

## IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

KO AMASEZERANO  
YASHYIZWEHO U-  
MUKONO, HABUZE IKINGO ASHYIRWE MU BIKORWA ?

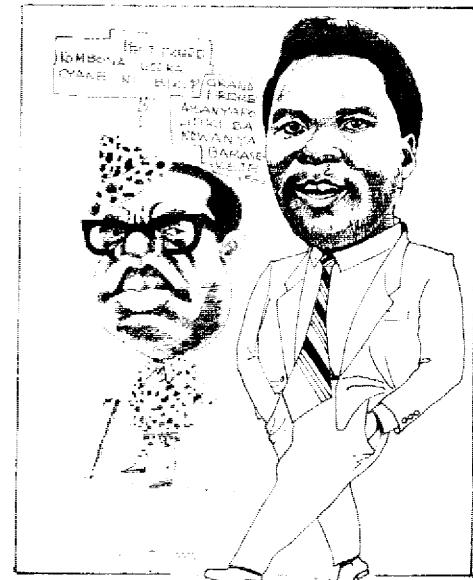
N°20 1993

HARYA NGO (KI?)  
SEZERA AKAWESI  
KASHOBOTSE

CDP

INYENZI ZIKOMEJE KWICA ABANYAPOLITIKI BATAVUGA  
RUMWE NAZO. NYUMA YA GAPYISI, RWAMBUKA,... HATAHWE NDE ?

POLITIKI YA HABYA -  
RIMANA YO KWIHOMA  
KU BATUTSI IZASHOZA  
INDI NTAMBARA.



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# EDITORIAL

## NI NDE UKENEYE KO INGABO ZA ONU ZITINDA KUGERA MU RWANDA ?



Ngo politiki ni gatebe gatoki koko. Muribuka ukuntu abanyamashyaka basakuzaga ngo amasezerano y'Arusha nasinywe vuba. Ngo Ikinani kiratinda gusinya amasezerano. Nyamara abifuzaga ko ayo masezerano ya huti huti asinywa, nta bandi, ni ba bandi bifuzaga kwiba ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Abo ni ba Nsengiyaremye bari bazi ko amasezerano y'Arusha azabaha ubutegetsi bwubwibano. Abo ni ba Mugenzi bifuzaga ko bajya muri Guverinoma gusahura nkuko bagenzi babo bo muri PSD barimo babikora.

### Amasezerano mu mahindura.

Amasezerano amaze gusinya, abanyapolitiki biciyemo ibice bibiri. Igice kimwe cyifuzaga ko hahita hajyaho Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Abo ni ba Twagiramungu n'abandi bazayinjiramo. Twagiramungu we yumva uwapfa kumugeza ku munsi wo kurahira ngo yibere minisitiri w'intebé maze ahangane n'abatamwemera, ataretse no guhirika Habyarimana ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Icyo gice kirimo Twagiramungu ni nacyo kibonekamo ba Gatabazi, Nzamurambaho, Mugenzi na Nayinzira ugiye kuba minisitiri atarageze mu mashuri nibura yisumbuye dore ko yari umu dactylographe. Ngo azaba ahagarariye PDC ra ! Ese iryo shyaka ryabuze abakristu bize ? Ngo ni ukwyibira ubutegetsi mu nzibacyuho !

### Igice cya kabiri giteye gite ?

Mu gice cya kabiri dusangamo minisitiri w'intebé

Uwilingiyimana Agatha we utifuza ko guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yajyaho. Ibyo akabyifuza agambiriye kwigumira ku mwanya we wa minisitiri w'intebé dore ko yaba yambuwe intebé.

Uteye ikibazo ni Ikinani. Kuko kubwacyo cyifuzaga ko ingabo za ONU zamara umwaka urenga zitaragera mu Rwanda. Bityo kikabona uburyo gikoresha ububasha bwacyo Arusha yibeshye ko yacyambuye. Icyo gihe Guverinoma yaguye itarajyaho, Ikinani kiracyari Ikinani kinaniza abananiranye nkuko cyamaze amashyaka ashymiranye nacyo dore ko nyuma ya MDR, muri PSD Gatabazi n'abamushyigikiye bashyamiranye n'abashyigikiye Nyungura.

Nyungura nawe akaba ashyyigikiwe na MRND mu gusenza PSD. Cyane cyane ko uwo Nyungura yamagana ubusambo bwa Gatabazi, Nzamurambaho tutaretse Rugenera, bagaragaje muri iyi nzibacyuho. Kandi nawe arashaka kujya muri Guverinoma kwiyibira nk'abandi.

Muri PL ho ni agahomamunwa. Abatutsi barifuza kongere yihutirwa ngo bambure Mugenzi ishyaka yihimbiye. Mugenzi nawe ariyambaza CDR ngo yo ivugira abahutu imurwaneho, imukize abatutsi. Ejo bundi abatutsi bafunze ibiro by'ishyaka PL babuza Mugenzi kwinjira mu nzu ishyaka rye rikoreramo. Ubwo Mugenzi yiyanbaje impuzamugambi zizamutabara dore ko zatabaraga umuhutu mwene wazo bavana umwanda mu nzira. Mugenzi agira amahoro.

### HABYARIMANA n'umutwe wa GOMN.

N'ubwo Habyarimana yifuza ko abasirikari ba ONU bataza vuba, nawe yagombye gukora iyo bwabaga ingabo z'u muryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika zikiyongera maze

zikajya hagati y'Inkotanyi n'Inzirabwoba. Bityo Inkotanyi ntizongere gutera zikaguma mu ndiri yazo. N'Ikinani kikigumira i Kigali cyo na Agatha Uwilingiyimana mu mutuzo, n'ubwo bwose ari uwigihe gito. Hagati aho kigakomeza gusenza amashyaka atavuga rumwe nacyo. Cyane cyane ariya afatanyije n'umwanzi.

### B i t e s e n'ABAPARMEHUTU.

Abo bagabo nabo bafatanje na Habyarimana. Nabo barifuza ko ingabo za ONU zitagera mu Rwanda vuba bityo bakabona uko bakomeza guhangana na Twagiramungu wabibye ishyaka. Kandi kumuhirika bizaba byoroshye bapfa gusa kubyitwaramo neza. Kandi na Twagiramungu azi ko bishoboka kuko ishyaka rye MDR ritamwemera. kindi abantu bakwiye kumenya ni uko urukundo Habyarimana akunda Twagiramungu ni rwa rundi umugore asura mukeba we afite uburwayi butazakira.

### KANGURA n'ibibazo bya politiki.

Abanyamakuru ba Kangura n'abayishyigikiye ubu baricinya icyara dore ko ibiri kuba mu mashyaka Kangura yabivuze kuva kera. Babyise urwenya none digaragaye bidatinze. Ubwo butwari bwa Kangura ibushimirwa n'abanyarwanda benshi. Ikaba igomba gukomeza umurongo wo gusesengura ibihe bizaza. Tugije mu gihe gisaba ubwenge n'ubushishozi. Ikinyamakuru kizaranba ni ikizamenya kugendana n'ibihe, kikamenya icyo abaturage bashaka kandi bakeneye. Nguko uko ingabo za ONU zifite abazifuza n'abatazifuza.

### NGEZE Hassan.

**KO AMASEZERANO Y'AMAHORO YASHYIZWEHO UMUKONO,**  
**HABUZE IKI NGO ASHYIRWE MU BIKORWA ?**



Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo iyihuse ibyara ibihumye. Mbere yuko Perezida wa Repubulika ahaguruka akaja Arusha gushyira umukono ku masezerano bise ay'amahoro, induru yari ndende. Ngo ikinani cyanze gusinya. Ngo nicyo kidashaka amahoro mu Rwanda. Nyamara Habyarimana yigeze kuburira abanyarwanda mu Ruhengeri igithe yavugaga ko amahoro atari "ibipapuro". Abamwumvise nabi ngo ni gashozamvururu. Ntibamenye ko yashakaga kubabwira ko amahoro atari ugushyira umukono ku rupapuro. Amahoro ava ku bushake, ava ku mutima wa buri muntu. Abafaransa nibo bakunze kuvuga ngo "Il ne faut pas vendre la peau de l'ours avant de l'avoir tué". Twavuga ko umuntu abara icyo yabonye.

Umuririmbyi Alpha BLONDY wo muri Côte d'Ivoire niwe wavyuze ati "amahoro si amagambo, amahoro ni ibikorwa" (la paix ce n'est pas un mot, c'est un comportement).

Perezida Habyarimana ajya Arusha gushyira umukono ku masezerano, nawe ubwe ntibwo yemeraga ko ibyo agiye gusinyira ari byo bizazana amahoro. Gusa nta kuntu yari kubigenza. Yashatse kwereka amahanga ko ari umwere

dore ko bari batangiyе kumushyira mu majwi.

Amasezerano yarasinywe, amahoro turategereza amaso ahera mu kirere. Cyokora nta wahakana ko ibyabereye Arusha ari intambwe igana amahoro. Amasezerano y'Arusha yanatumye nibura imirwano ihagarara ku rugamba. Bamwe mu bavanywe mu b y a b o b a s h o b o r a kubisubiramo. Mbese mu karere kaberamo imirwano haje agahenge. Amasezerano ya Arusha yanatumye amahanga amenya ikibazo cy'u Rwanda, aragihagurukira. Cyokora b y a g a r u k i y e a h o . Ntawakwihandagaza ngo avuge ko nyuma yitariki ya 4 Kanama, intambara yarangiye burundi, amahoro yagarutse. Kandi birumvikana.

**Abahutu n'Abatutsi ntibateze kwumvikana...**

Abakwije inkuru ko tariki ya 4 Kanama ari umunsi w'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, ntibazatinda kubona ko bibeshe. Abanyarwanda (aha ndashaka kuvuga abahutu n'abatutsi), batashoboye kwiyunga igithe cy'abami, ntibumvikane kuri Repubulika ya mbere ndetse n'ya kabiri, ntibari kwiyunga Arusha.

Amasezerano yabereye Arusha si ubwiyunge, ni amasezerano yo kugabana ubutegetsi. Dore ko ari nacyo abahutu bapfa n'abatutsi. Amasezerano y'Arusha yaranzwe n'uburyarya n'ubwiru bwataye benshi kwibaza niba koko amahoro mu Rwanda ari hafi kugaruka, kuko buri wese yakuruye yishyira.

Muri iryo gabana ry'ubutegetsi, inyenzi nizo muri rusange zahazamukiye kuko muri iyo mishyikirano zasaga n'izitegeka. Icyo zivuze kikemerwa buhumyi n'intumwa za Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye. Hari umunyamakuru uherutse kwemeza ko mu masezerano y'Arusha, nta ruhande rwatsinze urundi igitego. Ngo ni abanyarwanda noneho barebye mu izamu nyuma y'iminsi bari bamaze bitwaye nabi mu kibuga.

Buri wese afite uburenganzira bwo kugira icyo avuga kuri ariya masezerano. Ubwo n'uwo munyamakuru afite impamvu ze. Arikorero ntibibuza ukuri kugaragara. Yego Inyenzi ntizashoboye gufata igitugu mpiri arikorero ibyo zemere we n'amasezerano y'Arusha birenze urugero !

Indi mpamvu ituma ayo masezerano adashyirwa mu

bikorwa ni uko bayihutishije batabanje kureba niba ibikenewe byose bihari. Nawe se kwihanukira ukemeza ko guverinoma y'inhibacyaho yaguye izaba irimo FPR izajyaho nyuma y'ukwezi n'iminsi irindwi nyuma y'isinywa ry'ayo masezerano, si inzozi mu zindi ? Cyane cyane iyo wemeza ko mbere y'uko iyo Guverinoma iijyaho hazabanza hakaza abasirikari b'umuryango w'abibumbye !

Si ibyo gusa. Impunzi z'abatutsi bemereye ko bazakira nk'abami kandi ntawe uzi kugeza ubu aho amafaranga azava nazozizateza ibibazo bitari bike. Dore ko nta nazi umubare wazo. Mu gihe n'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara nabo ikibazo cyabo

kitari cyatungana.

Ikindi kibazo bajya bakinisha ni icy'abasirikari. Bijeje abo bazasererera ko bazzabaha impamba ishimishije. Mbese ihwanye n'akazi bakoze. Nyamara ibyo byose bakabivuga batazi neza aho amafaranga yo kubaha azava. Mu nama iherutse kubera mu ishuri rikuru rya gisirikari hano i Kigali, igahuza abakuru b'ingabo, bize icyo kibazo. Ariko sinzi neza niba barakiboneye umuti. Impungenge kandi ni nyinshi. None ko abasirikari barahiye kutazava mu bigo batabonye amafaranga yabo bizagenda gute ? Ibyo kubabonera akazi byo ni inzozi.

Ikindi kibazo batayja bavuga kandi kitoroshye cyerekeye agace Inkotanyi zigenzura. Ako gace kazasubizwa Guverinoma y'u Rwanda cyangwa kazaguma kabe umwihariko w'Inkotanyi ? Mbese Leta mu yindi... Kugirango amahoro agaruke mu Rwanda si ibya none. Nta munyarwanda udashaka amahoro. Na none kuyavuga ku munwa gusa si ukuyazana. Abanyarwanda uhereye ku Nkotanyi bakwiye guhindura ibitekerezo byabo. Bakareka inyungu zabo, bakimiriza imbere iz'igihugu. Atari ibyo amasezerano y'Arusha yaba yarazanye agahenge gusa. Intambara ariho igitangira !

#### KANGURA.

### HABYARIMANA N'IKIBAZO CY'ABASIRIKARI BAKURU.

Iyi ntambara yashuhije imitwe y'abantu. Bituma benshi batekereza n'ibitari ngombwa. Mu masezerano y'Arusha hemejwe ko impande zombi zazatanga amapeti uko zibyumva. Ni muri urwo rwego FPR ishabora gursinda igitego gikaze cya mbere muri iyi ntambara.

#### Bimeze bite se ?

FPR ikimara kwemerterwa gutanga amapeti yaravuze iti : "icyo twashakaga ni ukubona uburyo tubona amaperi nta rusaku". Nibwo igufatiye abana b'emyaka 25 kugeza kuri 35 ibaha amapeti y'aba "Général", "la "Général de Brigade" n'abandi ba ofisiye bo hejuru. Impamvu FPR yabigize ityo nta yindi.

Yaravugaga iti : "urukundo abarwanashyaka ba FPR bakundana, ruzatuma tugera no kubyo demokarasi itatwemerera". Ishyiraho komisiyo yo kureba uko amapeti yagiye atangwa imbere mu gihugu.

Mu byo iyo komisiyo yagaragaje yasanze ko guha amapeti abasaza ari ukuyapfusha ubusa kuko nyuma y'emyaka ibiri bahita bajya mu kiruhuko cy'abakuze (retraite). Bati : "reka ku ruhande rwa FPR duhe amapeti abana bakiri bato", mu gihe i Kigali ho bayahaga abasaza gusa.

Kandi nyuma y'emyaka tumaze kuvuga haruguru bazasererera kubera ubusaza. Bityo amapeti mu ngabo z'u Rwanda asigare yihariwe n'abaturutse muri FPR. Ibyo biragaragaza ko biramutse

ntazi neza niba ku ruhande rw'u Rwanda hazaboneka ubutwari bwo kugira abasore ba "Général" cyangwa se ba "Général de Brigade". Kandi kubikora biroroshiye kuko ubwo FPR itanga

#### **CDR-BUTARE IRASHIMIRA ABAKOMEJE KUYITERA INKUNGA**

Ishyaka CDR-BUTARE irashimira byimazevo abantu bose bemaze iminsi bariba umusanu wo kurishiyikira, tio nkunga izatuma CDR mukunda irenero kurushaho rubanda nyamwinshi ikoneza gupymagazwa n'egatsiko k'aberwanira ubutegeresi burangwe n'igitugu gisa gisa. Ni lio nkunga yanyu izakomeza kudufasha kuvanya politiki y India. NTITUGOMBA KWIRENGAGIZA UKURI kuko ari yo ntware ikiwye mu gutsinda dutegerere vuba aha ngaha. Byamaze kugaragere ke mu mashyaka yose ari mu RWANDA inyishio za CDR ziganda zishingi imizi, Igisigaye ni ughuriza hamwe abarwanashyaka b'eye mashyaka yose. Ni muri urwo rwego twengeye gusaba IMPUZAMUGAMBI zose, zaba iz'i BUTARE cyangwa mu tundi turere tw'igihugu gukomeza kudutera inkungatukabone uburyo bwo gucengeza kurushaho amatwara ya CDR muri BUTARE abaturutse beho banyotewe.

**MURAKOZE.**

**ABASHINZWE KWAKIRA IMFASHANYO MURI BUTARE.**

bigenze bityo u Rwanda rugaha amapeti abasaza gusa, FPR ikayaha abasore, mu gihe gitu u Rwanda rwaba rutegekwa n'abasirikari bakuru b'Inyenzi gusa. Ibyo nta wabihakana. Kuko

amapeti ikurikije abarwanye.

Natwe twagombye gufata abarwanye bose akaba aribo duheraho duha amapeti. Bityo n'abazirukanwa kubera

amasezerano y'Arusha bakazatahana ishema ry'ayo mapeti. Bityo bakumva ko barwaniye urwababyaye koko.

#### Amakosa ni ayande ?

Ndumva kugira ngo kiriya kibazo kiduteshe umutwe, amakosa twayashyira kuri Habyarimana. Amakosa vakoze ni uko mu myaka isaga mirongo itatu yose ayobora ingabo yaranzwe no kugundira akananga ko hatagira ababona ipeti ringana n'irye. Kandi kuri we ubwo yari yanze kwiha ipeti ryo hejuru y'iryo afite, kubera ko yari afite umwanya wa Perezida wa

Repubulika, uri hejuru y'amagarade yose aba mu gihugu, yagombaga kureka abo bafatanije guhirika Kayibanda akabihere amapeti angana n'irye cyangwa se asumba irye. Bityo bakaba basaranganje ubutegetsi bafatiye hamwe.

#### HABYARIMANA yaranzwe n'ubwikanize.

Ubwo bwikanize nibwo butumye abasaza bacu bajya mu zabukuru nta peti rigaragara bafite. Bityo Inyenzi z'insoresore zikaba zigye kuuya zibategeka zibakandagiza amapeti ya ba

"Général" zatoraguye mu masezerano y'Arusha. Iyo abasaza bose Habyarimana abaha amapeti, ubu Guverinoma iba igiye guha amapeti abasore maze bakazahangana n'ab'Inyenzi. None bitumye Guverinoma yima abasore amapeti ngo itazarakaza abasaza bashigaje imyaka ibiri mu ngabo bagasezera kubera iza bukur.

Nguko uko Inyenzi zigize Kanyarengwe "Général". Bagenzi be ba Buregeya, Serubuga, Rwigasirita n'abandi bimyije imoso kubera kutareba kure kwa Habyarimana. Ngo ingwe ntiyari izi gufata ku gakanu yarabwirijwe. Umva ko Habyarimana ari Ikinani

KANGURA.

### BURUGUMESITIRI WA KOMINI GATONDE,

#### UBWICANYI BURAMUHAMA.

Bourgmestre wa komini Gatonde akaba anafite akamenyero kabi ko gufungira abantu muri kasho ya komini ku buryo

gutinya kuhafatirwa. Ay'ubusa ariko azacakirwa.

#### HABYARIMANA Yuvenali yishwe ate ?



bunyuranyije n'amategeko akensi abo afungiyemo bakagwamo. Izo ni zimwe mu mpamvu zituma abacuruzi n'abanyabwenge bakomoka muri Gatonde bahacika kubera gukiza amaguru yabo. Dore ko iyo hagize uhahinguka bourgmestre ata umutwe yibwira ko baje kunea amarorerwa yose akora. Bakaba bamurega i Kigali. Inzego zo hejuru nazo zimaze kumenya amakosa ya bourgmestre wa komini Gatonde. Ikinashimishije ni uko ubu hafunguwe dosiye kuri ubwo bwicanyi ubu ikaba ifitwe na Procureur Général w'urukiko rusesa imanza. Dutegereje icyo anketi zizatanga. Gusa ni uko Bourgmestre wa Gatonde amaze gutumirwa kabiri atahagera ngo ntashobora kugera i Kigali cyangwa mu Ruhengeri kubera

Nkuko anketi twakoreye i Gatonde ibyerekana, se w'uriya nyakwigendera yari afatanije ikinombe kimwe cy'amatafari na burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde. Uwo musaza nawe witwa Rugigana amaze kwitaba Imana, burugumesitiri ahimba amayeri yo kwigarurira ibyo yasize, birimo ibinombe bigera ku munane by'amatafari. Nibwo ahimbye amayeri yohereza abapolisi ngo bajye gusaka intware kuri uwo Habyarimana Yuvenali. Bazibuze afata imbwa azijyana gusaka nko mu birometero bibiri ahari bya binombe by'amatafari. Mu kinombe kimwe cyari kimaze imyaka itanu kidakora basangamo imbunda. Nibwo uwo Habyarimana afashwe azira ubusa, arabohwa ashyirwa muri kasho

Mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gatatu mu biro by'abategetsi bo mu Rwanda, hacificanaga amaraporu avugwa ku bwicanyi bwavugwaga kuri NIZEYIMANA Jean Bosco, burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde. Ayo maraporu nta biro atagezemo. Ngaho kwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ngaho kwa Minisitiri w'Intebi n'izindi nzego nyinshi z'ubutegetsi.

#### Amavu n'amavuko y'ubwo bwicanyi.

Nk'uko anketi twakoreye muri superefegitura ya Busengo ari naho Gatonde iherereye ibigaragaza, burugumesitiri w'yo komini aravugwaho ubwicanyi n'ubusahuzi kandi bikamuhama.

Ibyo tugiye kubagezaho ni inkuru y'imvaho dore ko twahigereye tariki ya 20 kugeza tariki ya 23 kanama 1993, tukifashisha inzego zinyuranye zo muri aho gace, tuvugana n'abakozi ba komini, tuvugana na bamwe mu ba konseye. Bose bemeje ko ubusambo n'ubwambuzi ari byo ntangiriro yo gukira, ari byo bituma burugumesitiri wa komini Gatonde yica abantu. Hari abo yicisha agira ngo asigarana ibyabo, hari abo yicisha bamaze kwamburwa. Gusa ikibabaje ni uko abanyabwenge n'abacuruzi bakomoka muri iyo komini, ubu bahacitse kubera ko abenshi abahiga, akaba anafite uburyo bwinshi bwo kubicisha nko kubarasa cyangwa kugurira abantu ngo bazamurasire abo adashaka.

kugeza ubwo yiciwe. Mu gitondo abaje bagemuye basanga kasho yuzuye amaraso. Nubwo burugumesitiri yavugaga ko Habyarimana yishwe ngo ashaka gutoroka.

### Ukuri kuri he ?

Nkuko abaturage babyemeza ndetse na ba konseye b'iyo komini bakaba babyemeza, ngo burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde yari afatanije ikinombe kimwe na se wa Habyarimana. Uwo musaza Rugigana amaze gupfa, burugumesitiri yohereza umuntu guhisha imbunda mu kinombe kimwe cy'amatafari. Nibwo yajyaga gusaka iyo mbunda kugeza ubwo ayibonye. Aho uwo mugabo yagaragarije ubwenge bucye ni uko abapolisi basatse mu rugo imbunda bakayibura. Maze agafata imbwa akaba arizo ziyobora abapolisi kuri cya kinombe.

Nyamara yihibagije ko imbwa nk'izo mu Rwanda zitahaba kuko

zinahabaye zigomba kubanza kwigishwa. Nguko uko burugumesitiri wa komini Gatonde yicishije Habyarimana Yvenali agira ngo asigarane ibinombe bye by'amatafari nyakwigendera Rugigana yari yaramuraze.

### Dore abandi bantu bishwe ku buryo butumvikanu muri Komini Gatonde.

1. MANISHIMWE Emmanuel, mwene ZUNGURUKA wo muri segiteri RUSASA.
2. NSIGAJINSHUTI Alphonse, mwene NYIRABAGANIZI (umupfakazi) wo muri segiteri RUSASA.
3. MAHUNDAZA Cyprien, mwene NAKABONYE wo muri segiteri Kibumba.
4. BUDUGU Adéodatus, mwene SINGIRANKABO wo muri segiteri Kibumba.
5. RUMASHANA Gaëtan, mwene NYIRAKIGA (umupfakazi).

6. TWAHIRWA mwene KANKUNDIYE wo muri segiteri Nyakagezi-Kavumu.

7. DESIDERI mwene KILIZOROGE na CYIMANA wo muri segiteri Nyakagezi-Kavumu.

8. HABYARIMANA Juvénal, mwene RUGIGANA wo muri segiteri Rusasa.

N.B. MANISHIMWE yishwe yari arwariye muri disipanseri y'i Gatonde ari naho bamusanze bamwica ku mugaragaro.

HABYARIMANA Yuvenali abapolisi ba komini Gatonde bamurasiye muri kasho ya komini njoro mu gihe yari afunzwe aboshye amaguru n'amaboko abohewe inyuma.

Abo bantu bose turabashinja ubutegetsi bwa Komini Gatonde ari nabwo bugomba kubabazwa. Anketi zacu ziracyakomeza no muri KANGURA itaha.

## ABANYAGISENYI N'INZIBACYUHO.

Ngo akanwa kariye ntikaguhe, iyo gatatse ntiwumva. Uwo ni umugani w'abagoyi. N'ubwo abanyarwanda twese twari muri MRND, ntawabura kuvuga ko abanyagisenyi bo barimo kurusha abandi dore ko yari yarashinzwe n'umwana wabo waje kuba Ikinani.

### Tubanze tumenye Gisenyi.

GISENYI igizwe n'ibice bine : ubugoyi, ubushiru, akanage, ikingogo. Ubugoyi bugizwe na komini Rubavu, Kanama, Rwerere, Nyamyumba n'agace gato ka Mutura kegeree Kanama na Rwerere. Ubushiru bugizwe na Karago, Giciye, Gaseke n'agace gato ka Mutura gafashe kuri Karago na Nkuli. Kingogo igizwe na Komini Ramba, Kibirira na Satisty. Akanage kagizwe na Komini imwe ya Kayove, usibye ko gafatanye na Rutsiro ya Kibuye na Karago ku ishyamba rya Gishwati.

Utwo duce twose twa Gisenyi siko ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwadutonesheje nkuko bikunze kuvugwa. N'ubwo iyo inzu ihiye

abarimo bose bahiramo, si nako ibyiza byose iyo bije mu nzu bigera kuri bose. Ni muri urwo rwego akarere k'ubugoyi na n'ubu ntacyo gashima abategetsi bwa Habyarimana ku byerekeye itangwa ry'imyanya. Habyarimana agifite ubutegetsi bwose yahabwaga n'ishyaka rimwe, abanyagisenyi ntibasangiraga ibyiza kimwe. Ni muri urwo rwego n'umugoyi wahabwaga umwanya wasangaga ari ikigwari yirira akibagirwa bene wabo. Urugero ni ba Ngirira Matayo utazwi mu Bugoyi kuko yabaye minisitiri kubera gukurura yishyira gusa.

### Amashyaka menshi n'Abanyagisenyi.

Kugenza ubu, abanyagisenyi bibumbiye mu mashyaka abiri. Hari CDR ifite 60 ku ijana by'abaturage bose na MRND isigaranye 39 ku ijana. Iryo rimwe risigaye rigaharira andi mashyaka nayo atangiye kuhaboneka. Abanyagisenyi bakiri muri MRND ni ukubera ko Perezida wa Republik ariho avuka. Abo bamukunda bakaba

batatekereza kumuhemukira. Hakaba harimo na bamwe barimo kubera ko minisitiri runaka yahabonetse, bityo akabafasha gukemura ibibazo bimwe na bimwe nko kubabonera amashuri, akazi n'ibindi...

Amashyaka agitangira, MRND yasigaranye minisiteri icyenda. Muri abo ba minisitiri icyenda ba MRND, harimo umwe uyobora imigambi ya Leta, ukomoka ku Gisenyi. Kandi mu Bugoyi. Ejo bundi komite ya MRND yemeza ko uwo mwanya agomba kuwamburwa ughabwba Cyangugu ngo mu rwego rwo gusaranganya ubutegetsi mu bayoboke ba MRND.

### Uburakari bw'abagoyi.

Iyo nkuru y'incamugongo imaze gusesekara mu Bugoyi abantu bakubise ighiwereye maze begera Banzi umusaza uhagarariye MRND by'umurimbo gusa, kuko ibyemezi bifatwa atabizi, byaba ngombwa ntabimenyeshwe. Ubwo twamusaba kuva muri MRND akgira muri CDR kuko ari nayo imugera ku mutima, maze asubiza ko nawe yababajwe no kubona

Gisenyi isigara nta minisitiri igira kandi ubugoyi tugasigara nta minisitiri nta na depite. Nibwo Banzi yanditse urwandiko rurimo akababaro k'abagoyi ategereza ko azasaba komite ya MRND yiyitirira ko ayobora ko yamufasha gusinya urwo rwandiko maze iyo komite mu nama yayo yabaye ku cyumweru tariki ya 5 Nzeri 1993 yanga kumufasha gusinya urwo rwandiko ngo kuko rwashoboraga gusenya ishyaka, bikababaza Ikinani.

### Ni iki kibabaza abagoyi?

Abagoyi bababazwa no gutegekwa n'abantu badakunda iwabo. Urugero batanga ni urw'uwigize kuyobora banki ya Kigali witwa Mvuyekure Viateur. Uwo mugabo yavuyeho nta mugoyi agiriye akamaro. Abagoyi bakababazwa na Koloneli Gahimano wayoboraga ESM. Aho gushyigikira abagyi, niwe wafataga iyambere kubirukana. Yanaba na depite ku bw'igitugu, akavaho nta muturage babonanye kuko yagiye ku buryo batazi dore ko batanashoboraga kumutora.

### Abagoyi babona bate minisitiri w'Imigambi ya Leta ?

N'ubwo Ngirabatware Augustin ntacyo yari amariye abagoyi ariko ntacyo yari abatwaye. Habonetse ibibazo yigira kwa sebukwe ubarizwa i Byumba akaba ari we ubikemura. Biravugwa cyane ko abarizwa kwa ba sebukwe kurusha kwe se wamubyaye dore ko sebukwe ari bamwana w'Ikinani.

### Ni iki abagoyi bari bamutegerejeho atakoze ?

A bagoyi bari bamutegerejeho ko azababonera akazi muri service ziboneka muri minisiteri ye. Aho kukabaha cyangwa ngo agahe aba MRND basangiye ishyaka, akihera andi mashyaka ari nacyo gituma ashimwa nayo mashyaka yo muri opposition. Twibukiranye ko Projets zose zo mu Rwanda ziteganywa na minisiteri ye. Ariko se uwamubaza abagoyi yashyizemo hari abarenze batanu yabona ?

### Ni iki abayobozi ba MRND bamunengaho ?

Aba MRND n'aba CDR baranenga imyifatire ya Ngirabatware Augustin ku kibazo

cy'amashuri dore ko minisiteri ye yari ifite ubushobozi bwo kubonera financement abashaka kwiga bujuje ibya ngombwa. Ariko agiye kuvaho asize amadosiye arenga ijana yanze gusinyira kandi abifitiye ubushobozi. None se ko yari ashyigikiwe n'abagoyi mbere y'abandi bose none bakaba bavuga ko yanze kubasinyira ibibazo by'amashuri hari uwakwizera ko uzamusimbura w'umunya Cyangugu ariwe uzasinya amadosiye y'abanyagisenyi n'abanyaruuhengeri. Kandi mwene wabo ariwe wanze kubasinyira.

Minisitiri Ngirabatware yagombye kugenda asize ashimishije bene wabo akabaha ibyo barnusabye niba yumva akibakeneye. Kuko abo yimye akazi n'amashuri nibo bari bategerejweho kuzamura Gisenyi. None se nasiga adatinganje kiriya kibazo azaba ataniye he na Gahimano watumye abugoyi butagira aba ofisiye kubera kubirukanira muri ESM yari ashinzwe kuyobora. Ntaho ritarema. Icyo utamariye iwanu uzakimarira ba sobukwe ! Urugendo rwiza Gisenyi-Byumba.

### KANGURA.

## BURUNDI-ARUSHA : NYUMA Y'ABANYARWANDA HATAHIWE ABARUNDI.

Hambere aha, hensi muri Afrika inama bise "RUKOKOMA" nizo zari zigezweho. Izo nama zagize akamaro kanini aho zagiye ziba. Zatumye ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bugenda bucika kuri uyu mugabane wacu bitabaye ngombwa ko amaraso ameneka. Hose ariko izo nama ntizabaye. Bitewe ahanini n'abakuru b'ibihugu batinye ko izo nama zaba nk'urukiko zikabatamaza. Hari n'aho izo "Rukokoma" zabaye ntizagira icyo zigeraho.

Amashyaka acyaduka mu Rwanda, abarwanya Habyarimana baciye igikuba ngo hagomba "Rukokoma". Uretse ko itabaye mu buryo bashakaga, iyo "Rukokoma" yarabaye Arusha mu buryo bise imishyikirano y'amahoro. Gusa ikibazo ni uko iyo mishyikirano yaranzwe n'uburyarya, abanyarwanda

ntibashobora kubwizanya ukuri icyo bapfa. Ibyo ari byo byose ubusa buruta ubusabusa. Iyo mishyikirano yashoboye guhagarika intambara y'amatasu. Abari bayirimo banatwizeza ko abanyarwanda ngo bashoboye noneho kwiyunga. Byaba ari amahoro !

Ikibazo cyo mu Rwanda, atari ukwivanga, gisa n'icyo mu Burundi. Kubihakana siwo muti. Muri ibyobihugu byombi, amoko abiri (abahutu n'abatutsi) ahora arwanira ubutegetsi. Ku ngoma za cyami ibyobihugu byombi byategetswe igehe kirekire n'abatutsi. Aho republika iziye, mu Rwanda abahutu bajya ku butegetsi, mu Burundi ntihagira igeindhuka, abatutsi baguma ku ngoma. Kugeza ejobundi aho amatora abaye, abahutu bakimika mwene wabo. Ikibazo ariko nticyarangie. Abahutu b'i Burundi

batora NDADAYE, bizeraga ko azahita abarenganura. Yego ntawahita acira urubanza Ndadaye kuko amaze ku butegetsi igehe gito cyane ariko abahutu benshi b'i Burundi cyane cyane ab'impunzi baracyemanga imikorere ya Perezida mushya w'i Burundi bari batezeho byinshi.

### NDADAYE atinya iki ?

Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo ntawutunya ijoro atinya icyo barihuriramo. Perezida Ndadaye n'ubwo bwose ategeka biragaragara ko afite ubwoba bw'abatutsi. Inkuru zaranakwiriye ngo ishyaka FRODEBU ni irya BAGAZA. Ngo n'ikimenyimenyi se wa Bagaza niwe urihagarariye mu ntara ya Bururi.

Bigakubitiraho n'uko Bagaza uwo ejobundi yasubiye mu Burundi nta nkomyi, mu gihe

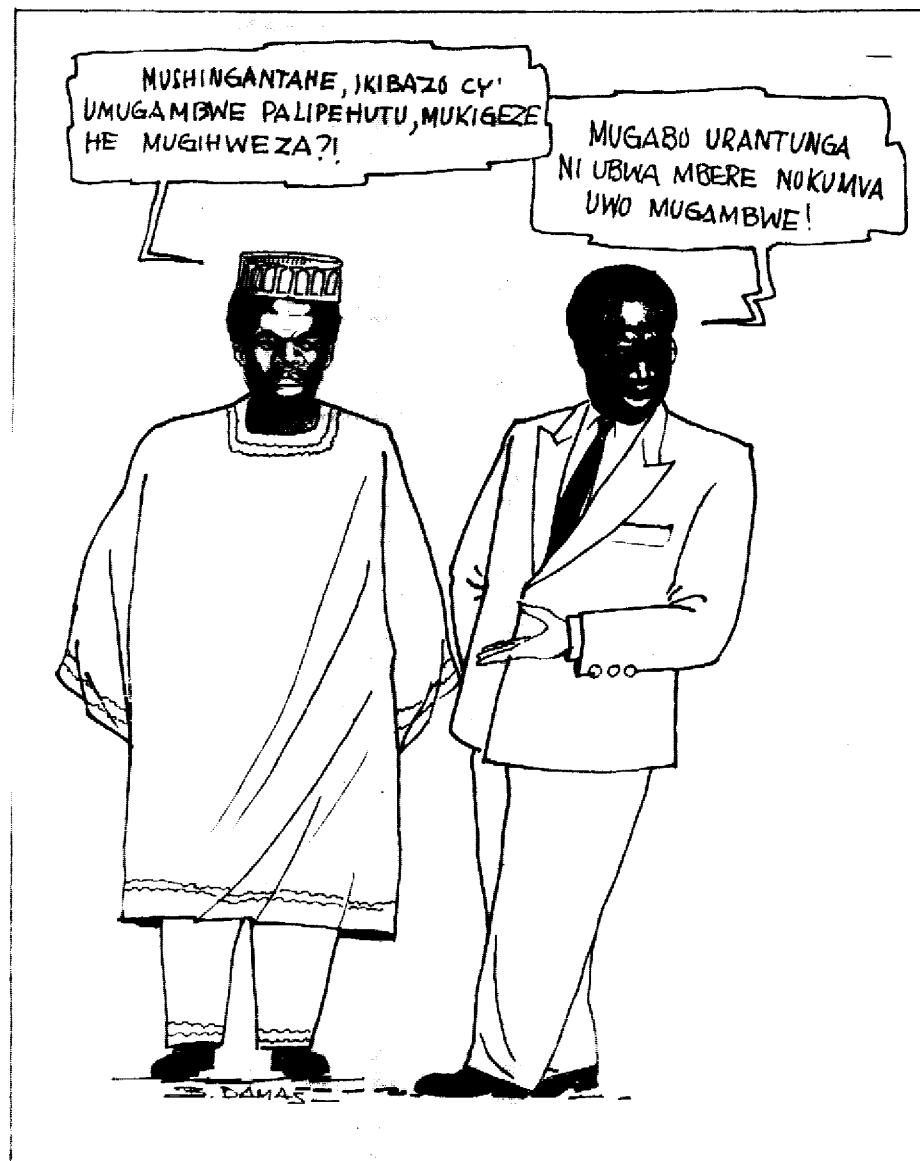
abahutu benshi bakiri hanze. Kuba FRODEBU ari iya Bagaza cyangwa se atari iye, siho ikibazo kiri. Abavuga ariya magambo babiterwa n'ubwoba Perezida Ndadaye afatana ibyemezo. Mu matora yijeje imbaga y'abahutu ko aramutse atowe, azihutira kubaka u Burundi bushyashya. Ku muhutu w'i Burundi, u Burundi bushyashya bivuga icyo bivuga ! Bisobanura guha abahutu ibyo abatutsi bari barabimye. Abahutu b'i Burundi bumvaga umuhutu mwene wabo aramutse ageze ku butegetsi ntaho noneho bazongera guhezwa. Bakabona imanya mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi, mu mashuri, mu bucamanza ariko cyane cyane mu gisirikari. Dore ko ari naho bari bararyamiwe bikabije.

Ndadaye amaze gutsinda amatora yatangaje benshi. Agize atya agufatiye umututsikazi wo muri UPRONA amugize minisitiri w'intebé. No muri Guverinoma yinjijemo abatutsi banagize uruhari mu marorerwa ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi bwakoreye abahutu mu mateke y'u Burundi. Cyakora Ndadaye yashoboye guhindura abakuru b'intara (guverineri) na ba ambasaderi bose bari abatutsi gusa.

Ibyo ari byo byose, u Burundi bushyashya bwa Ndadaye wufite aho bugarukira. Hari inzego atinyuka gukoraho cyane cyane o mu gisirikari kigizwe kugeza 'bu n'abatutsi gusa. Aha rero abatutsi nabo bamutegeyeuko aramutse ateye hejuru bamumerera nabi. Abahutu nabo bakavuga ko yabagambaniye kandi nawe atari we. Nta bushobozi abifitiye. Yego ni Perezida ariko ububasha bwe bufite aho bugarukira.

#### Kwiringagiza PALIPEHUTU ntibiyibuza kubaho.

Abahutu b'i Burundi cyane cyane ab'impunzi batora Ndadaye, bari bamutegeye ahantu hamwe. Ni kuri PALIPEHUTU. Iryo shyaka kuva ryashingwa ryakuye umutima abatutsi b'i Burundi bakoresha uburyo bwose bwo kurizibangatanya. Kandi birumvikana. Abatutsi nabo ubwabo bari bazi ko bari ku



butegetsi batabukwiriye kuko ari bake cyane ugereranje n'umubare w'abahutu. Kumva rero abahutu bashinze ishyaka ryabo nta kuntu bitari gukura umutima abatutsi. PALIPEHUTU barayirwanya, bayica umutwe, iranga irabananira. Na n'ubu iracyariho. Yanagize uruhari runini mu itorwa rya Ndadaye. Igitangaje rero ni uko usanga muri iki gihe na Ndadaye ubwe w'umuhutu ayirwanya.

NDADAYE amaze gutorwa yari yatangaje ko PALIPEHUTU nta kibazo iteve igihe cyose izaba ari ishyaka rya politiki nk'ayandi. Icyo yanze kwemera ni ingabo zayo (FNL), Forces Nationales de Libération. Ntibiteye kabiri ati keretse rhinduye izina. Aha rero niho ikibazo cy'u Burundi gisubira ibubisi. Birumvikana ko PALIPEHUTU itagomba guhindura izina. Ari ibyo na za UPRONA, FRODEBU... zahindura amazina. Palipehutu ni

Palipehutu. Rhinduye izina ntayaba ikiri Palipehutu, yaba rhindutse ikindi kintu. Kandi nta cyaba kirimo kuba Palipehutu yitwa gutyo. Nta n'ivanguramoko rrimo rwose. Nkoko kwitwa Ndadaye, Gahutu, Buyoya... nta cyaha kirimo.

Gufunga amaso ukavuga ko Palipehutu itabaho, ntibiyibuza kubaho. Kuvuga ko ingabo zayo zitabaho, ntibizibuza kubaho. Ni ngombwa kwemera ukuri kuko kuguhakanabitakubuza kugaragara. Abarundi bari bakwiye kugera ikirengemucy'abanyarwanda bakajya "ARUSHA". PALIPEHUTU ikemererwa gukorera ku mugaragaro i Burundi. Nkoko Inyenzi zo muri FPR zabaye abanzi igitore kirekire, ubu zikaba zitwa abavandimwe ! Na NDADAYE yari ahibereye.

**KANGURA.**

POLITIKI Y'INDA IRADINDIZA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA.

Hambre aha, ikitaragendaga neza cyose bagihererezaga ku butegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Impamvu ni uko mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'ishyaka rimwe abaturage bari barakandamijwe n'agatsiko k'abantu bakoreraga inyungu zabo. Ariko rero ruri hose. Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo urwishe ya nka ruracyayirimo. Kuva aho inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi igereye muri Afurika cyane cyane mu Rwanda, abaturage bariruhukije. Bibwiraga ko bakize ingoma y'igitugu noneho bagiye kuvuga icyo batekereza. Nyamara ntibamenye ko igitugu kigiye gusimbura ikindi gitugu.

Bimaze kugaragara ko politiki ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi atariyo demokarasi. N'ubwo bwose tuvuga ko ige cyo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu cyarangiye, biracyakorwa. Urugero twatanga ni Twagiramungu wigize minisitiri w'intebi amaze guhirika biro politiki y'ishyaka rye. Akanateza umwiryane mu barwanashyaka ba MDR.

Mu kiganiro aherutse kugirana n'abanyamakuru, Twagiramungu yiymereye ubwe ko atubahirije amabwiriza ya politiki ya MDR. Ibyo yakoze ngo akaba yaranabikoze agirira neza ishyaka ryari rigiye gusenyuka. Ngo akaba yaranabikoze agira ngo arengere igitugu. Mujye mwirinda abantu babesha ko babashakira amahirwe ntawabatumye. Koko ni

abanyagitugu mu bandi. Abo bavana igihugu mu "rwobo" turabamenyereye, kandi bamaze kurambirana.

MDR : Urwishe ya nka ruracyayirimo.

Imyiranye irangwa muri iki gihe mu shyaka rya MDR si iya none. Iryo shyaka ryatangiye neza rivugira rubanda rugufi. Bityo rigira uruhare runini ige cya revolisiyo ya rubanda ya mu w'1959.

Abayobozi ba MDR baje kwikubira ishyaka baryambura rubanda. Ironda koko, ironda karere, biba intero. Abarwanashyaka bateshwa umurongo biratinda. Uko byagenze murabizi. Akajagari kari mu Rwanda niko katumye ingabo z'igihugu zifata ubutegetsi hashingwa Republikya ya kabiri.

Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo akabaye icwende nti koga. Amashyaka menshi agarutse mu Rwanda, MDR yarazutse, igaruka guhatana mu ruhando rw'amashyaka. N'ubwo bwose yaje itakiri PARMEHUTU, amatiku yaranze iryo shyaka aracyari ya yandi. Buri wese muri iryo shyaka akurura yishyira. Abanyagitarama barakibwira ko aribo bazi gutegeka. Ntibaramenya ko na nyina wundi abyara umuhungu. Ibibera mu shyaka MDR biteye bwibaza ku bategetsi bacu. Nawe se minisitiri w'intebi w'u Rwanda wihanukira agatinyuka kuvuga ngo azakorera

u Rwanda, ishyaka n'abanyabutare ! Ngo abanyagitarama ntibavukanye imbuto yo gutegeka.

Ngo abanyabutare ntibafite imiziririzo ! N'ubwo bwose ibyo ari ukuri si ngombwa kubivuga kuko byakurura imviruru zitari ngombwa. Twagiramungu nawe ati abanyagitarama si kamara. N'abanyacyangugu bibagercho. Ayo matiku niyo ashobora gutuma MDR isenyuka. Nkuko byayigendekeye mu w'1973. Uwo mwiriyane kandi niwo utuma demokarasi isubira inyuma mu Rwanda kubera inda za bamwe.

Igitugu gisimbuyeikindi.

Mu mins'i mike hagiye gushyirwaho Guverinoma n'Inteko ishinga amategeko byaguye. Turabaza abanyarwanda niba abaminisitiri n'abadepite bagiye kujyaho niba aribo mwifuzaga ko bajyaho cyangwa niba barigeze bababaza icyo mubitekerezaho. Bitaniye he se n'abishyiragaho mu gihe cyo hambre bakoresheje imbunda mu buryo bunyuranije n'amategeko ? Kubwira bene abo bantu amatora ni uguta inyuma ya Huye. Kandi niko bizagenda. Guverinoma ya Twagiramungu n'Inkotanyi baba bazibwiriza bagategura amatora ? Nta gihamya.

Mubifate uko mu byumva. Ibyabereye Arusha ni "coup d'état" mu zindi. Twagiramungu yahigiriye minisitiri w'intebi, abayobozi b'amashyaka bahagabanira ubutegetsi. Bityo biha gutegeka nta n'ubo bagishije inama. Iyo ni inzitizi ya mbere y'amahoro n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda. Twagiramungu yatanze urugero rubi abanzi ba demokarasi bashobora kururiraho. Umwiryane uri mu mashyaka yo mo Rwanda n'ukomeza, bizatera FPR ishyushyu ryo gushyiraho ubutegetsi yifuza. Mbese nkuko bimeze muri Uganda aho impunzi z'abategetsi zashyizaho ubutegetsi zishyakiye zikaniga amashyaka y'abanyagihugu. Urukingo rwa za "coup d'état" aho ziva zikagera, ni amatora azira igitugu kandi anyuze mu nzira ya demokarasi.

NGEZE Hassan.

## **POLITIKI YA HABYARIMANA YO KWIHOMA KU BATUTSI IZASHOZA INDI NTAMBARA.**

Singaye n'abigeze kuvuga ko Habyarimana agomba kuba afite icyo apfana n'abatutsi. Ku ngoma ye agiye kumaraho imyaka 20, ntacyo atakoze ngo abatutsi bamererwe neza. Nyamara inyiturano yabo twarayibonye. Bamaze kurengwa, abatutsi basanze ari ngombwa gufata u Rwanda ku ngufu. Barabigerageje birabananira. Gahunda yabo yo gufata u Rwanda mu minsi itatu irabapubana. BASHOJE intambara bazi ko itazamara icyumweru none imyaka itatu irashize. Habaye ah'abagabo. Rubanda nyamwinshi ifatanije n'ingabo z'u Rwanda bashoboye gukumira umwanzi. Ibantu ntibiba byaragombye kugera iyo hose iyo hataba politiki ya Habyarimana yo gukundwakaza abatutsi kandi batabimusabye.

Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo iyo amazi akubwiye ngo winyoga, usubiza ko nta mbyiro ufite. Habyarimana niwe wivugira ko ntacyo atakoze ngo abatutsi bamererwe neza. Nyamara se ntibamweretse aho babera babi ! Amafaranga yabahaye niyo baguzemo intwaro bagaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 bagamije gusubiza i m b a g a n y a m w i n s h i y'abanyarwanda mu bucakara. Imana ikinga ukuboko.

None Habyarimana arasubiriye. Muribuka ko impunzi z'abatutsi zimaze gufata ubutegetsi muri Uganda, Perezida Habyarimana niwe wafashe iya mbere ajya kubambika amapeti. Icyo bamwituye ni ukumutera. Mu gihe abanyarwanda batari bashira intimba batewe na kiriya gitero, perezida Habyarimana asa n'uwongeye kubasonga.

Muri iyi minsi mwumvise ko yatangiye ingendo ngo zigamije "gushimira" ibihugu byagize uruhari mu mishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-INKOTANYI. Nta wanze rwose ko umukuru w'ighugu mu izina ry'abanyarwanda yakwitura inea ibihugu by'insuti byagize mu mishyikirano yari igamije kugarura amahoro mu Rwanda. Urebye neza uko ibantu byifashe muri iki gihe, usanga Habyarimana yarihuse cyane. Mu gihe tutizera neza ko amahoro yagarutse mu Rwanda si cyo gihe cyo gushimira icyo utarabona, utanizeye kubona. Ikindi kandi ntabwo yari guhera ku bihugu byagize uruhari muri iyi ntambara cyane cyane ighugu cya Uganda.

Perezida wa Repubulika agiye muri Tanzaniya birumvika. Tanzaniya yitwaye neza muri iyi ntambara, ntiyagira uruhande ibogamiraho. Mu gihe amayira yaduhahiraga yari asunze kubera intambara, inzira yari isigaye yari imwe. Perezida Mwinyi yimye amatwi Inkotanyi zifuzaga ko uwo muhanda wafungwa. Dore ko zashatse no gusenya ikiraro cyo ku Rusumo bikazinanira. Ighugu cya Tanzaniya ni icyo gushimirwa.

A h o P e r e z i d a Habyarimana yatandukiriye cyane ni ukujya muri Uganda gupfukamira Museveni. Habyarimana yiyibagije ibyo Museveni yavugije i Butare mu w'1987 amucyurira ko impunzi z'abatutsi zigiye gutera u Rwanda. Habyarimana akomeje kwibeshya ku nyeshyamba Museveni. Gupfukamira uwo muhima, ntibizamuba guzoza umugambi afite wo gutegeka aka karere

k'Afurika yo hagati. Bityo abahima bene wabo n'abatutsi bakagira ighugu cy'abo. Nibyo bise "Corridor Hima". Ibyo ari byo byose, Habyarimana mu izina ry'abanyarwanda siwe wagombaga kujya muri Uganda gusaba imbabazi abaroshye u Rwanda mu ntambara.

Museveni niwe wagombye kuza gusaba imbabazi abanyarwanda kuko yabakoshereje abashumiriza igice kimwe cy'ingabo ze.

Ikindi gihugu cyagize uruhari muri iyi ntambara ni u Burundi. Nyuma ya Uganda, u Burundi nicyo gihugu cyakomeje gutera inkunga ikomeye Inkotanyi. Impunzi z'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda b'i Burundi nibo batangaga amafaranga yo kugura intwarz. Bakohereza aban babo ku rugamba. Byose babifashijwemo n'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bwariho muri icyo gihe. Iyo nkunga yari ikomeye ku buryo Inyenzi Kagame yigeze kuvuga ko Buyoya iyo aramuka atsinze amatora, nawe yari kubona ighugu ategeka.

Uko byagenze murabizi. Abahutu b'i Burundi baribohoje, batora umuhutu mwene wabo Ndadaye. Bityo inkunga Inkotanyi zabolaga iba irahagaze.

Habyarimana rero agiye i Burundi ntiyagombye kujyayo agiye gushimira inkunga abatutsi bateye Inkotanyi. Ahubwo yagombye kujyayo kubwira abahutu b'i Burundi gukomeza kuba maso, abatutsi ntibazongere kubasubiza ku ngoyi. Kuko amahoro y'umuhutu w'i Burundi, niyo mahero y'umuhutu wo mu Rwanda. Abatutsi ntibari bakwiye kuvuga nabi Habyarimana kuko ntacyo atabakoreye. Yarabatetesheje imyaka makumyabiri yose none n'abahunze agiye kubizanira. Nyamara yari akwiye kuzirikana ko gukunda utagukunda ari nk'impura igwa mu ishyamba. Kandi ngo wiringira iijosi rikakubyarira umwingo !

**KANGURA.**

<p><b>Journal KANGURA</b>  <b>Comité de Rédaction</b>  <b>NOEZE Magan</b> Directeur en Publication  <b>et Rédacteur en Chef</b>  <b>NYASENDA Ibra</b> <b>Directeur en Chef</b>  <b>Adjoint</b>  <b>NOKEZI Bonaperte</b> Journaliste  <b>MIRASANO Casperin</b> Journaliste  <b>SHOBOMANA NABANTU</b> Journaliste  <b>SIMBIKI Stanislas</b> Journaliste  <b>NTHIMANA Nozi</b> Journaliste  <b>Impresario Imprimante Nationale du Rwanda</b>  <b>Tirage : 20.000 exemplaires</b></p> <p>- KANGURA ibarizwa mu Burundi hono:  - Bulembura (Mairie); ni kwe NTAKABA.  - NYURA Joseph ku Munyane  - BUJUMBURA (Rural); ni kwe NYA.  - NDWIM Dimensionné mu i Sole  - GITEGA; ni kwe NTAHIMPERA Grégory  - Nyemugari  - CIBITORE; ni kwe NDAYISERA Jules  - mu Rugezbo  - KAYANZA; ni kwe NZOBORINPA</p>	<p>André w'i Gerwezo  <b>MURAMVYA</b> ni kwe KARIKWAMI  Benoit mu Biganda  <b>BURURI</b> Nikwes KABURA Marcelle i Ki-  rembe  <b>EUBANZA</b> ni kwe HARIMENSHI Jean  Marie ku Mwakora  <b>KIRUNDO</b> ni kwe MACUMI Jones mu  Mwakora  <b>MUYINGA</b> ni kwe BABOMINGERA  Frances Xavier kwe'l Tchela  <b>CANKUZO</b> ni kwe MANARYO I Ma-  schiefe  <b>RUYIGI</b> ni kwe BURARAME Antoine I  Nyunge  <b>RUTANA</b> ni kwe SAKUBU Léonine    <b>MARAMBIA</b> ni kwe NTAKABURIMVO  Béatrice I Nyabigine  <b>KARUZA</b> ni kwe BARUTWANAYO Em-  manuel I Buhaga</p>
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**TWIBUKE**  
**A B A H I T A N Y W E**  
**N'IBITERO BY'INYENZI.**

**KA02 1936**

Nkuko twabibabwiye mu nimoero zacu z'ubushize KANGURA yakoze ibarura ku bantu bose basizwe iheruheru niyo ntambara.

Ubu guhera kw'iyyi nimoero tuzaja tubagazaho abahitanwye nibitero by'inyenzi duhisemo kuzaja dutangaza buri segiteri; kuko dutangaje komine ntitwabona aho tubandika kuko ari benshi.

Duhere kuri segiteri KIGARAMA ya Komini Ruhondo. Ibarura ryakozwe na NGEZE Hassan.

IZINA	Igihe yavukiye	Selire	Izina rya Se	Izina rya Nyina
01. MILIHANO Geresi	1921	Shashi	NJAMARI	NYIRASUKU
02. MUNYALIBANJE Palatin	1936	-	GAKARA	HARERIMANA
03. SEKABUGA Denys	1934	-	MURAYI	NYIRANGABO
04. NYIRANTABIRE	1932	-	RUGAYI	NYAMBUGA
05. RUTUMVA	-	-	NTIRULIHAMWE	NTILIBURAKARYO
06. RUCAMUCYAGO	1937	-	KANYAMANZA	AKIZANYE
07. NIZEYIMANA	1968	-	BYANGIRE	NTANEZA
08. BIGILIMANA	1967	-	RUCAMUCYAGO	NYIRAMBIBI
09. NTAGAHIRA	-	-	BASHAKA	NZABAKURIKIZA
10. NYIRANDUGU	1912	-	BIZINGONDO	NYIRAKAZI
11. MUNYAKAZI	1932	-	BASANGIRA	NTAMIKORO
12. NTABARESHYA	1959	-	MULIHANO	RWAMENYO
13. NTEZIRAYAO Wenceslas	1958	-	NZABANITA	NTAKAZAIMARA
14. NTEZIRAYAO Frédéric	1976	-	BASHEKEZO	NIKOMBABONA
15. IMANANTIRENGANYA	1946	-	MUHAYA	NTAMUREMBYA
16. SIMBIGIRWA	1918	-	KIMONYO	NTILIBURAKARYO
17. MUZIMANGANYA	1914	-	NDABANANIYE	NIZEYIMANA
18. NYIRABALIGURANURA	1920	-	KANYAMANZA	NYIRABAKWIYE
19. BUDOGO	1933	-	MBUZEHOSE	NYIRABATWA
20. NYIRAMASENGESHO	1992	-	BIYIWAMI	NTANYUNGURA
21. HERIMANA	1912	-	HISHAMUNDA	NYIRANKIRANUYE
22. NSEKERABANZI	1911	-	IMANANTIRENGANYA	NYIRAKAJYELI
23. MUKESHIMANA	-	-	MBONABASEKA	NYIRABAHASHYI
24.NSENGIYUMVA	1978	-	KALIMUNGABO	NYIRAZIRAGORA
25. SEBICKALI	-	-	BARIBATA	NYAMVURA
26. DUKUZUMUREMYI	-	-	AKIMANIZANYE	NYIRANKIRANUYE
27. NDAYAHOZE	1958	-	NZABA	NYIRAMAJYAMBERE
28. AYANONE	1927	Shangaro	NTIBARUHISHA	NTAWIHA
29. MUNYENGANIZI	-	-	BABUZE	NYIRABAGENI
30. SEMAJYELI	1914	Nyanamo	BIRUSHYA	NYIRANZIZA
31. BAZIMENYERA	-	-	BIZIYAREMYE	NYIRABAHAGARARA
32. MUHAYIMANA	1974	-	BANYAGA	NYIRABIRABONA
33. NGIRUWONSANGA	1931	-	NTEGATEGA	NYIRARWINSHI
34. NTEZIYAREMYE	1986	-	NKIRARWINSHI	yabaga kwa Nyirakayumba
35. HAKIZUMWAMI	1935	Ruhanga	SEBASIOKE	SEBASIOKE
36. RUGWIZANGOGA	1940	-	HANYURWENDA	BAKUNDAKABO
37. NYIRABAGENZI	1972	-	RUMASHANA	NYIRAMUSIOZA
38. NYIRANTARAMA	-	Nkumba	KAMEGALI	NYAMPUNDU
39. NDUBASHIYE Pierre	-	Kamisave	BIRUSHARAGABO	NYAMPUNDU
40. NTABANGANYIMANA	1944	-	BUYIYOBENDA	NDINDAYINO
41. NDAKENGA	1981	Ruhanga	MAHAYA	NYIRABWIKO
42. MUHUGABANYE	1925	Kamisave	BAMHANZE	KANSORO
43. NYIRABAZIYAKA	1929	-	yanduse muri Kigombe	
44. MVUKIYEHE Juvenal	1950	-	muka BAGORA	
45. BAPFANINDA	1920	-	muka RUKERAMIIIGO	MUSANINGARE
46. MUKARUSHEMA	1973	-	RUBERANTWALI	NYIRAMATAZA
47. NSHIMIYIMANA	-	-	NTAMAMENERO	BURORE
48. NYIRAZILIKANA	-	-	NTIRURASHIRA	NYIRAGUHIRWA
49. NYIRAKANIRA	-	-	MUNYENGABE	
50. NGARUYE Patrice	1950	-	BAPPANINDA	RIMENYANDE
51. MUNYENGABE	1952	-	NDIZIRIWE	NYIRAKIGWENE
52. NTAMAMENERO	1931	-	CYATARUGAMBA	MATEMANE
53. RUGABA	1980	-	NYAMUREMYE	NTAMAZE
54. MUREGWA	1981	Ruhanga		
55. BANGAMWABO	1957	-		
56. MUSANINGARE	1924	-		
57. MPORANYI	1930	-		
58. SINAMENYE	-	Ruhanga		

\* Imana ibabe iruhuko ridashira.

**NI IKI KIRUKANSA HABYARIMANA ?**

Rero ngo aba yatumiwe; atumirwa nande se ko ari ntawe umukeneye? Muri Tanzaniya ngo yagombaga kuuya gushimira Mwinyi ko yacumbikiye intumwa z'u Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwe bukagira n'uruhare mu mishyikirano y'amahoro. Maze byose bikaba byarashojwe n'imikono ibiri ikomeye, uwa HABYARIMANA n'uwa

KANYARENGWE bashishimuriye Arusha. Nyamara ariko witegerezre neza uko imishyikirano yayoborwaga n'uko ibyemeko byafatwaga abahagarariye Tanzaniya ntibashirwaga amakenga. Inkotanyi zari zarabigaruriye ku buryo ibyifuzo byazo aribyo byubahirizwaga. Ambasaderikazi mu Rwanda wa Tanzaniya nawe yakundaga

kubogamira kuri FPR. Ahubwo icyo Dares-Sallam yashimirwa cyane ni uko itatumye hari ibitero by'inkotanyi biturukayo kandi ikaba yarahaye u Rwanda inzira yo kwinjiza no gusohora ibicuruzwa byarwo.

Muri Uganda ho abanyarwanda barikanze bumvise ko perezida w'u Rwanda agiyego.

Icyakora ngo nta muhutu ugira inzika nta bantu benshi bamaganye urwo ruzinduko. Museveni we nta mpamvu n'imwe yatumaga atumira umwanzi we cyereka ahari gushaka kumubyina ku mubyimba. Habyarimana we yashatse kuba indyarya ajya gushimira Museveni ko yaduteje Inkotanyi, zikayogoza igihugu zica abaziranenge, zisenya, zikura inzirakarengane mu byazo, zitega mine na gerenade, zorora imyiryane mu banyarwanda. Habyarimana yagiye no gushimira Museveni ko yatumye Inkotanyi n'abatutsi bagarurira ubutegetsi bwa gisivili na gisirikare. Ubu Museveni na FPR bararyama bagasinzira kuko bageze ku ntego hafi ya zose zabo kandi baracy azigeraho. Ibyo Habyarimana yasanze ari ngombwa kujya kubibashimira ! Icyakora ubwo jeneral yari aherekewe n'abaminisitiri banyuranye twakwizera ko n'ibibazo by'ubukungu n'umutekano byaba byaritaweho.

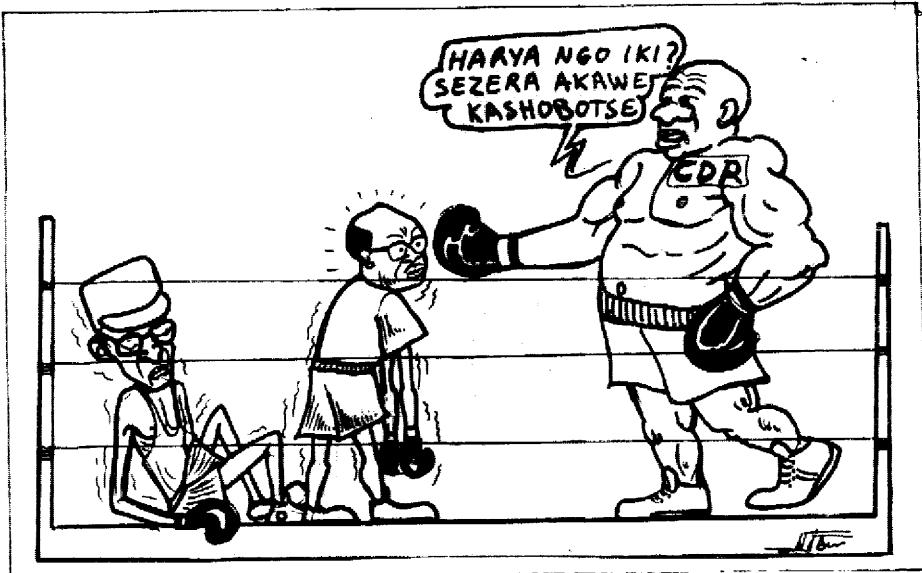
Museveni we ntacyo abaye, nta ngorane igihugu cye gifite zo kugera ku cyambu cya Mombasa. Nta n'intambara ibera iwe ngo arakenera inkunga y'ibihugu baturanye. Kandi uburyrya bw'uwo mugabo turabumenyerere, amadisikuru asize ubuki yavugiwe i Kampala nta gaciro na gato tugomba kuyaganera. Abanyarwanda ahubwo nibakomeze kuryamira amajanja kuko umugambi w'uwo muhima ari ukwigarurira akarere dutuyemo kose kagahinduka ubwami bw'Abahima n'Abatutsi gusa.

Muri Zayire ahubwo niho Perezida Habyarimana aba yarabanje. Cyereka niba yarakurikije ya mvugo ko akaryoshye kikuzwa. Nibyo koko Mobutu yagiriye akamaro kanini Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda kuko igihugu cye aricyo cyafashe iya mbere mu kutwoherereza ingabo kabuhariwe

mu kurwana mu bihe bya mbere ne mbere by'intambara yashojo na FPR-Inkotanyi. Ni nizo ntarumikwa za Mareshali zunganiye inzirabwoba mu kubumbatira umutekano muri Kigali yari yugarijwe n'umwanzi n'ibyitsso bye. Zayire ni nayo yabimburije imishyikirano y'amahoro nubwo inkotanyi zayirengegaho zigakomeza kugaba ibitero. Mobutu yabaye kandi umuhuza w'indakemwa, ntateye nka ba gitit mujisho bariye amakotanyi maze bagakurura begereza FPR. Ikindi gikorwa cy'ingenzi Habyarimana akwiye gushimira munywanyi we ni uko imipaka y'u Rwanda na Zayire yarinze bihagije ku buryo ari nta bitero by'umwanzi byashoboye gutoborerayo. Kugenderera Zayire ni ibyo gushyigikirwa kuko tuzahora dekeneye inkunga yayo muri byose. Ariko se Habyarimana aziruka agarukire he ? Aho ntazibagirwa Misiri yatugobotse (...) umwanzi adahongerwa !

### CDR IZAKORERA MU RWANDA, TWAGIRAMUNGU N'INKOTANYI ZE BABISHAKA BATABISHAKA.

Abaromani bo hambere nibo bakundaga kuvuga ngo kuvuga ni byiza ariko kwicecikera bikaba byiza kurushaho. (La parole est d'argent mais le silence est d'or). Abanyarwanda nabo bati akarenze umunwa karushya ihamagara. Hari abanyapolitiki benshi bagiye batitondera ibyo bavuga bikabageza kure, isomo ry'iryo vuzi vuzi rizwi n'uwahoze ari Perezida wa Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, Ronald Reagan, wari ushoje intambara ya gatatu y'isi abyita ibikino. Ronald Reagan yari agiye kuvuga disikuru, igihe cye kugergeza mikoro aracikwa atangaza ko Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika zigiye gutera Repubulika Zunze Ubumwe z'Abasoviyeti. Abasovieti bapfuye kurita mu gutwi bati karabaye batangira kwisuganya. Reagan yagerageje ibyo gusaba imbabazi, ashaka kumvisha amahanga ko yabivuze atabigambiriye, abarusi baranangira. Bati niba utanabishakaga, wabitekerezaga. Kuko ngo akari ku mutima gasesekara ku munwa. Ibyo byago byigeze no kugwirira Perezida Habyarimana. Akiri umukuru wa



Etat-Major y'Ingabo, yigeze kubwira abasirikari ngo tuzahorera abo Inyenzi zishe. Abatutsi bahise bashya ubwoba bazi ko akabo kashobotse ngo umukuru w'igihugu arabatanze ! Habyarimana yaje kubikizwan'uko yaje kwisubiraho. Ibyo guhora abihiinguramo gusana imitima. Na none mu Ruhengeri, Perezida Habyarimana yarizihiwe arahimbarwa abwira interahamwe ze ngo azazambika ziberwe maze bamanuke. Abantu babyumva nabi

ngo interahamwe zigiye kubatsebatsema. Perezida Habyarimana arongera ati Amahoro si ibipapuro. Aho byari bimugejeje niwe uhazi. Bamuhinduye gashozamvururu ngo niwe udindiza amasezerano ya Arusha.

Iryo vuzi vuzi niryo rishobora gukora kuri Twagiramungu, uyu wigize minisitiri w'intebe. Aherutse kwhandagaza kuri Radiyo

Muhabura ngo ishyaka CDR rizashake igihugu rizajya gukoreramo. Twagiramungu niba atari rya terabwoba rye tumuziho, agomba kuba yarabivuze agirango yikundwakaze ku Nkotanyi. Dore ko ari n'abanywanyi be. Cyakora yiyibagije byinshi. Twagiramungu yiyibagije mbere na mbere ko nawe umwanya ariho atawukwiye. Yarawihaye amaze gukorera "coup d'état" biro politiki y'ishyaka MDR. Igihe cyose Perezida Habyarimana yashakira ko avaho, agasimbuzwa umukandida watangwa n'ishyaka.

Twagiramungu yiyibagije ko inyenzi n'ibyitso byazo byashatse gusesa ishyaka CDR rikivuka, bikananirana. Azabaze Mbonampeka icyo gihe wari minisitiri w'ubutabera kandi ukomoka mu shyaka PL ry'abatutsi. Mbonampeka yasuzumye ibinyoma bagerakaga kuri CDR, asanga nta shingiro bifite abatera utwatsi. Nibwo inyenzi n'ibyitso byazo bahinduye Mbonampeka "umusederi". Byah se ko icyo Mbonampeka yanze ari umugayo agahitamo kwegura.

Twagiramungu yitwaje ko inyenzi zizaba zifite minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, PL icytso cyayo ikagira minisiteri y'ubutabera. Bityo Twagiramungu yizera ko abatutsi bazahita basesa ishyaka rya CDR. Amategeko arahati kandi abatutsi sibo bazi amatgeko bonyine. Uretse n'iby'amategeko, gusesa ishyaka riagarariye 85 ku ijana by'abanyarwanda sinzi ko bishoboka.

Ko Rudahigwa waru umwami atashoboye gusesa amashyaka y'abahutu kandi yari abifitiye ububasha bwose ? Rudahigwa yanarebaga kure we wigeze kuvuga ati "aho kwica Gitera, wakwica ikibimutera". Twagiramungu n'Inkotanyi imbere yo gusesa CDR bazabanzo basese abahutu. Twagiramungu azabaze Bagaza cyangwa se Buyoya impamvu barwanyije Palipehutu bakayisiba na nubu ikaba ikiraho. Ni ukubera ingusu z'abo ihagarariye ! Na Ndadaye ashatsye yayigendera buhoro.

CDR rero ntizaterwa ubwoba n'igikuba cya Twagiramungu. Ku koto turamumenyereye. Yabanje gutera ubwoba Habyarimana ngo hagiye kuba Rukokoma, nta kundi byagenda. Habyarimana aratitira ngo abaturage bagiye kumwivaniraho. Byah se ko yari Balinga ya Twagiramungu ! Rukokoma uretse n'Inkotanyi zayanze, na Twagiramungu ubwe niyyayemeraga. Dore ko iramutse inabaye nawe itamusiga amahoro.

Abatutsi barwanije CDR ni mu gihe. CDR ni ishyaka ryshyiriwehokurenengenura abahutu, rikarengera ibyiza rubanda nyamwinshi yazaniwe na revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. CDR ntuyigisha amahane nk'abatutsi. Icyo iryo shyaka rizira ngo ni uko rirengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu. Abatutsi nibakoresha imbunda, CDR izakoresha amatora. Ubwiyunge bw'abahutu nibwo buzatsinda ubwicanyi n'ubugome by'abatutsi.

Ubwiyunge bwa rubanda nyamwinshi nibwo buzasubiza umututsi ku mwanya we. CDR ntianze ko abatutsi bahatanira ubutegetsi, gusa bigomba kunyura mu nzira ya demokarasi. CDR ntianze ko abatutsi bakwiyunga. Arik nabo bemere ko rubanda nyamwinshi ifite uburenganzira bwo kwishyira hamwe ngo birengere inyungu zayo. Kandi ni uburengazira bwa buri muntu.

## KANGURA.

REPUBLIQUE DU BURUNDI  
CABINET DU PRESIDENT

Bujumbura, le 9 septembre 1993

N° 1004/MIN/PR/93  
Objet :  
Venez.

A Monsieur le Directeur  
Rédacteur en chef du  
Journal KANGURA  
à KIGALI.

Monsieur le Directeur,

J'ai l'honneur de faire suite à votre correspondance du 12 juillet 1993 relative à la demande d'interview auprès du Chef de l'Etat sur la vie politique au Burundi. Je vous confirme que la requête est agréée.

Il sera sans doute utile de préciser pour votre information que si la sécurité sur le territoire burundais vous sera assurée, les frais de séjour seront à votre charge.

Vous voudrez communiquer en temps utile votre projet de calendrier tout en gardant à l'esprit que la correspondance et l'audition à ce catégorie d'invités sont des services avec un décalage d'au moins et treize jours.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Directeur,  
l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

L. Directeur du Cabinet du  
Président de la République  
Se

Copie pour Information :

Mr. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la  
Coopération Internationale à KIGALI  
Mr. le Ministre des Relations Extérieures à  
KIGALI  
Mr. l'Ambassadeur de la République du Rwanda à  
KIGALI  
Mr. l'Ambassadeur de la République Rwandaise à  
KIGALI

n'iza FPR igizwe n'abatutsi gusa kuko uduhutu duke tuyitirirwa ari udukingirizo.

Munyumve neza arik, hari ingingo z'amasezerano zikwiye gushyigikirwa ndetse zigashyirwa mu bikorwa vuba na vuba. Twavuga nko kubahiriza

## AMASEZERANO YA ARUSA YARENGEYE INYUNGU

### Z'INKOTANYI, Z'ABATUTSI N'IZ'AMASHYAKA ARI

#### MURI GUVERINOMA GUSA.

Leta ihatira abaturage kwemera no kubahiriza ibyemezo abo baturage batagizemo uruhare ndetse bamagana ubwabo niyongoma y'igitugu ibaho. Iyo rero abanyamashyaka biharanga ngo barashaka gukuraho ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa MRND (ya kera) na Habyarimana hanyuma nabo bagakoresha igitugun'uburyamirane mu mikorere yabo baba babyina rubanda ku mubyimba. Muribuka mwese

ikiremwamuntu no kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko. Twavuga nko kwakira impunzi z'abanyarwanda no kuzishakira imibereho myiza bitabangamiye abanyagihugubahasananzwe cyangwa ibidukikije n'umutungo kamere. Ntiwakwirengegiza n'icyizere cyahawe abakuwe mu byabo ko bazabisubiramo. Icyemezo cyo gushyira ingabo z'amahanga, zitari izi GOMN abanyarwanda bakemangaho byinshi, ku mupaka w'ighugu cy'u Rwanda n'icya Uganda nacyo ni icyo gushyigikirwa. Maze byose bigashimangirwa no guharika intambara burundi mu gihe FPR iziyemeza gushyira intwaro hasi ntuyongere kutugwa gitumo nko ku ya 01/10/1990 no ku ya 08/02/1993.

Nyamara kandi ntabwo guverinoma ifite uburenganzira bwo gushyira igititu ku baturage ngo nibashigikire ibyemezo bibavutsa ibyiza bazaniwe na revolisiyo aribyo repubulika, demokarasi n'ubwigene bw'ighugu cyangwa bibangamira umutekano n'imbereho myiza yabo. Guverinoma n'abayigaragiye ntibagomba na rimwe kwitwaza imvugo y'amahoro kugira ngo bakomeze kwikubira ubutegetsi babesha rubanda ngo n'ibibi bakora byose bigamije kugera ku mahoro. Maze se kuvugisha ukuri nibyo bibangamira amahoro ?

Mu byo abaturage banenze muri ariya masezerano y'Arusha n'ubu kandi bacyamaganan bihanukiriye ni ukuntu imishyikirano yayobowe ikihereranwa n'agatsiko k'abanyamururumba, abagambanyi n'abanzi ba rubanda nyamwinshi. Nta nubwo ako gatsiko kagize ubushake bwo gusesengura neza impamvu nyazo zateje intambara. Impamvu y'ingezni ikaba ari amakimbirane y'amoko y'abahuto n'abatutsi barwanira ubutegetsi; uretse ko n'amahari y'uturere yaje kubyivangamo.

Abanyarwanda hafi ya bose ntibashyigikiye na busa ukuntu imyanya yasaranganyijwe muri guverinoma y'inzbacyuhu yaguye no mu nteko ishinga amategeko. Iryo saranganywa

tyranzwe n'ubwiru, ubwikanyize n'ubusambo birenze kamere. Maze ishyano rigiye kugwa hakubitiraho kugambanira repubulika na rubanda nyamwinshi. Amashyaka atanu na FPR bikubiye ubutegetsi bwose none barategeka ayandi kuyakomera amshyi no kurebera uko yigabanya ibyiza by'ighugu yonyine. "Dusabye, bambe dutegetse, buri munyarwanda gushyigikira no gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'Arusha", iyo niyo mvugo usangana abategetsi ! Muri demokarasi koko hari ugihatirwa kwemera no kubahiriza ibitekerezo cyangwa ibyemezo bitamunogeye ? Ahubwo sinzi icyo amashyaka cumi n'abiri yose yahejwe mu butegetsi agitegeree kugira ngo ahatanire kugera ku burenganzira bwayo.

Andi mahano yabaye ni mu ihuzwa ry'ingabo. Ababisenguye neza basanze aricyo gikorwa FPR yagezeho koko kizatuma igera ku mugambi wayo wo kwigarurira ubutegetsi no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto. Bariya rero bemeje ko impunzi zitarenze 7 % by'abaturarwanda bose zihabwa 40 % y'imyanya yo mu ngabo nshya z'ighugu na 50 % mu buyobozi bwazo nta rindi zina bakwita ritati "Abagambanyi". Kandi buri kera rubanda nyamwinshi izabibaryoza. Kuko gushaka guhirika ingoma y'"Igitugu" no gusezerera ubwikanyize bw'abo bita "ABAIGA" mu rwego rwa gisirikare bitagombye gutuma ighugu gishumurizwa abanzi kamere ba rubanda nyamwinshi. **NDEKEZI Bonaparte.**

## **ABANYAGISENYI BATI : "UWO ARI WE WESE WADUKIZA ABATEGETSI BABI YADUTEGEKA".**

Ingurane ziba nyinshi ariko iz'abatuye Gisenyi zo ntizisanzwe. Iyumvire nawe uko ziteye. Intambara igitangira, ubutegetsi bwariho (aha ndavuga ubwa Perefegitura) bwarazambye maze bwiyambura ububasha. Niko guha ubwo bubasha abantu amategeko atemerera kwica no gukiza. Nibwo kujya muri Zayire bibaye ikibazo gikomeye. Uwashakaga kujya muri icyo ighugu cy'insuti ngo nabanzo atange ruswa kuva ku mafaranga ighumbi kugaza ku bihumbi bitanu.

Uyatante nawe agahabwa uruhusa ruda fite icyo rwamumarira. Wabaza impamvu abanyarwanda tubuzwa kujya muri Zayire kandi abazayiruwa bo bemererwa kuza mu Rwanda uko bashatse, bakagusubiza nta soni ngo ni uko abazayiruwa bazi kuvuga neza (ruswa). Nyamara ngo byaterwaga n'intambara. Ukibaza niba ari u Rwanda rwagombaga gutera Zayire ukayoberwa. Ibyo byose byavugwa n'abagiye batanga za ruswa zuzuje amagorofa hirya no hino mu ighugu.

Ibyo ntibivuyeho, abaturage bababujije amahoro babashyiriraho umukwabu. Muri uwo mukwabu abategetsi bamwe bishirira ubucuruzi bwose bakora forode karahava bitwaje intambara yari i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri. Twibutse ko muri uwo mukwabu

ariho bamwe mu ba ofisiye bohereje abasirikari babo gusahura abatuye umugi wa Gisenyi. Hafunzwe abantu bazira ubusa, abandi bariewa n'ibindi bibi byinshi. Icyababaje abantu kandi gikomeje kubababaza ni uko abo bategetsi bishe ighugu badahindurwa.

### **Ikibazo kiri ahagana he?**

Kureza ubu, ukuzamba kwa Gisenyi gufitiye inyungu ubutegetsi bwa Perefegitura bwo bukomeje kugaragaza ko nta ngufu bufite, bugatinya ubutegetsi bwa ja, darumori. Bityo jandarumori ikica, igakiza nk'aho Gisenyi ari agahugu ukwako. Gusa abaturage bashima Procureur wa Parike ya Gisenyi na Perezida w'urukiko rwa mbere rw'iremezo. Abo bagabo iyo bataba ku Gisenyi muri iki gihe cy'intambara, abantu benshi baba barahasize agatwe.

### **Icyo abaturage bifuza.**

Abaturage bo ku Gisenyi bifuza ko umugi wabo wagendera ku mategeko, kuvanaho imikwabu ku bantu bose, korohereza abatuye Gisenyi kujya guhaha muri Zayire, kwiyumvisha ko ighi cya ruswa cyarangiye. Abategetsi barangwa n'iterabwoba nabo akabo bazashoboka cyane cyane ko Guverinoma ya Twagiramungu itazabihanganira. Kandi abacuruzi Bara,,saba ko umunsi umukwabu wavuyeho batazoherezewa abandi bantu bo kubasahura nkuko byagenze ubushize. **NGEZE Hassan.**

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### **INYENZI ZIKOMEJE KWICA ABANYAPOLITIKI BATAVUGA RUMWE NAZO. NYUMA YA GAPYISI, RWAMBUKA... NI NDE UTAHIWE ?**

Perezida Habyarimana niwe wakundaga kuvuga ko intambara (u Rwanda rurwana

Inyenzi twazita abanzi cyangwa abavandimwe, icye ngombwa ni ubutegetsi ari nabwo ziharanira.

bwose izo komisiyo zari zibogamiye cyane ku nyenzi, zasanze abo bategetsi abenshi ar abarengana.

#### **G E T E T E , RWAMBUKA, KAJERIJERI...**



n'Inyenzi-Inkotanyi) igeze mu ikoni rikomeye. Kandi ni byo. Intambara y'amamasu Inyenzi zashoje tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 yari imaze umwaka ihosheje. Impande zombi zari zarayobotse inzira y'imishyikirano n'ubwo bwose ari iya nyirarureshw. Dore ko yuruyemo uburyrya. Hatangiye intambara ya politiki kandi ni nayo ikomeye kuko isaba ubwenge n'amayeri menshi.

Bajya bavuga ko muri politiki nta mbabazi. Kandi byagiye bigaragara henshi ku isi ko nta munyapolitiki ugira imbabazi. Icyangombwa ni inyungu ze n'icyo ashaka kugeraho. Twagiramungu niwe ujya avuga ko ataje muri politiki gukina.

Hirya no hino ku isi twagiye twumva abanyapolitiki bagiye bamarana, bapfa ubutegetsi. Ibyo ubucuti n'amasono bakabishyira iruhande. Atari ibyo Habyarimana ntaba yarahiritse Kayibanda n'ubucuti bari bafitanye kugeza aho babyaranye muri batisimu. Blaise Compaore wo muri Burkina Faso ntaba yaricishije mugenzi we Thomas Sankara kandi barareranywe. Ingero ni nyinshi nta wazirondora.

Inyenzi Paul Kagame niwe wigeze kuvuga ko atari ngombwa ko abahutu n'abatutsi baba inshuti. Ngo icyo bahuriyeho ni ighugu. Mu yandi magambo Paul Kagame yashatse kuvuga ko nta mbabazi.

Inyenzi zatsinzwe intambara y'amamasu. Zananiwe gufata igihugu mu minsi itatu nk'uko zari zabiteguye. Nyuma y'amasezerano y'Arusha yazibujije kongera kurasa, zirarwana noneho intambara ya politiki. Kugirango ziyyitsinde 'urentse ko bikomeye) ni ngombwa ko zibanza kwigizayo abo zibona bazibangamiye kandi bakunzwe na rubanda. Inyenzi nazo zizi neza ko nyuma y'inzibacyaho yaziyhaye ubutegetsi ku ngufu, zizasubizwa mu mwanya wazo.

Inyenzi zaraanje zijundika abategetsi bamwe zibagerekaho amakosa batakoze. Si ukuvuga ko abo bategetsi babaga nta bushobozi bafite cyangwa badakunzwén'abaturage. Impamu nta yindi ni uko abo bategetsi babaga babangamiye imigambi mibisha y'Inyenzi. Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yaje gutiza umwanzi umurindi maze abo bategetsi bamwe barirukanwa abandi barahagarikwa. Ubwo bugambanyi bwaje kurenza urugero bigera aho guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yemerera Inyenzi ngo zikore ilisiti y'abo zidashaka maze bahagarikwe ku kazi !

Iyo lisiti yarakozwe, abo bategetsi b'inzirakarengane barahagarikwa. Kubera ko ibyo byemezo bidafite ishingiro byari bitangiyie kuzana umwuka mubi mu baturage, byabaye ngombwa ko hashyirwaho za komisiyo zo kugenjura ibyo babarega. N'ubwo

Mu bategetsi inyenzi zakunze gushyira mu majwi, abavuzwe cyane ni batatu. Abo ni Gatete, bourgmestre wa Komini Murambi, Kajerijeri wa Mukingo na Rwambuka wa Kanzenze. Bose Inyenzi zabaregaga kuba baramaze abatutsi n'abagogwe. Komisiyo zashyizweho zikora anketi. Gatete aba umwene, abamurwanyaga barajoma. Kajerijeri biba uko. Rwambuka we yari yasubijwe ku kazi n'abaturage nyuma y'amatora. Inyenzi rero ntizashimishijwe na gato n'uko abo bategetsi barenganuwe. Inzira yari isigaye ni imwe. Gukoresha iterabwoba. Zabanjirije kuri Gatete, zimugabiza ababisha. Rwambuka we ntizamurebera izuba, zimukurikiza Gapyisi. Nta washidikanya ko hari ilisiti y'abanyapolitiki bagomba kwicwa mbere y'uko inyenzi zitahuka.

#### **Inyenzi zirisibira amayira.**

Mu gihe abanyarwanda twiteguraga kubana (ku ngufu) n'Inyenzi, zari zikwiye kwerakana ko nazo zifite ubushake bwo gutahuka mu mahoro.

Iki gihe rero si icyo kongera kubura ibikorwa by'iterabwoba kuko ibyo zakoze n'abantu zahitanye bihagije. Ibyo inyenzi zikora muri iki gihe ni nko gutoneka inkovu itari yakira.

Ibikorwa by'inyenzi muri iki gihe cyane cyane ririya yicwa ry'abanyapolitiki rifite ikindi rihatse. Abantu benshi bemeza ko ari uburyo inyenzi zabonye bwo kwiienza kugira ngo ziburizemo amasezerano y'Arusha. Nyuma y'iycwa rya Rwambuka, abatutsi ba mu Bugesera bagize ubwoba bazi ko akabo kagiye gushoboka. Bakekaga ko abahutu bashobora kwhorera. Kandi iyo babishaka baba barabikoze !



GENERALI NSABIMANA ATI :  
"UMWANZI SI UBWA MBERE TUMUTSINDA, N'UZONGERA  
GUKINISHA GUTERA TUZAMWEREKA UBUHWARI  
BW'INZIRABWOBA, ICYO ABATURAGE TUBASABA  
N'UKWITONDERA AMAGAMBO ASOHOKA MU BINYAMAKURU  
BY'UMWANZI KUKO AHISHE BYINSHI".