yari ibonye u Rwanda nk'iteme ku mupaka warwo n'ibihugu bivuga ururimo rw'Icyongereza by'Afrika y'Iburasirazuba (Uganda, Kenya, na Tanzania) byashoboraga gukwirakwiza ingufu z'Ubufaransa mu karere.

4. Mu Kuboza 1962, Leta y'Ubufaransa yagiranye amasezerano y'ubufatanye na Leta y'u Rwanda yari iyobowe na Perezida Grégoire Kayibanda wari ukimara gutorwa.

5. Kayibanda yageze ku butegetsi nyuma y'ibikorwa by'ubugome byakorerwaga Abatutsi bigatuma ibihumbi by'Abatutsi bihunga muri 1959. Mu myaka yakurikiye itorwa rye nka Perezida w'u Rwanda muri 1961, Kayibanda yashyigikiye itotezwa n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryatumye ibihumbi icumi by'Abatutsi, ndetse n'Abahutu bimukira mu tundi turere tw'u Rwanda, abandi bahungira hanze y'Igihugu.

6. Mu mpera za 1964, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wabaruye hejuru y'ibihumbi 300 by'Abanyarwanda babaga muri nkambi z'impunzi ku mipaka y'u Rwanda – Uburundi, Uganda, Tanzania, na Zaire.

7. Amasezerano y'ubufatanye y'Ubufaransa n'u Rwanda yarakomeje, n'ubwo ibinyamakuru by'Ubufaransa byakomeje gutangaza ibitero byakorerwaga Abatutsi bishyigikiwe na Leta ya Kayibanda.

8. Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana, wasimbuye Kayibanda ku butegetsi nyuma yo guhirika ubutegetsi muri 1973, yayoboye ingoma y'amacakubiri yatumye Abatutsi baba mu Rwanda babaho nta burenganzira bw'abenegihugu bafite; babayeho nk'urwego rwa kabiri rw'abaturage b'igihugu kandi bimwa uburenganzira bujyanye no kwiga, ubukungu, imirimo yo muri Leta, no kujya mu gisirikari.

9. Muri Nyakanga 1975, Ubufaransa na Leta ya Habyarimana bagiranye amasezerano y'ubufatanye mu bya gisirikari. Aya masezerano yemereraga igisirikari cy'Ubufaransa gutoza Gendarmerie nshyashya (ariyo yari polisi y'Igihugu). Mu mwaka ukurikiraho, Leta y'Ubufaransa yatangiye kohereza abatoza b'abasirikari, ibikoresho bya gisirikari, ibindi bikoresho, imodoka, ndetse n'imyitozo ya gisirikari mu gihugu cy'Ubufaransa.

10. François Mitterrand yatorewe kuba Perezida w'Ubufaransa mu mwaka wa 1981 ahagarariye ihuriro y'aba socialisiti avuga ko agiye guhagarika ubufasha bwa gisirikari Ubufaransa bwahaga ibihugu by'Afurika birangwa na ruswa no kudakorera muri demokarasi.

11. Impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zabaga hanze y'igihugu nazo zumvaga zigomba kuva mu buhungiro aho zumvaga zidafite igihugu kandi zifashwe nabi muri ibyo bihugu (by'umwihariko i Bugande muri 1982). Mu myaka ya 1980, basabye Perezida Habyarimana kubareka bagatahuka mu Rwanda ndetse basaba Ubufaransa ubufasha bwa politiki. Mu kubasubiza, Habyarimana arinangira aheza inguni kuri iyo ngingo ndetse, na Perezida Mitterrand aramushyigikira muri iyo myumvire.

12. Muri 1983, Ubufaransa n'u Rwanda byahinduye amasezerano y'ubufatanye mu bya gisirikari kugirango hakurwemo inzitizi yabuzaga gufasha Gendarmerie y'u Rwanda mu "gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa ibikorwa by'intambara".

13. Muri 1986, mu itangazo ryatangajwe mu gihugu, komite nkuru y'ishyaka rya MRND – akaba ariryo shyaka rukumbi ryabaga mu gihugu, ryanze ugutabaza kw'impunzi zashakaga zose gutaha mu Rwanda. Iki cyemezo cyabaye intambwe y'ingenzi mu ishyaka rukumbi ryo mu Rwanda mu kugaragaza ko impunzi zitazakirwa mu gihugu cyazo.

14. Mu Kuboza 1987, impunzi z'Abanyarwanda, zari zimaze hafi imyaka 30 mu bihugu binyuranye ku isi zidashobora kugera mu gihugu cyazo, zashyize hamwe ziyobowe n'ubuyobozi bwa FPR Inkotanyi, yashimangiraga gutaha mu gihugu cyazo, guharanira demokrasi no kubohora Leta y'u Rwanda.

15. FPR Inkotanyi, yari ifite Abanyarwanda bari abasirikare mu gisirikare cya Uganda nk'abanyamuryango bayo, yateguye rwihishwa igisirikari cyateguye icyo yise 'Option Z' – gukoresha igisirikari kugirango igere ku ntego za politiki FPR Inkotanyi yifuzaga, mu gihe inzira za politiki zaba zananiwe kuzigeraho.

B. *Ukwakira 1990: Intambara mu Rwanda yaratangiye, Leta y'Ubufaransa yahise iza gufasha Leta ya Habyarimana yirengagije ukutubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu kwayo.*

16. Mu gihe FPR Inkotanyi yatangije Option Z maze igakandagira ku butaka bw'u Rwanda ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Habyarimana yahise asaba kandi abona ubufasha bwa gisirikare bw'Ubufaransa. Ku itariki ya 5 Ukwakira, abasirikari 300 bari bageze ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, iryo tsinda ryiswe Operation Noroît.

17. Ingabo za Noroît ryifatanije n'abasirikari b'Abafaransa b'aba *cooperants* bari bari mu Rwanda batoza Gendarmerie n'amatsinda atatu y'inzobere mu gisirikari cy'u Rwanda: battalion ya para-commando, battalion irwanira mu kirere (aviation squadron), na battalion ya reconnaissance.

18. Mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, abasirikari b'Abafaransa b'aba *cooperants* bagiriye inama inzego zo hejuru z'igisirikare cy'u Rwanda, bahugura itsinda ry'ingabo z'inzobere mu mirwano, ndetse babagira inama ku buryo bwo kurwana ku rugamba. Itsinda ry'ingabo z'Abafaransa rya Noroît ryari i Kigali ryasimbuye ingabo z'u Rwanda kugira ngo zibashe kujya ku rugamba. Leta y'Ubufaransa kandi yohereje FAR ibikoresho byo kurwana birimo imbunda n'amasasu.

19. Mu kigereranyo gikozwe n'umuyobozi w'ingabo z'u Rwanda, itsinda ry'inzobere "rishyigikiwe n'Ubufaransa, ryahaye u Rwanda intsinzi yo mu Kwakira [1990]".

20. Ku itariki ya 15 Ukwakira muri 1990, Perezida Mitterrand yavuze mu nama yagiranye n'ibitangazamakuru ko Noroît yari igamije gukura Abafaransa n'abanyamahanga mu Rwanda. Iri tsinda ryasigaye mu Rwanda imyaka irenga itatu, kandi abategetsi b'Abafaransa nyuma bemeye ku mugaragaro ko iryo tsinda ryari rigamije kurwanya FPR.

21. Abategetsi b'Abafaransa bohereje operation ya Noroît gukurikirana inyungu za politike ishingiye ku miterere y'ibihugu z'Ubufaransa: kugira ngo baharanire inyungu z'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda no guhumuriza ibihugu bivuga Igifaransa bubigaragariza ko Leta y'Ubufaransa izatanga ubufasha bwa gisirikare igihe habayeho guterwa guturutse hanze y'igihugu.

22. Mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ko bwubahiriza politiki yo kutivanga mu makimbirane y'imbere mu gihugu, Leta y'Ubufaransa yashishikarije Leta y'u Rwanda kugaragaza FPR Inkotanyi nk'abanyamahanga bateye u Rwanda baturutse i Bugande.

23. Abategetsi b'Ubufaransa nabo bagaragaje mu buryo butari bwo FPR nk'umuryango w'Abatutsi ugamije gukandamiza imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abahutu mu Rwanda mu buryo budashingiye kuri demokarasi.

24. Raporo zigaragaza ko Leta y'u Rwanda yakoze ibikorwa bibangamiye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu buryo bukabije kandi igahagarikira iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu ntangiriro z'intambara ntibyabujije Leta y'Ubufaransa gukomeza gushyigikira Habyarimana n'abasirikare ba FAR.

25. Mitterrand yanze gukurikiza inama yahawe n'abajyanama be mu bya gisirikare bamusabaga gucyura bamwe mu basirikare b'ingabo za Noroît. Kuva mu matariki ya mbere, kuri 11 Ukwakira 1990, umusirikari w'umujyanama mukuru wa Mitterrand yamusabye ko ingabo zagabanuka kugirango: "Tutagaragara nk'abashyigikiye ingabo z'u Rwanda mu gihe ibikorwa by'ubugome bukomeye bukorerwa abaturage byagaragazwa".

C. 1991-1992: Leta y'Ubufaransa yongereye ubufasha bwayo mu gihe Leta ya Habyarimana yarimo ihohotera kandi yica ubwoko Tutsi.

26. Kuri 23 Mutarama 1991, ingabo za FPR zateye mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri. Iminsi ibiri yakurikiye, Leta ya Habyarimana yarihimuye maze yica Abagogwe barenga 500 b'abasivile muri ako gace.

27. Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Werurwe 1991, Leta y'Ubufaransa yohereje abasirikari 30 mu itsinda bise *Détachement d'assistance militaire d'instruction* (DAMI). DAMI rero yakoranye mu buryo bwa hafi n'ingabo za FAR ahegereye igice cyaberagamo imirwano, yagiriye inama abasirikari b'amapeti yo hejuru uburyo bunoze bwo kurwana, ifasha abayobora battalion kuvugurura amatsinda yabo, maze batoza abasirikari gukoresha imbunda nini n'intwaro ziturika.

28. Muri raporo yakozwe ku itariki ya 4 Mata 1991, uwari uyoboye ingabo z'Abafaransa boherejwe mu bufatanye n'u Rwanda yasabye byihutirwa ko Paris yahagarika kohereza DAMI mu gihe cy'amezi ane no guhagarika operation ya Noroît ariko ntibyakorwa. Yababwiye ko ahangayikishijwe n'uko izindi mfashanyo mu bijyanye n'igisirikari z'Abafaransa zaha imbaraga abarwanira impinduka mu Rwanda. Nyamara iyo mitwe yombi, DAMI na Noroît yagumye mu Rwanda.

29. Mu mpeshyi 1991, Leta y'Ubufaransa yatangiye gutera inkunga igikorwa cy'imishyikirano y'amahoro kugirango imirwano hagati ya FPR Inkotanyi na Leta ya Habyarimana ihagarare. Muri iyo mishyikirano, abategetsi b'Abafaransa bavuzeko nta ruhande babogamiye muri iyo mishyikirano, mu gihe bakomeje gushyigikira Habyarimana n'ingabo za FAR.

30. Abafaransa bari mu mishyikirano banze ko FPR Inkotanyi yitabira imishyikirano yabanje bashaka gushyikirana na Uganda, kugira ngo berekane nkana ko RPF yarwanaga nk'intumwa za Uganda.

31. Abategetsi b'Abafaransa bakomeje gushishikariza Leta ya Habyarimana kuyoboka inzira ya demokarasi ariko bakomeza kwemera ikandamizwa, iterabwoba n'ibitero bigamije kwica Abatutsi.

32. Mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1992, radio igengwa na Leta yahamagariye Interahamwe kwica Abatutsi n'abanyapolitike batavugaga rumwe na Leta ya Habyarimana i Bugesera; akarere gaherereye mu birometero 40 mu majyepfo ya Kigali. Ubu bwicanyi bwaje kwitwa 'imyitozo' yo gutsemba Abatutsi.

33. Nyuma y'iminsi itanu gusa ibitero bibaye, ambassadeur w'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda yabwiye Paris ko radio igengwa na leta yahamagariye ibitero ku Batutsi. Leta nyinshi z'amahanga n'amatsinda ya sosiete civile zamaganye ubugizi bwa nabi bushingiye ku binyoma n'amakuru agambiriye ubugizi bwa nabi yatangajwe kuri radio. Ntibyabujije ko mu mpera z'uko kwezi, Leta y'Ubufaransa yakira Ferdinand Nahimana, Umuyobozi wa Radio Rwanda i Paris maze bemera ko bagiye kongera imfashanyo mu kigo k'itangazamakuru mu Rwanda.

34. Nyuma y'ubwicanyi bwo mu Bugesera, imfashanyo za gisirikari zivuye mu Bufaransa zarakomeje, harimo gutoza *Garde Présidentielle*, aririyo tsinda ryagize uruhare runini muri Jenoside. Ubufasha bw'abasirikari b'Abafaransa ku ngabo z'u Rwanda (FAR) bwari bwinshi bikabije ku buryo bwafashije, wavuga mu buryo buziguye, mu myitozo ingabo z'u Rwanda zatojemo abaturage baje gukora ubwicanyi bukabije muri Jenoside. Hari n'ibimenyetso by'uko Abafaransa ba DAMI bagize uruhare mu gutoza imitwe y'ubwicanyi y'abaturage.

35. Mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1992, ingabo za FPR zateye mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda muri Byumba. Mu kwihimura, Abafaransa bohereje abandi basirikari mu Rwanda kandi batanga intwaro, zarimo n'izizwi nka artillery 105mm. Nk'uko tubibwirwa n'abahoze ari abasirikari ba FPR Inkotanyi ndetse n'abahoze ari abasirikari ba FAR, abasirikari b'Abafaransa bakoze akazi gakomeye mu gukoresha intwaro za rutura za cannons 105mm ku rugamba, baba berekana uko zikoreshwa cyangwa se barashisha imbunda ubwabo.

36. Ku itariki ya 1 Kanama 1992, amasezerano yo guhagarika kurwana hagati ya FPR Inkotanyi na Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizwe mu bikorwa. Aya masezerano yatumye ihohoterwa ry'Abatutsi ryiyongera, hatangizwa irindi shyaka ry'abahezanguni ryitwa *Coalition pour la défense de la république* (CDR) ndetse amashyaka ayobowe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare araguka – cyane cyane Interahamwe za MRND.

37. Mu mezi yanyuma ya 1992, Leta y'Ubufaransa yakomeje kohereza ingabo z'u Rwanda (FAR) ibikoresho by'intambara. Ugufasha ubutegetsi b'ubwicanyi bwa Habyarimana kwa Leta y'Ubufaransa bwatumye abahezanguni banga kwemera kumvikana na FPR Inkotanyi noneho bibaha umwanya winyongera wo gutegura Jenoside.

D. *Mutarama – Weruwe 1993: Birengagije raporo y’agahomamunwa ivuga uburyo Leta y’u Rwanda yari itoteje ikiremwamuntu. Leta y’Ubufaransa yarengeje igipimo yivanga mu ntambara yarwanyaga FPR Inkotanyi.*

38. Muri Mutarama 1993, abakozi mpuzamahanga mu gukurikirana uburenganzira bw’ikiremwamuntu, bakoze iperereza mu Rwanda bagaragariza abategetsi b’Abafaransa ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko Leta ishyigikira ihohoterwa ry’Abatutsi. Ambassaderi w’Ubufaransa mu Rwanda Georges Martres yabwiye Paris ko raporo y’iyo mission “izongera amahano ku mahano dusanzwe tuzi”.

39. Ukongera gutoteza no kwica Umututsi nyuma y’uko itsinda mpuzamahangana ryari rimaze kuva mu Rwanda, byavuzwe cyane mu itangazamakuru ry’Ubufaransa. Ubufaransa, ku itariki 5 Gashyantare 1993, bwifatanyije n’ibindi bihugu bwagejeje kuri Habyarimana inyandiko y’uburyo bwemewe (formal démarche), busaba byihutirwa Leta y’u Rwanda guhagarika ihohoterwa.

40. FPR Inkotanyi yabonaga iyicwa ry’Abatutsi nko kutubahiriza ihagarikwa ry’imirwano. Mu gihe, ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, ingabo za FPR zateye abasirikari ba Leta muri Ruhengeri, Leta y’Ubufaransa ntiyigeze yemera ko iyicwa ryabaye intandaro, mu magambo y’umuvugizi wa Ministeri w’Ububanyi n’Amahanga, “impamvu zo gusubukura imirwano”.

41. Mu gushyigikira FAR, ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, Leta y’Ubufaransa yahise yohereza abandi basirikari bo mu itsinda rya Noroît n’ibindi bikoresho by’intambara.

42. Hejuru y’abasirikare ba Noroît n’intwaro, ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1993, Leta y’Abafaransa yohereje abasirikari badasanzwe mu butumwa bw’ibanga ryiswe Operation Chimère. Umu commanda w’abasirikari yanditse mu gitabo cye ko yagenzuye neza imbaraga z’abasirikari b’u Rwanda mu ntambara muri iyi operation kugeza mu ntangiriro za Werurwe 1993.

E. *Werurwe 1993 – 5 Mata 1994: Mu gihe FAR yarimo itsindwa ku rugamba mu Rwanda, Perezida Mitterrand yiyemeje gukura inyinshi mu ngabo z’Abafaransa mu Rwanda. Ubufaransa bwakomeje gushyigikira mu gihe urugomo rw’abahezanguni rwakwiriye kubera kurwanya Amasezerano y’Amahoro ya Arusha.*

43. Kuri za bariyeri aho bagenzuriraga, itsinda rya Noroît ryagenzuraga indangamuntu bareba ubwoko. Hakurikijwe amabwiriza y’igikorwa, abasirikari b’Abafaransa bagombaga kwerekana ‘ibyitso’, ni ukuvuga guhereza Gendarmerie y’u Rwanda abantu bose bakekwagaho gukorana na FPR Inkotanyi. Iki gikorwa cyafashije mu ivangura no guhohotera Abatutsi.

44. Mu ntangiriro za 1993, mu gihe FPR Inkotanyi irushaho kunesha FAR, Mitterrand yahisemo gutandukanya ingabo z’Abafaransa n’uruhande rwakomezaga gutsindwa mu

Rwanda, ariko yirinda gusa nkaho atereranye igihugu bafatanyije. Yiyemeje y'uko ugutabara kw'amahanga k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye (UN) kuzamufasha gukora byombi, kandi yagashyigikiye umwanzuro warimo kwigwa mu Muryango w'Abibumbye wo kohereze ingabo mpuzamahanga mu Rwanda.

45. Mu mwaka wa 1993 hagati, abadiplomate b'Abafaransa biyemeje kumvisha Umuryango w'Abibumye ngo wohereze indorerezi ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda kugirango batume nta ntwaro, n'amasasu bigera kuri FPR Inkotanyi. Impapuro zagaragaye ntizerekana igitekerezo nk'iki Ubufaransa bwaba bwarasabye ko igikorwa nk'iki cyo gucunga intwaro gikorerwa Leta y'u Rwanda.

46. Mu mpeshyi ya 1993, imyitozo y'ingabo z'u Rwanda iyobowe n'Abafaransa yariyongereye, mu gihe bategereje ko Ubufaransa bwakura ingabo zabwo mu Rwanda.

47. Ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, Perezida Habyarimana n'umuyobozi mukuru wa FPR Inkotanyi, Alexis Kanyarengwe basinye amasezerano y'Amahoro ya Arusha. Muri ayo masezerano, ingabo ziyobowe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye zari bwoherezwe mu Rwanda, mu gihe Ubufaransa bwari butegerejwe gukura ingabo zabwo zisigaye mu Rwanda, uretse b'abafatanyabikorwa bonyine batarebwaga n'iyi ngingo irebana n'amaserano y'amahoro.

48. Ku itariki ya 13 Ukuboza 1993, ivanwa mu Rwanda ry'ingabo za Noroît ryari rirangiye. Leta y'Ubufaransa yasize mu Rwanda abasirikari hafi ya 25 bakomeje kugira inama no gufasha FAR, ariyo yarimo iha intwaro kandi itoza Interahamwe, abahezanguni bitwara gisirikare bari baragize uruhare mu kwica Abatutsi (urugero: mu Bugesera) kandi akaba aribo baje kwica Abatutsi muri Jenoside.

49. Mbere gato yuko abasirikari ba Noroît bataha, abategetsi b'Ubufaransa bemereye sosiyete icuruza intwaro mu Bufaransa ko yoherereza ingabo y'u Rwanda (FAR) izindi ntwaro. Muri Mutarama 1994, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wahise ufatira izo ntwaro zigeze i Kigali.

50. Kuva igihe abasirikari ba Noroît bageze mu Rwanda mu Ukwakira 1990 kugeza batashye, abategetsi b'Ubufaransa, umunsi ku wundi, bari bazi ingufu zakoreshwaga kugira ngo Umututsi yamburwe ubumuntu bwe. Bararebye kandi bareberera uko politiki y'ubugome yagendaga ikura, imvugo y'urwango rukabije yakoreshwaga mu itangazamakuru ry'abahezanguni, ndetse n'uko buri munsi Abatutsi bamburwaga ubumuntu bwabo. Babonye kandi bamenya uko Abatutsi barimo gushinyagurirwa kuri za bariyeri, n'uko bahagarikwaga bagakorerwa iyicarubozo na gendarmerie. Babonye kandi bamenya uko Abatutsi b'abagore n'abakobwa bakorerwaga ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina ndetse bagakubitwa. Binyuze mu magambo yakoreshaga, ibikorwa byayo, ndetse no kugaragaza ko itabyitayeho, Leta y'Ubufaransa yemeye ndetse ishoboza ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryaya mahano.

F. *Tariki ya 6 Mata – Kamena 1994: Leta y'Ubufaransa yakomeje kurwanya FPR Inkotanyi, ariyo yarimo kurwana ngo ihagarike Jenoside.*

51. Abahezanguni bari barateguye kandi bashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Muri 2016, urukiko rw'Abafaransa rwabonye ko "ifatanya mu gutegura ryaturuka mu muvuduko ubwicanyi bwakoranywe, kare cyane uhereye ku munsi wakurikiye iraswa ry'indege ya Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana, kuba hari za bariyeri mu Rwanda rwose harimo na Kigali, ugukwirakwizwa kw'amakuru na propagande y'urwango yahamagariraga urwango, ugukwirakwiza kw'intwaro n'umuvuduko mu kwica, ibi byose kandi bikaba bigize ibisabwa mu ifatanyamyiteguro."

52. Ahagana saa sita kw'itariki ya 7 Mata, Interahamwe, n'izindi ntagondwa zabarizwaga muri FAR zari zimaze kwica Abatutsi ndetse n'abatari Abatutsi b'abanyapolitiki bari barashyizweho muri Leta y'Inzibacyuho yari yemeranijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha. Uku kwica kandi kwabaye muri Kigali no mu gihugu cyose.

53. Iyibasirwa ryo gukuraho abanyapolitiki ndetse no kwica ingabo zari mu butumwa bwo kurinda amahoro zavuye mu Bubiligi, byatanze inzira yo gukora *coup d'état* maze rishyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yari igizwe n'abahezanguni ba politike. Abategetsi b'Abafaransa bari banogewe n'abari bagize iyi guverinoma y'inzibacyuho.

54. Mu masaha make akurikira urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari mu mirimo y'ubufatanye bari batuye hafi y'ikigo cya FAR bahise bajya kureba aho indege yaguye bajyanye na Aloys Ntabakuze, umukuru w'itsinda rya para-commando. (*Garde Présidentielle* bangiye Intumwa z'amahoro z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kugera aho indege yaguye). Uyu Ntabakuze yaje guhamwa n'icyaha cyo kuyobora ukwicwa bw'Abatutsi barenga 1,000 (bashobora kuba bagera kuri 4,000) by'Abatutsi b'abagabo, abagore, ndetse n'abana bari bahungiye mu ishuri ry'imyuga ryo ku Kicukiro (*École Technique Officielle*).

55. Mu minsi ya mbere ya Jenoside, Abasirikari batojwe n'Abafaransa – cyane cyane abo mu itsinda rya para-commando, aba battalion ya reconnaissance, n'abarindaga perezida, bagize uruhare runini mu kuyobora iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki badafite ingengabitekezo no kwica abaturage b'Abatutsi.

56. Abafaransa basigaye mu Rwanda ndetse n'abakozi bakuru b'ambassade y'Abafaransa muri Kigali babaye abatangabuhamya ku bwicanyi ako kanya Jenoside igitangira.

57. Ubwo Jenoside yari imaze gutangira, Leta y'Ubufaransa yahise ifata icyemezo cyo kohereza Operation Amaryllis, mu butumwa bwo gukura mu Rwanda Abafaransa n'abandi banyamahanga bari mu gihugu. Icyo gihe, yahise inatwara ba ruharwa ba Jenoside, barimo Agathe Kanziga Habyarimana (uwahoze ari umugore wa perezida w'u Rwanda ari nawe wari ukuriye icyo bise Akazu, agatsiko k'abahezanguni ku

isonga ryo kurwanyaga Abatutsi) ndetse na Ferdinand Nahimana, wari umuyobozi wa radio RTLM.

58. Abasirikari ba Amaryllis biboneye uko Abatutsi b'abasivile bicwa urubozo, ariko kubera amategeko, birinze kurokora ubuzima bw'abantu.

59. Mu matariki ya nyuma ya Mata 1994, Leta y'Ubufaransa yakiriye abategetsi bakuru ba Leta Nyarwanda y'Inzibacyuho i Paris. Abo bategetsi bari baragiye mu Bufaransa gusaba intwaro n'amasasu. Leta ya Amerika n'Ububiligi banze kwakira abo bategetsi ba Leta y'Inzibacyuho.

60. Ubwo Jenoside yakomezaga ibihugu by'amahanga birebera, Ubufaransa bwaburijemo ubushake bw'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bwo kwemeza no guhamya uruhare rwa Leta y'Inzibacyuho.

61. Perezida Mitterrand na benshi mu bategetsi bakuru b'Ubufaransa bashyigikiye abakoraga Jenoside aho guha ingufu abarimo barwana ngo bayihagarike – basobanuriraga umuryango w'abanyamahanga ko ubwicanyi ari ugukomeza ku intambara hagati y'ingabo zishyamiranye, aho kwemeza ko ari Jenoside yarimo kuba, baharanira uguhagarara kw'imirwano no gusubira mu masezerano y'amahoro yari yarasenyutse, nkaho imishyikirano yari umuti wo guhagarika itsembatsemba; bananiwe gukoresha ubuhangange bw'Ubufaransa ngo bahagarike urwango rwari rwahawe intebe ku ma radio cyangwa se gushakisha uburyo bukwiye bwo kumvisha Leta y'Inzibacyuho na FAR ngo bahagarike ubwicanyi; ahubwo bakaburizamo icyemezo cy'Umuryango w'Abibumbye cyari kigamije kwamagana Leta y'Abatabazi.

62. Ubwo Jenoside yatwaraga amagana n'amagana y'abantu bicirwaga mu maso y'ibihugu by'amahanga buri munsi, Ubufaransa bwarwanyije Umuryango w'Abibumbye washyiraga imbaraga mu kwemeza no kurwanya ubufatanyacyaha bwa Leta y'Abatabazi.

G. 22 Kamena 1994 – Kanama 1994: Ibikorwa bivuguruzanya byabujije Operation Turquoise, kugera ku bikorwa byayo by'ubutabazi.

63. Muri Kamena 1994, igitutu kivuye mu binyamakuru, imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta, n'abaturage b'Abafaransa byari bihangayikishije, batumye Leta y'Ubufaransa gutekereza icyo gukorwa kijyanye na Jenoside.

64. Nyuma y'ibikorwa byabo mu Rwanda aho basaga n'abifatanije mu bikorwa by'ubugome mu myaka itatu yari ishize, Leta y'Ubufaransa yasabye Umuryango w'Abibumbye ko hemerwa ibikorwa bya gisirikare by'ubutabazi bw'abantu mu Rwanda.

65. Ku itariki 22 Kamena 1994, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wemereye Leta y'Ubufaransa gutangiza igikorwa 'ubutumwa bw'ubutabazi' mu Rwanda, n'ubwo FPR Inkotanyi n'abandi banyamuryango b'Akanama Kihariye Gashinzwe Umutekano mu Muryango w'Abibumbye bari bagaragaje ugushidikanya ku mpamvu nyazo Leta y'Ubufaransa yasahakaga ubu butumwa.

66. Igikorwa cyakurikiyeho, kizwi ku izina rya Operation Turquoise, ntabwo cyari ubutabazi gusa. Itumanaho hagati ya Mitterrand n'abandi bayobozi bakuru b'Ubufaransa bari bashinzwe Turquoise n'ibikorwa byabo, bigaragaza ko imwe mu ntego za Élysée yari iyo guhagarika intsinzi ya FPR.

67. Igihe abasirikari b'Abafaransa bageze mu Rwanda, RTLM yanyuzaga ibiganiro kuri radio yayo ko abasirikari b'Abafaransa baje gukura u Rwanda mu maboko ya FPR Inkotanyi. Abasirikari b'u Rwanda (FAR) n'abambari babo bakiriye itsinda rya Turquoise nk'abakiza.

68. N'ubwo inshingano rukumbi ya Operation Turquoise yari yahawe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yari ugutabara, Mitterrand na bamwe mubajyanama be bakomeje gushakisha icyatuma FPR Inkotanyi itagera ku intego yayo yo gufata igihugu cyose, nk'uko bamwe mu ingabo za Turquoise zari zarakoranye na FAR kandi bari bakibona FAR nk'abo bafatanije. Bamwe muri abo basirikari rero bari baramaze gufata uruhande bariho.

69. Ku itariki ya 27 Kamena 1994, abasirikari b'Abafaransa bahuye ndetse babona iyica ryakorerwaga mu Bisesero. Ahongaho, Abatutsi bari barishwe n'inzara ndetse n'ubwoba basohotse mu bwihisho bwinshi binginga Abafaransa ngo babakize ubwicanyi bwari burimo kubakorerwa. Ntibahagaze ku butumwa bwabo bwiswe ubutumwa bwo gutabara, abasirikari b'Abafaransa barigendeye maze batanga raporo yibyo babonye ku ruhererekane rw'abayobozi. Ababakuriye banze kubohereza ngo basubireyo hashira iminsi itatu. Muri iyo minsi itatu, Abatutsi benshi barishwe.

70. Hari ibimenyetso ko mu gihe cya Turquoise, abayobozi b'abasirikari b'Abafaransa bashatse gukoresha indege z'intambara ku basirikari ba FPR Inkotanyi.

71. Ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, Leta y'Ubufaransa yashyizeho '*safe humanitarian zone*' (SHZ), ahantu mu burengerazuba mu Rwanda hashobora kuba hangana na kimwe cya gatanu cy'igihugu. Mu kugerageza gukumira ko RPF Inkotanyi zagera muri ako gace. Leta y'Ubufaransa yahise ivuga ko harinzwe n'Ingabo z'Abafaransa kandi ivuga ko FPR Inkotanyi itahafite uburenganzira niyo byaba ari ugukiza ubuzima bw'Abatutsi.

72. Abasirikari b'Abafaransa ntibari bafite abantu n'ubushobozi buhagije bwo gufasha no kwita ku impunzi zari muri zone ya SHZ.

73. RPF Inkotanyi yafashe umujyi wa Kigali ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994; abicanyi bakomeza guhunga. SHZ yahaye ubuhungiro abajenosideri mu gihe bahungaga FPR Inkotanyi yarimo ibasatira. Abasirikari b'Abafaransa ntibigeze bafata cyangwa ngo bambure imbunda n'ibindi bikoresho by'intambara abakoze Jenoside maze kandi bafasha Leta y'Abatabazi kunyura hagati ya zone SHZ bahunga no kwambuka bajya muri Zaire.

74. Abayobozi b'Abafaransa ntibigeze bafata icyemezo cyo guhagarika radio RTLM cyangwa ngo bahagarike amakuru ya Radio Rwanda. Ako kanya mbere yo guhunga u Rwanda, Leta y'Abatabazi yakoresheje imiyoboro ya za radiyo bahamagarira abaturage guhunga u Rwanda maze bahunga ku bwinshi bajya Zaire.

75. Muri Zaire, abahoze ari abasirikari b'u Rwanda (ex-FAR) batangiye kwishyira hamwe bategura gutera u Rwanda. Ni muri gahunda zo gutera, abasirikare b'Abafaransa bari mu birindiro muri Zaire bahuye na ex-FAR kuri iyi ngingo.

76. Muri ibyo byose, ubutumwa bwa Turquoise bwapfubiyemo. Bwarokoye abantu ariko mu by'ukuri, bwerekanye ubushobozi buke mu gufasha ubuzima no kuzuza inshingano zayo z'ubutabazi. Turquoise yafashije FAR, Interahamwe, abakoze Jenoside guhunga, bityo bitangiza ikindi gikorwa cya kabiri cyateye ibiza birengereye muri Zaire binateza umutekano muke mu karere.

H. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yagaragariye Leta y'Ubufaransa ko izaba.

77. Mu gihe FPR Inkotanyi yari yegereje mu guhagarika Jenoside, Perezida Mitterrand yahakanye uruhare rw'Abafaransa muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi maze yemeza ko atashoboraga kubona ko Jenoside yari igiye kuba. Ibi ntabwo byari ukuri.

78. Mu myaka ine ibanziriza Jenoside, nta Leta yigeze ikorana hafi na Habyarimana nk'uko Ubufaransa bwabikoze.

79. Mu ntangiriro z'Ukwakira 1990, abayobozi b'Abafaransa bari mu Rwanda bamenyesheje Mitterrand n'ibisonga bye i Paris ko Leta y'u Rwanda yarimo kwica Abatutsi ibaziza ko FPR Inkotanyi yateye.

80. Nyuma gato, abasirikari b'Abafaransa bageze mu Rwanda, abategetsi b'Abafaransa bamenye ko Umututsi yari yambuwe ubumuntu, ko yarateshejwe agaciro, ndetse akanicwa. Nk'uko Intumwa y'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda, Georges Martres, yaje kuvuga nyuma ati: "Jenoside yagaragaraga ko izaba kare nko mu Ukwakira 1990, n'ubwo tutashoboraga kubona neza uburemere bwayo bw'indengakamere."

81. Ku itariki ya 24 Ukwakira 1990, ushinzwe igisirikari muri ambassade y'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda, Colonel René Galinié, yaburiye ku iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu Rwanda hose, hagati y'abantu bangana nka 500,000 kugeza kuri 700,000.

82. Mu gihe Leta y'Ubufaransa yakomeje gufasha Leta ya Habyarimana mu bihe by'intambara hagati yayo na FPR Inkotanyi, Leta y'Ubufaransa yari izi neza ko Leta ya Habyarimana yashatse kwihimura ifasha mu kwica kubera ibitero bya FPR Inkotanyi n'izindi mpamvu za politiki, muri Kibilira na Mutara (Ukwakira, 1990), Bigogwe (Mutarama 1991), Bugesera (Werurwe 1992), Kibuye (Kanama 1992), na Gisenyi-Ruhengeri (Mutarama 1993).

83. Muri Mutarama 1993, itsinda ry'impuguke mu burenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu zakoze raporo ziyiha abategetsi b'Abafaransa mu Rwanda na Paris mu byo zari zabonye mu gihe zari mu butumwa mu Rwanda. Iyo raporo yagaragaje udutsiko tw'abicanyi tuyobowe na guverinoma n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi.

84. Ministiri w'Ingabo w'Ubufaransa yirengagije inyandiko zo muri ministeri ye zavugaga ko kuva mu kwezi kwa Mata 1993 Ubufaransa bukwiye kuva mu Rwanda kugira ngo bwirinde kongera kwivanga mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi na gahunda y'ivangura ryabo.

85. Mu ntangiriro z'Ukwakira 1990, amagana y'Abayobozi b'Abafaransa – abasirikari n'abasivile – boherejwe mu Rwanda bamenye neza amakuru (yandikwaga mu rurimi rw'Igifaransa) kandi avugwa mu Gifaransa ashimangira urwango, ikoreshwa ry'indangamuntu, ishyirwaho ry'amabariyeri kugira ngo baburabuze kandi baserereze Abatutsi, kwibasira no gufata ku ngufu abagore b'Ababatutsikazi, iyicarubozo ryakorewe Abatutsi rikozwe n'abajandarume, ndetse no guhohoterwa kwakorwaga n'Interahamwe ndetse n'igisirikari.

86. Leta y'Ubufaransa yari iziko ishyaka CDR n'izindi ntagondwa zari zarateguye uko bazica Abatutsi.

87. Muri Mutarama 1994, amezi atatu mbere yuko Jenoside itangira, Leta y'Ubufaransa yaburiwe n'umwe mu batangamakuru bizewe, binyujijwe mu Muryango w'Abibumbye ko Interahamwe zateguye kandi zifite umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi.

88. Nubwo abayobozi b'Abafaransa bari bafite amakuru ku ikorwa rya Jenoside, Leta y'Ubufaransa ntiyigeze ihindura politiki yayo mu Rwanda.

I. Kuva Jenoside yaba, Leta y'Ubufaransa yahishiriye uruhare rwayo mu gukora Jenoside, yaburijemo kandi ihisha ukuri, maze irinda abakoze Jenoside.

89. Abayobozi b'Ubufaransa, kuva kuri Mitterrand, bahakanye uruhare na ruke muri Jenoside. Mu kiganiro yakoze muri Nzeli 1994, Mitterrand yashimangiye ko 'uruhare rwacu ntaruhari'.

90. Muri 1998, Abadepite b'Abafaransa baje mu butumwa bwo gushakisha amakuru yerekana uko Ubufaransa bwitwaye mu Rwanda (MIP), ariko bwari bufite inenge ikabije. Kugera kuri uyu munsi, impapuro zikomeye n'ubuhamya byaturutse mu batangabuhamya ba MIP ziracyari ibanga.

91. Mu kiganiro, umuyobozi wa MIP, Paul Quilès, yatanze, yahanaguyeho uruhare rw'Ubufaransa nubwo herekanwaga ibimenyetso simusiga byavugaga ibinyuranye n'ibyo yavuze. Umwe muri babiri batangaga amakuru mu ba MIP yaje kwemera ko benshi mu bari bagize misiyo batari bashishikajwe no gushaka kubona ukuri.

92. Abayobozi b'Abafaransa bagerageje guhindurira icyaha cy'itangira rya Jenoside ngo ikigereke kuri FPR Inkotanyi. Bakwije inkuru kandi babeshya ko nubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yabaye hari n'indi jenoside ya kabiri: bavuga yakorewe Abahutu kandi ikozwe na FPR Inkotanyi (igitekerezo cya jenoside ebyiri).

93. Mu mwaka wa 2006, umucamanza w'Umufaransa, Jean-Louis Bruguière, yasohoye inyandiko yo gushinja no gushakisha abategetsi bo hejuru ba FPR Inkotanyi; abarega ko aribo bahanuye indege yari itwaye Perezida Juvenal Habyarimana. Urukiko rw'Ubujurire rw'Ubufaransa rwanzuye ko iperereza rya Bruguière ryari rishingiye cyane cyane ku nyandiko zidafite gihamya cyangwa zivuguruzanya. Mu gihe ibirego byose muri uru rubanza rw'abayobozi bakuru ba FPR Inkotanyi byaje kuburizwamo, iperereza ryaje kwitambika mu kirego imyaka myinshi. Ibyo byari ukurangaza abantu ku ruhare Leta y'Ubufaransa yagize muri Jenoside.

94. Agathe Kanziga Habyarimana, wari umugore wa Perezida w'u Rwanda muri icyo gihe, yemerewe kuguma mu Bufaransa n'ubwo urukiko ruburanisha impunzi rwamwimye ubuhunzi kandi babonye ko yari 'umutima w'ubutegetsi' kandi ko yari afite uruhare rukomeye mu gutegura iyicwa ry'Abatutsi kuva mu Ukwakira 1990 ugakomeza, bityo akaba yari umwe mu bisonga byateguye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994.

95. Abayobozi b'Abafaransa bagenze gahoro kugira ngo bageze abakekwaho gukora Jenoside mu bucamanza ariko abenshi mu bakoze Jenoside baridegembya mu Bufaransa. Kugeza uyu munsi, batatu gusa mu bakoze Jenoside nibo baciriwe urubanza mu Bufaransa (kandi bose bahamwe n'icyaha). Ugufatwa kwa Félicien Kabuga muri Gicurasi 2020 ni ikimenyetso cyiza kigaragaza ko abayobozi b'Ubufaransa bashobora kuba bagiye kurushaho kubyitondera, bagashyiramo ingufu n'ubushobozi mu kurwanya kudahanwa.

96. Leta y'Ubufaransa ikomeje guhishira uruhare rwayo muri Jenoside ihisha inyandiko zikomeye zigaragaza uruhare rwayo muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Muri iri perereza, Leta y'u Rwanda yandikiye inshuro eshatu Leta y'Ubufaransa iyisobanurira k'umugaragaro ko yifuza inyandiko, zohererejewe Leta y'Ubufaransa ku itariki 20 Ukuboza 2019, 20 Nyakanga 2020, na 27 Mutarama 2021 zikurikiranye. Uretse

kumenyekanisha ko babonye ubu busabe, Leta y'Ubufaransa ntirigera isubiza na rimwe ayo mabaruwa.

97. Kumenyekanisha inyandiko za vuba aha zijyanye na raporo ya komisiyo ya Duclert ni intambwe iganisha ku nzira yo gukorera mu mucyo.

J. Uyu munsi: Ingaruka za Jenoside zirakomeje.

98. Uruhare rwa Leta y'Ubufaransa rugomba gupimwa, mu rwego rwo kwangiza ubuzima b'abantu, amagambo n'ibikorwa byayo byashoboje Jenoside mu Rwanda.

99. Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bakomeje kugira ihungabana batewe n'ibikomere ku mubiri no ku mutima ndetse no kubura ababo.