

KANGURA



N° 33

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI.

K023 3680

ISHYAKA PL HAKURIKIJWE ITEGEKO NSHINGA RI-
HOBORA GUHAGARIKWA MBERE Y'IMINSI
MIRONGO ITATU KUBERA GUFATANYA N'UMWA-
NZI.

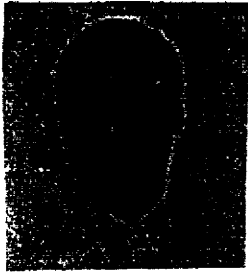
ABAHUTU BABI NI ABACAMO U RWANDA MO UDUCE BAGAMBIRIYE KUZUZA
IBIFU BYABO KANDI BAKIYIBAGIZA KO' UMWANZI W'ABAHUTU ARI UMWE KU-
RI BOSE.

KAYIBANDA, HABYARIMA
NA NA RUDAHIGWA BAP-
FANA IKI?



LIBIYA IGITAMBOCY'IBIHU
GU BIKIRI MU NZIRA
Y'AMAJYAMBERE.

BARAHINYURA ARATUBWIRA UKO INTAMBARA YA-
TANGIYE NAHO IGEZE UBU N'ICYO ATEKEREZA KU-
BAYISHOJE



Imana y'i Rwanda yasuye u Rwanda ejobundi ku wa gatandatu le 18/02/1992. Mu myaka 19 Abahutu bari bamaze babeshywa, bigunze bategekwa kugira Ubumwe n'abatashaka, batabifuzaga; imyaka 19 Abahutu bamburwa ubukungu bw'Igihugu, Abatutsi bakomeza kwiharira imyanya myiza mu miryango mpuzamahanga. Imyaka yose Abahutu bakomeje guhezwa mu mashuri yisumbuye na Kaminuza zose z'u Rwanda.

Ibyo byose nibyo byatumye, ubwo amashyaka menshi yavukaga, M.D.R. Parmehutu igatangaza ko izutse, abahutu bariruhutsa ngo noneho ibyo bibazo byabonerwa umuti, Umuhutu akabona kivugira. Ayo mashyaka niyo yatumye Abahutu bakeka ko wenda ubwo abatutsi bo hanze bateye u Rwanda ru-tegekwa na Habyarimana kandi icyibanze bagaragaza akaba kwari ukwambura Habyarimana ubutegetsu, no kwica urubozo abahutu bote bageze mu ishuri. Ibyo byose M.R.N.D. yanze kubibona, Habyarimana akomeza kwibagirwa ko yagiriye neza indashima, na M.D.R. yibagirwa ko umwe mu bayishinze Dr Kayibanda Gregori yanze gukorana na UNAR, kubera ubutiriganya bwayo no kugambanira rubanda rw'Abahutu.

Nyamara bamwe mu bayobozi ba M.D.R. y'ubu icyo bishakira ni amaramuko gusa, nibwo bagambaniye rubanda rwabizeye mu kuzura M.D.R. maze Abayobozi bayo biyunga na P.L. ikaba yarakunze kuvugwa ko ari F.P.R. ikorera mu Rwanda. Kubera ko amakosa M.R.N.D. ikorera Abahutu adashobora kuvugwa ku mugaragaro kubera ko Habyarimana urangwa n'Ubumwe, Amahoro n'Amajyambere ayibereye ku isonga. Kubera ko amashyaka yari akomeye mbere y'uko C.D.R. ivuka

akaba nayo yari yaribumbiye hamwe ngo arwanye Habyarimana maze P.L. ikayakoresha ibyo yishakiye cyane cyane mu gutatanyabahu-tu, abahutu bakomoka mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda, bateraniye i Kigali, ku wa 18/02/1992 maze bashyira umukono ku mategeko azagenga ishyamba rije kurengera inyungu z'Abahutu.

Iryo shyamba rikaba riyobokwa buri muni n'Abahutu bakomoka mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda, amashyamba menshi ashobora gusenyuka kubera ukuntu abayoboze bari barabeshywe ko bazarenganurwa maze amaso agahera mu kirere. Iby'iryo shyamba tuzabigarukaho ubutaha, usibye ko amahame remezo yaryo yasohotse muri KANGURA—Spécial Politique. Hakaba harimo n'uburyo bwo kwiyandikisha muri iryo shyamba ryanyu.

Ibyihutirwa rizitaho mbere na mbere ni ugukora gahunda yo gusurira Ingabo zacu ku rugamba no gushyamba uko twakorana n'Ingabo mu byo zifuzaga ko twazifasha.

1. Kumvisha abahutu bose bo ku isi ko ari bamwe kandi ingorane zabo baziterwa n'umuntu umwe. Abahutu bo mu Rwanda bakareka kuryana basubiranamo kuko bishimisha umwanzu wabo uhora yifuza ko bamarana. Kureka umuntu wese ufite ubushobozi akaba ariwe utegeka, nta kureba akarere akomokamo, aya kuba azi kurengera rubanda-nyamwinshi.
2. Kumvisha abatutsi bose ko uburenganzira bwabo burangirira aho ubw'Abahutu batangirira kuko Abahutu aribo benshi.
3. Guhagarika icyemezo cyo guhindura ubwoko mu irangamuntu kuko nta muhutu wifuza guhindura ubwoko bwe. Abatutsi bo babifitemo inyungu bazareke aribo babikora, Abahutu n'Abatwa twigumanire ubwoko bwacu mu ndangamuntu.
4. Gusubiza abatutsi bose ubwoko bwabo bwa gitutsi kuko ari bimwe mu bituma baryamira abahutu biyitirira ubwoko butari ubwabo.
5. Gushyiraho Komisiyo ikareba igituma abahutu baryamirwa mu

mashuri. Mu itangwa ry'amashuri mu miryango mpuzamahanga, no kureba impamvu abatutsi bakomeza guhabwa urubuga rwo kuryamira abahutu mu kwikubira ubukungu bw'igihugu.

6. Kurebana ubwitonzi impamvu abatutsi batitabira kurongora abahutukazi kandi Abahutu bashirirye muri bashiki babo.
7. Ibibazo ni byinshi bizakemurwa na C.D.R.

Ibyo ni ibyifujwe n'Abayoboze bakomoka i Gitarama bari baje kwizihiza uwo muni mukuru.

Dore amazina y'abagize inama y'ubutegetsu bw'agateganyo:

1. BUCYANA Martin, Président
2. NAHIMANA Théoneste, 1er Vice-Président
3. 2ème V. Président, MISAGO RUTEGESHA
4. MUGIMBA Jean Baptiste, Secrétaire Général
5. NZABANDORA Célestin, Discipline
6. Dr HIGIRO Célestin, Politique
7. AKIMANIZANYE Emmanuel, Relation extérieur & Coopération
8. HITIMANA Athanase, Sc. Plan. Aff. Soc. & Education
9. SIMBIZI Stanislas, Info-Cult & Propagande
10. Mme UWAMARIYA Béatrice, Econ. fin. & budget.

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IMPAMVU: KUBASABA KO MWARENGERA IGIHUGU MUKURIKIRIRA HAFI IBIKORWA BY'ISHYIRAHAMWE RYIYISE KANYARWANDA RIKABA ARI ISHAMI RYA F.P.R. INKOTANYI RIKORERA I BURAYI RYIFUZA NO GUKORERA MU RWANDA.

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Ubutabera i Kigali.

Twebwe abanditsi ba KANGURA, tukaba twarakunze kugaragaza ibibazo byugarije igihugu cyacu, dushimishijwe no kubagezaho ingorane tubona ziri mu gihugu cyacu.

Mu cyumweru gishize muri Canada, inyenzi zibumbiye mu Ishyirahamwe ryiswe Kanyarwanda zarateranye zemeza ko hagomba kujyaho umutwe ugomba gukorera mu Rwanda ukaba ufite umurimo w'ibanze wo gukora ibiro by'ipereza mu Rwanda hose, cyane cyane muri Kigali.

Kubera ko izo nkotanyi imigambi yazo iteye ubwoba, dusanze ari ngombwa kubagezaho ikibazo ngo mucyigane ubwitonzi ejo u Rwanda rutazongera gushya ngo KANGURA ntiyabibwiye igihugu. Dore uko inama yari iteye n'ibye yemeje n'uko yifuza gukora.

^{mb.} Twebwe tubitangaje mu rwego rw'ubwoba, ni mwebwe ubwanyu, n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano mugomba kwemeza ukuri kwabyo no kureba niba nta sano bariya barigize bafitanye n'inkotanyi zidutera.

Nimwirebere namwe.

PREMIERE REUNION DES GROUPES DE PROXIMITE (GP).

1. Echange d'informations

I.1. La brochure "KANYARWANDA - 3 mois d'engagement" et documents de Janvier-février 1992.

I.2. La personnalité civile.

I.3. L'Assemblée Générale des 28 et 29 Mars 1992.

I.4. Activités en cours de lancement

et exigent des financements: Permanence, journal, traduction de la brochure, édition de la brochure, bureau d'études, CASOG...

2. Mise en place du groupe de proximité

Mettre en place un cadre facilitant et permettant:

2.1.1. La circulation de l'information à l'intérieur de KANYARWANDA.

Ambition:

Faire en sorte qu'au plus tard 24 heures après un événement intéressant, celui-ci soit repercuté à l'ensemble de l'Association.

2.1.2. La collecte standardisée et systématique des informations sur la société (les événements, les institutions, les personnalités, les domaines de la vie...) et la vérification organisée de certaines informations sensibles.

Ambition:

Rendre compte de tout ce qui se passe autour de soi et qui intéresse l'Association.

2.1.3. Le recrutement actif des membres de KANYARWANDA: Repérer des personnalités démocratiques et combatives, les informer systématiquement, les entraîner à participer à nos luttes, les intéresser à KANYARWANDA, les pousser à adhérer à KANYARWANDA.

Ambition:

Se lier à tous les meilleurs éléments de la société.

2. Faire des cellules par entreprises, par quartiers, par institutions et cadres d'activités (partis, ASBL, clubs...)

2.1.4. L'action et l'activité locale: Identifier les problèmes locaux, identifier les forces pouvant partici-

per à leurs solutions et collaborer avec elles à mettre en oeuvre des solutions du type KANYARWANDA.

Ambition:

Etre dans toutes les luttes sociales et politiques locales.

2.2. Organisation des groupes de proximité.

- Un responsable et son remplaçant sont élus sans termes.
- Leurs noms et adresses opérationnelles sont communiqués à la permanence.
- Le responsable ou son remplaçant prend chaque jour contact avec tous les membres de proximité (ils viennent à lui; ou il va à eux, ou ils se réunissent...)
- Le responsable s'assure que les travaux sous 2.1. sont exécutés.

2.3. Elections du responsable et de son remplaçant;

3. Première activités

3.1. Vérification des résidences et lieux de travail des "flottants"

3.2. Cotisation ou prêts à KANYARWANDA pour les premières activités.

Groupes de proximité.

Lieux de travail:18

1. RUGUNGA: NDOLIMANA Thassien (BUNEP) = 2
2. RUE KALISIMBI: KAYABO Jean Baptiste (KARAMIRA) = 4
3. MINIFIN: BISA SAMALI Octavien (PNUD) = 6
4. POSTE: UWIMBABAZI Marie Providence (CER) = 3
5. MUHIMA: NYONI Gustave (MINIPLAN) = 3
6. ROND-POINT: NZAMBAZA MARIYA Vénérande (SNV) = 5
7. C.H.K.: MASHYAKA Tite

LIBIYA IBAYE IGITAMBO CY'ABANYAMERIKA

AMERIKA n'ibihugu by'iburayi bw'iburengerazuba bw'isi, biyoboye igitero simusiga cyo gutsemba LIBIYA. Igihugu kizwiho amatwara yo kuba cyaribohoje, kikaba kiri no ku isonga mu guhamagarira abarabu n'abayisiramu kwibohora no gutera imbere mu majyambere, kigatanga umushinga w'itera-mbere ry'ikiremwa muntu, uwo mushinga ukaba uha agaciro ikiremwa muntu, ukanashimangira ubusugire bwa buri muntu wese, ukanatangiza amajyambere mpuzamahanga ashingiye ku butabera no gukora iringaniza.

Uko ibyo bihugu bishaka kugaraga impamvu zitarizo, z'impimbano, ndetse zikubiyemo ibinyoma ibyo bihugu bitangariza abatuye isi bese, ntibigirengo ko abatuye isi bese bayobewe impamvu nyakuri y'uko gushaka guhohotera abaturage b'intwari b'abanyaribiyi. Kuko abantu benshi bashishoza bakanareba kure bazi impamvu nyakuri zihishe nyuma y'ubugambanyi bukaze, bukorwa n'inzego zinyuranye ziyoborwa n'ibyo bihugu by'i Burayi bw'iburengerazuba, bigambiriye inabi ku gihugu cya LIBIYA. Bityo impamvu zishyirwe ahagaragara za kiriya gitero kirimo gutegurwa gishingiye ku nzigo, igihe cyacyo, n'ibindi bikorwa mu rwego mpuzamahanga, binyuranyije n'ibyo bagambiriye gushaka kugeraho. Kuko bimaze kugaragara ko icyo gitero byakiteguye koko bihagije. icyo bishaka gusa, nuko LIBIYA yaba igitambo maze ikazaba intama yatanze, kugira ngo Amerika izashobore guhitisha neza umushinga wayo mushya wo gushaka no gutegeka isi mu izina ry'itegeko mpuzamahanga rishya.

LIBIYA niyo igiye kuba igitambo cy'imipango mishya iri mu burayi bw'iburasirazuba, inyuma yaho imbaraga z'abakomunisiti zisenyurake kandi ari zo zarengeraga ibihugu bikiri mu nzira z'amajyambere «tiers monde», zikaba iteka ryose zarakumiraga zikanazitiza gashakabwako mu kurenga impaka mu by'ibura bikorwa bye by'ubugome burenze ubwenge n'ukwemera.

LIBIYA nyuma y'aho imbaraga z'ibihugu by'iburasirazuba zisenyukiye, niyo yonyine isigaye muri gahunda yo kurwanywa mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira z'amajyambere, kuko ariyo yonyine isigaye muri gahunda yo kurwanywa mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere, kuko ariyo yonyine kimenyetso kigaragaza gushaka guhiga ubutwari n'ibye-meze bifatwa n'ibyo bihugu mu bibazo byerekeranye na Poritike yo kwigenga byuzuye ijana ku ijana n'ubwigenge nyakuri. Akaba ari nayo ntangarugero mu guharanira kugera ku bwigenge bwuzuye mu bihugu biri ku isi hose. Akaba ari n'ntangarugero kandi mu byerekeye gutsura amajyambere, no kuzamura ubukungu bwayo.

Kubera gahunda yafashe ikubiye mu ijwi rihamagarira rubanda nyamwinshi ukwishyira ukizana kwa buri muntu, byatumye LIBIYA iba ikiguzi n'umutungo wo kugura PARESITINA. Uwo mugambi watangiranye n'ifungurwa ry'inama yo kugurisha PARESITINA yabereye i MADRID ho muri ESPAGNE. LIBIYA nicyo gihugu cyabarabu Amerika ishaka gukoresha kuri ibyo bihugu. LIBIYA ibaye igitambo

cy'ingwate z'abanyaburayi. Kuyitera bishobora kuba urwitwazo rwo gutwikira ikibazo cy'ingwate z'abanyaburayi b'iburengerazuba, n'ibindi byakurikiyeho mu mishyikirano iteye isoni yashyizwe ahagaragara, ikubiyemo imigambi y'ubutegetsi bw'ibihugu by'i Burayi bw'iburengerazuba mu gushaka gukinisha ikiremwa muntu ndetse bikagira n'aho bigera gufata umuntu nk'itungo rigurwa rikanagurishwa.

LIBIYA ibaye igitambo cya gahunda nshya y'ibihugu by'iburengerazuba bw'isi bishaka kugarura ingoyi ya gihake ngo maze biyitegeshe uyu mugabane wacu wa AFURIKA.

Mu by'ukuri LIBIYA ni igitambo cy'ubugambanyi bufite amashami menshi y'ibihugu byabuteguye n'impamvu nyinshi, ba nyirugutegura ubwo bugambanyi nibaramuka bahiriwe n'ubwo bugambanyi bwabo «n'ubwo Imana nyagasani itabibafashamo». Biramutse bibaye byaba ari ishyano ku baturage bese b'abarabu n'abayisiramu ku isi hose, ndetse n'abantu bese batuye iyi si. Iryo shyano riramutse ribaye nta kintu cyagereranywa narwo uretse nk'isenyuka ry'igihugu cya «ANDALOUSIE» ariyo «HESPAGNE» y'ubu. **NGEZE**

RESIDENCES: 16		Bukurikira urup ²	
1. NYAKABANDA HAUT: MUKAMULIGO Immaculée (M.F.C.) - 2	2. NYAMIRAMBO: MUTSINDASHYAKA Théneste (KADHAFI) - 3	1. MASHYAKA Titte (FOMETRO)	2. MUSEONI Joseph (MINISANTE-HAUT)
3. KACYIRU: KAGAMBIRWA Wellars (MINEPRISEC) - 2	4. PARC INDUSTRIEL: SAKUMI ANSELME - 2	AMBAFRANCE (2)	
5. RULIBA: ISABANE Janvier (BRIQUETERIE) - 1	6. BYUMBA: NGARAMBE Juvenal (?) - 1	1. MUKAMULIGO Immaculée (M.F.C.)	2. MUKASHYAKA Béatrice (M.F.C.)
7. NYAMATA: RWAMPUNGU Emmanuel (?) - 1	8. KANOMBE: NTAGOZERA Léonard (EPOTEC) - 1	NYAMIRAMBO (3)	
9. GITUZA: KAMANZI Stanislas (Commune) - 1	10. MUHAZI: MATATA Joseph - 1	1. MUTSINDASHYAKA Théneste (KADHAFI)	2. KIMENYI Emmanuel (CESIKI)
11. SUISSE: SERUVUMBA Anastase - 1	12. NYAMATA: RWAMPUNGU Emmanuel (?) - 1	3. NZIGIRA Jean Baptiste	
13. KAYABO Jean Baptiste (KARAMIRA)	14. NSENGIYUMVA Sylvestre (IMBAGA)	KACYIRU (2)	
15. RUGIRA Jean Baptiste (?)	16. MULIGANDE Bonaventure (CARITAS)	1. KAGAMBIRWA Wellars (MINEPRISEC)	2. KANYABUGOYI Fidèle (MINITRAPE)
17. BISA SAMALI Octavien (PNUDI)	18. AYABAGABO Jean de Dieu (MINIPIN)	PARC INDUSTRIEL (2)	
19. KAMANZI Charles	20. KAYIGAMBA Jean de Dieu (UBPR)	1. SAKUMI Anselme	2. SISI Evariste
21. NYONI Eulém-Lambert	22. RWIGIMBA Théophile (MINIPIN)	ROLIBA (1)	
23. ISABANE Janvier (BRIQUETERIE)		BYUMBA (1)	
24. NGARAMBE Juvenal		1. NGARAMBE Juvenal	

K023 3684

IRYAGARAGAYE NTLIBA LICYISHE ISUKA!**TUMENYE UKO INYENZI-NKOTANYI ZITEGANYA
KUGERA KU MIGAMBI YAZO, TWARUSHAHO KUBA MASOI**

**BANYARWANDA BAVANDIMWE MUGIZE IMBAGA NYAMWINSHI, NIBA MWALI MUTARAYIBONA,
NDAGIRA NGO MBAGEZEHO IYI NYANDIKO UKO YANDITSWE N'INYENZI -NKOTANYI IGIHE ZITEGURAGA
GUTERA U RWANDA . NYUMA NDAZA KUGIRA IBYO NYIVUGAHO. MBASABYE RERO KUMHEREKEZA!**

**INZIRA / UBURYO BWO KURWANYA UMWANZI
(RESISTANCE STRATEGIES)****IMPAMVU TWIGA IYI
NYIGISHO.**

Icyamba mbere na mbere ni uko Abanyarwanda dufite umwanzi. Kugira ngo twibohore ni uko ugomba kurwanya uwo mwanzi. Tugomba kandi no kumenya uwo mwanzi tukabona kumurwanya. Iyi rero ikaba ari yo mpamvu tugomba no gusesengura uburyo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwatumye twivana mu kaga.

Uwo mwanzi ubundi ndetse akunze kuba umwanzi rusange urwanywa na abarwanashyaka ku isi yose. Akaba ari wa wundi bita Runyunyusi (imperialiste) n'abagaragu be, ari bo mbega bamutwarira imisozi (nk'u Rwanda ahandi). Abandi rero nibo badindiza amajyambere muli ibi bihugu bakaba ari bo bazanye n'izindi ngorane zose duhura nazo nk'izi zikurikira:

- I) Ubukene
- II) Ubujiji
- III) Ivangura ry'amoko n'uturere n'ibindi... Inzira rero yanurwamo kugira ngo tugeze ku migambi wo kwikura mu bukandamize nk'ubu igomba kuba ari inzira nyayo yatugeza ku rwego rwo gukemura izi ngorane burundu.

Iyo nzira nyakuri igomba kuba yakemura izo ngorane kuvana mu mizi kugeza mu bushorishori; ni ukuvuga ko ikemura ingorane kuva aho itangiriye kugera ku iherezo. Ingorane igomba gukemurwa kuva ku mano kugera ku musatsi.

Buri nzira (strategiy) igenda igeraho mu bice. Ni ukuvuga ko inzira igira byinshi bidahuye (cyane iyo ari inzira ndende) akaba ariyo mpamvu igendwa mu bice. igice giterwa n'ahantu, ingorane ziriho (Prevailing-conditions) n'uko igihe kimeze. Urugero ni nk'uko umuntu avuka agakura anyuze mu nzego nyinshi; umwana abanza gukuruzza inda, yavaho agakambakamba yagera aho agahaguruka bityo kugeza igihe akurira.

N'inzira yo kurwanya umwanzi igira inzego icamo kugira ngo izagere ku gukemura ingorane z'abantu. Inzira igirwa n'inzego; inzego (campaigns) nazo zikagirwa n'intambwe (tactics).

Urwego rwaba ari nk'uko wakemura ikibazo kuva ku kirenge kugeza mu mavi; cyangwa se urwego umwana anyuramo kuva avutse kugeza ahaguruka. Ni ukuvuga mbese ko ari ugukemura ingorane kuvana kuri «A» kugeza kuri «G» cyangwa se kuva

kuri «G» kugeza kuri «M» bityo kugeza ubwo byuzuzwa inzira nyayo.

Urwego narwo rugirwa n'intambwe (compaign comprises tactics). Intambwe yo rero yaba ari nko gukemura ingorane kuvana ku ino kugeza ku gatsinsino cyangwa se intambwe iri hagati yo gukambakamba no guhaguruka (ku mwana). Na none rero ni uko gukemura ingorane kuvana kuri «A» kugeza kuri «B», cyangwa kuvana kuri «B» kugeza kuri «C» bityo...

Inzira yose ari yo ikozwe n'ibi byose igomba kuba ari uburyo bwo gukemura ingorane kuvana kuri «A» kugeza kuri «Z» mbese gukemura ingorane burundu.

Inzira na zo ni nyinshi bikaba byaba na ngombwa ko abarwanashyaka batoranya inzira nyakuri iboneka ari uko abarwanashyaka biyumvisha ingingo zose za ngombwa. Izo ngingo ni nk'izi zikurikira:

- 1) Hagomba kuba hariho impamvu (ingorane) nyakuri ari zo zivamo imigambi y'abarwanashyaka. Izi ni nk'ubukene, ubujiji, inzara, kudindira mu majyambere n'ibindi... (presence of objective conditions)

2) Rubanda nyamwinshi n'abarwanashyaka. Bagomba kuba baharanira ukuri kandi baci-shije mu kuri bitari uguhubu-ka cyangwa ubusazi.

3) Kumenya igihugu imbere igihugu imbere n'inyuma; ni ukuvuga kumenya imisozi, ibikombe, ndetse n'imigezi (amazi) naho ibi bitari.

4) Abarwanashyaka bagomba no kumenya igihe bagezemo n'ukuri kwacyo (understanding the situation).

Abarwanashyaka bo imigambi yabo ntiba kongera guhindura ingoma gusa (kuvanaho Leta). Ahubwo baharanira guhindura ubutegetsi bubi; gukuraho akarangane, imibereho mibi ya rubanda nyamwinshi, no kugera ku ntambwe idasubizwa inyuma - nko guharanira demokarasi nyakuri.

Umwanzi wacu na we (agizwe n'abasirikare, police na baneko) agomba gusimburwa n'ingabo ziharaniye abaturage (people forces).

Haribo inzira nyinshi zo kurwanya umwanzi. Ni inzira ki muri izi zikurikira yatubera ingirakamaro?

1) Inzira zitavusha amaraso: - (Non-violent methods)

Izi ni inzira zigenewe kugeza abarwanashyaka na rubanda nyamwinshi ku ngingo yo kwiganzura umwanzi, hatabayeho kuvusha amaraso.

Izi nzira zillimo amahara kwishyamba:

a) Imyigaragambyo (strikes, demonstrations, and boy-cotts) uku ni ukwanga amategeko asanzwe (kwidima) kwa rubanda nyamwinshi nk'abakozi n'abanyeshuri.

Urugero ni nk'ibyakunze kuba muri Afrika y'epfo (S. AFRICA) nko kugera muri za 1960: Ahitwa Shaperville habaye imyigaragambyo ikomeye iyobowe n'abatagarugori baharaniraga ko abagabo babo bakora bataha mu mago. icyo gihe hafuye abantu benshi bitewe n'uko Leta itari ibyishimiye.

b) Kwidugumbya (Insurrection). Ibi na byo bisa nko kwidima uretse ko byo bishobora kuba bishyigikiwe na rubanda nyamwinshi abakozi, abanyeshuri, abasirikari, police ndetse na rubanda rugufi (masses). Ukwidugumbya kwo gushobora kuba gufite ishingiro ndetse gushyize hamwe; gufite abayobozi, imigambi nyakuri, no kwigishwa guhagije.

Rubanda nyamwinshi bashobora kuvana ho za Leta ndetse bagashyiraho izo bishakiye. Umudugumbano uba ufite amaboko aturutse mu nzego zidahujwe (Almost all classes) ingero ni nka: Russia (1917) Zanzibar, Congo, Burma n'ahandi.

c) Demokarasi y'itora. Rubanda nyamwinshi bajya mu itora bakitorera umutegetsi bikundiye ariko akenshi baba harimo ubujiji bugatuma gu-

tora biterwa no kwiyamamaza. Ufite byinshi ntabwo agomba gutsindwa. leta ifite abasirikari, police na radiyo ntabwo ikandirwaho.

Iyi n'iyi demokarasi yuzuye ku isi. Urugero ni u Rwanda, gutora Perezida bivuga kimwe no gutora icyatsi kibisi - umuturage azi icyatsi kibisi kurusha uwo mu kandida gihagarariye.

d) Inzira yo kumvikana (negotiations).

Ibyiza by'inzira itavusha amaraso.

i) Ni uko itavusha amaraso gusa.

Ububi bw'inzira itavusha amaraso.

Ni inzira idakunze gutsinda kenshi na kenshi ingero z'imyigaragambyo (Afrika y'epfo) zitwereka ko ntabwo iyo nzira irageza abaturage ku bwigenge kandi ngo «Induru ntirwana n'Ingoma».

Imidugumbano nayo yaba yara-gejeje ibihugu bimwe ku bwigenge ariko kandi ntabwo havukamo amahoro arambye. Impamvu ni uko iba idafite imizi ihamye. (Instructions are not popular):

Imigambi ntabwo iba isobanutse. Umwanzi ntabwo aba yakuwe amenyo (nk'inzoka) akaba yakongera akavanaho ubutegetsi bwa ba bandi bamukuyeho.

Hakunze kubamo umwiryane mu bashyamba gutegereka ibi bikizwa

n'uko imyidugumbanyo iherekezwa n'intambara nk'ibyabaye muri Russia (1917) aho abakozi bose bahagurutse, bagafata intwari (bafatanyije n'ingabo zimwe) bagatsinda umwanzi. Iyi yaje kuva mo intambara ikomeye ya rubanda nyamwinshi.

Demokarasi y'itora isa na bya bindi ngo ni ugucurangira abahetsi cyangwa gukomera intare amashyi. Nta Leta yitora yari yafata imigambi ngo iyemeze.

Ngo «usabiye umugisha ku ishyiga Imana imusiga ivu». Ibyo ni byo by'Abanyarwanda. Ni na byo byagwiriyeye abirabura bo muri Amerika (USA) nka Martin Luther King cyangwa ejo bundi Jesse Jackson. Cyangwa **Rudahigwa rwacu!**

3. Inzira zivusha amaraso (Violent Methods)

Gufata leta (coup d'Etat):

Ibiranga iyi nzira:

- I) Bamwe mu ngabo z'igihugu, abasirikari, police bafatanije na bamwe mu basiviri (civil servants na bamwe mu bakozi ba leta) bavana ho ubutegetsi.
- II) Aba bafata ibice by'ingenzi bya leta (state power) nka radiyo, inkambi za gisirikare, bank, post office, ikibuga cy'indege (air port) n'ibindi.
- III) Bitwara igihe kigufi nk'amasaha, cyangwa iminsi mike. Bimwe hari ubwo bitwara

amezi agereranije (creeping coup) nk'ibyabaye muri Libiya (1969). Iyi yatwaye amezi atandatu.

- IV) Bikorwa kandi bishyigikiwe n'agatsiko k'abantu bake (unpopular).
- V) Akenshi coup d'Etat iba ishyigikiwe n'amaboko yo hanze y'igihugu (foreign inspired and supported).

Ububi bw'iyi nzira (disadvantages).

- I) Ntiba ishyigikiwe na rubanda nyamwinshi.
- II) Ikunze kuba idaharanira uku ri kw'abantu, urugero-nkiyavanyeho Thomas Sankara muri Burkinafaso.
- III) «Impamvu ingana ururo». Abavanaho ubutegetsi bakunze kuba bava muri icyo leta ubwayo. Bishobora guturuka ku rwangano hagati y'abantu bakurikira mu butegetsi nko hagati ya Perezida n'umukuru w'abasirikari cyangwa indi mpamvu nk'iyi.
- IV) Ingorane za rubanda nyamwinshi ntabwo zikemurirwa muri iyi nzira ntabwo baba ari bamwe mu bavana ho leta. Keretse hamwe na hamwe nko muri Libiya ni ho habayeho coup d'Etat hanyuma abaturage b'icyo gihugu bakabona agahenge ko kwitegeka bayobowe na Colonel KADAFI. Na Thomas SANKARA nibyo yari agamiye ariko aranzuranywa.
- V) Iyi nzira rero ibyutsa impamvu zo kongera, igakoreshrwa n'abandi bifitiye impamvu zabo ku giti. Coup d'Etat igakurikira indi.

Ingero ni nk'iza Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda n'ahandi cyane muri Afurika n'Amerika y'epfo (a coup instigates more coups).

- VI) Coup d'Etat nyinshi ziba zishyigikiwe n'imbaraga zo hanze bigatuma itagira icyo imarira abaturage bene gihugu. Ba runyunyusi bakunze kuzishyigikira: kutabwira cyangwa kwangwa na rubanda bishobora kuzana intambara.

2. Kwica abantu b'ingenzi (Assassination)

Iyi ni inzira ishaka kugera ku ntego zayo inyuze mu guhutora, kwica n'urusasu rumwe ka'abantu bakomeye nka ba Perezida, cyangwa abakuru b'Ingabo.

Ibiranga iyi nzira:

- I) Yica umuntu (igikomerezwa) runaka ariko ntivanaho intsina mbi ya leta, umuntu umwe arapfa ariko amatwara mabi agasigara.
- II) Ishyigikiwe na «bene kuronka» kandi ikunze kuba ishyigikiwe na ba runyunyusi.
- III) Isenya bike ariko nta n'icyo igeraho nko ku byerekeye gukuraho amatwara mabi burundu.

Iyi nzira yahitanye abantu nka:

- Indira Ghandi - India
- Amilcar Carbral - Guinca
- Edward Mondiane - Mozambique
- John Kennedy - America (USA)

Hari n'abandi nk'aba bishwe ariko kandi ibikorwa ndetse n'ibitekerezo byabo bighasigara bitanyeganyejwe. Iyi ntikunze kuba-

rwa nk'inzira nyakuri yageza rubanda nyamwinshi ku migambi yo kwibohoza. Ntabwo ari inzira abarwanashyaka bakoresha.

Abarwanashyaka ntabwo bakoresha iyi nzira kuko itabageza ku ntego nyakuri. Kwica umuntu umwe ntabwo ubukandamize, ubukene, ubujiji n'ibindi nk'ibyo bikorwa n'ubutegetsu bubi bishira.

Ibyiza by'iyi nzira (advantages).

- I) Iraruta, ntisenya byinshi. Ihitana bacye kandi haramuka byinshi mu bitungwa.
- II) Ishaka ibya ngombwa bike nk'imbunda, imiti, amafaranga n'ibindi bishakwa mu ntambara. Dukwiye kumenya ibi: --Iyi nzira ntabwo iboneye gukemura ingora za rubanda rugufi. N'aho ibaye ikunze gusubirwamo n'abandi kubera ko ntacyo iya mbere iba yakemuye.

* **Inzira y'intambara za karahabutaka (Conventional warfare strategy)**

Icyo dukwiriye kumenya:

Iyi ntambara ifite kuba yakoreshwa nk'inzira ukwayo cyangwa se ikaba yaba intambwe imwe mu yindi nzira turi burebe. Intambara za karaha-butaka ni intambara dukunze kumva hira no hino ku isi.

Ingero zikaba:

Tanzania na Uganda - muri 1979
Israel n'Abarabu - kuva kera kugeza ubu

Iran na Irak - kuva muri 1980 -1988

Ibiranga iyi ntambara:

- I) Ukurwana hagati y'ingabo z'ibihugu.
- II) Muli iyi ndwano habaho gushyiraho imbibi no gusekuranyiramo (fronts are clearly indicated) ni ukuvuga ko abarwanyu b'impande zombi bagira aho guhurira kugeza ubwo bamwe batsinsurira abandi.
- III) Intambara irwanwa n'abantu benshi (ingabo zigeze mu bihumbi).
- IV) Habamo gufata ibice by'igihugu kineshejwe mu ntambara nk'iyi, imigi n'uturere birafatwa kandi bigakoreshwa nk'aho kurwanira.
- V) Hakoreshwamo intwari za karahabutaka nka za B.M., indege, za tank n'ibindi byangiza cyane.
- VI) Itwara igihe kigufi - iminsi mike cyangwa amezi make.
- VII) Ntabwo ari ngombwa ko impande zombi zigomba kunganya intwari za rukurankota kuko iyo uruhande rumwe rufite indege - urundi rukoresha ibihararura izo ndege n'ibindi nk'ibyo.

Ibya ngombwa muri iyi ntambara.

- a) Igomba umubare uhagije w'ingabo (nko kurenza ibihumbi bibiri).
- b) Izo ngabo zikwiye kuba zifite ubumenyi mu by'intambara buhagije.
- c) Ibikoresho by'intambara bigomba kuba bihagije - ni ukuvuga intwari, amasasu, ibyo kurya, imiti, imodoka n'ibindi.

- d) Ingabo n'abagabo bakwiriye kuba bafite ubumenyi mu byerekeye kurwana no kuyobora neza intambara. Aho barwa nira bagomba kuhamenya neza.
- e) Intwari z'ubwoko bwinshi kandi buhagije ni ngombwa.
- f) Ingabo zigomba kuba zifite aho zihagaze cyangwa zishyirahamwe kugira ngo zitere (military base).
- g) Inzira yo kubona imfashanyo (n'ibindi bya ngombwa by'intambara) biva hanze (foreign support channel) igomba kubaho.

Ibibi by'iyi nzira.

- 1) Iyi nzira ntabwo igeza rubanda nyamwinshi ku ntambwe yo gukemura ingorane zabo.
- 2) Iyo itwaye igihe gito ntabwo ingabo zirwana zibona umwanya wo kuyigira imyifatire myiza (discipline is not fully developed) nko kugira amatwara meza atuma bumvikana na rubanda nyamwinshi.
- 3) Ntabwo itanga umwanya uhagije wo kwigiramo imikorere ya demokarasi ya rubanda nyamwinshi cyangwa se no kwishyirahamwe umutwe wa barwanashyaka ukomeye.
- 4) Irwanwa n'agace k'abantu (abasirikare). Abandi ntabwo babona uburyo bwo guharanira uburenganzira bwabo.
- 5) Yangiza byinshi igakemura bike. Isenya imihanda, amazu, amashuri, amavuriro n'ibindi Yangiza umutungo w'igihugu.
- 6) Ikunze kuba ishyigikiwe na rubanda rwo hanze. ibi bituma intego zayo ziyoba ziga tandukana ni ibyo rubanda nyamwinshi bifuzaga.

- 7) Ntikemura ingorane z'igihugu ku buryo bunonosoye, uru gero ni intambara yabaye muri Uganda muri 1979.
- 8) Ishobora kuba yaterwa cyangwa igashyigikirwa n'ibisambo na ba runyunyusi kugira ngo bicururize intwari zabo cyangwa se bimike uzabumva akemera gusahura igihugu.

Ibyiza by'iyi nzira.

- 1) Ishobora gutwara igihe gito.
- 2) Ntabwo itera akababaro k'abantu cyane (tugereranyije n'indi nzira ndende turi bubone).

Dukwiye kumenya ko:

Bamwe (mu bantu) bemeza yuko iyi nzira y'intambara ngufi za rukurankota ishobora kuba yakoresheya kugeza rubanda nyamwinshi ku ntego nyakuri z'amajyambere - Ndetse na demokarasi kandi birashoboka yaha rubanda rugufi agaciro mu gihugu cyabo.

Ngo hariho ubwumvikane buhagije hagati y'abarwanashyaka (ingabo) na rubanda nyamwinshi, bashobora kuvukamo umutwe wakomeza ukabayobora muri iyo Revolisiyo (cyangwa guhinduka by'ingirakamaro). Ibi rero ngo byatumye n'intambara ndende zitaba ngombwa. ikindi iyi ntambara ivanze kurwana no kwigisha rubanda nyamwinshi, yagera ku rwego rwo guhuza ingabo z'abarwanashyaka n'ibice byose by'abaturage cyane rubanda rugufi.

Ibi ntibyoroshye gukorwa nk'uko bivugwa keretse ari igiteke-

rezu kigezweho na rubanda rugufi ubwabo barwanira kwibohora.

5. Inzira y'intambara ndende irwanwa / igashyigikirwa na rubanda nyamwinshi (Protracted Peoples war).

Iyi ni inzira y'intambara ndende irwanwa n'abarwanashyaka (revolutionary) bafatanije na rubanda nyamwinshi. Ni intambara igomba kurwanira intego yo guhindura ubuzima bw'abantu bose - cyane abakandamijwe nka rubanda rugufi, abakozi, abagore...

Ni inzira iboneye ya buri wese (umuturage) yakoresheya kugira ngo bibohoze. icyo tugomba kumenya ni uko aho yarwanwe hose idatwara imyaka iri hasi y'itatu (3). Dore ingero z'iyi nzira naho yakoreshejwe:

Uganda - Imyaka 5 (1981-1986)
China - kuva muri 1920 - 1948
Cuba yatwaye imyaka 3
Mozambique - Imyaka 15
Angora - Imyaka 13 n'ahandi...

Iyi nzira irwanwa n'imbaga y'abantu bafatanije n'abarwanashyaka kandi igatwara igihe kirekire, intambara itangiwe n'abarwanashyaka n'abaturage rubanda rugufi, abakozi, abanyeshuri, abagore n'abandi. Itangirana imbaraga nkeya. ingero - uko muri Cuba yatangiwe n'abantu 12 barwanya ingabo za leta ibihumbi mirongo itanu (50,000)

- Muri Mozambique abarwanashyaka 47 ni bo bayitangiye ba-

rwanya abasirikari ba leta ya gikoloni bagera ku bihumbi 70. - Uganda - 27 barwanije ibihumbi nka 25 - (25,000) by'abasirikari ba leta. Ni mpamvu ki ituma abarwanashyaka bake cyane batangira iyi ntambara (guerilla war) bakazayisozza?

a) Igihugu kiba kigeze aharindimuka ba runyunyusi bakigeze ku buce. Ubutegetsu bubi buba butakihishira. ingorane ziba zimaze kwiyongera: nk'ubukene, amahoro make, guta agaciro k'ifaranga ry'igihugu, ibura ry'imirimo, amavuriro make... mbese amajyambere aba yarahagaze. Cyangwa ndetse igihugu (ubukungu) kindira.

b) Abarwanashyaka bagomba gutsinda kuko baba bafite politiki nziza ni ukuvuga politiki iharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage (rubanda nyamwinshi).

c) Bagomba kugira ubumenyi buhagije mu byo kurwana. Inzira, Inzego n'intambara bikaba bishingiye ku mategeko nyakuri atari uguhubuka cyangwa kwiroha.

d) Hagomba kubaho kumvikana no gufatanya hagati y'abarwanashyaka na rubanda rwa giseseka. Nta macakubiri akwiye kubaho.

* Iyi ntambara irwanwa mu ntambwe eshatu (3 phases).

A) INTAMBWE YA MBERE / INTAMBARA YA KINYESHYAMBA (GUERRILLA PHASE)

Ibiranga iyi ntambwe:

- 1) Abarwanashyaka bafatanije na rubanda nyamwinshi ba-

- ba barwanya umwanzi w'igihugu.
- II) Abarwanashyaka batangirana intege nke, akenshi ntabwo baba bafite ibirwanisho bihagije ndetse n'imyitotozo ya gisirikare (military training) iba ari mike.
- III) Abarwanashyaka baba bakiri bake, barwanira akenshi mu dutsiko tw'abantu 20-30.
- IV) Agatsiko kamwe gashoboye gukora ukwako n'akandi ukwako.
- V) Abarwanyike bake kandi bakennye barwana bakoresheje uburyo bukurikira: Kwubikira no kugurira ugatungura umwanzi. Gukubita ubambura ariko ugasiga ushenye urugamba
- VI) Kwica no gucubya abantu bamwe bakoresha na leta guharanya rubanda nyamwinshi
- VII) Kwihisha guhagije (concealment)
- VIII) Kudahwema guhindurinda ndaro buri kanya
- IX) Kudacogora mu buryo bwo gucondoza (racc) umwanzi
- X) Kwegera no kubana n'abantu no gufatanya na bo.
- XI) Kwizigama mu bikoreho amasasu, ibyo kurya n'ibindi
- XII) Gutera umwanzi ahambuye (attacking when enemy withdraws)
- XIII) Yabandama ukamutoteza (Harrassing when enemy camps)
- XIV) Gukambura iyo abanzi iyo abanzi bateye (cyangwa ubonye utiteguye) kandi bakurusha imbaraga.
- XV) Abanzi bataricara hamwe bakirindwa iyo bakambitse.
- XVI) Muri iyi ntambwe y'intambara y'abarwanashyaka, ntabwo ibyo gufata uduce ngo batugumemo biba ngombwa, ahubwo bucya bimuka.

Ibi bituma abarwanashyaka birinda gufata cyane, ahubwo bakiyongera kandi bakagenda banyashyamba umwanzi kubera uburyo barwanamo. Iyo bagenda umwanzi ari bubaneshe ntabwo biroha.

Umugambo w'iyi ntambwe ibanza.

Ni ngombwa ko abarwanashyaka birinda gucika mu icyuho ahubwo bagomba kugica mu ruhanda rw'umwanzi ndetse bakangiza imirwanire ye.

Ibi bikorwa bite?

-- Abarwanashyaka birinda kugira ngo bapfushwe cyangwa bakomerere mu gihe bidakwiye ahubwo bakihata kwica no gukomeretsa umwanzi.

-- Uko intambara igenda ikura bagenda biyongera imbaraga, ubumenyi, gufatanya, kwongera ku ntwaro nke zabo. Bariga bakigishwa, imyifatire ikaba nta makemwa n'ibindi... umwanzi we agenda adohoka muri buri byose.

Umwanzi abyifatamo ate?

Umwanzi biramugora. Agerageza gukora nk'ibi bikurikira:

a) Yakwifuzaga kuba yagera mu duce twose aho atikurirwa. Iyo abigize atyo bimutera imbaraga nke. Agatikurirwa bugari akaganzwa vuba.

b) Ashobora kwikubira hamwe. Na bwo aba yitanze. Ibi bivugako umwanya ashobora guzigara arinze ibice bimwe, nk'imigi, abarwanashyaka na bo bakaboneraho umwanya wo kwidagadurira muri rubanda nyamwinshi mu byaro.

-- Ibi bitanga umwanya wo kugirako ngo abarwanashyaka babone no kwitoza guhagije bakitegura guhitaba umwanzi. Bituma kandi bahura n'abantu bakongera umubare wabo. Ibi bica umwanzi intege kuko we atagwiza ingabo.

B) INTAMBWE YA KABIRI / URUGAMBA RUTICAYE HAMWE (MOBILE PHASE)

Iyi ntambwe igerwaho ari uko abarwanashyaka bagwiriyeye kandi bamaze no kugira intwaro zihagije. ubwo baba batangiye kuba benshi.

Ibiranga iyi ntambwe:

Imigambi ikomeza kuba nk'iyi mu ntambwe ya mbere (guerilla warfare) uretse ko ingabo ziba zimaze kwiyumva imbaraga zikagira ibitero bikomeye.

I) Abarwanashyaka baba bafite umutwe umwe mu gice runaka bagahuza cyane imigambi (centralised command) ntibarwana mu dutsiko.

II) Ibice biba bimaze kugira umubare munini kandi uha-

gije nka battaillon (abantu 1,000) no kurenga.

III) Kurwana kuba gushingiye kukunyaruka bitari ugufata agace kamwe. Bakubita babambura. Mbese iyo bateye ahantu bucya banduritse!

IV) Abarwanashyaka baba bakomeza kwiyoungera kuko bagenda hagari batarura abarwanyu kuva mu baturage ndetse n'abatoroka mu ngabo z'umwanzi

Dukwiye kumenya ko:

Iyo ntambara igeze mu rwego rwa «Z» hari ibya ngombwa bikurikizwa nka bitatu:

- I) Nta kuzarira -- kuruhuka birambuye. ingabo ni uguhora zigenda; zimuka. Ibi bituma zidaterwa kandi zo zigashobora gutera n'ubwo haba kure. (Constant mobility)
- II) Ubuzima bw'umurwanashyaka kuba ari nko «Kuryamira amajanja». Nta guhwe ma cyangwa kwiganda. Bagomba gushishikara no gushira ubwoba. (constant vigilance).
- III) Ntakwizera cyane kubaho. Buri wese yashobora kuba umwanzi -- nuwo muri kumwe! Utinda kwemera icyo utiboneye n'ayawe abiri; wemera ari uko ubonye. (constant distrust or mutual distrust).

C) INTAMBWE YA GATATU -- INTAMBARA YA KARAHABUTAKA.

Iyi ni yo ntambwe ya nyuma y'iyi nzira abarwanashyaka baba ari benshi cyane. N'ibikoresho ari byinshi. Ibiranga intambara ya karaha butaka twari twabibonye.

Ibyiza by'iyi nzira (Advantages)

- I) Izamura ibitekerezo bya rubanda nyamwinshi maze igakangura imbaga. Abantu bashikira ubwoba bakiga amasomo ahagije cyane mu bikorwa.
- II) Intambara ndende ivamo ingabo z'abarwanashyaka zikunze guharanira gucungura igihugu burundu.
- III) Bituma rubanda bakora ishushya ry'imena (strong organ or party)
- IV) Mu ntambara nk'iyi havukamo ubumwe mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa
- V) Havuka umuco wo gukoreera hamwe; havamo kwiga no gusobanukirwa.
- VI) Rubanda nyamwinshi bamenya akamaro ka demokarasi.
- VII) Abantu bose bahuza umutwe; (intellectuals) abize amashuri n'abatize, rubanda rugufi abakire, abanyeshuri, bose barafatanyaga bakaba bamwe. Intambara ndende ituma bose bagorwa, bakababara kimwe. Bagasanga bese kimwe bafite akamaro.
- VIII) Abantu bivana mu buhacye ubukolonize n'ibitekerezo bituma bisuzugura bikabavamo kuko baba bagize igikorwa kibereka imba-

raga zabo n'akamaro bafite mu ntambara yo kwikura mu bukandamize.

IX) Abayobeshejwe na bo baboneraho agahenge ko kwongerera bakaba nkabantu, bakareka kuba nk'inyamaswa. Ibi bituruka ku nyigisho bagenda bakura mu barwanashyaka.

X) Abarwanashyaka bafataniye na rubanda bahindura imyifatire, imibanire bagashinga amategeko mashyakandi agororokeye buri wese.

Ibibabi by'iyi nzira.

- I) Itwara igihe kirekire (iramamba). Inyinshi zirenza imyaka 3.

Ingero:

MOZAMBIQUE -- 15 (imyaka)
CUBA -- 6"
ANGOLA -- 13"

- II) Hagomba kubaho kwitanga guhebuje; kubabara kw'abarwanashyaka ndetse n'abaturage.
- III) Abasirikari ba leta babona umwanya ubagije wo kwica rubanda nyamwinshi; kwiba, gufaringa, (kujya ku bagore ku ngufu), gasahura n'ibindi bibi byose.
- IV) Itera ibyago, inzara, guhunga, no guhungabanyu umutekano mu gihugu cyose.
- V) Iyo ntambara yangiza byinshi mu buzima bwa rubanda n'amatungo n'ibindi bitantu (destruction of life and property)

VI) Yangiza ibintu nk'imihanda, amakorero, amashuri, amavuriro n'ibindi...

VII) Ijya kurangira imugaje benshi abandi bagasenyerwa amago, igasiga imfubyi... Aba bagashaka gufashwa na leta nshya yimitswe n'abantu ubwabo.

VIII) Iyi ntambara ndende itera indwara zo mu mutwe (nk'ibisazi).

Icyo dukwiye kumenya:

Ibibi by'iyi nzira biba bike icyo urebeye hamwe muri rusange. Ikemura ibibazo byinshi kuko aho yagiye iba hose ubu haba hari amahoro ya buri wese asyigikiwe, havuka uburyo bwa demokarasi buhamije imizi mu baturage hakabaho n'amajyambere nyakuri.

Ingero:

- CUBA
- CHINA
- KOREA (ya ruguru) n'ahandi.

Ikindi ni uko zimwe muri izi ntambwe zishobora gufatanywa, urugero nk'iya kabiri (mobile) ishobora gufatanywa n'iya gata-tu (conventional) mu gihe kimwe biturutse ku mbaraga z'abarwanashyaka ugereraniye n'iz'umwanzi. (inzira y'intambara ndende).

Ikindi ni uko iyi nzira hari aho idashoboka bitewe n'ibiyiranga. Urugero abarwanashyaka icyo batangiranye imbaraga kandi ari benshi cyane. ■

NDAGIRA RERO NGO NIBALIZE INYENZI-NKOTANYI AHO ZILI HOSE!

Biragaragara koko ko mujya gutera u Rwanda mwali mwiguye bihagije! icyakora mumbabaire, siniliwe nsesengura iyi gahunda yanyu uko mwayiteguye. Mhise-mo kwibanda cyane cyane kubyo mwagerageje gukukiza nubwo byabapfanye bwose.

Muli icyo gahunda yanyu uko mwayiteguye ijamba rubanda nyamwinshi ligarukamo inshuro nyinshi! Ibyo rero biratangaza. Ubu-ndi ubusanze ko tuzi ko mu Rwanda rwacu Rubanda nyamwinshicyangwase IMBAGANYA-MWINSHI ari ABANTU bitwa ABAHUTU, mwiyeje mute kurwari- ra ABAHUTU? Hagati aho se ABATUTSI mwaba alimwe mwabaye RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI tukaba tutarabimenye? Ibyo aliko ntibishoboka kuko nkulikije ibarura ryabaye hambere aha, ryagarageje ko u Rwanda rutwe n'abaturage Miliyoni zirenga indwi ho gato. Muli izo miliyoni indwi zose 90% bakaba ari ABAHUTU: Ndabona rero bitarahindutse. Dukomereje aho rero, ko nzi ko ABATUTSI bo hanze mutarenze miliyoni imwe mwaba mwabaye IMBAGA NYAMWINSHI bigenze bite? IMBAGA NYAMWINSHI se yaba yarabitabaje ngo maze muyibohoze? Ni ukuvya ryall ABAHUTU dukeneye ABATUTSI kugira ngo twibohore niba hali icyo twibohora?

Muti twararebye dusanga nta bundi buryo budushobokewe uretse ubwo gushoza intambara twita icya Karahabutaka, maze tugafata ubutegetsi mu Rwanda. Nyamara iyi nzira ntabwo igeze RU-

BANDA NYAMWINSHI ku ntabwo yo gukemura ingorane zabo. Mukomeza muti: «Yangiza byinshi igakemura bike. Iseya imihanda, amashuri, amavuriro n'ibindi. Yangiza umutungo w'igihugu. Nyamara mwaranze muratera, n'ubwo mwali muzi neza ibyo byose. Aliko kandi hagize ubita INYANGARWANDA usanga amazuru mwayazamuye ngo barabatutse. Aliko se niba mushyira mu gaciro, umuntu uya gukora ibibi azi neza ko ari bibi murabona mwebwe yakwitwaga iki? Hall ukuba mwene uwo muntu yaba yaliyubashye, hali ukuba yaba ali umugome cyangwa se yaba ari nta bwenge agira. Kubera rero ko ngo ABATUTSI mugira ubwenge budasanze, hasigaye kuba mwaba mwaliyubashye cyangwa se muti abagome. Dukulikije aliko ko uwiyeje adashobora gushyirira ibitekerezo ku mutungo kuko aba ali umurwayi, usanga noneho haba hasigaye kimwe rukumbi: kuba muti abagome! Uko mu Rwanda abagome bahanwa ngrango murabizi!

Nkuko mubyivugira, yangiza byinshi igakemura bike. Uretse jye ko navuga ko nta n'ibyo ikemur. yangiza gusa. Nkubona rero uwo mugambi wo kwangliza u Rwanda allwo mwiyeje. Murabona bizabageza kuki? Ibyo bibazo nti-mubyobowe nabibabajije kenshi ntaranamenyanya neza icyo mugamije! Ntimutanga rero n'uko mbyanditse, nsanze all ngombwa ko n'abandi bene wacu babimwe-nya.

Mugakomeza muti: «Ishobora kuba yaterwa cyangwa igashyigikirwa n'ibisambano na ba runya nyuzi...» Ibyo hagati aho nta n'

RUDAHIGWA, KAYIBANDA NA HABYARIMANA BAHURIYE MU GASIZA (imibonana ya mbere).

Abashyitsi baba benshi si abo Perezida HABYARIMANA (H) aherutse kwakira iwe mu Gasiza ka Rambura ya Karago aho yari agiye kuruhukira gato. Inkoko ya mbere itarabika umwami RUDAHIGWA (R) afashe ikamba rye mu ntoki n'uwahozze ari Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda Geregori KAYIBANDA (K) ajunditse ikigoma baje kubyutsa umukuru w'igihugu kugira ngo bamubaze uko ibintu byifashe muri iki gihe n'uburyo nawe abyifatamo ku ruhanda rwe.

Ubwo bahise bajya muri gacaca ya batatu. Ingorane ya mbere iba iyo kumenya ugomba kuyobora inama. Mutara Rudahigwa asaba kuba ariwe uyiyobora kuko yabatanze kubona izuba no kuba yarabarushije gutegeka igihe kirekire.

Ariko Kayibanda we asubiza ko izo mpaka zakizwa n'amatora (ubwo aba acinye icyara Habyarimana undi nawe ahita amenya iby'ayo marenga) kuko turi muri demokarasi. Babaruye basanga Kayibanda afite amajwi abiri naho Rudahigwa afite rimwe. Umwami ati: abahutu ubanza noneho mwaracye akenge.

Buri wese amaze kugotomera akanusu k'akarahunu ka konyaki dore ko bamwe batagaherukaga batangira imirimo yabazanye. Kayibanda abasobanurira ko bibanda ku bibazo bitatu gusa: politiki (ari nayo baheraho uwo munsi), ubukungu n'ikibazo cy'intambara twakururiwe n'inenzi zateye ziturutse muri Uganda zibifashijwemo na Perezida Museveni n'ibindi byitso.

R. Oya uranga amushyirye, ruga intambara y'inkotanyi.

H. Ntacyo bitwaye kuko ari bamwe n'itegeko zabo zo kugarura ingoma ya gitutsi no kumarira ku isasu abahutu bose ari zimwe.

K. Muri politiki rero abaparimuhutu ba mbere nari nyoboye twemye guhara amagara yacu mu bihe bikomeye aba ba Mutara na bene wabo bari bagitsimbaraye ku ngoma yabo yari yaribasiye gukandamiza rubanda rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu. Twazengur-

twumvisha abanyarwanda bose ko igihe kigeze cyo kwibohora. Abatutsi baraduhize ku buryo bamwe muri twe bahasize agatwe, siniriwe mbarondora murabazi.

Ubwo twari tugamije gukiza abahutu ingoyi ya gihake n'uburetwa byari byarabamunze kandi "abavukanye imbulo" badashakira kugira icyo babinhinduraho. Kuko nubwo abatutsi batari barenze icumi ku ijana by'abatuye igihugu cyose nibwo bonyine bategekaga. Nta mwami, nta gisonga, nta amwivu, nta mushyamba, nta musushyamba, nta mumotsi, nta kirongozi by'umuhutu byabagaho uretse igihe bari batangiyeye gusa n'abajijisha bafata umuhutu umwe bakamutereka mu nama y'igihugu irimo abatutsi barenze makumyabiri. Kuvuza demokarasi byari inzizi kuri rubanda, bikaba akirirereho ku butegetsi bw'abega n'abanyiginya. Gucisha iby'amatora adafitiraye kwari ugucukurira abahutu rw'abanyiginya. Nahanganye n'uyu mwami n'abambari be rubura gica mparanira ko n'umuhutu yakandagira mu ishuri kandi ntarenganywe azira ubwoko bwe. Iyo ni imwe mu mitategereye mibi ya leta zose za cyami...

R. Wishaka ariko kwizimba mu magambo reka ngushyirye n'umutima murira kandi mu kinyabupfura uk'uko imfura twareze. Iyo uruga ngo twahigaga abarwanashyamba banyu aho urabeshya kuko nawe ubwawe utari kurusimbuka ubwo abazungu bagutwaraga mu kwaha. Naho ababa baraguye muri icyo midugararo abenshi cyane bari abatutsi, nibwo twatamagaye, muratwicirira, murira inkamba mbese mubakorera ibya mfura mibi. Harway na Logiest babakomera amashyamba. Naho se twe twakoze iki koko kibabangamiye, si Mbonyumutwa gusa abasore banjye bahuye agashyamba nako kadakanganywe hariya i Bukomera ndetse akaza no kuba Perezida wa mbere w'umuhutu kuko twari tumaze kumutera iryo shamba.

Aba bandi uruga ko bahohoteye bashobora no kuba barazize bene wabo. Gutsimbarara ku butegetsi bwacu byo byari byo n'ubu kandi turacyabukomeyeho kuko ari umurage wa ba sogokuru. Kandi mitategereye twasanga umututsi agombye buri gihe gutegeka umuhutu, ibyo n'abazungu barabwemeraga. Icyakora

ukuri abatutsi bakomeye hamwe na bamwe ndetse nanjye ubwawe mbabereye ku isonga twasabye natwe ko ibintu binhinduka n'umuhutu akagira ijamba mu mitategereye y'iki gihugu.

K. Urabeshya, hanyuma se wari kugira icyo uhindura ibyegera byawe bikakorohere dore ko ari nabyo byaguhitanye...

R. Ariko reka ndungize dore ko n'iki nyabupfura cyanyu kigeze ku mashyamba. Si n'abatutsi banyirye ahubwo nahitanywe n'abazungu mwari mwarashumikanye. Urashakira kwibagira kandi ko twabuhaye abashyamba n'abasushyamba wenda koko umwami benshi ariko bandi ba kandida babishoboye mu mufite. Demokarasi kandi nubwo nanjye utashyamba naza yari yaratangiyeye gushyamba imizi mu gihugu kuko n'ibyo twakoraga byose ntigeze mbibabwira, sinigeze mbwira amashyamba yanvu gukora n'ibinyamakuru nka wenda wandikagamo ibyo wishakirye gusohoka kandi nari mbifitaye ububasha. Ahubwo nwe twamuraga demokarasi nabi mukayitiranyu na kwicirukana, gusanyera no kwica abaturisi. Iby'amatora byo icyo gihe ntibari byoroshye kuvakoresha kuko abaturage bari bakiri mu bujiji bakabije ahubwo bishimiraga uko abaturage bagendaga basimburana, nta kindi bifuzaga. Mu mashuri nawe twose twasubizaga inyuma: naho uk'ibyo muri za shamba zo zose.

Astida n'abatutsi benshi ntibakandiye, gusa ariko ahandi hose nta vangura ry'amoko ryahigeze. Imenyimenyi ni uko namwe uko muri aha twiciragaga kandi mukarangira. Ndetse ahubwo twajyaga mu giturage hose gusaba abantu babahutu kuyoboka ishuri. Iby'imanza byo ibyizi byarangiye n'abaturage b'abahutu umurage bose abahutu n'abatutsi bavanze, ndetse ubwo abenshi bari abahutu ubwo ni nabo bafataga imyanzuro ya nyuma. Murakoze ku nyuma.

K. Mbere y'uko dukomereza no ku bindi reka mpe ijamba na Habyarimana agire nawe icyo avuye ku butegetsi bwa cyami-ntutsi.

H. Murakoze, icyakora ndumva ibyo Kayibanda yavuze ntacyo nongeraho kindi uretse ko hari andamarorerwa atagira ingano yuzuye ubugome, ubwicanyi, agasuzuguro

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akarengane, ubwikanyize bw'ubwoko bumwe bwa gatutsi yaranze ingoma zose nyiginya. Naho ibyireguro by'uyu mwami byo ndumva nta na kimwe gifite ishingiro. Nka Secyugu, Sindibona, Kamuzinzi, Kayuku, Kajangwe, Kanyaruka n'abandi, bishwe n'abaronari ntabwo ari urupara. Amatora yari gushoboka mu nzego zose za politiki kuko na Kamarampaka yakoreshejwe abanyarwanda bakamenya kwihitiramo ubutegetsi bifuzwa.

Gusa, kandi ni nayo mpamvu niyemeje gufata ubutegetsi ku wa 5 nyakanga 1973, ntabwo revolisiyo yavugaga gusimbuzwa abatutsi abahutu mu nzego zinyuranye cyangwa gutoteza umututsi ngo ni uko yandamijwe kera mwene gahutu.

Iyo ni impitagihe byaterwaga n'ibihe igihugu cyari kigezemo, ntabwo rero twagombaga gushaka ibyo guhōra kuko ari ntaho byari kugeza rubanda nyamwinshi. Hivanzemo icyakora n'ibindi bibazo by'uturere, by'ubukungu bwari bwarazambye, amatiku n'inzangano byari byarahawe intebe byanteye jye n'ingabo zanjye gusesa Repubulika ya mbere.

K. Mwibuke ariko ko tukiri mu rwego rwa politiki gusa, ibyo bindi Habyarimana yari ashatse kubutsa bizagira uwabyo mwanya. Sinavugaga ko Repubulika ya mbere yakoze ibyo yagombaga gukora byose ariko ntiyigeze yizigama mu gushimangira de-
~~lok~~karasi no guharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Amatora yose yagendaga neza nta gitugu, abaturugumesitiri batorwaga n'abaturage babo, ariko narinze nitaba Nyagasani ubutegetsi bw'uyu Habyarimana bubashyiraho hakoreshejwe ikimenyane nsa nsa nsa.

Abadepite bashyirwagaho n'abaturage bo mu karere kabo nta gitutu kandi nta mbogamizi z'amashuri bahuraga nazo. None ubu ngo perefe niwe ufite inshingano zo gutoresha abo perezida wa Repubulika yihitiyemo gusa, ku buryo Repubulika ya kabiri yaranzwe no kunyereza amajwi. Kuri perezida byo byari agahomamunwa: umuperefe yari ategetswe gutoresha Habyarimana ijana ku ijana nk'uko byagenze ku Gikongoro ya Nyabyenda kandi bizwi kuwa kera ko icyo perefe giturura itamucirira n'akari urutega. Hari na-

ho umuturage yakaga ikijuru abayobora amatora bakamubwira ko hasigaye ibyatsi gusa; ese babirangirizaga mu masandugu maze uwo muntu akaba agitowe. Mu bakonseye no mu ba selire naho hatwaga uwo burugumesitiri na perefe bashaka gusa.

Amahyaka menshi nayo wayemeye mu magambo gusa maze mu ngiro ukayaburaza gukora mu bwisanzure, ukayashyiraho amananza atakwihanganirwa. Mu gihe cyanyije irondamoko n'irondakarere byamaganirwaga kure...

H. Umva ra, hanyuma se abaminisitiri 7, ba ambasaderi iryaguye bakomokaga i Gitarama cyangwa imvururu zo muri 1973 zahitanye bamwe mu batutsi abandi zikabatera guhunga igihugu cyabo, icyo gihe si wowe wategekaga?

K. Winsha mu ijamba uraza guhabwa urubuga nawe winigure. Hanyuma se nari kuronda akarere nka kwegurira ubuyobozi bw'ingabo wowe n'abandi bakiga kandi twari mu bihe bya za kudeta?

Mu mashuri twakurikizaga amanota umunyeshuri yabonye koko mu kizami. Ntabwo nigeze nshyiraho iri nganiza nk'uko wabigenje ushaka ko abanyenduga n'abatutsi bagwamo. Nyamara kandi mwanabaraga nabi, abo mwacaga mu mashuri yanyu bigiraga mu yigenga kandi impamyabushobozi atanga mukazemera; nk'aho ngaho abatutsi baberetse igihandure.

Naho imidugararo yo muri gashyamba ni 1973 ni wowe wayiteye uwo shyirwemo na Kanyarengwe udu muhanganye n'abandi muakorana gusa mushaka kunsabota. Ubuho se jye mureze ko wibanda ku Bashiru no ku Bashiru gusa icyo ugiye gutanga imyanya iryoshye mu butegetsi bwa gisivili na gisirikari ari nabyo amashyaka n'ibinyamakuru byise akazu wavugaga ko mbeshya kandi? Nk'ubu umubano w'u Rwanda n'ibihugu bidukikije ugeze ku buce kugeza naho nka Uganda igihugu cy'inshuti y'u Rwanda kuwa kera kidushumurira inyenzi n'abasirikari usanga ari ubucuti hagati yanyu gusa; kandi rero n'ubu mareshali wisungira iminsi asigaye ku butegetsi ishobora kuba ibaze. Ubuho na Tanzania twari hafi kuba twakwiyungaga tukaba igihugu kimwe isigaye ireba umunyarwanda nk'icyo imbwa yanze! Aho uranyibuka agato-

ki ku kandi na Nyerere, uzabikorana n'uriya muswahili Mwingi turebe.

Kenya nubwo ugerageze, kuyishimushima ntiteze kukumva, none yakumvise ntiwayibwiye ikaguteretera umwamikazi w'ubwongereza na Minisitiri w'intebe we maze bagacubya umurego wa Museveni kandi ko babishoboye kurusha abandi bose mushyikirana. Rero ngo twana muganga azakomeza guhuragura ibigambo no gucurangira abahetsi mu kinyamerika yaba yarihuguwemo.

H. Ndumva idosiye ya Rudahigwa isa n'iyashyizwe iruhande, gusa sinabura kwongeraho ko politiki yo mu Rwanda izambywa ahanini n'abatutsi kuko aribo bazana amacakubiri mu gihugu maze ibihutu bimwe na bimwe bigasamara bitazi umutwe wabo wo gucamo ibipande abana b'u Rwanda cyane cyane abahutu kugira ngo bamarane maze ibimanuka bifate ubutegetsi.

Byegegereje amwe mu mashyaka akomeye kandi asanzwe ari aya rubanda nka MDR (Parmehutu) barayacukumbura kugeza ku mitwe yabo; bihishe muri MRND kandi bizwi ko bazitorera PL ishyamba ry'inkotanyi. Mu mahanga aho kuvuganira neza urwababyaye ahubwo usanga barusebya, babangamirira inyungu zarwo zose bitwaje ikinyoma. Iyo niherereye nkibaza ku by'iyi ntambara turimo maze ngakubitiraho no kumva no kureba ibibera i Burundi aho umuhutu yicwa nk'umubu azira ubwoko bwe nsanga abatutsi ari ba nta munozu kabisa naho wabahongera ibya mirenge! None se kandi wowe Rudahigwa uzongera wiharange ko izo nkoramaraso aribwo bwoko bw'Imana bugomba gutegeka iyi si?

R. Ubuho ariko uratandukiriye dore ko abatutsi twababoneyeho. Ntabwo nigeze nciyeza ko tugomba gutegeka isi; naho kuba turi ubwoko bw'Imana byo ndumva aribyo kuko mwanashatse kudutsemba maze Rurema ikibuka ko turi abe.

Kandi nta n'uwakwifuzaga kuba ubwoko bwa Shitani kereka niba ariko mwe mubishaka. Ese mwakweruye mukavugaga ko mudashaka abatutsi mu gihugu cyanyu ari nacyo cyabo maze bikagira inzira aho gukomeza kubagira kampe nkabwinane. Ese ubundi wowe Habyarimana wabanje ugasubiza mwene wanyu uyu kubwo yanenze ubutegetsi bw'igitugu

biawoe.

H. Urashaka kuvuga Kayibanda reka musubize yumirwe. icyo nabanza kumwumvisha ni uko ari nta wakwiharanga ngo niwe wakoze Revolisiyo wenyine nk'uko abayoboke ba MDR bashaka gucengeza mu banyarwanda ko ishyaka ryabo ritanitwaga gutyo mu bihe bya Revolisiyo riyobowe na Geregori Kayibanda ariryo ryonyine ryakuye abahutu ku ngoyi ya gihake na gikolonize. Nako amakosa yaba yarakozwe mu gihe cyanyije yo simpakana ko atabayeho kuko udakora ariwe udakosa, gusa hari agakabyo mukuru wanyije Kayibanda n'abantu be bashyiramo nkaho bo ari ba malayika.

Umuze tuvuze iby'amatora yo muri Repubulika ya mbere yasobanura ate ukuntu yiyongezaga manda anyuranyije n'itegeko Nshinga yishyiriyeho. Ubundi se Kayibanda yigeze yiyamamazanya nande ngo tuvuye ko hari demokarasi yuzuye? Dore nkanjye ubu mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi niteguye guhangana n'abandi bakandida niba MRND arijye izasubiza ku isonga; ndetse nimbona bikomeza kunaniza mbwirerundi yihataniye. Abaturugumesitiri n'abadepite se ni nde uyobewe ko hambere birirwaga bakanarara bamama amajwi, bashingiye ku gusebanya, gutanga amayoga, wanganisha abaturage no kuryasha abakandida. Demokarasi se yo yakoraga neza ite niba uwageragezaga kutavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi yarateshwaga umurungo. Ubu amashyaka yose yemewe afite ubwisanzure bwuzuye ndetse ahubwo nanayingize kujya muri Guverinoma aba ariyo yanga ku mpamvu zitanturutseho, mubona se ko nayaterura ngo n'aze. Ibyo guha abakiga kuyobora ingabo simpamya ko kwari ukubakundwakaza, wenda abanyenduga bo bihitiragamo ubutegetsi bwo mu biro aho kujya kuribwa n'imibu mu bihuru no kwiteza amasasu n'inenzi za Kigeli.

Nk'iby'iringaniza biratangaza kubona umuntu avuga ko ashigikiye demokarasi hanyuma akamagana bimwe mu biyaranga. None se ni iki kindi wakorera amoko n'uturere kiruta guha buri gace umugabane ugakwiye mu mashuri, mu mirimo

yose no mu butegetsi hakurikijwe uko kangana mu gihugu cyose...

R. *Niko ntakurogoye, kuki iryo ringaniza rikorwa ku ruhande rumwe maze ku rundi hakagira ubwoko cyangwa akarere bihurwa imirimo imwe n'imwe. Ndashaka kuvuga nko mu basirikare, mu iperereza, muri za ambasade, mu butegetsi bw'ibigo bikomeye n'ahandi ntirive mvuga.*

H. Ibyo ni amahomvu bene wanyu bagenda bakwiza mu gihugu no hanze babeshya, nyamara uwarondora aho bagiye biganje kandi h'ingirakamaro ntiyabona aho ahakwiza, uzarebe ufite ifaranga n'indi mitungo muri uru Rwanda ari nde. Kandi rero namwe mutigize nyoni nyinshi ntabwo waringaniza kugeza aho umuntu wajya umuhamo kabiri cyangwa gatatu kugira ngo imibare ihure sawa sawa.

Kandi ubanza mwiye bagiza ko iringaniza riramutse rivuyeho uwaba afite ubutegetsi wese yakwikorera ibyo yishakiye maze nyiri ntege nke akahagwa. Irondakarere cyangwa akazu banshira byo ntaho bihuriye n'ukuri; mberetse imbonerahamwe y'abahawe imyanya ikomeye uhereye kuri minisitiri w'intebe, Perezida w'inteko ishingira amategeko, Perezida w'urukiko rusasa imanza, minisitiri w'ingabo, abayobozi b'ibigo nka Air Rwanda, Stir, Sonarwa, C.E.; BRD, OCIR, Oprovia, n'ahandi mwasanga ahubwo akare nkumokamo karyamirwa.

Ibyerekeye umubano mwiza n'ibihugu duhana imbibi niyo nshingano nihaye ngifata ubutegetsi kandi ibyo aribyo byose byabaye mahire. Naguye n'amarembo akomeye, nashoboye gushimangira umubano utagira amakemwa hagati y'u Rwanda n'ibihugu hafi ya byose by'i Burayi, byo muri Amerika ya ruguru, by'abarabu n'ibyo muri Afurika y'abirabura uretse nyine ko inkotanyi n'ibitso byazo bagenda-ga bahamenamo umusenyi.

None se nk'iyi ntambara twari kuyitsinda dute tudafitanye umubano mwiza na Zaire, Ubufaransa, Ubudage, Kanada, Amerika, Kenya, Tanzaniya etc. Abaguzwe n'umwanzi bo nk'in'yeshyamba Museveni -simvuzwe abaganda ubwabo kuko barengana-ntako wabagenza cyereka ahari nawe ufite

amadolari aruta ay'inkotanyi wabanyanyagizamo maze bakaba babucyeye kabiri. Nk'u Burundi bwo ubanza na Kayibanda yifashe kugira icyo abavugaho kuko nawe aziko bwamunywesheje amazi agitegeka yirirwa atukana bushumba na Mibombere ku maradiyo. icyakora tuvuye ibintu kandi tubisubire igihe cyose u Burundi buzaba butegekwa n'ubwoko bw'abatutsi kandi aribo bake cyane mu gihugu nta wakwiteza amajeke ngo u Rwanda ruteze kuzumvikana nabwo.

Ingirwamubano bahora biyamira mu madisikuru ishingiyeye ku kuryaryana gusa. Abahutu baho bo abatarashirira ku isasu nta cyatubuza kumvikana. Kandi mu rwego rw'iyi mibano n'ibindi bihugu murumva namwe ko mfite n'andi mabanga ntashobora kuburirira kuko abantu nkamwe ntabashira amakenga.

K. *(arayura) Umunaniriro n'ibitotsi byari bitangiye kuntwara, Jenerali Majoro niyongere adusukiremo ka konyaki ndabona imihogo, n'ibirahure byumye kera; arebe kandi naho yambonera imiti ingaha y'isegereti. Ariko ubundi wowe uzahera ku ipeti nagusigiyeye kuzageza ryari? Nta na ka marehali nibura nka Bokasa, Idi Amine Dada cyangwa munywanzi wawe Sese Seko Kuku Nguendo wa Zabanga.*

R. Nanjye nari ngiye kuganzwa n'ijoro kandi ubundi bwoko bwacu bwo mu miryango ikomeye ya Gitutsi turi intaganzwa zidakorwa ku ngobe n'impehe zo kwa Rukatamabereyimbeyi. Jye ahubwo nimunyihere agashyushyu niba nako gahari dore ko ikivuguto cyo ngo namwe mwamenye ko kiryo.

H. Ariko aho urumva mwa, koko ushyira umututsi mu kifambi bwacya ugasanga yarenze urwuririro. Twakiriye uyu mwanzi ntitwamuhutaza none dore atangiye kudushyiraho imininguro yuzuyemo ibitutsi gusa.

R. *Ushatse wacisha make di! Leta mputu zose tuzazirwanya mpaka zisibanganye kuri uyu mubumbe w'isi. Ndetse woweho ntuzaturushya kuko Rukokoma izakwikokomorerera maze iki gihugu mwirata ngo ni icyanyu tukakigururira ahasigaye tukabereka "ico turi co" nk'uko ino muvuga. Nah'ubundi twarabakinishije mbere hose twibwirako*

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muzavamo abantu, ba sha... ba Mukera-rugendo bazajya bamenya uko mwasaga banyuze mu bigo by'inyamaswa bita "zoo" mu gifaransa kuko ibirunga byo tuzabiharira ingagi zo zibarusha agaci-ro.

H. (aramukoba) Wooo ! nanga imbwa zanjywa, nimusubize amewe mu isaho twarabamenye ! Na Mahama ntikirarikira umupfu itareba. Erega n'ubundi mwanyinjije muri iyo Rukokoma ntabizi dore ko amayere yanyu ari menshi. Ariko ndabona na muzehe Kayibanda bisa n'ibyamuyobeye, ubanza umwuzukuru wa Rwabugiri yari afite ubutumwa bw'inkotanyi. Ni akotanyire hirya rero kwa bene wabo no kubabashyigikiye bose iwanjye aha-byire hasi. Yewe niba ari na ya Rukokoma imara imyaka n'imyaniko

kandi irekereje kurimbura gahutu mushaka ndayibimye. ndayibimye...

Nubwo nemereye i Paris ko bibaye ngombwa Rukokoma yakorwa, ubu nisubiyeho. Kuva kuri uyu munota nanze ibintu bitatu: icya mbere nanze Rukokoma, icya kabiri naze Rukokoma, icya gatatu nanze...

K. (amuca mu ijamba) Rukokoma... Ariko ndabona mwahise mucagagurana kandi wenda iyi mishyikirano yatuma twubaka igihugu cyacu aho Kugumiza kugisenya. Ariko se Rudahi, abantu koko nkamwe mudashaka kuva ku izima, mukigambiriye gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu z'amasasu no kwicwa ikitwa umuhutu aho kiva kikagera mwarutse mugaturana neza, mugasaranganya ibyiza by'igihugu

n'abo mwasanze muri uru Rwanda rwa Gihanga ntawe ushaka gucira undi. Wowe se Yuvana, kuki wanga ko ibibazo bireba igihugu cyawe ari nacyo cy'abanyarwanda bose ntawe ugifiteho uruhare kurusha undi bicocerezwaga muri gacaca kugira ngo birusheho kubonerwa umuti ubereye rubanda nyamwinshi rwose na buri muntu ku giciye.

None ubwo amaherezo azaba ayahe ko turimo dukinisha ibintu abadukomokaho bazatubaza tukarya indimi nubwo tuzaba tutakiriho ?

R. Mba ndoga Musinga...

K. Rekeraho dutahe tuzasubira ubutaha kuko na bya bibazo bindi naruze dutangira tutashoboye kubigeraho.

Ndekezi Bonaparte
Gisuma.

**P.L ISHOBORA GUHAGARIKWA
MBERE Y'IMINSI 30 NIKOMEZA
GUKORANA N'UMWANZI**

**INKOTANYI NGO ZIGEZE
IYI NTAMBARA MU GICE CYA
GATATU**

Rwose nitutareba neza, inkotanyi ziraduca mu mizi. Mwiyumviye kuri Radiyo-Rwanda ukuntu Inkotanyi zifuza guteranya abanyarwanda bose cyane cyane abasilikari n'uturere.

Mu migambi yabo harimo cyane cyane kwica, kwangiza ibintu no gushyigikira mu buryo bwose iterabwoba.

Ku byerekeye amatora ngo barashaka kwifatira abantu beme-rwa kandi bizerwa n'abaturage bakazabakoresha kugira ngo bagire amajwi menshi mu mpande zose z'igihugu.

Twashoboye kubabonera iyo migambi none turayitangaje ngo namwe mwihere amaso.

Hagati aho, ishaka P.L rimaze kubona ko imigambi yabo yamenyekanye, ryirukankiye kwandikira Prezida wa Repubulika ngo MRND irashaka guteza imyidugararo n'ntambara mu gihugu. Mwumve namwe uko kwiyoberanya !!!

**BANYARWANDA MURARYE
MURI MENGE.**

**COMITE NYARWANDA IRWA-
NYA URUGOMO.**

Kigali, kuwa 20 Gashyantare 1992.

- Ku bayobozi b'amashyamba yemewe mu Rwanda
- Ku bahagarariye ibihugu byaba mu Rwanda i Kigali.
- Kuri Musenyeri Nsengiyumva na Sebununguri Adoniya - Kigali.
- Kuri Bwana Prefe w'Umujyi wa Kigali.

Bwana,

Tubohereje mu nyomeko y'uru rupapuro ibarwa twandikiwe n'Umuryango nyafurika urwanya urugomo «Commission internationale pour la non violence» ukaba ukorera i Nairobi muri Kenya. Ibikubiye muri iyo barwa biteye agahinda.

Tuboneyeho kwerekana no kwamagana ibikorwa ibyaribyoye bigenewe gukorera amarorerwa abanyarwanda bose. Abo ba «rukundamvururu» tubamaganye n'imbaraga zacu zose kandi tubikuye ku mutima.

Turabamenyeshako hari ibikorwa by'urugomo birimo gutegurwa kugirango bicubanganye umutekano w'abaturage. Ibyo bikorwa ni ibi :

- Itwika ry'ibigega bya essence (Iisansi)

- Itwika ry'amamodoka n'ibindi bigendera ku muhanda

- Amarozi (kugirango bigerweho, hagakorehwa abakobwa n'abaturatsikazi bashakanye n'abahutu; n'abanyamahanga).

Muri rusange, turashaka abanyarwanda bose kubungabunga umutekano wa buri wese, kandi bagafata imigambi ihamye kugirango tutazatungurwa.

Visi—Prezida w'Umuryango
MUTANGANA Innocent
(sé)

N.B. Ubwanditsi bwa KANGURA burasaba inzego z'umutekano kemeza cyangwa guhakana ku bw'amategeko niba koko aribyo kuko umwanzi afite amayeri menshi yo guteranya abanyarwanda. Igitangaje nuko nabiswe ko bahigwa harimo abacyekwamo ibyitso bikorana n'umwanzi.

Aho ugulira Kangura babaze na Manifeste na Stati za C.D.R ishya-ka ryanyu.

KOMISIYO NYAFURIKA IRWANYA URUGOMO.

Ku Ishyirahamwe rirwanya urugomo mu Rwanda KIGALI.

Bavandimwe,

Turabamenyeshya rwose ko dukurikiranira hafi ibibera mu Rwanda. Twishimira uburyo demokarasi iharanirwa aho iwanyu, tukishimira n'inzego zose zishyirwaho kugirango hashobore kubaho guverinoma igizwe n'amashyamba menshi. Turatera inkunga y'umwihariko abanyapolitiki muri Afurika bakwiye kugaragaza ubwumvikane n'ubwitonzi, bakagomba kuva ubu guharanira nyungu z'ibihugu byabo.

Cyokora ku bireba igihugu cyanyu, ni ngombwa ko tubabwira ko icyiciro cya gatatu cy'intambara u Rwanda rwakuruweho kuwa kuwa 1 Ukwakira 1990, kiri hafi gutangira. Koko rero kuwa aho igice cya mbere (urugamba mbona-nkubone) n'icya kabiri (ibitero-shuma), igice cya gatatu cyo kigizwe n'ibikorwa by'urugomo : kwica, kwangiza ibintu n'ubwihebe cyane cyane mu mijyi.

Ibyihebe by'abanyamahanga (abarabu n'abanyafurika) bimaze gutorerwa gusohozwa uwo mugambi. Bazinjira mu Rwanda mu buryo winshi kandi biyoberanije (ubucuzi, ubukerarugendo,...), nyuma bazashobore gukorana n'ubuyobozi bw'ishyamba P.L. rihagarariye F.P.R. mu Rwanda (reba ibarwa yacu yo kuwa 11 Ugushyngi 1991).

Ubwobwicyanyu buzakorerwa abantu b'ingeri zose : abanyapolitiki, abacuruzi, abasilikari,... bese bari mu mashyamba yiganjemo abahutu.

Ubwobwicyanyu buzakorerwa uburebye usanga budakanganye ariko iyo ubusuzumanyeho ubwitonzi usanga imigambi bimirije imbere iteye ubwoba : Umuyobozi w'ishyamba runaka azicwa, urupfu rwe rwitwe urwa politiki maze rigerekwe ku rindi shyamba n'urugomo. Bityo F.P.R. izahita ibikwirakwiza mu biyamakuru byo hanze. Ibyo bikorwa bizakomeza kugeza ubwo bite-

ranije abahutu ubwabo ngo bicane (akarere n'akandi, Ndlr).

Abahigwa mbere na mbere ku rupapuro twashoboye kubona ni aba :

1. BAGARAGAZA Thadée, umunyapolitiki
2. RUTAYISIRE, umusilikari
3. BANZI Wellars, umunyapolitiki
4. MUREGO Donat, umunyapolitiki
5. SEBULIKOKO, umucuruzi
6. RUZINDANA Augustin, umukozi wa Leta
7. MBONYUMUTWA, umucuruzi
8. NZIRORERA Joseph, wahoze ari Minisitiri
9. RWABUKUMBA, umucuruzi akaba na muramu w'Umukuru w'igihugu
10. KABUGA Félicien, umunyenganda
11. KIGUFI Thomas, umukozi wa Leta
12. NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas
13. SEBUNUNGURI Adoniya, umunyedini
14. NYUNGURA Emile, umujyana mpuzamahanga
15. RWAGAFILITA, umusilikari
16. NGANGO Félicien, uburanira abantu n'umunyapolitiki
17. MPORANYI, umuyobozi wa SORAS
18. NTIRIVAMUNDA Alphonse, umukozi wa Leta
19. NZABONIMANA Callixte, Minisitiri
20. KAREMERA Edoard, umunyapolitiki
21. BUTARE, umukozi wa Leta (OPROVIA)
22. KAGIMBANGABO, prefe.

Nshuti,

Ntimuyobewe ko Etat-Major ya F.P.R. ikorera i Nairobi mu bwihisho, ubutegetsu bwa Kenya butabizi. Iryo shami rikorana ku buryo bw'umwihariko n'iryi Kigali riyobowe na PL.

Muri make rero, iryo terabwoba rya F.P.R. ni ryo ryatumye, twiyemeza kubafasha kwamagana urugomo. Twabasaba guhora muri maso kandi mukarangwa n'ubumwe kugirango mushobore kuburizamo umugambi wose w'ite-

rabwoba mu gihugu cyanyu.

Sé James MAKUZA
Umunyamabanga uhoraho
Bikorewe i Nairobi, kuwa 3/02/
1992.

IMIGAMBI Y'INKOTANYI.

- I. Guhungabanya ubutegetsu bwa :
 - ba Minisitiri
 - ba Perefe
 - ba Burugumesitiri
 - Abajyanama muri za segiteri
 - Abayobozi ba za selire

Uko guhungabanya ubutegetsu kugomba gukomeza kugeza ubwo abo bategetsu bazashegashwa bakavugaga nabi ubutegetsu cyangwa bagata umutwe.

- Dore uburyo bazakoresha :
- a) Kwerekana amakosa akorwa n'ubutegetsu bayakuza
 - b) Kugaragaza ikosa iryo ariryo ryose ryagaragara mu buzima bwite bwabo.
 - c) Kubateranya n'abaturage
 - d) Guteza invururu muri za selire na za segiteri, kuziyobora bikananirana no kwigisha abaturage gusuzugura ubutegetsu.
 - e) Gusakaza iterabwoba mu bategetsu kugeza igihe bazumva batagishaka iyo myanya.

II. Gukoresha imyigaragambyo mu bigo by'imirimo byaba ibya Leta, iby'abigenga n'ibyo bahuriyeho ku buryo nta muni wahita nta myigaragambyo ibaye. Impamvu ntizubura zigomba gushakishwa.

Ibyo bigo ni nka :

OCIR THE
OCIR CAFE
BRALIRWA
SUCRERIE
REDEMI
RIZICULTURE
ONATRACOM
MAGERWA
ELECTROGAZ
CIMENTERIE

III. Kwigarurira ingabo z'igihugu : abasilikari, abagandarume, n'abapolisi ba Komini.

Ibyakorwa :
a) buri mushoferi wo mu mashyamba ritavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu agomba kurwanira gutwarira ubuntu

umusilikari anyuzaho, akaboneraho kumwinjizamo iyo migambi mibi yo kwanga ubutegetsi.

b) Kwerekana ku mugaragaro ko abarwanya ubutegetsi bashyigikiye ingabo mu kurwana intambara Habyarimana adashaka kurangiza kubera inyungu ze bwite.

— Ko babashyigikiye mu kwikiza Col SERUBUGA, Col RWAGAFIRITA, Col SAGATWA, Col BUREGEYA, Col NGAYINTERANYA, bo ntandaro y'akarengane n'akajagari karangwa mu ngabo.

— Kubumvisha ko hari irondekarere rikorwa mu ngabo kuko ba ofisiye bakomoka ku Gisenyi aribo bonyina bafashe imyanya myiza bitwa ko abasilikari bitwa ko ari abanyanduga ari bo bonyine bohereweza ku rugamba kugirango baha-gwe.

— Kwumvisha abasilikari ko ubu batarwanira igihugu ahubwo ko barwanira inyangabirama zishaka kwikirira hejuru y'amaraso yabo ameneka.

— Kubumvisha ko igihe cyose Habyarimana n'«AKAZU» ke bazaba bakiri ku butegetsi, intambara itazarangira kandi bese bakazashirira ku rugamba.

— Kubumvisha ko imishahara yabo idahagije; umusilikari ufite ipeti rya «soldat» ahembwa 4.000 Frw gusa kuri hari za miliyoni zipfushwa. Da hiryu no hino mu kwamama-za M.R.N.D.

IV. Kwitegura urugomo hobora kuzakorwa n'ingabo.

V. Gutera akanyabugabo abazakora iryo tera bwoba ntibazatinze gufatwa cyangwa gufungwa.

VI. Guteranya ubutegetsi buriho n'amahanga bakoresheje intumwa n'ibinyamakuru bavugira abarwanya ubutegetsi. Uburyo ntibuzabura, ibyo ni ngombwa kuko «umuhinza» ashigikiye n'amahanga cyane cyane u Bufaransa.

VII. Mu kwitegura amatora, gushakama mu ma segiteri, Komini, Perefegitura, abantu bemerwa n'abaturage mu gace batuyemo, kuko akarikera, abanyanduga bazatara umuntu ku

giti cyo. Abo bagore n'abagabo bazakoreshe imbaraga zabo zose mu gutegura amatora. Uzirara agomba gusimburwa.

VIII. Kuzirikana buri gihe, ko umwanzu akurusha imbaraga ukaba ugomba gukoresha imbaraga ufite zose ngo umurwanyeye, nta gusuzugura imbaraga z'umwanzu n'iyu waba ubona ari nke.

IX. Gukomeza ubumwe butajegajega mu ishyamba kandi mukitandukanya nta mbabazi n'ukekwaho ubugambanyi.

X. Gushyiraho inzego zigenzura imirimo ya Leta mu makomini.

XI. Gushakira ababahagarariye mubanda ku turere kamere twariho mu gihe cya gikoronize (Ubuganza, Ubwanacyambwe...).

XII. Kurushaho gutesha umutwe Habyarimana n'«AKAZU» mumubuza kuzamura umutwe kandi mukamwangisha abaturage.

XIII. Kwitegura neza «RUKOKOMA» kuko ubutegetsi nabwo buriho kuyitegura n'ubwo butera hejuru ko butayemera.

XIV. Igihe ubutegetsi bukora uko bushoboye ngo bubahutaze ntumuhangane nabwo imbona nkubone mutazahatakariza byinshi, ahubwo muzabufatire aho butiteguye cyangwa mubufatire henshi icyarimwe kugira ngo mubunanize. Nk'igihe bwiteguye guhosha imyigaragambyo, mugomba guteza imvururu aho butazikekaga nko mu mashuri, mu nganda...

XV. Gukomeza ubushishozi muri P.L. igenda irushaho kugira ingufu ikaba itangiye no kugaragaza ko ari iy'ubwoko bumwe gusa.

XVI. Kwifashisha cyane abagore n'abakobwa mu byo mukora.

XVII. Bamwe mu bantu banyu bagomba gucengera M.R.N.D. kugira ngo bamenye buri gihe imigambi n'imikorere yayo.

XVIII. Gushiraho Ishami rishinzwe umutekano kugira ngo ririnde abantu banyu, rinavumbure abayoboke ba M.R.N.D. baba babihishemo.

**AMAYERI Y'INKOTANYI
ARAGWIRA !!!!**

Inkotanyi, zimaze kubona ko iriya migambi yazo yamenyekanye, nk'uko mubibona ko ibarwa ya Komisiyo nyafurika irwanya urugomo yayohereje bagenzi babo bakorera 1992; hashize iminsi mike n'ishyamba P.L. ku itariki ya 12/02/1992 ryandikira Perezida wa Repubulika ibarwa No 032/92 ngo baramuburira ko hari abategetsi bariho bashakaguteza intambara hagati mu gihugu; iyumvire nawe !!!

Muri icyo barwa barashakira kwi-yoberanya kugira ngo uzaba atashoboye kumenya iriya migambi yabo mibi, azagire ngo ni inama bagira Perezida; cyangwa ngo ejo bimwe mu bivugwa muri iriya migambi yabo bise «STRATEGIE», nibigaragara babyegeke kuri M.R.N.D. nk'uko babyivugira mu migambi yabo.

**BANYARWANDA, MURABE
MASO !!!**

LA REDACTION.

BASOMYI MURASHISHOZE:

Abayoboke b'Inkotanyi cyane cyane abashinzwe kugaragaza ibitekerezo by'Inkotanyi mu nyandiko zibinyamakuru byabo, bacuze amayeri yo kwegereka inyandiko kuri M.R.N.D. dore ko bananditseho nimero za FAX za M.R.N.D. arizo 25076174 ngo bizakunde bigaragare ko ari urucurano — Baratahewe ntawe utabazi: