

RWANDA

RESONANCE



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TURACYATUNGURWA

Hambere aha umugabo Habyarimana, Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi ze bagize batya bati biriya bipapuro bya ARUSHA ngo ni nza mahoro bishaka ku Bunani bwacu ntitubemeye none twanyukanyuke abashenzi batazi impamvu turi Ibinani maze bose bayoboke MRND na CDR abanze bapfe. Utari muri MRND na CDR kandi wese ni umutuzi, isi yose nibimenye.

Inkotanyi ziti turateye kubera ibikorwa bya Habyarimana. Habyarimana ati ntihagire unkorera ku butegetsi kuko intambara igarutse, ndetse hajyeho umukwabu hose hatagira uwongera kumvuga muri mitingi. Ati ibi byose bi-

raterwa n'amatora yanjye nishakiraga mwanze. Kuki Ibinani n'Inkotanyi bamwe bakomeza kuba ibyitso by'abandi ku mugaragaro duturumbuye amaso aho amaherezo ntituzatungurwa ?

J.NT.B.

It'amareze nazo ziti ibyo nabyo. Amahanga yose namenyeye ko Abatutsi batagomba gushira tubireba kandi twarahagurukijwe no kubarengera; ubwo ntizatindiganiye guterura ku bitwari byazo maze udaturage ziranyukanyuka zihereye aho interahamwe n'impuzamugambi zapimiyeye ingufu zabo. Tubivugira ! Ngo zagiye zinyura ku ngabo zacu n'abandi bategetsi zanigirijwe wa mwambaro mwiza Habyarimana yatikiye bazirebera bazogera ngo ngaha ni Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi zigiyeye gutsembatsemba udututsi !

Uyu mukino wa Habyarimana n'Inkotanyi uzarangira ryari ? Ubu se amashyamba MDR, PL na PSD nayo arebe udaturage anyukanyuka ngo ni ukwerekana ko afile ingufu ! Ese akuya abarwanashyamba b'ariya mashyamba biyuha bakoma imbere ibitero by'Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi, ingufu zose bashyiraho ngo u Rwanda mu minsi iri imbere ruzategewe mu buryo bwa demukarasi isesuye ntibyaba bitera iseseme ari Habyarimana ari n'Inkotanyi tukaba duta igihe ?



Ko bigaragara ko Habyarimana yujuje bya bintu bitandatu Uhoraho yanga na birindwi bimutera ishozi, aracyamubitsemo iki ?

«Uhoraho wowe wenyine mwami w'amahoro nyayo atari amafitirano, ko tuyya twumva ko uri Imana ifuha kuki utindiganya gufuhira abami b'imihoro bitiranya n'amahoro ngo ubahuheho umwuka wawe ushobora kubagarura mu nzira nyakuri yaha imbaga y'abanyarwanda amahirwe y'iminsi izaza cyangwa se ngo iseseme yawe ibasinzirize burundu bwarinda abanyarwanda aka kaga. Tubigusabye mu izina ry'abo umutima wiga imigambi y'ubugome wateje intimba intimburo z'abibwira ko amaherezo utazababaza ibyo bakorera rubanda. Amina».

5. Intambwe zikatarije ikibi ?

Nimwibuke ingendo zijya zikorwa mu gihugu imbere cyangwa mu mahanga, zose wakurikira ugasanga zari za gakora shyano. Ati nagiyeye gusura abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara naho ubwo yagiye kubigisha uko banga bagenzi babo. Ati nagiyeye gusura abavanywe mu byabo n'imvururu naho ubwo agiye kwirebera niba karakozwe nkuko yabyifuzaga. Ati nagiyeye i Burayi, i Bugande cyangwa se i Burundi gushakira amahoro abanyarwanda wakurikira ugasanga yagiye kwishakira intwari zo gukora amahano, guhisha ibyibano no kubeshya amahanga cyangwa se kwiga uburyo imbaga nyamwinshi yahonyorwa ariko Ikinani kigasugira kigasagamba. Dusabe :Uhoraho muhorana bushobozi, wakumiriye izi ntambwe z'Ikinani zikatarije kuroha imbaga mu nyenga y'umuriro ariko ngo inyungu zacyo zisugire zisagambe zisanga zonyine nkaho aricyo kiremwa cyonyine waremye muri uru Rwanda, maze ibisingizo by'abari bagiyeye gupfa bikaguhundagazwaho bitareba impande uko ibihe bizahora bisimburana iteka ? Tubigusabye mu izina ry'abo intambwe zikatarije ikibi gusa zakataguyemo udupande bikitwa ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda. Amina.

6. Uwo batanzeho umugabo ake-meza ibinyoma.

Naha barahagera ngaca. Nawe se bati ni nde wishe abaparmehutu

ati ni Lizinde! Bati ntiwatubwira uwishe abagogwe ati icyakora nziko bagiye mu Nkotanyi. Bati ninde uteza izi mvururu zose mu Rwanda ati ni Politiki y'amashyaka menshi. Bati ninde wataye iki gihugu mu bukene ati ni Inkotanyi; bati ko batubwiye ko waba uzi abishe Mayuya ati muzabaze Nkubito; bati ninde wahiritse ubutegetsu bwa Kayibanda ati nari niyiririwe mu bukwe iwacu. Bati noneho wa mugabo we, ko wowe, Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi zawe mutumye Inkotanyi zongera gutera ati ahubwo bitewe n'abanze ko tuyya mu matora. Dusabe : Uhoraho watinze gusesemwa n'abasesekariza ibyishimo byabo mu makuba y'abandi, turagusabye ngo udusubirize abo aribo bose mu nzira y'ukuri bidatinze. Tubigusabye mu izina ry'abazize indwara yo gutangwaho umugabo hakemewe ibinyoma bose kandi abakiriho barenganurwe. Amina.

7. Uwigira Gashozantambara mu bavandimwe.

O.NT.B.

HABYARIMANA NIWE CYITSO NYACYO CY'INKOTANYI

Habyarimana akomeje kwerekana ko ari icyitso cy'Inkotanyi ashakira ibyemezo bya Guverinoma agashyigikira ibya ba Renzaho be, maze Inkotanyi nazo zikabona ko ntacyo imaze zikarega ibyo zishatse byazanga no gushyikirana nayo ngo ntacyo ishoboye. Ijambo yavuye bitarikiye ya 24/2/1993 mu gihe twateguraga iyi numero rishobora gutanga icyitso cyiza abayoboze b'amashyaka atavugaga rumwe nawe bati cyo gushyira hamwe bakarwanya Inkotanyi gipfa, bakagira bati ni Inkotanyi nizishaka nizize n'ubundi Habyarimana, Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi ze bari batumaze. Ngo Inkotanyi zirateguraga igitero none bitangiye nizihagarare bafate ibyitso ! Ko cyiriyaga bagabye atari yakimereye Izo mitingi se, sizo amashyaka yari kuzasabiramo abayoboze bayo gushyigikira ingabo n'ibindi ??? Dore icyitso ahubwo ! Turasaba abayobozi b'amashyaka atavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana MRND-CDR ye gukoresha imyigaragambyo yo kwamagana kandi gasuzuguro, bayemera batayemera kuko ari hahandi izo Inkotanyi byari byarimana atubwira niwe uzihira icyuho ku mugaragararo. Rero ngo icyitso ashakira ni uko biba isupu akabona uko yitorokera ! Yagiye se atamurababwira abantu ?! Buriya bwirasi bwe nibwo butuma abanyarwanda batizira Abafaransa, kuko bapfa kugera ino akibyimbira.

UMURANGI.

Nyuma ya Revolisiyo mvugururabifu yo muri 1973 haburaga Revolisiyo y'inyamaswa mu Rwanda.

Abagabo b'ahiswe i Yeruzalemu muri iyi Repubulika ya Kabiri bararebye basanga mu mateka y'u Rwanda batazaviramo kwitwa ba rutemayeze gusa, maze ibikosa bakoze mu myaka 20 bamaze batobanga igihugu bashaka kubipfukirana imyivumbagatanyo idafite ishingi bitwaje intambara y'Inkotanyi boroye ubwabo. Usibye se izo nyamaswa z'iwabo wa Habyarimana mu Rukiga nkuko HABYAMBERE Yozefu yabise agira ati nanjye izo nyamaswa nizo mvukamo ku ya 5/2/1993, ninde munyarwanda w'iki gihe wakwemerera ko ibibazo by'u Rwanda bikemuzwa umupanga?! Bariya bakiga nyamaswa bahutse mu bakiga bazima baciye ukubiri n'ingoma y'inkoramaraso baratsemba, abatawuka muri izo nyamaswa baratsemba, abitwa abatutsi baratsemba, baratontoma muri Radiyo ibinyoma n'ibigambo byo kuryanisha abanyarwanda baruzuzwa, ay'ubusa binanirwa gukwira igihugu cyose bihera mu nyamaswa nyine dore ko ngo bibeshya ko ariko abaparmehutu bakoze.

Ni nka ya yindi yiganyye yayindi kugira kwa kundi hahandi ikabizira. Reka baze babakande uwoboheje bigarame dore ko ngo yaba anizeye imbabazi yahabwa na Arusha. Uwiyise Ikinani niwe wabiteye byose, mu magambo yari amaze iminsi avuga ati ya ntambara yari ku mipaka igiye kwimukira imbere abantu bakagira ngo ni ukuvuga byo kwivugira naho ubwo imipanga yaratyajijwe. Abayoboke be niyo mvugo bari basigaranye. Uriya mugabo nta mpuhwe agira rwose kubona abanyarwanda birya bakimara ngo intambara yari yayogoje ibintu Ruhengeri na Byumba ihagarare we kubera kudashaka amahoro umujinya ukamufata agahitamo kuyimurira imbere no kurwana imishyikirano yo kuyihagarika burundu ku mugaragaro?! Nubwo ibyo bakoze bishobora kubakoraho kubera abanyamahanga bahagurutse bagatuma yemera ko abo yoheje batwaga, Inkotanyi nazo zikaba zara-

koze ikintu cyiza cyo gusaba ko ikibazo cy'ubugome bw'abakiganyamaswa ba Habyarimana kibanza gukemurwa mbere y'amasezerano y'amahoro, ngo haba hasigaye umukino wa rurangiza, umukino w'abajepi (G.P.) batararinda kwambara ibirere kuko ntawe bazaba batinya. Ngo mu gihe bazaba bayogoze Kigali, ab'amakoma bavanze n'abasirikare nabo bazaba bamanuka za Nyakabanda, Bulinga, Kayenzi, Nyabikenke, Taba, Runda n'ahandi batsembatsemba. Ngo abafite ababarinda n'abashoferi bashobora gutungurwa. Banyarwanda bakunzi ba Demukarasi, Habyarimana yatweretse uwo ari we. Ni ukwitegura ibyobyose kuko bigaragara ko nta kintu cyiza gishobora kuva mu migambiye. Abakunzi ba demukarasi rero baragoswe. Habyarimana ashobora kuba honyanga igihe cyose ashakiyeye ! Inkotanyi nazo zirerekereje ntawamenya niba Abakiganyamaswa ba Habyarimana atari zo bakorera cyangwa ngo zibakorere. Hagati aha uko ibintu bitinda ni nako Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi zishobora kuzatuma Inkuba n'Abakombozi nabo biga gukaraba inkaba kubera gushaka kwirwanaho no kurwana ku babo. Ibyo mu Rwanda birasaba guhagurukirwa kuko ngo byaba bigifite igaruriro nkuko twumvise umufaransakazi abivugaga ha-

mbere aha. Birasaba ingabo z'amahanga hakiri kare, kuko kwizera Habyarimana n'Inkotanyi kwaba ari nko guheka impyisi. Mu bindi bihugu abashaka demukarasi barahogoye basaba ingabo z'amahanga zabagoboka, naho twe ngo nizihari nizigende!! Tubyibazeho. Ingabo z'abafaransa ziri ino zamaze iki ? Zitwaye iki ? Tuzi ko inshuro irenze imwe zatumye Kigali idasahurwa ngo abanyamakuru n'abayobozi b'amashyaka bapfe, abanyamahanga badufitiye runini bitahire. Ibyo ariko Inkotanyi ntizibyemera, zirashaka ko Abafaransa bataha byanze bikunze. Nkuko babivuze muri Radiyo yabo rero ngo barifuzaga ko Abanyarwanda twese twavugaga rumwe ku kibazo cy'Abafaransa. Byari bikwiye ko amashyaka yose amaze kubyumvikanaho na za Biro Politiki, ashya itangazo hanze rigira icyo rivugaga kuri icyo kibazo hakiri kare, aho kugira ngo cyizabere aricyo kidindiza imishyikirano cyangwa amashyaka azabyishyoremo ahubutse yamagane izo ngabo atabanje gushishoza maze igihe twazakenera ingabo z'amahanga abafaransa bazagire bati ko twari duhari mwaduhoye iki ? Birasaba ko abakuru b'amashyaka yacu batekereza neza ku minsi iri imbere bigaragara ko izaba ari injyanamuntu, maze bagatangira



URU RWANDA RUZIZE NDE ? RUZAKIZWA NA NDE ?

Umugabo Habyarimana Yuvenali wari Jenerali Majoro mu ngabo z'u Rwanda akaba Ministri n'Umugaba mukuru wazo, yagize atya ku ya gatanu Nyakanga muri 1973 ahirika ubutegetsu bw'abaturage n'abari babuyoboye kandi barabuvunikiye bakavana rubanda rugufi ku ngoyi ya gihake na gikolonize, ndetse by'akarusho, uhereye kw'uwari umukuru w'igihugu bose bagirirwa ibya mfurambi, uko yakabise agatsiko k'inkozi z'ibibi bose arahonyora, ubwo ngo azanye amahoro n'ubumwe, aciye irondakoko n'irondakarere.

Irondakoko ryorowe na nde?

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsu bwa MDR-PARMEHUTU umuntu yakwibaza niba ariho hariho irondakoko kurusha ku bwa Habyarimana na MRND ye. None se hari iringaniza ryariho haba mu mashuri, mu kazi cyangwa ahandi? Ninde wambwira ati muri Kaminuza hagombaga kuza umubare uyu n'uyu w'ubwoko ubu n'ubu? Nyamara Habyarimana yagiyeho ati iyo Abatutsi mutangira mwari mushize, ariko agaca hirya ati mu bintu byose habe iringaniza. Amagambo meza yatumye abo ryakorerwagaho aribo abatutsi n'abanyenduga batabibona maze bamwe baramusingiza, akora akazu kagizwe n'abatutsi bake n'abanyenduga bake binugitse mu bashiru nyamwinshi maze umuntu yabona abatutsi babiri cyangwa batatu Habyarimana yakijije bavimvira mu ma benzi bati dore umubyeyi wavanyeho irondakoko kandi inyuma ari ibicika.

Ikibazo cy'impunzi cyakozweho iki?

Akaga turimo muri iki gihugu ahanyini gatewe n'ikibazo cy'impunzi cyitaweho cyikaba kituroshye mu ntamba ikomeye. Bijya gutangira, ubanza cyarasaga n'ikizira ko abaduhagarariye mu mahanga nibura banakurikira ngo bamenye neza ibibazo by'impunzi, ahubwo bagahora bashyamiranye nazo, banekaneke n'umwe yavuze ibi undi ibi, umunyarwanda wavuganyeye n'impunzi akaza aruhukira muri gereza, aho kugira ngo bicarane, bavugane neza icyo impunzi zifuzaga maze bigeze ku banyarwanda n'abategetsu barwo. Abanyakazu niba bonyine bashyikiranaga nazo bazikunengamo ari nabwo zabasomye pulaki. Byahu-

Impamvu izi ngabo zanjye ari ababwira nyamwinshi, n'uko aribo bakomeye. Abanyenduga bagira intege nk'icya, ku buryo batambasha kwiterurira imbunda!!



hute aho Komite Nyobozi ya MRND muri 1986 yemeje ko impunzi zizahera ishyamba ngo kuko u Rwanda ari ruto cyane, maze Perezida Habyarimana atangira kuzenguruka amahanga ngo arasobanurira impunzi ko u Rwanda ari ruto, ati jye na MRND yanjye turarwuzuye, mbese turarusendereye. Nyamara zakwibuka ko muri 1982 igihe Obote yazihindaga zasabaga nibura kwigumira aho zari zatungukiye mu Mutara Habyarimana akazitera sempiri zikarushaho kwiyemeza kuzataha bubi na bwiza, dore ko zitari zinayobewe ko muri uko kuzirindagiza bazishukisha ngo kuzaziha pasiporo bazishukisha n'amabati harimo no gutinzatiza ibintu ngo ya myaka 30 yemererwa umuntu kwitwa impunzi irangire akazo kabe gashobotse.

Habyarimana yananiwe byose.

Kubera indwara y'irondakoko n'irondakarere yabaga muri Habyarimana n'ibyegera bye, ikaba ariyo yigeze gutuma avugaga ko nta munyenduga wabasha guterura imbunda, bishyize umu rwose ko nta mututsi ushobora kuba umusirikare, ngo kuba umusirikare n'umurage w'indimburamakoro. Iyo biyemeza gukumira impunzi se, ntibateganye ko zishobora gutaha ku ngufu dore ko zitari zarigeze zibihisha, kandi zikerekana ko zibishoboye zinjira mu ngabo z'u Bugande, iminsi myiza bateguriraga u Rwanda ni iyihe? Ubona icyo Habyarimana yanga gucyura impunzi nibura akitegura no gukumira ibitero byazo. Byose ntacyo yategajije, maze ingabo z'u Rwanda ziratangurwa, abanyarwanda bose baratungurwa, igihugu gicika imiborogo, izina icyitso

ribyutsa inzangano mu gihugu, biradogera. Nyamara se ntiyari yari twijeje ko ngo hari abamubwiye ntawe uzatera u Rwanda! Ayo maserano yagiranye nabo nayo akwitezwe kuzasobanurirwa abanyarwanda.

Ishyamba MDR rifite uruhe ruhamira mu kugerageza kuramira ibishyamba boka?

Ikibazo cy'impunzi kimaze kumubura, zafashe ibitwako ziratera. Habyarimana yirutse isi yose aregaga n'abari baje bikoreye Karinga, maze umugabo z'u Rwanda zikoze iyo bwabaga zigasubiza Inkotanyi inyuma w'aho kuzunganira agirana imishyamba no irimo ukuri n'abateye, ati intamba ndayitsinze, sinshobora kuvugana n'imihirimbiri, imishyikirano yose ihagarikwa ngo ngaha baratsinze, nibamanike amaboko ku mutwe bawuri ninde urya amazirantoki (subjugu) batahe, naho ntakamenye ko Inkotanyi zitahaguritse zikina, zimwe reka aho zibera iz'amarere, zimukinira umukino w'intamba yo kuzahaza igihugu bucyeye bucyeye (guerre d'usure). Abanyarwanda benshi bararoye bawabwira umugabo yananiwe gushakirira u Rwanda amahoro, ananirwa kururinda barahaguruka, bibuka intwari zaharaniye rubanda rugufi yahonyoye, bareba uko akomeza kuguragaza ko nta rukundo rw'igihugu rucyeye afite maze babyutsa ishyamba ry'Impirimanyi MDR ngo barebe ko baramira igihugu kitarahinduka umuyonga. Ntibyaborohye, kuko abababise bahindurwa abanzi b'igihugu. Ubwo Habyarimana na MRND barabanje barahaguruka bati dore na

shyaka ryatumye abatutsi bahunga rikabarira inka, bati abasigaye bagakizwa n'umubyeyi w'amahoro Jenerari we bakesha ubuzima, mbese ibya revolisiyo ya 1959 barabyihunza byose byitwa ubugome bw'apabarmehutu, Mme Mutwe arahaguruka azenguruka isi yose yumvisha amahanga ko ikibazo cy'abatutsi cyazanywe na MDR-PARMEHUTU yihaye kuvanaho ingoma ya cyami, bityo MDR iyikomokaho ikaba igomba guhabwa akato ngo ndetse ikanahagarikwa. Ubwo niko mu kinyamakuru Umurwanashyaka wa MRND byabaga bicika ngo abatutsi barashize, ngo ariko ntacyo Habyarimana arahari, azongera abavane aho umwami yavanywe Abasyete.

MDR yaberetse uko politiki ikirwaga.

Muri mitingiri yayo ya mbere yaberetse kuri Stade i Nyamirambo kuya 11 Kanama 1991 yamenyesheje abanyarwanda bese ndetse n'abanyamahanga ko umuti w'intambara ari ugushyikirana n'abadutera, intwari zigaceceka, abantu bakayoboka inzira ya demukarasi y'amashyamba menshi, uwo abaturage bahaye ubutegetsi akaba ari we utegeka. MDR yerekanye ko iyi intambara yatewe n'abituramiye bakirengagiza ikibazo cy'impunzi kimwe n'abafite ibyo bapfa, ariko inasobanurira abayoboze bayo ko zaba ari iz'Inkotanyi, zaba ari iza Habyarimana, Impirimpanyi zitazemera gutegekwa n'imbunda, ahubwo zizaharanira inzira ya demukarasi isesuye kugeza ibonetse. Ubwo ishyamba PL ryiswe iry'abatutsi ryaravutse, MDR yemera ko bahuriza ku ngingo zimwe na zimwe nk'izo gusaba Rukokoma no kubonana n'abadutera bagashyikirana, ibyo kandi MDR ibikora ifatanye agatoki na PL nta kibazo cy'ubwoko cyijemo, abo muri MRND babonye ikinyoma cyo guhuza abahutu n'abatutsi barishaga gishyizwe ahagaragara cyane cyane mu myigaragambyo abo bese bahuriragamo bakereka amahanga ko ikibazo cy'ubwoko atari cyo kibangamiye abanyarwanda, bibutse ibigamba bahuraguye mu ma radiyo no mu mahanga ngo MDR ije kwica abatutsi no kurya inka noneho ikimwaro cyirabasaba bati bese bese n'ibitso by'Inkotanyi. Abazungu bati ubwo muhindagura indimi murabeshya. MDR nayo ikomeza gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo yiyemeje byo kutavangura amoko igera naho yemera guhangana n'Interahamwe za MRND zari ziyemeje

kumarira abatutsi kw'icumu bazira ko banze gukomeza kubeshywa no kubeshyeshywa akarimi keza katajyanye n'ibikorwa. Nta munyarwanda n'umwe uzibagira ukuntu MDR yahanganye n'iterabwoba igakoresha amatangazo ari nako irema abantu agatima. MDR yatumye Inkotanyi zicisha make, kuko nazo mu mahanga zemezaga ko arizo zonyine zirwanya ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Perezida Habyarimana. Habyarimana nawe akemeza ko nta bandi banyarwanda ngo kereka Inkotanyi z'abatutsi zishyigikiwe na Museveni nawe w'umututsi ushaka ko bagarura ingoma ya cyami. Abanyamahanga babonye ubwumvikane bwa MDR yiganjemo abahutu na PL yiganjemo abatutsi ndetse na PSD nayo iyobowe n'abahutu, bati wa mugabo we ko utubeshya ngo nta munyarwanda wundi ukurwanya usibye Inkotanyi z'abatutsi bariya ba MDR si abahutu? Ba Gatabazi si abahutu? Ati niba ari ibyo na Kanyarengwe ni umuhutu, baba barariye ibifaranga by'Inkotanyi bakaba ibyitso. MDR yaragumye irakurura Impirimpanyi zirahaguruka zirahagarara, Inkotanyi zemera ko mu Rwanda hari abandi banyarwanda badashaka ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bw'imbunda ubwo aribwo bwose na Habyarimana yemera ko atari Inkotanyi zonyine zimurwanya, ariho haturutse Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho kuya 16/4/1992 yari igamije ahanini guhagarika intambara, igashyikirana n'abadutera, maze u Rwanda rugahumeka amahoro, rukayoboka inzira ya demukarasi isesuye.

Perezida Habyarimana yakomeje kubyivangamo no gukurura Inkotanyi mu mirwano adashoboye kurwana.

Habyarimana ati ubwo habonetse agahenge (cessez le feu) intambara yimurirwe imbere mu gihugu mukwize Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi hose, mutege ibisasu mutere grenades, mubwire abasirikare basahure, abatavuga rumwe nanjye bese mutsembatsembe bityo ibyo mu Rwanda bibe agasitswe, MDR, Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE ndetse na Guverinoma ye bananirwe maze abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bese bemere ko ari jye wari ushoboye byose. Ibyo byose byagiye biherekezwa n'agasuzuguro gakabije yagiye ashyira kuri Ministri w'Intebe, akabyigisha n'abaministri b'ishyamba rye, bageze naho basiba amanama byose ngo ari ukunaniza Guverinoma iyobowe n'Impirimpanyi NSENGIYAREMYE. Nyamara yashikamye arahangana abishyigikiwemo n'ishyamba rye n'abandi bakunzi ba demukarasi bamubonyemo umugabo w'umuhanga bitangaje, ucisha make ntahubuke, agashyira mu gaciro kandi ntiyimirize imbere inyungu ze mbere y'izi gihugu. MDR ikoresheje abaministri bayo, uw'Intebe n'uw'Ububanyi n'Amahanga yashyize abifuzaga byinshi Arusha mu mwanya wabo, bityo ishyamba mu bikorwa ibyo yemereye abaturage by'uko itakwanga igitugu cya Habyarimana ngo yemere icya Kagame na Kanyarengwe, ijyana imishyikirano ku buryo ntawe uzakandagira undi. Habyarimana we, wamenyereye



guhonyanga no kwiharira ati niba ari nta tako ry'umutware mbonye ndabamara, yahuka mu baturage aranyukanyuka, Inkotanyi nazo ziti twatanzwe ahari twabona icyuho, ku ya 7/2/1993 ziratera. Nyamara MDR yongeye kubereka bombi ko ihari kandi ko ariyo iyoboye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Nta rusaku, nta muvundo, nta guhubuka, ibintu ibishubije mu nzira nziza, nubwo inzitizi zitabuze. Habyarimana yemeye gusinyira Ministri w'Intebe ko yemeye ibyari byatumye ashikora, abambari be bagasizora ngo ibya Arusha bisubirwemo none abyemeye uko biri. Yibwiraga ko Inkotanyi zizatera akica ibyitso MDR ihakinga akaboko. Yari azi ko azahita ahagarika byose na za mitingi (Etat d'urgence) abanyamahanga bagataha umugabo akikubitira umugore, NSENGIYAREMYE amubereye ibamba. Yibwiraga se nibura ko Inkotanyi zizagera i Kigali akigendera akajya kwiruhukira none MDR ihakinye politiki ihamye yo kubasubiza mu mishyikirano nta yandi mananiza. Yibwiraga ko azaboneraho kwanga ko bamwirukanira ibyitso bye mu bugo-

me aribyo bya ba burugumestri, ba perefe n'abandi none ahubwo bitumye babahuha bose bose nta mbabazi ahubwo nawe nareba nabi arazira amategeko akomeza kugenda yica nkana nk'igihe cy'ingirwa Nama Nkuru y'Ubucamanza. Yapfa Kavaruganda!!

Hari abibaza icyo MDR yakora imishyikirano n'Inkotanyi inaniranye.

Nubwo muri rusange usanga Impirimpanyi zifite icyizere muri iriya mishyikirano ya Arusha, ntizibura kwibaza uko zabyifatamo inaniranye, kandi zigomba kuvana u Rwanda mu kaga byanze bikunze. Muri rusange bahangayikishwa nuko hari bamwe mu baturanyi babo bohereza abana mu Nkotanyi, bakagenda ari abo mu bwoko bumwe. Bituma bibaza niba batagomba kohereza ababo mu Nzirabwo ba byose ari nko guteganya, nabo bakagira ingufu za gisirikare cyangwa bagakora ababo. Usanga bagira bati Ko Inkotanyi zisigaye zivugira ko zije

guhorera abatutsi aho buzacyera ntibizaba ngombwa kwigisha ukwisuganyira kw'abandi banyarwanda ngo ni hagira ushaka kurengera ngo arahorazumurwe? Abenshi basanga imishyikirano ya Arusha ninanirana ari inkundura kuko Impirimpanyi ntizizaba Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi cyangwa Inkotanyi, zigomba kugumyazikaba Impirimpanyi kandi zigatsinda uko byagenda kose. Birasaba ko abanyepolitiki bo muri MDR baba biga icyo kibazo hakiri kare kugira ngo ejo batatungurwa. icyiza ni uko usanga Impirimpanyi muri rusange zemera ko ivanguramoko ritajyanye n'igihe tugezemo, ko revolisiyo yagize igihe cyayo, bityo umuntu akaba yakwizera ko igihe cyose zizahangana n'abashaka gusururira mu nduru biganje muri MRND, CDR na FPR bakunze kwimiriza imbere iby'ubwoko n'uturere kandi zigatsinda.

UMURANGI



BITE BYA MUSANGAMFURA KO ATUKANA ?!!

Mu Isibo N° 86 twabonye inyandiko Musangamfura yise Kibwa na Rwagakoko muri MDR. Nkuko twabimenye rero, uwo yita Rwagakoko ni Murego Donati naho by'akumiro uwo yita Kibwa ni umurwanshyaka Gapyisi Emmanuel ahora ashinja kwihisha inyuma y'ikinyamakuru IMPAMO, akaba Perezida wa MDR-Gikongoro iwabo wa Musangamfura. Mu by'ukuri abantu bamwe baradutangaza. None se Musangamfura yanditse inyandiko ku kibazo Kiga-Nduga, Ntahobaturye Bazibonera agira icyo abivugaho, aho undi yagize ati aha urabeshye ngo bajye impaka, ajya gukoyora ibya Nkotsi na Bikara no gutuka abantu b'abagabo ?! Biteye isoni. Barwaye indwara yo kurya amafaranga bacyurirana cyane cyane kuva mu matora ya MDR mu

rwego rw'igihugu, bityo kuba MDR iri mu matora y'abayobozi ba za Komisiyo Isibo igasubira ibyo gusopanya Impirimpanyi bikaba ari ntawe byatangaza.

Tuboneyeho kumenyeshya n'abo mu Rumuli rwa Demukarasi banditse ko kwandika kuri Twagiramungu na Murego ari ukubasebya kandi ko ibinyamakuru bibandika ngo biba byahagitswe amafaranga ko nabyo ari ugusopanya. Niba Umurangi wanditse Murego cyangwa Twagiramungu wowe vuga uti aha n'aha siho tujye impaka. Naho kwihutira gusebya ibinyamakuru na ba nyirabyo nkaho twigenze dusezerana ko mu mashyaka arwana Habyarimana ntawe tuzatunga ikaramu nakora ibidatunganye ni ya ngeso yo guhakirizwa igomba gucikana na ba nyirayo.

O.N.T.B.

AHERUTSE UBUBI.

Nyuma ya Bokassa umwe mu ba Jenarali Perezida wo muri Afurika Moussa Traoré wa Mali, kuri 12/2/93 yakatiwe urwo gupfa kubera abaturage yishe bigaramya basaba demukarasi mu gihugu cyabo. Yakatiwe hamwe na Munyazesa we, Gasana we na Serubuga wahozeho nyine aho muri Mali. Ibihe biha ibindi koko. Moussa Traoré yakuyeho Perezida Modibo Keita amwica nabi, yishe igihugu ategekerwa n'umugore we na basaza be batatu none aherutse ububi. Fora undi Mujenerali Perezida uzaba nkawe ni nde ?? Dutegereze.

ZIGIRANYIRAZO MU BUROKO.

Mu minsi ishize mu matariki ya 20/2/1993, amaradiyo yatubwiye ko ZIGIRANYIRAZO yafatiwe muri Kanada afite impapuro z'abahagararira ibihugu byabo mu mahanga (Passeport diplomatique) muzi ko ngo bari bamwongeye Buruse ngo aye kwiga. Ubundi bizwi ko iteka icyo intambara igiye kurota Zedi aba yagurutse ngo bamuraguriye ko intambara iteye ari mu gihugu yayigwamo. Ntiyihanganiyere-ro kutajya gutsembatsemba akaba yarafashwe yenda guhitana abitwa MAKOMBE na KIMONYO bibera aho muri Kanada. Aho si umujinya w'uko ahora ahungu igihugu ntigifurwe ??

INKOTANYI NYAZO ZITANGIYE KWIGARAZA.

Kuva aho Abafaransa bemereye kurega Museveni ku mugaragaro ko ashyigikiye Inkotanyi bakiyemeza kohereza abasirikare bo kurinda bewabo, bamwe bariho baravugishwa. Biratangaje kubona Rwagafirita ariwe uriho akwiza ibikuru bigamije gusebya Abafaransa ngo baje gushyigikira Interahamwe, bityo akabivuga agira ngo Inkotanyi zibone uko zirega n'uko zanga imishyikirano. Ibyo kandi biraba mu gihe amashyaka yose ari mu gihugu agiye kwiyemeza gusaba amahanga ko yatwoherereza ingabo zo gukumira Inkotanyi kugira ngo inzira ya demukarasi ibe ariyo ikemura ibibazo biri mu Rwanda.



Rwagafirita

NIMUSHINYIRIZE

Imyaka ibiri n'amezi ane birinaze u Rwanda ruri mu ntambara. Bamwe bayita yuguharanira ubutegetsi, abanyakinyoma bati ni iyo guharanira demukarasi ariko bakabivugisha umunwa w'imbunda.

Hari abayise iy'abatutsi yo gucyura impunzi z'abatutsi zahunze imyivumbagatanyo ya rubanda rugufi yibwiraga ko yipakurura burundu ingoma ya cyami na gihake itazi ko ba gahoro bazongera bakimika karamu. Bamwe ngo iyo ntambara yatejwe n'abari baje bikoreye Karinga kandi twumva ko ngo yaba yari itabitse i Nyanza aho Lizinde avugaga ko yayitaburuye ntitumenye irengero ryayo. Cyereka niba yari yarayihambiriyeho muri gereza ya Ruhengeri aho inkotanyi zaba zaramutwaranye nayo.

Muri make iyi ntambara yiswe amazina menshi hari n'abadukinnye ku mubyimba ngo ni ya «Octobre» ngo barayitsinze dore ko yaba iy'abahutu n'abatutsi barwanira ubutegetsi, yaba iy'abakiga n'abatutsi barakariye abashiru babibese mu maraha yo kwishimira irindimuka rya MDR-PARMEHUTU n'iyicwa ry'abarwanashyaka bayo b'imena barimo n'uwayishinze, yaba ikina-mico ry'akazu ka Habyarimana kagizwe na bene Magera, abo kwa Kamashara, ba Kajeguhakwa n'abandi banywanyi ba Habyarimana bakoresheje abatutsi b'impunzi, yaba iy'abashimusi b'inka, b'amakawa se na Museveni, iyi ntambara igomba kurangira kuko ikomeje gusenywa u Rwanda n'abarutuye; kandi ikarangizwa n'imishyikirano, kimwe n'inzira ya Demukarasi ibonye, kuko irangijwe n'imbunda yahita ikurikirwa n'izindi urudaca.

Nanone kandi tumaze umwaka n'igice turi muri politiki y'amashyamba menshi. Umwaka n'igice tuvugaga ibivugwa n'ibitavugwa, tubeshyana tukabeshyera ngo ngaha nibwo buhanga muri politiki, dukangata, tugakuruguturira, dukubitana ibihiri n'ibibuye ngo turacengeza demukarasi tuvuzura amafirimbira dutse mbatsemba, tunyamwishinga, duhuturiranga, dututsuringa, dutwaringa, tunyendugaringa, dukigaringa, Twaramuderinze, turapasinga, turapelinga, turemerenidisha. Twarahirimbanye, turaterahamwira, turahuzamugambisha, turakombozinga mbese ntacyo twasize inyuma, nyamara byose birakomezanya na nyamujyana yenda kuturoha mu rwobo rwateguwe kiba byarima.

nako gihanga ku buryo bugaragara. Abanyepolitiki bacu barakivuruguta muri vaho ngusimbura, muri ninye muhanga naraminuje, muri ndi inararibonye, nahoze hari icyo ndicyo, ninye abaturage bashakira, ndabahagarariye, bamwe mu bo twakekagamo ubuhanga n'ubushishozi twasanze ari ubuswa bujijwe bwari bwihishye mu midari y'ikinani na ramba sugira sagamba uzaturye utumare ariko natwe twariye.

Igihe kirageze ko abagabo nyabo bakunda igihugu batabeshyeho no guhakwa no gutonashyirwa ku buryo aribyo bagenderaho kandi bagendeyeho, batararikiye amakuzo, kwikunda no kwigwizaho umutungo, bafata ibyemezo rwose, rubanda imaze umwaka n'igice ibarambagiza muri za mitingiro, mu biganiriro no mu bikorwa byabo bayibwirye ko igihe kigeze ibimike bategeke iki gihugu bagisubize isura nya-

rwanda amazi atararenga inkombe, ibigwari bimaze kwiyerekana bikanirwe urubikwiye babe basaruye icyo babibye. Ba bandi bagumya kubeshya rubanda ko bayivugira nabo yarangije kubatahura, batabona ko Nsengiyaremye n'abaminisitiri bazima bari kumwe muri Guverinoma barangije gufata imyanya yabo mu mitima y'abanyarwanda kubera kwitanga bihagije no kwihanganira bagenzi babo bo muri MRND babasabota. Ba bandi bagumya kubeshya rubanda ko intambara itari yacuru-

rutse kubera ubwitange bw'abarwanashyamba ba MDRn, PL na PSD ko imishyikirano ya Arusha ari iyo kugurisha igihugu kandi abakigurishije ariko babyasasa ko nibamanuka impundu zizavugaga kandi ahubwo hazavugaga induru ishobora no kubarundumura burundu na Bushiru, abo bese nibumirwe, maze bamenyeko igihembo cy'ibibi bakoreye u Rwanda kigiye kubageraho.

Bavandimwe, basomyi b'Umurangi, banyarwanda mwese mukunda ukuri n'umucyo, muri uyu mwaka wa 1993 muzagerageze kwishyiramo ko mukiriho mu bishimire ya yindi bigaragara ko ikigerageza kurutahamo kandi muishyiramo yongere, rutahemo urugwiro nk'urwari rusanze. Burya ngo bucya bucya ayandi, ahari tuzashyira turuhuke izi nshyamba z'iminsi mibi, yayindi bavugaga ko burya itagira intege, ariko wayitegeza ikagutemagura, igahugaga se ari nako ihukwa iguhungaga kuko iyo wiko-meje umutima ibisa imyiza.

O.N.T.B

Ikurikirwa umunwa w'imbunda

DEPUTE MUKARURANGWA Bernadette AHO NZAJYA HOSE NZAMAMAZA IMPUZAMUGAMBI.

Muri Mitingi ya CDR i Butare ku ya 6/12/1992, Député MUKARURANGWA Bernadette yagacishijeho ati : Icyamba mbere kubabwirwa ni uko ndi mu ba mbere bashyigikiye Impuzamugambi. N'ikimenyimenyi ndacyabivugaga, navuze ijamba hano ndi mu ishyamba MRND, ndacyari mu ishyamba rya MRND cyakora ntacyo, narabivuze bihagije ku buryo nategereje imodoka kugira ngo nze muri mitingiro ndayibura, ntegereza bisi yari ije gutwara Impuzamugambi, nyitoye ntibabyemera, ubu nje na moto kandi murabona ukuntu ngana, ibyo kugira ngo mbereke ko CDR ariryo shyamba numva ku mutima wanjye mbese rikomeye kurusha ayandi yose, ari yo mpamvu nemeye, sinavugaga ko ndi umukecuru ariko murabona ko ndi umukecuru, ngafata moto menye ko CDR yagize mitingiro hano kuko iyo ndara ntamenye uko mitingiro imeze naba mpemutse simbizi.

Impuzamugambi rero, jye mvugisha ukuri, hano muri Butare baraturwanije, baraturwanije bakavugaga ngo tuzateze imvururu, ngo tuzakora ibitabaho, nkaba rero mbasabye yuko twerekana ko koko turi Impuzamugambi kandi tuzaba zo koko. Ni nayo mpamvu naje kubashyigikiye nti byibura babone yuko ubwo bavugaga ko turi amabandi, ko tutari abantu bazima, nanjye ibi bintu ntabijemo ntabwo nari kuryama ngo nsinzire.

Ikindi cya kabiri ngira ngo mbabwirye Impuzamugambi, ni uko bazi ko ngo MRND ngo yafatanije na CDR. Twe muri Komini yacu ya Ndora, uyu musaza uvuye aha turi kumwe, abenshi bati tubyifatemo duta? Jye narababwirye nti ishyamba ry'umuntu riri ku mutima. Uzi icyo uri cyo nta kindi ugomba kureba, ku buryo ahubwo ubu icyambabaje iyo tuza kuba twara-

biteganije tukabivugaga kuri Radiyo bakabyumva bese bakaba hafi. Kubera urugendo rwa kure, abenshi babuze uko baza ariko mbabwirye ko dufite abayoboze, dufite abantu, dufite Impuzamugambi nyinshi kandi bazaturwanira ishyamba. Impuzamugambi rero, jye niko nteye, mvugisha ukuri ntabwo nshaka kuvugaga menshi, sinshaka kubarambira gusa mbabwirye ko turi kumwe. Amagambo yanjye ni atatu :

- Turi kumwe
- Nzabarwanira ishyamba
- Kandi aho nzajya hose nzamamaza Impuzamugambi.

Murakoze.

UMURANGI.

INKOTANYI ZIYAMBITSE UBUSA

Kuwa mbere tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 nibwo twamenye ko iz'amarere zagabye ibitero mu Mutara n'ibindi bice bya Byumba kugera na hano i Tumba hafi ya Kigali ariko igikaze bakaba barakigabye mu muji wa Ruhengeri aho barwaniye n'Inzirabwoba bigatinda cyane cyane ku musozi wa Nyamagumba aho abanyarwanya rudashimishije bavuga ko hari imihango abo bana b'impunzi z'abatutsi bari baje gukorera ku bisigazwa by'Abaparmehutu Ibinani byahatsinze cyangwa ngo babe banabyikorera.

INKOTANYI ZIRARIMANGANYA.

Ukurikije intera imishyikirano ya Arusha igezeho n'ukuntu igenda isimbuka amananza akaze ya Habyarimana ukareba ukuntu Minisitiri w'Intebe yitanga abifashijwemo n'amashyamba MDR, PSD, PL wasanga Inkotanyi kudacisha make ngo zifatanye n'abandi banyarwanda benshi bibumbiye mu mashyamba arwanyarwanya

ubutegetsu bw'igitungu batamenye amaraso hahishemo umugambi wo gutangurana kubufata ku ngufu no guhora. None se, kwitwaza ngo Habyarimana arishe uti nanjye ngiye kwica!! Reba nawe ukuntu igitero cy'Inkotanyi ari amahano ahubwo aho kuba icyo kubohora nkuko babeshya. Abaturage barenze 600.000 bavuye mu byabo, abandi barapfuye, nta Habyarimana upfuyemo, nta munyakazu n'umwe upfuyemo, nta mwene Habyarimana batubeshya ngo niwe barwanyarwanya upfuyemo yewe na ba Rucagu cyangwa ba Kajelijeli bayogoje ibintu mu nzirakarengane ntawupfuyemo. Ubwo se Inkotanyi zihanywe nde? **INYOTA YO GUHORA ISHOBO-RA KUZAKORA ISHYANO.**

Hari inkuru zivugaga ko iki gitero ngo Kanyarengwe yaba ataragishyigikiye, agize ngo arabivugaga bati n'uko uri umuhutu naho twe tugomba guhorera bene wacu bamaze



iminsi bicwa. Ibyo bishobora kuba aribyo kuko Inkotanyi zaje nazo zitsembatsembe, zidatinye no kurasira mu kivunge, kurunda abantu mu nzu bagatwika, kuvanamo bamwe amaso, n'ibindi.

Mu by'ukuri ukurikije ukuntu Inkotanyi zisigaye zisiribanga abaturage, n'ukuntu zigenda zibashorera ziganisha epfo, wasanga wa mugambi wavuzwe wuko zishakira kwica abantu benshi ku buryo bwose bushobotse ari wo. Bityo bikaba bigaragara ko Ingabo z'u Rwanda zitahabanye Inkotanyi zashorera abantu nk'inka zikaroha mu Kivu ubundi zikisanzura mu gihugu.

KIGALI YARANGIJE GUFATWA

Nkuko bavugaga ko mu Ruhengeri Inkotanyi zagiye zisobekama hamwe na hamwe ziyambariye imyenda y'Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi (ibitenge, amakoma n'ibindi) zari zimaze iminsi ngo arizo zigenzura uwo muji bazirebera ngo zirubahiriza itegeko rya Habyarimana, Inkotanyi abantu zinjije mu gihugu cyane cyane muri Kigali abenshi baba mu Nterahamwe. Nizo zubahwa n'abashinzwe umutekano kandi ntizikenere ibyangombwa, bityo rero bikaba bitatangaza ko kwa kwidagembwa kw'Interahamwe ariko kuzavamo igitero cy'Inkotanyi

tukumirwa. None se koko wamburira ngo Kajuga Robert niwe ukunda abahutu ku buryo yayobora umutwe w'abatsembatsembe bakoreye Ibinani?! Ngo byiyemeje kurengera abahutu da! Ariya mayeri yazo ari yo kwica abantu bagasakuza ko abaturage abatutsi bishe afitiye nde akamara. Siyo atuma amahanga yose yumvira ko abatutsi mu Rwanda aribo bapfuye bonyine kandi abahutu bahonyorwa n'izo Nterahamwe aribo benshi!!

Hari inkuru iteye agahinda y'abatutsi babiri b'i Shyorongi bo mu Nterahamwe bafashe umuhutukazi bamunyuzaga igisuti mu gitsina gitunguka mu mutwe ngo baratsembe ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Iyo migirire nk'iyi Burundi abantu bayibajijeho?! Nyamara abafite amaso ariko ntibabone wa mugani wa Nsengiyaremye bamaze kuba benshi.

NIBAREKE KUTUBESHYA IYINTAMBARA BARI BARAYITEGUYE.

Nta muni w'ubusa abana b'abatutsi batajya mu Nkotanyi bavuye muri iki gihugu ku buryo bitakiri ibanga cyangwa kubivugaga ngo bibe ari ugusebanyaga. None se ko turi mu mishyikirano, babaga bajya he? Abaturage benshi nkuko bigaragara ino na za Butare cyangwa ahandi bari

Ko bigaragara ko HABYARIMANA yujuje bya bintu bitandatu Uhoraho yanga na birindwi bimutera ishodzi, aracyamubitsemo iki ?

Ku cyumweru tariki ya 13 Ukwakira 1992 mu Mugi wa Kigali habaye urugendo ngo rwo gusaba amahoro rwakozwe n'abakristu n'abapadiri barangajwe imbere na Musenyeri w'akazu NSENGIYUMVA Visenti wa wundi wibye imodoka ya Leta, waje kuhagaragariza abo yasabiraga amahoro abo ari bo igihe Ikinani n'abiwe bari batungutse kuri Stade Régional i Nyamirambo baje gushinyagurira abo bayimye. Iby'urwo rugendo ibinyamakuru byabivuzeho bihagije. Twe turibanda kuri bimwe mu byo urubyiruko rw'abakristu rwari rwateguriye Ikinani ku byapa bari bafite. Hari umwe muri bo wari wafashe igikarito yandikaho ati : «Gahini wakoze ibiki? Amaraso ya murumuna wawe wamennye arantabariza mu gitaka (Int. 4, 10)».

Benshi barabibonye maze bakebuka Ikinani aho cyumumirije ngo kirasenga bati iby'aribyho byose uriya mugabo uwamubaza aho yashyize Kayibanda, akamubwira ati hagaruka ubwire aba bakristu aho washyize Uwitangiye rubanda rugufi rw'abanyarwanda yarya indimi. Ubwo nibwo bamwe bahinduraga iriya nteruro bati : «Habyarimana wakoze ibiki?»

Amaraso ya muzehe Kayibanda arantabariza mu gitaka (Rukoko, 1993, 1, 1). Undi yaturagarariye ko Habyarimana adakomoka ku Mana kuko yari yanditse ati : «Umuntu wese udakora ibitunganye cyangwa ntakunde umuvandimwe we ntakomoka ku Mana (1 Yoh. 3, 10). Iyi nteruro yatumye abenshi dutekereza ku Kinani kuko aricyo cyari cyatwigemuriye. Iyo kitahabwa ntitwari kugitekerezaho. None se koko wari kureba amafuti uwahoze yiyita umubyeyi w'u Rwanda na byose ariho akora, ukareba urwango rugaragara yanga abagombye kuba abavandimwe be ugatiyuka ukanyuranya n'iriya nteruro ivuga ko nta muntu nk'Ikinani waba akomoka ku Mana ? Baranako-



meza ahubwo bati : «Umuntu wese wanga umuvandimwe ni umwishi (1 Yoh. 3, 15). Barongerera bati : «Udakunda aguma mu rupfu (1 Yoh. 3, 14). Nubwo twatangiye inyandiko yacu ariko twibaza icyo UHORAHU akibemberezamo Ikinani n'abe kandi cyujuje ibyangombwa byose byo kumutera ishodzi, hari interuro y'amizero aba bakristu baduteganiye igira iti : «Mubwire abakutse umutima muti nimukomere, mwoye gutinya dore Imana yanyu ije kubakiza (Izayi 35, 4)». Kudukiza se hari ukundi kutari ukwigizayo Ikinani ? Mu gihe cyo guhana amahoro Musenyeri NSENGA yacakiranye na Mukakinani maze akubita igitwenge kimeze nk'icya Ruhaya yo mu cyi, abakristu bariho bareba icyapa cyari cyanditseho ngo «Mujye mukundana nkuko Kristu yabakunze (EF 5, 2) bibaza niba iby'ubu aribyo byo hambere. Baribazaga bati ko Murego na Twagiramungu bicaye hariya uriya Musenyeri yasabye Ikinani kigahana amahoro nibura n'umwe muri bo maze ibyari byanditse ku kindi cyapa ngo «Yezu yashenye urukuta rw'urwango rwadutandukanyaga (Et 2, 14) bikuzuzwa, bakareba ukuntu abakristu bari aho bahavana icyizere cyo kuzagera ku

mahoro bari baje gusaba.

Mbere yuko tubasobanurira ukuntu Habyarimana yateye Uhoraho ishodzi akabirenzaho uruhu rw'amazi, ka tubagezeho n'ibindi byari byanditswe uwo munsu maze mwibaza niba amahoro twifuzaga amahoro tutayageraho. «Uhoraho ati : Muzakizwa nuko mungarukiye kandi mugacisha make (Isaie, 30, 15). Ukunda umuvandimwe aba atuye mu rumuri, uwanga umuvandimwe aba ari mu mwijima (Yoh, 2, 10). Nimushake icyiza, ikibi mukireka (Amosi, 5, 10). Imana yacu si iyakajagari, ahubwo ni iy'amahoro (1 Kor, 5, 15). Nimwige gukora ikiri cyiza, muharanire ubutabera, muhanganure urengana (Isaie, 1, 17). Hahirwa abagwiza amahoro mu banyandiri bazitwa abana b'Imana (Mt, 5, 9). Nimusubize ubucamanza umwamiya wabwo mu nkiko (Amosi, 5, 15). Ubugwaneza bwanyu nibumunyekane ku bantu bose (Fil, 4, 5). Rwose banyarwanda bakunze banyarwanda Demukarasi, dusomye neza ziriya nteruro tukazishyira mu bikomanga aya maraso yagumya kumenekana mu gihugu koko ?

ESE AHO UHORAHU NTIYABAZA YARATURANGARANYE ?

Mu byapa byari aho byose, icyari cyatangaje benshi bibajije umuntu watekereje guhuza iyo nteruro n'urugendo rw'amahoro imbere y'Ikinani, ni icyapa cyagiraga kiti : «Hari ibintu bitandatu uhoraho yanga na birindwi bimutera shoji ni ibi : Amaso y'agasuzuguro; Akarimi kabeshya; ibiganza bimenya amaraso y'umwere; umutima wiga imigambi y'ubugome; intambwe zikatarije ikibi; uwo batanzeho umugabo akemera ibinyoma; uwigira gashozantambara mu bavandimwe (Imigani, 6, 16).

BIRIYA BINTU BYOSE KO HABYARIMANA ABYUJUJE, UHORAHU AMUBITSEMO IKI ?

1. Amaso y'agasuzuguro.

Nimwibuke agasuzuguro Habyarimana yagiye ashya ku banyarwanda bakunze gushaka kugira icyo bakosora ku butegetsi bwe, abenshi byabaviriyemo imbwa yiruka, abatarishwe bagiye bahokera mu buroko; uriya mugabo amaze guhagarara hejuru kuri za podium akarebana abantu bose agasuzuguro akavuga ijamba rya «Hazagire akongera. Nijye mutware, nijye uzi gutekereza, nijye uzi ubwenge». Aho muzi ijisho Habyarimana yaroye Gitera amubwiye ko yiyemeza gukora ibyo atazashobora ? Muzi urujisho yaroye Birara amubwiye ko ashigikiye agatsiko k'ibisambo kagizwe na Serubuga, Rwagafilita na Buregeya ?? Ingero sizo zibuze bizwi n'abanyamakuru. Ejo bundi mu ngirwa nama y'ubucamanza se yaroye ate ba Nkubito na ba Gasasira bagira bati ko ushaka guhonyora amategeko ???

Dusabe : «Uhoraho uhora areba ibyo yahanze byose, kebuka uru Rwanda turimo maze uhangamure uwihaye kurugusimburamo, warwigizemo ushobora byose kandi uhari Mana, umushyire i ruhande rumwe abawe bahumeke umwuka w'amahoro. Tubigusabye ku bw'abazize amaso ye y'agasuzuguro bose. Amina».



2. Akarimi kabeshya.

Nimwibuke kuya 5 Nyakanga 1973 Habyarimana yihanukira ati : «Abakiga twari dushize, ati ndete jyeweho bandashe barampusha». Nimutekereze ibinyoma byose yabeshye abanyarwanda n'ubu akibabeshya ! Hambere aha kuwa 5/10/1990 ati Inkotanyi zaraye ziturasa maze bugiye gucya tuzikubita inshuro. Nimwibuke ibinyoma yabeshyeye abo yafunze bose, abanyujijwe iy'ubusamo ati sinari mbizi, abishwe n'inzara ati sinari mbizi, intambara yataye ati turatunguwe kandi ahubwo yari yarafashije abateye kuyitegura, n'ibindi, n'ibindi maze mumwibazeho.

Dusabe : «Uhoraho nyirimpuhwe, twarambiwe gutegekeshwa ikinyoma, koresha ubushobozi bwawe bwose umushyire mu mwanya umukwiye kuko akarimi kabeshya ariko kariho kanazambya imishyikirano y'amahoro abanyarwanda batezeho umukiro. Tubigusabye mu izina ry'abazize kariya karimi bose. Amina».

3. Ibiganza bimenya amaraso y'umwere.

Aha barahagera ngaca. Nimwibuke amaraso yamenetse yose kuva uyu mutware yacakira ubutegetsi ku ngufu muri 1973 ! Uwajya kurondora bwakwira bugacya. Reka twikomereze. Dusabe : «Uhoraho wa-

hanze byose uguhanga n'Ibinani bizigereranya nawe, kora ku buryo tudakomeza kwibaza aho uba akawa muririmbyi ati «turagusenga ariko ntiwumve niba kandi wumva ntukidusubiza». Tubigusabye mu izina ry'abuhagije amaraso yabo biriya biganza byananiwe gucika bikananirwa no kwera. Amina».

4. Umutima wiga imigambi y'ubugome.

Nimwibuke ibikorwa byose by'ubugome byagiye biba muri iki gihugu, mwibaze inshuro hakorwa amanama yiga imigambi y'ubugome kandi ayobowe na nyiricyubahiro umwami w'amahoro y'imihoro. Nimwibaze ko hari n'akorerwa muri za Hekaru, muri za Katedrali zimwe zisigaye zarabaye isibaniro ry'ibya-ha n'ubwahukaniro budasobanutse bw'abamikazi b'abanyamurenge. Umutima wiga imigambi y'ubuqome se ntimwawumvise muri Radiyo zanyu kuya 9/2/1993 aho wihanukira uti : numvise ko Inkotanyi zateye ?? Numvise... None ntawe ugomba kunkorera ku bicanyi b'ababurugumesitiri, b'abaperefe. Ubwo se si ukugira ngo baze babafashe guhumbahumba utwitso ?! Muribuka akakurikiye imigambi yo kumanukana n'Interahamwe yacuriwe mu Ruhengeri. Twavugaga se ko Uhoraho agikora anketi nka zimwe Ibinani byatumenyereje ? Oya nadohore abanyarwanda bararembye. Dusabe :