Ikiganiro cyatanzwe na Dr BIZIMANA Jean Damascène, Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa CNLG, mu gikorwa cyo KWIBUKA ku nshuro ya 27 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, 07 Mata 2021

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika,

Ndabashimiye ku mwanya mumpaye w'ikiganiro muri iki gikorwa cyo kwibuka27 Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Nkuko abakurambere babivuga ko "***Umuryango utibuka uzima***", Kwibuka ni ngombwa kugira ngo dushobore Kwiyubaka. Tugomba kwibuka amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bikadufasha kurwanya abayapfobya n'abayagoreka nkana, kubera uruhare bo n'ababo bayagizemo. Niyo mpamvu ngirango ngaragaze bimwe mu bimenyetso byerekana imizi ya Jenoside dukwiye kumenya kuko abayipfobya bagerageza kubihishira.

Ishyaka ryose rya politiki rigira Manifesto rigenderaho, rikayitoza abayoboke baryo. Manifesto za PARMEHUTU na MRND zaranzwe n'irondabwoko ryatumye Jenoside iba mu Rwanda. Nka Manifeste N°3 ya PARMEHUTU yemejwe muri Kongre yo kuwa 21/6/1964 harimo ko ***PARMEHUTU yishimiye, ikanashima AbaParmehutu b'ukuri ko guhera muri 1959 itigeze ihwema kurangiza Programme yayo yo Kwinjiza Gahutu mu mashuri yisumbuye, kwirinda ibyayisopanyiriza biturutse inyuma y'igihugu, gukora ibya ngombwa byose kugira ngo yuzuze <u>amatwara meza</u> yo muri 1959, ikazihatira kujijura AbaParmehutu.***

Ayo matwara bita meza yo muri 1959 nayo gukandamiza Abatutsi no kubica, bitangijwe n'abategetsi nkuko Abanyarwanda bavuga ko ***"Umwera uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose"***. Gahunda zo gukorera igice kimwe cy'Abanyarwana niko zakomeje muri Manifeste N°4 Nyakanga 1969. PARMEHUTU mu miterere yayo ntiyatekerezaga *UMUNYARWANDA*, ukwiye kwiteza imbere; na MRND yayisimbuye mu 1973 nuko yakomeje;

Idewoloji z'irondabwoko zayo mashyaka nizo mizi ya kure ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Hagati ya 90-94, MRND n'agatsiko bafatanyije, bateguye gahunda yo gutsemba Abatutsi nkuko bigaragazwa n'izi ngero ebyiri:

Tariki **01/05/1998**, Jean Kambanda wayoboye Guverinoma yakoze Jenoside, yemereye mu ndahiro Urukiko Mpuzamahanga ko Guverinoma yari ayoboye, yashyize mu bikorwa umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi wateguwe mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya HABYARIMANA, abivuga muri aya magambo imbere y'Urukiko:
"***Jyewe Jean Kambanda nemera ko mu 1994, habayeho ibitero byateguwe bigamije kwica abaturage b'Abatutsi biturutse ku mugambi wa Leta wo kubarimbura. Nka Minisitiri w'Intebe, nayoboye inama za Guverinoma zatangaga amabwiriza ku ba Minisitiri, Ingabo z'Igihugu n'abayobozi bakuru yo gukora Jenoside no gukurikirana uko yakorwaga;harimo kohereza muri za Perefegitura ba Minisitiri gukangurira abaturage guhiga umwanzi, ni ukuvuga Abatutsi****."*

Muri ubu bwirege, KAMBANDA yemeye itegurwa rirerire ry'umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi bikozwe na Leta; anirega ko we na Guverinoma yose, bifashishije inzego z'ubutegetsi, aribo bashyize mu bikorwa uwo mugambi. Abagihanyanyaza bavuga ko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi itateguwe, bakayishakira izindi mpamvu nyoroshyacyaha, baribeshya ubwabo kandi ikinyoma ntikiramba. Nyuma yo kwemera uruhare rwe n'urwa Guverinoma, KAMBANDA yakatiwe igifungo cya burundu, akaba afungiye muri gereza y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye muri Mali.

Urundi rugero nuko mu byumweru bibiri Jenoside itangijwe, abaturage ba Butare ntibahise bayitabira, bituma Perezida SINDIKUBWABO ajya Gikongoro na Butare kuyihutisha. Ku wa **18/04/1994**, yagiye Nyakizu avuga iri jambo: **"*Baturage ba Nyakizu, ni ubwa mbere mubona uruzinduko rw'umukuru w'igihugu. Naje kubashyigikira no kubashimira ibikorwa byanyu muri ibi bihe bikomeye. Nintaha ndabohererereza abantu bo kubafasha gukomeza aka kazi murimo kandi ndaza kureba nuko nabagenera igihembo. Mukore nko muri 1959*"**.

Kuba Perezida wa Repuburika, ashimira abicanyi, agashishikariza abatarabukora kubwitabira, abizeza kubibahembera, ni ikindi kimenyetso cyerekana uruhare rwa Leta muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Kuwa 19/04/1994, SINDIKUBWABO yakoresheje inama ikomeye mu Mujyi wa Butare, akikijwe na bamwe mu Ba Minisitiri be, avanaho Perefe Jean Baptiste HABYARIMANA warwanyaga Jenoside, amusimbuza uw'intagondwa Sylvain NSABIMANA, ategeka AbanyaButare ko udashaka kwica, yiyita *NTIBINDEBA*, nawe yicwa. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi itangira ityo i Butare.

SINDIKUBWABO asaba kwica nko mu 1959, yagira ngo yibutse abakuru, ko uwo mwaka wa 1959, ariyo ntangiriro yo kwigisha abaturage kwica Abatutsi, kandi ko ababikoze ntawabihaniwe. Urugero ni Yozefu Habyarimana GITERA wari perezida wa APROSOMA, watangije amategeko 10 y'Abahutu muri nzeri 1959, ndetse na disikuru z'urwango z'abayobozi ba PARMEHUTU n'indirimbo za Chorale ABANYURAMATWI zabibaga urwango, ntawabihaniwe. Abakoloni barabishyigikiye.

Nyamara, Abakoloni barwanyije Ishyaka rya UNAR ryari rifite muri Manifeste yaryo guharanira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda n'ubwigenge, abayoboke baryo harimo n'Abahutu nk'Umunyamabanga mukuru, Michel RWAGASANA wari mwene sewabo wa KAYIBANDA, baricwa.

Mu Ukuboza 1963, Leta yakomeje ubukangurambaga bwo kwica Abatutsi; Kayibanda na ba Minisitiri be bagiye mu Bufundu, ku Gikongoro, bakangurira iyicwa ry'Abatutsi. Kugira ngo byorohe, Leta yari yarabanje gushyiraho itegeko ku wa **20 Gicurasi 1963** riha ubudahangarwa abishe Abatutsi kuva 1959 kandi rigateganya ko abarwanyije PARMEHUTU bo batarebwa n'iri tegeko. Iri tegeko niyo ntangiriro yo kwimika umuco mubi wo kudahana mu Rwanda.

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu 1963 ryakomeye kuri Noheli, hameneka amaraso menshi, bituma ababurokotse babwita "***Noheli y'amaraso***", biba umuziro kuribo no ku babo, kugeza muri 1994, wo kutarya inyama kuri Noheli kuko byabibutsaga amaraso yamenwe mu 1963 ku munsi hibukwa ivuka ryaYezu. Igitangaje nuko no mu 1959, iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryatangiye ku ya 01 Ugushyingo ku Munsi w'Abatagatifu bose; yewe no muri 1994, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatangiye mu cyumweru gitagatifu kiganisha kuri Pasika. Uru ruhurirane rw'iminsi mikuru ya Kiliziya n'ubwicanyi hari isomi bikwiye kuduha kuko uretse kuba za Kiliziya nyinshi cyane zariciwemo Abatutsi, hari zimwe murizo

zahindutse inzibutso nka Nyamata na Ntarama; Nyange yo yasenyeweho Abatutsi bitanzwemo amabwiriza na Padiri SEROMBA Athanase wari padiri mukuru wa Paruwasi ya Nyange, akaba yarakatiwe igifungo cya burundu na TPIR.Aha hari isomo dukwiye kujya tuvana mu mateka y'ubwicanyi mu Rwanda.

Raporo nyinshi z'amahanga, inyandiko z'Abanyamahanga bari mu Rwanda n'itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga zemeje ko iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri 1963 ari **Jenoside**. Urugero: umwanzuro wa Guverinoma y'Ububiligi ku wa **07/02/1964** wabyanditse gutya: **«*Bitewe n'ibibazo biri mu Rwanda, cyane cyane ibirego bishinjwa Guverinoma y'icyo gihugu, birakwiye ko tubinyujije muri Ambasade yacu, dutanga amabwiriza Ababiligi bagomba gukurikiza irebana n'ibikorwa bibera muRwanda byo kumaraho Abatutsi*. *Ibihabera byafashe isura nini ku rwego mpuzamahanga, tukaba tugomba gukumira icyatuma Ububiligi bushobora kuzashinjwa kugira uruhare muri Jenoside. »***

Ijambo ***JENOSIDE*** rigaragara kenshi mu nyandiko zivuga ubwicanyi bwo muri 1963 kandi bose bakabishingira ku miterere y'ubwicanyi uko babubonaga bagasanga bihuye neza neza n'ibiteganywa n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga agenga icyaha cya Jenoside yo ku wa 9/12/1948.

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi rihosheje, Leta yashyizeho amategeko akandamiza Abatutsi, nko kubuza impunzi kugaruka mu Rwanda, n'uwo bamenye ko yahageze agasubizwa iyo yavuye, kwamburwa imitungo, kubajyana mu bice bimwe by'igihugu ku gahato kugira ngo bahagirire imibereho mibi, n'ibindi. Urugero ni Iteka rya Perezida KAYIBANDA ryo ku wa **26/2/1966** ryemeza ko Abatutsi bahunze igihugu aribo babyiteye, ko ari nabo bagomba kwirengera ingaruka zabyo; nyamara barahunze bicwa, batwikirwa nk'abatagira igihugu.

Perezida HABYARIMANA, kimwe mu byemezo bya mbere yafashe ku wa **25/10/1973**, amaze amezi atanu gusa ageze ku butegetsi, ni ugushimangira amabwiriza yashyizweho na KAYIBANDA areba impunzi z'Abatutsi.

Ariko nta kibi kiganza cyonyine. Hari Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga babirwanyije. Mu 1959, bamwe mu bahutu bafatanyaga n'Abatutsi guhangana

n’ibitero by’AbaParmehutu, bikerekana ipfundo ry’ubumwe abanyarwanda bibonagamo, iyo ubutegetsi bubi butabavangiye.

Muri 1963, Padri De Jamblinne wabaga muri paruwasi ya Cyanika, Ku Gikongoro, yarwanyije uko ashoboye iyicwa ry’Abatutsi, hari benshi cyane bamukesha ubuzima. Ubu ari mu kiruhuko cy’izabukuru mu Bubiligi; ku munsi nk’uyu akwiye gushimirwa ubutwari yagize. Padri Reginald GREINDL wabaga i Nyamirambo nawe yarwanye ku bapfakazi n’abana b’abayoboke ba UNAR bishwe mu 1963, bituma agiye iwabo muri Konji, Leta imubuza kugaruka mu Rwanda.

Mu 1973, hari abayobozi b’amashuri banze ko Abatutsi birukanwa, nka Mgr Yozefu SIBOMANA wanze ko abaseminari b’Abatutsi birukanwa i Zaza, akanakira abari barirukanywe mu yandi maseminari cyane cyane i Kabgayi, akabasubiza mu ishuri, barimo nyakwigendera Padiri Dominiko KAREKEZI n’abandi; Padiri w’Umusaleziyani Lionel wayoboraga ETO Kicukiro na Padri Dominique NOTHOMB wayoboraga Seminaire St Paul i Kigali nabo barwanye ku banyeshuri b’Abatutsi mu 1973. Izo ni ingero nziza zikwiye kujya zibutswa mu mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ntiduhamane ibibi gusa, bityo ku munsi nk’uyu wo Kwibuka tugashima ubutwari bwabo.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika,

Urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu rutangiye mu 1990, bitewe n’ako karengane kose kari karimitswe na Leta za PARMEHUTU na MRND, Perezida HABYARIMANA yatangije gahunda ya Jenosideku Batutsi, irangwa no gufunga abiswe ibyitso by’Inkotanyi no kwica Abatutsi henshi mu gihugu, ahereye mu duce yakomokagamo we n’abo bari bafatanyije ubutegetsi, twa Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Kuva mu **1991**, ijambo *Gutsembatsemba* ryakwijwe mu itangazamakuru nka Kangura yo kwa **9/2/1991** yanditse ngo: ***“Mureke tumenye Inkotanyi n’abashyigikiye FPR, Tubatsembatsembe.”***

Diskuru nyinshi za HABYARIMANA n’iz’abayobozi ba MRND zahamagariye Jenoside, nk’iyo yavugiye mu Ruhengeri ku wa **15/11/1992,** avuga ko imishyikirano y’amahoro ari ibipapuro bidafite agaciro, ko igihe nikigera, azakora ku Nterahamwe bakamanuka. Ku wa **22/11/1992**, Leon MUGESERA,

Umujyanama wa MRND mubya politiki akaba na Visi-Perezida wayo ku Gisenyi, yavugiye mu nama rusange y'abaturage yakoresheje ku Kabaya, muri Ngororero, aho akomoka, ko Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa bagasubizwa aho yise iwabo muri Etiyopiya banyujijwe muri Nyabarongo, kandi bahise bicwa nabi. Guhakana ubunyarwanda bw'Abatutsi bagirwa abanyamahanga ni kimwe mu byakoreshejwe muri jenoside kuva kuri PARMEHUTU, MRND na CDR.

Mu gutegura Jenoside, Inzego zose zarifashishijwe: mu basilikare hashyizwemo ishyirahamwe ryitwaga ***AMASASU*** ryayoborwaga na BAGOSORA wiyitaga Komanda Mike Tango. **21/9/1992**, ubuyobozi bw'Ingabo bwatangaje inyandiko igena ko Umututsi ari umwanzi w'u Rwanda. Muri uwo mwaka kandi hashinzwe Ishyaka ry'intagondwa, CDR. **1993** andi Mashyaka ashyirwamo igice cy'intagondwa cya *Hutu Power*. Itangazamakuru rutwitsi ryongerwamo RTLM ku wa **08/04/1993**; urubyiruko rushyirwamo *Interahamwe* n'*Impuzamugambi,* bahabwa imyitozo bigishwa kwica, abagaragaje umurava bagashyirwa mu Itsinda ruharwa ryiswe ***TURIHOSE***, ryajyaga gutanga ubufasha muri Jenoside ahantu henshi. Aba nibo batanze umusada wo kwica mu Bisesero baturutse ku Gisenyi boherejwe na Col. Anatole NSENGIYUMVA. Mbese, umugambi wo gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nta rwego na rumwe rutayigiyemo, ari nayo mpamvu no mu kubaka igihugu no guhangana n'ingaruka za Jenoside, inzego zose zigomba kubigira ibyazo.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika,

Ubu, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yemewe ku rwego mpuzamahanga. Muri 2004, Umuryango w'Abibumbye washyizeho tariki ya 7 mata nk'umunsi uhoraho wo kuyizirikina, wongera kubishimangira muri mata 2020, wemeza ko inyito igomba gukoreshwa ari Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Muri 2014, Inama y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye Ishinzwe Amahoro ku Isi yari yashimangiye icyemezo cy'Urukiko mpuzamahanga rwemeje ko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ari ihame ridashobora kugibwaho impaka. Ibi byemezo byaciye intege abapfobya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bahitamo gushakisha ikinyoma cy'indi Jenoside bita iya kabiri bagereka ku Ngabo za FPR zahagaritse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bagamije kuziharabika. Hari n'aho bagera bakavuga cyangwa bakandika nkuko tubisanga mu gitabo cya Judi Rever n'abandi nkawe ko Interahamwe zari zigizwe n'Abatutsi, ko FPR ariyo yagiye kwica

Abatutsi mu Bisesero; ibyo byose bigamije gushakisha uko abajenosideri bagarurirwa icyizere biyambuye bafata inzira yo gukora Jenoside ku Batutsi, naho abayihagaritse bakagirwa abanyabyaha. Ariko kimwe mu bibagora mu binyoma byabo ni ukwerekana uwaba yarahagaritse iyo ngirwa Jenoside ya kabiri bahimba ko yakorewe Abahutu, cyangwa kwerekana aho umugambi wo kuyikora wacuriwe n'ibiwuranga nkuko KAMBANDA yerekanye aho umugambi wo gukora Jenoside ku Batutsi wakorewe n'ibyawuranze.

Ikindi abapfobya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bakora ni ukwifashisha imbuga nkoranyambaga n'itangazamakuru ribogamye, bakibasira abarwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'abagaragaza ukuri kw'amateka, bashaka kubaca intege, ngo ikinyoma cya Jenoside ebyiri no gusebya ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda, bibe aribyo bihabwa intebe. Ntibazabigeraho. Oya Ntibazabigeraho na buke. Amateka yakorewe Abatutsi azakomeza gusigasirwa, kandi hari ibimenyetso byivugira byerekana ko atazasibangana nkuko bigaragazwa n'umubare w'abarokotse Jenoside bandika ibitabo by'amateka yabo ugenda wiyongera.

Mu butabera, ibibazo U Rwanda rwaterwaga n'ibyemezo bibi by'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga, byarakemutse. Ubu, u Rwanda rugishwa inama, zikanitabwaho, niyo mpamvu abahamijwe Jenoside nka **Augustin Ngirabatware** wasubirishagamo urubanza, Urukiko rwabitesheje agaciro, ahanishwa igifungo cy'imyaka 35. **Bagosora** na **Semanza** basabaga gufungurwa batarangije ibihano nkuko byagenze hafungurwa ba ruharwa barimo NAHIMANA Ferdinand, Urukiko ntirwabibemereye. Ubushinjacyaha bw'uru Rukiko bufatanya n'u Rwanda gushaka amakuru; ni imwe mu mpamvu zatumye **Kabuga** afatwa ku wa **18/05/2020**. Biratanga icyizere ko n'abagishakishwa, bazafatwa.

Iyo abenshi mu rubyiruko tuganira nabo bumvise aya mateka arababababaza. Ntibiyumvisha uburyo Guverinoma zategetse igihugu, zafashe umugambi wo kubwiriza abaturage kwica. Ntibaniyumvisha uburyo hari abakuru bapfobya bakanahakana amateka azwi n'isi yose ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi; ndetse no mu bayipfobya ugasangamo urubyiruko, nkuko mu bashowe muri Jenoside harimo n'urubyiruko. Ibi ariko bibaha imbaraga zo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, bashyigikira imiyoborere myiza u Rwanda rufite.

Mu batahutse bavuye mu mashyamba ya Kongo, harimo urubyiruko rwinshi. Bashima uburyo bakiriwe mu gihugu cyabo, bakamagana abakuru babafataga bunyago muri Kongo bababeshya ko nibataha bazicwa, bagamije guhisha uruhare rwabo muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Urubyiruko ruri mu mahanga rukiboshywe n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside rwinjijwemo n'abakuru, rukwiye kumva ko ubu ngubu u Rwanda ari urwa Twese, bakaza gufatanya n'abandi Banyarwanda kubaka igihugu aho guhama lu icuraburindi ry'abifuza gusenya u Rwanda. Dukomeze Twibuke Twiyubaka.

Ndabashimiye Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika.