NI NGUHA UBUGESERA, INKA Z'I BWAMI ZIZALISHA HE ?

Ikarita y'u Rwanda

Birashoboka ko benshi mu basomyi b' iyi nyandiko basanga ituzuye cg itangiliye hagati. Ntabwo bali bube bibeshya. Kuko iyi nyandiko ali kimwe mu bice bigize inyandiko irebana n'impaka zagiwe ku binyoma, – birebana n' inyandiko yiswe Manifeste y' Abahutu – , byaje kwitwa ubushakashatsi na Dr Jean Damascène. Gushyira ahagaragara iki gice akaba ali ukubahiliza inama umwanditsi yagiliwe n' uwo yahaye ngo amucishilizemo amaso. Uyu akaba yarasanze iki gice kibaye kigiye ahagaragara, ntacyaba gihungabanye ku gitekerezo nyamukuru cy' inyandiko gikomokaho kilimo gutegurwa.

Muli iyi nyandiko hagaragazwamo ko kugambanirana muli politike mu Rwanda bimeze nk' ibintu bisanzwe. Ibyo bikazitira ubufatanye muli politike; kandi alibwo shingiro nyakuli yo kubaka u Rwanda. Amaze kwitabaza ubushakashatsi bwa Mwalimu Ugo Bardi, bugaragaza uko ilimbuka ry' umuryango uyu n' uyu w' abantu ligenda, na nyuma yo kugaragaza inzira asanga iyi ntambamyi(''obstacles'') yatarukwa n'imiryango igize Umuryango Nyarwanda, anatanga urugero rw' uko ibyo byagerwaho n' umuntu ku giti cye. Bityo ubufatanye muli politike bugahabwa amahirwe ashoboka yose. Bityo Umulyango Nyarwanda ukaba wabasha kwizibukira ndetse no guhangana na kimwe mu biza, bitabuze bishobora kuba byawulimbura.

Umwanditsi

NI NGUHA UBUGESERA, INKA Z'I BWAMI ZIZALISHA HE ?

Twabonye ko Amateka y' U Rwanda rw' ubu, yandikwa mu gice kitali gito, n' ibirebana na gatebe gatoki, ishingiye ku bumenyi bw' isi, irebana n'uko ibihugu by' ibihangange ku isi birengera inyungu zabyo cg *''géostratégie''*. Muli iki gihe bikaba bigaragalira n' urebesha limwe, ko iryo gundagurana ligejeje kure *''Monde Unipolaire''* yari iyobowe ku buryo butavuguruzwa n'Amerika isimburwa na *''Monde Tripolaire'' cg Multipolaire''* iyobowe n' Uburusiya, Ubushinwa. Hiyongeraho Amerika kuko idashobora kubura byose nk' ingata imennye, ngo iburemo igice iyobora. Urwo rudubi rucunzwe mu gice kinini (*chaos contrôlé*) rutugaragaliza ko Amateka y' U Rwanda alimo kwishyushya ngo afate umuvuduko udasanzwe.

Ikindi ni uko bidashidikanywaho ko mu bihe nk' ibyo, ndavuga:

1)Révolution n'ivuka lya Repubulika;
2)mu gufomoza Repubulika mo ihame lyayo ryali ryubakiye ku *Isaranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu;*
3) mu Ntambara yiswe iyo kubohora U Rwanda;
4) mu gukongeza Génocide no kwimikaza ubutegetsi bwa kiboko ya FPR cg ***fascisme 3.0***[1]

Kalinga, ingoma yarangaga Ubwami

U Rwanda rwabaga rwugalijwe n' amakuba arenze gukomera, yagiye ayogoza i Gihugu kigasigara iheruheru; kikuzura imiborogo n' imivu y' amaraso. Buli gihe kandi amage, cg akangaratete kabanza kabaga koroheje kurusha akagakulikiye. Bigeza ubwo i Gihugu cyenze kulimbuka[2]. Ayo akaba ali amarenga ko muli iki gihe U Rwanda rwugalijwe n' icyago gishobora kukilimbura niba nta mivuno

1 Dusanga *fascisme(cg Nazisme) 1.0* ali iya Mussolini muli Italie (cg Hitler mu Budage); *fascisme 2.0* ubutegetsi bwa kiboko bwaranze Afurika n' Amerika y' Amajyepfo mu gihe cy' Intambara y' Ubutiti cg *''Guerre Froide''* bwabaga buli mu maboko y' abasilikare; naho *fascisme 3.0* ikaba kiboko yimakajwe mu gihe cya *''Monde Unipolaire''*. Yagiye yimakazwa n' inyeshyamba zahoze ali abacommunistes ziyuburuye zigahinduka *ultra-libéraux (*mondialistes*)*.

2 Uretse ubutaka n' imitungo ruba rufite, I Gihugu kigizwe n' abagituye. Habuze mo bamwe; ntikiba kikili cya gihugu.

inyuranye yo mu rwego rwo hejuru ikaswe cg iciwe. N' ubwo aliko ibi bibonwa na buli wese, Abanyarwanda[3] tulimo kwitwara neza nk' uko byahoze.

Nta gitangaje aliko kuko kenshi niko bigenda nk' uko ubushakashatsi bwa Mwalimu Ugo Bardi[4]bwabigaragaje. Yasobanuye ko iyo umuryango(*''société''*) wugalijwe n' ikiza rulimbuzi (*''menace existentielle'')* kandi rusange, usanga ibisubizo bibanza bikaba ibikorwa bya nyirarureshwa; uko ikiza kirushaho gusatira hakitabazwa ikinyoma bigasozwa no kwiheba (''*action, tromperie et désespoir''*). Agasanga biterwa n' uko uko ikiza rulimbuzi kirushaho kwegereza, ubushishozi mu mutimanama rusange (''*conscience''*) w' abagize umuryango buhumwa n' igihu, bukagenda buyoyoka bugashira. Niko kubishakira ibisobanuro yise ducishilije:"Imyitwalire itatu kubugalijwe n' icyabalimbura" (*Les trois phases de la réaction aux menaces existentielles*). Yakulikiranyije iyo myitwalire ahereye ku rwego rwa mbere yise 0, kuko nta kigaragara kiba gikorwa:

Urwego yise 0: Ikiza kiba kitabonwa. Ikibazo nticyemerwe ko cyugalije abo bireba, muli make ntihagire igikorwa.

Urwego yise 1: Igikorwa gihuliweho na buli wese: Ikiza kiboneka aliko kidakanganye. Gifatwa nk' icyugalije abo bireba, bagatera uturaka hirya no hino ngo kilindwe. Buli wese agasabwa gukora ikimureba.

Ikirangantego cya Repubulika

Urg: Muli za mirongo itanu, indatwa z' Abahutu zukaga igitutu Ubwami ngo buvaneho akarenganyo byagaragaraga ko kashoboraga koreka u Rwanda. Muli urwo rusobe rw' ibiza byaterwaga n' abagize ubutegetsi,halimo *ubuhake bw' inka.* Umwami Rudahigwa aca iteka libukuraho. Abahakaga basabwa kugabana n' abagaragu babo. Kuko Rudahigwa yilinze gutegeka igabana ry'ubutaka, abagaragu babuze icyo bamaza inka zidafite aho zilisha, bisubizaho ubuhake.

Urwego yise 2: Ibinyoma: Ubukana bwinshi bw' ikiza bwemerwa nk'ukuli kandi bigasaba kwigomwa gukabije ngo kilindwe. Si abantu bose aliko baba babibona uko. Intego y'ababa basobanukiwe n' ibilimo kuba, ndetse n' indatwa z' abayobozi, iba ali ugukora ibishoboka byose ngo uwo muzigo barebe undi bawikoreza. Bisaba guhakana ikibonwa na benshi, gukwiza igihu n' igihuha no kwikoreza icyaha n' amakosa uwo bishoboka kwemerwa nk' ukuli. Bityo ubukana bwa Rubanda bukamwerekezwaho.

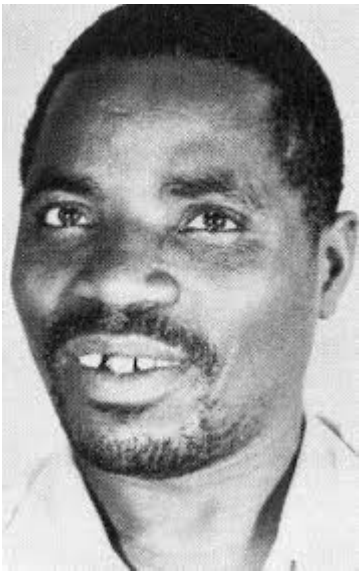
Umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa n' Umwamikazi Gicanda

Urg: Akoresheje Iteka ryo kuwa 14 Nyakanga 1952, Mutara wa III yashyizeho Inama Nkuru y' Igihugu (cg CSP mu magambo ahinnye). CSP yali igizwe n' Abatutsi gusa, yiremamo Komite yo gusuzuma ikibazo mbonezamubano mututsi-muhutu-mutwa. Iterana kuva muli Werurwe kugeza Mata 1958. Kuva taliki 9 kugeza 12 Kamena 1958, gisuzumirwa mu Nteko rusange. Abahutu batumijwe muli Komite ngo basobanure uko babonaga icyo kibazo ku ruhande rwabo. Bayobowe na Gitera bajya i Bwami i Nyanza, bimwa icumbi ngo ni Inyangarwanda, bagobokwa na Chanoine Ernote. Bibanza kuba ikibazo ngo batangire imilimo kuko bavugaga ko batavugiraga Abahutu ahubwo bivugiraga

3 Umuryango Nyarwanda. Uli mu Rwanda niwo munini, uli munsi ya butine ya FPR. Ziliya nzego cg phases nibo baziyoboye. Umuryango Nyarwanda aliko, unagizwe n' Abanyarwanda baruhunze ndetse no mu Gihugu hakabamo abo bahuje nabo uko babona ibibazo by' i Gihugu. Indatwa cg *Élite* zibalimo zikagira urundi ruhare hakulikijwe imibonere yazo.

4 Umwalimu n' umushakashatsi muli chimie.

Basobanura ko uretse n' Abahutu b' ubwoko, banavugiraga Abatutsi basanzwe n' Abatwa nabo bali Abahutu sosiyale bali batsikamiwe n' umututsi[5] afatanyije na Gikolonize:



Joseph Habyalimana Gitera wahangaye Kalinga

'' Dukomoka twese kuli Kanyarwanda, dufatanyije twahanze u Rwanda dutema ishyamba, tugize u Rwanda. Gatutsi akurahe uburenganzira bwo kudupyinagaza kandi tuli abavandimwe? Ntabwo aliko ali Gatutsi ubonetse wese. Haliho Gatutsi na Gatutsi. Hali Gatutsi wawunyoye nka Gahutu na Gatwa. Hakabaho uni Gatutsi ulimo abapersona babili. Hali Gatutsi ugaragaza ukuli na Gatutsi ukwirengagiza, ndetse akanumva aliwe mututsi wenyine utavangiye. Imyitwalire n' imikorere y' uwo mututsi irakabije. Ananita umuhutu magorwa bavukana.

'' Nous provenons tous de Kanyarwanda, nous avons ensemble constitué le Rwanda en défrichant la foret, nous formons le Rwanda. Pour quel droit Gatutsi nous oppresse-t-il alors que nous sommes frères? Il ne s' agit toutefois pas de quiconque Gatutsi. Il y a Gatutsi et Gatutsi. Il y a Gatutsi qui a subi le sort de Gahutu et Gatwa. Il y a un autre Gatutsi qui est double. Il y a Gatutsi qui révèle la vérité et Gatutsi qui méconnaît la vérité, et c'est surtout lui qui se considère seul mututsi pur. Le comportement et la façon de faire de ce mututsi sont exagérés. Et traite d' ailleurs de muhutu son frere infortuné[6].

Nyuma y' amezi angana atyo icyo kibazo gicocwa, Umwami asoza inama yemeza ko nta kibazo cyali kiliho. Ko n' uzashaka kukibyutsa, azaba ali urumampfu rurwanya imbaga y' inyabutatu, rukaba rugomba kulimburwa rugatwikwa. Arangije aliko aca inyuma, afata bamwe muli izo ntumwa za Rubanda azishinga ubutware hirya no hino. Uwamwangiye ni Kayibanda aliko buligihe yali ashyigikiye ko agace kose k' ubutegetsi abanyantege nke bashoboraga gukura ku butegetsi, kagakoreshwa mu kurenganura Rubanda, nta gihindutse ku mugambi nyamukuru wo guca akarenganyo, kagombaga kubushiturwaho.

Urwego 3: Ibikorwa by' ubwihebe mu buhubutsi: biba bigaragalira buli wese ko sosiyete iba ishobora kulimbuka ndetse n' indatwa zitazarokoka. Ibinyoma bigafashwa hasi, mu kwiheba kandi huti huti, hagafatwa ibyemezo nk' amahirwe ya nyuma yo kwirokora imburagihe.

Umwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa

Urg: Ufashe ivuka rya Repubulika cg mbere yaho gato, Ubwami bwafashe ibyemezo bihubukiweho byinshi, byaje kubukuraho kandi muli icyo gihe abashakaga amahindura barabusabaga kwivugurura gusa:

– Abacengeye ubucurabwenge bemeza ko izina ry' Umwami Kigeli litali lyubahilije amategeko y' ikulikirana ry' amazina yabo;

– Izina Kigeli kuba lyali izina ry' umwami w' intambara byasobanuraga ko nta kintu na kimwe, ubwami bwali bwaragiyeho kuko bwatsinze ubw'abandi bami cg abahinza, bwashakaga kuvugurura;

– U Rwanda ntirwali rwemerewe kugira ingabo na Gikolonize. Kuzisubizaho byasobanuraga ko bwiyemeje no guhangana nayo. Gikolonize yali ku ruhande rwa Gikapitaliste, kwitabaza Gikomuniste bikaba byarabishimangiraga. Ubinyujijemo amaso aliko, byali agahomamunwa: nta hantu na hamwe umwami w' umukomuniste yali ku butegetsi, emwe nta naho aba. Pu Yi, Umwami w' abami wa nyuma w' Ubushinwa wali warafashwe n' Abarusiya ashaka guhungira muli Japon Intambara ya Kabili y' isi irangira yali yarashyikilijwe Mao. Uyu akaba yali yaratsinze Intambara yo kwibohoza y' Abashinwa.

5 Abami n' ibikomangoma bali bafite ubutegetsi gakondo; hongeyeho Abana b' abatware b' Abatutsi bali abakozi b' abanyagihugu b' ubutegetsi bwa Gikolonize.

6 Rapport z'Inama Nkuru y' I Gihugu

Yaje gufungwa, anahinduka umukozi ntangarugero mu ruganda rwadodaga imyenda rukanakora inkweto. Muli make, UNAR n' ubwami barwaniraga ubwami banaburwanya,... – Intambara y' Inyenzi nayo ili muli uru rwego.

A- DUFATIYE KU BUSHISHOZI BWA BARDI, UMURYANGO NYARWANDA UHAGAZE UTE?

Ubushakashatsi bwa Ugo Bardi, burakomeye. Ni ngombwa kubusubiramo ngo butumulikire ibilimo kuba. Bardi yagaragaje ko iyo ikiza rulimbuzi kitaligaragaza nta ngamba (cg *stratégie*) yo kukizibukira ifatwa. Cyaba kikili kure, mu yandi magambo kidakanganye hakitabazwa ingamba zo gushyirahamwe (*la collaboration*). Cyakwegereza, hagakora ikinyoma no kwinumira. Kuko indatwa zose ziba zitarabibona izabibonye zumva kurokoka kwazo zishobora kugukesha kunuma, guhakana ko haba hali ikibazo. Kulindagiza Rubanda no kwiyiba izindi ndatwa, zagera aho zizeye ko ali mu ibanga, zikiga uko zabigenza ngo zikunde zirokoke. Izizi gukema, umudigi zikawushyira ku muyaga(*le silence et la tromperie*). Iyo ikiza kigeze ku marembo, hitabazwa gusahuranwa, kuyabangira ingata icyalimwe, kugerageza kujugunyira ikiza yaba Rubanda cg izindi ndatwa ngo zibe zarokoka (*la concurrence et la trahison).* Ibi bikaba bigaragaliza buli wese ko iyo ikiza gisesekaye, umuryango uba ujegajega kandi ukaka mu mpande zose, ugasenyuka cg ukalimbuka.

Ibibazo bikomeye ubu bushishozi budusaba kwibaza, ni byinshi. Igikuru muli byo akaba ali kuki ikiza rulimbuzi kitamenyekana ko gishobora kuzagwilira umuryango, ngo kigwe kandi kinizibukirwe? Iyo uvuze umulyango, uba uvuze ubufatanye (*la collaboration*). Ni iki kibuza abagize umulyango kubugira ingamba nyamukuru yabo? Ingamba zo kuryumaho no gucabiranya (*le silence et la tromperie*) kimwe n' izo gusahuranwa no kugambanirana (*la concurrence et la trahison*) ntizibuze umulyango gusenyuka byaba na ngombwa ukanalimbuka. Habura iki ngo zibe zasezererwa n' abagize umulyango? Si ibibazo byoroshye kandi byagiye byoreka Umuryango Nyarwanda mu makuba akabije ubukana. Ese nk' uko byigeze kugaragazwa n' umwanditsi[7], umuti ntushobora kuba imikorere itomoye, aho abagize umuryango bazi muli rusange igitekerezo kili mu mitwe y' abagize imiryango mito iwugize ndetse n' imikorere rusange yabo:

a) kugira ingengabitekerezo itali iyo kwifungiranamo ahubwo ari ngenderwaho hakulikijwe ibihe;
b) gutunganya umushinga w' umuryango (*Projet de société);*
c) amategeko aboneye agenderwaho (*Statut*), agena imikorere (*Règlement d' ordre intérieur*)*;*
d) *Manifeste na Programme* ku kilingo iki n' iki, byaba byiza gihuye n' amatora;
e) n' ubwo umuntu agira aho ahagaze ku kibazo runaka (cg *position* ye), ni ngombwa ko iyo bisabwa n' igihe kiliho, anagira imyitwalire n' imikorere igaragaza igitekerezo cye. Aliko ko habonetse ibisobanuro *position* afite yafashe atarabibona, bitamubuza kuyihindura niba aliwo muti(cg *posture constructive*). Ibi byatuma ubufatanye buhererwa igihe amahirwe ahagije, gahoro, gahoro bukimakazwa[8].

Ibyiza bilimo ni byinshi. Kimwe ni uko impaka zakoroha, kandi umwanzuro uvuyemo ukaba uhamye: Niba umwe asanga **umuryango wo kuba** cg ''*société de l''être''*[9] aliyo inogeye umuryango Nyarwanda; undi agasanga ahubwo **umuryango wo kugira** cg ''*société de l' avoir''* [10]

7 A. Munyandamutsa mu nyandiko: ***Ukuli niyo ''ciment'' y' ubumwe bw' umutamenwa.*** Ubishatse yasanga ku mbuga: *Sciences Politique Rwandaises; Rwanda Info*; *The Rwandan; etc.*

8 Ibi biragarukwaho mu mugereka w' iyi nyandiko, uhera ku mpaka zagiwe kuli imwe mu mbuga mpuzambaga, ukagaragaza icyo kibazo ikanagisobanura.

9 Nk' uko byali kuli Kayibanda n' Abaparmehutu n' Abaprosoma, ndetse n' Abaraderi igihe bali batarafatanya n' Abarunali.

nk'**Igisuti** kili hejuru ya buli Munyarwanda, aliwo urubereye; kwishyira hamwe biroroha, impaka zisobanutse zikagibwa.

Perezida G. Kayibanda na Col Habyalimana, Ministre w' Ingabo n' Igipolisi

Niba imiryango iyi n' iyi igize Umuryango Nyarwanda yumva ibibazo by' U Rwanda byakizwa no kongera Demokarasi indi ikumva kuyigabanya, bishobora kugaragalira mu gushyiraho abayobozi b' indi milyango nk' ab'amakomini, gukora amalisiti y' abadepite, gushyiraho abasenateri, ….aliwo muti, kwishyira hamwe no kujya impaka nyazo na none byakoroha. Ntibibe kwihisha inyuma y'akalimi keza (kuba intyoza) ngo: ''*twese turavuga kimwe, uretse ko tudahuliza ku buryo bwo kugera kubyo tuvuga''*. Kuko sibyo umwe araharanira kugabanya demokarasi, mu gihe undi arwanira kuyongera!

Ni kimwe no ku bumva amategeko n' umutungo w' i Gihugu bisaranganyijwe muli Rubanda cg abumva ikwiye kubicuzwa, bigashyirwa mu maboko y' indatwa aliwo mushinga ukwiye. Bakwitandukanya, bakajya impaka, bakareba aho bahulira: *le plus petit dénominateur commun*.

Ni byiza na none kujya impaka n' umuntu uzi neza ubutumwa yitwaje, ubwo adashobora kubona cg ngo abwihe, muli make nta mahirwe afite yo kugucenga. Inzangano za politiki, iz' amoko, n' izindi zikava mu bantu , zikajya ku mishinga. Ibi byose hongeweho ugushaka (*bonne volonté*), abantu bakagerageza guhera kuli zeru (*remettre les compteurs a zéro*) kuko amaherezo nicyo kiguzi niba Abanyarwanda twemera kurengera Umuryango Nyarwanda. Byaca ubugambanyi no gucabiranya bamwe bita – *ubwenge* – , hakimakazwa ubufatanye. Alliés de situation na stratégiques bakimenya, bakanamenya aho ubufatanye bwabo bushobora kugeza,...

B- UBUGAMBANYI MU MATEKA Y' U RWANDA N' INGARUKA ZABWO

Mu Rwanda rwa kera, u Bugesera bwagiye buba igihugu ukwacyo, ubundi bukaba bwomeste ku Rwanda cg ku Burundi cg se bulimo kurwanirwa. Limwe u Bugesera ali intara y' u Rwanda iyobowe n' umutware wali Igikomangoma cyo munda y' ingoma, abarwanyaga u Bwami bashatse gusimbura umwami waliho hakoreshejwe ingufu. Basanga byakunda ali uko icyo gikomangoma kinjije ingabo zacyo muli uwo mushinga w' ubugambanyi. Abatware bali muli ubwo bugambanyi barakegereye, banoza umugambi. Unoga aliko utanoze. Kuko, umwe muli abo batware yumvaga ko kubera uruhare rw' ingabo ze azaba yazanye muli uwo mushinga, igihembo ali uko yali kuzagabana u Bugesera, akabwongera kubyo yali asanganywe. Akumva byali bikwiye kuko Umutware wabwo yali kuba atagihali kandi yaranagabanye u Rwanda aliwe wahindutse umwami[11]. Yabikojeje umutware wayoboraga u Bugesera, uyu ahita amubaza ati: '' *Ni nguha u Bugesera, inka z' i Bwami zizalisha he?''* Muli uyu **umuryango wo kugira** cg ''*société de l' avoir'' ,* uwali akeneye kugabana u Bugesera yibiye ibanga i Bwami, bafata abandi bagambanyi, igihembo kiba kugabana u Bugesera ubundi yigwizaho umutungo.

Mu rugendo rurerure rwo kwibohoza, impilimbanyi za Repubulika zemerenyijwe guca imico gakondo yagiraga bamwe imbohe za bagenzi babo, bakongera kandi bakimakaza Demokrasi. Mu gushyira mu bikorwa iyo programme, *ubuhake bw' ink*a buvanwaho *ubw' ubutaka*

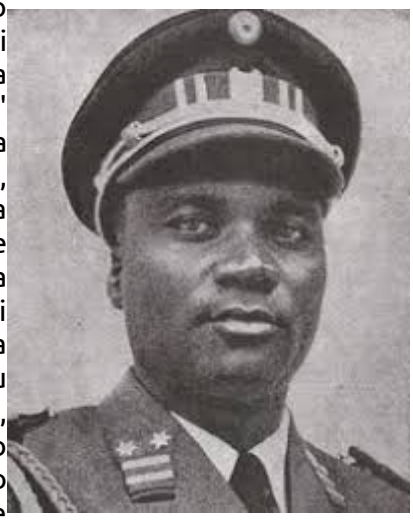
10 Nk' uko byali bishishikaje Ubwami, UNAR, Kiboko mu gihe cya Perezida Habyalimana, bikarenza urugero muli iki gihe. Mu magambo bemezaga ko bifulizaga u Rwanda umuryango wo kuba, mu bikorwa bagaragaza ko bali bagamije umuryango wo kugira.

11 Intambara irangira, wasangaga ikibazo cyagarukaga kenshi cyali: *'' Warakotije (muli FPR)''? '', '' Wohereje umwana''?* Muli make agaciro k' Umunyarwanda ubusanzwe yagombye kwemererwa n' Itegeko-Nshinga bwagerwaga hakulikije imigabane yashoye mu ntambara.

bugumaho. Ntawasobanura ko ibi bitabaye ubugambanyi kuli Rubanda cyane cyane mu karere yali iboshywemo biturutse ku *buhake bw' ubutaka*. Demokarasi yali nk' ikiza

Taliki 4.4.1973, Gnl Habyalimana ataha ipeti na Perezida Kayibanda

rulimbuzi kuli uwo muryango kuko, hali ubutegetsi yagombaga kuvana mu maboko y' abawugize babikesha imiryango bavutsemo, ikabushyira mu maboko ya Rubanda. Uretse ubutegetsi, yali kugira indonke ishingiye kuli ubwo buhake yali kugenza nk' uko yabikoze ku butegetsi. Mbere ya 1920, iyo miryango yali igize uwo **muryango wo kuba** cg ''*société de l''être''* [12]. Ku mwaduko w'Abazungu, ubutegetsi n' amategeko mashya n' amadini, wagiye uhinduka **umuryango wo kugira** cg ''*société de l' avoir''*. Ukorera muli Parmehutu yali **umuryango wo kuba** cg ''*société de l'être''*.



Gnl J. Habyarimana, Perezida wa CPUN n' uw' u Rwanda

Repubulika ali imwe kandi u Rwanda atari fédération. Ingamba yakoreshejwe cyane mbere na nyuma ya Révolution ikaba yarabaye ''*le silence et la tromperie*''. Ibi byahaye kiboko ya Habyalimana yali yubikiye mu cyuho, kugera ku butegetsi. Ubuhake bw' ubutaka buvaho; indatwa z' iyo miryango zemerewe muli gicurasi 1975 impozamalira: itegeko-teka ryemereraga abanyapolitike, abakozi ba leta n' abasilikare gukora ubucuruzi. Ibi kimwe no kugomororera uburakali n' ubukana bwa Rubanda ku muryango w' Abatutsi, hagataho uw' Abanyenduga ntibyahagaritse ikiza nyamukuru gusatira Umulyango Nyarwanda.

Mu mpera za mirongo inani, Habyalimana –nyamara wali muli leta kuva muli za mirongo itandatu–, yabonye ko bitali bigishoboka guhisha indatwa ko ikiza rulimbuzi cyali cyugalije u Rwanda. N' ubwo byali byaratinze na phases zose Bardi yasobanuye zegeranye cyane; bigaragalira mu bikorwa, imvugo, n' ibyemezo byinshi bipfuye amaso, ibindi bihushuye cg byiza aliko biziye imburagihe kandi hutihuti. Bimwe muli ibuyo:

a)– Nyuma yo gucuza Rubanda ubutegetsi, yagabanyijemo kabili ingengo y' imali y' Ingabo[13]. Muli iyo ngengo, igice kinini kikagenda mu mutekano we. Yizera amahoro yali guhabwa na Micombero na Mobutu. Inzego z' umutekano, ziteshwa inshingano zazo zerekezwa ku batavuga rumwe nawe. Akoresheje *animation* akumvisha Rubanda, yasabaga umusanzu w' umutekano ko, ibitaragendaga byali bifite aho byaturukaga (ku banzi be); akaba alibo yerekezaho uburakali n' ubukana bwayo;

b)– Mbere y' Intambara, Perezida Habyalimana yazengurutse i Gihugu, yumvira mu ruhame ibibazo bya Rubanda n' iby' indatwa. Asanga bikabije, anasezeranya i Gihugu kuzafata ibyemezo. Byaravuzwe ko yihererye mu Rugwiro, arabyicalira ndetse akajya yifashisha inama za Murumuna we Dr Bararengana, yumvaga nta mpamvu yo kuba yamubeshya. Iyo nzu yali ilinzwe n' Aba GP, hanze halinzwe n' Abagendarmes, yinjiwemo mu ibanga ibyemezo bilibwa. Abakozi benshi baho balirukanwa aliko nta *enquêtes* zabayeho. Ibyemezo byo bihera mu kirere;

c)– Ngo u Rwanda rwaba rwaratewe muli 1990 rutunguwe! Ndizera ko umusomyi yibonera *phase* yasobanuwe na Bardi yali igezweho. Abantu ibihumbi icumi birenga, bahindurwa ibyitso. Muli bo 60% bali Abahutu b' Abanyenduga, 40 % ali Abatutsi[14]. Yego intambara yarwanwaga iteganya ibijya gusa n' ibyo, aliko iki sicyo cyali igisubizo ku kibazo cyali kizwi kuva kera. Kandi uwavuga ko

12 Ndetse n' abakuru bayo ali abapadili b' imihango gakondo.

13 E. Shimamungu, *Juvénal Habyarimana. L'homme assassinee le 6 avril 1994.* p.86

14 Rapport CCOAIB

ibyo byagomororeraga umujinya wa Rubanda kuli abo bantu nta kinyoma cyaba kilimo. Ntibyatinze ingabo zali zalibagiranye zirongerwa huti huti, zininjizwamo *lumpen proletariat*. Amashyaka aba nayo araje mu ntambara rwagati. N' ubwo ngo ntacyo wakubakira kuli ''*iyo bigenda gutya*'' (cg ''*si''* mu Gifransa); ibi ntibigomba kutubuza gufatira amasomo kubyabaye kuko niyo Mateka. Iyo muli 1975, amashyaka menshi aba aliyo yasimbuye *Komite y' Ubumwe n' Amahoro(cg CPUN)* aho gusimburwa n' ishyaka limwe rukumbi rya MRND[15], hakaba koko ubufatanye bw' Abagize Umuryango w' Abanyarwanda bose, abarulimo n' abatali barulimo cg barulimo ariko barashyizwe ku ruhande; Ibibazo byarujahaje ntibiba wenda byarakemuwe mu bushobozi bwali buliho? Amashyaka yategereje ko ikiza kigera ku muryango, muli phase ya gatatu. Muli make amabyi, kuko amagara yo byali byarayarangiranye, yaterewe hejuru, umwe arangamiye kwegeranya aye! Buli wese yumva yajugunyira undi ikirura, bikamurokora! Na Habyalimana kandi byali uko! Yali yimereye nka Bigirankana bya Nirwanjye ngo wabonye inzu ihiye ati: '' *jye nimunsasire nilyamire''*. Biraragalira mu byemezo bye nk' uko byagaragajwe na Shimamungu[16] :

''*Perezida Habyarimana yitegererezanya akanyamunezaneza amacakubili muli MDR ashaka no kuyabyaza umusaruro yemera kugira Premier Ministre igikomerezwa kili mu gice cyanzwe urunuka, ariwe Madamu Agathe Uwilingiyimana.*

''*Le président Habyarimana observa avec délectation une certaine délectation les divisions au sein du MDR voulut en profiter en acceptant comme Premier Ministre une personnalité de la tendance la plus impopulaire, a savoir Mme Agathe Uwilingiyimana''.*

PM Mme Agathe Uwilingiyimana na Perezida Habaylimana

Agirwa Ministre w' Intebe, Mme Uwilingiyimana yali atarangwa. Yali avuye ku mwanya wa Ministre w' Uburezi, ali umukozi mwiza kandi w' umunyamurava, bimuhesha icyubahiro. Kwangwa kwe kwazanywe n' iyo mibare yali igoramye ya Habyarimana. Yali igamije gusenya ishyaka ryali ligize urutiligongo rw' abatavugaga rumwe nawe cg ''*opposition''* itali ifite intwaro. Umuti wali unoze kandi utali ufite uwo urenganije, kwali iyubahilizwa ry' amategeko yagengaga ishyaka. Abarwanshyaka baba batayubahilije, ikibazo kigashyikilizwa inkiko, bikihutishwa. Iyo niyo Demokarasi, ibindi ni ukuyemera utayemeye. Hali abavuga ngo FPR ntiyali gutegereza, yali gutera kuko nayo yali ibifitemo inyungu. Général-major Habyarimana yarazi neza ko intambara ya FPR, kimwe n' izisa nayo zose zirangira ubutegetsi bwose bwikubiwe n' abivumbagatanya. Muli make hali ha handi. Byali nko kubona igicumba gishyira igipfuko ku kaguru k' igiti! Bikaba ali agahomamunwa iyo ako kaguru kacitse karashoboraga kuvurwa, nk' uko Major E. Neretse yabyanditse[17]:

'' Iyo politike ya repubulika ya kabili itali kuba yarabaye iyo kuvugako twabaga mu mahoro n' ubumwe, ko nta mpamvu yo gukomeza ubulinzi bw' igihugu, iyo Garde Nationale nyuma FAR ziba zarabashije gutera imbere ku muvuduko ungana n' uw' izindi nzego z' igihugu, abasilikare b' ingabo z' U Buganda bakomaka mu Rwanda ntibali gutinyuka gutera u Rwanda muli 1990. N' iyo babikora, ntacyo byali kubagezaho

'' Si la politique officielle de la 2eme république n'avait pas été celle de dire que l' on vivait dans la paix et l' unité nationale, que donc un effort pour renforcer la défense du pays était sans objet, si la Garde Nationale puis les FAR avaient pu se développer au meme rythme que les autres domaines du pays, les soldats de l' armee ougandaise d' origine rwandaise n' auraient pas ose attaquer le Rwanda en 1990. Et l' auraient-ils faits que leur entreprise n' aurait abouti a aucun résultat''.

15 Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
16 Shimamungu, opcit p.307
17 E. Neretse, Grandeur et decadence des Forces Armees Rwandaises, p.38

Iyo byibura bicira aho, byali kugira uruhengekero. Nk' aho gufata ibyemezo amasigamana nta shishoza likozwe bitali bihagije, mu Kuboza 1993 ingabo za FPR, Ministre Boniface Ngulinzira yali yaranze ko zakwinjizwa muli Kigali, zinjizwa mu Ngoro y' Inteko Nshingamategeko (*CND*), rwagati mu bilindiro bya FAR. Ntibyali guha amahirwe ahagije amahoro; ngo akunde asugire kandi asagambe. Byasinyirwaga na Ministre w' Intebe n' uw' Ububanyi n' Amahanga bashyiranyweho akanyamunezaneza na Habyalimana ngo ali uguhima MDR!

Ibi biratugarura ku byo twatangiliyeho. Niba nta ntambara irangira itarangijwe n' imishyikirano, n' iki kibuza abantu gushyikirana ngo bayizibukire(gufatanya gushaka umuti)? Intambara igeraho kuko abantu batagishoboye gukemuza politike ibibazo byabo. Ni iki kibuza abantu gutegura politike zinoze zabalinda kugera ubwo bayikomeza bakoresheje intwaro? Nta kiza rulimbuzi kibugalije muli phase 0. Ubufatanye bugatangilira aho, bukaba intero n' inyikilizo. Kuko kugambanirana, kugambanira Rubanda nta nyungu n' imwe bitanga uretse ugambaniwe cg Rubanda yemeye kujya mu mibare y' umugambanira nibwo byahira 100% ugambanye. Ku bantu babili cg benshi kugambanirana inyungu bakoramo, –niba aliko byakwitwa–, ikaba ali ukwiyihutishiliza urupfu.

Col A. Kanyarengwe na Gnl J. Habyalimana

Haba mu gihe cya *''Monde Unipolaire"* cg muli uku kuvaho kwayo yimukira *''Monde Tripolaire",* Umuryango Nyarwanda wahuye n' ibiza rulimbuzi. Muli iyo ya mbere, byoroheye indatwa za FPR kurenza umunsi, bitewe n' impamvu nyinshi, aliko cyane cyane gukingirwa ikibaba byatumaga FPR imera nk' umwana uli iwabo uvuna umuheha akiyongeza undi. Mu bindi byayiteye kuramba hakabamo amakosa menshi y' indatwa zitavuga rumwe nayo.

Gnl P. Kagame Perezida w'u Rwanda n' ibisigazwa by' indege y'u Rwanda yaguyemo Baperezida Habyalimana na Ntaryamira w' u Burundi

Igikomeye cyajyanaga na *''Monde Unipolaire"* cyatumye FPR itera kabili, bikageza n' aho yo ndetse n' abayishyigikiye bacengerwa n' ibinyoma byayo, ndetse bakanabifata nk' ukuli, ni umuvuduko udasanzwe mu itangazamakuru. Indi mpamvu ni ukuba isi yarahindutse nk' umudugudu (''*mondialisation''),* bigatera benshi mu bayituye baralikira ibisubizo by' ako kanya, atali byibura mu mudeli, ahubwo muli byose. Ingaruka yabaye iyimakazwa ry'ibitekerezo bigufi cg bya cyana, ndetse n' ibihubukiweho. Ibyo byateye isi gukora maculi, apfa gusa kuba yarali mu nyungu za Nyiringifu w' icyo gihe (*raison du plus fort*). Twihuta, dore urugero rubidushushanyiliza:

N' uko byagaragajwe na Karl Rove, wali umujyanama wa Perezida W. Bush, hali mu gihe cya ''*Monde Unipolaire*'', byose byari byarahindutse ikinamico(théâtre):

''Mu by' ukuli, isi ntikora ityo. Twe Abanyamerika, ubu tuli Mpatsibihugu n' iyo tugize icyo dukora, tuba turemye ukuli kwacu. Mu gihe mwiga mwitonze uko kuli, ntidutakaza igihe, turakomeza tugakora, tukarema ukundi kuli kwinshi mugahugira mu kugusesengura … Nta kundi ibintu bigenda, uretse uko. Tuli abakinnyi n' abakozi b' Amateka. Naho mwe, mwese, mukaba mugomba kwiga ibyo turema.

«En Vérité , le monde ne marche plus réellement de cette manière. Nous américains, nous sommes maintenant un Empire et lorsque nous agissons, nous créons notre propre réalité. Et pendant que vous étudiez studieusement cette réalité, nous ne perdons pas de temps, nous agissons et nous créons d'autres réalités nouvelles qu'il vous est loisible d'analyser… C'est ainsi que les choses se passent, pas autrement.

Nous sommes les acteurs et les producteurs de l'Histoire. A vous, vous tous, il ne vous reste qu'à étudier ce que nous créons.»

Yasubizaga ikibazo yali abajijwe na Ron Suskin[18], wagize ati:

''Mukeka ko ibisubizo bifite ireme bishobora guturuka mu isesengura nyaryo ry 'ukuli kugaragara''?

«Croyez- vous que des solutions efficaces puissent émerger d'une analyse judicieuse de la réalité observable?»

Hifashishijwe ubwo buharurumbo (''*principe scélérat''*), inkoramaraso yose ishyigikiye kandi icunga neza inyungu z' Amerika n' inshuti zayo, ukumva ilihanukiliye igatondagura indangagaciro zitwa ko zishyigikiwe n' ibyo bihugu, ikemeza ko yanazipfira. Ubundi ikilirwa yesa ingogo, imena imivu y' amaraso; ntacyo yishisha kuko byoroheraga ababaga babifitemo inyungu bo muli ibyo bihugu, kuyikingira ikibaba. Byaba na ngombwa bakoresheje ubucamanza, itangazamakuru, politike, … bagatoteza abashyigikiye kandi barwanira koko indangagacira zabaga zilimo gupyinagazwa.

Ingero ku Rwanda zitugaragaliza ko ibi ali ukuli, ni uruvunganzoka. Kuko tutazirondora ngo tuzirangize, dore zimwe muli zo:

Muli *''Monde Unipolaire",* ibihugu n' imilyango mpuzamahanga byose byali byarashyizwe ku murongo uboneye, mu nyungu z' Amerika. Hakulikijwe amategeko mpuzamahanga, hali imilimo, iyo umuntu mukuru ayikoze, aba atagishobora kongera kuyikora wahinduye ubwenegihugu. Keretse wenda igihugu cyawe niba cyali ishyirahamwe ry' ibihugu, bikaba byalisheshe cg cyalisohotsemo. Niba mwibuka ambassadeur wa mbere FPR yohereje mu Budage, bwanze kumwakira kubera ko yali yarabaye Umujyanama w' Ambassade (*Conseiller d' Ambassade*) ya Tanzaniya muli icyo gihugu, ali umunyatanzaniya. Nta hantu na hamwe umukinnyi w' umupira w' amaguru w' ikipe y' igihugu iki n' iki, yali yakinira indi mu marushanwa mpuzamahanga. Mu nzego z' umutekano byo ntanubihingutsa. Noneho, turebe FPR:

a)– Uretse kuba Général, Rwigema yali na Vice-Ministre w' Ingabo. Atera ingabo ze zali zifite ubwenegihugu bw' Ubuganda;

b)– Biravugwa ko Général-major Paul Kagame wamusimbuye, hejuru y' ubugande yaba anafite ubwenegihugu bw' uburundi;

c)– Général James Kabarebe wamulindaga, akaza kuba umukuru wa état-major y' u Rwanda, mu nyungu za Kagame, yateye Zaïre yihishe inyuma ya Kabila, agezeyo ashingwa umulimo w' abanyekongo wo kuyobora *état-major*.

Ibi ni bimwe *''Monde Tripolaire"* ivugako ibintu nk' ibi Abanyamerika bagiye bakoresha ngo bahindure ubutegetsi ku nshuti zabo zitabumvira (*Révolution de couleur*) cg kubo zita abanzi hitwaje intwaro; abanyagihugu babyo bakitilirwa kurwanira demokarasi[19], hakaba hali agatsiko aka n' aka kali muli hoteli aha n' aha kitwa ko kabahagaraliye, inama z' abiyita ko ali inshuti z' icyo gihugu kilimo kulimburwa zigakorwa; imiryango mpuzamahanga y' isi n' itangazamakuru bigahaguruka[20],

Gnl Kagame Perezida w' u Rwanda na Gnl Kayumba

18 Christian Salmon: http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2008/09/05/le-ret salmon_1091916_3232.html

19 Ingero z' isura ryayo ni nko mu Rwanda, muli Libiya, Irak, Congo... aho iyo ubajije abanyagihugu ubuzima bwiza ubwo alibwo, ugereranyije mbere cg nyuma y' icengezwa rya demokarasi imanukana n' amabombe, bagusubiza ko ali mbere y' izo ntambara.

20 Abakuru mu Banyarwanda balibuka uko *Banque Mondiale* na FMI zajwigilije u Rwanda zikoresheje *Programme d' ajustement structurel* cg PAS, *dévaluation*, itangazamakuru, etc. Muli icyo gihe, Ubuganda bwo bwabaga bwongererwa inkunga, bugasabwa kugabanya abasilikare bukanabihererwa ingengo y'

ubutegetsi bugahindurwa ruvumwa, bukalimburanwa n' imizi. Ibi byombi akaba alibyo byiswe *guerre hybride*.

Nyuma y' uko ingabo z' u Rwanda zimaze gutsindwa, imanza zitangiye, biba uko. Harwanaga ibice bibili: Ubugande bwali bwihishe inyuma ya FPR n' u Rwanda. Imiryango ikomeye y' impunzi z' Abanyarwanda zali zarahungiye mu Bugande inafite n' ubutegetsi bw' umurengera (''*ploutocratie cg oligarchie''*). Haburanishwa u Rwanda n' Inzego z' Ubutegetsi bwazo, Abayobozi bali bazilimo, ba *oligarques* (n' inshuti zabo) cg abagize iyo miryango yavuzwe bikangaga cg bifuzaga gucuza, … na *lumpen capitalisti* cg *proletariat*[21] zagaragaye muli *Génocide*.

Yego muli 1991, Habyalimana yokejwe igitutu n' Ububiligi bwali bwarabungabunze imizamukire ye mu ntera kugeza acuje Rubanda ubutegetsi, yali yaramaze kugambanira u Rwanda, ahindura abasilikare b' Abagande bali baravutse mu mpunzi z' Abanyarwanda zali zarahungiye muli icyo gihugu, abahindura Abanyarwanda. Intambara y' iterwa ry' u Rwanda (''*Guerre d' agression contre le Rwanda''*) ihinduka intambara y' Abanyagihugu (*Guerre civile au Rwanda*). Aya mafuti yatumye intambara ikomeza[22], iza no kugusha kuli *Génocide*. Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha ku Rwanda, rwagombaga kubunga, ntirwigera rusuzuma **Icyaha gikorewe amahoro(***Crime contre la paix***),** bizwi neza ko ali ikimane cg se nyina w' ibindi byaha byose. Haba no gusuzuma ikibazo cy' indege y' u Rwanda yali itwaye Perezida warwo ndetse n' uw' u Burundi, yahanuwe taliki 06.04.1994 na FPR[23], bigakongeza *Génocide!*

Col Karegeya wamaze kwicwa na Gnl Kayumba bahunze FPR, akaba agezwe amajanja n'urupfu ubugira gatatu

Muli *''Monde Unipolaire",* hali abahanga[24] bamwe bumvaga Amerika ikwiye gucunga isi iyigabanyamo ibice bibili: igice cyayo n' ibihugu by' inkoramutima bikomeye; n' igice gisigaye kitagomba kugira umutekano, ahubwo kigomba kuba nk' ikigega cy' umutungo karemano n' uw' ingufu; abagwizatunga n' amasosiyete yo mu gice cya mbere bajya kuvoma. Ibyo bigashoboka ali uko bafite uruhushya rw' Amerika kandi balinzwe n' ingabo zayo cg abazihagaraliye. Ibi ntaho wabisanga byanditse mu mategeko y' Amerika. Gusa iyo witegereje ukabona intambara yo muli Afganistan, Lybia, Irak, RDC,... zimara imyaka icumi irenga zitarangizwa kandi ingufu zabikora zitabuze; bigasahurwa ibisahu bikabonerwa isoko nta nkomyi, … wibaza niba ako gahomamunwa aliko kaba gakulikizwa! Ba ''*oligarques''* bigaruliye u Rwanda batangiye gutera u *Zaïre* muli 1996. Na n' ubu ruracyageretse. Hapfuye miliyoni umunani zisaga. Ibisahu byayivuyemo ''*ploutocratie''* yo mu Rwanda yabigulishaga ku mugaragaro nta nkomyi. Aliko nti byali mama wararaye byose uko byakabaye.

C- *''OLIGARCHIE''* YO MU RWANDA IROGE MAGAZI KUKO AMAZI ATAKILI YA YANDI[25]

imali. Bamwe bakaba baragiye bafatirwa ku rugamba mu ntambara yo muli 1990. Mu gihe u Rwanda rwafungirwaga kugura intwaro, bwo kandi ali bwo bwafashaga FPR ntibwazifungiwe.

21 *lumpen capitalisti*: Abafite amikoro bakomeza kuyiruka inyuma bakoresheje imyitwalire, imikorere n' ingeso ubusanzwe zigaragara ku batindi, abakene nyakujya, ingeruza, amabandi, inkoramahano, ...cg *proletariat proletariat*. Aho isi yahindukiye umudugudu, iyo myitwalire baliya ba mbere bakaba bayikorera ki isi yose, biswe *lumpen mondialisatie* byaba bijyanye.

22 Byarubujije kwitabaza ijana ku ijana amasezerano rwali rufitanye n' inshuti zarwo, runizitira mu iyubahilizwa ry' amategeko mpuzamahanga, rujya mu mishyikirano rufatiwe inkota ku gakanu.

23 Reba Anketi ya Juge Jean-Loouis Bruguière, igitabo cya Lt Abdoul Ruzibiza, …

24 Reba *The Pentagon's New Map*, Thomas P. M. Barnett, Putnam Publishing Group, 2004. yatanzweho urugero na Thierry Meyssan

25 Igikeli ngo cyasimukiye mu mazi cyumva arashyushye, kibulira bigenzi byacyo ngo bidapfa bigikulikiye ahubwo byilinde gusimbukiramo niko kuvuga kuliya.

Nta kosa libi lishobora gukorwa n' umunyakinyoma nko gufata ikinyoma cye nk' aho cyahindutse ukuli. Ili kosa o*ligarchie* ya FPR yamaze kuligwamo. Mbere yayo, iya Juvénal Habyalimana yali yaraliguyemo, biyibyalira akaremereye[26]. Tubyibukiranyeho mbere yo kwishushanyiliza urutegereje o*ligarchie* ya FPR.

Mu ntangiliro, Habyalimana na *Ploutocratie* ye bavugaga ko bitewe n' ibura rya Demokarasi, irondakarere, … bafashe ubutegetsi. Aho kongera demokarasi, barayigabanya[27]. Mu marembera yabo(*phase* ya gatatu ya Ugo Bardi), birukiye hutihuti gupfuka akaguru k'igiti bagerageza gutera icyuhagiro ubutegetsi byitwa *Aggiornamento politique*; intambara ibategeka kugira inzego z' umutekano inzego z' igihugu (*du caractère régional au national*)[28], Itegeko Nshinga ryongera kwemera amashyaka menshi[29], …. Ibi byemezo byose ntakamaro byagaragaje. Cyane cyane ko *géostratégie* yali yagize ubutegetsi bw' u Rwanda ikinetenete. Ikindi ni uko bitali gukunda kuko:

Umucikacumu A. Rwigara wafashije FPR, akicwa, inzu ye igasenywa ibye bikaba bilimo gutezwa cyamunara

– kuba mbere yaho gato ubutegetsi bwali bwarakoze iterabwoba n' ubwicanyi bikabije;
– aho kuvugurura ishyaka lyaliho cg kuliha abayobozi bashya, niba byali bikenewe cg gushyiraho ilifite ingengabitekerezo *oligarchie* yalilimbaga ko ishingiyeho[30] ikaba yali yarashyizeho ilindi linafite indi mikorere[31];

Umufasha n' abana ba Rwigara bafashwe gbagafungwa na FPR

– guha inzego z' umutekano, inshingano itali izazo; ingamba ingabo zililimbishwa ndetse zinacinya umudiho yali uko –ntamwanzi watera u Rwanda kuko Habyalimana yaliho kandi zimukunze–, … babikoraga kandi bazi neza ko nta ntwaro babitse, amasasu yarengeje igihe, banakeneye amahugurwa mu bwoko bw' intambara yali yugalije i Gihugu,….

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26 Gnl Habyalimana n' abambali be bemezaga ko umurashi (*tireur d' élite*) Cpt Bizimana yaba yaramurashe ubugira gatatu mu ntambwe zitarenze icumi akamuhusha! Igihugu kikabililimba. Ubwo bushobozi budasanzwe yaba yali afite ntacyo bwamumaliye noneho arashwe koko. FPR yemeza ko yahagalitse Génocide. Bisobanuye ko Génocide yapfubye cg itabayeho. Aliko Abanyarwanda ndetse n' amahanga bazi neza ko yabayeho. Yikojeje muli Zaïre ijyanywe no kuyihagalika, hapfa miliyoni umunani!

27 N' ubwo intambara, amakosa ya politiki,... byari byaratumye Ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu risigara alilyo lyonyine likorera mu Gihugu, Constitution y'u Rwanda yemeraga amashyaka menshi, ba *bourgmestres* batorwa, abadepite aribi biturukaho kwiyamamaza, uretse uwo biturutse ku bihano bya politike atabyemererwaga. Nyuma y' uwa 05.07.1973, u Rwanda rwatangiye kugendera ku Itegeko Nshinga ryemera ishyaka limwe rukumbi; abayobozi bose bashyirwaho, …

28 Guhitamo abayobozi bahagije b' abasilikare byalibutswe, bilihutishwa kandi bashakishwa imihanda yose aho guturuka mu karere benshi mu bali bagize *ploutocratie* bali biganjemo. Ikindi ni uko inteko z' umutekano zali zifite akazi gakabije kuba kenshi, ntizongera kwilirwa ziruka inyuma y' abatavuga rumwe na *ploutocratie* cg abakekwaga ko ali abanzi b' i Gihugu aho kwita kubali bo koko.

29 Demokarasi iligwa. Yanizwe na Habyalimana ikigwa. Yemererwa rwagati mu ntambara. Ugereranyije n' inyungu z' u Rwanda, nta bushishozi bwalimo.

30 Habyalimana yemezaga ko yali ashyigikiye 1959, yakozwe hagamijwe isaranganya (*justice sociale*) aliko yanemeje ko socialisme itigeze imushishikaza. Ko yakoraga libéralisme planifié.

31 Kongera demokarasi, être ou avoir, ubufatanye cg ubunyamwigendaho,etc.

Aliko cyane cyanekutagira politike ngenderwaho[32], n' aho yaba ili igasuzugurwa[33]. Major E. Neretse yabisobanuye muli aya magambo[34] :

''Iyo coup d' état isa n' itarateguwe nyamara yarangiye itamennye amaraso, yashyize ku butegetsi Garde Nationale nta kubyitegura nta n' ubushobozi bwo gutunganya uwo mulimo yali ifite. Uko kujijita kwaje kugira ingaruka zikomeye cyane mu migendekere ya politike na gisilikare by' igihugu''.

''Ce coup d' état apparemment non préparé et pourtant réussi sans effusion de sang, a propulsé la Garde Nationale au devant de la scène politique sans qu' elle y soit préparé ni outillé pour jouer son rôle. Cet amateurisme allait influer très profondément sur l' évolution politico-militaire du pays''.

Intambara yarateye, abayobozi bibereye hanze y' i Gihugu, inshingano yo kwiga umwanzi w' u Rwanda uwo aliwe bikorwa mu ntambara, itangazamakuru libihindura icyaha, abanyapolitike bemererwa kandi babasha gutinyuka kuvuga mu ntambara rwagati ikiza kili ku marembo, ...uko byagenze ibara umupfu.

Kagwa Rwisereka, impunzi ya kera FPR itarakegetwa ijosi

Uretse iyi mitegekere ya *ploutocratie, oligarchie* ya Habyalimana ihuliyeho n' iya FPR, ikindi ni ukutagira politike ngenderwaho (''*absence de politique comme ligne de politique''*). Ubwo butegetsi bwa kiboko bwombi bwagiye ku buyobozi nyuma y' imeneka ry' amaraso, hanakoreshejwe intwaro ndetse n'amategeko adasanzwe arebana n' umutekano(*mesures propres a un état d' exception*). I Gihugu kimaze kwitwa ko kili mu mutekano, ayo mategeko ahindurwa amategeko asanzwe agenderwaho. Intambara y' Ubutita (*Guerre Froide*) irangiye isi yinjiye muli *''Monde Unipolaire",* ubutegetsi bwali bukomeye hejuru nk' amase, *géostratégie* yabugize ikinetenete, bigusha ku itsindwa ry'u Rwanda. *Oligarchie* ya FPR yabusimbuye, nayo ishingiye ku kutagira politiki (cg ''*absence de politique comme stratégie''*) ahubwo ikegamira ku guhindura amategeko yo mu ishyamba, ay' intambara, aya nyuma ya Génocide(*mesures politico-militaires exceptionelles*) yahinduwe, –amategeko asanzwe y' i Gihugu–. FPR nayo igeze muli icyo gihe. *''Monde Unipolaire"* ilimo gutsinsurwa nta mpuhwe na ''*Monde Tripolaire'' ,* amahirwe yo kugira ngo *géostratégie* ibe itabugira ikinetenete ngo buhilime, angana n' ay' umuntu uhanutse mu ndege nta mutaka, indege iguruka kuli metero 10.000 yaba afite yo kurokoka, cg ayo kuba umuntu yasanga mu muliro utazima haba hagwa imvura.

'' Niba ufite Amerika ho inshuti, si ngombwa kwilirwa ugira abandi banzi'' aya ni amagambo akunze kwitilirwa H. Boigny, wahoze ali Perezida wa Cote d' Ivoire. Mbere y' ili gigurana ry' ibihangange ku isi, *''Monde Unipolaire"* yali yarakoze akazi gashimishije mu rwego rwo guca ukubili na *ploutocratie* ya FPR. Ikibazo cyabaye abanyapolitike b' Abanyarwanda, batabashije kubikuramo umusaruro ushimishije. Ingero ni uruhuli, aliko reka turebemo zimwe na zimwe:

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32 Colonel Habyalimana abajije Major Benda icyo yatekerezaga ku ifatwa ly' ubutegetsi na ba Officiers bakomokaga mu Majyaruguru y' Uburengerazuba bw' u Rwanda. Benda yamushubijeko ashingiye ku myanya bali bafite byali nk' umukino w' abana. Habyalimana, amubaza impamvu yababuza kubufata kandi byoroshye ako kageni. Benda amubwira ko koko haliho ibibazo mu Gihugu; arangije abaza Habyalimana: *'' Tumaze gukuraho Kayibanda, twakora iki''?* Habyalimana aramusubiza ati:*'' Tugakira''!* Benda, Perezida Kayibanda yali yarigeze gushinga muli za Komisiyo yo guca *ubukonde,* amusaba kuzagaruka kumureba afite umushinga w' icyakorerwa Rubanda. Siko byaje kugenda kuko igihe ubugambanyi bwavumburwaga, Habyalimana yasabye ko na Major Benda, – leta itali ifite icyo imunenga – , ashyirwa mu bagombaga kwigizwayo ngo enquetes zikorwe mu bwisanzure.

33 Umwanditsi akanaba umushakashatsi Gaspard Musabyimana yagaragaje ko icyemezo cyo guhitamo uwo u Rwanda rwagombaga guhitamo, hagati ya leta y' Ubugande na Museveni bali mu ntambara, ali icya Habyalimana wenyine, mu gihe Ministeri y' Ububanyi n' Amahanga yumvaga amategeko mpuzamahanga yo kudatera abaturanyi aliyo yagombaga kubahilizwa.

34 Neretse, opcit p.36

– Ngo Mme Condoleeza Rice ataraba Sekereteri wa Leta w' Amerika, akili Umujyanama wa Perezida G.W. Bush yabwiye Kagame, wali ugiye gukeza muli Maison Blanche nk' uko yali asanzwe yisanga. Gusa aliko icyo gihe ku bulyo budasanzwe Perezida Bush ntiyali ahali, Mme Rice abwira Kagame ati:''*Perezida yambwiye ngo umbwire igihe muzavira muli Kongo*". Undi agwa mu kantu, amusubiza ko agomba kubanza kubaza amakamandazi (*commandants*) ye. Byazanye Perezida Bush i Kigali, muli diskuru ye akoresha ubwiyunge incuro ndwi. FPR iterera agati mu lyinyo. Kugira ngo Kagame ajye gusinya akererewe amasezerano yo muli RSA (Sun City), balimo banga kuva muli RDC, bamenyeshejwe ko yaba uburyo bwo kugenda n' ama comptes (uretse ayo kugura intwaro) yabo yagombaga gufungwa. Kagame ababwira ko niba batemeye kuvayo, ubutegetsi *''Monde Unipolaire"* itazabura undi ibuha nk' uko nabo babuhawe[35].

Muli iyo minsi Kagame yanyarukiye muli *Banque Mondiale* naho ajyanywe n' uko gukeza byamulyalyata[36.] haAkubitanira n' injanwe y' umukara yali yahukanye, yikoreye amavalisi yayo: Paul Waulfovitz, wahoze ali Umujyanama wa President Bush, akanaba n'umwe mubahanze ''*mondialisation'' ,* mu yandi magambo – politike yahaye ingufu n'ireme FPR– , yabajije bagenzi be – diplomatiquement yabamutumyeho – agira ati:''*Aliko uyu we akorera i Gihugu cye n' Abaturage be lyali'' !?* Mu yandi magambo *ploutocratie* ya FPR yitwako yali ibabereye ahakomeye, ntiyumvise ko nyuma yo gukubita ufangura, FPR aho kwilirwa inezeza ingeso y' inzangano n' irali muli byose ihera kuli *éléments de langages* zitabajwe[37] ngo zihishire ibyabaye nyakuli ifata ubutegetsi, yali ikwiye gukunja amaboko y' ishati, ikubaka Umulyango Nyarwanda, i Gihugu n' akarere. Icyo kikaba alicyo yapfanaga na *''Monde Unipolaire".*

Perezida Donald Trump w' Amerika

– Ku butegetsi bwa Obama, amategeko yo kwitandukanya na Kagame na *ploutocratie* ye yatowe na Congrès. Ubucuruzi bwa diamants n' andi mabuye y' agaciro bigenerwa *certificats*. Mu rwego rwo gukwepa ayo mategeko, hahindutse *uniformes* abasahuraga RDC bambaraga, aliko nabyo ntibyateye kabili, kuko kubw' igitutu, Général Bosco Ntaganda aba yisanze muli CPI[38] i Den Haag hano muli Nederland. Imfashanyo iragabanurwa, ikananyuzwa aho yibwa bigoranye. Mu gufasha FPR, hasigara amafranga y' ibanga akomoka muli nke mu nzego z' ubutasi (kuli cumi n' izindi), bitewe na *géostratégie*. Amasosiyete yasahuye Congo, hafi ya yose yahinduye amazina. Ngo ''*ucira injiji amarenga amara ibinonko*''! Major Victor But, Umurusiya

35 Mu gitabo cye, Ministre Augustin Ngirabatware asobanura uko diplomatiquement ali kumwe na Habyalimana i Washington, Amerika yagaragalije u Rwanda ko itali ikizeye Mobutu – yali izi ko afite cancer kandi yashoboraga gusimburwa na Tshisekedi wali *nationaliste* bo bimilije imbere *mondialisation* – , inarubaza icyo rubitekerezaho. Habyalimana yaratunguwe atangira gusobanura ubwiza n' ibyiza Mobutu yali afitiye Zaïre. Ibi byasesengurwa bite?

Igisubizo cya Habyalimana nticyayinyuze, kuko iyo witegereje ibyakulikiyeho usanga barashyizwe mu gatebo kamwe. Ngo umu Officier wo hejuru, wigaga akanarangiza mu ishuli Kagame yizemo amezi atatu mbere yo kujya gusimbura Rwigema yaba yaregerewe. Bamubwira ko nihakorwa *coup d' État* mu Rwanda, bazemera ubutegetsi buzajyaho. Ntiyumvise ubutumwa bwalimo, ajyana inkuru i Kigali. Ukulikije uko cyali cyubatse, igisilikare cyashoboraga kuguma kuli Habyalimana bagapfa rumwe hamwe n' i Gihugu; cg kumuha impamba kikamukorera coup d' État ya nyirarureshwa bakarangiza umushinga wa nyilingufu, hamenetse amaraso make. Hagati ya macinya na choléra bahitiyemo u Rwanda ibyo rwabonye. Icyo kikaba cyaba cyaratumye undi mu Officier wo hejuru w' ''Umunyarwanda'' yegerwa.

36 Ngo yabwiye uwo yaragiye gukeza ko yali anyuze aho, akumva bitaba ali byiza ko yazumva ko yahanyuze ntamusuhuze.

37 Ukuli si amagambo yatoranyijwe ngo apfukirane icyo uyakoresha yifuza guhishira, ahubwo kurangwa n' ibikorwa (cg *La vérité ne se dit pas, elle se réalise'')*

38 Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga

wahoze mu ngabo zidasanzwe z' Abasoviyeti zahindutse iz' Abarusiya[39], akoresha indege ze akaba alizo zatwaraga intwaro n' ibisahu bya RDC, ategerwa umutego muli SE Asiatique n' Amerika, afatirwa iterabwoba yitwa ''*marchand de la mort''*. Yandikwaho igitabo anakorwaho film. U Rwanda narwo muli kwa kwigana ruhindura izina ry' ingabo zarwo zaregwaga na *Mapping Repport*, zireka izina rya *Armée Patriotique Rwandais* (cg APR) zifata ilya *Rwanda Defens Forces (RDF)*[40]. Muli rusange mu gihe cya *''Monde Unipolaire", ploutocratie* ya FPR yabaye ikibazo kuva kera. Imikorere ya Opposition ikaba ikindi. Ibyakozwe na FPR byaba bihagije ngo irokoke muli *''Monde Multipolaire"*?– Abasoma Wikleaks, mwasomyemo mu myaka yashize ko Madame Hillary R. Clinton akili Sekereteri wa Leta ushinzwe Ububanyi n' Amahanga yashimiye u Rwanda kuba rwaramugejejeho *données biométriques* z'ibikomerezwa byarwo. Bivuze ko bibaye ngombwa ko bahunga, bitabashobokera! Nshimwe nshimwe ngo iraharata![41] Na Habyalimana yagiye mu nama itagira ibyigwa ali uko gusa yabisabwe n' abali baramushyizeho. Harya, Ousama Bin Laden mbere y' uko yicwa, ADN ye yaba itarashakishijwe byitwa ko ali ikingira ryalimo gukorwa? Nta kintu na kimwe o*ligarchie* ya FPR ishobora kwitwaza ngo ijye hejuru y' inyungu za *''Monde Unipolaire"* ilimo kumira nkeli uko bwije uko bukeye. Mbese muli make, igihe nk' icyo Perezida nka Sarikhozi yageraga mu karere k'u Rwanda akemezako amahoro yakagarukamo Congo isaranganyije umutungo **wayo** n' u Rwanda cyararangiye. Ingaruka simusiga yindi kandi utahisha wanayibonera no ku ivunjisha y' ifaranga ry' u Rwanda. Ligeze kuli angahe?

Ibi biratugaragaliza ko nta makiliro *ploutocratie* ya FPR ifite ku ruhande rwa *''Monde Unipolaire".* Bikaba biyigoye cyane kuko ikibazo muli yo Trump yaretse capitalisme y' urusimbi (''*capitalisme spéculatif''*) yajyanaga no kugira isi nk' umudugudu (*mondialisation)* akaba alimo gushaka kugaruka kuli capitalisme ifitiye benshi akamaro (''*capitalisme productif''*) bikamusaba guca ukubili na *mondialisation* yali igikoresho cya *''Monde Unipolaire",* [Amerika ikongera kuba igihangange (*America great again*)]. Uretse n' incuti z' America zifite amaturufu ahagije, ndetse n' Abanyamerika ubwabo bafite za jokers, politike iragaragara nk' urudubi (chaos). Bikaba byumvikana ko igihugu gikinisha inganda z' intuyu nka *ploutocratie* ya FPR, ikibazo ali insobe[42].

Col Vladmir Poutine, Perezida w' Uburusiya

Ngo uwarose nabi bulinda bucya: no muli *''Monde Multipolaire"* nta makiliro. Ububanyi n' amahanga bw' Abarusiya babushingiye ku ihame ry' ubumenyi bw' isi n' ubukungu(*principe de géo-économie*)[43]. Ubwo Serguei Lavrov aheruka mu Rwanda, akaba mu mutima we inkwenene zigomba kuba zalimo kwiyasira ubwo Madame Louise Mushikiwabo yamusezeranyaga ko babahuza n' Afrique de l' Est! Yali azanywe no kumenya ibisobanuro byanyujijwe mu ijambo lya Dominique de Villepin ku mabwiliza bumvaga ko Kagame yahawe n'Ubufransa mu nama yo muli RSA[44]. Mu rugendo rumwe, uretse kubona ko u Rwanda ruyobowe n'

39 Spetzinaz. Ziba zigizwe n' aba Officiers gusa, hejuru y' ibindi bisanzwe baba balize banavuga indimi nyinshi (But avuga zilindwi). Ikindi bahuliraho n' aba Officiers basanzwe bo muli icyo gihugu, promotion iboneka hanubahilijwe uko officier anazamuka mu rwego rwa univerisite cg académie za gisilikare. Ntushobora kuba Général udafite thèse wanditse.

40 Umusomyi yaba wenda yabonye aho byerekeza IDF (Israel Defens Forces). Mu yandi magambo aho guhanga politiki y'u Rwanda, FPR ireba ibyo yigana ubundi igakwiza igihuha. Ibibazo bya Israel n' u Rwanda ntaho bihuliye. Ntibinafite inkomoko zimwe. Abanazi batsemba Abayahudi, aba ntibali baligeze batera u Budage, ngo babe baragize icyakane cy' Abadage impunzi mu gihugu hagati. Nta bombe bateze imidoka, muli za gare no mu masoko y' u Budage! No mu mateka yabo ya kera, ntibali baligeze kwica ngo banashahure abami b' Abadage, ubundi babagire ingaruzwamuheto. Ibi aliko mu Rwanda byabayeho, birakulilizwa. Emwe niba Abanyarwanda bashoboraga kuvuga nta nkomyi, bagasuzuma ibibazo byabo, bashobora gusanga muli ibi bibazo naho hashinzemo imizi ya Génocide yo muli 1994. Na ndi umunyarwanda bili muli iyi yigana igoramye.

41 Umugani nya nyakuli ni uko gushaka gushimisha umugabo k' umugore akoresheje igitsina, hali urugingo (organe) ndangagitsina bikobora. Bitewe n' uko hali abato bashobora gusoma iyi nyandiko, bikaba atali byiza kuruvuga izina, kuko bishobora kubahahamura.

42 Ikintu gihambaye u Rwanda rukeneweho, ni ''*position stratégique''*.

43 Abashinwa bo principe iracyali iy' ubumenyi bw' isi n'ingamba (*géo-stratégie*).

indatwa *comprador*[45] kandi bitagize icyo bizibwira kugambanira uwo bafitanye amasezerano[46], ntacyo batanze, batahanye byinshi! Kubona ibirenze ibyamuzanye byamugaragalije gushyuhirana(*nervosité*) *ploutocratie* ya FPR ilimo. Ubundi kandi, bafite aba *oligarques* nabo iwabo bashibutse ku itongo ry' Abasoviyeti. Kumva ibibera mu Rwanda kuli bo bikaba atali ihulizo kandi mbere na mbere bireba Abanyarwanda.

Gnl Xi Jinping, SE w' Ishyaka rya Gikomunisti ry' Abashinwa , akanaba Perezida wabo

Abarusiya n' Abashinwa basanga Afrika ibonye amahoro, yatera imbere. Babihera ko mu ntangiliro za 1900, Amerika yali ku rwego Afrika igezeho ubu. Diplomatie n' ingabo Abarusiya akaba alibo babikora, Abashinwa bakibanda ku bukungu. Mu kulinda inyungu zabo, nta *seigneur de guerre* cg impunzi bakeneye[47]kuko nta *guerre hybride* bateganya(uretse *défensive* cg *neutralisation*). Barashaka ko amategeko mpuzamahanga yongera akubahilizwa, kimwe n' ubusugire n' imico y' ibihugu[48]. Nta mutungo karemano utasanga mu butaka bw' Abarusiya kandi ku buryo buhagije, bakaba bakeneye iyo mitungo kuyiteza imbere muli ibyo bihugu, igihe bikomeza inshuti zabo. Bumva ikihutirwa ali ukubanza guteza imbere ubuhinzi, bagahabwa *technologie* y' ibanze, na *maîtrise* ya *énergie* bo bakibanda mu ihangana ryo hejuru cyane cyane *intelligence artificielle* bakanateza abaturage babo n'ubukungu imbere nk' uko bamaze kubigeraho mu bya gisilikare, aho beretse igihandure Amerika.

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44 Mu mikorere ibategereje, abanyapolitike bacu bagomba kumenya imikorere ya banyilingufu bakorana. Abarusiya(Abashinwa nabo n' ubwo KERA bigeze gushwana imikorere uretse imico irasa) babanza kumenya niba ikivuzwe ali ukuli mbere yo kugikoresha(*validation de l' information*). Niba igihugu kibabwiye ko cyateye imbere muli tekinologie, barabanza bakajya gusoma inyandiko muli technologie cyasohoye mu itangazamakuru rya technologie, bakannagenzura ndetse bakabaza. Niba basanze inyandiko nyinshi ali iza technologie zo kubulyo bwo guhandura amavunja ukoresheje bayoneti, gutanga utuzi kubatavuga rumwe nawe, babifata uko bili aho kubifata uko itangazamakuru rikwamamaza libililimba nka gasuku.

45 Elite comprador ni indatwa zidatinya gucuza no kubabaza abanyagihugu bazo zitiza isura abakoloni bashya (néo-colonialisme) cg abasanzwe ngo zitoragure utuvungukira dusigara ku meza.

46 Hano *'Monde Multipolaire"* FPR ikesha ubutegetsi, Abarusiya bo balimo kurwanya, bakaba bagerageza no gusana ibyo yangije mu mibanire y' isi.

47 Abakozi bo mu masosiyete ashinzwe umutekano bukoresha mu kubungabunga umutekano akoresha abantu 4.200.000 bahoze ali ingabo zabo. Abarusiya bo mu ntangiliro z' uyu mwaka bashyizeho itegeko ryemerera abacanshuro gukora ibyo badashaka ko bihindanya isura yabo babikoresheje ingabo z' igihugu. Ubundi bagategura ingabo z' ibyo bihugu, zikanahabwa intwaro zihagije, zumvira Leta zazo.

48 Basanga ubutegetsi bwashyizweho mu gihe cya ''*Monde unipolaire*'' gushingiye ku gahonyoro ka banyamuke mu mubare, mu ntekerezo, etc (*tyrannie des minorités*). Imiryango y' ibihugu igacagagurwamo ubuceceti bushingiye ku bintu bitagombye kuyiteranya, ubundi bigahabwa intwaro bikamarana, bakabahatira imico itali iyabo. Bikoroha kubasahura kuko baba bahindutse ibicuruzwa uko Marx yabivuze: *rubanda nimara kuba nta ki kiyihuje, izasigara imeze nk' ibirayi bili mu mufuka bigomba gucuruzwa.* Yabuliraga ababwira ko mu busholisholi bwo kwishyira ukizana, ali aho bizerekeza ibihugu. *Urg*: Igihugu kigomba kulimburwa na Mpatsibihugu kiba gitunze cg gituranye n' igitunze. Umutungo wacyo 95% ukaba ugomba kuba uwa Mpatsibihugu, indatwa compradors zikaba zibyemera kandi zibyishimiye, ubundi 5% zikagakoresha uko zibyumva kimwe n' iyobora ry' abaturage bazo. Iyo Indatwa zitabyumva gutyo impamvu ntibura kansi iba ingana ururo. Niba Mpatsibihugu ivuze iti igihugu kirwanya abatarya inyama, abashaka kwambara ubusa, amoko, amadini...abatinganyi, indatwa zigashyiraho amategeko abarengera. Ababa baguzwe muli abo baregerwa, noneho bagasaba uruhusa rwo gusohoka ku cyumweru, bambaye imbindo ndetse halimo n' abanashyizemo amababa misa nkuru isohotse. Bahabwa indi nzira kubera kwilinda guhahamura abana, abakuru, etc. bikitwa kurwanya uburenganzira bwabo. Itangazamakuru ligahaguruka, abanzi aliko biyita ***R2P*** *(responsability to protect* cg uburenganzira ibihugu byiha bwo kurengera inyungu z' umurengera zabyo bizita iz' abanyagihugu zigashyirwa mu bikorwa)

Abashinwa bakeneye imitungo na *énergie* byo mu bihugu by' Afrika. Nk' Abarusiya nabo bakeneye kohereza inganda zabo zo hasi muli Afrika, ikaba isoko rizatuma batsinsura aho batarabikora, Amerika ku mwanya wa mbere. Bombi basanga idolali ry' Abanyamerika ali ikibazo gikomeye. Batangiye kulica mu bucuruzi bwabo kugira ngo bace ukubili n' ibihano bya hato na hato by' Amerika. Abashinwa bakaba alibo bambere batangiye gukoresha *intelligence artificielle* (bizwi ko nta mpuhwe na mba igira*)*mu gufata ibyemezo mu rwego mpuza mahanga. Kuba Perezida Xi Jinping yarasabye u Rwanda kwihutisha *solidarité*[49], bigomba kuba byaragaragalije *ploutocratie* ya FPR aho isi igeze. Muli za 1950, Mgr André Perraudin yasabye Abakristu kugira *charité*, na n' ubu abashyigikiye *umuryango wo kugira,* bumva kugabanya demokarasi aribyo bikuraho ubusumbane mu bukungu n' uburenganzira bwa muntu, … ntibarabimubabalira. MDR-Parmehutu nayo yali yubakiye ku *Isaranganya Mbonezamubano rya Gikristu* yakoreshaga ilyo jambo *solidarité* cg *charité,* nayo ni uko. Yasabaga iyongerwa rya demokarasi, kugobokana n' isaranganya ry' umutungo w' igihugu. Umukomunisti w' Umushinwa washyigikiye Umwami w' umukomunisti (atabaho), gusa abitewe no kurwanya *capitalisme,* mu yandi magambo kurwanilira *solidarité* akoresheje *capitalisme,* bimuhagurukije noneho akaza kubikwibutsa, ni uko nta *solidarité* cg *charité* uba koko ufite. Ni uko uba witambitse mu nyungu ze. Kandi biba bigoye kugira icyo wamuhisha, iyo azi nezako wamugulishijeho ibisahu bya RDC, igihugu muli iki gihe akomeyeho abitewe na *principe géostratégique* ububanyi n' amahanga bw' igihugu cye bushingiyeho.

UMWANZURO

Umulili waragize uti:*'' Umugisha uhora uhishe abahanga bakawuhiga!''.* Dukwiye gushimira abahanga bagiye batekereza ibipimo bigaragaliza abantu ibilimo kuba, ibyegereje, ibyo kwilindwa, etc. Cyane cyane ku Rwanda no ku Banyarwanda, bagize umuryango waranzwe kenshi n'ubusumbane bukabije muli byose, urwikekwe, guhembera inzangano, n' ibindi. Bikaba bigaragara ko imiti yo gukemura ibyo bibazo yo yabaga ali myiza itashyirwaga mu bikorwa uko yakabaye, yaba mibi ikitwa ko ali agahebuza. Ibyo byateje imivu y' amalira n' amaraso, inkongi n' impunzi byacuje i Gihugu n' Abaturage bacyo bigakiza ba rusahulira mu nduru.

Amateka yacu n' ay' isi, n' igipimo cyasuzumwe muli iyi nyandiko biratugaragaliza ko u Rwanda n' Abarutuye rwugalijwe n' ikiza rulimbuzi cg se amahirwe atagira ingano bitewe n' icyo indatwa zarwo zizaruhitiramo. Zikwiye gushishoza, ntizigure injangwe ili mu mufuka zitarebye niba aliyo koko cg se izi gufata imbeba kuko niko kazi kayo.

N' ubwo imivuno ali uruvunganzoka kandi iramutse iciwe, ejo hazaza haba hashimishije, ntibizagerwaho nta mikorere mishya, itomoye kandi ikeye ifashwe. Indatwa z' Abanyarwanda zidaciye ukubili n' ingeso zigejeje u Rwanda ku buce, cyane cyane ubugambanyi, imivuno yose yahinduka ubusa nk' uko byagenze mu gihe cyahise, aho FPR yabashije kurenza umunsi kubera kubura gisimbura ifatika. Imishinga, amategeko, programme byizwe neza kandi bidanangiye, abantu bashyira inyungu rusange imbere y' izabo, bashobora gutega ugutwi mugenzi wabo, bakaba bakwishyira mu mwanya we, bakamusubiza bazabigiramo uruhare rukomeye.

A. Munyandamutsa
Nederland, ce 30.09.2018

UMUGEREKA

Iyo uvuye ku miryango nyarwanda, ujya ku bantu, usanga naho hali ikibazo cyo kutabasha kwicarana, ngo abantu bategane amatwi, basuzume ibibazo biliho. Ibyo bikanaba no ku mbuga mpuzambaga. Ugasanga naho hakenewe ko kugira ngo ikibazo kigwe, bikwiye ko cyabanza kigacagagurwamo uduce duto cyane(séquençage) tudatera impaka za ngo turwane, tukigwa kugera mu mizi yatwo; contexte itibagiranye; kandi buli gihe angle yo gusuzuma buli gace ugasanga ikwiye kujye igaragazwa. Iyi approche nyihera ku rugero rw' impaka zili hasi aha zabaye muli groupe de discussion ndimo. N' ubwo nateguraga igitekerezo najyanamo, sinayiboneye umwanya wo

49 Ubwo yali mu ruzinduko mu Rwanda.

kuzijya. Sujet ntikili muli discussion aliko iruzuzanya n' ibyanditse hejuru. Akaba aliyo mpamvu mbigize umugereka.

Mukomere;

Impaka hagati y'Abanyarwanda kuri iyi *sujet* kimwe no kuzindi nyinshi zikunze guhita zica abantu mo positions radicalement inconciliables, discussion iyo idahindutse attaque en règle, ugasanga irazimye. Or la lumière jaillit du choc des idées. Birashoboka ko kugira ngo urwo rumuli ruboneke, hari hakwiye kurebwa uko izo mpaka zigibwa ku buryo butali ubukoreshwa ubu.

Haravugwa uruhare rwa Koffi Annan (wari ushinzwe Akanama k'umutekano k'Umuryango w'Abibumbye cg ONU) mu gihe cy'intambara ya FPR (1990-1994), akanaza kuba Umunyamabanga Mukuru w'uwo muryango) mu gihe cy'amahano yabaye n'akangaratete kayaherekeje. Hakagibwa impaka na none ku ruhare rw'abali bafite en principe urumuli rwa Rubanda. Impaka zigahita zikanyarara bitewe n'indorerwamo zitandukanye zikoreshwa (politique, philosophie politique & historique), ndetse ugasanga zifashe orientation psychologique aho opinion ya Madeleine Bicamumpaka abona muli *responsabilité morale* y'abagombaga kumulikira Rubanda, (Albert Bizindoli yemera kandi yemeza ko aliwe ireba)[50] yaba ari remord y'abafuditse. Impaka zikava kubivugwa, zikajya kubazijya. Ikizakurikiraho ni uko nk'izindi mpaka zose, iyi sujet nayo, igiye guhagarara ari igicagate. Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ko FPR yageze ku nshingano z'intambara ali zo:

"*a) annihiler la force armée de l'ennemi,*
b) le contraindre à faire sa propre volonté,
c) et le plonger dans une dépression prolongée pour inhiber toute sa velléité d'opposition".

Iyi nzitizi yasimbukwa ite?

Ibibazo by'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda, birakomeye cyane kandi birasobekeranye ku buryo bisaba kubigenera igihe gihagije; bikanononsorwa bihagije aho guhora buli gihe ali ugutangira, ubundi ibitenga bigaterekwa ku ruhande. Hakongera kugira impamvu iboneka, bikongera bigatangira nabwo bikagenda uko. Muli make hakenewe *méthodologie* yatuma abajya impaka baguma kuli fond.

Ikindi nsanga kidahwitse gikunze kugaruka ni uko kenshi cyane (niba ndetse atali na bul'igihe) tujya impaka kuli vision na contexte national y'Abanyarwanda. Nk'aho ibibazo by'U Rwanda bibera muli "milieu inerte" nta influence na interactions za contexte international. Umwanzuro wose wagerwaho muli izi conditions uba unyuranye n'ibishoboka (réalité).

Icya nyuma nkeka ko cyatuma ibintu byo gucagasa discussion byavaho cg bikagabanuka numva ali actualisation ya buli wese ku bigibwaho impaka, Ukuli kuliho kugakoreshwa mu mwanya wo gukoresha ukwahoze ali ukuli, uko kutaramenyekana. Ibi bikanajyana no kwemeranywa kuli période ilimo kugibwaho impaka.

De la sorte, nsanga aho kurunda ibicagate bya discussions, izi ngingo zubahilijwe zatuma haba sujets débattus à fond zikarangira. Ikiza ni uko bitabuza sujet iyo aliyo yose kwigwa, ntibyitambike mu yindi bibangikanye nayo ilimo kwigwa.

En pratique

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50 Albert Bizindoli : " *On n'est pas rwandais uniquement pour le meilleur, mais aussi pour le pire. Le génocide en fait partie. Je n' en revendique pas la culpabilité mais une part de responsabilité..Cette posture n'engage que moi mais je l'assume. Responsabilité dans l'action, l'inaction, l'indifférence, l'erreur de jugement, ...on devrait tous se retrouver plus ou moins quelque part et surtout quand on dit qu'on fait partie de l'élite ou de la classe politique".*

Abanyarwanda, tuzi ibibazo byacu kurusha abantu benshi cyane. Halimo kandi abantu benshi bize bihagije ku buryo kubibonera imyanzuro ikwiye, bishoboka. Gusa rero iyo bibaye ngombwa ko bivugwaho, ikihutirwa kuli bamwe usanga atali ugusesengura opinion ya bagenzi babo ngo ibigoramye bilimo binengwe, hakulikiranwa kulyoza nyirayo ibitabanyuze kenshi ali na détails. Zigakulirizwa, bagasanga byaherwaho ngo banezeze inzangano, gusuzugurana, urwikekwe n'ibindi bitabura mu bantu. Muli make, ibyali impaka ugasanga bihindutse gutana mu ijosi litari ily'ibitekerezo, ahubwa ali ily'abantu. Nta ntambwe ishobora guterwa muli izi conditions. Ingaruka mbi ni uko, ali ufite igitekerezo, akigumana kuko abantu bake nibo bakunda guterana amagambo. Abashoboye ibyo, bakigarulira imbuga, inama, amashyirahamwe, amashyaka, etc. Abandi bigengesereye ngo base n'abemeye ibivuzwe nabo, aliko ataliko bili muli bo. Ibyagombaga kuba ibitekerezo, bigahinduka amacugane yabyo (consanguinité idéologique). Iyaba hali lumière ijya iva muli consanguinité idéologique, d'opinion, nta mpaka twagombye kuba tulimo kujya.

Abatifuza ko hagira ibihinduka bitewe n'impamvu zinyuranye (conservatismes d'un monopole total bifashishije génocide, conservatisme du flou ku byabaye, abo bireba directement, abo bifitiye izindi nyungu) baliho. Abandi bose bazanwa ku mbuga, mu mashyirahamwe … no mu mashyaka kuko bafite ikiza bifuliza u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda. Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ko hakwiye gushakishwa ubulyo bwo gutuma abantu koko bajya impaka zisesuye.

Une proposition de Méthodologie

Ibyo ntekereza si kamara, ni uko mbibona. Mbonye ibisobanuro binyuze ko ali ukwibeshya, ntacyambuza gufata ibyo naba ngaragalijwe ko alibyo kuli. Ubwo burenganzira nkumva na buli wese abufite. Mbere aliko yo kugaragaza iyo opinion yanjye, ndagira ngo nerekane ingero ziturutse muri débat yavuzwe haruguru zishyigikira impamvu uburyo bukenewe. Ndabisuzuma ntakulikije amatariki bene kujya impaka babyandikiye, ahubwo nkulikije ibitekerezo nyamukuru bilimo kandi niyibagije ku bwende contexte, nk'uko alibwo bulyo bwakoreshejwe n'abajyaga impaka.

– F. Munyabagisha niwe dushobora gukuraho igihe yemera icyo alicyo: 1990-1994, akagaya imyitwarire ya élite muli icyo gihe; akababazwa n'uko ubu, irangajwe n'inyungu bwite, ntacyo ikora ngo abanyarwanda bazize iyo myitwarire babohoke:

> *" Nkuko élite nyarwanda muri rusange muri 1990-1994 yarebereye nticyahe ibyarimo kuba, disikuru ivangura kugeza aho amaraso y'abanyarwanda amenekeye nk'umuvu, (uko kudakoma niyo responsabilité morale y'a élite rwandaise), na nubu la même élite irirukanka inyuma y'utuntu utamenya utwo ari two aho kuba urumuri rwo kwibohora no kubohora abanyarwanda. Urwishe ya nka ruracyayirimo".*

Amaze gusoma ibyanditswe na moderateur wibukije abajyaga impaka gusubiza amaso inyuma bakareba impamvu nyamukuru, Munyabagisha yafashe 1959[51]. Munyabagisha yagaragaje kenshi uko abona ikibazo cy'u Rwanda n'umuzi wacyo. Mu bili hejuru yemera *résponsabilité morale* aliko mu yindi message aho agira inama Bizindoli gusoma ibisobanuro bya Nkiko ku ruhare rwa Koffi Annan muli Génocide yo muli 1994, usanga yikanga ko yaba intandaro yo kugirwa culpabilité.

– Muri opinion ye, M. Bicamumpaka yanenze globalisation ya *résponsabilité morale*: " *Kwicana nibyo twari twahisemo.... Ayo mahitamo yabaye ayande ? Iyo twahisemo irashaka kuvuga wowe nande ko njye nabandi benshi itabareba ? ! ?* " . Ntakigaragaza niba ashyigikiye ibindi byavuzwe mu mpaka cg niba hali icyo abinengaho. Yemera ko hali amakosa yakozwe, agakeka ko uwemera *résponsabilité morale,* baba bali bafite conscience tordue bikaba bibatera remord:

51 *"Ugize neza Kanani, kutugarura mu ihanika kwa Rudahigwa, mu ikolosi ry'IKIBITERA".*

“ Abo conscience zabo zirya, nuko bazi uruhare rwabo muribyo, bakaba wenda ahari barageze aho bagira umutimanama utakigoramye cyane utuma bemera makosa bakoze aliko atarakozwe na TWESE. Ako kantu bakaba bakarusha ababigizemo uruhare mu buryo bushobotse bwose aliko bahitamo kubikwepa cyangwa se kwigira ba "Ntirandabizi"...”

M. Bicamumpaka ahagaze kuri position ye yamaganira kure responsabilité morale usanga akeka ko yaba ihishiliye culpabilité juridique (politique ou historique). Kuko nta posture y’intangiriro yagaragaje, ntacyemeza ko buli wese ajyanye position ye muli débat, blocage yazo imenyerewe yazavaho. Cyane cyane ko ava muli analyse de la situation akajya muri “psychologie”.

Discussion zaturutse kuli réflexion y’Albert Bizindoli:

“ Ntituli Abanyarwanda gusa mu byiza, tunali bo no mu kangaratete. Genocide ikakabamo. Ntacyo nishinja, aliko ntihabuze agace k' uruhare... Iyi myitwalire ninjye ireba, ndayemera. Uruhare mu bikorwa, mu kutagira icyo nkora, kumva bitandeba, kwibeshya mu byemezo,... twagombye kugira aho twisanga cyane cyane niba twumva tuli indatwa cg abanyapolitiki''.

“ On n’est pas rwandais uniquement pour le meilleur, mais aussi pour le pire. Le génocide en fait partie. Je n’ en revendique pas la culpabilité mais une part de responsabilité..Cette posture n’engage que moi mais je l'assume. Responsabilité dans l’action, l'inaction, l'indifférence, l’erreur de jugement, ...on devrait tous se retrouver plus ou moins quelque part et surtout quand on dit qu’on fait partie de l’élite ou de la classe politique”.

A. Bizindoli ali muli philosophie politique akumva ko ibibazo biliho binyujjwe muli iyo ndorerwamo, byatuma abantu bazashyira bakicarana, bakubaka u Rwanda rwejo. Kuba avuze ko ali posture, ni sous entendu ko atayobewe ufite culpabilité politique, historique et juridique. Ikaba ali position atifuje kugaragaza. Muli make yemera ko hali sacrifice pour intérêt supérieur de la Nation. Hakulikijwe imvugo ko: “*politike ali ukugambirira igishoboka (la politique est la poursuite du possible),* usanga koko hatabayeho kubabalirana (remettre les compteurs à zéro), abantu ngo bagire postures zituma batangira gutangira kwiga ibibazo byabo, nta gisubizo kizaboneka.

Aba balimo kujya impaka, bafite ibitekerezo ushobora gusanga bitanatandukanye wenda binakabije, ndetse bashobora no kwicarana, umwe yatega amatwi undi ibyo avuga neza bakaba bahaguruka, ntawe uvuye ku gitekerezo nyamukuru cye, aliko bafitanye umugambi wo gukomeza d’abord gutegana amatwi, bagasesengura ikivuzwe, umutima uli mu gitereko, hakagira byibura ikintu kimwe bajyaho impaka kikageza ubwo kiva mu nzira bacyumvikanyeho. Bikaba bigaragaza ko ibyigwa bitabuze, ababyiga bakaba baliho, ikibura akaba ali uburyo bwo gukulikiza.

Nta kibazo kitagira imizi miremire cg migufi ishinze mu mpamvu ziba cg iba yaragihembereye. Niba ugiye nko kwiga Intambara ya Kabili y' Isi yose(1939-1945), uzasanga imizi miremire yayo ishinze mu Ntambara ya Mbere y' Isi (1914-1918), ndetse limwe na limwe mbere yaho. Ntushobora na limwe aliko kwemeza ko iyo ntambara iba yaratangiye muli 1914.

Ufashe buli muzi bigaragara ko ali intandaro ya kure cg ya vuba y' iyo ntambara, hali abantu wasanga bazifitimo uruhare morale runyuranye bitewe n' ibikorwa byabo, ibyo batakoze, kumva bitabareba, kwibeshya, etc. Ibyo bikaba byaratumye umwaka wa 1939 ugera , Intambara ya Kabili y' isi igatera kandi wenda, iyo bakora ukundi byali kutabyara iyo ntambara.

Niba iyi méthode ishoboka kuli iki kibazo, hali ikosa ibaye extrapolée ku bindi? Uwareba Génocide yatangiye taliki ya 06.04.1994, nta mpamvu zayiteye très lointaines, lointaines, proches n' izindi immédiates na déclencheur?

– Iyo u Rwanda rudafasha Museveni mu ntambara ye, wenda ntibyali kubulizamo intambara ndetse na génocide? Nta élites zifite responsabilité morale, izifite judiciaire, professionnelle, cg historique muli ili kosa?

– Ibi bibazo ntiwabyibaza no ku ntambara bamwe nka Major E. Neretse bemeza ko yashoboraga no kutaba, yanaba u Rwanda rugatsinda cg rukagirana na FPR imishyikirano rutameze nk' urufatiwe inkota ku gakanu?

– 05.07.1973 yaba nta ruhare yagize kuli méfiance yo mu ntambara rwagati yatumaga bamwe bikanga Habyalimana kurusha uko bikangaga Inkotanyi?

Ibi ni ibireba uruhare rw' u Rwanda. Noneho ufashe urwa FPR byo si uko?

– Muli Nzeli, intumwa z' u Rwanda zigiye gusuzuma ikibazo cy' impunzi zagiye muli Uganda kubonana nazo na ONU. Général Rwigema arabura byitwa ko ali mu butumwa, nimugoroba aza kuli hotel aho izo ntumwa zali zicumbitse azanywe no kuzinnyega, ese uku kwali uguha amahirwe amahoro ngo yimakare?

– Ubwoko bw' intambara FPR yahisemo, yaba nta ruhare yagize ku mibanire y' abanyarwanda hagati mu gihugu?

– Génocide itangira kugeza taliki 12.04.1994, italiki FPR yahaye ingabo zose zaje guhungisha abantu bazo yo kuba bavuye mu Rwanda, cg ikabamara. Mu Rwanda n' akarere karwo hali ingabo 2.500 za ONU, 400 z' Ababiligi; nk'izo z' Abataliyani ; igihumbi kirenga z' Abafransa, 400 za Force spéciales z' Abanyamerika i Bujumbura. Hamwe Ibihumbi bitanu, umukono wo kuzinjiza muli MINUAR ngo zibulizemo génocide ubulizwamo na FPR yazisabaga gutaha! Muli ONU, FPR yamagana ko u Rwanda rwatabarwa! Ingabo zayo zifite ubushobozi bwo gutabara, aliko zidafite itegeko ryo kubikora, n' ubikoze abihanirwa! Aha haba nta responsabilité morale, judiciaire, professionnelle, cg historique zihali?

– Turebye Inyenzi. Iyo umuntu asabye amatora, akayahabwa, akayajyamo ni uko aba yiyemeje no kubahiliza imyanzuro izavamo. Inyenzi zatangiye gutera Repubulika, itarabona n' umwanya wo gukosa ngo zigire amakosa ziyirega. Nta responsabilités na culpabilites zibalizwa muli ibi bikorwa ?

– Ubwoko bw' intambara yahisemo, buteganya phase y'iryana ry'abazishyigikiye n' abashyigikiye ubutegetsi. Muli uku guhitamo, nta makosa cg responsabilités zinyuranye zilimo ? N' ubwo u Rwanda rwali rufite abasilikare 1200 ku gihugu gifite 26.338 kilometero kare, n' abapolisi bangana uko, kugwa muli uwo mutego naho hali responsabilité. Hali na za culpabilités zinyuranye.

Ibi ubusanzwe si ikibazo, bihinduka ikibazo ku Banyarwanda kuko ubuhake bwacengeye bukagera kure! Iyo naka ali mu mwanya wa leta, kubera ubushobozi ubu n' ubu kandi mu gihe iki n' iki, yumva yaragabanye byararangiye. Na nyuma ye azasimburwa n' umwana we kugeza kundunduro y' isi. Uba yikanga ko responsabilité yahindurwa culpabilité judiciaire nawe aba afite aho ahera kuko, mu gukora ibishoboka byose ngo ibya leta bihinduke iby' uwo muntu, impamvu yose ingana ururo, ikabyazwa umusaruro aho bishoboka hose, akikiza uwamurusha ubushobozi, uwakora akazi neza kumurusha, etc. Ibi bigatuma ntagisuzumwa, agahinduka igishyitsi. Kuko yaba responsabilité na culpabilité ze bitigera bisuzumwa.