

# KANGUKA

Oforo

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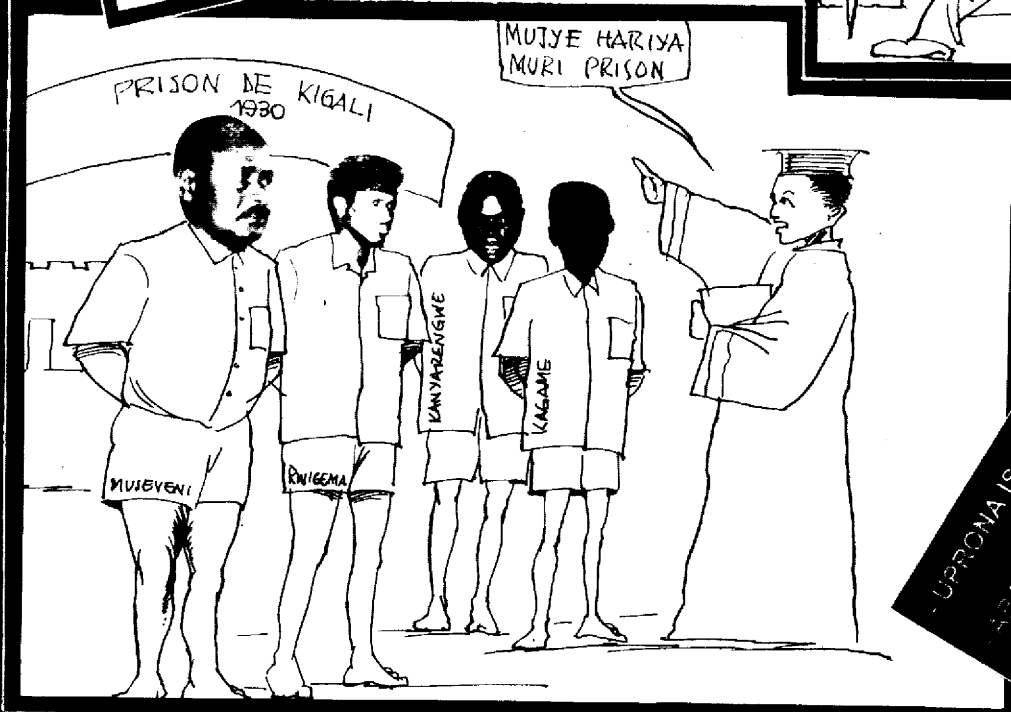
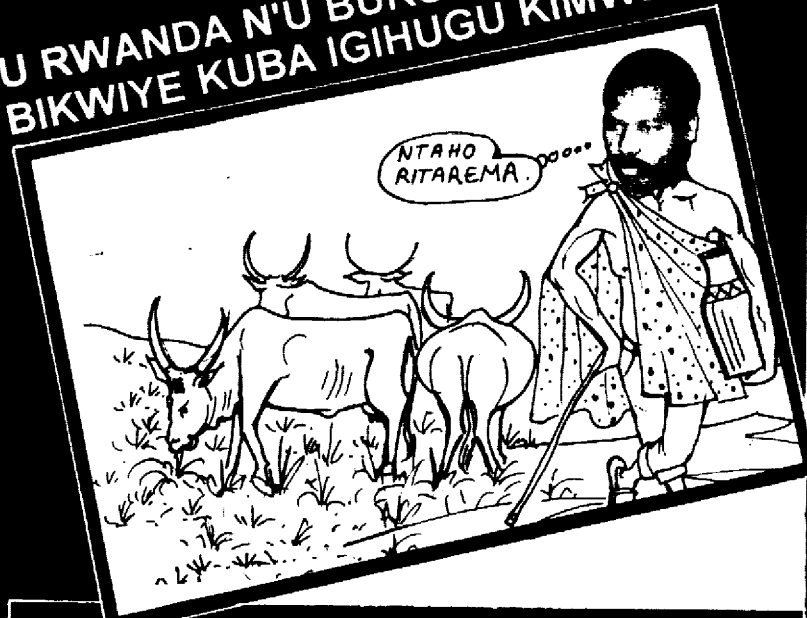


## IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

n'51

10. 1993

- U RWANDA N'U BURUNDI BIKWIYE KUBA IGIHUGU KIMWE.



UPRONA ISHOBORA KUZIMIRA MBERE Y'IMYAKA IBIRI.

ABATUTSI BAKWIYE KURYOZWA IBY'INTAMBARA.

ABATUTSI BI BURUNDI BUKIYEMUKA IBY'INTAMBARA.

MINTRAPE RAFIKI YASOHOTI ARACYAGWA MU MUTEGO WEMUJYE WABIBIMBYE (ONU) ABIBYE UBUTEGETSI.

- ABATUTSI BAKWIYE KURYOZWA IBY'INTAMBARA.

## U RWANDA N'U BURUNDI BIKWIYE KUBA IGIHUGU KIMWE.



Ku butegezi bwa gatutsi i Burundi, ntawari kugira igitekerezo cyo kwifuzako u Rwanda n'u Burundi byaba igihugu kimwe. Aho NDADAYE rero agereye ku ngoma abantu benshi nibwo batangiyeye kwibaza ku by'ubwibumbire hamwe bw'ibihugu byombi. Nta yindi mpamvu, ni uko mbere u Burundi bwategekewaga n'abatutsi kuva ku musatsi kugera mu nsi y'agatsinsino. Naho mu Rwanda abahutu bakaba barakoze Revolisiyo yo mu 1959 yabakijije ubutegezi bw'abo batutsi. Mu gihe rero ibyo bihugu byarebanaga ay'ingwe kubera ubutegezi butandukanye ibyo kwiremamo igihugu kimwe byari nk'inzoki. Abatutsi n'abahima ariko bo bumvaga ko bagomba gutegeka akarere kose k'ibiyaga bigari ndetse bakagerekaho n'ibindi bihugu by'afurika. Bashatse guhera k'u Rwanda (u Burundi bwo bari babwifitiye)! bagaba cya gitero simusiga cyo kuwa 1/10/1990 n'ubu kandi bakaba batarava ku izima.

Mu by'ukuri rero u Rwanda n'u Burundi ni IMPANGA : ibyo bihugu bituwe n'amoko amwe avuga ururimi rumwe rw'i Kinyarwanda (abatutsi barese urwabo bakirugeramo), amateka yabyo yose ni amwe kandi bisangiye n'ibibazo bimwe mu rwego rwa politiki, ubukungu n'imibereho y'abaturage. Ibyo bihugu rero bishatse kwiremamo igihugu kimwe rukumbi byabigeraho nta nkomyi maze bikarushaho gukungahara byo n'ababituye bese. Ubuso bwa Km2 54.000 icyo gihugu gishya cyaba gifite byatuma kigira umwanya ugaragara mu ruhando rw'amahanga. Si agahugu ahubwo ni igihugu... Miliyoni

zirenze cumi n'eshatu ni abaturage benshi ibindi bihugu bitapfa guterana; ndetse cyaba kiri mu bihugu cumi na bitanu bya mbere bituwe muri Afurika. Bishyize hamwe rero byagera no ku bikorwa by'amajyambere bihanitse.

Aho ibyo bihugu byiyemeje kuyoboka inzira ya demokarasi kandi n'abaturage bakaba barayitabiriye batazuyaza nubwo hariho abo itaracengeramo neza nta bibazo bikomeye bya politiki byabangamira ubwiyunge bwabyo. Nta butegezi bw'igitugu n'uburyamirane ubwaribwo bwose byakongera kubaho kuko abaturage ubwabo bahita babyamaganira kure kandi noneho ari benshi.

Ibibazo by'amoko byagenda nk'ifuni iheze kuko haboneka abatutsi bashyira mu gaciro maze bakivanamo irari kamere ryabo ryo gushaka kwongera gutegeka bonyine. Abenshi mu b'i Burundi bo basa n'ababyumvise; kandi no mu Rwanda aho inkotanyi zihushije intego yazo yo gufata ubutegezi ku ngufu no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto, abatutsi batari bake batangiyeye kwemera ko ubutegezi bugomba gusaranganywa nta buryamirane. Kandi rero mu gihe demokarasi ikomeje gushimangira, amatora niyo yajya akemura impaka nta ngingimira. Iby'uturere byo nta makimbirane byagombye gutera uretse ahari utubazo twaterwa n'ubwumvikane buke ku bibazo bireba igihugu cyangwa mu mibereho isanzwe hagati y'abari Abarundi n'abahoze ari Abanyarwanda. Ariko hashyirwaho amategeko n'inzezo zatuma ubwo bushyamirane buburizwamo mbere yuko bwigaragaza. icyangombwa ni uko buri gice cyakwirinda gucira ikindi mu isaranganya ry'ibyiza byose by'igihugu.

Ubukungu bwo bwatera imbere ku buryo bugaragara. Kuko nubwo u Rwanda n'u Burundi ubusanzwe bidafite umutungo kamere munini, bishyize hamwe uduke bifite byabyaza umusaruro utubutse kurusha iyo ari igihugu kimwe cya nyamwigenyaho. "L'Union fait la Force" (gushyira hamwe bitera ingufu) ni ikirangantego cy'igihugu cy'Ububiligi ! Ibyambu by'ibintu biva cyangwa bijya mu mahanga byakwiyongera n'ubucukuzi bugatera imbera kubera inzitizi ziba zavuyeho (gasutamo, impapuro z'inzira)... Ubukerarugendo bwakwinji-

za amadovize menshi kubera ubwiyongere bw'abaturisiti bazaba bongerewe ibibatera amatsiko. Imari y'icyo gihugu gishya izatubuka kuko izaba yakusanyije umutungo wa buri gihugu kandi igacungwa neza kuko impuguke mu by'iyi micungire nazo zizaba ziyongereye. Bityo n'ibigega mpuzamahanga by'imari bikarushaho kukigirira icyizere maze bigasuka amadovize menshi mu mishinga yacyo. Buri kare-re kakuzuzanya n'akandi mu by'ubuhinzi, ubworozi, ubuvuzi n'ibindi bikorwa bifitiye rubanda akamaro.

U Rwanda n'u Burundi bibaye igihugu kimwe abaturage barushaho kugira imibereho myiza : politiki y'uburezi yanonosorwa igahuza n'ibihe tugezemo, urubyiruko rwakwitabwaho narindi imirimo izaba ziyongereye bikomotse ku izahurwa ry'ubukungu no ku ishorwa ry'imari mu kubaka inganda zitanga akazi. Urwo rubyiruko rwose ruzashobora no guhuza ibitekerezo, ingufu n'umutungo mu kwitabira ibikorwa by'ubukorikori n'iby'amashyirahamwe birutunga.

Umutekano muri iki gihe uhungayiki-shije ibihugu byombi wabumbatirwa bihagije. Impunzi zateraga akaduruvayo n'intambara ntizahangara icyo gihugu gishya gifite abaturage barangwa n'ibitekerezo bishya. Impunzi z'abarundi zo zumvise rugikubita akamaro k'amahoro zihunguka zidashoje imirwano. Iz'abatutsi bo mu Rwanda zo, zishyigikiwe na bene wazo bo kw'isi yose, nizo zigishaka gufata ubutegezi ku ngufu z'amamasu. icyakora ntizapfa nazo kwigerera ibihugu byibumbiye hamwe nubwo zaba zizeye inkunga y'intwaramiheto z'icyahoze ari u Burundi. Ntizakongera no gushyiraho iterabwoba mu igabana ry'ubutegezi kuko amatora yonyine ariyo yazigenera ibyo zikwiye. Nta mpagarara ku mipaka kuko izaba yavuyeho; nta n'igihugu cyo hanze cyapfa kwisukira icyo kindi kivutse ngo kiragitera nkuko Uganda yagabye ibitero mu gahugu gato kandi gakenye k'u Rwanda. Nta bwoko buzaba bugipiganira gutegeka bwonyine ari nabyo nyirabayazana w'umutekano muke-kuko demokarasi nyayo ishyira imbere ibitekerezo n'amahame ya politiki ashingiye ku nyungu z'abanyagihugu bese aho kwishingikiriza ubwoko cyangwa akarere.

La Rédaction.

## KWITWA "UMUPARMEHUTU" SI IGISEBO, NI ISHEMA.

PARMEHUTU ni amagambo ahinnye y'igifaransa. Mu magambo arambuye Parmehutu bisobanura «Parti du Mouvement pour l'Emancipation du Peuple Hutu». Tu genekereje mu Kinyarwanda twavuga ko ari ishyaka ryari rigamije ku renganura rubanda rw'abahutu.

Abantu batari bake bakunze kwitirira Parmehutu Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda. Ntibaba bibeshyeye cyane. Gusa abakurikiranye neza amateka y'u Rwanda bemeza ko Parmehutu atari inganzo ya Gerigori Kayibanda.

Mu gihe cya revolisiyo yo mu w'1959, havutse amashyaka menshi. Muribuka nka Aprosoma ya Gitera, Rader, Unar n'andi menshi. Amateka atubwira ko iry'ingenzi muri ayo mashyaka ryari MDR Parmehutu. Burya ngo ishyaka Kayibanda yashinze we na bagenzi be b'i Gitarama ni MDR. Bivugaga «Mouvement Démocratique Républicain». Dukurikije uko ibihe byari bimeze icyo gihe, twavugaga ko ari ishyaka ryaharaniraga demokarasi NA Repubulika. Dore ko ryavutse ku ngo ma ya cyami na gikolonize. Ntabwo rero ari MDR y'ubu bavugaga ko iharanira demokarasi MURI Repubulika. Mu gihe Kayibanda na bagenzi be bari bashinze MDR, mu Ruhengeri ba Balthazar Bicamumpaka bashinze ishyaka bise Parmehutu naryo ryari rigamije kurenganura rubanda rugufi rw'abahutu.

Abayobozi ba MDR y'i Gitarama na Parmehutu yo mu Ruhengeri basanze bahuje ibitekerezo bishyira hamwe bakora MDR Parmehutu yaje kugeza rubanda rugufi kuri revolisiyo yo mu w'1959.

MDR Parmehutu yaje gutsinda amatwara yo mu w'1960 na Kamarampa-

ka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961. Ibyaku rikiyeho murabizi, iryo shyaka ryaharaniye rubanda ryaje kwirara, rita umurongo, rigwa mu matiku n'inzangano, ubwironde... Tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 riseswa na Coup d'Etat bamwe bise «revolisiyo morale».

Aho amashyaka menshi agarukiye mu Rwanda ejo bundi mu mwaka w'1990, abiyise «impirimbanyi» za demokarasi bihuriye kuzura iryo shyaka. Bafata agapande kamwe, MDR, Parmehutu bayishyira iruhande. icyo batinyiye ijamba Parmehutu na nubwoko ntikiramenyekana neza.

Izo «mpirimbanyi» za demokarasi zari ziyobowe n'umunyamayeri Twagiramungu Faustin, zitwaje itegeko rigenga amashyaka zumvisha abayoboze ko ijamba Parmehutu rigomba ku aho, hagasigara MDR gusa. Impamvu ngo bakoze ibyo ngo nta shyaka rigomba gushingira ku moko, ku madini, ku bitsina n'ibindi. Ubwo kandi niko bakomeza kwiyita umurage wa MDR Parmehutu.

Iyo usesenguye neza, usanga byose byarakozwe na Twagiramungu wari wifitaniye ibanga n'inkotanyi. Kubwira umututsi ko uri umuparmehutu bikarutwa no ku mubwira ko uri «impuzamugambi». Dore ko abatutsi benshi niba atari bese bemeza ko MDR Parmehutu ariyo yabishe, yabatwikeye ndetse inatuma bahungira igihe revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 na nyuma yaho. Abatutsi bari MDR niba atari ukujijisha ni bya bindi byironda karere. Aho bavugaga ngo MRND ni ishyaka ry'«abakiga», MDR ikaba iy'abanya Gitarama

n'abo bita «abanyenduga» bese.

Kutavugisha ukuri no kujandajanda kw'abayobozi ba MDR, ukongeraho n'inda nini zabo nibyo byakuruye amacakubiri agiye gusenya iryo shyaka. Kuvugaga ngo uri muri MDR, itari Parmehutu kandi uke-meza ko ugendera ku mahame ya MDR Parmehutu birimo amace-nga menshi. Ni ukuba ikurumirahabiri. Rubanda ntishobora kumva umuntu utinya ku ruga ko ari umuparmehutu n'aho MDR Parmehutu yavanye rubanda rugufi rw'abahutu. Kandi no hambere «umuhutu» ntibyavugaga ubwoko, byavugaga rubanda rugufi, yaba umuhutu umututsi, umutwa. Mbese uwo ari we wese wakandamijwe. Gutinya rero kuvugaga ko urenganura rubanda rugufi, uri «umuparmehutu» ngo udatwaza inkotanyi, wakwerura ukavugaga ko uri «umulunari. Kandi sinibaza niba Parmehutu yakura umutima abanyarwanda kurusha Lunari.

Ese ko inkotanyi zidatinya kuvugaga ko ari inkotanyi? Kandi zikabivugaga ishema ryinshi. Kuki umuparmehutu yatinya kuvugaga ko ari umuparmehutu? Rero ngo byatera abatutsi ubwoba!

Umunsi amagara yatewe hejuru bizaba ngombwa ko buri wese asama aye!

KANGURA.



**GUHERA MURI UKU KWEZI MU BURUNDI  
KANGURA IGICIRO CYAYO KIVUYE KU MAHERA  
1000 GISHIZWE KU MAHERA 250 FB KANDI  
IKAZAJYA ICURUZWA MU BURUNDI HOSE KU  
MUGARAGARO.**

## UPRONA : GUSENYA BIROROHA, KUBAKA BIKARUSHYA.

Baca umugani mu Kinyarwanda ngo usenya urwe umutiza umuhoro. Kandi ngo umutega mutindi wica nyirawo. Amateka y'isi atwibutsa abantu twakwita abasazi bagiyeye baroha ibihugu byabo mu maku-ba kandi atari ngombwa. Bamara gukora ayo marorerwa bakabigereka ku bandi. Urugero ni umuromani, umwami w'abami Néron wigeze gutwika umujyi wa Roma ugashya ugakongoka. Iryo shyano yahise aryegeka ku bakristu kugira ngo abone uko abatsemba. Undi musazi w'«icyamamare» mu mateka y'isi ni Adolf Hitler washoje intambara ya kabiri y'isi ngo agambiriye kuri mbura icyitwa umuyahudi cyose. Nyamara iyo ntambara ntabwo yahitanye abayahudi gusa. Intambara Hitler yashoje azi ko agirira neza abadage yahitanye abadage bagera kuri 5.000.000 na Hitler arimo ku ko yiyahuye abonye byamurangiranye, 6.000.000 z'abayahudi, n'abarusiya 20.000.000. Kandi ngo burya Hitler ntiyari umudage, ngo yakomokaga mu gihugu cya Otrichia.

Imyaka 30 irenga Uprona yategetse u Burundi, ijya gusa n'iyoye.

Hitler yategetse u Budage. Uwavugaga abantu bapfuye ku butegetsi bwa Uprona cyane cyane mu myaka ya 65, 67, 72,.... kugeza ejo bundi kuri Republika III ntiyabarondora. Tutaretse n'abahunze. Ibyo byose Uprona irabyirengagiza ikigira ntatifu. Umunsi Buyoya ahereza ubutegetsi uwari amaze kumutsinda mu matora tariki ya 10 Nyakanga (ukwezi kwa karindwi) 1993 mu ngoro yo mu Kigobe, abumvise diskuru ye baratangaye !

Ngo asize igihugu kimeze neza, amasanduku yuzuye amafaranga, imyaka yeze n'ibindi.... Mbese ni nk'aho Buyoya yakwize Ndadaye n'ishyamba rye FRODEBU ba rutemayeze.

Nyamara ukuri kuragaragara. Iyo ugeze mu Burundi, ikigutangaza bwa mbere ni itandukaniro riri hagati y'umurwa mukuru Buju mbura n'icyaro. Iyo uvuye mu mujyi wa Bujumbura ukagera mu cyaro ni nko kuva i Burayi ukagwa mu ishyamba! icyaro cyo mu Burundi cyasigaye inyuma ku buryo bukabije kandi ari cyo gicumbikiye imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abarundi.

Ari nayo mpamvu mu bishishikaje abategetsi bashya b'u Burundi, icya mbere ari icyaro. Abaturage bakabona amazi meza, amashyamba razi, amavuriro, n'ibindi.... bakeneye.

Ibyo rero nibyo abaporona batumva. Ari nayo mpamvu ahari kubera kubura icyo bavugaga, bahinyura iyo porogaramu ndetse n'indi migambi myiza ubutegetsi bushya bwatangiyeye. UPRONA yahindutse nka wa mwana warezwe nabi uhakana icyo bamubwiye cyose. Ngo Guverinoma iriho ubu ishingiyeye ku bwoko. Uprona ikiyibagiza ko uyobora iyo Guverinoma ari umuyoboke wayo. Ngo Perezida Ndadaye ntagatange imbabazi ku mfungwa, ngo impunzi ntizigatahe, ngo abatwa bahejwe imyaka ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza be kwitabwaho. Uprona ivuze ityo nta gitangaza kirimo kuko ariyo yamariye abarundi mu munyururu n'abandi irabangaza.

Abaprona nibumve ko ibintu byahindutse. Nibareke gusenya igihugu bananiwe kubaka kandi barabonye igihe gihagije.

KANGURA.

### UBWANDITSI BWA KANGURA

NGEZE Hassan : Rédacteur en Chef  
 NYABYENDA Issa : Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint  
 NDEKEZI Bonaparte : Journaliste  
 SIMBIZI Stanislas : Journaliste  
 HITIMANA Noël : Journaliste  
 SIBOMANA NABANTU : Journaliste  
 HAKIZIMANA Joël : Secrétaire de Rédaction

Umubare w'ibinyamakuru byacapwe : 30.000 exemplaires  
 igiciro cya nimero imwe :  
 - Mu Rwanda : 100 FRs  
 - Mu Burundi : 250 FRs

Ubwanditsi bwa Kangura buramenyesha Abanyarwanda bose ko ikinyamakuru "L'Aube de la Démocratie", kibarizwa mu Rwanda hose aho Kangura ibarizwa. No mu Burundi, KANGURA ibarizwa aho "L'Aube de la Démocratie" ibarizwa.

Fax -00257231494



## ABATUTSI BARATSINZWE.

Intambara u Rwanda rurwana kandi rwarwanye no muri za 60 ni iy'amoko nta kindi. Abatutsi barashaka gusubirana ubutegetsi bambuwe na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959. Intambara rero yo mu Kwakira yaje ari simusiga. Ngo za «ordinateurs» zo ku isi yose zari zijeje FPR n'abatutsi ko bazayitsinda bakigarurira igihugu mu minsi mike. Kandi koko urebye ibitwaro bya karahabutaka bari bafite, ukitegereza uko bari bifatiye amahanga maze n'imbere mu gihugu bakahahindura indiri y'imyiryanze hagati y'abahutu ubwabo wasangaga umugambi wabo warateguye ku buryo burenze ibitekerezo by'abantu; akaba ari nacyawubuza kugerwaho. Bageretseho rero no kwishingirwa muri byose n'igihugu cya Uganda gitegekwa n'umuhima Museveni ariko cyane cyane mu rwego rwa gisirikare : FPR = NRA, NRA = FPR.

Abanyarwanda babanje kwirara ngo ubwo ni nka cya gihe cy'inyenzi. Ariko abategetsi bagisivili na gisirikare baje gusanga bikaze bemera gushyikirana n'umwanzi nandi imbere mu gihugu bamwe bategaraga mu ry'inkotanyi kubera ibibazo by'aturere, amashyaka n'inzangano zisanze. Ubumwe rero abanyarwanda bari bafite bwaje gukendera. No mu basirikare havutsemo ibice bitavuga rumwe.

Gukomeza rero kurwana n'umwanzi wabukereye kandi abagombaga kumurwanya barangwa n'amakubiri kwari ukwigerezaho. Nah'ubundi iyo ubumwe nyabumwe, cyane cyane hagati y'abahutu bo mu turere twose no mu mashyaka yose, bushinga imizi bakabona kimwe kandi bakavugaga rumwe ku by'iyi ntambara bagamije kurengera ubusugire bwa Repubulika no kubumbatira umutekano w'abanyarwanda, inzira bwoba ziba zaratsimbuye ubudashubirwaho uwo mwanzi ku butaka bwose bw'u Rwanda.

Ingirwamishyikirano y'Arusha yo yaje iteye ukubiri. Yitirirwaga ko iri hagati ya FPR na Leta y'u

Rwanda. Nyamara mu by'ukuri yaberaga hagati ya FPR n'amashyaka ahanganye n'iryahoze ku butegetsi (mu magambo gusa nayo ahinnye, MRND). Ubwo Ngulinzira wari u yoboye intumwa z'u Rwanda yabwaga amabwiriza n'uwahoze ari ministre w'intebe Nsengiyaremye ukomoka i Gitarama. icyari gishishikaje rero abo bategetsi bombi kwari ukwambura ububasha bwose Perezida Habyarimana no guheza mu butegetsi bw'inzibacyuho andi mashyaka yose atari muri ka gatsiko MDR, PL, PSD (na PDC). Byatumye rero hafatwa ibyemezo n'imyanzuro birengera gusa inyungu z'ako gatsiko n'iza FPR yahawe itako ry'umutware. Agahomamunwa kagaragariye mu ngabo aho FPR ihabwa kimwe cya kabiri cy'abasirikare «bashya» b'igihugu kandi bizwi neza ko izaba yizigamiye n'izindi ngabo zifite ibitwaro bya rutura hanze n'imbere mu gihugu.

Turuge se noneho ko FPR n'abatutsi batsinze ? Gutsinda ni uku gera ku ntego wiyemeje, inkotanyi zashakaga kwigarurira ubutegetsi bwose no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto zabigereho igipande gusa. Nta n'icyizere cyinshi zigifite ko zizagera ku ntego zazo kuko amatara ubwayo azaziha umwanya zikwiye (uretse nyine ko zizakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo ziyaburizemo...). Ubu zaciwe n'intege n'ihinduka ry'ubutegetsi i Burundi. Amahanga nayo yatangiye gusobanukirwa ukuri no ku mbura imigambi mibi y'izo nyangarubandanyamwinshi. Abaturage bo ntibigeze bazicira n'akari urutega kuko azi ububi bwazo kandi uko byamere kose umuhutu akaba adashobora kwemerera gusubizwa ku ngoyi ya gihake. Impunzi rero zizaze mu bwitonzi kuko nizishaka kugarura akanyaro kazo zizabaga zikifasha.

Iyi ntambara ahubwo yatumye abatutsi bikura ahashyushye nk'ama. biyambuye ahashashe Jenerali yari yarabateguriye. Mu myaka hafi makumyabiri ishize kugeza mu kwakira 90 umututsi yari umutoni ibutware, amarorerwa yakoze yose

yari yaribagiranye ku buryo ari nta makimbirane y'amoko yari akirangwa mu Rwanda.

Nyamara umututsi gashozamvururu we ubwo yateguraga intambara mu ibanga ari nayo yazikuye ukwishishanya kw'abahutu n'abatutsi. Kuko nubwo hibanzemo iby'aturere n'amashyaka, umuhutu ugifite ubwenge buzima azi ko umwanzi we wa mbere ari uriya gashakabuhake ushaka kumusubiza ku kiboko na shiku. None se ubwo umututsi azongera ate kugirirwa icyizere (kinaraza amasinde!). Uziyunga koko n'uwakwiciye umu andimwe ? Uzatera ibiremo bimeze bite ku mitima ihora ishengurwa n'inyenzi—inkotanyi z'abatutsi ? Naho ibyo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu abatutsi bashatse basubiza amerwe mu isaho; abahutu bari maso, buno si bwa bundi...

### MUTABARE INZIBACYUHO ZITUMAZEHO AMADOVIZE.

Iyo bavugaga ko u Rwanda rufite ibibazo mu rwego rw'imari n'ubukungu wakwibwira ko ari urwanya iyo witegereje uko abaryi bari kumiragura amadovize. Rero ngo mu nzibacyuho ubishoboye wese araharanira gukuramo aye !

Ni hehe koko igitero cy'abantu makumyabiri (niba batarenga) kimara umwaka muzima mu butumwa bwo mu mahanga ngo kiri mu mishyikirano ishobora no kubera mu Rwanda (uretse ko nta na «mission» ingana ityo imbere mu gihugu hatwara make).

Uwasimbuye Ngulinzira nawe ati narahahombeye jye warangirije imishyikirano i Kinyira. Nibwo agiye gufata ikibanza hakurya ya Pasifika amajoro aracya ibindi bicuku biraniha ngo agiye kuzana ingabo zo kurinda indatwa z'inkotanyi.

Umukuru w'igihugu nawe amaze gusinya bya bindi by'Arusha, atemeraga, asiga amashyaka ari muri bombori bombori nawe ajya kwirira i «feeling» hakurya ya Méditerranée. Iryo naryo ni idovize rya Ntirugirimbabazi rihamenekera.

## INKURU ISHYUSHYE

Dutegura iyi KANGURA hari inkuru zatugezeho natwe tukaba twiyemeje kuzazibagezaho ubutaha. Izo nkuru ni izi : NKUNDABATWARE Venanti na GATARAMA Alphonse. Inkuru yabo rero iteye kwibaza byinshi kubera ubugome burimo.

Twamenye na none dosiye zose za Aloyizi BIZIMANA icyo apfa n'abantu banyuranye bo muri kino gihugu: abacuruzi, abategetsu n'abandi bose muzamenya.

## KARAMIRA ARATUBWIRA TWAGIRAMUNGU UWO ARIWE. NYAMARA BOSE NI ABAGAMBANYI.

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ITANGAZO No 59

### UMWANZI W'AMAHORO NI NDE ?

Tumaze imyaka 3 turi mu ntambara, tukaba twari twizeye ko amasezerano ya ARUSHA aiyoye nzira nziza yazageza uru Rwanda ku mahoro. None turasanga abanzi b'ayo mahoro bimirijwe imbere na TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawusitini wihishe mu kwaha kwa HABYARIMANA babifashijwemo na Agata UWILINGIYIMANA badutegurira indi ntambara agahaze kubera inda mbi. Igiteye agahinda nuko uwo mururumba n'izo nda mbi byabo bahindukira bakabyitirira inyangamugayo zemeye kunambira ishyaka.

### REKA TUBWIRANE AMASHIRANKINYOMA.

Ubuho bari bamaze kurangiza ubugambanyi bwo guhirika NSENGIYAREMYE, sibwo ab'inda mbi bagaragaye se ? Ntako batagize NGULINZIRA na NDENGEJEHO ngo bemere kuyoboka TWAGIRAMUNGU maze bagabirwe na minisiteri. Izo nyangamugayo zanze kugambanira MDR na nubu ziriycariye. Si abo gusa, abahoze ari abajyanama b'aba minisire bacu ab'ingenzi banze guhemuka banga guhakwa n'inda. Reka tubavuge : Reba nka NGILIRA Matayo, HABIMANA Yozefu, RUHAMANYA Visenti banze ubugambanyi bwa MBONIMPA wabaye nka Yuda agambanira Yezu, banambira ishyaka na nubu barikomeyeho, abo bari muri Minisiteri y'

ntebe. KAZARE na GASIMBA bavuye muri Minisiteri y'Amashuri Mato n'Ayisumbuye banga gukurikira Agata, ubu bashubijwe mu myanya isanzwe bari barimo. MUKANDAYISENGA yakomeye kuri NDENGEJEHO banga gutatira ishyaka ryabo, RUCOGOZA aba ariwe uyoboka. BAGEZAHO yakomeye ku ishyaka rye nka NGULINZIRA bamaranye umwaka ARUSHA. Abo ni bamwe mu mpirimbanyi banze kugwira inda none TWAGIRAMUNGU akaba avuga ngo abataramuyobotse nibo batsimbaraye ku nda zabo. Igisambo ni nde ? Umwanzi w'amahoro ni nde ? Umuntu wanze kuba Minisitiri undi akanga kuba Umuyobozi w'ibiro bya Minisitiri undi akanga kuba Umujyanama wa Minisitiri ko nta butumwa bw'ishyaka bafite bakanga kurya akatagabuye nibo twakwita ibisambo ? Cyangwa ibisambo ni biriya byemeye kuyoboka TWAGIRAMUNGU ? Uwo mugabo yayoboye ikigo cyitwa STIR akivamo agisize ku gasenyi, yashinze Icapiro ryitwa MULTISERVICE ubu rihagaze ku izina gusa, yashinze isosiyete yitwa TRANSCONTINENTAL afataniye n'abandi bagabo babiri babonye agiye kubarya bakuramo utwabo, asigaye wenyine si ukwambura arabicikiriza. Dore zimwe mu ngero z'imanza twagejejweho n'Interahamwe zimuzi :

Urubanza No	R.C.	885/91/NGE	arishyuzwa
5.517.891	FRW		
R.C. 1118/91/NGE		212.716	ya 4%
		11.031.987	FRW
R.C. 1172/91/NGE		441.279	ya 4%
R.C. 1358/9/NGE		1.171.416	FRW
		9.778.861	FRW
R.C. 1477/92/NGE		46.857	ya 4%
R.C. 1256/91/NGE		55.304.720	FRW
R.C. 1413/92/NGE		6.484.277	FRW
		1.197.759	FRW
R.C. 1488/92/NGE		259.271	ya 4%
R.C. 1305/91/NGE		1.149.188	FRW
		2.446.434	FRW

R.C. 1363/91/NGE	6.300.000	FRW
	97.857	ya 4%
R.C. 1358/91/NGE	9.778.861	FRW
R.C. 1477/92/NGE	55.304.720	FRW
R.C. 1413/92/NGE	1.197.759	FRW
R.C. 1488/92/NGE	1.149.188	FRW
R.C. 1363/91/NGE	6.300.000	FRW

Yose hamwe akaba 113.482.995 FRW. Izo miliyoni zose TWAGIRAMUNGU yazihombeje mu kanya kangana urwara. Ari nabyo byerekana ko nta kintu kizima ashobora gucunga ngo kizaramwe. TWAGIRAMUNGU akimara gutorerwa kuyoboka MDR, abari bamuzi baratubwiye bati mwikoreye ishyano. Naho abatamuzi bati ratomboyeye, none dore tugombye kugera mu nkiko. Kandi mwumvise ko kimwe n'ibindi bisambo ntiyifuzaga ko urwo rubanza rwacibwa. Arabeshya ariko ni amarenzamu.

### TWAGIRAMUNGU NTASHOBORA KWUBAKA IGIHUGU KUKO AHO AGEZE HOSE ASENYA.

Twabonye ibigo byose yagiyemo ukuntu byagiye bisenyuka. None tumaze no gushinga MDR yihutiye gushyiraho Impuzamashyaka yise concertation, ukuntu imaze gusenye biturutse ku mururumba n'inda mbi y'abayobozi b'ayo mashyaka, bashutswe na TWAGIRAMUNGU bakajya kwihakirwa kwa HABYARIMANA ntawe bitababaza kereka utazi imvune twagize kugira ngo tubigereho. None no mu mashyaka yose twari kumwe biracika kubera urugero rubi bahawe na TWAGIRAMUNGU ngo barashaka kurya inzibacyuho. Ibyo yavugiyeye i Butare ngo kuko yasezerewe mu ishyaka, ngo Komite Nyobozi ya MDR nisenyuke, na Biro Politiki ngo nisenyuke. Ubushake bwe ni



ugusenya si ukwubaka, abamukurikiye bamenye aho abaganisha.

NGO AZATANGAZA AHO  
GUVÉRINOMA YE IGEZE.

Turumva ko Ingabo z'Abafaransa ziri mu Rwanda ngo zaba zigiyeye kwimurirwa mu gihugu cya Tchad, zikazagaruka zitwa Impuzamahanga za ONU maze zikubahiriza umutekano, TWAGIRAMUNGU agashyiraho Guverinoma ye. Ni wo wa mushinga Ubufaransa bwatanze

muri ONU batubwiye amahushuka muri Radiyo Rwanda. Niba rero Abafaransa bazumvikana n'INKOTANYI ntawabimenya. Tubiteze amaso. Naho ku byerekeye iyo mitingiri ngo azakoresha i Nyamirambo ko ari iye ku giti cye atari iya MDR. MDR ni ishyamba ry'umucyo rikomoka ku ishyamba ry'ukuri MDR Parmehutu. Utemera Parmehutu akayinnyega ntazababeshye ngo ni umurwanashyamba wa MDR. Uwo

azaba ari umugambanyi wihishe muri MDR kuko atemera ko urumuri rwa MDR rukomoka ku rumuri rwa MDR Parmehutu.

TWAGIRAMUNGU YASHATSE  
KWIBA UBUTEGETSI KU NGUFU  
TUZAMUVANAHO BIDATINZE DU-  
KORESHEJE INGUFU Z'ABATURA-  
GE.

Bikorewe i Kigali kuwa 1/10/1993  
MDR KIGALI-VILLE.

## AHO BUKERA INDA MBI ZIRASENYA AMASHYAKA.

Abashishoza kandi bashyira mu gaciro basanga amashyamba yaje ahangana na MRND yategekaga (kandi bese bari bayirimo) na Perezida Habyarimana atari agamije na busa kuzana no gushimangira demokarasi nk'uko yabeshyaga abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga. Ntabwo yari ahangayikishijwe no gukuraho ingoma y'igitugu nk'inyoma nk'uko yiharangaga aho anyuze hose. Yaje kwivamo mu bihe byakurikiye. Abambari bamwe bayo bari bafite gusa intego yo kwihorera kubo bari bafitanye akantu kandi ndetse bari barafatanyije kunyonyuza imitsi ya rubanda. Abandi barangwa n'inyota y'ubutegetsi mu gihe ikindi gipande kirariye inyungu z'akarere. Iby'abatutsi byo baje kwereka Jenerali igihandure kandi yarabasumbakaje muri byose ni urundi rwego; kuko kuri bo umuhutu wese wategeka bagomba kumurwanya. Innda mbi rero z'abahutu zatesheje demokarasi umurungo nyawo wayo, zoreka igihugu mu macakubiri y'inzitanze no mu myirane idashira, zituma ba gashakabuhake babyutsa umutwe ndetse bamunga Repubulika uko bashatse, bahungabanya umutekano w'abanyarwanda.

Bamaze kuvuyanga igihugu bamena ibirahure by'amabisi, base-nya amazu n'ibikorwa bya kijyambere, abo banyamashyamba b'ibyaduka beguriwe ubutegetsi. Maze bahita nabo bigaragaza, bigabagabanya za minisiteri zakuzuzako ibifu byabo. Ngiyiyo MINITRAPE, MINAGRI n'imishinga yayo yose), MINIFIN, MINICOMART, MINITRASO, MINAFFET, MINEPRI-SEC n'ahandi barya bakijuta. Maze bitoramo umuminisitiri w'Intebe wo gukusanya no kwikubira ahari indi mitungo hose. Ubwo ariko siko bese byabageragaho kimwe. Ab'inkwakuzi bahise bihereza imihore myiza myiza, abandi bapfa gushimishwa n'utugufa tw'imbavu n'ibinono hanyuma abenshi babura n'umunyu bacyura. Ubwo

amacakubiri y'inda aba aravutse. Ibirondwe bikomera ku nka yabyo (itari umwite), abandi nabo bakubita agatoki ku kandi bati natwe nta kundi byagenda tugomba kuryaho byakwanga ahubwo tugasenya ishyamba.

Byahereye kuri MDR, Ministre w'Intebe wahozeho Nsengiyaremye ati ndagacika ihembe sinzazibukira umwana uryoshye nk'uyu. Ubwo aba yihe-

ze za FPR. Muri iryo kotaniro baba bimitse Mme Uwilingiyimana Agata amera nk'iteme rigabanya inzibacyuho ya Nsengiyaremye n'iy'undi mutware wari utaramenyekana neza; ubwo ishyamba rya MDR riba rirandaye. Babyitirira ko hari igice cya Twagiramungu gihanganye n'icya Nsengiyaremye n'abaparimehutu. Aha ariko abanyarwanda bakwiye kuhasobanukirwa neza. PARMEHUTU barayihohotera ntaho ihuriye n'izo nda



reranye ibyitso bye abijyana mu gisambu kirimo ubwatsi bwiza birarisha birahaga, abisezeranya kuzakomeza kumenya inda zabyo mu gihe cyose azaba ari ku isonga y'ubutegetsi. Maze intero isigara ari imwe: inzibacyuho yaguye izayoborwa na Disimasi nta wundi. Hagati aho ariko na Perezida wa Repubulika akomeza kwishisha uwo muntu utarigeze amugaragariza ikinyabupfura na gike. Ndetse yiyemeza kuzamusuka hanze aramutse abonye akayira. Nibwo acuze umugambi na Twagiramungu wahataniraga umwana wa Ministre w'Intebe wa Guverinoma irimo inshuti

mbi zose, zaba izibogamiye kuri Twagiramungu, zaba iziri ku ruhande rwa Nsengiyaremye, Karamira na Murego. Ibintu kandi byahise byiruka vuba umurabyo uratinda! Uwo bita Rukokoma ari nawe Perezida wa MDR nubwo yari yirukanywe hutihuti mu ishyamba ayobora yitangaho umukandida wa MDR ku mwanya wa Ministre w'inzibacyuho yaguye. Perezida wa Repubulika, amashyamba yandi agize Guverinoma na FPR nyine bahita bamwimika.

Muri PL naho inda mbi ntiyahatanzwe nubwo bavuga ko aba-

tutsi bagira ibanga. icyakora nyine babanje kwihandura ihwa mputu birukana Mugenzi ku buyobozi bw'ishyaka nubwo ahari ataragenda. Mme Ntamabyariro we yarabihoreye aba igikoresho cyabo; n'abatutsi bo muri minisiteri ateguka bagafata ibyemezo bamwitirira ntawe yabisubiza inyuma. Nawe ariko iminsi ye mu ishyaka irabaze.

Mbonampeka we baramunanije yegura rugikubita none barashaka no kumugira aka Gapyisi. Ubundi PL ni ishyaka ry'abatutsi aba ba "vrai". Kuba rero babanje gushyira imbere ibyirumanyi n'abahutu "type" kwari ukuyobya amarari ngo bereke abanyarwanda ko iryo shyaka ritavungura amoko. None ubwo FPR-ntutsi ije kuganza i Rwanda abatutsi ntibagikeneye gukorana n'ibihutu, kuko bihagije. icyakora no hagati muri bo inda mbi ntiyihishira. Iyo ureba uko banyarwanda ubudepite n'ubuyobozi bw'inteke ishingira amategeko tutavuzwe umunsi bazaba bitoramwo abaminisitiri umuntu yakwibaza niba nabo badatira igihango cy'ishyaka ryabo.

PSD nayo iracyiganjemo ibishyitsi byakungahaye kandi bidasha-

ka kuyeguka. Bifite ibifaranga bishobora kunyanyagiza mu bayoboze b'ingirakamaro maze bikiyongera ubutegetsu uko bishatse. icyakora ubanza n'uru Rwanda rutakigira ubutegetsu n'amategeko. Ubundi amasezerano y'Arusha aha za minisiteri amashyaka ntabwo yazihaye uturere. icyapfa kumvikana ni uko buri Perefe gitura yatanga nk'umukandida ku buminitiri muri rusange maze inzego zibishinzwe z'ishyaka zigatoramwo umubare witegeko. Ntabwo rero ari Gitarama, Butare na Gikongoro bagombye kumva ko bagabiwe za minisiteri bafite akaramata.

Ubwo bwironde bw'uturere no kwikubira kwa bamwe bikunze kugaragara muri PSD ntibizabura nabyo gusenya iryo shyaka n'abaturuka hamwe kandi basangiye byinshi bya Minitrape nka Gatabazi na Nyungura barahanganye nkanswe bariya bagikomeza gukomera amashyamba abaryi batasigariza n'utuvungukira.

Muri PDC ho urusaku ntirurenga impinga kuko ababyinnyi n'abatera bagerwa ku mashyamba. Ariko intiti nkeya zayobotse iryo shyaka nazo ntizabura kwivovotera icyemezo cy'uwo bita i-

nkandagirabitabo ari nawe Perezida w'ishyamba Nayinzira witanzeho umukandida umwe rukumbi ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'ibidukikije n'ubukurugendo. icyakora izo ntiti zagize zo ubutwari bwo kuryumaho kuko umugabo wihanganiye ishyamba akabicuragurizwa, akitwa icyitso cy'ikinani akabyihanganira none ubu akavugwa ko ari mu kwaha kw'ariya mashyamba bita "d'opposition" na FPR atakomeza kurebera uko bene rubanda bakungahara abakanuriye. Agomba nawe gukuramo aye muri iyi nzibacyuho narindi ishobora kuba ari iya nyuma.

Muri MRND nta kanunu kigaragaza ku karubanda k'amakimbirane ariko naho bishobora kuba ari ikirunga gitwikiriye. Ubundi hari abayirumbyemo bidatewe no kuyikunda ahubwo ari ukubera umugati bahahiramo. Umunsi rero imbehe nyinshi zizubikwa sinzi niba iryo shyamba rishobora kuzasenyukira mu yandi ba bandi bose bigiriye ahandi. Minisiteri eshanu (5) n'abadepite 11 ntibizabumba inda zisanze zaragutse.

KANGURA

## UMURYANGO W'ABIBUMBYE (ONU) WEMEYE KUZA GUHAGARIKIRA ABIBYE UBUTEGETSI.

Inkotanyi zitera u Rwanda tariki ya 1/10/1990 zari zarabyiteguye bihagije. Uretse imbunda n'amamasu bihagije zari zifite, inkotanyi zari zarifatiye amahanga. Zari zarashoboye kumvisha abantu ko igitero cyazo kitari kigamije gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Amahanga yabanye kuzibeshya ho ngo zirarwanya igitugu cya HABYARIMANA na MRND ye. Abemera gato nibo biwiraga ko ziharaniye demokurasi. Nibyo abenshi bise "kugwa mu mutego w'umwanzu".

Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Habyarimana yageze aho yemera ishyirwaho ry'amashyamba menshi. Abari baraniganywe ijamba barinigura. Buri wese akavugaga icyo atekereza nta nkomyi. Ibyo ariko ntibyabujije inkoranyi gukomeza intambara. Intego zari zifite yo gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu ntizashoboye kuyigeraho. Byabaye ngombwa ko ziyoboka inzira y'imishyikirano. Kubera uburungu y'umwanzu y'u Rwanda, inkotanyi zashoboye kwigwizaho imyanya myiza kandi aromeze. Ku buryo byateye benshi kwibaza niba

ibyabereye Arusha byakwitwaga imishyikirano cyangwa se kudeta. Biyibagiza ko muri demokurasi, ubutegetsu butangwa n'abaturage, bugakorera abaturage. Ubwo bujura n'uburungu bwateye abo batekamutwe bari Arusha. Inkotanyi zo ngo ntizahungutse ikirenge i Kigali ingabo mpuzamahanga za ONU zitarahagera. Niyo kandi zaza, ngo buri muminisitiri wa FPR agomba kurindwa nza kompani nzima, ni ukuvuga abasirikari ijana. Bose uko bazaba ari batandatu ngo bagomba kurindwa na bataillon yose, ni ukuvuga abasirikari bagera kuri magana atandatu.

Inkotanyi ko zivugaga ko ari abana b'u Rwanda, bakaba batahutse basanze abandi bavandimwe, zitinyira iki? Aha ni aho kwibaza. Ingabo z'umuryango w'abibumbye si ubwo mbere zije mu Rwanda. Izo ngabo zihuruka mu gihugu cyacu mu w'1960 igihe zazaga guhagarikira amatara. icyo gihe byari bifite ishingiro. Ikitumvikana ni uko noneho zigatutse guhagarikira abantu bibye ubutegetsu. Ntibumvikana ukuntu umuryango w'abibumbye watazafuzwa amasezerano abaturage

batagizemo uruhari, nibikubiyemo byose.

Ubonye nibura icyo aya masezerano ashirwaga muri Kamarampaka abaturage bakavugaga icyo bayatekerezeho! Nkuko byagenze muri "référendum" yo ku wa 25 Nzeri 1961. Umuryango w'abibumbye wari ukwiye kwifata ntuhagarikire abantu bibye abaturage ubutegetsu. Nta hantu ku isi byabaye ko abantu bicara mu gihugu cy'amahanga bakigabanya ubutegetsu nk'aho ari akarima kabo. Minisiteri baziteye imirwi, umukuru w'igihugu bamwambura uburenganzira yemereye n'itegeko nshinga, bishyiriraho abadepite nta matora abaye. Turantegura kugira abasirikari b'abanyamahanga nkaho abene gihugu babuze. Byose ngo ni amasezerano y'amahoro! Ayo makosa yose niyo umuryango w'abibumbye uzaza guhagarikira mu kwezi k'Ukubozza. Barangiza ngo demokurasi yasesekaye mu Rwanda! Uwavugaga ko Loni nayo yaguye mu mutego w'umwanzu ntiyaba yibeshye.



## MINITRAPE : RAFIKI YASENTI ARACYAGWA MU MUTEGO.

Barasubiriye muri MINITRAPE, intandaro yo gusahura noneho ibaye «ubuhehesi» bw'umugabo RAFIKI udatinye noneho afatanije n'agatsiko ke gutegeka iyo Minisitiri nk'akarima yakonze.

Akimara gushingwa kuba umuyobozi w'ibiro bya Minisitiri, nta bwenge cyangwa se ubushobozi abifitiye uretse ibisanira nabyo by'urwitwazo by'ubusanzire bikamuha kuba umwera muri byose imbere ya GATABAZI (abatabizi koko...) RAFIKI yakomereye yewe no kuba atatungwa agatoki. Birababaje rero kubona igihugu nk'icy'u Rwanda kidashobora gukora ikosa ryo guhana uwitwaga ko ari umutegetsi ngo ejo musherururanga kurisha!

Nkuko bidasiba kwiganwa n'isiha kabuhariwe mu kugurisha ibibanza by'igihugu HITIYAREMYE uri mu gatsiko ka RAFIKI, ngo «AMASO Y'IBIKELI NTABUZA ABAVOMA KUVOMA» (bo ariko baba bayiba) nta gihe rubanda isiba kwamagana ako kandare, ariko bikabura icyo bifata. Mwese muzi ikibazo k'ibibanza na za Kiyosike cyanditswe kikavugwa mu bihe bishize, nyamara aho kubaca intege, bibatera ingabo mu bitugu bagahimbarwa mugukora za maguye! None se murabona iyi micungire y'iki gihugu cyacu itwerekeza he? Aho igihe ntikizagera abaduteraga inkunga (Banki y'isi yose n'indi miryango mpuzamahanga) bakaturambirwa tuzize ubusihya bwa bamwe mu banyarwanda barimo RAFIKI, HITIYAREMYE, RUGWIZANGO-GA... tuakana intabwa?

Nyamara niba BANKI Y'ISI YOSE yaragize icyo ivuga ku masiha ndetse itibagiwe n'ayo muri MINITRAPE, niba Leta ntabihano ishobora gufatira RAFIKI n'agatsiko ke, yagombye kumenya ko bayisebya kandi ko amakosa yabo bose ariyo abarwaho. Kubona nyuma y'imishyikirano itagira ingano ikigega

«Crédit IDA 2136» cyagenewe umushinga wita ku misabanire «Projet sectoriel des Transports» nacyo kiri gusahurwa ngo «UMUHEHESI» RAFIKI yishimishe! Ubwo havugwa ibingana iki ibyo bintu bimeywe muri BANKI Y'ISI yose? Abaturage bazishyura iyo nguzanyo? Rero ngo ni injiji de? Si bose nyamara! Abadepite batoye iryo tegeko se bo bizera ko bazahora babirebeshya amaso gusa? Bazabura bategutangazwa n'iryo sahurwa n'icungana mutungo rimeze rityo ejo Leta ngo niyishyure ibintu bitatugiriye akamaro! Abato bagorwa bagorwa!

Biratangaje kubona mu ibaruwa No 18.06/02/ No 18.06.02/3980 yo kuwa 25/06/1993 yohererejwe umucungamali w'iyi Pororoje, icyo «Gisambo» gitegeka ko hakishyurwa kuri Konti «Sipesiyali» No 320.10.15 yo muri Banki Nasinyonali y'u Rwanda amafaranga ahwanye na 100.559.45 y'amafaransa na 18.400 y'amadorali y'amanyamerika ngo arihire indaya 3 za RAFIKI ari zo: MUKAMARARA Anne Marie, Ukozivuze Consolation na MUJAWAYEZU Agnès amahugurwa mu Bufaransa. Naba n'abandi ariko yenda umwuga w'uburaya barawumenyereye! Ika kariya kana (nako agakecuru) Agnès kazaba akande ko karutanzekare? MINITRAPE iranze ibaye indiri y'indaya n'amasaha? Mwebaze namwe, 8.000.000. Frw z'amanyarwanda ngo bagiye kwiga gukoresha orudinateri no kwandikisha imashini gusa mu minsi 30, muzi n'akaga igihugu cyacu kirimu kubera aka kandare k'intambara yo 1990, ndetse n'ibindi bibazo by'ubukungu cyari gisanzwe kisanganiwe koko, ibi bitaniye he no kuragizwa inka ukabanza ukayica amaguru n'amaboko ngo udasonza, ukayirya uruhongohongo?

Nyamara se ni nde utazi ko muri MINIPLAN, TRANSINTRA, SOMECA, SIFIS PONTS ET CHAUSSEES n'ahandi muri uru

RWANDA babyigisha neza kandi kimwe n'iyi hakurya yinyanja ndetse kuri make!!? Baraje se baranazikoresha byo kajya? Uretse ko ari ntawabura ku uga ko bari bajanywe no kwigurira birya bikoresho bihambaye, bakazana n'inyenda bambara ukagirango ni «abamikazi!» Bashinzwe kwakira abaje bashaka abategetsi, kwakira za telefoni zabo kwandikisha amashini asanzwe no gushingura madosiye gusa. None se koko, ibyo bikwiye gutangwaho akayabo ka 8.000.000 Frw ngo abantu bajye kubyigira mu mahanga?

Koko 8.000.000 Frw zari kubura gufasha igihugu guhugura nibura abakozi bayo barenze 1.000 ino iwacu aho kuba 2 cyangwa 3 kandi mu mahanga? Uretse ubujura n'ubusambanyi bwa RAFIKI? Izo 8.000.000 Frw zari kubura gufasha Leta kwita kuri ziriya mpfubyi zitagira epfo na ruguru, zinabababati «nimujye gusaba IKINANI nicyo cyabakuye mu byanyu!!» cyangwa n'ubundi buryo RAFIKI n'agatsiko ke baboneye igihugu bwo gucunga ibya rubanda, uburyo bw'icunga-mutungo bubereye Abakombozi nyakubahwa Bwana Rafiki abereye ku isonga!! Birababaje kubona izo 8.000.000 Frw zitafashije igihugu gukoresha inyigisho zagombaga guhabwa abatekinisiye b'imiturire myiza (TOPOGRAPHES) 40 n'ubu bagitegereje batazi impamvu izo nyigisho zabo zahagaze, gusa ngo ubukungu bwifashe nabi. Ariko ngo iyo amazi abaye make, aharirwa imfizi, amafaranga yaba make agahunguwa «igitsina». Ugirango ndahabikana, azanyurukire muri MINITRAPE, arebe ukuntu muri Kabine ya RAFIKI (dore ko ubu yahindutse iye) hakora abagore gusa! 12 ku bagabo 3 bonyine!!

Rafiki rero ngo yagombaga gukora ibishoboka byose akishyura umwenda w'imbuto adahinga yahawe n'utwo dushuti twe (nkuko

bivugwa muri MINITRAPE) akore-sheje aya Leta ! Nangwa n'ihene, ibikora kuko ari inyamaswa; namwe se kubona umugabo w'umwe muri ariya mahabara ye, Rafiki amusabira ingendo za Misiyo mu Burayi agirango abe asigaye ku rugo rwe (uko bivugwa mu kinyarwanda) murumva isekurume, ruhaya imurenze ari iyihe ? Ziriya ngendo zo kwishimisha yarihiye ziriya ngirwa bagore, ku mafaranga ya Proje zihuriye he n'inshingano y'ibanze yayo ? «Ibyana» biranze bisimbuye abana na banyina kuri Rafiki pee!! Kwiruka mu majipo bisimbuye «Dossier urgent s.v.p.!»? Abagore baremera koko, umugore wa Rafiki, uwo mubyeyi yatemye arigata umuhoro !

Nyungura Emile wahoze ari Umujyanama mu bya Politiki muri MINITRAPE navuga ati barayicu n'nga nabi, ubusihya, uburaya no kuri gisa andi madosiye bihiritse iyo Minisiteri ngo akoze ishyano nasezererwe ! Ubu se kandi niwe wavuze ngo Rafiki afite ibitanda acyuramo abagore b'abandi i Gikondo aho gukora akazi Leta yibeshye ikamuha ? Ni NYUNGURA se uyu ari ibiro bya MINITRAPE byahindutse «Chambres d'Hôtel»? cyangwa ngo «Maisons de passage»? Arapfe akire Nyungura wa bandi ! Abakozi babonye batishimiye ibyo bintu bagahitamo kwigaragambya kuri Hoteli y'ubwa 5 Nyakanga no kuri Minisiteri ku Kacyiru bati Emile ari ku isonga y'abashaka gusenya P.S.D. nimusobanukirwe mureke kwijunzika umwera ngo niwe ubasenyera, nimwimbe ayo masiha, m'ha-

shye abahehesi muhereye kuri Rafiki murebe ko mudakora.

Umupfumu wa MINITRAPE «KARAKE» yaborekaga, none agiye kuruhuka ubugome n'ibigambo byo gusebanya yari afite. (Dore ko ari ntawamubeshyera ngo yakore-raga Leta. Nawe yiberaga mu ngu tiya z'abagore no kubatwarira amata boshye umyaya!) Ubwo agiye rero n'ubwo nawe abasigiye icyuho, agabira Kabwera ye, (yerekanye kenshi rwose ko ari Ruhaya ya Minisiteri none ngo gusaza ni ugusahurwa!) yandikishaga imashini (YUDITA) umwanya wo kuba «Secrétaire» atazi n'uko bandika izina cyangwa se gutegura ibarwa, yiturwa ko yerekanye ko ashoboye kwiba umwanya w'uwo bashakanye bizwi ! Akamufasha kwandika amabarwa atukurira, asebya kandi akirukanisha abakozi afatanije n'umukecuru wagumiwe MUKARUTABANA Céline utegereje ahari ko Karake yazamubyarira agahuze kakamu kama ku ishyamba, KARAKE agiye rero yerekanye ko yashobora kurera abana bu «YA-YA», kuko mugutwara amata mutujerikani no gutwara amagi yigengereye abirusha abo mu kizungu ! kurya yabaye mu bafaransa koko! agiye yerekanye ko ubugome muburusha kubyimba (dore ko hakura umuntu ukuza ibitekerezo no gushishoza) ndetse nabakomoka iwabo babimuziho; aburusha impiri agiye yerekanye ko akuriye ubusa nk'isabune, agiye yerekanye, Ubwo agiye rero, ntimuzongere kwibeshya ku ducurama nka Karake, ahubwo nimushishoze muzahu

re MINITRAPE. Muyibohore koko.

Koko bibe ya mpamo ngo urusaku rw'imbwa ntirubuza abagenzi gutambuka. Dusakuze habure inkurikizi ? Rafiki ati ijisho ry'imbwa ntirizambuzwa kwirira utwo niyibiye Leta !! Ngizo za BENZ zitabonana, ngayo amazuru arenga atatu azamurira icyarimwe, ngibye, HITIYAREMYE nawe ni ko tumuzi n'igihe amaze muri MINITRAPE aka kanya inzu ya 2.000.000 Frw yaguzo i Gikondo n'ibinza yihaye ko nta nguzanyo yabonye yavugaga ko yabigezeho n'umushahara tumuzi ho ? Koko aho kubacyaha bashimirwe ubujura bakora ku mugaragaro, bashyigikirwe mukurya ruswa no gu-sambanira amafaranga y'igihugu ngo ni demokarasi ??

Rafiki mvugaga ntimuzumwitaranye na «Club RAFIKI» y'inyamirambo hariya twidagadurira ! Ni RAFIKI NSENGIYUMVA Hyacinthe uyu w'umukombozi none, ejo w'umu C.D.R., wahoze ari Interahamwe y'amarere wago-ndozaga «AKAZU» none ubu akaba ari uwa mbere ukarwanya ngo yereke GATABAZI ko ari magara ntunsige, ko ari umukombozi wa «sérieux» abone ko ipfu-pfu ry'isekurume ya MINITRAPE ritarigita ! RAFIKI mvugaga rero ni ya SIHA Y'AMARERE, uyu w'urukara batinzirira akaboko karekare akaba UMUHEHESI wa kabutindi.

MUTABARUKA François  
Chef d'Approvisionnement MINITRAP

## BURUGUMESITIRI WA KOMINI GATONDE NONEHO UBWICANYI BURAMUHAMA.

Dore rero icyo twita Demokarasi kuko umuntu avugaga ijamboni ntihagire umwijundika ngo baramvugaga cyangwa se ngo baranyanga. Ubu abaturage bamaze kumenya gushishoza neza bakamenya ukuri aho guherereye. Cyane cyane iyo abategetsu bamwe na bamwe birirwa babeshya abaturage, babateranya, bababuzaga epfo na ruguru babari-

manganya ngo nimutanyoboka, nimutanyumva, mbese icyo twita igitungu kikabona umwanya muri ubwo butegeze. Kwironda, ubujura mu micungire y'umutungo wa Komini, ubwicanyi burenze kamere. Ibyo byose byaranze Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde n'agatsiko ke n'abambari be bafatanyije gukomeza kuyogozza iyo Komini.

Ariko rero turashimira ikinyamakuru Kangura mu No 49 no mu No 50 byumwihariko. Turashima ikinyamakuru KANGURA ukuntu gikomeje gucukumbura ubwicanyi bwakorewe abantu b'inzirakarengane biciwe muri iriya Komini ya Gatonde.

Abujura bukomeje kuyogozza iyo Komini kandi babishyigikiyemo

na bamwe mu bategetsi bakuru baba i Kigali.

Ibyo byose turabishinje Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana Jean Bosco cyane cyane ku byerekeye amayeri ahambaye yo kwivugana bariya bantu bazira ubusa. Basomyi ba Kangura reka tubabwire uko babigenje, Burugumesitiri n'abambari be. Namwe mwiyumvire.

Igikomeje ku ugwa mu karere k'u Bukonya, ahari iyo Komini ya Gatonde, ni ukuntu bariya bicanyi bivuganye abantu barenze 13 uretse ko abazwi neza ari 8. Uzwi neza ni umugabo witwa Habyarimana Juvenal wishwe urubozo kandi ari umubyeyi ufite umugore n'abana akaba n'umuhinzi mworozu. Undi ukomeje ku ugwa ni Manishimwe Emmanuel wari urwariye kuri disipanseri ya Komini Gatonde agapfa akubiswe.

Dushishoje neza twasanga uriya Burugumesitiri agomba kuryazwa urupfu rwa Habyarimana Juvenal 'we n'abapolisi be uko ari batatu bishe uriya mugabo bamuziza akarengane aribo, policier Kanyarutoki, policier Noël na Brigadier Antoine.

Abo bagizi ba nabi uko ari batatu hamwe na Burugumesitiri nibo bakoze ayo mahano. Tukaba dusaba inzego zibishinzwe n'ubucamanza gukora akazi kabo bagakurikirana izo nkozi z'ibibi.

#### BYAGENZE GUTE ?

Amayeri Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde n'abambari be bakoresheje ngo bivugane bariya bantu arahambaye. Dore ko batavugaga rumwe nabo. Hadutse ishyamba MDR muri Komini Gatonde riyobowe mu bwisho na Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana Jean Bosco. Abaturage bamwe baramuyoboka abandi bayoboka andi mashyamba cyane cyane abafite amatwara ya MRND nibo bakomeje gutotezwa, akaba ari nabo bishe abagambaniwe n'inkoramutima za Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana. Dusabye ko anketi zatangiye zakomeza, ukuri kukajya ahagaragara, bityo amayeri abo bagizi ba nabi bakoresheje akajya ahagaragara. Ushaka kumenya ukuri azegere u-



wahoze ari inspecteur Nizeyimana Pierre n'uwahoze ari Directeur w'amashuri y'i Munanira, Mporera uko bari babagenje Imana igakinga uku boko. Abarimu basheshe akanguhe ibyo babakorera bizwi n'uwitwa Musirikari w'i Rusasa kuko abobose batavugaga rumwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde. Tugeze mu baturage ho ni agahoma munwa. Reka duhere kuri uriya Habyarimana bishe ku buryo bw'akagambane, barangije bacura umugambi wo kuzamubuza ubuzima bwe cyane cyane uriya Burugumesitiri kuko bari bafite ibyo bapfa. Nkuko Kangura yabitangaje ku buryo buhagiye cyane cyane mu No 49, uretse Habyarimana Juvenal, hari n'uriya mugabo Manishimwe Emmanuel nawe batsinze aho i Gatonde.

Dusesenguye neza dusanga agatsiko ayo marorerwa bese ari akazu mbese ntawabameneramo. Dore iyo Komini bayigize nk'iyabo, mbase ari akarima kabo basa n'abarazwe n'umutegetsi uba i Kigali bhora biyambaza iyo bakoze amahano cyangwa se iyo bakoze amakosa babona yabahagarika ku kazi bahita birukirayo. Bityo icyo cyitso kigakoresha ububasha gihabwa n'akazi kikabasubiza ku kazi.

Dusabye ubutegetsi n'ubucamanza gukora akazi bashinzwe bakareba ukuntu bari bicanyi, bariya bisambo byafatwa bigashyikirizwa ubutabera

bukabafatira ibyemezo bikwiye.

Dore ko bakomeje kwitwaza umuntu w'igihangange i Kigali,

ngo waba abashyigikiye byimazeyo. Dore ko uriya Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde ari inshuti magara, dore ko ari nawe wamuhaye amabwiriza yo kujya mu ishyamba rya MDR, kuko bose baturuka hamwe. Twavuze Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana twibagirwa kontabule André Mitizo.

Uwo mukontabule we ngo ni agahomamunwa, ngo igitugu akoresha muri iyo Komini giteye iseseme. Bizwi na S/Préfet Nzanana wa Busengo wahagaritse uwo mukontabule ku kazi azira ko we na Burugumesitiri bariye umutungo wa Komini.

Icyo gihe abakozi bamaze amezi atandatu badahembwa kugeza na nubw. Ariko rero uriya musuperefe yarahaguye kuko uriya yajyanye igitugu kwa Préfet wa Ruhengeri ngo nasubize kontabule ku kazi. Perefefu yabuze uko abigira amububiza ku kazi ubu si ugutema umutungo wa Komini wagira ngo ni isaha itunda ijyana mu mwobo. Icyo twamaganye ni ibyo byo gukora amakosa, kwica, kwiba.

Dore nawe, ubucamanza buhagarariwe na Parquet Général bwabaturaje inshuro ebyiri zose banga kwitababwira, babeshya ngo bafite akazi kenshi. Muri iyo minsi bacuragiye i Kigali bashakira

kwa Procureur Général kubavuganiye dosiye ya Habyarimana bayirigise ngo apane nkaho adafite kirengera. Twese akarengane bamugiriye twarakarebaga, kuko abaturage twese turi maso. Dore inshuro abo bagabo bagiyeye i Kigali ngo akabo kageze, bagenda bakanyeye amaso.

Izo nshuro zose bagira ngo mwene wabo abarwanaho, ariko umenya nawe yarabihakanye kubera ubwicanyi bwabo.

Kariya gatsiko kayobowe na Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana Jean Bosco nikareke gutoteza abaturage ngo baje mu ishyamba rya MDR, kandi tuzi neza ko ako karere ka Bukonya ka-

gizwe ahanini n'abayoboke ba MRND na CDR. Ubwo bwicanyi Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana nabushyire hasi, nareke abaturage bishyire biza ne kuko ariyo demokarasi twese duharanira. Azabwire abo bamushu ka bibera i Kigali, ko twe abaturage turi maso. Kandi turebe byose.

Uretse na Komini Gatonde, hari n'ibindi bazambije. Dore nk'umushinga CYGAND aho bawugejeje, byatumye abazungu bakoraga muri uwo mushinga bigendera kubera ubujura bwabo. Amamodoka yabo, amafaranga yabo, ibikoresho byabo byose bari barabigize ibyabo, none amajyambere ya Komini yagerwaho ate hari ibisambo nka biriya? Rero ngo ntibashobora guhagarikwa ku kazi! Byose ngo ni igitugu!!

Ayo makosa yose najye ahagaragara amenyekane maze Komini yacu tuyishakire abategetsu baboneye rubanda, batari ibisambo, n'abicanyi.

Twamenye ko hari n'akandi gatsiko kari muri Komini Ndusu kagizwe na inspecteur Ntabamenye Michel na Directeur w'amashuri ku Mubuga witwa Théoneste. Bo rero ni k'amashitani yateye muri ako karere ngo ntawukivuga. Abarimu ba-

sheshe akanguhe bo barumiwe kubera ibyo babakorera. Ntawabura gushimira by'umwihariko Burugumesitiri BIGIRIMANA Jean Sauvieur ukomeje kwitwara neza muho ayobora ariko se kariya gatsiko karamworoheye? Ngo kamuziza ko atavuga rumwe n'ako kuya aho amashyamba menshi yadukiye. Ngo ako gatsiko kamuziza ko ari muri MRND, ariko ntibyambujije kwitwara kibyezi, akarebera bese nta ku angura muri Komini ayobora ya Ndusu. Nakomereze aho.

Twongeye gusaba ubutabera gufatira ibyemezo bidakuka bariya bagizi ba nabi kuko amarorerwa bakoreye uriya Habyarimana Juvénal bakarinda kumwivugana bamutsinze muri kasho ya Komini. Dore ko anketi zose zimuhama. Ko Burugumesitiri n'umupolisi we Kanyarutoki bitwaje ko bagiye ku musaka iwe bahasanze iki? Kubera akagambane iyo mbunda n'amagerenade bayasanze mu kibandahori. Ese igihanga bamufatanye ni ikihe? Ese brigadiye n'umupolisi witwa Noël barajwe n'iki aho kuri Komini? Kandi bizwi neza ko Brigadiye atarara izamu.

Ese uwo Noël we yarajwe n'iki aho ku izamu ryari irya Kanyarutoki. Birumvikana ko bari bafite umu-gambi wabo wo kwica inzirikarengane bamutsinze muri kasho nta muntu ubimenye. Bamuboshye amaguru n'amaboko, barakubita, bamaze kumunozza baramurasa. Bazasobanurire rubanda ukuntu bagiye mu kabari kunywa inzoga ngo umwanzi wabo Habyarimana Juvénal bamaze kumwikiza. N'amafaranga ngo banyweraga bari bayahawe na Burugumesitiri Nizeyimana Jean Bosco, umutware w'inkozi z'ibibi. Rwose ntibyumvikana ukuntu uwo mu burugumesitiri atahise akora raporo y'ishyamba abo bagabo bamaze gukorera kuri Komini ye ngo ayohereze Perefe wa Ruhengeri. Dore ko ari we ubwe waje kubyikurikiranira amaze kumenya ayo marorerwa. Aho rero hahishe byinshi. Kariya gatsiko gakwiye kuryozwa amakosa gahora gakora naho ubundi abaturage bakomeza kurenganywa. Harya ngo udafite umutegetsu i Kigali nta jambo azagira? Baturage ba Komini Gatonde, tube maso, naho ubundi twaba tugiye gushirira ku icumu.

Abaturage ba Komini Gatonde.

## KUKI ABAHUTU B'I BURUNDI BATINYA IGISODA ?

Mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere ariko cyane cyane muri Afurika, abasirikari baracyafite ijamba mu migendekere ya politiki. N'ubwo bwose muri demokarasi, ubu imaze gusakara henshi, bavuga ko abasirikari batagomba kwivanga muri politiki, ibintu siko bimeze. Abasirikari mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere cyane cyane muri Afurika, baracyafite ijamba mu mihindukire y'ubutegetsu. Kandi birumvikana. Kuva Afurika yabona ubwigenge mu myaka ya za 60, yagiye itegekwa n'abasirikari. Kugeza ejo bundi muri za 90 aho inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi igereye muri Afurika. Ibyo ariko ntibyambujije abasirikari kugira uruhari rugaragara muri politiki.

Hamwe na hamwe nibo bimika uwo bashatse batitaye ku majwi y'abaturage. Mwibuke ibyabaye muri Nijeriya aho abaturage bitoreye umukandida wabo, Moshud Abiola, abasirikari bagasesa ayo matora bashyiraho ubagwa ku mutima. Ahandi abakuru



b'ibihugu bigira indakoreka kubera ko ahanini baba bashyigikiwe n'ingabo z'igihugu. Mbese mu magambo make demokarasi ntiracengera mu gisirikari. Mu gihe gishize, Kangura yanditse bihagije ku karengane k'abahutu b'i Burundi bari barahajwe mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi ariko cyane cyane igisirikari.

None ibintu byarahindutse. Ubutegetsi bushya ntawe buheza kubera ubwoko bwe. N'ubwo abategetsi bashya b'u Burundi bafite ubushake bwo guhindura ibyahozeho, igisirikari cy'u Burundi kiracyari umutamenwa. Abatutsi b'i Burundi bakigize akarima kabo. Ubwo abanyamakuru ba Kangura basuraga u Burundi mu kwezi gushize, bagaragarije abategetsi bashya impungenge bafite z'uko igisoda giheza amoko amwe n'amwe kikaba umwihariko w'abatutsi. Kandi kukivugurura bikaba bitari hafi aha. Izo mpungenge zituruka ahanini ku magambo avugwa hanze aha. Ngo hari abofisiye berura bakivugira ko Ndadaye ateguka u Burundi ariko adategeka igisoda. Urugero twatanga ni ikizamini gihurutse gukoreshwa bashaka abanyeshuri bo kwinjira mu ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari (ISCAM) ngo ku

bantu bagera kuri 50 batsinze, harimo abahutu batandatu gusa. Mu bari bafunganywe na ba basirikari bashatse guhirika Ndadaye amaze gutorwa batwibwiriye ko abo basirikari bashatse gukora Coup d'Etat, bemeza ko umuntu ufite imbunda ariwe ufite ubutegetsi. Kuko ngo igihe ashakiye yategeka icyo ashaka.

Perezida Ndadaye, ubwo yatwagiraga mu biro bye tariki ya 20/09/1993, yatwemerereye ko icyo kibazo gihari. Atwizeza ko barimo kureba uko ibyo bintu byahinduka. Ngo kuva ubu, ibizamini byo kwinjira mu gisoda bizajya bikorerwa mu masegiteri. Bityo ababishaka bese bakabona uburyo bwo kwiyandikisha. Cyokora yemera ikintu kimwe, Ngo abahutu baracyatinya igisoda. Ngo arimo gutekereza ukuntu azabatinyura ! Byaba ari amahirwe. Minisitiri w'ingabo, Liyetena Koloneri Ntakije Charles n'ubwo aterura ngo abivuge ku mugaragaro, yemera nawe ko abahutu bakiri bake cyane mu gisirikari ugereranije n'uko banga. Ati "ntawahatira umuntu icyo adashaka"! Ngo iyo bahamagaye abashaka kujya mu gisirikari bahamagara abarundi. Ntibahamagara

abahutu, abatutsi cyangwa se abatwa.

Yatwemerereye kugaruka mu Burundi tukaganira kuri icyo kibazo umunsi wose, akanadutembereza mu bigo by'abasirikari, twashaka kukabarura umubare w'abahutu n'abatutsi barimo !

Umuntu yakwizera ko icyo gihe ariho tuzamenya ukuri kuri icyo kibazo ! Kuko byaba bibabaje bibaye ngombwa ko dufataho ukuri amakuru yemeza ko abahutu bahezwa mu gisirikari ku bushake. Ngo n'abahutu bake baje gukora ibizamini byo kwinjira mu gisirikari, abarimu (instructeurs) babatsindisha ku kagambane. Ngo n'igihe cy'imyitozo, abo barimu bakora uko bashoboye hakarokoka abahutu mbarwa, iyo abenshi batahasize agatwe! Ngo byagera mu bamanukira mu mitaka (parachutistes) ho ni akumiro! Ngo abo ba "instructeurs" babahanura mu ndege nta mutaka, cyangwa se bakabaha imitaka ipfumu, umuntu akamanuka nk'ibuye! Birabe ibyuya ntibibe amaraso!

KANGURA.

## KU BATUTSI UMUGAMBANYI.

## B'I BURUNDI, BUYOYA NI

Abasomye Bibliya bibuka amagambo avuga ngo nta we uba umuhanuzi iwabo. Mu gifaransa niho bivugitse neza ho bavuga ngo "Nul n'est prophète dans son pays".

Ayo magambo yavuzwe na Yezu Kristu abitewe n'uko yabonaga mu turere atavukamo ariho afite abayoboke benshi. Ariko yagera iwabo bakamufata nk'umutekamutwe.

Bibliya inatubwira ko abayahudi ari bwo bwoko bw'Imana aribo ubwabo bamwifatiye, bakamwiyicira bamumanitse ku musaraba. Abakurikiranira hafi iby'amateka y'isi, bemeza ko impamvu nyayo yatumye abayahudi bica Yezu wiyise "Kristu", ari uko yababeshye.

Abayahudi bari bategereje igihe kirekire umuntu wabagobotora ingoyi y'Abaromani bari barabahejeje mu bucakara. Bagiyeye kumva bumva ngo hari umuntu wiyita umukiza uje kurokora ubwoko bw'Imana. Uwo muntu abayahudi bari bategereje akaba yari yaravuzwe n'abandi bahanuzi baba

njirije Yezu "Kristu". Abayahudi batari bake babanje kumugirira ikizere ahari kubera ibitangaza yakoraga. Bategereza ariko ko

yarwanya Abaromani barabaha. Nibwo barakaye. Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi.

Major Petero Buyoya nawe aho ari ubu ngubu yavugaga ati : Nta muhanuzi iwabo. Cyangwa se ati "ntawe uba





umuhanuzi mu bwoko bwe". Kugeza magingo aya, abatutsi b'i Burundi cyane cyane abo muri Uprona ntibari basobanukiye n'ukuntu Buyoya yemeye gutsindwa, agasubizwa utw'abandi adateye amahane.

Ntacyo Buyoya atari yakozwe ngo abatutsi bagume ku butegetsi. Inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi ikigera muri Afurika yo hagati, Major Petero Buyoya kimwe n'abandi banyagitugu, yabanje kunangira.

Demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi yaranwanyijwe mu Burundi karahava. Ngo niyo soko yo gusubirana namo kw'amoko. Nk'aho ubutegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe hari icyo bwari bwarakozwe ngo amoko abane mu mahoro. Amateka y'u Burundi atugaragariza ko imyaka irenga 30 Uprona yamaze itegeka, yanzwe n'imivu y'amaraso y'abana b'u Burundi, abandi barangara. Abafashe iya mbere baharanira demokarasi baravumwe, bitwa abasazi, baratotezwa biratinda. Bamwe baranabasekaga ngo "barubahuka". Ngo ni nde waba umusazi kugeza aho agurishije igihugu? Ubwo ni abatutsi bo muri Uprona bicinyaga icyara bati-

yumvisha ukuntu ubutegetsi bushobora kubaca mu myanya y'intoki nta mahane abaye!

Abafashe iya mbere mu guharanira demokarasi mu Burundi bageze n'aho baregwa kuvangura amoko nk'aho ubwoko bumwe bwonyine bwaharaniraga demokarasi! Ntibamenye ko ari abarundi bose.

Amahirwe ariko, ni uko uko kwitanga kw'inziraguhemuka zidaheza amoko kwaje gutsinda.

Muri iki gihe, mu Burundi haravugwa amashyamba 12 yose. Kandi n'ubwo ayo mashyamba ari menshi, ntiyacyiye abarundi mo ibice nk'uko abanzi ba demokarasi bakomeje kubihamya. Koko abarundi benshi bari "baranyotewe" na demokarasi batitaye ku bwoko barimo.

Muri iki gihe demokarasi yatsinze mu Burundi, n'abari bazi ko isi irangiye ngo ni uko Uprona itakiri ku butegetsi, umutima wasubiye mu bitereko. U Burundi mu gihe gishize bwari bufitte ibibazo biburenze, butangiye kwisuganya. Abarundi babana mu mahoro, buri wese agahabwa icyo amate-

geko amwemerera.

Abarundi basezereye ingoma ya cyami, repubulika z'ibitugu uko zakurikiranye ari eshatu zigenda nk'ifuni iheze. Ibyo byiza abarundi bamaze kugeraho, hariho abatabyifuza. Nibo bavugaga ko Buyoya n'intwaramuheto babagambaniye.

Bifuzaga ko Buyoya amaze gutsindwa mu matora yashoza imvururu mu Burundi yifashishije abasirikari. Niyo abigerageza, ntabwo byari gushoboka. Wa mugani wa Perezida Ndadaye, abaturage ntibari kumukundira. Bari kumwifatira, bakamuboha, bakamushyikiriza ubutegetsi bushya bitoreye.

Ubihakana azabaze abasirikari bashatse guhirika Perezida Ndadaye amaze gutorwa uko byabagendekereye. Bakaze kuri bene wabo babatera utwatsi. Bafatwa mpiri barafungwa kimwe n'uzatekereza uwo ari wese, kubuza amahoro abanyagihugu no kubavutse demokarasi baharaniye.

KANGURA.

## ABATUTSI BAKWIYE KURYOZWA IBY'IYINTAMBARA

Iyo abategetsi b'abahutu bisararanga ngo dusane imitima, twirinde ironakoko, tubabarirane, abatutsi bo baba babaseka. Guhatira rero umututsi utabishaka kubana neza mu mahoro no mu bwumvikane n'umuhutu aba ari ukumusagarira. Ntako abahutu batagize ngo basabane n'abatutsi ariko bene Kigwa bariyangira ngo cyereka basubiranye ubutegetsi bwo kwica no gucakaraza Gahutu. Ese ubundi icyoba kiri mu bahutu gishingiye kuki kubona aribo basa n'abasabiriza amahoro n'ubumwe kandi bitwa ko bagize 90% by'abaturage bose. Biriya bigirwamana se biza mbya igihugu ngo birakiyobora nibyo bigomba gutegeka umuturage utarabitoye ngo nashyigikire imyanzuro y'amasezerano imuroha mu menyo ya rubamba. Igihe kirageze cy'uko umunyarwanda yishishoriza aho gukomeza guhumishwa n'ibisamba, abanyenda ngari, abanyamatiku n'abanzi ba demokarasi.

Nk'ubu ngubu aho gusesengura amavu n'amavuko nyayo y'iyi ntambara abategetsi birirwa babeshya rubanda ngo yaturutse ku bibazo bya politiki. Ibihe se bibazo ko nabo ubwabo badashobora kubisobanura? Kuki bakikira ikibazo cy'amoko y'aba-

hutu n'abatutsi arwanira ubutegetsi kandi ari cyo Nyirabayazana w'intambara zose mu Rwanda. Bazumva ryari ko kwirengagiza ukuri ariyo mahano abaho? Umuti uzashakwa ute niba badashakwa kugaragaza indwara ahubwo bakayipfukirana. Aho ntibibwira mu buhumyi bwabo no kudashyira mu gaciro ko Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Biseruka na Pasteur aribo

batejeje intambara? Abo bahutu ntabwo bazi n'uburyo yaje, bo ni abacanshuro FPR ikoresha ngo yereke amahanga ko hari n'abahutu bayishyigikiye. Nah'ubundi INTAMBARA YO YATEWE N'ABATUTSI BAGISHAKA KWONGERA GUFATA UBUTEGETSI KU NGUFU NO KUGIRA UMUHUTU INGARUZWAMUHETO. Ntagushakishiriza ahandi.

KAGAME NGO NTIYASHUZA ABAHUTU



None se ubwo bimeze gutyo abahutu koko bemere baganzwe pe ! bakomeze kwituramira ngo bo icyo bashaka ni amahoro naho hirya baracukurirwa urwa bayanja ? Aho ntibibwira ko intambara yarangiye ? Intambara ntiyarangiye ahubwo abatutsi ubu barategura izindi ngamba zizabafasha gufata igihugu ku buryo bworoshye. Ikivi bamaze kugicagasa, barakiga andi mayeri ahambaye yo kugisoza. Abahutu bo se bahugiwe mu biki ? Nk'uko bimenyerewe abahutu bo baba bacagagurana bari muri bombori bombori naho abatutsi bo basuganya imitungo n'ibitwaro byabo bumvikana kuri gahunda yo kuzigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Niryo somo twagombye kuba twaraboneye muri iyi ntambara kandi tukarizirikanaho bihagije.

Uko biri kose abatutsi nibo ntandaro y'intambara zose zizonga igihugu n'abagituye. Nibo bazikoreramo amarorerwa arenze kamere. Bagomba rero kubibazwa kandi hafatwa ibyemezo simusiga bihita bishyirwa mu bikorwa bibuza abo bantu kuzongera kugira igitekerezo cyo guhubanganya umutekano wa rubanda. Niba ubutegetsi butabishoboye bareke abaturage bumvishe abatutsi

igikwiye. Ibyo mvuga ariko ntaho bihuriye n'imvururu zaba zishingiye ku moko nti hagire unyumva nabi. Byose bigomba kuba mu mucyo no mu bwubahirize bw'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu. Nk'imiryango yohereje urubyiruko rwayo mu nkotanyi ikwiye gushyirwa muri gacaca, yashaka kuba kagarara abaturage bakayifatira ibyemezo. Nkizo nsoresore zatuvunderejeho amasasu ntizagombye kugaruka ngo zifatwe nk"abavandimwe". Ahubwo zisabwe gusaba imbabazi, zikitonda, zigaci-bwa ibihano biberanye n'ibyaha by'ubugome n'ubwicanyi zakoze.

Bariya bakuru b'inkotanyi si abo kugororerwa imyanya y'ubutegetsi no mu gisirikare ahubwo bakwiye gushyikirizwa ubucamanza. Kuki batareba ku byabereye mu Budage Hitler amaze gutsindwa. Ibyegera bye nka Himmler, Goering, Hess n'abandi benshi bakatiwe urw'akagozi. No mu Rwanda hakwiye gushyirwaho urukiko rwo kuburanisha ba nyirabayazana biyi ntambara n'abayikoreyemo amarorerwa bose. Rero ngo inkotanyi ntizatsinzwe; nyamara abaturage n'indahemuka z'ingabo za Repubulika barazitsinze kandi bazahora bazitsinda. Zishatse zanasubira mu muhano wazo narindi

nyuma ya rya hururu ry'amashyaka menshi ryari ryaratesheje abenshi umutima, roho n'ubwenge abanyarwanda batangiye kumva ukuri no kumenya icyatsi n'ururo. Ibyitso bisanzwe bizwi nibifungishwe ijisho kugira ngo bitazongera kutuzengereza.

Iyi ntambara yatewe n'abatutsi yangije byinshi cyane. Yakomerekeje imitima yari isanzwe irehareha, yashimangiye imyiryanne hagati y'amoko, uturere n'amashyaka. Yahungabanyije umutekano muri rusange, yazahaje ubukungu bw'igihugu. Maze ikibabaje ni uko umututsi we adashaka kuva ku izima. Amadisikuru y'amahoro n'ubumwe bakomeza kumusakurizaho ntacyo na gito; ahubwo we igikomeje kumushishikaza ni ugukusanga umutungo wo kumarira abahutu ku icumu. Ni ngombwa rero ko atanga indishyi z'ibyo yangije kugeza ubu kuko ari byinshi mbere y'uko yongera kutugabamo ibindi bite-ro. Birumvikana nyine ko atari we uzibwiriza gutanga izo ndishyi; rubanda yose ikwiye guhaguruka ikabimuryoza nta kubebere ndetse ikongeraho n'akarusho gashobotse kose ko umuca integere burundu.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

## UPRONA ISHOBORA KUZIMIRA MBERE Y'IMYAKA IBIRI.

Uprona (Union pour le Progrès National) ni rimwe mu mashyaka rukumbi yizimbye ku butegetsi igihe kirekire muri Afurika. Uprona yategetse u Burundi imyaka urenga 30. Yashinzwe n'igikomangoma (Prince) Louis Rwagasore na n'ubu abarundi bacyubaha. Dore ko bamwitiriyeye ibintu byinshi i Burundi. Ngiyo imihanda, ibitabo, stades, banamugenera n'ahantu hihariye abarundi bazajya bamwibukira (mausolée Rwagasore) iri hafi y'ahubatse ikimenyetso cy'ubumwe bw'abarundi.

Igishingwa muri za 60, Uprona yabanje kuba iy'abarundi bose ariko uko ibihe byagiye bisimburana, iryo shyamba ryaje kuba umwihariko w'agatsiko k'abatutsi. Ako gatsiko kagize Uprona igikoreshe cy'iterabwoba ku buryo abanyagihugu yari yarabavuye ku mutima. Abarundi batora Ndadaye n'ishyamba rye Frodebu tariki ya 1 Kamena 1993 bariruhukije. Bivanyeho umutwaro nako umusaraba. Iyo ugeze i Burundi, ikintu kigaragara ni uko abayoboze ba Uprona ndetse n'abandi mashyaka ari bake cyane

ugereranije n'abayoboze ba Frodebu.

Icyo kibazo twakibajije Ndadaye igihe yatwagiraga muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika tariki ya 20 Nzeri 1993. Twamugararajije impungenge dufite z'uko u Burundi bushobora kuva mu butegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi rya Uprona bugasubira mu bundi butegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi rya Frodebu.

Perezida Ndadaye yiyemereye ko "opposition", abanyamurwanya nta ngufu bafite. Avugaga ko ibyo atabishyigikiye na busa kuko muri demokarasi "opposition" ari ngombwa kugira ngo ubutegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi butava aho bugaruka mu Burundi. Cyakora ati si nje nzatoza abandwanya uko bagomba kubwitwaramo. Nibo bagomba kwisuganyana.

Kuba Uprona ishobora kuzimira mbere y'imyaka ibiri, nta gitangaza kirimo. Si urwumwe! Uprona kimwe n'andi mashyaka rukumbi menshi muri Afurika yazahajwe n'inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi.

Amenshi yaratsinzwe. Uretse mu Burundi, n'ahandi byabaye uko. Ingero sizo zibuze. Reba nko muri Zambia aho ishyamba rya Kawanda ryakubiswe inshuro, muri Congo, muri Bénin, muri Repubulika y'Afurika yo hagati, muri Mali n'ahandi.

Gutsindwa kw'ayo mashyamba ni ibintu byumvikana. Nyuma y'imyaka irenga mirongo itatu ishyamba rimwe ritatega, rikavugaga icyo nishatse ntawe urivuguruzanya nta gitekerezo gishya, cyubaka riba rigifite. Nta bimwe bavugaga ngo MDR ivuguruye, MRND ivuguruye ni uguhungira ubwayi mu kigunda. Abaturage baba bakeneye ibitekerezo bishya, abayobozi bashya b'indakemwa ! Ngicyo icyo Uprona izize !

KANGURA.

KA02 1973



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