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# KANGURA

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## IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA ABANYARWANDA BARI MU BUHUNGIRO KU BIBAZO BY'IGIHUGU CYABO

Tuzataha ryari : Habonetse uburyo bubiri : Ubwa mbere ni hagati ya 20-12-1994 na 31-12-1994 ubwo bushobotse twataha ku mishyikirano. Bidashobotse twataha ku buryo bwa kabiri. Tuzababwira vuba. Bwo busaba ko buri muntu yitanga agatanga n'abana be maze tukajya guhangana n'abanyamahanga bigabije igihugu cyacu. Icyo gihe hazakora intwaro z'ubwoko bwose. Dore ko zanabonetse.

Abahutu bari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi batangiye gutaha vuba aha mwatangiye kubabona, bataha bava mu nkambi. Iyo bageze mu Rwanda, inyenzi zirababaza ziti ? Ko mutashye mwari mwahunze iki ? Ese ko mutashye icyo mwari muwarahunze cyarashize ? Ese ko mutashye muje kutubera ibyitso n'abakozi mu nzego zose ? Ese mushobora kuba muje kuba ibyitso bya bene wanyu basigaye mu buhungiro. Wabura icyo usubiza bakakubwira bati: ese utashye kuko wowe utishe wavuga ngo yego, bakakubwira ngo mbese ba batutsi bishwe bari barishe nde ? ese akana kishwe, kishe nde ? Ka gakecuru se ? ibyo byose wabyumva ukabura uko usubira inyuma. Bakubaza bati: ushobora gushinja bene wanyu ibyo uzi ko bakoze ? ubwo ugatangira ukarondogora, warangiza ugatera igikumwe, ngo uzana bashinja imbere y'urukiko. Nguko uko abataha bajya kuba abagambanyi iyo batishwe. Nyamara nabo umunsi twatashye tuzabafata kimwe n'abanzi, ntawe tuzababarira, ese ubundi bajyahe.
Bazagize Imana dutahe ku mishyikirano nicyo cyabakiza.

**ESE, IMISHYIKIRANO HAGATI YA F.P.R. NATWE IRASHOBOKA ?**

UBUSAMBO MU BANYEPOLITIKE TWAHUNGANYE.

TWATSINZWE DUTE, DUTSINDWA NANDE ?

**UBWICANYI MU RWANDA, HAZABURANA NDE HASIGARE NDE ?**

BYIFASHE BITE MU RWANDA ?

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UBUHANUZI BWA NGEZE BWALI BUMUHITANYE.

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# EDITORIAL

## TUZATAHA RYALI?

Dore uburaguzi, dore kuvuga ibizaba. Basomyi ba Kangura, bantu mukunda gukurikira ibyo tuvuga, ngo mu byago habonekamo byinshi. Tumaze igihe duhunze ariko, ntitwatinze kubagezaho ibyo dutekereza ku bibe turimo. Iri jambo ry'ibanze tubasabye kurizirikana kuko ari iryamberee kuva aho duhungiye.

Tuzataha ryari ? dutahe dute ? icyo ni ikibazo buri wese mu bahunze yibaza, mbere yo kubona uko bizagenda. Reka turebe uko bimeze muri politiki. Ubwo twari mu Rwanda, twari dufite abategetsi bahuye nuko twari mu gihugu, twari dufite aba Minisitiri 21 n'abafasha babo, twari dufite ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bukorera mu ma Perefegitura yose y'igihugu. Ubu rero siko bimeze, kuko turi mu buhungiro, nta ba Minisitiri bangana kuriya mu gihugu kitari icyacu, ubu abantu benshi bifuje kb guverinoma yacu yavaho hakajyaho abahagarariye impunzi, ibyo bitashoboka ya guverinoma ikagumaho ariko ikagabanywa umubare. Aho kugumana umubare wa ba Minisitiri badakora, ukagumana bake ariko bakora. Benshi bifuje ko batandatu baba bahagije. Bityo bagakora bitari byabindi byo kwirirwa uzerera, ugurisha ibya leta wiyita Minisitiri. Icyo gitekerezo cyo kirimo kirigwa, uko kizakemurwa, tuzabibagezaho. Gusa umuntu akaba yakwibaza ikizakurikizwa mu guhitamo uzasezererwa n'uzasigara. Reka rero hazarebe ya nda mbi y'abahutu usange twongeye gupfa imyanya turi mu by'uturere, amashyaka, n'ibindi bitadufitiye akamaro. Ubu turimo dukurikirira hafi uko byifashe, kubyerekeye ingabo nazo, ubu baritegura gushyira mu myanya abataragaragaye mu makosa yatumye ditsindwa. Ubu ingabo zacu zirimo ziravugururwa ngo zihuzwe n'igihe tugezemo cyo gukora bunyeshyamba, bityo tuzagire igihe cyo kujya kubohoza igihugu cyacu disipuline ari yose. Nka byabindi byo kwiba no kwica abo ushinzwe kurinda. Na babandi bagaraje ubuswa, aho kurwanya umwanzi bakirirwa biruka kuri NDEZE HASSAN ngo barashaka umutwe we. Nabo ubu barasezererewe, bityo vuba aha tukazabona ingabo nyazo, zitari zazindi zigendera kuri telegaramu ifite ibimenyetso. Hazafatwa ingabo zibishaka, kandi zibishoboye, zidashaka igihembo, zizashimishwa no kubohoza igihugu cyacu, zitari zazindi zigendera ku karere no ku mashyaka. Izizasezererwa zizajya mu buzima bwo hanze bwa gisivili, bityo nituzikenera zidukorere ibyo zizaba zishoboye gukora mu gisirikari. Hazavugururwa guhera hejuru, kugeza hasi, nabyo tuzababwira aho bigeze. Ibyo byose nibyo bizatuma uko iminsi izaza, izaba imeze. Abaturage bo bazavugururwa bate ? ubu buri muntu yagombye gutangira kwibaza impamvu F.P.R. yamwirukanye mu gihugu. Icyo bapfa, n'icyo yakora ngo atahe mu mudendezo. Buri muntu akibaza icyo yatumarira aramutse atugumye iruhande mu buhungiro, icyo yatumarira aramutse atashye. Niba yatubera icyitso imbere mu gihugu cyangwa se niba yatugambanira iyo mu Rwanda. Maze agafatanya n'umwanzi mu kuduhiga. Ibyo byose yamara kubyibazaho, akiha igisubizo, n'uko twe tuzaba tumufata mu rwego azaba yishyizemo. Dore ko ubwinshi bwacu hanze ariyo nsinzi yacu n'amizero yacu mugukemura ibibazo bigendana n'itaha ryacu.

## NI IYIHE POLITIKI IZADUCYURA?

Ubu dukeneye politiki izadusobanurira neza uko iminsi iri imbere iteye, ikadusobanurira neza amakosa yose yakozwe imbere mu gihugu, icyayateye.

Iyo politiki ntibe mu magambo gusa, ahubwo ikaba no mu bikorwa, igahuza ibikorwa bya gisirikari n'ibya politiki hamwe. Iyo politiki kandi dukeneye ntigomba kwongera kuba ubwiru bwa bamwe. Nta baswa dukeneye ngo bongere badukorere politiki, ubu dukeneye umuntu ushoboye, uzwi neza, uwo tuzatuma mu mahanga kutuvuganira agacyura ishema. Dukeneye umuntu uzahura n'inkotanyi mu mishyikirano, akazumvisha ukuri, atari babandi bazitinya cyangwa se bazihakwaho, dukeneye umuntu uzi ibibazo biri mu Rwanda, uko byatangiye n'aho bigeze, anarebe icyo ibibazo dufite bizatanga. <u>Nta wundi muswa muri Politiki dukeneye</u>.

## KENGO WA DONDO MISESITIRI W'INTEBE WA ZAIRE YARARITUGARUYE

Yanatumye twizera iminsi izaga. Ngo ibihuha birasenya koko. Tukimara guhunga abenshi twarambuwe, uwari ufite matelas, niyo yambuwe, uwari ufite imodoka niyo yambuwe mbese buri wese yambuwe ukirikije amikoro ye cyangwa uko areshya. Ibyo byatumye dutangira kwibaza niba twarahungiye mu gihugu cy'inshuti koko. Ndetse ntihaburaga abemeza ko ibyo twakorewe byabaga ari ibikorwa bishyigikiwe n'ikontanyi. Umunyarwanda niwe wavuze ati, uzangaye guhera ntuzangaye gutinda. Nibyo Kengo yatweretse ubwo yatuganiriraga mu cyumweru gishize mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru, imbere y'abahagarariye Ibihugu byabo muri Zaïre. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda nicyo yatingeho cyane, dore ko isi yose yari itegereje icyo avuga ku kibazo cy'u Rwanda gisa nkako kibabaje kurusha ibindi? Yagize icyo avuga ku mpunzi -Abasirikari- abonye politike, ndetse n'abatwambuye ubwo twageraga muri Zaïre. Icyo kiganiro cyaje no kunyura kuri televiziyo muri Zaïre gikurikiranwa n'abayifite. KANGURA nayo yari ihari ikaba igira ngo mukurikire uko byagenze. Ku kibazo cy'Impunzi, Kengo yatangaje ko mu mushyikirano y'impuguke ya F.P.R. zagiranye niza Zaïire bifuje ko mu matariki 30 z'ukwezi kwa cyenda, impunzi zagombye kuba zimaze gutaha ariko ibyo bigakorwa na F.P.R. yo ikeneye abaturage ikabizeza ukuntu umutekano wabo uzuba uzubahirizwa, ikagaragaza mumahanga uburyo abazaba batahutse bazabaho mu buzima bwabo bwibanze, ko leta ya FPR ariyo ingomba kwizeza impunzi ko icyo zahunze kitagihari. Impunzi zasanga ibyo F.P.R. ivuga ari byo zigafata inzira zigataha. Ubwo rero birumwikana ko iriya tariki ireba F.P.R. yo igomba gukusanya ibyangombwa byose bitwizeza gutaha. Ngo anavuga ko Leta ya Zaïre ibuza impunzi gutaha ngo ni abatazi ukuri ku kibazo.

Yanatanze urugero rw'umugore w'umufaransa wavuye i Kigali kuri uwo munsi : Uwo mufaransa kazi yatangarije isi yose ko F.P.R. irimo yica abahutu, ngo none niba koko abahutu barimo kwicwa isi yose ikabimenya, kandi n'impunzi zahunze akaba ari abahutu, ati : ni kuki muvuga ko Leta ya Zaïre irimo kubuza itahuka ry'impunzi.

Ati : sinjye uzajya gutuma impunzi ziyahura. Ati : umunsi F.P.R. yakusanyije bose izagaruke turebe uko impunzi zatahuka, naho gutuma ziyahura sinabikora. Ku kibazo cyuko Leta ya Zaïre yaba yemera guverinoma ya F.P.R., Kengo yasubije ko kugeza ubu Zaïre itaremera guverinoma ya F.P.R., ko na n'ubu Zaïre igikusanya ibyangombwa byose byatuma yemera iyo guverinoma. Ngo icyo Zaïre yemera gusa ni Leta y'u Rwanda, aribyo bivuga ukubaho kw'igihugu cy'u Rwanda. Ngo kandi Leta bivuga ubutaka wongereyeho abaturage, ngo kuba bavugana na Bizimungu Pasteur, Perezida w'u Rwanda, ngo ibyo nta gitangaza, ngo imibonano bayikorana n'undi wese uyifuje kandi ari ngombwa. Yaboneyeho n'umwanya wo kuvuga ukuntu atumva F.P.R. iyo iza gusaba umutungo, impunzi zahunganye, aho kubanza gusaba gucyura abaturage.

Ngo ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali nibubanze bucyure impunzi buzizeze ibyo zisaba maze ikibazo cy'itahuka nikimara gukemurwa hazabone hazigwe icy'umutungo uhari icyo gihe. Ngo ntibyumvikana ukuntu ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali bubabajwe n'ibintu kurusha abaturage. Ngo ibintu ni iby'abaturage. Ngo ikibazo cy'abaturage nigikemurwa, ngo n'ibindi bizabonerwa umuti. Yagize icyo avuga ku kibazo cy'ingabo zari iz'u Rwanda F.A.R. ngo amahanga yasabye ko ingabo zacu ziri mu nkengero ya Goma na Bukavu zakwamburwa imyenda, ariko yabuze igihugu na kimwe mu byirirwa bisaba iryo yamburwa ry'imyenda, cyakunganira zayire mukubna indi myenda yakwambarwa ngo ntiyumva impamvu bidatanga imyenda ingabo zacu zizambara. Ngo mbese wategeka umuntu gukuramo imyenda, utamuhaye iyo ahita yambara? Aha yibanze kuri ONU, Amerika, u Bufaransa, anemeza ko yandikiye ibyo bihugu, niyo miryango, ko atarabona igisubizo. Ngo yanabonye ibigo azashyiramo ingabo zacu, biri ku birometero ijana na mirongo itanu, ngo yasabye inkunga y'amahanga cyane cyane indege zo gutwara abasirikari bacu babajyana muri ibyo bigo, ngo na n'ubu ntarabona igisubizo. Kandi inzandiko zibisaba zaragiye kera. Yanibukije ko, gutwara bisaba no kureba

Kugeza ubu, ubuswa bwaranze abanyepolitiki bacu tuzi aho bwatugejeje, ntabwo tuzahora muri ibyo rero, ibyabaye byarabaye, n'utaziko tuzi imikorere ye, aribeshye. Ubu nta mutegetsi n'umwe tutazi imikorere ye cyane cyane muri iyi myaka ine y'intambara.

**TUZATAHA RYALI?**

Nkuko ibimenyetso dufite bibitwereka ubu muri KANGURA turasanga hari uburyo bubiri tuzatahamo. Dushobora gutaha mu mpera z'uyu mwaka mu kwezi kwa 12 - 1994 ibyo tubibona dukurikije imibonano irimo icicikana hirya no hino ku isi ku kibazo cy'u Rwanda. Ubu byose bigenze neza twe muri KANGURA turasanga abaturage bazarira ubunani mu Rwanda. Ibyo byazaba hakurikijwe imishyikirano yindi tutazi uko izitwa kuko iya ARUSHA itazongera kubaho no kuvugwa.

**TUZATAHA DUTE?**

Kugeza ubu hari ubundi buryo bwo gutaha bwabonetse, ariko duhisemo kuzabusobanura muri nimero yacu y'ubutaha. Impamvu nta yindi nuko hakirimo amabanga menshi, tuzabanza kuvugana n'ababishinzwe. Ubwo kangura n° 61 ntizabacike kuko izababwira uko tuzahagurpka dutashye, naho tuzanyura, n'uzadushorera n'uzatwakira. Gusa ibyo byose bigendana n'imyiteguro navuze haruguru y'abategetsi tugiye gushyiraho. Ni iki abaturage bateze kuri KANGURA. Ubu Kangura yahinduye isura ubu noneho n'ijwi ry'abaturage gusa izajya igendera kubyo abaturage bifuza gusa. Ubu mu buhungiro bwose twiyemeje kuzajya tugeza ku mpunzi uko mu Rwanda bimeze, ihuze impunzi zose aho ziri hose, mbese niryo jwi ry'abanyarwanda bari mu buhungiro. Indagu zacu nazo noneho niho zizakora maze bamwe baduhiga kubera ibyo tuvuga bumirwe.

Nubwo uri mu buhungiro ntabwo tuzihanganira ubuzima bwo kwigira indakoreka agambiriye kutworeka. Ntituzongera kwemera ko umuntu yigira akaraha kajyahe, ubu tuzakorana n'ufitiye abaturage akamaro gusa, kandi ugendana n'igihe tugezemo. Umunsi wo gutaha n'isaha tuzahagurukiraho twe muri Kangura ubu turayizi. Gusa kubivuga byaba ari vuba. Mwe mujye mushaka Kangura ntihagire n'imwe ibacika. Ngira ngo mwiboneye ko benshi mu bategetsi mwahunganye mutazi iyo baba, n'abaza ukaba wakwibaza niba bazi iyo tuva niyo tujya. Ibyo byose rero nibyo bigomba gushira. Kangura ntishobora kwihanganira abategetsi b'umurimbo, babaswa, tugize amahirwe, twabona abazaba bahararlye impunzi, bazazivugira mu nzego zose bikajyana n'ibyo abasirikari bazaba bifuza. Kangura iboneyeho no gusaba abanyarwanda bose kuyoherereza amazina y'abategetsi, abacuruzi bagurishije umutungo wa Leta, cyane cyane amamodoka, dore ko twari tuzi ko ari bamwe mu bizatugoboka. Ubu natwe twatangiye gukora indi anketi yabatangiye kutugambanira haba aho twahungiye, haba no mu Rwanda.

Ugutaha rwose ubu turagukozaho initwe y'intoki, twongere tuvuge ko dukurikije ibyo ibihugu byo hirya no hino birimo bikora ku kibazo cy'u Rwanda, dukurikije ko amafaranga agenda atangwa ku bikenerwa n'impunzi ari menshi cyane, dukurikije n'ibinci tuzi tuzababwira ubutaha ibyo bikaba bikiri ibanga, umuntu yakwizera ko ubunani twazaburira mu Rwanda.

Tugomba kuzataha ikivunge tukingira nkuko twasohotse tukereka F.P.R. ko nubwo twapfuye tutashize ko rubanda nyamwinshi itajya itsindwa, ko ahubwo ihura n'ibibazo, kandi ko icyo ishatse naho cyatinda ko kigeraho kikaba byanze bikunze.

NGEZE HASSAN

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ibya ngombwa byose bigendana n'ubuzima bwabo bwa buri munsi. Kengo wa Dondo ati amahanga yansabye ko abari abanyapolitiki ba Leta ya mbere bakwimurirwa i Kinshasa, ati ibyo simbyanze, ariko amahanga azatange uburyo bwose bugendana no kubimura burimo indege zizabatwara, aho kuba, n'ibyo kubatunga. Ati ibyo nabyo nabisabye ONU n'ibihugu by'ibihanganye, ati sindabona igisubizo. Ku byerekeye abasirikari ba Zaïre bambuye impunzi, ngo yatanze itegeko ryo kubakura kuri Goma na Bukavu bakimurirwa ahandi, ngo kandi yanabivuganyeho na Perezida wa Zaïre, ngo nabyo yabisabiye inkunga y'amahanga kubera ko Zaïre nta mikoro ifite, ati abafaransa ubu bemeye gutanga indege izatwara abo basirikari ba Zaïre, ati turimo kwiga n'ukuntu izo ndege zatwara n'izari ingabo z'u Rwanda. Kengo yarangije avuga ko Zaïre itifuza izindi mpunzi z'abanyepalesitina kubutaka bwayo. N.D.R.L. ni nkaho yashatse kuvuga ko adashaka impunzi nyinshi zamara imyaka myinshi ku butaka bwa Zaïre. Ibyo byose rero byanatumye yibaza ukuntu impunzi z'u Rwanda zizaba zimerewe mu gihe cy'imvura. Ati impunzi zapfuye ari nyinshi mu gihe cy'izuba, ati mu gihe cy'imvura noneho nimwibaze izizapfa.
Yarangije avuga ko ubu amahanga ariyo arebwa n'ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ko yagombye gukora ibishoboka byose F.P.R. ikorohereza itahuka ryazo.

Byakiriwe na NGEZE HASSAN.

## ESE, IMISHYIKIRANO HAGATI YA F.P.R. NATWE IRASHOBOKA?

Kugeza ubu abantu baribaza niba hari imishyikirano ishoboka hagati ya Leta ya F.P.R. na Leta yariho mbere cyangwa se n'intumwa zaba zihagarariye impunzi. Aha ndagira ngo tugire icyo tubivugaho. Habayeho imishyikirano yiswe iya ARUSHA. Kubera ko iyo mishyikirano twavugaga ko yizwe nabi, byatumye abantu benshi bayamagana bituma havukamo urupfu rwa HABYARIMANA. Arapfa abantu batari bake baramukurikira, abandi barahunga. Abahunze nabo, bageze hanze bapfamo benshi. Ibyo byose bikomotse ku masezerano ya ARUSHA twavugaga ko yizwe nabi.

Muri ayo masezerano, bateganyaga ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zizahabwa 60% inkotanyi 40%. Mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bavugaga ko ishyaka M.R.N.D. ryari k'ubutegetsi ariryo rizatanga umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika, ibyo byose ntibyashobotse. Turebe uko ubu bimeze. Ubu F.P.R. iravuga ko idashobora kwemera imishyikirano ya ARUSHA, ngo yafashe ubutegetsi ku ngufu, ngo ubushaka nawe azaze abufate ku ngufu. Ngo yiteguye ku buryo buhagije kubugumana ikoresheje ingufu zatumye ibufata. Ngo ntibyumvikana ko abifuza ko habaho imishyikirano yindi itari iya ARUSHA, ngo ibyo ARUSHA yananiwe, ngo nta wundi wabishobora, ngo naho ARUSHA yashyirwa mu bikorwa, ngo impunzi zigomba kumva ko hari ibyahindutse bigomba kugendana n'igihe tugezemo hakurikijwe ibibazo igihugu kirimo. Ngo F.P.R. ntishobora kwihanganira ingabo zatsinzwe, izi zirukanse zitinya iz'izinkotanyi, ngo maze F.P.R. izihe uriya mubare ungana kuriya.

Ngo impamvu ARUSHA yahaga inzirabwoba 60% ngo nukubera ko inzirabwoba arizo zari zifite igihugu. Ngo ubu rero byarahindutse igihugu gifitwe n'inkotanyi. Ni nayo mpamvu inkotanyi zigomba hugabwa 65% naho inzirabwoba 35% bitaba bityo, hagataha umusirikari ku giti cye. Ngo kubyerekeye politiki, ngo nta buntu inkotanyi zaba zaritsindiye intambara, ngo zigerekeho gutanga umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika, kandi ngo bawuhe M.R.N.D., barege ko yagize uruhari mu bwicanyi. Ngo mwese kwaba ari uguhemba M.R.N.D. ku bibi yakoze. Niko inkotanyi zivuga. Ibyo byose rero iyo ubihuje urunga bizagorana kugira ngo habeho imishyikirano y'amahoro. Keretse habaye intambara, inzirabwoba zikerekana ko zikiriho zigafata nibura Prefegitura imwe, bityo hakaba imishyikirano y'ibice byombi bizaba biri k ubutaka bw'u Rwanda. Naho ubundi biracyagoranye. Yego ntawahakana burundu ko bidashoboka, ariko naho byashoboka ngira ngo ntawe utazi amananiza y'inkotanyi, cyane cyane ubu zatsinze intambara y'amasasu.

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## UBUSAMBO MU BANYEPOLITIKI TWAHUNGANYE

Ngo ingorane ziba nyinshi, ariko izo twahuye nazo zirakabije. Iyumvire nawe, bamwe mu bategetsi biswe ko bari muri guverinoma y'abatabazi, aho kudutabara baradusonze. Aha ntabwo mvuga bose, kuko harimo abazima. Muri iyi nyandiko simvugamo amazina y'abantu, kuko vuba aha tugiye gusohora igitabo kirimo amazina y'abantu bose bahemukiye rubanda. Abasomyi ba Kangura bose bazamenya uko byagenze ubwo twahunganaga, n'abagurishije umutungo wacu. Tuzavugamo abotuzi bose, ntakubahishira kugira ngo n'ababa bafite uwo mugambi, bawucikeho.

**DORE UKO BYAGENZE**

Ubwo intambara yari itangiye kutuzambana, bamwe mu bategetsi bacu, baba abagisirikari, cyangwa abagisivili, ubwo tukari mu Rwanda, biraye mu bintu basahuye cyangwa bari bashinzwe kurinda baragurisha, bafatanije n'abacuruzi bo mu Rwanda, kugeza igihe dufatiwe. Aho duhungiye, nta wundi murimo wabayeho, usibye uwo kugurisha ibisahurano muri Zaïre. Aha ndavuga cyane cyane umutungo wa Leta, twari tuzi ko ushobora kutugoboka mu minsi izaza. Ngabo ba Minisitiri bamaze amakamyo, amamodoka ya Leta bagurisha bagashyira mu mifuka yabo. Ngabo abasirikari bakuru, icyo birirwamo n'ukugurisha amamodoka ya Leta bari bashinzwe kurinda. Ibyo byose niyo bituma umuturage yibaza niba abo bantu bazamucyura, mu gihe aribo bamusonga. Ubu turimo turakora lisiti ya byose n'ababigurishije n'abacuruzi bo mu Rwanda babigizemo uruhari, kandi numvise ko hari n'uburyo bwo kubaryoza ibyo byose badukoreye. Ese iyo abategetsi bagurishhije ibyo bai bashinzwe kurinda, aho baba bibuka ko uwo mutungo twahunganye ari uwacu twese ? Ese iyo bagurishije bagaterera agati mu ryinyo, baba bazi ko tubabona ? Ese bazi ko twese twahunze kimwe, ko duhigwa kimwe ? Uwariye wese agomba kuruka cyane cyane iyo yariye wenyine agacura abo bagomabaga gusangira. Reka tuzabanze tubagezeho amazina yabo bose badukoreye ayo marorerwa. Koko habure n'umwe uguriramo impunzi n'imiti y'abana cyangwa se ngo aze kubahumuriza ye ?

## UBUHANUZI WA FULGENCE BWALI BUHUHITANYE

Imana iguha ubwenge, ikaguha impano, ikaguha umutungo, ariko byose ikagerekaho n'ibigeregezo. Iyi ntambara tuvuyemo y'ukwezi kwa kane, imwe yiswe rurangiza yabaye rurangiza koko. Kuba ngifite ubuzima ni igitangaza kidasanzwe. Yewe ni nayo mpamvu ibyambayeho aribyo mvuga ko byerekanye n'imikorere y'ingabo zacu.

**UKO BYAGENZE RERO**

Twe Imana yaduhaye impano yo kumenya ibizaba. Iyo mpano ntituyikoresha twenyine, kuko ibyo tumenye bizaba mu kazi kacu tubivuga bikamenywa namwe mwese. Kugeza ubu tumaze kuvuga ibintu 89 bizaba tukabivuga mbere maze bikaba. Ibyo bigatuma ibyitso cyangwa abaswa babonekaga mu butegetsi bwacu bampoza muri gereza, dore ko kugeza ubu maze gufungwa inshuro 20 muri gereza 36 muri za Burigade. Kuva intambara yatangira muri 1990, hakozwe teregaramu 241 zaba iza parike cyangwa iza Etat-Major. Ariko izabaye rurangiza ni izi zikurikira: Habyarimana amaze kwivuganwa n'abanzi, nashatse gutakaza ubuzima bwanjye, nzira ko mu kwezi kwa 12/1993 nari naranditse muri KANGURA n° 53 ko Habyarimana azapfa mu mpera z'ukwa gatatu, cyangwa mu ntangiriro z'ukwa kane. Ibyo kuri twe ntagitangaza cyarimo kuko bitari ibya mbere twari tuvuze ibizaba kandi bikaba. Habyarimana amaze gupfa batwise ibyitso ngo kuki twavuze igihe azapfira maze bikaba byo. Ubwo teregaramu ziracicikana ngo ngomba kwicwa, ngo uburaguzi bwanjye buhishe byinshi. None se umuntu koko azazire ubuswa bw'abategetsi batareba kure. Kuba menya ibintu nkabivuga, ahubwo nagombye kubihemberwa. Iyo nza kuba ntabivuga niho nagombaga kubizira. Abanyarwanda bagize amahirwe babona umuraguzi w'ubuntu ubabwira ntacyo batanze.

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## UBWICANYI BUTATEGUWE

Iyo urebye neza ubwicanyi bwabaye mu minsi ishize **uwanga** ntawabuteguye. Abishe Habyarimana nibo bateguye umugambi wabo, maze abaturage baratungurwa bumva ko bibarangiranye. Nibwo mu gihugu hose habaga ubwicanyi bwahitanye inzirakarengane nyisnhi. Hapfuye ibyitso by'inyenzi koko, ibyo birazwi. Ariko se buri muntu asubije amaso inyuma akareba ibyabaye ninde wabyishimira koko ? Byari bimaze iki kwica umuturage w'umukecuru utazi gusoma no kwandika, udateze no kuba umuserire, byari bimaze iki kwica urubinja ruzize ubusa, intambara yaratangiye rutaranavuka ? Hasonetse ibimenyetso byinshi ko bamwe muri ba ofisiye bacu bahishaga inshoreke zabo z'abatutsikazi maze barangiza bakica basaza babo. None se niba kwari ukwica abatutsi kuki nta mugore w'umu ofisiye wishwe azira ko ari umututsi ? Ko nari abategetsi batunze abatutsikazi ko nta muntu n'umwe wigeze yica umugore w'umutegetsi amuziza ubwoko bwe ? Ngira ngo mwese mwabonye ko ubwicanyi bwari bumaze gufata indi ntera yo kwica n'abahutu batunze amafaranga. None se byari kutugeza kuki ?

Ingufu twari gukoresha mu kurwanya umwanzi twaraziretse, maze tuzikoresha mu gusenya ibyo twiyubakiye. Bityo inkotanyi zidufata zitarushye.

Ndibuka, ubwo umunyamakuru wa Radio-Rwanda yambazaga igihe intambara izarangirira, ubwo twari mu kwezi kwa kane, namusubije ko nitubura umutegetsi ufata ibyemezo. Ko ubwicanyi nibudahagarikwa, ko mu kwezi kwa karindwi mu Rwanda intambara izaba yarashize kuko byaragaragaraga ko inkotanyi ntawe zirwana nawe usibye ikigo cy'aba G.P. cyahanganye n'inyenzi cyonyine. Twarinze tuva mu Rwanda nta hantu turatsinda inkotanyi.

Aho zafataga hose ntabwo twazisubizaga inyuma. Ibyo byose byaterwaga nuko ingufu zose zari kurwanira igihugu twazishoye mu kwiba no kwica abadafite aho bahuriye na politiki.

## URUGERO SIRUSIGA

Maze kwitegereza ko ubwo bwicanyi bushobora kutuviramo gufatwa, ubwo nari ku Gisenyi nasabye ubuyobozi bw'ingabo burimo Colonel Nsengiyumva ko yakora ibishoboka byose agahagarika ubwicanyi bw'inzirakarengane, kuko abatutsi bose baboneka muri Zaïre, bahungishijwe n'abali bashinzwe kubahiga. None se interahamwe n'abasirikari bakuru sibo bacikishije abatutsi baboneka muri Zaïre. None se, gucikisha umuntu umwe mu muryango warangiza ugatsemba abasigaye byari bimeze iki ? Sibyo byakozwe gusa se ? ibyo byose nageragejeje kubisobanurira ubuyobozi bw'ingabo ku Gisenyi mbabwira ko ubwo bwicanyi ari ugutiza F.P.R. inguru kubera ko twe akenshi tuba tureba kure. Ibyo nasabaga nta kubyumva, ahubwo hacuzwe umugambi wo kunyica. Ubwo Colonel Nsengiyumva abisaba Etat-Major na Minisitiri w'ingabo yemeza ko nicwa. Ubwo bemeza ko ngomba kwicirwa mu Bigogwe. Teregaramu irakorwa, ngo umbone wese andase ngo bafite ibimenyetso ko NGEZE ari inkotanyi ngo kuko avuga ibintu bikaba. Kunyicira mu nzira binaniranye, nibwo boherejeje agatsiko k'abasirikari kayobowe na Liyetona Bizumuremyi, maze gatera ivanjye kararaasa, gatera amagerenade na za sitrimu, ku buryo haje gupfamo umuntu umwe w'inzirakarengane muri icyo gitero. Imana yakinze akaboko maze ibyo bitero n'ibyampitana. Nibwo hakurikiyeho ibihuha ngo mpishe abatutsi, ngo abatutsi b'abayisilamu bose ninjye wabakijije. Ibyo mbona ko noneho biratwika igihugu kurushaho, nibwo niyemeza ga kuzunguruka umujyi wose nsaba abaturage tuvuka mu mujyi umwe kuva mu bwicanyi baroshywemo batazi inkomoko yabwo. Ibyo nabikoraga kubera ko nabonaga ubutegetsi busa nkaho butakibaho. Ku buryo iyo bikomeza nta n'umuhutu utunze ibhene wari gusigara. Icyo cyemezo cya kigabo nafashe njyenyine nicyo cyatumye nkomeza guhigwa buri munsi. Nkurizwa ijipe ngo ninjye gusobanura ukuntu nanze ko abatutsi bapfa.

## UBUTEGETSI BW'U RWANDA MU MUTEGO WA F.P.R.

F.P.R. yoherezaga ubutumwa ku bitega by'ingabo zacu. Ubwo F.P.R. ikavugiraho ibyo ishatse ikemeza ko ibyo yavuze byumvikwe n'ingabo zacu.

Ubwo izo messages zamara kumvikana kubitega by'ingabo z'u Rwanda, ubwo hakabura umusirikari n'umwe umenya ko ari umutego F.P.R. iba yateze ngo tuwugwemo, maze bakihutira nabo gukora indi teregaramu ngo ubona NGEZE wese amurase atazuyaje, ngo ni inyenzi. Ibyo byose byatumaga inyenzi zigira ingufu cyane kuko zabonaga ubuyobozi bwacu burimo ubuswa bwinshi, bwo kutamenya imitego ya F.P.R. Ninako abantu benshi bagiye bicwa bazira ubusa kubera kutareba kure kw'abategetsi bacu. Ibyo byose ni nabyo byatumaga hemezwa ko ngomba kwicwa byanze bikunze. Ngo kuko bitumvikana ukuntu mvuga ibintu bikaba.

**IBICE BITATU MU NGABO ZACU**

Ubwo Habyarimana yapfaga, mu ngabo zacu harimo ibice bitatu; igice gishinzwe kurwanirira igihugu - igice cyaguzwe n'inkotanyi - igice cya nyuma kirimo abaswa gusa batazi iyo tuva n'iyo tujya. Abo baswa rero nibo birirwaga bampiga bifuza ko nakwicwa, nkaho gupfa kwanjye ari ko gutsinda intambara. None se wasobanura ute ko mu kwezi kumwe hakorwa teregaramu zirenze 40 ku muntu nkanjye utuye mu Rwanda ?

None se uwabaza abo bari bashinzwe kwirirwa bampiga ukuntu Gisenyi-Ruhengeri byafashwe nta mirwano ibaye basobanura iki ? None se, byasobanurwa bite ukuntu hari ba ofisiye bahungiye muri Zaïre mbere y'abaturage. Ibyabaye byose byagombye kutubera isomo rikomeye. Abasirikari bose babaswa bakirukanwa. Abadafite disipuline nabo bakirukanwa. Maze hagakorwa undi mutwe mushya ushinzwe kubohoza igihugu cyacu. Naho ubundi hatagize igihinduka ntaho twaba tujya. Abampize bose kubera ubuswa bwabo, ntacyo nzabatwara usibye kubahanisha ikaramu yanjye, kandi iminsi izaza, niyo izerekana ubutwari bwanjye. Abatuye Gisenyi bo bambera abagabo. Abampize bose nibo twirirwa tubisikana hano mu buhungiro.

**BYAFASHE BITE MU RWANDA**

Ngo ingorane zibaa nyinshi koko. F.P.R. imaze guhabwa ubutegetsi yahuye n'ikibazo kitabaho. Ibyabaye mu Rwanda, byarayitunguye, bitungura n'amahanga yose ayishyigikiye Bwabaye ubwa mbere, abaturage b'igihugu cyose bahunga, bagahungana n'ingabo zabo n'abategetsi babo n'umuntungo abaturage bihahiye. F.P.R. imaze kuzenguruka Intara zose z'u Rwanda, yasanze nta baturage barimo kuko bose bahunze icyo bari bayiziho. Aha ndavuga ubwicanyi bari bayiziho. Ubwo F.P.R. yasanze yibereye mu guhugu kitagira abantu idashobora gusaba Imana kurema abandi kuko bitashoboka.

**ESE KOKO F.P.R. YIFUZA ABATURAGE**

Kugeza ubu abaturage F.P.R. yifuza n'abatazi gusoma no kwandika, kuko umwanzi wa mbere wa F.P.R. n'umunyabwange, ndetse kuriyo, ntiyifuza no kubona umusirikari. Ni nayo mpamvu kugeza ubu abicwa kurusha abandi ari abantu bazi gusoma no kwandika. N'abafunzwe kandi ni muri abo twavuze bazi gusoma no kwandika. Kuba rero bifuza abaturage bo mu rwego rwo hasi nuko aribo boroshye gutegeka buhumyi. Icyo wabakorera cyose ntibavuga, naho wabicamo benshi, abasigaye ntibavuga kubera ubujiji n'ibindi bijyana nabwo. Magingo aya rya shami ryita ku mpunzi riremeza ko hamaze gupfa abasaga 35.000 hagafungwa abagera kuri 2.500 bazashyikirizwa inkiko ngo bashinje ibyo F.P.R. yabategetse kuzashinja, dore ko benshi yabasinyishije ku gahato.
Uburyo bafunzwemo, uburyo babaho byabarwa n'uwabibonye. Gusa icyo umuntu yakwibaza F.P.R. izafunga abantu bangahe kugira ngo irekeraho. Izica bangahe kugira ngo irekeraho. Ubu amazu yose yafashwe n'abatutsi bahunze kera, bagatanga umusanzu w'abana n'umutungo mu nkotanyi. Kuva muri ayo mazu nabyo bizaba bikomeye. Biravugwa ko ushobora gutahuka ukicwa n'abakubereye mu nzu kugira ngo bayitware burundu. Ubu umuntu wese utashye abazwa ibyo yabonye by'ubwicanyi. Ibyo atazi akabyemera kubera kumuboha, dore ko ya ngoyi yo kuboha ariyo mu Rwanda, nkimwe ya cyami. Ibyo bivugwa n'ababa mu Rwanda. Abaturage baba mu Rwanda ubu babaye ingwate, ntawe ukora icyo amategeko amwemerera, ntawe uvuga. Kugira ngo

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ubeho urye, uryame, usinzire, nuko uhitamo kuba umuyoboke wa F.P.R. ukiyemeza kuyikorera ibyo igusaba byose nko kuyibera ingabo, umutasi n'indi mirimo yose yagukeneraho. Ni nayo mpamvu umuntu wese utashye agomba kwibaza ibi bikurikira: Ko ntashye nahunze iki ? Ese cyashize ? Ese ko ntashye, abo twahunganye mbasize he ? Ese F.P.R. ninsaba kuyibera ingabo nzanga ? Ese ninanga nzabaho ? Ese ninemera hakaba imirwano nzarwanya nde ? si babandi nasize mu buhungiro ? ibyo byose wamara kubibonera umuti ukabona ugataha. Ese utashye wizeye ko umutekano wawe nta kibazo ko uzabungwabungwa uko ubyifuza ? Ese wabajije uko byazakugendekera umunsi ingabo zacu zateye cyangwa zatashye ko byo byaba bibi ?

Ubu mu Rwanda hose tuvuze kuhashyira abakozi ba KANGURA bazajya batugezaho uko bimeze, nibigenda neza tuzajya tubivuga, nibigenda nabi, tuzajya tubivuga. Gusa ikigaragara nuko indwara yo gutunga agatoki no kubura kw'abantu ntumenye irengero ryabo. Kugeza ubu abatutsi bose babaga mu mahanga baratashye, ibyo bikaba byemezwa n'abahutu batashye. Ku byerekeye ikinyabupfura iyo ingabo za F.P.R zitakwishe, zikwereka ikinyabupfura kidasanzwe, ku buryo ubona icyo kinyabupfura benshi bibaza aho gikomoka. Bakanibaza niba kizakomeza. Abaturage bari mu Rwanda iyo badapfuye cyangwa se ngo ntibahutazwe, usanga bemeza ko icyo kinyabupfura cyagombye no kubera ingabo zacu intangarugero cyane cyane nko mu rwego rwo gusahura abyushinzwe kurinda. Ubu F.P.R. yatangiye guha bamwe mu basirikari b'u Rwanda aba bahunze, amafaranga ngo bajye gucengeza mu bigo byo mu buhungiro ko nta kibazo gihari. Uhwo abasirikari batareba kure bahita bagenda bageraho bagusanga baribeshye. Kandi badashobora gusubira inyuma. Benshi muri abo ba ofisiye babatuma kujyana abasirikari baziranye baba mu nkambi. F.P.R. ubu iribeza ukuntu izategeka igihugu kitagira abakozi, imirimo yararaye, ibigunda byaruzuye. Uko byifashe mu Rwanda tuzakomeza kubibagezaho mu minsi iri imbere.

## UBWICANYI MU RWANDA, HAZABIKAJA NDE HASIGARE NDE ?

Kugeza magingo aya, biragaragara ko hazaburana abantu bose F.P.R. izaba ishaka ko baburana, impamvu nta yindi nuko kuva iyi ntambara yatangira F.P.R. yakunze gukora amalisiti y'abantu bose izirana nabo, abayirwanije, abakoze ibyaha na batarabikoze, ariko bakaba babangamiye inyungu zayo, mbese abatarayishyigikiye.

Ubu amahanga yose arimo aresaba ko abagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bashyikirizwa inkiko ariko usanga kugeza ubu abo F.P.R. yashyize kuri lisiti aribo bazaburana. Habaye ubwicanyi ku mpande zose ariko nta n'umwe uvuga ubwicanyi bwabaye ku ruhande rwa F.P.R. dore ko ibarirwa ko yaba yarishe abarenze miliyoni imwe, iyo za Byumba, Kibungo, Ruhengeri, n'ahandi hose yagiye inyura, tutabariyemo abasirikari, n'abo iri kwica ubu ngubu. Ibyo byose abategetsi bacu bariho, barabibonye ariko ntacyo babikozeho wagirango ntibifuza ko hagira umu F.P.R. uburana, nyamara se abo bategetsi bacu sibo bazashyikirizwa ubucamanza. Ubu habuze iki ngo hakorwe lisiti y'ubwicanyi bwakozwe na F.P.R. Cab ko kubona ibimenyetso byoroshye, habuze iki ngo bikorwe. Nyamara kwirirwa bagurisha umutungo wa Leta bahunganye byo biraborohera. Ubu koko habuze uwagera abaturage mu nkambi ngo bamuhe ibimenyetso byose bya ngombwa kuri icyo kibazo ? Uwo F.P.R. itazicira mu buhungiro, izamwicira mu Rwanda. Uwo itazicisha kandi, izamuheza mu buroko. Niba bariya bategetsi badashoboye gukora, nibegure hakiri kare dore ko muri bo hari n'ababitangiye. Ku byerekeye ibyabaye mu Rwanda, ubu twabonye ibyago twese, ku buryo byatubera urugero rutuma twongera kubaka urwatubyaye.

Twese twarahunze yaba umutu cyangwa umututsi, twese twarapfushije. Nta muryango n'umwe uteratakaje abantu mu moko yombi. Twese twarababaye kugeza niyo twese duta ibyo twari twarashatse. Ingabo zombi zaraye rwa ntambi, yaba iz'inkotanyi cyangwa se inzirabwoba. Ibyo byose rero nibyo bituma tuvuga dute ko kubabara bitera ubwenge.

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Utarumviye muri ubu buhungiro ntahandi azumvira. Ngaho naho mu nkiko ku baba bazi ko inkotanyi zidakina.

## TWATSINZWE DUTE, DUTSINDWA NANDE ?

Amezi atatu ari hafi gushira turi mu buhungiro, buri muntu wese aribaza uko byageze, akibaza uko azataha, akibaza uko twatsinzwe, ariko ni bake bemera bakavuga icyatumye dutsindwa. Iyi myandiko ndifuza ko twayiganiraho, tutiriwe tuvuga intambara yiswe iyu kwakira 1990. Reka twivugire gusa iyi jejobundi muru Mata 1994. Ngira ngo abasomyi ba Kangura bo nta cyabatangaje cyangwa se ngo kibatungure iriya ntambara twe twayikozagaho imitwe y'intoki. Twayivuze kuburyo buhagije, twerekana ibimenyetso byuko tugiye gutera nta masasu dufite, twerekana ubuswa bwa bamwe mu ngabo zacu, twerekana ubufatanye buke bwari busigaye buranga ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda. Ibyo byose byaje bikurikira imyandiko KANGURA yashize ahagaragara mu kwezi kwa 12/1993 ivuga ukuntu Perezida Habyarimana azicwa mu mpera z'ukwa gatatu cyangwa se mu ntangiriro z'ukwa kane.

### TWATSINZWE DUTE ?

Habyarimana akimara gupfa hatangiye ubwicanyi butunguranye, buherekezwa n'ubusahuzi, bityo buri muntu ahugira mu kwigwizaho umutungo ataruhiye, no kwikiza uwo bagira icyo bapfa.

Ibyitso byarishwe muri, uko kwica ibyito hapfuyemp n'izindi nzira karengane nyinshi abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi baricwa imirambo itondekwa ku minanda. Isi yose yari ihagaze riwe na MINUAR isanga ibyo bintu bitakwihanganirwa nibwo u Bubiligi, Amerika biteye inkunga F.P.R. bayiha ibisasu bihagije byari i Kigali, ubwo Amerika nayo ikora ambargo, tumara amezi inkontanyi zidutera tugaceceka. Hashyirwaho guverinoma yabatabazi iza ifite ingufu zo gutabara, ariko ibura icyo itabarisha kubera ko twatewe nta masasu, kandi tudashobora no kubona aho tuyagura ubwo amahanga aba aratungambaniye tubura ingufu zo kurwanya inkontanyi kubera ko igice kinini cy'abasirikari bacu birirwaga mu busahuzi bwa mamodoka n'ibindi byinshi. Aho F.P.R. iba igeze ku mugambi wayo, iba ifashe u Rwanda bitabagoye kubera ko aho twavaga hose yahitaga ihafata itarwanye. Kubera ko abasahuye bahitahamo gucikisha ibyo basahuye ubwo umuturage yabuze umutabara, kuko mu minsi ya nyuma abasirikari bacicikanaga ku mupaka wa Zaïre bajyanye ibisahurano byabo. Mu rwego rwa guverinoma ba Minisitiri nabo baba ibigwari, batangira kugurisha imodoka za leta tukiri mu Rwanda. Ubwo F.P.R. iba ifashe u Rwanda ityo itarwaranye, itarushye. Ubwo kandi abo bari barabaye abasahuzi ni nako bakomezaga guhiga ababababwiza ukuri. Urugero n'ukuntu naterwaga buri munsi ngo nicwe kubera kutavuga rumwe mu byabaye mu kwezi wa kane, nko gusahura no kwica abadafite aho bahuriye na politike. Ubwo turiruka tugera muri Zaïre. Ruhengeri ifatwa nta mirwano, Gisenyi ifatwa nkaho itangira umusirikari cyangwa umupolisi.

### TWATSINZWE NA NDE ?

Iki kibazo kucyumva biragoye kuko bisaba ubwenge n'ubushake bwo kumva. Njye mbona nta mututsi watsinze umuhutu, nta n'umuhutu wari gutsinda umututsi, ahubwo politike yacu yageze nyuma iratunanira. Gufata ibyemezo biratugora. Politike yo kubungabunga umutekano iratunanira. Gushyira ingabo ku murongo, tuzibuza gusahura abo zishinzwe kurinda biratunanira, politike y'ububanyi n'amahanga iratuzambana.
Gusobanura uko intambara turwana iteye biranyanirana. Bityo F.P.R. idufata aritwe twitsinze kubera kutamenya gukina neza, bityo ikibuga twakiniragamo, tugisigira uwagishaga atarushye kubera ko twari twirukanse.

Amakosa yakozwe aboneka mu ngezo nyinshi zaba iza gisivili, zaba iza gisirikari. Abaturage bo bakoze icyo bagombaga gukora. Kandi bari biteguye kunganira ingabo mu kurwanya F.P.R. iyo ingabo zibishaka.

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Ibyo kugira ngo bishoboke, byari byoroshye kuko Ironde-karere ryari mu buyobozi bw'ingabo zacu, iyo tuza kurireka, ingabo zacu zikavuga rumwe. Tujya gutsindwa hari umu ofisiye watinyaga kuvuga kubera ko yabonaga ntawe uramwumva, kubera akarere akomokamo.

Aba ofisiye benshi barasebejwe, bahuriza amahwemo, bashyirwa kuri lisiti yabasezererwa mu ngabo umunsi ARUSHA yasinyiriwe mu bikorwa, hakaba ivanga ry'ingabo. Ibyo byose byaje byunganira politike mbi yacu, maze tubura uko dutabara igihugu, dutsindwa dutyo, duhungana amasasu yashoboraga kurwana amezi atatu. Nguko uko twatsinzwe.-

## NGO NDATSINZWE NIDUHE NDARANGAYE

Ubu abanyarwanda benshi turi mu mahanga aho twageze duhunze. Habaye ubutwari bwagaragajwe n'ingabo zacu. Aha ndavuga mukuduhungisha, haba mu kuva muri Kigali, ubwo yafatwaga, haba kuva mu zindi ntara zose z'igihugu. Impamvu nemeza ko habaye ubutwari bw'ingabo zacu, n'uko Inkontanyi zari zarahize ko umunsi zadufatiye muri Kigali nta n'umwe uzacika. Ibyo ni nabyo byatumye abaturage benshi bahungira mu mahanga kubera gutinya ibyo ikontanyi zari zimeyeje kubakorera, imyaka ine y'intambara irahagije kugira ngo umuntu amenye urumutegereje. Ngo ntabyera ngo de ! Kuba twaratsinzwe n'inkontanyi bikomoka ku bintu byinshi. Muri byo tuzagenda tubavuga buhoro buhoro ni bura bitubere isomo. Ubwo intambara yatangiraga muri 1990 ingabo z'u Rwanda zitwaye neza haba mubasirikari bakuru, haba abo mu rwego rwo hasi. Uko intambara yakomezaga, niko ingabo zacu zakazaga umurego wo gutunganya umurimo zishinzwe.

Ibyo byatumaga benshi bibaza ukuntu tuzafatanya n'ingabo zica inyuma zikatwiba, zikatwica. Ibyo byagaragaye hose, kandi hose mu Rwanda. Ubwo bamwe mu basirikari bigabiganaga ibyo abaturage, zigasahura, zikica ntihagire ibyemezo bizifatirwa. Ubwo busahuzi bwiswe PIYAJE 'ntibwigeze bwamaganwa kumugaragaro, kubera ko abari babusanyigikiye ari, bamwe mu bayobozi bakuru Ingabo. Ibyo byose byatumaga umuturage yibaza icyo apfana n'icyiswe ingabo ze. Intambara yarakomeje neneka, ibyo kurwana bisa nkaho byibagiranye, ubusahuzi bushyirwa imbere.

Ibyo kurwanya F.P.R. ubwo biba birabagiranye abasirikari bakarwanira guhisha no kurinda ibisahurano byabo. Ibyo byose byakorwaga n'abasirikari bo mu byiciro byose. Nyamara se, ntitwasobanuraga ko, ibyo basahura batazabona aho babibika mu gihe tuzaba twarafashwe.

## KIGALI YAFASHWE ITE?

Ugufatwa kwa Kigali kwagombaga kutwigisha. Si ngombwa ko tuvuga amakosa yakozwe mugihe Kigali yafatwa, kuko twabisobanuriwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo zacu.

Ku buryo hari abasirikari babwiwe ko bagomba kuva muri Kigali bakumirwa bakabura aho batwara ibisahuranó byabo. Nyamara amakosa yakozwe yari ahagije ngo atubere isomo. Si ngombwa gusa kuvuga ibya gisirikari kuko byavugwa n'ababizi gusa twe tuvuga iby'umuturage yifuza ko byakorwa. Ku ruhande rw'abaturage barwanya uko bashoboye, ariko bakabura ubajya imbere. Birababaje, kandi biteye agahinda kubona Gisenyi na Ruhengeri hafatwa nta sasu na rimwe riraswe. Abasirikari bari bashinzwe kuharinda akaba aribo bahasahura, bagahunga mbere y'abaturage. Nyamara ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwatubwiye ko amasasu twahunganye yashoboraga kurwana igihe kitari gito. Ayo masasu ubwinshi bwayo bwabonywe n'abatuye umujyi wa GOMA bo babonaga aho arunze ku misozi twanyuzemo. Kubona bamwe muba Coloneri bahunga mbere y'abaturage. Abaturage akaba aribo bahunga nyuma. Twahunze dusigaye tubona abasirikari bacu bakajya ubwoba kubera ko, iyo batakwicaga bagucuzaga ibyo utunze. Ingero natangwa na buri muntu wahuye nizo sanganya.

Ibyasahuwe n'ibyo byatumye bizirika kubuno mpa amaguru. Kuko wasangaga kaporali na Major n'abandi bategetsi bagisirikari bakora irushanwa mukugirisha ibyo basahuye. Twegereye abahanga mu by'intambara batubwira ko iyo ingabo zatangiye gusahura, kwiba abo zishinzwe kurinda

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ziba zitagomba gutsinda. Ngo ingabo zacu zagombaga kuvanwamo urumamfu rwinshi rwari rumaze kurenga ingano.

Maze tugasigarana bake beza bafite ikinyabupfura, bafite umutima wo kubohoza igihugu cyabo, badakorera umushahara, bakunda abaturage, badashobora kubasahura. Bataboneka hagashingwa undi mutwe mushya wo kubohoza u Rwanda. Abari abasirikari bakabareka bakajya mu buzima bwo hanze bahora bararikiye.-

# NTA GENOCIDE YABAYEHO MU RWANDA

**Mu minsi ishize abafaransa baherutse gutangaza ko nta genocide yabayeho mu Rwanda. Baravuga bati: twabajije FPR niba yararwanaga intambara y'amoko cyangwa intambara ya politiki (la Guerre Politique ou la Guerre Ethnique). FPR isubiza ko yarwanaga intambara ya politiki. Ubwo abafaransa bayibwirako hatabaye itsembakoko ko habaye ubwicanyi ku bice byombi. FPR ikaba yaricaga abatavuga rumwe nayo n'urundi ruhande bikaba uko. Icyo gisubizo nticyashimisha FPR.**
**Barongera barayibaza bati: niba mwararwanaga intambara y'amoko, ni ukuvuga ko mwicaga abahutu muhuye nabo kuko muhagarariye abatutsi n'urundi ruhande nabyo bikaba uko. Ibyo isanze bitayinogeye, itangira gukwirakwiza ibihuha ngo gouvernement yahunze yatangiye kugura amahanga mu guhakana ibyabaye mu Rwanda Ng'uko uko FPR yumiwe ku ngaruka y'intambara yashoje.**

## BIMEZE BITE RERO?

**Ubu FPR yafashe umugambi wo kwica abahagarariye impunzi ikabicira aho bahungiye itabishobora ikabashyira kuri liste y'abazaburana muri rwa rukiko mpuzamahanga.**

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