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KANGURA

N° 64 Du 15 au 30 Novembre 1994
IMPRIME A NAIROBI PAR NAIROBI PRINTER
Prix Zaïre 3.000NZ; Tanzanie, Kenya 3$; Burundi 1.000 Fbu

IJWI RIGAMIJE CUCYURA IMPUNZI Z'ABANYARWANDA

UBWICANYI BWABAYE MU RWANDA NTA HANDI BWABAYE KW'ISI NTA N'AHANDI BUZABA USIBYE MU RWANDA UBUTAHA.

Nyuma yisesengura rirambuye twakoze, ubu turagira ngo twungurane ibitekerezo by'ukuntu mu Rwanda byamera Kagame aramutse apfuye, cyangwa se Bizimungu, Twagiramungu baramutse bapfuye, tudasize n'uko byagendekera abahutu baba mu Rwanda turamutse duteye, intambara yo kubohhoza u Rwanda.

Abahutu bari mu Rwanda bamererwa bate, basigaye bate. Maze iminsi nganira n'abantu benshi, bamwe bagira bati umunsi twateye n'abahutu bari mu Rwanda nta n'umwe uzasigara. Abandi bati bariya bahutu bagombye kudufasha gutegura igitero cyo kubohoza igihugu nkuko abatutsi bafashije bene wabo. Mu by'ukuri abahutu bagombye kumva ko niba bafite ingorane ko bazisangiye n'abandi baba abari mu Rwanda. Baba abari hanze y'igihugu. Ndetse abahutu bari mu Rwanda nibo bafite ingorane kuturusha twebwe turi hanze. Ntibyumvikana rero ukuntu twakwibaza icyo tuzabatwara umunsi twaje, ibyo rwose ni ubwenge buke cyane.

Abo bagenzi bacu basigaye kubera impamvu zinyuranye, nibo bakeneye ko tubabohoza. Nibo bicwa urubozo buri munsi, nibo bamburwa, ntibagira kirengera, nibo bahanganye n'umututsi iyo mu Rwanda, nibo bakeneye ko dutera vuba kugira ngo tubaheshe ijambo bari bafite, bakeneye indi revolisiyo nkiyo muri 1959, none wowe wibaza ngo nidutera ntibazasigara, ahubwo wowe utekereza utyo niba utisubiyeho byakurangiranye, uri inyenzi mu zindi. Urwana ku nyungu z'abahutu arwana kuza bose. Iyo usesenguye ayo magambo usanga abahutu babivuga batyo bahigira bene wabo ari babandi baguzwe n'inkotanyi cyangwa se baguye mu mutego wazo batabizi. None se wowe uri hanze, n'umuhutu uri mu gihugu ninde uri ku rugamba, ninde se ubabaye ? Ninde utagira ijambo se ? Subiza amaso inyuma maze ugerageze kumenya ubwenge dore ko ubishatse byakorohera.

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1. Ni iki dusaba abahutu bari mu Rwanda ?
2. Ntawe uzarya umutungo ya nsahuye ngo awuheze, niyo yajya he ?
3. Amacakubiri mu batutsi bari mu Rwanda.
4. Abahutu ntibagomba kwiheba vuba aha turabohoza igihugu cyacu.

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EDITORIAL

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Ngaho tekereza, Kangura iguhaye aho uhera utekereza. Ese rya banga Kangura yagusabye kugira ubushize, ubu wararigize ? Ese mu bitekerezo wari ufite ubu hari icyo nkunganiyeho mu kugukosora ? Ngaho bitekereze neza.

NI IKI DUSABA ABAHUTU BARI MU RWANDA.

Akababaro kanyu ubu turakazi, ni muhumure vuba aha turaza kubabohoza. Ngira ngo mwabonye ko Runyenzi abicira ubusa, abaziza ko muri abahutu, ngo muri interahamwe, impuza mugambi. Ntimukagira isoni zo kubazo, ahubwo nimutere hamwe koko, muhuze umugambi aho muri mumenye uwo mwanzi muri kumwe, mudufashe gutegura amayira tuzakoresha umunsi twaje kubabohoza.

Nimwumva ngo twateye muzave mu mujyi mujye mu cyaro cyangwa ku dusozi, muturamye, ntimuzahunge ikivunge kuko runyenzi yabicira hamwe. Nimugera ku dusozi muzashinge ibirindiro kuko inyenzi ari nkeya ku buryo zitakwira kuri buri nzu cyangwa ngo zikwire kuri buri musozi. Uburyo mwigishijwe bwo kurwanya inyenzi murabuzi kuva 1959 uko byagenze murakuzi. Ntituzatinda kubagerahо muhumure.

Ntimuzibeshye ngo muhunze igihiriri nkuko twahunze ubushize. Impamvu twahunze kuriya nuko twari tugaragiwe n'ingabo zacu zaturindaga. Mwebwe rero ubu muri hamwe n'umwanzi ugamije kubarimbura, mwibuke ijambo Kagame ahora avuga ngo umunsi twateye ngo azihimura akemure ikibazo burundu, nta kindi aba avuga usibye kurimbura abahutu. Nimushikame mushakishe intwaro zishoboka, muzirwaneho mukoresheje uburyo twababwiye. Kubagerahо ntibizatugora kuko ubu byose byarangiye kwigwa n'ababishinzwe, ahubwo muzadufashe ntihagire inyenzi zongera guhunga kuko iyo zihunze zidutera ibibazo.

Nyuma y'imyaka mirongo itatu, iminsi umuhutu akomeza kumara mu mahanga abona ko ntacyo apfana n'umututsi. Mwese mubana nawe iyo mu Rwanda mubibona mute ?

Ngeze Hassan.

ABAHUTU NTIBAGOMBA KWIHEBA

IBYABAYE SI UBWA MBERE BIBA

Ku itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1994, abahutu bari kwizihiza imyaka 35 "bibohoje", bakoze Révolution yo muri 59. Aho gukora umunsi mukuru, ahubwo bari mu gahinda, bababaye, kubera ababo, kubera ibyabo, kubera Révolution yabo, inyenzi zashoboye gusenya.

Nyamara nubwo ubu ari inyenzi zifite u Rwanda,

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abahutu ntibagomba kwiheba. Hari impamvu eshatu:

- Iya mbere ni uko mu mateka y'isi, ntabwo ari ubwa mbere haba icyo bise "Contre-Révolution" cyangwa **"Restauration"**. Urugero nko mu Bufaransa, mu mwaka wa 1789, rubanda nyamwinshi yarahagurutse yigizayo umwami n'ubutegetsi **bwakandamizaga**. Nyamara hashize imyaka 25 bakoze révolution, mu w'i 1816, abafaransa bongeye gutegekwa n'umwami, kubera ko umwe mu **"buzukuru"** bo mu muryango w'umwami wari wavuyeho, ashyigikiwe n'amahanga, yari yashoboye gusubira ku ngoma. Nicyo bise **"Restauration"**. Nyamara uwo mwami ntiyamaze kabiri. Nkuko tubizi, ubu mu Bufaransa nta mwami uhaba. Rubanda nyamwinshi yarongeye irahaguruka, yirukana umwami burundu mu w'i 1848. Abahutu rero nabo mu Rwanda, nyuma y'imyaka 34 n'igice bafite ubutegetsi, barabubuze. Ariko ntibivuga ko byarangiye. Abahutu batsinzwe n'umurwano, ariko ntibatsinzwe intambara (nous avons perdu une bataille, mais nous gagnerons la guerre).

- Impamvu ya kabiri abahutu bagomba kugira icyizere: nuko FPR - INYENZI yafashe igihugu nta baturage. Baje bavuga ngo baje "kubohora" abaturage, abaturage **"batoresha ibirenge"**. Aho gutegekwa n'inyenzi, bahisemo guhunga. Inyenzi zigwa mu kantu. Abazungu bari barabeshwe amaso arafunguka. Kubera ko abayoboke b'inyenzi ar bake, FPR ntizashobora kuyobora igihugu. Kandi igihugu ni abaturage. Umunsi abahutu bazaba bamaze kwiruhutsa umunaniro wo guhunga, bazataha kandi bafate ubutegetsi.

- Impamvu ya gatatu, nuko abahutu bafute ubushake n'ubushobozi bwo gutaha ku ngufu. Ntibibagiwe ingoma-ntusi ya mbere ya 1959. Ntibibagiwe ibyiza bya Révolution. Babona ukuntu inyenzi z'i Burundi zifata abahutu baho. Bahunganye ibikoresho, abanyabwenge, abatekinisiye. Amahanga atangiye kumva ikibazo. FPR iriho irabafasha, igiye yica umusubizo, bigatuma n'abaturage bibeshyaga bayanga. Muri FPR ubwayo, harimo ibice bishyamiranye.

Icyo ni ikimenyetso cyuko ibintu bitazatinda kujya mu buryo. Ariko rero nanone abahutu ntibagomba **"kwirara"**. Ibintu ntibizikora. Bazisubiza ubutegetsi buyushye akuya. Bagomba kwitegura intambara igomba gukorwa ku buryo bune:

- Uburyo bwa mbere ni ubwa politike. Abahutu (ndetse

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n'abatutsi batemera FPR, kandi ni bensi) bagomba gushyira hamwe. Bakemeza ingingo-rmezo y'umugambi bashaka kugeraho. Bakemeza uko u Rwanda ruzamera umunsi rwasubijwe "Bene-rwo". Aha nasaba ko batagomba kwitiranya umwanzi n'utari umwanzi. Umwanzi ni inyenzi yica, ishyigikiye ingoma ya cyami no guhaka abahutu n'abandi bose batavuga rumwe nayo. Tugomba no kugira politike yo "kubohoza" inyenzi n'abagaragu bazo batacyemera ibitekerezo bya Kagame. Maze abo tubohoje tukabasaba gukorera inyungu za rubanda.

- Uburyo bwa kabiri ni ukumenya kwegera amahanga, tukayasobanurira neza icyo tugamije. Bagomba gusobanukirwa ko turwana ku burenganzira bw'abaturage, ko dushaka demokarasi ishyingiye ku matora. Nitumara kwemeza amahangaicyo dushaka, azadufasha kugera ku migambi yacu vuba.

- Uburyo bwa gatatu ni ibinyamakuru. Abantu bose, baba abaturage bo hagati mu Rwanda, baba impunzi, baba abaturage bo mu bindi bihugu, cyane cyane biriya by'ibihangange, bagomba kumenyeshwa intambara yacu n'imigambi dushaka kugeraho. Bazabimenyeshwa n'ibinya-makuru by'ubwo bwose (Radio, Ibinyamakuru byandikwa, Télévision, n'ibindi). irumvikana ko tugomba kwita cyane kuri ubwo buryo, kuko iyo abantu batazi impamvu n'imigambi y'intambara iriho iba, bakeka ko ari "itera bwoba" (terrorisme), bakarirwanya.

- Uburyo bwa kane, ni intambara y'amasasu, nubwo amasasu atariyo akora yonyine. Intambara y'amasasu ntabwo ikorwa uko ubonye kwose. Intambara y'amasasu ikorwa kugirango abarwana bumvishe ibitekerezo bene kuvunira ibiti mu matwi (aha ni inyenzi) badashaka kwumva. Intambara y'amasasu iba ifite umugambi wo kwunganira abanyepolitiki kugera ku migambi ya Politike abantu baba barwanira.

Twere kwiheba, ahubwo dushyire hamwe turebe uko twakwisubiza u Rwanda rwacu.

NKUNDURWANDA.

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BA KAGME BAVUYE MU RUGANO, BISHYIRA HANZE

MU RWANDA ABANYAMAKURU BARASOBANYA N'ABANYAPOLITIKI

Kuva umuryango w'abatutsi FPR wabaho, itangazamakuru ryawo ryabaye gusa icengezamatwara. Ntabwo iryo tangazamakuru ryigeze rihangana n'ukuri kw'abanyarwanda. Abatareba kure bigatuma bitiranya imigambi ya FPR n'ibindi bibazo u Rwanda rwari rusanganywe. Ni muri urwo rwego dusangamo ba bandi bose bibwiragako impundu zizavuga mu gihe uwari Prezida Habyarimana azaba yavuyeho. Nyamara siko byagenze. Ikibabaje kandi, benshi cyane mu bari baratwawe na propagande ya FPR kuva mu mwaka w'i 1991 kugera mu mpera z'i 1993 ubu ni impunzi.

Iyo hari impunzi ibuze ikiyifasha guta igihe, ikibukako hari Radio-Rugano iyisetsa mu gusobanya, irayifungura. Muri iyo Radio niho umuntu yumva neza ko icengezamatwara ryirengagiza ukuri ritangiye kunanirana.

Kuri iyo Radio ujya kwumva ngo ingabo z'igihugu nshyashya zifite discipline: ntizisahura, ntizifata abagore ku ngufu, ntizambura amamodoka y'abandi. Hashira umwanya Kagame akiha ijambo, agasaba inyenzi ze guhagurukira ubujura, akiyama abasirikari bakomeje guhirika amamodoka y'abandi, yajya guhishira umujura w'igitsina, akamusaba kwirinda cya cyago.

Ukuri kugomba kugaragara kuko umututstsi uzwi na Kagame iyo acakiranye n'inkotanyi y'umuhutu iyo itamwishe imwambura utwo afite. Iyo Kagame abimenye azinduka yiyama. N'umuhutu wambuwa n'inkotanyi y'umututsi ajya gutakira Kanyarengwe. Mwibuke ijambo yavugiye kuri Gereza ya Ruhengeri. Imbere y'uko kuri, umunyamakuru abura uburyo yambika impyisi **"FPR"** uruhu rw'intama. Ibyo byose kandi amahanga arabibona.

AMAHANGA MU KIBAZO CY'U RWANDA.

Hose intero ni imwe: Kugira ngo u Rwanda tugire inkunga turutera mu kurusana impunzi zose zigomba gutaha. Icyo gitekerezo cyaje gite? Cyazanywe ni uko abari baragose n'ikinyoma cya FPR batangiye kubona neza uko ibintu biteye. Mu by'ukuri abazungu bo babashije kugera aho impunzi z'abanyarwanda ziri, basanze ari abahutu baturutse mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda. Muri abo bahutu, abo FPR ishobora kuba yita abere ni bo benshi. Kuvugako Interahamwe hari uwo zibuza gutaha byo ni ikinyoma cy'iz'amarere. Uziko afite ibyo ahuriyeho n'inkotanyi arataha rwose. Naho uwo badafitanye amabanga agasigara. Ahubwo kudakunda ubutegetsi bwa FPR, runyenzi agomba kumva ko ari uburenganzira bw'abahutu b'impunzi.

Ibyo byose hari ababirigi batari bake kandi bafite imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi bamaze kubyumva. Kubona rero

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umubirigi atangiye kuruka ibifutero by'inyenzi, ukuri kugiye gutsinda. Hari abiyemeje kwiga urubanza inyenzi zihora ziririmba maze bakazaburanira abazaba barezwe nta gihembo bategereje. Hari ishyirahamwe ry'Ababirigi ryohereje abantu baryo mu Rwanda kugira ngo bakore ubushakashatsi ku bwicanyi bwa FPR.

Prezida a Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika we, uko yagendaga arushaho kubona ikinyoma cy'abatutsi niko yarushagaho gukorwa n'ikimwaro, kugeza ubwo ishyaka rye ritsindiwe mu y'abadepite. Amaze kubonako politiki yo muri Afurika imugaritse, yafashe ijambo ati **"amakosa yanjye ndayemera"**. Yabikoze kubera ko ari we watsindishije ishyaka rye. Bill Clinton n'ubwo impunzi zitamurambirijeho, byibura ikibazo cy'u Rwanda cyamugaragaje nk'umwana w'igihubutsi ugomba kwitonda byanga bikunda.

Abafaransa bo bari basanzwe bazi ikibazo cy'Abanyarwanda. Nta na rimwe bigeze bacyirengagiza. Politiki bakorera u Rwanda ikorwa n'igihugu, si umuntu ku giti cye nk'uko abambari ba FPR babikeka. Ibishoboka byose Abafransa bazabikora kugira ngo ARUSHA yemerwe. Imiryango yose U Bufransa butangamo imari igenewe gufasha ibindi bihugu imaze kumva umugambi w'Abafransa. Muri make, iyo miryango, ibisabwe n'u Bufransa, igomba guhagarika ubutwererane bwayo n'u Rwanda mu gihe abahutu batarataha.

Muri Afurika yo hagati u Rwanda rwari mu bihugu bifata umurongo wa mbere mu guhahirana n'Ubuyapani.
Abaguraga amamodoka, amapikipiki, amaradiyo n'ibindi biturutse mu Buyapani ni abahutu. Bamaze guhunga rero, umuyapani ntiyahuye nk'Umunyamerika, ahubwo yarabanje arashishoza, none nawe yaje kwirebera aho ukuri gurereye. Impunzi numva zihwihwisa ngo umuyapani tuzongera tumugezeho icyashara. Cyakora sinzi ibiba byihishe inyuma y'ayo magambo.

Bizimungu Pasteur, ubwo yihaga kuzindukira mu gihugu cya Koweti ngo agiye kubohoza impano icyo gihugu cyari cyaremereye u Rwanda, abarabu bahise bamubwirako ari imari y'abahutu, ko nta n'ubundi butwererane bazakorana n'u Rwanda benerwo bakiri hanze. Icyatangaje abarabu ni uko bohererej abanyeshuri b'abanyarwanda biga muri icyo gihugu **"autobus"** yo kubafata ngo bajye kwakira Prezida wabo, bagahita babasubiza bati **"Prezida wacu aho ari turahazi"**.

Jacques TURANA.

KOKO UBWENGE BUZA UBUJIJI BUHISE.

Kuva intambara yo mu Rwanda yatangira, ndetse na mbere yayo, umuhutu ntabwo yumvaga akamaro k'itangazama-

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kuru mu kuvuguruza ibinyoma inyenzi-inkotanyi zakwizaga mu mahanga no mu gihugu cyacu.

Bagiye kwibuka akagozi kabageze mu ngoto, nta mu nyamahanga n'umwe ubacira akari urutega. Intambara itangira muri 90, yasanze abahutu bataramenya itangazamakuru, ari abategetsi bo hejuru, abasivili ndetse n'abasirikare, bose batinyaga abanyamakuru. Inkotanyi zavuga zonyine bakavuza induru ngo abatutsi bazi gucengera, kandi batarusha abahutu ubwenge.

Amashyaka menshi yaje mu Rwanda azana n'ibinyamakuru; hafi buri shyaka ryari rifite ikinyamakuru cya "publicité". Ariko byose byatinyaga ukuri bikabeshya. Ibyo bikagaraza ko aho kuba urubuga abantu batavuga rumwe bunguraniramo, itangazamakuru ryacu ryari ryarabyo ikotaniro ry'abanyapolitiki. Tubyite imihini mishya. Ariko se, kuki barwanyaga abashaka kuvuga neza ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Dore nk'ubu ugira utya ukumva radio "La Voix de l'Amérique" iti "LE POUVOIR DE KIGALI DOMINE PAR LA MINORITE TUTSI" (Ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bw'i Kigali), radio "UJERMANI" iti "vita vya wahutu walio wingi na watusi walio wachache" (intambara y'abahutu benshi n'abatutsi bake mu Rwanda). Ibyo bikatwereka ko kuva muri iyi minsi ya vuba abahutu bumvise ko bagomba gukorana cyane n'itangazamakru, buri kanya, kugirango ibitekerezo byabo bisohoke kandi byumvi-kane. None se kuva aho abate-getsi bacu batinyukiye abanyamakuru, siho inkotanyi zatangiye guta ibaba aho twari twaritaye. Kuki umuzungu wemeraga ko intambara y'u Rwanda ari iya politiki gusa, kuko ariko umututsi yamubwiye, asigaye yemera ko ari iy'amoko: "Abahutu benshi n'abatutsi bake"? Kuki mbere batemeraga ko inkotanyi zica ubu bakaba basigaye babyemera? Ni uko abahutu bakangutse bakereka abo bose ububi bw'inyenzi. Noneho abazungu basigaye birirwa bacunga ikibi zakora; kuko bazimenye.

Igikorwa mwakoze ni ingirakamaro; bizarushaho kuryoha ariko nidukomeza gushyigikira itangazamakuru nyaryo, itangazamakuru risobanura, ejo cyangwa ejobundi twaratashye mu Rwanda. Ibyo bizashoboka nidutaha twiyemeje kutongera kurenganya uwariwe wese, cyane cyane abanyamakuru batavuze ukuri.

NGABIDASUNIKWA Pablo

IMPANURO KU BAHUTU BARI MU RWANDA.

Nkuko twabivuze ubu mu Rwanda heranuka uruntu runtu. Hari abatutsi bitangiriye intambara bitaga ko ari iyo kubohoza mwene gatutsi; abo niba bandi bari bayobowe na Fred RWIGEMA. Iyo adapfa agatsinda nta muhutu wari kurangwa muri guverinoma ye; nibo bari gufata imyanya yose ikomeye y'igihugu. Prezidansi, minisiteri y'intebe n'ibindi. Icyo gihe cya Rwigema kibonekamo abatutsi benshi baba

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extrémistes nka ba Tito RUTAREMARA. Ntibumva icyo KANYARENGWE yaje kubamarira nibyo yabakoreye muri za 1959 - 1973, ngo mbese kwaba ari ukumuhembera ibyo yakoze yica urubozo ba se, na ba sekuru ! Ngo mbese Pasteur Bizimungu wishe abatutsi benshi muri za 1973. Ngo kumuha uriya mwanya ni ukumuhembera ibyo yakoze ari muri Kaminuza ? Ngo ntibumva ukuntu bariya bantu bashyizwe muri buriya buyobozi nkaho zo zitagira abanyabwenge. Kuri Twagiramungu baravuga bati "igihembo yadusabye n'amafranga ngo yarayahawe mbere yuko intambara irangira ndetse baramushinja ko ari umwe mu bicishije abatutsi mu Rwanda mu mezi ashize ngo kubera ko yijeje inkotanyi ibitangaza azibwira ko Habyarimana apfuye ntakibazo byatera ko byamera nkuko byagenze kubwa Gatabazi na Bucyana". Icyo gice rero gihanganye n'icya Kagame we wifuzako abahutu bababereye udukingirzo babaha ku butegetsi.

NI IKI CYIHISHE INYUMA Y'IBYO BYOSE.

Iyo urebye neza usanga hari agatsiko gashaka kuzica Bizimungu maze bakabyitirira interahamwe ko ngo arizo zamwishe bityo Kagame agahita aba Prezida wa Repubulika. Ubwo Patrick Mazimpaka uwo abatutsi bemera ko ari umunyabwenge agahita aba Vice Prezida, ubwo ku buyobozi bw'igihugu hakaba abatutsi nkuko ka gatsiko ka ba Rutaremara kabyifuza. Birashoboka ko aho gupfa Bizimungu ko hapfa Kagame yishwe na bene wabo bamuziza ko arekeramo n'abahutu, bityo abatutsi bakadukira abahutu baba mu Rwanda bakica, babaziza ko ngo bishe Kagame. Ubwo ba Twagiramungu n'abandi bahutu bari muri iriya guverinoma bakicwa, maze inkotanyi zikaba zigeze ku mugambi wazo no gutegeka uko zibishaka nta rusaku rw'abahutu. Uko ibyo bice bishyamiranye natwe turabikurikirira hafi, kandi ntituzemera ko bigera iyo hose. Kiko vuba aha tuje gutahura no kubavana amata mu kanwa. ABUMVA MURABE MWUMVISE.

Ngeze Hassan.

MANE MANE YA BOUTROS GHALI MU NKAMBI Z'ABAHUTU.

Ryabara uwariraye ! Nawe uzaze wirebere, wiriwe, urare mu nkambi nibucya uzambwira ! Ngicyo igisubizo impunzi yose iri i MUGUNGA, KIBUMBA cyangwa BENACO izaguha, iyo ubajije amakuru yo mu nkambi.

Inkambi zose zirangwa muri iki gihe n'inzara nyinshi. Ya murvango dukesha kurya wagira ngo yadukoreye **"embargo"** (yaradukomanyirije). Ifu y ibigori ya buri munsi ntacyo yari idutwaye, ariko nayo ntayo; basigaye batanga nkeya ku buryo abantu bibaza amaherezo y'impunzi ako gafu ngakomeza kugabanuka.

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Agafu k'ibigori ni gake, nta n'udushyimbo tugaherekeza. Niyo duhari tuba duteye isoni. None se, iyo selire irimo abaturage 580 igahabwa ibiro 50 by'ifu y'ibigori n'ibiro 18 by'ibishyimbo, hari umwana n'umwe warya agahaga uwo mugoroba ? Buri muntu agabana amagarama 86 y'ifu n'amagarama atatu y'ibishyimbo. Birenze ubwenge. Bamwe rero bararebye basanga ayo magarama ntacyo amaze, maze buri munsi bamwe bagaharira abandi. Uyu munsi uduke twabonetse tukagabana bake bashobora kudushyira mu nkono tugahaza abana. Uti ese abasigaye babugenza bate ? Birumvikana ko batabeshwaho n'umwuka wera. Barakora. Barakora. Abatuye umugi wa Goma n'inkengero zawo mukunze kubona imitwaro y'inkwi iwumenekamo ku magare cyangwa ku mutwe; nibo bazitashya. Nka 90% ya ba karani ngufu bari hano i Goma ni abahutu b'impunzi. Abari ba maçon, aba aides, abakura amabuye, bose barashishikaye ku buryo iyo atagiye gufata ka **"mane mane"** k'abazungu, ajya ku karaka ke. Ni amaburakindi ariko, kuko utuzayire bakoreye, tuba ari duke cyane iyo hamaze kuvamo **"raporo ya ..."** . Ubwo busa busa ntacyo bumara ahanini, kuko iyo umwana arwaye inzara n'imirire mibi avurwa na byinshi. Mbese icyo cyo ni ikibazo.

Kubera ko abazungu benshi bahururiye choléra na macinya, ku buryo urwaye wese babanza kumugeragezaho imiti y'izo ndwara, ntibapima b'abandi ! Urahagera umeze nabi bagakora ku nda, bakareba mu maso, bakagupfunyikira imiti, bakaguha biscuits n'utuzi, ugataha. Za malariya, za amibe, za ... mbese wagira ngo izindi ndwara twari twejeje mu Rwanda twazisizeyo. Nyuma y'ibyo kandi ukumva bamwe mu bazungu bakorera inkotanyi ngo ntibashaka kongera kudufasha, ngo interahamwe zirabarembeje! IKINYOMA. None se, umuntu wirirwa yicira isazi ku jisho, yarwara inzara cyangwa ibindi bakamuvura macinya, yagira imbaraga zo kurwanya umuzungu wazindukiye ku meza ya HOTEL KARIBU ?

Muri make abahutu bo mu nkambi z'i Goma bamerewe nabi ku mpande zose. Ikintu kibarema agatima n'igihuha cyakwiriye mu bantu, ngo Général Bizimungu ari hafi kuducyura. Za radio mpuzamahanga zirabivuga, ndetse na radio Muhabura isigaye ibikerensa.

Ngayo amakuru yo mu nkambi z'abahutu. Ubuzima bwabo buhagaze ku busa. Moral bafite ishingiye ku bihuha gusa. Bizimungu, Général wacu arabe yumva ko tumugize MUSSA w'abahutu. Uko twavuze inzara n'indwara byo mu nkambi niko bimeze, ntabwo ari nka ya marira y'abatutsi. Umenye ahari ni dutinda ino ububabare bukarenga ubwenge bamwe baziyemeza kwambuka bakajya mu BUHAKE bwa FPR. Ni ukwitonda ariko kuko ngo hakurya ikiboko gikwiriye umuhutu cyashyizwe ku nkoni 20.

NGABIDASUNIKWA Pablo.

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ABANYARWANDA BAHUNZE INKOTANYI NI BENSHI CYANE.

Iyo umunyamahanga ageze mu nkambi z'impunzi z'abanyarwanda nko muri Zaïre (KATALE, KIBUMBA, MUGUNGA), TANZANIYA (BENACO, TEABAKISSA) ndetse n'i Burundi ikibazo cya mbere yibaza, ni ukuntu bahunze ari benshi ikontanyi kandi bakaba banga gutaha.

Uwashaka kutarondogora yavuga nk'umunyabyumba wabonye inkotanyi kuva muri 90: "UTAZI INKOTANYI ASANGIRA NAZO IKIGAGE", mbese nk'aho yakubwiye ati iyo inkotanyi zitarakubagira umwana cyangwa ngo zikubite uwawe agafuni ureba, ntiwemera ko ari abicanyi. Za Karama (Komini Muvumba), Rushaki (Komini Kiyombe), Kirambo (Komini Cyeru) inkotanyi zagiye zihicira abantu ku buryo budasanzwe ukaba wakeka ko haba hari ibyo ziterekera. Kuva muri 1990 rero, abantu bakutse umutima, bagenda bahunga uko inkotanyi ziyamira ngo "SONGA MBERE MPAKA NYAMIJOS", kugeza ejo bundi twambuka muri Zaïre, Tanzaniya n'ahandi.

NGO KUKI BANZE GUTAHA MU RWANDA ?

Kuvuga ibyo ni nko kubaza amenyo y'inkoko ureba umunwa. None se, ninde muntu wakuriye mu Mutara utazi ko intare iryana ? Ninde mwana w'uruhinja wokejwe n'igishirira akongera akaririra kugikoraho? NTAWE. Kubwira rero umunyarwanda w'iki gihe ngo nasubire mu Rwanda ni nko kumubwira ngo jya gupfa kandi urw'agashinyaguro.

Hari benshi abazungu bagiye bakoraho bati mwatashye ko mu Rwanda ari amahoro; bagasubiza bati:

1. FPR turayizi, ubutegetsi bw'igitugu yifuza ntitwabushobora. Bati ese ikintu cyiza kitari ukwica FPR yadukoreye kuva muri 1990 ni ikihe ?
2. Wakwizera ute umutekano wo muri kiriya gihugu gisa n'ikigaruriwe n'amabandi mu gihe imiryango y'abategetsi hafi ya yose bo mu nkotanyi iba mu mahanga.

- Twagiramungu Faustin, Minisitri w'intebe: umugore n'abana baba mu Bubirigi
- Marc Rugenera: Abana n'umugore baba i Nairobi muri Kenya.
- Mbere yuko Ndagijimana JMV wari Minafet wabo abatoroka, abantu be babaga i Bukavu.

Mu gihe abategetsi ubwabo batizeye umutekano wa bene wabo, bawizeza bate abantu nkatwe b'intarutsi, upfa, ugapfa nk'igikeri cyahuye n'isuka ? **Nibatureke** babanze bicunge **ubwabo** kuko ngo uburiye **mu** kwe ntako aba atagize.

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TURITWA ABICANYI BIDAKWIYE

Ikindi kibabaza impunzi z'abanyarwanda, nuko dukomeje guteshwa agaciro ngo turi abicanyi; ba "massacreurs". Ku buryo ubu umuhutu n'umwicanyi, nta tandukaniro. Ni agahomamunwa.

Yego abahutu twari benshi mu Rwanda. (abahutu 85% - abatutsi 14 % - abatwa 1 %) ariko ntabwo ariko twese twishe abatutsi. Uwakabya akavuga ko buri mututsi yishwe n'umuhutu umwe, ubwicanyi bwaregwa gusa abahutu 14 % . Uko byagenze, hari abasore bagiye bisasira akayabo, ku buryo abicanyi mu bahutu baba bake ! Inkotanyi n'abakunzi bazo bareke rero kutwita abicanyi twese kuko atari byo. Inkotanyi zireke gukora utulisiti twabo zicira urwo gupfa zihereye ku banyabwenge twahunganye. Ntabwo twakwemera kuba ingaruzwa muheto.

Ikindi kibabaje ni ukuntu imiryango mpuzamahanga ndetse n'ibihugu bimwe na bimwe byaguye mu mutego wa FPR, abahutu bose bakaba abicanyi, bikaba n'urwitwazo rwo kudafasha impunzi. BITEYE ISONI. Icyo batazi bose nuko abahutu bumva vuba kandi imbaraga zabo zikaba zarabaye POWER Nyayo.

AMACAKUBIRI MU BATUTSI BARI MU RWANDA.

Abatutsi bagira ubumwe. Ibyo nta muhutu utarabivuze. Ngo nta mututsi w'umukiga, nta mututsi w'umunyenduga. Byabaye indirimbo turayiririmba maze abatutsi aho bari baramwenyura.

Cyakora Runyenzi wo mu mahanga ntacyo banuvugagagho cyane kuko nta wari warabanye na we ngo amenye imico ye. Umututsi wo mu Rwanda ubu arahungetwa impande zose. Ku ruhande rw'abahutu, uwahasanyemo amacakubiri ni umututsi wagiraga ngo abone uko asarurira mu nduru. Ibyo byarabaye abasarura barasakirwa. Ubu mu buhungiro bene Sebahinzi aho bari hose bagomba guhinga imbuto imwe y'ubumwe. Urwiri rwa kiga na nduga aho ruri hose rukarandurwa. Ejo tutazataha ugasanga hari abasubiranyemo bapfuye ko bamwe buhungiro muri Tanzaniya abandi mur Zaïre, abandi mu Burundi cyangwa se mu kindi gihugu. Ntidushaka abahutu bazapfa ko bamwe mu buhungiro bari bafite ubushobozi bwo kwikodeshereza amazu no kwitunga abandi batunzwe n'ifashanyo, bakanarara muri burende.

Impamvu yo kubibutsa ubwo bumwe irahari. Ibyo tubona ku batutsi bamaze gutaha bikwiye kutubera isomo. Muri Jeune Afrique n° 1758 yo ku itariki 15 kugeza kuri 21 nzeri 1994, ku rupapuro rwa 22 Kagame aragira ati **"Mu Rwanda ubu ngubu nta vangura ry'uturere hagati ya Kiga na Nduga rigihari. Kandi iryo vangura ni ribi cyane kurusha iry'amoko".**

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Ibi yabwiye umunyamakuru ni ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa. Mu Rwanda hamaze kuvuka ivanguraturere rityaye, ribi cyane kurusha iryo akeka. Uturere bavangura umuntu yatwita baringa kuko mu Rwanda tutahaba.

Abatutsi baturutse muri Zaïre, muri Uganda, mu Burundi bararebana ay'ingwe. None se kwita umunyarwanda usubiye mu gihugu cye ngo ni umurundi, umuganda se, umuzayirwa bitaniyehe n'umukiga, umunyenduga, amazina bahaye abahutu kugira ngo baryane.

Kwitwa umurundi mu Rwanda bisobanura umunyagitugu, umwicanyi, umwirasi n'ibindi bibi byose byaranze ingoma y'"akarenganyo n'agahotoro" abaprezida b'abatutsi bagiriye abahutu b'i Burundi. Birumvikana neza ko umututsi waturutse i Burundi yaje afite imico y'abatutsi b'abarundi bamureze. Kubera ko iyo wanze kandi utinya ucyitirira uguhemukiye wese, abo barundi mu Rwanda babita interahamwe cyangwa abasederi. Iyo uri umuhutu wihaye gutoha, ukagira ingorane uzasanga inzu yawe yarabohojwe n'uwo ita umurundi, urupfu rwawe ruba rwarutse. Abataha niba bagihari, bari bakwiye kubanza kubaza niba uwabohoje inzu yabo ari umurundi.

Ikindi kidasanzwe, abo barundi barironda. Ncibushaka guturana n'abandi batutsi, nibo bicisha abatutsi baturu-tse muri Zaïre babahoye ko benshi muri bo bari batuye mu Birere, bityo bakaba nta musanzu utubutse batanze, kandi bakarenga bakabohoza amazu y'icyubahiro.

Kwitwa Umuzayirwa mu Rwanda bisobanura umuntu utanga "rapport" izuba riva. Ibyo kwiherera ntabizi. Ni "Birihanze" nk'aho yaturutse. N'ubwo ari mututsi, yanduye ubusabane bw'aho yabaye. Ibyo ntibivuga umurundi kumuhihi-banya iyo amusanze mu nzu yashakaga kubohoza. Iyo akunze amagara ye asohoka yimyiza imoso, yagera hirya akavugira mu matamatama ngo nyamara twese si iyacu. N'ubwo basa bose ntibibuza umututsi w'umuzayirwa gukebera iyo yumvise ikirundi.

Abatutsi baturutse i Buganda nibo ibyiza by'insinzi bigomba kugeraho mbere y'abandi bose. Byakubitiraho ko bavuga n'icyongereza, bigatuma wa mututsi w'umurundi na wa wundi wa **"pesa biso rapport"** bibaza ku by'ako kazu gashya. Abaganda bazwi ho kuba biba imodoka cyane. Ndetse ntabwo ari ibanga, Kagame Paul na Fred Rwigema, kuva muri 77 kugeza muri 80 bari abajura bwite b'imodoka. Mbese ikiranga umututsi bita umuganda ni akageso ko gukorakora. Guhura n'iy'amarere y'inganda ufite akamiya waba umututsi waturu-tse aho'ariho hose cyangwa ikindi ntazi, urakayiha, bitaba iyo ikakwirenza.

Abatutsi bake bashyira mu gaciro usanga ahanini ari abarezwe na Habyarimana, batangiye kwicuza icyatumye bahurura, bakicuza imisanzu batanze n'abana babo baguye mu rugano.

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Abakurikiranira hafi ayo macakubiri basanga insinzi y'abatutsi ibatatanyije.

N'ubundi umunyarwanda yarabivuze, inkubisi y'amabyi irayitarukiriza !

Jacques TURANA.

MU RWANDA UBWICANYI BURAKOMEJE.

Iperereza riherutse gukorwa na HCR, niko Le Monde yo kuwa 8 ukwakira 1994 ibyandika, iryo perereza rikaba ritarashyizwe ahagara-gara kubera impamvu za politiki, kandi kubera icyifuzo cy'umunyamabanga mukuru Boutros Boutros Gahali, hatangajwe guca imwanzuro waryo ugira uti "hari ibimenyetso bigaragara by'ubwicanyi n'itotezwa" bikorwa na FPR iri ku butegetsi. Ku ruhande rwa HCR rero, ni bibi cyane gushyigikira no koroshya itahuka ry'impunzi "mu gihe bataboona byibura kuzizeza umutekano uciriritse".

Le Monde irakomeza, ngo inama yari yabaye mu muhezo hagati y'abagize akanama k'umutekano na Prezida Bizimungu, irangiye, abadiplomate bashyira mu gaciro bahise batangaza ko "bizwi neza ko" ubwicanyi bukorerwa abahutu budaturuka kuri politiki ya guverinoma, ahubwo ngo ni ibintu byo kwihorera bikorwa n'abantu batazwi.

Abadiplomate bari i New-York bo bahamya ko iperereza rya HCR ryabanjirijwe n'amakuru y'ubwicanyi yari yatanzwe n'abandi badiplomate bizewe cyane, baba muri ako karere kandi bagendereye u Rwanda cyane. Ayo makuru akaba ashobora kuba yaraturutse mu mibonano abo badiplomate bagiranye n'abaganga, abamisiyoneri cyangwa abandi banyamahanga.

Iyo raporo, iremezako politiki ya guverinoma y'u Rwanda igamije kwirukana abahutu batuye mu majyepfo y'iburasirazuba mu bice bikikije ikiyaga cya Rweru no mu majyaruguru y'ikiyaga cya Mugesera, hakoreshejwe iterabwoba ririmo amayeri, bakabamenesha mu gihugu, kugira ngo bahakore agahugu k'abatutsi. Le Monde iratubwirako uwakoze raporo ku giti cye yivugirako guverinoma itegeka abatutsi bahunze muri za 59 gutaha.

Undi mudiplomate uzi cyane u Rwanda, yahishuriye icyo kinyamakuru ko guverinoma y'i Kigali nta bushake na mba ifite bwo gushishikariza abahutu bahungiye mu mahanga gutaha. Uwo mudiplomate asoza avugako ashyigikiye cyane igikorwa cyiza cya HCR ikora itakigambiriye: Kuba HCR idashyigikira itahuka ry'abahutu ku mpamvu yibonera, iba ikanyize igorora agatsiko k'abatutsi katifuza kw'abahutu bataha.

Ndlr: Kangura irongera ku bimaze gusomwa ko niba abapfa bicwa no kwihorera bakaba babiterwa n'umujinya, ayo

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magambo niyo yari akwiye no gukoreshwa guhera tariki ya 6 mata. Biratangaje kubona umuhutu nka Kibaya (yari inyenzi ariko) w'umunyagitarama, iz'amarere zimusagarira zikamwica, Mabotra w'inshuti ye yajya kumureba aho yari afungiwe ku Gisenyi, bakamubwira ko abana bamusagariye. Na mwe mwumve ayo mayeri. Kwica umuntu ukabyita gusagarira, undi yabikora ukabyita itsembatsemba harimo tena ! Niba koko FPR ishaka gukora TUTSILAND (agahugu k'abatutsi gusa) ikoresheje iterabwoba, nta kuntu ubwica-nyi bukorerwa abahutu, butaba buri mu migambi ya guverinoma; kuko n'ubwo ikiboko kiryana ntabwo cyatera ubwoba kurusha **"gusatura inda uhereye ku mbavu ugakora imifuka"**. Ubwo bwicanyi burobananura abahutu gusa bwitwa ITSEMBATSEMBA (Génocide).

Byasomwe muri Le Monde du 8 octobre 1994 na Jacques TURANA.

BISHOBOKA BITE ?

Undi Ministre w'ingabo Bwana Bizimana ubu FPR irimo iramusaba kuyibera Ministre w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga. Mu kiganiro aherutse kugirana n'abahagarariye FPR i Kinshasa yababwiye ko agiye kubitekerezaho. Nyamara se icyo FPR ishaka si ukugirango yereke amahanga ko ingabo zatashye ko na Ministre wazo yatashye. Mbere y'ibyo kandi ubu arabazwa amadorari ibihumbi magana atandatu na mirongo ine (640.000 $) yanyereje bayamuhaye kujya gukodesha indege zagombaga kutuzanira amasasu, ubwo amaze gukacira ayo mafaranga yahise abura. Ubu aherereye i Kinshasa ngo batazamucakira tukayaruhasa.

Yagaragaje ubuswa bwinshi, yanga inama z'abamurusha akazi, ntanavuge ukuri kose kubyerekeye akazi yarashinzwe. Arabarwaho imodoka zose za Ministeri ubu yagejeje i Kinshasa nkaho ari umunani wa se. Ikibabaza abantu n'ukuntu mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa kane yanze gusinya ngo umuzungu wari atuzaniye amasasu ahabwe icyayi mu mwanya w'amafranga akabeshya ko icyo cyayi cyaguzwe kera kandi kibitswe mu madepo i Mombasa, ubwo yabikoze kubera ko nta nyungu yabibonagamo nyamara se icyo cyayi si cyo kigurishijwe muri uku kwa munani ? Abakigurishije se bo bafite iyihe nyungu ko nabo bayarya batazayaheza ! Bose tuzabata-ngaza dore bo bashyize inda zabo imbere kurusha igihugu. Ibyaha byose bakoze tuzabita-ngaza kugira ngo batagwa mu mutego. Kandi n'uzi ko yariye amafranga yacu azayaryora byanze bikunze cyangwa se nawe ayasige. Uwamenya ubwenge rero yagarura ayo asigaranye.

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BITE SE NA NSENGIYUMVA RAFIKI HYANCINTE WATEGEKAGA MINITRAPE.

Uyu mugabo kugeza ubu niwe wibye umutungo munini ukomoka ku mamodoka, amakamyo, icyayi n'ibindi bikoresho bya Leta, aranavugwa ko yakoze agatsiko k'abicanyi gashinzwe kuzica uwariwe wese uzashaka kumuryoza ibyo yibye, cyangwa se akamushyira ahagaragara.

Uwo RAFIKI, afatanije na bamwe mu bacuruzi babaga mu Rwanda. Yibye umutungo uhwanye na miliyoni y'amadorari (1.000.000 US$) ukongeraho amakamyo ya Leta 65, amavatiri 30, imashini zisiza imihanda 16, afite muri Kenya aho ashaka kuzayandikisha kuri sosiyete agiye gushinga. Uwo mutungo wose yanze kuwutanga none turasaba abaturage kuzawumubaza. Abacuruzi bafatanije nawe ubu nabo turi gukora anketi tuzababwira maze muzabahane uko mubyumva.

Ngeze Hassan.

FPR IRATEGURA ITSEMBA - TSEMBA

Abahutu bakwiye kuba maso, bakaburizamo umugambi mubisha FPR iriho itegura wo gutsemba abahutu. Uwo mugambi waje kuburizwamo na Ndagijimana Jean Marie Vianney, uriya wahoze ari "Ministiri" w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga wa yangirwa guverinoma ya Kagame. Nkuko ikinyamakuru Jeune Afrique cyo ku itariki ya 16/11/1994 kibitangaza, Ndagijimana bamushinje ko yanyereje amadolari 200.000 ari amayeri yo kumwigizayo, kubera ko yamenye uwo mugambi mutindi. Ndagijimana arahamya ko abahutu bari muri guverinoma y'i Kigali ari nk'imfungwa (otages), ko impunzi nyinshi zatashye FPR yagiye "iziri-gisa", kandi ko ubutegetsi bwa FPR ari igitugu gikabije. Ndagijimana arahamyako abasirikare b'abahutu bafu-ngiwe mu "bigo by'ingororamu-co". Hari ibimenyetso byinshi byerekana ko iryo tsembatsemba ryatangiye. Ku Gisenyi, ku Kibuye, ku Gikongoro, inyenzi ntizihwema kurasa abaturage, radiyo yazo ikabyigamba. Ubwicanyi bwa nyuma bwabereye i Gikongoro, aho barashe mu baturage hakagwa 8, hakaboneka n'inkomere nyinshi cyane.

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MU RWEGO RWO GUSHYIRA AHAGARAGARA ABAGURISHIJE UMUTUNGO TWAHUNGANYE KANDI UWO MUTUNGO TWARI KUZAWIFASHISHA MUKUDUCYURA, TURABASABA KUTWUNGANIRA, MUDUHA AMAZINA Y'ABANTU MUZI BAGURISHIJE IBYO BINTU, AHO BAGURISHIJE N'ABACURUZI BAFATANIJE.

IZINA	IBYO YAGURISHIJE	UWO BAFATANIJE	AHO UBU BABARIZWA	IKINDI UTEKEREZA

Mu rwego rwo gushyira ahagaragara abasahuye umutungo wacu, duhisemo gutangaza babiri ba mbere, atari ukuvuga ko n'abandi tutabamenye. Tubikoze kugirango badacika abaturage. Ubafiteho ibindi bimenyetso yabitwoherereza, nabo ubwabo kandi bashatse kwihakanira tubahaye urubuga.

Tuzakomeza kubatangariza n'abandi, kandi tubijeje ko abo bose batazaheza ibyo badusahuye.

1. Augustin Bizimana wari ministri w'ingabo yatorokanye amadolari ibihumbi magana atandatu na mirongo ine (640.000 $US) n'imodoka eshatu za ministeri y'ingabo. Bizimana uwo aregwa kandi ubundi marorerwa yakoreye abasirikare. Ubu arabarizwa i Kinshasa.

2. Nsengiyumva Rafiki Hyancithe wari ushinzwe Minitrape yatorokanye miliyoni yose y'amadolari (1.000.000 $US) akaba yarafatanije n'abacuruzi bamwe bo ku Gisenyi, ubu tutaramenya aho bahereraye. Tuzabatangiriza amazina yabo nibiba ngombwa. Rafiki afite kandi amakamyo cumi n'atatu (13) ya Leta yahishe muri Kenya; akazakora mu isosiyete ashaka gushinga. Ubu nawe ntituramenya aho aherereye.

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MU RWEGO RWO GUSHYIRA AHAGARAGARA ABAGURISHIJE UMUTUNGO TWAHUNGANYE KANDI UWO MUTUNGO TWARI KUZAWIFASHISHA MUKUDUCYURA, TURABASABA KUTWUNGANIRA, MUDUHA AMAZINA Y'ABANTU MUZI BAGURISHIJE IBYO BINTU, AHO BAGURISHIJE N'ABACURUZI BAFATANIJE.

IZINA	IBYO YAGURI-SHIJE	UWO BAFATA-NIJE	AHO BABARI-ZWA	IKINDI UTEKE-REZA

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