

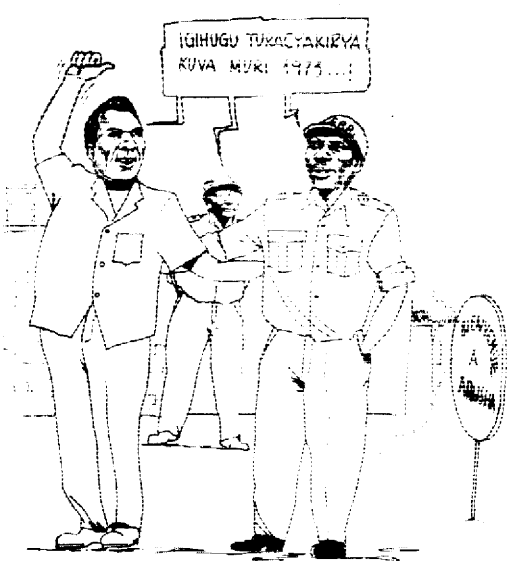


n°47

**IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA MU
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI**

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- * **HABYARIMANA** ati :
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ARUSHA ?
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icyo bayinenga : **Ikibazo RUCAGU**.
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EDITORIAL : KANGURA n'Imishyikirano y'Amahoro.

Abantu batareba kure bamaze iminsi bibaza uko Kangura izakora igihe amasezerano y'amahoro azaba yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Abo bareba aho amazuru yabo agarukiye nibo bavuga bati : "Mbese KANGURA izakomeza kwamagana abatutsi kandi batakidutera ? Ko abatutsi bazaba baretse kwica abahutu urubozo, bizaba ngombwa gukomeza kwamagana abatutsi ? Dore ko n'ubwoko buzaba bwavanywe mu marangamuntu !"

Turagirango twongere kwibutsa abatekereza batyo intego za KANGURA. KANGURA ni ijwi rigamije gukangura no kurengera rubanda nyamwinshi. Uwo ari we wese wiyumva muri rubanda nyamwinshi, wumva ko rubanda nyamwinshi igomba kubaho mu buryo bwa demokarasi, yaba umutwa, umututsi, umuhutu wese wumva rubanda nyamwinshi igomba kugira amahoro, uwo kangura izamurengera. KANGURA izakomeza gushyirira ahagaragara ibibazo igihugu

kizaba gifite, ababitera n'umuti wabyo, maze abo bireba babikemure babibona.

KANGURA
n'ikibazo cy'amoko.

Niba koko abatutsi baretse kudutera, bakareka agasuzuguro kabo, bakamera kubana n'abandi nta buryarya, ntibizaba bikiri ngombwa kwamagana abatutsi. Ubwo Kangura izajya yamagana umututsi ku giti cye uzaba abangamiye abandi ku buryo bugaragara, kimwe n'umuhutu wese uzagaragaza ko abangamiye bagenzi be. Mbese igihe kirageze ngo umuhutu n'umututsi bangane imbere y'inyandiko za KANGURA. Intambara irarangiye ariko abana bacu bazavuka bakeneye kuzamenya amateka y'igihugu cyane cyane ayerekeye iyi ntambara. Bazakenera kumenya uko yatangiye n'uko yarangiye, abayishoje n'icyo bashakaga kugeraho, icyo bitwaje n'icyo bagezeho. Mu gusobanura ibyo byose rero, birumvikana ko hazabonekamo amazina menshi y'abatutsi n'ibytso byabo bagize uruhare muri iyi ntambara. Tuzanashyira ahagaragara amazina y'abantu bahitanywe n'iyi ntambara bazira ubusa. Bityo dusane imitima tuzi neza icyari cyayisandaje.

Uruhare rw'abatutsi
mu nyandiko za
KANGURA.

Niba abatutsi bifuriza iki gihugu amahoro, ni baze tubane mu mahoro, dusangire byose, dushyikirane, ntihaire

uwitwaza ngo yaratsinze. Ntihaire uwirara ngo ibyo afite, umwanya ariho yawuhawe n'imbunda. None se uwabaza ati : "Mwatsinze nde, mwatsindiye iki ?" Bamusubiza ngo iki ? Ibyo ari byo byose nabo bazi ko batatsinze abanyarwanda. Niba bafite n'uwo batsinze ni umwe gusa, batsinze ku giti cye. Uwo batsinze ni HABYARIMANA gusa. Ariko se we ababajije icyo bamutsinze aho bakibona ? Hari uwamurashe se? Hari se uwamwambuye umwanya we? Ahubwo agiye kuzabategeka mu nzibacyuho y'imyaka ibiri yose. Kwica abaturage rero ntibivuga gutsinda Habyarimana. None se hari umwana wa Habyarimana wasizwe iheruheru n'iyi ntambara? Si intambara itumye ububasha bwe bugabanuka. Ni demokarasi. Kuko uretse na FPR, n'imbere mu gihugu hari benshi bifuzaga ko ubwo bubasha bwe bwagabanuka. Twavugaga nk'amashyamba asyamiyanye n'irye, ukongeraho abo yagiye yambura umugati cyangwa abo yameneye imbehe. Kandi usibye n'ibyo, na Habyarimana ubwe azi ko ubutegetsi atari ubukonde. Iyo bamushakaga rero baba ari we bateye aho gutera abadafite aho bahuriye n'ubutegetsi.

Ni iki rero abatutsi
bateye batsindiye ?

Ntacyo, kuko ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwari bwarakundwakaje. Bari barahawe byose, amashuri nibo basa, ubukungu nibo babufite, akazi keza ni akabo... Icyo

bashakaga ni ugufata u Rwanda mu minsi itatu birabananira.

Cyakora ntawubura byose. Mu ihindukarirya ubutegetsibw'inzibacyuho, ingufu z'abatutsi niho zigagarira. Kuko muri Guverinoma no mu nteko inshinga amategeko (abadepite) abatutsi nibo bazaba bafite ijambo. Ibyo ariko ntibabyitwaza kuko bazahora ari bake ugereranije n'ubwinshi bw'abahutu batuye iki gihugu. Abahutu bari bakwiye rero gushyira hamwe. Umuhutu akaba ari umuhutu, ishya akomokamo iryo ari ryo ryose, akarere akomokamo ako ariko kose. Yego mu bahutu harimo abanyenda nini ari nabo bagejeje u Rwanda muri aya makubaturimo. Ibyo ari byo byose bazageraho nabo bakanguke barengere inyungu za bene wabo ku buryo umututsi azakomeza yibeshye ko yabifatiye nyamara atari byo. Abahutu ndabazi, umunsi bivumbuye, umututsi

ntazongera gukoma. icya ngombwa ni uko azaba (umututsi) nta buryo afite bwo kongera gufata intwara dore ko azaba ari imbere mu gihugu, nta gace yihariye afite nk'uko bimeze ubu.

Kubera ibyo byose rero ntacyo umututsi yatsindiye nta n'uwo yatsinze. icya ngombwa ni uko intambara irangira, abatutsi bakaza mu gihugu. N'ubwo berekanye ubugome burengeje ubw'inyamaswa, abahutu baritonda bazababarira. Umututsi niyubaha nawe umuhutu, akamenya ko bangana imbere y'amategeko, u Rwanda ruzagira amahoro. Umuhutu nawe akwiye kwiubaha, ntashyire imbere inda ye gusa ngo abe nyamwigendaho, u Rwanda ruzagira amahoro kurushaho. U Rwanda rwabaye akaduruvayo kubera inda nini z'abahutu n'abatutsi b'indashima.

Iyo amagara aterewe hejuru, buri wese asama aye. Kandi ngo akanwa kariye

ntikaguhe, iyo gahiye kagataka ntutabara. Ubu tugiye guhangana n'abahutu b'inda nini, tubafatanye n'abatutsi b'indashima maze tubabaze icyo bagezeho mu kugira u Rwanda akaduruvayo. Ntawe Kangura izacira akari urutega muri abo bose tuvuze haruguru. Ubu tugeze aho intambara iba iy'ubwenge gusa. Ibitekerezo bizashimwa na benshi nibyo bizayobora KANGURA. Ikinyamakuru cyanyu kizajyana n'igihe tugezemo uko byagenda kose. Ni habaho indi ntambara, KANGURA izandika ikurikije uko ibihe bimeze. Ni habaho amahoro, KANGURA izandika ibijyanye n'igihe cy'amahoro. Uzafasha Kangura izamufasha, uzayirwanya izamurwanya.

KANGURA si gashozamvururu, ivuga ukuri itaguciye inyuma.

**NGEZE Hassan
KANGURA.**

BAMWE MU BASHYIGIKIYE KANGURA BARAGIRA ICYO BAYINENGA MU NYANDIKO ZAYO ZIMAZE IMINSI ZISOHOKA.

**KANGURA na
RUCAGU.**

Ngo udakora ntakosa. Kandi hakosa uwakoze. Ubutwari bw'umuntu bukaboneka mu kwemera amakosa yakoze. Ubuhangane bukagararira mu kwemera kwikosora.

Mu minsi ishize, hari inyandiko zagiye zisohoka muri KANGURA zitashimishije abayishyigikiye. Zikumara

gusohoka, twabonye n'abantu banyuranye bateye Kangura inkunga kuva ikivuka. Kugeza ubu batubwira ko batishimiye inyandiko za Kangura zakozwe ku buryo bukurikira.

- Muri Kangura ishize mwasomye ahari handitse ngo "DEPITE RUCAGU YARATWANDIKIYE". Iyo nimeru ikimara gusohoka, Depite Rucagu yegereye abashyigikiye Kangura,

ababwira ko yababajwe n'iyonyandiko yamwitiriwe. Ko abayohereje bari bafite inyungu zabo bashakaga kugeraho. Dore ko Rucagu yemeza ko yoherejwe n'abo asanzwe azirana nabo bagira ngo bamuteranye nk'uko bakunze kubikora.

**Kangura yabonye ite
iyonyandiko ?**

Umukozi wacu yasanze mu iposita dufatiramo ubutumwa

inyandiko iherekejwe n'ifoto ya Rucagu, iriho na sinyatire yitiriwe Depite Rucagu. Iyo nyandiko igeze aho dukorera dusanga ikwiye gusohoka kuko amakuru yari arimo twari tuyakeneye icyo gihe. Iyo nyandiko yahise yoherezwa kimwe n'izindi mi icapiro.

Mu gihe itarasohoka, naje kuva mu butumwa, nyibonye nihutira kubaza Depite Rucagu ukuntu yasinya inyandiko nk'iriya kandi ahagarariye abaturage

bose. Nibwo ampakaniye ko atari iye. Asaba ko yavanwa muri Kangura. Iyo nyandiko isohotse, nibwo Depite Rucagu yaturegeye abasomyi bacu twubaha kandi badutera inkunga. Nabo batwereka ko bababajwe n'iyonyandiko. Ndetse badutegeka gusaba Depite Rucagu imbabazi. Twagiye rero kumureba mu Nama y'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambere. Hari n'abandi badepite barimo mwene KAYIBANDA G., Depite KAYIBANDA Piyo. Dusobanurira Rucagu uko

inyandiko yatugezeho n'uko yasohotse. Tumusaba imbabazi. Nawe aratubabarira ariko adusaba gusohora inyandiko ikurikira yari yateguye atuvuguruza.

Dore inyandiko yasohotse yitirirwa Depite RUCAGU. Nyamara dusesenguye neza dusanga yaroherejwe n'abandi bantu. RUCAGU rero ararengana si we nyiri iyi nyandiko. Ni nayo mpamvu tumusabye imbabazi kandi yaratubabariye.

NGEZE Hassan

ABASHYIGIKIYE KANGURA BAKOMEJE KUGIRA ICYO BAYINENGA.

Mu mishyikirano nagiranye n'abashyigikiye KANGURA banagaragaje ko batishimiye inyandiko yakozwe kuri Radiyo Televiziyo yigenga RTLM. Ngo iyo Radiyo Televiziyo ni iy'abanyarwanda bose bashoramo imigabane yabo. Ni iya huri munyarwanda wese ubishatse kandi wifite. Ngo ntibifuzako RTLM yaba iy'akarere, ubwoko cyangwa ishyaka. Ngo ni Radiyo Televiziyo y'abaharanira ubusugire bwa repubulika. Yatangijwe n'abiyemeje kuyishyiramo imigabane. Ngo izakorana n'uwo ari we wese uzemera ibitekerezo byayo kandi Kangura igomba kumenya ko iriya Radio Televiziyo ari iy'ubucuruzi ikeneye kunguka. Ni ngombwa rero ko yakira uyiganywe wese agamije kuyiteza imbere.

Muri iyo nama bongeye kwibutsa ko Kangura ari ikinyamakuru cyakungu abahutu no kubashakira icyatuma bavuga

rumwe. Ika banyarashyirirweho kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Ko aho gutaranga umuhutu wakoze amakosa ko ahubwo yamwereka inzira nziza zo kunyuramo.

Ngo ntibumva ukuntu Kangura yaba yamaganaye Komanda BIZIMANA, umusirikari ukomeye, warwanyije inyenzi ku buryo bugaragara, agacunga umutekano inyenzi ntizifate umugi wa Gisenyi, agahashya ibyitso ku buryo buzwi. Bajya kubona bakabona aho kugira ngo Kangura imushimire ahubwo ikihutira kugaragaza amakosa yaba yaragize.

Muri icyo mishyikirano n'abashyigikiye Kangura basabye umuyobozi wa Kangura kuzajya gusaba Komanda BIZIMANA imbabazi no kumuha umwanya wo kuvuguruza ibyamwanditsweho. Iyo mishyikirano yarangiye,

abashyigikiye Kangura bibutsa icyo kinyamakuru ko intambara ikiri ndende. Ko igeze igihe cy'ubwenge.

Basabye kandi ko Komanda BIZIMANA yasabwa imbabazi mbere y'uko dutangira urugamba rushya rwo guhangana n'inyenzi zizaba zitashye. Ngo igihe cyo kuvuga amakosa y'abahutu bazwi ko bakoreye igihugu ntikiragera. Ngo turi mu gihe cyo gushimira abo bose batumye igihugu cyacu kidafatwa nk'uko inyenzi zabishakaga. Abagomba kwamaganwa ni NGULINZIRA, NSENGIYAREMYE, NDENGEJEHO, KANYARENGWE, BIZIMUNGU n'abandi bose bagambaniye rubanda. Kandi baribeshya tuzabakacira. Nguko uko KANGURA yemeye kwikosora.

NGEZE Hassan
KANGURA.

RWANDA :**AMASEZERANO Y'ARUSHA AZASHYIRWA MU BIKORWA ?**

Tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993 nibwo Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR - Inkotanyi bazashyira umukono ku masezerano yiswe aya amahoro. Ayo masezerano yasinyiwe Arusha, yavuzweho byinshi ku buryo byateye bamwe kwibaza niba azashyirwa mu bikorwa.

Usesenguye neza usanga ariya masezerano azubahirizwa gusa n'abo afitiye akamaro.

Abo ayo masezerano afitiye akamaro ni amashyaka yabonye imynya y'ubutegetsi, agasahura igihugu, agakoresha amafaranga ya Leta mu gushaka abayoboze. Abandi ayo masezerano afitiye akamaro ni abatutsi aho bava bakagera kuko kuri bo ari uburyo bwo gusubiza abahutu ku ngoyi no gufata ubutegetsi mu mayeri.

Birumvikana ko ayo masezerano bise aya amahoro, hari abo abangamiye kandi ni nabo benshi.

Aba mbere ayo masezerano abangamiye ni abaturage biciwe ababo, bagasahurwa bagasigara iheruheru. Ayo masezerano akaba aterekana neza ukuntu abo bantu bazagobokwa ku buryo bwihutirwa.

Aba kabiri ayo masezerano abangamiye ni amashyaka abumbye rubanda nyamwinshi, akaba yarahejwe mu myanya y'ubutegetsi.

Aba gatatu ayo masezerano abangamiye ni abamenewe imbehe cyane cyane abasirikari barwaniye ubusa, none amasezerano y'Arusha akaba abataye hanze. Biragaragara ko amasezerano y'Arusha azashyirwa mu bikorwa nabo afitiye inyungu gusa. Naho abateze amizero kuri ayo masezerano bazahora bubahiriza itegeko-nshinga.

Hazahoraho imyigarambyo y'abatishimiye ibyagezweho ARUSHA, basaba amatora ya vuba yo yavana u Rwanda mu kaduruvayo. Ibyo ntibindeba ndi umusederi.

1.- Muhutu wishubije ibyawe muri 1959 inyenzi zikimara guhunga u Rwanda, bivemo dore inyenzi zaje kubisubiramo nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha abivuga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba nje ndi umusederi".

2.- Muturage munyarwanda gira witegure gutegekeshwa ikiboko no gutanga imisoro yo gukiza inyenzi nkuko amasezerano y'Arusha abiteganyaga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

3.- Musirikari, ngabo y'u Rwanda tanga imbunda maze ushoke igishanga nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha abivuga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

4.- Mucuruzi w'u Rwanda, wowe wagowe itegure kongerwa imisoro kugirango guverinoma irimo inyenzi izabone uko yishyura imyenda zafashe zigura intwari zo gutera rubanda nyamwinshi nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha abivuga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

5.- Minisitiri w'umuhutu, va mu murwa mukuru ujye gukorera i

Byumba aho inkotanyi zishobora kuzagufata mpiri, nkuko amasezerano y'Arusha abivuga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

6.- Munyarwanda ugendera muri taxi, itegure gukomeza kuzura imifuka y'inyenzi, dore bene wazo barazamura ibiciro ubutitsa by'amatagisi zitaraza, dore ziraje mirongo ine azikuba kane.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, tuzagendera mu zacu, nje ndi umusederi".

7.- Mukozi wa Leta, tanga ibiro (bureau), ubise inyenzi nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha abivuga.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

8.- Bahutu mwese, mwitegure kuvurwa n'inyenzi zitareba inshinge zuzuye SIDA, dore ko amasezerano y'Arusha yazeguriye ubuzima.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, umusederi".

9.- Muhutu ugisinziriye, n'ubwo uzi ubwenge, witegure guhitanywa n'inyenzi nk'uko inyenzi Museveni yabigenje muri Uganda.

"Ibyo ntibindeba, nje ndi umusederi".

10.- Nzirakarengane, mwitegure kubuzwa epfo na ruguru nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha abiteganyaga.

"Ibyo ntibitwenge, twe turi abasederi".

NGEZE Hassan

NSENGIYAREMYE ABAYE URUKOZASONI.

Abakunze kumva Radiyo Rwanda, baba barumvise indirimbo yitwa "Have sigaho". Iyo ndirimbo ni iya orchestre Impala. Yahimbiwe umutegetsi wa kera igihe twari mu ishyamba rimwe wari warigize kagarara. Bamubwira ntiyumve.

Iyo ndirimbo itangira ibwira uwo mutegetsi ko niba ataravuzwe, atari ibicumama bamucaga. Ahubwo ari ibanga bamugiriye, bizeye ko azihana. Uwo mutegetsi ngo bamuhaye Jari yiyongeraho Butamwa na Ngenda. N'ubwo uwo mutegetsi Impala zitamuvuze izina, twamugereranya na NSENGIYAREMYE wahoze ari minisitiri w'intebe.

Izina rya NSENGIYAREMYE ntabwo ryari rizwi na gato muri iki gihugu. Rimenyekanye ejo bundi aho amashyamba menshi aziye mu Rwanda. Ishyamba MDR rimupfa agasoni rimugira visi-perezida wa mbere. Rinamutangaho umukandida ku mwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe.

NSENGIYAREMYE amaze kuba minisitiri w'intebe nibwo abanyarwanda bagize amatsiko y'uwo muntu batari basanzwe bazi ugiye kubayobora. Nibwo bashishoje. Basanga Nsengiyaremye yariberaga iyo mu Mutara avura amatungo dore ko ari nabyo yari yarigiye anahifitemo impamyabumenyi ihanitse. Abashiritse ubute bajya mu madosiye, basanga hari umuntu wigize kuba

umunyamabanga mukuru muri minisiteri y'ubuhinzi, ubworozi n'amashyamba witwa Nsengiyaremye.

Amahanga yo yarumiye ku buryo abanyamakuru bari barakuyeyo amaso kubona u Rwanda rwari rugiye gutegekwa n'umuntu utari yarigeze avugwa muri politiki. Muri make ari abanyarwanda ubwacu ari abanyamahanga ntacyo twari dutenze kuri Nsengiyaremye.

Yarabanje arirarira, yiha gahunda igaragara ko adashobora kurangiza n'iyi bamuha imyaka 20 nkanwese umwaka umwe gusa. Kangura niyo yagize iti "apprenti piliticien avec un gouvernement incompetent". Ari ko kuvuga ngo Nsengiyaremye ni inkandagirabitabo muri politiki, na guverinoma ikaba ntacyo yishoboreye.

Iryavuzwe sibwo ritashye ! Umwaka wose urengaho amezi ane iyo guverinoma yamaze ntacyo yashoboye gukora. Ahubwo yarushijeho kuzambya ibintu. Si ngombwa kwirirwa tubugarukaho kuko twabyanditse ku buryo burambuye mu nimero yacu y'ubushize. Gusa icyo twabibutsa ni uko mu ntego guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yari yarihayeye nta n'imwe yashoboye kugeraho. Intambara yavugaga ko azarangiza (dore ko ariyo ihangayikishije abanyarwanda kurusha ibindi) yakabije umurego, iva ku mupaka isatira

umurwa mukuru.

Muri make, Nsengiyaremye yagombaga kuvaho, akabisa abandi nabo bakipima. Abakurikiranira hafi ibibera mu Rwanda, bemeza ahubwo ko Nsengiyaremye yatinze kuvaho.

NSENGIYAREMYE
ntareba kure !

Mu byo Nsengiyaremye yazize, ikizwi cyane ni ubuswa. Ariko na none bagenzi be bo muri guverinoma bamunengaga kwitwara nk'"Ikinani". Agakoresha igitugu ntagire umugira inama. Mbese yaberekaga ko abarenze akiyibagiza ko aribo bamushyizeho.

Akebo kajya iwa mugarura ! Nabo nyine bahise bamufatira ibyemezo, baramukomatanyiriza, banga kandidate ye. Nsengiyaremye yakoze n'irindi kosa ryo gushaka gushyiraho "akazu" k'i Gitarama yashakaga gusimbuza ak'abashiru. Bituma ari Habyarimana, ari Twagiramungu, Perezida wa MDR, ukomoka i Cyangugu, barwanya iryo ronda karere. None Habyarimana abifashijwemo na Twagiramungu bashenye ako "kazu" k'i Gitarama Nsengiyaremye yashakaga gushyiraho. No muri guverinoma ntibyabaguye nabi.

Nsengiyaremye iyo areba kure ntabwo yari kwiteranya n'abantu bese. Ngaho yashwanye na

Habyarimana, ntiyumvikana na bagenzi be bo muri guverinoma, ndetse no mu ishyaka rye ntagire uwo bajya imbizi. Ubwo se yari asigaye he ?

NSENGIYAREMYE
n'afate iy'ishyamba.

Iyo urebye intambara Nsengiyaremye arimo kurwana muri iki gihe, bigutera kwibaza byinshi. Uwo munyakayenzi agomba kuba yaribwiraga ko azaba minisitiri w'intebe kugeza igihe azapfira.

Iyo aba umuntu wacengewe na demokarasi yagombye kumva ko manda ye yari irangiye kandi ko yabonye igihe gihagije cyo kwerekana ko ntacyo ashoboye.

Nsetswa niyo avuga ngo agiye muri "opposition"! Bitewe se mama n'uko umugati yari afite bawumunyaze ? Ari ibyo, abatari ku butegetsi bose bo muri iki gihugu bagiye muri "opposition" nk'iya Nsengiyaremye, iki gihugu cyahinduka umuyonga. N'ubundi twari dusanzwe turi ko Nsengiyaremye ari muri "opposition". Indi "opposition" avuga ni iyihe ? Nsengiyaremye yaba agiye gufata intwari akigarurira ubutegetsi avuga ko bamwambuye ? Nabyo byashoboka uretse ko nta buryo afite bwo kubikora. Ibyo ari byo byose, Nsengiyaremye agiye kuzimira muri politiki. Kandi nawe arabibona. Ari nayo mpamvu arimo kurwana

intambara ya nyuma na nyuma. Uretse ko ibye byarangiye.

Amahirwe asigaranye abarirwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Inama twamugira ni ukwemera Twagiramungu bakumvikana. Dore ko na mbere y'uko aba minisitiri w'intebe ari we wari wabigizemo uruhare. Undi rero yamaze kubyimba inda amwihenuraho. Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo amazi arashyuha ntiyibagirwa iwabo wa mbeho. Na Nsengiyaremye rero akwiye kwibuka uwamugejeje kuri uriya mwanya. Naho ubundi yasubira ku buveterineri. Abandi bavuga gusubira ku isuka.

KANGURA.

NSENGIYAREMYE YAYABANGIYE INGATA.

Ntabwo bikiri ibihaha. Inkuru yabaye i m p a m o . NSENGIYAREMYE wahoze ari Minisitiri w'intebe yarahunze. Mu gitondo cy'umunsi w'umuganura (tariki ya mbere Kanama 1993) nibwo visi perezida wa mbere w'ishyaka ry' "umucyo", MDR, Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE yafashe rutema ikirere (SABENA) arahunga yerekeza iya Buruseri mu Bubiligi. Mbese nk'uko KANYARENGWE yambutse mu w'1980, uretse ko we yafashe iy'ubutaka.

NSENGIYAREMYE ahunze iki ? Ahunze se amasezerano y'"amahoro" yaharaniye ? NSENGIYAREMYE ahunze se "amahoro" yakotaniye igihe kirekire ? Ahunze demokarasi abanyarwanda duharanira kandi yarabaye

mu b a m b e r e "bayihimbaniye" ? Ahunze se Inkotanyi zigiyeye gutahuka kandi ari "abavandimwe" ?

O y a ! NSENGIYAREMYE ahunze ubutabera. Yari afite u bwoba bwo gutabwa muri yombi kubera inda nini n'ubusambo buvanze na ruswa. NSENGIYAREMYE yari ku isonga ry'abanyereza imfashanyo zagenewe abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara. Araregwa kuba yararigishije miliyoni zisaga 72 ! Mwumve namwe iyo "mpirambanyi" ya demokarasi !

NSENGIYAREMYE yakuwe umutima n'uruzinduko rwa Perezida wa Komite mpuzamahanga ya Croix-Rouge, Cornelio SOMARUGA amazemo iminsi mu guhugu cyacu.

Uwo mugabo yigereye kwa Perezida wa Repubulika amusaba ko abanyereza imfashanyo z'impunzi bashyikirizwa inkiko. Perezida Habyarimana arabimwemerera. Bihita bishyirwa mu bikorwa. Igisambo cya mbere, NSENGIYAREMYE, baba baragicakiye. Maze bagishikiriza Parike. Parike nayo iramubaza. Imana yagize n'uko batahise bamunagamo. Nibwo aritemye aracika.

Mu icika rya NSENGIYAREMYE, yakoresheje amayeri nk'ay'amabandi kabuhariwe. Ibyangombwa by'inzi ngo yabishatse muri uwo museke ku kibuga cy'indege i Kanombe. Iyo atinda gato yari abaye nka Gatabazi nawe wigeze gukina umukino nk'uwo mu

w'1986, ukamugwa nabi akaza gufungwa.

Amaherezo y'inzira ni munzu. NSENGIYAREMYE azashyira afatwe kimwe n'ibwite hwe bafatanie kunyereza imfashanyo

z'impunzi. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yari ikwiye ahubwo guhita ikora urupapuro mpuzamahanga rwo kumufata akagarura umutungo yasahuye. Igihugu cy'ububiligi yahungiyemo cyari gikwiye kubifashamo guverinoma y'u Rwanda

maze icyo gisambo bakagica akira, kigashyikirizwa inkiko. Niba abategetsi bacu bakomeje kwitwara kuriya, uru Rwanda ruragana he? Izo nizo "mpirimbanyi" za demokarasi bajya batubwira?

KANGURA.

ABANYAPOLITIKI BACU BEREKANYE KO ICYO BIMIRIJE IMBERE ARI INDA ZABO.

Ijambo "politiki" rituruka ku kigereki. Tugenekereje mu rurimi rwacu ijambo "politiki" risobanura uburyo bwo gutegeka, kuyobora igihugu. Dore ko mu bugereki, mu bihe bya kera hari imigi nka Athènes yari ifite ubutegetsi buhamye na nubw'ibihugu byinshi bigenderaho.

Mu Rwanda, ijambo "politiki" ryadutse mu myaka ya revolisiyo ya rubanda. Ni ukuvuga tugereraniye kuva mu w'1957 kugeza muri za 60 na nyuma y'aho. Cyakora iryo jambo ryajya guta inyito yaryo. Rihindura igisobanuro. "Politiki" bikavuga amatika. Nibwo abantu bakundaga kuvuga ngo kanaka yankoreye "politiki", bashaka kuvuga ko babagambaniye. Cyangwa se ukumva umuntu aravuze ngo kanaka yankoreye "mitingi" na "politiki". Ibyo byose byerekana ko abanyapolitiki nta wabizera. Akenshi baba bagamije inyungu zabo.

Abanyapolitiki bose barasa. Baba abo mu Rwanda cyangwa mu mahanga. Bose bitwaza ko barwanya ingoma z'ibitugu zakandamije abaturage imyaka n'imyaka. Uretse ko aba ari nabyo.

Abaturage ntibatinda kubakurikira ari benshi. Iyo bigeze mu matora babahundazaho amajwi; bakabatereka ku ntebe. Iyo abo banyapolitiki bamaze kubona "umugati" baharaniraga, bararuca bakarumira. Nta wongera kwibuka ko abaturage aribo bamufashije kugera kuri uwo mwanya.

Mu bihugu byinshi usanga abo bita ko bafashe iya mbere mu kurwanya ingoma z'ibinani ari bo bahindutse ibinani, badashaka kurekura. Ingero ni nyinshi. Urwa hafi ni NSENGIYAREMYE wagaragaje ko ntacyo ashoboye ariko akarwana intambara nk'iya Hitleri ngo atava ku ntebe! Urundi rugero twabaha ni muri TOGO aho minisitiri w'intebe, Joseph KOKOU KOFFI GOH yabanye kurwanya perezida w'icyo gihugu, GNASSIMBE EYADEMA, abaturage bakamwizera. Nyamara se ntiyahindutse abo baturage akifatanya na shebuja Eyadema yarwanyaga!

No mu RWANDA ni uko. Umuvuduko abanyamashyaka batangiranye wari uwo gukakwa amababa. Unarebye byonyine ukuntu amashyaka

yavutse nk'ibihumyo, byagombye kuba byarateye benshi kwibaza. Yego intero yari imwe. Ngo "ikinani nikivaho impundu zizavuga". Nyamara nta rundi rukundo abanyamashyaka bakundaga abaturage. Bose bari bagamije inyungu zabo, uretse gusa ko zari zinyuranye. Hari abishakiraga ubutegetsi bari barabuze. Hari abari ibyegera bya Habyarimana hanyuma baza gushwana. Hakaba abari bafite amakosa bakoreye igihugu, aho kugira ngo bahanwe bakihisha inyuma y'amashyaka.

Ibyo byose byaje kugaragara. Turebe muri buri shyamba, turasanga buri mukuru w'icyo atari umuntu ufite ibyo apfa na Habyarimana, aba yarashyize umutungo w'igihugu cyangwa se umutekamutwe. icya ngombwa ni uko amenya kubeshya abaturage.

Duhereye ku bafashe imbunda ari zo Nyenzi, umukuru wazo ni koloneli KANYARENGWE Alexis.

Uwo mugabo kuva kera ntiyakundaga abatutsi. Mu bategetsi bangaga abatutsi yabarirwaga mu bimbere. Na nubw'ibihugu burashoboka. Ukuntu rero

yaje kwifatanya nabo guhirika Habyarimana ni amaburakindi. Kanyarengwe yashatse ubutegets, Habyarimana arabumwima. Kanyarengwe ashaka kubufata ku ngufu, ariko umugambi we uratahurwa aza guhunga. Birumvikana ko uwo ari we wese yaba umututsi cyangwa umuhutu wari kumusaba gufatanya nawe guhirika Habyarimana atari kwanga. Inyenzi nazo zari zikomeye umuntu nka Kanyarengwe kugirango zimugire igikoresho cyangwa se agakingirizo. Bityo FPR ikabeshya amahanga ko atari ishaka ry'abatutsi bashaka gufata ubutegets ku ngufu, ubutegets bambuwe na revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Kandi koko byose byagenze uko inyenzi zabishakaga.

Tureke FPR, turebe muri MDR.

Umuyobozi w'iryo shyaka, nta wundi ni TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin, igisambo cyasahuye ikigo cya Leta, STIR, akana bifungirwa. Twagiramungu rero afashe iya mbere mu kurwanya Habyarimana si urukundo yabaga afitiye abaturage bayobotse MDR. Ni ukwihimura kuri Habyarimana avuga ko yamuhemukiyeye. Twe kwirirwa tuvuga MUREGO,

wamaze imyaka 10 yose muri gereza ya Ruhengeri yagombye kuba yaragiye Addis-Abeba guhagararira u Rwanda mu muryango wa OUA. Dore ko umwanya NSANZIMANA Sylvestre yari afite muri uwo muryango wari wagenewe MUREGO akaza kuwanga. Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Abaye rero "impirimbanyi" ya demokarasi ntawe byari gutangaza.

Muri PSD naho ni uko. Abayobozi b'iryo shyaka bafite amateka maremare mu busahuzi. Ari nayo mpamvu ituma bavuga ko "abakombozi" bafite akaboko karekare. Abakombozi bati niba twaribye twaramaze si twe twenyine. "Mufunge kinwa!". Twafunga kinwa ariko dukomeza kwibuke ko umunyamabanga mukuru w'iryo shyaka, GATABAZI Felisiyani yafunzwe igihe kitari gito azira gusahura imfashanyo zari zigenewe impunzi z'abanyarwanda OBOTE yari yirukanye muri Uganda mu w'1982.

None na NSENGIYAREMYE ngo yashyikirijwe inkiko kubera kunyereza imfashanyo zagenewe abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara.

Muri PL ho

ntawarubara. Perezida w'iryo shyaka Justin MUGENZI, ubuzima bwe twabugereranya n'ubwa bya byigomeke tuzi bakaze kw'isi nka ba Bob DENARD mu Bufaransa cyangwa se Jean SCHRAMME wo mu Bubiligi. Ngubwo uburara, ubwicanyi, ubuhemu, ubujura n'ibindi byagombye kubera nyiri ubwite umuziro wo kwinjira muri Guverinoma. Ari nayo mpamvu, perezida Habyarimana yari yanangiye ko uwo muntu atahagararira inyungu za rubanda muri guverinoma.

None abaye minisitiri ! Erega inzibacyuho ntacyo itazatuzanira !

Muri make, ngiyo ishusho y'abafashe iya mbere ngo bararwanya Habyarimana ra ! Nabo atari shyashya. Ko na RUKOKOMA barata nabo itabasiga ari abere ! Bacishe make kuko tubazi neza.

Intambara Nsengiyaremye arwana muri iki gihe ngo ni uko bamwambuye umwanya wa Minisitiri w'Intebe, niyo yerekana icyo abanyapolitiki bacu bagamije. Ni inda zabo gusa. Naho demokarasi barayibeshyera.

KANGURA.

INYENZI KAGAME IRASHAKA IKI I BURUNDI ?

Inyenzi nkuru, Major KAGAME imaze iminsi isirisimba i Bujumbura. Agenda abeshya amahanga ko yaje kubonana n'abategets b'i Burundi ngo bakomeze bafashe abanyarwanda kugera k

mahoro ! Nta wanze ko igihugu cy'u Burundi cyafasha abanyarwanda kugera ku mahoro. Ni byiza rwose dore ko ari n'igihugu duhana imbibi, kandi duhuje amateka. Ibibazo by'abanyarwanda bikaba bisa

n'iby'abarundi cyane cyane ku byerekeye amoko. Tukibuka kandi ko u Burundi buri mu bihugu byakurikiranyemishyikirano y'Arusha ku buryo bw'indorerenzi. Gusa ikigenza KAGAME i Bujumbura si

amahoro. Ikimugenza turakizi.

Abahutu bamaze gufata ubutegetsu i Burundi, byababaje abatutsi benshi. Ariko cyane cyane Inyenzi-Nkotanyi. Kandi ni ibintu byumvikana. U Burundi kuva hambere bwari indiri y'inyenzi. Abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bahungiyeye i Burundi, bakomeje gutera inkunga ikomeye inyenzi baziha amafaranga yo kugura intwari, banohereza urubyiruko rwabo kuzirwanirira.

Ubwo bugambanyi KANGURA yakomeje kubwamagana. Nk'aho hagize igikorwa, guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye na Buyoya bakwiza ibihaha ngo icyo kinyamakuru kiradurumbanya umubano "mwiza" uranga u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Inkotanyi zacungiraga cyane ku butegetsu bwa BUYOYA. Ikibigaragaza ni amagambo KAGAME yavuze igihe u Burundi hari amatwara y'Umukuru w'Igihugu.

KAGAME yivugiyeye ubwe ko BUYOYA natsinda amatwara, nawe azahita afata u Rwanda. None ntibigishobotse ! Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo batsinzwe amatwara y'umukuru w'Igihugu n'ay'abadepite. Bityo umugambi wa Kagame n'Inyenzi bene wabo uburiramo.

KAGAME rero yagiye i Bujumbura kubwira abatutsi bene wabo ko ibyari byateguwe bihindutse. Bakaba baretse ivigonyo ryabo kuko u Burundi butakiri ubwabo. Abatutsi babuze u Rwanda, bakabura u Burundi, birumvikana ko bagomba gufata imigambi mishya.

Kubera ko abatutsi badashobora kubana n'abandi kubera kwiyemera kwabo, bagomba gushyiraho igihugu cyabo. icyizere cyo gushyiraho igihugu kinini cy'abatutsi "corridor Hima" cyabumba Uganda, u Rwanda, u Burundi, n'igice kimwe cya Zaire, kiragenda

kiyoyoka. Igihugu bavugaga ko basigaranye ni Uganda ariko nacyo demokarasi izakibambura.

KAGAME yagiye i Bujumbura kwikundwako kuri NDADAYE n'abahutu b'i Burundi ngo batirukana Inkotanyi ziriyo. Dore ko mu mategeko agenga impunzi, ntabwo zigomba kujya mu bikorwa bya politiki, cyangwa se gutera igihugu zaturutse. Iryo tegeko mpuzamahanga abatutsi cyane cyane b'i Burundi na Uganda, barirenzeho. Bagombye rero kwirukanwa mu bihugu barimo. Twizere ko KAGAME atakinishije ibyo kwaka NDADAYE inzira ngo inyenzi zitere noneho zituritse mu majyepfo y'u Rwanda, kuko atabimwemerera. Kagame ngo yaba atanashakaga gutahuka. Yibwiriye abanyamakuru i Bujumbura ko atazataha kimwe n'izindi mpunzi. Ngo keretse abatutsi bafashe ubutegetsu. Intambara niho igatangira !

KANGURA.

ARUSHA - KINIHIRA :

AMASEZERANO SI AMAHORO.

Vubaha i KINIHIRA muri Perefegitura ya BYUMBA nibwo Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR - INKOTANYI bumvikanye ku bibazo byari bisigaye mu byari byarananiranye mu mishikirano yari imaze iminsi ibera ARUSHA. icyo kibazo ni icyerekeye ingabo. Impande zombi zimaze kumvikana kuri icyo kibazo, zihaye umugambi wo kuzashyira umukono ku masezerano yose. Uwo

muhanaga ukaba uteganyijwe kubera ARUSHA ejombi kuwa gatatu tariki enye Kamena 1993.

Abanyarwanda bakaba bateze byinshi kuri ayo masezerano. Kandi ni mu gihe. Nawe udakeneye amahoro, ari abanyarwanda, ari inkotanyi, ari abahutu ari abatutsi bose barifuzaga ko intambara yarangira. Twizere ko amasezerano azashyirwa umukono ARUSHA atazaba ari

"balinga". Kuko gushyirwa umukono ku masezerano, bidasobanura kugarura amahoro.

Intambara irasenyaga ntabwo yubakaga. Kuyishoza biroroha, kuyihagarika bikaba ikindi kibazo. Amasezerano nta gihe atasinywe ariko akenshi ntagire icyo ageraho. Ingero ni nyinshi. Ngo ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo, turebe muri Afurika yacu.

Muri UGANDA, igihugu duhana imbibi, inyeshyamba MUSEVENI yafashe ubutegetsu guverinoma ya Uganda yitegura gushyira umukono ku "masezerano y'amahoro". Imishyikirano ikaba yaraberaga i NAYIROBI.

Muri LIBERIYA, guverinoma y'agateganyo iyobowe na Amos SAWYER n'ikigomeke Charles TAYLOR bamaze gusinya inshuro nyinshi ariko ntibyabujije intambara gukomeza.

Muri ANGOLA, guverinoma ya Dos SANTOS yasinye na Jonas SAVIMBI, amatora araba. SAVIMBI atsinzwe asubira mu ishyamba none intambara iraca ibintu.

Muri MOZAMBIKE naho ni uko. Guverinoma y'i Maputo isinya buri munsu n'ishyamba RENAMO "amasezerano y'amahoro" ariko ntabuze intambara gukomeza.

Muri SUDANI, muri SOMALIYA, n'ahandi intambara ziracyaca ibintu kandi "amasezerano y'amahoro" yarashyizweho umukono.

Iyo twanditse ibi, si uguca abanyarwanda intege. Ni ukugirango abanyarwanda be kugira cya kizere kiraza amasinde. Tubigiriye urukundo tugomba gukunda igihugu cyacu. Ubwo na Paul KAGAME yaboneraho akizeza abanyarwanda ko atagikomeje wa mugambi we wo gusubira mu ishyamba amatora aramutse yerekanve

icyo abaturage batekereza ku bantu be !

Ntidushobora kurondora ingorane zose ndetse n'imvururu amasezerano y'ARUSHA azakurura. Ariko ni ngombwa kureba iz'ingenzi.

Ayo mesezerano aramutse ashyizwe mu bikorwa, azahindura u Rwanda rwari rusanze ari igihugu cy'ibibazo igihumbi, igihugu cy'ibibazo miliyoni. Ibibazo bibiri ni byo ngorabahizi : ikibazo cy'ingabo n'ikibazo cy'impunzi. Uretse ko hari n'ibindi.

Ikibazo cy'Ingabo.

Icyo kibazo ni nacyo kirushije ibindi gukara. Abagiyeye Arusha cyarabananiye, bagomba kucyimirira i Kinihira. Mu masezerano bavuga ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zigomba guhuzwa n'iza FPR bagakora umutwe umwe. Abasirikari n'abajandarume bagomba kuba ibihumbi 19 (abasirikari ibihumbi 13, abajandarume ibihumbi 6). Muri abo bese, FPR ikagira 40 %, Leta y'u Rwanda ikagira 60 %. Ni ukuvuga ko hari abasirikari bagomba gutaha. Muri iki gihe, abasirikari b'u Rwanda n'abajandarume babarirwa mu bihumbi bigera kuri 40.

Bizaba ngombwa rero ko benshi birukanwa, bagashoka ibishanga wa mugani wa Nsengiyaremye. FPR yo rero nta kibazo kuko ifite abasirikari bake cyane ahubwo igomba kongera abandi kugira ngo umubare wa 40 % wuzure. Abo

basirikari bazataha rero bazateza ibibazo bitoroshye ku buryo nta mahwemo guverinoma itaha izagira.

Ikindi kibazo gishobora gukurura imyiryane mu ngabo cyerekeye amagarade. Mu masezerano bavuga ko buri ruhande rufite uburenganzira bwo gutanga amagarade ku ngabo zarwo uko rubyumva kandi uwo ruzatanga wese agomba kwemerwa. Ku ngabo z'u Rwanda ho nta kibazo kuko uburyo amagarade atangwa burazwi. Hari amategeko abigenga. Ku ruhande rero rw'inkotanyi, hari urujijo kuko uburyo batanga amagarade ari ibanga ryabo. ku buryo nk'umu "caporal" watorotse ingabo z'u Rwanda ejo bundi akajya mu nkotanyi ashobora kugaruka ari Koroneli.

Ikibazo cy'Impunzi.

Inyenzi zateye zitwaje ikibazo cy'impunzi ngo ubutegetsu bwakomeje kudebekera. Nyamara byaje kugaragara ko icyo kibazo inyenzi zakitwaje kugira ngo amahanga ashobore kuzumva. Dore ko ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda nta na rimwe kitigeze kitabwaho.

Ari Perezida KAYIBANDA, ari HABYARIMANA, bese wa mugani bakoze uko bashoboye ngo icyo kibazo kirangire. Ariko impunzi z'abatutsi ziranangira. Muzabaze KIGELI V Ndahindurwa ko guverinoma ya Kayibanda y'icyo gihe itamusabye ubwe kugaruka

ngo yifatanye n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu akanangira. Ngo keretse asubiye ku ngoma. Twibutse gusa ko iyo impunzi zifashe intworo zigatera igihugu ziturukamo nk'uko inyenzi zabigenje, zamburwa uburenganzira bwo kongera kwitwa impunzi. icyo gihe zihinduka inyeshyamba.

Umutwe Inkotanyi zatetse warahiye. Amahanga yarazumvise maze ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abatutsi zanze gutaha gishyirwa mu bibazo bikomeye bigomba gusuzumwa ARUSHA Izo mpunzi (niba ariko twazita) zikaba zigomba gutaha mu gihe nta n'uzi umubare wazo uko ungana. Inyenzi zivuga ko abatutsi bari hanze bageze kuri miliyoni abyiri. Mu gihe imibare nyayo yemeza ko zitarenze ibihumbi 500. Uko izo mpunzi zangana kose zizateza ibibazo bitoroshye. Ikibazo cya mbere ni icyo kuzibonera aho ziba n'uko zizabana n'abandi baturage.

Mu masezerano y'ARUSHA bavuga ko impunzi z'abatutsi zitagomba gutuzwa ahantu hamwe (nko muri Pariki y'Akagera). Ngo zigomba kuvangwa n'abandi baturage. Niba ari byo zigomba kwigishwa bihagije kuzabana n'abo zidahuje ubwoko nabo, nta gasuzuguro. Ntizazaze zibaza ibikiri bya ba sekuru.

Ikindi kitumvikana muri ariya masezerano y'Arusha, ni uko usanga bakundwakaza impunzi z'abatutsi kurusha abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara zashoje, bakomeje kwangara hirya no hino mu gihugu. Impunzi z'abatutsi zizatuma akazi gakomeza kuba ingume. Naho ureke ibyo babeshya ngo sifite amafaranga. Niba hari n'abayafite, impunzi zose siko ziyafite.

Ikindi kibazo batajya bahingutsa kandi kitoroshye ni icyo kumenya uzishyura imyenda inyenzi zafashe hirya no hino zigura intworo

zo gutera u Rwanda. Ubwo kandi ari nako zizeza abazikopa ko zizafata igihugu zikishyura nta shyiti. None byarananiranye. Abazishyura iyo myenda, barahari. Ni Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda. None byagenda gute?

Gushyira umukono ku "masezerano y'amahoro" ni intambwe igana amahoro. Si amahoro kuko aracyari kure. Kugirango amahoro agaruke mu Rwanda, bizaturuka ku "bwizerane" bw'abahutu n'abatutsi. Ubwo "bwizerane" rero nti bwari bwagerwaho kuko bagikekana amababa. Ntabwo bari bashirana amakenga.

Bitabaye ibyo, umututsi amenye aho uburenganzira bwe bugarukira, amenye umwanya umukwiye. Umuhutu nawe yiyubahe, ye kuyoborwa n'inda nini gusa. Dore ko ari naho agasuzuguro gaturuka.

KANGURA.

HABYARIMANA ATI : POLITIKI IGEZE MU IKONI RIKOMEYE.

Nyuma y'amezi 16 tumaze muri vurugu vurugu y'icyo bise inzibacyuho cyakomeje kuvuga ko politiki atari umukino ukinwa n'abaswa. Abiyumvagamwo ubushobozi aba abarebye mu bwonko, niko kubabwira ngo baze nabo bagarageze. Nibwo abakubise inzibacyuho yagombaga kumara umwaka umwe. Maze aho gukora politiki, bahugira mu kwiba na gushyira isoni. Nsengiyaremye ahinduka igikoresho cyo kwirirwa gituka Perezida wa Repubulika.

Aratukana arasizora, kugeza igihe abaye igipampara gusa. Igihe Minisitiri w'Intebe yatukanaga, bagenzi be bo muri PSD amasanduku ya Leta bari bayagerereye. Bariba, igihugu bagisiga iheruheru. Abo muri PL nabo ntibari bicaye ubusa, barimo kohereza urubyiruko rw'abatutsi mu Nkotanyi.

Nsengiyaremye amaze gusarara, asanga umutungo abandi bawumaze. Maze na we yihutira gukukumba utwari dusigaye, ageza n'aho kwandavura anyereza imfashanyo

zagenewe impunzi ari nabyo yaje gufatirwamo nk'uko Minisitiri Lando abyemeza. Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yaje gucura igihe. Urebye ntacyo yakoze uretse kugambanira igihugu no kugikoza isoni mu maso y'amahanga.

Amashyaka arwanya HABYARIMANA yasubiranyemo.

Muri MDR hari huzuyemo aba PARMEHUTU benshi. Inkotanyi zimaze guterwa ubwoba n'abo ba Parmehutu zakoze uko zishoboye zishyigikira

ishyaka bibeshya ko barimo guhima HABYARIMANA. Twagiramungu yamaze gucakira uwo mwanya atwemeza ko Inkotanyi ari abavandimwe. Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be bamaze kubona ko inkotanyi ari abavandimwe zo zibatwariye ishyaka babona kandi nta n'ingufu bafite zo kurigarura.

TWAGIRAMUNGU akase ikoni aba PARMEHUTU barasigara arikomereza. Basigaye muri karoseri itagira moteri kandi ikoni baguyemo ntibashobora kuryivanamo. Babaye abande ?

IKINANI gifite amayeri menshi.

K u b a H A B Y A R I M A N A yarahisemo gushyigikira TWAGIRAMUNGU ntabwo ari ku busa. Ntiyari ayobewe ko ari Inkotanyi. Ntwabwo ayobewe na busa ko Twagiramungu atazamucira akari urutega. Habyarimana yibutse wa mugani ugira uti : "Usenya urwe umutiza umuhoro". MDR niyo yisenyeye, itora TWAGIRAMUNGU kuyiyobora.

Abarwanashyaka ba MDR baje kubona ko bibeshye, bashaka kumuhirika barananirana. N'Ikinani kiti ni mwumve nimwe mwikozeho. Nta gihe TWAGIRAMUNGU wari usanzwe azikorera. Ishyaka ricikamo ibice bibiri. Igice kimwe (cy'aba Parmehutu) k i y o b o k a NSENGIYAREMYE na bagenzi be, ikindi gice gishyigikiye Inkotanyi k i y o b o k a TWAGIRAMUNGU.

TWAGIRAMUNGU yaje kurusha amayeri abo bandi, MDR ayigira iye, afata ibyemezo uko yishakiye. Bigera naho atangaza ko abo ba Parmehutu bava muri MDR bagashinga ishyaka ryabo. Nabo biza kubarakaza maze icyitwaga ishyaka ry'umucyo gihinduka ishyaka ry'amakimbirane.

MDR mu mutego watezwe n'IKINANI.

A h o a b a PARMEHUTU baguye, ni ugufata Inkotanyi TWAGIRAMUNGU bakavishinga kuyobora ishyaka MDR

tutavuze ko Twagiramungu ari igisambo cy'ingufu. Ababihakanye nibirebere ko atabatwaye ishyaka bareba ! Ikinani nacyo cyatereye agati mu ryinyo, Twagiramungu yishyira ku mwanya binyuranyije n'amategeko. Yaje no gushyigikirwa n'amashyaka ari muri Guverinoma kugirango yereke Nsengiyaremye ko agomba kwicuza ibyo yakoze. Nguko uko TWAGIRAMUNGU yeretse aba PARMEHUTU ko ntacyo bapfanaga.

Amizero ya MDR mu minsi iri imbere.

Kugeza ubu icyakiza aba PARMEHUTU, ni ukutajya mu naha ishingamategeko ntihagire umukandida uwo ari we wese baha Guverinoma ya TWAGIRAMUNGU. Bakareka Twagiramungu akabikora uko abyumva maze n'amahanga akamenya ko adahagarariye ishyaka MDR. Amahanga akamenya ko yirukanywe mu ishyaka maze aba PARMEHUTU

bakaguma hanze bagakora politiki bafatanije na CDR, nayo itazaba iri muri Guverinoma maze ingufu zayo mashyaka yombi ahuriye ku mateka amwe akaba arizo zituma ibintu bihinduka. Naho aba Parmehutu nibibeshya bagasaba imbabazi, bazaba baroshye ishyaka rya ba Papa na Mama.

Amateka agenda agaruka.

Ibihe turimo bijya gusa n'igihe cya revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Urebye ibyo abahutu bari mu mashyaka anyuranye batangaza ku nyenzi, n'ibyo inyenzi nazo zivuga usanga bisa n'ibyabaye igihe cya revolisiyo.

Dusanze ari ngombwa ko tugaruka kubyo abakurambere bacu bagiye batangaza ku byerekeye u b w i y u n g e bw'abanyarwanda, kuko byatubera isomo. Mu gihe twigegura itahuka ry'inyenzi, dusanze ari ngombwa kubagezaho icyo umurwanashyaka GITERA Joseph yatekerezagako ku bwiye bw'abanyarwanda. Ni ngombwa kandi ko tubagezaho ibyo umu Parmehutu MAKUZA A. yavuze avuguruzako ibinyoma by'inyenzi za kera ubu zihinduye Inkotanyi.

Mwisomere namwe.

KANGURA.

BURUGUMESITIRI GATETE AT SINZE ABATUTSI BURUNDU.

Ku itariki ya 13 Kanama 1992 nibwo akanama gashinzwe kugenzura imikorere y'abakozi ba Leta kasohoye raporo y'incamugongo ku bahutu bose n'abandi bakunda amahoro n'ukuri muri iki gihugu. Ako kanama gashingiye ku nduru n'ibihuha by'abatutsi bakomoka muri komini Murambi, ariko bakaba bituriye i Kigali, kemeje ko ngo GATETE yagize uruhare mu izimira ry'abantu 16 bafatiwe muri komini Murambi bazira gufasha inyenzi igihe zaduteraga mu Kwakira 1990.

Ikindi cyaha ako kanama karegaga GATETE ngo ni ukuba abangamiye demokarasi abuzamashyaka atavugaga rumwe nawe kwisanzura. Ako kanama kashoje raporo yako gasaba guverinoma guhagarika Gatete ku mirimo ye hanyuma hagashyirwaho komisiyo yo gukora anketi zirambuye kubyo Gatete aregwa. Twabibutsa ko akanama k'igihugu gashinzwe kugenzura imikorere y'abakozi ba Leta kagizwe na :

- KABANDA Célestin (MDR),
- NKUBITO Alphonse-Marie (JDR),
- NTIGASHIRA Simon (umusebateri wagumiwe).

Nkuko byari bimaze gusabwa n'ako kanama, burugumestiri Gatete yahagaritswe ku mirimo ye tariki ya 12/03/1993, hanyuma guhera tariki ya 07/07/1993 ya komisiyo ishinzwe gucukumbura ibyo Gatete aregwa itangira imirimo yayo.

Iyo komisiyo igizwe n'aba bakurikira :

- IYAMUREMYE Augustin (umukombozi), maneko mukuru, Perezida wa Komisiyo.
- KANYARUBIRA Laurent (MRND), umujyanama muri MININTER.
- MUHIRE Venant (umucamanza), avocat général mu rukiko rwa Kavaruganda.
- MUNYEMANA Athanase (JDR), maneko mukuru wungirije.
- Commandant BURAKARI Damien (ategeka icyahoze cyitwa criminologie).
- REBERO Laurent (PL), umujyanama muri minisiteri y'Ubutabera.
- UWANYIRIJURU Gabriel, superefe wa Ngarama.
- AHOBAMUTEZE Gaspard (MDR), Rujigo.
- MUHATURUKUNDO Norbert (JDR w'umurakare), akora muri minisiteri y'itangazamakuru.

Iyo komisiyo rero yifashishije inyandiko nyinshi zatangajwe kuri burugumestiri GATETE, yakoze anketi zirambuye maze ibaza abantu b'ingeri zose : abatutsi, abahutu, abihayimana, abanyamadini banyuranye, abazungu, imiryango y'abo bavugaga ko Gatete yiciye abantu, abaturage ba komini Murambi. Abo bose babajijwe babwiye komisiyo ko ibivugwa kuri Gatete byose bicurirwa i Kigali n'abanyamurambi batazi aho komini yabo igeze. Abo b'abanyamurambi b'amahoro n'amajyambere ni abatutsi bakurikira :

- NKURIYINGOMA Jean

Baptiste, wiyita umunyamakuru.

- KAREMERA Protais
- KAYUMBA Claver
- KALISA Gervais
- MUHAYIMANA J. Claude
- RUTSINDINTWARANE Charles
- BAZATSINDA Epimaque
- NZAMWITA Faustin
- KANANGA Simon
- NTIVUGURUZA Emmanuel
- RUSANGANWA Didace
- TWAGIRAYEZU Innocent
- MUNYANEZA Romalice
- Perezida wa MDR muri Byumba, RWAMBONERA Evergiste (umuhutu wataye umutwe).

Abo bantu nibwo bahora bandika ibinyoma kuri GATETE, bakamushumuriza abatutsi bose na Radiyo Muhabura. Ako gatsiko niko kagiye guhamagara abatutsi n'abamuderi bibumbiye mu ngirwa shyirahamwe ryiyise "association rwandaise pour la défense des droits de la personne et des libertés publiques) ngo baze guhimbira Gatete. Mu byukuri n'ubwo iryo shyirahamwe ryatangaje ko ryakoze anketi ku byo baregaga Gatete, raporo ryasohoye ryayandikiwe na kariya gatsiko k'abantu 14 twavuze haruguru.

GATETE azira iki ?

1. Bamuziza ko yitangiye amahoro abuzamashyamba umutekano wa komini ye cyose, bityo rero inkotanyi n'ibitso byazo biri muri komini Murambi ntibishobora kumwihanganira.

2. Bamuziza ko yahagurikiye ibikorwa by'amajyambere muri Komini ye, maze babanebwe b'abatutsi bavuka muri komini ye ariko akaba i kigali bakabyita igitugu.

3. Arazira ko aresheshya abantu bose imbere y'amategeko, maze ba basongarere b'abatutsi bibera i Kigali bakaba bashaka kurenga ku byemezo by'inama ya komini bakavuga ko abasuzugura.

4. Nsengiyaremye n'udutsiko twabatutsi bari muri MDR, bamuziza ko yihitiyemo ishyaka MRND. Byumwihariko, GATETE azira ko azi amabanga menshi y'ukuntu Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE akiri veterineri mu Mutara, yakaga ruswa abashaka amaranshi kandi agacuruza inka z'inkotanyi ku buryo butemewe n'amategeko (fraude).

Dore rero imyanzuro yaje gufatwa na komisiyo.

a) Ku byerekeye abantu 16 GATETE aregwa, komisiyo irasanga nta ruhare afite mu izimira ryabo kuko nkuko anketi za komisiyo zabigaragaje, abo bantu bakimara gufatwa bujurijwe impapuro maze boherezwa i Ngarama gufungirwa yo. Kubera ariko umutekano muke wari muri ako karere(dore ko inyenzi zari zimaze gufata centre ya Mimuri iri muri kilometero 3 uvuye i Ngarama), superefe RUZIGANA Michel yaje gufata icyemezo cyo kubohereza gufungirwa i

Byumba. Bajyanywe n'umushoferi witwa SHYAKA, mu modoka ya koperative COCOPAMU ifite pulaki IB 11 90. Ibyo kandi byemezwa na seperefe RUZIGANA, n'abapolisi babiri SHUMBUSHO Gervais na NZABAMWITA babaherekeje kugera i Byumba.

b) Ku kibazo cyo kuba Gatete abuzamashyaka kwisanzura, komisiyo yasanze nta shingiro gifite kuko nkuko anketi zabigaragaje, komini Murambi niyo komini yo mu Rwanda yonyine usangamo amashyaka arenga atanu akora mu bwisanzure. Ubwinshi bw'amashyaka akorera muri komini Murambi buragaragaza ko Gatete nta na rimwe yigeze abangamira.

Ayo mashyaka kandi iyo yasabaga uburenganzira bwo gukoresha mitingiyarabuhabwaga. Ni muri urwo rwego habaye mitingizikurikira kuri aya matariki :

- MDR : 27/10/1991, 10/05/1992, 12/07/1992, 11/10/1992.

- MRND : 17/11/1991, 16/02/1992, 31/05/1992, 04/10/1992.

- PL : 09/02/1992

- CDR : 05/07/1992, 27/12/1992

- PADER : 22/12/1992

- Parti Démocrate : 14/06/1992.

Komisiyo rero yemeje ko

GATETE ai umwere ku byaha byose yaregwaga.

UMWANZURO.

Turashimira cyane iriya komisiyo itaragendeye gusa ku bigambo no ku byifuzo bya kariya gatsiko k a y o b o w e n a NKURIYINGOMA J. Baptiste ahubwo igashakisha aho ukuri guherereye.

Turasaba ko NKURIYINGOMA yareka kugira ikinyamakuru IMBAGA (ikinyamakuru cya rubanda) urubuga rwo gutukiramo no guharabikamo Gatete.

Turasaba kariya gatsiko ka ba Nkuriyingoma na Rwambonera ko niba koko hari ibitekerezo byubaka gafite kakwegera Gatete maze bakarebera hamwe ibyagirira komini Murambi akamaro.

Turasaba NZAMWITA Faustin kureka gukomeza gupfusha ubusa impapuro za Leta yandika kuri ordinateri za Minisiteri y'Imari amahomvu yo guharabika Gatete.

Umutekano wa Gatete ugomba kurushaho kwitabwaho muri iki gihe.

Dufite impungenge z'uko kariya gatsiko kagomba kuba gafite uruhare mu marorerwa aherutse gukorerwa Gatete ubugira kabiri noneho kamwivugana kubera ko umugambi wako wo kumukura ku butegetsi bakoresheje ibinyoma wabapfubanye.

Harakabaho ubutabera !

KANGURA.



**INYENZI NIZIVUGA ZITI TURATSINZE, UZAZIBAZE
UTI : "MWATSINZE NDE, MUTSINDIRA IKI,
MUBONYE IKI, MUGEZE KUKI ?" AHUBWO NI
ZICARE TUZIGOTE, TUZIGISHE DEMOKARASI.**

Ikinani, Août 1993.