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FACE A

Ananie NKURUNZIZA

Radiyo RTLM, kuri radiyo RTLM twibukije ku nshuro ya kenshi, ko Guverinoma y'Abatabazi, igomba kurwana urugamba nk'uko yabyiyemeje. Ko kandi urugamba rukomeye ruri i Kigali, mu murwa mukuru wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda. Ni nayo, ari nawo Inyenzi zapataniye kwigarurira. Nuko iyo Guverinoma y'Abatabazi, ntawabura gukomeza kujya ayibutsa ko urugamba ruri ino. Ku itariki ya cumi n'icyenda y'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, uwo muni wakeye, ari uwa mirongo ine na gatatu kuva aho Inyenzi zuburiye akabuno mbese n'uwo muni bwari ku isaha y'igihumbi na mirongo itatu n'ebiyiri, kuko zari zavuze zubura imirwano, ko zizafata Kigali mu masahamirongo ine n'umunani. Umututsi Kagame rero, kugeza uwo muni wa mirongo ine na gatatu, yari atarafata Kigali. Ahubwo imirwano yari ikomeje kandi, ariko ihitana Inyenzi, uroye zaje zitazasubirayo nk'uko zazi, u, u, zabirose. Ibyihebe muri izo Nyenzi, zari zaruboneye kuri bariyeri yo kuri korushimi, nk'uko mwabibwiwe na Gahigi wari uvuyeyo muri icyo gitondo. Uwo muni kandi, havuze... havuzwe isenywa ry'ibitaro bya Kigali. Inyenzi zarashemo amabombee asaga arindwi, agahitana abarwayi mirongo itatu.

Ubwo zishingiye ku bihuha by'Inyenzi, radiyo mahanga zemezaga... radiyo z'amahanga zemezaga ko Kigali yarangije kugotwa, kandi ngo ko, imirwano ikomeye, ibera i Gitarama. Umujyi wa Kigali, imirwano yumvikanaga mu karere ka Gikondo, ahitwa mu Gashyekero Ku itariki ya makumyabiri y'ukwezi kwa gatanu, Radiyo Muhabura, yakwije ikintu cy'icyuka, kigamije kumvisha rubanda ko iby'ifatwa ry'umujyi wa Kigali byarangiye. Iti «mwebwe mwihishe mu mazu banya Kigali, muze guhungira muri zone dukontorora, iranga aho bari buhungire ku Gisozi, ngo kwa ba Nsekarije ku Kimironko, n'ahandi, n'ahandi. Yibeshye kuri bene gahutu rero, bari barinze umurwa mukuru w'igihugu cyabo. Uwo muni twamenye inkuru y'urupfu rwa Madame Jacqueline Kenedi, waguye mu rugo rwe, i New York muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe Z'America, ageze mu kigero cy'imyaka mirongo itandatu n'ine y'amavuko. Yaje gushyingurwa nyuma y'iminsi itatu, mu irimbi rya

Ringitoni riri i Washingtoni, hafi y'umugezi wa Potomake, aho umugabo we John Kenedi, twavuze ko yari inshuti y'u Rwanda, nawe ashyinguye, ndetse na murumuna we Robert Kenedi, wahitanywe n'abanzi. Havuzwe na none kuri uwo munsu, i ... tsinda rya perezida Bakiri Muruzi, mu matora yari amushyamiyije n'umukambwe Kamuzubanda, wo mu gihugu cya Mali . Ku itariki yamakumyabiri n'imwe y'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, inkuru yatugezeho yatubwiraga ko bamwe mu basoda b'i Bugande, barwanaga mu Nyenzi, ngo bari batangiye kwi... kunyerera, bakikura bagasubira iwabo. Ibyo bintu birashoboka, kuko na nyuma, Museveni nk'uko twabibonye mu makuru yacu y'ejo, yemeye yuko rwose abo basirikare be rwose barwana, mu ngabo, za FPR. Ku Mugande ariko, iyo yabonye ibyo asahura, birumvikana niba barageze Kacyiru bagasahura, bagomba koko kuba banyerera bataha, nk'uko inkuru, ariko tudafitiye gihanyu yindi tuzakomeza kugenzura, itubwira ko Inkotanyi, e, guhera ejo zaba zaratumye telegaramu kwa Museveni, ngo zaka ranforo. Birashoboka rero ko nabo, na zo, zaba zifite ibibazo. Ibyo bibazo kandi nibyo tugomba guheraho, kugira ngo tuzitsinde burundu, nk'uko mugenzi wanjye Kantano yabivugaga.

Ubwo turacyari ku itariki ya makumyabiri n'imwe Gicurasi, Patrick Mazimpaka mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru ubwo yari yagiye i Washingtoni, yariye indimi, ubwo bamubazaga bamuhata ibibazo, ku byerekeranye n'iyicwa ry'abaturage b'Abahutu bicwa n'Inkotanyi. Yashubije ko ngo Inkotanyi zica abo zisanganye umupanga. Nibwo twavugaga kuri iyi radiyo, tuti reba rero wishe Umunyarwanda wese utunze umupanga iwe, na cyane cyane ukagera, mu banyu Kibungo, n'intoki zabo. Uwo munsu radiyo RTL M yababwiye ko Inyenzi, za mutazirikana, zarashe Ambasade y'Abanyamerika, maze igisasu zikagenda zikagipima, n'ibiro... mu biro nyirizina, by'Ambasaderi Lawson, uriya wagize atya akanyonyomba, igihe rwari rukomeye.

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri na kabiri Gicurasi, Nyakwubahwa Minisitiri w'Ingabo, yashyize ahagaragara itangazo, amenyesha ingabo z'igihugu, ko zitagomba na rimwe kugwa muri umwe mu mitego myinshi y'umwanzi, umutego w'ironde karere. Mwibuke ko inkotanyi zari zitangiye kuvuga, kuvangura ingabo zacu, zimwe ngo ni Abakiga, izindi ngo ni Abanyanduga. Koko kandi, wabeshya

abandi ariko ntiwabeshya ingabo z'u Rwanda. Na none, kuri cya gicuma cy'amagambo yazo, Inyenzi zatangiye kwiregura ku bwicanyi amahanga yari amaze kuzitahuraho . Ziti ni ibinyoma, bikomoka kuri radiyo Rwanda na RTLTM, bikagenda bigahita i Ngara mu mpunzi z'Abahutu, ngo bikagera i Genève, bakabikwirakwiza, radiyo zacu RTLTM na radiyo Rwanda ngo nazo zikongera zikabyamamaza. Ibyo rero, twabonye icyo gihe ko... ari amatakirangoyi, ahubwo, zaravumbuwe zaravumbuwe zirica, kandi zikarya abantu.

Twari tumaze kumenya na none ko Inyenzi zashatse... kwivugana Nyakwubahwa Roger Bon Bon, uhagarariye Umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni, hanyuma Imana iza kumukingira ukuboko, acikira muri Kenya, na n'ubu, niyo akiri. Inyenzi zatangaje kandi ko Dallaire, ngo ashobora kuzimura icyicaro cya Mi... cya MINUAR muri perefegitura ya Kibungo, uwo munsu bwo zonavugaga ko n'ikibuga ariho ki... kizimukira. Radiyo y'Abafaransa nayo, yumvikanye muri icyo gitondo cyo ku itariki yamakumyabiri na kabiri Gicurasi, yatangaje ko Inyenzi zabujije indege za Loni kugwa i Kanombe. Kandi ngo imirwano; ubwo ni radiyo yabivugaga, ikomeye, ngo yari ibe yari ikomeje kubera mu muji wa Kigali.

Inama y'amashyaka, niyo nkuru yashoje uwo munsu, agize Guverinoma iriho muri iki gihe, yarateranye, ireba uko ibintu byari byifashe mu gihugu cyose, nuko... muri radiyo RTLTM twifuzako inama nk'izo zagombye kujya zibaho, zigahumuriza abaturage.

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri na gatatu gicurasi, ya komisiyo ya Loni ishinze uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, yari yahurujwe n'igihugu cya Kanada, yatangiye imirimo yayo i Jeneve, ariko nk'uko twabibonye, iby'Inkotanyi na Kanada bari bayitezeho, ngo gukora urukiko mpuzamahanga rwo gukatira RTLTM n'Abahutu, ntabwo ibyo byifuzo, Inyenzi zayishakagaho ari byo byabaye.

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri na kane y'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, Inyenzi zibarirwa hagati ya makumyabiri na mirongo itatu, ziturutse ku Gisozi, zambukiye mu gishanga kigabanya Muhima na Gisozi, ahajya

mu gashyamba bita ako kwa Serubuga, maze zomokera ahantu bita mu Kabirizi ka mbere, Serire ya Kabakene, ku Muhima. Zasanze ingabo na rubanda bari maso, maze zihabonera urwo imbwa yaboneye ku iriba.

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri na gatanu ukwezi kwa Gicurasi, ya nama ya Loni yari yateraniye i Genève isuzuma ngo iby'ubwicanyi bubarwa mu Rwanda, yasanze ikibazo nk'uko cyari cyatanzwe n'Inyenzi, atari icy'itsembwa ry'ubwoko bumwe bw'Abatutsi, ahubwo, ari ubwicanyi mu by'ukuri, bwakuruwe n'iyi ntambara, yashojwe n'intamba... yashojwe n'Inkotanyi, habe muri mirongo urwenda, ikuburwa muri Gashyantare mirongo urwenda na gatatu, ikongera kuburwa muri Mata mirongo urwenda na kane, bamaze kwivugana Perezida wa Repuburika.

Nk'uko uwo munsu byumvikanye muri radiyo y'Abafaransa, isa rimwe na rimwe nk'ivuganira Inkotanyi, ngo umujyi wa Kigali wari uwo gufatwa, mu minsi ya vuba. Ikinyamakuru «The citizen» cyandikirwa muri Yuganda, cyo cyaduhishuriye umugambi, ngo Inkotanyi zagombaga kuba zarakoresheje, wo gufata umujyi wa Kigali, umugambi bise «Katonga strategy», sitarateji ya Gatonga, iyo twarayibasobanuriye nayo inshuro nyinshi, aho... Inyenzi zo muri Yuganda ni kimwe n'ize n'iz'ino aha uretse ko i Bugande bazita «Abahegera», ariko Inyenzi zose ni kimwe, ari izarwanye i Bugande, ari n'izarwana hano zose, twabonye ko ari umutwe umwe, w'Abahima n'Abatutsi. Ngo muri iyo sitarateji rero ya Gatonga, zari izo ku... gariza umugi wa Kigali nk'uko zugarije uwo mugezi zawambuka zigafata Kampala, zikugariza... umugi wa Kigali, zikadushonjesha, zikatugota kugeza ubwo zidufatiye. Twibutse ko, hano i Kigali zigiye kuhamara amezi abiri, harabura iminsi mike, i Gatonga naho zahamaze amezi abiri, ariko hano ngirango, ntabwo... nk'uko Kantano yahoze abibabwira, bizoroheye, kuko zirakubitwa umusubirizo.

Imvaho na none numero igihumbi mirongo ine na'ebyiri, aha twashimiye abanyamakuru, basohoye iyo mvaho muri iki gihe cy'intambara, ba Agenesita Mukarutamu n'abandi, yagiraga ati «Intwari yaratabarutse», ubwo bavugaga Nyakwubahwa Jenerari Habyarimana, bakongera bati, «Jenerari

Habyarimana, ruhukira mu mahoro».

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri na karindwi ya Gicurasi, nyuma ya Senegali na Gana na Etiyopiya, Zimbabwe nayo yemeye kuzohereza abasirikare bayo, muri za ngabo zindi, za MINUAR. Zigomba kuza, nk'uko twamaze kubibona rero, kuza kwazo biracyari kure, niyo mpamvu, hatagira Umunyarwanda n'umwe, ndavuga mu bemera Repubulika, wagira icyo azitegerezamo, ahubwo mu bemera Repubulika nimukenyere mukeshe, dukomeze twice Inyenzi. Museveni na none kuri uwo munsu, yabarizwa ga I Viyeni muri Otirishiya, aho yahakaniye ku mugaragaro, ko nta ruhare afite mu ntambara ibera mu Rwanda. Ubwo abanyamakuru, bari bamuhase ibibazo, ndetse bamwerekana n'ingingo zigaragaza, yuko... afite uruhare mu ntambara ibera mu Rwanda. Nyamara, avuye aho i Viyeni muri Otirishiya, yahise ajya muri Osiro, Noruveje mu gihugu cya Noruveje Osiro, noneho yemeza, yemera ku mugaragaro rwose, ko abasirikare b'abagande Abasirikare be, barwana mu Nkotanyi. Aha rero sinzi niba twarahasonuye ku buryo buhagije, ni iyihe mpamvu, yatumye Museveni, abanza agahakana ko atarwana mu Nkotanyi, noneho akaza kwemera ko, arwana mo? Aha rero, nta kindi gisobanuro kindi twabona, ntabwo ari igicucu bigeze aho, uretse ko ari umugome, ariko we yabonye muri raporo Inkotanyi zamuhaye, ko yafashwe... ko zigiye gufata byarangiyeye nako ko zarangije gufata, ati, «nizifata ziriya nyana z'imbwa, bazavugaga ko arizo zifatiye u Rwanda». Reka noneho mpindure, ko nazifashije, kugira ngo nzagire ijamba mu butegetsi, zizaba zimaze gushyiraho mu Rwanda. Aha rero yaribeshye, e kwibeshya rero mu buryo bwa politiki nabwo bubaho, yishyize ahagaragara.

Ubwo kandi, turacyari ku itariki ya makumyabiri na karindwi z'uko kwezi, niko Inyenzi zakomeje gusenya amazu y'abaturage bo ku Kacyiru, zitegura cya gitero twahoze tuvugaga, zagabye kuri Jandarumori, ariko nti... zize, ntikize kuzihira. Uwo munsu havugwaga kandi imishyikirano, hagati y'imitwe yombi y'ingabo zirwana. Ari nayo, mishyikirano, yabaye ku itariki ya mirongo itatu, igapfuba, ikongera ikongera ku itariki, ya kabiri, ejo bundi aha, ejo nako hashize ku itariki... ya kabiri ka... z'u z'uku kwezi kwa gatandatu, nayo, ntigire icyo itanga. Twabivuze mu gitondo igihe na...

ganiraga na Kantano, ko twumva muri iyo mishyikirano, Inkotanyi zirega ngo zirashaka ibi zirashaka ibi ntizishaka ibi, abacu bo bavuga ko badaka iki, bavuga ko bashaka iki? Aha rero, niho twavugaga yuko, iyo mishyikirano banga bagakuririza, itagombye kuzamera nk'imwe ya Ngurinzira.

Ku itariki ya makumyabiri n'umunani, nyuma rero y'uko Inyenzi zitangaje ko zikontorora bitatu bya kane by'igihugu, kuri uwo muni, zabyutse noneho zivugaga noneho ko zikontorora kimwe cya kabiri cy'igihugu. Ako ni akumiro rero ntawamenya niba zari zasubiye inyuma ntawamenya niba zari zateye imbere, ariko ubwo nabwo radiyo z'amahanga, umwanzi akoresha, ngo zamamaze... i... byo yagezeho, zavugaga ko Kigali isa n'iyamaze gufatwa. Bisa n'aho byarangi ii ibya Kigali byarangiye, ndetse ikavugaga ko abasirikare ndetse n'Interahamwe, bayabangiye amaguru bagahunga. Ubwo nibwo abanyamakuru ba RTLM twahagurutse, e... ari Gahigi, mu gitondo, ari na Kantano twari kumwe nimugoroba, dukwirakwira amakaritsiye yose, tunganira n'a... baturage, tunganira n'ingabo mu birindiro, dusanga bese bari aho ari nta mususu. Kandi rero biriya, by'iterabwoba ry'Inkotanyi, ngira ngo abenshi bamaze kubikuba n'ubusa.

Kuri makumyabiri n'icyenda Gicurasi rero, nibwo twasuye amakaritsiye koko, tunyomoza inkuru yari yaraye ihinze, yuko twahunze, twavuye mu muji wa Kigali. Kuri iyo tariki ya makumyabiri n'icyenda kandi, havuzwe inama y'abakuru b'ibihugu, byo muri aka karere dutuyemo, ngo yagombaga guterana, nako igomba guteranira i Nayirobi, ku itariki ya gatandatu Kamena igihumbi kimwe magana cyenda mirongo cyenda na kane, ikiga ikibazo cy'u Rwanda. Iyo nama nayo nk'izindi zose, bagenzi banjye bambanjirije kuri antene, babivuze, ntacyo twagombye kuyitegamo, icyo tugomba gutegamo ni ukwibuka ijamba umukuru w'igihugu cyacu yigeze kutubwira ati «ak'imuhana kaza imvura ihise», tugomba kurwana rero!

Ku itariki ya mirongo itatu Gicurasi, imirwano ikomeye, yatangiye... ahajya mu ma saa cyenda z'ijoro, irangira mu ma saa saba z'amanywa, ishozwa n'uko Inyenzi ziyabangiye amaguru, iyo mirwano rero yabaye hafi mu muji hose, nk'uko twabibabwiye, ari nabyo Kagame yari yaranze kuri

radiyo y'Abongereza, yuko agiye gushoza imirwano ya rurangiza yo gufata Kigali. Ubwo twari ku itariki ya mirongo itatu nk'uko mbivuga, Kigali ntabwoyigeze ifatwa uwo muni, ahubwo babahaye isabu, y'Inkotanyi zapfuye zirenze, amagana. Ubwo kandi intumwa zo mu mitwe y'ingabo yombi, kuri iyo tariki ya mirongo itatu, zari mu mishyikirano nk'uko twabibonye itaragize icyo igeraho.

Ku itariki ya mirongo itatu n'imwe Gicurasi, ari naho dusoreza dusoreza aya makuru, havuzwe... icyokere Paul Kagame yari yateye muri BBC, asobanura ko yagabye ibitero, ari nabyo radiyo z'amahanga zaheragaho zivuga ko Kigali, akayo karangiye. None ubungubu rero, Kantano, tu... twatangiyeye ukundi kwezi, ukwezi kwa Kamena, Kigali ntirafatwa, ngira ngo sinzi icyo wanyongeraho kugira ngo...dusoze.

Kantano HABIMANA

Urakoze Ananiya! Jyewe navuze yuko, Museveni na Kagame, Alias Kagome, sinzi ukuntu batekereza ariko bari bakwiye kumva yuko igihe umwaka, Museveni igihe yafataga Kampala, hagati aho ngaho nyuma y'imyaka icyenda ibintu byarahindutse, Kigali rero ntabwo ari Kampala ntabwo azayifata nk'uko, nk'uko ntabwo yayifata, kubera ko, kubera impamvu nyinshi, Kigali ituwe n'abantu bavuga ururimi rumwe, umwe iyo abonye amakuru ayabwira undi neza nk'uko bimeze, Kampala yari ituwe n'abantu bavuga indimi nyinshi b'Abagande, ariko bavuga indimi nyinshi umwe ntamenye icyo undi abwira undi, no guhunga nyine bakirukira icyarimwe, umwe atamenye icyo umwe ya yabwiye undi. Nyuma kandi, ibyo yakoresheje ibikoresho bya katiyusha byo gutera mu muji ngo abantu bahunge, twe twashize ubwoba Turabyizibukira, ibindi tukabisama, ibindi tukabitega umutwe, uwagejeje ku mu nsi bikamuhitana, ariko abandi bakisuganya bagakomeza ubuzima bwabo. Ari iterabwoba rero, ari amayeri yose yandi yakoresheje, ntayo ashobora gukoresha hano, nyuma kandi dufite ingabo. Dufite ingabo koko zihagaze neza, dufite abaturage bazu... bazikubita ingabo mu bitugu, ku buryo rero mu by'ukuri, ibyo Kagame avuga, ndakeka yuko, ni inzozo nyine, z'Abatutsi bamwe na bamwe bakunda kurota. Ahubwo hinga Kagame mugeze ho inkuru mbi, hinga mugezeho inkuru mbi, ivuye... ivuye muri pozisiyo i Mugambazi, iyo nkuru mbi

ivuye muri pozisiyo i Mugambazi. Nta mpyisi rero kuri RTLTM tudasera igikoma, ndagira ngo mubikire abantu be, aribo, Liyeten twita Kabanda, Serija Sirasi Musoni, Serija Vedasiti Gasana, Serija Karega, Kaporare Rutagonya Alegisi, Kaporare Safari Saveri, Kaporare Cyubahiro Jyoni, Kaporare Mukiza Jyoni Kaporare Rurangwa, Kaporare Rwubuzizi Viyane, Kaporare Gatabazi Adiriyani, Kaporare Murenzi Alphonse, Kaporare Bizimana Berenari. Abo ngabo rero, ingabo z'u Rwanda zabatimbaguriye e... ahantu bita Mvuzo, muri Segiteri ya Ntaba, ni hafi y'i Mugambazi, ubwo bari bagize ngo barazigabije, kuri makumyabiri n'icyenda z'ukwezi kwa kane mirongo icyenda na kane.

Ubwo rero, abo bana Kagame, abo basore Kagame, akomeza yohereza mu masasu, umva ntibari baje i Mugambazi kuburana isambu ya ba se ngo yenda ngo bavuge ko bayibuze, ntibari baje se kuburana abafiyanse babo yenda baba baraburiye aho za Mugambazi ngo babe bababuze, ntibari baje kuhishyuzwa amafaranga, bari baje kwica Abanyarwanda, none dore uko byabagendekeye, sinzi ibyo Kagame asobanurira ababyeyi b'aba bantu, kuko ni abantu ibyo aribyo byose, sinzi rero ko aba bantu baremewe gupfa no gushira, kuko nibakomeza gutya tuzabamara ! Aba ni ab'i Mugambazi, ab'i Kigali ntawabona aho abandika, ab'i... ab'i... abo mu... mu Ruhango, ab'i Nyanza, aba hehe bese, ab'i Ntongwe, abo bo abo mu Bugesera, abo bese lisiti yabaye ndende, Kagame ku buryo yakwaka imfashanyo, yakwaka intwererano, azabona yuko ahora atuma ababyeyi bonkereza ikiraga kuko ni ukwiroha mu muriro, amasasu y'abana b'Abanyarwanda arabategerje abo bese, baza ari Abazungu, baza ari Abagande, baza ari aba... abaki, bese, abo bantu rero tuzabamara! Simbona impamvu agikomeza guhanyanyaza, ntiyemere imishyikirano kuko, abona yuko ibyo aribyo byose arabona ko amerewe nabi, ubwo rero, aragowe ! Shyiraho umuziki sha ! shyiraho umuziki Ka... Kagame Alias Kagome, ari mu byago bikomeye.

Gaspard GAHIGI

...utwiciye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi. Hano mu Rwanda, twari dufite... twari twamaze kuvugurura itegeko nshinga ryacu, tugendera... dukora politike, dukora itegeko- nshinga ryemera ko

u Rwanda rwagendera ku mashyaka menshi. Ariko ngira ngo kuva aho Inkotanyi zitereye, kuva aho Inkotanyi zije zikamunga ndetse n'ayo mashyaka, kandi zarigishijwe na Museveni, ntabwo rero Museveni, ariwe wadusaba kuvugurura politike yacu, duhereye imuzi, kuko twebw twari twahereye imuzi, twagenderaga ku ishyaka rimwe, duhindura itegeko nshinga ryacu, itegeko nshinga ubundi muri politike niwo muzi wa politike, twe rero twahereye imuzi, dukora itegeko nshinga, ryo ku itariki ya cumi y'ukwezi kwa gatandatu mirongo icyenda na rimwe, ryemeza ko u Rwanda rugendera ku mashyaka menshi, ariko Inkotanyi ubanza ari zo zatundijwe, Inkotanyi ni zo urebye zahagaritse uko kugendera kwa politike ku mashyaka menshi, n'ubu turahatana duhatana na zo, twibumbiye mu mashyaka menshi, zo zishaka kvanaho ahubwo aya mashyaka, zishaka e gutegekeshya igitugu.

Ntabwo rero Museveni ariwe watwigisha kuvugurura politike yacu, ahubwo, nabanze avugurure mu Bugande, kandi n'amahanga abyumve ko, Museveni ahubwo ari we ukwiye kuvugurura politike ye, atari twebw. Ati «muvugurure n'ubukungu», .Ngira ngo Museveni, n'ubwo turi agahugu gakennye, ariko turi agahugu kifashije. Ubundi amajyambere y'igihugu agaragarira kenshi ku mibereho myiza y'abaturage. Ugasanga mu gihugu hari ibitaro, mu gihugu hari za disipanseri, mu gihugu hari imihanda iri nya... ma... ya za makadamu, n'imihanda ihuza abantu mu ma serire no mu ma segiteri, ugasanga mbese, abaturage bafite imibereho myiza, nkagira ngo rero mu mibare itangwa, na ba n'abashinzwe ubukungu ku isi, bemeza ko u Rwanda n'ubwo ari igihugu kidafite ubukungu buhambaye kamere, ariko ku byerekeye kubucunga, n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage, u Rwanda rwari rumaze gutera imbere cyane, mu rwego rwa za disipanseri mu rwego rw'amashuri no mu rwego rw'imihanda, ndetse mu rwego rw'imihanda myiza, kandi ku buryo e icyo bita «densité du réseau routier», ni ukuvuga kureba imihanda ihuza abantu, u Rwanda rwabarirwaga mu bihugu bya mbere, muri Afurika. Ntabwo rero u Bugande, aribwo bwaza, kutwigisha kuvugurura ubukungu bwacu, kandi ubukungu bwacu bwarashimwaga ku isi.

Ubundi hari ukuntu babara imibereho myiza y'abaturage, bavuga rero ko mu Rwanda urebye amafaranga Umunyarwanda yari afite, yamutunga mu mibereho myiza ye buri mwaka, bayabariraga

mu madorari, magana atatu makumyabiri., kandi u Rwanda ari agahugu gakennye, kadafite ubukungu kamere buhambaye. Mu Bugande, ugasanga Umugande bamubarira, amatorari magana abiri mirongo itandatu. Urumva rero ko Umunyarwanda, mu byerekeye imibereho myiza kandi u... u Bugande ari igihugu gikize, Umunyarwanda yari hejuru y'Umugande. Ibyo rero bikaba nabyo, byatubwi... byabwira Museveni ko atari we ukwiye kutu... kutwumvisha kuvugurura ubukungu bwacu, ahubwo ari we ukwiye kwita ku...bukungu bw'igihugu cye, bwazahaye kandi ari we wabujahaje, ahubwo yirirwa asabiriza muri mu masanduka y'isi, mu bigega a by'imari ku isi, kugira ngo bamufashe, kandi amafaranga bamufashishije ubanza ari... ubanza ariyo yaroshye mu Nkotanyi, aho azayamarira kazamubaho!

Ku byerekeye ubukungu ngira ngo... abanyarukiye i Kampala, babonye uwo muji uko umeze. Umujyi utagira amatara, umujyi, hamwe haheruka kwubakwa igihe cy'Abahinde, umujyi utagira aho abantu bituma, umujyi amazi usanga amenagurika hose, umujyi urimo umunuko, ariko uwabonye Kigali, ngira ngo mbere y'iyi ntambara, kandi n'ubu n'uwayigeramo ntabwo wayigereranya na Kampala. Tukumva rero, Museveni, akwiye kubanza kwita ku majyambere y'igihugu cye, aho kubanza kuza kwigisha kuvugurura ubukungu hano mu Rwanda.

Ikindi navuga, ni uko avuga ngo... ngo iki kibazo ngo cy'u Rwanda, ngo kizabonerwa igisubizo, ngo... mu karere, ntavuge ibihugu bikagize nk'uko Ananiya yabivugaga, tukaba rero, twibutsa ko Museveni ahubwo, ari we ushaka gutera akaduruvayo muri aka karere yibaza ko ashaka kuzana igisubizo. Muzi ibinyamakuru byavuze n'abantu bakoze iperereza, basanze ngo Museveni yifuza, gushinga... gushinga ingoma, ingoma y'Abatutsi, icyo yise «Himaland» yava mu Bugande, ikamanuka mu Rwanda, igasingira u Burundi ndetse igafata, n'akarere k'amajyaruguru ya... Zayire, ariko bita «Nord-Kivu». Museveni rero ngo akaba ari we wajya ku isonga y'iyi ngoma, ubu rero Museveni akaba yaratangiye nyine mu byo kurwanira Inkotanyi, ndese n'akaduruvayo kabaye mu Burundi, n'u... nawe ubwe afata Ubutegetsi mu Bugande, akaba ari icyo yari agamije, ndetse n'imvururu, mu majyaruguru ya Zayire ziravugwa, ibyo bintu rero Museveni akaba ari byo ashaka,

kugira ngo... adurumbanye Abahutu muri aka karere, ashinge ingoma bise «Himaland», Himaland ni ukuvuga... ubutaka bw'abahima, abahima muzi ko bagira icyo bapfana n'Abatutsi, ibyo bintu Museveni arimo, amahanga akaba akwiye kubyamagana.

Ikindi twavuga Museveni yashatse kugenderaho, muzi ubundi ko ibihugu by'Afurika uko bimeze, mu mategeko agenga Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika, bari bemeje ko, Abazungu bakata nyine, bagendaga bo bagenda bakata bavuga bati «turi mu Rwanda, turi mu Bugande, mu Rwanda hari Ababirigi, hari Abadage se! Muri Zayire hari Ababirigi, mu Bugande hari Abongereza», noneho bakagenda bakata imipaka, bakata imipaka, bakuriki... badakurikije amoko, atuye ako karere, ahubwo bakurikije gusa... bakurikije gusa e... inyungu zabo.

Ubwo nyine... icyo... ibyo bintu Afurika, muzi inama yabereye i Berilini, nyine intambara y'isi irangira, bakavuga bati «reka dukate, abatsinzwe tubambure aha, abatsinze twigabanye», Afurika bayikata badakurikije abayituye. Noneho Museveni rero, ubwo icyo navugaga, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika ujyaho, bararebye bati... bakabona abantu bavuga Ikinyarwanda, wenda bamwe bari mu Rwanda abandi muri mu Bugande abandi muri Zayire, bati rero, «dukurikije, leta dukase imipaka dukurikije indimi, cyangwa, imiryango icyo bita «tribu», cyangwa... za «ethnies», bati ibyo bintu ntawabivamo, bati reka rero turekereho imipaka yashyizweho e... mu gihe cya koronizasiyo». Ni cyo bise *intengibilité des frontières issues de la colonisation*. Bati «kugira ngo Afurika ita... hatabamo akaduruvayo, reka imipaka uko yakaswe mu gihe cy'ubukoronize tubirekere uko nguko». Ariko mu minsi ishize, ubwo Museveni ari ku isonga, bakavuga bati, «iyi mipaka, uwareba uko yasubirwamo, noneho abantu bavuga ururimi rumwe bagakora igihugu kimwe, cyane cyane ko hari n'abantu bari bamaze kwandika ibitabo, bati «hari uduhugu duto, nk'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, bati utwo duhugu dukurikije uko turemye tukaba tutabaho, bati rero ibyiza ni uwareba ukuntu yashyiraho ibihugu binini, noneho ibyo bihugu bikarushaho kugira ubukungu buhamye».

Museveni rero agendera kuri icyo, ati, «u Bugande, ati u Rwanda, ati amajyaruguru ya Zayire, ati u

Burundi, uwabugira igihugu kimwe, ati noneho ubukungu bwa... bwabyo, bukabona uko buchungwa. Ngicyo rero icyo Museveni ashingiraho, ahatse mu mutwe, ahatse mu mutwe, kugira ngo nyine, ashyire mu karere kacu ingoma ya «Hima-Tutsi» noneho akabyitwaza, akagenda atera akaduruvayo, abantu bagafata ubutegetsi, ariko ari abo nyine ashyigikiye, noneho bagakora icyo kintu kinini bita «Hima land», Museveni akiri ku isonga, ariko akaba ari amayeri ya Museveni, we rero akumva ari cyo iyo avuga rero ko, u Rwanda nyine ikibazo cyo mu Rwanda cyabonerwa «une solution locale», ni icyo Museveni aba avuga cy'uko azabyivangamo, noneho bagakora ingoma «Hima-Tutsi», yava mu Bugande, ikamanuka mu Rwanda, ikagera mu Burundi, ifashe n'igice cya Kivu.

Ibyo bintu rero Museveni yavuze, ni ibintu tugomba gufata uko biri, tukumva ko Museveni atari we, uzabona igisubizo cy'aka karere, ahubwo ko arimo ari we urimo gutera akaduruvayo, tukumva ko Museveni atari we watwigisha ibintu byo kuvugurura politike n'ubukungu, kandi iwe byaramunaniye, tukumva Museveni ko atari we watwigisha ibyerekeye imibereho myiza y'abaturage iwe atarabigeraho, tukumva Museveni ko hari icyo apfana n'Inkotanyi, kuko dufite ibimenyetso bigaragara byerekana ko yazirwaniriye, kandi zamurwaniriye, kandi ko Abagande dufite ibimenyetso ko barwanirira Inkotanyi. Ananiya, ni icyo nagira ngo mvuge, kereka niba hari ikindi naba nibagiwe.

Ananie NKURUNZIZA

Ndumva uu.. bwana Gahigi wabivuze byose, ako nakongeraho kugira ngo dusubize Kantano antene, ni ukwibutsa abantu bashinze ibirindiro, bari ku mabariyeri, ko iyo Inkotanyi ziteye zibanza kumoka, ariko iyo uteze ugutwi neza, wumva zitamoka nk'imbwa neza. Ahubwo hari ubwo zimoka n'imbwa zikamoka, rukaba akantu kajya kumera nk'akaduruvayo. Ikindi ejo wari wabwiye abantu ko mu gutera, iyo habaye... nka ninjoro cyanga bujya gucya, zikunze kwambara ibitenge by'abadamu n'ingutiya. Ikindi umuntu yakwibutsa abantu bari ku marondo, ni ugukomeza kuba maso, aho bari ku marondo ahongaho, ntibagaragare ari igihiriri, ahubwo abaruta ubwinshi bakihisha, hakavamo nka babiri baza gukomeza bakaba maso, hagira ikiba bagatera akamo bagakangura abandi.

Kuri ibi bya Museveni rero, tumaze imyaka ine duhanganye, ndumva... niba tugeze uyu muni, ngirango iminsi yacu kuva bubura imirwano turacyayibara, ubu tugeze ku wa mirongo itanu na gatandatu. Museveni rero utaradufashe muri iyi myaka ine ishize ntabwo ateze kuzadufata, ariko ubwo yamaze kwiyemerera ko yohereje abantu kurwana, ngira ngo... na Guverinoma yacu n'abayigize, nabo noneho ntibatinya kwiyambaza abandi bantu, ntibatinya kwiyambaza inshuti, niba ara... ako koko, ako koko k'Abahima-Tutsi barwana, hari n'ubundi bwoko bugomba guhangana nabo! Ko bita ba «Bantu tribe» sinzi, abavuga icyongereza «Bantu tribe» ni abasige abo ngabo Museveni ashaka gukura muri «empire» ye, ashaka gukura muri ubwo bwami bwe, akakabatsembera ku icumu.

Gaspard GAHIGI

E... urakoze Ananiya, hari ikindi nagira ngo nibutse koko, e... Kantano yakomojeho mu mwanya. yavuze ati ubundi bavugaga Inkotanyi, abantu bakiruka. Ati none baravuga Inkotanyi abantu bagahurura. Ni ikintu cyiza cyane, n'ikintu bita «tournant», ni ikintu... twakwita euh, intango nshyashya, mu mirwano turwana n'Inkotanyi, kuko, ...

Fin de la Face A

Gaspard GAHIGI

...wabyumva ukavuga uti ntizizanyice urwo numvise zishe runaka ukazihunga. Nigeze kuvuga ibintu by'Inkotanyi zatetse umuntu mu isafuriya, noneho kugira ngo abahagera nibabona umuntu umutwe we uri mu isafuriya, bagire ubwoba ngo Inkotanyi zirya abantu noneho utinye ko nawe zaguteka, noneho ukagira ubwoba. Inkotanyi zikaza zagera ahantu zikarasa ari ebyiri, ari eshatu abantu bakiruka, ibyo bikaba byaratumye Inkotanyi mu gihe cyashize aribwo wumva ngo zageze aha zageze aha. Ikintu rero navuga koko abaturage bakwiye kumva kandi bakagifata mu mutwe ni uko ubu noneho abantu batinyutse koko Inkotanyi ibyo by'iterabwoba bitakibarimo. Uravuga uti ziraha abasirikare, abasore, abasaza bati zijye tujye, induru zikavuga Inkotanyi bakazirukaho. Nkaba mbona ari ikintu gikomeye, eh.. gikomeye twaheraho kugira ngo tumare abantu ubwoba, abahunga be... bareke kongera guhunga kuko nyine abantu basigaye bashyira hamwe mu guhashya Inkotanyi.

Ikindi uvuze nakumva koko twavuga, niba Inkotanyi zaragiye, zikajya i Bugande, zikajya mu Burundi, zikajya mu majyaruguru ya Zayire, zikaza mu Rwanda, zigashaka abantu bo kuzirwanirira zitwaje ubwoko, zigashaka Museveni, noneho ngo zirashaka gukora «Himaland», ndumva koko, abantu koko, barwana n'abo, bakwiye nabo kumva ko iyi ntambara yo mu Rwanda ibareba, bakaba bahurura abanyarwanda, Abanyarwanda ntidukomeze kurwana twenyine, abantu bakaduhurura, simvuga ngo imbaraga zacu zabaye nke, turacyakomeye, turacyakomeye turakirwanaho turi benshi, ariko nkumva ko koko, abantu bita «des Bantous», bakwiye nabo kumva ko intambara yo mu Rwanda, ko kumara Abahutu bibareba intambara yo mu Rwanda ikaba intambara ya Afrika yose, abantu bakumvako ibareba, ntibibazengo ni Abahutu bashira, noneho ngo bafunge, birekerere iyongiyo, kuko ngo ruriye abandi rutakwibagiwe, ubwo bamaze gufata u Rwanda, bakomeza bakajya muri Zayire bakajya n' ahandi, ubwo rero nkumva ko koko, icyo kintu, ari ikintu abantu bakwiye kumenya ko, niba Abahima barahagurutse bashaka kurwanya Abahutu, Abahutu nabo bahagurutse nta cyaha baba bakoze, cyane cyane ko ataribo batewe, ahubwo byaba ari ukwirwanaho.

Kantano HABIMANA

Urakoze Gahigi n'Ananiya, abumva radiyo RTLM, ndakeka yuko abwirwa benshi akumva beneyo, ndakeka yuko rero Inkotanyi zikwiye kumva ukuri, hanyuma zikicara, naho Museveni uziroha, yamara kuziroha, tukirirwa tuzi... tuzikubita imihini, tuzirasa ho amabombe nawe yibereye muri za Noruveje mu ma hoteri ajya kurya, arimo atembera anezerewe n'umugore we cyangwa n'iki, nabonye umenya, ntabwo ajyana umugore we mu ngendo ahubwo ajyana murumuna w'umugore we, ubwo rero aho yirirwa aho ngaho yinezaza, Inkotanyi ntakamenye ko twazimaze, we aravuga songa mbere aravuga iki! Ibyo aribyo byose, ndakeka yuko bariya bana b'Abatutsi, nta muntu bishingikirije, kuko azabamarisha neza neza, bagashira. Ubwo rero abumva RTLM, mukomeze mugire ubutwari, Inkotanyi nimwumva aho bayivuze, muhurire n'imihini, ubundi murebe ukuntu ikinagira, barirukanka ariko bariya batutsi! yah! Yewe, yewe, yewe, yewe, yewe! Mukomeze mwumve RTLM, ivugira hano i Kigali.

Gaspard GAHIGI

... nibakubwira ngo, ngo ngiye gukoresha inama, nta nama y'Inkotanyi. Nta nama y' inkotanyi, nta nama Inkotanyi yakugira, iyo ikurundanya ni ukugira ngo ikwice. Tukagira ngo rero tubwire abantu, bose, barwana ku gihugu cyabo, barwana ku buzima bwabo, kuba maso koko bakumva ko Inkotanyi nta nama zibagira, ahubwo iyo zibarundanya, ni ukugira ngo zibice. Mwirinde rero kujya mugenda ngo mu... muri quartier, iyo Inkotanyi zibabonye mwirunze agatsiko, zihita zibarohamo ibombe. Kujya muri benshi mukirunda agatsiko ni bibi; mu byerekeye no kwirwanaho, kuko iyo murunze agatsiko, igisasukikabagwamo kirabahitana. Mwirinde kujya mugenda muri benshi, mwirinde kugenda... mugenda mu... mu tubari mugira mute, ngo mwirunde hamwe, iyo mwirundanyije Inyenzi ikabarohamo igisasu mupfa muri benshi. Ariko iyo Inyenzi irashe igisasu, n'iyi cyahitana mugenzi wawe, mwariyemeje kurinda igihugu cyanyu, nikimuhitane mumuhambe, ariko cye kubahitana mwese.

Mwirinde rero kujya mugenda murema udutsiko, udutsiko, kuko ari ibintu bibi mu byerekeye

kwirwanaho. Nagira ngo nsabe, umutekenisiye wacu abashyirireho akaririmbo, bongere babashyirireho akaririmbo k'urukundo, k'urukundo rutagurwa, kuko nta rukundo rugurwa ku munzani, hanyuma mukomeze, mutone nk'uko babivuga mu gisirikare, uha... ufate ibirindiro, ariko mwirinde kujya mwishyira hamwe, kuko hari umuntu wigeze kuvuga ati «iyi ushaka gutwika imbagara urazirundanya», iyo mwirundanyije nibwo Inkotanyi ibaroha mo isasu, mwese mugashira. Mugende, mumenye kujya mwikinga, inkotanyi zitere ibisasu nk'uko Kantano akunze kubivuga, bifate imbeba bifate ubusa, noneho turebane n'Inkotanyi. Kandi nababwiye ko turi mu mahindura, ko ubungubu inkotanyi aho ziri hose zimerewe nabi. Ntabwo ari ukubeshya radiyo RTLМ yiyemeje kubabwiza ukuri, aho Inkotanyi ziri hose ubu mu birindiro, zirimo gusubira inyuma. Ni amahindura rero, mukomeze mukomere. Musique...

...aragira ngo nawe yongere agire icyo avuga, navuze ko amagambo aryoha asubiwemo, yongere agire icyo avuga, kuri iyo ntambara y'Abatutsi ishingiyeye ku moko, twibutsa cyane cyane, ko amahanga azibutsa incuro ya mirongo itanu, itariki esheshatu z'ukwezi kwa gatandatu muri uyu mwaka turimo, ko amahanga yishyize hamwe akarwanya agatsiko ka Hitireri, kashakaga ngo ko ubwoko bw'indobanure bw'Abadage aribwo bwategeka igihugu, ko kuri iyo tariki, twizera ko ya nama izabera muri Kenya, yatumijwe na Perezida w'icyo gihugu, yahuza Abaperezida b'aka karere, ikiga ikibazo iyo nama yabera muri Kenya, ari n'inama izahuza abo bishyize hamwe, b'Abazungu batabaye, bavuga bati «Ntabwo twakwemera ko abantu, intambara ishingiyeye ku moko yayogoza isi yose, ko twizera ko bazatabara, bakumva ko abantu bashingiyeye ku bwoko, batateza akaduruvayo muri iki gihugu». Ananiya rero, amagambo aryoha asubiwemo, ndagirango wongere ugire icyo uvuga kuri iyo ntambara ishingiyeye ku moko, kuri iyo ntambara Abazungu bomokeye i Norumandi kw'itariki ya gatandatu z'ukwezi kwa gatandatu mirongo icyenda... igihumbi kimwe magana cyenda mirongo ine na kane, bakaza ari ingabo, zari ibihumbi, abantu batarabona iyo firime sinema ya, y'iyo ntambara, ni igitangaza!

Twababwiye mu gitondo ko umunsi umwe gusa bomoka, hapfuye abantu ibihumbi mirongo cyenda.

No mu Rwanda hazapfe ibihumbi ijana, ariko abantu batabare bumve ko abantu bashingiye ku bwoko, batagombye kuza ngo bayogoze igihugu. Ananiya nagirango wibutse, ibyo wavuze mu gitondo, ku byerekeye iyo ntambara ishingiyeye ku bwoko.

Ananie NKURUNZIZA

Murakoze Gahigi, mu by'ukuri ahubwo twabivuze ejo, ibyerekeranye n'iriyadebarikoma yo kuri Norumandi, ingabo z'abibumbye zomokera ku myaro ya Norumandi mu gace kaViri na Worune na Kan, twarabivuze, dusanga izo ngabo zaragize ubutwari, ndetse nka jenerari Paton wari uyoboye ingabo z'Abanyamerika za... zomokeye aho bita Viri, ubwatobwe bukimara gusohora urutindo rwa rwabwo, kugira ngo ingabo zomoke, uwari ufite mitrayeze w'Abadage yarabarashe cyane kuko yari ku misozi ihanamye yo kuri iyo myaro ya Norumandi, abarashe noncho, abasirikare uko basohotse bagahura n'amasasu, uko basohotse bagahura n'amasasu, bageze aho baradindira ntibongera gusohoka. Apao... Aba Ofisiye babategekaga bati «musohoke» abandi bati«amasasu aratumaze», nyamara igihe kimaze kugera Jenerari Pato, yarasimbutse, amaze gusimbuka asohoka mbere, mu gusohoka mbere abasirikare ga ahubwobasohoka bagiye kumukingira kugira ngo atagira icyo aba, nuko, debarikoma ikomeza ityo. Murumva ko ayo masasu atahitanye ubusa yahitanye abantu, ariko barurira ya mitrayeze y'Abadage barayifata.

Gahigi rero wabivugaga, intambara ishingiyeye ku bwoko, ubutegetsu bushingiye ku bwoko budashingiyeye ku busabane bw'abantu ngo umuntu amenye ko ari nk'undi, ntaho byajyana umuntu, habe n'iyo yaba ari Hitireri, kabe n'iyo yaba ari Kagame. Icyo gihe uribuka ko Hitireri yararobanuye avuga ko Abadage bafite ubwoko, bagize ubwoko, bwo bita Arienne, ubwo bw'indobanure nk'uko Abatutsi bagiye babivuga mu minsi yashize ko ari ubwoko bw'Imana, ndetse bakavuga ko ari Abafarasha, icyo gihe Hitireri rero akora ibyo ngibyo, yemezaga ko ngo Umudage, n'iyo yaba akubura mu muhanda, aruta umwami w' irindi shyanga iryo ariryo ryose. Aha rero ntaho bitandukaniye n'ibitekerezo bya ba Kagame, yewe n'ibitekerezo bya wa mukecuru w'impunzi nakubwiraga, wigeze kumbwirw ko abahutu atari Abantu, ko Abahutu ari ibikoko.

Tugarutse hirya gato rero kuri iyi ntambara ya Hitireri yarwanye, yarwanye intambara yo kwamagira, twabonye nk'igihe twaganiraga ko, yafashe igihugu cya Otorishe mu ijoro rimwe, bukeye afata icya Poronye, abantu barebera ! Afata ibyo bihugu abantu barareberaga, Abongereza icyo gihe bari bafite imbaraga zikomeye cyane barareberaga, Abanyamerika barareberaga, Abafaransa barareberaga, cyokora barabikinisha, bakagira bati hari ubwo yafashe abaturanyi be twe ntazatugeraho. Mu by'ukuri, amaze ... guhetura ibyo bihugu bari baturanye, ndetse yambutse ku mupaka ugaruka mu Budage bw'uburengerazuba, bwari bwerekeranye n'Ubufaransa hafi ya za Sitrasiburu, hafi ya za Dene ugana mu Bubirigi, niho bagize bati «wa muntu ni ishyano». Nk'ibi by'Inkotanyi, nk'ibi by'aka gatsiko k'Abatutsi kari gukora, kamagira kica Abahutu bo mu Rwanda, gashaka gusatira ab'i Burundi n'abo muri Zaire, ndetse n'abo muri Tanzaniya muri ako gace ka Karagagwe, batzasigara ari bazima.

Ubwo rero iyo ntambara yo kwamagira kwa Hitireri yabaye nk'iy'Inkotanyi, abantu bumve. Nyamara kandi nagira ngo nkubwire ikintu cy'igitangaza, muri uko kwamagira kwa Hitireri wari warateguye ibitwaho n'i... ibikoresho byose nk'uko Inkotanyi na Museveni babiteguye, hariho abaturage bagiye bashinga ibirindiro, nk'Abafaransa cyane cyane, twaje kumenya yuko bashinze ibirindiro, bagakora muvoma yo bita *résistance française*...

Gaspard GAHIGI

I... nagira ngo, Ananiya, nkwiwutse ko koko, uvuze ijamba naringiye kukwibutsa, abo bantu babise *les résistants*. Abo bantu bakoze akazi gakomeye, mu kurwanya umwanzi. Nagira ngo rero mba ... nk'uko Ananiya abivuze, abo bantu, a, Abadage bari bafite ibikoresho bikomeye, ariko abo bita *les résistants*, baragenda bakajya mu mazu y'ingabo z'Abadage, ababibonye mu mafirime, zikaza zirukanka zigenda, noneho umuntu wiswe umurezista, umuntu washinze ibirindiro akemera agafata icyuma akakimutera, akemera agafata imbunda ya yindi bahigisha amasha n'amasirabo akamurasa isasu rimwe akamugarika, (...) rero nibo bise *résistants*, Ananiya ntabwo nguciye mu ijamba nagira

ngo wikome... ukomeze. Ariko tuvuga ko abantu biswe, biswe rezista mu Bafaransa, ari abantu bakoze akazi gakomeye cyane, kugeza n'igihe Guverinoma yari yarahunze, DE GAULLE ari mu Bwongereza, yongeye akagaruka mu Bufaransa akabahasanga. Abo bantu n'ubu barazwi mu Bufaransa, nkavuga ahubwo n'i Kigali, no mu Rwanda, ko abantu bitwa Abarezisita, abantu bemeye gushinga ibirindiro, ko abo bantu baba bazwi, twazatsinda intambara, bagashimwa. Nagira ngo Ananiya nta gukomeza guca mu ijambo ukomeze ariko, abantu bitwa abarezista, abantu biyemeje kurwana ku gihugu cyabo, abantu bitwa... bashinze ibirindiro mu Bufaransa, wenda nta, ntaza kukwibagiza aho wari ugeze, twavugaga iyi ntambara y'isi, tugeze ku barezisita niho nari nguciriye mu ijambo, nagirango ukomeze, ariko no mu Rwanda, tuzagire abo bantu.

Ananie NKURUNZIZA

Urakoze... Gahigi, nari mvuze iryo jambo *résistant* nk'uko ubisubiyemo, cyane cyane ariko mvuga, eh, ko ryatangiye nk'uko nawe wabivugaga mu mugwi wa Kigali. Umugi wa Kigali koko rero, *résistance* yaratangiyeye, n'ubwo itari yafata *forme*, ngo abantu bavugaga bati ilisiti y'abarezisita, ubundi ilisiti y'abarezisita iba ari ibanga, ntawe uyishyira ahagaragara kuko umwanzi iyo abamenye nibo aheraho kwica. Ndagira ngo rero twe twagumye i Kigali, igitekerezo nagumye kucyumva cyane cyane za Nyamirambo hariya aho dutemberera, ukahasanga abantu kandi bajijutse, ari ku mabariyeri, wagiye ubanyuraho, wagiye ubaza cya gihe ukahasanga abantu bajijutse, ugasanga ari kuri bariyeri ukibaza uti se, uyu muntu, uri muri Kigali uhanambiye, udahembwa, bimeze bite? Ngabo rero abarezisita b'u Rwanda, bari i Kigali bari n'ahandi, ngabo abo tuzaheraho dukopera ku byo Abafaransa bakoze, bakumira ibitero bya Hitireri.

Nk'uko wari umaze kubivuga, DE GAULLE amaze gucikana n'igice kimwe cy'ingabo, Guverinoma nayo imaze kugira icyo twakwita *défaillance*, DE GAULLE yageze aho aragaruka, ariko asanga igihugu mu by'ukuri, gifitwe n'abarezisita. Ngirango rero Gahigi n'abandi batwumva, muri Kigali ni cyo turimwo dukora. Ahubwo dukwiye kugiha forume, tugakora *résistance*, muri Kigali, n'aba birukanka, duhora tubwira kuri RTLM ko birukanwa n'ubusa, bazagaruka bakadusanga i Kigali,

tugifashe Kigali.

Bikiri aho rero, twavuga ku bya Hitireri, Hitireri yara, ishyano, ishyano, nk'i ... nk'iri twagushije rya Kagame, ishyano nk'iri ngiri rwose iryo Abanyarwanda bita irya Gashyantare, kuko Hitireri, muribuka, twagiye tubibona muri sinema cyangwa tukabisoma mu bitabo, yashinze ibibunda bikomeye cyane, bimeze nk'ibi Inyenzi zirashisha umujyi, abishinga mu misozi ya Navaroni. Imisozi ya Navaroni rero ihanamye mu Bugereki, ubwo byari bitunze iminwa yabyo nk'ahagana, mu Butariyani, nk'ahagana hariya za Egypte na Libiya, aho ingabo ze ziyobowe na Romeri zari zaragiye kurwana, nuko, bagirango rero begereye ahongaho n'indege zahagera, ibyo bibunda, zi, bya Hitireri, bigahanura izo ndege. Izo mbunda za Navarone rero, bita *les canons de Navarone*, cyangwa abazi icyongereza bakazita *the Guns of Navarone* zari ishyano...

Gaspard GAHIGI

Bakozeho na firime, bakozeho na firime, bakozeho na firime, kuri *les canons de Navarone*, nagira ngo ukomeze.

Ananie NKURUNZIZA

Yee, ubwo rero nabigereranya n'iki kibunda kimwe ejo wabwiye abantu, kiriya cy'Abanyamerika cya mashinigani emu, umenya cyanditseho, emu (inaudible) eh, cya mashinigani kiriya cyo bita M..50, ni nk'ibyo rero, Inkotanyi zari zashinze ku Gisozi, ariko abantu bakomboka, bakagenda bakabifata.

Ngibyo rero iby'imbunda za Navarone, zari zishinze, imizinga yari ishinze Navarone, ikaza rero kujya gufatwa n'abakomando, bo mu ngabo z'abibumbye. Byaba birebire ...umuntu abatekerereje byaba ari inkuru, e, nk'iya senema cyangwa se, yaba ari n'inkuru ishimishije ariko yazakuba ndende, umuntu abatekerereje cyane cyane abo mu ngabo zacu ndumva nzafata akanya, nkayitegura mu buryo bw'incamake, uko Abakomando bagiye gusenya ibyo bibunda bya Navarone. Ibyo aribyo

byose, icyo twavugaga uyu munsu, ni uko Abakomando bagiyeye barabisenya. Kurwana intambara rero ya Hitireri, urebye yageze mu mahindura yayo yanyuma, Hitireri bikamuyobera, hamwe n'iyi debarikoma yo kuri Norumandi yo mu kwezi kwagatandatu kwa mirongo ine na kane, iyi ntambara yamaze mu by'ukuri imyaka itanda, itanu. Burya bayibarira itanu, kuko yatangiye gutengenya gutera, mu mwaka wa mirongo itatu n'icyenda ushyira uwa mirongo ine, iza gukara mu mwaka wa mirongo ine na kabiri, iza noneho guhindura ihinduranye Hitireri, mu mwaka wa mirongo ine na kane nk'uko twabibonye.

Iyi ntambara murumva rero mu kuyirwana, abantu bagomye kwisuganya. Hitireri yari yaje nk'ishyamba nk'iri twagushije rya Kagame. Abantu barisuganya, abantu bashira ubwoba. Bumva Hitireri, wari ufite ibyo bita mu gifaransa *les camps de concentration*, ni ahantu yafungiraga abantu, akahabamarira, a, abacu bo Gahigi yamaze kubabwira, ko abo muri komine ya Murambi babateranyije ku mugaragaro, ba ... kabatwikira hanze, ariko Hitireri we yari afite ibyuma birimo za gaz, izo gaz bakazinjizamo abantu bagafungura, bakamira nkeri. Iyi ntambara rero mu kuyirwana abantu bagombye kwisuganya, abantu, buhoro buhoro bagenda batinyuka Hitireri, ni kimwe n'abo barezisita b'Abafaransa twabonye, abantu buhoro buhoro, amahugu agenda yumva ko icyago cyitwa Hitireri ari icyago, cyitari icyago cy'ishyamba rimwe gusa, ari icyago cy'amahanga yose.

Nibwo ubwo ngubwo Abongereza bahagurukaga barahagarara, baratera nabo batangira kurwana, Abanyamerika nabo bakibaza ko ubwo bari kure y'inyanja, hakurya y'inyanja ya Abatarantika, hari aho Hitireri atazabageraho. Ariko babonye yanze, abaye ibamba, nibwo ubwongubwo nabo binjiye mu ntambara, bityo, n'Abarusiya bari baricecekeye, binjira mu ntambara, Hitireri atsindwa atyo.

Nagira ngo ahari aho mbabwira akantu kamwe mbere yo kurangiza, akantu nabwira nk'ingabo zacu, mu ngabo zacu, ni mwe dukeshya ubuzima, hamwe n'urubyiruko rwacu, kuko abo barumuna banyu murwanana, bo mu mashyamba anyuranye, ni mwe dukeshya ubusugire bwa repuburika Nta wundi tubukeshya Ntababwira rero yuko, Jenerari Paton, warwanaga ayoboye ingabo z'Abanyamerika

zarwanaga, aho agereye mu Butaliyani, bamaze kububohoza, yagiye mu bitaro gusura abasirikare b'inkomere, nizeye n'a...bayoboye ingabo zacu bajya bibuka kujya gusura inkomere z'abasirikare kuko nicyo kintu cya mbere cyonyine, gituma umusirikare iyo akirutse asubira ku rugamba. Ni uko, Komanda we aba yaragiye kumusura. Nuko! Jenerari Pato rero agiye gusura abasirikare, agenda abona abacitse amaguru, agenda abona abo ibisasu byaturikanye, ababwira ati «mukomere» abandi tu bati «turakomeye nidukira tuzaza», nuko aza kugera ku muntu rero w'umusirikare, wari uraho rwose, arahaguruka aramusuhuzza, ati «ese nawe uri umurwayi»? (interruption) uri mu bitaro, atarakomeretse. Cyokora ngo yaje kurakara amukubita urushyi, amukubise urushyi, abaganga bari kumwe baravuga bati «Uramurenganyije, ahari aho yarwaye ubwoba, n'ubwoba nabwo ni indwara». Nagira ngo rero ngabo z'u Rwanda, mwebwe mwo kuzaba nk'abo basirikare bajya mu bitaro batarwaye, mwo kuzaba nk'abandi, sinzi niba babaho, mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, b'ibigwari, ariko, Gahigi ngirango, nawe urumva, ntekereza ko,...

Gaspard GAHIGI

Urakoze Ananiya, naraye numvise ijamba, Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komine yaraye agejeje ku banyarwanda yavuze kuri abo basirikare b'abanyabwoba, iyo umusirikare aje akavuga ati «nimuhunge», ahunga ari umusirikare afite imbunda, afite «tenu», ya myenda ya gisirikare, nta muturage udahunga. Nicyo gituma rero njye, nshyigikiye Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komine, uvuga ko abasirikare nk'abo atari abasirikare. Ko ahubwo *Etat Major* ikwiye gukora uko ishoboye, abo bantu, bakabashungura. Kuko iyi ntambara tugezemo, uhunze uri umusirikare, nta cyatuma umusivili adahunga. Nicyo gituma rero nshyigikiye koko ibyo Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu yaraye avuze, ko abasirikare nk'abo barwara ubwoba, nk'uwo wagiye akaryama, bakarinda bamuvumbura nta ki, nta nko... nta bukomere afite, ibyo bintu ntabwo twabishyigikira, nkagira ngo mbonereho gushimira ingabo z'u Rwanda nshimire abasore, n'ubwo bose babita «Interahamwe» muri iki gihe ariko ni abasore b'u Rwanda bo (interruption). Mfite ilisite yabo, narayinetse ndayitaka, aho ugiye (...)

Kantano HIBAMANA

... wowe uzaba umugabo, utunge urugo, ushake umugore, ubyare abana, hanyuma noneho abo bose, babe bari ku mugongo wawe, inzara nitera ubahahire, intambara nitera ubarwanire. Ngicyo icyo Imana iremera umugabo, ikamutandukanya n'umugore, ntabwo iba yabikoreye gusa kwikinira, cyangwa se, umwe imuhe ibi n'ibi, bitandukanye n'ibindi ibi n'ibi ikina, ni uko umugabo nyine aba agomba kuba umugabo. Ariko rero niba ibintu bikomeye cyane, umugore nawe ashobora kuba umugabo, ni ukuvuga mu bitekerezo no mu migirire.

Abumva, radiyo rero yigenga, RTL, kuri uyu wa gatandatu, itariki ya kane z'ukwezi kwa gatandatu igihumbi kimwe magana cyenda mirongo cyenda na kane, turabashuhije mwese, tubifuriza amahoro, n'ubwo Inyenzi-Inkotanyi zo zitayashaka, n'abazishyigikiye, aribo ba Museveni, n'Ababirigi, hanyuma, n'abandi bandi bose, bifuzaga yuko uru Rwanda, rutagira amahoro! Ibyo aribyo byose Imana nibishaka, tuzatsinda kandi amahoro agaruke mu Rwanda, kandi iyo umuntu abirebye, iyo umuntu agenda abireba abisuzuma, asanga mu by'ukuri, bitari, bitari kure, bitari kure...na gato.

Mwaramutse mute se aho iwanyu? Byifashe bite? Hano i Kigali mu by'ukuri... haramutse ijoro rituje, uretse abantu nyine, abantu bari kuri za bariyeri bafite imbunda, mbese wagirango ntibarara, ijoro ntiryacya badaturikije, abongabo rero nibo batuma umuntu agira yenda nk'agatima gahagaze buke, nyuma amasasu yaceceka umuntu akumva aruhutse, ariko ndakeka yuko baba bagira ngo Inkotanyi nyine bazumvishe yuko bahagaze neza kuri bariyeri, ariko rero mu by'ukuri, ayo masasu bapfusha ubusa, tuba tuyakeneye, ubundi mu by'ukuri ntawagombye kurasa icyo atabona, kuko iyo umuntu ara... arashe icyo atabona, urebye, ni ubuhubutsi, ntabwo ari ngombwa rero kurasa, icyo umuntu abonye cyose, icyo wikanze, umuntu arasa, icyo abona.

Mu by'ukuri rero, urebye i Kigali haramutse ijoro ryi... aha, ijoro rya, yije neza, uretse, ko nyine ryari igikara hari umwijima ukaze, hanyuma, nko mu gihe cya saa kumi n'imwe niho, umuntu yumvise ibisasu bya kabutindi, ibisasu bya karahabutaka by'ingabo z'u Rwanda, byajyaga gukangura

Inkotanyi, aho zisinziye, mu myobo, aho zagize indiri hariya mu ntoki za Gisozi, za Kicukiro, mbese mu nkengero zose z'umujyi, na hariya za Rebero. Ibyo bibombe rero, bizitiraho zigisinziye dore ko umunaniro wazishe, ubwo noneho ntihaburamo izipfamo, nka makumyabiri nuko, ubwo bakaba barekeye aho!

Ariko rero mu kanya maze kumenya yuko amakuru y'imirwano, maze kumenya yuko muri iki gitondo, nko mu ma saa kumi, Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, zongeye gutera ahari ingabo z'u Rwanda, ku Kivugiza, hanyuma noneho barasakirana barasakirana, kugeza n'ubu rero bakaba, barimo bakirasana, ariko iyo urebye, mbajije abasirikare bamwe, barimo banganiriza mbabaza nti ese, ubwo barimo banterefona, noneho ndababaza ese murabona Inkotanyi, zimeze gute koko muby'ukuri? Bati «umva», mu by'ukuri, Inkotanyi, ziri mu mazu y'abaturage hano ku Kivugiza, zanze kuvamo, ariko rero, nta ngufu zifite, ni ugupfa guhanyanyaza nyine by'ubukotanyi, byo gukomeza kuruhanya, ngo ntizigiye nuko ikajya mu nzu, ikizirikiramo, iti iyi nzu ubwo ari iy'umuturage ntibayisenya, nuko wayikubitaho igisasu cya, yasenyuka ikongera ikimukira mu yindi, ariko ugasanga nyine ari ibintu byo kuvuga ngo «Bon» ngo jyewe Inkotanyi ndahari, ngo ngo ngo ntabwo, ngo, mbese, ikintu cyo kuvuga gusa ngo ndahari ndahari, nuko. Ibyo rero ugasanga nyine ari ibintu byo kuruhanya by'Inkotanyi, ni nka biriya ngo ngo jyewe Inkotanyi, ngo ubungubu ngo ndi i Ntongwe ! Ngo jyewe Inkotanyi ndi, ndi mu Mayaga ndi i Ntyazo, ngo jyewe Inkotanyi nageze i Muyaga, jyewe Inkotanyi nageze i Muyira, jyewe Inkotanyi nageze i Butare, jyewe Inkotanyi ndi i Nyanza, ariko wareba izo Inkotanyi zihari, ugasanga ni inkotanyi zibunza izina gusa, n'ubugome birumvikana kuko, icyo zihitanye ziragihitana, n'ubugome bwinshi rero ugasanga zibubunza, ariko ubundi, ntabwo ari Inkotanyi ziba zikanganye, ntabwo ari... ku buryo nyine usanga gusa ari ukujagata no kujarajara, ibyo bintu bya politiki ya serwakira nyine ugasanga nibyo bihungisha abantu igitero, imisozi yose ikagenda, abantu bose bagakuka umutima, ariko ari ibintu gusa byo kuvuga ngo ndi hano, by'Inkotanyi nyine, kurasa udusasu hirya no hino, ugasanga nta kintu bimaze.

Mu kanya maze kubonana n'umuntu uvuye i Gitarama, wanyuze i Gitarama ejo saa moya z'ijoro,

akaba yageze hano mu gitondo, yageze hano mu gitondo, tubonanye nonaha mu gitondo, noneho mubaza, rwose iby'i Gitarama kugira ngo ambwire neza, uko bimeze. Mu by'ukuri, arambwiye ati umva jyewe, naje mva ku Gisenyi nyura mu muji wa Gitarama, hari umuntu nari ngiye gushaka. Ati ariko, abantu bakagenda bambwira bati «winyura i Gitarama ibintu byacitse». Ati ariko ndakomeza ndagenda, ngera mu muji wa Gitarama. Nsanga abasirikare barahagaze, barimo baribaza ese, aba bantu bo bagiye hehe? Baribaza, aho abaturage bagiye. Abasirikare, baruzuye mu mugwi wa Gitarama, baribaza aho abaturage bagiye. Kuko bagiye batabazeyeho! Abagiye abasirikare atari bo bababwiye bati mugende ! Noneho ndamubaza nti ese imirwano, yaba imeze ite koko, ko warebye neza? Ati «muby'ukuri uretse, udusasu duke, numvise i Kabgayi, i Kabgayi, ahagana ha handi ku... abanyura i Kabgayi murabona ku marimbi, muzi ko Inkotanyi zikunda ahantu hari ishyamba, ku marimbi, e, ku irimbi ry'Abapadiri, hahandi mu ishyamba ry'i Kabgayi, niho Udukotanyi turi. Noneho, ati «nagerageje kubaza rero uko izo nkotanyi zahaje» Ati «mu by'ukuri, i Kabgayi hari ibyitso byinshi by'iInkotanyi, abaturage basanzwe, noneho inkotanyi gusa ikintu zakoze, ni ukubashyikiriza imbunda». Haje nk'Inkotanyi makumyabiri, mirongo itatu, cyangwa se tuvuge mirongo itanu noneho zishyikiriza ibyo byitso imbunda, noneho batangiyeye kurasa, bumva Inkotanyi, zabaye nyinshi.

Nguko uko abaturage bahunze i Gitarama hanyuma rero nanone, igishekeje muri ibyo, nuko hari abaturage b'i Gitarama, bahunze urusaku rw'imbunda zacu! Wumve nawe ! Bya bibunda by'ingabo z'u Rwanda, bimwe birasa imisozi igatingita, bimwe birasa ubutaka buga, buga bukajya hejuru, ibyo bibunda byarakubise, bati ntabyo noneho inkotanyi, ibintu zizanye zizanye ntabwo ari ibintu by'i Rwanda, naho ubwo, ni ibibunda byacu, byasenyaguraga Inkotanyi, aho zari ziremye agatsiko i Kabgayi, mu nzu, y'umuntu witwa, bambwiye yuko ari uwitwa, aba ari Tarisisi, naba ari Narisisi! Nuko ahantu mu kantu ka «cave», aho zari zirunze, noneho basekuramo urwo rurasu, runini cyane rwa kabutindi, ino i Kigali, mujya murwumva mu gitondo iyo ru... iyo ru... ruhagurutse ugira ngo n'ijuru birajyanye, hanyuma nuko abantu bati «ya!» Bati «icyo ni ikibunda cy'Inkotanyi». Ugasanga rero kutamenya gutandukanya ibintu, nabyo ari akaga, nuko abantu baba bashize muri Gitarama, ubungubu, barimo barirukanka bagana za Kibuye.

Ariko rero ndashimira nanone abantu bari mu nzira, birukanka bagana i Kigali, kuko nk'uko twababwiraga twababwiraga tuti mwa bantu mwe murata Kigali, ngo mugiyeye i Gitarama Inkotanyi ko muzi ukuntu zikora, ko kamwe kanyegera, gafite morutsiye, n'undi akari inyuma n'inzara n'iki, n'ibijumba mu mifuka byokeje, akagenda yagera ahantu ho bamubwiye, bati «uzaturikirize ahangaha abantu biruke», umunsi byaturikiye i Gitarama muzajya he! Nibyo byabaye rero koko, baraje baturikiriza i Gitarama, utwo tuntu twabo, badaturikije, abantu barongera barahambira ngo bagannye iya Kibuye. Abandi ngo bagannye iya Gisenyi. Abandi ngo bagannye iya Cyangugu. Abandi bagannye iya Butare. Nyamara, Inkotanyi nazo mu guhimana, zizongera zibakurikirane, ntihazabura kamwe kihisha, kagenda muri «cercueil», kagenda he! Kihishe kagende kanambire hafi y'i Butare, gaturitse ikindi kintu ! nanone mwongere mwiruke! Kongere gakurikire, nikagera i Kamembe gaturitse ikindi, mwirohe mu Kivu! Ubwo se amaherezo muzagenda, muzahunga Inkotanyi muzageza he? Turashimira rero abantu, bari mu nzira bagaruka i Kigali, benshi cyane, bambwiye yuko, kubera nyine impamvu zumvikana, nta modoka bashobora kubona, ariko ubu barimwo baraza n'amaguru, baza gusanga ibyabo, bataye, nta mpamvu kuko ibi bibazo...

Fin de la cassette