

KANGURA

UWIGIRAMIRE GUKANGURA NC
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSI

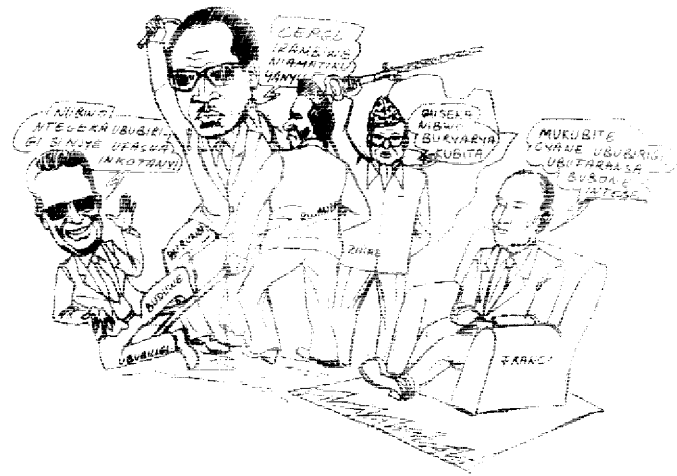
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- NGEZE Hassan yari atewe akizwa n'ingufu z'abaturage.
- Ububiligi n'amacakubiri.
- Arusha : Habyarimana azisinyira kwegura.
- CDR niyo mizero y'abahutu.
- Abatutsi bayobowe na Buyoya bashatse kwivugana Ndadaye.



EDITORIAL

AMASHYAKA YACU ARARWAYE



Hanze aha, hari icyorezo cyitwa «Sida». Abahanga na n'ubu nti-barakibonera umuti, yewe nta n'ubwo bakeka kuzabona vuba aha. Ibyo bituma rubanda ihorana ubwoba. Ufatwa n'umutwe cyangwa se agasebe gato abantu bati ni «SIDA». Usibye ko abanyamugi aribo ba mbere bakandagiye umusumari. Uretse «Sida», amashyaka yacu yo arwaye indwara tutaramenya izina ryayo. Usibye ko umuti wayo uhari. Ni umutego wa FPR. Amashyaka yitwa ko akomeye niyo arwaye kurusha ayandi. Ubushize twababwiye icyo dutekereza kuwazaba Perezida wa Repubulika haramutse habaye amatora. None reka turebe niba nayo matora yashoboka. Amashyaka akomeye twavugaga ko ashobora gutanga umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika ni MRND-CDR. Ayo mashyaka, hakoreshejwe inzira ya demokarasi, biragaragara ko uwo atakwifuzako ahita, atahita.

Hagati aho, FPR iracyaduteye urujijo. Ntituzi neza niba nigera mu Rwanda izaba ishyaka cyangwa se igasenyukira mu yandi mashyaka. Ubu abayoboke bayo (abatutsi) bamwe bihishe muri MRND, MDR,

PSD, abandi buzuye muri PL. Bose iyo ubateranije baba 14 ku ijana byabatuye uru Rwanda. Uwo mubare ukaba udashobora guhita mu matora ayari yo yose. Hakore-

shejwe amatora, nta mututsi wapfa anabonye n'umwanya wa Bourgmestre. Urugero ruri hafi ni Uburundi. Buyoya yabuze amajwi kubera ko abahutu benshi banze kumatora. Nabamutoye ni abanyabwoba cyangwa abakiri mu bujiji, bacyumva ko batamutoye yakongera kubica. Ariko byagaragaye ko no mu matora yabuze n'umunyabwoba wo gushyigikira ishyaka rye UPRONA. Usibye nyine ibyitso by'abahutu, bikirwana ku mbehe gusa.

Mu Rwanda ho bavuze ngo abantu nibiyamamaze mu gace batuyemo, muri buri Komini, nta mututsi n'umwe babona wahita kuko buri gace kose k'u Rwanda, abahutu aribo benshi, kubera ko abatutsi ibyo babizi neza, baziko amatora ntacyo yabamarira. Niyo mpamvu, bagomba gukora ibishoboka byose maze ntihagire amatora azaba mu Rwanda. Igihe cyose amatora azajya atekerezwa, FPR izajya iyaburizamo ikoresheje imvururu, n'andi mayeri yose. Urugero kandi ruri hafi ukurikije uko abatutsi bangana bagombye kugira umuminisitiri utarenze umwe muri Guverinoma, bakabya bakagira babiri. None iyi nzibacyuho ibahaye abasaga batanu ! Ubwo se murabona koko ayo matora bayifuzako bate kandi yabambura abo ba Minisitiri bafite ? Mu badepite naho ubu bafite abo batashoboraga kubona, none rero bigabize amatora maze babure n'umwe ! Ni abana se ! Ubwo se baba bararwaniye iki ? Umuntu akorera kunguka. Ntabwo FPR rero ariyo ibiyobewe cyangwa itabibona. Ku batutsi bo muri FPR iyi nzibacyuho igiye kujyaho naho yamara imyaka 400, ntacyo kuko baba bariye kabiri.

ABAHUTU BABITEKEREZA HO IKI ?

Undi washoboraga kwifuzako amatora ni minisitiri w'intebe. Ariko nawe azi ko amatora aramutse abaye nawe yahirimana nayo. None se we azifuzako kwimenera imbehe ? Aba minisitiri bazaba bari muri iriya Guverinoma bese nabo nta n'umwe uzaba yifuzako habaho amatora kuko nabo azaba abameneye imbehe. None se ubushobozi bwabo ntibwagaragariye muri iyi nzibacyuho turangije ?

Perezida wa Repubulika nawe nta bubasha na buke azaba agifite kuko amasezerano azasinyako azaba agamiye kumwambura ububasha bwe bwose. Yewe nta cyemezo na kimwe azaba ashobora gufata ngo cyemerwe. Nta n'icyo azaba ashobora kwanga cyemejwe na Guverinoma.

Habyarimana azaba ari umurimbo wo mu biro gusa. Ibyo tubisanga mu masezerano y'Arusha uko ateye hatagize igihinduka. Ikindi cyagombaga kumufasha ni MRND ariko nayo izaba nta ngufu ifite. Kuko ayo yari yarazigamye yayakoresheje nabi kugeza n'ubwo ibura n'ayo guhamba Matayo, umunyamabanga mukuru.

Ibyo kandi byagaragaye ubwo MRND yafataga abanyamakuru b'Umunyashyaka (ikinyamakuru cya MRND) ikabahamba buri muntu 90.000. Ngaho rero ni mwibaze ishyaka rihamba umunyamakuru amafaranga angana kuriya. Iryo shyaka ribona ryavavane he ?

Ni naho abarifasha bahera banga gutanga umusanzu kuko bavugaga ko ucuungwa nabi. MDR nayo nta jambo izaba ifite na gato kuko bivugwa ko FPR ishobora gusenjukira muri MDR. Bigenze bityo, FPR yaba yihishe muri MDR, na PL. Maze abahutu bakamarana. Uretse ko na MDR hari igice kimwe cyavuye kikajya muri CDR. Ubwo FPR yaba itsinze igitego gikaze

cyane kuko yaba yigize nyoni nyinshi. Ubwo abaparmehutu bayirimo nabo bazi uko byabagendekera.

BITE NO MURI PL ?

Iryo shyaka ryateye urujijo. Ryavutse rishyizweho n'abahutu, Mbonampeka na Mugenzi Yusitini. Kubera ko Mbonampeka yari amaze gufunguza abatutsi b'inenzi bari mu Lando, ryaje kuyobokwa n'abatutsi benshi. Ubwo ku bantu ijana bariyobotse, 95 ku ijana bose baba abatutsi. Ubwo PL yaje kwinjira muri Guverinoma noneho ikora amarorerwa. Ubwo ishyaka riba pepiniyeri y'inkotanyi. Ushaka kujya mu Nkotanyi akoherezwa n'abayobozi ba PL. Ibisasu bigategwa n'abayoboze b'ishyaka. Kugeza ubwo uwari minisitiri w'Ubucamanza yahisemo kwegura. Kuko yasanze icyo yahaniraga, abatutsi bamute-nushye. Kuko kuri we kuba umu-

«libéral», ni ukwishyira ukizana nk'uko n'ahandi bimeze. icyamubabaje ni uko yaje kugotwa, n'inkotanyi zuzuye muri iryo shyaka.

Asanga adashobora guhora afunga abo basangiye ishyaka, kubera gutega ibisasu. Uwo muminisitiri yahisemo kwegura ku myanya yari afite yose. Dore ko abatutsi baje kumuziza ijambo yigeze kuvuga ko FPR nitareka imirwano, abaturage bagomba kwerekwa uburyo bwo gushyira hamwe bakayirwanya. Iryo jambo ryatumye aba igicibwa muri iryo shyaka bamuziza ngo ni «umusederi». Ngo ashigikiye ingoma y'igitugu. None ubu yibereye muri «Forum Paix et Démocratie», aho ahangana n'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu aho buva bukagera.

CDR vo itegerejwe gukiza iki gihugu ikoresheje ingufu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Igakora imyigaraga-

mbyo ya buri gihe yo kuburizamo

ibyemezo bya Guverinoma izaba irimo inenzi. Bizaba ubwitange kuko ubu, CDR igiye kubona abayoboze benshi cyane cyane abazaba barahemukiwe n'abatutsi nka ba Mbonampeka. Byaba ngombwa na za mbohe zo muri FPR, Lizinde, ba bagenzi be, bagasubira muri penetensiya. Maze CDR igaca inkoni izamba ikabumba abo bahutu, ikongera kubahesha ijambo mu gihugu cyabo. Naho amatora ntashobora

kuba hadakoreshejwe ingufu za rubanda nyamwinshi izaba yibumbiye muri CDR. Nihamara kujyaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho irimo inenzi, abahutu benshi niho bazabona ko CDR ari ngombwa. Bucyana nashikame akomere ku muheto u Rwanda rumutezeho byinshi.

NGEZE Hassan.

KERA HABAYEHO !

Kera habayeho abagabo babiri b'abanyamayeri : Habyarimana na Kanyarengwe. Nyuma ya revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yatumye abahutu biganzura abatutsi, Habyarimana na Kanyarengwe binjiye mu ngabo z'u Rwanda.

Habyarimana aba umusirikari mukuru muri Etat-Major, Kanyarengwe ajya kurwana n'inenzi zigitera. Kanyarengwe ziramufata, zimuhambira ku ijipi, zimukurura hasi kugeza igihe umusatsi umushiriye ku mutwe. Habyarimana yakomeje kugira abo bagome inshuti n'ubwo bwose nawe yari azi ko bamuryarya. Abo bagabo bombi ntibyababujije guhuza umugambi, bafata ubutegetsi tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, bahiritse mwene wabo.

Ntibiteye kabiri Kanyarengwe yibuka ko abatutsi bamukoreye ibya mfura mbi. Nibwo afashe umugambi wo kwiyishyurira. Nta kuntu yari kubigeraho Habyarimana akiri ku butegetsi. Yiyemeza guhirika icyo «cyitso» cy'abatutsi. Umugambi we umenyekana utari wasozwa, biba ngombwa ko akizwa n'amaguru. Ubukene n'ubuzima biramuga-

mburuzi, aba yiyibagije ibyo abatutsi bamukoreye, yiyemeza gufatanyabona guhirika Habyarimana. Nibwo we n'abatutsi bateye u Rwanda bahereye iwabo mu Ruhengeri. Abo bagabo bombi, biganye, bose b'abakiga, bahiritse Kayibanda, bongeye guhura. Umwe aracyari Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, undi ni Chairman wa RPF. Bombi ni ba Perezida, ibyo ari byo byose.

1960 bari hamwe

1973 bakora hamwe

1980 batandukana

1993 barasubiranye

1995 bazashyirirana

Ibisa birajyana koko.... nka Habyarimana na Kanyarengwe !



WARI UZI KO ?

Intambara itaratangira wabonaga umututsi ugaceceka ugatinye kumwerekako wamenye uwo ari we. Intambara imaze gutangira abahutu bareruye bavuga abatutsi, cyangwa se bakabatsinda bavuga ibyitso.

Abatutsi byabateye ubwoba, kugera aho bihisha mu myobo nk'innyaga.

None intambara ihinduye isura. Inkotanyi nizataha, nta wuzashobora kuvangura umututsi n'inkotanyi. N'umututsi azajya abona umuhutu amubonemo umusederi. Yewe naho uwo muhutu yaba yarigeze kurwana mu nkotanyi ntakizabuza abatutsi kumwita umusederi. Umuntu wese uzajya agirana ikibazo n'umututsi, azajya amwerekako ikarita ya CDR kuko kwerekako umututsi ko uri umusederi ari ukumukubita ishoka mu mutwe.

Nguko uko u Rwanda ruzaba rumenze mu minsi iri imbere.

ABABILIGI BARASHAKA GUHEZA AFURIKA MU BUCAKARA

Ejobundi ku wa kane nibwo twizihizaga umunsi mukuru w'ubwigenge. Uwo munsi mukuru wabaye tariki ya mbere Nyakanga 62 hashize igihe gito hashinzwe Repubulika. Uwo munsi mukuru utwibutsa byinshi ariko cyane cyane ibintu bibiri. icya mbere uwo munsi utwibutsa ni isezzerwa ry'ingoma ntutsi yari imaze imyaka igera kuri magana ane yarishye rubanda rugufi rw'abahutu. icya kabiri uwo munsi utwibutsa ni isezzerwa burundu ry'ubukoloni bw'abiligi bwanzwe n'ikiboko no guheza abanyarwanda mu Ibucakara. Uwababwirar amateka y'abiligi muri aka gace k'afurika y'abirabura niho wakumva neza ko ari abantu batifuriza uyu mugabane wacu kwigenga ngo utere imbere.

Ababiligi bamenyekanye muri Afurika ku ngoma y'Umwami wabo Léopold III. Uwo mwami sinzi ibisazi byamufashe, agira atya afata Zaire yitwaga Kongo icyo gihe, ati ni igikingi cyanjye. Niyo se ahubwo uwo Mwami yikebera icyo gice cy'umugabane w'afurika agamije kugiteza imbere. Siko byagenze. Uwo mwami amaze kwifunga icyo gihugu yagikozemo amarorerwa. Nuko nyine yari Umwami ntawamuhana. Ari uhanwa aba yarakatiwe urwo gupfa!

Léopold III yaratangiye arasahura. Ahera ku mabuye y'agaciro dore ko aboneka cyane muri icyo gihugu. Ngizo za zahabu, diama, uranium, umuringa, gasegereti n'ibindi... Kongo ntiyari ikize ku mabuye y'agaciro gusa. Yari ifite n'ubundi bukungu kamere.

Léopold III byose arajyana. Ushaka kujya impaka azegere Umwami w'Ababiligi Baudouin Ier, umwuzukuru wa Léopold III. Azamubazze niba umutungo umuryango wabo ufite utawukeshya ubwo bujura bwa Sekuru wabo Léopold III. Uwo Mwami ibyo yakoreye Kongo yagombye kubiryoza, we n'abuzukuru be. Imyaka yose Kongo yamaze ari ubwatsi bwe, abatu-



rage babo ntibigeze bahumeka. Ngicyo ikiboko, ngiyo shiku. Ugize ngo arakoma akabambwa ku giso-ngo cyangwa se agacibwa umutwe!

Ababiligi ubwabo bageze aho ubwo bwicanyi bubatera isoni n'amahanga atangiye kubaha induru. Nibwo abadepite babo bateranye bambura uwo Mwami wabo igihugu cye.

Icyitwaga ubutaka bwa Léopold III gihinduka Kongo-mbiligi. Ntaho byari bivuye, ntaho byari bigiye. Cya kiboko, bwa buretwa, rya sahura byarakomeje kugeza igihe Kongo yigenze.

Ntibyabujije ariko ababiligi gusahura icyo gihugu na nubw. Uko ababiligi bakomeje kwitwara nyuma y'ubwigenge bw'intara bahoze bategeka, Kongo-Mbiligi na Ruanda-Urundi, murabizi kandi muracyabibora. Uretse gukomeza gusahura ibyo bihugu nta mahoro bigeze byafuriza. Bashumuriye Zaire abacanshuro nka Jean Schrame, bateranya amoko, bashaka gutanya abazayirwa.

U Rwanda narwo ntibarurebye izuba. Barugabije inyenzi kuva mu myaka ya mbere ya Repubulika. Mu Burundi bakomeje gushyigikira agatsiko k'abatutsi kakomeje gukandamiza imbaga y'abahutu kugeza ejo bundi umuhutu atorewe kuba Perezida wa Repubulika. Twizere ko itorwa rya Ndadaye Melchior

hari icyo rizahindura. Simbihamya ariko keretse ababiligi batagihari!

ABABILIGI NTIBIFUZA KO AFURIKA YAVA MU BUJJI

Iyo uganiye n'abantu bakunze kugenda cyane mu mahanga, bakubwira ko icyo bumvise ko igihugu cyawe cyahozze gitegekwe n'ababiligi, ahita agusuzugura. Abandi bavuga ko ahita "agukuba na zeru". Reka rero si icyo uhuye n'abaturuka mu bihugu bikoresha ururimi rw'icyongereza. Kuba ababiligi basuzugurwa ku isi yose bifite ishingiro. Bazira imyifatire yabo idatandukanye cyane n'iya ba gashaka buhake bo muri Afurika y'epfo. Ababiligi ni abantu batifuza ko umunyafurika yajijuka, agatera imbere. Ni bantu bahora bifuzaga ko umwirabura yakomeza kubapfukamira muri byose.

Ni nayo mpamvu usanga imishinga yose irimo Ababiligi yadindiye. Abanyarwanda bituka aho umushinga wa "Réforme Scolaire" wasize abana babo. Uwo mushinga washubijwe inyuma uburezi mu Rwanda nk'ikinyejana cyose. Abana b'abahanga tubaheruka mbere y'icyo "Réforme Scolaire" abenshi bahinduye "Déforme Scolaire" kubera ubuswa uwo mushinga wapakiye mu banyeshuri.

Imishinga y'abiligi, aho ku-

HABYARIMANA YERETSE ABAMURWANYA KO ARI IKINANI KOKO.

Ati "ndi ikinani cyananiye abagome n'abagamba banyu!" Amashyaka amurwanya ngo arabeshya, ntawe yananiye. Ati buretse nzabereka! Sibwo amashyaka yibu-mbiye hamwe ngo amuvane ku kinyoma. None Habyarimana yerekanye icyo ari cyo. Ni Ikinani.

Ubusanzwe MDR-PL-PSD yavugiraga Inkotanyi akagaragaza ko abatutsi ari abana beza. Ngo ni ubwoko bw'Imana. Yewe nta n'ubwo ayo mashyaka yabonaga ko Inkotanyi ziri mu makosa mu gutera u Rwanda. Niyo Inkotanyi zicaga abaturage bavugaga ko ntacyo bitwaye kuko zabaga zirimo kwica abakiga. Ariko se hari icyo CDR itavuze ngo iga-ragaze ubugome bw'inyenzi? Hari icyo Habyarimana atakoze ngo ashimishe izo ndashima z'abatutsi?

Ubugome bw'abatutsi rero ubu butangiye kugaragarira mu isubiranamo rya MDR, PSD na PL.

Abamaze iminsi bumva Radiyo Rwanda mwumvishe ukuntu abayobozi b'ayo mashyaka birirwa basubiranamo, bateranijwe n'abatutsi.

IMPAMVU INGANA URURO.

Amashyaka agitangira, Inkotanyi zasezeraniye Twagiramungu ko zizamushyigikira akaba Minisitiri w'Intebe. Ariko nawe agakora ibishoboka byose, agatorwa na Komite ya MDR. Ibyo ni nabyo byatumye Twagiramungu yicisha musanzire we Gapyisi ngo atazamurusha amajwi baramutse biyamamaje hamwe. Ubwo Inkotanyi zaje kugira ingufu imbere mu gihugu bitewe na Twagiramungu na Mugenzi wa PL. Ubwo haje gushyirwaho Guverinoma nziba cyuho. Twagiramungu ntiyahita. Hahita Nsengiyaremye maze nawe abako-rera ibitangaza ahita asaba Inkotanyi kumushyigikira nawe akazikorera ibyo zifuza byose. Zatera akazishima aho kuzamagana.

Ubwo Nsengiyaremye aba inshuti y'Inkotanyi kurusha ba Twagiramungu, Mugenzi n'abandi.

Twagiramungu amaze kubura umwanya Inkotanyi zamwemereye, yabuze intama n'ibyuma. Urupfu rwa musanzire we narwo rwamuguye

nabo cyane. Mu ishya rye, n'ubwobwose akiribereye Perezida, ntabwo bamwemera. Haba kuri Radiyo cyangwa se muri mitingi za MDR bamuhinduye umunya makosa nk'ingurube, bamuhindura igisambo, umwicanyi, umunyamatiku...

Hari n'amakuru yatuzetse yemeza ko muri mitingi ya MDR yabereye ku Gikongoro ku wa kane tariki ya mbere Nyakanga, abarwanashyaka baje bitwaje intosho zo gutera Twagiramungu kubera ko yivuganye Gapyisi, wari Perezida wa MDR ku Gikongoro. Na mushiki wa Gapyisi nawe yasabye ijamba ngo yongere yambike Twagira-mungu ubusa kube-ra urupfu rwa musaza we,

barabiviringa kugirango Twagiramungu adakorwa n'ikimwaro kandi ari Perezida w'Ishyaka.

MDR, PSD na PL, amashyaka yari yariyemeje gufatanya n'umwanzi nayo yivuyemo nk'inopfu. MDR yareruye noneho ivuga ko ari MDR Parmehutu igendera ku bitekerezo bya Nyakwigendera Gregori

Kayibanda. Kare kose se yigiraga ibiki ? MDR kandi isigaye yishisha amashyaka PSD na PL ngo zirayigambanira ku buryo isigaye ivuga ko ntaho ataniye na MRND. Ngo bose ni Interahamwe !

Amashyaka PSD na PL ku rundi ruhande nayo ati MDR- Parmehutu nta cyiza yakoze. Ngo niyo yishye abatutsi, abandi barahunga.

Amatiku yaranze iryo shyaka ngo niyo yatumye

Habyarimana arihirika mu w'1973. Muri make ngo MDR igiye gusenya ubwo yatangiye kwiyama amashyaka yafatanyaga nayo, abayobozi bayo bakaba nabo barangwa n'amatiku. Mbese nk'uko byari bimeze muri za mirongo iri-ndwi na kabiri, na gatatu. Nta gihe tutababwiye ko gucudika n'umwanzi bizaba-geza aho batazivana, umututsi yigaramiye.

Nguko uko abarwanyaga

Habyarimana aberetse ko ari Ikinani cyananiya Abagome n'Abagam-banyi. Abagombaga kumurwanya sibo basubiranye mo !

Ibyo byose Matayo Ngirumpatse yari yarabivuze ngo abahutu bazagera igihe babone kimwe umututsi.

Sibwo umusaza Bucyana Maritini atsinze izuba riva ! Nguko uko no mu RWANDA tugiyeye gutsinda nk'i BURUNDI.

Utazi ubugome bw'abatutsi none yarebeye aha !



zamura igihugu, irakidindiza. Iyo itagisize mu myenda kitazivanamo. Ububiligi iyo butanze amafaranga bwita ko ari imfashanyo, bwohereza n'abo kuyirya. Bakaza bitwaba "coopérants". Cyangwa se ayo mafaranga agashirira mu igurwa n'amamodoka no kubaka amazu abo ba gashakabuhake baryohamo. Igihugu bitwa ko bafashije akaba aricyo cyishyura.

Reka twe kwirirwa tuvuga ubutwererane mu bya gisirikari ! Ababiligi mwiboneye uko bakora. Bifatanije n'umwanzi intambara igitangira na nubw. Banekera inyenzi biratinda,

bima u Rwanda amasasu kandi yari-shywe...! Hari benshi bibaza ahubwo icyo ababiligi bagikora ino aha cyane cyane mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Bagombye kuba baratashye kera.

Uwavuga amarorerwa y'ababiligi buri wese ushyira mu gaciro yabazinukwa. Reka rero uwavuga imyifatire y'abapadiri babo, wahita wanga "Ivanjiri". Aho kwigisha ijambo ry'Imana kuko aricyo cyabazanye, usanga abo bantu babeshya ko bihaye Imana bitwara nka ba bazungu bo muri Afurika y'epfo. Kugira ngo umwirabura yumve

"Ijambo ry'Imana", agomba gukubitwa ikiboko ? Aho muhibaze. Igihe kirageze ngo Afurika yipakurure ubwo bucakara. Nkuko ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo, abanyarwanda, abarundi, abazayirwa bari bakwiye gusezerera abo bakoloni. Afurika ikwiye kwigenga. Mbe nka Mzee Jomo Kenyatta wahoze ayobora Kenya n'ishyamba rye ryo hambere "Mau Mau". Mzungu aende Ulaya, Mweusi apate Uhuru". Ngo umuzungu (aha twavuye Umubiligi) asubire mu Buraya, umwirabura yigenge.

KANGURA

IVYO TUBONA KURI DEMOKRASI MU BURUNDI.

Uko abatutsi bo babivuga, demokrasi mu Burundi yamyeho, bakemera ko hari utuntu duto duto twagiye turayitosekaza. Uko babisikanya ku butegetsi niko n'iyoye demokrasi yabo yahinduraisura, hageze kuri Buyoya hohobirunyuka.

Inyuma y'ivyago rya NTEGA-MARANGARA mu w'1988, Buyoya yahatiye abarundi gutora bemeza (voter pour) amasezerano y'ubumwe batagiranaye. Demokrasi ishingiyeye kuri ayo masezerano y'ubumwe avugwa, Buyoya n'abamufasha gutegeka bemeza ari demokrasi y'akarorero mw'isinzima. Iyo mvugoyatuma bemeza abarundi n'amakungu ko mu Burundi imigambwe myinshi idakenewe, bakitwaza ko ibihugu biri-mwo imigambwe myinshi, birimwo imiryano, bagatanga uturorero kuri Zaire, Bénin, Togo n'ahandi. Iyo mvugoyagiye guhinduka ari uko abanyagihugu bahagurutse bakagaragariza igisoda ca Uprona ko batacemera kwicwa nk'intama. Aho hari muri Munyonyo (Novembre) 1991.

Ivyo vyatumye bashingira ibwirizwashingiro

ryemera imigambwe myinshi ariko rikumira imwe imwe nka Palipe-hutu kandi bizwi hose ko ariwo uharanira abaru-ndi benshi. Iryo bwirizwashingiro ryemejwe muri Ntwarante (Mars) 1992. Imigambwe yemerewe gukorera ku mugaragaro amezi atatu nyuma y'aho ibwirizwashingiro ryemejwe. Iyo imigambwe yatezwe imitego myinshi ariko iremera irayigwamo bivanye n'igihababu c'ubutegetsi:

- Uprona yateganyamatora y'Umukuru w'Igihugu mu mezi icenda gusa. Abo mu yindi imigambwe barasemereye, ubutegetsi bwa Uprona bibutera isoni, hongerwako amezi atatu ataranga.

- Uprona yararahiye irarengwa ko ata leta mfatabanza ushobora kubaho, ndetse ko idakenewe ngo yarabayeho kuva aho Cyprien Mbonimpa agombeye gutembagaza Buyoya bigapfuba.

- Mu mategeko bari gutangura gutora abategetsi bo mu makomuni, hagakwirikira amatora y'abadepite, mu nyuma hagatorwa umukuru w'igihugu. Ariko abategetsi ba Uprona barabuciritse imigambwe ihiganwa na Uprona na yo iravyemera.

Ukwezi kwa Ruheshi (Juin) 1993 kwaranzwe n'amatora y'Umukuru w'Igihugu n'ay'abadepite:

- 1.- Ay'umukuru w'igihugu ku wambere Ruheshi (juin) 1993.
- 2.- Ay'abadepite ku wa 29 Ruheshi 1993.

Ayo matora yose yatsinzwe na FRODEBU, ivyobituma UPRONA itishimira ivyobabarundi bageze:

- Mu kwiyamamamuriza ayo matora Uprona ntiyahengeshanije (ntiyashidikanije) kwagiriza abobahigana ngo BAZURA AKABOSE, ngo bisungamacakubiri, iterabwoba riba ryinshi kugeza n'aho bamwe mubiyamamaza mu badepite bafutwabandi batozwamande.

- Amatora y'umukuru w'igihugu arangiye, abatutsi bagasanga batsinzwe, bihayemababarara ngo bariyamirije "amatora y'amacakubiri", abanyeshule bankagukora ibibazo; abakozi ba leta bagira yegereregere (grève) ipfukiranije...

- Hatangijwe ivyavuye mu matora y'abadepite, hashinzwe amategeko abuzabantu kwigina intsinzi yabo, naho k'uruhanderw'imigambwe,

bamwe batanguye kwidodomba, bamwe ngo babakoresheje amakosa mu gucurika urutonde rw'amatora, abandi ngo hatsinze amacakubiri, abandi ngo Uprona nta nguvu izoronka zo guhangana na Frodebu, bakagira ubwoba ko na Constitution yohava izohinduka... Ku bwa Mayugi we na Uprona, ngo abatsinze babwirizwa guca aho bacye hose bavuguruza ivyo bavuze kandi ngo Uprona igiye gushinga mu makomine yose imirwi yo gukingira abaprona batsinzwe.

Akababaro ka Uprona n'abatutsi ntawe kotangaza kuko mu myaka 32 bamaze bica, bacinyiza kandi bangaza abahutu n'abatwa, hako ngerako imitego myinshi bari bateze, vyabizeza gutsinda 100 %, ari naco gituma bihutisha ibintu, bakabicurikiranya

. Ariko rero ako kababaro twokibazako vyinshi kuko demokrasi yo mu Burundi ishingiyeho aho nyene :

- Ko Uprona yakunze kugaruka ku ijamba ryo KUZURA AKABOZE, ikavyagiriza abahiganwa, uyu muni bakaba ariho batahukanye intsinzi, ni bakazura bizogenda gute? Hanyuma twokwi-baza ako kaboze ni akahe? Ni nde yari yaragaha-mvye? Yari yaragahamvye gute?

- Ko imitego nka Uprona yari yateze isa n'iyashibukanye, bakaba badatomora aho amatora ya komine azobera, Uprona n'abatutsi boba bagona iki?

- Nimba ako kaboze Uprona ihishira ari amabi yakoreye abanyagihugu cane cane mu 1962, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1984, 1988, 1991 n'ubu hose ukibandanya, abatsinze bazokwemera ko

biguma bihishijwe?

Nimba naho bazovyemera, tuzoba tuvuye hehe? Tuzoba tugana he? Nimba naho bizoshigwaha ahabona, abobabipfukira bazovyihanganira? Mu gihe vyoja ahabona naho, ca gisoda c'ubwoko bumwe Boyoya yahayagiza ngo gifite discipline y'akarorero aho kigandaguriye abahutu n'abatwa mu w'1988 (Ntega-Marangara) kizovyifatamo gute?

Twihweje neza ibi bibazo, tukaraba kahise k'uburundi n'imiriro ubu, tusanga kugira ngo dushike kuri demokrasi nyakuri urugembe rukiri rurerure.

Demokrasi igezweho uwo musu mu Burundi twoyigereranya n'igiti gitewe mw'ivu rishashe hejuru y'urutare.

BIZIMANA Germain Karuzi.

Dore abo MRND yahisemo kuzayihagararira muri Guverinoma itaha izaba irimo inyenzi:



- ¹ 1 - Ngirumpatse Matayo, ukomoka i Kigali.
- ² 2 - Ngirabatware Augustin, ukomoka ku Gisenyi.
- ³ 3 - Karemera Edouard, ukomoka ku Kibuye.
- ⁴ 4 - Nzirorera Joseph, ukomoka mu Ruhengeri.
- ⁵ 5 - Butare Innocent, ukomoka i Butare

NAGANIRIYE NA GOPYISI MU NZOZI

Ngo inzozu zigira nkana, Mu gihe twari dutegereje ko bagenzi bacu bitabye Imana batubonekera mu

nzozu bakatuganirira uko bamereye icyo iruhande rwa Rurema, twaje gutugururwa n'inzozu ziteye agahinda. Ziteye kwibaza byinshi, Ndetse izo nzozu uwazikurikiranira hafi akabaza abahanga mu gusesengura ibyerekeye inzozu yavanamo ikintu. Nuwashaka kurota yahera aho twagarukiye maze akerekeza inzozu ze aho yifuza. Uko twe twabibonye mpera yo kuva mu bitotsi, twasanze izo ndoto zizakomeza dore ko zanatamye tuzandikaho byinshi.

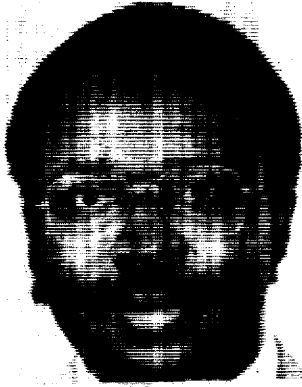
Nuko duhura n'umugabo w'i-

gikwerere duhuriye ahantu hashashye neza tugira ubwoba budasanzwe. Aratwegera niko kutubwira ngo ntutugire ubwoba, Ati : «Ni muze dushyikirane».

Dukomeza ku muhunga, nibwo yicaye ku gasozi gato ariko karekare. Nibwo adusasiye agasambi ati : Ni muhumure mureke mbaganirire kubyo mwifuza. Ati musabwe namwe kumbwira uko ibintu bimeze hanze. Dore ko abanyamakuru ba Kangura bizwi ko ari mwe murengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Ubwoba twari dufite buba bwarashize. Ni ko kutubwira ngo aho turi nta vangura ry'amoko rihaba. Nti ibyo ari byo byose birazwi. Ngo usiye ko hari ivangura ry'abazima n'abazimu.

Ati : Ngeze rero ntukagire ngo ibitekerezo byawe bisomwa n'abazima gusa. Ati natwe turabibona kandi tutagombye kubigura. Ngo gusa icyo abazima baturusha ni uko bashobora kugira icyo bavuga ku byanditswe, baba ukubigaya cyangwa se kubishima. Ati nje Emmanuel Gapyisi navukiye ku Gikongoro mu muhango wa kinyarwanda. Ndakize kandi ndakennye. Mu mashuri yanjye narangwaga n'ubuhanga, mu buzima bwanjye narangwaga no kuvuga ukuri guharanira imigendekere myiza ya buri wese.

Maze kurangiza amashuri y'ino mu Rwanda naje kwoherezwa kwiga i



Burayi. Ubwo ubutegetsu bwari ho bwemera kujya bundihira amashuri nkuko byakorwaga no ku bandi banyeshuri bavaga mu Rwanda. Ubwo Habyarimana yaje gufata ubutegetsu mu w'1973. Nyuma y'inyuma ibiri gusa maze i Buraya, mu Bubiligi, ubwo ahita asesa ishyamba MDR abwirubanda ko iryo shyamba ryari gutururira mu Rwanda mu cyobo. Nyuma y'igihe gito yaje gushyiraho ishyamba MRND. Ngo integano zaryo ni ubumwe, amahoro, amajyambere. Ubwo nje naje kureba kure, nsanga izo ntegano zidashoboka. Nibwo ngaragaje ko rizazambya ibintu mu gihugu. Nibwo ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali buhita bunyuka inabi burampiga kugeza ubwo buhagaritse amafaranga ya bourse bwantangiye. Ubwo abazungu bankundiraga ibitekerezo byanjye, baje gufatanyana bene wacu kundihira amashuri. Nakomeje kwiga kugeza ubwo m'ubonye impamyabushobozi yanjye nakoreye hagati ya 1971 na 1979. Aho nanyuraga hose bambazaga icyo nahereyeko mvugaga ko MRND itazagera ku ntegano zayo. Dore uko nabivugaga : Ubumwe :

— Ubumwe bushoboka bute kandi atabutsi bavugaga ko ntacyo bapfana n'abahutu ? Abatutsi bahunze bageze hanze bategura ibitero byo gutera urwababyaye bagambiriyeye kugarura ingoma ntutsi revolisiyo ya 1959 yahiritse.

Ese ubwo bumwe bushoboka bute mu bantu batabwizanya ukuri ? Ese wagera ute ku bumwe bw'abahutu n'abatutsi kandi ubumwe bw'abahutu bwonyine bwarakunaniye ? Ese wagera ute ku bumwe bw'abahutu n'abatutsi kandi hari abahutu batumvikana n'abandi ? Njye nabonaga ko mbere yo kunga abahutu bari ku butegetsu n'abatabufite ari-

cyo cyihutirwaga mbere yo kunga amoko. Kunga abahutu b'inda nini n'abahutu bashonje. Ibyo wabiranziza ukavugaga ubumwe. Ibyo bitashoboka ukamenya ko uruhira ubusa.

— Amahoro : Buri muntu wese yifuza amahoro ariko kugira ngo agerweho ni uko muba mubona ibibazo kimwe. None se uzavugaga amahoro urya ugashyirira imbwa, ngo uwaburaye azakumva ? Yakumva ate kandi urya wenyine ? Wavugaga amahoro ute se ugira ubwoko bumwe butari ubwawe miseke igoroye ?

Habyarimana yibaniye n'abatutsi, aba ari bo atemberana nabo, asangira nabo maze muri ayo mahoro wavugaga ijamba umututsi, ugafungwa. Ubwo se ayo mahoro ko mbona ari ariyo abatutsi bakoresheje mu gutegura ibitero byabo yari kugerwaho ryari ? Muri ayo mahoro abatutsi bohereje abakobwa babo mu bategetsu b'abahutu no mu bahutu bakize. Ubwo se uwo Habyarimana wifuzaga amahoro kuko icyo mitego atayibonaga ?

Wakwifuzaga ute amahoro kandi ubukungu bw'igihugu ubushyira mu maboko y'abatutsi ? Wakwifuzaga ute amahoro mu gihe wifuzaga kunga amoko ku ngufu ? Ibyo byose narabirebaga ngasanga ayo mahoro naho yabaho bwaba ari uburyarya. Kuko ntaho byari bitaniye na bwa bumwe bw'Abarundi bwahiritse Buyoya !

— Amajyambere : Iryo jambo buri wese aba arikeneye. Ntawe udakeneye amajyambere ariko se amajyambere yagerwaho ate mu gihe ubucamanza burenganura abakire gusa. Ubwo se amajyambere yagerwaho ate mu gihe abari ku butegetsu ari bo biharira iby'igihugu byose ? Amajyambere yasangirwa n'abo hejuru gusa, rubanda rugufi ntabagereho ngo ni amajyambere ? Amajyambere yagerwaho ate mu gihe hafungwaga bene ngofero gusa ? Amajyambere ni ngombwa ariko agerwaho ari uko bose bashyize hamwe.

Ibyo reka tubireke maze tuvuge ku byerekeye urupfu rwanjye.

— Nitabye Imana ku itariki ya 18/05/1993 mu ma saa moja za nimu-

goroba. Ariko urwo rupfu rwakuruye ibibazo byinshi nk'uko ngiye kubigutangariza. Nkuko nakubwiye, nabaye umwe mu baharaniye guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu kuva navuka. Ndi umwe mu baharaniye ko mu Rwanda habaho amashyaka menshi. Ubwo amashyaka amaze kwe-merwa naje kuyoboka ishyamba rya MDR. Iryo shyamba mwese muzi ko ariryo ryagejeje u Rwanda ku bwigenge. Ubwo sinahise nitabira za mitingi kubera kwanga ko bavugaga ngo nitwaje ko ndi umukwe wa Kayibanda washinze MDR ya kera. Ubwo MDR twayitabiriye turi benshi ku buryo musanzire wanjye Twagiramungu namuteye ibibazo nkuko ngiye kubikubwira.

Dore abagize uruhari mu icyiwa ryanjye :

Tubanze turebe impamvu nishwe : Navutse mu majyepfo y'u Rwanda. Nabarwaga mu banyarwanda bitonda, badahubuka, bemerwa n'amahanga cyane cyane imiryango ifasha u Rwanda kuko nakoranye nayo kuva kera.

Ibyo byafumaga abazungu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda bangira inama yo kuziyamamariza umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika mu gihe cy'amatora yimirije imbere. Nabanaga n'abanaybwenge b'ingeri zose. Abo muri MDR bo babonaga ari nje uzaba Minisitiri w'intebe muri Guverinoma izaba irimo Inkotanyi. Impamvu ari nje washyirwaga mu majwi ni ukubera ibitekerezo byanjye, n'imibereho yanjye irwanya ubutegetsi bwose bw'igitugu.

Ibyo byose nkubwiye rero ni nabyo byaje gutuma nicwa nabaharaniraga kugera kuri iyo myanya.

Abo nkeka akaba ari aba bakurikira :

— Musanzire wanjye Twagiramungu wiyumvagamako ashobora kuzakenera kwiyamamariza umwanya wa Minisitiri w'intebe ariko kubera ko yabonaga ko adashobora kundusha amajwi kubera ko yanduye bihagije. Yaje gusanga azatangamo igitamba maze ngapfa agasigara nta wundi bahanganye nawe. Ibyo kandi Twagiramungu

tiri w'intebe, azananiyamamariza umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Ibyo akabihabwaga n'amikoro yari kuvana kuri uwo mwanya wa minitiri w'intebe. Ubwo yaje kungambanira ndicwa agambiriye ibyo navuze haruguru.

Kuko umwanya wose nari kwiyamamariza, komite ya MDR yashoboraga ku ntora byanze bikunze. Dore ko Nsengiyaremye yari amaze kugaragaza ubuswa bwe. Ndetse nta n'amahanga akimwemera. Iyo ni imwe mu mpamvu zituma nemeza ko Twagiramungu yagize uruhare mu icyiwa ryanjye.

Karenzi Karake uyu uhagarariye inkotanyi twigeze guhurira muri Hotel Meridien ambwira ko ntitonze ngo mbe nka musanzire wanjye Twagiramungu, nabura intama n'ibyuma. Ubwo yanyuriraga rya shyirahamwe ryacu rya Forum, Paix et Démocratie. Mubwira ko ibitero bakoze le 8/2/1993 nabo bizabakururira ibibazo. Ko ari nabyo byatumye abanyarwanda bose bamenyako inkotanyi icyo zishakari ubutegetsi gusa. Ubwo abo twari tumwe barumwe dore ko muri icyo minsi ari naho Twagiramungu yakoraga amanama ya buri munsi na Karenzi muri icyo Hotel. Ngeze rero reka nanze kukubwira impamvu twashyizeho ririya huriro. Twe twararebye dusanga tutarwanze ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Habyarimana, ngo duhindukire twihorere inkotanyi zishakira kubufatisha ingufu z'imbunda. Inkotanyi twari twarazihoreye tugira ngo koko ubwo habayeho imishyikirano zemerera ko ibibazo bikemurwa muri demokrasi. Ariko twaje kureba dusanga ibibazo byose amashyaka afite imbere mu gihugu abiterwa n'inkotanyi. Zikoresha amafaranga mu kurangaza rubanda naho zo zishakira ubutegetsi gusa.

Ubwo naje guhura na Mbonampeka nsanga nawe duhuye ibibazo hamwe na babandi bese duhuriye muri iryo huriro. Nibwo twiyemeje gukururira abanyarwanda demokrasi. Tubabwirira muri demokrasi, ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage, bugabwira

byitso byayo bigize ubwoba. Bira-vuga biti buriya ziriya ntiti ziboneka mu mashyamba anyuranye, nizi-bwira abanyarwanda ukuri kose kuri iyi ntambara, akacu kazaba gashobotse. Ndibuka FPR ivugira kuri Radiyo Muhabura ngo «nabazanye intwari baratsinzwe, nkanswe abazanye amagambo». Ngaho aho mpera mvuga ko FPR ihagarariye na Karekezi, umukuru w'inkotanyi zo muri Goma, bafashe umugambi wo kunyivugana. Gusa ntibari kubishobora batanyuze kuri Twagiramungu. Ubwo kandi maze gupfa hari abantu bahise batelefona Mbonampeka bamubwira ngo yumvishe ? Abo bantu nabo ni ibikoresho bya FPR.

Mu gupfa kwanjye, haje abagabo babiri bandasa amashyamba menshi mu gitugu ku buryo nibazaga impamvu badashakira kurasa mu mutwe kandi bari banyegereye. Naketse ko bangaga ko umurambo wanjye uzatera agahinda inshuti zanjye harimo na musanzire wanjye Twagiramungu. Urupfu rwanjye, hari abarwanashyamba bandi mashyamba rwababaje. Abo mbere ni abo muri CDR. Muri MDR naho barimo keretse igice cy'iryo shyamba gitekereza nka Twagiramungu kuko nari nkibangamiye. Igice cya MDR kiri ku ruhande rwa Nsengiyaremye, urupfu rwanjye ntacyo rwababwiye. Kuko rwatumye Nsengiyaremye abura uwo bahatana. Uretse ko mvuze ko urupfu rwanjye Nsengiyaremye nawe rwamushimishije ntaba mbeshye. Uribonera neza ko bambonagamo :

— umugabo ushobora gubuzako inkotanyi kugera ku mugambi wazo

— umugabo ushobora gusimbura Habyarimana

— umugabo ushobora gusimbura Nsengiyaremye. Abahutu bakambonamo umugabo ushobora

kurwanya ubutegetsi bw'igitugu. Ngibyo rero ibyo nazize. Naho ku

byerekeye anketi zikorwa ku rupfu rwanjye, ntacyo zishobora

kugeraho kuko bene kunyicisha ari nabo bene gukora anketi. Ubwo se

bakwivamo ?

Ese kuki Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye idaha abashinzwe icyo anketi a-

Cyokora ndizera ko wowe Ngeze, uko nkuzi, nukora anketi bikuvuye ku mutima uzagwa kubanyivuganye. Gusa ugomba guhera ku bantu mwafunganywe muri gereza ya Kigali kuko aribo bamenyekana, bakavugaga ababatumye. Kandi ibyo bigakorwa mbere y'uko Guverinoma izaba irimo inkotanyi ijyaho kuko niramuka igiyeho urupfu rwanjye nizatapfa rutanganjwe. Nzaba pfuve nk'abandi bose. Mbe mbaye u-

ko umwanzi yifuza. Ese twanyishe yungutse iki? Ese abo dusangiye ishyaka bakoze iki? icyo ngusabwowe Ngeze ni ukuzakorwa anketi watangiye, ibyo uzageraho ukabihaha umuryango wanjye. Ubwo ubutaha nzogera nkubonekere.

NGEZE Hassan.

Suite de la page 7

se ikizungerezi. Ibintu ni bibiri. Nk'uko baja bavugaga ngo «ntawe ukeza abami babiri», Generali Opa-leye ntazatwirarireho. Ibizungerezi tubizi kumurusha.

Ntiwaba uri mu maboko y'umututsikazi ngo ubone ibibazo abanyarwanda bafite kandi amahanga aribwo butumwa yagushinze mbere na mbere. Cyokora ntitwabura kwifuriza uwo musaza arungo ruhire! Azabyare, atunge, atunganirwe....!

KANGURA

ABARUNDI BABA MU MAHANGA BANDIKIYE NDADAYE

République du BURUNDI
PALIPEHUTU
HAUT CONSEIL NATIONAL DE
LIBERATION

Ku wa 23 Ruheshi 93

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa
Repubulika y'u Burundi
Melchior NDADAYE

BIRABA: Uko PALIPEHUTU
ubona demokarasi mu
Burundi.

Nyakwubahwa Perezida,

Turi n'iteka n'icubahiro nta ngere vyo kubaramutsa no kubakeza ku mabanga abanyagihugu babashinze kurangura biciye mu matora yo ku wa mbere Ruheshi 1993.

Tuboneyeho n'akanya ko kubashikiriza mwebwe n'Abarundi bose ivyo Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU ubona kuri demokarasi mu Burundi

Nyakubahwa Perezida,
Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU ubona ko demokarasi mu Burundi, teka nyene n'amahoro, bikiri nk'indoto mu gihe hatoshirwa ahabona ingorane zamunze u Burundi kuva kera, cane cane ingorane z'akare-

wanye uharanira demokarasi nyakuri mu Burundi, ni naco catumye bamwe mu banywanyi bawo bahasiga agatwe, abandi nabo n'ubu bakaba bakigorewe mu mabohero.

Ku vyerekeye amahoro, ntitwokwirerengagiza ko adashobora kuboneka mu gihe akarenganyo kaciganje mu gihugu. Intwari zabatunguriye, nk'uko mubizi, zaracinyije abanyagihugu 86% (Abahutu n'Abatwa) mu kubambura uburenganzira ngenderwako nka:

- Uburenganzira bwo kubaho: izo ntware zarishe Abahutu n'Abatwa barenze ibihumbi amajana ane b'ibitsina vyose, bo mu ngero zose z'imyaka, bo mu mihingo yose y'igihugu, ibimuga, abasazi, abakene n'abatunzi...

- Uburenganzira bwo kwiga: Ni abahutu n'abatwa bake cane bashoboye kuja kwiga kandi n'abo baronse ayo mahirwe barasuzugurwa ndetse bagaturubikwa.

- Uburenganzira izo ntware zarangajwe Abahutu n'abatwa barenga ibihumbi amajana ane, gutyo zibambura ubwengehugu bwabo bitwa IMPUNZI nk'uko umenga ntibagira igihugu bavutsemo.

...

Intwari za UPRONA, zishimikije igisirikare c'ubwoko bumwe bw'Abatutsi (14%), zaranzwe n'ubwicanyi buruta kure ubwo Abazungu bo muri Afurika y'epfo,

akababaro k'abanyagihugu mu gihe basaba ko ibintu vyohinduka. Iryo vyatumye PALIPEHUTU kuva ushingwa udahengeshanya gushira ahabona amabi y'izo ntware, bituma n'abanywanyi bawo -mu mihingo yose- bahigwa buhongo, bamwe barafunzwe, baracunaguzwa, ndetse abandi baranicwa;..

Urugamba nk'urwo nirwo rwahitanye GAHUTU Remi Perezida fondateri wa PALIPEHUTU n'abandi banywanyi bawo; ni n'ukubera urwo rugamba hari abanywanyi b'Umugambwe bakigorewe mu mabohero yo mu Burundi no Tanzaniya (Songea na Urambo).

Nyakubahwa Perezida,

Nta mbeshere, intambwe u Burundi bwateye ku wa mbere Ruheshi 1993 irerekana ko dutanguye ikindi kiringo mu mibereho y'igihugu cacu. Yamara rero, ba sokuru barayamaze bati "NYENE IMBUGITA NI UWU-YIFASHE IKIRINDI". Twizere ko intwari yanyu atawe izohora ivyivumviro kuko atawavukiye kurenganywa, kwangazwa, kuryagumbwa, kwicwa... Nico gituma Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU ubasavye kwihweza ivyo ubona ko bitohara kugira ngo mu Burundi harangwe amahoro, umwumvikano na demokarasi nyakuri.

1. a) Gukoranya imigambwe yose y'Abarundi icategurira hamwe ibwiri-

zwa-shingiro

b) Gusenyura amasezerano y'ubumwe n'ibiyitirirwa vyose canke biyakomckako, kuko ayo masezerano ahuma amaso abanyagihugu mu guhakana KAHISE K'UBURUNDI kandi nako kabwirizwa kumenywa n'Abarundi bose.

2. Kurenqutsa imbere y'intaha abo bose bagize uruhare mw'igandagurwa ry'Abahutu n'Abatwa, abasahuye n'abanyaze iv'abandi, abivye ibigega vy'igihugu ...

3. Gusambura amasezerano yagizwe hagati ya H.C.R., u Burundi na Tanzaniya mu vyo guhungura impunzi kuko atubahirije agateka k'ikiremwa-muntu.

4. Abo bose bikinze mu kiza bakigarrurira amatongo, amazu... vy'abahutu n'abatwa, babwirizwa kubisubiza benevyo canke ba samuragwa babo.

5. Politiki y'igihugu mu vyerekeye

indero ibwirizwa gusubirwamwo kugira ngo ishobore kugirira akamaro Abarundi bose.

6. Habwirizwa gushingwa ubucamanza bushoboye gutunganiriza Abarundi bose kuko butisunze kunezereza abategets.

7. UPRONA na J. R. R. bibwirizwa kurenqutsa imbere yasantare kubera ko vyagize uruhare rugaragara mu mabi yashikiye u Burundi.

8. Kurandurana n'irizi ingeso y'abasirikare b'abatutsi yo gusaka amazu y'Abahutu gusa ndetse hakiyamirizwa kuvogera iruzu y'uwo ariwe wese.

9. Ibirwanisho byose bihishijwe hirya no hino be no mu mazu y'abatutsi bibwirizwa gusubizwa mu minwe ya leta.

10. Imigambwe yose y'Abarundi yemerewe gukorera ku rugaragar.

11. Abasirikare b'abacangero bose

(abatanzaniya, abagande, abasomaliya, abetiyoopiya ...) birukanwe mu gisirikare no ku gataka k'u Burundi.

12. Igisirikare c'abatutsi na UPRONA gisamburwe hashingwe igisirikare c'igihugu kizizwe n'Abahutu 85%, Abatutsi 14% n'Abatwa 1%.

Nyakubahwa Perezida,

Kwubaka u Burundi busha bisaba ubwitonzi bw'inshi kandi ibi vyiyumviro tubashikiriye si n'igice c'ibikenewe kurangurwa kugira ngo hatsimbatare demokarasi nyakuri mu Burundi.

Mu kurangiza, tubemereye ko tutazokwigera tudohoka k'uguhararira demokarasi nyakuri mu Burundi.

Harakaza demokarasi nyakuri mu Burundi

Ni harambe imvugakuri.

AHO BUKERA, TWAGIRAMUNGU FAUSTIN ARABURA AYO ACIRA N'AYO AMIRA

Muri Mata 1991, hasigaye ukwezi kumwe gusa ngo politiki ... y'amashyamba menshi yemerwe, nibwo b'inguri Kangura No 16, P. 19, NGEZE babona an yatangaga ifoto ya w'integirirungu. icyo gihe yasabaga w'integirirungu ayo aboke ba MDR gushyira mu mo icyo bagatora abaharanira inyungu washa rubanda rugufi. N'ubwo muri izo ibitanyandiko aterekana abaharanira izo nyungu ariko byibura aravugaga ko Twagirarungu ari umuntu wo kwitondera : ni igisambo, ariyemera, arasuzugura, arasisibiranya... ibyo bikaba ntacyo byamurira u Rwanda, uretse kurworeka. Ikinyamakuru cyacu cyarabyanditse ngo ni aya Kangura ! Ko ingeso itarara bushyitsi, noneho ba MDR ni bite ? Harya ngo Faustin abiciye ishyaka ? Ntacyo arakora ! Inyota y'ubutegetsu afite ahubwo izatuma risandara uko ryakabaye nimudatangatangana.

Hambere aha havugwaga ko Minisitiri w'Intebe. Nsengiyaremye Dismas yatanze kandidatire mu mishyikirano y'Arusha ku mwanya afite ubu. Ibaruwa ibisaba ntabwo ari Nsengiyaremye wayisinye. Ahubwo ni ishyaka ryabimusabiye, ibaruwa

isinywa na Perezida w'arwo, Bwana Twagirarungu Faustin. Impamvu yatumye Ngurinzira ahakana icyo baruwa ni uko Faustin Twagirarungu yemezaga ko Nsengiyaremye yisinyiye kandi mu byukuri ari we wamusiinyiye. Ntiyari gutamaza ishyaka. Harimo amayeri menshi yo guharabika Nsengiyaremye mu rwego rw'ishyaka kugirango Faustin Twagirarungu wifujye cyane umwanya wa Minisitiri w'Intebe awegukane. Mu kuri nta "Rukokoma" nta Nsengiyaremye ariko ubwo bucibiranya nibwo abayoboke ba MDR badashaka. Nibwo buri gutuma abayoboke baryo bicwa, nibwo buri gutuma ishyaka risinzira.

Bijya gutangira, ijamba Rukokoma ryagiye rita agaciro. Mu mishyikirano y'Arusha inyenzi zirayamagana. Twagirarungu ahita ata umutwe, kuko nkuko abyivugira, ngo yaba yarayitanzeho miriyoni zigera kuri 50 kugira ngo icengere mu mitwe y'abanyarwanda. Yabikoze yizera ko azaba Perezida w'ishyaka noneho naryo rikazamutangaho umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. None igitugu afite,

umururumba w'ubutegetsu utuma asigaye avugwa mu bishe Gapyisi, biragenda biganisha urushinge rw'umuvuduko yari amaranye imyaka hafi ibiri, kuri zero. Nyamara ubwo Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yajyagaho, icyo asa nusha make, umwanya uwo ari wo wose w'ubutegetsu ishyaka ryari kuwumushabira mu rwego rwo kumushimira uruhare yagize mu kujegera ubutegetsu bw'uwa 5 Nyakanga. Barabivuze ngo igisuma ntigisuma gisubira inyuma. Ariko iminsi ntibura kugihanura.

MDR yayiciyemo amashami atatu. Irya mbere ryavutse kubera agasuzuguro agirira Minisitiri w'Intebe Nsengiyaremye Dismas. Ubwo Nsengiyaremye yahise ashaka ingufu zimushyigikira muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama. Bityo MDR y'abanyagitarama iba ibonye izuba. Ishami rya kabiri ryatwe n'uko Twagirarungu akorera abatutsi kurusha uko akorera abahutu. Nibwo habonetse MDR Parmehutu iyobowe na Donat Murego. Muri iryo shami nimwo Gapyisi yabarizwaga. Imikorere ye yari itangiye guca integ

ya Faustin. Ishami risigaye ni irya abayoboke ba MDR bagishakiriza MDR-Inkotanyi riyobowe na urupfu rwa Gapyisi. Inyota Rukokoma. Aho ngaho niho y'ubutegetsu ikoresha Twagiramungu

aho bukera iratuma abura ayo acira n'ayo amira.

NGEZE HASSAN YARATEWE AKIZWA N'INGUFU Z'ABATURAGE



Nk'uko twabibagejejeho mu nimero zacu z'ubushize, twakunze kubabwira ko hari umutwe wari warashyizweho wo kurasa NGEZE Hassan. Ubwo abahutu bamaze kurita mu gutwi, bahise bakora amakipe yo guhangana nabo bantu. Nyirabayazana ngo ni inyangano mumaze iminsi musoma muri Kangura zerekeranye n'ibibazo abanyagisenyi bakunze guhura na byo. Twavugaga nko gutegekwa banyamaswa, kwicwa, gusahurwa,

gutotezwa n'ibindi bijyana na demokarasi.

Ku cyumweru tariki ya 20 Kamena 1993 mu masaa kumi n'imwe za mugitondo agatsiko k'abantu bambaye gisirikari kayobowe n'uwitwaga Sebazungu ngo ufite ipeti rya adjudant, akaba akoreraga kuri brigade ya Nyamirambo kasesekaye mu Biryogo aho NGEZE atuye. Abaturage batuye aho bahise bafata

amacumu n'imipanga, aha turavugaga abahutu b'umutima, maze ako gatsiko kayobowe n'adjudant Sebazungu kabonye umugambi wako ugapfubanye, gahita gashyira imbunda ku rutugu, amaguru kayabangira ingata. Ubwo inkuru yasesekaye muri Kigali yose nibwo ibiro bishinzwe ibya gisirikari byaje gukurikiranira hafi iby'icyo gitero. Ngo Sebazungu avugaga ko umugambi we yari yawutumwe n'inzego zo ku Gisenyi zishinzwe umutekano.

Nibwo mu masaa tatu za mugitondo maze kwandikira Procureur ushinze Urukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Ruhengeri, akaba ategereye akarere ka Gisenyi-Ruhengeri Kibuye. Duha kopi Procureur na Parquet ya Gisenyi tumusaba ko twazamwitaba kuwa kabiri tariki ya 22/06/1993, saa munani. Ubwo kuri uwo muni, kuri iyo saaha, twahise tugera kuri biro ya Parquet ya Gisenyi tuvugana na ba Substituts bose batubwirako nta mpapuro zidushakisha zihari. Ko nta n'undi ufite ubwo burenganzira bwo gusinya izo mpapuro usibye Parquet. Kubera ko Procureur yari i Kigali mu nama, ntitwahise tumubona.

Intambara y'aba GD n'abaturage

Ku wa gatatu mu museke, abajandarume b'inshuti zacu baje kutubwira ko dukora ibishoboka byose ntiturare mu rugo kuko bari buze kuharasa. Ubwo twahise duhamagara inshuti zacu tuzibwira ko ziyamira amajanja ko byakomeye. Ubwo saa saba za nijoro nibwo intasi za mbere zihasesekaye.

Zisanga impuzamugambi n'interahamwe ziri maso. Izo ntasi zimyiza imoso. Bwagiye gucya, umugi wose wa Gisenyi wuzuzwamo abajandarume. Ubwo imihanda igana kwa NGEZE yuzuzwamo intwari zikomeye. Ku buryo wagiraga ngo ni abanyamerika bagabye ibitero muri Iraki.

Ubwo kwa Ngeze mu rugo hahise haza abajandarume bageze kuri 83, bafite intwari za R4, chargeurs ebyiri kuri buri mbunda, ibisanduku bibiri byuzuye grenades, igisanduku kimwe cyuzuye stream (bya bisasu bitwika gusa), bikanasenyaye ibimodoka. Ubwo intambara iba iratangiyeye. Icyo gitero cyari kiyobowe n'aba Lieutenant Jagne, umwe ari we ufite inyenyeri

ebiyiri. Ubwo imbunda bazerekeje kwa Ngeze mu nzu. Ubwo byari bimaze kuba saa tatu za mugitondo. Abaturage bose baba babimanye. Nibwo abana, abakecuru, abasaza, abagore, abasore bose bahuruye bagera ku bihumbi 15.000. Ubwo hari n'abari baje bavuye mu makomini akikije umugi wa Gisenyi nka Nyamyumba-Rwerere-Kanama-Mutura. Mu ma saa tanu, umujyi usa naho ubaye itongo.

Abaturage bati mwatwiyenyejejeho kuva kera ariko uyu muni niho mubona uburakari bwa bene rubanda rugufi. Ubwo abajandarume bashakira kurasa ariko bagasanga ntacyo bibwiye abaturage kuko bari biyemeje kumena amaraso yabo aho guhora bashotorwa, bakorwa mu jisho, bicwa, basahurwa, batotezwa. Ubwo saa sita ziba zirageze. Abajandarume babonye ko abaturage biyemeje guhangana nabo nibwo bigabanyijemo ibice bibiri. Kimwe kijya ku ruhanda rw'abaturage, ikindi ku ruhanda

rw'uwakigabye. Ubwo abasinkari b'aba P.M. baza nabo bari ku ruhanda rw'abaturage. Abakomando bo mu Bigogwe nabo baza bari ku ruhanda rw'abaturage. Ubwo abajandarume bahise bagira ubwoba. Abaturage barabagote. Bigeze saa cyenda nibwo Ngeze yasohokaga mu nzu. Interahamwe zimusanze indamutso ngo "Turi kumwe", naho impuzamugambi ziti "Turi maso". Ubwo kandi ba bapasiteri b'amadini yose aboneka ku Gisenyi nabo bari baje kwifatanyaga n'abashyigikiye Ngeze.

Saa kumi igeze, Ngeze asohokaga mu nzu, amashyamba y'urufaya avugirako rimwe ngo twahangana n'ibitero byose n'uwabigabaga uwo ari we wese. Abo abajandarume bifuzaga kujyana NGEZE mu kigo cy'abo, abaturage nabo bati tujye kuri parke. Ubwo tugezeyo twahanganye umugabo

MUGABUSHAKA Damasce ne, waje kwerekana ko aca urubanza mu mugabo. Nibwo azanyeye

ibitabo by'amategeko imbere y'abo ba Lieutenant, na Commandant Bizimana. Nibwo avuze ko ikibazo cya Ngeze Hassan kizigirwa mu nama y'umutekano yagombaga guterana ku wa kane tariki ya 26/06/1993. Ubwo twaratashye abaturage bose bakoresha iminsi mikuru. Ku buryo abasaza byabibukije ibyishimo bagize u Rwanda rubona ubwigenge. Abanyamadini bo wagira ngo hari kuri Noheri. (ku bakristu) cyangwa se ku irayidi (ku bayisumu). Ubwo bwarakuye duhurira mu nama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Iyo nama yari yatumiwemo, Koloneri Nsengiyumva Anatole, Procureur, Pre'sident w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'iremezo rwa Gisenyi n'abandi bategetsi bo ku Gisenyi.

Muri icyo nama, NGEZE Hassan yavuze ko icyo yifuzaga ari uko abaturage ba Gisenyi batakomeza gutegekwa bunyamaswa. Ngo bamburwe uburenganzira bwabo. Ibyo nibigerwaho, Leta ikariha abishwe n'abasirikari basahuye kandi n'abacuruzi bibwe bakarihwa. Mbese Leta ntikomeze kubabeshya. Ibyo byose nibigerwaho, amahoro azataha ku Gisenyi. Twibutse ko Ngeze Hassan yari yateguye imyigaragambyo yagombaga kuba tariki ya 27/06/1993, ikagaragarizwamo akababaro kabatuye ku Gisenyi. Ubwo abari mu nama baje kuvuga icyo batekereza kuri ibyo bibazo. Usibye Bourgmestre wasaga nk'aho yabaye icyitso. Inama irangiye bifuje ibi bikurikira : Ko Commandant Bizimana yateguye inyandiko zivuguruzaga ibyo abona ko bamwanditseho bidahuye n'ukuri. Kandi akagerageza kworohera abo ateguka, akareka iterabwoba. Nguko uko abahutu biyunze bakaburizamo imigambi mibi yari yateguwe na bamwe mu ba jandarume.

TUREBE IBYIFUJWE N'INAMA Y'UMUTEKANO :

REPUBLIKA Y'U RWANDA
PEREFEGITURA YA GISENYI

Gisenyi, ku wa 25/6/1993

Bwana NGEZE Hassan
na bagenzi be
GISENYI.

Impamvu: Kwanga imyigaragambyo

NGEZE HASSAN
Directeur du Journal KANGURA
C/O Gisenyi Information
B.P. 1312 Kigali

Kigali, le 27/06/1993

Bwana Perefere wa Perefegitura ya
Gisenyi

Impamvu : Gusobanura imikorere
yacu

Bwana Perefere :

Nyuma y'inama yahujwe abashinzwe umutekano ku Gisenyi, icyo nama nkaba nari yatumiwemo nifuzaga kubashimira uwo mutima ugaragaza ibibazo bya rubanda. icyanshimishije cyane ni uko mwemeye ko abasahuwe mu karere ka Gisenyi bazoroherezwa mu kugurizwa no kwishyurwa. Mukaba mwaremeye ko abiciwe abantu muri izo mvururu bazabona indishyi y'akababaro. Kandi ababishye bagashyikirizwa ubucamanza.

Ku byerekeye imyigaragambyo mwatubwiye ko itariki atari ngo mbwa kubera ko ibibazo byari kuzatuma ibaho bizaba bibonewe umuti. Iyo ni intembwe ya Demokarasi. None se ibyo mwemeye murabona bizagerwaho ryari ko mu rwandiko rwanyu mutavugamo igihe? Ese abaturage bazategereza kugeza gihe ki? Mwagombye kutubwira igihe mukeka ko ibyo bibazo byose bizaba byabonewe umuti maze abaturage basanga kirambiranye bagakoresha inzira zemewe na Demokarasi. Ku byerekeye ibyo KANGURA imaze iminsi yandika kuri Commandant Bizimana twagira ngo tumuhe umwanya wo gusubiza ku byo abona twamwanditseho kandi atabyemera. Ubwo ni ukuvuga ko guhera muri Kangura No 46 abasomyi bacu bashobora gusangamo ibyo Bizimana

azaba yashubije. Nadasubiza ubwo ni ukuvuga ko azaba yemeye ibyo twamwanditseho. Aha twagirango tubagezeho ikindi kibazo dufite ku Gisenyi.

— Hari abantu bagiye bafatwa mu ngo zabo bakajyanwa mu kigo maze ntibazongere kuboneka. Urugero ni urw'umuzayiruha witwa Kayitenga wafatiwe mu ibereshi ku mangazini. Na n'ubu urupfu rwe tukaba twarayobewe ibyarwo n'umurambo we ukaba warabuze.

— Hari abantu bafashwe umwaka ushize bajyanwa mu kigo nabo ntibaragaruka. Abo ni nka Turatsinze ukomoka i Kigali wakoraga mu igaraje akaba nawe yarabuze. N'umurambo we ukabura, yaburiye ku Gisenyi.

— Uwitwa Antoine wakoraga muri SAD ukomoka i Byumba nawe yarabuze n'umurambo we. Mbese hari abantu benshi bagiye babura ku buryo butumvikana. Ubwo rero Kangura ikaba izakomeza gushyira ahagaragara izo anketi z'abo bantu. Ku byerekeye abanyagisenyi, dore ko Kangura ariho ikorera, izakomeza gushyira ahagaragara akababaro k'abahatuye. Nta na rimwe Kangura izihanganira umutegetsi uwo ari we wese uzigira indakoreka agambiriye inyungu ze abuzaga amahoro abaturage akoresheje iterabwoba. Kandi Kangura ifatanije n'abaturage izarwanya amakosa y'abategetsi bamwe na bamwe, ikoresheje uburyo bwose.

Tubaye tubashimiye.

NGEZE HASSAN.

Ba Bwana na Madamu,

Nkurikije ibaruwa mwanyandikiye kuwa 10/6/1993 ikangeraho kuwa 22/6/1993 mumenyeshya imyigaragambyo muteganya gukora kuwa 27/6/1993;

Ndabamenyeshya ko inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura yari yatu-

miwemo Bwana NYAGASAZA Mathias, Perezida w'Akarere ka Gisenyi k'Umuryango w'Ubucuruzi n'Inganda na NGEZE Hassari, umwe mu banditse iriya baruwa, yateranyije kuwa 24/6/1993 igafata ibyemezo bikurikira :

1. Imyigaragambyo iteganyijwe kuwa 27/6/1993 ntizaba kubera ko iba

ruwa iyimenyeshya itatangiye igihe kandi ntigaragaze aho iyo myigaragambyo izatangirira, izi-
ra abayikora bazanyuramo n'aho izarangirira.

2. Ibibazo by'abasahuwe (abacuruzi, abaturage n'abakozi ba Leta n'abo mu bigo byigenga) bigomba gusuzumwa n'inzego zibishinzwe, dore ko izo nzego zakomeje kwizeza abacuruzi basahuwe ko zizabahesha inguzanyo zo mu mabanki zitabyara i inyungu kandi bagasonerwa n'imisoro yo mu mwaka basahuwemo n'ibirarane bibanziriza uwo mwaka kuko impapuro za ngombwa zasahuwe, izindi zikangizwa. Ubutegetsu bwa Perefegitura kwasabwe kwibutsa icyo kibazo mu nzego zo hejuru.

3. Abari mu nama barnenyeshajwe ko anketi z'abasahuye n'abishe zakozwe, zigashyikirizwa urukiko rwa gisirikari rwa Kigali, narwo rukaba rwamaze guca urubanza. Perezida w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Gisenyi yasabwe gushaka mato-lewo y'urwo rubanza, maze akayishyira ahagaragara kugira ngo abarufiteye amatsiko, barusome, ndetse bibe byabafasha kurwuriraho baregera indishyi z'abantu babo bishwe n'ibintu byabo byasahuwe.

Inama yasanze kandi iriya myigaragambyo muteganya gukora ifita-

nye isano n'ibibazo NGEZE Hassan afitanye na Komanda BIZIMANA André ku giti cyabo.

Ibi bibazo nabyo byafatiwe ibyemezo bikurikira kandi bene ubwite barabyemeye :

1. Bemeye kwiyunga, dore ko mbere bari basanzwe ari inshuti.
2. NGEZE Hassan agomba kwitaba convocations zose zimuhamagara, zaba izo kuri Parike cyangwa kuri Brigade Territoriale kugira ngo amadosiye ahafite yuzuzwe. Ashobora guherekezwa n'umuntu umwunganira ariko ufite ibyangombwa by'ababuranira abantu.
3. NGEZE Hassan azajya ahabwa uruhusa rwo kujya kuri Goma nk'abandi bose, ariko urwo ruhusa rukamara iminsi mike. Azahabwa uruhoro rw'amezi atatu ari uko rumwe mu manza afite kuri Parike ruzaba rumaze gukemurwa n'Urukiko rubifiteye ububasha.

Murumva rero ko ibibazo byanyu bizwi kandi ko bizagezwa vuba mu nzego zo hejuru kugira ngo bisuzumwe, imyigaragambyo ikaba itakiri ngombwa.

Perefe wa Perefegitura a.i
BANYURWABUKE André

Birnenyeshajwe

-
- Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda KIGALI.
- Nyakubahwa Bwana Minisitiri w'Intebe KIGALI.
- Bwana Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsu bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini KIGALI.
- Bwana Minisitiri w'Ingabo KIGALI.
- Madamu Minisitiri w'Ubucuruzi, Inganda n'Imyuga KIGALI.
- Bwana Minisitiri w'Imali KIGALI.
- Bwana Komanda OPS GISENYI.
- Bwana Prokireri wa Repubulika GISENYI.
- Bwana Ushinzwe Iperereza GISENYI.
- Bwana NYAGASAZA Mathias Président Régional de la CCIR GISENYI.

ARUSHA : NTA MPONGANO Y'UMWANZI



"Ingufu za rubanda nyamwinshi tugeze igihe cyo kuzerekana" Na bwa busa bw'umwanya umwe mu badebite batube shyeshya, bazajyane.

U Rwanda ni igihugu ba mukerarugendo bakunze kwita igihugu cy'imisozi igihumbi cyangwa Ubusuwisi bw'Afurika. Ayo mazina meza y'ibibinyiriro u Rwanda rwayakeshaga ko rwari rwiha gashyamba. U Rwanda rwari igihugu cyiza, cyiyubashye. N'ubwo igihugu cyacu nta bukungu gifite nk'amabuye y'agaciro cyangwa se peteroli, kiri mu bihugu bike by'Afurika byari bigishoboye guhamba abakozi, bagahemberwa igihe. Ifaranga ry'u Rwanda barigereranya n'idolari muri aka gace dutuyemo. Ibiribwa n'ibindi bicuruzwa rubanda ikereye byari bikiboneka n'ubwo bigenda birushaho guhenda. Leta iracyashobora guhamba abasirikari, abanyeshuri baracyabona amafaranga yabo ya "bourse" kandi bakayabonera igihe. Muri make u Rwa-

nda rwari rukiyubashye n'ubwo bwose rumaze imyaka itatu mu ntambara.

HABYARIMANA niwe hambere wakundaga kuvuga ngo zahabu yacu, peteroli yacu ni "amahoro". Papa aje mu Rwanda, ararwitegereza ati: "iki gihugu cy'ibibazo igihumbi... Umenya uriya mugabo azi kureba kure. Wagira ngo Papa yabonaga ko ya "zahabu" yacu, ya "peteroli" ari byo mahoro yacu byari hafi kurangira. Niko kandi byagenze kuko inyenzi zahise zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira, ubutesi bwa HABYARIMANA bukarangirira aho.

Inyenzi ntizishaka ko imishyikirano yagira icyo igeraho

Perezida HABYARIMANA niwe wigeze kubaza umurwanashyamba GITERA Joseph icyo yakora ngo yunge abanyarwanda. Yashakaga kuvugaga abahutu n'abatutsi kuko burya abatwaga basa nk'aho ari indorerezi mu ntambara z'urudaca zabahutu n'abatutsi. GITERA ngo yitegereje Perezida HABYARIMANA, aho kumubwira ati: "Urashaka kunga abahutu n'abatutsi wowe uri iki?"

HABYARIMANA ati: "Ndi umuhutu". GITERA ngo araseka agwa ku butaka. Abari aho batangira kugira ubwoba ngo GITERA baramutwara macuri kuko yasetse umukuru w'igihugu. Ariko basanga GITERA akiri wa wundi n'umwami RUDAHIGWA yubahaga. Aho azanzamukiye, GITERA yabwiye HABYARIMANA ati: "Ubwo wiyemerera ko uri umuhutu ntushobora kunga abahutu n'abatutsi. Kuko icyo bapfa ari kimwe, bapfa ubutegetsu". Perezida HABYARIMANA arumirwa yikubita muri benzi, arataha. Nyamara GITERA ibyo yabwiye HABYARIMANA ni byo. Abanyarwanda bavugaga ko ijamba rya mukuru urishya uribonye. HABYARIMANA yirengagije ijamba GITERA yamubwiye. Arakomeza arahatiriza ngo arashakira kunga abahutu n'abatutsi kandi bidashoboka. None dore aho icyo politiki irashyeye igihugu!

Amasezerano ya Arusha agiye gutuma intambara irushaho gukaza umurego. Abatutsi batera u Rwanda mu myaka ya mbere ya Repubulika, kugeza ejo bundi tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, ntabwo bakinaga. Bashakaga ubutegetsu kandi na n'ubu baracyabushaka.

Kuri bo, mu bitekerezo byabo bumva amasezerano y'Arusha yagombaga kubahesha byanze bikunze ubutegetsu barwaniye imyaka n'imyaka. Ntibiyumvisha ko ari ukubugabana. Ari nacyo gituma FPR yarafashe iya mbere mu gusabota icyo imishyikirano kugira ngo itagira icyo igeraho.

Twarabivuze kenshi ko inyenzi zirimo kujijisha mu mishyikirano naho ubundi zishakira ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Abazobereye muri politiki, bemeza ko FPR ikwiye gusobanurira abanyarwanda ibintu bibiri. FPR ikwiye gusobanurira niba (uretse kubeshya) ari ishyamba rishakira demokarasi mu gihugu.

Icyo gihe abaturage bayemerera kuza gufatanyaga n'andi mashyamba kubakira igihugu. Icyo kabiri FPR yari ikwiye gusobanurira abanyarwanda, ni ukuvugaga niba ari agaco k'abanyarwanda, k'ibyigomeke, katagira amategeko akagenga. Icyo gihe rero leta y'u Rwanda ifatanije n'abaturage bahagurukiye rimwe bakarwanya ako gaco bivuye inyuma.

Kandi FPR imaze kwerekana ibigabane ko ari agaco k'abanyarwanda gashakira ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Kuva inyenzi zatera mu Kwakira 1990, ziracyariye cyane kinyoma cyazo gishaje. Ziracyabeshya ngo zaje kubohora abanyarwanda babashywe n'ubutegetsu bw'igitugu, zikababwira kubazanyira demokarasi. Ariko urebye neza ibyo zikora wibaza byirshi.

Wabohozwa abaturage usenya ibikorwa by'amajyambere bari bamaze kugeraho! Ugasenya amashuri, amavuriro, kiliziya, ukangiza ibikorwa by'imishinga yatanzeho amafaranga y'inguzanyo cyangwa se y'imfashanyo igihe kizishyura. Wabohozwa abaturage ute utega ibisasu mu mirima bahingamo, wazana demokarasi

ute utega ibisasu hirya no hino bihitana imbaga y'inzirakarengane? Wabohozwa abaturage ute ubavana mu byayo, r'aho bagiye kwangara batagira kivurira, ukabakurikizayo amasasu rimizinga?

Inzira ya demokarasi u Rwanda rwari rumaze gutera ni ndende. Kandi ntiteze gusubira inyuma. FPR yitwaza iki ikomeza gukurura intambara? Kuki inyenzi zikomeje kwirengagiza amakuba abana, abasore, inkumi, abasaza, abategarugori b'u Rwanda barimo, igakomeza kubamishaho amasasu. Kuki FPR itafasha intwari hasi ngo ibe ishyamba rya politiki? Bityo ikaza guhatana nk'andi mashyamba? FPR ntako batayigenye ariko noneho irananiranye. Babiwuzwe ukuri koko ngo nta mpongano y'umwami!

KANGURA

Journal KANGURA
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GOMN : GENERAL OPALEYE , IGIKORESHO CY'ABATUTSI

Mu minsi ishize, ibinyamakuru byinshi byo mu Rwanda, ari iby'igenga cyangwa ibikorera Leta, bihitisha inyandiko zitari nke kuri GOMN. Uwo mutwe w'abasirikari babeshyera ko badafite aho babo gamiye uvugwa ho byinshi, ibinyamakuru bikorera inyenzi bihishira ukuri, bikavugira uriya mutwe wateshutse ku ntego zawo ukivanga mu bibazo bitawureba.

KANGURA niyo iherutse guhishurira abanyarwanda n'amahanga ko uriya mutwe w'abasirikari bita ko udafite aho ubogamiye ukorera inyenzi ku mugaragaro. Inyenzi n'ibitso byazo barasakuza ngo turivanga mu bitatureba. None ukuri kugiyeho ahagaragara, Umukuru wa GOMN, General Opaleye agiye kurongora umututsikazi wo kwa

Sisi Evarisiti.

Muri KANGURA No 41 niho KANGURA yatanze ifoto nyayo y'uriva mutwe w'abasirikari bo muri GOMN, amakosa yawo, n'imyifatiro mibi ya bariya ba «ofisiye» bari bakwiye kwiubaha. Uretse gukorera inkotanyi twababwiye amarorerwa y'abo basirikari bitwara

nka za «mayi bobo», birirwa mu matako y'ibizungerezi. Abafaransa nibo bavuye ko «la vérité blessée». Abanyarwanda nabo bungamo bati: «bavugaga ibigoranye, imihoro ikarakara».

Inyandiko twise «GOMN, umutwe w'abasirikari ushinze kunekera Inkotanyi» yakurugutuye ba nyiri ubwite. Maze bakwiza inyandiko hirya no hino cyane cyane mu binyamakuru by'inkotanyi bikorera ino ngo hari abanyamakuru b'ishizizi z'isoni baharabitse GOMN. Ngo bababajwe cyane n'uko ibinyamakuru bimwe na bimwe nka KANGURA byinjijye mu buzima bw'abo bwite. Ukuri kuravugwa. Bazatubwire icyo twabahimbiye ho?

Urukundo abasirikari bo muri GOMN bakunda inyenzi n'ibizungerezi ni nk'urwo «Imana yakurize abari mu isi, ikageza aho ibohereza umwana wayo kugirango abarokore». Urukundo GOMN ikunda abatutsi n'abatutsikazi ni urwo rwatumye Nijeriya ibohereza General Ekundayo Opaleye ngo abarongore umukobwa.

Inkuru y'uko umukuru (Commandant) wa GOMN agiye kurongora umukobwa wa Sisi Evarisiti yabanje kuvugwa ku buryo bw'impuha. Buhoro buhoro igenda imenyekana kugeza aho ibaye impamo. Ubu Generali Opaleye yarangije kwiye-meza kuzabana akaramata n'iyi mfurakazi. Erega ngo barabana, hasigaye gusa gukora ubukwe.

GENERAL OPALEYE YARI A KWIYE KWEGURA

Amateka y'isi atubwira abanyapolitiki benshi bagiyeho bejura kubera amakosa yabo. Uzwi cyane ni Richard Nixon, Perezida wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika muri za mirongo irindwi na gatanu, woguye kuhera ibyobye «Watergate». Si we wenyine hari n'abandi. Na General Opaleye yari akwiye gukurikiza urugero rw'abo bagabo agasezera ku buyobozi bwa GOMN ntakomeze kwiha rubanda. Ntawe ubujije umusaza Generali Opaleye kwisazura, Bibaho rwose! Uretse ahari mu Rwanda itegekonshinga ryemerera umugabo gushaka umugore umwe, ahandi siko bimeze. Mu bihugu byo mu burengerazuba bw'Afurika cyane cyane ibyiganye mo idini rya Islamu nka Nijeriya, abagabo baho bashobora gushaka abagore umubare bashatse. Muri urwo rwego rero Generali Opaleye nta cyaha arimo. Cyane cyane ko u Rwanda ruvugwa mu bihugu bigira abakobwa beza!

Gusa icyo Generali Opaleye yibagiye ni uko kiriya gikorwa cyo gifite ingaruka ndende muri politiki. Sisi Evarisiti abenshi muramuzi.

Ni umututsi uzwi cyane i Kigali ufite uruganda rukora impapuro, amafaridi, classeurs... «Papeterie» ruri ku Kicukiro. Nta munyakigali utazi «Etablissement SIEVA».

SIEVA ni amagambo ahinnye avuye SISI EVARISITI. Nyiri uwro ruganda, Sisi Evarisiti ari mu bafashije inkotanyi gutera u Rwanda, azihira amafaranga kimwe na ba Landowaridi Ndasingwa, Rwigara Assinapol, Majyambere n'abandi.....

Ari nacyo gituma yafunzwe intambara igitangira, agafungurwa mu byitso kandi akaba akomeje kuba cyo. Hari n'amakuru yemeza ko yahunze asigaye yibera i Burundi. Muri make nguwo Sebukwe wa Generali Opaleye umukuru wa GOMN.

Sinzi niba muri Nijeriya nta bakobwa beza babayeho. Ntawahakana ko batabayeho, babayeho rwose. Ariko nta n'umwe waguye Opaleye ku mutima ku buryo yagombye gukora kilometero na kilometero akaza gushakira mu gihugu cy'umisozi igihumbi n'abakobwa hari-bonyel Muzi kilometero ziri hagati y'u Rwanda na Nijeriya? Muza-mbarize Opaleye niwe uzizi we wazigenze.

Twajyaga twavuye ko abategetsi bacu harimo n'abasirikari bakuru baguye mu mutego w'ibizungerezi bibasinziriza. Si urwumwe!

Generali Opaleye ikizungereze kugiyeho nako cyarangije kumukoresha amakosa azumva ashaje. Umuntu amahanga yashinze kuyobora abasirikari batagombaga kubagamira ku ruhanda urwo ariwo rwose, siwo wafashe iya mbera ngo abe umukwe w'inyenzi. Yirangagije ikibazo kiri hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi ari nacyo cyatumye iyi intambara iba. Ibi bizatuma abo basirikari bo muri GOMN nta kizero amahanga azongera kubaha. Dore ko mu Rwanda, bari baragitakaje rugikubita. Byaba rero byiza kandi mu nyungu za buri wese, Generali Opaleye ahise akazi ke cyangwa

ABATUTSI NI BEMERE TUBATEGEKE MAZE
TUBAHE IBYO AMATEGEKO ABEMERERA.
NIKO DEMOKARASI IMERA.

Abatutsi bari barigenje none akabo kasho-botse. Ntawacyekaga ko abatutsi bashobora kwemera gutsindwa izubariva. Ariko babivuze ukuri ngonta gisambo kirenza iminsi mirongo ine. Inkubiri yademokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi ikimara gusesekara muri Afurika, abahutu bahise biruhutsa. Bati akamwanzikashobotse. Ubwo abanyarwanda nabo bati ubwo umwanzi atwugarije n'ibitero bye agambiriye kudasubiza ku ngoma ya cyami, Imana yagombye kudufasha maze abahutu b'iburundi bakigobotora iriya ngoma ntutsi-nyicanyi. Bityo ibitero byari kuzava iburundi bikaba biburiyemo. Burya koko n'Imana yumva ijwi ryarubanda kandi byarabaye. Ni muri urwo rwego Buyoya yemeye amashyaka menshi agira ngo arakina, maze yanga imyigarambyo yose, yakorwa n'abobatavuga rumwe. Yanga gushiraho Guverinoma y'inziba cyaho, agira ngo arahima abahutu. Nyamara iminsi y'abobatutsi-nyenzi

yagendaga yegera mirongo ine. Ubwo amatora yarabaye, abahutu baba basubiranye ibyabo. Umuhutu Ndadaye aba ari we utsindira kuba umuhutu wa mbere ugiye kuba umukuru w'igihugu. Abahutu bose b'isi cyane cyane abo mu Rwanda barishimye, bakora umunsi mukuru ku buryo uwo munsi utazibagirana kubahutu. Kandi gabirumvikana. Abahutu basubiranye ibyabo n'abatutsi nabo batanga ibyo bari baribye kubera ubwikanyize. Twibutse ko Ndadaye yatsinze afite amajwi arenga 64 ku ijana. Yashoboraga no kugera kure ariko abahutu b'abanyabwoba batinya kudatora Buyoya dore ko hari n'abavugaga ko adatowe yakongera akoreka imbaga.

Uwo mwanzi ntiwari uhagiye kugirango abahutu bavuye icyo bashakira, icyo umutegetsi w'umuhutu yifuje gihite muri Guverinoma, gihite mu badepite, gishyirwe mu bikorwa. Byabaye ngombwa gutegereza mu mpera z'u kwa gatandatu tariki ya 29 maze abahutu bazindukira ku biro by'amatora

kwitorera abahutu mu nteko ishingamategeko.

Buyoya n'ibiyitso byentako batagize bagambiriye kuburizamo ayo matora ariko biba iby'ubusa. Urugero ni nko mu ntara ya CANKUZO aho ubutegetsi bwahanaguye abahutu ku malisiti y'amatora bugira ngo abe arbwo bwiharira iyo myanya. Nyamara ubwo butegetsi bwaruhijwe n'ubusa. Kuko amatora yarangiye agaragaje ko benshi bahabwabyinshi. Abahutu bamaze kumva iby'itangazway'amajwi bagize bati "abatutsi ni bemere tubategeke, maze tubahe ibyo amategeko abemerera". Mu badepite 81 batowe; FRODEBU y'abahutu yabonye 65, UPRONA y'abatutsi ibona 16. Kandi nabwo muri abo batowe na Uprona, 10 ni abahutu batandatu ni abatutsi. Ni ukuvuga ko inteko ishingamategeko izaba irimo abahutu 75, n'abatutsi 6. Icyo Ndadaye aza-jya arota kizajya gihita gikorwa ntawe ukivuguruje.

Isomo twakura muri ibyo byabaye iburundi ni uko abahutu basubi-

ranye ubutegets
bwabo. Uprona
ikaba ishobora
gusenyuka igaha-
nagurika hose mu
gihugu maze aba-
hutu bakigabanira
ubutegets uko

babyumva. Aha ni
aha FRODEBU na
PALIPEHUTU.

Demokarasi
ijya igira rimwe
i g a s e t s a .
Ubutegets buvuye
mu ishyaka rimwe,

busubiye mu rindi
shyaka rimwe. Gusa
aho bitandu-kaniye
n'ibya mbere ni
uko bikozwe muri
demokarasi kandi
twese tugomba
kuyemera.

DORE UKO AMATORA YAGENZE HOSE MU GIHUGU.

AMATORA MU BURUNDI		
INTARA	UPRONA	FRODEBU
Bujumbura - Rural	1	5
Bubanza	-	3
Bururi	2	4
Cankuzo	2	-
Cibitoke	-	4
Gitega	2	7
Karuzi	-	4
Kayanza	1	6
Kirundo	1	5
Makamba	-	3
Muramvya	2	5
Muyinga	1	5
Ngozi	1	6
Rutana	1	2
Ruyigi	-	4
Bujumbura - Mairie	2	2
IGITERANYO	16	65
Uko zagabanye amajwi.		
FRODEBU : 1 532 107	71,4 %	
UPRONA : 462 324	21,43 %	

**AMASHYAKA ATARABONYE ABAYOBOKE BATUMA
ABONA INTEBE MU NTEKO ISHINGA AMATEGEKO.**

RADES : 26 631 RPB : 35 932
PRP : 29 135 Indépendants: 853
P.P. : 24 372

NGEZE Hassan.

WARI UZI KO ?

Komanda Karangwa na Koloneri Rutayisire basebeje KANGURA bayita Inkotanyi. Bari bagambiriye inyungu zabo.

Ubwo twaganiraga na MBONAMPEKA, iwe mu rugo, tumubaza ku buzima bwa PL no ku rupfu rwa GOPYISI, yaje kudukushurira ko ibyitso by'Inkotanyi byanditse ibaruwa byise "Lettre confidentielle". Ngo rwagombaga kwigwa mu nama ya guverinoma. Twamubajije ababa bararwanditse, atubwira ko akeka ko rwaba rwaravuye muri "renseignement extérieur", uzanywe na ninisitiri Lando Nyamara ngo hari abaminisitiri barweretswe hakaba n'abandi bataruzi. Ubwo tumaze kubimenya twahise dushakisha aho urwo rwandiko ruri, abaruhimbye, n' icyo bashakaga kugeraho. Nitubimenya tuzabibabwira. Mwumve ubwenge bw'ibyitso ukuntu ari buke rwose !

KA02 1873



MRND ivuguruye nayo noneho ihagarariwe n'abagabo b'intarumikwa. Uwo tuvuga ni Nzirorera Yozefu, umunyamabanga mukuru mushya wa MRND akaba umwe mu bakandida MRND izatanga kuyihagararira muri Guverinoma irimo inyenzi.