



GASHYANTARE 1993

N°40

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

KA02 1757



- Ese abatutsi bibagiwe ibyo KAYIBANDA yababwiye aka kanya..... ?
- HABYARIMANA niyumve ibyo abahutu bamusaba
- CYANGUGU : Twagiramungu yamariye urubyiruko mu nkotanyi
- BURUNDI : Buyoya azava ku butegetsi muri Kamena uyu mwaka
- NSENGIYAREMYE yabwiye abahutu ati : Mwirwaneho. Ahupwo baratinze !!!!

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RUHENGURI NA BYUMBA ZARATEWE ABATUTSI BANYWA «CHAMPAGNE»



Ruhengeri yaratewe. Yaratewe maze abatutsi bese cyane cyane abari muri Kigali batyaza rya vogonyo ryabo bari-renzaho «champagne» ngo abandi bana baratashye. Ntibagihishako iyi ntambara ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi. icyizere cyari cyose ngo inyenzi zirataha muri Kapitali. Bishimye Radiyo Rwanda itarabitangaza mu makuru yayo ya mbera yo mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993. Abahutu rero nabo nibabangukire kwishima mu buryo nk'ubwo. Burya ngo igisebe cy'icumu kivurwa n'irindi rishyushye.

Nk'uko mwabyumvise kuri Radiyo Rwanda ibatangaza, mu ijoro ryo ku wa 7 rishyirira iry'uwa 8, ni bwo umugi wa Ruhengeri watewe. Muri uwo mugari hari ibyitso byinshi, bikaba ndetse byaragiye bibwira abatutsi batuye muri uwo mugari ngo bihungire. Abateye benshi, bahungukiyeye ku kiraro cya Rwebeya, bazamuka Yawunde yose, bakimirana hirya y'aho bita mu kizungu, Kabaya yose barayizenguruka, Nyamagumba barayirasa rirakaka k'uburyo byageze aho bakayurira.

Inyenzi zasigaye hasi ya Kabaya ziraye mu baturage baho kimwe n'abo muri segiteri Muko, igice cyayo cyegerereye Kabaya maze babakorera ibyo ifundi igira ibivuzo.

Ibyo tuvuga, ntabwo ari umupira w'amaguru twogera, ahubwo ni ubunyamaswa bw'abantu biyise koko inyenzi. Mu kuri kose, amabendera ya MRND na CDR zabonye muri ako gace ni yo yabaye nk'ayatsa umuriro. Zahamagaraga abaturage cyangwa zikabifatira noneho zikabizeza ko nta kibazo. Ubwo abahutu 20 cyangwa 30 bagafungirwa mu nzu imwe maze bakamishakaho ibisasu. Muri

Ruhengeri, abahutu bahapfiriye b'abasiviri ni benshi cyane. Ngiye imitwe irya, ngayo amaguru icyo, ngicyo igihimba iyi.... Inyenzi koko ni «abavandimwe?». Abagize Imana bagahunga, icyizere bafite cyo gusanga ababo ni gito cyane kuko hari umusirikari mukuru watubwiye ngo kuva yayobora imirwano ni bwo yabona abasiviri bagwa mu mirwano ako kageni!

Ntizikihishira muri iki gihe! Umuhutu zicaga wese zamugerekagaho ingofero ya CDR cyangwa iya MRND. Abatutsi twari kumwe dusura Ruhengeri tariki ya 12 Gashyantare nabo barabyiboneye. Ikindi kandi, hari Radiyo y'amahanga Kagame Paul aherutse kweturira ko FPR ari iy'abatutsi, akaba ari cyo gituma ngo yaje gushimangira muri ako karere icyubahiriro cy'ubuwo bwoko. Tuzaba tureba icyo iryo shimangira rizatanga. Ingabo nizikomeze zizishushubikanyeye gusa, ibindi bizakurikira hari abazabyirangiriza: Ukunukirije ntumunukirize akwita kibura nnyo. None se siko bimeze mwa bahutu mwe? Si uguhora ahubwo ni ukwitabara kuko bitabaye ibyo zakomeza (inyenzi) kutwica zidusekera.

Tariki ya 12 Gashyantare, twasuye Ruhengeri nk'uko twabivuze. Twari kumwe n'abatutsi benshi b'abanyamakuru kimwe na babandi bo mu miryango yita ku kiremwamuntu. Ariko mu by'ukuri ababona bazi neza icyo kiremwa icyo ari cyo. Abo bese babonye ukuntu inyenzi ubwazo zihambira abantu babo benshi mu cyobo kimwe. Ni nako mu Kinigi zagiyeye zibigenza muri 1991.

Ariko hambere aha mwabonye ukuntu abazungu baherutse ino mu rwego rw'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu, bagiyeye mu Kinigi bagataburura amagufa y'abantu maze bakagenda bemeza ngo ni abagogwe bo mu Kinigi. Benshi muri abo banyamakuru b'abatutsi banditse mu binyamakuru byabo bemeza ko ibyo abo bazungu bavuze ari ukuri. Hari nka «Le Flambeau» N° 2 ivuga abagogwe 2.000 bapfuye ariko ikerekana ifoto iriho igihanga kimwe nayo yavanywe muri

«Jeune Afrique» yavugaga ibyo muri Liberiya S.V.P.!

Umuhutu k'umubiri twari kumwe ni Musangamfura gusa, akaba ari umuyobozi w'isibo. Nk'uko bizwi, icyo kinyamakuru gikorera MDR, iryo shyamba ry'«umucyo» na ryo rikaba rikorera FPR. Tutabitinzeho, murumuna aho Musangamfura abogamiye. Abo twabonaga ko ari abahutu turi kumwe ni Ingabo zari ziduherekeje gusa. Ni uko ari disiplineline Ingabo z'imisozi igihumbi zifite, naho ubundi abo batutsi....

Ntabwo ibyo byitso byatashye byishimye kuko tugiye mu ruhande rw'ihangana ry'inyenzi n'ingabo, ziboneye ko ibitero bya bene wabo ari ukwiya-hura gusa. «Abavandimwe» nibo baguye ari benshi cyane kandi ari bwo intambara «nouvelle formule» igatangira. Moral y'ingabo z'u Rwanda iri mu kire-re. Minisitiri Gasana James nyitahire, nta wundi muti nta rundi rukingo. Ibitu ni ugusubira bubisi. Hari ahandi se badukinze? Umutoza wabo se Museveni ntiyafashe Kampala Okello akijijita mu mishyikirano? Cette fois-ci point de naïveté». Nta kuba ukundi umwemera gato rwose.

Kugeza nyine tariki ya 12 Gashyantare, nta munyapolitiki wo muri PL, PSD, MDR, PDC, uri muri Guvrinoma wari wagaragaza ibitekerezo bye ngo hagire umenya aho abogamiye. Turareba tugasanga harimo ubugambanyi. Minisitiri w'Intebe w'arabyinisha intebe adakwiye. Kubona ntacyo yari yatangariza abanyarwanda? Ababisesengurira hafi bavuga ko we yahise yitekerereza amatara. Ku ruhande rwe, ngo Habyarimana Juvenali yaba yarahatereye amajwi menshi mu matora ategerejwe. Ibi byaba byerekana ko mu gihe mitingiri zizaba zahawe na none rugari bazitwaza iki gitero kugira ngo bakomeze ingeso nshumba. Nsengiyaremye ntacyo ahomba kuko abapfa ari abakiga kandi n'ubusanzwe akaba abazira!

Isomo dukuye murugendo: abatutsi bahungiyeye i Kigali ari benshi, kandi hanze aha biravugwa ko kapitali nayo ishobora guterwa. Dusanzwe tuzi ko umu-

KA02 1759

hutu atinda gukongeza umujinya, ariko icyo kabaye ntabwo. Icyo gitero rero badukangisha nk'igitambanga bakangishaho umwijima, hari ubwo gishobora gusanga ariyo saha abahutu bagiyeye guhagurukira rimwe nk'umuntu umwe. Wenda ni cyo gihe natwe tuzabanukiriza muri ayo mahoteri basigaye barihaye guhungiramo. Icyo gihe kandi, abategesi buzuye i Kigali noneho bazumva intambara icyo ari cyo !

Ku byerekeye abo twari kumwe dusura imirwano, twari kumwe n'abatutsi

bakorera i Kigali bamwe biyita ko bahagarariye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa tutsi. Abo batutsi iyo Major yaberekaga uko ubugome bwa bene wabo bungana, cyane cyane iyo baberekaga nk'abo batwikingiye mu nzu, abasatuwe amada, abashahuwe... Abo batutsi baramwenyuraga ku mutima ngo iyaba abahutu bashiraga maze ababandimwe bagataha nta nkomyi.

Ngaho nimwiyumvire ukuntu inyenzi zitegereje gutahuka ngo zibane n'abahu-

tu zahemukiye, ukuntu zifuza kubari mbura. Kubona abahutu bapfa, abatutsi bagakoresha umunsi mukuru, byerekeye uko u Rwanda ruzaba rumeze mu minsi iri imbere. Ku byerekeye ubugome bw'abo batutsi twajyanye gusura urugamba, muzabisanga mu nyandiko zabo zizasohoka mu binyamakuru byabo nka: *Le Flambeau, Kanguka, Le Soleil, Rwanda Rushya, Isibo, La Griffe*, n'ibindi muriyiziye.

NGEZE HASSAN.

TURAMAMAZA

ISHYIRAHAMWE RY'ABAHUTU BOSE : «TURI HOSE»

Ishyirahamwe ry'abahutu bose, bakomoka mu mashyaka anyuranye ryavutse !

Birababaje kubona abahutu aribo birirwa bamarana, bapfa ko batayobotse amashyaka amwe, cyangwa se badakomoka mu turere tumwe. Kubera ko abahutu bose ari bamwe kandi abo mu karere kamwe bakaba bakeneye muri byose abo mu kandi karere. Abo mu ishyamba iri niri nabo bakaba bakeneye abo mu rindi ku mpamvu zinyuranye. Niyo mpamvu hashyizweho ishyirahamwe «TURI HOSE». Uzaba yarinjiye muri «TURI HOSE», azaba ashobora kujya ahari abahutu hose, nta kwishisha cyangwa kwikeka, icyo ari cyo cyose. Yemwe no mu myigangambyo y'amashyaka abonekamo abahutu uzaba afite ikarita ya «Turi hose», azashobora kwihitira nta nkomyi. Uzahura n'ibibazo ibyo ari byo byose azaba ashobora gutabarwa.

Umutwe «TURI HOSE», watangiye no gutanga amakarita yawo mu mahanga ahaboneka abahutu (bantous). Umutwe «TURI HOSE» ushobora kugoboka muri byose n'abahutu bari mu mahanga muri byose igihe bibaye ngombwa. Ngaho rero nimufate amakarita ya :

«TURI HOSE».

N.B. : Abifuza guhagararira «TURI HOSE» mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda, nimubarize ku buyobozi bwa Kangura kuri B.P. 1312 Kigali.

Uri mu mahoro ategura intambara
Uri mu ntambara ategura amahoro
Ukeneye ingufu ajya ku ruhande rwa benshi.

KUGIRA NGO IYI NTAMBARA IRANGIRE, NI NGOMBWA KO CDR NA FPR ZIHURA

Hari umunyapolitiki w'umunyamerika, MC Enroe wigeze kuvuga ati : «L'Amérique aux Américains», ari byo kuvuga ngo «Amerika nibe iy'Abanyamerika». Umuririmbyi Jimmy Cliff wo muri Jamaïca yongera ho ko niba Amerika ari iy'Abanyamerika, Afurika nibe nayo iy'Abanyafurika, Ubuhinde bube ubw'Abahinde, Uburayi bube ubw'Abanyaburayi. Icyo abo bagabo bombi bashakaga ku-

vuga si ukubwiriza abantu kwigunga Oya ! Icyo babivugiyeye ni ukubuza abantu kwivanga mu bibazo igihugu iki n'iki kihariye. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda ni icy'abanyarwanda gusa, bagomba kucyikemurira ubwabo.

Intambara turwana n'inyenzi-Nkotanyi irarambiranye dore ko imaze kumara imyaka ibiri irenga. Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi nayo nta-

cyo itanga kandi ntacyo izatanga. Igihe kirageze rero cyo kubwizanya ukuri aho kugira ngo dukomeze dute igihe ARUSHA. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda, intambara turimo, ni intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi, barwanira ubutegetsi. Abatwa bo n'ubwo bwose ari abanyarwanda kavukire b'iki gihugu, icyo kibazo gisa n'aho kitabareba. Bagihariye ibihangange bibiri.

Intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi

si iya none, ni iya kera. Abatutsi bageze mu Rwanda basanga abahutu bategekako. Babarusha amayeri n'ingufu babambura ubutegetsu babwikubira inyaka magana ane yose. Kandi ari bu bakoze.

Mu mwaka w'1959, rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu irivumbura yiganzura abatutsi, ubutegetsu buba ubwa rubanda. Abatutsi bari birukanwe ku ngoma bakoresheje uko bashoboye ngo bisubize ubwo butegetsu bwari bubacye mu myanya y'intoki. Bakomeje kugaba ibitero kuva u Rwanda rwabona ubwigenge kugeza magingo aya. Birananirana kuko abahutu nabo banze kwongera kuba ingaruzwamuheto. Ikibazo ni uko giteye, ibindi ni amahamba (littérature).

Imishyikirano ni ngombwa niba tudashakako igihugu cyacu gihora mu ntambara z'urudaca. Ariko na none imishyikirano ni imishyikirano izira uburyarya, izira uburyamirane. Ibyo inkotanyi zibeshya ko zateye zije guhirika ingoma y'igitugu ya MRND, zizanyeye demokarasi, ni ukubeshya. Ibyo ni urwitwazo. Zaje zije guhorera ba sekuru bavanywe ku butegetsu n'abahutu. Bihurirana n'uko Habyarimana ari we Perezida wa Repubulika. Ku batutsi, Habyarimana ni umuhutu kimwe n'abandi bese. N'ubwo bwose yabakundwako muri iyi myaka yose amaze ku butegetsu. Uretse ko abatutsi ari ba nta munoza, ubundi Habyarimana yari yabatetesheje.

Abatutsi niba bari mu mashyamba amwe n'amwe y'abahutu nka MDR, PSD.... si ubugoryi. Bo bararwana intambara bazi kandi bazi icyo bakora. Nibamara gushuka abahutu batavugurumwe na Habyarimana bakamuhirika, ikibazo kizagaruka uko kimeze ubu. Abatutsi ntibazemera gutegekwa n'abahutu niyo baba abo muri MDR! Dore ko ari nayo yatumye bamenengana. Abahutu nabo, niyo Habyarimana yavaho, ntibakwemera kwongera kuba ingaruzwamuheto ngo ni demokarasi. Ibyo abatutsi nabo barabizi. Aho kwirirwa duta igihe ARUSHA, nihabekwama rukokoma yahuza intumwa z'abahutu b'abanyarwanda bayobowe na Bucyana Maritini, Perezida wa CDR.

Naho ku ruhande rw'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bahagararirwa na Kigeri V Ndahindurwa, inyenzi nkururu. Ubwo birumvikana ko Kagame (FPR) na Barayagwiza (CDR) batuburamo. Maze urebe ngo baracoca ibibazo bataryanya nk'uko bimeze ubu mu mishyikirano y'ARUSHA. None

se umuntu mu bahutu asaba umuhutu, mu batutsi abe umututsi, wowe wamushira amakenga! Mu gihe umutwe w'abahutu ushinze guhangana n'abatutsi bazakomeza kwigomeka banga kuva ku izima, utari washingwa, ingabo z'u Rwanda zavugamu izina rya rubanda nyamwinshi. Inyenzi zo birumvikana zavugamu izina ry'abatutsi. Aha kandi twakwibutsa inyenzi-inkotanyi ko niba zitaretse agasuzuguro n'ivogonyo ryazo cyangwa ngo zive ku izima, ko rubanda nyamwinshi izashyiraho umutwe ugizwe n'abana b'abahutu. Uwo mutwe uzaba ushinze kubonana n'abana b'inyenzi bigometse. Ntabwo dukwiye kujandajanda.

KANGURA

TWAKURIYE INGOFERO ABASIRIKARI B'IBIREMA BARI MU BIGO BYO MU RUHENGERI.

Mu gihe twasuraga mu Ruhengeri, twageze no mu bigo bya gisirikari bihari. Twasobanurirwe ukuntu inyenzi zahamishaga urusasu ariko biranga biba iby'ubusa.

Uyoboye imirwano muri ako kare yamenye ko umugi watwe yihutira we n'abo bari kumwe kuwurwanaho. Ikibazo yari afite ni icy'abasirikari bake. Ntiyagombaga gutegereza abamuvunye baturutse mu bindi bigo yiyicyariye gusa. We nabo bake bagombaga kuba bagize icyo bakoze noneho abandi baza bagahera aho bageze.

Abasirikari batarwaye ntibagire n'uburema basohotse mu bigo bajya gucakirana n'umwanzi. Kubera ko ibigo byagombaga gusigara birinzwe ibirema byari muri ibyo bigo byarasindagijwe bishyirwa ahantu nyangamba «stratégique», biheretse imbunda maze birabwirwa bita: «akanyenzi gacacaca mugahonyoze urusoro nta kibazo». Ibirema bikora akazi kabyo neza, mbese bihaba umutamamwa.

Abumvaga Radiyo Rwanda ivugako ibigo by'u Rwanda mu Ruhengeri biracyari mu maboko y'ingabo z'u Rwanda bumvaga ko ari abasirikari bakaze ariko banafite ingingo zabo z'umubiri. Naho burya bwose hari ibirema! Twe twabyiboneye, hari n'abari batarakira neza.

NYABYENDA ISSA.



**Wamenya ukuri ute
udasoma Kangura?**

Kwinjiza inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda: KA02 1761 gushyira urumamfu mu ngano.

Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'inzenzi-nkotanyi irakomeje Arusha. N'ubwo bwose ntacyo yagezeho kandi ntacyo izageraho, batubwira ko iki cyiciro bagihariye gusuzuma ukuntu ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zakwinjizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Hari ababivugisha amatama gusa batazi ko bigoye cyane ndetse bisa n'ibidashoboka. Nyamara bizaruhanyana.

Tubanze turebe niba hari ahandi byashobotse. Dufate urugero ku bihugu bibiri bitwegereye kuko burya ijya kurusha ihera ku rugo: Uganda na Angola.

Reka duhere kuri Uganda: Muzi ko inyeshyamba za Museveni (NRA) zimaze kwirukana Tito Okello n'abasirikari be ku butegezi i Kampala, zahise zigarurira igihugu. Nta musirikari wa Uganda wigeze ashirwa muri NRA. Izo nyeshyamba ahubwo zihutiye kwikwiza ubutegezi n'amapeti sinakubwira. Ntawe utarabaye "ofisiye" keretse utarabishatse. Kandi ibyo bigakorwa mu buryo budakurikije amategeko yagengaga ingabo za Uganda. Umugabo natanga ni Perezida Habyarimana dore ko ari nawe wabiyambikiye ayo mapeti ku butumire bwa Museveni. Abanya Uganda baje kubona uruhushya rwo kujya muri NRA nyuma nabwo ntibashobora kugera mu myanya y'ubuyobozi. Ibyo bigaragazwa n'uko aba "ofisiye" bakuru b'izo nyeshyamba bose ari abanyamahanga (inyenzi zahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959).

Mwatangara mbabwiye ko muri iki gihe, umukuru wa Etat-Major y'inyeshyamba za Museveni ari inyenzi yitwa Christophe Mugisha Muntu, ufite ipeti rya "General-Major". Iyo nyenzi ikomoka ku nyenzi yitwa Muntuwera. Murebe namwe uko ziyoberanyana. Izindi nyenzi zari zikomeye mu nyeshyamba za Museveni ni:

- "General-Major" Fred Rwigema inyenzi yari ishinzwe imirwano mu karere k'amajyaruguru ya Uganda.
 - "Major" Peter Bayingana, inyenzi yari ishinzwe ubuvuzi.
 - "Major" Chris Bunyenyezi, inyenzi yari ishinzwe kuyoboza "brigade" mu majyaruguru ya Uganda.
- Izo nyenzi uko ari eshatu zivuganywe

n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu Mutara.

- "Major" Kagame, inyenzi muzi cyane ikaba yari ishinzwe ubumanekobwa gisirikari mbere y'uko itera u Rwanda, n'abandi nka ba "Commander" Kayitare cyangwa se "Colonel" Wasswa.....

Izo nyenzi nizo Museveni yadushumuriye zimwe zirapfa, izisigaye nizo zishakwinyizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda.

Urundi rugero rwa hafi ni igihugu cy'Angola. Ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola (MPLA) n'iz'ishyaka rya Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) zanasubira kubana. Nyamara tukibuka ko ari ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola cyangwa se iza Jonas Savimbi zigizwe n'abanyengola kavukire. Bose bakaba bararwanyije gashakabuhake (Portugal); baza gushwana nyuma none imirwano ni yose. Izo ngero zombi zirahagije kugira ngo tubone ko kwinjiza Inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda ari ikibazo gikomeye. icya mbere tugomba kumenya ni uko iryo yinjizwa rigomba kubahiriza amategeko agenga ingabo z'u Rwanda na disipline izigenga. Kugira ngo winjire mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba umunyarwanda ubishoboye, uri nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ukunda igihugu cyawe kandi ukabyerekana. Byaba byiza ubaye n'umuhutu n'ubwo ntaho byanditse. Yego u Rwanda si u Burundi aho ubwoko bumwe (abatutsi) bugize bwonyine ingabo. Ariko se na none...! Erega bene Musinga bazambya ibintu.

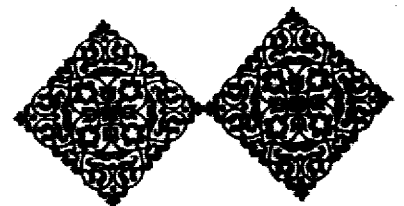
Kumenya inkotanyi y'umunyarwanda n'itarayo ni ikibazo. Bose blyfta impunzi z'abanyarwanda kandi tuzi ko ahubwo abanyarwanda mu Nkotanyi ari bake. Abenshi ni abazayirurwa, abarundi, abagande... Kuba rero nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ntitubitindaho kuko aho inyenzi zigeze zigaragaza. Twakwemera kugira ingabo zirirwa zica, ziba, zirya ivandu...? Kuba inkotanyi zikunda igihugu byo twe kwirirwa tubivuga. Tuvuge wenda ko u Rwanda ruhumirije rukaduhora, inkotanyi zishoboye ubusirikari ni zingaha? Zizaze zinyure mu myitozo yose abasirikare b'u Rwanda babona zirebere ko burya utabusya abwita ubumera.

Ikindi kibazo ni ukumenya umubare w'inzenzi nyarwanda mu Nkotanyi kugira ngo u Rwanda rutagira ingabo zirenze ubushobozi bwawo. Kuko bibaye ngombwa ko bagabanya abasirikare, mbona bari bakwiye guhera ku nyenzi. Kuko kugabanya ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo ni uko inyenzi zije byaba ari ukurenganya abasirikari b'u Rwanda kuko nta kosa bakoze kandi turacyabakeneye.

Ikindi abantu bakomeje kwibaza cyane ni ukuntu inyenzi zizabana n'abasirikari b'u Rwanda. Bamwe bati bazazimara uruhogohongo ngo keretse nibaziha ibigo byazu. Ibyo nabyo ntibishoboka. Ikibazo ariko gikomeye

kurusha ibindi, ni ukuntu inyenzi ziyite "inzofisiye" zashyirwa mu ba "ofisiye" b'ingabo z'igihugu. Kuko hari amategeko. Kugira ngo ube ofisiye mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba warangije amashuri yisumbuye, ugakomeza mu mashuri makuru ya gisirikari. Mu Rwanda tuzi cyane cyane (ESM) y'i Kigali na (ERM) mu Bubiligi. Ntishidikanya ko haba hari andi mashuri ya gisirikari, arahari rwose. Gusa icyo u Rwanda rutagomba kwihangana ni ririya tanga ry'amapeti mu nkotanyi bayagaba nk'ugaba inka. Mu Nkotanyi hari ba liyetona, kapiteni, majoro, koloneli ndetse na jenerali batazi gusomba no kwandika. Erega u Rwanda rugiyeye kugira aba ofisiye b'inkandagirabitabo. Baha ikarita akayifata icuritse nduzi ko ibyo kuyisoma byo bidashoboka. Ese u Rwanda ruramutse rutewe (tuvuge n'u Burundi), kandi birashoboka, inzirabwoba zatabarana n'abo bantu? Nimwibaze mwishyirizel

Kangura





Bucyana, Nsengiyaremye agatoki ku kandi.

NAROSE NSENGIYAREMYE ASHAKA KWIYUNGA NA BUCYANA.

Bamwe mu ba konseye ba Minisitiri w'Intebe Nyiricyubahiro Nsengiyaremye bamugiriye inama yo kwegera umushi Bucyana akamuryoshyaryoshya ngo areke kuyobora ishyaka ry'impuzamugambi zihararira Repubulika zikarengera n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi igizwe ahanini n'abahutu, ndetse ngo ahite arisezeramo. Nibwo Nsengiyaremye yatumizaga iyo ntarumikwa yitangiye gushimangira ibyiza twazaniwe na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959 aribyo Repubulika na Demokarasi bene Gatutsi n'ibiyitso bye (kubera inyungu zabyo n'iz'akare-re) bashaka kuburizamo. Iby'ingenzi mu kiganiro bagiranye kumara amasaha arenze abiri biteye bitya :

NSENGIYAREMYE : «Bwana Maritini Bucyana mwana wa mama, dusangiye akarere muri Nduga yaguye, byakubera byiza cyane uvuye muri iriya ngirwashyaka ry'abakiga, rya MRND, rya Habyarimana. Ku-ko naho waba ushyigikiye ko rihararira inyungu z'abahutu ntabwo twebwe muri MDR, PSD, n'andi mashyaka yiganjemo abahutu muturusha kubarengera, tuzirikana rwose iryo hame natwe. Ahubwo

iyo CDR yo irabashuka, yashyizeho n'abashaka kugundira ubutegetsi nk'ikirondwe ku mwite aribo bambari ba MRND kandi b'abakiga gusa gusa. Ese ubundi ko abandi bamaraga ku buminitiri imyaka cumi n'irindwi (17) nka Nsekaliye wowe bakujijije iki bakunukiriza MINITRANSCO hanyuma barangiza bakakujugunya mu mfunzo z'i Zaza aho umwana wawe arira nyirakuru na nyirasenge ntibumye. Nyamara unyumviye nagukungahaza ugasigara wicuza igihe cyose watereye mu gaco baguteretsemo. Turagira rwose ngo wibaze kandi mbivuze nkomeje, uriya Jenerali mu kishingikirijeho twamuvanyemo ubu ahubwo yabuze aho ahungira aba yarinyarukiye muri aho. Tuzagusananza amashyamba n'impundu, ibicuba by'amata n'imizinga y'ubuki kuko na cya kirara cyo muri Bibiliya ise na bene wabo bacyakiranye urukundo n'urugwiro.

Kandi ngarutse ku kibazo cy'abatutsi na FPR urabona ko ndi umuhutu uyu nyawe, ntabwo meze nka ba Twagiramungu, uhatanira ubuperezida cyangwa kunyambura uyu mwanya ndimo, bakemangwaho kuba barahinduye ubwoko. Nkiri n'umunyeshuri mu Bubiligi nijye na Ngulinzira babeshyera ngo ni umututsi twageturaga tukanasiyisha inyandiko zamaganaga ubwi-

kanyize bw'ubwoko nyamuke tugasaba ko rubanda nyamwinshi (majorité populaire) igizwe n'abahutu ihabwa umugabane uyikwiye mu butegetsi no mu bukungu bw'igihugu.

Nanjye ubwanjye nzi ku mutima ko FPR ariwe mwanzu wa mbere w'abahutu kuko na bariya ba Bizimungu, Kanyarengwe, Lizinde n'abandi bahutu ari udukingirizo two kwereka amahanga ko inkotanyi zitavangura amoko. Nah'ubundi FPR igamije inyungu z'abatutsi gusa. icyakora mujye munyumva umwanya ndimo no gushaka kwiteganyiriza iminsi ntibyatuma nerura nkamwe b'aba CDR.

Nzi ko kandi ariye ari undi muhutu wese abaye Perezida wa Repubulika inyenzi-inkotanyi (niwowe ariko mbwiye iryo jambo ry'inyenzi mw'ibanga!) zakomeza kurwanya ingoma ye. N'ibi byo kunsabira ububasha burenze ubw'umukuru w'igihugu ni uko zibwira ko mu gihe nkivuga rumwe nazo zaboneraho uburyo bwo guhirika Perezida uriho maze buhoro buhoro zikigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Nkimara no kumva ko zagabye ibindi bitero by'amaraso kandi turi mu mishyikirano nahise nzikuraho umutima kuko ibyo namaganiye ku Kibuye byasubiriye. Ariko nyine twebwe abafitanye ibibazo na Jenerali harimo abo mu majyepfo y'igihugu bese kuko yatwiciye abantu kandi akaduheza mu mashuri no mu myanya myiza y'ubutegetsi, mbese akatundiza muri byinshi, twasanze ko dufatanyije na FPR ifite intwari ikanaterwa inkunga ya politiki n'amahanga byarushaho kutworohera kujegera IKINANI n'akazu kacyo no kugihubuzwa ku ntebe y'Ubwami cyibwiraga ko cyarazwe n'Iyakare. None se wowe ntiwiboneye ko inkotanyi zatitije icyo kigirwamana bigatinda maze tukaba twaracyambuye n'ububasha bwose kiratanaga. Nah'ubundi ushyitse umutima munda ; nitumara kugera ku ntego yacu yo kwigarurira ubutegetsi tuzakoma akamo inzogera zigomba kwirenga zirenge. Bavuga ak'Abagogwe...»

KA02 1763

BUKYANA (asubiza) : «Nyakubaha Minisitiri w'Intebe sinkurusha ubwenge n'icyubahiro nubwo nkurusha ubukuru nkaba naranagutanzwe kubona izuba muri politiki. Ariko icyo nakumenyeshya ni uko mu byo wambwiye byose nta na kimwe gifite ireme. Muri iki gihe cya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi ntabwo wari ukwiye kugira ishyamba ryemewe watambamira ngo ntirivuge, ngo ntirigere ku butegetsi nkaho ari ubukonde cyangwa umurage bya bamwe. CDR si ishyamba ry'akarere, ntabwo riri mu kwaha ukwariko kose, si iry'umuntu ku giti cyeye. Si uko kandi nkomoka mu majyepfo byatuma nkuyoboka buhumyi cyangwa ngamije indonke iyariyo yose. Kandi udashatse kutubeshya icya Semuhanuka nta kuntu wavugaga ko wowe na ya mashyamba yunze ubumwe n'umwanzu murenge Repubulika mukagamiza n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu kandi mubagambanira. Koko nk'amashyamba MDR na PSD abanyarwanda benshi bari bariroshyemo bibwira ko ari PARIMEHUTU (yari yarasheshwe ku maherere na kudeta ya Habyarimana) na APROSOMA y'umurwanashyamba w'abahutu w'imena nyakwigendera Gitera bigarutse akwiye kurindagira peee, kugeza aho ahitamo gufata

nya n'inzoka Shitani-ntutsi ngo ni ukugira ngo agere ku butegetsi? Ko gishobora se kuzabakora. Nawe ubwawe wivugira ko FPR ari umwanzu, maze se noneho muyirusha ubwenge n'amayeri ku buryo mwazayigaranzukana, yo se irasinziriye? Ese ubwo mwibwira ko ibyo abatutsi bari gukorera Habyarimana kandi yari yarabimakaje bihagije ndetse birenze urugero cyangwa amarorerwa impunzi zimukorerwa kandi atari we wazimenesheje guhera mu 1959 we akiri ikibondo itariyo nyishyu iziturwa abagishimishijwe no gushyigikira izo nkoramaraso?

Ntawe rwose utagirana ikibazo n'undi. Nka Murego ntiyamara imyaka cumi n'ibiri (12) mu buroko azira ibitekerezo bye ngo abure kurwanya ubutegetsi bwamufunze. Twagiramungu ntiyaburá Sebukwe mu buryo budasobanutse maze ngo yongere kuvuga rumwe n'uwo yemeza ko abifitemo uruhare. Gatabazi ntiyakwishyizemo ko yashyizwemo akagozi n'abakiga ngo nawe ntababuze amahwemo. N'abanyagitarama ntibakwamburwa ubutegetsi ngo baterere agati mu ryinyo na rindi bakigereka urupfu rw'abanyapolitiki babo kuri Habyarimana na Lizinde. Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Bi-

zimungu (?) na Biseruka ntibashyamba umutego wari kuzabahitana ngo ntibihimure kuwo babona wawuteze. Ibyo rwose byo kwihorera no kwivuna umwanzu biri muri kamere y'umuntu.

Ariko ikidashobora gushyigikirwa no kwihanganirwa n'umunsi n'umwe ni ugushyamba kurimbura imbagaga y'abantu ngo ni ukugira ngo na wa wundi umwe wanga agwemo kandi utanizeye ko hari icyo azaba. N'ubutegetsi bashakaga kumutsumburaho ashobora kubukomeraho cyangwa kubukomezwaho ahubwo abamurwanyaga bagasigara aribo rumvumwa kuko babyifashemo bucucu na bunyamaswa. Ko ari nta mugabo se twari twumva watwitse inzu ye ngo ni uko yuzuyemo inyenzi cyangwa yinjijwemo n'inshira. Ni ikihe gihangange kw'isi cyananiranye koko; iyo kitavanywe ku ngoma n'amatora muri demokarasi gikurwaho n'izindi ngufu zitamarira rubanda ku masasu cyangwa zitayogoza igihugu, ... kandi no mu Rwanda sizo zibuze. Kandi jye niba unzi neza ntabwo nigeze mu buzima bwanyije ndarikira inyungu zo ku giti cyanjye bwite, mpangayikishwa buri gihe no guharanira no kurengeza iza rubanda nyamwinshi no kubumbatira umutekano wayo. Ngirango turumvikanye». Ndekezi Bonaparte.

INKUBA ZOSE NI KIRIMBUZI

Aho abaJDR biyise inkuba za zindi zo mu kirere nazo zagize ishyamba n'uburakari kuko abana b'abantu bashatse kuzigana. Nibwo zongereye ubumara n'ubukana bwazo ngo zitazahigwa n'abo zita utubwa two kumoka gusa. Mujye mwumva amatangazo abika, nta saha y'ubusa zitagaritse ingogo.

N'abaJDR rero nibakwete bakwete, bakaze umurego kugira ngo badatangwa igihembo cya mberere n'inkuba zisanze zihatanira cyo gutwika, kwasaguzwa no kwica inzirikarengane. Ariko nabo biyise nabi da, uretse ko ariyo zina ribakwiye koko. Ubusanzwe inkuba zibereye-ho guhekura ababyeyi, kugira abana

imfubyi, gukenesha abaturage zibicira amatungo, nta kandi kamaro rubanda ruzitezeho. Inkuba y'ingore yo ngo isya itanzitse, ntisiga ibuye na rimwe ku rindi.

H. Fr—X.

BATAGATIFU ABA MDR BABA-KOZEHO !

Abanyarwanda bari baritabiriyeye kwita abana babo izina «AGATA» kubera ko mukaperezida ariyo nawe yahisemo. None nta n'umwe ukemera kuribatizwa cyangwa kuryita uwe biturutse kumarorerwa n'ubushizi bw'isoni bya Minisitiri Uwilingiyimana «AGATA». Bababazwa n'ako kazina kari keza karpfuye ubusa kibwa n'inshinzi. Ari-

ko se aho abatagatifu benshi MDR ntigiye kubagerera. Dore nka BONIFASI, FAWUSITINI, PASIKARI NA DISIMASI basigaye bamaganirwa kure no mu kiliziya kubera ko inkuba ziyise ayo mazina zarushije Lusofero kubeshya, gutukana, kwiba, gusebanya, gusenya ngo barabohozwa, kwikunda bakanga abandi ndetse no kwica.

NY. F.

NDENGEJEHO NTAZI INYITO Y'AMASHYAKA.

Niba ari ubwinazi, niba ari «malhonnéteté» asanganywe, uwitwa Ndengejeho Pascal, Minisitiri

w'itangazabinyoma yumije abantu barimo n'abazungu kubera ko yise CDR «Coalition pour la Défense de la Majorité Populaire». icyako-ra CDR irwana nyine ku nyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ariko siyo nyito yayo izwi. Kuva uyu munsu Ndengejeho amenye rero ko inyuguti «R» = République.

Ubwo kandi yari abivuze mu mateshwa yatangarije Radiyo y'abafaransa RFI ku wa 9/2/93 igihe atagira isoni zo gushyigikira ibitero by'amaraso bya FPR—Inkotanyi hagati mu mishyikirano. Ngo ubwo yashakaga gusebya MRND na CDR na Perezida wa Repubulika atazi ko ari kwiyandagaza ubwe we

n'ubutegetsi bwose bw'u Rwanda burimo n'ubwa Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yose imbere y'amahanga. Yagombye no gushyikirizwa inkiko kuko yagambaniye igihugu n'imbaga y'abanyarwanda ashyigikira ibikorwa by'umwanzi mu ntambara anafatanyana nawe mu gukwiza ibihuha.

S.J.

«Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze, nta muhutu uba akiriho» (Perezida Gerigori KAYIBANDA)

Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda, Perezida wa Repubulika ya mbere yarababwiraga ni uko batumva. Yabwiraga abatutsi ukuri, akabumvisha ko ingoma ya gihake idateze kugaruka mu Rwanda. Abasaba kwima amatwi ababeshya ngo bazatsinda kandi bidashoboka. Nta gihe atashyize abatutsi kuva muri izo nzozo bagafatanyana n'abandi banyarwanda, ariko baranangira. Nimwisomere namwe izo diskuru ebyiri za Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda. Imwe yise "Ubutegetsi ni demokrasi" yavuze ku wa 29 Marsi 1964 yari igenewe inyenzi. N'indi yise "Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo" yavuze ku wa 10 avril 1964 ireba cyane cyane abategetsi batazi icyo demokarasi ari cyo. Ariko cyane cyane abategetsi bigize ibyitso by'inyenzi nka Nsengiyaremye. Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo.

Kangura

I. UBUTEGETSI NI DEMOKARASI.

Bana b'abatutsi,

Mumaze kubona aho u Rwanda runyuzwe guhera cyane cyane muri 1956, ruciye ku kiriba cya Mutara, ruvuye mu mwobo Ndahindurwa yarushyemo. Muzi mutirengagije ibyago u Rwanda rwagize cyane cyane muri novembri 59 no mu ntangiriro z'uwa 60; aribwo Demokarasi yarwanaga n'ubuhake, aribwo gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'abagaragu be baruhaga mu gisimu kibi. Bikabyara impunzi, inyenzi n'intimba n'abapfakazi.

Mwabonye uko twakuye u Rwanda mu gisimu Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa yarutayemo yihungira, tukaraha Demokarasi, n'ubwigenge n'ama-

horu. Murareba ibyo Leta ya Repubulika imaze gukora nyuma y'ubuhake, ndetse na nyuma ya Independansi: biragaragara, ni byiza. Dukurikiranye ku byuzuza.

Mwabonye impagarara tuvuyemo zitewe n'ubukubaganyi n'ubugome bw'impunzi z'inyenzi: abaturage b'i Nyamata barabizi, ab'i Bufundu barabibonye, ni mubishyire k'ubugome bw'akarande buri muri kamere y'ubuhake: Gashaka-buhake n'abagaragu be bahuganye nawe, ntibarareka gucukura igisimu cyabo cyo muri novembri 59. Barabigaragaje ejo bundi.

Babonye na none tubibarinze batura ubundi bugome: baradusebya baratubeshyera mu magazeti ngo twamazeho abatutsi mu Rwanda. Cyo nimumbwire mu kuri, iyo guhutu aramukana ubugome bwo gutsemba abatutsi biba byaragombye kugendera ku bitero by'inyenzi? Ubwanyu bamwe ntimubyivugira muti: "Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze nta muhutu uba akiriho keretse uwemeye ingoyi cumi z'ubuhake"? icyo dushaka twakibabwiye muri diskuru yacu yo ku wa mbere yuli 1963: Nimuhumukire Demokarasi, mukurikire umuco mushya w'u Rwanda, icyo dushaka n'ubuvandimwe ku baturage bose: Uko muzabidushobokera tuzabatsindisha impuhwe n'umuco mwiza. Nimunanira umuco mwiza muri Demokarasi, ntimuzagire uwo muveba.

Muzi ariko ko Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa na Rukeba n'inyenzi zabo bakifuzaga ko mwamera nkabo: uwagezweho n'ibitero by'i Nyamata ubu mbe se amerewe neza? Ubu amerewe neza kurusha uko yarameze mbere y'ibyo bitero by'inyenzi? Cyo nimuzirikane mwisubize mutishuka! Bamaze guhimba undi mudeli wo kubaroha muri cya gisimu. Dore uko uteye: babonye

inyenzi zabo ziburiyemo, n'ibisebo badusebya bibize icyo bifata, bahimba kuzajya baboherezamo ubwandiko bwa rwihishwa: bababwiramo ngo: "bazatsinda", ngo nimushyire hamwe, ngo intego bafite bazazigeraho".

Intego ya gashaka-buhake n'inyenzi ni iyo kubateranya n'igihugu cyahisemo Demokarasi: ni iyo kubagumisha mu bututsi (muzi icyo bivugaga mu Kinyarwanda gikuru); ni iyo kubagira abagome mu gihugu: kuko umuturage wizera Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa ho umwami aba agomera Repubulika. Ubwo bwandiko mujye mubujugunya cyangwa mubuzanire abategetsi ba Repubulika. Naho ubundi nabwo bwazabagera aho ibitero by'inyenzi byageze bamwe.

Icyo duharanira n'ubuvandimwe nyabwo mu banyarwanda bose n'amajyambere ya demokarasi ku baturage bose ba Repubulika. Nab'impunzi nta gihe tutababwiye ko bashatse kugaruka bagaruka, bapfa gusa gufasha intwari hasi no kureka amatiku n'urugomo n'ubuhake. Twarabababwiye tweruye mu matangazo menshi twavuze yerekeye iby'impunzi n'ubugome bw'inyenzi. Ejo bundi twanazisobanuriye ko zifasha abadindiza amajyambere y'Afrika yigenga. Siniriwe mbasubiriramo, bana b'abatutsi, ko ubuhake bwashize, ko ubwami bugenda bushiraho ku isi yose, ko demokarasi ariyo ntego y'Afrika yigenga n'iy'isi yose, ko gukoresha kurwana ari ubucucu no kuva kera; ndagira ngo gusa mwirinde uriya mudeli mushya wa gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze: ubwandiko bwabo bwa rwihishwa burabaganisha mu rwobo twari tumaze gukuramo abemeye demokarasi. Se uwaberurira? Ubwandiko gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze babasesezamo rwihishwa ni wa mudeli wo ku Rucunshu, ni ya-

genda turakize, ni babandi batwikaga babanje gushemba ibishangara, ni ya maso ya Kayijuka, ni ya nkota ya Nyirarukeba, ni cya gisimu cya novembri 59, twakibakuyemo, barashaka ko mugisubiramo.

Iyo mvuga kibyezi sinkikira amagambo; niwo muco w'umubyeyi w'igihugu muri demokrasi. Ndashaka ubuvandimwe bwa gahutu na gatwa na gatutsi n'abandi bose batuye u Rwanda. Ubwo bwandiko babasesezamo rwihishwa, ba gacumbabuhake Ndahindurwa n'inenzi ze, bufatanye n'ibinyoma bakwiza hirya no hino bizabagwa nabi. Hari naho bagiye gukwiza impuha mu bakuru ba Kiliziya gatorika b'i Roma, ngo leta y'u Rwanda yabambye Musenyeri Bigirumwami ku musaraba, ngo umuhutu wese ubonye umwana akajya kumujomba igikwasi? Ngo leta ya Republika yishe Padiri Gasore, ngo itsinda Padiri Kagame kuri Alitari! Mwese ntimubona abo banyacyubahiro hirya no hino bidagadura mu mirimo yabo? Ndetse turabifuriza gukomeza gukora imirimo ya Kiliziya y'Imana. Ngubwo bwa burozi na cya gisimu cyo muri 59. Ngibyo ibiri ku ruhande rw'innyuma ha bwa bwandiko babasesezamo rwihishwa.

Naho ku byerekeye ukwemeradini kw'Abategetsi b'ingero zose dufata kuyobora u Rwanda, gacumbabuhake Yohani Baptista Ndahindurwa n'inenzi ze barata igihe cyabo, nti-twemejwe no kuneza abazungu cyangwa gusangira nabo. Tuzi icyo twemeye, n'aho cyitaruriye ibyo gutwara isi. Ntabwo ukwemera kwacu twakugurana ibicumucumu byo gutera i Nyamata, cyangwa ngo tugushake mu bazungu b'ingegera z'ababurama nka ka Vullemin katorotse i Butare kamaze gusanga kashutswe n'inenzi kuvuga impuha. Sinabura kwibutsa abana b'abatutsi bahisemo amadini y'ubuprotestanti ko idini yanyu itagomba kuba igikoresho cya politiki ya metropole zo hirya amadini yanyu akomokamo: byongeye ubwanyu muzi uko Gahutu afashwe mu by'ubutegetsi bwo hejuru bw'amadini yanyu.

Ab'abaswahili muzi ko inama n'amateraniro yanyu ubutegetsi butigeze buyahungabanya iyo atica amahoro rusange y'abaturage. Muzi ko nanjye ubwanjye, hamwe n'abakozi ba leta batari abayisumu, nagiyeye nza kwizihiza iminsi mikuru isoza Ramadhan yanyu. Uwumvira amategeko ya Republika aba ari mu nzira nziza: ni

umwana w'igihugu nk'abandi bose. Mwese ari abagatolika, ari abaprotestanti, ari abayisumu, ari n'abandi muzi ko Konstitusiyi ya Republika ntawe iheza kubera idini yemeye. Mwibishukirwamo rero ngo mwakire ubwandiko rwihishwa bwoherejwe kubaroza. Nimurebe u Rwanda aho rugeze, murebe Afrika yose aho igana, mwemere demokrasi, muyikunde, muyirwanire ishyamba, mukoresheje amahoro mwibuke ko gukoresha kurwana ari ubucucu kandi byerekana ko nyirabyo nta kuri afite.

Twacyiye ubucancuro mu butegetsi n'urugomo mu baturage: nguwo umurongo Gahutu na Gatwa na Gatutsi mugomba gukurikira mwese. Turashaka ubuvandimwe n'ubwishyir'ukizana wumvira amategeko ya demokrasi, turashaka ubwira mu mirimo n'ubwitange ku murimo ukorera igihugu; nguwo umurongo Gahutu na Gatwa na Gatutsi mugomba gukurikira mwese. Bana b'abatutsi, ndababwira mu magambo make ibyerekeye uriya muderi mushya n'ubwandiko gacumbabuhake n'inenzi ze babasesezamo. Abaguye mu gisimu cyacukuwe na Gacumbabuhake barimo ibice bitatu:

1. Abazahitamo bakishakira gutura mu bihugu barimo, nibatureyo, bagwire, bagire Imana, isi yose n'iya twese.

2. Abazahuka kurwana (barwanisha imbunda, imiheto, ubwandiko rwihishwa, gusebya no kubeshyera Leta y'u Rwanda) bazahura n'ubutwari bwa Garde Nationale ariyo basirikare b'u Rwanda: uri inyuma y'igihugu aba ari inyuma, kandi gutera intambara ni ubucucu.

3. Abazahora bishakira amahoro, no kugaruka mu mahoro, muzabakira, abaturage mwese mubafashe kwicara neza muri demokrasi.

Naho mwebwe muri mu gihugu nimuhumure: abagihumye bahumuke bemere demokrasi kuko ariyo Afrika igamije. abahumutse, nimuhumure, turabashima, musigaje umurimo wo kudufasha guhumuriza abo bandi, mubumvisha ko ubuhake na cyami byazigurutse kera. Bamwe muri mwe bari mu mirimo ya leta, nimwitange mushinzwe n'abakoresha: ni ukuvuga abakuru banyu na rubanda, icyo mubona ko kitaratungana mukivuge kuko turi muri demokrasi. Turi abanyarwanda twese ariko sinshaka ko ab'abatutsi bananira ubuvandimwe.

Kigali, ku wa 29 marsi 1964
 Prezida wa Republika y'u Rwanda
 Gr. KAYIBANDA
 Sé



II. DEMOKARASI IZIRANA N'URUGOMO

Banyarwanda mwese,
Baturage b'u Rwanda mwese,

Ku itariki ya 28 Yanwari naba-bwiye ko Republika yacu mu ntego zayo z'ibanze, iya mbere ari amahoro mu baturage n'ibice byose n'inze zose. Nababwiraga ukuntu ayo mahoro twari tumazemo umwaka n'igice, cyane cyane guhera kuri Indepandansi yaramaze gukangwa n'impunzi zigize inyenzi zarateye Leta ibarwaho mwese, ariko cyane cyane ibuza utahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha kugira icyo yivangamo.

Turashimira ko igihugu cyatwumviye, gahutu agakomeza gushaka amahoro. Abahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha, ububasha bwa gipolisi, abafite umurimo w'ubusoda, abo bakozi b'igihugu bose turabashima ko bihatiye kurangiriza igihugu umurimo bahawe kugikorera. Ndashima umuturage utuririye k'ubushotore bw'inyenzi ngo agwe mu mucu mubi w'urugomo. Ku wa 28 Yanwari nabubukije ko demokrasi izirana n'umuco w'urugomo. Nimukomeze mwese mu nzira nziza yo kurinda demokrasi yacu: demokrasi izira urugomo. Ububasha buriho: hari abashinga amategeko, hari abayubahiriza n'abacamanza, n'abakozi b'igihugu bafasha abo bayobozi ba demokrasi bose. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abaturage bose, ari gahutu, gatwa na gututsi na ba Kanyamahanga u Rwanda rwugururiye. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abakozi bose b'igihugu iyo bava bakagera, abato n'abakuru.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abategeka bose, ubutegetsitsi babuherewe kurinda amahoro no kubwiriza abaturage bose inzira zizamurira umukiro w'igihugu. wa za Komini, w'ingo zose z'abaturage. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi urugomo rwatwikirizwa uburyarya busa

n'ubwa kera. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi mpamvu umuturage wese, n'iyi yabamutoya cyane, agiriye urugomo agomba kubigeza ku barinzi b'amahoro bari hafi ye. ari abategetsitsi, ari abacamanza. Abategetsitsi bose bagomba kumenya amahoro no guca urugomo bakurikiza amategeko n'umuco mwiza usanzwe. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu bihagarika amajyambere y'imirimo n'ay'ingo zanyu, urugomo n'imvururu ni umwanda mu bihugu byose, n'uwu byaturukaho wese, n'iyi babitwikiriza uburyarya, mwabonye abateye imvururu n'urugomo muri 59, aho byabataye: bizeye gutsindisha urugomo, imvururu n'uburyarya, bashinga twese turi maso, ariko twanga urugomo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abarwanashyaka b'amapariti yose ari mu gihugu. Bagomba kugira amahoro mu ishyamba ryabo: naho ubundi ntabwo igihugu na leta ya Republika byaryemeramo ishyamba nyaryo. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: Iryo jambo ndaryibutsa inama zose, ari iza Parti, ari iza Komini, ari iz'abategetsitsi bakoresha abaturage, ari Inteko Nkuru, ari Inama ya leta. Izisendereyemo ishyamba ry'amahoro niziya kwize mu zindi. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mubukire no mpu bukene, cyane iyo igihugu nk'icyacu kimirije imbere gushaka ibyakizamura. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyamahoro akwiriye kububahirwa, umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko afasha inyenzi, cyangwa ko ari icyitso cyazo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko aba abereye inyenzi icyitso n'inzira. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu ajye aregerwa abategetsitsi nabo babisuzume, nibashinga ari ukuri abihanirwe bakurikiza amategeko agenga umuco afatiwemo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: utinya kuregera abategetsitsi aba atarumva demokrasi. Ariko hariho no kurega by'urugomo: kurega ibitari byo ari ukubeshyera undi, cyangwa ari ugucumba amahari n'inzangano. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: igihe haba

umuturage ucumbeta amahari n'inzangano, aba atakaza umwanya wo gukorera igihugu, wo gukorera urugorwe, wo kungura demokrasi muri Republika: aba yigira icyitso cy'inyangarwanda z'inyenzi. Ntihakagire uwita undi inyenzi kuko ari igitutsi: namubona naho ubunyenzi nabyereke abategetsitsi bagenewe kubisuzuma maze yisubirire ku murimo we. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mumaze kumva mwese ko inyenzi ari icyo zikurikiranye mu bitero byazo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu byica igihe cy'amajyambere y'igihugu n'abaturage bacyo. Banyarwanda mwese, mbubukije iyo ngingo kuko muri demokrasi amahoro ku baturage bose ari ingingo y'amajyambere igomba kwitabwaho. Kwirinda urugomo n'imvururu ni itegeko ku muturage wese, ari umuto ari umukuru, ari umutegetsitsi ari n'utari we. Nta gihe mutabwiye abacamanza bose kugira umwaga cyane cyane kuri iyo ngingo ikomeye yo kuremya amahoro mu baturage. Nta gahato leta yashyizeho ngo umuntu abe mu iparti iyi n'iyi: icya ngombwa kuri bose ni ukoroherana, kwemera no gukurikiza amategeko; gutangaza mu kuri ikidatunganye, kuboneza programu igiye muri demokrasi, ariko akanga amahoro, nta kureba parti arimo agomba kubihanirwa, kuko guhunga urugomo n'imvururu ari itegeko ku muturage wese.

Ndashimira cyane abategetsitsi bose n'abaturage bose bihatiye kurwana urugomo igihugu cyatewemo n'ibitero by'inyenzi, ndashima umunyarwanashyaka wese wahagurukiye kuremya amahoro nta rugomo, nta mvururu, anyuze mu nzira y'amategeko y'igihugu. Umunyarugomo wese n'umunyamvururu arafasha ubugome n'uburyarya bw'inyenzi atabizi. Nimukomeze amajyambere ya Republika n'ay'ingo zanyu, muhorane n'amahoro y'Imana.

Kigali, ku wa 10 avril 1964
Prezida wa Republika
Gr. KAYIBANDA
Sé

Tube maso kuko imishyikirano y' Arusha ishobora kudasubiza ku ngoyi ya gihake twari twarasezereye muri 1959.

Abanyarwanda twese dushigikiye imishyikirano y'i Arusha ariko twanse akagambane k'amashaka amwamwe yagambaniye abanyarwa-

nda twese, agamije inyungu zayo bwite. Ntibyumvikana ukuntu mu Rwanda hari amashaka 16, ushizeho irya FPR yose akaba 17 ariko amashaka ari muri

Guverinoma yaja guhagararira abitwa abanyarwanda twese, kandi twese tukaba twibumbiye muri aya mashaka 17 yose, ariya mashaka rero ari muri guve-

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rinoma yari akwiye kumenya ko atari yo mashaka yonyine ari mu Rwanda. Kandi ko mu gihe hatarabaho amatora nta shaka na rimwe riruta ayandi. Mu isaranganya rero ry'inyuma ya guverinoma y'inziba cyaho nti hagombye gushira ayandi inyuma, hari ibijya bitangaza rero nk'iyonyumvise abakuru b'amashaka amwamwe nka MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, bavuga ngo abanyarwanda twese turareshya kandi ngo nta munyarwanda ugomba gukumira uwundi mu butegegi bw'igihugu cyane, mbese mbibarize, abanyarwanda n'abari muri MDR, PSD, PL, PDC gusa? Mbese abandi tutari muri ayo mashaka turapfa iki?

Kuva ubu mumenye ko abanyarwanda twese tutari muri ayo mashaka yanyu gusa ahubwo turi no muri ariya mashaka yose yandi uko ari 17. Niba bitabaye bityo nabwo nihabeho guverinoma ihuriweho n'aya mahuriro y'amashaka twese dusanzwe tutari MDR, PL PSD, FPR, PDC, mu ihuriro rimwe nk'uko amasezerano yanyu mwagiranye i Bruseri mu Bubiligi

abyemeza. Urundi ruhanda rwa kabiri, MRND, CDR, PECO, PARERWA, PARERWA, ubwo nibwo muzaba mwekanye ko muharanira amahoro y'abatwara rwanda twese, ariko n'ayandi mashaka atari muri ayo mahuriro abiri mvuze aho haruguru, ntiyokwibagirana mu zindi nzego z'ubutegegi bw'igihugu. Reka iyi ntambara turwana n'inyenzi nkotanyi imare imyaka ingana icya, inyenzi nkotanyi zabanje gushaka ibyitso byinshi cane, zigeze n'aho zifatira MDR, PSD, PL, PDC. Ubundi Habyarimana nawe igihe amenyeye ko ariya mashaka mvuze aho haruguru amaze guhana amasezerano y'ubufatane i Buruseri ntiyagomba gutuma iriya guverinoma ija kubeshya ngo ihagarariye u Rwanda muri iriya mishikirano kuko nkuko Banyaga yigeze kubivuga mu rwandiko yarungikiye abanyarwanda.

Niba rero Habyarimana atabona urwobo ashaka kuturohamo yakwegura hakiri kare niba adahagaritse iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye hakiri kare. Hakwiriye kujaho indi guverinoma ariyo yagiranira imishikirano na FPR

n'ariya mashaka yagiranye amasezerano nayo kandi iyo guverinoma igomba kuba iyobowe n'ishaka CDR. Kuko nk'uko bimaze kugaragara ko FPR yanka urunuka CDR, ibyo bikaba byaragaragaye aho FPR yanka ko CDR ija muri guverinoma. Ni ngombwa ko CDR yohura na FPR kuko ubwiyunge buba hagati y'abashamiranye aribo batutsi n'abahutu.

(NDLR: Iyi nyandiko twayoherejwe n'umunyarwanda w'umuhutu uba i Bujumbura mu Burundi. Ntimutangazwe rero n'uko harimo amagambo amwe n'amwe y'i Kirundi. Uwo muhutu amaze igihe kirekire muri icyo gihugu kimwe n'abandi bahutu b'abanyarwanda batari bake, bagiyeye gutera inkunga bagenzi babo b'abahutu b'i Burundi kugira ngo bigobotore ingoyi y'abatutsi. Nibakomere ku rugamba, ni aho mu kwagatandatu uyu mwaka dusezereye Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo).

Kuki abahutu batumva ko umwanzi wabo ari umwe ?

Mu gihe guverinoma y'u Rwanda irimo kurindagira mu mishyikirano ihujwe intumwa z'u Rwanda n'iza FPR-Inkotanyi mu mugwi wa Arusha muri Tanzaniya, inyenzi-nkotanyi zo zifitije undi mugambi. Nk'uko zabyerekanye zigitera tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, inyenzi zifite umugambi wo gufata ubutegegi ku ngufu kandi uwo mugambi ziracyawukomeyeho.

Iby'imishyikirano ibera Arusha (niba koko twayita imishyikirano) biratwibutsa uko Museveni n'inkotanyi (NRA) ze, yafashe Kampala, Tito Okello arindagira i Nairobi. Ntitugomba kwishinga amahanga. Imishyikirano siyo yatubuza kwirwanaho kuko byagaragaye ko ibihugu byinshi inyeshyamba zabifashe mpiri bene byo basinziriye ngo bashyikirana nazo. Tito Okello (Uganda), Mengistu (Ethiopia), Hissein Habré (Tchad), Siad Bare (Somaliya) n'abandi tutirirwe turondora, ntabwo bari biyanze. Natwe nitureba nabi, inyenzi ziradufata bukware! Nawe se wasobanura ute ukuntu mu gihe imishyikirano y'Arusha yitwaga ko yari igeze mu cyiciro cya nyuma, inkotanyi zayirengaho zigakomeza kugaba ibitero? Ubwo kandi icyo cyiciro cya nyuma cy'iyonyumvise abakuru b'amashaka amwamwe nka MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, bavuga ngo abanyarwanda twese turareshya kandi ngo nta munyarwanda ugomba gukumira uwundi mu butegegi bw'igihugu cyane, mbese mbibarize, abanyarwanda n'abari muri MDR, PSD, PL, PDC gusa? Mbese abandi tutari muri ayo mashaka turapfa iki?

gombaga gusuzuma ukuntu inyenzi-nkotanyi zakwinjizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda n'ukuntu impunzi z'inyenzi zatahuka, aho kugira ngo zigwe rwantambi. Erega n'ubundi babivuze neza ngo ubugiraneza bw'inkware bwayigongze ijosi!

Inkotanyi zo nyamara uwo mukiriwo siwo zirimo. Umugabo twatanga ni igitero zagabye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993. Ibyo bitere byaje bikurikiye imvururu inyenzi n'ibitso byazo nka Nsengiyaremye bari bamaze iminsi bateje mu gihugu. Iyo tuvuye ko abahutu bagomba kumva ko umwanzi wabo ari umwe, (inyenzi), abo tubwirambere nambere ni abahutu, n'abandi bakunda igihugu cyabo kuko barahari n'ubwo ari bake. Kuba duherereye ku bahutu, si uko aribo icyo kibazo kireba kurusha abandi. Abafaransa iyo bashakira kuvuga ko umuntu atareba kure bavuga ko kanaka "atareba kure kurenza izuru rye". Mu gifaransa bavuga ngo "(un tel) ne regarde (voit) pas loin que son nez". Ntaho bihuriye n'amazuru manini y'abahutu nk'uko bamwe babitekereza. Ahubwo mu Kinyarwanda niho babivuze neza ngo inda nini y'abahutu niyo izabakoraho. Kandi koko niyo izabakoraho.

Inyenzi zongera kwigabiza umugwi wa Ruhengeri n'uturere tumwe na tumwe twa Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, twatangajwe cyane n'imyifatire y'abakuru b'amashyamba amwe n'amwe mu gihugu. Iyo igihugu gitewe kuba cyatewe, abaturage bose baratabara, ingabo zabo zibarongoye imbere. Mu gihe abasirikari (abana bacu, barumuna bacu, bakuru bacu), baba bari ku rugamba baturengera, ngo abanyapolitiki, abenshi bahindutse ibisahiranda, birirwa bakorona ngo kanaka na kanaka (nta gihamba) niba bashoza imvururu. None se inkotanyi nizo zirimo gushakira amahoro. Kurasa abanyarwanda se niko guhosha imvururu ibyitso byazo byateye? Ikibabaje ni uko abarwanashyamba bashyigikiye ingabo zacu muri iki gihe basigaye ari bake. Tutabeshyeye keretse ahari impuzamugambi za CDR n'interahamwe za MRND (ukuyemo abatutsi b'ibitso). None se warwana ishyamba ute utanga igihugu cyawe?

Twibarize abahutu bo muri MDR, PSD n'abandi, niba Twagiramungu yaravanyemo aye, Nsengiyaremye aye. Ngurinzira aye, Gatabazi aye, niko inkuba mwese n'abakombozi amakotanyi yabagezeho! Bo bafite kontaro

bagiranye n'inkotanyi, bagomba kuyuzuzura. Uretse ko nabo ari inda nini zabo zibakoresha naho ubundi bagombye kugira isoni z'ibyo bakora Gatabazi ni umuzambiya (Butare). Twagiramungu we ni umunyekongo (uretse ko abeshya ngo ni umunyacyangugu), bombi bakaba ari n'ibisambo kabuhariwe. Ariko se Ngurinzira, kuba igisambo byo nibyo, ibyo ari byo byose, sibyo byatuma ashumuriza bene nyina inkotanyi ngo zibamarire ku icumu dore ko n'aho avukamuri Butaro zahigaruriye kera. Ikindi dukwiye kumenya ni uko inkotanyi ziramutse zifashe iki gihugu, ntakuvangura umuhutu w'i Gitarama, Butare, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi, cyangwa se Byumba. Abahu-

tu bose ni mu kagozi. Abanyabyumba na Ruhengeri nibo babizi kurusha abandi. Abatutsi bo ntawabishinga, kuko wenda bavuga ko ari bene wabo batahutse, "abana" bagarutse iwabo. Nabo ariko bari bakwiye kuzirikana ko inyenzi nizikomeza gushotora abahutu, uwo muteto uzahita urangira, abahutu bamaze kurakara.

Ko inda nini z'abahutu zizabako raho koko! Tugeze aho duterwa, Radiyo Rwanda, Radiyo y'igihugu, igatinyakuvuga ko twatweweninyenzi! Ngo ni abasirikare ba FPR bahangana n'aba guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Iyo Radio Rwanda ivugaga ko inyenzi zateye yari kuba iki? Twavugaga ko yahindutse Ra-

diyo Muhabura ngo ni aya Kangura

Twagiramungu niwe wigeze gusetsa rubanda ngo ya mashyaka akorana n'inyenzi (MDR, PSD, PL) yasinnye i Bruseri n'inkotanyi ntiyasinye n'inyenzi. Impuzamugambi, Simbizi Stanislas imureba mu gihorihori iramusubizirira. Uko ushaka? Ubundi se koko inkotanyi n'inyenzi zitanyije he?

Kangura

CYANGUGU :

TWAGIRAMUNGU YAMARIYE URUBYIRUKO MU NKOTANYI.

Hejuru y'inkunga itubutse y'amafaranga Twagiramungu Faustin yakusanyije mu bacuruzi bamwe na bamwe bari mu mashyaka yabanguriye ku Nkotanyi, uwo mugabo akomeje kurarura urubyiruko rwo muri Perefegitura ya Cyangugu arushora mu Nkotanyi. Ibyo abashukisha ni byinshi : bamwe ababeshya ko inkotanyi zizabashakira akazi mu mahanga, abandi akabaha amafaranga, abandi akabizeza amashuri.

Ayo mazina akurikira ni ay'abana n'imiryango yabo bacikiye mu Nkotanyi bararuwe na Twagiramungu. Banyacyangugu ngabo abazabamarisha urusasu. Nimukurikize inama Minisitiri w'intebe yabagiriye yo kwirwanaho kuko inzego zishinzwe kubarinda zisa n'izadohotse. Kangura izakomeza kubagezaho ukuntu urubyiruko rw'abatutsi rugenda buri muni mu nkotanyi.

Ni ngombwa ko abatwage babwizwa ukuri ku bitero by'inyenzi. Abantu bose baba bazi andi mazina y'abantu bakomeje kujya mu nyenzi batwunganira, Umusazi aravugaga

akagwa ku ijamba. Kangura irashimira Nsengiyaremye kubera ya disikuru ye yavuze (bimuvuye ku muhutu), asaba abatwage kwirwanaho. Nakomereze aho uretse ko inkotanyi zizabimubaza kuko yatengushye umugambi yari afitanye nazo. Dutegereje icyo azatangaza ku bitero by'inkotanyi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba. Dore ko Radiyo y'Ubufaransa yumvikaniye i Kigali, tariki ya 9 Gashyantare 1993 yemeje ko Nsengiyaremye yari aza neza ibya biriya bitero.

Kangura.

Lisiti y'abagiye mu nkotanyi :

Commune GISUMA :

AMAZINA	IZINA RYA SE	IZINA RYA NYINA	SELIRE	SEGITERI
1. KABAHIZI Célestin	KABAHIZI Sémph.	MUKANDEKEZI	Karambo	Shagasha
2. KAYIRANGA	BIGIRIMANA	NYIRAMPAKANIYE	Karambo	Shagasha
3. SAGATWA	SEKIGWARI	NYIRANTAMA	Nyagatare	Shagasha
4. NKURUNZIZA Narc.	RWATANGABO	IYAMUBONYE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
5. NYIRAHIRWA	SEKARAHENYE	NYIRAMUJYAMBERE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
6. BUREGEYA Martin	RUSELI Gaston	MUKAMUGOBOKA	Kanoga	Shagasha
7. NAKANONKO	MUSAMBI	NYIRAMAKOMA	Shagasha	Shagasha
8. RUBANZA Bruno	NYANDWI Well.	MUKARUHARA	Gitwa	Isha
9. NKURUNZIZA Gr.	KAJANGWE Déo	NYIRAMUHIGO	Kamashangi	Isha
10. RUGAMBWA Léon	HATEGEKIMANA J.	MUKANGANGO J.	Gahurubuka	Isha
11. NKURUNZIZA Egide	KAGANDA Claudien	MUKANKUSI	Kigenge	Isha
12. KARAMIRA Berch.	KAREMERA	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
13. RUTAYISIRE Emm.	MUHUTU	NYIRABATUNZI	Kamashangi	Isha
14. HABIMANA Yuvensi	KAGABO Vénuste	NYIRAMUCYO	Kamashangi	Isha
15. SINANGABATWARE	SEBATWARE	MUKAKABUTENI	Kamashangi	Isha

16. MBYAYINGABO L.	MUREKEZI D.	NYIRARWIMO	Kamashangi	Isha
17. KALISA Védaste	NDAZITATIYE	MUKANGABONZIZA	Karora	Giheke
18. MUZIRAGUHUNGA V.	RUVUZAMABANO	NYIRAMUTARUTWA	Karora	Giheke
19. NKERAGUTABARA	—	MUKAMPIRWA	Karora	Giheke
20. KAREMERA V.	NTAKAZARIMARA	MUKARUGOMOKA	Karora	Giheke
21. NZEYINGORO Fr.	RUZINDANA	NYIRABAGWIZA	Cyendajuru	Giheke
22. NTAKIRUTIMANA	FATAKANWA	MUKANYANGEZI	Karora	Giheke
23. RWASIBO J.	SEZIBERA	MURUNGINAYO	Murambi	Giheke
24. GATERA Théophile	KAYITARE Thacien	MUKANDORI	Gashwati	Bumazi
25. KABERA Tharcisse	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
26. RWIGARA	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
27. Nsengiyumva—Biregeya	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
28. KAYITARE	FATAKE	IZABIRIZA	Kigaga	Mwito
29. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	Kigaga	Mwito
30. SIBOMANA	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	Kigaga	Mwito
31. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	Kigaga	Mwito
32. RUTAYISIRE Déo	MARAMUKE N.	NYIRABAKAMISHA	Gasheke	Biguzi
33. TWAGIRAYEZU Emm.	HUKU Dominique	NYIRANDUHURA	—	Gashirabwoba
34. RWAGACONDO Th.	HATEGEKA L.	NYIRARUGOMOKA	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
35. KAYITERA Félix	MUDAKIKWA V.	MUKARUKORO	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
36. KAGERUKA Alph.	KANYANKORE	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
37. NIYIBIZI Félix	NZOGIROSHYA	—	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
38. SIBOMANA	KANYEMبارI	MUKANDEKEZI	Kagatamu	Gashirabwoba
39. NKURIYINGOMA	SEMANYENZI	—	Ruginga	Gashirabwoba
40. GATETE	KAGIGIRA Tr.	KAMPIRWA Anstl.	Gashirabwoba	Gashirabwoba
41. SIBOMANA Valens	KANYEMERA Ch.	MUKANKWAYA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
42. BAKAREKE Th.	KAVUBI Juvénal	NYIRAMAJYAMBERE	Gakwisi	Gashirabwoba
43. NSENGIMANA V.	SEBARWANYI P.	MUKARETA	KAGATAMU	Gashirabwoba
44. KARANGWA Silas	MUNYANKINDI I.	MUKARURANGWA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
45. KAYIRANGA	KANYANKORE V.	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
46. BUKOMBE Damien	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
47. NKUNDABAGENZI	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
48. UWANKUNZE Emm.	MUSIRIKA	MUKANYANGEZI	Kamuhaza	Munyove
49. NIYONZIMA	NDABAHIMYE	MUKARUGOMOKA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
50. UMURISA Désiré	SEBUHURA In.	MUSABENDE	Kamuhaza	Munyove
51. BUCYANA J.M.V.	RUGAMIKO	KANDAMAGE	Impala	Munyove
52. SINDAYIGAYA	MUGARURA Zach.	—	impala	Munyove
53. KABERA	NYIRINKINDI	KAMUGURWA	Impala	Munyove
54. VALENS	NDINDABAHIZI	KAMUGURWA	Munyove	Munyove
55. KAYITERA Alphonse	GASHATI	MUKAMUNANA	Rwinkwavyu	Munyove
56. HARINDINTWARI	RUTEBUKA	N.HATEGEKIMANA	Turambi	Munyove
57. KALISA	HAVUGIMANA D.	NYIRABAGIRISHYA	Turambi	Munyove
58. NZARUGANURA Jean	IYAMUREMYE Ci.	NYIRAKUREBA	Rwega	Munyove
59. HABIYAMBERE J.P.	HABIYAMBERE A.	—	Kamuhaza	Munyove
60. NTEZUMUREMYI Roger	—	MUKANKURANKA	Mucuzi	Bushenge
61. HABARUGIRA Marc	GASHUGI Gratien	KANYANJA Joséphine	Gasumo	Bushenge
62. KABANDANA Anicet	KAJEGUHAKWA	KAMAGAJU	Kanazi	Rusambu
63. UYISABYE Pierre	RWIZIHIRWA Fr.	NYIRAMASANDUKU	Ryakigaju	Rusambu
64. MURENZI Eustache	RINDIRO Théodore	NYIRABAKUNGU	Kigenge	isha
65. KARANGWA Félix	KAREMERA V.	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
66. SIBOMANA Bosco	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	—	Mwito
67. KAYITARE G.	FATAKE A.	IZABIRIZA	—	Mwito
68. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	—	Mwito
69. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	—	Mwito
70. HABYARIMANA A.	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
71. UZABAKIRIHO Emm.	MUHORANDE	MUKAMURIGO	Kanazi	Rusambu
72. HARERIMANA Th.	GATAMOBWA	NYIRABUJANGWE	—	Gashirabwoba
73. SENTORE	MAGEZA	—	—	Gashirabwoba
74. RUTAGAMBWA Oscar	HATEGEKIMANA	M.RUHIGIRA Th.	Kamashangi	Isha

75. RUZINDANA	BIPFUKO	MUKABAZOZA	—	Gashirabwoba
76. SINGIRANKABO	KAMENDE	BAMPIRE	—	Mwito
77. SIBOMANA	KAGENZA	—	—	Mwito
78. BUKOMBE Afrodis	BUKOMBE	MUKARUTEBUKA	—	Mwito
79. HATEGEKIMANA Jean	MUNYANGABE	NYIRAHABIYAMBERE	—	Mwito
80. NKUSI Viateur	NSANZURWIMO S.	NYIRAFUKU	—	Bugungu
81. NSENGIYUMVA Evariste	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE	—	Bugungu
82. JEAN	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE	—	Bugungu
83. RWABIGWI Félix	RUZINDANA	MUKANDUTIYE	—	Remera
84. NYAMINANI	MAFUREBO	NYIRAGUKURA	—	Remera
85. IYAKAREMYE Jacques	RUHARA	NYIRANEZA	—	Remera
86. KATABARWA Th.	NGABOYIBWAMI	UMUHOZA	—	Remera
87. NDAGIJIMANA Gaspard	MUNYANDENZI	KANGABO	—	Remera
88. SILIRO	MPAKANIYE	—	Buganza	Ruhoko
89. TURATIMANA	MBARUBUKEYE	—	Rusayo	Gashonga
90. MURENZI	MUNYANGEYO	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
91. VICTOR	NKUNDANYIRAZO	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
92. JEAN	NDAZIRAMIYE	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
93. RUGIRA Léo	NDABAGAYE F.	N.MANNYWA	Busekera	Gisagara
94. KARIMUMVUMBA Innocent	RUZIGAMANZI R.	—	Busekera	Gisagara
95. RUKERIKIBAYE	SEBAHARA Bernard	—	Muti	Gisagara
96. MUKESHIMANA Théodor	GATERA Victor	M.NTAGARA	—	Gashonga
97. NSENGUMUREMYI Anaclot	NIYITEGEKA Em.	UWANKWERA	—	Gashonga
98. NKUNZIYINGOMA Théodore	KAMANURA	KANKINDI	—	Gashonga
99. RUSESABAHIZI Aloys	RWABAHIZI	N.NDAYAMBAJE	—	Gashonga
100. AKAYEZU Gervais	RUGIRABABIRI	N.MUGISHA	—	Gashonga
101. NGENDAMANYOVU Charles	MBANZAGUKEBA	N.MUJYAMBERE	—	Ntenyi
102. NTABWABO J. Baptiste	NIYIBIZI Théon.	UZAMUSHAKA	—	Gashonga

COMMUNE CYIMBOGO.

103. NZEYIMANA Th.	SUSA	MADAMU	Kabaha	Mibilizi
104. KAYUMBA Jean	TWAGIRAMUNGU	M.NKUSI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
105. NDAGIJIMANA I.	BURAYOBERA	—	Kabaha	Mibilizi
106. UWAMUGENGA J.B.	NTAMAKEMWA	NYIRARUGENDO	Kabahinda	Mibilizi
107. MUHIRWA Ferdinand	MUZEHE	NYIRAKABILIZI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
108. KAGAME Athanase	KAYIBANDA	—	Kagikongo	Mibilizi
109. JOSEPH	BURAYOBERA	—	Kabaha	Mibilizi
110. VALENTIN	BERNARD	MUKARUKAKA	Gahinza	Winteko
111. MUGIRANEZA J.C.	HABAKURAMA	NYIRABUZURU	Gahinza	Winteko
112. KAMANZI Félix	HAVUGIMANA	—	—	Winteko
113. KAYIGIRE Déo	—	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
114. NKURUNZIZA Jean	Ntamabyaliro	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
115. MPAMO Thomas	Biniga	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
116. KARIYOPI	Kajeguhakwa	—	—	Nyakarenzo
117. NSENGUMUREMYI V.	SEMANYWA	—	Miko	Nyanyinya
118. MUKESHAJAMBO J.	NSANZURWIMO	—	Miko	Nyanyinya

COMMUNE GAFUNZO.

119. TWAGIRAYEZU A.	SANDURUME	MUKAGAKWAYA	Karango	Mukoma
120. BAKAREKE Félicien	RUBERANGABO	KANGABE	Karango	Mukoma
121. BUHIRE Eliézer	GASHEREBUKA	KAMANYANA	Bukoro	Nyabitekeri
122. Kayinamura V.	KARÉKEZI	NYIRARWIMO	Bukoro	Nyabitekeri
123. MARIOSI Pierre	MARIOSI	MUKANDUTIYE	Karambo	Shangi

Perezida wa Repubulika ategereje iki ngo asezerere gashozamvururu Nsengiyaremye

Twari tuzi ko ikiranga umugabo Nsengiyaremye Dismas ari ubuswa gusa dore ko yabyerekanye bihagije. Ariko uwo mugabo ahishe n'ibindi byinshi. Iby'ubugambanyi byo twari tubizi, ariko agomba kuba ari n'umugome n'indyarya. Umuntu uzi neza ko ari mu ba mbere bashinzwe iki gihugu, akaba ashaka kukiroha mu yindi ntambara n'iya mbere itari yarangira? Nsengiyaremye wagira ngo intambara turwana n'inyenzi- nkotanyi ntiha gije akaba ashaka n'iyi hagati mu gihugu.

Nsengiyaremye urebye niwe nyirabayazana w'imvururu zimaze iminsi zivugwa mu gihugu cyacu cyane cyane muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Nawe se umuntu woshya abaturage ngo batemane! Iyo abwira abaturage ngo birwaneho, aho aba atekereza ingaruka z'ayo magambo? Yarangiza akigira nyoni nyinshi. Nibarize Nsengiyaremye, abaturage birwanaho batewe na nde? Erega n'umumotsi wa Nsengiyaremye, Pascal Ndengejeho akihandagaza ngo shebuja ntiyavuze ko... yashakaga kuvuga ko... Ntiyabonye uko abaturage bihagararaho! Ibibera mu Rwanda bisa n'ibibera muri Zaïre, aho Minisitiri w'Intebe Etienne Tshisekedi kimwe na Nsengiyaremye, arimo gukongeza igihugu ngo ni uguhimana. Perezida Mobutu we rero ntavugirwamo! Yafashe icyemezo cyo gusezerera Guverinoma itagira icyo ikora na nyirayo Tshisekedi. Sinzi icyo Perezida Habyarimana we ategereje ngo asezerere umuntu waranzwe n'ubushobozi buke kariya kageni. Nta kibuze kandi ngo ibyo bikorwe dore ko anabifitiye uburenganzira ahabwa n'itegeko-nshinga. Buriya ubwo ari Perezida Habyarimana wasanga agisana imitima! Azasana ageze ryari?

Perezida wa Repubulika nafate ibyemezo ibintu bitaradogera.

Habyarimana ntawe umubijije gushishoza, kwitonda, nk'uko du-

sanzwe tubimuziho. Ariko hari igihe umukuru w'igihugu agomba gukora akazi abaturage bamushinze kuko niwe bibazwa. Muri iki gihe hari ipiganwarikabije hagati ya Minisitiri w'Intebe na Perezida wa Repubulika. Iryo piganwa, dushatse twakwita «ipinganwa», usanga riterwa ahanini no kwiyorosha gukabije kwa Perezida Habyarimana, gutuma Nsengiyaremye yiyumva mu rwego atarimo. Ubundi uko ahandi bigenda, Minisitiri w'Intebe ni umukozi (umufasha) wa Perezida wa Repubulika, ntabwo Minisitiri w'Intebe ari Perezida wa kabiri mu gihugu. Kandi demokrasi ni imwe kw'isi hose, nta kuvuga ngo mu Rwanda dufite uko twumva demokrasi gutandukanye n'ukw'ahandi. Ikibazo kimaze iminsi cyarateye rwaserera mu Rwanda, atari na ngombwa, ngo ni icyo kumenya ugomba kuyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mishyikirano ibera Arusha.

Perezida wa Repubulika niwe wenyine ufite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mahanga, akabikora mu izina ry'abanyarwanda ahagarariye. Perezida wa Repubulika amaze kubona ko Ngurinzira Boniface atashoboye gusohozza neza ubutumwa guverinoma yari yamushinze, yamushimbuje undi, uwo ni Gasanga James, Minisitiri w'Ingabo. Ejo bundi Nsengiyaremye muri ka gusuzuguro asuzugura umukuru w'igihugu, ati ntibishoboka. Ngo Gasanga azayobora intumwa z'u Rwanda inshuro imwe, Ngurinzira indi nshuro, n'inyenzi Ndasingwa Landowalidi nayo ngo iryo shema azaribona. None se buri muntu azasinya amasezerano ye, undi asinye aye, dufate ayahe, tureke ayahe? Amasezerano Ngurinzira Boniface, intumwa bwite ya Nsengiyaremye, yashyizeho umukono, aho atugeze nitwe tuhazi, ay'inyenzi Ndasingwa Lando azasinyana na bene wabo Arusha yo tuzayakira? Ni ugu-shiduka zageze i Kigali! Amakosa, ubugambanyi, ubuswa bwa Nse-

ngiyaremye bugiye gutuma n'abaturafashaga badukura ho amaboko. Nsengiyaremye ntiyasanze iki gihugu cyihagazeho, amahanga acyemera? None dore!

Twese rwose dushyigikiye ko imvururu zahosha, abazigizemo uruhare bagahanwa. Ariko hari ibyo dukwiriye kwitondera. Anketi zizakorwa ku bategetsu baba baragize uruhare muri izo mvururu cyangwa se ngo baba batarashoboye gukora akazi kabo neza, ntizizabe urwitwazo rwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi w'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategetsu bazibangamiye. Ntawe uyobewe ko Nsengiyaremye afite ikiraka cy'inyenzi yiyemeje kugeza ku bategetsu. Aha turasaba Perezida Habyarimana kuba maso, ntibamusinyishe amatiku, azarengere abarengana. Cyangwa se Perezida wa Repubulika azabe nk'umwe mu ba minisitiri be bo hambere, umusaza Ildephonse Musafiri bavuga ko yisinyiye kwegura (démision) atabizi kubera uburangare!

Ikindi twasaba Perezida wa Repubulika gusuzumana ubwitonzi, ni ubushotozi bwa Nsengiyaremye. Nawe se wakumvisha umuturage ute ukuntu abatutsi bavanywe mu byabo n'izi mvururu kubera ubwirasi bwabo, bategeka ko babagoboka, bakanabababwira mu byabo, mu igihe abo inyenzi zirukanye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba, bacyangara? Abo batutsi se bategereje amasezerano y'Arusha icyo azageraho nk'uko abandi bakomeje gutegereza ari nako babasukaho amasasu nkanwe abacumbikiye na Padiri! Naho ibyo kuvuga ngo bazabuzabwira ibinyamakuru kuvuga ukuri, ntibishoboka kuko ni nko gusubiza igihugu cyacu inyuma nk'icyinyejana cyose! Dushyize mu gaciro, niba hari umutegetsu ugomba guhanwa kubera imvururu zabaye, uwa mbere ni Nsengiyaremye ubwe, abandi bakaza nyuma.

Kangura

BURUNDI: BUYOYA azava ku butegetsu muri Kamena 1993.

Abahutu b'i Burundi bari bamaze imyaka irenga magana ane ku ngoyi y'abatutsi, baba bari hafi kuruhuka. Perezida w'u Burundi, Major Petero Buyoya (Buhinja), wari amaze imya-

ka itanu akandamiza imbaga y'abahutu amaze kubona ko ibintu byamukomeranye, yiciriye urumukwiye. Ku wa gatanu tariki ya gatanu Gashyantare 1993, yatangaje ko mu kwezi kwa ga-

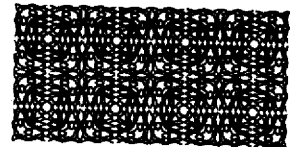
tandatu uyu mwaka, ari bwo hazaba amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ay'abadepite. Ayo matora agomba gusiga byanze bikunze rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi ifashe



Abahutu bamwe na bamwe b'inkwakuzi, babonye ibintu bikabije bene wabo bakomeza gushirira ku icumu biyemeza gushyiraho ishyaka ry'abahutu b'i Burundi, PALIPEHUTU. Abaturutsi ntibari basinziriye, bahise bivugana inkwakuzi zafashe iya mbere, GAHUTU Remy baba baramwiringije.

Igihe kirageze ngo abahutu b'i Burundi babe maso, bakanguke, kuko amaraso bamennye arahagije. Nibongerera kurangara nibo bizagaruka. Nibime amatwi biriya Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo birirwa bababeshya ngo mu Burundi nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa, ubayo. Ngo umurundi ni umurundi gusa, nta bwoko agira. Wajya kumva ngo abahutu n'abatutsi basubiranyemo! Ayo moko se kandi aba avuye he ko abarundi ari bamwe. Abahutu b'i Burundi nibime amatwi biriya bifutero Buyoya abapakira ngo ni "Charte de l'unité nationale" ari byo yita "ubumwe" bw'abarundi. Nyamara ari amayeri abatutsi barimo gukoresha ngo bongere bagwe abahutu gitumo. Abahutu b'abarundi nibahagurukire rimwe barwane ku nyungu zabo. Kuki ishyaka ry'abo, PALIPEHUTU ritemerwa ku mugaragaru. Rero ngo riravangura! Se ubundi bishoboka bite ko abarundi bose baba bamwe, bagatekereza kimwe? Mbe nka wa muririmbyi w'umwirabura wo muri Amerika Peter Tosh ati: "Get up... Stand up... Fight for your Rights" (Muhaguruke, muhagarare, murwane ku burenganzira bwanyu).. Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo!

KANGURA



ubutegetsi binyuze mu nzira ya demokrazi. Uretse ko ari ahabagabo!

Ni ukwitonda. Umututsi Buyoya atangaza biriya, nta gushidikanya ko atariyabumvikanyehon'abatutsi bene wabo. Bakaba barateganyije ukuntu bazaburizamo ariya matora cyangwa se barateganyije undi mututsi ushobora gusimbura Buyoya. Bityo abahutu b'i Burundi bagize 85 ku ijana by'abarundi bose bakaguma mu bucakara. Ntawe byatangaza. Buyoya yemeye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi biruhaniye. Yabanje kubeshya ko iyo politiki ngo ari yo gutanya abarundi. Ubwo yashakaga kuburizamo ibitekerezwa by'imbaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu, abatutsi bene wabo bakandamije kuva kera. Abafasha igihugu cy'u Burundi (bailleurs de Fonds), nibo babereye ibamba uwo mwicanyi bamutegeka kwemera ishingwa ry'amashyamba menshi aho mu Burundi. Buyoya abuze ukubagira yiga undi mutwe. Atanga itegeko ko amashyamba avugira rubanda rw'abahutu atemerwa nk'andi mashyamba.

Uwo mugambi awushinga umuhutu w'icyitso, Faransisko NGEZE, ushinzwe "intwari yo hagati" (Minister). Sibwo PALIPEHUTU ayihinduye ngo ni agatsiko k'abicanyi! Biba n'urwitwazo rwo koreka abahutu batagira ingano nk'uko bakuru be, Micombero, Bagaza n'abami babigenje.

Amateka y'u Burundi atwereka neza ukuntu abahutu b'i Burundi birangayeho mu mwaka w'1959 igihe bene wabo bo mu Rwanda bipakururaga ingoyi ya cyami. icyo gihe abatutsi bari ku ngoma mu Burundi bashukishije abahutu baho ishyamba UPRONA ryabeshyaga ko riharanira ubumwe bw'abarundi. Nyamara byaje kugaragara ko ryari ishyamba ry'abatutsi. Abahutu aho gushinga ishyamba ribarengera, bata igihe cyabo ngo bari muri UPRONA. Ingaruka z'ubwo burangare zaje kubageza kure. Muzi abahutu bapfuye ku "ntwari" ya Micombero, Bagaza, Buyoya... uko bangana. Ubwo kandi ni nako bagikomeza ku babeshya ko abarundi bose bibumbiye mu "mugambwe" umwe wa Uprona.

Iminsi ya nyuma ya BUYOYA

Ingoma ntutsi y'igitugu y'umugabo Petero Buyoya w'u Burundi igeze mu minsi ya nyuma na nyuma. Kuko rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu b'i Burundi iri hafi gufata ubutegetsi izakusha amatora azaba muri Kamena 1993. Nk'uko ntawe upfa atasambye, Buyoya nawe ni uko. Yiyenyeje ku Rwanda igihe kirekire ariko aho ageze noneho umenya ashaka kwiyahura. Ngo u Rwanda nirwo rusabota demo-

krasi mu Burundi da! Ubundi se hari demokrazi yigeze muri icyo gihugu?

Muzi ukuntu umuyobozi w'ikinyamakuru Kangura yatotejwe mu minsi ishize, agafatwa, agafungwa bitegetswe na Buyoya. Ubwo kandi ni nako wa muswa muri politiki, Nsenziyaremye Dismas yirirwa aremesha inama za guverinoma ngo zo kwiga ikibazo cya Kangura. Ntitwakwirirwa

tunatinda ku mahomvu y'umumotsi we, Pascal Ndengejeho wirirwa amoka kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo Ngeze Hassan arasopanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Emwe, nta nama n'imwe y'umutekano itarigiwemo ikibazo cya Kangura ngo barashimisha Buyoya kugira ngo akomeze amarorerwa ye yo kwica abahutu b'i Burundi nta nkombyi.

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Igitangaje ni uko Buyoya atituye u Rwanda ineza rwamugiriye rwemera gufunga Ngeze ahubwo akaba yarashumuriye ibinyamakuru byo mu gihugu cye tuzi ko bivugira abatutsi n'inkotanyi. Muri iyi barwa ikurikira, ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Bujumbura arashyira ahagaragara ubushotoranyi bw'ibinyamakuru by'abatutsi b'i Burundi wagira ngo bihemberwa gusebya u Rwanda. Buyoya ntazongere rero kwikoma Kangura nivuga akari imurore ku mafuti ye.

(NDLR: umwimerere (originale) w'iyo baruwa uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa).

Kangura

dependant'' zisebya u Rwanda ngo rubabwira inzira ya Demokurasi u Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira. icyo kinyamakuru cyakomeje kubeshyera u Rwanda kugeza kuri N° 47 yasohotse tariki ya 5 Mutarama 1993 yemeza ko inzego zishinzwe umutekano mu Rwanda ngo zaba zaragerageje kwivugana umuyobozi w'ishyamba FRODEBU, yanditswe n'uwitwa B. Barutwanayo.

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda mu Burundi irasaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'igihugu cy'u Burundi kuyisobanurira icyo bene izo nyandiko zigamije mu gihe guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatangaje inshuro nyinshi ko ishyigikiye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi mu Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira, inifuriza icyo gihugu kuzayisoza neza.

Nk'uko Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi izi neza ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe, ni muri urwo rwego igomba kwiyumvisha ukuntu ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yakomeje kwihanganira inyandiko zisebanya zagiye zisohoka mu binyamakuru "indépendant" na "carrefour des idées". Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura ikaba isaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi gukoresha ubushobozi bwose ifite kugira ngo iryo tiku rerekere aho. Ibyo bizatuma umubano mwiza, ubwumvikane no kutishishanya busanzwe biranga Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'iy'u Burundi bisagombye.

Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Burundi ibaye ishimiye Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi ingoga izakirana icyo kibazo.

Bujumbura tariki ya 12-01-1993
Uhagarariye u Rwanda i Bujumbura
Sylvestre UWIBAJIJE
Sé

Repubulika y'u Rwanda
Ambasade y'u Rwanda
i Bujumbura

Bujumbura, tariki ya 12-01-1993

Kuri Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'igihugu cy'u Burundi

Bujumbura

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yishimiye kumenyeshya ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika y'u Burundi ibi bikurikira:
Mu minsi ishize, ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda itangazwa n'inyandiko zisohoka mu Kinyamakuru "In-

Bimeneshejwe:

- Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda
KIGALI
- Nyakubahwa Ministiri w'Intebe
KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane
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Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu.

Abahanga bazobereye mu byerekeye iyororoka ry'abantu batubwira ko impamvu abatutsi bakomeje kuba bake (aho bari hose), ari uko bashyiririrana bonyine. Abantu bavuka mu muryango umwe bakarongorana, bakabyarana. Nyamara ntibamenye ko uko kwironda, barebye nabi kwaviramo gucika kw'isi. Biramutse bibaye (kandi bizaba) ntibazagire uwo bitakana nibo bazaba bizize. None se ni abahutu bazaba babatemye? Dore ko ari yo mvugo bagenda bakwiza ngo abahutu nibo batuma baba bake kuko ngo babamarishije umupanga. Reka bazabe nk'umugabo Landowalidi Ndasingwa, Ministiri muri Guverinoma

ya Nsengiyaremye, ugenda abashyiririrana rubanda n'amahanga ngo igituma acumbagira ni inkoni yakubiswe igihe yari yafashwe mu byaso. Nyamara se ni nde uyobewe ko yavutse ari ikimuga? Gusa kuba ikimuga si icyaha uretse ko na none kumugara bitagene ubahutu gusa. N'umfura ziraremara kuko Imana yo itavangura.

Twatangiye tuvuga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu. Kandi ni byolinyenzi ibyara indi nyenzi. Ubihakana si uwanjye. Amateka y'u Rwanda atwerekana neza ko umututsi akiri wa wundi, atigeze ahinduka. Amayeri, ubugome bwe biracyari bya bindi tuzi

mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu. Abatutsi bakiri ku ngoma, batogekeshaga ibintu bibiri: abagore babo n'inka. Ibyo bintu nibyo byahatse abahutu imyaka magana aho yose. Abatutsi bamaze guhirikwa na revolisiyo ya rubanda mu w'1959 ntibigeze basinzira. Bakoze uko bashoboye kugira ngo bagarure ingoma yabo bakoresheje ibizungerezi byabo. n'amafaranga asa n'ayafashe umwanya w'inka. Dore ko kera inka yari ikimenyetso cy'ubukire.

Tuvuze ko inyenzi ibyara indi nyenzi ntabwo tuba twibeshya. None se hari uwatandukanya inyenzi zateye u Rwanda mu Kwakira 1990, ukozi-tandukanya n'izo mu myaka ya 1960. Zose zifitanye isano, zimwe n'inzuzukuru z'izindi. Ubugome bwazo ni bu-

mwe. Ibyo bitero byose bigamije kugurura ingoma ya cyami na gihake. Amatorerwa inyenzi z'ubu zikorera abaturage, ni kimwe n'ay'iza kera zakoraga: kwica, gusahura, gufata abari n'abategarugori ku ngufu n'ibindi.

Kuba mu rurimi rwacu, bamwita inzoka, byonyine birahagije. Bivuga byinshi. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira akarimi gasize amavuta, nyamara ubugome hwe bukaba burenze urugero. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira inzika idashira, udashobora kumanya icyo atekereza, mugaseka nyamara we ashira. Mu rurimi rwacu, kuba umututsi yitwa inyenzi ni uko yitwira ijoro, akigira nyoni nyinshi kugira ngo asoze umugambi we. Ijambo inyenzi na none ritwibutse inzoka kabutindi ifite ubumara bukaze cyane. Kuba rero umututsi yarahisemo kwiyita amazina nk'ayo, uwumva yakumva. Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu koko. Iyo urebye neza amayeri y'umututsi w'ubu kimwe n'ay'uwo hambere. Amateka y'u Rwanda niyo dutanga ho umugabo. Atubwira ko abatutsi bahakishije abahutu igihe kirekire abagore n'inka. Nyuma y'aho bavaniwe ku butegetsi mu w'1959, abatutsi barongeye bakoresha ibizungerezi n'amafuranga (inka za kera) kugira ngo basubize abahutu mu bucakara. Repubulika ya mbere yashoboye kwihagararaho ku-

bera cyane cyane Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda wari uzi neza amayeri y'umututsi. Repubulika ya kabiri yo yaje igwa mu mutego w'inyenzi-ntutsi. Abatutsi bahumye abahutu cyane cyane abari bafite imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi, babadabagiza mu "mahoro" n'"ubumwe" nabo ubwabo batemera. Babashyngira ibizungerezi birabazubaza biratinda. Mu gihe abahutu bari mu muganda no muri animasiyo abatutsi bateguraga igitero cya basubiza ku butegetsi.

Abahutu bashigutse, Rwigema na bagenzi be bambutse Kagitumba. Ni byo abahutu bise ngo batewe batunguwe. Habaye ahabagabo naho ubundi inyenzi zari zirufashe mpiri. Mu gihe ibizungerezi by'abatutsikazi byarimo kugonesha abahutu bakomeye muri iki gihugu, abana b'abatutsi barize baraminuza none nibo baganga. abarimu, ba avoka, abakuru b'amadini... reka mu bucuruzi ho sinakubwira ni bo bafite umutungo w'igihugu. Mu gihe abahutu bo barimo kuryana ngo bamwe ni abakiga, abandi abanyenduga, cyangwa se ngo bamwe ni interahamwe, abandi inkuba, abasederi cyangwa abakombozi. Umututsi yigaramiye. Abahutu barebye nabi basanga revolisiyo bakoze mu w'1959 abatutsi baryibibye.

No muri ibi bihe bya demokrasi ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi, abaturutsi baracyarindagiza abahutu. Umututsi azakubeshya ko ari muri MRND nyamara ayirwanya, agashuka abahutu barimo ngo batemera, basenyerane. Umututsi azakubwira ko ari muri MDR nyamara ntiyibagiwe aka kanya ko ariyo yabavanye ku ngoma mu w'1959. Umututsi azarwanya CDR ishya ry'abahutu ngo riravangura. CDR ivangura ite ko abahutu ari bamwe, wabavangura ute? Nyamara nti bagire icyo bavuga kuri PL igizwe n'abatutsi gusa uretse udukingirizo tw'abahutu bashyiramo. Abatutsi bashyamba amashyamba yabo (PL, FPR) ntiyibumvishya ko n'abahutu nabo bagira ishya ryabo CDR ribabwiza ukuri. None se umututsi azavugaga ko ari umututsi, umuhutu navuga ko ari umuhutu ngo aravangura. Umututsi afite amategeko amugenga, umuhutu navuga ko nawe afite amategeko (icumi) agomba gukurikiza ngo yirengere, ngo ni umwicanyi. Nibavugaga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu ngo abahutu bavangura amoko.

Kangura



HABYARIMANA NIYUMVE ICYO ABAHUTU BAMUSABA

Habyarimana agifata ubutegetsi tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, yashingiyeye politiki ye ku «bumwe n'amahoro». Urebye imvururu zariho muri icyo gihe zishingiyeye ku moko no ku turere, usanga iyo politiki yari ifite ishingano. Gusa ikibabaje ni uko iyo yatonesheje ubwo ko bumwe bw'abatutsi mu gihe imbagaga nyamwinshi yakomezaga kudindira. Igiteye agahinda ni uko n'abo batutsi Habyarimana yakoreye batamushimye ahubwo bagasigara bamuhema.

Kubera ko Habyarimana yagabiyeye abatutsi agakabya, abantu bari basigaye bavugaga ko nawe ari umututsi. Nawentiyabihishaga. Hari igihese ativugira ko ntacyo atakoze ngo abatutsi bamemerwe neza. Uboshye hari uwari yamutumye. Abatutsi baradamaraye ku ngoma ya Habyarimana biratinda. Ngabo mu mashuri, ngabo mu bucuruzi, ngabo mu butegetsi, banashobora no gushyngira abakobwa babo benshi



mu bahunu bari mu myanya ikomeye. Abatutsi bakomeje kuryoha kugeza aho umurenge wabo ubumvishije ko bagomba gutera u Rwanda bagasubira ku ngoma. Si bwo bateye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990! Habyarimana ati: «twatewe dutunguwe!» Nyamara icyo aza kuba maso akumva inama z'abahutu bene wabo, ntagumye kudabagira n'abatutsi, ibintu ntibiba byaragombye kugera hariya.

Bavuga ko kunga ubumwe n'umututsi ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Kandi koko nibyo. Nawe se ukuntu Habyarimana yarwanye ku batutsi, akabakundwakaza, nibo bakwiye kumuca ruhinga nyuma bashakakumuhirika? Reka babikore niwe wabikururiye. Ntacyaha batamurega. Ngo yikubiye ubutegetsi, ngo nta demokarasi, ngo ategekesha igitugu, ngo yababujije kwishyira ngo bizane.

Nyamara igihugu gitewe tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu, Habyarimana yakomeje gusuzugura, niyo yitabaje. Nayo ntiyamutengushye. Ifatanije n'ingabo z'igihugu, batsinze inyenzi n'ibitso byazo. Habyarimana akozwe n'isoni, yizeza abahutu ko bazahorera bene wabo baguye ku rugamba. Ntibiteye kabiri, nta wamenya uko yahi-

ndutse noneho ati: «ibyohora mu byibagirwe, gusana imitima nibyo bigezweho». Wagirango umututsi yari yongeye gukora ku giti cye (feuille)! Ubwo kandi niko inyenzi zigisuka ibisasa ku baturage b'inzirakarengane abandi zibirukana mu byabo. Rubanda yarumiye! Ubu isigaye yibaza ukuntu inyenzi zaje zica, zisahura, zamara gutsindwa, umukuru w'igihugu agasaba abaturage kwiyunga nazo. None se kwitabara ni ikosa. Urebye neza kuba abaturage barirwanyeho, basa n'aho bakoshereje inyenzi. Ahubwo bibaye ibishoboka nizo zari zikwiye gusaba imbabazi. Kuki Habyarimana agitsimbaraye ku batutsi kandi bo bararangije ku mwereka ko batamushakaka?

Rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu imaze gutsinda intambara y'amasasu, ubu irahatana n'iya politiki. Habyarimana niba akidabagira mu batutsi be, amenye ko rubanda nyamwinshi yo iri maso. Ntabwo rero izongera guterwa itunguwe kuko ibuye ryagaragaye riba ritakisha isuka. Rubanda nyamwinshi ntizemera na rimwe guhezwa mu butegetsi mu mishyikirano ibera Arusha. icyo twakwishimira ni uko umukuru w'igihugu atangiye noneho kumva ijwi rya rubanda. Abisabwe n'abadepite (intumwa za rubanda), Perezida wa Re-

pubulika yafashe icyemezo cya kigabo cyo guhindura uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda muri icyo mishyikirano. Umugambanyi NGURINZIRA avaho, asimbuzwa Minisitiri w'ingabo, Gasana James. Bityo umugambi wa NSENGIYAREMYE n'intumwa ye NGURINZIRA wo kugurisha igihugu upfuba utyo. Uretse ko bidahagije. Perezida wa Repubulika yari akwiye no gusaba ku mugaragaro ko ingingo zikubiye mu masezerano aherutse gushyirwaho umukono na Ngurinzira, ingingo zibangamiye inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi zasubirwamo. Dore ko byagaragaye ko rubanda inenga izo ingingo akaba ari nacyo gituma hirya no hino mu gihugu harabaye imvururu zahitanye abantu batagira ingano.

Igihe kandi kirageze ko Perezida Habyarimana yumva inama abahutu bene wabo bamugira kuko umunsi Inkotanyi z'abatutsi zafashe igihugu nawe zitazamusiga.

KANGURA.

INGABO Z'U RWANDA MU GIHUGU CYUZUYE ABAGAMBANYI.

Inkotanyi zageze mu nkengeri z'umugi wa Ruhengeri hakiri kare. Mbere ya saa yine z'ijoro zari zatangiyeye kwica abaturage na zimwe mu ngabo zari kuri bariyeri, hakoreshejwe ibyuma. Zaje zizi ahantu hose ingabo z'u Rwanda zirinze umugi zikambitse, uko zingana n'ibikoresho zifite. Muri icyo ntambara yo mu Ruhengeri byagaragaye ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bari bahari ari bake. Nk'abari k'umusozo wa Nyamagumba bahanganye n'inyenzi kuva mu saa saba z'ijoro tariki ya 8 kugera hafi mu gitondo. Ibyangombwa byarabashiranye baramanuka, inkotanyi zizamuka uwo musozi. Zarahageze zirasa cyane mu kigo kiri mu nsi y'uwo musozo aricyo Mubona. Ingabo zakomeje kukirinda. Mu bitaro bya Ruhengeri naho zahamisha urusasu, abarwayi babura kirwaza, ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomereze zikabura kivura.

Zaje zije. Abasirikari b'u Rwanda bagemurirwa ibiturutse mu Ruhengeri babafungiyeye amayira anyuzwamo i-

ngemu. Zerekanye ko utera aba atekereza cyane kurusha uterwa we ugomba gusa guhangana, n'ubwo atazi aho aturuka. Ibintu byose zabishyize ku murongo. Mbese ya mashyaka MDR, PL, na PSD yasinye nazo i Buruseli amasezerano yo kujya azigezaho amakuru yaragakoze k'uburyo bugaragara. Ibi bigora cyane ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomeje guharanira ubusugire bw'igihugu mu bagambanyi nka Twagiramungu, Nsengiyaremye n'abandi. Cyakora, abanyarwanda b'inyangamugayo baracyafitaye icyizere ingabo zabo; zizirukana inyenzi vuba.

Turatekereza ko ibintu byo gupfa kwirukana no gufunga ingabo z'u Rwanda ari ikimenyetso cy'ubugambanyi. Ubwo buryo bwari bukwiye kwamaganwa hakiri kare. Noneho hagafatwa ibindi byemezo bishya. abanyarwanda babishoboye kandi babishakaka bari bakwiye gukorana amasezerano n'igihugu cyabo yo guhabwa imyitoto ya gisirikari, yarangira bagataha, byaba ngombwa bagahamagazwa icyarimwe bakajya kurengera igihugu. Ubwo hakwigwa n'uburyo bwo kurwanya ingaruka mbi zose zishobora kubyarwa n'icyo ngamba.

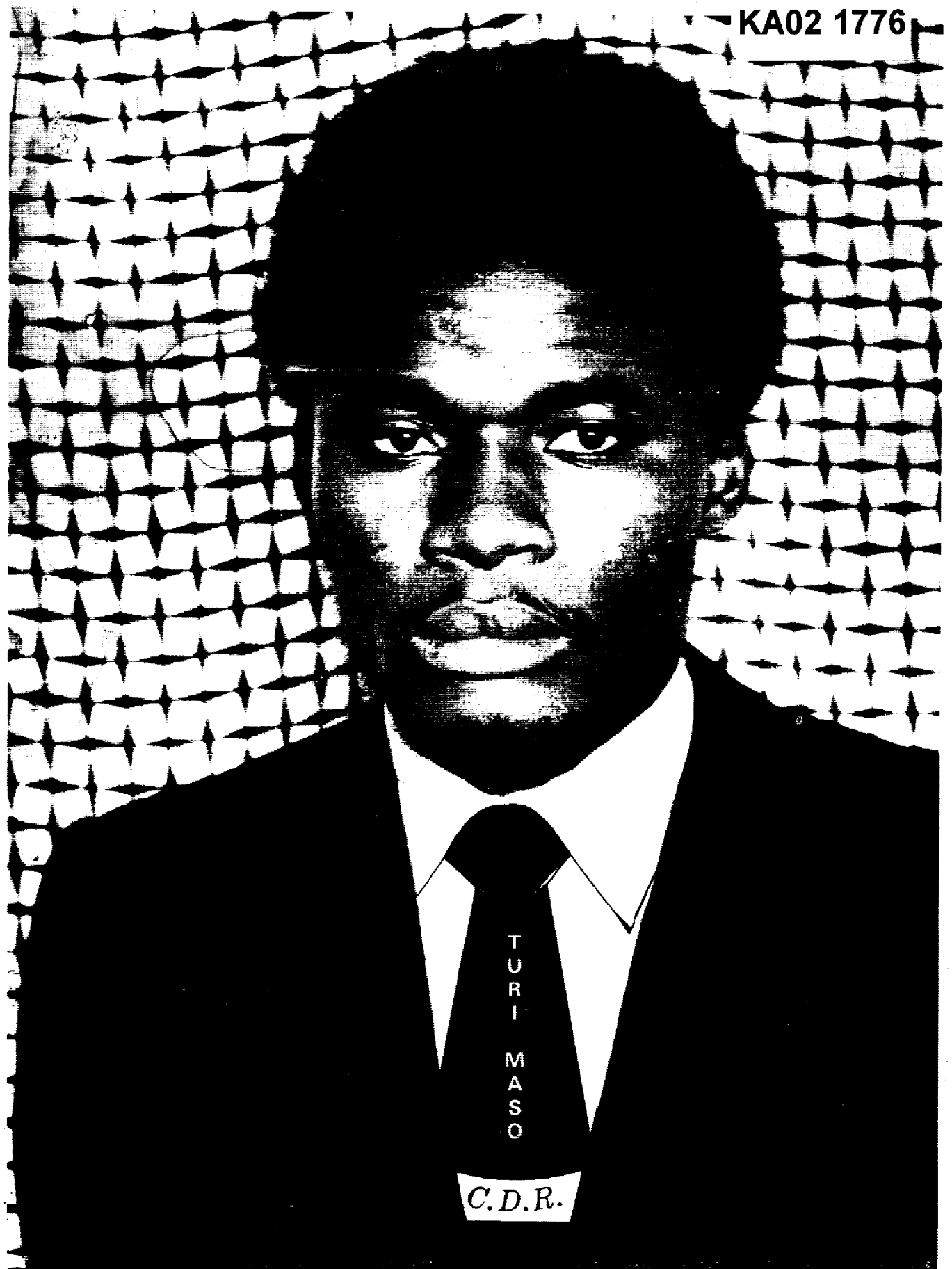
ITANGAZO

Mu gihe twacapishaga iyi nimero ya 40, tumenye ko Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yatangiye gushyira mu bikorwa wa mugambi Nsengiyaremye afitanye n'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategetsi bamwe na bamwe bazibangamiye. Mwiyumviye abategetsi iyo guverinoma isabira kwirukanwa. Ibyo kandi bigakorwa ntacyo iyo guverinoma ishinyiyeho kindi uretse gushimisha inyenzi. None se abo bategetsi baregwa ngo nibo bateje imvururu zizameze iminsi zivugwa, hari anketi yigeze ikorwa ngo ibahamye icyaha?

Turasaba Perezida wa Repubulika, mu izina rya rubanda ahagarariye, kutagwa muri uriya mutego umwanzi ashaka kumurohamo. Bityo azange ibyo bamusaba byo kwirukana abafasha be nta kosa bakoze. Turasaba kandi abaturage kwihagararaho bakarengera abategetsi babo kugira ngo batazabasimbuzwa inyenzi.

Kangura

KA02 1776



*«Imiryango yose izwi ko yohereje abana babo mu nyenzi igambiriye kuri-
mbura ingabo z'u Rwanda na bene gahutu bose, niyo izaryozwa amaraso ya-
bo inkotanyi zatsembye».*

NGEZE Hassan.