



N° 39

**IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI.**

Mutarama 1993

KA02 1737

ARUSHA IDUKURURIYE INTAMBARA Y'AMOKO



Sunati Abdallah

- MRND na MDR zirebye nabi zasenyukira muri CDR na FPR.
- BURUNDI : Buyoya mu mazi abira. *Sunati Abdallah*
- Abatutsi barifuriza CDR kuja muri Guverinoma kugira ngo bagire amahoro
- GISENYI : Abaturage bijunditse Commandat BIZIMANA.

REVUE INDEPENDANT
EDITEUR : GISENYI-INFO
REDACTEUR ET DISTRIBUTEUR : GISENYI-INFO
B.P. 19 GISENYI, R.W. 14273/14

Abonnement annuel : Rwanda : 5.000 FRW
Afrique : 12.000 FRW
Europe - Amérique - Asie : 25.000 FRW
Société BCR - 14273/14 KIGALI

Imuramba y'ubwoko
GISENYI-INFO

Imuramba y'ubwoko
GISENYI-INFO

Imuramba y'ubwoko
GISENYI-INFO



Rwanda rugezemo byo byakemurwa na Rurema. Intambara igitangira, inyenzi zaje zitwaje "demokarasi". Ntibiteye kabiri, iyo ntambara inyenzi zashoje ihinduka iy'amashyaka none dore igeze hagati ihindutse iy'amoko. Muti ibyo bije bite.

Niba inyenzi zivuga ko zije kurenge ubusugire bw'impunzi zahunze MDR Parmehutu ya cyera ariwo murage wa CDR y'ubu, ntawahakana ko ziba zitavugira abatutsi bese. Kandi ntawarwanya FPR kurenge inyungu z'abatutsi nkuko CDR irengera iz'abahutu aho bari hose. Gusa icyo twe tutemera ni uburyo FPR yanyuzemo mu kurenge izo nyungu kuko yabangamiye iz'acu cyane cyane mu kutuvutsa ubuzima.

Ngo akebo kajya iwamugarura.

FPR yerekanye uburakari bwayo iratera, irica, ivana abantu mu byabo. Andi mashyaka nayo avuga ko aharanira ihinduka ry'ibintu ahitamo gufatanyana na FPR. Nuko nayo aya mu mihanda ariba, arica, arasanya kugeza

ubwo ubwo bugome bwaje gutuma yinjizwa muri guverinoma. Kubera ko mu ntegano z'iyi guverinoma harimo gushyikirana na FPR, ubwo nta kindi cyakozwe usibye guheza amashyaka avugira rubanda nyamwinshi nka CDR. Impamvu turagarukaho. Gusa icyo twe tubona kandi ari nacyo duheraho tuvuga ko mu Rwanda hariye kuba intambara y'amoko ni ibi bikurikirira:

1:-Nta kuntu abahutu bazihangana nira kumva ko ishyaka rirengera inyungu zabo ryahejwe mu butegetsi bahawe na revolusiyi yo mu w'1959.

2:-Kubera ko CDR yanyuze mu nzira ya demokarasi, ibitekerezo byayo bikanga kumvwa, bigaragara ko abaturage aribo bagomba guhitamo inzira banyuramo yatuma haba indi mishyikirano yabageza ku butegetsi. Bashobora gukora ibyo MDR PARMEHUTU ya cyera yakoze cyangwa se bagakora ibyo MDR ya Twagiramungu yakoze. Bitashoboka nabo bagafata intwari nk'uko FPR yabigenje maze bakabona bagashyirwa muri Guverinoma. Ibyo byose biroroshye ku bahutu bacengewe n'icyatumye abatutsi bahungu n'uburyo bakoresheje mu itahuka.

Icyo FPR itekereza.

FPR izi neza ko abahutu bese ari bamwe, ko batekereza bimwe usibye ko batanyuze mu nzira imwe. Aha natanga urugero ku ijamba Ministiri w'Intebe yavugiyeye ku Kibuye yibutsa ko ashobora gushyira ku mupaka ingabo z'abahutu maze inyenzi ntizinjire. FPR izirikana buri gihe diskuru zose zavuzwe ubwo MDR yavukaga iga-

shyirwa muri Guverinoma. Izo mvugo zose nizo zituma FPR ibaza MDR uko byagenda HABYARIMANA barwana avuyeho? Ibyo byose nibyo byatumye FPR itahura ko muri MDR hari-mo ibice bitatu.

a) igice kigizwe n'abahutu batekereza nka KAYIBANDA aricyo cy'aba CDR yihishe muri MDR.

b) igice kigizwe n'inyenzi ziri inyuma ya Twagiramungu.

c) igice kigizwe na ba NSENGIYA-REMYE n'abandi bashaka gukira no kwirira.

Iyo FPR ibajije MDR ibyo bibazo, ihitamo kwicecekerera ivuga ko bizakosorwa.

Amizero y'u Rwanda ni ay'ahere?

Nta yandi usibye gushyira CDR muri guverinoma. Bitashoboka abaturage bakanyura mu nzira ariya mashyaka yanyuzemo ariyo FPR, MDR, PL, na PSD. Udashaka ko u Rwanda ruba nka SOMALIYA, Liberiya n'ahandi yaheza CDR muri guverinoma. Gusa abahutu tugashyigikira ko mu mashyaka y'abatutsi twakomeza kugiramo udukingirizo tw'ibyitso by'abahutu nka ba MBONAMPEKA, MUGENZI muri PL, KANYARENGWE, RIZINDE muri FPR, GATABAZI, NZAMURAMBAHO muri PSD.

Tuzemera tumene amaraso turi benshi ariko abasigaye bagire amizero y'iminsi izaza. Kuko ubutwari FPR yagize ntibuzatunira kandi turi 85 ku ijana by'abatuye uru Rwanda.

NGEZE Hassan

NGEZE Hassan

Umujyanama mu Biro Bikuru by'Ishyaka C.D.R. KIGALI

Impamvu: Gutunganya ibitekerezo byagirira abahutu akamaro.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu.

Nyakubahwa Fondateri wa MRND,

Mw'izina ryanjye bwite, no kuba ndi umwe mu banyarwanda bazobereye Politike y'ibi bihe turimo, byongeye kandi nkaba ndi umwe mu banyarwanda bashinze itangazamakuru ryigenga tutaretse no kuba naragiriye icyizere n'abanyarwanda benshi, mubyo mvuga nkoresheje ugusesengura ibihe, mpereye ku mutima nama wanjye, no kuba mbere yo kujya gufatanyana n'abandi Bahutu mu kurwana ku gihugu cyacu cyari cyugarijwe n'umwanzi, nkaba nari narabaye igihe kirekire muri MRND mu gihe cy'amahoro. Nkaba narakunze kugaragaza ko Abahutu batiyunze ngo bafatanye, akabo kaba gashobotse. Nkaba narabaye umwe mu banyarwanda bagukunda by'umwihariko ndetse nkaba narafunze kenshi ari mwe nzira, kuko icyo nafungwaga n'umwanzi ari mwe naziraga. Ibyo bikaba bitarigeze narimwe binca intege. None nagiraga ngo mbasabe inkunga yo kwakira ibitekerezo byanjye, kuko byatuma ubwonko bw'abahutu bwizera iminsi izaza, ndetse n'amahoro ku moko atatu atuye u Rwanda, agasugira, agasagamba.

Duhereye kw'ishusho ya MRND.

MRND ni ishyamba mwashinze ngo rihuze abanyarwanda: Abahutu, Abatwa, Abatutsi. Intego yayo iba Ubumwe-Amahoro-Amajyambere, nyamara mwabonye ko ubwo bumwe, abatutsi batigeze babubashimira. None tukaba dusanga muri MRND harimo ibice bine aribyo ibi bikurikirira:

1. Hari aba MRND k'umubiri ariko k'umutima ari aba CDR
2. Hari aba MRND k'umubiri ariko k'umutima ari aba FPR
3. Hari abasabiwe imbehe na MRND ya kera, ubu bakaba bari mu myanya yabo ariko badakunda MRND y'ubu, ndetse batanagaragaza ko bashyigikiye Habyarimana.
4. Hari urubwirako rwa MRND (Interahamwe) zikunda Habyarimana aho yajya hose, mw'ishyamba iryo ariyo ryose, ari nabo batuma MRND ibaho.

Ibyo bice byose icyo ububumbiye hamwe niho ubona ishusho ya MRND bikaba bigoye kubihuza kuko byishushanyaga, kandi ubuyobozi bushya budashoboye guhindura mu myanya abo badakorera ishyamba. Nyuma y'iryo sesengura nifuzaga kubasaba ko, niba musanze guhuza ibyo bice bigoye mwadutera inkunga muduha biriya bice bibiri bikaza kurwana ku gihugu bifatanije n'abandi muri CDR. Ibyo bice mwaduha ni Interahamwe na babandi

Le 21/01/1993

baba muri MRND ariko ku mutima ari CDR. Ibyo musanze bidashoboka, mwadukorerera ibi bikurikira: Kubera ko amasezerano ya Arusha yanga ko CDR iya muri guverinoma kandi guverinoma ya Arusha ishobora kuyaha mu kwezi kwa gatandatur' uyu mwaka, twasabaga ko mu gihe icyo guverinoma ya Arusha itarajyaho mwategeka abaministri banyu kwegura muri iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye maze ya myanya icyenda MRND ifite ubu ikaduhamo enye bityo hahinduka ingingo imwe muzigize ya masezerano yashyizeho iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye kuko yari agizwe na MRND-MDR-PL-PSD na PDC ubwo haba byongeyemo na CDR. Ibyo biroroshye niba koko ibyo MRND ivuga ko ishigikiye CDR byaba bivuye mu magambo noneho bishyizwe mu bikorwa.

Kandi bigaragara ko aribwo byaha byiza kurushaho. Ubu FPR irabaza impamvu MRND itahaye imyanya CDR none akaba ariho MRND iri gusabira CDR kujya muri guverinoma hivuye ARUSHA.

Impamvu kujya muri guverinoma y'ubu byadufasha ni uko Arusha itazongera kuduheza, kuko natwe noneho twabura turi muri guverinoma.

Icyo gihe twahabwaga MININTER-MINADEF-MINISANTE-MINIFOP. Ubwo izisigaye zikaba iza MRND. Ubwo MRND yaba igaragaje ko irengera rubanda koko. Ubwo na CDR ikabona aho ikorera irwana ku nyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Ibyo bidashobotse CDR yahitamo kuba yonyine irengera inyungu z'abahutu aho bari hose. Amashyamba arimo abahutu ku bwinshi yagombye kuvikana, ntasenye igihugu cyabo, kuko bishimisha umwanzi wabo.

NGEZE Hassan

Umujyanama mu biro bikuru by'ishyamba CDR

MDR NA MRND ZIZASENYUKIRA MURI CDR NA FPR

Abantu benshi bakomeje kwibaza kuri aya mashyamba, uko ateye ubu n'uko azaba ameze nyuma y'itahuka ry'inyenzi. Hakaba hari na benshi bibaza icyo CDR ihuriyeho n'andi mashyamba arimo abahutu, Yewe banageza n'aho bibaza icyo ihuriro rya MRND na CDR rimaze. Ngo MRND yagiye mu ihuriro igamije kurwana ku mbehe yayo. Ngo nta rundi rukundo ifitiye CDR, CDR nayo ngo yemeye kubana na MRND itegereje ko bafatanyaga ku rwanya umwanzi. Ibyo byose abasomyi bacu mwibaza nibyo bitumye twiyemeza kubagezaho icyo ayo mashyamba yose apane.

MRND ITEYE ITE ?

Iryo shyamba ririmo abantu b'ibice bine. Bose batavugaga rumwe ku bibazo bibugariye, bitaretse n'iki gihugu. Ibyo bice ni ibihe ?

a) Muri MRND harimo abantu bari muri iryo shyamba ku mubiri gusa ariko ku mutima bibereye muri CDR, bagatinyaga kubyerura no kuva muri MRND ngo Ikinani kidasigara cyonyine. Ikibabaje ni uko n'icyo CDR bavugaga ko bashyigikiye nacyo bayimariye ku bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

b) Igice cya kabiri kigizwe n'abantu bihisha muri MRND ariko bibereye muri FPR mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

c) Igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'abantu bibereye muri MRND ari ukwihahira gusa. Badakunda Habyarimana ndetse n'ishyamba. Abo bantu bafite n'imyanya ikomeye babonye MRND igitegeka iki gihugu yonyine. None bikaba byarananiranye kubatsimbura muri icyo myanya ari

naho bamwe bahera bavugaga ko MRND y'ubu ntaho itaniye n'icya kera.

d) Igice cya kane kigizwe n'Interahamwe ziyemeje gushyigikiye Habyarimana kugeza ku munota wa nyuma, yewe n'icyo yayivamo zo zayisigaramo. N'aho iryo shyamba rigeze ubu ni ukubera Interahamwe zikora ibishoboka byose ngo MRND igume ku isonga. Nyamara se muri zo hari uwo Habyarimana yagabiye. Mu bayiriyeye se hari Interahamwe yahawemo n'ijana ? Ibyo bice byose uko ari bine nibyo bigize MRND «ivuguruye».

TUBYIBAZE HO !

Ibi twanditse biratuma buri muyoboke wa MRND amenya uruhande arimo. Aribaza icyo MRND izamumarira. Birababaje kubona abakorera MRND icyo bahuye n'ibyago itabarwanaho ku buryo bugaragara. None se bishoboka gute ko Minisitiri y'ingabo yaba itegekwa na MRND, nyamara abayoboke bayo akaba ari bo ibuzaga amahwemo ? Twavugaga nko kubagira impunzi mu ngo zabo nka za Remera n'ahandi, nka ba NGIRABATWARE, SETIBA, MUGESERA n'abandi... Bishoboka bite ko KANGURA yaba yarafunzwe inshuro zirenze makumyabiri kandi ngafungwa na ba minisitiri ba MRND bari muri icyo gice gishyigikiye FPR, MRND ntikomeye kandi ariyo naburiraga ? Ntibyumvikana kandi ukuntu abayobozi ba MRND ari nabo bamaganye KANGURA kurusha uko FPR iyamagana. Ese icyo MRND iba ishamba ritekereza rigashyira mu gaciro, imyamba KANGURA yakoranye na MRND

mbere y'uko amashyamba avuka ntiyari ihagije ngo KANGURA iterwe inkunga ? Kuri icyo kibazo ntawarirenganya kuko igice gishyigikiye FPR muri MRND aricyo gifite ingufu. Abakiri bazima muri MRND urebye neza wasanga ari imbarwa.

BITE SE MURI MDR ?

Muri MDR harimo ibice bitatu bitavugaga rumwe ari nabyo bituma iryo shyamba ridashobora kugira icyo rigeraho usibye imvururu.

Igice cya mbere kirimo abayoboke bake baje bazi ko ari MDR PARMEHUTU. Babonye ko bidashoboka kandi batagomba kujarajara bahitamo kuba MDR ku by'urwiyerurutso naho ku mutima ari CDR nsa. Akaba ari nabo batanga imfashanyo ifasha CDR kugera ku byo yiyemeje.

Igice cya kabiri kigizwe n'abayoboke b'abahutu bazi akamaro ka revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yabagiriye, bababazwa n'ibyo inyenzi zadukoreye muri icyo ntambara. Bakaba baragiye muri MDR kubera ko batumvikana na Habyarimana ku bibazo bimwe na bimwe nko gukundwako abatutsi agakabya, abegurira umutungo w'igihugu, amashuri... Muri icyo gice n'ho twashyirira abatavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana kubera ko ubutegetsi bwe bwatumye bafungwa. Ariko ntibibabuzaga gutekereza nka CDR ndetse bakaba biteguye gufatanyaga nayo igihe cyose byaba ngombwa. Igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'abayoboke bayobowe na TWAGIRAMUNGU ukorera Inkotanyi aharanira ko revolisiyo yo mu w'1959 yasi-

bangana. Ibyo nibyo yise MDR i-shyaka ry'umuco. Ikibabaje rero ni uko Twagiramungu n'inyenzi ze aribo bafite ingufu muri MDR, ari nabo bafata ibyemezo bidakuka.

UKO BYIFASHE MURI CDR.

Impuzamugambi zagize amahirwe yo kuboneka mu mashyaka yose ureke ibyo bavuga ngo CDR iravangura. Abahutu ni ubwoko bumwe ntibugomba kuvangurwa. Nkuko abatutsi nabo ari ubwoko bumwe butavangurwa. CDR yavutse nta butegezi ifite, yahananiraga gusa inyungu z'abahutu. Abahutu ariko bakibuka gukeberaho abatutsi (ku butegezi) n'abatwa hakurikijwe uko bangana. Abanyaburayi ntibakatuyobye kuko n'iwabo abenshi nibo bategeka, ba nyakamwe bagahabwa ibibakwiriyeyo hakurikijye umubare wabo. Abayobokeye biganje muri CDR ku bi-



kubitiro bavuye muri MDR na MRND n'abandi bari barabuze i-shyaka ryabagwa ku mutima. Kwifatanya kwa MDR na FPR byafashije CDR mu kugira abayobokeye muri MDR. Bikaba bigaragara ko igihe cyose inyenzi zizakomeza kugaragaza ubugome bwazo, bya bice bibiri bidakorana n'umwanzi byazaza kwifatanya

na CDR. Gusa CDR nayo igakomeza gushakisha ibyitso by'abahutu mu buyobozi bwo hejuru bw'amashyaka y'abatutsi nk'uko bimeze muri FPR iyoborwa na KANYARENGWE na BIZIMUNGU, PL ifite MUGENZI na MBONAMPEKA, PSD, iyoborwa na NZAMURAMBAHO na GATABAZI... Komeza urup. 8

NAROSE ABAHUTU BATSINDA

Basomyi, nshuti zacu, Bahutu bene wacu, ntikutangazwe n'uko iyi nimero ya 39 ya KANGURA ibagezeho itanze. Hari hashize igihe kirekire mutabona ikinyamakuru cyanyu dore ko nimero ya nyuma mwayiherukaga muri Kanama 1992. Ikinyamakuru cyanyu KANGURA gikomeje kugambanirwa na Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE aki-gabiza «umushingantahe» Major Petero Buyoya wagambiriye kuri mbura abahutu iyo bava bakagera. Buyoya afatanije na Guverinoma ya Veterineri NSENGIYAREMYE bakoze uko bashoboye ngo banige ijwi rigamije gukangura no kurengeza rubanda nyamwinshi birananirana.

Burya koko ukuri guca mu ziko ntigushye kandi ukuri kuzatsinda. Uvuze ko nyiri urugo yapfuye siwe uba yamwishe. Bavuga n'ibigaramye, imihoro ikarakara. Na Buyoya ni uko.

None se abahutu b'i Burundi bazakomeza bapfe duceceka ngo tudahungabanya umubano «mwiza» uranga u Rwanda n'u Burundi? Abahutu bazakomeza gushira duceceke ngo tudatetereza «ubwu-

mvikane» buri hagati y'ibihugu bigize Umuryango w'Ubukungu w'ibihugu bituriye ibiyaga bigari (CEPGL)? Ibyo ari byo byose, intambara abahutu turwana tuzayitsinda. Tuzayitsindisha ubumwe bw'abahutu. Kugambanirwa, abahutu baracyagambanirwa.

Abahutu b'i Burundi twavugaga ko ari bo bagatoye kurusha abandi. Dore ko bagikandamizwa kuva ku ngoma za cyami kugeza na n'ubu muri Repubulika ntutsi ya gatatu. Micombero niwe wavugaga ngo «uzompusha sinzomuhusha». Ubwo ni abahutu bahagwaga. Bagaza yitwikira ibibazo yari afitanye na Kiriziya yoreka imbaga y'abahutu. Petero Buyoya akomeza umurage wa bakuru be, abahutu bakomeza gupfa muri politiki yise «ubumwe bw'abarundi».

Ibihe turimo birakomeye. Ntabwo twagendera kuri ya mvugo ngo niba umuntu agukubise urushyi ku musaya umwe ngo umutege undi agukubite urundi rushyi. Niba umuntu agukubise urushyi, nta kindi aba ashaka uretse kukurimbura. Ihagarareho muhangane.

Abahutu b'i Burundi nibahagurukire rimwe bigobotore ingoyi y'abatutsi. Kandi bazabigeraho kuko ari bo benshi. Nibuke igitutu Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bemere ku mugaragaro ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi PALIPEHUTU. Niyo byaba ngombwa ko haba ibitambo, Revolisiyo niko imera.

Mu Rwanda, ibyo abahutu bari bagezeho babikesha revolisiyo ya rubanda nyamwinshi yo muri 1959 barebye nabi byagenda nka nyomberi. Ibikorera Arusha biteye impungenge ku buryo Abahutu bari bakwiye gukanguka bagahaguruka hakiri kare bakarengeza inyungu zabo. Ubundi demokarasi bivugaga ko ubutegezi butangwa n'abaturage bugakorera abaturage. «Demokarasi yo mu Rwanda iteye ukundi. None se ko rubanda ihezwa mu butegezi, haka-ba hagiye gutegeka abatutsi nyakamwe b'inyenzi, iki gihugu kiragana he?

N'ubwo bwose Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yarangije kugurisha igihugu ikigabira umwanzi, rubanda nyamwinshi izihaga-

raraho. Iyo guverinoma yohereje gatumwa NGULINZIRA kugambanira abahutu ngo basubire mu bucakara, ku ngoyi ya cyami na gi-hake, izisinyeho ingaruka zabyo. Umunsi rubanda nyamwinshi yahagurutse (kandi ni vuba aha) ika-

rengera inyungu zayo, ntihazagire utaka!

Abatutsi bari baratse, umu-rengwe wabo wabona ubageze habi. Ibihutu by'ibibwa (ibitso) nabyo rubanda nyamwinshi izabifatira ibyemezo. Aka wa mupasitori w'u-

mwirabura w'umunyamerika, Martin Luther King wavuze ati : « I have a dream... (narose)... Narose abahutu batsinda kandi bazatsinda uko byamera kose.

NGEZE Hassan.

NGULINZIRA NASHYIKIRIZWE URUKIKO RWA RUBANDA

Minisitiri w'u Rwanda ushinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga (nako ushinzwe ubugambanyi n'inkotanyi), Bonifasi NGULINZIRA akubutse arusha, yarihandagaje abeshya rubanda ngo avuye gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro. Nyamara azi neza ko yari avuye kugambanira igihugu. Erenga ntiyagira n'isoni zo kuvuga ngo azasubiraye tariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 gusinyira ko ingabo z'inenzi zashyirwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda n'itahuka ry'inenzi. Akiyibagiza ko rubanda nyamwinshi ifite ijamba rimwe izamwibariza.

NGULINZIRA arasetse iyo avuye ko azaniye u Rwanda amahoro. Yabanye akayizanyira. Ariyanze se we usigaye arara abundabunda. Minisitiri muzima! Inkuru yarakwiriye muri Kigali ko NGULINZIRA akiva Arusha kugambanira igihugu, rubanda yahemukiye yari imucakiye kugira ngo imwibarize iby'ubwo bugambanyi. Amahifwe yagize, ibyitso bye biba byarimwibiye arara mu gasozi. None ubu asigaye yihisha nk'umugizi wa nabi. Ngo yaba atakigendera mu modoka ye y'akazi. Yasabye ko abajandarume bamurinda. Ubu hari peleton nzima yirirwa kwa NGULINZIRA i muhira. Kuri Minisitiri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga ho wangirango ni mu kigo cya jandarumori cyangwa se muri Etat-Major yayo. Uretse ko ari hahandi, na ba Moussa Traore (Mali), Nicolai Ceausescu (Rumaniya) bashatse gucika igihugu, rubanda yarabacakiye ibacira urubakwiriye.

NGULINZIRA kuba yihisha ni uko azi ibibi yakoze. Yarangije gusinyira ko rubanda nyamwinshi yahezwa mu butegetsi hagatega inenzi n'amashyaka akorera mu kwaha kwazo. Kandi ibyo byose akabikora atari na guverinoma (avuga ko ahagarariye nibura yamutumye. NGULINZIRA nta n'imbabazi agirira byibuzwe bene

nyina (baba cyangwa bahunze) muri komini Butaro inkotanyi zigaruriye.

Hanze aha, abantu bakomeje kwibaza niba imishyikirano y'Arusha itari ikwiye kuba ihagaze. Mu gihe n'ibya-shyizweho umukono rubanda nyamwinshi ibyamagana, si cyo gihe cyo gukomeza gusinyira ibindi bitazubahirizwa. Dore ko mbere na mbere byari bizwi ko nta kintu kizima cyari kuva Arusha. None se si inenzi zisinyira n'izindi nyenzi? Igitangaza abantu muri iriya mishyikirano y'Arusha ni uko usanga inenzi Nkotanyi n'amashyaka ari muri guverinoma y'ubu, bihutira kugabana ubutegetsi nk'aho ari cyo kibazo kihutirwa. Kurusha abantu barenga ibihumbi magana atanu (500.000) bavanywe mu byabo n'itambara bakaba bangara batagira aho baba. Mbese barahindutse impunzi mu gihugu cyabo.

Birababaje kubona abajya Arusha batagira icyo bavuye ku buryo abantu bazasubizwa mu byabo, inenzi zigabije. Ngo zaba zaranatangiye gutuzamo bene wazo babaga muri Uganda. Inenzi kuki batazibaza impamvu zikirasa ku baturage b'inzirakarengane? Ko ntawigeze akoma igihe zihurutse kumisha ibisasu bya rutura ku baturage mu Ruhengeri hagapfa abantu barenga umunani? Ahubwo bihuriye kuzishimira bazigabira indi minisitiri muri za zindi ebyiri zari zisigaye kugabana?

None ngo tariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 Minisitiri NGULINZIRA azasubira Arusha gusinyira Inkotanyi kwinjira mu ngabo z'igihugu no gutahuka kw'inenzi zahunze. Azabaze! Uretse no mu Rwanda, nta handi kw'isi byashobotse! Ingero sizo zibuze. Urugero rwa hafi ni Angola aho abasirikari ba Savimbi (UNITA) n'abaguverinoma (MPLA) bananiranywe kubana. Nyuma y'uko izo ngabo zombi zikoreye umutwe umwe, zarashwanye, ubu-

imirwano ni yose. Kandi twibuke ko ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola n'iza Savimbi zose zigizwe n'abanyangola kavukire banafatanyije kugobotora igihugu cyabo bakakivana mu maboko y'abanya portugal. Nkanswe twe duhangana n'abantu abenshi tutazi n'iyobaturuka!

Hari n'amakuru yemeza ko ubundi abanyarwanda bari mu ngabo z'inkotanyi ari bake cyane, abenshi ni abacanshuro baturutse muri Uganda (indiri yazo) Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania n'ahandi.....

Uretse n'ibyo, inenzi iyo bazibajije abasirikari zifite ziraruka zikarumira. Zikarata gusa ngo zifite ku Mulindi. Bazibaza iby'ingirwa ofisiye zabo zose zitwa za «commander» (umuyobozi, umutegetsi. Biva ku cyongereza «to comand : gutegeka, kuyobora»), zikavuye ngo murabashaka ho iki ko iwanyu ntabwo mugira. Wareba kandi koko ugasanga bifite ishingiro kuko mu nyenzi ushobora kuba «commander, captain, Major» rimwe na rimwe utazi gusoma no kwandika! Biterwa ngo n'abantu wishe ku rugamba, igihe umaze mu ishyamba.... Ntibitangaje rero «General-Major» Fred Rwigema yari umushoferi wa Museveni, akaba ariwe washakaga gutegeka u Rwanda. Ahandi ikibazo cyo kwinjira ingabo za FPR mu ngabo z'u Rwanda kigorera, ni uko bizaba ngombwa kugabanya abasirikari ku mpande zombi.

Reka rero FPR bazayibwire ibyo kugabanya ingabo zayo ibatere utwatsi! Muri ya mayeri yayo ngo bireba abasirikari b'u Rwanda gusa bo bafite benshi. Ntibwaba bubaye ubwa mbere. None se wa mutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye GOMN ntiwasabye inenzi ngo zisubire inyuma ho kilometero imwe n'igice kugira ngo ubone aho ukorera zikagarama ngo ingabo z'u Rwanda aba ari zo zisubira inyuma ngo zo zifite hanini!

Ikindi kandi ntibyumvikana ukuntu ingabo z'u Rwanda bazigabanya ngo barashaka kwinjiza inkotanyi. Nibareke abasirikari b'u Rwanda uko bakabaye kuko niba bararwanye ku busugire bw'igihugu, inyiturano si ukubirukana ngo bajye guhinga ibishanga, aka wa mutegetsi. Mu gihe inkotanyi zizaba ziryoshye mu byo zi-

takoreye. Tubona inzira ishoboka kugira ngo inkotanyi zibabarirwe zijye mu ngabo z'igihugu ari uko inkotanyi nyarwanda koko zasaba nk'abandi banyarwanda kujya mu ngabo z'igihugu hakurikijwe amategeko na discipline birenga inzirabwoba. Ku byerekeye itahuka ry'impunzi ni ngombwa rwose ko ikibazo cy'abo inyenzi zirukanye

mu byabo babisubizwamo vuba. Mbere y'uko biga uko inyenzi zizatahuka. Twizere ko NGULINZIRA noneho atazapfa gusinya gusa. Dore ko n'ibyo yise amasezerano y'amahoro nabyo byari bikwiye gusubirwamo. Keretse nawe niba ashaka kuba impunzi. Yagira vuba rubanda nyamwinshi itari yamucakira ngo imucire urumukwiye.

«AMASEZERANO» Y'ARUSHA NI COUP D'ETAT MU ZINDI

Twari tuzi ko igihe cya Coup d'Etat cyarangiyeye. Nyamara ni ukwibeshya! Nk'uko bikunze kuvugwa; burya amateka ahora agaruka. Abafaransa niba babivuze neza bagira bati: "L'Histoire est un éternel recommencement". Amateka atubwira ko abami b'abatutsi bahiritse ku ngufu ingoma z'abahutu. Banabategeka ibinyejana bine ni ukuvuga imyaka magana ane yose! Kugeza aho rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu yivumburiye, yigobotora iyo ngoyi. Repubulika iravuka, demokarasi ihabwa intebe. Nyamara abatutsi ntibigeze bashirwa, bakomeje gutera u Rwanda bashaka kurugira ingaruzwamuheto. Buri gihe ugasa-nga rubanda nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda iri maso. None bararusingiriye bitwikiriye "demokarasi".

Uwavuga ko "amasezerano" y'Arusha ari Coup d'Etat mu zindi ntiyaba yibeshye. FPR-Inkotanyi n'amashyaka ayikorera ariyo M.D.R., P.S.D., P.L... yiherereye Arusha (Tanzaniya) agambanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. FPR yataye u Rwanda ibeshya ko ishaka kuzana demokarasi mu Rwanda. Nyamara byaje kugaragara ko rwari urwitwazo kuko yashakaga gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, biyinaniye, ihimba ko irwanira demokarasi.

Ibanga rya FPR.

Burya hari igihe n'iterabwoba rifasha! Itegeko nshinga rishya u Rwanda rugenderaho riteganywa ibyangombwa amashyaka ya politiki agomba kuzuza kugira ngo yemerwe. icya mbere ni ukwiyandikisha muri Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ukerkana amatwara yawe ya politiki, kwiyemeza kudatera igihugu n'ibindi. Muri ibyo byose icyo FPR yujuje ni ukuba yarafashe intwari igatera u Rwanda. Mbese urebye ni umutwe w'ingabo, nawo w'urugomo! Ukuntu

uwo mutwe waje kwemerwa ukaba ishyaka rya politiki ni amayobera! Ahari ni uko abanyarwanda bari barambabwe urusaku rw'imbunda rwa buri gihe bagapfa kwemera kuko ibibi birutanywa.

FPR ibonye imaze kwemerwa ku ngufu bya burembe, iti ahasigaye ni ukugabana ubutegetsi nyubahiriza tegeko (abaminisitiri) na nshinga tegeko (abadepite). Kandi ibyo bigakorwa nta matora ndetse n'abavugaga Rukokoma bararuka bararumira. FPR iti kandi iryo gabana rikaba rireba amashyaka atanu ari muri guverinoma gusa! Andi yose ahezwa atyo. Ni uko MRND bayibeshyeshya imyanya 5, amashyaka akorera mu kwaha kw'umwanzu aboneraho MDR imyanya 5, PSD imyanya 3, PL imyanya itatu, FPR yegukana imyanya ine, PDC bayijugunyira umwanya umwe nawo idakwiriye. No mu nteko ishingira amategeko biba uko. Amashyaka akorana n'umwanzu, MDR, PSD, PL yegukana intebe II, aandi mashyaka bayaha intebe imwe imwe. Bityo ishyaka CDR bizwi ko rihagarariye rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu (85% by'abanyarwanda) rihezwa

mu butegetsi. Muri demokarasi, tuzi ko Kamarampaka ari ugutwara. Ko nta tora ryabaye kugira ngo barebe abayoboke ba buri shyaka uko bangana, ririya "saranganya" ryashingiye kuki?*

Hari iperereza se ryakozwe ku buryo buri shyaka bazi ingufu zaryo kugeza igihe PDC yarusha abayoboke CDR? FPR yo ntacyo twayivugaga ho kuko nta mitingiri yayo twari twabona. "Mitingiri" yayo tuzi ni urugamba. Keretse niba FPR ikoresha mitingiri zayo muri Uganda, dore ko ari naho ifite abayoboke benshi, ubwo ni naho izakorera.

Intambara igeze ahakomeye.

Intambara abahutu barwana kuva mu w'1959 kugira ngo badasubizwamo mu bucakara, igeze mu ikoni rikomeye. Abahutu baragambaniye Arusha, bagambanirwaga na NGURINZIRA watumwe n'amashyaka akorera umwanzu. NGURINZIRA ibyo yita "amasezerano y'amahoro" usanga ari ubugambanyi bukomeye. Ntawakwiyumvisha ukuntu wagabira umwanzu n'ibiyitsi bye ubutegetsi ngo nurangi-



za wemeze ko uzanye amahoro. Ayo mahoro yirengagiza inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ni mahoro ki? ?

NGURINZIRA ni NGURINZIRA koko ! Aka kanya yibagiwe ko Komini Butaro inkotanyi ziyifite kandi ariyo avukamo? Yarangiza agahamya ko ntawashobora gusubiza abanyarwanda (inkotanyi) muri Uganda kandi ngo bageze iwabo. Ibyo aribyo byose

ikizwi ni uko guverinoma izava mu masezerano y'Arusha idashobora gukorera mu Rwanda kuko rubanda nyamwinshi itayemerera. Keretse nikorera Arusha nyine. Dore ko na MRND umwanzu yari aziko yifatye ayibeshyeshya imyanya ya nyirarureshwa yanangiye. Yarangiye kwipakurura umwanzu, ihakana ko idashobora kugambanira abanyarwanda kariya kageni.

Byaragaragaye kandi ko ntawe uhatira abaturage icyo badashaka. Niba inkotanyi n'amashyaka akorana nazo agira ngo azabaze abanyarwanda icyo batekereza kuri ariya "masezerano". Ni habe Kamarampaka nk'iyabaye tariki ya 25 Nzeri 1961 maze urebe ngo inkotanyi n'amashyaka akorera mu kwaha kwazo arumirwa.

TUBYIBAZEHO

AHO IMICO NYARWANDA SIYO IZOREKA U RWANDA ?

Ubaza umunyarwanda uti ugiye he? Ati sinzi iyo ngiye. Yava iyo yari agiye akakubwira ati sinzi iyo nari ndi, umuntu (nabwo avuga ko atazi) yambwiye ngo, cyangwa se yampaye inzoga biratinda n'ibindi n'ibindi... Iyo umubwiye kurya, niyo yaba afite inzara ikaze, ati ndahaze. Ati keretse akayogakaze... Guhishahisha ikibazo nyakuri niyo ntandaro y'ibibazo byinshi biri mu Rwanda.

Nta gisebo kiriho kuba umuntu yaravutse ari uyu n'uyu, ari umukire cyangwa umukene, ari mugufi cyangwa muremure, ari muto cyangwa munini, ari igikara cyangwa inzobe, cyangwa yaravukiye aha n'aha. Ari ibyo, umuntu wese yavukiye muri paradizo. Kuba rero nje naravutse ndi umuhutu, weho ukavuka uri umututsi, uriya akavuka ari umutwa, si twe twabyihaye. Ntawe ugomba kubizira. Ahubwo twari dukwiye gushimira uwabiduhaye. Umuhutu yakwivugira ko ari umuhutu, umututsi ati uriya muhutu aravugira, ati ahubwo ashaka guca amajosi y'abahutu. Ibyo byatumye na Minisitiri w'Intebe, Dr. NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas, yihanukira akavugira kuri Radiyo Rwanda ko nta moko aba mu Rwanda, keretse ubwo ko bw'abanyarwanda. Nyuma ukumva ngo abahutu n'abatutsi basubiranyemo. Ayo moko avuye he se kandi?

Umututsi nawe yavugira iby'ikiremhamuntu, akivugira aho umututsi hose yaba yaragiriye ingorane, habe n'aho yakopfora iby'iyi ntambara ikora amarorerwa. Ukibaza niba ikiremhamuntu avuga ari ikiremhamuntu aba ashaka kwivugira.

Minisitiri NDASINGWA Landoald nawe ati abanyarwanda bari mu gihugu hagati nibategure imitima yabo yo kwakira impunzi. Ariko ntasabe i-

mpunzi (kandi ku bushake) ko arizo zari zikwiye gutegura imitima yazo, ubwo zaje zigasuka amasasu mu nzirakarengane kandi zikinabikira, abatutsi bari mu gihugu bakohereze abana babo mu Nkotanyi, nyuma bakemeza hose ndetse no mu mahanga ko abatera u Rwanda atari abatutsi. Ni uwuhe muhutu, uretse turiya dukingirizo twa KANYARENGWE na Pasteri BIZIMUNGU uva mu gihugu hagati ngo agiye gufatanya n'inkotanyi? Abo bahutu bose bafite abavandimwe mu gihugu. Kuki batabakurikira, akaba ari abatutsi bonyine bohereza abana babo? Ni amayobera!

Musenyeri Tadeyo NSENGIYUMVA nawe ati abasenyeri twarateranye twemeranya ibi. Abinyuza kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Musenyeri NSHAMIHIGO nawe ati sibyo twumvikanyeho. Nabyo bica kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Ni nde wavuze ukuri? Ni nde wabeshye? Ibyo aribyo byose, hariho uwabeshye. Kandi ikinyoma kizagaragara. Yego turi abantu ariko kuba umugabo yariyeye inshingano yo gukorera Imana ari indakemwa, agahita akabeshya, abo agira inama biteye isoni. Si n'isoni gusa, ahubwo ni ubwoba.

MDR iti nshaka amahoro, MRND na CDR nta mahoro bashaka. Iki bafite interahamwe zica. Bwacya ukumva kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo inkuba za MDR. Uko mbizi inkuba ntacyo ikiza, ahubwo irarimbura. Amahoro MDR ishaka ni azanwa n'inkuba.

FPR nayo iti nshaka demokarasi. Bwacya iti abadepite ntibagatorwe. Ikongera iti ikiremhamuntu nticubahirizwa mu Rwanda. Yo ije kucyubahiriza ikazana imbunda, igashimuta abo ngo ishaka kurengera, ab'igitsinagore ikabakorera ibya mfura mbi. Hari demokarasi iruta iyo se! Ku byerekeye

imishyikirano ibera Arusha, FPR yohereza impunzi z'abahutu batahunze revolusiyo ya 59, muri GOMNikohereza abatutsi. Ibyo bishaka kuvuga iki?

PSD iti abantu babuze akazi kubera MRND. Nuko yizeza abaturage ndetse n'abatari bakwiye kukizera, ko baba abona akazi, muri rusange imibereho n'izya yabo igashyirwa mu bikorwa. Kwizeza ibitangaza se kandi bidashoboka, hari ikibi kiruta ibyo?

PL iti buri muntu akwiye kwishyira akizana. Ariko uko kwishyira ukizana bireba gusa umututsi. Mu ntego y'iryo shyamba, Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA Stanislas yashinzwe gusesa ishyamba CDR. Mu kiganiro Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yagiranye n'abanyamakuru tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1992, abanyamakuru bamubajije aho iryo seswa ry'iryo shyamba rigeze. Yabashubije ko nta burenganzira afite. Ati muri demokarasi ntawe upfukiranwa ijamba. Ati iryo shyamba rigomba kurwanywa mu rwego rwa kidemokarasi. Ati niba CDR koko ari ishyamba ribi, abanyarwanda bashobora kuriha akato, bityo rigahita ryise. Ibyo byose byatumye abatutsi bita Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ngo ni CDR, ngo ntiyashoboye kwirukana abasederi bakorera muri Minisitiri y'Ububabera kandi akagira ko avuka mu rukiga. Kwishyira ukizana bisabaye ko ugomba kuba umututsi cyangwa ukavukira mu karere katari akurukiga?

MDR iti ndarwanya MRND na CDR. Kurwanya amashyamba mu bitekerezo si bibi. Ariko se nibyo tubona? Mu myigaragambyo yose iba ko n'abayoboke ba MDR bakomoka mu rukiga, bakubitwa, imodoka zose zifite ibyapa GB-HB na IB bakazimenagura ibirahuri nk'aho zigendwamo gusa n'abaturuka muri ako karere. Iyo barwa-

nya ishyaka barwanya "idéologie", ntibarwanya akoko cyangwa akarere. Abanyamerika ntibarwanyije Abarusi kubera ubwoko, babarwanyije kubera "socialisme", bari bayobotse kandi bo ari aba "capitaliste".

Ubu ibibazo byugarije u Rwanda ni bibiri by'ingutu. Ariko abanyapolitiki barabyirengagiza bakabihunga. Kubera iki? Ntibashaka ukuri. Ibyo bibazo ni ibihe? Ntibashaka ukuri. Ibyo bibazo ni ibihe? Ni ubwoko n'uturere. Amoko niyo yabaye intandaro ya revolusiyo ya 1959 igihe abatutsi batemeraga na gato ko abahutu babategeka. Kubera ubwinshi n'ubwitange bwa bamwe, abahutu babigeraho. Kubare-ro barasogongeye ku butegetsi, bakabona babishoboye, abahutu ntibazaburekura na rindi aribo benshi. Abatutsi bashatse basubiza amerwe mu isa-

ho kuko na biriya byitso byabo by'abahutu ntibizongera kwemera gutegekwa nabo. icyo abahutu bangira ko babategeka, si ikindi, ni uko bikubira, bakironda, abahutu bagahazwa.

Iyo bitaba ibyo ubutegetsi bwasaranganiywe None se ko mu mishyikirano abatutsi bashaka gukoresha amayeri yo kubona imyanya irenga 50% kandi batarenze 10 cyangwa 15% y'abatuye u Rwanda. Hari ukwikubira kutari uko? FPR yakoresheje intwari itidashakubite ubutegetsi. CDR nayo itidashakubite ubutegetsi ntakoresheje intwari. Bati CDR niyo ihungabanya umutekano (kubera iki?). Kubera ko nta mbunda ifite. Bishaka kuba ibya ya ndogobe y'umuhanzi "La Fontaine" yariye utwatsi mu nzira, intare itidashakubite mu gihugu niyo (indogobe) yagiteye.

Ikibazo cy'uturere nacyo kirakomeye. Ni amayeri y'abatutsi ashakagutanyanya ingufu z'abahutu. Ibyo byatangiyeye muri Repubulika ya I. Bigeze mu ya kabiri, byitwa "blocage" ya demokarasi.

Kuki umututsi atitirirwa akarere? Ibi nyamakuru byo mu Rwanda tujya dusoma, usanga biyandikiye ngo abatutsi n'abanyenduga. Abanyenduga bivugaga abahutu gusa? Nta abatutsi b'abanyenduga? Ibyo tuzabyifatamo duta? Ni ukwerekana buri muntu ko niba umututsi atagira akarere, n'umuhutu nawe ntako. Akarere ni u Rwanda. Ngibyo ibyo Minisitiri w'Intebe yari akwiye kwigisha aho kwigisha ko nta moko ahari. Akijya ku butegetsi, Radio France Internationale yarivugiyeye ituriye mugabo nta "expérience" afite muri politiki. usibye ko azakoresha izi-na rye.

SIBOMANA NABANTU

NI NDE UTEGEKA ESM : MAJOR NDAMAGE CYANGWA COLONEL RUSATIRA ?

Kuva aho Col. RUSATIRA Léonidas agereye muri ESM. ari ryo shuri rikuru rya gisirikari, yihutiye kuvugurura ubutegetsi bw'iryo shuri nk'uko benshi babyifuzaga.

Muri iryo vugururwa hashyirwaho S4 (ushinzwe gucunga umutungo w'ikigo), ari we Major NDAMAGE. Col. RUSATIRA utegeka iryo shuri ntiyari azi ko yikururiye umuriro ashiraho uwo mugore kandi ko abasirikari bagengwa na ESM (abanyeshuri n'aba ofisiye bagitangira akazi kabo) bagiyeye kuharenganira kakahava. Uwo mugore akaba yarigize igihangange kuva kera. Mbese nk'aho yavuze nka wa mushingantahe ngo "nshize ko, nzivana ko!" Nawe se ngo nta musirikari ugomba guhembwa mbere ya tariki ya 15 kandi amafranga aba yarahageze

mu matariki ya mbere y'ukwezi. Ngo ntiyatangwa atabanje kumwungukira aho aba yayajanyeye mu bucuruzi bwe, abayakoreye bicwa n'inzara.

Ugirango uragira icyo ubaza, ugatukwa bya gishumba tutaretse no gukorerwa dosiye ubwo itiku rikaba ritangiyeye. Hari abasirikari benshi (bahembwa na ESM), bafite ibirarane by'amezi batahembwe kandi bahebye ngo batavaho biyubikira imbehe. Abandi ntitwigeze tubona no kuri ya nkunga twahawe n'ababyeyi bacu (Fonds de Soutien). Twayibaza nde se? Keretse ushaka ko Madamu agusezerera. Ukibaza niba Major NDAMAGE yarayirwanyeye (niba koko yarayirwanyeye) wenyine. Abasirikare

benshi bahemberwa muri ESM baribaza niba ubuyobozi bw'icyo kigo butazi icyo kibazo. Cyangwa se niba bubiyirengagiza kubera impamvu runaka.

Yego muri ibi bihe bya demokrasi nta wahutaza igitsina gore ariko se kandi nacyo cyagira impuhwe abobasore birirwa iyo ku rugamba bakabona nibura utwo bakoreye hafi gutanga ubuzima bwabo. Ariko twumvise ko uwo mutegarugoni (Major NDAMAGE) bamuhaye Lt HAKIZIMANA ngo amwunganire, ahari ibintu byatungana. Kandi natwe ntidusinziriye, turi maso, nayo tuzayirwanze!

Abanyeshuri bo muri ESM

Bikurikira urup. 4

CDR rero ikaba igomba gushaka uburyo yakorana na MRND na MDR kuko ayo mashyaka yombi abitse abayoboze ba CDR. Biragaragara kandi ko mu gihe cya vuba MRND na CDR zizasenyukira muri CDR na FPR. Abahutu baharanire inyungu zabo n'abatutsi barwane ku zabo. CDR kandi ikaba igomba kwerekana, yereka abahutu, ko ntacyo ipfana na MRND yuzuye ibyitso, kandi ijandajanda muri ya mahoro, muri bwa bumwe bwayo

tumenyereye n'abatutsi ubwabo banze. Abashinzwe gushaka abayoboze muri CDR bari bakwiye kugira umwete bakakira vuba bariya bahutu bakihishe muri MRND na MDR ariko bafite ubushake bwo gufatanyanya n'abandi bahutu bene wabo.

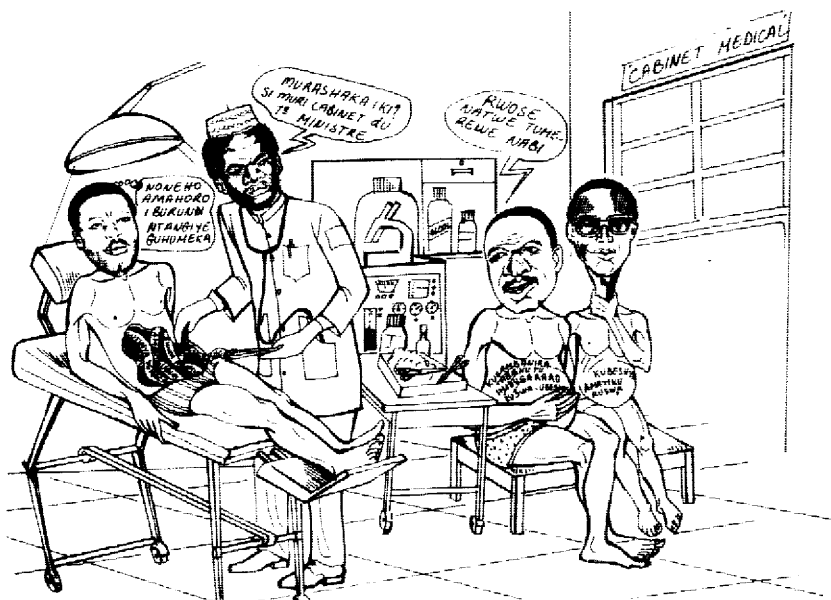
Hari abakomeje kwibeshya ngo ishyaka ry'abahutu CDR, ngo ishyaka ryabo rizatora Habyarimana byanze bikunze mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika. Oya! Ishyaka CDR

rizatanga umukandida waryo ugomba gushyigikirwa n'abahutu, Habyarimana afite ishyaka rye naryo rizamushyigikirira. N'ababa bari mu buyobozi bukuru bwa CDR bazi ko bahagarariyemo MRND bo basezera hakiri kare. CDR ikorera abahutu bose, ushaka gufatanyanya nayo nagaragaze icyo yamariye abahutu.

CDR turi maso.

NGEZE Hassan.

TWIRINDE IBIHE TURIMO BIRAGOYE. KA02 1745



Barundi bene wacu mbashikirije uru rwandiko ngirango mbamenyeshe ivyo maze imisi numva kandi bimwe na bimwe nkavyibonera, hano iwacu i Bujumbura maze imisi itari myinshi ntanguye kubona abantu badasanze kandi uraba ukabona atari abarundi vy'ukuri mbere bamwe bakaba batazi no kuvuga na gakeye, aho mboneye abo bantu (banini kandi barebare) nibajije vyinshi kuri bo ndasirwa, sinzi uwo nabajije nti: ntiwomenya bariya bantu abo aribo? Ansubiza agira ati: nanje simbazi neza, ati: ariko ndakeka ko ari bamwe muri babarundi bavuzwe ngo baba i Bugande, ubwo Perezida wacu aheruka i Bugande ntuzi ko bavuze mu insamirizi y'u Burundi ko, i Bugande habayo abarundi bashika ku bihumbi amajana atanu ngo boba baragiyeyo kera, aho rero umuntu yokwibaza niba arivyo...

Egome simpakana ko i Bugande batariyo, twese turazi ko hariyo abarundi bagiyeyo kera, ariko abarundi bagiyeyo i Bugande ni abantu baja guca amahera, kandi bafise na bene wabo mu gihugu. Ariko abo bantu nkuko nababonye ntibasa n'abo tuvuze. Ahubwo abantu bemeza ko abenshi bo atari abaganda, ko ahubwo ari abasomariya b'abasirikare. Ikindi giteye abarundi amakenga, nuko abatutsi bo muri Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda ndetse n'abo mu Rwanda bakoraniye hano iwacu mu Burundi, cane cane i Bujumbura. Abarundi bamwe bemeza ko abo batutsi bese ngo boba baraje k'ubutumire bwa Leta ntutsi y'u Burundi kubunganira mu matora. Barundi mwese muragabe twarajwemo, abo batutsi bese baje mu Burundi ntibagomba kwinjira mu ibibazo vya politike y'u Burundi.

Banyamigambwe namwe nimuvire hasi ivyo bintu, mubitohoze neza hakiri kare, kuko ubwenge bw'abatutsi murabuzi, barondera ko abo bantu babatorera, amajwi y'abatutsi akiyongera, badatsindiye mu matora bagaca babafasha guhonya abahutu. Uwo mugambi bashobora kuba barateguye kuwukoresha no mu bindi bihugu biri mu gice ca Afrika yo hagati. Barundi bene mama ngiyo rero impamvu ituma Buyoya ashaka kugirisha amatora ya huti-huti, akirengangiza ko imigambwe mishasha atagihe gikwiye iraronka yo kwimenyekanisha, eka nambere twese tukirindirye n'iyindi migambwe yasavye kwemera ariko igakomeza kuburabuzwa nka Palipehutu, MPD n'iyindi.

Bakuru b'imigambwe mwese nimwamize yombi, ayo matora adashitse. Ico Buyoya akwiye kumenya nuko ategerezwa kwemera imigambwe iyariyo yose, kuko nta demokarasi nyakuri twoba dufise hagize imigambwe ikumirwa nka palipehutu, MPD n'iyindi yose isigaye inyuma, mbere coba ari ikinyoma cambaye ubusa. None iyo migambwe bakwankira kandi tuzi ko imwimwe yariho kuva kera kandi ikomeye bazoyishira hehe? Barundi, barundikazi namwe Rwaruka ico tutakwirengangiza n'uko ibiba hirya no hino natwe bishobora kudushikira. Ariko ngo: "Iyikubiriye ntikurya" Buyoya niyaba afise amatwi y'ukwumva niyumve.

Umusomyi wa Kangura.
BANZUBAZE Evariste
Kamenge-Bujumbura

BURUNDI: AKABAYE ICWENDE NTIKOGA

KANGURA nta gihe itamaganye imigirire y'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi b'i Burundi bagiyeyo kumarira abahutu kw'icumu. Buyoya agifata ubutegetsi ku ngufu tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1987 yakomeje gahunda yatangiye na bakuru be kuva ku bami kugeza kuri Bagaza.

Buyoya yabanje kwirengangiza politiki y'amashyamba menshi, ageze aho ayemera atayemeye. Ati amashyamba menshi yego ariko sinshaka kwumva PALIPEHUTU. Ni uko yari azi ko ariyo izamuca ku kinyoma yanze akunze. Abakurikiranira hafi ibyapolitiki mu Burundi, bemeza ko Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bateguraye icya si-

musigariy'abahutu mu Burundi. Kuko hari ibimenyetso byerekana ko imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abarundi yarambiwe ingoyi ya Buyoya ikaba ishaka kumusezerera. Buyoya nawe ngo yarahiye ko azagenda atiseguye imbaga nk'uko «yamye abikorwa».

- Muri iki gihe i Burundi hataturuka amakuru ateye impungenge yemeza ko intwaramuheto (ingabo z'u Burundi zigizwe n'abatutsi 100 ku 100) zagose igihugu cyose cyane cyane imijyi uhereye i Bujumbura ubu isigaye imeze nk'iri mu mukwabu. Ubutegetsi bwa Buyoya bwatangiyeyo kandi gukwiza ibihuha ngo PALIPE-

HUTU igiye gutera. Uwo mukino urazwi cyane mu Burundi. Iyo ubutegetsi butangiye kwikanga baringa bubabushaka kworeka imbaga y'Abahutu.

Ingabo z'abatutsi b'i Burundi zatangiye gushotora abaturage cyane cyane i Gitega i Bujumbura, mu Kirundo, Rutana n'ahandi. Muri iryo shotora hari abaturage batagira ingano bamaze kuhagwa. Impunzi zatangiye guhungira mu Rwanda no muri Zaire.

Buyoya yagiye muri Uganda kwongera kugisha inama umuhima

mwene wabo Yoweri Kaguta Museveni mu buryo yatsemba abahutu benshi. Dore ko atari n'ubwa mbere kuko abo bahima bombi hashize imyaka ibiri bashyize umukono ku masezerano yorohereza ingabo za Museveni (NRA) gufasha nta nkomyi abatutsi b'i Burundi kwica abahutu.

Nta gitangaza kirimo kuko no mu Gushyingo 1991, Buyoya yitabaje abacanshuro b'abasomali, n'abanyetiyo-piya baje biyita «impunzi».

Buyoya yanatangiye gutunga agatoki abayobozi b'amashyaka

b'abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ishyaka rye (UPRONA). Nabo iminsi yabo irabaze.

Buyoya kandi akomeje kwanga ko ishyaka PALIPEHUTU rya rubanda nyamwinshi mu Burundi ryakwemerwa nk'andi mashyaka. Kubera ko Buyoya akomeje gufukirana rubanda nyamwinshi, ishyaka PALIPEHUTU riramusaba ibi bikurikira amazi atari yarenga inkombe. :

— Kwemera nta mananiza amashyaka yose agakora ku mugaragaro

— Kurekura imfungwa za politiki

— Gushyiraho Guverino y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi izategura amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ayabadepite n'itafuka ry'impunzi.

— abasirikari bakareka kwivanga muri politiki. PALIPEHUTU irasaba rubanda nyamwinshi y'abarundi kuba maso n'amahanga agahaguruka agatesha Buyoya kuzuza umugambi we.

INYENZI NIZIZE TUZAKIRI-ZE IBYO ZADUTOJE

Itangazo ryihutirwa

Ubuyobozi bwa KANGURA bwishimiye gutangaza ku mugaragaro ivuka ry'ishyirahamwe "TURI HOSE". Uko uwo mutwe uteye, ubumbye abantu bose, uruburiko n'abakuru. NK'uko twemera ko FPR iharanira inyungu z'abatutsi, abatwa nabo bakaba bafite ishyirahamwe ryabo, ni ngombwa ko abahutu nabo bagira umuryango urengera inyungu zabo. Kugeza ubu uwo mutwe utangiranye abanyamuryango benshi kandi bakomoka mu mashyaka yose n'ababaye ingabo z'u Rwanda. Abarenganye bose nibabere abandi urugero binjire ari benshi muri uwo muryango umaze gushingwa. Twabibutsa kandi ko abifuzaga kuwuhagararira mu Rwanda no mu Burundi batubaza ibisobanuro, banatugezaho ibitekerezo byabo. Ushakabibindi bisobanuro yabaza ubuyobozi bwa KANGURA.

Umuyobozi wa KANGURA
NGEZE Hassan

GUFUNGA NGEZE HASSAN BYASHEGESHE MBONAMPEKA

Amakuru avugwa hanze aha akomeje kwemeza ko MBONAMPEKA yegura harimo n'uko abatutsi bamwoheje ngo afunge NGEZE Hassan kandi ari umwere. Byamuriye mu nda, bikubitiyeho ko abatutsi aribo barimo gufatanywa mine ariko tibafungwe kubera gutinya P.L., ahitamo kwicira urubanza. NGEZE rero yatsinze guverinoma ebyiri: iy'u Rwanda n'iy'u Burundi bifatanije. Izo guverinoma zombi zemeye ko KANGURA yandika ukuri cyane icyo

ivuga «Amaraso y'Abahutu ku mutwe wa Buyoya» icyo nyandiko niyo yakomye Rutenderi.

KUNGA UBUMWE N'UMUTSISI NI NKO KURYA UMWENDA W'INKUBA

Abatutsi bo muri Zaire baherutse kugira igitekerezo cyo gushinga umuryango uhuza abazayirwa bavugaga iki nyarwanda. icyo gitekerezo bagishyize mu bikorwa, uwo muryango bawita "Umoja". Bikaba bishobora gusobanura ubufatanye, ubumwe. Muri uwo muryango hari abahutu 48 bavugaga ko bari mu bawushinze. Igitangaje ariko ni uko kimwe cya kabiri kirenga cy'abo batari bahari no kwa noteri bongeye bakabura. Ubwo icyo gihugu kigendera ku mategeko, twizere ko kitemera ibyo bintu. Abahutu bashishoza banze ubwo buryarya bw'abatutsi bati: "Aho mugeze abahutu bo mu Rwanda, abo mu Burundi no muri Uganda, turahazi. Ntidushobora kwikururiraho amakara. Kunga ubumwe namwe ni nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba.

None amakuru atugeraho aremeza ko abatutsi b'i Kibumba, i Nyamitaba, i Masisi, bitegura gutera abahutu b'abandandi ngo baherutse kubarira inka zigera kuri magana abiri. Kubera ko abo "bavandimwe" batakirwanisha imiheto n'amacumu ni ukuba maso.

KANGURA YACIYE AGAHIGO !

KANGURA icyo kinyamakuru cyigenga cyo muri Afurika cyavuzwe cyane mu manama y'abakuru b'ibihugu kurusha ibindi binyamakuru.

Iyumvire nawe

Buyoya yavuze KANGURA kwa Mo-

butu ubwo yari hamwe na HABYARI-MANA i Gbadolite, ayiregaga i Dar-Es-Salaam, ayiregaga mu nama yongeye kubahuza (abakuru b'ibihugu bigize CEPGL) harimo na Museveni. Buyoya yongeye kuva i Bujumbura yikoreye KANGURA azizana mu nama yabereye ku Gisenyi. KANGURA yavuzwe mu mibonano ya HABYARI-MANA na Mitterand mu BUfaransa. KANGURA yavugiye mu nama yahujwe umwami w'u Bubiligi na Perezida HABYARI-MANA.

KANGURA yavuzwe mu bihugu by'i Buraya cyane cyane muri ya mategeko icumi y'abahutu. Ubu tuvugaga ibi, KANGURA ni cyo kinyamakuru cyo mu Rwanda gisomwa mu mahanga kurusha ibindi. Ngicyo ikinyamakuru kizwi cyane muri Afurika kurusha ibindi cyane cyane mu manama y'abakuru b'ibihugu. NGEZE Hassan uyobora KANGURA ubu niwe munyamakuru muri Afurika wafunzwe inshuro nyinshi azira inyandiko kuko amaze gufungwa inshuro 20 muri gereza, n'inshuro 34 muri za Brigade kandi baracyakomeza.

Comité de Rédaction

NGEZE Hassan : Directeur de Publication et Rédacteur en Chef
NYABYENDA Issa : Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint

NDEKEZI Bonaparte : Journaliste
SIBOMANA NABANTU : Journaliste
MIRASANO Célestin : Journaliste
SIMBIZI Stanislas : Journaliste
HITIMANA Noël : Journaliste

GUVERINOMA Y'U BURUNDI ISIGAYE ITEGEKA IY'U RWANDA

Ibihe biha ibindi koko! U Rwanda rugitegekwa na Nyakwigendera Gerigori KAYIBANDA, u Burundi bwaradutinyaga icyo gihe igihugu cyacu cyari kiyubashye kuko KAYIBANDA ntiyakinaga mu bikomeye. KAYIBANDA akivanwa ku butegetsi, igihugu cy'u Burundi, icyo gihe cyari kironkomeye na Colonel MICOMBERO, icyo kihutiyeho koherereza Général HABYARIMANA telegramu y'ishimwe. Nta rundi rukundo Micombero yakundaga u Rwanda. Kuri we, yari akize "inkuba" Gerigori KAYIBANDA wari warangije gusinyira ko u Rwanda rwakosora u Burundi. Colonel NSABIMANA niwe wari washinzwe kuyobora imirwano ku rugamba. Ntidushidikanya ko yari kubwitwaramo neza kuko yaberekanye arwana n'inenzi kuva ziteye tariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990.

Amahoro n'ubumwe kubana neza n'ibihugu duturanye, nibyo bidusuzugujye igihugu cy'amahanga (u Burundi) gisigaye gitegeka igihugu cyigenga.

U Burundi bwasabye ko umuyobozi mukuru wa KANGURA afungwa, u Rwanda rutari ndiyo bwana. Kandi si ubwa mbere icyo haba hari icyaha NGEZE Hassan aregwa, icyo kibazo cyari gushyikirizwa ubucamanza. NGEZE akaburana n'abo aburana nabo, noneho icyaha cyamuhama akahamwa hakurikije amategeko agenga u Rwanda.

Inyandiko NGEZE Hassan yafungurwe iboneka muri KANGURA n' 38 ku rupapuro rwa 14. Iyo nyandiko yanditswe hifashishijwe Raporo y'Amnesty International yasohotse ivuga amarokotwa u Burundi, icyo nyandiko ngo yaba yarababaje Perezida w'u Burundi Major Petero Buyoya. Asaba, nako ateguka ko bafunga NGEZE Hassan, icyo Buyoya ategutse kirakorwa Nvumwa ibyavugwaga kuri Buyoya ni ukuri. None se abahutu b'u Burundi hari igihe batapfuye kandi na nubw baracyapfa.

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi numero tumenye ko u Burundi bwafashe umusozi w'u Rwanda ku ngufu none bwantse kuwutanga. Tuzabibagezaho ubutaha.

U RWANDA RUGIYE KUBA NKA SOMALIYA.

Ubwoko bw'abatutsi bukomoka ku muryango munini w'abo bita "les Nilothiques" cyangwa se les "Hami-tes". Muri uwo muryango harimo ubwoko bw'inshi butuye mu karere bita Abisiniya. Ni ukuvuga za Etiopiya, Somaliya, Djibouti, n'agace k'amajyari-guru ya Kenya. Muri uwo muryango niho twashyira n'ubwoko bw'abamasai, buboneka cyane cyane muri Kenya no muri Tanzania. Ubwo bwoko bukaba buzwiho cyane gukunda intambara ku buryo ibihugu burimo bihora mu mirwano y'urudaca. Uwabona uko Somaliya imeze ubu niwe wamenyaneza ibyago byugariye u Rwanda.

Somaliya nayo ntiyari yiyanze. Yari yifitiye amahoro. Kimwe n'ibihugu byinshi by'Afurika, Somaliya yayoborwaga n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi riyobowe na Jenerali Siyaad Bare. Ubutegetsi bw'uwo mugabo ntibwari shyashya. Ibyo byahaye uburyo bwiza abari bafite inyota y'ubutegetsi aribo Mahdi Mohamed na Jenerali Farah Haidid kwigarurira abaturage bitabarurije. Babeshyeho ko bafashe intwari kugira ngo bavaneho ingoma y'igitugu bashakira gushyiraho demokarasi. Siyaad Bare baba bamuvanyeho bigabiza igihugu baragisenya kubera ubwumvikane bucyeye hagati yabo. Abaturage

babeshyaga ko barwanirira barahagwa biratinda. Amahanga yatabaye ibintu byageze iwa Ndabaga None urwishe Somaliya rwaba arirwo rudute-gereje ?

Mu mayeri yazo zimenyereye. Inyenzi-Inkotanyi zateye zivugaga ko zije guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bw'ishyamba rimwe MRND, ko zizanye demokarasi mu Rwanda. Uretse na none ko demokarasi izirana n'imbunda. Nti twabitindaho! Inkotanyi zashoboye guteranya rubanda nyamwinshi z'abahutu, zibacamo uduce. Haboneka abahutu b'abanyenduga, abakiga... bajya mu mashyamba anyuranye. FPR yanashoboye kumvisha abahutu bamwe na bamwe ko ishyamba CDR ngo rigamijye kurimbura abatutsi n'abanyenduga.

Mwibuke kandi ko imishyikirano ya Arusha igitangira FPR yashakaga kuroha u Rwanda mu mutego nk'uwo Yugoslavia yaguyemo. FPR yashakaga ko u Rwanda rwategekwa n'abaperezida benshi icyarimwe ! Aho byageze igihugu cya Yugoslavia ntawe uhayobewe. Ubu ni icyasenyutse ? Abagituye ntibamarana ? Hari aho se inkotanyi zabahishe ? ukuba maso

LETTRE OUVERTE AU COMMANDANT GENDARMERIE-GISENYI

Abaturage ba GISENYI namukubwira
Komanda BIZIMANA Andriya wa Groupement Gisenyi

Gisenyi, le 21/01/1993

Impanjye Gusaba imyigaragambyo yo kugaragarizamo icyo dutekereza kuri Komanda Bizimana Andriya n'inzego ze.

Rwanda Pariki wa Gisenyi

Twabwo abaturage ba Gisenyi tubadapfuye mu kubagezaho uru rwandiko rukubiyemo ugahindira twatwe na Komanda BIZIMANA Andriya kuva yagera ku Gisenyi. Muri make uwo Komanda BIZIMANA ni muntu ki?

- 1. BIZIMANA nkuko amadosiye ya duhite abitwerekambere yo kuzagukira hanze ku Gisenyi, yari avuye i Kijali aho yaregwaye kwica abantu abahohoteye dore ko hari n'umuramba na n'ubu utaraburana yitwaza ko uwo mu ntu yabwariye ku mpemba z'akazi.
- 2. Umushyamba w'abaturage agashyamba mu E.M.U. ni umushyamba w'u Rwanda aho twabababwirako mu nsi y'igashyamba twabakomeye twazemurika amafunga yose atunze maze agashyamba aho yashyamba. Turatanga impepeho zose z'ubu abantu baze mu gice cya bya byahembwe hari aho ahuriye n'ayo atunze.

3. Twifuza ko abaturage bose yashohoteye bakusanyira ubugome yabakoreye maze bigasomerwa mu ruhame. Bityo n'inzego zibishinzwe zikabimenyera aho.

4. Urugendo rwacu ruzahera mu mujyi kandi rukorwe n'abaturage bose batamwishimiyemo maze nawe abone ko intambara umushyamba hanze ku Gisenyi ubwo twahagararira ku nzu yubatswe akoresheje ruswa n'iterabwoba inki ku musizi wa Ruhavu dore ko icyo nzu aricyo nvirabayazana mu gutungira abantu ubusa agira ngo batange umu-sanzu w'u kuyubakira.

5. Dusabye ko mbere y'amasaha 48 yaba amaze gufungurwa uwitwaga MUNYANDINDA Protais. Azira ibyo twavuze haruguru yitwaza ngo arakaka ko yaba yaraguzwe imburanda.

6. Ku byerekeye imbunda tubonyeho ku mwibutsa ko buru muhutu agomba gushakisha uko yayibona kose kuko aricyo zamutabara mu minsi imbere. Ndetse Komanda namenye ko ubu abahutu benshi turizifite kandi ntazubabonye. Bityo rero guhohotera urya utarabibona agambiriyemo kumuvanaho ruswa naba ataramerekura muri aya masaha twavuze haruguru twakoreshe ingu-fu z'abaturage b'abahutu maze tubohoze mwene wacu.

7. Amarokotwa yakoreye hagati ya Goma na Gisenyi nayo tuzayatangaza maze aye abagaragara.

8. Nkuko Ministri w'Intebe vadusabye ko twanahabwemo ubu-igihwe kugaze icyo kwereka Komanda Bizimana Andriya ko akatubwira ko yababwirako mu nsi y'igashyamba. Ni mu twamenyereye gukomeye imyigaragambyo mu zabura mugaze neza amutwagira kandi tuzabikora ku ngufu z'abaturage twemere twavuze dutungurwa n'inko twa mutegutsi tudashakira yirukanwe cyangwa yimurwe. Kandi tuzabikora ku isaha tutahabwiyemo.

BIMENYESHEJWE

- Perezida wa Repubilika
- Ministri w'Intebe
- Ministri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini
- Porokireri wa Repubilika Pariki ku Gisenyi
- Komanda w'Intabwo ku Gisenyi Major BAHUFITE.

GVERINOMA YA NSENGIYAREMYE MU MAREMBERA

Umugabo NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas, akigirwa Minisitiri w'Intebe, abantu baratangaye ari nako bumwe. Uwo mugabo ntiyari azwi cyane muri politiki, uretse gusa kuba yarigeze kuba umunyamabanga mukuru nabwo muri Minisitiri y'Ubuhanzi, Ubworozi n'Amashyamba. Ntawe utanga icyo adafite. None se veterineri, wiberaga iyo za Muvumba, mwagiraga ngo akore iki? Naho miseke ararwana! Nyamara se umukuru w'igihugu ntiyari yasabye ishyaka MDR abakandida batandatu ngo ahitemo uwo abona ushoboye, bakamuhatira umuvuzi w'amatungo ngo ni uguhimana?

NSENGIYAREMYE yatangiye imirimo mishya yari amaze gushingwa ahuzagurika. Abanza kwihagararaho asa n'uwerekana ko akorera igihugu, ageze aho arerura akorera ishyaka rye. Iryo shyaka, kimwe n'ariya mashyaka yandi afatanije n'umwanzi ariyo PSD, na PL, yabanje guhakana ko adakorana n'Inyenzi. None ukuri kwaragaragaye. Inkotanyi zihareranye ayo mashyaka i Buruseri ngo bagiye gushaka «amahoro».

Iyo urebye ibikorwa ARUSHA, usanga ari buriya bugambanyi bwakorewe i Buruseri burimo gushyirwa mu bikorwa. NGURINZIRA, atumwe n'ishyaka rye, akazi yarakarangije nk'uko inkotanyi zabyifuzaga. Ibyo kandi bikitirirwa Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ndetse n'abanyarwanda.

Inkotanyi ubwazo ntizashize amakenga imikorere ya NGULINZIRA, intumwa ya NSENGIYAREMYE ARUSHA. Zabonaga ukuntu ibyo zategetse byemerwa buhumyi, zikumva zifite impungenge zibaza niba koko abanyarwanda bazabagerekaho biriya byose bise amasezerano ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi, bakemera.

Inkotanyi zo zireba kure. Kuko niba NSENGIYAREMYE, NGURINZIRA, TWAGIRAMUNGU n'abandi barariye ku Makotanyi, siko abanyarwanda bose yabagezeho. Nanubu ntizirasobanukirwa ukuntu Guverinoma iriho ubu yazigabiye Perefegitura ya Byumba, ariyo nini mu Rwanda. Bakagerekaho na Minisitiri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Zingatanzwe kandi n'ukuntu ikibazo cy'abava-

nywe mu byabo n'intambara barenga ubu ibihumbi magana atanu (500.000) ntawe ugihingutsa mu mishyikirano y'Arusha, mu gihe inyenzi zandikishije hakiri kare ikibazo cya bene wazo bahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Si iyo noneho zibonye ukuntu ishyaka CDR, ishyaka ry'abahutu bagize 85 ku ijana ry'abanyarwanda bose, rihejwe mu butegetsi, ziraseka zigaca. Kandi ni mu gihe.

Icyo rubanda ishatse.....

Tujya twumva ko NSENGIYAREMYE na NGURINZIRA baba barize ikilatini. Hari interuro abo bagabo bari bakwiye kujya bazirikana kuko ikomeye. Iyo nteruro igira itya: «*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*». Mu gifaransa ngo:

La voix du peuple, (c'est), la voix de Dieu. Tugenekereje mu Kinyarwanda cyacu twavugaga ko icyo abaturage bashatse, nicyo Imana iba ishaka. Aka wa muririmbyi ngo «Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut». Uretse ko we yari yibereye mu bindi bibazo bidafite aho bihuriye na politiki, ariko nawe yari yarikocoye.

Inyenzi zigize gutya zitomborera na jandarumori y'igihugu yatanze na Colonel -Padiri NDINDIRIYIMANA abisabwe na NSENGIYAREMYE. Biba bihuriranye n'uko ku rugamba, Inkotanyi zari zisanze zikundira abajedi ku buryo zabahaye n'akazina keza k'ikibyiniro, «batoto ba EGENA». Kuba inkotanyi zikunda abajedi ku rugamba nta kindi ni uko ntangorane zigira iyo zicakiranye nabo kuko aba ari icyambu ziba zibonye cyo kwambukiraho. Bitewe ahari n'ubutwari bugereraniye bw'abo bajedi cyangwa se ubwumvikane buri hagati y'icyo gice kimwe cy'ingabo z'igihugu n'inyenzi.

Burya ngo bose ni «abavandimwe». Ibyo ari byo byose, NGURINZIRA na NSENGIYAREMYE bamenye ko iminsi y'igisambo ibaze. Basigaye birirwa bavuzaga induru ngo batewe. Si uguterwa, kuko igisambo iyo kibye kirashakishwa kigafatwa, n'umugamba-

nyi ni uko. NGURINZIRA nashaka azasabe bataillon nzima y'abajedi bo kumurinda, ntacyo bizatanga igihe cyose azaba akomeje kugambanira rubanda nyamwinshi. Ahari akeka ko abo bajedi bose ari ibyitso! Harimo abari maso, ariko bicecekeye bakora akazi kabo, igihe nikigera nibo bazafatira ubwabo uwo mugambanyi bamushyikirize rubanda!

PUBLICITE

Hangazo rya KANGURA

Umutwe utabara Abahutu waravutse

Nk'uko twabitangaje ku rupapuro rwa 10, umutwe "Turi hose" ushinze mbere na mbere kurengera Abahutu bakomoka mu mashyaka yose. Kandi mu buryo bwose, hakoreshejwe inzira zose. Uwo mutwe witwa "Turi hose". Ugomba gushyigikirwa na buri muhutu wifuza ko ubwoko bwe butarimbura. Cyangwa se ngo umuco w'Abahutu wibagirane. Uwo mutwe ushobora no gukorera mu mahanga cyane cyane igihe cyo gutabara abahutu bugarijwe. Baza ibisobanuro muri KANGURA B.P. 1312 Gisenyi cyangwa B.P. 1312 Kigali

DUTEGANYE UKO TUZIRENGERA TWATEWE.

PUBLICITE

Restaurant «La Sympathique» mu Ruhengeri Chez Manu!
Bagenzi bajya mu Ruhengeri namwe abajya ku Gisenyi!
Mugane Restaurant «La Sympathique». Irabakira uko mubyifuzaho!
Ntacyo mwayiburana.
Icyayi cya mu gitondo... inkoko za saa sita na nimugoroba...
Fanta, Primus, Mützig zifutse bibagereho!
Restaurant «La Sympathique» iri mu muji rwagati.
Restaurant «La Sympathique», c'est vraiment sympa!

NSENGIYAREMYE na MDR ye, bararwiciriyeye ngo abaturage barambiwe ubutegetsi bw'igitugu. Awa! Baburambiwe nyine. Banarambiwe n'ubugambanyi bwa Guverinoma iriho. N'iveho. Kandi nitavaho bazayih-

rikira. Nsengiyaremye, umuntu yamubara muri ba bandi Museveni yise «ignorant politically», ni ukuvuga «injiji» muri politiki. NSENGIYAREMYE, aha yatubabarira ntitu-mwise «injiji» kuko afite impamya-bushobozi ihanitse (doctorat) mu buvuzi bw'amatungo, veterineri. Ariko niyemere ko muri politiki ari inkandagirabitabo, bayimuroshyemo ntacyo yiyumviramo. Buri muntu rero nakore icyo yize, afitiye ubushobozi dore ko ari nawe ukunze kubyivugira.

NSENGIYAREMYE atera urwenya iyo avugaga ngo abakora imyigaragambyo bakwiye guhanwa bikomeye ! Aka kanya se yibagiwe ko muri demokarasi imyigaragambyo ari uburyo bwemewe bwo kwerekana icyo wifuza ? NSENGIYAREMYE we rero ngo iyo myigaragambyo (kandi nawe ajya ayikora n'ishyamba rye) niveho kuko muri iki gihe imwikoma cyane. Akaba ashaka kuyivanaho yitwaje ko itemewe n'amategeko. Ese ubundi iyo umuntu arakaye abanza gusaba uruhusa, agateguza ko agiye kurakara ? Rero ngo yatanze «amabwiriza» ayaha

Minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, n'uwubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'uw'ubutabera (weguye). Nizere ko nabo atari abana bo kugwa muri uwo mutego ashakakubaro hamo. Urebye neza, NSENGIYAREMYE arashaka kwoshya abo bategetsi gushumuriza abaturage ingabo zabo batahwemye gushyigikira, zitigeze zibatenguha. Yiyibagiza ko izo ngabo avugaga zituruka muri abaturage. Yongeraho ngo «nibatezuka ku ntego yabo, abaturage bazabyikorera». Ahubwo nareba nabi abaturage baramwikuriraho ! Abacamanza nabo twakwizera ko umuntu umwe atazabakoresha amakosa abategeka kurenzanya rubanda bashinzwe kurenzanyura. Mumureke yipfire we nyine atagira uwo ajyana nawe.

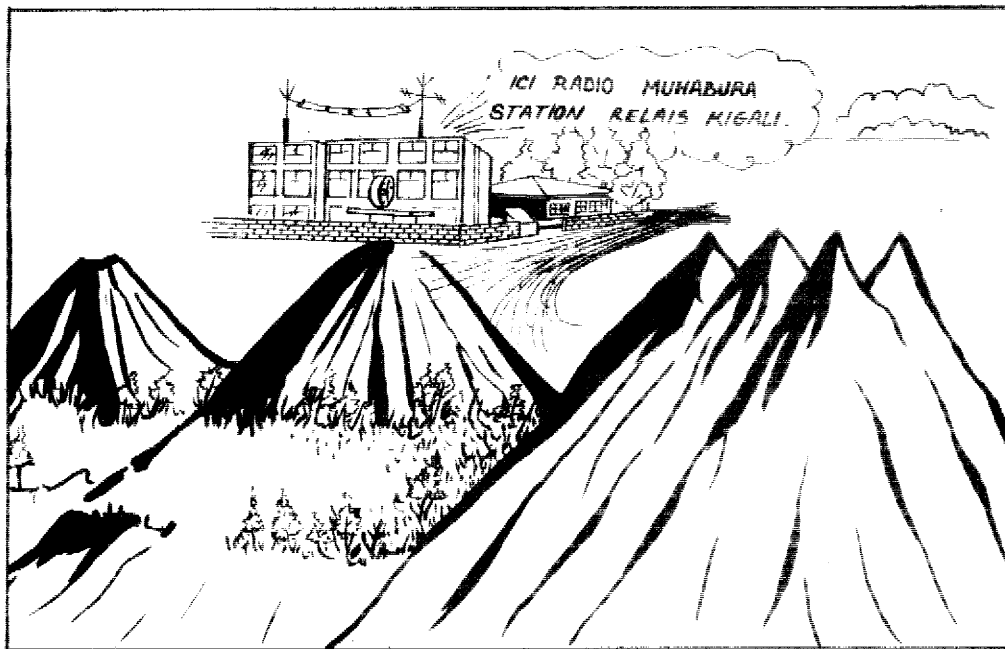
NSENGIYAREMYE niyo yagira ibyitso bingana iki nka Perefe wa Butare, ntacyo azageraho. Uwo mu perefe nawe yabonye isomo abaturage bamuhaye. Kubera ko ari we usigaye yambutsa ku mugaragaro uruburako rujya mu Nkotanyi runyuzi Burundi, abaturage bamusabye guhagarika ibyo bintu arananirana. Ariko burya

nyamwanga kumva ntiyanze kubona. Abaturage bafashe icyemezo cy'uko uwo bazafata ajya mu Nkotanyi (kandi barafatwa buri munsu), bazamunyuza iy'ubusamo. Ni ukuvuga kumushyira mu Kanyaru, akanyura iya Kagera dore ko ari nabwo agera vuba muri Uganda. Kuko nta kindi cyashobora ibyitso.

Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE isigaye imeze nka wa muntu wenda guhuhuka ariko akirashya imigeri. None se ategereje ko abaturage aribo bayihuhurira. Yakweguye itarazambya ibintu. Cyangwa NSENGIYAREMYE arashaka ko rubanda imufata mpiri. Nabyo byaba da ! None se urwishigishye ntarusoma ! Ibyabereye muri Saint André byari bikwiye kubera veterineri isomo. Abana 1500 basezereye umuyobozi wabo kubera amafuti ye. Ubwo se abantu barenga miliyoni zirindwi nibo bazanirwa uwo mu nya Kayenzi? Yaba se akoze mu ki ra? Nawe se ni burende? Simbiamya?

KANGURA.

RADIYO RWANDA YAHINDUTSE RADIYO MUHABURA



«Ici Radio Muhabura;
Station relais-Kigali».

Kuva aho ishyamba MDR rihereye Minisitiri y'Intangazamakuru, itangazamakuru rya Leta naryo risigaye ribogamye. Ibinyamakuru bya Leta ariko cyane cyane Radio Rwanda, bihi-

nduka ibikoreshe by'ishyamba MDR ifatanije n'inyenzi. Ibyo MDR yitaga kubohozza Radio Rwanda, byabaye gufata Radio y'igihugu, ya rubanda, ukayigira igikoreshe cy'agatsiko k'abantu bakorera inyungu zabo gusa.

Abumva Radio Rwanda barambabwe ibinyoma bya Minisitiri w'Intangazamakuru, Pascal NDENGEJEHO wirirwa amena abantu amatwi ashora itiku cyane cyane ku makuru yerekeye imirimo y'inama z'abaminisitiri dore ko ari nawe muvugizi wa Guverinoma. Abantu baba bakeneye kwumva ibyavugiye muri izo nama ntibababakeneye na gato itiku ry'ishyamba rya MDR. Umuntu ubeshya akabeshyera n'umukuru w'igihugu? Intambara igitangira, ubutegetsi bwahanganye n'ibinyoma by'inkotanyi. None aho igeze hiyongereyeho n'ibya NDENGEJEHO usa n'aho akazi ke agafatanije no kuba umuvugizi wa FPR-Inkotanyi.

NDENGEJEHO (izina niryomuntu) namenye ko abantu bafite akandi kazi, batazahora bata igihe cy'abo banyomoza amahomvu ye. Twarambiwe kandi «ubutumwa» NDENGEJEHO ngo ageza ku banyarwanda. Se uwo mwarimu ageza ubutumwa ku banyarwanda ari iki ra? Mwamutubarije?

Radio Rwanda yuzuye inyenzi:

Muri iki gihe, kugira ngo ubone

akazi kuri Radiyo Rwanda, ube umunyamakuru wayo ugomba byanze bikunze kuba umunyenduga ariko cyane cyane ukomoka i Gitarama. Ngo nibo bazi kuvuga neza i Bitaba ibyo se, ukaba umututsi, cyangwa se nibura ukaba uri mu ishyamba ry'«umucyo» MDR. Kwitwa ngo uri uwo mu «kazu», niyo ntaho waba uhuriye nako ni icyaha gikomeye. Radio Rwanda inyenzi zahoze zita Radiyo Gatonde cyangwa se radiyo Habyarimana kuko yari yarazitananiye, ubu zarayisingiriye. Dore ko zayihigiriga kuva kera kubera ko yazirwanije bigatinda.

Mu banyamakuru ba Radiyo Rwanda huzuyemo inyenzi gusa. Ngiyo «imburagasani» Louise KAYIBANDA, ngabo ba Alfred MUKEZAMFURA, ba Faida Ildephonse n'abandi n'utari inyenzi afatanyana nazo yihishe inyuma y'ishyamba rya MDR.

Ejo bundi, igihe MRND ikoresha imyigaragambyo yerekana ko itishimiye ibyabereye ARUSHA, abumva Radio Rwanda barumwica umunyamakuru Alfred MUKEZAMFURA, atu-

mira gusa ibyitso by'inkotanyi aribo ba TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI, GATABAZI, ngo bagire icyo bavugaga kuri iyo myigaragambyo; MRND yayikoresheje ihezwa muri icyo kiganiro. Yagiraga ngo se ibyo byitso bihwire iki rubanda itabizi ho ?

Faida Ildephonse nawe ngo abanyaburayi (CEE) bishimiye amasezerano y'ARUSHA i Batayishimira se inkotanyi ntizabifatiye. Akanabivugana n'inshuro nyinshi kandi mu byukuri nta nkuru irimo ku buryo ahubwo ukeka ko ari uwo munyamakuru wishimiye ayo masezerano, abanyaburayi barengana. Kuba Faida yishimira ibyagezweho ARUSHA ni uburenganzira bwe kandi ntawe bitangaza. Nawe se, umwana w'umututsi, umurakare wo ku Kibuye, uri no muri MDR, abuze iki ngo atakwishimira ubugambanyi bwabereye ARUSHA?....

Barangiza ngo imodoka za Radiyo Rwanda abigaragambyaga hazifashe ? Bari bazifata se ? Radio Rwanda nayo rwose ikwiye kuva mu maboko y'umwanzi.

Rubanda rwanarambiwe kandi umugabo Balthazar NDUWAYEZU wiyita «intumwa» ya Radiyo Rwanda ARUSHA kandi iyo urebye neza usanga ari intumwa ya NGURINZIRA, Arusha. Se ubundi NDUWAYEZU niwe munyamakuru wenyine ORINFOR igira, ntawundi yakwohereza ? Kuko ibyo NDUWAYEZU akora nta-we utabikora. Hari amakuru ahanyika ko burya amakuru Balthazar yohereza atari we uyakora, avuga ibyo NGURINZIRA amubwiye. Ku buryo n'inkotanyi zabajije niba ntacyo apfana na NGURINZIRA. Umenya ntacyo uretse ko bose bakomoka muri Butaro, komini Inkotanyi zigaruriye.

Radiyo Rwanda nijya itangira ibiganiro byayo, ntikajye yibagirwa kwibutsa abayumva ko ari «station relais ya radio Muhabura» kugira ngo abakundaga kumva Radio Muhabura bayumve noneho neza muri F.M. nta kibazo ! None se ko «zatsinze» !

KANGURA.

I. INTANGIRIRO Y'UBWICANYI BWA GATUTSI-NYENZI.

Kugeza mu wa 1959, u Rwanda rwategukwaga n'umuco wa gihake umuntu yagereranyaga n'uwigeze kuzongera u Burundi butarajijukira demokarasi. Uwo mucu wari ushingiyeye ku matwara yo guharira ibigaganyare by'Abatutsi ubwikanyize mu butegerezi na mu mibereho myiza, Abahutu bagaherera ku buhake n'ubutundi, ari ibitiyo bya gashakabuhake. Ibyo kandi byari bishingiyeye kuri wa muzi uzingiyeye ku kinyoma; ngo Gatutsi kuruta Gahutu ni umurage w'Imana udatoze kuvaho.

Ku wa 24 Yuli 1959, umwami Mutara agwa i Bujumbura, umurwa mukuru w'u Burundi, aya adasize imbuto. Ubwo rero, mu mucu w'igihugu, ingoma cyami yari izimye, kuko umwami asimburwa n'umwana we gusa. Ubwo uwo yari asize ubusa, ingoma y'iwabo yagombaga kutangirana na we. Irangira ry'iyi ngoma kandi ni icyo rangira ry'umuco wa gihake, kuko isumbwe ry'Abatutsi kuri Gahutu rishingiyeye ku mwami usimbuye se no kuri iryo hererekanyangoma. Ubwo rero ubuhake bwari burimbukanye n'uwabwohyaga.

Muri uwo mwaka kandi amatwara ya demokarasi yari amaze kwamamara mu Rwanda. Ingabo za gashakabuhake zari zifite impamvu yo kwikanga ko ubwizimbe bwabo bwari bugiye kuzisenyukana. Ni bwo bigiriye imama yo gukora icyo bwabaga ngo

babigarurire mu maguru mashya; umuco w'igihugu hawucamo icyuho, ingoma bayimika mwene se w'uwapfuye kandi kizira, kuko ngo bene uwo mwami yitwa ubucugane akazacurika u Rwanda ubahagarariye Uburezi bw'Ababiligi abonye bamaze kumwimika aya kuhyemera. Ngo ushenge urwe umutiza umurindi.

Ntibabonye batsinze batyo barohoka, icumu bariterera ku kiganza bati: mu bakuru b'ingabo za Parmehutu intihagire uwumamuka. Abenshi muri bo bicwa urupfu rubi n'izo ngabo z'inkora-maraso zoherejwe n'ibyegeza by'iyi ngirwa-mwami wari wikubiyeye aho bitaga ingoro ye, rubanda rwari rutegereje Repubulika nk'umukiza rwahanurirwe rwaranze kumwemera.

Ubucamanza bw'Ababiligi bufata abashoje ubwo bwicanyiyemo, ab'ingenzi bakatirwa kunyongwa. Amahanga na LONU bibasabira imbabazi ngo barekurwe, ngo none ahari ni byo byatera Abahutu n'Abatutsi kwigorora. Ariko ahubwo biba gukoza agati mu ntozi.

Mu wa 1961 kamarampaka irarukata. Bibariza rubanda intumwa z'abibumbuye zihahagaze. Parmehutu itsindirira amajwi arenga 80% y'abatoye. Ni ko gusinda uruhuru. Impunduru zivugaga urwunge mu Rwanda hose, nawe Gashakabuhake

ajiginywe. Ku wa 1 Yuli independansi y'u Rwanda itatangwa Parmehutu ari yo iyitsindiye. Umuco wa gihake wongera gukubitwa incuro utyo, nk'uko bisanzwe icyo ugize aho upfubirana na demokarasi.

PUBLICITE

Itangazo rya KANGURA

Umutwe utabari Abahutu waravutse

Nk'uko twabitangaje ku rupapuro rwa 10, umutwe "Turi hose" ushinze nibere na nibere kurengera Abahutu bakomoka mu mashyamba yose. Kandi mu buryo bwose, hakoreshejwe inzira zose. Uwo mutwe witwa "Turi hose", ugomba gushyigikirwa na buri muhutu wifuza ko ubwoko bwe butarimburwa. Cyangwa se ngo umuco w'Abahutu wibagirane. Uwo mutwe ushobora no gukorera mu mahanga cyane cyane igihe cyo gutabara abahutu bugarijwe. Baza ibisobanuro muri KANGURA B.P. 19 Gisenyi cyangwa B.P. 1312 Kigali.

DUTEGANYE UKO TUZIRENGERA TWATEWE.

Hagati aho abakuru ba gashakabuhake, babonye rubanda rubateye agati, bashyira nzira baja kwuguruza amahanga. Ni ko kubwira bene wabo, birukanywe n'umujinya wa rubanda, bati: ntimwemere aho babatuje, ahubwo mudukurikire mu mahanga. Bari bimirije imbere kuzatabarukana umutsindo, inkota irisha, aho kumvikana mu mahoro. Nyamara ariko abenshi mu Batutsi bagikunze ubwami bihitiramo kuguma i Rwanda. Bamwe bari bafite imigabo yo kwemera Repubulika bakinjira mu nzego zayo, abandi — batari benshi — bashakaga kuba ibyitso by'insenga-murwano zigundamye ku nkiko y'ibihugu bikikije u Rwanda.

Izo mpunzi z'insenga-bwami ntaho zitakubise zigambanira u Rwanda ngo ibihugu birukikije bihuze inama yo kurutera, ngo ejo Repubulika y'u Rwanda itazakongeza yo urumuri rwayo. Ariko, kubera ko hafi y'ibyo bihugu byose byari byahisemo kwibera Repubulika na byo, byiyemeza ahubwo kwirukana abo batarampagarara, bikurikije Itegeko-Nshingira y'Afurika yihumbye ribuza ibihugu byose by'Afurika gucumbikira abatera-mpagarara bashaka kurwanya igihugu baturanye.

Karyende iba ari yo inywana na Karinga, u Burundi bwonyine buba ari bwo bwemera kwivanga muri icyo migambi y'hembera bwami ishyigikira gatutsi-nyenzi. icyo icyo nkingi Gashakabuhake yatewe n'u Burundi cyaje kubyara ni cyo ngive kubatekerereza.

GATUTSI-NYENZI YARATEYE, INGABO ZIGIHUGU ZIMUSANGA-NIZA IMYAMBI.

Mu ijoro ryakeye ku wa 21 desimbiri 1963 niho inkora-maraso za gatutsi-nyenzi zateye ziyahura. Ubwo bwari ubwa mirongo itanu batera kandi igihe cyose bagakubitwa incuro ababo benshi baguye ku rugamba. Ubugundirizi bwabo ariko bubatera kwongera kuza kwiyahura.

Izo ndwanyi z'intutsi zifubitse izina ry'impunzi zitekeye mu BURUNDI. Niho inteko y'inkora maraso, bakunda kwita inyenzi, yaturutse itera inkiko y'u Rwanda rwo mu majyepfo y'i burasirazuba. Bari bageze nko ku 3.000, bitwaje imbunda, imihoro, imipanga, amacumu n'inyambi isize ubumara. Baje rwombi nk'igisambo, nta we ubikeka, ijoro ribaha akabanga, bisuka ku basirikari bako bari i GAKO.

Uko gutera batunguranye nk'igisambo kubanza kubahira. Mwumve na mwe igitero cy'abantu 3.000 kirwana n'Ingabo z'u Rwanda zitarenze 25 kandi kibatanguye. Nyamara ariko abasirikari bacu bararwana bisingira umuseke. Baganzwa n'ubwinshi, inyenzi zigaturira inkambi yubakwaga i Gako. Abahakoraga bashirira ku icumu, abasirikari bane barafatwa, biewa urubozo n'izo nyenzi, naho abandi bakizwa

n'amaguru, bikinga mu bihuru bategereje abaza kubatiza umurindi.

Ramaze gutsinda, aho babereye, kuva mu myaka itatu bari bamaze bigerzaho, bakomeza kogoga u Bugesera bagana i Kigali. Muri icyo nzira bafashwa n'Abatutsi bi Bugesera barimo abari barahatujwe na Leta. Ari Abahutu ari Abatutsi, ari abagore ari abagabo, ari n'abana se, uwangaga gufata intwari ngo ahongere cyangwa aje mu nkoma kama zibashagaye, barimwozagamo bakitambukira. Inzira yabo ni inkongi, ni ukwira na gashyamba, itegeko ribagenga n'irigira irya kabiri: gutuma rubanda ruruta imbororo: kuko icyivugaga cy'inyenzi ari Ruzirampuhwe.

Ingabo zacu zatabaranye ingoga, ziharwana urw'umuzirungano, zimaze kubakubita incuro umunsi umwe uzira uwa kabiri, zisigara zirarura intumbi zishwe urupfu rubi n'izo nyanga-Rwanda. Hari abo inyenzi zari zacye amaboko cyangwa amaguru, hari abo zari zakuyemo amaso, hari abo zari zamennye umutwe zibakubita inyundo, hari abagabo zari zashahuye n'ahagore zari zamennye inda. Abacitse ku icumu niba babivuze imvaho, ureke ba bandi babohereza ibihaha, mukabyamamaza murazi ko ari ibinyoma. N'ubundi ga ijoro ryabara uwatiraye! Bavugaga ukuntu inyenzi zagize ababyeyi bemeye Repubulika zikabaca amabere, zikuyagaburira abana babo n'abagabo babo. Bavugaga ukuntu abasirikari bacu bafashwe n'abo bagome bishwe urw'agashinyaguro n'uburyo abakobwa b'Abatutsi kazi babakoreye ibiteye isoni. Nta n'uwatinyuka kubirondora atariye isoni nka bo.

Ubwo kandi abandi basirikari bari baziritswe ku mipira y'amajipi y'abo bagiranabi, uko umushoferi ayirukankana akagenda abakurura inzira yose. Bapfuye bahindutse nk'amashara.

Nyamara bamwe muri abo basirikari bamaze kubohorwa n'inkubito ya bagenzi habo batabaranye ingoga izo «ngirwamiyura» z'abakobwa, zivanga ubugome n'ubutwenge, zikurikiza icyo zikurikiranye mu mitego ya kinyenzi ziza gushuka abo zahemukiye ngo biyunge bundi bushya, ndetse zikandira no ku ntumwa z'ubushinjacyaha zari zigiyeye gusuzuma ibyabaye. Nta wakwirirwa asobanura ibyo izo nshinzi zageragezaga kubashukisha, nyir'ukumva yamenye amarenga y'ayo magambo...

Igitangaza ni n'uburyo utarugambanije, ni u' amaradiyo n'ibinyamateka, bidahoshywe kuvuga ahabura bitewe na rubanda witabaye, bitagize icyo bivugaga ku buge bw'abo bagira nabi, nk'aho umwotsi ucumbira ku nzu yahise uba urushije ubugiranabi umuriro wayitwitse, cyangwa se nk'aho kwivugana uguteye ari byo bibi kurusha gutera utakwakuye. Uko gucurika amahame n'abantu bose, ukibasira kuzimya umwotsi wongera inkongi mu nzu ishya ngo aha

urashaka kuyivimya byatera Umunya-rwanda kwibaza niba ubwenge bw'abazungu buteye kimwe n'ubw'abirabura. Kuko, mu bwenge bwa kinyarwanda, ingirwa bahanga z'abazungu zigeze kuvuga ko bucuritse, ushaka kuzimya inzu ishya, azimya umuriro uyitwika aho kurwanira kuzimya umwotsi uyicumburukamo. Iyo nzu mvuga ni ya midugararo iberutse kuba mu Rwanda. Umwotsi mwibasiye kuzimya ni umujinya rubanda rwahagurukanye rubonye rutewe. Umuriro ni bya bitero by'inyenzi byateye rubanda uwo mujinya mukaba ariko ari rwo mwibasira aho kwibasira nyirabayazana. Cyo re, nk'uko nabivugaga ko ibyari hasi byagiye hejuru, niba mu bwenge bwa kinyarwanda, umenya icyabaye urebye icyagiteye, niba umuntu wese afite uburunganzira bwo kwirengera icyo yasagarawe, umuntu yavugaga ariko ari ko bimeze mu mahanga bwa kizungu, kandi ahanyamakuru bamwe bamaze gucurika ibyo Imana yacuruye? None se hari ugucurika ubwenge kwatwe guhishira cyangwa gushima ubugome bw'inyenzi bwasagaraye ahatarurwanda, ukarengaho ahubwo ukibasira gusebuka abo baturage baziyanze zibateye? Niba ari ubugira nabi mwanga, ntimwambwira impamvu yabateye guhishira inyenzi zashoje intumbara, mugatangira gusakaza aho ahaturage habereye nka ya ngwe itari izi gufata ku gakanu icyo itabwirizwa?

Ng'icyo na n'icye ikibazo mbajije abifashe ku mahanga ahanditsi b'amakuru bakadutuka. Ahasigaye reka twikomereze ibyo nabatekererezaga.

Ni uko, icyo gihe inyenzi zicaga, zisa n'izihiga uwitwaga umuntu mu karere zigariye, ahapadiri ba paruwasi ya Nyamata — zahigiraga ko ari abera, umva ko ngo ari zo zitazira umuntu ubwoko bwe bahereye ko bahungira i Kigali. Ubwo ariko abo bavuzi-nduru babariyaga isataburenge, kuko bari barangamiye kwigarurira umurwa w'u Rwanda. Ku iteme rya KANZENZE, ku ruzi rwa NYABARONGO, muri km 25 uvuye i Kigali, niho abari bateye batangirirwe n'Ingabo z'igihugu.

Izo nyenzi bazisutse amasasu bazishora inkungu, bugoroba bazigeje hakurya y'u Rwanda, abenshi muri zo bagwa kuri urwo rugamba rw'i Bugesera.

Inyenzi zakomeje gukandira icyarimwe mu mpande nyinshi z'igihugu zigatijemo Abatutsi. Mu mitego yazo zari zategamiye guterera icyarimwe inkiko zose, **kugira ngo mu misozi yose y'u Rwanda abaturage basubiranemo**, abategetswe bateterwe, abasirikari babura aho batabara n'aho bareka, maze izo nkozi z'ibibi zikubitireho gushumiriza amahanga abo zimaze gusagarira.

Mu Mutara, ahatandukanyaga u Rwanda n'u Buganda, inyenzi zigeze nko kuri 600.

zimaze kwihisha Leta ya Uganda, zitera ahagana i Rubirizi-Rwempasha. Zifata amajipi abiri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, abari bayarimo ariko baracika. Ntibyatinda, abasirikari bacu baratabara, bazinyukanyuka mu kanya kangana urwara. Inyinshi zigwa kuri urwo rugamba. Mu basirikari bacu hakomeraka umwe. Yaje gupfa hanyuma azize ibikomere yakomerakejwe n'urufaya rw'amasasu zamurashe zimwukiye.

Mu Bugesera, ahatandukanya u Rwanda n'u Burundi, zongera gutera mu matariki ya 18, 21, 22 na 25 y'ukwa mbere, ziharaniira kurimbura abaturage, ziturutse i Burundi.

Mu Bugarama, amajyepfo y'i burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, inyenzi zishyigikiwe na Leta y'i Burundi, zabuteye kabiri mu ntangiriro z'ukwa kabiri. Uwakoraga kuri gasutamo n'abarinzi b'imipaka babiri barahafatirwa, biwira urw'agashinyaguro, naho mugenzi wabo, umututsi wahoze ari igisonga, hanyuma akajya mu byitso by'inzenzi Leta y'u Rwanda itabizi, yiyambukira umupaka ajya mu Burundi hamwe na bene wabo basutsweyo n'Ingabo z'igihugu. Yari amaze ariko kubaha inzira yo kurugeramo, kwica, gusahura no gusenyerera rubanda.

Muri icyo gihe izindi nyenzi zitagira ingano — ari zo bajya bita «imbahare z'impunzi z'Abatutsi» — zacaga i Kibungo ku mupaka w'u Burundi ahateganywe na Perefegitura zacu za Butaro, Gikongoro na Gitarama. Uko guca i Kibungo kwari amayeri yo guhuzenza no gutatanyira abasirikari bacu, ngo bajye kuba ari ho buzitegera kandi zishaka gutera ahandi. Zisanga ariko Ingabo z'igihugu ziri maso kandi uwo mutego zarawutahuye kera.

Ng'uko uko icyo gihe y'inyenzi yo gukuba u Rwanda impande zose yakandagiye n'ingufu z'abasirikari bacu, izo mbasha-rugamba zibyariwe n'umurindi w'umwaga-buhake mu Banyarwanda.

III. AKAGAMBANE K'IBYITSO NUMUJINYA WA RUBANDA.

Reka noneho turebe ukuntu icyo tera ry'inzenzi ryari rigeretse ku bundi bugambanyi.

Umuntu yakwibanda ku bintu bine by'inzenzi:

• Icyo mbere ni akagambane k'abakozi b'Abatutsi bahawe akazi muri Leta ari ukugira ngo yereke Abatutsi ko nabo itabanga. Ubwo bugambanyi bwagarajwe n'ibimenyetso bya kamarampaka. Uretse ko izo nyanga-Rwanda zateranyije amafaranga yo kugurira inyenzi intwari, zari zifite n'undi muco w'uburyarya, wo kwitwaza uhwiririre abakuru babafitiye, bagakwiza ubugambo bw'insenga-murwano muri rubanda kugira ngo bategurire Leta ya Gatutsi-Nyenzi, yagombaga gushingwa ku wa 1 wa Yanwari

1964. Bamwe muri abo bagambanyi ndetse bari baremerewe kuba ba Minisitiri b'iby Leta-Nyenzi.

• Icyo kabiri ni ukuntu itera ry'inzenzi ryibanze aho zashoboraga gusanga ibyitso by'Abatutsi ba gashakabuhake. Kandi rero koko ba rwica-ruhoze abo bababereye ibyitso.

• Icyo gatatu cyabaye ni umwaku, ni uko inkuru yamaze gusakara mu gihugu yuko inyenzi zateye mu Bugesera. Abatutsi hamwe bakiri ba gashakabuhake barota ko hasubiye ku ngoma, basinda umunczero, maze bakwiza inkuru ngo umurwa w'igihugu wafashwe n'inzenzi nabo ubwabo batangira gukangata, gukora rubanda ku itama no kubabwirira ko Umwami aje kubamarira ku icumu. Nyamara ukuntu ba nyakwihemukira bari bamaze iminsi babanywe neza n'Abahutu!

• Icyo kane abanditsi b'amakuru birengagiye ni uko inyenzi zafashijwe n'indiririzi z'abanyamahanga, ba gateranya-miryango babuhiriyeye namwe mutayobewe. Ba gica abo bahera ko hasakaza impuha mu Rwanda no mu mahanga iwabo ngo mu Rwanda abaturage bakuke umutima naho mu mahanga abanditsi b'amakuru ayo mahomvu bayasamirira hejuru. Iki babajye ni uko abanyamakuru bamwe bafatiye muri iwo mutego, bakamamaza ibyo binyoma, bakabafasha batazi ibyo bakora.

Mu Rwanda icyo bene impuha bari bizeye si cyo zabyaye. Aho kugira ngo rubanda rukangarane, ruhindagare, rugonde akajosi inyenzi igateme nk'uko yabitckerezaga. Abahutu bumvise ubwo hugome bwabereye mu Bugesera, babona ko bagiyeye gusubira ikuzimu. Bibuka ingoyi ya Gashakabuhake, barora inkovu z'ibiboko n'ingoyi by'ingoma n'ututsi, bibuka akazi n'ishiku, n'agasuzuguro, na «Nguriza umuhutu mwice sha», niko kuzinga umunya bati: nitwaba ingaruzwamuheto.

Uwo mujinyanya kandi icyakomezaga kuwukabura, ni uko uwahoze ari umucakara yari amaze imyaka isingira ine asogongeye ku buki bwa demokarasi, none uwo mugisha akaba agiye kuwunyagwa n'abo yemeye kwiyegerereza, abitegerezwe n'abamurwaniye ishyamba, none na bo bakaba bagiyeye gushirira ku icumu.

Batega-rugori b'i Bugaransa, Bugaransa mwese munyumva.

Nimwibuke intambara ya ba sogokuruza banyu yo mu ka cyenda mu wa 1792 ingabo za Repubulika y'u Bugaransa zishyamiiranye n'iza cyami zari ziteye ziturutse ishyamba aho zari zarahungiyeye demokarasi.

Nimwibuke uko myarwanyijye ingabo za Hitileri n'abagambanyi bazo, maze mumenyercho ubukana bw'uburakari Abanyarwanda bagiriye abafasha inyenzi z'inyanga-mubano. Inzira z'abantu zikunda gusa, bamwe basa n'abasubira mu zo abandi

banyuzemo, kandi hose bateye kimwe, aho unyuzemo none hasa n'ah'ejo. Ibyo ba sogokuruza banyu bakoze mu wa 1789 ni byo Abanyarwanda bakoze mu wa 1959. Ibyo intwari z'iwanyu zakozwe zirwanya ibitero by'impunzi z'Abafaransa mu wa 1792 n'ibya Hitileri by'ejo bundi ni byo intwari z'i Rwanda ziheretse gukora zizitira ibitero bya Kigeli iwacu twita Kigegeza. Niba rero mutugaya ko twirengeye, nimubanze mwigaye, mugaye n'abababyaye. Mwavugije impuruzi yo gutsemba ubuhake bwa cyami, maze tuyitabye muradutuka?

Nyamara ariko, niba mu midugararo yo mu myijima y'ukwa cumi n'abiri 1963 no mu mboneko z'ukwa mbere 1964, amahoro yarakomeje kubaho mu gice kinini cy'u Rwanda, Abatutsi ntibapfira gushira, n'ubwo byari biruhije bwose, ayo mahoro bayakasha uburwari bw'abategetsi; bayakasha abarwanashyamba, abajyanama, ba burugumesitiri na ba perefefatari bagisinzira biruka imisozi ngo bapfapfanywe. Bayakasha ba minisitiri bigabanyije za perefegitura uko ari icumi babwiriza rubanda gutuza. Bayakasha abapolisi b'igihugu bafashe abagambanyi n'abatera impagarara bakabashyikiriza cyangwa bakazabashyikiriza abacamanza ngo bahabwe igihano gikwiye abagambanyi.

Sinahakana ko hari perefegitura imwe muri izo cumi, ibyitso by'inzenzi byakabijemo gusesera muri rubanda no kurusembura, byamamaza imiburo, maze abaturage babonye ibyo izo ntasi zibakorera bikabarakaza, umujinya wabo ukabatera gukubya bitabara mu maguru mashya. Ni bwo ibyo byitso n'abatutsi b'inzenzi bateye bisamiwe hejuru n'abanzi ba Repubulika, babivugaga warabyibonyeye ukabona ko basa n'abaza umugani. Ariko ubu umuntu wese amaze kumenya aho nyirabayazana aherereye, izo nshoza-murwano ntizari ziyobewe ibya rubanda rwirungera ruzakora. Inyenzi zabigize zibizi. Umutego mutindi wica nyirawo.

Ikitubabaza ariko ni ukubona abavandimwe bacu b'Abatutsi bari bemeye Repubulika ariko bagafasha inyenzi ngo batagwa mu nkomati, maze bikabatera kwiterereza uburakari bw'abaturage. N'ubundi ngo abagabo bararya imbwa zikishyura!

IV. UMUTEGO W'ABACURA-BI-NYOMA.

Abahanga mu byo gutera impagarara, bayobora izo nyenzi, bahabonyeye uburyo butagira uko busa bwo gukoresha ya mayeri yabo y'uburumira-habiri, amwe Hitileri yigeze kuvuga agira ati: umuntu nka njye aba nyamujya icyo bya, akabeshya yumumirije, akivuguruzaga karindwi mu muni ngo abone urubanza, abanzi be akabashinje icyo yikoreye ubwe cyangwa se ashaka gukora, maze akabatanga kuvuza induru avugisha ibinyamateka na za radiyo.

Abacura-binyoma ni bo bahimbye izo mpuha zitagira ihuriro n'ibyabaye, maze abavuga amakuru bakabyamamaza bazi cyangwa se batanazi umutego ubirimo. Ibyo ari byo byose ntibari babonye umwanya wo kubisuzuma ubwabo.

Inyinshi mu mpuha zitakigira n'akiyubaho k'amazigira-soni, zituruka i Bujumbura, mu murwa w'u Burundi, wigaruriwe n'abatware b'inyenzi kandi uzira urunuka Repubulika y'u Rwanda nk'uko hose bizwi. Ni ho abatware b'inyenzi bicaye, babandi banganya uburyarya n'ubuhanga bwo kwihoma abandi. Ni ho bagize intereko, ni ho babonye ibibafasha kwamamaza mu isi yose impuha n'ibinyoma bivanze no kwirarira. Cyo re, nimumbwire, umuntu yashaka kumenya ko umugore agira umutima maze akajya kubibaririza kwa mukeba we?

Ngiyo imwe mu masoko abanyamakuru bavomyemo, bajya kwamamaza ibyo bise «urupfu rw'Abatutsi batanzwe n'abategetsi b'u Rwanda cyangwa bakaba batakomakomye». Abo banyamakuru ntibavuze ukuntu gatutsi-nyenzi yateye n'abo yishe urw'agashinyaguro. Ariko bagera ku muturarwanda bagashya batanzitse. Impamvu ni iyihe? Iragaragara: ni uko kugeza ubu bumwise urw'umwe, mukeba wa Kanyarwanda ari we Nyakarundi inyenzi zakeje akaba ari we ubahora mu nsina y'ugutwi.

V. IBYO BITA MURIMBURA INYOKO-NTUTSI.

Ng'icyo icyatumye bimwe mu binyamakuru byo mu mahanga bitihya akabanga igihe bivuga «ibihumbi by'Abatutsi bagwa mu Rwanda buri muni» n'amatwara ya Leta ya Kayibanda yo «gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi». Kugira ngo, turebe aho ukuri guherereye, reka dusesengurire hamwe ibyo abo banyamakuru bavuze batagize n'intanga-mugabo bagerekaho.

Hari ibinyamateka n'amaradiyo yishakira amakuru y'inshamugongo byavuze ko mu mahanga hari impunzi z'Abatutsi 150.000 n'uko kuva aho imidugararo yatangiye hagenda hapfa Abatutsi 8.000 buri muni. Iyo nkuru kandi yavuzwe ukwezi kwa mbere kujya gushira. Umuntu abishyize mu mibare agasanga rero hamaze gupfa Abatutsi 320.000.

Nyamara mbere ya novembri 1959, Abatutsi bose hamwe bari nka 350.000. Uwakuramo 150.000 byimukiye mu mahanga hasigara 200.000. Niba rero ukwezi kwa mbere 1964 kwarashize twishe Abatutsi 320.000 ni ukuvuga ko kuva muri desembri 1963 kugeza muri Yanyuari 1964 twaremeye Abatutsi 120.000 bo kwica... Dusigaye ga turusha Imana gukora ibitangaza!

Ibindi binyamakuru biyakura i Bujumbura, iyo soko itavomwamo ibirohwa da, havuzwe imibare yivuguruza ubwayo: bivuga ko hapfuye «Abatutsi 60.000;

18.000; 16.000; 10.000 bari bemeye Repubulika». Naho umuvugizi wa Leta-Ndundi, urusha abandi kureba no kujijukirwa n'ubumenyi bw'isi, avuga ko hari intumbi z'Abatutsi 8.000, Abahutu bajugunye muri Nyabarongo, intumbi zabo bazireba mu ruzi rwa Rusizi. Nyamara hagati ya Nyabarongo iyo na Rusizi hari imisozi miremire igiye urunana bita impinga ya Kongo-Nili. Maze se izo ntumbi zageze zite muri Rusizi? Zabanje se guterera impinga Nyabarongo iturukamo? Ahari aho ga Perezida Kayibanda yategetse amazi y'isoko ya Nili guteshwa inzira igana inyanja ya Mediterane kugira ngo abanze ageze intumbi z'Abatutsi mu ruzi rwa Kongo na rwo ruzazishyikirize inyanja ya Atlantika! icyo se si igitangaza cy'uburumira-habiri?

Nyamara ariko icyo gihe intumwa z'ubushinja-cyaha bw'i Bujumbura, ... yapfa gukoka ko zo zavugaga imvaho, zemezaga ko zoherejwe na Leta-Ndundi gukora anketi neza, zikabona intumbi 7 gusa: Umuntu se yakwemera ibihe: ari ibivugwa na Radiyo y'inkwiza-rubwa ari n'ibivugwa n'Ubucamanza bw'i Burundi?

Ubwu imidugararo imaze gushira, rubanda bakaba bamaze gutuza, umuntu yashobora kugera ku mibare icishiriza ukuri. Hari abantu benshi bari baciriwe urupfu none baraboneka ku mugaragaro, Urugero nabaha ni ba Bwana Rugira na Gitera, Radiyo y'i Burundi yari yaketse ivuga ko babonye intumbi zabo muri Rusizi. Nyamara icyo gihe Gitera nta n'icyamuhungabanyaga, yari yibereye mu matafari ya ...

Rugira twari kumwe mu Nteko Nkuru y'Amategekko tujya impaka. Hahise akanya mbona aje kwibika ambwira ko yapfuye Leta y'i Burundi igatora intumbi ye muri Rusizi. Ingero ni nyinshi zimeze nk'izo. Nakomeza kuzirondora bwakwira bugacya.

Aho amahoro agarukiye, Inyenzi zimaze gutsindwa ruhenu, bashoboye kubarura abapfuye bagera ku mubare wenda kugera kuri 870. Mu mibare ihinye umuntu yavugaga ko hapfuye abantu igihumbi. Ahari aho uwo mubare nturi bwemerwe, kuko atari inkuru y'insha-mugongo. None se ko ibinyoma bikwewetuye ari byo bisigaye byarahwe intebe!

Ibyo ari byo byose, n'abo dusanga ari benshi cyane, iyo twibutse ko abo bantu bari bafite uburenganzira bwo kwiberaho, kandi rero baba bakiriho iyo abatware b'inyenzi badashyigikirwa na Leta-Ndundi ngo bakomeze guhonga bene wabo ngo babone ibyo baregisha Repubulika y'u Rwanda. Erega n'ubundi ngo umukunzi w'impyi niwe irya mbere!

VI. IBYO BISE AMARERE YO GUTSEMBA INYOKO-NTUTSI.

Naho ibyo bise amatwara yo «gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi», nta n'uwakwirirwa abikurikirana mu mvugo y'ababyamamaje

kuko bose bihaye kubivuga nta n'intanga-mugabo bageretseho. Umuntu yabaha igisubizo kibakwiye atirwe azimbura.

Icyabibemeza ko ari impuha ni uko mwaba mwariboneye ubwanyu umwete abategetsi ba Repubulika bakoranye kugira ngo barengere amahoro yari amaze gukangwa n'itera ry'inyenzi zihuruka. Ni uko mwajya kwirebera ubwanyu icyo uwo mwete wabyaye: Mwasanga amahoro aganje impande zose. Mwasanga abari bahungiyeye muri za paruwasi baragaruwe iwabo bakaba babanyeye neza n'abo bahoze baturanye na mbere. Mwakwibariza ingano y'imfashanyo zitabarika zatanze na Leta y'u Rwanda n'amahanga ngo zitabare izo mbabare z'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Mwakwirebera ukuntu abaturage b'amoko yose babanyeye, ari mu mugi ari no mu byaro, ari muri Leta ari no mu mibanire y'abaturage ubwabo. Ariko yenda bene ibyo bintu by'imvaho ntibyamarara bamwe agahinda kuko bitarimo umwiyamamazo uhagije n'inkuru y'inshamugongo.

Kugira ngo mbamare agahinda, noncho reka twigane imvugo ihanze, turebe ibyo Leta ya Repubulika yakoresheje kugira ngo igere ku cyo bise politiki y'inzira-bwoko kandi y'insemba-batutsi». Byaba byiza ariko tubanje kugereranya ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi-gihake bwa kera n'ubwa demokarasi ya Repubulika bw'ubu mu byerekeye isumbanya ry'amoko ngo turebe inzira bwoko z'ukuri aho zihereye.

Politike y'isumbanya-moko mu butegetsi bwa gashakabuhake.

«Mu bihugu bitegekwe cyami cya gashakabuhake by'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, imibanire y'abantu mu bya politiki vari ishingiyeye ku cyemezo cy'ubusumwano budasubirwaho bw'abantu. Abategekwa bagafata abategekwa nk'abana, abategekwa nabo bakumvira nk'ibitambabuga. Abategekwa banenaga abategekwa, bavugaga ko babarusha ubwoko kuko babaga ari abo mu muryango w'Abatutsi... Twabonye ko u Rwanda rugizwe n'amoko atatu (Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa). Hari ubusumbane burebure mu ruharc buri bwoko bwari bufite ku butegetsi. Ubwo busumbane bwari bushingiyeye ku mvugo yemeza ubusumbane bw'ubushobozi abantu bavukana... Niba Naka w'Umuhutu ari umunyabwenge akaba n'intwari kimwe n'Umututsi, ntibyamubuza kuguma uko yavutse. icyo barebaga si ukugira ubushobozi n'ubutwari bw'umuryango usumbye indi, ahubwo kuwuvukiramo ni byo byari bifite agaciro. Ibyo byabaga bihagije kugira ngo umuntu abone uruharc rusumbye urw'abandi kandi agire uburenganzira butagira ihuriro n'ubw'abavutse ahandi».

Ubwu bukomajuru bw'ubwoko-tutsi bwibwirako buruta ubundi bwose kuko Imana yabahaye kamere ihatse izindi,

tubusanga mu mico ya gihake yose. Umugabo natanga ni aya mahango nkuye mu gisigo Singayimbaga yahimbye mu wa 1870.

« Ubwami bugira ubwoko, bwoko bw'Imana!

Rurema varagutuye iguteramo imizi yubutegetsi!

Ibyihutire bitaremanye ubwo burenganzira bw'amavuko

Iyo Ntore yahiriye yabimariye ku icumu

Kalinga itamiriza amashahu yahyo...

Imugisha yubwami izingiyeye ku nzu yawe, wowe Muhire!

Amahanga yose yahogojwe n'ubupfakazi yayataye.

Yavatsembeye abami, ingabe ze zitamiriza amashahu yabo!

Agahinda k'ingabo zabo se si yo mahirwe y'ingabo ze? »

Igihe Abahutu n'Abatutsi baburaniye i Nyanza mu rubanza rwamamaye rwo mu wa 1959, abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami bavugiraga bene wabo, hari itangazo rikomeye boherereje Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu, yari intutsi kimwe na bo. Bamaze kuvuga ko uburenganzira bw'Abatutsi bwo kwiharira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuko ari ibikomajuru na bo Abahutu bakaba ibikomataka by'ingaruzwamuheto, barakomeza bati:

« Ubwo ari uko byari bimeze kugeza ubu, umuntu yakwibaza aho Abahutu bashingiye baka umunani mu bya Kanyarwanda.

Abagabana uminani ni abafitanye isano. Kandi rero isano yacu, twebw Abatutsi n'Abahutu, ishingiyeye ku buhake, kuva kera kugeza ubu. Nta buvandimwe na busa rero dufitanye n'Abahutu...

Ubwo abami bacu bigarurirye ibihugu by'Abahutu, bamaze kwica abahinza babo, bagahaka Abahutu, ubungubu aho Bahutu bashobora bate kwiyita abavandimwe bacu ».

Umutwe w'ishyamba ryitwa Lunari, wari uteraniwemo n'ingufu zose za gashakabuhake kandi ukiyita uw'Abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda ngo ukunde wemerwe, wabaye ugishingwa wandika mu Itegeko-Nshinga ryawo aya mahame yabo y'insumbanyamoko ngo:

« N'ubwo u Rwanda rugizwe n'abantu bafite agaciro gasumbanye cyane bwose kandi bikaba bidakwiye guha agaciro kamwe umutindi w'igicucu (umuhutu) n'imfura ijijutse (umututsi): n'ubwo itora rya rubanda rose rizatuma injiji nyinshi (abahutu) zijya hejuru y'abanyabwenge bako (abatutsi), kwima Abahutu n'Abatwa uburenganzira bumwe (mu magambo) ariko

1. Iki kinyarwanda ni igihindurano cy'icyo gisigo cyatangajwe mu gifaransa.

2. Iryo tangazo turufite mu gifaransa. Aya magambo rero ni amahindurano y'igifaransa mu kinyarwanda.

wihutire gupfukirana ubucucu n'ubugambanyi bw'iyonyoko (abahutu) itarusha inyamaswa ubwenge. »

Dore mu magambo make icyo iryo hame ry'insumbanyamoko ryari ryarabyaye mu Rwanda:

Abatutsi ba gashakabuhake bari barishye iyo mbaga y'Abahutu urupfu n'agashinyaguro.

Abahutu ntibagiraga ubahagararira mu nama z'ubutegetsi zashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi.

Abahutu ntibagiraga ubahagararira mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu.

Abana b'isuka, bene Gahutu, ntibagiraga uburenganzira bwerekeye ibya politiki, kuko ngo batashoboraga gutegeka kuko baremewe guhakwa.

Abahutu bazizwe n'ubuhake ntibagiraga uruhare na busa ku bucamanza, kuko ngo nta bwenge bwo guca imanza bagira.

Abana b'Abatutsi bari bihariye amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru, umuhutu agasora ariko umwana we agahaze mu mashuri. Imtura ntutsi nizo zari zihariye amashuri n'ibikingi kandi Gahutu ari we wakomeze ishyamba.

Abatutsi se ko bari bamaze kwikubira ubutegetsi n'amasoko yose y'ubukire bw'igihugu. Umuhutu wumukama-suka we yari asigaye ku ki? icyo yari asigaye na we yihariye ni bwa buhanya bwavuzwe na Villon na Grégoire ngo « Abatutsi umunani wabo ni imvune n'ubwinazi ».

Ngiyoye icyo ibyo bigapanyare byakoze. Ubu biribuka juru byahanyweho, umujinya wabiterura bikaturega icyaha byakoze: politiki y'insumbanyamoko. Reka turebe niba ikirego cyabo gifite ishingiro.

Ubutegetsi buriho ubu bwanga uburyamirane mu moko.

Ushaka kumenya politiki y'igihugu, agomba kwitegereza ingingo z'ingenzi zizingiyeye mu Itegeko-Nshinga ryacyo. Tumaze kubona ko ubwiru bwa Leta ntutsi yari ishingiyeye ku muco wa gihake bwemezaga ko Gatutsi yaremewe kuruta Gahutu; ariko icyo uroye Itegeko-Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda, ryaturutse ku ntambara ahayoboyi babonera abaturage barwanye bakotanyiriza kwishyira ukizana, ubudasumbana n'ubvandimwe bw'Abanyarwanda bose, usanga ryibanda cyane cyane ku ngingo ziteye nk'izi:

« Umuntu ni inzira-karengane ku giti cyo. Arengerwa na Leta.

Umuntu wese afite ububasha bwo kugaragaza imimerere ye n'ibitekerezo bye, apfa gusa kutagira uwo arenganya, cyangwa se ngo ahungabanye umudendezo wa rubanda no kudaca ku byo amategeko Abaturage hose bafite uburenganzira bwo kureshya imbere y'itegeko bidashingiyeye ku nkomoko, ku bwoko, ku ibara ry'umuntu, ku

gitsina cyangwa idini.

Ubwizimbe bushingiye ku moko buraciwe, kandi ntibushobora gusubizwaho.

Nta n'ubundi busaba, ubwo ari bwo bwose, bushobora gushyirwaho. Umuco wose wa kija uraciwe, ntushobora no gusubizwaho. Umuntu wese afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho, bwo kwishyira akizana, bwo kudahohoterwa ».

Ntibabura ugira ati: imvugo si yo ngiro, kuko ibyanditse mu Itegeko-Nshinga bitabuza Leta ya Kayibanda kugira ubwoko yanga no gushaka gutsemba igitsina-tutsi Reka turebe ishingiro ry'icyo kirego.

Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kugarura mu gihugu cye impunzi z'Abatutsi 178.000 nyuma y'imidugararo yabanjirije ubwigenge n'abandi 9.600 bari bahunze itera ry'inyenzi rihuruka, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa?

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kurengera impunzi ukaziha ibizitunga by'amoko yose ugereranyije ububabara bwazo n'ubukungu Leta ifite nk'uko byagenze mu gihe gishize ni ko gutsemba impunzi z'Abatutsi abategetsi ba Repubulika y'u Rwanda baregwa?

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gutegeka rubanda rw'Abahutu rwo mu mico kubakira Abatutsi hutihuti basenyewe na bene wabo b'inyenzi n'ibitso byazo ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Abahutu bavugwa?

Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gukuraho uburyamirane bw'abaturage bwari bwashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bwa karande ku gihe cy'ubuhake ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi turegwa? Na none umwana wihariye imbehe icyo bamubwiye gusangira n'abandi abona ko bamwishe.

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kudendeza amahoro abantu bakishyira bakizana, gutuma abantu bose babona uruhare rubakwiye, kubahiriza ubvandimwe bw'abaturage hose utibanze ku kantu aka n'aka, bikamara umwaka n'igice kuva aho ubwigenge bugereye mu gihugu; gukomeza ayo matwara igihe cyose Leta-Ndundi itashyigikiye inyenzi ngo izitere inkunga yo kwiyahura zibeshya ngo ziratera, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa?

Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gutwara ba burugumesitiri mu Batutsi, gushyiraho abakozi bakuru n'abato ba Leta,

b'Abatutsi, gusanga mu biro bya Leta abakozi b'Abatutsi bageze kuri 40% by'abakozi bose b'igihugu kandi Abatutsi bose batarenga 14% by'abaturage bose ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi? Ubwo tugawa kuba twarahaye akazi Abatutsi bangana batyo kandi twarabatsinze, ahari aho iyo tuburukana ububashyirira aho bari baradushyize niho twajyaga gushimirwa ko tudashyirira kubatsemba.

Ushaka inkya aryama nka zo...

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Uwanga Abatutsi abanga ate?

Kureba ubuyobozi bw'Ubushinja-cyaha ukabushinje Porokireri w'Ikirenga w'Umutsi ngo aje ashikiriza umugome wese abacamanza b'u Rwanda bagwiriyemo Abatutsi, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa? Leta y'u Rwanda yibasiye inyoko-ntutsi, iteranya amoko ngo Abatutsi bashire maze irarenga ireba Umucamanza w'Ikirenga w'Umutsi iba ari we ishingira kuyobora abagenewe guhanisha abaciye kuri iri tegeko ryashyirirweho kurwanya abateranya amoko ngo:

«Umuntu wese uzagaragaraho ko yanze undi amuhora ubwoko cyangwa inzira akomokamo, cyangwa se uzagira icyo akora gishobora gutera bene izo nzangano z'amoko azahanishwa gufungwa iminsi yiva ku kwezi ikagera ku mwaka n'ihazabu itarenga amafaranga 3.000 cyangwa se kimwe muri ibyo bihano?»

Ushaka inkya aryama nka zo...

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Leta ya Repubulika yatoye Abatutsi ishyira mu bapoliisi, itora abandi ishyira mu basirikari, umwe muri bo amaze kugororerwa kuba kapiteni ukurikira komanda w'Ingabo z'igihugu kubera ubutwari yerekanye ahinda ibitero bya gatutsi-nyenzi. Ubwo se Leta ya Repubulika ni ko yashatse kumara Abatutsi ibicisha bene wabo bari mu bapoliisi n'abasirikari?

Ushaka inkya aryama nka zo...

Leta ya KAYIBANDA yashatse ite gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi kandi ikarenga yajya kuyihera uruburako amashuri ikarukurira inyuma?

Mu mashuri yisumbuye hari Abatutsi 30% n'Abahutu 70%; mu mashuri makuru hari Abatutsi 70% n'Abahutu 30%; nyamara mu baturage bose Abatutsi ni 14% ku Bahutu 85%. Umva ako karengane!

Yenda hari uwagira ati: ubwinshi bw'Abatutsi mu mashuri makuru babuhawe n'uko atari Leta y'u Rwanda itegeka ayo mashuri. Namubwira ko hafi ya bose muri abo banyeshuri, bishyurirwa n'amafaranga ya Repubulika cyangwa ayo Repubulika ihabwa n'intwererano ihabwa nibihugu biyikunda.

Nabasubiza ko Universiti y'u Rwanda yatangiye i Butare (ahahozwe hitwa Astrida) mu kwa cumi k'umwaka ushize yangiranye

abanyeshuri 51, barimo Abahutu 25 n'Abatutsi 26. Ng'uko uko Repubulika y'u Rwanda isumbanywe amoko.

Ingero zimeze nk'izo ntizigira umubare. Ariko ubwo bufungura bwa kibyezi bubabwirira aho guhora Leta n'abaturage b'u Rwanda bagira ntibabushimwa. Ahubwo abagiriwe icyo neza ni bo babitura kubabeshyera, kubateza urubwa no kubagambanira.

Nyir'amatwi yo kumva arumve: urengera inyenzi ntazibagirwe ko inyiturano azitezeho ari bene icyo. Inkoni ikubise mukeba uyirenza urugo.

VII. REKA DUSOZE TUREBA UKO UMUNTU YATEGANYIRIZA IMINSI IZAZA.

Umaze kumva ibi na we yareba icyo akwiye kubikuramo. Dore jye uko mbibona:

Mu minsi yashize, mu Rwanda habaye imidugararo ibabaje kandi ikomeye, itewe n'ibitero by'inyenzi-ntutsi. Abihaye kubivuga no kubisobanura babivuze uko bitari, bakabyoshywamo n'inyota bafitiye amakuru atangaje; maze ba bahanga mu itera ry'impagarara bakaboneraho kugira ngo bakurikize ya nzira y'uburumira-habiri, bagashuka amahanga atazi imvaho kugira ngo bayakamishe, bakaba intumwa z'inkwiza-binyoma kandi no kuba barariye isoni bikabaha uburenganzira bwo kuvuga icyo babonye cyose cyatuma bemerwa n'ababumva.

Ubu ngubu imidugararo yarashosheje. Tubikesha umwete n'ingoga abategetsi ba Repubulika babishyizemo. Ariko abagome nyabo, ba nyirabayazana, abatware b'izo nyenzi bashyigikiye na Leta y'i Burundi, barakomeza kwamamaza mu mahanga ko Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda bari mu kaga, kugira ngo nibabona ayo mahanga abitaye babone icyo bitsitsaho bajya kongera guteza indi ntambara ubu bategurira i Burundi cyangwa ahandi. Iyo nzira yose kandi intwara yabo ni ubugambo, ni impuha ni inguma y'ikinyoma.

Aho rero ni ho umuntu wese wavutse neza, ukunda ubutabera, agakunda amahoro no kunga abantu aho kubateranya, akwiye kureba uko iminsi izaza ikwiye guteganyirizwa. Abapfuye twese turabaririra, ariko icyo si impamvu yo kuzabakurikiza abandi. Niba amahanga rero akomeje gushukwa akarengera ubugome bw'abo bagira-nabi, aho kubacamura nk'abamaze kubamenya bose, byatuma iminsi izaza yarushaho kuba mibi, kuko ubabariye abagome aba abaye nk'uboshya kongera kubutsa icyo midugararo iduteye intimba twese.

Ikiruta ku muntu ukunda Abatutsi by'ukuri, ni ugushyirira inzira yo gutambamira ubwo bunyenzu ababyeyi bagize indahiro. Kandi rero icyo nzira ni imwe rukumbi: ni ukurangiza rwose ikibazo cy'izo mpunzi z'Abatutsi, kugira ngo zibone aho zitura

kandi zitunganyirwe. Aho batura ni habiri bakwihitiramo: hari ukugaruka mu Rwanda, ariko bamaze kuva ku izima batazanywe no kurugaruka umuheto; hari se kubatuzza burundu mu bindi bihugu by'Afurika, ahategereye u Rwanda, ahantu batabona uburyo -bwo kongera kuza kurwiyahuraho.

Uwo muti — wo kubagarura mu Rwanda mu mahoro cyangwa kubatuzza mu mahanga burundu — waba nyawo habonetse ibintu bibiri nakwita simusiga:

- icya mbere ni uko Leta y'i Burundi yareka kubafasha no kuboshya ibaha aho bigira imyitoto yo kurwana cyangwa ibatiza inzira zo kwamamaza ibinyoma byabo;

- icya kabiri ni ugutambamira abatware babo mu burara bafite bwahimbye ubwo bunyenzu kandi bukaba bukomeza gushuka impunzi. Bazihinduye ingabo yabo ya politiki kuko ari yo yonyine basigaranye, bazibuzza kugira undi muti bemera wabavura akaga barimo, atari ugusubira ku butegetsi bya kiboko. Baribarira bibeshya. Aho demokarasi yageze ikahatsimburwa n'ubuhake ni hehe mu Rwanda hakaba aha kabiri?

Igihe cyose Abatutsi bataranywe uwo muti wo kubarutsa ubunyenzi, ibyo bitero by'inyenzi bizahora ari Rwamukire yo gutsemba Abatutsi, yo guhungabanya amahoro no kubuza amoko atuye i Rwanda kuzagira ubwo yumvikana. Ariko ubwo bunyenzu buramutse buvanyweho ubutagaruka, abategetsi ba Repubulika bakwereka amahanga imihigo yabo yo kuboneza mu Rwanda ubwumvikane butagira amakemwa bw'amoko yose arutuye.

Sinarangiza ntasabye abashinzwe kumenyesha rubanda amakuru, gukurikiza amatwara basanganywe yo gushyirira imbere amahoro mu bantu, bagaha u Rwanda umusanzu wo gutsemba ubunyenzi busigaye ari bwo nkomyi ibuza Abahutu n'Abatutsi gusabana batishishana.

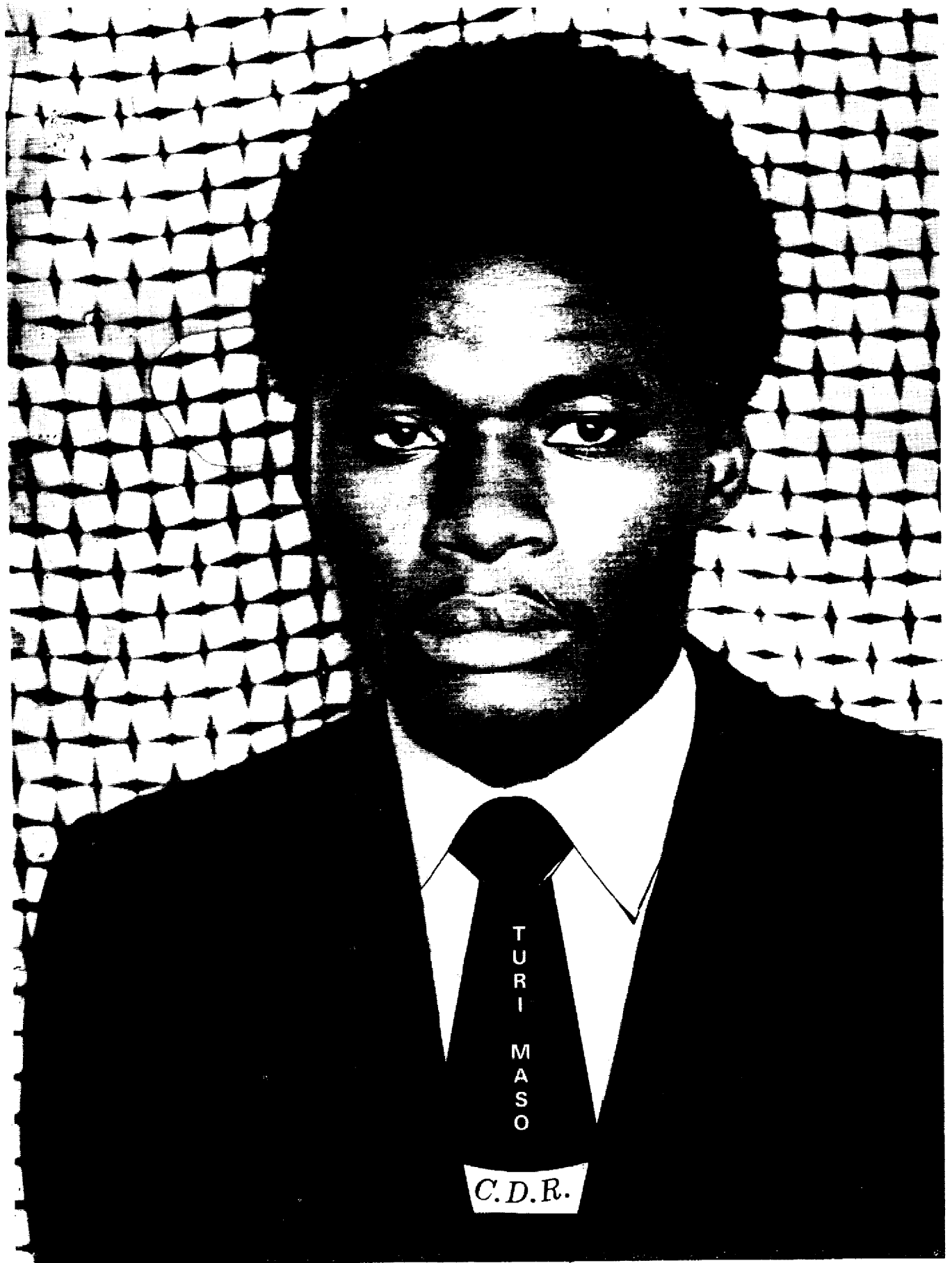
Niba ibyo amahanga yabeshywe ku itera ry'inyenzi rihuruka bikomeje gutuma ayo mahanga azibabarira, akaba yazitiza imigabo yo kongera kuza kwiyahura, bizagira inkurikira iteye ubwoba ikazazihama hamwe n'abazoshya. Naho nibituma icyo nkeke y'ubwiyahuzi bw'impunzi ishira burundu, bizaba bigaruriye Abanyarwanda bose, cyane cyane Abatutsi, amahoro atazagira ikiyahungabanya. Ayo marere yo gushyirira intambara agifitwe n'Abatutsi b'impunzi ni yo nenge nyina w'izindi, ibuza abantu kwishyirira bakizana, igakanga ubudashyamba n'umuco wa kivandimwe Abanyarwanda bahuje n'Abafaransa.

Parisi, ku wa 3 marsi 1964

Perezida w'Inteko Nkuru y'Amategeko,
Anastase MAKUZA.

Sumarti ABaballah

KA02 1756



**«TUZEMERA DUFUNGWE, TWEMERE TUMENE AMARASO
YACU ARIKO TURENGERE INYUNGU Z'ABAHUTU»
NGEZE H.**