REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA

KOMITE YIGENGA Y'IMPUGUKE
ISHINZWE IPEREREZA KU IHANUKA
RY'INDEGE FALCON 50 N°9XR-NN
RYO KU WA 06/04/1994

INGINGO Z'INGENZI ZIKUBIYE MURI RAPORO Y'IPEREREZA KU IHANUKA RY'INDEGE

Kigali, Ku wa 20 Mata 2009

I. IMPAMVU N'UBURYO INDEGE YAHANUWEMO

1. INTANGIRIRO

Intangiriro ikubiyemo ingingo ebyiri : uburyo bwakoreshejwe, kuvuga birambuye ku by'ingenzi byaranze politiki yo mu gihe cyabanjirije itegurwa ry'ihanurwa ry'indege yari itwaye Perezida Habyarimana. Raporo iragaragaza igishushanyo rusange cy'uko byari byifashe mu Rwanda mu 1994. Inkuru irambuye ku by'icyo gihe irahera mbere gato y'ishozwa ry'intambara, ku wa 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza ku mugoroba indege yahanuwemo kandi ikibutsa ingingo zikurikira :

- Politiki mbi y'amacakubiri yashyizwe mu bantu igenda ishyigikirwa na Leta;

- Imishyikirano ya Arusha yageze ku masezerano y'amahoro yarangizaga intambara hagati ya FAR na FPR. Aya masezerano kandi agizwe n'ingingo enye zumvikanyweho ku bijyanye n'imiterere y'amategeko, gusaranganya ubutegetsi, gucyura impunzi no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abavanywe mu byabo, kuvanga ingabo zombi ndetse n'ibindi bibazo binyuranye n'imyanzuro ya nyuma;

- Ishyirwaho rya MINUAR n'intumwa zayo;

- Intagondwa z'Abahutu, abanyapolitiki n'abasirikare bakomeje kwanga ivangwa ry'ingabo zombi nk'uko byari biteganyijwe mu masezerano ya Arusha;

- Agatsiko k'Abahutu b'intagondwa cyane cyane Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, Anatole Nsengiyumva na Joseph Nzirorera wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'ishyaka rya MRND, batangiye guha akato no gutera Habyarimana ubwoba ko ashobora kwicwa;

- Habyarimana yokejwe igitutu n'ingufu zituruka hanze y'igihugu kugira ngo ashyireho inzego z'inzibacyuho;

- Habyarimana yemeye by'amaburakindi gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho ariko intagondwa z'Abahutu zabifashe nk'ubugambanyi.

2) Iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana ryatangajwe mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ye

Guhera mu ntangiriro z'umwaka w'1994, amakuru afite gihamya yaturukaga mu nzego zitandukanye yagaragaje ko iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana ryari riteganyijwe. Iyo gahunda yari ishyigikiwe n'intagondwa z'Abahutu zifuzaga kwiharira ubutegetsi batabusaranganyije.

Ayo makuru yagiye aturuka ahantu hatandukanye :

- Inyandiko z'intagondwa zo mu ishyaka rya CDR (*Coalition pour la Défense de la République*) mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1994 zagaragaje ko umwishi wa Perezida Habyarimana azaba ari Umuhutu ku nyungu z'Abatutsi.

- Ku wa 03 Mata 1994, Radiyo RTLM, *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, yatangaje ko hari akantu kazakorwa, kagombaga kurangizwa n'igitero simusiga i Kigali hagati y'itariki ya 03 n'iya 08 Mata.

- Abasirikare b'ingabo z'u Rwanda (FAR) bumviswe na Komite nk'abatangabuhamya muri Anketi, bemeza ko ikibazo cy'iyicwa rya Habyarimana cyaterurwaga akenshi mu biganiro byabaga bishojwe na benewabo b'abanyagisenyi n'abanyaruhengeri, kandi ko ayo makuru yari yarahawe agaciro na Perezida wa Repubulika ubwe na servisi ze z'umutekano.

- Abari abapilote b'indege Falcon 50 nabo bari bazi ayo makuru kandi bagaragaje ibimenyetso byo guhangayika no kugira ubwoba bw'ako kaga.

- Umushinga wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana kandi wari uzwi n'izindi nzego zo hanze y'ubutegesti bw'u Rwanda. Abategetsi b'Ububiligi, inshuti za Habyarimana, bari bazi ko mu kwezi kwa Mata 1994 indege ye ishobora kuzahanurwa mu gihe yitegura kugwa cyangwa guhaguruka ku kibuga cy'indege i Kanombe.

- Abasirikari b'ababiligi bari baraje gutera inkunga ab'u Rwanda mu rwego rw'ubutwererane (Coopération militaire) nabo bari bafite amakuru ku gikorwa cyashoboraga kuba ari nk'ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi (coup d'Etat).

- Ayo makuru nanone yari azwi na sirivisi z'ubutasi za Perezida Mobutu ahagana mu mpera za Werurwe 1994, kandi Mobutu yabimenyesheje Agathe Kanziga, umufasha wa Perezida Habyarimana, amugira inama yo kutazajya i Dar-es-Salaam, ariko Agathe we ntiyabibwiye umugabo we.

- Muri Gashyantare 1994, serivisi z'ubutasi za MINUAR zari zifite amakuru agaragaza ko hari intambara ya rurangiza ingabo za FAR zateguraga.

- Umufasha wa General Nsabimana yatangaje ko hari imyiteguro y'urudaca y'intambara n'itegurwa ry'ubwicanyi buhambaye.

3. Urugendo rwo kujya mu Nama ya Dar-es-Salaam, uburyo bwo kwikiza Perezida Habyarimana

Inyandiko zijyanye n'inama n'ubuhamya bw'abadipolomati b'abanyarwanda, abarundi n'abatanzaniya bari bitabiriye iyo nama n'abasirikare bari bashinzwe kurinda umutekano wa Perezida Habyarimana bari bajyanye na we i Dar-es-Salaam, zigaragaza ko :

- Kuva inama yatangira, Perezida Habyarimana yavuze ko inzego z'inzibacyuho zizashyirwaho akigera mu Rwanda. Nyuma rero, ibiganiro byibanze ku miterere y'umutekano mu Burundi.

- Bigeze hafi saa kumi z'umugoroba , abapilote b'indege Falcon 50 bamaze kubona ko urugendo rwo kugaruka mu Rwanda rushobora gukorwa mu ijoro, baringinze ngo bazatahe umunsi ukurikiyeho. Perezida wa Tanzaniya, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, yasabye mugenzi we w'u Rwanda Juvénal Habyarimana ko yarara i Dar-es-Salaam, ariko Habyarimana n'abo bari kumwe barabyanga bahitamo gutaha i Kigali.

- Abari bagize intumwa z'Uburundi bavuganye na Komite bemeje ko Perezida Ntaryamira yifuzaga guhita ataha i Bujumbura bidatinze kandi ko ari we wisabiye kunyura i Kigali hamwe na Perezida Habyarimana, we wari ufite indege yihuta cyane yari guhita imukomezanya ikamugeza i Bujumbura.

- Mbere gato y'uko Falcon 50 ihaguruka i Dar-es-Salaam, umugaba mukuru w'ingabo, Jenerari Nsabimana na Dr Akingeneye, umuganga wihariye w'umukuru w'igihugu, bisigaje inyuma munsi y'amababa y'indege badashaka kugenda mu gihe abandi bagenzi bose bari bamaze kwinjira mu ndege. Perezida Habyarimana yasohotse mu ndege ahita abategeka kwinjira mu ndege. Ukurikije ubuhamya bw'abatangabuhamya, byagaragaraga ko Generari Nsabimana na Dr Akingeneye bari bafite ubwoba bwo gufata ikirere.

- Igitekerezo cyo gutwara umugaba mukuru w'ingabo mu rugendo rujya i Dar-es-Salaam hamwe na Perezida wa Repubulika nticyari gisanzwe na mba kandi cyaturutse ku kagambane. Nsabimana yabimenyeshejwe na Bagosora ijoro ribanziriza urugendo rwabo. Kubera ko yari yagiye mu Ruhengeri, Nsabimana yahamagajwe by'igitaraganya ngo agaruke i Kigali ku wa 05 Mata. Abatangabuhamya bemeje ko Perezida Habyarimana nawe atari azi iby'urugendo rw'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo kandi ko yabimenye amubonye ku kibuga cy'indege cya Kigali mu gitondo cyo ku wa 06 Mata mbere yo guhaguruka. Ibi bikorwa bitera kwibaza byinshi.

4. CND yacungwaga na MINUAR ikagenzurwa na FAR, ibyo bikaba byaratumaga hadashobora kwinjiramo intwaro za rutura cyangwa se ngo hakorerwe ibikorwa bya gisilikare byaba byarakozwe n'abakomando ba FPR baba barasohotse muri CND bakajyana intwaro i Masaka.

- Igihe intumwa za FPR zari mu gipande kimwe cy'amazu y'inama y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere (CND), igice kimwe cya MINUAR cyoherejwe kubungabunga umutekano wa buri munsi wa CND. Amategeko agenga imikorere yashyizweho na MINUAR kugira ngo hajyeho gahunda ihamye yo kugenzura ibyinjira n'ibisohoka.

- Ingendo zose zasabaga gusohoka mu mujyi cyangwa ahantu harehare buri gihe MINUAR yarabaherekezaga. Ari abantu cyangwa imodoka byarasakwaga n'ibyo bafite kuri bo cyangwa mu modoka bikandikwa haba mu kugenda no kugaruka. MINUAR kandi yari ifite icyuma gitahura ahari intwaro ku muryango winjira mu mazu yagenewe FPR. Abasirikari ba FPR bari bemerewe gusa kugira intwaro zoroheje zo kwifashisha mu gucunga abayobozi bakuru babo.

- Iyo bajyaga ku Murindi aho FPR yabaga, MINUAR yandikaga umubare w'abantu bagiyeyo ikaza no kugenzura umubare w'abagarutse.

- Gupakira ibintu ibyo ari byo byose ku Mulindi byakorwaga MINUAR ireba hanyuma impande zombi zigasinya mu ikayi igaragaza ibyapakiwe. Hanyuma MINUAR igaherekeza imodoka kugera i Kigali. Noneho igenzura rikorerwa mu kirere rigakorwa na kajugujugu yakurikiraga icyerekezo izo modoka zishoreranye zafashe kugeza zinjiye muri CND i Kigali.

- Iyo imodoka zabaga zigeze muri CND, zasakwaga na MINUAR noneho ibyo zizanye bikandikwa kimwe n'umubare n'umwirondoro w'abantu bavuye ku Mulindi.

- Ingabo za FAR zagenzuraga impande n'impande za CND mu ibanga ariko ku buryo buboneye. Amatsinda y'abasilikare bari bashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida yari yaroherejwe kugenzura ibikorerwa hafi ya CND byose. Abo basirikari bambaraga imyambaro ya gisivili, bagakora ingendo n'amaguru mu duce twegereye CND, bagenda bandika kandi bagerageza kumenya abantu bose bahinjira. Irindi tsinda ryakoraga igenzura nk'iryo rikoresheje amapikipiki, bagakurikira mu ibanga abantu basohotse muri CND kugira ngo bamenye neza aho bataha cyangwa aho bakora.

- Ubuhamya bw'abasilikare ba ex-FAR bugaragaza ko hariho bariyeri za FAR mu mihanda hagati ya CND na Kabuga, zikaba zari zarashyizwe i Remera-Giporoso, i Nyandungu no ku Mulindi, hamwe n'indi bariyeri yari kuri kilometero 19 mu masangano y'umuhanda munini wa kaburimbo n'agahanda k'ibitaka kajya i Masaka.

- Umukoloneli w'Umubiligi wo muri MINUAR, Walter Balis, winjiye muri CND nyuma y'iminota mike indege ihanuwe kandi wakomeje kuhakorera umunsi wose wo ku wa 07 Mata iruhande rw'intumwa za FPR, ntiyemera na gato ko ibibunda/ibisasu

bya rutura byashoboraga kwikorerwa bivanwa muri CND bijya ahagombaga gukorerwa igikorwa cyo guhanura indege. Ikindi yemeza kandi ni uko mu gukomeza kuvugana kuri radiyo n'indorerezi za MINUAR zari zoherejwe mu gice kitarimo abasirikare, izo ngabo zamwijeje ko ingabo za FPR zitigeze ziva mu birindiro byazo mbere y'itariki ya 07 Mata 1994.

4. Ibinyoma no gukoresha amakuru y'impimbano ashingiye ku byiswe ubutumwa bwa FPR bwahimbwe ku bushake na FAR bigaragaza uruhare rwa FPR mu ihanurwa ry'iyo ndege

- Ibirego byahimbwe na bamwe mu b'ingenzi bateguye bakanashyira mu bikorwa jenoside baburanira i Arusha, bashyigikiwe n'umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, bavuga ko kimwe mu bimenyetso byerekana uruhare rwa FPR mu ihanurwa ry'indege Falcon 50 ari kopi y'urupapuro Jenerari Augustin Ndindiriyimana yashyikirije Jean-Louis Bruguière i Arusha, ivuga ko *« ku wa 7 Mata 1994 saa 8h 45 inyakiramajwi z'abashinzwe ipererereza rya gisilikare ku GISENYI, zafashe ubutumwa muri radiyo za gisilikare z'ibyumvirizi buturutse ku Cyicaro Gikuru cya A.P.R. ku Mulindi bwishimiraga igikorwa cy'intsinzi cyakozwe n'agace k'ingabo ziswe 'escadron renforcé' ».*

- Umucamanza Bruguière ashimangira ko *« ubu butumwa ari ukuri kuko bwemejwe n'ubuhamya bwa Liyetona-coloneli Grégoire DE SAINT QUENTIN, bukongera kandi kwemezwa n'itsinda riri ARUSHA ry'ingabo za kera za FAR zirimo Major Aloys NTABAKUZE, Colonel Théoneste BAGOSORA, Jenerari Gratien KABILIGI, uwahoze ari Komanda w'agace ka Gisenyi, Colonel Anatole NSENGIYUMVA, akaba n'umuyobozi w'abashinzwe gukurikirana amakuru y'umutekano no kuyaherererekanya mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda wakiriye ubutumwa bwa mbere bwa A.P.R. ku wa 6 Mata mu gitondo ivuga ibyo kugendagenda kw'ingabo guhera ku wa 5 kugeza ku wa 6 Mata ku nshuro ya mbere, n'inshuro ya kabiri yo ku wa 7 saa mbiri n'iminota 45 ku bijyanye n'ihanurwa ry'indege kimwe na Majoro Epiphane HANYURWIMANA na Liyetona-Coloneli Alphonse NZUNGIZE ».*

- Kugira ngo ahamye ibirego bye, Umucamanza Bruguière yongeyeho ko *« MUGENZI Richard, wari ushinzwe ibyuma by'itumanaho rya za radiyo muri FAR, akaba yaranahawe akazi na FAR kubera ubumenyi n'ubushobozi yari afite mu bijyanye no gukoresha ibyuma biherererekanya amakuru/radios-transmission, ndetse n'ubumenyi yari afite mu ndimi, kuko yavugaga neza igifaransa n'icyongereza, n'indimi zikoreshwa mu karere nk'ikinyarwanda, igiswahili n'igika (sic), yemeje mu buhamya bwe bwo ku wa 05 Kamena 2001, ko we ubwe yanditse ubwo butumwa bwo ku wa 7 Mata butangaza intsinzi y'itsinda ry'ibyihebe ryari ryahawe ingufu amaze kubwiyumvira n'amatwi ye. Ubwo butumwa yabwanditse mu rurimi rw'igiswahili ».*

- Komite yumvise MUGENZI Richard, uvugwa nk'umuntu wakiriye kandi agatangaza ubwo butumwa. MUGENZI Richard yasobanuye ko ubwo butumwa ataribwo na mba, ko atigeze na rimwe abwumva ku murongo wa FPR. MUGENZI Richard yashimangiye ko ubwo butumwa yabugejejweho na liyetona-koloneli Anatole NSENGIYUMVA wahise amutegeka kongera kubwandika n'intoki nk'aho ari ubutumwa bw'umwimerere yumvise. MUGENZI Richard yagaragaje ko ubwo buryo bwo gukoresha ubutumwa buhimbano bwagaragaraga cyane muri FAR kandi ko kenshi yagiye ahura n'ibibazo nk'ibyo byo kwandika ubundi butumwa nk'ubwo abitegetswe na Liyetona Koloneli NSENGIYUMVA.

6. IBINDI BIBAZO BIKWIYE KWIBAZWAHO

A. Kuba nta perereza ryahise rikorwa ako kanya indege ikimara guhanurwa

- Nta perereza na rimwe ryigeze rikorwa ryaba rikozwe n'abayobozi b'umuryango w'abibumbye bakoreraga mu Rwanda icyo gihe, ingabo za FAR cyangwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho cyangwa se n'urundi rwego rubifitiye ububasha. Nyamara ibitekerezo binyuranye kuri icyo kibazo byagiye bitangwa na MINUAR, Ububiligi n'u Rwanda, ariko ntibyigeze bigera ku rwego rwo gushyiraho akanama ko gukora iperereza.

- Dallaire yavuze ko ku wa 06 Mata 1994 yasabye umuyobozi w'akarere ka Kigali muri MINUAR, Koloneli Luc Marchal, ko yakohereza abasirikari bo gucunga umutekano w'aho indege yaguye mu gihe hategerejwe iperereza mpuzamahanga ariko ko abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida babimye uburenganzira bwo kuhagera.

- Ikindi Dallaire yavuze ni uko ku wa 06 Mata 1994, abasirikari bakuru b'abafaransa bigishaga muri *bataillon para-commando* baje kumusaba ko yabareka bagakora iperereza ku mpanuka y'iyo ndege arabyanga kuko yari azi ko Abafaransa bari babogamye.

- Ku wa 02 Gicurasi1994, Dallaire yamenyesheje Jean Kambanda ko MINUAR yari yiteguye gushyiraho akanama mpuzamahanga gashinzwe gukora iperereza, amubaza icyo abivugaho. Mu ibaruwa yo ku wa 07 Mata 1994, Kambanda yashubije ko ako kanama kagomba kuba kagizwe n'Ubufaransa, u Rwanda, u Burundi, Tanzaniya n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinzwe iby'indege za gisivire (OACI). Kambanda yasabye ko Ubufaransa bugomba kuyobora ako kanama.

- Dallaire yavuze ko Ububiligi bwashinjwaga n'ubutegetsi bwihariwe n'agatsiko k'intagondwa kuba bwaragize uruhare cyangwa ubufatanyacyaha mu rupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana, bumvaga ari bo mbere barebwa n'ikibazo cyo kwihutisha iryo perereza. Noneho, ku wa 12 Mata 1994, Ububiligi bwandikiye ishyirahamwe rishinzwe iby'indege za gisivili (OACI) busaba gukora iryo perereza. OACI yashyize icyo kibazo ku murongo w'ibyagombaga kwigwa mu nama yayo yo ku wa 25 Mata

1994, ariko Perezida w'akanama yasabye ko ibiganiro byasubikwa, avuga ko Ububiligi bwagombaga gutanga andi makuru.

- Imyanzuro inyuranye y'Inama ishinzwe Amahoro ku isi ya ONU yagiye ifatwa hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994 yasabaga ko hakorwa ipererereza mpuzamahanga ku ihanurwa ry'iyo ndege ariko ntibyashyizwe mu bikorwa.

- Ku wa 13 Kanama 1994, uhagarariye OACI mu karere, mu gihe yari mu ruzinduko rw'akazi muri Afurika y'Amajyepfo, hamwe n'abayobozi b'u Rwanda bari bafite iyo dosiye mu nshingano zabo bumvikanye ko iryo perereza ari ngombwa.

- Mu ntangiriro z'umwaka w'1995, Visi Perezida w'u Rwanda akaba na Minisitiri w'Ingabo, Jenerari Paul Kagame, yagaragaje ko ikibazo cyo gukora Anketi no kugaragaza abagize uruhare mu ihanurwa ry'indege Falcon 50 kiza mu by'imbere bihangayikishije u Rwanda. Yinubiye kandi kuba ONU itabishyigikiye kandi avuga ko iryo perereza rizatangira igihe ubushobozi bukenewe buzaba bumaze kuboneka.

- Ku wa 28 Werurwe 1996, Minisitiri wo gutwara abantu n'itumanaho, Dr Charles Muligande, yandikiye ibaruwa uhagarariye OACI mu karere wari ufite icyicaro i Nairobi amusaba gufasha u Rwanda mu gushaka impuguke mu bushakashatsi ku birebana n'iyo ndege. U Rwanda rwatanze igitekerezo cyo kwinjiza ikigo Dassault cyakoze indege Falcon 50 muri iyo Anketi. Izo ntambwe u Rwanda rwari ruteye nta gisubizo gifatika zagezeho.

- Raporo ya OUA yo ku wa 29 Gicurasi 2000 yasabye Akanama Mpuzamahanga k'abanyamategeko gutangiza ipererereza ryigenga kugira ngo hamenyekane uwagize uruhare mu ihanurwa ry'iyo ndege, ariko ako kanama nako ntikabyitayeho cyangwa karabyirengagije.

B. Ibibazo ku nyandiko zirebana n'ihanurwa ry'indege zifitwe n'Ubufaransa no ku gasanduku kirabura

- Umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière, mu nyandiko irega bamwe mu bayobozi b'u Rwanda yashyize ahagaragara, avuga ko yakoresheje isesengura ryakozwe n'impuguke zibizobereyemo, zisuzuma ibikubiye mu byuma byari bishinzwe kureba umutekano w'ikibuga cy'Indege cya Kigali ku wa 06 Mata 1994. Iyo nyandiko iragaragaza ibyavuye muri iryo sesengura. Koloneli Bagosora asubiza umucamanza Bruguière mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (TPIR) mu rwego rw'akanama k'ubutabera bw'Ubufransa koherejwe na Bruguière gukora ipererereza Arusha (rogatory commission), ku wa 18 Gicurasi 2000, Koloneli Bagosora yasobanuye ko bari barohereje Koloneli Ephrem Rwabarinda i Paris ku wa 08 Gicurasi 1994 gushyikiriza Ubufaransa amafoto y'ibisasu bya rutura n'amakaseti yafatiweho ibyatanzwe n'ibyuma byari bishinzwe kureba umutekano mu kirere ku wa 06 Mata 1994 kugira ngo Ubufaransa bushobore kubafasha.

- Ku wa 28 Kanama 1994, mu makuru yanyuze kuri Televiziyo France 2, Kapiteni Barril yafashe ijambo ashyira ahagaragara agasanduku k'icyuma gafite ibara ry'umukara n'ibizingo bitatu binini bifatirwaho amajwi abeshya ko yamenye abarashe ibisasu bya rutura SAM 7 byaba byarakoreshejwe mu guhanura indege ya Perezida Habyarimana. Yashinje FPR ko ari yo yahanuye iyo ndege kandi atangaza ko ibisasu byakoreshejwe byaturutse ku musozi wa Masaka, akongeraho ko ako karere kagenzurwaga na FPR.

- Barril kandi yagaragaje impapuro zikubiye hamwe zasohowe muri za telefax zo ku kibuga mu minsi no mu masaha abanziriza ihanurwa ry'indege, igitabo cyandikwamo ibyabaye mu ijoro ku kibuga cyabaga kirimo amazina y'abakozi bahoraho n'abashinzwe guhererekanya amakuru no gutanga amabwiriza hakoreshejwe ibyuma by'itumanaho. Yagaragaje kandi amafoto y'ibisigazwa by'indege n'iby'imirambo y'abaguye muri iyo mpanuka.

- Nyuma y'ibyahishuwe na Barril, serivisi za Sosiyeti Dassault Falcon yakoze kandi yari ishinzwe kwita kuri Falcon 50, indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, yavuze ko nta na kimwe muri ibyo bikoresho bifata amajwi byari biri muri iyo ndege, banavuga ko yari isanzwe ifite ibya ngombwa nk'ibyo bifasha uyikoresha guteranya ibyuma byayo bitamugoye. Dassault yemeje ko mu gihe cy'igenzurwa rya nyuma ry'indege mu Ukwakira 1993 nta cyuma gifata amajwi na kimwe yari ifite.

- Ku wa 19 Kamena 2001, Dassault yaje kwisubiraho mu rwandiko yagejeje ku butabera bw'Ubufaransa ivuga ko indege ya Perezida yari ifite ibyangombwa byose bifata amajwi bya CVR bidahuye n'uko bari babivuze mbere mu 1994 no mu 1995 ko byari ibyuma byoroheje.

- Amakuru aboneka mu Rwanda no hanze y'igihugu avuga ko kuva muri Mata 1994, agasanduku kirabura katwawe n'abasirikari bakuru b'Abafaransa. Inyandiko yo ku wa 14 Mata 1994 y'umwe mu bayobozi bakuru ba MRND, Mme Spérancie Karwera-Mutwe yasohoye mu Kinyamakuru Jeune Afrique, n'itangazo rigenewe abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda ryo ku wa 15 Mata 1994, ryatanzwe na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga, Jérôme Bicamumpaka, bigaragaza ko Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho ari yo yari ifite agasanduku kirabura ko muri iyo ndege.

- Ku wa 19 Mata 1994, abasirikari bakuru b'Abafaransa bakoreraga mu Rwanda, Bernard Cussac na Jean-Jacques Maurin, bandikiye ibaruwa abakuru babo mu Bufaransa yavugaga ko ku itariki ya 06 Mata 1994 saa tatu n'igice (21h30), De Saint Quentin yabagejejeho raporo ivuga ko aho ako gasanduku k'umukara kaba gaherereye hahari.

- Muri Kamena 1994, abashinzwe iperereza b'Ababiligi batangaje ko agasanduku kirabura kakuwe aho indege yaguye na De Saint Quentin kandi ko kari i Paris, ariko ko kari kabitswe mu ibanga rikomeye.

- Urwandiko rwa Ambasade y'Ububiligi muri Etiyopiya yerekeye ikiganiro n'abanyamakuru cyabaye ku wa 5 Gicurasi 1994 i Addis Abeba gitanzwe n'abahagarariye u Rwanda mu mahanga babiri, rwavugaga ko abo badipolomati bavuze ko uruzinduko Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho, Jérôme Bicamumpaka, yarimo muri icyo gihe i Paris, rwari rugamije gusaba Ubufaransa gusobanura iby'agasanduku kirabura k'indege yahanuwe.

- Ku wa 27 Kamena 1994, Minisitiri w'Ubufaransa wo gutwara abantu n'ibintu yahishuriye Umuyobozi mukuru mu biro by'Uwungirije Minisitiri w'Intebe w'Ububiligi, M. Di Rupo, ko abategetsi b'Ubufaransa aribo bari bafite agasanduku k'umukara. Umucamanza Damien Vandermeersch wakoraga ipereereza ku iyicwa ry'ingabo 10 z'ababiligi bari bazwi ku izina rya *casques bleus*, ahita asaba kureba no kwiga kuri ako gasanduku kirabura. Bukeye, abategetsi b'Ubufaransa bararahira baratsemba ko ntako bafite.

- Amakuru aturuka kuri Raporo ya Komisiyo y'Ubufaransa yakozwe n'Abadepite b'icyo gihugu, ariko rukaba rutaratangajwe mu migereka y'iyo Raporo, ruvuga ko umujenerari w'Umufaransa witwa Rannou yemeje ko Falcon 50 y'u Rwanda yari ifite udusanduku tubiri tw'umukara.

- Ku wa 10 Werurwe 2004, ikinyamakuru Le Monde cyatangaje ko agasanduku kirabura ka Falcon 50 katowe kakoherezwa ku cyicaro cya ONU. ONU yatangiye ipereereza ry'imbere mu muryango iza kuvumbura cockpit ifata amajwi (CVR) mu bubiko bw'inyandiko zishaje ivuga ko gashobora kuba ari aka Falcon 50 ya Perezida w'u Rwanda. Ubushakashatsi bwagaragaje ko ibiganiro n'ibijyanye na tekiniki bigaragara ko byafatiwe munsi y'ubutaka atari no mu gihe indege yari mu kirere, hanyuma bufata ko ako kuma gafata amajwi katigeze kagera mu ndege mu gihe cy'impanuka.

- Ubuhamya bwinshi bwatanzwe n'abasirikari bo mu itsinda ry'abari bashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida bari barinze aho Perezida Habyarimana yari atuye ku mugoroba wo ku wa 06 Mata, bwiyongeraga ku byavuzwe n'abasirikari ba *bataillon para-commando* bagize uruhare mu gusaka indege, bwagaragaje ko liyetona koloneli Grégoire De Saint Quentin ari kumwe n'abasirikari babiri cyangwa batatu b'Abafaransa bigishaga bataillon para-commando, baherekejwe na majoro Aloys Ntabakuze, komanda wa *bataillon para-commando*, bari bafite ubudahangarwa bwo kugera mu duce twose turinzwe, kandi bagize uruhare mu gusaka indege no gutwara ibice byasigaye ku gikanka cy'indege bagamije kuvanamo agasanduku kirabura.

- Dr Pasuch, liyetona-koloneli wa *coopération technique militaire belge (Ubutwererane mu bya gisilikare hagati y'Ububiligi n'u Rwanda),* yavuze mu kiganiro cye cyo ku wa 09 Gicurasi 1994 mu rukiko rukuru rwa gisitikari rw'Ububiligi, ko Liyetona Koloneli De Saint Quentin yamubwiye ku mugoroba wo ku wa 06 Mata 1994 ko *« Abafaransa bashobora kuba ari bo bonyine bari bemerewe kwegera indege ariko ko bagombye gutegereza bugacya kugira ngo bagerageze gutwara agasanduku kirabura »*. Kandi birazwi ko De Saint Quentin yageze aho

Perezida yari atuye inshuro enye byibura kuva ku wa 06 Mata 1994. Ese De Saint Quentin na Ntabakuze bashoboraga kwiyemeza gushakisha icyuma cy'ingenzi bazi neza ko nta ko kitigeze kibaho?

II. ABABIGIZEMO URUHARE

1. Impamvu shingiro y'icyo gikorwa : kwanga gusaranganya ubutegetsi nk'uko byari byarumvikanyweho mu masezerano ya Arusha

- Uko ibintu byari bimeze mu Rwanda mu ijoro ryo ku wa 06 Mata 1994 byaturukaga kuri gahunda yari yateguwe n'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa bo mugice cya « *Hutu power »* batifuzaga ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha. Babonye ko byabananiye kuburizamo ifatwa ry'imyanzuro y'ayo masezerano, bakoze ibishoboka byose ngo atazigera ashobora gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Bokeje Perezida Habyarimana igitutu bamubuza gushyira mu bikorwa ayo masezerano ariko ntiyashoboye kubemerera ko byashoboka. Bamwihanije kenshi kandi bamutera ubwoba ko naramuka yemeye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ayo masezerano ubuzima bwe buzaba burangiye kandi ni byo byabaye koko.

- Abatangabuhamya bahoze bari mu ngabo z'U Rwanda muri *bataillon para-commando* bemeza ko major Ntabakuze yakanguriraga abasirikari kutazigera bemera amasezerano ya Arusha, cyane cyane ingingo irebana no kuvanga ingabo z'imitwe yombi byashoboraga kuviramo kimwe cya kabiri cy'abasirikari bakuru na 40% by'abasirikari bato ba FAR kuva mu gisirikari.

- Abandi batangabuhamya bahoze muri ex-FAR nabo bavuze ko colonel Bagosora, n'ubwo yari ari mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru, atari akibarizwa mu gisirikari, nyuma y'isozwa ry'imishyikirano ya Arusha yatashye avuga ko agiye gutegura indunduro *(apocalypse)* y'Abatusi. Bagosora yakundaga kujya mu kigo cya gisirikari i Kanombe mu gice cy'ingabo zirwanira mu kirere yigeze kuyobora (L.A.A.) no muri bataillon para-commando, agatanga ibiganiro bikangurira ingabo gusubiza FPR i Bugande.

- Abandi batangabuhamya cyane cyane abasirikari bakuru b'Ababiligi bari muri MINUAR no muri serivisi y'ubutwererane mu bya gislikare *(coopération technique militaire)* bari baziranye n'abakuru b'ingabo z'u Rwanda nabo bari barabonye ko abasirikari bakuru b'intagondwa za FAR bari bafite umugambi wo gusesa amasezerano ya Arusha. Uwo mugambi washimangiwe mu cyumweru kibanziriza ihanurwa ry'indege Falcon 50 ya Perezida Habyarimana.

- Igitutu cyaturukaga mu bihugu bikomeye byo hirya no hino ku isi : Ububiligi, Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika na ONU cyashyizwemo ingufu bituma Perezida Habyarimana yemera ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'amasezerano ya Arusha n'ubwo bwose

atari yorohewe n'intagondwa zo ku ruhande rwe na benewabo b'umugore we bari bakomeye.

2. **Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu guhanura indege**

Ubwo buryo burimo ibyiciro bibiri : uburyo bwa politiki n'ubwa gisirikari

- Intagondwa z'abanyapolitiki n'abasirikari bo muri Hutu power babonaga abasirikari b'Ababiligi (casques bleus) bari muri MINUAR bashobora kubabangamira mu gikorwa bateguraga cyo kuburizamo Amasezerano ya Arusha. Kuva muri Mutarama 1994, izo ntagondwa zatangiye ibikorwa byo guhungabanya Ababiligi bagamije kubasembura ngo bafate icyemezo cyo gutaha bakava mu Rwanda. Ibyo byari ukugira ngo MINUAR ibe ibuze igice cy'abasirikari bafite intwaro zihagije kandi bashoboye akazi. Ibyo bikaba byari gutuma na MINUAR yose ikuramo akayo karenge cyangwa igacika intege, noneho bigafasha FAR guhashya FPR mu minsi mike gusa nk'uko byagiye bivugwa na bamwe mu basirikari bakuru.

- Nyuma yaho, hafashwe icyemezo cyo gukora za propagande zirwanya Ububiligi hakoreshejwe ibinyamakuru byagenzurwaga n'Abahutu bari mu butegetsi. Aha twavuga ikinyamakuru Kangura na radiyo RTLM. Nibwo abanyamakuru ba radiyo RTLM nka Georges Ruggiu, Valérie Bemeriki, Noël Hitimana, Gaspard Gahigi, biyemeje kwibasira Ababiligi bataretse no gusaba abaturage gufata Ababiligi nk'abanzi b'igihugu kimwe n'Abatutsi.

- Ku wa 27 Mutarama 1994, serivisi z'ipererereza za MINUAR zanditse inyandiko ivuga ko nyuma y'inama yabereye ku cyicaro gikuru cya MRND ku Kimihurura mu gitondo cy'uwo munsi, radiyo RTLM yatangaje ubutumwa mu kinyarwanda buhamagarira Abanyarwanda guhohotera Ababiligi. Colonel André Vincent, wari ukuriye *coopération technique militaire belge* mu Rwanda, avuga ko yasabye abategetsi b'u Rwanda guhagarika ibyo bikorwa by'iterabwoba ariko ntibyigeze byakirwa.

- Abatangabuhamya benshi b'abanyarwanda bahoze mu bashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida no muri *bataillon para-commando*, bemeje ko bamwe mu bari bagize aya mashami yombi batoranywaga mu ibanga n'ababakuriye cyane cyane majoro Mpiranya na Ntabakuze, bakoherezwa bambaye imyenda ya gisivili mu myigaragambyo y'amashyaka ya politiki. Babaga batumwe guteza akaduruvayo bari kumwe n'interahamwe no gutesha umutwe abasirikari b'Ababiligi bo muri MINUAR. Aya makuru yahamijwe n'abajandarume bari bashinzwe kubungabunga umutekano mu mujyi wa Kigali.

- Gusembura Ababiligi byashyizwe mu bikorwa by'umwihariko nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege Falcon 50 batangaza igihuha kivuga ko ari bo bayihanuye. Icyo gihuha

cyari kigamije gushyushya imitwe y'ingabo n'abarwanashyaka ba Hutu power kugira ngo bahagurukire kurwanya Ababiligi bitume bahita bava muri MINUAR bitahire.

- Impamvu imwe mu zitangwa n'abumva ko uruhare rwose mu gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa ihanurwa ry'indege ari urwa FAR ni uko bashakaga kwerekana ko FAR itari ifite ibikoresho bihagije kandi ko abasirikari bayo batari barahuguwe bihagije nka APR kandi ko intwaro zayo zari zirinzwe na MINUAR; kandi ko byongeye yari ifite intwaro zidakomeye zirasa mu kirere kandi ko nta bisasu bya kirimbuzi yari ifite.

- Anketi yakozwe na Komite iragaragaza ku ruhande rumwe ko FAR yari yarahishe intwaro zayo za kirimbuzi mu duce dutandukanye tutagerwagamo na MINUAR. Bashoboraga rero kuzikoresha igihe icyo ari cyo cyose. Ikindi kandi, mu minsi yabanjirije ihanurwa ry'indege, MINUAR yabujijwe kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari bya Kigali birimo n'icya Kanombe.

- Ingabo za FAR zari zifite impuguke zifite ubumenyi mu kurwanira mu kirere zabyigiye mu bihugu bitandukanye nk'Ubufaransa, Libiya, Ubushinwa, Koreya na Repuburika Zunze Ubumwez'Abasoviyeti. Izo mpuguke zari zarashyizwe muri batayo ebyiri z'ingenzi : *Escadron de reconnaissance na Lutte anti-aérienne* (L.A.A.). Inzobere zo muri batayo L.A.A. zari zarahuguriwe gukoresha ibisasu bya kirimbuzi sol-sol na sol-air kandi bagombaga kuba ari abajida bafite uburambe bw'imyaka myinshi mu gisirikari. Naho impuguke za *escadron de reconnaissance*, zagombaga kuba zarabonye amahugurwa yatangwaga n'Ubufaransa mu gukoresha ibisasu bya kirimbuzi bya sol-sol bikoreshwa mu ntambara n'imodoka za burende zoroheje (VBL), ibisasu bya Milan, bakaba kandi barahuguwe ku bijyanye no gukoresha ibisasu bya sol-air.

- Hari impapuro zerekana ko kuva intambara yatangira mu 1990, ingabo za FAR zakoze ibishoboka byose mu gushaka ibisasu bya kirimbuzi bihanura indege kugira ngo zigire ibikoresho bya gisirikari bihagije bishobora kuzifasha kurwanira mu kirere hagati y'Ugushyingo 1990 na Gashyantare 1992. Izo ngabo zatumije ahantu henshi imbunda zirasa ibisasu bya kirimbuzi n'ibisasu byinshi byo mu bwoko bwa SAM 7 na SAM 16 mu bihugu bitanu bitandukanye. Ibyo byakozwe ku nguzanyo ya gisirikari yagombaga kwishyurwa cyangwa bikaba ari inkunga ya gisirikari. Ibyo bihugu ni Koreya, Ubushinwa, Uburusiya, Brésil na Misiri. Inzobere za MINUAR nazo zabonye ko hagati ya Nzeri n'Ukwakira 1994 ibitwaro bya FAR byari byagejejwe i Goma byari birimo intwaro zirasa mu kirere wasangagamo n'ibisasu byo mu bwoko bwa SAM 7.

- Umunyamakuru n'umwanditsi Patrick De Saint Exupéry avuga ko yahawe amakuru na bamwe mu basilikare bakomeye b'ingabo z'Ubufaransa agaragaza ko hagati y'umwaka w'1993 n'intangiriro z'uw'1994, umucuruzi w'intwaro witwa Dominique Lemonnier, yasabwe n'umuntu w'inshuti ya Paul Barril kugeza kuri guverinoma y'u Rwanda ibisasu bibiri byo mu bwoko bwa sol-air.

- Umutangabuhamya wakoraga muri serivisi z'itumanaho ry'iperereza rya gisilikare muri FAR hagati y'umwaka w'1990 n'1996, Richard Mugenzi, wari ushinzwe ibyuma bishinzwe kwakira amajwi bya FAR byari biri hafi y'inzu za Perezida ku Gisenyi, akaba yarabonaga n'amabanga y'abasirikari bakuru ba FAR bari mu myanya y'ingenzi, yavuze ko umusirikari mukuru wari ukomeye kandi wizewe mu ntasi z'igisirikari cy'u Rwanda Liyetona Bizumuremyi, yamubwiye mu w'1993 ko ingabo za FAR zari zifite ibisasu bya sol-air byo mu bwoko bwa SAM 16 zahawe n'Ubufaransa. Uwo musirikari mukuru yabwiwe na Richard Mugenzi ko ibyo bisasu byavanywe mu byo Ubufaransa bwakuye mu ntambara ya Irak.

- Raporo yanditswe n'ishami ry'abadepite b'Abafaransa ku byabaye mu Rwanda muri 1994 (Mission d'information parlementaire) yatangaje telegaramu y'umudipolomate w'Ubufaransa mu bya gislikare (Attaché de défense) i Kigali ku wa 22 Gicurasi 1991, ivuga ko ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za FAR bwagombaga kumuha igisasu gihanura indege cya sol-air cyo mu bwoko SA 16 cyakozwe n'abasoviyeti cyafashwe mu gihe cy'intambara yabereye muri pariki y'Akagera ku wa 18 Gicurasi 1991 akanabaza niba hari umuryango cyangwa ikigo cyifuza kuba cyagura icyo gisasu. Mu myanzuro yayo, Abadepite b'Abafaransa bemeje ko intagondwa z'Abahutu zishobora kuba zarakoresheje icyo gisasu cyambuwe FPR mu guhanura indege ya Perezida Habyarimana.

- Mu mwaka wa 2000, Umucamanza Jean-Louis Bruguière yohereje komisiyo rogatuwari i Arusha, atega amatwi imfungwa nyinshi zo muri TPIR. Izo mfungwa zirimo jenerari Augustin Ndindiriyimana, wahoze ari umugaba mukuru w'ingabo z'u Rwanda kuva mu 1991 kugeza mu 1994, yavuganye n'intumwa za Bruguière ku wa 19 Gicurasi 2000. Ku kibazo cy'igihe FPR yaba yarakoresheje ibisasu bya kirimbuzi, jenerari Ndindiriyimana yasubije ko hari ibyo abona bagereka kuri FPR kandi atari byo. Urugero yatanze ni nk'igihe indege yahanukaga i Matimba, ahahoze ari muri pariki nasiyonali y'Akagera. Ndindiriyimana yavuze ko yahise ajya kuyireba we ubwe aho yaguye kandi ko yasanze itarashwe n'igisasu cya rutura gihanura indege ahubwo ko yarashwe n'isasu risanzwe. Urundi rugero Ndindiriyimana yatanze ni ururebana n'indege ya Zaire ya Bwana Bemba. Ndindiriyimana yagaragaje ko iyo ndege yapfumuwe n'amasasu asanzwe igasubira kugwa i Goma; ko iyo iba yarashwe igisasu cya rutura gihanura indege, itari gushobora gusubirayo ngo ijye kugwa i Goma. Nyamara nyuma y'ibyo bisobanuro bya jenerari Ndindiriyimana, umucamanza Bruguière yarabyirengagije afata umwanzuro ko ku itariki ya 10 Nzeri 1991, indege ya kompanyi SCIBE yahuzaga Kigali-Beni (Zaïre) yarashwe igisasu cya rutura gihanura indege (missile), kugira ngo yemeze ibinyoma by'uko icyo gisasu cyari gifitwe na FPR (Reba Ordonnance de Soit-communiqué, p.42).

3. Uko igikorwa cyo guhanura indege cyateguwe

- Ku wa 30 Werurwe 1994, colonel Bagosora yagiye ku Gisenyi, aho yitabiriye inama yabereye aho Perezida yari atuye i Butotori hafi y'ikiyaga cya Kivu. Ku wa 02 Mata, hari inama yahuje Perezida Habyarimana, intumwa yihariye y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh ndetse n'abandi bakuru ba MRND barimo umunyamabanga mukuru wayo Joseph Nzirorera. Muri iyo nama, Perezida Habyarimana yavuze ko agiye gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho ziteganywa n'amasezerano ya Arusha. Bagosora na Nzirorera ntibemeye icyemezo cya Perezida Habyarimana. Nzirorera yateye Perezida ubwoba muri aya magambo : *« Ntituzemera ko ibyo bintu bikorwa, Nyakubahwa Perezida »*!

- Ku wa 04 Mata 1994, Perezida Habyarimana yashinze umuyobozi mukuru mu biro bye, Ruhigira Enock, gutegura igikorwa cyo kurahiza abadepite n'abagize Guverinoma, igihe azaba akubutse i Arusha. Abasirikari bakuru bamaze kumva ayo makuru, bahise batangira gutegura ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsi, kwica Perezida na jenoside. Bagosora ni we wari ukuriye ibyo bikorwa hanyuma ahamagarira ba Koloneli Serubuga, Buregeya na Rwagafirita kumufasha. Abo basirikari batatu bari bafite uburakari bwo kuba barashyizwe mu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru n'Umukuru w'igihugu atabahaye n'ipeti rya jenerari bifuzaga.

- Ubuhamya bwakusanyijwe na Komite muri Raporo yayo bugaragaza ko habaye impinduka zidasobanutse ku bijyanye n'uburenganzira MINUAR yari ifite bwo kugenzura ibigo bya gisirikari bya FAR. Mu gihe MINUAR ntacyayibuzaga kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari buri gihe igiye kugenzura nk'uko bisanzwe, itegeko ryatanzwe n'ubuyobozi bw'ikigo cya Kanombe kuva ku gicamunsi cyo ku wa 05 Mata 1994, ryo kutemerera ingabo za MINUAR kwinjira mu kigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe aho imyiteguro y'intambara no guhanura indege yakorerwaga.

- Abahamya benshi ba ex-FAR bavuze ko abayobozi ba FAR beretse MINUAR gusa intwaro zisanzwe, bahisha igice kinini cy'ibitwaro bya rutura cyane cyane mu bigo bya gisirikari bya Gako na Gabiro, aho Perezida yari atuye i Rambura n'ahandi. Intwaro z'abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida zari zarahishwe mu nzu iri munsi y'ubutaka (cave) yari yarubakiwe kubika izo ntwaro mu kigo cy'abarindaga Perezida ku Kimihurura. Ingabo za FAR ziteguraga intambara aho gutegura amahoro nk'uko byateganywaga n'amasezerano ya Arusha.

- Ubuhamya bw'ingabo za FAR bugaragaza kandi ko habayeho impinduka zidasanzwe kuva mu gitondo cyo ku wa 06 Mata 1994 ku mirongo y'itumanaho ya FAR, aho yagerwagaho kandi ikagenzurwa gusa n'abantu bizewe, bakomokaga ku Gisenyi no mu Ruhengeri.

- Ku wa 06 Mata 1994 hagati ya saa munani na saa cyenda (14h na 15h), bamwe mu basirikari barinda Perezida n'abo mu kigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe, bamabye imyenda ya gisiviri, bagiye mu isoko rikomeye ryabaga rimwe mu kwezi bita

IGITERANE ryo ku Mulindi batatanya abari baririmo batera ubwoba abacuruzi n'abaguzi ngo bafate ibikoresho n'ibicuruzwa byabo batahe. Abacuruzi nabo basabwe gufunga amaduka yabo, kandi abaturage bategekwa kudatembera mu mihanda ihegereye ijoro riguye.

- Ku gicamunsi cyo ku wa 06 Mata, mu gisirikari hagaragaye uruhurirane rw'ibikorwa byerekana umugambi rusange. Ku ikubitiro, abasirikari bashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida bakoraga uburinzi ari benshi mu gace ka Kanombe ku gicamunsi cyo ku wa 06 Mata, ibyo bikaba byaratangaje bamwe mu basirikari bo mu kigo cya Kanombe batari bamenyereye kubona urujya n'uruza nk'urwo mu gace bashinzwe.

- Kuva mu gitondo cyo ku wa 06 Mata 1994, bataillon para-commando yose yasabwe n'umuyobozi wayo, majoro Ntabakuze, kwirirwa yiteguye ikaba maso, ndetse uwo munsi Ntabakuze asubika ku buryo butunguranye imyitozo yo kumanukira mu mitaka abasilikare b'abaparakomando bagombaga gukorera mu gishanga cya Nyandungu. Hari n'abari bagezeyo bagarurwa mu kigo cya Kanombe igitaraganya.

- Ku mugoroba wo kuwa 06 Mata 1994, hasigaye nk'isaha imwe ngo indege ihanurwe, abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida bari bamaze kujya mu birindiro byabo, benshi muri bo boherezwa mu gace ka Kimihurura, ibyo bikaba byaratangaje cyane Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga batuye aho hantu babonye iryo shyirwa mu birindiro ridasanzwe.

- Indege imaze guhanurwa, abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida bari boherejwe ku Kimihurura mbere y'icyo gikorwa bahise bakusanya abaminisitiri ba MRND babashyira aho umutekano wizewe mu kigo cy'abasilikare bashinzwe kurinda Perezida no muri Ambasade y'Ubufaransa. Icyo gikorwa cyabangikanyijwe n'icyo kwica bamwe mu bategetsi batari bashyigikiye umugambi wa Jenoside.

- Indege ya Perezida imaze guhanuka, uko ibikorwa byakurikiranye bigaragaza ko abasirikari bakuru ba FAR bayobowe na Koloneli Bagosora bifuzaga guhirika ubutegetsi ku ngufu za gisirikari (coup d'Etat), kubyumvisha abaturage, MINUAR n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye kugira ngo hashyirweho ubutegetsi bifuza. Nyamara coup d'Etat yari yageragejwe ntiyashobotse bitewe n'uko abahagarariye ONU (Dallaire, Booh-Booh) n'abadipolomati b'ibihugu by'i Burayi, Bagosora yaganiriye nabo mu ijoro ryo ku wa 06 Mata no mu gitondo cyo ku wa 07 Mata 1994 batabyemeye.

- Mu mwanya wakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege, abatangabuhamya b'abanyamahanga babaga mu Rwanda bavuga ko babonye ibisa n'iminsi mikuru mu basirikari bakuru ba FAR nyuma yuko urupfu rwa Habyarimana rumenyekanye. Uwo munsi mukuru wabereye mu rugo rwa major Bernard Ntuyahaga mu Kiyovu, nk'aho urwo rupfu ari ibintu bishimishije bumvise.

4. Ibibazo birebana n'ihanurwa ry'indege ubwaryo

- **Aho indege yanyuze mbere yo kugwa** : Ibyuma bibika amakuru bipima ibibera mu kirere bigaragaza ko indege Falcon 50 yakurikiye inzira ihita ihinguka kuri piste ya 28 y'ikibuga cy'indege cya Kanombe igana iburasirazuba-iburengerazuba (Est-Ouest) inyuze hejuru y'agasozi ka Rusororo kugira ngo ikomeze igwe i Kanombe. Indege ntabwo yanyuze hejuru ya Masaka.

- **Aho yahanukiye** : Indege yasandariye mu rutoki rwegereye mu rugo kwa Perezida no mu busitani bwe mu gace kareba iburengerazuba, isa nk'aho ihengamiye ibumoso nkuko ibaba ry'ibumoso ryangiritse cyane ribigaragaza.

- **Aho indege yarasiwe ibisasu** : Indege yarashwe igisasu igihe yari iri mu kirere cy'agasozi ka Nyarugunga hafi y'urugo rwa Perezida. Aho niho indege yarasiwe igisasu cya rutura (missile) mu gihe yagurukiraga ku butumburuke buri hasi cyane, iri hafi kugera aho yagombaga kugwa, hanyuma igashwanyukira mu busitani bwo mu rugo rwe ruri hafi y'ikibuga, umwanzuro wafatwa nuko aho indege yafatiwe n'ibisasu atari kure y'urugo rwa Perezida Habyarimana.

- **Umubare w'inshuro zarashwe** : Abenshi mu baturage bari batuye hafi aho, bavuga ko ari amasasu abiri cyangwa atatu y'umuriro cyangwa ibisasu binini byarashwe ku ndege. Naho abatangabuhamya bafite ubumenyi mu bya tekiniki bo bavuga ko harashwe ibisasu bibiri cyangwa bitatu bya rutura bihanura indege ariko ntibashobore kumenya neza ubwoko nyabwo bw'ibyo bisasu.

- **Aho amasasu yarasiwe** : abanditsi bamaze kwandika ku ihanurwa ry'iriya ndege kugeza ubu, batekereza ko ibisasu byarasiwe mu gishanga kiri hagati y'udusozi twa Masaka na Rusororo, ahahoze umushinga witwa « CEBOL » *Centre d'élevage de bovins laitiers* muri 1994. Inkuru ivuga ko ibisasu byarashe indege byaturutse mu gishanga gitandukanya Masaka na Rusororo aho bita kuri CEBOL cyangwa La Ferme, yahimbwe n'abasilikare bakuru b'intagondwa ba FAR babeshya ko bavumbuye ibibunda byakoreshejwe mu guhanura indege. Komite yasanze iyo nkuru yahimbwe na FAR idahwitse, bituma itayifataho ukuri.

a) Hari impamvu zigaragaza ko ibisasu bitaturutse i Masaka-CEBOL :

- Umuhanda ujya i Masaka wari nyabagendwa kubera ibikorwa by'ubuyobozi, ubucuruzi n'ubworozi byahakorerwaga. Inkoramutima z'ubutegetsi, abasivili n'abasirikari, bari bafite ingo batahamo cyangwa zo ku ruhande i Masaka kandi bajyagayo kenshi. I Masaka hari ikigo nderabuzima gikuru muri ako karere n'ikigo kirera imfubyi cyitiriwe Mutagatifu Agatha nacyo cyagendwaga cyane, cyari igikorwa cy'umufasha wa Perezida Habyarimana kandi cyakiraga gusa imfubyi zasizwe n'abasirikari ba FAR baguye ku rugamba. Inzira ijya muri ibyo bigo binyuranye yanyuraga muri CEBOL kandi yari irinzwe.

- Kuri metero 300 uvuye i Masaka-CEBOL hari ibirindiro by'ingabo kuri bariyeri y'ahitwa kuri KM 19 kandi ku itariki ya 06 Mata 1994 iyo bariyeri yarakoraga. Abatangabuhamya bemeza ko mu gihe indege iraswa, ikirere cyabonaga neza ku buryo umuntu yashoboraga kuyibona nta nkomyi.

- Iyo ibisasu biba byararasiwe kuri CEBOL, abasirikari ba FAR bari ku burinzi aho bita kuri Km 19 baba barabyumvise bakaba bari no guhita bakurikira bagafata abarashe mbere y'uko bahava.

- Umugaba mukuru wa jandarumori y'igihugu, jenerali Ndindiriyimana, yemeje ko mu gihe cyose yari i Kigali atigeze na rimwe yumva iby'ivumburwa ry'imbunda zarashe ibyo bisasu bivugwa n'abayobozi ba FAR ko aribyo byifashishijwe mu guhanura indege y'umukuru w'Igihugu bivuye kuri CEBOL, cyane ko ako gace babeshya ko bavumbuyemo izo mbunda gaherereye kuri metero 300 gusa uvuye kuri bariyeri yarindwaga kenshi n'abajandarume yayoboraga.

- Koloneli Bagosora wari uhagarariye Minisitiri w'Ingabo utari uri mu Rwanda icyo gihe, kandi uruhare rw'ingenzi yagize muri ibi bikorwa byose rukaba ruzwi, yemeza ko atazi uburyo ibyo bisasu byabonetse kandi ko yabibonye gusa mu mpera za Mata 1994 muri Minisiteri y'Ingabo.

- Umutangabuhamya Paul Henrion yemeza ko ku wa 06 Mata 1994 saa mbiri za mu gitondo, ubwo yari agiye ku kiyaga cya Muhazi, yabonye hagati ya Kabuga na Masaka, abasirikari b'Abanyarwanda bari bambaye ingofero zirabura z'abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida, babiri muri bo bakaba bari bambaye ingofero ihengekeye iburyo nk'abafaransa *(à la française)* ibirango byabo ntabwo byagaragaraga neza. Mu kugaruka ahagana saa mbiri z'ijoro, yabonye na none rya tsinda rikiri hamwe yari yarisize mu gitondo. Iki ni ikimenyetso cy'uko aho hantu hari harinzwe n'abasirikare ba FAR kandi ko gucengeramo kuri uwo mugoroba bitari gushoboka kimwe no kuhava kw'ababa bararashe.

b) Indege yarasiwe mu kigo cya gisilikare cya Kanombe

- Hari ibimenyetso bifatika bigaragaza ko indege yarasiwe I Kanombe. Mbere na mbere, byemejwe n'abatangabuhamya babyiboneye n'ababyumvise bari baherereye mu duce tunyuranye mu gihe cy'ihanurwa ry'indege. Abo batangabuhamya bavuga ko ibisasu byarasiwe hafi y'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe cyangwa mu kigo nyirizina. Abo batangabuhamya bakomoka ahantu hatandukanye, bagakora imirimo itandukanye kandi bagaturuka mu bihugu binyuranye.

- Itsinda ry'impuguke kabuhariwe mu gukora amaperereza ajyanye n'ibirebana n'indege zarashwe bavuye mu ishuri rikomeye rya gisirikari ry'i Londres ryakoreye ubushakashatsi mu Rwanda aho igikorwa cyo kurasa indege cyabereye kuva ku wa 17 kugeza ku wa 24 Gashyantare 2009 ryemeje muri imwe mu myanzuro yaryo ko

ibisasu byahanuye indege Falcon 50 mu mugoroba wo ku wa 06 Mata 1994 byarasiwe mu gace kagizwe n'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe, inkengero z'iburasirazuba bw'ikibuga cy'indege no mu mpande z'icumbi rya Perezida Habyarimana.

- Umutangabuhamya w'umubirigi wo muri MINUAR, Mathieu Gerlache, wari wakoreye mu munara w'igenzura mu gihe cy'ihanurwa ry'indege, yavuze ko ku wa 06 Mata 1994 saa mbiri n'igice (20h30), yari ku kazi ko kwakira amajwi yo mu byuma by'itumanaho mu kazu k'igenzura. Yabonye amatara y'ikibuga cy'indege atangiye kwaka kandi yari asanzwe ahora ajimije. Ibyo byamufashije kwitegereza neza ibyakorwaga. Ubwo yasohotse mu munara w'igenzura, afata ku ruhande rurerure rw'uruzitiro kugira ngo arebe neza indege. Mu gihe indege yari igeze hafi y'ikibuga, yabonye **urumuri ruturuka hasi ku butaka** kandi avuga ko «***Icyerecyezo cy'aho urwo rumuri rwari ruturutse ari mu kigo cya gisirikari i KANOMBE»***. Uwo mutangabuhamya Gerlache asobanukiwe neza ibijyanye n'imiterere y'uduce dutandukanye two mu karere (Ikibuga cy'indege, Ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe na Masaka) abikesha umwanya yari afite mu kazi n'ubumenyi mu bya tekiniki akura mu mwuga we w'igisirikari. Nyuma yaje kuzamuka agera hejuru ku gasongero k'umunara w'igenzura kuri metero 6. Aho hari ahantu heza ho kurebera indege zitegura kugwa ku kibuga. Ntibishoboka rero ko umuntu witegereza atyo (n'ubwo haba ari mu ijoro), ari mu munara w'ubugenzuzi areba ako karere kose, yananirwa gutandukanya isasu rirashwe rituruka muri utwo duce dutatu turi ku ntera zitandukanye no ku butumburuke bunyuranye.

- Abandi batangabuhamya bahoze muri MINUAR no mu butwererane mu bya gisirikare hagati y'u Rwanda n'Ububiligi *(coopération technique militaire)*, cyane cyane Liyetona Koloneli Dr Pasuch Massimo na Major Dr Daubresse wari umuganga wa gisirikari w'Ububiligi wari uri mu rugo kwa Pasuch rwari ruri mu kigo cya gisirikari i Kanombe, batanze ubuhamya buvuga ko ibisasu byarashwe bituruka mu kigo cya gisirikari i Kanombe. Indege ikimara kugwa, Dr Daubresse yahise amenyesha ku murongo wa radiyo ya bataillon y'Ababiligi bo muri MINUAR ko « **ibisasu bya rutura byarasiwe mu kigo cya Kanombe bigenda bisatira indege** ». Dr Pasuch yavuze ko yumvise *«* ijwi ry'amasasu ***''souffle'' kandi akabona urumuri rwahuranya ''orange''*** *(...) byakurikiwe n'ibintu bibomborekana inshuro ebyiri ». Kuva icyo gihe,* Dr Pasuch *« ntiyigeze yongera kumva urusaku rw'indege (réacteur) ».* Iyo isasu ryarashe indege riba ryaravuye i Masaka, Dr Pasuch na Dr Daubresse ntibari gushobora kumva ijwi ry'ibisasu bari imbere mu kigo cya Kanombe aho Pasuch yari atuye. Ubwo buhamya bwombi bwerekana ko ibisasu byahanuye indege byarashwe bituruka ahantu hatari kure y'urugo rwa Pasuch.

- Undi mutangabuhamya w'ihanurwa ry'indege ni Cyprien Sindano wari umuyobozi mukuru w'ikibuga cy'indege kuri uwo mugoroba (Deputy manager). Yavuze ko nyuma yo kumenyeshwa n'abakora mu munara w'ubugenzuzi ko indege igiye kuhagera, yasohotse mu biro bye kugira ngo arebe uko imanuka. Nibwo yabonye amasasu abiri azamuka asatira indege. Yavuze ko ayo masasu yari aturutse *« **ahegereye ikigo cya gisirikari, niba atari imbere mu kigo nyirizina** »*. Ikibuga

cy'indege cy'i Kanombe, aho umutangabuhamya Sindano yari ahagaze imbere yacyo kiri ku murambi hejuru y'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe, ku rugero rwo hasi ku murongo umwe n'inzira ijya ku kibuga ugana iburasirazuba. Igikombe cya Nyarugunga cyo gihererereye ahateganye n'ikigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe mu cyerekezo kimwe cy'iburasirazuba bw'inzira indege yari kunyuramo igiye kugwa. Umusozi wa Masaka uherereye kure (kuri kilometero 10 Km uvuye ku kibuga, ni ukuvuga urugendo rw'ibirometero 2 ugenda n'indege) ; uwo musozi ugaragara neza iyo uri ku kibuga cy'indege. Umusozi n'igikombe cya Masaka binagaragara neza cyane ku muntu uri mu munara w'ubugenzuzi wo ku kibuga cy'indege ureshya na metero 6, kandi ufasha umuntu kureba neza uhereye hejuru y'aho indege yagombaga kugwa (direction Est) ugakomeza ku kibuga cy'indege i Kanombe, n'igikombe cya Nyarugunga, ukagera ku gasozi ka Masaka kari hejuru y'igikombe. Abatangabuhamya Gerlache na Sindano biboneye uko ibintu byagenze kandi bari bamenyereye ako kazi bitewe n'imirimo bari bashinzwe cyangwa n'akamenyero k'akazi kabao. Kuba bari bazi neza ako karere, bituma batarashoboraga kwibeshya.

- Ubundi buhamya bwuzuza ubwatanzwe n'abatangabuhamya b'i Kanombe ku bijyanye n'aho igisasu cyarasiwe, bwatanzwe n'umusirikari w'indorerezi muri MINUAR, Moreau Nicolas, wari uri ku musozi wa Rutongo. Yavuze ko yiboneye neza amasasu asatira indege aturutse ku ruhande rw'ibumoso bwe hanyuma agereranya ko ashobora kuba yararasiwe kuri degree (degrés) 70. Ntibishoboka ko isasu rirasiwe i Masaka ryabonwa n'umuntu uri i Rutongo ku buryo abibona neza gutyo. Niba isasu ryararasiwe i Masaka, Nicolas Moreau ntiyari kubona uko ihanurwa ry'indege ryagenze nk'uko abivuga, kubera ko imisozi ya Rusororo, Ndera n'iyindi yitambika hagati y'aho ashobora kubona n'igikombe cya Masaka. Inyigo yakozwe na Komite bwasanze ugereranyije urugendo rw'indege n'aho isasu ryayifatiye uhereye kuri CEBOL usanga ryararasiwe kuri degrés 30. Iyo nyigo yerekanye kandi ko degrés 70 zihura n'ikigo cya gisirikari cy'i Kanombe.

- Abandi batangabuhamya benshi, cyane cyane abari bashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida bari barimo gucunga umutekano ku kibuga cy'indege n'inkengero zacyo ku mugoroba indege yahanuweho, bemeza ko **ibisasu byashwanyuye indege byanyuze munsi y'ikibuga cy'indege cya Kanombe biturutse mu kigo cya gisirikari cyangwa hafi yacyo**. Iyo missile yahanuye indege ya Perezida iba yararasiwe ku musozi wa Masaka, abo batangabuhamya bakurikiranaga uko ibintu bimeze bari kumenya ko ako gace ari ko katurutsemo izo missiles. Twibutse ko indorerezi za MINUAR zahise zitanga amakuru y'ibyo bikorwa binyuze ku mirongo yabo y'itumanaho mbere y'uko ubuhamya bwabo bukusanywa n'ishami rya MINUAR rishinzwe ubutabera ku wa 13 Mata 1994 no kubisobanurira urukiko rukuru rwa gisirikari rw'Ububiligi guhera muri Gicurasi 1994.

- Undi muntu watanze ubuhamya utarabyiboneye, ariko akaba yarakoze ubushakashatsi n'ipererereza bishingiye ku bimenyetso bifatika ku ihanurwa rya Falcon 50, Sean Moorhouse, yavuze ko ubwo bushakashatsi yakoze bwerekanye ko za missiles zahanuye indege zaturutse ku kigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe. Uwo mutangabuhamya Sean Moorhouse yahoze ari umusirikari mukuru mu ngabo

z'Ubwongereza, akaba yarakoze mu Rwanda mu ishami rya MINUAR ryari rishinzwe gukusanya amakuru ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana no kuri Jenoside kuva muri Nzeri 1994 kugeza muri Werurwe 1995. Sean Moorhouse yasobanuye ko itsinda ry'impuguke yakoreyemo muri MINURA ryari rigizwe n'abantu bane barimo Sean Moorhouse ubwe, umunyakanada umwe, umunyaositaraliya umwe n'umunyamerika umwe. Sean Moorhouse yabwiye Komite ko mu kazi kabo, bakusanyije amakuru bahawe n'abantu benshi cyane. Amakuru amaze gukusanywa barayashungura, bayashyira mu byiciro hanyuma bayigaho kugira ngo basigarane gusa amakuru afite ishingiro. Ku bijyanye n'ihanurwa ry'indege, Sean Moorhouse yavuze ko amakuru yakusanyijwe n'itsinda rye yagushaga ku mwanzuro uvuga ko indege ya Perezida w'u Rwanda yahanuwe n'abazungu batatu babifashijwemo n'abashinzwe umutekano wa Perezida kandi ko amasasu yahanuye indege yarasiwe mu kigo cya gisirikari cya Kanombe.

UMWANZURO

Komite y'Impuguke yigenga ishinzwe iperereza ku ihanuka ry'indege Falcon 50 ryabaye ku wa 06 Mata 1994 iremeza, nyuma y'iperereza yakoze mu gihe cy'amezi cumi n'ane, ko indege Falcon 50 ya Perezida Habyarimana yari ifite N° 9XR-NN yarahanuwe n'ibisasu byarasiwe mu kigo rya gisirikari cya Kanombe bikozwe n'abasirikari bo mu ngabo z'u Rwanda bagenzuraga ako gace.