

KANGORA

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EDITORIAL

NI IKI UMUYOBOZI WA KANGURA YIBAZA KURI POLITIKI IKORWA N'IMPUNZI MURI IKI GIHE ? NI IKI KINDI UMUYOBOZI WA KANGURA ATEKEREZA KU BUTEGETSU BWA FPR MURI IKI GIHE ?

Mu minsi ishize wahuraga n'umwe mu bashinze RDR ugasanga arababaye ku buryo bwo kurira wamubaza ikimubabaje akakubwira ngo ni uko NGEZE Hassan adashyigikiye RDR .Wamubaza niba kudashyigikiye RDR kwa NGEZE aribyo byayibuza kubaho no gukomera,akagushyigikiye ngo mu mpunzi zose ni Ngeze uzwi kandi ukunze kandi n'amahanga akurikirira hafi iby'u Rwanda akaba ahanze amaso ibyo

Ngeze avuga.Wamubaza icyo azakora ngo Ngeze yemere RDR akakubwira ko atarabonana nawe.Ngo abamubwira ibya politiki bose bamubwira ko Ngeze atali yayoboka RDR ,ngo abo niho agahinda n'impungenge bishingiye.Ubwo watandukana n'umu RDR ,ugahura n'umuminisitiri wo muri Guverinoma y'Abatabazi ari reka ubu twashobewe kuko twumvise bavuga ko Ngeze Hassan atagishyigikiye Guverinoma,wamubaza ibimenyetso akakubwira ko hari bamwe mu baminisitiri Ngeze abonamo ubuswa cyangwa ubugwari.Wamubaza icyatumye bajyaho kandi bimeze bityo,akagushyigikiye ngo batanzwe n'amashya .Wamubaza niba icyo aricyo cyonyine Ngeze aheraho mu kudafatanyana na Guverinoma,akakubwira ko hari n'ibindi bivugwa ko Ngeze yaguzwe n'abantu bo muri RDR ngo ababogamireho.Ubwo wagenda gato ugahura n'umuntu wo mu buyobozi bw'ingabo ,ati reka Ngeze arimo arinubira ukuntu twasinye dushyigikiye RDR mu kuvuka kwayo.Wabaza uwo musirikare ubikubwira akakubwira ,akakubwira ko Ngeze yavuze ko ingabo zabogamye bitali ngombwa cyane cyane mu gutonesha RDR bishingiye ku magambo gusa,kuko nta gikorwa na kimwe RDR yigeze ikora cyatuma yizerwa bigeze hariya.NGO Ngeze ntiyumva ukuntu ingabo zabogamye bigeze ubwo zisaba Guverinoma ko amafaranga n'umutungo twahunganye byashyirwa mu maboko ya RDR.Ngo Ngeze aribaza niba RDR imaze amezi ane nayo idacyuye impunzi nayo bazayambura uwo mutungo n'ayo mafaranga maze bigahabwa irindi shyirahamwe rizaba ryavutse.Ngeze ngo arasanga ingabo zarihuse

zikabogama bitali ngombwa ku buryo byatera gucikamo ibice by'abifuza kuvugira impunzi.Ubwo watandukana n'ibyo bice byose ugahura n'inkotanyi ziti reka Ngeze atumereye nabi kuko inzandiko ze zanga zigashegesha ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali zigatuma inkotanyi n'abazishyigikiye bakuka umutima kubera ko ubu Kangura ahahutu bari mu Rwanda bayifata nk'umukiza bakaba bemera ibyo yandika byose nk'ivanjiri ,ndetse ngo hashyizweho komisiyo mu nkotanyi yo kwiga ukuntu Kangura yahagarikwa ku isi ,cyangwa bakica umuyobozi wayo ,byanirirana ngo bakagura zimwe mu njiji ziboneka mu mpunzi ngo zijye zisebya Kangura ziyita ko nayo ari inkotanyi maze abayikunda bagabanuke.Ibimenyetso ngo ni uko ivuga ibintu bikaba cyangwa igahiga abashyigikiye umutungo w'impunzi twahunganye.

Iyo ibyo byose ubyumvise,wibaza icyo uwitwa Ngeze ari cyo.Dore igisubizo kuri ibyo byose.Kuva maze imyaka irenga 15 mu bwanditsi,kuba ndi umunyamakuru wa mbere muri Afurika wafunzwe inshuro nyinshi,20 muri gereza na 36 muri za kasho za burigade n'indi nshuro imwe nafunzwe mu kwa gatanu ubwo Habyarimana yapfuye ngo nzira ko mvugaga ibintu bikaba,nakwibuka ukuntu hakozwe telegaramu 43 ngo umfata wese andase nta kuzuyaza nakwibuka ko ari abo bamfungaga ari n'abo bashakaga kunyica bese ubu turi hamwe mu buhungiro,nakwibuka ko bamwe mubo nita injiji ari abo bese bitwa ko bafite ijamba mu baturage cyangwa bigeze kubategeka maze bakagenda bagwa mu mutego w'inyenzi bigatuma dusohoka mu gihugu,iyo mbona Kangura isohoka ikagera ku masoko mpuzamahanga igasomwa mu Rwanda no mu bihugu byose birimo impunzi ,iyo ndebye

ukuntu abo bese hampigaga isoni zibica babura icyo bavugaga bakavugaga ngo Kangura ni inkoyyiyitanyu kubera kuvugaga ibizaba no gutinyuka aho abandi batinyu ,ndavugaga nti genda Kangura uri igihangange.

Reka mbwire abakora politiki,buri wese mu rwego arimo ,agomba kumenya ko Kangura ari ikinyamakuru kigenga n'abacyandika bakaba bigenga.tukaba ubu tubana tukanakorana nabo bese bajyaga badufungaga cyangwa bagategura umugambi wo kutwica. twe rero icyo tudashobora kwihanganira nu kubona umuswa ,abasamba basahuye umutungo twahunganye cyangwa ubundi bugwari ngo tumwemerere kongera gutobera abaturage abatinza mubuhungiro kubera inyunguze.ntashirahamwe turimo ntaniryo turwanya .icyo tureba nukureba niba ayomashyirahamwe ashingwa afite politiki ihamye yokuducyura koko.kuko abambere bashakaga gutaha aritwe ubwo rero dukeneye kureba umuntu ufite politike izaducyura maze ngo tumushyigikiye.

icyo NGEZE ASABA ABASHAKA GUSHINGA RDR 1 gutanga porogaramu yanyu mukerekana ninzira muzakoresha kugira ngo mugere kuli ibyo muzaba mwiyeje, 2 turasaba RDR kutwereka stati zayo umuntu ushaka kuyigana akabona ingingo imwemerera kujyamo nimwemerera kuvamo yabishatse. 3 turasaba abashinze RDR kutwereka urwego rushobora kuyugurura umuyobozi wayo uyu nuyu wakwiha gufata ibyemezo bibogamiye abamuyobotse. 3 RDR turayisaba kutubwira uko byagenda haramutse habaye kongere maze abayishinze barimo ba

KANGURA NO. 69 MAI 1995 IMPRIME A BRUXELLE BELGIQUE

NZABAHIMANA na ba **KANYARUSHOKI** ntibatorerwe gukomeza kuyiyobora kuko icyo gihe abazungu bayishigikiye bashobora kutayishigikira kubera ko abayiri kwisonga bazaba badashigikiwe nabo bazungu bifuzza kudufasha. RDR nimara kudosobanurira ibyo byose kubera ko tuli bamwe mubifuzza gutaha ubwo tuzakora ibishoboka byose maze ducegeze amatwara ya RDR bitari byabindi byo kuyoboka amashyaka agamije kuturoha nokuduta inyuma yigihugu. RDR igomba kwerekana nanone ukuntu izakorana nandi mashyirahamwe azavuka agamije kuvugira impuzi nukuntu azayavungururiraho kuli wa mutungo abasirikare bifuze ko wakwamburwa guverinoma ugahabwa RDR guverinoma nayo niyerekane gahunda

yayo itwereke ibyo ishobora gukora nibyo idashobora maze abantu bareke kurondogora bajya gusinyira ishira hamwe ritaragira stati kubera kubura urundi rwego bizera rwabacyura guverinoma kandi isabwe kwerekana gahunda yayo muminsi iri imbere guverinoma kandi igomba kwirinda ibintu bituma ingabo zacu zikomeze gusinyira amatangazo. Ingabo nazo zigomba gukora ibishoboka byose zikatubonera igihugu maze zigakomeze kwitwaga ingabo zigihugu kuko zizaba zanzagikoreye bitagenze bityo zakomeze kwitwaga ingabo zarubanda ziri mubuhungiro nizihaguruke tuzifashe maze dutere umwanzi tumuyane kwizima twongere twizihize umunsi mukuru wingabo zigihugu kandi zerekane ko tuzishigikiye koko. Injiji nazo nititwarangiza tutagize icyo

tuzibwira, abasambo bafatanije nizo injiji niba ibyo kangura yandika bitazigera kumutima zizakore ikinyamakuru cyazo maze ziturekere amahoro mu mujyi wa nayirobi hari umugabo wigeze kumbwira ati **NGEZE** we uzi ko mubantu 100 mpura nabo 84% mbambwiye ko banga kangura? nara musubije nti ahubwo nibake kuko bagombye kuba 99% nonese uhuye ni nyenzi cyangwa ibyitso byazo, ugahura nabasahuye umutungon twahunganye, ugahura nabagaragaje ubuswa bigatuma dusohoka mugihugu urunva abobose batagera kuli 99% ushaka kumenya ingufu zacu azegere abaturage tuvugira ababaze ukuntu bafata kangura nka bibiriya nimureke dukore injiji nazo zibone aho zihera zivuga dore ko byo nta nubwitange bisaba **NGEZE HASSAN**

I KIBEHO NIHO HABAYE ITSEMBATSEMBA RYA MBERE MU RWANDA.

Itsembatsemba ni ijamba abanyarwanda bamaze kumenyera. Ryacuzwe rihereye ku ijamba mvamahanga "genocide" rivuga gutsemba abantu bo mu bwoko ubu n'ubu, mu idini iri n'iri cyangwa se abantu bahuje ibitekerezo, ariko bigakorwa bibanje gutegurwa.

Mu mwaka w'1994 mu Rwanda habaye icyo bamwe bise itsembatsemba. Iperereza ryarakozwe René SEGUI ukomoka muri Côte d'Ivoire ari mu bakoze kuri icyo perereza. Mu bujiji bwinshi yahise yemeza ko mu Rwanda habaye itsembatsemba.

Mu kuri ibyabaye mu Rwanda icyo utabigizeho ubushishozi buhagije usanga ari itsembatsemba koko. Ariko icyo urebye impinategako (définition) y'icyo jambo, hari ikintu cy'ingenzi amahanga yirengagiza. Itsembatsemba ryibasira abantu bafite icyo bahuruyeho ariko rikagomba kuba riteguwe. Iyo idateguwe bavuga ko ari bwicanyi. Mu Rwanda biroroshye kugirango umenye w'she n'uwu yishe. Ikintu idashobora kumenyekanana kubera ko kitige: kibaho ni ukumenya wamuturaye. Wasobanura ute ko nta kujenjeka "bivuga ngo genda wice umututsi cyangwa undi wese udahuje ibitekerezo. Iyo nta kujenjeka "icyo urebye igihe

yavugirwe, usanga atari umugambi wo gutsembatsemba kuko ibyaba byari byatangiyeye. Hambere aha Pasteur BIZIMUNGU aherutse kwiyasira ati itsembatsemba ryabaye mu rya 59,73,94. Ko mu 1973 uwo BIZIMUNGU afatanije na ZIRIMWABAGABO Charles bitaga Karakara aribo bari ku isonga ryabashije abatutsi muri kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare, baba bibuka babatumye? Bazafate ijamba mu rwego rwo kubwira Abanyarwanda uwabatumye.

MU tubare hirya no hino i Kigali abatutsi hari ubwo babazanyaga ibyabaye mu 1994. Bakunze kuvuga mu cyuka ko Habyarimana ariwe wariteguye. Iyo bageze ku rupfu rwe hararimanganya bagakiranurwa n'umugani wa kinyarwanda ubashyira aho bifuzza nk'uwigisiga cyurwara rururire cyangwa urucira mukaso. Uwo turungushyaho twose bajyamo sitwo tuzasobanura genocide.

Genocide isobanutse ni icyo kibaho. Dore ukuntu yateguwe. Kagame avuye yavugiyeye kuri radio ko azanyeye umuti w'inkambi y'i Gikongoro. Muri icyo nkambi, abanyapolitiki bose bakoreraga FPR bagize icyo bayivugaho bacegeze ibitekerezo by'uko Gikongoro ari inkambi y'interahamwe kugirango niramuka ibereyemo ubwicanyi amahanga

atazabwamagana uko bikwiye kubera ko bazumvamo ikintu cyo kwihorera. Muri cya cyumweru cyo gutaburura amagufa no guhembera umujinya, abanyapolitiki basabye abaturage kwamagana ingabo za MINUAR. Ibyo bikorwa mu gihe Leta y'i Kigali yari yarahagaritse imyigaragambyo icyo ariyoye. Kwamagana MINUAR rero kwari ukugirango babanze bayitere ubwoba noncho igihe cyo kwica abahutu b'i Kibeho izarebere gusa kandi ariyo ishinze kubarinda.

Itsembatsemba ry'i Kibeho ryatikije abahutu barenga ibihimbiri umunane ryakozwe n'ingabo za FPR. Ibi biragaragaza ko zari zifite uwazitumye. Nk'uko tubyumva izo ngabo ziyoborwaga na Kagame. Twongere tubibutse ko Kagame yavuze ko afite umuti w'inkambi ya Gikongoro n'abandi mu Rwanda hari inkambi. Uwo muti rero yarawutanzwe.

Itsembatsemba si ngombwa umubare uhanitse. Abo rikorerwaga bose n'uburyo ryateguwe nibyo byonyine birihamya. BIZIMUNGU Pasteur rero wariye ibifutero by'abatutsi nashaka aye ku mubare 300 w'abahutu bishwe arebera agere ku 10 gusa! Ntacyo byahindurira ku itsembabwoko ry'abahutu akomeje gushyigikira ko rikomeze.

Amahanga nahaguruke bwangu maze akome imbere ririya

tsembatsemba.Anketa nizamuka zemeje umubare urenga 300

IHURIRO RIGAMIJE GUCYURA MU RWANDA R.D.R.

Impamvu: Iyuburabwicyanyi Abanyarwanda bongeye kugirirwa n'ingabo za FPR

BWANA MUYOBOZI WINAMA ISHINZWE UMUTEKANO MURI ONU, New York, USA

Ihuriro rigamije gucyura impunzi no kugarura demukarasi mu Rwanda (RDR)ritewe impungenge n'uko amahanga akomeje guceceka no kurebera ikomeza ry'ubwicanyi bukorerwa abaturage b'inzirakarengane n'ingabo za FPR.

Impunzi z'abanyarwanda nti zabwoye ku mubare w'ibihumbi by'ubwicanyi ishinzagurirwa ry'abaturage ndetse n'ifungwa ryabo rikorwa mu gihirizi kandi abenshi ari inzirakarengane bikoze gukorwa na Leta y'i Kigali ibifashijwemo n'ingabo zayo. Aha ntawabura kuvuga nk'itunga ku agufu ry'inkambi ya Kibuye muri Nzeli 1994, iraswa ry'impunzi mu nkambi ya KIBEHO mu UGUSHYINGO 1994, ibitero byagabwe mu nkambi z'i Burundi, yicwa ry'imfungwa kubera kubura umwuka muri kasho ya MUHIMA muri WERURWE 1995 ndetse n'igitero cyagabwe mu nkambi ya BIRAVA muri Zayire aho abantu 37 bapfuye n'abandi benshi bagakomereka ndetse n'abandi bagera kuri 20 bagashimutwa.

Ubwicanyi bw'abantu barenga ibihumbi 8 (8.000.) bwabereye i Kibeho taliki ya 22.4.1995, si ubwagwirirye ingabo za FPR, ahubwo ni igikorwa cyateguwe na Leta y'i Kigali, maze gishyirwa mu bikorwa n'ingabo zayo. Mu kiganiro Bwana BIHOZAGARA Yakobo Minisitiri ushinzwe gucyura no gusubiza impunzi mu byazo yagiranye na radio Rwanda ku italiki ya 19.4.1995, yavuze ko isenywa ry'inkambi ziri mu gihugu

w'abapfuye kandi Bizimungu yarahagaze agahishira

IMPUNZI IMPUNZI NO KUGARURA DEMUKARASI

ryemeranyijweho na leta ye na MINUAR ndetse n'amashyirahamwe adakorera Leta akorera mu Rwanda.

Paul KAGAME, umuvugizi wa Perezida, nqwe ubwo yavaga mu ruzinduko mu gihugu cy'Ubusinwa mu kwezi kwa Mata 1995, yivugiyeko azakoresha uburyo bukomereye kugirango inkambi zose ziri mu gihugu zisenyurwe.

Urebye uburyo abantu barenga ibihumbi 120 (120.000) bashyizwe ahantu hadashobotse, ntibabone uko bahumeka ari nako banyagirwa, batarya, batanywa, ndetse batavurwa, nta gushidikanya ko igikorwa cyo kwica izo mpunzi cyateguwe na Leta y'i Kigali kuva mu 18.4.1995 narwo rvari rifite icyo rihatse, rvari rigamije kubura umuntu umwe w'ahungu kugirango babire hanwe.

RDR rero yamaganye ku buryo budasubirwaho ibyo Minisitiri w'intebe yavuze ko abasirikare barashye bu wanaho.

Nk'uko bisanzwe rero iyewe ry'abaturage ry'i Kibeho ryakurikiwe n'ibinyoma FPR yakuye mu banyamakuru yemaza ko muri icyo nkambi hiberagamo INTERAHAMWE, zigomba gupfa utabwira. Ayo makuru rero yari agamije guhuma amahanga amaso kugirango adafatira Leta y'i Kigali ibyemezo.

RDR yongeye gushinganisha abaturage bo muri Komini KIVUMU muri perefegitura ya KIBUYE, abo muri komini NDUSU muri perefegitura ya RUHENGARI n'abo mukarere ka GISHWATI muri GISENYI Leta y'i Kigali yirirwa ivuga ko ari abicanyi ifite umugambi wo kubatsemba.

RDR itewe mpungenge n'imyifatire mibi ya bamwe mu bayobozi ba MINUAR, cyane cyane Bwana SHARIHAN KHAN uhagarariye umunyamabanga wa LONI mu Rwanda utabwirira

abicyanyi, azahanirwe ko ari ikitso.

amahanga ukuri ku byabereye i KIBEHO, ahubwo akanezrwa no gusuzugura ibyahabereye agirango ahishire ubugome burenze bwa FPR ikomeje kugirira abaturage.

Buri gihe LONI ntiyahwemye gushyigikira FPR mu bikorwa byayo by'ubwirasi, kugeza n'ubwo itinyuka guhagarika toni 2000 z'ibiryo zigenewe impunzi ziri muri ZAIRE maze ntibagire uwamagana icyo gikorwa, kandi ubwo ari uburyo FPR yateguye bwo kumvisha abo ihanganye na bo yita abicanyi.

RDR irasaba Inama Ishinzwe Umutekano kw'Isi kwamagana ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bitegurwa na Leta y'i Kigali bigashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ingabo zayo. RDR irasaba ko ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byabereye i BIRAVA ni KIBEHO kandi bagafatwa n'ingamba z'ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byabaye umubazabwira.

RDR irasaba kandi ko Leta y'i Kigali ndetse na bamwe mu bakozi ba MINUAR badakora akazi kabo ko bagafatirwa ibihano.

RDR irongera kwerekana uruharo rwa bimwe mu bihugu, imiryango idakorera Leta ndetse na bamwe mu bantu ku giti cyabo, bafite mu kaga ubu Abanyarwanda barimo.

Mu kurangiza, Bwana Perezida w'inama ishinzwe Amahoro ku Isi tubaye tubashimiye.

KUBWA RDR

UMUNYAMABANGA NGANDURABIKORWA DR BUTARE Innocent BIMENYESHEJWE:

-Bwana Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa LONI

-OUA

-Abagize Inama Ishinzwe Amahoro ku Isi

-Bwana Perezida w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Uburaya

-Bwana uhagarariye Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa LONI Kigali.

ABABILIGI BAMERANYE BATE NA KANGURA ?

Inteko y'abadepite iherutse guterana mu mpera z'ukwezi gushize maze uwitwa Jean GOL wanga urunuka abahutu aza yikoreye umuba wa Kangura ,ngo ntiyumva ukuntu Kangura yakomeza kwandikirwa mu Bubiligi.Ubwo abo ba depite

bakomeje kuja impaka kuri icyo kibazo basanga icapiro ricapa Kangura rifite ububasha bwose bwo kwakira ahakiriya bayo,maze abo ba depite basubika inama maze bemeza ko ikibazo cya Kangura kigomba gufatwa nka radio Amahoro ,Dialogue na UNION-

Rwanda byose bikaba byaratangiye kwandikirwa mu Bubiligi kubera intambara y'umwaka ushize.Ubwo icyo kibazo bagishyikirije minisiteri ishinzwe ububanyi n'amahanga hamwe na minisiteri ishinzwe itangazamakuru .

Tubiteze amaso.

IJAMBO NYAKUBAHWA GREGORI KAYIBANDA YAGEJEJE KU MPUNZI NO KU BANDI BANYARWANDA BABAGA MU MAHANGA MUW'1963.

Bavandimwe banyarwanda , banyarwandakazi b'impunzi , nirengagije ibibazo mu ntera ,ubwo muhungabanya umutekano w'igihugu , mutera urwababyaye , ndetse mu buza bene wanyu amahoro , bibereye mu Rwanda ruhagazeku nkingi ya demokarasi, Nirengagije uburyarya bwa bamwe muri bene wanyu bakoresha ,bemeza kandi batangaza yuko tuli "

ABARIMBURA BWOKO

(génocidaires). Nirengagije ko abo mubeshya bakomeje kubaha uburyo bwose bwo kubona ibyuma by'ubwoko bwose kugirango musohhoze umugambi wanyu mubisha . Twirengagije ibyo byose , dusanze ari ngombwa ko tubagezaho ubu butumwa bwa kivandimwe , twizere yuko muzabwakira neza . Twebwe abanyarwanda bali mu gihugu tubona duta imigirire yanyu? Igihugu cyo kibona gite icyo myifatire yanyu? Ariko cyane cyane , uko mbona imigirire yanyu kuli leta y'u Rda . Muri make ngizo ingingo eshatu , ngira ngo ngire icyo nzivugaho , mbereka aho Repubulika y'u Rda ihagaze .1. Tuzi yuko abanshi muri mwebwe icyo bifuzwa ari uko babona bateye , maze bagashobora kwibera aho bahungiyeye , kugirango boshobore gutunga imiryango yabo . Abo ngabo ntitwahwemye kubasaba kugaruka mu gihugu .

- Abandi muri mwe bifuzwa kwigarukira mu gihugu ,kuko babona nta izere bafite mu buzima bw' mu mahanga. Abo ngabo rero twiteguye kubafasha gusubira iwabo , mu gihe cyose bazaba badafite umugambi wo guhungabanya igihugu nkabo

twakiriye mu KUBOZA gushize. Tuzi kandi ki abenshi bo muli ibyo bice bibili ,tumaze kuvuga haruguru,, bahunze kubera igihunga, cg se bahunze kubera kubeshywa, nabari bafite inyungu mu guhunga kwabo. Ikibabaje gusa , n'uko batabanje kureba ingaruka zari muri uko guhunga . Tuzi kandi HCR yiteguye kubafasha ,inatugezaho ibisabwa gukorwa ,kugirango mushobore gutahuka.

2. Abenshi muli mwe ni abakurikira butama ababashuka maze ntibashobore kureba aho amateka y'u Rda ndetse na Afrika yose yagezeho muli iki gihe cy'imyaka itatu ishize. Abo batumbaraye ku ngoma ya cyami ,birirwa bigisha ndetse bumvisha abantu ko muli iki gihe hazongera kubaho ingoma ya cyami . ibyo bakora byose „nuko babigenza kose , nibatareka icyo migambi yabo, baricira urwo kurimbuka . Izo ntababarirwa kandi, ubu zirirwa zibeshya ari nako zisabiriza amafanga ngo yo gufasha abababaye . Aho kuyakoresha icyo bayasabiye , ahubwa barimo bayagura intwari zo gutera urwababyaye. Tuboneyeho rero,kubamenyeshya yuko badashobora gutsinda ingabo z'igihugu zifite ishingano yo kurongerera ibyiza bya Repuburika. Abo babigisha rero aho kubigisha amahanga ya demokarasi ubu ahubwaho balimo babahamagarira kwitabira imigambi mubisha yabo, bababeshya yuko byo ubukoronibutabahaye bazabibaha .Muli ubwo bugizi bwabo bwa nabi kandi, nubwo twagerageje uko dushoboye, abantu ntibabuze gufata bitewe ni ntagondwa. Ubwo se ari twe nabo ninde ukora IRIMBURA BWOKO

(acte de génocide).Dore ubu abatutsi basigaye mu Rda bifitiye ubwoba, yuko rubunda yavaho ikarakara ikabagirira nabi .Ubwo se murumva koko bishimiye ibikorwa byanyu ? Nitwe duterwa tukitabara cg se nimwe mutera mushaka kurimburisha bene wanyu? Ababafasha se bo bayobewe yuko Abahutu batazakomeza kwemera yuko mukomeza kubakora mu jisho? Ubwo se nibitabara nibo bazaba babaye

ABARIMBURABWOKO ? Ni

hehe mukura intwari zo guhungabanya umutekano ku nkiko z'igihugu ? Ni izihe nshingano mwahawe ? Ni uruhe muryango nyafurika wemera yuko ibibazo , mutera bihari, bigomba gukemurwa n'intambara ? Ibibazo muteza u BURUNDI n'ibindi bihugu byabakiriye, murumva yuko muli ubwo bugizi bwa nabi bwanyu , bumuri imwe mu migambi mishya mu bumwe bw' Afrika ? MUzi yuko hagati yamwe mutumvikana : Muja se mwibaza impamvu ? Si umutima wa ki muntu se benshi muri mwe bafite ? cg se si ikoreshiwa ry'amafranga babaha yo kubatunga bamwe bakayigira intwari . Ubwo se umututsi umuntu yavugaga yuko ari iki ? Umututsi nkuko byari bizwi " << Ubwoko bw'abagishi >> (nomades) b'abiyahuzi nkuko ubu mugerageza kubycerekana ? Abantu nibabona gukanguka no gutekereza icyo umututsi aricyo ntibazabura gusanga ari << Agaco kagamije kurwanya Afrika >> cg se << Ubwoko bw'Abagishi b'abiyahuzi >> (Ethnic nomades et terroristes).Tugaruke ku mibereho izaza yanyu n'iy'abana banyu , turabasaba gutekereza mu nzira

mbi mushaka kunyuzamo ubwoko bwanyu. mugombe ahubwo kureba uko imiryango yanyu izabaho n'uzigisha abana banyu. Nako abo bana banyu mwiye kubamarira ku icumu mubashora mu mirwano. Ubwo se nanone ni nde

MURIMBURABWOKO ? Muja mwibaza ingaruka mushobora kugira muramutse, uretse yuko bidashoboka, mufashe Kigali ? uwo ishyamba ryagwira ? Aho simpatinda kuko namwe ubwanyu mwabifora. Ndetse namwe ubwanyu murabivuga ko **RYABA ARI IRIMBUKA RY'UBWOKO TUTSI**. Ubwo se hagarira yacu namwe nibande baba babaye **ABARIMBURABWOKO ?** Ni niki muri mwe utakoreza ku mbereho y'abanyeshuri babatutsi ababaturikazi ? Muri ubwo twiyahurira bwanyu ni uwuhirije mwanyu mwagonye aho banyeshuri ? Ni uwuhirije mwanyu mwagonye umyunguzi wabakubwira zanyu z'ubuho muri za kabana ?

Nubabwira rero gutakoreza ku ngaruka zose zishoboka zo kubabwira kwanyu ari umwibwira mubwira. Njyewe akumunyaturika, kandi nka Perezida wanyu igihe cyose muzaba twiyuna abanyarwanda, nabagejejeho umwanzuro kugirangi ikibazo cyanyu gikemuke burundu. Uwo mwanzuro uteye utya :

1. Ni murambike intwari hasi, maze mazisubize abazibahaye maze mutangire inzira y'imishyikirano.
2. Abashaka kugaruka, tuzabaha ikaze. Nibagane service zacu zabashinzwe eg se banyure muri HCR.
3. Abashaka kuguma mu bihugu byabakiriye, nabo ni uburenganzira bwabo, basabwa gusa kubahiriza amategeko yaho, no kwinda guhungabanya umutekano wabo. za ambassadanya zacu ziteguye kubafasha mu bikorwa byanyu byose, bibagira no kubategetsi mwahungiyemo.
4. Abanyeshuri banyu biga kuli

ICYO KANGURA ITEKEZA KURI Iyi DISIKURU YA PREZIDA KAYIBANDA

Iyo witegereje ndetse ugasesengura iyi disikuru usanga uburyo inyenzi zakoresheje zigaba ibitero ahagana muri 1963 ntaho bitaniye nibyo

bourse za leta eg bishingiwe nayo, ntitwahwemye kubasaba kugaruka mu gihugu igihe barangije amashuri yabo, kugirangi bafashe igihugu cyabo. Twishimiye kandi cyane abagiraneza bashyizeho ishuri ry'abana banyu mu gihugu duturanye. Turabasaba rero kutabwira integere muri ibyo bikorwa byabo. Hakimara kujyaho ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika twasabye amahanga yuko mutakwitwaza yuko ububunzi bwanyu ari ubwa poritiki. Revolisiyo yamenye amaraso kubera ubushotoranyi bwa bene wanyu bali babafongoye 1959. Azako kanyu katsinzwe amanywa aya imbere y'infurwaza za loti kava icyo gihe bene wanyu basigaye mu gihugu, twagezeje kubabana naza, ariko agaci kanyu kalimo gategura igihugu. Igihe cyose mwateye mwagiye mukubwira inshuro. Kandi uko mwagiye mutera ni nako ibitero byanyu byagiye bihitana inzirakarengane. Gusa mugomba kumenya yuko igihe cyose ababafasha, balimo cyane abanyamakuru bamamaza ibinyoma byanyu, bazamenyere ko mubabashya, ntibazabura kubitarura. Kuya ku 1 Nyakanga 1962 u Rda ni Repubulika yigenga. Inzogo zayo zikaba zaragiyehe ku buryo bwa Demokarasi. Amwe mu mahame ya Repubulika ni uko umunyarwanda wese ari inzirakarengane kandi ko abanyarwanda bose bangana imbere y'amategeko. Kuva mwahungira igihugu cyagumye mu mutekano, kugeza aho mutangiye kugitera. Ubwo se murumva ibyo bitero byanyu bizabageza kuki ? Dore ahubwo ibyo bitero byatumye umubano w'u Rda n'U BURUNDI, ucumbagira. Murumva koko ibyo bitero byanyu hali ikibazo na kimwe bizakemura ? Niba rero mukuanda u Rda nimwubahirize amabwiriza. Leta ibagezaho yerekeranye n'impunzi. Twasanze ari ngombwa kubagezaho ibi jambo, kuko

dusanga ari uburenganzira bwanyu bwo kumenya ibyo dutakoreza ku myifatire yanyu. kandi muzi yuko tutahwemye gushyigikira ababafashaha ku girango mugire ubuzima bwiza. Ariko rero turabasaba kwamamagana ababafasha babaha intwari, kuko babajyana aho mutazashobora kwivana. Njyewe rero nka Perezida wanyu, mfite inshingano yo kubagira inama, mbereka inzira mugomba kunyuraho kugira ngo mugire amashuri. Naho kubatekeranye abaturutse bari mu gihugu, twabamanyesha yuko bakubwira ukubabwira eg se abanyarwanda ahubwo bafite uburenganzira byabo amategeko agendira umunyarwanda. kuba rero mwariye mwitwaza bene wanyu bali mu gihugu mu bugome bwanyu, mwari mukwiye kubareka, kuko imba mufanyana aho mutwaza ibyo kubakura. Ngo mwariye kandi amashuri ya 15 na 25 ya huri kw'izi ngo ariho mwariye ibitero byanyu mwise by'umunyarwanda se murumva hali uyu uwo ariye ku nzangano zanyu twise hagarira abaga n'abahindiro ? Muri mwe gusa yuko ubuho yose banyu imbere ubumwe n'ubwubahirane ari nabyo nkingi y'amategeko. Ibyo Prezida wanyu abagezaho uyu muni ni ukuli, kandi nababafasha mu bugome bwanyu bagombye uyu muni kunyurira. Ibyo nabagejejeho kandi biruta ababaha amafanga eg se intwari Nababwira rero ukuli kwose musanzwe munziko, kandi biranakwiye cyane cyane muri iki gihe mulimo.

KIGALI KUWA 11

3-1963.

PREZIDA WA
REPUBLICA Y'URWANDA GR
KAYIBANDA
Bisizwe mukinyarwanda na
Kangura .

inkotanyi zakoresheje kuva 1990. Iyo migirire ntayindi ureste guharabika isura y'Abahutu hanze ngo amahanga atwijundike

maze yimike kuburyo buhoraho abatutsi maze rya vukanwa ryimbuta ryongerere ribe ihame ridakuka. Niyo mpamvu rero

umuhutu aho ari hose yari awkiriye guhaguruka akirengera aryomoza cyane cyane ibinyoma bya FPR.

Iyo witegereje kandi ababa barongoye, abatutsi ntacyo bene wabo baba bababwiye ku buryo bumva yuko bafataye ubutegetsi batabinyujije mu maraso ya bene wabo kugirango barege abahutu génocide maze isi yose ihaguruke.

**ABAHUTU NTIBIGEZE
BAKORA ITSEMBATSEMBA
AHUBWO BARARSHOTOWE
MAZE BARITABARA.**

Muri iyi disikuru ya **KAYIBANDA** yagiye agaruka ku ijambo **RYUBURIMBURAMBAGA** (acte de génocide) inyenzi zagiye zitegura kuva kera maze zikabwageka ku bahutu kugirango zibone uko zigera ku butegetsi bitazigoye. Perezida **KAYIBANDA** ati " mwibaze uko byagendekera bene wanyu muramutse mufashe Kigali " arakomeza ati "nako ubwanyu murabyivugira ko byaba ari iherezo ry'ubwoko **TUTSI** "

Kuva kera inyenzi zari zizi yuko zigize agace k'igihugu zifata, abahutu batabyemerar ndetse ko umujinya wa rubanda wahindukirana bene wazo. Iyo zakoraga ibitero rero byabaga ari nko gushyirwa abahutu ngo bice abatutsi maze ngo babone uko bavugaga ko abatutsi bashize ndetse ngo ko ari génocide bakoze maze ngo amahanga abawe ibibunda babone uko bifatirira ubutegetsi. Kayibanda akomeza agira ati " rrevolisiyi yo mu 1959 yamennye amaraso kubera intagondwa (Extremistes) z'abatutsi. Burri gihe mu Rwanda niba haragiye habaho ipfa ry'abatutsi babaga ari bene wabo bashotoye abahutu. Muzi mwese umujinya wa rubanda ibyo wakoze mu 1959 ubwo abatutsi bari bamaze gukubita **MBONYUMUTWA** ari nabwo revolisiyo yatangiye. Muzi ko abatutsi bambaye ngo bagiye kurwana n'abahutu bagatsindwa bagahitamo guhunga.

Na pperezida **HABYARIMANA** nawe yigeze kugira ati " abatutsi twari tubanye

neza dore imyaka 17 irashize ati rero ibyabaye kuva mu 1990 mwabibaza inkotanyi. Bakwiye kuzibibaza koko kuko arizo zasembuye **ABAHUTU**.

Mu Bugesera abatutsi bayobowe na **MUGENZI** uyu wahindutse Power kubera ububi bw'abuzukuru b'inyenzi yari amaze kumenya, batuka ndetse batara amabuye **RWAMBUKA** wahoze ari burugumesitiri wabo, rubanda irarakara yivuna umwanzi wamuhohoteye, bati abahutu bakoze génocide !

Mu Ruhengeri na Byumba inkotanyi zica abahutu urubozo. Rubanda irarakara yivuna umwanzi bati abakiga bamaze abatutsi. Koko bana b'abatutsi muragirango tuzabagire dute ? Ngiye kubaha ikizamini ari abahutu ari n'abatutsi; ni ryari habye ipfa ry'abatutsi atari bo barrisembuye ? Nihagira uduha urugero nawe azahembwa bishimishije.

- Nawe se iyo Habyarimana adapfa amahano yabaye aba yarabaye.

- Iyo abatutsi badatuka ndetse ngo batere amabuye burugumesitiri wabo **RWAMBUKA** abatutsi bapfuye mu Bugesera baba barapfuye.

- Iyo **MBONYUMUTWA** adakubitwa n'insoresore z'abatutsi revolitiyo yo mu 1959 iba yarahitanye bamwe mu batutsi ? ndetse génocide turerwaga iba yarabaye, ko nta **NYENZI** nta **NKOTANYI** yajyaga kubaho ?

- Iyo **BUCYANA** adapfa, abapfuye baba barapfuye ?

- Iyo inkotanyi zitica abantu mwabonye ku mafoto mu Ruhengeri na Byumba abahutu baba barishye abatutsi ? Bana b'abatutsi ubwo muragirango tuzabagire dute ? Ubwo se nitwe babi ? Niba se arimwe babi, nitwe dukwiye kwitwaga **ABARIMBURABWOKO** cyangwa nimwe muba mwateguye izo mpfu ?

**UBUGOME BW'ABATUTSI
BWO GUSHAKA UBUTEGETSI
BUNYUZE MU
MARASO YA BENE WABO**

Mu gushaka gufata ubutegetsi zibunyuje mu maraso ya bene wazo, inyenzi cyangwa inkotanyi ntabwo zigeze zemerera abatutsi basigaye mu Rwanda. Ndetse n'ubu biragaragara ko abariyo batapfuye arri **INTERAHAMWE**. Kuri zo iyo bapfa bose bagashira nibyo byari kuba byiza. Aho rero ntawabura kubwira bariya bariryo batapfuye yuko bareka kuguma kubogamira kuri FPR kuko nta byiza ibashakira. Nibarebe uko bayigobotora kuko abenshi bagiye bahishwa na bagenzi babo b'abahutu.

Abatazi rero amateka y'irregwa ry'abahutu rya génocide yuko ryatangiyemo mu 1963. Ndetse n'ikirego kigeze gushyikirizwa ONU ariko icyo gihe abategetsi bacu baragisobanurira ndetse ONU yemeza ko atari génocide. Twibaza rero ubu impamfinalevu amahanga yirengagiza raporo zakozwe icyo gihe ndetse ziri muri ONU bakarenga bakavugaga ko ubu habaye génocide. Ya ngirwamategekako ngo ni Denis **SEGUI** yakwiye isi yose yuko abahutu bakoze génocide ku batutsi kandi ngo ubutegetsi bwa **HABYARIMANA** nibwo bwayiteguye. Ubu se **HABYARIMANA** niwe wabwiye **KAYIBANDA** ngo avuye iriya disikuru mu 1963 avugaga ko abahutu ? **KAYIBANDA** yari ibyo avugaga ibyo aribyo. Inkotanyi ziti reka rero dutangire imirwano muri **KIGALI** nk'uko **KAYIBANDA** yabivuze maze turebe uko turega abahutu génocide, maze isi yose ibazinuke maze dukize twice uwo dushaka. Nyamara ikinyoma cyabo ntikizatinda kugaragara kuko **KAYIBANDA** nabwo yabibonye aho agira ati "abo mwabeshye barimo abanyamakuru bazamenya ko mwabeshye ntibazabura kubitarura " Insinzi ihoraho y'abahutu iri ku kinyoma cy'abatutsi. Mwese muzi uko isi yaduhagurukiye itwita abicanyi, muzi abanyamakuru ukuntu bahagurukuye kuturwanya, ariko se nyuma y'umwaka umwe gusa amahanga ntatangiye kumenya ikinyoma cy'umututsi. Dore ejobundi abadepite bakuru b'abanyamerika bararebye basanga

nta kundi bishobora kugenda mu Rwanda no mu BURUNDI ko ubutegetsi bukwiye kuba ubwa rubandanyamwinshi ,ipfa gusa kubahiria uburenganzira bwa rubandanyamuke. Ku maradiyo musigaye mwumva ngo zishe 22,16,13,24 noneho ejobundi i Kibeho zakoze demi-finale zica abantu ibihumbi 8.000 kandi amahanga yose yarabyamaganye uretse amajoyi yazo ,ndetse tubona ko nidusubira mu Rwanda batazongera kudukandagirira mu gihugu cyacu .

Muri za ambasade bakubwira ko ngo koko ko batari bazi ko zica ??? ngo none ubu barabimenye ! Ni igihe rero cyo gukomeza gukora cyane maze inyenzi zikazatsindwa zitsinzwe burundu.

UBUGOME INYENZI ZIKOMEJE KUGIRIRA IMPUNZI

KAYIBANDA muri disikuru ye aragira ati " ntitwahwemye gushyigikira abantu bashaka kubafasha kugirango mugire ubuzima bwiza !! Ubu se iyo migirire ya Leta ya Kayibanda niyo migirire ya Leta y'i Kigali ? Nako SENDASHONGA yaravuze ngo impamvu bafunze amakamyoye kugemurira impunzi mu nkambi muri Zayire ngo ni uko ayo makamyoye abasenyeri imihanda !!! hari ubugome buruse ubwo ? Iyo mihanda se inyenzi zayubatswe ryari ? SENDASHONGA wahunze amahoro muri za 70 yayubakaga aho yari mu BUBILIGI none ngo n'uwawubatswe ntafite uburenganzira bwo kunyuzaho utugori two kumutunga ? Nta kibazo ariko aho bukeraga SENDASHONGA

KAGAME AKOMEJE KOSHYA ABATUTSI.

Muri za 1980 igihugu cya Uganda cyari kimaze kujegera kubera intambara yatsinze na Tanzaniya. Abahima bari muri icyo gihugu nabo batangira kwitegura kukigarurira. Ku isonga hari Museveni wari ufashijwe n'ingegera z'abatutsi. Muri izo ngegera twavugamo Kagame. Uyunguyi abaganda baramwibuka cyane ari umujura w'imodoka. Ndetse mu gihe

aradusobanurira igihe iyo mihanda yayubakiye .
KAYIBANDA akomeza agira ati " abanyeshuri b'abatutsi biga kuri buruse ya Leta n'abishingiwe nayo bajiye bagaruka mu gihugu badufashe kucyubaka . Izo mpuhwe za **KAYIBANDA** nizo za **KAGAME** ubu ? Ashwi da ! Abanyeshuri barihirirwaga na Leta yahozeho bose Leta ya **KAGAME** yabubikiye imbehe. Ubwo ni aha twese ngo dutabare. Abantu bagira ubugome ngo bakababazwa n'uko dufite passeport ngo kubera ibyo bazihindure ! Ntacyo muzaba mukoze kuko ubu ufite nkeya zo mu bindi bihugu afite 2 . Abantu bababazwa n'umuntu wihunganiye akamodoka ke ,ngo none bazahindura paques ! Nimuzihindure nabyo ntacyo bizadutwara kuko aho turi hose tuhafite ibyitso. Muzaba rero mupfushije ubusa amafanga yanyu.

Mu kurangiza nagirango ngire inama ari abatutsi cyangwa abahutu b'ibikoresho by'abatutsi, bagiyeye kuzamarira bene wanyu ku icumu.

1. KU BAHUTU

Inama nabagira ikubiye muri aya magambo : Twari dusanzwe tuzi ko umututsi yavuze ng UVURA UMUHUTU AMASO BWACYA AKAYAGUKANURIRA none ubanza ahubwo IYO UHAYE UMUTUTSI AMAHORO ABA ARI KUGUCUKURIRA IMVA " Ba TWAGIRAMUNGU , BIZIMUNGU , SENDASHONGA , KANYARENGWE , n'abandi nababwira iki nibahatanire icukurwa ry'imva zabo. Le

yari ashinzwe iperereza mu Bugande, hari abazayirwa bamuzi agurisha imodoka imwe abantu batatu batandukanye. uyiguzwe bwa mbere agategerwa ahantu n'abantu be bakayihereza undi, nawe agategwa , bityo bityo. Ntawiriwe avuga ubugome yagiriraga abo ba nyiri ukuyigira. Oko ka Kagame niko gasigaye kiba abandi "gasiya" nyamara Umufaransa

Message, nyuma ya MATIYASI , RWANGABO, MUTSINZI hatahiwe nde ? Giti mu jisho urumvire aho kandi ujye uzirikana urupfufu rwa MASHIRA, NYAGAKECURU , HABYARIMANA, BUCYANA, GATABAZI n'abandi ko batakunze buke abo ukorera.

2. KU BATUTSI

Umurage ba BIHOZAGARA na RUTAREMARA babaha musatse mwawanga. Dore barashaje kandi igihe bashigajye kuri iyi si kinini , kandi bitinde bishyire kera ubutegetsi buzashyira busubire mu maboko ya mwene GAHUTU. Muge mureba rero inzika mugumya gutera mu mitima ya GAHUTU niba idashobora kuzabagarukira igihe bazaba bisubiriye ku butegetsi.

KAYIBANDA ati " nabasabaga gutekereza ku ngaruka zose zishobora gutera kurimbuka kwanyu ari mwebwe mubyiteye " Ngo abwirwa benshi akumva bene yo.

Umurage wundi mubi murawuhabwa na **KAGAME** n'abandi bari mu kigero kimwe, ndetse bifitiye amacuti hanze y'igihugu. Dore tumaze kumenya ko **KAGAME** yamaze kwitegurira inzira ye igihe tuzaba tuje kubohoza igihugu cyacu. Ubu rero nta handi yahisemo ni muri ERITEREYA aho ateganya kuzibera homme d'affaires muri ayo madovize yahawe ngo aracunga naho yarayamariye hanze y'igihugu.

Rubyiruko rero rw'abatutsi mushatse mwacisha make kuko icyo mirage ishobora kuzabagaruka nimutayanga hakiri kare.

yavuzwe neza ati " Qui vole un oeuf vole un boeuf " (uwibye igi yiba n'ikimasa).

Ubujura ntarabucikaho. Hari bank yo muri u Ganda yari yaramuguriye amatorari menshi yo gukoresha mugikuyu cyekiri muri uganda. Hari hashize imyaka myinshi ataratangira kwishyura. icyo gikuyu cyari kiri hafi yo gutezwa cyamunara. Vuba aha akimara

kwiha noneho igihugu cyose cy'u Rwanda ,ikawa n'icyayi yasanze yabigize ibye aho kubyegurira Leta.Abagiriyi ingorane kuri iyo mari ishyushye twavuga MABOTRA na OMAR Habibu .Nyine Kagame yayikubiye wenyine none yarijajaye aba yashyuye ibihumbi 27 by'amadorari,andi asigaye bazakureyo amaso.Imodoka zasahuwe i Kigali zajyanywe ku Mulindi FPR iziteza cyamunara,abatutsi bari aho ushoboye guhaha agakuramo iye.None abo batutsi bararira ayo kwarika .Kagame arazibambura umusubizo kandi ariko avugira ku mutsi w'iryinyo ngo " nani alikupa gari ya chama".

Ishyamba utazi uricamo inkoni utazi.Abatutsi bagiye inyuma y'ingeruza Kagame none abenshi batangiye kwicuzza.Nta guca ku ruhanda,hari abatutsi basigaye babona igihugu cy'u Rwanda gisigaye gikoronga abazungu bose bati " Kagame arasubiye kandi bahu ! arongeye aradutanze pee

IKIGANIRO KANGURA YAGIRANYE NA DOGITERI MUGENZI YOZEFU.

KANGURA :Nagirango ubanze utangire wibwire abasomyi b'ikinyamakuru cyacu.
MUGENZI: Nge nitwa MUGENZI Yozefu nkaba ndi umu pharmacien .Ubu ndi i Nayirobi.
KANGURA: Dogiteri Mugenzi Yozefu uzwi cyane kuri pharmacie UMURAVUMBA,ubungubu ukaba uri i Nayirobi.Uri impunzi ariko ukaba warakomokaga mu ishyamba MDR ,wakurikiraniraga hafi ibya politiki y'u Rwanda tukiri imbere mu gihugu.Muri iyi minsi haravugwako,ndetse si ukuvugwa byarabaye ,ivuka ry'amashyirahamwe. Hakaba hari ishyirahamwe ryitwa RDR. Ikibazo cya mbere, nifuza kumenya icyo utekereza kuri iryo shyirahamwe.
MUGENZI : icyo ntekereza kuri ririya shyirahamwe RDR ni ikintu kimwe gusa ;ni uko nshyigikiye ibitekerezo byaryo.Ibyo bitekerezo rero nge uko nabibonye ntaho bitandukaniye n'ibya guverinoma iriho yo mu buhungiro.Ubworo rero kuri nge;nshyigikiye ibitekerezo bya RDR nk'uko twabibonye byanditse.
KANGURA :Ishyirahamwe RDR

! "Abatutsi bashyira mu gaciro nibibuke uko abo bita "abana" bababwiraga ukuntu MINUAR ya Dallaire yamaraga gutera ibisasu mu isoko rya Nyamirambo igahindukira ikajya guhuza FPR na FAR .Yongere yibuke ko FPR yari ifite Radiyo Muhabura itarigeze yamagana na rimwe ibikorwa bya MINUAR. None ubu Kagame n'abaja be bayamaganye bate ? Kutayamagana se byaba byaratewe n'uko radiyo Muhabura yari igihugijwe no gushimira mi iriro ? Iyo mpamvu iramutse ibaye yo,ni ukuvuga ko ku migambi imwe nimwe ,FPR ishobora gutuma imbaga y'abatutsi itikira.

Icengezamatwara (propagande) ni uburozi bujya bushira noneho uwari waratwawe na yo akabona neza. Kangura iremeza neza ko propogande FPR yahumishije abatutsi kugeza aho bapfiriye umusubizo ishigaje imyaka itarenze ibiri.Icyo gihe umututsi uzaba akiriho azababara bingana bite ubwenge bwe niburamuka

ryaravutse ukaba ushyigikiye ibitekerezo byaryo.Nagirango nkubaze haramutse havutse n'andi mashyirahamwe nk'atantu.Ayo mashyirahamwe aramutse agabanye abaturage bari mu nkambi ntibashobora kuba basubiranamo kubera ko baba bari mu mashyirahamwe anyuranye nk'uko byatugendekeye tukiri imbere mu mashyamba ?
MUGENZI : Ibyo ngirango iyo hari abantu benshi haba n'ibitekerezo byinshi. Kugirango abantu basubiranamo ngo ni uko bari mu mashyirahamwe anyuranye ibyo nge mbona ahubwo amashyirahamwe aramutse avutse ari menshi afite objectif imwe yo kugirango dutahe ,yagombye gukora aho rimwe rishobora gukora ,rikahakora,aho irindi rishobora gukora naryo rikahakora ariko agatahiriza umugozi umwe. Uwo muguzi umwe rero kugirango habe coordination y'ibyo bitekerezo byose iriho igumaho ikagumana kuba ariyo i korudona ibyo bitekerezo by'abantu benshi byomyi mashyirahamwe menshi ,n'abantu ndetse ku giti

bumwumvishije neza ko abatutsi bapfuye muri 1994 bazize itsembatsemba ryateguwe na FPR.Dore ubu hari abatangiye kubona ko insinzi (ubusinzi) ntacyo ivuze mu gihe usangira n'amatongo. Hagati aho ngo abatutsi nimube mwitoza gushimira.Uwakijijwe n'umuhutu ntavugane ubwirasi ngo ni Imana yamukijije naho uwapfuye ngo ni interahamwe.Uruzi ntimurawambuka.Aho mugeze ntawe ubatukira ingona .naho ubundi Kagame araboshya.Nonese niba uwo P.C wanyu atari " akada " ke ashyira imbere,umupfakazi wa Freud RWIGEMA yamwamburiye iki stoke y'amapine yari yabohoje ,akayihya undi mugore mwene wabo,none ubu akaba asigaye abungera muri Kigali nk'imbwa y'umusega ?harya ngo umugabo we mwasanze atagira izina ? Mbese aho akomoka harazwi ? Umva ko mutavangura !

Kangura.

cyabo ,ikabishyira hamwe kugirango bigendere ku murongo umwe wo kugirango tugere kuri objectif imwe yo kugirango tuzatahe.
KANGURA : Ibyo biramutse bidashobotse amashyirahamwe ntabashe kumvikana na guverinoma urumva twanyura mu zihe nzira ?
MUGENZI: Amashyirahamwe rero atumvikanye na guverinoma urumva ko ibyo ari akaduruvayo kaba gatangiye kuko ikintu cyose kitugabanya ,kigabanya abantu ngewe ntaho ngishyigikiye . Ngewe nshyigikiye ikintu cyadushyira hamwe kikaduha objectif imwe yo kugirango tuzatahe. Ubwo rero haramutse hagize uvuga ko amashyirahamwe adashobora kumvikana na guverinoma ,ibyo ntaho nashobora kukubwira ngo byagenda gute.
KANGURA : Ndagirango nkubaze icyo utekereza ku mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda . hari abavugaga ko bahunze inkotanyi abandi bakavugaga ko bahunze interahamwe ,abandi bavugaga ko bahunze abantu bari bari ku butegetsi ,ariko kandi bose

bakaba ari impunzi zigwiriyemo iz'abahutu. Urumva twakora iki ngo duhuze izo ngufu zose ? MUGENZI : Ibyo abantu bavuga bahunze ibyo byo ni byo. Koko hari abahunze interahamwe hakaba n'abahunze FPR,hari n'ababihunze byose. Umuntu yahunze kugirango asahure amagara ye. Ibyo rero sinumvise icyo ushaka kumbaza. KANGURA :Nagirango

nkubaze hari nk'abavuga bati twe ntidoshobora kujya ngo ntibashobora kujya mu ishyirahamwe rurimo Nsengiyaremye ,abandi bati ntidushobora kujya mu ishyirahamwe rurimo ba Ngeze b'abasederi ,abandi bati ntudushobora kujya mu ishyirahamwe riyoborwa n'abahoze ari aba M.R.N.D. ibyo bintu se

kugirango tubihuze twagenza dute ? MUGENZI : Ibyo bintu rero niyo mpamvu hagomba abantu badushyira hamwe .Nk'iyu guverinoma nyine niyo mbona ko ya kw'assurant ibintu byose byo kugirango nyine bahuze ingufu z'abo bantu zose.

VISI PEREZIDA W'AMERIKA ATI ABANYARWANDA BOSE NI ABICANYI.ATI AMAHANGA AGOMBA GUSHAKA UKUNTU YABANISHA ABO BICANYI KU BURYO BWA DEMOKARASI.

Irangamuntu yubutegetsi bugiye kuvaho.Ibyangombwa bigomba kuba byuzuye. Mu kiganiro twagiranye na visi perezida w'amerika yatubwiye ko kugirango amahanga arekure ubutegetsi bw'igihugu runaka ngo yemere ko bubaho,buhinduke se ngo burangwa no :
1. Kwica abo bushinzwe kurinda no kubafungira ubusa.
2. kwamagana ibihugu byagufashije kubugera,byagufashije kubufata mu nzego zinyuranye.
3. kwamagana ibihugu by'ibihangange bitegeka isi birimo na ONU.
4.kurizerwa n'abo uyobora,wajya gufata ijamba abaturage bakagira ubwoba kuko ntacyo baba baritezeho nawe ubwawe ntiwizeye ko hari icyo riri bumare.Ibyo kandi bigaherekezwa no kutizerana kw'abategetsi gushingiye ku bwoko,akarere,idini. Ibyo byose rero inkotanyi zatangiye

kubyuzuzwa.igisigaye ni uko zavaho cyangwa ubutegetsi bwazo bukongerwamo undi mwuka mushya utarimo.Usibye ko inkotanyi zizakomeza gushimangira biriya bimenyetso zikomeza kwica urubozo abo zishinzwe kurinda. Ibyo byose rero bimaze kugaragara.hamwe mu bategetsi b'amahanga bagize bati ese nta kuntu abahutu batuzwa ukwabo ? Ibyo basanze bidashoboka kuko igihugu ari gito cyane icyashimishije ni uko amahanga amaze kumenya ko ikibazo cyacu ari hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi noneho bakaba basaba inkotanyi ko cyakemurwa binyuze mu nzira z'amoko.Abazungu barakomeza bagira bati abatutsi bicanga abahutu ntibabigaragaze ,abahutu bo bakwica bakabikora isi yose ibona,bituma amahanga avuga ko abahutu ari abicanyi,none ibyabaye i Kibeho byerekanye ko ari abahutu ari n'abatutsi ko bose

ari abicanyi ko bicana bashingiyeye ku bwoko.None kubera iyo mpamvu amahanga agomba gushaka ukuntu abo bicanyi babana mu gihugu kimwe kandi bakurikije demokarasi.Uhagarariye umunyamabanga mukuru wa ONU we yabajije Kagame ati : mwavugaga ko abahutu bicanye bari batumwe n'abababwora ,bati kandi niba batarabatanye bagombaga guhanirwa uburungane bagize bigatuma amaraso y'inzirakarenga ameneka,ati none rero ko abatutsi bishe abahutu i Kibeho batumwe n'ubutegetsi ? Ati niba atarimwe mwabatanye se muzemera guhanirwa ubwo burangere mwagize bugatuma amaraso y'inzirakarengane ameneka ? Nguko uko abategetsi b'ibice byombi basigaye bangana imbere y'ibyo baregwa n'urukiko Byakiriwe na NGEZE.

WOWE UMBUZA KUVUGA URI IGIKI.

Twahunze turi impande zoso zigihugu ,duhunga turi amashyamba menshi, duhunga turi amadini anyuranye,,duhunga mu Rwanda hari ibinyamakuru birenga ijana bivuga ibitandukanye.Tugeze mu buhungiro dukomeza kugaragaza ubutwari bwacu,none rero reka tukungure ubwenge ku buntu. Niba udashaka CDR jya muri FPR cyangwa ahandi ushaka.Niba udashaka idini ya Islamu jya mu baKristo cyangwa ushinge idini yawe kimwe n'ishyamba. Niba ibyo Kangura yanditse bitagushimishije ufite uburyo butatu wakoresha
1.Twandikire inyandiko yawe wumvako ariyo nziza maze tuyigeze

kubandi.Niba ibyo bikunaniye shinga ikinyamakuru cyawe ubogamiyeho kizajya gihitisha ibyo Kangura idashobora guhitisha .Niba ibyo utabishoboye ceceka kuko urusaku rwawe ntacyo rwadutwara,fatanya na runyenzi mukuturwanya maze mwese tubakubitire rimwe dore ko ubutwari bwacu bugaragara iyo duhanganye n;abatwanga.Icyo duhaniraniye ukudatwara ubana n;Ababwira ,abagambanyi ,ibyitso,inyenzi n;abandi nkabo.Imyaka 15 twandikira iratoshye ngo tube turi inarabonye mu kazi.Aho kuba imbwa naba inka!Aho gusiga

umutungo ku isi nahasiga ibitekerezo bizagirira rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro.Ese muribuka ko maze gufungwa inshuro 20 muri gereza z'uRwanda na 36muri za Brigade kandi sinigeze mbabazwa no gufungwa nzira icyo nemera kuvugira abahutu Ninde wibuka ibitero byagabwe nanyije igihe HANYARIMANA yari amaze gupfa?ninde wibuka teregaramu zatanze ngo umbona andase,ntakuzuyaza iyo mpangany n'umwanzi bituma ndushaho kugira ishema n'isheja mubw mvugira.Ngaho reka ukore nawe ukwirakwize,unegure,kuko byo byoroshye.Genda kangura uri

GENDA KANGURA URI IGIHANGANGE**RDR IKOMEJE KWISOBANURA.ESE IFITE GAKIZA KI ?**

Hashize iminsi mike impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zishyizeho ikoraniro rizivugira rikanavuganira n'abandi banyarwanda bari mu kaga aho bari hose. Iryo koraniro ni RDR (Resselement pour le Retour et la Democratie au Rwanda). Mu kinyarwanda ni ikoraniro rigamije itahuka ry'impunzi na Demukarasi mu Rwanda.

Byabaye ngombwa ko ikinyamakuru Kangura cyegera abashinze iryo koraniro kugirango abanyarwanda bamenye iryo ari ryo. Bumwe niba hari agakiza baritezeho cyangwa amaronko baritezeho.

Twaganiriye rero n'umugabo witwa Ngendahimana Aloys utaye mu ukambiri ya Mugunga akaba afite umwanya wa vice-perezida muri RDR.

Mubyo twaganiriye yarenze atajemjeka ko RDR ari ryo koraniro riri hejuru yandi makoraniro cyangwa amashyirahamwe ariho cyangwa ashobora kubaho, mu rwego rwo kuvuganira Abanyarwanda bari mu kaga. Aranga rwose ko bagira andi mashyirahamwe yihabwagira Abanyarwanda bari mu kaga adacishije ibitekerezo byayo muri R.D.R. Abanyarwanda ngo bari mu kaga ngo bagomba kugira ikizere cy'uko nta macakubiri azababamo.

Nimwikurikiranire namwe ibyo Ngendahimana Aloys yivugira.

Kangura: (K) Mufite ikihe gitekerezo (ideologic) mwihariye niba gusa atari intero yo gucyura abantu na demokarasi ? Ngendahimana Aloys (N.A.) Intekerezo yacu ni uko twumva ko nta mu nyarwanda ugomba guhezwa mu bintu bikorwa mu Rwanda hose. yaba impunzi yaba uri mu g. hugu. Abanyarwanda bagomba kug. aragaza uruhare mu bintu bakore wa. Twemera ko abanyarwanda bagomba guturana mu mahoro (Coabilitation pacifique). Kubana mu mahoro rwose kabone n'ubwo baba

badahujye ubwoko cyangwa uturere.

Kudabazwa mu gushaka umuti wibibazo by'abanyarwanda, cyane cyane iyo havufse ibibazo nk'ibi turimo by'inzitane. R. D. R.

ishyigikiye imishyikirano idafititse (dialogue). Ibyo byose bigakorwa mu butabera, noneho igihugu cyacu kikagendera ku mategeko, ikiremwa muntu kikubahirizwa, amategeko agakurikizwa nta mu nyarwanda uhezwa. Nta gace kagomba gukururwa mu nzego z'ubutegetsi.

K.: Iyo ntekerezo ko ari ndende, nta ka slogan mwaba mwarateguye kayisobanura ?

N.A.: Ntako dufite ubu ngubu, ariko ndizera ko congré ya R. D. R. iteganyijwe mu minsi iri imbere izashaka ako kantu karanga "ideologie" yacu.

K.: Ityazabwenge (la philosophie) yemera ukuri kumwe ariko kandi rikemera ko inyurabwenge (ideologie) ishobora kurenga imwe ukuri kumwe ku kibazo cy'impunzi z'abahutu ni ugutaha na demokarasi. Uburyo bwo kugera kuri uko kuri bushobora gutangwa n'inyurabwenge yindi (autre logique) ivugira abanyarwanda ariko atari iya RDR. Mbese ubundi RDR nikamara ?

N.A.: Gucyura abanyarwanda no kubashakira demokarasi, koko ni ukuri buri wese abona. kugeza ubu hari ababona inyurabwenge (Logique) y'imishyikirano n'ababona inyurabwenge y'imirwano. ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali bufite inyurabwenge yo gusaba abanyarwanda bukabategeka abandi bakabacira urubanza. R. d. R. ntiyemera inzira ya gatatu kubera impamvu zinyuranye. Inzira yo gushyikirana niyo dushyira imbere ya zose. Ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali niburamuka budacishije bugufi ngo bwemere imishyikiraho tuzafata indi nzira.

Undi munyarwanda rero washyiraho ikindi kintu cyo kuvuganira impunzi sinzi ibitekerezo yaba atanga atacisha muri RDR. Mu rwego rwa

demukarasi nti turi kamara. Mu rwego rwo guhuriza ingufu hamwe, twizera ko abanyarwanda bari mu kaga aribo ubwabo bazatugira kamara. noneho andi mashyirahamwe cyangwa amakoraniro akageza ibitekerezo byayo kuri RDR igomba kuvuganira.

RDR yemera ko hari abashobora kuyirwanya. Byaba ari ukwibeshya turamutse twemeye ko abanyarwanda bose bayemera. Ntawe tubujije gushyira ibitekerezo bye ahagaragara. Bipfa gusa kuba bitayobya abanyarwanda. Ntanubwo turi muri za ninda untanze umushi birindi koraniro ryavuka ryaba, ryeg. kuvugira RDR mu gihe cyose nta cyo yari yanengwa mu gukorera abanyarwanda bari mu kaga. Ntadushaka gutatanyaga ingufu. icyo nakumenyeshya ni uko abanyarwanda hafi ya bose badushyigikiye. Ntaturuzi iyo bamusobanuriye RDR arayumvise. K.: Abashakira basinye bashyigikiye RDR ku buryo impunzi zimwe zabonye ko mushyigikiye abandi bakabona ko ari ubutegetsi mufatiye mu buhungiroku gitugu. Ibyo nta ngaruka bizatera ? N.A.: Abavuga " Coup d'Etat " ntacyo bazahindura ku banyarwanda bari mu kaga badushyigikiye mu rwego rwo kubacyura. Ingabo zadushyigikiye kubera ko dufite ibitekerezo byiza. icyo gitekerezo kandi cyatangiyeye kwigwaho guhera muri Nzeli 1994. Ingabo nazo ziri mu bize kandi banakurikiranye ku buryo buhagije icyo gitekerezo.

Twemera ko twemera ko abanyarwanda n'umwe wabeshya abandi ngo niwe uzabacyura wenyine. Tugomba gutatanyaga. Naho se " coup d'Etat " yakorewe nde, ngo ayobore ikihe gihugu ?

K.: Mu bayobozi banyu bo hejuru hari abafite icyo bavugwaho. Kanyarushoki ngo Museveni yaba yarigeze kumusaba kuba minisitiri w'i Kigali abisabwe na Kagame

ariko aramwangira. Nzabahimana na none ngo FPR yaba yaramusabye kuyibera minisitiri akayangira. Ndagijimana J.M.V we yabaye minisitiri igihe gito nyuma aza kwisubiraho. Abo inkotanyi zagaragaje ko zemera bazatugeza kuki ?

N.A: Ku giti cyange, kwemerwa n'inkotanyi, ntibivuga ko uba utaye abandi musanzwe muhujye ibitekerezo. Ndatekereza ko gushaka guha abantu imyanya byatewe n'ingamba FPR yari ifite muri politique. Kwari ukugirango amahanga agire uko ayibona neza. FPR yaje ivuga ngo "ndabashaka" Abandi nabo bati "ntitubashaka" Ikibazo kiri he ? Ndagijimana

wabaye minisitiri w'inkotanyi igihe gito nawe yaje kwisubiraho. Abo inkotanyi zizahamagara bese ngo baze bazikorere se muzahita mibaca kandi batazitabye ?

K.: Muri abo bagabo ngo harimo ababa bashyigikiye n'Ububiligi. Abanyarwanda bari mu kaga bazakira icyo kintu bate kandi bazi ko Ububiligi bifite uruhare muri ayo manzaganya ?

N.A: Bagomba gutandukanya igihugu n'abagituye. Igihugu sicyo cyaduhemukiye twahemukiye na bamwe mu haturage bacyo. Ni nako byagenze kuri Leta Zunzubumwe z'Amerika. Muri ibyo bihugu dufite abadushyigikiye n'abatadushyigikiye.

Urugero natanga ni uko muri ya nama y'i Geneve yari igamije gushyigikira gufasha uRwanda, Ububiligi buri mu bihugu byatanze "conditions" zifitiye impunzi akamaro kugirango amafanga atangwe. Kandi ntidukwiye kwibagirwako Ububiligi bufite uruhare runini mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Abijundika Ububiligi rero navuga ko bareba hafi. Twazize abantu bamwe na bamwe. Ntitwazize Ububiligi cyangwa Amerika.

M.R.
Kangura .

YA NYENZI YARI IHAGARARIYE U RWANDA MURI AMBASADE YITWA 'NKURUNZIZA ALIYAS NZIZA NA KANGURA HATSINZE NDE ?

Ubutwari bw'umuntu burya bugaragara iyo ahanganye n'uko bashyamiranye. Mu minsi ishize rero mwakunze gusoma muri Kangura ko inyenzi Nkurunziza yoherejwe guhagararira u Rwanda muri Kenya, atali ukubera politiki, ahubwo ni uko yari umuhanga mu gutera ubwoba no kwica urubozo. Twababwiye ko ariwe wishe abasenyeri n'abandi ba padiri bari i Kabgayi, tubabwira ko yoherejwe muri Kenya kwicisha no kwirukanisha abahutu bahahungiyeye. Ibyo abafite ubwenge bahise babikurikirira hafi, ariko sibyo gusa kuko uwo Nkurunziza si umunyarwanda ni umugande

uturuka muri za Gisoro, akiri i Bugande mu ngabo za NRA yitwaga Nkurunziza Jacques aza kwifatanya n'inyenzi zo mu Rwanda zimaze gufata ubutegetsi i Kigali, ubwo Museveni asaba ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali ko bwamufasha bukamutiza abantu bo guhungabanya umutekano muri Kenya, nibwo uwitwaga Nkurunziza ahinduye izina rya Jacques yitwaga Jaxon, ubwo yoherezwaga muri ambasade aho yagombaga kujya yinjiza abahungabanya umutekano abaha ibyangombwa abita abanyarwanda bityo Kenya ikabura amahoro, ubwo tuba twabitahuye turabivuga none yakubiswe ishoka

,ahabwa amasaha 48, Kenya imubwira ko igihe mu Rwanda bazaba batakica abahutu ko ariho azagaruka. Ngo icyamubabaje cyane ngo ni uko atabashije guca Kangura ku butaka bwa Kenya. Niba ari umugabo ngaho azayice mu Rwanda kuko ariho dufite abasomyi benshi kandi nawe arimo. Ngaho azabuze Kagame gusoma Kangura dore ko adashobora kuryama atarayibona ngo ayisome, usanga ayirwanira ku buriri n'umugore wa keretse iyo baguzwe ebyiri cyangwa bagakora fotokopi bityo bagasoma bagacurura.

NGEZE Hassan.

R.D.R Ikoraniro ridasesera

Muri politiki yiyubashye iyo umuntu atangiyeye ikintu gishya aragisobanura. Cyane cyane akavugaga impamvu kije. Ni muri urwo rwego, Abanyarwanda bari mu buhungiro hirya no hino ku isi bamaze iminsi basobanura ibyikoraniro rishya rimaze igihe gito rivutse, rikaba rigamije gucyura Abanyarwanda no guharanira Demokarasi. Mu magambo ahinnye y'iryo koraniro ni R.D.R Abayobozi b'iryo koraniro batanga impamvu zikkurikirira. Taliki ya 6 MATA 1994, Perezida Habyarimana yivuganywe n'abandi mu gihe yali amaze ghusinyira amasezerano ya

Arusha no kurahira kuzayobora igihugu mu gihe gihwanye n'amezi 22 ya Guverinoma yaguye ilimo na F.P.R Inkotanyi. Abanzi baketse ko umukuru w'igihugu namara kubura, ubutegetsi bazabwigabiza. Siko byagenze kuko taliki 12 Mata 1994 hagiyeho undi Perezida hakurikijwe itegeko nshya twagenderagaho mbere ya Arusha, hashyirwaho na Guverinoma iberanye nuko amashyamba MDR, PL, PSD PDC na MRND yari yarabyumvikanyeho. FPR imaze kubona imigambi yayo ipfubye yahisemo kuvangira no gukomanyiriza iyo Guverinoma mu

rubuga mpuzamahanga. Amahanga nayo akara ikosa amateka atazayababariramo na rimwe yo kumva amagambo aturutse ku ruhanda rumwe. Iyo mikorere igayitse y'amahanga yarakomeje, ituma Abanyarwanda batagira ingano baba impunzi. Ya Guverinoma yagombye kuvuganira ikomeza gutegwa ibihato. Amahanga arakuturira mu kwanga kuvugana nayo. Buri munyarwanda, ubu amaze gusobanukirwa n'uko nta politiki idafite aho ikorera, idafite aho ivugira. Muri Nzeri 1994 ikibazo cya Guverinoma amahanga adashakaga gufungurira

amarembo nibwo cyari kimaze kumvikana neza . Guverinoma ya Kambanda ikorera mu buhungiro ,yaje gusabwa n'abanyabitekerezo ko yashyiraho ishyirahamwe cg za komisiyo zayivuganira aho idashobora kugera .Kuva nyine muli Nzeri 1994 kugera muri Werurwe 1995 hari hataraboneka ikintu cyabasha kuvuganira Abanyarwanda b'impunzi . Ba banyabitekezo basanze bataguma muli ibyo , nibwo bahimbye Ikoraniro R.D.R rifite abavugizi amahanga ashobora kureba ijisho ryiza . Cyakora Guverinoma ngo yaba yaramenyeshewe iby'iryo shyirahamwe "

Ritavugirwamo" inagirana imibonano na yo maze bagira aho bahurira . IYO mishyikirano iremezwa na Ngendahimana Aloys umwe mubayobozi ba R.D.R utuye mu nkambi ya mugunga .

Amaturufu ya R.D.R ni menshi . Irya mbere ni uko Général Major Bizimungu Augustin n'abo bafatanyije mu kuyobora ingabo basinyiye iryo koraniro barishyigikira . Irindi turufu rizavana igihu muri poritiki y'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ni uko mu bavuganira R.D.R harimo abo F.P.R Inkotanyi yashatse guha imyanya ikomeye bakayangira , kuko ubwicanyi bw'inyenzi . Ibyo byo kwanga gukorana na runyenzi amahanga nayo arabizi . Nta kuntu rero Kagame n'abambari be bazasunutsa ikinyoma cyabo cyo kwita umuhutu wese umwicanyi kandi baranze gusa kuyoboka rya dini Twagiramungu Faustin yise abahutu modérés batunzwe n'ubukana bakikuza ubugome butazira ubwicanyi bwa F.P.R kubera ko R.D.R igamije guca akarengane kagirirwa

umunyarwanda ,byaba byiza kurushaho abo ba modérés bari mu Rwanda muli iki gihe ,bayeguriye nabo ikizere cyabo . R.D.R Yasinyiye ko n'Ingabo mu rwego rwo kwemera ibitekerezo byayo . Abayisobanura usanga ari nk'ikoraniro riri hejuru y'andi makoraniro cg amashyirahamwe . niryonyine ryisobanura rititaye ku bindi bishobora kubaho , ko rizavuganira impunzi . Kandi usanga rifite ikizere ko nta rindi ryakwemerwa .kuri iyo ngingo buri wese aravuga ngo icyangombwa ni ugutaha ,ariko bakongeraho bati Imana izadufashe nituzatane muri ubu buhungiro . Ese niba nta gihugu kirimo ,irindi koraniro rifite amatwara yo kuducyura ahagaze bwuma nirivuka ,ingabo zizongera zisinye?

M.R Mugunga

IKORANIRO RIGAMIJE ITAHUKA NA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA "R D R" ITANGAZO RIHAMYA ISHINGWA RYA "R D R"

Twebwe abashyize umukono kuri iri tangazo ,

Tumaze kubona ko FPR yanze gushyira mu bikorwa Amasezerano y'AMAHORO yasinyiye ARUSHA kuwa 4 kanama 1993 hagati ya Guverinoma ya REPUBULIKA y'u RWANDA na FPR ubwayo .

Tumaze kubona ko ari ngombwa rwose gukomeza izira yo guhamya demukarasi no gusubizaho umuco w'imitwe myinshi ya poritiki iberaho gushyigikira Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko .

- Dushingiye ku ngingo yuko kugeza magingo aya abategetsi bariho ubu i Kigali barahiye ko batazemerwa imishyikirano igamije itahuka ry'impunzi vuba kandi mu mahoro .

- Dushingiye na none ku ivangura riheza igice kinini cy'abaturage mu butegetsi bw'igihugu ;

- Twitegereje imibereho mibi y'abanyarwanda bari mubuhungiro n'abari mu gihugu ;

- Tumaze kubona ko ubutegetsi FPR yashinze i Kigali ku gitugu bwarengukiye nu bikorwa bikabije konono uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu ahanini bukifashisha ingabo zabwo kwica imbaga z'abantu ,buhotora , bucisha mu ryoya ,bufungira akamama

,bushinyagurira abafunze ,bunyaga imitungo ;

- Dukurikije kandi tukaba twemera neza ko gushyikirana ,kwihanganirana no kwemera kubana n'ubwo twaba tudahuje amoko , uturere ,inzego zinyuranye za poritiki n'imibereho ,aribyho fatizo ry'amahoro yaramba mu Rwanda ;

- Tuzi neza ko akaga k'u Rwanda kadashobora gushyirira igihe cyose impunzi z'abanyarwanda zitazabazemewe kugira ijamba ryuzuye , zitarahabwa umwanya mu biteganywano mu bikorwa bigamije itahuka ryazo cyangwa se bitegura u Rwanda rwejo .

- Twemera ko amahoro arambye mu Rwanda atagerwaho habuze :

* Itahuka ry'impunzi vuba ;

* Ukuri ku rupfu rwa Perezida HABYARIMANA Yuvenali ,

* Ukuri ku mahono yakorewe rubanda n'impande zombi mu ntambara yatangiye kuwa 01 Ukwakira 1990 ishojwe na FPR ;

* Ubucamanza buzira agatotsi kandi butabogama ;

* Ingabo zibumbiyemo abenegihugu kandi zitavugirwamo cyangwa ngo zishingire ku mitwe ya poritiki ;

* Inzego z'ubutegetsi ibice byose

by'abaturage bisangamo kandi zihamya umutekano n'ubwisanzure bwa buri muturage ;

Twemeje gushinga "IKORANIRO RIGAMIJE ITAHUKA NA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA " mu magambo ahinnye y' igifaransa ni "R D R" , naho mu kinyarwanda ni "IKORANIRO R D R" , rifite imigambi yo guhagurukiriza abanyarwanda bose itahuka ry'impunzi vuba kandi mu cyubahiro ,no gukora ku buryo hashyirwaho inzego z'ubutegetsi ibice byose by'abaturage by'isangamo kandi zihamya umutekano n'ubwisanzure bya buri muturage .

"IKORANIRO R D R " riyemeje izi ntego :

1. Gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo impunzi zitahe vuba .
2. Guhagarira no guhirimbanira impunzi n'abanyarwanda baje mu butegetsi bw' igihugu .
3. Gutera inkunga impunzi mu guharanira gukemura ibibazo byazo by'ubukungu ,imibereho ,ubujijuke no gufatanyan'impunzi kubungabunga umutekano mu nkambi .
4. Guharanira uburenganzira ku mutungo bwite ,nog usubiza mu b

yabo impunzi n'abandi bakiri mu gihugu babivanywemo.

5. Guteguriza imishyikirano amahoro n'ubwiyunge.

6. Guhirimbanira ko igihugu cyagenda ku mategeko, kandi ibice byose by'abaturage bikagira uruhare mu butegetsi.

7. Kurengera umuco wa Repubulika na demukaarasi uharanira ko imitwe 8myinshi ya poritiki yasubizwaho.

8. Kugira uruhare mu kugaragaza ukuri kwerekeye akaga kagwiriye abanyarwanda.

9. Guharanira ubutabera nyakuri mu Rwanda n'uko urukiko mpuzamahanga ku by'u Rwanda rutabogama.

10. Kugira uruhare mu kuzahura ubukungu no gusana igihu.

IKORANIRO "R D R" ntirivugirwamo, ririgenga, ryemere

ko imishyikirano ariyo nzira iboneye yo gukemura impaka mu banyarwanda.

IKORANIRO "R D R" riyiemeje guharanira ubutabera, ubwihanganirane, kubaha ubuzima n'uburenganzira bwose bw'ikiremamuntu.

IKORANIRO "R D R" ribuzabanyarwanda bemeye iremezo n'intego byaryo. Ryakira abanyarwanda iyo bava bakagera ntawe ubejwe ku mpamvu z'ubwoko, z'ibitekerezo bya poritiki, z'akarere, z'ukwemere cyangwa z'umwuga.

IKORANIRO risabye abanyarwanda bose bifuzamahoro kandi bemera imigambi n'intego zaryo kurishyigikira no kuriyoboka ari benshi. Rihamagariye abanyarwanda bose bari mu gihugu n'abari mu buhungiro kurushaho

gufatana mu nda no kwiyegeranya kuko aribyo bizatuma intego zemejwe zigerwaho.

IKORANIRO "R D R" Rirahamya ko riyiemeje guharanira amahoro arambye mu Rwanda no mu karere kibihugu birukikije, rikaba risabye Imiryango mpuzamahanga gushyigikiraiki gikorwa kigamije kurangiza vuba ikibazo cy'impuzamahanga burundu amakimbirane y'abanyarwanda.

Bikorewe i MUGUNGA, taliki 3/4/1995
Prezida w'IKORANIRO "R D R" NZABAHIMANA Francois Abasinyiye iri tangazo (Reba ku mpapuro zometse kuri iyi nyandiko).

FRP IKOMEJE KWEERKANA UBUGOME BWAYO

Kuva icywa ry'abaturage i KIBEHO ryatangira ku italiki ya 18.4.1995 ndetse akaminuramuhini kubwo bwicanyi kakaba karabaye kuya 22.4.1995 aho abantu bagera ku bihumbi 8 (8.000) bishwe urubozo, abantu baracyibaza uwaba yarabaye imbarutso yubwo bwicanyi.

Si ubwa mbere rero FPR yica abaturage imaze kubarundanyiriza hamwe cyangwa se yabatumiye mu nama. Buri gihe rero icyo FPR imaze kwica abaturage yihutira kubahamba mu byobo bya rusange ndetse n'abashobora kuvishinje ntibarebera izuba. Nguko rero uko abaturage b'i

KIBUNGO, BYUMBA NA KIDAHO batsembatsembwe.

Muli Komini ya RUSUMO abantu bagera ku 1700 bishwe na FPR yari yabatumiye mu nama maze ibahamba mu byobo bya rusange. Uko ni nako byagendekeye abaturage bo muri komini ya KIGARAMA I KAMARASHAVU aho abantu bagera kuli 3.800 bishwe urwagashinyaguro. Abandi abaturage bishwe urubozo ni aba bakurikira KABARONDO 780, MUHAZI 590, KAYONZA 950, RUKARA 994 na BIRENGA 1.319(ibi twabicyanyeye mu gitabo kitwa Le Non Dits sur les

massacres au Rwanda cyanditswe na Solidarité Rwanda, Octobre 1994.

Muli perefegitura ya Byumba, duherereye ku nyandiko dufite abantu 678 bishwe bamaze kurundanyirizwa i NGARAMA, 170 i MUHURA, MURAMBI 2.400, MUVUMBA 2.300. Abo tubabwiye sibo FPR yamaliye ku icumu gusa hali abandi benshi tutaziridatse ubu harakorwa iperereza mu gace yuburengerazuba ka Byumba i KINIHURA, mu KIDAHO no mu KINIGI kugirango bamenyeye naho umubare wabo FPR yahiciye.

Duherereye ku byabereye i KIBEHO, buri wese ykwibaza akaga abaturage ba BUTARE, GIKONGORO, KIBUYE na CYANGUGU bahuye na ko. Ari muri raporo ya MUJAWAMALIYA Monique ari n'ya REYNTJENS Filipibyohaburiyeho bese ngo ni uko muri ayo maperefegitura abarokotse ubwicanyi bwa FPR ari mbarwa.

Birakwiye rero ko twamagana ubwo bwicanyi bw'inzirakarengane FPR ikomeje kugirira abaturage ibahora gusa ubwoko bwabo. FPR rero kugirango imareho icyitwaga UMUHUTU wese yahisemo kwita UMUHUTU wese

INTERAHAMWE kandi tuzi twese ko interahamwe rwari urubwiruko rwa MRND. Ndetse n'undi muntu wese urwanya cyangwa se udahujwe ibitekerezo nayo yitwaga INTERAHAMWE kugirango ibone uko imukindura.

kubera ubwo bwicanyi bwa FPR, RDR irashishikanyiriza amahanga ndetse n'abanyamakuru mpuzamahanga kureka kugwa mu mutego wa FPR. Niyo mpamvu tubasaba kutemera ikinyoma cya FPR cyuko ngo abagore n'abana banze kuva mu nkambi ya KIBEHO kubera ko n'aho babona urupfu rutaba ko babujijwe kuyivamo n'interahamwe. Urwo ni urwitwazo rwa buri gihe rwa FPR kugirango ikuraho icyaha ingabo zayo zakindaguye abaturage mu nkambi yi KIBEHO, bwacya ikavugaga ko ari INTERAHAMWE.

RDR yamaganye ubwicanyi aho bwaturuka hose. Ibabajwe kandi n'inyifatire yuhagarariye umunyamahanga mukuru wa LONI Bwana SHARIHAN HKAN ukuntu afatanyije na Perezida BIZIMUNGU Psateur mu gusuzugura ibyabereye i KIBEHO babigira bito nk'aho kwica umuturage umwe byo babyemera.

RDR irasanga kandi gusaba leta yi Kigali gukora anketi ku

byabereye i Kibeho ari urwiyerutso kuko uwo mugambi wo kwica abantu ariwo yawuteguye. RDR irasanga kandi icyifuzo cya SHARIHAN KHAN na Leta nabyo isanga ntacyo bimaze kuko basanga yamera nka ya yindi ya DALAIRE wari ushinzwe kuyobora ingabo za MINUAR ya mbere, yakozwe ku rupfu rw'abaturage rwabereye i KINIHIRA itarigeze igira icyo

igeraho.

RDR ahubwo ishyigikiye icyifuzo cya AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL isaba ko hajyaho commission yashobora gukora anketi mu bwisanzure.

RDR ihereye ku byabereye i MURAVA, i KIBEHO, i RUSATIRA yo muri komini KANOMBE aho FPR n'ingabo zayo zikomeje kugira ubwicanyi nk'uburenganzira bemererwa

n'amategeko, irongera kweerka amahanga ko Leta y'i Kigali nta bubasha na buto ifite ku ngabo za FPR, kandi kubera izo mpamvu idashobora gutegeka igihugu.

Bikorewe i Mugunga taliki ya 27.4.1995

Ku bwa RDR
UMUNYAMABANGA
NDANGURABIKORWA
DR BUTARE Innocent.

ITANGAZO RYO MU BUYOBOZI BUKURU B'INGABO ZAU RWANDA RYATANGAJWE MU NAMA YAYO YO KUVA TALIKI YA 28-29.4.1995 I BUKAVU.

Tumaze kubona urujijo rwatwe n'ivuka rya RDR ndetse tumaze no kubona ko guverinoma itakiriye neza ivuka ry'iryo shyirahamwe, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bwatateranye ku italiki ya 28 na 29 Mata 1995 kugirango barebere hamwe ibibazo bijyanye n'imibereho ndetse na politiki y'impunzi muri iki gihe. Muri icyo nama hari hatumiwemo kandi n'abandi basirikare bakuru batali mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo. Bamaze kwiga ibyo bibazo byose basanze ibintu byifashe ku buryo bukurikira:

1. Kuva guverinoma yajyaho ibifashijwemo n'ingabo taliki ya 9.4.1995 yakomeje kuzitirwa no kubura aho ivugira. Isubirwamo rya guverinoma ryo mu HUSHYINGO 1994 naryo ntacyo ryahinduye kuri icyo kibazo.
2. Kugezq kino gihe guverinoma ntiyashoboye kwegera abaturage mu nkambi kubera kubura gahunda n'imigambi ihamye.
3. Ubuyobozi bw'ingabo ntibwawemye kwereka guverinoma ibyo bibazo ndetse ibyo bibazo ndetse bakanatanga n'uburyo bwaboneka ngo ibibazo bibonerwe umuti. Muri urwo rwego ingabo zasangaga hari hakwiye kujyaho urundi rwego rwashobora guhagararira ku buryo bugaragara impunzi. Aha ni ngombwa kwibitsa ko miri Nzeri 1994, ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwandikiye guverinoma ndetse bubona nayo maze ubwo

buyobozi bukayisaba gushaka ukuntu hajyaho uburyo buhamye bwo kuvugira impunzi, arikorero ubwo buyobozi nta gisubizo gushimishije bwigeze buhabwa.

Na none kuya 23.3.1995 hateranywe inama ya guverinoma ndetse ikaba yali yanatumwemo abahagarariye ingabo. Ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwongeye kwereka guverinoma impungenge bufite kw'ivuka mu kajagali ry'amashyirahamwe gutewe n'uko guverinoma itabavugira. Aho rero naho nta gisubizo guverinoma yatanze.

4. Muri urwo rwego rwo gushaka ko impunzi zagira uzivugira koko, havutse ishyirahamwe ryiswe RDR. Intego z'iryo shyirahamwe nta kindi zigamije uretse kuvuganira impunzi ndetse n'abandi baturarwanda bali mu gihugu bahejwe ku byiza byazo.
5. Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bumaze kubona icyo iryo shyirahamwe rigamije, cyane cyane kuba ari urwego ruhameye ruvugira abaturage bari hanze y'igihugu ndetse no kubahuriza hamwe kugirango babone uko basobanurira amahanga ibibazo byacu ndetse ari nabwo buryo buzatuma duhubira iwacu, ubwo buyobozi bwasanze ari ngo ubwa gushyigikira iryo shyirahamwe.
6. RDR imaze kuvuka byabaye ngombwa ko habaho imibonano hagati ya guverinoma n'abayobozi ba RDR ku ruhande rumwe n'abayobozi b'ingabo kugirango

ikintu cy'urwikekwe kiveho maze habeho gushyira imbere ubumwe bw'impunzi. Nyamara ahubwo aho kugirango guverinoma ishyigikire RDR yafashe imigambi yo kuyamagana no kuyangisha impunzi ziri mu nkambi ndetse n'izindi zitaba mu nkambi. Ikibabaje ni uko iterekana ubundi buryo bwashimurira RDR kugirango impunzi zivuganirwe koko.

Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo buhereye ku nshingano zabwo zirimo gushyira imbere inyungu za rubanda imbere y'izindi zose, zimaze kubona imyifatire ya guverinoma ku bibazo biriho bwafashe ibyemezo bukurikira:

1. Ingabo z'igihugu kugeza ubu ziracyari "ingabo za rubanda". Zongeye rero kwemeza ko arizo zikorera ndetse zigakorana na rubanda. Niyo mpamvu zongeye gushyigikira RDR kuko dusanga ariyo yonyine ishobora guhagararira ku buryo buhagije ndetse kurusha na guverinoma.
2. Ingabo z'igihugu zireruka guverinoma ko izaba nyirabayazana imbere y'amateka mu gihe izaba ibujije abaturage gushyigikira urwego rwagombye kubavuganira no kubavana mu kandare barimo. Kubera icyo mpamvu guverinoma igomba guha RDR amadosiye yose ifite yerekeye impunzi.
3. Imikoranye y'ingabo na guverinoma irahagaritswe.

HARI INDI NTEGUZA ITARI KIBEHO ?

Amatariki yo kunyomoza ibyo abategetsi b'i Kigali bise ibihuha

turayibuka. Gusa umuntu wese ushyira mu kuri yibaza impamvu

ukurir kose basigaye baguhindura ibihuha.

Mu gihe inkurur yo kwica abahutu yari yabaye kimomo ,umunyamakuru wa Le Message yaribajije ati kuki iyi nkuru bayita igihuha kandi mu Rwanda hose ivugwa kimwe kuva i Cyangugu kugera i Kibungo ? Ndetse uwo munyamakuru yaje kuvuga ko bayita igihuha kandi hahri abategets n'abasirikare babyivugira.Yaje no gusaba akuma ko gufata amajwi kugirango ibyo yumva birusheho kwemerwaho ukuri.

Mu nama y'aba perefeyayobowe na Seth Sendashonga ku wa 16 Werurwe 1995 abaturage bahahwe ihumire .Bababwiye ko nta tsembatsemba ritaganyijwe mu kwa kane .Mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru kuya 23 Werurwe 1995 Ministri w'intebe Twagiramungu Faustin nawe yahakanye ko nta bwicanyi buzabaho ngo buramutse bubaye ntaho baba bataniye n'Abatabazi" Na none kandi nk'uko byari byatangajwe mbere yaho gato na Minisitiri Nkuriyongoma kuri Radio Rwanda ,inama y'abaministri yo kuya 21 Werurwe 1995 yabeshyuje ibihuhaha byari byarakwiriye igihugu cyose kubyerekeye ubwicanyi bwaba buzabohozu u Rwanda mu kwezi kwa Mata.

Mu gihe iryo beshyuzaryakorwaga ingabo za FPR zari zikomeje koherezwa ari nyinshi mu magapfo y'u Rwanda ;ku mupaka w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. ?uri izo ngabo havuyemo abaje kwegera inka,bi yi Kibeho.Mbese abahutu bo muri iyo nkambi batanganzwe n'inziga ebyiri kugirango uzacika rumwe azahitanwe n'urundi.Ibyo byose bimaze gukorwa itsembatsemba ryaratangiyeye.Nyamara guhera muri Werurwe 1995 buri muhutu wese uri mu Rwanda arabona neza ko urupfu rwe ruri hafi icyo atazi ni igihe.Kubeshyuzza iyo nkuru y'itsembatsemba ni uburyo bwo gushuka abahutu babasha kureba gusa aho izuru ryabo rigarukiye.

Twe tubona urudutegereje se twigire dutse ko ntaho twamanera ?

Mu kinyarwanda baca umugani ngo " ingeso n'irara bushyitsi.Ibyo Kangura yavugaga ku Nkotanyi tukayihakanya ngo irakorera akazu twe twasigaye mu Rwanda tubibona inyuguti ku yindi.Ibinyamakuru byaranditse ngo nta n'amareshyamugeni.Bishaka kuvuga ko inkotanyi zaje zihutazazica abo zita ibipinga cyangwa Interahamwe.Kabone n'ubzo isi nzima yaba ibona ko urengana;zigombe zikubonere impamvu zikugerekaho.Na babantu 22 bapfiriye muri brigade ya Muhima baratinyutse baravugaga ngo banze ko umwuka ubageraho kubera ko ari interahamwe.Abakurikiranaye hafi ibyabo bavugaga ko bazize ikiboko cyari kibari ku mugongo amanywa n'ijoro aho babanze gufungirwa iwabo muri komini Gikoro.Indembe nizo zagejewe muri brigade;22 muri zo inzogera ihita yirenga.

Amahanga ntiyumve ibyo inkotanyi zivugaga kuko ari ibinyoma gusa;nahaguruke yirebere.Igitangaje cyane ni uko itsembatse ry'abahutu ririmo gukorwa n'ingabo za FPR.Ni ukuvugaga ko ziba ziri mu butumwa.

Ikinyamakuru Le Partisant cyo kuya 20 Mata 1995 kiragira kiti ubutegetsi burebye nabi ibihuha by'itsem' itsemba byaba impamo.Ntawamenya icyo yita kurebe nabi kuko iyo buza kureba nabi ahubwo itsembatsemba ryi Kibeho ntiriyari kuba kandi bwariteguye.Ndumva uwo munyamakuru akurikije nawe ibyo abona muri iki gihugu kitagira umujyanama ;yari gusaba ubwo butegetsi kuba maso hatagira umu. u uburizamo itsembatsemba ryi Kibeho.

Cyakora abazungu niba bashyira mu gaciro;Kibeho ibabere isomera buke ko kubera igisasu cyatezwe munzu ira abana iri muri Oklohama City hagapfa abantu bari

muri za mirongo, hatanzwe miliyoni imwe y'amadorari ku muntu uzatahura uwateze icyo gisasu.Oyo mafaranga atanzwe ku Rwanda byagaragara ko tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 ubwo inyenzi zashozaga intambara,umuntu wa mbere wapfuye ari umuhutu.Gatabazi na Bucyana abatutsi barabishye,bene wabo barabahorera.Tariki ya 6 Mata abatutsi bapfuye ,babanjirijwe n'abahutu.Izo ngingo zizarushaho kumvikanisha ikibazo cy'abanyarwanda. Mbese ko tumaze kubona inshuro nyinshi k' umuhutu apfa agakurikirwa n'abatutsi itaka,biriya byi Kibeho bitubere integuza ? Ubu runyenzi noneho niwe watwihereye imipanga ngo tumuhingire !Turabategereje kandi tuzabafasha.

Oubda HIGAMA

Gatonde - Ruhengeri.

MU RWEGO RWO GUSHYIRA

AHAGARAGARA

ABAGURISHIJE

UMUTUNGO TWAHUNGANYE

KANDI UWO MUTUNGO TWARI

KUZAWIFASHISHA

MUKUDUCYURA, TURABASABA

KUTWUNGANIRA, MUDUHA

AMAZINA Y'ABANTU MUZI

BAGURISHIJE IBYO BINTU,

AHO BAGURISHIJE

N'ABACURUZI BAFATANIJE.

twe muli kangura dufite ilisite bantu 261 bibye umutungo twali twaragejeje mubuhungiro abo bantu bakaba balibye hagati ya 50.000us.na 1000000us.

ahanani uwo mutungo ukaba ukomoka kuli ibi bikulikira.

1.amabuye ya gagaciro twahunganye

2.icyayi ni kawa twahunganye

3.ibikoreshoya leta binyuranye

4.amafranga ya kayabo yali yasohotse ngo ajye kugura imiti

5. amafranga menshi cyane yali yasohoze kujya kugura amasasu abatamwe bagahitamo kuyitwalira.

IZINA	IBYO YAGURISHIJE	UWO BAFATANIJE	AHO UBU BABARIZWA	IKINDI UTEKEREZA