Nº 42

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI

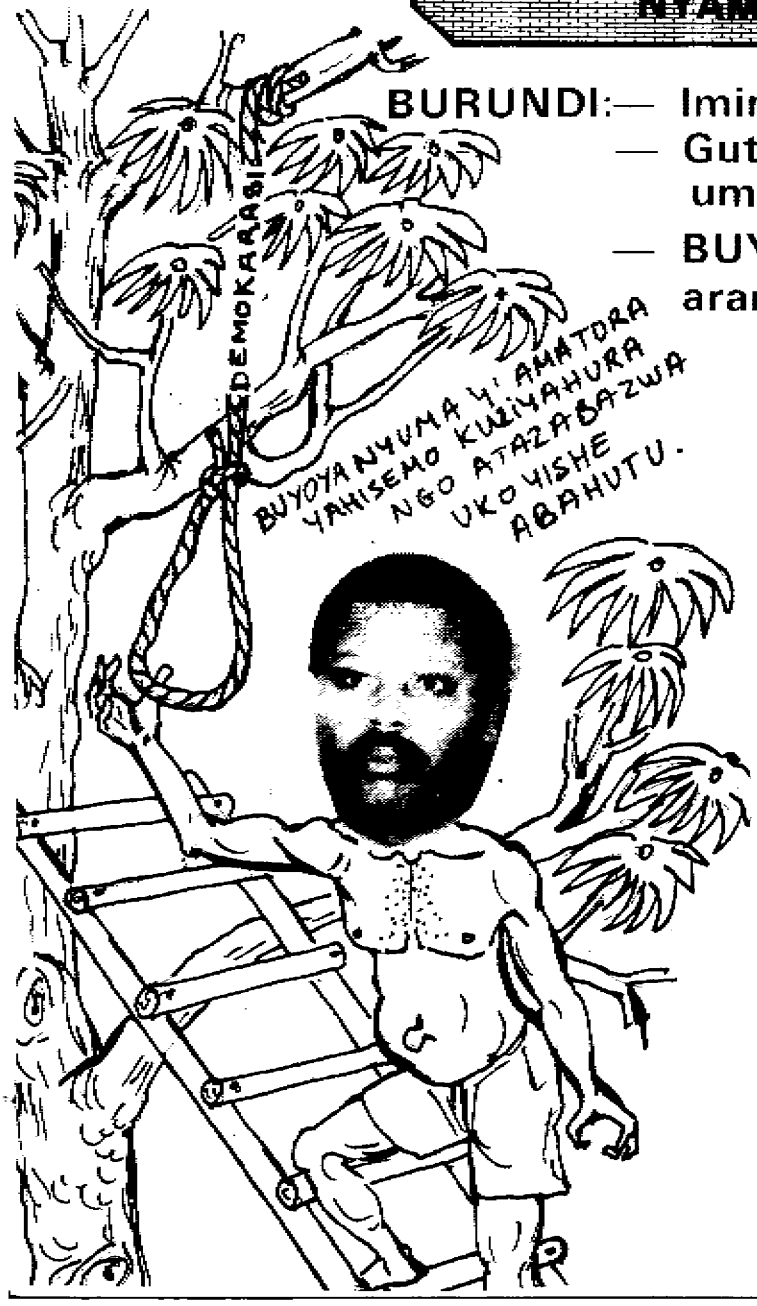
MAI–1993

KA02 1797

BURUNDI:— Iminsi y'igisambo ntirenga mirongo ine.

— Gutora BUYOYA ni ukwigerekaho umusaraba.

— BUYOYA aritegura gushoza imvururu aramutse atsinzwe.



ZAIRE :
Ni iki cyatumye abatutsi bicwa urubozo i Masisi ?

Urupfu rwa GAPYISI rurahama inyenzi ziyobowe na TWAGIRAMUNGU. Abahutu turangwę n'umutima wo guhora.

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Editorial

BURUNDI: AMATORA: Iminsi y'igisambo ntirenga mirongo ine.

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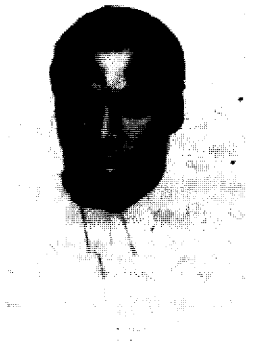

Inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi yatangiriye mu bihugu by'i Burayi bw'iburasirazuba igasakara muri Afurika, imaze guhitana ingoma nyinshi z'ibitugu. Mu Burayi bw'iburasirazuba aho yatangiriye, yahitanye ubutegetsi bwa ba Nikolai Ceausescu wo muri Rumaniya wari warakandamije abaturage be imyaka n'imyaka. Iyo nkubi igera no muri Polonye ihitana General Jaruseski wari warabujije abaturage b'icyo gihugu kuvuga icyo batekereza. Iyo nkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi ntiyatinze gusakara muri Afurika. Ba Moussa Traoré (Mali), Matayo Kerekou (Benin), Sassou Nguesso (Congo), ibageraho. Bamwe muri abo bakuru b'ibihugu bashoboye kubyitwaramo neza, bigendera mu mahoro batanduranyije. Mu karere kacu k'Afurika yo hagati, akarere k'ibiyaga bigari, naho iyo nkubi yarahageze, mu Rwanda, muri Zaire, mu Burundi ndetse no muri Uganda. Usesenguye neza usanga mu Rwanda no muri Zaire barabyitwayemo neza barareka abaturage barinigura. Abandi iyo nkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi yarabatunguye, ibakura umutima. Impamvu y'icyo kidodo nta yindi ni uko ba nyiri ubwite bazi neza ko bicaye ku ntebe bihaye, abandi bavuga ko «bitije».

Mbese "bishize ko bazivana ko". Wa mugani w'umurundi. Bibagiwe ko ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage bugakorera abaturage. Muri Uganda ho ni akumiro. Museveni aherutse gutanga itegeko ko umuntu uzatinyuka kujya mu muhanda kwigaragambya azaba yiyemeje kuraswa agapfa! Mugenzi we Buyoya yamurushije "ubupfura", aniga amashyaka ya rubanda, ategura amatora ya huti huti. Ayo matora ateganijwe kuba ejo bundi tariki ya 1/6/1993. Icyo Buyoya agamije ni ugupfukirana abarundi akabiba ubutegetsi nk'uko "yamye abigenza" tariki ya 3/9/1987. Kimwe na bakuru be bamubanjirije, uvuye ku bami, Micombero kugeza kuri Bagaza.

Abanyarwanda nibo bajya bavuga ko iminsi y'igisambo itarenga mirongo ine. Igisambo kiriba, cyageraho kigafatwa. Na Buyoya nawe ni uko. Yaribye, arica, ariko umunsi we wa nyuma ni umwe. Ni tariki ya 1/6/1993, umunsi we ntarengwa. N'ubwo uwo mugabo yakoresheje amayeri yose akigizayo ishyaka PALIPEHUTU rivugira imbaga y'abahutu b'i Burundi, abarundi ntibasinziriye. Abarundi benshi, ni ukuvuga abahinzi bagize 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose ubu bibumbiye mu ishyaka ryabo FRODEBU. Tukaba rero twizera ko ejo bundi tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993 bazahundagaza amajwi ku mukuru wabo, umuhutu mwene wabo, Melchior NDADAYE, twifurije gutsinda. Abahutu b'i Burundi, igihe kirageze ngo nabo bakore revolisiyo-yabo, bipakurure ubuhake n'agasuzuguro by'abatutsi.

Impamvu abahutu b'i Burundi bagomba gutora umuhutu mwene wabo zirumvikana. Ari abarundi ubwabo cyangwa se mu mahanga, bazi neza ukuntu ishyaka UPRONA ry'abatutsi ryishe abahutu n'abatwa barenze ibihumbi magana ane (400.000), abandi ibihumbi magana atatu (300.000) bagahunga. Kandi abahutu bagize hafi 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose akaba ari nabo batumye UPRONA itsinda tariki ya 18/9/1961. Abahutu b'i Burundi, ntimugashukwe n'akarimi k'inzoka ka Buyoya. Mu w'1961, Rwagasore nawe niko yabigenje. Icyo gihe imigambi ya UPRONA yari myiza mu mpapuro no mu magambo. Abahutu batumye Rwagasore na Uprona batsinda, bose abatutsi barabivuganye. Twavuga nka Paulo MIREREKANO, Petero NGENDANDUMWE, BAKINA Yozefu n'abandi. Iryo totezwa kandi riracyakomeza. Ni nde wishe Remy GAHUTU, Perezida wa PALIPEHUTU? Ninde uhejeje muri gereza NTIRAMPA Antoine, sekreteri wa mbere wa PALIPEHUTU, NZEYIMANA Ernest? Si Buyoya?

Abahutu b'i Burundi, muramutse mutoye uwo mwicanyi yakomeza kubakandamiza. Dore ko kuva yagera ku butegetsi mu w'1987 abahutu amaze kwirengagiza batagira ingano. Ibimenyetso biriamya ubwicanyi bwa Buyoya ni byinshi. Dore bimwe muri byo:

Kuva mu w'1961 kugeza mu w'1964 Uprona n'abatutsi bagumye kwica abahutu bari mu butegetsi, bitwaje za coup d'Etat.

Mu w'1965 Uprona n'abatutsi bishe abahutu n'abatwa benshi mu ntara ya MURAMVYA no mu zindi ntara z'u Burundi. Icyo gihe hapfuye abarenga 10.000.

Mu w'1969, Uprona n'abatutsi bishe abahutu batari bake bari mu butegetsi no mu gisirikari.

Mu w'1972-1973, Uprona n'abatutsi batikije abahutu bo mu ntara zose. Hapfuye abarenze 300.000, abageze ku bihumbi 200.000 barahunga.

Mu w'1987, Uprona n'abatutsi bongeye gufunga abahutu n'abatwa, abandi baricwa.

Mu w'1988, muri Ntega na Marangara hapfuye abahutu n'abatwa barenga 60.000 abandi baracyari mu buhungiro.

Mu w'1991, hapfuye abahutu n'abatwa barenga 20.000.

Mu w'1992-1993, abahutu n'abatwa benshi baracyahigwa bukware, bagafatwa, bakicwa. Muri gereza y'i Burundi huzuyemo abahutu.

Abahutu b'i Burundi ntibari bakwiye kongera kuba ibicucu nko mu mwaka w'1961, igihe batoraga Uprona none bakaba babona aho ibageze. Bamenye kandi ko Uprona n'abatutsi bafite amayeri menshi bazibisha amajwi, ndetse n'igitugu bakoresheje abasirikari babo b'abatutsi. Hari amakuru atugeraho yemeza ko Uprona na Buyoya biteguye guteza intambara mu Burundi kugira ngo baburizemo amatora. Ibyo kandi bakazabyomeka ku mashyaka y'abahutu ariko cyane cyane PALIPEHUTU.

NGEZE Hassan.

TANZANIA–ZAYIRE–BURUNDI : UMUGAMBI NI UMWE : GUTSEMBA IMPUNZI Z'ABAHUTU

Ibinjana bitanu bigiye kurangira Abahutu n'Abatwa b'i Burundi bakandamizwa ndetse bakanicwa n'intwaro za gitutsi nta kindi zishaka atari uguhonya Abahutu n'Abatwa.

Intwaro zose zaba iza cami canke iz'igisoda, zaranzwe n'ugusesa amaraso y'Abahutu n'Abatwa n'ukubangaza cane cane kuva mu w'1962, ariko muri ivyo bihe vyose nticabuza ko ziririmba amahoro n'ubumwe. Ikibabaje rero kandi gitangaje ni uko ako karimi kagisamara mbere kakasinziriza Abarundi n'Amakungu.

Muri ibi bihe turimwo, impararo kw'isi yose ni umuzo wa demokarasi eka no mu Burundi niwo ruririmbo. Ariko ntibibuza Leta y'u Burundi kubandanya kwica Abahutu n'Abatwa, ikitavuzwe coco ni ugutoleza abacitse kw'icumu iyo bahungiye, ivyo Leta y'u Burundi ikabifashwamo na bamwe bamwe mu bategetsi b'inda ndende (ba mpahire inda) cane cane abo muri Tanzaniya na Zayire.
Ivyo navyo ntibitanguye uno munsi :
– Mu 1973 : MICOMBERO yateye amabombe mu makambi y'impunzi z'Abahutu yo mu Ntara ya Kigoma muri Tanzaniya.
Mu 1976 : BAGAZA yaraye afashe ubutegetsi asaba impunzi guhunguka. Barahungutse, bamwe bashikira mu munyororo, abandi basubira guhunga cane cane mu 1979 no mu 1984.
– Mu 1986 : BAGAZA afatanije n'abategetsi ba Tanzaniya, bahunguye ku nguvu Abahutu ibihumbi bo mu makambi y'impunzi ya Gitanga, Katundu, Murore na Kigoma.

Izo ngorwa z'abahutu zafatwa nk'Abamenja zipakirwa mu makamyo, zitabwa ku mupaka w'u Burundi aho zakiriwe nk'ibikoko bigiye kubagwa.

– Mu 1988 : nyuma y'ivyago vyiswe "Ntega-Marangara", isinzi y'abahutu bari bahungiye i Muhero mu Rwanda barahungutse kuko ubuzima butari buboroheye. Ntibamaze kabiri badasubiye guhunga, tutibagiwe ko bamwe muri bo baciwe amaguru na Leta ya Uprona.
– Kuva mu 1989 Leta ya BUYOYA n'abategetsi ba Tanzaniya bagiye inama yo kwima ubuhungiro Abahutu n'Abatwa (umubonano wa Lieutenant-Colonel Jean Claude Ndiyo na Général de Brigade Muhidin Kimario be na Salim Ahmed Salim i Dodoma muri Tanzaniya muri Ndamukiza 1989). Ni naho Leta ntutsi yatanguriye gutanga ingero zo guhungura Abahutu ku gitsure n'inguvu.

Nko mu 191, Leta y'u Burundi n'iya Tanzaniya zumvikanye ko Leta ya Tanzaniya ihungura ku nguvu Abahutu (cane cane urwaruka) ibihumbi cumi na bitandatu (16.000), u Burundi nabwo bukirukana Abatanzaniya igihumbi n'amajana atanu (1500) baba mu Burundi binyuranye n'amategeko (irréguliers). Izo Leta zari zumvikanye kandi ko amashilingi yo muri Tanzaniya n'amafaranga yo mu Burundi yakoreshwa muri ivyo bihugu vyompi atarinze kuvunjishwa.

Muri Ntwarante 1992 (ukwezi kwa 3), umushikiranganji w'intwaro yo hagati n'iterambere ry'amakomini BARARUNYERETSE Libère (ubu akaba ashinzwe imigenderanire) yahitanye mugenzi we wa Tanzaniya Augustine Lyantonga Mrema, baja guturubika impunzi z'abahutu mu makambi y'i Ulyankuru, Katumba, Mishamo na Kigoma ngo vyanke bikunde zibwirizwa guhunguka mu kiringo cy'amazi atatu.

Kuva ico gihe, Leta ya Tanzaniya yabashiriyeho amananiza kugira ngo ibagondoze bemere guhunguka : ikpri ry'umutwe ku mpunzi (!) ryavuye ku majana ane risimbira ku gihumbi n'amajana atanu, interarano z'umurengera Leta isaba impunzi kugira ngo itsimbataze intwaro ya CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi)...

Izindi mpunzi z'abahutu zigeramine n'ibiturire n'ingero vya Uprona, ni iziri mu Ntara ya Sud-Kivu muri Zaïre. Kuva mu w'1986, Leta y'u Burundi yakomeje gushaka kuriba impunzi ngo izisubize mu Burundi ku nguvu, cane cane guhera mu w'1991, ubu hoho bikaba vyarenze urugero :

– Kuwa 8/5/1992, Lieutenant Ekhouchou wo mu ikambi y'Abakomando y'i Luberizi, aherekejwe n'umu Ofisiye w'umurundi (umututsi), abakomando barenga icenda n'umukuru wa AND (mbangamatwi : maneko) wo mw'i Sanga, bateye (kuyogera) amakambi y'impunzi ya Kibogoye, Sange, Ntunda, Biliba, Luvungi n'ahandi, bamijira amasase mu mpunzi, banafatamwo bamwe babajana ahantu hatamenyekana. Muri abo bajyanywe busuma harimwo BURIMBO na MBONIMPA Frédéric bo mu Kibogoye, Pasteur MINANI wo mu Biliba, Pasteur wo ku Ntunda...

– Kuwa 9/5/1993 igitero carabandanije.

Ntitwokwirengagiza n'ukuntu Leta y'u Burundi yiyandagaza ku Rwanda icisha ibinyoma bidafatika ku iradiyo no mu nyandiko vy'umushikiranganji w'imigenderanire.

Twihweje tukazirikana ku vyavuzwe hejuru, turashobora kwibaza ico arico demokarasi mu Burundi kugira ngo dushobore gutahura uko ikibazo c'u Burundi cifashe. "Demokarasi ndundi" (Démocratie à la burundaise !) yaramyeho n'ubu iriho, isigura akarimi gasosa k'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bakandamiza ubwoko bw'Abahutu n'Abatwa.

Kugira ngo ako karimi karonke intebe mu mahanga, Leta ntutsi nta nzira zitaciyemo : kwankira abahutu n'abatwa kwiga no kuburizamo abize, kugura abanyamakuru n'abagize amaleta amwe n'amwe, gukoresha abacangero no gukomeza igisirikari c'ubwoko bumwe buri ku rushi rw'abatutsi...

Ni muri ubwo buryo rero kandi ni naco gituma Leta ya Tanzaniya yita ku biti n'amabuye mu gutoteza impunzi z'abahutu ihayo indaro. Ariko rero iyo nyifato si iy'uno munsi : ikomoka ku masezerano ya TANU (Tanganyika African National Union, umugambwe wa Julius Kambarage Nyerere), UPRONA (Union pour le Progrès National, umugambwe wa Rwagasore) na UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise, umugambwe wa Rwagasana) mu gihe baharanira kwiganzura umukoloni.

Muri ayo masezerano, abo bayobozi bumvikanye ko :
1° ata kurekurira canke ngo bihanganire ko Abahutu bo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi baja k'ubutegetsi ngo kuko boca biganzira Afrika yo hagati n'ubuseruko kubera ubwira n'umwete bagaragaza mu

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bikorwa.
2° Bamaze kwiganzura umukoloni, Tanzaniya, U Rwanda n'U Burundi bica bigira ishirahamwe ry'ubutunzi n'ugufashanya.
Mugabo rero amasezerano ntiyagenze uko bari bavyiyumviriye ndetse bakabija n'inama kuko revolisiyo nyarwanda yo mu 1959 yononye umukino. Aho ibintu bigeze rero muri kino gihe, uwo mukino bariko barageregeza kuwunagura muri ibi bikurikira :

a) ibiganiro vy'i Arusha bihagarariwe n'intumwa za Julius Kambarage Nyerere zihurikiye muri C.C.M.
b) "Demokarasi ndundi" y'ihutihuti,
c) Igarukanwa ry'ubwami muri Uganda (Kigezi, Ankole, Bunyoro...)

None ni kuki Nyerere yivanze mu kibazo c'ubutegetsi n'imibano mu Burundi no mu Rwanda ? Julius Kambarage Nyerere ni uwo mu bwoko bw'"abazanaki" (wazanaki : wazanye iki? [ca]nke uzanye iki ?) bukomoka mu Burundi kandi bwa gitutsi. "Abazanaki" bomowe n'umwami kuko bari bakaruhariwe mu kwiba inka (Tubibutse ko ata muhutu yiba inka kuko yari yitungiwe n'isuka).

Bamaze kwomorwa, bagiye muri Tanzaniya, bashitse mu Buha, abaha nabo barabirukanye kubera izo ngeso, baja mu Bunyamwenzi (i Tabora) no mu Busukuma (Shinyanga) naho nyene barabirukana baca baja i Kilimandjaro aho baba ubu. Aho mu Bunyamwezi no mu Busukuma niho bavanye izina ry'"abazanaki", ubu bakaba bashika ibihumbi amajana abiri (200.000).

Birumvakana rero igituma TANU yifatanije na Afro Shiraz bikaba CCM yafashe mu mugongo kandi n'ubu igifasha UPRONA mu mugambi wo kugandagura Abahutu mu Burundi.

Tugarutse kuri "Demokrasi ndundi" (Démocratie à la Burundaise) ya UPRONA y'Abatutsi : iyo demukarasi ishingiye k'umugambi w'Abatutsi wo kwigundirako ubutegetsi n'ubuyobozi bw'u Burundi, gutyo biborohere gusesa amaraso y'abahutu n'abatwa, kubangaza no kubamarira iyo basanzariye.

Politiki ya BUYOYA ishira mu ngiro ingingo z'ubwicanyi z'abamutanguriye duhereye ku mwami gushika kuri BUYOYA ubwiwe :

1° Kumwe umwami yarenga kw'ihwirizwashingiro ryo mu w'1962 yitwaza ngo "UWASINYE NIWE USINYURA", niko na BUYOYA atubahiriza ihwirizwashingiro yishiriyeho muri Ntwarante 1992.
2° Kumwe MICOMBERO yaruga ngo "USHAKA KUVUNA UMUGANDA W'INKWI, UVUNA RUMWE RUMWE UGATEBA UKAWUMARA" hanyuma BAGAZA nawe ngo "NTAWUGARIRA ZITARAHERERA MU RUHONGORE". Ubu niko BUYOYA ariko arabigira mu kwica Abahutu hirya no hino, kubapfunga ata mpamvu, haba mu Burundi canke iyo bahungiye, tutibagiye no guhungura ku nguvu Abahutu bo muri Zayire na Tanzaniya cane cane.

Hamwe n'uko yisunga iyo migambi mibi, BUYOYA n'abahanuzi biwe ba raraba neza umuzo wa demokrasi ugiye kubasiga ku gatwe, kuko ibihe vyarahindutse, Abahutu n'Abatwa turamaze guca ubwenge. Vyongeye, n'abategetsi ba Tanzaniya na Zayire barakwiye kwikebuka, aho kwihatira kunezereza Abatutsi mu gutoleza Abahutu bahungiye go, nyabuna nibihatire guteza imbere ibihugu be n'abanyagihugu bategeka.

BIZIMANA Gervais
(Umusomyi wa KANGURA i Kanada)

NINDE AZOTSINDA AMATORA Y'UMUKURU W'IGIHUGU MU BURUNDI

Barundi, Barundikazi, namwe nshirwarimenetse z'umugambwe PALIPEHUTU iryavuzwe riratashe. Abarundi n'amakungu barorereye n'igishika cinshi igenekerezo rya i Ruheshi 1993 umunsi w'itora ry'umukuru w'igihugu.

Twibuke kandi ko Majoro Petero BUYOYA yemeye imigambwe myinshi agononwa kandi atinya gutsindwa. Amaze kugondozwa akemera ishingwa ry'imigambwe myinshi, yaciye yihutira gushiraho amatora kuko yibaza ko imigambwe irwanya UPRONA itazoba irashinga imizi akaba yizera kwongera gutsinda bitamugoye. Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU umaze gutohoza uko vyifashe mu ntara zose, wasanze Petero BUYOYA na UPRONA yiwe adashobora gutsinda naho vyogenda gute keretse yivye. Mwirabire namwe ingene ibiharuro bivyerekana mu ntara zose z'u Burundi.

Abitoza / INTARA	ND. Melchior FRODEBU	B. Petero UPRONA	S.P. Claver P.R.P.
1. BUJUMBURA VILLE	65,94	30,3	3,86
2. BUJUMBURA RURAL	81	18,4	0,6
3. CIBITOKE	90,9	8,2	0,9
4. BUBANZA	91	8,5	0,5
5. NGOZI	86,5	12	1,5
6. KAYANZA	89	10	1
7. KIRUNDO	84	15,2	0,8
8. MUYINGA	80	15	5
9. RUYIGI	88,2	10	1,8
10. KARUZI	81,5	18	0,5
11. BURURI	66	33,5	0,5
12. MAKAMBA	79	19	2
13. RUTANA	78,1	20,7	1,2
14. CANKUZO	80	19	1
15. GITEGA	85,5	10,5	4
16. MURAMVYA	78	15	7

NDADAYE MELCHIOR : 81,5%
BUYOYA PIERRE : 16,45%
SENDEGEYA P. CLAVER : 2,01%

Biribonekeza ko Abatutsi bativye amajwi gutsinda kw'abanyagihugu bahurikiye mu migambwe ishaka ko ibintu bitaduka ari ntagisivya.

Komeza kuri P. 9

IGIHE KIRAGEZE...

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Iyo usubije amaso inyuma ukareba amateka y'isi, cyane cyane ay'amadini usanga kera hari abo bitaga abahanuzi. Babonekaga cyane cyane mu bwoko bw'abayahudi. Abo bahanuzi nibo babwiraga bene wabo ibibategereje, ibyago cyangwa amahirwe. Igihe cyagera ibyo abo bahanuzi bahanuye bikaba. Mu bahanuzi ba nyuma na nyuma twavuga Yezu (ku bakristu) cyangwa Issa (ku bayisilamu). Niwe wakundaga kuvuga ngo "igihe kirageze"...

Abahanuzi nk'abo, ubu ntibaki baho. Nabiyita bo, abenshi baba ari abo twakwita abatekamutwe. Gusa ntibyabuza umuntu gusesengura ibiba hirya no hino ku isi, ibibera iwacu, mu baturanyi... uhereye kubyo ubona, ushobora kuvuga utibeshye uko ejo bizagenda.

Ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo. Mbere yo kureba ibibera mu mahanga tubanze turebe ibibera iwacu no mu baturanyi. U Rwanda ruracyivuruguta mu bibazo inyenzi zarushoyemo kuva tariki ya I Ukwakira 1990. Inyenzi ziracyaturindagiza mu "mishyikirano y'amahoro". Nyamara intego yazo iracyari ya yindi: gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Kandi umunsi zabufashe, ntihazagire uwibeshya ko zizamuvunguriraho. Nyiri amaso yerekwa bike. Kubona inyenzi zisa n'izahagaritse imirwano, zigasa nizerekana ko zitabiriye imishyikirano, si uko zishaka amahoro. Ni ibintu byateguwe kuva kera. Biri mu migambi y'intambara zirwana.

Mu migambi y'intambara z'inyenzi, igice zigezemo ni icyo kwimenyereza abaturage. Ari nabyo zatangiye gukora mu duce tumwe na tumwe tw'igihugu zafashe. Zatangiye kuremesha amanama, zishyiraho "abategetsi" ari nako zikomeje kwangisha abaturage ubutegetsi buriho. Nta gitangaza rero kirimo zikomeje kuturindagiza mu "mishyikirano". Zo ntacyo bizibwiye, zifite igihe gihagije. Hagati aho ariko abantu bagera hafi kuri miliyoni bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara bakomeje kwangara. Baranyagirirwa ku gasozi, ntibafite icyo barya, abana babo ntibashoboye kwiga nk'abandi... Ngo bategereje ko "imishyikirano y'amahoro" igira icyo igeraho. Kandi birazwi ko ntacyo. Cyane cyane ko inyenzi zikomeje kwerekana ubushake buke. Kandi ni mu gihe. Hari amakuru akomeje kutugeraho yemeza ko impamvu inyenzi zikomeje kuruhanya zidindiza imishyikirano, ari ibanga zifitanye n'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bw'i Bujumbura. Abatutsi b'i Burundi babwiye inyenzi gutinza imishyikirano uko bishoboka kose kugira ngo babanze bikize abahutu mu matora azaba ejo bundi tariki ya 1-6-1993. Abatutsi b'i Burundi nibamara kurangiza umuhango w'amatora bazabona noneho uburyo bwiza bwo gufasha ku mugaragaro inyenzi.

Ntimuzatangare rero ibitero by'inyenzi by'ubutaha biturutse i Burundi. U Rwanda rukarwana intambara ebyiri: iyo ku mupaka wa Uganda, n'iyo ku mupaka w'i Burundi. Abatutsi b'i Burundi barahiye kandi ko batazatsindwa amatora azaba vuba aha. Nta bantu bafite ariko bafite imbunda. Bivugira ku mugaragaro ko bazatsindwa amatora ari uko iminwa (canons) y'imbunda yazibye! Uwumva yakumva. Igihe rero kirageze ngo umuhutu wo mu Rwanda yumve ibimutegereje mu minsi iri imbere. Igihugu cye kirugarijwe ariko nta bibona. Igihe kandi kirageze ngo umuhutu w'i Burundi yumve ko akwiye kurwana intambara ya nyuma na nyuma. Uko umututsi arushaho kumupyinagaza, birusheho kumutera ingufu zo kwigobotora iyo ngoyi. Iterabwoba umututsi amushyiraho rimutere akanyabugabo aho kumuca intege. Mbese igihe kirageze ngo umuhutu wo mu Rwanda n'uwo mu Burundi bumve ko basangiye ibyago n'amahirwe.

NGEZE Hassan

NONE TWAGIRAMUNGU YABA ARI WE WIVUGANYE GAPYISI ? BIRASHOBOKA !

Hashize igihe gito umwe mu barwanashyaka b'imena ba MDR–PARMEHUTU Gapyisi Emmanuel yitabye imana. Nk'uko mwabyumvise, uwo murwanashyaka yaguye mu marembo y'iwe azize amasasu abagizi ba nabi bamududujemo. Hari kuwa kabiri tariki ya 18 Gicurasi ariko kugeza na nubu abo bishi ntibari batahurwa.
Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'uwo murwanashyaka, buri wese avuga iby'urupfu rwe uko abyumva. Abakekwa ni benshi ariko nta gihamya. Ari nacyo gituma Perezida wa Repubulika aherutse gusaba ko anketi zakwihutishwa, abanyarwanda bakamenyeshwa ibyo zagezeho. Ishyaka rya MDR ryo rigera kure, kugeza n'aho risaba ko anketi zakorwa n'abanyamahanga kabuhariwe mu gutahura abicanyi. N'ubwo bwose anketi ntacyo zari zatanga gifatika, hari ibimenyetso bigaragara ko umurwanashyaka Gapyisi Emmanuel yazize Twagiramungu afatanije n'inyenzi.

Twagiramungu, n'ubwo bwose yari musanzire (bose ni abakwe ba Nyakwigendera Gr. KAYIBANDA) wa Gapyisi Emmanuel, nta wamushira amakenga. N'ubwo bwose abo bagabo bombi bari abarwanashyaka b'ibanze ba MDR, ishyari Twagiramungu yari afitiye «umuvandimwe» we ntiryari gusiga ubusa. Ishyari Twagiramungu yari afitiye Gapyisi Emmanuel niryo ryatumye asohoza umugambi we.
Ibyo Twagiramungu yakoreye Gapyisi ni nk'ibyo Gahini yakoreye Abeli. Icyo Twagiramungu yazizaga Gapyisi Emmanuel ni uko yamurushaga ubwenge n'ibitekerezo. Urebye neza Gapyisi yari umunyapolitiki wuzuye, abantu bose bemera. Ari muri MDR ubwayo ndetse no mu yandi mashyaka.

Gapyisi Emmanuel ntabwo yacungiraga ku bigambo gusa nka «Rukokoma». Hari inkuru yigeze gukwira ko Gapyisi Emmanuel ariwe uzaba Minisitiri w'Intebe muri Guverinoma itaha yaguye. Cyangwa se ngo mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika dutegereje, umukandida wa MDR yagombaga kuba Gapyisi Emmanuel aho kuba Twagiramungu. Ibyo byose rero nibyo «Rukokoma» atihanganiye.

Abibuka «coup d'Etat» yo ku Rucunshu muribuka ukuntu Kabare na Kanjogera bagenje Rutarindwa kugirango bimike umuhungu wabo Musinga. Abibuka icyo gico cy'amateka y'u Rwanda nibo bashobora kumva ibyabaye kuri Gapyisi Emmanuel.
Ikindi kimenyetso gihamya Twagira-

mungu ni ibyamubayeho igihe yigiraga nyoni nyinshi ngo agiye kwifatanya n'abandi gushyingura Gapyisi. Abari bahari bemeza neza ko Twagiramungu yakirijwe induru. Nawe yarabyiyemereye kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Bavuga ahubwo ko na mushiki wa Nyakwigendera yari amereye nabi Twagiramungu kubera akababaro, amushinja kuba ariwe wivuganye musaza we. Uwo mubyeyi ntiyari yasaze yavugaga ibyo azi.

Banavuga ko Twagiramungu yagombye gutira imodoka ya Minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye kugirango atabazwa iby'ubugambanyi bwe. Ureke ibyo Twagiramungu yabeshye kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo induru yahawe agiye gushinyagurira Gapyisi ngo ni abantu banga demokarasi bari babiri inyuma. Ba nde ?

INYENZI ZATANGIYE GAHUNDA YAZO YO KWIVUGANA ABANYAPOLITIKI BATAVUGA RUMWE NAZO.

Gapyisi Emmanuel yaraye yitabye Imana, mugenzi we Mbonampeka Stanislas bari bahuriye muri rya huriro ry'amahoro na demokarasi (Forum de Paix et Démocratie), yaduhishuriye byinshi kuri urwo rupfu.

Mbonampeka Stanislas yemeje kuri Radiyo-Rwanda ko inyenzi ari zo zivuganye Emmanuel Gapyisi. Dore ko hari n'amabaruwa uwo murwanashyaka yari yoherereje amutera ubwoba. Iryo terabwoba ryabaye no kuri Mbonampeka Stanislas igihe bashakaga gutera grenade ku idirishya ry'iwe. Inyenzi zivuganye Gapyisi Emmanuel ntibitangaje. Intambara y'inyeshyamba igira ibice byinshi. Hari iy'amasasu. Iyo yo inyenzi zisa nizayinaniwe kuko zitashoboye gufata Kigali mu minsi itatu nk'uko zabiteganyaga. Indi ntambara ni iy'iterabwoba. Iyo yo yaratangiye. Aba nya Ruhengeri n'abanya Byumba bishwe nibo babizi. Iryo terabwoba noneho risatiriye abanyapolitiki. Nk'uko Perezida wa Repubulika aherutse kubivuga, niba abanyapolitiki batangiye kwikanga, inzira ya demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezo binyuranye twari twiyemeje igiye gusubira inyuma. Kandi niyo ntego y'inyenzi. Zabanje kwivugana Gapyisi, ejo hatahiwe abandi...

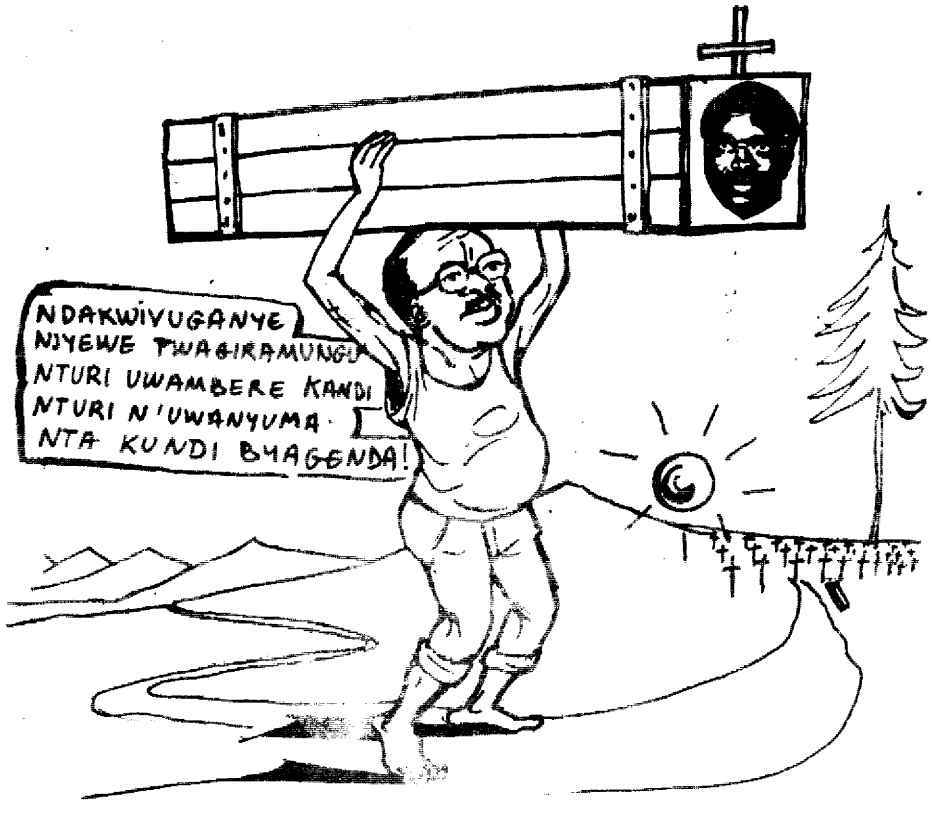
Ikindi kimenyetso cyerekana ko inyenzi ari zo zivuganye Gapyisi zifashishije icyitso cyazo Twagiramungu, ni uko inyenzi zitihanganiye ukuntu Gapyisi yajya muri ririya huriro ry'amahoro na demokarasi. Iryo huriro, ibyitso by'inyenzi byari byarakwije ibihuha ngo ni iryo mu «kazu». Kuvuga gutyo ahari ni ukubera ko harimo abanya Ruhengeri nka Mbonampeka Stanislas. Urebye neza usanga Mbonampeka wahoze ari Minisitiri w'Ubutabera (umukandida wa PL) akaza kwegura, niwe baba barahereyeho. Gapyisi rero yamubereye igitambo. Dore ko Mbonampeka abatutsi bo muri PL (ishami rya politiki rya FPR) bamwitaga umusederi ngo ni uko gusa ari umuhutu. Uko anketi zagenda kose, urupfu rwuriya murwanashyaka rurahama Twagiramungu n'inyenzi. Inyenzi zikijije uwo zitavugaga rumwe. Twagiramungu azibera icyitso nk'uko asanzwe abigenza. N'abo banyamahanga kabuhariwe mu gutahura abicanyi MDR ishaka ko ari bo bakora anketi, bazahere kuri Twagiramungu. Dore ko nta mwicanyi umurenze. Twagiramungu ntazayobye rero uburari, nk'uko yatangiye kubikora ahereereza urupfu rwa Gapyisi ku mashyaka adafite aho ahuriye narwo nka MRND na CDR.

La Rédaction.

TWAGIRAMUNGU arajijisha nyamara urupfu rwa GAPYISI rurahama.

Kuwa gatandatu tariki ya 22/05/1993 ni bwo Perezida wa MDR mu gihugu Bwana TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin yagize icyo atangaza kuri Radiyo Rwanda ndetse no kuri Televiziyo y'u Rwanda ku birebana n'urupfu rwa GAPYISI Emmanuel wari Perezida wa rya Huriro Riharanira Amahoro na Demokrasi FPD.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ati "Ibyo umuryango wa GAPYISI wankoreye ku Gikongoro byari byateguwe". Tubamenyeshe ko mu ishyingurwa rya Nyakwigendera GAPYISI, TWAGIRAMUNGU yaramaganywe, yaratutswe ndetse banamubujije kugera aho umurambo washyinguwe. Mushiki wa Gapyisi yararangururaga mu kiriziya ati "azize TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUSANGAMFURA, RUHAMANYA n'agatsiko kabo". Ibyo byavuzwe inshuro zirenze eshatu. None se MRND yagira amayeri yagira n'ayo gutegura kwica GAPYISI igategurira na mushiki we amagambo azavuga? Uko ni ukuyobya amarari. Ahubwo ibyo bintu barabimenyereye iyo wibutse ukuntu bateguye AFURIKA Janvier ngo azavuge ko yayoboye inama yo kwica abagogwe



Ikinani gihari. Ikinyamakuru ISIBO gikorera Inkotanyi na TWAGIRAMUNGU mu nimero yacyo ya 98 cyamaganye GAPYISI kimuhindura umusazi (MUSANGAMFURA yagerageje ariko kubisiba na wino y'umukara arangije ayobya amarari ashyiramo indi nyandiko ivuga ko GAPYISI yari umutabazi w'abanyarwanda). None TWAGIRAMUNGU ati barambeshyera si njye wishe musanzire wanjye!! Ibyo ni ukuyobya amarari. Ikinyamakuru La Nation gikorera Inkotanyi yasohotse ku wa kabiri tariki ya 18/05/1993 cyashyize Gapyisi amanitse amaboko imbere ya Perezida w'inkotanyi nk'usaba imbabazi. None Twagiramungu ati "GAPYISI ntiyishwe n'inkotanyi". Ibyo ni ikinyoma, abanyarwanda bagomba kumenya ukuri. Gapyisi yishwe n'umutwe w'inkoramaraso (escadron de la mort) ukorera Twagiramungu n'inkotanyi.

Uwo mutwe w'inkoramaraso niwo ugiye kurimbura abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Niwo wishe umutegarugori MUKARURINDA Scholastique wishwe nawe ku mugoroba mu Kiyovu arashwe n'imbunda ya pistolet. Niwo wishe Paul Karasira wari Perezida w'Interahamwe i Shyorongi ku mugoroba ataha ajya iwabo. Uwo mutwe niwo wishe KALISA Callixte, Twagiramungu yavuze kuri Radiyo Rwanda no kuri Televiziyo abeshya. Ariko se azi ko yari umurwanashyaka wa MRND? N'abandi benshi tutarondora kandi b'abarwanashyaka ba MRND bamaze kwicwa n'uwo mutwe w'inkoramaraso.

Noneho ariko ubanza imizinga igiye kuvamo imyibano. Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gapyisi inkoramaraso za Twagiramungu zahise zoherezwa i Murambi kwica Burugumesitiri GATETE. Mu ijoro ryo kuwa gatanu tariki ya 21/05/1993 Burugumesitiri Gatete yaguye mu gico cy'abantu bane baramurasa, baramuhusha. Ako kanya abaturage barahurura batangatanga amayira yose buracya bafata abantu batatu bari muri uwo mugambi barimo USENGAMUNGU ukomoka i Cyangugu muri Komini Nyakabuye na NTILIVAMUNDA ukomoka muri Komini Kagano naho muri Cyangugu. Bariya bantu rero ni abo Twagiramungu yohereje kwa Gatete ngo bamwice imvururu zivuke inkotanyi zitere. Na n'ubu niyo migambi ya Twagiramungu yo guteza akaduruvayo ngo inkotanyi zitere twibagirwe urupfu rwa Gapyisi. Amaraso arasama ariko ay'umuvandimwe yo ntazayakira.

Ku byerekeye urupfu rwa GAPYISI.

Ibyo twamenye kuri urwo rupfu, turacyabinononsora, dushobora kubibagezaho vuba aha. Mutwihanganire tuzatunge agatoki abivuganye iyo ntwari. Gusa icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki:

I: ni nde ufite inyungu ku rupfu rwa Gapyisi, usibye abo yari abangamiye kubera ko yavugwaga cyane mubo MDR izatangaho umukandida mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika?

II: kuki Twagiramungu yihutiye guterefona "la voix d'Amérique" igatangaza inkuru y'urwo rupfu muri iryo joro?

III: Kuki Twagiramungu yajyanye mu nama ya Biro Politiki ya MDR ikibazo cya Forum Paix et Démocratie, ngo bafatire iryo huriro ibyemezo?

IV: Musangamfura, muri "la Nation" n'Isibo, inyandiko ze zagaragaje ko yari azi neza urupfu rwa Gapyisi. Ese hari utazi ko shebuja w'Isibo ari Twagiramungu? Izo nyandiko zirabahama, ubihakana azazisome.

V: abazadufasha gukora anketi bazahere ku byo umuryango wa Gapyisi utekereza ku rupfu rwa Nyakwigendera, no ku nama Gasana Anastazi yari amaze iminsi akoresha muri Méridien, mu rwego rwo kwamagana Gapyisi wari ubangamiye inkotanyi n'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu aho bwava hose.

NGEZE Hassan

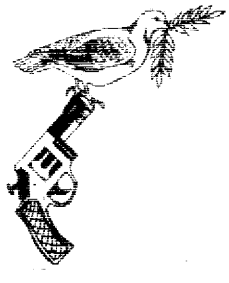
TURAMAMAZA

Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu bose bo mu turere twose, mu mashyaka yose, bo mu Rwanda, Burundi, Zaïre, riramenyesha abayoboke baryo ko amakarita yaryo agitangwa mu mpande zose ku buryo busanzwe.

Ku byerekeye abasirikare bazasezererwa n'imishyikirano y'Arusha, amakarita yabo aracyatangwa mu mpande zose ku bahagarariye "Turi hose". Ubwiyunge bwacu nibwo buzatuma tugera kucyo dushaka. Nimugane «Turi hose» kuko ariyo mizero y'Abahutu ya nyuma.

*** Icyo "Forum Paix et Démocratie" ihuriyeho na "Turi hose" ni uko byose bihuriye ku ntego imwe. Usibye ko "Forum" itanga ibitekerezo igateganya icyakorwa maze "Turi hose" igashyira mu bikorwa ibyananiranye. Ku byerekeye ibiranga ntego, ntibibatere ibibazo.**

PAIX & DEMOCRATIE



TURI HOSE

DUFATANYE

GUTORA BUYOYA NI UKWIGEREKAHO UMUSARABA

Kuri Radiyo–Burundi hakunze guhita indirimbo idutekerereza iby'umugabo «Bararuhiga». Uwo mugabo ngo yamanutse i Bujumbura, bamubeshye ko azahagirira ubuzima bwiza, agezeyo aratangara. Kuri Radiyo–Burundi kandi bakunze guhitisha indi ndirimbo y'umugabo ngo wugururiye ingwe... Ibi tubabwiye, harimo ababifataho urwenya. Nyamara icyo umuhanzi avuze aba yakirose. Abahanzi burya ni nk'abahanuzi. «Bararuhiga» cyangwa se uwo mugabo «wugururiye ingwe» ni umuhutu w'umurundi, ishyaka yaba arimo ryose, uzibeshya agatora umwicanyi Buyoya. Umuhutu w'i Burundi uzaha Buyoya ijwi tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993 azaba yiyemeje gukomeza kuba umugaragu, ingaruzwamuheto y'abatutsi. Bityo azaba agambaniye rubanda nyamwinshi izaba yahagurukiye uwo munsi kwipakurura ingoma ya gihake ntutsi.

Abahutu b'i Burundi bakwiye kuba maso bakima amatwi ibinyoma bya Buyoya. Uwo gashakabuhake akomeje kubeshyera amashyaka ya rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abarundi ngo ni amashyaka y'inkozi z'ibibi, amashyaka y'abicanyi... Ishyaka riharanira inyungu z'abahutu, PALIPEHUTU, ubutegetsi bw'igihugu bwa Buyoya bwarihaye akato. None bukomeje no gutoteza FRODEBU.

Buyoya akomeje kubeshya ko UPRONA, ishyaka ry'abatutsi kuva kera, ngo ari ryo shyaka ry'ubumwe bw'Abarundi. Namenye rero ko icyo kinyoma gishaje. Dore ko guverinoma ntutsi uko zagiye zisimburana mu Burundi zose zagiye zibeshya ko ziharanira ubwiyunge bw'Abahutu n'abatutsi. Ubwo «bwiyunge» bwaranzwe buri gihe n'iyicwa ry'abahutu. Umwicanyi ntangarugero yabaye Mikayire Micombero, wivuganye mu mwaka umwe gusa wa 1972 abahutu barenga ibihumbi magana atatu (300.000) atuma abandi bangana gutyo bahunga. Arangije ayo marorerwa asaba abacitse ku icumu «kwiyunga» n'abatutsi. Byari gushoboka gute ?

Buyoya nawe ntagira isoni. Amaze gutwika abahutu babona batagira ingano mu mvururu za Ntega na Marangara arasaba abahutu «kwiyunga» n'abatutsi ! Abahutu b'i Burundi nibamenye ko uko ingoma ntutsi zizajya zisimburana, nta mahwemo bashobora kuzagira.

Abahutu b'i Burundi ntibanze ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abarundi bose. Icyo basaba ni uko ubwoko nyakamwe bw'abatutsi butakomeza «kubarya bubicaye ko». Abahutu b'i Burundi barambiwe kandi inkunga abatutsi b'i Burundi bakomeje gutera inyenzi kugirango zifate ubutegetsi ku ngufu mu Rwanda. Izo mpungenge kandi zifite ishingiro kuko inyenzi ziramutse zifashe ubutegetsi i Kigali, aka karere dutuyemo kaba gahindutse ubwami bw'abatutsi. Bityo abahutu bagapfira noneho gushira. Dore Uganda ifitwe n'umuhima Museveni, u Burundi nabwo buri mu maboko y'undi muhima, Buyoya. Mutekereze rero n'u Rwanda rufashwe mpiri n'abatutsi. Ak'abahutu ntikaba gashobotse ?

Mu Burundi, kugira ngo abahutu n'abatutsi biyunge haracyari inzira ndende. Mu bibazo bizitira ubwo bwiyunge harimo ikibazo cy'ingabo, uburezi, impunzi, na demokarasi. Duhereye ku kibazo cy'uburezi, abahutu b'i Burundi baracyari inyuma cyane. Kandi ubutegetsi bw'i Bujumbura nta bushake na buke bufite bwo kubarenganura. Nko mu mashuri yisumbuye, abahutu bangana na 20 gusa ku ijana. Kandi ubwo bitwa ko aribo bagize hafi 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose. Birumvikana ko no muri Kaminuza abatutsi aribo bazahora aribo benshi.

Turebye nk'abanyeshuri boherezwa mu mahanga, abahutu bajyayo boherejwe na Guverinoma y'i Burundi bari hasi ya o ku ijana. Abazi imibare bemeza ko bangana na 15 ku ijana. Kandi nabwo bakamarayo igihe gito cyane nk'amezi atatu gusa, abakabije ntibarenze imyaka ibiri. Mu gihe «bagenzi» babo b'abatutsi bamara yo imyaka myinshi, imike ari itanu. Muri abo batutsi boherezwa mu mahanga ibenshi ni abasirikari n'abamaneko b'ubutegetsi.

Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abahutu nacyo kiri mu biteye inkeke. Kuva mu w'1965, abahutu bahunga buri gihe ubwicanyi bw'abatutsi. Ku buryo muri iki gihe abahutu b'i Burundi baba hanze batagira ingano. Naho izo mpunzi zibereye aho mu mahanga, ntizifite amahoro. Ubutegetsi bw'i Bujumbura bukomeje kuzidurumbanya ngo zitahuke ku ngufu. Guverinoma y'u Burundi igeze naho itanga ruswa ngo ibihugu bicumbikiye izo mpunzi bizirukane. Kandi bizwi neza ko iyo hagize impunzi itahuka bayinyuza mu ryoya.

Ikindi kibazo kizitira ubwiyunge bw'abahutu n'abatutsi b'i Burundi ni ikibazo cy'ingabo. Ingabo z'u Burundi (niba ariko twazita) zigizwe n'abatutsi gusa gusa. Umubare w'abasirikari b'Abarundi muri iki gihe ugeze ku bihumbi makumyabiri (20.000), abatutsi bakaba ari 99 ku ijana. Urebye nta muhutu urimo, n'urimo ni kaporali cyangwa soruda ! Izo ngabo nizo buri gihe zakoreshejwe mu kwica abahutu. Izo ngabo zidafite icyo zimariye rubanda nyamwinshi y'i Burundi, nizo zikenesha u Burundi bubarirwa mu bihugu bikennye cyane ku isi. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi zivutsa u Burundi imbaraga z'abana barwo zibica, zibasahura, zibabuza gukorera igihugu cyababyaye. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi nizo kandi ziharira ingengo y'imari. Dore ko ziharira 30 ku ijana by'amafaranga Guverinoma ikoresha. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi uwazigabanya agasiga nibura nk'ibihumbi nka bitanu, zigizwe n'abahutu benshi, abatutsi bake, n'abatwa. Mbese hakurikijwe ubwiganze bwa buri bwoko mu Burundi.

Demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi ni kimwe mu by'angombwa kugira ngo u Burundi buzagire amahoro. Uretse ibyo babeshye, u Burundi bwategetswe buri gihe n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi rya Uprona. Iryo shyaka ryakomeje gucecekesha andi mashyaka kuva u Burundi bwabona ubwigenge. Ibyo kandi Uprona yabigezeho ikoresheje uburyo bwose bubaho kuko itatinye no kwirenza abataravugaga rumwe nayo. Naho poliliki y'amashyaka menshi igereye mu Burundi, UPRONA ikomeje kwitwara nk'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Iryo shyaka ry'abatutsi ryishingikirije ubutegetsi rifite, ryifashishije ingabo z'abatutsi, rikomeje gutera ubwoba n'umutekano muke mu baturage.
Uprona ikomeje kandi kuvoma mu mutungo w'igihugu no mu mfashanyo amahanga aha u Burundi kugira ngo abashe gusohoza imigambi yayo mibi. Mu gihe andi mashyaka acungira ku misanzu y'abarwanashyaka bayo gusa kugira ngo abashe gukora.

(Komeza ku rup.18)

KA02 1805

BURUNDI: BUYOYA aritegura gushoza imvururu aramutse atsinzwe.

Hari impuguke muri politiki iheruse kuganiranya Major Petero Buyoya n'umugabo w'ikigomeke wo muri Angola Jonas Savimbi, umukuru w'Ishyaka UNITA. Abazi ibyabaye muri Angola, mumbuke ukuntu uwo mugabo Jonas Savimbi yanze kwemera ko yatsinzwe mu matora. Kandi vari yive mereye ku mugaragaro ko ayo matora aba. Emwe ni nawe wari wasabye kurusha abandi ko ayo matora yateguwa. Savimbi yapfuye gusa kumenya ko yatsinzwe ahita afata ify'ishyamba. Mbese nka bya bindi Major Kagame wo mu nyenzi aherutse gutangaza. Yavuguye ko umutwe wa FPR nutamuka utsinzwe, we na bagenzi be bazisubirira mu ishyamba.

Savimbi na Kagame bo ahari umuntu yabumva kuko ari inyeshyamba. Nta mategeko azigenga. Icyo zivuze si ngombwa ko zigikunkiza. Gusa ikibabaje kandi kinateye impungenge ni ukubona umukuru w'igihugu nka Major Petero Buyoya ariwe ufata iya mbere mu kuburizamo amatora yiyemeganiye. Impamvu ariko irimvikana. Nubwo Buyoya yashatse amatora ya buhuhuti, azi neza ko atazeyatsinda. Ikindi kibazo afite ni uko no kuyanga burundu ndetse no kuyafiliko bisa ni bitagishobotse. Amahanga arahari aramureba. Cyokora Buyoya ntiyumvise nk'umwana nubwo bwose izina rye risobanura Buhinja. Azi neza ikimutegereje. Ari nayo mpamvu namara kumva ko yatsinzwe, azahita ashyira mu bikorwa umugambi we wo kubuza amatora ateganijwe tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993.

Nk'uko abadutanira amakuru i Burundi babitumenyesha, uwo mugambi uteye utya:

Buyoya yateguye ikinamico y'ibitero bizaturuka mu ntara zimwe na zimwe z'u Burundi. Izo ngirwa bitero zikaba zigomba kuba mbere y'uko amatora aba tariki ya 1/6/1993. Ibyo bitero (nibaba kuko ari ko twabyita) bikagerekwa ku mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Uprona anko cyane cyane PALIPEHUTU. Iyo kinamico y'ibyo bitero igamije kubuza ayo matora kuba ku tariki yateguwe. Biryo akabona uko yanika mu bakuru b'amashyaka y'abahutu bakicwa, abacitse ku icumu bagashya ubwoba bakaruca bakarumira.

Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'abakuru b'amashyaka y'abahutu, Buyoya niwo ateganya gukoresha ayo matora noneho yizeye neza kuzatsinda ntawe umubangamiye. Uwo mutwe urāmutse upfubye, Buyoya afite andi mayeri ashobora gutuma "atsinda" ariya matora. Buyoya arateganya gutoresha abantu batagira indangamuntu. Ngo bakoreshe gusa passeporo, amakarita y'akazi cyangwa se aya gisirikari. Aho umuntu akaba yakwibaza ukuntu umuntu'yahonna passeporo, cyangwa se ikarita y'akazi, atagira indangamuntu. Ibyo bishoboka i Burundi gusa! Indangamuntu ngo zigonnwe abatuntsi gusa. Impamvu ngo ni uko aribo bakenera bonyine gutembera bajya mu mahanga cyangwa se i Bujumbura kuryoha.

Ababutu bo nta rangamuntu bagomba kuko bagomba kuguma iwabo mu gihugo badakeneye na rimwe kuhava. Akumiro ni amavunja! Wasanga na ba bandi bafata buri munsi buvuga ngo ni abanyarwanda batagira ibya ngombwa ari ababutu b'abarundi.

Andi mayeri Buyoya ateganiya gukoresha kugira ngo arebe uko yakwiba amajwi muri ariya matora, ni ugutuma abasirikari be bagatora ababutu ubwoba. Ingendo Ministiri w'Ingabo aherutsemo mu bigo byinshi bya gisirikari rufitanye isano n'iryo teraboba.

Buyoya n'abantu be barateganya kandi gusimbura udusanduku tw'itora, bakadusimbuza utundi dusanduku turimo impapuro z'impimba na ziha Buyoya amajwi adakwiye.

Buyoya arateganya kandi guteza akaduruvayo mu biryo by'itora cyangwa se mu biro bazabaruriramo amajwi.

Kubera ayo mayeri yose Buyoya ateganya gukoresha kugira ngo aburizemo ariya matora cyangwa se yibe amajwi, abarundi b'umutima hari bakwiye kuba maso, bagatahura kare iyo migambi yose. Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo. Amahanga nayo yari akwiye kohereza umubare uhagije w'abagenzuzi b'ayo matora, nibura 500 ku buryo buri Komini yaba ifite nibura abagenzuzi bane. Amahanga yari akwiye kandi guhashya hakiri kare uwashaka wese kwiba amajwi kugira ngo hatazavuka imvururu, umuko akongera agasubiranamo.

La Rédaction

(Ibikurikira p 4)

BUYOYA atsinze, Abatutsi bazoba bivye amajwi. Abanyagihugu rero basabwe kuba maso bakarārira amasandugu kugira ngo Abatutsi ntibibe amajwi.

Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka, ninde muri twebwe atazi amabi UPRONA wadukoreye kuva wabaho gushika ubu kandi ari twebwe twatumye utsinda ? Ninde yokwiyibagiza inkumbi Petero BUYOYA amaze kwirenza imyaka itarenze itanu afashe ubutegetsi ku nguvu. Icibagiwe coco ni bene wacu, abavyeyi n'abana bacu yamariye mu mabohero abandi abanganza, hanyuma akaza kudukora mu gisebe, yiyerurutsa ngo ni Sebarundi, ngo ashikiye ubumwe n'amahoro (Sebumwe).

"Igiti ntikigukora mu jisho kabiri". Petero BUYOYA amaze guhinyuka. Mu minsi mikeya abanyagihugu bazomuha ibihembo akwiriye mu kumusezerera ubudasubirwako.

Biribonekeza ko Abatutsi batvye amajwi, gutsinda kw'abanyagihugu bahurikiye mu migambwe ishaka ko ibintu bihinduka ari ntagisivya. BUYOYA atsinze. Abatutsi bazoba bivye amajwi. Abanyagihugu rero basabwe kuba maso bakarārira amasandugu kugira ngo Abatutsi ntibibe amajwi.

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Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka, intwaro y'agahotoro yaducuze bufuni na buhoro, yaduhekuye urutembagaye. None tuzakora iki ?

Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU urasavye Abarundi bose gutsimbataza demokarasi turwanira ubutunganc mu mahoro ahasigaye tugateza imbere igihugu cacu.

NGEZE Hassani

KA02 1806

Ukuri kose ku myivumbagatanyo y'i Bwito, Masisi, Walikale ho muri Zaïre

Mu ntara zose zigize Zaïre haboneka abanyarwanda n'abavuga ikinyarwanda ariko atari abanyarwanda. Ibyo bintu bikunze gutera urujijo kuko hari ababa abanyarwanda iyo bihaye gukemura ibibazo biri mu Rwanda n'ubwo bakoresha intwaro, ariko bakongera bakigira abazayirwa bavuga ikinyarwanda iyo amatiku yabo yatahuwe. Abazwi cyane kuri iyo ngeso y'uburumirahabiri, mu byukuri ni impunzi z'abanyarwanda b'abatutsi. Abazayirwa bakoresha ikinyarwanda kimwe n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda baboneka cyane mu ntara ya Kivu y'amajyaruguru. Hambere aha rero mu mpera za Werurwe no mu ntangiriro za Mata, abo bose bahuye n'ingorane. Hari abapfuye, abasenyewe, abasahuwe ibyabo, hakaba n'abahunze. Mu minsi ishize rero, twigiriye i Masisi n'i Walikale kureba uko ibintu byifashe no kubaza neza uko byagenze.

Ubwoko bw'Abahunde bwiraye mu bavuga ikinyarwanda bose.

Nk'uko mwabyumvise ku maradiyo amwe n'amwe, ndetse mukanabisoma mu binyamakuru bimwe na bimwe byandikirwa mu Rwanda, mu ntara ya Kivu y'Amajyaruguru, habaye imvururu. Ntabwo ari abatutsi izo mvururu zashakaga guhitana gusa, ahubwo ni abagize umuryango w'abavuga ikinyarwanda bose baboneka mu duce twa Masisi, Walikale, na Bwito. Ba gakondo baho bagizwe ahanini n'Abahunde, ngo ntibashaka agasuzuguro, ubwikanyize n'ubugizi bwa nabi bw'abo bita abanyarwanda! Bagiye kubarusha ubugiraneza, babiraramo barabamenesha, inka baratemagura, agahu kaba kabonye umunyutsi. Nyamara iyo batuza bakumva ijwi rya Mahtma Gandhi rigira riti: "Ziba gusa imbabazi, iyo wirinze guhana kandi ufite imbaraga zo kubikora". Cyokora abo ba gakondo bashobora kuba barabonye isari yasumbye iseseme maze bakegura amacumu, imihoro ndetse n'imbunda nk'uko uwo Gandhi yabigenje mu mwaka w'1942, ubwo abaturage babaturaga intwaro bakarwanya igitugu cy'Abongereza, kandi politiki ye yaraziranaga n'ihutaza.

Ba gakondo bavuga ko intandaro y'amarorerwa ari Musenyeri NGABU Faustin n'abapadiri be b'Abanyarwanda bigisha amacakubiri. Abo ba nyakwihimana nk'uko ba gakondo babyivugira, bafatanya n'ibindi bikomerezwa nka Kasuku wa Ngeyo, Sekimonyo wa Magango, bagashyigikira ibisahiranda bibambura amasambu yabo. Abo ngo nibo boshya abaturage ngo babuze amasoko kurema, basuzugure ubutegetsi bw'i Kalehe, Masisi, Walikale, Nyiragongo, Kalisimbi, Goma n'i Rutshuru. Kuri ibyo, Mwami Kalinda NDANDU aragira ati: "tubibutse ko utwo turere turi mu two banyotewe kugira ngo " bashinje Republika y'ibiyaga bigari nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa bandikiye umunyamabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, kandi Musenyeri NGABU Faustin akaba yaragize uruhare runini kuri iyo baruwa".

Iyo uganiriye na ba Gakondo usanga ibyo bakoze barabitewe no gutanguranwa. Bari bafite ubwoba. Hari hashize iminsi bamaze gutahura ko Musenyeri NGABU Faustin yatumije mu mahanga intwaro nyinshi zikaba zari zibitswe kuri Goma aha hakurikira: Super March, ACOGENOKI, HOTEL DES GRANDS LACS, CARITAS, EVECHE DE GOMA. Baba baratanguranwe kugira ngo base n'abapfubirizamo imigambi mibi yari igiye kubuzirwaho. Icyo twabibutsa ni uko hariya hose abahunde bavuga ko hari habitse imbunda ari mu bipangu by'abatutsi cyangwa se umututsi akaba ari umuyobozi wabyo. Twibuke na none ko muri icyo gihe aribwo inkuru zacicikanaga ngo Gisenyi iri hafi guterwa n'Inkotanyi ziturutse muri Zaïre. Wenda imbunda zari gutera u Rwanda nizo abahunde baketseko zizabumvisha.

Indi mpamvu ikomeye yateje imvururu ni inyota y'ubutegetsi iranga abatutsi, abahutu n'abahunde batuye i Bwito, i Masisi n'i Walikale. Ayo moko uko ari atatu rahanganye. Abahutu bageze aho bashinga ubutegetsi bwabo kubo bita "chefs de localités", ugaca kuri "chefs de groupements" na chefs de collectivités ukagera kuri "commissaires de zone". Ngo umuhutu utubashye ubutegetsi bwa bene wabo araseserezwa cyane. Bamwe mu bategetsi b'abahutu Mwami Kalinda Ndandu avuga ko bishyizeho ni: Mujyarugamba Komiseri wa zone ya Masisi, Nzabarinda shefu wa "collectivité" sheferi ya Bashali, Serekali, shefu wa "collectivité sheferi ya **Bahunde, Barisesera** Mutsiri Shefu wa "collectivité" Zirasana shefu wa "groupement Mshanga n'abandi".

KALINDA NDANDU nawe si shyashya.

Mwami Kalinda Ndandu amaze kubona no kwiyumvisha ko umuryango w'abavuga ikinyarwanda ushobora kuzamuhirika ku butegetsi, yahise acengera mu bategetsi b'ingeri zose, baba aba gisiviri cyangwa aba gisirikari, abumvisha ko nibaramuka batitabaye kagiye kubarangirana. Ikigaragaza ko uriya Mwami abifitemo nawe uruhare ni uko yagiraga atya byo kwiyerurutsa agatumaho jandarumori ngo ize guhosha imvururu aho zabaye ariko yahagera ugasanga nta cyo ihamaze, mbese irutwa n'uko itari kwirirwa iza. Abategetsi bo mu bwatsi bwa Kalinda nabo bari bigishijwe amayeri y'ukuntu uvuga ikinyarwanda wese agomba gutsembwa. Nko muri "collectivité" ya Katoyi yarabanje ayobya commandant witwa Lutumba amwohereza ahandi kandi yari aje aho kubungabunga umutekano. Icyo gihe hari tariki ya 20/4/1993. Mu ijoro ry'iyo tariki abitwa Abatembo, Abanyanga, Abahunde babatuye intwaro z'ubwoko bunyuranye, bajya kwica Abahutu n'Abatutsi bari muri ako karere. Icyo gihe hatwitswe imirenge ikurikira: Mahanga-Manama-Cyambeho-Tulungu-Rusheke-Matala I-MatalaII-Mulunga-Muzo-Kaneto-Bulombo-Buhongoto-Kashasha-Rugangali-Mbeshabeshe-Butsihire n'ibindi...

Biragoye kugirango umuntu abashe kwemeza umubare w'abatwikiwe mu mazu yabo kimwe no kumenya abajugunywe mu migezi nka Luindi. Imirambo yashoboye kuboneka aho i Katoyi igera kuri 35. Ipfundo ry'ubwicanyi ni uko abategetsi bakorera Mwami Kalinda Ndandu bakomeje gushyigikira ba Gakondo. Abahutu n'abatutsi b'i Walikale bo batwikiwe ari ku munsi w'isoko, tariki ya 21/3/1993 ku manywa y'ihangu. Ba gakondo bari bayobowe na Shefu wa "groupement Waroba witwa Kiroba Musengezi. Bukeye bwaho hateye akandi gatsiko kitwaje imbunda, amacumu, n'imipanga maze ya moko abiri (abatutsi n'abatutsi) yerekwa uko intama zambarwa. Muri icyo gitero abo

KA02 1807

twabashije kumenya ko bakiguyemo ni uwitwa Haguma n'abana be batanu, Nshimiyimana, Tuyisenge, Uwituze, agatsiko kari kayobowe n'uwitwa DELEO. Ahitwa Kasheshe haguye abavuga ikinyarwanda bagera kuri 50, naho i Nyamaboko I bararenga 200. Abatubwiraga iyo nkuru baragize bati: "muzabwire abanyarwanda bari i Rwanda bafite bene wabo i Nyamaboko, ngo abari bahari mu gihe cy'imvururu bose barashize. Nta muhutu nta mututsi ugihari".

Perezida HABYARIMANA nta ruhare abifitemo nk'uko abanyamakuru bamwe b'inshizi z'isoni bamuharabitse.

Amakimbirane ari hagati y'abaturage ba Bwito, Masisi na Walikale si aya none. Na mbere y'ubwigenge bwa Zaire ayo makimbirane yari ariho. Kera yari ashingiye cyane cyane ku butaka. Umuhutu yashakaga aho ahinga umututsi agashaka aho yorora, gakondo agashaka aho aroba n'aho akorera umuhigo, akagerekaho n'ubutegetsi. None ubu ariya moko yose arashaka kwiganza muri byose kandi ntibishoboka. icy'ingenzi ayo moko apfa ni ubutegetsi. Ni impamvu iriho kandi imaze igihe kirekire. Mu gushaka gusobanura impamvu abavuga ikinyarwanda badafite amahoro mu turere twavuzwe, Mwami Kalinda Ndandu avanga ibitavangika. Ngo mu bwatsi ayobora hari abantu bazamuye ibendera rya CDR, ishyaka rya politiki ryo mu Rwanda. Abayoboke b'iryo shyaka ahongaho bafatanya na Musenyeri Ngabu, Kasuku n'abandi bose muzi ko bakorera Inkotanyi baba kuri Goma, Uwo Mwami ubwiyunge bw'Inkotanyi na CDR yabwumvise ryari? Ahubwo uko twe twabashije kubibona umuhutu n'umututsi bashatse ubutegetsi ariko buri wese abushaka ku giti cye. Ba gakondo babibonye bishyira hamwe maze abavuga ikinyarwanda batikurwa batitaye ku moko yabo.

Biragaragara, Perezida Habyarimana siwe washoje imvururu muri Zaire nk'uko Isibo 96 yabyanditse. Abatutsi sibo bonyine baguye mu mvururu zabereye muri Kivu y'Amajyaruguru. Tujye dushyira mu gaciro tuvuge ibintu uko biri aho kubivuga uko tubyifuza. None se Habyarimana ariho mu iyiewa ry'abahutu n'abatutsi bo muri Zaire?

NYABYENDA Issa

UGANDA mu bukoloni bw'impunzi z'abatutsi.

Kuva Museveni yafata ubutegetsi ku ngufu i Kampala muri 1986, igihugu cya Uganda cyahise kiba ingwate y'inyeshyamba z'abatutsi. Abanya Uganda bamburwa ijambo, bahezwa mu nzego zose, zaba iz'ubutegetsi ari ko cyane cyane iza gisirikari. Impamvu Museveni akomeje gutegekesha abanya Uganda ingufu z'imbunda, ni ukugira ngo badakopfora. Dore ko uwo mugabo azi neza ko muri Uganda abamushyigikiye ari mbarwa. Ashyigikiwe gusa n'agatsiko k'abatutsi b'ababima bahuje ubwoko batanagize na kimwe ku ijana (1%) cy'abatuye icyo gihugu. Museveni agashyigikirwa kandi n'impunzi z'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bamufashije kwiba igihugu. Iyo urebye neza usanga Uganda ari igihugu umuntu yabarira mu bihugu bikiri mu bukoloni. Abongereza basimbuwe n'abacanshuro b'abatutsi.

Igihugu cya Uganda gitegekwa n'igitugu cya gisirikari, kandi Ministeri ikomeye ariyo y'ingabo igenzurwa ijana ku ijana n'abatutsi. Muri abo batutsi bica bagakiza twavuga cyane cyane nka:

- Yoweri Museveni, umuhima, Perezida wa Repubulika akaba na Minisitiri w'ingabo.
- David Tinyefuza, umunyamabanga wa Leta muri iyo minisiteri.
- Mbonye, umunyamabanga mukuru.
- General Major Mugisha Muntu, umukuru wa Etat Major w'ingabo za Museveni (NRA)
- Lt Colonel John Mateka, ushinzwe ubutegetsi n'abakozi muri iyo Minisiteri.
- Jim Muhwezi, umukuru w'iperereza.
- Major Byemaro, ushinzwe iperereza rya gisirikari.
- Patrick Karejeya nawe ukora muri iyo serivisi y'iperereza.
- General Major Elly Tumwine, ushinzwe ibibazo bya gisirikare.
- General de Brigade (Brigadier) Joram Mugame, ushinzwe iby'imirwano muri iyo Minisiteri.
- Brigadier Chef Ali, utegeka "division" ya 3.
- Lt Colonel John Baptist Mulindwa utegeka "brigade" ya 319.
- Lt Colonel Muhanguzi ushinzwe imirwano muri "division" ya mbere.
- Lt Colonel Jackson Bell, ushinzwe imirwano muri "division" ya kane.
- Lt Colonel John Nkanga ushinzwe umutwe urinda Museveni akaba na "garde du corps" we.
- Major Aloho, utegeka "bataillon" ya mbere.
- Major Dick Bugingo wungirije ushinzwe ibikoresho bya gisirikari muri NRA, ariwe Lt Colonel JET.

Lt Colonel Kaazini, musaza w'umugore wa Museveni, ushinzwe icyicaro cy'abapolisi kiri ahitwa Makindye. Uwo niwe werekana abasirikari bada huje ibitekerezo na Museveni bagomba kunyongwa. Mubo amaze kwivugana harimo Lt Colonel Odeyo yabeshye icyaha cy'ubugambanyi akaba afungiye muri gereza y'i Luzira ategereje kumanikwa mu kagozi.

- Major Habyarimana ushinzwe abapolisi bo mu muhanda (sécurité routière).
- Katambuka, musaza w'umugore wa Museveni ushinzwe gereza zose zo mu karere k'u Buganda, akaba yungirije ushinzwe iperereza. Uwo mugabo n'undi witwa Nsalasala barica bagakiza muri gereza y'ahitwa Luzira. Ikindi cyerekana ko abatutsi bifatiye neza igihugu cya Uganda ni uko ingabo za Museveni (NRA) zifite "brigades" zirindwi zose zitegekwa n'abatutsi. Abakuru ba za "bataillons" bose ni abatutsi n'izindi nzego zo hejuru zifitwe n'abatutsi. Muri Minisiteri zindi naho ni uko. Ku banyamabanga bakuru 39,14 bose ni abatutsi kandi bashyizwe muri Minisiteri zikomeye. Ubundi bwoko buri muri Uganda kandi bugize hafi 95 ku ijana by'abaturage b'icyo gihugu cyane cyane abo mu bwoko bw'abaganda bafite imyanya itanu gusa, abo bita "acholi" bafite imyanya ine.

Abatutsi ba Museveni bagiye kumarira abanya Uganda ku icumu.

Impunzi z'abatutsi nizo zikwije imyanya muri serivisi zishinzwe iperereza ryaba irya gisiviri cyangwa se irya gisirikari. Abafite ubuhanga n'ubugome nibo bazamurwa mu ntera. Uzwi cyane muri urwo rwego ni Major Kagame wategetse iyo serivisi imyaka ine. Yivuganye kandi agirira nabi abanya Uganda batagira ingano. Ni Kagame wahimbye uburyo bwose bubi bubaho bwo kwica. Twavuga nko kuniga abantu, kwicisha amashanyarazi ariko cyane cyane ibyo bita «akandooya» bisa no kwicisha ingoyi kwa kera. Cyangwa se kumena ku muntu plastic cyangwa caoutchouc bashongesheje, kuzirika intosho iremereye cyane ku mabya... *(Komeza ku rup. 15)*

KA02 1808

TWIZERE IKI KU MATORA YIMIRIJE MU BURUNDI ?

Kw'igenekerezo rya 1 Ruheshi 1993, mu Burundi hazoba amatora y'umukuru w'igihugu, amatora y'ihutihuti, amatora arimwo amananiza atagira uko angana, amatora azoba kubera igitsure ca UPRONA n'igisoda cayo cizizíwe n'abatutsi.
Hari bamwe bamwe bibaza ko ari intambwe muri demokarasi, ariko ibihe turimwo ntaho bitaniye n'ivyaranze Uburundi mu myaka ya 1960-1965.
Ntawuyobewe ko abatutsi bategekesheje Uburundi - n'ubu ariko bikimeze - ibinyoma, agahotoro, umukazo, ubwicanyi... imyaka irenze amajana ane. Ku cami co kimwe no kuri repubulika za gisoda, Abahutu n'Abatwa bagizwe inyamaswa zo kunigagurwa n'abategetsi uko bavyiyumvisemwo.

Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU uharanira gukura Abahutu n'Abatwa mu buja, no gushikana abarundi bose kuri demokarasi nyakuri yubahiriza agateka ka zina muntu ushimye gushikiriza abarundi bose n'amakungu ico ubona kuri ayo matora yimirije.
Tutiriwe turagaruka ku nganda z'Abahutu n'Abatwa Buyoya yayogeje nk'uko na bakuruwe bamutanguriye babigira, ikindi camuranze ni ukuzigiriza abanyagihugu gutora bemeza *amasezerano y'ubumwe batagiriraniye*.
Murumva rero ko n'ubwo yemejwe, ayo masezerano atagira ishimikiro kuko Buyoya we agomba ko ayo masezerano azimanganya akahise kandi nako ariko gategura akazoza. Ayo masezerano y'ubumwe rero ni ayo gusinziriza Abahutu n'Abatwa : ubumwe bugirwa n'abashaka kandi bafise umutima wo kubugendera. Ni kuki Abatutsi bazigiriza Abahutu n'Abatwa kwibagira ababo bapfuye bishwe n'abirigwa baricwa na UPRONA n'Abatutsi, ababo bangajwe n'abacangazwa, aho rero ntituvuze abanyazwe n'abakinyagwa utwabo n'iyo ntwaro.
Ni kuki Abahutu n'Abatwa bazigiririzwa kwirengagiza akarenganyo n'agahotoro bagirigwa na UPRONA n'Abatutsi bitwaje ubumwe ?

Inyuma y'amasezerano y'ubumwe, hemejwe muri Ntwarante 1992 ibwirizwa shingiro ryemera imigambwe myinshi ariko ritikwije, kuko ryubakiye ku mananiza n'inyungu za UPRONA na Buyoya : ryategerezwa kwemera imigambwe yose iri mu Burundi, abanyagihugu bakaba aribo bicagurira uwo bumva ko ubashitse ku nyota biciye mu nzira y'amatora.

Igitangaje rero ni uko n'iryo bwirizwashingiro ritanuzuye, abaryishiriyeho hamwe n'abaryemera bibananira kuryubahiriza :

uko iryo bwirizwashingiro ribivuga, abanyagihugu nibo bitorera ababarongora bahereye kubutegetsi bwa Komine, hanyuma bagatora abashingamateka ari nabo baheza bagategura amatora y'umukuru w'igihugu.

Rivuga kandi yuko mugambwe urekuriwe kugira imihari iwukomokako (milices).

– Ntiryemera ko umusoda agira umugambwe yegamiye....

Nk'uko twabivuze rero hejuru, amatora yimirije arimwo uburyarya n'imitego myinshi ari naco gituma UPRONA na Buyoya bayihutisha.

* Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya barenga kw'ikwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho, bagahatira abanyagihugu ku matora ya prezida kandi bataritorera ababaserukira mu ma Komine no mu nama nshingamateka ?

Aho umutego uri : mu 1965, abanyagihugu bitorera inama nshingamateka, Abahutu baratsinze; eka no mu nama nkenguzamateka (Sénat) yashizweho n'umwami ku gahato, Abahutu barongeye baratsinda, ariko murazi ko Umututsi atavyihanganiye ! Ubu hoho ntagomba ko vyobanza no kumera gurtyo.

* Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya banse kwemera imigambwe yose y'abarundi harimo na PALIPEHUTU uharanira abanyagihugu 86% ubu bakaba aribo bariko baritwaza mu gushaka kunigira mu mershi demokarasi ?

* Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya vyanse kwiyonkora igisirikare, J.R.R., U.F.B. na C.S.B. kandi ibwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho ritemera ko abasoda begamira umugambwe n'umwe canke ngo umugambwe ugire imihari iwukomokako ?

* Ni kuki Petero Buyoya ari umusoda (Major) azokwitoza mw'izina ry'umugambwe UPRONA usanzwe wifitiye abawurongora kandi ibwirizwashingiro ritamwemerera kuba mu mugambwe n'umwe ?

* Abarundi bariko bagana demokarasi nyabaki mu gihe Buyoya na UPRONA bakora amarorerwa nk'ayo Pierre Claver SENDEGEYA, Melchior NDADAYE, Shadrack NIYONKURU, Jean KABURA, Gaetan NIKOBAMYE, KABUSHEMEYE n'abandi barongoye imigambwe y'abarundi babiraba bakirengerezako uruho rw'amazi ?!

* Kazoza k'iyo demokarasi ni akahe mu gihe uwo wese adapfukamiye UPRONA na Buyoya agihigwa buhongo n'abasoda ba UPRONA n'utundi dushami twayo hamwe n'abacangero ?

* Abo barongoye imigambwe «yemewe» bariko badutegurira demokarasi nyabaki mu gihe bemera ko haba amatora ata Leta mfatakibanza bahurikiyemwo iyateguye ? Ariko ategurwa na ba nde ? Hisunzwe avahe ayahe mategeko ?

* Mbe ni kuki imigambwe «yemewe» yabeshe abantu ibizeza ivyo izobakorera ishitse ku butegetsi, umwe umwe wose ugatanga programme yawo, uno musi ikaba ariho ibonye ko yokwikoranya kugira ngo ishoboore guhangana na UPRONA nka kumwe mu 1965 za P.P. na P.D.C. zabigira zigaca zikamanganira muri Front Commun ? Abari babayobotse bazoca haba aba ba nde ?

* Demokarasi ivugwa aha mu Burundi ni iya ba nde ko amabohero arushirizaho kwuzura, abahungutse bagiturubikwa, bamwe bagasubira guhunga, abandi bagatabwa mu kangaratete aho kwakirwa nk'abavandimwe bisanze, ndetse bagasubizwa n'amatongo yabo ? None ni ukuvuga ko Abahutu n'Abatwa tuzoza turatema amashamba, tugatunganya amatongo dutunganiriza Abatutsi ?

* Ko tuzi ko radiyo na télévision ari ivy'abanyagihugu, ni kuki UPRONA na Leta yayo bibandanya kuvyigungana ?

* Mbe ko Buyoya na UPRONA vyabananiye kwubahiriza ibwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho, imigambwe bagize ngo baremeye nayo ikaba isa n'uko igendera mu kwaha kwa UPRONA, PALIPEHUTU yoyo na M.P.D. bayihoye iki muri iryo higanwa ?

KA02 1809

NINDE UZAHANGANA N'INYENZI NIZITAHUKA.

Ibibazo biba byinshi ariko ibizaba ubutaha bizashoborwa na bake. Mvuze bake kubera ko intambara igitangira buri muhutu wasangaga mu bikorwa bye bya buri munsi arangwa no kurwanya inyenzi. Uko iminsi yicumaga niko inyenzi zakoraga uko zishoboye zigakoresha amafaranga n'abakobwa bazo (ku babakunda) maze zigacamo ibice abahutu. Ubwo ingufu zo kurwanya inyenzi zikagenda zigabanuka. Nyuma imirwano yaje guhindura isura.

Inyenzi zibona ibyitso muri guverinoma. Ubwo imirwano iva ku mupaka ibera imbere mu gihugu kugeza ubwo komini Tare ya Kigali inyenzi zahageze bitaziruhije kubera ibyitso zari zimaze kugira mu gisirikare. Nta kindi ibyo byitso byakoze usibye gutera umutima mubi mu basirikare bato maze bitabira gusahura imigi ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba. Maze inyenzi zikabaza mu nyuma zigafata aho bari bari zitarushye.

Namwe nimwibaze kubona abasirikare basahura abaturage bashinzwe kurinda kandi batahwemye kubashyigikira. Byabaye igitego gikomeye ku ruhande rw'inkotanyi kandi tuzatinda kucyishyura. None se ba Commanandant BIZIMANA bayoboye aho basirikare ntibigaramiye ! Amafaranga yavuye mu byo basahuye se siyo yuzuyemo amagorofa ! Ikindi ni uko ubu abantu bibaza ukuntu bazahangana n'inyenzi zibari iruhande kandi barazirwanije zikiri muri Uganda none zikaba zigeze hose mu gihugu ! Ni ah'abagabo.

Ni nde uzahangana nazo ?

NGEZE Hassan biragaragara ko ari we uzakomeza guhangana n'inyenzi mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru. Ahangane nazo mu gusobanura demokarasi no kurengera inyungu z'abahutu cyane cyane yerekana aho ubugome bw'inyenzi bugeze. BARAYAGWIZA nawe ategereje kuzakoresha ubuhanga abahutu bamuziho maze ahangane n'inyenzi mu kuzisobanurira ko imigambi y'ubwicanyi ntawanya izahabwa. Azisobanurire ko naho zakwica zitarangiza abahutu. BARAYAGWIZA azaba igihangange ku buryo burenze urugero.

BUCYANA Martin, azaba ategerejwe kugaragaza ko disikuru ze yavuze azazikomeza. Yagira icyo ahindura akaba aratsinzwe kandi n'abamuri inyuma bakaba bacitse intege. Aha ngaha arasabwa kuzemera kwitanga ahangane nazo. Yerekane ko agasuzuguro k'izo nyenzi atazakemera na rimwe. Maze BUCYANA afatwe mu karere k'Afurika yo hagati nk'umwami Dawidi wo muri Bibiliya. Hashoboraga no kuboneka abandi bahutu ariko abo twari twizeye ko bazadufasha inyenzi zatangiye kubica. Dore GAPYISI arahise. TWAGIRAMUNGU na MUSANGAMFURA baracyari aho kandi aribo bamuhitanye.

Ntawamenya niba inyuma ya GAPYISI, ba MBONAMPEKA batazacika intege. Turategereje !

BARANYERETSE Mustapha.

WARI UZI KO ?

KANGURA imaze gukora anketi ku mpamvu zatumye inyenzi zifata ahantu hanini ? Mu gihe twari tutaratangaza abasirikari b'ibyitso b'aba ofisiye bazifashije, sinzi uko umwe mu basirikare b'ibyitso afatanije na Commandant BIZIMANA, umuhanga mu gusahura no kwica mu ibanga, yaje gusanga iyo anketi izatuma bashyikirizwa inkiko, maze nibwo bakwije ibihuha ngo NGEZE Hassan akorana n'inkotanyi. Ngo kuko ibyo avuga, nta kuntu yabimenya atabana nazo. Ubwo telegaramu zoherezwa mu nzego nkuru za gisirikare maze nazo zihita zitanga itegeko ngo NGEZE Hassan ntacyo apfana n'inzego za gisirikare.

Ngo ntazongere kwemererwa kwinjira mu biro bya gisirikare. Aha umuntu akaba yakwibaza niba ubusanzwe nanemerewe kuhinjira. Banakwije ibyo bihuha no mu basirikare. Ese ni iki KANGURA yakorera inkotanyi ?

Ngo impamvu ni uko dutinda gusohora Kangura maze inyenzi zikagira agahenge. Aha turabibutsa ko ubwanditsi bwa Kangura aribwo buzi ibiba zo buhura nabyo. Twiyambaza abahutu b'umutima ari nabo batuma Kangura ibaho. Usibye ko atari ngombwa kubavuga ariko Kangura ibageraho ku ngufu zabo. Ese ni nde ufite icyo yashoye muri Kangura none akaba yarahombye ? Basomyi bacu, nshuti muratumenyere ibiri inyuma y'abo bagome.

NGEZE Hassan, icyamamare muri Afurika yose, nk'uko bimaze gutangazwa mu gitabo cyitwa "Politique africaine" -Violence et Pouvoir n°42 ku rupapuro rwa 109 kugeza ku rupapuro rwa 120. Abo bazungu basanga NGEZE Hassan ariwe munyarwanda uzwi cyane mu Rwanda no mu mahanga. Basanze inzandiko za NGEZE zaramamaye ku buryo butangaje. Bemeza ko abana bazavuka bazashobora kwiga izo nyandiko mu mashuri. Baremeza kandi ko NGEZE yabaye umuhanuzi w'abahutu bo muri Afurika yo hagati.

Ntibanatinya no kuvuga ko NGEZE Hassan umwanya wose yakwiyamamariza mu Rwanda no mu Burundi ariwe waba uwa mbere kubera ko ubutwari bwe bwagaragaye kimwe n'ubwa MANDELA. Muri icyo gitabo habonekamo ya mategeko icumi y'abahutu na ya yandi cumi n'icyenda y'abatutsi.

Icyo gitabo kiragurishirizwa ku isi yose, ahagurirwa ibitabo. Mu Rwanda kirabarizwa muri Caritas-Kigali. Abashaka kumenya ubugome bw'abatutsi mugure icyo gitabo. *Kangura*

Journal KANGURA
Comité de Rédaction
NGEZE Hassan : Directeur de Publication et Rédacteur en Chef
NYABYENDA Issa : Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint
NDEKEZI Bonaparte : Journaliste
MIRASANO Célestin : Journaliste
SIBOMANA NABANTU : Journaliste
SIMBIZI Stanislas : Journaliste
HITIMANA Noel : Journaliste
Icapiro : Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda.
Tirage : 30.000 exemplaires

KANGURA ibarizwa mu Burundi hose:
Bujumbura (Mairie): ni kwa NTAKABANYURA Jean de la Paix.
BUJUMBURA (Rural): ni kwa NYANDWI Pierre Claver i Saga.
GITEGA: ni kwa FITAHIMPERA Grégoire i Nyamugari
CIBITOKE: Ni kwa NDAYISENGA Jules mu Bugombo.
KAYANZA: ni kwa NZOBONIMPA André w'i Gatwaro
- MURAMVYA ni kwa KARIBWAMI Benoît mu Biganda
- BURURI: Ni kwa KABURA Marcelle i Kiremba
- BUBANZA ni kwa HARIMENSHI Jean Marie ku Mwokora
- KIRUNDO ni kwa MACUMI Jonas mu Rusaraasi
- MUYINGA ni kwa BASOMINGERA François Xavier kw'i Taba
- CANKUZO ni kwa MANARIYO i Mushisha
- RUYIGI ni kwa BURARAME Antoine i Muyaga
- RUTANA ni kwa SAKUBU Léonce i Nkoma
- MAKAMBA ni kwa NTAKABURIMVO Martin i Nyabigina

KARUZA: ni kwa BARUTWANAYO Emmanuel i Buhiga.

KANGURA irabarizwa no muri za mitingi zose z'amashyaka aharanira guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Gitutsi.

KA02 1810

Amatora y'ihutihuti azosokorora vyinshi kuko ntatomoye. Ikibabaje ni uko n'abahiganwa ubwabo umenga ntibabibona !

Mbe ko hasohotse itegeko ry'«Abarundi» bazotora bafise ibikaratasi kubera badafise karangamuntu, abo bobo baba hehe ? batembera gute ? Ni ba nde ? Bakora iki ? Nta nkeka ko abo bantu ari abacangero ba UPRONA.

PALIPEHUTU wo ubona ko hari ibintu bitaraboneka kandi arivyo ngenderwako kugira ngo demokarasi itsimbatare mu Burundi :

1. Igisirikare ca gitutsi ca UPRONA kikwirizwa gusenyurwa hagashingwa igisirikare kigizwe n'Abarundi bose.

2. Imigambwe yose harimwo na PALIPEHUTU ibwirizwa guhiganwa, abanyagihugu bakihitiramwo uwubashitse ku nyota.

3. Abahungutse bategerezwe kwubahwa nka ben'igihugu, bagasibizwa ivyabo n'amatongo yabo.

4. Leta ya UPRONA itegerezwa gupfungura abapfungiwe politike kandi ikabemerera kubandanya ivyabo nta nkurikizi.

5. UPRONA na Leta yawo bitegerezwa kwemera ko Abarundi bose bangana imbere y'amategeko, bafise uburenganzira bungana, ko aribo bitorera ababarongora, ko Umurundi wese akwiye gukora akazi karinganiye n'ubushobozi bwiwe kandi akoroherezwa uburyo bwo kukarangura.
Ubutegetsi, igisirikare, amashule n'iyindi mirimo yose y'ubuzima bw'iginugu, bibwirizwa gusabikanywa n'Abarundi bose ata wandya wa ngura : Abahutu 85%, Abatutsi 14% n'Abatwa 1%.

6. Imihari ya UPRONA n'amategeko yawo bitegerezwa kuranduranwa n'imizi kuko vyaranzwe no guturubika, kunyaga no kwica Abahutu n'Abatwa.

7. Amategeko ngenderako y'igihugu ategerezwa gushingwa n'imigambwe yose y'Abarundi na PALIPEHUTU urimwo, bigahagararirwa n'amakungu.

8. Abagaragayeho ubwicanyi no gusahura ubutunzi bw'igihugu bategerezwa gucigwa urubanza n'abanyagihugu ubwabo (Tribunal Populaire) aho gukingirwa ikibaba n'ubutegetsi kuko nabwo ubwabwo butishimiwe n'abanyagihugu. Abo nabo ni nka : André Muhirwa, Jean Ntiruhwama, Arthemon Simbananiye, Albin Nyamoya, Michel Micombero, Prime Niyongabo, Jean Baptiste Bagaza, Emile Mworoha, Pierre Buyoya, Musenyeri Ntuyahaga Michel, Madame Samoya Colette, Jean Claude NDIYO, Aloys Kadoyi, Cyprien Mbonimpa, Paul Rusiga, Libère Bararunyeretse, Adrien Sibomana, Laurent Kagimbi n'abandi benshi cane.

PALIPEHUTU n'Abarundi bose banyotewe 'ubutungane, amahoro n'iterambere rya bose, turiyamirije ibinyoma vya UPRONA n'ivyitwazo iriko irementanya kugira ngo isese amaraso y'Abahutu n'Abatwa kumwe yabigira mu 1965, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1988, na 1991.

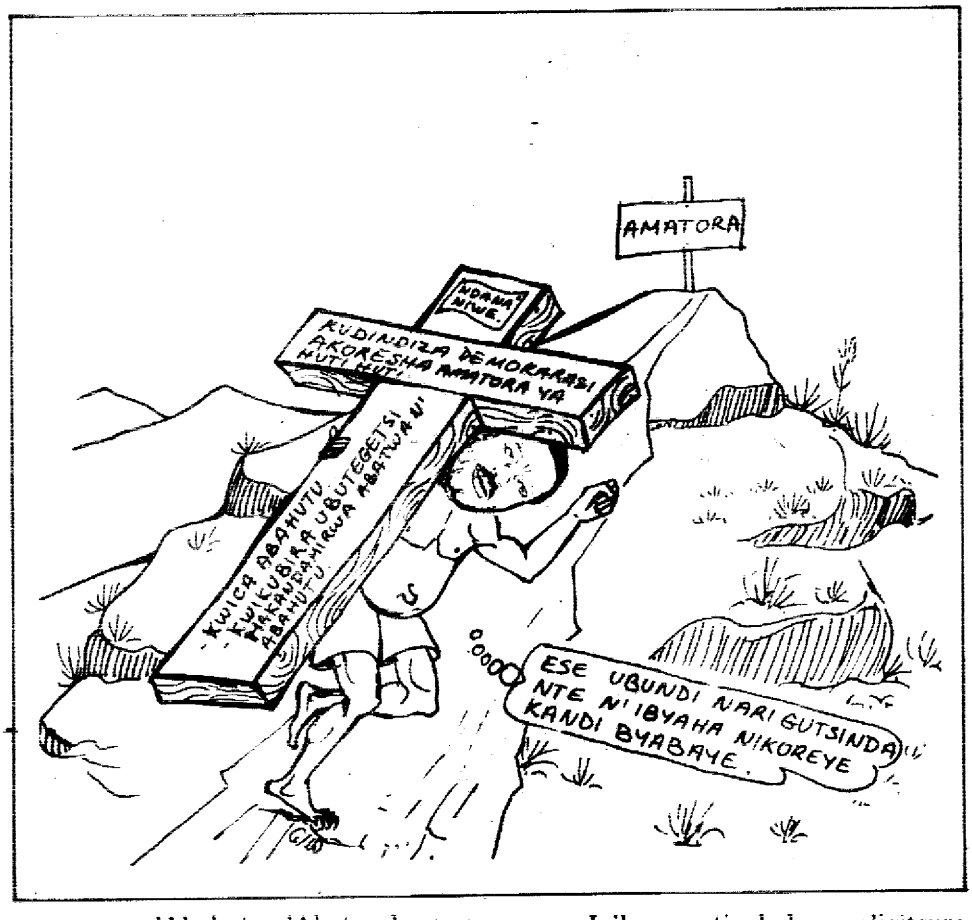
Biragaragara ko Buyoya na UPRONA bariko barondera intanduruko yo gusubira kurigita inganda z'Abahutu n'Abatwa, no kurangura za ndoto z'Abatutsi zo kwigarurira ibihugu vyo muri Afrika yo hagati n'iy'ubuseruko.

Barundi, Barundikazi na mbwebwe mwese muharanira amahoro kw'isi, mube maso kubiriko biraba kandi mwitondere ibivugwa na UPRONA na Leta yayo, hanyuma mukurikiranire hafi ivyo igisirikare ca Buyoya kiriko kirakora.

Mwame mwibuka ko igihe cose amaraso y'Abahutu n'Abatwa yasesetse, UPRONA na Leta zayo zavuga ko zafashe integuro z'ibitero vy'Abahutu; ubu bakaba baharaye PALIPEHUTU.

Ni mwibaze namwe ukuntu Abatutsi bavuga ko bafashe ama grenade muri Komine Busoni amaze amezi abiri ahambwe mu mirima y'Abahutu ! Ni kuki batayazuye agihambwa muri iyo mirima ?

Iyo bavuga naho ko akomoka mu Rwanda, ni kuki batavuga ahari ihingurira rikora ibirwanisho mu Rwanda canke isosiyete nyarwanda icuruza ivyo birwanisho ? Ako ntimwumvako ari akigenzo !



Igihugu nticubakwa n'igitsure, nyabuna cubakwa n'imitima ya beneco. Ubumwe bugira abashaka kandi bafise umutima wo kubugendera.

Mu gihe naho ivyo twavuze bitarubahirizwa, PALIPEHUTU ibona ko demokarasi aha mu Burundi ikiri kure nk'ukwezi.

Nico gituma abaharanira demokarasi nyakuri tutoshira amaboko mu mpuzu.

BAZOMPORA Thaddée
ROHERO I, i Bujumbura.

KA02 1811

GISENYI : MURI IKI GIHE, COMMANDANT BIZIMANA, WE N'INGURUBE BARAHIGA MU MAKOSA.

Hari ibintu tuba dukwiye kwemera kubera ingufu zisobanura neza uko ibyo bintu ubwabyo biba biteye. Aha umuntu yatanga urugero rwa Commandant Bizimana. Kuva intambara yatangira yabashije guhangana n'inkotanyi zituriye umugi wa Goma uhana imbibi n'umugi wa Gisenyi wubatsemo ikigo cya Jandarumori abereye umuyobozi. Byabaye ngombwa ko inkotanyi ziyobowe na Gahiga, Nouveau Riche Pascal zishaka kumwica, ariko birananirana. Mu makuru twabashije kumenya, Bizimana ari mu batanze amakuru menshi yerekana uko umwanzi (umuvandimwe) ahagaze. Kubera ko raporo yagiye atanga ari nyinshi kandi z'ingirakamaro bituma abarirwa mu bakozi.

Twe tuzi ko abamutegeka bamubarira mu bahanga mu ipererezа, tukongera tukamenya ko ari byo yitwaza kugirango akandamize abo ashinzwe kubunga bungira umutekano, twiyemeje gutanga ifoto ye nyayo y'ikirumirahabiri. Abamaze imyaka nk'itanu mukora muri MININTER, mumugereranye na ex-Préfet mwitaga intyoza kubera raporo yoherezaga kandi abaturage yarabajambije. Bityo tuboneyeho kwiyama abategetsi baha umuntu agaciro bahereye ku mpapuro gusa, ntibahaguruke ngo bamusange aho ari, barebe ibyo yica n'ibyo akiza.

Dore rero. Mu mpera za Nzeri, Commandant Bizimana yagiye muri konji iwabo i Byumba. Asanga atagendeye muri Pajero atakwakirwa neza. Agufatira imodoka y'umuzayiruwa bafatanya mu kuvuyanga umugi wa Gisenyi, ayivanaho «plaques» zo muri Zaire ashyiraho izo mu Rwanda mu buryo butemewe n'amategeko. Muri buvuge muti «officier» igihe cyose aba ari ku kazi. Kandi kuba ari na maneko ni uburyo bwe bwiza bwo kwiyoberanya». Ibyo ntibibuza kongeraho ko na nyuma yaho yakomeje kujya ajyana iyo modoka i Kigali. Niba hari abatari bazi aho yavuye bazabikurikirane.

Nibabikurikirana bazamenya ko mbere yaho, kuri Goma habaye imyigaragambyo yo kubuza ibishyimbo kwambuka ku Gisenyi. Abayishoje ni Commandant Bizimana n'uwo umutiza imodoka. Intandaro yabyo ni uko Perefe Habiyambere wa Gisenyi, yari amaze kuvuga ko uwo ariwe wese ushaka kugura ibishyimbo kuri Goma n'ubwo cyaba ikiro kimwe, ntihazagire ubimwimira uruhusa. Icyo kintu Perefe Kosima Bizimungu akiri ku Gisenyi cyari cyaramunaniye kukivuga no-neho bituma Commandant Bizimana asa n'uwikubira iryo soko. Kuba yari amaze kubona ko inyungu ze zugari-jwe rero, yahisemo kugambanira igihugu cye ashoza imyigaragambyo mu gihugu cy'abandi. Muri icyo gihe cy'imyigaragambyo y'ibishyimbo, muzaperereze murebe, muzasanga mu masaha y'umukwabu, hari amato yagiye yambutsa ibishyimbo abivana ku Gisenyi aciye mu Kivu. Abantu ba Commandant Bizimana bakayagaragira. Muri icyo gihe, abanya Gisenyi basabye kwigirizwayo amasaha y'umukwabu, mu nama y'umutekano, Commandant Bizimana yanga ko bayigizayo ngo ku mpamvu z'uko hari inkotanyi ngo iherutse gusimbukira mu Kivu ! Nta kundi abantu bivamo. Ubwo ni nk'aho yari kuvuga ngo ibi-shyimbo byanjye byambukira mu Kivu hakiri kare (saa mbiri) turamutse twigijeyo umukwabu byatinda kwambuka. Aribyo twakwita «actes manques».

Kubera ko umwanya utubanye muto, ubutaha tuzabagezaho ukuntu Bizimana André yishe abantu ntibimenyekane: Tunabagezeho lisiti twasanze mu biro bya minisitiri w'intebe irega Bizimana ku bantu yagombaga kwicisha iyo inkotanyi zitera ku Gisenyi. Uwo mugambi waburijwemo nuko zitateye dore ko aho gutabara igihugu we yari yiyemeje kujya kurasa abo atavuga rumwe nabo bose bo ku Gisenyi. Barimo :

- Uzabumwana Augustin, umucuruzi
- Singaye André, umucuruzi
- Ndarugoragoye Jean Bosco, umucuruzi
- Mirasano Célestin, umunyabwenge
- Ngeze Hassan, umunyabwenge
- Samvura Barnabé, umunyabwenge
- Nizeyimana Jean Christophe, umunyabwenge
- Hadji Ramadhan N., umucuruzi
- Mbonyiki Benjamin, umucuruzi
- Haleluya Fanuel, Gérant wa BCR
- Dr Ahorukomeye, umuganga.

Abo bose Bizimana yari yabashyize kuri lisiti yo kubarasa iyo inkotanyi zitera. Iryo Perereza turacyarinononsora tuzababwira ukuri kuri ryo, ubutaha. Gusa icyababaje abanyagisenyi bose barimo na Perezida wa Republika, ni uko nyuma y'uko Bizimana n'agatsiko ke gasahuye kakanica ku Gisenyi, wa munsi w'aba «zoulou», hakozwe impapuro zimwimurira ahandi ariko ntawe umenya uzitangira. Kuba yarasahuye abaturage byonyine birahagije kugira ngo abaturage ba Gisenyi bazamwihanire. Ni ah'ubutaha, muri Kangura N° 43, muzabona ubwicanyi, ubusahuzi, guhohôtera abandi, ruswa, ubujiji,... Ubwo Kangura isohotse noneho ntawe ukira za telegramu z'ubutitsa zuzuye ubutiriganya. Twe turabimenyereye kandi twarwanye nyinshi.

NGEZE Hassan.

(Ibikurikira p. 11)

n'ibindi. General Salim Saleh murumuna wa Museveni niwe uyobora ako gatsiko k'abicanyi "escadron de la mort" gakorera mu kigo cy'abasirikari barinda Museveni.

Si ubwicanyi gusa, abatutsi ba Museveni basahuye Uganda na nubu baracyayisahura. Banyanganya amasambu y'abaturage ntihagire ubakura, biba imodoka bakoresheje imbunda. Uzwi cyane muri ubwo bujura ni Major Drago Nyanzi ufite taxi nyinshi zirirwa zitwara abagenzi aho i Kampala. N'ubwo bwose izo modoka zose ari inyibano, ntawe utinyuka kuzitunga agatoki. Abatutsi baturutse muri za Etiopiya, Somaliya, Kenya n'ahandi baratuzwa mu turere dukize kurusha utundi nka Buganda, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, ba kavukire bakirukanwa. Ubukene Uganda irimo ibuterwa na politiki ya Museveni yo gusahura ngo gushaka kwigarurira ibihugu bituranye na Uganda. Intambara Museveni yashoje mu Rwanda itwara Uganda amafaranga menshi, kuko icyo gihugu ari cyo nkingi ya FPR. Uganda itanga amafaranga, intwaro, ibikoresho, imodoka, imiti, imyenda, ibiryo n'ibindi. Byose babishyira ku ngengo y'imari ya NRA, itwara hafi 70% bya bije yose y'igihugu.

Muri make, Uganda ntishobora kugira ubwigenge, amahoro, demokrasi isesuye, Museveni akiri ku butegetsi. Aka gace k'Afurika dutuyemo nako kazagira amahwemo ari uko iyo nyeshyamba y'umuhima ivanywe ku butegetsi. Banya Uganda nimwe mubwirwa. Mwigobotore iyo ngoyi y'abanyamahanga, amateka azabibashimira. Ubonye ngo murutwe na wa mugore Alice Lakwena? *KANGURA*

KA02 1812

INZIRABWOBA ZIRASOBANURA IMPAMVU INYENZI ZIMAZE GUFATA AHANTU HANINI.

Intambara igitangira mu ngabo z'u Rwanda hari harimo ibintu bidasobanutse: ibyitso, umubare muke, ibikoresho bike, kutamenyera urugamba. Nyuma y'ukwezi bimwe muri ibyo byari bimaze kubonerwa umuti. Umubare, ibikoresho n'urugamba rwamenyerwa, ariko ibyitso bikomeza kuba urumamfu mu ngano. Umwaka n'igice washize ingabo z'u Rwanda ziri hejuru y'inyenzi none muri ibi bihe inyenzi nizo zikataje mu gutondagira inzirabwoba. Byaba biterwa se n'uko nyine zitagira ubwoba?

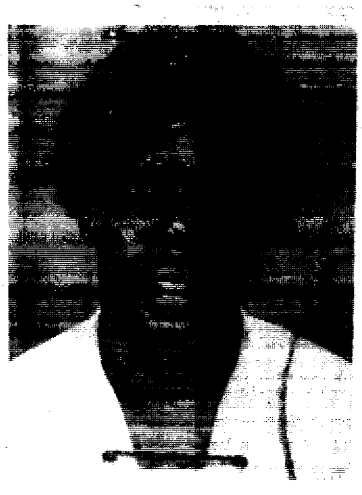
Ingabo z'u Rwanda zemera rwose ko inyenzi zimaze gufata ahantu hanini ariko ngo ntibiterwa n'uko ari ibigwari. Aho inyenzi zafashe hose zisa nk'aho zahaboneye ubuntu kuko nta mirwano yahabaye. Inzirabwoba ziratanga ingero: tariki ya 5 Kamena 1992 inyenzi zitwikiriye ijoro zitera umugi wa Byumba. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zari zasigaye ku mupaka ziza gutabara umugi. Ubwo inyenzi zasigaye inyuma zihita zifata aho zivuye. Umugi umaze kubohorwa, mu gihe cyo kujya kubohora aho inyenzi zafashe zitarwanye, abanyapolitiki bati "ingabo z'impande zombi zigomba kuguma mu byimbo zirimo". Ejo bundi tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 inyenzi zongeye kubura imirwano, zitera umugi wa Ruhengeri maze abasirikari bari mu birunga, Kidaho, Kagogo na Ntaruka bavayo baza mu mugi. Aho hose inyenzi zihafata zitavunitse. Na none kandi, Ruhengeri imaze kubohozwa, abanyapolitiki bahagarika imirwano mu gihe mu rwego rwa gisirikari hategurwaga ingamba zo gusubiza umwanzi muri bya byimbo bya mbere yari yeguriwe ku maherere.

Icyo twabashije kubona mu bitero by'inyenzi ni uko ibitero bikaze byose bigabwa mu gihe imyaka yeze. Ibi bigasobanura ko inyenzi zidategereza kugemurirwa. Turakeka ko iyo myaka iba yeze ku mpande zombi. Abategetsi b'ingabo zacu rero bakaba bari bakwiye kwisuzuma, bagatoza inzirabwoba kumenya kwirwanaho igihe cyose nta muntu ushobora kuzigemurira. Ibi tubivugiye kubera ko hari ingabo zavuye mu birindiro byazo kubera ko inyenzi mu gitero cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare zari zafunze imihanda icamo imodoka zigemuye. Kugeza ubu ingabo z'u Rwanda nti ziracika intege. Ziracyafite ubushake bwo kuyirwana. Ziracyifuza kurwana kugira ngo zereke inyenzi n'abaherutse kuzijyamo ko bibeshye. Aho zaboneye ubusa imirwano nisubira ntizizahaguma. Ubu inzirabwoba zararakaye kubera ko inyenzi zaziraseho ngo kuba mu gihugu hari impunzi ni uko zananiwe kubungabunga umutekano w'abanyarwanda. Ingeso y'inyenzi yo gushotora ntabwo iteye ubwoba abasirikari b'u Rwanda. Ahubwo barasaba abanyapolitiki kudahagarika imirwano igitaraganya mu gihe bashotowe. Byibura bajye babaha ukwezi kumwe kw'imirwano isesuye noneho bumvikane ko nyuma yaho izahagarara. None se ubona abanyapolitiki bataba batunguye ingabo z'u Rwanda iyo umwe muri bo afashe ijambo nko kuwa gatandatu saa tatu z'ijoro kugira ngo avuge ko imirwano izahagarara ku wa mbere saa sita z'ijoro? Kuri icyo kibazo cy'abanyapolitiki basobanya n'ingabo turibaza niba u Rwanda rufashwe mpiri byabazwa Habyarimana, Nsengiyaremye, cyangwa inzirabwoba. Hari n'abibaza niba inzirabwoba zitabanza kwikiza inzitizi zose zituma zidakora umurimo wazo neza.

Abanyapolitiki nibo bagenda batesha ingabo z'u Rwanda agaciro. Kuba umusirikari muri iki gihugu bira genda biba igisebo. Abatarabibona nibategereze bazabibona mu cyirore kizava Arusha kikorewe na Ngurinzira. Hari abasirikari bakubwira bati "turuye mu ngabo twese tugashiramo niho byaba byiza. Intambara twarwana yo guhashya inyenzi yaba iryoshye cyane kuko hakorwa politiki ya gisirikari gusa".

Amarorerwa y'inyenzi abanyapolitiki b'u Rwanda basa nk'aho batayabona. Baramutse bayabonye, nk'uko inyenzi zisaba ko umusirikari uyu n'uyu cyangwa umutegetsi uyu n'uyu ahagarikwa kubera amakosa aya n'aya, abanyapolitiki b'u Rwanda nabo basaba ko inyenzi iyi n'iyi iva muri FPR kubera amakosa aya n'aya. Biteye isoni kubona FPR ari yo isigaye yirukana abakozi mu Rwanda! Biteye isoni kurushaho kubona inzego za gisirikari z'u Rwanda nazo zisonga! Barihe abarimu bagera kuri 80 bo muri CECDO Bigogwe n'ibitangaza bakoze mu Mutara? Ya "bataillon" ya 64 bitaga iy'aba "zoulou" isigaye iba he ? Ku ki abaliyetona n'abasoda aribo boherezwa muri gereza kandi ubutwari bwabo bwarigaragaje muri iyi ntambara? Major Uwimana ari hehe? Sit Ntaganda n'Uwiragiye twumva abasirikari babirahira ariko ntitubabone! Iki kinyabupfura, iyi discipline irenze iy'abihaye Imana nayo iri mu bitugambanira. Ku isi yose, muri rusange, umusirikari w'umurwanyi aba afite "discipline" igereranije. Icyo numva umusoda yazira ubu, ni ukwanga kurwana.

N.I.



MUTOMBO Joseph na GAPYISI Emmanuel bishwe bazira ibitekerezo by'abahutu. Ababishe bicare bazi ko tuzabahorera

KA02 1813

GAPYISI na MBONAMPEKA bandikiye KANGURA. Baremeza ko u Rwanda ruri mu byago. Buri wese nashyireho ake !

Nyakwigendera Emmanuel GAPYISI atari yitaba Imana na mugenzi we MBONAMPEKA Stanislas bahuriye muri rya huriro ry'amahoro na demokarasi (Forum Paix et Démocratie), bandikiye Kangura, batanga ibitekerezo byabo ku bibazo byugarije u Rwanda. Muri rusange, barahamya (kandi nibyo) ko igihugu cyacu cyugarijwe n'ibibazo kidashobora kwivanamo niba buri munyarwanda wese ukunda urwamubyaye adatanze inkunga ye. Abo bagabo bafashe iya mbere, ba bimburira abandi. Mwisomere namwe! Duhere ku nyandiko ya Gapyisi.

KANGURA

GAPYISI Emmanuel ati: "Hapfa uwavutse".

Nta kintu kitagira itangiriro n'iherezo. N'ubutegetsi ubwo ari bwo bwose, ni uko kandi ni ku isi yose. Amateka y'abatuye iyi si yagiye arangwa buri gihe n'ubutegetsi bwagiye busimburana bukaza kuvanwaho na za revolisiyo, intambara cyangwa se imvururu zishingiye ku moko. No mu Rwanda rero ni uko. Ikibazo si ukumenya niba ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana buzavaho cyangwa buzagumaho, ikibazo ni ukumenya ukuntu buzavaho. Buzavaho rero gute?

Imyaka 20 y'ubutegetsi bw'umuntu umwe.

Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwari bumaze imyaka 20, manda ya bwo iri hafi kurangira. Ubwo butegetsi bwashyizweho na coup d'Etat yo mu w'1973 buvuyeho butageze ku ntego bwari bwiyemeje. Bwashyize imbere amahoro, none igihugu kiri muri imwe mu ntambara zikaze muzigeze kuba mu Rwanda. Ubwo butegetsi kandi bwarimbye ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, none intambara y'amoko iraca ibintu.

Ibyo byose biragwa ku butegetsi buriho ariko kandi no kuri nyirabwo, Yuvenali Habyarimana yihaye ikuzo abaturage baramurimba muri animasiyo. Indirimbo yari yacengeje mu baturage zimushimagiza, ubu nizo bamurimbira ariko bamuhema, aho bamuhaga ikuzo ejo, ubu baramuha induru. Inyikirizo ejo yari: "Jenerali-Major, turagushyigikiye, tuzagutora ijana ku ijana", yahindutse "umunsi Habyarimana yavuye ku butegetsi, abantu bazishima" Indirimbo zimwe, uwo umwe, ariko amagambo yarahindutse. Ni nde wabitekerezaga mu myaka itatu ishize? Na Perezida ubwe yarumiwe!

Habyarimana amaze kuvanaho ku ngufu uwamubanjirije, Gerigori Kayibanda, wari waranamwizeye cyane, yaje kwigizayo adakina abo bakoranye coup d'Etat yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973. Bamwe bita "les camarades du 5 juillet" Iyi myaka 20 ishize yabaye iy'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, MRND. N'ubwo atari ryo shyaka rimwe rukumbi ryabaye ku isi, ryo ryari ritangaje. Aho MRND yatangarizaga amahanga ni uko yahatiraga abanyarwanda bose kuba: "abarwanashyaka" bayo. Kuba uri umunyarwanda byonyine wabaga uri muri "Muvoma." Habyarimana yakomeje gucyurira uwamubanjirije ko yari "ananiwe" nyuma y'imyaka 11 gusa atangeka. Habyarimana we akomeje kwiyumvamo ingufu nyuma y'imyaka 30, harimo 20 ari Perezida wa Repubulika! Na bagenzi be bataranje guhirika Kayibanda yabigiyeyo bose ngo "barananiwe". Si bose ariko, hari umwe wamunaniye : nako wamutorotse: Ni Koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe, kimwe na Habyarimana ukomeje kwiyumvamo ingufu akaba yaryumeje kuvanaho ubutegetsi bwa "mugenzi we", akoresheje intwaro.

Imyaka itatu y'intambara.

Iyi ntambara tuyimazemo imyaka itatu. "abahungu" ba Museveni nibo bamushyize ku butegetsi muri Uganda. Batsinze ingabo zikomeye za Idi Amin wemezaga ko abasirikari be aribo bakomeye muri Afurika y'abirabura inyuma ya Nijeriya. Inyeshyamba za Museveni zari zizeye rero ko ubwo zafashe Uganda, u Rwanda rutari kurushya. Intambara igitangira, abenshi barabyumvaga, sakindi yaje kubyara ikindi nkotanyi zitatsindwa. Abari bazishyigikiye barumiwe, nazo ubwazo ntizasobanukirwa Habyarimana, icyo gihe wari Chef wa Etat Major w'ingabo, arashyuhagiza yiyitirira ugutsinda kw'ingabo z'u Rwanda kugira ngo arebe uko isura ye yaba nziza. Atangaza ko inkotanyi zitsinzwe burundu, yigira igihanganye. Amahirwe yamubanyemake kuko intambara yakomeje na nubu.

FPR itanga impamvu zoyiri zituma ikomeza intambara

gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi.

guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Habyarimana.

Icyo umuntu yakwicuza ni uko ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwadepekeye ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda kugeza aho FPR ikigira impamvu (yumvikana) yo gushoza intambara. Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda cyaheze mu biro no mu tubati tw'abakozi ba Leta n'abanyapolitiki. Abakiri bato benshi ntabwo bakizi. Kandi iyo bitaba uburangare, icyo kibazo kiba cyarabonewe umuti, hatagombye intambara. Ibyo ari byo byose, ugutahuka kw'impunzi ntawukibihakana, ni uburenganzira bwazo bwemewe n'amahanga ndetse n'abanyarwanda ubwabo. Nta bwo rero icyo kibazo cyagombye kuba urwitwazo rwo gukomeza intambara.

Icyo FPR isigaye icungiraho, ari nacyo gituma ikomeje intambara, ni uguhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Habyarimana. Abatavuga rumwe n'ubwo butegetsi baba imbere mu gihugu, nabo basangiye iyo ntego na FPR. Ariko ntibumvikana ku buryo byagezwaho. Ntibemera inzira FPR yahisemo yo gufata intwaro. Bemeza ko ibyo ari byose, intambwe u Rwanda rumaze gutera muri demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi ari ndende. Kubera ibyo rero, intambara n'ibyo yangiza nta kamaro, FPR ikomeje kwibeshya ko intambara ariyo yazanye demokrasi mu Rwanda. Oya! Ariko yagize icyo ihindura ku migendekere y'iyo demokarasi. Iyo iyo ntambara itaba, demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi yari kuba ariko mu buryo butari ubu turimo. Igihe inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi yasakaraga muri Afurika, demokarasi ntiyari ikeneye intambara ngo igere mu Rwanda. Abanyarwanda ntibari bakeneye abasirikari baturutse mu ngabo z'amaha-nga (NRA) kugira ngo babone demokrasi baharaniye. Abaturage ubwabo bari kuyigereraho n'ubwo bwose bari ku babara ndetse bagatanga ibitambo.

Habyarimana yari akwiye kwigendera atanduranije.

Habyarimana amaze kwegura ku buyobozi bwa MRND. Ni igikorwa yari akwiye gushimirwa uretse ko yabikoze atinze. Ubonye nibura iyo abikora mu myaka itatu yashize! Igihe abanyabwenge 33 (hari muri Nyakanga

Komeza kuri page 13

KA02 1814

Abasirikari b'Abafaransa batwaye iki ?

Mu minsi ishize, ikibazo cy'abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari mu Rwanda cyakunze kuvugwa cyane. Abo basirikari bageze mu Rwanda hashize iminsi miko inyenzi nkotanyi zifaye u Rwanda tariki ya I Ukwakira 1990. Baje bafite ubutumwa buzwi: kurengera abafaransa bari ino n'abandi banya mahanga cyane cyane abanyaburayi. Habanje kuza abagera kuri 300, hiyongeraho abandi baje cyane cyane igihe inyenzi zarotaga gufata Kigali muri bya bitero ziherutse kugaba muri Gashyantare uyu mwaka, ku buryo hari igihe bigeze kugera kuri 700. Hamaze gutaha abagera kuri 150 mu rwego rwa ya masezerano y'i Dar-Es-Salaam, ikibazo si uko abo basirikari bakiri ino, ikibazo ni ukumenya impamvu hari abantu bakomeje gutera hajuru ngo nibatahe nibatahe. Inkotanyi zo zibisabye bifite ishingiro aniko so abandi bo bababara he? Abo bafaransa babatwaye iki?

N'ubwo u Rwanda n'u Bufaransa nta masezerano (yanditse) yo gutabarana, ibyo bihugu byombi byashyize umukono ku masezerano y'ubutwererane. Ni muri urwo rwego rero mu Rwanda hari abafaransa bakora hirya no hino mu mishinga y'amajyambere. hakaba n'abasirikari bari mu rwego rw'ubutwererane mu bya gisirikari, ibyo ntaho bitaba. Umunyarwanda niwe wavuze ati "inshuti uyibona mu byago" Kuba abafaransa baratabaye u Rwanda, nta nyungu bafitemo nkuko bamwe babikeka. Abafaransa nabo bakolonije u Rwanda. Amateka atubwira ko u Rwanda rwabanje gukolonizwa n'Abadage, basimburwa n'Ababiligi. Muri abo bose nta numwe waduteye baye inkotanyi zateye. Ibiramambu ababiligi batuvuyemo rugikubita bashyigikira inkotanyi. Ubufaransa kuba bwarohereje ingabo zabwo mu Rwanda rugikubita ni uko abafaransa bakunda ubutabera. Amateka y'abanyarwanda n'abafaransa ajya gusa, nabo bakoze revolisiyo yu rubanda bipakurura ingoyi ya cyami ahagana mu w'1789 nk'uko no mu Rwanda bya genze mu mwaka w'1959. Abafaransa basanze abanyarwanda barongana hiyemeza kubatabara. Ubufaransa ni kimwe mu bihugu byagiye bigaragaza ko bidashyigikiye ubutegetsi bw'igitugu cyane cyane ubw'imbunda z'inkotanyi. Inkotanyi zifashe ubutegetsi, abanyarwanda baba bavuye naho bari bari kuko ntawakongera gukopfora.

Hari abavuga ngo kuba ubufaransa budutabara buri gihe, ngo nta rundi rukundo bafitiye abanyarwanda. Ngo baba baje gushimangira igitugu cya Habyarimana kuko ari inshuti ya Perezida Mitterand. Kuba Mitterand aziranye na Habyarimana mbona nta gitangaza kirimo kuko ubufaransa ari inshuti y'u Rwanda kuva kera. Uretse na Mitterand w'ejo bundi, Habyarimana yari inshuti ya valery Giscard d'Estaing, akaba n'inshuti ya Georges Pompidou. Inkotanyi zisabye ko abasirikari b'abafaransa bataha bifite ishingiro kuko bazibangamiye cyane. Bubangamiye intego zayo zo gufata igihugu ku ngufu nk'uko zafashe Uganda, Nta Museveni kandi abirimo cyane kuko afite gahunda yo gushyira abatutsi ku butegetsi mu ibihugu bituriye aho karere. Ntibyamugwa nabi kandi yungutse miliyoni zirenga zirindwi z'abanyarwanda baba bagomba kumenya icyongereza inkotanyi zibatashe mu Rwanda.

"Politiki y'u Bufaransa ku Rwanda ntizahinduka."

Abichimye bumwe ko ishyaka rya Mitterand (Parti Socialiste) ryatsinzwe mu matora y'abadepite aherutse kuba muri icyo gihugu, ubasubize amerwe mu isaho. Uwahoze ari Ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda Georges Martres niwe uherutse kubakurira inzira ku murima. Yavuze ko politiki y'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda idateze guhinduka ngo ni uko ari Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Bufaransa uhindutse. Ahubwo iyo usesenguye neza ibyo ishyaka UDF RPR ryatsinzwe mu Bufaransa mu matora y'abadepite rivuga, usanga rizarushaho gushyigikira u Rwanda mu ntambara turwana. Kandi na Mitterand araciyafite indi myaka ibiri yo kuduteza ingabo mu bitugu. Abanyarwanda rero nibahumure. KANGURA

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Ubutegetsi bwa Buyoya bukomeje kandi gushuka abaturage ngo amashyaka menshi niyo atuma batumvikana. Ari nayo gituma avuga ko ngo andi mashyaka ni udutsiko tw'abagizi ba nabi. Nyamara abo yita abagizi ba nabi nibo bagize kubohoza abarundi ! No mu mahanga Uprona ikomeje kubeshya ko ngo abarundi batajijutse bihagije ku buryo bakwitabira politiki ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi. Uretse ko ari n'ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa, biranutse ari nabyo ni nde wadindije abarundi akabaheza mu bujiji ? Si Uprona ?

Buyoya afite amayeri menshi, mbese ni nk'ay'inyenzi dore ko ari zo wabo ari nacyo gituma anazishyigikira. Yateguye amatora yo kuri buri hari yizera ko azafatirana abarundi. Aribeshya kuko iminsi y'igisambo ari mirongo ine itarenga. *La Rédaction.*

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1990) bamusabaga kurekura ubuyobozi mbere bwa MRND. Hari hakiri kare, aniko Habyarimana arangwa buri ighe no gukora ibintu ku munota wa nyuma. Bityo bikamukana ko atazi gushishoza ngo abone aho ibintu bigana. Aho kugira asezere ku buyobozi bwa MRND, byari kuba byiza Habyarimana yigomwe kwiyamamariza umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Abasesengura ibya politiki bemeza ko Habyarimana azasezera nyuma y'iyi manda, izarangira mu Kuboza 1993. Cyangwa se nyuma y'inzibacyuho. Aramutse agiye byatuma amahoro agaruka mu Rwanda, hakanajyaho ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokrasi. Dore ko FPR ihakomeje kuvuga ko izakomeza intambara niba Habyarimana atavuyeho. Kandi n'abatavuga rumwe nawe bari imbere mu gihugu bakomeje kunga Habyarimana ko agundira ubutegetsi. Habyarimana rero yagombye gufata imigambi ya kigabo, akarahira imbere y'abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga ko atagifite umugambi wo kugundira ubutegetsi. Ibyo byatuma FPR ireka intambara, n'abatavuga rumwe nawe b'imbere mu gihugu bahangana n'ibindi bibazo igihugu gihura nabyo nko kuzana amahoro, ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, kuzahura ubukungu... aho kurwanira gusa guhirika Habyarimana.

Mu magambo make, nyuma y'imyaka 20 y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, u Rwanda ruri mu bihe bikomeye rutigeze rugira. Intambara ntacyo yigeze ikomura ahubwo ikomeje kuzambya ibintu. Muri iki gihe hari imishyikirano y'amahoro ibera Arusha, ni ngombwa ko buri ruhande rwakwiyumvisha ko iyi ntambara y'abavandimwe igomba kurangira. Byadufasha kandi, Habyarimana aramutse yiyemeje kwigendera nyuma y'iyi manda ye izarangirana n'uyu mwaka. Atinze se akazabikora nyuma ya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itaha. Bizamusaba akanyabugabo no gushyira mu gaciro. Aho guhera mu magambo no mu bitekerezo byiza gusa, igihe kirageze ngo ibyo bitekerezo bishyirwe mu bikorwa. Abanyarwanda mwese nimwe mubwirwa.

CAPYISI Emmanuel.

MURI P.D.I. INYENZI ZIRISANGA NGO NI "KARIBU" !

ITANGAZO – MPURUZA

Kuva Repubulika yashingwa muri za mirongo itandatu, abayisilamu bakunze gushyirwa mu majwi n'abategetsi b'icyo gihe. Icyo abayislamu bo mu Rwanda cyane cyane ab'i Kigali baziraga si uko bahisemo idini ya Islamu. Oya ! Ni uburenganzira bahabwa n'itegeko nshinga. Icyo baziraga ni ukuba ibyitso by'inyenzi zateraga icyo gihe na nubu. Byageze igihe ubwo bufatanye bw'abayislamu n'inyenzi butera indi ntera birakaza abategetsi ba Repubulika. Bavuga ko Perezida wa Repubulika ya mbere, Gr. KAYIBANDA yari yafashe icyemezo cyo "gutwika" Biryogo igashiramo ibyitso by'inyenzi.

Aho inyenzi zigabiye ikindi gitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, abatutsi benshi bongeye gufatanya nazo. Abayisilamu nabo bongera kwerekana ko bazishyigikiye. Ikibitera nta kindi, ni uko muri iki gihe abatutsi aribo biganje muri iryo dini. Twigeze kuvuga ko nko mu murwa mukuru wa Kigali wonyine, ku bayisilamu ijana, 80 ari abatutsi (80%). Bashyigikiye inyenzi rero nta gitangaza kirimo. Kuva aho abayisilamu bashingiye ishyaka ryabo rya politiki PDI, ibintu byasubiye irudubi. Abayobozi b'iryo shyaka bamaze kurigira igikoresho cy'inyenzi. Inyandiko umusomyi wacu Omar BAVUGIBIRIHO uba i Kigali yatwohereereje tariki ya mbere Mata 1993 niyo dutanga ho umugabo. KANGURA

NIMWISOMERE NAMWE.

Mwapfa ibyitso by'inyenzi mw'ishyaka ryacu dukunda PDI ! Iryo shyaka twari dutezeho amizero ya rubanda cyane cyane abayisilamu, none amayeri y'abiyita abayobozi baryo bakuru bakoresha aho bukera ararihindura iry'inyenzi. Baremye agatsiko (akazu) k'abanya Cyangugu, gashyigikiwe na TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin, Perezida wa MDR akaba ari nawe ubacurira imigambi yo kugambanira urwatubyaye akoresheje ibinyoma asanganywe. Abeshya abo bayobozi bakuru ba PDI ngo MDR nitsinda, azabaha ibigo bya Leta bategeke !

Ikiraro bambukiraho ni mukuru w'Umuyobozi wa PDI, uri muri MDR, akaba no mu nzego nkuru zayo. Ni we muhuza w'abo bayobozi bombi (BUMAYA — TWAGIRAMUNGU). Ikindi ni uko yabahuje na Minisitiri w'Intebe n'uw'ububanyi n'amahanga bose bakamwizeza kandi bamuha ihumure ko ko PDI nitabona umwanya muri Guverinoma itaha, ko we n'agatsiko kavuzwe haruguru bazahabwa imyanya y'ubutegetsi ku giti cyabo. Ariko nabo bizeza Minisitiri w'intebe n'uw'ubanyi n'amahanga ko bazabafasha, bakoresheje ishyaka PDI, gushyigikira imigambi y'inyenzi.

Abo bagabo BUMAYA André, Hamidu Omar KIYOGOMA bo bashyigikira inkotanyi kubera imyanya bemererwa ishyira inda zabo imbere batitaye kucyagirira ishyaka akamaro. Naho Sheikh HABIMANA Ibrahimu we akaba inyenzi kabuhariwe kuva kera. Anabifitiye ibimenyetso ku mubiri we. Twarabanye muzi neza. Ku kaboko ke yiyanditseho "Vive Kigeri V", ariko yaje kubisibisha ipasi igihe inyenzi zitera mu kwakira 1990. Uwo Sheikh HABIMANA Ibrahimu anizera ko inyenzi nizifata ubutegetsi azasimbura Sheikh MUGWIZA Ahmad ku mwanya w'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa A.MU.R. ngo kuko MUGWIZA ari interahamwe. Uwitwa HABINEZA Khamisi we yemerewe kuzaba "depite" muri ya myanya amashyaka yasaranganije Arusha.

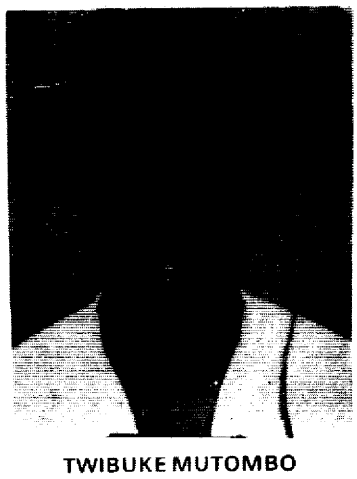
Abbas MUKAMA, Omar Adrien. HABIMANA Qassim, uwo bita Chishi (Kishi) nabo bemerewe imyanya mu bigo bizahabwa abo bari ku isonga HARUNA bakunze kwita MATOBRA ufite ikigo cy'ishuri i Kigali we yivugiye ko afite ikarita y'ishyaka FPR. Naho Sayidi bita Roshero ufite Town Hotel Restaurant we yivugira ko atanga umusanzu muri FPR kandi bombi bakaba bashinzwe kujyana urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda mu nyeshyamba za FPR. Kugeza na nubu bakibajyana mu gihe abantu bizeye ko intambara iri hafi kurangira. Yarangira ite se hakiri abantu bafite bene iyo migirire ? Ubugizi bwa nabi bw'abo bagabo bombi ni uko bari bafitanye umugambi n'inkotanyi mu bitero biherutse. FPR yateye abo bagabo bombi bibereye i Bujumbura mu Burundi ku buryo bw'ibanga bari basangiye n'abiyita abayobozi bakuru b'ishyaka PDI.

Ikindi gihamya ko abayobozi ba PDI ari ibyitso by'inyenzi, ni nk'uwitwa Haruna usa n'uwerekana ko afitiye iryo shyaka impuhwe ariha imodoka zo gutwara abayoboke muri za mitingi kandi ari ubutumwa bw'inkotanyi aba asohoza. Ese ubundi ko yivugira ko ari muri FPR, muri PDI harimo abigira nyoni nyinshi basakuza ngo ishyaka ryabo bararikurura barijyana muri MRND kandi bigaragara ko ahubwo abandi baryinjije mu Nkotanyi. Ndetse umuntu akaba yanakwemeza ko rwose PDI yashyizwe hanze y'igihugu.
Ubonye iryo shyaka ngo ryirengagize akababara n'agahinda k'abavandimwe bacu bo mu Ruhengeri na Byumba. Ngo PDI ntishobora gushyigikira ingabo koko ? Yewe PDI ugeze kure koko !

Umujura KAYINAMURA Beduwa yakijije inzara no gukorana n'inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo biri muri PDI none niwe usigaye atanga Plan y'uko inkotanyi zizafata igihugu. We ashatse yakwibera inyenzi kuko ahari amaronko niho ahahira. Kuba rero ari n'umutekamutwe nta gitangaza kirimo. Dore nk'ubu yigize umutara makuru w'inkotanyi, azishyikiriza amakuru aharabika abategetsi.

Muri PDI nibareke kubeshya ko niba bari barafashe icyemezo cyo kujya muri "opposition", ni uko bashakaga umwanya muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itaha. None iyo mpamvu ntiyabonetse. Ni ngombwa rero ko PDI yajya hagati kugira ngo igorore umunzani wayo wagoramye. Kandi nibavugishe ukuri kuko ari nayo ntegano ya demokarasi ya kislamu.

Kigali, le 1 Mata 1993.
Omar SERUDABA BAVUGIBIRIHO
Sé.



TWIBUKE MUTOMBO

Yavutse mu mwaka w'1957 yitaba Imana muri 1993.

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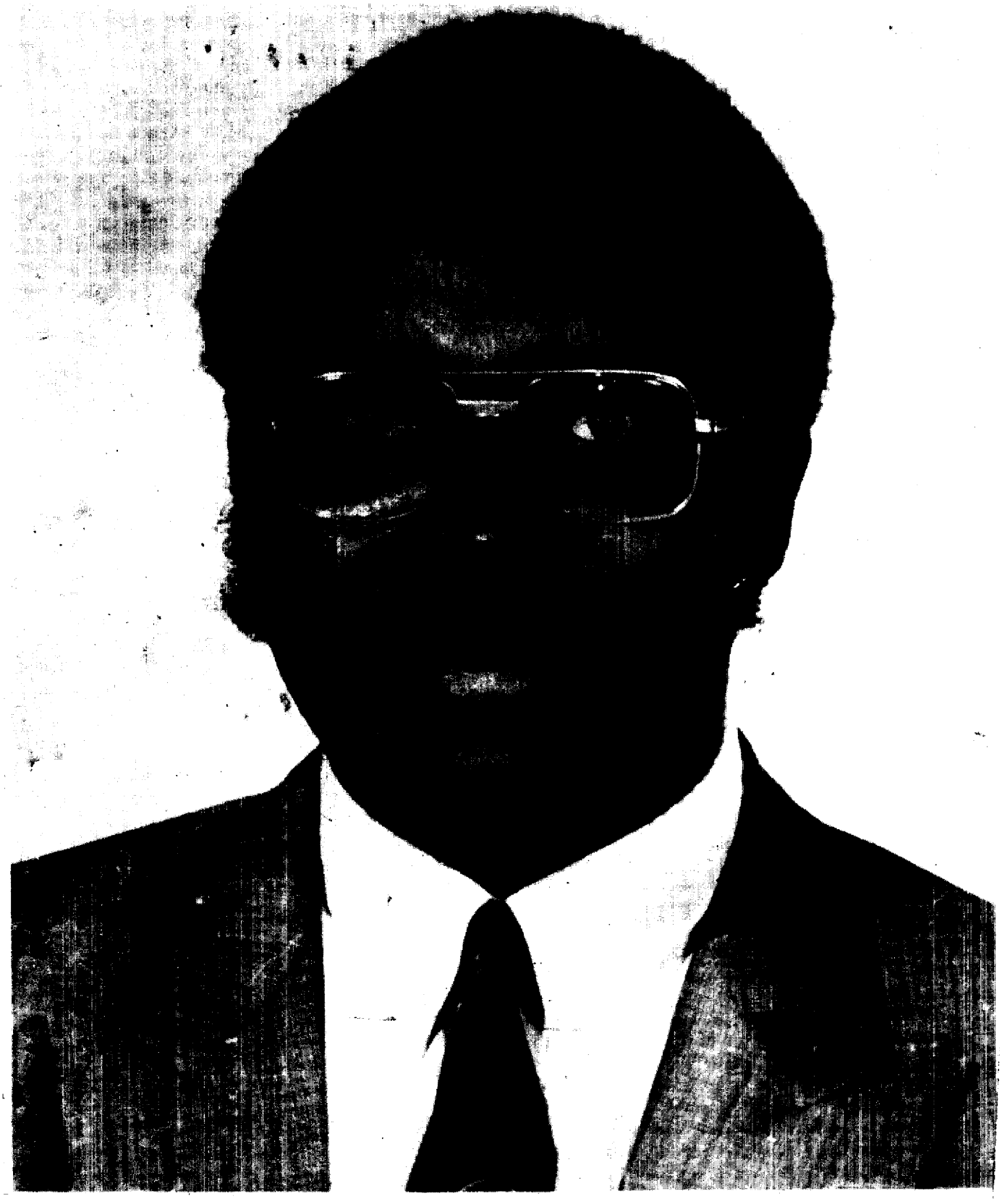

Urupfu rw'Umuhutu GAPYISI Emmanuel rwatumye twiyemeza kuzamuhorera.
Inyenzi ziyobowe na Twagiramungu wihishe inyuma ya Musangamfura nizo zamuhitanye.