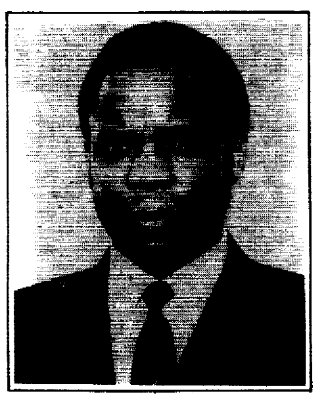
N°34

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

KA02 1638

Inkotanyi zateye zigamije kurimbura rubanda nyamwinshi no gusubiza ku bucakara abacitse ku icumu.

Twe muri CDR ntituzemera ko muri Guverinoma hinjizwamo amashyaka akorana n'umwanzi.



Muri Guverinoma itegerejwe C.D.R. yahawemo imyanya kuko yagaragaje ko ihagarariye rubanda nyamwinshi.

Baturage murabe maso kuko hari imiryango iri mu Rwanda icyohereza abana bayo mu nkotanyi !

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EDITORIAL

KUVUGISHA UKURI BYADINDIJWE N'IKI CYANGWA NANDE?

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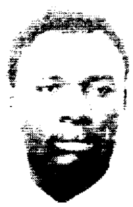

Uwacengerwa neza na disikuru yasomwe na BUCYANA Maritini, Perezida wa C.D.R. yasanga kutavugisha ukuri aribyo byari kurimbura ABAHUTU: Ishyaka «IMPUZAMUGAMBI ZIHARANIRA REPUBULIKA», C.D.R. mu magambo y'igifaransa ahinnye, ryâvutse bitewe n'uko muri iki gihe nta shyaka na rimwe, nta rwego urwarirwo rwose, nta muntu n'umwe byashoboye kurengera ku mugaragaro inyungu z'abenshi mu batuye igihugu. Nta n'umwe rwose wemeye ku mugaragaro ko demokarasi ishingiye buri gihe n'ahantu hose ku ihame ntagatifu ry'abagize igice kinini cy'abaturage. Ku rundi ruhande nta shyaka ryemeye nta shiti ko Repubulika igeze mu mazi abira kubera ko yugarijwe n'abashaka kugarura ingoma ya gihake n'ubwami byasezerewe na Kamarampaka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961.

Mu gihe iyo demokarasi ishaka gusenywa mu mahame yayo n'abakotanira kongera gufata ubutegetsi ngo bakoreshe abaturage ibyo bishakiye ku ngufu n'ubwicanyi baturutse hanze kandi babifashijwemo bikomeye n'ibyitso byabyiyemeje, rubanda nyamwinshi rwagombaga narwo gufata ibyemezo bikwiye byo kururengera muri ibi bihe no mu bitaha. Byagaragaye ko amashyaka ariho ubu ushyizemo n'ayiyita ko ari ay'abaturage nyamwinshi yirirwa akocorana nk'amasake agaragiwe n'abayobozi bayo bagamije inyungu zabo bwite gusa, aho gushimangira ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, ba Gashakabuhake bararikiye guhora, bashaka kurimbura

C.D.R. yavutse mu gihe cy'intambara yari imaze kugaragaza ibara ryayo ryo gutikiza rubanda. Niba andi mashyaka yaba yarabayeho kubera kwitabira politiki y'amashyaka menshi yari imaze kwemerwa n'ubutegetsi buriho ndetse na mbere y'intambara y'Ukwakira 1990, C.D.R. yo yakomotse kuri iyo ntambara y'amoko yatewe n'abashaka kwica urubozo rubanda nyamwinshi. C.D.R. kandi yabaye ngombwa kubera ubushobozi n'ubushake bike by'abanyamashyaka atagaragaza byimazeyo ko ari aya rubanda ahubwo agashyigikira ibikorwa by'abanzi ba demokarasi na repubulika.

C.D.R. iziye igihe kugira ngo ibuze igihugu kongera gusubira ku nkeke y'ingoma ya gihake yari yaramunze abo dukomokaho, ba data, ba sogokuru ndetse na bamwe muri twe bakiyifitiye inkovu zitazasibangana. Birumvikana ariko ko ingabo zacu, zizahora zifatanyije na C.D.R. zashoboye kwivugana inyinshi mu nyenzi — nkotanyi maze uturokotse tukadushushubikanyiriza mu ndiri zatwo. Abasirikari bacu bashoboye gukumira umwanzi n'ubutwari budasanzwe no kwerekana uruhare rukomeye Leta ya Uganda yabigizemo iha abaduteye insorensore zo kubarwanirira, intwaro, amasasu, ibikoresho byose bakeneye n'aho bitoreza. C.D.R. iboneyeho umwanya wo gushimira no gishimagiza byimazeyo izo ngabo zacu z'imena no kwibuka abaguye ku rugamba baharanira kurengera demokarasi na repubulika.

Niba rero mu rwego rwa gisirikari rubanda nyamwinshi rwagombye kwishimira ubutwari n'ubwitange bitagira amakemwa no gukunda igihugu by'abakobwa n'abahungu barwo, ku ruhande rwa Politiki ho nta kigenda. Mbega gucececka! Mbega abagambanyi! Mbega ibyitso bigaragaza cyangwa byihishe mu bandi!

C.D.R. yitangiye kugarura igihugu mu murongo ukomeye. Ntabwo izakoresha imvururu, ntiziyambaza intwaro nk'uko amashyaka amwe n'amwe abikora ahubwo izaharanira gucengeza ya politiki ishingiye ku mahame yemewe ya demokarasi.

Intwaro yacu yonyine ni demokarasi nyayo kandi yuzuye itagira imbogamizi n'imiziro. Politiki yo kudashyira mu gaciro n'ikinyoma yararangiye, Politiki yo kurimanganya no kwirengagiza ukuri nta ntebe igifite muri uru Rwanda. Uko kuri ni ukuhe? Ku ruhande rwa C.D.R. uko kuri guteye gutya : ba gashaka buhake bakigambiriye guhora barashaka kugarura ingoma ya cyami na gihake ku ngufu, ubwicanyi, n'imvururu kugira ngo tuvutswe ibyiza bya revolusiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959. Ibyo bimanuka n'ababikomokaho, abo bahuje amaraso n'abanywanyi babyo baba mu Rwanda, mu Burundi, muri Zayire, muri Uganda, muri Tanzaniya n'ahandi bahuriye ku migambi yo gutembagaza ubutegetsi bwose bwakomotse kuri Revolusiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959 bakoresheje ingufu, imvururu n'ubwicanyi. Ni aho ukuri kw'intambara ya politiki n'iy'amasasu abayobozi n'abayoboke ba F.P.R., U.P.R., P.L., P.S.R. n'abandi bene wabo b'abatutsi bihishe muri M.R.N.D. na M.D.R. n'ahandi barwana gushingiye. Bitwaje ko baharanira demokarasi, abatutsi badashaka ko andi moko abaho cyangwa agira ijambo mu Rwanda barahiye ko bazakora ibishobotse byose mu ishyaka baba barimo ryose kugira ngo bagarure ingoma ya gatutsi. Bibwira ko inkunga ya Perezida MUSEVENI n'ingabo ze n'ubufatanye bw'abatutsi bose bo mu karere dutuyemo n'ababa ahandi, bizageraho bigatsinda rubanda nyamwinshi rwamaze gucibwamo ibice n'abo banzi barutegesha ibibazo by'uturere no kurya iby'ubusa.

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CDR rero ije kwimira imigambi mibi y'abo bagome kuko ihame ryayo ari ubumwe n'ubufatanye bya rubanda nyamwinshi. Murumva namwe bayoboke ba CDR n'abandi murikeneyeho ibisobanuro impamvu CDR yatangiye gunarabikwa n'abanzi b'iyo rubanda cyane cyane abibumbiye mu mashyaka FPR, UPR, PL, PSR n'ahandi. Bahatanira kumvisha amahanga atazi ukuri ko mu Rwanda ko CDR ari ishyaka rivangura kandi rishingiye ku moko kandi riteza imvururu. Maze se ni nde uvangura cyangwa uronda amoko? Ese ni ushaka kurengera inyungu z'abagize igice kinini cy'abaturage, akaba yararanzweho buri gihe no gushaka no gushimangira ubumwe n'ubusabane by'abanyagihugu bose cyangwa se ni wa wundi utava ku izima mu gushaka kugira abo baturage ingaruzwamuheto, akaba yaramaze ibinyejana n'ibinyejana akandamiza rubanda nyamwinshi maze akanga kwemera ko rwipakuruye ingoyi ya gihake ashaka kugarura kuva muwa 1963? Ntabwo rwose ari ibanga ko inyenzi zo muri 1960 zari abatutsi kandi ko n'inkotanyi z'ubu ari abatutsi. Ntawe uyobewe ko ingirwamashyaka FPR, PL, PSR, yamamaza politiki ya gatutsi kandi akayoborwa mu by'ukuri n'abatutsi. Abahutu bake bake baba barayihishemo ni abakora buja na bucancuro bishakira inyungu zabo cyangwa bafite irari ribarenze. Uburyo imiryango n'amashyaka y'abo bantu akoresha ngo agere ku butegetsi burazwi. Ni za kalachnikovu, bombe, katiyusha, imyigaragambyo isenya, gutega za mine, ubushimusi bw'abantu n'ubwicanyi n'andi mayeri yose yo guteza intambara mu baturage.

CDR izarwanya ubwo bugizi bwa nabi, izarengera rubanda nyamwinshi kandi izaharanira gushimangira ibyiza bya revolisiyo yo muri 1959. Tuzahanganisha ibyo bikorwa by'ubwicanyi n'imvururu ubumwe bw'abahutu biyemeje kurengera inyungu zabo.

Tuzashimangira demokarasi yuzuye.

Ubwo bugizi bwa nabi no gusenya tuzabisimbuza amatora. Kalacinikovu tuzayisimbuza urupapuro rw'itora. Duhamya ko ubumwe bw'abahutu buzakumira ibyo bikorwa bibi by'umwanzi maze umututsi agahabwa umwanya umukwiye, bityo ubwo bumwe bukaba bucubije irari rye rirenze kamere. CDR ishyigikiye ko abahutu, n'abatutsi babana mu mahoro batibagiwe ariko n'ubundi bwoko bw'abatwa. Yemeza ko abatutsi bafite uburenganzira bwo kugera ku butegetsi bararikiye, ku buryo ariko bubahiriza amahame ya demokarasi. Ni nayo mpamvu itarwanya ko habaho amashyaka y'abatutsi kandi avugira abatutsi nka PL, PSR n'ayandi. Nabwo rero nta muntu wari ukwiriye kwivovotera abahutu n'abatwa baba bashatse kwibumbira mu ishyaka rirengera inyungu zabo. CDR ntizigera ivangura rishingiye ku moko cyangwa ku mpamvu izarizo zose. Ukuri kudakuka kandi CDR yemera ni uko u Rwanda rugizwe n'amoko atatu kandi atandukanye: nta muntu n'umwe ukwiriye kwirengagiza uko kuri. Indi ngingo idashobora kuvuguruzwa ni uko amakimbirane ari hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi atazanywe na CDR. Ari mu mateka y'u Rwanda ayo makimbirane amaze imyaka n'imyaka hagati y'amoko aterwa no kurwanira ubutegetsi. Kuko amateka y'u Rwanda nk'uko byanditswe n'igikomerezwa cy'umututsi Alegisi KAGAME, atumenyesha ko abatutsi bigaruriye uduhugu tw'abahutu bica abami batwo, aribo Bahinza.

AMAKIMBIRANE HAGATI Y'ABAHUTU NTIYAZANYWE NA C.D.R.

Abatutsi banze kugirana ubumwe n'abo bahasanze n'ubwo Abatutsi bo babushakaga. Ahubwo Abatutsi buririye kuri icyo cyifuzo cya kivandimwe maze biganzura ku bahutu barabapyinagaza biratinda. Muri 1959 nyuma y'ibinyejana byinshi by'ingoyi ya gihake y'abatutsi, rubanda nyamwinshi rwaribohoje maze ruzana demokarasi na Repubulika. Kuva icyo gihe abatutsi bakora uko bashoboye kose ngo basubirane ubutegetsi; no mu bihe bibanziriza ubwigenge abatutsi bahakanye batsemba ko nta buvandimwe bashaka hagati y'abo n'abahutu. Bahise bahuza ibikorwa n'amagambo maze bica ku mugaragaro abarwanashyaka b'ibanze b'abahutu nka KAJANGWE, SINDIBONA, KAMUZINZI, KAYUKU n'abandi. Abarokotse nibo bakomeje inzira yo kugeza rubanda kuri repubulika no ku butegetsi bishingiye kuri demokarasi. Muri izo ntwari z'imena twavuga nka Gregori KAYIBANDA, BICAMUMPAKA Balitazari, GITERA Yozefu, MUNYANGAJU Aloyizi, MBONYUMUTWA Dominiko.

N'ubwo abatutsi bari bamaze gutsindwa ntabwo abahutu bigeze bagambirira ibyo kwihimura, ahubwo ndetse bongeye gutegera abatutsi bakunda igihugu amaboko y'ubufatanye bwa kivandimwe nk'uko tubisanga mu mahame remezo ya Parti PARMEHUTU. Ariko na none abatutsi ntibabikojejwe ahubwo bahise batorongera ari benshi n'urubyaro rwabo igihe bari bamaze gutsindwa mu matora ya Komini muri Nyakanga 1960 n'igihe hashingwaga Repubulika kuwa 28 Mutarama 1961 igashimangirwa na Kamarampaka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961. Muri ubwo buhungiro bwabo niho bafatiye icyemezo cyo kongera gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Hanyuma ku bw'amahirwe basa n'abatsimburwa burundu muwa 1967 kubera buri gihe ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi. Prezida Gregori KAYIBANDA yongeye kubasaba incuro nyinshi kugaruka mu gihugu kugira ngo nabo bagirane uruhare mu majyambere y'igihugu bafatanyije n'abandi banyarwanda bose. Nabwo tuzi uko byagenze.

Repubulika ya kabiri nayo yatanze icyo cyifuzo ndetse yo iranabikabiriza isumbakaza abatutsi muri byose kugira ngo noneho wenda bemere gufatanya n'abandi bya kivandimwe. Tuzi na none ko aribyo byadukururiye ahubwo iyi ntambara y'Ukwakira 1990 n'ubugambanyi butihishiriye. CDR nayo irifuza ikomeje UBUFATANYE bw'abahutu n'abatutsi bitari iby'ubuvandimwe batakira ahubwo ari ubufatanye bushingiye kukubahana no kubana mu mahoro.

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Bayoboke ba CDR, mbere yo kurangiza nashakaga kugira icyo mvuga muri make ku kibazo bitatu by'ingutu bihangayikishije muri iki gihe abanyapolitiki bo mu Rwanda. Ni intambara, imikoreshereze y'inama y'igihugu bita RUKOKOMA no gushyiraho Leta y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

Ku byerekeye intambara muri CDR turahamya ko ari MUSEVENI, Prezida wa Uganda wayidukururiye ku maherere afatanyije n'abiyise INKOTANYI. Twiyambaje dukomeje ingufu zose zigifite umutima w'amahoro n'ubutabera kudufasha kubonera ku buryo bwihutirwa umuti w'izo mpagarara zikomeza kuzonga abanyarwanda.

C.D.R. yizera ko icyakora intambara yazarangira vuba kandi burundu ari uko impamvu zayiteye zibonewe umwanzuro ushimishije. Muri izo twavuga :

- Umutima w'ubwirasi no kwishyira hejuru w'abatutsi bakibwira ko bahawe ububasha buturuka ku mana bwo guhora bategeka u Rwanda bityo bakabona ko bidasanzwe ko Umuhutu nawe yategeka;
- Revolisiyo yo mu wa 1959 ntabwo yarangiye ku buryo wavuga ko ubutegetsi bwabaye koko ubwa rubanda nyamwinshi maze ngo gihake na cyami nabyo ntibizongere kubyutsa umutwe ukundi.
- Politiki yo kwemerera impunzi gutahuka yatangijwe na Perezida KAYIBANDA ntacyo yagezeho kubera inyenzi z'abatutsi zayanze nta mpamvu;
- Politiki y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yaranze ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri ntiyageze ku ntego yayo. Nyamara ni iyo politiki yakungahaje abatutsi bashoboye kwiharira 80 % by'ubukungu bw'igihugu mu bucuruzi kandi ubwo bwoko butarenze icumi ku ijana by'abaturage bose;
- Ubugambanyi bw'abatutsi bari ku ibere muri Repubulika ya kabiri kwirara no kurangara by'abategetsi.
- Kuzitira demokarasi ihamye byatumye abayobozi bamwe bategekesha igitugu n'iterabwoba ku baturage muri rusange no ku bahutu by'umwihariko.

Izo mpamvu zose C.D.R. yo yazisimbuje ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, kubana mu mahoro kw'amoko uko ari atatu no gushimangira demokarasi yuzuye.

Mu Rwanda nta muntu wari ukwiye kuba agishakisha ubutegetsi ku ngufu n'amayeri. Buri butegetsi bugomba guturuka ku matora, atarangwa n'igitugu kandi adafifitse maze ibyo yerekanye bikemerwa na bose. C.D.R. yo ibona ko iyi ntambara izarangizwa n'ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, kurwanya ingambanyi n'ibindi byitso by'umwanzi no gushyira mu bikorwa amahame ya demokarasi itajegajega. Ni ukuvuga rero ko C.D.R. itizeye imishyikirano n'abantu bishakira gusa ubutegetsi bakoresheje ingufu n'ubwicanyi kandi baterwa inkunga n'igihugu gifite umuperezida udahisha ko afite irari ryo kwigarurira ubutegetsi bw'ibihugu byo mu karere turimo kose.

RUKOKOMA IGOMBA KUBA ARI UKO INTAMBARA YARANGIYE BURUNDU

Ku nama y'igihugu ifata ibyemezo bihita bishyirwa mu bikorwa (RUKOKOMA), CDR nta kibi ibona cyo kwigira hamwe niba iyo nama ikwiye kubaho koko. Gusa niba hemeranijwe ko ikoreshwa, C.D.R. yifuza ko yaba nyuma y'iyi ntambara. Kuko itangiye imirimo yayo tukirwana rubanda nyamwinshi rwahagwa. Byamaze kandi kugaragara ko igikorwa cya mbere cya RUKOKOMA yahawe ubushobozi bwose ari ugusenya inzego zose z'ubutegetsi bwariho tutibagiwe n'urwa gisirikari. Hagakurikiraho kudindiza no guhagarika icyemezo cyose cyaba giturutse no mu mizi yo hasi y'ubutegetsi. Ubwo se watsinda ute intambara umaze kuzambaguza inzego zirebana n'ibyayo, uburizamo n'ibyemezo biyerekeye ? Kereka ushaka nyine gutsindwa, naho ubundi nta muntu ukunda igihugu, ntawe ushyigikiye mu by'ukuri demokarasi watekereza gukoresha iyo nama mu ntambara.

Ababomborana ngo barayishaka mbere y'uko intambara irangira nta bandi batari abagambanyi cyangwa ibyitso by'umwanzi. Inama y'igihugu kandi ni uburyo bworoheye abadutera -ari nabo ba mbere bayisaba - kugera ku butegetsi nta matora kuko bazi neza ko amatora aje batakoramo nk'uko batsinzwe intambara bacungiragaho bashaka ubutegetsi bwose.

Nyamara gushyiraho guverinoma y'inziba cyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi byo byatuma inzego zifatanya mu kurwanya umwanzi zirushaho kugira ingufu. C.D.R. kandi ibona ari nta shyaka mu yemewe ryahita rihezwa muri Leta y'inzibacyuho. Icyakora nyine C.D.R. ntiyemera ko amashyaka afatanyije n'umwanzi ku buryo ubwaribwo bwose yinjizwa muri Guverinoma mu gihe cyose intambara izaba ikirikoroza.

Bayoboke ba C.D.R., Nabanyuriye muri make uko ishyaka C.D.R. riteye. Nababwiye mu magambo avunaguye uko amahame - shingiro ya politiki yacu. Ni kuri urwo rufatiro twubaka kandi dukomeza inzego zacu z'ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi, na Repubulika aho umuhutu, umututsi n'umutwa buri wese azatanga umuganda we mu mahoro n'ubwo ayo moko yose azahora atandukanye.

Nabagejejeho zimwe mu ntego n'imwe mu migambi twifuza kugeraho no gushyira mu bikorwa. Turateganya kuzabibasobanurira byose ku buryo burambuye mu mibonano no muri za mitingi bitaha. Mumenye gusa ko C.D.R. ari ishyaka ry'amahoro, riharanira ritizigamye ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi mu kurengera inyungu zarwo binyuze mu nzira ya demokarasi nsa.

Nimwime rero amatwi uturimi twuzuye uburyarya, ubugome n'ibinyoma tw'abashaka kudusesereza muze ahubwo kwiyumvira abavugizi bemewe ba C.D.R. muri za mitingi ziri imbere, muzahamenyera ukuri kose ku ishyaka ryacu kandi ryanyu no ku mateka ya kera y'umunyarwanda.

IMPUZAMUGAMBI TURI MASO !

UBUTEGETSI BWA HABYARIMANA BURAKABYA MU GUFATA IBYEMEZO BUTINZE

Hanze aha abantu bashimira Perezida Habyarimana ko adahubuka mu gufata ibyemezo ku bibazo bireba igihugu cyose. Ariko ubwo bwitonzi bukemangwaho byinshi kubera ko bukunze kugira ingaruka zitari nziza ku mitegekere y'igihugu, ku micungire y'ibya rubanda no ku mutekano w'Abanyarwanda.

Nk'umugabo Rizinde yishe agasozi biratinda, biravugwa hirya no hino birasubirwa, birandikwa mu binyamakuru byo mu mahanga karahava ariko uwo mu maneko mukuru akomeza gufungira inzirakarengane ubusa, arica, arasahura. Yaje gushoborwa nuko yashatse kurengera ngo afate ubutegetsi bwo hejuru. Ubwo se ni ukuvuga ko ibikorwa bye byihishiraga ku buryo abamutegekaga bamwihoreraga bitewe no kutabimenya ?

Umutungo w'igihugu wakomeje gusesagurwa rubanda n'amahanga babinenga. Ngizo za reception za buri kanya kandi atari ngombwa, ngizo za commande z'ibintu igihugu kidakeneye cyane, nguko gupfusha ubusa uduke Leta yacungiragaho mu magaraji, mu bacuruzi n'ahandi n'ahandi. None dore bibutse kwizirika umukanda ibigega byaramaze gukoropwa n'abashinzwe kubirinda.

Umutegetsi aranyereza umutungo, akarya ruswa, akazambya akazi n'abo ashinzwe kuyobora imyaka igashira indi igataha. Ibinyamakuru cyangwa abantu bo hanze bamutunga agatoki ngo ni ugusebanya, ngo ni ibihuha. Hanyuma bakazibuka kumwigizayo ntacyo bakiramiye. Ndetse byarimba bakamwegurira indi mbehe ya karahabutaka kugirango akomeze kuzonga igihugu n'abagituye.

Iyi ntambara yayogoje igihugu ntiyagombaga kugira uwo itungura cyane cyane nk'abari bashinzwe iperereza n'abakuru b'inzego za gisirikare n'iz'ubutegetsi kuko ibimenyetso byayo byigaragazaga ku karubanda. Kangura igitangira yarabiranze maze aho kubizirikana abashinzwe umutekano bata Ngeze muri yombi ngo we arashaka kuzana amacakubiri mu moko; nyamara baje kumva ariko bitinze ! Abatutsi ntibari bagikoresha amarenga, Museveni yivugiraga ubwe ko inyenzi zishaka kudutera uretse nyine ko kubera uburyarya bw'abahima-tutsi atahishaga ko azazibifashamo. Simvuze ko hari uwari kubuza iyo ntambara kuba, ariko burya guterwa witeguye si kimwe no gutungurwa. Isasu ryomonganiye i Kagitumba rivuye muri Uganda abategetsi bacu batinya kuvuga ko twatewe n'icyo gihugu ngo hato badakanga rutenderi kandi ubwo ari nta rindi garuriro.

Hari n'ibindi bihugu (cyangwa ikindi gihugu) byadukoraga mu jisho maze aho kubyiyama cyangwa kubifatira ibyemezo bikwiye kandi bikaze ahubwo hagafungwa umunyarwanda wamaganye ubwo bushotoranyi. Ibintu rero byaba bigeze iwandabaga ngo yebaba we twarebaga he ? Ugasanga akenshi u Rwanda rurivuguruza mu magambo no mu bikorwa kandi ubwo rwaragombaga kumenya uko rwifata rugikubita.

Ziriya mvururu zo mu Bugesera ntawe zagombaga nazo gutungura naho yaba umwana utaracuka. None se umuturage w'umuhutu wiboneraga ubwe urubyiruko rw'abatutsi baturanye rujya mu nkotanyi kurasa ingabo zacu no kujujubya abaturiye imipaka y'ahabera imirwano koko yari kugira ikihe cyizere muri abo batutsi ? Ubwo se bari kumara gufata igihugu no kwica abahutu b'ahandi maze abo mu Bugesera akaba aribo bagirirwa impuhwe ? Leta yo rwose yarituramiye kandi ibyo bintu ibizi kuko byavugwaga no kuri radiyo yayo. Yagombye kuba yarafatiye ako karere ibyemezo bikwiye bikiri mu maguru mashya, ikabuza abatutsi baho gukotana, ikabumbatira umutekano w'abahatuye bose hakiri kare aho gushishikazwa ubu no kurengera abo batutsi gusa kandi ari nabo ba nyirabayazana.

Nk'ubu ntaho abatutsi badukinze mu migambi yabo yo kwongera kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto no kumumarira ku icumu. Ibyo Leta ishobora kuba noneho yarabimenye ariko ntacyo ikora kigaragara kugira ngo ubwo bwoko busubize amerwe mu isaho ubudasubirwaho ; ahubwo ikomeje gutsimbarara kuri ya ngirwabumwe abatutsi badashaka. Wenda izaca akenge noneho abo banzi ba rubanda nyamwinshi batakirindagirira mu Mutara ahubwo baramaze kwugariza umurwa mukuru ndetse bawufashe byarangiye maze ak'imisega kakaba karashobotse.

Ubu hagezweho politiki y'amashyaka menshi ariko hari abambari bakibwira ko bigishoboka gutegeka nko mu gihe cya pariti imwe rukumbi. Hashize amezi n'amezi hategerejwe guverinoma ihuriweho n'abafite ibitekerezo binyuranye none amaso yaheze mu kirere. Birumvikana icyakora ko hari amashyaka amwe n'amwe ya kidobya ashaka nayo gushyiraho amananiza ariko uwo rubanda rureba mbere na mbere ni ubutegetsi buriho. Ntabwo rero bwagombye gutegereza ko ibintu bidogera kugira ngo bwumvikane n'abo bugomba kumvikana. Ibyaribyo byose hazaba amatora maze impaka zirangire; ariko hagati aho igihugu kirasaba kuyoborwa n'ubutegetsi bufite ingufu zihagije zo guhangana n'ibibazo by'ingutu bitwugarije : intambara, ubukungu, umutekano n'imibereho y'abaturage muri rusange.

Ndekezi Bonaparte — Gisuma

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DORE ABAGOME 17 BIYEMEJE GUTWIKA KAMINUZA Y'U RWANDA, IKIGO CYA RUHENGERI.

Umunyarwanda wese ukunda u Rwanda agomba kurutera inkunga muri iki gihe rugeze aharindimuka. Maze gutahura ibibera muri Kaminuza i Nyakinama niyemeje gutabaza abategetsi b'u Rwanda, Abihaye Imana (...) nimuhagurukire rimwe mwamagane ziriya nyangabirama zishaka gutwika Kaminuza.

Mu minsi ishize, agatsiko k'abatutsi gafatanije n'uduhutu duke tw'injajwa kacuze ibihuha kabikwirakwiza mu Kigo ngo Abakiga (Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Byumba) ngo baratema abatutsi n'abanyenduga (Gitarama, Butare, Gikongoro). Umugambi wabo wamenyekanye abahunga bageze iwabo. Bukeye hashyirwaho Komisiyo yo gusesengura ibyo bihuha. Iyo Komisiyo yagaragaje abakwije ibihuha bayobowe na NTEZIRYAYO Vincent w'i Gitarama ubeshya bgo ni umuhutu kandi wo muri MDR nyamara ni umututsi ndetse ni P.L. nsa nsa. Abo bagome ntibahanwe kubera bwa bwoba busanzwe buranga abayobozi ba MRND biyubaha nka Rwagasana Anatole uyobora icyo kigo. Yabahaye icyo bita «blâme» (kwihanagirizwa) uretse ko nayo yavuye kure, kuko byabaye ari uko abanyeshuri batari bake bamwandikiye bamubwira ko batemeye izo mpuhwe ze.

Abakwirakwije ibihuha nk'uko Komisiyo ibyerekana twabashyira mu mutsinda 3 :

A. Ingirwa muhutu wahinduye ubwoko.

1. NTEZIRYAYO Vincent : avuga ko ari muri MDR ariko ni P.L. kuva ku mano kugera ku musatsi.

B. Abatutsi bo muri P.L. kandi b'indobanure ndetse bakomeye cyane ku ngoma ya cyami

2. GICARI, M. Josée : P.L. nsa nsa
3. NIKUZE Triphonie : P.L.
4. NIYIGIRIMBABAZI Augusta : P.L.
5. SINDAYIGAYA : P.L.
6. Injajwa y'umuhutu itazi ibyo ikora, yitwaza ko se ari S/Préfet bigatuma yirirwa mu batutsi no mu batutsikazi
7. DUKUZEMUREMYI Adrien : MDR (Ni umwana, akwiriye kubabarirwa).

Kuri ako gatsiko kagaragajwe na Komisiyo yari ibishinzwe hiyongereyeho ingirwa parmehutu 5 zivuka i Gitarama. Mu by'ukuri abo basore nibo bayoboye ririya hunga ryose akaba aribo biteguye kuyobora imigambi yose mibi ya MDR Parmehutu iteganya gukora muri Nyakinama.

8. HABARUREMA Emmanuel (ni umututsi wahinduje)
9. MUKESHIMANA Joseph (Imico ye ni iy'abatutsi kubera nyina w'umututsikazi)
10. KALISA Narcisse (Imico ye ni iy'abatutsi kubera nyina w'umututsikazi)
11. KANANI Callixte (Umuhutu urangwa no guhubuka no guhuzagurika cyane)
12. UFITEYEZU Joseph (Umuhutu w'indyarya cyane bavuga ko ngo ari Perezida wa MDR mu banyeshuri ba Kaminuza, Ikigo cya Nyakinama.

Twongereho na Perezida wa AGEUNR, rya shyirahamwe ry'abanyeshuri, ariwe :

13. MUNYANZIZA P.C. : avuka mu Bugesera kandi yahinduje ubwoko. Ibyo biragaragara kuko nta n'ukuntu yasobanura igituma akurikirana inyungu z'abatutsi gusa.

Kuri abo bagome hariyongeraho abatutsi bane bahora bahekenya, badasiba kwishimira yuko muri kaminuza harangwa umwuka mubi :

14. MUDADARI Joseph. (Umugome birengeje urugero, arengera MDR kandi ni P.L. ku mubiri, ku mutima akaba ari FPR)
15. KAMANZI Canisius : P.L., inzoka mbi cyane.
16. KAMURASE Martin : arazwi mu Rwanda hose kuba yarafashwe mu byitso akaza kurekurwa n'ubwoba bwa MRND
17. MUSEKURA Jonathan (umusaza w'ubwanwa bukora ku mavi wihutuye: ni PL).

Abo bagome bifashisha undi mupermetutsi witwa :

18. MUSANGAMFURA Sixbert ukoresha ikinyamakuru cye Isibo agatuka abahutu bose aho bava bakagera. Abo bagome bifashisha icyo kinyamakuru bagahimba ibinyoma bitagira ishingiro bagashaka guteranya abarimu n'abanyeshuri ndetse bagasebya n'abategetsi.

Mbaze UFITEYEZU, KANANI na DUKUZUMUREMYI : mwa bahutu mwe, muremeye muguye mu mutego w'abatutsi? Perefe wa Ruhengeri ahuriye he n'ariya marorerwa ya Nteziryayo na GICALI ? Buriya mujya gutangaza iriya nyandiko yanyu mu Isibo n° 45 mwari mugamije iki ? Ese kuki mukorera mu bwihisho ? Sha UFITEYE, abanyagitarama muranze mubaye abanyamatiku ! Biratangaje kubona abanyeshuri batemeye amafuti ya Rwagasana bamwandikira ku mugaragaro namwe bakabaha «copie», mwebwe mukihutira guharabika Perefe wa Ruhengeri, Murego,... mu nyandiko yuzuye ibinyoma mwitiririye umuzimu wo muri Cyabingo ngo witwa Bazimaziki.

Banyarwanda, mwiboneye irisiti y'abanyeshuri 17 n'umunyamakuru Musangamfura batumwe na MUGENZI J. Perezida wa P.L. (Ishami rya FPR ngo batwike Kami nuza yanyu. Nimuhaguruke mufatire bariya bagome ibihano bikwiye.

HABYARIMANA Ildephonse.

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AMASHYAKA NAREKERAHO GUSONGA ABASAMBIRA MU TURERE TUBERAMO INTAMBARA.

Abantu benshi bavuze ku mikorere y'amashyaka muri iki gihe cy'intambara, ku myifatire y'ubutegetsi, ku bayobozi bamwe b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bishakira gusa inyungu zabo bwite mbere yo gushaka muri rusange ukuntu rubanda nyamwinshi yakumvikana, maze igashyira imbaraga hamwe kugira ngo ishobore gutsinda iyi ntambara. Abantu bamwe bageze aho babona imvugo n'imikorere ya bamwe muri abo bayobozi ifasha inyenzi-inkotanyi. Ndashaka nanjye kugira ibyo ngeza ku banyarwanda cyane cyane abayobozi b'amashyaka n'abayoboke babo akenshi bizeza ibitangaza' bakabayobora muri ya politiki ya humiriza nkuyobore unkurikire twasezereye muri 1959 kandi n'ubu twamagana. Iyo umuntu ashishoje asanga abayobozi bamwe b'amashyaka basaba abayoboke babo kubacira imbuto ziri rwagati mu ruzi runini kandi rufite umuvumba ngo bazibazanire bazirye, hbo basigare biraramura cyangwa bagwe muri urwo ruzi.

Muri iyi ntambara byari ngombwa ko amashyaka avuka mu rwego rwo guhangana n'inkotanyi, buri munyarwanda agatanga igitekerezo cyo kubaka igihugu mu ishyaka yihitiyemo, abayobozi b'amashyaka nabo bakabihuriza hamwe bashaka icyafasha igihugu gutsinda intambara mu rwego rwa politiki. Ikibabaje ni uko abayobozi b'amashyaka biruka gusa inyuma y'ubutegetsi amasigamana bakirengagiza ko ari abaturage babutanga. Bamwe muri bo kandi babwirukaho nabi kuko bakurura imvururu mu banyarwanda, babateranya babacamo uduce dushingiye ku turere. Ubonye ngo muri iyi ntambara bamwe mu bayobozi b'amashyaka bavuge ngo reka abakiga babafatanye n'iyi ntambara iturutse iwabo barebe uko bababmbura ubutegetsi. —Barirushya ubutegetsi si ubw'abakiga ni ubw'abanyarwanda bose kandi babuha uwo bashaka ushobora kubagirira akamaro—. Ibyo byatumye abo bayobozi b'amashyaka badafasha ubutegetsi kwiga ukuntu intambara yarangira binyuze mu mishyikirano, ahubwo bashaka ukuntu inkotanyi zabafasha guhirika ubutegetsi zikoresheje imbunda. Baribeshya kuko iyo ufatanije na shitani iguhindura icyaha. Bamwe ngo bafite imiti y'intambara ngo bazayitanga babonye ubutegetsi. Niba bifuza kuzawutanga abo bita abakiga bashize, baribeshya kuko ntabapfira gushira. Ikindi kandi intambara izagira ingaruka ku gihugu cyose. Abakomoka aho bifuriza gutikira nibarokoka, bazafatanya n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu no gushimangira demokrasi muri Repubulika.

Njye natekerezaga ko umuntu wese ushinga ishyaka cyangwa wifuza kuyobora ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi ashaka gushimangira demokrasi idaheza akarere ako ariko kose, akorera igihugu cyose nta kwita ku kazu ke n'ubwoko mushiki we yashatsemo. Biteye agahinda kubona ababeshya abaturage ko bashaka kubakorera birirwa bakina kumubyimba abasirikari n'abatuye mu turere tuberamo intambara. Abasirikari n'abahinzi bo bazi ingaruka z'iyi ntambara kurusha abandi, bakwiye gufatira ibyemezo abayobozi b'amashyaka bameze nka Twagiramungu Faustin na Mugenzi Justin batera inkunga inkotanyi mu magambo no mu bikorwa. Imishyikirano itaziguye igomba gukomeza hagati y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi. Abayoboke b'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na M.R.N.D bagomba gushaka abandi bantu bo kubahagararira muri iyo mishyikirano kuko bimaze kugaragara ko abo bohereza bajyana inzangano zabo bwite bafitanye n'Umukuru w'Igihugu bigatuma batajya impaka za politiki zubaka ahubwo bajya impaka za ngo turwane. Iyo babonye ari nta kundi byagenda badashobora kwemeza ibitekerezo byabo Prezida wa Repubulika, bahita basohoka bakihutira kuroha abana mu mihanda ngo batobore imipira y'imokoka za Leta n'iz'abaturage. Ni nde uhagwa ? Ni umuturage n'umusirikari.

Mu myigaragambyo, abana ni bo bahangana n'abashinzwe umutekano bakabashyiramo bya byuka bihuma amaso. Abayobozi b'amashyaka bo kubera gutinya ibyo byuka bigira mu biro byabo bagacunga ko ba bana bagera aho babategetse maze bakaza kuharogera urwo rubyiruko barukwizamo ibinyoma bitagira ishingiro. Ubonye ngo barabeshya abanyarwanda ngo Prezida yanze kubonana nabo kandi Prezida ariwe wabatumyeho bakanga nk'uko Ngango Felisiyani wa P.S.D yabivuze kuri Radiyo—Rwanda ! Yavuze uko byagenze abasore benshi biyemeza kutazasubira mu myigaragambyo y'amafuti ikururwa n'inzangano z'abantu ku giti cyabo. Abaturage nabo cyane cyane abatuye mu turere tuberamo intambara, barababaye cyane kuko bari bafite icyizere muri iyo mishyikirano bari batezeho umuti w'intambara imaze kubazahaza. Abaturage nibafata abo bahora bababeshya ngo bafite umuti w'iyi ntambara nk'abagambanyi cyangwa abarozi bazaba babeshye se ? Ese abaturage batuye mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda si Abanyarwanda nk'abandi ? Ngo nako ni abakiga ngo kandi nta batutsi benshi babarimo ngo byongeye kandi bose bazatora M.R.N.D. Rwose Twagiramungu Faustin na Mugenzi nibongere basubire mu masomo yabo y'ubumenyi bw'isi bamenye ko u Rwanda rugizwe n'amaperefegitura 11.

Umva rero Twagiramungu, politiki yo gutanya abanyarwanda no gukurura inzangano zawe bwite muli politiki y'igihugu ntaho izageza M.D.R ahubwo urayisenye pee ! Uramenye ko M.D.R ari ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi bo mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda

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kandi bashyize hamwe. N'uyisenya uzayiryozwa. Abo witaga abanyendunga umaze nabo kubacamo uduce wirukana P.S.D mu ishyirahamwe mpuzamashyaka washyizeho kugirango rifashe P.L kurangiza ubutumwa bwayo yahawe na F.P.R uyiziza ko Sobukwe Kayibanda na sebukwe wa Gatabazi Felisiyani bagiranye ibibazo. Urumva uzafatwa he ?

Waramaze wowe wayirukanye, ahubwo P.S.D yari yaratinze kuvamo kuko Gatabazi adashobora kuroha ishyaka rye mu bukotanyi nkawe. Nshimye ko wanga abahutu bo mu Murera, mu Bushiru no mu Rukiga, abahutu bo mu Bunyambiriri no mu Bufundu murapfa iki ? Urabaziza ko ari abahutu gusa ? Urabona iyo politiki yawe izamarira iki u Rwanda ? Niba unaniwe impuyabo yawe, uzashobora gutegeka igihugu wifuza ? Ese ko, uhora uririmba Rukokoma, P.S.D yagusaba rukokoma mu Mpuyabo yawe ukanga ? Uranga se ko abayoboke ba M.D.R bamenya amakosa yawe ? Uzumirwa igihe M.D.R yose izamenya ubugambanyi bwawe maze ikagusimbuza Gapyisi Emmanuel, Murego Donat, Nsengiyaremye Dismas cyangwa Ngurinzira Boniface ikakuvana ku mwanya wihaye ku ngufu ugira ngo ukorere F.P.R.

Abayobozi b'andi mashyaka nibashyire mu gaciro nka Gatabazi Felisiyani, bashyire hamwe barengere abaturage bamaze kuzahazwa n'iyi ntambara, nibwo abanyarwanda twese tuzabemera maze tukabahundagazaho amajwi mu matora. M.R.N.D nayo igomba kumenya ko igihugu ari icyacu twese maze abayoboke bayo bagashyira hamwe n'abandi banyarwanda bari mu yandi mashyaka bazwiho gukunda rubanda n'igihugu, bakiga ukuntu hajyaho guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, yo guhangana n'inyangarwanda za F.P.R zidutera zivuye i Buganda bakitorera ababayobora, naho ubundi ntawatora cyangwa ngo ajye muri za rukokoma amasasu amuri ku mutwe. Abayobozi b'amashyaka niberekane ko bakunda igihugu cyose n'abagituye bose, bibuke kandi ko inyangarwanda zateye abanyarwanda bose ko zitateye mu karere kamwe gusa.

HATEGEKIMANA Jean Baptiste.

BANYAMASHYAKA MUREKE GUTERANYA INGABO Z'U RWANDA

Nshatse gutanga ibitekerezo maranye igihe, ariko nsembuwe n'amagambo TWAGIRAYEZU Laurenti yavugiye i Butare muri mitingi ya M.D.R. tariki ya 16 Gashyantare 1992 aho yagiraga ati : «Tumaze kumenya ko 80% by'ingabo zacu zimaze kumva ko gukorera umuntu umwe cyangwa ishyaka rimwe bitagikwiye, amashyaka menshi ni ngombwa». Arongera ati : «Ubugizi bwa nabi bukunze kuboneka cyane cyane mu mugi wa Kigali, harimo na za grenades, twasanze abajandarume aribo byitso kubera ko birirwa bazenguruka barunguruka mu ngo z'abantu !».

Ntibibatangaze cyane kuba ngiye kwibanda ku ba G.D.; ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo. Birazwi cyane ko abantu bahorana cyangwa se babana, bapfa utuntu twinshi. Aha nshatse kuvuga aba G.D. n'abasivili. TWAGIRAYEZU ureruye ushaka kumvisha abanyarwanda bose ko Gendarmerie yose izenguruka mu baturage ibungabunga umutekano ariyo ahubwo yawujambije. Wari hafi no gusaba ko Gendarmerie yavaho maze mukikorera ibyo mushaka.

Gusa twibukiranye ko Gendarmerie n'abasivili ku mpande zombi atari shyashya. Hari aba G.D. bakora amakosa nkana kandi iyo bamenyekanye byanze bikunze barabihanirwa.

TWAGIRAYEZU rero ntabwo buriya buryo wakoresheje wandagaza Gendarmerie yose, utanavanguye kandi imbere y'umwanzi, ari bwo bwiza. Dore ahubwo uko wari kubigenza :

Niba ubonye ikosa, binyuze mu butegetsi bwo hejuru, bizamanuka bigere kuri nyiri ikosa, ahanwe yikosore bityo umutekano utahe iwacu. Ntawakwiyibagiza kandi ko iyo umu G.D. cyangwa umusirikari akora amarorerwa nk'ayo aba yarabivukanye kuko akomoka mu baturage kimwe nawe. Byongeye kandi aba G.D. bakora akazi kabegereza amakosa menshi. Mu ngabo zacu rero habonekamo babi bake kandi bakabihanirwa. Abaturage namwe kenshi mufatwa mu makosa kandi mukabihanirwa. Kuvuga ko aba G.D. ari bo bagizi ba nabi waribeshye cyane. Gusa wibuke ko kuvuga icyo ushatse atari ukuvuga uko wishakiye.

ABASIRIKARI N'ABA G.D. BOSE NI INGABO Z'U RWANDA.

Hategwa imitego myinshi cyane igamije guteranya ingabo z'u Rwanda ariko yose igashibukana ba nyirayo. Byageze muri iyi ntambara ho birakabya. Na we se umuntu arateruye ati : «Ubwo abasirikari bari ku rugamba, aba G.D. baratubuza uburyo mu mugi !»

Ese uwaguterura akagutereka imbere y'aba G.D. bari hirya no hino mu mashyamba, mu bihuru no mu migano wavuga ko baba bakora ubusa ? Si ubusugire bw'u Rwanda baba barwanaho ?

Abaturage bari bakwiye kwikuramo ibyabereye mu Ruhengeri igihe ibyitso byibeshyaga bikageza inkotanyi mu mugi wa Ruhengeri ari nabwo havutse intero ngo : «Aba G.D. ni ba Mukamurenzi». Ngo kuko birutse ! Ntimukivange mu bya gisirikari birakomeye kubisobanukirwa. Ese mwaba muri abantu 50, mukarwana n'abantu 500 munganya ingufu umwe umwe byagenda bite ? Mwari muzi ko iyo abari basigaye (dore ko bamwe muri bo bahaguye) batiruka bashoboraga kuhagwa, inkotanyi zigakora ibindi zitashoboye gukora kuko byari kumenyekana bitinze kurushaho. Wowe rero ushaka guteranya ingabo z'u Rwanda bizakuzindure ujye kubateranya ku rugamba. Amakosa ubona ku ba G.D. bamwe yanyuze mu nzira nakurangiye haruguru, bityo uzaba utanze umuga-

Komeza ku rup. rwa 10

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CDR, AMIZERO Y'UMUHUTU.

Abanyarwanda bagera kuri magana abiri baherutse gushyira umukono ku mahame-remezo na sitati by'ishyaka rigamije kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu ariryo: "IMPUZAMUGAMBI ZIHARANIRA REPUBULIKA", mu gifaransa ni "COALITION POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA REPUBLIQUE", CDR mu magambo ahinnye.

Kuva mu mezi munani ashize itegeko-nshinga ryemeye politiki y'amashyaka menshi, amashyaka cumi n'atatu (13) yose amaze kwemererwa gukora ku mugaragaro. Amwe yamaze gukwira mu gihugu cyose akoresha za mitingi n'ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame asobanura amatwara yayo. Radiyo Rwanda nayo yayageneye umwanya wo kwimenyekanisha. Ahanini rero buri shyaka riba ripiganira kugwiza abayoboke benshi kugira ngo mu matora rizegukane imyanya myinshi mu Nteko ishinga amategeko, bityo abe ariryo ritegeka ryonyine cyangwa ryifashishije irindi byumvikanye.

Nyamara witegereje neza usanga ayo mashyaka yose avuka atazi neza icyo ashaka uretse kurarikira ubutegetsi. PL na PSR niyo mapariti yonyine afite intego zihamye kandi zizahoraho zo guharanira inyungu z'abatutsi no kubageza ku butegetsi, kugira ngo ubwo bwoko bubone uburyo butikiza imbaga y'abahutu. MRND iracyivuruguta muri politiki y'ubumwe yanariranye kugira ngo ahari ibone uko ikomeza gutsimbarara ku butegetsi busa n'ubwayinyuze mu myanya y'intoki. None se hari irindi banga iterekanye ifitiye abanyarwanda? MDR yo icyo ishaka ni ugufata ubutegetsi igenda ishyira imbere abo rubanda rutarashira amakenga ndetse ikagirana ubufatanye bukomeye n'ishaka PL ry'inkotanyi z'abatutsi bahora bagaba ibitero byo kurimbura inyoko-mputu. Ayandi mashyaka nayo aracyashakisha ahereye ku by'i Burayi ariko ugasanga nayo yaracengewemo n'abatutsi bayakoresha icyo bashatse.

Kubera rero inyota y'ubutegetsi amashyaka y'abahutu yose yarahunamye. Birababaje kubona nta na rimwe rishobora kumvisha abaturage ko umwanzi wa mbere ari inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo bishaka kuvutsa igihugu n'abagituye ibyiza rwazaniwe na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959. Usanga yose atinya kuvuga ko iyi ntambara turimo yatewe n'abatutsi bari hanze n'imbere mu gihugu; ahubwo agashakira ibibazo aho bitari akenshi ashingira ku kinyoma kivanze n'uburindiryi. Biteye akadangu kumva hari umuhutu nyamuhutu wisararanga ngo ntituri mu ntambara y'amoko maze agahimbahimba izindi mpamvu zidafashe. Undi nawe ngo azemera gufatanya na shitani zibonetse zose ariko asezerere ubutegetsi buriho kandi nyamara hari ubundi buryo yakoresha, n'abaturage bakamukurikira n'umutima mwiza. Ntibyumvikana na busa kubona umuhutu wo mw'ishyaka iri n'iri yunga mu binyoma by'inkotanyi na bene wazo maze nawe agahita abishyigikira ngo ni uko binenga ubutegetsi gusa; mbega ubuswa! Ubwo ni ubugambanyi buvanzemo icyakora n'ubucucu no kudashyira mu gaciro. Wasobanura ute koko imyifatire iteye isoni y'abantu bamwe na bamwe kandi ngo bakomeye mu mashyaka ndetse bahatanira umwanya wa perezida wa Repubulika n'uwa minisitiri w'intebe, barindagira babeshyanya ubugoryi bwakuzura umutiba ngo abasirikare bacu bayoberwa aho inyenzi zirigitiye maze bakahuka mu baturage bakarasa, ngo ingabo z'u Rwanda nizo zateze mine mu Bugesera, ngo abarundi bo muri Palipehutu bitoreza mu Nyungwe, ngo u Rwanda nirwo rwohereje ba baboyi bahohoterewe i Bujumbura,ngo Habyarimana afite ideni rya Museveni n'andi mahomvu adafite shinge na rugero ahubwo agamije gutiza umwanzi wa twese umurindi.

Nah'ubundi gusenya ubutegetsi bwananiwe bwaba ubwa Kayibanda, Habyarimana cyangwa undi muhutu wese uzategeka ni ibisanzwe ndetse ni nabyo byiza kugira ngo busimbuzwe uwitabiriye koko guharanira umutekano n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Ariko kwiyambaza umwanzi kabuhariwe wa rubanda nyamwinshi no kuba igikoresho cye ku buryo buteye impungenge ni ibyo kwamaganirwa kure. Ibyaribyo byose ibibi birarutana, sinzi niba hari umuhutu wakwihandagaza ko inyenzi-nkotanyi-ntutsi iyo zitsinda aribwo yari kumererwa neza kurusha ubu.

Mu by'ukuri nta shyaka mu yitwa ngo yaremewe ryashoboye kugaragaza ko rirengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Byababaye rero ngombwa gushyiraho umutwe wa politiki uharanira ubusugire bw'iyi Repubulika yari igeze aharindimuka kuko abatutsi bari baramaze kuyigutura imizi basigaje gusa gukoma imbarutso maze ikagenda nka nyomberi yo n'ibiyitirirwa byose. Uwo mutwe utararikiye gutegeka cyangwa gusenya amashyaka y'abahutu ni "CDR" yaje kuzuza no gushimangira igikorwa cy'ingenzi cya PARMEHUTU cyo kurenganura mbere na mbere umuhutu no kumugarurira ishema yari yarambuwe n'abategetsi b'indangare. Mu myaka mirongo itatu ishize abatutsi nta kindi bakoze uretse kurundanya ibitwaro byo gufata ubutegetsi mu Rwanda no gutsemba uwitwa mwene Gahutu. Ibigwi byabo muri bya bihe by'abahinza ntibirabava mu maraso. Ibyo byagaragajwe n'igitero cyabo cyo mu Kwakira 1990 n'ubu kandi akaba ari ibicika. Intambara y'amoko rero nibwo igitangira kandi mu gihe abatutsi bo bayiteguye igihe kirekire, bakigarurira amahanga bahereye ku bihugu bidukikije sinzi niba ak'abahutu katagiye gushoboka nidukomeza kuryana aho gushyira hamwe no kumenya umwanzi nyamwanzi uwariwe ntitumwibeshyeho. None se uretse CDR ni irihe shyaka rindi mubona koko ryarengera umuhutu?

Dore nka MDR yaragarutse imitima y'abanyarwanda iriruhutsa ndetse abantu benshi bahita bayiyoboka kuko bibwiraga ko ari ya PARMEHUTU yabakuye ku ngoyi ya gihake-ntutsi igarutse. Ariko uko iminsi igenda ihita ni na-

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ko abarwanashyaka bayibazaho byinshi. Aho guharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu, abishyize ku isonga y'iryo shyaka usanga bararikiye ubutegetsi bwonyine. Maze noneho byaje kuba umwaku MDR ifashe icyemezo cyo kwifatanya na PL ishyaka ry'abatutsi b'inyenzi-nkotanyi. Aha ho rwose amazi yarenze inkombe; ni ryari koko MDR-PARMEHUTU yigeze ishumikana na Lunari bikagirana ubumwe mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa? Maze se Kanyarengwe wayibimburiye mu gushaka guhirika ubutegetsi bw'abahutu yifashishije abatutsi we byamugejeje kuki? Hanyuma se nawe tumuyoboke n'inkotanyi ze ngo ni uko tudashyigikiye ubu butegetsi? Biragaragara rero ko MDR yataye umurongo w'abarwanashyaka bo hambere ku buryo ubu yabaye igikoresho cy'abatutsi.

CDR yakwishimira rwose ko MDR yagaruka mu nzira iboneye ibereye rubanda, bitaba ibyo igasaba buri muhutu wayiyobotse kuyipakurura akaza muri CDR. CDR yakwishimira kwifatanya n'ishyaka rirwanya umwanzi utwugarije kandi udateze kuva ku izima. Ntabwo icyakora ishobora na busa gushyigikira ibikorwa by'imyifatire iyariyo yose naho yaba ikomoka hose bigamije kuroha gahutu mu menyo ya rubamba no kumusubiza ku ngoyi yasezereye muri 1959.

Ku ruhande rwa MRND naho ntakigenda, yamaze imyaka cumi n'itandatu ikorera abatutsi gusa. None yiswe ngo irivuguruye ikomeza guhanyanyaza ku ngirwa politiki y'ubumwe bw'abahutu n'abatutsi izi ko igosorera mu rucaca. Aho abambari bayo bigeze basoma amagambo yavugiwe i Nyanza n'abatutsi ku itariki ya 17/5/1958 cyangwa na ya nkotanyi Kagame murumuna wa Rwigema. Abo batutsi bose bagusha ku ntero imwe: "Ntabwo umuhutu n'umututsi ari abavandimwe, nta n'ubwo bashobora kuba inshuti, icyo bahuriyeho ni igihugu gusa. None kubona umuhutu ariwe ukomeza gukoba ngo arashaka ubumwe n'abatamushaka nta bupfayongo burenze ubwo. Nko ku ngoma ya MRND kuvuga umututsi n'ibibi yakoreye umuhutu byari sakiriregо. Amashuri, akazi n'amafaranga byari byareguriwe umututsi maze umuhutu agasigara abeshyeshywa amajyambere atazi uko asa. Nk'ubu abatutsi babeshya Habyarimana n'ibisonga bye ngo bashyigikiye MRND, nyamara bakumva ko inkotanyi zambutse Kagitumba zigafata Gabiro zimaze kwivugana abasirikare benshi b'u Rwanda bagakoma yombi; naho bakumva ko abasirikare bacu bashushubikanye izo yenzi bazisubiza mu ndiri yazo muri Uganda bakajya mu kiriyo. Igihe rero kirageze cyo kwivugurura nyako kwa MRND ikiyemeza noneho kuba mbere na mbere ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi. Itabishobora abarwanashyaka bayo bakayoboka CDR kuko ariryo shyaka rifite ubushake bwo kurengera umuhutu muri ibi bihe no mu minsi yose itaha.

CDR ikivuka ibigambo byabaye byinshi nk'uko mu Rwanda tubimenyereye. Bamwe ngo ni agashami k'ishyaka iri n'iri, abandi ngo ni irya kanaka na kanaka, abakurikiyeho ngo ni irya ba "extrémistes" n'ibindi bihimbano bitereye aho. Mperutse kuganira n'umurwanashyaka wa MDR ashaka kunyumvisha ko umuhutu atagomba gutinya umututsi kugeza aho ashyiraho ishyaka ryo kumurengera. Buri wese afite nyine uko yumva ibintu ku giti cye ariko uwakurikiye neza amateka y'u Rwanda yari akwiriye kuzirikana imyifatire y'umututsi imbere y'umuhutu kuva ayo moko yombi yaturana; nta busabane na bukeya bwigeze buranga imibanire yabo. Nk'ubu se uretse abantu bacuramye mu bitekerezo no mu bwenge ninde muhutu koko wakwiharanga ngo ntatinya abantu bamumajije umwaka n'igice ku nkeke y'amasasu, batesheje umutwe ubutegetsi, baburabuje abaturage, bagasakaza mu gihugu cyose iterabwoba kandi bikaba bigikomeza. Wabura ute se kuryamira amajanja ubona umwanzi agikomeye ku mugambi we wo kumarira ku isasu n'umuheto icyitwa umuhutu cyose ko n'abo biha kunganira inkotanyi aribo zaheraho zitunga ku musoto ziramutse zitsinze kandi ko abahutu bakomeje kuba ba simbikangwa byashoboka. Baca umugani ngo inyamaswa idakenga yishwe n'umutego kandi ngo agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo ndetse ngo ubumara bw'inshira ntibugombera ubwinshi. None se umuntu w'umugabo atinya umubu, impiri cyangwa isega ari uko bimurusha ubwenge n'imbaraga?

NONE MUNYARWANDA MUNYARWANDAKAZI YOBOKA CDR KUKO ARIYO MIZERO Y'UMUHUTU.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte
GISUMA.

Bikurikira urup. rwa 8

nda w'igihugu cyose, umutekano wiyongere. Bityo ingingo zibabaza M.D.R. zigabanuke !

Bwana TWAGIRAYEZU rero ntutangazwe n'uko nkuhishuriye ibyo watekerezaga nkabyongeraho n'ibindi byinshi wivugiye kimwe n'abandi mutekereza kimwe. Nagirango ubutaha muzirinde kuvuga ibintu mu buryo butaribwo. Ibi mbivugiye ko ndi umu G.D. hano ku Kacyiru, umwe mu bambere bahagurutse tariki ya 2 Ukwakira 1990 intambara imaze umunsi umwe gusa itangiye, nambariye urugamba nerekeza iy'u Mutara gutera inkunga bagenzi bacu b'abasirikari bari bagezeyo rugikubita.

Ngira ngo uwampagarara imbere agaterura ngo : «Aba G.D. nta rwana ryabo ngo ahubwo ni ibyitso by'ubugizi bwa nabi» atavanguye, kudukiranura byaba ingora bahizi.

Umuntu umwe ntiyari akwiye gutukisha bose. Ahubwo yari akwiye kuvugwa ukwe, agatukwa ukwe, agahanwa ukwe !

Cpl NGAMIJE P.C.

ITANGAZO.

Impuzamugambi ziharanira Repubulika (CDR) zifite aderesi nshya: zibarizwa kuri B.P. 660 Kigali-RWANDA. Ishyaka ryanyu nimurigezeho ibitekerezo cyangwa murisabe ibisobanuro.

Harakabaho ubufatanye bw'imbaga nyamwinshi.

HAKWIYE REVOLISIYO NO MU BITEKEREZO.

Mu 1959 niho rubanda nyamwinshi rwivumbuye rukipakurura ingoyi ya gihake-ntutsi yari yararuzonze. Icyo gihe hashyizweho inzego za politiki nshya. Uwari uzi ubwenge muri icyo gihe no mu minsi yakurikiye yiboneye ubwe ko ingoma ya cyami yari yarapyinagaje abahutu yasimbuwe na Repubulika ishingiye kuri Demokarasi. Gupfumbatishwa ishyaka kugirango ube umukuru w'igihugu kugeza igihe uzatanga ntibongeye kurangwa muri uru Rwanda. Amatora atuma abaturage bategekwa cyangwa bahagararirwa n'abo bihitiyemo yasimbuye imitegekere y'igitugu y'ubwoko bumwe bw'umwami. Umuhutu yakize ikiboko n'uburetwa byo kwa shebuja w'umututsi wari waramucuje utwe akamugira umucakara mu gihugu yamusanzemo. Maze se uretse abanzi ba rubanda ninde koko wakwihandagaza ngo nta Revolisiyo yigeze iba; kereka nyine PL ishyaka ry'inkotanyi-ntutsi. N'ubwo ibintu bimwe na bimwe bitagenze nk'uko byifuzwaga ibyo aribyo byose ibyangombwa byagezweho.

Revolisiyo muri politiki no mu mibereho myiza y'abaturage yarabaye koko kandi yagenze neza muri rusange. Ingoma y'inyoko-ntutsi yari imaze ibinyejana hafi bitanu yica umuhutu igakiza umututsi yashoboye rero gusimbuzwa ubutegetsi bw'abaturage buva ku baturage kandi bukorera abaturage kubera ko rubanda nyamwinshi rwari rumaze guhumuka rukamenya akarengane barupfukiranyemo, rukibaruka abana b'intwari bashoboye guhangara ku mugaragaro ubutegetsi ruvumwa bw'abega n'abanyiginya. Amaraso yaramenetse kubera abiru n'abo bari bahuje ubwoko bari bagitsimbaraye ku bya kera bahigaga abarwanashyaka b'ikubitiro ngo basogotwe. Birumvikana rero ko n'abaturage bafashe inkoni, agahoro n'akabiriti maze bakirwanaho kugeza igihe nabo bimitse abo bishakiye, ngiyo Revolisiyo!

Nyamara ariko ingoma-ntutsi yaranduwe igipande gito gusa. Ibisigisigi byayo ni iryaguye; ibyo bigaragarira mu myifatire no mu bitekerezo by'abanyarwanda yacengejemo umuco unuka wo kubeshya, guhakwa, kudashyira mu gaciro, gucura amagambo, kwangana, gutikura, kurimanganya, kwironda n'andi marorerwa atagira ingano. Biraruhije rero kugira ngo ibintu byabaye umurage imyaka amagana n'amagana bihinduke mu myaka mirongo itatu gusa narindi abo bikomokaho bagikomeza kubyubakira urufatiro rw'umutamenwa. Aho binabereye insobe ni uko atari ikintu gifatika ngo umuntu abe yakibuza kongera kubyutsa umutwe. N'aho wakoresha kakacinikovu cyangwa izindi ntwaro zigezweho ntiwashobora guhindura mu kanya gato imitekerereze n'imigirire yafashe nk'isima mu bwonko no mu maraso y'umunyarwanda.

Nko mu giturage gihake yashiditsemo ingiga z'amashyari, amatiku n'inzangano bidindiza amajyambere bikaryamisha abaturanyi. Abitwa ngo ni abasirimu nabo bize, bategeka cyangwa bakize usanga ntacyo barusha rubanda rundi. Umukozi aracyamara umunsi muzima anegura abandi akabasopanyiriza muri byose, akababeshyera, bwacya na nyuma yaho agakomeza. Aho yakwerekanye icyo ashoboye ahubwo agashimishwa no kugaya ibyo mugenzi we yagezeho. Aho gushakira umuti ibibazo biriho ugasanga arabyigurutsa abigereka ku bandi, ikinyoma n'ibisobanuro bidafashe rugeretse. Kera guhakwa byari byarahawe intebe ya kinyarwanda none byahawe ifoteyi isize zahabu; ubwenge, ubushobozi ndetse n'umurava biza nyuma y'ikimenyane n'andi macakubiri.

Muri ibi bihe by'amashyaka menshi ho byabaye umwaku: niho bigaragarira ko imyifatire n'ibitekerezo by'umunyarwanda cyane cyane umuhutu bitaracengerwamo n'umwuka wa Revolisiyo. Ubundi kudahuza ibitekerezo na mugenzi wawe ku kibazo iki n'iki ni ibisanzwe kuko Imana itabaremye kimwe ariko usanga abafite ibitekerezo bigufi bashaka kubyuririraho ngo bakongeze itabaza ry'amatiku na munyangire. Umuntu arabura icyo anenga ishyaka batavuga rumwe agahimbahimba ibinyoma agatura aho. Kuri bamwe 1 = 2 si 2 kubera ko bivuzwe na kanaka badahuje ishyaka ariko bakaba bashyigikira ko 1 + 1 ari 4 mu gihe icyo gisubizo gitanzwe n'uwo barihuje; ubwo se ukuri nyakuri kuzaturuka he? Mu ntwaro zikomeye z'inkotanyi ari nawo muco wa gitutsi udashobora gusibangana mu gihe n'abahutu bawugize uwabo harimo nyine kubeshya no gusopanyisha amashyaka cyane cyane ayitwa ngo ni ay'abahutu niba agihari.

Muri iryo sibaniro ry'amashyaka birakabije ndetse biteye ishavu kubona umuhutu yemera kuba igikoresho cy'abatutsi peee, akajya yunga mu ntero y'abo banzi be kuva isi yaremwa kuzageza ku mperuka yayo. Azihanukira koko yemeze nawe nta kimwaro ko abasirikare b'u Rwanda aribo bateye mu kigo cy'ababikira nk'uko inkotanyi zabibeshye amahanga? Ubwo nk'uwiyita umuhutu wiha "ubutwari" -nanze kuvuga ubucucu- bwo gusakaza ikinyoma giteye isoni nk'icyo wamenya umucira uruhe rubanza? Undi na we agaturuka ku Rusumo rwa Kibungo akagera i Nyabitimbo ho mu Karengera abwejagura ngo Barahinyura cyangwa undi wese basohoye inyandiko iyi n'iyi ari uko ngo bahawe amafaranga ndetse akavuga n'umubare, kandi ubwo wenda nawe ari umwanditsi (...)! Hanyuma ishyaka ryavuka rigamije kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi umututsi akajya mu gutwi k'umuhutu go narivugeho ibibi bibaho byose by'ibinyoma gusa. Undi nawe ati ndiyo munywanyi wanjye; ubwo bakaritwerera abatazi amavu n'amavuko yaryo, bakarihimbahimbira abategetsi batabaho kandi ubwo abayobozi baryo nyabo barerekaniwe ku karubanda. Mbese umuhutu agakomeza kirindagirira mu mutego umwanzi amutega. Umuntu akihanukira ngo Nayinzira bamuhaye amafaranga n'imodoka kugira ngo ishyaka rye ribe agashami k'irindi, ngo PECO nayo yaraguzwe ngo ibe icyitso cya ririya. Akabyemeza rwose nta shiti nk'aho ayo masezerano yose yaba yarabaye ahibereye ubwe.

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Izo ngeso rwose mbi zakunze kuboneka ku ba Lunari bagendaga bakwiza mu baturage ibihuha kugira ngo rubanda rubagarukire. Muri ibi bihe ho ibinyamakuru byiyongereye inyenzi z'abatutsi zabonye ubwugamo n'urubuga rwo kuyobya abatazi ubwenge. Kandi koko abahutu b'iki gihe ntibakimenya gushishoza ngo bashobore gutandukanya urumamfu n'ingano nk'abo mu gihe cya Revolisiyo. Aho gushyigikira inyandiko zibarengera usanga basamarira ibinyamakuru by'inkotanyi nka Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, le Tribun du Peuple, Kiberinka n'ibindi bihatanira ko umuhutu yasubira ku bucakara cyangwa ko yasibangana kuri iyi si. Hari aho koko mwabona umuntu yicukurira urwobo yitwa ngo afite umutima utekereza, amaso yo kureba n'amatwi yo kumva! Kudashyigikira ubutegetsi buriho ni uburenganzira bwa buri wese ariko ntibyagombye gutesha abanyarwanda cyane cyane abahutu umuyoboro twaharuriwe na Revolisiyo yo mu 1959. Kwisunga umwanzi ukigamije kurimbura imbaga y'abahutu no kwiha kumutwara mu kwaha no gukwirakwiza ibinyoma bye ngo ni uko wenda agufasha gusenya ubutegetsi utishimiye ni ukurohama bivanze n'ubugambanyi bwari bukwiye guhanirwa bikomeye. Abahutu bamwe baracyiyibagiza ko umututsi atarangamiye gukuraho Repubulika ya kabiri ubwayo gusa; n'iya gatatu cyangwa se iya kane n'izizazikurikira zose azazirwanya mu gihe cyose umuhutu azaba akizifitemo ijambo. Imitegekere mibi iriho igomba rwose kwamaganwa ndetse byaba ngombwa hagashyirwaho abandi bayobozi babishoboye kurusha abo dufite ubu ariko bikaba muri demokarasi isesuye kandi bigashimangirwa no kwima amatwi tutazuyaza abahigira gukuraho burundi ingoma-mputu.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte
Gisuma

CDR IZIYE IGIHE.

CDR cyangwa "COALITION POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA REPUBLIQUE" mu gifaransa, ni ishyaka riharanira ubusugire bwa Repubulika; rikaba rigamije mbere na mbere kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu bageze kuri 90% by'abanyarwanda bose.

Nta mwaka rero wari washira itegeko-nshinga rishya ryemeye politiki y'amashyaka menshi. Ubwo inkwakuzi zahise zishinga amashyaka ukagira ngo hari aho zari zarayahunitse kuko ibyaribyo byose ishyaka rigomba gutegurwa bihagije, amategeko n'amahame-remezo arigenga akigwa neza, hakabaho nyine n'igihe cyo gushaka abayoboke. Sinzi niba hari inyungu idasanzwe yo gutura aho ishyaka -kuko abarwanashyaka 30 badakunze kubura- maze ahasigaye beneryo bakituramira ntiryumvikanishwe mu mpande zose z'igihugu.

Muri izo nkwakuzi rero umuhutu nyamuhutu yashimishijwe byimazeyo no kumva ko MDR -imwibutsa PARMEHUTU yamukuye ku ngoyi y'abagome n'abanyabinyoma b'abatutsi- yongeye kugaruka muri uru Rwanda. Ubwo se yari kuyoboka koko irihe shyaka rindi? Icyo gihe ntacyo na CDR yari kuba ije kumara kuko MDR-PARMEHUTU nayo yahoze ishyira imbere icyarengera umuhutu kuva ikivuka; kandi yaharaniye ku buryo bugaragara ubusugire bwa Repubulika mu gihe inyenzi n'ibyitso byazo bashakaga kugarura ingoma ya cyami-ntutsi.

Irindi shyaka abahutu benshi bari bitabi iye ni MRND kuko ryavugaga ko ryivuguruye. No muri iyi ntambara ryari ryagerageje kuvumbura umwanzi nyawe no kumwamagana nubwo hanze ho imishyikirano n'amahanga n'abadutera yakozwe mu giswa kivanzemo ubwoba no kwivuguruza. MRND yari isigaye noneho yigana nayo kuvuganira rubanda nyamwinshi rw'abahutu nko mu bihe bya Kayibanda, Gitera na Bicamumpaka.

Aha naho ntibyagaragara ko CDR ari ngombwa kuko abantu bibwiraga ko MRND iri mu nzira yo gucana ukubiri na politiki yari igiye kuroha abahutu ikuzimu ho kwa Nyamutezi.

Amashami ya FPR y'inkotanyi nka PL na PSR yo yagombaga gutuma havuka ishyaka rifite ubushake n'ubushobozi byo gusenya irifite imigambi ya shitani yo kumarira ku isasu na mine imbaga y'abahutu iranga cyane cyane iyo PL. Nabwo ariko rubanda rwakomeje kugira icyizere mu mashyaka yitirirwa abahutu yari amaze kuvuka ku buryo rwabonaga yari kwifasha yonyine izo nyenzi-nkotanyi.

N'utundi dushyaka nka PDC, PSD, RTD, PDI, PECO.. ntitwagombaga gukanga umuhutu cyane cyane ko tutari dushyigikiye ku mugaragaro abo bicanyi kandi ari nta n'ingufu mu giturage twari twifitiye.

Ayo mashyaka yose rero yakomeje kwivuruguta muri politiki ari nako agenda yerekana uko ateye koko; kuko burya atari byiza guhita unenga ikintu utaramenya neza icyo gihatse. Nka kwa gusubiza umuhutu ishema ryari ryarakendeye rubanda nyamwinshi rwari ruteze kuri MDR kwaje kubyara ishyano. Abitwa ba kanaka na kanaka na bamwe mu bandi bambari ba MDR yo mu 1991 bayobeje iryo shyaka, bararizambya bararizambaguza kugeza naho ribaye igikoresho cya za nyenzi-nkotanyi ziganje muri PL no muri PSR. Maze byose bigahuhurwa no kutagira politiki n'imigambi yo gutegeka ihamye (idéologie) uretse kurwanira ubutegetsi. None se umuhutu wari wihanganye bihagije yibwira ko MDR izisubiraho yari gukomeza koko guhishira ubwo bugambanyi bushyigikirwa na ba nyoni nyinshi babifitemo inyungu ku giti cyabo bwite gusa? Ni nayo mpamvu CDR yahise iba ngombwa kugira ngo abagifite umutima wa gahutu babone nabo aho barengerera inyungu n'agaciro by'ubwoko bwabo; kuko umututsi we adapfa gusamara nk'abiyita abahutu bo hanze aha, ashishikazwa n'inyungu z'abo basangiye ubwoko nta bandi. Ariko muzumva ryari? Kuba rero wari

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umurwanashyaka w'imena wa MDR ntibyakubuza na gato kuyoboka noneho CDR kuko ari ryo shyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi, kereka niba nyine ugitsimbaraye ku migirire y'amayeri ya ba gitimujisho bakomeza kugutsindagiramo yo kuroha umuhutu mu mikaka y'ibimanuka.

Ku ruhande rwa MRND naho umuhutu yahejeje amaso mu kirere ashaka kureba ibihinduka muri iryo shyaka byashimangira umutekano we n'imibereho ye myiza maze araheba. N'ubwo twitwa ngo turi mu cyuho, cyangwa mu nzibacyuho, ibyaribyo byose ni MRND igitegeka; n'amakosa akomeza gukorwa mu butegetsi, muri politiki, mu bukungu no mu mibereho y'abaturage niyo igomba kuyabazwa kandi aho kugabanuka ahubwo arikuba inshuro iryaguye. Ibyo gusumbakaza abatutsi bakomeje gukorana n'inkotanyi byabaye intego ya guverinoma iriho. Umwanzi MRND ivuga ko yavumbuye ntacyo yamutwaye uretse kumusubiza ku ibere yre. Imishyikirano yerekeranye n'iyi ntambara yakomeje kurangwa no guhuzagurika kandi ubundi ukuri kutagomba guhishirwa. Byaranagaragaye ko kwishyira imbere mu gushaka kuvuganira abahutu ari amaco ya politiki ngo rubanda nyamwinshi rurusheho kuyiyoboka maze yaramuka isubiranye ubutegetsi intero ikaba ya yindi isanzwe: UBUMWE butazapfa bushobotse kubera ko abatutsi batabushaka, oyé! AMAHORO kandi turi mu ntambara y'urudaca tuzahora dukururirwa n'abo batutsi, ramba! AMAJYAMBERE y'abatutsi gusa n'ibirura bikungwahazwa no kunyereza imitungo no kurya ruswa, sugira sagamba tera imbere turayashyigikiyeeee!!!! Nawe rero muhutu wari ugikomeye kuri MRND cyangwa wari utarafata umurongo menya ko noneho CDR yakubonekeye maze uyiyoboke utajijinganya kuko ariyo uzaboneramo agakiza.

Birumvikana ko ibyamaganwa kuri MDR na MRND bireba n'andi mashyaka ashobora nayo kugwa mu mutego w'umwanzi ariwe nkotanyi n'abamushyigikiye hanze n'imbere mu gihugu. Nkaba rero nagira inama abarwanashyaka bayo bagishishoza gutera umugongo imigambi n'ibyemezo bibangamiye rubanda nyamwinshi ndetse ahubwo bakitabira gushyigikira CDR. Icyakora munyumve neza, ntabwo CDR irwanya andi mashyaka cyane cyane ay'abahutu ahubwo byayishimisha birenze urugero yumvise ko ayo mashyaka yikubise agashyi maze akagaruka mu nzira ibereye umuhutu nta kujandajanda. Icyo gihe haba ubufatanye butaziguye n'ayo mashyaka yose yitabiriye kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi no gushimangira ubusugire bwa Repubulika.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte
GISUMA

HAKWIYE KAMARAMPAKA (REFERENDUM) KU ISHYAKA RYATANGA MINISITIRI W'INTEBE

Muri demokarasi impaka zose zikizwa n'amatora adafifitse. Ni nayo mpamvu amakimbirane ari hagati y'amashyaka ku kibazo cya Minisitiri w'intebe yagombye guhoshwa n'abaturage ubwabo kuko abiyita ko babahagarariye mu mashyaka anyuranye byabananiye. Ubundi urebye ububasha bukaze Minisitiri wa mbere ahabwa n'itegeko nshinga nubwo yaba ari uwo mu nzibacyuho nta shyaka ryabura kurwanira uwo mwanya. Kugira rero ngo hatagira ugira ipfunwe ngo ishyaka rye baryimye Minisitiri w'intebe hakwiye gukoreshwa ku buryo bwihutirwa amatora rusange kuri icyo kibazo.

Iyo Kamarampaka ariko yategurwa kandi igakurikiranwa n'imiryango cyangwa ibigo bidafite aho bibogamiye muri politiki; ni nabyo byabarura amajwi bikanayatangaza mu butabera. Ariko nabwo ntibibuze ishyaka ryakumva ko ryabangamiwe kujuririra inkiko ziteganijwe. Buri munyarwanda wemerewe gutora yahabwa igipapuro kiriho amazina y'amashyaka yose akurikiranye hakurikijwe igihe yaboneye uburenganzira bwo gukora ku mugaragaro maze agashyira akamenyetso iruhande rw'ishyaka ashaka ko ryavamo Minisitiri wa mbere. Iyo Kamarampaka yaba n'ikizamini ku mashyaka amwe n'amwe yiha kuvuga ngo arusha ayandi abayoboke. N'imyanya y'ubuminisitiri yindi yatangwa bahereye ku bwiganze bw'amajwi bwa buri shyaka. Nta shyaka ryakwemererwa gutwerera irindi amajwi ryiboneye uretse ko ridashatse kujya muri ayo matora ntawaribihatira.

Leta icyakora yahatangira miliyoni akangari ariko ntacyo byaba bitwaye cyane kuko n'ubundi itakaza ibyo idashobora kubara muri uru ruhirahiro. Yakwiyambaza n'ibihugu by'amahanga bikayitera inkunga muri urwo rwego. Nah'ubundi ejo cyangwa none mushobora kumva Perezida wa Repubulika yashyizeho Minisitiri w'intebe ukomoka mu ishyaka yishakiye maze induru zikarushaho kuba induru. Nk'ubu kuva aho minisiteri y'intebe ihawe Nsanzimana bidaturutse ku cyifuzo cy'abaturage usanga igihugu kigenda «pole pole», umurava w'abakozi n'igitsure cy'abategetsi byaradohotse.

Mu ishyaka ryabaye irya mbere muri iyo referendum niho Perezida wa Repubulika agomba gutoranyamo byanze bikunze Minisitiri w'intebe. Ariko rero kubera ibibazo by'umutekano n'ibya dosiye ya buri muntu ntabwo umukuru w'igihugu yabwirizwa kwemera umukandida ubonetse wese naho yaba ashyigikiwe byimazeyo n'iryo shyaka rye ryarushije ayandi amajwi.

Iyo Kamarampaka yagombye kuneza impande zose kuko abasha-

ka amatora ya hutihuti y'inzego zose za politiki baba bahawe urubuga rwo kugera nibura kuri zimwe mu ntego zabo. Naho abagitinda mu makorosi bashakisha abayoboke no kwimenyekanisha mu gihugu nabo baba bahatomboreye kuko iyo guverinoma y'inzibacyuho -ariko iturutse ku cyifuzo cya rubanda rwose nk'uko ruba rwabigaragaje muri iryo tora- ishobora kumara amezi n'amezi mbere y'uko hakoreshwa ya matora yo mu nzego zinyuranye cyane cyane urw'abadepite. Gusa iyo uvuze referendum abatutsi barikanga kuko bazi ibyo yabakoreye muri nzeri 1961; bikaba rero byatuma amashyaka yabo n'andi yose bacengeyemo bakayagira igikoresho cyabo atitabira iryo tora cyangwa bagakoresha amayere basanganywe kugira ngo yegukane amajwi iryaguye bityo Minisitiri w'intebe abe umututsi cyangwa icyitso cy'ubwo bwoko bwanga urunuka abahutu.

Ndekezi Bonaparte
GISUMA.

NSHIRWARIMENETSE ZA PALIPEHUTU, NAMWE BAHUTU MWESE MUKWIYE IRI ZINA MURAGABA.

Baciye umugani ngo «uwutambana na mukeba ntakubita urugohe». Bahutu rero murabe maso kuko abashatse kuva kera gusambura umugambwe wacu n'ubu ntaho baraja. Ngira ngo murazi ko kuva umugambwe wacu ubona izuba wamye ugwa inzura n'abansi bawo bipfuza ko utoshinga imizi. Abo bansi si abandi rero, ni Abatutsi banka bakankiriza zina Muhutu wese batipfuza ko yobaho canke naho akabaho ari umuja wabo. Abo bansi bacu b'Ababatutsi bahavuye bibaruka abandi bansi mudategerezwa gufata minenegwe. Abo rero ni Abahutu twocamo ibice bibiri : hari Abahutu b'abatinyarugamba bahisemwo kwigumira mu buja bw'Abatutsi aho gukenyera zikaguma ngo bateshe Abatutsi imigambi yabo yo kugumiza Abahutu mu buja. Hari n'Abahutu bahumishijwe amaso bakanacurikwa umutima n'amaronko Abatutsi babahendesheje kugira ngo bahonye bene wabo b'Abahutu abandi birabira gusa.

Abatutsi bobo musanzwe muzi ko batigeze bahengeshanya kudutega imitego to kutwica kandi n'ubu bakiriho. Muri iyo mitego hari uweze Abatutsi baduteze mu guca kuri ba Bahutu bene wacu kandi tutokwihenda ngo boba baracitse inkokora kuko aribo babo bishingisha turya tudumbidumbi tw'utugambwe Abatutsi binyegeje inyuma. Kuva utwo tudumbidumbi tushinzwe, nta kintu ba nyenetwo bigeze baserura canke bakorera Abahutu cerekana ko turiho. Vyatumye abanyagihugu batatwizera kuko ata kindi kituraje ishinga atari ugutoba. Nico gituma nta banyagihugu wosanga barijukiye utwo tudumbidumbi kiretse ba nyene kudushinga. Mwomenya ahubwo ko umugambi wa mbere na mbere w'utwo tudumbidumbi ari uwo gusambura umugambwe PALIPEHUTU w'Abahutu bakanura kandi barinduka. Abari muri PALIPEHUTU barakanura kuko bo babona ko Abahutu barenganywa muri vyose, bararinda kuko bashinze umugambwe wubahuka ugashinga umwotso mu gihute aho kugikira. Ariko na none Abahutu biyemeje kumena ico gihute ntibari bayobewe ko nyeneco ariwe Mututsi azorya amenyo abazomufata igihe bazoba bakimwotsa.

Abahutu-baja rero ntaco bategereje kugira ngo badusamburire umugambwe ariko bikababata k'uwamazi, none babonye ko PALIPEHUTU yabahotoranye badasiba kuwuhiga, babona kandi ko batagishoboye kuwankisha abanyagihugu nk'uko babigerageje mu gihe caheze, baca biga iyindi mitego bibwira ko yoyo tutazoyica ikanda. Ihi bambewe ! Nibateshwe bate kuko ivyabananiye ejo haheze ntibazobishobora uno munsi canke ejo hazoza.

Muti mbega iyo mitego migesera basigaye batega PALIPEHUTU n'abayihurikiyemwo ni iyihe ? Noneho ivyo bateguye ni akamaramaza kuko hambere abarwanya umugambwe wacu bari ahabona none ubu kubera ko basigaye batinya abanyagihugu bayitavye ari benshi baciye biga kuyiheregeta bayinyegejemwo nk'ivunderi mu giti.

Uko vyagenze rero ng'uku : mu minsi iheze hafashwe ikete ridafise epfo na ruguru Abahutu-baja bandikiye abahurikiye muri PALIPEHUTU n'Abahutu bakunda ubwoko bwabo bagomba kubajuragiza. Iryo kete abo Bahutu-baja barifyirigise kw'igenekerezo rya 11/01/1992, baraheze baryitirira Umukuru w'umugambwe wacu kuko baravye bagasanga ariwe wenyene asigaye afise ijambo haba mu gihugu hagati canke mu makungu. Ico bihendeyeko, baribagiye yuko ijambo yama ashikiriza Abarundi ryamye ari iry'ubugabo kandi ko yiyemeje kutwunguruza, na kare umugabo yihindukiza mu kirago ntiyihindukiza mw'ijambo. Abo Bahutu-baja rero ivyo babeshe muri iryo kete begetse ku Mukuru w'umugambwe PALIPEHUTU nta shingiro bifise, kanatsinda babigize bataraguje, mbere ni bahatorere icirwa bateshwe bate kuko turi maso kandi bamenye ko n'imbwa itayoberwa shebuja mbe ndetse abantu.

Abo Bahutu ba mpemuke ndamuke bakoresheje ubusuma buteye isoni mu kubeshera Umukuru wa PALIPEHUTU, bigana ikimangu c'umugambwe n'igikumu c'umukuru wawo. Akò karwi kibwira rero ko kubuye ubwenge bushasha bwo kudusamburira umugambwe, yamara barihenze kuko umukuru w'umugambwe wacu turamuzi neza, tuzi impanuro yama aduha uko ziza zimeze, tuzi imashini akoresha uko yandika n'ibindi ntiriwe ndondagura.

Nshirwarimenetse rero, ngira ngo kubashoboye kwibonera iyo kete, mwabonye ko akarwi kayanditse kagerageje uko gashoboye kwiyorobeka mu mvugo nziza kashatse kugira. Yamara kubera ko umugambi wako wari uwo gusambura, kategerezwa vyanse bikunze gushiramwo amajambo atagira mvura. Ayo majambo yari ayo kuvuna inkokora inshirwarimenetse za PALIPEHUTU, kuziteranya n'indongozi zazo hamwe no kwambika ibara Umukuru w'umugambwe bitiriye ivyo binyoma.

Ikindi mwoba mwarabonye ko bihenzeko mu kwitirira Umukuru w'umugambwe iriya nyandiko ni uko bujujemwo amajambo y'ikinyarwanda kandi tuzi ko atigeze aba mu Rwanda. Ng'ubu ururorero : **amahirwe ntiyatunogeye — Guhangana na UPRONA — Amikoro Abahutu bafise — Mu mahanga — Abazungu barasuzugura — Mu minsi ishize — Kutavuga rumwe - Gutatanya inguvu — Nta ntambara itagira intumbi n'ibindi... n'ibindi...**
Bica vyibonekeza ko muri ako karwi harimwo ababa canke babaye mu Rwanda.

Nshirwarimenetse za PALIPEHUTU namwe Bahutu mwese mukigendera iryo zina, tuboneyeho akaryo ko gusubira kubakebura ko mutegerezwa na ntaryo kwisunga impanuro z'indongozi zanyu muri PALIPEHUTU zikabereka umwonga uhuma n'udahuma, zikabereka imigambi mibi Abatutsi bariko barategurira Abahutu. Mutegerezwa kumenya yuko muri iyo migambi, ahenshi bifashisha Abahutu nkamwe, ariko bataye ibanga kubera ubwoba canke amaronko bakura ku Batutsi. Ehe namwe nimurabe abashikiranganji b'Abahutu BUYOYA yashize muri Leta ntutsi, nimurabe Abahutu BUYOYA yashize mu murwi washinzwe kwiga ikibazo c'ubumwe bw'Abarundi, murabe Abahutu BUYOYA yashize mu murwi wo gutegura ibwirizwa nshingiro ry'Uburundi, murabe n'abandi Bahutu BUYOYA aha ibiti mu zindi nzego z'intwaro, muzosanga ari Abahutu BUYOYA yacishijemwo ijisho. Ni ba Bahutu BUYOYA azi ko ari ba «Niryo», batigeze na rimwe berekana, ari mu mvugo ari no mu ngiro ko babajwe n'akarenganyo, agacinyizo, gukumirwa, kwicwa no kwangazwa Abahutu bagirirwa kuva kera gushika n'uno munsi. Abo Bahutu bene wacu rero mubaharure mu Batutsi kuko ntibizotuma tubatinya ngo ni uko igitigiri cabo congerejwe kikava kuri 14% kigashika kuri 15% kandi ntibizoca bitunanira kurwanya imigambi yabo hamwe tuvyitayeko.

Ikindi kandi Abo Bahutu-baja na ba shebuja batobahendesha ni utudumbidumbi ngo ni imigambwe bamaze canke bimirije gushinga. Muradutere ivyatsi hamwe na UPRONA kuko ari udukoresho twayo twiyorobeka.

Umugambwe wacu kandi uhora na ntaryo uturemesha, utwigisha kurinda ibitugora bivuye ku mwansi wacu twiyemeje kurwanya uko bizogenda kose. Dutegerezwa rero kugumiza ku muzirikanyi wa mugani twasigiwe n'umuhisi wacu n'ubu tucubaha, GAHUTU Remi, yavuze ngo «Akari mu menyo y'imbwa bagakuzamwo ubuhiri».

Ni uko rero ntihagire uwubajuragiza namwe ngo muje narwo, naho yoca mu buryo ubwo aribwo bwose kuko murazi ko umwansi adasinziriye. Mwame mumenya ko umugambi ukiri wa wundi, mufise amazinda nimwegere ababarongoye mu mugambwe wacu kandi bazwi aho kujana nyabahururu ngo muhave mwihenda canke babahende.
Ntimwibagire gukorera mw'ibanga kuko arico kirwanisho gikuru kirinda umwansi. Ni twame twisunga ca civugo c'ubutwari c'Umukuru wacu ngo «HAKUBA IMBWA WOBA IMVA».

PALIPEHUTU,tsinda !

Bigiriwe i BUJUMBURA,
kuwa 15 Ruhuhuma 1992.

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

Le Président Buyoya du Burundi multiplie le nombre de scénarios visant à faire accepter de force par la population, les visées machiavéliques exprimées dans une constitution unique sur la planète devant consacrer un multipartisme de façade et des élections sur des listes bloquées.

En réalité le pouvoir est pris de panique devant d'une part la campagne musclée des partis d'opposition appellant la population à voter contre le projet de constitution lors du référendum du 9 mars et d'autre part les nombreuses pressions internationales ayant récemment engagé le Président Burundais à une série d'actions politiques devant nécessairement le contrarier dans les options politiques qui sont véritablement les siennes. Les actions politiques lui demandées sont entre autres :

a) La poursuite des militaires qui se sont rendus coupables des massacres des civils Hutu depuis le 23 novembre 1991.
b) La légalisation du PALIPEHUTU.
c) La libération des prisonniers politiques du PALIPEHUTU.
d) L'ouverture du dialogue politique avec l'opposition et en particulier avec le PALIPEHUTU.

Ici à Bujumbura, la description officielle des faits est tellement peu crédible que, la direction du PALIPEHUTU a pris la décision de mettre à découvert cette nouvelle manipulation de l'opinion burundaise et internationale.

En effet :

a) Les militaires ne pouvaient pas quitter Muzinda et arriver aux Camps de Musaga et à la présidence sans que les dispositions de les contrecarrer ne soient prises.
b) Ce n'est au petit matin qu'ils devaient entamer les préparatifs de leur putsch en recherchant des appuis à Musaga et Muha.
c) D'après une dépêche de l'AFP du 4 mars des officiels burundais chercheraient à établir une collusion entre la soit-disante tentative

de coup-d'état de l'ex-Président Bagaza et le PALIPEHUTU, deux inconciliables sur l'échiquier politique burundais, mais par contre un rapprochement inquiétant d'autant plus qu'il simule exactement le début des massacres de Novembre-Décembre 1991.

Le PALIPEHUTU affirme et proclame très haut que le scénario est une machination dont les objectifs sont :

a) Créer un pretexte aux autorités pour recueillir des fleurs pour les projets du régime en particulier le référendum du 9 mars 1992.

b) Salir le PALIPEHUTU et hypothéquer le dialogue avec lui.

c) Trouver une protection aux officiels civils, officiers et sous-officiers Tutsi responsables des massacres de Novembre-Décembre derniers.

d) Forger un pretexte pour intimider même l'opposition tutsi opposée au contenu du projet de constitution.

e) Tirer une pseudo-sonnette d'alarme envers l'opinion internationale pour tailler à Buyoya une place privilégiée.

Le PALIPEHUTU, n'en déplaise aux spécialistes de la mashination, ne peut pas s'engager dans des opérations de violence sans issue soit-disant pour saboter un référendum dont les résultats forgés seront un jour contestés et calpestrés par le Peuple Souverain.

Le PALIPEHUTU réitère son appel à la Communauté Internationale pour garder l'œil vigilant sur le Burundi.

Bujumbura le 6 Mars 1992

Le Président du Comité Exécutif National
NTACONARIGIZE V.

ABAKOZI B'ABAHUTU BAKORERA ABATUTSI BARA-RENGANYE.

Muri iki gihe mu ngo z'abatutsi (extrémistes) hakorerwa byinshi: ibiganiro, amanama n'ibindi, byose bigamije kwandagaza abahutu babacenga no kurwanya ubutegetsi buriho bo bita Ingoma y'Abahutu.

Abakozi bo mu rugo (bakunze kwita ababoyi n'abayaya) b'abahutu bakorera abatutsi bahura n'ibibazo byinshi muri iki gihe cyane cyane ko abatutsi banga ko bagira icyo bamenya ku byo baba baganira (bo bemeza ko babibwira bene wabo b'abahutu).

Abatutsi benshi muri iki gihe, bagezwaho iteka imigambi y'inkotanyi iyo ariyo yose ndetse bamwe bagashingwa n'imirimo imwe n'imwe bagomba kurangiza cyane cyane imirimo yo guteranya abahutu b'aho bita Nduga na Rukiga, ubundi bagateranya abarwanashyaka b'amashyaka yiganjemo abahutu.

Kugira ngo imigambi yabo igerweho ntawe bakeka ko yabavamo, biraye mu bayaya n'ababoyi b'abahutu maze si ukubananiza karahava, bakaboneraho kubirukana. Kuri abo bakozi ngo nyirabuja agira atya agahisha ikintu hanyuma akihanukira ngo umukozi wagitaye azagikorera amezi atatu cyangwa ane adahembwa. Iyo rero ushatse kumwumvisha ko urengana, nibwo akwirukana atanaguhembye kabone n'ibirararane. Erega ubwo aba abonye urwitwazo ku baturanyi baba basanzwe bakuziho umurava!!

N'iyo rero umukozi abaguyeho bari muri ayo mateshwa yabo, baba babonye uburyo bwo kumutesha umutwe ngo nta kinyabupfura cy'abahutu, ubwo bakamwirukana bamaze no kumukata utwo yakoreye twose.

Mu migambi yabo, abatutsi - cyane cyane abagore- harimo kwirukana abakozi bose bo mu rugo b'abahutu kandi batabahembye kugira ngo bazinukwe. Iyo ubabajije impamvu badafite abakozi, bakwerurira ko aho gukoresha abahutu bo kubota amagambo, iyo mirimo bazayikorera. Ariko na none wareba umubare w'abatutsi bakeneye ububoyi muri uyu mujyi wa Kigali, ugasanga bizaba wa mugani ngo "icyo imbwa yanze ushyira aho ireba". Ese koko iyo mirimo bazayikorera? Ko nduzi nabo batoroshye mu kwinemfaguza no gusuzugura imirimo y'amaboko!! Aho iwabo ntihazamera nko mu misarane uretse ko n'ubundi basanzwe bakunda kwiherera.

Bana b'Abahutu namwe nimumenye ko batabashaka, akarimi kabo kababeshya ngo babuze abakozi kugira ngo mubakorere ukwezi cyangwa abiri hanyuma babirukane batabahembye, ari uko bamaze gushaka impamvu muri za zindi navuze haruguru, mukwiye kukirinda. Ubu buryo ni bwo bushya badukanye bwo guhaka abahutu.

Ku ruhande rw'abategetsi n'abagabo muri rusange, nabasaba kwisuzuma mumaze kunyuza amaso mu migambi inkotanyi zafashe zise "stratégie" mu ntera ya gatatu y'iyi ntambara. Mbibutse ko uretse gukoresha imvururu mu mpande zose, biyemeje gukoresha abagore b'abatutsikazi bashyingiranwe n'abahutu n'indaya zabo muri rusange. Ntawe uyobewe ko Kigali yezemo indaya z'abatutsikazi dore ko ubwo bwoko bwabo bukunda uwo mwuga, kuko uborohereza mu kugera ku migambi yabo yo kwigarurira abahutu no gufata imyanya myiza na bene wabo (mwibuke amategeko 10 bashyizeho bakimara guhunga u Rwanda).

Mu ntera ya gatatu y'iyi ntambara, bageze n'aho gukoresha amarozi, mwibuke ko bazakoresha abo bagore.

Ubutaha nzabagezaho ubugambanyi mu ngo z'abahutu bashakanye n'abatutsikazi. "Inshuti y'impyisi niwe irya mbere" kandi "agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo".

HABYARIMANA Ildephonse
B.P. 2271 KIGALI

ETO GATUMBA.

Abantu benshi batwandikiye ku bijyana n'ibibazo ishuri ry'i Gatumba ryigisha imyuga rifite. Twarabikurikiranye dusanga imizi y'ibyo bibazo ari amafaranga yanyerejwe. Ayo mafaranga yaratanzwe kandi abayakiriye Leta irabazi. Mu gihe itaragira ubwende bwo guhaguruka ngo ibabaze ayo mafaranga maze akoreshwe mu kuvugurura no kugura ibikoresho bya ngombwa abanyeshuri bakeneye, ETO Gatumba izaruhira kuba ishuri rya Leta ry'imyuga risebye kurusha ayandi. Kangura.

ESE BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal NI IMPUNZI KOKO?

NDABAMENYE Mathias
Bwiza-Bujumbura
Rép. du Burundi.

Bujumbura le 26 janv. 1992.

Mushingantahe, Muyobozi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru Kangura
B.P. 1312 Kigali.

Mushingantahe,

Mfashe ikaramu yanje, nkwandikira ngusaba ngo ungereze iyi nyandiko yanje k'umusomyi w'ikinyamakuru cawe ca Kangura yitwa BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal uba ku Kibuye, nizigiye ko, uzongereza iyi nyandiko kuruwo Mushingantahe, urakoze.

Mushingantahe BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal, nkurikije inyandiko yawe, yasohotse muri Kangura n°30 yo mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1992, k'urupapuro rwa 15 rw'iyo Kangura. Mushingantahe, mbanje kuramutsa ndagize gake, hano iwacu mu Burundi dufise imvugo ngo: Har'umurundi w'umutima, umenga niwewe... Ariko ntuze we... ! Uri umurundi koko ! Niba ur'umurundi ntiwokwigora ng'umbarire umwirondoro wawe ! Ese uri impunzi koko ? Cyangwa se wagiye iyo gukora... ! Niba naho warahunze, wahunz'iki ? Nkurikije inyandiko yawe ushobora kuba ur'umwarimu, niwaba ur'umwarimu kuki wagiye kwigisha Abanyarwanda hano iwacu dugikeneye abarimu ? Murundi mwene wacu, umenga uwoguh'amahitamo y'amafaranga y'inyongera n'u Burundi bwakuvyaye, aho ntiwohitamo amafaranga... ! Mwene wacu, ayo mafaranga y'inyongera, abo banyeshuri bimwa amahera y'amashule yabo n'izo mpunzi zir'imuhero, bamerewe nabi nikoko, nkurikije imvugo yawe ariko ntibageze aho umuntu yicirwa umwana wiwe arega agatako akarishwa inyama mbisi z'uwo mwana wiwe.

Nizigiye ko, kandi ziriya mpunzi, abo banyeshuri n'abo barimu bagenzi bawe ataribo bogutumwe ng'ubavuganire kuri Kangura ngo nayo ibavuganire kuri Leta na HCR, kuko bo bagomba kuba bazi ko, uwatumwe bangara ariwe watumye bagorwa ayo bagowe ubu. Ikindi naco, sizi neza *nib'uzi ko,* umwanzi yatumye mumuhunga (niba uri impunzi koko) atishimiye kubona mukiriho, kubwe no kuba mwaramucitse vyaramubabaje cane rwose; kuba naho mwagez'iyo mukabona akazi, amashure no kwumva ko imiryango mpuzamahanga yabakiriye neza ntivyamuhimbaye, akaba ariyo mpamvu uwo mwanzi yagize ukw'ashoboye kugira ngo mufatwe nabi hanyuma naho n'ubona ko, umerewe nabi ugaruke, kandi nkawe nakugir'inama yo kugaruka m'u Burundi, kuko u Burundi bukeneye nkawe.

Iyo nkuru y'uko umuvyeyi yarishijw'umwana wiwe, uzoyitohoze neza yabereye mu vyobo vy'aho bimba izahabu i Butahana, n'i Butara naho abasoda ba BUYOYA basanze umuvyeyi amaze kw'ibaruka umwana bagaca bamwica na n'uwo yibarutse, ako kari akanyuzemwo ngo: nkubarire ko, egome mu merewe nabi iyo aho muri ariko kandi sinzi niba mumerewe nabi cane nkatwe n'abo muri Zaïre na Tanzania; erega ngo: urunyo rw'uwawe rukurya rukurunda-runda; nizigiye kw'abo banyarwanda (leta y'u Rwanda) babagira nabi babagirira bate... ! bibuka ko, muri abahutu nkabo ko umwanzi wabangaje nabo ariwe abamereye nabi ubuu.-

Mushingantahe, BARAYANDEMA Jean Pascal, umuntu yohora aja kuruzi akakurobera ifi akakuzanira iyo kurya, no kukwigisha wewe ukaja kuja kwirobera ubwawe, wumva ivyo kugirira akamaro kanini ar'akahe ? Njewe kubwanje numva uwonyigisha nkaja nirobera arivyo vyoba bifisiye akamaro kanini kuruta yaho yaja aroba akangaburira ndaho, mbega war'uzi ko, n'inyoni igaburira icana caco arikera ikagera aho yigisha ico cana caco naco kikaja kija kwihahira, mu icamake rero, iy'aba isi yose cane cane ibihugu bihana imbibi n'iki gihugu cacu c'u Burundi, vyari bidufashije nka NGEZE uwo kugira tubone demokarasi hanyuma natwe tukagira demokarasi y'ukuri nyakwo, ngirango abarundi bose bahunze boca bagaruka bakaza mubabibarutse uretse wewe gusa ico wishakira ni, kuzamuka intera no kwogezwa amafaranga yawe n'izo ntera zawe ukiber'igez'iwewe.

Kubwanje, ndashima cane gwose, uwo Mushingantahe, umuyobozi mukuru wa Kangura kuko arondera ko mu Burundi habaho intwaro rusangi nyayo koko maze amahoro agataha mu Burundi n'impunzi zose z'abarundi aho ziri kw'isi yose zigahunguka, ngirango ibibazo vyawe vyose vyaba bibonye inyishi itomoye. Ikindi naco, uwo Mushingantahe wa Kangura ndabona afise ukuri kwo kuvuganira abahutu b'i Burundi; kuko mu Burundi niho hari abanyagihugu benshi cane, egome n'ubwo mwagize Imana mugashobora guhunga sinzi niba mugeze kuri 5% z'abanyagihugu niba rero mugeze kuri 5% z'abanyagihugu kandi n'ubwo mwoba muzirenze ntimushobora kuba mukabakaba 1/2 c'abahutu bari mu gihugu, ngira ngo rero mukwandika iriya kete yawe wandikiye uriya muyobozi mukuru wa Kangura, sinzi niba wabanje gusoma hariya inyuma ku gifuniko icico kinyamakuru, munsi y'iryo zina Kangura handitswe ngo: IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI. Sinzi neza ikinyarwanda, ariko jewe uko ndavyumva, numva avuga ko, agambiriye guserura ivyiyumviro vy'abanyagihugu nyamwinshi boba bariko barengana, bacurwa bufuni na buhoro nka hano iwacu mu Burundi nk'uko tumeze ubuu.

Ndangije ndagushimira icifuzo cawe, n'ubwo kitanezereye benshi, nyamara ngw'iyabira iba yanse kuzimira; nasaba abarundi baraho muba kugira ngo bazogusure bagukure ibuzimu uj'ibuntu.

NDABAMENYE Mathias.

KA02 1655

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MU ITANGAZAMAKURU U BURUNDI BURACYARI MU BUVUMO.

Umuhanga w'igihangange mu ityazabwenge (philosophie) ry'Ubugereki yarisobanuye ngo: abantu baryamishijwe mu buvumo bahambiriwe. Berekezwa ku ntango yabwo; hanze, inyuma yabo, hacanwa umuriro (cyangwa izuba rirarasa). Abantu batambutse bikoreye, ibicucu byabo bikishushanya ku ntango. Abari baziritswe bakabibona. Kubera ko mu buzima bwabo bari batarigeze babona umuntu, bagakeka ko igicucu aricyo muntu w'ukuri. Rimwe, umwe muri bo arizitura ajya hanze, abonye abantu abanza gukeka ko abo abona atari-bo. Ashaka abantu basa n'abo yabonaga akiri mu buvumo araheba. Buhoro buhoro asanga abantu bakiri mu buvumo bibeshya kuko bazi ibintu nabi.

U Burundi nabwo buracyari mu buvumo. Buzi ibintu nabi. Bugomba kubuvamo bukajya ahagaragara kugira ngo bumenye ibintu neza. Aha ndashaka kuvuga ko bwitiranya itangazamakuru ryigenga mu gihugu cy'imisozi igihumbi na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Nyabuna nibugire busohoke muri ubwo buvumo buzasanga ari ibintu bibiri bitandukanye. Ikinyamakuru cyigenga KANGURA, gitandukanye cyane na Leta y'u Rwanda. Umuyobozi wacyo arambiwe guhora mu kagozi kubera indwara y'Abayobozi b'u Burundi badahwema kumwitiranya n'igikoresho cy'ubutegetsi.

Mu by'ukuri itegeko ryaturutse mu nzego zo hejuru ngo babe babitse NGEZE Hassan. Rigera k'Umuporokireri waje kurishyira mu bikorwa amwerekeza iya 1930. Nta kintu na kimwe yashinjwaga. Porokireri yagombaga kugira icyo amubaza. Dushyize mu gaciro nta kintu na kimwe yagombaga kumubaza uretse gushakisha. Bikagaragazwa n'uko yamubazaga ngo hanze aha amagambo arahwihwiswa ngo waba warajyanye lisansi n'imipanga mu Bugesera mu rwego rw'amarorerwa yahabereye.

Akongera ngo Ishyaka C.D.R. (Coalition pour la Défense de la République) ni wowe waba wararishinze ? Iyo "interrogatoire" nta mpamvu yo kuba iteye ityo ihatse, usibye kugaragaza mu mafuti ko NGEZE Hassan afite icyo afungiwe.

Ikigaragaza ko azira ubusa, kandi buri gihe niko bimugendekera, ni uko ku manywa yo kuwa 14 Werurwe 1992 (nyuma y'iminsi itatu amaze kogoshwa), impapuro zimufungura zaje zifitwe na "un avocat.

Intumwa igera kuri NGEZE aho mu buroko ngo itegure utahe. Hagati aho umwe mu bategetsi ati "c'est pas possible ! N'inama y'umutekano tuvuyemo ! Ako kanya telefoni ziracicikana mu buryo butagira icyo bwungura imbohe yacu. Ako kanya impapuro zimufungura bahita bazikuba na zero. Njyewe ubwanjye byabaye mpari. Avocat wazizanye, ngeze mu biro bya Kangura muterefona nsa n'aho ntazi ibyabaye noneho mubaza iby'izo mpapuro zimufungura. Arampakanira aratsemba ngo ntazabayeho. Mbega ejo !

Ibi byose birahamya akarengane ka NGEZE. Kubera ibyanditswe muri "interrogatoire" hiyongeyeho ibivugwa hanze, abenshi barakeka ko, abandi bagahamya ko azira ibiherutse kubera mu Bugesera. Nta hantu na hato izo mpuha zihuriye n'akarengane ke. Aheruka mu Bugesera se ryari? Uko mbizi mpamo, imyaka irihiritse. Nyamara ibinyamakuru birandika ngo byaramubonaga aherekejwe n'abasirikari agiye gutega izo "mines" muhora mwumva. Ku bijyana n'ishyaka C.D.R., usibye bamwe bazarira, nta kibazo kirimo. Ikindi kandi si irye,. Ni iry'abarigize bose. Vuba aha nirizaba ryemewe ni uko nta busembwa rifite.

Tubyibukiranye. Kuva kuri MICOMBERO, iyo Perezida w'u Burundi yazaga mu Rwanda, impunzi z'abahutu b'Abarundi zegereye akarere yajyaga gusura barazihigaga, bakazishyira ahantu ngo hatuma umutekano w'"umushingantahe" udahungabana. None ubwo u Rwanda rutangiye kubika Abanyarwanda kugira ngo bushimishe ubutegetsi bw'Abarundi, turakeka ko ari hahandi, butazishima uko bikwiye, kuko butazabona ababakorera animasiyo niba uwo muco uzakomeza mu mashyaka menshi.

Turongera kwibukiranya ko, ubwo NGEZE aheruka mu buroko, byagiriwe kugira ngo Minisitiri BIZIMUNGU abashe gusa n'uvugana neza n'abategetsi bagenzi be b'i Burundi. Muribuka ko yagezeyo akongera gukuza ya ngeso bagira yo kubashimisha maze NGEZE akitwa inkotanyi, ndetse akagerekaho ko afite ibimenyetso simusiga. Aho nyiri ubwite afunguriwe, yashatse ko ibintu bijya ahagaragara. Yaje kubonana na Minisitiri BIZIMUNGU amusaba kumubwira ibyo bimenyetso, noneho aramusubiza ngo ni amayeri ya politiki. Murabe mwumva aho amayeri nk'ayo azageza iki gihugu niba akoreshwa no mu bindi... Gusa icyo kibazo cy'ubukotanyi akibazwa kenshi na n'ubu ntikirasubizwa.

Banyarwanda mushyira mu gaciro, twabashije kumenya ko Perezida BUYOYA yari yasabye ko kugira ngo abashe kuza mu nama ya 14 isanzwe y'Ibihugu Bigari ari uko u Rwanda rwari kubanza kumwizeza ko KANGURA itazongera kwandika ku Burundi. Murabona ko ibyo bidashoboka. Murabona ko ari ukwitiranya itangazamakuru ryigenga n'imikorere ya politiki cyangwa ya Leta y'u Rwanda. Intambwe igihugu cyacu kimaze gutera ntiragera aho ishimishije, cyakora uko biri, iri imbere ku y'abavandimwe bacu b'Abarundi. Koko si ukubeshya, mu itangazamakuru u Burundi buracyari mu buvumo.

NYABYENDA Issa.

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi nimero tumenye ko NGEZE yafunguwe n'Urukiko rw'Ubujurire. Ubwo ubutaha niwe uzavuga abamugambaniye cyane cyane umuyobozi wa gereza Bwana MUGIRANABI ubu nawe wahinduwe. Ibi bihe ni bisiga Procureur NSANZUWERA ntaho tuzaba tujya.

UMWARIMU YASENYESHEJE ISHURI RYA LETA KUGIRA NGO ABONE AMABATI YO GUSAKAZA INZU YA MWENE WABO W'ICYITSO.

Abatutsi bashyigikiye inkotanyi zidutera bakora uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo bongere ibibazo by'Abanyarwanda, bityo ibibazo nibitubana insobe inkotanyi zizaze guhuhura abahutu, ariko zibeshya abahutu ko zije gutabara.

Niyo mpamvu Umututsi ushyigikiye inkotanyi wese iyo abonye igikorwa cyagira icyo gihombyaho u Rwanda atazuyaza mu kugishyira mu bikorwa. Kandi abatuye umujyi wa Kigali barabyiboneye muri ya myigaragambyo yabaye ku itariki ya 08/01/1992 no kuya 15/01/1992 kuko igihe abandi berekanaga akababaro batewe na Habyarimana wanze gushyiraho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, ahubwo akishyiriraho Guverinoma ihuriweho na MRND (idakurikiza amategeko), na PDC abatutsi bo bihutiraga kumena ibirahuri bya za bisi, gutobora imipine y'amamodoka no kwangiza ibintu bifitiye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Iyo umututsi yabonaga umuntu usenya yaramusekeraga, akanamwoshya ngo nakomeze asenye byinshi.

Iyumvire nawe ukuntu KIBERINKA n° 6 ikinyamakuru cy'abatutsi cyogezaga abatutsi bangizaga bisi zitwara abanyeshuri n'abakozi bagiye ku kazi. Ngo umututsi yangizaga bisi noneho umusirikari amubonye amwirukaho, uwo mututsi ngo yahungiye mu kiliziya no mu ntebe ya penetensiya ngo ba. Uwo mupadiri ngo aho guhana iyo nkozi y'ibibi ayibuza kwangiza umutungo w'abaturage, we yaramubwiye ngo niba yishe bisi imwe ntacyo yakoze ngo nagende yangize izindi nyinshi noneho uwo musore apepera Padiri wari umaze kumubeshya ngo nagende yangize byinshi. Maze ngo uwo musore yisubirira mu myigaragambyo. Ese koko nk'iyo nkotanyi y'umupadiri irabona izakomeza kubeshya abaturage kugeza ryari? Keretse niba intebe ya penetensiya itameze nk'iy'Abanyarwanda naho ubundi Imana nayo yagombye kumvisha uriya mupadiri ko intebe y'ikinyoma ntawe uyicaraho kabiri!

Si mu mujyi gusa, kuko no mu giturage abatutsi, ngo n'ubwo Leta idahomba, iyo babonye akanya bayisubiza ku isuka. Isomere nawe iyi nkuru y'uyu mututsi wo muri Komini Rwerere (Gisenyi) ukuntu yatinyutse gusenya amashuri abana bose b'u Rwanda bagombaga kwigiramo.

Ku gasozi kitwa Rwamigega, hari ishuri ryari ryarasenyutse kubera gufatwa nabi. Ubutegetsi bwa Komini bufatanyije na Kiliziya Gatolika bwiyemeza gusanura iryo shuri kuko ryari rifitiye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Noneho uriya mutusi we, ntiyashimishwa na kiriya gikorwa nibwo agiye inama n'umuturage w'aho hafi ngo niyibe amabati bari bamaze gusakaza iryo shuri ngo azamuhishira. Bwakeye ku itariki ya 15/12/1992 ishuri barisenye.

IPJ wo muri iyo Komini uvugwaho byinshi muri iki gihe, hashize iminsi ibiri ajya gushaka abo bagizi ba nabi arababura. Ariko uriya mututsi yakoresheje uburimanganya n'amafiku basanganwe afungisha abasore babiri: ...sero Petero na Ntazigaruye F. Icyatumye abafungisha ngo ni uko badacira inkotanyi akari urutega n'ibyitso byazo. Ndetse ngo bakaba bari barafashe iya mbere mu kuyoboka MDR ngo bahashye inyenzi uretse ko Twagiramungu Faustin ukorana na PL yabahemukiye. Uwo mututsi kandi ngo yari afite undi mugambi wo guteranya abayoboke ba MDR na MRND. Afungisha bariya bagabo we yemezaga ko ari bo bibye amabati ndetse asaba na IPJ kugaruka gukora irindi perereza.

IPJ ageze mu baturage asanga bahakanira bariya bagabo noneho ageze kwa mwarimu aramubwira ati: "ushobora kwibariza n'abanyeshuri kuko ari intabera". Noneho IPJ abajije umunyeshuri wa mbere uwibye amabati y'ishuri umwana avuga amazina y'abasore mwarimu wabo yafungishije. IPJ akomeje kumukurikirana, umwana ati: "mwarimu yatwigishije ko nuzagira uwo ubaza ariko azagusubiza". IPJ abarije abana rimwe bose bamwemerera ko ariko mwarimu yabigishije maze uwo munyabinyoma abura aho akwirwa. Kubera igitugu cy'ubutegetsi bariya basore bafunzwe ibyumweru bibiri byose kandi bazira ubusa. Yewe burya koko abatutsi baracyadutegeka n'ubwo ari nta Kalinga bagifite.

Ku itariki ya 24/01/1992, abaturage bafashe ariya mabati abayibye bayambutsa kujya gusakara inzu y'icyitso cy'inkotanyi zo ku Munigi ho muri Zayire. Nyamara bariya bafatanywe igihanga kubera gutanga ruswa ntacyo ubutegetsi bwigeze bubatwara. Ahubwo bwihutiye kugura andi mabati yo gusimbura ariya yagiye gusakara inzu z'ibyitso by'inyenzi muri Zayire.

Nyamara ubutegetsi bwa Komini butagaguza ariya mafranga bwiyibagiza ko ava muri yayandi ijana (100) abaturage batanga ku ngufu. Kuko mu Rwanda hose Komini Rwerere niyo yonyine igitegeka abaturage gusora 500 Frw. Kubera ko ririya 100 rirenga rigeze n'aho kujya gufasha ibyitso byo muri Zayire; KANGURA iboneyeho umwanya wo kwibutsa abaturage ko umusoro wemewe n'itegeko nshinga ari 400 Frw. Ntihazagire rero uwongera gusora 500 Frw kuko ariya y'ikirenga adakoreshwa mu bifitiye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro.

RUBERA Papias

Abagize ubwanditsi bwa KANGURA

— NGEZE Hassan
— NYABYENDA Issa
— NDEKEZI Bonaparte
— MIRASANO Céléstin
— RUBERA Papias
— SIMBIZI Stany

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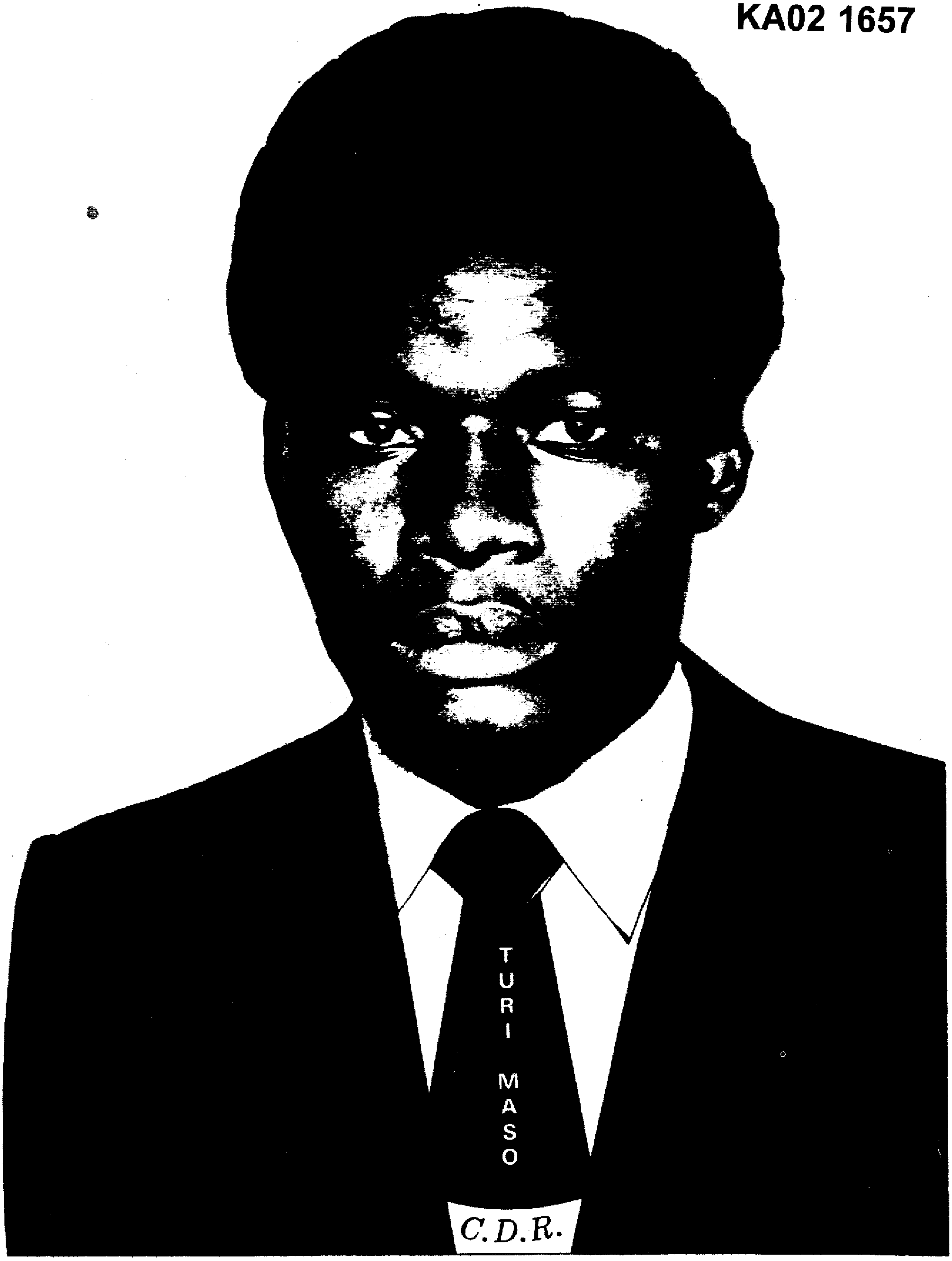

NGEZE Hassan umuvugizi w'Abahutu.
Ubu afungiye muri gereza ya Kigali, bimwe mubyo azira ngo ni uko ari umwe mu bashinze ishyaka C.D.R. riharanira ubwiyunge bw'abahutu, bwo bwateye impungenge inyenzi n'ibyitso byazo.