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IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

25 Gicurasi 1992

- **RADIYO NDENGEJEHO NO KUNIGA: UMUGAMBI W'INKOTANYI**
- **UWILINGIYIMANA Agatha AKOMEJE KWIYAMBIKA UBUSA.**

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# EDITORIAL



## RADIYO NDENGEJEHO IZA-TUGEZA KUKI ?

U Rwanda rwugalijwe n'ibibazo byinshi by'ingorabahizi. Muli byo, ububanyi n'amahanga burarwaye. Ngubwo u Burundi bwahinduye u Rwanda agatobero, Uganda yo imaliye abanyarwanda ku icumu, ifasha Inyenzi ziyise Inkotanyi gutera imidugararo mu Rwanda.

C.D.R. yemera ko ibihugu bidukikije, u Rwanda rwabana nabyo mu bwumvikane, ko ibibazo byose byavuka hagati yabyo n'igihugu cyacu byakemurwa binyuze mu mishyikirano, aho gukoresha ingufu, intwari, iterabwoba n'ibindi byihishe inyuma y'ibiyihebe.

C.D.R. ishyigikiye ko nta gihugu na kimwe cyagombye kwivanga mu bibazo by'ikindi gihugu. C.D.R. ishyigikiye ko ubusugire bw'igihugu cyacu bugomba kwubahirizwa, nk'uko u Rwanda rugomba kubahiriza ubw'ibindi bihugu.

C.D.R. yemera ko ibihugu byose bireshya imbere y'amategeko-mhuzamahanga.

Ikibazo cyo kurangiza iyi mburagasani y'intambara ishaka kumalira imbaga nyamwinshi ku icumu, kibaye ingorabahizi. Guverinoma ya M.R.N.D. yagerageje kugira imishyikirano n'INYENZI-NKOTANYI ndetse n'u Buganda birananirana. Intandaro yo kutabishobora, ni uko abo yagiranaga imishyikirano nabo, ali nabo bali barayimunze. Bikubitiyeho ko ubushishozi buke bwa bamwe mu bategersi bishakira inyungu zabo bwite, aho guharanira inyungu z'igihugu n'abavukarwanda bose, byatumye iyo mishyikirano itagira icyo igeraho.

Ikindi kandi, nubwo hali amashyaka ya politiki menshi, M.R.N.D. ntiyashatse kumva inama n'ibitekerezo byabo kugirango imishyikirano izagire icyo igeraho gihwitse. Koko

rero, umutwe umwe wifasha ibisazi ntiwifasha gusaba !

Guverinoma ya Dr NSENGIYAREMYE wo mu ishyaka M.D.R., C.D.R. ibona ko nayo yaguye muli ya makosa M.R.N.D. yaguyemo. Ese ko iyo guverinoma igizwe n'amashyaka atanu gusa mu mashyaka 14 yose yemewe mu Rwanda, ubwo iyo guverinoma izagera kuki yirengagiza ibitekerezo by'ayandi mashyaka, kandi akomeye ? C.D.R. ikaba yongeye kwamagana agatsiko k'amashyaka kishakira inyungu zako gusa, kiyemeje kuzajya mu mishyikirano gahakilizwa, ngo INYENZI-NKOTANYI zemererwe kuza mu Ngabo z'u Rwanda, aho guharanira inyungu za Rubanda-Nyamwinshi. Ese kuki iyo Guverinoma yihutira gutangira iyo mishyikirano n'INYENZI-NKOTANYI, zigitera kandi zica urubozo imbaga nyamwinshi ?

Kugirango izagire icyo igeraho, abazayijyamo bagombye ku jana ibitekerezo byose by'abanyarwanda ! C.D.R. ikaba isaba Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga n'ubutwererane, umaze kuba icyamamare bitewe no kutagira ijamba ashingiraho ahubwo urangwa no kwivuguruzwa no kugambanira imbaga nyamwinshi, kuba yanyura iyi nzira kugira ngo abone icyo yazajyana mu mishyikirano.

1. Gusaba inkotanyi kwubahiriza amasezerano y'i N'SELE zikarambika intwari hasi.

2. Kwoherereza amashyaka yose ibyifuzo bya F.P.R. kugira ngo ibibazo byose bikemurwe. Ibyo amashyaka akabitekerezaho, nyuma buli shyamba likohereza Guverinoma inyandiko ikubiyemo ibyifuzo bya-ryo.

3. Guverinoma igomba gushyiraho akanama k'impuguke kagomba kwiga inyandiko z'amashyaka yose.

4. Gutumiza inama y'amashyaka yose. Iyo nama igatumirwamo kandi n'intumwa zihagaraliye Minisitiri y'Ingabo, Minisitiri y'Umulimo n'Imibereho myiza y'abaturage ali nayo ishinze ikibazo cy'impunzi, Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'Imizamukire ya Komisi n'Ikigo gishinzwe iperereza mu gihugu. Izo ntumwa zikajya impaka, zikanonosora ibikubiye muli izo nyandiko,

maze zigategura umurongombonera ugomba kukulikizwa mu mishyikirano.

5. Igihe yagera, mu ntumwa zizayijyamo, hagomba kuba halimo uhagaraliye C.D.R. Kandi abazajya muli iyo mishyikirano, bagomba guhora babwira abanyarwanda bose aho imishyikirano igeze n'uko igenda.

Ngayo inzira C.D.R. ibona imishyikirano yagombye kunyuramo. Kuli icyo kibazo, ndetse kimwe no kubindi, C.D.R. ntizihanganira igitugu cy'amashyaka atanu. U Rwanda ni urwa twese, si urw'amashyaka amwe gusa.

Ku kibazo cyerekeye u Burundi, C.D.R. ntiyijyumvisha na gato, ukuntu umugabo NGURINZIRA Bonifasi wo mu ishyaka M.D.R., yanyarukira i Burundi, ngo agiye gushakira u Rwanda amahoro apfukamaliza, aya iminwa yivuguruzwa. C.D.R. ntishyigikiye

na gato rwose iryo hakilizwa kuko u Burundi budahatse u Rwanda nk'uko u Rwanda rudakeneye guhaka u Burundi.

Mu nshingano Guverinoma ya Dr NSENGIYAREMYE ifite, hali ukugarura umubano mwiza n'ibihugu bidukikije. Ese yabigezeho ? Ese izabigeraho ? Tubiteza amaso, uretse ko yazahera mu kirere, umugani wa wamunyanranda. U Burundi bazumvikana bate kandi bilirwa babapfukamye imbere ? Ese, ejobundi ko yagiye gupfukamiza agataha amara masa, adashyize umukono ku nyandiko isoza uruzinduko yalimo i Burundi ? Bazumvikana bate ko u Burundi bushaka ko impunzi zabwo zose zili mu Rwanda zabusubizwa bukajya kuzica ? Hali ubugambanyi buruta ubwo ? Bazumvikana bate bashaka ko u Rwanda rwazajya rufasha u Burundi kwica abahutu, u Rwanda rubima ubuhungiro ? Harya amategeko mpuzamahanga ntateganya ko nta gihugu gifite uburenganzira bwo gusubiza inyuma umuntu uhunga ibyago n'ibindi bibi bibera mu gihugu cye ? Ngaho ngo barashaka kurengera ikiremwa-muntu tutitwene tuvuga, nyamara batsembera abandi ku icumu. Bazumvikana bate, kandi u Burundi ngo bwaba bwarareze u Rwanda muli O.U.A., bitewe n'amagambo y'ibinyoma NGURINZIRA yavugiyemo kuli Radiyo

ngo impunzi z'abarundi zateye igihugu cyabo ziturutse mu Rwanda, kandi akanahakana ko muli iyo minsi u Rwanda rwatewe mu Bugesera n'agatsiko gaturutse mu Burundi. None se, twemere nde tureke nde ? Ko bucyeye bwaho, Ingabo z'u Rwanda, zilinda impaka y'igihugu cyacu kandi zihora zili maso, zahise zinyomozwa uwo mugabo watangaje ibyo binyoma kandi atigeze aya muli uyu muji wa Kigali ? Uyu mugabo ukomeje kugambanira igihugu cyacu, yakwibwileza, akegura igitaraganya, kuko byatahuwe ko akora ibyo umwanzi ashaka.

Naho ku kibazo cy'u Buganda, C.D.R. irasaba ikomeje ko Guverinoma ya Dr NSENGIYAREMYE yarega UGANDA ku mugaragaro mu Nteko ishinze umutekano ya O.N.U. Ibimenyetso byose birahali byemeza urugomo rw'u Buganda.

Ntitwarangiza tutagize icyo tuvuga ku rurondogoro ruli hanze aha mu batewe ubwoba no kumva ko noneho imbaga nyamwinshi yiyemeje kwibumbira hamwe ngo irengere inyungu zayo. Bamwe barabunza urunwa, abandi bagasara mu itangazamakuru, babeshya ngo ishyaka C.D.R. ni-rya rikora amarorerwa y'ubugome bukabije, n'iterabwoba byadutse kandi bigamije gutitiza ndetse no guhitana rubanda nyamwinshi C.D.R. iharanira. Ali C.D.R., ali n'umwanzi, uwaba abifitemo inyungu ni uwuhe ? Uwo muzabyumvane wese muzamenye ko ali ukuyobya uburuli ahubwo abiziranyeho n'umwanzi. Ayo mayeli yaratahuwe.

Naho abilirwa bakura abantu umutima ngo C.D.R. igamije gutsemba abatutsi, abatutsi nibabime amatwi kuko C.D.R. ishaka ko ahubwo amoko y'u Rwanda uko ali atatu yaturana mu mahoro, mu ubwubane no mu bwumvikane.

Mbere yo kubasezeraho, mbasebye kwamagana amashyaka yirirwa acura imigambi yo gutatanya rubanda nyamwinshi yibumbiye muli C.D.R. Twizere ko rubanda nyamwinshi itazigera ibyemera bibaho. Ibuye ryagaragaye rero ntiriba rikishe isuka.

IMHUZAMUGAMBI TULI MASO !

## Où allons-nous avec les Censures ? : Le M.D.R. en est aujourd'hui l'auteur.

Parti C.D.R.  
B.P. 2283 Kigali, le 15/05/1992

KIGALI.

A Son Excellence  
Monsieur le Premier  
Ministre de la République  
Rwandaise

KIGALI.

Excellence Monsieur le  
Premier Ministre,

Nous avons le regret de  
vous faire part de notre pro-  
testation énergique contre la  
mesure prise par le Ministère  
de l'Information et l'ORINFOR  
de ne pas diffuser la chrono-  
nique du Parti CDR qui devait  
passer sur les antennes de  
RADIO RWANDA de jeudi  
14 mai 1992 à 19h 45', confor-  
mément au calendrier préétabli  
sur les chroniques des partis  
politiques.

En effet, Excellence  
Monsieur le Premier Ministre,  
l'enregistrement et le montage  
de cette chronique étaient  
fin prêts le mercredi 13 mai  
1992 dans la matinée, et à

notre grande surprise, cette ch-  
ronique n'a pas été diffusée.

Plus grave encore, aucun res-  
ponsable de l'ORINFOR ne  
s'est donné la peine d'aviser  
les représentants du Parti CDR.

Vous conviendrez avec  
nous qu'à la lecture de cette  
chronique qui vous est trans-  
mise intégralement en annexe  
de la présente, aucun démoc-  
rate digne de ce nom ne dev-  
rait prendre la décision unilaté-  
rale de la censurer.

Etant donné qu'aucune raison officielle  
de cette mesure ne nous a été communiquée,  
nous sommes obligés de croire aux spécula-  
tions qui circulent selon les quelles, le Ministre  
de l'Information, Mr NDEGEJEHO Pas-  
cal du Parti MDR, aurait décidé de faire taire  
la voix du Parti CDR, notamment en le pri-  
vant des antennes de RADIO RWANDA.

Quels que soient les fon-  
dements de cette censure, nous  
sommes fermement convaincus  
que cette mesure arbitraire  
va à l'encontre des libertés  
d'expression et d'opinion, in-  
dispensables dans un pays  
qui se dit démocratique. Il  
vous souviendra, du reste,  
que dans votre discours-  
programme, vous vous êtes

engagé à tout faire pour  
défendre ce droit.

Par ailleurs, nous sommes  
étonnés de constater que les  
membres des partis politiques  
qui réclamaient à cor et à cri le  
droit à l'expression avant d'en-  
trer dans le gouvernement,  
soient actuellement les pre-  
miers à museler les partis  
d'opposition à ce gouverne-  
ment. Un petit oeil rétrospectif  
Excellence Monsieur le Premier  
Ministre, vous rappellera la posi-  
tion à maintes fois exprimée  
par votre parti MDR sur ce  
point et vous permettra de  
prendre des dispositions pour  
faire rentrer le CDR dans  
ses droits.

Nous osons donc espérer  
qu'avec votre intervention,  
l'ORINFOR voudra bien diffu-  
ser la chronique ci-avant dans  
les meilleurs délais et nous  
croyons qu'un pareil incident  
ne se reproduira plus, ce qui  
nous évitera de devoir recourir  
à d'autres moyens d'expression  
vivement exprimés par les  
membres du Parti CDR.

Veuillez agréer, Excel-  
lence Monsieur le Premier

Ministre, l'expression de notre  
très haute considération.

Pour le Parti CDR

BUCYANA Martin  
Président

C.P.I. :

- Son Excellence Monsieur  
le Président de la Répu-  
blique Rwandaise  
KIGALI
- Monsieur le Président du  
C.N.D.  
KIGALI
- Monsieur le Ministre (Tous)  
KIGALI
- Monsieur le Directeur de  
l'ORINFOR  
KIGALI
- Monsieur le Président du  
Parti Politique (Tous)  
KIGALI
- Monsieur le Chef de Mission  
diplomatique et consulaire  
(Tous)  
KIGALI

## Abashinze "APICUR" bazibuka ibitereko basheshe.

«Ntacyo ashoboye, ntacyo a-  
maze, noneho rirasenyutse ubwo  
n'uwu ryacungiraho yigendeye». Iyo ni imvugo usangana hafi y'a-  
bakozi, abarimu n'abanyeshuri bose  
muri APICUR, ishuri riri mu Ru-  
hengeri hafi y'ikigo cya MUHO-  
ZA.

Iryo shuri ni iry'ababeyi. Ubu-  
sanzwe ribarirwa mu mashuri yuba-  
tswe n'ababyeyi yigenga kandi ako-  
meye. Kuryigamo ariko nabyo bi-  
rakomeye kubera ko rica amafara-  
nga menshi. Mbese umuntu yakwe-  
meza ko ryubakiwe abana bafite  
ababyeyi bakize. Rifite amashami  
abiri : ubukungu, n'inderabarezi ru-  
sange. Impamyabushobozi ritanga  
zikaba zemewe na Leta, ndetse aba-  
nyeshuri baharangije usanga bahu-  
mutse mu byo bize. Ibyo birikesha  
ababyeyi barishinze barishakira aba-  
rezi babishoboye.

Ubu rero muri iryo shuri hara-  
vugwa inkuru y'umuyobozi wata-  
nzwe imbere n'ubugwari : ntacyo  
ashoboye rwose. Uwo ni uwitwaga  
BIBUTSA Damiyani. Ni umwe mu  
banyamuryango ariko nta kigenda.  
Ari abarimu, ari abanyeshuri bose  
baramusabira kwongera kuba u-  
mwarimu w'imibare kuko ari byo  
ashoboye n'aho bitaba ibyoye, API-  
CUR arayiroshye ! Inyungu z'i-  
shuri ntazi kuzihagararira. Ibyo  
byagaragajwe n'imodoka y'ishuri  
«Hilux» ihahira ikigo abasirikari  
bamusabye agahita ayitanga ataba-  
nje kubasobanurira akamaro ifiti-  
ye APICUR n'igihugu cyose. Gu-  
fasha ingabo nibyo ariko iyo uta-  
bishoboye utanga ibisobanuro zi-  
kakumva kuko nazo ari abantu bu-  
mva cyane ibibazo by'abandi. Iyo  
modoka rero imaze gutangwa akazi  
karazambye muri iryo shuri kuko  
ari yo yonyine rifite.

Uburere n'ikinyabupfura by'a-  
banyeshuri biragenda bigabanuka  
kubera abafasha yagiye yiyegereza  
mu buryo budasobanutse kandi na-  
bo badashoboye. Bityo rero aba-  
nyeshuri baba babonye intambuko  
ku buryo abataharisemo inzira y'u-  
bwigomeke, ubu basigaye bakwiza  
umwuka utari mwiza muri API-  
CUR. Hanze aha bategereje ko iru-  
hande rwa camp MUHOZA havuka  
imyigaragambyo. Ibintu nibigarurirwe hafi amazi ata-  
rarenga inkombe. Inama y'abanya-  
muryango yari ikwiye guterana iki-  
ga aho ibibazo bituruka noneho  
bakabishakira umuti. Nibitagenda  
bityo ishuri rigafungwa, bizagora  
cyane kwisobanura imbere y'aba-  
byeyi batanga amafaranga ari hagati  
y'ibihumbi 40 na 70 buri mwaka.

H.N.E.  
Secteur GASHANGIRO  
Commune KIGOMBE.

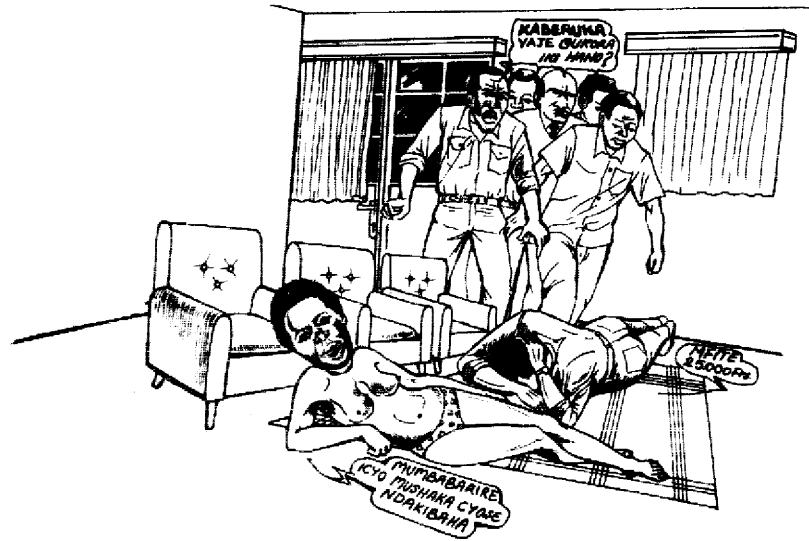
## MINISITIRI AGATHA UWILINGIYIMANA AKOMEJE KWIYAMBIKA UBUSA.

Mu minsi mike ishize agiye muri Guverinoma, uwo mutegarugori amaze kuba icyamamare». Uwo mubyeyi kuba azwi cyane ni uko ari umwe mu bagore batatu, Minisitiri w'Intebe, Dismas NSENGIYA-REMYE yizeye, akamushinga Minisitiri itoroshye y'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye. Akarusho akaba ari mu ishyamba MDR rya minisitiri w'Intebe. Ariko kuba uwo mutegarugori amaze kuba icyamamare, abikesha cyane cyane amahano ye !

Abasomyi ba KANGURA mu-maze kumumenyera. Si ukumuhaburika niwe wiha rubanda twabivugaga ngo ni aya KANGURA ! Dore ko n'amateka y'uwo mubyeyi ari maremare. Uwo mutegezi agomba kubanza nta n'akabanga agira. Ejo bundi ahurije banyamakuru ngo baze kureba ibyo abagizi ba nabi baraye bakoreye minisitiri iwe mu rugo. Abanyamakuru bamutabaye bwangu birumvikana ni aba Leta (ORINFOR). Ibyuma bifata amajwi, ibifotora, ibya televiziyo babibangiye ingata no kwa Madamu Minisitiri ngo ba ! Bo bari bazi ko basanga intere dore ko uwari yahurije yavugaga ko yaraye ahanganye n'igitero cy'abantu bagera kuri 25. Si bwo abanyamakuru bawe bakubiswe n'inkuba, basanze madamu ari mutaraga ! Yewe n'iwe ntacyangiritse.

Kubera icyubahiro umunyamakuru wa Leta uwo ari we wese agomba guha abategetsu cyane cyane Madamu Minisitiri, bazinga ibyuma byabo batangariza abanyarwanda ko minisitiri «abagizi ba nabi bamukubise bakamunozza». Uretse ko iyo ubajije abo banyamakuru babonye minisitiri Agatha Uwilingiyimana bemeza rwose ko ntacyo yabaye uretse umutwe yabakinye akihambira akaguru. Ari nacyo cyatumye abantu bibaza byinshi kuri icyo «gitero».

Usesenguye neza usanga uwo mubyeyi yaratetse uwo mutwe usa



na ya yindi ya KAJEGUHAKWA agamije byinshi nk'uko bivugwa hanze aha. icya mbere ni uko uwo mudamu usanga yarakoze buriya, ashaka inzu ya Leta, dore ko abambari ba MRND n'ubwo bamwe bavanwe muri Guverinoma banze kuva mu mazu bari bahawe.

Ikindi gitangaje mu iterwa rya Minisitiri Agatha Uwilingiyimana ni uko avuga ko yari kumwe n'umuturanyi «bicaye muri salon». Nyamara akamuhisha kuko aramutse amenyekanye hari byinshi yaduhishurira. Wasanga atari «KABERUKA» Akaba ari nayo mpamvu Minisitiri adashaka kumuvuga. Cyokora gucyura twari tuzi ko ari iby'abagabo gusa !

Nibarize Agatha, umugabo wawe yari he igihe wagiraga buriya byago ? Ese umugabo nta jambo agira mu rugo rwe, niba ari urwe koko ?

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri, ko hanze aha bavugaga ko abo bantu babateye baba baraba.... Uretse ko ngo bwaba atari ubwa mbere bibabaho.

Ndetse ko n'amafaranga ibihumbi makumyabiri na bitanu ngo bahavanye yaba yaratanze na «KABERUKA» uwo mwari kumwe ?

Mwasobanurira neza rubanda uko byagenze kuko ari yo mukorera ! Kuba ari muri Guverinoma y'inzi-

ba-cyaho, Minisitiri Agatha yari akwiye kubanza akaziba icy'iwe kuko kirangaye cyane.

Kuri Radiyo mwemeje ko mwatwe n'abantu mwashoboye kubara ngo musanga ari 25, none bababaza niba hari ishusho mwibuka mugahakana. Ese kumenya uwo mubare mwabaraga ibituzza byabo cyangwa amaguru ? Turashaka ibisobanuro. Ese umugabo nyiri urugo kuki ataragira icyo avugaga ku byabereye iwe ? Ese mwaba mwibuka ibyakozwe na KAJEGUHAKWA ubwo nawe yahangishaga ko yatewe ? Ese ko mwavuze ko abasirikari bacu banze kubatabara, hari icyo mwafaga ? Ese mubatabaza ngo bakanga bari bahagaze he ? Kandi batabajwe nande ? Ese abo bantu bahamaze iminota ingaha ? Turashaka ibisobanuro, byabura, ugasubiza icyubahiro abasirikari b'u Rwanda washinje ko banze kugutabara kandi utanavugaga uwo wabaturmyeho. Ese ibyo mwakozwe byaba bifite aho bihuriye n'ibyo mwatanga je ku banyarwanda na Ruhengeri ngo bazambije itangwa ry'ibya ngombwa mu bizamini ? Nyamara ibyo mugamije n'umwana utaraca akenge arabibona. Nimucishe make kuko ivangura ry'uturere mugamije ryatahuwe kandi mwibuke ko utazi umurera.....

Ibi dutangaje ni ibivugwa n'abatuye Kigali gusa. Ubutaha tuzabagezaho ukuri ku bamuteye n'abaribo niba babayeho.

GISENYI-INFO.

## INTERVIEW N'INKOTANYI BOSCO NYIRIGIRA.

**Ubwo Directeur wa le Tribun du peuple yari muri gereza yegereye bamwe mu basirikare b'inkotanyi bahafungiyeye bagirana ikiganiro. Dore ikiganiro kirambuye MUGABE yagiranye na Nyirigira Jean Bosco, inkotanyi y'amarere.**

*LE TRIBUN : Nimwibwire abasomyi*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Nitwa Nyirigira Jean Bosco, mfite imyaka 27 y'amavuko, nkaba mvuka i KIBUNGO, Commune Rukara Secteur RUKARA. Ababyeyi banjye bahunze mu 1962, ntaravuka, ubwo ababyeyi banjye bahungiyeye i Bugande niho navukiye ninaho nize. Muri 1982 naje kujya mu ishyamba mu mutwe w'ingabo za N.R.A. bitewe n'uko ubutegetsi bwa OBOTE bwirukanaga ababyeyi bacu natwe ntibwatumaga twiga, icyo ni kimwe mu byatumye njya mu ishyamba. icya kabiri mu byambabaje cyane ni uko hari hashize imyaka 20 Leta y'u Rwanda izi ko hanze hari abanyarwanda bari hanze bakeneye gutaha, Leta igakomeza kwirengagiza icyo kibazo, kugera ubwo twicwa nabi n'ubutegetsi bwa OBOTE. Muri icyo gihe muri 82 benshi mu banyarwanda bamaze kwirukanwa mu ngabo zabo benshi bagarutse ino mu Rwanda bageze mu mutara aho bakiriwe, bafashwe nabi bamwe barapfa, abandi barafungwa bagwa muri Gereza. Urugero ni nka GAHITSI wahunze agaruka i Rwanda iwabo, acumbikirwa muri Gereza mu RUHENGERI, kugera aho bamwiciye. Abo mu Mutara bahise mu gufata umugambi wo gusubira muri UGANDA, aho bahunze baturuka. Tumaze kubona ko tubuze hepfo na ruguru twahiseho kujya mu ishyamba turi benshi, tugamije guhirika ubutegetsi bwa OBOTE kugira ngo ababyeyi bacu babone agahenge.

Tumaze kugera mu ishyamba twaje kugera ku mugambi wacu, ubute-

getsi buvaho. Intambara ntiyahise irangira, hari ingabo nyinshi twakomeje kurwana nazo : Narwanye n'ingabo z'umugore ALICE LAKWENA zashakaga kugarura ubutegetsi bwa OBOTE, hari ingabo z'uwitwa ODONGO LATEKE, iza PETER OTAYI mugace ka SOROTI. Hari iza KIRAMA n'abandi benshi. Tugeze muri 88 twasubukuye ikibazo cy'impunzi z'u Rwanda. Twasabaga ko zagaruka iwacu ariko twe abasirikare tutarimo. Twasanze bidashoboka ko ababyeyi bacu bagaruka ngo twe dusigare turi impunzi. icyo kibazo twakigejeje kuri Perezida HABYARIMANA, atubwira ko azadusubiza muri 1989, tugeze muri uwo mwaka, yadusubije ko icyemezo cyafashwe ko impunzi zishobora kugaruka, ariko abasirikare bidashoboka. Twasanze ntacyo bitandukanyeho n'ibya mbere, ubwo twahise duhagarika imishyikirano. Twiyemeza kuza duteye twasanze biruta kugwa mu mahanga, twiyemeza ko ibyiza twashirira iwacu; niyo ntambara twatangiyeye tukirwana na n'ubu.

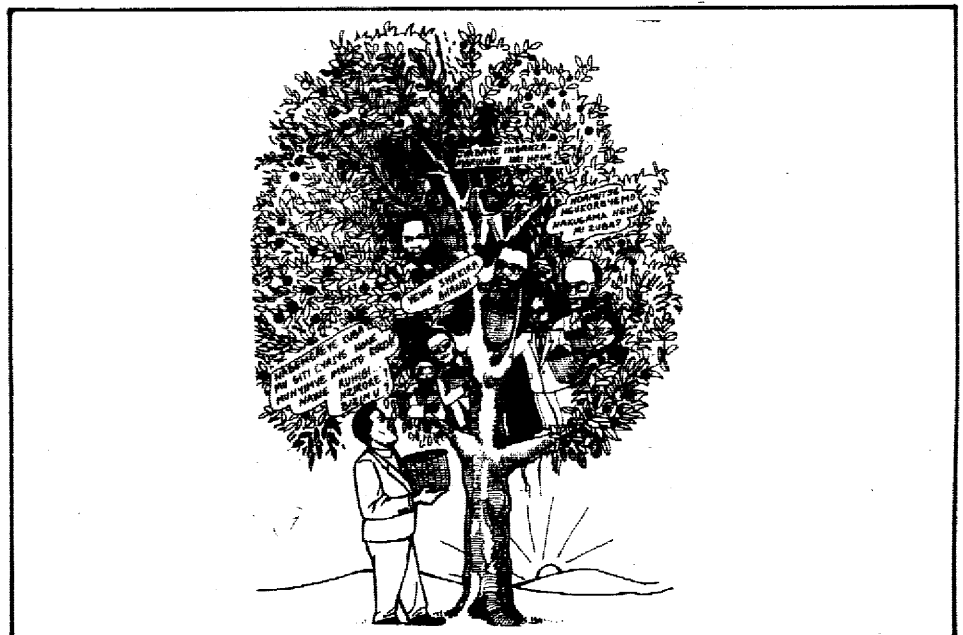
*LE TRIBUN : Bavuga ko FPR ari abatutsi bashakira kugarura ingoma ya cyami ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** (araseka) Ntabwo bitangaje kumva ko Leta

y'u Rwanda ivuga ko dutera turi abatutsi gusa, kuko baziko muri 59 aribo bahunze nje nagira ngo mbahamirize ko iyo nkuru atari yo, kuko nanjye uri aha mvuga Data ni umuhutu. Mama ni umututsikazi. icya kabiri mwumvise ko intambara igitangira twari tuyobowe na General FRED RWIGEMA w'umututsi iyo yabaye intandaro yo kugira ngo Leta y'u Rwanda yumvise abaturage ko ari abatutsi bateye gusa babandi bahunze muri 59 bahunganye n'Umwami. Nkuko nabibabwiye haruguru icyatumye tujya mu ishyamba, ntabwo twari tugambiriye kugarura ingoma ya cyami mu Rwanda, kuko n'igihugu twarwaniriyeye cya UGANDA kigeze kugira umwami, kereka niba Leta yari ifite ubwoba ko tuzimika nk'uwo twimitse i Bugande tumaze gutsinda OBOTE. Ndabamenyesha ko twese uko turwana hariya, ntawe ushyigikiye ingoma ya cyami, ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bifuzwa, nibwo dushyigikiye kandi nibwo turwaniraga ngo duce ivangura ry'amoko mu gihugu.

*LE TRIBUN : Mwateye u Rwanda mugamije iki ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Nishimiye ko umbajije icyo kibazo, twateye tugamije kugaruka mu gihugu cyacu, kuko ubutegetsi bwa cyami bwa-



raturangaranye, tukibaza niba turi abanyarwanda cyangwa turi abanyamahanga, nicyo cyaduteye gufata imbunda tukarwanya ubutegetsu kugira ngo buveho, tugire ubutegetsu duhuriyeho twese. icya kabiri, ntabwo twigeze twishimira imitegekere y'ubutegetsu buriho, cyane cyane nk'ibyerekeye ivangura ry'amoko, ntabwo twibaza ko kuba harabaye umwami w'umututsi, arieyo cyaha abatutsi baba barakozze kugira ngo bahezwe mu butegetsu bw'igihugu cyabo. Twasanze rero nta kuntu ibyo byarangira ubu butegetsu butavuyeho kugira ngo busimbuzwe ubutegetsu abaturage bose bishimiye. Urugero nabaha ni ukubona kuba twarateye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 90 bikagera ku itariki ya 10 hamaze gufatwa abantu barenga ibihumbi 8 baba mu gihugu bamaranye imyaka 30, ndibaza niba ababafashe bari barateguye kuzabafata intambara niramuka itangiye cyangwa niba barabiteguye intambar itangiye, bamwe barapfuye bazira ubusa, mundusha kubamenya, icyo cyagombye kubemeza ko ntabwo buri mu banyarwanda. Hari uyobewe se ko abaturage basubiranyemo bakicana Leta ntitabare. Ese mwe mundusha kumanya u Rwanda, ibyo no muri 1973 ntibyabababaye? Niba se byarabaye ubutegetsu bwagiyeho icyo gihe bwabihinduyeho iki?

*LE TRIBUN : Watubwira amaru n'amavuko ya F.P.R. ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : FPR nk'uko mubizi ni umutwe w'abanyarwanda bari hanze bagamije gutaha mu gihugu cyabo. Iryo shyaka benshi ntabwo barisobanukiwe neza Abanyarwanda b'impunzi bari hanze, basanga bagomba kugira icyo shyaka ritandukanye na LUNARI, kuko benshi batari bayishimiye, bahimbye igitabo kitwa Inkotanyi, cyamamazaga amatwara yabo bantw. Bamwe mu bandikaga icyo gitabo baje gushyiraho umuryango witwa R.W.A.F. (Rwandaise welfare foundation) uwo muri umuryango umaze kubona wari ugizwe n'abantu benshi biyemeza gushinga ishya-

ka baryita FPR iryo shyaka ryagize abantu benshi, risanga rigomba kwiremamo umutwe w'ingabo bise RPA (Rwandaise patriotic Army). Izo ngabo zimaze kuboneka, basanze imbaraga noneho zihagije zo gutahuka, ibyangombwa by'intambara byari bihari, twese twatangiyeye kwitegura kuko iby'imishyikirano byari byarananiranye. Nyuma intambara yarabaye na n'ubu.

*LE TRIBUN : KANYARENGWE ni umutegetsu wa FPR koko, ko Leta y'u Rwanda ivuga ko ari agakingirizo ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : KANYARENGWE ni umuntu mukuru cyane muri FPR kandi twizera, kuko n'iyi turi kumwe ntushobora kumenya ko yigeze gukorana n'ubutegetsu arwanya. Kuba Leta ivuga ko ari agakingirizo ni nk'uko u Rwanda ruvuga ko twishwe n'inzara nkaho u Rwanda rwigeze rugaburira u Buganda, cyangwa ko turwaye Sida... Ibyo iyo tubyumvise turishima kuko tumenya politiki y'u Rwanda uko iteye, ikibazo cy'iyi intambara n'abo barwana nabo abo ari bo. Ari abasirikare bagwa ku rugamba ntibazi icyo barwanira, ari abaturage bava mu byabo ntibazi icyo bazira kubera ikinyoma cy'ubutegetsu. Ibyo biramenyerewe ni ugusebanya murabizi.

*LE TRIBUN : KIGELI hari aho aburiye na FPR ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : KIGELI ntaho aburiye na FPR mubyerekeye imirwano. icyo duhuriyeho ni uko ari impunzi kimwe n'izindi. Ahubwo ntitwibaza igituma atafashe imbunda nk'abandi.

*LE TRIBUN : Mwatuye u Rwanda cyangwa mwatuye ubutegetsu ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Ntabwo twateye u Rwanda, twateye ubutegetsu, tugamije kurandura ubwikanye bw'akazu. Twebwe dukeneye demokarasi y'abaturage bose, ituruka ku mashyamba menshi.

*LE TRIBUN : Ngo mwica abaturage mukabasahura, mugafata n'abagore ku ngufu ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Twe ntidushobora kwica abaturage kuko atari bo turwana nabo, ntabwo. u-shobora kwica abaturage kandi ari bo turwanirira ngo bazashobore kutowumva, ariko ntitwawirengagiza ko hari abaturage bagwa aho turwanira. Abantu barapfa bazira akarengane kubera ko ubutegetsu butababwiza ukuri ngo bashobore guhunga uduce turimo intambara, kandi bo ubwabo iby'intambara batabisobanukiwe. Abaturage baba bafite icyizere ko barinzwe n'abasirikare ba Leta, iyo abasirikare batababwije ukuri nabo bakeka ko ntashobora kubahungabanya, ibyo twe tubona ari Leta ihemukira abaturage kuko yo izi uko intambara iteye. Ahubwo twibaza niba abasirikare bagira ubwoba bwo gusigara bonyine batari kumwe n'abaturage. Ibyerekeye gusahura no gufata abagore ntabwo nabitindaho kandi nta n'ibisobanuro natanga kuko tuzi ko politiki ya Leta ari uguharabikana gusa, tuzi ko batavuze ariya magambo, batubona ikindi baturega, buriya nibyo bagize agakingirizo k'ubugizi bwa nabi, bakorera abo badashaka batwitwaje.

*LE TRIBUN : Bavuga ko mwakubiswe incuro mu kwa cumi 1990, mugatangira udutero shuma ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Ntabwo twakubiswe incuro nk'uko babivugaga ahubwo twahinduye système yo kurwana, kandi ngirango biragaragara intambara imaze umwaka urenga murabona uko iteye. Twe nta bwira dufite bwo kuza twirukanka, ibyo bizaba ari ngombwa.

*LE TRIBUN : Perezida HABYARIMANA yabwiye abanyarwanda ko wamubwiye ko Rwigema yakomeretse ku kirenge akajya kwiruzi nibyo ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : icyo ni ikinyoma gikabije cyane, Perezida HABYARIMANA ntabwo twigeze tubonana, kandi niyo tubonana ntabwo byari ngombwa kubimubwira, kuko kuvuga ko Rwigema yarashwe atari ko kurangira kw'intambara, siwo muti rero.

*LE TRIBUN : Bavuga ko wafatanye wewe katiyusha ushaka gusenya igihugu ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ntabwo ari byo, kuko iyo mbunda ntigeze nyigira.

Ntabwo nigeze ngambirira gusenya igihugu, ntawabimbujije. Aho naringeze hari mu gihugu rwagati mba nararushenye ntararwinjiramo. Naho imbunda bavuga nayibonye i Kigali.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Mwafashwe mute mufungiyeye muri Camp Kigali ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Twafashwe nabi cyane ku buryo tutatekerezagako ko tuzongera kubaho. Bamwe muri twe barahaguye bazira inzara n'inkoni. icyatubabaje ni uko atari abacu gusa bahaguye haguye n'abaturage bazira akarengane, ariko ntibyadutangaje cyane kuko ari bimwe mu byatumye turwanyaga ubutegetsi. Uwashakaga kubimenya neza yabaza Croix Rouge yahigereye.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Hari abo uzi amazina bahaguye.*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Hari uwitwaga RUMONGO n'uwitwaga MUKASA.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Koko mwari mufite ibyitso imbere mu gihugu ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ntabwo twigeze tugira ibyitso mu Rwanda, kuko nta n'umwe wabonetse, ndetse n'abo leta yakekaga yabagize abere.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Mwaba mwarateye umugi wa Kigali tariki ya 4/10/1990 n'ijoro ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ntabwo byigeze bibaho kuko intambara imaze umwaka n'amezi ku mupaka, itaba nibura yaramaze iminsi itatu mu mugwi.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Amayeri yo gufunga abanyenduga n'abatutsi mwayatekereje ho iki ? Aho si bimwe mu byatumye musubira inyuma ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ntabwo ari bimwe mu byadushubije inyuma, twarabyumvise ariko ntibyadutangaje kuko atari ubwa mbere bikorwa mu Rwanda. Muri 1959 habayeho révolution ikuraho ingoma ya cyami hajyaho Repubulika, bigeze muri 73, Perezida HABYARIMANA ari nawe wari Minisitiri w'ingabo icyo gihe yavanyeho ubu-

tegetsi avugaga ko azanye demokarasi y'ubumwe n'amahoro. Abanyapolitiki b'icyo gihe, ntaravuka niwe utaramenya aho bavuye abanyenduga barapfuye hamwe n'abatutsi. Ntibyaduteye ubwoba kuko ariyo demokarasi iyi leta igenderaho.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Ubona guerilla izabageza kuki ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Guerilla ntabwo arizo mbaraga zacu kandi mbona nagusobanuriye ko intambara yacu izarangira bibaye ngombwa.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Hari indege z'u Rwanda mwahanuye ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Indege zaraguye birumvikana kuko ndumva na leta idashobora kubihakana. Ariko, ntabwo kuzihanura byadushimishije. Twajya kwishima iyo izo twahanuye tuzifata zitarangirika. Kuko ntabwo zari mu mutungo w'AKAZU. Zari umutungo w'igihugu.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Waduha urugero ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Urugero, narutanga. Hari petit porteur yaguye muri pariki hagati. Hari kaju-gujugu yaguye i KABARORE, n'izindi ntagiye ngera aho zaguye.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Hari abajaransu twabonye ku rugamba ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Abajaransu narababonye benshi twabonye bakoresha imbunda nka mortier 82, n'izindi zikomeye.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Mwigeze mufata Camp GABIRO !*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Nibyo GABIRO twarayifashe. Mbere twabanje kuyifata itugoye kubera ko twarwanaga n'abasirikare b'ibihugu byinshi nk'abazayirwa bari ku rugamba, ababiligi bari bafite imbunda za rutura, hari n'abajaransu, n'abanyarwanda. Twararwanye nk'ishuro eshatu twinjiramo twongera turasohoka, ku nshuro ya gatatu nibwo twabakuyemo tubageza hirya ya KABARORE. Aho twajye kuhava ari uko intambara yacu ihinduye isura. KABARORE, twahavirye tutarwana kugera twambutse KAGITUMBA na leta ndumva itabeshyuzaga ibyo kuko ari ukuri.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Nimwe mwishe Abahima n'abaturage i KABARORE ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ku byerekeye ipfa ryabo bantu, mbere nakubwiye ko twajye tutagambiriye kwica abantu kuko abaturage nta mbunda bari bafite zo kuturwanya. Ntangazwa no kumva umutegetsi yibandagaza kuri RADIO avugaga ngo twishe abaturage nkaho aho abaturage baba nta bategetsi baba. Leta igomba kumenyesha abaturage uko intambara iteye aho kugira ngo nibona abaturage bishwe n'ababifitemo inyungu, yo ibigire politiki ibyegeke kuri FPR.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Ikibazo cy'amoko muri FPR ntigihari ? Mubona mu Rwanda cyarangira gite ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Ikibazo cy'amoko muri FPR ntagihari kuko twese dusenyera umuguzi umwe, ari umuhutu ari umututsi, bose barahunze. Tubabazwaga cyane no guhora twitwaga abanyamahanga kandi dufite igihugu cyacu; ubwoko bwacu buduhuza twese ni ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda, n'aho iby'ino mu Rwanda, kirakomeye cyane kukibonera umuti, kubera ko politiki y'u Rwanda igendera ku bwoko. Njye icyo mbona natangaho umuti n'uko hahava leta y'igitugu kandi y'akazu, hakajyaho ubutegetsi buhuriweho n'abaturage bose nta n'umwe uhejwe, ndumva icyo kibazo cyakemurwa kuko ntawe uba utinya undi ngo atamwica cyangwa atamuhohotera adafite kivurira.

**LE TRIBUN :** *Ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA ububona ute ?*

**MAJOR NYIRIGIRA :** Njye mbona ubwo butegetsi bwagombye kwegura kuko bunaniwe. Cyane cyane duhera ku kibazo cy'iyi ntambara, iyo buza kuba ari ubutegetsi buhuriweho na bese iyi ntambara ntiba yarabaye. Mbere hose ikibazo cy'impunzi cyari kizwi ko zigomba kugaruka, imyaka 19 Habyarimana amaze ateguka igihugu yiregangije ikibazo cyabo bantu kandi kihutirwa kugera naho intambara itangiye ikaba irinze kugeza iki gihe cyose. Njye mbona icyateye kwirengagiza icyi kibazo atari ikindi, ni uko iki gihugu kitigeze kigira abanyapolitiki bakunda igihugu cyabo; bese

baranzwe no kwikorera ku giti cya-bo bishakira ubukungu ngo bakize imiryango yabo n'uturere baturu-kamo, akaba ari nayo mpamvu iyi ntambara itazabonerwa umuti ku-ko abagombye kuyirangiza, batishi-miye ko irangira, ahubwo bakishi-mira guteza indi ntambara mu batu-rage ngo bamarane, hanyuma ubu-curuzi bwabo bugende neza.

*LE TRIBUN : Ubwo bucuruzi ura-shaka kuvuga ubuhe ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Ubwo bu-curuzi nta bundi ni ugusahura umu-tungo w'igihugu, nko guhora basa-kuza mu mahanga ngo barashaka imfashanyo, zaza ntzigere ku batu-rage. Urugero rwa hafi natanga mu-zarebe mu kinyamakuru LA GRIFFE «IJANJA» N° 2 murebe akayabo k'amafaranga miriyari 5, ziri kuri Compte ya Perezida HA-BYARIMANA mu Bubiligi, ha-nyuma muzatubarize niba amafa-ranga Perezida yahembwe mu mya-ka 19 arenga miliyoni eshanu, amwe akaba abitse, andi yarubatse amazu mu Rwanda no mu mahanga. Nta-washidikanya kuvuga ko ubu bute-getsi bwaranzwe n'ubucuruzi.

*LE TRIBUN : Ubona intambara izarangira ite ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Mbona Le-ta y'u Rwanda yagirana imishyiki-rano ku mugaragaro na FPR; aho kubeshya abaturage ko intambara barwana bayiterwa n'igihugu cya Uganda kandi bazi neza abo barwa-na, n'aho bari. Leta nimenye ko FPR ari ishyaka rifite imbaraga, atari ingegera nk'uko babivuga. Gutukana ntabwo ari wo muti w'i-ntambara, kandi njye ndahamya ko Leta y'u Rwanda izi neza ingufu FPR ifite, ko imishyikirano isi-mbujwe gusebanya intambara ita-pfa irangiye. Leta isa naho yereka abaturage ko intambara yarangiye, ari nayo mpamvu babuza abaturage guhunga uduce tuberamo imirwa-no, kugira ngo batawira abandi aho ingabo za FPR zashinze ibiri-ndiro.

*LE TRIBUN : Bavuga ko ingabo za-nyu zutze ko zitashyirwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda.*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Ibyo aba-bivuga sinzi aho babikura, amashu-ri ya gisirikare aba mu Rwanda gusa se ? Intambara turwana si iyo kura-ta amashuri ntituri abakarani bo mu biro, icyo dukeneye ni ukugaru-ka iwacu n'ubwisanzure bw'aba-nyarwanda bose.

*LE TRIBUN : Ntimwibaza igituma mwe Amnesty Général itanga imba-bazi, namwe yabarebaga ntimureku-rwe.*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Ibyo ni bimwe mu bidindiza imishyikirano kugira ngo intambara ibe yarangira. Birashoboka ko twe twaba turi umupira wa diplomasi bahora rero badukiniraho politiki, kuko bata-dufite ntibabona icyo bereka ama-hanga. Birababaje gushyiraho ite-geko riha umuntu imbabazi ugako-meza kumufunga. Namwe mwibaze icyatumye amasezerano y'i NSE-LE atubahirizwa.

*LE TRIBUN : Kuki mumaze gutera mu Mutara, mwateye n'utundi ture-re ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Tumaze gutera mu Mutara byaragaragaye cyane ko abantu bishwe bazira ko ngo badushyigikiye, nyamara bose ari abaturage tudafite icyo duhu-riyeho uretse kuba abanyarwanda.

Iyo rero, iyo ntambara itagera he-nshi nka Ruhengeri, Kibungo na Byumba ntawari kumenya uko iteye, kandi Leta yarikomye aba-nyamutara ko ari bo bateza inta-mbara mu Rwanda, banatanze inzi-ra bashyigikiye abatera. Nyamara intambara imaze gukwira mu ma-nyaruguru hose, u Rwanda ni bwo rwemeye ko abatera ari abanya-rwanda kandi bashobora gutaha mu mahoro. Twiswe inyangarwanda tugitangira intambara, none ubu tumaze kuba abavandimwe. Leta nishyire mu gaciro ibwire abanya-rwanda ukuri kw'iyi ntambara aho kugira ngo bazashire batazi icyo ba-zira. Leta nireke kubeshya abatura-ge ko turi abagome, nta muturage tugirira nabi, abagome ni abababu-za guhunga ahabera imirwano.

*LE TRIBUN : Mufashwe mute hano muri Gereza ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Twebwe hano muri Gereza, nkuko Perezida

wa Repubulika yabyivugiyeye ko ha-no atari mu ihoteri ntabwo duke-neye kubaho neza kuruta uko Leta y'u Rwanda ibyifuza.

*LE TRIBUN : Abasirikare b'u Rwanda mwafatiye ku rugamba mu-bagenza mute ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Tubafata kimwe n'abasirikare bacu kuko na-bo ari abanyarwanda nkatwe. Tu-bahitishamo ibintu bikurikira : niba hari abashaka kwifatanya natwe cyangwa abatabishaka. Umuntu yi-hitiramo nta gahato; abifatanyije natwe kurwanya ubutegetsu bwa HABYARIMANA bagumana i-ntwari zabo, ababyanze bagarurwa mu Rwanda; ibi mvuga mbifitiye gi-hamya, Leta y'u Rwanda nayo ira-biyemerera. Kuba abo basirikare tubavanga n'abacu si ukuvuga ko dufite abasirikare bake, abacu bara-hagije, twabigiriye ko nabo ari aba-nyarwanda kandi batishimiye ubu-tegetsu bw'AKAZU; bakaba bohe-rezwa ku rugamba ngo bajye guha-shya umwanzi, kandi batazi icyo barwanira. Iyo tuza tugamije kugi-rira nabi abo basirikare tuba twara-herereye ku babayobora twafashe.

*LE TRIBUN : Hari icyo wabwira abaturage ?*

MAJOR NYIRIGIRA : Icyo na-bwira abaturage ni uko bagombye kumenya igihe turimo. Ibi bihe ndumva ari byo bya mbere biko-meye mu Rwanda, bose bagomba gushishoza bagashyira hamwe nti-hagire ikibatandukanya. Abo babe-reka ko ari umwanzi kandi barasa-ngiye akabisi n'agahiye imyaka irenga 30, babona ko ari umuva-ndimwe ntacyo bagomba kumu-twara. Birababaje cyane kubona umuntu akubwira ngo fata umuho-ro wivune umwanzi ugatema umu-turanyi. Wamara kumutema undi agahunga ubwo Leta ikajya kuri Radiyo gusaba amahanga imfasha-nyo z'abakuwe mu byabo; nyamara ayo mahanga ni yo aduseka. Ese ni-ba ayo marorerwa abera mu duce twinshi, abazungu bazadufasha ku-geza ryari ? Abaturage bagombye kumenya ko bihemukira iyo basubi-ranamo. Hari izina dufite ryateye abanyarwanda ubwoba cyangwa

Reba ibikurikira ku rup. 15



# RWANDA-BURUNDI: U Rwanda ruzapfukama kugeza ryari?



**H**ari umuntu usheshe akanguhe wigeze kuvuga vuba aha ko tutari dukwiye gutangazwa n'ubwumvikane buke buri hagati y'u Rwanda n'Uburundi. Ati ni ryari se Abanyarwanda bigeze bumvikana n'Abarundi?

Iyo ushubije amaso inyuma ukareba amateka y'ibyo bihugu byombi, usanga nta gihe ibyo bihugu byigeze byumvikana. Duhereye ku ngoma z'abami usanga ahubwo uko ibintu bimeze ubu biruta kuko bo bahoraga mu mirwano y'urudaca. Ibihe rero biha ibindi. Hari amategeko mpuzamahanga umutu atagomba kurenga, imipaka y'ibihugu yashyizweho burundu, kandi ntawe uyobewe ububi bw'intambara ari kuwateye no kuwatewe. Bajya bavuga ko "n'inka zaretse kurwana" nkanswe abantu. Uretse ko na none ahari abantu hanuka urunturuntu. Ntibitangaje rero kumva ko nko mu bihugu nka Yugoslaviya, Libani, Somaliya, n'ahandi bicika...

Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda n'u Burundi gisa naho cyihariye. Kuva rubanda nyamwinshi mu Rwanda yakwipakurura ingoyi ya gihake mu mwaka w'1959, hari abatutsi benshi bahungiyeye mu bihugu duhana imbi-bi ariko cyane cyane mu Burundi. Dore ko basangaga yo bene wabo bo

bari bagikomeje gukandamiza imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abarundi "babarya babicayeko". Abo batutsi baturutse mu Rwanda baragiye baratura, bariga ariko cyane cyane binjira mu "ntwaramiheto" zaho aho abenshi ari ba ofisiye bakuru.

Kuva ibihugu byombi byabona ubwigenge, abategetsi b'i Burundi ntibigeze bahwema gushotora u Rwanda. Umuntu yahamya atibeshye ko invano y'ibyo byose ari izo mpunzi z'abatutsi zitigeze zumva na rimwe ukuntu zavanywe ku ngoma mu Rwanda. Kuva mu w'1960 abo batutsi bahunze bagiye bagaba ibitero bakitwa inyenzi kugeza magingo aya bitwa noneho inkotanyi.

Kuva Repubulika yashingwa, abategetsi b'u Rwanda nta na rimwe batasabye abo "bana b'imana" kugaruka mu mahoro bagafatanywe n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu cyabo. Sibwo banangiye ngo keretse aribo bari ku butegetsi. Muri ka gasuzuguro kabo nyine tuzi... Uburundi bwakomeje gushyigikira ibyo bitero ku mugaragaro. Biri ubu ahubwo! Abategetsi b'u Rwanda bakomeza kwigengesera barabihorera. Aho byakabije ni mu mwaka w'1972 ubwo Gerigori KAYIBANDA yari agiye gufata icyemezo cya kigabo hakabura gato. Muribuka ko KAYIBANDA avanywe ku butegetsi abategetsi b'i Burundi bahyiniye ku rukoma kuko yari abangamiye imigambi yabo. U Rwanda rwarakomeje rurihangana, Micombero "baramukombora", hajyaho mwene wabo Bagaza. Niba ari amaraso y'ubusore ntawamenya, Bagaza yaje ari simusiga, agura intwari z'amoko yose, indege z'intambara sinakubwira. Ngo ubwo yateguraga gukoma imbere igitero cyaturuka mu Rwanda. Ahebye "umushingantahe" wawe atangira kwiyenza. Yohereza ingabo ze mu Kirundo zimura ibyapa biranga imipaka y'ibihugu byombi. Ashwana na Kiriziya Gatorika ashwana na mugenzi we wa Zayire Mobutu Sese Seko ngo amwise "Petit Frère". Ikosa ryari he? Guhera ubwo mu manama ya CEPGL (u Burundi bu-

tari bugitangamo ifaranga na rimwe), Perezida Habyarimana yagombaga gukora uko ashoboye akajya hagati ya Bagaza na Perezida Mobutu kuko batavugaga rumwe. Yaramiraga iki?

Bagaza aragiye haje Buyoya. Aza afile amatwara mashya, ashaka kumvikana n'abantu, umuntu yamwizera. Ntamaze kabiri atangiye nawe kwikanga baringa. Ngabo abantu bateye hafi buri muni baturutse "i Rwanda". Afunze imipaka, abanyarwanda babaga i Burundi bafashwe nk'abanzi. Abagize ngo barahungira muri ambassade yabo i Bujumbura, abasirikari barayigotababavanamo ku ngufu babagirira ibya mfura mbi. Ubwo kandi niko Inkotanyi zikomeje kwitwara i Burundi, baziha amafanga n'intwari zikambuka zikajya muri Uganda ariho ziva zitera u Rwanda. Noneho yareruye agaba igitero mu Bugesera. U Rwanda ururimi ruraruca ruramira mu izina rya ya politiki yo "kubana neza" n'abo duturanye, politiki usanga yaragarutse nabi u Rwanda. Urugero rwa hafi ni Museveni wadushumuriye Inkotanyi kandi kugeza ku munota wa nyuma yaratwitezaga ko nta wera u Rwanda aturutse muri Uganda. Buyoya we si byo ahamya kugeza na ubu? Yego ntawashyigikira amahane cyangwa intambara kuko nta kamaro ariko guhora uvogerwa uga-ceceka bitera benshi kwibaza. Iyo udahaye umuntu gasopo aragusuzugura kugeza aho agukeneka. U Rwanda n'u Burundi bizumvikana umunsi rubanda nyamwinshi yafashye ubutegetsi mu Burundi. Dore ko ntawe uzongera gutuma abatutsi bahunga kuko amayeri yabo twarayamenye.

HAKIZIMANA Joël

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## IYI NTAMBARA IZAGEZA HE URU RWANDA ?

**N**aratekereje ndibaza ijoro n'umunsi bigeze aho nsa n'ugeze imbere y'amayobera. Nasanze intambara turimo ituma bamwe bateta abandi intimba ari yose. Ntacyo mpfa n'ABATUTSI, ABAHUTU nabo bambabarire bashishoze. Sindi mukuru cyane ariko nzi gushishoza bihagije no gushyira mu gaciro.

Nabonye byinshi byiza muri uru RWANDA, ibibi nabyo ndimo ndihera ijisho. Iyi nyandiko igene we ABAHUTU n'ABATUTSI, ABATWA bo bace urubanza. Ice ngere buri wese mu bwonko, buri wese ashishoza maze muzansubize nta buryarya dore ko ngo aribwo bugezweho.

Igere kuri RWABUKWISI, KAMEYA ndetse na NDASINGWA alias LANDO, umwe watonneshejwe cyane tumuha icyashara cyinshi tumubyinira, tureba za MUNDIAL tukagotomera bugacya. Iyo tuza kumenya ko ayo mafaranga ariyo ateganijwe kutumara, agura za katiyusha; tuba twarayajyanye ahandi akagirira igihugu akamaro atagisenye. LANDO ansubize niba hari ubwami busumba ubwo yari afite; igiteye agahinda ni uko na nubw ngo ari umwere agakomeza kubyinirwa. Mbega "naïveté".

Igere kuri TWAGIRAMUNGU, wa wundi RUKOKOMA. Igere kuri GATABAZI nemera ko afite ubushobozi; yarabitweretse. Ba koloneli BENDA, na BANGAMWABO nzi neza ko barwanye n'inzenzi za cyera.

Haruguru nigeze mvuga nti bamwe bibereye mu mudendezo, umunezero n'umuteto, agasuzuguro kenshi bagenda mu ma BENZI basahuye ukagira ngo mwene Ngofero arahumye. Iyo aba ariwe bazafungira ka visa ka RUKOKOMA yavugurura byinshi cyane. Bamwe nyine baranezerewe byahebuje, abandi intimba n'ishavu bibageze aharindimuka kubera iyi ntambara turimo. Amaraso arakomeza kumekana abarenzwe bo ngo awa. U RWANDA narwo rwihutishe tele-

viziyo yenda ihere aha i KIGALI mbona abatesi benshi bihera ijisho agashinyaguro bene wacu baturiyeye umupaka bapfa.

Ndahera kuri wowe KAMEYA na RWABUKWISI mbabaze iki kibazo gikurikira: ko byagaragaye ko muvugira ku mugaragaro umwanzi wa GAHUTU, Twe tubuze iki ngo twitabare. Ntimuzongere kwiyita ABANYENDUGA mujijisha tuzi ko mutagira akarere. Mwabaye abagande n'abarundi turabibona. Ikimenyi menyi ni uko ibinyamakuru byanyu bivuga ibigwi INKOTANYI, INTWARAMIHETO na NRA. Mbese umusanzu mwahaye ingabo zacu ni amabuye mwaziteye; gupfumura za BUS ! Gushinyagurira ba RWENDEYE ngo bagiye gukora za coup d'état... Umunya-rwanda yaravuze ati: TUBANA MBAZI.

Murebe ibihugu bituwe na bene wanyu akaduruvayo mwabishyizemo. Tuzi ko mutanzwe no guhora mushaka kumena amaraso y'abo mudasangiye ubwoko. Navuze nti nta karere mugira kuva na kera na kera muri "nomades". MASHIRA na BWIZA bwe tuzi agashinyaguro mwabishe. Ntiyari se umwami w'INDUGA ? Rero ngo aho mwiciraga nako ni "ukwivuna umwansi" aho mwatsindaga umuhutu "w'IGIHINZA" mwahise ku RWESERO mwesereje umwana w'UMUHUTU. Turakurikirana ibikorwa nabo mwonse rimwe za ETIYOPIYA, SOMALIYA, DJIBUTI, UBURUNDI, none mwigabije na bene wacu b'ABAGANDA mubica urupfu rubi, ngo murashaka kugaruka mu RWANDA mumaze kubona tururyoheje. Njye ndi umunyenduga kavukire nta ruswa y'ABAKIGA nigeze ngo mbavugire. icyo nakoze ni ugutekereza igihe kirekire (méditation) kuri iyi ntambara niyo GAHUTU agana. Njye ndemeza ko nta karere kagombye kubaho imbere y'umwanzi. Aba PARMEHUTU bo muri 1960 barabitweretse NDUGA, RUKIGA, BUGOYI, GISAKA, KINYAGA... bosc bari bashyize

hamwe. Abahutu bo muri iki gih nabo bagomba gukurikira urugero rw'abasogokuru aho kwirirwa bakurura ibida biruka inyuma y'ama-guru ya bene KIGERI. ABATUTSI nabo bafite uburenganzira bwo gushyigikirana nkuko ba KAMEYA na RWABUKWISI bakotana, natwe bene GAHUTU dufite ubwo kurengera inyungu zacu cyane cyane muri iki gih dushyanyane n'umwanzi tuzi neza, tuzi icyamujyanye n'icyimugurura.

Ba KAMEYA na bene wanyu munsubize muri za KANGUKA zanyu ukuntu mufite ubwuzu bwinshi bw'izo nkotanyi mu gihe zo zica amabere yonkeje bene wacu bari ku mupaka, kandi twe tubona neza ko nibagera mu RWANDA hose ndetse n'iwacu i GITARAMA nta kabuza bazivugana umwansi kuri ubwo buryo. Tuyobewe se aka kanya KANJOGERA ibyo yadukoreye, ruhuga se ntiyahakuye abanyenduga yari yarasanze mu byabo. Bene wanyu iyo baza bajomba bayoneti mu mutwe w'agahinja baba bakavutsa inka zingaha kariye ?

Muvuga ko perezida HABYARIMANA yabakandamije ! Iyo abikora bikagira inzira ! Ibyo ngo nibyo mukangisha kwa ba bene madamu ngo mubone intwari dore ko umuco wo gucengera muwufitiye umudali wa zahabu. Mukoresha uburyo bwose kugeza no ku bitsina by'abo mwashakanye ngo mugere ahadashoboka. Mwabyivugiyeye muri plan de colonisation du KIVU.

Perezida HABYARIMANA niwe mukeshya umunezero none muramwigaritse ngo ntacyo yabakoreye. Ariko namwe mwaba "ingrats" ! Muri ba NTAMUNOZA ba NTAMWEMEZI (Ndasaba abantu bosc bazasoma iyi nyandiko ku-zajya babita ayo mazina). Muzi gushavuzza GENERALI nawe nize-re ko yavumbuye noneho icyo umututsi aricyo. GITERA nyamara yari yaragerageje kumutoza none ndabona isomo ariho ryanjye. Bizabere n'abazamusimbura bosc isomo ku-ko ntituzongera kwihanganira ugu-

toneshwa kwanyu tumaze kubona aho kutugejeje.

HABYARIMANA yarabakamiye ibya ya ndirimbo ngo nyamara abo umwami yahaye... nibo bamwimye... Erega ibyo byose umunyarwanda aba yarabibonye kera ! Nti-tuyobewe icyo yafaga na KANYARENGWE na LIZINDE. None igitabo LIZINDE MUGABUSHAKA yanditse abavuga aka kanya kirasibamye ? Nawe nta muhutu uzamubabarira urebye benshi yahemukiye abica urw'agashinyaguro. Abahutu bagomba gutegekana ariko ntibicane nicyo nabasaba, ubutegetsu ntibugume hamwe ariko tuziko ari ubwa repubulika twatsindiye muri 1959. Muzambwire uwatoneshejwe muri iki gihugu kurusha KAJEGUHAKWA, KATABARWA (na nubu koko ? Ni agahoma munwa), ba RUBANGURA, RWIGARA, MAJYAMBERE, n'abandi... Ninde se wabwiye umututsi ko ari umututsi ntamanuke muri 1930. Batutsi mwashyize mu gaciro, nka muzehe RUHASHYA nubwo nawe tutazi neza icyo atekereza.

Tugarutse kuri KANYARENGWE ararye ari munge ni we wabishyiriyeye kandi ngo NYABARONGO itwara uyigemuriye. Ba BISERUKA, MUVUNANYAMBO, LIZINDE imbabazi ziba zarabagezeho none barashimuswe kugira ngo GATUTSI yemeze ko ikibazo kiri hagati y'abahutu basubiranamo azinjire atavunitse (en libérateur). Inda y'ABAHUTU nayo iteye agahinda: ubona ngo BIZIMUNGU Pasteur yemere guta ababyeyi be ngo nuko gashakabuhake KAJEGUHAKWA amushyinye umugore ufite undi mugabo ! Ni ukumirwa. Mumaze guha imyitozo serija BIRORI nibwo yivuganye Koloneli MAYUYA urwamo sinakubwira ngo inkoramutima ya Generali abashaka gukora coup d'état barayivuganye. Lisiti murazikora kugira ngo ingabo mwongere muzicemo icyuho nkuko mumenyereye muzatere izitagira abazitegeka bazi ibya mbere ya 1959. Sibwo se ibitambo bibonetse by'ABAHUTU mwe mubyinira ku rukoma. Dosiye ya MAYUYA yavuzweho byinshi izageraho ifutuke. Byari bizwi mu

batutsi ko yari obstacle kuko ibya za "alliances" namwe yari yarabyamaganye kuva kera. Naho urusha nyina w'umwana imbabazi icyo aba agamije ntawe utakizi muri twe. Mwari mwifuje ko muri icyo dosiye hafungwa abasirikari benshi bakuru hafunzwe batatu gusa ariko nabyo byaratubabaje kubona mwica UMUHUTU w'imena nka MAYUYA hagafungwa abandi nkawe batatu bese.

INTAMBARA MWIKURURIYE IZABAKOREHO ABAHUTU MWIGARURIYE MUZAJYANE IKUZIMU cyangwa muri ABBYSSINIE twe ntitubishyinye. Abatunze abatutsikazi mu-shake DIVORCE hakiri kare naho ubundi akanyu muzakerekwa nabo murara mubundikeye.

Ngire icyo mvuga ku bahagarariye amashyaka. Aha mbamenyeshyeje ko nzajya mu ishyamba ririba inyungu z'ABAHUTU bese. Imba narahise njya muri M.D.R. nza gusanga abitwa ngo bari ku isonga nta buhutu bubaranga na busa. Nawe se TWAGIRAMUNGU ngo "Twanze ubwami bw'ABAHUTU" none se twemera ubwa GATUTSI ? Ko yifitiye ingabo iyo ruguru i BUGANDE ndetse no mu BURUNDI MU RWANDA naho zikaba zirimo hakaba na za zindi zo muri P.L. zatangiyeye indi ntambara zise "INTIFADA". Uretse kumvikanisha bene GAHUTU bese TWAGIRAMUNGU azerure atubwire uko azatsinda ingabo za MUSEVENI zifatanyije n'izaturuka epfo icyo. Kuri njye Umuhutu aho akomoka hose ategutse ntacyo byantwara ndetse yashaka "n'akazu" akagashakara. Kuvuga ngo hazaboneka ubutegetsu butagira akazu byaba ari ukubeshya RUBANDA. Gusa njye nasaba ko ako kazu kajya kimuka kakazagera hose.

Bavuga ko kavuye mu MARAMBARA-GITARAMA kagashyirira mu BUSHIRU-GISENYI; ubutaha kazajye no ku KIBUYE cyangwa KIBUNGO iki-byimba kimeneke maze ndebe abatutsi icyo bazadushoboza. Iyo TWAGIRAMUNGU avugaga RUKOKOMA WAGIRA NGO F.P.R. na P.L. si ipata n'urugi. Ubwo se

urumva batazaza biyakira ibyo bari basanganywe mbere ya 1959. Inka zabo se bavugaga ko mwariye zizava he ? Niwumva umutwe wawe unaniwe no gusubiza ibyo wariye dore ko ufite atubutse ntuzigendera tugasigara mu muvu w'amaraso nkuri ubu mu BURUNDI. Njye nta na tiquet nigirira yo kugera muri KENYA; dore ko ntashobora no gukandagira i BURUNDI cyangwa i BUGANDE.

M.R.N.D. nayo nabaye nifashye kuyijyamo kubera ko naho hakomeje kubamo abajijisha rubanda kandi bizwi ko bari muri F.P.R. Wanyemeza ute ko ba KATABARWA ari muri MRND yaragize atya ELECTROGAZ AKAYIHA bene KIGERI na KANJOGERA gusa. Ubu nabwo ngo kugira ngo ubone bourse d'étude babanza gupima uburebure bw'izuru.

Ubwo se twe tuzaba abande dufite amazuru y'ABAHUTU. Muzarebe kuri televiziyo y'i BURUNDI uwitwaga wese ko ari umunyeshuri uko izuru rye rigomba kumera natwe iminsi iri imbere muri za KAMINUZA zacu niko biraba bimeze. Twasubijwe ku isuka nta n'amasambu akiboneka ikimenyimenyi ni uko aritwe twabaye "abagabo" bene KANJOGERA basigaranye umujyi wabo na bashiki babo.

Bwana GATABAZI nawe nkubwire ko amashyaka y'ABAHUTU agomba kugira gahunda avugaho rumwe. Wowe nziko uzi gushishoza ntaho nakugereranya na TWAGIRAMUNGU uhora asakuzaga gusa, nta na gahunda igaragara atugezaho avugaga buri kanya ngo RUKOKOMA. Twe tubona abahutu nibadafata gahunda ndende bazashirira ku icumu nkabo i BURUNDI. Inyenzi niziza ziturutse i BURUNDI ni hahandi zizica abahutu gusa nkuko zibigenza i BYUMBA no mu RUHENGURI. Urugero ntiruri kure icyo tubona ibimaze iminsi bibera mu BUGESERA hazapfa abanya BUTARE, GIKONGORO, KIGALI—sud GITARAMA— (amayaga), CYANGUGU. Urundi rugero ni ABANYABUTARE birukanwa i BURUNDI nta kindi bazira ari uko ari ABAHUTU abagenda ari ABA-

TUTSI bafatwa nk'amata y'abashyitsi. Mumenye mwe muhagarariye amashyaka ko "un pays sans stratégie est voué à la destruction". Cyeretse ku mpumyi zitabona naho ubundi biragaragara ko abatutsi bose bari muri P.L. Hateganijwe kandi ko impunzi zigomba gutahuka zikongera umubare w'amajwi y'ABATUTSI. Ni ukuvuga ko abari muri F.P.R. bose bazinjira muri P.L. Bo bonyine bashobora kugira amajwi ari hejuru ya 35% igihe andi mashyaka asigaye azagabana amajwi asigaye nta na rimwe rifite amajwi agera kuri uriya mubare twavuze haruguru. Sibwo bategetse ! Twibutse kandi ko bafite ingabo, ibihugu by'inshuti (BURUNDI, UGANDA) dore ko byo bizaba bitaragera muri demokarasi iyo urebye gahunda yabo, biracungana n'u RWANDA kugira ngo bizashyigikiye ABATUTSI.

Banyamashyaka rero muduhe icyizere ko abahutu bagomba gushyira hamwe kuko aribo babangamiye n'ingoma yajyaho kubera uburangare bwabo, mumenye kandi ko iyo umututsi yafashe agundiye, akica ntacyo yishisha, ko azi kubeshya cyane amahanga ntayatinya nkuko twe tuyatinye.

Umwanzuro wanjye ni uko ari amashyaka yitwa ko ashakira

inyungu z'abanyarwanda nyamwinshi akwiye guharanira ko REPUBLICA yasugira igasagamba mu gihugu cyacu. Akarenze umunwa karushya ihamagara P.L. yatumenyeshije ko itakozwa Revolisiyo yo muri 1959. Kandi burya yari ikomeje namwe muzajye kwiyumvira aho ikoresha za mitingiri hose. Intero ni imwe. Hari kandi abantu bo muri P.L. bihishye mu mashyaka yanyu nibo bazabagambanira; abo ni babandi banze kuva ku ngoyi ya giha-ke barongora bene kanjogera watumariye ibibondo na ruhuga ye. Abo kandi ni ba batutsi bihisha muri za M.D.R., M.R.N.D., P.S.D.....

Ndibutsa kandi ba KAMEYA, RANGIRA, RWABUKWISI; ko ntawundi ubaragiye uretse HABYARIMANA bakomeje kwikoma ngo atoteze abatutsi naho ubundi nibamubura hari ukundi bizagenda. Barekera aho kandi kudushinyagurira baduteranya na bene wacu b'abakiga dukeneye gufatanyana nabo nkuko ba muzehe KAYIBANDA, MBONYUMUTWA, ba GITERA,... bafatanyije na ba RUSINGIZANDEKWE, BANZI na ba MPIRANYA...

Uru RWANDA rwacu narwo rukore iyo bwabaga rwihutishe televiziyo umuteto uri i KIGALI n'ahandi ugabanuke. Naho ba

TWAGIRAMUNGU bo bamenye ko umututsi ashobora umuhutu za "alliances". Ibihango bye na P.L. niba nawe atari nyoni nyinshi atubwire icyo bizatumarira twebwe ABAHUTU. Njye nifuza kandi ko batubonera ishyamba ry'ABAHUTU gusa kugira ngo abatutsi batanze duturane ari na convaincus ko batadushobora démocratie.

Iryo shyamba nirivuka niryo nzajyamo naho ubundi uzakomeza nifate. Iyi nyandiko yanjye isohoke muri KANGURA kuko nasanze ariyo yonyine umuhutu utarimanganya ashobora kwimurira. Ndasaba abahutu aho bari hose kunyunganganira tukabohora umuhutu kuko hari abakiri mu mwijima bakiboshywe n'umwanzi "NTAMUNOZA". Aho cyane cyane ni abatunze abatutsikazi, hamwe n'abagikorresha n'abatutsi ngo bange bene wabo bahuje ubwoko ngo ni uko batavuka hamwe. Abatutsi batubwiye kuva kera ko ntacyo dupfana sinzi impamvu tubikururaho.

Nifurije abahutu gutsinda iyi ntambara kandi bakazatsinda n'izindi zose inyenzi zizateza iteka.

NDUWUMWE Silas  
P.V.K.

## Niganirire na NSENGIYAREMYE (2<sup>ème</sup> partie)



IKIGANIRO MPANURO

Ubushize muri No 35 twabararitse ikiganiro gikurikira icyo Ndekezi Bonaparte yagiranye na Minisi-

tiri w'Intebe Dr Nsengiyaremye. Mwabonye ko ari ibintu mugenzi wacu yitekerereje ariko abashyira mu gaciro babona muri icyo kiganiro ukuri kuri kwishyamba kandi gufa-

tika. Hari ndetse n'abakibonamo impanuro.

B. INTAMBARA N'UMUTEKANO.

Q : Tubwire rero uko Leta yawe izarangiza intambara ?

R : Ubundi ntabwo jye ku giti cyanyije cyangwa ishyamba MDR twigeze tuvuga ko dufite umuti w'intambara turwana n'abiyise inkotanyi. Iyo twugirira tuba twarawongoreye ubutegetsi bukatwumva cyangwa bukarorera ariko twabivuze, icyakora dusanga Guverinoma zabanjirije icyanyije zarabyifashemo nabi n'ntacyo cyazitesheje amajwi imbere mu gihugu no hanze. Byatangiyeye no kuzamba ziyoberwa abadutera ari bande. Ni impunzi z'abanyarwanda ? Ni Uganda ? Ni abatutsi ubwabo ? Ni abarwanya ubutegetsi

bwa Habyarimana ? Kubera izihe mpamvu ? Zasaga n'izishyigikiye imishyikiramo mu magambo ariko ari ukugira ngo zishimishe gusa Mobutu n'amahanga. Mu gufata ibyemezo zarahuzagurikaga, zikivuguruzaza, abitwa ngo barashyikirana bakitana ba mwana bigaherera aho. icyakora nkwiye akabanga nakukenyeshya ntakubeshye ko iyi ntambara ari iy'amoko nta kindi. Abatutsi barashaka gusubirana ubutegetsi maze bakikingiriza bamwe mu bahu nka Kanyarengwe na Bizimungu kugira ngo bereke amahanga ko ari iy'abanyarwanda bose. Burya abanyapolitiki ntudukunda kwereza ngo tuvuge ibintu nk'uko biteye koko kubera nyine impamvu za politiki. Nk'ubu MDR irashaka mbere ya byose kurandura ingoma ya Habyarimana; ntabwo rero twabifatanyaga no kurwanya abatutsi. Tugomba ahubwo kubiyegereza ngo babidufashemo kuko iyo ari ukukuraho umuhutu babyumva bwangu. Ntiwashyira kandi mu majwi ubwo bwoko n'amashyaka yabwo nka PL na PSR bikunzwe bihebuje n'abanyaburayi maze ngo abazungu babe bakigushyikiye kandi tubakeneye cyane ngo badufashie gukamura ubutegetsi bwashyizweho na kudeta yo mu 1973. No mu buyobozi bw'amashyaka yacu haba harimo ibikomerezwaga byaguzwe n'umwanzi maze icyo bitangaje kigahita cyemererwa kandi cyubahirizwa. Ikibazo cy'iyi ntambara kirakomeye kuko bitoroshye kwumvisha umututsi ko agomba gucisha make, narindi we na Museveni bamaze kuhashengukira, batakaje akayabo k'abantu n'ibintu bakigaruzaga. icyakora mfite icyizere ko imirwano izahosha nk'uko byagenze muri za 60. Iyaba abo batindi banagaragazaga neza icyo bashakira kugira ngo ibishoboka tubyumvikaneho ariko nibura tugire amahoro.

*Q : Kandi ngo bashakira imyanya ikaze muri Guverinoma no kwinjizwa mu ngabo z'igihugu no gutahuka bitwaje intwara zabo.*

*R : Ariko se wowe ushyize mu gaciro urumva ibintu nk'ibyo byakwemererwa nande ? Nihe uzi byabaye ? Nubwo ishyaka ryanjye*

rijya risa n'iryunga mu byo inkotanyi n'abazishyigikiye batangaza ntabwo ryari ryagera aho kugurisha u Rwanda no guteza cyamunara rubanda nyamwinshi.

Izo mpunzi nizemere zize, zisabe ko ishyaka ryazo ryemererwa nk'ayandi yose maze ahasigaye ryirwarize mu matora. Iby'ingabo uretse ko bitanoroshye gukorana n'uwahozze akuvunderezaho amasasu ubundi hari ibyangombwa buri wese wifuzaga kuba umusirikare yuzuzaga byerekeranye n'ubwengehugu, imyaka y'amavuko, amashuri, ubudakemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, gutsinda ibizamini byabugenewe n'ibindi. Uwabyuzuzaga wese ntabwo yahezwe hakurikijwe icyakora n'ubukungu bw'igihugu kuko hari umubare ntarengwa w'abakirwa buri mwaka.

*Q : None se muzabigenza gute kugirango intambara ihoshe ?*

*R : Leta yanjye izagerageza gushakira uko yakumvikana n'abashyigikiye inkotanyi nka Museveni na Leta y'u Burundi maze bazisabe ubwabo gushyira intwara zabo hasi. Nzumvisha n'amashyaka bakomeza ko akorana nazo nka PL ko agomba kwingingira inyenzi n'ibiyitso byazo bakareka gukomeza gukotana barwana kuko ari ntacyo bishobora kubagezaho. Ndateganyaga no kuzakoresha inama ihuriwemo n'abahagarariye ibihugu n'imiryango mpuzamahanga barebwa n'icyo kibazo nk'imwe y'i Nsele n'ahandi bapfubije maze hafatirwemo imyanzuro ishishyirwa n'ubwenge zose, kandi ihite ishyirwa mu bikorwa.*

*Q : Ariko se abo bantu ko ari nta kindi bashakira uretse ubutegetsi aho uzemera kububajugunyira ?*

*R : Ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage mu matora; nicyo nzihatira kumenyeshya abo tuzashyikirana. icyakora nyine kutujubya ni uguhangana nabo nta kundi byagenda. Ni nayo mpamvu u Rwanda rugomba guhora ruri maso. N'imishyikiramo nzagira yose izajya iherekezwa no gushakira intwara zikomereye kugira ngo umwanzi acike intege rugikubita. Kuko guharanira amahoro bitazirana no kwirwanaho. Ntawe u Rwanda ruzatera rumu-*

hambariye ariko rushinzwe guhora rwiteguye guhashya umugome aho yaba aturutse hose n'uko yaza ameze kose. Abahutu dukwiye kumenya ko inyenzi z'abatutsi zitarwanya Habyarimana ku giti cyeye, zirarwanya ubutegetsi bw'abahutu ubwabwo. Kuko yaba we na Kayibanda bategetse, yaba Nsanzimana nanjye Nsengiyaremye twabaye ba minisitiri b'intebe ba guverinoma z'inzibacyuho baba Kanyarengwe na Bizimungu barwanirira inkotanyi, cyangwa Mbonampeka na Ngango baziburanira, Twagiramungu na Mugenzi bazivugira ndetse na Lizinde na Muvunanyambo bazitorokoyemo tutibagiye. Ngeze na Bucyana bazamagana, abo bose bagiyeye ku butegetsi ni hahandi zabarwanya kuko nta kindi zishakira uretse gusubiza umututsi ku ngoma. Na mbere hose niko nabibonaga uretse nyine ko twagombaga kugezera amakosa yose kuri Habyarimana na MRND ye kugira ngo tugere ku butegetsi.

*Q : Ariko ubanza ngo abasirikare bacu umeranye neza nabo kurusha undi wese wo mu buyobozi bw'amashyaka ahanganye na MRND. Hari n'abahwihwisa ngo wowe n'abo basirikare mwaba mushyigikiye CDR ishyaka ryavukijwe n'intambara y'inyenzi-ntutsi ryitangira ritizigamye kurengera inyungu z'abahutu no gushimangira ibyiza twazaniye na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959 aribyo REPUBULIKA na DEMOKARASI.*

*R : (akubita agatwenge) Rero ngo ubanza n'umugore wanjye afite ikarita ya CDR ra i ibyo ni urwenya. Naho iby'abasirikare sinigeze ngirana nabo imishyikirano yihariye cyereka guhura cyangwa kuvugana na bamwe muribo nk'uko n'undi wese byamugendekera. Ahubwo nirinda no kuganira nabo ibya politiki kuko bo nta ruhande bagomba kubogamiramo. Ukuri icyakora ni uko nshyigikiye ingabo, ndetse nkaba nifuzaga ko buri munyarwanda yakongera akikabakaba akaziterera inkunga igaragara. Jyeweho umushahara wa mbere b'ubuminitiri bw'intebe nzawutwerera minisitiri y'ingabo uko wakabaye. Naho CDR yo nayumvise nk'abandi bose,*

ni ishyaka rifite abayoboke n'abayobozi baryo. N'ibyinshi barivugaho barisebya ni ugushaka guharabika gusa kubera kuritinya, icyakora ndatinya ko MRND yariyegereza bakaba baturwanyiriza hamwe. Jye ariko ntibakanyibeshyeho, kugeza magingo aya ndi muri MDR, M.D..R....

*Q : Ariko se mu by'ukuri MDR iza-komezaga gucudika na PL y'inkotanyi zidutera ?*

R : Erega abantu babifata nabi; PL duhuriye gusa kuri rukokoma no gushaka gukuraho ubutegetsu bwa-munzwe. Ntabwo rero duhuje amatwara ya politiki yose. Buri shyaka rifite amahame-remezo n'amategeko yaryo bwite rigenderaho. Ndetse igihe kizagera dutandukane burundu kuko ubusanzwe ayo mashyaka yombi ari inzigo.

*Q : None se mwakabimenye ! noneho hakaba hariyongereyeho ko PL ikorana n'umwanzi. Dore mwayishumuriye minisiteri y'ubutabera (bw'abatutsi), murifuza koko ko abahutu bese bashirira muri gereza nk'uko Ngirumpatse twari tuzi ko ari umuhutu yabamariyemo mu Bugesera ngo kuko ari nabo benshi mu gihugu. Ubwo se ntibazajya batikirizwayo mu cyayenge n'amayeri menshi y'abatutsi ?*

R : Oya mwe kugira ubwoba kuko natwe tutarangaye, tubonye hari ibikocamye twabikosora vuba. Ubwo urandeba koko ugasanga nagera aho kugambanira umuhutu, jye se ndi iki ? Kandi imanza zicibwa n'abacamanza, si Minisitiri.

*Q : Uvuga se iki ku bisasu bitegwa amamodoka, amazu n'abantu ?*

R : Amatangazo yahitishwaga na PL na MDR yibandaga cyane cyane ku mutekano muke uri mu gihugu. Kandi koko ni ukuri, Leta ya Habyarimana—Nsanziimana yari yaraniwe kuwubumbatira. Twirindaga kugira uwo dutunga cyane agatoki ariko twagombaga gushyira mu majwi MRND na Leta yayo kuko ngo hari n'umushinga wo gushyiraho amategeko adasanzwe. icyakora umuntu yirengagije amakimbirane y'amashyaka maze agashyira mu gaciro wasanga ibyo bisasu bitegwa na FPR n'ibitso byayo biri mu gi-

hugu kugira ngo umutekano uhungabane maze abaturage barusheho kwivovota no kwijundika Leta yariho ndetse habe hakorwa nk'ibya-bereye mu Bugesera byatumye isi yose ihagurukira kwamagana abahutu. Dore bamaze no kumenya ko hashyizweho undi mu minisitiri w'intebe (w'umuhutu) aho gucisha make bongera guturikisha ikindi gisasu gihitana imodoka y'abasirikare. Naho ibinyamakuru n'ibigambo byirirwaga bikwiza ngo ni abasirikare b'u Rwanda na MRND babitegananyije ubwaniye sinabyemeraga na gato. Nirindaga kubinyomoza kuko nari umwe mu bari ku isonga ya MDR igomba gukora ibishoboka byose ngo ihirike ingoma ya Habyarimana yari isigaye imeze nk'iy'abalunari ba kera. Nari nzi ko ayo matorerwa akorwa n'inkotanyi zibishyigikiyemo na PL n'abatutsi benshi. Guverinoma yanjye yo ntabwo izituranira nka MRND, izashakisha kutababura abatega ibyo bisasu maze ibahane by'intangarugero. Ariko mbere ya byose izasesengura neza igitera ubwo bugome kuko ibyiza atari ukuvura ahubwo ni ugukingira. Ibyaribyo byose hari impamvu ibitera igomba kubonerwa umuti. Ababitega bashobora kumara imyaka n'imyaka bihandagaza ariko ntihafatwe n'uwa kirazira. Kandi sinaba nibeshye mvuze ko bifitanye isano n'intambara yubuye m'ukwakira 1990. Nubwo Barahinyura nta mwemera cyane ariko mubyo yandika harimo ukuri ku byerekeye icyiciro intambara igezemo.

#### C. UBUKUNGU N'IMIBEREHO MYIZA Y'ABATURAGE :

*Q : Ubukungu se bwo Guverinoma yawe izabuzahura gute ?*

R : icyo nacyo ni ikibazo cy'ingutu kuko ibyaribyo byose ari ntawakwiharanga ngo azabyaza u Rwanda peteroli na diyama rudafite cyangwa ngo azarwongera rube runini. Gusa icyangombwa ni uko uduke rufite twakoreshwa neza. Abategetsu bashishikazwaga no kwigwizaho imitungo bakoresheje kunyereza na ruswa. icyo gihe isanduku ya Leta ikahatonekarira. Ninde se uyobewe ko umucuruzi na n'ubu yiyumvikanira n'umuso-

resha maze imisoro yari kwinjira ikarigitira mu mifuka y'abo bombi gusa, Leta igacyura umunyu. Umukozi wa gasutamo ahumiriza abishaka maze forode ikinjira uko ishaka kuko nawe aba afitemo aye. Abacunga umutungo w'igihugu barawaya kuko baba babifitemo inyunyu. Abacamanza n'ababuranira Leta batsindwa buri gihe ku bwende maze igihugu kikahombera naho bo bafashe ayabo, indishyi z'ibintu byitwa ngo byangijwe kandi ari ibihimbano ni iryaguye. Imihanda, amateme, amazu n'ibikoreho biribwa izuba riva. Ingendo zo mu mahanga zitari ngombwa zisohora amadovize y'ubusa. Inguzanyo z'isanduku y'ukuzigana n'ibindi bigo bya Leta zitangwa hakurikijwe gusa ikimenyane n'igitugu kandi ntizishyurwe. Akazi gatungwa nta gahunda, Leta igahemba n'abo idakeneye. Umukire akomeza gukira naho umukene agahera mu butindi bwe. Ubwo bene gusahuza no guhombya Leta ntibigera biha umwanya n'umurava wo kwiga neza uburyo umutungo w'igihugu wakwiyongera. Burugumesitiri abanza kureba uko azahubuzamo aye aho guteza komini imbere. Umutungo kamere n'ingufu ntibyitabwaho bihagije cyeretse iyo ababishinzwe bishakiramo inyungu ku giti cyabo. Imishinga n'amashyirahamwe y'uruburako ntibibazwa umusaruro ukwiye ahubwo usanga byarakijije birenze urugero ababitegeka bonyine.

*Q : None se mwe muzabigenza gute ?*

R : Jye na Guverinoma yanjye nubwo ari iy'igihe gito tuzihatira kwongera umusaruro dukungahaze ikigega cya Leta, tugabanye ibigihombya. Tuzasubira mu mikorere y'inzege na serivisi bavuga ko zirya ruswa cyangwa zitinjiza umutungo nk'uko zagombaga. Hazashyirwaho amategeko atuma ingeso mbi ziharangwa zitahurwa. Nko kugeza ubu imisoro ibarirwa mu kirere, nta tegeko rihamye ababishinzwe n'umucuruzi bashingiraho. Nta mategeko agenga iby'amahoro na za gasutamo yigeze ashirirwa ahagaragara cyangwa ngo yubahirizwe. Twe rero dufite umugambi wo kuyashyiraho maze uwihaye kuyarengaho abih-

nirwe bikomeye. Umuntu ubu aranyereza miliyoni akangari agafungwa ibya rureshwa; nyuma y'imi-nsi ibiri ukumva ngo yahinduwe umwera, nyamara ibandi ryakoze mu mufuka rishaka amaramuko rigakaturwa urwo gupfa. Guhana twihanukiriye abasonga uduke Leta yari ifite ni imwe mu ntego twimurije imbere ku buryo budakuka. Umucungamari azahabwa amabwiriza yumvikana kandi akaze yo gukoresha ingengo y'imari ahawe. Nta faranga na rimwe rizasohoka mu isanduku ya Leta ritabanje kwigwa bihagije n'inzeho zose zabigenewe. Abafite imyenda y'igihugu bese bazasabwa kwishyura bidatinze, abatindiganyije bamburwe ibyabo ku ngufu ndetse no gufungwa rugeretswe. Igihugu kizajya gikoreshe umubare ntarengwa w'abakozi ariko umuti nyawo ukaba uwo kwongera inganda zitanga akazi ku bantu bose. Kuzamurwa mu ntera bizakurikiza ubushobozi, umurava n'igihe umukozi amaze ku murimo. Buri serivisi izajya yerekana buri mwaka ingamba y'ibikorwa byayo yo kwongera umusaruro no kugabanya ibyo yatagaguzaga. Ubutaka bw'u Rwanda, imisozi, amashyamba, inyamaswa, imigezi, ikirere, abantu, n'ubundi bukungu kamere bizacukumburwa bivumburwemo umutungo utubutse. Nubwo inkotanyi zabidobeje ubukerarugendo buzahagurukirwa tubifashijwemo n'amahanga y'inshuti kugira ngo tubone amadovize ahagije n'igihugu cyacu kirusheho kumenyekanana no kwitabwaho. Imikorere y'amakoperative n'amashyirahamwe y'ubwoko bunyuranye izabererwa urwunguko aho kwishi-

mirwa ubwinshi; Ibyongera umusaruro nibyo bizitabwaho.

Guverinoma izagabanya ibitangwa ku bakozi bakuru nk'amazu, amamodoka, telefoni, amashyanyarazi, kwivuriza mu mahanga n'ibindi. Serivisi zimwe na zimwe zizavunjwa mu zindi kandi igihugu ntikizongera gupfa kwishyura mu mishinga no mu miryango mpuzamahanga igisenya aho kucyubaka. Politiki y'ubukungu izashingira muri rusange ku kwishyira ukizana. Abanyemari bazashyigikirwa, boroherezwe kubifitiye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Guverinoma izirinda ubusumbane budasobanutse mu banyarwanda. N'umukene azahabwa uburyo n'urubuga rwo kwikiza. Urwego rw'ubuhinzi ruzarushaho kwitabwaho, ubutaka bwera bugahabwa ababuhinga koko kandi mu buryo bwa kijyambere hakoreshejwe ifumbire irobanuye. Abantu bazatuzwa mu nsisiro ku mihanda kugira ngo ibikorwa biyana n'ubuzima bwiza bibagereho neza. Ubworozi, ubuhinzi n'inganda bizuzuzanya mu kwongera umusaruro no kubonera urubyruko, rwandagajwe n'ubutegetsi bwatubanjirije, akazi hakoreshejwe mbere na mbere ibiboneka imbere mu gihugu aho kwiyambaza amahanga. Imyigishirize n'ubushakashatsi bizibanda ku nyigisho zongera umutungo w'igihugu no ku bikorwa by'amajyambere n'imibereho myiza by'abaturage.

*Q : Ariko se ko ibyo umaze kuvuga ntaho bitaniye n'ibyo tumenyereye kumva Guverinoma yawe y'inzibacyaho - ni ukuvuga ndetse ko imaze iminsi myinshi itarenza umwaka umwe - ifite irihe banga ridasanzwe rituma noneho ibyo byose bi-*

*shyirwa mu bikorwa maze ubukungu bw'igihugu bugatera intambwe ishimishije ?*

*R : Niba wanyumvise neza, ngitangira niseguye mvuga ko agahugu gato kandi gakennye muri byose utagahindura igihangange mu by'ubukungu mu kanya gato. Ibanga ntaryo uretse gukora tutizigamye, turarikiye gusa inyungu z'igihugu cyose n'iza buri munyarwanda ku giti cye. Ingufu n'ubushake bya twese tubifashijwemo n'inkunga y'amahanga nibyo tuzihatira ku byaza ubukungu n'amajyambere, kandi twizeye ko Leta na pariti MDR byanjye bizabigeraho.*

*Q : Ariko se aho u Burundi ntubushaka intandaro yo kudutera bufatanyije na Museveni n'inkotanyi ze kandi kugeza ubu bwan bwaratugiriye akabanga?*

*R : Akabanga! Ibyo byo mubyikuremo. Kudutera ni uko nabwo ubwabwo bwifitiye ibibazo by'ingutu by'umutekano, nabwo ari urundi rukundo. Kuko buramutse bushoje imirwano hagati yabwo n'u Rwanda intabara yarangizwa n'abarundi bonyine tutoherejye n'umwambi n'umwe. Ibyo abategetsi b'u Burundi barabizi, nabwo rero ibyo kudutera ku mugaraga babirota. Uretse icyakora ko Museveni ashobora gukomeza kubashuka abizeza ibitangaza. We ni inyeshyamba ibyo gushyira mu gaciro no kumva ukuri nta cyo bimubwiye.*

*Q : Ariko se ngarutse kuri Leta yawe. urabona PI itazajya ibaca inyuma ikaba icyitso cy'inkotanyi n'icy'u Burundi?*

*R : Kuba icyitso byo n'undi muntu wese wu mu rindi shyamba ashobora kudukorera ibya mfura mbi ashyikiriza umwanzi amadosiye akaze y'igihugu. Ibyo bibaho ni nayo mpamvu abagize inama ya Leta n'izindi nzeho za politiki, z'ubutegetsi, z'ingabo, z'iperereza n'izindi serivisi zose z'igihugu basabwemo kuzajya barushaho kuba maso bakavumburira hafi ibikorwa by'ubugambanyi bishobora gukururwa n'abanzi.*

**Ndekezi Bonaparte.**

ibikurikira urup. rwa 8.  
bagira uwo baryita akumva ari igisebo kuko batazi icyo risobanura : izina INKOTANYI risobanura umuntu ukotana ku cyo agamije kugeraho. Umugabo akotanira urugo rwe ashakira abantu be icyabaturanga kugira ngo babeho. Uri mu gisirikare akotanira ubusugire bw'igihugu cye kuko aricyo ashinzwe ngo kidahungabana. Abo bantu bese baba ari inkotanyi, Leta abo ishaka kugirira nabi ibita inkotanyi kugira ngo bitiranwe n'inko-

tanyi zateye ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA. Ibyo ntibigomba gutera ubwoba abanyarwanda ku ko nta cyaha kirimo, kuko kibaye icyaha cyaba ari icya benshi kuko hari inkotanyi zirwanya ubutegetsi hakaba n'amashyamba arwanya ubutegetsi. Ndagije mbifuriza amahoro kandi nje na bagenzi banjye twifatanyije mu kababaro n'abaturage bava mu byabo hirya no hino, n'abapfira amaherere. Harakabaho u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda.

**MUGABE J. Pierre.**

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## Ko umutekano wanga ukaba muke! Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yaretse kubeshya rubanda

**N**ta makuru agihita kuri Radio-Rwanda batatubwiye ko abagizi ba nabi bakomeje gutega ibisasu bimaze guhitana imbaga y'inzirakarengane. Ubwo kandi ayo makuru akaza akurikiye ijamboro rya Minisitiri w'Intebe NSENGIYAREMYE yizeza abanyarwanda ko ngo inshingano guverinoma ye yihaye "izayigeraho" nta kabuza. Ashatse yakongera ho ko 'nta kundi byagenda'. Izahagarika intambara; ibungabunge umutekano haba hagati mu gihugu cyangwa se ku mipaka. Semuhanuka ni umwana w'umunyarwanda!

Amashyaka MDR-PL yaciye igikuba ngo afite umuti w'intambara. Ariko ngo azawutanga ari uko agiye muri guverinoma. Ntibyatanzwe MDR ibona imyanya itari mike muri guverinoma nshya narimo n'uwa Minisitiri w'Intebe ndetse inasagurira na PL. Dutegereza wa muti amaso ahera mu kirere... wa muti uba wamperezayo. Intambara twaroshyweho n'inkotanyi kuva

mu kwezi kwa cumi 1990 ntiri hafi kurangira. Ahubwo yanakajije umurego. Hari inkuru yari iherutse gukwira ngo inkotanyi "zishimiye" guverinoma nshya. Ngo zari ziyemeje guhagarika imirwano mu gihe cy'amezi atandatu! Nyamara nta n'iminsi ibiri yashize, Inkotanyi zagabye ibitero simusiga cyane cyane muri Komini Muvumba. Ingabo z'igihugu zazimenesheje biruhaniye. Hari amakuru yatugezeho atumenyesha ko amashyaka MDR-PL yaba yarumvikanye n'Inkotanyi ko zagira agace k'u Rwanda zifata mu gihe imishyikirano itari yaba. Komini Muvumba iba ityo igitambo cy'ubwumvikane bwa MDR-PL. Ayo mashyaka agomba kuba atarashimishiyewe na gato no kumva ingabo z'u Rwanda zabohoye Muvumba.

Ubwo ni nako mu majyepfo y'u Rwanda, u Burundi bakomeje gutwaza Inkotanyi, ari nako bugaba ibitero mu Bugesera. Minisitiri Boniface NGURINZIRA niwe wenyine ubihakana. akanemeza ko u Rwanda

arirwo rutera u Burundi. Byabaye ngombwa ko afata iminsi itatu yose agiye kwihohora ku bashingantahe b'i Bujumbura. Hagati aho mu gihugu ibisasu bikomeje guturika hirya no hino mu Rwanda. Mu gihe Minisitiri w'Intebe we akomeje kwemeza ko ari amahoro. Nyamara ibisasu bigeze kuri 12 bimaze koreka imbaga mu turere tutanaberamo n'imirwano. Ngizo za gare routière, Kimisagara, Ruhango, Bugesera, Kavumu...n'ahandi. Minisitiri w'Intebe azahora mu bitaro asura abapfu n'inkomere ageze ryari? Ku guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE idatahura abo bagizi ba nabi? Kero ngo ni abanyamakuru ba KANGURA. Bagorwa, bagorwa! Nyamara uwateze igisasu cyaturikanye tagisi ku Kimisagara yahishuye ko hari Inkotanyi 300 ziri i Kigali zizakomeza gutega ibyo bisasu nizidatashurwa. Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo. Kandi ngo utabusya abwita ubumera!

H.J.

## Ni irihe shyaka rizaba rifite abayoboke benshi mu mpera z'uyu mwaka?

**A**mashyaka amaze kwemerwa kugeza ubu, turibuka ko amaze kuba cumi n'ane, ariko muri ayo yose hakaba hari asa n'aho agwiza umubare gusa nka PECO, PD, PADER, na PSR.

Amashyaka ashirwa mu majwi ni atatu, MDR, MRND, na CDR akaba akurikirwa na PSD, PL, PDI na PDC ikunze gucisha make.

Turibanda kuri aya kuko ariyo usangana amarere adasanzwe mu gihe ayandi asa n'asinziriyeye.

PDI ni ishyaka riharanira Demokarasi ya Kiyisumu, usangana ABAYISLAMU gusa ariko atari bese. Mu magambo rikunda kuvuga muri za mitingiri usanga rigamije gusaba imyanya mu butegetsi, mu gisirikari no mu mashuri. Uretse nyine ko ari uburenganzira bwabo, na-

ho ubundi babyibutse bakerewe kandi si ubutegetsi butabitayeho ahubwo nibwo ubwabo batabashishikariye. Na none usanga abakomeye muri ririya dini ry'Abayisumu nk'ubahagarariye mu Rwanda bataririmo, ukibaza niba nta kindi abashinze ririya shyaka bagamije kitari uguharanira inyungu z'Abayisumu bese akaba ari nayo mpamvu rititabirwa uretse ko n'utari umuyisumu atariyamo.

Ishyaka PDC riharanira demokarasi ya gikristu ryashinze n'abagatorika akaba ari nayo mpamvu nk'abakristo ariko bategereye ubutegetsi bwa Papa nk'abadiiventisti n'abaprotestanti bataritabira, abatamera Kristu nk'Abayisumu bo ni kure kubi. Iri shyaka nta mitingiri rijya rikoresha uretse ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhamwe bikaba ngo bituruka ku buke

bw'abayoboke. icyo abantu benshi bibazaho ni ukuntu ryashoboye kugenerwa umwanya muri guverinoma bagahuriza ko byaba bituruka ku ngufu za Kiliziya Gatorika ifite muri iki gihugu, n'igitutu itera ubutegetsi ndetse na Prezida wa Republika bamwe bakaba bamwita Padiri. Nta n'abayoboke riteze kuzabona barenze abo rifite ubu.

Ishyaka PL riharanira ukwishyira ukizana kwa buri muntu ni ishyaka mu by'ukuri rigizwe n'abatutsi nk'uko nagerageje kureba abambaye utugoforo twayo muri uyu muji. Kubera ko abatutsi bagaragaje kuva kera amayeri menshi mu kwiyoberanya, bashatse udukingirizo twiyita abahutu, uretse ko twe twashoboye kumenya ko abenshi ari abahinzu ubwoko. icyo na none nashoboye kumenya ni uko abatutsi bese bari muri iki gihugu



baririmo ariko bya bindi byabo bya nyirarureshwa, bashoboye gufata n'utundi dukarita tw'andi mashyaka nka MRND, MDR na PSD (iri rimaze kumenya amayeri yabo, bagiyeye barivamo). Impamvu zere abo batutsi bihisha mu yandi mashyaka kandi bari na muri PL, batunga udukarita tubiri cyangwa dutatu ni ukugira ngo abayoboze b'ayo mashyaka batamenya amayeri ya PL n'intego yo gutatanya abahutu ibababwira. Hari umututsi wigeze kwandika ngo Nduga na Rukiga ntibishobora kumvikana kuko ngo akarere kagira umuco akandi uwako. Umva uko gutanya. Yego ni umugani usanzwe ariko se na none. Abahutu zere baba bari muri PL bantekerejeho bihagije bitakurikiraneye indamu y'umunsi umwe, bari barekera. Ubwo ryazarushya abayoboze andi mashyaka?

Ishyamba PSD riharanira Demokarasi n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. ukurikije inshingano varwo mu nyandiko, ryagombye kwifatanya na PL ariko kubera ko abayobozi barwo bashoboye kumenya ubutiriganya bwa PL. bararyamaganye. Gusa abayobozi ba PSD ni abantu bakoze mu mirimo mikuru muri Repubulika ya kabiri ariko bakaza kwigizwayo mu buryo batishimiye bakumva bashyamba kugaruka mu rubuga rwa politiki ari nayo mpamvu ubu bateranyeye ishyamba ryabo nka Prezida n'umwungirije bakibera ba Minisitiri. Abayoboze baryo ntibashyimiye bakemuka ko abayobozi bashakira ishamba ryabo bwite.

Ishyamba MRND risigaye ngo riharanira Repubulika muri Demokarasi. n'Amajyambere ntiriramenya icyatumye barirwanya ahubwo rikomeza guhuzagurika ngo riharanira ubumwe bw'abahutu n'abatutsi aba badashyamba. Rifite amafanga menshi ndetse n'abiyandikishije benshi biyita abarwanshyamba ariko abenshi bariraryamba. Bamwe kubera ko ryabakamiye, abandi kubera gushyamba kurirya, abasigaye bakaba ari ba bayoboze ba PL bafite udukarita turenze kamwe baba bifitiye ubutumwa bwo guteranya Nduga na Rukiga bumvisha Abakiga ko abanzi babo ari abanyenduga. Kubera ko abo bi-

yita abayoboze baba bariraryamba, ishyamba MRND rizasanga mu by'ukuri rifite abayoboze mbarwa dore ko abanzi ari bo benshi.

Ishyamba MDR riharanira demokarasi muri Repubulika rifite ingufu koko, ariko abayoboze baryo ntibafite umugambi umwe. Biterwa na ba batutsi ba PL bafite n'udukarita twa nyirarureshwa twa MDR bumvisha abanyenduga ko abadahuje akarere baba badahuje umuco bakirengagiza abadahuje amaraso n'iyi baba baturanye ka jana ko hadashobora guhuza umuco kuko baba badahuje n'inkomoko. Nduga na Rukiga niba inkomoko ari imwe n'umuco ni umwe. Bagerageza na none kumvisha ko MRND ari y'abakiga naho MDR ikaba y'abanyenduga kuko ngo Perezida wayo yari Kayihanda w'Ugarama.

Narasesenguye nsanga MDR Parmehutu igishingwa umugambi wayo wari uwo kurandura ingoma ya cyami-ntutsi, igihugu kikagenda ku butegetsi bwa Repubulika ibifashiywemo na Revolisiyo yo muri 1959. Iyo zere urehwe ukuntu MDR y'ubu ibyitwaramo usanga koko yaravugururwe na bamwe mu batutsi batinyaga ko ya PARMEHUTU ya mbere yagaruka. Uretse ko itazatinda gusenyuka buri wese namara kumenya ubugambanyi bwayo. Ingufu zayo zimeze nk'iza ya ngwe ikozwe mu rupapuro. Nayo yibeshya ko ifite abayoboze ariko benshi ari aba PL bifuzaga guteranya abahutu no gutera imvururu mu gihugu kugira ngo kitabona umwanya wo gusuzumana ubwitontzi ikibazo cy'abatutsi badutera. icyagaragaye ni uko muri MDR hari akaduruvayo, umunsi abanyarwanda bazumva ko iriya MDR atari PARMEHUTU, bazayamagana kuko inafatanyaga n'umwanzu ngo ni ukugira ngo berekane ko ubutegetsi buriho ntacyo bwakozwe bakagera n'aho bagambanira igihugu bashyigikira MUGENZI wasabaga ko imfashanyo zigenerwa abanyarwanda zahagarikwa bakicwa n'inzara ngo arahima HABYARIMANA, cyangwa NGURINZIRA wemeje ko u Rwanda ari rwo rushotora u Burundi ngo arabeshyuzwa uwa-

mubanjirije. Ibyo byababaje abayoboze ba MDR. SERUKA, abategarugori n'abari bibumbiye muri MDR nayo ntiyishimiye ishyirwaho rya UWILINGIYIMANA Agatha muri Minisitiri ishinze uburezi kandi we atarashoboye kwerekana uburere bwiza.

Ishyamba CDR, riharanira ubusugire bwa Repubulika ryavutse nyuma cyane y'ariya mashyamba. Byaba ngo byaturutse ku mpamvu nyinshi: MRND ntiyashoboye kwivugurura ngo ireke umuteto yatetesheje bariya baduteye cyangwa ngo yereke umunyarwanda abadutera abo aribo. Ngo ba Burugumesitiri bo mu cyaro bakomeje umuco wo gukanda abaturage bababuze ibyo bifitiye uburenganzira; MDR ngo n'ubwo yivugururaye si Parmehutu ahubwo ni icyitso, ikaba yifuzaga gutera imvururu mu gihugu ibishakwamo na PL. Izo zere akaba ari zo mpamvu zatumye CDR ivuka ibyamba gubaranira ubusugire bwa Repubulika mu Rwanda, abatutsi bashyamba umubwira ngo bimuke KI-CDF cyangwa undi mwami.

Abanvarwanda bashyamba bashyamba n'uko igihugu gikomeza kugendera ku butegetsi bwa Repubulika, ubu bishyize hamwe mu Ishyamba CDR kandi nibo benshi, ubwo zere bikaba bisobanura ko n'abandi cyane cyane abahutu biyumvishije ubutiriganya bwa PL n'ukuntu MDR y'ubu atari PARMEHUTU, cyangwa amayeri abatutsi bakoresha mu mashyamba MDR na MRND, dore aba PSD bo bamaze kubyiyumvisha, maze bose bakayoboka ririya shyamba ryaje nyuma ariko rimaze kubona igihumye cyabyawe n'ariya mashyamba yihuse, mu mpera z'uyu mwaka niryozazaba rifite abayoboze benshi uretse ko n'ubu ryateye ubwoba benshi.

H. Ildephonse  
B.P. 2271 Kigali

#### ITANGAZO

UBUYOBOZI BWA GISENYI-INFO BURAMENYESHA ABASOMYI KO INYANDIKO ZA NDEKEZI Bonaparte ZITAZONGERA KUBAGERAHO VUBA KUBERA IMPAMVU ZA POLITIKI.

# INAMA RUKOKOMA Y'ABAKOMOKA GISENYI- RUHENGERI NA BYUMBA IZABERA KU GISENYI TARIKI YA 24/05/1992.

**K**ubera ibibazo byihishe mu migambi y'amashyaka amwe n'amwe, abatuye uturere twavuzwe haruguru, biyemeje kwigira hamwe ibibazo bikurikira.

I. Bimaze kugaragara ko Minisitiri ushinze amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye afite umugambi wo kuburizamo abana bakomoka muri utwo turere (Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba), bikaba bigaragara ko bitizwe neza n'abo bibabaje, umubare usanzwe w'abo bana waganukaho 60% nk'uko byifujwe na Minisitiri wabyifuje ubwo yoherezaga ibizamini bituzuye muri aka karere. Yageretseho no kubivuga kuri Radiyo ahimba ko ababyeyi bakomoka aho twavuze bakoze amayeri. icyo kibazo kizaba icya mbere mu byigwa mbere y'uko umugambi wabo ushyirwa mu bikorwa, byaramuka bigaragaye ko uwo mugambi bawushyize mu bikorwa hakaba imyigaragambyo yo kubuza abana bakomoka nabo ahandi kuza kwiga mu turere twa Byumba, Ruhengeri na Gisenyi, kugeza ubwo Minisitiri ashubije inyuma umugambi we.

II. Ikibazo cya kabiri kizigwa muri icyo nama twise "RUKOKOMA", ni ugushaka uku-

ntu itegeko ryatanzwe ryakubahirizwa (imbabazi nsibacyaha) kuko iryo tegeko rireba abantu bose bakoze ibyaha mbere y'uko rishyirwaho umukono na Perezida wa Repubulika. Muribuka ko izo mbabazi ari nazo zarokoye ibyitso ibihumbi munani (8.000), zikanababarira abadutera ku buryo hari na bamwe bari muri guverinoma iriho ubu zababariye. None bikaba byaragagaye ko ngo izo mbabazi zaba zitareba abakomoka muri turiya turere twavuzwe haruguru. Ingingo tuzibandaho ni uko Minisitiri y'ubucamanza yamenya ko abantu bareshya imbere y'amategeko. Kandi abareba ukwishira ukizana kw'abatutsi bakibuka ko bagomba no kureba ukwishyira ukizana kw'abahutu n'abatwa...

III. Ku byerekeye iyi ntambara ikomeza kuyogoza abatuye uturere twa Byumba na Ruhengeri, muribuka ko amashyaka yari yarakunze kuvuga ko nagera muri Guverinoma azatanga umuti w'intambara none bikaba bigaragara ko icyo bishakiraga ari ubutegetsi gusa. Abakomoka muri utwo turere bazigira hamwe ukuntu abakomoka muri utwo turere bavanwe mu byabo n'intambara twabagoboka tukabavana icyo bakwijwe imishwari maze tukiga ukuntu twabazana i Kigali bagacumbi-

ka mu busitani bwa Minisitiri w'Intebe nibiba ngombwa kugeza igihe umuti babijeje uzabonekera. Kandi ibyo bikaba byakomeza kuri buri gitero cy'inyenzi inkotanyi.

Ku byerekeye ibyemezo muri rusange, abakomoka muri utwo turere twavuzwe haruguru byazafatwa, twazategura imyigaragambyo yakorwa mu mahoro maze tugashyiraho komisiyo yashyikirana na Minisitiri w'Intebe igafatanyije nawe kwiga ibyo bibazo. Biramutse binaniranye, twazakora imyigaragambyo yo gufunga umuhanda GISENYI-BRALIRWA hagasohoka byeri zagemurirwa abasilikari gusa naho utundi turere tugategereza ko Minisitiri w'Intebe yatanga igisubizo. Hakongerwa kwigwa ukuntu hafungwa umuhanda RUHENGERI-KIGALI ku modoka zizana ibirayi n'imboga kugeza ubwo Minisitiri w'Intebe yatangira igisubizo. Iyo myigaragambyo yakorwa mu ituze kandi imihanda nyabagendwa igakomeza kugendwa nk'uko bisanzwe usibye imodoka zitwaye ibyo twavuze haruguru.

Ibyo bibazo byose nibyo bizigwa ku cyumweru tariki ya 24 Gicurasi 1992, imyanzuro ikazafatwa n'abazaba baje muri icyo nama.

## STUDIO-PHOTO ARC-EN-CIEL

URASHAKA KWIFOTOZA AMAFOTO AGEZWEHO.

\* Noir - Blanc & Photos en couleur \*

GUKORESHA UBUKWE BWAVE KURI VIDEO

KUBATIRISHA ABANA UGASIGARANA URWIBUTSO KURI CASSETTE VIDEO

STUDIO PHOTO ARC-EN-CIEL IZAKWAKIRA NEZA

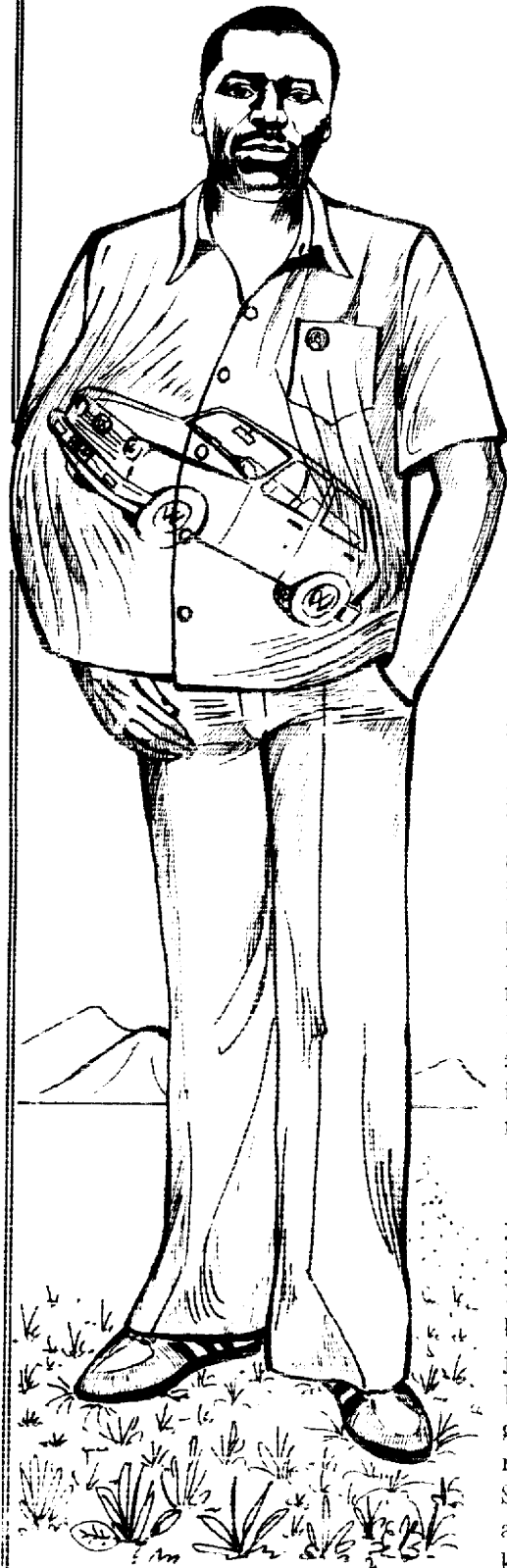
TUZAGUTEMBEREZA INKOMBE Z'IKIVU.

TUZAGUFASHA KUGERA AHANDI WIFUZA

**STUDIO-PHOTO ARC-EN-CIEL**

**IMBERE YA GARE ROUTIERE NA PETRORWANDA I GISENYI**

## Izo mpuhwe za MUGEMANA J.M.V.!



Umuryango "Solidarité Byumba", Perezida wawo ni MUGEMANA J.M.V. Abandi bantu bawukomeyemo cyane ni: HABI-MANA, KALINDA Viateur, NKULIYEKUBONA, MUTAMBUKA, NKULIYINGOMA, TWAGIRAYEZU, MBONABIRAMA, n'abandi. Abo bantu bose abanyabyumba ntibabemera kubera imyifatire yabo mibi cyane cyane muri ibi bihe by'intamabara.

Impuhwe MUGEMANA J.M.V. ashaka kugirira abanyabyumba ni nk'izo impyisi igirira intama irwaye ibinwete! Ariko se izo atabagiriye agikomeye, ubu ni bwo abibutse? Tuzi neza ko akiri Minisitiri w'Ubutabera yaranzwe no gutoteza abanyabyumba bafite akazi gakomeye. Yagufatiye uwitwa MUKAMA wari Prokireri wa Repubulika i Kigali amujugunya i Nyanza ngo ni ukumwikiza. Ibyo abiterwa n'uko MUKAMA ari icyamamare mu bikorwa byiza muri Byumba. icyo gikorwa cyonyine kikaba cyerekana ishyari. Yirukanishije KABENGERA naho SEZIKIYE amwohereza i Ngarama yizera ko rubanda ruzakeka ko yagize impuhwe zo kumwohereza ku isambu.

Ageze muri Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini, MUGEMANA yagize inyota yo gukura (mu byubahiriro) nk'igihaza. Yifuje kujya muri Komite Nyobozi ya MRND y'icyo gihe. Umwanya yagombaga kubona wari ufitwe n'amunyabyumba HABARUSHAKA. MUGEMANA wawe rero agira atya aba ashoye itiku. Rimaze kunoga neza, HABARUSHAKA aba abuze ubuperefe n'ubukomite bumuca mu nyanya y'intoki, ubwo impirimbanyi yacu ihita igabana uwo mwanya w'ikirenga.

Mwene Nyirakoma agikomeye, nibwo Byumba yatakaje ibigo bikomeye ifitiye ubuyobozi. Ibyo byose yagiye abigiramo uruhare rutari ruto. Major NYAMPAME ya-

bonye nta kindi kimukwiye uretse kumwerekeza iya ORTPN, iyo mu Kagera. Evarisiti na Kaniziyo birukanywe ku bw'umurya wa MUGEMANA. Abo bose se si abanyabyumba? Aka kanya impuhwe zo kuba fondateri wa "Solidarité Byumba" azikuye he? NKURUNZIZA Karoli wagiye ashakira MUGEMANA imyanya yagiye imukomeza na we anenga imyiturano ye. Yaketse ko bazafatanyazamurira Perefegitura yabo ariko siko byagenze.

Ubusahiranda bwa MUGEMANA bwabaye kimomo. Akiri Minisitiri w'Ubutabera yokeje igitutu umucungamari ngo agurize mushiki we MUKAMUGEMANA amafranga 500.000 atigeze yishyura. Yigeze gufata amafaranga 2.000.000, umucungamari amukingira mu maso chèque sans provision. Tukiri muri iyo Minisitiri y'Ubutabera, turamenyesha abanyarwanda ko MUGEMANA ari umwe mu bazi ibanga ry'urupfu rwa KIMONYO, se wa Kizungu, wa musore wahoreye se yica GATERA David.

Muri Ministeri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini ubu baremeza ko imodoka y'icyantsi agendamo, n'ubwo ishate, ari iyo yanyereje. Mu by'ukuri, Abadage bari batanze intwererano y'imodoka zishaje zagombaga gukoreshwa mu mishinga imwe n'imwe iyoborwa n'iyi minisitiri. MUGEMANA aba afunze umwuka arobanura mu imwe, ayambika "plaque" z'abasivili kugira ngo azayiryoheho amaze gutahurwaho ubukoranyi.

Dore tumaze kwerekana ifoto y'umwe mu barwanashyamba b'ikubitiro ba "Solidarité Byumba". icyo dusaba abanyabyumba ni ukuba maso. Nibitondere ababayobya kuko birashoboka cyane ko iryo shyirahamwe ryafata isura rya MUGEMANA. Byaba biteye agahinda!

GISENYI-INFO.

Muri Perefegitura ya Byumba hamaze gushingwa imiryango ibiri igamije kwiga, gucoca, no gukemura ibibazo by'abanyabyumba mu bufatanye. Twibajije inyamvu y'imiryango ari ibiri kandi ibyo igamije bijya gusa. Ikindi kandi, iyo miryango yavutse ikurikiranye cyane. Turibanda k'uwavutse mbere kuko ari wo ukemangwa. Bifite ishingiro.

# TURAMENYESHA

Kubera ko ikinya-  
makuru **KANGURA**  
ubu gifite ibibazo  
bitoroshe by'ama-  
faranga, turame-  
nyesha abasomyi  
bacu ko **KANGURA**  
itazongera gusoho-  
ka vuba.

Abifuza ibisobanuro batu-  
bariza kuri telefoni : 73586  
FAX : 75408