

PAUL KAGAME NIWE WISHE PEREZIDA JUVENAL HABYARIMANA, PEREZIDA CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA W’U BURUNDI, DEOGRATIAS NSABIMANA, ELIE SAGATWA, THADDEE BAGARAGAZA, JUVENAL RENZAHO, EMMANUEL AKINGENEYE, BERNARD CIZA, CYRIAQUE SIMBIZI, JACKY HERAUD, JEAN PIERRE MINABERRY NA JEAN-MICHEL PERRINE¹

Itariki 4 z’Ukwamunani, 1993, Arusha, Tanzania, Goverinoma y’u Rwanda n’Umulyango wa FPR-inkotanyi basinyanye Amasezerano y’ Amahoro y’ Arusha. Bimwe mu byo ayo masezerano yagombaga gushingiraho n’ubutegetsi bugendera ku mategeko, demokarasi, ubumwe bw’abanyarwanda, hamwe no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu. Muri ayo masezerano hari hakubiyemo nibijyanye no gusaranganya ubutegetsi, gushyiraho umutwe umwe w’Ingabo z’igihugu na Gendarmerie, hamwe no kurangiza burundu ikibazo cy’impunzi.

Itariki 6 z’Ukwakane, 1994, saa 8:25 za nimugoroba, indege yo mu bwoko bwa Falcon 50 jet yaritwaye Perezida wa Repubulika w’u Rwanda, numero “9XR-NN”, ivuye i DAR-ES-SALAAM, Tanzania, aho abakuru bibihugu bo mu karere bari bateranye, igana i Kanombe ku kibuga cy’indege i KIGALI, Rwanda, yarashwe irahanuka. Abari mu ndege bose, harimo na Perezida Juvenal Habyarimana, Perezida Cyprien Ntaryamira w’ u Burundi, abari babaherekeje, na bari batwaye indege bose bayiguyemo.

Gupfa kwa Perezida Juvenal Habyarimana kwabayeye imbarutso yo gutangira jenocide yibasiye abatutsi ndetse na abahutu batavugaga rumwe na leta yariraho icyo gihe. Imirwano yahise itangira hagati y’ingabo zigihugu niza FPR_Inkotanyi. Kuva icyo gihe, kugeza aya magingo, Kagame na FPR bakomeje gukwirakwiza ikinyoma bavuga ko igikorwa cyo guhanura indege cyakozwe na ba extremist babahutu ngo batashakaga gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y’

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Arusha, kandi ngo bashakaga gutangiza jenocide yaje guhitana abantu barenze 800,000 mu minsi ijana gusa.

Hari benshi mu rubuga mpuzamahanga, inararibonye, n'imilyango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu bemeye kandi bacyemera icyo kinyoma. Ndi umwe mu bagize uruhare rwo gukwirakwiza icyo kinyoma, cyane cyane mu banyamahanga.

Igihe kirageze kuvugisha ukuri. Paul Kagame, ariwe wari umugaba w'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi niwe watanze amabwiriza yo kurasa indege yaguyemo Perezida Habyarimana nabo barikumwe bose. Mu kwa karindwi, 1994, Paul Kagame ubwe yarabinyibwiriye ko "aritwe" twarashe iyo indege. Mu byukuri ibyo birazwi muri FPR no muri RPA (Ingabo z'Igihugu) ko Kagame ari we wishe Habyarimana. Hari amwe mu mahanga azi ukwo kuri, nubwo aruma gihwa, akicecekerera.

Ibihe byakurikiye isinywa ry'amasezerano y' Arusha byari bitoroshye na gato, byasaga nibihatse akabi. Kwicwa kwa Perezida Habyarimana kwagize ingaruka zikomeye ku Rwanda nakarere k'Ibiyaga Bigari, kuko kwabayeye imbarusto yo gutangira imirwano, genocide, nibindi bikorwa by'ubwicanyi. Na nubwo turacyahanganye n'ingaruka zicyo gikorwa.

Paul Kagame agomba gushyikirizwa ubucamanza mpuzamahanga bidatinze. icyambere, nta bugabo cyangwa ubutwari gusezerana nu ndi mugabo, uti dushyire intwari hasi dushakishye amahoro, warangiza ukamuca inyuma ukamwica. Kagame na Habyarimana itariki 6 zukuza kane, 1994, ntibari ku rugamba rwamasasu. Iyo baza kuhahurira, umwe cyangwa bombi bakagwa ku rugamba byari kuba amakuba ariko byari kuba byunvikana kuko niko intambara imera. Perezida Habyarimana yaravuye Tanzania, aho we nabandi bakuru bibihugu bashakishakaga uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano. icya kabiri, Kagame ni umututsi kandi yarazi neza ingaruka zo kwica Perezida Habyarimana, umuhutu, ku bandi batutsi ndetse no mu bahutu batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu bwariho. Nubwo ntavugaga ko urupfu rwa Habyarimana arirwo rwateye jenocide, ariko ntawushidikanya ko rwatanze urwitwazo ku nkozi zibibi mu gukora ayo marorerwa. icya gatatu, mu kwica Perezida Habyarimana, Kagame yaragamije gusesa burundu amasezerano y'amahoro y' Arusha, no kwubaka ingoma y'igitugu ishingiye kubwicanyi n'ibinyoma, kandi biragaragara mu Rwanda ko yabigezeho. icya kane, ubutabera mu Rwanda no mu rukiko mpuzamahanga bwarabogamye kuko bushingiye ku kinyoma, bityo bituma ubumwe nubwiyunge bigorana kugeraho.

Nta ruhare na ruto nigeze ngira mu gucura no gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi mubisha wo kwica Perezida Habyarimana nabo bari kumwe. Iyo nkuru nangye nayunvise mwijoro kuri BBC nka saa saba, itariki 7 z'ukuza kane, 1994, aho nari ndi Kampala, Uganda, mu nama ya Pan African Movement. Ndahamya ko abenshi muri FPR, baba abasirikare cyangwa abasiviri, ari nkangye nta ruhare bagize muruwo mugambi w' ubwicanyi. Kagame niwe ubwe nyirabayazana, niwe ugomba kubazwa ibijyanye nicyo cyaha byose. icyakora, nari umwe mu bayobozi bakuru mu muryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi, kandi ndi umusirikare ufite ipeti rya Majoro mu gisirikare cya FPR. Niyo mpanvu ibyakozwe bibi kandi byitirirwa FPR nkiyirimo kandi nari mbereye umwe

mu bayobozi nangye bindeba. Mpisemo kuvugisha ukuri mu gushakisha kubabarirana no gukira. Niyo mpanvu, mbikuye ku mutima, nsaba imbabazi imilyango ya Juvenal Habyarimana, Cyprien Ntaryamira, Deogratias Nsabimana, Elie Sagatwa, Thaddee Bagaragaza, Emmanuel Akingeneye, Bernard Ciza, Cyriaque Simbizi, Jacky Heraud, Jean-Pierre Minaberry, na Jean-Michel Perrine. Mboneyeho no gusaba imbababazi abanyarwanda bose, kandi mbasaba ko twese twiyemeza kwanga ubwicanyi, ubugambanyi, nibinyoma nkintwano muli politike, kurandura burundu umuco wo kudahana, no gukorera hamwe kwubaka umuco wo kworoherana, kubabarirana, ubumwe, ubwiyunge, gukira no kugendera ku mategeko.. Ndasaba imbabazi u Burundi bwiciwe abayobozi, nu Bufaransa bwiciwe abaturage bakoreraga u Rwanda. Byumwihariko ndasaba Imana ngo imbabalire ko navuze ibinyoma igihe kirekire cyane, ngahishira umwicanyi wateje imiborogo n'amarira mubo yiciye.

Nta gahato, nvuze ukuri imbere y'Imana na banyarwanda. Nka bandi banyarwanda mu Rwanda cyangwa hanze yarwo, kuvugisha ukuri bifite ingaruka. Paul Kagame afite ukuboko kudahaga kumena amaraso y'abanyarwanda. Izo ngaruka tuzazirengera mu nzira twahisemo yo guharanira inyungu zabanyarwanda bose. Kuvugisha ukuri ntabwo twakomeza kubisubika. Bikenewe uyu muni. Ntabwo ibi mbikoze gushakisha ubutegetsu cyangwa ubundi bukungu. Mbikoze mu gukomeza gushakisha ikya kiza urupfu nakarengane bimaze kuba akarande mu Rwanda rwacu. Ukuri nikwo kuzatuvana ku ngoyi. Umuni twavuye ku ngoyi , tukagira ubwigengye busesuye, nibwo tuzababarirana nta gahato, hanyuma ubwo ibihe byo gukira bizaba bigeze.

Dr. Theogene Rudasingwa

Rudasingwa yahoze ari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa FPR (1993-1996), Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda muri USA (1996-1999); n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wi Biro bya Perezida Paul Kagame (2000-2004).

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PAUL KAGAME KILLED PRESIDENT JUVENAL HABYARIMANA, PRESIDENT CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA OF BURUNDI, DEOGRATIAS NSABIMANA, ELIE SAGATWA, THADDEE BAGARAGAZA, JUVENAL RENZAHU, EMMANUEL AKINGENEYE, BERNARD CIZA, CYRIAQUE SIMBIZI, JACKY HERAUD, JEAN PIERRE MINABERRY AND JEAN-MICHEL PERRINE¹

On August 4, 1993, in Arusha, Tanzania, the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front signed the Arusha Peace Agreement. The provisions of the agreement included a commitment to principles of the rule of law, democracy, national unity, pluralism, the respect of fundamental freedoms and the rights of the individual. The agreement further had provisions on power-sharing, formation of one and single National Army and a new National Gendarmerie from forces of the two warring parties; and a definitive solution to the problem of Rwandan refugees.

On April 6, 1994, at 8:25 p.m., the Falcon 50 jet of the President of the Republic of Rwanda, registration number "9XR-NN", on its return from a summit meeting in DAR-ES-SALAAM, Tanzania, as it was on approach to Kanombe International Airport in KIGALI, Rwanda, was shot down. All on board, including President Juvenal Habyarimana, President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, their entire entourage and flight crew died.

The death of President Juvenal Habyarimana triggered the start of genocide that targeted Tutsi and Hutu moderates, and the resumption of civil war between RPF and the Government of Rwanda. The RPF's sad and false narrative from that time on has been that Hutu extremists within President Habyarimana's camp shot down the plane to derail the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and to find a pretext to start the genocide in which over 800,000 Rwandans died in just 100 days. This narrative has become a predominant one in some international circles, among scholars, and in some human rights organizations.

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The truth must now be told. Paul Kagame, then overall commander of the Rwandese Patriotic Army, the armed wing of the Rwandese Patriotic Front, was personally responsible for the shooting down of the plane. In July, 1994, Paul Kagame himself, with characteristic callousness and much glee, told me that he was responsible for shooting down the plane. Despite public denials, the fact of Kagame's culpability in this crime is also a public "secret" within RPF and RDF circles. Like many others in the RPF leadership, I enthusiastically sold this deceptive story line, especially to foreigners who by and large came to believe it, even when I knew that Kagame was the culprit in this crime.

The political and social atmosphere during the period from the signing of the Arusha Accords in August 1993 was highly explosive, and the nation was on edge. By killing President Habyarimana, Paul Kagame introduced a wild card in an already fragile ceasefire and dangerous situation. This created a powerful trigger, escalating to a tipping point towards resumption of the civil war, genocide, and the region-wide destabilization that has devastated the Great Lakes region since then.

Paul Kagame has to be immediately brought to account for this crime and its consequences. First, there is absolutely nothing honorable or heroic in reaching an agreement for peace with a partner, and then stabbing him in the back. Kagame and Habyarimana did not meet on the battlefield on April 6, 1994. If they had, and one of them or both had died, it would have been tragic, but understandable, as a product of the logic of war. President Habyarimana was returning from a peace summit, and by killing him, Kagame demonstrated the highest form of treachery. Second, Kagame, a Tutsi himself, callously gambled away the lives of innocent Tutsi and moderate Hutu who perished in the genocide. While the killing of President Habyarimana, a Hutu, was not a direct cause of the genocide, it provided a powerful motivation and trigger to those who organized, mobilized and executed the genocide against Tutsi and Hutu moderates. Third, by killing President Habyarimana, Kagame permanently derailed the already fragile Arusha peace process in a dangerous pursuit of absolute power in Rwanda. Kagame feared the letter and spirit of the Arusha Peace Agreement. As the subsequent turn of events has now shown, Kagame does not believe in the unity of Rwandans, democracy, respect of human rights and other fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, power sharing, integrated and accountable security institutions with a national character, and resolving the problem of refugees once and for all. This is what the Arusha Peace Agreement was all about. That is what is lacking in Rwanda today. Last, but not least, Kagame's and RPF's false narrative, denials, and deceptions have led to partial justice in Rwanda and at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, thereby undermining prospects for justice for all Rwandan people, reconciliation and healing. The international community has, knowingly or unknowingly, become an accomplice in Kagame's systematic and shameful game of deception.

I was never party to the conspiracy to commit this heinous crime. In fact, I first heard about it on BBC around 1:00 am on April 7, 1994, while I was in Kampala where I had been attending the Pan African Movement conference.

I believe the majority of members of RPF and RPA civilians and combatants, like me, were not party to this murderous conspiracy that was hatched and organized by Paul Kagame and executed on his orders. Nevertheless, I was a Secretary General of the RPF, and a Major in the rebel army, RPA. It is in this regard, within the context of collective responsibility, and a spirit of truth-telling in search of forgiveness and healing, that I would like to say I am deeply sorry about this loss of life, and to ask for forgiveness from the families of Juvenal Habyarimana, Cyprien Ntaryamira, Deogratias Nsabimana, Elie Sagatwa, Thaddee Bagaragaza, Emmanuel Akingeneye, Bernard Ciza, Cyriaque Simbizi, Jacky Heraud, Jean-Pierre Minaberry, and Jean-Michel Perrine. I also ask for forgiveness from all Rwandan people, in the hope that we must unanimously and categorically reject murder, treachery, lies and conspiracy as political weapons, eradicate impunity once and for all, and work together to build a culture of truth-telling, forgiveness, healing, and the rule of law. I ask for forgiveness from the people of Burundi and France whose leaders and citizens were killed in this crime. Above all, I ask for forgiveness from God for having lied and concealed evil for too long.

In freely telling the truth before God and the Rwandan people, I fully understand the risk I have undertaken, given Paul Kagame's legendary vindictiveness and unquenchable thirst for spilling the blood of Rwandans. It is a shared risk that Rwandans bear daily in their quest for freedom and justice for all. Neither power and fame, nor gold and silver, are the motivation for me in these matters of death that have defined our nation for too long. Truth cannot wait for tomorrow, because the Rwandan nation is very sick and divided, and cannot rebuild and heal on lies. All Rwandans urgently need truth today. Our individual and collective search for truth will set us free. When we are free, we can freely forgive each other and begin to live fully and heal at last.

Dr. Theogene Rudasingwa

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